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BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA.

VOLUME THE THIRD.

Biographia Britannica:

OR, THE

LIVES

OF THE

Moſt eminent PERSONS

Who have flouriſhed in

GREAT BRITAIN

AND

IRELAND,

From the earlieſt Ages, down to the preſent Times:

Collected from the beſt Authorities, both Printed and Manuſcript,

And digeſted in the Manner of

Mr *BAYLE*'s HISTORICAL and CRITICAL

DICTIONARY.

VOLUME THE THIRD.

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THE LIVES OF THE Moſt eminent PERSONS Who have flouriſhed in *GREAT-BRITAIN* and *IRELAND*, From the earlieſt Ages, down to the preſent Times.

C

CONANT (JOHN) a very learned, pious, and eminent Engliſh Divine, in in the ſeventeenth century. He was deſcended from a very good family, that had flouriſhed for many years in the county of Devon, but was originally French *(a)*. His father was Robert Conant, and his mother's name was Elizabeth, perſons of great integrity, having a competent, though not a large fortune, ſo that he had no reaſon to be aſhamed of his family; nor had a certain writer any need to have troubled himſelf with an apology about it *(b)*; and one, who was much better informed, and more nearly concerned, hath, with great modeſty, ſet this point in the true light in which it ought to be known to poſterity *(c)* [*A*]. He was born October 18, 1608, at Yeatenton, a ſmall Village in Bicton pariſh, in the ſouth-eaſt part of the county before-mentioned *(d)*; and giving very early and lively tokens of his inclination to learning, his uncle, the Rev Mr John Conant, Rector of Lymington, near Ilcheſter, in Somerſetſhire, charged himſelf in a particular manner with the care of his education; and having kept him for ſome time at the free-ſchool at Ilcheſter, put him afterwards under the tuition of Mr Thomas Branker, a very laborious and learned ſchool-maſter in the neighbourhood; and, while he was at both places, gave him occaſionally whatever helps he wanted in his ſtudies with great readineſs and pleaſure *(e)*. His youth promiſed all that his riper years produced; his diſpoſition was always mild, moderate, and modeſt, ſo that he contented himſelf rather with the ſatisfaction ariſing from the poſſeſſion of knowledge, than affected to diſplay it. In Lent Term, 1626, his uncle carried him to Oxford, and entered him of Exeter-college, of which he had been himſelf nine years a Fellow, placing him under a very ſtrict, pious, and learned tutor, Mr Lawrence Bodley, B. D. *(f)* He ſtudied there with great vigour and application, and, in a ſhort time, diſtinguiſhed

(a) Life of John Conant, D. D. by his ſon John Conant, LL. D. MSS. p. 5.

(b) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 223, 224.

(c) Life of Dr Conant, p. 5.

(d) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 912.

(e) Life of Dr Conant, p. 6.

(f) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 912. Life of Dr Conant, p. 7.

[*A*] *In which it ought to be known to poſterity.*] We are told by the Reverend Mr Prince what follows, with reſpect to the deſcent of this worthy Perſon (1). 'He was not, ſays he, deſcended indeed from great, but 'from good parentage, more eminent for their piety 'than gentility, which in the eſtimation of God and 'good men, is the trueſt nobility. However, we are 'not to eſteem him as ſprung *ex fæce virûm*, from the 'dregs of the Plebeians: no; his name hath long 'flouriſhed, and his relations lived in good eſtate and 'reputation in thoſe parts.' Dr John Conant, the ſon of our Divine, gives us the plain Engliſh of all this in the following words (2): 'He was the eldeſt ſon 'of Robert Conant, and Elizabeth his wife, who were 'perſons of great integrity. Robert was one of the 'ſons of Richard Conant, and Agnes his wife, who 'lived at Budley, near Yeatenton, and were much 'eſteemed for their exemplary piety. Richard was 'the ſon of John Conant, deſcended from ingenious 'parents of Gittiſham, near Honiton, in this county; 'whoſe anceſtors, for many generations, had been 'fixed there, but were originally of French extraction.'

(1) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 223, 224.

(2) Life of Dr Conant, p. 5.

ſtinguiſhed himſelf as one of the ſhrewdeſt diſputants in this college, then one of the moſt flouriſhing in that univerſity. He was alſo very remarkable for the purity and perſpicuity of his Latin ſtile; and of the Greek, he was ſo perfect a maſter, as often to diſpute publickly in that language in the ſchools; which extraordinary accompliſhments recommended him highly to Dr John Prideaux, then Rector of Exeter-college, and the King's Profeſſor of Divinity (g) [*B*]. It is very certain, that he took his degrees regularly, though the times, for what reaſon it is not eaſy to ſay, are omitted by the Oxford Hiſtorian (h); and ſo pious and prudent was the whole courſe of his life, that, without any other intereſt than his merit, he was choſen Probationer, June 30, 1632, and became actual Fellow of Exeter-college July 3, 1633 (i). He was alſo a very eminent tutor, and, in that capacity, had for his pupils ſeveral young gentlemen of the beſt families in his county, whom he educated with equal care, in ſound learning, and true piety (k). Upon the breaking out of the civil war, moſt of the ſtudents under his care leaving the univerſity, he judged it moſt convenient for him to retire alſo, which he accordingly did in 1642; but certainly without any deſign of forſaking his college, as appeared by his leaving in his chamber a large and well-choſen collection of books, of which, in his abſence, he was plundered (l). Some ſhort time before he quitted the univerſity, he had taken Deacon's Orders, and had applied himſelf with very great diligence to the ſtudy of the oriental languages, and whatever elſe might properly qualify him for the diſcharge of the miniſterial function, for which he had always a high reverence, and which he afterwards diſcharged, for many years, with great piety and zeal, and no leſs wiſdom and learning (m) [*C*]. He retired firſt to Lymington, his uncle's living in Somerſetſhire, not in Hampſhire, as Mr Prince would have it; but finding his worthy relation forced from thence, he officiated for him as long as he could continue there with ſafety; but, after being rifled of all he had, and kept for ſome time a priſoner, he found it high time for him alſo to repair to London, where, having found his uncle ſettled in the church of St Botolph, Alderſgate, he for ſome time, aſſiſted him in his paſtoral duties (n). While he was at Lymington he was conſtituted by the parliament one of the Aſſembly of Divines (o); but I believe he ſat amongſt them, if ever, very ſeldom, ſince it is certain, that he never took the Covenant. In order to avoid this, and other things not agreeable to his conſcience, he willingly accepted the offer made to him, of being domeſtick chaplain to the Lord Chandos; in whoſe family he lived at Harefield, or, as it is commonly called, Harvill, near Uxbridge, in Middleſex, where his piety, learning, and exemplary life, gained him many friends, who would have procured him a much better ſettlement, his income there being but fourſcore pounds a year, the beſt part of which he beſtowed in charitable uſes (p); but the privacy in which he paſſed his days, and his great apprehenſion of charging his conſcience with the tranſactions of thoſe times, induced him to refuſe the favours offered him, and in particular a good living in his own country, from Mr Duke, of Otterton (q). He carried this juſt and religious principle ſtill farther, for perceiving the effects of the parliament viſitation of the Univerſity of Oxford, where the Solemn League and Covenant was preſſed upon all the members of the Univerſity, rather than break in upon his own innocence, by ſubmitting to a power, and taking an oath, both which wanted a legal authority, and rather than abjure the good order that was eſtabliſhed in this Church ſince the perfecting of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth, or combine to promote a civil war, all which were thought to be virtually contained in that oath, he determined to quit his relation to Exeter-college (r), which he did, by reſigning his fellowſhip, Sept. 27, 1647 (s). This proceeding of his, as it was equally candid and conſcientious, ſo the bare relation of it, muſt ſufficiently refute a very groundleſs calumny, inſerted in the work (t) of the Oxford Hiſtorian, concerning which the reader will be better informed in the notes [*D*]. While he lived as chaplain to Lord Chandos, he preached a volun-

(g) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.

(h) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 912.

(i) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 8.

(k) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.

(l) Life of Dr Conant, p. 9.

(m) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 912.

(n) Life of Dr Conant, p. 10.

(o) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, b. xi. p. 198.

(p) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.

(q) Life of Dr Conant, p. 11.

(r) Wood's Athen. Oxon, Vol. II. col. 912.

(s) As appears from that date in the college regiſter.

(t) Hiſt. & Antiquat. Oxon. lib. i. p. 397.

[*B*] *Recommended him highly to Dr John Prideaux, then Rector of Exeter-college, and the King's Profeſſor of Divinity.*] We have an account of this fact from both the writers before mentioned; but the latter gives it in the cleareſt and moſt intelligent manner (3). 'Theſe 'his excellent endowments, ſays he, ſet off by a life 'every way regular and unblameable, could not eſcape 'ſo vigilant a governor, and ſo known an encourager of 'learning and virtue, as the reverend and learned Dr 'John Prideaux, then Rector of Exeter-college; who, 'by an alluſion to his name *Conanti, nihil eſt difficile*; '(this, according to the humour of thoſe times, is a 'playing upon words; for, in one ſenſe, it implies, to 'him who endeavours, every thing is eaſy; and in another, there is nothing difficult to Conant;) ſignified his 'opinion of him: and he once ſaid of him, Jack Co'nant *will have my place.* Dr Prideaux was then Regius 'Profeſſor of Divinity in the univerſity, as well as Rec'tor of the college; both which eminent places were, 'in proceſs of time, conferred on Dr Conant.'

[*C*] *And no leſs wiſdom and learning.*] We have mentioned in the text the excellence he acquired in Latin and Greek languages, to which he ſoon after added as perfect an acquaintance with the Hebrew and Syriac tongues, and was alſo a good proficient in Chaldee and Arabic (4); all which he thought neceſſary to the thorough underſtanding of the holy ſcriptures; in reading which in their originals, and in comparing them with each other, and with the beſt commentators, he ſpent ſeveral years, by which he became ſo thoroughly maſter of that ſort of learning, as to appear with equal luſtre in the pulpit and in the chair (5); nor was there any man of his time more remarkable for being a ſolid and ſound expoſitor, or for clearing the true ſenſe of ſuch texts as were miſinterpreted by the Socinians and other hereticks (6).

[*D*] *Will be better informed in the notes.*] The famous Mr Anthony Wood informs us (7), that the reverend Mr Henry Tozer, Fellow and Sub-rector of Exeter college, was ſummoned before the parliament viſitors on the 21ſt of March, 1647, and by them queſtioned on eleven heads of offences by him committed in the management of the college; for which he was by theſe viſitors afterwards expelled, and flying into Holland, was there taken into the ſervice of the Engliſh merchants as their chaplain, and in that poſt died

(3) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 226. Life of Dr Conant, p. 7.

(4) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.

(5) Calamy's life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 76.

(6) Life of Dr Conant, p. 27.

(7) Hiſt. & Antiquit. Oxon, lib. i. p. 397.

a voluntary lecture, upon a week-day, at Uxbridge, where he had always a very numerous audience; and though this was purely from a principle of doing good, and not with any view of being talked of and known in the world, which no man of his abilities ever ſought leſs, yet it ſerved to keep alive that great reputation which he had acquired at the univerſity, and of which the members of Exeter-college were ſo mindful, that upon the death of the learned Dr George Hakewill, their Rector, in the month of April, 1649, there was a remarkable conteſt about chuſing either his uncle or him for his ſucceſſor (*u*): but Mr John Conant, ſenior, who was then ſettled in the pariſh of St Thomas, in Colcheſter, abſolutely declining that preferment, the Fellows thereupon unanimouſly choſe Mr John Conant on the 7th of June following, and on the 29th of the ſame month he was admitted to that honourable office (*w*), which he executed with great prudence and fidelity, and with equal reputation to himſelf, and advantage to that ſociety which had given him ſo ſignal a proof of their affection and eſteem (*x*) [*E*]. In a very ſhort time, however, after his being thus ſettled, he was in great danger of being driven out of all publick employment again, and this by the Parliament's enjoining what was called the *Engagement*, which he did not take within the time preſcribed, but had a fortnight given him to conſider further of it, and that ſpace being expired a month (*y*), at the end of which he ſubmitted, but under a declaration, ſubſcribed at the ſame time with the *Engagement*, which, as it in fact enervated that inſtrument entirely (*z*), is at once a demonſtrative proof of his great integrity, and of the general reputation he muſt have had to procure his ſubſcription to be received upon thoſe terms [*F*]. This difficulty being got over, he continued to diſcharge his office

(*u*) Life of Dr Conant, p. 14.

(*w*) Wood's Athen. Oxon, Vol. II. col. 912.

(*x*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.

(*y*) Life of Dr Conant, p. 16, 17.

(*z*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 225.

died at Rotterdam, Sept 11, 1650. He further adds, that theſe heads of accuſation were tranſmitted to the viſitors by Mr John Conant, Mr. Anthony Clifford, Mr John Martin, and Mr Robert Hancock. This is a very heavy and a very extraordinary charge, which, at firſt ſight, ſeems to agree but very indifferently with Mr Conant's known character, who, of all things, hated to concern himſelf in quarrels or diſputes. But the following refutation of this charge is ſo clear, ſo full, and ſo unanſwerable, that it muſt certainly ſatisfy every man that reads it (8). ‘His reſignation in the college regiſter bears date the 27th of Sept. 1647. That he had never ſeen Oxford from the end of the year 1642, till June, 1649, I find expreſsly under his own hand-writing, in a book of accounts relating to his pupils and to his Oxford affairs, which I here particularly mention, in order to rectify a miſtake in a late author, who, in his book, entitled Hiſtoria et Antiquitates Univerſitatis Oxonienſis, reckons Mr Conant among the Fellows of Exeter-college who accuſed Mr H. Tozer, their Sub-rector, to the parliamentary viſitors; whereas Mr Tozer was not called before the viſitors till the 21ſt of March, 1647, as may be ſeen in the regiſter of the proceedings at that viſitation, now in the publick library, at Oxford, which was near half a year after Mr Conant had ſent his reſignation to the college. Beſides, the matters laid to Mr Tozer's charge, as this very author has repreſented them, were ſuch as could not poſſibly fall under the notice of any one who had not lived in the college very lately, which Mr Conant had not done for more than five years paſt. But, had he been ſtill Fellow there, and reſident, yet it is very unlikely that he ſhould join in an accuſation againſt Mr Tozer, whoſe name he would never mention without reſpect; neither can it be thought, that he would accuſe any one, tho' never ſo faulty and unſtatutable to thoſe viſitors, whoſe power he would not acknowledge, and to whom he himſelf was obnoxious, for not having taken the Covenant.’ It appears from hence with how great caution the facts advanced in that book of Mr Wood's particularly, ought to be received, and in how great need they ſtand of ſome other authority to ſupport them before they meet with allowance and credit.

[*E*] *So ſignal a proof of their affection and eſteem.*] At the time Mr Conant was admitted to the rectory of Exeter-college, the ſtate of it's revenue was very indifferent. They had contracted conſiderable debts by aſſiſting the King, while he remained at Oxford; and other misfortunes had contributed to heighten both the confuſion and diſtreſs of their affairs (9). He ſet about the removing of theſe inconveniences with equal ſagacity and diligence; he put the method of receiving the college revenues upon the beſt footing poſſible, and, having adjuſted, in an equitable manner, the order in which their incumbrances were to be paid off; the very firſt notice of his ſcheme revived the credit of the college. In point of diſcipline during the adminiſtration of Dr Holland, and Dr Prideaux, it fell ſhort of none in the univerſity; but that being afterwards broke in upon, the ſociety gradually declined, and was in a very low ſtate when he became Rector. He ſet about the correction of thoſe diſorders with the greateſt vigour and vigilance, and he perſiſted in that courſe with the utmoſt ſteadineſs and courage, did much by exhortation and encouragement, more by reproof and an unrelaxed ſtrictneſs in puniſhments, moſt of all by the brightneſs of his own example. He was conſtant in his attendance at publick prayers; he expounded the holy ſcriptures learnedly, critically, and practically; he took care that the meaneſt ſervants in the college ſhould be inſtructed, and, for that purpoſe, cathechized them often in his own apartment. He had a watchful eye over the ſcholars, more eſpecially ſuch as were intended for the Miniſtry; he enquired carefully into the progreſs of their ſtudies, and was ſtill ſtricter with regard to their morals; his way of puniſhing was by exerciſes, and not pecuniary mulcts; for he underſtood not making parents pockets pay for their childrens offences (10). He took no leſs pains with the tutors, to whom he frequently remonſtrated the great truſt that was repoſed in them, the obligations they were under to diſcharge it, and the folly of expecting any proficiency in their pupils, if they were at all wanting in their duty. But above all, he was remarkably juſt and candid in the affair of elections, where his intereſt, as Rector, could be procured no otherwiſe than by merit, and, where that appeared, his influeuce was ſure to be exerted as far as legally it might. What the effects were of this ſo painful and diligent diſcharge of his duty, may be learned from the following paragraph in his ſon's memoirs, out of which the foregoing particulars were extracted (11).

‘Exeter-college flouriſhed ſo much under the government of Mr Conant, that the ſtudents were many more than could be lodged within the walls. They crowded in here from all parts of the nation, and ſome from beyond ſea, where the fame of it's diſcipline had reached. It would be tedious to enumerate thoſe eminent perſons, both in Church and State, thoſe learned and good men who were bred up under his care. In his time it afforded a Vice-chancellor, a Proctor, a Doctor of the chair in Divinity, a Moral Philoſophy and Rhetorick Reader to the univerſity, a Preſident to St John's, a Principal to Jeſus, and a Divinity Profeſſor to Magdalen-college; not to mention ſuch as were tranſplanted thence to ſcholarſhips and fellowſhips in other colleges, many of whom were men of eminency afterwards.’

[*F*] *To procure his ſubſcription to be received upon thoſe terms.*] If, as the moſt judicious criticks agree, the capital uſe of Biography, not compoſed by barely tacking together the circumſtances of a life, ſo as to render it a mere ſkeleton of facts and dates, is to inform and inſtruct by example; then, without doubt, there is nothing ſo much worthy of obſervation, in what

(8) Life of Dr Conant, p. 12, 13.

(9) Life of Dr Conant, p. 15.

(10) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.

(11) Life of Dr Conant, p. 23.

office of Rector of Exeter-college with univerſal approbation; and though his labours therein were both conſtant and great, yet, being in virtue of that office Vicar of Kidlington, a large pariſh four miles from Oxford, he, for ſome time, officiated there in perſon, going thither on a ſaturday, and preaching twice on ſunday, and catechizing the youth, leaving the care of the pariſh, during the week, to Mr Rumbald, a very worthy and learned man (*a*), who kept a ſchool there. But finding his abſence from College detrimental to it's diſcipline, he afterwards took care to have a ſufficient Curate at his living, to whom he allowed three-fourths of it's revenue (*b*). After he was thus fixed at Oxford, he preached a voluntary lecture at Allhallow's church every friday morning at ſeven o'clock, almoſt every ſunday he preached at St Michael's, and every other ſunday during the ſummer half-year, in the afternoon, at St Mary Magdalen's, in the ſuburbs, and this not only without deſiring, but even without accepting any recompence when offered (*c*). October 28, 1652, he received Prieſt's Orders, at Saliſbury, and (*d*), May the 29th, 1654, he was admitted to the degree of Doctor in Divinity (*e*). In the month of December, the ſame year, upon the deceaſe of Dr Joſhua Hoyle, he became Divinity Profeſſor in the Univerſity of Oxford, where his lectures were received with univerſal applauſe, by a very numerous and learned audience, by whom, though often and warmly importuned, his modeſty was ſo great, that he could never be prevailed with to publiſh them (*f*). In 1657 he accepted the impropriate Rectory of Abergely, near St Aſaph, in Denbighſhire, as ſome ſatisfaction for the benefices formerly annexed to the Divinity-chair, which he never enjoyed. This acceptance of his was very beneficial to the Curate, whoſe ſalary he augmented twenty pounds a year, gave him other encouragements beſides, and contributed largely to the relief of the poor, though the whole income of the living was but one hundred and twenty pounds a year (*g*). Upon the reſtoration of Epiſcopacy, knowing that this rectory had been anciently annexed to the Biſhoprick of St Aſaph, he not only immediately quitted it to Dr Griffith, upon his coming to that See, but allowed him alſo to receive the laſt year's profits (*b*). On the 9th of October, 1657, he was admitted Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, to the great joy, and no leſs benefit, of that learned body (*i*). This high dignity he kept till the 1ſt of Auguſt, 1660, during which ſpace he corrected many abuſes, regulated the publick exerciſes in a manner highly ſerviceable to the promoting ſolid learning, was very inſtrumental in procuring Mr Selden's large and valuable collection of books for the publick library, and had a great hand in defeating a deſign, to which the Protector, Oliver, gave his conſent, for erecting a kind of univerſity at Durham (*k*). The moſt extraordinary thing of all that occurred during his adminiſtration, was preventing ſome eager perſons in the univerſity from ſacrificing their own rights and privileges, by a petition to the Protector Richard's parliament, which was the more honourable to Dr Conant, as it was his own act entirely, and as his firmneſs in the oppoſition procured it's ſucceſs, ſo far as to defeat this pernicious project, which would have been highly prejudicial to their academical immunities (*l*) [*G*]. Upon

what is preſerved to us, of the conduct of this worthy perſon, as the ſteadineſs and integrity he ſhewed in thoſe times of confuſion, when, notwithſtanding the hypocritical ſhew of religion, there was as great a defection from virtue as in any of which we have authentick records (12). His ſon gives us thoſe particulars relative to this matter, which we have inſerted in the text; but, as to the reſtrictions, with which, after delaying ſo long, he at laſt ſigned the Engagement, we owe it entirely to Mr Prince, that they have not been buried in oblivion. The terms of the Engagement were (13),

'You ſhall promiſe to be true and faithful to the
'Common-Wealth of England, as it is now eſtabliſhed,
'without King or Houſe or Lords.'

Dr Conant's declaration before the commiſſioners when he took the Engagement (14).

Being required to ſubſcribe, I humbly premiſe,

I. 'That I be not hereby underſtood to approve of 'what hath been done in order unto, or under this 'preſent government, or the government itſelf; nor 'will I be thought to condemn it: they being things 'above my reach, and I not knowing the grounds of 'the proceedings.

II. 'That I do not bind myſelf to do any thing 'contrary to the word of God.

III. 'That I do not ſo hereby bind myſelf; but, that 'if God ſhall remarkably call me to ſubmit to any 'other power, I may be at liberty to obey that call, 'notwithſtanding the preſent engagement.

IV. 'In this ſenſe, and in this ſenſe only, I do promiſe to be true and faithful to the preſent government, as it is now eſtabliſhed, without King or 'Houſe of Lords (15).

JOHN CONANT.'

[*G*] *Which would have been highly prejudicial to their academical immunities.*] The point aimed at was to obtain from the parliament, local viſitors of ſuch colleges, as, by their ſtatutes, were to be viſited by Archbiſhops and Biſhops. But Dr Conant had ſo true an idea of parliamentary viſitations, that he had not the leaſt deſire of ſeeing any more of them in his time, and therefore would not, by any means, countenance a petition for that purpoſe. He was told, that a Convocation were the proper judges of the matter: but this he denied; he ſaid that local viſitors was not the affair of the univerſity, but of particular colleges, many of which conſiſted moſtly of ſcholars and undergraduates, and conſequently had no votes in Convocations; and it would be very hard to repreſent any thing as their ſenſe of the matter, who had no opportunity of expreſſing their ſentiments upon it. It was then ſuggeſted to him, that it was a thing to which the univerſity in general inclined, and that he might make himſelf extremely popular by promoting it. His anſwer was, that he had found, by long experience, is was impoſſible to pleaſe the generality, without proſtituting a man's conſcience; that if he could ſtretch his to the meaſures of other men's judgments, he knew he ſhould not fail of the loud acclamations of the univerſity; but hoped never to purchaſe their applauſe at ſo dear a rate. It was then inſinuated, that by his ſtiffneſs he would raiſe himſelf many enemies, and that poſſibly he might bring the parliament upon his head, who would take it amiſs that he checked any thing that tended to put greater power into their hands. This induced him to ſpeak his mind more plainly. I am ſenſible, ſaid he, how ill a negative vote may be reſented at this juncture, and how much it concerns every man that loves his own quiet and ſecurity, to keep himſelf out of their hands, who can do what they pleaſe: but, ſince I have no honeſt way of preventing what is feared, I ſub-

(*a*) Life of Dr Conant. p. 16,

(*b*) Wood's Athen. Oxon, Vol. II. col. 912. Life of Dr Conant, p. 24, 25.

(*c*) Wood's Athen. Oxon, Vol. II. col. 912. Life of Dr Conant, p. 24, 25.

(*d*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. II. p. 76. Life of Dr Conant, p. 25, 26.

(*e*, Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226. Wood's Faſti Oxon, Vol. II. col. 106.

(*f*) Wood's Athen. Oxon, Vol. II. col. 912. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226. Life of Dr Conant, p. 27. Ayloffe's Ancient and Preſent State of Oxford, Vol. II. p. 308.

(*g*) Life of Dr Conant, p. 29.

(*b*) Ibid, p. 30.

(*i*) Wood's Athen. Oxon, Vol. II. col. 912. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226. Ayloffe's Ancient and Preſent State of Oxford, Vol. II. p. 287.

(*k*) Life of Dr Conant, p. 32, 33.

(*l*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226. Life of Dr Conant, p. 33, 34, 35.

(12) Life of Dr Conant, p. 17.

(13) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 225.

(14) Taken from an atteſted copy of the original, by Mr D. C.

(15) Life of Dr Conant, p. 35, 36, 37.

Upon the reſtoration of King Charles II. Dr Conant, as Vice-chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, came up to London, attended by the Proctors, and a great number of the principal members of that illuſtrious and learned body, and, June 15, 1660 (*m*), had the honour to be introduced to his Majeſty, to whom he would have made his ſpeech kneeling; but the King roſe himſelf from his ſeat and commanded him to riſe, after which he made a ſuccinct and elegant oration in Latin, which is unfortunately loſt, and preſented his Majeſty with a book of verſes, written by the members of the univerſity, and amongſt them ſome of his own, which have been deſervedly commended, as having in them a true ſpirit of poetry, a juſt ſtrain of panegyrick, and a noble concern for religion (*n*) [*H*]. On the 25th of March, 1661, the King iſſued a commiſſion for the review of the Book of Common Prayer, in which Dr Conant was one of the commiſſioners, and aſſiſted at the Savoy Conferences, which were the fruits of this commiſſion, in which he behaved with his uſual modeſty and moderation, expreſſing a deſire that ſome regard might be had to thoſe who had been otherwiſe educated, and ſuch condeſcenſion ſhewed, as might preſerve the peace of the Church (*o*). After this, upon the paſſing of the Act of Uniformity, which gave but a ſhort day for the conſideration of matters of very great importance, in the ſentiments of ſuch as were of truly tender conſciences, he did not ſee ſufficient cauſe to conform, and, as he had already given up his living in Denbeighſhire to the Biſhop of St Aſaph, loſt his Profeſſorſhip of Divinity by the return of Dr Robert Saunderſon, to whom, of right, it belonged; ſo, rather than offer any violence to his principles, he ſuffered himſelf to be deprived of the Rectory of Exeter-college, which was pronounced vacant, September 1, 1662 (*p*), and in which he was ſucceeded by Mr Joſeph Maynard. And thus, as a judicious prelate obſerves, Dr Conant was diſabled from the publick exerciſe of his miniſtry, to the great loſs of the Church of England in general, and more eſpecially of the Univerſity of Oxford, and of Exeter-college in particular (*q*). In this ſituation, however, he ſhewed that he had as great tenderneſs for the publick peace, as for the quiet of his own conſcience, and therefore he was ſo far from ſetting himſelf at the head, as he might eaſily have done of a ſeparation, that, on the contrary, he refuſed to join with, or countenance it, but went publickly to church, and behaved there with exemplary piety and devotion (*r*). An eccleſiaſtical dignity was offered him about that time, which he refuſed (*s*), becauſe he was reſolved to conſider coolly and carefully the terms preſcribed by authority, that, after weighing every thing ſeriouſly, he might, if he ſaw evidence, conform, or, if not, remain firm in his preſent conduct [*I*].

At

(*m*) Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 180.

(*n*) The Title of this book ran thus, *Britannia Rediviva, ſeu Oxonienſium carmina in reditum Caroli II. in Angliam. Oxonii*, 1660, 4*to*.

(*o*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. II. p. 76. Life of Dr Conant, p. 39.

(*p*) Wood's Athen. Oxon, vol. II. col. 912. Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. II. p. 76. Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 844. Life of Dr Conant, p. 40.

(*q*) Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 748.

(*r*) Life of Dr Conant, p. 42. Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. II. p. 76.

(*s*) Life of Dr Conant, p. 41.

I ſubmit to God's providence. As to my being worſted in this buſineſs I value it not, for I aim not at victory, but to keep my conſcience clear; and as to this, it is not in any man's power to deprive me of my end. At laſt, they propoſed, as an accommodation, that he ſhould go out of town, and ſubſtitute a Pro-Vice-chancellor, who might do what he could not prevail upon himſelf to do; but he would hear of no ſuch expedient: he ſaid, it would be a betraying of his truſt, by a weak and mean compliance in a thing which, in his own judgment, he utterly diſallowed. The iſſue of this was, that after all the ſtir made about them, theſe petitions were quaſhed, and came to nothing.

[*H*] *And a noble concern for religion.*] The reader will beſt judge of the truth of the commendations by his peruſing of the verſes, which were theſe (16).

Ad ſereniſſimum Regem.

Accipe pacato, princeps celſiſſime, vultu,
  Quæ tibi dat trimulâ muſa togata manu.
Prima offenſantis capias tentamina linguæ,
  Quæ non auſa diu, marti ſtrepente, loqui.
Jam ſolitos reſciſſe modos patiare camænas;
  Agnoſcunt artes, te redeunte, ſuas.
Quæ tua ſunt cœlum tibi reddidit; ipſe viciſſim
  Jam cœlo reddas, Carole magne, ſua:
Sceptra Deo tradas; illum regnare jubeto,
  Inclyte Rex, quo, tu ſceptra jubente, tenes.
O ter fælices, te ſic regnante Britannos!
  Chriſtus ut emineat, teque regente, regat,
Ipſa ſibi triſtes gratabitur Anglia clades,
  Penſari tanto quæ potuere bono.

In Engliſh thus.

To his SACRED MAJESTY.

Kindly accept, that tribute, beſt of Kings,
The college muſe, with trembling rev'rence brings,
The firſt eſſays of her unpractis'd ſong,
Whom war's harſh clamour doom'd to ſilence long.
But, now reviv'd, the lamps of learning burn,
And, arts returning, wait on thy return.
Heav'n has thy rights reſtor'd; do thou reſtore
The rights of heav'n! religion's ſacred power!
Return the ſceptre GOD *beſtows again,*
And CHARLES *reigning; let his Maker reign.*
Thrice happy BRITONS, *whom you thus ſhall ſway,*
And only rule that they may CHRIST *obey.*
Our ſlaughter's paſt, no longer we deplore,
Nor ills regret that ſuch a PRINCE *reſtore.*

[*I*] *Or, if not, remain firm in his preſent conduct.*] We have a very curious, as well as circumſtantial account of his behaviour upon this occaſion, and of the methods he took to reſolve his own caſe of conſcience, whether he ought to conform or not, in his ſon's memoirs (17).

'He applied himſelf very cloſely, for ſome time, 'to the ſtudy of the controverſies relating to Conformity. He had deliberately weighed and conſidered 'the whole compaſs of theſe diſputes, and made himſelf maſter of every turn in them. He had not only 'examined what had been objected to the ſeveral offices of the liturgy, it's doxologies and reſponſals, 'it's rubricks and kalendar, and thoroughly conſidered 'all the phraſes and modes of expreſſion in each ſervice, but likewiſe compared it with ancient liturgies, as well as with the holy ſcriptures, doctrines 'of the apoſtles, and later rituals and offices. This 'appears from his papers in my hands, running over 'many of the paſſages in the book of Common Prayer 'that have been objected to, and giving ſuch orthodox ſenſes of them, as he concludes were agreeable 'to the judgment of the firſt Right Reverend and pious compilers of them. And, I perſuade myſelf, 'were they perfect, they might reconcile the moſt 'ſcrupulous to join in thoſe excellent forms of prayer.' He adds afterwards, 'Dr Conant's conformity could 'not be ſurprizing to any one who conſiders, that his 'prejudices were never many, and thoſe not ſtrong or 'violent, though his determinations were ſlow and adviſed. One would rather wonder, that he did not

'conform

(16) Britannia Rediviva, p. 5.

(17) Life of Dr Conant, p. 44, 45.

At length, after eight years ſerious deliberation, his mind was ſatisfied, and he reſolved to comply in all points, and in particular with that which had probably ſtuck moſt with him, which was the being re-ordained, and accordingly was ſo, September 28, 1670 (t), by the Right Rev. Dr Reynolds, Lord Biſhop of Norwich, whoſe daughter he had married. This behaviour of his ſurprized thoſe who beſt knew him leaſt, and Dr Owen, his contemporary at Oxford, could not help ſaying, when he heard it, that he did not in the leaſt wonder at it, ſince he knew Dr Conant's ſentiments were for Epiſcopacy all along (u). He had no ſooner qualified himſelf for the acceptance of eccleſiaſtical preferments than many were offered him, and, on the 18th of December, the ſame year, he was actually elected Miniſter of the Church of St Mary, Aldermanbury, in the City of London (w); but having ſpent ſome years in the town of Northampton, where he was much beloved, and highly eſteemed, he choſe rather to accept of the invitation of his neighbours to remain amongſt them, and Dr SimonFord, who was then Miniſter of All-Saints, being elected in the room of Dr Conant, by the Veſtry of St Mary, Aldermanbury, Dec. 29, 1670 (x), he was nominated by the corporation to the Vicarage of All-Saints, and had inſtitution given him Feb. 15, 1670, which, tho' of the value only of a ſingle hundred pounds *per Annum*, he would never part with, though very conſiderable offers were made him, and in particular one by his gracious Maſter King Charles II. which was ſignified to him by a letter from the then Secretary of State (y). On the 20th of September, 1675, he had the mortification to ſee the greateſt part of his pariſh, together with his church, burnt to the ground, though providentially his own houſe eſcaped (z). His preſence was of great uſe to the town in that critical juncture, when he employed both his perſon and his purſe for the ſervice of the diſtreſſed, and would not, though new and great offers were made him, conſent to leave them under this calamity (a). So true a ſenſe had the inhabitants of Northampton of his wiſe conduct upon this occaſion, that they gave him the uſe of St Peter's Church till his own could be repaired, and the gentlemen in the neighbourhood made up his year's ſalary, which, the next year, was paid him by his generous benefactor Mr Montague, of Horton, brother to his old patroneſs the Lady Chandos (b). He diſcharged his paſtoral duty there with the ſame zeal and application which he had ſhewn in other places, and was particularly inſtrumental in bringing over Diſſenters of all denominations to the Church [K]. In the beginning of the year 1676, the Archdeaconary of Norwich becoming vacant by the death of Mr John Reynolds, his brother-in-law, the Biſhop offered him that preferment, with this ſingular compliment (c), *I do not expect thanks from you, but I will be very thankful to you if you will accept of it*; of which he deſired time to conſider, and reflecting on the miſconſtructions that might be made of his declining it, he embraced the propoſal, was inſtituted on the 7th, and inſtalled on the 8th of June following, in that Archdeaconary (d), and, ſo long as his health would permit, conſtantly diſcharged his duty by perſonal viſitations. Upon the death of Mr Tomkins, one of the Prebendaries of the Cathedral Church of Worceſter, Dr Conant's old friend and contemporary at Exeter-college, the worthy Earl of Radnor (e), aſked it for him from King Charles II. in theſe terms, *Sir, I come to beg a preferment of you for a very deſerving perſon*

(t) Wood's Athen. Oxon, vol. II. col. 912. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226. Life of Dr Conant, p. 45.

(u) Kennet's Hiſt. Regiſter, p. 748. Life of Dr Conant, p. 44.

(w) Kennet's Hiſt. Regiſter, p. 843.

(x) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226. Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 843.

(y) Life of Dr Conant, p. 47.

(z) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226.

(a) Life of Dr Conant, p. 48, 49.

(b) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226. Life of Dr Conant, p. 48, 49.

(c) Wood's Faſti. Oxon, vol. II. col. 106. Life of Dr Conant, p. 53, 54.

(d) Appendix to Sir T Brown's Poſthumous Works, p. 59.

(e) Life of Dr Conant, p. 66.

‘ conform much ſooner than he did, ſince it is certain, that his temper was never ſowred by the loſs of his college; that he had an awful regard for the commands of authority in things indifferent; that he conſtantly blamed thoſe who held their aſſemblies at hours that interfered with the publick worſhip of God, in affront to the civil ſanctions of the laws, to good order and parochial communion; that he was ſo far from being ambitious of a ſeparate congregation, or covetous of their contributions, that he had induſtriouſly kept out of the way of both.’

[K] *In bringing over Diſſenters of all denominations to the Church.*] He was not only conſtantly reſident in his pariſh, except when his other offices abſolutely required his attendance, but alſo conſtantly officiated in perſon, preaching twice every ſunday, and taking care to inculcate practical religion in the plaineſt and moſt pathetick language (18). In the evenings he catechized the children, and, amongſt them, his own were always preſent. He ſeldom, if ever, viſited his pariſhioners, more eſpecially thoſe of the better ſort, in a ceremonious way; but his clerk had ſtrict orders to inform him when any were ſick, and then, without ſtaying to be ſent for, he readily waited upon the meaneſt of his flock. He was not afraid to ſpeak freely where it was neceſſary, out of any reſpect to perſons; and, where he ſaw the appearance of diſtreſs, he relieved with a bounty ſuitable rather to his inclinations than his circumſtances. He was one of the moſt remarkable Caſuiſts in his time, and was not only reſorted to by ſome who lived at a great diſtance, but his advice was likewiſe aſked, by letters, even from foreigners. As his duties took up a great part of his time, ſo the ſhort ſpaces that he allowed to thoſe relaxations which are abſolutely neceſſary for the relief of human nature, were dedicated to things that would have hardly paſſed with many for recreation. Reading a few pages in the claſſicks, hearing ſome remarkable piece of hiſtory, and diſcourſing upon it to his children, or explaining to them ſome point in Natural Philoſophy, that they might have juſt notions of the wiſdom of Providence, and an early impreſſion of the reverence due to it's divine author were his only diverſions. Yet, with all this ſtrictneſs of manners, he had nothing either of moroſeneſs or pride, great evenneſs of temper, which never roſe higher than being chearful; and, on the other hand, was never depreſſed by temporal loſſes, or corporal pain; his humility ſo true, that it diſcovered itſelf upon all occaſions; he knew little of form and ceremonies, and, from the little he did know, deſpiſed them; yet, from the natural ſweetneſs of temper, he was obliging to all, and courteous even to the meaneſt in his pariſh. His charity, as has been before hinted, had leſs relation to his circumſtances than any other point of his conduct. At Northampton, for twenty years together, he paid for the ſchooling of poor children, never fewer than twenty-four, and ſometimes nearer forty; and theſe he placed out with ſeveral needy widows, that what he gave might contribute to their aſſiſtance. He was, upon all occaſions, ready to promote the relief ſought by ſtrangers, of which various inſtances are given in his ſon's memoirs; but we have already exceeded the uſual limits of ſuch an article, for which, the worth of it muſt be our apology, for it would be hard, as well as unjuſt, to ſay but little of ſo great and good a man (19).

(18) Calamy's life of Baxter, vol. II. p. 76.

(19) Dr Conant's Life, thro' the laſt 20 pages.

perſon, who never ſought any thing for himſelf, and, upon naming him, the King very kindly conſented; ſo that December 3, 1681, he was inſtalled (*f*). He governed himſelf ſtrictly, with reſpect to this preferment, by the local ſtatutes, as to reſidence, preaching, and other circumſtances, ſo long as he was able to travel; and when his age and infirmities intitled him, in the judgment of the Chapter, to ſtatuteable exemption, he directed a great part of the revenue of his prebend to be diſtributed among poor houſe-keepers, (*g*) and others, at Worceſter. In 1686, after his eyes had been for ſome time weak, he loſt his ſight entirely; which great misfortune, together with the common infirmities of old age, for ſharp and painful diſeaſes he had none, he bore not only with patience and reſignation, but with chearfulneſs and eaſe (*h*). As his publick courſe of life was uſeful and honourable, ſo he was alſo very happy in his family. He married, in Auguſt, 1651, Elizabeth, daughter of Dr Edward Reynolds, afterwards the right reverend and learned Biſhop of Norwich, by whom he had ſix ſons and as many daughters (*i*). In his private life there was a happy mixture of mildneſs of temper, with ſeverity of morals. He had always as great a contempt of pomp and magnificence, as he had an unfeigned affection for a private and retired life (*k*). Temperate he was to a degree of abſtemiouſneſs, frugal in his expences, and more of his time, and yet no man freer of both where charity required. So little deſirous of the wealth of this world, that, when he had nothing but his Fellowſhip to ſupport him, he generouſly made over the eſtate that deſcended to him from his father, to his younger brother, Robert, who had married young, and had many children (*l*). He was not only a man of very ſolid, but of very extenſive learning, and yet ſo very modeſt, that though he underſtood moſt of the Oriental Languages, and was particularly as well verſed in Syriac as any man of his time, yet his proficiency in theſe ſtudies was known to very few. It was with much difficulty that he was prevailed upon (for that is really the fact, though directly contrary to what ſeveral authors have aſſerted) (*m*) to ſuffer a volume of his ſermons to be publiſhed in his life-time, and, as for the reſt which eſcaped that ſevere cenſure he paſſed upon what would have been thought of the higheſt value by the reſt of the world, they were ſent abroad, by the pious care of ſeveral wiſe and worthy perſons, from a charitable deſire, that the Church might not be deprived of the labours of ſo painful and ſo practical a preacher; which writings of his have met with that reſpect and eſteem they ſo highly deſerved (*n*) [*L*]. This learned perſon, after an exemplary life, deceaſed in the eighty-ſixth year of his age, March 12, 1693, and was buried in his own pariſh-church of All-Saints, in Northampton, with a ſuitable inſcription to his memory upon a plain and decent monument, erected by his widow (*o*). His ſon, John Conant, Doctor of Laws, a man very eminent in his profeſſion, wrote his life with great care and judgment, from which many particulars have been taken, and the whole of which deſerves well to be publiſhed.

(*f*) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, vol. II. p. 680.

(*g*) Life of Dr Conant, p. 67.

(*h*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 227.

(*i*) Life of Dr Conant, p. 67.

(*k*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 227. Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. II. p. 76.

(*l*) Life of Dr Conant, p. 86.

(*m*) Wood's Athen. Oxon, vol. II. col. 912. Life of Dr Conant, p. 82, 83.

(*n*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 227.

(*o*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. II. col. 912. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 227. Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, vol. II. p. 680.

[*L*] *With that reſpect and eſteem which they ſo highly deſerved.*] In this note it is propoſed to give an account of ſuch of Dr Conant's works as have been preſerved and made publick, in order to rectify the miſtakes that have been made about them. There have been, in all, ſix volumes of his ſermons ſent abroad, at ſeveral times, by ſeveral hands.

Vol. I. Publiſhed in 1693, 8vo. by the care of Dr John Williams, miniſter of St Mildred's, in the Poultry, in the author's life-time, as appears by the preface, and Dr Conant's dedication to the inhabitants of Northampton. There are in this volume eleven ſermons.

II. Publiſhed in 1697, 8vo. by John, Biſhop of Chicheſter, with a preface before it, in which notice is taken of the former volume, publiſhed in the Doctor's life-time. This volume contains fifteen ſermons.

III. Publiſhed in 1698, 8vo. by the ſame editor, who ſays in the preface, that Dr Conant committed to the flames many learned diſcourſes, and particularly thoſe which he had preached in a Lecture in the univerſity on nice and difficult ſubjects, preſerving ſuch only as related to practice. He likewiſe mentions a life of the author, which was expected, but not come to hand. This volume contains fourteen ſermons.

IV. Publiſhed in 1703, 8vo. by the ſame editor. In the preface his Lordſhip takes notice, that there had been an intention of writing the author's life, as a thing that could not fail of being acceptable to thoſe who knew him, and very uſeful to thoſe who did not; but, for the preſent, this deſign being laid aſide, it was hoped the loſs of it would be compenſated by the publication of this fourth volume of ſermons from his own manuſcripts. This volume contains thirteen ſermons.

V. Publiſhed in 1708, 8vo. by the ſame editor, who, in his preface, ſays very confidently, that, with the next volume, an account of the author's life would appear, written by an able hand. This volume contains fourteen ſermons.

VI. Publiſhed in 1722, 8vo. by Digby Coates, M. A. Principal of Magdalen-hall, in Oxford, at the requeſt of the author's ſon, John Conant, LL.D. but without any life or preface before it. There are in this volume thirteen ſermons, making up the whole number four-ſcore. E

CONGREVE (WILLIAM) a celebrated Engliſh Poet in the laſt and preſent century. There is no ſort of queſtion about the deſcent of this gentleman, which was from the antient houſe of Congreve in Staffordſhire, flouriſhing there with honour and reputation (*a*); neither is there any doubt as to his immediate family, for he was the only ſurviving ſon of William Congreve, Eſq; who was the ſecond ſon of Richard Congreve, Eſq; of Congreve and Stratton in the county of Stafford (*b*). As to the place, and indeed as to the kingdom, in which he was born, authors differ, and not only ſo, but are poſitive on both ſides; ſome are clear that he was a native of Ireland (*c*), but it ſeems more probable, or, to ſpeak more plainly, it is morally certain, that he was a native of England, and drew his firſt breath at the village of Bardſa, near Leeds in Yorkſhire (*d*), which was the eſtate of a near relation of his by the mother's ſide. The reaſon of our giving the preference to this ſentiment, rather than that which entitles another iſland to the honour of his

(*a*) See the Arms of the ancient families in Staffordſhire, in the margin of Dr Plot's map prefixed to his Natural Hiſtory of that county.

(*b*) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, vol. I. p. 41.

(*c*) See the article of Congreve (W.) in the General Dictionary.

(*d*) See the funeral inſcription on his monument, in note [*P*].

his birth, will be found at the bottom of the page [*A*]. The time when it happened can only be collected by circumſtances, which place it in 1671 or 1672 (*e*). His father carried him, when a very child, into Ireland, where at that time he had a command in the army, but afterwards was entruſted with the management of a conſiderable part of the large eſtate of the noble family of Burlington, which fixed the reſidence of himſelf and family in that kingdom (*f*). Our author received the firſt tincture of letters in the great ſchool of Kilkenny, and gave very early proofs of his pregnant genius; and it is ſaid, that one of the firſt eſſays of his poetical talent was a copy of verſes upon the death of his maſter's magpye (*g*) He went from the ſchool of Kilkenny to the univerſity of Dublin, then flouriſhing under the direction of Dr St George Aſh, where, in a very ſhort time, Mr Congreve became perfectly acquainted with all the branches of polite literature, and acquired not only a general acquaintance with, but a correct and critical taſte in, the Claſſicks (*h*). His father, however, was deſirous that his parts ſhould be applied to more profitable ſtudies, and therefore ſent him over to England a little after the Revolution, and placed him as a ſtudent in the Middle-Temple (*i*). But the ſevere ſtudy of the Law had ſo little relation to the active diſpoſition and ſprightly humour of the young Gentleman, that though he continued for three or four years to live in chambers, and paſs for a Templar, yet it does not appear that he ever applied himſelf with diligence to conquer his diſlike to a courſe of life which had been choſen for him, with ſo little reſpect either to the turn of his natural parts, or the preceding courſe of his education (*k*). But how little ſoever he anſwered the expectation of his friends, in the proſecution of that profeſſion to which they had deſtin'd him, certain it is, that he was not either indolent or inactive in the cultivation of thoſe ſtudies, that were both his early and his lateſt care. His firſt performance, when almoſt a boy, was extraordinary in it's kind, and though no more than a novel, which, under the aſſumed name of *CLEOPHIL*, he dedicated to Mrs Catherine Leveſon, yet it was a proof, not only of the vivacity of his wit, and the fluency of his ſtile, but alſo of the ſtrength of his judgment [*B*]. As he did not then think proper to own

(*e*) See the Funeral inſcription on his monument, in note [*P*].

(*f*) Memoirs of William Congreve, Eſq; by Charles Wilſon, p. 1. From the relation of Captain Southerne.

(*g*) Memoirs of Mr Congreve, p. 1.

(*h*) From Captain Southerne's relation.

(*i*) Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 41.

(*k*) From the accounts given by ſeveral of his friends and acquaintance.

(*l*) See his Dedication of his *Incognita*: or, Love and Duty reconciled.

[*A*] *Will be found at the bottom of the page.*] In the new Engliſh tranſlation, with great additions, of the learned Antiquary of Ireland's works, we find Mr Congreve's life inſerted, as a native of that country; but it is not ſaid when or where he was born (1). In a very large collection of the ſame kind with this, we find the ſame fact aſſerted, from the information of the late ingenious Thomas Southerne, Eſq; who was Mr Congreve's intimate friend, and out-lived him many years (2). He was himſelf of that country, and might very probably be firmly perſuaded, from his knowing him a youth there, that he was his countryman. The author, upon whoſe credit we rely, in giving a different account of this matter, is the late Mr Giles Jacob; and (3) though at firſt ſight it muſt appear very ſingular, to prefer the authority of Mr Jacob to that of Mr Southerne; yet there is a reaſon for it, ſo ſtrong, that when it is once mentioned, it may perhaps clear this diſpute, in the reader's opinion as well as mine. In the preface Mr Jacob, ſpeaking of the communications which he had received from living authors, has this paſſge, 'I am in particular obliged to Mr Congreve for his free and early communication of what relates to himſelf, as well as his kind directions for the compoſing of this work.' This correſpondence was in the year 1719, though the book was not publiſhed till three years afterwards: but, however, as it was both written and publiſhed in Mr Congreve's life-time, we muſt conclude from thence, that we have his own authority for the matter of fact, which is ſuperior even to the recollection of his old friend and acquaintance Mr Southerne, who, as a man might miſtake, though he was certainly a man of too much honour, willingly, to miſinform any body.

(1) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 294.

(2) General Dictionary, Vol. IV. p. 427.

(3) Lives of the Engliſh Poets, Vol. I. p. 41.

[*B*] *But alſo of the ſtrength of his judgment.*] The title of this firſt work of our ingenious author's was, INCOGNITA: or, *Love and Duty reconciled.* It has been always conſidered as a piece very well written, more eſpecially as it was the firſt production of a youth of ſeventeen. It has been alſo aſſerted, that at the bottom it is a true hiſtory, and though the ſcene is by Mr Congreve laid in Italy, yet the adventures happened here in England. It is not our buſineſs to enter into the ſecret hiſtory of this entertaining piece, or to attempt giving the reader a key to what the writer took ſo much pains to conceal; but what we intend in this note, is to juſtify the obſervation in the text, and to prove, that though this was the firſt eſſay, and the firſt eſſay of a very young man, yet there is in it ſomething very extraordinary, more eſpecially when we add to what has been ſaid before, that it was a very haſty eſſay likewiſe. There is nothing more common, and indeed there is nothing more natural, than for young men to pique themſelves upon the brightneſs of their parts, the quickneſs of their wit, and, in pieces of this nature, on the elegancy and flowerineſs of their language. But this was not Mr Congreve's point; he aimed at perfection from the very beginning, and his deſign in writing this novel, was to ſhew how novels ought to be written. Let us hear what he ſays himſelf, and from thence we ſhall entertain a higher opinion of his abilities, than could poſſibly be raiſed by the warmeſt commendations. After obſerving, very judiciouſly, that there is the ſame relation between Romances and Novels, as between Tragedy and Comedy, he proceeds thus. 'Since all traditions muſt indiſputably give place to the Drama; and ſince there is no poſſibility of giving that life to the writing or repetition of a ſtory, which it has in the action, I reſolved in another beauty to imitate dramatick writing, namely, in the deſign, contexture, and reſult of the plot. I have not obſerved it before in a novel. Some I have ſeen begin with an unexpected accident, which has been the only ſupriſing part of the ſtory, cauſe enough to make the ſequel look flat, tedious, and inſipid; for 'tis but reaſonable the reader ſhould expect, if not to riſe, at leaſt to keep upon a level in the entertainment, for ſo he may be kept on in hopes, that, at ſome time or other, it may mend; but the other is ſuch a balk to a man, 'tis carrying him up ſtairs to ſhew him the dining-room, and after forcing him to make a meal in the kitchen. This I have not only endeavoured to avoid, but alſo have uſed a method for the contrary purpoſe. The deſign of this novel is obvious, after the firſt meeting of Aurelian and Hippolito with Incognita and Leonora; the difficulty is in bringing it to paſs, maugre all apparent obſtacles, within the compaſs of two days. How many probable caſualties intervene in oppoſition to the main deſign, viz. of marrying two couple ſo oddly engaged in an intricate amour, I leave the reader at his leiſure to conſider: as alſo, whether every obſtacle does not, in the progreſs of the ſtory, act as ſubſervient to that purpoſe, which, at firſt, it ſeems to oppoſe. In a comedy this would be called the unity of action, here it may pretend to no more than an unity of contrivance. The ſcene is continued in Florence from the commencement of the amour, and the time, from firſt to laſt, is but three days. If there be any thing more in particular reſembling the copy, which I imitate, as the curious reader will ſoon perceive, I leave it to ſhew itſelf, being very well ſatisfied how much more proper it had been for him to have found out this himſelf, than for me to prepoſſeſs him with an opinion of ſomething extraordinary in an eſſay, begun

‘ and

own this piece to the world, ſo the reputation reſulting from it was confined within the narrow compaſs of his acquaintance; but, as true genius cannot remain long hid, and as untoward accidents rather provoke than tame high ſpirits; ſo, upon a fit of ſickneſs (m) which ſeized him about three years after his return to England, he amuſed himſelf, during a ſlow recovery, in writing a comedy which he very ſoon finiſhed, and though he was very modeſt and diffident of his own abilities, yet he ſuffered himſelf to be overcome by the perſuaſion of his relations and friends, and conſented to bring it upon the ſtage. In order to this he was recommended to Capt. Southerne, who, in conjunction with the great Mr Dryden, and that excellent Critick Arthur Manwairing, Eſq; reviſed the *Old Batchelor*, of which Mr Dryden ſaid, He never ſaw ſuch a firſt play in his life (n), and that the author not being acquainted with the ſtage or the town, it would be pity to have it miſcarry for want of a little aſſiſtance. The ſtuff was rich indeed, only the faſhionable cut was wanting, which was ſoon given it. Mr Thomas Davenant, who had then the direction of the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane, was ſo much ſtruck with the merit of the piece, and the author's converſation, that he granted him what is called the privilege of the houſe, half a year before his play came upon the Stage, which, according to the maxims of Theatrical Government, was not barely an unuſual, but an unprecedented favour (o). In 1693, *The Old Batchelor* was acted before a numerous and noble audience. The prologue, intended to be ſpoken, was written by Lord Falkland; the play was admirably performed, and received with ſuch general applauſe, that Mr Congreve was thenceforward conſidered as the prop of the declining Stage, and as the riſing genius in Dramatick Poeſy (p) [C]. It was this play, and the very ſingular ſucceſs that attended it upon the Stage, and after it came from the preſs, that brought our author to the notice of that great patron of the Engliſh Muſes, Charles Mountague, Lord Halifax, who being deſirous to place ſo eminent a Wit in a ſtate of eaſe and tranquillity, made him immediately one of the Commiſſioners for licenſing Hackney-coaches; beſtowed upon him ſoon after a place in the Pipe Office; and gave him likewiſe a poſt in the Cuſtom-Houſe of the value of ſix hundred pounds a year (q). As theſe were favours of a very extraordinary nature, ſo they raiſed in the breaſt of Mr Congreve a noble ſpirit of gratitude and affection, which ſhewed itſelf in an unalterable attachment to that Nobleman during his life, and the moſt profound reverence for his memory after his deceaſe. We need not be ſurprized, that after ſuch encouragement as the town, and even the Criticks, had given him, our author quickly made his appearance again upon the Stage, as he did the year following, when he brought on the *Double Dealer* (r). This play was honoured with the preſence of Queen Mary, and though it was not ſo univerſally applauded as his former performance, yet it had the honour to be very highly commended, as well as generally approved, by the beſt judges (s). We need not at all wonder

(m) Amendments of Mr Collier's Faults and imperfect Citations, p. 40.

(n) From the relation of Capt. Southerne.

(o) From the ſame authority.

(p) Memoirs of Mr Congreve, p. 3.

(q) General Dict. Vol. IV. p. 428.

(r) Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 43.

(s) Memoirs of William Congreve, Eſq; p. 4.

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and finiſhed in the idler hours of a fortnight's time; for I can only eſteem that a laborious idleneſs, which is parent to ſo inconſiderable a birth.'

[C] *And as the riſing genius in Dramatick Poeſy.*] This play is dedicated to the Lord *Clifford*, of *Laneſborough*, the eldeſt ſon and heir apparent of the Earl of Burlington; but himſelf a Peer alſo, being, as we have told the reader elſewere, called up to the Houſe of Lords, in the life-time of his father, by writ. In the text we have joined the two accounts of Mr Congreve's father going over to Ireland and remaining there, becauſe, as it appears from what Mr Congreve himſelf communicated to Mr Jacob (4), that he went thither originally in a military capacity; ſo from this dedication we may be convinced of the truth of the other circumſtance, as to his being intruſted with the concerns of the Burlington family.' Mr Congreve begins his dedication thus (5). 'My Lord, it is with a great deal of pleaſure that I lay hold on this firſt occaſion, which the accidents of my life have given me, of writing to your Lordſhip: for ſince, at the ſame time I write to all the world, it will be a means of publiſhing what I would have every body know, the reſpect and duty which I owe and pay to you. I have ſo much inclination to be your's, that I need no other engagement; but the particular ties by which I am bound to your Lordſhip and family, have put it out of my power to make you any compliment, ſince all offers of myſelf will amount to no more than an honeſt acknowledgment, and only ſhew a willingneſs in me to be grateful. I am very near wiſhing, that it were not ſo much my intereſt to be your Lordſhip's ſervant, that it might be more my merit, not that I would avoid being obliged to you, but I would have my own choice to run me into the debt, that I might have it to boaſt, I had diſtinguiſhed one to whom I would be glad to be obliged, even without the hopes of having it in my power ever to make him a return.' There ſtand before this comedy three copies of verſes, by Mr Southerne, Mr Marſh, and Mr Higgins, in which it is very highly commended; but that we may be convinced this did not at all proceed either from the excuſable fondneſs of friendſhip, or that more excuſable tenderneſs for a riſing genius which glows in the boſom of every true judge of writing, let us look a little into the merits of the cauſe, as they are ſtated by an excellent and impartial judge. The author of the Tatler ſays (6), 'In the character which gives name to the play, there is excellently repreſented the reluctance of a battered debauchee, to come into the trammels of order and decency: he neither languiſhes nor burns, but frets for love. The gentlemen of more regular behaviour are drawn with ſo much ſpirit and wit, and the drama introduced by the dialogue of the firſt ſcene, with uncommon, yet natural converſation. The part of Fondlewiſe is a lively image of the unſeaſonable fondneſs of age and impotence.' We are told in another paper, by the ſame agreeable writer (7), That 'in this comedy there is a neceſſary circumſtance obſerved by the author, which moſt other poets either over-look, or do not underſtand, that is to ſay, the diſtinction of characters. It is very ordinary with writers to indulge a certain modeſty of believing all men as witty as themſelves, and making all the perſons of the play ſpeak the ſentiments of the author, without any manner of reſpect to the age, fortune, or quality of him that is on the ſtage. Ladies talk like rakes, and footmen make ſimilies; but this writer knows men, which makes his plays reaſonable entertainments, while the ſcenes of moſt others are like the tunes between the acts; they are perhaps agreeable ſounds, but they have no ideas affixed to them.' But, notwithſtanding this, the remarks of Mr Collier (8), upon ſome paſſages in this comedy, are not altogether wide of truth, or of ſound criticiſm, but they regard not the ſtructure of the play, and only cenſure a few libertiniſms, into which the author had fallen a little unwarily.

(4) General Dict. Vol. IV. p. 427. Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 41.

(5) See his Dedication prefixed to *The Old Batchelor*, in the firſt Vol. of Mr Congreve's Works.

(6) No. 9.

(7) No. 15.

(8) Short View of the Immorality and Prophaneneſs of the Engliſh Stage.

der at the fate of this fine performance, for regular Comedy was at that time a new thing. Our author was the very firſt who attempted it; I will not ſay he was the laſt who ſucceeded in it; but I may ſafely aſſert, that he carried it to the higheſt degree of perfection, and that if we were to wiſh any of our Comedies tranſlated into French, for the honour of our nation, it ſhould be his, and amongſt them there is none that does him greater credit than the *Double Dealer*, notwithſtanding ſome objections that have been made to it (t) [*D*]. It was towards the cloſe of that year Queen Mary died, which melancholy accident, as it afforded a pregnant ſubject to Orators and Poets, ſo, amongſt all that attempted it, none ſucceeded better than Mr Congreve, in the Paſtoral which he wrote upon that occaſion, and which, in point of ſimplicity, elegance, and correctneſs, is at leaſt equal to any thing of the kind that has appeared in our language (u). We have taken notice in another place, of the great Revolution that happened in the theatrical world in the ſucceeding year, and of the juſtice and generoſity with which Mr Congreve eſpouſed the cauſe of our Engliſh Roſcius (w), when he opened his new Theatre in Portugal-Row, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, by giving him his excellent Comedy of *Love for Love*, ſo judiciouſly contrived, and ſo happily executed, as to unite at once the approbation of the few, and the tumultuous applauſe of the many, in it's favour (x). [*E*]. The ſame year he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a new kind

[*D*] *Notwithſtanding ſome objections that have been made to it.*] This play is dedicated to the Right Hon. Charles Montague, one of the Lords of the Treaſury: and though we are apt to over-look dedications, as ſeldom containing any thing except acknowledgments and praiſes, yet there are in this ſome paſſages of ſuch true and ſolid criticiſm, and which give ſo clear and ſo good an account of the play itſelf, that they very well deſerve the reader's notice (9). ‘I have, ſince the acting of this play, hearkened after the objections which have been made to it, for I was conſcious where a true critick might have put me upon my defence. I was prepared for the attack, and am pretty confident, I could have vindicated ſome parts, and excuſed others, and, where there were many plain miſcarriages, I would moſt ingenuouſly have confeſſed them. But I have not heard any thing ſaid ſufficient to provoke an anſwer. That which looks moſt like an objection, does not relate in particular to this play, but to all, or moſt, that ever have been written, and that is ſoliloquy: therefore I will anſwer it, not only for my own ſake, but to ſave others the trouble to whom it may be hereafter objected. I grant, that for a man to talk to himſelf appears abſurd and unnatural, and indeed it is ſo in moſt caſes, but the circumſtances which may attend the occaſion, make great alteration. It oftentimes happens to a man to have deſigns, which require him to himſelf, and, in their nature, cannot admit of a confident. Such, for certain, is all villainy, and other leſs miſchievous intentions may be very improper to be communicated to a ſecond perſon. In ſuch a caſe therefore, the audience muſt obſerve, whether the perſon upon the ſtage takes any notice of them at all or no: for if he ſuppoſes any one to be by when he talks to himſelf, it is monſtrous and ridiculous to the laſt degree; nay, not only in this caſe, but in any part of a play, if there is expreſſed any knowlege of an audience, it is inſufferable. But otherwiſe, when a man in ſoliloquy reaſons with himſelf, and *pro's* and *con's*, and weighs all his deſigns, we ought not to imagine that this man either talks to us, or to himſelf; he is only thinking, and thinking ſuch matter as were inexcuſable folly in him to ſpeak. But, becauſe we are concealed ſpectators of the plot in agitation, and the poet finds it neceſſary to let us know the whole myſtery of his contrivance, he is willing to inform us of this perſon's thoughts, and to that end is forced to make uſe of the expedient of ſpeech, no other or better way being yet invented for the communication of thought. Another very wrong objection has been made by ſome who have not taken leiſure to diſtinguiſh the characters. The hero of the play, as they are pleaſed to call him, (meaning Mellefont) is a gull, and made a fool, and cheated. Is every man a gull and a fool that is deceived? at that rate I'm afraid the two claſſes of men will be reduced to one, and the knaves themſelves be at a loſs to juſtify their title; but if an open-hearted, honeſt man, who has an entire confidence in one whom he takes to be his friend, and whom he has obliged to be ſo, and who, to confirm him in his opinion, in all appearance, and upon ſeveral tryals has been ſo: if this man be deceived by the treachery of the other, muſt he of neceſſity commence fool immediately, only becauſe the other has proved a villain? ay, but there was caution given to Mellefont, in the firſt act, by his friend Careleſs. Of what nature was that caution? only to give the audience ſome light into the character of Maſkwell, before his appearance, and not to convince Mellefont of his treachery, for that was more than Careleſs was then able to do: he never knew Maſkwell guilty of any villainy; he was only a ſort of man which he did not like. As for his ſuſpecting his familiarity with my Lady Touchwood, let them examine the anſwer that Mellefont makes him, and compare it with the conduct of Maſkwell's character through the play. I would beg them again to look into the character of Maſkwell before they accuſe Mellefont of weakneſs, for being deceived by him; for, upon ſumming up the inquiry into this objection, it may be found, they have miſtaken cunning in one character, for folly in another.’ To this play there is now prefixed a copy of verſes, by Mr Dryden, that were addreſſed to the author upon it's firſt appearing. They contain the higheſt compliments to him, and the ſtrongeſt commendations of the play poſſible, but are too well known to the world, and too commonly met with, to be inſerted here, and the force and meaning of them would be very much weakened and broken by citing parts of them. Mr Charles Hopkins alſo wrote a copy of verſes upon the ſame occaſion, and the beſt judges in general have admitted, not only that the foregoing defence of Mr Congreve was very well founded, but that he has fairly unravelled the true ſource of falſe criticiſm, and ſhewn himſelf thereby a deep enquirer, as well as an excellent judge of human nature, which, as we ſhall have frequent occaſions to ſhew hereafter, appears to have been the conſtant ſtudy of his life, as well as the chief fund from whence he drew the many fine and beautiful ſtrokes that diſtinguiſh all, but more eſpecially his comic writings.

[*E*] *In it's favour.*] There is prefixed to this play a ſhort dedication to the then Lord Chamberlain, Charles, Earl of Dorſet and Middleſex, written, as all his dedications are, with great decency and good ſenſe, and without any of that fulſome flattery, which reflects at once on the patron and the writer, and is, at the ſame time, ſuch a plague and puniſhment to a reader, as he has ſeldom the patience to go through. Some faults have been found with ſeveral characters in this play; but if the reflections, proceeding from the ſevere morals of Mr Collier, can be averted by any tolerable excuſes, drawn from the very nature of comedy, which requires the repreſenting the manners of the age as they really are, nothing elſe can affect it. The ſenſe of ſucceeding times has fully juſtified the judgment of thoſe in which it was firſt acted, and *Love for Love* continues, and is like to continue, an admired comedy, as long as true taſte for theatrical entertainments ſhall prevail.

[*F*] *They*

(t) See this point fully cleared in note [*D*].

(u) The title of this piece is *The Mourning Muſe of Alexis*.

(w) See the article of BETTERTON (THOMAS).

(x) Lives of the Engliſh Poets, Vol. I. p. 43.

(9) See the Dedication to this Play in the firſt Volume of Mr Congreve's Works.

kind of Poetry, by addreſſing to King William an irregular Ode on the taking of Namur, in which the ſublimity of the ſentiments, the harmony of the numbers, the happy imitation of the Antients, the graceful turn of his panegyrick, are truly admirable; but perhaps there is nothing in it that deſerves higher commendation than the delicate compliment with which it ends, and where, in a ſingle line, he ſays the fineſt things poſſible of his two great patrons Halifax and Dorſet *(y)*. As he had now attained the higheſt reputation as a Comick Poet, he was inclined to ſhew that a regular and finiſhed tragedy might ſucceed upon the Engliſh theatre. It was an adventurous taſk that he ſet himſelf, and a very high ſtake he made, when he hazarded all the reputation he had already acquired upon this new performance, which, though written according to the rules, was altogether deſtitute of thoſe artificial and irregular helps, frequently relied on by former writers. It ſeems to have coſt him more pains than any of his former pieces, for it was not till 1697 that the *Mourning Bride* (z) was acted at the new Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. Very few Plays ever excited ſo great expectations as this did, and fewer ſtill have met, after ſuch expectation raiſed, with ſo univerſal an approbation. In ſhort, it was the beſt received of all his pieces, and, without doubt, whatever credit he drew from this exquiſite tragedy, was in ſome meaſure ſhared by the audience, who fairly entitled themſelves to the character of equal and able judges, by the applauſe they beſtowed upon that excellent performance [*F*]. He was called off from his attention to the theatre to another kind of writing, that to him, of all men living, was the moſt tedious and tireſome, and that was controverſy. His four Plays were attacked with equal fury and celerity by the famous Mr Jeremy Collier, who, without the leaſt pity to his fine parts, or the ſlighteſt tenderneſs for a reputation raiſed with ſo much pains, fell upon him, not as a dull or taſteleſs, but as a dangerous and deſtructive, writer (*a*). An anſwer was neceſſary, and therefore an anſwer was given, under a very plain title *(b)*, and written with much modeſty as well as wit. There are abundance of judicious things in this defence, which was drawn up in the form of letters to that candid Critick, and the author's conſtant friend, Walter Moyle, Eſq; which, though the ſubject ſeems to render them now out of date, will make them always well worth a judicious reader's peruſal [*G*]. In all probability, this quarrel created in our author

(y) The title of this piece is, *To the King upon the Taking of Namur.*

(z) Memoirs of William Congreve, Eſq; p. 9.

(*a*) View of the Immorality and Prophaneneſs of the Engliſh Stage.

(*b*) Amendments of Mr Collier's falſe and imperfect Citations, &c. Lond. 1698, 8*vo*.

[*F*] *They beſtowed upon that excellent performance.*] This play was dedicated to Queen Anne, then princeſs, and it is not eaſy to imagine any thing, either more great or graceful, than the manner in which the author ſhews the conſiſtency of his addreſs, and as there is ſomething in this very peculiar, the following paragraphs will be peruſed with pleaſure (10). 'It is from the example of Princes that virtue becomes a faſhion in the people, for even they who are averſe to inſtruction, will yet be fond of imitation. But there are multitudes who never can have means nor opportunities of ſo near an acceſs, as to partake of the benefit of ſuch examples: and to theſe Tragedy, which diſtinguiſhes itſelf from the vulgar poetry, by the dignity of it's characters, may be of uſe and information; for they who are at that diſtance from original greatneſs, as to be deprived of the happineſs of contemplating the perfections and real excellencies of your Royal Highneſs's perſon, in your Court, may yet behold ſome ſmall ſketches and images of the virtues of your mind, abſtracted and repreſented on the theatre. Thus poets are inſtructed and inſtruct, not alone by precepts, which perſuade, but alſo by examples, which illuſtrate. Thus is delight interwoven with inſtruction: when not only virtue is preſcribed, but alſo repreſented. But, if we are delighted with the livelineſs of a feigned repreſentation of great and good perſons, and their actions, how muſt we be charmed with beholding the perſons themſelves? If one or two excelling qualities, barely touched in the ſingle action and ſmall compaſs of a play, can warm an audience with a concern and regard, even for the ſeeming ſucceſs and proſperity of the actor; with what zeal muſt the hearts of all be filled, for the continued and increaſing happineſs of thoſe who are the true and living inſtances of elevated and perſiſting virtue? Even the vicious themſelves muſt have a ſecret veneration for thoſe peculiar graces and endowments which are daily ſo eminently conſpicuous in your Royal Highneſs, and, though repining, feel a pleaſure, which, in ſpite of envy, they *per* force approve.' This Tragedy has been highly commended by Sir Richard Blackmore (11), and he has ſhewn himſelf a very judicious critick in all that he ſays about it; nor is there any reaſon to diſpute the character which he has given it, of being the moſt perfect tragedy written in that age.

(10) See the Dedication prefixed to this Play, in the ſecond Vol. of Mr Congreve's Works.

(11) See his Preface to Prince Arthur, Lond. 1697, fol.

[*G*] *Will make them always well worth a judicious reader's peruſal.*] The title which our author gave this work was, *Amendments of Mr Collier's falſe and imperfect Citations, &c. from the* Old Batchelor, Double Dealer, Love for Love, Mourning Bride. *By the author of thoſe plays* (12). In this apology for his own conduct, he lays down many things which are extreamly well worth the knowing, and without knowing which, it is impoſſible to form a right notion of the innocence, excellency, or uſe of plays. He obſerves, that Ariſtotle defines comedy to be an imitation of the worſe ſort of people. He does not mean the worſe ſort of people in reſpect to their quality, but in reſpect to their manners. This is plain from his telling you immediately after, that he does not mean relating to all kinds of vice, there are crimes too daring and too horrid for comedy. But the vices moſt frequent, and which are the common practice of the looſer ſort of livers, are the ſubject matter of comedy. He tells us farther, that they muſt be expoſed after a ridiculous manner: For men are to be laugh'd out of their vices in comedy; the buſineſs of comedy is to delight, as well as to inſtruct: And as vicious people are made aſham'd of their follies or faults, by ſeeing them expoſed in a ridiculous manner, ſo are good people at once both warn'd and diverted at their expence. Our author next obſerves, that ſince comic poets are obliged by the laws of comedy, and to the intent that it may anſwer the end and purpoſe abovementioned, to repreſent vicious and fooliſh characters; it ought not therefore to be imputed to the perſwaſion or private ſentiments of the author, if at any time one of theſe vicious characters ſhall behave himſelf fooliſhly or immorally, in word or deed. This, ſays he, would be as hard and as unreaſonable, as to believe that a Painter ſhould reſemble all the ugly faces that he draws. He next remarks that Mr Collier's method of citing detached ſentences is unfair, becauſe when thus cited, they may, and indeed muſt, carry quite another ſenſe, than they do in the author's own work, ſo that a man becomes criminal by repreſentation only. 'I cannot think it reaſonable, ſays he, becauſe Mr Collier is pleas'd to write one chapter of immodeſty, and another of profaneneſs, that therefore every expreſſion traduced by him under thoſe heads, ſhall be condemned as obſcene and profane immediately, and without any further enquiry. Perhaps Mr Collier is acquainted with the *deceptio viſus*, and preſents objects to the view thro' a ſtained glaſs; things may appear ſeemingly profane, when in reality they are only ſeen through a profane

(12) Lond. 1698, 8*vo*.

author ſome diſtaſte to the Stage; however, he afterwards brought on another Comedy, the laſt, not the leaſt valuable, of his performances. It was intituled *The Way of the World* (c), of which it was ſo juſt a picture, that the world could not bear it, which compleated the diſguſt of our author to the theatre, upon which Mr Dennis (though not very famous for either) ſaid a very fine, and a very kind thing, *That Mr Congreve quitted the Stage early, and that Comedy left it with him (d).* He ſeems to have foreſeen the fate of his play, which is well revenged in his Epilogue, as it is juſtly expoſed in the Dedication prefixed to it when it was publiſhed, wherein our author ſhewed, that he knew how to reſent the injuries done him by little Criticks,but it would have been better if he had ſtopped there, and not puniſhed the reſt of the world for their ſakes, by dropping his pen in the prime of life, and when he was moſt capable of doing honour to himſelf and to his country. This play has long ago triumphed over it's feeble adverſaries, and is now juſtly eſteemed as much as it deſerves [*H*]. He amuſed himſelf, however, after this, and obliged the world by a great variety of original poems and tranſlations (*e*). He had a fine taſte for Muſick as well as Poetry, which ſufficiently appears in his Hymn to Harmony in honour of St Cecilia's day 1701, ſet by Mr John Eccles, his great friend, and one of the moſt elegant Compoſers our nation has produced. To him alſo our author was obliged, for ſetting ſeveral of his ſongs, which are very beautiful in their kind, and have all that vivacity of wit which can give life and luſtre to ſuch performances. His early acquaintance with the Great, had promiſed him not an eaſy only, but a happy ſtation in life, to which it is very rare that either true genius, or any kind of literary merit, recommends any man. This freed him from all obligations of courting any longer publick favour, though it ſtill left him under the tie of gratitude to his illuſtrious friends (*f*). He acted in a manner ſuitable to his ſituation, he very ſeldom riſked the character he had obtained for the ſake of exalting it: but he never miſſed any opportunity of paying his complements to his high patrons

(c) Lives of the Engliſh Poets, Vol. I. p. 45. Memoirs of William Congreve, Eſq; p. 13.

(d) Lives of the Engliſh Poets, Vol. I. p. 46.

(e) Collected in a Volume, and publiſhed by himſelf in 1710.

(f) Memoirs of William Congreve, Eſq; p. 17.

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fane medium, and the true colour is diſſembled by the help of a ſophiſtical varniſh: Therefore I demand the privilege of the Habeas Corpus Act, that the priſoners may have liberty to remove, and to appear before a juſt judge in an open and uncounterfeit light': To theſe he adds another remark. 'Becauſe, ſays he, Mr Collier, in his chapter of the profaneneſs of the ſtage, has founded great part of his accuſation upon the liberty which poets take of uſing ſome words in their plays, which have been ſometimes employed by the tranſlators of the holy ſcriptures: I deſire that the following diſtinction may be admitted, viz. That when words are applyed to ſacred things, and with a purpoſe to treat of ſacred things, they ought to be underſtood accordingly: But when they are otherwiſe applied, the diverſity of the ſubject gives a diverſity of ſignification. And in truth, he might as well except againſt the common uſe of the alphabet in poetry, becauſe the ſame letters are neceſſary to the ſpelling of words which are mentioned in ſacred Writ.' He adds farther, 'It may not be impertinent to take notice of a very common expedient, which is made uſe of to recommend the inſtruction of our plays, which is this: after the action of the play is over, and the delight of the repreſentation at an end, there is generally care taken that the moral of the whole ſhall be ſummed up and delivered to the audience, in the very laſt and concluding lines of the poem. The intention of this is, that the delight of the repreſentation may not ſo ſtrongly poſſeſs the minds of the audience, as to make them forget, or over-ſee the inſtruction: it is the laſt thing ſaid, that it may make the laſt impreſſion, and it is always comprehended in a few lines, and put into rhyme, that it may be eaſy and engaging to the memory.' Upon theſe foundations, he builds the juſtification of the greateſt part of the paſſages objected, to ſome others he excuſes, and very frankly gives up ſome, with a promiſe of correction. As we have already treated of this matter elſewhere, we will not inſiſt any longer on it here, but content ourſelves with obſerving, that this diſpute had a very good effect upon the ſtage, and that of all the authors criticized by Mr Collier, Mr Congreve was thought to eſcape the beſt, and to have defended himſelf with the greateſt appearance of learning, juſtice, and candour.

[*H*] *And is now juſtly eſteemed, as much as it deſerves.*] The reaſons are mentioned in the text, why this comedy did not meet with ſo univerſal an approbation as his former pieces. It is very certain, the fault was not in the play but in the audience, who were not as yet arrived at that correct taſte, which requires that all kind of follies, how general or faſhionable ſoever, ſhould be ſubmitted to the chaſtiſement of the ſtage. In his dedication to Ralph Earl of Mountague, a nobleman juſtly celebrated both as a competent and candid judge, the author treats this matter with great penetration and perſpicuity (13). 'But little of it, ſays he, was prepared for that general taſte, which ſeems now to be predominant in the palates of our audience. Thoſe characters which are meant to be ridiculed in moſt of our comedies, are of fools ſo groſs, that, in my humble opinion, they ſhould rather diſturb than divert the well natured and reflecting part of an audience, they are rather objects of charity than contempt, and inſtead of moving our mirth, they ought very often to excite our compaſſion. This reflection moved me to deſign ſome characters, which ſhould appear ridiculous, not ſo much thro' a natural folly (which is incorrigible, and therefore not proper for the ſtage) as thro' an affected wit; a wit, which at the ſame time that it is affected, is alſo falſe. As there is ſome difficulty in the formation of a character of this nature, ſo there is ſome hazard which attends the progreſs of it's ſucceſs upon the ſtage: for many come to a play ſo over-charged with criticiſm, that they very often let fly their cenſure, when, thro' their raſhneſs, they have miſtaken their aim. This I had occaſion lately to obſerve: for this play had been acted two or three days, before ſome of theſe haſty judges could find the leiſure to diſtinguiſh betwixt the character of a witwoud and a true wit.' In the following apology to his patron, for the liberty taken in the foregoing paragraphs, he ſufficiently ſhews, that he felt the treatment that he had met with from the many, to whoſe deciſion he was reſolved to truſt no more. 'I muſt, ſays he, beg your Lordſhip's pardon for this digreſſion, from the true courſe of this epiſtle; but that it may not ſeem altogether impertinent, I beg that I may plead the occaſion of it, in part of that excuſe, of which I ſtand in need, for recommending this comedy to your protection. It is only by the countenance of your lordſhip, and the few ſo qualifyed, that ſuch who write with care and pains, can hope to be diſtinguiſhed: for the proſtituted name of poet, promiſcuouſly levels all that bear it.' There ſtand prefixed to this comedy, a copy of verſes by Sir Richard Steele, in which he touches on the ſame ſubject, and condemns that coarſe taſte which induces the multitude to ſlight true Comedy for Farce. He inſinuates, that our author had conquered this folly, and that the crowd were dipoſed to admire implicitly whatever had the ſtamp of his name. Mr Congreve, it ſeems, would not truſt to theſe implicit admirers, he was reſolved not to write down to their underſtandings, or to put it in their power any more to queſtion his.

(13) See this Dedication, in the third Volume of Mr Congreve's Works.

[*I*] *That*

patrons, in a manner worthy of himſelf and of them. The death of the Marquis of Blandford, only ſon to the Duke of Marlborough, which happened Feb. 20, 1705, afforded him a melancholy occaſion of endeavouring to ſoften, by celebrating, the diſtreſs of that illuſtrious family, which he did in a moſt beautiful Paſtoral (*g*), inſcribed to the Lord Godolphin, Lord High-Treaſurer of England. The glorious ſucceſſes of the Britiſh arms, under the invincible Duke beforementioned, ſupplied a glorious theme for an Ode to the late Queen Anne, in which he celebrates victories moſt honourable to this nation, in numbers that juſtly entitle their author to unfading reputation, as they cannot fail of preſerving the memory of thoſe victories, as long as our language ſhall laſt, or a true taſte in poetry remains (*h*). In another pindarick Ode he celebrated that great Stateſman, and true Patriot, the Lord High-Treaſurer Godolphin, taking occaſion from that Nobleman's great delight in horſe-racing, to imitate, or rather to emulate, the Greek Poet, in his favourite manner of writing, by a truly elegant and exquiſite digreſſion (*i*). We owe to him not only theſe two pieces in a kind of poetry almoſt before unknown to our language, but alſo a very learned and judicious Diſſertation upon this ſpecies of poeſy, which contains a ſolid and juſt criticiſm on thoſe ſort of irregular pieces, that hitherto have paſſed, though very undeſervedly, for Pindaricks [*I*]. The clearneſs and candour of his criticiſm, ought to give him as high a character in the Republick of Letters, as even his fine performances in ſo many different kinds of poetry. His *Birth of the Muſe*, and his *Dedication* in verſe of his poems when collected, both addreſſed to his old patron Charles Lord Halifax, are equally grateful and pleaſing, though as different in their compoſition as any two pieces can be; the former is ſolemn and ſublime, the latter eaſy and familiar. We ſee in one, how able the Poet was to riſe to the greateſt heights without the leaſt mixture of bombaſt or fuſtian; and in the other, how finely he could unite the becoming liberty of a friend, with that reſpect which was nevertheleſs due to his patron's ſuperior rank and dignity. But as, in the earlier part of his life, Mr Congreve had received obligations from perſons of leſs exalted ſtation, ſo of theſe he was highly ſenſible, and never let ſlip any favourable opportunity of returning. He wrote an Epilogue for his old friend Mr Southerne's fine tragedy of *Oroonoko* (*k*), and we learn from Mr Dryden himſelf, how much he owed to his aſſiſtance in the tranſlation of Virgil (*l*) [*K*]. He contributed by tranſlating the

[*I*] *That hitherto have paſſed, tho' very undeſervedly, for Pindaricks.*] It has been hinted in the text, that whenever Mr Congreve applied himſelf to any kind of writing in proſe or verſe, his conſtant aim was perfection; to which he had not the vanity of thinking he might arrive by the ſtrength of his genius, but applied himſelf firſt as a critic, to acquire a thorough knowledge of the nature of his taſk, before he undertook to execute it as a poet. It was this led him to examine the works of Pindar, with the greateſt care, before he attempted to imitate him, and at firſt ſight he diſcovered how little reſemblance the odes, pretending to the character of pindarick, in our language, had to the odes of that author in reſpect to numbers, ſtructure, or ſentiment. He reſolved therefore to reſtore this ancient and ſublime manner of writing, by giving the world a true pindarick in ſubſtance as well as ſhow, that it might appear the force and ſpirit of this kind of poetry, conſiſted in the ſtrength of the thought, and not in the looſneſs or irregularity of the numbers. He enquired alſo into the cauſe of ſo general a miſtake, and has aſſigned it with an equal mixture of critical juſtice, and the candour of a gentleman. His words are theſe (14), 'Mr Cowley in his preface to his pindarick odes, ſpeaking of the muſick of numbers, ſays, that theſe ſometimes eſpecially in ſongs and odes, almoſt without any thing elſe, makes an excellent poet. Having mentioned Mr Cowley, it may be very well expected, that ſomething ſhould be ſaid of him, at a time when the imitation of Pindar is the theme of our diſcourſe. But there is that great deference due to the memory, great parts, and learning, of that gentleman, that I think nothing ſhould be objected to the latitude he has taken in his pindarick odes. The beauty of his verſes are an atonement for the irregularity of his ſtanza's, and tho' he did not imitate Pindar in the ſtrictneſs of his numbers, he has very often happily copyed him in the force of his figures, and ſublimity of his ſtile and ſentiments. Yet I muſt beg leave to add, that I believe thoſe irregular odes of Mr Cowley, may have been the principal, tho' innocent, occaſion of ſo many deformed poems ſince, which inſtead of being true pictures of Pindar, have (to uſe the Italian Painters term) been only caricaturas of him, reſemblances that for the moſt part have been either horrid or ridiculous. For my own part I frankly own my error, in having heretofore miſ-called a few irregular ſtanza's, a pindarique ode, and poſſibly if others, who have been under the ſame miſtake, would ingenuouſly confeſs the truth, they might own, that never having conſulted Pindar himſelf, they took all his irregularity upon truſt, and finding their account in the great eaſe, with which they could produce odes, without being obliged either to meaſure or deſign, remained ſatisfied, and it may be were not altogether unwilling to neglect being undeceived.' This ſhews not only how deſirous Mr Congreve was of writing correctly himſelf, but alſo how willing to eſtabliſh ſo true a taſte, as might render correctneſs neceſſary to applauſe.

[*K*] *In the tranſlation of Virgil.*] As there have been few authors, whoſe abilities have been more univerſally confeſſed than Mr Dryden's; ſo never any author was more remarkable for modeſty, he ſhewed it in that civility, kindneſs, and candour, with which he corrected the works of others, but much more ſo in the readineſs and gratitude, with which he received any information of miſtakes made by himſelf. He knew that every man was fallible, and therefore, with all the great gifts he received from nature, did not at all repine at his being in that reſpect not exempt from the lot of mortals. It was a true ſenſe of this, and not a vain affectation of hearing his own praiſes ecchoed, that he communicated his works, before they were printed, to the ableſt of his friends, that he might receive their help as well as cenſure. Neither was he afraid or aſhamed to confeſs this to the world, for he knew that men of parts and probity, would approve and applaud it. In his dedication therefore to the Marquis of Normanby, afterwards Duke of Buckinghamſhire, he makes the following mention of our author (15). *Mr Congreve has done me the favour, to review the Æneis, and compare my verſion with the original. I ſhall never be aſhamed to own, that this excellent young man has ſhewed me many faults, which I have endeavoured to correct.* The Engliſh tranſlation of Virgil was not publiſhed 'till 1697, but Mr Dryden was engaged in it in 1695, and conſequently at the time he conſulted our author, he was only between twenty three and twenty four years of age. What an honour to have his opinion aſked by the greateſt poet of his time, upon a ſubject of ſuch importance to his reputation, what an honour to juſtify both his friendſhip and his judgment on ſo critical an occaſion, and what an honour to receive the laurel from his learned brow, only to fix it again upon his tomb, to be the defender of

(*g*) *The* Tears *of* Amaryllis *for* Amyntas.

(*h*) The title of this piece was, *A Pindarick Ode, humbly offered to the Queen, on the Victorious Progreſs of her Maieſty's Arms under the Conduct of the Duke of Marlborough.*

(*i*) The Addreſs of this Poem was, *To the Right Honourable the Earl of Godolphin, Lord High-Treaſurer of England.* A Pindarick Ode.

(*k*) Congreve's Works, Vol. III. p. 279.

(*l*) In his Dedication to John Lord Marquis of Normanby, afterwards Duke of Buckinghamſhire.

(14) Congreve's Works, Vol. III. p. 345.

(15) See Dryden's Virgil, Vol. II. p. 435.

the eleventh Satire to the tranſlation of Juvenal publiſhed by that great Poet, and wrote an admirable copy of verſes on the verſion of Perſeus performed by Mr Dryden alone (m). He wrote likewiſe a Prologue for a Play of Mr Charles Dryden's, full of kindneſs for that young gentleman, and of reſpect for his father (n). But the nobleſt teſtimony he gave of his filial reverence for that exalted genius, was in that inimitable panegyrick upon his writings, contained in the Dedication of his Plays to his Grace the Duke of Newcaſtle, a monument that will for ever expreſs, in the moſt lively colours, the worth of him to whoſe honour it is conſecrated, and the capacity, candour, and critical juſtice, of the hand that raiſed it. His tranſlations have done him the greateſt honour, in the ſentiments of thoſe who were the beſt judges, and who have taken pains to compare them with their originals. The *Hymn to Venus*, and ſome of the moſt moving paſſages in the *Iliad*, appear with all the ſpirit and dignity of Homer in the Engliſh verſion, and as it is impoſſible for a learned writer to peruſe them without confeſſing his accuracy, ſo whoever has a true taſte for poetry muſt feel the effects of that art and force, with which all the emotions naturally riſing from the paſſions of the human mind, are expreſſed in theſe nervous pieces (o). His imitations of Horace have as much the air of that Poet as our times or language will permit, that is, the ſame ſtrength, vivacity, and delicacy, for which, through a long ſeries of years, they have been admired in the original (p). The third book of Ovid's *Art of Love* appears in our tongue with all the ſweetneſs and ſoftneſs peculiar to that author, who was perfectly acquainted with the paſſion, and knew how to deſcribe it with all the maſterly graces of a great Poet, and what was admired in the Auguſtan age, becomes excellent in ours, from the ſkill of Mr Congreve, and the happy union of the moſt diſtant excellencies in a tranſlator, eaſe and exactneſs (q). He was the better qualified for an undertaking of this kind, from the natural turn of his own temper, for his Poem to, and his excellent Epigram on, Mrs Arabella Hunt, are entirely in the Ovidian ſtrain, and are as pleaſingly pathetick as any Poems in their kind, in our own, or perhaps in any other language (r). There is a ſtrength and ſolemnity in his verſes to the memory of Lady Gethins, and in his Epitaph upon the two Huntingtons (s), that makes one ſcarce conceive it poſſible that he ſhould ſucceed as well in lighter compoſitions, and yet the tales that he has told after a celebrated French author, are ſo unaffected and natural, that if we were not appriſed of it we ſhould never have ſuſpected they were tranſlations (t); but there is one piece of his which ought to be particularly diſtinguiſhed, as being ſo truly an original, that though it ſeems to be written with the utmoſt facility, yet we may deſpair of ever ſeeing it copied; this is his *DORIS*, ſo highly and ſo juſtly commended by Sir Richard Steele, as the ſharpeſt and moſt delicate ſatire he had ever met with (u). We muſt not omit, in this free catalogue of his works, two pieces of the dramatick kind, which do him equal honour as a Poet, and as a lover of Muſick, *viz.* the *Judgment of Paris*, a *Maſque*, and the *Opera of Semele*. Of theſe, the former was acted with great applauſe, and the latter finely ſet to muſick by Mr Eccles. In reſpect to both it is but bare juſtice to ſay, that they have the ſame ſtamp of excellency borne by the reſt of Mr Congreve's works, were conſidered as maſter-pieces when publiſhed, and may ſerve as models to poſterity [L]. We have now almoſt finiſhed the liſt of his poetical labours, in

of that great man's fame when he was dead, who had loved him ſo much living, and piouſly to vindicate the character of him, whoſe generous, tho' juſt, praiſes, had laid the foundation of his own?

[L] *And may ſerve as models to poſterity.*] The great art of adapting poetry to muſick, tho' ſtudied by many, has been acquired by few. This very plainly appears from the want of a true poetick ſpirit, in many of the pieces ſet to fine muſick, in which we evidently perceive, that the notes were not accommodated to the words, but the words to the notes. We do not indeed perceive this ſo plainly, during the performance, when the faculties of the mind are ſo tranſported by the ſweetneſs of the ſound, that we have not power to diſcern the defects in the ſenſe. But what eſcapes us on the Theatre, ſtares us in the face in the cloſet, and we cannot help wondering, when we read what it was that tranſported us ſo much in the hearing. But the few great maſters that have reached the ſublime heights of Harmony, inſtead of receiving from, communicate helps to the moſt able compoſer. Of this we have the ſtrongeſt inſtance in Mr Dryden's celebrated ode on St Cecilia's day, which not only raviſhes us when performed, but when read, and thereby convinces the judicious peruſer of the real force of numbers. The ſame thing may with equal juſtice be ſaid of our author's maſque, the ſongs in which are moſt admirably adapted to the characters, as well as the muſick, and the performance is not only perfect upon the ſtage, but perfect alſo when conſidered only as a poetick entertainment; and though we may ſee it with more rapture, yet we read it too with the higheſt delight, and find nothing in it flat or inſipid for want of the ſupport of muſick. There is an excellency in every kind of writing, and as an author is juſtly entitled to reputation who reaches this in any; ſo admiration is the juſt tribute to that exalted genius that reaches it in all, I need not tell the reader, that this is Mr Congreve's claim to admiration. His opera of Semele was never performed; but, for all that, it has been univerſally admired. The fable is happily choſen and ſkillfully managed, the ſcenes are finely diſpoſed, the ſentiments perfectly agreeable to the ſubject, and the language exactly ſuitable to the ſentiments. There is, however, one thing that deſerves peculiar notice, and that is, the manner in which our author has diſpoſed that part of his work which ſeemed leaſt ſuſceptible of ſenſe and grace at the ſame time. Himſelf ſhall give you, an account of it, for none but himſelf could expreſs it ſo well. 'It was (16) not thought requiſite to have 'any regard either to rhyme or equality of meaſure 'in the lines of that part of the dialogue, which was 'was deſigned for the recitative ſtile in muſick; for 'as that ſtile in muſick is not confined to the ſtrict 'obſervation of time and meaſure, which is required 'in the compoſition of airs and ſonata's; ſo neither is it 'neceſſary that the ſame exactneſs in numbers, rhymes, 'or meaſure, ſhould be obſerved in words deſigned to 'be ſet in that manner, which muſt ever be obſerved 'in the formation of odes and ſonnets: for what they 'call recitative in muſick, is only a more tunable 'ſpeaking, it is a kind of proſe in muſick, it's beauty 'conſiſts in coming near nature, and in improving the 'natural accents of words by more pathetick or emphatical tones.' This explains what had never been explained before, that is to ſay, the nature and meaning of the recitative, how far it approaches, and wherein it is removed from proſe, what the uſe of it, and

(m) Congreve's Works, Vol. III. p. 258.

(n) Ibid. p. 280.

(o) Congreve's Works, Vol. III. p. 228, 232, 366.

(p) Ibid. p. 238, 239, 241.

(q) Ibid. p. 299.

(r) Ibid. p. 225, 350.

(s) Ibid. p. 356, 357.

(t) Ibid. p. 359, 365.

(u) See the Dedication of Sir Richard Steele's Miſcellanies, to Mr Congreve.

(16) See the argument prefixed to Mr Congreve's Opera of Semele, in the third Vol. of his Works.

in which we have been the more particular, becauſe it was peculiar to Mr Congreve to have written and excelled, not barely in every kind of dramatick poetry, but almoſt in every kind of poetry. The laſt to which he turned his genius was that of familiar epiſtles, of theſe that on the *Art of Pleaſing* (w), addreſſed to Sir Richard Temple, now the Field Marſhal Viſcount Cobham, is the only one inſerted in his works, and is ſo truly admirable, that the publick has juſt reaſon to regret ſome others that are ſtill ſaid to be preſerved in the cabinets of his friends to whom they were addreſſed, and which it is hoped will one day ſee the light. Another epiſtle of his to the ſame noble perſon, as it is not to be found in his works, we have, as one of it's brighteſt ornaments, inſerted in ours, from a copy that appeared to be very correct [*M*]. This naturally leads us to mention his proſe letters, which are diſperſed through the works of other men, but, whenever they have a new edition, would make a very natural and a very valuable addition to his own. His letter upon *Humour* in Engliſh Comedy, is without doubt as inſtructive as entertaining, and as correct a piece of criticiſm as is any where to be met with (x). All his other letters are written with infinite wit and ſpirit, and at the ſame time with a wonderful facility and a fine flow of language, ſo happily intermixed with lively and inoffenſive raillery, that it is impoſſible not to be pleaſed with them at the firſt reading, or to find any fault with them on the moſt mature reflection. We may be ſatisfied from the peruſal of them, that his converſation muſt have been very engaging, and therefore we need not wonder that he lived in ſuch familiarity with the greateſt men of his time, or that they courted his friendſhip by rendering him every good office in their power. It has been obſerved, that
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(w) Congreve's Works, Vol. III. p 332.

(x) Inſerted in *Dennis's Letters.*

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and conſequently what rules are to be obſerved in it's compoſition, ſo as to keep it from ſinking ſervilely low, and to reſtrain it from ſwelling into rant and bombaſt.

[M] *Inſerted in ours, from a copy that appeared to be very correct.*] This beautiful poem is written with that ſimple elegance, that force of genius, and that dignity of ſentiment, which leaves no room to doubt of it's being juſtly attributed to Mr Congreve. At what time it was written cannot be ſaid with any pretence to certainty; but as there is a viſible alluſion in the poem to meaſures, which the writer thought were too complaiſant to the *French*, it is very evident that it muſt have been penned but a very ſmall time before his death. The title it bears is this,

Of improving the preſent time.

Sincereſt critick of my proſe or rhyme,
Tell how thy pleaſing Stowe employs thy time.
Say, Cobham, what amuſes thy retreat?
Or ſtratagems of war, or ſchemes of ſtate?
Doſt thou re-call to mind, with joy or grief,
Great Marlbro's actions? that immortal *chief*,
Whoſe ſligheſt trophy, rais'd in each campaign,
More than ſuffic'd to ſignalize a reign.
Does thy remembrance riſing, warm thy heart
With glory paſt, where thou thyſelf had'ſt part;
Or doſt thou grieve indignant, now to ſee
The fruitleſs end of all thy victory?
To ſee the audacious foe, ſo late ſubdu'd,
Diſpute thoſe terms for which ſo long they ſu'd,
As if Britannia now were ſunk ſo low,
To beg that peace ſhe wonted to beſtow.
Be far, that guilt! be never known that ſhame!
That England ſhould retract her rightful claim!
Or ceaſing to be dreaded and ador'd,
Stain with her pen the luſtre of her ſword.
Or doſt thou give the winds a-far to blow,
Each vexing thought and heart-devouring woe,
And fix thy mind alone on rural ſcenes,
To turn the levell'd lawns to liquid plains;
To raiſe the creeping rills from humble beds,
And force the latent ſprings to lift their heads;
On watry columns capitals to rear,
That mix their flowing curls with upper air?
Or doſt thou, weary grown, theſe works neglect,
No temples, ſtatues, obeliſks erect;
But catch the morning breeze from fragrant meads,
Or ſhun the noon-tide ray in wholeſome ſhades;
Or lowly walk along the mazy wood,
To meditate on all that's wiſe and good?
For nature, bountiful in thee, has join'd,
A perſon pleaſing, with a worthy mind;
Not given the form alone, but means and art,
To draw the eye, or to allure the heart.
Poor were the praiſe in fortune to excel,
Yet want the way to uſe that fortune well.
While thus adorn'd, while thus with virtue crown'd,
At home in peace; abroad, in arms renown'd:
Graceful in form, and winning in addreſs,
While well you think what aptly you expreſs,
With health, with honour, with a fair eſtate,
A table free, and elegantly neat.
What can be added more to mortal bliſs?
What can he want that ſtands poſſeſt of this?
What can the fondeſt wiſhing mother more,
Of Heaven attentive, for her ſon implore?
And yet, a happineſs remains unknown,
Or to Philoſophy reveal'd alone;
A precept which, unpractis'd, renders vain
Thy flowing hopes, and pleaſure turns to pain.
Shou'd hope and fear thy heart alternate tear,
Or love, or hate, or rage, or anxious care,
Whatever paſſions may thy mind infeſt,
(Where is that mind which paſſions ne'er moleſt?)
Amidſt the pangs of ſuch inteſtine ſtrife,
Still think the preſent day the laſt of life;
Defer not 'till to-morrow to be wiſe,
To-morrow's ſun to thee may never riſe;
Or ſhou'd to-morrow chance to chear thy ſight
With her enliv'ning and unlook'd-for light,
How grateful will appear her dawning rays!
As favours unexpected doubly pleaſe.
Who thus can think, and who ſuch thoughts purſues,
Content may keep his life, or calmly loſe.
All proofs of this, thou may'ſt thyſelf receive,
When leiſure from affairs will give thee leave.
Come, ſee thy friend retir'd, without regret,
Forgetting care, or ſtriving to forget,
In eaſy contemplation, ſoothing time
With morals much, and now and then with rhyme;
Not ſo robuſt in body as in mind,
And always undejected, tho' declin'd;
Not wond'ring at the world's new wicked ways,
Compar'd with thoſe of our fore-fathers days;
For virtue now is neither more or leſs,
And vice is only vary'd in the dreſs:
Believe it, men have ever been the ſame,
And *Ovid*'s GOLDEN AGE is but a dream.

WILLIAM CONGREVE.

[N] *With*

no change of Miniſtries affected him in the leaſt, nor was he ever removed from any poſt that was given him except to a better (y). His place in the Cuſtom-houſe, and his office of Secretary in Jamaica, are ſaid to have brought him in upwards of twelve hundred pounds a year, and though he lived in a manner ſuitable to ſuch a fortune, yet he was ſo far an œconomiſt, as to raiſe from thence a competent eſtate. No man of his parts and learning ever paſſed through life with more eaſe or leſs envy, and as in the dawn of his reputation he was very dear to the greateſt wits of his time, ſo during his whole life he preſerved the utmoſt reſpect, and received continual marks of eſteem from men of genius and letters, without ever being involved in any of their quarrels, or drawing upon himſelf the leaſt mark of diſtaſte, or even diſſatisfaction. On the contrary, they ſought his approbation with concern, and received it as the higheſt ſanction of merit. Mr Addiſon teſtified his perſonal regard for him, and his high eſteem of his writings, upon many occaſions. Sir Richard Steele conſidered him as his patron upon one occaſion, and was deſirous of ſubmitting to his judgment as an umpire on another (z). Even the judicious Mr Pope, tho' ſufficiently jealous of his poetical character, thought fit to honour him with the higheſt teſtimony of deference and eſteem (a) [N]. We may add to all this, that Mr John Dennis, who valued himſelf ſo much upon criticizing the works of the ableſt writers of his time, was ſo ſenſible of the ſuperior excellence of Mr Congreve's writings, or at leaſt was ſo grateful for the repeated marks of affability and beneficence which he received from him, that he always ſpoke of him, not with decency only but with veneration, which, if not a peculiar felicity, muſt at leaſt have been a ſingular ſatisfaction to a man of Mr Congreve's peaceable diſpoſition, who, as he never gave any offence, was very deſirous, if it was poſſible, to avoid abuſe (b). There is no doubt that Mr Congreve had an appetite to fame, and was not inſenſible of praiſe; yet never any man was freer from vanity, or ſhewed leſs concern about the fate of his writings; inſomuch, that a foreigner of diſtinction, and without compariſon the beſt Poet his country has to boaſt, was a little offended at this, and thought him rather too careleſs as to his literary reputation (c) [O]. The beſt part of the laſt twenty years of his life were ſpent in eaſe and retirement, but towards the end of his days he was very much afflicted with the gout, which at length broke his conſtitution ſo much as to bring on a gradual decay. It was for this, that in the ſummer of the year 1728, he made a tour to the Bath for the benefit of the waters, where he had the misfortune to be overturned in his chariot, from which time he complained of a pain in his ſide, which was ſuppoſed to ariſe from ſome inward bruiſe. However it was, upon his return to London, his health declined more and more, but without making any impreſſion on his ſpirits or underſtanding. He had accuſtomed

(y) Memoirs of William Congreve, Eſq; P. ii. p. 51.

(z) In his Dedication of his *Miſcellanies*, and in the Addreſs prefixed to the *Drummer*, a Comedy of Mr Addiſon's, of which he publiſhed a ſecond edition.

(a) See this at large in note [*N*].

(b) Memoirs of William Congreve, Eſq; P. ii. p. 137.

(c) Voltaire's Letters concerning the Engliſh Nation, Lond. 1733, 8*vo*, p. 188, 189.

[N] *With the higheſt teſtimony of deference and eſteem*] Thoſe who were well acquainted with the late Mr Pope know, that there was nothing he deſpiſed ſo much in others, or the imputation of which he could have bore with ſo little patience himſelf, as the paying a ſervile court, and ſhewing a mean dependance upon any man, how great ſoever. He knew that virtue was true nobility, and parts the riches of nature; hence his deep reverence for Mr Bethel, and his high regard for Mr Congreve. To them, however, he would have been aſhamed to dedicate his works, and yet to them he was proud to inſcribe them. He looked upon his performances, as monuments ſecure from time and accident, and every name they bore as conſecrated to immortality. This was his ſentiment, nor was it vanity; the moſt generous poſſeſſor of gold knows the properties and value of the metal as well as the meaneſt miſer. Let us hear then what praiſes one who was ſo ſparing of them has beſtowed on Mr Congreve, we ſhall find them at the cloſe of his poſtſcript to the tranſlation of Homer, and there they run thus (17). 'Inſtead of endeavouring to raiſe 'a vain monument to myſelf, let me leave behind me 'a memorial of my friendſhip, with one of the moſt 'valuable men, as well as fineſt writers of my age 'and country. One who has tried, and knows by 'his own experience, how hard an undertaking it is to 'do juſtice to Homer, and one who I am ſure, ſincerely 'rejoices with me at the period of my labours. To 'him therefore, having brought this long work to a 'concluſion, I deſire to dedicate it, and to have the 'honour and ſatisfaction of placing together in this 'manner the names of Mr Congreve, and of

A. POPE.

[O] *As to his literary reputation.*] The gentleman mentioned in the text, is the preſent eminent wit, and juſtly eſteemed poet of France, Mr Voltaire, who, in the ſhort time that he ſtayed here, acquired indeed a wonderful knowledge of our language, and of our manners; notwithſtanding which, however, he was ſometimes miſtaken, and it is the more neceſſary to take notice of his miſtakes, becauſe no man's authority in the world is more like to paſs them upon the preſent age, or upon poſterity, for undoubted truths. The character he is pleaſed to give Mr Congreve runs thus: 'He raiſed the glory of comedy to a greater 'height than any Engliſh writer before or ſince his 'time (18). He wrote only a few plays, but they are 'excellent in their kind. The laws of the drama are 'ſtrictly obſerved in them. They abound with cha'racters, all which are ſhadowed with the utmoſt de'licacy, and we don't meet with ſo much as one low 'or coarſe jeſt. The language is every where that of 'men of faſhion, but their actions are thoſe of knaves, 'a proof that he was perfectly well acquainted with 'human nature, and frequented what we call polite 'company. He was infirm, and come to the verge 'of life when I knew of him. Mr Congreve had one 'defect, which was his entertaining too mean an idea 'of his firſt profeſſion, that of a writer, though it was 'to this he owed his fame and fortune. He ſpoke of 'his works as of trifles that were beneath him, and 'hinted to me in our firſt converſation, that I ſhould 'viſit him upon no other foot than that of a gentle'tleman, who led a life of plainneſs and ſimplicity. 'I anſwered that had he been ſo unfortunate as 'to be a mere gentleman, I ſhould never have come 'to ſee him, and I was very much diſguſted at ſo un'ſeaſonable a piece of vanity.' It is ſomewhat ſtrange to hear an author accuſed of vanity, for under-valuing his own works. We often meet with cenſures even upon great men, for talking continually of themſelves and their writings; but it is a very ſingular cenſure that is paſſed upon Mr Congreve, that he was troubled with an unſeaſonable vanity, which hindered him from talking of them at all. The truth of the matter ſeems to have been, that inſtead of feeling an unſeaſonable vanity, he had out lived the ſeaſon of vanity, if ever he had any, and having no longer any thing of the pride of an author about him, it is not at all wonderful that his converſation was not reliſhed by Mr Voltaire, whoſe merit, as an author, is ſuperior to every thing——but the ſenſe he has of that merit.

(17) Poſtſcript to his Tranſlation of the Iliad of Homer, dated Mar. 25, 1720.

(18) Letters concerning the Engliſh Nation, p. 188, 189.

[P] *With*

cuſtomed himſelf to conſider life, and every thing belonging to it, as bleſſings in which we have a very uncertain tenure, and therefore was not either ſurprized or diſturbed at the proſpect of loſing it; the only concern he expreſſed, was for the grief it occaſioned to his friends, more eſpecially thoſe for whom he had a tender affection and a moſt profound eſteem. He yielded his laſt breath about the hour of five on Sunday morning, Jan. 19, 1728-9, at his houſe in Surrey-ſtreet in the Strand, in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age (*e*), and on the Sunday following, Jan. 26, his corps lay in ſtate in the Jeruſalem-Chamber, from whence, the ſame evening, between the hours of nine and ten, it was carried with great decency and ſolemnity into King Henry the VIIth's chapel, and after the funeral ſervice was performed, was interred in the abbey. The pall was ſupported by the Duke of Bridgwater, Earl of Godolphin, Lord Cobham, Lord Wilmington, the Honourable George Berkeley, Eſq; and Brigadier-General Churchill; and Col. Congreve followed his corps as chief-mourner. Some time after, a neat and elegant monument, with a ſuitable inſcription thereupon [*P*], was erected to his memory by Henrietta Ducheſs of Marlborough.

(*e*) Mr Congreve's Laſt Will and Teſtament, Lond. 1730, 8*vo*, p. 10.

[*P*] *With a ſuitable inſcription thereupon.*] As the erecting of this monument is later, in point of time, than any of the collections of ſuch kind of ornaments in Weſtminſter-Abbey, it is proper to inſert the inſcription here, which runs thus. 'Mr William Congreve died Jan. 'the 19th, 1728, aged fifty-ſix, and was buried near 'this place, to whoſe moſt valuable memory this monument is ſet up, by Henrietta, Ducheſs of Marlborough, as a mark how dearly ſhe remembers the 'happineſs and honour ſhe enjoyed in the ſincere friendſhip of ſo worthy and honeſt a man, whoſe virtue, 'candour and wit, gained him the love and eſteem 'of the preſent age, and whoſe writings will be the 'admiration of the future.' E

CONNOR (Bernard) an eminent Phyſician and learned Writer towards the cloſe of the laſt century. He was deſcended from an antient family in the kingdom of Ireland, and was born in the county of Kerry about the year 1666 (*a*). He had an early tincture of learning given him, though he was not regularly educated in the grammar ſchools and univerſity of that iſland, on account of his family's being of the Popiſh religion (*b*). When he grew up towards man's eſtate, either out of regard to the exhortations of his family, or from the natural turn of his own diſpoſition, he determined to apply his thoughts to the ſtudy of Phyſick, and with that view, about the year 1686, he went over to France, reſided for ſome time in the univerſity of Montpellier, and went from thence to Paris, where he ſpent his time ſo well, and directed his ſtudies in ſo prudent and regular a manner, that he was very much eſteemed, not only for his proficiency in the art of Phyſick, but for his great ſkill in Anatomy and Chemiſtry (*c*). As he profeſſed himſelf deſirous of travelling, and as there were two ſons of the High-Chancellor of Poland then on the point of returning to their own country, it was thought expedient they ſhould take that long journey under the care and inſpection of Dr Connor (*d*). He accordingly conducted them very ſafely to Venice, where he found the Honourable Mr William Legg, afterwards Baron and Earl of Dartmouth, much indiſpoſed of a fever, from which, by his great ſkill and diligent attendance, he happily recovered him, and having accompanied him to Padua (*e*), went from thence through Tyrol, Bavaria, and Auſtria, down the Danube to Vienna, and after having made ſome ſtay at the Court of the Emperor Leopold, paſſed through Moravia and Sileſia to Cracow, and from thence in eight days to Warſaw (*f*). He was very well received at the Court of King John Sobieſki, and by the intereſt of Signor Hieronimo Alberto de Conti, Miniſter from the Serene Republick of Venice, who married the Lady Margaret Paſton, eldeſt daughter to Robert, and ſiſter to William Earl of Yarmouth, to whom he had been ſtrongly recommended, he became Phyſician to that Monarch (*g*). This was a very extraordinary preferment in ſo ſhort a time and for ſo young a man, for it happened in the beginning of the year 1694, when Dr Connor could not be above twenty-eight years of age. In right of his employment he was conſtantly near the perſon of that Prince, which gave him an opportunity of entering thoroughly into his character, and of diſcerning that he was not only a deep Politician, and one of the greateſt Captains of his age, but a perſon alſo of ſound ſenſe, great reading, quick parts, and much addicted to think freely upon all ſubjects. He gives us a very ſingular and curious inſtance of this (*h*), which, as it ſerves to let us into the Doctor's turn and diſpoſition as well as the King's, is inſerted at the bottom of the page [*A*]. His reputation in

(*a*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 258.

(*b*) See the account given of this gentleman by Dr Hayley, in his Funeral Sermon.

(*c*) De Stupendo Oſſium Coalitu Diſſertatio Medico-Phyſica, p. 4.

(*d*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 258. See alſo Dr Hayley's Funeral Sermon.

(*e*) Connor's Hiſt. of Poland, Vol. I. p. 2.

(*f*) See Dr Hayley's Funeral Sermon. Connor's Hiſt. of Poland, Vol. I. p. 2.

(*g*) Peerage of England, Lond. 1709, 8*vo*, Vol. I. p. 246.

(*h*) Connor's Hiſt. of Poland, Vol. I. p. 173.

[*A*] *At the bottom of the page.*] The King, ſays he (1), was a well ſpoken Prince, of very eaſy acceſs, extreamly civil, and had moſt of the good qualities requiſite in a gentleman; he was not only well verſed in all military affairs, but likewiſe in all polite and ſcholaſtick learning. Beſides his own tongue, the Sclavonian; he underſtood the Latin, French, Italian, German, and Turkiſh languages; he delighted much in Natural Hiſtory, and in all the parts of Phyſick; he uſed to reprimand the Clergy for not admitting into the univerſity and ſchools the Modern Philoſophy; he loved to hear perſons diſcourſe of thoſe matters, and had a particular talent to ſet people about him very artfully by the ears, that, by their diſputes, he might be diverted, as happened often in my time, eſpecially once when I was undeſignedly concerned myſelf, the King being at dinner, and having the Biſhops of Poſnania, Ploſko, Vilna, and other Divines about him, particularly Father Vota, an ingenious Jeſuit, the King aſked me in Latin, 'What part of the body I thought 'the ſoul was in?' I was willing to decline talking on that ſubject, and told the King, 'That being a 'Phyſician, my chief enquiry was about the body, and 'that the Divines there preſent were able to ſatisfy 'his Majeſty.' The King replied, 'That ſince the 'ſoul has an influence upon the body, and ſince the 'paſſions

(1) Hiſtory of Poland, Vol. I. p. 179.

in the Court of Poland was highly raiſed by the judgment he made of the Ducheſs of Radzivil's diſtemper, which all the Phyſicians of the Court took to be no more than an ague, from which ſhe might be eaſily recovered by the regular and conſtant taking of the Bark; but Dr Connor inſiſted that ſhe had an abſceſs in her liver, and that her caſe was deſperate *(i)*. As this lady was the King's only ſiſter, his prediction made a great noiſe, more eſpecially when it was juſtified by the event, for ſhe not only died within a month, but, upon the opening of her body, the Doctor's ſentiment of her malady was fully verified. He might have continued with great reputation at that Court if he had been ſo inclined, but as he never propoſed to remain longer in Poland, than was requiſite to finiſh his enquiries into the Natural Hiſtory and other remarkables of that kingdom, and as he foreſaw

(i) Hiſtoire de Maiſon de Radzivil, p. 319. Connor's Hiſt. of Poland, Vol. I. p. 199.

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paſſions of the mind, as anger and fear, breed fevers and other diſtempers, it was neceſſary that the Phyſicians ſhould examine the ſoul in that reſpect, as well as the body.' I anſwered, 'That Phyſicians did enquire into the nature of the paſſions, and obſerved, that there was ſuch an influence of the ſoul upon the body, and of the body upon the ſoul, that altered the thoughts of the one, as well as the operations of the other; but that the ſoul being a ſubſtance inviſible, and without extenſion, it was impoſſible for Phyſicians to conceive the nature of it themſelves, or explain it to others, as they do that of the body, which they take to pieces by Anatomy, and reſolve into it's minuteſt elements by Chemiſtry; that the Phyſicians only agree in the main, that the ſupreme authorof things has eſtabliſhed ſuch laws between the ſoul and the body, which make a mutual correſpondence between them; that as for the ſeat of the ſoul, I might perhaps differ from the Divines then preſent, and conſequently oppoſe the common doctrine of the ſchools; for they hold with Ariſtotle, that the ſoul is entire in all the body, and wholly in every part of the body, which was impoſſible to conceive; for if the ſoul was entire in every part of the body, there would be as many ſouls in the body as there are parts; ſince it is impoſſible that the ſelf ſame ſubſtance, though an indiviſible ſpirit, can ever be in two places at the ſame time; beſides, the ſoul can't be but where it thinks, and every one finds by experience, that his thought is not in his hands nor feet, but is conſcious to himſelf, that his thought is in his head, and that conſequently the ſoul muſt be only in the brain, which is the ſeat of ſenſation, and and the origin of all the nerves, which are the organs of preception and motion.' Father Vota being alarmed at this doctrine, which ſeemed altogether new in that part of Europe, ſaid, 'That if the ſoul was only in the head, the reſt of the body would be dead, ſince the received opinion was, that the ſoul was the life of the whole body, and that to enliven the whole body, the ſoul muſt be wholly preſent in every part of it.' This drew on a longer diſpute than I expected, for I anſwered, 'That the rational ſoul was not the life of the body, but the blood only, and the animal ſpirits, and that this blood and ſpirits circulated equally all over the body, and gave it natural heat and motion, which is properly it's life; and that this circulation of the blood and ſpirits could not poſſibly depend on the rational ſoul, becauſe it was an involuntary motion, formed by the mechanick ſtructure of the body, and by the natural impulſe of the heart, which is the *primum mobile* of the whole machine; and that though they all held, not only in Poland, but in other countries, that the rational ſoul performed every minute action in the body, yet this opinion was very irreconcileable with the free will of the mind, which they all admitted; for ſince they allow, that whatever the ſoul does, it is not only conſcious of it, but likewiſe does it freely, without being neceſſitated thereto, when, as it is very evidently obvious to every one, that the vital motions in our bodies, I mean the motion of the heart, and that of reſpiration, with the periſtaltick motion of the ſtomach and guts, are performed naturally with ſuch mechaniſm, that the ſoul can't ſtop them, no, nor ſo much as haſten nor retard them, and that the ſoul is not at all conſcious of them, for if we think of any object, or not think at all, as when we are aſleep, or in an apoplexy, thoſe vital motions go on equally the ſame.' The Biſhop of Poſnania, who was bred up in his youth a Phyſician, ſeemed to ſpeak in favour of this opinion, as did likewiſe ſome others of the company, which made the Jeſuit very angry; inſomuch, that he acquainted them in a kind of paſſion, 'That neither the King nor they ought to hearken to any diſcourſe contrary to the received opinion of the Church; that it might have been a pernicious conſequence had it been publick: for, (ſays he) if the ſoul be not in all the body, and if it does not animate the body, and perform all it's vital functions, it would be of no uſe, and conſequently we ſhould live like other animals.' I anſwered him, 'That doubtleſs the operations of life were performed by the ſame mechaniſm in us as they were in brutes, ſince we have the ſame organs with them, as likewiſe the ſame fluids to enliven us; that the prerogatives of the ſoul are not leſs for it's not being preſent to every action of the body, for the ſoul, though it is not the cauſe of ſpontaneous or vital motion in us, yet it performs all voluntary actions, as ſpeaking, walking, and all other free motions of the body; it receives all impreſſions from the five ſenſes, it forms to itſelf all ideas of ambient objects, it reaſons upon them to know what's moſt uſeful and hurtful to itſelf and to the body. The ſoul, in ſhort, is like the pilot, though it does not ſet the body in motion, as the wind does a ſhip, yet it is capable of governing it's actions, and directing voluntarily it's courſe.' The King being thus ſatisfied, that the rational ſoul did not actuate, as they call it, or enliven, all the parts of the body, deſired to know what was properly *Death* The ſchool Divinity maintains, that *Death* is a ſeparation of the rational ſoul from the body. I owned indeed, 'that in death the ſoul was actually ſeparated from the body.' But I could not allow, 'That that ſeparation was the cauſe of death, but that the death of the body was the ceſſation of the motion of the heart, of the blood, and of the ſpirits, which ceſſation could not proceed from the ſeparation of the ſoul, ſince theſe don't at all depend upon it,' as I proved before, 'but it was occaſioned by ſome defects in the organs and fluids of the body, which, loſing their due diſpoſition, and their mutual correſpondence one with another, all their actions ceaſe, which ceſſation is properly called *Death*; ſo that the ſoul finding them incapable of receiving it's influence, and of obeying it's commands, quits the body after it is dead; by which it appears, that the ſeparation of the ſoul is not properly the cauſe of death, but that the death of the body is the cauſe of the ſeparation.' The King himſelf illuſtrated this opinion from a familiar example of an organ and an organiſt: while the the parts of the organ were in their due order, and ſymetry the organiſt played upon them, but when, by length of time, they were either broke, uſed too much, or any other way put quite out of tune, he leaves playing on them. This diſcourſe held from three of the clock 'till ſeven, and the Divines were extremely warm in it, and ſome of them had the boldneſs to tell the King, that his Majeſty ſhould not ſuffer ſuch heretical opinions to be introduced before ſuch a great aſſembly, contrary to the received doctrine of the Church. By this it may be plainly ſeen how fond the Divines are of their old opinions, relying upon the doctrine of Ariſtotle, whom we can't ſuppoſe to be ſo thoroughly acquainted with the ſtructure, ſprings, and motions of the human body, nor indeed with all other natural cauſes as the modern Phyſicians are; yet it is the policy of the Divines, not only in Poland, but in Spain, Italy, and in moſt other countries, where their power is very great, not to let any opinions creep in among them that would ſeem to contradict thoſe of Ariſtotle, for having built their ſyſtems of Divinity upon the principles of this Pagan Philoſopher, they are juſtly afraid, that if experience and reaſon ſhould ſhake the foundation, the ſuperſtructure would fall to the ground, as doubtleſs it would for the moſt part.

foreſaw that the King's life could not laſt long, and that there was little reaſon to hope for the eſtabliſhment that was promiſed him, from the political views of the royal family, he reſolved to lay hold of the firſt favourable opportunity for quitting that country, and returning into the Britiſh dominions, nor was it long before he met with as fair an occaſion as he could wiſh (*k*). The King had an only daughter, the Princeſs Tereſa Cunigunda, who eſpouſed the Elector of Bavaria by proxy, in the month of Auguſt 1694. As ſhe was to make a journey from Warſaw to Bruſſels, of near a thouſand miles, and in the midſt of winter, it was thought neceſſary that ſhe ſhould be attended by a Phyſician, and, by the intereſt of his good friend the Venetian Miniſter, he procured himſelf to be named to that employment (*l*), and accordingly ſet out with her on the eleventh of November for Berlin, and continued his journey through the territories of the Elector of Hanover, the Biſhop of Hildeſheim, and the Biſhop of Munſter, to Wezel, where ſhe was met by the Elector of Bavaria, and from thence he proceeded in her train to Bruſſels, where ſhe arrived on the twelfth of January following (*m*). He ſoon after reſigned his charge to Dr Piſtorini, the Elector's Phyſician, and, having taken leave of the Princeſs, ſet out for Holland, and from thence came over to England in the month of February 1695 (*n*). He ſtayed ſome ſhort time at London and then went to Oxford, where, in the ſpring of the year laſt mentioned, he read his lectures upon the Animal Œconomy to a numerous and learned audience with very great applauſe (*o*). In his travels through Italy he had converſed with Malpighi, Bellini, Redi, and other celebrated perſons (*p*), of whoſe acquaintance he made a proper uſe; and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſo clear, ſo methodical, and ſo judicious a manner of explaining the new diſcoveries in Anatomy, Chemiſtry, and Phyſick, that his reputation was very ſoon raiſed to a great height. This was not a little increaſed by his printing, during the time of his reſidence in that ſeat of the Muſes, ſeveral learned and accurate Diſſertations upon curious and important ſubjects, which treatiſe met with a very favourable reception (*q*), as it certainly deſerved, from the many new and ſenſible thoughts that occur in every part of it, and which diſcover their author to have been a man of much meditation, as well as of great reading and general knowledge [*B*]. He returned in the Summer of 1695 to London, lived in Bow-ſtreet Covent-Garden, and in the Winter read a courſe of Lectures of the ſame kind that he had done at Oxford (*r*), and which were received with general approbation. He became about this time a member of the Royal Society, and a member of the Royal College of Phyſicians alſo, which were a kind of rewards juſtly due to his great application and ſingular merit (*s*). In the ſummer of the year 1696, he went to Cambridge in conſequence of an invitation from ſome of the members of that univerſity, read publick Lectures there, and made various experiments in Chemiſtry (*t*). Upon his return from thence to London he was honoured with a letter from the Biſhop of Ploſkow, wherein was contained the caſe of his old maſter the King of Poland, upon which his advice was deſired, but before he had an opportunity of returning an anſwer, the news came of that Monarch's death (*u*). As he was naturally addicted to ſpeak his ſentiments very freely, even upon very nice and deli-

cate

(*k*) See the Preface to his Hiſt. of Poland, and the firſt Letter to the Earl of Yarmouth.

(*l*) Hiſt. of Poland, Vol. I. p. 197.

(*m*) Hiſtoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle, p. 219.

(*n*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 258.

(*o*) This appears from the Letters annexed to his firſt Vol. of the Hiſt. of Poland.

(*p*) See Dr Hayley's Funeral Sermon.

(*q*) Of this he informs us himſelf in the Preface to the firſt Vol. of his Hiſtory of Poland.

(*r*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 258.

(*s*) Taken from the printed Liſts of both thoſe learned Bodies for that year.

(*t*) From the Preface to his firſt Vol. of the Hiſt. of Poland.

(*u*) Inſerted in his Hiſt. of Poland, Vol. I. p. 201.

[*B*] *As well as of great reading and general knowledge.*] Theſe eſſays were printed together, under the following general title, viz. *Diſſertationes Medico-Phyſicæ, de Antris Lethiferis. De Montis Veſuvii Incendio. De Stupendo Oſſium Coalitu. De Immani Hypogaſtrii Sarcomate, A D. Bernardo Connor, M. D. Sereniſſimi* Poloniæ *Regis* Medico, *è Regia Cameræ* Parienſis *Societate.* Oxonii. *E. Theatro Sheldoniano Sumptibus Henrici Clements Bibliopola,* An. Dom. 1659, 8*vo. That is,* ‘Medico-phyſical Diſſertations concerning ‘Peſtiferous Caverns, an extraordinary eruption of ‘Mount Veſuvius, the wonderful coalition of human ‘Bones, and of an extraordinary ſwelling or dropſy of ‘the womb.’ Theſe treatiſes are printed ſeparately, and with different title pages. There is a table of contents to the firſt, and another to the other three. The Vice-Chancellor's Imprimatur is dated June 5, 1695. The firſt of theſe diſcourſes is dedicated to Thomas, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomeryſhire, at that time Lord Privy-Seal, and one of the Lords Juſtices. It is written very ſuccinctly, and with great perſpicuity: the author introduces and diſcuſſes a multitude of curious queſtions, and gives his reaſons for believing, that there is nothing infectious or poiſonous in the famous cave near Naples; but that animals are killed therein, or rather loſe their lives, thro' the want of elaſticity in the air, which renders it unfit for animal reſpiration. The ſecond diſcourſe is addreſſed to Dr Edward Brown, whom he compliments highly upon his Book of Travels that he had publiſhed. He therein gives a particular deſcription of a moſt remarkable eruption of Mount Veſuvius, which happened in the month of April, 1694, and which he attributes to the vaſt quantities of nitre and antimony lodged in the bowels of that mountain (*z*). He addreſſes his third diſcourſe to Dr John Ratcliff, Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the College of Phyſicians; and therein he gives an accurate account of an anatomical prodigy which he had ſeen at Paris. The fourth treatiſe is dedicated to Dr Hans Sloane, then one of the King's Phyſicians, Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Royal College, who has been ſince knighted, and Preſident of both thoſe learned bodies; in which he gives him an account of the diſſection of a widow at Paris, who died at the age of fifty-ſeven, and who laboured under a monſtrous big belly, occaſioned by a mole, or falſe conception, for twenty-five years. This fleſhy ſubſtance was of an enormous ſize, being in length twenty-two inches, twelve broad, ten thick, and weighing forty-two pounds. What is moſt obſervable in theſe diſſertations, is the great art and ſkill which the author has ſhewn in bringing in a great variety of uſeful ſubjects, more eſpecially relating to the animal œconomy, of which he diſcourſes with much freedom and judgment; from whence it is very evident, that they were not publiſhed ſo much with a view to gratify the curioſity of the learned men at that time, as to excite a good opinion of the author's capacity and knowledge in his profeſſion, and, at the ſame time, to ſhew the improvements he had made in his travels, that by this means he might come into practice with the greater eaſe and credit. It is pretty certain that this method had it's effects, and that if he had not been taken off ſo ſuddenly, he would have very ſoon grown into as high repute as any Phyſician of his time. It ſeems to be a pity that theſe diſſertations have not been tranſlated, as there is a great variety of curious obſervations in them, that would prove very entertaining to the Engliſh reader.

(*z*) He gives a very clear and accurate Deſcription of this Mountain from his own obſervation.

[C] *And*

cate ſubjects, he adventured, both at Oxford and at Cambridge, to let fall ſome diſcourſes in relation to miracles, and of a new method of explaining the nature of them in a phyſical way, upon which he had digeſted his ſentiments into writing ſome years before. He was very much preſſed to make this work of his publick, and though he could not but foreſee that many inconveniences would attend it, yet the ſollicitations upon this head were ſo ſtrong, and came from perſons to whom he was ſo much obliged, that he could not avoid yielding to their requeſt (*w*). He took however the precaution of procuring the licence of the College of Phyſicians, which bears date April 9, 1697, and is ſubſcribed by Sir Thomas Millington then Preſident, and by Dr Barwick, Dr Torleſſe, Dr Dawes, and Dr Gill, who were Cenſors (*x*). He dedicated it to the Right Honourable Charles Montague Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Preſident of the Royal Society. This work of his made a very great noiſe in the world, and came to a ſecond edition the ſame year: it is written in Latin with as much perſpicuity as the ſubject would permit, and with great prudence and circumſpection [*C*]. Notwithſtanding this it made a bad impreſſion upon ſome minds,

(*w*) See his Letter to a Reverend Clergyman and Dignitary of the Church, at the end of the firſt Vol. of the Hiſt. of Poland.

(*x*) It is prefixed to his book.

[*C*] *And with great prudence and circumſpection.*] In the firſt place it will be neceſſary to ſee the title of it at large, which we may preſume has given at leaſt as much offence as the book, it runs thus: Evangelium Medici: *ſeu Medicina Myſtica de Suſpenſis Naturæ Legibus, ſive de Miraculis; Reliquiſque* ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις *Memoratis, quæ Medicæ indagini ſubjici poſſunt. Ubi perpenſis priùs Corporum Naturâ, ſano et morboſo Corporis Humani Statu, nec non Motûs Legibus, Rerum Status ſuper naturam, præcipuè qui Corpus Humanum et Animam ſpectant, juxta Medicinæ Principia explicantur. A Bernardo Connor,* M. D. *et* R. S. S. i. e. ‘The Phyſician's Goſpel: or, Myſtical Phyſick, with reſpect to the ſuſpenſion of the laws of nature, or of miracles; and whatever elſe worthy of note occurs in the ſacred writings, that falls properly under the conſideration of Phyſick, wherein the nature of bodies, the ſound and diſeaſed ſtate of human bodies, as alſo the laws of motion, and the ſupernatural ſtate of things, more eſpecially of the human body and ſoul, are previouſly conſidered, and, according to the principles of Phyſick, explained.' *Londini* 1697, 8*vo* & 12*mo*. *Amſtelodami* 1699, 8*vo*. This curious little treatiſe contains ſixteen ſhort ſections, in which the author, with great clearneſs, and conciſeneſs, and with the moſt perfect connection, treats every part of his ſubject ſo as to make the reader fully ſenſible, that he had not haſtily or ſuperficially run it over in his mind, but with great care and caution had conſidered all things that he advances, and the conſequences that might be drawn from them. The beſt, as well as moſt ſuccinct account that can be given of it, the reader will meet with in the following extract of a letter, written by himſelf, to an eminent Divine (3).

(3) This Letter is to be found at the end of the firſt Vol. of his Hiſt. of Poland.

‘My deſign, Sir, ſays he, is to endeavour to make it no longer a difficulty to conceive and make evident, by reaſon and the principles of Phyſick, I mean the principles of nature, all the ſupernatural effects authentically delivered to us concerning bodies chiefly, but particularly the human; I mean, ſuppoſing thoſe effects to be true matters of fact, and all matters of fact, as well natural as ſupernatural, to be immediate effects of a ſupreme being, which muſt be granted; it is as eaſy to conceive the manner how this infinite power may be applied to bodies to work ſupernatural effects, as to produce the common phænomena of nature. By this I hope to convince our Scepticks, the Deiſts, who muſt give their aſſent when they have the ſame evident reaſon to conceive the poſſibility, and conſequently to believe the truth, of ſuch miraculous effects, that are authentically related, as they have to conceive, that ſtraw can burn in a flaming fire. The foundation I go upon is the ſtructure of the human body, which I have often taken to pieces by Anatomy, and reſolved into it's eſſential elements, or minute particles, by Chemiſtry; for I find it as neceſſary to be acquainted with it's fabrick, to give an account of the miraculous ſtates it is ſuppoſed to have been in ſupernaturally, as it is to explain the natural effects commonly produced in it. For want of a ſufficient inſight into this matter, ſeveral Divines in the latter ages have given very groſs ideas of the ſupernatural effects they have pretended to explain, and in ſeveral places where I have been, I ſaw them, either through ignorance, or for intereſt, give out for miracles, phænomena, that were only ſurpriſing effects of natural cauſes, which has given ſo great an occaſion to Sceptiſciſm, and increaſe of Deiſm. Having laid down for my baſis the ſtructure of the human body, as far as I could diſcover from my ſenſes, anatomy, fire, microſcopes, and experiments, I proceed to examine, and endeavour to explain, the different ways it's natural ſtate is ſuppoſed to have been ſupernaturally altered by an infinite power: for finding that the human body is all matter, and that all this matter is nothing but an union of particles with bulk, figure, and reſpective ſituation, I thought that all the alterations that could ſupernaturally happen to this bulk, figure, or ſituation, could be conceived. But before I enter upon thoſe nice ſubjects, I find it firſt neceſſary to enquire into the cauſe, nature, and laws of motion, becauſe motion is the only true cauſe of all natural phænomena, and the ſuſpenſions of the laws of this motion are the only cauſes of all ſupernatural effects. I conceive the laws of motion can be ſuſpended three different ways, and by one or more of theſe laws of ſuſpenſion, it is as eaſy to ſolve clearly all ſupernatural effects, as it is to explain the moſt evident effects of natural cauſes by the common laws of motion. Tho' I mention, that all ſupernatural effects whatſoever can be eaſily reduced to ſome of the three laws of ſuſpenſion or motion, notwithſtanding I do not deſign to ſpeak of them all in particular, but of ſuch only as are moſt in diſpute amongſt the learned; yet any underſtanding man may eaſily make his application, and reſolve all other miraculous effects into one or other of them. By the ſuſpenſion of the laws of motion, I do not mean, that theſe laws are changed or abrogated, but only that their courſe is ſtopt while an effect is produced by the immediate action of the Deity, without any influence of theirs, for ſome particular end; and it cannot be denied, but that the ſupreme legiſlator, who made firſt the laws, may ſuſpend them when he pleaſes, and, in that ſtate of ſuſpenſion, produce, of himſelf alone, without their concurrence, the ſame effects, which are wont to be produced only by the ſame laws put in execution; ſo that though a body, for example, of a hundred pound weight, by the eſtabliſhed laws of motion, muſt be moved by another that has ſeveral degrees of motion, yet an infinite power may, of himſelf, either move it without the concurrence of another body, or hinder it's being moved by any other body of what weight ſoever, though put into the moſt rapid motion, as if combuſtible matter ſhould be in a flaming fire without burning —Sir, the learned and judicious gentlemen of your own, can have no reaſon to complain, that I invade their province, or encroach upon their prerogatives; for I do not undertake to prove, that there ever were any ſupernatural effects produced; that matter, I think, belongs entirely to Divines to make evident from authentick teſtimony. I only endeavour to demonſtrate the poſſibility of them, and if there were ever any, to explain the mode and mechaniſm with which we may conceive how they might have been performed. This is not doing any prejudice to your profeſſion, for I have that reſpect to the Church, and that deference to the Clergy, that I did nothing in this matter without the advice and approbation of thoſe of them that are in the higheſt ſtation; and they owned, that though this ſubject had never yet been handled by any Phyſician, nor indeed by any Divine that I know of, minds, occaſioned a ſuſpicion of the author's religious principles here at home, and has given occaſion to ſome warm and inconſiderate writers abroad (*y*), to repreſent him as an abſolute Atheiſt, though there is nothing more certain, than that the Doctor was entirely free from any thing of that kind, and actually wrote this piece with a very good intention, neither is there any thing in the treatiſe, that, fairly conſidered, will admit of any ſuch conſtruction, notwithſtanding the prejudices that have been raiſed againſt it. The Poliſh election, upon the death of King John Sobieſki, having a ſtrong influence upon the general ſyſtem of affairs in Europe, and being from thence a common topick of diſcourſe at that time, induced many perſons of the firſt diſtinction to deſire the acquaintance of Dr Connor, that they might inform themſelves as to the ſtate of that kingdom, than which there was none ſo little known, or ſo indifferently underſtood amongſt the generality even of intelligent perſons, and the ſatisfaction given by the Doctor in his converſations upon theſe ſubjects was ſuch, that he was deſired to gratify the publick, by committing what he knew of the Poliſh nation and country to the preſs (z). Upon his giving his conſent to this, he found himſelf ſo much hurried in the execution, and this hurry ſo inconvenient with reſpect to his practice, that he was obliged to engage one Mr Savage to aſſiſt in compoſing, correcting, and publiſhing that performance (*a*). The method he took was that of an ingenious French Jeſuit in his account of China, that is to ſay, he threw his materials into the form of letters, each of which he addreſſed to ſome perſon of high rank and diſtinction, who perhaps had formerly deſired thoſe lights from him, that are given in the Epiſtle thus addreſſed. The two volumes of which this work conſiſts, were publiſhed ſeparately, and the laſt more eſpecially carries in it many marks of precipitation; but however, it muſt be allowed the beſt book that we have upon the ſubject, or rather, to contain the beſt things in it, and may be read with equal pleaſure and improvement (*b*) [*D*]. There are ſome particulars which fell more immediately under the

(*y*) Reimanni, Hiſtoria Univerſalis Atheiſmi et Atheorum, p. 449. Heiſteri Apologia pro Medicis, p. 10.

(z) See his Preface to the firſt Vol. of his Hiſtory.

(*a*) This he tells us himſelf in the ſame Preface.

(*b*) Methode pour etudier l'Hiſtoire, par M. l'Abbé du Freſnoy, Tom. IV. p. 294.

' of, yet it was only a Phyſician's buſineſs to treat of, according to the principles of Natural Philoſophy and Phyſick: for ſince it is on all ſides acknowledged, that miraculous effects are above natural cauſes, no people can better judge whether any effect is really ſupernatural, than thoſe that make it their buſineſs and profeſſion to know how far the activity of natural cauſes can reach. For Phyſicians may find ſometimes that what the wilful miſtakes of ſome, and the ignorance of others, take for ſupernatural, is the viſible effect of a natural cauſe; as I obſerved once at Rome ſome years ſince, paſſing by chance through the Strada del Popolo, I ſaw a multitude of people hurrying a man to St Mark's Chapel, which belongs the Venetian Embaſſador, they told me, that he was poſſeſſed with the devil, and that they were carrying him to be exorciſed. I crowded through the throng into the church, and felt the man's pulſe; I found him in a fever, making hideous grimaces and motions with his face, eyes, tongue, and all his limbs, which were nothing elſe but a fit of convulſive motions all over his body, occaſioned by diſorder of his blood and his ſpirits, being a hypochondraical perſon. The clergy and people began very devoutly to fright the pretended devil out of him, and, in a little time, his diſorderly motion ceaſed, which, as they thought it to be the miraculous effect of their prayers, I attributed to the natural abatement and uſual ceſſation of ſuch fits. Every underſtanding Naturaliſt knows, that an able Chemiſt can work ſuch ſurprizing effects in his art, as may very eaſily paſs for miracles with ſuch as are unacquainted how far the force of natural cauſes can extend. It would ſeem to them very aſtoniſhing to ſee two liquors that are cold of their own nature ferment, boil, and become very hot, without any viſible cauſe to put them in motion: to ſee Aqua Regalis diſſolve maſſy gold, Aqua Fortis diſſolve ſilver, iron, Mercury, and moſt other Minerals: to ſee the Spirit of Nitre, and the Oil of Cloves, which ſeparately are very quiet, turn into a burning flame when mixed together; to ſee tranſparent liquors, when mixed, turn red, green, white, and into all ſorts of colours. I ſay nothing of the Phoſphorus, of the ſurprizing effects of the Air-Pump, of the elaſticity of the Air, of the Magnet, nor of an infinite number of other wonderful Phænomena in nature, which though they may be common, yet they are not the leſs ſurprizing, becauſe their cauſe is as hid from thoſe that do not, and even to thoſe that do, ſtudy nature, as that of ſupernatural effects is to thoſe Naturaliſts who trace natural cauſes to their higheſt ſphere of activity. I do not doubt, but that if the miſſionaries that are ſent from the Weſtern Churches to convert the Pagans of the Eaſtern Nations, were as well verſed in Anatomy and Chemiſtry, as they are in the tenets of the Chriſtian Religion, and in the Mathematicks, and that if they did but dazzle the eyes of thoſe ignorant people with a great many curious and uſeful experiments in theſe two fundamental branches of Phyſick, they would perhaps make as deep impreſſions upon their minds, and give them as convincing teſtimonies of the power and legality of their miſſion, as they can at preſent by the ſpiritual or indelible character they ſay is inherent in them, by virtue of their commiſſion. Pope Clement X. knew well the effects Chemiſtry, artfully applied, might produce in the minds of ignorant people, when he ſecured the perſon of the famous Italian, Signior Borri, who, about thirty-five years ago, by his ſkill in Chemiſtry, did work ſeveral extraordinary cures on diſeaſes in Germany, and gained ſuch univerſal reputation all over the Empire, and the northern kingdoms, that, (as it was reported of him) he thought he had credit and opportunity ſufficient to invent and propagate a new religion, by making his ſurprizing experiments in Chemiſtry paſs for miracles, which they might have eaſily done, ſince Chemiſtry being then in it's minority was not much known in the world. But the Pope, fore-ſeeing the ill conſequence ſuch a deſign might produce, gave timely orders to his Nuncio, then at Vienna, to deſire the preſent Emperor to get him ſeized, which being accordingly done, he was ſent priſoner to Rome, on condition nevertheleſs, that his life ſhould be ſafe. Here he lived in Caſtello St Angelo for ſeveral years, where I ſaw him, and his curious Laboratory for Chemiſtry, allowed him for his diverſion. No-body was admitted to diſcourſe him without ſpecial leave, for fear, I ſuppoſe, he ſhould inform the world either of his pretended new doctrine, or of the injuſtice he might intimate that was done to him. He died lately in this cloſe confinement ſince I have been at Rome.' To this is added another little piece, intitled, *Tentamen Epiſtolare de Secretione Animali*, that is, 'An Epiſtolary Eſſay upon Animal Secretion,' addreſſed to Edward Southwell, Eſq; ſon to Sir Edward Southwell, formerly Preſident of the Royal Society.

[*D*] *With equal pleaſure and improvement*] The title of this work promiſes largely (4), and there is no doubt that the author was both willing and able to have performed what he promiſed, if he had been ſuffered to proceed in his own way; for as he was naturally a very cloſe and conciſe writer, he intended to have inſiſted chiefly upon matters of the greateſt moment, and upon facts and things that fell under his immediate obſervation, and to have brought the whole into an octavo volume, which if he had done, there is no doubt it would have appeared a very correct, and

(4) The Hiſtory of Poland, in ſeveral Letters to Perſons of Quality, giving an account of the antient and preſent State of that kingdom, Hiſtorical, Geographical, Phyſical, Political, and Eccleſiaſtical; it's Origin and Extent; with a Deſcription of it's Towns and Provinces, the Succeſſion and remarkable Actions of all it's Kings, and of the Great Dukes of Lithuania, &c.

the author's own inſpection, that are very curious, and not to be met with elſewhere, ſuch as his account of the ſalt-mines, of young children carried away and nouriſhed by bears, and of the diſeaſes peculiar to that country, of which ſome notice will be taken in it's proper place (*c*) [*E*]. Dr Connor's practice, by that time he had finiſhed the firſt volume of his work, was ſo much enlarged, that he was forced to charge his aſſiſtant with the care of the ſecond entirely, furniſhing him only with notes, and there is no doubt that if he had lived, he might have become a very eminent man in his profeſſion. But in the flower of his age, and juſt as he began to reap the fruits of his learning, ſtudy, and travels, he was attacked by a violent fever, which, after a ſhort illneſs, carried him off in the month of October 1698, when he was very little more than thirty-two years of age (*d*). He had, as we obſerved before, been bred in the Romiſh religion, but had embraced that of the Church of England upon his firſt coming over from Holland, but in what communion he died is not perfectly clear, the reaſons of which the reader will learn at large in the notes (*e*) [*F*], from

(*c*) See a brief account of theſe matters in the note.

(*d*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 258.

(*e*) Dr Hayley's Sermon at his funeral.

finiſhed performance; but being prevailed upon to extend his plan, and to leave the open part of it, for which he had no materials, to be filled up from books by another perſon, it is, to ſay the truth, not a little confuſed and unequal; but wherever we can diſcern the doctor's pen, the reader is ſure to meet with ſomething worthy his notice. The firſt volume is divided into ſix letters, *viz.* to the Earl of Dartmouth, the Earl of Rocheſter, the Duke of Devonſhire, the Earl of Yarmouth, the Lord Townſend, and Mr Stepney. According to the plan of the ſecond volume, printed before the firſt, there is a ſcheme of twelve letters, notwithſtanding which, there are only ten in that volume, addreſſed to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Duke of Norfolk, Mr Secretary Vernon, the Earl of Marlborough, the Marquis of Normanby, the Duke of Ormond, Mr de Cleverſkerk the Dutch Embaſſador, the Earl of Burlington, Sir Thomas Millington, and Mr Bridges, afterward Duke of Chandos, but this letter is not upon the ſubject which was promiſed, for that with another, were never executed, though the contents of them ſhew that this was a loſs to the publick. Letter XI. Giving an anatomical account of the natural cauſe, why people muſt neceſſarily die of old age alone, attended with no other diſeaſe. Letter XII. Explaining the nature of curable and incurable wounds, demonſtrating by practical obſervations, and anatomical experiments, the ſmall number of wounds which are of themſelves abſolutely mortal, and ſhewing the true and common abuſe of ſtyptic waters and powders, in the practice of Surgery. All the letters in the ſecond volume, except the firſt, are ſigned I. S. tho' it is evident, that part of the materials in each was furniſhed by Dr Connor, who ſeeing them indifferently put together, did not care to own them.

[*E*] *Of which ſome notice will be taken in it's proper place.*] We are told by Dr Connor, that the ſalt mines near Cracow, were diſcovered in 1548, by a cobbler (5), and that they have been wrought ever ſince without any danger of being exhauſted. They deſcend into them by ſeveral pair of wooden ſtairs, and the depth of the mine is computed at three hundred geometrical paces. There are a vaſt number of turnings and windings at that depth, ſome narrow like allies, and others broad and large like ſtreets. The owner of the mine, Mr Morſtin Covalſki, told the Doctor, it would require a week's time to go all over the mine, which muſt be conſequently of a vaſt extent. In ſome places there is a great deal of freſh water, but in moſt places it is ſalt. There are frequently ſuch fierce winds in the mine, as are not to be withſtood; and the air, to thoſe who are not uſed to it, is exceſſively penetrating and ſharp. The miners poſitively affirm, that the ſalt weighs leſs in the mine than when brought up into the air, of which, however, the Doctor, ſeems a little to doubt. The ſalt found here is of four ſorts, the firſt clear and hard like cryſtal, the ſecond clear but not ſo hard, the third brittle and white like ſugar, the fourth not ſo well coloured and of a leſs pungent taſte. In ſome places it is impoſſible to work, becauſe the nitrous vapours are apt to take fire upon the approach of a candle. The revenue drawn from this mine by the publick, amounts to eight hundred thouſand Poliſh florins a year, beſides which, the proprietor makes preſents to each of the cities and towns of Poland, and to the Staroſts, all which, and the expences of working defrayed, there remains a very great income. ——— The Doctor takes occaſion to prove at large, a ſtory he had before-mentioned in one of his Latin treatiſes (6), of a boy kept in a convent in his time, that had been bred up by a ſhe-bear, and was taken in the woods when he was about ten years old, as they gueſſed from his ſtature and aſpect: he was of a hideous countenace, and had not either the uſe of reaſon or of ſpeech: he went upon all four, and had nothing in him like a man, except his human ſtructure. But ſeeing he reſembled a rational creature, he was admitted to the font and chriſtened, yet ſtill he was reſtleſs and uneaſy, and often inclined to flight, and at length being taught to ſtand upright, by clapping againſt a wall and holding him after the manner that dogs are taught to beg, and being by little and little accuſtomed to eat at table, he after ſome time became indifferently tame and began to expreſs his mind with a hoarſe and inhuman tone, but being aſked concerning his courſe of life in the woods, he could not give much better account of it than we can do of our actions in the cradle. — The account the Doctor gives us of the plica (7), is very ſingular, but free from the abſurdities of former accounts. He tells us, that it conſiſts in the hairs being matted and intangled like fulled cloth, ſometimes on one ſide of the head, ſometimes on both; but he aſſures us, that no blood follows upon cutting it, nor does the patient feel any pain in that operation, tho' he is afterwards ſubject to a kind of rheumatick diſorder all over, and ſometimes to greater inconveniences; yet he aſſures us, that Dr Jonas, a Jew, and the king of Poland's Phyſician, found a very ſhort and ſafe method of curing it, by firſt ſalivating by friction, and then cutting off the hair, which was done without any dangerous conſequences enſuing. The moſt extraordinary circumſtances attending this diſeaſe are two (8); firſt, that it is peculiar to the kingdom of Poland, and Duchy of Lithuania; next, that it comes ſuddenly without any viſible cauſe, and, that too, frequently in a night's time.

(5) Hiſtory of Poland, Vol. I. p. 246.

(6) Evangel. Medici, Art. 15. p. 181.

(7) Hiſtory of Poland, Vol. II. p. 95.

(8) Chwalkowſki Singularia Polonica, p. 191.

[*F*] *Will learn at large in the notes.*] This funeral ſermon upon Dr Bernard Connor, was preached by the Reverend William Hayley, D. D. Rector of St Giles's in the Fields, on the 30th of October 1698, at which time the corps of Dr Connor was interred there. What follows is in that Divine's own words (9) ‘ He ‘ had in his ſickneſs, before his diſtemper arrived to a ‘ great height, and while he was in his perfect ſenſes ‘ made a *will*, in which he left five pounds to the poor ‘ of this pariſh, where he now lived, and deſired that ‘ if it ſhould pleaſe God to take him out of this world, ‘ I might preach his *funeral ſermon*, and that it might ‘ be made publick; his friends let me know this, and ‘ at his and their requeſt I viſited him: I found him ‘ very much decayed in ſtrength, but perfectly ſenſible, ‘ as he had ſtill been in the intervals of his fits, though ‘ the height of his fever put him into *ravings*. As ‘ ſoon as I ſaw him, he requeſted of me what his friends ‘ had told me before hand, and I preſumed his deſign ‘ in it was, that he might be vindicated from the ‘ ſuſpicion of ſome *heterodox opinions*, which his cenſurers imputed to him, as well as that his death might ‘ be the occaſion of an uſeful diſcourſe to the living. ‘ I therefore told him, that in caſe I complied with his ‘ deſire, I thought it would be expected I ſhould ſay ‘ ſomething of a *perſon* whoſe *writings* and *character* ‘ had rendered him ſo much known to the world, and ‘ had given occaſion to ſome people to ſpeak *doubtfully* ‘ of his *principles* in *religion*; and that for this reaſon, ‘ among others, it would be very proper for me to ‘ have ſome ſatisfaction from him as to his *faith*, ‘ upon which I put ſeveral queſtions to him, *As whether* ‘ *he believed the goſpel? whether he gave credit to the* ‘ *miracles*

(9) Sermon preached at the funeral of Bernard Connor, M. D. in the pariſh church of St Giles's, Oct. 30, 1698, by William Hayley, D. D. Rector of the ſaid Pariſh, Lond. 1699, 4*to*.

from a Funeral Sermon preached by an eminent Divine at his own requeſt, who ſeems to have ſpoken of him with all the candour and charity that became a Chriſtian Prieſt. As his writings are very well known, and his character has been much canvaſſed in foreign countries, this article was thought the more neceſſary, in which we have endeavoured to collect all the ſcattered facts that can be met with about him.

miracles that are there recorded, and looked upon them as atteſtations of the truth of the Chriſtian religion? whether he believed that Jeſus Chriſt was the ſaviour of the world, and that he came to be our propitiation, and to ſatisfy divine juſtice for the ſins of mankind? To which, and ſuch like queſtions, he anſwered *affirmatively* with great *earneſtneſs*; and when I diſcourſed him on the ſubject of that *book* of his, which occaſioned ſuſpicion of his principles, he declared that he had no intention to prejudice *religion* thereby, and remitted me to his Grace the *Archbiſhop of Canterbury* for farther ſatisfaction, to whom he ſaid he had explained himſelf in this matter; and as an atteſtation of his ſincerity, had received the *ſacrament* upon it at the pariſh church of St *Martin* in the *Fields*, which I have ſince found to be true.

‘ I then began to examine him as to the *ſtate* of his *ſoul*, what ſenſe he had of his ſins, and what remorſe for having at any time offended *God?* and whether he were perſwaded of the neceſſity of repentance and amendment of life, in order to gain the ſalvation purchaſed by *Jeſus Chriſt*. To all which he gave me ſatisfactory anſwers, and expreſſed great ſorrow for the *ſins* and *errors* of his life paſt, and then joined with us very *devoutly* in the prayers of the Church, in the office for the viſitation of the ſick.

‘ In the *afternoon* of the ſame day, I went with a deſire to have had ſome farther diſcourſe with him, but the violence of his fit being upon him, he was not in a condition to be ſpoken with.

‘ The next *morning* I viſited him again, and found him in one of his *intervals* ſtill *ſenſible*, but very much weakened. I took this occaſion to talk with him more particularly concerning his principles, and upon mentioning the *merits* of our *Saviour*, aſk'd him whether he depended entirely on the *merits* of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and his *interceſſion*, for pardon of his ſins and reconcilement to God? and he made anſwer, *that he relied only on the merits of his Saviour*. He was then put in mind of receiving the *ſacrament*, and he ſaid he deſired it *with all his ſoul*. I aſk'd whether in receiving the *ſacrament*, he had in his view the profeſſing himſelf a diſciple of *Chriſt* and a member of *his body* the *Church?* and if in receiving it from *my hands*, he deſired to profeſs himſelf a member of the *Church* of *England*, which queſtion being a *ſecond* time diſtinctly put to him by a friend of his then preſent, he anſwered with very great *ſeriouſneſs* that he did. Then I put him in mind of his *neglect* of receiving the *ſacrament*, which he had not done ſince about *two* years ago, when he communicated at St *Martin*'s, and he expreſſed a ſorrow for it. By all this I thought he ſufficiently purged himſelf from the imputation of *Deiſm*, *Socinianiſm*, or *Popery*. I looked on him as a *true penitent* member of the *Church* of *England*, and I gave him the *ſacrament*. He received it with ſigns of very great *devotion*, with expreſſions of hearty *repentance* for all the ſins and follies of his life, and earneſt petitions for pardon, and ſo I left him as far as we could judge in a Chriſtian diſpoſition for death, which I looked upon as very near.

‘ Theſe are things which I think myſelf obliged to give a particular account of, partly to anſwer what I conceive was the *deſign* of the deceaſed, and partly upon occaſion of an accident that happened ſome hours after I left him, which perhaps it will be thought not fair to conceal. A certain perſon, who it ſeems was a *Romiſh* prieſt, came to the Doctor's lodgings, and deſired very earneſtly to ſee him, declaring that he was his *countryman*, his *friend*, and his *relation*: thoſe about him looking upon him as very near his departure, were unwilling he ſhould be diſturbed, but upon great *importunity* did at laſt grant the *ſtranger* admittance, who coming to the bed-ſide, called the Doctor by his name, and ſaluted him three times before he regarded, but at the third time he cried out *for God's ſake aſſiſt me*. Upon which the company was prevailed with to leave the room, but the Doctor's moſt intimate *friend* returned to the door, and heard the Doctor repeating over his *Confiteor* in *Latin*, in a very *huddled* manner, upon which the *prieſt* gave him *abſolution*; and then aſked him, whether he would have *extreme unction*, and the Doctor ſaid *yes*, after which it is ſuſpected it was adminiſtred to him.

‘ Now here could I imagine the Doctor was in his ſenſes, and that he was really in his heart of the *Roman* communion, while he only acted this part in the laſt ſcene of his life, I ſhould look upon it as a very great *ſtain* on his memory, and I am perſwaded it would give every body a ſhocking idea of that religion, which would allow a perſon ſo to *prevaricate* both with God and man.

‘ But I confeſs that I believe his judgment was now quite decayed, and that he did not know what he did, for he was thought dying by thoſe about him, though he recovered out of that agony and lived till next day. His *friend* aſſures me, that in his ſickneſs, he turned away another *Romiſh* prieſt who would have ſeen him: that the doctor *thanked* him for it, and deſired that none of thoſe perſons (adding a reproachful word, which I do not think decent to publiſh) ſhould be admitted to him; and that it was the *Doctor*'s *own deſire* that I ſhould attend him in his ſickneſs; and I cannot ſee what occaſion there ſhould be for ſuch a piece of *diſſimulation* if he had been of the *Roman communion*. E

COOKE (Sir ANTHONY) Governor, Preceptor, or School-maſter, to King Edward VI, and great grandſon to Sir Thomas Cook Lord Mayor of London in 1462 [*A*], was born at Giddy, or Gidding-Hall in Eſſex (*a*), about the year 1506 (*b*). Where the place

[*A*] *Great Grandſon to Sir* Thomas Cook, *Lord-Mayor of* London, *in* 1462,] This Sir Thomas Cooke was ſon of Robert Cooke, of Lavenham, in Suffolk. He was of the Drapers Company, and probably brought up to that buſineſs. In the 5th of King Edward IV. he was made Knight of the Bath, and knighted in the field by the King (1); but in the year 1467 he came into great troubles: For one Hawkins having, ſome years before, deſired him to lend him a thouſand marks upon good ſecurity, Sir Thomas anſwered, he would firſt know for whom it was, and for what intent. Underſtanding it was for the uſe of Queen Margaret, (wife of King Henry VI.) he anſwered, he had no goods that he could convert into money without too much loſs; and, at length, refuſed to lend even a hundred pounds. Two or three years after, Hawkins being committed to the Tower, and put to the rack, impeached Sir Tho. Cook of high-treaſon, for what ſhould *then* have been imputed to him as a virtue rather than a crime. However, he was for the ſame tried at Guild-hall, by the procurement of Sir John Fogg; and tho' he was acquitted of treaſon, he was ſent to the Counter, and from thence to the King's-Bench. During his confinement, his houſe in London, and his country-ſeat at Giddy-Hall, were plundered by the ſervants of Sir John Fogg, and Anthony Rivers, Earl of Widville: for which damages Sir Thomas could never get the leaſt recompence: nor was he releaſed 'till he had paid eight thouſand pounds to the King, and eight hundred pounds to the Queen (2). His ſon was Philip Cooke, Eſq; —his grandſon John Cooke, Eſq; who died Oct. 10, 1516,—and his great grandſon, Sir Anthony, of whom we are now writing (3).

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Eſſex, p. 327.

(*b*) Mr Camden tells us, in his Annals of Qu. Elizabeth under the year 1576, that Sir Antony was *ſeptuagenarius*, 70 years old, that very year when he died; and therefore muſt have been born about the year 1506.

(1) Stowe's Survey of London, with Strype's Additions, edit. 1720, fol. Vol. II. B. v. p. 122.

(2) Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, fol. p. 420.

(3) Hiſt. & Antiq. of Eſſex. by N. Salmon, p. 249.

place of his education was, we cannot find any where mentioned; though it was moſt probably at Cambridge (c). But wherever it was, he became eminent in the whole circle of arts; being a thorough Maſter of the Latin and Greek languages; an excellent Critic and Philologiſt; and equally ſkilled in Poetry, Hiſtory, and the Mathematicks. He was at the ſame time adorned with ſingular piety and goodneſs. Theſe illuſtrious qualities, together with his uncommon prudence in the management of his own family [*B*], being taken notice of by thoſe noble perſons that had the charge of King Edward VI: they appointed Sir Anthony to be that Prince's chief inſtructer, and the great guide of his learning and manners (*d*). And what glorious progreſs he made, under his, and the reſt of his Governors, good care, is ſufficiently known. During Queen Mary's perſecuting reign, he was an exile for his religion. But after Queen Elizabeth's happy acceſſion, he returned to his native country: And peaceably ſpent the remainder of his days at Giddy-Hall, of which he finiſhed the building (*e*) [C]. He died June 11, 1576, aged ſeventy; leaving behind him the character of a man of ſevere gravity, and great learning (*f*). See the reſt of his character in the note [*D*]. Several witty and ingenious ſayings of his are recorded [*E*]. He was buried in the chapel of Rumford in Eſſex, where a monument is erected to his memory (g). If he was great and happy in himſelf, he was much happier and greater in his four daughters, learned above their ſex in Greek and Latin; namely, 1. Mildred, married to Sir William Cecil, Baron Burleigh, Lord Treaſurer of England. 2. Anne, to Sir Nicolas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. 3. Elizabeth to Sir John Ruſſel, ſon and heir of Francis Earl of Bedford. And 4. Catherine [*F*], to Henry Killigrew, Eſq; — By his Lady, Anne, daughter of Sir William Fitz-Williams of Milton, Knt. he had alſo two ſons, Richard and William (*h*).

[*B*] *Together with his uncommon prudence in the management of his family.*] His childrens maintenance was always according to their quality, and their employment according to their diſpoſition; he neither allowing them to live above their fortunes, nor forcing them againſt their natures. His firſt care was to give them a true ſenſe of religion, and his next, to inure them to ſubmiſſion, modeſty, and obedience, and to let their inſtructions grow with their years. Their book and pen was their recreation; the muſick and dancing-ſchool, the court and city, their accompliſhment; the needle in the cloſet, and houſewifry in the hall and kitchen, their buſineſs. They were reproved, but with reaſon that convinced and checked, that wrought as well an ingenuous ſhame, as an unfeigned ſorrow, and a dutiful fear. He never loved them with over-fondneſs, nor chaſtiſed them in a paſſion. He ſaid, 'That the joys of parents are ſecrets, and ſo are 'their griefs and fears.' Children ſweeten labours, but they embitter misfortunes; they increaſe the care of life, and mitigate the remembrance of death. The recreations he indulged his in, were moderate, lawful, ſober, becoming, uſeful, and ſeaſonable: the expences he allowed, not ſo illiberal as to acquaint them with ſhifts, make them reſort with mean company, nor ſurfeit when they came to plenty; nor yet ſo prodigal, but that they were taught how to live in the world. The books he adviſed were not many, but choice; the buſineſs he preſſed, was not reading, but digeſting. The diet he preſcribed was moderate: in apparel he allowed for neceſſity, for decency, and in ſome caſes for magnificence, provided that it were neither too coſtly, nor too vain; neither above the purſe, nor beyond the calling, nor beſides the eſtate (4).

[*C*] Giddy-hall, *of which he finiſhed the building.*] As the following inſcription, on the front of it, teſtified.

Ædibus his frontem proavus Thomas *dedit olim,*
  Addidit Antonî *cætera ſera manus.* 1568.
Ædes quiſque ſuas, Domini ſed moenia pauci
  Ædificant, levior cura minora decet (5).

The purport of which is, that the front of that houſe was built by his great grandfather Thomas, and the reſt added by himſelf in 1568, *&c.* This ſeat was not long ago re-built, in an elegant manner, by the late owner, Sir John Eyles, Bart.

[*D*] *See the reſt of his character in the note.*] He was, if David Lloyd may be credited (6), naturally of a reſerved temper; and took more pleaſure to breed up ſtateſmen, than to be one. Contemplation was his ſoul, privacy his life, and diſcourſe his element: buſineſs was his purgatory, and publickneſs his torment." To which may be added what King Edward VI. uſed to ſay of his tutors, that Rodolph, the German, ſpake honeſtly, Sir John Cheke talked merrily, Dr Cox ſolidly, and Sir *Anthony Cooke* weighingly (7).

[*E*] *Several witty and ingenious ſayings of his are recorded.*] Particularly the following: 'That there 'were three things before whom he could not do 'amiſs; his Prince, his conſcience, and his children.' Writing to his daughter Mildred, he ſaid to her, 'My example is your inheritance, and my life is 'your portion.' This ſtory is likewiſe related of him. That a Suſſex Knight having ſpent a great eſtate at Court, and reduced himſelf to one park and a fine houſe in it, was yet ambitious to entertain King Edward VI. therein; and to that purpoſe had new-painted his gates, with a Coat of Arms, and this motto over them in large golden letters, $\overline{\text{O I A}}$ VANITAS. Sir Anthony offering to read it, deſired to know of the gentleman what he meant by $\overline{\text{O I A}}$? who told him it ſtood for *omnia*. Sir Anthony replied, 'Sir, I won'der, having made your *Omnia* (8) ſo little as you 'have, you notwithſtanding make your *Vanitas* (9) ſo 'large (10).'

[*F*] *Catherine.*] Dr T. Fuller hath preſerved the following Latin verſes of this lady's, written, as he ſays, upon this occaſion. Her huſband, Sir Henry Killigrew, being deſigned by Queen Elizabeth Embaſſador for France, in troubleſome times, when the employment, always difficult, was then apparently dangerous; this affectionate wife of his wrote theſe verſes to her ſiſter Mildred Cecil, to uſe her intereſt with the Lord Treaſurer, her huſband, that Sir Henry might be excuſed from that ſervice.

Si mihi quem cupio cures, Mildreda, remitti,
  Tu bona, tu melior, tu mihi ſola Soror.
Sin male cunctando retines, vel trans mare mittes,
  Tu mala, tu pejor, tu mihi nulla Soror.
It ſi Cornubiam, tibi pax ſit, & omnia læta,
  Sin mare, * *Cecili, nuntio bella, vale.*

Thus engliſhed by the ſame author (11).

If, Mildred, by thy care he be ſent back, whom I requeſt,
A ſiſter good thou art to me, yea better, yea the beſt.
But if with ſtays thou keep'ſt him ſtill, or ſend'ſt where ſeas may part,
Then unto me a ſiſter ill, yea worſe, yea none thou art.
If go to Cornwall he ſhall pleaſe, I peace to thee foretell.
But, Cecil, if he ſet to ſeas, I war denounce; farewell.

(c) He is not mentioned at all by A. Wood.

(*d*) State Worthies, *&c.* by Dav. Lloyd, 2d edit. 8*vo*, Lond. 1679, p. 374, *&c.* See alſo Sir John Hayward's Life of King Edward VI. in Compl. Hiſt. of England, fol. Vol. II. edit. 1706, p. 274, note (*d*).

(*e*) D. Lloyd; and Fuller's Worthies, ubi ſupra; and The Hiſtory and Antiquities of Eſſex, *&c.* by N. Salmon, p. 249.

(*f*) *Vir—antiqua ſeveritate, & doctrina multiplici*—as Mr Camden ſtyles him; Annal. Reg. Eliz. ſub anno, 1576.

(*g*) J. Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 467, *&c.*

(*h*) Strype, ibid.

(4) State Worthies, *&c.* as above. p. 375, 376, 377.

(5) Weaver's Funeral Monuments edit. 1631, fol. p. 650.

(6) Ubi ſupra, p. 377.

(7) Ibid. p. 386.

(8) *i.e.* Your All.

(9) *i. e.* Vanity.

(10) State Worthies, by David Lloyd, ubi ſupra, p. 375, 385.

(*) Mel. *trajiciat.*

(11) Fuller's Worthies, ubi ſupra, p. 328.

COOPER, or COUPER (Thomas) a learned Biſhop in the XVIth Century, was born in the city of Oxford, about the year 1517, but not of ſuch mean parentage as is inſinuated by Anthony Wood [*A*]. He was educated in grammar-learning in the ſchool joining to St Mary Magdalen-College, of which he was a Choriſter (*a*). Making great proficiency there beyond his years, he was elected firſt Demi, and then in 1539 Probationer, and, the year following, perpetual Fellow of that College (*b*). On the 7th of July 1539, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*c*), and that of Maſter, June 6, 1543 (*d*). About which time, he became Maſter of the ſchool wherein he had received his education (*e*). In 1546, he left his Fellowſhip, being then probably married, and applied himſelf to the ſtudies of polite Literature and Phyſick (*f*). When Queen Mary came to the Crown, he being inclined to the Proteſtant Religion, took the degree of Bachelor of Phyſick, in 1556 (*g*), and practiſed in that faculty at Oxford (*h*). But, after that Queen's death, he returned to his former ſtudy of Divinity, and became a frequent and celebrated Preacher (*i*). March 18, 1566-7, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor, and Doctor in Divinity (*k*); and, about that time, was made Dean of Chriſt-Church in Oxford (*l*); and for ſeveral years after, was Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity (*m*). In 1569, he was made Dean of Glouceſter (*n*); and February 24, 1570, conſecrated Biſhop of Lincoln (*o*). The 27th of July 1572, he preached a ſermon at St Paul's-Croſs, in vindication of the Church of England, and its Liturgy; to which an anſwer was ſent him by a diſaffected perſon (*p*). Which anſwer the induſtrious Mr Strype hath printed at length, in his Annals of the Reformation (*q*). A few years after, he was deſired to viſit King's College in Cambridge [*B*], but refuſed to do it, unleſs he had a ſpecial commiſſion for that purpoſe (*r*). Upon occaſion of the publick exerciſes (known by the name of *Propheſyings*) being continued in ſeveral parts of his dioceſe, particularly in Hertfordſhire [*C*], the Queen ſent him a letter, in 1577, to put a ſtop to thoſe exerciſes (*s*). There was a deſign, in 1579, to remove him to Norwich, on the intended tranſlation of Biſhop Scambler to Ely; but, for certain reaſons [*D*], Dr Cooper declined this offer (*t*). He did a good ſervice to his dioceſe in 1582, by getting a commiſſion ſuperſeded, that had been obtained under pretence of diſcovering concealed lands and eſtates granted by the Crown; but which, in reality, was very perplexing and oppreſſive both to the clergy and laity (*u*). His diſtinguiſhed merit and abilities having recommended him to his ſovereign's favour and eſteem, he was tranſlated in 1584, to the rich Biſhoprick of Wincheſter (*w*); where, as he had done before in every other ſtation, he became much noted for his learning and ſanctity of life (*x*). Soon after his conſecration, he went and reſided in his new dioceſe; and becauſe it abounded with great numbers of Recuſants, he thought it neceſſary to take an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion along with him (*y*). Moreover being apprehenſive of great danger from them, and of an invaſion that way, he petitioned the Privy-Council, to ſuppreſs the

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 265.

(*b*) Ibid. & Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 196.

(*c*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 62.

(*d*) Ibid. col. 67. & Hiſt. & Antiq. ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Hiſt. & Antiq. ibid. & Athen. ubi ſupra. See alſo Balei Scriptor. Illuſtr. Majoris Bryt. Cent. IX. No. 74. p. 755, edit. Oporini.

(*f*) Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Faſti, Vol. I. col. 83.

(*h*) Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) Faſti, ubi ſupra, col. 97.

(*l*) Athen. ubi ſupra; & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 255.

(*m*) See Faſti, Vol. I. col. 100, 101, 103, 104.

(*n*) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 158, 263.

(*o*) Godwin. de Præſulibus, edit. 1616, 4to, p. 362; and Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra, col. 242, 265, 712.

(*p*) Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 193, edit. 1725.

(*q*) Ibid. &c.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 419.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 486, 487; and Appendix to Book ii. No. 9. p. 111.

(*t*) Ibid. Annals, p. 590, 591.

(*u*) Idem, Vol. III. p. 112.

(*w*) Ibid. p. 175. Godwin. de Præſulibus, &c. p. 301.

(*x*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*y*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 239, 240.

[*A*] *But not of ſuch mean parentage as is inſinuated by A. Wood.*] He was the ſon of *John* Couper, fourth ſon of Tho. Couper of the city of Cheſter, Eſq; by Iſabel daughter and ſole heireſs to Richard Goodman Eſq; Mayor of that city A. D. 1497: which John was ſent to Oxford, and entered a Commoner of St Mary-Magdalen-Hall; but, before he took a Degree, unhappily married ſo much to the diſpleaſure of his parents, that they never took notice of him afterwards, and he lived in Oxford very obſcurely all the reſt of his days (1).

[*B*] *He was deſired to viſit King's College in Cambridge.*] Of which, by Statute, he was the legal Viſitor; but as his viſitations there were but from three years to three years, and it was not yet three years ſince his laſt viſitation, he thought he could not take upon himſelf to viſit them, without an extraordinary commiſſion (2).

[*C*] *The Queen ſent him a Letter in* 1577, *to put a ſtop to the Propheſyings, that were continued in his Dioceſe.*] Theſe Propheſyings otherwiſe named *Exerciſes*, were grounded upon 1 Corinth. XIV. 31. *Ye may all propheſy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted.* They were ſet on foot in ſeveral parts of the kingdom about the year 1571; (3) and conſiſted of conferences among the Clergy, for the better improving of themſelves, and one another, in the knowledge of Scripture and Divinity. For that purpoſe, certain Miniſters within a convenient compaſs in each Dioceſe, aſſembled together in a pariſh church, commonly in ſome market-town; and there, one after another, gave their judgments briefly of the ſenſe of ſome place or places of ſcripture, propounded before to be diſcuſſed, either by the Biſhop, or the Archdeacon's order, or ſome other grave perſon: and then it was determined by a Moderator (4). The chief members of the aſſemblies were *Moderators*, *Writers*, and *Speakers*. The Moderators, who were generally four in number, pitched upon the parts of Scripture that were to be handled. The Writers collected ſeveral obſervations upon every verſe of thoſe parts of Scripture, and ſo proceeded upon the whole. The Speakers diſcourſed, or enlarged, upon ſuch portions as were ſeverally aſſigned to them. Their method of proceeding was thus: They began and ended with prayer: Then the firſt Moderator propoſed and read the firſt verſe of the text, or chapter that was to be handled. Upon which verſe the Writers read in order the obſervations they had gathered. Then the Speaker aſſigned to that part of the text, enlarged upon the ſame. After him the reſt of the Speakers had liberty to give any brief notes upon that verſe. In the mean time, the Moderator's care, was to take notice of any error, negligence, or ignorance in any of the Writers and Speakers, and to correct and reform them. After which he further added ſuch obſervations as he had gather'd upon that verſe. And after him the reſt of the Moderators, in due order, did the like, till as much was ſaid upon that verſe, as was thought convenient. All the time, both the Speakers and Writers, took notice in writing, of the obſervations given by any of the Speakers or Moderators. And ſo all the Moderators proceeded with the whole text, or chapter, verſe by verſe (5). Theſe Propheſyings, or Exerciſes, were put down in the dioceſe of Norwich in 1574 (6), but continued in others, particularly in the North, for above ten years after (7). However, they were almoſt generally ſuppreſſed in 1577 (8), on account of their being thought to be Seminaries of Puritaniſm.

[*D*] *For certain reaſons Dr Cooper declined the offer of the See of Norwich.*] His reaſons were; that the greatneſs of the charge, and number of churches, would be either little or nothing diminiſhed: the troubleſomeneſs, and danger, of the dioceſe far greater, than where he was: the credit of the place nothing more: the benefit of the living no whit amended: and the charges of the alteration very great (9).

(1) From the information of William Cowper, Eſq;

(2) Strype's Annals, ubi ſupra, p. 419.

(3) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 90, &c.

(4) Ibid. p. 219.

(5) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 90, &c. 318, 319, &c. Vol. III. p. 328, 329.

(6) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Parker, p. 460, 462.

(7) Idem, Annals, Vol. III. p. 328.

(8) See Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, 2d edit. 1732, Vol. I. p. 352, &c.

(9) Strype's Ann. Vol. II. p. 590, 591.

the boldneſs of the Papiſts in the county of Southampton [*E*]. Not long after, he was accuſed of Covetouſneſs (*z*), of which he cleared himſelf [*F*]. Upon the diſcovery of William Parry's treaſon, he put out 'an order of Prayer and Thankſgiving for the preſer'vation of the Queen's life and ſafety; to be uſed in the dioceſe of Wincheſter (*a*).' In the year 1588, he preached at St Paul's-Croſs, on the 17th of November, being a day of publick thankſgiving, as well for the Queen's acceſſion to the throne, as for the ſignal victory obtained over the Spaniſh Armada (*b*). This reverend and holy Biſhop, as Mr Wood ſtyles him (*c*), died at Wincheſter, April 29, 1594, and was buried in the cathedral there, on the ſouth-ſide of the choir, a little above the Biſhop's ſeat. Over his grave was ſoon after laid a flat marble, with a Latin inſcription in proſe and verſe [*G*]. The ſeveral books he publiſhed, were theſe: I. 'The Epitome of Chronicles from the 'ſeventeenth year after Chriſt, to 1540, and thence afterwards to the year 1560.' Lond. 1560, 4*to*. The two firſt parts of this Chronicle, and the beginning of the third as far as the ſeventeenth year after Chriſt, were compoſed by Thomas Lanquet, a young man of twenty-four years of age. But he being cut off by untimely death, Mr Cooper finiſhed the work; and his part, which is the third, contains almoſt thrice as much as Lanquet's two parts, being chiefly taken from Achilles Pyrminius. When it was finiſhed, a third perſon publiſhed it ſurreptitiouſly, and in a very faulty manner, in 1559, under the title of *Lanquet's Chronicle*: whereupon, our author reviſed, corrected, and publiſhed it again in 1560, under the general title of *Cooper's Chronicle*, &c. The running title to the firſt and ſecond part, is *Lanquet's Chronicle*; and to the third, *The Epitome of Chronicles*. II. *Theſaurus Linguæ Romanæ & Britannicæ*, &c. and *Dictionarium Hiſtoricum & Poeticum*. Lond. 1565, fol. This Dictionary was ſo much eſteemed by Queen Elizabeth, that ſhe endeavoured to promote the author as high in the church as ſhe could (*d*). It is an improvement of *Bibliotheca Eliotæ*; Elyot's Library or Dictionary; printed at Lond. 1541, fol. to which Mr Cooper added thirty-three thouſand words and phraſes, beſides a fuller account of the true ſignification of words (*e*): Or rather, it is taken out of Robert Stephens's *Theſaurus Linguæ Latinæ*, and out of *Friſii Lexicon Latino-Teutonicum* (*f*). III. 'A brief Expoſition of ſuch Chapters of the Old Teſtament, as uſually are read in the 'Church at Common-Prayer, on the Sundays throughout the Year.' Lond. 1573, 4*to*. IV. 'Sermon at Lincoln 1575, on Matth. xvi. 26, 27.' Lond. 8*vo*. V. 'Twelve Ser'mons on Rom. i. 16. Matth. vii. 15, 16. 1 Cor. x. 1, 3, 5. Matth. xiii. 3, 5. and John viii. 46.' Lond. 1580, 4*to*. VI. 'An Admonition to the People of England. 'Wherein are anſwered not only the ſlanderous Untruths, reproachfully uttered by *Mar'tin*, the Libeller, but alſo many other Crimes by ſome of his brood, objected generally 'againſt all Biſhops, and the chief of the Clergy; purpoſely to deface and diſcredit the 'preſent ſtate of the Church.' Lond. 1589, 4*to*. This was a ſolid and judicious anſwer to John ap Henry's ſcurrilous and abuſive libels againſt the Eſtabliſhed Church, publiſhed under the name of *Martin Mar-Prelate* (*g*). Ap Henry, or his Club of Puritans, replied to the Biſhop's book, in two ludicrous pamphlets, intitled, 'Ha'ye any work for a Cooper?' and 'More Work for a Cooper (*h*). ——— Biſhop Cooper's character is repreſented by ſeveral writers in a very advantageous light. One ſtyles him (*i*), a very learned man, eloquent,

(*z*) Ibid. p. 175, 176.

(*a*) Ibid. p. 260, 261.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 526. Stow's Annals, edit. 1631, p. 751.

(*c*) Athenæ, ubi ſupra, col. 266.

(*d*) Wood. Ath. ubi ſupra, col. 266.

(*e*) Wood, ibid. col. 67.

(*f*) Wood, Ath. & Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 196.

(*g*) See Wood, Athenæ, Vol. I. col. 258, 259; and Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, Lond. 1718, fol. p. 288.

(*h*) Strype, ibid. & Wood, ubi ſupra; & col. 266.

(*i*) Baleus, ubi ſupra—*puerorum olim pædagogus doctiſſimus, vir facundus, & utriuſque linguæ peritus.*

[*E*] *He petitioned the Council to ſuppreſs the boldneſs of the Papiſts*, &c.] Among other methods for it, he propoſed, 'That an hundred, or two, of obſtinate 'recuſants, luſty men, well able to labour, might 'by ſome convenient commiſſion be taken up and ſent 'into Flanders as pioneers and labourers. Whereby 'the country ſhould be diſburthened of a company of 'dangerous people. And the reſt that remained be 'put in ſome fear.' (10)

(10) Idem, Vol. III. p. 240.

[*F*] *He was accuſed of Covetouſneſs.*] Of which he cleared himſelf, by producing a ſchedule of the value of his biſhoprick, and the charges payable out of it. By that it appeared, that the clear valne, or rent of aſſize, of that biſhoprick amounted then to two thouſand ſeven hundred pounds ten ſhillings and ſixpence, yearly; and the charges iſſuing out of it, to two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy ſeven pounds: ſo remained clear to him, only three hundred and ninety eight pounds nine ſhillings. From the ſame ſchedule it moreover appears, that ſome of the Courtiers were quartered upon this biſhoprick. For there is one article in it thus, 'My Lord of Leiceſter's fee 100 l.' And another, 'Paid yearly in annuities, granted by Biſhop Gardiner 'and Biſhop White; wherein Sir Fr. Walſingham's 'fee is contained—218 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* (11)

(11) Strype's Annals, Appendix to Vol. III. B. i. No. [xxx] p. 58.

[*G*] *With a Latin inſcription in proſe and verſe.*] Which is as follows. Round the ſtone. *Hic jacet Thomas Cooper olim Lincolnienſis, nuper Wintonienſis Epiſcopus munificentiſſimus, doctiſſimus, vigilantiſſimus Præſul; qui religioſiſſime in domino obiit Aprilis 29. an dom.* 1594. In the middle of the ſtone are theſe verſes.

*Theſaurus, Chronicorum *, Cooperi cætera ſcripta*
Dum remanent, celebris Cooperi fama manebit.
Oxonienſis erat, Gltook ceſtrenſiſque Decanus,
Continuus primæ Vicecancellarius Urbis,
Tum Lincolnienſis † fit Præſul, & inde movetur
Wintoniam, denos ubi ſedit Epiſcopus annos.
Summè doctus erat, ſummèque benignus egenis,
Et ſummo ſtudio divina oracula pandit.
Terra tegit corpus, ſed ſpiritus eſt ſuper aſtra:
Coeleſtes animæ, coeleſti pace fruentur.

Below.

In obitum D. Thomæ Cooperi, Sacræ Theologiæ Profeſſoris, W. S. Δεκάστιχον (12).

i. e. 'Here lies Thomas Cooper, formerly Biſhop of 'Lincoln, and late of Wincheſter, a very bountiful, 'learned and vigilant prelate, who died piouſly in the 'Lord, April 29, in the year 1594. While Cooper's 'Dictionary, Chronicle, and other writings are in be'ing, Cooper's great fame will laſt. He was of Ox'ford, Dean of Glouceſter, for ſeveral years Vice'Chancellor of the former; then he became Biſhop of 'Lincoln, and thence was tranſlated to Wincheſter, 'where he ſat Biſhop ten years. He was very learned, 'extremely bountiful to the poor, and with great di'ligence explained the divine oracles. The earth 'covers his body, but his ſoul is above the firmament: 'heavenly ſouls ſhall enjoy heavenly peace.'

'Theſe ten verſes on the death of Dr Thomas Cooper, S. T. P. were made by W. S.'

(*) It is ſo printed in Wood, but it ſhould be *Chronicon*, in order to make up both the ſenſe and the verſe.

(†) It ſhould be *Lincolnenſis*.

(12) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 196, 197.

quent, and well acquainted with the Engliſh and Latin languages. Another (*k*) ſays of him, that he was a man of great gravity, learning, and holineſs of life. He was, ſays A. Wood (*l*), furniſhed with all kind of learning almoſt beyond all his contemporaries, and not only adorned the pulpit with his ſermons, but alſo the Commonwealth of Learning with his writings. 'Of him, ſays Sir John Harrington (*m*), I can ſay much, and I ſhould 'do him great wrong if I ſhould ſay nothing: For he was indeed a reverent man, very 'well learned, exceeding induſtrious; and, which was in thoſe dayes counted a great praiſe 'to him, and a chief cauſe of his preferment, he wrote that great Dictionary that yet bears 'his name. His life in Oxford was very commendable, and in ſome ſort ſaint-like; for, 'if it be ſaint-like to live unreprovable, to bear a croſs patiently, to forgive great injuries 'freely, this man's example is ſampleleſs in this age.' He married a wife at Oxford [*H*], with whom he happened to be very unhappy, ſhe proving unfaithful to his bed. 'The 'whole univerſity, in reverence of the man, and indignity of the matter, offered to ſeparate 'her from him by publick authority, and ſo to ſet him free, being the innocent party. 'But he would by no means agree thereto, alledging he knew his own infirmity, that he 'might not live unmarried; and to divorce and marry again, he would not charge his 'conſcience with ſo great a ſcandal.'

(*k*) Godwin de Præſul. p. 305.

(*l*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 255.

(*m*) A briefe Survey of the State of the Church of England in Queen Elizabeth and King James's Reign. Being a Character and Hiſtory of the Biſhops of thoſe Times, Lond. 1653. 8*vo*, p. 62, 64.

[*H*] *He married a wife at Oxford*, &c.] By her he had two daughters, Elizabeth, wife of Dr John Bellew, ſome time Provoſt of Oriel-College, and Chancellor of the dioceſe of Lincoln; and Mary, who was married to John Gouldwell, Gent (13). C

(13) From the ſame information as above.

COOPER (Anthony Ashley) Earl of Shafteſbury, one of the ableſt perſons, greateſt Politicians, and moſt diſtinguiſhed Miniſters in the laſt century. He derived from his birth, all the advantages that could ſpring from an honourable deſcent joined to a large fortune. His father was Sir John Cooper of Rockborn in the county of Southampton, Bart. by Anne, daughter and ſole heireſs of Sir Anthony Aſhley, of Winborne St Giles in the county of Dorſet, Knight and Baronet (*a*); from whom he inherited an eſtate of eight thouſand pounds a year, and all the influence that aroſe from ſuch a fortune, and the credit of his anceſtors in the Weſt of England, which was very conſiderable (*b*) [*A*]. He was born at Winborne St Giles, July 22, 1621 (*c*), and educated with great care under the eye of his parents during his infancy, in which he diſcovered ſuch extraordinary parts, as not only gave hopes of his becoming one day a perſon of excellent abilities, but rendered him even at that time the ſubject of general admiration; ſo that while a very boy he was conſidered as a prodigy, and, if we may credit his Hiſtorian, very extraordinary things were predicted of him (*d*) [*B*]. He had the misfortune to loſe his father, March

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 481.

(*b*) Rawleigh Redivivus, or the Life and Death of the Right Hon. Anthony late Earl of Shafteſbury, Lond. 1683, 8*vo*, p. 6.

(*c*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 720. Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 371, where there is a glaring miſtake of 1624 for 1621.

(*d*) Life of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 9, 10.

[*A*] *Which was very conſiderable.*] As to this gentleman's deſcent, by the father's ſide, we find, that in the 22d of Henry VIII. Richard Cooper, Eſq; purchaſed from Sir Amyas Pawlet the Manor of Pawlet (1), in Somerſetſhire, ſtill in the poſſeſſion of this family, and erected into a Barony in their favour by King Charles II. This Richard Cooper, by Jane his wife, daughter of Sir John Kingſmill, of Sydmonton, in the county of Southampton, Knight, had iſſue John Cooper, of Rockborn, in the ſame county, who was afterwards knighted, and was the father of Sir John Cooper, Knt. mentioned in the text, and who was alſo created Baronet, July 4, 1662. As for his mother's family, ſhe was deſcended by the females from the ancient houſes of Hamlynes (2), Pleſheys, and Malmaines, poſſeſſors of Wimborne St Giles, from whom it deſcended to Anthony Aſhley, Eſq; who, for his great ſervices in the Cadiz expedition, where he acted as Secretary at War, had the honour of Knighthood conferred upon him (3). He was afterwards promoted to be one of the clerks of the Privy-Council in the reign of King James I (4). but falling under the diſpleaſure of that Prince, and being removed from his office, his large fortune, which conſiſted of two thouſand marks a year in real eſtate, and as much in money and effects, tempted one Sir James Creighton (5) to enter into a wicked conſpiracy with Henry Smith and Mary Rice, ſervants to Sir Anthony, in the year 1610, to deprive him of his life and fortune; in order to which, Mary Rice preſented a petition to the King, ſetting forth, that her huſband, William Rice, dead eighteen years before, was poiſoned by Henry Smith, at the inſtance of Sir Anthony Aſhley, and Henry Smith confeſſed the ſame; but upon referring this petition to the Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, the whole iniquity was found out, and the conſpirators puniſhed in the Star-Chamber. This Sir Anthony Aſhley, July 3, 1622, was created a Baronet (6), who by his wife, daughter of Philip Okeover, of Okeover, in the county of Stafford, had only one daughter, Anne, who married Sir John Cooper, by whom ſhe had this only ſon, to whom his grandfather was alſo godfather, and gave him both his names, ſo that he was chriſtened Anthony Aſhley, as being the preſumptive heir of both families (7).

[*B*] *Were predicted of him.*] As the ancients were given to believe in omens and prodigies, ſo it was the foible of the laſt, as well as ſome preceding ages, to yield, but too much faith to pretended prophecies and idle prognoſtications. Of this nature we may reckon what a certain writer tells us of a Proteſtant gentleman, that flying out of Germany for his religion, was charitably received and entertained by Sir John Cooper, who being extremely taken with the wonderful parts of his ſon, who could not then be above nine years old, addreſſed him, in the preſence of his father, in theſe words (8), 'Child, if thou wilt be religious, and 'keep cloſe to God, and take care to avoid the vain and 'deſtructive allurements of prophaneneſs and debauchery, and entertain a fixed reſolution to improve all 'thy parts and abilities for the advancing the Proteſtant 'Religion, you ſhall be a man of the largeſt parts in 'Chriſtendom, and ſhall be an inſtrument of doing an 'extraordinary piece of ſervice to your King, which 'ſhall be very acceptable to him, whereupon you ſhall 'ſtand high in his favour, and be promoted to very 'great honour, yet ſhall afterwards loſe your Prince's 'favour, and be as much diſreſpected as before honoured and admired; yet, at the ſame time, you 'ſhall be one of the moſt popular men under Heaven: 'and that you may know that this will fall out according to my prediction, pray remember this that 'I am now going to tell you, and write it down in 'your pocket-book that you may not forget it. Not 'long after your coming from the univerſity, you ſhall 'be in extream danger of drowning, telling him the 'very day when it ſhould happen.' The author afterwards proceeds to ſhew, that this accident did happen, and was followed by all the other events hinted at in the prediction, which was not publiſhed 'till after the Earl of Shafteſbury's death, and it is very probable was invented not long before it.

[*T*] *He*

(1) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 370.

(2) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 481.

(3) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 726.

(4) Liſt of Civil Officers in the Reign of King James I. MS.

(5) Coke's Reports, P. xii. p. 91.

(6) Dugdale's Catalogue of Baronets, and the Time of their Creation.

(7) Life of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 6. Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 371.

(8) Life of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 9.

March 23, 1631, before he was ten years of age, and thereby, as his only child, became entitled to his large eſtate (*e*). At the age of fifteen he was ſent to the univerſity of Oxford, and became a Fellow-Commoner of Exeter-college, under the tuition of the famous Dr Prideaux who was then Rector of it, and is ſaid to have ſtudied hard there for about two years (*f*), and very well maintained the character with which he came thither, of being a ſingular and moſt ſurprizing genius. He removed from thence to Lincoln's-Inn (*g*), where he applied himſelf with great vigour and diligence to the ſtudy of the Law, but more eſpecially turned his thoughts to the gaining a perfect ſkill in the conſtitution of this kingdom, in which, as in every thing elſe that claimed his attention, he became a wonderful proficient, and on various occaſions in the future courſe of life, clearly diſcovered, that no man more thoroughly underſtood it than himſelf (*h*). He was thus employed, when, in the nineteenth year of his age, he was choſen one of the Burgeſſes to repreſent the town of Tewkeſbury in Glouceſterſhire, in that Parliament which met at Weſtminſter April 13, 1640 (*i*), and of which very great hopes were entertained, but, to the great ſorrow of the nation, were all fruſtrated by it's ſudden, unexpected, and fatal diſſolution (*k*). We have no account of his diſtinguiſhing himſelf in that aſſembly, and indeed there was but very little time for it. It is however highly probable that he was very well affected to the King's ſervice, of which he gave ſufficient proofs at the beginning of the Civil Wars, by repairing to Oxford, and offering his ſervice there to his Majeſty, not for ſubduing or conquering his country, but for reducing ſuch, as had either deſerted or miſtaken their duty, to his Majeſty's obedience. This was a very extraordinary ſcheme for a perſon of two or three and twenty years of age to propoſe, and therefore it is not at all ſtrange that it ſhould ſurprize his Majeſty, when, in an audience obtained for that purpoſe, he propoſed putting an end to the war by acting upon ſuch principles (*l*). We have this fact from a perſon who had the beſt opportunities of knowing the truth of it, whoſe candour in any other inſtance was never doubted, and whoſe account however has been neglected becauſe it is without date, and does not ſeem to agree with other relations. But for all this it might very well have happened in the ſpring of the year 1643, and ſeems equally to deſerve the reader's notice and belief [*C*]. It is very certain that Weymouth ſubmitted on the ninth of Auguſt the ſame year (*m*), and we have a very long account in the work of the noble Hiſtorian, of the diſpute that happened between Prince Maurice and the Marquis of Hertford, as to the appointing Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper Governor of that place, which was at firſt poſitively refuſed by the King, and at laſt, though not without great difficulty, granted (*n*). Whoever will take the pains to compare and conſider theſe two ſeemingly inconſiſtent accounts, will find them very reconcileable, and clearly perceive, that the truth is to be collected from adverting to this circumſtance, that as the former is given us by the friend of this gentleman; ſo the latter, which for this purpoſe was alſo inſerted in the notes [*D*], was penned when the noble author had no good opinion of the perſon

(*e*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 371.

(*f*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 720.

(*g*) Memoirs of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 5.

(*h*) Life of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 11.

(*i*) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, MS.

(*k*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Oxf. fol. p. 44.

(*l*) Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 471.

(*m*) Britain's Remembrancer, p. 23.

(*n*) Clarendon's Hiſtory, p. 348. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 260.

[*C*] *To deſerve the reader's notice and belief*] As no body was better acquainted with this noble Peer than Mr Locke, ſo it is highly probable, that what he has left us concerning him was taken from his own mouth, or, if received from any other authority, at leaſt confirmed by himſelf. What is ſaid in the text is ſufficient to ſhew, that it might poſſibly be true, and the authorities juſt mentioned, may induce us to believe it really was ſo (9). Mr Locke's account runs thus: 'Being at Oxford in the beginning of the civil war, for he was on that ſide as long as he had any hopes to ſerve his country there, he was brought to King Charles I. by the Lord Falkland, his friend, then Secretary of State, and preſented to him, as having ſomething to offer to his Majeſty worth his conſideration. At this audience he told the King, that he thought he could put an end to the war if his Majeſty pleaſed, and would aſſiſt him in it. The King anſwered, that he was a very young man for ſo great an undertaking. Sir, replied he, that will not be the worſe for your affairs, provided I do the buſineſs. Whereupon the King ſhewing a willingneſs to hear him, he diſcourſed to him to this purpoſe. The gentlemen and men of eſtates, who firſt engaged in that war, ſeeing now, after a year or two, that it ſeems to be no nearer the end than it was at firſt, and beginning to be weary of it, I am very well ſatisfied would be glad to be in quiet at home again, if they could be aſſured of a redreſs of their grievances, and have their rights and liberties ſecured to them. This I am ſatisfied is the preſent temper generally through all England, and particularly in thoſe parts where my eſtate and concerns lie; if therefore your Majeſty will empower me to treat with the Parliament garriſons, to grant them a full and general pardon, with an aſſurance that a general amneſty (arms being laid down on both ſides) ſhould reinſtate all things in the ſame poſture they were before the war, and then a free Parliament ſhould do what more remained to be done for the ſettlement of the nation.' He added farther,

'That he would begin and try the experiment firſt in his own country, and doubted not but the good ſucceſs he ſhould have there, would open him the gates of other adjoining garriſons, bringing them the news of peace, and ſecurity in laying down their arms. Being furniſhed with full power, according to his deſire, away he goes to Dorſetſhire, where he managed a treaty with the garriſons of Pool, Weymouth, Dorcheſter, and others, and was ſo ſucceſsful in it, that one of them was actually put into his hands, as the others were to have been ſome few days after. But Prince Maurice, who commanded ſome of the King's forces, being with his army then in thoſe parts, no ſooner heard that the town was ſurrendered, but he preſently marched into it, and gave the pillage of it to his ſoldiers. This Sir Anthony ſaw with the utmoſt diſpleaſure, and could not forbear to expreſs his reſentments to the Prince, ſo that there paſſed ſome pretty hot words between them; but the violence was committed, and thereby his deſign broken. All that he could do was, that he ſent to the other garriſons he was in treaty with to ſtand upon their guard, for that he could not ſecure his articles to them, and ſo this deſign proved abortive, and died in ſilence.'

[*D*] *Is alſo inſerted in the notes.*] It is only by this method of carefully comparing, and candidly conſidering, the ſame paſſages, as they are variouſly related by perſons of different ſentiments and oppoſite opinions, that the real matter of fact ever comes to be known. The Earl of Clarendon was ſo much concerned in this affair, that he muſt have known it to the bottom: but whether he has related all he knew, or ſhewn how or why Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper came

(9) Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 471.

perſon of whom he was ſpeaking. Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper was alſo at that time High-Sheriff of the county of Dorſet, and choſe therefore in that quality, rather than by virtue of any military commiſſion, to raiſe, as he had power to do, the whole ſtrength of the county, and to embark them at once in the cauſe of the King and the Conſtitution (*o*). To this intent he iſſued his ſummons for aſſembling the *Poſſe Comitatus*, on a day certain at Dorcheſter, which is the county town, but, before that day came, he was invited to Oxford by a letter from his Majeſty, Col. Goring was ſent into his neighbourhood with ſome forces (*p*), and Col. William Aſhburnham came to him at Dorcheſter, and produced a commiſſion of ſuch a nature, as plainly enough demonſtrated that there was no intention to confide in him, or to allow him to proceed in that way which he thought could alone determine this conteſt, without involving the nation in a long and bloody war (*q*). He conferred notwithſtanding with Col. Aſhburnham, told him what he had done, and with what view, but perceiving plainly that his behaviour was diſliked, and his perſon in danger, he retired, firſt to his own houſe, and from thence went into the Parliament quarters (*r*). Neither was it long after that he went up to London, where he was very well received by the leading men on that ſide, who knew well his weight and intereſt in his county, and had a very high opinion of his parts and capacity to ſerve them, in caſe they could attach him thoroughly to their intereſts. This however was not very eaſily done,

(*o*) Life of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 16, 17.

(*p*) Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 479.

(*q*) Life of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 17.

(*r*) Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 478.

to be ſuſpected at Oxford, the reader muſt judge for himſelf. The ſtory, as he tells it, runs thus (10). 'There was, ſays he, an accident fell out a little before this time, that gave new argument of trouble to the King, upon a difference between Prince Maurice and the Marquis. It hath been ſaid, that the Earl of Carnarvan, who was General of the horſe of the weſtern army, had marched from Briſtol the day before the Prince, and had taken Dorcheſter and Weymouth before his Highneſs came up to the army, both conſiderable places, and the ſeats of great malignity. The former was not thought neceſſary to be made a garriſon, but the latter was the beſt port town of that county, and to be kept with great care. The Marquis had made ſome promiſe of the government thereof when it ſhould be taken, of which they made no doubt, to Sir Anthony-Aſhley Cooper, a young gentleman of that county, of a fair and plentiful fortune, and one who, in the opinion of moſt men, was like to advance the place by being governor of it, and to raiſe men for the defence of it, without leſſening the army, and had, in expectation of it, made ſome proviſion of officers and ſoldiers, when it ſhould be time to call them together. Prince Maurice, on the other ſide, had ſome other perſon in his view, upon whom he intended to confer that charge when it ſhould fall. In the moment that the town was taken, and before the Prince came thither, Sir Anthony hearing that the Marquis came not with the army, but remained ſome time at Briſtol, made all the haſte he could to him, and came thither the ſame day the King left it, and applied himſelf to the Marquis, who remembered his promiſe, and thought himſelf obliged to make it good, and that it was in his power ſo to do, ſince it appeared that the town was taken, before the King had declared to him, that he ſhould not go to the army 'till when he ought to be looked upon as General of it. He conferred with the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon it, as a matter in which his honour was concerned, and on which his heart was ſet. "Sir Anthony came likewiſe to him, who was of his acquaintance, and deſired his aſſiſtance; that after ſo much charge he had been put to in the expectation of it, and to prepare for it, he might not be expoſed to the mirth and contempt of the country." It was evident, that if he returned with the commiſſion from the Marquis (which he was moſt inclined to give him) both he and the commiſſion would be affronted, and the town would not be ſuffered to ſubmit to him: therefore the Chancellor was of opinion, that there was no other way but to appeal to the King, and deſire his favour, as well as his juſtice, in giving his commiſſion to the perſon deſigned by the Marquis, which would remove that part of the exception which would moſt trouble the Prince; and he offered to write himſelf very earneſtly to the King. Beſides his deſire to gratify the Marquis, he did, in truth, believe it of great importance to his Majeſty's ſervice, to engage a perſon of ſuch a fortune and intereſt ſo thoroughly in his quarrel, as he then believed ſuch an obligation muſt needs do, the flexibility and inſtability of that gentleman's nature not being then underſtood or ſuſpected.

'He did write with all the ſkill and importunity he could uſe to the King, and writ to the Lord Faulkland, "To take Sir John Colepepper with him, if he found any averſion in the King, that they might together diſcourſe and prevail with him." But his Majeſty poſitively and obſtinately refuſed to grant it, and ſaid, "He would not, to pleaſe the Marquis in an unjuſt pretence, put a publick diſobligation and affront upon his nephew." So the expreſs returned without effect, and the Marquis was as ſenſibly touched as could be imagined, and ſaid, "That he was fallen from all credit with the King, and was made incapable of doing him further ſervice; that his fidelity ſhould never be leſſened towards him, (as in truth he was incapable of a diſloyal thought) but ſince he was become ſo totally uſeleſs to the King and to his friends, he hoped his Majeſty would give him leave to retire to his own houſe, where he doubted not he ſhould be ſuffered to live privately and quietly to pray for the King," The Chancellor knew well the nature of the Marquis, that would never give him leave to purſue any reſolution which he found might prove inconvenient to his Majeſty, for whom he had all poſſible duty; yet he knew too, that the miſchief was not ſmall, from the obſervation that the Marquis thought himſelf ill uſed, and that there were too many who would take the opportunity to foment thoſe jealouſies and diſcontents, and therefore reſolved (having diſpatched all things which were incumbent on him at Briſtol, and uſed all freedom with the Marquis for the diſpelling all troubleſome imaginations) to go himſelf to the King, and to repreſent that affair to him, and the probable conſequences of it, with new inſtances. And, at laſt, with very great difficulty, he did ſo far prevail with his Majeſty, that he gave a commiſſion to Sir Anthony-Aſhley Cooper, to be Governor of Weymouth, which he was the more eaſily perſuaded to, out of ſome prejudice he had to the perſon who he underſtood was deſigned to that government.' The words *a little before this time*, at the beginning of this account, refer to the plundering of Weymouth and Melcombe, by Prince Maurice, which this writer acknowledges, at the ſame time he excuſes it all he can. He adds however, that upon this, Lyme and Poole, the only two garriſons the Parliament had in thoſe parts, inſtead of ſubmitting, ſent the Prince ſo peremptory an anſwer, that though he wanted not either troops or cannon, he did not think fit to approach them (11). This agrees exactly with the former relation, and we may eaſily diſcern why thoſe who had broke their words with Sir Anthony were afraid to truſt him; neither are the words the noble Hiſtorian put into his mouth common ſenſe, if he had not been deeper engaged than from this relation appears. This ſevere cenſure upon his mutability therefore might have been ſpared, if any reflections were to be made, they ought to have fallen upon that great ſoldier of fortune, who made ſo free with his own word, the liberties of the Engliſh nation, and the King his uncle's intereſts (12).

(10) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 348.

(11) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 359. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 346.

(12) Hiſtory of King Charles I. p. 323.

done, for though the Noble Hiſtorian is pleaſed to ſay, (and though it be his it is but a coarſe ſaying) *That he gave himſelf up body and ſoul to the Parliament* (*s*), yet this does not very clearly appear, ſince it is very certain that he betrayed none of the counſels with which he was truſted at Oxford, nor took any other ſtep, by which he might render his former connections any way uſeful to thoſe whom he had now joined (*t*). But it is indeed evident that he accepted a commiſſion from the Parliament (*u*), and raiſed forces in Dorſetſhire for the recovery of ſome places out of the hands of thoſe, who he thought had nothing elſe in view but carrying on a war for the entire reduction of the kingdom, the merit of which might entitle them to great rewards, from the new government that might be then eſtabliſhed upon the ruins of the antient and legal conſtitution (*w*); and it is no wonder at all that he ſhould oppoſe this, if we conſider how large an eſtate he had, and conſequently, excluſive of principles, how much it was his private intereſt to look unto the ſafety of his country (*x*). In October 1644 he took Wareham by ſtorm, and very ſoon after reduced all the adjacent parts of Dorſetſhire; this, and ſome other actions of the ſame nature, might poſſibly induce the Earl of Clarendon to add to the harſh character beforementioned, that he became *an implacable enemy to the Royal family* (*y*). One may reaſonably ſuppoſe they had other ſentiments of him at Oxford, ſince he was truſted with ſome private negotiations between his Majeſty and Denzil Lord Hollis, at the treaty of Uxbridge, for which the latter was afterwards queſtioned in Parliament, and had loſt his life, if Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper could have found his memory of what paſſed in that buſineſs (*z*) [*E*]. Neither was this the only ſervice he did the Royal cauſe, for when it began every where to decline, and conſequently when there could be no motives of intereſt to induce him, he thought of a ſurprizing expedient for giving a check to the power of the Parliament, by raiſing the CLUB-MEN (*a*), who put Sir Thomas Fairfax, after the fatal battle of Naſeby, to a ſtand, and which deſign had probably given a new turn to affairs, if it had been as vigorouſly executed, as it was wiſely and warily concerted (*b*) [*F*]. Thus was Sir Anthony employed in propping the Royal Cauſe, when the Princes, Rupert and Maurice, abandoned the King, and accepted paſſes from the Parliament to retire beyond the ſeas (*c*). Towards the end of 1645 he was choſen Sheriff of Norfolk (*d*), and approved by Parliament. The next year he was Sheriff of Wiltſhire, and had an ordinance of Parliament to enable him to reſide out of the county (*e*). In 1651 he was of the Committee of Twenty, appointed to conſider of ways and means for reforming the Law (*f*). He was alſo one of the Members of that Convention that met after General Cromwell turned out the Long Parliament, and was very active in oppoſing his ambitious deſigns, which occaſioned the diſſolution of that aſſembly (*g*). He was again a Member of the Parliament of 1654, and was one of the principal perſons who ſigned that famous Proteſtation, charging the Protector with tyranny and arbitrary government; neither was it in Cromwell's power, when it was at the higheſt, to prevent his being elected, which forced him to turn him, and other honeſt gentlemen, out of the Houſe, which was done more than once, but particularly in 1656, when he ſhewed as much courage and firmneſs in expoſing and thwarting the illegal meaſures of that arbitrary Uſurper,

(*s*) Clarendon's Hiſtory, p. 399.

(*t*) Locke's Works, Vol. II. p. 473.

(*u*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 94.

(*w*) Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 473.

(*x*) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 18.

(*y*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 399.

(*z*) Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 473, 474.

(*a*) See this both proved and explained in the note.

(*b*) Hiſt. of the Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 157.

(*c*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 289.

(*d*) Whitlocke's Memorials of Engliſh Affairs, p. 185.

(*e*) Life of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 94.

(*f*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 372.

(*g*) Heath's Chron. p. 350, 353.

[*E*] *Could have found his memory of what paſſed in that buſineſs.*] In the treaty at Uxbridge the King had ſome ſeparate and private communication with Lord Hollis, then Mr Hollis, and the Lord Commiſſioner Whitlock; Lord Saville, who, about that time, was created Earl of Suſſex, going over afterwards to the Parliament (13), gave information of this, and the warm and violent party, who hated Hollis for adhering ſteadily to his principles, were very deſirous of having this imputation fixed upon him, which they apprehended it was in the power of Sir Anthony to do. There had been an old enmity between them, and Mr Hollis had prevented Sir Anthony from coming into the Houſe of Commons, though he had been fairly elected. When the latter came to be examined, he ſaid, that though what he knew of that matter might poſſibly tend to acquit Hollis of the charge, yet he could not ſuffer himſelf to ſay any thing about it, becauſe it would look as if he would have taken this occaſion to revenge himſelf, in caſe it had been in his power (14). This did not ſatisfy the Houſe by any means, ſo that they ordered him to withdraw, and threatened him with a commitment to the Tower. That had no effect, and though ſeveral of his friends came out to him in the Lobby, and perſuaded him to ſatisfy the Houſe; yet he would not depart from his firſt reſolution, but anſwered, he neither could nor would remember any thing about it. After a long debate, the main queſtion was put, and, for want of evidence, Mr Hollis, though with difficulty, was acquitted (15). He went ſome time after to make his acknowledgments to Sir Anthony, who told him, he was not at all obliged to him, that he would have done the ſame thing for any other man in the like circumſtances; but added, that he knew the value of his friendſhip, and ſhould be glad to merit it, by having the greateſt regard for him for the future, which offer was very readily accepted, and a friendſhip commenced from thence, which laſted as long as their lives (16).

[*F*] *As it was wiſely and warily concerted.*] The true ſtate of the buſineſs there hinted at, was briefly this: Sir Anthony met with Serjeant Fountaine, by accident, at an inn, and in diſcourſing about publick affairs, they quickly agreed in their ſentiments, that the nation would be equally undone, which ever ſide prevailed, and that therefore it ought to be the aim of all well-diſpoſed perſons to compel the violent of both parties to ſacrifice their animoſities and private views to the intereſt of the publick, that abſolutely required a peace (17). In order to bring this about, the Commons in ſeveral counties were encouraged to take up arms, to declare themſelves neuters, and to inſiſt upon a treaty, by which they might be reſtored to the benefit of the laws, and of the Conſtitution (18). This was carried ſo far, that Sir Thomas Fairfax received their propoſals, and promiſed to communicate them to the Parliament; but General Cromwell and others, bent upon driving things to extremities, attacked ſome bodies of club-men, and getting the better of them, cut the poor people to pieces without mercy, which diſconcerted the ſcheme, and frighted thoſe who had the management of it from purſuing it as they intended (19). The reader will obſerve, that this was built upon the ſame principles with that propoſition which Sir Anthony had made to the King about a year before.

(13) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 154.

(14) Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 473.

(15) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. [illegible]

(16) Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 473.

(17) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 455. Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 472.

(18) Hiſt. of the Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 157. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 171, 173.

(19) Hiſt. of the Civil Wars of Great Britain, &c. p. 163.

Uſurper, as any man in the kingdom (*b*). It is indeed true, that the Protector endeavoured to gain him, as he did other perſons of eminent parts and extenſive influence, by appointing him one of his Privy-Council; but as to what has been ſuggeſted, of his aiming to become his ſon-in-law, and coming by that means into the chief management of affairs, may be well conſidered as a calumny (*i*), ſince it can be hardly doubted, that had it been true, Cromwell would not have miſſed that opportunity, of fixing him in the ſupport of his government and of his family. When the Protector Richard was depoſed, and the Rump came again into power, they nominated Sir Anthony one of their Council of State (*k*), and a Commiſſioner for managing the army. He was at that very time engaged in a ſecret correſpondence with the friends of his Majeſty King Charles II, laid the ſcheme of Sir George Booth's inſurrection in 1659, and, if he had not been defeated, would have joined him with all the ſtrength of Dorſetſhire (*l*). This could not be ſo ſecretly carried, but that the Parliament had notice of it, and upon a complaint, that though Sir George Booth was the hand, yet another Knight was the head of that buſineſs, he was not only queſtioned but impriſoned. He defended himſelf with great art and ſkill, notwithſtanding which, it was with infinite difficulty that he was acquitted and diſcharged (*m*) [*G*]. The Rump afterwards appointed him one of the Committee to ſecure the Tower, one of the ſix Commiſſioners for the command of the army, and colonel of a regiment of horſe (*n*). Soon after, with eight other members of the old Council of State, he ſigned a letter to General Monk to encourage him to march into England (*o*), which was the firſt direct ſtep made towards the Reſtoration, as Sir Anthony's Regiment of horſe was one of the firſt that joined that General, upon his marching into this kingdom (*p*). It was by his influence that the abjuration oath was laid aſide, and even the Noble Hiſtorian is pleaſed to allow, that as the revolt of the fleet under the command of Vice-Admiral Lawſon, was what broke the heart of the Committee of Safety; ſo he is alſo forced to own, that this was brought about by Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, who gained that gallant officer (*q*) from his old patron Sir Henry Vane, and prevailed upon him to tell Sir Henry, when he came in perſon to the fleet, that he would ſubmit to no authority but that of the Parliament. He was alſo very inſtrumental in quaſhing General Lambert's deſign, which had otherwiſe prevented the King's return (*r*); and though no doubt General Monk's intentions for the ſervice of the King were very ſincere, yet it is certain that Sir

(*b*) This famous Proteſtation was ſigned by Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, and 116 other Perſons.

(*i*) Liſt of the Protector's Privy Council, printed upon a broad half Sheet.

(*k*) Bates, Elench. Mot. p. 131.

(*l*) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 38. Heath's Chron. p. 427.

(*m*) Compleat Stateſman, p. 26.

(*n*) Life of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 135. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 694.

(*o*) Baker's Chr. p. 673.

(*p*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 699.

(*q*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 704, 705. Baker's Chron. p. 677.

(*r*) Biographia Britannica, Vol. I. p. 303.

[*G*] *That he was acquitted and diſcharged.*] Theſe were times of infinite perplexity, and in which even men of the greateſt abilities had much ado to ſecure themſelves. It was on May 13, 1659, that Sir Anthony-Aſhley Cooper was appointed one of the Council of State, in which the executive part of the government was veſted (20). Upon the 18th of the ſame month a charge was brought before that council againſt Sir Anthony and the Lord Commiſſioner Whitlocke, for correſponding with the King, or ſome of his Miniſters abroad (21). It was the misfortune of this noble perſon, of whom we are ſpeaking, to be as little in the good graces of Whitlocke, as of Clarendon, as will very plainly appear from the following account, which he gives us of Sir Anthony's defence (22). 'Sir Anthony-Aſhley Cooper made the higheſt profeſſions that could be made of his innocence, and the higheſt imprecations of God's judgments upon him and his poſterity, if ever he had any correſpondence with the King, or with Sir Edward Hyde, or any of the King's Miniſters or friends; and his expreſſions were ſo high, that they bred in ſome the more ſuſpicion of him, but at this time he was believed, and what followed afterwards is known.' It appears from hence, and from another paſſage that we ſhall have occaſion to mention immediately, that this gentleman had no opinion of Sir Anthony's ſincerity or veracity. But the queſtion is, or at leaſt ought to be, whether this opinion was well founded? Sir Anthony's life and fortune were at ſtake in this caſe; and, which is more, the welfare and ſafety of this nation: if therefore Sir Anthony had no concern or intercourſe with the King, or his friends abroad, though he had concerted meaſures for procuring a free Parliament, in which the ſenſe of the nation might be known, in reference to the government they were moſt inclined to live under, he certainly had a right to defend himſelf in what manner he thought proper: no doubt this was none of the moſt eligible methods, but perhaps it was the only method to preſerve himſelf amongſt ſuch people. Now the fact was really thus, and this is not an apology contrived for the defence of this noble perſon's memory, but ariſes from evidence, which I will inſtantly produce. Many years after this, when he was Earl of Shafteſbury, and a priſoner in the tower, he wrote a letter to King Charles II. the following paſſage in which fully ſhews his principles, and from what views he promoted the Reſtoration (23). The facts contained in it are very curious and very important, and I believe there will be hardly found any man ſo great a Sceptick as to believe, that the Earl of Shafteſbury would depart from truth, in a letter written to his ſovereign, upon ſubjects of which that Prince was as much maſter as he. 'I had the honour to have a principal hand in your Reſtoration, neither did I act in it but on a principle of piety and honour: I never betrayed, as your Majeſty knows, the party or councils I was of. I kept no correſpondence with, nor I made no ſecret addreſſes to, your Majeſty; neither did I endeavour or obtain any private terms or articles for myſelf, or reward for what I had done, or ſhould do. In whatever I did towards the ſervice of your Majeſty, I was ſolely acted by the ſenſe of that duty I owed to God, the Engliſh nation, and your Majeſty's juſt right and title. I ſaw the hand of Providence that had led us through various forms of government, and had given power into the hands of ſeveral ſorts of men, but he had given none of them a heart to uſe it as they ſhould; they all fell to the prey, ſought not the good or ſettlement of the nation, endeavoured only the enlargement and continuance of their own authority, and graſped at thoſe very powers they had complained of ſo much, and for which ſo bloody and ſo fatal a war had been raiſed, and continued in the bowels of the nation. I obſerved the leaders of the great parties of religion, both laity and clergy, ready and forward to deliver up the rights and liberties of the people, and to introduce an abſolute dominion; ſo that tyranny might be eſtabliſhed in the hands of thoſe that favoured their way, and with whom they might have hopes to divide the preſent ſpoil, having no eye to poſterity, or thought of future things.' The accuſation which occaſioned this note hung in the Houſe of Commons 'till the 14th of September, 1659, and then we have the following account of it from an anthor before cited (24). 'Sir Anthony-Aſhley Cooper voted not guilty of the accuſation againſt him, of having correſpondence with the King. The queſtion was not brought againſt me for the ſame matter, there being no ground for it as there was for the other.'

(20) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 42.

(21) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 679. Compleat Stateſman, p. 27.

(22) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 679.

(23) Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 479.

(24) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 683.

[*H*] In

Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper put it out of his power to act otherwiſe than he did, by firſt procuring that great man an unlimited commiſſion from the Parliament, and then obliging him in the Council of State, to remove ſuch officers as they could not depend upon, and particularly Sir William Lockhart, who was Governor of Dunkirk, and to re-place them by perſons of whom they had a better opinion, as in that caſe by Sir Edward Harley, which left no room for diſputes (*s*). He was returned a member for Dorſetſhire, in that which was called the Healing Parliament, which ſat April 25, 1660, and a reſolution being taken to reſtore the Conſtitution, he was named one of the twelve members of the Houſe of Commons to carry their invitation to the King (*t*), and it was in his performing this ſervice, that he had the misfortune to be overturned in a carriage upon a Dutch road, and thereby to receive a dangerous wound between the ribs, which ulcerated many years after, and was opened when he was Lord High-Chancellor, a circumſtance neceſſary to be mentioned, on account of the ſcandalous reflections that were afterwards made upon it (*u*). Upon his return to England, and the King's coming over, he was, together with General Monk, and other great perſons, ſworn of His Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy-Council (*w*). He was alſo one of the Commiſſioners for the trial of the regicides, and the reflection made thereupon by the Oxford Hiſtorian might have been ſpared, ſince nothing is more certain, than that he had nothing to do with the counſels of thoſe, that either betrayed or ſhed the blood of their Sovereign (*x*). Upon the approach of the coronation, the King his maſter thought fit to raiſe him to the dignity of the peerage, and, by Letters Patent dated April 20, 1661, created him Baron Aſhley of Winborne St Giles's, with very honourable mention of the ſhare he had in bringing him back to his kingdom (*y*) [*H*]. He was ſoon after made Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of the Exchequer (*z*), and upon the death of that loyal old Peer, and his great friend and patron, the wiſe and worthy Earl of Southampton, he was appointed one of the Lords Commiſſioners (*a*) for executing the office of High-Treaſurer. He continued in the councils and in the confidence of the King his maſter, during the happieſt part of his reign, and ſtood as high in his favour as any of his Miniſters. He was afterwards made Lord Lieutenant of the county of Dorſet (*b*), and on the twenty-third of April 1672, he was created Baron Cooper of Pawlet in the county of Somerſet, and Earl of Shafteſbury (*c*). At this time the Lord Keeper Bridgeman parting with the Seals, he was, on the fourth day of November, raiſed to the great and envied poſt of Lord High-Chancellor of England (*d*), which office he executed, as even his enemies allow, with equal ability and integrity [*I*]. In his other capacities, of a Miniſter and

(*s*) Locke's Works, Vol.III. p. 478.

(*t*) Heath's Chr. p. 447.

(*u*) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 48.

(*w*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 704. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 722.

(*x*) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 52. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 722.

(*y*) Bill. Sign. de ann. 13 Car.II.

(*z*) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 52.

(*a*) Dugd. Chron. Series, p. 116.

(*b*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 377.

(*c*) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 53.

(*d*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 723. North's Examen. p. 33.

[*H*] *In bringing him back to his kingdom.*] We have already ſhewn, from as good authority as can be deſired, that this noble perſon, as he acted very cautiouſly on one ſide in the management of that nice affair, behaved alſo very diſintereſtedly on the other. Whitlocke very frankly owns, that he was ready to have gone to the King with propoſals, and what he blames this great man for, was an intention to reſtore the King, without making terms (25). It was, however, the judgment of Lord Aſhley, that this was the only right way of acting, for he thought that any terms ſo made would alter the Conſtitution, and what he chiefly aimed at by bringing back the king, was reviving the Conſtitution, which, from the experience of ſucceſſive changes, he judged would be a bleſſing to the nation. Sir Philip Warwick tells us in his Memoirs, that himſelf, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, and Sir Geoffery Palmer, met Mr Anneſly, afterwards Earl of Angleſey, Sir Anthony-Aſhley Cooper, and Sir William Morrice, before the Healing Parliament ſat, by which his Majeſty was very well informed of their good intentions for his ſervice (26). The ſame writer informs us, that General Monk was tampered with by the French Embaſſador, and great offers made to ſupport him, in caſe he had been ſuſceptible of French counſels; and acquaints us, that it was upon the appointing of a new Council of State, the names of ſome of which he gives us, and amongſt them Sir Anthony, that the old republicans began to fear the calling back of the King (27). There is alſo extant a letter to Admiral Montague, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, from Sir Anthony-Aſhley Cooper, upon Lambert's defeat, which plainly ſhews his ſenſe of things in general, and of that ſeaſonable ſtroke in particular (28). But the words in the preamble to his patent are ſo full and expreſs, that they need not any authority to ſupport, or commentary to explain, them. In this his Majeſty takes notice (29), 'that he had in 'ſundry reſpects manifeſted his loyalty to King Charles I. 'and his great affection to his country in the late perilous and difficult times, and likewiſe to him, by 'his prudent and ſeaſonable advice and conſultation 'with General Monk, in order to his reſtoration, in 'conſideration of which acceptable ſervices he created 'him to the degree and dignity of a Baron.'

[*I*] *With equal ability and integrity.*] He reſided, during his continuance in that employment, at Exeter-houſe in the Strand, and proceeded from thence to Weſtminſter, with all the ſolemnity poſſible, for it was his opinion, that ceremony and ſtate were both uſeful and neceſſary to keep up the credit of great offices (30); for to uſe his Lordſhip's own words to Baron Thurland, Reputation is a thing of conſequence to magiſtrates as well as merchants. He wore an aſh-coloured ſilk gown, richly laced, and did not at all alter his garb upon his acceſſion to that high ſeat of judicature. He was deſirous of cutting buſineſs ſhort, and of avoiding forms, in which we are told, that the Lawyers gave him ſo much trouble, that to be able to proceed, he was forced to return to them: however, he was as expeditious as it was poſſible, and his quick penetration enabled him to ſee very far in a ſhort time, and what he ſaw, his eloquence made every body elſe ſee; ſo that whatever he decreed was ſo plain, and ſo perſpicuous, that there needed no learning to perceive he was in the right, nor was it poſſible to puzzle things again ſo much as to create a doubt that he was in the wrong (31). This gave him a high reputation at that time, ſo that Mr Dryden, to beget an opinion of his own impartiality, in that moſt inviduous character which he gave of his Lordſhip, was forced to throw in a fine compliment upon his integrity in the diſtribution of juſtice (32). It was a point of too great conſequence to be omitted, and it ſeems was then too well underſtood to be miſrepreſented. Some attempts have been ſince made to leſſen his character, as a Chancellor, but whoever conſiders them attentively, and obſerves, that they are deſtitute of facts, and publiſhed at a great diſtance of time, will not be much moved by them (33). Another writer, immediately after his Lordſhip's death, ſpeaks of his behaviour thus (34): 'With what prudence, 'candour, honour, and integrity, he acquitted himſelf 'in that great and weighty employment, the tranſ'actions of the Court of Chancery, during the time 'of his Chancellorſhip, will beſt teſtify; juſtice then 'run in an equal channel, ſo that the cauſe of the rich 'was

(25) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 691.

(26) Memoirs of Affairs after the King's murder, p. 428.

(27) Warwick's Memoirs, p.426, 427.

(28) See this Letter in the firſt Volume of this Work, p. 303.

(29) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 481.

(30) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 377.

(31) Life of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 301.

(32) Dryden's Original Poems and Tranſlations, Vol I. p. 156, 157.

(33) North's Examen. p. 59.

(34) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 53, 54.

and Privy-Counſellor, he has been variouſly ſpoken of, and it would require a volume to enter into the merits of the queſtion, and to diſcuſs fairly and impartially what has been ſaid, and what might be ſaid, on both ſides, in this article, however we cannot be expected to enter into any ſuch field, and ſhall therefore be content with obſerving, that from the publick records of his diſcharge of theſe offices, particularly his ſpeeches in Parliament upon the ſwearing in the Lord High-Treaſurer Clifford, his ſucceſſor Sir Thomas Oſborne and Mr Baron Thurland (*e*), we muſt conclude him one of the ableſt men, and one of the moſt accompliſhed orators, this nation has ever bred. The ſhort time that he was at the helm was a ſeaſon of ſtorms and tempeſts, and it is but doing him ſtrict juſtice to ſay, that they could not either affright or diſtract him. Whatever he did he did with his might, and there was a ſpirit and dignity in his adminiſtration, which that government could never recover after he left it (*f*). He was the ſoul and genius of the Miniſtry while he made a part of it, but whether he did not carry things too high, and out of the reach of all other capacities but his own, it would ſavour of raſhneſs to determine (*g*) [*K*]. When the King had taken a reſolution, as he was apt to take ſuch reſolutions without conſulting others, of changing meaſures, the Chancellor very quickly diſcerned it; and as he knew it was for his ſafety, ſo he thought it no diminution to his honour, to follow the example of his Prince, and therefore he changed in time, in which his

(*e*) See thoſe Speeches in Rawleigh Redivivus, and in Echard's Hiſt. of England.

(*f*) Memoirs; and A juſt Vindication of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 13.

(*g*) This ſeems to be inſinuated by Mr Dryden, in his *Abſalom and Achitophel.*

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was not ſuffered to ſwallow up the rights of the poor, nor was the ſtrong or cunning oppreſſor permitted to devour the weak or unſkilful oppoſer; but the abuſed found relief ſuitable to their diſtreſs, and thoſe by whom they were abuſed a ſevere reprehenſion, anſwerable to their crimes. The miſchievous conſequences which commonly ariſe from the delays, and other practices of that court were, by his ingenious and judicious management, very much abated, and every thing weighed and determined with exact judgment and equity.'

[*K*] *It would ſavour of raſhneſs to determine.*] All that is ſaid, either in our general hiſtories, or private memoirs, of the conduct of the Earl of Shafteſbury while in power, and as it were at the head of the adminiſtration, is liable to many objections, and ought therefore to be read with much circumſpection. Such as have written direct apologies for him, of which there are ſeveral, will have every thing to have been not only well and wiſely, but uprightly and virtuouſly done, which, perhaps, is more than ought to be advanced in favour of any Miniſter (35). On the other hand, ſuch as make no ſecret of their diſlike to this great man, very ſeldom ſhew the leaſt ſcruple of painting him in the blackeſt colours, and both diſcover how far they deviate both from impartiality and truth, by running into palpable abſurdities, and viſible contradictions. A few inſtances ſeem to be requiſite, that it may appear we have collected the materials of this article with that caution and care which it's importance demands. There were three great ſtrokes which diſtinguiſhed the period of his miniſtry, and 'tis not a little difficult to form a right judgment of his behaviour in any one of them. The *firſt* of theſe is as to his ſhutting up the Exchequer. In reference to this, Sir Joſeph Tyley's manuſcript (36) poſitively affirms, that that the meaſure was of Lord Aſhley's contrivance, but that it was picked out of him when heated with wine, and in a free converſation by Sir Thomas Clifford, who, by that artifice, got himſelf advanced to the Peerage, and to the high dignity of Lord Treaſurer of England. An honourable author affirms the direct contrary; he compares the Earl of Shafteſbury and the Lord Clifford to a ſub-ſheriff and a ſheriff; the former, he ſays, had the authority, and the latter carried the wand (*). Both theſe ſtories cannot be true, and it is highly probable that neither of them are ſo. The Earl of Shafteſbury was not a man to be over-reached, and Lord Clifford had too great a capacity to ſtoop to any direction. It is moſt likely, that they acted in concert; and tho' it may be very true, that the Earl of Shafteſbury was ambitious of being Treaſurer, yet he might be prevailed upon to give way to the Lord Clifford, becauſe the very meaſure required the aſſiſtance of a Chancellor, and none of the great men in that adminiſtration were capable of exerciſing that office but the Earl of Shafteſbury. The Earls of Clarendon and Southampton had mutually ſupported each other in thoſe poſts, and we may very reaſonably ſuppoſe, that Shafteſbury and Clifford propoſed to follow their examples; indeed it is certain they did follow them as long as they were in power, and whoever conſiders the ſpeeches made by the Chancellor Shafteſbury, at the admiſſion of Lord Clifford, and his ſucceſſor, the Lord Oſborne, to the office of Treaſurer, will ſee ſuch a manifeſt difference as will give no ſmall weight to this conjecture (37). The *ſecond* great ſtroke was, the declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, in which both theſe great Miniſters were equally concerned, though with very different views, for Lord Clifford was then a concealed, and not long after a declared, Papiſt: the Earl of Shafteſbury was deſirous of obliging the Diſſenters, the former was for maintaing this Declaration, even againſt the opinion of Parliament; the latter, finding his maſter wavering, gave up the Declaration, that he might put himſelf at the head of the Proteſtant intereſt. They both acted, conſidering the circumſtances under which the Declaration was framed, like wiſe Stateſmen; and, when they came to divide, each of them ſhewed a ſteadineſs to his principles, not in the leaſt unworthy of a great politician, ſo that Lord Clifford retired with credit, and the Earl of Shafteſbury kept his power when he loſt his poſt, and when no longer able to rule a Court, ſhewed his dexterity in becoming the ruler of the people (38). The *third* great ſtroke was peculiarly his, and that was, the iſſuing writs during the receſs of Parliament, in virtue of his office, and making uſe of his intereſt in the country to procure elections in conſequence of thoſe writs, agreeable to the views of his adminiſtration. Father Orleans, who had his lights from King James, applauds this meaſure, and acknowledges as well the candour as the capacity of the Chancellor, in reſpect to his maſter's ſervice (39). The honourable writer before-mentioned gives us quite another account. He tells us (40), the Chancellor did it to bring in his own creatures in Dorſetſhire more eſpecially, and to keep out the friends of Colonel Strangeways, whom he diſliked for many reaſons, but moſt for being a very loyal gentleman. It happens unluckily, that he entirely overturns his own ſyſtem, by acknowledging, that all the perſons brought in by Shafteſbury's intereſt, were Royaliſts (41). However, the Houſe of Commons turned them out again without the leaſt ſtruggle, either on the part of theſe new members, or of the Crown. Shafteſbury ſaid upon this, that if the King would not ſupport his Chancellor, his Chancellor could do little in that capacity for his maſter's ſervice. Upon the whole, it ſeems to be pretty clear, that the Earl of Shafteſbury was in hopes the Court would have proſecuted the Dutch war with ſuch ſucceſs, as to have carried the glory of the Engliſh flag to the utmoſt height, promoted the Engliſh commerce in it's largeſt extent, and have ſacrificed that kind of bigottry, which he judged to be the bane of the Proteſtant Religion, in which caſe he thought the power of the Crown, and the grandeur of the people, muſt have ſtood upon the ſame baſis; but finding that other ſchemes were bringing upon the carpet, though not by the King, but rather the Duke, he choſe to make a ſhort turn, and to comply with thoſe who could ſave him, inſtead of continuing to play a deſperate game in conjunction with ſuch, as, to make their peace, might be tempted to make him a victim (42).

(35) Of theſe there are many, ſuch as Rawleigh Redivivus. Memoirs and Vindication of the Earl of Shafteſbury. Compleat Stateſman, &c. in print; and there are ſeveral others in MS.

(36) As it is cited by Archdeacon Echard, in his Hiſtory.

(*) North's Examen, p. 38.

(37) See both thoſe Speeches in Echard's Hiſtory.

(38) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 296.

(39) Hiſt. of the Revolutions in England, under the Family of the Stuarts, p. 242.

(40) North's Examen, p. 42, 56.

(41) Id. ib. p. 56.

(42) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 83, 84, 85.

his enemies ſay he had a very great dexterity; and, on the other hand, his friends believe, that he made a virtue of neceſſity, and when he ſaw that his great parts could be no longer ſerviceable to his Maſter in office, he thought it very allowable to make uſe of them to ſave himſelf (*b*), and in this it is no ſmall commendation, that he retired with credit, where it would have been the higheſt point of wiſdom in any other man to have eſcaped ruin (*i*). The Duke of York was apprehenſive, from his conduct in Parliament, that he ſhould find him in many reſpects uncomplying, and was therefore very earneſt with the King to remove him, which however his Majeſty was not much inclined to do, becauſe he had a great opinion of his ſkill in finding out expedients, and of diverting dangers before things came to extremity (*k*). At length, however, that point was carried, and Nov. 9, 1673, the Earl of Shafteſbury reſigned the Great-Seal, but with ſome particular circumſtances, with the knowledge of which the reader cannot be diſpleaſed (*l*) [*L*]. After he had thus quitted the Court, he continued to make a great figure in Parliament; his abilities enabled him to ſhine, and his inclinations did not incline him to reſt (*m*). In 1675, the Lord Treaſurer Danby introduced the Teſt Bill into the Houſe of Lords, which was vigorouſly oppoſed by the Earl of Shafteſbury, who, if we may believe a great Prelate, diſtinguiſhed himſelf more in this ſeſſions than ever he had done (*n*), which is ſomewhat ſingular, conſidering he had long before attained the reputation of being one of the greateſt ſpeakers of that age. In this indeed he ſhewed his parts, and contradicted the character that ſome had given him, of being an indiſcreet Orator, by inſiſting, for a full hour, on the folly and impropriety of condemning all reſiſtance by an expreſs law (*o*). He ſhewed, that as government could not ſubſiſt if men might reſiſt as often as they were diſpleaſed; ſo liberty muſt be loſt, if in no caſe reſiſtance was lawful. He obſerved, that a King might be in the hands of a faction, and then it would be treaſon to oppoſe what had the ſanction of his name, though it was to reſcue his authority. He delivered this diſcourſe with his uſual eaſe and freedom, though he knew that every word he ſaid was watched, and his enemies had the mortification of finding, that he could ſay what he pleaſed, without putting it in their power, how much ſoever it was in their will, to hurt him (*p*). A diſpute between the two Houſes, occaſioned an unexpected prorogation by which the bill was loſt. There enſued upon this a receſs of fifteen months, and when the Parliament met again Feb. 16, 1676-7, the Duke of Buckingham argued, that it ought to be conſidered as diſſolved, the Earl of Shafteſbury was of the ſame opinion, and maintained it with ſo much warmth, that together with the Duke beforementioned, the Earl of Saliſbury, and the Lord Wharton, he was ſent to the Tower, where he continued for thirteen months, though the other Lords upon their ſubmiſſion were ſpeedily diſcharged (*q*). In order to be delivered from his confinement, he applied himſelf to the Court of King's-Bench, where, after his Counſel had done ſpeaking, he argued his own caſe with much eloquence and wit. He was notwithſtanding remanded to the Tower, and, at the next meeting of Parliament, this application was magnified into a great crime by the then Lord Treaſurer Danby, who very ſoon after was obliged to have recourſe to the ſame method for his own deliverance, and felt very ſenſibly the weight of thoſe ſevere doctrines, which he took ſo much pains to eſtabliſh upon this occaſion (*r*). At length the Earl of Shafteſbury made a full ſubmiſſion, and, upon an addreſs of the Houſe of Peers, the King was pleaſed to diſcharge him (*s*), and the precedent made in his caſe was afterwards reverſed (*t*). He managed the oppoſition to the Earl of Danby's adminiſtration with ſuch vigour and dexterity, that it was found abſolutely impoſſible to do any thing effectually in Parliament, without changing the ſyſtem which then prevailed. The King, who deſired nothing ſo much as to be eaſy, reſolving to make ſuch a change, diſmiſſed all the Privy-Council at once, and formed a new one; this was declared April 21, 1679, and at the ſame time the Earl of Shafteſbury was appointed Lord Preſident (*u*). This was one of the beſt received, as well as one of the moſt popular, meaſures, in his whole reign, and was equally acceptable to the people at home, and to the natural allies of this nation abroad (*w*). It had

(*b*) Sir William Temple's Memoirs, London, 1692, 8*vo*, p. 71.

(*i*) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 87.

(*k*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 723.

(*l*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 898.

(*m*) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 4.

(*n*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 384.

(*o*) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 7. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 384.

(*p*) Vindication of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 35. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 384.

(*q*) Kennet's and Echard's Hiſtories. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 402.

(*r*) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 25, 26, 27. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 431, 434, 437.

(*s*) Father Orleans's Revolutions of England, p. 247.

(*t*) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 28.

(*u*) Sir William Temple's Works, Vol. I. p. 334.

(*w*) Kennet's and Echard's Hiſtories. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 456.

[L] *With the knowledge of which the reader cannot be diſpleaſed.*] We have this relation, which is pleaſant enough in it's circumſtances, and theſe are ſo much the more credible, from their agreeing exactly with the characters of the perſons mentioned; from Mr Archdeacon Echard, which we ſhall give the reader in his own words (43). 'Soon after the breaking up of the 'Parliament, the Earl was ſent for, on a Sunday morning, to Court, as was alſo Sir Heneage Finch, Attorney-General, to whom the ſeals were promiſed. As 'ſoon as the Earl came, he retired with the King into the cloſet, while the prevailing party waited in 'triumph to ſee him return without the purſe. His 'Lordſhip being alone with the King, ſaid, *Sir, I 'know you intend to give the ſeals to the Attorney-General, but I am ſure your Majeſty never intended to 'diſmiſs me with contempt.* The King, who could 'not do an ill-natured thing, replyed, *God's fiſh, my 'Lord, I will not do it with any circumſtance that may 'look like an affront.* Then *Sir*, ſaid the Earl, *I deſire your Majeſty will permit me to carry the ſeals 'before you to chapel, and ſend for them afterwards 'from my houſe.* To which his Majeſty readily complied, and the Earl entertained the King with news, 'and other diverting ſtories, 'till the very minute he 'was to go to chapel, purpoſely to amuſe the courtiers and his ſucceſſor, who he believed was upon 'the rack for fear he ſhould prevail upon the King to 'change his mind. The King and the ſtill Chancellor came out of the cloſet talking together, and ſmiling, and went together to chapel, which ſurprized 'them all, who could have no opportunity to inform 'themſelves what was to be expected, and ſome ran 'immediately to tell the Duke of York all their meaſures were broken, and the Attorney-General was 'ſaid to be inconſolable. After ſermon the Earl went 'home with the ſeals, and that evening the King gave 'them to the Attorney-General, a man of great parts 'and abilities, with the title of Lord Keeper.

(43) Hiſtory of England, p. 898.

[*M*] *Allowing*

had not however long the good effects that were expected from it, which was owing to the factions at Court, and thoſe quickly roſe to ſuch a height, that the Earl was removed from that high employment on the fifth of October following (x). He had drawn upon himſelf the implacable hatred of the Duke of York, by ſteadily promoting, if not originally inventing, the project of an Excluſion Bill. In reſpect to this he was indeed immoveable, notwithſtanding he knew the King would never conſent to it, and though moſt of his friends were inclined to accept the expedient offered by the Court, of providing againſt what they feared, by eſtabliſhing legal limitations. It is not our buſineſs to determine in ſo nice and important a point, but this we may have leave to ſay, that his Lordſhip's reaſons were clear and weighty, allowing his principles to be well founded (y) [*M*]. The diſcovery of the Popiſh plot opened a way for ſubverting the Earl of Danby's miniſtry, and the general opinion ſeems to be, that this induced the Earl of Shafteſbury to puſh that matter, not only with vigour but vehemence. There is nothing plainer than that he was the author and promoter of all the proſecutions that followed thereupon, as well in the inferior Courts, as in Parliament; with a view of quaſhing the Popiſh party entirely, and of excluding the Duke, which were the points he had moſt at heart, and which, without doubt, he purſued with unrelenting ſeverity (z). Upon the King's ſummoning a Parliament to meet at Oxford, March 21, 1680-1, he joined with ſeveral Lords in a petition to prevent it's meeting there (a), which however failed of ſucceſs. He was preſent in that Parliament, and ſtrenuouſly ſupported the Excluſion Bill, which however was thrown out in the Houſe of Lords. He is likewiſe ſaid to have uſed his utmoſt endeavours to have reconciled his Majeſty to that meaſure, but without effect (b). It is no wonder that ſuch a conduct as this ſhould inflame the Duke and his friends againſt him, and not long after, an occaſion either offered or was found, to make him feel the weight of their reſentments. Upon the diſſolution of that Parliament, and his return to London, one Bryan Haines applied himſelf to him, under pretence that he could make ſtill clearer diſcoveries than hitherto had been made of the Popiſh plot, and the murther of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey, provided, that for this ſervice, he might obtain a pardon (c). But when this man was brought before the Privy-Council, he gave quite another account, and boldly charged the Earl

(x) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 383.

(y) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 469, 477, 482, 494, 502.

(z) Hiſt. of the Revolutions in England, p. 249. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, p. 486.

(a) Rawleigh Redivus, P. ii. p. 89.

(b) North's Examen, p. 123.

(c) Rawleigh Redivus. P. ii. p. 103. North's Examen, p. 117. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 506.

[*M*] *Allowing his principles to be well founded.*] It was a misfortune to the Earl of Shafteſbury, that thoſe who were angry with him have tranſmitted to poſterity the hiſtory of thoſe times in which he lived, and of that government in which he had ſo large a ſhare. As for inſtance, Sir William Temple having come in by the intereſt of the Earl of Arlington, and being afterwards ſupported by that of the Lord Treaſurer Danby, could not avoid feeling a diſtaſte to one who left the former, and oppoſed the latter, and of this there are viſible marks in thoſe paſſages of his Memoirs, where the Earl of Shafteſbury is mentioned (44). The Biſhop of Saliſbury was very intimate in his turn with the Earl of Shafteſbury, as well as other great men of thoſe times, but had the misfortune to be upon bad terms with him afterwards, by bringing the unfortunate Lord Stafford to charge Shafteſbury at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, with being a friend to the Papiſts a little before he ſuffered death (45). The Hon. Roger North had his reaſons alſo for diſliking him, which he tells us very fairly, ſpeaks upon all occaſions as an enemy, but as an enemy declared, and therefore the leſs to be feared (46). It cannot be aſſerted, that when theſe writers relate facts concerning this noble Lord, they do not deſerve credit, for as men of ſenſe and reputation, that is due to whatever they relate, as a thing known; but theſe remarks, and many more that might be added, are ſufficient to take off the edge of their cenſures, to leſſen the credibility of their conjectures, and to keep the reader from having an implicit faith in the characters they have drawn of a man they did not love, and that chiefly, becauſe he oppoſed thoſe who are the heroes of their reſpective works, ſuch as Lord Halifax, Lord Danby, and Lord North. As to the point of the Bill of Excluſion, it is generally mentioned as an inſtance of the Earl of Shafteſbury's diſlike to monarchy, and thoſe who oppoſed it are magnified as men who were beſt affected to what was, at that time, eſteemed the Engliſh Conſtitution. One of thoſe writers ſays, that the Earl of Shafteſbury never denied his changing ſides, but, on the contrary, took a pleaſure in relating the many turns he had made, and in ſhewing that he made them at the proper times (47). It might have been added, that he valued himſelf likewiſe upon never betraying thoſe he left, and upon quitting parties without leaving his principles. He had a good opinion of King Charles the ſecond's inclinations, and thought his affairs were prejudiced by carrying the dead weight of a Popiſh ſucceſſor. This he thought neceſſary to be removed, and thought the only way to remove it, without prejudice to the monarchy, was to exclude the Duke of York, and paſs on to the next heir. He judged that ſuch a law, would be no improper inſtance of the abſolute power of a King and Parliament, might provide for the ſafety of the ſubject, and yet leave the power of the Crown entire, without tinging the Conſtitution with the leaſt colour of a common-wealth (48). How far he might act in this from his perſonal reſentment againſt the Duke of York, what views he might have of re-eſtabliſhing his own power, or what ſchemes he might be drawn into after the diſſolution of the Oxford Parliament, are out of the caſe. We are ſpeaking of the grounds upon which he promoted the Excluſion, and how far they were reconcileable to his former principles, of which the reader, from what has been ſaid, may very eaſily ſettle his judgment. As for Lord Hallifax, who was the great patron of the limitations, he made no ſcruple of owning, that he meant thereby not to limit the ſucceſſor only, but to leſſen and curtail the prerogatives of the Crown. He carried it ſo far, if we may believe the Biſhop of Sarum, and there is not the leaſt colour for diſbelieving him, as to inſinuate, that a Popiſh King was a bleſſing, as it afforded an opportunity of putting all his ſucceſſors under theſe reſtraints (49). Now granting theſe accounts to be true, there cannot be any thing clearer than that Shafteſbury continued a Royaliſt, though at the head of an oppoſition, and that Lord Hallifax acted, or affected to act, upon the maxims of a common-wealth's man, when in the ſervice of the Court. The reaſons why Shafteſbury always rejected the ſcheme of limitations were, firſt, becauſe he thought it was not for the benefit of the ſubject, that the prerogatives of the Crown ſhould be leſſened, but that the abuſe of thoſe prerogatives by Miniſters ſhould be puniſhed; and therefore he conceived it unjuſt, that the Engliſh Monarchy ſhould ſuffer for the fault of the Duke of York; and ſecondly, he thought limitations impracticable, becauſe, if the perſon limited came to be King, and had a Parliament to his mind, thoſe limitations might be as eaſily and as legally repealed as ever they were enacted. It is evident, that neither of theſe objections lay againſt his ſcheme of the Excluſion, for that would have left the Monarchy ſound and entire, and have placed ſuch a new head as would have always maintained his own title, and muſt have governed by law, in order to have it effectually in his power to do that; which would have been an advantage to the nation, rather than an inconvenience.

[*N*] *Were*

(44) Temple's Works, Vol. I. p. 334, 335, 337, 339, 340, 341, 343, &c.

(45) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 494.

(46) In his Examen, and in his Life of Lord North, as often as he mentions him.

(47) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 97.

(48) Collected from his ſeveral Speeches made upon that occaſion in Parliament.

(49) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 456.

Earl with endeavouring to ſuborn him (d). Upon this information his Lordſhip was apprehended on the ſecond of July 1681, and after being examined by his Majeſty in Council, he was committed to the Tower, where he remained upwards of four months, notwithſtanding he petitioned, and took every other legal method to obtain a trial, or to be admitted to bail according to the *Habeas Corpus* Act (e). At length, on the twenty-fourth of October, 1681, a bill was preſented to the Grand Jury at the Seſſions Houſe in the Old Bailey, againſt him, for high-treaſon, and the witneſſes were examined in open court. They certainly teſtified enough, or rather too much; for, on the one hand, the evidence they gave was very incredible in itſelf; and, on the other, their characters were ſo infamous, that even a probable ſtory would ſcarce have deſerved belief upon their depoſition (f). But what was chiefly relied on, was a paper found in the Earl's ſtudy, which contained the draught of an aſſociation; yet it was neither written, or ſo much as marked, with his hand; and though it contained many ſtrange things, yet it was full of the higheſt zeal for the preſervation of the King's perſon (g). Upon the whole, the Jury thought fit to return the bill *Ignoramus*. This occaſioned a very high controverſy, many aſſerting that this was inconſiſtent with their oaths, and others, who took themſelves to be as good judges, maintaining as poſitively, that, conſiſtent with their oaths, they could not have found another verdict; and ſeveral things were publiſhed on both ſides (h) [N]. It is certain that great rejoicings were made upon his Lordſhip's acquittal and diſcharge, and a MEDAL was alſo ſtruck upon that occaſion, which gave a ſubject to the ſatyrick muſe of Mr Dryden, whoſe poem under that title is thought not at all inferior to any of his writings, which however decides nothing as to the fact, ſince Poets do not always ſucceed beſt upon the baſis of truth or reaſon (i). The Earl, as ſoon as he was at liberty, endeavoured to vindicate himſelf by law, and brought an action againſt one Mr Cradock, for ſpeaking of him as a traytor. A rule however being made upon the motion of the defendant, that the tryal ſhould not be had before a Jury either of London or Middleſex, but in any other county that his Lordſhip ſhould chuſe, he thought fit to diſcontinue his ſuit (k). He reſided for many years at Thanet Houſe in Alderſgate-ſtreet, but finding his health decay, his ſpirits declining, and the times growing ſtill more and more tempeſtuous, to which we may add, that thoſe who were his bittereſt enemies were now in the zenith of their power, he thought it high time to ſeek for ſome place of retirement, where, out of the reach of their endeavours to injure him, he might wear out the ſmall remainder of his life in peace (l). It was with this view, that in the month of November, 1682, he embarked for Holland, and arriving ſafely at Amſterdam, after a very dangerous voyage, he took a houſe there, propoſing to live in a manner ſuitable to his quality, being viſited by perſons of the firſt diſtinction, and treated with all the deference and reſpect that he could deſire; but being ſeized by his old diſtemper the gout, it ſpeedily flew up into his ſtomach, and ſoon became mortal, ſo that he expired on the twenty-ſecond of January, 1682-3, in the ſixty-ſecond year of his age (m). His body being embalmed was tranſported to England, and the corps being landed at Poole in Dorſetſhire, the gentlemen of that county, out of their extraordinary regard to his memory, came uninvited, and accompanied it to Winborne St Giles's, where he was interred with his anceſtors (n), and, in 1732, a noble monument, with a large inſcription to his honour, was erected by his worthy deſcendant, the preſent Earl of Shafteſbury (o). His Lordſhip

(d) North's Examen, p. 117.

(e) Kennet's and Echard's Hiſtories. Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 104. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, p. 506.

(f) Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 400.

(g) Remarks upon the new Project of Aſſociation, where the Aſſociation is printed at large.

(h) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 121.

(i) Dryden's Original Poems and Tranſlations, p. 180. Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 389.

(k) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 122.

(l) Kennet's and Echard's Hiſtories.

(m) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 125. Compl. Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. III. p. 400. Sir John Rereſby's Memoirs, p. 158.

(n) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 125.

(o) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 385.

[N] *Were publiſhed on both ſides.*] The reader will find a full account of the proceedings againſt the Earl of Shafteſbury, upon this bill of indictment, in it's proper place (50), and will there ſee what was ſworn againſt him, and by whom. The great deſign of the Court was to make it evident to all the world, that the King could not obtain juſtice, even for the higheſt offences committed againſt him by a ſubject, from the manifeſt partiality of the Grand Juries in London, diſpoſed and packed by malecontent ſheriffs. The proof of this was ſuppoſed to depend on the manifeſt ſtrength of the evidence offered to prove the facts laid in this indictment, which it was alledged the Grand Jury could not reject, without breach of their oaths (51). On the other hand, it was inſiſted upon, that the Grand Jury being ſworn to bring in a *true verdict*, they could not, in their conſciences, return *Billa vera*, where the evidence was inconſiſtent, given by infamous witneſſes, and made up of abſurd and incredible relations; in ſhort, that a Grand Jury was bound to return *Ignoramus*, notwithſtanding any evidence, when they, in their conſciences, ſaw reaſon not to believe that evidence (52). To this purpoſe, a ſtrong and bold piece was written, as a certain great Prelate informs us, by the learned and ingenious Mr Somers, afterwards Lord Somers, and Chancellor of England (53). As for the Aſſociation mentioned in the text, the ſame Prelate tells us, and indeed it is very probable, that it was put into the hands of the Earl of Shafteſbury when the Parliament ſat at Oxford, in which an Aſſociation had been propoſed, as a neceſſary ſecurity againſt the apprehenſions of Popery, and the dangers ariſing from a Popiſh Succeſſor after the Excluſion Bill was rejected (54). Thus much is certain, that the Aſſociation was not mentioned in the indictment, but was offered as a ſupplemental and corroborative proof of what was ſworn againſt his Lordſhip by the witneſſes. There was another ſtrange circumſtance attended this, that one Mr Wilſon, who, on the part of the Earl, attended to receive back ſuch of his papers as were ſeized, and were not conſidered as criminal, and to mark thoſe of another nature, that it might appear they were really found in the Earl's cuſtody; I ſay it was another ſtrange circumſtance in regard to this Aſſociation, that it was not indorſed as the other papers were, and that Mr Wilſon was committed for High-Treaſon (55). To ſay the plain truth, theſe were very dreadful times, when all parties had recourſe to the moſt unjuſtifiable methods for carrying their points. Such as oppoſed the Government made no ſcruple of publiſhing the moſt bitter and injurious libels againſt it. On the other hand, thoſe employed by the Court ſacrificed truth and decency, without the leaſt ſcruple. Marchmont Needham, who had been employed by the Regicides and the Parliament, to vilify the Royal Family in the moſt ſcandalous and barbarous manner, was paid by the Miniſters to abuſe and defame the Earl of Shafteſbury, which he did with all the alacrity in the world (56), and his abuſe is transferred, verbatim, into the account given of this noble perſon by the Oxford Hiſtorian (57). It was given out, with the like deſign, that the Earl of Shafteſbury had the vanity to expect to be choſe King of Poland, and this made way for calling him Count *Tapſky*, alluding to the tap which had been applied upon the breaking out of the ulcer between his ribs when he was

(50) State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 418.

(51) North's Examen, p. 111.

(52) See the third part of No Proteſtant Plot, ſaid to be written by the famous Robert Ferguſon.

(53) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I p. 509. Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 108.

(54) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 506.

(55) North's Examen, p. 112. Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 107, 108.

(56) In a quarto pamphlet, intituled, A Packet of Advices and Animadverſions, ſent from London to the men of Shafteſbury, which is of uſe for all his Majeſty's ſubjects in the three Kingdoms, London, 1676.

(57) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 721, 722, 723.

Lordſhip married three wives, the firſt Margaret, daughter to Thomas Lord Coventry, by whom he had no iſſue; ſecondly Frances, daughter to David Earl of Exeter, by whom he had Anthony his ſon and heir (*p*). And thirdly, Magaret daughter of William Lord Spencer, by whom he left no iſſue (*q*). Anthony, his only ſon and ſucceſſor born the 16th of January 1651, married Dorothy, daughter to John Earl of Rutland, by whom he had iſſue two ſons Anthony and Maurice, and three daughters; Lady Mary married to Francis Stonehouſe of Hungerford-park, in the county of Berks, Eſq; Lady Elizabeth wife of James Harris of Saliſbury, Eſq; and Lady Dorothy eſpouſed to Edward Hooper, of Hearn-court in the county of Southampton, Eſq; And his lordſhip departing this life on the 10th of November 1699, was ſucceeded by Anthony his ſon and heir, which Anthony born 26th of February 1670, was a nobleman of extraordinary parts and learning (*r*), as from his celebrated writings appears. He married in 1709, Jane, daughter of Thomas Ewer, of Buſhy-Hall in the county of Hertford, Eſq; and departing this life at Naples, on the 14th of February N. S. 1712-13, was ſucceeded by Anthony his only ſon, now Earl of Shafteſbury. His Lordſhip married on the 12th of March 1724-5, the Lady Suſan Noel, ſiſter to Baptiſt now Earl of Gainſborough, but as yet they have no iſſue.

was Lord Chancellor (58). It was alſo a ſtanding jeſt with the lower form of Wits, to ſtile him *Shiftſbury* inſtead of *Shafteſbury* (59). A very grave author is pleaſed to tell us, that when his Lordſhip was Chancellor, one Sir Paul Neal watered his mares with Rheniſh and ſugar, that is, entertained his miſtreſſes (60); which, if true, was certainly a ſtory that needed not to be communicated to poſterity. We are told, that King Charles II. who would both take liberties and bear them, once ſaid to the Earl at Court, in a vein of raillery and good humour, and in reference only to his amours, *I believe*, Shafteſbury, *thou art the wickedeſt fellow in my dominions*. To which, with a low bow, and a very grave face, the Earl replyed, *May it pleaſe your Majeſty, of a* ſubject *I believe I am*; at which the merry Monarch laughed heartily. When parties were at their greateſt height, the King would very often honour him with his converſation, and would aſk his opinion upon indifferent things, which was not pleaſing to the Miniſters, as it carried nothing of that averſion which they would have had the world believe he entertained againſt his Lordſhip (61). In return, there is good reaſon to maintain, that whatever lengths party might carry him, his Lordſhip ſtill retained a deep ſenſe of that favour, with which his indulgent maſter had honoured him (62); and it happens a little ſtrangely, that the author who has drawn this noble perſon's character in the blackeſt colours has, notwithſtanding, left us a paſſage, which is the ſtrongeſt proof of it (63). 'If he was a friend really to any human 'kind beſides himſelf, I believe it was to King Charles 'II. whoſe gaiety, breeding, wit, good humour, fa'miliarity, and diſpoſition, to enjoy the pleaſures of 'ſociety and greatneſs, engaged him very much, that 'had a great ſhare of wit, agreeableneſs, and gallantry 'himſelf. But this ſame ſuperiority ſpoiled all, his 'Majeſty would not be always influenced by him, but 'would take ſhort turns on his toe, and ſo fruſtrate 'his projects: and by that, finding he could not work 'under him, ſtrove, if poſſible, to reduce his autho'rity, and get above him. It ſeems, by what was 'given out, that he would not have hurt the King per'ſonally, but kept him tame in a cage with his ordi'nary pleaſures about him.'

E

COOTE (Sir CHARLES) a brave and active Officer in the ſeventeenth Century, created in 1660 Earl of Mountrath, was the eldeſt ſon of Sir Charles Coote [*A*] who was made a Baronet the 2d of April 1621 (*a*). In January 1641-2 he was beſieged in Caſtle-Coote by twelve hundred Iriſh, but he valiantly raiſed the ſiege within a week. Not long after, he defeated Hugh O Connor and his forces: And on the 2d of March encountred Con O Rourk and his followers, who came to plunder Roſcommon; took him priſoner, and killed moſt of his party. Afterwards he gave a total defeat to the rebels, who had formed a Camp at Kregs, and took all their baggage and proviſions. He likewiſe got a conſiderable prey from about Ballyniſlow. And in Eaſter-week relieved Athlone with ſome proviſions

[*A*] *Was the eldeſt ſon of Sir* Charles Coote] This Sir Charles Coote was a man of great conſideration in Ireland. Upon the breaking out of the Iriſh rebellion, in 1641, he had a commiſſion for a regiment of foot, and was made Governor of Dublin (1). On the 29th of November he relieved the caſtle of Wicklow, beat a thouſand of the Iriſh, with their commander, Luke Toole, and put them to a ſhameful flight; whereby he became ſo terrible to the Iriſh, that they ſeldom made any reſiſtance where he was (2). In December, the Lords of the Pale, in Ireland, accuſed him of having uttered, at the council-board, ſome ſpeeches, tending to a purpoſe and reſolution of executing a general maſſacre upon the Iriſh Roman Catholicks: but the Lords Juſtices cleared him of that imputation (3). On the 15th of the ſame month he pillaged and burnt the the village of Clantarfe, near Dublin (4). The 10th of April, 1642, he was ſent with Sir Thomas Lucas, and ſix troops of horſe, to relieve Bir, and ſome other places. They were to paſs a cauſeway which the rebels had broke, and had caſt up a ditch at the end of it; but Coote made thirty of his dragoons alight, and, in perſon, led them on, and beat off the Iriſh, with the ſlaughter of forty rebels and their captain, and then relieved the caſtles of Bir, Burrous, and Knocknemeaſe; and having ſate almoſt forty-eight hours on horſeback, and loſt and ſpoiled a hundred horſe in this expedition, they returned to the camp on *the eleventh*, at night, without the loſs of one man. And this was the prodigious paſſage through Mountrath-woods, which indeed is wonderful in many reſpects, and therefore juſtly gave occaſion for the title of Earl of Mountrath to be entailed upon the poſterity of Sir Charles Coote, who was the chief commander in this expedition (5). Some time after he accompanied the Lord Liſle in relieving the caſtle of Geaſhill, and, at the council of war, told the reſt, that if they made haſte they might eaſily paſs the defiles and cauſeways, before the enemy could aſſemble to oppoſe them: whereto another replied, that perhaps it might be ſo, but when the country was alarmed how ſhould they get back? 'I proteſt, ſaid 'Sir Charles Coote, I never thought of that in my 'life; I always conſidered how to do my buſineſs, and 'when that was done, I got home again as well as I 'could, and hitherto I have not miſſed of forcing my 'way:' ſo they relieved that place, and beſides took Philipſtown and Trim; which laſt, three thouſand Iriſh attempting to recover the next night, Sir Charles Coote routed them with a very few forces. But in this rencounter he had the misfortune of being ſhot to death; whether by the enemy, or by one of his own troopers, is uncertain (6). Beſides his other offices and employments, he was one of the council to the Lords Juſtices of Ireland (7). He left ſeveral ſons, namely, Sir Charles his eldeſt ſon and heir, created Earl of Mountrath; Richard, afterwards Baron of Colloony and Earl of Bellamont; Chudleigh; Thomas (8).

(*p*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 482; where he is entirely miſtaken as to his Lordſhip's having iſſue by his laſt wife, and not by his ſecond.

(*q*) This appears from the inſcription upon his monument.

(*r*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 385.

(*s*) At preſent Lord Lieutenant of the county of Dorſet and town of Poole.

(58) See the Preface to Dryden's Poem upon the Medal.

(59) North's Examen, p. 42. Life of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 331.

(60) North's Examen, p. 60.

(61) Character of King Charles II. p. 5.

(62) See his Letter to the King, at the end of Locke's Memoirs concerning the Earl's Life.

(63) North's Examen, p. 119.

(*a*) The Iriſh Compendium, &c. by Fr. Nicholls, edit. 1735, p. 107.

(1) The Iriſh Rebellion, &c. by Sir John Temple, edit. 1646, 4to, P. ii. p. 3.

(2) Ibid. p. 17; and Cox, Hiſt. of Ireland, P. ii p. 83.

(3) Temple, ibid. p. 23, 24.

(4) Ibid. p. 29; and Cox, p. 84, 85.

(5) Cox, ibid. p. 105.

(6) Idem, p. 106, 107.

(7) Temple, as above, p. 26, 28, 51.

(8) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 839. See alſo The Iriſh Compendium, p. 107, 119.

proviſions and other neceſſaries (b). About the beginning of the year 1644, he was one of the Agents from the Iriſh Proteſtants, who attended King Charles I. at Oxford, in order to treat of a Peace between them and the Catholicks in Ireland (c). In November 1646, having received ſome forces from England, he broke through the army of the Iriſh with a party, and cauſed them to draw farther off from Dublin, which they kept in a manner beſieged (d). In May 1647, he gave them a great defeat, in which a thouſand of them were ſlain (e). Soon after, he had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with them, in which ſome of the leading Rebels were taken priſoners (f). In October the ſame year, joining his forces with thoſe of Col. Jones and Col. Monk, they took ſeveral Caſtles and places from the Iriſh; and among the reſt, Port Leſter, and Athboy (g). About the end of the next year, marching with the forces he had aſſembled in Connaught, from Sligo ſeventy miles into the Rebels county; after a little ſkirmiſh with them, he burned great ſtore of their corn, and brought away a great booty (h). He alſo took Culmore-fort (i). At his return, he apprehended Sir Robert Stuart, the King's commander in thoſe parts, and ſent him into England with an Accuſation againſt him. Upon which occaſion, ſo well did the Parliament approve of his conduct, that they ordered care to be taken of his forces, and ſent him a letter of thanks (k). In 1649 he did not meet with the ſame ſucceſs: For he was ſtraitly beſieged in Londonderry [B] by ſuch of the Iriſh as had declared for King Charles II; and they demanded he ſhould depart the Kingdom (l). But having ſome relief come from England, he ſallied out, and ſcoured the country for ſeven miles on all ſides of the city, killing many, and taking ſeveral priſoners (m). After which, he concluded a peace with Major-general Owen Row O-neal, in order to preſerve the garriſon of Londonderry, and the Engliſh intereſt in thoſe parts: which the Parliament highly approved of, and ordered him to be ſupplied with proviſions and ammunition (n). Accordingly, being ſupplied with them, and reinforced with a thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, he march'd into the country poſſeſſed by King Charles's friends, and having clear'd all round Londonderry for fourteen miles together, he brought great ſtore of proviſions into that city (o): and kept the field without any conſiderable oppoſition. In December, he routed about four thouſand horſe and foot, that came to the relief of Carrickfergus, then cloſely beſieged by him, and ſlew fourteen hundred men; whereupon Carrickfergus ſurrendered (p). About the beginning of the year 1650, he marched towards Belfaſt, where he found no oppoſition, and ſettled that country (q). Then he reduced Caſtledove (r), and advanc'd towards Catherlough (s). In April, he reduced many ſmall Forts near Carrickfergus, and took Inniſkilling and ſome other places (t), whereby he became ſo formidable, that the Iriſh army in Ulſter would not engage with him, tho' he took great booties from them (u). In June, he gave a great defeat to the Biſhop of Clogher [C], who was advancing at the head of four thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe, to hinder the junction of Sir Charles, and Colonel Venables (w). In September, he was at the ſiege of Athlone: And in May 1651, was ſent to attend the motions of the Iriſh in Connaught (x). In June, he marched thirty miles in a day and a night, in order to eſcape the Marquis of Clanrickard who endeavoured to intercept his paſſage; and joining the then Deputy of Ireland, they routed the united forces of the Marquis of Clanrickard and Earl of Caſtlehaven, killing and taking three thouſand of them: Then he went, and ſat down before Galloway (y). Soon after, advancing againſt the remains of the Marquis of Clanrickard's Forces, they abandoned ſeveral paſſes, and a caſtle of conſequence (z). And he alſo took Maſo-caſtle (a). In the beginning of the year 1652, he haraſs'd the Barony of Burren [D], which refuſed to pay him contributions (b). And on the 12th of May enſuing, Galloway ſurrendred to him, after a long and tedious ſiege. Whereupon, the Marquis of Clanrickard deſired to enter into a Treaty with him, for putting a period to the war in Ireland, and eſtabliſhing the repoſe of that Nation (c). In June he reduced Sligo (d): And in July marched againſt a party of the Royaliſts in Kerry [E]; whom having beaten

[B] *For he was ſtraitly beſieged in Londonderry.*] During this ſiege, he agreed to ſupply the beſiegers with powder, upon their engaging to furniſh him with ſuch proviſions as he wanted; which was performed on both ſides (9). This ſhows how little Sir Charles was afraid of the beſiegers. But how greatly he was, and had been, diſtreſſed, for want of pay and proviſions, is evident, from a paper of requeſts to Lieutenant-General Cromwell, wherein it was repreſented, in the name of Sir Charles Coote and his forces, that they, being three regiments of horſe, and three of foot, had received but eight months pay in eight years, and a peck of oatmeal a week (10).

[C] *In June he gave a great defeat to the Biſhop of* Clogher.] This battle was fought at Skirfolas, on the 21ſt of June (11); and, after an hour's hot diſpute, with great reſolution on both ſides, the Iriſh were wholly routed. Many of them were killed upon the place, and the execution was ten or eleven miles every way that night (12): but, afterwards, the purſuit was continued farther than ever was heard of before, namely, above thirty miles. So that it was believed, that five hundred of all this army did not eſcape (13). But Sir Charles writes in a letter, that there were at leaſt, in all, three thouſand killed. The Biſhop being taken, much wounded (14), was hanged the next day, by order of the Preſident, and his head ſet up on one of the gates of Londonderry; of which, but the year before, he had aſſiſted Sir Charles Coote in raiſing the ſiege (15).

[D] *He barraſſed the Barony of* Burren.] Mr Whitelock informs us, that this Barony hath neither wood, water, nor earth enough to hang, drown, or bury a man (16).

[E] *And in July he marched againſt a party of the Royaliſts in* Kerry.] They had got together a body of about five thouſand men, under the conduct of the Marquis of Clanrickard and Sir Phelim O Neal, with which they had beſieged and taken the fort of Ballishannon, Whereupon Sir Charles Coote and Colonel Venables drew out what forces they could, and advanced towards them with ſuch expedition, that they beaten from their faſtneſſes, and ſecured the paſſes by planting ſome garriſons, he ſo diſtreſſed them that they could no longer continue in a body; therefore they, and the Marquis of Clanrickard came in and ſubmitted. And he had leave to tranſport himſelf with three thouſand men to any foreign country in friendſhip with England, within the ſpace of three months (*e*). To enable Sir Charles to carry on the war, he was one of the Commiſſioners of the taxes, exciſe, and cuſtoms, for Ulſter (*f*). After Ireland was reduc'd to the obedience of the Parliament, he was one of the Court of Juſtice in the province of Connaught (*g*); of which he was made Preſident by Act of Parliament (*h*). Being in England at the time of the depoſing of Richard Cromwell, he went poſt for Ireland, to carry the news of that great alteration to his brother Henry Cromwell, and to concert with him what to do in order to maintain themſelves in their poſts (*i*). At firſt he ſeemed to aim at nothing more, than to keep his Government in Connaught, and to have his Regiment of Foot, and troop of Horſe, continued to him (*k*) [*F*]. But when he found that King Charles the Second's intereſt was likely to prevail, he endeavoured to inſinuate himſelf into his favour. For that purpoſe, he ſent over to the Marquis of Ormond, then at Bruſſels, one Sir Arthur Forbes, a Scotiſh Gentleman of good affection to the King, and good intereſt in the Province of Ulſter where he was an Officer of horſe, 'To aſſure 'his Majeſty of Sir Charles's affection and duty; and that, if his Majeſty would vouchſafe 'to come into Ireland, he was confident the whole Kingdom would declare for him: that 'though the preſent Power in England had remov'd all the ſober men from the government of the State in Ireland, under the character of Preſbyterians; and had put Ludlow, 'Corbet, and others of the King's judges in their places; yet they were generally ſo 'odious to the Army as well as to the People, that they could ſeize upon their perſons, 'and the very caſtle of Dublin, when they ſhould judge it convenient.' However, the King not chuſing to go to Ireland, diſmiſs'd Sir Arthur Forbes with ſuch letters and commiſſions as he deſired: who, upon his return to Ireland, found the ſtate of affairs much alter'd ſince his departure (*l*). For Sir Charles Coote, and one or two more, ſo influenc'd the whole council of Officers, that they prevail'd upon them to vote, Not to receive Col. Ludlow as commander in chief; and, beſides, made themſelves maſters of Athlone, Drogheda, Limerick, Dublin, and other places for the ſervice of the King (*m*). Then he ſent to Col. Monk, to acquaint him with the progreſs he had made in ſecuring Ireland; who was ſo pleaſed with it, that he cauſed the cannon at Berwick to be fired in teſtimony of his joy, and ſent back the meſſenger with letters of thanks for the good ſervice, deſiring him and his friends not to reſtore the Commiſſioners of the Parliament, whom they had ſeized, to the exerciſe of their authority (*n*). Soon after, Sir Charles Coote, and ſome others ſent to the Parliament a charge of high-treaſon, againſt Col. Ludlow, Col. John Jones, Col. Thomlinſon, and Miles Corbet (*o*). But the oppoſite party reſolved to ſeize him, and his friends: of which having notice, he mounted on horſe back, and, attended by great numbers of people, rid about the ſtreets of Dublin, and declared for a Free Parliament (*p*). He likewiſe made himſelf maſter of Dublin-caſtle, and expelled Sir Hardreſs Waller from the command of the army (*q*). To recommend himſelf further to the King, he apprehended John Coke, chief juſtice of Ireland, who had been Solicitor-general at the trial of King Charles I (*r*). Notwithſtanding all that, the Rump thought themſelves ſo ſure of him, that on the 5th of January 1659-60, they approved of what had been done by him and other officers of the army in Ireland for the ſervice of the Parliament; and ordered, that the Thanks of the Houſe ſhould be given them for their good ſervice, to be ſigned by the Speaker, and ſealed with the Seal of the Parliament (*s*). On the 19th of the ſame month, they appointed him one of the Commiſſioners for the management of the affairs of Ireland (*t*). But, before thoſe Commiſſioners declared for King Charles, they inſiſted upon ſeveral particulars relating to their intereſt as members of that nation (*u*). The 6th of September 1660, Sir Charles Coote was, on account of his many and great ſervices for the Royal Cauſe, created Baron and Viſcount Coote, and Earl of Mountrath in the Queen's county in Ireland: and was alſo appointed one of the Lords Juſtices of Ireland (*w*). But he did not long enjoy theſe Honours, for he died the 18th of December 1661 (*x*). He was ſucceeded in honour and eſtate by Charles his ſon, the ſecond Earl; anceſtor of Algernoon, the preſent, and fifth, Earl of Mountrath, late repreſentative in Parliament for the borough of Heydon in Yorkſhire.

(b) Hiſt. of Ireland, &c. by R. Cox, P. ii. p. 97.

(c) Cox, ibid. p. 139.

(d) Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs, &c. by Mr Whitelock, edit. 1732, p. 228.

(e) Ibid. p. 251.

(f) Ibid. p. 258.

(g) Page 275.

(h) Idem, p. 367.

(i) Hiſt. of Ireland, by R. Cox, P. ii. p. 203.

(k) Whitelock, p. 367.

(l) Ibid. p. 396.

(m) Ibid. p. 414, 420.

(n) Page 422.

(o) Page 425, 426, 427.

(p) Ibid. p. 435, 436

(q) Ibid. p. 443.

(r) Page 446.

(s) Page 451.

(t) Page 453, 455.

(u) Page 455, 458.

(w) Page 463, 464.

(x) Page 477, 493 Ludlow's Memoirs, edit. 1698, Vol. I. p. 343, 343.

(y) Whitelock, p. 495, 497, 500.

(z) Ibid. p. 507.

(a) Page 516.

(b) Page 521.

(c) Ibid. p. 527, 531, 532. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. edit. 1698, p. 396, &c. Hiſt. of Ireland, by R. Cox, Vol. II. in Charles II. p. 69.

(d) Whitelock, as above, p. 538.

(9) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 294.

(10) Whitelock, as above, p. 410.

(11) Hiſt. of Ireland, by R. Cox, P. ii. p. 24.

(12) Whitelock, p. 464.

(13) R. Cox, ubi ſupra.

(14) Whitelock, as above.

(15) R. Cox, as above, p. 24; and Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 331.

(16) Memorials, p. 521.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 540. Ludlow, as above, p. 418.

(*f*) Ludlow, ibid. p. 338.

(*g*) Idem, Vol. II. p. 443.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 704.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 642.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 704.

(*l*) The Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. by Lord Clarendon, edit. 1731, 8*vo*, P. iii. Vol. II. p. 754, 755.

(*m*) Ludlow, as above, Vol. II. p. 787, 788.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 798.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 805, 806.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 838.

(*q*) Page 839.

(*r*) Page 851.

(*s*) Mercurius Politic. No. 602, p. 1009.

(*t*) Ibid. No. 604.

(*u*) Ibid. No. 612.

(*w*) The Iriſh Compendium, &c. as above, p. 107, 108.

(*x*) Ibid.

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they were near the place before the enemy had notice of their march; who, finding themſelves ſurprized, retreated to the bogs, leaving a ſmall garriſon in Balliſhannon; but being purſued by the Parliament's forces, who killed and wounded about three hundred of them, (in which number were thirty officers) and took from them ſeven or eight thouſand cows, on whoſe milk they chiefly ſubſiſted; twelve hundred of them came in and laid down their arms; upon which the garriſon they had placed in Balliſhannon ſurrendered upon articles (17).

[*F*] *At firſt he ſeemed to aim at nothing more than to keep his government in Connaught, and to have his regiment of foot, and troop of horſe continued to him.*] Mr Ludlow informs us, (if he is altogether to be credited) that he aſſured him of his endeavours, to have all thoſe things confirmed to him by the Parliament, in hopes that he would employ them in the defence and preſervation of that authority under which he had done ſo many great ſervices, and from whom he had received ſo many marks of favour. This Sir Charles promiſed to do, and added, that he was fully convinced that his intereſt was wholly involved in the preſervation of the Parliament, all that he enjoyed being derived from their authority; and that as he had oppoſed the late King in his arbitrary deſigns, ſo he would continue to act in conformity to thoſe actions, well knowing, that if the ſon ſhould happen to prevail, the Engliſh intereſt would be loſt in Ireland, and the Iriſh reſtored to the poſſeſſion of their lands, according to an agreement paſſed between them. And this Sir Charles promiſed Ludlow he would do (18).

(17) Ludlow, as above, Vol. I. p. 412.

(13) Ludlow's Memoirs, &c. Vol. II. p. 704, 705.

CORBET (Richard), Biſhop of Norwich, and an excellent Poet, was ſon of Mr Vincent Corbet [*A*], and born at Ewell in Surrey, towards the latter end of the ſixteenth Century, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He had his education in Weſtminſter School, and from thence was ſent to Oxford in Lent-Term 1597-8, where he was admitted a Student of Chriſt-Church. In 1605, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, being at that time eſteem'd one of the moſt celebrated Wits of the Univerſity. Afterwards entering into Holy Orders, he became an eminent Preacher, and was much followed by perſons of taſte and learning. His Wit and Eloquence recommended him to the favour of King James I. who made him one of his Chaplains in Ordinary, and, in 1620, promoted him to the Deanery of Chriſt-Church; about which time he was Doctor in Divinity, Vicar of Caſſington near Woodſtock in Oxfordſhire, and Prebendary of Bedminſter-Secunda in the Church of Sarum (*a*). He made verſes, whilſt Dean of Chriſt-Church, on a Play acted before the King at Woodſtock [*B*]. He was elected, the 30th of July 1629, Biſhop of Oxford, in the room of Dr Howſon tranſlated to the See of Durham; was conſecrated the 19th of October, and inſtalled the 3d of November following. Laſtly, upon the tranſlation of Doctor White to Ely, he was elected Biſhop of Norwich, the 7th of April 1632; and received the Temporalities, the 12th of May following (*b*). This Prelate married Alice the daughter of Dr Leonard Hutten, Vicar of Flower in Northamptonſhire (*c*) [*C*], by whom he had a ſon named after his Grandfather *Vincent* [*D*]. In his younger years, he wrote ſeveral pieces of Poetry [*E*], without any intention of their being made publick (*d*); and

[*A*] *He was ſon of Mr Vincent Corbet.*] Our author's filial piety put him upon immortalizing the memory and virtues of his father in an excellent elegy, which begins thus (1):

Vincent Corbet, farther known
By Pointer's name than by his own,
Here lies engaged, till the day
Of raiſing bones, and quick'ning clay.

That gentleman's character is beautifully drawn in the following lines:

Years he liv'd were near fourſcore;
But, count his virtues, he liv'd more:
And number him by doing good,
He liv'd the age before the flood.

Again;

Simple he was, and withal
His purſe not baſe nor prodigal;
Poorer in ſubſtance than in friends,
Future and *public* were his ends.
His conſcience, like his diet, ſuch
As neither took, nor left, too much.
So the made laws needleſs grown
To him, he needed but his own.

The elegy ends with this turn:

Read then, and mourn, whate're thou art
That doſt hope to have a part
In honeſt epitaphs; leſt being dead,
Thy life be written, and not read.

[*B*] *He made verſes on a play acted before the King at Woodſtock.*] The play was called *Technogamia: or, The Marriage of Arts*, and was written by Barten Holiday, the Poet. The ill ſucceſs it met with in the repreſentation (2), occaſioned ſeveral copies of verſes; among which, to uſe Anthony Wood's words (3), '*Corbet*, Dean of Chriſt-Church, put in for one, who had that day preached (as it ſeems) before the King, *with his band ſtarched clean*; for which he was reproved by the graver ſort, but thoſe who knew him well took no notice of it, for they have ſeveral times ſaid, that *he loved to the laſt boys play very well*.' The verſes in queſtion may be ſeen in the Article HOLIDAY (Barten).

[*C*] *He married Alice, the daughter of Dr Leonard Hutten, Vicar of Flower, in Northamptonſhire.*] He mentions that village in his *Iter Boreale*.

Here we paid thanks, and parted, and at night
Had entertainment, all in one man's right,
At *Flow're*, a village, where our tenant ſhe,
Sharp as a winter morning, fierce, yet free, &c. (4).

It is not improbable, that our author's acquaintance with Dr Hutten might take it's riſe from that *Northern-Trip*, and that he might then have had the firſt ſight of the Doctor's daughter, whom he afterwards married.

[*D*] *He had a ſon named* Vincent.] Our author's Muſe obeyed the dictates of paternal affection no leſs than of filial piety; for as he wrote an elegy on his own father, ſo he addreſſed the following verſes, fraught with the beſt and kindeſt wiſhes, to his ſon.

What I ſhall leave thee none can tell,
But all ſhall ſay, I wiſh thee well.
I wiſh thee, *Vin*, before all wealth,
Both bodily and ghoſtly health:
Nor too much wealth, nor wit, come to thee;
So much of either might undo thee.
I wiſh thee learning, not for ſhow,
Enough for to inſtruct, and know;
Not ſuch as gentlemen require,
To prate at table, or at fire.
I wiſh thee all thy mother's graces,
Thy father's fortunes, and his places.
I wiſh thee friends, and one at Court,
Not to build on, but to ſupport;
To keep thee, not in doing many
Oppreſſions, but from ſuffering any.
I wiſh thee peace in all thy ways,
Nor lazy, nor contentious days;
And when thy ſoul and body part,
As innocent as now thou art (5).

I conjecture, from the laſt line, that *Vin* was very young when his father wrote theſe.

[*E*] *He wrote ſeveral pieces of Poetry.*] A collection of them was publiſhed, under the title of *Poetica Stromata*, in octavo, London, 1647-8 (6). There is another edition of them in a thin *duodecimo*, London, 1672, dedicated to Sir Edmund Bacon, of Redgrave-Hall, in Suffolk, Baronet. The Editor tells his patron, that *the moſt pious of the Clergy have made uſe of the innocent art of poeſy, not only for their pleaſant diverſion, but their moſt fervent devotion.* After the dedication follows an *advertiſement*, in which we are told, that 'Upon reprinting theſe poems, diligent ſearch was made to perfect them, which were very imperfectly printed before;' and that, 'though in this edition there be but few new poems, yet we may find many of them more perfect than before; for in ſome there are ſix, in others four, and in many two lines added out of perfecter copies, which were left out in the former impreſſion.' Beſides what has been already cited, I ſhall give the curious reader a farther ſpecimen of Biſhop Corbet's poetical genius, as his works are in but few hands. In his *Iter Boreale: or Journey Northward*, he has the following humorous deſcription of a Serjeant.

I'th'

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 600, 601.

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(*c*) Ibid. col. 571.

(*d*) Id. ubi ſupra, col. 601.

(1) See Poems, written by the Right Rev. Dr Richard Corbet, late Lord Biſhop of Norwich. London, 1672, p. 31.

(2) See the article HOLYDAY (Barten).

(3) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 260.

(4) Poems, &c. p. 2.

(5) Page 35.

(6) Wood, ubi ſupra, Vol. I. col. 601.

and he was one of thoſe celebrated perſons, who, with Ben Johnſon, Sir John Harrington,

I'th' interim comes a moſt officious drudge,
His face and gown draw'd out with the ſame budge.
His pendent pouch, which was both large and wide,
Look'd like a letters-patents by his ſide.
He was as awful, as he had been ſent
From Moſes with the eleventh commandement (7).

In the ſame poem we meet with a fine moral reflection upon the burial place of King Richard III. and Cardinal Wolſey, who were both interred at Leiceſter.

Is not uſurping Richard buried here,
That King of Hate, and therefore ſlave of fear;
Dragg'd from the fatal Boſworth-field, where he
Loſt life, and, what he liv'd for, cruelty?
Search, find his name; but there is none: O Kings,
Remember whence your pow'r and vaſtneſs ſprings;
If not as Richard now, ſo may you be,
Who hath no tomb, but ſcorn and memory.
And tho' from his own ſtore Wolſey might have
A palace *, or a college †, for his grave,
Yet here he lies interr'd, as if that all
Of him to be remembered were his fall.
Nothing but earth on earth, no pompous weight
Upon him, but a pebble or a quoit.
If thou art thus neglected, what ſhall we ‖
Hope after death, that are but ſhreds of thee (8)?

The hoſt's pointing out the diſpoſition of the two armies in Boſworth-field affords a very humorous and entertaining picture.

Mine Hoſt was full of ale and hiſtory,
And on the morrow when he brought us nigh
Where the two roſes joined, you wou'd ſuppoſe
Chaucer ne're writ the Romant of the Roſe.
Hear him: ſee ye yon woods? there Richard lay
With his whole army: look the other way,
And lo! where Richmond in a bed of groſſe
Encamp'd himſelf o're night with all his force.
Upon this hill they met. Why, he could tell
The inch where Richmond ſtood, where Richard fell.
Beſides what of his knowledge he could ſay,
He had authentic notice from the play:
Which I might gueſs by's muſtring up the ghoſts,
And policies, not incident to hoſts:
But chiefly by that one perſpicuous thing,
Where he miſtook a player for a King;
For when he wou'd have ſaid, King Richard died,
And call'd a horſe, a horſe, he *Burbage* cry'd (9).

Our author appears to have had an excellent genius for *Panegyric*, by the following lines, which are part of *an elegy on the late Lord* William Howard, *Baron of* Effingham, *who died the* 10th *of December*, 1615.

What did he? Acts of mercy, and refrain
Oppreſſion in himſelf, and in his train?
Was his eſſential table full as free
As boaſts and invitations uſed to be;
Where if his Ruſſet-friend did chance to dine,
Whether his Satten-man wou'd fill him wine?——
Did he ſeek regular pleaſures? was he known
Juſt huſband of one wife, and ſhe his own?
Did he give freely without pauſe or doubt,
And read petitions e're they were worn out?——
Did he attend the court for no man's fall?
Wore he the ruin of no hoſpital?
And when he did his rich apparel don,
Put he no widow, nor an orphan on?
Did he love ſimple virtue for the thing?
The King for no reſpect but for the King?
But above all, did his religion wait
Upon God's throne, or on the chair of ſtate?
He that is guilty of no *Quære* here,
Out-laſts his epitaph, out-lives his heir.

And a few lines farther;

And therefore I am angry, when a name
Comes to upbraid the world like *Effingham*.
Nor was it modeſt in thee to depart
To thy eternal home, where now thou art,
E're thy reproach was ready; or to die,
E're cuſtom had prepar'd thy calumny.
Eight days are paſt ſince thou haſt paid thy debt
To Sin, and not a libel ſtirring yet;
Courtiers, that ſcoff by patent, ſilent ſit,
And have no uſe of ſlander, or of wit:
But, which is monſtrous, tho' againſt the tide,
The water-men have neither rail'd nor ly'd.
Of good or bad there's no diſtinction known,
For in thy praiſe the good and bad are one (10).

Nor was his talent for *Satire* leſs extraordinary, as appears by his verſes *upon Mrs* Mallet, *an unhandſome gentlewoman that made love unto him.*

Have I renounc'd my faith? or baſely ſold
Salvation, or my loyalty for gold?
Have I ſome foreign practice undertook,
By poiſon, ſhot, ſharp knife, or ſharper look,
To kill my King? Have I betray'd the ſtate
To fire or fury, or ſome newer fate,
Which learned murth'rers, thoſe grand deſtinies,
The Jeſuits, have nurs'd? If of all theſe
I guilty am, proceed, I am content
That *Mallet* take me for my puniſhment.
For never ſin was of ſo high a rate,
But one night's Hell with her might expiate.

Again;

Whether her wit, form, talk, ſmile, fire, I name,
Each is a ſtock of tyranny and ſhame.
But for her breath, ſpectators, come not nigh,
That lays about, God bleſs the company.
The man in a bear's ſkin, bated to death,
Wou'd chuſe the dogs much rather than her breath.
One kiſs of her's, and eighteen words alone,
Puts down the Spaniſh Inquiſition.

He concludes with theſe lines:

No Tyger's like her, ſhe feeds upon man,
Worſe than a Tygreſs or a Leopard can.
Let me go pray, and think upon ſome ſpell,
At once to bid the devil and her farewell (11).

Our author's *Epigrammatic* turn may be ſeen in the following tetraſtick *on Henry Bolings.*

If gentleneſs cou'd tame the fates, or wit
Deliver man, Bolings had not dy'd yet:
But one, which over us in judgment ſits,
Doth ſay, our ſins are ſtronger than our wits (12).

And in thoſe verſes, *On the birth of the young Prince Charles.*

When private men get ſons, they get a ſpoon,
Without eclipſe, or any ſtar at noon.
When Kings get ſons, they get withal ſupplies,
And ſuccours far beyond all ſubſidies.
Welcome God's loan, thou tribute to the ſtate,
Thou money newly coin'd, thou fleet of plate;
Thrice happy child, whom God thy father ſent,
To make him rich without a parliament (13).

I ſhall only add here the following ſenſible and witty reflection in his *Elegy upon the death of Queen Anne.*

Know henceforth, that grief's vital part
Conſiſts in nature, not in art;
And verſes that are ſtudied,
Mourn for themſelves, not for the dead (14).

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(7) Poems, &c. p. 3.

(*) Whitehall.

(†) Chriſt-church.

(‖) Students of Chriſt-church.

(8) Page 6, 7.

(9) Page 17, 18.

(10) P. 38, 39, 40.

(11) P. 44, 45, 46.

(12) Page 88.

(13) Page 108.

(14) Page 126.

ton, Dr Donne, Michael Drayton, and others, wrote Mock-Commendatory verſes on Tom Coryate's *Crudities* (*e*). He concurred likewiſe with other Poets of the Univerſity in inviting the celebrated Ben Johnſon to Oxford, where that Poet was created Maſter of Arts (*f*). There is extant in the *Muſæum Aſhmolæanum* (*g*) a Funeral Oration in Latin, by Dr Corbet, on the death of Prince Henry, A. D. 1612. This learned and ingenious Prelate died in the year 1635, and was buried at the upper end of the Choir of the Cathedral Church of Norwich [*F*]. He was very hoſpitable, and always a generous encourager of publick deſigns; and particularly, when St Paul's Cathedral was repaired, *an.* 1634, he not only contributed largely himſelf, but was very diligent in procuring contributions from others (*h*). I know not why Anthony Wood ſays, *he was conſecrated Biſhop of Oxford, tho' in ſome reſpects unworthy of ſuch an office* (*i*), unleſs it be that he thought the character of a Poet inconſiſtent with that of a Biſhop. It appears by our author's Poems, that, at ſome time or other of his life, he took a journey to Paris [*G*]. I ſhall ſubjoin ſome manuſcript verſes in honour of Biſhop Corbet [*H*].

Theſe extracts may ſerve to give the reader a taſte of an author, who is but little known at preſent, and whoſe works are not eaſily to be met with.

[*F*] *He was buried——in the Cathedral Church of Norwich.*] Soon after, a large freeſtone, of a ſandy colour, was laid over his grave, and the following inſcription, engraven on a plate of braſs, was faſtened thereon.

Richardus Corbet Theologiæ Doctor, Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Chriſti Oxonienſis primum Alumnus, inde Decanus, exinde Epiſcopus, illinc huc tranſlatus, et hinc in cœlum, Julii 28. an. 1635.

In Engliſh.

' Richard Corbet, Doctor of Divinity, firſt ſtudent, ' then Dean, of Chriſt-Church, in Oxford, and ' next Biſhop of that See; from thence tranſlated hi- ' ther, and from hence to Heaven, July 28. 1635.

On the ſaid ſtone are the antient arms of the Corbets, of Shropſhire, *viz. Or, a raven paſſant ſab.* (15).

[*G*] *He took a journey to Paris.*] I cannot forbear giving the reader one more ſample of Biſhop Corbet's wit, out of the ballad he made on that journey. It is a ridicule on the ſuperſtitious veneration of the Roman Catholics for relics, and the many forgeries practiſed in that reſpect.

Then to *St Dennis* faſt we came,
To ſee the ſights of *Notre Dame*;
The man that ſhews 'em ſnaffles;
Where, who is apt for to believe,
May ſee our lady's right-arm ſleeve,
And eke her old pantoffles;

Her breaſt, her milk, her very gown
That ſhe did wear in Bethlem town,
When in the inn ſhe lay:
Yet all the world knows that's a fable;
For ſo good cloaths ne're lay in ſtable
Upon a lock of hay.

No Carpenter cou'd by his trade
Gain ſo much coin as to have made
A gown of ſo rich ſtuff;
Yet they, poor fools, think for their credit
They may believe old Joſeph did it,
'Cauſe he deſerved enough.

There is one of the croſs's nails,
Which whoſo ſees his bonnet vails,
And, if he will, may kneel:
Some ſay 'twas falſe, 'twas never ſo;
Yet feeling it, thus much I know,
It is as true as ſteel.

There is a lanthorn, which the Jews,
When Judas led them forth, did uſe;
It weighs my weight downright:
But to believe it, you muſt think,
The Jews did put a candle in't,
And then 'twas very light (16).

[*H*] *Some manuſcript verſes in honour of Biſhop Corbet.*] I found them in a blank leaf of his *poems*.

In flowing wit, if verſes writ with eaſe,
If learning, void of pedantry, can pleaſe;
If much good humour, join'd to ſolid ſenſe,
And mirth accompanied with innocence,
Can give a poet a juſt right to fame,
Then Corbet may immortal honour claim:
For he theſe virtues had, and in his lines
Poetic and heroick ſpirit ſhines;
Tho' bright, yet ſolid, pleaſant, but not rude,
With wit and wiſdom equally indu'd.
Be ſilent, Muſe, thy praiſes are too faint:
Thou want'ſt a pow'r this prodigy to paint,
At once a poet, prelate, and a ſaint. J. C.

T

(*e*) Winſtanley's Lives of the Engliſh Poets, Lond. 1687, p. 121.

(*f*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 609.

(*g*) No. 1153.

(*h*) Id. ib. col. 601.

(*i*) Ibid. col. 736.

(15) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(16) Poems, &c. p. 129.

COSIN (John) a learned biſhop of Durham in the ſeventeenth century, was the eldeſt ſon of Giles Coſin a citizen of Norwich (*a*), by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of ——— Remington of Remington-caſtle, a good and ancient family (*b*). He was born at Norwich November 30, 1594; and educated in the free-ſchool there, till he came to be fourteen years of age. Then he was tranſplanted into Caius-College in Cambridge, in 1610; of which he was ſucceſſively choſen Scholar, and Fellow: and where he regularly took his degrees in Arts (*c*). Having diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learning, diligence, and ingenuity; in the year 1616, when he was about twenty years of age, he had an offer, at the ſame time, both from Dr Lancelot Andrews then Biſhop of Ely, and from Dr Overall Biſhop of Lichfield and Coventry, of a Librarian's place. But, by his late Tutor's advice, he accepted of the latter's invitation: who liked him ſo well, that, on account of his knowledge and fair writing, he made him alſo his Secretary (*d*). At the ſame time he encouraged him to ſtudy Divinity, and ſent him from time to time to keep his Exerciſes in the Univerſity (*e*). But, in 1619, he loſt his excellent patron, and with him all hopes and proſpect of advancement (*f*). However, Providence ſoon raiſed him a better Patron in Dr Richard Neile theneBiſhop of Durham, who took him for his domeſtic chaplain: And in 1624 conferred upon him the tenth Prebend in the Cathedral

Church

(*a*) But originally of Foxhearth. He was a very rich man, and a perſon of great probity.

(*b*) See *The dead Man's realSpeech.* A funeral Sermon on Biſhop Coſin, &c. by If. Baſire, 8*vo*, Lond. 1673, p. 38; and *Vita Joannis Coſini Epiſcopi Dunelmenſis. Scriptore Thoma Smitho.* Lond. 1707. 4*to*, p. 1.

(*c*) Dr Smith, ib. and Dr Baſire, p. 36, 43.

(*d*) Smith, p. 1, 2.

(*e*) Baſire, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Biſhop Overall died May 7, 1619, having the year before been tranſlated to Norwich.

Church of Durham [*A*], in which he was inſtalled the 4th of December that ſame year (*g*) In September following, he was collated to the Archdeaconry of the Eaſt-riding in the church of York, vacant by the reſignation of Marmaduke Blakeſton, whoſe daughter he had married (*h*). And on the 20th of July 1626, was moreover collated by his patron Biſhop Neile to the rich Rectory of Branſpeth [*B*], in the dioceſe of Durham (*i*). The ſame year, he took the Degree of Batchelor in Divinity (*k*). About that time, having frequent meetings, at the Biſhop of Durham's houſe in London, with Dr William Laud then Biſhop of Bath and Wells, Dr Francis White ſoon after Biſhop of Carliſle, Dr Richard Montague; and other learned men, diſtinguiſh'd by their zeal for the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of England; He began to be obnoxious to the then Puritans, who (ſo great was their malice or ignorance!) look'd upon all ſuch Divines as Popiſhly affected (*l*). This imputation of theirs on Mr Coſin in particular, was ſufficiently authorized, as they imagin'd, by his 'Collection of Private Devotions,' [*C*] publiſh'd in 1627; wherein many things were thought too much favourable to Popery: But how wrong this imputation was, let his whole conduct teſtify. In 1628 he was concerned, with other members of the Church of Durham, in a proſecution againſt Peter Smart Prebendary there, for a ſeditious Sermon preached in that Cathedral [*D*]. About the ſame time, he took his degree of Doctor in Divinity. And in 1634, February the 8th, was elected Maſter of Peter-Houſe, in the room of Dr Matthew Wren newly made Biſhop of Hereford:

[*A*] *And, in* 1624, *conferred upon him the tenth prebend in the Cathedral Church of* Durham.] All the while he enjoyed it, which was about ſix and thirty years, he was very conſtant in his reſidences, both ordinary and extraordinary; during which he kept a laudable hoſpitality according to the ſtatutes of that Church. So that Dr Baſire teſtifies (1), that upon ſearch of the regiſter of that Cathedral, he could not find one diſpenſation for him in all the time he continued Prebendary.

[*B*] *Was moreover collated by his patron, Biſhop* Neile, *to the rich Rectory of* Branſpeth.] The parochial Church of which he beautified in an extraordinary manner (2).

[*C*] *His Collection of Private Devotions.*] The title of it was, *A Collection of Private Devotions: or, The Hours of Prayer.* Dr Smith informs us (3), that it was written at the command of King Charles I. who obſerving that his Queen's Proteſtant attendants were frequently reading in *the Hours of the Virgin Mary*, and other popiſh books of devotion, that were ſet, perhaps on purpoſe, about the royal apartments: leaſt they ſhould thereby be tainted with ſuperſtition, and other falſe principles, he ordered a Manual of Prayers to be compoſed for their uſe, out of the holy Scriptures, and the ancient Liturgies, which was accordingly done, by Mr Coſin. Others affirm (4), that it was written at the requeſt of the Counteſs of Denbigh, the Duke of Buckingham's ſiſter. This lady being then ſomewhat unſettled in her religion, and warping towards Popery, theſe Devotions were drawn up to recommend the Church of England farther to her eſteem, and preſerve her in that communion. This book, though furniſhed with a great deal of good matter, was not altogether acceptable in the contexture; altho' the title-page ſets forth, that it was formed upon the model of a book of *private Prayers*, authorized by Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1560 (5). To give the reader ſome part of it: 'Af-the Calendar, it begins with the Apoſtles Creed in twelve articles, the Lord's Prayer in ſeven petitions, the Ten Commandments, with the duties enjoined, and the ſins forbidden. Then follow the precepts of charity, the ſeven ſacraments, the three theological virtues, the three kinds of good works, the ſeven gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, the twelve fruits of the Holy Ghoſt, the ſpiritual and corporal works of mercy, the eight beatitudes, the ſeven deadly ſins, their oppoſite vertues, and the four laſt things. And, after ſome explanatory prefaces and introductions, were ſubjoined the forms of prayer for the firſt, third, ſixth, and ninth hours, and likewiſe for the *Veſpers* and *Compline*, formerly called the canonical hours. Next to theſe was the litany, the ſeven penitential pſalms, prayers preparatory for receiving the Holy Euchariſt, prayers to be uſed in time of ſickneſs, and at the approach of death, &c.' Tho' this book was approved by Geo. Mountain, Biſhop of London, and licenſed with his own hand, yet it was ſomewhat ſurpriſing at firſt view; and ſome moderate perſons were ſhocked with it, as drawing too near the ſuperſtitions of the Church of Rome; at leaſt they ſuſpected it as a preparation to further advances. The top of the frontiſpiece had the name of Jeſus, in three capital letters, I. H. S. Upon theſe there was a croſs, incircled with the ſun, ſupported by two Angels, with two devout women praying towards it. This book was ſeverely animadverted upon by Henry Burton, in his 'Examination of Private Devotions: or, The Hours of Prayer, &c.' and by W. Prynne, in his 'Brief Survey and Cenſure of Mr *Cozens* cozening devotions.'

[*D*] *In* 1628 *he was concerned, with other members of the Church of* Durham, *in a proſecution againſt* Peter Smart, *&c.*] This P. Smart, who had been ſchoolmaſter at Durham, was collated Dec. 30, 1609, to the ſixth Prebend in the Church of Durham, and removed July 6, 1614, to the fourth Preband (6). He had alſo other preferments. Being to preach, July 7, 1628 (7), in the Cathedral Church of Durham, he took for his text Pſalm xxxi. 7. *I hate them that hold of ſuperſtitious vanities.* From which he took occaſion to make a moſt bitter invective againſt ſome of the Biſhops, charging them with no leſs than Popery and Idolatry. Among other virulent expreſſions he had theſe —— p. 11. 'The Whore of Babylon's baſtardly brood, doting upon their mother's beauty, that painted harlot of the Church of Rome, have laboured to reſtore her all her robes and jewels again, eſpecially her looking-glaſs the Maſs, in which ſhe may behold her bravery.——The Maſs coming in, brings with it an inundation of ceremonies, croſſes, and crucifixes, chalices and images, copes and candleſticks, tapers and baſons, and a thouſand ſuch trinckets, which we have ſeen in this Church ſince the communion-table was turned into an altar.——p. 26. I aſſure you the altar is an idol, a damnable idol as it is uſed. I ſay, they are whores and whoremongers, they commit ſpiritual fornication who bow their bodies before that idol the altar,—&c.' For this ſermon he was queſtioned firſt at Durham, afterwards in the High-Commiſſioned-Court at London; from whence he was removed, at his own deſire, to that at York, where refuſing, with great ſcorn, to recant, he was, for his obſtinacy, degraded, and by ſentence at Common Law, ſoon after diſpoſſeſſed of his prebend and livings; whereupon he was ſupplied with 400 *l.* a year by ſubſcription from the Puritan party (8), which was more than all his preferments amounted to. As for Dr Coſin, he was ſo far from being Mr Smart's chief proſecutor (as he avers) that after he was queſtioned in the High Commiſſion at Durham, he never meddled in the matter, ſave that once he wrote a letter to the Archbiſhop of York, and the Commiſſioners, in his favour (9).—— Mr Smart's character is not repreſented to any great advantage. One author indeed (10) calls him a man 'of a grave aſpect, and reverend preſence.' But another, who knew him better (11), aſſures us, 'That he was an old man of a moſt froward, fierce, and unpeaceable ſpirit, &c.' He had not preached in the Cathedral Church of Durham, tho' Prebendary of it for ſeven years, 'till he preached that ſeditious ſermon for which he was queſtioned. And whilſt he held and enjoyed his preferment, and his health too, he ſeldom preached more than once or twice a year.

[*E*] *The*

(*g*) Smith, and Baſire, ubi ſupra. See alſo Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, &c by Br. Willis, Eſq; 4to, Lond. 1727, Vol. I. p. 273.

(*h*) Willis, ibid. p. 100.

(*i*) Smith, and Baſire, as above.

(*k*) Smith, p. 4.

(*l*) Ibid.

(1) Ubi ſupra, p. 44, 45.

(2) See The Hiſt. of the Cathedral Church of Durham, by Sir William Dugdale, p. 81, at the end of his Hiſt. of St Paul's, 2d edit. 1716, fol.

(3) Ubi ſupra, p. 5, 6.

(4) Collier, Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 742.

(5) *Horarium Regia Authoritate Editum*, ann. 1560; and reprinted in 1573, *cum privilegio*, by Will. Seers.

Lond. 1628, 4to.

Ibid. 1628.

(6) Willis, as above, p. 266, 268.

(7) Dr Nalſon ſays, by miſtake, it was 1638, p. 518. But he was ſuſpended for his Sermon in 1631.

(8) Out of the peculiar contributions at London and elſewhere, gathered up for ſilenced Miniſters.

(9) This is Dr Coſin's own account, as publiſhed in Dr Heylyn's *Examen Hiſtoricum*, p. 258, &c. Compare it with that in Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. xi. p. 173.

(10) Fuller, ibid.

(11) Dr Coſin, ubi ſupra.

Hereford: In that ſtation, he ſtrenuouſly applied himſelf to promote ſound Religion, and uſeful Learning (*m*). He ſerved the office of Vice-Chancellor for the Univerſity of Cambridge, in 1640. And the ſame year, King Charles I, to whom he was Chaplain, conferr'd upon him the Deanery of Peterborough; in which he was inſtalled November 7, 1640 (*n*). But this dignity he did not long enjoy, or rather he did not quietly enjoy it at all: ſince his troubles began three days after. For on the 10th of November, a petition from Peter Smart againſt him was read in the Houſe of Commons; wherein Smart complained, of the Doctor's ſuperſtition, and innovations in the Church of Durham, and of his ſevere proſecution in the High-Commiſſion-Court (*o*). Whereupon, on the 21ſt of the ſame month, Dr Coſin was ordered to be ſent for by the Serjeant at Arms, and a Committee appointed to prepare a charge againſt him (*p*). Soon after, he preſented a Petition to the Houſe, which, on the 28th following, was read, and referred to a Committee (*q*). On the 3d of December, the Serjeant had leave given him by the Commons, to take bail for Dr Coſin; which was accordingly done, the 19th of January 1640-1, the Doctor himſelf being bound in two thouſand pounds, and his ſecurities in a thouſand pounds a-piece, for his appearance upon ſummons (*r*). Three days after, namely January the 22d, he was, by a vote of the whole Houſe, ſequeſtred from his eccleſiaſtical Benefices; being the firſt clergyman that was then uſed in that manner (*s*). On the 15th of March enſuing, the Commons ſent up one and twenty Articles of impeachment againſt him [*E*]

to

(*m*) Ibid. p. 8, 9, 10.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 9, 11. and J. Le Neve's Faſti, edit. 1716, p. 241.

(*o*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collect. P. iii. Vol. I. edit. 1721, p. 41, 53; and Dr Nalſon, &c. ed. 1682, Vol. I. p. 518.

(*p*) Nalſon, ibid. p. 538.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 569.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 651, 728.

(*s*) Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. by J. Walker, fol. Lond. 1714, P. ii. p. 58.

[*E*] *The Commons ſent up one and twenty articles of impeachment againſt him.*] They were carried up by one Mr Rouſe, who introduced them with the following ſpeech. 'My Lords, I am commanded by the 'Houſe of Commons, to preſent your Lordſhips a declaration and impeachment againſt Dr Coſins, and others, upon the complaint of Mr Peter Smart; which 'Mr Smart was a *Proto-Martyr*, or firſt confeſſor of 'note in the late days of perſecution. The whole 'matter is a tree, whereof the branches and fruit are 'manifeſt in the articles of this declaration.——Then follow theſe articles againſt Dr Coſin. 1. That he was the firſt man that cauſed the communion-table in the Church of Durham to be removed and ſet altar-ways, in the erecting and beautifying whereof, he (being then Treaſurer) expended two hundred pounds (12). 2. That he uſed to officiate at the weſt ſide thereof, turning his back to the people. 3. That he uſed extraordinary bowing to it. 4. That he compelled others to do it, uſing violence to the Perſons of them that refuſed ſo to do: for inſtance, once ſome omitting it, he comes out of his ſeat, down to the ſeat where they ſat, being gentlewomen, called them whores, and jades, and pagans, and the like unſeemly words, and rent ſome of their clothes. 5. That he converted divers prayers, in the Book of Common Prayers, into hymns, to be ſung in the choir, and played with the organ, contrary to the ancient cuſtom of that Church. 6. That whereas it had been formerly a cuſtom in that Church, at the end of every ſermon, to ſing a pſalm; this cuſtom, when Dr Coſin came thither, was abrogated, and inſtead thereof, they ſung an anthem in the choir, there being no pſalm ſung either at the miniſter's going up into the pulpit, or at his coming down. 7. That the firſt Candlemas-day at night, that he had been in that Church, he cauſed three hundred wax-candles to be ſet up and lighted in the Church at once, in honour of our Lady, and placed threeſcore of them upon and about the altar. 8. That in this Church there were reliques of divers images, above which were remaining the ruins of two Seraphims, with the picture of Chriſt between them, erected in Queen Mary's time, in the time of Popery; all which, when Queen Elizabeth came to the Crown, were demoliſhed, by vertue of a commiſſion by her to that intent granted, which ſo continued demoliſhed from that time, 'till Dr Coſin came to that Church, who, being Treaſurer, cauſed the ſame to be repaired, and moſt gloriouſly painted. 9. That all the time he was unmarried, he wore a cope of white ſattin, never officiating in any other, it being reſerved ſolely for him, no man excepting himſelf making uſe thereof, which, after marriage, he caſt off, and never after wore. 10. That there was a knife belonging to the Church, kept altogether in the veſtry, being put to none but holy uſes, as cutting the bread in the ſacrament, and the like; Dr Coſin refuſing to cut the ſame with any other but that, thinking all others that were unconſecrated, polluted; but that, which he putting holineſs in, never termed but the conſecrated knife. 11. That in a ſermon preached in that Church, he did deliver certain words in diſgrace of the reformers of our Church, for inſtance, the words were theſe, 'The reformers of this Church, 'when they aboliſhed the Maſs, took away all good 'order, and, inſtead of a reformation, made it a deformation (13).' 12. That he ſeldom or never, in any of his ſermons, ſtiled the Miniſters of the word and ſacraments by any other name than Prieſts, nor the communion-table by any other name than altar. 13. That by his appointment there was a cope bought, the ſeller being a convicted Jeſuit, and afterwards employed in that Church, having upon it the picture of the inviſible and incomprehenſible Trinity. 14. That whereas it had been formerly a cuſtom in that Church, at five of the clock to have morning-prayers read, winter and ſummer: this cuſtom, when Dr Coſin came thither, was abandoned; and inſtead thereof was uſed ſinging and playing on the organs, and ſome few prayers read, and this was called firſt ſervice; which being ended, the people departed out of the Church, returning at nine a-clock, and having then morning-prayers read unto them, and this was called ſecond ſervice; which innovation being miſliked, and complained of by Mr Juſtice Hutton, was reformed. 15. That he framed a ſuperſtitious ceremony in lighting the tapers which were placed on the altars, which, for inſtance, was this: a company of boys that belonged to the Church, came in at the choir-door with torches in their hands lighted, bowing towards the altar at their firſt entrance, bowing thrice before they lighted their tapers: having done, they withdrew themſelves, bowing ſo oft as before, not once turning their back-parts towards the altar, the organs all the time going. 16. That he counſelled ſome young ſtudents of the univerſity to be imitators and practicers of his ſuperſtitious ceremonies, who, to ingratiate themſelves in his favour, did accordingly; and being afterwards reproved for the ſame, by ſome of their friends, confeſſed, that Dr Coſin firſt induced them to that practice, and encouraged them therein. 17. That he uſed, upon communion-days, to make the ſign of the croſs with his finger, both upon the ſeats whereon they were to ſit, and the cuſhions to kneel upon, uſing ſome words when he ſo did. 18. That one ſabbath-day there was ſet up an unneceſſary company of tapers and lights in the Church, which Dr Hunt, being then Dean, fearing they might give offence, being they were then unneceſſary, ſent his man to pull them down, who did ſo; but Dr Coſin being thereat aggrieved, came to the fellow, and there miſcalled him in a moſt uncivil manner, and began to beat him in the publick view of the congregation, to the great diſturbance of the ſame. 19. That the Dean and Chapter of that Church, whereof Dr Coſin was one, with many others, being invited to dinner in the town of Durham, Dr Coſin then and there ſpake words derogating from the King's prerogative: the words were theſe, 'The King hath no 'more power over the Church than the boy that rubs 'my horſe-heels.' 20. That there being many of the Canons of the ſaid Church preſent at that time, amongſt the reſt there was one took more notice of his words than the reſt, and acquainted one of his Fellow-

Canons

(12) Mr Fuller ſays, that it was a marble altar with Cherubins, which coſt 2000*l*. with all the appurtenances thereof. See Fuller, ubi ſupra, p. 173.

(13) Dr Nalſon informs us, that the Doctor's words were, 'That we muſt 'not think that 'when the Biſhops took away the Maſs, 'they took away 'all religion.' Which he made out by producing his Sermon. Nalſon, ubi ſupra, p. 792.

to the Houſe of Lords (*): To which the Doctor put in his Anſwer upon oath; and ſo fully vindicated himſelf *(t)*, during the five days the affair was depending before the Lords, that moſt of them acknowledged his innocence: And Mr Glover, one of Smart's own Counſel, told him openly at the bar of the Houſe of Lords, 'That he was aſhamed of 'him, and could not in conſcience plead for him any longer.' Whereupon the Lords dimiſſed the Doctor, upon his putting bail for his appearance: But they never ſent for him again (*u*). About the ſame time, upon a motion made in the Houſe of Commons, 'that he had enticed a young Scholar to Popery,' he was committed to the Serjeant at Arms, to attend daily till the Houſe ſhould call him to a hearing. After fifty days impriſonment, and charges of twenty ſhillings a day, he came at length to a hearing; when he made it appear, That being Vice-chancellor of Cambridge, he had moſt ſeverely puniſhed that young Scholar (whom, upon examination, he had found guilty) by making him recant, and expelling him the Univerſity. And to this ſome of the members bore witneſs. However, the Doctor had no manner of reparation made him for his great trouble and expences;

Canons with them when he came home. This Canon being a friend to Dr Coſin, told the Doctor that ſuch a man exclaimed of him, and charged him with words that he ſhould ſpeak at ſuch a time; the Doctor preſently ſends for him, and when he came into the houſe the Doctor deſires him to follow him into an inner room, who did ſo; but ſo ſoon as he came in, the Doctor ſhuts the door, and ſets both his hands upon him, calling him rogue and raſcal, and many other names, inſomuch that the man, fearing he would do him a miſchief, cried out; Mrs Coſin coming in, endeavoured to appeaſe her huſband, and, holding his hands, the other ran away. 21. That the Doctor did ſeek many unjuſt ways to enſnare this man, that ſo he might take a juſt occaſion to put him out of his place; but none of them taking effect, he put him out by violence, having no other reaſon why he did ſo, but becauſe he had no good voice, when he had ſerved the place two years before Dr Coſin came thither: for inſtance of which unjuſt ways to enſnare this man, Dr Coſin hired a man and woman to pretend a deſire of matrimony, and to offer a ſum of money to this petty Canon to contract matrimony between them in a private chamber, ſo thereupon to take advantage of his revenge upon him. This plot being confeſſed by the parties, to be firſt laid by Dr Coſin, and that they were his inſtruments (14).——Beſides the ſeveral particulars mentioned in theſe articles, Mr Fuller informs us, that Dr Coſin was accuſed of having bought a cope with the Trinity, and God the Father in the figure of an old man; another with a crucifix, and the image of Chriſt, with a red beard, and a blue cap. And to have made an anthem to be ſung, of the three Kings of Collen, by the names of Gaſper, Balthazar, and Melchior (15).

To theſe articles Dr Coſin put in his anſwer, upon oath, before the Houſe of Lords, as is above related. But ſeeing afterwards the ſubſtance of them publiſhed in Mr Fuller's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (16), he writ from Paris a letter to Mr Warren, and Dr Reves, in his own vindication, dated April 6, 1658, wherein he declares, as he had done before the Lords, 1. That the communion-table in the Church of Durham (which in the Bill of Complaint and Mr Fuller's Hiſtory is ſaid to be the marble-altar, with Cherubims) was not ſet up by him [Dr Coſin], but by the Dean and Chapter, (whereof Mr Smart himſelf was one) many years before Mr Coſin became Prebendary of that Church, or ever ſaw the country. 2. That by the public accounts which are there regiſtered, it did not appear to have coſt above the tenth part of what is pretended, appurtenances and all (17). 3. That likewiſe the copes uſed in that Church were brought in thither long before his [Dr Coſin's] time, and when Mr Smart, the complainant, was Prebendary there, who alſo allowed his part (as he [Dr Coſin] was ready to prove by the Act-book) of the money that they coſt, for they coſt but little. 4. That as he never approved the picture of the Trinity, or the image of God the Father, in the figure of an old man, or otherwiſe to be made or placed any where at all; ſo he was well aſſured that there were none ſuch (nor to his knowledge or hearſay ever had been) put upon any cope that was uſed there. One there was that had the ſtory of the Paſſion embroidered upon it, but the cope that he uſed to wear, when at any time he attended the communion-ſervice, was of plain white ſattin only without any embroidery upon it all. 5. That what the Bill of Complaint, called the image of Chriſt, with a blue cap, and a golden beard, (Mr Fuller's Hiſtory ſays it was red, and that it was ſet upon one of the copes) was nothing elſe but the top of Biſhop Hatfield's tomb (ſet up in the Church, under a ſide-arch there, two hundred years before Dr Coſin was born) being a little portraiture, not appearing to be above ten inches long, and hardly diſcernable to the eye what figure it is, for it ſtands thirty foot from the ground. 6. That by the local ſtatutes of that Church, (whereunto Mr Smart was ſworn, as well as Dr Coſin) the treaſurer was to give order, that proviſion ſhould every year be made of a ſufficient number of wax-lights for the ſervice of the Choir, during all the winter-time; which ſtatute he [Dr Coſin] obſerved when he was choſen into that office, and had order from the Dean and Chapter, by capitular act, to do it: yet upon the Communion-table they that uſed to light the candles, never ſet more than *two fair candles, with a few ſmall ſizes* near to them, which they put there of purpoſe, that the people all about might have the better uſe of them for ſinging the pſalmes, and reading the leſſons out of the Bibles: but *two hundred* was a greater number than they uſed all the Church over, either upon Candlemaſs-night, or any other.——7. That he never forbad (nor any body elſe that he knew) the ſinging of the (meeter) pſalms in the Church, which he uſed to ſing daily there himſelf, with other company, at morning-prayer. But upon ſundaies and holydaies, in the choir, before the ſermon, the creed was ſung, (and that plainly for every one to underſtand) as it is appointed in the Communion-book, and after the ſermon, was ſung a part of a pſalm, or ſome other anthem taken out of the ſcripture, and firſt ſignified to the people where they might find it. 8. That ſo far was he from making any anthem to be ſung of the three Kings of Colen, as that he made it, when he firſt ſaw it, to be torn in pieces, and he himſelf cut it out of the old ſong books belonging to the choriſters ſchool, with a pen-knife that lay by, at his very firſt coming to that college. But he was ſure that no ſuch anthem had been ſung in the choir during all his time of attendance there, nor (for ought that any of the eldeſt perſons of the Church and town could tell, or ever heard to the contrary,) for fifty or threeſcore years before, or more. 9. That there was indeed an ordinary knife, provided and laid ready among other things belonging to the adminiſtration of the Communion, for the cutting of the bread, and divers other uſes in the Church-veſtry.——But that it was ever *conſecrated*, or ſo called, otherwiſe than as Mr Smart, and ſome of his followers had, for their pleaſure, put that appellation upon it; he [Dr Coſin] never heard, nor believed any body elſe had, that lived at Durham (18). The reſt of the articles mentioned above, Mr Smart could not prove, and Dr Coſin gave a very ſatisfactory anſwer to them, remaining upon the Rolls of Parliament. But as Mr Fuller did not ſpecify them all, the Doctor did not think it neceſſary to repeat in this letter his anſwer to each of them. Upon the whole, therefore, as we cannot, on the one hand, enough wonder at the weakneſs of Dr Coſin, for inventing and preſſing the obſervance of ſuch ceremonies and inſignificant things, as ſome of thoſe above-mentioned: ſo, on the other hand, who can be ſufficiently amazed at the confidence of P. Smart, in charging the Doctor with things which he could ſo eaſily diſprove? and what muſt be thought or ſaid of that Houſe of Commons which would encourage and receive ſuch kinds of accuſations?

(*) Ruſhworth, ubi ſupra, p. 183; and Nalſon, Vol. I. p. 789, 790.

(*t*) Both by his own ſelf, and by the very witneſs that Smart and his ſon-in-law, produced againſt him. *Examen Hiſtoric.* p. 286.

(*u*) Walker, ubi ſupra, p. 59; and Smith, p. 10, 11; and Heylyn's Examen Hiſtoricum, p. 286.

(14) Nalſon, ubi ſupra, p. 789, 790; and The Diurnall Occurrences, or daily Proceedings of Parliament in 1640 and 1641, Lond. 1641, 4*to*, p. 52, &*c*.

(15) Fuller, Ch. Hiſt. ubi ſupra.

(16) B. xi p. 173.

(17) By this it ſeems, that the ſum mentioned in the original articles was 2000*l*. tho' in the printed ones there is only 200*l*. See above, note (12).

(18) This Letter is printed in Dr Heylyn's Examen Hiſtoricum, &*c*. Appendix, p. 283, &*c*. Dr Fuller afterwards aſked Dr Coſin's pardon for what he had ſaid as above, relating to him. See Worthies, in Durham, p. 295.

pences; which gives but a diſadvantagious idea of the juſtice and honeſty of that Houſe (*w*). In 1642, he was concern'd, with others, in ſending the Plate of Cambridge Univerſity to King Charles I. then at York. For which a furious ſtorm fell upon ſeveral members of that Univerſity, and particularly upon Dr Coſin: who having, ſome time before (*x*), been voted unworthy to be a Head or Governor in either of the Univerſities, or to hold or enjoy any eccleſiaſtical promotion; was ejected from his Maſterſhip by a warrant from the Earl of Mancheſter, dated March 13, 1642-3. So that, as he was the firſt that was ſequeſtred, ſo was he alſo the very firſt of his univerſity, who was turned out (*y*). Thus being deprived of all his preferments, and ſtill fearing the worſt that might follow, he thought fit to leave the kingdom, and to withdraw to Paris, in the year 1643. Being ſafely arriv'd to that place, he did, according to King Charles's order and direction, take under his care, and officiate as Chaplain to, ſuch of Queen Henrietta Maria's houſhold as were Proteſtants. With them, and other Engliſh exiles that were daily reſorting to Paris, he form'd a congregation, that aſſembled at firſt in a private houſe, and afterwards in the chapel of Sir Richard Brown Embaſſador from the court of England to that of France. Not long after, he had lodgings aſſign'd him in the Louvre, with a ſmall penſion, on account of the relation he bore to Queen Henrietta (*z*). During his reſidence in this place, he ſhowed, how falſe and groundleſs was the imputation that had been thrown upon him, 'of his being Popiſhly affected.' For, notwithſtanding his great ſtraights, he remained ſteady and unmoved in the profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion. He kept up the Engliſh Church-Diſcipline, and the form of worſhip appointed by the Common Prayer: He reclaimed ſome that were quite gone over to Popery, and confirmed ſeveral more in the Proteſtant Profeſſion; who by their converſe with Romaniſts, were become wavering, and inclinable to entertain favorable opinions of the Popiſh Tenets (*a*). He alſo had ſeveral Controverſies and Diſputes with divers Jeſuits and Romiſh Prieſts; particularly once with the Prior of the Engliſh Benedictins at Paris [*F*]; in which he acquitted himſelf with ſo much learning and ſound reaſoning, that he utterly defeated the ſuſpicions of his enemies, and much exceeded the very expectations of his friends (*b*). There were made him very great offers of Preferment [*G*], if he would have been tempted thereby, to alter his Religion; but he ſtood proof againſt them all (*c*). He compoſed, during his exile, ſeveral learned works, chiefly againſt the Roman Catholicks, of which we ſhall give an account below. Tho' he was extremely zealous for the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church of England, yet he kept a friendly intercourſe and correſpondence with the Proteſtant Miniſters at Charenton [*H*]; who, on their parts, expreſſed the utmoſt regard for him: and permitted him ſometimes to officiate in their congregations [*I*], according to the rites preſcribed by the book of Common-prayer (*d*). Thus having, during his ſeventeen years exile in France, behaved 'diſcreetly and prudently' even in the judgment of his enemies (*e*); he returned to his native country at the Reſtoration of King Charles II. and took poſſeſſion again of his preferments and dignities. About the end of July

(*w*) Perſecutio Undecima, p. 23. Nalſon, as above, p. 568.

(*x*) January 22, 1640-41. Nalſon, as above, p. 734.

(*y*) Walker, ubi ſupra, p. 152.

(*z*) Smith, p. 12, 13, 14.

(*a*) See *Examen Hiſtoricum*, ut ſupra, p. 293.

(*b*) Fuller, Ch. Hiſt. B.xi. p. 173.

(*c*) Walker, ubi ſupra, p. 60.

(*d*) Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 19, 20. *Examen Hiſtoricum*, p. 291, 292.

(*e*) See D. Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. II. edit 1733, p. 388. Mr Neal adds, that the Doctor was 'ſoftened in 'his principles by 'age and ſufferings.'

[*F*] *Particularly once with the Prior of the* Engliſh *Benedictins at* Paris.] The Prior's name was ——— Robinſon. And the controverſy between him and Dr Coſin was managed both by word and writing. The argument was, concerning *the validity of the ordination of our Prieſts*, &c. *in the Church of* England. And the Doctor had the better ſo far, that he could never get from the Prior any reply to his laſt anſwer. This conference was undertaken to fix a perſon of honour then wavering about that point. The ſum of the conference was written by Dr Coſin to Dr Morley, afterwards Biſhop of Wincheſter, in two letters, bearing date June 11, and July 11, 1645 (19).

[*G*] *There were made him very great offers of preferment.*] One author ſpeaks upon this point to the following purpoſe (20). Dr Coſin 'being by the violence of the perſecution which was raiſed againſt the 'epiſcopal party, forced to quit his native country, 'and ſeek a retreat among the Papiſts in France, he 'continued a moſt unſhaken Proteſtant, and bold propugnator of the Reformed Religion, even to the hazard 'of his life; and when the neceſſitous condition to 'which he was reduced, and all the advantageous 'offers imaginable were made him to embrace the Roman Communion, yet were not thoſe temptations capable of removing him from his foundation, inſomuch, 'that deſpairing of ever obliging him to change his 'religion, the Papiſts were ſo inraged at him, as, I 'have heard it from his own mouth, frequently to 'threaten him with aſſaſſination, and that he ſhould 'not eſcape piſtol or ponyard; and in revenge, which 'I have heard him aver was the moſt ſenſible affliction that ever befel him in his whole life, they inveigled his only ſon from him to become a Papiſt (21).' We may add this other teſtimony of Dr Coſin's attachment to the Reformed Religion.—'Whilſt he remained in France, he was the Atlas of the Proteſtant 'Religion, ſupporting the ſame with his piety and 'learning, confirming the wavering therein, yea, daily 'adding proſelytes (not of the meaneſt rank) thereunto (22).'

[*H*] *He kept a friendly intercourſe and correſpondence with the Proteſtant Miniſters at* Charenton.] One author indeed tells us (23), that 'after getting over 'into France, he neither joined with the Church of 'French Proteſtants, at Charenton, nigh Paris, nor 'with the Papiſts,——but confined himſelf to the 'Church of old Engliſh Proteſtants therein.' But Dr Coſin, in oppoſition to the former part of that aſſertion, declared to all the world, that he never refuſed to join with the Proteſtants there, or any where elſe, in all things wherein they joined with the Church of England (24). And that he was conſtant in the ſame opinion, appears by a letter of his, dated from Paris, Feb. 7, 1650, to one Mr Cordel, then at Blois, who ſeemed ſhy to communicate with the Proteſtants there, upon the ſcruple of their inorderly ordination: in which letter he has this paſſage,—'To ſpeak my mind freely 'to you, I would not wiſh any of ours abſolutely to 'refuſe communicating in theyre Church, or determine 'it to be unlawful, for fear of a greater ſcandal that 'may thereupon ariſe, than we can tell how to anſwer or excuſe — (25).'

[*I*] *And permitted him ſometimes to officiate in their congregations.*] Where he baptized, married, and had even ſome perſons ordained Prieſts and Deacons by Engliſh Biſhops, according to the ſeveral forms in the book of Common Prayer. With their conſent likewiſe he did, in the year 1645, 'ſolemnly, in his 'prieſtly habit, with his ſurplice, and with the office 'of burial uſed in the Church of England, inter, at 'Charenton, the body of Sir William Carnaby, Knt. 'not without the troubleſome contradiction and 'contention of the Romiſh Curate of that pariſh (26).'

[*K*] *He*

(19) Baſire, ubi ſupra, p. 59, 60.

(20) Nalſon, as above, p. 519.

(21) He was educated in grammar learning in a Jeſuit's ſchool (as were many others of our youths during the Civil War) which corrupted him. Smith, p. 13.

(22) Fuller's Worthies, in Durham, p. 295.

(23) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(24) In his Letter, inſerted in Heylyn's Examen Hiſtoricum, p. 283, &c.

(25) See Baſire, p. 58, 59; and note [*P*] No. 2.

(26) Baſire, p. 58; and Smith, p. 19. See particularly Examen Hiſtoricum, p. 291, 292.

July 1660, he came to his Deanery at Peterborough, and was the firſt that read the Common-prayer in that cathedral, after the late times of confuſion (*f*). But here he was not ſuffered to reſt; for the King deſigned, a very little while after, to make him Dean of Durham: But reflecting on his ſufferings, and upon his conſtant attendance and ſervices beyond the ſeas, he nominated him Biſhop of that rich See (*g*). Accordingly, he was conſecrated on the 2d of December 1660 in Weſtminſter-Abbey (*h*). As ſoon as he could go down into his Dioceſe, he ſet about reforming many Abuſes that had crept in there during the late Anarchy; and by his generous and hoſpitable temper, accompanied with a kind and courteous deportment, he gained an univerſal reſpect and eſteem (*i*). But he chiefly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his very great munificence, and charity, and by a public ſpirit. For, conſidering himſelf principally as ſteward of the large revenues belonging to his See, he laid out a great ſhare of them, in repairing or rebuilding the ſeveral edifices belonging to the Biſhopric of Durham, which had either been demoliſh'd, or neglected, during the civil wars. For inſtance, he repaired the caſtle at Biſhop's Aukland [*K*]; and that at Durham, which he enlarg'd with ſome additional buildings: And repair'd the Biſhop's houſe at Darlington, then very ruinous. He alſo enriched his new chapel at Aukland, and that in the caſtle of Durham, with ſeveral pieces of gilt plate, books, and other coſtly ornaments, to remain to his ſucceſſors in the Biſhopric for ever: the charge of all which buildings, repairs, ornaments, &c, amounted to no leſs than twenty ſix thouſand pounds (*k*). He likewiſe built and endowed two Hoſpitals; the one at Durham for eight poor people, the other at Aukland for four; the annual revenue of the firſt being ſeventy pounds, and of the other thirty pounds: And near his Hoſpital at Durham rebuilt the School-Houſes, to the charge of three hundred pounds. He alſo built a Library near the caſtle of Durham; the charge whereof, and pictures wherewith he adorned it, amounted to eight hundred pounds; and gave books thereto, to the value of two thouſand pounds; as alſo an annual penſion of twenty marks for ever to a Library-keeper. The College of diſſolved Prebends at Aukland, purchaſed by Sir Arthur Haſelrigg, and by him forfeited to the King, which King Charles II. gave to Biſhop Coſin, in fee, he gave to his ſucceſſors, Biſhops of Durham for ever; the value thereof being three hundred and twenty pounds. He rebuilt the Eaſt end of the chapel at Peterhouſe in Cambridge, which coſt three hundred and twenty pounds; and gave in books to the library of that college, a thouſand pounds. He founded eight ſcholarſhips in the ſame univerſity, namely five in Peter-houſe, of ten pounds a year, each; and three in Gonvill and Caius College of twenty nobles a-piece *per Annum*. Both which, together with a proviſion of eight pounds yearly, to the common cheſt of theſe two colleges reſpectively, amounted to two thouſand five hundred pounds. He likewiſe made an augmentation of ſixteen pounds a year to the vicarage of St Andrews at Aukland (*l*). The reſt of his numerous Benefactions we ſhall give an account of, in the note [*L*]. In a word, this generous Biſhop, during the eleven years

(*f*) See Mr Sim. Gunton's Hiſt. of Peterburgh, Supplem. p. 339.

(*g*) Baſire, p. 49.

(*h*) Regiſter and Chronicle Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, &c. by Biſhop Kennet, edit. 1728, fol. p. 323. Dr Sandcroft preached the Conſecration Sermon. Vid. Smith, p 21.

(*i*) Smith, p. 21, 22, 23. In 1661, he was one of the Commiſſioners at the Savoy Conference, where he yielded to Some moderating conceſſions. See Life of R. Baxter. fol. l. i. Part ii. p. 305.

(*k*) Dr Smith ſays, it was only near ſixteen thouſand pounds. *Vita*, ut ſupra, p. 24, 25.

(*l*) Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 25.

[*K*] *He repaired the caſtle at* Biſhop's Aukland.] This (the chief country-ſeat of the Biſhops of Durham,) was, upon the ſeizure of the Biſhops land, beſtowed upon Sir Arthur Haſelrigg; who deſigning to make it his principal ſeat, and not liking the old faſhioned building, reſolved to erect a new and beautiful fabrick, all of one pile, according to the moſt elegant faſhion of thoſe times. To fit himſelf therefore with materials for this his new houſe, he pulled down a moſt magnificent and large chapel, built by Anthony Beke, Biſhop of Durham, in the time of King Edward I. with the ſtone whereof, and an addition of what was deficient, he erected his new fabrick in a large court, on the eaſt ſide of the caſtle. But Biſhop Coſin, ſoon after his conſecration, taking notice that the greateſt part of the materials, uſed in that building, were taken from the above-mentioned conſecrated chapel, he not only refuſed to make uſe of it for his habitation, though it was commodiouſly contrived, and nobly built, but took it wholly down, and with the ſtone thereof built another beautiful chapel on the north ſide of that great court; and, under the middle iſle thereof, cauſed a convenient vault to be made for his own ſepulture (27).

(27) Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 82.

[*L*] *The reſt of his numerous benefactions*, &c.] They were as follows. He gave to the Cathedral at Durham a fair carved Lectern, and Litany-deſk, with a large ſcallop'd ſilver patten, gilt, for the uſe of the communicants there, which coſt *forty-five pounds*.—Upon the new building of the Biſhop's Court, Exchequer, and Chancery, and towards the erecting of two ſeſſions-houſes at Durham, he gave *a thouſand pounds*.——Moreover, he gave towards the redemption of Chriſtian captives, at Algier, *five hundred pounds*.——Towards the relief of the diſtreſſed loyal party in England, *eight hundred pounds*.—For repairing the banks in Howdenſhire, *a hundred marks*.——Towards the repair of St Paul's Cathedral, in London, *fifty pounds*. By *his Will* he bequeathed to the poor of his hoſpitals at Durham and Aukland, to be diſtributed at his funeral, *ſix pounds*.—To the poor people of the country, coming to his funeral, *twenty pounds*.—To poor priſoners detained for debt, in the goals of Durham, York, Peterborough, Cambridge, and Norwich, *fifty pounds*.—To the poor people within the precincts of the Cathedral at Norwich, and within the pariſh of St Andrews there, in which he was born and educated in his minority, *twenty pounds*.—To the poor of Durham, Aukland, Darlington, Stockton, Gateſhead, and Branſpeth, (all in the Biſhoprick of Durham) *thirty pounds*.—To the poor in the pariſhes of of Cheſter in the Street, Houghton le Spring, North-Allerton, Creike, and Howden, (all lordſhips belonging to the Biſhops of Durham) *forty pounds*.—Towards the re-building of St Paul's Cathedral, in London, when it ſhould be raiſed five yards from the ground, *a hundred pounds*.—To the Cathedral of Norwich, whereof the one half to be beſtowed on a marble-tablet, with an inſcription, in memory of Dr John Overall, ſome time Biſhop there, (whoſe Chaplain he had been) the reſt for providing ſome uſeful ornaments for the Altar, *forty pounds*.—Towards the re-edifying of the north and ſouth-ſides of the College-chapel at Peterhouſe, in Cambridge, ſuitable to the eaſt and weſt ends, already by him perfected, *two hundred pounds*.—Towards the new building of a Chapel at Emanuel-College, in Cambridge, *fifty pounds*.——To the children of Mr John Heyward, late Prebendary of Litchfield, as a teſtimony of his gratitude to their deceaſed father, who, in his Lordſhip's younger years, placed him with his uncle, Biſhop Overall, *twenty pounds* a-piece.—To the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough, to be employed for the uſe of the poor in that town, *a hundred pounds*.—To the poor of Durham, Branſpeth, and Biſhop's Aukland, to be diſtributed as his two daughters (the Lady Gerard, and the Lady Burton) ſhould think beſt, *a hun-*

years he ſate in the ſee of Durham, is ſaid to have ſpent above two thouſand pounds a year, in pious and charitable uſes (*m*). The two laſt years of his life he enjoyed but a very indifferent ſtate of Health, being very much afflicted with the ſtone. At length the *roaring pains* of that diſtemper, as he uſed to call them; together with a pectoral Dropſy; put an end to his moſt valuable life (*n*), at his houſe in Pall-mall Weſtminſter, on the 15th of January 1671-2, when he was ſeventy ſeven years, one month, and fixteen days old (*o*). In his Will, dated December 11, 1671, he made a large and open declaration of his Faith [*M*]. About the year 1625, he married Frances daughter of Marmaduke Blakeſton M. A. (*p*). by which he had a ſon, whom he diſinherited on account of his embracing Popery [*N*]; and four daughters, one married to Sir Gilbert Gerard, Bart. another to Sir ——— Burton, Bart. and the youngeſt to Dr Denys Granville, brother to the Earl of Bath, and afterwards Dean of Durham (*q*). As for the Biſhop's body it was for ſome time depoſited in a vault in London; and in April, 1672, conveyed to Biſhop's Aukland in the dioceſe of Durham: where on the 29th of that month, it was buried in the chapel belonging to the palace, under a Tomb of black marble, with an inſcription [*O*] prepar'd by the Biſhop in his life-time (*r*). We ſhall give an account of his works in the note [*P*]. As to his perſonal qualifications; the Biſhop was tall and erect

(*m*) Baſire, ubi ſupra, p. 79, 80.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 86, 87.

(*o*) Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 27, 28.

(*p*) Archdeacon of the Eaſt Riding, and Prebendary of York and Durham, &c. See Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 100, 180, 269; and Baſire, as above, p. 39.

(*q*) Smith, p. 26; and from private information.

(*r*) Smith, p. 28. Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 251. The Burial Service was read by Guy Carleton, Biſhop of Briſtol and Prebendary of Durham; and Dr Iſ. Baſire, preached the funeral Sermon. Smith, ibid.

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a hundred pounds.—To ſome of his domeſtick ſervants he gave *a hundred marks*, to ſome *fifty pounds*, and to the reſt half a year's wages, over and above their laſt quarter's pay (28).

[*M*] *In his Will——he made a large and open declaration of his Faith.*] Wherein, after repeating the ſubſtance of the Apoſtles and Nicene Creeds, he condemns and rejects whatſoever hereſies or ſchiſms, the ancient catholick and univerſal Church of Chriſt with an unanimous conſent, had rejected and condemned; together with all the modern fautors of the ſame hereſies; ſectaries, and phanaticks, who, being carried on with an evil ſpirit, do falſely give out, they are inſpired of God. As the Anabaptiſts, new Independents, and Preſbyterians of our country, a kind of men hurried away with the ſpirit of malice, diſobedience, and ſedition.——'Moreover, (adds he) I do profeſs, 'with holy aſſeveration, and from my very heart, that 'I am now, and ever have been from my youth, al'together free and averſe from the corruptions and im'pertinent new-fangled, or *papiſtical*, ſuperſtitions 'and doctrines,—long ſince introduced, contrary to 'the Holy ſcripture, and the rules and cuſtoms of the 'ancient Fathers. But in what part of the world ſo'ever any Churches are extant, bearing the name of 'Chriſt, and profeſſing the true Catholick Faith and 'Religion, worſhipping and calling upon God the 'Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, with one 'heart and voice, if I be now hindered actually to 'join with them, either by diſtance of countries, or 'variance amongſt men, or by any hindrance what'ſoever; yet always in my mind and affection I join 'and unite with them: which I deſire to be chiefly 'underſtood of Proteſtants, and the beſt Reformed 'Churches, &c.' This part of his Will was written in Latin, and the latter part, containing his benefactions, in Engliſh (29).

[*N*] *He had a ſon, whom he diſinherited on account of his embracing Popery.*] See above, note [*G*] of this article. He was prevailed upon, not only to embrace Popery, but alſo to take Religious Orders in the Church of Rome; and though Dr Coſin uſed all the ways imaginable, and even the authority of the French King, which, by his intereſt, he had procured, to regain him out of their power, and from their perſuaſion, yet all proved ineffectual. Whereupon he diſinherited him, allowing him only an annuity of one hundred pounds (30). He pretended to turn again, but relapſed before the Biſhop's deceaſe.

[*O*] *With an inſcription*] Which runs thus.

In non morituram memoriam.

JOHANNIS COSIN
Epiſcopi Dunelmenſis,
Qui hoc Sacellum conſtruxit,
Ornavit, & Deo conſecravit
Ann. M,DC,LXV.
In Feſto S. Petri.
Obiit xv *die Menſis Januarii*
Anno Domini, MDCLXXI.
Et hic ſepultus eſt, expectans
Felicem corporis ſui Reſurrectionem,
Ac vitam in coelis æternam.
Requieſcat in pace.

Round a marble ſtone on the floor, are alſo theſe words engraved.

Beati mortui
Qui moriuntur in Domino,
Requieſcunt enim
A laboribus ſuis (31).

i. e. To the never-dying memory of John Coſin, Biſhop of Durham, who built and adorned this Chapel, and conſecrated it to God in 1665, June 29. He died the 15th day of January, in the year of our Lord 1671, and is buried here, waiting for the happy reſurrection of his body, and eternal life in heaven. Let him reſt in peace. Bleſſed are the dead which die in the Lord, for they reſt from their labours.

[*P*] *We ſhall give an account of his works*, &c.] Beſides his *Collection of Private Devotions*, mentioned above, he publiſhed, 'A Scholaſtical Hiſtory of the 'Canon of the Holy Scripture: or, The certain and 'indubitable Books thereof, as they are received in 'the Church of England.' London, 1657, 4*to*. reprinted in 1672. This hiſtory is deduced from the time of the Jewiſh Church, to the year 1546, that is, the time when the Council of Trent corrupted, and made unwarrantable additions to, the ancient Canon of the Holy Scriptures. Conſequently it was directed againſt the Papiſts, and was written by the author during his exile at Paris. He dedicated it to Dr M. Wrenn, Biſhop of Ely, then a priſoner in the tower. Dr P. Gunning had the care of the edition (32).——Since the Biſhop's deceaſe the following books and tracts of his have been publiſhed. I. 'A letter to Dr Collins, 'concerning the Sabbath,' dated from Peterhouſe, Jan. 24, 1635 (33). In which, ſpeaking firſt of the morality of the ſabbath, he affirms, that the keeping of that particular day was not moral, neither by *nature* binding all men, nor by *precept* binding any other men but the Jews, nor them further than Chriſt's time. But then, adds he, whether one day of ſeven, at leaſt, do not ſtill remain immutably to be kept by *Us* Chriſtians, that have God's will and example before, and by virtue of the rules of reaſon and religion, is the queſtion? And for this he decides in the affirmative. Then he proves, that the keeping of our Sunday is immutable, as being grounded upon divine inſtitution, and Apoſtolical Tradition, which he confirms by ſeveral inſtances. Next he ſhews, that the Schoolmen were the firſt who began to diſpute, or deny, this day to be of Apoſtolical Inſtitution, on purpoſe to ſet up the Pope's power, to whom, they ſaid, it belongeth, either to change or abrogate the day. Towards the end, he lays down theſe three poſitions againſt the Puritans: 1. 'The obſervation of the Sunday in every week is 'not commanded us by the fourth commandment, as 'they ſay it is. 2. Nor is our Sunday to be obſerved 'according to the rule of the fourth commandment, 'as they ſay it is. 3. Nor hath it the qualities and 'conditions of the Sabbath annext to it, as they ſay 'it hath.' II. There is publiſhed, 'A Letter from 'our author to Mr Cordel, dated Paris, Feb 7, 1650. See above note [*H*]. It is printed at the end of a pamphlet, intitled, 'The Judgment of the Church of 'England,

(28) Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 83, 84, 85; and Smith, p. 25, 26, 27.

(29) See Baſire, p. 111, &c. Smith, p. 55, &c.

(30) Naſon, as above, p. 519; and Smith, p. 13, 26.

(31) Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 28; and J. le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, from 1650 to 1679, p. 171.

(32) Baſire, p. 66; and Smith, p. 17.

(33) And printed in *Bibliotheca Literaria*, &c. Lond. 1723, 4*to*, No. v. p. 33, &c.

ereƈt, and had a grave and comely preſence. He had a ſound underſtanding, well improved with all kinds of uſeful learning. And, as for his hoſpitality, generoſity, and charity, they were ſo very conſpicuous and extenſive; that he is juſtly reckoned to have been one of the moſt munificent, if not the moſt munificent, of all the Biſhops of Durham (ſ). Among many other ſervices he did to his ſee, one was; the obtaining a releaſe (in compenſation of the loſs that ſee ſuffered by taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries,) of the annuity, or penſion, of one thouſand pounds (t), charged upon that Biſhopric, ever ſince Queen Elizabeth's days (u).

(ſ) See Baſire, p. 37—103.

(t) Or, eight hundred and fourſcore pounds. Baſire, p. 56.

(u) See Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 228, 811. This 1000*l.* was for keeping a garriſon at Berwick, againſt the Scots.

'England, in the caſe of Lay-baptiſm, and of Diſſenters baptiſm (34).' III. *Regni Angliæ Religio Catholica, priſca, caſta, defoecata: omnibus Chriſtianis Monarchis, Principibus, Ordinibus, oſtenſa. Anno* MDCLII. *i. e.* A Short Scheme of the ancient and pure doƈtrine and diſcipline of the Church of England (35). Written at the requeſt of Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon (36). IV. *Hiſtoria Tranſubſtantationis Papalis. Cui præmittitur, atque opponitur, tum S. Scripturæ, tum Veterum Patrum, & Reformatarum Eccleſiarum Doƈtrina Catholica, de Sacris Symbolis, & præſentiâ Chriſti in Sacramento Euchariſtiæ. i. e.* The Hiſtory of Popiſh Tranſubſtantiation, &c. written by the author at Paris, for the uſe of ſome of his countrymen, who were frequently attacked upon that point by the Papiſts. It was publiſhed by Dr Durell, at London, 1675, 8*vo.* and tranſlated into Engliſh in 1676, by Luke de Beaulieu, 8*vo* (37). There is a *Second Part* ſtill in manuſcript (38). V. 'The differences in the chief 'points of religion, between the Roman Catholicks 'and us of the Church of England; together with the 'agreements which we, for our parts, profeſs, and are 'ready to embrace, if they, for theirs, were as ready 'to accord with us in the ſame. Written to the 'Counteſs of Peterborough (39).' VI. 'Notes on 'the Book of Common-Prayer.' Publiſhed by Dr William Nicholls, at the end of his Comment on the Book of Common-Prayer, Lond. 1710, *fol.* VII. 'Account of a Conference in Paris, between Cyril, 'Archbiſhop of Trapezond, and Dr John Coſin.' Printed in the ſame book.——The following pieces were alſo written by Biſhop Coſin, but never printed 1. 'An Anſwer to a Popiſh Pamphlet, pretending, that 'St Cyprian was a Papiſt. 2. An Anſwer to four 'queries of a Roman Catholick, about the Proteſtant 'Religion.' 3. 'An Anſwer to a paper delivered 'by a Popiſh Biſhop to the Lord Inchequin.' 4. '*Annales Eccleſiaſtici*, imperfeƈt.' 5. An Anſwer to 'Father Robinſon's Papers, concerning the validity of 'the Ordinations of the Church of England.' See above, note [*F*]. 6. '*Hiſtoria Conciliorum*, imperfeƈt. 7. 'Againſt the forſakers of the Church of England, 'and their ſeducers in this time of her tryal. 8. '*Chronologia Sacra*, imperfeƈt. 9. A Treatiſe con'cerning the abuſe of auricular confeſſion in the Church 'of Rome (40).' By all which learned works, as one obſerves (41), and his abilities, quick apprehenſion, ſolid judgment, variety of reading, &c. manifeſted therein; he hath perpetuated his name to poſterity, and ſufficiently confuted, at the ſame time, the calumnies induſtriouſly ſpread againſt him, of his being a Papiſt, or Popiſhly inclined (42); which brought on him a ſevere perſecution, followed with the plunder of all his goods, the ſequeſtration of his whole eſtate, and a ſeventeen years exile. C

(34) 2d edit. Lond. 1712, 8*vo.*

(35) Printed at the end of Dr Smith's Life of Biſhop Coſin.

(36) Smith, p. 15.

(37) Ibid. p. 16, 17.

(38) Baſire, p. 67.

(39) Printed at the end of *The Corruptions of the Church of Rome*, by Biſhop Bull.

(40) Baſire, p. 67, 68.

(41) Fuller, Worthies, in Durham, p. 294.

(42) Therefore, as Dr Smith obſerves, *Erubeſcant jam Schiſmaticorum filii de parentum avorumq; convitiis, mendaciis, & calumniis, in Coſinum*, p. 18.

COTES (ROGER) a celebrated Mathematician and Plumian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy and Experimental Philoſophy in the univerſity of Cambridge in the eighteenth Century. He was the ſon of the Reverend Mr Robert Cotes, Reƈtor of Burbage in Leiceſterſhire, which was alſo the place of his nativity (*a*) [*A*]. He was born there July the 10th, 1682, and received his firſt education at Leiceſter ſchool, where, when he was between eleven and twelve years of age, he ſhewed a ſtrong inclination to the mathematicks, which being obſerved by his uncle the Reverend Mr John Smith, father to the worthy Dr Robert Smith, his ſucceſſor as Plumian Profeſſor in the univerſity of Cambridge, he gave him all imaginable encouragement, and prevailed upon his father, to ſend him for ſome time to his houſe in Lincolnſhire, that he might aſſiſt him in thoſe ſtudies, where he laid the ſolid foundation (*b*) of that deep and extenſive knowledge in thoſe ſciences, for which he was afterwards ſo deſervedly famous. He removed from thence to London, and was ſent to St Paul's ſchool, where under the care of Dr Thomas Gale, and Mr John Poſtlethwait ſucceſſive maſters, he made a great progreſs in claſſical learning, and yet found ſo much leiſure as to keep up a conſtant correſpondence with his uncle, not only in Mathematicks, but alſo in Metaphyſicks, Philoſophy, and Divinity (*c*). His next remove was to Cambridge, where April 6th, 1699, at the age of ſeventeen, he was admitted Penſioner of Trinity-college in that univerſity, and at michaelmas 1705 was choſen Fellow of his college (*d*). He was at the ſame time tutor to Anthony Earl of Harold, and the Lord Henry de Grey ſons to the then Marquis, afterwards Duke of Kent, to which moſt noble family Mr Cotes had the honour to be related (*e*). In January following he was appointed Profeſſor of Aſtronomy, and Experimental Philoſophy, upon the foundation made by Thomas Plume, Doƈtor in Divinity, archdeacon of Rocheſter, being the firſt that enjoyed that office, to which he was choſen for his great learning and eminent abilities (*f*). He took the degree of maſter of arts in 1706, and in 1713 he entered into holy orders. The ſame year, at the deſire of Dr Richard Bentley, he publiſhed at Cambridge the ſecond edition

(*a*) From the information of Dr Robert Smith, Maſter of Trinity college in Cambridge.

(*b*) From the information beforementioned.

(*c*) A faƈt often mentioned by the late Profeſſor Saunderſon.

(*d*) From the information of Dr Smith.

(*e*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 38.

(*f*) Knight's Life of Dr Colet, Dean of St Paul's, p. 430.

[*A*] *Which was alſo the place of his nativity.*] The little town of Burbage, or rather Burbach, lying in Sparkenhoe-hundred, in Leiceſterſhire, and at the diſtance of about ſix miles from Leiceſter; is remarkable for it's once having had an Earl for it's Reƈtor (1). This noble and reverend perſon was Anthony de Grey, the eighth Earl of Kent, who was Miniſter there at the time that ancient title deſcended to him, in 1639, and to his honour be it remembered, that he did not think himſelf obliged to alter his manner of living in the leaſt, he kept a very hoſpitable houſe before, and was always glad of the company of his brethren, in which courſe he continued, excuſing his attendance in parliament, on account of his age and infirmities; which, however, he would not ſuffer to excuſe him from the duties of his funƈtion, preaching conſtantly as long as it was poſſible for him to be carried up into the pulpit (2). He was great grandfather to the late Henry, Earl, Marquis, and at length Duke of Kent, to whom, as deſcended from a daughter of Major Farmer, in the ſame county, our author, Mr Cotes was, nearly related.

(1) Knight's Life of Dean Colet, p. 429, 430.

(2) Fuller's Worthies, in Durham, p. 299.

edition of Sir Iſaac Newton's Mathematical Principles of Natural Philoſophy, with all the improvements which the author had made to that time, to which he prefixed a moſt excellent preface (g). This added greatly to the high reputation he had already acquired for his profound knowledge in the abſtruſeſt parts of the mathematicks, amongſt the greateſt men of the age. He wrote alſo a deſcription of the great Meteor, that was ſeen on the 6th of March 1715-6, which was publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (b) [*B*] Theſe were the only fruits of his learned and laborious ſtudies, that appeared in his life-time, but he left behind him ſeveral admirable and judicious tracts, part of which, after his deceaſe, his learned kinſman and worthy ſucceſſor in his profeſſorſhip, Dr Robert Smith, gave to the publick, which were received with univerſal approbation [*C*]. He died

[*B*] *Which was publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions.*] This curious account is contained in a letter to Robert Dannye, D. D. Rector of Spofferth, in Yorkſhire; which though it went out of his hands in his life-time, and might be very probably tranſmitted to the Royal Society before his death, yet it was in ſome reſpect a poſthumous work, ſince it did not appear 'till after our author's deceaſe; there are two things in it very remarkable, the firſt is the clearneſs and conciſeneſs with which the facts are deſcribed, the other the plainneſs and perſpicuity of the manner in which he accounts for them; the reader will not be diſpleaſed to have a taſte of both (3). 'It was, ſays he, after ſeven before I had notice of this uncommon ſight, at firſt I ſaw only two or three of the triangular ſtreams towards the north and north-weſt: Theſe were not of long duration, but were ſucceeded by others, which appeared, and vaniſhed again by turns, ariſing from, and aſcending up to places in the Heavens of very different altitudes above the Horizon. From the time I began to view them, they continued to aſcend more and more copiouſly, being propagated ſtill further and further from the north towards the weſt and eaſt, and directed always to the heads of *Gemini*, 'till at length when they ſeemed almoſt to meet at the point of convergence, they began to aſcend up towards it from the ſouthern parts alſo, and all round it; inſomuch that at a quarter after ſeven we had a perfect canopy of rays over us: the bottom of this canopy did no where reach down to the horizon, for near the north, where it deſcended the moſt, it's altitude was about ten or fifteen degrees, and near the ſouth where it deſcended the leaſt, it's altitude was about forty degrees. It remained in this ſtate about two minutes, during which time we ſaw ſeveral colours, ſome fainter and more permanent, others brighter, but quickly vaniſhing. Thus in the weſt I obſerved the rays to be tinged for ſome conſiderable time, with an obſcure and heavy red; and in one of the brighteſt ſtreams, at another time there ſuddenly broke out a very vivid red, which was inſtantly and gradually ſucceeded by the other priſmatick colours; all vaniſhing in about a ſecond of time. Theſe colours affected the ſenſe ſo ſtrongly, that I thought them to be more intenſe than thoſe of the brighteſt rainbow I had ever ſeen. A ſmall time before the appearance loſt it's perfection, we were ſurprized to obſerve a ſhaking and trembling of the ſtreams, chiefly in their upper parts; during which their convergence was confounded, and the whole Heaven ſeemed to be in a convulſion. At the ſame time I could perceive waves of light towards the north, which moved upwards, and in their motion croſſed the ſtreams lying parallel to the horizon. Theſe waves were different from thoſe broad ones, which you mention, and which I alſo took notice of: Their breadth ſeemed to be about a degree, their length about ninety degrees, and I can compare them to nothing better, than to thoſe ſlender waves upon the ſurface of ſtagnant waters, which are made by caſting in a ſmall ſtone.——— An irregular guſt of wind blowing upon and ſhaking the columns, was I ſuppoſe the cauſe of that trembling which appeared in the triangular ſtreams; and the cauſe alſo which deſtroyed that fine appearance of the canopy. The ſlender circular waves ſeen at the ſame time, might alſo be explained from the ſame cauſe. I need not detain you any longer by endeavouring to make out ſome other particulars of this unuſual appearance: I fear I have been already too tedious. However I will not omit to mention a very eaſy contrivance by which the thing may be tolerably well repreſented to view. Take a hoop and round about it faſten ſeveral ſtreight ſticks parallel to each other, but all inclined to the plane of the hoop; hold this plane parallel to the horizon, and in that poſture move it with ſticks over a candle, the ſhadows of the ſticks upon the ceiling of your room, will converge to a point not directly over the candle (as they would have done had the ſticks been perpendicular to the plane of the hoop) but to the point in which a line drawn from the candle parallel to the ſticks, ſhall interſect the plane of the ceiling.'

[*C*] *Were received with univerſal approbation.*] The title of this work at large runs thus. HARMONIA MENSURARUM, *ſive Analyſis & Syntheſis per rationum angulorum menſuras promotæ: accedunt alia Opuſcula Mathematica: per* Rogerum Coteſium. *Edidit et auxit* Robertus Smith, *Collegii S.* Trinitatis *apud* Cantabrigienſes *ſocius, Aſtronomiæ & Experimentalis Philoſophiæ poſt* Coteſium *profeſſor*. Cantabrigiæ 1722, *4to*. That is The Harmony *of* Meaſures: *or* Analyſis *and* Syntheſis *advanced by the meaſures of* Ratio's *and* Angles. *To which are added other Mathematical pieces by* Roger Cotes. *Publiſhed and augmented by* Robert Smith, *Fellow of Trinity College in* Cambridge, *and ſucceſſor to the ſaid* R. Cotes, *as Profeſſor of Aſtronomy and Experimental Philoſophy.* This work is dedicated by the learned editor to Dr *Richard Mead*. He next proceeds to give us, in a very elegant and affectionate Preface, a copious account of the performance itſelf; the pieces annexed to it, and of ſuch other of the author's work as are yet unpubliſhed: He tells us how much this work was admired by the judicious Profeſſor *Sanderſon*, and how dear the author of it was to the late learned Dr Bentley, to whom he gives the higheſt, that is the juſteſt, commendations. This book conſiſts of three parts. In the firſt, called *Logometria*, the author's chief deſign is to ſhew how that ſort of problems, which are uſually reduced to the quadrature of the Hyperbola and Ellipſis, may be reduced to the meaſures of Ratio's and Angles, and afterwards be ſolved more readily by the canon of Logarithms, Sines, and Tangents. He defines the meaſures of Ratio's to be quantities of any kind, whoſe magnitudes are analogous to the magnitudes of the Ratio's to be meaſured. In this ſenſe any canon of Logarithms is a ſyſtem of numeral meaſures of the Ratio's of the abſolute numbers to an Unit: The parts of the aſymptote of the Logiſtic line intercepted between its ordinates, are a ſyſtem of linear meaſures of the Ratio's of thoſe ordinates: The areas of an hyperbola, intercepted between it's ordinates to the aſymptote, are a ſyſtem of plane meaſures of the Ratio's of thoſe ordinates: And ſince there may be infinite ſyſtems of meaſures, according as various kinds of quantities are made uſe of; ſuch as number, time, velocity, and the like; or according as the meaſures of any one ſyſtem may be all increaſed or diminiſhed in any given proportion; in ſuch variety, much confuſion may poſſibly ariſe, as to the kind and abſolute magnitudes of particular meaſures, which happen to fall under conſideration. Our author very happily removes this difficulty, by ſhewing, that the nature of the ſubject points out the meaſure of a certain immutable Ratio, for a modulus in all ſyſtems whereby to determine the kind and abſolute magnitudes of all other meaſures in each ſyſtem. The firſt propoſition is to find the meaſures of any propoſed Ratio. This he conſiders in a way ſo ſimple and general, as naturally leads to the notion and definition of a modulus; namely, that it is an invariable quantity in each ſyſtem, which bears the ſame proportion to the increment of the meaſure of any propoſed Ratio, as the increaſing term of the Ratio bears to it's own increment. He then ſhews that the meaſure died, to the regret of the univerſity in general, and more eſpecially of ſuch as were addicted to

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(g) This was the ſecond edition of that moſt valuable Work, and the Preface is conſidered as a maſter-piece in it's kind.

(b) No. 365.

(3) Philoſophical Tranſactions, Vol. XXXII. No. 365. p. 66.

meaſure of any given Ratio is as the modulus of the ſyſtem from whence it is taken, and that the modulus in every ſyſtem is always equal to the meaſure of a certain determinate and immutable Ratio, which he therefore calls the Ratio modularis. He ſhews that this Ratio is expreſſed by theſe numbers 2,7182818, &c. to 1, or by 1 to 0,3678794, &c. ſo that in Briggs's canon, the Logarithm of this Ratio is the modulus of that ſyſtem: In the Logiſtic line, the given ſubtangent is the modulus of that ſyſtem. In the hyperbola, the given parallellogram contained by an ordinate to the aſymptote, and the abſciſs from the center, is the modulus of that ſyſtem, and in other ſyſtems the modulus is generally ſome remarkable quantity. In the ſecond propoſition, he gives a conciſe uncommon method, for calculating Briggs's canon of Logarithms, together, with rules for finding intermediate Logarithms, and numbers, even beyond the limits of the canon. In the third propoſition, he conſtructs any ſyſtem of meaſures by a canon of Logarithms, not only when the meaſure of ſome one Ratio is given, but alſo without that datum, by ſeeking the modulus of the ſyſtem by the rule abovementioned. In the 4th 5th and 6th propoſitions, he ſquares the hyperbola, deſcribes the logiſtic line, and equiangular ſpiral, by a canon of Logarithms; and ſhews ſome curious uſes of theſe propoſitions in their ſcholia. Take an eaſy example of the logometrical method in the common problem for finding the denſity of the atmoſphere. Suppoſing gravity uniform, every one knows that if altitudes are taken in any arithmetical progreſſion, the denſities of the air in thoſe altitudes will be in a geometrical progreſſion, that is, the altitudes are the meaſures of the Ratio's of the denſities below, and in thoſe altitudes; and ſo the difference of any two altitudes is the meaſure of the Ratio of the denſities in theſe altitudes. Now to determine the abſolute or real magnitude of theſe meaſures, the author ſhews *à priori*, that the modulus of the ſyſtem is the altitude of the atmoſphere, when reduced every where to the ſame denſity as below. The modulus therefore is given (as bearing the ſame proportion to the altitude of the mercury in the barometer, as the ſpecific gravity of mercury does to the ſpecifick gravity of air) and conſequently the whole ſyſtem is given. For ſince in all ſyſtems the meaſures of the ſame Ratio's are analogous among themſelves, the Logarithm of the Ratio of the air's denſity in any two altitudes, will be to the modulus of the canon (that is to the Logarithm of the Ratio modularis defined above) as the difference of thoſe altitudes is to the aforeſaid given altitude of the homogeneous atmoſphere. He concludes the Logometria with a general ſcholium, containing great variety of elegant conſtructions, both logometrical and trigonometrical, ſuch as give the length of curves, either geometrical or mechanical, their area's and centers of gravity, the ſolids generated from them, and the ſurfaces of theſe ſolids, together with ſeveral curious problems in Natural Philoſophy, concerning the attraction of bodies, the denſity and reſiſtance of fluids, and the trajectories of planets. Several of theſe problems have two caſes, one conſtructed by the meaſure of a Ratio, and the other by the meaſure of an angle. The great affinity and beautiful harmony of the meaſures in theſe caſes has given occaſion to the title of the book. The meaſures of angles are defined to be quantities of any kind, whoſe magnitudes are analogous to the magnitudes of the angles. Such may be the arcs or ſectors of any circle, or any other quantities of time, velocity, or reſiſtance, analogous to the magnitudes of the angles. Every ſyſtem of theſe meaſures has likewiſe it's modulus, homogeneous to the meaſures in that ſyſtem, and may be computed by the trigonometrical canon of ſines and tangents, juſt as the meaſures of Ratio's by the canon of Logarithms; for the given modulus in each ſyſtem, bears the ſame proportion to the meaſure of any given angle, as the Radius of a circle bears to an arc, which ſubtends that angle, or the ſame as this conſtant number of degrees 57,29577 95130 bears to the number of degrees in the ſaid angle. Upon the whole our author expreſſes himſelf thus. 'From ' theſe examples it will lie wholly in the power of able ' Geometricians to form a judgment of our method, ' which if they ſhall approve, they may carry it ſtill ' farther, and thereby conſiderably extend it's uſes. A ' vaſt field lies open, in which they may exert their abilities; but eſpecially if they add to Logometrics, the ' aſſiſtances that may be derived from trigonometry for ' that there is a wonderful affinity and connection between theſe, I ſhall plainly make appear. I can ' hardly believe that any principles can be deviſed more ' general than theſe; as mathematicks contains ſcarce ' any thing elſe within it's compaſs, than the theory ' of angles and ratio's. Neither will any one deſire a ' more commodious method, who conſiders the facility ' in theſe matters, derived to us from thoſe extenſive ' tables, as well of the logarithms of whole numbers, as ' of ſigns and tangents, which were the valuable ' effects of our predeceſſors, laudable induſtry. To ' this end I have added ſome theorems both logometrical and trigonometrical, &c.' The reaſon which induced the author to aſſert his principles to be ſo general, will appear farther by an inſtance or two. In the problem already mentioned, he meaſures the ratio of the air's denſities in any altitudes, by the altitudes themſelves, making uſe of the altitude of an uniform atmoſphere for the modulus. So likewiſe when he conſiders the velocities acquired, and the ſpaces deſcribed, in given times, by a body projected upwards or downwards, in a reſiſting medium with any given velocity; he ſhews that the times of deſcent added to a given time, are the meaſures of ratio's to a given modulus of time; whoſe terms are the ſum and difference of the ultimate velocity and the preſent velocities that are acquired, that the times of aſcent taken from a given time are the meaſures of angles to a given modulus of time, whoſe radius is to their tangents in the ratio of the ultimate velocity to the preſent velocities; and laſtly, that the ſpaces deſcribed in deſcent or aſcent, are the meaſures of ratio's to a given modulus of ſpace, whoſe term are the abſolute accelerating and retarding forces ariſing from gravity and reſiſtance taken together at the beginning and end of thoſe ſpaces. This general account may ſuffice to illuſtrate what I am going to ſay, that ſince the magnitudes of ratio's, as well as their terms, may be expounded by quantities of any kind, the mathematician is at liberty, upon all occaſions, to chuſe thoſe which are fitteſt for his purpoſe, and ſuch are they without doubt that are put into his hand by the conditions of the problem. He may indeed repreſent theſe quantities by an hyperbola, or any other logometrical ſyſtem, were not his purpoſe anſwered with greater ſimplicity by the very ſyſtem itſelf which occurs in each particular problem. And the ſame may be ſaid for the ſyſtems of angular meaſures, inſtead of recurring upon all occaſions to elliptical or circular area's. As to the convenience of calculating from our author's conſtructions; he ſhews that the meaſures of any ratio's or angles are always computed in the ſame uniform way, by taking from the tables the logarithm of the ratio, or the number of degrees in the angle, and then by finding a fourth proportional to three given quantities, for that will be the meaſure required. The ſimpleſt hyperbolic area may indeed be ſquared by the ſame operation taught in the author's fourth propoſition, but the ſimpleſt elliptic area requires ſomewhat more: Thoſe that are more complex in both kinds, which generally happens, require an additional trouble to reduce them to the ſimpleſt, to ſquare them by infinite ſeries is ſtill more operoſe, and does not anſwer the end of Geometry. Upon the whole therefore it may deſerve to be conſidered; for what purpoſe ſhould problems, be always conſtructed by conic areas, unleſs it be to pleaſe or aſſiſt the imagination. The deſign of theoretical Geometry differs from problematical, the former conſiſts in the diſcovery and contemplation of the properties and relations of figures, for the ſake of naked truth, but the deſign of the latter is to do ſomething propoſed and is beſt executed by the leaſt apparatus of the former. The Logometria was firſt publiſhed by the author himſelf, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions. But his logometrical and trigonometrical thorems abovementioned were not publiſhed till after his deceaſe. Theſe theorems make the ſecond part of the book, and are calculated to give the fluents of fluxions reduced to 18 forms by meaſures of ratio's and angles, in ſuch a manner that any perſon may perfectly comprehend their conſtruction and uſe, though altogether unacquainted with curvilinear figures to mathematical ſtudies, in the prime of his life, in the thirty third year of his age, June the 5th, 1716, and was buried in the chapel of Trinity College Cambridge, his memory being honoured with an inſcription by the elegant pen of the moſt learned Dr Bentley, maſter of that college, his conſtant friend and patron (*i*).

(*i*) See this inſcription at the end of Dr Smith's Preface to the *Harmonia Menſurarum*.

figures as expreſſed by equations. And this circumſtance, alſo renders the ſpeedy application of them to the analyſis and conſtruction of problems extremely eaſy. Of this kind the author has given a great many choice examples both in abſtract and phyſical problems, which make up the third and laſt part of the book. The editor has publiſhed the author's own ſolution of a very difficult problem in fluxions by meaſures of ratio's and angles, and upon this foundation has conſtructed new tables of logometrical and trigonometical theorems for the fluents of fluxions, reduced to ninety-four forms part rational and part irrational. He has likewiſe added ſeveral notes upon the chief difficulties in the book, together with a method of compoſing ſynthetical demonſtrations of logometrical and trigonometrical conſtructions, illuſtrated by various examples.

The firſt treatiſe in the miſcellaneous works is concerning *the eſtimation of* errors *in mixt Mathematicks*. It conſiſts of twenty eight theorems, to determine the proportion among the leaſt contemporary variations of the ſides and angles of plane and ſpherical triangles, while any two of them remain invariable. An example will ſhew their great uſe in aſtromony. The time of the day or night is frequently to be determined by the altitude of ſome ſtar. Let it then be propoſed to find the error that may ariſe in the time from any given error, in taking the altitude. By applying the 22d theorem to the triangle formed by the complement of the ſtar's altitude and declination, and by the complement of the pole's elevation, the author ſhews that the variation of the angle at the pole, and conſequently the error in time, will be as the error in the altitude directly, as the ſine complement of the pole's inverſely, and as the ſine of the ſtars azimuth from the meridian inverſely. Conſequently if the error in the altitude be given, under a given elevation of the pole; the error in time will be reciprocally as the ſine of the azimuth contained by the meridian, and the vertical which the ſtar is in. This error therefore will be the ſame, whatever be the altitude of the ſtar, in the ſame vertical, and will be leaſt when the vertical is at right angles to the meridian. But will be abſolutely the leaſt in the ſame circumſtance if the obſerver be under the equator. In which caſe, if the error in the altitude be one minute, the error in the time will be four ſeconds. If the obſerver recedes from the equator towards either pole, the error will be increaſed in the proportion of the radius to the ſine complement of the latitude: So that in the latitude of 45 degrees it will be $5\frac{2}{3}$ ſeconds, and in the latitudes of 50 and 55 it will be $6\frac{2}{9}$ and $6\frac{17}{88}$ ſeconds reſpectively. If the ſtar be in any other vertical oblique to the meridian, the error will ſtill be increaſed in the proportion of the radius to the ſine of that oblique angle. Laſtly, if the error in the altitude be either bigger or leſs than one minute, the error in time will be bigger or leſs in the ſame proportion. Much after the ſame manner may the limits of errors be computed in other caſes which ariſe from the inaccuracy of obſervations, and from hence the moſt convenient opportunities for obſerving are alſo determined. The ſecond treatiſe is *concerning the differential method*. The author having wrote it before he had ſeen Sir Iſaac Newton's treatiſe upon that ſubject, has handled it after a manner ſomewhat different. The name of the third treatiſe is CANONOTECHNIA: or *concerning the conſtruction of Tables by differences*. It conſiſts of ten propoſitions, moſt admirably contrived for expeditious computation of intermediate terms in any given ſeries. The laſt propoſition, which contains a general ſolution of the whole deſign, is this. 'Some 'of the equidiſtant terms being given of any ſeries, the 'intervals of which are divided into any number of 'equal parts, let it be propoſed to find the intermediate 'terms. The book concludes with three ſmall tracts concerning the *Deſcent of Bodies*, *the motion of Pendulums in the Cycloid*, and *the motion of Projectiles*, delivered in a very natural and eaſy manner. Theſe tracts as the editor informs us, were all compoſed by Mr Cotes, when he was very young. He wrote alſo a *Compendium* of *Arithmetic*, of the *Reſolutions* of *Equations*, of *Dioptricks*, and of the *nature* of *curves*; all which pieces the learned editor declares his intention of publiſhing. Beſides theſe which were in Latin, he compoſed a courſe of Lectures in Engliſh, which were publiſhed by Dr Smith in 1737; ſince which time there has been a ſecond edition; the title of which we ſhall give at large for the reader's ſatisfaction.

HYDROSTATICAL *and* PNEUMATICAL LECTURES, *by* Roger Cotes, M. A. *late Profeſſor of Aſtronomy and Experimental Philoſophy at* Cambridge, *the ſecond Edition by* Robert Smith, D. D. *Maſter of Trinity College* Cambridge 1747, 8*vo*. The firſt edition was printed as is before obſerv'd in 1737, and both are inſcribed to his royal Highneſs William duke of Cumberland. E

COTTON (Sir ROBERT)

COTTON (Sir ROBERT) a moſt eminent Antiquarian, was born at Denton [*A*], near Connington in Huntingdonſhire, January 22, 1570 (*a*). His father was Thomas Cotton, Eſq; [*B*], the fourth of the name, and his mother Elizabeth daughter of Francis Sherley of Stanton in the County of Leiceſter, Eſq; Where this worthy perſon laid the foundation of that great knowledge of Antiquities he afterwards acquired, or what ſchool he was educated in, is unknown. However, when he was fit for the univerſity, he was admitted into Trinity-College in Cambridge (*b*), where he took the degreee of Bachelor of Arts in 1575(*). From thence he went and lived ſome time in the country with his Father. But finding, he wanted in that retired condition ſeveral opportunities of improvement, which

(*a*) Vita D. Rob. Cottoni Scriptore T. Smitho, p. 1, col. 1.

(*b*) Ibid. p. iv. col. 2. The old College-books being loſt, the exact time of his admiſſion cannot be known.

(*) From the Univerſity Regiſter and ſome of the College-books.

[*A*] *Was born at Denton*] The ancient ſeat of the Family was Connington; but Sir Robert's Grandfather being alive at the time of his Father's Marriage, the young married Couple went and lived at Denton (1).

[*B*] *His Father was Thomas Cotton, Eſq; &c.*] The Cotton Family has for many Years flouriſh'd in England, even long before the time of King Edward III. They took their ſurname from Cotton in the County Palatine of Cheſter; and from William de Cotton, who lived in that County, are derived all the eminent Families of that name in England. From this William was deſcended, in the fourth degree, William who married Agnes daughter and heir of Walter de Redware in the County of Stafford. His ſon was John, who, 12 Henry IV. married Iſabella daughter and heir of William Falconer of Thurcaſton in the County of Leiceſter. They had Richard who married Elizabeth, ſiſter and coheir of Sir Hugh Venables Knt. Their SECOND ſon was William, who, in the reign of Henry VI. married Mary daughter and heir of Robert Weſenham, Eſq; This William being ſlain at the battle of St Albans May 23, 1455, left his only ſon and heir Thomas great-great-grand-father of Sir Robert Cotton. Mary juſt now mention'd, was grand-daughter of Agnes daughter and coheir of John Brus (or Bruce) of Connington and Exton Eſq; and by her was the Connington Eſtate brought into the Cotton Family. This John Brus was lineally deſcended from Bernard ſecond ſon of Robert Brus Lord of Annandale in Scotland, and Iſabella daughter and coheir of David the ſecond Earl of Huntingdon. From this Robert and Iſabella was the Royal Family of Scotland deſcended; and by this means the Cotton-Family came to be related to the Kings of Scotland and England. On which account King James was wont to call Sir Robert Cotton *Couſin*; and Sir Robert uſed frequently to write his own Name, *Robert Cotton Bruce* (2).

(1) Vita Cottoni, ubi ſupra, p. i. col. 1.

(2) Ibid.

which he could have in a more publick place, he came to London; And having ſoon made himſelf known, was admitted into a Society of Antiquaries (c), which was compoſed of ſeveral very learned and eminent perſons [C]. Here, following the natural bent of his genius, he proſecuted the ſtudy of Antiquities with the utmoſt alacrity, and with uncommon ſucceſs: And, improving the favourable circumſtances that were preſented to him [D], he began in the eighteenth year of his age (d) to gather together ancient Records, Charters, and other Manuſcripts; and left at his death the choiceſt Collection of this kind that ever was ſeen in any Age or Nation. In 1599, or 1600 (e), he accompanied Mr Camden to Carliſle, who acknowledges to have received from his ſingular courteſy great light in thoſe obſcure and intricate matters, he treats of in his Britannia. And, probably, then it was that Mr Cotton brought from the Picts-Wall, ſeveral Roman Monuments ſtill to be ſeen at Connington (f). In the ſame year 1600 he writ a *Brief Abſtract of the Queſtion of Precedencie between England and Spaine* (g), which was occaſioned by Queen Elizabeth's deſiring the thoughts of the Antiquarian Society on that point, upon her ſending Sir Henry Nevill Embaſſador to Boulogne to treat of a peace with Archduke Albert (h). Having, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, rendered himſelf eminent for merit and learning, and being highly in favour with the Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton; he was, at the acceſſion of King James I, to the throne of England, created a Knight (i). During this whole reign he was very much courted, admired, and eſteemed by the greateſt men in the nation, and conſulted, as an Oracle, by the Privy-Counſellors, and the reſt of the Miniſters, upon every difficult point relating to our Conſtitution: As, namely, about the Union of England and Scotland—the Dignity and precedency of the Knights of the Bath—the Laws of England before the Conqueſt—about embaſing the Coin—the taxes granted from time to time to our Kings, &c (k). In 1608, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners to enquire into the State of the Navy, which had lain neglected ever ſince the death of Queen Elizabeth (l): And drew up a Memorial of their Proceedings, to be preſented to the King (m). In 1609 he writ 'a Diſcourſe of 'the lawfulneſs of Combats to be performed in the preſence of the King, or the Con-'ſtable and Marſhal of England (n).' And, 'An anſwer to ſuch Motives as were of-'fered by certain Military men to Prince Henry, to incite him to affect arms more than 'peace.' Compos'd at the command of that Prince (†).' For, ſeveral perſons that were about him, knowing his enterpriſing genius, were endeavouring to ſtir up in him an inclination to military affairs; which was not at all agreeable to the King his father's peaceable and timorous temper. But, what moſtly employed Sir Robert's thoughts was, the Collections he was ordered to make relating to the Revenue of the Crown, and the 'Manner and Means how the Kings of England have from 'time to time ſupported, and repaired their eſtates (o).' For King James having prodigally exhauſted his Treaſury, new Projects (as they were then called) were to be contrived to fill it up again. Accordingly, our ancient Hiſtories and Records were ſearched, to find out means and methods to repair the King's Revenue, and to diſcover the Courſes uſed by our Kings in raiſing Money (p). But of all the methods ſet down by Sir Robert and others, none proved ſo agreeable to the King, as the creating a new order of Knights, called *Baronets* [E]. Sir Robert Cotton, who had done great ſervice in that affair (q), was choſen to be one, being the twenty-ninth Baronet that was created. He was, ſoon after, employed by the ſame King, to write Animadverſions upon Buchanan's and Thuanus's Accounts of the Behaviour and Actions of Mary Queen of Scots, and to give a different turn to them from what had been done by thoſe two famous Hiſtorians (r). What he drew upon that ſubject is ſuppoſed to be interwoven in Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, or elſe printed

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(c) Ibid. p. vii. viii. ix. Life of W. Camden. Sir H. Spelman's Pref. to his Law-Terms.

(d) Vita R. Cottoni, ubi ſupra, p. vii. col. 1.

(e) Ibid. p. ix. Life of Camden.

(f) Camden's Britannia, col. 506, edit. 1720.

(g) It is in Cotton. Libr. Julius, C. IX. 21. See Caſley's Catal. p. 325.

(h) See Camden's Ann. ad ann. 1600; and Memorials, &c. publiſhed by E. Sawyer, Vol. I. p. 186, &c.

(i) Vita R. Cot. ubi ſupra, p. x. col. 2.

(k) Ibid. p. xiii.

(l) Ibid. p. xiv. col. 1.

(m) It is in Cot. Libr. Julius, F. III.

(n) Printed at Lond. 1651 and 1672.

(†) It is in Cotton. Libr. Cleopatra, F. VI. 1.

(o) Extant, ibid. and in Cottoni Poſth.

(p) Vita R. Cotton. p. xiv. xv. xvi.

(q) Ibid.

(r) Ibid. p. xvi. xvii.

[C] *A Society of Antiquaries, &c.*] The firſt riſe of this Society was 1590, when ſeveral ingenious Lovers of Antiquities agreed to meet every Friday in Term-time, at Derby-Houſe, where the Heralds Office is now kept. Two Queſtions were propoſed at every meeting, which were to be handled at the next. But many of the chief Supporters of it either dying, or removing from London, it was diſcontinued for about twenty years. At laſt in 1614, it was reviv'd by Sir James Ley Attorney of the Court of Wards, afterwards Earl of Marlborough, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir John Davis his Majeſty's Attorney for Ireland, Sir Richard St George Norroy, William Hackwell the Queen's Sollicitor, Mr Camden, Sir Henry Spelman: To whom may be added ſuch of the old Foundation as were ſtill living, *viz.* Arthur Agard, Lancelot Andrews, Henry Bourchier, Richard Broughton, Richard Carew, William Dethick, Sir John Dodderidge, ——— Doyley, William Fleetwood, Abrah. Hartwell, Michael Heneage, Joſeph Holland, Thomas Lake, Francis Leigh, ——— Oldworth, William Patten, John Stow, Thomas Talbot, Francis Thynne, James Whitlock, &c. They met at the ſame place as the former.—The firſt Society petitioned Queen Elizabeth, to be incorporated into a Society, or Academy, for the ſtudy of Antiquities and Engliſh Hiſtory; but for fear That ſhould be prejudicial to our two Univerſities, their Petition was rejected; As it was alſo in the next reign. And at laſt the ſuſpicious Court of King James I. taking umbrage at their Meetings, they diſſolv'd themſelves of their own accord (3). What Subjects they handled, the curious Reader may ſee in Sir Robert Cotton's Life, by Dr T. Smith, prefixed to his Catalogue of the Cottonian Library, p. ix. (See article AGARD (ARTHUR).

[D] *And, improving the favourable circumſtances that were preſented to him, &c.*] For there were many ſuch MSS. diſperſed about, which had been taken out of the Libraries belonging to the Monaſteries, that that were then but newly diſſolv'd.

[E] *Of all the methods —— none proved ſo agreeable to the King, as the creating a new order of Knights, called Baronets.*] By which he could eaſily raiſe a hundred thouſand pounds; as each Baronet was to pay, at three payments, as much as would maintain for the ſpace of three years, thirty foot Soldiers, to ſerve in the Province of Ulſter in Ireland, at 8d a day, which amounted to 1095*l.* This Title was not unknown in our Records, for, 13 Edward III. it was granted to William de la Pole, and his heirs; and mention is made of it in an Agreement between King Richard II. and ſeveral Earls, Barons, and Baronetts, &c (4).

(3) Vita D. Rob. Cottoni, ubi ſupra, p. vii. viii. ix. Sir H. Spelman's Preface to Law Terms.

(4) Cotton. Libr. Nero D. VI. 16. & Vita Cotton. p. xvi. col. 1.

printed at the end of Camden's Epiſtles. In 1616 the ſame King, who was always a favourer of the Papiſts, and never cared to put the laws againſt them in execution, finding the Nation uneaſy on account of their ſwarming in the Kingdom, he ordered Sir Robert to examine, Whether, by the laws of the land, they ought to be put to death, or impriſoned? which Sir Robert performed with great learning (s), and writ upon that occaſion, ‘ Twenty-four Arguments, whether it be more expedient to ſuppreſs Popiſh practices ‘ againſt the due allegiance of his Majeſty, by the ſtrict executions touching Jeſuits ‘ and Seminary Prieſts? or, to reſtrain them to cloſe priſons, during life, if no reformation ‘ follows (*).’ Probably then, likewiſe, he compoſed ‘ Conſiderations for the ‘ repreſſinge of the encreaſe of Preeſts, Jeſuits, and Recuſants, without drawinge of ‘ blood (t).’ He was alſo employed by the Houſe of Commons, when the match between Prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain was in agitation, to ſhow, by a ſhort examination of the treaties between England and the Houſe of Auſtria, the Unfaithfulneſs and Inſincerity of the latter, and to prove, that in all their Tranſactions they aimed at nothing but univerſal Monarchy (u). In 1621, at the requeſt of the Lord Montague of Boughton, he compiled ‘ A Relation to prove, That the Kings of England have been pleaſed to con‘ſult with their Peeres in the Great Councell and Commons in Parliament, of Marriadge, ‘ Peace and War [F].’ He writ likewiſe a Vindication of our Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution, againſt the Innovations that were attempted to be brought in by the Puritans; in ‘ An ‘ Anſwer to certain Arguments raiſed from ſuppoſed Antiquity, and urged by ſome mem‘bers of the lower houſe of Parliament, to prove that eccleſiaſtical lawes ought to be ‘ enacted by Temporal men (w).’ Being a Member of the firſt Parliament of King Charles I. he joined in the Complaints of the Grievances which the Nation was then ſaid to groan under. But, however, he was always for mild remedies; and intended the King's Honour and Safety, and the Nation's Advantage [G], as appeared by the honeſt Advice he gave in 1627. For, being called before the King and Council, to deliver his Opinion, in point of Hiſtory and Law, upon the juncture of affairs then, he declared (x), ‘ That ‘ thoſe Engliſh Princes, who had moſt oppoſed [the growing Power of the Houſe of ‘ Auſtria,] had always the affections and hearts of their People. That this was the buſineſs ‘ of the preſent reign, and the deſire of the Engliſh Nation. That to carry on this de‘ſign the King muſt have Money; and no way to get money with ſpeed, aſſurance, and ‘ ſatisfaction but by grant of Parliament: No way to diſpoſe a Parliament to ſuitable Grants ‘ but by removing all Jealouſies, eſpecially thoſe relating to Religion and Liberties: And ‘ nothing more plauſible than for the Duke of Buckingham to be the firſt adviſer of calling ‘ ſuch a Parliament (y). He was alſo conſulted about the Impriſonment of thoſe Gentlemen, who had refuſed to contribute to the Loan (z): And about a Project then ſet on foot, to enhance the value of the Coin, in order to raiſe money for the King, when he could not obtain any from his Parliaments. This Project Sir Robert oppoſed to the utmoſt of his power, and ſhowed in a Speech before the Privy-Council, Sept. 2, 1626, what a Diſhonour ſuch an Alteration would be to his Majeſty, and how great a Loſs and Prejudice to the Subject (a). He writ Books upon ſeveral other ſubjects, that remain in manuſcript; namely, (b) Of Scutage—Of Encloſures, and converting arable Land into paſture—The Antiquity, authority, and office of the High-Steward and Marſhall of England—The antiquity, etymology, and privileges of Caſtles—and of Towns—Of the meaſures of Land—The Antiquity of Coats of Arms—Curious Collections—about military affairs—and Trade—Collections out of the Rolls of Parliament, different from thoſe printed under his name [H]. He likewiſe

(s) Vita, ut ſupra, p. xvii. xviii.

(*) Printed at London, among Cottoni Poſthuma, 1672, p. 109.

(t) It is in the Royal Library 18 B. xxiv. 4. See D. Caſley's Catal.

(u) Vita, ut ſupra, p. xix. It is printed among Cottoni Poſthuma, p. 91, under the title of *A Remonſtrance of the Treaties of Amity, &c.*

(w) Ibid. p. xxi. See Cottoni poſthuma, p. 202, &c.

(x) This ſeems to be the ſubſtance of the treatiſe, intituled, ‘ The danger ‘ wherein this ‘ kingdom now ‘ ſtandeth, and ‘ the remedy.’ *Cottoni Poſthuma*, p. 308, &c.

(y) Ruſhworth, Hiſtor. Collect. Vol. I. p. 467.

(z) See Ruſhw. ibid. p. 422, 428. Vita R. Cotton, p. xxiii.

(a) Vita, &c. ubi ſupra. See the whole Speech in Cottoni Poſthuma, p. 285, &c.

(b) Vita, &c.

[F] *A Relation to prove, &c.*] This was printed at London in 1651: and 1672 among Cottoni Poſthuma, and in 1679, under the Title of ‘ The ‘ Antiquity and Dignity of Parliaments’ fol. but it is extreamly full of faults. There are good and exact Copies of it extant in manuſcript.

[G] *Intended the King's honour and ſafety, and the Nation's advantage.*] A certain writer obſerves, ‘ That he was no great friend to the Prerogative (4)’ that is, he was not inclined to come into all the violent Meaſures of the Court. The Speech he delivered in the lower Houſe of Parliament aſſembled at Oxford, is printed in Cottoni poſthuma (*)

[H] *Collections out of the Rolls of Parliament, &c.*] In 1657 William Prynne Eſq; publiſhed, *An exact Abridgment of the Records of the Tower of London, from the Reign of King Edward 2. unto King Richard 3. of all the Parliaments holden in each King's reign, and the ſeveral Acts in every Parliament*, &c. collected by Sir Robert Cotton Kt. and Bart. Lond. fol. 1657, (reprinted again 1679). ———— which the ſaid Mr Prynne did reviſe, rectify in ſundry miſtakes, and ſupplied with a Preface, marginal Notes, ſeveral omiſſions, and exact Tables. Tho', after all, it was not done by Sir Robert Cotton, but by Mr Bowyer, Keeper of the Tower Records in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign and begining of King James the firſt's, as Mr Tyrrel aſſerts in the Preface to his 3d vol. of the Hiſt. of England (p. ix.). —— The other works of Sir Robert Cotton, not already mentioned, are as follows, I. ‘ A relation of the Proceedings againſt Ambaſſadors ‘ who have miſcarried themſelves, and exceeded their ‘ Commiſſion.’ II. ‘ That the Soveraign's perſon is ‘ required in the Great Councells, or Aſſemblies of the ‘ State, as well at the conſultations as at the con‘cluſions.’ III. ‘ The argument made by the com‘mand of the Houſe of Commons (out of the Acts of ‘ Parliament, and authority of Law expounding the ‘ ſame) at a conference with the Lords, concerning ‘ the Liberty of the perſon of every Freeman.’ IV. ‘ A brief Diſcourſe concerning the power of the Peeres ‘ and Commons of Parliament in point of Judicature.’ Theſe four are printed in *Cottoni poſthuma*. V. ‘ A ‘ ſhort view of the long Life and Raigne of Henry the ‘ third, King of England: Written in 1614, and pre‘ſented to King James I.’ Printed 1627, *4to*, and reprinted in *Cottoni poſthuma*. VI. ‘ Money rais'd by ‘ the King without Parliament from the Conqueſt untill ‘ this day, either by Impoſition or free Gift, taken ‘ out of Records, or ancient Regiſters.’ Printed in the *Royal Treaſury of England*, or *General Hiſtory of Taxes*, by Capt. J. Stevens *8vo*. There is alſo publiſhed under his name, ‘ A Narrative of Count ‘ Gondamor's Tranſactions during his Embaſſy in ‘ England, London 1659, *4to*.’ In the Epiſtle Dedicatory, the Publiſher, John Rowland, ſays —— ‘ It

(4) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 616. edit. 1721.

(*) Page 273.

likewiſe made collections for the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Huntingdonſhire. And had formed this noble Deſign, To write an Account of the ſtate of Chriſtianity in theſe Iſlands, from the firſt reception of it here, to the Reformation. The firſt part of this deſign was executed by the learned Archbiſhop Uſher, in his book, *De Britannicarum Eccleſiarum primordiis*, compoſed probably at the requeſt of Sir Robert Cotton; who left eight Volumes of Collections for the continuation of that work (*c*). J. Speed's Hiſtory of England owes moſt of its value, and its ornaments, to Sir Robert Cotton. For he put in order ſome of the author's indigeſted materials, adding many curious obſervations of his own: As his fine Collection of Seals, Medals, &c. furniſhed it with thoſe Coins and Seals wherewith it is adorned (*d*). And Mr Camden acknowledges (*e*), to have received thoſe Coins that are in his Britannia, out of the Collection of the famous Sir Robert Cotton: Who, it ſeems, intended to have writ an account and explanation of them; but was unhappily hindered. To Richard Knolles, author of the Turkiſh Hiſtory, he communicated authentic Letters of the Maſters of the Knights of Rhodes; and the Diſpatches of Edward Barton, Embaſſador from Queen Elizabeth to the Porte: To Sir Walter Raleigh, Books and Materials for the ſecond Volume of his Hiſtory, never publiſhed: And the ſame to Lord Verulam, for his Hiſtory of Henry VII (*f*). The famous J. Selden was greatly indebted, for his learning and reputation, to the books and inſtructions of Sir Robert Cotton, as he thankfully acknowledges in more places than one (*g*). In ſhort, this great and worthy man was the generous Patron of all lovers of Antiquities, and his Houſe and Library were always open to ingenious and inquiſitive perſons. And incredible is the ſervice that hath been done to Learning, eſpecially to the Hiſtory of theſe three Kingdoms, by his ſecuring, as he did, his valuable Library for the uſe and ſervice of poſterity [*I*]: Witneſs the Works of Sir Henry Spelman, Sir William Dugdale, the Decem Scriptores, Dr Gale, Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Strype's Works, Rymer's *Fœdera*, ſeveral pieces put out by T. Hearne; and every Book almoſt that hath been ſince publiſhed, relating to the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland. So valuable a Perſon, we may imagine, muſt have had many Friends and Acquaintance. The chief of them in the Britiſh Dominions, were, Henry Earl of Northampton, Thomas Earl of Arundel, Archbiſhop Uſher, Henry Earl of Bath, Edward Earl of Mancheſter, Henry Lord Boughton, James Montague Biſhop of Wincheſter, Sir John Dodderidge, Sir John Davis, David Powell, Hugh Holland, Arthur Agard Deputy Chamberlain of the Exchequer, Roger Doddeſworth, Richard Carew, William Burton, Sir James Ware, &c. And in foreign Parts, Janus Gruterus, Francis Sweertius, Andrew Ducheſne, John Bourdelot, Peter Puteanus, Nicolas Fabricius Peireſkius, &c (*h*). Thus Sir Robert Cotton having lived, reſpected and eſteemed both at home and abroad, died of a fever, in his houſe at Weſtminſter, May 6, 1631, aged ſixty years, three months, and fifteen days; and was buried in the ſouth Chancel of Connington-Church. He married Elizabeth, one of the daughters and co-heirs of William Brocas of Thedingworth in the County of Leiceſter, Eſq; by whom he left one only Son, Sir Thomas Cotton, Bart.

Note that the Cotton baronetcy, which ~~[illegible]~~ Sir Robert Cotton first possessed, has been extinct for a considerable number of years. But there are still two Cotton baronetcies. [illegible] Decʳ 1804.

'It bears in the frontiſpiece the name of that ever-'famous Antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, who was 'never wont to treaſure up any thing but what was 'rare; nor can I certainly ſay, whether it were penn'd 'by Himſelf or not. I inſiſt the more upon him, be'cauſe it was my chance to be one whom he vouch'ſafed to take by the hand a little before his death, I 'being ſent to him by my Lord Privie-Seal, to 'acquaint him that by my Lord's mediation, the King 'was reconciled to him: but his Anſwer was, That 'his heart was broken, and that it was now too late: 'whereby it appears, that Princes are ſometimes 'abuſed, and miſinformed, to the ruin of the beſt 'men.' —— We find, moreover, that he writ the following things —— 'An Abſtract or memorial of 'ſuch courſes as have been uſed in military affairs both 'at land and ſea, under 35 heads (5).—Extracts about 'Commerce, imperfect (6).— Short Memoranda from '1548 to 1553 (7).—Extracts about the Rights of the 'Crown and the Parliament (8).—Hiſtorical paſſages 'taken out of Letters from the year 1551 to 1573 (9). '—And the Notes and Collections for the reign of 'King Henery VIII, in Speed's Chronicle (10).

[*I*] *He ſecured his Library for the uſe and ſervice of poſterity.*] For he ordered in his will, That it ſhould not be ſold, but paſs to his Family, &c. As it was this valuable and curious Library that has rendered Sir Robert Cotton moſt famous, and is likely to perpetuate his name, it will be proper to give a larger Account of it. It conſiſts wholly of Manuſcripts; many of which being in looſe ſkins, ſmall Tracts, or very thin Volumes, when they were purchaſed, Sir Robert cauſed ſeveral of them to be bound up in one Cover. They relate chiefly to the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland, tho' the ingenious Collector refuſed nothing that was curious or valuable in any point of Learning. He lived indeed at a time when he had great opportunities of making ſuch a fine Collection: when there were many valuable Books yet remaining in private hands, which had been taken from the Monaſteries at their Diſſolution, and from our Univerſities and Colleges at their Viſitations: when ſeveral learned Antiquarians, ſuch as Joſceline, Noel, Allen, Lambarde, Bowyer, Elſinge, Camden, &c. died, who had made it their chief buſineſs to ſcrape up the ſcatter'd Remains of our Monaſtical Libraries; and, either by legacy or purchaſe, he became maſter of all that he thought valuable in their ſtudies (11). This Library was placed by Sir Robert Cotton in his own Houſe at Weſtminſter, near the Houſe of Commons, and very much augmented and enlarged by his ſon and grand-ſon, Sir Thomas and Sir John Cotton. In the reign of King William (12), an Act of Parliament was made for the better ſecuring and preſerving that Library in the name and Family of the Cottons, for the benefit of the public; that it might not be ſold, or otherwiſe diſpoſed, and embezzled. Sir John, great-grand-ſon of Sir Robert Cotton, having ſold Cotton-Houſe to the late Queen Anne, to be a repoſitory for the Royal as well as the Cottonian Library, an Act was made (13) for the better ſecuring of her Majeſty's purchaſe of that Houſe; and both Houſe and Library were ſettled and veſted in Truſtees: After which the Books were remov'd into a more convenient Room, the former being very damp, and Cotton-houſe was ſet apart for the uſe of the King's Library-keeper, who had there the Royal and Cottonian Libraries under his care. Some years after, the Cottonian Library was remov'd into a houſe near Weſtminſter-Abby, purchaſed by the Crown of the Lord Aſhburnham; where a Fire happening October 23, 1731, one hundred and eleven Books were loſt, burnt, or entirely defaced, and 99 render'd imperfect (14). And it was thereupon remov'd to the new Dormitory, and afterwards to the old Dormitory belonging to Weſtminſter-School.

(*c*) Ibid. p. xxiv. They are in Cotton Libr. Cleopatra E.

(*d*) Vita, &c. p. xxiv.

(*e*) Britannia, under the title *Romans in Britain*, at the end.

(*f*) Vita R. Cotton. p. xxiv. xxv.

(*g*) Dedicat. Analector. Britan. and of Hiſtory of Tithes.

(*h*) Vita R. Cottoni, ut ſupra, p. xxvi. xxvii.

(5) Cotton. Libr. Julius C. IV.

(6) Ibid. F. VI. 48.

(7) Ibid. Titus B. VI. 13. fol. 45.

(8) Ibid. F. 162.

(9) F. 177.

(10) A Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 530.

(11) Chamberlayne's Preſent State of Great Britain, p. 217, 218, edit. 1735.

(12) 12 William III. c. 7.

(13) 5 Anne, c. 30.

(14) Addit. to Catalog. of Cotton. Library, by D. Caſley, p. 313—317.

COVEL (JOHN) a very learned Divine, in the ſeventeenth, and beginning of the eighteenth Century, was born at Horningſhearth in Suffolk, in the Year 1638 (a) being the ſon of William Covel of that place (b). He was educated in Grammar-learning at St Edmund's-Bury, under Mr Stephens; and on the 31ſt of March 1654, in the ſixteenth year of his age, admitted into Chriſt's College in Cambridge, of which he was afterwards choſen Fellow (c). In the year 1657, he took the Degree of Batchelor of Arts, and that of Maſter in 1661 (d). Afterwards entering into holy Orders, he had the advantage of going, in 1670, as Chaplain to Sir Daniel Harvey (e), Embaſſador from King Charles II. to the Ottoman Porte: where he ſerved, in that quality, both him, and his ſucceſſor, Sir John Finch, for the ſpace of ſeven years (f). Some time after his Return to England he was created Doctor in Divinity, namely in 1679 (g); and the ſame year was choſen Lady Margaret's Preacher in the Univerſity of Cambridge (h). On the 5th of March 1680, he had inſtitution to the Sine-cure-Rectory of Littlebury in Eſſex, to which he was preſented by Dr Gunning Biſhop of Ely (i). And, on the 9th of November 1687, was inſtalled into the Chancellorſhip of York, conferr'd upon him by the King, during the vacancy of that ſee (k). The 7th of July 1688 he was elected Maſter of Chriſt's College (l), in which ſtation he behaved as a good and prudent Governor. He was alſo Rector of Kegworth in Liceſterſhire (m). In the year 1708, he ſerved the office of Vice-chancellor in the Univerſity of Cambridge (n). At length, after having led a kind of itinerant Life, [as he himſelf informs us (o),] at York, in Holland, and elſewhere; he arrived at his long Journey's end, on the 19th of December 1722, in the 85th year of his age: And was buried in the Chapel of Chriſt's College, where there is an Epitaph to his memory [A]. He gave a Benefaction of Three pounds a year to the poor of the pariſh of Littlebury above-mention'd (p). Having, during his ſeven years reſidence at Conſtantinople, had an opportunity of informing himſelf well of the ancient and preſent ſtate of the Greek Church, and collected ſeveral curious obſervations and notices relating thereto; he digeſted them, during the remainder of his Life, into a curious and uſeful Book, publiſh'd not long before his deceaſe. It is intituled, 'Some Account of the preſent Greek Church, with Reflections on their preſent Doctrine and Diſcipline; particularly in the Euchariſt, and the reſt of their ſeven pretended Sacraments, compared with Jac. Goar's Notes upon the Greek Ritual, or ΕΥΧΟΛΟ΄ΓΙΟΝ.' Cambridge MDCCXXII. fol. [B]. As for the Author's

[A] *Where there is an Epitaph to his memory*] As follows.

Lector,

Hic Sepultas habes, beatam Reſurrectionem expectantis, Reliquias venerabilis & eruditiſſimi Viri Johannis Covel S. T. P. nuper hujus Collegij Cuſtodis ſive Magiſtri, nec non Eccleſ. Cathedr. Eborac. Cancellarij.

Obiit Dec. XIX. A°. D. MDCCXXII

Ætat. LXXXV.

i. e. Here lye buried, in hopes of a bleſſed Reſurrection, the remains of that venerable and moſt learned man John Covel D. D. late Maſter of this College, and Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of York. He died Dec. 19. 1722 in the 85th Year of his Age.

[B] *Some Account of the preſent Greek Church* &c.] The chief occaſion of that work, was the great Controverſy which for ſeveral years was hotly debated in the laſt Century, by two of the moſt eminent Divines of France, Monſieur *Arnauld* Doctor of the Sorbonne, on the ſide of the Papiſts; and Monſieur *Claude* Miniſter of Charenton, in behalf of the Proteſtants. The former, not being content to ſay, That the Church in all ages believed Tranſubſtantation, did alſo poſitively affirm, That all the Eaſtern Churches do at this very day believe it, in the ſame ſenſe as it was defined by the Council of Trent. Mr Claude, in his anſwer to him, brought moſt authentic proofs of the contrary. Whereupon Arnauld ſet all the Miſſionaries of the Eaſt on work to procure Teſtimonies for him: Which, by bribes and other indirect means, they obtained in ſuch numbers, that there was, ſoon after, a large Quarto in French printed at Paris, full of the names of Patriarchs, Biſhops, and Doctors of thoſe Churches, who all approved the Roman Doctrine (1). But Monſ. Claude having had moſt certain Information, by means of a French Gentleman at Colchis, that ſome of thoſe Teſtimonies were meer Fictions; and others quite otherwiſe than they were told: He ſent ſome Queries into the Eaſt, and deſired the Engliſh Clergymen reſiding there, To enquire of the Greeks, and other Eaſtern Chriſtians of the beſt note, who had no correſpondence with the Romaniſts, nor were Emiſſaries of the Court of Rome, or retainers to them: 'Whether Tranſubſtantiation (μετουσιώσις) *i. e.* the real and natural change of the whole ſubſtance of the Bread into the ſame numerical ſubſtance as the Body of Chriſt which is in heaven, be an article of Faith amongſt them, and the contrary be accounted heretical and impious.' &c. (2) This ſet therefore Dr Covel upon examining throughly into that point. But, after all, he declares, that the Greeks, and Eaſterlings, are ſo far from being learned and well verſed in that Controverſy, that he never met with one amongſt them, who ever pretended fully to underſtand, much leſs ever offered to clear that matter. 'I have, ſays he, here and there met with an Eaſterling brought up in the College *de propaganda fide* at Rome, or elſewhere in Italy, who would ſometimes venture at a Solution to ſome difficulties about tranſubſtantiation; but it was ever done only by ſome ſcraps of the common evaſions and jargon of the Schools, and never with any ſatisfactory or ſolid reaſon. But from a native Greek, or Eaſterling, who was never out of his country, (though he was there a man of ſome dignity) I never could meet with any tolerable reaſoning or anſwer towards the clearing of the point. Many of my acquaintance would avoid any ſet diſcourſe about theſe matters. Some few who had pick'd up any ſcatter'd notions in the Eaſt, or elſewhere, from the Romiſh emiſſaries, would offer them very imperfectly, and as ill apply them. But as for the bulk of their Clergy (the far greateſt part of their Prelates and topping Miniſters) I do poſitively aſſert that they are in general profoundly ignorant in theſe points; and not one of a thouſand amongſt the ordinary Prieſts knows any thing of the matter. They have no books to read, but their Hours of Prayer, and common Church-Offices, which are very numerous; and in Country-Churches you will rarely find any of theſe, except their common Euchologium, their ordinary Prayers and Liturgies: and theſe, like parrots, they commonly mumble and hurry over by heart, and uſe them very imperfectly with ſtrange variety and confuſion (3).' Afterwards he obſerves, 'That we need not wonder at the want of Learning among the Greeks, and other Eaſterlings, ſince they have no Academies or Schools for inſtructing Students in any points of Philoſophy, Divinity, Mathematicks, or

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(a) This appears from his age at the time of his death, as mentioned below.

(b) See Catalogue of Preachers at Cambridge, prefixed to the Lady Margaret's Funeral Sermon, republiſhed by T. Baker, B.D. Lond. 1708, 8*vo*.

(b) From Memoirs communicated to us.

(c) From the College-Regiſter.

(d) From the Univerſity Regiſt.

(e) Sir Dan. Harvey was appointed Embaſſador to Conſtantinople in Auguſt 1668. The Hiſtorian's Guide, 8*vo*, edit. 1688, p. 72.

(f) See Some Account of the preſent Greek Church, &c. by J. Covel, D. D. Cambr. 1722, fol. in the Dedicat. p. 3; and Pref. p. 1.

(g) From the Univerſity Regiſt.

(i) Repertorium Eccleſ. &c. by R. Newcourt, Vol. II. p. 394.

(k) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. p. 81. See ibid. p. 59.

(l) J. Le Neve's Faſti, edit. 1716, fol. p. 432.

(m) Br. Willis, ibid.

(n) J. Le Neve, ubi ſupra, p. 409.

(o) Dedication to Account of the preſent Greek Church, as above.

(p) Hiſt. and Antiq. of Eſſex. by N. Salmon, p. 134.

(1) Preface to Some Account of the Greek Ch. p. 11.

(2) Ibid. p. ii. v. &c.

(3) Ibid p. vi. vii.

Author's Character; we are inform'd, that he was ' a perſon noted for polite and curious ' Learning, ſingular humanity, and knowledge of the World (q).' (q) T. Baker, ubi ſupra.

' or any other part of the polite Literature of ' Europe (4).' (4) Ibid. p. viii. Upon the whole therefore, we may eaſily judge, how incompetent Judges ſuch ignorant perſons are in that and other religious matters; and how little their teſtimonies are to be depended upon. Nor can it be really believ'd, that their Subſcriptions ' contain'd in them the real Faith or Sentiments of the ' whole Eaſtern Church, or the poſitive, firm, and ' clear belief of every particular Subſcriber (5).' (5) Ibid. p. xx.

In order to trace this point to its fountain and original Head, and to place it in a true light, our Author writ the *Account of the preſent Greek Church*, now before us. He divides the whole into *two Books*, whereof the *Firſt* contains *five* chapters,, and the *Second* but two. In the Iſt Chapter, ' he gives his private thoughts ' concerning the Chriſtian Communion in general.' And ſhews, how ſolemn, but withal how ſimple and plain, the celebration of the Euchariſt was in the Primitive Church. In the IId Chapter, he explains, ' How the familiar and primitive way, of breaking ' bread, and drinking wine together like brethren, ' joined with plain and known Forms of Prayer and ' Thankſgiving, in a devout remembrance of Chriſt, ' hath been loaded and clogg'd with amuſing Rites and ' empty Ceremonies.' And here he repreſents in figures the chief Ceremonies uſed by the Greeks at the adminiſtration of the Euchariſt; and gives an Engliſh tranſlation of their form of celebrating it, from St Chryſoſtome's Liturgy, printed in their Euchologium, or Prayer-book. The IIId Chapter contains ' ſome ' Notes upon that Liturgy, which is attributed to ' St Chryſoſtome.' In the IVth he gives his con' jecture, ' How the plain and familiar way of the firſt ' adminiſtration of the Euchariſt came to be turn'd into ' the preſent Greeks practice of conſecrating, and par' taking of, only a *few little bits and mites of* ' *bread*, [μερίδες or portions] and of giving to the ' Laity only *a little Spoonful of wine*.' The Vth Chapter contains ' ſome Obſervations concerning the ' firſt riſe of that new doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, ' and the endeavours uſed to propagate it over the ' whole Chriſtian world.' Under which he ſhews, That it was not introduc'd into the Greek Church, till after the taking of Conſtantinople by the Turks; that is, till after the Year of Chriſt 1453.——— The Iſt Chapter of the *Second* book treats of ' the Greeks ' ſeven Myſteries or Sacraments:' namely 1. Confirmation; 2. Prieſthood; 3. Orders; 4. Matrimony; 5 Penance; 6. Auricular Confeſſion; and 7. Extream Unction. The IId and laſt Chapter, is, ' Con' cerning Images, and the worſhip of Saints.'——The author intermixes throughout curious accounts of the Jewiſh, and Mahometan, cuſtoms and Ceremonies. He tells us for inſtance, that ' all over Turkey where ' he happen'd to travel, the common Bread is not ' much unlike our thicker ſort of Pancakes, being very ' ſoft, and ſeldom above a day old; ſo as you may ' wind it round your finger. This flat loaf, or rather ' cake, is round, and about the breadth of one of our ' plates, and about an inch thick at moſt. When we ' eat at an ordinary man's houſe, (be it Turk, Greek, ' Armenian, Jew, &c.) the maſter, or chief of the ' family, or ſome friend by his appointment, takes ' as many of theſe loaves, or cakes, as he thinks ſuf' cient for the preſent company, and with his hands ' *breaks*, or rather pulls them into pieces of moderate ' bigneſs, and ſtrews them all upon the table, or what' ever elſe they eat upon.' ——— Moreover, the ' common food in Turkey, be it boyl'd or roaſted, is ' never cook'd in whole joints, but in ſmall morſels; ' ſo that there is no uſe of knives at the table, but ' every one takes a bit of the bread, and dipping it in ' the diſh, he takes up with it a morſel of meat be' tween his thumb and his two fore fingers, and ſo puts ' all into his mouth together. If theſe morſels be ' boiled (as they often are with their *Churbaw*, or ' Potage) they firſt eat the potage with a wooden ſpoon, ' or ſop it up with bits of the bread, and then take up ' the more ſolid morſels remaining, and eat them (6).' (6) Account of the preſent Greek Church, &c. p. 1. The concluſion of the whole work is written with ſuch an excellent Spirit, that we cannot forbear laying it before the Reader— ' I have ſincerely and im' partially, and I hope candidly, ſet down *only my own* ' *private thoughts*, and I would not willingly be judged ' *an abſolute ſlave to any party*, but, as I really am, *a* ' *compaſſionate lover of every good Chriſtian who hearti*' *ly deſires to ſerve our God in Spirit and in truth*. I ' muſt verily think with myſelf that thoſe great Churches, ' which perfectly differ from us, *have in many things* ' *left their firſt Love, and have hewn out unto them*' *ſelves many broken ciſterns that can hold no water*. ' But God forbid that I ſhould raſhly return upon them ' their extravagant *anathema's*, or peremptorily ' *damn them*, that is, *deliver them unto Satan and ad*' *judge them all to Hell-fire*, as they ſerve *us*; *who am* ' *I* (poor, private, obſcure creature) *that I ſhould* ' *judge another's ſervant?* For my part I will leave them ' *to the righteous Judge of all the world, before whoſe* ' *Judgment-Seat we ſhall all one day* ſtand.'

The Author having made uſe of ſeveral curious (and before, unknown) Manuſcripts, he took care, for the Reader's ſatisfaction, to depoſit them in the late Earl of Oxford's Library, at Wimpole near Cambridge.

C

COVERDALE (Miles), Biſhop of Exeter in the reign of Edward VI, and author of ſeveral Tracts [*A*], was born in Yorkſhire, in the reign of Henry VII [*B*], and, being

[*A*] *He was author of ſeveral Tracts.*] He wrote I. *The Chriſtian Rule or ſtate of all the worlde from the higheſt to the loweſt: and how every man ſhulde lyve to pleaſe god in hys callynge.* II. *The Chriſten ſtate of Matrymonye, wherein huſbandes and wyfes maye lerne to keepe houſe together with loue. The Originall of holy wedloke: whan, where, how, and of whom it was inſtituted and ordeyned: what it is: how it ought to proceade: what be the occaſions, frute, and commodities thereof: contrarywyſe how ſhamefull and horrible a thinge whoredome and aduoutry * is:* (*) Adultery. *how one ought alſo to choſe hym a mete and convenient ſpouſe to kepe and increace the mutual loue, trouth and dewtye of wedloke: and how maried folkes ſhulde bring up theyer chyldren in the feare of god.* III. *A Chriſten Exhortation to cuſtomable Swearers. What a ryghte and lawfull othe is: whan, and before whome it oughte to be.* IV. *The maner of ſayenge grace, or gyvyng thankes to god, after the doctrine of holy ſcrypture.* IV. *The old Fayth: an evident probacion out of the holy ſcrypture, that the Chriſten Faith (which is the ryghte, true, olde, and undoubted fayth) hath endured ſens the beginnyng of the worlde. Herein haſt thou alſo a ſhort ſumme of the whole Byble, and a probacion, that al vertuous men have pleaſed god, and wer ſaved through the Chriſten fayth.* Theſe four pieces are printed together in a ſmall *duodecimo*, and a black letter, *an.* 1547. V. *A faythfull and true Pronoſtication upon the year* M. CCCC. xlix. *and parpetualy after to the worldes ende, gathered out of the prophecies and ſcryptures of god, by the experience and practiſe of his workes, very comfortable for all Chriſten hertes; devided into ſeven chapters.* VI. *A Spirituall Almanacke, wherein every Chriſten man and woman may ſee what they ought daylye to do, or leaue undone. Not after the doctrine of the Papiſtes, not after the lernynge of Ptolomy, or other heythen Aſtronomers, but out of the very true and wholſome doctryne of god our almyghty heavenly father, ſhewed unto us in his worde by his prophetes, apoſtels, but ſpecyaly by his dere ſonne Jeſus Chriſt: and is to be kept not onely this newe yeare, but contynualy unto the daye of the lorde's comyng agayne.* Theſe two were printed in a thin *duodecimo*, and a black letter, at London by Richard Kele, ' dwellynge at the longe ſhoppe in the Poultry ' under ſaynt Myldreds church, *cum privelegio ad im*' *primendum ſolum*.' Bale aſcribes ſome other pieces to our author; particularly, *A Confutation of John Standiſh*, a tract on the *Lord's Supper*, *A Concordance to the New Teſtament*, *A Chriſtian Catechiſm*; and ſome *tranſlations* from Bullinger, Luther, Oſiander, Johannes Campenſis, and Eraſmus (1). (1) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. 9. n. 61.

[*B*] *Born in the reign of Henry* VII.] This I infer from his dying an old man in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, being educated in the Romiſh religion, became an Auguſtin Monk. Afterwards, embracing the Reformation, he entered into holy Orders (*a*) [*C*]. He aſſiſted William Tindal in the Engliſh Verſion of the Bible, publiſhed in 1537, and afterwards reviſed and corrected the edition of it in a larger volume, with notes, in 1540 (*b*). Auguſt the 14th (*c*), 1551, he ſucceeded Dr John Harman in the ſee of Exeter, being promoted *propter ſingularem ſacrarum literarum doctrinam, moreſque probatiſſimos* (*d*), i. e. ‘ on account of his ‘ extraordinary knowledge in Divinity, and his unblemiſh'd character (*e*)’. The Patent for conferring this biſhoprick on him, tho' a married man, is dated Auguſt 14, 1551, at Weſtminſter (*f*). Upon the change of religion in Queen Mary's reign, Biſhop Coverdale was ejected from his ſee, and thrown into priſon; out of which he was releaſed at the earneſt requeſt of the King of Denmark, and, as a very great favour, permitted to go into baniſhment. Soon after Queen Elizabeth's acceſſion to the throne, he return'd from his exile, but refuſed to be reſtored to his biſhoprick. He died, in a good old age, at London, and lyes buried in the church of St Bartholomew-Exchange (*g*) [*D*].

(*a*) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. 9. n. 61.

(*b*) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 183.

(*c*) Godwin, ubi infra, ſays the 20th.

(*d*) 1 Pat. 5 Ed. VI. p. 1.

(*e*) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 680.

(*f*) Rymer's Fœdera, &c. Vol. XV. p. 283.

(*g*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. inter epiſc. Exon. an. 1551.

Elizabeth. For, ſuppoſing him to have died about the ſeventieth year of his age, and not many years (as is moſt probable) after Queen Elizabeth's acceſſion in 1558, the year of his birth will fall ſomewhere between 1490 and 1500. But Henry VII. began his reign in 1485, and died in 1509.

[*C*] *Went into holy Orders.*] Bale tells us (2), he was one of the firſt, who, upon the revival of the Church of England, together with Dr Robert Barns, taught the purity of the Goſpel, and dedicated himſelf wholly to the ſervice of the reformed religion. *Ex primis unus erat, qui renaſcente Anglorum eccleſia, cum Roberto Barnſo, ſuæ profeſſionis doctore, Chriſtum pure docuit. Alii partim, hic ſe totum dedidit ad propagandam evangelii regni Dei Gloriam.*

(2) Ibid.

[*D*] *Lyes buried in the Church of St Bartholomew-Exchange.*] Upon his Grave-ſtone is the following Inſcription (3):

(3) Maitland's Hiſtory of *London*, p. 377.

Hic tandem requiemque ferens finemque laborum
  Oſſa Coverdali mortua tumbus habet:
Exoniæ qui præſul erat digniſſimus olim,
  Inſignis vitæ vir probitate ſu æ.
Octoginta annos grandævus vixit et unum,
  Indignum paſſus ſæpius exilium.
Sic tandem variis jactatus caſibus iſte
  Excipitur gremio, terra benigna, tuo.

I have been obliged to make ſome alterations in this Epitaph, which ſeems to have been faultily tranſcribed in my author: for in the third line he has put *Oxoniæ* for *Exoniæ*; in the ſixth, *indigni* for *indignum*; in the ſeventh, *jactabam* for *jactatus*, and *iſta* for *iſte*; and in the laſt line *excepitur* for *excipitur*, and *ſuo* for *tuo*.

T

COURTNEY (William), Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the reign of King Richard II, was the fourth ſon of Hugh Courtney, Earl of Devonſhire, by Margaret, daughter of Humphrey Bohun Earl of Hereford and Eſſex, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of King Edward I (*a*); and was born in the year 1341 (*b*). He had his education at Oxford, where he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Civil and Canon Law. Afterwards, entring into holy Orders, he obtained three Prebends in three Cathedral Churches, *viz.* thoſe of Bath, Exeter, and York (*c*). The nobility of his birth, and his eminent learning, recommending him to public notice, in the reign of Edward III, he was promoted, in 1369, to the ſee of Hereford (*d*), and from thence tranſlated to the ſee of London, September the 12th 1375, being then in the 34th year of his age (*e*). In a Synod, held at London in 1376, Biſhop Courtney diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his oppoſition to the King's demand of a ſubſidy [*A*]; and preſently after he fell under the diſpleaſure of the High Court of Chancery, for publiſhing a Bull of Pope Gregory II, without the King's conſent [*B*]. The next year, in obedience to the Pope's mandate, he cited Wickliff to appear before his tribunal in St Paul's church: but that hereſiarch being accompanied by John of Ghaunt Duke of Lancaſter, and other nobles, who ſecretly favoured his opinions [*C*], the Biſhop

(*a*) Barnes's Life of King Edward III. Cambr. 1688, p. 904.

(*b*) *This appears from his age at the time of his promotion to the See of London.*

(*c*) M. Parker, De Antiq. Eccleſ. Brit. Ed. S. Drake Lond. 1729, fol. p. 398.

(*d*) Id. ib. & Godwin, De Præſul. Angl. inter Epiſc. Heref. an. 1369.

(*e*) Regiſtr. Sudbury.

[*A*] *He oppoſed the King's demand of a ſubſidy.*] He laid before the Synod a written account of ſome injuries offer'd to him, and William Wickham biſhop of Wincheſter, and conjured the Clergy not to grant the ſubſidy required, till ſatisfaction was made for them. The Synod hereupon being divided, the King cou'd not obtain a ſubſidy, till he had given hopes of redreſs; which however he thought no more of after the breaking up of the Synod (1)

(1) M. Parker, De Antiq. Eccleſ. Brit. *Ed.* S. Drake, Lond. 1729, fol. p. 383; and Wharton, De Epiſc. &c. Londin. *London*, 1695, *8vo*, p. 137.

[*B*] *He publiſh'd a Bull of Pope Gregory* II. *without the King's conſent.*] The Affair was this: Pope Gregory II. had lately excommunicated the Florentines, and had diſpatched his Bulls every where, ordering their effects to be ſeized. The biſhop of London, without conſulting the King, publiſh'd the Pope's Bull at Paul's Croſs, and gave the populace licence to plunder the houſes of ſuch Florentines as were in the City. The Lord Mayor hereupon, reſtraining the violence of the people, clapp'd a ſeal on the doors of the Florentines, and conducted them to the King, who took them into his protection. Afterwards, by order of the King, the biſhop of Exeter, Lord High Chancellor, ſummon'd the biſhop of London into the Court of Chancery, to anſwer for having dared to publiſh the Pope's Bull, without conſent of the King and council, and contrary to the laws of the land. Courtney pleaded the Pope's authority and command. But the Chancellor gave ſentence, that he ſhould either forfeit his temporalities, or revoke his words with his own mouth. With ſome difficulty the biſhop of London obtain'd, that he might re-call them by one of his officers; and accordingly an Official mounted Paul's Croſs, and addreſs'd the people in theſe words: *My Lord ſaid nothing about the Interdict: it is ſtrange you ſhould miſunderſtand, who hear ſo many ſermons from this place* (2).

(2) Chronic. *Eulogium* dictum. *Apud* Wharton, ubi ſupra, p. 138.

[*C*] *The Duke of Lancaſter, and other Nobles, ſecretly favoured* Wickliff's *opinions.*] This appeared openly by their behaviour upon this occaſion. The Duke of Lancaſter, the Lord Marſhal Percy, and others, countenanced Wickliff by their preſence in the biſhop of London's Court. There was a vaſt concourſe of people about St Paul's church, ſo that the Lord Percy could not paſs thro' the crowd without difficulty. Courtney was alarmed at Wickliff's appearance in ſo extraordinary a manner: upon which there enſued the following dialogue between the Biſhop and the two Lords above-mention'd; which I ſhall ſet down in Fox's language (*).

(*) Acts and Monuments.

‘ *Biſhop*

Biſhop proceeded no farther than to enjoin him and his followers ſilence (*f*). In 1378, it is pretended, Courtney was made a Cardinal [*D*]. In 1381, he was appointed Lord High Chancellor of England (*g*). The ſame year, he was tranſlated to the ſee of Canterbury (*h*), in the room of Simon Sudbury [*E*]; and on the 6th of May 1382, he received the Pall from the hands of the Biſhop of London in the archiepiſcopal palace at Croydon. This year alſo he performed the ceremony of crowning Queen Anne, conſort of King Richard II, at Weſtminſter (*i*). Soon after his inauguration, he reſtrained, by eccleſiaſtical cenſures, the bailiffs, and other officers, of the ſee of Canterbury, from taking cognizance of adultery and the like crimes [*F*]. About the ſame time, he held a Synod at

(*f*) Walſingham, Hiſt. Angl. p. 192. *apud* Wharton, De Epiſc. &c. Londin. *Lond.* 1695, p. 139.

(*g*) Dugdale, Chr. Servient. p. 52.

(*h*) Regiſtr. Courtney.

(*i*) Harpsfield, Hiſt. Eccl. Angl. *Duaci*, 1622, p. 536.

‘*Biſhop Courtney.* Lord *Percy*, if I had known before hand what maſteries you wou'd have kept, I wou'd have ſtopt you out from coming hither,

‘*Duke of Lancaſter.* He ſhall keep ſuch maſteries here, tho' you ſay nay.

‘*Lord Percy.* *Wickliff*, ſit down, for you have many things to anſwer to, and therefore have need of a ſoft ſeat.

‘*Biſhop Courtney.* It is unreaſonable that one cited before his Ordinary ſhould ſit down during his anſwer; he ſhall ſtand.

‘*Duke of Lancaſter.* The Lord *Percy*'s motion for Wickliff is but reaſonable. And as for you, my lord biſhop, who are grown ſo proud and arrogant, I will bring down the pride, not of you only; but of all the prelacy in England. Thou beareſt thy ſelf ſo; brag upon thy parents, which ſhall not be able to help thee; they ſhall have enough to do to help themſelves.

‘*Biſhop Courtney.* My confidence is not in my parents, nor in any man elſe, but only in God in whom I truſt, by whoſe aſſiſtance I will be bold to ſpeak the truth.

‘*Duke of Lancaſter.* Rather than take theſe words at the biſhop's hands, I'll pluck him by the hair of the head out of the church.

Theſe laſt words, tho' ſpoken ſoftly by the Duke to one next him, were over-heard by the Londoners, who, being enraged to ſee their biſhop thus uſed, would have torn the duke to pieces, had not Courtney interpoſed, and checked their fury. However they could not be reſtrained from marching directly to the Duke of Lancaſter's palace in the Savoy, which they plundered, and were preparing to ſet fire to it; when the biſhop, leaving his dinner, haſtened to the Savoy, and, by his preſence and intreaties, quieted the tumult, and ſaved the duke's houſe (3). And here we cannot but take notice of the generous and Chriſtian temper of the biſhop of London, in appearing thus heartily in behalf of the Duke of Lancaſter, after he had been ſo lately outraged by him. Nor is the zeal of the Londoners, and their affection for their biſhop ſhewn on this occaſion, leſs remarkable.

[*D*] *It is pretended, he was created a Cardinal.*] This is biſhop Godwin's opinion, which he founds upon the hiſtorian Thomas Walſingham, who writes, that the biſhop of London was one of thoſe, whom Urban VI promoted to the Cardinalate in 1378. Ciaconius alſo and Onuphrius affirm, that a biſhop of London was, about that time, created a Cardinal; but his name, they tell us, was Adam. Now it is not to be doubted, that one Adam Eſton, an Engliſhman, was honoured with the red hat; but Bale (*), and other authors, tell us, it was by Gregory II. If therefore a biſhop of London was made a Cardinal by Urban VI. in 1378, it muſt be Courtney (4). You ſee biſhop Godwin's argument: upon which M. Aubery (5) makes the following remark. ‘Godwin, a modern author, will have it, that Adam Eſton was one of the creatures of Pope Gregory II, Urban's predeceſſor; and as one abſurdity is uſually followed by another, this writer, by his own authority, creates a new Cardinal, whom he calls William Courtney biſhop of London, becauſe Thomas Walſingham writes, that the biſhop of London was one of thoſe, whom Urban VI promoted to the Cardinalate in 1378. It muſt certainly be acknowledged, that Godwin does not deal fairly in this matter; ſince, for fear of being obliged to recognize Adam Eſton for biſhop of London, he has ſet down but half his epitaph, † and has purpoſely omitted the other part, by which the reader might have been informed, that our Cardinal was actually biſhop of London. It muſt however be obſerved, that S. Contelorio writes, that William Courtney, being nominated to the Cardinalate in 1378, would never conſent to his promotion. But the Engliſh writers will not agree, that there were two biſhops of London created Cardinals ſucceſſively by the ſame Pope Urban VI. So that, probably, either Adam Eſton was not biſhop of London, which I cannot aſſent to, ſince his epitaph, reported by creditable authors, proves the contrary; or William Courtney was not created a Cardinal.' See this queſtion diſcuſſed in the *Article* ESTON ADAM. In the mean time, I ſhall only obſerve here, that neither is Cardinal Eſton acknowledged for biſhop of London by our own writers, nor biſhop Courtney for a Cardinal by foreigners.

[*E*] *He ſucceded Simon Sudbury in the See of Canterbury.*] He was elected by the Monks of Canterbury, July the 30th 1380 (6), and confirmed by the Pope's Bull of September the 9th 1381, which was publiſhed January the 9th 1382 (7). Having received the Temporalities, and done homage to the king, he repaired to Lambeth; and on the 12th, a Monk of Canterbury came thither, being ſent by the Prior and Convent with the archiepiſcopal croſs: which he delivered to the Archbiſhop, ſitting in his chapel, with theſe words: ‘Reverend father, I am the meſſenger of the ſupreme King, who intreats, commands, and enjoins, that you take upon you the government of his Church, and that you love and protect it: In token of which meſſage, I deliver into your hand the banner of the ſupreme King.' *Pater Reverende, nuncius ſum ſummi regis, qui te rogat, mandat, et præcipit ut eccleſiam ſuam regendam ſuſcipias, eamque diligas et protegas: In cujus ſignum nuncii, ſummi regis vexillum tibi trado ferendum* (8). The archbiſhop, not having yet received the Pall, was doubtful whether the Croſs might be carried, as uſual, before him, and whether he had a right to crown the new queen. But theſe ſcruples were eaſily removed by the monks of Canterbury, who brought precedents for both. Nevertheleſs the archbiſhop, though, upon the authority of the monks, he ſuffered the Croſs to be carried before him, yet cautiouſly entered a Proteſt, that he did not do it in contempt of the Court of Rome. *Archiepiſcopus autem, accepta a monacho cruce, dubitationem ipſe hanc injecit: An Crucem ante ſe perferri liceat, antequam a Papa pallium accepiſſet. Ex eaque quæſtione alia dubitatio nata eſt. Regis Bohemiæ ſoror regi Angliæ Richardo Secundo nuptura in Angliam hoc tempore venit. Has regias nuptias Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopus jure, ut diximus, metropolitico celebrare, et reginam coronare debuit. De quo non minus ante acceptum pallium, quam de cruce gerenda, dubitavit. Qui tam perplexus dubitationis ſcrupulus non à Juriſconſultis et Cauſidicis, ſed à Monachis Cantuarienſibus, qui actus crebros et frequentes rerum ſimiliter ſine pallio geſtarum proferebant, et Cantuarienſis Eccleſiæ conſuetudinem allegabant, facile ſublatus eſt. Et tamen archiepiſcopus, etſi ex monachorum aſſertione, geſta ante ſe cruce, inceſſit. Proteſtationem cautè interpoſuit: Non ſe id in Romanæ Curiæ contemptum facere* (9).

[*F*] *He reſtrained the officers of the ſee of Canterbury from taking cognizance of adultery, and the like crimes.*] He extended his cenſures to others, who were guilty of the like offence: for, about two years after, we are told (10), he excommunicated one Richard Iſmonger, a Kentiſh-man, for pretending to puniſh crimes, cognizable only in the eccleſiaſtical courts, by meer lay authority. Who, or in what office, this perſon was, we are not told: but, it ſeems, he could not obtain abſolution, but by ſubmitting to be beaten with a cudgel, naked, three ſucceſſive market-days, in the open market-place of Weſt-Maling; to have the ſame puniſhment repeated in the market-places of Maidſtone and Canterbury; and, at the latter place,

(3) Harpsfield, Hiſtor. Wickleff. *in calce* Hiſt. Eccl. Angl. *Duaci*, 1622, p. 683; & Walſing. Hiſt. Angl. p. 191, 192. *Apud* Wharton, ubi ſupra, p. 138, 139.

(*) De Script. Brit. Centur. 7. n. 15.

(4) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Londinenſ. an. 1375.

(5) Hiſtoire General des Cardinaux. Paris 1642, 4to, Tom. I. p 624, 625.

(†) In his Cardinalium Catalogus, &c. n. 31.

(6) Regiſtr. Eccl. Cantuar.

(7) Regiſtr. Courtney.

(8) Verba Archiv. *apud* M. Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 398.

(9) M. Parker, ibid.

(10) Id. ib. p. 400.

at London, in which ſeveral of Wickliff's tenets were condemned as heretical and erroneous [*G*]. In 1383, he held a ſynod at Oxford, in which a ſubſidy was granted to the King [*H*]. The ſame year, in purſuance of the Pope's Bull directed to him for that purpoſe, he iſſued his mandate to the Biſhop of London for celebrating the feſtival of St Anne, mother of the bleſſed Virgin (*k*). In 1384, he had a conteſt with the Earl of Arundel, ſome of whoſe ſervants had robbed one of his fiſh-ponds [*I*]. The ſame year, the King, by the advice of his Parliament, put the adminiſtration of the government into the hands of eleven Commiſſioners [*K*], of whom Archbiſhop Courtney was the firſt (*l*). In 1387, he held a ſynod at London, in which a tenth was granted to the King (*m*). The ſame year, it being moved in a Parliament, held at London on occaſion of the diſſenſion between the King and his nobles, to inflict capital puniſhment on ſome of the ringleaders, and it being prohibited by the Canons for Biſhops to be preſent and vote in caſes of blood, the Archbiſhop and his ſuffragans withdrew from the houſe of Lords (*n*), having firſt entered a Proteſt in relation to their Peerage [*L*]. In 1399, he held a ſynod in St Mary's church in Cambridge, in which a tenth was granted to the King [*M*], on condition that

he

place, to enter naked into the Cathedral Church, and offer a wax taper of five pounds weight at the ſhrine of Thomas Becket.

[*G*] *He held a ſynod, in which Wickliff's tenets were condemned as heretical and erroneous.*] A more particular account of this ſynod will be found in the article WICKLIFF. Robert Rigge, Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, and Thomas Brightwell, Doctor in Divinity, being ſuſpected of favouring Wickliff's doctrines, appeared before this ſynod, and were obliged to diſclaim thoſe tenets, and ſubſcribe to the contrary. Nicholas Hereford and Philip Repindon, Doctors in Divinity, and John Aſheton, maſter of Arts, were accuſed in the ſame ſynod of hereſy, and, refuſing to purge themſelves, were excommunicated. The King, in ſupport of this eccleſiaſtical ſeverity, directed his letters to the archbiſhop and his ſuffragans, impowering them to ſeize and impriſon all perſons ſuſpected of the aforeſaid hereſy (11).

[*H*] *A ſynod at Oxford, in which a ſubſidy was granted to the King.*] It was held in St Fridiſwide's monaſtery. Archbiſhop Courtney officiated at divine ſervice, and the ſermon was preached by the Chancellor Dr Rigge. After the affair of the ſubſidy was over, the biſhops proceeded to enquire after perſons ſuſpected of hereſy: upon which occaſion, Nicholas Hereford, Philip Repindon, and John Aſheton, excommunicated in the laſt ſynod, recanted their opinions, and were abſolved. And, to ſecure the Univerſity from latitude in opinion, all the Graduates were obobliged to ſwear a renuntiation of Wickliff's tenets condemn'd at London (12).

[*I*] *The Earl of Arundel's ſervants had robbed one of the archbiſhop's fiſh-ponds.*] It was at his mannor of South-Maling in the dioceſe of Chicheſter. The Earl's ſervants had dragged the pond, and cleared it of all the fiſh. The archbiſhop, in a great rage, ordered the biſhop of Chicheſter to excommunicate the robbers, whom he ſtyled ſacrilegious perſons, and violaters of the Church of Canterbury. The Earl hereupon applied to the King, deſiring his majeſty to take cognizance of the affair, that he might not incur the ſentence of excommunication. The King complying with with Earl's requeſt, the archbiſhop wrote to the biſhop of Chicheſter, to revoke the excommunication. And thus the affair dropped. *Archiepiſcopus, qui in Wickliffianos ante vehementiſſimus erat, jam in Arundeliæ comitem magnam controverſiam inſtituit. Hujus ſervuli piſcinam in archiepiſcopi manerio de Southmalling Ciceſtrenſis dioceſis ſublatis piſcibus evacuaverunt. Quo facto archiepiſcopus in magnam actus ſævitiam Ciceſtrenſi Epiſcopo mandavit, ut piſcinæ ſuæ prædones, quos ſacrilegos et Cantuarienſis eccleſiæ violatores nominavit, excommunicatione feriret. Comes autem Regem adiit, petiitque, ut de ea controverſia, ne excommunicationem incurrat, in ſua præſentia tranſigatur. Atque Archiepiſcopus, poſtquam Rex hujus controverſiæ cognitionem ſuſcepiſſet, ad Ciceſtrenſem Epiſcopum ſcripſit, ut latas excommunicationes revocaret* (13).

[*K*] *The King put the adminiſtration of the government into the hands of eleven Commiſſioners.*] Namely, William archbiſhop of Canterbury, Alexander archbiſhop of York, Edmund duke of York, Thomas duke of Glouceſter, William biſhop of Wincheſter, Thomas biſhop of Exeter, Nicholas abbot of Waltham, Richard earl of Arundel, John lord Cobham, Richard Le Scroop, and John Devereux. This committee was authorized to receive the publick revenues, to inſpect the King's houſhold and Courts, in ſhort, to direct the government, and make what reformations in the kingdom they thought fit. But their commiſſion expired at the end of one year (14). Henry de Knyghton adds three more commiſſioners to the foregoing, *viz.* the biſhop of Ely Chancellor, the biſhop of Hereford Treaſurer, and John de Waltham Privy-Seal, making the whole number fourteen (15).

[*L*] *The biſhops entered a proteſt in relation to their Peerage.*] The purport of it is to ſet forth, *that the Lords Spiritual, by virtue of their Baronies, and as Peers of the Realm, had a right to ſit, vote, and give judgment with the reſt of the Peers, in all caſes and matters tranſacted in Parliament.* But *ſince Impeachments of High Treaſon, and Tryals for Life, were coming on, and they were forbidden by the Canons of the Church to concern themſelves in matters of that nature,* they proteſted, *that, for this only reaſon they were obliged to withdraw.* And thus having guarded the entireneſs of their Peerage, they concluded with declaring, *that nothing done in their abſence upon this occaſion ſhould be hereafter queſtioned or oppoſed by any of their body.* This inſtrument, at the inſtance and petition of the archbiſhop and his ſuffragans, was read in full Parliament, and entered upon the Parliament Rolls, by the King's command, with the aſſent of the Lords Temporal and the Commons (16).

[*M*] *A tenth was granted to the King.*] Speed has particularly dilated upon the circumſtances of this grant, which we ſhall repreſent in that hiſtorian's own words. ‘ The Laitie, at the Parliament now holden ‘ at London, had yeelded to ayde the king with a ‘ *Fifteenth*, upon condition that the Clergie ſhould ſuc‘cour him with a *Tenth and an Halfe*: againſt which ‘ unjuſt proportion *William de Courtney*, archbiſhop of ‘ Canterbury, moſt ſtiffly oppoſed, alleadging. *that the ‘ Church ought to be free, nor in any wiſe to be taxed ‘ by the Laitie, and that himſelf would rather die then ‘ endure that the Church of England (the liberties ‘ whereof had by ſo many free Parliaments, in all times, ‘ and not only in the raigne of this king, beene confirmed) ‘ ſhould be made a bond-maide.* This anſwere ſo of‘fended the *Commons*, that the Knights of the Shires, ‘ and ſome Peeres of the land, with extreame fury be‘ſought, *That Temporalities might be taken away from ‘ eccleſiaſtical perſons*, ſaying, *that it was an Almeſdeed, ‘ and an Act of Charitie, ſo to do, thereby to humble ‘ them.* Neither did they doubt, but that their pe‘tition, which they had exhibited to the king, would ‘ take effect. Hereupon they deſigned among them‘ſelves, out of which Abbey, which ſhould receive ‘ ſuch a certaine ſumme, and out of which, another. ‘ I my ſelf (ſaith a * Monk of *St Albans*) heard one of ‘ thoſe Knights confidently ſweare, that he would have ‘ a yearly penſion of a thouſand Markes out of the ‘ Temporalities belonging to that Abbey. But the ‘ king, having heard both parts, commanded the Pe‘titioners to ſilence, and the Petition to be razed out, ‘ ſaying, *He wou'd maintaine the Engliſh Church in the ‘ qualitie of the ſame ſtate or better, in which himſelfe ‘ had known it to be, when hee came to the crowne.* ‘ The archbiſhop hereupon, having conſulted with ‘ the Clergie, came to the King. and declared, that ‘ he and the Clergie had with one conſent willingly ‘ provided to ſupply his majeſties occaſions with a ‘ *Tenth.* This Grant the King tooke ſo contentedly,

as

(*k*) Spelman's Councils, Vol. II. p. 636.

(*l*) H. de Knyghton, *De Eventib. Angliæ*, l. v. *ap.* X. Scriptor. col. 2685.

(*m*) M. Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 401.

(*n*) Regiſtr Courtney, fol. 174, & Walſingham Hiſt Angl. *apud* M. Parker, ubi ſupra.

(11) Id. ib. p. 399.

(12) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. p. 193; & M. Parker, ibid.

(13) M. Parker, ib. p. 400, 401.

(14) Rot. Parl. 10 Ric. II.

(15) De Eventib. Angl æ, l. v. *ap.* X. Sciptor. col. 2685.

(16) Regiſtr. Courtney, fol. 174. Rot. Parl. 11 Ric. II. n. 9. See alſo M. Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 401.

(*) Tho. Walſingham.

he ſhould paſs over into France with an army before the firſt of October following (o). This year, Archbiſhop Courtney ſet out upon his metropolitical viſitation, in which he was at firſt ſtrongly oppoſed by the Biſhops of Exeter and Saliſbury [*N*]: but thoſe prelates being at laſt reduced to terms of ſubmiſſion, he proceed in his viſitation without farther oppoſition: only, at the interceſſion of the Abbot of St Alban's, he refrained from viſiting certain Monaſteries at Oxford (*p*). The ſame year, the King directed his Royal Mandate to the Archbiſhop, not to countenance, or contribute any thing towards a ſubſidy for the Pope [O]. In a Parliament held at Wincheſter 1392, Archbiſhop Courtney, being probably ſuſpected of abetting the papal encroachments upon the Church and State, delivered in an anſwer to certain Articles exhibited by the Commons in relation to thoſe encroachments [*P*]. The ſame year, he viſited the dioceſe of Lincoln, in which, by his vigilance

'as he openly affirmed he was better pleaſed with this 'free contribution of one Tenth for the preſent, than 'if he had gotten foure by compulſion (17).' We have much the ſame account, but more briefly deliver'd, by the author of the *Antiquities*, &c. (18), in the following words: *In ſuperiori autem Parliamento, cum Laici Subſidium ſub hac conditione regi conceſſiſſent, ſi Clerus Decimam concederet; Archiepiſcopus cum ſuis Suffraganeis valde iniquum et peſſimi exempli aſſerebant, Cleri in regem donationes, quæ ſpontaneæ gratuitæque eſſe debent, à Laicis tam ſtrictis modis et conditionibus alligari: proinde ſe de quacunque cleri conceſſione in Synodo non acturos, niſi illa laicorum conditione deleta. Itaque Rex, qui eo die interfuit, expungi laicorum conditionem juſſit; quod mox publice in Parliamento factum eſt.*

[*N*] *He was oppoſed by the biſhops of Exeter and Saliſbury.*] The biſhop of Exeter (*) iſſued his mandate, forbidding all perſons in his dioceſe, under pain of excommunication, to acknowledge the archbiſhop's juriſdiction. Courtney iſſued a mandate in oppoſition thereto, requiring their ſubmiſſion to his authority. The biſhop appealed to the Pope, and fixed up his Appeal upon the gates of his Cathedral. The archbiſhop notwithſtanding proceeded in his Viſitation, and cited the biſhop to appear before him, and anſwer to certain articles exhibited againſt him. The Citation was diſpatch'd by one of the archbiſhop's Officers named Peter Hill; who being met by ſome of the biſhop of Exeter's ſervants in the town of Topſham, they, diſcovering his buſineſs, not only beat him moſt unmercifully, but obliged the poor fellow to chew, and ſwallow down the *Inſtrument*, which was of parchment, wax and all. The King, being informed of this violence ſent an order to the earl of Devonſhire, and others, to apprehend the biſhop's ſervants, and bring them before the archbiſhop. Which being done, Courtney enjoined them the following penance. They were to walk in proceſſion before the Croſs, in their ſhirts only, and carrying lighted tapers in their hands; to pay a certain ſtipend to a Prieſt for ſaying daily Maſs at the tomb of the Earl of Devonſhire; and laſtly to pay twenty ſhillings each towards repairing the walls of the city of Exeter. The biſhop in the mean time proſecuted his appeal in the Court of Rome; but finding the archbiſhop's credit prevail there, and that the King likewiſe eſpouſed his cauſe, he thought it the moſt prudent courſe to withdraw his appeal, and to acknowledge both his own offence and the archbiſhop's juriſdiction (19). The biſhop of Saliſbury (†), when it came to his turn to be viſited, made no leſs reſiſtance, but proceeded, as he thought, with more prudence and caution, than the biſhop of Exeter had done. For being of opinion, that the archbiſhop's viſitatorial power was founded ſolely upon the authority of Pope Urban, who was now dead, he found means to procure from Pope Boniface, his ſucceſſor, an exemption of himſelf and his dioceſe from metropolitical viſitation in virtue of Pope Urban's authority. With this privilege he waited on the archbiſhop at Croydon, but met with an unexpected reception from that Prelate, who declared he would viſit the dioceſe of Saliſbury, notwithſtanding any papal exemption, and commanded the biſhop to be ready to receive him on a certain day in his Cathedral Church. The biſhop, depending on his privilege, took no notice of this order, and, the archbiſhop beginning his viſitation, appealed to the Pope. The archbiſhop immediately excommunicated him, and commenced a proſecution at Law againſt him, for endeavouring to withdraw himſelf from the ſubjection he owed to the See of Canterbury. The biſhop of Saliſbury, terrified by this ſeverity, and the recent example of his brother of Exeter, renounced his appeal, acknowledged the archbiſhop's juriſdiction, and, thro' the interceſſion of the Earl of Saliſbury, and others, obtained Abſolution and Reconciliation (20).

[O] *The King commanded him not to countenance, or contribute any thing towards a ſubſidy for the Pope.*] The writ ſets forth, 'that the archbiſhop could not 'be ignorant, that the King was bound by oath to 'maintain the rights and cuſtoms of the kingdom, to 'govern impartially by the Laws, to ſecure the property of the ſubject, and to prevent impoſitions being charged or levied upon the people without the 'common conſent of the kingdom.' The King ſuggeſts farther, 'that the Commons, lately aſſembled in 'Parliament at Weſtminſter, had addreſs'd him for a 'remedy againſt the Impoſitions upon the Clergy, at 'that time exacted by the Court of Rome; and had 'petition'd him, that if any perſon ſhould bring in any '*Papal Bulls* for levying ſuch impoſitions, or ſhould 'actually collect or levy ſuch impoſitions, he ſhould 'be adjudged, and ſuffer, as a traytor to him and his 'kingdom.' His highneſs adds, 'that he had granted, 'with the conſent of the ſame Parliament, that 'nothing ſhould be levied or paid, that might tend 'to the burthen or damage of the ſubject and kingdom: That notwithſtanding this legal proviſion, he 'was informed of a new Papal Impoſition upon the 'Clergy, which by his (*the archbiſhop's*) authority, 'or that of his Suffragans by his order, was to be 'levied without the common advice and aſſent of the 'kingdom; which he (*the King*) could not ſuffer 'conſiſtently with his oath.' And therefore in the cloſe he commands the archbiſhop, 'upon his allegiance, and under the higheſt forfeitures, to revoke 'his orders for the levying this tax, and to return 'what had been already paid,' enjoining him 'not 'to pay, or contribute any thing to this ſubſidy, under the penalties aforeſaid.' *Witneſs the King at Weſtminſter, the* 10*th day of October* (21). Writs of the ſame purport and date were directed to the archbiſhop of York, to all the biſhops of both Provinces, to the Guardians of the Spiritualities, and to the ſeſeveral Collectors of this Tax. A like Writ was directed to the Pope's Nuntio, commanding him to deſiſt from exacting this ſubſidy, *ſub forisfactura vitæ et membrorum*, under forfeiture of life and limb. This impoſition was the payment of a *Tenth* laid upon the Clergy by the Pope, as appears by the title of the record, *Decimis Papæ non ſolvendis.*

[*P*] *He delivered in an anſwer to certain Articles exhibited by the Commons*, &c.] The tenor of it was as follows. 'To our Dread Sovereign Lord the King 'in this preſent Parliament, his humble Chaplain, '*William* archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, gives in his Anſwer to the *Petition* brought into the *Parliament* by 'the *Commons* of the Realm, in which Petition are 'contained certain *Articles*: That is to ſay, Firſt, '*Whereas our Sovereign Lord the King, and all his 'Liege Subjects, ought of right, and had been always 'accuſtomed to ſue in the King's Court, to recover their 'preſentations to churches, to maintain their titles to 'prebendaries, and other benefices of Holy Church, to 'which they have a right to preſent: The cognizance 'of which plea belongs ſolely to the Court of our Sovereign Lord the King by virtue of his antient prerogative, maintained and practiſed in the reigns of 'all his predeceſſors Kings of England; and when 'judgment is given in his highneſs's ſaid court upon any 'ſuch plea, the archbiſhops, biſhops, and other ſpiritual perſons, who have the right of giving Inſtitution to ſuch benefices within their juriſdiction, are*

(*o*) Walſingh. ib. *ap.* M. Parker, ibid. p. 402.

(*p*) Regiſtr. Courtney, fol. 86; & Walſ. ib. *ap.* M. Parker, ib. p. 403.

(17) Speed's Hiſt. of Great Britaine, &c. Lond. 1632, fol. p. 726.

(18) M. Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 402.

(*) Tho. Brentingham, late Lord Treaſurer.

(19) Regiſtr. Courtney, fol. 86; & M. Parker, ib. p. 402, 403.

(†) Joh. Waltham

(20) Ibid.

(21) Rot. Clauſ. 13 Ric. II. P. i. M. 17. *De Decimis Papæ non ſolvendis.*

vigilance and activity, he gave a conſiderable check to the growth of Wickliff's doctrines (q). In 1395, he obtained from the Pope a grant of four pence in the pound on all eccleſiaſtical benefices; in which he was oppoſed by the Biſhop of Lincoln, who would not ſuffer it to be collected in his dioceſe, and appealed to the Pope (r). But, before the matter could be decided, Archbiſhop Courtney died, July the 31ſt 1396, at Maidſtone in Kent, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury [Q], under a monument of alabaſter, on the South ſide, near the tomb of Thomas Becket, and at the feet of the Black Prince; the King, who was then going to marry the King of France's daughter, being preſent, with ſeveral of his nobles, at the funeral ſolemnity (s). This Prelate founded a College of Secular Prieſts at Maidſtone. He left a thouſand marks for the repair of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury; alſo to the ſame church a ſilver-gilt image of the Trinity, with ſix Apoſtles ſtanding round it weighing 160 pounds; ſome books [R], and ſome eccleſiaſtical veſtments (t). He obtained from King Richard a grant of four fairs at Canterbury yearly, *viz.* on Innocents Day, Whitſun-Eve, the Eve of Becket's tranſlation, and Michaelmas-Eve; each to continue nine days, and to be kept within the ſite of the Priory (u).

(q) Knyghton, ubi ſupra, col. 2736, 2737.

(r) Walſ. ib. *ap.* M. Parker, ibid. p. 405.

(s) Chronic. W. Thorn, *apud* X. Scriptores, col. 2197, 2198. See alſo Dart's Hiſt. and Antiq. of the Cath. Ch. of Cant. Lond. 1726, p. 157.

(t) Dies Obitual. Archiep. Cant. *apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Vol. I. p. 61.

(u) Dart, ubi ſupra.

‘ *bound to execute ſuch judgments, and uſed always to make execution of them at the King's command (ſince no lay perſon can make any ſuch execution), and are alſo bound to make execution of many other commands of our Lord the King: Of which right the Crown of England has been all along peaceably poſſeſs'd: Notwithſtanding, of late, divers proceſſes have been made by the Holy Father the Pope, and Excommunications publiſh'd againſt ſeveral Engliſh Biſhops, for making ſuch executions, and acting in purſuance to the King's commands in the caſes above-mentioned; and ſuch cenſures of his Holineſs are inflicted in open diſheriſon of the crown, and ſubverſion of the Prerogative Royal, of the King's Laws, and his whole Realm, unleſs prevented by proper remedies.*’ To this article, the archbiſhop, premiſing his Proteſtation, ‘ that it was not his intention to affirm, that our holy father the Pope has no authority to excommunicate a biſhop, purſuant to the Laws of Holy Church, declares and anſwers, that if any executions of proceſſes are made, or ſhall be made, by any perſon; if any cenſures of excommunication ſhall be publiſhed and ſerved upon any Engliſh biſhops, or any other of the King's ſubjects, for their having made execution of any ſuch commands, he maintains ſuch cenſures to be prejudicial to the King's prerogative, as is ſet forth in the *Commons Petition:* And that ſo far forth he is reſolved to ſtand with our Lord the King, and ſupport his Crown, in the matters above-mentioned, to the utmoſt of his power. And whereas it is alledged in the Petition, *That complaint has been made, that the ſaid Holy Father the Pope had deſigned to tranſlate ſome Engliſh Prelates to Sees out of the Realm, and ſome from one biſhoprick to another, without the knowledge and conſent of our Lord the King, and without the aſſent of the Prelates ſo tranſlated (which Prelates are very ſerviceable and neceſſary to our Lord the King, and his whole Realm); which tranſlations if they ſhould be ſuffered, the ſtatutes of the Realm would be defeated, and made in a great meaſure inſignificant, and the ſaid Lieges of his Highneſs's Council would be removed out of his kingdoms, without their aſſent, and againſt their inclination, and the treaſure of the ſaid Realm would be exported: By which means the country would become deſtitute both of wealth and counſel, to the utter deſtruction of the ſaid Realm: And thus the Crown of England, which has always been ſo free and independent, as not to have any earthly ſovereign, but to be immediately ſubject to God in all things touching the Prerogatives and Royalty of the ſaid Crown, would be made ſubject to the Pope, and the Laws and Statutes of the Realm defeated and ſet aſide by him at pleaſure, to the utter deſtruction of the Sovereignty of our Lord the King, his Crown and Royalty, and his whole kingdom, which God forbid.* ‘ The ſaid archbiſhop, firſt proteſting, that 'tis not his intention to affirm, that our Holy Father aforeſaid cannot make tranſlations of Prelates according to the Laws of Holy Church, anſwers and declares, that if any Engliſh Prelates, who by their capacity and qualifications were very ſerviceable and neceſſary to to our Lord the King, and his Realm, ſhould be tranſlated to any Sees in foreign dominions, or the ſage Leiges of his Council were forced out of the kingdom againſt their will, and that by this means the wealth and treaſure of the kingdom ſhould be exported; that ſuch tranſlations are prejudicial to the King and his Crown, and that if any ſuch thing ſhould happen, he reſolves to adhere loyally to the King, and endeavour, as he is bound by his allegiance, to ſupport his Highneſs in this, and all other inſtances, in which the rights of his Crown were concerned.’ He concluded with praying, that this Declaration might be entered in the *Parliament Rolls*; which was granted (22). This Declaration of archbiſhop Courtney's ſeems to have led the way to the famous *Statute* of *Præmunire* paſſed in this Parliament; and it is evident from hence, that this Prelate was no vaſſal to the Court of Rome, nor aſſerted the Pope's Supremacy ſo far as to weaken his allegiance, or to make him an ill ſubject.

[Q] *He was buried in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury.*] It appears by a codicil annexed to his Will, extant in the *Archives* of the church of Canterbury, that, upon his death-bed, not thinking himſelf worthy to lye in his own Metropolitan, or in any other Cathedral or Collegiate Church, he choſe, and deſired, to be buried in the church-yard of Maidſtone-College, in the place deſigned for his Eſquire John Butler. *Languens in extremis in interiori camera Manerii de Maydenſton, voluit et ordinavit, quod quia non reputavit ſe dignum, ut dixit, in ſua Metropolitana, aut aliqua Cathedrali aut Collegiata Eccleſia ſepeliri, voluit et elegit ſepulturam ſuam in Cæmeterio Eccleſiæ Collegiatæ de Maydenſton, in loco deſignato Johanni Botelere Armigero ſuo* (23). But moſt certain it is, Dart tells us (24), that, notwithſtanding this humble thought of his, in his lowneſs of ſpirits, King Richard, being at Canterbury, when he was to be buried, overruled his Will, and ordered him to be interred in that Cathedral.

[R] — *ſome books.*] Theſe were: St Auguſtin's *Milleloquium*, A *Dictionary* in three volumes, and *Doctor de Lira* in two volumes. His nephew Richard Courtney was to have the uſe of them during his life, and his executors to return them after his death, under a penalty of three hundred pounds; for which they gave a bond. My author calls them, *ſex libros precioſos*, ſix valuable books (25).

(22) Rot. Parl. 16 Ric. II. N. 20. Cotton's Abridgment, p. 348.

(23) Verba Archiv. *Apud* Wharton, Angl. Sacra, Vol. I. p. 121.

(24) *Hiſt. and Antiq. of the Cath. Ch. of Cant.* Lond. 1726. p. 157.

(25) Dies Obitual. Archiep. Cantuar. *apud* Wharton, ubi ſupra, p. 62.

COWELL (John) a learned Civilian in the latter end of the ſixteenth, and beginning of the ſeventeenth, century, was born at Ernſborough in the pariſh of Swimbridge in Devonſhire (a), and educated at Eaton-School, where he ſo diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his good parts and agreeable induſtry, that he was elected a Scholar of King's College Cambridge (b), in the year 1570 [A]. Here he applied himſelf cloſely to his ſtudies, and

(a) Catal. Soc. Col. Reg. Cantab. MS. mentioned in Preface to Cowell's Interpreter, edit. Lond. 1708. *N. B.* It is not paged. Prince's Worthies of Devon. Exon. 1701, p. 194. Fuller's Worthies in Devon, p. 262.

(b) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 160, edit. Lond. 1721.

[A] *He was elected a Scholar of King's College Cambridge, in the year* 1570.] And there, in all probability, put under the tuition of his name-ſake and relation John Cowell fellow of that Houſe, who had been one of the Univerſity-Proctors in the year 1561 (1).

(1) Faſti Cantabr. MS.

by his learning and unblameable courſe of life, grew up to ſo much reputation and intereſt in the Univerſity, that he was elected Fellow of that Houſe: And after he had taken the two degrees in Arts, he had the honour to be choſen one of the Proctors for the year 1585 (*c*). He particularly turn'd his thoughts to the ſtudy of the Civil-Law, by the advice of that active Prelate Richard Bancroft Biſhop of London (*d*), who had judgment to find the genius of our Author, and knew the great neceſſity the Church was in, to have men of abilities and integrity in that profeſſion. He was regularly admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Laws in his own Univerſity (*e*); and in 1600 was incorporated into the ſame degree at Oxford (*f*). His Reputation was now ſo well eſtabliſh'd, that he was made the King's Profeſſor of Civil Law in the Univerſity of Cambridge; and about the ſame time, Maſter of Trinity-Hall; which two ſtations had as much Honour and Profit, as could poſſibly be beſtowed, in that place, on a man of his Profeſſion (*g*). In 1603 and 1604 he executed the office of Vice-chancellor of Cambridge (*h*). His chief patron Biſhop Bancroft being advanc'd to the ſee of Canterbury in December 1604, and projecting many things which he thought would be for the intereſt and honour of Church and State, employed ſeveral men in their proper profeſſions; imagining that to be the moſt effectual way to promote the public ſervice (*i*). Among the reſt, he ſollicited Dr Cowell [*B*] to ſhow himſelf an antiquary, and a uſeful man, by giving the interpretation of ſuch words and terms, as created moſt difficulty to the Students of our Eccleſiaſtical, Civil, and Common Laws. This laborious taſk the Doctor performed with ſo much application and diligence, that his work was finiſhed in about three years time, and publiſhed under the title of THE INTERPRETER [*C*]. By this book the Archbiſhop was ſo well ſatisfied with the author's parts, induſtry, and courage, that upon the death of Sir Edward Stanhope, Vicar General to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, which happen'd on the 16th of March 1608, his Grace conferr'd that honourable place on Dr Cowell, who had practiſed before as an Advocate in the Arches (*k*). In this ſtation, he carried himſelf with that fairneſs and integrity, that equity and honour, as raiſed him no enemies and loſt him no friends. And if he was afterwards invidious as a writer, he was ſtill blameleſs as a judge: For, when the warmeſt objections were made againſt ſome expreſſions in his book, there was not any fault found with his adminiſtration of juſtice (*l*). For ſome time, his book paſs'd uncenſured; but at laſt great offence was taken at it: Becauſe, as was pretended, the author had ſpoken with too much liberty, and in too ſharp expreſſions, of the Common Law, and ſome eminent profeſſors of it, particularly Littleton. Moreover, he had recited Hottoman's reflections on his treatiſe of Tenures, and by reciting them was thought to make them his own. This eſpecially fired Sir Edward Coke, then chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, who was more particularly concern'd for the honour of Littleton, whom he had commented upon; and valued himſelf as the chief Advocate of his Profeſſion. Another thing ſeems to have put Dr Cowell out of favour with this Judge; namely, within two years after the publication of the Interpreter, Archbiſhop Bancroft ſenſible that the juriſdiction of the Spiritual Courts was perpetually obſtructed by the grant of Prohibitions from Weſtminſter-hall, employed Dr Cowell to draw up Reaſons and Exceptions againſt the too frequent grants of Prohibitions; which were delivered to King James I. in time of Parliament, under the title of *Articuli Cleri*, or the Clergy's Articles. Theſe Articles the King ordered to be argued by the Judges, and their Arguments are printed by Coke in his XIIth Report, who had the chief hand in them: and was now more and more incens'd againſt Dr Cowell, whom he took for a profeſs'd enemy to the Weſtminſter-Courts, and therefore directly or obliquely reflects upon him in ſeveral pages of his works [*D*]. But paper-reproofs not being ſatisfactory, Sir Edward Coke, who was

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(*c*) Ibid. He was choſen through the recommendation of William Lord Burghley. Strype's Annals, edit. 1728, Vol. III. p. 268, 269.

(*d*) See Epiſtle Dedicat. to the Interpreter, 1607.

(*e*) Preface to Cowell's Interpreter, edit. Lond. 1708.

(*f*) Wood, Faſti, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Preface, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) T. Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p 157.

(*i*) Preface to the Doctor's Interpreter, edit. 1708.

(*k*) Continuat. of Hatcher's Catal. of Provoſts, Fellows, &c. of King's college, Cambr. MS.

(*l*) Pref. to the Interpreter, as above.

[*B*] *Among the reſt, he ſollicited Dr Cowell —— to give the interpretation of the difficult words in our Laws.*] This the Doctor hints at, in his Dedication of *The Interpreter* to the Archbiſhop, in theſe words. — 'Yet the remembrance of thoſe your honourable Provocations, whereby at my coming to your Grace from the Univerſity, you firſt put me upon theſe Studies, at the laſt by a kind of neceſſity inforc'd me to this attempt; becauſe I could not ſee how well to avoid it, but by adventuring the hateful Note of Unthankfulneſs.'

[*C*] THE INTERPRETER.] The whole title of it was as follows, '*The Interpreter*, or Book containing the ſignification of Words: wherein is ſet forth the true meaning of all, or the moſt part of ſuch Words and Terms, as are mentioned in the Law-writers, or Statutes of this Victorious and Renowned Kingdom, requiring any Expoſition or Interpretation. A work not only Profitable, but Neceſſary for ſuch as deſire throughly to be inſtructed in the Knowledge of our Laws, Statutes, or other Antiquities. Collected by *John Cowell* Doctor, and the King's Majeſties Profeſſor of the Civil Law in the Univerſity of Cambridge. *In legum obſcuritate captio.*' At Cambridge, Printed by John Legate, Anno 1607, 4to. It was re-printed in 1609, and ſeveral times ſince, particularly in 1638, for which Archbiſhop Laud was reflected upon, and it was made an Article againſt him at his tryal, as if the impreſſion of that book had been done by his authority, or at leaſt with his connivance, in order to countenance the King's arbitrary meaſures (2). In 1677, and 1684 it was publiſhed, with large Additions, by Tho. Manley of the Middle-Temple, Eſq; and again in 1708 with very conſiderable improvements by another hand. In all theſe later Editions, thoſe paſſages that were dubious or offenſive have been corrected or omitted.

[*D*] *Sir Edward Coke reflects upon him in ſeveral pages of his Works.*] Being the grand Oracle of the Common Law, as Dr Cowell was of the Civil, emulation produced ſo great an ill will between thoſe two great men; eſpecially becauſe the Doctor, who was well ſkilled in both Laws, practiſed frequently at Weſtminſter-hall as well as at Doctors Commons; that Sir Edward took all occaſions to affront him, and uſed to call him in deriſion Doctor *Cow-heel*. It is to be obſerved, that at that time the conteſt ran very high between the Civilians and Common-Lawyers, the latter of which were diſcountenanc'd by the Court (*).

(2) Hiſt. of the Troubles and Tryal of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 235, Lond. 1695.

(*) Fuller's Worthies; in Devon. p. 262.

[*E*] *To*

was of ſome authority with the King, and had good intereſt in the Houſe of Commons, repreſented Dr Cowell as an enemy to both (l). He knew, nothing would ſo much excite the jealouſy of the King, who was very fond of Power, as to touch upon the point of Prerogative, and therefore he ſuggeſted, that Dr Cowell 'had diſputed too nicely upon the myſteries of this our monarchy, yea in ſome points very derogatory to the ſupream power of this Crown (m):' And had aſſerted, 'That the King's prerogative is in ſome caſes limited (n).' The author, by touching upon ſo tender a point, was in great danger of being ruin'd; but, in all probability, was ſaved through the Archbiſhop's intereſt. His adverſaries hereupon turn'd the tables, and reſolved to make him a betrayer of the Rights and Liberties of the People, thinking this accuſation would do more with the Parliament, than the other had done with the King. The Complaint againſt him in the Houſe of Commons was carried on by men of parts and intereſt, and it came to this iſſue, that the author was committed to cuſtody, and his book publickly burnt (o). Moreover the Commons complained of him to the Lords, as equally ſtruck at, who reſolved to cenſure his Errors and Boldneſs [E]; but upon the interpoſition of the King, who declared that the man had miſtaken the fundamental points and conſtitutions of Parliament, and promiſed to condemn the Doctrines of the book as abſurd, together with the author of them, they proceeded no farther (p). However, the King publiſhed a Proclamation (q) on the 25th of March 1610 [F], wherein, 'he not only prohibited the buying, uttering, or reading of the ſaid book, but alſo ſtraitly commanded all and ſingular perſons whatſoever, who had or ſhould have any of them in their hands or cuſtody, that upon pain of his high diſpleaſure and the conſequence thereof, they deliver the ſame, preſently upon the publication thereof, to the Lord Mayor of London, if they or any of them were dwelling in or near that city; or otherwiſe to the Sheriff of the county where they ſhould reſide; and, in the two Univerſities, to the Chancellor or Vice-chancellor there, to the intent that further order might be given for the utter ſuppreſſing thereof [G].' When Dr Cowell had thus felt the diſpleaſure of the King, and the indignation of the people; he took his leave of the preſs, and retired to his college and his private ſtudies, where he lived inoffenſively and in good repute; but not averſe however to ſerve the publick, either with his advice, or any other way. It was his misfortune to be afflicted with the ſtone, for which being cut, that operation proved fatal to him: for he died of it on the eleventh of October, 1611; and was buried in the chapel of Trinity-hall under the altar (r), where there is an inſcription to his memory [H]. He writ other things beſides *the Interpreter* above-mentioned [I]. And he was a conſiderable benefactor to the college of which he had

(l) Preface, as above.

(m) King James Iſt's Proclamat. 25 March 1610.

(n) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(o) Pref. to the Interpreter, as above. The Commons were very deſirous to proceed criminally againſt him; nay even to hang him, if the King had not interpoſed. See Memorials of Affairs of State, *&c.* publiſhed by Edm. Sawyer, Eſq; Lond fol. 1725, Vol. III. p. 125, 131.

(p) Miſcellanea Parliamentaria, by W. Petyt, Eſq; p. 64.

(q) Which is inſerted in Preface to the Interpreter, edit. 1708.

(r) Preface, as above.

[E] *To cenſure his Errors and Boldneſs.*] The Errors charg'd upon him, were, That he had aſſerted, 1. 'That the King was *ſolutus à legibus*, and not bound by his Coronation-oath. 2. That it was not *ex neceſſitate*, that the King ſhould call a Parliament to make Laws, but might do that by his abſolute Power; for *voluntas Regis* with him was *Lex populi*. 3. That it was a favour to admit the conſent of his ſubjects in giving of ſubſidies. 4. That he draws his Arguments from the Imperial Laws of the Roman Emperors, which are of no force in England (3). The Author of the Preface to the Edition of the Interpreter in 1708, obſerves, That theſe poſitions are ſo groſs and intolerable, that no Engliſhman would defend or excuſe them. But he ſays, that having run over moſt part of the firſt edition in 1607, *4to.* he finds no ſuch abominable aſſertions in words at length, tho' there be many things too unadviſedly expreſs'd, which a wiſe author would have omitted, and a wiſe Government might have deſpiſed. But when a ſuſpected book is brought to the torture, it often confeſſeth all, and more than it knows.

[F] *The King publiſhed a Proclamation on the 25th of March* 1610.] The beginning of this Proclamation is pretty remarkable, being as follows. 'This latter age and times of the World wherein we are fallen, is ſo much given to verbal profeſſion, as well of religion, as of all commendable moral virtues, but wanting the actions and deeds agreeable to ſo ſpecious a profeſſion, as it hath bred ſuch an unſatiable curioſity in many mens ſpirits, and ſuch an itching in the Tongues and Pens of moſt men, as nothing is left unſearched to the bottom both in talking and writing. For from the very higheſt Myſteries in the God-head and the moſt inſcrutable counſels in the Trinity, to the very loweſt pit of hell, and the confuſed actions of the devils there, there is nothing now unſearched into by the curioſity of men's brains. Men not being contented with the knowledge of ſo much of the will of God as it hath pleaſed him to reveal, but they will needs ſit with him in his moſt private cloſet, and become privy of his moſt inſcrutable counſels: and therefore it is no wonder, that men in theſe our days do not ſpare to wade in all the deepeſt myſteries that belong to the perſons and ſtate of Kings and Princes, that are Gods upon Earth: ſince we ſee (as we have already ſaid) that they ſpare not God himſelf.——

[G] *That further order might be given for the ſuppreſſing thereof.*] The reaſons alledged in the Proclamation for ſuppreſſing that book, are, That the author had fallen into many miſtakes; namely —— 'In ſome things diſputing ſo nicely upon the myſteries of this our Monarchy, that it may receive doubtful interpretations; yea in ſome points very derogatory to the ſupream power of this Crown: In other caſes miſtaking the true ſtate of the Parliament of this Kingdom and the fundamental conſtitutions and privileges thereof: And in ſome other points ſpeaking un-reverently of the Common Law of England, and the works of ſome of the moſt famous and ancient Judges therein: it being a thing utterly unlawful to any ſubject, to ſpeak or write againſt that Law under which he liveth.' — This whole Proclamation is manifeſtly in the ſtile of that pedantic Monarch, who then ſat upon the throne.

[H] *Where there is an inſcription to his memory.*] And which runs thus; *Johannes Cowell L. L. D. Cuſtos hujus Collegii, Juris Civilis in hac Academia Cantab. Profeſſor Regius, Vicarius Generalis Cantuarienſis Provinciæ ſub Domino Richardo Bancroft, Archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi, hic expectat Reſurrectionem. Obiit undecimo die menſis Octob. Ann. Dom.* 1611. i. e. 'John Cowell L. L. D. Maſter of this College, the King's Profeſſor of Civil Law in this Univerſity of Cambridge, and Vicar General of the Province of Canterbury under Richard Bancroft Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, waits here for the Reſurrection. He died the eleventh day of October, in the year of our Lord 1611 (4).

[I] *He writ other things beſides the Interpreter*] In 1605, he publiſhed *Inſtitutiones juris Anglicani ad methodum & ſeriem inſtitutionum Imperialium compoſitæ & digeſtæ. Cantab. 8vo.* i. e. 'Inſtitutes of the

(3) W. Petyt's Miſcellanea Parl. ubi ſupra. R. Coke's Detection, edit. 1719 Vol. I. p. 63.

(4) Pref. ubi ſupr.

had been Fellow, to the hall of which he was Maſter, and to the Univerſity of which he had been Governor.

'the Laws of England in the ſame method as 'Juſtinian's Inſtitutes (5).' He alſo compoſed 'A 'Tract *De Regulis Juris* [of the Rules of the Law] 'wherein his intent was, by collating the caſes of both 'Laws to ſhew, that they both be raiſed of one 'Foundation, and differ more in Language and Terms 'than in ſubſtance, and therefore were they reduced 'to one method (as they eaſily might) to be attained '(in a manner) with all one pains.' But it doth not appear that this laſt was ever publiſhed (6). C

(5) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 160.

(6) See Pref. to the Reader, in the beginning of The Interpreter.

COWLEY (ABRAHAM), one of our beſt Poets of the XVIIth century, was born at London (in Fleet-ſtreet, near the end of Chancery-lane, in the pariſh of St Dunſtan in the Weſt) in the year 1618, and fifteenth of King James I. His father, who was a Grocer, dying before the birth of this his ſon, his mother, by the intereſt of her friends, procured him to be admitted a King's Scholar in Weſtminſter-ſchool (*a*). His firſt, and early, inclination to Poetry was occaſioned by accidentally reading Spenſer's *Fairy Queen* [*A*], a Poem fitter for the examination of men, than the conſideration of a child: but in him it met with a fancy, whoſe ſtrength was not to be judged by the number of his years (*b*). In the ſixteenth year of his age, being ſtill at Weſtminſter-ſchool, he publiſhed a collection of Verſes, under the title of *Poetical Bloſſoms* [*B*], in which there were many things that might well become the vigour and force of a manly wit [*C*]. It is remarkable of Mr Cowley, what he himſelf tells us (*c*), that he had this defect in his memory, that his teachers could never bring him to retain the ordinary rules of grammar; the want of which however he abundantly ſupplied by an intimate acquaintance with the books themſelves, from whence thoſe rules had been drawn. With theſe extraordinary hopes, he was removed to Trinity-college in Cambridge, being elected a Scholar of that houſe in 1636 (*d*). Here the continuance and progreſs of his wit gained him the love and eſteem of the moſt eminent members of that ſociety. His exerciſes of all kinds were highly applauded, with this peculiar praiſe, that they were fit, not only for the obſcurity of an academical life, but to have appeared on the true theatre of the world. And here it was that he wrote, or at leaſt laid the deſigns of moſt of thoſe maſculine works, which he afterwards finiſhed. In 1638, he publiſhed his *Love's Riddle* [*D*], a paſtoral comedy, and a Latin comedy in-

(*a*) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 120.

(*b*) Sprat's Account of the Life and Writings of Mr Abraham Cowley, prefixed to his Works, edit. Lond. 1721, 12*mo*, p. 3.

(*c*) In his Eſſay on himſelf. See his Works, Vol. II. p. 718.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *His firſt, and early, inclination to Poetry was occaſioned by accidentally reading* Spenſer's Fairy Queen.] This we learn from our poet himſelf. 'I believe, '*ſays he* (1), I can tell the particular little chance 'that filled my head firſt with ſuch chimes of verſes, 'as have never ſince left ringing there: for I remember when I began to read, and take ſome pleaſure in 'it, there was wont to lye in my mother's parlour (I 'know not by what accident, for ſhe herſelf never in 'her life read any book but of devotion) but there was 'wont to lye *Spenſer*'s *Works*: this I happened to fall 'upon, and was infinitely delighted with the ſtories of 'the knights, and giants, and monſters, and brave 'houſes, which I found every where (though my 'underſtanding had little to do with all this) and by 'degrees with the tinckling of the rhyme, and dance 'of the nnmbers; ſo that I think I had read him all 'over before I was twelve years old, and was thus 'made a poet as immediately as a child is made an 'eunuch.'

(1) In his Eſſay on himſelf. See Mr Cowley's Works, Lond. 1721, 12*mo*, Vol. II. p. 719.

[*B*] *He publiſhed a collection of verſes under the title of* Poetical Bloſſoms.] They were publiſhed at London in 1633 (2), and conſequently in Mr Cowley's fifteenth year; ſo that Dr Sprat is miſtaken in ſaying (3) this book came out in the thirteenth year of his age. It contains among other pieces, *Antonius and Melida*, and *The tragical hiſtory of Pyramus and Thiſbe*. The firſt is dedicated to Dr Williams Biſhop of Lincoln, and the other to his maſter Mr Lambert Oſbaldeſton. Before both is his picture, and his age ſet over it, *viz.* 13, but erroneous. There are prefixed ſome recommendatory verſes by ſome of his ſchool-felows; and at the end are two *Elegies*, one on Dudley Lord Carleton, and the other on his kinſman Richard Clerk of Lincoln's-Inn; and *A Dream of Elyſium* (4).

(2) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 120.

(3) Account of the Life and Writings of Mr Abraham Cowley, prefixed to his Works, p. 4.

(4) Wood, ibid.

[*C*] — *In which there were many things that might well become the vigour and force of a manly wit.*] Mr Cowley himſelf has given us (5) a ſpecimen in the latter end of an Ode, written when he was but thirteen years of age. *The beginning of it*, ſays he, *is boyiſh, but of this part which I here ſet down, if a very little were corrected, I ſhould hardly now be much aſhamed.*

(5) In his Eſſay on himſelf, ubi ſupra, p. 718.

IX.

This only grant me, that my means may lye,
Too low for envy, for contempt too high.
Some honour I would have
Not from great deeds, but good alone:
The unknown are better than ill known.
Rumour can ope' the grave:
Acquaintance I wou'd have, but when't depends
Not on the number, but the choice of friends.

X.

Books ſhou'd, not buſineſs, entertain the light,
And ſleep, as undiſturb'd as death, the night:
My houſe a cottage, more
Than palace, and ſhou'd fitting be
For all my uſe, no luxury:
My garden painted o'er
With nature's hand, not art's; and pleaſures yield,
Horace might envy in his Sabine field.

XI.

Thus wou'd I double my life's fading ſpace,
For he that runs it well, twice runs his race.
And in this true delight,
Theſe unbought ſports, that happy ſtate,
I wou'd not fear, nor wiſh my fate;
But boldly ſay each night,
To-morrow let my ſun his beams diſplay,
Or in clouds hide them, I have liv'd to day.

You may ſee by it, adds Mr Cowley, *I was even then acquainted with the poets, for the concluſion is taken out of Horace; and perhaps it was the immature and immoderate love of them, which ſtampt firſt, or rather engraved, the characters in me: they were like letters cut in the bark of a young tree, which with the tree ſtill grow proportionably.*

[*D*] *His* Love's Riddle.] It was written at the time of his being a King's ſcholar in Weſtminſter-ſchool, titled *Naufragium Joculare* [*E*], or the *Merry Shipwreck*. The firſt occaſion of his entring into buſineſs, was, an *Elegy* he wrote *On the death of Mr William Harvey* [*F*]; which brought him acquainted with Mr John Harvey, the brother of his deceaſed friend, from whom he received many offices of kindneſs thro' the whole courſe of his life (*e*). In 1643, being then Maſter of Arts, he was, among many others, ejected his college and the univerſity; whereupon, retiring to Oxford, he ſettled in St John's college, and, that ſame year, under the name of a Scholar of Oxford, publiſhed a Satire (*f*), intituled *The Puritan and the Papiſt* [*G*]. His affection to the Royal Cauſe engaged him in the ſervice of the King, and he was preſent in ſeveral of his Majeſty's journies and expeditions. By this means he gained an acquaintance and familiarity with the great men of the Court and the Gown, and particularly had the entire friendſhip of my Lord Falkland, one of the Principal Secretaries of State. During the heat of the Civil War, he was ſettled in the family of the Earl of St Alban's [*H*], and accompanied the Queen-Mother, when ſhe was obliged to retire into France. He was abſent from his native country about ten years [*I*]; which were wholly ſpent either in bearing a ſhare in the diſtreſſes of the Royal Family, or in labouring their affairs. To this purpoſe he took ſeveral dangerous journies into Jerſey, Scotland, Flanders, Holland, and elſewhere; and was the principal inſtrument in maintaining a conſtant correſpondence between the King and his Royal Conſort, whoſe letters he cyphered and decyphered with his own hand (*g*). His Poems intituled *The Miſtreſs* were publiſhed at London in 1647, and his comedy called *The Guardian*, afterwards altered and publiſhed under the title of *Cutter of Coleman-Street* [*K*], in 1650 (*h*). In 1656 (*i*), it

e) Sprat's Account, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 4, 5.

(*f*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Life, &c. p. 5, 6, 7.

(*h*) Wood, ib.

(*i*) Id. ibid.

and dedicated by a Copy of Verſes to Sir Kenelm Digby, to whom he thus apologizes for it:

Take it as early fruits, which rare appear,
Though not half ripe, but worſt of all the year;
And if it pleaſe your taſte, my muſe will ſay,
The birch, which crown'd her then, is grown a bay.

Langbain pretends (6), it was firſt printed with his *Poetical Bloſſoms*, in 4*to*, London, 1633, and afterwards printed with the ſecond volume of his works in *folio* 1681.

[*E*] *His Latin Comedy, intitled* Naufragium Joculare] It was acted before the Univerſity of Cambridge by the members of Trinity College, February the ſecond, and printed the ſame year at London, in *octavo* (7).

[*F*] *His* Elegy on the death of Mr William Harvey.] There appears to have been the ſtricteſt and moſt intimate friendſhip between Mr Cowley and that gentleman (8):

He was my friend, the trueſt friend on earth;
A ſtrong and mighty influence joyn'd our birth;
Nor did we envy the moſt ſounding name
By friendſhip given of old to fame.

Their converſation was chiefly employ'd in the improvement of their minds:

Say, for you ſaw us, ye immortal lights,
How oft unwearied have we ſpent the nights,
'Till the Ledæan ſtars ſo fam'd for Love
Wonder'd at us from above?
We ſpent them not in toys, in luſts, or wine;
But ſearch of deep philoſophy,
Wit, Eloquence, and Poetry,
Arts which I lov'd, for they, my friend, were thine.

Mr Cowley tells us, he communicated his poems, as faſt as he wrote them, to Mr Harvey, for his approbation:

To him my muſe made haſte with ev'ry ſtrain,
Whilſt it was new, and warm yet from the brain:
He lov'd my worthleſs Rhimes, and like a friend
Wou'd find out ſomething to commend.

[*G*] *He publiſh'd a Satire, intitled* The Puritan and the Papiſt.] It was printed in one ſheet and a half in *quarto*, and re-publiſhed at London in 1682, in *quarto*, in a book intitled, *Wit and Loyalty revived in a Collection of ſome ſmart Satires in verſe and proſe on the late times*. The writer of the Preface to this book complains, that this Satire of Mr Cowley's was not publiſhed by the Editor of his firſt Collection of Poems, for which he aſſigns two preſumptive reaſons. He wonders likewiſe, that the Poem called *Brutus*, and that upon the Biſhop of Lincoln's *Enlargement from the Tower*, which he imagines not to have been written by Mr Cowley (*), had met with ſuch good fortune as to have a place there (9).

[*H*] *He was ſettled in the family of the Earl of St* Albans.] Dr Sprat tells us (10), Mr Cowley was obliged for this ſettlement to Mr John Harvey, brother of his deceaſed friend Mr William Harvey (11). But Anthony Wood tells us (12), that, when Mr Cowley came to Paris, he fell into the acquaintance of Dr Stephen Goffe, a brother of the Oratory, by whoſe means he was placed and preferred in that noble family.

[*I*] *He was abſent from his native country about ten years.*] I aſſign this ſpace of time for Mr Cowley's abſence upon the authority of Mr Wood, who aſſures us (13), he left Oxford a little before the ſurrender of that city to the parliament; which being in the year 1646, and Mr Cowley returning in 1656, he could not be abſent a longer term; tho' the author of his *Life* pretends he was twelve years abroad.

[*K*] *His comedy called* The Guardian, *afterwards altered and publiſh'd under the title of* Cutter of Coleman-ſtreet.] The *Guardian* was acted before Prince Charles at Trinity College in Cambridge, March the 12th 1641, and printed at London, in 4*to*, in 1650 (14). Mr Cowley, in the *Preface* to his *Poems* (15), complaining of the publication of ſome things of his without his conſent or knowledge, and thoſe ſo mangled and imperfect, that he could neither with honour acknowledge, nor with honeſty quite diſavow them; adds: 'Of which ſort was a Comedy called *The Guardian*, made and acted before the Prince, in his paſſage thro' Cambridge towards York, at the beginning of the late unhappy war; or rather neither made nor acted, but rough-drawn only and repeated: for the haſte was ſo great, that it could neither be reviſed or perfected by the author, nor learned without book by the Actors, nor ſet forth in any meaſure tolerably by the Officers of the College.' This Mr Cowley thought fit to acquaint the Prince with in the Prologue addreſs'd to him (16), which concludes with theſe lines:

Accept our haſty zeal; a thing that's play'd
E'er 'tis a Play, and acted e'er 'tis made.
Our ignorance, but our duty too we ſhow;
I would all ignorant people wou'd do ſo!
At other times expect our wit and art:
This comedy is acted by the heart.

And in the Epilogue:

But pow'r your grace can above nature give;
It can give pow'r to make abortives live:
In which if our bold wiſhes ſhou'd be croſt,
'Tis but the life of one poor week 't has loſt:
Though it ſhou'd fall beneath your mortal ſcorn,
Scarce cou'd it dye more quickly than 'twas born.

' After

(6) Account of the Engliſh Dramatick Poets, Oxf. 1691, 8*vo*, p. 82.

(7) Id. ib. p. 86; & Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 121.

(8) See the Elegy among Mr Cowley's Miſcellanies, in Vol. I. p. 20.

(*) They are inſerted in all the editions of his Works.

(9) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(10) Life, &c. p. 5.

(11) See the remark [*F*].

(12) Ubi ſupra; and Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 271.

(13) Ubi ſupra.

(14) Id. ibid.

(15) Printed after his return into England. See his Works, Vol. I. p. 44.

(16) It is printed together with the Epilogue, among his Miſcellanies.

it was thought proper by thoſe, on whom Mr Cowley depended, that he ſhould come over into England, and, under pretence of privacy and retirement, ſhould give notice of the poſture of affairs in this nation (*k*). Upon his return, he publiſhed a new edition of all his Poems, conſiſting of four parts; *viz.* I. *Miſcellanies* [*L*]: II. *The Miſtreſs, or Several Copies of Love-Verſes* [*M*]: III. *Pindarique Odes, written in imitation of the Style and manner of Pindar* [*N*]: IV. *Davideis, a ſacred Poem of the troubles of David, in four books.*

(k) Life, &c. p. 7.

'After the repreſentation, *ſays our author* (17) (which I confeſs, was ſomewhat of the lateſt), I began to look it over, and changed it very much, ſtriking out ſome whole parts, as that of the *Poet* and the *Soldier*: but I have loſt the copy, and dare not think it deſerves the pains to write it again, which makes me omit it in this publication, tho' there be ſome things in it, which I am not aſhamed of, taking the excuſe of my age, and ſmall experience in human converſation, when I made it. But, as it is, it is only the haſty firſt-ſitting of a picture, and therefore like to reſemble me accordingly.' This Comedy, Langbaine tells us (18), notwithſtanding Mr Cowley's modeſt opinion of it, was acted, not only at Cambridge, but ſeveral times afterwards privately, during the prohibition of the Stage, and, after the King's return, publickly at Dublin, and always with applauſe. It was this, probably, which put the author upon reviſing it; after which he permitted it to appear publickly upon the Stage, under a new title, as indeed it was in a manner a new Play, calling it *Cutter of Coleman Street*. Under this name, it was acted at his Royal Highneſs's theatre, and printed at London in 1663, in *4to*. It met with ſome oppoſition at firſt from ſome, who envied the author's unſhaken loyalty: but afterwards it was acted with univerſal applauſe, and was generaly eſteem'd an excellent Comedy.

(17) Preface, ubi ſupra, p. 44.

(18) Ubi ſupra, p. 81.

[*L*] *His* Miſcellanies.] 'Some of theſe, *ſays our author* (†), were made when I was very young, which it is perhaps ſuperfluous to tell the reader. I know not by what chance I have kept copies of them; for they are but a very few in compariſon with thoſe I have loſt, and I think have no extraordinary virtue in them, to deſerve more care in preſervation, than was beſtow'd upon their brethren; for which I am ſo little concern'd, that I am aſhamed of the arrogancy of the word, when I ſaid *I had loſt them*.' This Collection conſiſts of *Odes*, *Elegies*, &c. with ſome *imitations of Horace* and *Martial*; together with *eleven Anacreontiques*, or paraphraſtical imitations of Anacreon.

(†) Preface, ubi ſupra, p. 51.

[*M*] *His* Miſtreſs, or ſeveral Copies of Love-verſes.] Let us firſt hear what our poet himſelf ſays of this part of his compoſitions. 'Poets, *ſays he* (19), are ſcarce thought free-men of their company, without paying ſome duties, and obliging themſelves to be true to love. Sooner or later they muſt all paſs through that trial, like ſome Mahometan Monks, that are bound by their order, once at leaſt in their life, to make a pilgrimage to Mecca.

(19) Ibid.

'In furias ignemque ruunt, amor omnibus idem.

'But we muſt not always make a judgment of their manners from their writings of this kind, as the Romaniſts uncharitably do of Beza for a few laſcivious Sonnets compoſed by him in his youth. It is not in this ſenſe that Poeſie is ſaid to be a kind of painting: it is not the picture of the poet, but of things and perſons imagined by him. He may be in his practice and diſpoſition a philoſopher, and yet ſometimes ſpeak with the ſoftneſs of an amorous Sappho.

'Feret et rubus aſper amomum.

'He profeſſes too much the uſe of fable (though without the malice of deceiving) to have his teſtimony taken even againſt himſelf. Neither would I here be miſunderſtood, as if I affected ſo much gravity, as to be aſhamed to be thought really in love. On the contrary, I cannot have a good opinion of any man who is not at leaſt capable of being ſo. But I ſpeak it to excuſe ſome expreſſions (if ſuch there be) which may happen to offend the ſeverity of ſupercilious readers: for much exceſs is to be allowed in love, and even more in poetry, ſo we avoid the two unpardonable vices in both, which are, obſcenity and profaneneſs, of which, I am ſure, if my words be ever guilty, they have ill repreſented my thoughts and intentions.' What opinion Dr Sprat had of Mr Cowley's *Miſtreſs* appears by the following paſſage (20). *If there needed any excuſe to be made that his Love-verſes take up ſo great a ſhare in his works, it may be alledged, that they were compoſed when he was very young. But it is a vain thing to make any kind of apology for that ſort of writings. If devout or virtuous men will ſuperciliouſly forbid the minds of the young, to adorn thoſe ſubjects about which they are moſt converſant, they would put them out of all capacity of performing graver matters, when they come to them. For the exerciſes of all mens wits muſt be always proper for their age, and never too much above it: and by practice and uſe in lighter arguments they grow up at laſt to excel in the moſt weighty. I am not therefore aſhamed to commend* Mr Cowley's Miſtreſs. *I only except one or two expreſſions, which I wiſh I could have prevailed with thoſe that had the right of the other edition, to have left out. But of all the reſt I dare boldly pronounce, that never yet ſo much was written on a ſubject ſo delicate, that can leſs offend the ſevereſt rules of morality. The whole paſſion of Love is intimately deſcribed, with all it's mighty train of hopes, and joys, and diſquiets. Beſides this amorous tenderneſs, I know not how in every copy there is ſomething of more uſeful knowledge very naturally and gracefully inſinuated, and every where there may be ſomething found, to inform the minds of wiſe men, as well as to move the hearts of young men or women.*

(20) See Life, &c. p. 15, 16.

[*N*] *His* Pindarique Odes, written in imitation of the ſtyle and manner of Pindar.] The occaſion of Mr Cowley's falling on the Pindaric way of writing, Dr Sprat tells us (21), was, his accidentally meeting with Pindar's works, in a place where he had no other books to direct him. Having then conſider'd at leiſure the height of his invention, and the majeſty of his ſtyle, he tried immediately to imitate it in Engliſh. And he performed it (ſays my author) without the danger that Horace preſaged to the man who ſhould dare to attempt it. Dr Sprat then vindicates the ſtyle and manner of Mr Cowley's *Pindariques*. 'If any, *ſays he*, are diſpleaſed at the boldneſs of his metaphors, and length of his digreſſions, they contend not againſt Mr Cowley, but Pindar himſelf, who was ſo much reverenced by all antiquity, that the place of his birth was preſerved as ſacred, when his native city was twice deſtroyed by the fury of two conquerors. If the irregularity of the numbers diſguſt them, they may obſerve, that this very thing makes that kind of poetry fit for all manner of ſubjects; for the pleaſant, the grave, the amorous, the heroic, the philoſophical, the moral, the divine. Beſides this they will find, that the frequent alteration of the rhythm and feet affects the mind with a more various delight, while it is ſoon apt to be tired by the ſettled pace of one conſtant meaſure. But that, for which I think this inequality of numbers is chiefly to be preferr'd, is, it's nearer affinity with proſe; from which all other kinds of Engliſh verſe are ſo far diſtant, that it is very ſeldom found, that the ſame man excels in both ways. But now this looſe and unconfined meaſure has all the grace and harmony of the moſt confined. And withal it is ſo large and free, that the practice of it will only exalt, not corrupt, our proſe: which is certainly the moſt uſeful kind of writing of all others; for it is the ſtyle of all buſineſs and converſation.' Mr Cowley himſelf, ſpeaking of his Pindaric Odes (22), tells us, he is in great doubt whether they will be underſtood by moſt readers, nay, even by very many, who are well enough acquainted with the common roads and ordinary tracks of poeſie. *They either are,* ſays he, *or at leaſt were meant to be, of that kind of ſtyle, which Dion Halicarnaſſus calls* μεγαλοφυὲς καὶ ἡδὺ μετά δεινότητος, *and which he attributes to Alcæus. The digreſſions are many and ſudden, and ſometimes long, according to the faſhion of all* Lyriques, *and of* Pindar *above all men living. The figures are unuſual and bold, even*

(21) Ibid. p. 16.

(22) Preface, ubi ſupra, p. 52.

books [O]. Soon after his return, he was ſeized on, through a miſtake, the ſearch being intended

even to temerity, and ſuch as I durſt not have to do withal in any other kind of poetry. The numbers are various and irregular, and ſometimes (eſpecially ſome of the long ones) ſeem harſh and uncouth, if the juſt meaſures and cadencies be not obſerved in the pronuntiation. So that almoſt all their ſweetneſs and numeroſity (which is to be found, if I miſtake not, in the roughest, if rightly repeated) lies in a manner wholly at the mercy of the reader. Mr Cowley adds: ‘I have briefly deſcribed the nature of theſe verſes, in the *Ode* intitled *The Reſurrection*: and tho' the liberty of them may incline a man to believe them eaſy to be compoſed, yet the undertaker will find it otherwiſe:

— — —— — Ut ſibi quivis
Speret idem, ſudet multum, fruſtraque laboret
Auſus idem.

The verſes our author refers to are theſe:

Stop, ſtop, my muſe, allay thy vigorous heat
Kindled at a hint ſo great.
Hold thy *Pindarique Pegaſus* cloſely in,
Which does to *rage* begin,
And this ſteep hill wou'd gallop up with violent courſe.
'Tis an unruly and a *hard-mouth'd* horſe
Fierce and unbroken yet,
Impatient of the *ſpur* or *bit*:
Now *prances* ſtately, and anon *flies* o'er the place,
Diſdains the *ſervile law* of any *ſettled* pace,
Conſcious and proud of his own *natural force*:
'Twill no unſkilful touch endure,
But flings *writer* and *reader* too that fits not ſure.

Two of our greateſt poets, at the ſame time that they allow Mr Cowley to have been a very ſucceſsful Imitator of Pindar, yet find fault with his numbers. Mr Dryden, having told us (23), that *our author brought Pindaric verſe as near perfection as was poſſible in ſo ſhort a time*, adds: ‘But if I may be allowed to ſpeak my mind modeſtly, and without injury to his ſacred aſhes, ſomewhat of the purity of Engliſh, ſomewhat of more equal thoughts, ſomewhat of ſweetneſs in the numbers, in one word, ſomewhat of a finer turn and more Lyrical verſe is yet wanting.' And Mr Congreve, having excepted againſt the irregularity of the meaſure of the Engliſh Pindaric Odes, yet obſerves (24), that *the beauty of* Mr Cowley's *verſes are an atonement for the irregularity of his Stanzas*; and that *tho' he did not imitate Pindar in the ſtrictneſs of his numbers, he has very often happily copied him in the force of his figures, and ſublimity of his ſtyle and ſentiments.*

[O] *His* Davideis, *a ſacred Poem of the troubles of* David *in four books.*] Our poet tells us himſelf (25), he deſign'd to have written this poem in *twelve books*, not for the ſake of the *twelve tribes*, but after the pattern of Virgil, and to have cloſed it with that moſt poetical and admirably Elegy of David's on the death of Saul and Jonathan. ‘This, *ſays he*, was the *whole deſign*, in which there are many noble and fertile arguments behind; as, The barbarous Cruelty of Saul to the Prieſts at Nob, the ſeveral flights and eſcapes of David, with the manner of his living in the wilderneſs, the Funeral of Samuel, the Love of Abigail, the ſacking of Ziklag, the loſs and recovery of David's wives from the Amalekites, the witch of Endor, the war with the Philiſtines, and the Battle of Gilboa; all which I meant to interweave upon ſeveral occaſions, with moſt of the illuſtrious ſtories of the Old Teſtament, and to embelliſh with the moſt remarkble Antiquities of the Jews, and of other nations before or at that age. But I have had neither leiſure hitherto, nor have appetite at preſent to finiſh the work, or ſo much as to reviſe that part, which is done, with that care, which I reſolved to beſtow upon it, and which the dignity of the matter deſerves.' After diſplaying the great excellence and dignity of his ſubject, Mr Cowley complains very pathetically of the great proſtitution of poetry to mean and unworthy purpoſes, and recommends the choice of *divine ſubjects* in terms, which, ſurely, merit the ſerious conſideration of every ſon of Apollo. ‘It is not without grief and indignation, *ſays he*, that I behold that *divine Science* employing all her inexhauſtible riches of wit and eloquence, either in wicked and beggarly flattery of great perſons, or the unmanly idolizing of fooliſh women, or the wretched affectation of ſcurril laughter, or at beſt on the confuſed antiquated dreams of ſenſeleſs fables and metamorphoſes. Amongſt all holy and conſecrated things, which the devil ever ſtole and alienated from the ſervice of the Deity, as, altars, temples, ſacrifices, prayers, and the like, there is none that he ſo univerſally and ſo long uſurp'd, as *Poetry*. It is time to recover it out of the tyrant's hands, and to reſtore it to the kingdom of God, who is the father of it. There wants, methinks, but the converſion of that, and the Jews, for the accompliſhment of the kingdom of Chriſt — I do not wonder, that the old poets made ſome rich crops out of theſe grounds (*); the heart of the ſoil was not then wrought out with continual tillage: But what can we expect now, who come a gleaning, not after the firſt reapers, but after the very beggars? Beſides, though thoſe mad ſtories of the Gods and and Heroes ſeem in themſelves ſo ridiculous, yet they were then the whole body (or rather chaos) of the Theology of thoſe times. They were believed by all, but a few Philoſophers, and perhaps ſome Atheiſts, and ſerved to good purpoſe among the vulgar (as pitiful things as they are) in ſtrengthning the authority of Law with the terrors of conſcience, and expectation of certain rewards and unavoidable puniſhments. There was no other religion, and therefore that was better than none at all. But to us, who have no need of them, to us who deride their folly, and are wearied with their impertinences, they ought to appear no better arguments for verſe, than thoſe of their worthy ſucceſſors the Knights-errant. What can we imagine more proper for the ornaments of wit and learning in the ſtory of *Deucalion*, than in that of *Noah*? Why will not the actions of *Sampſon* afford as plentiful matter as the labours of *Hercules*? Why is not *Jephthah's daughter* as good a woman as *Iphigenia*? and the friendſhip of *David* and *Jonathan* more worthy celebration, than that of *Theſeus* and *Pirithous*? Does not the paſſage of *Moſes* and the *Iſraelites* into the *Holy Land*, yield incomparably more poetical variety, than the voyages of *Ulyſſes* or *Æneas*? Are the obſolete thread-bare tales of *Thebes* and *Troy*, half ſo ſtored with great, heroical, and ſupernatural actions (ſince verſe will needs find, or make ſuch) as the wars of *Joſhua*, of the *Judges*, of *David*, and divers others? Can all the *Transformations* of the *gods* give ſuch copious hints to flouriſh and expatiate on as the *true miracles* of *Chriſt*, or of his *Prophets* and *Apoſtles*? Why do I inſtance in theſe few particulars? All the Books of the *Bible* are either already moſt admirable and exalted pieces of Poeſie, or are the beſt materials in the world for it.' Mr Cowley's Davideis *was written*, ſays Dr Sprat (26), *in ſo young an age, that, if we ſhall reflect on the vaſtneſs of the argument and his manner of handling it, he may ſeem like one of the miracles, that he there adorns, like a boy attempting Goliah. — This perhaps may be the reaſon, that in ſome places there is more youthfulneſs and redundance of fancy, than his riper judgment would have allowed. — But for the main of it, I will affirm, that it is a better inſtance and beginning of a Divine Poem, than ever I yet ſaw in any language. The contrivance is perfectly antient, which is certainly the true form of heroic poetry, and ſuch as was never yet out-done by any new devices of modern wits. The ſubject was truly divine, even according to God's own heart. The matter of his invention, all the treaſures of knowledge and hiſtories of the Bible The model of it comprehended all the learning of the Eaſt The characters lofty and various: the numbers firm and powerful: The digreſſions beautiful and proportionable: The deſign, to ſubmit mortal wit to heavenly truths. In all there is an admirable mixture of human virtues and paſſions, with religious raptures.* ‘The truth is, adds the Life writer (27), methinks, in other matters his wit excelled moſt other mens; but in his Moral and Divine works it out-did itſelf. And no doubt it

proceeded

(23) Preface to the firſt Part of Miſcellany Poems, Lond. 1716, 12mo, p. 32, 33.

(24) Preface to his Pindarique Ode to the Queen. See his Works, Vol. III. p. 344, 345. edit. Lond. 1716, 12mo.

(25) Preface, ubi ſupra, p. 53, 54.

(*) The fabulous Stories of Paganiſm.

(26) Life, &c. p. 18.

(27) Ibid. p. 19.

tended after another gentleman of conſiderable note in the King's party. The Uſurpers would fain have brought over Mr Cowley to their intereſt, but, all their attempts proving fruitleſs, he was committed to a ſevere reſtraint, and with ſome difficulty at laſt obtained his liberty, upon the hard terms of a thouſand pounds bail, which burthen Dr Scarborough very honourably took upon himſelf. Under theſe bonds he continued till the general redemption; when, taking the opportunity of the confuſions that followed upon Cromwell's death, he ventured back into France, and there remained in the ſame ſtation as before, 'till near the time of the King's return (*l*). This account is a ſufficient vindication of Mr Cowley's unſhaken loyalty, which ſome endeavoured to call in queſtion [*P*]. During his ſtay in England, he wrote his *Two Books of Plants*, publiſhed firſt in 1662; to which he afterwards added *four books* more; and all ſix, together with his other Latin Poems, were printed at London in 1678 [*Q*]. It appears by Mr Wood's *Faſti Oxonienſes* (*m*), that our Poet was created Doctor of Phyſic at Oxford [*R*], December 2, 1657. After the King's reſtoration, Mr Cowley, being then paſt the fortieth year of his age, the greateſt part of which had been ſpent in a various and tempeſtuous condition, reſolved to paſs the

'proceeded from this cauſe, that, in the lighter kinds of poetry, he chiefly repreſented the humours and affections of others; but in theſe he ſat to himſelf, and drew the figure of his own mind.' We have the *Firſt Book* of the *Davideis* tranſlated out of Engliſh into very elegant Latin verſe by Mr Cowley himſelf.

[*P*] *Mr Cowley's loyalty was called in queſtion.*] This, Dr Sprat tells us (28), was occaſioned by a few lines in the preface to one of his books. 'The objection, *ſays he*, I muſt not paſs by in ſilence, becauſe it was the only part of his life that was liable to miſinterpretation, even by the confeſſion of thoſe that envyed his fame. In this caſe perhaps it were enough to alledge for him to men of moderate minds, that what he there ſaid was publiſhed before a book of poetry, and ſo ought rather to be eſteemed as a problem of his fancy and invention, than as a real image of his judgment. But his defence in this matter may be laid on a ſurer foundation. This is the true reaſon to be given of his delivering that opinion. Upon his coming over, he found the ſtate of the royal party very deſperate. He perceived the ſtrength of their enemies ſo united, that, 'till it ſhould begin to break within itſelf, all endeavours againſt it were like to prove unſucceſsful. On the other ſide, he beheld their zeal for his majeſty's cauſe to be ſtill ſo active, that it often hurried them into inevitable ruin. He ſaw this with much grief; and tho' he approved their conſtancy as much as any man living, yet he found their unſeaſonable ſhewing it did only diſable themſelves, and give their adverſaries great advantages of riches and ſtrength by their defeats. He therefore believed that it would be a meritorious ſervice to the king, if any man, who was known to have followed his intereſt, could inſinuate into the uſurpers minds that men of his principles were now willing to be quiet, and could perſwade the poor oppreſſed Royaliſts to conceal their affections for better occaſions. And as for his own particular, he was a cloſe priſoner when he writ that againſt which the exception is made; ſo that he ſaw it was impoſſible for him to purſue the ends for which he came hither, if he did not make ſome kind of declaration of his peaceable intentions. This was then his opinion; and the ſucceſs of the thing ſeems to prove that it was not very ill grounded. For certainly it was one of the greateſt helps to the king's affairs, about the latter end of that tyranny, that many of his beſt friends diſſembled their counſels, and acted the ſame deſigns, under the diſguiſes and names of other parties.' *This Sir*, adds the Life-writer, addreſſing himſelf to Mr Martin Clifford, *you can teſtify to have been the innocent occaſion of theſe words, on which ſo much clamour was raiſed. Yet ſeeing his good intentions were ſo ill interpreted, he told me, the laſt time that ever I ſaw him, that he would have them omitted in the next impreſſion, of which his friend Mr Cook is a witneſs. However, if we ſhould take them in the worſt ſenſe, of which they are capable, yet methinks, for his maintaining one falſe tenet in the political philoſophy, he made a ſufficient atonement by a continual ſervice of twenty years, by the perpetual loyalty of his diſcourſe, and by many of his other writings, wherein he has largely defended and adorned the royal cauſe. And, to ſpeak of him not as our friend, but according to the common laws of humanity, certainly that life muſt needs be very unblameable, which had been tried in buſineſs of the higheſt conſequence, and practiſed in the hazardous ſecrets of Courts and Cabinets; and yet there can nothing diſgraceful be produced againſt it, but only the error of one paragraph, and a ſingle metaphor.*

[*Q*] His *Books of Plants*, and his other *Latin Poems*, &c] The occaſion of his chooſing the ſubject of his ſix books of *Plants*, Dr Sprat tells us (29), was this. When he returned into England, he was adviſed to diſſemble the main intention of his coming over, under the diſguiſe of applying himſelf to ſome ſettled profeſſion: and that of Phyſick was thought moſt proper. To this purpoſe, after many anatomical diſſections, he proceeded to the conſideration of Simples; and having furniſhed himſelf with books of that nature, he retired into a fruitful part of Kent, where every field and wood might ſhew him the real figures of thoſe Plants of which he read. Thus he ſpeedily maſter'd that part of the Art of Medicine. But then, as one of the Antients did before him in the ſtudy of the Law, inſtead of employing his ſkill for practice and profit, he preſently digeſted it into that form which we behold. The *two firſt* books treat of Herbs, in a ſtyle reſembling the Elegies of Ovid and Tibullus, in the ſweetneſs and freedom of the verſe, but excelling them in the ſtrength of the fancy and vigour of the ſenſe. The *third* and *fourth* diſcourſe of *Flowers*, in all the variety of Catullus and Horace's numbers: for the laſt of which authors he had a peculiar reverence, and imitated him, not only in the numerous and ſtately pace of his Odes and Epodes, but in the familiar eaſineſs of his Epiſtles and Diſcourſes. The *two laſt* ſpeak of *Trees*, in the way of Virgil's Georgicks. Of theſe the *ſixth* book is wholly dedicated to the honour of his country. For, making the Britiſh Oak to preſide in the Aſſembly of the Foreſt Trees, upon that occaſion he enlarges on the hiſtory of our late troubles, the King's affliction and return, and the beginning of the Dutch War; and manages all in a ſtyle, that (to ſay all in a word) is equal to the greatneſs and valour of the Engliſh nation. Of Mr Cowley's *Latin Poetry* in general the Life-writer gives this character (30), that in them 'he has expreſs'd to admiration all the numbers of verſe, and figures of poeſie, that are ſcattered up and down amongſt the antients;' and that 'there is hardly to be found in them any good faſhion of ſpeech, or colour of meaſure, but he has comprehended it, and given inſtances of it, according as his ſeveral arguments required either a majeſtic ſpirit, or a paſſionate, or a pleaſant. This *(he obſerves)* is the more extraordinary, in that it was never yet performed by any ſingle poet of the antient Romans themſelves.'

[*R*] *He was created Doctor of Phyſick at Oxford*] Anthony Wood pretends (31), Mr Cowley had this degree conferr'd upon him by virtue of a *Mandamus* from the then government. 'Afterwards (ſays he) complying with the men then in power (which was much taken notice of by the Royal party) he obtained an order to be created Doctor of Phyſick.' Allowing this ſtate of the fact to be true, tho' the Life-writer ſays not a word of it, Mr Cowley's *compliance with the men then in power* could only be *ſeemingly* ſuch, for the better carrying on the deſign of his coming over under the pretence of ſtudying Phyſick.

(*l*) Ibid.

(*m*) Vol. II. col. 120.

(28) Life, &c. p. 8.

(29) Ib. p. 21.

(30) Ib. p. 19.

(31) Ubi ſupra.

the remainder of his life in a ſtudious retirement [*S*]. At firſt he was but ſlenderly provided for ſuch a retreat, by reaſon of his travels, and the diſtreſſes of his party, which had put him quite out of the road of gain. But, upon the ſettlement of the peace of the nation, he obtained a plentiful eſtate through the favour of his principal patrons the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of St Albans. Thus furniſhed for his retreat, he ſpent the laſt ſeven or eight years of his life in his beloved obſcurity [*T*], and poſſeſſed that ſolitude, which from his very childhood he had moſt paſſionately deſired (*n*). He choſe for the ſeats of his declining life, two or three villages on the banks of the Thames (*o*); particularly Chertſey, where he had a leaſe of a farm held of the Queen (*p*). This great Poet died [*U*] at a houſe called The Porch-houſe, towards the weſt end of the town of Chertſey in Surrey, July 28, 1667, in the forty-ninth year of his age. His body, accompanied by a great number of perſons of the moſt eminent quality, was interred, the third of Auguſt following, in Weſtminſter-abbey, near the aſhes of Chaucer and Spenſer, the two moſt famous Engliſh Poets of former times (*q*). King Charles II was pleaſed to beſtow upon him the beſt epitaph, when, upon the news of his death, his Majeſty declared, that *Mr Cowley had not left a better man behind him in England* (*r*). A monument was erected to his memory, in May 1675, by George Duke of Buckingham, with a Latin inſcription written by his friend Dr Thomas Sprat [*W*], author of the *Account of Mr Cowley's Life and Writings*, prefixed to his *Works*, and afterwards Biſhop of Rocheſter. Beſides Mr Cowley's Works, already

(*n*) Life, &c. p. 10, 11, 12.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 12.

(*p*) Ubi ſupra.

(*q*) Life, &c. p. 32, 33; and Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*r*) Life, &c. p. 34.

[*S*] *He reſolved to paſs the remainder of his life in a ſtudious retirement.*] Anthony Wood (32) aſcribes this reſolution to diſappointment, *in not finding that preferment conferred upon him, which he expected, while others for their money carried away moſt places.* But Dr Sprat (33) repreſents his retirement as the effect of choice, not of diſcontent. 'He now thought, *ſays that author*, he had ſacrificed enough of his 'life to curioſity and experience. He had enjoyed 'many excellent occaſions of obſervation. He had 'been preſent in many great revolutions, which in 'that tumultuous time diſturb'd the peace of all our 'neighbour ſtates, as well as our own. He had nearly beheld all the ſplendor of the higheſt part of mankind. He had lived in the preſence of princes, and 'familiarly converſed with greatneſs in all it's degrees, 'which was neceſſary for one that would contemn it 'aright: for to ſcorn the pomp of the world before a 'man knows it, does commonly proceed rather from 'ill manners than a true magnanimity. He was now 'weary of the vexations and formalities of an active 'condition. He had been perplexed with a long compliance to foreign manners. He was ſatiated with the 'arts of Court; which ſort of life, tho' his virtue had 'made innocent to him, yet nothing could make it quiet. Theſe were the reaſons that moved him to forego 'all publick employments, and to follow the violent 'inclination of his own mind, which, in the greateſt 'throng of his former buſineſs, had ſtill called upon 'him, and repreſented to him the true delights of ſolitary ſtudies, of temperate pleaſures, and of a moderate revenue, below the malice and flatteries of 'fortune.'

(32) Ibid.

(33) Life, &c. p. 10.

[*T*] *His beloved obſcurity.*] Mr Cowley's Works, eſpecially his *Eſſays in proſe and verſe*, abound with the praiſes of ſolitude and retirement. His three firſt Eſſays are on the ſubjects of *Liberty*, *Solitude*, and *Obſcurity*; and moſt of the tranſlations are of ſuch paſſages of the Claſſic authors as relate to the pleaſures of a country life: particularly, Virgil's *O fortunatos nimium*, &c. Horace's *Beatus ille qui procul*, &c. The ſame author's *Country Mouſe*; Claudian's *Old Man of Verona*; and Martial's *Vitam quæ faciunt beatiorem*, &c. To theſe are ſubjoined the following epitaph, by the author, on himſelf, while living.

Epitaphium Vivi Auctoris.

Hic, O Viator, ſub Lare parvulo
Couleius hic eſt conditus, hic jacet
  Defunctus humani laboris
    Sorte, ſupervacuaque vita;
Non indecora pauperie nitens
Et non inerti nobilis otio,
  Vanoque dilectis popello
    Divitiis animoſus hoſtis.
Poſſis ut illum dicere mortuum,
En terra jam nunc quantula ſufficit!
  Exempta ſit curis, viator,
    Terra ſit illa levis, precare,
Hic ſparge flores, ſparge breves roſas,
Nam vita gaudet mortua floribus;
  Herbiſque odoratis corona
    Vatis adhuc cinerem calentem.

[*U*] *He died.*] His ſolitude, from the very beginning, had never agreed ſo well with the conſtitution of his body, as of his mind. The chief cauſe of it was, that, out of haſte to be gone away from the tumult and noiſe of the city, he had not prepared ſo healthful a ſituation in the country, as he might have done, if he had made his choice more at leiſure. Of this he ſoon began to find the inconvenience at *Barn-elms*, where he was afflicted with a dangerous and lingring fever. After that he ſcarce ever recovered his former health, tho' his mind was reſtored to it's perfect vigour. Shortly after his removal to *Chertſey*, he fell into another conſuming diſeaſe. Having languiſhed under this for ſome months, he ſeemed to be pretty well cured of it's ill ſymptoms. But, in the heat of the ſummer, by ſtaying too long amongſt his labourers in the meadows, he was taken with a violent defluxion, and ſtoppage in his breaſt and throat. This he at firſt neglected as an ordinary cold, and refuſed to ſend for his uſual phyſicians, 'till it was paſt all remedies; and ſo, in the end, after a fortnight's ſickneſs, it proved mortal to him (34). 'Who can here forbear exclaiming on the weak hopes, and frail condition of human 'nature? For as long as Mr Cowley was purſuing the 'courſe of ambition, in an active life, which he 'ſcarce eſteemed his true life, he never wanted a conſtant health and ſtrength of body. But as ſoon as ever 'he had found an opportunity of beginning indeed to 'live, and to enjoy himſelf in ſecurity, his contentment was firſt broken by ſickneſs, and at laſt his death 'was occaſioned by his very delight in the country and 'the fields, which he had long fancied above all other 'pleaſures (35).

(34) Ibid. p. 32.

(35) Ibid.

[*W*] *An inſcription on his monument, written by his friend Dr Thomas Sprat.*] It is this:

Abrahamus *Couleius*, Anglorum Pindarus, Flaccus, Maro, Deliciæ, Decus, Deſiderium, ævi ſui, hic juxta ſitus eſt.

Aurea dum volitant late tua ſcripta per orbem,
Et fama æternum vivis, divine Poeta,
Hic placida jaceas requie: cuſtodiat urnam
Cana Fides, vigilentque perenni lampade Muſæ.
Sit ſacer iſte locus, nec quis temerarius auſit
Sacrilega turbare manu venerabile buſtum.
Intacti maneant, maneant per ſæcula, dulcis
Couleii cineres, ſerventque immobile ſaxum.

Sic vovit, votumque ſuum apud poſteros ſacratum eſſe voluit, qui viro incomparabili poſuit ſepulchrale marmor *Georgius* Dux *Buckinghamiæ*.

Exceſſit e vita anno ætatis ſuæ 49, et honorifica pompa elatus ex ædibus Buckinghamianis, viris illuſtribus omnium ordinum exequias celebrantibus, ſepultus eſt die 3 M. Auguſti, Anno Domini 1667.

already mentioned, we have by the ſame hand, *A Propoſition for the Advancement of Experimental Philoſophy* [*X*]; *A Diſcourſe by way of Viſion concerning the government of* Oliver Cromwell [*Y*]; and *Several Diſcourſes by way of Eſſays in proſe and verſe* [*Z*]. Mr Cowley had deſigned alſo a *Diſcourſe* concerning *Style* [*AA*], and a *Review* of the *principles* of the *primitive Chriſtian Church* [*BB*], but was prevented by death (*s*). A ſpurious piece, intituled *The Iron Age*, was publiſhed under Mr Cowley's name [*CC*], during his abſence; and, in Mr Dryden's *Miſcellany Poems* (*t*), we find *A Poem on the Civil War*, ſaid to be written by our author [*DD*], but not extant in any edition of his works. Dr Sprat
mentions,

(*s*) Ib. p. 30, 31.

(*t*) P. iii. p. 225, edit. 1716.

[*X*] A Propoſition for the advancement of Experimental Philoſophy.] It is by a *College*, conſiſting of *Profeſſors*, *Scholars*, *Chaplains*, and other officers. Their buſineſs, to uſe Mr Cowley's own words (36), ſhould be, *to ſtudy the improvement and advantage of all other profeſſions, from that of the higheſt General, even to the loweſt artiſan——to employ their whole time, wit, learning, and induſtry, to theſe four, the moſt uſeful that can be imagined, and to no other ends: Firſt, to weigh, examine, and prove, all things of nature delivered to us by former ages; to detect, explode, and ſtrike a cenſure thro' all falſe monies, with which the world has been paid and cheated ſo long, and, as I may ſay, to ſet the mark of the college upon all true coins, that they may paſs hereafter without any farther tryal: Secondly, to recover the loſt inventions, and, as it were, drown'd lands of the antients: Thirdly, to improve all arts, which we now have; and laſtly, to diſcover others, which we yet have not.*

(36) Works, &c. Vol. II. p. 577.

[*Y*] A Diſcourſe by way of Viſion concerning the government of Oliver Cromwell.] Our author, having been a ſpectator of Cromwell's funeral proceſſion (*which*, to his thinking, *ſomewhat repreſented the life of him for whom it was made: much noiſe, much tumult, much expence, much magnificence, much vain-glory; briefly a great ſhow, and yet, after all this, but an ill ſight*); tell us, he was rocked aſleep by the different motions and agitations of his mind, and at laſt fell into this viſion. He finds himſelf on the top of a famous hill in the iſland of *Mona*, from whence he had a proſpect of Great Britain and Ireland. After ſome melancholy reflections, and a poetical complaint of the preſent unhappy condition of theſe kingdoms, he is interrupted by a ſtrange and terrible apparition of the figure of a man, riſing out of the earth, taller than any giant. This phantom, which is there deſcribed at length, calls himſelf the *North-Weſt Principality*, and *Protector* of the *Common-wealth* of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and undertakes the defence of Cromwell's character and government, againſt the ſevere cenſures and keen invectives of the author, who repreſents both in the blackeſt and moſt deteſtable colours. At laſt, the Evil Angel's fury being raiſed, the author is in great danger, but is preſerved by the deſcent of a good Angel, the poetical deſcription of which concludes the viſion.

[*Z*] Several Diſcourſes, by way of Eſſays, in proſe and verſe.] Theſe, which are upon ſome of the graveſt ſubjects that concern the contentment of a virtuous mind, he intended, Dr Sprat tells us (37), as a real character of his own thoughts upon the point of his retiring (38). Accordingly, it is obſervable, that, in the proſe of them, there is little curioſity of ornament; but they are written in a lower and humbler ſtyle than the reſt, and, as an unfeigned image of the ſoul ſhould be drawn, without flattery. He deſigned to have added many others to them, and to have dedicated them all to the Earl of St Alban's, as a teſtimony of his entire reſpects to him, and a kind of apology for having left human affairs in the ſtrength of his age, while he might ſtill have been ſerviceable to his country.

(37) Life, &c. p. 24.

(38) See the remark [*T*].

[*AA*] *He deſigned* A Diſcourſe *concerning* Style.] In this he had deſigned to give an account of the proper ſorts of writing, that were fit for all manner of arguments; to compare the perfections and imperfections of the authors of antiquity with thoſe of the moderns; and to accommodate the whole to the particular uſe of the Engliſh Genius and Language (39). ‘This ſubject, *adds* Dr Sprat, he was very fit to perform, it being moſt proper for him to be the judge, who had been the beſt practiſer. But he ſcarce lived to draw the firſt lines of it. All the footſteps that I can find remaining of it, are only ſome indigeſted characters of antient and modern authors. And now for the future, I almoſt deſpair ever to ſee it well accompliſh'd.'

(39) Life, &c. p. 30.

[*BB*]——*and a* Review *of the* principles *of the* primitive Chriſtian Church.] Tho' Mr Cowley was in his practice exactly obedient to the uſages and precepts of the Church of England, nor was inclined to any uncertainty and doubt, as abhorring all contention in indifferent things, and much more in ſacred; yet, beholding the diviſions of Chriſtendom, and obſerving how many controverſies had been introduced by zeal and ignorance, and continued by faction; he had therefore an earneſt intention, for the eſtabliſhing his own mind in the faith he profeſs'd, to look back to the original principles of the primitive Church; believing that every true Chriſtian had no better means to ſettle his ſpirit, than that which was propoſed to Æneas and his followers, to be the end of their wandrings, *Antiquam exquirite matrem.* This examination he purpoſed ſhould reach to our Saviour's and the Apoſtles lives, and their immediate ſucceſſors, for four or five Centuries, till intereſt and policy prevailed over Devotion. He hoped to have abſolutely compaſſed it in three or four years, and, when that was done, there to have fixed for ever, without any ſhaking or alteration in his judgment (40). ‘Indeed, *adds* Dr Sprat, it was a great damage to our Church, that he lived not to perform it. For very much of the primitive light might have been expected from a mind that was endued with the primitive meekneſs and innocence. And beſides, ſuch a work, coming from one that was no Divine, might have been very uſeful for an age, wherein it is one of the principal cavils againſt religion, that it is only a matter of intereſt, and only ſupported for the gain of a particular profeſſion.'

(40) Ibid. p. 31.

[*CC*] *A ſpurious piece*, intituled The Iron Age, *was publiſhed under Mr Cowley's name.*] He ſpeaks of it himſelf (41), with ſome aſperity and concern. ‘I wondered, *ſays he*, how one, who could be ſo fooliſh to to write ſuch ill verſes, ſhould yet be ſo wiſe to ſet them forth as another man's rather than his own; though perhaps he might have made a better choice, and not father'd the baſtard upon ſuch a perſon, whoſe ſtock of reputation is, I fear, little enough for maintainance of his own numerous legitimate off-ſpring of that kind. It would have been much leſs injurious, if it had pleaſed the author to put forth ſome of my writings under his own name, rather than his own under mine. He had been in that a more pardonable Plagiary, and had done leſs wrong by robbery, than he does by ſuch a bounty: for no body can be juſtified by the imputation even of another's merit: our own coarſe cloaths are like to become us better than thoſe of another man, tho' never ſo rich. But theſe, to ſay the truth, were ſo beggarly, that I my ſelf was aſhamed to wear them. It was in vain for me, that I avoided cenſure by the concealment of my own writings, if my reputation could be thus executed in effigy; and impoſſible it is for any good name to be ſafe, if the malice of witches have the power to conſume and deſtroy it in an image of their own making. This indeed was ſo ill made, and ſo unlike, that I hope the charm took no effect.'

(41) In the Preface to his Poems. See his Works, Vol. I.

[*DD*] *A* Poem on the Civil War, *ſaid to be written by our author.*] It was printed, firſt, at London, in *quarto*, in 1679 (42). The publiſher tells us (43), that, meeting accidentally with this poem in manuſcript, and being informed that it was a piece of the incomparable Mr Abraham Cowley's, he thought it unjuſt to hide ſuch a treaſure from the world. ‘*I remembred*, ſays he, *that our author, in the Preface to his Works, makes mention of ſome poems, written by him on the late Civil Wars, of which the following is unqueſtionably a part. In his moſt imperfect and unfiniſhed pieces you will diſcover the hand of ſo great a maſter. And (whatever his own modeſty might have adviſed to the contrary) there is not one careleſs ſtroke of his, but what ſhould be kept ſacred to all poſterity. He*
‘*could*

(42) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(43) In the Pref.

mentions, as very excellent in their kind, Mr Cowley's *Letters to his private friends* [EE], none of which were publiſhed (u). That author gives us a moſt advantageous character of Mr Cowley, both as a man [FF], and as a Poet [GG]. Mr Addiſon has celebrated his praiſes with a mixture of blame [HH]. Sir John Denham has given us a fine copy of verſes

' *could write nothing that was not worth the preſerving, being habitually a poet, and always inſpired. In this piece the judicious reader will find the turn of verſe to be his; the ſame copious and lively imagery of fancy, the ſame warmth of paſſion, and delicacy of wit, that ſparkles in all his writings. And certainly no labour of a Genius ſo rich in itſelf, and ſo cultivated with learning and manners, can prove an unwelcome preſent to the World.*' The paſſage of Mr Cowley's Preface, here pointed at, is this. 'I have caſt away all ſuch pieces as I wrote during the time of the late troubles, with any relation to the differences that cauſed them; as among others, *Three Books of the Civil War* itſelf, reaching as far as the firſt Battle of Newbury, where the ſucceeding miſfortunes of the party ſtopped the work.'

[EE] *His* Letters to his private friends.] Let us hear Dr Sprat. 'In theſe he always expreſſed the native tenderneſs and innocent gaiety of his mind. I think, Sir (*), you and I have the greateſt collection of this ſort. But I know you agree with me, that *nothing of this nature ſhould be publiſhed*: and herein you have always conſented to approve the modeſt judgment of our countrymen, above the practiſe of ſome of our neighbours, and chiefly of the French. I make no manner of queſtion, but the Engliſh, *at this time*, are infinitely improved this way, above the ſkill of former ages, nay of all the countries round about us, that pretend to greater eloquence. Yet they have been always judiciouſly ſparing in printing ſuch compoſures, while ſome other witty nations have tired all their preſſes, and readers, with them. The truth is, the letters that paſs between particular friends, if they are written as they ought to be, can ſcarce ever be fit to ſee the light. They ſhould not conſiſt of fulſome compliments, or tedious politicks, or elaborate elegancies, or general fancies: but they ſhould have a native clearneſs and ſhortneſs, a domeſtic plainneſs, and a peculiar kind of familiarity; which can only affect the humour of thoſe for whom they were intended. The very ſame paſſages which make writings of this nature delightful among friends, will loſe all manner of taſte, when they come to be read by thoſe that are indifferent. In ſuch letters the ſouls of men ſhould appear undreſſed: and in that negligent habit they may be fit to be ſeen by one or two in a chamber, but not to go abroad into the ſtreets (44).'

[FF] *His character, as a man*.] He had a perfect natural goodneſs, which neither the uncertainties of his condition, nor the largeneſs of his wit could pervert. Nothing vain or fantaſtical, nothing flattering or inſolent, appeared in his humour. Nor was there any thing affected or ſingular in his habit, or perſon, or geſture. He underſtood the forms of good breeding enough to practiſe them, without burthening himſelf or others. He never had any emulation for fame, or contention for profit, with any man. His modeſty and humility were ſo great, that, if he had not had many other equal virtues, they might have been thought diſſimulation. His converſation was ſuch, as was rather admired by his familiar friends, than by ſtrangers at firſt ſight. In his ſpeech, neither the pleaſantneſs excluded gravity, nor was the ſobriety of it inconſiſtent with delight. He governed his paſſions with great moderation. Whatever he diſliked in others, he only corrected it by the ſilent reproof of a better practice. His wit was ſo tempered, that no man had ever reaſon to wiſh it had been leſs. He never willingly recited any of his writings; and none but his intimate friends ever diſcovered he was a great poet by his diſcourſe. His learning was large and profound, and ſat exceeding cloſe and handſome upon him: it was not emboſſed on his mind, but enamelled. He never guided his life by the whiſpers, or opinions of the world. He was a paſſionate lover of liberty, and freedom from reſtraint both in actions and words: But what honeſty others receive from the direction of laws, he had by native inclination. He performed all his natural and civil duties with admirable tenderneſs. His friendſhips were inviolable: his thoughts never above nor below his condition. In a word, he was accompliſhed with all manner of abilities, for the greateſt buſineſs, if he would but have thought ſo himſelf (45).

[GG] —*as a* Poet.] In all the ſeveral ſhapes of his ſtyle, there is very much of the likeneſs and impreſſion of the ſame mind; the ſame unaffected modeſty, and natural freedom, and eaſy vigour, and chearful paſſions, and innocent mirth, which appeared in all his manners. If he was not wonderfully curious in the choice and elegance of his words, on the other ſide he had no manner of affectation in them, but took them as he found them made to his hands. If his verſes in ſome places ſeem not as ſoft and flowing, as ſome would have them, it was his choice, not his fault. Where the matter required it, he was as gentle as any man; but where higher virtues were chiefly to be regarded, an exact numeroſity was not then his main care. He had a perfect maſtery in both the languages in which he writ, and excelled both in proſe and verſe. Tho' his fancy flowed with great ſpeed, he never runs his reader, nor his argument, out of breath, but always leaves off in ſuch a manner, that it appears it was in his power to have ſaid more. His invention is powerful, but ſeems all to ariſe out of the nature of the ſubject, and to be juſt fitted for the thing of which he ſpeaks. The variety of arguments that he has managed is ſo large, that there is ſcarce any particular of the paſſions of men, or works of nature and providence, which he has paſſed by undeſcribed: yet to all theſe matters, ſo wide aſunder, he ſtill proportions a due figure of ſpeech, and a proper meaſure of wit (46). Whether Mr Cowley's works have been always viewed in the ſame favourable light, will be ſeen in the following remark.

[HH] *Mr* Addiſon *celebrates his praiſes with a mixture of blame.*] It is in his *Account of the greateſt Engliſh Poets*, addreſſed to Mr. Henry Sacheverell, April 3, 1694 (47). The Lines are theſe.

Great Cowley then, a mighty Genius, wrote,
O'errun with wit, and laviſh of his thought:
His turns too cloſely on the reader preſs;
He more had pleaſed us, had he pleaſed us leſs.
One glittering thought no ſooner ſtrikes our eyes
With ſilent wonder, but new wonders riſe;
As in the milky way a ſhining white
O'reflows the heav'ns with one continued light;
That not a ſingle ſtar can ſhew his rays,
Whilſt jointly all promote the common blaze.
Pardon, great poet, that I dare to name
Th' unnumbered beauties of thy verſe with blame.
Thy fault is only wit in it's exceſs;
But wit like thine in any ſhape will pleaſe.
What Muſe but thine can equal hints inſpire,
And fit the deep-mouthed Pindar to thy lyre?
Pindar, whom others in a labour'd ſtrain,
And forc'd expreſſions, imitate in vain.
Well-pleas'd in thee he ſoars with new delight,
And plays in more unbounded verſe, and takes a
nobler flight.
Bleſt man! whoſe ſpotleſs life and charming lays
Employ'd the tuneful prelate in thy praiſe.
Bleſt man! who now ſhall be for ever known
In *Sprat*'s ſucceſsful labours and thy own.

In one of the *notes* on this author's *tranſlations* from Ovid's *Metamorphoſes* (48), we have the following account of the nature of *mixed wit*, of which Ovid, he tells us, among the antients, was the greateſt admirer, as our Cowley was among the moderns. 'Mr Locke, in his *Eſſay of Human Underſtanding*, has given us the beſt account of wit in ſhort that can any where be met with. *Wit*, ſays he, *lyes in the aſſemblage of Ideas, and putting thoſe together with quickneſs and*

' *variety*,

(u) Life, &c. p. 23.

(*) Addreſſing himſelf to Mr Clifford.

(44) Life, &c. p. 23, 24.

(45) Ibid. p. 36, 37, 38.

(46) Ibid. p. 13, 14, 15.

(47) See Mr Addiſon's Works, edit. 12mo, 1726, Vol. I. p. 35.

(43) Ib. p. 248.

verſes *on his death and burial among the antient Poets* [*II*]; and Mr Pope has paid the tribute of verſe to his memory, in his *Windſor-Foreſt* [*KK*].

variety, wherein can be found any reſemblance or congruity, thereby to make up pleaſant pictures and agreeable viſions in the fancy. Thus does true wit, as this incomparable author obſerves, conſiſt in the likeneſs of Ideas, and is more or leſs wit, as this likeneſs is more ſurprizing and unexpected. But as *true wit* is nothing elſe but a ſimilitude in Ideas, ſo is *falſe wit* the ſimilitude in words, whether it lyes in the likeneſs of letters only, as in anagram and acroſtic; or of ſyllables, as in Doggrel rhimes; or whole words, as Puns, Eccho's, and the like. Beſides theſe two kinds of falſe and true wit, there is another of a middle nature, that has ſomething of both in it: when in two Ideas, that have ſome reſemblance with each other, and are both expreſs'd by the ſame word, we make uſe of the ambiguity of the word, to ſpeak that of one Idea included under it, which is proper to the other. Thus, for example, moſt languages have hit on the word which properly ſignifies *Fire*, to expreſs *Love* by, (and therefore we may be ſure there is ſome reſemblance in the Ideas mankind have of them); from hence the witty poets of all languages, when they have once called Love a Fire, conſider it no longer as the paſſion, but ſpeak of it under the notion of a real fire, and, as the turn of wit requires, make the ſame word in the ſame ſentence ſtand for either of the ideas that is annexed to it. When Ovid's Apollo falls in love, he burns with a new flame; when the Sea-nymphs languiſh with this paſſion, they kindle in the water: the Greek Epigrammatiſt fell in love with one that flung a ſnow-ball at him, and therefore takes occaſion to admire how fire could be thus concealed in ſnow. In ſhort whenever the poet feels any thing in his love that reſembles ſomething in fire, he carries on this agreement into a kind of allegory: but if, as in the preceding inſtances, he finds any circumſtances in his love contrary to the nature of fire, he call his love a fire, and by joining this circumſtance to it, ſurprizes his reader with a ſeeming contradiction.' Mr Addiſon tells us elſewhere (49), that this ſort of wit abounds in *Cowley*, more than in any other author that ever wrote; and he gives us ſome examples of it, all borrowed from our Poet's *Miſtreſs*. He remarks, that 'Cowley, obſerving the cold regard of his miſtreſs's eyes, and at the ſame time their power of producing love in him, conſiders them as burning-glaſſes made of ice; and finding himſelf able to live in the greateſt extremities of love, concludes the torrid zone to be habitable. When his miſtreſs has read his letter written in juice of lemon, by holding it to the fire, he deſires her to read it over a ſecond time by love's flames. When ſhe weeps, he wiſhes it were inward heat that diſtilled thoſe drops from the Limbeck. When ſhe is abſent, he is beyond eighty, that is, thirty degrees nearer the pole, than whan ſhe is with him. His ambitious love is a fire, that naturally mounts upwards; his happy love is the beams of heaven, and his unhappy love flames of hell. When it does not let him ſleep, it is a flame, that ſends up no ſmoke: when it is oppoſed by counſel and advice, it is a fire, that rages the more by the wind's blowing upon it. Upon the dying of a tree, in which he had cut his loves, he obſerves, that his written flames had burnt up and withered the tree. When he reſolves to give over his paſſion, he tell us, that one burnt like him for ever dreads the fire. His heart is an Ætna, that inſtead of Vulcan's ſhop incloſes Cupid's forge in it. His endeavouring to drown his love in wine, is throwing oil upon the fire. He would inſinuate to his miſtreſs, that the fire of love, like that of the ſun (which produces ſo many living creatures) ſhould not only warm, but beget. Love, in another place, cooks pleaſure at his fire. Sometimes the poet's heart is frozen in every breaſt, and ſometimes ſcorched in every eye. Sometimes he is drowned in tears, and burnt in love, like a ſhip ſet on fire in the middle of the ſea.' *The reader may obſerve*, concludes Mr Addiſon, *in every one of theſe inſtances, that the poet mixes the qualities of fire with thoſe of love; and in the ſame ſentence ſpeaking of it both as a paſſion and as a real fire, ſurprizes the reader with theſe ſeeming reſemblances or contradictions, that make up all the wit in this kind of writing.* He acknowledges however, that the poet, out of whom he had taken theſe examples of *mixed wit*, had as much *true wit* as any author that ever writ, and indeed all other talents of an extraordinary genius.

(49) Spectator, Vol. I. No. 62.

[*II*] *Sir John Denham's verſes* on Mr Cowley's death and burial among the antient poets.] They contain the following Elegy on our bard (50):

Old mother wit, and nature gave
Shakeſpear and *Fletcher* all they have;
In *Spenſer* and in *Johnſon*, Art
Of ſlower nature got the ſtart.
But both in him ſo equal are,
None knows which bears the happieſt ſhare.
To him no author was unknown,
Yet what he wrote was all his own:
He melted not the antient gold,
Nor, with *Ben Johnſon*, did make bold
To plunder all the Roman ſtores
Of Poets and of Orators.
Horace's wit, and *Virgil*'s ſtate
He did not ſteal, but emulate;
And when he wou'd like them appear,
Their garb, but not their cloaths, did wear.
He not from *Rome* alone, but *Greece*,
Like *Jaſon*, brought the Golden Fleece.
On a ſtiff gale (as *Flaccus* ſings)
The *Theban* Swan extends his wings,
When thro' th' ætherial clouds he flies:
To the ſame pitch our Swan doth riſe;
Old *Pindar*'s flights by him new reach'd,
When on that gale his wings are ſtretch'd.

(50) Denham's Poems, p. 90.

[*KK*] *Mr Pope has paid the tribute of verſe to his memory, in his* Windſor-Foreſt.] The lines are theſe (51):

Here his firſt Lays majeſtic Denham ſung;
There the laſt numbers flow'd from *Cowley*'s
tongue (||).
O early loſt! what tears the river ſhed,
When the ſad pomp along his banks was led!
His drooping ſwans on ev'ry note expire,
And on his willows hung each Muſe's lyre.
Since fate relentleſs ſtopp'd their heav'nly voice,
No more the foreſts ring, or groves rejoice.
Who now ſhall charm the ſhades, where *Cowley* ſtrung
His living harp, and lofty Denham ſung?

(51) Pope's Works, 12mo edit. 1736, Vol. I. p. 78.

(||) Mr Cowley died at Chertſey on the borders of the foreſt.

T

COX (RICHARD) a learned Biſhop in the XVIth century, was born at Whaddon in Buckinghamſhire, of mean parentage (*a*), in the year 1499 (*b*). He had, probably, his firſt education in the ſmall priory of Snelſhall in the pariſh of Whaddon: But being afterwards ſent to Eaton-ſchool, he was thence elected into a ſcholarſhip at King's-college in Cambridge, of which he became Fellow in the year 1519 (*c*). Having the ſame year taken his Bachelor of Arts degree, and being eminent for his piety and learning, he was one of thoſe bright Scholars, who were invited to Oxford by Cardinal Wolſey, to fill up his new foundation (*d*). He was accordingly preferred to be one of the Junior Canons of

(*a*) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Lond. 1730, Vol. II. p. 359. among the Biſhops of Ely.

(*b*) Life of Biſhop Cox, by S. Downes; prefixed to Sparrow's Rationale, p. cxv.

(*c*) Willis, as above; and Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 203. He was admitted in King's-college in 1518. Fuller's Worthies, in Buckinghamſh. p. 131.

(*d*) Downes, ubi ſupra; and Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 40.

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Bleſt man! who now ſhall be for ever known
In *Sprat*'s ſucceſsful labours and thy own.

In one of the *notes* on this author's *tranſlations* from Ovid's *Metamorphoſes* (48), we have the following account of the nature of *mixed wit*, of which Ovid, he tells us, among the antients, was the greateſt admirer, as our Cowley was among the moderns. ‘ Mr Locke, in his *Eſſay of Human Underſtanding*, has given us the beſt account of wit in ſhort that can any where be met with. *Wit*, ſays he, *lyes in the aſſemblage of Ideas, and putting thoſe together with quickneſs and* ‘ *variety*,

(43) Ib. p. 248.

verſes *on his death and burial among the antient Poets* [*II*]; and Mr Pope has paid the tribute of verſe to his memory, in his *Windſor-Foreſt* [*KK*].

‘*variety, wherein can be found any reſemblance or congruity, thereby to make up pleaſant pictures and agreeable viſions in the fancy.* Thus does true wit, as this incomparable author obſerves, conſiſt in the likeneſs of Ideas, and is more or leſs wit, as this likeneſs is more ſurprizing and unexpected. But as *true wit* is nothing elſe but a ſimilitude in Ideas, ſo is *falſe wit* the ſimilitude in words, whether it lyes in the likeneſs of letters only, as in anagram and acroſtic; or of ſyllables, as in Doggrel rhimes; or whole words, as Puns, Eccho's, and the like. Beſides theſe two kinds of falſe and true wit, there is another of a middle nature, that has ſomething of both in it: when in two Ideas, that have ſome reſemblance with each other, and are both expreſs'd by the ſame word, we make uſe of the ambiguity of the word, to ſpeak that of one Idea included under it, which is proper to the other. Thus, for example, moſt languages have hit on the word which properly ſignifies *Fire*, to expreſs *Love* by, (and therefore we may be ſure there is ſome reſemblance in the Ideas mankind have of them); from hence the witty poets of all languages, when they have once called Love a Fire, conſider it no longer as the paſſion, but ſpeak of it under the notion of a real fire, and, as the turn of wit requires, make the ſame word in the ſame ſentence ſtand for either of the ideas that is annexed to it. When Ovid's Apollo falls in love, he burns with a new flame; when the Sea-nymphs languiſh with this paſſion, they kindle in the water: the Greek Epigrammatiſt fell in love with one that flung a ſnow-ball at him, and therefore takes occaſion to admire how fire could be thus concealed in ſnow. In ſhort whenever the poet feels any thing in his love that reſembles ſomething in fire, he carries on this agreement into a kind of allegory: but if, as in the preceding inſtances, he finds any circumſtances in his love contrary to the nature of fire, he call his love a fire, and by joining this circumſtance to it, ſurprizes his reader with a ſeeming contradiction.’ Mr Addiſon tells us elſewhere (49), that this ſort of wit abounds in *Cowley*, more than in any other author that ever wrote; and he gives us ſome examples of it, all borrowed from our Poet's *Miſtreſs*. He remarks, that ‘Cowley, obſerving the cold regard of his miſtreſs's eyes, and at the ſame time their power of producing love in him, conſiders them as burning-glaſſes made of ice; and finding himſelf able to live in the greateſt extremities of love, concludes the torrid zone to be habitable. When his miſtreſs has read his letter written in juice of lemon, by holding it to the fire, he deſires her to read it over a ſecond time by love's flames. When ſhe weeps, he wiſhes it were inward heat that diſtilled thoſe drops from the Limbeck. When ſhe is abſent, he is beyond eighty, that is, thirty degrees nearer the pole, than whan ſhe is with him. His ambitious love is a fire, that naturally mounts upwards; his happy love is the beams of heaven, and his unhappy love flames of hell. When it does not let him ſleep, it is a flame, that ſends up no ſmoke: when it is oppoſed by counſel and advice, it is a fire, that rages the more by the wind's blowing upon it. Upon the dying of a tree, in which he had cut his loves, he obſerves, that his written flames had burnt up and withered the tree. When he reſolves to give over his paſſion, he tell us, that one burnt like him for ever dreads the fire. His heart is an Ætna, that inſtead of Vulcan's ſhop incloſes Cupid's forge in it. His endeavouring to drown his love in wine, is throwing oil upon the fire. He would inſinuate to his miſtreſs, that the fire of love, like that of the ſun (which produces ſo many living creatures) ſhould not only warm, but beget. Love, in another place, cooks pleaſure at his fire. Sometimes the poet's heart is frozen in every breaſt, and ſometimes ſcorched in every eye. Sometimes he is drowned in tears, and burnt in love, like a ſhip ſet on fire in the middle of the ſea.’ *The reader may obſerve*, concludes Mr Addiſon, *in every one of theſe inſtances, that the poet mixes the qualities of fire with thoſe of love; and in the ſame ſentence ſpeaking of it both as a paſſion and as a real fire, ſurprizes the reader with theſe ſeeming reſemblances or contradictions, that make up all the wit in this kind of writing.* He acknowledges however, that the poet, out of whom he had taken theſe examples of *mixed wit*, had as much *true wit* as any author that ever writ, and indeed all other talents of an extraordinary genius.

(49) Spectator, Vol. I. No. 62.

[*II*] *Sir John Denham's verſes* on Mr Cowley's death and burial among the antient poets.] They contain the following Elegy on our bard (50):

Old mother wit, and nature gave
Shakeſpear and *Fletcher* all they have;
In *Spenſer* and in *Johnſon*, Art
Of ſlower nature got the ſtart.
But both in him ſo equal are,
None knows which bears the happieſt ſhare.
To him no author was unknown,
Yet what he wrote was all his own:
He melted not the antient gold,
Nor, with *Ben Johnſon*, did make bold
To plunder all the Roman ſtores
Of Poets and of Orators.
Horace's wit, and *Virgil*'s ſtate
He did not ſteal, but emulate;
And when he wou'd like them appear,
Their garb, but not their cloaths, did wear.
He not from *Rome* alone, but *Greece*,
Like *Jaſon*, brought the Golden Fleece.
On a ſtiff gale (as *Flaccus* ſings)
The *Theban* Swan extends his wings,
When thro' th' ætherial clouds he flies:
To the ſame pitch our Swan doth riſe;
Old *Pindar*'s flights by him new reach'd,
When on that gale his wings are ſtretch'd.

(50) Denham's Poems, p. 90.

[*KK*] *Mr Pope has paid the tribute of verſe to his memory, in his* Windſor-Foreſt.] The lines are theſe (51):

Here his firſt Lays majeſtic Denham ſung;
There the laſt numbers flow'd from *Cowley*'s
tongue (‖).
O early loſt! what tears the river ſhed,
When the ſad pomp along his banks was led!
His drooping ſwans on ev'ry note expire,
And on his willows hung each Muſe's lyre.
Since fate relentleſs ſtopp'd their heav'nly voice,
No more the foreſts ring, or groves rejoice.
Who now ſhall charm the ſhades, where *Cowley* ſtrung
His living harp, and lofty Denham ſung?

(51) Pope's Works, 12mo edit. 1736, Vol. I. p. 78.

(‖) Mr Cowley died at Chertſey on the borders of the foreſt.

T

COX (Richard) a learned Biſhop in the XVIth century, was born at Whaddon in Buckinghamſhire, of mean parentage (*a*), in the year 1499 (*b*). He had, probably, his firſt education in the ſmall priory of Snelſhall in the pariſh of Whaddon: But being afterwards ſent to Eaton-ſchool, he was thence elected into a ſcholarſhip at King's-college in Cambridge, of which he became Fellow in the year 1519 (*c*). Having the ſame year taken his Bachelor of Arts degree, and being eminent for his piety and learning, he was one of thoſe bright Scholars, who were invited to Oxford by Cardinal Wolſey, to fill up his new foundation (*d*). He was accordingly preferred to be one of the Junior Canons of

(*a*) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Lond. 1730, Vol. II. p. 359. among the Biſhops of Ely.

(*b*) Life of Biſhop Cox, by S. Downes; prefixed to Sparrow's Rationale, p. cxv.

(*c*) Willis, as above; and Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 203. He was admitted in King's-college in 1518. Fuller's Worthies, in Buckinghamſh. p. 131.

(*d*) Downes, ubi ſupra; and Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 40.

Cardinal-college (*e*); and on the 7th of December, 1525, incorporated Bachelor of Arts at Oxford, as he ſtood at Cambridge (*f*). Soon after, performing his exerciſes, he was, on the 8th of February following, licenſed to proceed in Arts, in which he took the degree of Maſter, July 2, 1526 (*g*). He was reputed one of the greateſt ſcholars of his age; and his poetical compoſitions were in great eſteem among the beſt judges. His piety and virtue were not inferior to his learning, and commanded the reſpect of all impartial perſons. But ſhewing himſelf averſe to many of the Popiſh ſuperſtitions, and declaring freely for ſome of Luther's opinions, he incurred the diſpleaſure of the Governors of the univerſity, who ſtripped him of his preferment, and threw him into priſon on ſuſpicion of hereſy (*h*). When he was releaſed from his confinement, he left Oxford; and, ſome time after, was choſen Maſter of Eaton-ſchool, which was obſerved remarkably to flouriſh under his vigilant and induſtrious care (*i*). In 1537, he commenced Doctor in Divinity at Cambridge (*k*). And on the 4th of December, 1540, was made Archdeacon of Ely (*l*): as he was alſo appointed in 1541, the firſt Prebendary in the firſt ſtall of the ſame cathedral, upon the new founding of it by King Henry VIII, on the 10th of September 1541 (*m*). He was likewiſe, the 3d of June 1542, preſented by the ſame King to the prebend of Sutton with Buckingham in the church of Lincoln, and inſtalled the 11th of that month. But this he ſurrendered up in 1547 (*n*). In the year 1543, he ſupplicated the univerſity of Oxford, that he might take place among the Doctors of Divinity there, which was unuſual, becauſe he was not then incorporated into that univerſity, as Doctor in Divinity; nor was he ſo till June 1545 (*o*). When a deſign was formed, of converting the collegiate church of Southwell into a biſhoprick [*A*], Dr Cox was nominated Biſhop of it (*p*). On the 8th of January 1543-4, he was made the ſecond Dean of the new-erected cathedral of Oſney near Oxford; and in 1546, when that See was tranſlated to Chriſt-Church, he was alſo made Dean there (*q*). Theſe promotions he obtained by the intereſt of Archbiſhop Cranmer and Biſhop Goodrich, to the laſt of whom he had been Chaplain: And, by their recommendation, he was choſen Tutor to the young Prince Edward, whom he inſtructed with great care in the true principles of religion, and formed his tender mind to an early ſenſe of his duty, both as a Chriſtian and a King (*r*). On that Prince's acceſſion to the throne, he became a great favourite at Court, and was made a Privy-Counſellor, and the King's Almoner [*B*]. The 21ſt of May 1547, he was elected Chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford (*s*); inſtalled July 16, 1548, Canon of Windſor; and, the next year, made Dean of Weſtminſter (*t*). About the ſame time he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners to viſit the univerſity of Oxon (*u*), in which he is accuſed of having much abuſed his commiſſion [*C*]. In 1550, he was ordered to go down into Suſſex, and endeavour, by his learned and affecting ſermons, to quiet the minds of the people, who had diſturbed by the factious preaching of Day Biſhop of Chicheſter, a violent Papiſt (*w*). And when the noble deſign of reforming the Canon Law was in agitation, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners. Both in this and the former reign, when an act paſſed for giving all chantries, colleges, &c. to the King, through Dr Cox's powerful interceſſion, the colleges in both univerſities were excepted out of that act (*x*). Soon after Queen Mary's acceſſion to the Crown, he was ſtripped of his preferments; and on the 15th of Auguſt 1553, committed to the Marſhalſea. He was indeed ſoon diſcharged from this confinement (*y*); but foreſeeing the inhuman perſecution likely to enſue, he reſolved to quit the realm, and withdraw to ſome place, where he might enjoy the free exerciſe of his religion, according to the form eſtabliſhed in the reign of King Edward (*z*). He went firſt to Straſburgh in Germany, where he heard with great concern of the raſh proceedings of ſome of the Engliſh exiles at Franckfort (*a*), who had thrown aſide the Engliſh Liturgy, and ſet up a form of their own, framed after the French and Geneva models [*D*]. On the 13th of March 1555, he came to Franckford in order to

(*e*) Wood, Athen. ubi ſupra; now ſwallowed up into Chriſt-church.

(*f*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 40.

(*g*) Idem, Ath. col. 203.

(*h*) Downes, as above, p. cxv. cxvi.

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Willis, as above, p. 374.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 376.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 248.

(*o*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 68, 70.

(*p*) Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 403.

(*q*) Wood, Ath. col. 203; & Hiſtor. & Antiq. Univerſ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 253. He was made Dean of Chriſt-Church, Nov. 4.

(*r*) Downes, ubi ſupra, p. cxvi.

(*s*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 71. He held it till the year 1552.

(*t*) Idem, Athen. col. 203.

(*u*) Idem, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. i. p. 269, 270, &c.

(*w*) Downes, ubi ſupra, p. cxvii.

(*x*) Downes, ibid.

(*y*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra. He ſays, the Dr was diſcharged 19 Aug. 1559, inſtead of 1553 or 1554.

(*z*) Downes, as above, p. cxvii.

(*a*) A brief Diſcourſe of the troubles begonne at Franckford, Anno Domini 1554. Printed in 1575, 4to, p. vi, vii.

[*A*] *When a deſign was formed, of converting the Collegiate Church of Southwell into a Biſhoprick*, &c.] For, after the diſſolution of the Monaſteries, beſides the ſix new erected Biſhopricks of Oxford, Peterburgh, Glouceſter, Briſtol, Cheſter, and Weſtminſter, the King intended to have erected new Biſhopricks; at Dunſtable in Bedfordſhire, with 1140 l. 5 d. yearly revenue; Colcheſter in Eſſex with 1003 l. 5 d; Shrewſbury in the County of Salop; Bodmin with Launceſton in Cornwall; and Southwell in Nottinghamſhire. But, either the King's luxury and extravgance, or the greedineſs of his courtiers, ſwallowed up the revenues wherewith they were to be endowed (1).

[*B*] *And the King's Almoner*] This office was granted him *durante beneplacito*, during the King's pleaſure: And he had afterwards a further grant made him, of all the Goods and Chattels of Felons, as well within liberties as without, for the augmentation of the King's alms. *In augmentationem Eleemoſynæ ſuæ, omnia Bona & Catalla Felonum de ſe tam infra Libertates quam extra, infra Regnum Angliæ habend. quamdiu in Officio prædict. ſteterit* (2).

[*C*] *In which he is accuſed of having much abuſed his commiſſion*] For he, and the reſt of the commiſſioners, made a dreadful havock among the Libraries; deſtroying, burning, or ſelling for the vileſt uſes, all the illuminated books, ſuch as had in them mathematical figures or other diagrams, under pretence that they tended to Popery or Conjuration: And alſo books of School-Divinity; and, in general, ſparing very few that had been compoſed by Roman-Catholic authors (3).

[*D*] *Set up a form of their own, framed after the French and Geneva models*]. Of which we have this account, 'After having peruſed the Engliſh Liturgy, 'it was concluded amongſt them, That the anſwering 'aloud after the Miniſter ſhould not be uſed; the litany, ſurplice, and many other things alſo omitted, 'becauſe in the reformed Churches abroad ſuch things 'would ſeem more than ſtrange. It was farther agreed upon, that the Miniſter, in the room of the 'Engliſh Confeſſion, ſhould uſe another, both of more 'effect, and alſo framed according to the ſtate and 'time. And the ſame ended, the people to ſing a 'pſalm

(1) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 402, 403, in Oxford.

(2) Dyer's Reports, fol. 77.

(3) See Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. i. p. 271, 272, and l. ii. p. 50; and Catalogue of MSS. in England and Ireland, fol. 1697.

to oppoſe this innovation, and to have the Common-Prayer-Book ſettled among the Engliſh congregation there (*b*), which he had the ſatisfation to accompliſh [*E*]. Then he returned to Straſburgh for the ſake of converſing with Peter Martyr, with whom he had contracted an intimate friendſhip at Oxford, and whom he loved and honoured for his great learning and moderation (*c*). After the death of Queen Mary he returned to England; and was one of thoſe Divines who were appointed to reviſe the Liturgy (*d*). And when a diſputation was to be held at Weſtminſter between eight Papiſts and eight of the Reformed Clergy, he was the chief champion on the Proteſtants ſide (*e*). He preached often before Queen Elizabeth in Lent; and, in his ſermon at the opening of her firſt Parliament (*f*), exhorted them in moſt affecting terms, to reſtore religion to its primitive purity, and baniſh all the Popiſh innovations and corruptions. Theſe excellent diſcourſes, and the great zeal he had ſhewn in ſupport of the Engliſh Liturgy at Franckford,

(*b*) Ib. p. xxxviii.

(*c*) Downes, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 430.

(*e*) Fox's Acts and Monuments, in beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, P. ii. 2d edit. p. 388. Strype's Ann. of the Reformat. Vol. I. edit. 1725, p. 87, &c. See COLE (HENRY).

(*f*) Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 636.

'pſalm in metre in a plain tune, as was and is accuſtomed in the French, Dutch, Italian, Spaniſh, and Scottiſh Churches: that done, the Miniſter to pray for the aſſiſtance of God's holy Spirit, and ſo to proceed to the Sermon. After the ſermon, a general prayer for all eſtates, and for England, was alſo deviſed: at the end of which prayer was joined the Lord's prayer, and a rehearſal of the Articles of the belief; which ended, the people to ſing another pſalm as afore. Then the Miniſter pronouncing this bleſſing, The peace of God &c. or ſome other of like effect, the people to depart. And as touching the miniſtration of the Sacraments, ſundry things were alſo by common conſent omitted, as ſuperſtitious and ſuperfluous (4).'

[*E*] *Which he had the ſatisfaction to accompliſh.*] The particulars of theſe remarkable tranſactions, were as follow. After the ſettling of the Form and Diſcipline mentioned in the laſt note, the Exiles advertiſed their diſperſed countrymen at Straſburgh, Zuric, Weiſel, Emden, &c. of the ſingular benefit they enjoyed, of having a Church granted them, and endeavoured to perſwade them, to come and joyn with them. Thoſe at Straſburgh anſwered, That they had conſidered the contents of their letter, and perceiv'd the effect of it was, to have one or two take the chief government of the congregation. And in caſe they could get Dr Poinet, Mr Scory, Dr Bale, or Dr Cox, or two of them, they ſhould be well provided; if not, they would appoint one at Straſburgh, and another ſhould come from Zuric. Accordingly Mr Grindall writ to Mr Scory at Emden, to deſire him to accept of the office; but before his anſwer came, the congregation had choſen Mr Knox, Haddon, and Lever, for their Miniſters: not liking to have any Superintendent, as thoſe at Straſburgh propoſed, but to be governed by two or three Miniſters of equal authority (5). In the mean time, ſeveral members of the congregation were for retaining the Engliſh Liturgy, and did not approve of the Form ſet down in the laſt Note. This occaſioning very great contention, it was at length agreed, on the 6th of February 155$\frac{4}{5}$, That another Form ſhould be drawn up out of the Engliſh Liturgy with ſome additions, to be uſed till the laſt day of April following. But Dr Cox, and ſome others coming to Franckford on the 13th of March, reſolved to ſtand up for the Engliſh Liturgy. Accordingly, they anſwered aloud after the Miniſter; for which being reprov'd by the Seniors of the Congregation, they made anſwer, That they would do as they had done in England, and would have the face of an Engliſh Church. And, the Sunday following, one of Dr Cox's company going up into the pulpit without the conſent of the congregation, read the Litany, whilſt Dr Cox and his company made the reſponſes aloud. The ſame Sunday in the afternoon, Knox preaching, and reflecting upon thoſe proceedings, was by Dr Cox ſharply rebuked for it. The tueſday following was appointed to talk of thoſe things more at large. When they were aſſembled, requeſt was made, that Dr Cox and his company ſhould be admitted to have votes in the congregation. The others anſwered, That matters ſtill in diſpute amongſt them ought firſt to be determined; and Dr Cox and his friends ſubſcribe to the Diſcipline, as the reſt had done, before they were admitted into the congregation (6). Knox at laſt began to make intreaty, that they might have votes among the reſt: to which ſome yielding, the majority came thereby to be on their ſide, and they were accordingly admitted. But immediately after, Dr Cox forbad Mr Knox to meddle any more in that congregation (7). The next day, complaint of this being made to one of the Magiſtrates, he ordered, That two on each ſide ſhould conſult and agree upon ſome good order for divine ſervice, and make report of it to him. For that purpoſe, Dr Cox and Mr Lever were choſen on one ſide, and Mr Knox and Whittingham on the other. But, when they came to a Conference, before they had gone through the Morning ſervice (Dr Cox being very earneſt for reſtoring the Liturgy, and the others as violent againſt it) they parted without coming to an agreement. The Puritans thereupon addreſſed the Senate, highly complaining of the others for endeavouring to force the Engliſh Liturgy upon them; and ſo far prevailed, that the Magiſtrates ordered the Congregation to agree with the French Church both in Doctrine and Ceremonies. Dr Cox not being able to withſtand the torrent, ſaid, 'He had read the French order, and thought it to be both good and godly in all points, and therefore deſired the congregation to obey the Magiſtrates commandment.' Requeſting the magiſtrate at the ſame time, to ſhew unto him and his friends, his accuſtomed favour and goodneſs, notwithſtandidg their ill behaviour. Neverthelеſs, theſe did not reſt here; but ſeeing that Knox was in great credit with many of the congregation, they accuſed him to the Senate of high-treaſon againſt the Emperor, his Son, and Queen Mary, on account of ſome virulent expreſſions of his againſt thoſe Princes, in a book intituled *An Admonition to Chriſtians*. Whereupon, the Senators commanded he ſhould preach no more till their pleaſure were farther known; and ſoon after ordered him to depart the city of Franckford (8). The 26th of March, Dr Cox and his friends preſented a petition to the Magiſtrates, ſubſcribed by three Doctors, thirteen Bachelors of Divinity, and others, for the full uſe of the Engliſh Liturgy; which accordingly was eſtabliſhed. When Whittingham was acquainted with it, he ſaid, he did not doubt, but it might be lawful for him and others to join themſelves to ſome other church. But Dr Cox deſired that it might not be ſuffered. Whereunto Whittingham anſwered, that it would be too great cruelty to force men, contrary to their conſciences, to obey all their diſorderly proceedings; offering, if the magiſtrate would be pleaſed to give them the hearing, to diſpute the matter againſt all the contrary party, and prove, that the order which they ſought to eſtabliſh, ought not to take place in any reformed Church: But herein they were not indulged. The 28th of March, Dr Cox aſſembled all the Engliſh Clergy to his lodgings, and having declared to them, how the Magiſtrates had granted them the uſe of the Engliſh Liturgy, he ſaid, That he thought it requiſite they ſhould conſult together, whom they thought fitteſt to be Biſhop, Superintendant, or Paſtor, with the reſt of the officers, as Seniors, Miniſters, and Deacons (9). When that was ſettled, Dr Cox proceeded to form a kind of Univerſity, and appointed a Greek, and a Hebrew Lecturer, a Divinity-Profeſſor, and a Treaſurer for the contributions remitted from England (10). The Puritans offered, as their laſt refuge, to refer the whole matter to four arbitrators, two choſen on each ſide; that it might appear where the fault lay, and they might have an opportunity of vindicating themſelves from the guilt of Schiſm. But that propoſal being rejected, they departed in a rage, and withdrew, ſome to Baſil, and others to Geneva (11).

[*F*] *His*

(4) Brief Diſcourſe of the troubles begonne at Franckford, &c. p. vi. vii.

(5) Ib. p. xiii. xiv.

(6) Ib. p. xxxvii. xxxviii. xxxix.

(7) Page xl.

(8) Page xliv. xlv.

(9) Page xlvi, xlvii.

(10) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 396.

(11) Troubles at Franckford, as above, p. lv—lix.

ford, ſo effectually recommended him to the Queen's eſteem (g), that in June 1559, ſhe nominated him to the biſhoprick of Norwich (h), but her mind altering, ſhe preferred him to the See of Ely, in the room of Dr Thirlby, who was deprived (i). His *congé d'eſlire* bore date July 15, 1559. He was elected the 28th day of the ſaid month, had the royal aſſent December the 18th, was confirmed in the church of St Mary le Bow the 20th of the ſame month, conſecrated at Lambeth the next day, and received the temporalities the 23d of March following (k). Before his conſecration, he joined with Dr Parker elect Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Biſhops elect of London, Chicheſter, and Hereford, in a petition to the Queen, againſt an Act lately paſſed, for the alienating and exchanging the lands and revenues of the Biſhops: And ſent her ſeveral arguments from Scripture and reaſon againſt the lawfulneſs of it; obſerving withal, the many evils and inconveniences both to Church and State that would thence ariſe (l). He enjoyed the epiſcopal dignity about twenty-one years and ſeven months, reckoning from the time of his conſecration; and was, all that time, one of the chief pillars and ornaments of the Church of England. Both to Archbiſhop Parker, and his ſucceſſor Grindal, he was very ſerviceable; and, by his prudence and induſtry, contributed to the reſtitution of our Church in the ſame beauty and good order, it had enjoyed in King Edward's reign. He was indeed no great favourite of the Queen; but that is to be imputed to his zealous oppoſition to her retaining the crucifix and lights on the altar of the Royal Chapel [*F*], and his ſtrenuous defence of the lawfulneſs of the marriage of the Clergy, againſt which the Queen had contracted a moſt inveterate and unaccountable prejudice. He was a great patron to all learned men, whom he found well affected to the Church; and ſhewed a ſingular eſteem for Dr Whitgiſt, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, whom he made his Chaplain, and to whom he gave the rectory of Teverſham in Cambridgeſhire, and a Prebend of Ely (m). He did his utmoſt to get a body of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, (which was drawn up by Archbiſhop Cranmer, and other learned Divines, of whom himſelf was one, in the latter end of King Edward's reign) eſtabliſhed by authority of Parliament [*G*]; but through the unreaſonable oppoſition of ſome of the chief Courtiers, this noble deſign miſcarried a third time. As he had, in his exile at Franckford, been the chief champion againſt the innovations of the Puritans; ſo he now continued, with the ſame vigour and reſolution, to oppoſe their attempts, againſt the Diſcipline and Ceremonies of the Eſtabliſhed Church. At firſt he tried to reclaim, or win them over, by gentle means: But finding, that, inſtead of behaving themſelves with due moderation, they only grew more audacious, and reviled both Church and Biſhops in ſcurrilous libels, he thought timely ſeverities neceſſary (n). Therefore he writ to Archbiſhop Parker, to go on vigorouſly in reclaiming or puniſhing them, and not be diſheartened at the frowns of thoſe Court-favourites who protected them; aſſuring him, that he might expect the bleſſing of God on his pious labours, to free the Church from their dangerous attempts, and to eſtabliſh uniformity. And when the Privy-Council interpoſed in favour of the Puritans, and endeavoured to ſcreen them from puniſhment, he wrote a bold letter to the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh; wherein he warmly expoſtulated with the Council, for meddling with the affairs of the Church, which, as he ſaid, ought to be left to the determination of the Biſhops; admoniſhed them to keep within their own ſphere; and told them he would appeal to the Queen, if they continued to interpoſe in matters not belonging to them (o). He is blamed by ſome (p) for giving up ſeveral manors and other eſtates belonging to his See [*H*], but he rather, in ſome reſpects, deſerves commendation, for his great firmneſs

in

(g) Downes, as above.

(h) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 689.

(i) Godwin, de Præſul. edit. 1616, 4to, p. 334.

(k) Convent. Foedera, &c. publiſhed by Rymer, Vol. XV. p. 537.

(l) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.

(m) Life of Whitgift, &c. by J. Strype, fol. 1718, p. 7. The Biſhop gave Whitgiſt that Prebend, Dec. 5. 1568, ibid.

(n) Downes, ubi ſupra; from Mr Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Parker.

(o) Ibid.

(p) Willis, Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. Vol. II. p. 360, among the Biſhops of Ely.

[*F*] *His zealous oppoſition to the Queen's retaining the Crucifix and Lights on the altar of the Royal Chapel.*] He ſcrupled for a great while to officiate there upon that account; and when he did it, 'twas *with a trembling conſcience*, as he ſaid. To excuſe himſelf, and to give his humble advice to the Queen, he writ to her a moſt ſubmiſſive Letter (12); wherein he ſets down 'certain conſiderations, why he could not yield to 'have Images ſet up in Churches.' And concludes in theſe words, 'yet my meaning is not hereby to enter 'into conſideration of ſuch as are otherwiſe minded, 'much leſs of your Majeſty (God forbid) who I believe 'meaneth not to uſe the thing to any evil end.—— 'Bear with me, moſt gracious ſoveraign; for the 'tender mercy of God, force not my conſcience ſo 'ſore (13).'

[*G*] *He did his utmoſt to get a body of Eccleſiaſtical Laws ——— eſtabliſhed by authority of Parliament.*] That was, the famous book intitled *Reformatio Legum Eccleſiaſticarum*, compiled, by order of King Henry VIII. and Edward VI. out of the Canon and Civil Law. Thirty two perſons were commiſſion'd for that work, but the perſon who had the chief hand in it, was Archbiſhop Cranmer: and it was put into proper and elegant Latin, by Sir John Cheke, and Dr Haddon Regius Profeſſor of the Civil Law in the univerſity of Cambridge. For a further account of that work, ſee Dr Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, 2d Edition, Part I. p. 330. Part II. p. 141, 196. and Part III. p. 208. and Strype's Eccleſiaſtical Memorials, vol. II. p. 303. and Life of Cranmer, book I. ch. 30. It was firſt publiſhed, in 1571, by Archbiſhop Parker, or John Fox, with a preface; and again in 1640, *4to*. The moſt probable reaſon why thoſe Laws were never ſuffered to be confirmed by Parliament, is that aſſigned by Dr Burnet (14), becauſe it was found more for the greatneſs of the Prerogative and the Authority of the Civil Courts, to keep thoſe points undetermined.

[*H*] *Giving up ſeveral manors and other eſtates belonging to his ſee.*] In 1562, he alienated to Queen Elizabeth, the manors of Hatfield, Little Hadham, and Kelſhall. Moreover, he gave up Eaſt Dereham, Pulham, Bridgeham, the Hundred and manor of Mitford, the manors of Terrington, Walpole, Weſt-Walton, Brandon, Weſteringate, Battleſden, Hecham, Harthurſt, Berking, and Totteridge, in the counties of Norfork, Suffolk, Hertford, and Bedford, of the yearly value of 695 *l.* 11 *s.* 4 *d.* in lieu of which, the Queen granted him, the tenths of his Dioceſe amounting to 384 *l.* 14 *s.* 9 *d.* *per Annum*, and the Impropriations of Gildon-Morden, Swaffham-Bulbeck, Stokequi, Waterbech, St Giles Cambridge, Comberton, Hinxton, Harleſton, Swaveſey, and Drayton, of the value of 207 *l.* 10 *s.* So that, as Browne Willis, Eſq; obſerves, he parted with about 700 *l.* a year of the old Demeſnes, being a third part of the Revenues of the Biſhoprick (15). Before, whilſt he was Dean of Chriſt-Church, he had alienated the Parſonage-glebe, and a manor, at Harrow on the hill; and the Rectory and Advowſon of Preſton on Stour in Glouceſterſhire, and Priory of Clatercote in Oxfordſhire (16).

[*I*] *He*

(12) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. edit. 1725, p. 175.

(13) Appendix to Vol. I. No. xxii. p. 59, 60, 61.

(14) Hiſt. of the Reformat. P. i. p. 330.

(15) Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. II. edit. 1730, p. 248, 338, in Ely.

(16) Ibid. p. 429, 550.

in reſolving to part with no more, and for being proof againſt the ſtrongeſt ſollicitations, and moſt violent attacks. Several he had to encounter, even from thoſe which were moſt in favour at Court, and were backed by royal command and authority. In the years 1574 and 1575, Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, a noted favourite of the Queen, endeavoured to wreſt Ely-Houſe in Holbourn from him (q); ſo that, in order to preſerve it to his See, he was forced to have a long and chargeable ſuit in Chancery, which was not determined in 1579 (r). The Lord North alſo attempted, in 1575, to oblige him to part with the manor of Somerſham, in Huntingdonſhire, one of the beſt belonging to his biſhoprick; and with Downham Park (s): which he refuſing to yield, that Lord endeavoured to ſtir up the Queen's indignation againſt him, and do his utmoſt to have him deprived. For that purpoſe, North, and ſome others of the Courtiers, examined and ranſacked his whole conduct ſince his firſt coming to his See, and drew up a large body of articles againſt him, which he was to give anſwers to before the Privy-Council (t). But the Biſhop, in his replies, ſo fully vindicated himſelf from all aſperſions, and ſo clearly confuted the groundleſs and malicious calumnies of his enemies, that the Queen was forced to acknowledge his innocence (u); though the Lord North boaſted, he had found five *Præmunire*'s againſt him (w). However, vexed and wearied with the implacable malice of the Lord North, and other his adverſaries, he deſired, in 1577, leave to reſign his biſhoprick (x), but the Queen put him off (y). North, though diſappointed in his former attempt, yet not diſcouraged thereby, brings three actions againſt the poor old Biſhop for felling of wood (z); whereupon the Biſhop offered again, in 1579, to reſign; provided he had a yearly penſion of two hundred pounds out of his See, and Donnington, (the leaſt of five country houſes belonging to Ely-biſhoprick) for his reſidence during life (a). The Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, at the Biſhop's earneſt deſire, obtained leave of the Queen for him to reſign; and in February 1579-80, upon the Biſhop's repeated deſires, forms of reſignation were actually drawn up (b). But the Court could not find any Divine of note, who would take that biſhoprick on their terms, of ſurrendering up the beſt manors belonging thereto. The firſt offer of it was made to Freak Biſhop of Norwich; and, on his refuſal, it was proffered to ſeveral others: But the conditions were ſo ignominious and baſe, that they all rejected it: By which means Biſhop Cox enjoyed it till his death, which happened on the 22d (c) of July 1581, in the 82d year of his age (d). By his will he left ſeveral legacies, amounting in all to the ſum of nine hundred and forty-five pounds; and died worth, in good debts, two thouſand three hundred and twenty-two pounds (e). He had ſeveral children [I]. His body was interred in Ely-cathedral, near Biſhop Goodrich's monument, under a marble-ſtone, with an inſcription; which having been defaced, there are only four verſes of it [K] now legible (f). Divers things, of which he was author, have been publiſhed chiefly ſince his deceaſe [L]. As to his character; He was a man of a ſound judgment, and clear apprehenſion, and attained to great perfection in all polite and uſeful learning. He wanted no advantages of education, and improved them with ſuch diligence and induſtry, that he ſoon became an excellent proficient both in divine and human literature. The

[I] *He had ſeveral children.*] Namely, *John*, whom he made his executor. *Richard*, who was knighted, and a Juſtice of Peace for Ely: After his father's deceaſe, he had a Grant from the Crown of Dodington manor and palace. The Biſhop had alſo *two daughters*, married, to John Parker, and John Duport, Prebendaries of Ely: Beſides other children, whoſe names are not mentioned (17).

[K] *Which having been defaced, there are only four verſes of it legible.*] Being theſe;

Vita caduca vale, ſalveto vita perennis;
Corpora terra tegit, Spiritus alta petit.
In terra Chriſti Gallus Chriſtum reſonabam;
Da, Chriſte, in coelis te ſine fine ſonem.

i. e. 'Farewel, frail life, hail, life eternal; The 'earth covers my body, but my ſoul aſcends to heaven. 'I, who was Chriſt's Cock *, made Chriſt's name 'ſound on earth. Grant, O Chriſt, that I may without 'end make thy praiſes reſound in heaven (18).' His monument was defaced in twenty years after his death; which ſome (19) look upon as a ſign of his being little beloved.

[L] *Divers things, of which he was author, have been publiſhed chiefly ſince his deceaſe.*] They are, I. 'An Oration at the beginning of the Diſputation of 'Dr Treſham and others with Peter Martyr.' II. 'An Oration at the concluſion of the ſame.' Theſe two Orations, which are in Latin, were printed in 1549, 4to. and afterwards among Peter Martyr's works. The ſecond is alſo printed in the Appendix to the Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, by J. Strype (20). III. He had a great hand in compiling the firſt *Liturgy of the Church of England*: and was one of the chief perſons employed in the review of it in 1559 (21). IV. He turned into verſe the Lord's prayer, commonly printed at the end of Sternhold and Hopkins's pſalms. V. When a new Tranſlation of the *Bible* was made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, now commonly known by the name of *the Biſhops Bible*, the *Four Goſpels*, the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, and the *Epiſtle to the Romans*, were allotted to him, for his portion (22). VI. He writ 'Reſolutions of ſome Queſtions concerning the Sacraments;' in the collection of Records at the end of Dr Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation (23). VII. He had a hand, in the 'Declaration concerning 'the Functions and Divine Inſtitution of Biſhops and 'Prieſts (24):' And in the Anſwers, to the 'Queries 'concerning ſome abuſes of the Maſs (25).' VIII. Several Letters, and ſmall pieces of his, have been publiſhed by the induſtrious Mr Strype, in his Annals of the Reformation: namely, 1. A Letter to Wolfgang Weidner at Wormes, 20 May 1559 (26). 2. To the Queen, wherein, he excuſes himſelf for refuſing to miniſter in the Royal Chapel, on account of the Crucifix there (27). 3. To Bullinger, on occaſion of his anſwer to the Pope's Bull againſt the Queen (28). 4. To the Queen, upon her requiring his houſe in Holbourn for Mr Hatton (29). 5. To the ſame, upon her deſiring him to ſurrender Somerſham (30). 6. Reaſons ſent to the Lord Burghley to tender the ſtate of God's Miniſters (31). 7. Anſwers to the accuſations of the Lord North, and others againſt him (32). 8. To the Lord Burghley, upon the Queen's having ordered Archbiſhop Grindall to be ſuſpended (33). 9. Letter congratulatory to the Queen in her progreſs, and to excuſe himſelf for not waiting upon her (34). 10. To the

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(q) Strype's Annals, as above, Vol. II. p. 337, 338, 360; and Appendix to B. i. No. xlvii. p. 84.

(r) Strype, in the ſame Volume, p. 579.

(s) Ibid. p. 361. The Queen ſent a letter to the Biſhop, to requeſt him to make a demiſe of Somerſham, to North. Ibid.

(t) Ibid. p. 361—370.

(u) Ibid. and Appendix to B. i. No. xlviii. xlix. l. li.

(w) Ibid. p. 364.

(x) Ibid. p. 488, 489.

(y) With a *Nondum hoc fiet*, i. e. Not yet; as he expreſſes it himſelf. Append. to B. ii. of Annals, &c. as above, No. xiv. p. 117.

(z) Strype, Vol. II. p. 580.

(a) Ibid, p. 581, 582, 583.

(b) Ibid. p. 583.

(c) Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 360. Wood, Athen. col. 204. Stow ſays, it was July 13. Annales, edit. 1631, p. 694.

(d) This appears from the time of his birth mentioned above.

(e) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. edit. 1728, p. 26, 27.

(f) Willis, ubi ſupra.

(17) Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 360.

(*) Alluding to his name of Cocks or Cox.

(18) Willis, ibid. & Godwin. de Præſul. p. 335.

(19) Briefe View of the State of the Church of England, by Sir J. Harrington, 8vo, Lond. 1653, p. 77.

(20) Edit. 1694, fol. No. [xliv.] p. 119.

(21) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 204.

(22) Ibid.

(23) Appendix to P. i. 2d edit. p. 201, No. xxi. of Book iii.

(24) Ibid. among the Addenda, p. 321.

(25) Appendix to B. i. of P. ii. No. 25, p. 133, &c.

(26) Appendix to Vol. I. B. i. No. xxi. p. 54.

(27) Ibid. p. 59.

(28) Ib. p. 100.

(29) Appendix to Vol. II. p. 84.

(30) Ib. p. 85.

(31) Ib. p. 87.

(32) Ibid. p. 87—100.

(33) Ib. p. 111.

(34) Ib. p. 117.

The Holy Scriptures were his chief ſtudy; and he was perfectly well verſed in the original language of the New Teſtament. He was extremely zealous for the true intereſt of our Reformed Church, and a conſtant and vigorous defender of it againſt all the open aſſaults of its Popiſh adverſaries, and the no leſs dangerous deſigns of the Puritans (*g*). He is accuſed by ſome (*h*) of having been a worldly and covetous perſon; and is ſaid to have made a great havock and ſpoil of his woods and parks, feeding his family with powdered veniſon to ſave expences. Several complaints, and long accuſations, were exhibited againſt him and his wife, in 1579, to Qu. Elizabeth, upon thoſe accounts, by ſome falſe and evil diſpoſed perſons; but the Biſhop fully vindicated himſelf, and ſhowed, that all thoſe complaints were nothing but malicious calumnies, and groundleſs imputations (*i*). It is likewiſe ſaid, that he appears to have been of a vindictive ſpirit, by reaſon of his proſecution of, and ſeverity to, the deprived Catholicks in his cuſtody; and eſpecially by his complaints againſt Dr Feckenham the laſt Abbot of Weſtminſter (*k*). But the Biſhop alledges in his own excuſe, that the Doctor was a very troubleſome gueſt, and good for nothing (*l*): and that his endeavours to convert him, were by order of the Court (*m*). It muſt be remembered of this Biſhop, that he was the firſt who brought a wife to live in a college (*n*). And that he procured a new body of Statutes for St John's college in Cambridge, of which, as Biſhop of Ely, he was viſitor (*o*).

(*g*) Willis, as above, p. 359, 360; and Sir J. Harrington, p. 77.

(*h*) Downes, ubi ſupra, p. cxxx.

(*i*) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. Append. p. 87—100.

(*k*) Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 360. See Strype's Annals, Vol. I. Append. p. 73; and Vol. II. p. 658.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 658.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 525, 526.

(*n*) Willis, p. 359.

(*o*) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 372, 373, 664; and Appendix, p. 156.

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the Lord Burghley, upon the Queen's granting him leave to reſign his Biſhoprick (35). 11. To the ſame, informing him he had received intelligence, that twelve thouſand Spaniards were to be ſent by the Pope and Spaniard againſt the realm, 1580 (36). 12. Account of his conference with Dr Fecknam (37). 13. To the Lord Burghley, of the ill ſtate of St John's college Cambridge, for want of Statutes (38). 14. Proofs and Evidences from ancient Grants, to ſhow, that his Manor and Houſe in Holbourn is exempt from the juriſdiction of the city of London (39). He alſo had a hand in Lily's grammar. C

(35) Ib. p. 131.

(36) Ib. p. 139.

(37) Ib. p. 142.

(38) Ib. p. 156.

(39) Appendix to Vol. III. B. i. No. 57. p. 124.

CRANMER (THOMAS) the moſt eminent Archbiſhop that ever ſate in the See of Canterbury, was the ſon of *Thomas* Cranmer, Eſq [*A*]; and Agnes daughter of Laurence Hatfield of Willoughby in Nottinghamſhire (*a*). He was born (*) Aſlacton in that county July 2, 1489 (*b*), and educated in Grammar-learning under a rude and ſevere Pariſh-Clerk, of whom he learned little, and endured much (*c*). In 1503, at the age of fourteen, he was admitted into Jeſus College in Cambridge, of which he became Fellow (*d*). Here, he ſtudied the Sophiſtry, and uſeleſs learning of thoſe times, till the age of twenty two: For the next four or five years he applied himſelf to polite Literature: And for three years more, to the ſtudy of the Scriptures (*e*). After he was Maſter of Arts, he married a gentleman's daughter, named Joan (*f*), living at the Dolphin, oppoſite to Jeſus-Lane (*g*). Loſing by that his Fellowſhip, he went and lived with her at the Dolphin, and became Reader of the common Lecture in Buckingham, now Magdalen, College (*h*). But his wife dying in child-bed within a year, he was again admitted Fellow of Jeſus College (*i*). Upon Cardinal Wolſey's foundation of his new college at Oxford, Cranmer was nominated to be one of the Fellows; but he refuſed the offer (*k*). In 1523, and the 34th year of his age, he was made Doctor of Divinity, Reader of the Theological Lecture in his own college, and one of the Examiners of thoſe that took the degrees in Divinity (*l*). The moſt immediate cauſe of his advancement to the greateſt favour with King Henry VIII. and, in conſequence of that, to the higheſt dignity in the Church of England, was the Opinion he gave in the matter of that King's Divorce. For having, on account of the plague at Cambridge, retired to Waltham-Abbey in Eſſex, at the houſe of one Mr Creſſy, whoſe wife he was related to, and whoſe ſons were his pupils at the univerſity; Edward Fox the King's Almoner, and Stephen Gardiner the Secretary, happened accidentally to come to that houſe (*m*). Here, the converſation turning upon what then moſtly employed the Nation's thoughts, namely, the King's Divorce; Cranmer, who was well known to the two others, being deſir'd by them to ſpeak upon that point, deliver'd it as his opinion, that ' it would be much better, to have this queſtion, *Whether a man may marry his ' brother's wife, or no?* decided and diſcuſſed by the Divines, and by the authority ' of the word of God, than thus from year to year to prolong the time by having recourſe ' to the Pope. That there was but one truth in it, which the Scripture would ſoon declare ' and manifeſt, being handled by learned men; and that might be done as well in England ' in the Univerſities here, as at Rome, or elſewhere (*n*).' This opinion being communicated by Dr Fox to the King, his Majeſty approved of it much; ſaying, ' that that ' man (meaning Cranmer) had the ſow by the right ear (*o*).' Whereupon Cranmer was ſent for to Court, made the King's Chaplain, ordered to write upon the ſubject of the Divorce, furniſh'd with books for that purpoſe, and plac'd in the family of Thomas Boleyn Earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond (*p*). When he had finiſh'd his book [*B*], he went

to

(*a*) Memorials of T. Cranmer, &c. by J. Strype, fol. Lond. 1694, p. 1, 2, 419.

(*) Or Arſelacton.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 2.

(*d*) Ibid. and Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. p. 1860, edit. 1583.

(*e*) Memorials, &c. by Strype, p. 2.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 2, 417.

(*g*) Ibid. and Fox, ubi ſupra, p. 1860, 1877. She was related to the miſtreſs of the inne. Fox, p. 1360. and Antiquitat. Britannicæ, edit. Hanov. p. 331.

(*h*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 3.

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 3. Fox, p. 1860. The author of *Antiquitat. Britannicæ*, ſays, he was upon the road to Oxford, but was perſuaded to return back to Cambridge, p. 331.

(*l*) Strype and Fox, ibid.

(*m*) Godwin, de Præſul. edit. 1616, p. 196. Fox, ubi ſupra, p. 1860.

(*n*) Fox, ubi ſupra, p. 1860.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 1861. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 79.

(*p*) Fox, ibid. and Strype's Mem. of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 4, 5.

[*A*] *Son of Thomas Cranmer, Eſq;*] That Family is ſaid to have come in with William the Conqueror, and to have been fixed for many generations in Nottinghamſhire, and in Lincolnſhire where there is a Houſe ſtill called Cranmer-hall. There were ſtill in France ſome of his name and family in King Henry the VIIIth's time; one whereof came in company with the French Embaſſador: To whom, for name, or relation, ſake, our Biſhop gave a noble Entertainment. The Family's Arms, were, Three Cranes; but King Henry the VIIIth altered them to Three Pelicans (1).

[*B*] *When he had finiſh'd his book.*] In that book, he ſhowed, by the authorities of the Scriptures, of general Councils, and ancient writers, that the Biſhop

of

(1) Fox, Acts and Monum. p. 1859. Strype's Memorials, &c. p. 1, 126. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 336.

to Cambridge to diſpute upon that point, and brought ſeveral over to his opinion (q). About this time he was preſented to a Living, and made Archdeacon of Taunton (r). In 1530 he was ſent, with ſome others, into France, Italy, and Germany, to diſcuſs the affair of the King's Marriage (s). At Rome he got his book preſented to the Pope, and offered to diſpute openly againſt the validity of King Henry's Marriage; but no one choſe to engage him (t). While he was at Rome, the Pope conſtituted him his Pœnitentiary throughout England, Ireland, and Wales (u). In Germany he was ſole Embaſſador upon the forementioned affair: And in 1532 concluded a Treaty of Commerce between England and the Low-Countries (w). He was alſo employ'd on an Embaſſy to the Duke of Saxony, and other Proteſtant Princes (x). During his reſidence in Germany, he married, at Norimberg, a ſecond wife, named Anne, niece of Oſiander's wife (y). Upon the death of Archbiſhop Warham in Auguſt 1532, Cranmer was nominated for his ſucceſſor; but he refus'd to accept of that Dignity, unleſs he was to receive it immediately from the King without the Pope's intervention (z). Before his conſecration, the King ſo far engaged him in the buſineſs of his Divorce, that he made him a party and an actor almoſt in every ſtep he took in that affair (a). It was he that pronounc'd the ſentence of Divorce between King Henry and Queen Catharine at Dunſtable May the 23d, 1533; and he likewiſe it was who married him to Anne Boleyn [C], and confirm'd her marriage on the 28th following. March the 30th, 1533, he was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterbury (b), by the Biſhops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St Aſaph, when he made an unuſual Proteſtation [D]. The Temporalities of the Archbiſhoprick were reſtored to him the 29th of April following (c). Soon after he forbad all preaching throughout his Dioceſe, and viſited it this year in December (d). The Pope threatning him with excommunication, on account of his ſentence againſt Queen Catharine, he appeal'd from his Holineſs to a general Council; And, in the enſuing Parliaments, ſtrenuouſly diſputed againſt the Pope's ſupremacy (e). All along he ſhow'd himſelf a zealous promoter of the Reformation: And, as the firſt ſtep towards it, procur'd the Convocation to petition the King that the Bible might be tranſlated into Engliſh. When that was obtain'd, he diligently encourag'd the printing and publication of it, and cauſed it to be recommended by Royal Authority, and to be diſpers'd as much as he poſſibly could (f). Next, he forwarded the diſſolution of the Monaſteries [E], which were one of the greateſt obſtacles to a reformation (g). And, in every point, endeavour'd by all gentle and human means to reſtore the Church of England to its true and original purity. In 1535 he perform'd a Provincial Viſitation, in order to recommend the King's Supremacy (h); and preach'd upon that ſubject in ſeveral parts of his Dioceſe [F]. In 1536, he divorced King Henry from Anne Boleyn (i). In 1537 he viſited his Dioceſe, and endeavoured to aboliſh the ſuperſtitious obſervation of Holidays (k). In 1538, he was in a commiſſion againſt the Anabaptiſts, and viſited the Dioceſe of Hereford (l). The next year, he and ſome of the Biſhops fell under the King's diſpleaſure, becauſe they could not be brought to give their conſent in Parliament, that the Monaſteries ſhould be ſuppreſs'd for the King's ſole uſe (m). He alſo ſtrenuouſly oppos'd the Act for the ſix Articles, in the Houſe of Lords, ſpeaking three days againſt it (n); and upon the paſſing of that Statute ſent away his wife into Germany (o). In 1540 he was one of the Commiſſioners for inſpecting into matters of Religion, and explaining ſome of its chief Doctrines (p). The reſult of their commiſſion was, the book intitled 'A neceſſary 'Erudition of any chriſtian man.' After Lord Cromwell's death, (in whoſe behalf he had written to the King,) he retired, and lived in great privacy, meddling not at all with State-affairs (q). In 1541, he gave orders, purſuant to the King's directions, for taking away ſuperſtitious Shrines: And exchanging Biſhopſbourn for Bekeſbourn, united the latter to his Dioceſe (r). In 1542, he procured the 'Act for the advancement of true Religion, 'and the aboliſhment of the contrary;' which moderated the rigour of the Six Articles (s). But, the year following, ſome enemies preferring accuſations againſt him [G], he had like to

(q) Strype, ibid. p. 5, 6.

(r) Ibid. p. 14.

(s) Ibid. p. 11.

(t) Ibid. p. 9. Fox, ubi ſupra, p. 1861.

(u) Godwin, de Præſul. Lond. 1616, 4to, p. 197. Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 95.

(w) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 11.

(x) Ibid. p. 13.

(y) Ibid. p. 417. Fox, ubi ſupra, p. 1870.

(z) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 16. Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 128.

(a) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 17. Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 131; and Collect. of Records, p. 120, 121.

(b) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 128, 129. Strype's Memorials, &c. p. 18. Fuller's Church Hiſt. B. v. p. (185).

(c) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XIV. p. 456.

(d) Strype, ibid. p. 21.

(e) Ibid. p. 22, 23. and Fox, ubi ſup. p. 1862.

(f) Strype, ibid. p. 24, 57. &c. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 171, &c. 249, &c.

(g) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 35. Burnet, ubi ſupr. p. 190.

(h) Strype, ibid. p. 30, 32.

(i) Ibid. p. 49.

(k) Ibid. p. 55.

(l) Ibid. p. 70.

(m) Ibid. p. 72.

(n) Fox, ubi ſup. p. 1185. Antiquit. Britan. p. 332.

(o) Strype, ibid. p. 72.

(p) Idem, p. 77; and Burnet, ubi ſupra, Vol. I. p. 286, &c.

(q) Strype, ibid. p. 86.

(r) Ibid. p. 91, 93.

(s) Ib. p. 99; and Burnet, ubi ſupr. Vol. I. p. 321.

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of Rome (or the Pope) had no ſuch authority, as that he might diſpenſe with the word of God (2).

[C] *He likewiſe it was who married him to Ann Boleyn.*] This is expreſsly aſſerted by the author of *Antiquitates Britannicæ* (3). But the Lord Herbert ſays (4), they were privately married by Rowland Lee afterwards Biſhop of Coventry and Lichfield; none being preſent but the Lady Ann's father, mother, and brother; Dr Cranmer, and the Duke of Norfolk.

[D] *When he made an unuſual Proteſtation.*] The curious Reader may ſee the form of it, in the Appendix to Strype's Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer N°. V. p. 9. His Deſign was by this expedient to ſave his Liberty, to renounce every clauſe in his Oath which barr'd him doing his duty to God, the King, and his Country. A certain Church Hiſtorian (5) who loves upon all occaſions to blacken our firſt Reformers, thinks there was ſomething of human infirmity in this management, becauſe it was not made at Rome to the Pope, nor by Cranmer's proxies there, before the obtaining of the Bulls.

[E] *He forwarded the diſſolution of the Monaſteries.*] Inſtead of thoſe nurſeries of Idleneſs, and out of their Revenues, he had projected, That there ſhould be a Proviſion made, in every Cathedral, for Readers of Divinity, and of Greek and Hebrew, and a great number of Students to be both exerciſed in the daily worſhip of God, and trained up in ſtudy and devotion; whom the Biſhop might tranſplant out of this nurſery, into all the parts of his Dioceſe. And thus every Biſhop ſhould have had a College of Clergymen under his eye, to be preferred according to their merit. But this Deſign miſcarried (8).

[F] *Preach'd upon that ſubject, in ſeveral parts of his Dioceſe.*] In his Sermons, he ſhowed, 1. That the Biſhop of Rome was not God's vicar upon earth, as he was taken. Here he declar'd by what arts and crafts the Biſhop of Rome had obtained his uſurped authority. 2. That the Holineſs that See ſo much boaſted of, and by which name Popes affected to be ſtiled, was but a Holineſs in name; and that there was no ſuch Holineſs at Rome. And here he launched out into the Vices of the Court of Rome. 3. He inveighed againſt the Biſhop of Rome's Laws: Which were miſcalled *Divinæ Leges*, and *Sacri Canones* (9).

[G] *Some enemies preferring accuſations againſt him.*] Theſe enemies were, Richard Thornden Suffragan of Dover, Arthur Sentleger, Richard Parkhurſt, William Gardiner,

(2) Fox, ubi ſupr. p. 1861. Strype, ubi ſupr. p. 394.

(3) Edit. Hanov. p. 329. See Strype's Mem. of Cranmer, p. 18.

(4) Hiſt. of King Henry VIII.

(5) Collier, Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 74.

(8) Burnet, ubi ſupra, Vol. I. p. 301.

(9) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 30, 31.

to have been ruin'd, had not the King interpos'd in his behalf (t). Nay, he was complain'd of in the Houſe of Commons [*H*], and in the Privy-Council [*I*], and was very near being ſent to the Tower; but the King again protected him, and gave him his Ring, as a token that he took the affair into his own hands (u). In the year 1545, he undertook to reform the Canon-Law; but the book he compil'd upon that ſubject was, through Biſhop Gardiner's artifices, never confirm'd by the King. He likewiſe corrected ſome Service or Prayer-books (w). Upon King Henry's deceaſe, he was one of the Executors of his Will, and one of the Regents of the Kingdom (x). February the 20th, 1545-6, he crowned King Edward VI. to whom he had been godfather; as he was alſo to the Lady Elizabeth (y). Soon after, he took out a Commiſſion for executing his office of Archbiſhop (z); and cauſed the Homilies to be compos'd, being himſelf the author of ſome of them; and likewiſe encourag'd the tranſlation of Eraſmus's paraphraſe on the New Teſtament (a). He alſo labour'd earneſtly in the Reformation of Religion: And, for that purpoſe, procur'd the repeal of the Six Articles; the eſtabliſhment of the Communion in both kinds; and a new office for that Sacrament; the reviſal and amendment of the reſt of the Offices of the Church; frequent preaching; a Royal viſitation to inſpect into the manners and abilities of the Clergy; and viſited his own Dioceſe himſelf for the ſame purpoſe (b). He likewiſe ſhow'd himſelf a patron to the Univerſities, in defending their Rights, ſecuring their Revenues, and encouraging the Learning there profeſs'd and taught (c). In 1549, he was one of the Commiſſioners for examining Biſhop Bonner, with a power to impriſon or deprive him of his Biſhoprick (*). Upon the inſurrection in Devonſhire, he expreſſed his zeal for Religion and his Prince, by giving an excellent and full anſwer to the Rebels articles, and ordered Sermons to be compoſed and preach'd upon that occaſion (d). The ſame year he ordain'd ſeveral Prieſts and Deacons according to the new form of Ordination in the Common-Prayer-Book; which, thro' the Archbiſhop's care, was now finiſh'd and ſettled by Act of Parliament [*K*]. A review was made of this book towards the end of the next year, and ſeveral things changed or amended that were thought to ſavour too much of ſuperſtition (e). In 1552, it was printed again with amendments and alterations, by the Archbiſhop's care, and authorized by Parliament [*L*]. This ſame year, he and ſome others compiled the Articles of Religion, and cauſed them to be enjoyned by the King's authority (f). He confined not his care to the Church of England, but extended it alſo to thoſe Proteſtant Foreigners who fled to England [*M*], by obtaining Churches for them, and recommending them to the favour and protection of the Crown (g). Another point that much employed his thoughts, was, to preſerve the Revenues of the Church, which the greedy Courtiers were ſwallowing up without mercy, and parcelling out among themſelves (h). As the Archbiſhop had in 1534 endeavoured to ſave the lives of Biſhop Fiſher and Sir Thomas More (i); ſo now, when Tonſtal Biſhop of Durham came into trouble, and a bill was brought into the Houſe of Lords for attainting him for miſpriſon of Treaſon, Cranmer ſpoke freely, nay proteſted, againſt it, tho' they two were of different perſwaſions (k). In 1553, he oppoſed the new ſettlement of the Crown upon Jane Gray, and would no way be concern'd in that affair, (tho' at laſt, through many importunities, he was prevail'd upon to ſet his hand to it,) neither would he join in any of Dudley's ambitious projects (l). However, upon King Edward the VIth's deceaſe, he appeared for Jane Gray. Soon after, it being reported that he had offered to ſing maſs at the funeral of the late King, he vindicated himſelf in a Declaration (m). But now his Troubles came upon him apace, after Queen Mary's acceſſion to the throne. He was, firſt, ordered to appear before the Council, and bring an inventory of his Goods; which he did Auguſt the 27th, when he was commanded to keep his houſe, and be

(t) Fox, ubi ſupr. p. 1866, &c. This whole affair is related at full length in Antiq. Britannic. p. 335—337.

(u) Antiq. Britan. p. 334, 336. Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 109—126. Burnet, ibid. p. 327, &c. 342.

(w) Strype, ibid. p. 132.

(x) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XV. p. 110.

(y) Strype, p. 142.

(z) Id. p. 141.

(a) Ibid. p. 149, 150, &c.

(b) Idem, p. 146, 157, &c. 182. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 25, 72, &c.

(c) Strype's Memorials of T. Cranmer, p. 162, &c.

(*) Rymer, Fœd. Vol. XV. p. 191.

(d) Strype, p. 185, &c.

(e) Ibid. p. 193, 210, 289. Burnet, ubi ſupr. Vol. II. p. 71, 72, &c.—79, 155, 169.

(f) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 272, 293.

(g) Ibid. p. 234.

(h) Ibid. p. 247.

(i) Page 26—28.

(k) Ibid. p. 289.

(l) Fox, ubi ſupra, p. 1870. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 224. Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 454.

(m) Ibid.

Gardiner, John Milles, all Canons of Canterbury. And Robert Serles, and Edmund Shether, two of the ſix Preachers there: with Dr Willoughby, the King's Chaplain. The ſum of their Accuſations againſt the Archbiſhop and his Chaplains were, That they oppoſed the ſix Articles, and other parts of Popery. See Strype's Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer (10).

[*H*] *He was complained of in the Houſe of Commons.*] By Sir John Goſtwick, one of the Knights for Bedfordſhire; for preaching hereſy againſt the Sacrament of the altar. But the King ſeverely rebuk'd Goſtwick for his impertinence (11).

[*I*] *And in the Privy-Council.*] The ſubſtance of his Accuſation there, was, 'That he, with his learned 'men, had ſo infected the whole Realm with their 'unſavoury Doctrine, that three parts of the land were 'become abominable hereticks. And that it might 'prove dangerous to the King, being like to produce 'ſuch commotions and uproars, as were ſprung up in 'Germany. And therefore they deſired, that the 'Archbiſhop might be committed to the Tower, till 'he could be examined.' The whole was a contrivance of Gardiner's (12).

[*K*] *The Common-prayer-book — — — — was now finiſhed and ſettled by Act of Parliament.*] The perſons by whom it was compos'd, were *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; *Nicolas Ridley*, Biſhop of Rocheſter, afterward of London; *Tho. Goodrich*, Biſhop of Ely; *Henry Holbech* Biſhop of Lincoln; *John Skip* Biſhop of Hereford; *Tho. Thirlby* Biſhop of Weſtminſter, afterwards of Ely; *Geo. Day* Biſhop of Chicheſter; Dr *John Taylor* Dean, afterwards Biſhop, of Lincoln; Dr *Richard Cox* Chancellor of Oxford, and Dean of Chriſt Church and Weſtminſter, afterwards Biſhop of Ely; Dr *William May* Dean of St Paul's; Dr *Tho. Robertſon*, Archdeacon of Leiceſter, afterwards Dean of Durham; Dr *Simon Heines* Dean of Exeter; and Dr *John Redmayne*, Maſter of Trinity college in Cambridge (13).

[*L*] *Authorized by Parliament*] And it was enacted, That it ſhould begin to be uſed every where by All-Saints-day next following (14).

[*M*] *He extended his care to thoſe Proteſtant Foreigners,* &c.] They were, Martin Bucer, made profeſſor of Divinity, and Paulus Fagius, profeſſor of the Hebrew tongue, at Cambridge: Peter Martyr, profeſſor of Divinity at Oxford: John a Laſco, the firſt miniſter of the Dutch Church at London: Peter Alexander, Bernardine Ochinus, Matthew Negelinus, Immanuel Tremellius, Valerand, &c. (15)

[*N*] *Some*

(10) P. 109, &c.

(11) Ib. p. 123, &c.

(12) Ibid. p. 124. Antiquit. Britan. p. 334.

(13) Appendix, containing an hiſtorical Account of the compiling of the Liturgy, in Sam. Downes's edition of Biſhop Sparrow's Rationale, &c. edit. 1722, p. cxlvii. cxlix.

(14) Statut. 5 & 6 Edw. VI.

(15) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 19[illegible], &c. and Godwin, ubi ſupra.

be forth-coming. September the 13th, he was again ſummoned before the Council, and enjoyned to be at the Star-Chamber the next day, when he was committed to the Tower (*n*); partly, for ſetting his hand to the inſtrument of the Lady Jane's ſucceſſion; and, partly, for the public offer he had made a little before, of juſtifying openly the religious Proceedings of the late King (*o*). Some of his friends, foreſeeing the ſtorm that was like to fall upon him, adviſed him to fly, but he abſolutely refuſ'd [*N*]. In the enſuing Parliament, on November the 3d, he was attainted, and at Guild-hall found guilty of High Treaſon; whereupon the fruits of his Archbiſhoprick were ſequeſtred. However, upon his humble and repeated application, he was pardoned the Treaſon, but 'twas reſolv'd he ſhould be proceeded againſt for hereſy (*p*). In April 1554, he, and Ridley and Latimer, were remov'd to Oxford, in order for a public diſputation with the Papiſts (*q*); which was accordingly held there towards the middle of the month, with great noiſe, triumph, and impudent confidence on the Papiſts ſide, and with as much gravity, learning, modeſty, and convincing ſufficiency on the ſide of the Proteſtant Biſhops [*O*]. The 20th of April, two days after the end of theſe diſputations, Cranmer and the two others were brought before the Commiſſioners, and aſked, whether they would ſubſcribe (to Popery)? which they unanimouſly refuſing, were condemned as hereticks (*r*). From this ſentence the Archbiſhop appealed to the juſt judgment of the Almighty; And writ to the Council, giving them an account of the diſputation, and deſiring the Queen's pardon for his treaſon, which it ſeems was not yet remitted (*s*). By the Convocation, which met this year, his 'Defence of the true and Catholick Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt,' was ordered to be burnt (*t*). Some of his friends petition'd the Queen in his behalf; putting her in mind, how he had once preſerv'd her in her father's time, by his earneſt interceſſions with him for her [*P*]: So that ſhe had reaſon to believe he loved her, and would ſpeak the truth to her, more than all the reſt of the Clergy. But all his friends endeavours were ineffectual (*u*). The Sentence pronounc'd againſt him by Weſton at Oxford being void in Law, becauſe the Pope's authority was not yet re-eſtabliſh'd in England, a new Commiſſion was ſent from Rome for his tryal and conviction. Accordingly, on September the 12th, 1555, he appeared before the Commiſſioners [*Q*] at St Mary's Church Oxon, where he was accuſed of blaſphemy, perjury, incontinency, and hereſy [*R*], againſt all which he vindicated himſelf (*w*). At laſt, he was cited to appear at Rome within eighty days, to anſwer in perſon; which he ſaid he would do, if the King and Queen would ſend him, but no care was taken to ſend him. Therefore, the Pope diſpatched, on December the 14th, his Letters executory to the King and Queen, and to Bonner and Thirlby Biſhops of London and Ely, to degrade and deprive him (*x*). In thoſe Letters, Cranmer was declared contumacious, for not appearing at Rome within eighty days, according to his citation: which was a moſt ſhameleſs and infamous allegation; for, how could he poſſibly appear at Rome, when he was all the while kept a priſoner? However, upon the coming of the letters, Bonner and Thirlby, with Dr Martin and Dr Story the King's and Queen's Proctors, went to Oxford to degrade him. They dreſſed him in all the garments and ornaments of an Archbiſhop, only in mockery every thing was of canvas, and old clouts: And then he was, piece by piece, ſtript of all again. When they came to take the Croſier out of his hand, he refuſed to part with it, and pulled out an Appeal, whereby he appealed to the next general Council (*y*). After he was degraded, they put him on a poor yeoman-beadle's gown, thread-bare, and a towns-man's cap, and remanded him to priſon (*z*). From thence he writ Letters to the Queen, to give her a true and impartial account of what had paſſed at his degradation, to prevent miſ-reports, and to juſtify himſelf in what he had ſaid and done (*a*). Hitherto the Archbiſhop had manifeſted a great deal of courage, wiſdom, and fortitude in his ſufferings, but at laſt human frailty made him commit ſuch a fault, as was the greateſt blemiſh of his life. For, through flatteries, promiſes, importunity, threats, and the fear of death, he was prevailed upon to ſign a Recantation [*S*], wherein he renounced the Proteſtant Religion, and embrac'd

(*n*) Burnet's Hiſt. ubi ſupra, p. 250.

(*o*) Strype, p. 307, 314. See Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. Collect. p. 249.

(*p*) Strype, p. 320, 321. Burnet, ubi ſupr. p. 257.

(*q*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 334, &c. Burnet, p. 280, &c.

(*r*) Fox, ubi ſupra, p. 1871, &c.

(*s*) Strype, p. 341.

(*t*) Ibid p. 348.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 368. Burnet, ubi ſupr. Vol. II. p. 241.

(*w*) Strype, p. 372. Fox, ubi ſupra, p. 1871, &c. Burnet, ubi ſupr. Vol. II. p. 331.

(*x*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 375.

Feb. 14, 1555-6.

(*y*) Fox, ubi ſup. p. 1882, 1883.

(*z*) Ibid.

(*a*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 377, &c.

[*N*] *Some of his friends ——— adviſed him to fly, but he abſolutely refuſed.*] Saying, 'It would be no 'ways fitting for him to go away, conſidering the poſt 'he was in; and to ſhew, that he was not afraid to 'own all the Changes that were by his means made in 'Religion, in the laſt reign (17).'

(17) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 314.

[*O*] *He, and Ridley, and Latimer, were remov'd to Oxford in order for a public Diſputation*, &c.] The Queſtions there diſputed upon, were theſe, 1. In the Sacrament of the Altar, the natural body of Chriſt conceived of the Virgin Mary, and his natural blood, are really preſent, under the ſpecies of bread and wine, by virtue of the divine word pronounced by the Prieſt. 2. After the conſecration, there doth not remain the ſubſtance of bread and wine, nor any other ſubſtance, but the ſubſtance of Chriſt, God and man. 3. In the maſs, there is a lively propitiatory ſacrifice of the Church, for the ſins as well of the living as of the dead (*).

(*) Strype, p. 334.

[*P*] *How he had preſerv'd her in her father's time, &c.*] Namely, when the King was reſolved to ſend her to the Tower, and to make her ſuffer as a ſubject: becauſe ſhe would not obey the Laws of the Realm, in renouncing the Pope's Authority and Religion (18).

(18) Strype, p. 368, 431.

[*Q*] *He appeared before the Commiſſioners.*] Brooks Biſhop of Glouceſter was appointed upon this occaſion Subdelegate to Cardinal Puteo, to whom the Pope had committed this proceſs; and Martin, and Story, Doctors of the Civil Law, were the Queen's Commiſſioners (19).

(19) Ibid. p. 371.

[*R*] *Where he was accuſed of blaſphemy, perjury, incontinency, and hereſy.*] He was accuſed of *blaſphemy* and *hereſy* for his writings againſt Popery; of *perjury*, for breaking his oath to the Pope; and of *incontinency*, or *adultery*, on account of his being married (20).

(20) Ibid. p. 372.

[*S*] *He was prevailed upon to ſign a Recantation.*] We are inform'd by the induſtrious Mr Strype (21), That Archbiſhop Cranmer was ſubtilly draw in by the Papiſts

(21) Eccleſ. Mem. Vol. III. p. 231—238.

brac'd again all the Errors of Popery ; which Recantation was immediately printed and diſpers'd about by his enemies (*b*). Notwithſtanding that, the mercileſs Queen, not ſatiſfied with this conqueſt, reſolv'd to glut her revenge, by committing Cranmer to the flames. Accordingly, ſhe ſent for Dr Cole Provoſt of Eaton, and gave him inſtructions to prepare a Sermon for that mournful occaſion (*c*). And on the 24th of February a Writ was ſigned for the burning of Cranmer (*d*). The 21ſt day of March, which was the fatal day, he was brought to St Mary's Church, and placed on a kind of ſtage over againſt the pulpit, where Dr Cole was to preach. While Cole was haranguing, the unfortunate Cranmer expreſſed great inward confuſion ; often lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven ; and frequently pouring out floods of tears (*e*). At the end of the Sermon, when Cole deſired him to make an open profeſſion of his Faith, as he had promis'd him he would ; he, firſt, prayed in the moſt fervent manner: Then made an exhortation to the people preſent, Not to ſet their minds upon the world ; to obey the King and Queen ; to love each other ; and to be charitable. After which he made a Confeſſion of his Faith, beginning with the Creed, and concluding with theſe words, 'And I believe every word and ſentence taught by our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, his Apoſtles and Prophets, in the Old and New Teſtament. — And now, added he, I come to the great thing, that ſo much troubleth my conſcience more than any thing I ever did or ſaid in my whole life ; and that is the ſetting abroad a writing contrary to the truth, which I here now renounce as things written with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to ſave my life if it might be ; that is, all ſuch bills and papers which I have written or ſigned with my hand ſince my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And foraſmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand ſhall firſt be puniſhed ; for, may I come to the fire, it ſhall be firſt burned. As for the Pope, I refuſe him as Chriſt's enemy and antichriſt, with all his falſe doctrine. And as for the Sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book againſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter (*f*).' Thunderſtruck as it were with this unexpected Declaration, the enraged Popiſh croud admoniſhed him not to diſſemble: 'Ah, replied he with tears, ſince I lived hitherto, I have been a hater of falſhood, and a lover of ſimplicity, and never before this time have I diſſembled (*g*).' Whereupon, they pulled him off the ſtage with the utmoſt fury, and hurried him to the place of his martyrdom, overagainſt Baliol-College (*h*) ; where he put off his clothes in haſte, and ſtanding in his ſhirt, and without ſhoes, was faſtned with a chain to the ſtake (*i*). Some preſſing him to agree to his former recantation, he anſwer'd, ſhowing his hand, 'This is the hand that wrote it, and therefore it ſhall firſt ſuffer puniſhment (*k*).' Fire being applied to him, he ſtretch'd out his right hand into the flame, and held it there unmov'd (except that once with it he wiped his face) till it was conſum'd, crying with a loud voice, 'This hand hath offended ;' and often repeating, 'This unworthy right hand (*l*).' At laſt, the fire getting up, he ſoon expir'd, never ſtirring or crying out all the while, only keeping his eyes fix'd to heaven, and repeating more than once, 'Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit.' Such was the end of the renowned Thomas Cranmer, in the 67th year of his age. As to his Character: He is repreſented as a man of an open and generous Mind, of great Sincerity and Candor, a lover of Truth, and a declar'd enemy to Falſhood and Superſtition. Humble and affable ; and

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(*b*) Fox, ubi ſupr. p. 1884.

(*c*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 383. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 334.

(*d*) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XV. p. 432. Burnet, ubi ſupr. and Collection of Records, p. 300.

(*e*) Fox, ubi ſupr. p. 1886.

(*f*) Fox, ubi ſupr. p. 1887.

(*g*) Ibid. Strype, ubi ſupr. p. 388.

(*h*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 334, &c.

(*i*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 389. Fox, ubi ſupra, p. 1889.

(*k*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 389.

(*l*) Fox, ibid. Strype, ibid.

Papiſts to ſubſcribe ſix different Papers ; the firſt being expreſſed in ambiguous words, capable of a favourable conſtruction, the five following were added as explanations of it. That *firſt* Recantation was in theſe words, 'For as much as the King's and Queen's Majeſties, by conſent of their Parliament, have received the Pope's Authority within this Realm, I am content to ſubmit myſelf to their Laws herein, and to take the Pope for chief Head of this Church of England, ſo far as God's Laws, and the Laws and Cuſtoms of this Realm, will permit.' In the *next*, he ſubmitted himſelf to the Catholic Church of Chriſt, and unto the Pope, ſupreme Head of the ſame Church. In the *third*, he ſubmitted to the King and Queen, and to all their Laws, as well concerning the Pope's ſupremacy, as others: and promiſed, that he would ſtir and move all others to live in quietneſs and obedience to their Majeſties. As for his Book, he was content to ſubmit to the Judgment of the Catholic Church, and the next General Council. This was followed by a *fourth*, wherein he profeſſed firmly, ſtedfaſtly, and aſſuredly to believe in all Articles and Points of the Chriſtian Religion and Catholick Faith, as the Catholic Church doth believe. Moreover, as concerning the Sacraments, he declared he believed unfeignedly in all points as the ſaid Catholic Church did. In the *fifth* Paper, which is that in Fox (22), and has been thought to be his only Recantation, they required of him, to renounce and anathematize all Lutheran and Zuinglian hereſies and errors ; to acknowledge the one only Catholic Church, to be that whereof the Pope is the Head ; and to declare him Chriſt's Vicar. Then followed an expreſs acknowledgment of Tranſubſtantiation, the ſeven Sacraments, and of all the Doctrines of the Church of Rome in general. A *ſixth* was ſtill required of him, which was drawn up in ſo ſtrong terms, that nothing was capable of being added to it. For it contained a large acknowledgment of all the Popiſh errors and corruptions, and a moſt grievous accuſation of himſelf as a blaſphemer, enemy of Chriſt, and murderer of Souls, on account of his being the author of King Henry's divorce, and of all the calamities, ſchiſms, and hereſies of which that was the fountain. This was ſubſcribed on the 18th of March. Theſe ſix Papers were, ſoon after his death, ſent to the preſs by Bonner, and publiſhed with the addition of another, which they had prepared for him to ſpeak at St Mary's, before his Execution : And tho' he then ſpoke to a quite contrary effect, and revoked his former Recantations, Bonner had the confidence to publiſh this to the world, as if it had been approv'd and made uſe of by the Archbiſhop. —— In 1736, William Whiſton M. A. publiſhed a little book entitled, 'An Enquiry into the Evidence of Archbiſhop Cranmer's Recantation: or Reaſons for a ſuſpicion that the pretended Copy of it is not genuine.' In that book he ſuppoſes, that what Cranmer ſigned, was only the firſt part of the Recantation printed in Fox's Acts and Monuments, as far as the words ——— 'without which there is no Salvation.' — that the reſt was added by the Papiſts, but that Cranmer never ſet his hand thereto.

(22) Page 1884.

and in every condition the ſame. Gentle and mild in his Temper; always ready to forgive, and be reconciled: Not ſoon heated, nor apt to give his opinion raſhly of perſons, or things. And tho' his Gentleneſs often expos'd him to his Enemies, who from it took an advantage to uſe him ill, yet it did not lead him into ſuch a weakneſs of Spirit, as to conſent to every thing that was uppermoſt: But, in general, he never diſſembled his opinion, nor diſowned his friend. His Charity and Munificence to the indigent was extenſive, and his Hoſpitality well regulated, not beſtowed upon the Rich and the Powerful, but on his honeſt and poor Neighbours. He had a good Judgment, but no great quickneſs of Apprehenſion, nor cloſeneſs of ſtile, which was diffuſed (*m*). However, he was a man of great Learning in Divinity, and in the Civil and Canon Laws (*n*). He generally ſpent about three parts of the day in ſtudy (*o*); and being of a moſt wonderful Diligence, he drew out of all the Authors he read, every thing that was remarkable, digeſting thoſe quotations into Common-place. He publiſhed, and left behind him in manuſcript, ſeveral works [*T*]. As he was a lover of Learning, ſo was he alſo an encourager of it; allowing yearly Salaries to many Scholars in Germany, and other places (*p*). With regard to ſome of his Opinions: He had the ſame notions as Calvin about Predeſtination and Grace. He alſo was zealous at firſt for the real preſence, but afterwards altered his mind (*q*). And he ſeemed to make Eccleſiaſtical Functions and Offices wholly dependant on the Magiſtrate, as much as the Civil were (*r*). What was moſt blameable in his Conduct (beſides his Recantation) was the part he had in Lambert's death (*s*), and in Joan Bocher's and Van Pare's (*t*). But, notwithſtanding theſe blemiſhes, he muſt be allowed to have been the Glory of England, and one of the chief Founders and Ornaments of the Reformation.

(*m*) Burnet, Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 336.

(*n*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 439.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 431.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 285. Fox, p. 1864.

(*q*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 65, 66.

(*r*) Burnet, Vol. I. p. 172.

(*s*) Burnet, ubi ſupra, Vol. I. p. 253.

(*t*) Idem, Vol. II. p. 111, 112.

[*T*] *He publiſhed, and left behind him in manuſcript, ſeveral Works*] His printed works, are I. An account of Mr Pole's book, concerning K. Henry VIIIth's marriage (23). II. Several Letters, to divers perſons——To K. Henry VIII—To Secretary Crumwel.——To Sir William. Cecil.——— To foreign Divines (24). III. Three Diſcourſes, upon his review of the King's book, intituled, *The Erudition of a Chriſtian man* (25). IV. Other diſcourſes of his (26). V. The Biſhops Book, in which he had a part. VI. Anſwers to the fifteen Articles of the Rebels in Devon. in 1549 (27). VII. The examination of moſt points of Religion (28). VIII. A Form for the alteration of the Maſs into a Communion (29). IX. Some of the Homilies. X. A Catechiſm, intituled, A ſhort Inſtruction to Chriſtian Religion, for the ſingular profit of Children and young People (30). XI. Againſt Unwritten Verities (31). XII. A Defence of the true and catholick Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt; with a Confutation of ſundry Errors concerning the ſame: Grounded and eſtabliſhed upon God's holy word, and approved by the conſent of the moſt ancient Doctors of the Church. This was tranſlated into Latin by John Young. In oppoſition to it, Gardiner publiſhed, ‘An Explication ‘and Aſſertion of the true Catholic Faith touching ‘the moſt bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, with the ‘Confutation of a book writ againſt the ſame.’ XIII. Cranmer replied in the following book, ‘An ‘Anſwer by the reverend Father in God, Thomas ‘Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, ‘and Metropolitan, unto a crafty and ſophiſtical Cavillation, deviſed by Stephen Gardiner, Doctor of ‘Law, late Biſhop of Wincheſter, againſt the true ‘and godly Doctrine of the moſt Holy Sacrament of ‘the Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt. Wherein is alſo, as occaſion ſerveth, anſwered ſuch Places ‘of the Book of Dr Richard Smith, as may ſeem ‘any thing worthy the anſwering. Alſo a true Copy ‘of the book written, and in open Court delivered by ‘Dr Stephen Gardiner, not one word added or diminiſhed, but faithfully in all Points agreeing with the ‘original.’ Lond. 1551. reprinted 1580. 'Twas tranſlated into Latin by Sir John Cheke. An Anſwer was alſo made to this book by St. Gardiner, under the feigned name of *Marcus Antonius Conſtantinus*, and entituled, *Confutatio cavillationum, quibus ſacroſanctum Euchariſtiæ Sacramentum ab impiis Capernaitis impeti ſolet*. Paris 1552. XIV. Cranmer began an Anſwer to this, and finiſhed three parts of it, but lived not to compleat the whole (32). XV. Preface to the Engliſh tranſlation of the Bible. XVI. A Speech in the Houſe of Lords, concerning a general Council (33). XVII. Letter to K Henry VIII. in juſtification of Anne Boleyn, May 3, 1535 (34). XVIII. The Reaſons that led him to oppoſe the Six Articles (35). For this he had like to come into great trouble, as may be ſeen in Fox (36). XIX. Reſolution of ſome Queſtions concerning the Sacrament (37). XX. Injunctions given at his viſitation within the Dioceſe of Hereford (38). XXI. A collection of paſſages out of the Canon-Law, to ſhow the neceſſity of reforming it (39). XXII. Some Queries in order to the correcting of ſeveral abuſes (40). XXIII. Concerning a further reformation, and againſt ſacrilege (41). XXIV. Anſwers to ſome Queries concerning Confirmation (42). XXV. Some conſiderations offered to K. Edward VI to induce him to proceed to a further reformation (43). XXVI. Anſwer to the Lords of the Privy-Council (44). XXVII. Manifeſto againſt the Maſs (45).

Thoſe Works of his which ſtill remain in manuſcript, are I. Two large Volumes of Collections out of Holy ſcripture, and the ancient Fathers, and later Doctors and Schoolmen. The firſt Volume contains 545 pages, and the ſecond above 559. They are chiefly upon the points controverted between us and the Church of Rome; namely, about their ſeven Sacraments, Invocation of Saints, Images, Relicks, of true Religion and Superſtition, the Maſs, Prayer, the Virgin Mary, &c. Theſe two Volumes are in the King's Library (46). When they were offered to ſale, they were valued at 100*l.* but Biſhop Beveridge, and Dr Jane, appraiſers for the King, brought down the price to 50 *l.* (47). II. The Lord Burghley had ſix or ſeven Volumes more of his writing (48). III. And Dr Burnet mentions two Volumes beſides, that he ſaw, but they are ſuppos'd to be now loſt (49). IV. There are alſo ſeveral Letters of his in the Collections of Sir Robert Cotton (50) C

(23) Memorials of T. Cranmer, by J. Strype, p. 6. and Append. p. 3.

(24) In ſeveral parts of the ſame book.

(25) Append. ubi ſupra, p. 57.

(26) Ibid.

(27) Ibid. p. 86.

(28) Ib. p. 77; and Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. Collect. No. 21, p. 201.

(29) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 139.

(30) Ibid. p. 159.

(31) Page 160.

(32) Ibid. p. 254, 255, 256, 259, 260, 261, 262, 370. Fox, p. 1870.

(33) Burnet, Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 174.

(34) Ibid. p. 200.

(35) Ib. p. 265.

(36) Page 1185.

(37) Burnet, ubi ſupra. Coll. of Records, p. 201.

(38) Ib. p. 182.

(39) Ib. p. 257.

(40) Addenda to Vol. I. p. 317.

(41) Burnet, Vol. II. Collect. p. 236.

(42) Ib. p. 319.

(43) Ibid. p. 320.

(44) Ibid. Collect. p. 187.

(45) Ibid. p. 249.

(46) Royal Library, 7 B. xi. xii. See Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 171.

(47) Caſley's Catal. of the Royal Library, p. 124, 125.

(48) Burnet, ubi ſupra.

(49) Ibid.

(50) Cleopatra, E. & F. 20.

CREECH (THOMAS), famous for his Tranſlations of *Lucretius* [*A*], *Horace*,

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[*A*] *His Tranſlation of* Lucretius.] It is intitled; *T. Lucretius Carus, Of the Nature of Things. Tranſlated into Engliſh verſe by* Thomas Creech, A. M. *and fellow of* Wadham *College in* Oxford. It was printed at Oxford in 1682, in 8*vo*, and recommended by a Latin Diſtich of Dr Edward Barnard, Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy in that univerſity, and by a copy of Engliſh verſes of Mr Thomas Brown of Chriſt-Church. It was re-printed the year following, with Commendatory verſes by ſeveral eminent hands (1): among which, thoſe, which paſs under the names of Mr Dryden and Mr Waller, we are aſſured from undoubted authority, were not theirs. However Mr Dryden, who himſelf tranſlated ſome parts of *Lucretius*, has given the higheſt character of Mr Creech's performance, in the following words. ‘This puts me in ‘mind

(1) Wood. Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1104, 1105.

Horace [*B*], and from other antient authors, both in proſe and verſe [*C*], was ſon of Thomas Creech, Gent. and born, in 1659, at Blandford in Dorſetſhire. He was educated in Grammar learning under Mr Thomas Curganven, maſter of the Free-ſchool at Sherburne; and admitted a Commoner of Wadham College in Oxford [*D*], in Lent-Term 1675, under the tuition of Mr Robert Pit, and afterwards of Mr Robert Balch, fellows of that College. The 28th of September the year following, he was admitted a ſcholar of that houſe, and acquired the reputation of a good Philoſopher, Poet, and a ſevere Student (*a*). October the 27th 1680, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*b*). In 1680, he was appointed by his tutor Mr Balch, then one of the Proctors of the Univerſity, his Quadrageſimal Collector of the Bachelors that were to determine the latter end of that year (*c*). June the 13th 1683, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*d*); and about the beginning of November following was elected a Probationer-Fellow of All-Souls College, having given ſingular proofs of his Claſſical learning and Philoſophy before his Examiners (*e*). In 1701, having taken Holy Orders, he was preſented by his College to the Living of Welling in Hertfordſhire: but, before he had taken poſſeſſion of it,

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col 1104.

(*b*) Id. FaſtiOxon. Vol. II. col. 212.

(*c*) Id. Ath. ib.

(*d*) Id. Faſti, ib. col. 221.

(*e*) Id. Ath. ib.

‘mind of what I owe to the ingenious and learned tranſlator of *Lucretius*. I have not here deſigned to rob him of any part of that commendation, which he has ſo juſtly acquired by the whole author, whoſe fragments only fall to my portion. The ways of our tranſlations are very different: he follows him more cloſely than I have done; which became an interpreter of the whole Poem. I take more liberty, becauſe it beſt ſuited with my deſign, which was to make him as pleaſing as I could. He had been too voluminous, had he uſed my method in ſo long a work, and I had certainly taken his, had I made it my buſineſs to tranſlate the whole. The preference then is juſtly his, and I join with Mr Evelyn (*) in the confeſſion of it, with this additional advantage to him; that his reputation is already eſtabliſhed in this poet, mine is to make it's fortune in the world. If I have been any where obſcure, in following our common author, or if Lucretius himſelf is to be condemned, I refer myſelf to his excellent Annotations, which I have often read, and always with ſome new pleaſure (2).’ Mr Creech publiſhed an Edition of *Lucretius* in Latin, intitled; *Titi Lucretii Cari de Rerum Natura libri ſex, quibus Interpretationem et Notas addidit Thomas Creech. Oxon.* 1695, 8*vo*. The Annotations on this Latin Edition were afterwards printed at the end of the Engliſh Tranſlation, and all together by themſelves. In the Edition of Mr Creech's *Lucretius*, London 1714, in Two Volumes Octavo, all the verſes of the Text, which Mr Creech had left untranſlated, are ſupplied: particularly thoſe that were omitted towards the end of the 4th book, where the poet treats of the nature of love, are taken from Mr Dryden's tranſlation of that part of the author. The Tranſlator's Notes are diſpoſed in the body of the Book, under the ſeveral places, to which they properly belong; intermixed with ſeveral Annotations by another hand; and all together forming a compleat Syſtem of the Epicurean Philoſophy (3). And here impartiality obliges us not to ſuppreſs the ſevere cenſure paſſed on Mr Creech by a certain writer, who, having obſerved, that *the only book now in being, which from one end to the other is an open defence of Atheiſm, is that of* Lucretius, tells us (4), that ‘this moſt impious book in Charles IId's reign was with infinite pains turned into Engliſh verſe, that the ſmoothneſs and ſweetneſs of the metre might ſupply what was wanting in the argument; that the elegance of the expreſſion, the melodious harmony of numbers, and all thoſe other bewitching beauties, which attend good poetry, might inſenſibly inſtil the poiſon into the minds of unthinking people, eſpecially of the youth, whoſe imagination is generally too ſtrong for their reaſon, and their fancy too powerful for their judgment. And this celebrated Tranſlation was not only made by an Oxford Scholar (who was thereupon preferred) but it was licenſed by the Univerſity of Oxford, where he was looked on as a raw lad, that had not read the *Lucretius* of Creech, who died, as he lived, like a true Atheiſt; but being a High-Church Prieſt, his murdering himſelf was not made to paſs for a judgment.’ This calumny is ſufficiently anſwered in the Preface to the two volumes.

[*B*] *His Tranſlation of* Horace.] It is intitled; *The Odes, Satyrs, and Epiſtles of Horace. Done into Engliſh by Mr Creech.* It is dedicated *To the very much eſteemed* John Dryden, Eſq; In the Preface, having obſerved, that Quintilian was of opinion, that *all* Horace's *Odes* ought not to be interpreted, he adds: ‘what he means by *Interpretation* is evident to every one that underſtands the extent of the word, and the Ancients method of inſtructing: and why this caution is reſtrained to the *Odes*, and not applyed to the *Satyrs* as well, ſince the reaſon upon which he fixes it ſeems common to both, muſt be taken from the deſign and ſubject-matter of the Poems. To deſcribe and reform a vicious man neceſſarily requires ſome expreſſions, which an *Ode* can never want. The paint, which an Artiſt uſes, muſt be agreeable to the piece which he deſigns. *Satyr* is to inſtruct, and that ſuppoſeth a knowledge and diſcovery of the Crime; while *Odes* are made only to delight and pleaſe, and therefore ev'ry thing in them that juſtly offends is unpardonable.’ Theſe *principles*, he ſays, *made* him *cautious of ſome* Odes, *tho'* he omitted to tranſlate *three more upon a different Account*. The *Odes*, not tranſlated by Mr Creech, are; the 6th, 9th, 21ſt, 25th, and 27th of the *Third Book*; the 4th of the *Fourth Book*; and the 12th Epode. As to the *Satires* of Horace, he was adviſed, he tells us, *to turn them to our own time*, ſince Rome *was now rival'd in her vices, aud Parallels for Hypocriſy, Profaneneſs, Avarice, and the like, were eaſy to be found*. But thoſe crimes, he declares, ‘were much out of his acquaintance, and ſince the character is the ſame whoever the perſon is, he was not ſo fond of being hated, as to make any diſobliging application.’ *Such pains*, ſays he, *would look like an impertinent labour to find a dunghill, only that I might ſatisfy an unaccountable humour of dirtying one man's face, and beſpattering another.* He concludes his Preface with acknowledging himſelf indebted to other writers, particularly my Lord Roſcommon, to whoſe admirable verſion he owed the ſenſe, and the beſt lines in the *Art of Poetry*.

[*C*] *His tranſlations from other antient authors, both in proſe and verſe.*] They are: I. *A Tranſlation of the Idylliums of* Theocritus, *with* Rapin's *Diſcourſe of Paſtorals*, Oxford, 1684, 8*vo*, dedicated to Mr Arthur Charlet of Trinity College in Oxford. II *The* 2d *Elegy of* Ovid's *Firſt Book of Elegies*: and *the* 6th, 7th, 8th, *and* 12th *of* Ovid's *Second Book of Elegies*: and *the Story of* Lucretia, *out of* Ovid de Faſtis. III. The 2d *and* 3d *of* Virgil's *Eclogues*; and *part of* Virgil's *Fourth Georgic*. IV. *The Thirteenth Satire of* Juvenal, *with Notes*. V. *A Tranſlation into Engliſh of the verſes prefixed to* Mr Quintinie's Compleat Gardiner. VI. *The Lives of* Solon, Pelopidas, *and* Cleomenes, *from* Plutarch. VII. *The Life of* Pelopidas *from* Cornelius Nepos. VIII. *Laconic Apophthegms, or Remarkable Sayings of the* Spartans, *from* Plutarch. IX. *A Diſcourſe concerning* Socrates *his Dæmon*, and *The two firſt Books of the Sympoſiacs, from* Plutarch. X. *A Tranſlation of* Manilius's Aſtronomicon.

[*D*] *Admitted a Commoner of Wadham College in Oxford.*] The Author of the *Poetical Regiſter* (5) tells us, that his parents circumſtances not being ſufficient to ſupport him in a liberal Education, his diſpoſition and capacity for learning raiſed him a Patron in Colonel Strangeways, whoſe generoſity ſupplied that defect; and that this gentleman ſent him to Wadham-College, where he was admitted a ſcholar on the foundation.

[*E*] *He*

(*) Mr Evelyn tranſlated the firſt Book of Lucretius.

(2) Preface to the Firſt Part of Miſcellany Poems, &c. edit. 1727, p. 21.

(3) See the Preface to Creech's Lucretius, Lond. 1714.

(4) The nation vindicated from the aſperſions caſt on it in a late Pamphlet, intituled, *A Repreſentation of the preſent State of Religion*, &c. P. ii. p. 38, Lond. 1712, 8*vo*.

(5) Vol. I. p. 3

it, he unfortunately put an end to his own life [*E*], at Oxford (*f*). He has the character of having been a man of excellent parts and ſound judgment; a perfect maſter of the Greek and Latin Languages; but naturally of a moroſe temper, and too apt to deſpiſe the underſtandings and performances of others (*g*).

(*f*) Jacob's Poe- ical Regiſter, &c. Vol. I. p. 39.

(*g*) Id. ibid.

[*E*] *He put an end to his own life.*] Neither the motives to, nor the circumſtances of, this affair are certainly known. The author of the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (6), informs us, that, in the year 1700, Mr Creech fell in love with a woman, who treated him with great neglect, tho' ſhe was complaiſant enough to ſeveral others. This affront he could not bear, and reſolved not to ſurvive it. Whereupon he ſhut himſelf up in his ſtudy, where he hanged himſelf about the end of June 1700, and was found in that circumſtance three days after. The *Poetical Regiſter* ſays nothing of the particular manner of his death, but only that he unfortunately made away with himſelf in the year 1701; and aſcribes (7) this fatal cataſtrophe of Mr Creech's life to the moroſeneſs of his temper, which made him leſs eſteemed than his great merit deſerved, and engaged him in frequent animoſities and diſputes upon that account. T

(6) For Septemb. 1701.

(7) Ubi ſupra.

CRESSEY or CRESSY (HUGH-PAULIN, or SERENUS) a celebrated writer, in behalf of the Papiſts, and one of their Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians, who flouriſhed in the ſeventeenth Century. He derived his deſcent from an ancient and honourable family, ſeated formerly in Nottinghamſhire, but before his time had removed into Yorkſhire, of which county he was himſelf a native, being born at Wakefield in the year 1605 (*a*). His father was Hugh Creſſey, Eſq; Barriſter of Lincoln's-Inn, his mother's name was Margery the daughter of Dr Thomas Doylie, an eminent Phyſician in London (*b*). He was educated at a Grammar-ſchool in the place of his nativity, till ſuch time as he had attained the age of fourteen or thereabout, and then in Lent-term 1619 he was removed to Oxford where he ſtudied with great vigour and diligence, and in the year 1626 was admitted Fellow of Merton-college in that univerſity (*c*). After taking the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts he entered into Holy Orders, and became Chaplain to Thomas Lord Wentworth, then Lord Preſident of the North, with whom he had the honour to live ſome years (*d*). About the year 1638 he went over to Ireland with that wiſe and worthy nobleman Lucius Carey, Lord Viſcount Falkland, to whom he was likewiſe Chaplain, and by him much countenanced and eſteemed (*e*). By the favour of this noble perſon, when Secretary of State, he was in the year 1642 promoted to a Canonry in the collegiate church of Windſor, and to the dignity of Dean of Laughlin in the kingdom of Ireland, but through the diſturbances of the times he never attained the poſſeſſion of either of theſe preferments (*f*). After the unfortunate death of his patron, who was killed in the battle of Newbury, he found himſelf in a manner deſtitute of ſubſiſtence, and therefore readily accepted a propoſal that was made him of travelling with Charles Bertie, Eſq; (*g*) afterwards created Earl of Falmouth, a great favourite of King Charles II. unhappily ſlain in a battle at ſea in the firſt Dutch war after the Reſtoration (*h*). He quitted England in the year 1644, and making the tour of Italy with his pupil, moved by the declining ſtate of the Church of England, he began to liſten to the perſwaſion of the Romiſh Divines, and in the year 1646 made a publick profeſſion at Rome of his being reconciled to that Church (*i*). He went from thence to Paris, where he thought fit to publiſh what he was pleaſed to ſtile the motives of his converſion, which work of his, as might be reaſonably expected, was highly applauded by the Romaniſts, and is ſtill conſidered by them as a very extraordinary performance [*A*]. After taking this ſtep he was much inclined to become a Monk of the Carthuſian Order, and had thoughts of entring into the Monaſtery of Engliſh Carthuſians at Newport in Flanders, but from this he was diſſwaded by ſome of his zealous countrymen, who were deſirous that he ſhould continue to employ his pen in defence of their religion, for which the ſevere diſcipline of that Order would have allowed him but little time; and therefore by their advice he laid aſide that deſign, and being recommended to Henrietta Maria, Queen Dowager of England, he was taken under her protection, and being invited by the Benedictine College of Engliſh Monks at Douay in Flanders, he at length reſolved to retire thither, and for the expence of his journey received one hundred Crowns as a bounty from that Princeſs, who could but ill ſpare even ſo ſmall a ſum at that time. Some time after his arrival at Douay he entered into the Benedictine Order,

(*a*) Thoreſby's Topography of Leeds, p. 184.

(*b*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 320. Strype's Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 394.

(*c*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 528.

(*d*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 356.

(*e*) Epiſtle apologetical to a perſon of Honour, ſect. vii.

(*f*) Faſti, Oxon. Vol. I. col. 230. Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 356.

(*g*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 528.

(*h*) Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 52.

(*i*) See the Preface to his Exomologeſis. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 529.

[*A*] *As a very extraordinary performance*]. The author was pleaſed to entitle this work, EXOMOLOGESIS: *or a faithful narration of the occaſions and motives of his Converſion to Catholic Unity*. Paris 1647 *and* 1653, *in* 8*vo*. To the laſt edition is an appendix, *in which are cleared certain miſconſtructions of his* Exomologeſis, *publiſhed by* J. P. *author of the* Preface *to the Lord* Falkland'*s diſcourſe of Infallibility*. As ſoon as this was finiſhed, he ſent it over to his dear friend Dr Henry Hammond, as to one whoſe ſincerity he had experienced, and for whoſe judgment he had a high eſteem. That learned perſon wrote him a very kind letter in anſwer; in which he thanked him for his book, but at the ſame time, told him there was a vein of fallacy ran through the whole contexture of it; adding, we are friends, and I do not propoſe to be your antagoniſt; at the cloſe of this epiſtle, he invited him into England, aſſuring him that he ſhould be provided with a convenient place to dwell in, and a ſufficient ſubſiſtence to live comfortably, without being moleſted by any, about his religion and conſcience. This offer, tho' our author did not accept, yet he returned, as became him, an anſwer full of reſpect and gratitude to the kind friend who had made it (1). Few books are more admired than this by the Papiſts, who flatter themſelves, that he has fully anſwered the judicious Mr Chillingworth, and his own kind patron the learned Lord Falkland; but we know that they are ſo apt to magnify the performances of all their converts, that there is no laying any great ſtreſs upon ſuch commendations (2).

(1) This circumſtance is taken from his Apologetical Epiſtle to a perſon of Honour, p. 47.

(2) The Chriſtian Moderator, by John Auſtin, to which an Anſwer was written under the title of *Legenda Lignea*, in the 36th chapter of which our author is very harſhly treated.

Order, and upon that occaſion changed the name he received at his baptiſm of Hugh-Paulin, for that of Serenus de Creſſey, by which he was afterwards known to the learned world (k). He remained about ſeven years or more in that college, and during his reſidence there publiſhed a large work, of which the reader will find ſome notice taken at the bottom of the page [B]. After the Reſtoration and the marriage of King Charles II. Queen Catherine appointed our author, who was then become one of the Miſſion in England, her Chaplain, and thence forward he reſided in Somerſet-houſe in the Strand (l). The great regularity of his life, his ſincere and unaffected piety, his modeſt and mild behaviour, his reſpectful deportment to perſons of diſtinction, with whom he was formerly acquainted when a Proteſtant, and the care he took to avoid all concern in political affairs or intrigues of State, preſerved him in quiet and ſafety, even in the moſt troubleſome times. He was, however, a very zealous champion in the cauſe of the Church of Rome, and was continually writing in defence of her doctrines, or in anſwer to the books of controverſy, written by Proteſtants of diſtinguiſhed learning or figure, and as this engaged him in a variety of diſputes, he quickly gained a great reputation with both parties, the Papiſts looking upon him to be one of their ableſt advocates, and the Proteſtants allowing that he was a grave, a ſenſible, and a candid writer (m) [C]. But that which of all his performances contributed to make him moſt known, was his large and copious Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, which was indeed a work of great pains and labour, and executed with much accuracy and diligence. He had obſerved that nothing made a greater impreſſion upon the people in general of his communion, than the reputation of the great antiquity of their Church, and the fame of the old ſaints of both ſexes, that had flouriſhed in this iſland; and therefore he judged that nothing could be more ſerviceable, to that which he ſtiled the Catholick Intereſt, than compoſing ſuch a Hiſtory as might ſet theſe points in the faireſt and fulleſt light poſſible. He had before him the example of a famous Jeſuit, Michael Alford, alias Griffith, who had adjuſted the ſame Hiſtory under the years in which the principal events happened, in four large volumes, collected from our ancient Hiſtorians, but as this was written in Latin, he judged that it was leſs ſuited to the deſign which he had in view, of bringing it into the hands of common readers, and therefore he ſet himſelf this painful taſk of puting it into Engliſh, with ſuch helps and improvements as he thought neceſſary (n). His Hiſtory was very much approved by the moſt learned of his countrymen, of the ſame religion, as appears by the teſtimonies prefixed to it. To ſpeak impartially, the order, regularity, and coherence of the facts contained therein, deſerve to be commended, and the gravity, or rather ſolemnity, of the language is very agreeable to the author's aim and intention, as is likewiſe the care and punctuality ſhewn in citing his authorities (o). But, on the other hand, he is juſtly, tho' modeſtly, cenſured by a learned prelate, for giving in to the ſuperſtitious notions of many of our old writers, and tranſcribing from them ſuch fabulous paſſages as have been long ago exploded by the inquiſitive and impartial criticks of his own faith (p). Anthony Wood thinks this however excuſable, becauſe he tells us from whence he had them, and perhaps we may render this excuſe rather better, by obſerving that he meant to excite his readers to a zealous imitation of their pious anceſtors, rather than afford them hiſtorical inſtruction, from a nice and critical examination of what the authors, from whom he collected his materials, had delivered. The book however ſtill maintains it's credit amongſt the Romaniſts, is reputed a moſt authentick eccleſiaſtical chronicle, and is frequently cited by their moſt conſiderable authors, as a performance of eſtabliſhed reputation (q) [D]. He propoſed to have publiſhed another

(k) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 356.

(l) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 530.

(m) See Dr Whitby's Preface to his Reply to S. C's Anſwer to Dr Pierce's Court-Sermon. The Chriſtian Moderator, Lond. 1652, p. 97.

(n) This account of his undertaking is collected out of his copious Preface to his Ch. Hiſt. of Brittany.

(o) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 530.

(p) Nicholſon's Engliſh Library, p. 1, 11.

(q) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 531.

[B] *At the bottom of the page*] This was a treatiſe of the myſtical theology, entituled, SANCTA SOPHIA; *or, Directions for the prayers of contemplation, &c. extracted out of more than* XL *treatiſes, written by the late Reverend Father* Aug. Baker, *a Monk of the Engliſh congregation of the holy order of St* Benedict. *Doway* 1657, *in* 2 vol. in a large 8*vo*. To which are added, *Certain patterns of devout exerciſes of immediate acts and affections of the will.* Of this Father Auguſtine Baker, whoſe true name was David Baker, who had ſtudied the Law in the Middle-Temple, and who from being little better than an Atheiſt, became a convert to Popery, and a very zealous devotioniſt, the Oxford Hiſtorian has given us a very large account (3). He had once it ſeems ſome intention of writing the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of England, for which he had made very copious collections, that were of great ſervice to our author, when he entered upon the execution of the ſame project.

[C] *That he was a grave, a ſenſible, and a candid writer.*] The firſt work, that he publiſhed after his return to England, bore this title *A* non eſt inventus *returned to Mr* Edward Baghaw'*s enquiry and vainly boaſted diſcovery of weakneſs in the Grounds of the Church's infallibility.* 1662. 8*vo*.

He wrote next, *A letter to an Engliſh gentleman dated July 6th* 1662, *wherein Biſhop Morley is concerned,* and therefore we find it printed amongſt ſome of the treatiſes of that reverend Prelate.

He publiſhed after this, *Roman Catholic Doctrines no Novelties; or, an anſwer to Dr Pierce's Court-Sermon, miſcalled,* The primitive rule of Reformation. 1663, 8*vo*. anſwered by Dr Daniel Whitby.

[D] *As a performance of eſtabliſhed reputation.*] The reader will form a very juſt and clear notion of the author's real intentions in compoſing this work, by peruſing the title of it, which, for this reaſon, I ſhall inſert at large. *The* Church Hiſtory *of* Brittany, *from the beginning of* Chriſtianity *to the* Norman Conqueſt; *under* Roman *Governors,* Britiſh *Kings, the* Engliſh Saxon Heptarchy, the Engliſh Saxon and Daniſh *Monarchy.* Containing, I. *The Lives of all our Saints, aſſigned to the proper ages wherein they lived.* II. *The erections of* Epiſcopal Sees, *and Succeſſion of* Biſhops. III. *The celebration of* Synods, National, Provincial, *and* Dioceſan. IV. *The foundations of* Monaſteries, Nunneries, *and* Churches. V. *And a ſufficient account of the Succeſſions of our* Kings, *and of the civil affairs of this Kingdom; from all which is evidently demonſtrated, that the preſent* Roman Catholick *Religion hath from the beginning, without interruption, or change, been profeſſed in this our holy Iſland, &c. By the reverend Father* Serenus Creſſey, *of the Holy Order of St Benedict,* 1668 *fol.* (4) He very fairly acknowledges that the bulk

(3) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 8.

(4) There is no name of the place in the title page of moſt of the copies, but it was actually printed at Roan.

another volume of this Hiſtory, which was to have carried it as low as the diſſolution of monaſteries by King Henry VIII. but before he had proceeded full three hundred years lower than the Norman conqueſt, his life and labours were together ſuſpended (*r*). We are not however to ſuppoſe from hence, that his whole time was devoted to this large work, on the contrary we find him very warmly engaged in all the controverſies of the times, and yet that he had ſome leiſure to beſtow upon works of another nature [*E*]. His laſt diſpute was in reference to a book written by the learned Dr Stillingfleet, afterwards Biſhop of Worceſter, to which, tho' ſeveral anſwers were given by the ableſt of the Popiſh writers, there was none that ſeemed to merit reply, except that penned by Father Creſſey, and this procured him the honour of a very illuſtrious antagoniſt, his old friend and acquaintance at Oxford, Edward Earl of Clarendon (*s*), who, notwithſtanding, treated him upon this occaſion ſomewhat ſeverely, which induced our author to pen and publiſh that letter which is mentioned in the notes. Being now grown far in years and having no very promiſing ſcene before his eyes, from the warm ſpirit that appeared againſt Popery amongſt all ranks of people, and the many excellent books written to confute it by the moſt learned of the Clergy, he was the more willing to ſeek for peace in the ſilence of a country retirement, and accordingly withdrew for ſome time to the houſe of Richard Caryll, Eſq; a gentleman of an ancient family and affluent fortune, at Eaſt Grinſtead in the county of Suſſex, and dying upon the 10th of Auguſt 1674, being then near the ſeventieth year of his age, was buried in the pariſh church there (*t*). His loſs was much regretted by thoſe of his communion, as being one of their ableſt champions ready to draw his pen in their defence on every occaſion, and ſure of having his pieces read with ſingular favour and attention (*u*). His memory alſo was revered by the Proteſtants, as well on account of the purity of his manners, and his mild and humble deportment, as for the plainneſs, candour, and decency, with which he had managed all the controverſies that he had been engaged in, and

(*r*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 356.

(*s*) His Work was called Animadverſions on a book intituled, *Fanaticiſm fanatically imputed*, &c.

(*t*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 531.

(*u*) See the Character of our author by Edward Sheldon, Eſq;

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bulk and ſubſtance of his work, is taken from the three firſt volumes of the *Eccleſiaſtical Annals*, written in Latin by Father Griffith, and that for the additions and improvements he has made, he ſtands chiefly indebted to the *Monaſticon Anglicanum*, publiſhed by Sir William Dugdale, the *Decem Scriptores*, the *Flores Hiſtoriæ Eccleſiaſticæ*, by Dr Smith, whom the Papiſts ſtiled Biſhop of Chalcedon, and the large collection of manuſcripts chiefly made by Father Auguſtine Baker, of whom ſome account has been given in the former note. He offers ſome apologies, for the fabulous relations inſerted in his Hiſtory; which however amounts to no more than this; that he did not think himſelf obliged to believe all that he had taken the pains to collect, and conſequently he leaves the ſame liberty to his reader, who without doubt is not at all bound to have a larger meaſure of faith than the author. There is one thing very ſingular in his preface. 'His education at Oxford had taught him civility, his living at Court had improved it, and the obligations he lay under to ſeveral eminent and worthy perſons of our religion, compelled him to ſhew it in the manner of his treating ſuch prelates of our Church, as he had occaſion to mention, in reference to the matters recorded in his Hiſtory. But for this however, he thought himſelf obliged to make an apology to thoſe of his own communion, which is ſo very remarkable as to deſerve the reader's particular notice. 'But for my excuſe, or defence, I muſt take leave to 'ſay, I. That herein I follow not only the example 'of the ancient beſt Fathers in their diſputes, even a'gainſt Arians, Photinians, Novatians, &c. but of the 'moſt learned author of the Proteſtants Apology. 'II. I am aſſured, that if my accuſers were per'ſonally to converſe with theſe Proteſtant prelates, 'they would not after ſuch a manner change their 'titles. Now I ſee no reaſon, why an obligation 'ſhould be impoſed on any, to be uncivil with his 'pen, and not with his tongue. I do not find, that 'ever any Proteſtants eſteemed ſuch civility an ad'vantage to them in the debate concerning their 'ordinations; for to inſtance in a caſe in juſt reaſon, 'far leſs diſputable than that, yet not long ago ac'tually and terribly diſputed: If during the late re'bellion, a faithful ſubject of the King ſhould have 'petitioned for a paſs to go through the rebels quar'ters, no man would have ſuſpected him of diſ'loyalty, becauſe in his petition to Fairfax, Crom'well, or Waller, he ſtiled them Lords Generals. 'Has not the King himſelf, in addreſſes to the un'lawful Parliament, done the like? yet all this ſure'ly without engagement to acknowledge their autho'rity to be legitimate, particularly as touching the 'forementioned writers, it cannot be denyed but that 'we are much obliged to their diligence in the ſearch 'of publick records, and their ſincerity in delivering 'what they found; true it is, that B. Parker, ac'cording to the impulſe of a Calviniſtical ſpirit, often 'inſerts malicious invectives againſt the Catholick 'Chuch, as being indeed the patriarch of Calviniſtical 'prelacy. B. Godwin is leſs cholerick, and may be 'excuſed, if now and then he ſeeks ſome advantage, 'particularly upon the account of married prelates. 'But as for B. Uſher, his admirable abilities in Chro'nological and Hiſtorical Erudition, as alſo his faith'fulneſs and ingenuous ſincerity in delivering without 'any provoking reflections, what with great labour 'he has obſerved, ought certainly at leaſt to exempt 'him from being treated by any one rudely and con'temptuouſly, eſpecially by me, who am moreover 'always obliged to preſerve a juſt reſentment of very 'many kind effects of friendſhip, which I received from 'him.'

[*E*] *Some leiſure to beſtow upon works of another nature.*] We have already taken notice of this inclination to the Myſtick Divinity, which lead him to take ſo much pains about the works of Father Baker, and from the ſame diſpoſition he alſo publiſhed *Sixteen revelations of divine love, ſhewed to a devout ſervant of our Lord, called Mother* Juliana, *an* Anchorete *of* Norwich, *who lived in the days of King* Edward III. printed 1670. 8*vo*. and dedicated to the Lady Blount, of Sodingdon, widow of Sir George Blount, and likewiſe changed from old into modern Engliſh more compendiouſly. A book written before the change of Religion, entitled, An abridgment of the book called *The cloud of unknowing, and of the counſel referring to the ſame*. This is not printed, but in MS. and was ſhewn to Anthony Wood, by Father W. R. a Benedictine Monk (5).

(5) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 531.

The next performance of his was upon occaſion of a famous treatiſe, written by Dr Stillingfleet, againſt the Church of Rome, which made a very great noiſe in thoſe days, and put for ſome time a ſtop to the encroachments their Miſſionaries were daily making, which highly provoked thoſe of the Roman communion. This was entitled,

Anſwer to part of Dr Stillingfleet'*s Book, entituled* Idolatry practiſed in the Church of Rome, 1672. 8*vo*. He publiſhed alſo,

Fanaticiſm fanatically imputed to the Catholick Church by Dr Stillingfleet, *and the imputation refuted and retorted*, &c. 1672. 8*vo*.

Queſtion, Why are you a Catholick? Queſtion, Why are you a Proteſtant? 1673. 8*vo*.

In

and which had procured him in return, much more of kindneſs and reſpect, than almoſt any other of his party had met with, or indeed deſerved *(w)*.

(w) See Dr Daniel Whitby's Preface to his Reply to our author's Anſwer to Dr Pierce's Court Sermon.

In ſupport of Dr Stillingfleet, the Earl of Clarendon wrote *Animadverſions* upon our author's *anſwer*; in which he very plainly tells him and the world, that it was not devotion, but neceſſity and want of a ſubſiſtence, which drove him firſt out of the Church of England, and then into a Monaſtery; as this noble peer knew him well at Oxford, it may be very eaſily imagined that what he ſaid made a very ſtrong impreſſion, and it was to efface this, that our author thought fit to ſend abroad an anſwer under the title of

Epiſtle apologetical to a Perſon of Honour, touching his vindication of Dr Stillingfleet, 1674. 8*vo*. In this work he gives a large relation of the ſtate and condition of his affairs, at the time of what he ſtiles his converſion, in order to remove the imputation of quitting his faith to obtain bread. The laſt work that he publiſhed was entitled,

Remarks upon the Oath of Supremacy.

E

CREW (NATHANAEL) Biſhop of Durham in the end of the ſeventeenth, and beginning of the eighteenth, century, was the fifth ſon of John Lord Crew of Stene in the county of Northampton [*A*], by Jemima, daughter and coheir of Edward Walgrave of Lawford in Eſſex, Eſq *(a)*; He was born at Stene, the 31ſt of January 1633 *(b)*: and in 1652 admitted Commoner of Lincoln-college in Oxford *(c)*, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts the 1ſt of February 1655-6 *(d)*; ſoon after which he was choſen Fellow of that college *(e)*. The 29th of June 1658, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts *(f)*. At the Reſtoration, he declared heartily in favour of the Crown and Hierarchy *(g)*; and in 1663 was one of the Proctors of the Univerſity *(h)*. The year following, on the 2d of July, he took the degree of Doctor of Law *(i)*: and ſoon after went into holy Orders. Auguſt the 12th 1668 he was elected Rector of Lincoln-college, upon the deceaſe of Dr Paul Hood. On the 29th of April 1669, he was inſtalled Dean Chicheſter, and held with that dignity the Præcentorſhip, in which he had been inſtall'd the day before. He was alſo appointed Clerk of the Cloſet to King Charles II *(k)*. In 1671, upon the tranſlation of Dr Blandford to the See of Worceſter, he was elected Biſhop of Oxford in his room on the 16th of June, confirm'd June the 18th, conſecrated July the 2d, and enthroniz'd the 5th of the ſame month; being allowed to hold with it in commendam the Living of Whitney, and the Rectorſhip of Lincoln-college *(l)*: But this laſt he reſign'd the 18th of October 1672 *(m)*. In 1673 he perform'd the ceremony of the marriage of James Duke of York with Maria of Eſte *(n)*. Through that Prince's intereſt, with whoſe meaſures he ſeems to have been very compliant, he was tranſlated, the 22d of October 1674, to the rich Biſhoprick of Durham; which had been kept vacant ever ſince the death of Biſhop Coſin, January 15, 1671-2 *(o)*. In the beginning of the year 1675, he baptized Katherina-Laura, the new-born daughter of James Duke of York *(p)*. The 26th of April 1676, he was ſworn of the Privy Council to King Charles II *(q)*. Upon the acceſſion of King James II. to the Crown, he was in great favour with that Prince, who thought him moſt obſequious to his will: Accordingly, on the 29th of December 1685, he was made Dean of his Majeſty's Royal Chapel in the room of Henry Biſhop of London who had been remov'd; and within a few days after, namely January 8, was admitted into the Privy Council *(r)*. In 1686 he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners in the new Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion erected by King James *(s)*, and ſeem'd to be proud of that honour [*B*]. By virtue of that Commiſſion, he appear'd, on the 9th of Auguſt, at the Proceedings againſt Henry Biſhop of London, and was for ſuſpending him during the King's pleaſure; tho' the Earl, and Biſhop, of Rocheſter, and Chief Juſtice Herbert, were againſt it *(t)*. Immediately after that Biſhop's ſuſpenſion, Commiſſioners were appointed to exerciſe all manner of Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction within the dioceſe of London, of which Biſhop Crew was one *(u)*. The 20th of November following, he was preſent at, and conſenting to, the degradation of Mr Samuel Johnſon *(w)*; previous to the moſt ſevere puniſhment that was inflicted on that eminent Divine. In the foremention'd quality of an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioner, he countenanc'd with his preſence a proſecution carried on, in May 1687, againſt Dr Peachey Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, for refuſing to admit one Alban Francis, a Benedictine Monk, to the degree of Maſter of Arts in that Univerſity, without taking the oaths *(x)*. And, in July the ſame year,

he

(a) Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 482.

(b) From his epitaph.

(c) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 1177.

(d) Ibid. Faſti, col. 108.

(e) Athen. ubi ſupra.

(f) Faſti, col. 122.

(g) Wood tells us, that *he turned about*. But there is no evidence of his having been otherwiſe.

(h) Athen. ubi ſupra; & Faſti, col. 150.

(i) Faſti, col. 159; and Catalogue of Graduates.

(k) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra; and J. LeNeve's Faſt. edit. 1716, p. 491, 61, 62.

(l) Wood, Ath. ibid. and Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br Willis, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 434.

(m) J. Le Neve, as above, p. 491.

(n) See Appendix to the Life of King James II. 8*vo*, edit. 1703, p. 41.

(o) Willis, ibid. p. 251.

(p) Life of King James II. p. 19.

(q) Wood, Athen. as above, col. 1177.

(r) Compl. Hiſt. of England, by Biſhop Kennet, edit. 1719, Vol. III. p. 442. Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 1178.

(s) See that Commiſſion, publiſhed in 1688, 4*to*. It is alſo inſerted in the Comp. Hiſt. as above, p. 452, &c. and in The Life of King James II. p. 146, &c. It bore date Aug. 3.

(t) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. I. edit. 1724, p. 677.

(u) Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 483.

(w) Ibid. p. 450.

(x) Ibid. p. 501, 502.

[*A*] *Was the fifth ſon of* John *Lord* Crew *of* Stene &c.] This John Lord Crew was ſon and heir to Sir Thomas Crew, Kt. one of the Serjeants at Law to King Charles I. Speaker of the Houſe of Commons 21 Jacob. & 1 Caro. and deſcended from the ancient family of *Crew* in the County Palatine of Cheſter. Having been inſtrumental in the Reſtoration of K. Charles II, he was advanced by that King, in the 13th year of his reign, April 20. 1661, to the dignity of a Baron of this realm, by the title of Lord Crew of Stene, and to the heirs male of his body (1).——— The elder brother of Sir Thomas Crew above-mentioned, was Sir Randolph Crew Kt. who on the 1ſt of July 1614, was made Serjeant at Law; and the 26th of January 162$\frac{4}{5}$ conſtituted chief Juſtice of the King's bench, but deprived of the ſame again on the 9th of November 1626, for openly manifeſting his diſlike at King Charles the Iſt's. raiſing money by way of Loan: On his being diſplac'd, we are informed, he diſcovered no more diſcontent, than the weary traveller is offended, when told that he is arrived at his journey's end. He is ſaid, to have firſt brought the model of excellent building into Cheſhire (2).

[*B*] *And ſeemed to be proud of that honour*] Biſhop Burnet tells us (3), 'that he was lifted up with it, 'and ſaid, now his name would be recorded in hiſtory: 'And when ſome of his friends repreſented to him, the 'danger of acting in a court ſo illegally conſtituted, 'he ſaid, he could not live, if he ſhould loſe the 'King's gracious ſmiles: ſo low and ſo fawning (adds 'the Biſhop) was he.'

[*C*] *And*

(1) Dugdale, ubi ſupra.

(2) Fuller's Worthies, in Cheſhire, p. 178; and Dugdale's Origines Juridiciales, in the Liſts.

(3) Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. I. edit. 1724. p. 676.

he offer'd to attend the Pope's Nuncio at his publick Entry into London; but his coachman refus'd to drive him that way (*y*). His name was put again in a new Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion iſſued out this year, in October (*z*): In which he acted, during the ſevere proceedings againſt Magdalen-college in Oxford, for refuſing to elect one Anthony Farmer their Preſident, purſuant to the King's mandate (*a*). The Biſhop continued acting as an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioner till October 1688; when that Commiſſion was aboliſhed. Towards the end of the year 1687, he was employed, with the Biſhops of Rocheſter and Peterborough (*b*), to draw up a Form of Thankſgiving for the Queen's being with child (*c*). Thus he complied with the King's deſigns, till he found that the Prince of Orange's party was likely to prevail. But, then, he abſented himſelf from the Council-board, and told the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, that he was ſorry for having ſo long concurr'd with the Court; and deſir'd now to be reconcil'd to his Grace, and the other Biſhops (*d*). Moreover, in the Convention that met January the 22d, 1688-9, to conſider of filling the Throne, he was one of thoſe who voted, on the 6th of February, that King James II. had abdicated the Kingdom (*e*). Notwithſtanding all this, his thorough compliance with the late Court's arbitrary deſigns, had rendered him ſo obnoxious to the Nation, that he was excepted by name out of the Pardon granted by King William and Queen Mary, May the 23d, 1690 (*f*), which ſo terrified him, that he abſconded for a time, and was ready to go, or actually went, beyond Sea [*C*]: and offered to compound, by reſigning his Biſhoprick (*g*). However he found means afterwards to make his peace, and to preſerve his Biſhoprick: But, in order to ſecure to himſelf the poſſeſſion of that dignity, he was forced to permit the Crown to diſpoſe of, or at leaſt to nominate to, his Prebends of Durham, as they ſhould become vacant (*h*). By the death of his two elder brothers, he became in 1691, Baron Crew of Stene; and, about the 21ſt of December the ſame year, he married, but left no iſſue (*i*). During the reſt of King William's reign, he remain'd quiet and unmoleſted, tho' not much conſidered. In the year 1710, he was one of the Lords that oppoſed the proſecution then carried on againſt Dr Sacheverell, and declared him Not Guilty; and likewiſe proteſted againſt ſeveral ſteps taken in that affair (*k*). He applied himſelf chiefly, in the latter part of his life, to works of Munificence and Charity. Particularly, he was a very great benefactor to Lincoln-college, of which he had been Fellow, and Rector [*D*]; And laid out large ſums in beautifying the Biſhop's palace at Durham (*l*); beſides many other inſtances of generoſity and munificence of a more private nature. At length, his Lordſhip departed this life on Monday September 18, 1722, aged eighty eight: and was buried in his chapel at Stene, the 30th of the ſame month (*m*), with an inſcription on his monument [*E*]. He held the See of Durham forty ſeven years, as he had done that of Oxford three, continuing a Biſhop fifty years, three months, and two days; which was a longer time than any Engliſhman ever enjoy'd that honour, except Thomas Bourchier Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who held the Sees of Worceſter, Ely, and Canterbury, fifty one years and twenty one days. His Lordſhip dying without iſſue, the title of Baron Crew of Stene became extinct with him.

(*y*) Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 494; and N. Salmon's Lives of the Engliſh Biſhops, *&c.* edit. 1731. p. 397.

(*z*) See Hiſt. of the Eccleſ. Commiſſion, ed. 1711. 8*vo*, p. 27.

(*a*) See a full account of that whole affair, in Complete Hiſt. as above, p. 502, *&c.*

(*b*) Tho. Sprat, and Tho. White.

(*c*) Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 496.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 527.

(*e*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*f*) See Statut. 2 Will. & Mary, Seſſ. 1. c. 10.

(*g*) Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 597, note (*a*); and Burnet, ubi ſupr. p. 822.

(*h*) From private information.

(*i*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 1178; and Willis, as above, p. 252.

(*k*) See Annals of Queen Anne, ann. 1710; and Hiſtory of Queen Anne, by A. Boyer, edit. folio, 1735, p. 428, 429, 444, 445.

(*l*) Magna Britan. *&c.* edit. 1718, 4*to*, Vol. I. p. 639.

(*m*) Willis, as above p. 251.

[*C*] *And was ready to go, or actually went, beyond Sea*] This particular is variouſly related by two of our Hiſtorians. One of them (4) writes thus; 'The Biſhop of Durham had paid ſo much court to the King, and to the very Nuncio of the Pope, that he deſpair'd of any favour at the Revolution; and he was once *got beyond Sea* in a fright: but being brought back by the importunity of a domeſtick ſervant, he made a new intereſt in the new Court and Parliament, and bought off the complaints of Mr Samuel Johnſon, and others, who had ſuffer'd by him.' The other Hiſtorian's words are as follows (5) 'The poor biſhop of Durham, who had abſconded for ſome time, and *was waiting for a Ship to get beyond Sea*, fearing publick affronts, and had offered to compound by reſigning his biſhoprick, was now prevailed on to come, and by voting the new ſettlement to merit at leaſt a pardon for all that he had done: which, all things conſidered, was thought very indecent in him, yet not unbecoming the reſt of his life and character.' He did not attempt to go beyond ſea till after he was excepted out of the Act of Indemnity: ſo that the laſt inaccurate writer is miſtaken in that particular.

(4) Kennet, in Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 597, note (*b*).

(5) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. I. edit. 1724, p. 822.

[*D*] *He was a very great Benefactor to Lincoln-College, of which he had been Fellow, and Rector.*] He added Twenty pounds *per annum*, to the Headſhip, or Rectory; and Ten pounds *per annum* to each of the twelve Fellowſhips, for ever. He made up the Bible clerk's place, and eight Scholarſhips belonging to that college, Ten pounds a year each, for ever, which before were very mean. He made an augmentation of Ten pounds *per annum* a-piece for ever, to the Curates of four Churches belonging to the ſaid College, viz. All-Saints and St Michael in Oxford, Twyford in Buckinghamſhire, and Comb in Oxfordſhire. All theſe were to take place from Michaelmaſs 1717. He likewiſe ſettled Twenty pounds a year a-piece on twelve Exhibitioners, which took place at Lady-day 1718. His Lordſhip intended alſo to have rebuilt that College or at leaſt the beſt part of it; but the Fellows having diſobliged him, in refuſing to chuſe for their Rector, a Gentleman whom he recommended to them, upon the death of Dr Fitzherbert Adams; his Lordſhip thought fit to alter his deſign.

[*E*] *With an inſcription on his monument.*] Which is as follows.

Near this Place lyeth the Body
Of the Right Reverend and Right Honourable
NATHANIEL LORD CREW
Lord Biſhop of DURHAM, and Baron of STENE,
Fifth Son of *John* Lord CREW.
He was born *Jan.* 31. 1633.
Was conſecrated Biſhop of OXFORD 1671.
Tranſlated to DURHAM in 1674.
Was Clerk of the Cloſet and Privy Counſellor
In the Reigns of King CHARLES II. and
King JAMES II.
And died *Sept.* 18. 1722.
Aged 88.

CRISPE.

CRISPE (Sir Nicholas) an eminent and loyal citizen in the reigns of King Charles the Firſt and King Charles the Second, he was the ſon of a very eminent merchant, and grandſon of an Alderman of London (*a*), born in the year 1598, and bred according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, in a thorough knowledge of buſineſs, tho' heir to a great eſtate (*b*). He made a conſiderable addition to this by marriage, and being a man of an enterprizing genius, ever active and ſollicitous about new inventions and diſcoveries, and, which very rarely happens, wonderfully induſtrious and diligent about things he had brought to bear, he was ſoon taken notice of at Court, knighted and became one of the Farmers of the King's Cuſtoms (*c*). When the trade to Guinea was under great difficulties and diſcouragements, he framed a project for retrieving it, which required a very large ſum of money to bring it about, but his reputation was ſo great, that many rich Merchants willingly engaged with him in the proſecution of the deſign (*d*); and to give a good example, as well as to ſhew that he meant to adhere to the work that he had once taken in hand, he cauſed the caſtle of Cormantyn upon the gold coaſt, to be erected at his own expence (*e*). By this judicious precaution, and by his wiſe and wary management afterwards, himſelf and his aſſociates carried their trade to ſuch a height, as to divide amongſt them fifty thouſand pounds a year (*f*). When the times grew dark and cloudy, and the King's affairs were in ſuch diſtreſs he knew not how to turn himſelf for want of money, Sir Nicholas Criſpe and his partners in the farming of the cuſtoms, upon very ſhort warning, and when their refuſing it, would have been eſteemed a merit with the Parliament, raiſed him ſo large a ſum as one hundred thouſand pounds at once (*g*), and that with ſuch circumſtances of chearfulneſs as might be truly ſaid to double the value of this ſervice [*A*]. After the war broke out, and in the midſt of all the diſtractions with which it was attended, he continued to carry on a trade to Holland, France, Spain, Italy, Norway, Moſcovy, and Turkey, which produced to the King near one hundred thouſand pounds a year, beſides keeping moſt of the ports open and ſhips in them conſtantly ready for his ſervice; all the correſpondence and ſupplies of arms which were procured by the Queen in Holland, and by the King's agents in Denmark, were conſigned to his care, and by his prudence and vigilance ſafely landed in the North, and put into the hands of thoſe for whom they were intended (*h*). In the management of ſo many nice and difficult affairs, he was obliged to keep up a very extenſive correſpondence, in doing of which he diſcovered a moſt ſuprizing dexterity, for he hardly ever made uſe of cypher, but penned his letters in ſuch a peculiar ſtile, as removed entirely his intentions from the apprehenſion of his enemies, and yet left them very intelligible unto thoſe with whom he tranſacted (*i*). He had alſo an incomparable addreſs in bringing any thing to bear that he had once contrived, to which it contributed not a little, that in matters of ſecrecy and danger he ſeldom truſted to any hands but his own, and to facilitate this, he made uſe of all kind of diſguiſes, ſometimes when he was believed to be in one place he was actually at another; letters of conſequence he carried in the diſguiſe of a porter; when he wanted intelligence he would be at the water ſide with a baſket of flounders upon his head, and often paſſed between London and Oxford in the dreſs of a butter-woman on horſeback between a pair of panniers (*k*). He was the principal author of that well-laid deſign for publiſhing the King's Commiſſion of Array at London, which was defeated by another deſign that Mr Waller through fear betrayed, for which Tomkins and Chaloner ſuffered (*l*), and of which we have but a very obſcure account in a very celebrated hiſtory (*m*) [*B*]. It is however very certain that there was nothing diſhonourable

(*a*) Stow's Survey of London, publiſhed by Strype, Vol. I. C. iii. p. 203.

(*b*) Characters of eminent Citizens of London, p. 97. Monumental inſcription in the chapel at Hammerſmith.

(*c*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627.

(*d*) Hiſtorical Account of the Engliſh Trade to Guinea, p. 31.

(*e*) See the monumental inſcription in Hammerſmith chapel.

(*f*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627. Hiſt. of the Engliſh Trade to Guinea, p. 103.

(*g*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627.

(*h*) Characters of eminent Citizens in London, p. 97.

(*i*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 628.

(*k*) Characters of eminent Citizens in London, p. 97. Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627.

(*l*) Vicar's Parliamentary Chronicle, p. 359.

(*m*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 317, 318, 319.

[*A*] *As might be truly ſaid to double the value of this ſervice.*] It was but a ſhort time before the King was obliged to leave London, that he found himſelf under the neceſſity of applying to thoſe four eminent citizens, who were then farmers of the cuſtoms, for no leſs a ſum than one hundred thouſand pounds, and that to be advanced immediately (1). Theſe farmers of the cuſtoms, were Sir Nicholas Criſpe, Sir Abraham Dawes, Sir John Jacob, and Sir John Wolſtenholme. When the matter was propoſed to Sir Nicholas, he ſaid, ‘it was a large ſum and ſhort warning, but that providence had made him able, and his duty made him willing to lay down his proportion, whenever his Majeſty called for it.’ Sir Abraham Dawes had ſome relations, whoſe affections leaned the other way, and who beſides had great expectations from him; they magnified the ſum that was deſired, the incertainty of it's being repaid, and the danger that it would be taken ill by Parliament, who might inſiſt upon the like ſum. ‘Well, *ſaid Sir Abraham,* this then is the worſt that can happen, and I bleſs God, who has made me able to pay my allegiance, and to pay for it (2).’ Something of the ſame kind was inſinuated to Sir John Jacob, who was not only very ſincerely loyal, but which generally go together, a man of a warm temper and a tender heart, ‘What, *ſaid he in reply,* ſhall I keep my eſtate, and ſee the King want wherewithal, to protect me in it? If it pleaſe God to bleſs the King, tho' I give him all I have, I ſhall be no loſer, if not tho' I keep all I have, I ſhall be no ſaver (3).’ Sir John Wolſtenholme, a ſtout and plain man, advanced his proportion, as he afterwards did larger ſums, without any ſpeeches (4). He and Sir Nicholas Criſpe lived to ſee the Reſtoration, and to be farmers of the Cuſtoms again under King Charles the ſecond, after they and the reſt had paid deeply for this proof of their loyalty.

[*B*] *And of which we have but a very obſcure account, in a very celebrated Hiſtory*] We have in the Earl of Clarendon's Work, a very large account of Mr Waller's deſign, and the methods employed by him to bring it to bear, and of the manner in which it was diſcovered. His Lordſhip then takes occaſion to tell us, that the parliament, to magnify their danger, blended this with another deſign that was formed in the King's quarters, and as this relates expreſsly to the perſon of whom we are ſpeaking, it is neceſſary the reader ſhould ſee it (5). ‘From the King's coming to Oxford, many citizens of good quality, who were proſecuted or jealouſly looked upon, in London, had reſorted to the King, and hoping if the winter produced not a peace, that the ſummer would carry the King before that city with an army, they had entertained ſome diſcourſe of raiſing upon their own ſtocks of money and credit, ſome regiments of foot and horſe, and joyning with ſome gentlemen of Kent, who were likewiſe

(1) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627.

(2) From a MS. formerly belonging to Peter Le Neve, Eſq;

(3) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. IV. p. 450.

(4) From the information of the family.

(5) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 318.

honourable in the deſign itſelf, ſo far as Sir Nicholas Criſpe was concerned, or any juſt grounds of throwing reproach, or ſo much as ſuſpicion upon him, for the diſcovery of it; but it ſeems the noble author was not entirely poſſeſſed of the facts relating to it, and either willingly or inadvertently confounds Sir Nicholas Criſpe's deſign of executing the King's Commiſſion of Array in London (*n*), which might have been done as legally as any where elſe, with another deſign ſuperinduced by Mr Waller of ſuprizing the Parliament, in bringing which to bear he proceeded very vigorouſly at firſt, till finding that he had engaged in a matter too big for his management, he ſuddenly loſt his ſpirits, and ſome of the chief men in the Houſe of Commons gaining intelligence that ſomething was in agitation to their prejudice, May 31ſt, 1643 (*o*), they preſently ſeized Mr Waller and drew from him a compleat diſcovery, which, from the account they publiſhed, plainly diſtinguiſhed theſe two projects [*C*]. By the diſcovery of this buſineſs, Sir Nicholas Criſpe found himſelf obliged to

(*n*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament of England, l. iii. p. 45.

(*o*) Ruſhworth's Collections, P. iii. Vol. II. p. 324.

likewiſe inclined to ſuch an undertaking: among theſe was Sir Nicholas Criſp, a citizen of good wealth, great trade, and an active ſpirited man; who had been lately proſecuted with great ſeverity by the Houſe of Commons, and had thereupon fled from London for appearing too great a ſtickler in a petition for peace in the city. This gentleman induſtriouſly preſerved a correſpondence ſtill therein, by which he gave the King often very uſeful intelligence, and aſſured him of a very conſiderable party which would appear there for him, when ever his own power ſhould be ſo near as to give them any countenance. In the end, whether invited by his correſpondents there, or truſting his own ſprightly inclinations and reſolutions too much, and concluding that all who were equally honeſt, would be equally bold, he deſired his Majeſty ‘ to grant a commiſſion to ſuch perſons whom he would ‘ nominate of the city of London, under the great ſeal ‘ of England, in the nature of a Commiſſion of Array, ‘ by virtue whereof, when the ſeaſon ſhould come, his ‘ party there would appear in diſcipline and order, and ‘ that this was deſired by thoſe who beſt knew what ‘ countenance and authority was requiſite, and being ‘ truſted to them, would not be executed at all, or ‘ elſe at ſuch a time, as his Majeſty ſhould receive ample fruits by it, provided it were done with ſecrecy ‘ equal to the hazard they ſhould run, who were employ'd in it.’ The King had this exception to it. The improbability that it could do good, and that the failing might do hurt to the undertakers.’ But the promoter was a very popular man in the city, where he had been a commander of the Trained-bands, till the ordinance of the Militia remov'd him, which rather improv'd than leſſened his credit, and he was very confident it would produce a notable advantage to the King. However they deſired it, who were there, and would not appear without it, and therefore the King conſenting to it, referring the nomination of all perſons in the commiſſion to him, who he verily believed had proceeded by the inſtruction and advice of thoſe that were neareſt the concernment, and for the ſecrecy of it, the King referred the preparing and diſpatch of the commiſſion to Sir Nicholas Criſpe himſelf, who ſhould acquaint no more with it than he found requiſite; ſo without the privity or advice, of any counſellor, or Miniſter of ſtate, then moſt truſted by his Majeſty, he procured ſuch a commiſſion as he deſired, (being no other than the commiſſion of array in Engliſh,) to be ſigned by the King, and ſeal'd with the great ſeal. This being done and remaining ſtill in his cuſtody, the Lady Aubigney, by a paſs, and with the conſent of the Houſes, came to Oxford to tranſact the affairs of her own fortune with the King, upon the death of her huſband, who was killed at Edghill, and ſhe having in few days diſpatched her buſineſs there, and being ready to return, Sir Nicholas Criſpe came to the King, and beſought him ‘ to deſire that Lady, ‘ who had a paſs, and ſo could promiſe her ſelf ſafety ‘ in her journey, to carry a ſmall box (in which that ‘ commiſſion ſhould be) with her, and to keep it in ‘ her own cuſtody, until a gentleman ſhould call to ‘ her Ladyſhip for it, by ſuch a token,’ that token he ſaid ‘ he could ſend to one of the perſons truſted ‘ who ſhould keep it by him, till the opportunity came ‘ in which it might executed.’ The King accordingly wiſhed the Lady Aubigney to carry it with great care, and ſecrecy, telling her ‘ it much concerned his own ‘ ſervice,’ and to deliver it in ſuch manner, and upon ſuch aſſurance, as is before mentioned, which ſhe did, and within few days after her return to London, delivered it to a perſon who was appointed to call for it. How this commiſſion was diſcovered, I could never learn, for tho' Mr Waller had the honour to be admitted often to that Lady, and was believed by her to be a gentleman of moſt entire affections to the King's ſervice, and conſequently might be fitly truſted with what ſhe knew, yet her Ladyſhip herſelf not knowing what it was ſhe carried, could not inform any body elſe. It is very evident from this account, that the noble Hiſtorian was not much in the ſecret himſelf, and this perhaps might incline him not to entertain a better opinion of it, for it is very apparent, that he looked upon Sir Nicholas Criſpe's zeal as puſhing him a little too far in this buſineſs, that he very much doubted whether that commiſſion, however managed, could turn to the King's advantage, becauſe of the want of ſpirit in thoſe concerned; and that after all, he could never find out how the original commiſſions came into the Parliaments hands; becauſe the Lady Aubigney delivered it, as ſhe was directed, ſo that it was out of her hands before it was diſcovered, and while it was in her hands, ſhe could ſay nothing about it to Mr Waller, becauſe ſhe herſelf did not know what it was.

[*C*] *Which from the account they publiſhed, plainly diſtinguiſhed theſe two projects.*] We have at the cloſe of the laſt note, pointed out the difficulties under which, from his own account, it is very plain that the noble Hiſtorian laboured; it is true, that he remarks it as a point of inſincerity in the Parliament, that they kneeded theſe two projects together, which remark of his is very well founded; but then it is very evident, that he does not himſelf diſtinguiſh them ſufficiently, but imputes the failing of Sir Nicholas Criſpe's deſign, to the want of ſpirit, in thoſe who were to manage it. To ſay the truth, there is no one point of ſo great importance, in the Hiſtory of thoſe times, that is ſo darkly, ſo imperfectly, and ſo confuſedly related by all our general hiſtorians. Mr Archdeacon Echard (6) takes all that he ſays about it, from the Earl of Clarendon, and blames the Parliament for blending theſe two deſigns, at the ſame time that he juſtifies them, by not ſhewing how they ought to be diſtinguiſh'd. This afforded occaſion to another writer (7) to attack the ſincerity, or at leaſt the conſiſtency, both of the noble Peer and of the reverend writer; and he thinks that he has fully proved his point, and juſtified the Parliament, by producing ſome paſſages from the dying ſpeeches of Mr Tomkins and Mr Challoner. A little attention to facts and dates will clear up this whole affair, and enable us to ſet it in it's proper light, which is certainly one of the moſt uſeful purpoſes to which this kind of writing can be applied. Sir Nicholas Criſpe remained at London, as long as he could remain there with ſafety, or had any hopes of doing his Majeſty ſervice, but being removed from his command in the Trained-Bands, cenſured for promoting a petition for peace, and ſeeing Sir Richard Gurney then Lord Mayor of London, impriſoned, depoſed, and puniſhed for doing what he took to be his duty, in publiſhing the King's proclamation, which tended to the execution of the Commiſſion of Array, he retired to Oxford (8). As he had the King's ear, it is no wonder that he informed his Majeſty, that there was a ſtrong party for him in the city of London; who were deſirous of acting for his ſervice, and of levying regiments of horſe and foot, at their own expences, which they were the rather induced to do, becauſe while

(6) Hiſt. of England, p. 570.

(7) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuart's, Vol. I. p. 222.

(8) Echard's Hiſt. of Engl. p. 570.

to declare openly and plainly the courſe he meant to take, and having at his own expence raiſed a regiment of horſe for the King's ſervice, he put himſelf at the head of it, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf as remarkably in his military as he had ever done in his civil capacity. When the ſiege of Glouceſter was reſolved on, Sir Nicholas Criſpe was charged with his regiment of horſe to eſcort the King's train of artillery from Oxford, which important ſervice he very gallantly performed *(p)*. In the month of September following a very unlucky accident befel him, in which he was no way to blame, and tho' the circumſtances attending it clearly juſtified his conduct to the world, yet the concern it gave him was ſuch as he could not ſhake off ſo long as he lived. He happened to be quartered at Rouſlidge in Glouceſterſhire, where one Sir James Ennyon, Baronet, of Northamptonſhire, and ſome friends of his took up a great part of the houſe, tho' none of them had any commands in the army, which however Sir Nicholas bore with the utmoſt patience, notwithſtanding he was much incommoded by it. It fell out ſome time after, that certain horſes belonging to thoſe gentlemen were miſſing, upon which Sir James Ennyon, tho' he had loſt none himſelf, came to Sir Nicholas Criſpe on their behalf, inſinuating that ſome of his troopers muſt have taken them, and after a long expoſtulation conceived in pretty rough terms, inſiſted that he ſhould immediately draw out his regiment, that ſearch might be made for them. Sir Nicholas anſwered him with all the mildneſs imaginable, offered him as full ſatisfaction as it was in his power to give, but excuſed himſelf from drawing out his regiment, as a thing improper and inconvenient at that juncture, for reaſons which he aſſigned him *(q)*. This however was ſo far from contenting Sir James, that he left him abruptly, and preſently after ſent him a challenge, accompanied with a meſſage to this effect, that if he did not comply with it he would piſtol him againſt the wall. Upon this Sir Nicholas Criſpe taking a friend of his with him, went to the place appointed, where he found Sir James Ennyon and the perſon who brought him the challenge. Upon their meeting, Sir Nicholas began to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to pacify him, but to no purpoſe, he was determined to receive no ſatisfaction but by the ſword *(r)*, and they accordingly engaged, and in this duel Sir James having received a wound in the rim of the belly,

while they remained under the power of the Parliament, they were obliged to contribute both arms and money, againſt the dictates of their conſciences, and to act in ſome meaſure againſt the ſide to which they wiſhed well. But to enable them to carry their intentions into execution, and to have what they took to be a legal authority to warrant their proceedings, it was neceſſary they ſhould have the King's commiſſion, impowering them to do what they inclined to do, as well as to appoint a General, and to grant commiſſions, which was the purport of the commiſſion under the King's broad ſeal, dated at Oxford, March 16th in the eighteenth year of his Majeſty's reign (9). The perſon, they had in view, to command the men they were to raiſe, was Sir Hugh Pollard, a member of Parliament but at that time a priſoner in the Compter, and a body of the King's forces were to advance within fifteen miles of London, to countenance their proceedings, to ſupport them, if that was found practicable, or to join them in caſe they were forced to retreat (10). This commiſſion was directed to Sir Nicholas Criſpe, Sir George Stroud, Knights; to Sir Thomas Gardiner, Knight, Recorder of London; Sir George Binion, Knight, Richard Edes, and Marmaduke Royden, Eſquires; Thomas Brown, Peter Paſſon, Charles Gennings, Edward Carleton, Roger Abbot, Andrew King, William White, Stephen Bolton, Robert Alden, Edmund Foſter, Thomas Blinkhorne, of London Gentlemen, and to all ſuch other perſons, as according to the true intent and purport of that commiſſion ſhould be nominated and appointed to be Generals, Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Serjeant-Majors, or other officers of that council of war. It is very evident, from hence, that this commiſſion was not at all intended to countenance a ſecret conſpiracy, or to cover a dark and private plot againſt the Parliament, but to enable thoſe who, in this diſpute between the King and Parliament, were for the former, to declare themſelves; this buſineſs was carried with ſo much ſecrecy, that it was entirely ripe for execution, and the day fixed for the riſing was the laſt of May (11). But amongſt the perſons truſted in this affair was one Mr Tomkins, an old and faithful ſervant of the King's, who was brother-in-law to Mr Waller, and to him that gentleman communicated his deſigns, which were of another nature, and by his aſſiſtance Mr Waller had likewiſe a conſiderable party in the city, whom he encouraged by aſſuring them that moſt of the Lords, and many members of the Houſe of Commons, wiſhed well to, and would at a proper ſeaſon join with, them. Tomkins depending upon this, got his other friends to poſtpone their inſurrection, and that very day on which it was to have been made, Mr Waller's ſchemes were diſcovered (12). How that happenned, is not material to be diſcuſſed here, but it was this that gave occaſion to the ſeizing Mr Tomkins, Mr Challoner, Mr Blinkhorne, and ſeveral others. As to the finding the Commiſſion, tho' the noble Hiſtorian was ignorant of it, it was nevertheleſs a thing very publickly known; for Mr Tomkins was the perſon ſent for it to the Lady Aubigney, and for his own ſecurity buried it in his cellar, as he confeſſed upon his examination; upon which it was immediately dug up, and thus it came into the Parliaments hands (13); yet it does not appear that any great diſcoveries were made of the perſons originally embarked in that deſign, tho' it was, as has been already obſerved, ripe for execution, when Mr Waller's plot was but in embryo. On the 30th of June, a council of war ſat at Guildhall, of which the Earl of Mancheſter was Preſident, before whom Mr Tomkins, Mr Challoner, Mr Blinkhorne, Mr Abbot, and Mr White, were tryed; of whom the four firſt received ſentence of death, Mr Tomkins was executed over againſt his own houſe, and at his death he called the matter for which he ſuffered a *fooliſh buſineſs*, and ſaid he was drawn into it by affection for his brother in-law; which plainly ſhews, that by *fooliſh buſineſs*, he meant Mr Waller's ſcheme. As to Mr Challoner, he was aſſiſted by Mr Peters, and appears to have been a zealot in the Puritan way. He does indeed ſay, that he died juſtly, but then he was acquainted only with Mr Waller's deſign. He was executed the ſame day, before the Royal Exchange, in his dying ſpeech he obſerves, that he had been wrongfully charged, with reſpect to the Commiſſion; he ſaid. he knew nothing of the procuring it, nor of the Commiſſion itſelf, till the friday before the diſcovery (14). The day before theſe men ſuffered, Mr Waller received ſentence of death, at the court-martial, tho' a member of the Houſe of Commons; was reprieved by the Earl of Eſſex, as General, and afterwards pardoned for his diſcoveries (15). Upon the whole it appears, that Sir Nicholas's deſign was open and honourable, and was conducted with great ſecrecy and ſucceſs, and that it was diſappointed by the breaking out of a thing quite different from it in it's nature, of which Sir Nicholas Criſpe had no knowledge, and in the credit or event of which therefore he could have no concern.

[D] Was

(p) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627. Heath's Chron. p. 52.

(q) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 75. Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627. Heath's Chron. p. 52.

(r) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireand, p. 96.

(9) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, P. iii. Vol. II. p. 324—327.

(10) Vicar's Parliamentary Chronicle, p. 359.

(11) See the Original Commiſſion in Ruſhworth.

(12) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, l. iii. p. 43—45.

(13) Ruſhworth's Collections, P. iii. Vol. II. p. 324—327.

(14) See theſe Dying Speeches at large in Ruſhworth.

(15) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, l. iii. p. 46.

belly, languiſhed for near two days and then expired, but firſt of all ſent for Sir Nicholas Criſpe, and in a manner becoming a Gentleman and a Chriſtian, was ſincerely reconciled to him (s). Upon the 2d of October following Sir Nicholas was brought to a Court Martial for this unfortunate affair, and upon a full examination of every thing relating to it, was moſt honourably acquitted [D]. He continued to ſerve with the ſame zeal and fidelity during the year 1644, and in the ſpring following, when a treaty was ſet on foot at Uxbridge, the Parliament thought fit to mark him as they afterwards did in the Iſle of Wight Treaty, by inſiſting that he ſhould be removed from his Majeſty's preſence (t). A few months after, they proceeded to an act of greater ſeverity, for April 16th, 1645, they ordered his large houſe in Bread-ſtreet to be ſold (u), which had been for many years belonging to his family; neither was this ſtroke of their vengeance judged a ſufficient puniſhment for his offences, ſince having reſolved to grant the Elector Palatine a penſion of eight thouſand pounds a year, they directed that two thouſand ſhould be applied out of the King's revenue, and the remainder made up out of the eſtates of Lord Culpeper and Sir Nicholas Criſpe (w), which ſhews how conſiderable a fortune he had left at their mercy. The King's affairs were now grown deſperate, when Sir Nicholas finding himſelf no longer in a capacity to render him any ſervice, thought it expedient to preſerve himſelf, with which view, in the beginning of the month of April 1646, he embarked with Lord Culpeper and Colonel Monk, and a few days after was ſafely landed in France (x). As he had many rich relations who had a great intereſt with thoſe in power, they interpoſed in his favour, and as Sir Nicholas knew very well that he could be of no ſervice to the Royal Cauſe abroad, he did not look upon it as any deviation from his duty to return and live quietly at home (y). Accordingly having ſubmitted to a compoſition, he came back to London and took all the pains he could to retrieve his ſhattered fortunes. He was indeed a perſon of ſo clear a head, had ſuch thorough and extenſive notions of trade, and withal of ſo quick an invention, that he very ſoon engaged again in buſineſs, with the ſame ſpirit and ſucceſs as before (z). In this ſeaſon of proſperity he was not unmindful of the wants of his Royal Maſter then in exile, but contributed chearfully to his relief, when his affairs ſeemed to be in the moſt deſperate condition (a). Upon the great change that happened after the death of Oliver Cromwell, he was inſtrumental in reconciling many to their duty, and ſo well were his principles known, and ſo much his influence was apprehended, that when it was propoſed the Royaliſts in and about London ſhould ſign an inſtrument ſignifying their inclination to preſerve the publick tranquillity, he was called upon and very readily ſubſcribed it (b). He was alſo principally concerned in bringing the city of London in her corporate capacity, to give the encouragement that was requſite to leave General Monk without any difficulties or ſuſpicion (c), as to the ſincerity and unanimity of their inclinations. It was therefore very natural after reading the King's letter and declaration in Common-Council May 3d, 1660, to think of ſending ſome members of their own body to preſent their duty to his Majeſty; accordingly, having appointed nine loyal aldermen and their recorder, the next perſon they thought of was Sir Nicholas Criſpe (d), who with ſeveral other worthy perſons they added to that committee, from an aſſurance that the King would receive a double ſatisfaction from the nature of their meſſage, and from it's being brought by ſeveral of thoſe who had ſuffered deeply in his own and in his father's cauſe. His Majeſty received theſe gentlemen very graciouſly in their publick capacities, and afterwards teſtified to them ſeparately the ſenſe he had of their paſt ſervices. Upon the King's return Sir Nicholas Criſpe and Sir John Wolſtenholme, tho' the latter was then near fourſcore, were re-inſtated as Farmers of the Cuſtoms, which they put into very good order (e). As Sir Nicholas was now in years and ſomewhat infirm, he ſpent a great part of his time at his noble country ſeat near Hmmerſmith, where he was in ſome meaſure the founder of the chapel (f). He had now an opportunity of returning the obligation he had received from ſome of his relations, nor did he neglect it, but procured for them that indemnity from the King gratis, for which he had ſo dearly paid during the late confuſion (g). The laſt teſtimony he received of his royal maſter's favour, was his being created a Baronet, April

(s) Heath's Chronicle, p. 52. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 96.

(t) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 81.

(u) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 142.

(w) See Votes and Ordinances of Parliament. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 145.

(x) Hiſt. of the Civil War, p. 395. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 200.

(y) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 628. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 26.

(z) Characters of eminent Citizens of London, p. 97.

(a) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 628.

(b) Kennet's Chr. p. 121.

(c) Skinner's Hiſt. of the Reſtauration, p. 44, 45.

(d) Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 133.

(e) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. IV. p. 446.

(f) Antiquities of Middleſex, P. ii. p. 2.

(g) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 628.

[D] *Was moſt honourably acquitted.*] The beſt juſtification of what has been ſaid in the text, is to give the reader the ſentence of the court-martial, by which he was tried, and which was conceived in the following terms (16). 'In the cauſe depending againſt Sir Nicholas Criſpe, Knight, concerning the death of Sir James Enyon, Knight, ſlain by him in a Duel, in September laſt; the court being inform'd that an affixer was duly ſet up upon the court-houſe door, according to their order, of the 28th of September laſt, and the affixer afterwards taken down, and brought into the court, and proclamation being made, and no man appearing againſt him, yet upon examination of all the matter, and difference between them, and that the friends of the ſlain taking notice thereof, the court proceeds to ſentence. That although the court doth, condemn all manner of Duels, and utterly diſallow them; yet in this particular caſe of Sir Nicholas Criſpe, in conſideration of the great injury he received, in his own quarters, and how much he was provoked, and challenged, the court have thought fit to acquit him of any puniſhment in this court, and doth leave, and recommend him to his Majeſty's mercy, for his gracious pardon; the 2d of October, 1643.'

Signed Forth Lord Lieutenant-General and Preſident. Dorſet, Briſtol, Northampton, Andover, Dunſmore, Jacob Aſtley, Arthur Aſhton, William Brumchard, and John Byron.

By whom the whole matter was reported to the King, and Sir Nicholas brought to kiſs his hand, from whom he received a gracious pardon, under the great ſeal of England, and was afterwards intruſted in high commands for his Majeſty, both by land and ſea.

(16) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 97.

April 16th, 1665 (*b*), nor did he long ſurvive it, dying February 26th the ſame year (*i*), in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age (*k*), leaving a very large eſtate to his grandſon Sir Nicholas Criſpe; his corps was interred with his anceſtors in the pariſh church of St Mildred in Bread-ſtreet, and his funeral ſermon preached by his reverend and learned kinſman Mr Criſpe of Chriſt-church, Oxford (*l*), but his heart was ſent to the chapel at Hammerſmith, where there is a ſhort and plain inſcription upon a cenotaph erected to his memory (*m*); or rather upon that monument which himſelf erected in grateful commemoration of that glorious martyr King Charles I, of bleſſed memory, as the inſcription placed there in Sir Nicholas's life-time tells us, under which, after his deceaſe, was placed a ſmall white marble urn, upon a black pedeſtal, containing his heart. As to the character of this active, generous, and loyal perſon, who lived univerſally admired, and died generally lamented, it has been already repreſented from his actions, and if any thing be ſtill wanting to the reader's entire ſatisfaction, it will be found in that exquiſite Eulogy of ſo true a patriot, and ſo loyal a ſubject inſerted in the notes [*E*].

(*b*) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. V. p. 279.

(*i*) As appears from the inſcription mentioned in the text.

(*k*) Characters of eminent Citizens, p. 99.

(*l*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 628.

(*m*) Antiquities of Middleſex, P. ii. p. 42.

[*E*] *Inſerted in the notes.*] We have taken all poſſible care, to prevent his character from appearing a repetition of what is ſaid, either in the text or notes, by avoiding, as much as we could, the mention of moſt of the particulars that are contained therein (17). 'Amongſt the worthy citizens of thoſe times, who, in the midſt of moſt epidemick corruption, eſcaped the ſmalleſt ſtain of infection, was Sir Nicholas Criſpe; a gentleman deſcended both by father and mother, from the richeſt families in the city, in which they had borne the higheſt offices, to which, however, Sir Nicholas did not aſpire. He came very young into buſineſs, and with a fortune larger than moſt men carry out of it. He had excellent notions of commerce, and he knew how to reduce them to practice, and to bring whatever he engaged in up to them. He was the moſt general trader of his time, but was principally concerned in the commerce to Guinea, which was immenſely profitable to him and his aſſociates. He was very remarkable for intereſting himſelf in all domeſtick arts and manufactures, for any improvements, in which he gave extraordinary gratuities. All new inventions he alſo encouraged, and the art of Brickmaking, as ſince practiſed, was his own, conducted with incredible patience, through innumerable trials, and perfected at a very large expence. His principles were equally ſound, in religion and politics, and as he derived theſe from a good education, ſo their effects not only appeared early, but were conſpicuous through the courſe of his whole life. In 1630, he gave in money and materials, towards building the new Chapel at Hammerſmith, ſeven hundred pounds; beſides being at the expence of adorning the roof, with the arms of the crown, and ſprinkling it with roſes, thiſtles, and flower de luces all effaced, in the troubleſome times that enſued. Himſelf with his partners in the cuſtoms, having advanced one hundred thouſand pounds to the King, were fined one hundred and fifty thouſand to the Parliament, which was levied to the laſt farthing upon their eſtates. He loved exerciſe, and was remarkable for the pains he took to render his company in the London trained-bands, as well diſciplin'd as any troops could be; and this natural inclination to military affairs, proved very ſerviceable to him, when he became a commander of horſe in the royal army. He was baſely betrayed at Cirenceſter, to the Earl of Eſſex, who ſurprized him with the ſmall force he commanded, and gained thereby an advantage fatal to the King's deſign upon Glouceſter, and which, to ſay the truth, had a very unhappy influence on the general ſtate of his affairs. When Sir Nicholas was obliged to quit the kingdom, and fly into parts beyond the ſeas, he made his private misfortunes turn publick benefits; by making ſuch nice inquiries into agriculture, manufactures, and mechanick arts, as enabled him, upon his return, to make vaſt improvements in England of every kind. By his inſtructions, and through his encouragement, the farmers and gardiners in Middleſex, changed their old ſyſtem for a better. At his expence, the banks of the river were ſecured, and the channel cleanſed; by his communication, new inventions, as to water-mills, paper-mills, and powder-mills, came into uſe. After the Reſtauration, he cauſed to be erected at his own expence, in the ſouth-eaſt corner of the chapel at Hammerſmith, near the pulpit, a very neat and beautiful monument of black and white marble, eight feet in length, and near two in breadth, upon which he placed a braſs buſto of his beloved maſter, with this ſhort and plain inſcription underneath. *This Effigies was erected by the eſpecial appointment of* Sir Nicholas Criſpe, *Knight and Baronet, as a grateful Commemoration of that glorious Martyr King* Charles I. *of bleſſed Memory.* He alſo directed that after his deceaſe, his own heart, in token of undying affection to his royal maſter, ſhould be here in a white urn entombed. He ſpent twenty five thouſand pounds, in building his noble ſeat, which attracts all eyes from the river. This houſe was purchaſed by Prince Rupert, for Mrs Margaret Hughs, and was not long ſince ſold to Mr Lannoy, a ſcarlet Dyer. It was there he ſpent the calm evening of his day, in honour and repoſe, loved by the great, prayed for by the poor, univerſally eſteemed by all ranks of people; and being full of years and glory, with much patience and piety, reſigned his ſoul to the mercy of his Creator, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his life.' E

(17) Characters of eminent Citizens, p. 98, 99.

CROFT (HERBERT) an eminent and worthy Divine, as well as venerable prelate of the Church of England, in the ſeventeenth century. He was deſcended, tho' not from a noble, yet of an ancient and honourable family, which had flouriſhed in great wealth and credit in the county of Hereford (*a*) from before the Norman Conqueſt, and amongſt his anceſtors there were many highly diſtinguiſhed by their perſonal reputation and merit, as well in reſpect to arms as arts, whoſe names we find recorded with honour, by authors of unqueſtionable veracity [*A*]. He was the third ſon of Sir Herbert Croft, of Croft-Caſtle, by

(*a*) Camd. Britan. Lond. 1594, 4to, p. 477. Pedigree of the Croft family.

[*A*] *By authors of unqueſtionable veracity.*] We have no diſtinct account of the original of this family; only the tradition of the country refers the building of Croft-Caſtle, which has always been the ſeat of it, to the Saxon times, which is the more probable, ſince, from the earlieſt accounts we have, at leaſt with any tolerable degree of certainty, this appears to have been a family of eminence in Herefordſhire, and to have been even then, reputed of great antiquity (1). Thus it occurs in the famous inquiſition taken in the reign of King Henry VI (2). In the reign of his ſucceſſor Edward IV, Sir Richard Croft, of Croft-Caſtle, was High-Sheriff of the county; and at the battle of Tewkſbury, took Prince Edward, eldeſt ſon to Henry VI. priſoner; whom, upon proclamation, and promiſe of ſafety for his perſon, he produced, but had no hand whatever in the barbarous murder of that young Prince, which was committed by the King's two brothers, the Dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter (3). From this Sir Richard Croft, in a direct line, deſcended Sir James Croft, Knight, who

(1) Fuller's Worthies, in Herefordſhire.

(2) See that Li as publiſhed in Fuller.

(3) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. IV. p. 535.

by Mary, daughter and coheireſs of Anthony Browne, of Holt-Caſtle in Worceſterſhire (*b*), and was born October 18th, 1603, at Great Milton near Thame in Oxfordſhire, in the houſe of Sir William Green, his mother being then on a journey to London (*c*). He was very carefully educated in his junior years in Herefordſhire, and having pregnant parts, joined to great ſteadineſs of mind and unwearied application, he very early qualified himſelf for academical ſtudies, and in order to his improvement in theſe, he was in the year 1616 ſent to Oxford, and entered as is ſuppoſed of Chriſt-church college (*d*). But he had not been long there before his father unhappily joined himſelf with the Church of Rome, and became a Lay Brother in the Benedictine Monaſtery at Douay, and a moſt zealous advocate for the Romiſh religion (*e*) [*B*]. Upon his father's command he went over to him, and after ſome ſhort ſtay at Douay was ſent to the Engliſh college of Jeſuits at St Omer's, where by the perſwaſion of Father Lloyd he was reconciled to the Church of Rome, and by the inſinuations of the ſame perſon and ſome others, contrary to his father's advice in that particular, was wrought upon to enter into the order (*f*). Some time before his father's death, which happened about five years after his going abroad, he was by him ſent back again to England, in order to manage ſome family affairs, and becoming happily acquainted with Dr Thomas Morton, Biſhop of Durham, he was by his arguments brought back to the Church of England, and ſoon after, at the deſire of Dr William Laud, he went a ſecond time to Oxford, was admitted a Student of Chriſt-church (*g*); and having ſupplicated the univerſity November 21ſt, 1635, that the time he had ſpent in his ſtudies in foreign nations might be reckoned as if he had continued there, and that on performing the exerciſe requiſite by the ſtatutes for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, he might have his grace propoſed in congregation, which was granted; and having performed his exerciſe with applauſe, he was admitted to the ſaid degree, and entering into holy Orders became Miniſter of a Church in Glouceſterſhire, and Rector of Harding in Oxfordſhire (*h*). In the ſpring of the year 1639, he attended the Earl of Northumberland, as his Chaplain, in his expedition into Scotland (*i*); and on the 1ſt of Auguſt following was collated to a Prebend in the Cathedral Church of Saliſbury, vacant by the reſignation of Mr William Townſon (*k*). In the year 1640, being then the King's Chaplain in Ordinary, he was admitted to his degree of Doctor of Divinity (*l*). He was employed by his Majeſty upon various occaſions, in thoſe dangerous and difficult times, and always diſcharged his duty with fidelity and credit, tho' ſome times at the hazard of his life. The ſame year he became a Prebendary of the Cathedral Church of Worceſter, on the death of Dr Charlet (*m*). July 10th, 1641, he was inſtalled Canon of Windſor in the place of Dr John Pocklington, who was deprived of all his eccleſiaſtical preferments by Parliament (*n*). In the year 1644, upon the death of Dr Jonathan Brown, he was nominated Dean of Hereford, where he married Mrs Ann Brown, the daughter of his predeceſſor. He reſided chiefly in this city, and diſcharged his duty with great punctuality and freedom, even in the worſt of times, at the conſtant peril of his then ſmall fortune, and ſometimes to the imminent endangering of his life (*o*) [*C*]. His circumſtances were but very narrow for ſome years, notwithſtanding he had ſo good preferments, for the diſſolution of Cathedrals following ſo cloſe upon his coming to have any relation to them, he had very little if any benefit from his ſeveral promotions, but at length in the year 1659, by the ſucceſſive deaths of his elder brothers,

Sir

(*b*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 864.

(*c*) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. IV. p. 537.

(*d*) Engliſh Spaniſh Pilgrim, by James Wadſworth, Lond. 1630, 4*to*, c. III.

(*e*) Wood's Ath Oxon. Vol. I. col. 469.

(*f*) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. IV. p. 538.

(*g*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 864.

(*h*) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. IV. p. 539.

(*i*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 865.

(*k*) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 529.

(*l*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 284.

(*m*) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 676.

(*n*) Antiquities of Berkſhire, Vol. III. p. 273.

(*o*) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, P. ii. p. 34.

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who ſuffered ſeverely in the reign of Queen Mary, upon a ſuſpicion of his having ſome intercourſe with Sir Thomas Wiatt, for which however he had ample amends made him by Queen Elizabeth, to whom he was Comptroller of the houſhold, and a member of the Privy-Council (4). This Sir James Croft married Alice, daughter of Richard Warwick, Eſq; by whom he had iſſue Edward Croft, Eſq; who eſpouſed Mrs Anne Brown, and dying in the life-time of his father, left behind him a ſon Herbert (5), afterwards Sir Herbert Croft, Knight, who was the father of our prelate.

[*B*] *And a moſt zealous advocate for the Romiſh religion.*] This gentleman, Sir Herbert Croft, received the honour of knighthood from King James I, at Theobalds, in the year 1603 (6). And about fourteen years afterwards, turned Papiſt, and went over to Douay, where he died (7). He had four ſons, and two daughters. His eldeſt ſon William, was knighted by King Charles I. in the beginning of his reign, and adhering firmly to the intereſts of that prince, became a colonel in his ſervice, and was killed gallantly fighting againſt the rebels at Stone-Caſtle, near Ludlow in Shropſhire, June the 9th 1645 (8) His loyalty was the more extraordinary, ſince he had been very ill treated by the Court, on account of his oppoſition to the great favourite Buckingham; and therefore the king took particular notice of his fidelity, when he ſaw him putting himſelf at the head of his regiment at the battle of Edge-Hill (9). James, the ſecond ſon, was alſo a knight, and a Colonel in the King's ſervice, and died, as Wood aſſures us, in the year 1659, after ſuffering deeply for his loyalty (10). Robert, the fourth ſon, was a Colonel likewiſe (11), But of him we have no farther account. Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Sir Herbert Croft, married Sir Thomas Cave, of Stamford in the county of Northampton (12). But whether Mary, the other daughter, was married or not, does no where appear; only this we know of her, that ſhe was a zealous Proteſtant, and wrote an anſwer to her father's letter, perſwading her to change her religion, to which Sir Herbert Croft, made a warm reply (13).

[*C*] *And ſometimes to the imminent endangering his life.*] He ſhewed upon all occaſions, as far as fell within the compaſs of his power, or the ſphere of his employment, not only the ſame loyalty, but the ſame courageous ſpirit that animated the reſt of his brethren. After Hereford fell into the hands of the rebels, he not only continued to preach, but to preach that kind of doctrine, which how much ſoever they needed to learn, was nevertheleſs what they could hardly bear to hear. Once particularly in the Cathedral, he undook to ſhew them the wickedneſs and impiety of ſacrilege, which he painted in ſuch lively colours, as provoked them to return the argument in their own way; for they primed and preſented their pieces, and aſked their governor, Colonel Birch, whether they ſhould fire upon him in the pulpit; but being reſtrained by him they forbore (14), and Dr Croft ſoon after very wiſely quitted a place, where he was every moment in danger of ſuffering evil, and was thoroughly ſatisfied it was no longer in his power to do any good.

[*D*] *Where*

(4) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 567.

(5) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 469.

(6) Liſt of Knights made by King James.

(7) Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 269.

(8) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 868.

(9) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 673.

(10) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 868.

(11) Id. ibid.

(12) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. IV. p. 537.

(13) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 469.

(14) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, P. ii. p. 34.

Sir William and Sir James Croft, he became poſſeſſed of the eſtate of the family. The provocation he had given to the perſons who were then veſted with power was ſo great, that he did not conceive it ſafe, even after he was poſſeſſed of the eſtate, to live in his own county; and therefore choſe for the place of his retreat the houſe of his good friend Sir Rowland Berkeley, at Cotheridge in Worceſterſhire, where he patiently expected the reſtoration of Church and State, by the reſtitution of his juſt rights to his Royal Maſter, which happening in May 1660, Dr Croft, as well as other loyal ſubjects, came again into poſſeſſion of his livings and ſpiritual preferments (p). Upon the death of Dr Nicholas Monk, Lord Biſhop of Hereford, he was promoted to that See December 27th, 1661, and conſecrated on the 9th of February following at the Archbiſhop's chapel in his palace at Lambeth, Dr Jaſper Maine preaching the conſecration ſermon (q). He officiated likewiſe in his ſpiritual function frequently in the King's Chapel, and being very remarkable for his plain and practical preaching, and for the correſponding ſanctity of his manners and purity of his life, King Charles II offered him more than once a better See, that which he then poſſeſſed being ſcarce of the value of eight hundred pounds a year, but he very conſcientiouſly refuſed it. He became afterwards about the year 1667 Dean of the Chapel Royal, which he held to 1669 (r) and then reſigned it, being weary of a court life and finding but little good effects from his pious endeavours. He then retired to his Biſhoprick where he was exceedingly beloved for his conſtant preaching, edifying converſation, hoſpitable manner of living, and moſt extenſive charity. He gave weekly alms to ſixty poor people at his palace gate in Hereford, whether reſident there or not, and beſides this he augmented ſeveral ſmall livings, ſupported many decayed families, and did various other Chriſtian acts of the ſame nature with ſuch privacy that they were never known till after his deceaſe. His country houſe being conveniently ſituated in the very centre of his Dioceſe, he ſpent a conſiderable part of his time there, where he was no leſs charitable in relieving the poor and viſiting the ſick in all the neighbouring pariſhes. He was very ſtrict in his manner of admitting perſons to holy Orders, and more eſpecially to that of the prieſthood, which gained him ſome ill will, yet but little in compariſon of what aroſe from another method in which however he was inflexible, and that was his refuſing to admit any Prebendaries into his Cathedral Church, except ſuch as live within his dioceſe, that the duty of the Church might not be neglected, and that the addition of a Prebend might be a comfortable augmentation to a ſmall living (s). He expreſſed a great deſire to be able to accompliſh this deſign of his, ſo as to ſee all the dignities of his church beſtowed in this manner, and God was pleaſed to grant him his deſire, which he hoped might prove a precedent to his ſucceſſors. He was very modeſt and charitable in his opinions, and tho' a true ſon and a worthy father of the Church of England, yet he had a great abhorrence of whatever carried the aſpect of perſecution, deſiring that his zeal ſhould appear in the ſoundneſs of his doctrines and the holineſs of his life, as the ſureſt and moſt effectual means of ſupporting his authority and drawing reverence to the Epiſcopal character in which no man was more ſucceſsful (t). His ſermons preached at court, had given the world a ſpecimen of the fervency of his ſpirit, and at the ſame time of his charity and forbearance, but when the controverſy with the Nonconformiſts came to it's greateſt height, and the quarrel was ſo artificially widened that the Papiſts entertained hopes of entering through the breach, our wiſe and tender conſcienced prelate thought it his duty to interpoſe, and to offer his aſſiſtance for healing theſe wounds in the Proteſtant Church. Accordingly in the year 1675 he publiſhed his truly famous work, which tho' no more than a ſmall pamphlet of four or five ſheets, made a prodigious noiſe in the world, and was read and ſtudied by all people of ſenſe and learning in the kingdom (u). It is indeed a moſt extraordinary performance as it was then thought, and has kept it's character to this day, for tho' often reprinted it has never been common, and notwithſtanding the numberleſs volumes written on the ſame ſubject ſince, is yet looked upon as inimitable in it's kind and worthy of all the praiſes that have have been beſtowed upon it. As to the title and the circumſtances attending this piece, the reader will find them at the bottom of the page, where we mention his Lordſhip's works [D]. We there likewiſe mention the anſwers that were given

(p) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 865.

(q) Godwin. de Præſul, Lond. fol. 1743, p. 457. Regiſt. Juxon. f. 283.

(r) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 865.

(s) Willis's Survey, Vol. II. p. 529. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 865, 866.

(t) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. IV. p. 541.

(u) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 866.

[D] *Where we mention his Lordſhip's works.*] While his Lordſhip continued about the Court, and was generally applauded for his pathetick manner in the pulpit, he was prevailed upon to print two of his ſermons.

I. *Sermon on* Iſaiah *Chap.* XXVII. *the laſt verſe*, preached *before the* Lords *aſſembled in Parliament upon the* Faſt-day, *February 4th* 1673. London 1674. 4*to*.

II. *Sermon preached before the* King *at* Whitehall, *April* 12. 1674. *on* Philippians I. *and the* 21ſt. London 1675. 4*to*.

III. *The* naked truth; *or*, *the* true ſtate *of the* Primitive Church. London 1675. 4*to*; again in 1680. *fol.* and many times ſince. This is that extraordinary work mentioned in the text, and the preſs being at that time under a licence, he found himſelf under the neceſſity of cauſing it to be printed privately, tho' he intended it for the moſt publick uſe; and for that reaſon, addreſſed it to the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament. After having obſerved, that notwithſtanding all the laws made for eſtabliſhing Uniformity in religion, Proteſtants remain ſtill more divided than ever, to the great ſcandal as well as danger of the Church, he proceeds thus. ' Many, who were formerly very ' zealous for our Church, ſeeing theſe our ſad di- ' viſions, and not ſeeing thoſe of the Roman Church, ' nor their groſs ſuperſtitions, which their prieſts con- ' ceal till they have got men faſt, are eaſily ſeduced ' by their pretended Unity, and daily fall from us. ' This makes my heart to bleed, and my ſoul with ' anguiſh ready to expire, rather than live to ſee that ' diſmal day of relapſe into their manifold idolatries. ' Wherefore I humbled my ſoul before God, in faſting ' and prayer, begging daily the aſſiſtance of his holy ' Spirit, to direct me to ſome healing ſalve for theſe ' our bleeding wounds; and therefore I have ſome ' reaſon given to it, and the long and warm controverſy which it occaſioned, tho' it was certain that our

reaſon to believe that what is contained in theſe following papers, comes from the great goodneſs, who never fails thoſe who ſeek him in humility and ſincerity, both which I am confident I have done ; and this I am ſure of, that no worldly deſigns have moved me to this, but have often tempted me to give it over. I am alſo ſure that there is nothing contained therein, which is contrary to the laws of the land ; in this only I confeſs I have tranſgreſſed in putting it forth without a licence ; and for this I beg of God, and you, as Naaman did of Eliſha, *In this thing the* Lord *and* you *pardon your Servant* ; and I hope you will ſay unto me, as Eliſha did unto Naaman, *Go in peace*. And I farther hope, this ſhall not caſt ſuch a prejudice upon it, as to make you caſt it by, or read it with diſguſt.' In this work he begins with articles of faith, and having ſhewn the danger of impoſing more than are neceſſary, more eſpecially as terms of communion, he proceeds next through all the great points, in diſpute between the Church of England, and thoſe that diſſent from her ; labouring throughout to prove, that Proteſtants differ about nothing, that can be truly ſtiled eſſential to religion, and that for the ſake of Union compliances would be more becoming, as well as more effectual, than enforcing Uniformity by penalties and perſecution. The whole is written with great plainneſs and piety, as well as with much force of argument and learning. If we conſider however the temper of thoſe times, and the warm diſpoſition of moſt of the divines in the eſtabliſhed Church, we need not at all wonder at the fate this piece met with, which was immediately written againſt with much heat and zeal, not to uſe the harſher terms of fury and reſentment. 'Twas firſt attacked by Dr Francis Turner, Maſter of St John's College in Cambridge, in a piece intituled.

Animadverſions on a Pamphlet, called the Naked Truth, &c. Lond. 1676. 4*to*. printed twice the ſame year. This was penned like all the reſt of the writings of the ſame author, in a very elegant and flowing ſtile, which however could hardly atone for that ſeverity, and bitterneſs that is expreſſed in it. But even this fell very far ſhort of the vivacity with which it was replied to, by the famous Andrew Marvel, who entituled his piece, Mr Smirke, *or the Divine in mode*, and in which he ridicules the Animadverter with all that life and ſpirit, of which he was ſo much maſter. In this reply he gives the following character of the original work. 'It is a treatiſe, which if not for it's oppoſer, needs no commendation, being writ with that evidence and demonſtration of truth ; that all ſober men cannot but give their aſſent and conſent to it unaſked. It is a book of that kind, that no Chriſtian ſcarce can peruſe it, without wiſhing himſelf to have been the author, and almoſt imagining that he is ſo : the conceptions therein being of ſo eternal idea, that every man finds it to be but a copy of the original of his own mind.' Another anſwer came out with this title :

Lex Talionis ; *or, the author of the* Naked Truth *ſtripped* naked, Lond. 1676. 4*to*. This was at firſt aſcribed to Dr Peter Gunning, biſhop of Chicheſter, afterwards of Ely ; who upon the firſt coming out of the Naked Truth, had preached a warm Sermon at Court againſt it. It was afterwards attributed to Dr William Lloyd, Dean of Bangor, a very learned and pious Divine. But upon better Grounds aſcribed to the Reverend Mr Philip Fell, one of the fellows of Eaton College. There was yet a third anſwer publiſhed to this work of our author's, which was entitled,

A modeſt ſurvey of the moſt conſiderable things in a diſcourſe lately publiſhed, entitled the Naked Truth, Lond. 1676. 4*to*. This Anthony Wood affirms (15) was written by Dr Gilbert Burnet afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury, upon the credit, as he ſays, of a Bookſeller's Catalogue, at the end of another book, in which this treatiſe is aſcribed to that Prelate.

It was indeed afterwards owned by his Lordſhip, and that upon the following occaſion. The famous Dr Hickes, in a bitter invective he wrote againſt Biſhop Burnet (16), charged him with ſtealing the materials of this anſwer from Biſhop Gunning, who intended to anſwer it, as has been before obſerved, and who upon his communicating the method he intended to purſue in his anſwer, was ſupplanted by the appearance of this of which we are ſpeaking. In his Defence Biſhop Burnet declares that the fact was abſolutely falſe (17). That Biſhop Gunning had indeed great learning, and true piety, but his ideas were ſo confuſed, and ſo over ſubtle, that he could never learn any thing from him, in all the time that he converſed with him. Thus much may ſerve for the anſwers written to this work, we will next ſay ſomewhat of the imitations and copies that it produced, and theſe were what follow, *viz.*

There was *a ſecond part* of *Naked Truth* publiſhed in 1681, in *fol.* which was written by Edmund Hickeringhill, Rector of All-Saints in Colcheſter, who likewiſe wrote *a Vindication* of it. There alſo appeared the ſame year a treatiſe called the *third part* of *Naked Truth*, which was ſaid to be a poſthumous work, written by one Dr Benjamin Worſley. The year following appeared the *fourth part* of *Naked Truth* ; *or, the complaint of the Church to ſome of her ſons for breach of their Articles*, &c. The reader may from hence ſee the credit of this work of Biſhop Croft, when ſo many different authors placed the hopes of procuring a reading for their performances, by giving them a likeneſs in their titles to his. This was ſtill farther purſued by perſons of quite different principles, as appears from the following book.

The Catholick Naked Truth ; *or, the Puritans Convert to Chriſtianity*. 1676. 4*to*. The author ſets the initial letters of his name to his work, *viz.* W. H. which ſtand for William Hubert, alias Berry, who being a Miniſter of the Church of England, went over to the Papiſts, and wrote this and ſeveral other treatiſes for the ſupport of that cauſe. To this we may add,

Naked Truth, *or* Truth *manifeſting it ſelf in ſeveral particulars*, &c. *by way of queſtion and anſwer*, 1677. 8*vo*. This piece was written in ſupport of the Quakers, for which reaſon Mr Wood gave it the title of *the* Quakers *Naked Truth*.

As for our author, Biſhop Croft, we have obſerved, in the text, that he wrote no reply to any of his adverſaries, or vindication of his own performance, the deſign of which was to try, whether the legiſlature could be prevailed upon to take any meaſures for reconciling the differences ſubſiſting among Proteſtants for the common benefit of all, and for ſecuring and ſtrengthning the Church againſt the endeavours of the Papiſts, whether by force or fraud, to ſubvert or undermine it. His view was unqueſtionably truly pious, tho' perhaps his ſcheme might not be very practicable, of which he left the determination to the proper judges, fully ſatisfied in his own mind, with having diſcharged what he took to be his duty, and not in the leaſt affected with the warm things that were ſaid by his adverſaries, who treated his performance as if it had been intended to overturn what he ſeemed to maintain, by giving up the cauſe of the Church to thoſe who differed from her, without reaſon. There was however no grounds at all for theſe ſuſpicions, ſince our right reverend author, had upon all occaſions ſhewn an exact and punctual conformity to her canons, and even in this work, profeſſes himſelf fully ſatisfied with her doctrine and diſcipline, tho' he could not prevail upon himſelf, to be abſolutely unconcerned for thoſe who did not ſee the reaſons for being ſatisfied ſo clearly as he did. Therefore it is exceedingly unjuſt, to caſt any aſperſions upon this prelate, for publiſhing in the ſincerity of his heart, what his real ſentiments, were about things indifferent, more eſpecially as it never was pretended, that he had any other view, than that of promoting a real Union, and unfeigned harmony amongſt Proteſtants, and this at a time, when he apprehended no other method could be effectually taken for their preſervation, ſince the meaſure of tolerating, which has been ſince found very practicable, was held to be not ſo, and perhaps might not be ſo at that time. Thus much ſeemed to be neceſſary in reſpect to a work, which however ſmall in it's bulk was then, and will be ever, eſteemed of very great importance, in regard to it's matter, and which, conſidering the ſtation and circumſtances of it's author, was by judicious perſons in thoſe times allowed to be the higheſt mark

(15) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 806.

(16) Some Diſcourſes upon Dr Burnet and Dr Tillotſon, occaſioned by the Funeral Sermon of the former upon the latter, p. 23.

(17) Reflections upon a pamphlet intituled, Some Diſcourſes, &c. p. 93.

our prelate meant nothing leſs than not to enter into a debate, and therefore very prudently declined making any reply to his opponents. What he wrote was with a view to promote charity and peace, and when he ſaw this was not to be done by any kind of writing whatever, he took care to add no new ſewel to the fire by labouring to ſupport principles which he had ſtated in ſuch a manner as he thought muſt have rendered them ſelf evident (w). We have another pregnant inſtance of his ſincerity and diſintereſtedneſs, in the reſolution he took of reſigning his biſhoprick, the motives to which he expreſſed in a long letter to the learned Dr Stillingfleet (x), and they are ſuch as ſhew him to have been a truly primitive and pious prelate. He thought the receiving the income of his See, as it roſe in a great meaſure out of impropriate tythes which were withheld from parochial miniſters, was hardly juſtifiable. He was troubled at the power of Lay Chancellors who under pretence of the Biſhop's authority did wrong things, and likewiſe often hindered Biſhops from redreſſing many diſorders. It grieved him to ordain men poorly qualified, tho' it was but to poor livings, which men of better capacities would hardly accept. The law-ſuits to which Biſhops became liable, for the ſake of defending the right of their Sees, was very troubleſome to him, and he was very much diſſatisfied with being obliged to attend the ſervice of Parliament, when ſcarce any thing fit for a Biſhop to meddle with was treated there. His ſcruples taking air, as well as his ſettled reſolution of reſigning, the Papiſts and Nonconformiſts made advantage of it to ſerve their reſpective purpoſes, and this gave him infinite diſquiet; more eſpecially when he found that ſome churchmen alſo reflected deeply upon him for inclining to retire from his biſhoprick in ſo dangerous a ſeaſon, and when his zeal and labours might be as uſeful, as ſuch a deſerting of his charge might give ſcandal to it's members and advantage to it's enemies. The anſwer given by Dr Stillingfleet ſatisfied his conſcience, and diſpoſed him to continue his labours with the ſame earneſtneſs and vigour. He ſaw that various attempts were making to the prejudice of the Church from different quarters, which ſerved only to inſpire him with ſtronger ſentiments of the neceſſity there was, that ſuch as had her cauſe at heart, and were more immediately called upon to eſpouſe it, ſhould do it with chearfulneſs and diligence, and ſhew at once their courage and conſtancy by defending it in their words and writings, and adorning it by their lives. Full of theſe laudable and generous notions he reſumed his former ſpirit, and let no opportunity ſlip of ſignalizing his attention to and affection for the Proteſtant cauſe. He contented himſelf therefore with doing all the good that was in his power, within that ſphere of action which providence had allotted to him, and was more eſpecially attentive to the preſervation of his Dioceſe from the attempts of Popiſh miſſionaries, in order to which he was very aſſiduous in the pulpit, where with great clearneſs he diſcovered, and with much ſolidity refuted, the errors of that religion; but as he grew in years, and yet had no proſpect of leſs danger from that quarter in ſucceeding times, he thought fit to leave theſe diſcourſes which had been delivered to a numerous audience, and received with very uncommon marks of ſatisfaction and attention, under a very endearing title to thoſe for whoſe uſe they had been compoſed (y) [E]. He continued the ſame pious cares upon particular occaſions, and never failed to ſupply proper antidotes to every kind of ſpiritual poyſons that were ſpread by the different enemies of the Proteſtant religion. In the reign of King James, when the famous Declaration that was ordered to be read in churches was tranſmitted to him,

(w) See the Account of this matter at large in the notes.

(x) Miſcellaneous Diſcourſes by Dr Stillingfleet, Biſhop of Worceſtr. Lond. 1735, 8*vo*. p. 1—36.

(y) Legacy to his Dioceſe, London, 1679, 4*to*.

of candour and unaffected piety that could be given, as well as of the moſt diſintereſted temper and unfeigned humility, virtues highly capable of adorning the epiſcopal character, and of recommending it to the veneration of all, who have a real attachment to the Doctrines of the Reformation, as they are profeſſed and taught by the Church of England, as it is by law eſtabliſhed.

[*E*] *For whoſe uſe they had been compoſed.*] We ſhall here give the reader the title of the ſecond edition, of this work, that we may ſpeak of it, and of the Supplement his Lordſhip thought fit to make at once. It runs thus:

IV. *The* Legacy *of the right reverend father in God*, Herbert *Lord biſhop of* Hereford, *to his Dioceſe; or a ſhort determination of all controverſies we have with the* Papiſts *by* GOD's holy word. *The ſecond impreſſion corrected, with additions, by the author.* Lond. 1679. 4*to*. This piece contains an epiſtle to all the people within his dioceſe, eſpecially thoſe of the city of Hereford; then comes the Preface, afterwards, three ſermons upon this text, JOHN V. 39, *Seek ye the* Scriptures, *for in them ye think ye have eternal life.* Laſtly, a ſupplement to the preceding ſermons, together with a tract concerning the holy Sacrament of the Lords-Supper promiſed in the Preface. If we take the whole together, we may certainly pronounce it as plain, as clear, and as convincing a defence of the Proteſtant religion, as is to be met with in our own, or any other language. There is one paſſage in the Preface, that is very remarkable; which for that reaſon we will inſert, as it tends to ſhew how difficult a thing it is to decide, who was the author of a certain excellent treatiſe, or of the other treatiſes that were ſaid to be written by the ſame author. The paſſage referred to follows: 'I have this one thing more only to 'trouble the reader with, the firſt of my three ſermons on that text, Search the ſcriptures, was 'preached in September 1677, and in June 1678 comes 'out a little Book to the ſame intent with that ſermon, 'and expreſſing ſeveral things in it, and in the very ſame 'manner, by what means I know not, but this I and 'many others know, that my ſermon was preached 'almoſt a year before that book came forth, and 'therefore I could not have them from that author, 'called the ſame author that wrote *The whole Duty of* '*Man*, who it ſeems muſt countenance books to the 'world's end. However I thought it fit, to print 'that ſermon with the other two, firſt becauſe it con'tains ſeveral things not in that book; and ſecondly, 'the other two would be very defective without it.'

V. *A* ſecond call *to a farther* humiliation, *being a Sermon preached at the Cathedral Church in* Hereford, *the* 24th *of* November. Lond. 1678. 4*to*.

VI. *A Letter written to a friend concerning* Popiſh Idolatry, Lond. 1679. 4*to*.

VII. *Some* Animadverſions *on a book entitled*, the Theory of the Earth, Lond. 1685. 8*vo*.

VIII. *A ſhort diſcourſe concerning the reading his Majeſty's late* Declaration *in* Churches. Lond. 1688. 4*to*.

[*F*] *As*

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him; he thought fit to digeſt in writing his thoughts upon that ſubject, in which as he clearly expreſſed his willingneſs to give a ſanction to whatever might tend to the indulgence of tender conſciences; ſo he ſhewed with equal plainneſs the danger the Church of England would be in, in caſe of the repeal which was then endeavoured of the penal laws and of the teſt. This, which was the laſt employment of his pen, was ſhewn by a certain courtier to King James, who directed that ſo much of the diſcourſe as concerned the reading of the Declaration ſhould be publiſhed to the world, but ordered the reſt to be ſuppreſſed, as being directly contrary to the views with which that Declaration had been ſet forth (z). At length, full of years and in the higheſt reputation, this venerable prelate ended his days in his palace at Hereford, on the 18th of May 1691 (a), and as he lived ſo he died, a true member and a zealous defender of the Proteſtant Church, as appears from a very remarkable clauſe in the preamble to his will (b) [F]. He had for ſome years before his death paid the ſum of fourteen pounds a year by way of augmentation to the ſmall living of Yarpoll, and the ſum of twelve pounds by way of addition to the living of his own pariſh church at Croft, both which charities were ſettled and ſecured by his will, and lands aſſigned for the payment of them (c). He likewiſe gave the remainder of the produce of twelve hundred pounds, after theſe augmentations were deducted, to the relief of indigent perſons, and other ſuch purpoſes (d). He was buried in his Cathedral Church, where there remains a ſhort and modeſt memorial of him (e) [G]. He ſat almoſt thirty years in the Biſhoprick of Hereford, and in that ſpace of time eſtabliſhed thoroughly the regulations that he had very wiſely contrived, as well for the particular benefit of the Chapter, as the general advantage of his Dioceſe; the people of which regarded him with the utmoſt veneration, and the Clergy, as they had a particular relation to them, ſo in the latter part of his time more eſpecially, they loved and reſpected him for that diligence and care with which he promoted their welfare, by preſerving all the dignities of his Church to the Clergy beneficed in his dioceſe, the conſequences of which at firſt ſome of them did not ſo fully comprehend (f). He married the daughter of his predeceſſor in the Deanery, Dr Jonathan Brown, as we before obſerved, and by her had his only ſon Herbert, who was educated as a Commoner in Magdalen-college in Oxford, and becoming a perſon of great worth and honour, a true patriot, and a warm friend of the Proteſtant religion, he was by his Majeſty King Charles the II, created a Baronet November 18th, 1671, and was twice Knight of the ſhire in the reign of King William (g). He married Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Archer of Umberſlade in the county of Warwick, Eſq; (h) by whom he had the preſent Baronet and ſeveral other children.

(z) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 868.

(a) Godwin, de Præſul. p. 497.

(b) See that clauſe in the note.

(c) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 868.

(d) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals. Vol. II. p. 529.

(e) See this inſcription in the note.

(f) Willis's Survey of Cathedr. Vol. II. p. 529. Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. IV. p. 541.

(g) Dugdale's Liſt of Baronets, p. 113. Parliamentary Regiſt. p. 1, 11.

(h) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. IV. p. 542.

[F] *As appears from a very remarkable clauſe, in the preamble to his Will*] The paſſage referred to in the text, is conceived in the following terms (18). 'I do 'in all humble manner moſt heartily thank God, that 'he hath been moſt graciouſly pleaſed, by the light of 'his moſt holy Goſpel, to recal me from the darkneſs 'of Popiſh Errors and groſs ſuperſtitions, into which 'I was ſeduced in my younger days, and to ſettle me 'again in the true antient Catholic and Apoſtolic 'Faith profeſſed by our Church of England, in which 'I was born and baptized, and in which I joyfully die, 'with full aſſurance, by the merits of my moſt bleſſed 'Saviour Jeſus, to enjoy eternal happineſs.'

(18) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 868.

[G] *Where there remains a ſhort and modeſt memorial of him.*] The inſcription upon his grave-ſtone, which is within the communion rails runs thus (19). *Depoſitum* Herberti Croft *de* Croft *Epiſcopi* Herefordenſis *obiit* 18 *die Maii* A. D. 1691 *ætatis ſuæ* 88, *in vita conjuncti*; that is, *Here are depoſited the remains of* Herbert Croft, *of* Croft, *Biſhop of* Hereford, *who died May* 18th. 1691, *in the* 88th *year of his age, in life united.* The laſt words allude to his lying next Dean Benſon, at the bottom of whoſe grave-ſtone is this, *In morte non diviſi*, i. e. *in death not divided.* The two grave-ſtones having hands engraven on them, conjoined, reaching from one to the other, to ſignify the laſting and uninterrupted friendſhip, which had ſubſiſted between thoſe truly pious and venerable perſons in their life-times. Dr Croft was ſucceeded in his biſhoprick by Dr Gilbert Iron ſide. E

(19) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 529.

CROMWELL, or **CRUMWELL** (THOMAS), an eminent Stateſman in the ſixteenth century, and created by King Henry VIII. Earl of Eſſex, was the ſon of ——— Cromwell, a black-ſmith, at Putney near London, and in his latter days a brewer; after whoſe deceaſe, his mother was married to a Sheerman in London (a). His honeſt parents gave him a good and ſtrong conſtitution; which, accompanied with excellent endowments of mind, and an uncommon induſtry, raiſed him to that high pitch of honour he afterwards arriv'd to. What education he had, was in a private ſchool (b): and all the learning he attain'd to, was, (according to the ſtandard of thoſe times,) only reading, and writing, and a little Latin. When he grew up, having a very great inclination for Travelling, he went into foreign countries; tho' at whoſe expence is not known; and, by that means, he had an opportunity of ſeeing the world, of gaining experience, and of learning ſeveral languages, which proved of great ſervice to him afterwards. Coming to Antwerp, where was then a very conſiderable Engliſh Factory he was by them retained to be their Clerk, or Secretary. But that office being too great a confinement to his roving and aſpiring mind, he embraced an opportunity, that offered, in 1510 (c), of taking a journey to Rome [A]. Whilſt he remained in Italy, he ſerved for ſome time as a Soldier under the Duke of

(a) J. Fox's Acts and Monuments, &c. edit. 1583, p. 1177; and Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 580.

(b) D. Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1678, p. 58.

(c) Fox, ubi ſupr. p. 1178.

[A] *He embraced an opportunity that offered ——— of taking a journey to Rome.*] That opportunity was as follows. There being at that time a famous Gild of our Lady in the Church of St Botulph's at Boſton in Lincolnſhire, to which ſeveral Popes had granted very large Indulgences, or Pardons, which were then highly valued, and held in the utmoſt veneration, and very much reſorted to; the brethren and ſiſters of that Gild were of Bourbon, and was at the ſacking of Rome: And at Bologna, he aſſiſted John Ruſſell, Eſq; afterwards Earl of Bedford, in making his eſcape, when he had like to be betray'd into the hands of the French: being ſecretly in thoſe parts about our King's affairs (*d*). An inſtance we have, moreover, at this time of Cromwell's great induſtry, and of his improving every moment; namely, that, in his journey to and from Rome, he learn'd by heart the New Teſtament, of Eraſmus's tranſlation (*e*). After his return from his travels, he was taken into the family and ſervice of the famous Cardinal Wolſey; who obſerving his great parts and diligence, made him his Sollicitor, and often employed him in buſineſs of great importance (*f*). Among other things, he had the chief hand, in the foundation of the two Colleges begun at Oxford and Ipſwich by that magnificent Prelate, and in ſuppreſſing, in 1525, ſmall Monaſteries for the endowment of them (*g*). Upon his maſter, the Cardinal's diſgrace, in 1529, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours and intereſt to have him reſtor'd to the King's favour (*h*): And when Articles of High-treaſon againſt him were ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, of which Cromwell was then a Member, he defended his maſter with ſo much wit and eloquence, that no treaſon could be laid to his charge: which honeſt beginning procur'd Cromwell great reputation, and made his parts and abilities to be much taken notice of (*i*). After the Cardinal's houſhold came to be diſſolv'd, Cromwell was taken into the King's ſervice, upon the recommendation of Sir Chriſtopher Hales, afterwards Maſter of the Rolls, and Sir John Ruſſell, Knt. above mention'd; as the fitteſt perſon to manage the diſputes the King then had with the Pope: tho' ſome endeavoured to hinder his promotion, and to prejudice his Majeſty againſt him, on account of his rude behaviour in defacing the ſmall Monaſteries that were diſſolv'd for endowing Wolſey's Colleges. But he diſcovering to the King ſome particulars that were very acceptable to him [*B*], he took him into the higheſt degree of favour (*k*). Soon after, he was ſent to the Convocation, then ſitting, to acquaint the Clergy, that they were all fallen into a præmunire (*l*) [*C*]. In 1531 he was knighted; made Maſter of the King's Jewel-houſe, with a ſalary of fifty pounds *per annum*; and conſtituted a Privy-Counſellor (*m*). The next year, he was made Clerk of the Hanaper, an office of good profit and repute in Chancery; and, before the end of the ſame year, Chancellor of the Exchequer (*n*). As alſo, in 1534, Principal Secretary of State; and Maſter of the Rolls (*o*). About the ſame time, he was choſen Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge: Soon after which followed a general viſitation of that univerſity; whereupon the ſeveral Colleges delivered up their Charters, and other inſtruments, to Sir Thomas Cromwell (*p*). The year before, he aſſeſſed the fines laid upon thoſe, who having forty pounds *per ann.* eſtate, refuſed to take the order of Knighthood (*q*). In 1535 he was appointed Viſitor-general of the Monaſteries throughout England, in order for their ſuppreſſion (*r*): and in that office, is accuſed of having committed ſome illegal acts of violence [*D*]. However, having behaved in that affair, generally

(*d*) Ibid. p. 1179.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 1178, 1179.

(*f*) Ib. p. 1179; and Stow's Annales, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 370; and Fox, as above, p. 1179; and alſo Stow, p. 553. After the Cardinal's fall, he had the care of the new College, now Chriſt-Ch. Oxon. Stow, ibid. Strype's Eccleſ. Memor. Vol. I. p. 117.

(*h*) Life and Reign of King Henry VIII, by Edw. Lord Herbert, in Compl. Hiſt. of England, edit. 1706, Vol. II. p. 125.

(*i*) Herbert, as above, p. 129; and Fuller's Hiſt. edit. 1655, B. v. p. (177).

(*k*) Fox, as above, p. 1179.

(*l*) Ibid. See alſo Dr Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, 2d edit. P. i. p. 106 -- 112.

(*m*) Pat. 23 Hen. VIII, p. 2. See Dugdale, Vol. II. p. 370.

(*n*) Pat. 24 Hen. VIII. p. 1, 2.

(*o*) Pat. 26 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(*p*) Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univ. of Cambr. ed. 1655, p. 108, &c.

(*q*) Holinſhed's Chron edit. 1587, Vol. II. p. 929.

(*r*) Herbert, as above, p. 180.

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were very deſirous of having thoſe Indulgences renewed, and confirmed, by the then Pope Julius II. They diſpatch'd therefore two perſons to Rome, with a conſiderable ſum of money, to obtain the deſired confirmation: Which perſons taking Antwerp in their way, became acquainted there with Thomas Cromwell: And obſerving that he was as perfectly qualified for procuring eaſily what they wanted from the Court of Rome, as they were themſelves unqualified for it, they perſuaded him to go along with them. Accordingly he was of very great ſervice to them. For, being informed, that Pope Julius was a great lover of delicacies, and dainty diſhes, he preſented him with fine diſhes of Jelly, made after the Engliſh faſhion, then unknown at Rome; wherewith the Pope was ſo delighted, that he very readily granted Cromwell and his companions what they came about. See this whole matter related at full length, in J. Fox's Acts and Monuments (1).

[*B*] *But he diſcovering to the King ſome particulars that were very acceptable to him.*] He acquainted the King, that his princely authority was abuſed within his own realm, by the Pope and his Clergy, who being ſworn to him, were afterwards diſpenſed from the ſame, and ſworn a-new unto the Pope, ſo that he was but a half-King, and they but half his ſubjects in his own Land; which, ſaid he, was derogatory to his crown, and utterly prejudicial to the common Laws of his realm: Declaring thereupon, how his Majeſty might accumulate to himſelf great riches, nay as much as all the Clergy in his Realm was worth, if he pleaſed to take the occaſion now offered. The King giving ear to this, and liking right well his advice, aſked, if he could avouch that which he ſpake. All this he could (he ſaid) avouch to be certain: And thereupon ſhewed the King the Oath which the Biſhops took to the Pope at their conſecration; wherein they ſwore 'To help, 'retain, and defend *againſt all men*, the Popedom of 'Rome, the rules of the holy Fathers, and the regalities of St Peter, &c. (2).'

[*C*] *He was ſent to the Convocation then ſitting, to acquaint the clergy, that they were all fallen into a præmunire.*] When he diſcovered to the King what is mentioned in the laſt note, his Majeſty taking his ring, or ſignet, off his finger, ſent Cromwell with it to the Convocation: who placing himſelf among the Biſhops, began to declare to them the authority of a King, and the office of ſubjects, and eſpecially the obedience of Biſhops and Churchmen under public Laws; which Laws notwithſtanding they had all trangreſs'd, and highly offended in derogation of the King's royal eſtate, falling in the Law of *Præmunire*; in that, they had not only conſented to the power Legatine of Cardinal Wolſey, but alſo becauſe they had all ſworn to the Pope, contrary to the fealty of their ſoveraign Lord the King, and therefore had forfeited to the King all their goods, chattles, lands, poſſeſſions, and whatſoever livings they had. The Biſhops hearing this, were not a little amazed, and firſt began to excuſe and deny the fact. But after Cromwell had ſhewed them the very copy of the Oath they took to the Pope at their conſecration, the matter was ſo plain, they could not deny it. And to be quit of that Præmunire by Act of Parliament, the two Provinces of Canterbury and York were forced to make the King a preſent of 118,840 pounds (3).

[*D*] *Is accus'd of having committed ſome illegal acts of violence.*] For, he and his under-agents are charged, with having forced ſeveral Abbies, by *threats* and other inſtances of violence into a ſurrender: ſome indeed they allured thereunto, by promiſes, and large penſions: but moſt they frighted into a compliance, by encouraging the Monks, not only to accuſe their Governors of the moſt horrid and unnatural crimes, but alſo to inform againſt each other. In particular, we are told, that the Commiſſioners threat'ned the Canons of Leiceſter, 'That they would charge them with adultery and 'buggery, unleſs they would ſubmit.' And Dr London, one of the viſitors, told the Nuns of Godſtow,

'That

(1) Edit. 1583, p. 1178.

(2) J. Fox, Acts and Monuments, edit. 1583, p. 1179, 1053.

(3) Ib. p. 117

generally to the ſatisfaction of the King and his Courtiers, he was, on the 2d of July 1536, conſtituted Lord Keeper of the Privy-Seal, when he reſign'd his Maſterſhip of the Rolls (*s*). On the 9th of the ſame month he was advanc'd to the dignity of a Baron of this Realm, by the title of Lord Cromwell of Okeham in Rutlandſhire; and, ſix days after, took his place in the Houſe of Lords (*t*). The Pope's Supremacy being now aboliſh'd in England, the Lord Cromwell was made, on the 18th of July, Vicar-general, and Vicegerent, over all the Spirituality, under the King [*E*], who was declar'd ſupreme Head of the Church (*u*): In that quality, his Lordſhip ſat in the Convocation holden this year, above the Archbiſhops, as the King's repreſentative (*w*). Being inveſted with ſuch extenſive Power, he made uſe of it for deſtroying Popery as far as he poſſibly could, and for promoting a Reformation in this Kingdom. For that purpoſe, he cauſed certain Articles to be ſet forth and enjoyned by the King's Authority (*x*), differing in many eſſential points from the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of the Roman-Catholic Religion [*F*]. Next, in September this ſame year, he put out ſome Injunctions to all Deans, Parſons, Vicars, and Curates, wherein they were ordered, to preach up the King's Supremacy; not to lay out their rhetoric in extolling Images, Relicks, Miracles, or Pilgrimages, but rather exhort their people to ſerve God, and make proviſion for their families: to put parents and other directors of youth in mind, to teach their children the Lord's-prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in their mother-tongue: to provide a Bible in Latin and Engliſh, to be laid in the Churches, for every one to read at their pleaſure; and the like (*y*). He likewiſe encourag'd the tranſlation of the Bible into Engliſh [*G*]; and, when it was finiſh'd, injoin'd, that

'That becauſe he found them obſtinate, he would 'diſſolve the Houſe by virtue of the King's Com'miſſion, in ſpite of their teeth.' The Monks of the Charter-houſe near London, being refractory, were committed to Newgate, where, with hard and barbarous uſage, five of them dyed, and five more lay at the point of death, as the Commiſſioners ſignified (4). ——— We are futher informed, that there were ſome agents employed to practiſe on the chaſtity of the Nuns, and afterwards to accuſe them for being guilty of incontinence (5). Several Monaſteries granted Thomas Cromwell large Penſions to ſave them from ruin; but all in vain (6).

[*E*] *The Lord Cromwell was made ——— Vicar-general, and Vicegerent over all the Spirituality under the King.*] What the deſign and extent of this Commiſſion was, we beſt learn from the following Clauſe of the Act for regulating Precedency —— namely, That 'for the good exerciſe of the ſaid moſt Royal Dignity 'and Office (the Supremacy) his Highneſs hath made 'Thomas Lord Cromwell and Lord Privy-Seal, his 'Vicegerent for a good and due miniſtration of Juſtice, 'to be had in all Cauſes and Caſes touching the 'Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and for the godly re'formation and redreſs of all Hereſies and abuſes in the 'ſaid Church (7).' ——— Or, as it is elſewhere expreſs'd to the ſame purpoſe ——— *ad exercendum, expediendum, & exerendum omnem & omnimodam Juriſdictionem, Auctoritatem, ſive Poteſtatem Eccleſiaſticam, quæ nobis tanquam Supremo Capiti Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ competit* (8).

[*F*] *Differing in many eſſential points from the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of the Roman-Catholic Religion.*] For, inſtead of the ſeven Sacraments commonly receiv'd in the Church of Rome, theſe Articles mention only three; namely, the Sacrament of Baptiſme, the Sacrament of Penance, and the Sacrament of the Altar. Then, they enjoyn all Biſhops and Preachers, to teach the people committed to their charge, to believe and defend all thoſe things to be true which are comprehended in the whole body and canon of the Bible; and in the three Creeds, that of the Apoſtles, the Nicene, and the Athanaſian; without the leaſt mention of Tradition. And, to prevent ſuperſtition and idolatry, that they ſhould reſtrain the people, from 'cenſing, kneeling to, and worſhipping Images; and teach them to do it only to God, and in his honour, though it be done before Images. Finally, Purgatory is therein declared uncertain by Scripture (9).

[*G*] *He likewiſe encourag'd the tranſlation of the Bible into Engliſh.*] As it will be no ſmall ſatisfaction to the Reader, to know, what tranſlation of the Bible is hereby meant, we ſhall endeavour to give an exact account of it; and likewiſe of ſuch tranſlations as were made about this time. The *firſt* tranſlation of any part of the Holy Scriptures into Engliſh, that was committed to the preſs, was, *The New Teſtament*, tranſlated from the Greek, by William Tyndale, with the aſſiſtance of John Fry and William Roye, and printed firſt in 1526, *in octavo*. Tyndale publiſhed afterwards, in 1530, a tranſlation of the *Five Books of Moſes*; and of *Jonas* in 1531, in *octavo*— (10). An Engliſh tranſlation of the *Pſalter*, done from the Latin of Martin Bucer, was alſo publiſhed at Argentine in 1530, by Francis Foye, *8vo*. And the ſame book, together with *Jeremiah*, and the *Song of Moſes*, were likewiſe publiſhed in 1534, *12mo*, by George Joye, ſome time Fellow of Peterhouſe in Cambridge. But the firſt time *the whole Bible* appear'd in Engliſh, was in the year 1535, fol. The tranſlator and publiſher was Miles Coverdale, afterwards Biſhop of Exeter, who reviſed Tyndal's verſion, compar'd it with the originals, and ſupplied what had been left untranſlated by Tyndal. It was printed at Zurich, and dedicated by Coverdale to King Henry VIII. And this was *the Bible*, which by Cromwell's injunctions of September 1536, *was ordered to be laid in Churches.* ——— The next year, 1537, whether it was that Archbiſhop Cranmer had a mind to have Tyndal's Prologues and Notes re-printed, which had been left out in Coverdale's edition, or that the Printers thought ſuch an edition would ſell well, the Bible was printed at Paris in folio, with this title, 'The Byble, which is all the Holy Scripture, in which 'are contayned the Olde and Newe Teſtament, truelye 'and purelye tranſlated into Engliſh. By Thomas Mat'thewe.' This name of *Matthewe* is fictitious, the real author being John Rogers. In this Edition, from Geneſis to the end of the Chronicles is Tyndal's tranſlation: from thence to the end of the Apocrypha is Coverdale's; except the book of Jonas, which is Tyndal's: as is alſo the whole New Teſtament. In 1538, a reſolution was taken to reviſe this edition of Matthewe's, and to print it again without the Prologues or annotations, at which great offence was pretended to be taken, as containing matters heretical, and very ſcandalous and defamatory. For this purpoſe Grafton and Whitchurch were employed, who, becauſe there were at that time in France better Printers and Paper than could be had here in England, procured the King's Letters to the French King for liberty to print it at Paris. Accordingly they had the Royal Licence for ſo doing, and had almoſt finiſhed their deſign, when by an order of the Inquiſition dated December 17, 1538, the Printers were forbidden under canonical pains to print the ſaid Engliſh Bible, and being carried before the Inquiſition, were charged with hereſy. The Engliſh who were there to correct the preſs, and take care of the impreſſion, were all forced to fly, and the impreſſion, conſiſting of two thouſand five hundred books, was ſeized and confiſcated. But by the encouragement of the Lord Cromwell, ſome of the Engliſh returned to Paris, and got the preſſes, Letters, and printing ſervants, and brought them over to London, where they reſum'd the work; which was finiſh'd, and publiſh'd in 1539, with this title, 'The 'Byble in Englyſhe, that is to ſay the content of all

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(*s*) Pat. 28 Hen. VIII. p. 1. Stow's Annales, p. 573.

(*t*) Ibid. and Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 371.

(*u*) Stow, ubi ſupra. The Lord Cromwell had a particular ſeal for this his new office. N. Sanders *de Schiſmate Anglicano*, edit. Colon. Agrippin. 1610, 8vo, p. 151.

(*w*) See Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformat. P. i. 2d edit. p. 213; and Collier's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſtory, Vol. II. ed. 1714, p. 104.

(*x*) Idem, p. 122, &c. and Fuller's Church Hiſtory, Book v. p. 213, &c.

(*y*) Fox, p. 1094. Collier, as above, p. 129, 130; and Lord Herbert, as above, p. 204.

(4) Sir W. Dugdale's Antiquit. of Warwickſhire, Vol. II. edit. 1730, p. 1112, &c.

(5) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. vi. p. 318, edit. 1655.

(6) See Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II, p. 155, 157, &c.

(7) Statut. 31 Hen. VIII. c. 10.

(8) King Henry VIIIth's Commiſſion in allowance of the Deputation made by Cromwell. Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. Collect. of Records, No. XXX, p. 20.

9) See Fuller, urnet, and Col- er, as quoted a- ove.

(10) Hall ſays he tranſlated alſo, *Joſhua, Judicum, Ruth*, the books of *Kings*, the books of *Paralipomenon*, and *Nehemiah*, or the firſt of *Eſdras*; but, if he tranſlated theſe, it does not appear they were ever printed. Hall's Chronicle, in Henry VIII, fol. 227.

that one, of the largeſt volume, ſhould be provided for every pariſh-church, at the joint charge of the Parſon and Pariſhioners (z). Theſe ſeveral alterations, made by Cromwell's contrivance in the eſtabliſh'd Religion of thoſe times; together with the diſſolution of the Monaſteries; and, (notwithſtanding the immenſe riches gotten from thence,) his demanding at the ſame time for the King Subſidies, both from the Clergy and Laity, occaſioned very great murmurs againſt him (a). No wonder, therefore, that the rebels of Yorkſhire demanded among other things, that the Lord Crumwell ſhould be brought to ' condigne ponyſment, as one of the ſubverters of the gud lawes of the Realm (b).' However, ſo far was the popular clamour from prejudicing, that it rather ſerved to eſtabliſh him in the King's eſteem. For, in the year 1537, his Majeſty conſtituted him chief Juſtice itinerant of all the Foreſts beyond Trent (c): And on the 26th of Auguſt, the ſame year, he was elected Knight of the Garter (d); as alſo Dean of the Cathedral Church of Wells (e). The year following, he obtain'd a grant of the caſtle and Lordſhip of Okeham in the county of Rutland; and was alſo made Conſtable of Caresbrook-caſtle in the Iſle of Wight (f). In September, he put forth new Injunctions, directed to all Biſhops and Curates (g), wherein he ordered, that a Bible of the largeſt volume in Engliſh, ſhould be ſet up in ſome convenient place in every Church, where the pariſhioners might moſt commodiouſly reſort to read the ſame: That the Clergy ſhould, every ſunday and holiday, openly and plainly recite to their pariſhioners, twice or thrice together, one article of the Lord's Prayer, or Creed, in Engliſh, that they might learn the ſame by heart: That they ſhould make, or cauſe to be made, in their Churches, one Sermon every quarter of a year at leaſt, wherein they ſhould purely and ſincerely declare the very Goſpel of Chriſt, and exhort their hearers to the works of charity, mercy, and faith; not to pilgrimages, kiſſing or licking of Images, &c. That they ſhould forthwith take down all Images, to which pilgrimages or offerings were wont to be made: That in all ſuch Benefices whereupon they were not themſelves reſident, they ſhould appoint able Curates: That they, and every Parſon, Vicar, or Curate, ſhould for every Church keep one book of Regiſter, wherein they ſhould write the day and year of every Wedding, Chriſtening, and Burying, within their Pariſh; and therein ſet every perſon's name that ſhall be ſo wedded, chriſtened, or buried, &c [H]. Having been thus highly inſtrumental in promoting a Reformation, and in pulling down, for the three years paſt, the Monaſteries in this Kingdom; he was amply rewarded by the King, in 1539, with many noble Manors and large Eſtates [I] that had belonged to thoſe diſſolv'd Houſes (h). On the 17th of April, the ſame year, he was advanc'd to the dignity of Earl of Eſſex (i); and ſoon after conſtituted Lord High Chamberlain of England [K]. The ſame day he was created Earl of Eſſex, he procured Gregory his ſon to be made Baron Cromwell of Okeham (k). On the 12th of March 1540, he was put in commiſſion with others, to ſell the Abbey-Lands, at twenty years

(z) Collier, ibid. p. 150.

(a) Lord Herbert, p. 205.

(b) Speed's Chr. edit. 1614, p. 775.

(c) Pat. 29 Hen. VIII, p. 1.

(d) Stow's Annales, p. 575.

(e) Whart. Angl. Sacra, edit. 1691, Vol. I. p. 590; and Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 177.

(f) Pat. 30 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(g) Fox, as above, p. 1096. Collier's Eccleſ. Vol. II. p. 150.

(h) Dugdale, Vol. II. p. 371.

(i) Ibid. p. 372.

(k) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. edit. 1655, B. v. p. 235. But Sir W. Dugdale ſays, he was not created a Baron till Decemb. 18, 1540. Baronage, Vol. II. p. 374.

' the holy Scripture, bothe of the olde and newe Teſtament, truly tranſlated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes by the dylygent ſtudye of dyverſe excellent learned men, expert in the forſayde tonges.' Printed by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch. fol. — This was *the Bible of the largeſt Volume*, which was ordered to be ſet up in every Church. The Pſalms in our Liturgy, are of this tranſlation, with ſome few alterations (11).

[H] *Every perſon's name that ſhall be ſo wedded, chriſtened, or buried.*] There are among them two other Injunctions, that deſerve to be taken notice of. One is, ' Item, yee ſhall diſcourage no man, prively ' nor apertly, from the reading or hearing of the Bible, ' but ſhal expreſly provoke, ſtirre, and exhort every ' perſon to reade the ſame, as that which is the very ' lively word of God, that every Chriſten perſon is ' bounden to embrace, beleeve, and follow, if he ' looke to be ſaved.'—The other is as follows, ' Item, ' foraſmuch as by a lawe eſtabliſhed, every man is ' bound to pay his tithes, no man ſhall, by colour of ' duty omitted by their Curates, deteine their Tithes, ' and ſo redub one wrong with another, or be his owne ' judge, but ſhall truly pay the ſame as hath ben accuſtomed to their parſons and curates, without any ' reſtraint or diminution (12).'

[I] *He was rewarded by the King, in* 1539, *with many noble Manors, and large Eſtates.*] For, on the 10th of April, he obtained a grant from the King, in fee, of the diſſolv'd Monaſtery of St Oſythes in Eſſex, with all the houſes, buildings, Church, and other appurtenances thereunto belonging: as alſo of the manors and Lordſhip of Chich St Oſythes, Barnton, Coketwyke, Wigburgh, Erles-hall, Weſtwyke, Howyke, Lewyke, Wyerſhall alias Withſton-hall; Cannon, alias Can, hall; Abbots-hall, Coſt, or Coſted, hall; Mileend-hall, Broke-hall, and Birch-hall; with Horſey, and all and ſingular their members, parcel of the poſſeſſions of the ſame monaſtery of St Oſythes. Likewiſe, of the manor or Lordſhip of Chalwedon in Eſſex, parcel of the poſſeſſions of the hoſpital of our Lady, without Biſhopſgate in London: as alſo of the manors and Lordſhips of Tolleſbury, High-hall, Abbeſſe-hall, and Hockley, in the ſaid County of Eſſex, parcel of the poſſeſſions of the monaſterey of Berkyng. And of the manor of Gorewells in Tolkſbury, parcel of the poſſeſſions of the monaſtry of Bileigh near Maldon in Eſſex. Likewiſe of the manors of Wileghe, Brykelſey, Picheſaye, Mondone, and Grynſtede in the ſame County, parcel of the poſſeſſions of the monaſtery of St John in Colcheſter. Alſo of the manors of Dedham, and Langham in the ſame county, with the manor and Lordſhip of Stratford in Suffolk. And alſo of the whole ſcite of the Grey Friers in Yarmouth in Norfolk, with all the houſes and buildings thereunto belonging; together with a multitude of other Lands, and advowſons of Churches, which did belong to ſome one or other of the then ſuppreſſed Religious Houſes (13).

[K] *He was advanc'd to the dignity of Earl of Eſſex, and ſoon after conſtituted Lord High-Chamberlain of England.*] Henry Bourchier, the laſt Earl of Eſſex of that ſurname, broke his neck, March the 12th 1539, by a fall from a young unruly horſe; leaving only one daughter: And the 19th of the ſame month, died John de Vere Earl of Oxford Lord Chamberlain (14). But Cromwell's aſpiring after, or even accepting of, theſe two great Honours, procured him a great deal of envy and ill-will. For there were ſeveral branches of the noble family of Bourchier then in being, who might think they had a right to the Dignity of Earl of Eſſex. And, the office of Lord High-Chamberlain of England had been for many years hereditary in the ancient and honourable Family of the De Veres Earls of Oxford; ſo that the heirs of it could not but be highly incens'd againſt the Lord Cromwell, for robbing them of what their Anceſtors had ſo long enjoyed.

(11) This account is taken from Mr J. Lewis's Hiſt. of the Engliſh tranſlations of the Bible, prefixed to his edit. of J. Wickliff's tranſlation of the New Teſtament, fol. Lond. 1731, p. 15—31.

(12) J. Fox, p. 1096, 1097.

(13) Pat. 31 Hen. VIII, p. 5. See Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 372.

(14) Stow's Annal. p. 579.

[L] During

years purchaſe (*l*): which was a thing he had adviſed the King to do, in order to ſtop the clamours of the people; to attach them to his intereſt; and to bring them to a liking of the diſſolution of the Monaſteries (*m*). Hitherto the Lord Cromwell had ſail'd with a proſperous gale, and was arrived to a very high degree of Honour. But an unhappy precaution he took, to ſecure (as he imagin'd) his greatneſs, prov'd his ruin; and the higher he was rais'd, the more ſudden and dangerous was his fall. Obſerving that ſome of his moſt inveterate enemies, particularly Stephen Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, began to be more in favour at Court than himſelf, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to procure a marriage between King Henry and Anne of Cleves: For he expected a great ſupport from a Queen of his own making; and as her friends were all Lutherans, it tended very much, as he imagined, to bring down the Popiſh party at Court, and again to recover the ground, he and Cranmer had now loſt (*n*). But, ſee the ſhortneſs of human policy! this very thing wherein he plac'd his ſafety, was his certain deſtruction. For the King, who was very nice in love-affairs, not liking the Queen, he took an invincible averſion to Cromwell the great promoter of the marriage; and ſoon found an opportunity to ſacrifice him to his own reſentment, and to the malice and revenge of his enemies. Many circumſtances concurr'd to his ruin. He was odious to all the Nobility by reaſon of his low birth: hated particularly by Stephen Gardiner, and the Roman Catholicks, for having been ſo buſy in the diſſolution of the Abbies: the Reformers themſelves found he could not protect them from burning: and the nation in general was highly incens'd againſt him, for his having lately demanded and obtained (*o*) a ſubſidy of four ſhillings in the pound from the Clergy, and one Tenth and one Fifteenth from the Laity; notwithſtanding the immenſe ſums that had lately flowed into the Treaſury out of the Monaſteries. King Henry conſidering this, and having beſides divers Articles brought againſt him, reſolved to give him up, judging him no longer neceſſary. Therefore he gave way to all his enemies accuſations, which could not but be material; it being impoſſible, that any man who meddled ſo much in great and public affairs, ſhould not in ſeveral inſtances ſo miſtake, forget, and err, as to lay himſelf open to the law, when ſevere inquiſition was made againſt him. The King having gotten ſufficient proof againſt Cromwell, cauſed him to be arreſted at the Council-table, by the Duke of Norfolk, on the 10th of June, when he leaſt ſuſpected it. However, he obey'd, and was committed to the Tower, though judging his ruin the more certain, becauſe the Duke was uncle to the Lady Catharine Howard, whom the King began now to be in love with (*p*). During his impriſoment he writ a Letter to the King [*L*], to vindicate himſelf of the guilt of treaſon, whereof he was accuſed (*q*); and another to the ſame (*r*), concerning his marriage with Anne of Cleves [*M*]. But all his entreaties, and endeavours for pardon, were

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[*L*] *During his impriſonment he writ a Letter to the King*] Wherein he ſtrenuouſly vindicates himſelf of the Crimes laid to his charge, in the following words.———— ‘Wher I have bene accuſyd to your Majeſtye of Treaſon. To that I ſay, I never in alle my lyſe thought wyllingly to do that thyng that myght or ſholde diſpleaſe your Majeſty; and much leſſ to do or ſay that thyng, which of itſelf is ſo high and abhominable offence; as God knowyth, who I doubt not ſhall reveale the trewthe to your Highnes. Myne accuſers your Grace knowyth, God forgive them: For, as I ever have had love to your honor, perſon, lyfe, proſperitye, helthe, welthe, joy, and comfort; and alſo your moſt dere and moſt entyerly belovyd ſone, the Prynce his Grace, and your proceedyngs; God ſo helpe me in this myne adverſitie, and conffound me yf ever I thought the contrary. What labours, paynes, and travailes I have taken, according to my moſt bounden deutye, God alſo knowyth. For, yf it were in my power, (as it is Godds) to make your Mageſtye to live ever young, and proſperous, God knowyth I woolde. If it hadde bene, or were in my power to make yow ſo ryche, as ye myght enrych alle men, God helpe me, as I wolde do hit. If it had bene, or were in my power to make your Mageſty ſo puyſſant, as alle the world ſholde be compellyd to obey yow, Chriſt he knowyth I wolde; for ſo am I of alle othyr moſt bounde: for your Mageſtye hath bene the moſt bountiful Prynce to me, that ever was Kyng to his Subject: ye, and more like a dere Father (your Mageſtye not offendyed) than a Maſter. Such hath bene your moſt grave and godly counſayle towards me, at ſundry tymes. In that I have offendid I ax yow mercy. Should I now, for ſuch exceeding goodneſſ, benygnyte, liberalitie and bounty be your Traytor, nay then the greateſt paynes were too little for me. Should any faccyon, or any affeccyon to any point make me a Traytor to your Mageſtie, then all the Devylls in Hell confound me, and the Vengeance of God light upon me, yf I ſholde once have thought yt, moſt gracious Soverayn Lord.————

————‘Sir, as to your Common welthe, I have aftyr my wytte, power, and knowledge, travayled therein, havyng had no reſpect to perſons (your Mageſtye only except) and my dewtye to the ſame: but that I have don any Injuſtice, or Wrong, wylfully, I truſt God ſhall bere my wytnes, and the world not able juſtly to accuſe me.————

———‘Nevertheles, Sir, I have medelyd in ſo many matyers, under your Highnes, that I am not able to anſwer them all. But one thyng I am well aſſured of of; that willingly and wyttingly I have not had wille to offend your Highneſs: but hard it is for me, or any other, medelyng, as I have done, to live under your Grace, and your Laws, but we muſt davlie offend.'————After which, he proceeds to clear himſelf of ſome particular matters laid to his charge.— And concludes the whole in theſe words.—

‘Wryten with the quaking hand, and moſt ſorrowful heart of your moſt ſorrowful Subject, and moſt humble ſervant and pryſoner, this Saturday at your Tower of London.' (15). The King cauſed this Letter to be thrice read, and ſeemed touched with it. But the charms of Catherine Howard, and the endeavours of the Duke of Norfolk, and of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, prevailed (16).

[*M*] *He writ another Letter to the King, concerning his marriage with Anne of Cleves.*] This he writ by the King's expreſs order, on purpoſe to declare, what he knew of that marriage. Among other things, he ſays, That after the King had ſeen her at Rocheſter, he told him [Cromwell] ‘That if he had known ſo much before as he then knew, ſhe ſhould not have come within this realm.' Saying by way of lamentation, ‘what remedy?' And, the day after the marriage, his Majeſty told him, ‘I liked her before not well, but now I like her much worſe; for, I have felt her belly, and her breaſts, and thereby, as I can judge, ſhe ſhould be no maid; which ſtruck me ſo to the heart when I felt them, that I had neither ‘will

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(*l*) Fœdera, Conventiones, &c. publiſhed by T. Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 653.

(*m*) See Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. P. i. 2d edit. p. 222.

(*n*) Burnet, as above, p. 271.

(*o*) He extorted it from them, *extorſit ab ordinibus*, ſays Sanders, *de Schiſmate Anglicano*, as above, p. 183. He ſays in the ſame place, that it was one Tenth and four Fifteenths; but the Rolls of Parliament are more to be credited than ſuch a prejudiced writer.

(*p*) Lord Herbert, as above, p. 222, 223. Stow's Annales p. 580. This laſt author ſays, he was arreſted the 9th of July. And Fox places it under the year 1541, p. 1189. But they are both miſtaken.

(*q*) The original is in Cotton Libr. Titus B. 1; and thence printed in Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 372, 373.

(*r*) From the original in Cotton. Libr. Otho C. 10. 'tis printed in Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. P. i. Collect. of Rec. to B. iii. p. 193, 2d edit.

(15) Cot. Libr. Titus B. i. See Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 372, 373.

(16) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Ref. P. i. p. 284.

were ineffectual. And, as he had himſelf ſervilely complied with the King's pleaſure, in procuring ſome to be attainted without being admitted to anſwer for themſelves, ſo he now fell under the ſame unjuſtifiable ſeverity. For, whether it was that his enemies knew, if he were brought to the Bar, he would ſo juſtify himſelf, by producing the King's orders and warrants for what he had done (*s*), that it would be very difficult to condemn him: or that they blindly reſolved to follow that moſt vile precedent (*t*), of condemning a perſon unheard; the bill of Attainder was brought into the Houſe of Lords the 17th of June, and read the firſt time, and on the 19th was read the ſecond and third times, and ſent down to the Commons. Here it did not paſs with the ſame rapidity as it had done in the Upper Houſe, but ſtuck ten days. At laſt, a new Bill of Attainder was ſent up to the Lords, framed in the Houſe of Commons: And they ſent back at the ſame time the Bill, the Lords had ſent to them (*u*). What were the grounds of his condemnation, as expreſſed in the Bill of Attainder, may be ſeen in the Note [*N*]. Like other falling favourites, he was deſerted by moſt of his friends, except the worthy Archbiſhop Cranmer, who writ to the King very warmly in his behalf (*w*) [*O*]. But the Duke of Norfolk, and the reſt of the Popiſh party, prevailed; and, accordingly, in purſuance of his attainder, the Lord Cromwell was brought to a Scaffold erected on Tower-hill, where, after having made a Speech [*P*], and prayed, he was beheaded, July the 28th 1540 (*x*). Thus fell Thomas Lord Cromwell,

'will nor courage to proceed any farther in other matters; ſaying, I have left her as good a maid as I 'found her.' This Letter concludes with theſe words, '———— beſeeching moſt humbly your Grace to 'pardon this my rude writing, and to conſider that 'I a moſt woful priſoner, ready to take the death, 'when it ſhall pleaſe God and your Majeſty; and yet 'the frail fleſh inciteth me continually to call to your 'Grace for mercy and grace for mine offences; and 'thus Chriſt ſave, preſerve, and keep you.

'Written at the Tower this Wedneſday, the laſt of 'June, with the heavy heart, and trembling hand, 'of your Highneſs's moſt heavy and moſt miſerable 'priſoner, and poor ſlave. T. C. Moſt gracious 'Prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy (17).'

[*N*] *The grounds of his condemnation are expreſſed in the bill of Attainder.*] And are as follows. 1. That his Majeſty having received Thomas Cromwell, a man of very baſe and low degree, into his ſervice, advanc'd him to the eſtate of an Earl, and very much enriched him, yet the ſaid Tho. Cromwell had proved the moſt falſe and corrupt Traitor and Deceiver that had been known in that reign. 2. That he had ſet at liberty, without the King's command or aſſent, ſeveral perſons convicted and attainted of miſpriſion of Treaſon, and others that were impriſoned for ſuſpicion of treaſon. 3. That he had, for money, granted great numbers of Licences or paſſports, for carrying money, corn, horſes, tallow, metals, *&c.* out of the kingdom, without any ſearch. 4. That he had appointed, and deputed, Commiſſioners, in many great, urgent, and weighty affairs, without the King's knowledge or conſent. 5. That he pretended to have ſo great a ſtroke abont the King, as that he did not ſcruple boaſting, 'That he was ſure of him.' 6. That being a deteſtable Heretic, he had ſecretly ſet forth and diſperſed throughout the Kingdom, great numbers of falſe erroneous Books, written againſt the Sacrament of the altar. 7. That being the King's Vicegerent, he had, without his Majeſty's aſſent and knowledge, licenſed under the Seal of his office, ſeveral perſons detected and ſuſpected of hereſies, to preach openly within this realm. 8. That he had cauſed Sheriffs, and other perſons, to ſet at large many Hereticks, ſome of whome were indicted, and others apprehended, and in cuſtody: and being a maintainer and ſupporter of Heretics, had divers times terribly rebuked their accuſers, and perſecuted and impriſoned ſome of thoſe accuſers. 9. That he had great numbers of Retainers, which he had infected with Hereſies. 10. That when Robert Barnes, and others of the new Preachers, were proſecuted and impriſoned, he the ſaid Thomas Cromwell, hearing of it, ſaid, on the laſt day of March 1539, 'If the King would 'turn from it*, yet I would not turn; And if the King 'did turn, and all his people, I would fight in the 'field in mine own perſon, with my ſword in my hand 'againſt him and all others.' And then pulling out his dagger, and holding it up, he added, 'Or elſe this 'Dagger thruſt me to the heart, if I would not die in 'that quarrel againſt them all: And I truſt, if I live 'one year or two, it ſhould not lie in the King's 'power, to reſiſt or let it, if he would.' And then ſwearing a great oath, he ſaid, 'I will do ſo indeed.' 11. That on the laſt day of January, 1539, being put in mind, how others guilty of the ſame treaſon as himſelf (†), had been ſerved by the Parliament, he declared, 'That if the Lords would handle him ſo, he 'would give them ſuch a Breakfaſt as never was made 'in England, and *That* the proudeſt of them ſhould 'know.' 12. Finally, That he had acquired innumerable ſums of Money and Treaſure, by oppreſſion, bribery, and extortion, which made him deſpiſe the reſt of the Nobility (18).

[*O*] *Archbiſhop Cranmer writ very warmly to the King in his behalf.*] In his Letter he hath theſe expreſſions———— 'Who cannot but be ſorrowful and 'amaz'd that he ſhould be a Traitor againſt your Majeſty? He that was ſo advanc'd by your Majeſty; he 'whoſe ſurety was only by your Majeſty; he *who 'lov'd your Majeſty* (as I ever thought) *no leſs than 'God*; he who ſtudied always to ſet forward whatſoever was your Majeſties will and pleaſure; he that 'car'd for no man's diſpleaſure to ſerve your Majeſty; 'he that was ſuch a ſervant, in my judgment, in Wiſdom, Diligence, Faithfulneſs, and Experience, as 'no Prince in this realm ever had; he that was ſo vigilant to preſerve your Majeſty from all Treaſons, 'that few could be ſo ſecretly conceiv'd, but he detected the ſame in the beginning? If the noble Princes of happy memory, K. John, Henry II. and 'Richard II had had ſuch a Counſellor about them, 'I ſuppoſe they ſhould never have been ſo traiterouſly 'abandoned, and overthrown, as thoſe good Princes 'were (19)'.

[*P*] *After having made a Speech.*] Which was as follows. 'I am come hether to dye, & not to purge 'myſelf, as maie happen ſome thynke that I will, for 'if I ſhould ſo do, I wer a very wretche & miſer: I am 'by the Law condempned to die, & thanke my Lord 'God that hath appoynted me this deathe, for myne 'offence: For ſithence the tyme that I had yeres of 'diſcretion, I have lived a ſinner, & offended my 'Lorde God, for the whiche I aſke hym hartely forgevenes. And it is not unknowne to many of you, 'that I have been a greate traveler in this worlde, and 'beyng but of a baſe degree, was called to high eſtate, 'and ſithens the tyme I came thereunto, I have offended my prince, for the which I aſke hym hartely 'forgevenes, & beſeche you all to praie to God 'with me, that he will forgeve me. O father forgeve me. O ſonne forgeve me. O holy ghoſt forgeve me. O thre perſons in one God forgeve me. 'And now I praie you that be here, to beare me record, I die in the Catholike faithe, not doubtyng in 'any article of my faith, no nor doubtyng in any Sacrament of the Churche. Many hath ſclaundered me, '& reported, that I have been a bearer of ſuch as 'have mainteigned evill opinions, whiche is untrue, 'but I confeſſe, that like as God by his holy ſpirite 'doth inſtruct us in the truthe, ſo the devill is redy to 'ſeduce us, and I have been ſeduced: but beare me 'witnes that I dye in the Catholicke faithe of the 'holy Churche. And I hartely deſire you to praie 'for

(*s*) *Sanderus de Schiſmate Anglic.* as above, p. 187.

(*t*) A precedent ſet them by Cromwell himſelf, in the attainders of the Marchioneſs of Exeter, the Counteſs of Saliſbury, Elizabeth Barton, *&c.* Burnet, as above, P. i. p. 359, 360.

(*u*) Burnet, Hiſt. of the Reformat. P. i. p. 277, of the 2d edit.

(*w*) June 14, Lord Herbert, as above, p. 223.

(*x*) J. Fox, as above, p. 1190.

(17) Cot. Libr. Otho C. 10, and Burnet's Collect. of Rec. to Hiſt. of the Ref. P. i. B. iii. No. 17, p. 193. Beſides theſe two letters there are others printed in the ſame Collect. of Records: and in Strype's Eccl. Mem. Vol. I.

(*) *i. e.* The new preaching, or the Doctrine of Proteſtants.

(†) Cardinal Wolſey, *&c.*

(18) Parliament Rolls, 32 Hen. VIII. Act 60. See Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Collect. of Rec. at the end of P. i. p. 187, 2d edit.

(19) Lord Herbert, as above, p. 223.

Cromwell, under the weight of his fickle and cruel Maſter's diſpleaſure, King Henry VIII; after he had ſerv'd him, with great faithfulneſs, courage, and reſolution, in the moſt hazardous, difficult, and important Undertakings. But, it was that Prince's method, to take Favourites from the meaneſt of people, who being leſs ſcrupulous than others, and wholly intent upon their own advancement, obey'd his will without reſerve; and then, to content his ſubjects, he would readily ſacrifice them to their reſentment. As for the Lord Cromwell's character, 'tis no wonder, that, betweeen Papiſts and Proteſtants, it ſhould be ſo various. The firſt repreſent him, as a crafty, cruel, ambitious, and covetous man; and a heretic (*y*). The latter aſſure us, that he was a perſon of great wit, and excellent parts, joined to extraordinary diligence and induſtry (*z*): That his apprehenſion was quick and clear; his judgment methodical and ſolid; his memory ſtrong and rational; his tongue fluent and pertinent; his preſence ſtately and obliging; his heart large and noble; his temper patient and cautious; his correſpondence well laid and conſtant; his converſation inſinuating and cloſe: None more dexterous in finding out the deſigns of men and courts; and none more reſerved in keeping a ſecret (*a*). Tho' he was raiſed from the meaneſt condition to a high pitch of honour, he carryed his greatneſs with wonderful temper (*b*); being noted in the exerciſe of his places of judicature, to have uſed much moderation, and in his greateſt pomp to have taken notice of, and been thankful to mean perſons of his old acquaintance (*c*) [*Q*]. In his whole behaviour, he was courteous and affable to all; a favourer in particular of the poor in their ſuits; and ready to relieve ſuch as were in danger of being oppreſſed by their mighty adverſaries (*d*); and ſo very hoſpitable and bountiful, that above two hundred perſons were ſerved, at the gate of his houſe in Throgmorton-ſtreet London, twice every day, with bread, meat, and drink ſufficient (*e*). He was one of the chief inſtruments in the Reformation of Religion; and tho' he could not prevent the promulgation, he ſtopp'd the execution as far as he could, of the bloody Act of the Six Articles (*f*). But when the King's command preſſed him cloſe, he was not firm enough to hazard his own intereſt, or perſon; as was manifeſt, from his concurring in the condemnation and cruel burning of John Lambert (*g*). As he was good abroad, ſo was he alſo at home; calling upon his ſervants yearly, to give him an account of what they had got under him, and what they deſired of him; warning them to improve their opportunities; becauſe he ſaid, he was too great to ſtand long; providing for them as carefully, as for his own ſon, by his purſe and credit, that they might live as handſomely when he was dead, as they did when he was alive (*h*). In a word, we are aſſured, that for piety towards God, fidelity to his King, prudence in the management of affairs, gratitude to his benefactors, dutifulneſs, charity, and benevolence, there was not any one then ſuperior to him England (*i*).

(*y*) *Fuit Thomas Cromuelus homo vafer, crudelis, ambitioſus & avarus, hæreſi etiam deditus.* Sanders, as above, p. 91.

(*z*) Stow's Annales, p. 580, 581.

(*a*) D Lloyd, &c. as above, p. 59. from the notes of T. Cromwell, Eſq; one of his poſterity.

(*b*) Burnet, Hiſt. of the Reform. P. i. p. 284.

(*c*) Lord Herbert, p. 225.

(*d*) Holinſhed, Chron. p. 952.

(*e*) Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's addit. Lond. 1720, Vol. I. B i. p. 245, and B. ii. p. 117.

(*f*) Burnet, as above, P. i. p. 265, 266. Strype's Eccl. Memor. Vol. I. p. 353.

(*g*) Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 180; and Fox, as above, p. 1123.

(*h*) D. Lloyd, as above, p. 64, 65

(*i*) *Quo non fuit aut religione erga Deum, aut fidelitate in regem, aut prudentia in Rempublic. aut in benemeritos gratitudine, aut in omnes pietate, charitate, ac benevolentia majore tunc in Anglia quiſquam.* De Antiq. Britan. Eccl. Hanoviæ, 1605, p. 334, 335.

'for the Kynges grace, that he maie long live with 'you, in healthe and proſperitie. And after him that 'his ſonne Prince Edward, that goodly ympe maie 'long reigne over you. And once again I deſire you 'to pray for me, that ſo long as life remaigneth in 'this fleſhe, I waver nothyng in my faithe (20).'

[*Q*] *And been thankful to mean perſons of his old acquaintance.*] This is repreſented in a very agreeable and advantagious light by Shakeſpear, under the character of Goodman Seely, and his wife Joan (21): But more truly by J. Fox, in the account he gives of a poor woman that kept a victualling houſe at Hounſlow; to whom Cromwell owing forty ſhillings before he arriv'd to his greatneſs, he not only repay'd her that ſum, but alſo gave a yearly penſion of four pounds, and a livery every year while ſhe lived. He likewiſe takes notice, of his generoſity to the ſon of a poor man, who had given him many a meal's meat in his youth (22). His *Gratitude* was alſo very remarkable, in the caſe of Francis Freſcobald (or Friſkibal, as Shakeſpear calls him). This Freſcobald was an eminent Florentine merchant, who handſomely reliev'd Cromwell in Italy, when he was reduc'd to the utmoſt diſtreſs and poverty, after the defeat of the French Army at Caſtiglione: He not only furniſh'd him with clothes, and a horſe, but alſo with ſixteen ducats of gold, to carry him back to England. Freſcobald being afterwards reduc'd to poverty; Or, as Shakeſpear expreſſes it (23),———

Fortune that turns her too unconſtant wheel,
Having turn'd his wealth and riches in the ſea,

he came over to England, where he had had conſiderable dealings, to endeavour to recover fifteen thouſand ducats, that were due to him from ſeveral perſons. The Lord Cromwell finding him out, aſſiſted him in recovering his dues, and not only repaid him the ſixteen ducats above-mentioned, but alſo made him a preſent of ſixteen hundred more (24). However, I cannot conclude the Lord Cromwell's character, without obſerving, That J. Stow the famous hiſtorian complains (25), He took a piece of ground from his father, to enlarge his own garden in Throgmorton-ſtreet, without making him any ſatisfaction. Whereupon he makes this pertinent remark, That the ſudden riſing of ſome men, cauſeth them to forget themſelves.

C

(20) Hall's Chr. edit. 1550, in Hen. VIII. fol. ccxlii. and J. Fox, as above, p. 1190.

(21) Life and Death of Tho. Lord Cromwell, by W. Shakeſpear.

(22) Acts and Monuments, ut ſupra, p. 1186, 1187.

(23) Ubi ſupra.

(24) Fox, p. 1186, 1187.

(25) In his Survey of London.

CROMWELL (Oliver), who raiſed himſelf to the poſſeſſion of the ſupreme power, under the title of Protector of the Commonwealth of England, was equally remarkable for his great military ſkill, by which he obtained ſo many victories in the field, and by his amazing abilities in the cabinet, which enabled him to overcome all oppoſition at home, and to ſtrike even the moſt powerful nations abroad with terror. He was very honourably deſcended, both by his father and his mother, from families of great antiquity; and which had produced perſons of diſtinguiſhed reputation, both for arms and arts, as may be ſufficiently proved by indiſputable evidence (*a*) [*A*]. It is the more neceſſary to deliver

(*a*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament of England. B. III. p. 79. Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 88.

[*A*] *By indiſputable evidence.*] It has been ſo generally ſaid, and authors have ſo frequently tranſcribed it one from another, that, if no check be given to it in time, it will paſs for an unqueſtionable truth with poſterity, not only that the name of this family was originally Williams, but that Sir Richard Cromwell, who deliver the leſs known points of his hiſtory copiouſly and clearly, becauſe, through envy on one ſide, flattery on the other, and ſtrong prejudices upon both, it may be truly ſaid, that more of falſehood and fable is to be met with in the accounts given of him in our own (*b*), as well as foreign languages (*c*), than of almoſt any other perſon living ſo near our own times [*B*]. He was the ſon of Mr Robert Cromwell, who was the ſecond ſon

who may be eſteemed the founder of it, was ſiſter's ſon to Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Eſſex, Prime-Miniſter and favourite to Henry VIII; and that this Knight owed all his fortunes to the intereſt of that potent nobleman (1). The ſtory commonly told is this, that Morgan Williams, of an ancient family in Wales, married the ſiſter of Thomas Lord Cromwell, by whom he had a ſon, Richard, who took his uncle's name of Cromwell, who was afterwards knighted by King Henry, from whom he received large grants of Abbey-lands in Huntingdonſhire; that this Sir Richard Williams, or Cromwell, married Frances the daughter of Sir Thomas Murfyn, by whom he had a ſon Henry, knighted by Queen Elizabeth, in the ſixth year of her reign; which Sir Henry, marrying Joan, daughter and heireſs of Sir Ralph Warren, became the father of ſix ſons, the ſecond of which was the father of Oliver, of whom we are ſpeaking (2). There is no doubt that this notion prevailed in the life-time of the Protector; for we find it mentioned in that hiſtory of him, which was publiſhed but a year after his death. Some points in this genealogy have been filed and brightened up by that eminent Antiquary Sir William Dugdale (3); yet he ſeems to be not at all clear as to the very beginning of the tale: for he takes notice that ſome ſaid, the Lord Cromwell, afterwards Earl of Eſſex, married a Williams, but he rejecting this, without citing authority, ſuppoſes, that one Mr Williams married Lord Cromwell's ſiſter, and ſo goes on with the ſtory, which has been already told. Dr Goodman, Biſhop of Glouceſter, who turned Papiſt, and was very deſirous of making his court to the Protector, dedicated a book to him (4); and beſides, preſented him with a printed paper, by which he pretended to ſcrape kindred with him, as being himſelf ſome way allied to Thomas, Earl of Eſſex; but the Protector, with ſome paſſion, told him, that Lord was not related to his family in any degree (5). If therefore he knew any thing of his own family, this ſtory, though ſo very well told, cannot be true. It is much more probable, that the father of Sir Richard Cromwell, ſuppoſed to be the nephew of the Earl of Eſſex, was Thomas Cromwell, Eſq; who was Sheriff of Cambridgeſhire and Huntingdonſhire in the 28th of Henry VIII (6); and, indeed, four years afterwards we find this Sir Richard, Sheriff of the ſame counties (7), and from him there is no doubt at all that the genealogy runs right. It muſt be confeſſed, that this Gentleman had very large grants of Abbey-lands in Huntingdonſhire, to the amount, as they were then rated, of at leaſt three thouſand pounds (8) a year; but it does not follow from thence, that he muſt be related to the Lord Cromwell. Some of theſe grants are as early, in point of time, as the high favour of that great Miniſter, but none of them ſo early as the year in which Thomas Cromwell, Eſq; was Sheriff, which makes it probable he was his father, and that, upon his demiſe, Richard came to have an eſtate in the county (9). Another reaſon, which inclines me to think that Sir Richard Cromwell was no near relation or dependant upon the Earl of Eſſex, in King Henry the VIIIth's time, is this, that he received the honour of Knighthood, and ſeveral large grants, preciſely at the time of that famous Miniſter's fall, and others in ſo conſtant and regular a ſucceſſion, that there is no appearance he was ever out of King Henry's favour (10). If it be aſked, how any account can be given of the tradition, that Cromwell was ſome way related to the Earls of Eſſex, by the females, and how his family came by the name of Williams, which is unqueſtionably matter of record; my anſwer is, that a probable account may be given of both; at leaſt, a more probable account than hitherto has been given of either. It is not at all unlikely, that in Cromwell's family, more eſpecially after he became Protector, there might be frequent mention made, of a deſcent from the Earls of Eſſex by the females: but this muſt be underſtood not of himſelf, but of his wife, who was really deſcended from the Bouchiers, Earls of Eſſex (11). In reference to the ſirname of Williams, it might poſſibly ariſe from the marriage of a Gentleman of that name with the heireſs of Thomas Cromwell of Huntingdonſhire; and Sir William Dugdale renders this more probable than his own ſtory; for, in ſpeaking of John Lord Williams, of Thame in Oxfordſhire, he tells us, that he was of the ſame family with that Sir Richard Williams, who took the ſirname of Cromwell, and both of them the ſons of John Williams, of Burfield in the county of Berks (12): now this has nothing to do with Morgan Williams the Welſhman, whom he ſuppoſes to have married Lord Cromwell's ſiſter, or with the Lady of the ſame country, whom Brooke (13), and other writers, aſſert was married to Cromwell Earl of Eſſex. Neither will it be any anſwer to ſay, that this is only the miſtake of a Berkſhire family for a family of Wales, ſince there is direct evidence to prove, that Cromwell was ſo far from being any way allied to Williams of Berkſhire, that he was an enemy to, and an oppreſſor of, that family (14). Upon the whole, therefore, I ſhould rather incline to think, that this family deſcended by the females from Ralph Lord Cromwell, of Tatterſhall in Lincolnſhire, the laſt heir-male of which was Lord High-Treaſurer in the reign of King Henry the VIth; and one of his coheireſſes married Sir William Williams (15), whoſe deſcendants might afterwards take the ſirname of Cromwell, in hopes of obtaining that title which Humphry Bouchier, a younger ſon of the then Earl of Eſſex, who married the eldeſt of the coheireſſes, actually had, and was killed at Barnet field, fighting on the ſide of King Edward the IVth (16). However, if we conſider only thoſe anceſtors of Oliver Cromwell, of whom there is no diſpute, we may ſupport all that has been ſaid in the text; for Sir Richard Cromwell was a great favourite with Henry the VIIIth, and an eminent Commander in his wars (17). His ſon Sir Henry was four times Sheriff of his county, and univerſally eſteemed: as for Sir Oliver Cromwell, he gave King James the Firſt the greateſt feaſt that had been given to a King by a ſubject (18), when his Majeſty paſſed by his houſe in his way to London; and, in return, King James made him a Knight of the Bath at his coronation (19). He had a very large eſtate, and was a very loyal worthy Gentleman; lived high, and ſpent a great part of his fortune, dying in the year 1654 (20), without receiving any favours from his nephew.

[*B*] *So near our own times*] It is no great wonder, that, in the life-time of the Protector, or immediately after his deceaſe, thoſe, who had ſuffered by his power, ſhould endeavour to avenge themſelves upon his character, and even a little at the expence of truth; in this the Cavaliers, if we abate the ſtory of Colonel Lindſey, who was eye and ear-witneſs to Oliver's contract with the Devil (21), were by far the moſt modeſt; for the republican party, whom he had likewiſe humbled, kept no meaſures, but vented their ſpleen in all the malicious and groundleſs fictions they could invent. On the other hand, the courtiers of thoſe times, as in moſt other times, were egregious flatterers, ready to magnify him to the ſkies, and to ſay whatever they thought might pleaſe, though it lay ever ſo much out of the reach of truth. Amongſt others, one Mr Dawbeny undertook, in a book (22) which he dedicated to the moſt Serene Highneſs of Richard, by the Grace of God Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to draw a parallel, in thirty different ſteps, between Moſes the Man of God, and Oliver late Protector. This Gentleman, foreſeeing that ſome might object to this the profaneneſs of the deſign, apologizes for it thus, in his preface. ‘ Certainly, ſays he, this ‘ piece is not the firſt that has gone that way; we have ‘ very ſufficient precedents, and authority too, to warrant us. Have we not ſeen a compleat parallel between Elias and Dr Luther, even to the chariots of ‘ Iſrael and the horſemen thereof? and another betwixt his ſucceſſor Eliſha and Mr Calvin, to the double ‘ portion of his ſpirit? and many of our modern ‘ Doctors

(*b*) Hiſtory and Policy reviewed, in the heroick tranſactions of his moſt Serene Highneſs Oliver late Lord Protector, by Mr Dawbeny.

(*c*) La vie d'Olivier Cromwell, par l'Abbe Raguenet. Vie d'Olivier Cromwell, par Gregorio Leti.

(1) Carrington's Hiſtory of the Life and Death of Oliver, Lord Protector, Lond. 1659, 12mo. p. 3.

(2) See the Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 2, 3.

(3) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 374.

(4) The title of this book is, *The two great myſteries of Chriſtian Religion, the ineffable Trinity, and wonderful Incarnation, explicated*, Lond. 1653.

(5) Fuller's Worthies in Cambridgeſhire, p. 169.

(6) See the liſt of theſe Sheriffs in Fuller.

(7) See the ſame liſt in Fuller.

(8) Tanner's Notitia Monaſtica, p. 190, 191, 192, 193.

(9) By comparing the dates in the two authors laſt mentioned, this fact is aſcertained.

(10) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 22.

(11) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 132.

(12) Idem, ibid. p. 393.

(13) Catalogue of the Nobility, by R. B. p. 83.

(14) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 132.

(15) Idem, ibid. Vol. II. p. 46.

(16) Diſcovery of errors in Brooke's Catalogue, by Vincent, p. 184.

(17) Stowe's Survey, p. 494.

(18) Fuller's Worthies in Huntingdonſhire, p. 54.

(19) Stowe's Annals continued, by Edmund Howſe, p. 827.

(20) Fuller's Worthies, Huntingdonſhire, p. 54.

(21) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 691.

(22) The title of this book at large runs thus: *Hiſtory and Policy reviewed, in the heroic tranſactions of his moſt Serene Highneſs Oliver, late Lord Protector, from his cradle to his tomb, declaring his ſteps to princely perfection, as they are drawn in lively parallels to the aſcents of the great Patriarch Moſes, in thirty degrees, to the height of honour, by H. D.* Lond. 1659. 12mo.

ſon of Sir Henry Cromwell, of Hinchinbrooke in the county of Huntingdon, Knight, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Stewart, of the iſle of Ely, Knight (d), both of them perſons of great worth, and no way inclined to diſaffection, either in their civil or religious principles; but remarkable for living upon a ſmall fortune, with much decency, and maintaining a large family handſomely by their frugal circumſpection [C]. He was born

(d) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 88.

' Doctors put in ſcale with ſome of the Apoſtles themſelves. Nor has this way of compariſon been taken up only by Divines, in honour of their own function, but many parallels we find in print, between ſome of our late Kings, how well deſerving I ſay not, and ſome of thoſe holy Princes and Prophets of God's own people, as David, Solomon, Joſiah, Hezekiah, *&c.* And one very expreſs parallel between Queen Elizabeth, of famous memory, and that great Princeſs and Propheteſs Deborah. Then why ſhould not our late incomparable Prince and Protector ſtand as well placed in line parallel with that glorious Patriarch Moſes.' The firſt ſtep in this parallel, or, as the author calls it, the firſt aſcent, is, as to nobility of birth; and, upon this ſubject, he is very clear as to Moſes, and ſets forth his pedigree at large from the Scriptures; one would have imagined from hence, that this writer ſhould have taken care to have been perfectly maſter of Cromwell's pedigree: but, to ſhew the reader how little help is to be expected from ſuch writers, we will tranſcribe what he ſays upon this ſubject. ' I cannot ſay his late Highneſs was extracted from ſo prieſtly a family, but altogether as princely, being lineally deſcended from the loins of our moſt antient Britiſh Princes, and tied in near alliances to the blood of our later Kings, as by that thrice noble family of the Barringtons, and divers others, which, to make a pedigree of, would take up more paper than we intend for our volume, and make me appear more a Herald than an Hiſtorian. Nay, indeed, ſhould I but go about to prove his Highneſs's moſt illuſtrious houſe noble, I ſhould commit a ſacrilege in the temple of honour, and only violate his moſt glorious family with a more ſolemn infamy.' I will treſpaſs ſo far on the reader's patience, as to give him another inſtance, from an author (23) who attempted to make court to the Protector upon this ſubject, in his life-time, but in the ſame vague incoherent ſtile, promiſing mighty things, but performing nothing. ' He is well born, and of a noble and ancient extract; and hath ſo much piety of his own, ſuch virtues and honours of his own acquiſition and getting, ſo much ſplendor and glory, as might illuſtrate and dignify not only his progenitors, had they been never ſo mean and inferior, but alſo his poſterity for all ages to come, ſhould they be never ſo low and degenerated. He hath deſerved highly, and merited for all that can lay claim to his blood, or any ways derive from the ſtock and lineage of his houſe, and will leave them all very great legacies, and patrimonies of glory.' On all other topics theſe authors write juſt at the ſame rate, ſo that it is not eaſy to diſcern their ſenſe, and hardly poſſible to collect any facts from them, that are worth preſerving; yet their conduct, bad as it is, deſerves commendation rather than cenſure, when compared with the books that ſome foreigners have publiſhed. The Abbe Raguenet (24) has written a hiſtory full of faults and miſtakes, in reference to the dates and circumſtances of events, and more erroneous ſtill in the remarks and the reflections, which are very often preciſely the reverſe of what they ought to be, and what it is very apparent they would have been, had the author had a competent knowledge of the ſubject upon which he was writing. This hiſtory, however, is equally authentic and exact, in compariſon of that of Gregorio Leti (25), which is a maſter-piece in it's kind; for whereas in other works there is a greater or a leſs mixture of error, there is in this ſcarce a ſprinkling of truth; and one would really conceive it an impoſſibility for any man, capable of putting a book ſo well together, to contrive that there ſhould be ſo very little in it, I will not ſay of veracity, but of probability. He makes Oliver a prodigy of learning at the univerſity, exceedingly admired by the Biſhops, a great favourite with King James; he then ſends him over to France upon his travels, gives us a particular account of his galantries, introduces him to an audience of the French King, and an intimacy with Cardinal Richlieu. Upon his return he aſſures us. that Cromwell was highly in the good graces of Dr Williams, Biſhop of Lincoln, to whom, he ſays, he was nearly related, whereas, in fact, no man ſaw ſo early into Cromwell's bad deſigns as that Prelate, though he had no more than a general acquaintance with him. But, what is ſtill more extraordinary than all this, Mr Leti lets us into the ſecret, that the Biſhop had an amour with Cromwell's wife; though an author of the higheſt character has aſſured us, that Dr Williams was altogether incapable of any criminal act of that kind; and in the ſame ſtile, and with the like attention to truth, he perſeveres through the whole work, aſſuring us, that he wrote it during his ſtay in England; and that he took care to be perfectly well informed as to every thing which he relates; nor does he ſcruple to name the Earl of Angleſey, the Earl of Ayleſbury, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, for the authors of thoſe notorious falſehoods, which no man of common underſtanding would venture to repeat in public company, with any ſhew of giving them credit; yet weak and ſilly as it is, this book is in ſome eſteem abroad, writers very frequently borrow from it, and ſometimes we ſee it cited, which ſhews how neceſſary it is to ſet this article in a proper light, more eſpecially as we have not hitherto had any diſtinct or clear account of Cromwell's government, notwithſtanding there has been ſo much controverſy about it; for as to what we find in ſatires, panegyricks, or declamations, we ſhould be careful of miſtaking that for hiſtory, which ought to be compoſed of unqueſtionable facts, related with ſimplicity rather than ornament.

[C] *By their frugal circumſpection.*] The father of the Protector, Robert Cromwell, Eſq; lived moſtly at Huntingdon; and though a man of very good ſenſe, and of competent learning, yet ſo fond of a private life, that it does not appear he ever ſought or affected farther than being a juſtice of peace, a public ſtation (26). As to the Lady he married, ſhe has been ſaid, and not without ſome degree of truth, to have been deſcended from the royal houſe of Stuart. Her great uncle Robert Stuart, the laſt Prior of the Monaſtery, and the firſt Dean of the Cathedral Church of Ely, left behind him a very full account of his family, which is ſtill preſerved (27); and from thence it appears, that Sir James Stuart, being one of the retinue of James, Prince of Scotland, was detained with him in the year 1406, and afterwards choſe to ſettle in England; and was preferred and taken into the ſervice of Henry IV. His ſon Sir John Stuart was created a Knight of the Bath at the marriage of Henry V. His ſon Thomas Stuart addicted himſelf to the ſea, and, by the daughter of Sir John Hamerton, Knight, had Richard Stuart, Eſq; who married the daughter of John Burleigh, Eſq; by whom he had Nicholas Stuart, a very learned Lawyer of the Middle-Temple, who was the father of Dr Robert Stuart before-mentioned, as alſo of Simeon Stuart, Eſq; (28) who married Joan, daughter and heireſs of Edward Beſteney, of Soham in the county of Cambridge, by whom he had eight ſons, and amongſt theſe Thomas, who was the father of Sir Richard Stuart, Knight, whoſe daughter Elizabeth married Robert Cromwell (29), of whom we have been ſpeaking. It was commonly ſaid by the Cavaliers, in the life-time of the Protector, that he was a Brewer, or the ſon of a Brewer; nor was this altogether without foundation; for his mother, finding it hard to breed up ſo large a family, out of the narrow income of Mr Cromwell's ſmall eſtate, and being too well acquainted with his temper, to expect that he ſhould take any meaſures for augmenting it, thought proper to engage in the brewing trade herſelf, which ſhe managed with great ſkill and prudence (30), and without the leaſt aſſiſtance, either from the father or the ſon. Out of the profits of this trade, and her own ſmall jointure of ſixty pounds a year, ſhe provided fortunes for her daughters, ſufficient to marry them into good families. The eldeſt was the wife of Mr John Deſborough, afterwards one of the Protector's Major-

(23) Unparallelled Monarch, p. 69.

(24) Hiſtoire d'Olivier Cromwell, juſqu-a ſa mort in 1658, avec quelques pieces pour ſervir de preuves. Paris 1691. 4to.

(25) La vie d'Olivier Cromwell, par Gregorie Leti. Amſterdam 1708. 2 Vol. 12mo.

(26) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 459. Flagellum, or the life and death of Cromwell, p. 11.

(27) Wharton's Anglia ſacra, Vol. I. p. 686.

(28) Fuller's Worthies in Cambridgeſhire, p. 169, 170.

(29) Vincent's Collections, and their continuation, by R. W.

(30) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 459. Flagellum, p. 15.

born in the pariſh of St John, in the ancient borough of Huntingdon, April 24th *(e)*, or, as moſt writers ſay, April 25th, 1599 *(f)*, in the forty-firſt year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; ſo that what a foreign writer ſays, in reference to his birth upon the ſame day that Queen Elizabeth died *(g)*, is like many other facts in his book, abſolutely falſe and groundleſs. He was chriſtened in the pariſh church, on the 29th of the ſame month, when his uncle Sir Oliver Cromwell, a very worthy Gentleman, gave him his name *(h)*. It is ſaid, that he received the firſt tincture of learning from the Rev. Mr Long *(i)*; but it is very certain, that his father, who was highly attentive to his education, put him, as ſoon as he was fit to go to ſchool, under the care of Dr Thomas Beard *(k)*, a very learned and ſenſible man, who was, at that time, maſter of the free ſchool at Huntingdon. We have very different accounts of his behaviour, while he remained in the hands of this Gentleman; ſome ſay that he ſhewed very little propenſity to learning, and others that he made a great proficiency in it *(l)*. It is highly likely, that both are in the wrong; and that he was not either incorrigibly dull, or wonderfully bright, which might alſo be owing to the levity or fickleneſs of his temper; for that he was an unlucky boy, and of an uneaſy and turbulent temper, is reported by authors of unſuſpected veracity *(m)*. It would be tedious, and beſide the deſign of this work, to mention the ſeveral ſtories that have been told of him, even in this early part of life, as to the proofs he gave of a very ſingular and extraordinary diſpoſition; but there are two, of which the reader might juſtly blame us in caſe of omiſſion. The firſt reſpects a kind of a viſion he ſaw, or fancied he ſaw, for which, at the deſire of his relations, Dr Beard corrected him ſeverely *(n)* [*D*]. As to the other, it relates to a part he acted in the comedy of LINGUA, when performed by himſelf, and the reſt of the boys at Huntingdon ſchool *(o)*, which, it is pretended, filled his mind with the deſire of obtaining the crown, and affording him alſo what he always underſtood to be an omen of future ſucceſs [*E*]. He was from thence removed

(e) Collection of Nativities, by Sir Richard Napier, M.S.

(f) Carrington's life of Cromwell, p. 3. Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 88. Dugdale, Fuller, &c.

(g) Vie de Cromwell, par Leti, Vol. I. p. 145.

(h) Life of Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector, Lond. 1741, 8vo. p. 3. From the information of the late Mr Thomas Baker, of St John's College in Cambridge.

(i) Collections relating to the family of Cromwell, by John Vincent, M.S.

(k) Flagellum, or the life and death, &c. of Cromwell, p. 12.

(l) Dawbeny's life of Cromwell, p. 25. Flagellum, or the life and death of Cromwell, p. 13.

(m) Perfect Politician, or, Full view of the life of Cromwell, p. 2, 3. Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 88.

(n) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 249.

(o) Winſtanley's lives of Engliſh Poets, p. 115.

Major-Generals; another married firſt Roger Whetſtone, Eſq; and afterwards Colonel John Jones, who was executed for being one of the King's Judges; the third eſpouſed Colonel Valentine Walton, who died in exile; the fourth Mrs Robina Cromwell, married firſt Dr Peter French, and afterwards Dr John Wilkins, Biſhop of Cheſter, a famous Preacher, and a celebrated Mathematician. It may not be amiſs to add, that an aunt of Cromwell's married Francis Barrington, Eſq; another aunt John Hampden, Eſq; of Buckinghamſhire, by whom ſhe was mother to the famous John Hampden; a third aunt was the wife of Mr Whaley, and the mother of Colonel Whaley, in whoſe cuſtody the King was while he remained at Hampton Court. He had two other aunts, but of their marriages we have no account (31).

[*D*] *Dr Beard corrected him very ſeverely.*] There is reaſon to believe, that Oliver was not a little unlucky in his youth; for one of his panegyriſts ſays, that he had ſeveral eſcapes in his infancy from fire, little leſs wonderful than the deliverance of Moſes out of the water: but of theſe, as we can ſay nothing with certainty, we ſhall be ſilent (32). In reference to his viſion, it happened, while he was a boy, in the daytime, when lying melancholy upon his bed, he thought he ſaw a ſpectre, and that it told him, that he ſhould be the greateſt man in this kingdom; which having related to his father, he was very angry, and deſired his maſter to correct him ſeverely; which, however, had no great effect, for he was ſtill perſwaded of the thing, and would ſometimes mention it, notwithſtanding his uncle Stuart told him, *it was traiterous to repeat it* (33). Sir Philip Warwick tells us, that he was well acquainted with one Dr Simcot, who was Cromwell's Phyſician, in the earlier part of his life, and who aſſured him, that he was a very fanciful man, that he had been often called to him at unſeaſonable hours, when he imagined himſelf to be dying; and that, in theſe black fits of the vapours, he had many whimſical notions about the croſs that ſtood in the town of Huntingdon (34). Nor was he altogether free from theſe fits during the whole courſe of his life, not even in the higheſt of his proſperity; of which many inſtances might be given, if the bounds preſcribed to this article would permit.

[*E*] *To be an omen of future ſucceſs.*] We have different reports concerning the author of this play from Winſtanley and Langbaine, with which it does not ſeem requiſite to trouble the reader; it is ſufficient to obſerve, that it was originally printed in 1607, and afterwards with this title, LINGUA, or, *The combat of the tongue and the five ſenſes for ſuperiority, a pleaſant comedy, firſt acted at* Trinity-College *in* Cambridge, *after at the free-ſchool at* Huntingdon (35). Winſtanley ſays that it was at Cambridge (36), but it is more likely that it was at Huntingdon, that Cromwell performed the part of *Tactus*, which affected him ſtrangely. The ſcheme of the play is, that Lingua gives a crown and a robe to be conteſted for by the ſenſes; the two following ſcenes will ſhew what gave riſe to this notion of Cromwell's being ſo much ſtruck by his playing this part (37).

ACT I. SCENE V.

MENDACIO. TACTUS.

Mend. Now, chaſte *Diana*, grant my nets to hold.
Tact. The blaſting childhood of the chearful morn
  Is almoſt grown a youth, and overclimbs
  Yonder gilt eaſtern hills, about which time
  Guſtus moſt earneſtly importuned me
  To meet him hereabouts; what cauſe I know not.
Men. You ſhall do ſhortly, to your coſt, I hope.
Tact. Sure, by the Sun, it ſhould be nine o'clock!
Men. What a Stargazer, will you ne'er look down?
Tact. Clear is the Sun, and blue the firmament:
  Methinks the heavens do ſmile
——— Men. At thy miſhap,
  To look ſo high, and ſtumble in a trap.
        [Tactus *ſtumbleth at the Robe and Crown.*
Tact. High thoughts have ſlippery feet, I had well nigh fall'n.
Men. Well doth he fall, that riſeth with a fall.
Tact. What's this?
Men. O! are you taken? 'tis in vain to ſtrive.
Tact. How now!
Men. You'll be ſo entangled ſtraight.
Tact. A Crown!
Men. That it will be heard.
Tact. And a Robe!
Men. To loſe yourſelf.
Tact. A Crown and Robe!
Men. It had been fitter for you to have found a fool's coat, and a bauble, hey, hey.
Tact. Jupiter! Jupiter! how came this here?
Men. O! Sir, Jupiter is making thunder, he hears you not; here's one knows better.
Tact. 'Tis wond'rous rich: ha! but ſure it is not ſo: ho!
  Do I not ſleep, and dream of this good luck, ha?
  No, I am awake, and feel it now.
  Whoſe ſhould it be?   [*He takes it up.*
Men. Set up a *ſi quis* for it.
Tact. *Mercury!* all's mine own; here's none to cry half's mine.
Men. When I am gone.

SCENE

(31) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 90.

(32) Dawbeny's life of Cromwell, p. 20.

(33) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 13.

(34) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 249.

(35) Lond. 1657. 24mo.

(36) Lives of the Engliſh Poets, p. 114.

(37) The reader muſt be content with the citation of the act, and ſcene, for this comedy is printed without pages.

removed to Sidney-College in Cambridge, where he was admitted, April 23d, 1616, under the tuition of Mr Richard Howlett (*p*), who, by a very ſtrict attention to his pupil's diſpoſition, very quickly diſcovered, that he was leſs addicted to ſpeculation than to action. We have very different accounts of the progreſs he made in his ſtudies while a member of the univerſity. As for thoſe wild ſtories that a foreign writer tells us, of his amazing proficiency, and which he loads with ſo many falſe authorities (*q*) and contradictory circumſtances, they are not only unworthy of belief, but of notice; and, on the other hand, it is not eaſy to give credit to what ſome report, of his being ſcarce maſter of the Latin tongue, becauſe it is certain that he was well read in the Greek and Roman hiſtory (*r*); but whether he acquired this knowledge at Cambridge, is a point that may be doubted. His father dying he returned home, where his conduct was far enough from being regular, inſomuch that it gave his mother, who was a notable and prudent woman, much uneaſineſs. She was adviſed by ſome near relations to ſend him up to London, and to place him in Lincoln's-Inn (*s*); which ſhe accordingly did, but without any extraordinary effects, ſince it ſerved only to bring him acquainted with the vices of the town, by way of addition to thoſe to which he had been addicted in the country. It does not at all appear, that he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Laws, which was what his friends aimed at; on the contrary, he continued to purſue his pleaſures, and gave himſelf up to wine, women, and play, in which laſt, though he was ſometimes fortunate, yet, taking all his expences together, they ſo much exceeded his income, that he quickly diſſipated all that his father left him (*t*); but, after a few years ſpent in this manner, he ſaw plainly the conſequences of his follies, renounced them ſuddenly, and began to lead a very grave and ſober life (*u*) [*F*]. This, however, ought not to be imputed to his falling in with the Puritans, ſince it is very certain, that he remained then, and for ſome time after, a zealous member of the Church of England, and entered into a cloſe friendſhip with ſeveral eminent Divines, who looked upon his reformation as very extraordinary, and ſpoke of him as a man of ſtrong ſenſe and great abilities (*w*). As he was nearly related to Mr Hampden, of Buckinghamſhire, to the Barringtons of Eſſex, and other conſiderable families, they intereſted themſelves in his favour, and were very deſirous of ſeeing him ſettled in the world; in order to which a marriage was propoſed, which ſoon after took effect (*x*). The Lady he married was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Bouchier, of Eſſex, Knight, a woman of ſpirit and parts, and, being deſcended from an ancient

SCENE VI. A SOLILOQUY.

TACT. *Tactus*, thy ſneezing ſomewhat did portend,
Was ever man *ſo fortunate* as I?
To break his ſhins at ſuch a ſtumbling-block.
Roſes and bays pack hence: this *Crown* and *Robe*
My brows and body circles and inveſts,
How gallantly it *fits* me; ſure the ſlave
Meaſur'd *my head* that wrought this *Coronet*.
They lye that ſay complexions cannot change;
My blood's *ennobled*, and I am *transform'd*
Unto the *ſacred temper* of a KING.
Methinks I hear my noble paraſites
Stiling me *Cæſar*, or great *Alexander*,
Licking my feet, and wond'ring where I got
This precious ointment; how my pace is mended,
How princely do I ſpeak, how ſharp I threaten:
Peaſants, I'll curb your headſtrong impudence,
And make you *tremble* when *the lion* roars:
Yea earth-bred worms: O for a looking-glaſs!
Poets will write whole volumes of *this change*:
Where's my attendants? Come hither, Sirrah, quickly,
Or by the wings of *Hermes* ——

[*F*] *And began to lead a very grave and ſober life.*] We are informed by ſome writers, that while he was at the univerſity, he ſpent much of his time at foot-ball, cricket, and other robuſt exerciſes, for his ſkill and expertneſs in which he was very famous (38). In all probability, it might be this that led him into ill company, and drew him into extravagancies of another kind; and this will, in ſome meaſure, account for his mother's being ſo deſirous to remove him out of the country, in hopes that, when he was at a diſtance from his old companions, he might loſe the ill habits they had taught him. His ſtay at Lincoln's-Inn could not be long, nor was this ſeaſon of wildneſs and diſſipation of much continuance. It appears, by the entry in the regiſter of Sidney-College, that he came thither when he was but two days ſhort of ſeventeen (39); and it is very certain, that he was married by that time he was one-and-twenty; ſo that if he ſtaid but two year at the univerſity, and it is very probable that he did not ſtay there longer, there was not above two years more for his going to Lincoln's-Inn, and running through the whole circle of his follies (40). It is very likely that, after he married and ſettled at Huntingdon, he fell into thoſe fits of melancholy in which Dr Simcot attended him; and this is the more probable, if what many writers tell us be true, that he ſhewed a very deep concern for the idleneſs of his former conduct, and readily offered to make ſatisfaction to every perſon whom he had wronged during the time that he lived ſo freely (41). Theſe circumſtances, and the noiſe made by his converſion, recommended him to the notice of the Nonconformiſts, who, by degrees, drew him over to their intereſt, ſo that he frequently attended Dr Williams, then Biſhop of Lincoln, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, and was very importunate with him to diſpenſe with the ſeverity of the law, when theſe eccleſiaſtical friends of his came into any trouble for their conduct (42). This gave that Prelate an opportunity of judging of him ſo early; and, as he was a man of very extraordinary ſagacity, and ſingular penetration, ſo, at that time, he ſaw clearly into Mr Cromwell's ſpirit, which he found to be haſty, and yet obſtinate, very quick in reſenting, but very ſlow in forgiving injuries. It does not appear on what account he differed with his uncle Sir Thomas Stuart, or at what time; but it ſeems he made a complaint againſt him at court, in which he had not the ſucceſs that he expected; and this gave him the firſt diſtaſte to the King; which, however, upon certain occaſions, he might diſſemble, as upon ſome he certainly did, even before things came to extremities, of which we ſhall have occaſion to take notice; but he never forgot this ſuppoſed injury, notwithſtanding he afterwards, by his mother's intereſt, compromiſed matters with that uncle. We have likewiſe an account of an odd exploit of his at Sir Oliver Cromwell's, which drew upon him very rough uſage, and which, with other things, ſo thoroughly diſobliged that old Knight (43), as to deprive him entirely of his good opinion. Theſe are matters that might perhaps be better cleared up, if any one ſhould take the trouble of writing his hiſtory at large, with that induſtry and care that it deſerves; but, conſidering the nature of our deſign, it may probably be thought, that we have beſtowed too much notice upon particulars of ſo trivial a nature already, and therefore we will forbear them for the future.

(*p*) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. Lib. vii. num. 22.

(*q*) Vie d'Cromwell, par Leti, Vol. I. p. 149, 150, 151.

(*r*) Rapin's Hiſt. of England, 8vo. Vol. XIII. p. 147.

(*s*) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 16.

(*t*) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 459.

(*u*) Perfect Politician, p. 2, 3.

(*w*) See the life of Oliver Lord Protector, p. 3.

(*x*) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 20. Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 89.

(38) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 15.

(39) That entry is in theſe words, *Oliverus Cromwel Huntingdonienſis, admiſſus ad commeatum ſociorum Coll. Sidn. Aprilis 23, 1616, Tutore M. Ricardo Howlet.*

(40) This appears from the pariſh regiſter of St John in Huntingdon, in which we find, that his eldeſt ſon Robert who died a child, was born October 13th, 1621.

(41) Perfect Politician, or life of Cromwell, p. 2.

(42) Biſhop Hacket's life of Archbiſhop Williams, P. ii. p. 212.

(43) Flagellum, or the life and death of Cromwell, p. 18, 19.

ancient family, did not want a conſiderable portion of pride (*y*). Mr Cromwell ſoon after returned to his own country, and ſettled at Huntingdon till the death of his uncle Sir Thomas Stuart, who left him an eſtate of between four and five hundred pounds a year, induced him to remove into the iſle of Ely (*z*). It was about this time that he began to fall off from the Church, to converſe moſtly with thoſe who were then ſtiled Puritans, and by degrees to affect their notions, as indeed he did every thing which he affected at all, with great warmth and vehemence. He was elected a member of the third parliament in the reign of Charles I, which met January 20th, 1628 (*a*), and was of the committee for religion, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal againſt Popery, and by complaining of Dr Neile, then Biſhop of Wincheſter's licenſing books, which had a very dangerous tendency (*b*). After the diſſolution of that parliament, he returned again into the country, where he continued to expreſs much concern for religion, to frequent ſilenced miniſters, and to invite them often to lectures and ſermons at his houſe; by which he again brought his affairs into a very indifferent ſituation (*c*); ſo that he judged it requiſite to try what induſtry might do towards repairing theſe breaches, which led him to take a farm at St Ives, and this he kept about five years; though, inſtead of repairing, it helped to run out the reſt of his fortune; and had totally undone him, if he had not thrown it up (*d*). Some have charged this upon his enthuſiaſm, and being religious over-much, which induced him to have long prayers with his family in a morning, and again in the afternoon, at which his ploughmen, and all his country ſervants, always attended (*e*). But granting this to be true, it was a proof of his ſincerity, of which indeed he gave many; amongſt others, he gave publick notice, that he was ready to make reſtitution to any from whom he had won money at play; and he actually did return thirty pounds to Mr Calton, from whom he won it ſeveral years before (*f*). His diſappointments being ſuch as allowed him very little reaſon to hope he ſhould either make any great figure in his country, or ſecure a reaſonable proviſion for his children, great part of his uncle's eſtate being now gone, he revived, in his own mind, a ſcheme, which his bad circumſtances firſt put into his head while at Lincoln's-Inn, of going over to New England (*g*). This was in 1637, and this deſign, it is thought, he would certainly have executed, if he had not been hindered by the iſſuing out a proclamation for reſtraining ſuch embarkations (*h*). The next year he had leſs time upon his hands; for the Earl of Bedford, and ſome other perſons of high rank, who had large eſtates in the fen country, were very deſirous of ſeeing it better drained; and though one project of this ſort had failed, they thought it expedient nevertheleſs to ſet on foot another, countenanced by the royal authority, and which, without doubt, was intended for the publick benefit; but for all that it was violently oppoſed, under pretence, that it was injurious to private property, though in reality it gave much more to private people than it took away, and made thoſe rents ſafe and ſecure, which before were very precarious (*i*). At the head of this oppoſition Mr Oliver Cromwell placed himſelf, and puſhed things with great ſpirit and vigour, as he did every thing in which he once embarked, ſo that he gave the great men concerned in this affair abundance of trouble (*k*) [*G*]. It was the vigour and vigilance which he ſhewed upon this occaſion, that firſt rendered him conſpicuous and conſiderable, and gave occaſion to his friend and relation Mr Hampden to recommend him afterwards to his friends in parliament, as a perſon capable of contriving and conducting great things (*l*). But for all this, he was not very ſucceſsful in the matter of which we have been ſpeaking; and, as his private affairs were ſtill declining, he was in a very neceſſitous condition at the approach of the long parliament (*m*). In theſe circumſtances one might wonder how he ſhould form a deſign, at a time when elections were conſidered as things of the utmoſt conſequence, of getting himſelf choſen, more eſpecially for the town of Cambridge, where he was ſo far from having any intereſt, that in reality he was not ſo much as known, and if

he

(*y*) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 3.

(*z*) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 20. May's Hiſtory of the Parliament, B. III. p. 79.

(*a*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 12.

(*b*) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 3.

(*c*) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 460.

(*d*) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 21.

(*e*) ~~Hiſtory and Policy~~ reviewed, p. 32, 33. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 249.

(*f*) Perfect Politician, p. 2, 3.

(*g*) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 4. Neal's Hiſtory of New England.

(*h*) Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XIX. p. 646. Ruſhworth, Part ii. p. 298.

(*i*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 250.

(*k*) Echard's Hiſt. of Engl. p. 579.

(*l*) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 23.

(*m*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 89. Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 4, 5. Flagellum, &c. p. 22.

[*G*] *So that he gave the great men concerned in this affair abundance of trouble.*] The Earl of Bedford living at that time, was one of the wealthieſt, and alſo one of the wiſeſt, men in England; he had a very large eſtate in the fen country (44), and a very great influence over moſt of thoſe who had great eſtates in that neighbourhood; it was no wonder therefore that he patronized a ſcheme for improving the great work of draining, which, in a country where there are millions of acres depending upon it, muſt be always a point of very high importance. He found himſelf however, after great pains taken, and much money laid out, obliged to abandon one very probable and profitable project, for want of the power requiſite to carry it into execution (45). It was this which induced that noble Peer, and thoſe who concurred with him, in ſo great and good a deſign, to apply themſelves to the Crown for that aſſiſtance, which was requiſite to perfect the great ſcheme they had formed, and for the carrying on of which they deſired, that ſuch commiſſions of ſewers might from time to time be iſſued, as might prove neceſſary: they likewiſe, for the honour of the buſineſs, thought fit to ſtile it a royal undertaking, and, as was highly reaſonable, ſettled a ſhare of the profits upon the Crown (46). But, as it was impoſſible to manage an affair of this nature, without levying a kind of land-tax upon thoſe who were to have the benefit of it, and providing that no man's private property ſhould impede the carrying on the works that were requiſite, this furniſhed a ſubject for clamour, not only againſt the undertakers, but againſt the King; which, however groundleſs and unreaſonable, was carried to a very great height; and, in a meeting held at Huntingdon in 1638, Mr Cromwell, who had a conſiderable intereſt in thoſe parts, was very active, and by his vigilance, and plauſible ſpeeches, created a very formidable oppoſition (47); which, though it did not abſolutely ſubvert, it greatly hindered and retarded the progreſs of the works; for which theſe obſtinate people were ſeverely puniſhed in 1657, when, upon the melting of the ſnows, the banks gave way, and a conſiderable quantity of land was, at leaſt for the preſent, loſt, and a large number of cattle deſtroyed (48).

(44) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 60.

(45) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 250.

(46) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 380.

(47) Coke's Detection, p. 106.

(48) Camden's Britannia, Vol. p. 479.

[*H*] *And*

he had been known, would never have been elected. The whole of that affair was owing to an accidental intrigue, in which himſelf had at firſt no hand; but, from the time he meddled with it, he conducted every thing with ſuch ſagacity and dexterity, that, by the help of the party, who firſt thought of him as a proper inſtrument for carrying on the cauſe, he was, to the wonder of others, and perhaps, in ſome meaſure, of his own, choſen by a great majority (*n*). This, which was the beginning of all his greatneſs, ought to be conſidered as a point of conſequence, and therefore we have taken ſome pains to ſet it in a proper light [*H*]. When he came into parliament he ſhewed himſelf very active, was very conſtant in his attendance, and a frequent ſpeaker; though he did not, at that time, diſcover any of the great qualities which afterwards appeared in him, and which ſeemed to be called out as occaſion required; for had he at firſt been eſteemed ſo conſiderable a perſon in point of abilities as he was afterwards found, thoſe of his own party would have probably been jealous of him, and ſought his deſtruction; but he had an art of concealing his faculties, ſo that he ſeemed always fit for the ſtation in which he was, and for that only (*o*). He affected not only plainneſs but careleſſneſs in dreſs, was very uniform in his conduct, ſpoke warmly and roundly, but without either art or elocution. He was very forward in cenſuring what were called grievances, both in Church and State, though he had not framed to himſelf any plan of reformation. This he frankly acknowledged with reſpect to eccleſiaſtical affairs, when preſſed by Sir Thomas Chicheley and Mr Warwick to declare his ſentiments upon that ſubject; *I can tell*, ſaid Mr Cromwell, *what I would not have, though I cannot tell what I would have* (*p*). He was very zealous in promoting the Remonſtrance which was carried on the 14th of November 1641, and which in reality laid the baſis of the civil war; he ſhewed himſelf more ſanguine in his expectations upon that head, than the reſt of his party; for he thought they were ſo ſtrong, ſo ſteady, and ſo well connected; and that thoſe who were for the King were ſome of them ſo timorous, others ſo careleſs, and not a few ſo indolent, that it would have been carried almoſt without a debate; nor had he any regard to the Lord Falkland's opinion, who thought the quite contrary. But when, after a debate which laſted all day and all night, it was at length carried by ſo ſmall a majority as nine, and that rather by diſcipline than argument, for wearineſs and fatigue were really the parents of that dear bought victory; he could not forbear ſpeaking his mind freely (*q*). In ſhort, he told Lord Falkland, that he would take his word another time; and, that if the Remonſtrance had not been carried, he was reſolved to have converted the ſmall remains of his eſtate into ready money the next day, and to have taken the firſt occaſion of quitting the kingdom; and this he affirmed was the ſentiment alſo of ſome of the moſt conſiderable men of the party (*r*). The noble Hiſtorian had reaſon therefore to ſay, upon this occaſion, *that this poor nation was very near it's deliverance*; near it indeed! for if zeal for the Church, or duty to the King, could have kept ten more of thoſe, who made ſuch ſtrong profeſſions of both, from their ſuppers and their beds for a few hours, all the conſequences

of

(*n*) Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 528. Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 89. Flagellum, &c. p. 24, to 27. Coke's Detection, p. 160.

(*o*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 248. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 579.

(*p*) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 5.

(*q*) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 514, 515.

(*r*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 102, 103.

[*H*] *And therefore we have taken ſome pains to ſet it in a proper light.*] One reaſon why Mr Cromwell quitted Huntingdon was, a diſpute he had with Mr Bernard, upon his becoming Recorder, about precedency, a point in which he was very nice (49). After he came to Ely, he reſorted entirely to Nonconformiſts meetings, where he quickly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his gifts, as they ſtiled them in thoſe days, in preaching, praying, and expounding (50). At one of theſe meetings he met with Richard Tims, a tradeſman at Cambridge, who rode every Sunday to Ely for the ſake of pure doctrine, and captivated his heart entirely. This man hearing that a parliament was to be called, and being himſelf one of the common-council, took it into his head, that there could not be a fitter man to be their Burgeſs than Mr Cromwell; and, with this notion in his brain, he went to Mr Wildbore, a draper in the town, who was Cromwell's relation, who agreed with him exactly as to the fitneſs of the perſon, but told him the thing was impoſſible, as he was not a freeman (51). Tims, not ſatisfied with that, addreſſed himſelf next to Mr Evett, a tallow-chandler, who was alſo a Puritan. He too liked the thought, but, as he was not a freeman, pronounced the deſign impracticable: however, Tims was hardly got out of his houſe before he ſent for him back, to give him a whiſper, that the Mayor had a freedom to beſtow; and that one Kitchingman, an Attorney, who had married his wife's ſiſter, and was of their party, had a great influence over him; and therefore he adviſed him to move Mr Kitchingman in it, who was to uſe his intereſt with the Mayor, under colour that Mr Cromwell was a Gentleman of fortune, and had a mind to come and live in the town, then but in a poor condition, but with a ſtrict charge to hide the true deſign, Alderman French, who was then Mayor, being a declared royaliſt. When they came to make this application to him, Mr French ſaid he was ſorry, but that in reality they came too late, for he had promiſed his freedom to the King's fiſherman. Mr Kitchingman eaſily removed this objection, by undertaking that the town ſhould confer a freedom upon the perſon he mentioned; and ſo, at the next court-day, the Mayor declared his intention to beſtow his freedom upon a very worthy Gentleman of the iſle of Ely, one Mr Cromwell, who, being apprized of his friend's induſtry, came to town over night, and took up his lodgings at Mr Almond's, a grocer (52). Thither the mace was ſent for him, and he came into court dreſſed in ſcarlet richly laced with gold, and, having provided a pretty parcel of ſtrong claret and ſweetmeats, they were ſo well circulated amongſt the corporation, that they unanimouſly declared, Mr Mayor's freeman was a very civil worthy Gentleman. When the election came on, the Mayor diſcovered his miſtake, but it was then too late, for the party amongſt the Burgeſſes was ſtrong enough to chuſe him (53), and, at the next election in the enſuing year, he threw out Mr Meawtis, who had ſerved the corporation in every parliament in that reign (54). After the corporation act paſſed in King Charles the Second's time, this tranſaction being called to mind, occaſioned the diſplacing Alderman French, who was then Mayor alſo, which affected him ſo ſtrongly, that he was taken ſick upon it, and died in three days through downright grief; and Mr Richard Tims, who, by this time, was become an Alderman, was degraded, for the pains he took in this tranſaction; which circumſtances occaſioned the preſerving ſo particular an account of it to poſterity (55).

(49) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 23.

(50) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 59.

(51) Flagellum, &c. p. 24, 25.

(52) Coke's Detection, p. 160.

(53) Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. I. p. 164.

(54) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 4, 5. Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. I. p. 164.

(55) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 27. Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 89.

[*I*] *And*

of that fatal night had been prevented. This ſucceſs in the ſenate ſo much ſtrengthened the courage of the victors, gave ſo much reputation to their cauſe, drew over ſo many that were wavering, and diſpirited ſuch as adhered to the King, ſo ſtrangely, that, from this time, all things went to their wiſh in the Houſe of Commons; and Mr Cromwell's firmneſs recommended him ſo effectually to Mr Hampden, Mr Pym, and the reſt of the leading men on that ſide, that they took him into all their councils; which gave him, in a very ſhort ſpace, ſo clear an inſight into things, and ſo perfect a knowledge of men, that he was not only able to manage when they were removed, but even to contrive the removal of ſeveral, who, at this juncture, looked upon themſelves, and that juſtly too, as very much his ſuperiors (*s*). For to ſay the truth, the circumſtances of his fortune, intereſts, and connections, compared with many who were then members, and of the ſame party, would have made it very improbable, in the ſenſe of the moſt competent judges, that he ſhould ever have opened a paſſage to ſuch greatneſs, as afterwards, in ſpite of theſe very men, he obtained (*t*). As ſoon as the parliament formed any ſchemes of raiſing forces for their ſervice, which was in the very beginning of the year 1642, Mr Cromwell ſhewed his activity, by going immediately to Cambridge, where, in a ſhort ſpace of time, and with very little trouble, he raiſed a very good troop of horſe, which he commanded by virtue of a commiſſion from the Earl of Eſſex, acting, in other reſpects, under the Lord Grey of Wark, who had the power of a Major-General in the aſſociated counties for ſome time (*u*). However, Capt. Cromwell, being a member, and at the head of the committee, knowing very well the ſenſe of the Houſe, and being thoroughly aſſured, that what he performed for their ſervice would be well accepted, did not wait for orders, but took upon him, when his men were once in readineſs, to act as he thought proper (*w*). He fixed his head quarters in Cambridge, where he acted with great ſeverity, towards the univerſity more eſpecially, after he miſſed of ſeizing the plate contributed by St John's, and other loyal colleges, for the King's ſervice (*x*), which many writers affirm he actually did ſeize, but that is a miſtake; though it is very certain, that he did all that in him lay, and was as near ſeizing it as could be (*y*) [*I*]. He was more ſucceſsful in his next enterprize; for being informed, that the King had appointed Sir Thomas Coningſby, Sheriff of Hertfordſhire, and had ſent him a writ, requiring him to proclaim the Earl of Eſſex and his adherents traytors, Capt. Cromwell marched with his troop directly to St Alban's, where he ſeized Sir Thomas Coningſby for that action, and carried him priſoner to London, with which the parliament was highly pleaſed; committed Sir Thomas to the Tower, where he lay ſeveral years, and ſeized his eſtate (*z*). Capt. Cromwell having received the thanks of the Houſe for this, which paſſed in the month of November, was encouraged to perform a more important ſervice; for being informed that Sir Thomas Barker, Sir John Pettus, and other Gentlemen of great families and fortunes, were met at Lowerſtoft in Suffolk, for the King's ſervice, he marched thither early in the ſucceeding ſpring, where he not only ſurprized, and made moſt of thoſe Gentlemen priſoners, but took alſo a large quantity of arms, ammunition, and military ſtores, which they had provided (*a*). This enabled him to increaſe his forces, ſo that we find him ſoon after at the head of a thouſand horſe, with the title of Colonel Cromwell; and it deſerves particular notice, that, entering ſo late in life, for he was in his forty-third year before he had thoughts of appearing in a military character, he ſhould notwithſtanding, in the ſpace of a few months, not only raiſe the reputation of an officer, but really become a very good one (*b*); and, which is ſtill ſtranger, ſhould, by mere dint of diſcipline, make his new raiſed men excellent ſoldiers, and lay the foundation of that invincible ſtrength which was afterwards exerted on the behalf of the parliament. That all this is ſtrictly true, we have

(*s*) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 3. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 251. Winſtanley's Engl. Worthies, p. 528.

(*t*) Coke's Detection, p. 161.

(*u*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, B. iii. p. 79. Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 529. Perfect Politician, p. 3, 4.

(*w*) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 32.

(*x*) Life of Dr Barwick, p. 25.

(*y*) Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 529. Perfect Politician, p. 4.

(*z*) Chauncey's Hiſtorical Antiquities of Hertfordſhire, p. 462. May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, B. iii. p. 79.

(*a*) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 34. Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 529. Heath's Chronicle, p. 59.

(*b*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 131. Heath's Chronicle, p. 60. Rapin's Hiſt. of England, 8vo. Vol. XIII. p. 145.

[*I*] *And was as near ſeizing it as could be.*] The King wrote a letter to the Vice-Chancellor, Dr Richard Holdſworth, Maſter of Emanuel College, dated June 29th, 1642, ſignifying the extream want he was then in, ſo as not to have wherewithal to ſubſiſt his private family; upon which the univerſity reſolved to ſend his Majeſty a ſmall ſupply, which, though no way adequate to his occaſions, or to their zeal for his ſervice, was, however, as much as lay in their power; what the ſum might be appears not, only it is certain, that the loyal College of St John's ſent one hundred and fifty pounds in money, and two thouſand ſixty-five ounces of plate. It was for the ſhare they had in this tranſaction that Dr Beale, Maſter of St John's, Dr Martin, Provoſt of Queen's, and Dr Sterne, Maſter of Jeſus College, were by Cromwell carried up priſoners to London, where they ſuffered a long impriſonment in the Tower (56). Many members of the univerſity were much worſe treated, being kept priſoners for a long time in the hold of a ſhip in the river, and that too in very ſevere weather; and the three heads beforementioned ſhared in proceſs of time the ſame fate, and were in danger of ſuffering ſtill worſe, one Rigby, a Lawyer, having twice moved, that they ſhould be ſold as ſlaves at Algiers, or ſent as tranſports to the plantations, becauſe he had contracted with two merchants for the purchaſe of them (57). The perſon intruſted with this ſmall treaſure was Mr Barnaby Oley, Preſident of Clare Hall, who, being very well acquainted with the bye-ways, ſet out with a ſmall party of horſe the very night in which Cromwell took poſt upon the common road, and had the good fortune to bring it ſafe to his Royal Maſter, at the very time he ſet up his ſtandard at Nottingham (58). It was, very probably, not long after this that Mr Cromwell had a very remarkable interview with his uncle, which Sir Philip Warwick had from the good old Gentleman's mouth, and therefore we ſhall give it in his own words. 'Viſiting old Sir Oliver Cromwell, his uncle and godfather, at his houſe at Ramſey, he told me this ſtory of his ſucceſsful nephew and godſon, that he viſited him with a good ſtrong party of horſe; and that he aſked him his bleſſing; and that the few hours he was there, he would not keep on his hat in his preſence; but at the ſame time he not only diſarmed but plundered him, for he took away all his plate (59).'

(56) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament of England, B. iii. p. 79. Querela Cantabrigienſis, p. 2, 3, 4. Life of Dr Barwick, p. 41.

(57) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 577.

(58) Life of Dr Barwick, p. 26, 27.

(59) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 25

[*K*] *Who*

have not only the authority of his own aſſertion to prove, and he was not a vain man, but that likewiſe of the beſt writers on all ſides, who agree perfectly well in this point, and in the principal circumſtances relating to it (c) [K]. In the ſpring of the year 1643, having ſettled all things in the ſix aſſociated counties, *viz.* Eſſex, Hertford, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon, he advanced into Lincolnſhire, which was now added to the number, having diſarmed in his paſſage ſuch as he took to be diſaffected in Huntingdonſhire, and increaſed his forces to about two thouſand men (d). Here he did very great ſervice by reſtraining the King's garriſon of Newark, gave a check to the Earl of Newcaſtle's troops at Horncaſtle, and performed many other things, of which mention is made by thoſe who have wrote the hiſtory of this fatal war; which gained him ſtill farther credit with the parliament, and more eſpecially with that party, which meant to proſecute things to extremity, and till they ſhould be terminated by compleat victory on their ſide (e). It was to accompliſh theſe views that new armies, under the Earl of Mancheſter and Sir William Waller, were ſet on foot, and in the former, though the Earl had the title, yet the power was chiefly in Cromwell; for things were ſo dextrouſly managed between him and his friends at Weſtminſter, that, as they knew they might depend upon all in his power, ſo they took care to put as much in his power as they could (f) [L].

The

[K] *Who agree perfectly well in this point, and in the circumſtances relating to it.*] When he firſt raiſed his troop of horſe, he gave a very ſingular ſpecimen of his ſkill in purging; for, not doubting that ſome of them might prove cowards, he deviſed a moſt effectual method of diſcovering which they were, by poſting twelve men in ambuſcade, who ruſhed out upon them at their firſt muſter. Upon this twenty of them rode out of the field as faſt as their horſes could carry them; and theſe Mr Cromwell diſmiſſed, and liſted bolder fellows in their places (60). We are told, by a writer of great credit, that Cromwell's brave regiment of horſe were his countrymen, moſt of them freeholders, or freeholders ſons, men who had ſomething to loſe beſides their lives, and who, upon all occaſions, gave the ſtrongeſt teſtimonies of ſteadineſs and reſolution (61). A learned perſon, who knew him well, and loved him little, accounts for this clearly, by giving us a ſketch of his method of managing them (62). 'He uſed them, ſays he, daily to look after, feed, and dreſs their horſes, and, when it was neceſſary, to lie together on the ground, and beſides, taught them to clean and keep their arms bright, and have them ready for ſervice; to chuſe the beſt armour, and to arm themſelves to the beſt advantage. Trained up in this kind of military exerciſe, they excelled all their fellow-ſoldiers in feats of war, and obtained more victories over the enemy. Theſe were afterwards preferred to be commanders and officers in the army, and their places filled up with luſty ſtrong fellows, whom he brought up in the ſame ſtrictneſs of diſcipline.' But Cromwell's own account is far clearer, and more ſatisfactory, than any, and cannot therefore but be welcome to the judicious reader (63). 'I was, ſaid he, in one of his ſpeeches, 'a perſon that, from my firſt employment, was ſuddenly preferred, and lifted up, from leſſer truſts to greater. From my firſt being captain of a troop of horſe, I did labour, as well as I could, to diſcharge my truſt, and God bleſſed me, as it pleaſed him. I had a very worthy friend then, and he was a very noble perſon, and I know his memory is very grateful to all; Mr John Hampden was the perſon. At my firſt going out into this engagement, I ſaw our men were beaten on every hand. I did indeed, and deſired him that he would make ſome additions to my Lord of Eſſex's army, of ſome new regiments. And I told him, it would be ſerviceable to him in bringing ſuch men in as I thought had a ſpirit, that would do ſomething in the work. Your troops, ſaid I, are moſt of them old decayed ſerving-men and tapſters, and ſuch kind of fellows; and their troops are Gentlemens younger ſons, and perſons of good quality. And do you think, that the mean ſpirits of ſuch baſe and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter Gentlemen, that have honour, and courage, and reſolution, in them? You muſt get men of a ſpirit, and, take it not ill what I ſay, of a ſpirit that is likely to go on as far as Gentlemen will go, or elſe I am ſure you will be beaten ſtill: I told him ſo. He was a wiſe and worthy perſon, and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one. I told him I could do ſomewhat in it: and I accordingly raiſed ſuch men as had the fear of God before them, and made ſome conſcience of what they did. And, from that day forward, they were never beaten, but, wherever they were engaged againſt the enemy, they beat continually.' We are told by Echard (64), that the very firſt time he muſtered his troops, he dealt with them very plainly; that he would not cozen them by the perplexed expreſſion in his commiſſion, to fight for King and Parliament, but that if the King chanced to be in the body of the enemy, he would as ſoon diſcharge his piſtol upon him, as any private perſon; and if their conſciences would not permit them to do the like, he adviſed them not to liſt themſelves under him. This, as the Archdeacon obſerves, was thought very bold at that time; and yet, whoever conſiders it attentively will ſee, that it was very politickly ſpoken; for, in the firſt place, it let his ſoldiers into the true notion of what was required from them before they came to action, and, conſequently, before it was expected from them; ſo that this commander and his men were never at a loſs about each other's meaning: and, ſecondly, it gave the heads of the party a juſt hint of his reſolution; from whence they ſaw, that he was a man determined, whom they might rely upon in going all lengths, and whom no propoſitions, how high or extraordinary ſo ever, could aſtoniſh; agreeable to Mr Hampden's notions of him at the beginning of the troubles (65), and his own behaviour during the continuance and to the very end of the war.

[L] *So they took care to put as much in his power as they could.*] It muſt be confeſſed, that how deficient ſoever we are in reſpect to good hiſtories of other periods of time, yet, in reference to this of the civil war, we have as many, and thoſe too as conſiderable lights, as can well be deſired, either in regard to general regular compoſitions, or in reference to private memoirs, and on both ſides of the queſtion; ſo that if any judicious and impartial perſon will carefully read, and give himſelf time cautiouſly to compare, what all theſe authors have advanced on any point, he will not find it extreamly difficult to fix his judgment about it. The matter we will endeavour to explain in this note is, the ſubdiviſion of the views with which the leading members in the Parliament at Weſtminſter began the war; for though themſelves, and their Hiſtorian Mr May, would turn this upon the King (66), yet, from the dates of the commiſſions, and from many other unanſwerable reaſons alledged by Mr Coke (67), who was no very zealous Royaliſt, it is inconteſtibly proved, that the Parliament began the war; and the buſineſs is to know why they began it; for, though numbers of men may concur in one joint reſolution, yet it cannot be inferred from thence, that they are all governed by the ſame reaſons, or all aim to bring about the ſame end. Yet it muſt be allowed, that concurring in one reſolution may ground a preſumption, that ſuch perſons are of the ſame opinion; and the contrary of this can only be made appear from their ſubſequent behaviour: for if, after going a certain ſpace together, theſe people divide, and take ſeparate roads, it is plain they had from the beginning different intentions, which remained ſo long concealed as all parties remained, under the perſwaſion that they might travel with advantage together, and be, at the ſame time, advancing towards that point which each of them deſired to reach (68).

This

(c) Conference on the Parliament's deſiring him to take on him the title of King. Lond. 1680. 8vo. p. 38, 39. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 238, 239. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 72.

(d) Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 529. Perfect Politician, p. 5.

(e) Flagellum, or the life and death of Cromwell, p. 35. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 131. Lord Hollis's Memoirs, p. 5.

(f) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 59. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 245. Flagellum, or life of O. Cromwell, p. 45.

(60) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 33.

(61) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 72.

(62) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 239.

(63) Conference on the Parliament's deſiring him to take the title of King, p. 38, 39.

(64) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 579.

(65) Sir Richard Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 193.

(66) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, B. ii. p. 47.

(67) Coke's Detection, p. 149—155.

(68) Remarks on the conduct of the long Parliament, p. 75.

The Scots having been invited into England by that party to whom Cromwell adhered, it was judged highly requiſite that the army under the Earl of Mancheſter, and Cromwell, who was now declared Lieutenant-General of the horſe, ſhould join them, the better to enable them to reduce York, which they had cloſely beſieged: this ſervice, very important in itſelf, was executed with great vigour and diligence, more eſpecially by Cromwell, who, with all his horſe, made a ſwift and ſurprizing march, ſo as to join the Scots unexpectedly *(g)*. In the battle of Marſton-Moor, July 3d, 1644, it is unanimouſly agreed, that Cromwell's cavalry, who were commonly ſtiled Ironſides, changed the fortune of the day, as that did of the war; for the King's affairs declined, and the Parliament's flouriſhed, ever after *(h)*. It is, I ſay, agreed, that all the ſucceſs here was attributed to Cromwell's forces, and, by many good writers, to him who headed and animated them, whereas others give the honour entirely to his men; and would have us believe, that his behaviour was far from being extraordinary *(i)* [*M*]. However this matter might

This then was the caſe of the members who remained at Weſtminſter; they all of them judged, that taking up arms was a thing expedient; and, from the meaſures they afterwards purſued, we may, with great probability at leaſt, if not with certainty, diſcover, what the motives were that lead them to concur in this firſt ſtep. Now, not to perplex ourſelves, or the reader, with too great nicety, or more than neceſſary diſtinctions, we ſhall be content to obſerve, that, from their future conduct, it clearly appears, there were three great parties in this Parliament. The firſt was compoſed of ſuch as meant to reduce the Prerogative within narrower bounds, to ſecure the liberties of the people, and to prevent Miniſters from miſleading the King, or his ſucceſſors, into acts of arbitrary power with impunity. Without doubt theſe Gentlemen were right in their intentions; but, whether they purſued a method conſiſtent with the Conſtitution, is another queſtion; which, however determined, will ſtill leave it certain, that they did not aim to overturn the Conſtitution. The heads of this party were **Mr** Hollis, Mr Hampden, Mr Pym, Sir John Maynard, Sir Philip Stapylton, *&c.* and, at the beginning of the war, this party had the majority in the Houſe of Commons (69). The ſecond were, from the beginning, bent upon changing the Conſtitution, overturning the Monarchy, and ſettling a Republick; the chief heads of this faction were Mr Oliver St John, Sir Arthur Haſlerig, Sir Henry Ludlow, and, after his deceaſe, his ſon, Mr Liſle, Sir Henry Vane, Sir Henry Mildmay, Mr Corbet, *&c* (70). The third party might be ſaid to be without any ſettled principles, as being chiefly bent upon getting what they could for themſelves, and ſteering in ſuch a manner, in this dangerous ſtorm of their own raiſing, as might contribute to their own ſafety and proſperity, with no regard whatever, either to the King or Kingdom. Amongſt theſe Mr Cromwell, Mr Henry Martin, Mr Thomas Chaloner, Sir Thomas Widdrington, and many others, might be reckoned (71). The diviſion that is commonly made in reſpect to religion, making the firſt *Preſbyterians*, and the two laſt parties *Independants*, is not very clear in itſelf, and, at the ſame time, far from being conſiſtent with truth. Some of the firſt party were very well inclined to the eſtabliſhed religion, and, notwithſtanding they diſliked ſome Biſhops, had no averſion at all to Epiſcopacy (72). On the other hand, many of the other two parties were well enough ſatisfied with the the Preſbyterian diſcipline, if it could have been moulded ſo as to ſerve their civil purpoſes (73). If indeed it be neceſſary to aſſign a religion to each of theſe parties, the title of Preſbyterians may well enough become the firſt, that of Independents will ſit better upon the ſecond, but, truly, as to the religion of the third, it wants a name: ſome of them indeed profeſſed they had no religion, ſuch as Chaloner and Martin, and, without breach of charity, one may ſay, there might be others of this ſect in their heart, though they profeſſed a great deal. It is requiſite to obſerve, that there were in reality but two parties among the Lords, that is, ſuch as meant well to the publick, ſuch as the Earls of Bedford, Eſſex, Mancheſter, *&c.* and ſuch as meant well to themſelves, as the Earls of Saliſbury, Warwick, the Lord Grey, and a few others (74). This brief account of parties is the true key to the underſtanding the hiſtory of thoſe times; and, as it may be very uſeful towards forming a right notion of other articles, ſo this would be abſolutely unintelligible without it.

[*M*] *That his behaviour was far from being extraordinary.*] In order to juſtify what is ſaid in the text, we muſt produce a very famous paſſage from the work of a noble author, who was himſelf very deeply engaged in theſe affairs, and who wrote this account when the perſon he reflects on was living (75). 'However, Lieutenant-General Cromwell, *ſays he*, had the impudence and boldneſs to aſſume much of the honour of it to himſelf, or rather, Herod like, to ſuffer others to magnify him and adore him for it; for I can ſcarce believe he ſhould be ſo impudent to give it out himſelf, ſo conſcious as he muſt be of his own baſe cowardlineſs; thoſe who did the principal ſervice that day were Major-General Leſley, who commanded the Scots horſe, Major-General Crawfurd, who was Major-General to the Earl of Mancheſter's Brigade, and Sir Thomas Fairfax, who, under his father, commanded the Northern Brigade, But my friend Cromwell had neither part nor lot in the buſineſs, for I have ſeveral times heard it from Crawford's own mouth; and I think I ſhall not be miſtaken, if I ſay Cromwell himſelf has heard it from him; for he once ſaid it aloud in Weſtminſter-Hall, when Cromwell paſſed by him, with a deſign he might hear him; that when the whole army at Marſton-Moor was in a fair poſſibility to be utterly routed, and a great part of it running, he ſaw the body of horſe of that Brigade ſtanding ſtill, and, to his ſeeming, doubtful which way to charge, backward or forward, when he came up to them, in a great paſſion reviling them with the name of poltroons and cowards; and aſked them if they would ſtand ſtill and ſee the day loſt? Whereupon Cromwell ſhewed himſelf, and, in a pitiful voice, ſaid, *Major-General, what ſhall I do?* he begging pardon for what he ſaid, not knowing he was there, towards whom he knew his diſtance, as to his ſuperior officer, told him, *Sir, if you charge not all is loſt*; Cromwell anſwered, *He was wounded, and was not able to charge*; his great wound being a little burn in the neck, by the accidental going off behind him of one of his ſoldier's piſtols; then Crawford deſired him to go off the field, and, ſending one away with him, who very readily followed wholeſome advice; led them on himſelf, which was not the duty of his place, and as little for Cromwell's honour, as it proved to be much for the advancement of his and his parties pernicious deſigns. This I have but by relation, yet I eaſily believe it upon the credit of the reporter, who was a man of honour, that was not aſhamed nor afraid to publiſh it in all places. Beſides, I have heard a parallel ſtory of his valour from another perſon, Colonel Dalbiere, not inferior either in quality or reputation to Major-General Crawford, who told me, that, when Baſing-houſe was ſtormed, Cromwell, inſtead of leading on his men, ſtood a good diſtance off, out of gun-ſhot, behind a hedge. And ſomething I can deliver of him upon my knowledge, which makes paſſage for the eaſier belief of both theſe, and aſſures me, that that man is as errant a coward as he is notoriouſly perfidious, ambitious, and hypocritical. This was, his baſe keeping out of the field at Keinton battle, where he, with his troop of horſe, came not in, impudently and ridiculouſly affirming the day after, that he had been all that day ſeeking the army, and place of fight, though his quarters were but at a village near hand, whence he could not find his way, nor be directed by his ear, when the ordnance was heard, as I have been credibly informed, twenty or thirty miles off; ſo that certainly he is far from the man he is taken for.

(g) Heath's Chronicle, p. 60. Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 530. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 93.

(h) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 402. Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 597. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 94.

(i) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 16, 17, 18. Sir Roger Manley's Hiſt. of Rebellions, p. 71.

(69) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 3, 4, 5.

(70) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 183.

(71) Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 4, 5, 6, 7.

(72) See Clarendon, Echard, Bates, Dugdale, Warwick, *&c.*

(73) As appears by their conforming during all the time that Preſbytery was eſtabliſhed.

(74) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 155, 156. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 233.

(75) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 15, 16, 17.

might be, it is very certain, that, on the 19th, Cromwell ſtormed the Earl of Exeter's fine houſe at Burleigh; and the courage and conduct of the Lieutenant-General was the theme of every tongue, and no man's fortune or ſervices ſo much valued at London (*k*). He was alſo in the ſecond battle at Newbury, September 17th, in the ſame year; and is ſaid to have made ſo bold a charge with his horſe upon the guards, that his Majeſty's perſon had been in the utmoſt danger, if the old Earl of Cleveland had not come in to his relief, and preſerved his maſter's liberty at the expence of his own (*l*). In the winter the diſputes in Parliament ran higher than ever, nothing but Cromwell's merit and good fortune were talked of by his party, ſome of whom blaſphemouſly ſtiled him, *the Saviour of the Nation* (*m*). Yet, notwithſtanding this, the wiſeſt men, and the beſt patriots, ſaw very clearly to what theſe exceſſive praiſes tended; and, that the nation might be made as ſenſible in this reſpect as themſelves, the Earl of Mancheſter exhibited a charge againſt him in the Houſe of Lords, and Lieutenant-General Cromwell, not to be in his debt, brought in another charge againſt the noble Peer in the Houſe of Commons (*n*). It is true, that neither of theſe charges were proſecuted; but it is nevertheleſs true, that General Cromwell and his friends abſolutely carried their point, by bringing in what was called the *ſelf-denying ordinance* (*o*), that excluded the members of either Houſe from having any commands in the army; from which however, on the ſcore of his extraordinary merit, that ſet him above all ordinances, Lieutenant-General Cromwell was at firſt occaſionally, at length abſolutely, exempted. This victory in Parliament was ſtill of greater conſequence than that of Marſton-Moor; for, as that turned the *fortune* of the *war*, ſo this determined the *fate* of the *King* and *Kingdom* (*p*) [*N*]. Upon the introduction of the

(*k*) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 65.

(*l*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 65. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 149.

(*m*) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 122.

(*n*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 66.

(*o*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 283.

(*p*) Hollis's Memoirs, p. 35, 36.

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for.' His keeping out of the field at the battle of Keinton has been taken notice of by Sir Roger Manley, who ſays, that Cromwell went to the top of a ſteeple, from whence perceiving part of the Earl of Eſſex's army routed, he was in ſuch haſte to get down, that, inſtead of deſcending the ſtairs, he ſwung himſelf to the bottom by the bell-rope (76). This we find confirmed likewiſe by Sir William Dugdale; yet neither of theſe writers mention this to the prejudice of Cromwell's character for courage; on the contrary, they regard it as an inſtance how much the human temper and diſpoſition may be changed from the effects of boundleſs ambition, and the force of a long continued habit (77). It is alſo to be remembered, that Colonel Dalbiere, one of Lord Hollis's witneſſes, was, at the beginning of the war, a great favourite of Cromwell's, who made uſe of his advice to keep his troops in better order (78); but, as he differed with him afterwards, it is not at all impoſſible that there might be a ſtrong mixture of reſentment in what Dalbiere delivered upon this ſubject (79). Major-General Crawford was likewiſe a competitor with Cromwell, and beſides, a great friend to the Earl of Mancheſter (80), to whom Cromwell was a profeſſed enemy. The accounts we have of the battle of Marſton-Moor from the Royaliſts, unanimouſly attribute the loſs of that day in a manner ſolely to Cromwell.

[*N*] *So this determined the fate of the King and Kingdom.*] As we have, in a former note, given the reader an account of the ſeveral parties in the Parliament at the breaking out of the civil war, there will be no great difficulty in making him clearly comprehend how this great change was brought about, by which that aſſembly manifeſted an intention at leaſt, inconſiſtent with, if not directly repugnant to, that which they had ſhewn at the beginning. While the *firſt* of the three parties had the majority, they were very deſirous, that as much of the executive power of the government as poſſible might be in the hands of their friends, that they might always know whom they had to truſt. Many of them being, by this means, at a diſtance from Weſtminſter, left the other parties, who generally voted together, much ſtronger than they would otherwiſe have been; and this ſtrength they made uſe of to fill moſt of the Committees with their friends, which procured them great intereſt in the country, drew over many to their party, and, whenever exceptions were taken to a Member's character, they had commonly ſtrength enough to vote him out as a malignant, and to bring one of their own party in (81). Cromwell was the officer in the army in whom theſe people moſt confided, and he was obliged to make great profeſſions of his willingneſs to ſerve them, becauſe, through a ſeries of untoward accidents, he was become very obnoxious to what was ſtiled the Preſbyterian intereſt. He had ſeen enough of the Scots when in Yorkſhire to be ſatisfied, that they by no means meant a change of government in the ſenſe that his friends did, and for this he hated them heartily. His averſion to the Earl of Eſſex was as warm as implacable; he judged that he was but half an enemy to the King, which produced that Nobleman a whole enemy in himſelf; beſides, he was informed, that the Earl of Eſſex had held a private meeting with the Earl of Loudon, the Scotch Chancellor, to concert meaſures for ſeizing and impeaching him, which he could never forgive (82); add to all this, that his quarrel with the Earl of Mancheſter came to a very great height, as appears from what is ſaid in the text, and therefore we ſhall mention but one circumſtance of it here. He propoſed, in diſcourſe to that noble Lord, ſomething of an extraordinary nature, to which his Lordſhip expreſſed a doubt, whether the Parliament might be brought to conſent; to which Cromwell immediately replied, *My Lord, if you will ſtick firm to honeſt men, you will find an army at your command that will give law both to King and Parliament* (83). After premiſing theſe points, we may, without fear of being miſunderſtood, proceed to obſerve, that the party to which he adhered in Parliament comprehending perfectly his intentions, and confiding in his attachment to them, reſolved to make an effort to gain ſuch a ſuperiority, as might enable them to end the war in that manner, and with that expedition, which ſuited beſt with their deſign. In order to effect this they began to complain privately, of want of zeal in ſome of their great officers, and publickly of want of diſcipline in their army. To remedy both theſe it was propoſed, that, for the future, ſuch as had ſeats in either Houſe ſhould be diſqualified from having commands in the army; whence the intended law had the title of the SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE, and the armies, when put under this direction, were ſaid to be of the *new model* (84). The reader muſt obſerve, with what craft this party improved the abſence of the leading men on the other ſide, to gain a prevalence in Parliament; and now being pretty ſure of that, they made uſe of it to ſecure to their ſide the army. Yet it is not at all impoſſible, that they might have failed in this bold project, if they had not inſiſted upon theſe two popular points, of putting a ſhort end to the war, and of providing againſt civil and military power reſting in the ſame hands; for theſe gained to them the timorous and the weak of the other party, becauſe the former were afraid to oppoſe men who talked in ſo high a ſtrain, and the latter were actually impoſed upon by the ſolemnity of their profeſſions. By the paſſing of the Self-denying Ordinance, and the new modelling of the army, the Preſbyterians loſt their power, and the King all hopes of making a good peace, or, to ſay the truth, any peace at all. The firſt appeared by the little reſpect ſhewn to thoſe members, both Lords and Commons, who had hazarded their lives and fortunes for the Parliament, and the ſeverity with which thoſe were proſecuted, who were ſuſpected of an inclination to return

(76) Hiſt. of the Rebellions of England, p. 49.

(77) Short view of the late troubles, p. 110.

(78) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 31.

(79) It was Cromwell's policy to find fit men for his purpoſes, and when they grew unfit, to diſcard them.

(80) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 15.

(81) The whole of this matter is thoroughly diſcuſſed in a treatiſe intituled, *The Myſteries of the two Junto's, Preſbyterian and Independant*, printed in 1648. 4to.

(82) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 116. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 546.

(83) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 561, 562.

(84) Hiſt. Independency, P. i. p. 4. Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 422, 435, 443. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 118, 119—138, &c.

the new model, as it was called, the chief command of the army was given to Sir Thomas Fairfax, and, from being Lieutenant-General of the horſe, Cromwell became Lieutenant-General of the army; nor was it long before he gave a ſpecimen of his great ſkill in Politicks, by procuring an addreſs from his regiment, declaring their ſatisfaction (q) with the change; which was a precedent ſoon followed by the reſt, and upon the heels of this, as ſtrong an inſtance of his military abilities (r). For, attacking the Earl of Northampton with a body of the King's forces at Iſlip Bridge, he routed them entirely, took four hundred horſe, two hundred men, and the Queen's ſtandard (s). The ſame good fortune attended him at Radcod-Bridge, where he beat Sir William Vaughan, and took him, and a great part of his troops, priſoners (t). He puſhed his good fortune to the utmoſt, and, April 24th, 1645, attacked Blechingdon-Houſe, in which Colonel Windebank had a garriſon; the place indeed was very indifferently fortified; but, as Cromwell had only horſe, he knew it was impoſſible to take it if defended, and thereupon ordered his men, as they approached, to cry out, *fall on foot* (u); his very name had terrified abundance of ladies, who came to compliment the Governor upon his marriage, and this cry of *fall on foot* diſconcerted the Colonel himſelf, who, confounded with the cries of the women, and knowing the place was not tenable againſt infantry, ſurrendered; for which he was, ten days after, ſhot at Oxford (w). But he had not the like ſucceſs againſt Farringdon-Houſe, where Sir George Liſle commanded, though ſupported by ſix hundred foot, and afterwards received a check from General Goring (x). At this time the King threatening the aſſociated counties, which had not been attacked during the war, the Parliament ordered Cromwell into the iſle of Ely, where he had the power, if not the title, of Governor (y). At the requeſt of Fairfax however he had orders to return to the army, which he accordingly did; and being informed, that the King intended to march northward, adviſed Sir Thomas Fairfax to prevent that, by fighting his Majeſty; which brought on the battle of Naſeby, June 14th, 1645, in which Cromwell commanded the right wing, and his ſon-in law Ireton the left; and here it was that the King loſt all through the temerity of Prince Rupert (z), and the confeſſed conduct and courage of Cromwell, who, when Ireton was routed, and taken priſoner, charged the King's foot, and, with much danger to his own perſon, entirely broke them (a). He proſecuted the ſucceſs of this day with the ſame vivacity which acquired it; in a month's time he defeated General Goring, and reduced moſt of the King's garriſons in Hampſhire and Wiltſhire, defeated and cut to pieces the poor Clubmen (b); and, having made himſelf Maſter of the Devizes, Wincheſter, and Baſing-Houſe, with the perſon of the Marquis of Wincheſter, it's maſter, he, for theſe ſervices, received the thanks of both Houſes (c). Afterwards joining Sir Thomas Fairfax, he had his ſhare in reducing the Weſt, till, upon the ſurrender of Exeter, April 13th, 1646, he found leiſure to return to London, in order to receive thoſe rewards (d) which the party he had ſo effectually ſerved were very willing to beſtow, and of which, as an earneſt, they had voted him the ſum of two thouſand five hundred pounds a year, the greateſt part of which was to be taken out of the eſtate of the Marquis of Wincheſter in Hampſhire (e). Upon his taking his ſeat in the Houſe, thanks were returned to him, in terms as ſtrong as words could expreſs; and the prevailing party in the Houſe received from him ſuch encouragement, as induced them to believe he was wholly at their devotion (f) [O]. But in this they were miſtaken; for,

(q) Heath's Chronicle, p. 67.

(r) Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 531.

(s) The Civil Wars of England, p. 154.

(t) The Perfect Politician, p. 9.

(u) Flagellum, or life and death of Cromwell, p. 41. Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 614.

(w) Heath's Chronicle, p. 74, 75. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 614.

(x) Heath's Chronicle, p. 74, 75.

(y) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 35.

(z) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 150. Ruſhworth, Vol. VI. p. 42, 44. Heath's Chronicle, p. 77. Echard's Hiſt. Engl. p. 615, 616.

(a) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 200.

(b) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 163.

(c) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 189.

(d) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 46.

(e) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 180, 181.

(f) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 135. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 202.

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return again to the King's obedience; the latter, from the leaving out in the new commiſſion of Sir Thomas Fairfax, the clauſe for the ſecurity of the King's perſon (85). In the courſe of the debates which aroſe upon this ſubject in the Houſe of Commons, for it did not paſs there without very high debates, Mr Cromwell ſpoke vehemently on the ſide of the bill, and, when ſome expreſſed a ſuſpicion, that this new diſcipline, though it made the army better ſoldiers, would go near to make them worſe ſubjects, he undertook for the contrary, more eſpecially for his own regiment, which, he ſaid, would fight or not fight, ſerve or not ſerve, juſt as the Parliament pleaſed, to whoſe orders they owed an implicit obedience, which they never had, or ever would, forfeit in any degree (86). It is thought, and not without reaſon, that many voted for the new model from their credulity in this reſpect, and from the certainty which they thought they had, that Cromwell would loſe his command as well as the Earls of Eſſex and Mancheſter, Sir William Waller, and the reſt. In this however they were ſtrangely diſappointed; for notwithſtanding Cromwell went to make a viſit to the new General, in which he declared his willingneſs to reſign his command; yet that ſubmiſſive, that well-diſpoſed, that implicitly obedient regiment, for whom he had ſo roundly undertaken, mutinied upon this occaſion, and refuſed to ſerve without their old Commander Cromwell at their head (87). Upon this the Parliament diſpenſed with the ordinance in reſpect to him, at firſt for twenty days, then for forty, and at length, Sir Thomas Fairfax being unwilling to loſe ſo able an aſſiſtant, for good and all; and thus, when it was too late, thoſe who had been cheated into an approbation of this ſcheme, ſaw their miſtake, and repented of their deluſion (88). By this refined piece of management the Independants, with the aſſiſtance of Cromwell, triumphed both in the Parliament and in the Army; we ſhall hereafter ſee how, by the aſſiſtance of the latter, he triumphed over them in their turn (89). Theſe are the great points of hiſtory that ought to be ſifted out, and ſet in their true light: theſe are thoſe ſhining particulars that diſtinguiſh Biographical Memoirs; and theſe are thoſe important ſecrets that are ſo ſeldom explained in a ſatisfactory manner in general hiſtories, where the courſe of events is more regarded than the ſprings of action, from whence thoſe events ariſe.

[O] *As induced them to believe he was wholly at their devotion.*] It was a maxim with Cromwell, as we may gather from his conſtant practice, whenever he had any extraordinary ſucceſs in the field, to return as ſoon as he had an opportunity, and ſhew himſelf in Parliament, that the hazards he ran in the field might contribute to his victories elſewhere. Another art he practiſed, as in truth what art is there he did not practiſe? which availed him highly; he was exceedingly conſtant in his correſpondence with the Parliament; his letters brought them the news of every conqueſt, nor was any expence thought too great to facilitate the early arrival of his diſpatches; his language too,

(85) Heath's Chronicle, p. 74.

(86) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 35.

(87) Flagellum, or the life and death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 40. Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 35.

(88) Hiſt. of Independency. Hollis and Warwick's Memoirs.

(89) See Clarendon, Heath, Echard, and all the Hiſtorians of thoſe times.

for, while they thought the Lieutenant-General buſy in doing their buſineſs, he was in reality attentive only to his own; but covered all his deſigns with ſuch wondrous dexterity, that they were diſcerned only by a few, and of thoſe there were ſcarce any that durſt ſpeak their thoughts plainly; neither did their ſpeaking avail, ſince the majority were of another mind, and ſome extraordinary methods were practiſed, to procure and preſerve a majority that ſhould be of that mind always (*g*). That party in the Parliament which began the war for the ſake of redreſſing grievances, and to ſet ſome bounds to the Prerogative, were now ſincerely deſirous of making an end of the war, to which they thought nothing could contribute ſo much, as having the King's perſon in their hands; for which reaſon orders were ſent to Sir Thomas Fairfax to beſiege Oxford (*h*). Others would have been better pleaſed with the King's eſcape, becauſe it was more likely to promote the deſign of continuing the army. Accordingly, April 27th, the King quitted Oxford, to go and put himſelf into the hands of the Scots. This was preciſely what the Independants wanted, becauſe it made long treaties neceſſary, not with the King only, but with the Scots (*i*). The latter demanded vaſt ſums of money, under the notion of arrears; but Lieutenant-General Cromwell, and his party, who did not either love or value them, oppoſed ſuch a negotiation as this, as injurious to the honour of the nation, upon a ſuppoſition that this might induce the Scots to join with the King, embark their cauſe and his on the ſame bottom, and produce thereby a ſecond war (*k*). It was to promote this that they puſhed things ſo far in Parliament, as to procure an order of the Houſe of Commons, for burning the propoſals that had been made them by the Scotch Commiſſioners, by the hands of the common hangman. This, however, prevented the two nations agreeing with his Majeſty, and produced ſome ill blood on both ſides, yet none of thoſe heats and tumults that were expected; for at length a bargain was made in the beginning of Auguſt, that the Scots ſhould deliver up the King to the Engliſh for the ſum of two hundred thouſand pounds, to be paid them immediately, and the like ſum ſoon after (*l*). The Parliament Commiſſioners accordingly received him with very great civility and reſpect; and this having ſet open a very wide door, perſons of all ages, ſexes, and ranks, were aſſiduous in paying, as far as they were permitted, their duty to him (*m*). To free the people from the burthens under which they laboured, and, at the ſame time, to ſtrengthen their own authority by leſſening that of the army, the Parliament inclined to diſband a part of their forces. As no-body better underſtood the meaning of this than Lieutenant-General Cromwell, inſtead of openly oppoſing it, he contrived to turn it in a double manner to his own and his party's advantage; for, in the firſt place, he inſinuated, by his emiſſaries, to the ſoldiers, that this was not only the higheſt piece of ingratitude towards thoſe who had fought the Parliament into a power of diſbanding them, but alſo a crying act of injuſtice, as it was done with no other view than to cheat them of their arrears (*n*). Secondly, he procured an exemption for Sir Thomas Fairfax's army, or, in other words, for his own, the General having that title only and appointments, while Cromwell had the power, and the weight of the reduction fell upon Maſſey's Brigade in the Weſt, together with the troops which Colonel Poyntz commanded in Yorkſhire, men of whom he had good reaſon to doubt, and upon whom the Parliament might have depended (*o*). Thus he dextrouſly turned to his own advantage, the means contrived for his deſtruction. To compleat the triumphs of this year, the Earl of Eſſex died ſuddenly, September 14th, at Eſſex-

(*g*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 172. Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 43.

(*h*) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 208. Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 54.

(*i*) Behemoth, by Thomas Hobbs, p. 217, 218.

(*k*) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 62, 63.

(*l*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 121.

(*m*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 187.

(*n*) Coke's Detection, p. 177.

(*o*) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 81.

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too, tho' generally wrapped up in the cant of the times, which no man uſed more, had in it ſomewhat peculiarly ſubmiſſive, and irreſiſtibly inſinuating; his ſoldiers, as he ſaid, were not only dutiful but devoted, and if their courage deſerved to be remembered, as at the ſiege of Briſtol, they made it their requeſt to be forgot, they deſired only to be conſidered as God's inſtruments in the righteous cauſe of the Parliament (90). By theſe methods he kept himſelf continually in their thoughts, and in their votes or reſolutions; thus two days after the battle of Naſeby, they ordered he ſhould be Lieutenant-General of the horſe under Fairfax, during the pleaſure of the two Houſes, which the Lords changed to three months; Auguſt 8th, 1645, he was continued for four months longer, and on the firſt of December, the ſame year, they voted him two thouſand five hundred pounds a year, and that he ſhould be made a Baron; all which he ſeemed to accept with much leſs reliſh for the honours, than for the good-will ſhewn him by Parliament, to which, upon theſe occaſions, he profeſſed a reverence ſuperior to that which is paid to the moſt abſolute Monarchs of the Eaſt (91). By theſe contrivances both parties enjoyed, for a time, the higheſt ſatisfaction; for Cromwell's friends in Parliament believed him unalterably addicted to their meaſures, and that they might direct and diſpoſe of him how they pleaſed; while, on the other hand, he promoted his own intereſt moſt effectually, and ſuch propoſitions as he made, purely with a view to that, were by them interpreted as tending only to the maintenance of their authority, and ſecuring the unlimited obedience of the army to their orders (92). Beſides all this, he was likewiſe very attentive to the eſtabliſhment of an extenſive reputation, and that even among enemies; for ſome of his own ſoldiers having broken the articles upon which the city of Wincheſter was rendered, he cauſed one of them to be hanged, and ſent five more of them priſoners to the Governor of Oxford, to be by him puniſhed as he thought fit; but he very wiſely ſent them back again (93). At the conferences alſo which preceded the ſurrender of Exeter, he entered into a converſation with Sir John Berkeley, of ſuch a nature, as to prove an introduction to a correſpondence with that Gentleman when a proper opportunity offered, as afterwards there did. Thus at one and the ſame time he managed many different intereſts, creating in all an attention to, and confidence in, his conduct, and yet communicating his real deſigns to none; for at this juncture, though all the parties in the army and the nation had their eyes particularly fixed upon Lieutenant-General Cromwell's management, in order to penetrate his deſigns; yet it manifeſtly appears, from the writings on all ſides, that there was not any two of them who concurred in their ſentiments. Only the Preſbyterians ſeemed to underſtand him beſt; for they judged him as little affected to the Parliament as to the King, and that, for the aggrandizing of his own power, he would make no ſcruple of conſcience to deſtroy both (94).

(90) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. VI. p. 46, 88, 94.

(91) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 180, 181, 189, 202.

(92) See Ludlow, Whitlocke, Hollis, Fairfax, and Warwick's Memoirs.

(93) See the Myſtery of the two Junto's, Preſbyterian and Independant. Hiſt. of Independency, P. i. p. 4.

(94) See Whitlocke, Ludlow, Fairfax, Hollis, Berkeley, and Warwick's Memoirs.

Eſſex-Houſe, and was buried with great pomp, October 22d, at the publick expence (p); Mr Cromwell coming poſt to town, in order to attend his funeral (q). On the 12th of November following, the army marched triumphantly through London, and, in the beginning of February following, the Scots having received their money, delivered up the King, who was carried priſoner to Holmby (r). At this time Lieutenant-General Cromwell had a very nice game to play, what wore the legal appearance of power, was evidently in the hands of the Parliament, in which the Preſbyterian party was ſtill prevalent; and as the General, Sir Thomas Fairfax, was likewiſe in that intereſt, it looked as if the real power was alſo on their ſide. At the bottom, however, the army, now taught to know their own ſtrength, were in reality the maſters, and they were entirely directed by Cromwell, though they knew it not themſelves (s) [P]. If the King and Parliament had immediately cloſed, which was the intereſt of both, the Kingdom muſt have been ſettled, which was the point that the army chiefs, and their friends, meant to avoid; and what gave them an opportunity of avoiding it was, the King's inflexible attachment to Epiſcopacy on one ſide, and the Parliament inſiſting as obſtinately on the eſtabliſhment of Preſbytery on the other (t). Lieutenant-General Cromwell ſaw the neceſſity of having a ſtrong place, and getting the King's perſon into their power; and he contrived to do both, without ſeeming to have any hand in either. Oxford was, at that time, in a good condition, and well ſupplied with artillery; upon which the army ſeized it with the magazines, and every thing elſe (u). And Cromwell, then at London, prevailed upon Cornet Joyce to ſeize the King's perſon, with a ſtrong detachment of horſe, not only without the General's orders, but without any orders at all, except thoſe verbal inſtructions from Cromwell (w). This was executed on the 4th of June 1647, notwithſtanding the Parliament's Commiſſioners were then with the King, who was conducted from Holmby to Childerſley (x), then the army's head quarters, where he was received not only with reverence but with kindneſs, and treated much more indulgently than while in the hands of the Parliament; chiefly through the management of Lieutenant-General Cromwell and Commiſſary Ireton, his ſon-in-law, who, if Major Huntingdon, and others, may be believed, made high profeſſions for his ſervice (y). It is very certain, that Sir Thomas Fairfax knew nothing of the taking away of the King; that he diſliked it; that he would have ſent him back again with the Commiſſioners, under the guard of two regiments of horſe; but the Commiſſioners refuſed to act, or the King to move (z); nay, to ſuch a degree was that Monarch perſwaded of the ſincerity of his new friends, that he had the

[P] *Though they knew it not themſelves.*] There are ſome things in the text which ſtand in need of explanation; and indeed it cannot be otherwiſe: but to render this article intelligible, and to make the reader perfectly maſter of the ſubject of which we are treating, it is abſolutely requiſite to go very deep into the hiſtory of theſe times, which, in truth, is no other than the perſonal hiſtory of Cromwell; for his, and his friends intrigues, either moved, or gave motion, to all the parties in the kingdom. But, to come to thoſe difficulties we mention, and to reſolve them; in the firſt place then, it may ſeem ſtrange, that having before intimated more than once, that Cromwell's party was become the ſtrongeſt in the Houſe of Commons, we ſhould now aſſert, that there was a party ſtronger than theirs (95). The anſwer to this is, that the facts are certainly true; neither will it be hard to give a clear account of them. Thoſe might be juſtly called Cromwell's party who framed the new model, continued him his ſon Ireton, and a few more officers, in their commands, notwithſtanding the Self-denying Ordinance; for theſe tranſactions ſhew that they were his party, as their being able to carry them ſhews they were the prevailing party. But, when the war was at an end, a conſiderable number of members, amongſt whom were Mr Pierpoint, Mr Whitlocke, and ſeveral other eminent perſons, altered their conduct, and believing that the army had anſwered the ends which it was propoſed they ſhould anſwer, by entirely ſubduing ſuch as were in arms for the King, were now very ſincerely for a peace; and therefore joined the old Preſbyterian party, that were always for it; with them came back thoſe who had been deluded, and ſuch as had been frighted out of their former principles; and thus, in the latter end of the year 1646, the firſt party in the Houſe was again become the ſtrongeſt, and, for a time, were ſtronger than ever (96). Another difficulty may be raiſed, from conſidering the conduct of Cromwell, and the great officers, who, while the army firſt became mutinous, remained in the Houſe, and not only remained, but ſpoke and voted with the majority; ſo that nothing ſeems to be more unfair, than to charge them, at this juncture, with promoting thoſe bad deſigns, notwithſtanding they afterwards openly concurred in them. Now to remove this difficulty, it muſt be obſerved, that Cromwell and Ireton went down from the Houſe to the army firſt, to diſpoſe them to diſband, but, inſtead of acting ſincerely in this matter, they diſcouraged and brow-beat ſuch officers and ſoldiers, as ſhewed themſelves inclined to it, and gave hints to the reſt how they might avoid it, by ſuggeſting, that they were not mercenaries but military commoners, who, in that reſpect, had a right to apply to their repreſentatives, and, amongſt other things, to inſiſt, previous to their being diſbanded, upon an act of Indemnity with the royal aſſent, that they might not ſuffer as the King's ſubjects for what they had done as the Parliament's ſoldiers (97). This produced the erecting a new council, compoſed at firſt of two private men out of each company and troop in every regiment, under the title of Agitators, who were to frame and diſpoſe the propoſitions of the army to the Parliament. After taking this ſtep, which was the foundation of all that followed, Cromwell, Ireton, and the reſt of the great officers, came up to attend the ſervice of the Houſe, well knowing, that the fire they had kindled would burſt out with violence in their abſence, as accordingly it did. Another difficulty yet remains, and that is as to their conduct in the Houſe, which, it is allowed, was not at all of a piece with their behaviour in the army (98). Now the reaſon of this will quickly appear; for, by the manner of their ſpeaking and voting, they ſecured the confidence of the Parliament to ſuch a degree, that, when the diſobedience of the army became flagrant, they were ſent down to reduce them to their duty, whereas had they uſed another language, or a different conduct, they had been ſent to the Tower. But what followed upon their returning to the army? Why, inſtead of performing what they were ſent for, they joined with the mutineers (99), added a council of Officers to the council of Agitators, erecting thereby Military Houſes of Lords and Commons, and ſent up their reſolutions to give law to the Parliament; which clearly proves the truth and certainty of all that is advanced in the text.

[Q] *Who,*

(p) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 630.

(q) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 225.

(r) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 193. Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 234.

(s) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 189.

(t) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 297.

(u) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 96.

(w) Behemoth, by Tho. Hobbs, p. 225, 226. Hollis's Memoirs, p. 67.

(x) Perfect Diurnal, p. 1612.

(y) Coke's Detection, p, 178. Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 193. Major Huntingdon's Charge of High-Treaſon againſt Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

(z) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 240. See the General's own letter to the Parliament in Heath's Chronicle, p. 131.

(95) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 6.

(96) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, 72. See alſo Clarendon, Whitlocke, and Echard.

(97) See Major Huntington's Charge againſt Cromwell. Flagellum, or life of O. Cromwell, p. 55. Hollis's Memoirs, p. 77.

(98) Myſtery of the two Junto's, Preſbyterian and Independant. Whitlocke's Memorials. Memoirs of Hollis and Ludlow.

(99) See Major Huntington's Charge againſt Cromwell. Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 55.

the indiſcretion to tell Sir Thomas Fairfax, when he made him a tender of his duty and reſpect, with promiſes of fair treatment, that *he thought he had as good an intereſt in the* Army *as himſelf* (*a*). The remaining ſix months of this year were the moſt critical of Lieutenant-General Cromwell's whole life; for, in order to ſucceed in his ſchemes, it was abſolutely neceſſary to deceive the King, the Parliament, and the Army, which, in their turns, was effected, though not without danger and difficulty. As for the King, he relied ſo entirely upon Cromwell and Ireton, and they, on the other hand, ſpoke of and acted towards him in ſuch a manner, that they were looked upon as abſolute courtiers; nor is it at all wonderful that the King gave credit to them, when they brought the army to ſend a letter to the Parliament, which was delivered July 9th, 1647, avowing the King's cauſe to be their's (*b*), and that no ſettlement could be hoped for without granting him his juſt rights. In reference to the Parliament, ſo long as they enjoyed their power, Mr Cromwell always ſpoke the language of a Member of the Houſe of Commons, ſhewed a high regard for their privileges, and profeſſed, that he was ſuſpected and diſliked by the Army, for his attachment to the Civil Government (*c*). This did not, however, hinder his being diſbelieved by many, till at length he found it neceſſary, for his own ſafety, to make his eſcape from the Houſe with ſome precipitation (*d*). As to the ſoldiers, and that mutinous ſpirit which they diſcovered againſt the Parliament, it was raiſed, fomented, and managed, by Cromwell and Ireton, the former declaring at Triploe-Heath, when the Parliament had been obliged to eraſe their own declaration out of their Journals, *Now they might be an Army as long as they lived* (*e*). It was owing to this ſpirit that the *eleven* Members of the Houſe of Commons were impeached, the Houſe of Commons purged, and their authority brought ſo low, that the London apprentices came into the Houſe, and forced them to vote what they pleaſed (*f*). It is true, that, when the Earl of Mancheſter and Mr Lenthal, the Speakers, retired to the Army, and the Lord Grey and Mr Pelham were choſen in their places, the Lords and Commons recovered their authority; but they did not hold it for a week, Sir Thomas Fairfax marching directly to London, replacing the old Speakers, Auguſt 6th, and the next day marching in triumph through the city, ſo that now the Army, and not the Parliament, were the Supreme Authority (*g*). Soon after this a new party ſprung up among the ſoldiers, under the title of Levellers, who made no ſecret of their hating equally both King and Parliament; and it was to ſave himſelf from theſe people, whom, as he was informed by Cromwell, ſought his life, the King, November 11th, fled from Hampton-Court to the Iſle of Wight, after having rejected the Parliament's propoſals by Cromwell's and Ireton's advice (*h*). Immediately after this tranſaction General Cromwell altered his behaviour towards the King entirely, as ſome think, out of fear of the Agitators, but, as Lord Hollis and others affirm, in conſequence of his own deſigns (*i*); for, having made uſe of the King's preſence to manage the Army, and of the power which the Army had thereby acquired, to humble and debaſe the Parliament, there was no farther end to be anſwered by keeping meaſures any longer towards the King (*k*). In order to be convinced of this we need only conſider, that the ſame method was practiſed in the Iſle of Wight, while the Parliament was again treating with the King, which had been before practiſed at Holmby, and the very ſame inſtrument employed the famous Cornet Joyce, who, upon very good grounds, is believed to be the very man that cut off the King's head (*l*). The Parliament, now much altered from what it was, upon the King's refuſing to paſs *four* bills which they ſent him, fell into very warm debates, in which it is ſaid, that Cromwell was a principal ſpeaker, and inveighed bitterly againſt his Majeſty; he ſaid, the King was a very able man, but withal a great diſſembler, one in whom no truſt could be repoſed, and with whom therefore they ought to have nothing to do for the future (*m*). However this might be, the Parliament, on the 5th of January, voted that no more addreſſes ſhould be made to the King (*n*), and from that time he was more ſtrictly impriſoned than ever; all which the beſt writers attribute to a new conjunction between Cromwell and the Commonwealth's Men, who, after ſo much purging, had gained a very great influence in Parliament (*o*) [Q]. It very ſoon appeared, notwithſtanding this agreement between the grandees

(*a*) Memoirs of Thomas Lord Fairfax, p. 116.

(*b*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 259. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 195. Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 113.

(*c*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 190. Hollis's Memoirs, p. 100.

(*d*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 55.

(*e*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 132, 133. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 230, 231. Major Huntington's Charge.

(*f*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 260. Coke's Detection, p. 162, 163.

(*g*) Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 264. Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 253. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 233.

(*h*) Major Huntington's Charge. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 203, 204.

(*i*) Behemoth, by Tho. Hobbs, p. 234, 235. Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 186, 187.

(*k*) Flagellum, or the life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 63.

(*l*) Behemoth, by Thomas Hobbs, p. 239. Heath's Chronicle, p. 157.

(*m*) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 190. Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 229, 236. Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 63.

(*n*) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 275.

(*o*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 239, 240. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 97.

[Q] *Who, after ſo much purging, had gained a very great influence in Parliament.*] It is a point out of all diſpute, ſince there is not a writer of any party but agrees in the fact, that the great inclination ſhewn by the Army to provide not only for the ſafety of the King's perſon, but for his reſtitution to his juſt rights, was, at firſt infuſed, and promoted all along, by Lieutenant-General Cromwell and Commiſſary-General Ireton, who, from this merit, aſſumed to themſelves the negotiation with the King; which they carried on ſo much to his ſatisfaction in moſt reſpects, that he thought his condition much mended, and truſted them very much; though he was not ſo weak to confide entirely in their promiſes, as ſome writers have aſſerted. What the methods were by which Cromwell impoſed upon him and his old ſervants, and to how great a height this impoſition was carried, may appear by one paſſage out of many, in the work of a Gentleman of honour, and who was deeply intereſted in this affair; and who was both an eye-witneſs, and very largely concerned in every tranſaction that he mentions (100). After obſerving that the Agitators, on the King's firſt coming to the Army, were very ſincere in his cauſe, and deſired this Gentleman to give them notice if he ſaw any cauſe to ſuſpect the reality of Cromwell's profeſſions, he proceeds thus: 'In all my conferences with him, I 'found no man, in appearance, ſo zealous for a ſpeedy 'blow as he, ſometimes wiſhing that the King was 'more frank, and would not tie himſelf ſo ſtrictly to 'narrow maxims, ſometimes complaining of his ſon 'Ireton's ſlowneſs in perfecting the propoſals, and his 'not accommodating more to his Majeſty's ſenſe, al'ways doubting, that the Army would not preſerve 'their good inclinations for the King. I met with 'him

(100) Memoirs of Sir John Berkeley, p. 26, 27, 28.

grandees of the Army, and the friends to a Republick, that the nation in general hated the thoughts of ſubmitting to a Stratocracy, Ariſtocracy, or a Democracy, and were reſolved to run any hazard, in order to recover their old Conſtitution (*p*); and this it was that created the ſecond Civil War, in which many, who had formerly fought for the Parliament, took up arms for the King; and part of the fleet under Vice-Admiral Batten, who had been diſplaced to make way for Cromwell's favourite Rainſborough, revolted to Prince Charles (*q*). Yet this was far from being all; the Scots, who now ſaw that their expectations were entirely defeated, fell upon new meaſures, and having, without doubt, ſome ſecret encouragement from the chiefs of the Preſbyterian party in England, fell upon new

(*p*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 170, 171.

(*q*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 530, 531.

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him about three days after I came to Reading, as he was coming from the King, then at Cauſum: he told me, that he had lately ſeen the tendereſt ſight that ever his eyes beheld, which was, the interview between the King and his children, and wept plentifully at the remembrance of it, ſaying, that never man was ſo abuſed as he, in his ſiniſter opinions of the King, who, he thought, was the uprighteſt and moſt conſcientious man of his three kingdoms; that they of the Independant party, as they were called, had infinite obligations to him, for not conſenting to the Scots propoſitions, which would have totally ruined them, and which his Majeſty's intereſt ſeemed to invite him to; and concluded with me by wiſhing, that God would be pleaſed to look upon him according to the ſincerity of his heart towards his Majeſty. I immediately acquainted his Majeſty with this paſſage, who ſeemed not well edified with it; and did believe, that all proceeded out of the uſe Cromwell and the Army had of his Majeſty, without whom he thought they could do nothing.' This paſſage ſhews at what time Cromwell endeavoured to be thought well affected to the King, and profeſſed his having a good opinion of him. Had theſe been ſincerely his ſentiments, he would never have altered them, for the King gave him no occaſion; ſince it is clearly proved, that his final anſwer to the propoſals which were made him, not only ſpoke the ſenſe of him and Ireton, as the King conceived it, but was altered by their hands till it ſatisfied themſelves (101). Had he been really inclined to reſtore the King, he might have done it now with a high hand, a great majority of the Parliament were for him, the city of London was in their ſentiments; the meaſures taken by the Scots, and the inſurrections in ſeveral counties in his favour, ſhew, that this was alſo the ſenſe of the nation; if therefore Lieutenant-General Cromwell had made uſe of his wonderful capacity, to diſpoſe the Army not to any new deſign, but to have performed their own promiſes; he might have ſettled the government upon it's old foundation, and have made himſelf a very great man (102). He reſolved, however, not to do this, and, having made that reſolution, it became neceſſary to prevent the King's being ſettled by others; and how he contrived to bring this about, a noble Hiſtorian has very fully informed us, after having aſſured us that this was Cromwell's deſign (103). 'The difficulty was, how to bring this about to cozen the King, ſo as to make him act it himſelf, and fly into the cage; carry him by force they durſt not; it would be unhandſome; it might be dangerous: they uſe this ſtratagem; heighten, and ſharpen underhand, the mad humour of their party againſt him, to have it break out all manner of ways in threatning ſpeeches, pamphlets, ſome conſultations, that, whilſt his Majeſty lived in England, he could not be ſafe; meetings to conſider, and come to ſome reſolutions, of taking him out of the way; the Army is again diſquiet, the Officers not obeyed; all things tending to mutiny, and ſome violent eruption. Then does Mr Cromwell, and his Cabinet-Council, ſeem to be extreamly ſollicitous of the ſafety of his Majeſty's perſon; cauſe ſome diſcoveries to be given him of his danger; expreſs great indignation and trouble in the Houſe, in the Army, and other places, againſt theſe proceedings; act their parts ſo to the life, as the life of a man muſt go to make up the diſguiſe; an Agitator, whom, at a Council of War, with two more they condemned, was ſhot to death; ſo as the King could not but have a great confidence in theſe men, to believe that they were really for his preſervation. At laſt Cromwell writes a letter to Whalley, who commands the guards about his Majeſty's perſon, to be ſhewn his Majeſty; and other informations are likewiſe brought him, to make him believe, that, if he eſcape not preſently, he will be murdered; and he is adviſed to go to the Iſle of Wight, where they had before hand provided him a jaylor, Colonel Hammond, one for whom, they ſaid, they could anſwer, that there his Majeſty would be in ſafety, and they able to ſerve him. Here they have the King ſafe enough; and now the Army is preſently quiet, the Agitators as obedient as lambs, and Councils of War are ſet up again to act as formerly. And Sir Thomas Fairfax, with their advice, ſets out a Remonſtrance, to give ſatisfaction to the Army; which he concludes with a proteſtation to adhere to, conduct, live and die with the Army, in the proſecution of ſome things there expreſſed; as namely, to obtain a preſent proviſion for conſtant pay, ſtating of accounts, ſecurity for arrears, with an effectual and ſpeedy courſe to raiſe monies; a period to be ſet to this Parliament; proviſion for future Parliaments, the certainty of their meeting, ſitting, and ending; the freedom and equality of elections, and other things, which he had the impudence and boldneſs to publiſh in print.' It is true, that Lord Hollis, being an enemy to Cromwell, and writing this book to ſhew the cauſe of his enmity, is not a witneſs to be believed entirely from his own aſſertion; but the main fact here is, the letter which had been paſſed over by ſome, denied by others, and, for any thing that I know, never proved upon Cromwell by any; till Colonel Whalley's letter to the Parliament, upon the King's withdrawing from Hampton-Court, was publiſhed; in which it is poſitively ſaid, that Cromwell wrote the letter to him (104), and that he ſhewed it to the King: This letter Ruſhworth had in his power, and might have printed, if he had ſo pleaſed; but truths of all kinds are not welcome to all men. As for the Propoſitions that were ſent to the King in the Iſle of Wight, they were deſtructive not only of his power and honour, but of the Conſtitution; by them he was required to take the guilt of all the blood ſhed in the war upon himſelf, to cancel all his own acts, and to eſtabliſh the independent power of the Parliament and Army; that is, in plain Engliſh, to depoſe himſelf, and, at the ſame time, lend his authority for the eſtabliſhing a new tyrannical power over his people (105). For rejecting ſuch terms, Cromwell declared that he ought to be treated with no more; the Parliament, now under the direction of the Army, voted this; and Sir Thomas Fairfax, without waiting for their directions, ordered the King to be made a cloſe priſoner; and this, though done without their knowledge, was approved by Parliament (106). Theſe indiſputable facts are ſufficient to let us into the motives upon which thoſe men proceeded who did all theſe things, and who, in the Council of War held at Windſor, immediately after, reſolved to do all that they afterwards did, though, from certain unforeſeen circumſtances that fell out, they were hindered from doing it ſo ſoon as they intended (107). As for the coalition between Cromwell and his creatures, and the Commonwealth party in the Houſe of Commons, the hiſtory of it may be found in Whitlocke and in Ludlow (108), much to the honour of Cromwell's abilities, who deceived them with as much dexterity as he had done the King, and for the very ſame reaſon, becauſe there was no other way of working his own purpoſes but by deceiving them; if there had, he would probably have taken it; but, as there was not, he was forced to take it; and the great wonder is, that, having diſſembled and deceived ſo often before, he ſhould be truſted again; to account for which we muſt conſider, that this was not choice in the Commonwealth's men (109), but neceſſity; they did not truſt Cromwell to do their work, but they made uſe of him, becauſe he was the only inſtrument by which their work could be done.

(101) See Major Huntington's Charge againſt Cromwell, and the Memoirs of Hollis, Ludlow, and Aſhburnham.

(102) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 60, 61.

(103) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 185, 186, 187.

(104) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. B. IX. p. 38.

(105) Heath's Chronicle, p. 160, 161. Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 190. Hiſt. of Independency, P. i. p. 41.

(106) Flagellum, or the Life of O. Cromwell, p. 64, 65.

(107) Berkeley's Memoirs, p. 71, 72, 73, 74, 75.

(108) Memorials of the Engliſh affairs, p. 361—363. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 271—273.

(109) Life of O. Cromwell, p. 99.

[R] *And*

new councils, determined to raiſe an army, and march it into England (*r*), in hopes of being joined by the King's friends in the field, and, upon the firſt advantage gained there, owned and applauded by their old acquaintance in the Parliament (*s*), who were true to their ancient principles, and deſirous of a ſettlement upon a baſis of their own laying, rather than a revolution, taking riſe only from chance and power (*t*). In the mean time there were riſings alſo in Kent and Surrey; and, though theſe were in a manner ſuppreſſed by that part of the Army which lay near London, yet the remains of theſe two bodies forcing a paſſage into the county of Eſſex, took poſſeſſion of Colcheſter, where, under the Earl of Norwich, Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Liſle, they made a very gallant defence (*u*). As the war was thus revived in all parts of the iſland, there was a neceſſity of dividing the Army, in conſequence of which Cromwell marched into Wales againſt Major-General Langhorn, Colonel Poyer, and Colonel Powell (*w*). Sir Thomas Fairfax beſieged Colcheſter (*x*), and General Lambert marched northward againſt the Scots (*y*). The military power being thus employed, the city of London and the Parliament were left, in ſome meaſure, at liberty to purſue their own ſentiments, and what theſe were quickly appeared; for June 27th, 1648, the city petitioned for a perſonal treaty with the King, which was very well received, and ſome ſteps taken thereupon (*z*). But by the arts of Sir Henry Vane, and thoſe of his party, many obſtacles being raiſed, the city, on the 8th of Auguſt following, petitioned the Houſe of Lords in ſtill ſtronger and more direct terms, which was not only favourably accepted, but the petitioners had alſo the thanks of the Houſe given them; an evident proof, that the ſcope of their petition was alſo the ſenſe of that Houſe (*a*). A few days after the Commons recalled their vote for non-addreſſes, ſet on foot a perſonal treaty with the King at the Iſle of Wight, and at length voted his Majeſty's conceſſions ſatisfactory (*b*). An attempt was alſo made to impeach Cromwell of high-treaſon upon Major Huntington's information, whom he had chiefly intruſted in his negotiation with the King; but this failed (*c*). The great ſucceſs of the Army quickly altered the face of things; for Cromwell having reduced, and, in a great meaſure, deſtroyed thoſe who took up arms in Wales, began his march northward in the middle of July, and, in a month after, routed Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the Scots under Duke Hamilton; the terror of which victory forced Colcheſter to ſurrender (*d*): and now the Army returning towards London, November 20th, ſent a Remonſtrance to the Houſe of Commons, diſapproving all they had done (*e*). This Remonſtrance was carried by Colonel Ewers, who went next into the Iſle of Wight, where he ſeized the perſon of the King, which was reſented by the Parliament, who commanded the General to recal his orders (*f*). Inſtead of this the Army marched directly to London, and, in the firſt week of December, took poſſeſſion of it, purged the Houſe of Commons, that is, turned out the better part of it's Members, and then forced the remainder to do what they pleaſed (*g*). In moſt of theſe ſteps Cromwell was very active, and is, with good grounds, believed to have directed all the reſt (*h*) [*R*]. It is not neceſſary

(*r*) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 278, 279.

(*s*) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 100.

(*t*) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 232.

(*u*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 249, 250.

(*w*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. II. P. iv. p. 1098.

(*x*) Heath's Chronicle, p. [illegible]

(*y*) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 233.

(*z*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. II. P. iv. p. 1167.

(*a*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 647. Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. iv. p. 1220.

(*b*) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 289. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 647.

(*c*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 325, 327.

(*d*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 178, 179.

(*e*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iv. p. 1331. Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 293.

(*f*) Echard's Hiſt. of Engl. p. 651. Bate's Elenchus Motuum, p. 135.

(*g*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 192, 193.

(*h*) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 70, 71.

[*R*] ***And is, with good grounds, believed to have directed all the reſt.***] After Lieutenant-General Cromwell was ſent to reduce thoſe who, deſerting the Parliament's ſervice, had taken up arms in Wales, he proſecuted that expedition with ſuch vigilance, that he did more in a month than could have been well expected from him in ſix; and yet what he did was moſt effectually done alſo, and without the leaſt tincture of paſſion; though he is commended for his clemency by ſome, and as loudly condemned of cruelty by others; but as haſte was all he aimed at, ſo he was either gentle or ſevere as that directed. If he could procure a ſurrender upon terms, no-body gave better, none kept them more ſtrictly; but if he was obliged to make uſe of force, he did not ſpare ſhedding blood; not from particular reſentment, or any barbarous delight in it, but to ſerve his purpoſe, which, in this caſe, was diſpatch (110). This war quickly ended, though at a great expence of men, who had done the Parliament good ſervice, thoſe who fought againſt Cromwell having had a ſhare in moſt of the battles againſt the King; he marched northwards to join Lambert, and came time enough to fall upon Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the Engliſh Royaliſts, who behaved as well as men could do, and were beat by dint of numbers; but for the Scots under Duke Hamilton, they were ſo ill commanded, that, though they had numbers on their ſide, they were rather butchered than beat, ſo that not a tenth part of them got home again (111). Cromwell now changed his maxim, proceeded ſlowly, went into Scotland, concluded a treaty with the dominant party in that kingdom, and left a body of troops with them to maintain it; by which having ſecured that part of the iſland, he was in no pain about the reſt, as knowing that his victorious army muſt make all bend before them. At this diſtance, however, he ſignified to his friends in Parliament, that they ſhould adhere to their vote of making no farther addreſſes to the King (112), which, though they found it impoſſible to do, yet, as the moſt effectual ſtep towards fruſtrating the oppoſite meaſures, they procured Sir Henry Vane the younger to be one of the Commiſſioners in the treaty at the Iſle of Wight, where, by his arts, and in conjunction with the Lord Say, he retarded it very much, which gave Cromwell time to march up to London (113). In this march the Remonſtrance was hammered out directly contrary to the declaration of the Army, in which they had bewailed their former miſcarriages towards the Parliament, offering violence to the two Houſes, and promiſed faithfully and dutifully to acquieſce in their wiſe reſolutions. Upon the very day that Cromwell came to London, Colonel Pride turned one-and-forty Members out of the Houſe, and made them priſoners; and the very ſame day Colonel Ewer ſeized the King in his bed-chamber, and carried him out of the Iſle of Wight to Hurſt-Caſtle (114); both which ſteps are ſuppoſe to have been taken by directions from Cromwell; and that this ſuppoſition was not ill founded, the reader may probably conclude from the following account of it by the General Thomas Lord Fairfax (115). ‘In the Iſle of Wight the Parliament treated upon propoſitions of peace with the King; but alas! the *Envious one* ſowed *tares*, that could not be rooted out but by plucking up the corn alſo. The King was the golden ball caſt before the two parties, the Parliament and the Army; and the conteſt grew ſo great, that it muſt again have involved the kingdom in blood, but the Army, having the greater power, got the King again into their hands, notwithſtanding all endeavours to hinder it. The treaty was ſcarce ended before the King was ſeized on by the hands of the ſame perſons that took him from Holmby, ſoon

(110) The Perfect Politician, or life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 28, 29.

(111) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 100, 101. Flagellum, or life of O. Cromwell, p. 67.

(112) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 96.

(113) Sir John Bowring's Memoirs. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 44.

(114) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 355, 357.

(115) Short Memorials of Thomas Lord Fairfax, p. 118, 119, 120.

neceſſary to dwell particularly upon thoſe circumſtances that are well known, in relation to bringing the King before the High Court of Juſtice, and in purſuance to the ſentence paſſed there to his death, ſince the ſhare that Lieutenant-General Cromwell had therein was open and publick; he ſat in the Court, he ſigned the Warrant, and he proſecuted the accompliſhment of it by the King's bloody execution (*i*). It is alſo known, that he threatned Colonel Downs out of that tenderneſs which he ſhewed for his Sovereign, when before the Court; and Colonel Ingoldſby always affirmed, that Cromwell guided his hand in his ſigning the ſentence; what applications were made to him for ſaving the King's life may be found in a multitude of books, and ſome of the paſſages relating to them are undoubtedly worthy of notice (*k*) [*S*]. One remark however is very obvious upon this head, which is, that his power and his principles muſt have been very well known, both at home and abroad, otherwiſe ſuch general applications could have never been made; for though

(*i*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 567—569. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 370—375. Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 653—661.

(*k*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 200. Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 734.

after followed his trial. To prepare a way to this work, this agitating council did firſt intend to remove all out of the Parliament who were like to oppoſe them; and carried it on with ſuch ſecrecy, as I had not the leaſt intimation of it till it was done, as ſome of the Members of the Houſe can witneſs, with whom I was at that very time, upon ſpecial buſineſs, when that attempt was made by Colonel Pride upon the Parliament, which I proteſt I never had any knowledge of till it was done. The reaſon why it was ſo ſecretly carried, that I ſhould have no notice of it, was, becauſe I always prevented thoſe deſigns when I knew them. By this purging of the Houſe, as they called it, the Parliament was brought into ſuch a conſumptive and languiſhing condition, that it could never again recover that healthful conſtitution which always kept the Kingdom in it's ſtrength, life, and vigour.' When the firſt propoſition was made in the Houſe of Commons, for trying the King, Mr Cromwell roſe up (116), and ſaid, that 'If any man moved this upon deſign, he ſhould think him the greateſt traitor in the world; but ſince Providence and neceſſity had caſt them upon it, he ſhould pray God to bleſs their councils, though he was not provided on the ſudden to give them counſel.' But not long after he was: for, being a great pretender to Enthuſiaſms and Revelations, he told them, that, as he was praying for a bleſſing from God on his undertaking to reſtore the King to his priſtine Majeſty, his tongue cleaved to the roof of his mouth, that he could not ſpeak one word more; which he took as a return of prayer, and that God had rejected him from being King; and to others he aſſerted, that it was lawful to circumvent a wicked man with deceit and fraud. If the reader is inclined to purſue this matter any farther, he may meet with the cleareſt information in the work of a late Prelate, who has given ſuch an account of Mr Cromwell's diſpute with the Commiſſioners from Scotland, on the neceſſity of the King's being ſubjected to a capital proſecution, as will leave him without the leaſt colour of doubt, that the whole of this meaſure was of his contriving and conducting, though ſupported by all the Republican party in the Parliament (117).

(116) Hiſt. of Independency, P. ii. p. 54.

(117) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 365. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, p. 46, 47.

[*S*] *Are undoubtedly worthy of notice.*] Of theſe one of the moſt remarkable is, the tranſaction between the Lieutenant-General and a couſin of his, Colonel John Cromwell, an officer in the ſervice of the States. This Gentleman is ſaid to have been in England while the King was in the hands of the Army; and that in a conference he had with the Lieutenant-General, the latter made uſe of this expreſſion, *I think the King the moſt injured Prince in the world*, and then clapping his hand upon his ſword, added, *But this, couſin, ſhall do him right* (118). The Colonel returning to Holland ſoon after, reported what he took to be truth, that the Lieutenant-General had a great regard and reſpect for the King. When, therefore, the news of the King's trial reached Holland, he was ſent over with Letters Credential from the States, to which was added a blank with the King's ſignet, and another of the Prince's, both confirmed by the States, for Cromwell to ſet down his own conditions, if he would now ſave his Majeſty's life. The Colonel went directly to his kinſman's houſe, who was ſo retired and ſhut up in his chamber, with an order to let none know he was at home; that it was with much difficulty he obtained admittance, after he had told who he was. Having mutually ſaluted each other, the Colonel deſired to ſpeak a few words with him in private; and began, with much freedom, to ſet before him the heinouſneſs of the fact then about to be committed, and with what deteſtation it was looked upon abroad, telling him, That of all men living he could never have imagined he would have had any hand in it, who, in his hearing, had proteſted ſo much for the King. To this Cromwell anſwered, It was not he but the Army, and though he did once ſay ſome ſuch words, yet now times were altered, and Providence ſeemed to order things otherwiſe. And it is ſaid he added, that he had prayed and faſted for the King, but no return that way was yet made to him. Upon this the Colonel ſtepped a little back, and ſuddenly ſhut the door, which made Cromwell apprehend he was going to be aſſaſſinated, but the other pulling out his papers, ſaid to him, *Couſin, this is no time to trifle with words: See here, it is now in your own power not only to make yourſelf but your family, relations, and poſterity, happy and honourable for ever; otherwiſe, as they changed their name before from* Williams *to* Cromwell, *ſo now they muſt be forced to change it again; for this fact will bring ſuch an ignominy upon the whole generation of them, that no time will be able to deface.* At this Cromwell pauſed a little, and then ſaid, *Couſin, I deſire you will give me till night to conſider of it, and do you go to your inn, and not to bed, till you hear from me.* The Colonel did accordingly; and, about one in the morning, a meſſenger came to tell him, He might go to reſt, and expect no other anſwer to carry to the Prince, for the council of officers had been ſeeking God, a phraſe, it ſeems, very much in uſe at that time, as he alſo had done the ſame, and it was reſolved by them all, that *the King muſt die* (119). All the circumſtances of this relation agree perfectly with the moſt authentic diaries of thoſe times, by which fictitious ſtories are eaſily detected. Lady Fairfax charged the whole deſign of ſeeking the King's death upon Cromwell, at his Majeſty's trial (120). Sir John Bowring told the King himſelf, during the Hampton-Court treaty, what Cromwell's intentions were; and Sir Peter Killigrew likewiſe told him, at the ſame place, that Cromwell meant to fetch him up to London, bring him to a trial there, and put him to death (121). Some have doubted whether the laſt was his original intention or not, for he never loved a Commonwealth, and therefore it is ſuppoſed, that he was the author of that paper-book of propoſals offered to the King the evening before he died; which would have eſtabliſhed the being of the Army moſt effectually, by putting it in their power to pay themſelves, and, at the ſame time, rendering them perpetual (122). If this be true, as indeed I think it cannot be diſproved, the King ſhewed that his great patience did not proceed from want of ſpirit, for he preſently rejected thoſe terms, and reſolved to die a martyr rather than live a cypher (123). But though, without Lieutenant-General Cromwell, this deed could not have been done, yet, when he had brought it ſo far, in order to try whether the King, who, by his laſt treaty, had conſented to a never ending Parliament, might not be brought to change that for an everlaſting Army, yet it might not be abſolutely in his power to go back, nor was it, probably, ever in his will; ſince, how generally ſoever the death of the King was imputed to him, the ſaving of him might, and, in all appearance, would, have been attributed to others; which was ſo repugnant to his ſcheme, if we may judge from his former and future actions (124), that there appears not the leaſt foundation to ſuppoſe he ever had a thought of conſenting to it, nor is there any thing like it ſuggeſted, by any of thoſe who either commend or condemn him.

(118) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 53.

(119) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 658.

(120) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 375. State Trials, Vol. I. p. 991.

(121) Bowring's Memoirs, p. 151.

(122) Hiſt. of Independency, P. ii. p. 109. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 660. Heath's Chronicle, p. 215.

(123) See the King's ſpeech at his death.

(124) Perinchief's life of Charles the firſt, p. 93.

[*T*] *And*

though it be true, that there were addreſſes alſo to the General, yet thoſe were from ſuch as oppoſed the action, as for inſtance, the Preſbyterian Miniſters, the Scots Commiſſioners, and ſome of the ſecluded Members; but thoſe who were guided entirely by pity and concern, laboured only to move Cromwell, who is ſaid, after this tragedy was acted, to have ſpoke his mind freely by owning, that, if he had not been a King, he might have lived longer (*l*). The government being now entirely changed, for in five days after the King's death the Houſe of Lords was voted uſeleſs, it became neceſſary to think of ſome expedient for managing the executive power; and therefore it was reſolved to ſet up a Council of State, of which John Bradſhaw was Preſident, and Lieutenant-General Cromwell a principal Member (*m*). Before he had well taken poſſeſſion of this new dignity, he was again called to action, and that too as briſk, and at leaſt as hazardous, as any in which he had taken any ſhare. The perſons with whom he was to engage were a part, and certainly, if they had known their own minds, the far greateſt part of the very army which he commanded, and the occaſion this: All the purpoſes for which they were neceſſary being anſwered, it was reſolved the Agitators ſhould aſſemble no more; the Houſe of Commons had deprived the Houſe of Lords of a being, by a vote; but in the Army the contrary method was purſued; the General, and his Council of Officers, would no longer vouchſafe any conference with, or even countenance to, the Agitators, which was what the greateſt part of the Army could not bear, and therefore had themſelves recourſe to a method which their officers had taught them upon other occaſions, and this was, to ſet forth their ſentiments by way of Remonſtrance, which was preſented by five Agitators to the General (*n*). For this high offence they were ſeized, and tried by a Court-Martial, and ſentenced to ride with their faces to their horſes tails, at the head of their reſpective corps, with a paper, expreſſing their crime, fixed on their breaſts, after which their ſwords were to be broke over their heads, and themſelves caſhiered; every circumſtance of which was ſtrictly executed upon the 6th of March, in Great Palace-Yard (*o*). This ſerved only to raiſe the flame higher; for ſeveral regiments of horſe, and amongſt the reſt Cromwell's, mutinied, put white cockades in their hats, and appointed a rendezvous at Ware; where Cromwell appeared when he was leaſt expected, and brought with him ſome regiments quartered at a diſtance, that he could depend on. Here, without any previous expoſtulations, he, with two regiments of horſe, ſurrounded one regiment of the mutineers, and calling four men by name out of their ranks, obliged them to caſt dice for their lives, and thoſe two that eſcaped were ordered to ſhoot the others, which they did, and upon this the tame ſpectators of the tragedy thought fit to ſlip their white cockades into their pockets, and to ſecure themſelves by a ſubmiſſion (*p*). This affair did not end here; for one Lockyer being ſhot in St Paul's Church-Yard for the like offence, his confederates, to the number of a thouſand, attended at his funeral with black and ſea-green ribbons, by way of favours (*q*). This portended a ſtorm, which quickly after broke out; for Scroop's regiment of horſe, quartered at Saliſbury, having firſt ejected their officers, marched to join three other regiments that were in the ſame diſpoſition (*r*); upon which Fairfax and Cromwell, with the troops that adhered to them, moved towards the mutineers with the utmoſt expedition, marching as the neceſſity of the caſe required, forty miles in one day. It is, however, very doubtful, whether all this vigilance, or even the valour of their victorious troops, would have done their buſineſs againſt theſe men, bred in the ſame ſchool, and not at all inferior, either in firmneſs or fame, to themſelves. In ſo nice and dangerous a caſe, therefore, Cromwell ventured upon a ſpecifick which he ſeldom adminiſtred, that is to ſay, he deluded them with a treaty, broke it, and deſtroyed them (*s*) with as little mercy as, in the High Court of Juſtice, he had ſhewn to the King or his friends [T]. After this great ſtroke he accompanied the General, firſt to Oxford (*t*), where

(*l*) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 74.

(*m*) Hiſt. of Independency, P. ii. p. 110.

(*n*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 233.

(*o*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 386.

(*p*) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 81.

(*q*) Hiſt. of Independency, P. ii. p. 163. Heath's Chronicle, p. 233.

(*r*) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 82, 83.

(*s*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 233, 234.

(*t*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 88.

[T] *And deſtroyed them with as little mercy, as, in the High Court of Juſtice, he had ſhewn to the King or his friends.*] It is very obſervable, that though, in matters of difficulty and great importance, Cromwell was ſlow in taking his party, and yet more ſo in declaring it when taken, this conduct of his was entirely altered from the time he once declared; for he was then, generally ſpeaking, not only as firm, but more forward than any, and this in matters that would have put the greateſt difficulties upon another man. As for inſtance, he moved for a Committee to look into the proceedings at the trial of the King, in order to teſtify their concurrence and approbation, and actually reported this matter to the Houſe himſelf (125). Upon the trial of Lord Capel, he made a ſpeech as ſenſible as it was ſevere; he acknowledged that Lord had great courage, induſtry, and generoſity; avowed a ſincere perſonal eſteem and reſpect for him; but then added, that the true queſtion was, not Whether they ſhould ſpare the life of a ſingle man? but, Whether they ſhould preſerve the moſt bitter and implacable enemy they ever had (126). When he marched againſt the Levellers, it was not only the Parliament's, but his own cauſe was at ſtake, and therefore he preſſed Lord Fairfax not to loſe a moment's time, and indeed if any time had been loſt, it is very probable that a new Civil War had began; for Capt. Thompſon, who had put himſelf at the head of theſe people, had drawn together near five thouſand men, who, like himſelf, were determined, and the Manifeſto they had publiſhed daily brought in more. To prevent, if poſſible, an action from whence Cromwell foreſaw the worſt conſequences imaginable, Col. Reynolds was allowed to parley with them, and to give them hopes of a treaty. Under the ſenſe of this being ſecure, they took the ſaddles off their horſes, and put them into a meadow to feed; but, about twelve at night, they were attacked on all ſides, and, being unable to form themſelves, were eaſily defeated. A great many ſurrendered upon having quarter given them, who were the next morning ſpectators of the death of three of their Chiefs, one of whom was Thompſon's brother; they all died with great courage and ſpirit. A meſſage was then ſent to the reſt of the mutineers, that they ſhould be decimated, that is, one in ten was to ſuffer death; but upon the heels of this came Lieutenant-General Cromwell,

(125) See the Journal of the Houſe annexed to the King's trial.

(126) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 113. Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 670.

where they were made Doctors in the Civil Law, and from thence to London, where they were ſplendidly entertained by the city, and had preſents of great value when they took leave (*u*). At this time England, if not quiet, was totally ſubdued, the Scots were diſcontented but not in arms, ſo that Ireland became the principal object of the Parliament's care, ſince, in that iſland, of three parties which had been for many years ſhedding each others blood, their own was the weakeſt. It was reſolved to ſend over a compleat army of ſeventeen thouſand men, for the ſoldiers were now ſo humbled, they might be ſent any where, and to add weight to the new erected Commonwealth of England, by ſubduing this divided nation (*w*). One only difficulty remained, which was, to find a proper General; Fairfax was unwilling to go, Waller was talked of, then Fleetwood; but, upon naming Cromwell, a ſilent conſent was given, a great majority approved, and the reſt were afraid to oppoſe it (*x*). Hiſtorians ſeem at a loſs for the motives which induced him to accept of this command, but they were, probably, theſe; he was willing to be relieved from the troubleſome fatigue of inventing new ſchemes, to render himſelf uſeful to the Parliament, while, as yet, they had both credit and power; he was deſirous of being at the head of an army in action, wherever it was, and he foreſaw thoſe diſtractions that would make, ſuch as were now glad to be rid, no leſs deſirous to recal him (*y*). The Parliament ſeemed ſtrongly inclined to make this ſervice as acceptable as poſſible, for they gave him the title of Lord Lieutenant, a moſt extenſive commiſſion, and he was ſent out of London with the greateſt pomp imaginable. He embarked for Ireland in the month of Auguſt, and arrived at Dublin ſoon after the ſiege of that city was raiſed, and Ormond defeated (*z*). The great induſtry he had uſed, in providing all things neceſſary for this expedition, made his army wear another appearance than any of thoſe that had been yet ſeen in Ireland, ſo that many places ſurrendered upon his approach; but Sir Arthur Aſton being in Drogheda with two thouſand five hundred men, all old troops, it was believed he would have detained the conqueror ſome time, and have allowed Ormond leiſure to have drawn together a new army. But Cromwell, better acquainted with the real ſtrength of places, and better provided with the means of reducing them than thoſe who had gone before him in this war, declined a regular ſiege, and, obſerving where the place was weakeſt, employed all his artillery to open a paſſage. In a very ſhort ſpace of time two breaches were practicable, which Cromwell immediately ſtormed, September 16th, 1649; and though the garriſon made a gallant defence, yet, by ſome accident, Cromwell's forces gained admittance, and, as he had before reſolved, he put all that were to be met with to the ſword, ſo that, at the out-ſide, there were but thirty eſcaped; the ſtrong town of Wexford had the ſame, or, rather, a worſe fate, for there abundance of unhappy women periſhed (*a*). His ſucceſſes here, as in England, were ſeaſoned with very few diſappointments, though ſome he did meet with; and ſickneſs and action having much reduced his Army, he was once in danger of being attacked with great advantage by Ormond; but that opportunity being loſt, was never recovered (*b*). He did not put his forces into winter-quarters till the month of December; and the rainy ſeaſon made it impoſſible for him to keep the field. He was in motion again in the beginning of February, and reduced ſeveral other places; not a few alſo revolted to him; and at laſt, in the beginning of March, he came before Kilkenny, which had been the chief ſeat of that bloody and barbarous rebellion, which he quickly reduced, and, not long after, took Clonmell, by ſtorm; ſo that by the month of June 1650, all Ireland was, in a manner, ſubdued, and that in ſo ſhort a ſpace as nine months (*c*). A ſtrange concurrence of circumſtances made his preſence now deſired in England, not only by thoſe who wiſhed him well, but by ſuch alſo as wiſhed him worſt; conſtituting therefore his ſon-in-law Ireton his deputy, he took ſhipping for Briſtol, where, after a dangerous paſſage, he ſafely arrived (*d*), leaving ſuch a terror on the minds of the Iriſh, as made every thing eaſy to thoſe who ſucceeded him, and compleated the conqueſt of that country [*U*]. Upon his return to London he

(*u*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 406.

(*w*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 237.

(*x*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 406, 407.

(*y*) See Ludlow's Memoirs, Flagellum, or Heath's life of O. Cromwell, and the Hiſt. of Independency.

(*z*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 422.

(*a*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 243, 244. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 301—303.

(*b*) See Lord Clarendon's Hiſt. of the War in Ireland, and Carte's life of the Duke of Ormond.

(*c*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 251. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 459. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 309.

(*d*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 88, 89.

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well, to let them know, that with much difficulty he had procured them pardon, by which he recovered the affection of the Army; neither is it at all improbable, that he brought the Lord General with him hither, that he might have an opportunity of doing this, which happened May 15, 1649 (127). As for Thompſon, the Ringleader, he eſcaped the ſlaughter made of his companions, and threw himſelf into a wood, where, though much wounded, he defended himſelf deſperately ſo long as he had any ammunition, and then, abſolutely refuſing quarter, was killed upon the ſpot. This broke the heart of that deſign, which might otherwiſe have given the Parliament a great deal of trouble, notwithſtanding they had voted them rebels, for they were a ſort of people not to be frighted with words. After this Cromwell purſued his point, and prevailed upon thoſe regiments, moſt enclined to join the mutineers, to wipe out the memory of paſt offences, by conſenting to go with him to Ireland, which accordingly they did (128).

[*U*] *Leaving ſuch a terror on the minds of the Iriſh, as made every thing eaſy to thoſe who ſucceeded him, and compleated the conqueſt of that country.*] We have ſeen the ſhare that Commiſſary-General Ireton had in affairs of the greateſt importance and difficulty, where Cromwell had occaſion for advice, and his hand was chiefly uſed in drawing all papers; for having been bred a Lawyer, he was much more capable in things of that nature than moſt of his party. He was very uſeful to his father-in-law in the courſe of the Iriſh war, and therefore it is no wonder that Cromwell committed the extinction of it to his care. Some writers, and more eſpecially a famous Prelate (129), have indeed ſuggeſted that he was ſo far from being ſecond to Cromwell, that he governed him, and that particularly in the buſineſs of the King's death he was the principal inſtrument, and drove the Lieutenant-General into it whether he would or not. Ludlow does not ſay this, but he ſeems to countenance ſuch an opinion, for he was as great an admirer of Ireton, as he was an implacable enemy to Cromwell. If one could give entire credit to this, it might be reaſonably preſumed, that Cromwell

(127) Hiſt. of Independency, P. ii. p. 167. Heath's Chronicle, p. 233, 234.

(128) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 84.

(129) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, p. 44, 46, 47.

he came, as it were, in triumph, and all ranks of people contended, either from love or fear, who ſhould ſhew him moſt reſpect. At his taking his ſeat in the Houſe he had thanks returned him for his ſervices, in terms as high as the Speaker's eloquence could reach (*e*). Theſe ceremonies once over they proceeded to things of greater conſequence; for, by this time, the Parliament had another war upon their hands, the Scots having invited home King Charles II. and preparing an army to invade England. There is no doubt that the Parliament would have been content to have truſted this war to the conduct of Lord Fairfax, a brave man, and a good officer, though no profound politician; but he had always ſcruples, and, having been often deceived and deluded, was now not ſo eaſily dealt with (*f*). Cromwell made no ſecret of his ſentiments, which were, that they ſhould not wait for an invaſion, but prevent it by an invaſion, and in this, without queſtion, he had the better ſide of the argument; but Lord Fairfax's conſcience could not digeſt this reaſoning; he had taken the Covenant, and, notwithſtanding all the ſeries of tranſactions he had run through, he could not bring himſelf to think of breaking it, by attacking the Scots in their own country (*g*). Cromwell, who had taken meaſure of his capacity, and knew that, as far as that went, he was inflexibly honeſt, carried his diſſimulation to the greateſt height, preſſed him to continue in his command, declared he thought it a greater honour to ſerve as his Lieutenant-General, than to command the fineſt army in the world in chief; and, ſtrange as this declaration was, he ſupported it with ſuch a ſhew of ſincerity, that Mr Ludlow (*h*), who ſuſpected him as much as any man, confeſſes that he was deceived, and that he thought himſelf obliged to interpoſe, and to deſire that the Lieutenant-General would not ſuffer his complaiſance to prove fatal to his country. This famous conference was held June 25th, 1650; and, though a whole month had been now ſpent in trying to get the better of Lord Fairfax's diſtaſte to the expedition againſt the Scots, yet it was all in vain; ſo that June 26th an Ordinance paſſed for repealing his commiſſion, and, at the ſame time, another for appointing Oliver Cromwell, Eſq; General and Commander in Chief of all the forces of the Commonwealth (*i*). He had now as great power as might have ſatisfied the moſt ambitious mind; for, though he offered to reſign his Lieutenancy of Ireland, yet the Parliament would not accept it. Being ſenſible, however, of the neceſſity there was to preſerve the military affairs in that kingdom from falling again into confuſion, and being deſirous to remove out of his way any officer the Parliament might think capable of taking a ſuperior command, he reſolved to follow that impreſſion which he perceived his late conduct had made upon Mr Ludlow, and to procure his being ſent to Ireland in quality of Lieutenant-General of the Horſe; which was accordingly done (*k*). Experience afterwards taught Ludlow the true meaning of this; but, in all probability, he conſidered it, at that time, as a favour; and this the great admirers of Cromwell have juſtly conſidered as an inſtance of his refined policy (*l*) [*W*]. All obſtructions being now removed, he began his march towards Scotland, much about

(*e*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 267. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 313, 314.

(*f*) Memoirs of Thomas Lord Fairfax, p. 127, 128.

(*g*) Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 273.

(*h*) Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 315.

(*i*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 460—462.

(*k*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 321—323.

(*l*) Modeſt Vindication of O. Cromwell, p. 33.

Cromwell left him his Deputy in Ireland, to prevent his embarraſſing the meaſures he meant to take in England. But whoever conſiders attentively the characters of both theſe men, will not, I perſuade myſelf, diſcover any real grounds for ſuch ſuppoſitions. While Cromwell and Ireton dealt with the King, their behaviour was perfectly the ſame, that is to ſay, they diſſembled alike, or, if there was any difference, Ireton did it the beſt of the two, whence one would naturally infer, that his principles were the ſame with Cromwell's; neither is it at all improbable, that, if they had lived longer together, they would have agreed as well in the latter part of their lives as they did in the former (130). Upon the whole, therefore, the truth ſeems to be, that Cromwell made choice of him for Deputy, becauſe he was at once the fitteſt man for that employment, and the perſon in the world he could beſt truſt with it. If theſe were Cromwell's reaſons, they were fully juſtified in the event; for Ireton did every thing that could be expected from him, he proſecuted the war with all the vigour and vigilance of a great officer, and ſettled alſo the civil affairs of the kingdom upon the beſt foundation poſſible. At the time of his death, there was an Engliſh army in Ireland of eight thouſand horſe and twenty-two thouſand foot, and though the Iriſh had ſtill ſome thouſands in arms, and were poſſeſſed of ſeveral places of conſiderable ſtrength, yet their councils were ſo broken, their forces ſo diſpirited, and they had ſo few reſources left, (Cromwell, from a ſeeming ſpirit of compaſſion, having ſuffered multitudes to be tranſported abroad for the Spaniſh and other ſervices) that notwithſtanding what Ludlow tells us of his own exploits in that kingdom, there was really nothing to be done of any conſequence; and as the reduction of Ireland was firſt rendered practicable by Cromwell, ſo with juſtice one can hardly ſay, it was compleated by any but Deputy Ireton and Lord Broghill, who were both of them, though from very different motives, equally attached to Cromwell and his family (131). We ſhall hereafter ſee that it was his policy to keep Ireland conſtantly in ſuch hands, which, without doubt, was very neceſſary, since the army there would have been always formidable, if at the devotion of any but thoſe on whom he could abſolutely depend.

[*W*] *As an inſtance of his refined policy.*] It muſt be very clear to ſuch as peruſe what Mr Ludlow has written, and who conſider what General Cromwell had acted, that, if we except their bravery, there could not be two more different men in the world. Ludlow was ſincerely and ſteadily a Republican. Cromwell was not wedded to any kind of government, but of all kinds liked that the leaſt. Ludlow ſpoke his mind plainly, and was never taken for any other than he profeſſed himſelf to be: Cromwell valued himſelf upon acting a part, or rather upon acting ſeveral parts, and all of them equally well; and when he had occaſion to perform that of a commonwealth's-man, he performed it ſo admirably, that though Ludlow knew him to be a player by profeſſion, yet he now thought he had thrown off the maſk, and appeared what he really was (132). Ludlow was entirely devoted to the Parliament as now conſtituted, and would have implicitly obeyed their orders upon any occaſion whatever: it was quite otherwiſe with Cromwell, who marched into Scotland to do his own buſineſs as well as theirs: from all which it may be inferred, that Cromwell ſent Ludlow over to Ireland, that, in caſe of any accident, like that which actually happened of the King's ſudden march into England, the Parliament might not have any officer at hand fit to command a new army, which new army, being alſo compoſed of troops raiſed under their authority, might have given a check to his own. He well knew, that two armies in a country of any thing near equal force, is the ſame thing with having none, in caſe the civil authority and the voice of the people declare on one ſide, for then there will be no way

(130) See Sir John Berkeley's Memoirs, Huntington's Charge againſt Cromwell, Hiſt. of Independency, P. ii. p. 178.

(131) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, P. ii. p. 67.

(132) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 321.

about the ſame time that King Charles appeared there in publick; the army which he commanded conſiſted of about twenty thouſand men, which were the flour of the Parliament Army, and ſuch as, with the change of a very few officers, General Cromwell could well depend upon (*m*). He uſed great expedition, and arrived in a month's time at Berwick, where he publiſhed a Declaration, importing, that the Engliſh had no intention to impoſe any form of government upon the inhabitants of Scotland, but engaged in this war purely upon a principle of ſelf-defence. The Scots had deſtroyed all their own country, and withdrawn as many of their people as they could, ſo that from the time Cromwell entered it, his forces were much diſtreſſed; nor was the progreſs he made attended, for ſome time, with much greater ſucceſs; for at Muſſleborough he was attacked in the night (*n*) with great fury, and was in no ſmall danger of being defeated; notwithſtanding which he continued his march towards Edinburgh, and came to the very walls of that city. The Army of the Scots Preſbyterians, for it could ſcarce be ſtiled the King's Army, ſince they would not ſuffer him to be in it, was commanded by old Leſley, who ſhewed himſelf a very good officer; for being ſenſible, that his new-raiſed troops were not able to contend in the field with Cromwell's ſeaſoned old ſoldiers, kept them ſo well intrenched, that even Cromwell, who put his troops ſometimes upon doing miracles, could not think of attacking him, but depended chiefly upon propagating diſcontents in the Scotch Army, which was eaſily done, and upon provoking them to fight, which he judged muſt, ſome time or other, have it's effect (*o*). The firſt, indeed, Leſley could not prevent, though it gave him a great deal of trouble and diſquiet; but the latter he hindered for ſome time, and thereby brought Cromwell's forces into great ſtraits. They had once retreated to Dunbar, and from thence advanced again to Muſſleborough; but this having no effect, the Scots growing daily ſtronger, and the Engliſh Army dwindling in the ſame proportion, Cromwell marched again to Dunbar, with a deſign, as is generally believed, of ſhipping his foot for England, and breaking through the Scots Army with his horſe (*p*); but while he was meditating either this retreat, or a final attempt before he made it, the Scots changed their reſolution at the requeſt of their Miniſters, who promiſed them, with a moſt enthuſiaſtick vehemence, a compleat victory; in confidence of which, againſt Leſley's advice, they determined to fight (*q*). General Cromwell who, in the night of September 2d, 1650, had alſo reſolved, in a council of war, to attack them, obſerving, with a perſpective glaſs, that they were in motion, declared, as if it had been through a ſpirit of prophecy, but in reality from his military ſkill, That God had delivered them into his hands (*r*). Their attack was furious; but Cromwell's foot ſtood ſo firm, that they were able to make but little impreſſion; and the hurry of their own charge having thrown them into confuſion, the Engliſh horſe eaſily broke, routed, and cut them off with prodigious ſlaughter, only one highland regiment of foot remained firm, and covered with their bodies the ground upon which they were poſted, no more than twenty wounded men being taken priſoners out of eight hundred of which that corps conſiſted (*s*). Such was the famous victory of Dunbar, than which Cromwell never gained any more entire, or that did him greater credit as a Commander (*t*) [*X*].

After

(*m*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 269.

(*n*) Sir Edward Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 163.

(*o*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 466. Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 165.

(*p*) Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 684. Walker's Hiſt. Diſcourſes, p. 179.

(*q*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 54. Walker's Hiſt. Diſcourſes, p. 180, 181.

(*r*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 54.

(*s*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 471. Walker's Hiſt. Diſcourſes, p. 181. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 424.

(*t*) Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 684. Rapin, Vol. XIII. p. 53, 54.

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way left to keep the other army together, which would have been his caſe if Ludlow had ever had a Parliamentary army, and was actually the caſe of Lambert againſt Monk, for the latter prevailed only by his having the Parliament and the people on his ſide. In Ireland there was no ſuch danger; Cromwell himſelf was Lord Lieutenant, Ireton was his Deputy, and therefore Ludlow could do little harm, for Ireton fooled him there as Cromwell had done in England; but when, through a change of circumſtances, he might have become dangerous, we ſhall find that General Cromwell took notice of it in time, and ſent over another perſon whom he could truſt to take the command out of his hands, of which alſo Ludlow bitterly complained, though he does not ſeem to have apprehended fully the motives of that alteration (133). I have dwelt upon this as a proper inſtance of Cromwell's refined policy, of which alſo many others might be given, but, for the ſake of brevity, theſe are left to the reader's own obſervation.

[*X*] *Or that did him greater credit as a Commander.*] The moſt ſatisfactory account that is to be met with of this battle, ſeems to be that given by Cromwell himſelf, in his letter to the Parliament, which not being eaſily met with, the reader cannot but be pleaſed to read the moſt remarkable facts in it, as delivered by himſelf (134). ‘ Upon Monday evening, the enemy, whoſe numbers were very great, as we hear about ſix thouſand horſe, and ſixteen thouſand foot at leaſt; ours, drawn down as to ſound men, about ſeven thouſand five hundred foot, and three thouſand five hundred horſe. The enemy drew down to their right wing about two thirds of their left wing of horſe, ſhogging alſo their foot and train much to the right, cauſing their right wing of horſe to edge down towards the ſea. We could not well imagine but that the enemy intended to attempt upon us, or to place themſelves in a more exact condition of interpoſition. The Major General and myſelf coming to the Earl of Roxborough's houſe, and obſerving his poſture, I told him I thought it did give us an opportunity to advantage to attempt upon the enemy, to which he immediately replied, that he had thought to have ſaid the ſame thing to me, ſo that it pleaſed the Lord to ſet this apprehenſion upon both our hearts at the ſame inſtant. We called for General Monk, and ſhewed him the ſame thing, and coming to our quarter at night, and demonſtrating our apprehenſions to ſome of the Colonels, they alſo chearfully concurred. We reſolved therefore to put our buſineſs into this poſture, that ſix regiments of horſe, and three regiments and a half of foot, ſhould march in the van, and that the Major-General, the Lieutenant-General of the horſe, and the Commiſſary-General and Col. Monk to command the brigade of foot, ſhould lead on the buſineſs; and that Col. Pride's brigade, Col. Overton's brigade, and the remaining two regiments of horſe, ſhould bring up the cannon and rear, the time of falling on to be by break of day; but, by ſome delay, it proved not to be 'till ſix o'clock in the morning. The enemy's word was *the Covenant*, which they had uſed for divers days; ours *the Lord of Hoſts*. The Major-General, Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, and Commiſſary-General Whalley, and Col. Twiſsleton, gave the onſet; the enemy being in very good poſture to receive them, having the advantage, their cannon and foot againſt our horſe, and before our foot could come up the enemy made

‘ a gallant

(133) Modeſt Vindication of O. Cromwell.

(134) What is here cited was tranſcribed from Cromwell's letters in Dr Nalſon's M.S. Collections.

After taking the neceſſary precautions, by ſending away the priſoners, he returned to Edinburgh, where he met with no reſiſtance except from the caſtle, which held out to Chriſtmas-Eve, and was then ſurrendered, or, as ſome ſay, betrayed into his hands (*u*). He continued the war all the winter, and, in the beginning of the enſuing year, made diſpoſitions for attacking the King, whom the Scots had now crowned, and provided with another army; but factions ſtill continued amongſt them, of which none knew better how to take advantage than Cromwell. In the ſpring he was ſeverely attacked by an ague, and this gave the Engliſh Parliament an opportunity of ſhewing an equal concern for his perſon and their own intereſts, which they expreſſed by ſending down Dr Wright and Dr Bates, two eminent Phyſicians, to attend him, and large ſupplies of men and money for reinforcing his army (*w*). He quickly recovered his health, and in ſeveral ſmall actions and ſieges was conſtantly ſucceſsful; but the King continued near Stirling with his army, now in a good meaſure under his command, in a ſtrong camp, where Cromwell could not force him, and out of which he was reſolved not to be drawn. At length, tired with this tedious manner of making war, Cromwell attacked and reduced Perth, which threw the King into great perplexity, ſo that, towards the end of July 1651, he reſolved to take that which ſeemed to be his only advantage, a retreat from Cromwell into England, to which he was neareſt (*x*). All who were about him concurred in this advice, excepting only the Marquis of Argyle, who told him, his fate would, in that caſe, depend upon a battle, where if he loſt it, it would be in a country where he had no reſource, and where, without a miracle, his perſon would be alſo loſt; that he might ſtill retire into Argyleſhire, and from thence, if any misfortune happened, into the Highlands, where, while there were men, he would never want an army (*y*). This moved the King, and him only, the reſt were determined, and prevailed upon him to begin his march ſouthward, as he did on the laſt of July (*z*). The news of his coming into England alarmed the Parliament at Weſtminſter exceedingly, and put them upon augmenting their army with many thouſand men. The rapidity of the King's march brought him to Worceſter before Cromwell could overtake him; but in the mean time the gallant Earl of Derby, who was marching to his aſſiſtance, was routed and taken, and ſoon after General Cromwell blocked him up in Worceſter, where, on the 3d of September, he attacked and carried the place, totally defeated the King's forces, and gained that which himſelf called, in his letter to the Parliament, the crowning victory (*a*) [*Y*]. He did not remain long with

(*u*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 280, 281. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 110.

(*w*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 106. Heath's Chronicle, p. 289, 290.

(*x*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 501. Heath's Chronicle, p. 291, 295. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 120.

(*y*) See the article of Campbell, Marquis of Argyle, in this work.

(*z*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 294. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 281.

(*a*) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 222. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p 281, 282. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 507, 508. Echard's Hiſt. Engl. p. 697.

a gallant reſiſtance. And there was a very hot diſpute, at ſword's point, between our horſe and theirs. Our firſt foot, after they had diſcharged their firſt fury, being over-powered with the enemy, received ſome repulſe, which they ſoon recovered; but my own regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Goff and my Major White, did come ſeaſonably in, and at puſh of pike did repel the ſtouteſt regiment the enemy had there, merely with the courage which the Lord was pleaſed to give, which proved a great amazement to the reſidue of their foot, this being the firſt action between the foot: the horſe in the mean time did, with a great deal of courage and ſpirit, beat back all oppoſition, charging through the bodies of the enemies horſe and their foot, who were after the firſt repulſe given, made, by the Lord of Hoſts, as ſtubble to their ſwords. Indeed I believe I may ſpeak it without partiality, both your chief commanders and others in their ſeveral places, and ſoldiers alſo, were acted with as much courage, as ever hath been ſeen in any action ſince this war. I know they look not to be named, and therefore I forbear particulars. The beſt of the enemy's horſe and foot being broken through and through in leſs than an hour's diſpute, their whole army being put into confuſion, it became a total rout, our men having the chaſe and execution of them near eight miles. We believe that upon the place, and near about it, were three thouſand ſlain; priſoners taken of their officers, you have this incloſed liſt; of private ſoldiers, near ten thouſand; the whole baggage and train taken, in which was good ſtore of match, powder, and bullet; all their artillery great and ſmall; thirty guns. We are confident they have left behind them no leſs than fifteen thouſand arms. I have already brought unto me near two hundred colours, which I herewith ſend you. What officers of quality of theirs are killed, we yet cannot learn, but yet ſurely divers are, and many men of quality are mortally wounded, as Col. Lumſdale, the Lord Libberton, and others; and that which is no ſmall addition, I believe we have not loſt twenty men; not one commiſſioned officer ſlain as I hear of, ſave one Cornet, and Major Rookſby ſince dead of his wounds; and not many mortally wounded, Col. Whalley only cut in the hand, wriſt, and his horſe twice ſhot, and killed under him, but he well recovered another horſe, and went on in his chaſe. Thus you have the proſpect of one of the moſt ſignal mercies God hath done for England and his people this war.'

[*Y*] *The crowning victory.*] In this battle of Worceſter Cromwell gave very high proofs of his perſonal courage, and that for a generous purpoſe, ſince he expoſed himſelf extreamly to offer quarter to the Scots, who defended the Fort Royal, with a view only of preventing the unneceſſary effuſion of blood amongſt his own troops, for his propoſition being refuſed, and the place taken, he directed all that were in it to be put to the ſword (135). He likewiſe ſhewed his impartiality in commending the courage of the King, who charged with the Scots foot, and gained ſome advantage even over Cromwell's guards (136); but the Scots horſe, under the command of Leſley, behaved baſely. There needed not much of conduct in the buſineſs, for beſides that they were certainly better troops, Cromwell had alſo the advantage in numbers, the King's army conſiſting but of ſixteen thouſand, and that of the Parliament of twenty-eight thouſand (137). It is ſaid that Cromwell treated the militia but indifferently, though they contributed much to the victory; but in his letter to the Parliament he acknowledges their great ſervices, in as clear and as ſtrong terms as could be expected. There is no doubt that this was as ſignal and compleat a ſtroke of ſucceſs, as even the ambitious heart of Cromwell could deſire, and therefore it is no great wonder that it took him a little off his guard, as it certainly did. He would have knighted two of his principal Commanders upon the field of battle, and was with great difficulty diſſuaded from it (138). His letter to the Parliament is conceived in more ſtiff and lofty terms than any of his former writings. Ludlow ſays that his behaviour was altered from that day, and that all who were about him obſerved it (139). Perhaps it would be nearer the truth to ſay, it was altered upon that day and the next, for he very ſoon recovered himſelf, and ſhewed as much ſubmiſſion and humility as ever. He treated his priſoners with great ſeverity, and it is thought would have brought Maſſey and Middleton

(135) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell p. 116.

(136) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 123.

(137) Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 282. Heath's Chronicle, p. 297.

(138) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 365, 366.

(139) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 507. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 447.

with the troops; for having ſeen the walls of Worceſter demoliſhed, and directing ſome thouſands of priſoners to be driven before him, he began his march, as it were, in triumph for London. He met four Commiſſioners from the Parliament not far from Ayleſbury, and, when he came to Acton, the Speaker, the Houſe, and the Council of State, met him in form, as did ſoon after the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and with all this pomp he proceeded to Whitehall, where, having repoſed himſelf a little, September the 16th, he took his place in the Houſe, where his great atchievements were again the ſubject of Lenthall's eloquence; and the ſame day he dined upon a ſolemn invitation in the city (*b*). Yet theſe, though great, were far from being the moſt conſiderable marks of honour that were paid him; a general thankſgiving was appointed for his victory, and the 3d of September appointed an anniverſary State holiday; he had beſides four thouſand pounds a year voted him out of the eſtates of the Duke of Buckingham and Marquis of Worceſter (*c*). When theſe ceremonies and acknowledgments were over, he had leiſure to look about him, and to conſider as well his own condition as that of the nation. He ſaw himſelf at preſent General and Commander in Chief of a great army in England, and, at the ſame time, was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; but then he knew that all this was derived to him from the Parliament; and he clearly diſcerned that, whether Independents or Preſbyterians ſat there, they would endeavour to perpetuate ſupreme power in their own hands, which, for many reaſons, he diſliked; and therefore he ſifted the moſt eminent perſons, in order to find out their ſentiments about the eſtabliſhment of the kingdom, which was a new phraſe invented to cover the deſign of ſubverting the Parliament (*d*). In reference to this he found, that different men had different opinions, all concurring in part, but not in the whole, with his own [Z]. As it was not yet time for him to declare himſelf plainly, he made it his buſineſs to entertain as fair a correſpondence as poſſible with all parties. He behaved in publick with great decency and duty towards that body of men he was contriving to remove, but held a private correſpondence with every one of the parties that were caballing againſt them, by which he was in all their ſecrets, as they probably thought they were in his, but in that they were deceived; he never

(*b*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 118, 119. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 509.

(*c*) Echard's Hiſt. of Engl. p. 697.

(*d*) Eates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 157.

dleton to the ſcaffold, if they had not had the good luck to eſcape. He was now compleatly maſter of the Army, which expected it's continuance and the payment of all arrears from his weight and influence, which opinion he took care to encourage, and gave them frequent aſſurances, that they might much better depend upon him than upon their old reſource of Agitators (140). All his conduct afterwards was of a piece with this, and he took all the care imaginable to make the Army ſenſible of their own importance, and to let them ſee that nothing could divide their intereſts from his own, which was the true foundation of his growing greatneſs, and of the gradual declenſion of the Parliament's power, which, though they clearly diſcerned, they knew not how to prevent.

(140) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 118.

[Z] *But not in the whole with his own*] After the great victory of Worceſter, General Cromwell took a new text, upon which he preached with wonderful eloquence upon all occaſions, and this was, *the neceſſity of an eſtabliſhment*. There had been a great deal of fighting, and now the fighting was over, he thought the conquerors ought to know what they had been fighting for (141). In a meeting among the principal perſons in power, held about three months afterwards, he propoſed the queſtion fairly (142), when St John, Whitlocke, Lenthall, and Sir Thomas Widdrington, declared plainly for monarchy, Harriſon, Deſborough, and Whalley, as plainly for a commonwealth. Cromwell did not think fit to diſcover his own opinion with the like clearneſs, but expreſſed a deſire of knowing, if a Monarchy was neceſſary, Who was to be that Monarch? Sir Thomas Widdrington anſwered directly, one of the late King's ſons, and propoſed the Duke of Glouceſter then in their power. To this Whitlocke demurred, and was for inviting the two elder brothers; but this being nothing to Cromwell's deſign, he ſoon broke up that conference. Upon the 7th November 1652, meeting the Lord Commiſſioner Whitlocke in the Park, he entered into a long diſcourſe with him upon this important ſubject, in which the part that Cromwell took was this (143): he ſhewed him that the Parliament was now become a faction; that they were reſolved to rule all, and to rule for ever, merely for their own ſakes; that they gave all employments to themſelves, their relations, or friends; that they drew every thing within their own cognizance, by which the ſubject loſt the benefit of the law, and held his property but by a precarious tenure; that, all this conſidered, they had fought themſelves into a worſe condition, and that, inſtead of a Monarch with a prerogative royal, they had now many maſters who made laws and broke them at their pleaſure; that, on the other hand, the Army was very ſenſible of this; that they bore it with great reluctancy; that they too had great diſputes amongſt themſelves; and that it could not be long before theſe miſchiefs broke out into a new flame. Whitlocke very readily agreed, that he had deſcribed both parties truly, but, at the ſame time, acknowledged, that, notwithſtanding he was acquainted with the diſeaſes of the commonwealth, he was entirely ignorant of any right method of cure. What, ſaid Cromwell, if a man ſhould take upon himſelf to be King? Whitlocke undertook to ſhew him, that he would get nothing by it, that he had more power already than former Kings ever had, and that by aſſuming the name he might run a great hazard of loſing the thing. Cromwell then preſſed to know, What he would have done? upon which, as before, the Lord Commiſſioner propounded compromiſing matters with Charles Stuart, the debating of which Cromwell declined, as being a matter of much difficulty. There is no doubt but he had many converſations of this ſort with the moſt intelligent of all parties, but we ſhall mention only one more, and that for two reaſons; firſt, becauſe it ſhews us that he was perfectly aware of what is ſuggeſted in the text, that thoſe who hated each other extreamly, all concurred in ſtill hating him with greater inveteracy; for as the Royaliſts deteſted his perſon, ſo the Republicans abhorred his power. Secondly, becauſe it is reported upon good authority, having been often related by Mr Henry Nevil, a celebrated Politician, and once a Member of the Council of State. He was wont to tell it thus (144): ‘ That Cromwell upon this great ‘ occaſion ſent for ſome of the chief city Divines, as if ‘ he made it a matter of conſcience to be determined ‘ by their advice. Among theſe was the leading ‘ Mr Calamy, who very boldly oppoſed the project of ‘ Mr Cromwell's ſingle government, and offered to ‘ prove it both unlawful and impracticable. Cromwell ‘ anſwered readily upon the firſt head of unlawful, and ‘ appealed to the ſafety of the nation being the ſupreme ‘ law. But, ſays he, pray Mr Calamy why impracticable? Calamy replied, Oh 'tis againſt the voice of ‘ the nation, there will be nine in ten againſt you. ‘ Very well, ſays Cromwell, but what if I ſhould diſarm the nine, and put ſword into the tenth man's ‘ hand, Would not that do the buſineſs?’

(141) Heath's Chronicle, p. 301.

(142) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 460. Life of O. Cromwell, p. 214, 215.

(143) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 516.

(144) Life of Henry Nevil, Eſq; p. 35.

[*AA*] *Muſt*

never had but one confident, and that confident was gone. This was his ſon-in-law Ireton, whom he had placed at the head of affairs in Ireland, where he died of the plague (e). It was of great importance to him to ſubſtitute another there as much devoted to his ſervice; but the thing was difficult. The Parliament had caſt their eyes upon Lambert, who was to govern with the title of Lord Deputy; but ways and means were found to change their reſolution as to the title, though not as to the man; but as he rightly foreſaw, the change of the one produced the change of the other; for Lambert, who would have been proud of being Deputy, diſdained to go thither as a Commiſſioner (f). Under theſe circumſtances the ordinance appointing Cromwell Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom determined, which he very prudently declined to renew, but inſtead of it got the ordinance appointing him Captain-General and Commander in Chief in England, extended by another ordinance to Ireland; and thus he had the power without the name: but as he never meant to go thither again in perſon, he gave his daughter, Mrs Ireton, in marriage to Colonel Fleetwood, a man entirely under his direction, whom he procured to be declared Lieutenant-General of the forces in Ireland; by which the great point he aimed at was fully attained (g). This dexterity in his management became very ſoon after obvious enough, though little notice was taken of it at the time; which ſhewed the deep reach of his politicks, and how much his abilities were in reality ſuperior to thoſe of the perſons he had to do with, who, with all the good-will in the world to oppoſe him, found themſelves, at every turn, the dupes of his deſigns, which at the bottom were juſt as honeſt as their own (h). As a proof of this we may obſerve, that the very perſon worſt treated in this affair, that is, General Lambert, not only miſplaced his reſentment, and grew diſaffected to the Parliament, but ſuffered himſelf to be ſo far cajoled by Cromwell, as to believe, that he thought him worthier than to be ſent to Ireland upon any terms, and that if any thing ſhould happen to himſelf, he ſincerely wiſhed him for his ſucceſſor, how eminent ſoever his ſtation might be (i). All the winter of the year 1652 was ſpent in cabals and contrivances on both ſides, that is, by the friends of the Parliament, to ſupport and ſuſtain it's authority, and, by their opponents, to bring things into ſuch a ſituation, as might render the neceſſity of diſſolving that aſſembly univerſally apparent. But while all this was doing, General Cromwell neglected nothing that might eſtabliſh hopes of favour from him, and of benefit to their reſpective cauſes in all the parties then ſubſiſting in the nation; which, conſidering the diverſity of principles on which they acted, and their inveteracy againſt each other, muſt appear a thing almoſt incredible (k) [AA]. As the ſpring advanced this great affair began to ripen, the people in different parts of the nation, and the Army in general, began to murmur at the amazing ſtretch of power which the Parliament, though ſo thin of Members, aſſumed to themſelves, which ſometimes the General encouraged, and at others repreſſed; as for inſtance, when it was debated in the Council of Officers, whether they ſhould petition the Parliament to turn their vote into a bill for their own diſſolution, Cromwell ſent Colonel Deſborough, who had married a ſiſter of his, to put an end to that debate, in which he declared, in expreſs terms, againſt uſing any violence, and at the ſame time ran out into the higheſt commendations of that Aſſembly (l). But afterwards perceiving, that the party againſt them in the Army was growing daily ſtronger, and that, on the other hand, the Parliament having got both courage and credit from their ſucceſs in the Dutch war, were contriving to ſet up the Fleet againſt the Army, and to diminiſh the power of the one, and to augment that of the other, had ordered part of the Army on board the Fleet, he found himſelf obliged to make more haſte

(e) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 467.

(f) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 414.

(g) Heath's Chronicle, p. 309.

(h) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 159, 160. Flagellum, or life of O. Cromwell, p. 125.

(i) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 414. Flagellum, or life of O. Cromwell, p. 126, 127.

(k) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 159. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 449, 450.

(l) Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 451, 452.

[AA] *Muſt appear a thing almoſt incredible.*] It cannot but be ſatisfactory to the inquiſitive reader to ſee this point a little more fully explained, the chief difficulty lying in this, that the inveteracy of people in thoſe times was ſo great, as to render it next to impoſſible, to ſhew the leaſt favour to any one party, without irritating all the reſt. The path indeed was narrow, and precipices there were on every ſide; yet Cromwell had the courage to venture himſelf in this path, and ſo great conduct as to paſs through it without making one falſe ſtep. He never courted the Cavaliers directly, but, upon particular occaſions, and under a variety of pretences, he did many of them ſignal ſervices, and generally ſpoke of them as men of honour acting upon miſtaken principles; exclaiming at the ſame time againſt the flagrant acts of injuſtice done to them by the Rump, who, to get at their eſtates, made no ſcruple of diſputing away the force of their own acts, and breaking through the moſt ſolemn capitulations (145). This, with the heat he ſhewed in puſhing the Act of Oblivion after the battle of Worceſter, induced them to wiſh well to him rather than the Parliament. He complained to all ſober and religious perſons, of the ſcandalous lives, and diſſolute manners of ſome of the Republican members; there are, ſaid he, Tom Chaloner and Harry Martin, bleſſed reformers and legiſlators, while they are notorious whoremaſters, and have no more religion than their horſes. He expoſed the pride of ſome, the fraud of others, and the ſelf-ſeeking of all; which gained him great reputation (146). To the Fifth Monarchy men he talked in their own ſtile, and profeſſed his deſire that the ſaints ſhould reign, explaining this to men of ſounder underſtandings, as meaning no more, than that the government ought to be in the hands of men of prudence and probity, which, the then ſituation of things conſidered, was very acceptable doctrine. His real deſign, however, he cloſely concealed; ſo that all who were deſirous of a change expected it from him, and at the ſame time flattered themſelves with the hopes that it would be ſuch a change as they wiſhed. In every thing he ſaid and did, he had a manner that ſeemed to manifeſt the greateſt ſincerity; and yet there was ſo much of caution in all his words and actions, that he knew how to interpret the one, and to account for the other, in ſuch a way, that no hold could be taken of them to his diſadvantage. In ſhort, he never expreſſed reſentment againſt any but it was followed with deſtruction, ſo as to leave them no capacity of revenge; and wherever he conferred obligations, it was in a way ſo high and ſo generous, that as he never beſtowed them on unworthy objects, ſo the memory of them was never loſt, or himſelf deceived as to their effects (147).

(145) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 405.

(146) Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 703, 704. Unparallelled Monarch, p. 114.

(147) See Maurice's Memoirs of Lord Broghill, Winſtanley's Select Lives of Engliſh Worthies, p. 596, 597.

haſte (m). On the 19th of April, 1653, he called a Council of Officers, once more to debate this point, in which as he had many friends, ſo he had alſo ſome opponents, who inſinuated, that what he did proceeded from ſelf-intereſt and ambition. Major-General Harriſon, a zealous Fanatick, but abſolutely deceived by Cromwell, aſſured the Aſſembly, in the ſincerity of his heart, That the Lord General ſought only to pave the way for the government of Jeſus and his Saints, to which Major Streater briſkly returned, That then he ought to come quickly, for if it was after Chriſtmas, he would come too late (n). Upon this Cromwell adjourned the meeting till the next morning, when a new point was ſtarted, whether it might not be expedient for the Houſe and the Army to appoint twenty perſons of a ſide, to be intruſted with the ſupreme power. In the midſt of this diſpute advice came, that the Houſe had under conſideration their own diſſolution, and upon this ſuch as were Members withdrew, and went thither to promote that deſign. But in reality the Parliament had framed a bill, to continue themſelves to the 5th of November in the next year, propoſing, in the mean time, to fill up the Houſe by new elections (o). Colonel Ingoldſby came back to the General, and informed him what the Houſe was upon: at which the General, who expected they ſhould have meddled with no other buſineſs but putting an immediate period to their own ſitting, without any more delay, was ſo enraged, that he immediately commanded ſome of the officers to fetch a party of ſoldiers, to the number of three hundred, with which marching directly to Weſtminſter, he placed ſome of them at the door, ſome in the lobby, and others on the ſtairs (p). Himſelf going into the Houſe, firſt addreſſed himſelf to his friend St John, and told him, That he then came to do that which grieved him to the very ſoul, and what he had earneſtly with tears prayed to God againſt; nay, that he had rather be torn in pieces than do it; but that there was a neceſſity laid upon him therein, in order to the glory of God, and the good of the nation (q). Then he ſat down, and heard their debates for ſome time on the fore-mentioned act; after which calling to Major-General Harriſon, who was on the other ſide of the Houſe, to come to him, he told him, That he judged the Parliament ripe for a diſſolution, and this to be the time of doing it (r). Harriſon anſwered, Sir, the work is very great and dangerous, therefore I deſire you ſeriouſly to conſider of it, before you engage in it. You ſay well, replied the General, and thereupon ſat ſtill for about a quarter of an hour; and then the queſtion for paſſing the ſaid act being put, he ſaid again to Harriſon, This is the time, I muſt do it: and ſo ſtanding up on a ſudden, he bad the Speaker leave the chair, and told the Houſe, That they had ſat long enough, unleſs they had done more good; that ſome of them were whoremaſters, looking then towards Harry Martin and Sir Peter Wentworth; that others of them were drunkards, and ſome corrupt and unjuſt men, and ſcandalous to the profeſſion of the goſpel; and that it was not fit they ſhould ſit as a Parliament any longer, and therefore he muſt deſire them to go away (s). He charged them with not having a heart to do any thing for the publick good, and eſpouſing the intereſt of Preſbytery; and the Lawyers, who were the ſupporters of tyranny and oppreſſion, and accuſed them of an intention to perpetuate themſelves in power. When ſome of the Members began to ſpeak, he ſtepped into the midſt of the Houſe, and ſaid, Come, come, I will put an end to your prating; then walking up and down the Houſe, he cried out, You are no Parliament, I ſay you are no Parliament, and, ſtamping with his feet, he bad them for ſhame begone, and give place to honeſter men (t). Upon this ſignal the ſoldiers entered the Houſe, and he bad one of them take away that bauble, meaning the mace; and Harriſon taking the Speaker by the arm, he came down. Then the General, addreſſing himſelf again to the Members, who were about a hundred, ſaid, 'Tis you that have forced me to this; for I have ſought the Lord night and day, that he would rather ſlay me than put me upon the doing of this work. And then ſeizing on all their papers, he ordered the ſoldiers to ſee the Houſe cleared of all Members, and, having cauſed the doors to be locked up, went away to Whitehall (u). With the ſame ſpirit he proceeded to turn out the Council of State, and to take ſuch other meaſures as appeared to him the moſt proper, for the ſupport of that great authority he had attained, preſerving the affection of the Army, and keeping peace and quietneſs in the nation [BB]. He continued, for a few days, to direct all things by the advice

(m) Heath's Chronicle, p. 324, 325. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 160.

(n) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 126, 127.

(o) Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 524.

(p) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 160.

(q) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 129. Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 230.

(r) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 455, 456.

(s) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 554. Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 405. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 457.

(t) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 405. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 161. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 457.

(u) Heath's Chronicle, p. 340.

[BB] *And keeping peace and quietneſs in the nation.*] When General Cromwell came back to Whitehall he found a Council of Officers ſtill aſſembled, and this grand point yet in debate, upon which he told them roundly, they need trouble themſelves no farther about it, for he had done it. Col. Okey, who was none of his creature, demanded immediately What he had done? and, when he had told him, expoſtulated the point warmly; but Cromwell talked ſo much louder than he, of the glory of God and the good of the nation, the removing of yokes and badges of ſlavery, that he very ſoon thought proper to be ſilent, and to wait for the concluſion of this affair, in order to diſtinguiſh from his actions, what were Cromwell's real intentions in ſo bold an action (148). In the afternoon of the ſame day, Cromwell, attended by the Majors-General Lambert and Harriſon, went to the Council of State, and finding them ſitting, addreſſed them in the following terms: 'Gentlemen, if you are met here as private perſons you ſhall not be diſturbed, but if as a 'Council of State, this is no place for you. And ſince 'you cannot but know what was done at the Houſe 'this morning, ſo take notice, that the Parliament is 'diſſolved.' Serjeant Bradſhaw boldly anſwered, 'Sir, 'we have heard what you did at the Houſe in the 'morning, and, before many hours, all England will 'hear it. But, Sir, you are miſtaken to think that the 'Parliament is diſſolved, for no power under Heaven 'can diſſolve them but themſelves, therefore take you 'notice of that.' Some others alſo ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe; But the Council finding themſelves to be under the ſame force, they all quietly departed (149). The

(148) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 127, 128.

(149) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 461.

adviſe of the Council of Officers, where he profeſſed his own painful ſenſe of the vaſt burthen laid upon his ſhoulders, and how deſirous he was to remove it; but finding, by the ſpeeches of ſome of them, he might probably be taken at his word, he firſt excited them to diſcover, and then ſo effectually expoſed their different, contradictory, and irreconcileable ſentiments as to government, that they were at laſt glad to propoſe a new Council of State, in which the ſupreme authority was veſted (*w*); and then publiſhed a very rational and well-drawn declaration, dated April 22d, in which they gave the faireſt colours poſſible to the late diſſolution, and promiſed that a new repreſentative ſhould be called (*x*). This was accordingly done, by virtue of letters or warrants under the Lord General's hand. This Aſſembly conſiſted of one hundred forty-two perſons, met July the 4th, in the Council-Chamber at Whitehall, where Cromwell told them, that they had a clear call to take upon them the ſupreme authority; which they did without ceremony, and elected Francis Rous, Eſq; Provoſt of Eaton, their Speaker. This, from it's narrowneſs in point of numbers, was ſtiled the little, from it's manner of proceeding, the godly, and from the pragmatical behaviour of one Praiſe-God Barebone, a Leatherſeller in the city, Barebone's Parliament. This Aſſembly ſat long enough to do Cromwell's buſineſs and their own; for the majority of them being Fifth Monarchy-men, threatned total deſtruction to the Miniſtry, and the Lawyers; and took ſuch ſtrange ſteps with regard to the Dutch Ambaſſadors, that they were abſolutely at a loſs how to deal with them; ſo that all parties (except their own ſmall one) being heartily tired with theſe Legiſlators, ſome of themſelves, who were in the ſecret, met early on the 12th of December, and agreed to ſurrender up their power to Cromwell, from whom it came (*y*). Major-General Harriſon, and about twenty more, remained in the Houſe, and ſeeing the reign of the Saints at an end, placed one Mr Moyer in the Speaker's chair, and began to draw up proteſts; but they were ſoon interrupted by Colonel White, with a party of ſoldiers; who aſking them what they did there, they told him, They were ſeeking the Lord: to this he replied, That, to his knowledge, the Lord had not been ſought there many years, and ſo fairly turned them out of doors (*z*). The ſcene thus changed, the ſupreme power was ſaid to be in the Council of Officers again, and they very ſpeedily reſolved, that the Lord General, with a ſelect Council, ſhould have the adminiſtration of publick affairs, upon the terms contained in a paper, intituled, The INSTRUMENT OF GOVERNMENT; and that his Excellency ſhould be Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and have the title of Highneſs; and accordingly he was inveſted therewith on the 16th of December, in the Court of Chancery in Weſtminſter-Hall, with great ſolemnity (*a*). When he had thus reduced the government into ſome order, he proceeded very wiſely and warily; appointed a Privy-Council, in which there were ſeveral great and worthy men, who, he knew, would either not act at all, or not act very long with him; but their names giving a ſanction for the preſent, he proceeded, with the advice of ſo many of this Council as attended upon him, to make ſeveral ordinances that were neceſſary, as alſo to diſpoſe matters for the holding a new Parliament (*b*). Thus, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, he aſſumed ſovereign power, and exerciſed it with great dignity; though he well knew, that all obedience to him roſe from fear, and that his danger was nearly equal from all parties, though, by his prudent management, he left none the capacity of hurting him [*CC*]. He applied himſelf immediately to the ſettlement of the publick affairs,

(*w*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 136.

(*x*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 340, 341, 342, 343.

(*y*) Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 475. Heath's Chronicle, p. 353.

(*z*) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 139. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 170.

(*a*) Echard's Hiſt. of Engl. p. 707. Heath's Chronicle, p. 354.

(*b*) Coke's Detection, p. 49. Life of O. Cromwell, p. 265.

The true reaſon why General Cromwell diſmiſſed, in that manner, this Council of State, was, becauſe he intended to have another of his own conſtruction, theſe as they derived their authority from, being men entirely devoted to the Parliament. It cannot be ſuppoſed that ſuch a tranſaction as this ſhould paſs in ſilence, or that the perſons ejected, and their friends and creatures, ſhould not make a very great noiſe, as indeed they did, repreſenting this act of Cromwell's as the moſt inſolent violation of the ſupreme authority that could be practiſed or imagined (150). To prevent any impreſſion that theſe invectives might otherwiſe make, ſome were employed to tell the people, that theſe men had no reaſon to complain, that themſelves had taken pains to ſhew the nation that there was no authority inviolable in it's nature, that they had themſelves fled to the Army, and by the aſſiſtance of the Army purged their own Houſe at their pleaſure; that they had taken away the Upper Houſe of Parliament without any other law than their will, and that in all their proceedings they have been by far more arbitrary, than any Monarch that ever filled the Engliſh throne, and this without any other colour of right than what was derived to them from their own vote. The Royaliſts took this advantage alſo to deſcant upon publick affairs, and without much ceremony treated the diſperſed Parliament as a herd of uſurpers, exhauſting the wealth, and trampling upon the liberties of the people, who could only be delivered by one who had ſuperior power in his hands, and who in this inſtance had made the right uſe of it (151). When ſuch diſcourſes had been thoroughly ſpread, and the General afterwards proceeded to ſome popular acts, ſuch as reducing the tax from one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds to ninety thouſand pounds a month, and had emitted the Declaration mentioned in the text. It was preſently approved by addreſſes from the fleet and army, as well as from different parts of the kingdom, which was called the voice of the nation; and, by the way, it may not be amiſs to take notice, that this was the firſt riſe of addreſſes (152), which very clearly ſhews how great a politician Cromwell was, and how much better ſkilled in the art of giving a fair colour to all his proceedings than is generally imagined.

[C] *Though by his prudent management he left none the capacity of hurting him.*] Immediately after his turning out the Long Parliament, when, as we before obſerved, all parties took the liberty of ſpeaking, and ſome places that of addreſſing, which thoſe who liked the contents called the ſenſe of the people; ſome there were in the counties near London that talked of a King, and this hint ſome people had a mind to improve, for which purpoſe, on Tueſday the ſeventeenth of May in the forenoon (153), about 'Change time, a gentleman extremely well dreſſed came in a coach to the Royal Exchange, where, taking out of his coach the General's picture, he fixed it againſt one of the pillars, and after making two or three turns, took coach again and drove away. Over the head of the pourtrait ſtood theſe words, *'Tis I*; and underneath were the following verſes:

(150) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 136. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 162.

(151) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 128.

(152) Heath's Chronicle, p. 343.

(153) From Dr Nalſon's MS. Collections, Vol. XVI. num. 134.

affairs, both foreign and domeſtick; he concluded a peace with the the States of Holland, in which the point of the flag was carried pretty high, ſatisfaction was promiſed for the barbarous maſſacre at Amboyna, the reſtitution of Polleroon, and other things that were never complied with (*c*). In this treaty the King of Denmark got himſelf included; the Lord Commiſſioner Whitelocke made a firm peace with Sweden; the King of Portugal alſo, notwithſtanding all that had paſſed between him and the Parliament, was obliged to accept of peace upon his terms; but matters were not ſo eaſily adjuſted with France, though, from the very beginning, that crown paid the Protector great court, from an apprehenſion, it is ſaid, that he meant to marry one of his daughters to the Prince of Conde, which would have engaged him on the ſide of the Spaniards (*d*); but for this, perhaps, there never was any great foundation; by degrees, however, he impreſſed ſuch an opinion of the great importance of his friendſhip, both upon France and Spain, that the two crowns contended for it, with an earneſtneſs that made them both ridiculous [*DD*]. In reference to affairs at home, he filled the courts in Weſtminſter-Hall with very able Judges; and directed the Lawyers themſelves to make ſuch corrections in the practice of their profeſſion, as might, in ſome meaſure, free them from publick odium; which had a good effect. The ſame moderation he practiſed in Church affairs, affecting to carry himſelf

(*c*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 357. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 487.

(*d*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 358, 359. Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 5—12—31.

Aſcend three thrones, great Captain and Divine,
By the will of God, (*) *O Lyon, for they're thine:*
Come Prieſt of God, bring oil, bring robes, bring gold,
Bring crowns and ſceptres; 'tis high time t' unfold
Your cloiſter'd bags, ye State Cheats, leſt the rod
Of ſteel and iron, of this your King and God,
Pay you in 's wrath with intereſt; kneel and pray,
To Oliver, the Torch of Sion! the Star of day!
Shout then ye Merchants, City and Gentry ſing,
And all bare-headed cry, God ſave the King!

(*) Alluding to the Protector's arms.

As ſoon as exchange time was over the Lord Mayor cauſed the picture to be taken down, and carried it directly to the Lord General at Whitehall. Some writers mention this as a libel upon Cromwell (154), but in thoſe days, when the thing was moſt likely to be underſtood, it was believed that the fox was the finder, and that the Lord Mayor himſelf, not without the privity of the Lord General, ſet up this picture on the Royal Exchange by way of a political weather-cock, to ſee in what corner the popular wind ſat (155). Indeed, why might not my Lord Mayor aſk the citizens upon 'Change the ſame queſtion that Cromwell did Whitlocke in St James's Park, *What if a man ſhould take upon himſelf to be King?* When it was found this ſcheme could not be brought to bear, then the calling an aſſembly by way of Parliament was the next ſtep, and for this the Lord General had three good reaſons; the firſt was, that it might appear that he made a diſtinction between diſliking the Rump, and diſcarding Parliaments: the next, that upon their ſinking again into nothing, he might receive his power back from them, as it were by form of law; and, laſtly, that by making the Fifth Monarchy men, who were predominant in this Parliament, both odious and ridiculous, he might have the leſs to fear from them, and withal the greater ſupport from the Clergy and Lawyers, for that Parliament had fairly voted that tythes were a relict of Judaiſm, that the Common-Law was a badge of ſlavery, and, on the other hand, that the Court of Chancery ought to be aboliſhed; and thus, to all the thinking part of the world, it was made evident that the Saints, having no ſenſe, were not fit to govern (156). The taſk he now undertook, of governing as a Monarch with a Council, was ſtill harder than all the reſt; and yet he ſeemed to manage it with the ſame eaſe, for he ſtill continued to practiſe upon all parties by their hopes and fears. As to the Cavaliers, he intimated that he was not irreconcilable to thoſe who ſhould give proofs of their affection to his government; that he meant not to hurt or oppreſs thoſe who were inclined to live quietly, but that if any attempted to aſſaſſinate him, he had thoſe at his command who ſhould immediately repay that by taking off whole families (157). He encouraged and protected the Preſbyterians that ſubmitted, and delivered up thoſe who oppoſed him to be worried by the ſectaries. He maintained his old language to the Fifth Monarchy men; he ſaid things were not ripe for the Saints to take the rule of the earth, and that in the mean time he was ſo far from taking the ſceptre, that he had only taken the Conſtable's ſtaff, in order to keep the peace, and prevent the people from cutting one another's throats. As for the ſenſible Republicans he knew them to be irreconcilable, and therefore he ſignified to them, that if they would live quietly they might, but that if they diſturbed his government he would make them feel the weight of his power, which he knew by experience was the only way to keep them in order (158).

(154) Grey's Examination of Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 153.

(155) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 249.

(156) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 164, 165.

(157) Life of O. Cromwell, p. 257, 258.

(158) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 471—483.

[*DD*] *That made them both ridiculous.*] In this note we ſhall give ſome account of the Protector's conduct with reſpect to foreign courts, at his firſt entering on that office. His peace with Holland has been very much magnified by ſome, whereas others affirm, that he was bribed by the Dutch to make it upon the terms he did (159). Theſe facts are certain, that the Parliament ſtood upon higher terms, that the Engliſh fleet beat that of the States twice after the Parliament was turned out, and that the expulſion of King Charles and his followers, with the excluſion of the Prince of Orange, were points particularly inſiſted on by Cromwell (160). The Queen of Sweden paid great reſpect to the Rump, and as great to Oliver, who, to expreſs his regard for her on the other ſide, hung her picture in his bed-chamber, which the laughers in thoſe times ſaid, made the Lady Elizabeth Cromwell, the Protector's conſort, not a little jealous (161); and yet it was not long after, that one of his agents wrote the Protector a very ſerious account of Queen Chriſtina's being inclined to marry Charles Stuart, but that was after her abdication, and no queſtion one ſtory was as true as the other (162). The Kings of Denmark and Portugal the Protector treated very haughtily, and obliged the Ambaſſador of the latter to come and ſign the peace at Whitehall the very morning his brother was executed on Tower-hill. He refuſed the title of couſin from the French King, expecting that of brother; and ſo artfully played the Spaniard againſt him at a very critical conjuncture, when the French were laying the ground-work of that power which has been ſince ſo fatal to Europe, that both Ambaſſadors made ſuch extraordinary advances, with ſo many ſingular acts of ſubmiſſion, that the Dutch ſtruck a medal (163) with the buſt of Cromwell and his titles on one ſide, with Britannia on the other, and Cromwell thruſting his head in her boſom, with his breeches down and his backſide bare, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador ſtooping to kiſs it, while the French Ambaſſador holds him by the arm with theſe words inſcribed, *Retire toi l'honneur apartient au Roi mon maitre*, i. e. Come back, that honour belongs to the King my maſter. It is true this medal was not ſtruck till two years afterwards, but as the ſtructure of this work obliges us to place together things of a like nature, we choſe to mention it here, the rather, becauſe I find no mention of it in any of the Hiſtories of Cromwell; but there is reaſon to ſuſpect it might occaſion that miſtake, which appears in a private letter intercepted in thoſe times, where it is ſaid, that a print had been handed about beyond the ſea, repreſenting Cromwell ſitting upon a cloſe-ſtool, the King of France on the right-hand, and the King of Spain on the left, offering each a ſupply of paper for his preſent occaſions (164). There have been many curious collections of prints made ſince, but I never heard of any ſuch thing amongſt them, whereas the medal is yet preſerved in ſeveral Dutch cabinets.

(159) Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 709.

(160) Coke's Detection, B. iii. p. 44, 45, 46.

(161) As appears by an intercepted letter in Dr Nalſon's Collection.

(162) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 468.

(163) Catalogue des Medailles qui ſe trouvent dans le Cabinet de Nicolas Chevalier, à Amſterdam, p. 7.

(164) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. III. p. 658.

[*EE*] *We*

himſelf equally between the Preſbyterians and Independants, but profeſſing an unalterable reſolution of maintaining liberty of conſcience (*e*). He laboured by degrees to purge the Anabaptiſts out of the army, diſmiſſing from their commands ſuch officers as he could not confide in. He gave the command of all the forces in Scotland to General Monk, and ſent his ſon Henry to govern Ireland (*f*). He by an ordinance, dated April 12th, 1654, united England and Scotland, fixing the number of repreſentatives for the latter at thirty, and ſoon after he did the ſame by Ireland (*g*). He ſhewed great zeal for juſtice, in cauſing the brother of the Ambaſſador from Portugal to be executed for murder, occaſioned by a quarrel that he had with one Colonel Gerrard. Upon pretence of a conſpiracy againſt himſelf, he procured ſeveral perſons to be convicted and condemned by a High Court of Juſtice, of which Major Liſle was preſident; and it is very remarkable, that the Portugueſe Gentleman before-mentioned, who murdered another Gentleman by miſtake, never ſaw his antagoniſt Colonel Gerrard again till they both came to loſe their heads together on a ſcaffold at Tower-Hill, July the 10th, the former for that murder, the latter for this conſpiracy, which he denied with his laſt breath; and ſhewed as much courage upon that melancholy occaſion, as his fellow-ſufferer did the want of it (*h*). The ſame day one Mr Vowell, a ſchoolmaſter, was executed for the plot at Charing-Croſs; which he likewiſe denied, dying with heroic conſtancy, and reproaching the guards for being inſtruments of tyranny and injuſtice, by aſſiſting at his execution, which, he aſſerted, was againſt law, becauſe without a crime (*i*). But, notwithſtanding all theſe ſucceſſes, and all the pains the Protector could take to conciliate the affections of the people, he found a great ſpirit ſtirring againſt him in all the three kingdoms, and his government ſo crampt for want of money, that he was under an abſolute neceſſity of calling a Parliament, according to the form which he had preſcribed in the *Inſtrument of Government* (*k*); and which though it put much in his power, and left the deciſion of diſputed elections to his council, yet, as it remained ſtill ſome ſort of repreſentative of the nation, he was not without apprehenſions of their not proving ſo tractable as he could wiſh; and the event proved, that his ſuſpicions were not without grounds (*l*). He fixed upon the third of September for the day on which they were to aſſemble, eſteeming it particularly fortunate to him; and to this he peremptorily adhered, though it happened to fall upon a Sunday. The Parliament was accordingly opened on that day, after hearing a ſermon at Weſtminſter-Abbey, to which the Protector went in very great ſtate (*m*). He received this Houſe of Commons in the Painted Chamber, where he made them a very long and a very ſenſible ſpeech, in which he gave them a large account of the nature of that government which he had thought fit to eſtabliſh, the ends he propoſed, and the means he had uſed to compaſs thoſe ends; he took great pains to ſhew them the folly of extravagant notions about liberty, civil and religious; told them to what purpoſe he had called them together, and promiſed to allow them all imaginable freedom in their debates on publick affairs (*n*). When they came to their Houſe, they elected Mr William Lenthall their Speaker, but did not preſent him; next they fell to debating, whether the ſupreme legiſlative power of the kingdom ſhould be in a ſingle perſon, or a Parliament? This alarmed the Protector, who found himſelf in danger of being depoſed by a vote of this new Parliament; to prevent which, on the twelfth of the ſame month, he cauſed a guard to be ſet at the door, to prevent their going into the Houſe of Commons, then ſent for them into the Painted Chamber, where he gave them a very ſharp reproof; nor were any permitted to go into the Houſe afterwards, before they had taken an oath to be faithful to the Protector, and his government; and tho' this excluded a great number, yet the new courtiers were ſtill a minority (*o*). While this Parliament was ſitting, an odd accident happened to the Protector; he had received a ſet of Friezland horſes from the Duke of Holſtein as a preſent, and would needs drive his Secretary Thurloe in his coach, drawn by theſe horſes, round Hyde-Park; but the horſes proving as ungovernable as the Parliament, threw his Highneſs out of the box, and, in his fall, one of his pocket-piſtols went off, notwithſtanding which he eſcaped without either wound or broken bones (*p*). By the *Inſtrument of Government* the Parliament was to ſit five months, which the Protector took the liberty of computing by his ſoldiers almanack, in which months conſiſt only of twenty-eight days; and, finding they were about to take away his power, and would give him no money, he, on the 22d of January, ſent for them once more into the Painted Chamber, where, in a very long, ambiguous, and bitter ſpeech, having told them his mind, he diſſolved them (*q*). Theſe were the principal events of the firſt year of his Protectorate, for of the principal events only we can, in this place, take notice [*EE*]. The opening of the year 1655 proved but cloudy;

(*e*) Coke's Detection, P. ii. p. 49. Life of O. Cromwell, p. 265.

(*f*) Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 724. Thurloe's State-Papers, Vol. II. p. 149.

(*g*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 497. Heath's Chronicle, p. 358.

(*h*) Echard's Hiſt. England, 710. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 179.

(*i*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 360. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 645.

(*k*) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 186.

(*l*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 375.

(*m*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 363.

(*n*) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 186.

(*o*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 500, 501. Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 647.

(*p*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 212. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 508.

(*q*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 648. Heath's Chronicle, p. 365.

[E E] *We can in this place take notice.*] It muſt appear very ſtrange to the reader, that Cromwell and his Council having a power to levy money by virtue of their ordinances, he ſhould, notwithſtanding, be ſo much diſtreſſed for it, as to be under the neceſſity of calling a Parliament; ſtill ſtranger, that with all the powers he had given himſelf in the inſtrument of government, he ſhould not have it in his power to pack one for his purpoſe; and ſtrangeſt of all, that he who formerly purged the Houſes ſo effectually by his army, when it was chiefly for other men's ſervice, ſhould not be able to do it as effectually for his own. We will endeavour to explain all theſe points. His ordinances had indeed the force of laws, and it was under colour of them that he raiſed thoſe monthly aſſeſſments which enabled him to carry on his government; yet theſe were not ſufficient for his expences, and almoſt all the caſual revenue of the publick had been granted away by the Rump, or rather ſhared amongſt themſelves (165). He was unwilling to hazard raiſing new taxes without the conſent of Parliament, becauſe he had promiſed the contrary in his inſtrument of government, and he had

(165) Hiſt. of Independency, the third and fourth parts throughout.

cloudy; the diſſolution of the Parliament ſtirred all the ill blood in the kingdom, ſo that he found himſelf at once beſet with conſpiracies on all ſides, and by all parties; but he had the good luck to diſcover them before thoſe concerned were ready to put them in execution. His firſt ſtep was to put the city in good humour, by reſtoring to them their militia, under the command of their old officer Major-General Skippon; then, February 13th, he went to Guild-hall, and declared the Republicans and Cavaliers had formed deſigns againſt his perſon (*r*). Of the former Major John Wildman, who had been an intimate friend of his, was ſeized, while penning a paper, intituled, *A Declaration of the People of* England *againſt the Tyrant* Oliver Cromwell, *Eſq*; ſome other violent men of that party he impriſoned, but was afraid of doing more (*s*). As to the Royaliſts, he ſuffered them to go on a little; for by the help of one Manning (*t*), who was his ſpy in the court of King Charles II. he was ſo well acquainted with their projects, as to put themſelves upon ſuch meaſures as entirely defeated them; and this is a true account of that inſurrection which broke out at Saliſbury, where the King was proclaimed, and Cromwell's Judges ſeized; which act of open force left no doubt with the publick, that there were ſome deſigns againſt the Protector, which, otherwiſe, they were ready enough to diſbelieve (*u*) [*FF*]. For this inſurrection Colonel Penruddock, Mr Grove, and ſeveral other perſons, ſuffered death; and from hence the Protector, who had hitherto ſhewn an inclination to have governed as a lawful Prince if he could, ſeemed to lay aſide this diſpoſition, and no longer to make any difficulty of ſupporting his authority in any manner, and by any means; ſo that from the time the firſt publick diſturbance broke out into a civil war, the people of this kindom in general never underwent ſo great oppreſſion, either in their properties or perſons; were deprived to ſuch a degree of the benefit of the laws, or had ſo melancholy a proſpect before them, of unrelenting and irreſiſtible dominion, ſupported by an armed force (*w*) [*GG*]. In the ſpring of this year was carried into execution that famous expedition,

(*r*) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 200. Flagellum, or life of Cromwell, p. 161, 162.

(*s*) Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 713.

(*t*) Heath's Chr. p. 368. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 185. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 668—671.

(*u*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 372, 373. Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 163.

(*w*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 676. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 519.

had equal reaſon to doubt whether the people would pay, or the army levy, ſuch taxes; to avoid which he took very extraordinary ways of coming at money, ſuch as ſeizing four hundred thouſand pounds belonging to the King of Spain, though as yet there was no war declared; but the want of money was not the only reaſon which drove him upon this meaſure, he wanted to have his own power and the *Inſtrument* of *Government* confirmed by Parliament, and flattered himſelf with many good turns from them, which could not with any decency be done by his own power (166). In his endeavours to model the Parliament before they ſat, he puſhed every thing to the utmoſt; but an act of cunning that had been very ſerviceable to him before, rendered all his contrivances abortive now, for in the plan of Parliament ſettled by the inſtrument, the counties, inſtead of having two, had moſt of them five, and ſome more, repreſentatives, a thing very right in itſelf, and therefore very wrong with reſpect to him, ſince he could introduce in that quality but very few of his creatures. Scotland and Ireland indeed, ſent for the moſt part officers of the army, and therefore the Patriots in the Parliament treated it as a ſoleciſm, firſt to enſlave countries, and then to enable them to ſend up their jailors and tyrants to ſit amongſt, and become a part of, the repreſentatives of a free nation (167). What was worſt of all, many of his own creatures fell off, for the free ſpeakers in the Houſe unmaſked his policy ſo effectually, that they ſaw they were forging chains for themſelves. His purges, however ſharp, came a little too late, the body of this Houſe of Commons being pretty well ſeaſoned to them; ſo that many of them took the Engagement in order to get into the Houſe, and explained it away as ſoon as they were got in. He was obliged to truſt the management of the Parliament to Lambert, who deſired to have the *Inſtrument* of *Government* confirmed, in hopes of becoming his ſucceſſor; but the true ſecret of their haſty diſſolution was, a deſign diſcovered to the Protector by Col. Pride, which many of the inferior officers of the army had formed, of ſeizing and delivering him priſoner to the Parliament (168) In the midſt of theſe publick perplexities his domeſtick quiet was interrupted by the death of his mother, November 18, 1654, ſhe lived with him at Whitehall, ſhared in the ſplendor of his Court, but enjoyed it not, for though ſhe troubled him but little with her remonſtrances, yet her fears were ſo ſtrong, that ſhe could not believe he was ſafe if ſhe did not ſee him twice a day, and if by accident ſhe heard a piſtol at any time diſcharged, ſhe could not help crying out, *My ſon is ſhot* (169)! The Protector, contrary to her deſire, who foreſaw they would never reſt there in peace, cauſed her remains to be interred in King Henry VIIth's chapel in Weſtminſter abbey (170).

[*FF*] *They were ready enough to diſbelieve.*] It is very certain that Mr Thurloe, who, from being Secretary to Oliver St John in his embaſſy to the States, was raiſed to be Secretary and Prime-Miniſter to Cromwell, had a great deal of the old Walſingham ſpirit, and knew how to manage a great number of buſy intriguing ſpirits ſo dextrouſly, as by the help of ſham plots of his own contriving, to find out and diſappoint the true. Here we muſt obſerve the wiſe diſtinction made by Cromwell for the preſent, between the Republicans and the Royaliſts, who were equally enemies to the Protector, though he did not care to ſhow himſelf equally an enemy to them; he contented himſelf therefore for the preſent, with diſplacing Major General Harriſon, Col. Rich, Col. Okey, *&c.* and with the ſeizing Major-Gen. Overton and ſome others, that expreſſed themſelves in terms of dangerous reſentment; nay, to ſuch a degree was he maſter of his paſſions, though naturally no man was more paſſionate, that when Colonel, the ſame who was formerly Cornet Joyce, reproached him to his face with his ſervices, he only bid him *Be gone* (171). But he did not think himſelf obliged to treat the Royaliſts ſo favourably, and therefore being quite maſter of their projects, he made, or rather his Secretary Thurloe made, ſome of his creatures give out falſe times for a general inſurrection, by which the deſign was effectually defeated, and yet there were ſo many appeared in arms, as to ſhew that there really was ſuch a deſign, and thereby afford a colour for putting ſuch to death, as were unluckily involved in it; and they had the leſs reaſon to hope for mercy, ſince they pleaded in their own defence, that they could not be guilty of any treaſon, becauſe thoſe againſt whom they acted were not a legal government, and indeed the Chief Juſtice Rolle did not care to try them, and Mr Ludlow very frankly owns, that their defence was well founded (172).

[*GG*] *Supported by an armed force.*] To lay a foundation for all this violence, the Protector, with the advice of his Council, publiſhed an Ordinance, importing, that all who had borne arms for the King, or who at any time had declared themſelves of his party, ſhould be decimated, or pay a tenth part of the income of their eſtates for the expence of thoſe extraordinary forces that they obliged his Highneſs to to keep up. Commiſſioners were appointed in every county to receive the money ariſing from this new eſtabliſhment, which brought in a prodigious ſum of money, as the Commiſſioners had power to compound all demands for three years purchaſe (173). This ordinance

(166) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 423. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 498.

(167) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 152, 153. See the Inſtrument of Government in Whitlocke and in Bates.

(168) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 500, 501—503.

(169) Heath's Chronicle, p. 366.

(170) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol II. p. 488, 489.

(171) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 161.

(172) Heath's Chron. p. 367, 368. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 518, 519.

(173) Heath's Chron. p. 373.

expedition, by which the Protector hoped to make himſelf maſter of a great part of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, having ſent thither a powerful fleet, under the command of Admiral Penn, and the greateſt body of land-forces that had been ever ſeen in America, commanded by General Venables; and though, in the main part of their deſign, theſe officers were utterly unſucceſsful, yet they made themſelves maſters of the iſland of Jamaica, which has remained ever ſince part of the dominions of the Britiſh crown (x). We have different accounts of this great tranſaction in our general hiſtories, and many circumſtances there are which have not been hitherto fully explained [*HH*]. He was very deſirous of bringing moſt of thoſe projects to bear, that he knew had a tendency to pleaſe the people; and therefore thought he could not make a better uſe of his power, than to reſtrain ſome things that were thought exorbitant in the proceedings of the High Court of Chancery; upon which, however, Sir Thomas Widdrington, Mr Whitlocke, and Mr Lenthall, deſired to reſign their offices, who had kept them through ſuch a variety of changes, and when moſt people thought the Conſtitution had received greater injuries than this (y). They were permitted to do this without any offence taken, as appears from the Protector's making the two former Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, and the regard he ſhewed to Lenthall as long as he lived. As for the great ſeal, it went into ſuch hands as had ſcarce been intruſted with it before, *viz.* Major Liſle and Colonel Fiennes (z). The new King of Sweden ſent over an Ambaſſador, to compliment the Protector, who was moſt graciouſly received, and great pains were taken to make this inſtance of reſpect from a foreign court as publick as it was poſſible; but the viſit that Queen Chriſtina was inclined to have paid him he judged proper to avoid, which was certainly an argument of his great prudence (a). That alliance, which had been ſo long in treaty with the crown of France, was ſigned November 24th, 1655, and proclaimed the 28th of the ſame month; by which it was ſtipulated, that Cromwell ſhould ſend over a body of Engliſh troops, to act in conjunction with the French againſt the Spaniards in the Low-Countries, and that, on the other hand, the French King ſhould oblige the Royal Family to quit his dominions (b). This treaty has been much magnified by ſome, but certainly without any great cauſe, ſince it was entirely deſtructive of the balance of power, and became, in it's conſequences, the real cauſe of moſt of thoſe wars that have coſt us ſo much blood and treaſure [*II*]. The glorious ſucceſſes of the great Admiral Blake in the Mediterranean,

dinance was ſo penned, that it took in all that ſhould diſturb his government, or rather be ſuſpected of diſturbing it, upon any principle whatever. At this time county troops were eſtabliſhed, every private man having eight pounds a year given him, not for military ſervice, but for informing; a Captain had a hundred pounds a year, and other officers in proportion. And finally to provide for all inconveniences, as well amongſt the people as in the army, he divided England as it were into ſo many cantons, over each of which he placed one called by the name of Major-General, which Major-Generals were in the nature of Prefects, or Governors of provinces (174). Theſe men were to have the inſpection and government of the inferior Commiſſioners in every county, to commit to priſon all ſuch perſons as they ſuſpected, to levy all monies which were ordered by his Highneſs and his Council to be collected for the publick, to ſequeſter all who did not pay their decimation, and to put in execution ſuch farther directions as they ſhould receive; and there was no appeal from any of their acts but to the Protector himſelf (175). For the management of the affairs relating to this commiſſion they had an office at London, where recognizances were entered, and their proceedings filed, by which the Protector hoped to obtain a diſtinct account of the quality of every perſon in the Royal intereſt, and of the value of his eſtate, throughout the kingdom; for as to theſe Chriſtian Baſhaws, they were impowered by their commiſſions to take an account of all ſuſpected perſons of the King's party, and ſuch as were actually ſo to receive ſecurity of them, in which they were to be bound to act nothing againſt the government, and to reveal all plots that ſhould come to their knowledge; they were to ſuppreſs all horſe-races, cock-matches, and other concourſes of people; to ſecure the high-ways; to take Engagement from Cavaliers for their ſervants and children; and thoſe that did not ſo, nor give ſecurity, to commit to priſon, and to rate and receive the money ariſing from this decimation (176). Theſe Major-Generals carried things with a very high hand, decimating whom they pleaſed, interrupting the proceedings at law upon petitions of thoſe who thought themſelves aggrieved, and threatening ſuch as would not readily ſubmit to their orders, with tranſportation to the Weſt Indies.

[*HH*] *Which have not been hitherto fully explained.*] It is not to be expected that in a ſhort note, any competent account ſhould be given of a very long expedition, the preparatives for and proceedings in which might well employ a ſmall volume, without inſerting any thing that could be eſteemed tedious by the reader; all therefore that I propoſe, is, to offer a few hints of circumſtances worthy of being thoroughly examined. The motives to this expedition were none of the moſt honourable, ſince they were plainly avarice and fear. The Protector had juſt taſted the Spaniſh treaſures, and he had a mind to take a full meal; for whoever conſults his inſtructions will find, that it was not the particular iſland of Hiſpaniola, but the Continent alſo that he had hopes of conquering, and yet the embarkation of the troops was from time to time deferred, ſo that the end of the expedition was no ſecret, even before the ſhips ſailed from England (177). In the next place it was fear, for Venables, who commanded the land forces, had never been well affected to Cromwell, and before this time was reconciled to the King, of which it is not impoſſible the Protector might be informed; the troops too were compoſed of men diſcharged out of all the regiments in his ſervice for diſaffection, and if at laſt they had not been hurried on board at Portſmouth, when they leaſt expected it, Venables had marched up to London, in order to try if it had not been poſſible to dethrone the Protector (178). There was a great deal of miſmanagement on all ſides in the ſetting out, a very high miſunderſtanding between the Commanders in Chief from the very beginning, the additional forces they took on board at Barbadoes were the moſt profligate and worthleſs people in the world; ſo that, upon the whole, it is much more wonderful that ever theſe people became maſters of Jamaica, than that they were diſappointed at Hiſpaniola, for which, however, Cromwell had no body to thank but himſelf; for there was ſuch a narrowneſs and ſelfiſhneſs in his inſtructions as diſpirited the ſoldiers, who found, that after all the hazards they had run, and dangers they had endured, they were to fight, not for themſelves, but to fill the Protector's privy purſe (179).

[*II*] *That have coſt us ſo much blood and treaſure.*] The conjuncture of thoſe times, and the high ſtruggle between the crowns of France and Spain, was very favourable for the Protector, who might, if he had pleaſed, have taken the ballance of power in Europe entirely

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(x) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 206, 207, &c. Heath's Chronicle, p. 376. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 306.

(y) Life of O. Cromwell, p. 321, 322. Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 716.

(z) See liſt of honors and offices conferred by O. Lord Protector.

(a) Life of O. Cromwell, p. 323.

(b) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 210.

(174) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 676. Heath's Chron. p. 378.

(175) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 164, 165.

(176) Coke's Detection, B. iv. p. 59.

(177) Burchett's Naval Hiſtory, p. 385—395.

(178) Life of Dr Barwick, p. 185, 186.

(179) Burchett's Naval Hiſtory, p. 385.

Mediterranean, and the great ſums that he recovered from ſeveral powers, for depredations committed by their ſubjects on the Engliſh trade, did much honour to the Protector's government; and, to conclude the tranſactions of this year, it muſt be allowed, that, how much ſoever he might be diſliked at home, his reputation, at this time, was very great abroad (*c*) [*KK*]. The loſs he ſuſtained in the diſcovery of Manning, whom King Charles cauſed to be ſhot for correſponding with Thurloe, was moſt effectually repaired by the aſſiſtance he received from a perſon of ſuperior character, who was Chancellor Hyde's great correſpondent, and ſuppoſed to be one of the moſt active and determined Royaliſts in England. The war with Spain, which had hitherto produced only vaſt expectations, began now to bear ſome fruit; for the gallant and fortunate Blake, falling in with the Plate Fleet, almoſt at the mouth of the harbour of Cadiz, attacked and deſtroyed it, to the irreparable damage of the Spaniards, and of the no ſmall gain of the Protector, who received two millions in ready money out of the prizes that were taken (*d*). The Protector, in the midſt of all that he poſſeſſed, ſtill felt ſome wants, which he judged nothing could ſupply but a Parliament; and, having concerted more effectual methods, as he conceived, for bending them to his will, than had been practiſed before the laſt, he directed writs to iſſue for the meeting of that aſſembly September 17th, 1656, at which time they met accordingly, but with a guard poſted at the door of the Houſe, who ſuffered none to enter till they had ſwallowed the oaths that were ready prepared for them, by which about two hundred were excluded, who ſigned a proteſt againſt this proceeding, and againſt all that ſhould be done by thoſe who ſat without them (*e*). The Parliament, however, choſe Sir Thomas Widdrington their Speaker, paſſed an act for diſannulling the King's title, another for the ſecurity of his Highneſs's perſon, and ſeveral money-bills; for all which the Protector gave them his moſt gracious thanks (*f*). It was apprehended, that ſome difference might have ariſen upon a motion in the Houſe, againſt the exorbitant power of the Majors-General; but, as they began to be formidable now to the Protector himſelf, they were fairly given up by Mr Claypole, who had married the Protector's daughter, in a ſpeech, which ſet all things right again (*g*). About the cloſe of the year a new plot was either diſcovered, or made, for which one Miles Sindercombe was condemned, and that by the ordinary forms of juſtice; but he diſappointed the Protector, and was found dead on the morning intended for his execution, which gave birth to many conjectures (*h*) [*LL*]. However, a publick thankſgiving was appointed for the
happy

(*c*) Life of O. Cromwell, p. 326.

(*d*) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 222. See the article of Blake in this Dictionary.

(*e*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 651. Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 450. Heath's Chronicle, p. 382.

(*f*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 653. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 213.

(*g*) Life of O. Cromwell, p. 338.

(*h*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 654, 655. Heath's Chronicle, p. 385.

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entirely into his own hands, and not only have held it during life, but have fixed it for the reſt of that century at leaſt But after much deliberation he reſolved, or rather his affairs compelled him, to break with Spain, in hopes of filling his Exchequer by that war, and this made him join with France, as well as for two other reaſons; the firſt, that he might procure the Royal Family to be driven out of that country by treaty, as they had been before out of Holland; the ſecond, that he might have a port upon that Continent the expediency of which was firſt ſuggeſted to him by the Spaniards, who, if he would have joined with them, promiſed to put him in poſſeſſion of Calais (180). It is aſſerted by Dr Welwood, on the credit of Puffendorff, that in the negotiation of theſe treaties he carried himſelf very haughtily; that in the inſtrument he cauſed his own name to be put before the French King's; that he would not allow him to ſtile himſelf King of France, but of the French, though at the ſame time he ſtiled himſelf Protector of France as well as England. It would be very difficult to make any of theſe points good, for in Milton's Letters it will be found, that Cromwell, writing to Lewis XIV, gave him the title of King of France (181), not in the ſuperſcription only, but in the body of his letter; not does it any where appear that Cromwell ever took the title of Protector of France at all, but of the republick or commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and therefore this is as much to be relied on as another fact laid down as notoriouſly true, that Cromwell was born on the third of September, though it is notoriouſly otherwiſe (182).

[*KK*] *Was very great abroad.*] It would be a very eaſy thing to prove this, from what is ſaid of him by a multitude of foreign authors, but it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that at this time there was a print of the Protector on horſeback publickly ſold at Paris, with theſe Latin verſes under it (183).

Cernimus hic omni caput admirabile mundo:
Regibus hic frater; populis pater, hoſtis multum,
Nullius ille timet quam ſummi numinis arma.
Quis dubitat ſacro hoc ſi pergat Flamine Victor,
Quod Reges, Populi, Barbarieſque ſtupent.
Barbariem, vera religione domat
Non timet, at pacem cuilibet eſſe parat:
Quin ſubita Meretrix de Babylone cadet.

Which have been rendered thus:

We know that face, which all with wonder ſee,
Brother to Kings, parent to nations, He
Unmov'd all foes beholds; nor fears ſave one,
The Lord of Hoſts on his cœleſtial throne.
Who doubts, victorious, over all who riſe,
Where armies reach, or where his navy flies,
Kings, States, nay barb'rous lands, ſhall own his ſway,
And, to his equal laws, obedience pay?
By true religion led, he'll force his foes
To ſigh for quiet, and beſeech repoſe;
Then, when this work by his great hand is done,
Tremble thou ſcarlet Whore *in* Babylon.

[*L L*] *Which gave birth to many conjectures*] The caſe of this Miles Sindercombe was very extraordinary; he was drawn in to conſpire againſt the Protector by Col. Edward Sexby, formerly a famous Adjutator, and one in great confidence with Cromwell, afterwards his moſt violent and bitter enemy; that Colonel again was an agent of the Spaniards, and ſo well ſupplied by them, that, as he confeſſed, he furniſhed Sindercombe at ſeveral times with five hundred pounds (184). But as in conſpiracies of this ſort a man cannot act without aſſiſtance, Sindercombe found out one Toope (185), who was of the Protector's guard, and withal one of Mr Thurloe's ſpies, to whom he communicated his deſign, and three different methods were contrived and attempted; one was, to ſhoot him in his paſſage through Hammerſmith in his way to Hampton Court; another, to fire Whitehall; and a third, to ſhoot him as he was going to Weſtminſter-abbey. Theſe attempts having miſcarried, he was ſeized, aud brought to his trial in the Upper Bench, before the Lord Chief Juſtice Glynn, Feb. 19, 1656 (186): but whereas ſome writers ſay, that he was tried upon a law made by Cromwell's Parliament, that is a miſtake, for he
was

(180) See Thurloe's account of the negotiations of Cromwell with France and Spain, delivered to the Earl of Clarendon, at the end of the firſt Vol. of his State Papers.

(181) Milton's Works, Vol. II. p. 455, 457, 469.

(182) Welwood's Memoirs, p. 113.

(183) From the MS. of the late Rev. Mr. Knight, Fellow of Chriſt-Church, Oxford.

(184) Thurloe's Letters, Vol. VI. p. 530, 553.

(185) A further narrative of the paſſages of theſe times in the Commonwealth of England, p. 21.

(186) State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 372.

happy deliverance of his Highneſs's perſon, and the Speaker and Parliament were ſplendidly regaled at Whitehall (*i*). In the ſpring of the year 1657 it plainly appeared what the Protector drove at, by all the pains he had taken with his Parliament, in which a kind of legiſlative ſettlement of the government was brought upon the carpet, under the title of *The Humble Petition and Advice*, in which there was a blank for the ſupreme Governor's title, and a clauſe prepared to countenance the eſtabliſhing ſomething like Peers, under the name of the Other Houſe (*k*). At length the whole came to light; for one Alderman Pack, a forward, time-ſerving, money-getting fellow, and deep in all the jobbs of the government, moved, that the firſt blank might be filled up with the word King, which was violently oppoſed by the army members; but at length, after various debates, it was carried, as well as the clauſe impowering him to make ſomething like Lords; and in this form the petition was preſented to his Highneſs, who deſired ſome time to conſider before he gave his anſwer. The Parliament appointed a Committee, with their Speaker at the head of it, to confer with and ſatisfy the Protector; and, in this conference, they, with great learning and eloquence, proved, that, notwithſtanding all the faults they had formerly found with the office of a King, yet, after all, they were now perfectly ſatisfied, the four letters, of which that word was compoſed, were as harmleſs and inoffenſive as any in the whole alphabet (*l*). The Protector, who was not of a narrow way of thinking, but had as comprehenſive ſentiments as they upon this point, would have been content to have had the Kingſhip forced upon him, but that he found, that ſome of his beſt friends and neareſt relations, ſuch as his ſon-in-law Fleetwood, his brother-in-law Deſborough, and many others, were utterly againſt it, and carried their oppoſition ſo far, as to promote a petition from the Army to the Parliament againſt this meaſure (*m*); which though, to countenance parliamentary authority, laid aſide, yet chiefly determined Cromwell to refuſe that honour which he had been ſo long ſeeking; and accordingly, May 8th, 1657, he told them, in the Banquetting-houſe, that he could not, with a good conſcience, accept the government, under the title of King (*n*). The Parliament then thought proper to fill up the blank with his former title of Protector; and his Highneſs himſelf, that all the pains he had taken might not be abſolutely thrown away, reſolved upon a new inauguration; which was accordingly, with great ſolemnity, performed on the 26th of June, 1657, in Weſtminſter-Hall, with all the pomp and ſplendor of a coronation (*o*). After this the Houſe of Commons adjourned to the 20th of January following, in order to give the Protector time to regulate all things according to the new ſyſtem; with a view to which he ſummoned his two ſons, and many other perſons, to take their ſeats in the other Houſe (*p*). About this time it was, that Major-General Lambert loſt his favour; which, however, does not ſeem to have been an act ſo much of the Protector's will, as a ſcheme of his own; for he utterly diſliked the deſign that Oliver had formed of making himſelf King; and told him plainly, that, if he perſiſted in it, he could give him no aſſurance of the fidelity of the army. The neceſſary and immediate cauſe of his diſgrace was, refuſing to take the oath appointed by *The Humble Petition and Advice*; upon which the Protector removed him from all his commands, but, at the ſame time, granted him a penſion of two thouſand pounds a year, to keep him quiet (*q*). The ſenſe of this, and ſome other untoward accidents, was, in ſome meaſure, qualified by the news of Admiral Blake's great ſucceſſes at the Canaries, and in the Mediterranean, by which Spain felt very ſeverely the weight of the Engliſh arms, the Protector's coffers drew conſiderable ſupplies, but the honour and intereſt of the nation ſuffered

(*i*) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 450.

(*k*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 657.

(*l*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 386, 387. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 214, 215, 216.

(*m*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 587. Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 175, 176.

(*n*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 389. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 312.

(*o*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 661, 662.

(*p*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 594, 595, 596.

(*q*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 185. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 593.

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was tried upon the common ſtatute of treaſon, the Chief Juſtice taking upon him to inform the jury, that by the word King the ſupreme magiſtrate was intended, whether he had that title or not (187). The jury, upon very full evidence, found him guilty; and Friday the fourteenth of the ſame month was appointed for his execution. He went to bed well, but when they came to call him up he was dead, and as appeared by a paper he left under his cloſe-ſtool, he deſtroyed himſelf by poiſon (188). It was given out however at that time, and believed by many, that Cromwell cauſed him to be poiſoned, being afraid of bringing him to a publick execution (189). The reader will underſtand this better from what the Noble Hiſtorian (190) ſays upon this ſubject: 'Sindercombe was a very ſtout man, and one who had been much in Cromwell's favour, and who had twice or thrice, by wonderful and unexpected accidents, been diſappointed in the minute he had made ſure to kill him. And when Cromwell had cauſed him to be apprehended, his behaviour was ſo reſolute in his examination and trial, as if he thought he ſhould ſtill be able to do it; and it was manifeſt that he had more aſſociates who were undiſcovered, and as reſolute as himſelf; and though he had got him condemned to die, the fellow's carriage and words were ſuch, as if he knew well how to avoid the judgment, which made Cromwell believe that a party in the army would attempt his reſcue. Whereupon he gave ſtrict charge that he ſhould be carefully looked to in the Tower, and three or four of the guard always with him day and night. At the day appointed for his execution, thoſe troops Cromwell was moſt confident of were placed upon Tower-hill, where the gallows was erected. But when the guard called Sindercombe to riſe in the morning, they found him dead in his bed, which gave trouble exceedingly to Cromwell, for beſides that he hoped that at his death, to avoid the utmoſt rigour of it, he would have confeſſed many of his confederates; he now found himſelf under the reproach of having cauſed him to be poiſoned, as not daring to bring him to publick juſtice, nor could he ſuppreſs that ſcandal. It appeared upon examination, that the night before, when he was going to bed, in the preſence of his guard, his ſiſter came to take her leave of him, and upon her going away he put off his cloaths, and leaped into his bed, and ſaid, *This was the laſt bed he ſhould ever go into.* His body was drawn by a horſe to the gallows where he ſhould have been hanged, and buried under it with a ſtake driven through him, as is uſual in the caſe of ſelf-murder. Yet this accident perplexed Cromwell very much, and though he was without the particular diſcovery he expected, he made a general diſcovery by it, that he himſelf was more odious in his army than he believed he had been.'

(187) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 654.

(188) State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 375.

(189) Killing no Murder, p. 22.

(190) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 696.

ſuffered extreamly (r) [MM]; that gallant ſeaman, no way anſwerable for the cauſe or conduct of that war, but juſtly famous for his generous courage, and conſtant zeal for his country's ſervice, dying in his return home, within ſight of his native ſhore, in the arms of victory; his corps, by the Protector's orders, was, with great ſolemnity, tranſported to Weſtminſter-Abbey, and there interred with all the honours due to ſo great an officer, and to ſo good a man (s). The forces which had been ſent over to Flanders, for the aſſiſtance of the French againſt the Spaniards, gained very great reputation, and made the French court more and more attentive to the preſervation of Cromwell's friendſhip; but, at the ſame time, it induced his Catholick Majeſty to afford ſome countenance and aſſiſtance to King Charles, then in the Low-Countries, and meditating an attempt upon England. To facilitate this great deſign, the Marquis of Ormond was ſent over, and remained ſome time in London, where he very narrowly eſcaped falling into the hands of the Protector, who received from his ſpies an exact information of all the meaſures taken by the Royaliſts, which, therefore, he eaſily diſappointed. Only Captain Titus contrived to wound him deeply, not in his body indeed, but in his mind, by publiſhing a ſmall treatiſe, under the name of William Allen, intituled, *Killing no Murder*; in which he argued ſo ſtrongly, that one, who had violated all laws, could derive protection from no law, that Oliver thence forward believed himſelf in continual danger (t). In the beginning of the year 1658, he pleaſed himſelf with the hopes of being once at the head of an aſſembly, ſomewhat reſembling the antient Parliaments of England; and accordingly, purſuant to their own adjournment, the Commons met on the 20th of January, as the other Houſe alſo did, agreeable to the writs of ſummons iſſued by the Lord Protector. He ſent for them by the Black Rod, and began his ſpeech with the pompous words, *My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons*; and, after he had done ſpeaking, ſuffered them to retire to their reſpective Houſes, where, to give the greater credit to his government, all ſhew of force or reſtraint was now withdrawn. This ſerved only to diſcover, that therein lay his whole ſupport, for the antient nobility would not reſume their ſeats in ſuch company as he had aſſigned them, ſeveral Members of the Houſe of Commons choſe to keep their writs requiring their attendance in the other Houſe, and ſit where they were; and not a few, who had been before excluded, took advantage of the doors being open, and boldly came to the Houſe (u). In leſs than a fortnight the new ſyſtem was in a fair way of being pulled to pieces, the Houſe of Commons would have nothing to do with the new nobles in the other Houſe; and they, on the other hand,

(r) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 227, 228.

(s) Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 725.

(t) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 185.

(u) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 595—597.

[MM] *But the honour and intereſt of the nation ſuffered extreamly.*] We will take occaſion in this note to ſet the buſineſs of the Spaniſh war in it's true light. The crown of Spain was very much diſtreſſed in almoſt every part of her dominions, and this induced her Monarch to be very ready in owning the Parliament, and very deſirous, if it had been poſſible, to procure the good will of Cromwell, whom, as is before obſerved, he courted to a degree that was indecent and ridiculous (191). The true motive to this war, on the part of Cromwell, was neceſſity; he wanted money exceedingly, ſome of his troops and many of his officers he could not depend on, therefore a war was requiſite, and that too ſuch a war as he might get by (192). He endeavoured to colour this, by engaging the Merchants to complain againſt Spain, in which he was unſucceſsful; for which he revenged himſelf, by ſuffering their effects to be ſeized in that kingdom (193). He next ſeized a large ſum of money belonging to that crown, which they offered to lend him for a certain number of years without intereſt, and to have taken his word for the repayment; ſo deſirous they were of maintaining peace if it were poſſible (194). His Weſt India expedition was in itſelf a bad deſign, becauſe no war declared, ill concerted, worſe executed, and yet in ſome meaſure luckily concluded. Capt. Stayner's taking two galleons at Cadiz, with two millions of ſilver on board, and deſtroying twice as much more, was a dreadful blow to the Spaniards, and yet this loſs was inconſiderable in reſpect to the burning the Plate Fleet at Santa Cruz, by which however Cromwell got nothing (195). When Capt. Richard Stayner came home with his prizes, all imaginable pains were taken to magnify the exploit in the eyes of the people; the money was carried with great parade through London, the Captain knighted and handſomely rewarded, there was a ſolemn thankſgiving alſo for this mighty ſucceſs, which Mr Waller celebrated in a poem that will render it immortal, though the deſign with which it was written failed, for it plainly appears that the Poet meant to have recommended his hero to the regal dignity, as the only adequate return the nation could make for the benefit they had received (196). But in thoſe times men were more quick-ſighted, and all this pomp and art could not hinder the expreſſions of high diſcontent, ariſing from the general knowledge that this affected triumph was a downright impoſition, calculated to amuſe and deceive the populace, without making the leaſt impreſſion upon men of ſenſe and property. The Merchants exclaimed bitterly, and with very good reaſon, as fully appeared from a report made to Richard's Parliament, that fifteen hundred Engliſh ſhips were taken in the courſe of this war (197). Beſides, this threw the Spaniſh trade firſt into the hands of the Dutch, to whom they were naturally averſe, and could hardly have been reconciled any other way (198). We may add to this, the irreparable loſs to all Europe of ten times as much ſilver as Cromwell gained, and of which this nation, in a fair courſe of trade, would have obtained much more than ever the war brought into the Protector's coffers (199). Yet muſt we not imagine that even he was at all the better for it upon a ballance, on the contrary, the expence of the American expedition exceeded all that he acquired. This does not at all leſſen the reputation of Blake and the reſt of the Commanders, they obeyed orders, did what they took to be their duty, and carried the glory of the Engliſh Flag to an amazing height. Some have very improperly intereſted religion in this quarrel, and becauſe Cromwell made war upon a Catholick power, and threatened the Pope with burning Civita Vecchia, which no doubt might have been eaſily done, would from thence magnify his zeal to the Proteſtant faith (200). At the bottom however this will be found but a very untoward complement to the Proteſtant cauſe, which moſt certainly never inclines thoſe who eſpouſe it to unjuſt proceedings, and to the avowed breach of the law of nature and nations; and therefore to wipe off this aſperſion it was neceſſary to ſhew, that this war really took it's riſe from Cromwell's miſtaking his own intereſt, and preferring that miſtaken intereſt to the welfare of the nation, which manifeſtly appeared, not only from his attacking the Spaniards without cauſe and without warning, but, that he might do this, barbarouſly ſacrificing the Britiſh Merchants, whoſe effects were juſtly ſeized by way of repriſal for his injuſtice (201).

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(191) See Mr Secretary Thurloe's account, publiſhed in the firſt Vol. of his State Papers.

(192) Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 306.

(193) The World's Miſtake in Oliver Cromwell.

(194) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 71. Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. III. p. 113. Coke's Detection, Vol. II. p. 51, 52, 53.

(195) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 323.

(196) Waller's Poems, p. 274. The propoſition is contained in the four laſt lines.

(197) The World's Miſtake in Oliver Cromwell, p. 16.

(198) Coke's Detection, Vol. II. p. 51, 52, 53.

(199) Happy future State of England, p. 187.

(200) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, p. 80, 81.

(201) Coke's Detection, Vol. II. p. 52. The World's Miſtake in O. Cromwell, p. 13, 14, 15.

hand, were at a loſs to know what to do by themſelves; of all which the Protector being informed, he came on the 4th of February, and diſſolved them with great bitterneſs of ſpeech, and deep ſorrow of heart; for now he ſaw plainly, that a regular eſtabliſhment was a thing impracticable (*w*). Some farther deſigns were ſoon after diſcovered, not of the Cavaliers only, but of the Fifth Monarchy-men alſo; which diſcoveries were chiefly owing to the dexterity of Secretary Thurloe, whoſe implements, in the ſhape of Cavaliers and Fanaticks, mixed in all companies, and thruſt themſelves into all ſecrets, that they might acquire a ſubſiſtence by betraying them (*x*). With the latter, the Protector was obliged to obſerve ſome meaſures, and, though he took care to ſecure himſelf, yet he durſt not act with ſeverity towards them; which, perhaps, heightened his reſentment againſt the former, whom, contrary to Whitlocke's advice, he delivered over to a High Court of Juſtice (*y*). By the ſentence of that court Dr Hewett, a Reverend Divine of the Church of England, who had married one of Cromwell's daughters to the Lord Fauconberg, ſuffered death for contumacy, having refuſed to plead, or to acknowledge the juriſdiction of the court, June 8th, 1658; as did alſo Sir Henry Slingſby by the like ſentence. Several others were condemned by the ordinary forms of law, which, at length, the Protector was perſwaded to uſe, which ſtruck the nation with as much horror as fear (*z*). The gloomineſs of this ſcene was a little diſperſed by the ſucceſs of the Engliſh arms abroad, and the delivery of Dunkirk, taken chiefly by their valour, into the hands of Lockhart, his Ambaſſador; concerning which we have a very remarkable ſtory, if it be well founded [*NN*]. The great ſatisfaction the Protector expreſſed at this, and at the French

(*w*) Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 730. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 672.

(*x*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 184, 185.

(*y*) Memorials of the Engliſh affairs, p. 673. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 604, 605.

(*z*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 673. Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 553.

[*NN*] *Concerning which we have a very remarkable ſtory, if it be well founded.*] This is to be met with in Welwood's Memoirs, and very well deſerves the place it holds there, if it could be ſupported by any clear authority. His relation runs thus (202): ‘There was an article in the treaty between France and the Protector, that if Dunkirk came to be taken, it ſhould be immediately delivered up to the Engliſh, and his Ambaſſador Lockhart had orders to take poſſeſſion of it accordingly. When the French army, being joined with the Engliſh auxiliaries, was in it's march to inveſt the town, Cromwell ſent one morning for the French Ambaſſador to Whitehall, and upbraided him publickly for his maſter's deſigned breach of promiſe, in giving ſecret orders to the French General to keep poſſeſſion of Dunkirk in caſe it was taken, contrary to the treaty between them. The Ambaſſador proteſted he knew nothing of the matter, as indeed he did not, and begged leave to aſſure him there was no ſuch thing thought of; upon which Cromwell, pulling a paper out of his pocket, *Here*, ſays he, *is the copy of the Cardinal's order; and I deſire you to diſpatch immediately an expreſs, to let him know, that I am not to be impoſed upon, and that, if he deliver not up the keys of Dunkirk to Lockhart within an hour after it ſhall be taken, tell him, I'll come in perſon, and demand them at the gates of Paris.* There were but four perſons ſaid to be privy to this order, the Queen-mother, the Cardinal, the Marſhal de Turenne, and a Secretary, whoſe name it is not fit at this time to mention. The Cardinal for a long time blamed the Queen, as if ſhe might poſſibly have blabbed it out to ſome of her women; whereas it was found, after the Secretary's death, that he had kept a ſecret correſpondence with Cromwell for ſeveral years, and therefore it was not doubted but he had ſent him the copy of the order beforementioned. The meſſage had it's effect, for Dunkirk was put into the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. And to palliate the matter, the Duke and Marſhal Crequi was diſpatched into England Ambaſſador Extraordinary to compliment Cromwell, attended by a numerous and ſplendid train of perſons of quality, among whom was a Prince of the blood, and Mancini, Mazarine's nephew, who brought a letter from his uncle to the Protector, full of the higheſt expreſſions of reſpect, and aſſuring his Highneſs, that being within view of the Engliſh ſhore, nothing but the King's indiſpoſition, (who lay then ill of the ſmall-pox at Calais) could have hindered him to come over to England, that he might enjoy the honour of waiting upon one of the greateſt men that ever was, and whom, next to his maſter, his greateſt ambition was to ſerve. But being deprived of ſo great a happineſs, he had ſent the perſon that was neareſt to him in blood, to aſſure him of the profound veneration he had for his perſon, and how much he was reſolved, to the utmoſt of his power, to cultivate a particular amity and friendſhip betwixt his maſter and him.’ This narrative has a very fair appearance, and has ſo long paſſed for an indiſputable truth that I ſhould not eaſily have inclined to queſtion it; but thus much is certain, that, if there be any truth in it, it would be a very difficult matter to find it out, becauſe almoſt every circumſtance of it may be ſhewn to be falſe. It appears from Lockhart's letters, who was not only the Protector's Ambaſſador in France, but alſo Commander in Chief of his forces, that the difficulty at the opening the campaign lay in bringing the Cardinal to reſolve upon beſieging Dunkirk early, becauſe the Spaniards were poſſeſſed of Heſdin, and were thereby in a condition to have made a diverſion by an excurſion into France, and the people clamoured that the Cardinal was leaving them at the mercy of the Spaniards, while the army of France was to be employed in taking of towns, which were to be given up to the Engliſh, their antient and inveterate enemy (203). It appears farther, that it was impoſſible for the French to have broke their treaty with Cromwell in this reſpect, for three reaſons; the firſt, becauſe without the aſſiſtance of an additional aſſiſtance from him, they were not able to inveſt the place; ſecondly, becauſe he had a pawn in his hand, which was Mardyke, and which was to be given up to France, upon putting Dunkirk into his hands; thirdly, becauſe after taking the place, the preſervation of their own conqueſts, and even of their army, depended abſolutely upon the continuance of his friendſhip; ſo that if they had deceived him, not only the forces of France, and the fortune of the war would have been in the utmoſt danger, but the perſons alſo of the King and Cardinal, who were at that time in the army (204). We may add to all this, that there is not the leaſt notice of ſuch a tranſaction in Whitlocke, or in any of the Hiſtorians of thoſe times, and, which is the more remarkable, Whitlocke informs us, that Cromwell might have had the place betrayed to him by the Spaniſh Governor, which he refuſed (205) as leſs honourable than receiving it from France, a thing altogether incredible if he had entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion of their ſincerity. Add to all this, that from ſeveral of Lockhart's letters it appears, he never had the leaſt jealouſy of the Cardinal in that point (206), and that if there had been any ſuch tranſaction as this between the Protector and the French Ambaſſador, it could not have eſcaped the Miniſter's notice. In reference to Marſhal Crequi and Mr Mancini, they came over in conſequence of Cromwell's ſending his ſon-in-law Falconbridge to compliment the King and Cardinal, who carried letters from the Protector to both, and was received with unprecedented marks of reſpect. Beſides, the French Marſhal and the Cardinal's nephew had their audience of Cromwell before Dunkirk was taken, which within one hour after it's being taken was put into the Engliſh hands. The truth of the matter was, what does infinitely more honour to Cromwell than this ſtory, that the French durſt not deceive him, nay, durſt not take any ſtep that

(202) Welwood's Memoirs, p. 107, 108, 109.

(203) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VII. p. 60, 160, 169, 173.

(204) Quincy, Tom. I. p. 238. Riencourt, Tom. II. p. 119. Buſſy, Tom. II. p. 129.

(205) Memorials of the Engliſh affairs, p. 674.

(206) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VII. p. 174.

French King's ſending over the Duke de Crequi to compliment him upon the occaſion, in return to a civility of the ſame kind paid by the Protector, in ſending over his ſon-in-law Lord Fauconberg (a), laſted not long; for his favourite daughter, Mrs Cleypole, falling ſick of a diſtemper, which, by the excruciating pains it brought upon her body, not a little diſtempered her mind, ſo wounded him by her vehement exclamations againſt his cruelties, and more eſpecially for the death of Dr Hewett, on whoſe behalf ſhe had made the moſt importunate interceſſions, that he was no leſs affected thereby than from her death, which happened on the 6th of Auguſt following (b). He was, from that time, wholly altered, grew daily more reſerved and ſuſpicious, not indeed without great reaſon; for he found a general diſcontent prevailed through the nation, a ſignal diſaffection in the Army, and a great increaſe of the influence of the Republicans, to whom his ſon-in-law Fleetwood, and even his wife, were very much inclined; and beſides them, his Privy-Counſellors Pickering and Sydenham, upon whom he had principally depended, and even Deſborough, his near relation and great confident, caballed with Lambert, ſo that he knew not which way to turn, or what to expect (c). Theſe cares having long tormented his thoughts, at laſt affected his body, ſo that, while at Hampton-Court, he fell into a kind of ſlow fever, which ſoon degenerated into a tertian ague. For about a week his diſeaſe continued without any dangerous ſymptoms, inſomuch that every other day he walked abroad; but one day, after dinner, his five Phyſicians coming to wait upon him, one of them having felt his pulſe, ſaid, that it intermitted, at which, being ſomewhat ſurprized, he turned pale, fell into a cold ſweat, and, when he was almoſt fainting, ordered himſelf to be carried to bed, where, by the aſſiſtance of cordials, being brought a little to himſelf, he made his will with reſpect to his private affairs (d). As to the remaining part of the hiſtory of his diſtemper, which, on many accounts, is very remarkable, the reader will find it in the notes [OO]. Being removed to London he became much worſe, grew firſt lethargick,

(a) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 674.

(b) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 696. Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 734. Ludlow's Mem. Vol. II. p. 607.

(c) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 233, 234.

(d) Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 734.

that could give him the leaſt jealouſy or ſuſpicion; for it was his fleet and army that enabled them to do all they did, and there is nothing more certain, than that he was the true author of all their future greatneſs, as well as of that lamentable depreſſion of the Spaniſh monarchy, which it could never recover, and which has been ſo fatal to the ballance of power in Europe.

[OO] *The reader will find it in the notes*] It is impoſſible to have a better account of his laſt ſickneſs, than that given by Dr Bates, who was his Phyſician. After mentioning the circumſtance of making his private Will, as related in the text, he proceeds thus: ‘ Next morning early, when one of his Phyſicians came to viſit him, he aſked him (207), ‘ Why he looked ſo ſad?’ and when he made anſwer, ‘ That ſo it became any one, who had the weighty care of his life and health upon him;’ ‘ Ye Phyſicians, ſaid he, think I ſhall die.’ Then the company being removed, holding his wife by the hand, he ſpoke to him to this purpoſe: ‘ I tell you I ſhall not die this bout, I am ſure on't.’ And becauſe he obſerved him to look more attentively upon him at theſe words, ‘ Don't think, ſaid he, that I am mad; I ſpeak the words of truth, upon ſurer grounds than Galen or your Hippocrates furniſh you with. God almighty himſelf hath given that anſwer, not to my prayers alone, but alſo to the prayers of thoſe who entertain a ſtricter commerce and greater intereſt with him. Go on chearfully, baniſhing all ſadneſs from your looks, and deal with me as you would do with a ſerving-man. Ye may have a ſkill in the nature of things, yet nature can do more than all Phyſicians put together, and God is far more above nature.’ But being ordered to take his reſt, becauſe he had not ſlept the greateſt part of the night; as the Phyſician was coming out of the chamber, he accidentally met another, who had been a long time very familiar with him, to whom ‘ I am afraid, ſays he, our Patient will be light-headed.’ ‘ Then, ſaid he, you are certainly a ſtranger in this houſe. Don't you know what was done laſt night; the Chaplains, and all who are dear to God, being diſperſed into ſeveral parts of the palace, have prayed to God for his health, and all have brought this anſwer, *He ſhall recover*.’ Nay, to this degree of madneſs they came, that a publick faſt being for his ſake kept at Hampton-Court, they did not ſo much pray to God for his health, as thank him for the undoubted pledges of his recovery, and repeated the ſame at Whitehall. Theſe oracles of the ſaints were the cauſe that the Phyſicians ſpake not a word of his danger. In the mean time Cromwell leaving Hampton-Court, where hitherto he had lain ſick, is brought to London, and the Phyſicians meet at a conſultation in the chamber of the aforementioned Doctor, who at that time was troubled with a grievous head-ach, and an impoſthume in his ear. But next morning early, another Phyſician coming, who had watched all night with the patient, and telling the reſt how ill he had been in the laſt fit, they all concluded that he could hardly out-live another. This ſentence of the Phyſicians awaking the Privy-Council; at an appointed time, they come to adviſe him that he would name his ſucceſſor. But when in a drouſy fit he anſwered out of purpoſe, they again aſked him if he did not name Richard his eldeſt ſon for his ſucceſſor, to which he anſwered, Yes. Then being aſked where his Will was which heretofore he had made concerning the heirs of the kingdom, he ſent to look for it in his cloſet and other places, but in vain, for he had either burnt it himſelf, or ſomebody elſe had ſtole it.’ All this agrees very well with thoſe authentick accounts wrritten by Lord Falconberg and Secretary Thurloe to Henry Cromwell in Ireland. In the letters of the laſt it is ſaid, that the Protector named his ſucceſſor in writing during the ſitting of the laſt Parliament; that he folded up the paper containing this nomination in the form of a letter directed to Thurloe; that when he was ſo ill at Hampton-Court he ſaid this letter lay upon the table in his ſtudy, and directed it ſhould be brought, but ſearch being made for it no ſuch paper could be found (208). It is farther ſaid, that he declared his ſon Richard his ſucceſſor, in the preſence of ſeveral of his Council, but this was generally doubted at the time, and is not affirmed in the Proclamation upon Richard's aſſuming the title of Protector (209). Before I cloſe this note it may not be amiſs to diſcuſs two points, that ſeem to have been but indifferently treated; the firſt is with reſpect to his pretending to have received a revelation that he ſhould not die at that time, not only at the beginning of his ſickneſs, but after he was brought to London, and given over by thoſe of the Faculty that were about him. The fact itſelf is very certain; General Fleetwood mentions it in a letter to Henry Cromwell, but recommends ſecrecy to him till the event ſhould direct him whether to bury it in ſilence or proclaim it to the world (210). One would think it hardly poſſible to aſſign a reaſon for this, excluding fanaticiſm or enthuſiaſm; and yet a foreign writer pretends to relate, upon good authority, ſomewhat on this head that deſerves notice. He obſerves, that the Phyſician who attended the Protector could not help expreſſing great aſtoniſhment at his boldneſs in this reſpect, to whom Cromwell, when they were alone, expreſſed himſelf to this effect: ‘ You are an honeſt man, Doctor, and have good ſenſe, I wonder that you don't ſee that I hazard nothing by my prediction; for if, as you ſay, I ſhould not ſurvive twenty-four hours,

(207) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 234, 235, 236.

(208) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VII. p. 364.

(209) See that proclamation in Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 674.

(210) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VII. p. 355.

gick, then delirious; from whence recovering a little, but not enough to give any diſtinct directions as to the management of publick affairs; he died on Friday, September the 3d, 1658, aged ſomewhat more than fifty-nine years and four months. Some have intimated a ſuſpicion, that he died of poiſon (*e*); but the nature and length of his diſeaſe, together with his body's being publickly opened, ſeems to deſtroy all probability in ſuch a ſuppoſition. It appears to be more generally agreed, that there was ſomething very myſterious in the manner of diſpoſing of his body, which ſeveral authors, and thoſe too of oppoſite principles, very poſitively aſſert, was never carried to Weſtminſter-Abbey; it would undoubtedly be a very difficult thing to affirm which of the ſtories that are told about it is moſt probable; tho' there can be nothing clearer, than that none of them ought to be accounted certain (*f*) [*P*]. A very pompous funeral was ordered at the publick expence, and performed from Somerſet-Houſe, with a ſplendor not only equal but ſuperior to any that has been beſtowed upon crowned heads; though it is ſaid, that expence fell heavy upon his family, and upon ſome of the tradeſmen who furniſhed the ornaments of that ſolemnity, of which as there are many particular accounts common to be met with, there is no need

(*e*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 674. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 421. Echard's Hiſt. Engl. p. 734.

(*f*) See that point explained at large in the notes.

'hours, this rumour of my recovery which will be diffuſed through the whole nation, will keep the minds 'of men in ſuſpenſe, and prevent my enemies from 'coming to any certain reſolutions: on the other hand, 'if I ſhould recover, as you Phyſicians are not infallible, it will add new credit to my government, and 'the bulk of this people will believe me a man ſent 'from God (211).' It may be objected, that it is very improbable Cromwell ſhould deal ſo very freely with any man, and indeed I lay no great ſtreſs upon this ſtory, but this may be obſerved by the way, that the only vanity he had was boaſting of his power to over-reach, of which there is a remarkable inſtance in what he ſaid to Mr Waller (212), and ſtill a ſtronger inſtance in a matter of greater notoriety, for to his firſt Parliament he magnified the *Inſtrument of Government* as the moſt compleat thing that could be, whereas, in his ſpeech to his laſt Parliament, he ran it down as a weak and inconſiſtent project, which he compared to a rotten plank (213). Beſides, had he lived, the Doctor durſt not have diſcloſed it in prejudice to his ſcheme of paſſing for a Prophet, and his divulging it after his death ſerved only to ſhew, that the Protector was in reality a conſummate Politician to the very laſt. The ſecond point to be explained is as to his being poiſoned, of which Mr Wood tells us (214) there was a report that it was done by Dr Bates, but he inſinuates that this was invented by the Doctor's friends, to apologize for his conduct in thoſe times, and that it might be no bar to his preferment; for he was Phyſician to King Charles I, to the Protector Oliver, and to King Charles II. Archdeacon Echard (215) ſets it down as a fact *that he gave* Cromwell *a ſure doſe*, but, in this reſpect, neither of theſe writers deſerve much credit, ſince it appears from Whitlocke (216), that there was a rumour of his being poiſoned at the very time of his death, conſequently it was not a tale invented after the Reſtoration; and that it was not a fact, appears from the ſenſe his family had of it, viſible in the Letters of Fleetwood, Falconberg, and Thurloe, and from the hiſtory of his diſtemper in thoſe letters, which appears to have been at firſt a ſlow fever, then a tertian, and at laſt a double tertian, which might well carry off a perſon of his years, without the aſſiſtance of a ſure doſe, and indeed in ſpite of the aſſiſtance of the Faculty; neither can it be believed, that ſuch a thing was practiſed upon ſuch a perſon by one, when, at the ſame time, he was attended by four other Phyſicians.

[*P P*] *Than that none of them ought to be accounted certain.*] In the firſt place it is proper to produce an authentick proof of the only fact that is aſſerted in the text, that his body was really buried before his pompous funeral. Dr Bates gives us this account in the following words (217): 'His body being opened; in the 'in the animal parts, the veſſels of the brain ſeemed to 'be over-charged; in the vitals, the lungs a little inflamed; but, in the natural, the ſource of the diſtemper appeared, the ſpleen, though ſound to the 'eye, being within filled with matter like to the lees 'of oil. Nor was that incongruous to the diſeaſe that 'for a long time he had been ſubject unto, ſince, for 'at leaſt thirty years, he had at times heavily complained of hypochondriacal indiſpoſitions. Though 'his bowels were taken out, and his body filled with 'ſpices, wrapped in a fourfold ſear-cloth, but put firſt 'into a coffin of lead and then into a wooden one, yet 'it purged and wrought through all, ſo that there was 'a neceſſity of interring it before the ſolemnity of his 'funeral.' Echard aſſerts preciſely the ſame thing, and, in all probability, from the ſame authority. We have another ſtory, ſaid to be founded on the teſtimony of Mr Barkſtead, ſon to the famous Barkſtead, who was Lieutenant of the Tower in Cromwell's life-time, to this effect (218): 'That Barkſtead, the father, among other confidents of Cromwell's, deſiring in his 'illneſs to know where he would be buried, the Protector anſwered, where he had obtained the greateſt 'victory and glory, and as nigh the ſpot as could be 'gueſſed where the heat of the action was, *viz.* in the 'field at Naſeby in Northamptonſhire: which accordingly was thus performed; at midnight, ſoon after 'his death, the body, being firſt embalmed and wrapped in a leaden coffin, was in a hearſe conveyed to 'the ſaid field, Mr Barkſtead himſelf attending, by 'order of his father, cloſe to the hearſe. Being come 'to the field, they found about the midſt of it a grave 'dug about nine foot deep, with the green ſod carefully laid on one ſide, and the mould on the other, 'in which the coffin being put, the grave was inſtantly 'filled up, and the green ſod laid exactly flat upon it, 'care being taken that the ſurplus ſhould be clear removed. Soon after, the like care was taken that 'the field ſhould be entirely ploughed up, and it was 'ſown three or four years ſucceſſively with corn.' We have a very different account from Mr Oldmixon, who aſſures us that he had it from a gentlewoman who attended the Protector in his laſt ſickneſs (219): 'She 'told me, ſays he, that the day after Cromwell's 'death, it was conſulted how to diſpoſe of his corpſe, 'they could not pretend to keep it for the pomp of a 'publick burial. Amongſt other propoſals this was 'one, that, conſidering the malice, rage, and cruelty 'of the Cavaliers, it was moſt certain, they, who never ſpared either living or dead, in the luſt of their 'revenge, would inſult the body of this their moſt 'dreadful enemy, if ever it was in their power; and, 'to prevent it's falling into ſuch barbarous hands, it 'was reſolved to wrap it up in lead, to put it aboard 'a barge, and to ſink it in the deepeſt part of the 'Thames, which was done the night following, two 'of his near relations, with ſome truſty ſoldiers, undertaking to do it.' That the Protector's body was buried before the publick and pompous ceremony of the funeral ſeems to be out of all doubt, but that there was a body interred at Weſtminſter, and that this body was really the Protector's body, ſeems to be very clear, from the following account of what paſſed upon the order to diſ-inter him after the Reſtoration (220). 'In the middle iſle of Henry VIIth's chapel, *ſays my* '*authority*, at the eaſt end, in a vault, was found his 'corps. In the inſide of whoſe coffin, and upon the 'breaſt of the corps, was laid a copper-plate finely gilt, 'incloſed in a thin caſe of lead; on the one ſide 'whereof were engraved the arms of England, impaled with the arms of Oliver; and, on the reverſe, 'this following legenda: *Oliverius Protector Reipublicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, & Hiberniæ, natus* 25 *April.* '1599, *inauguratus* 16 *Decembris* 1553, *Mortuus* '3 *Septembris ann.* 1658. *Hic ſitus eſt.* Mr Gifford 'of Colcheſter, who married the Serjeant's daughter '(who by order of the Houſe took up the body) had, 'in 1719, the plate.'

(211) Vie de Cromwell, par Raguenet, p. 395.

(212) See the life of Waller, prefixed to his poems.

(213) See that ſpeech in Whitlocke's Memorials.

(214) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 424.

(215) Hiſt. of England, p. 862.

(216) Memorials of Engliſh affairs, p. 674.

(217) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 236.

(218) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 228. in the notes.

(219) Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 426.

(220) Compleat Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 229.

need that we ſhould inſiſt longer upon it here (*g*). There were other, and thoſe ſtill more extraordinary, marks of publick approbation beſtowed upon his memory, ſuch as the celebrated poems of Waller, Sprat, and Dryden, which are like to laſt as long as our language (*h*); and which, though the authors lived all of them to change their ſentiments, will not fail of giving poſterity a very high idea of thoſe great actions, which were capable of exciting ſuch elevated deſcriptions by thoſe who were eye-witneſſes of them. Beſides theſe, there are multitudes of Latin verſes, ſome of them very fine, which ſpeak the ſame language with the ſame warmth (*i*). In his life-time his actions had been celebrated by two very learned foreigners, as well as by his own Secretary Milton (*k*), with which, very probably, he was not diſpleaſed. Yet, after all, Poets are not the moſt credible witneſſes, and we are, for very good reaſons, apt to ſuſpect whether truth be the ground-work of panegyricks. It was for this reaſon that Cromwell was mighty deſirous of engaging a very learned man to write his hiſtory, in which nevertheleſs he failed; for though conſiderable rewards were offered, that very able perſon declined the taſk (*l*). We have indeed various characters from various perſons, and thoſe too of various ſentiments; yet in moſt of theſe there ſeems to be a mixture either of flattery or of prejudice. Such as approved his actions, knew not where to ſtop their praiſes; and ſuch as deteſted his proceedings, gave a looſe to their reſentments, that, in ſome reſpects perhaps, carried them beyond the bounds of truth. Thoſe who hated his perſon went farther ſtill; Lord Hollis will hardly allow him either great or good qualities (*m*); and as for Lieutenant-General Ludlow (*n*), one principal deſign of his book is to repreſent Cromwell as the vileſt and wickedeſt of men. Againſt this laſt writer he has been very well defended by one, who, with great force of argument, and in very elegant language, has ſhewn, that Cromwell had juſt as much right to erect a new Monarchy, as the long Parliament had to eſtabliſh a new Commonwealth upon the ruins of our old Conſtitution (*o*). Another writer has laboured to vindicate the long Parliament, by ſhewing that they had the welfare and reputation of their country more at heart than Cromwell (*p*). The learned and ingenious Abraham Cowley has excelled all others, as well in reſpect to the matter as the manner of repreſenting his actions and adminiſtration in the different lights of praiſe and cenſure, ſo that his performance may be juſtly eſteemed the moſt perfect of any, as it is indeed, beyond compariſon, the moſt beautiful of all that have been written upon this ſubject (*q*). It is ſaid, that Cardinal Mazarine ſtiled him a fortunate madman (*r*). Father Orleans diſlikes that character, and would ſubſtitute in it's ſtead that of a judicious villain. The Noble Hiſtorian, with better ſenſe and better language, ſtiles him, a brave wicked man (*s*). A certain writer, very converſant in the hiſtory of thoſe times, would perſwade us, that a foreign author has given us the juſteſt idea of Cromwell in theſe few words: He was a Tyrant without vices, and a Prince without virtues (*t*). This, perhaps, is a character not eaſy to be underſtood. A certain Prelate of our own nation, has a very judicious reflection upon his death: he ſays, His life and his arts were exhauſted together, and that, if he had ſurvived longer, he would have ſcarce been able to preſerve his power (*u*). But it is not in general characters, or from the many lives that have been written of Oliver Cromwell, that we may hope to find what it imports us moſt to know, with reſpect either to his publick or to his private character; and there is ſtill wanting, though there ſeems to be now ſufficient materials, a candid, circumſtantial, and ſenſible account of both. As to the firſt, the world may juſtly expect to be ſatisfied how his domeſtick adminiſtration was conducted, what meaſures he purſued for the general benefit and advantage of the people, what ſuperior and extraordinary bleſſings he procured, what oppreſſions he removed, what grievances he detected and took away, what reſpect he paid to the laws, and with what revenue he was pleaſed to be contented. Theſe are things that would give us a true and rational notion of his title to fame, conſidered as the poſſeſſor of ſupreme power, by what means ſoever attained, or held by whatever title [QQ]. As

to

(*g*) Echard's Hiſt. Engl. p. 737. Heath's Chronicle, p. 410, 411. Perfect Politician, p. 266, 267.

(*h*) See theſe and others all collected in the 3d Vol. of State-poems.

(*i*) Gray's Examinations of Neal's Hiſt. Vol. IV. p. 225, 227.

(*k*) See all theſe panegyricks collected and tranſlated by the Rev. Mr Francis Peck, in his Memoirs of the life and actions of O. Cromwell, Lond. 1740. 4to.

(*l*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 485.

(*m*) See the inſtances already given from Hollis's Memoirs.

(*n*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 480.

(*o*) Modeſt Vindication of O. Cromwell.

(*p*) The World's Miſtake in O. Cromwell.

(*q*) Cowley's Works, Vol. II. p. 631, &c.

(*r*) Father Orleans's Revolutions of England, p. 185.

(*s*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 697.

(*t*) Vie de Cromwell, par Gregorio Leti, Vol. II. p. 452, 453.

(*u*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 70.

[QQ] *Or held by whatever title.*] It has been ſaid, by ſuch as were deſirous of raiſing the character of Cromwell, that the nation was much benefited by his government, that there was nothing of pomp or needleſs magnificence in his dreſs, his equipage, his houſhold, or in his way of living (221); that his ears were open to complaints and to informations of every kind; that he was familiar with his old friends, and with the officers and ſoldiers of the army, after his advancement to the ſupreme power, which ſhewed that he had not either pride or vanity (222); that he ſhewed much juſtice in all private affairs, adminiſtered thoſe of the publick with frugality, and paid both his civil and military officers punctually (223); that he kept up a great face of religion in his own Court, and through the nation; that he always profeſſed himſelf for liberty of conſcience, and ſhewed a very high zeal for the Proteſtant religion (224); that Weſtminſter-hall was never filled with Judges of greater learning and worth, than in his time (225); that his army obſerved the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and were not troubleſome in their quarters (226); that he was beneficent to learned men; that trade flouriſhed in his time (227); and that in ſpite of the badneſs of his title to, and the means by which he acquired power, he was univerſally reſpected at home and abroad (228). Now there are alſo ſome few particulars that deſerve notice on the other ſide. It is obſerved that Cromwell's motion to the ſupreme power was progreſſive, and that his ſtate augmented as it went; he took poſſeſſion of the King's lodgings at Whitehall, when he was only General; he prevented ſeveral palaces from being ſold while a private man, that he might poſſeſs them in a princely character (229); he gradually increaſed his great officers, to the very end of his life; and, by a ſtroke of prerogative for which none of our Kings ſet him a precedent, would have made a houſe full of new Peers at once (230). Our former Kings ſwore to maintain the laws and liberties of their people, the meaning of which was very well known and aſcertained; but Cromwell's *Inſtrument of Government* was of his own making, ſo that his oath to maintain it was only ſwearing he would govern by his own will (231). Yet this was not kept, for

the

(221) Hiſtory and Policy reviewed, p. 112, 113.

(222) See Whitlocke, Coke, and Heath in his Flagellum.

(223) Unparallelled Monarch, p. 111.

(224) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 77.

(225) Unparallelled Monarch, p. 95.

(226) Winſtanley's true Character of Cromwell, p. 2.

(227) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 410.

(228) Unparallelled Monarch, p. 19.

(229) Ludlow's Mem. Vol. II. p. 479.

(230) See the fourth part of the Hiſt. of Independency, p. 95.

(231) Coke's Detection, Vol. II. p. 65.

to foreign affairs likewiſe, though very much has been ſaid about them, we are nevertheleſs greatly in the dark. It is to be examined, not only whether the Britiſh nation was reſpected and revered by her neighbours, but whether her intereſts were thoroughly underſtood, and ſteadily proſecuted. We ought to know what meaſures were taken to protect, to improve, and to extend our commerce. We ought to be ſatisfied whether ſhe retained that weight, as well as that rank, which ſhe held before amongſt the powers of Europe, and whether more reſpect was not had to the deference paid to the government, than to the advantages yielded to the nation. We ſhould be particularly careful to learn whether a due attention was preſerved to the balance of power, and whether the unqueſtionable rights of the Engliſh flag were maintained in as high and ample a manner as they might have been; and, in ſhort, whether, without the bounds of our own dominions, the nation was the better or the worſe for his directing her affairs [*RR*]. Laſtly, as to his

the humble Petition and Advice was a new model of government, which, as perfect as it was, needed a *Supplement*, and had it; ſo that a government frequently changed, and changed by the will of him who adminiſtered it, was moſt certainly an arbitrary government, if there ever was one in the world (232). He might be familiar with his creatures, and it was neceſſary he ſhould be ſo with his officers; yet not only Hollis and Ludlow, but even Whitlocke (233) ſays, he took upon him great ſtate; and Sir Philip Warwick (234), without intending him any hurt, confirms the ſame thing. There was a ſtrange kind of ſplendor in his time at Whitehall, for ſometimes his Court wore an air of ſtately ſeverity, at other times he would unbend himſelf and drink freely, though not to exceſs, that he might have an opportunity of ſounding then mens thoughts, in their unguarded moments, of fiſhing for ſecrets in a free converſation, and of raviſhing opinions by unexpected queſtions, for all which he was admirably qualified by nature, having two qualities that ſeldom meet in the ſame perſon, a memory retentive as marble, and a judgment that pierced like lightning (235). Sometimes, even in the midſt of ſerious conſultations, he ſtarted into buffoonry; ſometimes, the feaſts that were prepared for perſons of the firſt diſtinction, were, by a ſignal of drums and trumpets, made the prey of his guards (236); there was a kind of madneſs in his mirth, as well as of humour in his gravity, and much of deſign in all. His juſtice, when not at his own expence, was his intereſt; but the caſes of Lilburn, Coney, and Sir Henry Vane, afford no great proofs of his ſacrificing intereſt to juſtice when he could not comply with both (237). As to frugality, there are ſome facts that will not allow us to believe their aſſertions. When he turned out the Long Parliament there were five hundred thouſand pounds in their coffers, the value of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds in their magazines, the army three or four months pay in advance, the fleet in an excellent condition, and nine hundred thouſand pounds *per annum* had been refuſed for the cuſtoms and exciſe: when he died, the ſtate was much in debt; while he lived, it was always embarraſſed; his army was often in arrear, and the fleet in great decay (238). When he firſt ſeized the government he levied money by his own authority, afterwards very large ſums were given by aſſemblies that had no title to be called Parliaments; yet all could not ſuffice, even the addition of the vaſt ſums raiſed by decimating the Cavaliers, which was a direct breach of the publick faith, ſo much the more groſs, as he valued himſelf upon obliging the Parliament to paſs the Ordinance of Oblivion, and when they came into power again, the Long Parliament declared their abhorrence of it (239). It is not eaſy to know what is meant by the face of religion, but this is certain, that religion never wore ſo many faces as in his time, nor was he pleaſed to diſcover which face he liked beſt; the Preſbyterians he hated, the Church of England he perſecuted, againſt the Papiſts he made laws, but the ſectaries he indulged; yet ſome of the Preſbyterian Divines he courted, affected kindneſs to a few of the Miniſters of the Church of England (240), and entered into ſome very deep intrigues with the Papiſts; which made Sir Kenelm Digby his favourite, Father White write in defence of his government, and, which was more, of his conduct; and the Popiſh Primate of Ireland, Reily, who boaſted that he hated King Charles II, the two Dukes his brothers, and the Duke of Ormond, ſent precepts through all his province, under his ſeal, to pray for the health, eſtabliſhment, and proſperity, of the Protector Cromwell and his government (241). He is charged with exciting a great charitable collection for the diſtreſſed Proteſtants abroad, ſending them a part, and making free with the reſt (242). As for the Judges in Weſtminſter-hall, he differed with St John, he was ſometimes out of humour with Hale; he ſet up High Courts of Juſtice, unknown to the law, and put Dr Hewett to death for not pleading before one of them, though he offered to plead, if any one that ſat there and was a Lawyer, would give it under his hand, that it was a legal juriſdiction (243); and Whitlocke himſelf owns, that tho' he was named in the commiſſion he would never ſit, becauſe he knew it was not (244). His Majors-General, while they acted, ſuperſeded all law; and the Protector himſelf derided *Magna Charta*, ſo much reſpected by our Kings (245). The diſcipline of his army was neceſſary to his own ſecurity, and he taxed this nation to maintain twenty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe, whereas the King that he brought to the block had not a troop of guards (246). Yet, after all, he had not much to boaſt in this reſpect, if we may credit Mr Coke (247), whoſe words are theſe: 'he had nothing to truſt to but a mercenary army, which he could not pay, and above half of thoſe would have been content to have cut his throat.' He was kind to ſome learned men indeed, Milton and Marvell were his Secretaries, and though he baniſhed Biddle the Socinian, he allowed him a penſion (248); would have hired Meric Caſaubon to have wrote his Hiſtory (249); and would have entertained Thomas Hobbes in his ſervice for writing the *Leviathan*, in which power is made the ſource of right and the baſis of religion (250). He gave the body of Archbiſhop Uſher a publick funeral in Weſtminſter-abbey, yet he paid but half the expence, and the other half proved a heavy burthen upon that Prelate's poor family (251). As to the reverence of the nation, a certain writer, ſpeaking of the laſt days of his life, deſcribes his ſituation thus (252): 'His means would not pay for the intelligence he was forced to buy at home at home and abroad, to diſcover the practices which were every day hatching againſt him; ſo as he had no ſecurity but in the general fear, which all the factions as well as he had, that their diſcords might give an occaſion of reſtoring the King, to the ruin of them all.' Biſhop Burnet (253) alſo confirms this, as we have hinted in the text, and the reader will obſerve, that through this whole note there is nothing delivered but from authorities, and though it is a long one, much more is omitted than inſerted. Thoſe who would ſee things as they were, will truſt to ſuch accounts as are ſupported by facts, and not to florid characters, which are frequently but beautiful fictions.

[*RR*] *For his directing her affairs.*] All who are tolerably verſed in the hiſtory of thoſe times know, that ſuch as labour to magnify the Protector's government, inſiſt principally upon the advantages he gained over foreign ſtates, and the terror which he imprinted throughout all Europe, of the Engliſh fleets and forces. He is repreſented as the conqueror of the Dutch, as the great author of their ſubmiſſion and to, and acquieſcing in, an inferior character of maritime power; with reſpect to this nation, he is ſaid to have atchieved what Queen Elizabeth had left imperfect, and what the two laſt Kings had meditated indeed, but never could bring about; he is reported to have retrieved the honour of the nation with reſpect to the buſineſs of Amboyna; and, in ſhort, to have given, or rather, to have preſcribed, a peace to the Dutch upon his own terms his private life, it certainly merits our notice in all it's ſeveral branches and relations, ſince it

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(232) Ludlow's Mem. Vol. II. p. 591, 592, 593.

(233) Memorials of Engliſh Affairs, p. 661, 662.

(234) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 248.

(235) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 158, 159. True Character of O. Cromwell.

(236) Ludlow's Mem. Vol. I. p. 240.

(237) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 697. The World's Miſtake in O. Cromwell.

(238) Ludlow's Mem. Vol. II. p. 488. Coke's Detection, Vol. II. p. 65, 66, 67.

(239) The World's Miſtake in O. Cromwell.

(240) Dr Parr's life of Archbiſhop Uſher, p. 75, 76.

(241) Letter from a true and lawful Member of Parliament, p. 58.

(242) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 173.

(243) Ludlow's Mem. Vol. II. p. 606. Mr Emlyn's Preface to Hale's Hiſt. of the Pleas of the Crown.

(244) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 673.

(245) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 697.

(246) Coke's Detection, Vol. II. p. 65. The World's Miſtake in O. Cromwell.

(247) Coke's Detection, Vol. II. p. 67.

(248) Life of Mr Thomas Firmin, Lond. 1698. 8vo. p. 10.

(249) Wood's Athen. Vol. II. col. 485.

(250) The Leviathan heretical, Oxford, 1683, 12mo. p. 137.

(251) Dr Parr's life of Archbiſhop Uſher, p. 78.

(252) Coke's Detection, Vol. II. p. 67. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 385.

(253) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, p. 70.

terms (254). In reference to the Mediterranean, he is called the ſcourge of the pyratical ſtates, whom he did not barely reduce to reaſon, but taught humility (255); the Portugueſe not only ſought his friendſhip of their own accord, but beſought it upon ſuch conditions as he ſhould be pleaſed to grant (256). Spain too courted his alliance, and would have purchaſed it at a very high price, if his amity might have been ſet to ſale; but his hatred to a power that durſt not give up the Inquiſition, his ſenſe of the Merchants wrongs, and innate abhorrence of a bigotted Popiſh people, withheld him from cloſing with their propoſitions, and induced him to ſignalize his power by reducing them to the loweſt diſtreſs, and that by entering into a treaty and alliance with France (257). This alliance was at the humble and earneſt ſuit of that power, willing to make any conceſſions which might procure his goodwill, and ready to ſubſcribe ſuch propoſitions as he judged reaſonable for the grounds of their new friendſhip (258). By this means it is ſaid he obtained a better treaty of commerce than had been ſettled with that nation in former times; by this he ſignalized his credit with the firſt power in Europe, and was treated with deference, not to ſay ſubmiſſion, by that crown that to others was often wanting in reſpect (259). By this means he reached over to, and gained footing upon, the Continent, repaired to England the loſs of Calais, and laid a foundation for deſigns wonderfully great in themſelves, which he did not live to execute (260). But, as if bringing the Dutch to ſubmit, giving law in the Mediterranean, and being courted by France, was not ſufficient, he made himſelf alſo the umpire of the North, and ſecured, in the higheſt degree, the attachment of the Swediſh Monarch, who owed to his friendſhip his making ſo formidable an appearance, as hardly yielded to that of his glorious predeceſſor Guſtavus Adolphus, the ſupport of the Proteſtant religion, and the ſcourge of the Houſe of Auſtria (261). Theſe, ſay they, were the great acts of Cromwell, by which he made himſelf, and the nation he ruled, awful in the eyes of their neighbours, ſecured them the full enjoyment of all that they could juſtly claim, and gave them a great facility in acquiring whatever more they wiſhed; ſuch, if we look into certain books, were the deeds, and ſuch the honours due to the Protector. But, on the other hand, it is obſervable, that theſe high eulogies were very boldly queſtioned in his own times, and that too not by envious declaimers, who meant to ſhew their eloquence in ſatire, or their ſkill in cavilling, but by men of the firſt rank, who undertook to contradict the facts, and to ſhew that the whole ſcheme of his foreign politicks was either falſe in it's principles, or narrow in it's foundation. They bid us remember it was the long Parliament, not he, beat the Dutch; and though we ſhould give no credit to what has been inſinuated, that he was encouraged by them to revolt from and turn out his maſters, yet moſt evident it is, that he relaxed in his demands, and made a peace upon lower terms, not that had been demanded only by, but had been ſubmitted to in reſpect to, the Parliament. He remitted the three hundred thouſand pounds, which the Dutch had offered that Aſſembly for the damages ſuſtained during the war; he did not inſiſt upon an annual revenue for the liberty of fiſhing in our ſeas, he inſiſted upon no other proof of our ſovereignty at ſea than the ceremony of the flag; and even in reſpect to the buſineſs of Amboyna, the ſatisfaction obtained was not ſubſtance but ſhew, for, tho' ſtrongly worded in the treaty, yet being referred to Commiſſioners, it came to nothing, any more than the reſtitution of the iſland of Poleron, which was ſtipulated indeed, but never complied with (262). Not that Cromwell wanted force ſufficient to have compelled what he pleaſed, but the expulſion of the King out of the dominions of the State, and the excluſion of the Prince of Orange from the dignities due to his family; the conſenting to which was a violation of the Dutch Conſtitution, were, tho' private advantages only, accepted as equivalents for the benefits that might have been obtained for the nation (263). What there was therefore of honour in the Dutch peace, belonged of right to the Parliament, under whoſe auſpice all the victories, ſave one gained by Monk, were obtained that procured it; and moſt of thoſe great points they inſiſted upon had been claimed by King Charles and King James, as one of their own advocates acknowledges, in a piece dedicated to themſelves (264). With all the reſt of Europe the Engliſh Commonwealth was at peace, the King of Portugal's addreſſes were in conſequence of the Parliament's reſenting his protection of Prince Rupert, and, beſides, in the ſituation of that crown, it was no wonder they made any advances to the firſt maritime power in Europe (265). The glory of the Engliſh flag in the Mediterranean has been juſtly aſcribed to Blake, who was truly an honour to his country, but not mighty well ſatisfied with Cromwell's government any more than Monk was with the Dutch treaty, which he was not afraid to declare was a baſe piece of treachery (266). In his quarrel with Spain, he acted as imprudently as unjuſtly; for the Spaniards had courted the Commonwealth earlier than any other power in Europe, and, with reſpect to Cromwell, had declared their willingneſs to guaranty his own and his ſucceſſors government, as profeſſing an implacable averſion to the Royal Family, and a reſolution to exclude that line from the throne, from motives of intereſt (267). They were willing to have carried on a war againſt France in conjunction with Cromwell, upon very eaſy terms, or would have cloſed with him without inſiſting upon his taking part in that war at all. The Protector entertained a treaty which he never deſigned ſhould come to any thing, while he provided for a war, which, from a proſpect of advantage, he had been bent upon from the beginning, and began without publiſhing any declaration (268); all this in the very teeth of the Engliſh intereſt, at that time in the ſole poſſeſſion of the whole Spaniſh trade, which was the great ſource of our riches (269). It was this that induced him to enter into a league with France; and the reaſon that led him to prefer the friendſhip of that power was, the excluding the Royal Family out of it's dominions, which, joined to the excluſion already obtained out of the territories of the States, and his project of getting the ports in the Spaniſh Low-Countries into his own hands, ſhews *what* was the ruling maxim in his politicks; which is very ingenuouſly acknowledged, and all the particulars clearly ſet forth, in a paper of Thurloe's (270). As to his management in the North, it was of a piece with the reſt, that is, he did all that lay in his power to deſtroy the balance (271), by making the King of Sweden maſter of Denmark and the North, which had been effected, if it had not been for the Dutch, who underſtood and purſued their own intereſts better. For, had his ſcheme been brought about, he muſt have laid himſelf at the mercy of Sweden and France, who, being old allies, would have had it in their power to give law to all Europe (272). This being ſo viſibly the aim of France, it ſhews plainly why Cardinal Mazarine paid ſuch exceſſive court to Cromwell, and perhaps it may give ſome light, why he ſtiled him "a fortunate madman;" *fortunate*, becauſe, by the bravery of Engliſh ſeamen and ſoldiers, he obtained all he ſought; and *madman*, becauſe, to the temporary ſecurity of his own eſtabliſhment (273), he ſacrificed the intereſts of his country, the balance of power, and the tranquillity of Europe, which former Kings had always maintained, and the very laſt King, Charles the Firſt, had prevented the French and Dutch from diſpoſſeſſing the Spaniards of the Low-Countries, and dividing them between them (274); which plan Cromwell not only accepted but executed. What influence theſe errors in policy had upon the ſtate of this nation, at home and abroad, may be ſhewn from facts that admit of no diſpute, ſuch as the ſinking of our coinage (275), the declenſion of the city of London in the number of it's inhabitants (276), the loſs of countries in America, where the Dutch were permitted to keep the New Netherlands, now ſtiled New York and the Jerſeys, though our right to them was inconteſtible (277); from the decay of the navy, and from the loſs of a great part of the Spaniſh trade; to which may be added, the laying the foundation of all the ſubſequent wars for reducing the exorbitant growth of France, which he aſſiſted, and which without his aſſiſtance, and his weakening the Spaniſh monarchy as he did,

(254) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 265.

(255) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 172.

(256) See the three panegyricks publiſhed by Peck.

(257) See Secretary Thurloe's account of the Protector's negotiations.

(258) See the account before cited, as alſo Milton, Welwood, and Oldmixon.

(259) Welwood's Memoirs, p. 110.

(260) Sir William Temple's Works, Vol. I. p. 356.

(261) Milton's Works, Vol. II. p. 211, 218, 226.

(262) Coke's Detection, Vol. II. p. 46, 47.

(263) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 372.

(264) See this dedication prefixed by Marchmont Needham to his tranſlation of Selden's *Mare Clauſum*.

(265) Milton's Works, Vol. II, p. 193.

(266) Dr Gumble's life of Monk, p. 74.

(267) See Thurloe's account of the Protector's negotiations.

(268) Coke's Detection of the four laſt reigns, Vol. II. p. 51, 52, 53.

(269) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VII. p. 615, 616.

(270) Inſerted in the firſt Vol. of his State Papers, p. 759.

(271) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 373.

(272) The World's Miſtake in Oliver Cromwell.

(273) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XX. p. 793.

(274) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 53, 54.

(275) Happy future State of England, p. 78.

(276) See the Philoſophical Tranſactions.

(277) Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. I. p. 236—238.

it is from thence only that we can be inſtructed to decide, with probability, as to the principles even of his publick actions; for men of different tempers act in the ſame manner, upon certain occaſions, from very different motives; and of theſe there is no judging, but from an acquaintance with their tempers; which can be no other way ſo well known, as from the relation of their private and domeſtick behaviour. Beſides, there is a natural curioſity to enter, as it were, into the privacies of extraordinary perſons; which is a kind of ſlipping behind the ſcenes, and taking a more nice and certain view of their conduct, by getting on the wrong ſide of the theatre. Men, called into high ſpheres of life, naturally become actors, and wear the robe and buſkin thence forward in publick, ſo that we can judge but little of their real diſpoſition from their actions, unleſs we obtain a kind of key from the knowledge of their private life; ſo that circumſtances which, with reſpect to others, would be frivolous and impertinent in regard to them, are very uſeful as well as entertaining [*SS*]. The Protector Oliver Cromwell had many children, of whom

did, could not have been attained (278). Theſe are to be conſidered as brief heads for that examination, the neceſſity of which is ſuggeſted in the text, in order to the forming a true and impartial judgment of his adminiſtration as to foreign affairs.

[*SS*] *Are very uſeful as well as entertaining.*] It is really not a little ſtrange, that, conſidering Cromwell was towards forty when he firſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf in oppoſing the project for draining of fens, that we ſhould know ſo little of his private life; and how little this is, the reader has already ſeen, moſt of the circumſtances that deſerve credit being mentioned either in the text or in the notes (279). Yet ſome few there were who knew and underſtood him thoroughly, before his extraordinary talents were made known to the world, and in particular his couſin Hampden, of which this was a remarkable inſtance (280). When things ran high in the Houſe of Commons, Mr Hampden and the Lord Digby were going down the Parliament ſtairs, and Cromwell juſt before them, who was known to the latter only by ſight: *Pray*, ſaid his Lordſhip to Mr Hampden, *who is that man, for I ſee he is on our ſide by his ſpeaking ſo warmly to-day? That ſloven*, returned Mr Hampden, *whom you ſee before us, who hath no ornament in his ſpeech, that ſloven, I ſay, if we ſhould ever come to a breach with the King, which God forbid! in ſuch a caſe, I ſay, that ſloven will be the greateſt man in England.* This prophecy, which was ſo fully accompliſhed, roſe chiefly from the ſenſe that great man had of Cromwell's indefatigable diligence in purſuing whatever he undertook; and, in truth, he had this remarkable quality in a very high degree, for whatever he had in view, remained ever in his thoughts, and every thing he ſaid or did was ſome way calculated to promote it; ſo that if ſteadineſs, vigilance, and addreſs, could attain any point, as indeed What point is there they will not attain? he was ſure to accompliſh whatever he thought were worthy of undertaking (281). He had another quality, which was equally uſeful to him, and that was, diſcerning the temper of thoſe he had to deal with, and dealing with them accordingly. Before he became Commander in Chief, he kept up a very high intimacy with the private men, taking great pains to learn their names, by which he was ſure to call them, ſhaking them by the hand, clapping them on the ſhoulder, or, which was peculiar to him, giving them a ſlight box on the ear, which condeſcending familiarities, with the paſſion he expreſſed for their intereſts, gave him a power eaſier conceived than deſcribed (282). He tried to inveigle the Earl of Mancheſter, but finding his ſentiments of another kind, he fell upon him in the Houſe of Commons, and procured his removal. He carried himſelf with ſo much reſpect to Fairfax, that he knew not how to break with him, though he knew that he betrayed him (283). He not only deceived Harriſon, Bradſhaw, and Ludlow, but outwitted Oliver St John, who had more parts than them all, and foiled Sir Henry Vane with his own weapons; in ſhort, he knew men perfectly, worked them to his purpoſes, as if they had been cattle, and, which is ſtill more wonderful, did that often while they conceived that they were making a tool of him (284). His ſtrength of mind, or ſtrength of head, call it which you will, enabled him to impoſe even upon the greateſt bodies of men; he led the reſentment of the Houſe of Commons againſt the Army, till the latter were in a flame, and very angry with him; when he came to them, it was upon a flea-bitten nag, all of a foam, as if he had made his eſcape, and, in this trim, he ſigned the engagement at Triploe-Heath, throwing himſelf from his horſe upon the graſs, and writing his name as he lay upon his belly (285). He had yet another faculty beyond theſe, and that was, the art of concealing his arts; he dictated a paper once to Ireton, which was impoſed upon the Adjutators as if founded upon their inſtructions, who ſent it expreſs by two of their number, Sexby (who conſpired againſt him when Protector) and Laſinby, to Cromwell, then Lieutenant-General, at his quarters at Colcheſter. He was in bed when they came, but they demanded and had admittance; when they told him their commiſſion, he aſked them, with the greateſt rage and reſentment in his looks, how they durſt bring him papers from the Army? they ſaid, That paper contained the ſenſe of the Army, and they were directed to do it. Are you ſure of that? ſaid he, with the ſame ſtern countenance, Let me ſee it. He ſpent a long time in reading it, and, as it ſeemed to them, in reflecting upon it; then, with a mild and devout look, he told them it was a moſt juſt thing, he hoped that God would proſper it, adding, *I will ſtand by the Army in theſe deſires with my life and fortune* (286). In the courſe of his life he was temperate and ſober, and deſpiſed thoſe that were otherwiſe. He knew perfectly well the means of conciliating friendſhip, in which he was very conſtant to thoſe who went all his lengths, as the Earl of Warwick, and ſome others, did (287); and could be very civil to ſuch as diſapproved his meaſures, provided they did not oppoſe them, which was the caſe of St John, Whitlocke, and others (288); but if they differed with him, he forgot all former ties, as appeared by his impriſoning Sir Henry Vane, removing Major-General Harriſon, and obliging the Lord Viſcount Say and the Lord Grey of Groby to live in a kind of voluntary exile (289). In his family he ſhewed great kindneſs, but without any diminution of his authority; he was very reſpectful to his mother, and very tender towards his wife (290); yet neither had any influence over him; he expreſſed a deep ſenſe of the concern which the former expreſſed for his danger, heard whatever ſhe ſaid to him patiently, but acted as he thought proper, and, in reſpect to her burial, directly againſt her dying requeſt (291). The latter is ſaid to have made a propoſition, tending towards reſtoring the King, but he rejected it (292), as he had before ſhewn himſelf unmoved, when his ſon Richard threw himſelf at his feet, to diſſwade him from taking King Charles's life (293). He did not ſeem to take amiſs applications of the like kind from other perſons, as from Whitlocke (294), but that Gentleman thought he loſt his confidence by it; from the Marquis of Hertford, whom he treated very reſpectfully (295); and from Dr Brownrig, Biſhop of Exeter, to whom he ſhewed more kindneſs than to any other man of his rank and profeſſion, and of whom, with ſome earneſtneſs, he aſked advice (296): *My advice*, ſaid the good Prelate, *muſt be in the words of the goſpel; Render to* Cæſar *the things that are* Cæſar's, *and to* God *the things that are* God's: to which he made no reply. All this ſhews a very great, a very unuſual calmneſs of mind; yet he was naturally haſty and paſſionate, which thoſe who were about him ſometimes felt (297); but he knew how to compoſe matters again by a proper and an immediate condeſcenſion, of which he gave a ſtrong inſtance to Lord Broghill, and another to Secretary Thurloe. He knew the force of family connections, and employed them whom ſix ſurvived to be men and women, *viz.* two ſons and four daughters. 1. Richard Cromwell was born the 4th, and baptized the 19th of October, 1626, and died July 13th, 1712, at Cheſhunt in Hertfordſhire (*w*). 2. Henry Cromwell, born January the 20th, 1627, chriſtened the next day, died March 25th, 1674 (*x*). (1.) Bridget, who firſt married Commiſſary-General Ireton, and, after his deceaſe, Lieutenant-General Fleetwood; as both her huſbands were zealous Republicans, ſhe had no ſmall tincture of the ſame ſpirit, which was very diſpleaſing to her father. In other reſpects ſhe was a woman of very good ſenſe, regular in her behaviour, and was highly inſtrumental in promoting the intereſts of her ſecond huſband, who was very much guided by her advice (*y*). (2.) Elizabeth, born *Anno Domini* 1630; ſhe married John Cleypole, Eſq; a Northamptonſhire Gentleman, whom the Protector made Maſter of the Horſe, created him a Baronet July 16th, 1657, and appointed him one of his Lords (*z*). (3.) Mary, who was married, with great ſolemnity, to the Lord Viſcount Fauconberg, November 18th, 1657, but the ſame day more privately, according to the office in the Common-Prayer Book. She was a Lady of great beauty, and of a very high ſpirit, one who, after her brother Richard was depoſed, is thought to have promoted very ſucceſsfully the reſtoration of King Charles. Her huſband was ſent to the Tower by the Committee of Safety, and was in

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(278) The World's Miſtake in O. Cromwell.

(279) In the Perfect Politician all his private hiſtory takes up but three pages.

(280) Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 193.

(281) True Character of O. Cromwell, p. 1.

(282) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 77.

(283) This appears from reading the whole of Fairfax's ſhort Memoirs.

(284) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 81.

(285) Account of the engagements at Triploe-Heath and at Dunbar, p. 31.

(286) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 56.

(287) True Character of O. Cromwell, p. 9.

(288) See Whitlocke's Memorials throughout.

(289) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 550, 563, 577.

(290) True Character of O. Cromwell, p. 14.

(291) Heath's Chronicle, p. 366.

(292) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 726.

(293) Lives of Illuſtrious Perſons that died in 1712. p. 296.

(294) Memorials of Engliſh Affairs, p. 516.

(295) Hearne's Chronicon de Dunſtable, Vol. II. p. 832.

(296) Memorials of Biſhop Brownrigg, p. 186, 187.

(297) Mr Maidſtone's account of the Protector, to whom he was Steward, in Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 766.

very

(*w*) From the pariſh-regiſter of St John's Huntington.

(*x*) From the ſame regiſter.

(*y*) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts.

(*z*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 169.

very ſucceſsfully. It was by this that he managed Ireton, and afterwards Fleetwood (298). The dealers in ſecret, or rather, ſcandalous hiſtory, ſay, he found another method of managing Lambert; which there is no need to believe, ſince it is viſible that he cajoled him for a long time with the hopes of the ſucceſſion (299): he married all his daughters well, and was kind to their huſbands; but it is ſaid he gave them no fortunes, which, if true, muſt have been becauſe it was not in his power. Some have wondered that he did not court the alliance of ſome foreign houſe; and ſomething of this kind was once ſpoken of for the Prince of Conde, for whom he had a particular kindneſs, and aimed at making him great in the ſame way as himſelf; he ſerved in the Spaniſh army againſt his natural Prince; the Protector was for making him a Sovereign at the expence of the Spaniards he ſerved, by giving him the beſt part of their Low-Countries; but the French would not agree to this, and ſo it came to nothing, as the buſineſs of the match had done long before. He is cenſured for keeping his eldeſt ſon at a diſtance from buſineſs, and for giving him no employments (300); but for this, perhaps, there is not any juſt ground. He married him to a Lady who brought him a good fortune; he ſuffered him to purſue the bent of his inclinations, and to lead the life of a plain, honeſt, country gentleman; which, for a time, was highly ſuitable to his own intereſts, as it ſeemed to correſpond with the terms of the *Inſtrument of Government*, and the diſlike which the Protector, when firſt ſo called, expreſſed of hereditary right (301). When he had afterwards brought about a change in affairs, he altered, at the ſame time, his conduct towards his ſon, named him the firſt Lord in his Other Houſe, reſigned to him the chancellorſhip of Oxford (302), and went as far as he could go, for fear of diſobliging Fleetwood. His ſecond ſon, Henry, he ſent over into Ireland, where he raiſed him gradually to the poſt of Lord Lieutenant (303); though in this he ſeemed to give him the preference, yet in reality he uſed him more harſhly than the other; for, though his abilities were good, his manners irreproachable, and his ſubmiſſion exemplary, yet he paid no great deference to his recommendations, and allowed him far leſs power than could well be imagined (304). His daughter Cleypole was his favourite, and her huſband had much of his confidence; he was maſter of his horſe, and had the Court ſecret in the Houſe of Commons (305). It is however to be obſerved, that as his government was diſtracted and diſturbed, ſo he was unhappy alſo in his family. Neither of his ſons thought his eſtabliſhment ſecure or well founded. His daughter Fleetwood was a Republican, and ſo were many others of his neareſt relations; all the reſt of his daughters had a ſecret kindneſs for the Royal Family, of which however he was not ignorant (306). He ſhewed a great reſpect for learning and learned men, without affecting to be learned himſelf. His letters are however the beſt teſtimonies of his parts, for they are varied in their ſtile in a very wonderful manner, exactly adapted to the purpoſes for which they were written, and the perſons to whom they were addreſſed (307), His publick ſpeeches were long, dark, and perplexed; and though mixed with the language of the times, which was cant, yet have ſentiments in them that ſhew very clearly the ſuperiority of his underſtanding (308). In his converſation he was eaſy and pleaſant, and could unbend himſelf without loſing his dignity. He made an excellent choice in thoſe he employed, but truſted none of them farther than was neceſſary (309). It may ſeem ſtrange, that in drawing together his character, there ſhould be nothing ſaid of his principles as to government or religion; but the plain truth is, neither can be diſcovered with certainty. We know that he hated a Commonwealth and the Preſbyterians, but what his ſentiments were in other reſpects it is hardly poſſible to ſay. When he recollected himſelf, after the follies of his youth, there ſeems to be no doubt that he had ſerious impreſſions of religion; and there ſeem to be very ſtrong proofs, that he was afterwards tinctured with enthuſiaſm (310). In the time of his greateſt elevation, to ſuppoſe him a Fanatick, ſeems injuſtice to his parts; to affirm, as ſome have done, that he loſt all ſenſe of religion, is more, than, at this diſtance of time, any authorities will warrant. Such as entertain the beſt opinion of him allow, that he fell into deep and dangerous errors, particularly in believing that ſucceſs was a mark of the divine approbation (311). Thoſe who ſpeak worſt of him, charge him with a contempt of all things ſacred (312). But, in a matter of this obſcurity, let us call in the aſſiſtance of one, who knew him well, and could judge of him in that reſpect much better than we (313). This is the famous Mr Baxter, who ſpeaks very ſenſibly and clearly to the point. 'His 'name ſtandeth as a monitory monument, or pillar to 'poſterity, to tell them the inſtability of man in ſtrong 'temptations, if God leave him to himſelf. What 'great ſucceſs and victories can do, to lift up a mind 'that once ſeemed humble. What pride can do, to 'make men ſelfiſh, and corrupt the heart with ill de'ſigns. What ſelfiſhneſs and ill deſigns can do, to 'bribe the conſcience, and corrupt the judgment, and 'make men juſtify the greateſt errors and ſins, and ſet 'againſt the cleareſt truth and duty. What bloodſhed 'and great enormities of life an erring deluded judg'ment may draw men to and patronize; and that 'when God hath dreadful judgments, an erroneous 'ſectary, or a proud ſelf-ſeeker, is oftener his inſtru'ment, than an humble lamb-like innocent ſaint.' It is ſomewhat ſtrange, that ſo great a man as the Earl of Clarendon (314), ſhould mention the Protector's ſpeaking kindly of Biſhops, and as if there was ſomething good in that order if the droſs was ſcoured off; ſo as to ſhew he took him to be really in earneſt. The whole courſe of Cromwell's life proves, that he was not at all ſteady to the form of religion, ſuppoſing that he retained any principles at the bottom; and there ſeems to be very little doubt, that the true meaning of theſe flattering expreſſions was, his deſire to return to the old form of government; for, whatever he pretended, that was his great aim. He did not overturn the conſtitution to leave it in ruins, but to ſet it up again, and himſelf at the head of it (315); and though he compared his own government at firſt to that of a High-Conſtable, yet there is nothing clearer, than that all he laboured for afterwards was to get the chaos new moulded, and his own authority ſanctified by the regal title, and the appearance of a legal Parliament (316).

[*TT*] *Gives*

(298) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 419, 425.

(299) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 183, 184.

(300) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, p. 426.

(301) See his ſpeech to his firſt Parliament in Whitlocke.

(302) Lives of Illuſtrious Perſons who died in 1712. p. 287.

(303) Ludlow's Mem. Vol. II. p. 534.

(304) See his letters to Thurloe amongſt the State Papers, which are a ſeries of complaints.

(305) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 169.

(306) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 233, 234.

(307) See a great number of theſe letters in Thurloe's and in Nicholls's Collections, as well as in Ruſhworth and Whitlocke,

(308) Several of theſe are to be found in Whitlocke's Memorials.

(309) True Character of O. Cromwell.

(310) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 249.

(311) Neale's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 203.

(312) As Hollis, Ludlow, and Coke.

(313) In the account of his own life, P. i. p. 100.

(314) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 697.

(315) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 70.

(316) True Character of O. Cromwell, p. 17.

very high favour with King Charles the Second; he was raiſed to the dignity of an Earl by King William, and died on the laſt day of the year 1700; his lady ſurvived him to March 14th, 1712, and diſtinguiſhed herſelf to her death, by the quickneſs of her wit and the ſolidity of her judgment (*a*). (4.) Frances, his youngeſt daughter, was twice married, firſt to Mr Robert Rich, grandſon to the Earl of Warwick, November 11th, 1657, who died the 16th of February following. She afterwards married Sir John Ruſſell, of Chippenham in Cambridgeſhire, by him left ſeveral children, and lived to a great age (*b*). One, who pretends to a great acquaintance with the family, gives us an extraordinary ſtory of this Lady in the earlier part of her life (*c*) [*TT*].

(*a*) Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, Vol. IV. p. 2, 250.

(*b*) Lives of Illuſtrious Perſons, who died in the year 1712, p. 285.

(*c*) See this at large in the note.

[*TT*] *Gives us an extraordinary ſtory of this Lady in the earlier part of her life.*] We have this ſtory in ſeveral books, but the beſt account of it that I have met with is in the Hiſtory of the Stuarts, written by Mr Oldmixon, which therefore I ſhall give the reader in his own words (317): ‘One of his domeſtick Chaplains, Mr Jeremy White, a ſprightly man, and a ‘top wit of his Court, was ſo ambitious as to make ‘his addreſſes to Lady Frances, the Protector's youngeſt ‘daughter. The young Lady did not diſencourage ‘him, and this piece of innocent gallantry, in ſo religious a Court, could not be carried on without ‘ſpies; Oliver was told of it, and he was much concerned at it, obliging the perſon who told him to be ‘on the watch, and told him if he could give him any ‘ſubſtantial proof he ſhould be very well rewarded, ‘and White ſeverely puniſhed. The ſpy followed the ‘matter ſo cloſe, that he hunted Jerry White, as he ‘was generally termed, to the Lady's chamber, and ‘ran immediately to the Protector with this news. ‘Oliver, in a rage, haſtened thither himſelf, and going ‘in haſtily, found Jerry on his knees, kiſſing the Lady's ‘hand, or having juſt kiſſed it. Cromwell, in a fury, ‘aſked, What was the meaning of that poſture before ‘his daughter Frank? White, with a great deal of ‘preſence of mind, ſaid, May it pleaſe your Highneſs, ‘I have a long time courted that young gentlewoman ‘there, my Lady's woman, and cannot prevail, I was ‘therefore humbly praying her Ladyſhip to intercede ‘for me. The Protector, turning to the young woman, cried, What's the meaning of this, huſſy? ‘Why do you refuſe the honour Mr White would do ‘you? he is my friend, and I expect you ſhould treat ‘him as ſuch. My Lady's woman, who deſired nothing more, with a very low curtſy, replied, If ‘Mr White intends me that honour, I ſhall not be againſt him. Sayſt thou ſo, my laſs, cried Cromwell? ‘Call Godwyn. This buſineſs ſhall be done preſently, ‘before I go out of the room. Mr White was gone ‘too far to go back, the Parſon came, Jerry and my ‘Lady's woman were married in the preſence of the ‘Protector, who gave her five hundred pounds for her ‘portion, and that, with the money ſhe had ſaved before, made Mr White eaſy in his circumſtances, except in one thing, which was, that he never loved ‘his wife nor ſhe him, though they lived together near ‘fifty years afterwards. I knew them both, and heard ‘this ſtory told when Mrs White was preſent, who ‘did not contradict it.’ This ſingular ſtory I was induced to inſert for ſeveral reaſons, being well aſſured, that, independent of Mr Oldmixon's credit, who, in [illegible]tters of this nature, was however a perſon very well informed; the facts upon which it depends are abſolutely true, and were often related by Mr White himſelf, and, if I have not been miſinformed, to his Majeſty King Charles II. It is an admirable inſtance of the Protector's ſagacity in keeping ſpies within doors and without, as well as a moſt pregnant proof of his preſence of mind, and great dexterity in finding and applying the proper remedy at once, and upon the firſt diſcovery of the diſeaſe, however ſudden or unexpected. That theſe notes have not been loaded with many particularities in relation to the wonderful nicety and amazing extent of Cromwell's intelligence, is owing to more cauſes than one. The relations themſelves are common enough, and almoſt in every body's mouth; in the next place, they are not ſo wonderful as is commonly imagined, for all governments have their ſpies and ſecret intelligence, though they are not deſirous of making this known to the world. Yet we muſt not imagine that it was ignorance in Cromwell, or in his Miniſter Thurloe, to publiſh ſo much upon this head; for whereas in other governments the great point is, to gain intelligence without it's being known; in reſpect to his it was quite contrary, for his intereſt conſiſted in being thought to have better and quicker intelligence than he really had. Laſtly, though this did infinite honour to his adminiſtration, yet in reality it ſhewed the weakneſs of his government; and therefore it is a right remark of Mr Coke, that it kept him always neceſſitous, and was in reality that gaping gulph, through which all the money that he could amaſs ſlipped away; ſo that it might be truly ſaid, that if he was preſerved by it in one ſenſe, he was undone by it in another; and therefore, when the publick accounts came to be examined in Richard's Parliament, what was iſſued for ſecret ſervice was not only thought extravagant but impoſſible; and indeed, how much ſoever it may aſtoniſh vulgar Politicians, refined Stateſmen will very hardly allow, that a government which cannot ſubſiſt but by the diſtribution of vaſt ſums in this way, is to be either admired or applauded, becauſe the excellence of government conſiſts in managing publick affairs well, and without exorbitant expence; ſo that the beſt government is that which is at the leaſt charge. Theſe reflections detract nothing from the Protector's ſkill or abilities; it is a misfortune to meet with continual ſtorms in a voyage, but the Pilot nevertheleſs deſerves praiſe, who ſecures his veſſel from periſhing in thoſe ſtorms, and ſtill more praiſe, if the veſſel itſelf be rotten and leaky. E

(317) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 426.

CUDWORTH (RALPH) a very learned and rational Divine, ſon of Ralph Cudworth, D. D. Rector of Aller in the County of Somerſet [*A*], was born at Aller in 1617 (*a*). His mother was of the family of Machell, and had been nurſe to Prince Henry, eldeſt Son of King James I. After Dr Cudworth's death, which happened in Auguſt or September 1624 (*b*); ſhe married again to Dr Stoughton, an eminent Preacher in thoſe times, who took a particular care of his ſon-in-law's education. He diſcovered from the firſt a quick and penetrating genius, and made ſo good progreſs in his ſtudies, that at the age of thirteen he was admitted Penſioner of Emanuel College [*B*]: However, he was not matriculated as a Student in the Univerſity till July 5th, 1632. What proficiency he made there in all kinds of learning, particularly in Philoſophy, his excellent

(*a*) Vita D. R. Cudworth præfixa L. Moſhemii Latinæ Verſioni Cudworthi Operum. Jenæ 1733. 2 Vol. fol.

(*b*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 187. edit. 1721.

[*A*] *Son of Ralph Cudworth, &c.*] He [the father] was at firſt Fellow of Emanuel-college and Rector of St Andrew's in Cambridge, then Vicar of Coggeſhall in Eſſex, and afterwards Rector of Aller, and Chaplain to King James I. He publiſhed ſeveral pieces of Mr Perkins, and added *A Supplement to Mr* William Perkins's *Commentary upon St Paul's Epiſtle to the Galatians*; which is all he ever publiſhed under his own name (1).

[*B*] ——*At the age of thirteen he was admitted Penſioner of Emanuel-college*] And though he was ſo young, his father-in-law declared, That he was as well grounded in ſchool-learning, as any boy of his age that went to the univerſity (2).

[*C*. *He*

(1) Vita R. Cudworth ubi ſupra. Newcourt's Repertorium Eccleſiaſt. Vol. II. p. 160.

(2) Ibid.

lent Works do abundantly teſtify. In 1639 he took the degree of Maſter of Arts; and about the ſame time being choſen Fellow of his College, he became ſo eminent a Tutor, that he had eight-and-twenty Pupils at once; a thing never known before even in the largeſt Colleges in the Univerſity. Among them was the famous William Temple, afterwards created a Baronet (*c*). Not long after, he was preſented by Emanuel College to the Rectory of North-Cadbury in Somerſetſhire, a living worth near three hundred pounds a year, and probably kept it till the year 1656 (*d*). The firſt things he publiſhed were, *A Diſcourſe concerning the true Notion of the Lord's Supper*; and, *The Union of Chriſt and the Church ſhadowed*, or *in a ſhadow*, printed at London in 1642. About 1644 he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity [*C*], and the ſame year was choſen Maſter of Clare-Hall, in the room of Dr Paſke who was ejected, where he had the honour of having under his care the celebrated John Tillotſon. The next year, Dr Metcalfe reſigning his place of Regius Profeſſor of Hebrew, Mr Cudworth, who was a great maſter of the oriental languages, was unanimouſly appointed, on the 15th of October, to ſucceed him. From which time he applied himſelf entirely to his academical employments and ſtudies; and read his public lectures every Wedneſday, the firſt being upon the ſtructure and plan of the Temple of Jeruſalem. In 1647 he printed, at Cambridge, a Sermon on 1 John ii. 3, 4. which he had preached, the 31ſt of March of the ſame year, before the Houſe of Commons at Weſtminſter [*D*]. In 1651. he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (*e*). Notwithſtanding his preferments, yet, whether it was owing to that neglect and contempt of the things of this world, which are common among ſtudious perſons, or to any other cauſe, certain it is, that Dr Cudworth's income was not ſufficient to maintain him; and therefore he left, upon that account, the Univerſity for a while: But, being extremely beloved, he was ſoon invited thither again. For, upon the death of Dr Samuel Bolton Maſter of Chriſt's College, in October 1654. he was choſen to ſucceed him. The ſame year he married; and ſpent in this place the remainder of his days, being very careful of young Gentlemens education. January 16. 165$\frac{6}{7}$. he was one of the Divines appointed by the Grand Committee for Religion (*f*), to conſider of the tranſlations and impreſſions of the Bible [*E*]. The firſt of December 1662. he was preſented by Gilbert Biſhop of London to the Vicarage of Aſhwell in the County of Hertford (*g*). And in 1678. was inſtalled Prebendary of Glouceſter (*h*). But the moſt remarkable circumſtance of his life, and what does him moſt honour, is, that he was the Author of *The True intellectual Syſtem of the Univerſe*; a book full of excellent reaſoning, and a great variety of curious learning [*F*]. As one extream is generally apt to produce another, the pious Nonſenſe, and ſtupid Enthuſiaſm, that had prevailed in this kingdom during the times of confuſion, was ſucceeded in the licentious reign of King Charles II. and even ſome time before, by Atheiſm, Profaneneſs, and Irreligion. Many of our beſt Divines endeavoured to ſtop their progreſs, but none with more vigour nor greater ſucceſs than Dr Cudworth. 'None better knew how to uſe the arms of Reaſon and Learning, as one expreſſes it (*i*), to conquer the preſumptuous ignorance of Hobbes, who had acquired a great reputation at court.' 'Tis no wonder therefore that King Charles's courtiers ſhould undervalue the *True intellectual Syſtem* (*k*); but notwithſtanding their vain efforts, it has and will maintain its reputation. The Author was undoubtedly ſeveral years about it, tho' it was not publiſhed till 1678 [*G*]. Beſides the four books already mentioned, Dr Cudworth publiſhed in 1664, a Sermon preached at Lincoln's-Inn, on 1 Cor. xv. 57. and a treatiſe intituled

Deus

(*c*) Vita R. Cudworth, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) For then S. Cradock was preſented thereto. See A. Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 71.

(*e*) Vita, &c. ut ſupra.

(*f*) Whitelock's Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs, Lond. 1732. p. 654.

(*g*) Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. p. 835.

(*h*) Browne Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. Lond. 1727. 4to. p. 743.

(*i*) Moſheim in vit. Cudworth, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) See J. Clerici Vita, Amſtelod. 1711. 8vo. p. 129.

[*C*] *He took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity.*] The queſtions he diſputed upon, at the commencement at Cambridge that year, were theſe; There are eternal and indiſpenſible reaſons (or differences) of good and evil: and, There are incorporeal ſubſtances immortal in their own nature (3).

[*D*] *A Sermon on* 1 *John* ii. 3, 4.] It was printed in 4*to*, containing 82 pages, and reprinted in folio to be placed at the end of his Intellectual Syſtem. In the Dedication of it to the Houſe of Commons, he told them, That the ſcope of that ſermon was not to contend for this or that opinion, but only to perſuade men to the Life of Chriſt, as the pith and kernel of all religion; without which all the ſeveral forms of religion in the world, though we pleaſe ourſelves never ſo much with them, are but ſo many ſeveral dreams.

[*E*] *He was one of the Divines appointed, &c.*] Theſe Divines, of which the chief, beſides Dr Cudworth, were, Dr Walton, Mr Hughes, Mr Clarke, Mr Caſtle, and Mr Poulk, often met at the Lord Commiſſioner Whitelock's, and had the moſt learned men in the oriental tongues to conſult with in this great buſineſs, and divers excellent and learned obſervations of ſome miſtakes in the tranſlations of the Bible in Engliſh; which yet was agreed to be the beſt of any tranſlation in the world. But this deſign became fruitleſs by the Parliament's diſſolution (4).

[*F*] *The true Intellectual Syſtem, &c.*] The whole title of it is, *The true Intellectual Syſtem of the Univerſe: The firſt part; wherein, all the Reaſon and Philoſophy of Atheiſm is confuted; and its Impoſſibility demonſtrated. By R. Cudworth, D. D.* Being ſurprized at the length of the firſt part, he publiſhed it, as a thing compleat of itſelf; deſigning to compoſe and publiſh afterwards a ſecond and third part, which, however, he never did (5). An abridgment of this book was publiſhed in 1706, under the following title, *A Confutation of the Reaſon and Philoſophy of Atheiſm: being in a great meaſure either an Abridgment or an Improvement of what Dr Cudworth offered to that purpoſe in his* True Intellectual Syſtem of the Univerſe. *Together with an Introduction, in which among accounts of other matters relating to this Treatiſe, there is an impartial examination of what that learned perſon advanced touching the Chriſtian Doctrine of a Trinity in Unity, and the Reſurrection of the Body. In two Volumes. By* Tho. Wiſe, B. D. *Fellow of Exeter-college*, &c. *in Oxford*. This abridgment is reckoned to be well done: the ſtyle being clear and eaſy, and the matter well digeſted. A Latin tranſlation of the Intellectual Syſtem was publiſhed at Jena 1733, in two volumes, fol. by John-Laurence Moſheim, D. D. illuſtrated with notes and diſſertations.

[*G*] *Though it was not publiſhed till* 1678.] It was printed in a thick folio containing 999 pages, beſides the Preface and Contents. The *Imprimatur*, at the end of the Preface, bears date May 29, 1671, which ſhows that the author kept it by him a conſiderable time before he publiſhed it.

(3) Vita, ubi ſupra.

(4) Whitelock, ubi ſupra.

(5) Preface.

[*H*] *He*

Deus Juſtificatus, or, *The Divine Goodneſs vindicated and cleared, againſt the Aſſertors of abſolute and inconditionate Reprobation.* He left ſeveral books in manuſcript [*H*], of which only one has been printed ſince his deceaſe, intituled, *A Treatiſe concerning eternal and immutable Morality* [*I*]. He died at Cambridge June 26. 1688, in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age, and was buried in Chriſt's College. Several ſons that he had died young; but one daughter, named Damaris [*K*], born January 18. 1658. ſurvived him. She was ſecond wife to Sir Francis Maſham, of Oates in Eſſex, Baronet, and had by him a ſon, Francis Cudworth Maſham, Eſq; (*l*) one of the Maſters in Chancery, Accomptant-General of the ſaid court, and foreign Appoſer in the court of Exchequer, who died May 17. 1731. Dr Cudworth was a man of great piety and moderation, of uncommon prudence; and eſpecially of very extenſive learning: For he was not only a good Linguiſt and Antiquarian, but alſo an able Mathematician, a ſubtil Philoſopher, and a profound Metaphyſician. In his ſmall treatiſes, he ſhows himſelf well ſkilled in the oriental languages; as he appears in his *Intellectual Syſtem* a perfect maſter of the Platonic Philoſophy; with a great ſtrength of genius, and a vaſt compaſs of learning. He hath in it ſome particular notions, namely, of a *Plaſtic Nature*, which, ſubordinate to the Supreme Being, forms and organizes the bodies of animals, and produceth other phænomena (*m*): And, what he ſaith concerning the *Trinity* (*n*), and the *Reſurrection* (*o*), is thought not to be exactly conformable to the received opinions [*L*]. But, notwithſtanding, he muſt be impartially allowed to have been ' a great man in all parts of learning divine and human, an honour ' to Emanuel College where he was educated, to Chriſt's College where he afterwards preſided, to the whole Univerſity of Cambridge which he adorned (*p*), and to the Church ' and Age in which he lived (*q*).'

(*l*) A. Collins's Peerage, Vol. III. p. 435.

(*m*) Intellectual Syſtem, &c. p. 146, 147, &c. This notion was adopted by the great Mr. Ray, in his *Wiſdom of God*, &c.

(*n*) Pag. 210, 546. &c.

(*o*) Pag. 784, &c.

(*p*) Biſhop of Durham's Preface to the treatiſe concerning eternal and immutable Morality, p. 12.

(*q*) Biſhop's Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 462.

[*H*] *He left ſeveral books in manuſcript.*] The titles of them are, I. *A Treatiſe concerning moral Good and Evil*, in ſeveral volumes in folio, containing near 1000 pages. The deſign of it is to prove, that morality is founded in nature, and doth not depend upon the arbitrary will of any Being. He alſo expoſes Epicurus's notions, and Hobbes's Morality and Politicks. II. *A Treatiſe of Liberty and Neceſſity, wherein the foundations of the Philoſophy of Atheiſm are deſtroyed, the certainty of Morality eſtabliſhed, and the nature of it explained.* It conſiſts of 1000 pages in folio, and ſolves the objections of the Stoics, antient Atheiſts, and ſome modern Chriſtians, againſt human liberty. III. *A Commentary on the* Seventy Weeks *mentioned by the Prophet* Daniel, *wherein the ſeveral explications of them by the Jews, and ſome Chriſtian writers, are examined and confuted*, 2 vols fol. IV. *Of the truth of the Chriſtian Religion againſt the Jews.* He mentions this book in ſome of his works, but it has not yet been found among his MSS. V. *A Treatiſe of the Creation of the World, and the Immortality of the Soul.* A volume in 8*vo*. VI. *Of the Learning of the Hebrews.* VII. *An Explanation of Hobbes's notions, concerning the nature of God, and the extenſion of Spirits.*

[*I*] *A Treatiſe concerning eternal and immutable Morality.*] It was printed at London in 8*vo*, 1731, with a Preface by *Edward* [Chandler] Lord Biſhop of Durham; who therein obſerves, that the author ' proves in that book the falſeneſs of the conſequences ' with reſpect to natural juſtice and morality in God, ' which are deducible from the principles of thoſe that ' maintain the ſecond ſort of fate, denominated by him ' *Theologick* (6). And thus it may be reckoned to be a ' ſequel in part, of his firſt book againſt *material* ' *fate* (7).' The author intitled it Δίκαιον φυσικὸν καὶ αἰώνιον, or *A Treatiſe concerning eternal and immutable Morality*; and ' tranſcribed the beſt part of ' it with his own hand, as if it was ſpeedily to be ſent ' to the preſs (8).'

(6) See Intellectual Syſtem, &c. p. 3, &c. and preface.

(7) Biſhop Chandler's preface, p. 9.

(8) Ibid. p. 11.

[*K*] *One daughter, named Damaris,*] She died April 20, 1708, and was buried in the cathedral church of Bath; where a monument is erected to her memory, in which this character is given of her —— ' To the ſoftneſs and elegancy of her own ſex, *She* added ſeveral of the nobleſt accompliſhments and qualities of the other. She poſſeſſed theſe advantages in ' a degree unuſual to either, and tempered them with ' an exactneſs peculiar to herſelf. Her learning, judgment, ſagacity, and penetration, together with her ' candor, and love of truth, were very obſervable to ' all that converſed with her, or were acquainted with ' thoſe ſmall treatiſes ſhe publiſhed in her life-time, ' tho' ſhe induſtriouſly concealed her name (9).' Of the ſmall treatiſes here mentioned, one was *A Diſcourſe concerning the Love of God.* Printed at London, 1696, 12*mo*. The reſt are not known. Mr J. Locke lived in her family the 14 laſt years of his life.

(9) Peerage of England, by A. Collins, Eſq; Vol. III. p. 435. Le Neve's Monumenta Anglic. Vol. I. p. 146.

[*L*] *Is thought not to be exactly conformable, &c.*] He has been very ſeverely treated upon that account; particularly by one (10), who calls him a Tritheiſtick, and ſays, ' the moſt that charity itſelf can allow the Doctor, ' if it were to ſtep forth, and ſpeak his moſt favourable ' character to the world, is, that he is an Arian, a Socinian, or a Deiſt.' A very hard and unjuſt cenſure! C

(10) J. Turner, Dedication before his Diſcourſe of the Meſſiah. Lond. 1685. p. 17, 19.

CUFF or CUFFE (Henry), a celebrated wit, a famous ſcholar, and the unfortunate Secretary of the unhappy Earl of Eſſex, who ſuffered towards the cloſe of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He is by ſome ſaid, or rather ſuggeſted, to have been but of low birth (*a*), but very unjuſtly, ſince there is good evidence to prove, that his anceſtors had been reputed gentlemen for ſeveral deſcents, and had lands to a conſiderable value about Creech and Taunton in Somerſetſhire (*b*). He was born at Hinton St George in that county, about the year 1560 (*c*), was educated at a grammar-ſchool, and gave very early marks both of genius and application (*d*), inſomuch that, in 1576, he was removed to Oxford, and entered there of Trinity College (*e*). His parts were ſo quick, and his diligence ſo great, that he very ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf from moſt of his contemporaries, more eſpecially in his knowledge of Greek, and his admirable faculty in diſputing. He became, in due time, Fellow of his College, and would, without doubt, have gone through his academical ſtudies with all the ſucceſs and applauſe imaginable, if it had not been for a certain haſtineſs of temper, which induced him to ſpeak his mind very freely on ſubjects and of perſons, with whom he had little or nothing to do. A ſaying of his of Sir Thomas Pope, who was the founder of the College in which he was educated, proved fatal to him, ſo that he was turned out of his Fellowſhip, and expelled the College (*f*). His merit, however, was ſo great, and his reputation for learning ſo extraordinary, that he

(*a*) Sanderſon's Lives of Mary Queen of Scots and King James, p. 238.

(*b*) Viſitation-book of Somerſetſhire, Anno Dom. 1573. MS. in the Herald's office.

(*c*) Fuller's Worthies in Somerſetſhire, p. 28.

(*d*) Remarks upon the reign of Q. Elizabeth, p. 537.

(*e*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 307.

(*f*) Liber niger Scaccarii, edit. T. H. p. 593.

was received into Merton-College by Sir Henry Savile, then Warden of it, and who was particularly remarkable for being a moſt diſintereſted patron of ſuch as were truly ſcholars (*g*). In 1586 Mr Cuff was elected Probationer-fellow of that College, and, being very intimate with many of the greateſt men of thoſe times who were bred at this Univerſity, he was looked upon as one capable of making a ſhining figure in the world (*h*), more eſpecially as he was known to turn his thoughts to active life, and to apply himſelf with great vigour to the more polite as well as abſtruſer parts of learning. In 1588 he became Fellow of Merton-College, and, on the 20th of February following, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*i*). Amongſt other perſons of note with whom he had great intimacy, one was the learned Mr Camden, in commendation of whoſe excellent *Britannia* he wrote a Greek epigram, that has been much admired (*k*). This indeed was the happieſt part of his life, and it had been very fortunate for him if he had contented himſelf with that eaſy and honourable ſituation, which his own learning, and the aſſiſtance of his friends in this Univerſity, had procured him, notwithſtanding the ſlip he had made in the earlier part of his life, from a vivacity of temper which never left him [*A*]. He was afterwards promoted to the Greek profeſſorſhip, and was choſen Proctor of the Univerſity April 10th, 1594 (*l*). At what time he left the Univerſity, or upon what occaſion, does not appear; but there is great reaſon to believe, that it was for the ſake of improving himſelf by travelling into foreign parts (*m*); for he was always inclined rather to a buſy than a retired life, and held, that learning was of little ſervice to any man, if it did not render him fitter for being employed in matters of importance. This diſpoſition of his recommended him very much to the favour of Robert Earl of Eſſex, who was himſelf much of the ſame temper, that is, equally fond of knowledge and buſineſs, and ſtrongly perſwaded the former was of very little uſe but as it fitted men for the latter. His Lordſhip writing admirably well, and being an excellent judge of the writings of other men, thought it would be highly uſeful to himſelf, and the means of promoting Mr Cuffe, if he took him into his ſervice, as well as into his protection; and accordingly, about the time that he became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (*n*), Mr Cuffe was appointed his Secretary. It appears, from the private as well as publick hiſtories of thoſe times, that he was very much in his confidence; but, whether the Earl intruſted him with the dark deſigns he carried on with Tyrone, in order to make himſelf King of England, and Tyrone Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, is as little certain, as whether his Lordſhip ever had any ſuch deſigns, or was ſo unfortunate only as to have them imputed to him by his enemies (*o*). This, however, is out of diſpute, that, when the Earl returned from his expedition, in Auguſt 1599, to Dublin, and reſolved to ſend over an account to the Queen of what he had concluded with Tyrone, he made choice of Mr Cuffe to be the bearer, and, perhaps, uſed his aſſiſtance in penning thoſe letters. This was certainly both a dangerous and a diſagreeable ſervice; which, however, Mr Cuffe undertook, and very happily performed, delivering his letters ſafely to her Majeſty, and afterwards, upon ſome inſinuations to his prejudice, upon which he was ſent for to the Queen, he juſtified himſelf to her ſatisfaction (*p*) [*B*]. As he had naturally a very high ſpirit, was ſincerely attached

(*g*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 466.

(*h*) Bp. Mountague's pref. to his Diatribe upon the firſt part of the Hiſt. of Tythes.

(*i*) Wood's Faſti Oxonienſis, Vol. I. col. 135.

(*k*) It is prefixed in all the Latin editions, and in the two laſt Engliſh tranſlations.

(*l*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 307. Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. p. 147.

(*m*) See the note [*I*].

(*n*) Camd. Ann. edit. T.H. p. 792.

(*o*) See the declaration of the treaſons of Robert Earl of Eſſex, publiſhed by authority, 4to, 1601.

(*p*) Memorials and State Papers of the Sidney family, Vol. II. p. 122.

[*A*] *From a vivacity of temper which never left him.*] It was certainly a mark of the candour, as well as care, of Mr Wood, that he took ſo much pains as to ſearch the Heralds Office, in order to find the grant of a coat of arms made to Job Cuffe, our author's anceſtor, by Chriſtopher Baker then King at Arms, in the 36th of Henry VIII (1). He was in the wrong however to fix upon a late, and in ſome reſpects a low, writer, as author of thoſe detracting paſſages, that paſſed ſo currently in the world to his prejudice; whereas, moſt undoubtedly, theſe took riſe from what was ſaid of him by a noble author (2), who wrote indeed at that time under direction, and we may believe could not but be rude to his Secretary, after being roundly ſchooled by the Queen, for ſpeaking with common decency of his maſter. It was from him therefore that ſucceeding writers copied, though there wanted not others, well acquainted with thoſe times and with the man, who ſpoke of him with decency, pity, and even with reſpect. He was but a very young man when he went to Oxford, and it was by the pregnancy of his parts that he became ſo early a Fellow of Trinity-college. Mr Wood tells us, in one place, that he was forced to reſign his fellowſhip for ſaying ſomewhat that was true of the founder (3); in another place, however, that is, in a Collection of Hiſtorical Paſſages, he has ſet down the whole ſtory, and that upon good authority; which as it very fully juſtifies what we have ſaid in the text, the reader ſhall have in his own words (4): 'Dr Bathurſt told me, that our Cuffe was of Trinity-college, and expelled from thence upon this account; the founder, Sir Thomas Pope, would, whereſoever he went a viſiting his friend, ſteal one thing or other that he could lay his hands on, put it in his pocket, or under his gown. This was ſuppoſed rather an humour than of diſhoneſty. Now Cuffe upon a time, with his fellows being merry, ſaid, a pox this is a poor beggarly college indeed, the plate that our founder ſtole would build ſuch another. Which coming to the Preſident's ears, was thereupon ejected, though afterwards elected into Merton-college.' How dear he was to Sir Henry Savile, at that time Warden of Merton-college, appears not only from his procuring him to be elected upon the very firſt occaſion that offered after his own preferment, but alſo from a letter of his to the learned Camden, in which, in a very few words, he gives him the higheſt character, and ſtiles him his own and Camden's intimate friend.

[*B*] *He juſtified himſelf to her ſatisfaction.*] What we have to explain in this part of the work is, the ſhare that Mr Cuffe had in the Earl of Eſſex's proceedings, nor would this be of ſo much importance, if many of our Hiſtories did not deliver things ſomewhat remote from truth in ſeveral inſtances, and directly contrary to it in others. It is generally ſet forth and believed, that the Earl went to Ireland with great joy and alacrity, from whence it has been inferred, that he had dangerous deſigns in his head before he went thither, which he meant to ripen and bring to perfection there (5). However, the contrary of this is very fully proved (6), by a knowing and intelligent writer, who has brought to light many remarkable paſſages relating to theſe times. The truth ſeems to be, that the Earl of Eſſex found himſelf not able to perform any great matters in that kingdom, and was at the ſame

(1) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 307.

(2) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 395.

(3) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 307.

(4) Liber niger Scaccarii, edit. T. H. p. 593.

(5) See the declaration of the treaſons of Robert Earl of Eſſex.

(6) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 133, in the notes.

attached to the Earl of Eſſex, and looked upon the uſage he met with from the court as effects rather of the power of the oppoſite faction, than the juſt puniſhment of the Earl's offences, he gave way to his reſentments, and was one of thoſe that diſſwaded that unhappy Lord, after his emerging a little from that dark cloud of the Queen's diſpleaſure, in which he had been involved, and ſuffered thereby ſeverely, from proſecuting the recovery of her favour by thoſe methods of humble duty, and deep ſubmiſſion, which others of his Lordſhip's friends adviſed (q). It is very poſſible, that both he and they might be prompted to the oppoſite counſels they gave, from certain views to their own intereſt, as well as thoſe of the Earl; for Mr Anthony Bacon, and Sir Francis his brother, had other friends at court, and other means to truſt to than the countenance of the Earl of Eſſex, and might therefore adviſe him to what they thought beſt ſuited their own ſchemes. But it was quite otherwiſe with Mr Cuffe, his ſole dependance was upon the Earl, and, as he had no other hopes of attaining any conſiderable office than by his favour and protection, he was very deſirous of ſeeing him quickly reſtored to the Queen's good graces, which he thought could not fail if he had once free acceſs to the court, which, therefore, he prompted him to obtain by any means, and at any rate (r) [C]. While the Earl of Eſſex followed the advice of the two Bacons, as well as during his Lordſhip's confinement after his precipitate return from Ireland, Mr Cuffe had little or no acceſs to him; but, after he recovered his liberty, and found that was not attended, as he expected, with a reſtitution of his power and credit, he began to recur to his old projects, and to converſe once more with his old friends, by which means Mr Cuffe was recalled again to his ſervice, and to that meaſure of intimacy and confidence in which he had been formerly held (s). This, together with the great likeneſs of their tempers, was the ſource of both their misfortunes; for the Earl thenceforward began to diſlike, and even to ſuſpect, the repreſentations made to him by thoſe who were deſirous that he ſhould leave it to time; and the Queen's known regard for him, to overcome the ill impreſſions ſhe had received, and not, by a haſty reſuming of his former popularity, beget new grounds of diſtaſte, and afford his enemies freſh opportunities of inſinuating things to his prejudice, the only method which, as they perſwaded him, could hinder his coming once more into favour and power

(q) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 833.

(r) See Sir Francis Bacon's Apology, Sir Henry Wotton's Parallel, and Camden's Annals.

(s) Reliquæ Wottonianæ, p. 28.

ſame time kept there by the Queen's expreſs command. It is very likely that it was this that put him upon his treaty with Tyrone, and afterwards induced him to form that deſperate deſign, of landing with two thouſand men at Milford Haven, from which it was with ſome difficulty he was diſſuaded by the Earl of Southampton and Sir Chriſtopher Blount. It is not at all probable that Mr Cuffe was ſo much as acquainted with, much leſs in any degree the author of, this ſcheme; for he was ſent over in Auguſt with the Earl's letter to the Queen (7), a particular that ſeems to have been unknown to moſt of the writers upon this ſubject. But however he had not been long in London, before the zeal and diligence he expreſſed in his maſter's ſervice drew upon him the reſentment of ſome great perſons, who gave bad impreſſions of him to the Queen, which occaſioned his being ſent for. This paſſage we learn from a letter written at that very time by Mr Rowland White to Sir Robert Sidney, dated September 12, 1599, which runs thus (8): 'The unkindneſs between my Lord of Eſſex and Mr Secretary is grown to extremity. I hear my Lord is infinitely diſcontented, and in his diſcontentments uſes ſpeeches that may be dangerous and hurtful to his ſafety. Mr Cuffe hath had acceſs to the Queen, who came of purpoſe marvellouſly well inſtructed to anſwer ſuch objections as her Majeſty could lay to his charge, and I hear that Cuffe hath very wiſely behaved himſelf to her Majeſty's better ſatisfaction.'

[C] *By any means, and at any rate.*] This was from firſt to laſt the great point which Mr Cuffe had in view. He thought that the Earl of Eſſex's friends were ſo numerous, and ſome of them of ſuch high quality, that the method which the Cecilian party took to maintain themſelves in power, might be ſo repreſented as to raiſe a jealouſy in the Queen, who was very tender of her authority, and that if the Earl once came to her preſence, and repreſented theſe matters with his uſual eloquence, and was ſupported by the teſtimonies of thoſe who were prepared to make good his charge, their buſineſs would be done (9). But without doubt, when he firſt thought of this method, he had no deſign of accompliſhing it by force, that fell in afterwards, when experience had diſcovered that acceſs could be had no other way. It is true that ſomething of this nature had been propoſed to the Earl long before, when he was in Ireland, but he rejected it, and foreſeeing that it might be objected to him when his conduct was called in queſtion before the Privy Council, he ſet down an anſwer to this charge in the brief notes that he made for his defence, the ſubſtance of which are preſerved by a grave Hiſtorian (10). It is therefore moſt probable, that when force came again to be thought of, it was originally moved by the ſame perſon that firſt hinted it, and that was Sir Chriſtopher Blount, who had married the Earl of Eſſex's mother. This ſeems alſo to be clearly proved by the Earl of Eſſex's confeſſion, who charged that gentleman with giving him ſuch advice (11). Upon the whole, therefore, we have good reaſon to believe, that at firſt theſe were two diſtinct deſigns, and that Mr Cuffe founded all his hopes in the enlarging and increaſing the Earl's faction, by taking in malecontents of all parties and of all religions, but more eſpecially by drawing to him ſuch great men and Miniſters, as were known either to fear Secretary Cecil's reſentment, or to envy his greatneſs, in purſuance of which ſcheme Mr Cuffe not only acted vigorouſly himſelf, and engaged the Earl in the like ſchemes, but prevailed upon him to employ others in the proſecution of that deſign, which went ſo far as to alarm the Court very much; nor is it at all improbable, that if it had been managed with more temper and diſcretion, and without giving ſuch viſible occaſions of queſtioning the Earl's dutiful intentions, it might have been brought to end otherwiſe than it did, the Earl having moſt part of the city, and not a few at Court, on his ſide. But it was that Nobleman's misfortune, that with very great parts he had very great weakneſſes; he was certainly a man of principle, as well in regard to policy as religion; but as he had very ſtrong paſſions, and thoſe kept conſtantly inflamed by his followers on one ſide, and his enemies on the other, there was little of ſteadineſs in his proceedings. He ſometimes embraced the ſentiments of Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton, and of his Court friends; but this method proving ſlow, he came, as it is ſaid in the text, to diſlike that, and fall in with Cuffe's counſels, who ſuſpected the ſincerity of the Courtiers, and thought to make his Lord formidable, by placing him at the head of a numerous party; but this too not anſwering in ſo ſhort a time as his deſires, and indeed his occaſions, required, Sir Chriſtopher Blount's project was brought again upon the carpet, and thus, by only approving the beſt, and purſuing the worſt counſels, this Nobleman ruined himſelf and all who were attached to him.

[D] Or

(7) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 792.

(8) Memorials and State Papers of the Sidney family, Vol. II. p. 122.

(9) This is Cuffe's own account of the matter, at his trial, in his confeſſions, and at his death.

(10) Camden. Annal. p. 797.

(11) See the trial of Sir Chriſtopher Blount, and others, in the State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 47.

power (t). Yet, as much as the Earl liked the zeal and affection of his Secretary, and notwithſtanding he delighted very much, as indeed he very well might, in his converſation, ſince he had a wonderful facility of applying all that he had learned from books to buſineſs, and of ſuiting the wiſe obſervations of ancient authors to the tranſactions of modern times (u). Yet, his Lordſhip was but too well acquainted with the nature of Courts, and more eſpecially that he had to deal with, to regard Mr Cuffe's political reflections as oracles, which the other obſerved, and took amiſs. This lead him to ſhew the Earl, that he was not ſo far addicted to him as not to ſee his blind ſide; for that his ſubmiſſion, when called before the Lords of the Privy-Council, had ſunk his character very much without raiſing his fortune at all; that, by admitting his own conduct in Ireland to be wrong, he, in effect, acknowledged all the proceedings againſt him right, and therefore, if he meant not to lead a life of dependance, he muſt think of recovering his reputation by ſome diſtinguiſhed action (w). This rouzed the Earl, whoſe parts were certainly very good; he ſaw at once the danger of ſuch advice, and the deſtruction that muſt attend his following it; for which reaſon he not only rejected it with diſdain, but ordered Sir Gelly Merrick to diſcharge the Secretary immediately from his ſervice, which, if he had done, ſome writers ſeem to think both their lives had been by it preſerved. So it was however, that Sir Gelly Merrick took no notice of this order, which omiſſion coſt him his life alſo. The reaſon he gave for it was, that he was afraid Mr Cuffe might be tempted to join with his Lord's enemies; but his real motive was, his agreeing in Cuffe's ſentiments (x). However, this produced a coldneſs, which laſted for ſome time; but the Queen denying to renew the Earl's grant for farming the ſweet wines, and ſome other mortifications which he received from Court, having again ſowred his temper, he called Mr Cuffe back to his councils; to which he might be poſſibly induced for the ſake of managing better a new deſign he was upon, which was intereſting King James in his favour, or, rather, labouring to perſwade that Prince of his cordial affection to his ſervice: A thing not a little ſuſpected before, as appeared by the Jeſuit Perſons's dedicating to his Lordſhip his dangerous book about the Succeſſion, which he had publiſhed under the name of Doleman (y). This ſcheme was certainly a better than the former, and there is ſome reaſon to believe that this alſo was Cuffe's, and was, for ſome time, pretty well managed. But ſuch was the heat of ſome of their aſſociates tempers, that they would not ſuffer the Earl to wait for the good effects that project might have produced; on the contrary, they were continually infuſing into him his danger of becoming a beggar, upon the expiration of his grant for the ſweet wines; in conſequence of which his friends would drop off, and he muſt entirely loſe that credit and influence which had hitherto made him dreadful to his enemies, even under the weight of his misfortunes (z). By degrees theſe inſinuations prevailed ſo far upon the Earl's mind, that he departed entirely from his ſcheme of ſubmiſſion, and returned to that ſort of conduct which he had purſued in Ireland, directing, or at leaſt allowing, Sir Gelly Merrick to keep a kind of open table for diſcontented and factious perſons of all parties, though he did not appear in perſon, or converſe with any of them, agreeable to one of Cuffe's maxims, *That it was good to have a multitude at his back, but few heads in his council* (a). Upon particular occaſions, and to afford them neceſſary inſtructions for the management of their reſpective parts in the maintenance of his aſſociation, the Earl of Eſſex conferred perſonally, but generally in private, with the principal Lords and Gentlemen of his party, yet without diſcloſing the whole extent of his views, or the means he intended to employ in order to carry them into execution; thoſe were reſerved for his ſecret council, and theſe, as far as we can diſcern, were Sir Chriſtopher Blount and Mr Cuffe, who ſuggeſted and directed, or at leaſt examined, and gave their approbation, to all his proceedings (b) [D]. Amongſt other ſchemes ſet on

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(t) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 834, 835.

(u) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 31.

(w) Camd Annal. Eliz. p. 833.

(x) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 32. Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 833.

(y) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 358.

(z) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 835, 837.

(a) See the declaration of the Earl of Eſſex's treaſons, Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 837.

(b) This is collected from the declaration before mentioned, and the proceedings againſt the Earl and his accomplices.

[D] *Or at leaſt examined and directed, and gave their approbation to all his proceedings.*] We have in the text, upon the authority of a grave and great Hiſtorian, given an account of the motives upon which the Earl of Eſſex diſmiſſed Mr Cuffe (12), and how that meaſure came to prove abortive; but the tale is quite otherwiſe told by a very polite writer, and one who aſſerts he had it from good authority. His ſtory is worth the reading. it runs thus (13): 'There was amongſt the Earl of Eſſex's neareſt attendants, one Henry Cuffe, a man of ſecret ambitious ends of his own, and of proportionate counſels, ſmothered under the habit of a ſcholar, and ſlubbered over with a certain rude and clowniſh faſhion, that had the ſemblance of integrity. This perſon, not above five or ſix weeks before my Lord's fatal irruption into the city, was, by the Earl's ſpecial command, ſuddenly diſcharged from all further attendance or acceſs unto him, out of an inward diſpleaſure then taken againſt his ſharp and importunate infuſions, and out of a glimmering foreſight, that he would prove the very inſtrument of his ruin. I muſt add hereunto, that about the ſame time my Lord had received from the Counteſs of Warwick (a Lady powerful in the Court, and indeed a virtuous uſer of her power) the beſt advice that I think was ever given from either ſex, That when he was free from reſtraint he ſhould cloſely take any out-lodgings at Greenwich, and ſometimes, when the Queen went abroad in a good humour, whereof ſhe would give him notice, he ſhould come forth and humble himſelf before her in the field. This counſel ſunk much into him, and for ſome days he reſolved it, but, in the mean time, through the interceſſion of the Earl of Southampton, whom Cuffe had gained, he was reſtored to my Lord's ear, and ſo working advantage upon his diſgraces, and the vain foundation of vulgar breath, which hurts many good men, ſpun out the final deſtruction of his maſter and himſelf, and almoſt of his reſtorer, if his pardon had not been won by inches. True it is that the Earl, in Weſtminſter-Hall, did in general diſcloſe the evil perſuaſions of this man; but the particulars which I have related, of his diſmiſſion and reſtitution he buried in his own breaſt, for ſome reaſons apparent enough. Indeed, as I conjecture, not to exaſperate the caſe of my Lord of Southampton,

' though

(12) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 833.

(13) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 31.

ſoot at this time by Mr Cuffe, for the ſupport of the Earl's intereſt, there was one which ſhewed him a true Politician, a great maſter in the knowledge of human nature, and a man equally capable of contriving with the utmoſt ſagacity, and executing with the greateſt addreſs. Sir Henry Nevile, who had been the Queen's Ambaſſador in France, and who had ſhewn himſelf, in a long and troubleſome negotiation, as active and able a Stateſman as thoſe times had produced, was then at home, and under kind of a court cloud, which, though he was nearly related to Sir Robert Cecil, he had ſome cauſe to ſuſpect was of his raiſing, or, at leaſt, thought he had good grounds to be diſpleaſed, that, by his known power and intereſt, it was not diſpelled (c). Upon the diſcontents of this great and wiſe Miniſter, Mr Cuffe thought it practicable to work; and, though he had never any nearneſs with the Earl of Eſſex in his greateſt proſperity, or the leaſt correſpondence with him ſince his troubles began, yet Mr Cuffe, who knew with how great efficacy the aſſociating ſo great a perſon, and of ſuch high reputation for his ſagacity in their deſigns, would operate in favour of the Earl's cauſe, undertook to bring it about, and, againſt all ſhew of probability, ſucceeded (d). He took an opportunity of inſinuating to Sir Henry, that, after the Queen, his miſtreſs, the nation in general, and the Miniſtry in particular, had received many and great advantages from that vigilance and induſtry with which he had managed publick affairs in France, and elſewhere; inſtead of receiving ſuitable rewards, exceptions were taken to his conduct, and himſelf put under difficulties and hardſhips, by the intrigues of Cecil, who was jealous of every man whoſe ſervices were greater, and whoſe parts were better, than his own. By theſe ſuggeſtions he wrought himſelf ſo thoroughly into the confidence of Sir Henry Nevile, that he brought him to have a good opinion of the Earl his maſter's intentions for the publick ſervice; and this may be juſtly eſteemed the moſt eminent ſtroke of Cuffe's politicks, and the higheſt proof of his abilities (e). His perfect intimacy with the Earl, the great likeneſs of their tempers, his entire knowledge of his affairs, might very well account for the aſcendancy he had over him; but nothing of this, a very long acquaintance excepted, can be ſuggeſted with regard to Sir Henry Nevile, ſo that his intereſt with, and influence over, him could be aſcribed to nothing but his abilities (f) [E]. We now come to the main point of the conſpiracy,

(c) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 271.

(d) See Sir Henry Nevile's caſe, in Winwood's Memorials.

(e) Collected from Sir Henry Nevile's own relations of this matter.

(f) Mr Cuffe valued himſelf highly upon this at his trial.

‘ though he might therewithal a little peradventure have mollified his own. The whole and true report I had by infallible means, from the perſon himſelf that both brought the advice from the aforeſaid excellent Lady, and carried the diſcharge to Cuffe, who, in a private chamber, was ſtrucken therewith into a ſwoon almoſt dead to the earth, as if he had fallen from ſome high ſteeple; ſuch turrets of hope he had built in his own fancy!' The noble Hiſtorian, who, in his junior years, conſidered the ſubject upon which the author wrote whom we have laſt mentioned, though he mentions him but very ſlightly, yet affords Mr Cuffe quite another kind of character, and makes him to have been a much better Courtier than his maſter, one who obſerved it as a fault in him, i. e. the Earl of Eſſex, that he wore his paſſions in his countenance, that his affections or his anger were always to be read in his looks, and that he knew not how to conceal either. The noble writer's words deſerve our notice. After ſhewing that there is a ſort of diſſimulation abſolutely neceſſary in a Court, he proceeds to ſhew, (14) how indifferently Eſſex was furniſhed in that particular; ‘ how ill, ſays he, the Earl was read in this philoſophy, his ſervant Cuffe (whoſe obſervations were ſharp enough, whatever Stoiciſms raved in his nature) well diſcerned when he ſaid, *Amorem & odium, ſemper in fronte geſſit, nec celare novit.*

(14) Diſparity between the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Eſſex, written by the Earl of Clarendon.

[E] *So that his intereſt and influence over him, could be aſcribed to nothing but his abilities*] It was from a long and intimate acquaintance with Sir Henry Nevile, that Mr Cuffe undertook to manage ſo dangerous and ſo intricate an affair with him. This we learn from Mr Cuffe himſelf, who, at his tryal, was very much provoked by the Attorney-General's treating him as a meſſenger from the Earl of Eſſex, and this induced him to tell the court, that he was no ſuch Mercury as Mr Attorney was pleaſed to make him, but that in whatever he tranſacted with Sir Henry Nevile, he behaved as a principal, and as a common friend to the Earl and to the Knight (15). Indeed this is ſufficiently corroborated by the account given of this matter by Sir Henry Nevile, which was read at Cuffe's trial, and what he had aſſerted is clearly confirmed. It was conceived in the following terms, allowing for the inaccuracy of the tranſcribers (16). ‘ At his (Sir Henry Nevile's) arrival out of France, he was told that he had ill offices done him in Court by divers, and ſome of great place, and his actions at Bullen and carriage there greatly blamed, as cauſing the ill ſucceſs of the peace. And by Cuffe it was told him, the Earl would have him know he was wronged, becauſe he was one that loved him. After this Cuffe brought him a letter from the Earl, thereby deſiring his love, and to hold it to him, beſides many other words only of compliment. To which letter he returned an anſwer ſuitable to ſo kind provocations: But all this while he never went to him; and being in the country within ten miles of the Earl, yet never went to viſit him. But Cuffe came to him from the Earl and told him, the Earl was then at liberty, and all the world that would might then freely come unto him, but ſtill he put off his going, till, at one time, Cuffe came and told him, the Earl expected his coming to him, and ſuch a day he would ſtay ſupper for him, and that if he came, and Cuffe chanced not to be in the way, a gentleman of the Earl's ſhould attend his coming, and bring him to the Earl's cloſet. About eight of the clock that night he went to the Earl's, and was met by a gentleman who brought him to his Lord, who entertained him kindly, and after a while, after many queſtions of his hopes, but uſed no undutiful words of the Queen or State, he parted with the Earl, there having nothing but ordinary terms of compliment paſſed between them. Afterwards, Mr Cuffe repairing often to him, he aſked him at times how his Lord's matters ſtood in Court. At one time he anſwered him, well; and told him of great hopes conceived; at ſome other time he anſwered him very diſcontentedly in theſe things, ſaying it made no matter, it would cauſe the Earl to take other courſes, and ſaid there was a pretext to lay up the Earl of Southampton, which was a warning that they meant to lay up Lord Eſſex after him, but that the Earl was reſolved they ſhould never curb him up any more. Cuffe then told him, his Lord had in purpoſe ſome matters, but he ſhould not embark himſelf further in them than he liſted, and deſired him to give a meeting to the Earl of Southampton and Sir Charles Danvers; he ſaid he would, but with this limitation, that nothing was intended againſt the Queen's perſon, which was promiſed. But he detained them at two meetings, which cauſed them to make an ill judgment of his meaning towards them and the intendment. Monday, on Candlemas-day, ſtanding in Serjeants-inn gate, the Earls of Eſſex, Southampton, and Sir Chriſtopher Blount, paſſed by

(15) State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 59.

(16) Ibid. p. 47.

conſpiracy, or that deſign laid for reſtoring the Earl's power and greatneſs, which ended in his own, and in his followers ruin. Here it is neceſſary to diſtinguiſh between Mr Cuffe's ſcheme, which was contrived and never executed, and the unfortunate Earl's project, which, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, without being thought to play upon words, was executed without any contrivance. As to the firſt it was this, Mr Cuffe perceiving that the Earl had many friends, ſome of them of great rank and quality, and that Cecil, and his aſſociates in the miniſtry, had likewiſe many enemies, who were alſo perſons eminent by their birth, fortune, and influence, he thought that, by uniting theſe, and procuring, ſome way or other, acceſs to the Queen, a change might be made in the management of publick affairs, at leaſt in her name, if not by her conſent, and the Earl thereby raiſed to a degree of power equal to his friends wants, and his own wiſhes *(g)*. Whether this ſudden change for the preſent, was to have derived a future ſupport, by a declaration in favour of the King of Scots claim to the ſucceſſion, or whether that was to be left to further conſideration, is a point we want lights ſufficient to determine; but, that this was really the baſis of Cuffe's project, and that he flattered himſelf it would not come within the legal conſtruction of treaſon, is what we have good grounds to believe, and, indeed, ſufficient authorities to prove *(h)*. When things were thus far brought into order, a reſolution was taken, that a general and ſolemn meeting ſhould be had at Drury-Houſe, where the chiefs of the party might ſee each other, where they might have a full communication in reference to their ſtrength, and come to ſome reſolution as to the attempt that ſhould be made, and the ſafeſt and moſt feaſible method of making it. After much reflection and conſideration, February 2d, 1601, was fixed upon, and, accordingly, upon that day, the aſſembly was held at the place before-mentioned *(i)*. It is very remarkable, that the Earl of Eſſex himſelf was not preſent, to prevent, as was ſaid, any notice or umbrage being taken at Court; but, in reality, that there might be no evidence to affect him for holding ſuch an aſſembly, or thoſe who were preſent at it for conſulting with him in caſe any thing relating to it ſhould take air. At this aſſembly Mr Cuffe was likewiſe not preſent, but all his friends, and at his requeſt, and upon his earneſt intreaty amongſt the reſt, Sir Henry Nevile. It was propounded there, that a few perſons had got the Queen and the Government into their hands; that ſuch as they diſliked were no longer ſafe; that they daily ſuffered wrongs and oppreſſions, without any hopes of redreſs; that theſe proceedings were againſt juſtice and common right, and that the only remedy was, to obtain an audience of the Queen, in which theſe grievances might be fairly laid before her *(k)*. After theſe preliminaries, the main point, How ſuch an audience ſhould be obtained? came under deliberation, and a ſcheme was then laid down for the Earl of Eſſex gaining acceſs to her Majeſty, and power enough to remove his enemies; but nothing was reſolved in this aſſembly, though a liſt was produced of one hundred and thirty Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of eſtates, that were ready to embark in the Earl's cauſe, and to hazard, as indeed many of them did, and loſt too, for his ſake, their lives and fortunes *(l)*. Such was the deſign and iſſue of the conference at Drury-Houſe, in which Mr Cuffe had ſo deep a ſhare, as well in the managing as in the contriving [*F*].
There

(*g*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 395.

(*h*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 837, 838.

(*i*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 396.

(*k*) See the caſe of Sir Henry Nevile, in Winwood's Mem.

(*l*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 840. Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 396.

'in a coach, whom he ſaluted paſſing, and was the firſt time he had ſeen them of long. Anon after, Cuffe coming to him, told him he had a commiſſion to deliver a ſecret unto him, which was, that the Earl finding his life ſought by men potent about her Majeſty, he was adviſed to make his appearance to the Queen, and go with ſtrength for that purpoſe, deſcribing the ſame manner of taking the Court, and making way to the Queen, as before is ſet down by others. This Cuffe ſaid he was to impart to him, as one in whoſe love the Earl was confident. The matters being propounded unto him, he made many objections, and put great difficulties in the execution, eaſy perfecting of things being promiſed; my anſwer was, *Multa ſunt quæ non laudantur niſi cum aguntur.* When ſome perſons were named for the actors, he objected that if many knew it, it would not be concealed; if few were uſed, it would not be performed. The Earl of Rutland being named for one, ſaid, they would not truſt him long before-hand, for if he knew it but two hours before he would tell. In concluſion, he was deſired to think of the things propounded in caſe they were ſhewed unto him. Afterward Cuffe came to him, to whom he related all the ſpeeches uſed in that conference, and told him he would not allow it, except they would conjure and take an oath to attempt nothing againſt the Queen's perſon and againſt Mr Secretary, he would never do nor conſent to any thing, for he was nearer unto him, therefore they muſt, *duce pudicè*, ſpare him in that. Cuffe ſaid to him they would only have him preſent when things were doing, and if it fell out ſo, that he ſhould be haſtened to diſpatch into France before that time, he might defer it by feigning ſickneſs. By their appointment he ſhould have been Secretary. Further it is required, that he ſhould have ſent a Miniſter into London to find how the city ſtood affected to the Earl. Cuffe further told him of a buz in many mens mouths in London, and that there had been warning given to the Mayor and Aldermen to look to the city, but of twenty-four Aldermen he doubted not of twenty at leaſt.' It is evident enough that this narrative was but indiſtinctly taken, however it is the beſt we have, and comes home to the point it was brought to prove, that Sir Henry Nevile had a great confidence in Cuffe, and that it was chiefly from this he was drawn to meddle in the affair.

[*F*] *In which Mr Cuffe had ſo deep a ſhare, as well in the managing as in the contriving.*] There is one point left much in the dark in the laſt note, which therefore ſhould be explained in this; it is confeſſed that Sir Henry Nevile was privy to the propoſals made, and the reſolutions taken, in the conſultation at Drury Houſe, and it was for his knowledge of them, and for that only, that Cuffe died; it is requiſite therefore that the reader ſhould be acquainted with what thoſe propoſitions were, and this he ſhall be told with all the ſuccinctneſs poſſible (17). Sir Chriſtopher Blount was, with a choice detachment, to poſſeſs himſelf of the Palace gate; Davis was to ſeize the hall; Danvers the guard-chamber, which was but ſlightly watched, and the preſence-chamber; and Eſſex was to ruſh in from the Meuſe, which were ſtables belonging to the Court, with a ſelect party at his heels, and to beg the Queen on his knees to remove his adverſaries from her preſence, to bring them upon their trial, and then to call
a Par-

(17) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 839.

There was a ſecond meeting ſome time after, to which Mr Cuffe uſed many intreaties with Sir Henry Nevile to come, but he abſolutely refuſed, nor would he liſten to what was propoſed, of an interview with the Earl of Eſſex, from a ſuppoſition that he was unwilling to truſt himſelf where there were ſo many people preſent; but, in reality, he had already heard much more than he was inclined to hear, foreſaw but too clearly the conſequences of the former meeting, though he was unwilling, as a man of honour, to betray thoſe who had truſted him, as well as a man of too much ſenſe to truſt himſelf in ſuch a company again (*m*). Things were now ſo far advanced, that it was thought dangerous to go back, at the ſame time that there was no ſafety in going forward; a great reſort of company there was to Eſſex-Houſe, and, to cover this, the maſk of religion was uſed, the Earl pretending that he ſought no relief but from ſpiritual comforts; and, for this reaſon, he had frequent ſermons there, and indeed many of the Clergy in the city ventured to pray for him, and for his preſervation; which, all things conſidered, was a very ſtrange thing (*n*). It is not to be ſuppoſed, that the Court was aſleep all this while, or that Sir Robert Cecil, and his friends, ſhould have ſo growing and dangerous an evil in their neighbourhood, without being appriſed of it, or providing for their own ſafety. There is very good reaſon to believe, that they were not either inattentive or ill-informed, and that having muſtered, in their own opinions, the whole force of the Lord Eſſex's party, they grew convinced, that any ſtep, tending to open force, muſt end in his deſtruction. They therefore, to quicken him, took a variety of methods of ſhewing their contempt of his intereſt, and ſuffered thoſe who had perſonal quarrels with his friends to inſult them (*o*). Though this went to Eſſex's heart, yet he was irreſolute, as not being able to draw together a number of perſons ſufficient to execute the ſcheme that had been talked over at Drury-Houſe. But while he delayed, in hopes of collecting ſtrength, his enemies, having provided for the total diſſipation of his ſchemes, determined not to let him linger any longer, and therefore a meſſage was ſent him on Saturday the ſeventh day of February, from Secretary Herbert, to attend him, which he excuſed, on the ſcore of his indiſpoſition; and this, as it was foreſeen it would, forced him to break out, as he did the next day, with all the force that he could collect; but, being diſſwaded from attempting the court, and failing of that aſſiſtance he expected in the city, he, and all that were with him in Eſſex-Houſe, were obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners (*p*). By this ſudden reverſe of fortune, Mr Cuffe found himſelf in the moſt wretched condition poſſible; for the Earl of Eſſex being tried and condemned on the 19th of February, and being ſollicited by the Divines who attended him while under ſentence, not only confeſſed matters that were prejudicial to Mr Cuffe, and gave thoſe confeſſions under his hand, but likewiſe charged him to his face with being the author of all his misfortunes, and the perſon who principally perſwaded him to purſue violent meaſures (*q*). Sir Henry Nevile alſo being involved in this unhappy buſineſs, charged Mr Cuffe with being the perſon who invited him to the meeting at Drury-Houſe, but very modeſtly, and without any circumſtances of aggravation (*r*). He was brought to his trial on the fifth of March following, and defended himſelf with great ſteadineſs and ſpirit (*s*) [G]. He was, however, convicted;

(*m*) Sir Henry Nevile's caſe and his narrative, printed in Cuffe's trial.

(*n*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 839.

(*o*) See Oſborn's Political Deductions from Eſſex's death.

(*p*) Camd. Annal. p. 839. Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 401, 402.

(*q*) State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 53.

(*r*) See his caſe and his narrative, printed in Cuffe's trial.

(*s*) Fuller's Worthies in Somerſetſhire, p. 28. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 866.

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a Parliament and make a change in the government. This moſt certainly was not originally Mr Cuffe's ſcheme, but was made up of his and Sir Chriſtopher Blount's blended together, and to which, in the end, Mr Cuffe was brought to aſſent, as the only one that was practicable. Of this it was that Sir Henry Nevile gave his opinion, that ſome things were not to be applauded till they were atchieved, and of this it is not improbable, that he gave ſome hints, to the Court, at leaſt ſomething like this was ſaid by Secretary Cecil at Cuffe's trial. We now ſee the very depth of this affair, and in what manner, and by what degrees, Mr Cuffe plunged into this treaſonable abyſs, out of which, though there were ſome who eſcaped, yet it is generally thought that they left the beſt part of their eſtates behind them.

[G] *And defended himſelf with great ſteadineſs and ſpirit.*] When the Attorney-General Coke opened a charge againſt Mr Cuffe, he did it with all that violence which was ſo natural to him (18); he told him that he was the erranteſt traytor that ever came to the bar; he was *polypragma*, the very ſeducer of the Earl, and added, that, ſince he was a ſcholar and a ſophiſter, he would frame him a ſyllogiſm, and bid him deny which part he would. The ſyllogiſm was this, Whoſoever commits rebellion intends the Queen's death, but you committed rebellion, *ergo*, you intended the Queen's death. After abundance of other hard ſayings he enters into the charge, but without producing any witneſs, or any kind of proof, except the confeſſion of Sir Henry Nevile, and the ſtories that Secretary Cecil was pleaſed to tell upon the bench, of the confeſſions of the Earl of Eſſex and of the Earl of Southampton, all which were in this general manner uſed as evidence that Cuffe was the great framer and manager of all theſe dangerous deſigns. At length, Mr Cuffe being allowed to ſpeak for himſelf, ſaid,
‘ the matters objected againſt him were many, and
‘ urged againſt him with all force of wit, therefore,
‘ for the help of his weak memory, he would reduce
‘ all unto two heads, things plotted, and things acted.
‘ For the firſt of them, Mr Attorney thinks he hath
‘ concluded me in mood and figure, but my anſwer is,
‘ that if a man may be excuſed of treaſon by commit-
‘ ing nothing, I am clear. Yet the number of matters
‘ heaped upon me, and the inferences and enforce-
‘ ments of the ſame uſed againſt me, to make me o-
‘ dious, make me ſeem alſo as a monſter of many heads
‘ in this buſineſs. But ſince by the law all accuſations
‘ are to be believed, and facts weighed, as by evidence
‘ they are proved, and things are beſt proved being
‘ ſingled; I will beſeech Mr Attorney, that we may
‘ inſiſt upon ſome point certain, and not, as in a
‘ ſtream, have all things at once brought upon me with
‘ violence. For my being in Eſſex Houſe the Sunday,
‘ I hope it ſhall be conſtrued as in the caſe of others.
‘ Then, if thoſe who only had their being within the
‘ walls of that houſe, and no hand nor head in that ac-
‘ tion, were not traitors, I hope, that in favour and in
‘ charity, you will accordingly judge of me, who ſpent all
‘ that day locked up in my chamber amongſt my books,
‘ and never appeared unto any man till all was yielded
‘ up to my Lord Admiral. To conclude me to be a
‘ traitor, becauſe I was in the houſe where treaſon was
‘ committed, by the ſame reaſon, if a lion had been
‘ there locked up in a grate, he had been in caſe of
treaſon.

(18) State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 47.

victed; and, as he was looked upon as the principal author of this fatal buſineſs; conſidered as a man of dangerous capacity; and having had no ſort of intelligence with thoſe that were then in favour, he was, with Sir Gelly Merrick, executed at Tyburn, March 30th, 1601, and died with great conſtancy and courage (t) [*H*]. His character has been harſhly

(t) Stowe's Annal., p. 795.

treaſon. But whereas your argument, Mr Attorney, is this, that whoſoever intends treaſon, and the ſame is afterwards acted by others, there the intender, as well as the actor, is a traitor. But I intended treaſon, and others acted it, *ergo*. Mr Attorney it is not your *major* that I deny, becauſe my Lords the Judges have determined that, but I deny your *minor*. For if the thing intended was the going to the Court, yet the thing acted was the going into London.' But Mr Attorney-General taking him ſhort upon his own confeſſion, concluded him a traitor, for in treaſon the very intent is treaſon, if the ſame can be proved. Now it is confeſſed by Mr Cuffe, that he intended the taking of the Court, which in itſelf is treaſon. Mr Cuffe ſaid, 'My Lords, the matters forced upon me ſo amaze me, as I know not what to ſay: but I beſeech you, even as yourſelves ſhall be judged, judge ſo of me both by my words and deeds, for this is the law both of God and man; and let not the accuſations of others, or arguments now forced ſo far, have power againſt me, as to take from me my juſt defence. I am further charged with contriving plots for reſtoring the Earl to greatneſs. True, I muſt confeſs, as a ſervant that longed for the honour of his maſter, I have often wiſhed to ſee his recalling to the Court, and reſtoring to her Majeſty's former favour, but beyond the limits of theſe deſires my thoughts never carried me, nor aſpired to other greatneſs, than to ſee him again in place of a ſervant and worthy ſubject as before he had been. And whereas I ſtand accuſed to be as one that turned the wheel, which elſe had ſtood, and to be the ſtirrer of his mind, which otherwiſe had ſettled to another courſe; to clear this I had written two lines, which you, Mr Secretary, knew the Earl would have ſubſcribed if he might have been ſuffered.' But Mr Secretary affirmed, he perceived no ſuch purpoſe in the Earl, neither remembered any ſuch matter in that which was written. Said Cuffe, 'You know, Mr Secretary, my paper being read to the Earl as he read, he ſaid, ſtill as he went, *true*, *true*.' At the importunity of Mr Cuffe, Mr Secretary willed the paper ſhould be read, but it tended only unto this, that if he knew of the Earl's intent to go to the Court, 'twas with ſuch limitations as the Earl had propounded, otherwiſe not, for he had not ſuggeſted any of theſe new practices. Mr Attorney, to cut ſhort this defence, began his reply with telling him, 'Come Mr Cuffe, I will give you a cuff ſhall ſet you down;' and then ordered part of the Earl's and Sir Henry Nevile's confeſſion, to be read. Mr Secretary Cecil then queſtioned Mr Cuffe, What was meant with reſpect to a Parliament? to which he anſwered, that if theſe ſchemes had ſucceeded, many alterations would have followed, and that, for the ſettling of things, a Parliament might then have become neceſſary. Mr Attorney-General was pleaſed to inform the Court, that, in that Parliament, Mr Cuffe was to have been Speaker. The jury found him guilty, in which Mr Cuffe ſaid that they had done but right in diſcharging their conſciences; he took notice, that when he was ſeized he had but two ſhillings about him, but that there were three hundred and fifty pounds in ready money taken in his chamber; he ſaid, that, upon his being firſt carried to the Tower, he was put into a very bad place, but that he was afterwards removed into a better, where he deſired to continue, which was afterwards granted; he farther requeſted, that he might have a Divine ſent him, and be allowed the uſe of pen, ink, and paper, which were alſo promiſed. Mr Camden, in his account of Cuffe's trial, ſays (19), that the Lord Chief Juſtice Anderſon, told both the Attorney-General and Mr Cuffe, that they were but indifferent diſputants, and preſſed the ſtatute of treaſon, by which Cuffe was concluded, ſince it appeared that he was acquainted with what paſſed in the conference at Drury Houſe, and the propoſal of putting the Queen under a force, and ſhewed his approbation of it by citing, in converſation, to Sir Henry Nevile, a paſſage from the poet Lucan, implying, that where juſtice is denied, it might be obtained by force:

> —— Arma tenenti
> Omnia dat, qui juſta negat.

Mr Fuller, who affects to treat every ſubject merrily, ſays (20), humorouſly enough, that this might be ſtiled Mr Cuffe's *neck-verſe*, in which how improperly ſoever he ſhews his wit, yet certainly he ſhews his judgment at the ſame time, for without doubt the quoting theſe verſes was the higheſt treaſon that Cuffe committed, and the only proof that he conſented to the project of putting a force upon the Queen, which, in the conſtruction of the law, was treaſon; yet this is ſo far from being proved by two witneſſes, that it could only have been proved by one, and even he was not produced. Such, in compariſon of thoſe in which we live, was the juſtice, or rather ſeverity, of former times.

[*H*] *And died with great conſtancy and courage.*] It was an obſervation of Secretary Cecil's, that Cuffe was as ſilent under his misfortunes, as his maſter was open. Indeed there was ſomething very extraordinary in the Earl of Eſſex's behaviour, for, when he once began to confeſs, he charged every body that had any kindneſs for him, as having a hand in his plot; ſuch as the Lord Montjoy, his ſucceſſor in Ireland, and many others; ſo that the very number of them rendered a proſecution unſafe, which is a further proof that Cuffe's original ſcheme might have ſucceeded, had it been coolly and carefully purſued. The Earl, to prove his ſincerity, deſired to ſee Mr Cuffe, whom he exhorted to confeſs, as he did, with many paſſionate expreſſions, adding at laſt (21), 'I muſt tell you plainly, that this inſtance of diſloyalty is purely owing to your advice.' Mr Camden tells us, that Mr Cuffe was ſurprized at this, and in few words, but to the purpoſe, charged the Earl with weakneſs and levity in betraying his friends (22). This was before Mr Cuffe's trial, and how handſomely he acted thereat has been already ſhewn. At the place of execution all writers agree, that he behaved with the utmoſt reſolution, and the moſt ſteady compoſure. He delivered himſelf, upon this melancholy occaſion, in the following words: 'I am brought hither to pay my laſt debt to nature, and to ſuffer for crimes committed againſt God, my Prince, and my country; and as I cannot but diſcern the infinite juſtice of God, when I reflect on the multitude of my offences, ſo can I as little doubt but the ſeverity of my puniſhment will make way for my admiſſion into the embraces of his mercy. We are expoſed here as ſad ſpectacles, and inſtances of human frailty; the death we are to undergo carries a frightful aſpect, (for even the beſt of men deſire life) beſides that 'tis as full of ignominy as terror. However, 'tis the portion of the beſt of ſaints, with whom I aſſuredly hope to riſe again in Chriſt. Not that I would be thought by any one to depend upon my own merits, which I abſolutely diſcard, but I place my entire truſt and dependance in the atonement of my Saviour's blood. I am fully perſuaded, that, whoever feels a ſecret conſolation within himſelf whilſt he groans under the infliction of any earthly puniſhment, is chaſtiſed by God with a paternal tenderneſs, and not in an angry and judicial way. But to come to the cauſe of my death. There is nobody here can be poſſibly ignorant, what a wild commotion was raiſed on the 8th of February, by a particular great, but unadviſed, Earl. I do here call God, his angels, and my own conſcience, to witneſs, that I was not in the leaſt concerned therein, but was ſhut up on that whole day within the houſe, where I ſpent my time in very melancholy reflections.' Here he was interrupted, and adviſed not to diſguiſe the truth by diſtinctions, nor palliate his crime by ſpecious pretences. Then he proceeded in theſe words: 'I confeſs 'tis a crime as black as treaſon, for a ſubject, who has loſt his Prince's favour, to force his way to the royal preſence. For my

(19) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 866.

(20) Worthies in Somerſetſhire, p. 28.

(21) State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 39.

(22) Annal. Eliz. p. 869.

harſhly treated by Lord Bacon (*u*) and Sir Henry Wotton (*w*), and ſome other writers; Camden alſo, who knew him intimately, and had lived for many years in great friendſhip with him, beſtows on him a ſhort but bitter reflection. Others are milder in their cenſures, and all allow him to have been a very learned and a very able man. He wrote a book in Engliſh, that was printed after his death ſeveral times, and has been much commended (*x*); and, beſides this, there is another work of his that was never printed, of both which we ſhall give ſome account in the notes [*I*]. The courſe of his life, as well as the manner of his death, rendered him the theme of much diſcourſe in his own times; our general Hiſtorians have mentioned him in ſuch a manner, as might have raiſed the curioſity of their readers, to be more particularly informed. The Reverend Mr Fuller (*y*) has given him a place amongſt his Worthies in Somerſetſhire; honeſt Anthony Wood (*z*) has treated him with great fairneſs and freedom; and the learned and induſtrious Biſhop Tanner (*a*) has ſpoken of him, as indeed he does of every-body, with great candour, accuracy, and decency; and theſe authorities will ſufficiently juſtify the giving his memoirs a place in this collection, more eſpecially as it has afforded an opportunity of ſetting ſeveral hiſtorical circumſtances relating to a very dark and intricate affair, in a clear and true light. His death hindered not his limbs from being interred, though we are not able to ſay where; tho' the manner of it did, as it well might, deprive him of a monument; an old friend of his, however, ventured to embalm his memory in an epigram (*b*), with which, being very ſhort, we ſhall conclude:

Doctus eras Græce felixque tibi fuit Alpha
At fuit infelix Omega Cuffe tuum.

Which has been thus tranſlated:

Thou waſt, indeed, well read in Greek!
Thy Alpha too was crown'd with hope;
But, oh! tho' ſad the truth I ſpeak,
Thy Omega proved but a rope.

'my own part, I never perſuaded any man to take up 'arms againſt the Queen, but am moſt heartily con'cerned, for being an inſtrument of bringing that 'worthy Gentleman, Sir Henry Nevile, into danger; 'and do moſt earneſtly intreat his pardon: and where'as I ſaid, that one and twenty Aldermen out of the 'twenty-four were devoted to the Earl's intereſt, I only 'meant that they were his friends, and ready to ſerve 'him, but not in the way of open rebellion.' Here he was again interrupted, and ſo began to apply himſelf to his devotions, which he managed with a great deal of fervour, and then, making a ſolemn profeſſion of his creed, and aſking pardon of God and the Queen, he was diſpatched by the executioner. A man, ſays Camden, of moſt exquiſite learning, and of a penetrating, but ſeditious and crooked, wit (23). *Vir exquiſiſſima doctrina, ingenioque acerrimo, ſed turbido & tortuoſo.*

[*I*] *Of both which we ſhall give ſome account in the notes.*] As for Mr Cuffe's book, it was, for ſome time after his deceaſe, handed about at Oxford in manuſcript, and conſidered as a very great curioſity. Mr Anthony Wood tells us, he wrote it in the year 1600, that is, a very little before his death. About ſix years after it was printed under this title:

The Differences *of the* Ages *of* Man's Life, *together with the original Cauſes, Progreſs, and End, thereof. Written by the learned* Henry Cuffe, *ſome time Fellow of* Merton-college *in* Oxford. Lond. 1607, 1638, 8*vo*; 1640, 12*mo*. There is ſomething in this piece very curious and philoſophical, and though, at this time of day, what between our proficiency in experimental philoſophy, in which he was but a beginner, and the uncouthneſs of his ſtile, which was the fault of his time, much of the beauty of his work is loſt; yet the ſtrength of his thoughts, the accuracy of his method, and his connected manner of reaſoning, leaves no reaſon at all to doubt, that he deſerved the commendations that have been beſtowed upon him. Mr Wood ſays (24), that he left behind him many other things ready for the preſs, which were never publiſhed; but he does not think fit to tell us any of their titles. All that we can ſupply from the enquiries of the indefatigable Biſhop Tanner, is the following title of one piece, and the place where it is, or at leaſt was once, to be found (25):

De rebus geſtis in ſancto concilio Nicæno, or, 'The 'Tranſactions in the Holy Council of Nice, tranſlated 'out of Greek into Latin,' and is believed to have been the work of Gelaſius Cyricenus, which was tranſcribed from the original in the Vatican Library, by Henry Cuffe (26). We will conclude this note with the judicious and ſalutary reflection of a celebrated author, upon the uneaſy life, and unfortunate death, of this extraordinary perſon of whom we have been ſpeaking, which teaches the uſe of theſe kind of Hiſtories, and ſhews, that we may borrow as beneficial improvements from contemplating the lives of unhappy men, as from the peruſal of the ſwelling memoirs of perſons more indebted to Fortune for her favours (27). 'Mingle not, ſays he, your intereſt with 'a great man's, made deſperate by debts or Court in'juries, whoſe breakings out prove fatal to their wiſeſt 'followers and friends, averred in the laſt Earl of Eſ'ſex but one, where Merrick his Steward, and Cuffe 'his Secretary, though of excellent parts, were both 'hanged. For ſuch unconcocted rebellions turn ſel'dom to the hurt of any but the parties that promote 'them, being commonly guided by the directions of 'their enemies, as this was by Cecil, whoſe creatures 'perſuaded Eſſex to this inconſiderate attempt.' E

CUMBERLAND (RICHARD) a very learned Divine, and Biſhop of Peterborough in the cloſe of the laſt and beginning of the preſent century. He was the ſon of an honeſt citizen of London, who, by his induſtry, acquired a competent, though not a great fortune (*a*). This Reverend Prelate was born in the pariſh of St Ann near Alderſgate, July 15th, 1632, tho' his father lived afterwards in Fleet-ſtreet (*b*). He received the firſt tincture of letters in St Paul's ſchool, under the care of Mr John Langley (*c*), and was removed from thence to Magdalen-College in Cambridge, where he was con-

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(*u*) See his Works, Vol. IV. p. 395.

(*w*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 31.

(*x*) Fuller's Worthies in Somerſetſhire, p. 28. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 303.

(*y*) Fuller's Worthies, p. 28.

(*z*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 303.

(*a*) Bibliotheca Britannica-Hibernica, p. 211.

(*b*) Owen, Epigram. lib. v. nu. 107.

(23) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 868.

(24) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 308.

(25) Bibliotheca Cotton. Nero D. X.

(26) Bibliotheca Britannica-Hibernica, p. 211.

(27) Oſborn's Advice to his Son, P. i. cap. iv.

(*a*) From the Rev. Mr Payne's Preface to Sanchoniatho's Phœnician Hiſtory, p. 3.

(*b*) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. III. p. 510.

(*c*) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 555.

temporary with ſome very worthy and learned perſons; ſuch as Dr Hezekiah Burton, his intimate friend and acquaintance, a very learned and pious Divine; Dr Hollings, an eminent Phyſician at Shrewſbury; Sir Samuel Moreland, admired for his ſkill in the Mathematicks; the celebrated Mr Pepys, Secretary to the Admiralty; and the Lord Keeper Bridgeman, to whom himſelf, and his friend Dr Burton, were Chaplains at the ſame time (*d*). He was very remarkable, while Fellow of his College, for his diligent application to his ſtudies, as well as for the unaffected piety, and unblemiſhed probity, of his life. It does not appear in what year this excellent perſon came to the Univerſity, but from circumſtances it may be very eaſily collected, and we have reaſon to think it was in 1649 (*e*): He took his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1653 (*f*), and in 1656 he became Maſter of Arts (*g*), at which time he had thoughts of applying himſelf to Phyſick, which he actually ſtudied for ſome time (*h*). He was incorporated Maſter of Arts in the Univerſity of Oxford, July 14th, 1657 (*i*). He went out Bachelor of Divinity at a publick commencement at his own Univerſity, A. D. 1663, with univerſal applauſe (*k*). His firſt preferment was the rectory of Brampton in the deanery of Haddon, in the archdeaconry and county of Northampton, which was given him by Sir John Norwich. The patron was not diſappointed in having a Clerk, who, in all reſpects, anſwered his higheſt expectations, and they lived together in the greateſt unanimity (*l*). This worthy Gentleman was deſcended of a moſt antient and noble family, and was advanced to the dignity of a Baronet by King Charles the Firſt. Brampton was his own pariſh, where he lived in great privacy and retirement. Mr Cumberland was admitted December 3d, 1658, upon the demiſe of the Reverend Mr John Ward (*m*); and after the Reſtoration, having never had the leaſt ſcruple to the authority of the Church, he had a legal inſtitution, and read the thirty-nine articles, as directed by law, November 24th, 1661 (*n*), and was, the ſame year, appointed one of the twelve Preachers in the Univerſity of Cambridge: this, however, was a temporary avocation only, owing to the high character he had raiſed by the maſterly manner in which he had performed all academical exerciſes, and from which he quickly returned to the duties of his parochial charge. In this rural retirement he minded little elſe than the duties of his function, and his ſtudies. His relaxations from theſe were very few beſides his journies to Cambridge, which he made frequently, to preſerve a correſpondence with his learned acquaintance in that place. Here he thought to have remained, and here he might have remained during the courſe of his whole life, if his intimate friend and kind benefactor Sir Orlando Bridgeman, upon his receiving the ſeals in 1667, had not ſent for him up to London, made him his Chaplain, and ſoon after beſtowed upon him the living of Alhallows in Stamford (*o*). He diſcharged the functions of his miniſtry in that great town with indefatigable diligence; for, beſides the duties incumbent upon him by his parochial charge, he accepted of the weekly lecture, and, by this means, was obliged to preach three times every week in the ſame church (*p*). This difficult province he went through conſtantly and aſſiduouſly; and tho' this alone would have been a burthen too heavy for an ordinary man, he diſcharged it with ſo much eaſe, that he carried on at the ſame time great deſigns in his Philoſophical, Mathematical, and Philological Studies. He gave a noble proof of this, and one which equally demonſtrated the ſoundneſs of his morals, and the ſolidity of his parts, in publiſhing his *Philoſophical* Enquiry *into the* Laws *of* Nature; a book deſerving univerſal applauſe, and received with the applauſe that it deſerved [*A*]. He was not in the leaſt elevated with the praiſes

(*d*) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſt. p. 4, 5, 6.

(*e*) See the following dates, and thoſe of his two dedications.

(*f*) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 555.

(*g*) Extract from the Univerſity Regiſter.

(*h*) Kennet's Chronicle, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 118.

(*k*) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 555.

(*l*) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſtory, p. 7.

(*m*) Baronettage of England, Vol. II. p. 216. Kennet's Chron. p. 555.

(*n*) Regiſt. Laney Petriburg.

(*o*) Payne's Pref to Sanchoniatho's Hiſtory, p. 8. But Mr Willis ſays that he was Vicar of St Martin's, Stamford.

(*p*) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſtory, p. 9.

[*A*] *And received with the applauſe that it deſerved.*] The title of this work at large runs thus: *De Legibus Naturæ Diſquiſitio Philoſophica, in qua earum forma, ſumma Capita, Ordo, Promulgatio, & Obligatio è rerum naturâ inveſtigantur; quinetiam Elementa Philoſophiæ Hobbeianæ, tum moralis tum civilis, conſiderantur & refutantur.* Londini 1672, 4*to*. i. e. 'A Philoſophical Enquiry into the Laws of Nature, 'in which their Form, principal Heads, Order, Promulgation, and Obligation, are inveſtigated from the 'nature of things; and in which alſo the Philoſophical 'Elements of Hobbes, moral as well as civil, are conſidered and refuted.' This book was written while he was Chaplain to Sir Orlando Bridgeman, to whom it was dedicated, and there is prefixed to it a ſhort Preface to the reader, by the author's friend and fellow Chaplain to the Lord Keeper, Dr Hezekiah Burton. Dr Cumberland being at a diſtance from the preſs when this book was publiſhed, it came into the world very incorrectly printed, and in ſubſequent editions theſe faults were multiplied in a very ſurprizing manner (1). We may from hence form an idea of the excellency of a work, that could, notwithſtanding, ſupport it's author's reputation both at home and abroad, and be conſtantly eſteemed one of the beſt performances that ever appeared, and that too upon one of the niceſt and moſt important ſubjects. Mr Payne ſays very juſtly, that it was one of the firſt pieces written in a demonſtrative way on a moral ſubject, and at the ſame time the perfecteſt (2). It is indeed on all hands admitted, that the Philoſopher of Malmſbury was never ſo cloſely handled, or his notions ſo thoroughly ſifted, as by Dr Cumberland. He has however taken a new road, very different from Grotius, Puffendorff, and other writers, more difficult, and leſs entertaining indeed, but, at the ſame time, much more convincing. It was deſired that a piece of ſuch general utility ſhould be made better known by being put into an eaſier method, and tranſlated into the Engliſh language. This the author would not oppoſe, though he did not undertake it; being very ſenſible that the obſcurity complained of by ſome, was really in the ſubject itſelf, and would be found ſo by thoſe who meddled with it. The project however was purſued by James Tyrrel, Eſq; grandſon to the famous Archbiſhop Uſher, who publiſhed his performance under the following title: *A brief Diſquiſition of the Law of Nature, according to the principles and method laid down in the Reverend Dr* Cumberland'*s (now Lord Biſhop of* Peterborough*) Latin Treatiſe on that Subject; as alſo his Confutations of Mr* Hobbes'*s Principles, put into another Method, with the author's approbation* (3). Mr Payne, whom we have ſo often quoted, gives us a very honeſt and fair account of a deſign that he alſo had of the ſame nature. After mentioning the prejudice that this work had received from it's ill uſage at the preſs, he proceeds

(1) See the Rev. Mr Maxwell's Preface to his Tranſlation.

(2) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſt. p. 26.

(3) Lond. 1691. 8vo.

praiſes beſtowed upon him, not only by the world in general, but by perſons of the moſt diſtinguiſhed merit and learning, upon the ſcore of this excellent performance (q). He went on doing his duty with the ſame calmneſs and chearfulneſs as before; and, in this ſtation of a private Clergyman, ſo great was his reputation, that he was importuned by the Univerſity, and by other acquaintance, to take upon him the weighty exerciſe of reſponding at the publick commencement. Nothing but the earneſt ſollicitation of his friends could have prevailed with a man, void not only of ambition but of even the deſire of applauſe, to appear ſo publickly. This he did in the year 1680, in ſo maſterly a manner, that, for many years after, the memory of his performance remained freſh in that Univerſity (r) [*B*]. The next ſpecimen of his great abilities and profound learning appeared in the year 1686, in his ESSAY *on Jewiſh* MEASURES *and* WEIGHTS; a work written with the utmoſt ſagacity, and in which is diſcovered qualities that ſeldom are found in the ſame mind, a deep penetration, extenſive reading, a ſtrong and accurate judgment, together with a candour ſeldom to be met with, and an unaffected humility, which, in conjunction with ſuch talents, is truly admirable (s). It was a work not only highly uſeful in it's nature, but very much wanted, and was therefore received with the higheſt applauſe by the beſt judges, who were equally pleaſed with the method and matter, as well as the manner and conciſeneſs, of the performance. It was afterwards reprinted, and will continue to ſupport the reputation of it's author, as long as this kind of literature is either encouraged or underſtood (t) [*C*]. His ſincere attachment to the Proteſtant Religion made

(q) See this thoroughly explained in the notes.

(r) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſtory, p. 9.

(s) See this fully explained in the notes.

(t) Payne's Pref. to Sanchionatho's Hiſtory, p. 27.

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ceeds thus: ‘ This may have been ſome diſcouragement to the reading it, though the difficulty of the ſubject, and the cloſeneſs of the reaſoning, has been a greater. Hardly any men hitherto have made themſelves acquainted with the argument of it, but ſuch as are in the uppermoſt form of learning. I have ſometimes wiſhed that his Lordſhip would have been pleaſed to have reviſed it, and tried to make it more eaſy and intelligible, but it had lain ſo long out of his hands, that he did not care to take it up again. He gave me leave to attempt any thing of that kind if I would, and as a help he gave me his own interleaved book, which has here and there a little addition. I read his book over and over diligently with this view, but never found where I could well alter any thing, where I could leave out, or where I could add. All I can think on to give a little advantage to common readers, is to print the book correctly, to give an Analyſis of the argumentation, to add contents to each paragraph, and to divide them oftener. This I may perhaps find leiſure to do (4).’ It is not impoſſible, that the Rev. Mr Payne might be diverted from this purpoſe of his, which certainly would have been very welcome to the learned world, by a like attempt made ſome few years after, while he was employed in publiſhing the Biſhop's Poſthumous Works, by a Reverend Divine of the kingdom of Ireland, who very probably never heard of his intention, or of the ſingular advantages he had, and which muſt have enabled him to perform it better than any other man. This laſt mentioned gentleman printed an Engliſh tranſlation of our Prelate's book by ſubſcription, under the following title: ‘ A Treatiſe of the Laws of Nature, by the Right Reverend Father in God Richard Cumberland, Lord Biſhop of Peterborough; made Engliſh from the Latin by John Maxwell, A. M. Prebendary of Connor, and Chaplain to his Excellency the Lord Carteret, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland: To which is prefixed, an Introduction concerning the miſtaken notions which the Heathens had of the Deity, and the defects in their Morality, whence the uſefulneſs of Revelation may appear. At the end is ſubjoined an Appendix containing two Diſcourſes, 1. Concerning the Immateriality of thinking Subſtance. 2. Concerning the Obligation, Promulgation, and Obſervance, of the Law of Nature; by the Tranſlator. Lond. 1727, 4*to*.’

[*B*] *Remained freſh in that univerſity.*] Theſe kind of exerciſes are common in the univerſity, which, however, does not hinder their being performed with great ſtrictneſs and punctuality, and, as this is always done before a numerous audience, compoſed of perſons who are all of them proper judges, we may be ſatisfied, that whenever diſcourſes are not only received with a temporary applauſe, but dwell upon the memory of ſuch as hear them, and are talked of for many years after, they muſt have an extraordinary degree of merit to recommend them. The topicks that were now handled by our learned and accompliſhed author, were equally weighty and important in themſelves, and, at the ſame time, of a no leſs nice and delicate nature, ſuch as, demonſtrating his zeal for the Church of England, muſt, at the ſame time, deprive him of any aſſiſtance from either of the two oppoſite factions, each of which, at that time, was known to have a conſiderable influence. The theſes maintained by him were (5), 1. Sancto Petro nulla data eſt juriſdictio in cæteros Apoſtolos; *i. e. St Peter had no juriſdiction granted him over the reſt of the Apoſtles.* 2. Separatio ab Eccleſia Anglicana eſt ſchiſmatica; *i e. The ſeparation from the Church of England is ſchiſmatical.*

[*C*] *Is either encouraged or underſtood.*] The title of his book at large runs thus: *An Eſſay towards the recovery of the Jewiſh Meaſures and Weights, comprehending their Monies, by help of an antient Standard, compared with ours of England, uſeful alſo to ſtate many of thoſe of the Greeks, Romans, and Eaſtern Nations.* Lond. 1686, 8*vo*' The Dedication of this book to Samuel Pepys, Eſq; then Preſident of the Royal Society, is dated October 28, 1685, and from thence it may not be amiſs to tranſcribe a paragraph or two, becauſe they ſhew the reaſon why this piece was written. ‘ Becauſe, Sir, the improvement of natural knowledge, for which the Royal Society was founded, may be attained, in ſome degree, by recovering ſome parts thereof which the Antients had, but are now unknown, I thought it not improper to preſent to you, who deſervedly preſide in that illuſtrious Society, this attempt to reſtore thoſe eldeſt ſtandards of meaſures and weights, which are mentioned in the moſt antient records, the Sacred Scriptures, as commonly known when they were written. But ſuch hath been the ignorance and careleſſneſs in theſe matters, of many intervenient ages, by whoſe care theſe things ſhould have been tranſmitted to us their poſterity, that moſt of our late diligent enquirers have declared their opinion to be, that though the retrieving of them be highly deſirable, yet that ſucceſs in ſuch an endeavour is ſcarce to be hoped. Neverthelcſs, being deſired by ſome learned Divines of our Church, in ſubſerviency to ſome brief Annotations on the Bible, by them intended, to do the beſt I could in this affair, I have, by this treatiſe, attempted to reſcue this moſt antient and uſeful piece of learning from the grave of oblivion and neglect, into which many deſpairing men were caſting it, before it was quite dead, or paſt recovery. Learning I call this knowledge of weights and meaſures, becauſe the firſt conſtitution of them, and the reaſon and proportions contained in their mutual correſpondencies, do import not only prudent obſervation which is learning's foundation, but alſo ſome elements of Geometry, Arithmetick, and Staticks, which are eſſential parts of it's ſuperſtructure, thence peculiarly called μάθηματα, or, The Learning. And for this cauſe I have been forced, in the proſecution of this enquiry, to call in to my aſſiſtance ſome of

(4) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſt. p. 27.

(5) Idem, ibid. p. 9, 10.

made him very apprehenſive of it's danger, and the melancholy proſpect of affairs in the reign of King James made ſo deep an impreſſion on this excellent perſon, as to contribute to a dangerous fit of ſickneſs one of the ſevereſt fevers from which ever man recovered. He continued after the Revolution in the ſame ſituation as before, and without any thoughts of ſolliciting for better preferment; indeed, through the whole courſe of his life, this ſeems never to have entered into his head; he was always content with the lot that beſel him, and applied himſelf, with the utmoſt vigour and diligence, to diſcharge his duty in that ſtation where Providence had placed him (*u*). It was, therefore, a greater ſurprize to himſelf than to any-body elſe, when walking, after his uſual manner, on a poſt-day to the coffee-houſe, he read there in a news-paper, that one Dr Cumberland, of Stamford, was named to the biſhoprick of Peterborough. This piece of intelligence however proved true, and he had the ſingular ſatisfaction of finding himſelf raiſed to a biſhoprick, not only without pains or anxiety, but without having ſo much as ſought for it (*w*). This accidental, we ought rather to ſay providential, promotion, was highly honourable for him. It was looked upon, at that time, as a thing neceſſary to the eſtabliſhment of the new government, that men, who were to be raiſed to ſuch high ſtations in the Church, ſhould be ſuch only as had been moſt eminent for their learning, moſt exemplary in their lives, and firmeſt to the Proteſtant intereſt. Whilſt theſe qualifications were only conſidered, ſuch a man could not eaſily be overlooked, though he himſelf did leaſt of any man look for ſuch a promotion. The King was told, that Dr Cumberland was the fitteſt man he could nominate to the biſhoprick of Peterborough. Thus a private country Clergyman, without poſting to Court, a place he had rarely ſeen, without ſuing to great men, without taking the leaſt ſtep towards ſolliciting for it, was pitched upon to fill ſo great a truſt, only becauſe he was fitteſt for it [*D*]. He was elected in the room of Dr Thomas White, who refuſed the new oath, May 15th; was conſecrated, with other Biſhops, July 5th; and inthronized September 12th, 1691, in the cathedral of Peterborough (*x*). Thus in the ſixtieth year of his age, when his parts were as ſtrong as ever, his body unbroken with infirmities, and his experience at a juſt height, he entered on a new ſcene. He now applied himſelf to the work of a Biſhop. Studious men acquire habits, that make them not overforward to put themſelves out into action. The ſpeculations of their minds employ the whole man. The natural calmneſs of his Lordſhip's temper added ſtill to this diſpoſition: yet no man took more care not to be defective in his proper duty. He made no omiſſions to conſult his own eaſe, or to ſpare his pains; and the deſires of his

(*u*) Compleat Hiſt. England, Vol. III. p. 642.

(*w*) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſtory, p. 12.

(*x*) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. III. p. 510.

‘ of the eaſieſt mathematical notions, which are as old almoſt as mankind, aſſociating thereunto ſome obſervations of nature, whoſe conſtancy, from the beginning, gives reaſon to believe, that they were known early by men, together with the eldeſt works of art, remaining in the pyramids, ſhekels, and other remains of Eaſtern and Weſtern antiquity; that, from the concurrent evidence of theſe aged witneſſes, I might be enabled to give this my verdict, which is now brought in before you.’ We have no account any where of the Annotations, for the furtherance of which this diſcourſe was written; but, from the friendſhip between their authors, and ſome other circumſtances, I am inclined to think they were the Commentaries of Dr Patrick, Biſhop of Ely (6). In another part of his Dedication, our author obſerves to his patron, that nothing pleaſed him better, or gave him greater comfort in the proſecution of the difficult taſk he had undertaken, than that it related not to any quarrelſome intereſt, but the peaceable doctrine of meaſures and weights, which in their general nature are the common concern of all mankind, as being the neceſſary inſtruments of juſt dealing and fair commerce between all nations. He mentions alſo his own induſtry in avoiding all appearance of contention, which had lead him ſo far as not to name the known diverſities of opinion amongſt men about this matter. All this, however, did not ſecure him from contradiction, for a certain writer attacked him, though without naming him (7), and our author wrote ſome ſheets to juſtify his calculations; but his affection for peace was ſo great, that after all he laid them aſide, and left his book to ſhift for itſelf, which it has done very well. A celebrated Journaliſt has given a very large extract of this work (8), which ſhews how much he eſteemed it; as, on the other hand, that certainly does our author great honour, ſince, beſides his being a very bold and free Critick, there was hardly any ſubject with which he was more thoroughly acquainted.

[*D*] *Only becauſe he was fitteſt for it.*] What has been delivered in the text upon this ſubject is founded upon the authority, and expreſſed in the very words, of the Reverend Mr Payne, a very competent and unſuſpected witneſs to the truth of the facts which he has preſerved, and which, but for his duty and gratitude, might have been loſt to poſterity. But notwithſtanding the circumſtances which relate to Biſhop Cumberland reſt upon his teſtimony ſolely, yet, as to his promotion in general, a certain Prelate, well acquainted with the politicks of thoſe times, has given us a large account, which it may be the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee. The Biſhop of Ely's (Dr Turner's) Letters to St Germains (9), ſays he, ‘gave ſo fair an occaſion of filling thoſe Sees (whoſe Biſhops would not take the oaths) at this time that the King reſolved to lay hold on it; and Tillotſon, with great uneaſineſs to himſelf, ſubmitted to the King's command: and ſoon after the See of York falling void, Dr Sharp was promoted to it, ſo that thoſe two Sees were filled with the two beſt preachers that had ſat in them in our time; only Sharp did not know the world ſo well, and was not ſo ſteady as Tillotſon was. Dr Patrick was advanced to Ely, Dr More was made Biſhop of Norwich, Dr Cumberland was made Biſhop of Peterborough, Dr Fowler was made Biſhop of Glouceſter, Ironſide was promoted to Hereford, Grove to Chicheſter, and Hall to Briſtol, as Hough (the Preſident of Magdalen's) was the year before this made Biſhop of Oxford; ſo that in two years time the King had named fifteen Biſhops, and they were generally looked on as the learnedeſt, the wiſeſt, and the beſt men, that were in the Church. It was viſible, that in all theſe nominations, and the filling the inferior dignities that became void by their promotion, no ambition nor Court favour had appeared; men were not ſcrambling for preferment, nor uſing arts, or employing friends, to ſet them forward; on the contrary, men were ſought for, and brought out of their retirements, and moſt of them very much againſt their own inclinations. They were men both of moderate principles, and of calm tempers. This great promotion was ſuch a diſcovery of the King and Queen's deſigns, with relation to the Church, that it ſerved much to remove the jealouſies, that ſome other ſteps the King had made were beginning to raiſe in the Whigs, and very much ſoftened the ill humour that was ſpread among them.’

(6) Whoſe ſentiments he mentions and defends in his poſthumous works, in ſeveral places.

(7) Bernard de Menſuris & ponderibus Antiquis. Oxon. 1688. 8vo.

(8) Le Clerc, Bibliotheque Univerſelle & Hiſtorique, Tom. V. p. 149—192.

(9) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. II. p. 76.

[*E*] An

his mind, that all under him ſhould do their duty, were very earneſt and ſincere. His compoſition had no alloy of vain glory. He never did any thing to court applauſe, or gain the praiſe of men. He never acted a part, never put on a maſk. His tongue and heart always went together. If he ran into any extream, it was the exceſs of humility, the ſafeſt ſide for every Chriſtian to err on. He lived with the ſimplicity and plainneſs of a primitive Biſhop, converſed and looked like a private man, hardly maintaining, as the world calls it, the dignity of his character. He was not one that loved to have the pre-eminence, and he contended with nobody for prerogative and precedence. He uſed hoſpitality without grudging: no man's houſe was more open to his friends, and the eaſe and freedom with which they always found themſelves entertained, was peculiar to it. The poor had ſubſtantial relief at his door, and his neighbours and acquaintance a hearty welcome to his table, after the plentiful and plain manner in which he lived. Every thing in his houſe ſerved for friendly entertainment, nothing for luxury or pomp. His deſire was to make every body eaſy, and to do them good. He diſpenſed with a liberal hand to the neceſſities of others, though his contented mind made him require little for his own. His kindneſs to his relations and acquaintance that wanted it, the ſums he parted with to ſuch as were indigent, are deeds not proper to be proclaimed. Half ſuch ſums, diſtributed with oſtentation by thoſe who deſire to have glory of men, would have gained the fame of great liberality and generoſity. In theſe caſes he truly obſerved our Saviour's precepts, to do his alms in ſecret, and even *not to let his left-hand know what his right-hand did*. His ſpeeches to the Clergy at his viſitations, and his exhortations to the Catechumens before his confirmations, though they had not the embelliſhments of oratory, yet they were fervent expreſſions of the inward deſires of his ſoul to do what good he was able, and to excite others to be influenced by it; the pious breathings of a plain and good mind. On all occaſions he treated his Clergy with ſingular regard and indulgence. An expreſſion, that often came from him, was, *I love always to make my Clergy eaſy*. This was his rule on all applications made to him by them, and if he err'd, it was always on this ſide. When the duties of his office required it, he never ſpared himſelf. To the laſt month of his life it was impoſſible to diſſwade him from undertaking fatigues, that every body about him feared were ſuperior to his ſtrength. He was inflexible to their intreaties, and his anſwer and reſolution was, *I will do my duty as long as I can* (y). He had acted by a maxim like this in his vigour. When his friends repreſented to him, that, by his ſtudies and labours, he would injure his health, his uſual reply was, *A man had better wear out than ruſt out*. The laſt time he viſited his dioceſe, he was in the eightieth year of his age; it was apprehended that he could not but ſuffer through the fatigues of it, though it pleaſed God he had no inconvenience from it. At his next triennial, when he was in the eighty-third year of his age, it was with the laſt difficulty that he could be diſſwaded from undertaking again the viſitation of his dioceſe. To draw the Clergy nearer than the uſual decanal meetings, to make his viſitations eaſier to himſelf, was a thing he would not hear of. He would never take a burthen from his own ſhoulders to lay it on other peoples (z). Such were the publick acts of this great Prelate, in the diſcharge of his duty as a Father of the Church; in reſpect to his temporal concerns, and his management of the revenue ariſing from his ſee, an account will be found in the notes [*E*]. His natural

(y) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſtory, p. 14.

(z) Ibid. p. 15.

[*E*] *An account will be found in the notes*.] Every body concerned with him, ſays the ingenious Mr Payne (10), ‘ felt the advantage of his benevolence and goodneſs of his temper. He had a paternal eſtate, the leſſees of which found him a landlord kind indeed. He never raiſed his rents, or hardly changed a tenant; they grew old in his farms, and were afterward ſucceeded by their children. Such was he alſo to them that held under him, as he was a Biſhop, good natured I am almoſt tempted to ſay to a fault. They were ſure to find no preſſure from him. the point in queſtion always was, his preſerving the juſt rights of his See. If he could be prevailed on to raiſe a fine, where the reaſon and equity of it was moſt apparent, it was always with great difficulty, and never his own voluntary act. In renewing ſome of his leaſes he ſhewed great inſtances of kindneſs and compaſſion, I wiſh they who received the obligation were ſenſible enough of it: For indeed, tenants under Biſhops are generally a thankleſs ſort of men; they conſider not the eſtate they hold as another man's, but look upon it as their own, and part grudgingly with what goes out of it, as a hardſhip on themſelves. As the great Chriſtian graces in which he excelled were humility and meekneſs, and theſe concurring with a ſedentary and ſtudious habit, it is not to be expected that there ſhould be in the ſame man any great degree of warmth and activeneſs. God almighty gives not perfection to any man in this mortal ſtate.’ As to his modeſty, condeſcention, and good nature in private life, he obſerves (11), ——— ‘ Learned men often love and affect to be ſilent. His Lordſhip was ſo humble, that he thought nobody too low to be converſed with; and ſo benevolent, that he was willing every body that came near him ſhould partake of his knowledge. As he was the moſt learned, ſo he was the moſt communicative man I ever knew. No converſation pleaſed him ſo well as what turned upon ſome point of learning. The firſt experience I had of this, continues Mr Payne, was while I was under-graduate in the univerſity, ſoon after his Lordſhip's promotion. I was then ſtudying ſome parts of the Mathematical ſciences. He did me the honour to talk with me on thoſe ſubjects. It ſtruck me with ſuprize to ſee ſo much condeſcention, familiarity of converſation, and love, to inform a young man, in a perſon of his learning, age, and ſtation. The years I ſince have ſpent in greater freedom with him, have been the happy part of my life; a bleſſing that by me can never be ſufficiently valued. He was my oracle to conſult on any author, or whatever ſubject I read. Whatever was difficult I was ſure to have reſolved by him. He was unacquainted with nothing I could aſk him, even in ſmall matters, in low authors, which it might be expected, by a man whoſe mind was taken up with ſo much higher ſpeculations, ſhould have been paſſed over unheeded. ——— His ſoul was through his whole life in a conſtant calm and ſerenity, hardly ever ruffled with any paſſion. Having thus a mind friendly to his body, and being

(10) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſt. p. 18.

(11) Idem, ibid. p. 22.

natural parts were not quick, but ſtrong and retentive. He was a perfect maſter of every ſubject he ſtudied. Every thing he read ſtaid with him. The ideas in many mens minds are too like the impreſſions made in ſoft wax, they never are diſtinct and clear, and are ſoon effaced: in his mind they were like impreſſions cut in ſteel, they took ſome time in forming, but they were clear, diſtinct, and durable (*a*). The things he had chiefly ſtudied were ſearches into the moſt antient times, Mathematicks in all it's parts, and the Scripture in it's original languages: theſe were the great works of his life, but he had, by the bye, diverted into almoſt all other ſtudies. He was thoroughly acquainted with all the branches of Philoſophy; he had good judgment in Phyſick, knew every thing that was curious in Anatomy, had an intimacy with the Claſſicks. Indeed he was a ſtranger to no part of learning, but every ſubject he had occaſion to talk of he was as much a maſter of it, as if the direction of his ſtudies had chiefly lain that way. He was thoroughly converſant in Scripture, and had laid up that treaſure in his mind. No hard paſſage ever occurred, either occaſionally or in reading, but he could readily give the meaning of it, and the ſeveral interpretations, without needing to conſult his books (*b*). He ſometimes had thoughts of writing an expoſition of the Epiſtles to the Romans and Galatians. It was a misfortune to the world, that he wanted that ſpur ſo neceſſary to excite men to action, the deſire of praiſe. It is believed, that, if he had proceeded in this deſign, he would have ſet the doctrine of Juſtification in a light very different from that in which it has been hitherto conſidered by moſt Divines. But the great buſineſs of his life was the examination of SANCHONIATHO's *Phœnician Hiſtory*, about which the greateſt men had been moſt miſtaken, and in relation to which none had entered into ſo ſtrict an examination as our learned Prelate thought it deſerved (*c*). He ſpent many years in theſe ſpeculations; for he began to write ſeveral years before the Revolution, and he continued improving his deſign down to 1702. It may be juſtly wondered, that, after taking ſo much pains, and carrying a work of ſuch difficulty to ſo high a degree of perfection, he ſhould never judge it expedient to publiſh it; for, though his Bookſeller refuſed to print the firſt part, at a critical ſeaſon, yet afterwards both might have ſeen the light; and for this the moſt probable reaſon that can be aſſigned is, that thorough diſlike he had to controverſy. His ſon-in-law however, the Reverend Mr Payne, has done juſtice to his memory, and publiſhed that work, which, by all competent judges, has been received with the utmoſt eſteem and reſpect (*d*) [*F*]. After he had once engaged his thoughts upon this ſubject, freſh matter was continually riſing, for the diſtribution of which into a proper method, ſo as to render a very perplexed ſubject intelligible, he found himſelf under the neceſſity of undertaking a yet more extenſive work than the former, in which

(*a*) Theſe facts are rendered highly probable, if not inconteſtably proved by his writings.

(*b*) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſt. p. 21, 22.

(*c*) This fully appears from our Prelate's whole work, but more eſpecially from his Review of the Coſmogony and Hiſtory.

(*d*) Printed at Lond. 1720. 8vo.

‘ exactly regular and temperate in his way of living, he attained to a good old age with perfect ſoundneſs of mind and body. He was not afflicted with, or ſubject to, any ailing or diſtemper; never complained that he was ill or out of order, came almoſt conſtantly from his chamber in a morning with a ſmile in his countenance (12).’ Such great, and ſuch amiable qualities as theſe, more eſpecially when they are teſtified to the world by evidence that cannot be ſuſpected, much leſs diſbelieved, do honour, not only to our Church and nation, but to human nature, and may be the more freely inſiſted upon when they do occur, becauſe ſuch as are beſt acquainted with mankind know well, that they occur but very rarely.

[*F*] *With the utmoſt eſteem and reſpect.*] The title of this work at large will give the reader ſome notion of it's contents. It runs thus: ‘ SANCHONIATHO's *Phœnician Hiſtory*, tranſlated from the firſt book of Euſebius *de Preparatione Evangelica*. With a Continuation of Sanchoniatho's Hiſtory by Eratoſthenes Cyrenenſis Canon, which Dicæarchus connects with the firſt Olympiad. Theſe authors are illuſtrated with many Hiſtorical and Chronological Remarks, proving them to contain a Series of Phœnician and Egyptian Chronology, from the firſt man to the firſt Olympiad, agreable to the Scripture accounts. By the Right Reverend R Cumberland, D. D. late Biſhop of Peterborough With a Preface, giving a brief account of the Life, Character, and Writings, of the Author. By S. Payne, M. A Rector of Barnack in Northamptonſhire, his Lordſhip's domeſtick Chaplain (23)’ Mr Payne obſerves, that our author had a quicker ſenſe than many other men of the advances Popery was making upon us, and was affected with the apprehenſion of it to the laſt degree. This made him turn his thoughts to the enquiry, by what ſteps and methods idolatry got ground in the world. The oldeſt account of this he believed he found in Sanchoniatho's fragment. This he ſaw was a profeſſed apology for idolatry, and owned openly what other Heathens would have made a ſecret of, that the gods of the Gentile world had been all mortal men. He ſtudied this fragment with no other view, than as it led to the diſcovery of the original of idolatry. He ſpent ſome time upon it, before ever he had a thought of extracting from it footſteps of the Hiſtory of the world preceding the flood While other Divines of the Church of England were engaged in the controverſy with the Papiſts, in which they gained over them ſo compleat a victory, our author was endeavouring to ſtrike at the root of their idolatrous religion (14). Such are the ſentiments of this gentleman concerning our Prelate's work, which is in truth full of the moſt abſtruſe learning, and ſhews a ſagacity and penetration equally ſingular and admirable. Theſe fragments have exerciſed the talents of ſome of the ableſt ſcholars that foreign nations have produced, and ſeveral of theſe, being able to make nothing clear or conſiſtent out of them, incline to think they were forgeries, and conſequently not worthy of notice. Our Prelate was not only of a different ſentiment, but, with great knowledge and great labour, has made it very evident that theſe fragments are genuine, and that he thoroughly underſtood them. He has proved, that they contain the moſt antient ſyſtem of atheiſm and idolatry, that very ſyſtem which took place in Egypt, and was ſet up againſt the true religion contained in the writings of Moſes. It cannot be expected that we ſhould, in the compaſs of a note, enter into the plan of ſo large and ſo compact a performance, for our author was not a diffuſe writer, but expreſſed himſelf clearly in few words, and has brought into a very narrow compaſs, what an author, covetous of fame, would have extended into a very large volume. But this great man aimed only at truth, and though the diſcovery of it coſt him much time and pains, yet he was willing to conduct his reader to it by the ſhorteſt road poſſible. He ſaw indeed, that many uſeful deductions might be made from this diſcovery, and it was this that put him upon compoſing a ſecond volume, of which we ſhall ſpeak in the next note.

(12) Idem, ibid. p. 23.

(13) At London, 1720. 8vo.

(14) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſt. p. 17.

[*G*] *And*

which he made ſome progreſs in the ſpace of above twenty years, during which we are aſſured that it employed his thoughts. To this piece, when finiſhed, he propoſed to have given the title of *Origines Antiquiſſimæ* (e), which were tranſcribed in his life-time, and, by his direction, through the care of the ſame perſon, who, from a moſt laudable ſenſe of duty and gratitude, publiſhed the other work. This treatiſe alſo is now likewiſe in print, and juſtifies, in every reſpect, all that we have ſaid of this learned and venerable Prelate, upon the credit chiefly of the editor. This laſt piece is properly a ſupplement to the firſt, and equally valuable in every reſpect [*G*]. We have now done with his Hiſtory as a Father of the Church, and an ornament of the Republick of Letters; we will conclude with ſome account of his private life and diſpoſition when in the decline of his days, a ſeaſon in which the weakneſſes even of the greateſt men are frequent and excuſable. In him, however, there was no need of any apology of this ſort. His Lordſhip lived beyond what Horace called old age; but never were characters more unſuitable to any man, than thoſe beſtowed by that Poet on old men were to him; it is literally true, that he was, in every reſpect, the very reverſe of them. A perſon, who would have retired from every thing that was cenſorious, querulous, uneaſy, or diſquieting, muſt have gone into his company, and the room where he ſat. The eaſineſs and ſweetneſs of his temper was ſuch as is not to be deſcribed by words, nothing but converſation with him, and the experience of it, could give a man a juſt idea of it. This happy diſpoſition was become a habit to him, and continued to the laſt day of his life. His ſenſes and bodily ſtrength laſted better than could well be expected, in a man whoſe courſe of life had been ſtudious and ſedentary. Yet I, who converſed every day with him, ſays Mr Payne, thought that the faculties of his mind were leſs impaired than thoſe of his body (*f*). He remained a maſter of all the parts of learning he had ſtudied when he was young. He ever loved the Claſſicks, and, to the laſt week of his life, would quote them readily and appoſitely. When Dr Wilkins had publiſhed his Coptic Teſtament, he made a preſent of one of them to his Lordſhip, who ſat down to ſtudy this when he was paſt eighty-three. At this age he maſtered the language, and went through great part of this verſion, and would often give excellent hints and remarks as he proceeded in reading it. At length, in the autumn of the year 1718, he was ſtruck in an afternoon with a dead palſey, from which he could not be recovered (*g*). He had no previous notice of this at all, for he roſe in the morning rather better, and more vigorous, than uſual. He breathed his laſt in his palace at Peterborough on the ninth of October, in the ſame year, in the eighty-ſeventh year of his age. His corps was interred in his own Cathedral, where a plain tomb has been erected, with a modeſt inſcription, to his memory (*h*) [*H*]. The turn of his ſtudies did not at all conduce to make our Prelate eminent in his life-time. There were a great variety of books written againſt Hobbes, but, amongſt this crowd of refuters, each of their

books

[*G*] *And equally valuable in every reſpect.*] The title of this book was: ‘ *Origines Gentium antiquiſſimæ:* or, ‘ Attempts for diſcovering the times of the firſt ‘ planting of Nations; in ſeveral tracts. By the Right ‘ Reverend R. Cumberland, D. D. late Biſhop of Pe‘ terborough. Publiſhed from his Lordſhip's manu‘ nuſcript, by S Payne, M. A. Rector of Barnack in ‘ Northamptonſhire (15).’ This work conſiſts of the following tracts, 1. A Diſcourſe on Gen. xxxvi. concerning the ſettlement of Eſau's family from Mount Seir to Elparan, the antient ſeat of the Horites, and of the government of that land before and after their ſettlement; with an enquiry about the times thereof. 2. A diſcourſe on Deut. ii. 23. The Avims which dwelt in Hazarim, even unto Azzah, the Caphtorim, which came forth out of Caphtor, deſtroyed them, and dwelt in their ſtead. 3. Notes on the Synchroniſms of Canaan and Egypt. 4. Concerning the poſſibility of a ſufficient increaſe of men, from the three ſons of Noah, to a number large enough to found all the nations mentioned in the oldeſt credible Hiſtories; and that, in the times aſſigned to their foundations, agreeably with the Hebrew accounts. With ſome ſuggeſtions about the diſperſion of men to plant in ſeveral parts of the earth, particularly the building of Nineveh, the metropolis of the Aſſyrian monarchy. 5. An appendix to the preceding chapter, in an Eſſay towards the better ſtating of the interval between the founding of Nineveh and the fall of Sardanapalus, which broke from the antient Aſſyrian empire two monarchies: I. That of the Babylonians, beginning with Nabonaſſar. II. That of the Medes, begun in Dejoces, yet left to Tiglath Pilezer and his ſucceſſors, an Aſſyrian empire, which recovered good ſtrength, ſo as to conquer Syria, and to captivate the ten tribes of Iſrael. 6. Proofs from Scripture, and from Heathens, of the Aſſyrian empire before Nabonaſſar. 7. A Diſcourſe, endeavouring to connect the Greek and Roman Antiquities, with thoſe of the eldeſt Eaſtern monarchies in Aſia and Egypt, and, conſequently, with the diſperſion from Babel, which came near the great flood; in two chapters, 1. Concerning Greece, eſpecially the Pelaſgi. 2 Concerning Italy, particularly the Tyrrheni, or, as the elder Greeks call them, the Tyrſni; theſe, beſides the Egyptians, being colonies from the Aſſyrian empire, and the beginning of the Greek and Roman empires. 8. *Appendix de Cabiris, addenda Diſquiſitioni de Pelaſgi*, i. e. An Appendix as to the Cabiri, to which is added, a Diſquiſition concerning the Pelaſgi. 9. *Appendicula de Legibus quibus tenebantur Patriarchæ tam ante, quam poſt diluvium, uſque ad tempus quo ſolemnitur ſancitum eſt Fœdus Moſaicum, quod leges continet præcipuas quibus tenebatur populus Judaicus poſt Exodum ex Ægypto*; that is, ‘ A ſuccinct Diſſertation concerning ‘ the Laws obſerved by the Patriarchs, as well before ‘ as after the Flood, down to the ſolemn ſettlement of ‘ the Law of Moſes, more eſpecially thoſe under ‘ which the People of Iſrael lived after going out of ‘ Egypt.’ To pretend adding any farther explication of this work, would be a needleſs preſumption; ſince, to competent judges, this ſhort table of contents will prove more ſatisfactory, than any thing we could offer upon the ſubject; all therefore that we ſhall take the liberty to ſay more is only this, that notwithſtanding our Prelate treats of the moſt antient Hiſtory, it is in a manner entirely new; his learning, though deep and ſound, has nothing in it harſh or unpleaſant; and, amongſt other advantages to which this work may put in a juſt claim, there is in it this ſingularity, that, notwithſtanding all the points treated therein are remarkably perplexed, the author has handled them with the utmoſt perſpicuity, made all of them plainer than they were, and many of them as plain as it is poſſible.

[*H*] *With a modeſt inſcription to his memory*] As this is very ſhort, we thought it would not be unacceptable

(e) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſt. p. 20, 21.

(f) Ibid. p. 24, 25.

(g) Kennet's Chron. p. 555.

(h) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. III. p. 510.

(15) At London, 1724, 8vo.

books was not conſidered as a refutation. On the contrary, Hobbes maintained his notions very well againſt moſt of them, not through the juſtice of his cauſe, or the ſuperiority of his underſtanding, but becauſe he underſtood his ground perfectly well, and, like a ſkilful fencer, kept that advantage, and made the moſt of it. But our author was not to be ſo treated; he conſidered the ground well before he engaged, diſcerned his antagoniſt's advantage, and drove him from it; but, as this was a hard and laborious taſk to himſelf, ſo his method of arguing was not to be underſtood but by cloſe application in his readers, ſo that it was a long while before the merit of his performance was fully known (*i*). At preſent, indeed, his reputation is very great at home, and much greater abroad; for foreign writers, of all nations, have been very ready to do him juſtice, and to ſpeak of him with the praiſes he deſerves [*I*].

ble to the reader, that it found a place with a tranſlation in the notes (16).

Juxta jacet doctiſſimus ſanctiſſimuſque præſul Richardus Cumberland, hujus Civitatis Epiſcopus, qui cum Eccleſiæ & Republicæ diu & feliciter invigilaverat migratus ad aliam quam ſolam quærebat Civitatem, Honorum & Dierum ſatur, obdormivit in Domino Anno Chriſti 1718, ætatis 86.

Macte, malæ fraudis Domitor Defenſor Honeſti
Legum Naturæ Juſtititiæque Pugil:
O quantum debent quas læſerat Hobbius ambas
Recta ſimul Ratio Relligioque tibi!

Duport in *Hobbium* à *Cumberlandio* Confutatum.

In Engliſh thus:

Near this place lies interred, that moſt learned and holy Prelate, Richard Cumberland Biſhop of this city, who, when he had long and faithfully watched for the Church and State, was tranſlated to that other city, which alone he ſought; full of days and of honour he ſlept in the Lord, in the year of Chriſt 1718, *of his age* 86.

Proceed foul error's ſcourge, and friend to right,
Champion of Nature's laws, and Juſtice too;
How much! the aſſaſſin Hobbes now put to flight,
To thy ſharp pen, do faith and reaſon owe?

From *Duport*'s poem upon the confutation of Hobbes by Cumberland.

Underneath two books, with theſe words engraven on the leaves:

Biblia Sacra. The Holy Bible.
Legibus Naturæ. Of the Laws of Nature.

[*I*] *With the praiſes he deſerves.*] We find the Life of our Prelate very exactly written from his ſon-in-law Mr Payne's Memoirs, by Father Niceron (17), who commends highly his book againſt Hobbes. The learned Morhoff mentions that work of his twice (18), and tells us, that in his judgment it was written with great labour and no leſs diligence; and obſerves farther, that he goes to the bottom in detecting the falſe reaſoning of Mr Hobbes. Another German author, who has written expreſsly upon the ſame ſubject, gives a great character of our author's book (19); and the learned Stollius gives likewiſe a fair character, and a very good account, of our author and his writings (20). His ſentiments, with regard to Sanchoniatho's Hiſtory, are greatly applauded by a gentleman (21) who had ſtudied theſe matters with much care, and who, it is very certain, was far enough from being diſpoſed to commend others without reaſon. It does not appear, that hitherto his Poſthumous Works have been tranſlated into Latin, or into any modern language; whenever that ſhall happen, the fame of Dr Cumberland will extend much farther than it has done hitherto, for whether his particular opinions be approved or not, it is impoſſible that his extenſive learning, his profound ſagacity, and his perfect acquaintance with the beſt authors of antiquity, ſhould not procure him juſt reverence and eſteem. E

(*i*) See the Rev. Mr Maxwell's Preface to his tranſlation of our author's works, as alſo Dr Hezekiah Burton's Short Diſcourſe prefixed to the original.

(16) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, p. 510.

(17) Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire des hommes illuſtres, Tom. V. p. 328.

(18) Danielis Morhoffii Polyhiſtor. II, 1, 15, 15.—III. 6, 1, 4.

(19) Thomaſii Hiſt. p. 84.

(20) Introduct. Hiſt. Litterariam, p. 762, 763.

(21) Fourmont Reflexions Critiques ſur les Hiſtoires des anciens peuples, &c.

D.

DANIEL (SAMUEL), an eminent Poet and Hiſtorian [*A*], in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I, was ſon of a Muſick-maſter, and born near Taunton in Somerſetſhire (*a*), in the year 1562. In 1579 (*b*), he was admitted a Commoner of Magdalen-Hall in Oxford; where he continued about three years, and, by the help of an excellent Tutor, made a conſiderable improvement in academical learning. But his genius inclining him more to ſtudies of a ſofter and gayer nature, he left the Univerſity without a degree, and applied himſelf to Engliſh Hiſtory and

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies of England. Somerſ. p. 28.

(*b*) Langbaine, ubi infra, ſays, in 1581.

[*A*] *An eminent Poet and Hiſtorian.*] Mr Daniel's Poetical Works, conſiſting of Dramatic and other [illegible] are as follows. I. *The Complaint of Roſamond.* [illegible] 1594, 1598, 1611, and 1623, in 4to. II. *A* [illegible] *from Octavia to Marcus Antonius.* London, [illegible] (1). Theſe two pieces reſemble each [illegible] the ſubject and ſtile, being written in the [illegible] ner, with great tenderneſs and variety of [illegible] meaſure is ſtanzas of ſeven lines, of [illegible] the following ſpecimen, where he makes [illegible] ſpeak of Beauty in as expreſſive a manner as [illegible] can reach.

> [illegible] Beauty, Syren, fair enchanting good,
> Sweet ſilent rhet'rick of perſuading eyes;
> Dumb eloquence, whoſe pow'r doth move the blood,
> More than the words or wiſdom of the wiſe;
> Still harmony, whoſe diapaſon lies
> Within a brow; the key, which paſſions move,
> To raviſh ſenſe, and play a world in love (2).

III. *Hymen's Triumph: A Paſtoral Tragi-Comedy. Preſented at the Queen's Court in the Strand, at her Majeſty's magnificent entertainment of the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, being at the nuptials of the Lord Roxborough.* London, 1623, 4to. ſecond edition (3). It is dedicated by a copy of verſes *To the moſt excellent Majeſty of the higheſt born Princeſs, Anne of Denmark, Queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland.* It is introduced by a pretty contrived Prologue, by way of dialogue, in which *Hymen* is oppoſed by *Avarice, Envy*, and *Jealouſy*, the diſturbers of quiet marriage. In this piece, our author ſometimes touches the paſſions with a very delicate hand. IV. *The Queen's Arcadia: A Paſtoral Tragi Comedy. Preſented to her Majeſty and her Ladies, by the Univerſity of Oxford, in Auguſt*, 1605. London, 1623, 4to (4). It is dedicated by a copy of verſes *To the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty.* V. *The Viſion of the Twelve Goddeſſes, preſented in a Maſk, the eighth of January, at Hampton-Court, by the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty and her Ladies.* London, 1604, 8vo, and 1623, 4to. Some copies have it, *The Wiſdom of the Twelve Goddeſſes*, &c (5). It is dedicated to the Right Honourable the Lady Lucy, Counteſs of Bedford. It had been printed without the author's leave, and ſo imperfectly, that, to prevent the prejudice it might ſuffer thereby, he publiſhed it from his own copy. His deſign, under the ſhapes, and in the perſons of twelve goddeſſes, was, to ſhadow out the bleſſings, which the nation enjoyed under the peaceful reign of King James I. By *Juno* was repreſented *Power*; by *Pallas, Wiſdom* and *Defence*; by *Venus, Love* and *Amity*; by *Veſta, Religion*; by *Diana, Chaſtity*; by *Proſerpine, Riches*; by *Macaria, Felicity*; by *Concordia*, the *Union* of *Hearts*; by *Aſtræa, Juſtice*; by *Flora*, the *Beauties* of the *Earth*; by *Ceres, Plenty*; and by *Tethys, Naval Power*. All theſe allegorical perſonages were properly attired, and offered up the ſeveral emblems of their power to the temple of *Peace*, erected upon four pillars, repreſenting the four Virtues, that ſupported a globe of the earth. 1. *Juno*, in a ſky-coloured mantle, embroidered with gold, and figured with peacocks feathers, wearing a crown of gold on her head, preſents a ſceptre. 2. *Pallas* (which was the perſon her Majeſty choſe to repreſent) was attired in a blue mantle, with a ſilver embroidery of all weapons and engines of war, with an helmet on her head; and preſents a launce and target. 3. *Venus*, in a mantle of dove-colour, and ſilver embroidered doves, preſented (inſtead of her *Ceſtus*, the Girdle of Amity) a ſcarf of divers colours. 4. *Veſta*, in a white mantle embroidered with gold flames, and dreſſed like a Nun, preſented a burning lamp in one hand, and a book in the other. 5. *Diana*, in a green mantle embroidered with ſilver half-moons, and a creſcent of pearl on her head, preſents a bow and a quiver. 6. *Proſerpine*, in a black mantle embroidered with gold flames, with a crown of gold on her head, preſents a mine of gold ore. 7. *Macaria*, the Goddeſs of Felicity, in a mantle of purple and ſilver, embroidered with the figures of Plenty and Wiſdom (which concur to the making of true happineſs) preſents a *Caduceus* with the figure of Abundance. 8. *Concordia*, in a party-coloured mantle of crimſon and white (the colours of England and Scotland joined) embroidered with ſilver hands in hand, with a head-dreſs likewiſe of party-coloured roſes, preſents a branch thereof in a wreath or knot. 9. *Aſtræa*, in a mantle of crimſon embroidered with ſilver, figuring the ſword and balance (the emblems of Juſtice) which ſhe preſented. 10. *Flora*, in a mantle of divers colours, embroidered with all ſorts of flowers, preſents a pot of flowers. 11. *Ceres*, in a ſtraw-colour and ſilver embroidery, with ears of corn, and a head dreſs of the ſame, preſents a ſickle. 12. *Tethys*, in a ſea-green mantle, with a ſilver embroidery of waves, and a head-dreſs of reeds, preſents a trident (6). VI. *The Tragedy of Cleopatra.* Lond. 1594 and 1598, 4to (7). It is dedicated by a copy of a verſes *To the Right Honourable the Lady Mary, Counteſs of Pembroke.* VII. *The Tragedy of Philotas.* London, 1611, &c. 8vo (8). It is dedicated by a copy of verſes *To the Prince*, afterwards King Charles I. This play met with ſome enemies, not on the ſcore of the wit, or conduct of the deſign; but becauſe it was reported, that the character of *Philotas* was drawn for the unfortunate Earl of Eſſex; which obliged the author to vindicate himſelf from this

(2) Poetical Works of Mr S. Daniel. Lond. 17[illegible] 8vo. Vol. I. p. 41.

(3) Wood, ibid.

(4) Wood, ibid.

(5) Ib. ibid.

(6) Poetical Works, &c. Vol. I. p 228, &c.

(7) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(8) Ibid.

and Poetry (*c*), under the encouragement and patronage of the Earl of Pembroke's family

this charge in an *Apology*, printed at the end of the play. Both this play, and that of *Cleopatra*, are written after the manner of the antients, with a chorus between each act; and were much eſteemed in their time. VIII. *The Hiſtory of the Civil Wars between the Houſes of York and Lancaſter*. A Poem in eight books. London, 1604, 8vo, and 1623, 4to. with his picture before it (9). It is dedicated *To the High and moſt Illuſtrious Prince Charles His Excellence*. The introduction to this Poem is plainly an imitation of the beginning of *Lucan's Pharſalia*.

I ſing the Civil Wars, tumultuous broils,
And bloody factions of a mighty land;
Whoſe people, haughty, proud with foreign ſpoils,
Upon themſelves turn back their conqu'ring hand;
Whilſt kin their kin, brother the brother foils;
Like enſigns all againſt like enſigns band;
Bows againſt bows, the crown againſt the crown;
Whilſt all pretending right, all right's thrown down.

What fury, O! what madneſs held thee ſo,
Dear England, too, too prodigal of blood,
To waſte ſo much, and war without a foe;
Whilſt France, to ſee thy ſpoils, at pleaſure ſtood!
How much might'ſt thou have purchas'd with leſs woe,
T' have done thee honour, and thy people good?
Thine might have been whatever lies between
The *Alps* and us, the *Pyrenees* and *Rhene* (10).

IX. *A Funeral Poem upon the Death of the late Earl of Devonſhire*. London, 1623, 4to. X. *A Panegyrick Congratulatory, delivered to the King's moſt excellent Majeſty at Burleigh-Harrington in Rutlandſhire*. London, 1604 and 1623, 4to. XI. *Epiſtles to various great Perſonages in Verſe*. London, 1601 and 1623, 4to (11). XII. *The Paſſion of a diſtreſſed Man, who being in a Tempeſt on the Sea, and having in his Boat two Women (of whom he loved the one, that diſdained him; and ſcorned the other, who affected him) was by Commandment from Neptune to caſt out one of them, to appeaſe the Rage of the Tempeſt; but which, was referred to his own choice* (12). If the reader is curious to know the determination of this man's choice, it is ſummed up in the concluding line of the Poem;

She muſt be caſt away, that wou'd not ſave.

XIII. *Muſophilus, containing a general Defence of Learning*. Printed with the *Epiſtles*, &c (13). It is addreſſed *To the Right worthy and judicious Favourer of Virtue, Mr Fulke Grevil*. XIV. *Various Sonnets to Delia* (14). They are fifty-ſeven in number. XV. *An Ode*. XVI. *A Paſtoral*. XVII. *A Deſcription of Beauty, tranſlated out of* Marino. XVIII. *To the Angel Spirit of the moſt excellent Sir Philip Sydney*. XIX. *To the Right Reverend Father in God James Montague, Biſhop of Wincheſter* (15). *A Defence of Rhime*. Lond. 1611, 8vo (16). The title, at length, is; *A Defence of Rhime, againſt a Pamphlet, intituled, Obſervations on the Art of Engliſh Poeſy: wherein is demonſtratively proved, that Rhime is the fitteſt Harmony of Words, that comports with our Language*. It is dedicated *To all the worthy Lovers and learned Profeſſors of Rhime within his Majeſty's Dominions*; and it is addreſſed to his patron, *William Herbert Earl of Pembroke*. This piece is in proſe. All theſe pieces are publiſhed together, in two volumes, 12mo, under the title of *The Poetical Works of Mr Samuel Daniel, author of the Engliſh Hiſtory*. London, 1718. We muſt not omit the praiſes beſtowed on Mr Daniel, as a Poet, by contemporary writers; one of whom, in a copy of verſes on the *Time Poets* (17), ſtiles him

The pithy *Daniel*, whoſe ſalt lines afford
A weighty ſentence in each little word.

Another author, in a copy called *A Cenſure of the Poets* (18), ſpeaks of him thus:

Amongſt theſe *Samuel Daniel*, whom I
May ſpeak of, but to cenſure do deny:
Only have hear'd ſome wiſe men him rehearſe
To be too much Hiſtorian in verſe.
His rhimes were ſmooth, his metres well did cloſe;
But yet his matters better fitted proſe.

His good friend Mr Charles Fitz-Geoffry wrote the following Latin epigram in his praiſe (19):

Spenſerum ſi quis noſtrum velit eſſe *Maronem*,
  Tu, *Daniele*, mihi *Naſo* Britannus eris.
Sin illum potius *Phœbum* velit eſſe Britannum,
  Tum, *Daniele*, mihi tu *Maro* noſter eris.
Nil Phœbo ulterius; ſi quid foret, illud haberet
  Spenſerus, *Phœbus* tu, *Daniele*, fores.
Quippe loqui Phœbus cuperet ſi more Britanno,
  Haud ſcio quo poterat, ni velit ore ſuo.

If Spenſer merits Roman Virgil's name,
Daniel, at leaſt, comes in for Ovid's fame.
If Spenſer rather claims Apollo's wit,
Virgil's illuſtrious name will Daniel fit.
No higher than Apollo we can go:
But, if a loftier title you can ſhow,
That greater name let Spenſer's Muſe command,
And Daniel be the Phœbus of our land.
For, in my judgment, if the god of verſe
In Engliſh wou'd heroic deeds rehearſe,
No language ſo expreſſive he cou'd chuſe,
As that of Engliſh Daniel's lofty Muſe.

We come now to conſider Mr Daniel as an *Hiſtorian*, in which capacity he wrote: *The Firſt Part of the Hiſtory of England, in three Books*. London, 1613, 4to, reaching to the end of King Stephen. To which he afterwards added a *Second Part*, reaching to the end of King Edward III. London, 1618, 1621, 1623, and 1634. This Hiſtory was continued to the end of King Richard III, by John Truſſel, a Trader and Alderman of the city of Wincheſter (20). Of Mr Daniel's Hiſtory a certain writer (21) gives this character: 'It is written with great brevity and politeneſs; and his political and moral Reflections are very 'fine, uſeful, and inſtructive.' Mr Langbaine takes it to be the *Crown* of all our author's *Works* (22); and Dr Fuller tells us (23), 'he was a judicious Hiſtorian; 'witneſs his Lives of our Engliſh Kings, ſince the conqueſt, until King Edward the Third; wherein he 'hath the happineſs to reconcile brevity with clearneſs, qualities of great diſtance in other authors.' Dr Heylin (24), ſpeaking of the chief Hiſtorians of this nation, has theſe words: *And, to end the bead-roll, Half the ſtory of this realm done by Mr Daniel, of which I believe that, which himſelf ſaith of it in his Epiſtle to the reader, that there was never brought together more of the main.* To conclude the character of this performance, I ſhall tranſcribe what Dr Kennet ſays of it (25). 'Mr *Daniel*'s Hiſtory follows next, 'containing the reigns of William I and II, Henry I, 'King Stephen, Henry II, Richard I, King John, 'Henry III, Edward I, II, and III. The author had 'a place at Court in the reign of King James I, and 'ſeems to have taken all the refinement a Court could 'give him. It is ſaid, he had a good vein in Poetry, 'and it is certain he has ſhewn great judgment in keeping it, as he did, from infecting his proſe, and deſtroying that ſimplicity, which is a principal beauty in the 'ſtile of an Hiſtorian. His narration is ſmooth and 'clear, and carries every-where an air of good ſenſe 'and juſt eloquence; and his Engliſh is much more 'modern than *Milton*'s, though he lived before him. 'But Mr *Milton* choſe to write (if the expreſſion may 'be allowed) a hundred years backwards; whereas it 'is particularly to be admired how Mr *Daniel* could, 'ſo long ago, expreſs himſelf with the ſame purity 'and grace as our moſt ſenſible writers do now, though

'we

(*c*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 447.

(9) Ibid.

(10) Poetical Works, &c. Vol. II. p. 5, 6.

(11) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(12) Poetical Works, &c. Vol. II. p. 364.

(13) Wood, ib.

(14) Ibid.

(15) Poetical Works, &c. Vol. II. p. 418, &c.

(16) Wood, ib.

(17) See Choice Drollery, in 8vo. Lond. 1656. p. 6.

(18) See Sportive Wit, 8vo. p. 70.

(19) Vide Epig. in 8vo. Oxon. 1601.

(20) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(21) Bohun's Tranſlation of Whear's *Method. legendi Hiſtor.* p. 171.

(22) Account of the Dramatic Poets, p. 104.

(23) Worthies of England. Somerſ. p. 28.

(24) In the Preface to his Coſmography.

(25) In the Preface to his Compleat Hiſtory of England.

family [*B*]. Afterwards he became Tutor to the Lady Anne Clifford [*C*], and, upon the death of the famous Spenſer, was appointed Poet-Laureat to Queen Elizabeth. In King James's reign, he was made Gentleman Extraordinary, and afterwards one of the Grooms of the Privy Chamber to the Queen-Conſort, who took great delight in his converſation and writings (*d*). He rented a ſmall houſe and garden in Old-ſtreet near London, where in private he compoſed moſt of his Dramatic Pieces (*e*). Towards the end of his life, he retired to a farm, which he had at Beckington near Philips-Norton in Somerſetſhire (*f*), where, after ſome time ſpent in the enjoyment of the Muſes and religious contemplation, he died, and was buried [*D*], in the year 1619 (*g*). He left no iſſue by his wife Juſtina, to whom he was married ſeveral years (*h*).

(*d*) Id. ibid.

(*e*) Langbaine's Account of the Dramatic Poets. Oxf. 1691. p. 100. and Winſtanley's Lives of the Poets. Lond. 1687. p. 111.

(*f*) Fuller, ubi ſupra, ſays, near the Devizes in Wiltſhire.

(*g*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 448.

(*h*) Fuller, ibid.

'we flatter ourſelves, that we have conſiderably improved the language.'

[*B*] —— *under the encouragement and patronage of the Earl of Pembroke's family*] This may be gathered from a hint in his *Defence of Rhime*, dedicated to William Herbert Earl of Pembroke. For, addreſſing himſelf to that Lord, he ſays (26): 'We are told, how 'that our meaſures go wrong, all rhiming is groſs, 'vulgar, barbarous; which if it be ſo, we have loſt 'much labour to no purpoſe; and for my own particular, I cannot but blame the fortune of the times, 'and my own genius, that caſt me upon ſo wrong a 'courſe, drawn with the current of cuſtom, and an 'unexamined example: Having been firſt encouraged 'and framed thereunto by your moſt worthy and honourable *Mother*, and received the firſt notion for the 'formal ordering of thoſe compoſitions at *Wilton*, 'which I muſt ever acknowledge to have been my beſt 'ſchool, and thereof always am to hold a feeling and 'grateful memory. Afterward, drawn farther on by 'the well-liking and approbation of my worthy *Lord*, 'the foſterer of me and my Muſe, I adventured to beſtow all my whole powers therein, perceiving it agreed ſo well, both with the complexion of the 'times, and my own conſtitution.'

(26) Poetical Works, &c. Vol. I. p. 6.

[*C*] *He was Tutor to the Lady Anne Clifford.*] This we learn from his epitaph (27). By the way it muſt be noted, that this Lady Anne, afterwards Counteſs of Pembroke, was the ſame perſon, who lived like a Princeſs, for many years after our author's death, in Weſtmorland; was a great lover and encourager of learning and learned men, hoſpitable, charitable to the poor, and of a moſt generous and public ſpirit. She died the 22d of March 1675, aged 87, and was buried under a ſtately monument in the church of Appleby in Weſtmorland (28).

(27) See the laſt Remark.

(28) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*D*] —— *was buried.*] On the wall over his grave is this inſcription (29): *Here lies, expecting the ſecond coming of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, the dead body of* Samuel Daniel, *Eſq; that excellent Poet and Hiſtorian, who was Tutor to the Lady* Anne Clifford *in her youth, ſhe that was daughter and heir to* George Clifford *Earl of* Cumberland; *who in gratitude to him erected this monument to his memory, a long time after, when ſhe was Counteſs-Dowager of* Pembroke, Dorſet, *and* Montgomery. *He died in* Octob. an. 1619. T

(29) Id. ibid.

DANVERS (HENRY) a brave warrior in the end of the ſixteenth, and beginning of the ſeventeenth century; and created Earl of Danby by King Charles I; was the ſecond ſon of Sir John Danvers, Knight [*A*], by Elizabeth his wife, daughter and coheir to John Nevil the laſt Lord Latimer (*a*). He was born at Danteſey in Wiltſhire, the 28th day of June, 1573. After an education ſuitable to his birth, he went and ſerved in the Low-country wars, under Maurice Count of Naſſau, afterwards Prince of Orange; and was engaged in many military actions of thoſe times, both by ſea and land. He was made a Captain in the wars of France, occaſioned in that kingdom by the League; and there knighted for his good ſervice under Henry IV. King of France. Next, he was employed in Ireland (*b*), as Lieutenant-General of the Horſe, and Serjeant-Major of the whole Army, under Robert Earl of Eſſex, and Charles Baron of Montjoy, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (*c*). Upon the acceſſion of King James I, he was, on account of his family's deſerts and ſufferings [*B*], advanced, the twenty-firſt of July, 1603, to the dignity of a Peer of this realm, by the title of Baron of Danteſey (*d*): And in 1605, by a ſpecial act of Parliament, reſtored in blood, as heir to his father, notwithſtanding the attainder of his elder brother, Sir Charles Danvers, Knight (*e*). Moreover, he was appointed Lord Preſident of Munſter in Ireland (*f*): and in 1620 made Governor of the Iſle of Guerneſey, for life (*g*). By King Charles I, he was created Earl of Danby (*h*), on February 5. $162\frac{5}{6}$; and made of his Privy-Council; and Knight of the Order of the Garter (*i*). Being himſelf a man of learning, as well as a great encourager of it; and obſerving that opportunities were wanting in the Univerſity of Oxford for the uſeful ſtudy of Botany, he purchaſed a piece of ground by the river Charwell, oppoſite to Magdalen-College; which he encompaſſed with a curious wall of ſquare poliſhed ſtone, and repleniſhed with a great variety of plants and herbs proper for the ſtudy of Phyſick and Botany [*C*]. He founded alſo an Alms-houſe, and a Free-ſchool, at Malmeſbury in Wiltſhire

(*a*) The Baronage of England, by Sir Will. Dugdale, Vol. II. p. 416. and Vol. I. p. 313.

(*b*) See *Pacata Hibernia*: Ireland appeaſed and reduced, &c. by T. Stafford. edit. 1633. fol. p. 199, 233. and Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. publiſhed by Edm. Sawyer, Eſq; in 1725. Vol. I. p. 370.

(*c*) Dugdale, ubi ſupra, Vol. II. p. 416, 417.

(*d*) Ibid. & Pat. 1. Jac. p. 14. The Danvers were deſcended from the ancient family of Danteſey. Camden's Britan. edit. 1722. col. 105.

(*e*) Dugdale, ibid. and Journ. of Parliament.

(*f*) Dugdale, ibid. p. 417.

(*g*) Pat. 18. Jac. p. 13.

(*h*) Pat. 1. Car. I. p. 7. Camden's Britan. col. 911.

(*i*) Dugdale, ut ſupra, p. 417.

[*A*] *Was the ſecond ſon of Sir John Danvers, Knt.*] That family was originally of *Anvers* or *Antuerp*, as their ſurname implies. The greateſt acceſſion to their honour and fortune (1), came by the marriage of Sir John Danvers with Elizabeth, the youngeſt daughter, and one of the co-heireſſes to John Lord Latimer: Whoſe three other daughters, were, Catherine, wife of Henry Earl of Northumberland; Dorothy, wife of Tho Cecill, the firſt Earl of Exeter; and Lucy, wife of Sir William Cornwallis, Knt (2). Sir Henry Danvers's elder brother, was Sir Charles Danvers, Knt, who adhering to Robert Earl of Eſſex, in his diſloyal deſigns againſt the Court, fell a ſacrifice to the Cecilian faction, and was attainted of high-treaſon, and beheaded in 1601 (3). The reader is to obſerve, that this family's ſurname is ſometimes written *Danvers*, and ſometimes *Davers* (4).

(1) See Camden's Britannia, edit. 1722. fol. col. 920.

(2) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 313.

(3) See Camden's Annals of Q. Elizabeth, under the year 1601.

(4) See Dugdale, and Camden, ibid. and Dugdale, Vol. II. p. 416, 417. and *Hibernia Pacata*, by T. Stafford, ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *On account of his family's deſerts and ſufferings.*] For, both the Earl of Eſſex, Sir Charles Danvers, and the reſt that then ſuffered, were thought to have fallen a ſacrifice to the King of Scots ſucceſſion; and the Earl of Eſſex was conſidered by King James I. as his martyr (5).

(5) See Rapin's Hiſt. of England; in the beginning of King James the Firſt's reign, or Vol. II. edit. 1733. fol. p. 159.

[*C*] *Proper for the ſtudy of Phyſick and Botany.*] In order to put this noble deſign in execution, he purchaſed for the ſum of two hundred and fifty pounds, *five acres* of ground, in the place mentioned above; which had formerly ſerved for a burying place to the Jews (reſiding in great numbers at Oxford, till they were expelled England by King Edward I, in 1290). His

right

ſhire (*k*). In his latter days he choſe a retired life; and (upon what account is not well known) fell under the diſpleaſure of the Court [*D*]. At length, he died at his houſe in Cornbury-Park in Oxfordſhire, January the 20th, 164$\frac{3}{4}$, in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age: and was buried in the Chancel of the Pariſh-church of Danteſey, under a noble monument of white marble, with an epitaph [*E*], which contains the beſt character that can be given of him. He was never married (*l*).

His younger brother and heir, was Sir *John Danvers*, Knight, one of the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber to King Charles I. who was ſo ungrateful and inhuman, as to ſit in judgment upon his gracious Maſter, that unfortunate Prince, and to be one of thoſe who ſigned the warrant for his execution. He died before the Reſtoration of King Charles II. but, however, all his eſtates both real and perſonal were confiſcated in 1661 (*m*). His character is given below [*F*].

right and title to that piece of land, he conveyed to the univerſity, on the 27th of March 1622. And the ground being firſt conſiderably raiſed, to prevent its being overflowed by the river Charwell; the Heads of the univerſity laid the firſt ſtones of the walls, on the 25th of July following. They were finiſhed in 1633, being fourteen foot high: and coſt the noble benefactor about five thouſand pounds. The entrance into the garden, is on the north ſide under a ſtately gate, the charge of building which amounted to between five and ſix hundred pounds. Upon the front of that gateway, is this Latin inſcription: *Gloriæ Dei Opt. Max. Honori Caroli Regis, in uſum Acad. et Reipub. Henricus Comes Danby, D. D.* MDCXXXII. i. e. ‘ To the Glory of God, and the Honour of King ‘ Charles, for the uſe of the Univerſity and the Kingdom, Henry Earl of Danby gives and dedicates [*this* ‘ *Garden*.’] For the maintenance of it, and of a Gardiner, the noble founder left, by Will, the impropriate rectory of Kirkdale in Yorkſhire: which was afterwards ſettled for the ſame purpoſe, by his brother and heir, Sir John Danvers, Knt. The Earl of Danby's Will bore date the 14th of December 1640 (6).

[*D*] *Fell under the diſpleaſure of the Court*] For, he was fined *five thouſand pounds* in the Star Chamber, for having felled timber in Wichwood-foreſt, without licence (7). Which was ſuch a ſevere puniſhment, as would not have been inflicted upon him, had he been in the good graces of the Court.

[*E*] *With an epitaph.*] Being as follows: ‘ *Henry* ‘ Earl of *Danby*, ſecond ſon to Sir *John Danvers*, ‘ Knight, and Dame *Elizabeth*, daughter and coheir ‘ to *John Nevil* Lord *Latimer*; born at *Dauntefey*, in ‘ the county of *Wiltſhire*, the 28th day of June, Ann. ‘ Dom 1573, and baptized in this church, the firſt of ‘ July following, being Sunday. He departed this life ‘ on the Twentieth day of January, Ann. Dom 1643, ‘ and lyeth here interred.

‘ He was partly bred up in the *Low-Country*-wars, ‘ under *Maurice* E. of *Naſſaw* (afterwards Prince of ‘ *Orange*) and in many other military actions of thoſe ‘ times both by ſea and land. He was made a Captain in the wars of *France*, and there knighted for his ‘ good ſervice, under *Henry* the Fourth, then *French* ‘ King. He was employed as Lieutenant-General of ‘ the Horſe, and Serjeant-Major of the whole army in ‘ *Ireland*, under *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, and *Charles* Baron of *Montjoy*, in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*.

‘ He was made Baron of *Dauntſey*, and Peer of this ‘ realm, by King *James* the Firſt; and by him made ‘ Lord Preſident of *Munſter*, and Governor of ‘ *Garneſey*.

‘ By King *Charles* the Firſt, he was created Earl of ‘ *Danby*; made of his Privy Council, and Knight of ‘ the moſt noble Order of the Garter. But, declining ‘ more active employments, in his later time (by reaſon of his imperfect health;) full of honour, wounds, ‘ and dayes, he died at his houſe, in *Cornbury Park*, ‘ in the county of *Oxford*, in the 71 year of his ‘ age (8).’

Laus Deo.

Sacred marble, ſafely keep
His duſt, who under thee muſt ſleep,
Untill the years again reſtore
Their dead, and time ſhall be no more.
Meane while, if he (which all things wears)
Does ruine thee; or if thy tears
Are ſhed for him: diſſolve thy frame,
Thou art requited: for his fame,
His vertue, and his worth, ſhall be
Another monument to thee.

G. Herbert.

[*F*] *His character is given below.*] From the Lord Clarendon (9), who delivers it in the following words: ‘ The other (10) was Sir John Danvers, ‘ the younger brother and heir of the Earl of Danby, ‘ who was a Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber to the ‘ King, and being neglected by his brother, and having, by a vain expence in his way of living, contracted a vaſt debt, which he knew not how to pay, ‘ and being a proud formal weak man, between being ‘ ſeduced and a ſeducer, became ſo far involved in ‘ their counſels, that he ſuffered himſelf to be applied ‘ to their worſt offices, taking it to be a high honour ‘ to ſit upon the ſame bench with Cromwell, who employed and contemned him at once: nor did that ‘ party of miſcreants, look upon any two men in the ‘ kingdom with that ſcorn and deteſtation as they did ‘ upon *Danvers* and Mildmay.’ C

(*k*) Camden's Britannia, ut ſupra, col. 105.

(*l*) Dugdale, Vol. II. p. 417.

(*m*) See Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. by Biſhop Kennet. Lond. fol. 1728. p. 156, 178, 490.

(6) A. Wood. Hiſtor. & Antiquitates Univ. Oxon. edit. 1674. lib. II. p. 45. See alſo the Preſent State of England, &c. by J. Chamberlayne. Part i. ch. 12.

(7) The Peerage of England, &c. by Ar. Collins, Vol. II. Part ii. edit. 1735. 8vo. p. 644.

(8) Dugdale, ubi ſupra, Vol. I. p. 417.

(9) The Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c. edit. 1731. 8vo. Part iii. Vol. I. p. 255, 256.

(10) He had been juſt before giving the character of Sir Henry Mildmay, another of the King's ſervants, and Judges.

DAVENANT (JOHN) Biſhop of Saliſbury in the ſeventeenth century, was born in Watling-ſtreet, London, where his father was an eminent Merchant, but originally deſcended from the antient family of the Davenants of Sible-Heningham in Eſſex (*a*) [*A*]. What ſchool he was educated in, we cannot find. But, on the fourth of July 1587, he was admitted Penſioner of Queen's College in Cambridge (*b*). He regularly took his degrees in Arts; that of Maſter in 1594 (*c*). A Fellowſhip was offered him about the ſame time, but his father would not permit him to accept of it on account of his plentiful fortune; however, after his father's deceaſe, he accepted of one (*d*), into which he was admitted September 2, 1597 (*e*). Being thus ſettled in the College, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, as he had already done before [*B*], by his learning and other excellent qualifications (*f*). In the year 1601 he took his degree of Bachelor of Divinity: and that of Doctor in 1609 (*g*). This ſame year laſt mentioned he was elected Lady Margaret's

[*A*] *Deſcended from the ancient family of the Davenants of Sible Heningham in Eſſex*] And of Davenant's-lands in that pariſh; where his father was born, and his anceſtors had continued in a worſhipful degree from Sir John Davenant, who lived in the time of King Henry the Third (1).

[*B*] *He diſtinguiſhed himſelf, as he had already done before.*] In his youthful exerciſes, he gave ſuch an earneſt of his future maturity, that Dr Whitacre hearing him diſpute, ſaid, ‘ That he would in time prove ‘ the honour of the Univerſity;’ a prediction that proved not untrue, as T. Fuller obſerves (2).

[*C*] *He*

(*a*) T. Fuller's Church Hiſt. edit. 1655. B. xi. p. 176.

(*b*) From the College Regiſter. It doth not appear by it that he was admitted a Fellow-Commoner, as T. Fuller affirms. Ibid.

(*c*) From the Univerſity Regiſter. The Regiſter-book, wherein his Bachelor of Arts degree was entered, is loſt.

(*d*) T. Fuller, ibid.

(*e*) College Regiſter.

(*f*) T. Fuller, ibid.

(*g*) Univerſity Regiſter.

(1) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(2) Ibid.

Margaret's Profeſſor, which place he enjoyed till 1621 (*b*). He was alſo one of her Preachers in 1609 and 1612. On the 20th of October 1614, he was admitted Maſter of his College, and continued in that ſtation till April 20, 1622 (*i*). And ſo conſiderable did he become, that he was one of thoſe eminent Engliſh Divines, ſent by King James I. to the Synod of Dort, in the year 1618 [*C*]. He returned to England in May 1619 (*k*), after having viſited the moſt eminent cities, and other remarkable places, in the Low-Countries (*l*). Upon the death of his brother-in-law Dr Robert Townſon, he was nominated Biſhop of Saliſbury; and was elected June 11, 1621, confirmed November 17. following, and conſecrated the 18th of the ſame month (*m*). He continued in favour during the remainder of King James the Firſt's reign; but in Lent 163$\frac{0}{1}$, he incurred the Court's diſpleaſure, for meddling (in a Sermon preached before the King at Whitehall) with the Predeſtinarian controverſy [*D*]: "all curious ſearch" into which, his Majeſty had ſtrictly injoined "to be laid aſide (*n*)." For this pretended contempt of the King's Declaration, he was not only reproved, the ſame day; but alſo ſummoned to anſwer, two days after, before the Privy-Council. And though he was diſmiſſed without further trouble, and even admitted to kiſs the King's hand [*E*], yet he was never afterwards in favour at Court (*o*). He died of a conſumption April 20. 1641 (*p*), to which a ſenſe of the ſorrowful times, that he ſaw were bad, and foreſaw would be worſe, did not a little contribute (*q*). Among other benefactions, he gave to Queen's College in Cambridge, the perpetual Advowſons of the Rectories of Cheverel Magna, and Newton Tony in Wiltſhire; and a Rent-charge of thirty-one pounds ten ſhillings *per annum*, for the founding of two Bible-Clerks, and buying books for the library, in the ſame College (*r*). We ſhall give an account of what he publiſhed in the note [*F*]. As to his character; He

(*b*) Catalogue of thoſe Profeſſors; before the Lady Margaret's Funeral Sermon, reprinted at London, 1709.

(*i*) College Regiſter.

(*k*) G. Camdeni regni Regis Jacobi I. Annal. Apparatus. Edit. 1691. 4to. p. 45. ad calcem ipſius Epiſtol.

(*l*) T. Fuller, ubi ſupra, Book x. p. 82.

(*m*) T. Fuller, ibid. p. 91. & J. Le Neve's Faſti Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, &c. edit. 1716. fol p. 261.

(*n*) In his Declaration prefixed to the XXXIX Articles, in 1628: which has frequently been reprinted at the head of them.

(*o*) Fuller, ubi ſupra, Book xi. p. 138, 139, 140.

(*p*) Godwin de Præſulibus, cum continuatione Cl. Vir. Gul. Richardſon. Cantab. 1743. fol. p. 358.

(*q*) Fuller, ibid. p. 176.

(*r*) From the information of the preſent worthy Maſter.

[*C*] *He was one of thoſe eminent Engliſh Divines, ſent by King James I, to the Synod of Dort, in the year* 1618.] The others were, George Carleton, D. D. then Biſhop of Landaff, and afterwards of Chicheſter; Joſeph Hall, D. D. then Dean of Worceſter, and afterwards Biſhop of Exeter and Norwich; and Samuel Ward, D. D. Maſter of Sidney-college, Camb. and Archdeacon of Taunton. [But the air not agreeing with Dr Hall, he obtained leave to return to England about Chriſtmas, and Thomas Goade, D. D was ſent in his room (3)] They embarked Octob. 17 (4), landed at Middleburgh the 20th; came to the Hague the 27th of the ſame month; and thence removed to Dort, where the Synod was opened November 3, O. S. and ended April 29 (5). They came back to England May 7 (6). During their ſtay in Holland, theſe four Divines had ten pounds a day allowed them by the States; and a preſent of two hundred pounds, at their departure, for their charges; beſides a golden medal, to each of them, whereon was repreſented the Synod ſitting (7).

[*D*] *For meddling (in a Sermon preached before the King at Whitehall) with the Predeſtinarian controverſy.*] As ſoon as his Sermon was ended, it was ſignified to him, That his Majeſty was much diſpleaſed, he had ſtirred this queſtion which his Majeſty had forbidden to be meddled withal, one way or other: the Biſhop's anſwer was, That he had delivered nothing, but the received doctrine of our Church eſtabliſhed in the 17th Article, and that he was ready to juſtify the truth of what he had then taught. He was told, The doctrine was not gainſaid, but his Majeſty had given command, theſe queſtions ſhould not be debated, and therefore he took it more offenſively that any ſhould be ſo bold, as in his own hearing to break his royal commands. To which he replied, That he never underſtood his Majeſty had forbid the handling of any doctrine compriſed in the Articles of our Church, but only raiſing of new queſtions, or adding of new ſenſe thereunto, which he had not done, nor ever ſhould do. Two days after, when he appeared before the Privy-Council, Dr Sam. Harſnet Archbiſhop of York made a ſpeech near half an hour long, aggravating the boldneſs of Biſhop Davenant's offence, and ſhewing many inconveniencies that it was likely to draw after it. When the Archbiſhop had finiſhed his ſpeech, the Biſhop deſired, That ſince he was called thither as an offender, he might not be put to anſwer a long ſpeech upon the ſudden, but that his Grace would be pleaſed to charge him point by point, and ſo to receive his anſwer; for he did not yet underſtand wherein he had broken any commandment of his Majeſty's, which was taken for granted. After ſome pauſe, the Archbiſhop told him, He knew well enough the point which was urged againſt him, namely the breach of the King's declaration. Then he ſtood upon this defence, That the doctrine of Predeſtination which he taught, was not forbidden by the Declaration: 1ſt, Becauſe in the Declaration all the Articles are eſtabliſhed, amongſt which, the Article of Predeſtination is one. 2. Becauſe all Miniſters are urged to ſubſcribe unto the truth of the Article, and all ſubjects to continue in the profeſſion of that as well as of the reſt. Upon theſe and ſuch like grounds, he gathered, it could not be eſteemed amongſt forbidden, curious, or needleſs doctrines; and here he deſired that out of any clauſe in the Declaration it might be ſhewed him, that keeping himſelf within the bounds of the Article, he had tranſgreſſed his Majeſty's command; but the Declaration was not produced, nor any particular words in it, only this was urged, That the King's will was, that for the peace of the Church theſe high queſtions ſhould be forborne. He added, That he was ſorry he underſtood not his Majeſty's intention; which if he had done before, he ſhould have made choice of ſome other matter to treat of, which might have given no offence; and that for the time to come, he ſhould conform himſelf as readily as any other to his Majeſty's command. Whereupon he was diſmiſſed. At his departure, he entreated the Lords of the Council, to let his Majeſty underſtand, that he had not boldly, or wilfully and wittingly, againſt his Declaration, meddled with the forenamed point; and that now underſtanding fully his Majeſty's mind, and intention, he ſhould humbly yield obedience thereunto (8).

[*E*]. *And even admitted to kiſs the King's hand*.] When he came into the royal preſence, his Majeſty declared to him his reſolution, That he would not have this high point meddled withal or debated, either the one way or the other, becauſe it was too high for the people's underſtanding; and other points which concern reformation and newneſs of life, were more needful and profitable. The Biſhop promiſed obedience therein, and ſo kiſſing his Majeſty's hand departed (9).

[*F*] *We ſhall give an account of what he publiſhed.*] I. A Latin Expoſition on St Paul's Epiſtle to the Coloſſians. *Expoſitio Epiſtolæ D. Pauli ad Coloſſenſes, per Reverendum in Chriſto Patrem Joannem Sariſburienſem Epiſcopum in lucem edita: Olim ab eodem, Dominæ Margaretæ in Academia Cantabrigienſi Profeſſore Theologico, dictata*, fol. The third edition was printed at Cambridge in 1639. It is the ſubſtance of Lectures read by our author as Lady-Margaret-Profeſſor. So was alſo the following; II *Prælectiones de duobus in Theologia controverſis Capitibus: De Judice Controverſiarum, primo; De Juſtitia habituali & actuali, altero: Per Reverendiſſimum Virum Joan Davenantium, S. Theol. Doctorem (nunc Epiſcopum Sariſburienſem) ante aliquot annos in celeberrima Academia Cantabrigienſi Theologiæ profeſſorem pro Domina Margareta, in Scholis Theologicis auditoribus ſuis dictatæ*. Cantab. 1631, fol.

(3) T. Fuller, ubi ſupra, Book x. p. 77, 78, 79, 80.

(4) Camdeni Annales, ubi ſupra, p. 37.

(5) Fuller, ibid. p. 78.

(6) Camden, ibid. p. 45.

(7) Ibid. p. 79, 82.

(8) This account is taken from Biſhop Davenant's relation of the whole matter in a letter to Dr Ward. See Fuller, ubi ſupra, B. xi. p. 139, 140.

(9) Fuller, ibid.

He was humble, and hoſpitable; painful in preaching and writing; and behaved in every ſtation with exemplary gravity and moderation (*s*). He was a man of great learning, and an eminent Divine (*t*); but ſtrictly attached to Calviniſm, with all its abſurdities of unconditionate Predeſtination, *&c.* Whilſt he was at the Synod of Dort, he inclined to the doctrine of Univerſal Redemption; and was for a middle way between the two extremes, maintaining The Certainty of the Salvation of a certain number of the Elect; and that offers of pardon were ſent not only to all that ſhould believe and repent, but to all that heard the Goſpel: that Grace ſufficient to convince and perſuade the impenitent (ſo as to lay the blame of their condemnation upon themſelves) went along with theſe offers; that the Redemption of Chriſt and his Merits were applicable to theſe; and conſequently there was a poſſibility of their Salvation (*u*). He was buried in Saliſbury Cathedral.

(*s*) Fuller, ubi ſupra, p. 176.

(*t*) Summæ fuit eruditionis, & magni nominis theologus. Richardſon, ubi ſupra.

(*u*) The Hiſtory of the Reformation, *&c.* in the Low-Countries. fol. by Ger. Brandt, Vol. III. p. 256.

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fol. i. e. Lectures on the two controverted points, 1. The Judge of controverſies; 2. Habitual and actual Righteouſneſs, *&c.* III. In 1634, he publiſhed the Queſtions, which he had diſputed upon in the ſchools, 49 in number, under this title, *Determinationes Quæſtionum quarundam Theologicarum, per Reverendiſſimum Virum Joannem Davenantium, &c.* fol. IV. The laſt thing he publiſhed, was, 'Animadverſions upon a treatiſe lately publiſhed and intitled, '*God's Love to Mankind, manifeſted by diſproving his* '*abſolute Decree for their Damnation.*' Cambr. 1641, 8*vo.* This treatiſe was written by S. Hoard. C

D'AVENANT or **DAVENANT** (**WILLIAM**) Poet-Laureat in the reigns of Charles the Firſt and Charles the Second. He was the younger ſon of an honeſt citizen of Oxford, one Mr John Davenant, who kept that which was afterwards the Crown-Tavern there, and was a perſon of a very grave diſpoſition, as well as unblemiſhed reputation (*a*). William Davenant, of whom we are to ſpeak, was born in the latter end of the month of February 1605, and, on the third of March following, was chriſtened at St Martin's Church, in which pariſh his father's houſe ſtood (*b*). While he was a child he was very much taken notice of for his briſk and lively parts, and for his early inclination to letters, more eſpecially to Poetry, hinted by ſome, and aſſerted by others, to have been owing to ſome very ſingular accidents, as to which it may not be amiſs to enter into a few particulars, though the reports themſelves deſerve but little credit (*c*) [*A*]. He received the firſt rudiments of polite learning from Mr Edward Sylveſter, who kept, at that time, a grammar-ſchool in the pariſh of All Saints in Oxford (*d*), where he was ſo happy as to breed up ſeveral perſons, who, afterwards, became eminent for their learning and abilities. In the year 1621, the ſame in which his father was Mayor of the city, he was entered a member of the Univerſity of Oxford in Lincoln-College, under the tuition of Mr Daniel Hough (*e*); but the Oxford Hiſtorian is of opinion, that he did not ſtay there long (*f*), but, being ſtrongly affected to lighter ſtudies, and perhaps encouraged by ſome of the young Noblemen and Gentlemen with whom he became acquainted there, he quitted the ſeat of the Muſes, in hopes of making his fortune at Court, where

he

(*a*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 168.

(*b*) Langbaine's Engliſh Dramatic Poets, p. 106.

(*c*) Winſtanley's Lives of Engliſh Poets, p. 185.

(*d*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 411, 505.

(*e*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 168.

(*f*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 411.

[*A*] *Deſerve but little credit.*] We are obliged to Mr Wood for a double account of this celebrated Poet. In his Latin work, which was tranſlated for him, and is thought ſometimes to expreſs the ſentiments alſo of Dr Fell, under whoſe auſpice that tranſlation was performed; there is a ſuccinct account of the different humours of John Davenant the father, and William Davenant the ſon (1). But in Mr Wood's Engliſh Hiſtory of Oxford writers, we have his ſentiments a little more at large; for, having told us who his father was, and that the tavern he kept was afterwards known by the ſign of the crown, he proceeds thus (2): 'His mother was a very beautiful woman, of a 'good wit and converſation, in which ſhe was imitated by none of her children, but by this William. 'The father, who was a very grave and diſcreet citizen (yet an admirer and lover of plays and playmakers, eſpecially Shakeſpear, who frequented his 'houſe in his journies between Warwickſhire and 'London) was of a melancholic diſpoſition, and was 'ſeldom or never ſeen to laugh, in which he was imitated by none of his children, but by Robert his eldeſt ſon, afterwards Fellow of St John's college, and 'a venerable Doctor of Divinity.' That there is ſomewhat of myſtery in this account, and more eſpecially in the parentheſis relating to Shakeſpear, the reader will eaſily diſcern; but whether a modern writer has truly interpreted Mr Wood's meaning, muſt be left to the reader's judgment (3). 'His father's houſe, 'ſays Mr Jacob, being frequented by the famous 'Shakeſpear in his journies to Warwickſhire, his poetical genius in his youth, was, by that means, very 'much encouraged, and ſome will have it, that the 'handſome landlady, as well as the good wine, invited the Tragedian to thoſe quarters.' Thus much is certain, that our author admired Shakeſpear more than any Engliſh Poet, and that one of the firſt eſſays of his muſe was a poem upon his death, which happened when Davenant was about ten years old. The reader perhaps will not be diſpleaſed to ſee it (4).

(1) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 168.

(2) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 411.

(3) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 58.

(4) Davenant's Works, P. i. p. 218.

ODE in remembrance of maſter William Shakeſpear.

I.

Beware delighted Poets! when you ſing,
To welcome nature in the early ſpring,
  Your num'rous feet not tread;
The banks of Avon; for each flow'r
As it ne'er knew or ſun or ſhow'r,
  Hangs there the penſive head.

II.

Each tree, whoſe ſpreading growth hath made
Rather a night beneath than ſhade,
  (Unwilling now to grow)
Looks like the plume a Captain wears,
Whoſe rifled falls are ſteeped with tears,
  Which from his laſt rage flow.

III.

The pitious river wept itſelf away,
Long ſince (alas! to ſuch a ſwift decay,)
  That reach the map and look,
If you a river there can ſpie,
And for a river your mock'd eye,
  Will find a ſhallow brook.

[*B*] *Were*

he became firſt page to Frances Ducheſs of Richmond, a Lady very famous in thoſe days, who had a great influence at Court, and who kept a kind of court of her own (g). He afterwards removed into the family of Sir Fulk Grevile Lord Brooke, who being himſelf a man of parts and learning, and much addicted to Poetry, he ſtood very high in his favour, and might, very probably, have made a figure in the world under his patronage, if that noble Peer had not been ſuddenly deprived of life by the hands of a barbarous aſſaſſin, September 30th, 1628 (h). By this unfortunate accident Mr Davenant was left quite at large, but, however, without any detriment to his fortune, ſince we find that the year enſuing he produced his firſt play to the world, which was very well received, and to which ſome very honourable recommendations were prefixed when it was printed [B]. He ſpent the next eight years of his life in a conſtant attendance upon the Court, where nobody was better received, or more highly careſſed, being particularly intimate with Thomas Carew, Eſq; Endymion Porter, Eſq; Sir John Suckling, Mr Henry Jermyn, the Honourable Henry Howard, and, in a word, with all the great wits of that time; nor was he leſs regarded by the Earl of Dorſet, the Lord Treaſurer Weſton, and other great men (i), notwithſtanding an unlucky accident that did no ſmall injury to his handſome face, which the Oxford Hiſtorian aſſures us, aroſe from his familiarity with a handſome black girl in Axe-yard, in Weſtminſter (k), and which expoſed him to a good deal of raillery [C]. In this ſpace of time he wrote ſeveral plays, and many more poems, which

(g) Wilſon's Reign of King James I. in the Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 777.

(h) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 443.

(i) As appears from the poems addreſſed to them in his Miſcellanies, and from his Dedications.

(k) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 412.

[B] *Were prefixed when it was printed*] The title of this firſt dramatick piece of our author's runs thus: I. ALBOVINE *King of the* Lombards, *his Tragedy*, Lond. 1629, 4*to*.

This work is founded upon true Hiſtory, and our author ſeems to have drawn his materials both from antient and modern writers (5). He imitates Shakeſpear in many places, and copies him in ſome. Mr Langbaine ſays it was dedicated to the Right Honourable the Duke of Somerſet (6), in which ſtrange miſtake he is followed by later writers; but the Play itſelf plainly proves, that it was addreſſed to the unfortunate Robert Ker, Earl of Somerſet (7), and it is very evident from thence, that Nobleman was not ſo little conſidered under his misfortunes as is generally imagined. It was juſtly eſteemed a very good firſt Play, and as ſuch is commended to the world by eight copies of verſes, all written by eminent men, of whom we will mention three, Sir Henry Blount, Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, and the honourable Henry Howard.

[C] *To a good deal of raillery.*] The plain fact is, that Mr Davenant, being very amorous, was ſo unlucky as to carry the tokens of his irregular gallantries in the depreſſion of his noſe, which afforded the ſatyrick wits of thoſe times a pregnant ſubject for a kind of familiar abuſe, which affected him as little, or perhaps leſs, than it would any other man (8). This accident happened pretty early in his life, ſince it gave occaſion to the following ſtanzas in Sir John Suckling's *Seſſions of the Poets*, which I have tranſcribed from a very correct copy (9).

Will Dav'nant aſham'd of a fooliſh miſchance,
  That he had got lately trav'ling in France;
Modeſtly hop'd th' handſomeneſs of 's muſe,
  Might any deformity about him excuſe.

And,

Surely the company had been content,
  If they could have found any precedent;
But in all their records, in verſe or in proſe,
  There was none of a Laureat who wanted a noſe.

And, as if this had been a jeſt that could never die, in a poem written ſome years after with the ſame title, there was another bold ſtroke at poor Sir William Davenant's diſfigured viſage, but with more of ill nature, and much leſs of wit in it (10).

Damn'd Holden, with 's dull German Princeſs appear'd,
  Whom if Dav'nant begot, as ſome do ſuppoſe,
Apollo ſaid the pillory ſhould crop off his ears,
  And make them more ſuitable unto his noſe.

But, what is moſt extraordinary, Mr Davenant himſelf could not forget the authoreſs of his misfortune, but has introduced her into his *Gondibert*, and, as the Criticks think, a little improperly. He brings two friends, Ulſinore the elder, and Goltho the younger, on a journey to the Court of Gondibert, but in their paſſage, to ſhew, as he would ſuggeſt, the frailty of youth, they were arreſted by a very unlooked-for accident, in ſpite of the wiſe counſels which Ulſinore had juſt received from his father (11).

For a black beauty did her pride diſplay,
  Through a large window, and in jewels ſhone,
As if to pleaſe the world, weeping for day,
  Night had put all her ſtarry jewels on.

This beauty gaz'd on both, and Ulſinore
  Hung down his head, but yet did lift his eyes
As if he fain would ſee a little more,
  For much, though baſhful, he did beauty prize.

Goltho did like a bluſhleſs ſtatue ſtare,
  Boldly her practis'd boldneſs did out-look,
And ev'n for fear ſhe would miſtruſt her ſnare,
  Was ready to cry out, That he was took!

She, with a wicked woman's proſp'rous art,
  A ſeeming modeſty, the window clos'd;
Wiſely delay'd his eyes, ſince of his heart
  She thought ſhe had ſufficiently diſpos'd.

* * * * * * * * * * *

E're he could more lament, a little page,
  Clean and perfum'd, one whom this Dame did breed
To gueſs at ills too manly for his age,
  Steps ſwiftly to him, and arreſts his ſteed:

With civil whiſper cries, *My Lady, Sir!* ——
  At this Goltho alights as ſwiftly poſt,
As poſters mount by ling'ring loth to err;
  As wind-bound men, whoſe ſloth their firſt wind loſt.

* * * * * * * * * * *

They enter, and aſcend, and enter then
  Where DALGA with black eyes does ſinners draw;
And with her voice holds faſt repenting men,
  To whoſe warm jet light Goltho is but ſtraw.

Nicely as bridegroom's was her chamber dreſs'd,
  Her bed as bride's, and richer than a throne;
And ſweeter ſeem'd than the Circania's neſt,
  Though built in Eaſtern groves of cinnamon.

The price of Princes pleaſure, who her love
  (Though but falſe ware) at rates ſo coſtly bought;
The wealth of many, but may hourly prove
  Spoils to ſome one by whom herſelf is caught.

She, ſway'd by ſinful beauty's deſtiny,
  Finds her tyrannick pow'r muſt now expire,
Who meant to kindle Goltho in her eye,
  But to her breaſt has brought the raging fire.

Yet

(5) Paulus Diaconus de Geſtis Langobardorum, Lib. ii. c. 28. Gregorius Epiſc Turonenſis Hiſt. Francorum. Lib. ii. c. 28. Belleforeſt Hiſt. Tragiques, Tom. IV. Novel 19.

(6) Langbaine's Engliſh Poets, p. 107. Jacob's Lives of Engliſh Poets, Vol. I. p. 59.

(7) Davenant's Works, P. ii. p. 414.

(8) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 412.

(9) The Works of Sir John Suckling, p. 6, 7.

(10) Dryden's Miſcellanies, Vol. II. p. 95.

(11) Gondibert, B. iii. Cant. 6. Stanza 31.

which he addreſſed to the principal perſons of the Court, and was alſo employed in framing ſeveral maſques, that were acted at Court, not only by the principal nobility of both ſexes, but one in which even the Queen herſelf vouchſafed to take a ſhare, though it gave very high offence to the ſcrupulous moraliſts of thoſe times (*l*). By theſe performances he raiſed his poetical character to a very great height; moſt of his pieces, whatever may be thought of them now, being then eſteemed the beſt of their kind, and, as ſuch, highly applauded by thoſe who were thought the ableſt judges (*m*). We ſhall mention their titles, and a few remarkable particulars that relate to them, in the notes [*D*]. Upon the death of the juſtly celebrated Benjamin Johnſon, in 1637, our Poet ſucceeded to his laurel; which gave very high offence to Mr Thomas May, who was his competitor; and though it was well enough known, that Mr Davenant owed his preferment to the favour of the Queen, yet his rival carried his ſpleen ſtill higher, and, from being a warm courtier, became not only a warmer malecontent, but diſtinguiſhed himſelf afterwards againſt his Royal Maſter, both as an Advocate and an Hiſtorian to the Parliament (*n*). As for Mr Davenant he continued veryſted faſt in his old road, adhered to his old principles, and his old friends, writing from time to time new poems, exhibiting new plays, and having the chief direction and management of the Court diverſions, ſo long as the diſorders of thoſe times would permit (*o*). Of theſe pieces alſo we ſhall ſay ſo much as is neceſſary at the bottom of the page [*E*]. When the troubles began, Mr Davenant had an early ſhare in them; for he was accuſed to the Parliament of being embarked in a deſign in May 1641, for bringing up the army for the defence of the King's perſon, and the ſupport of his authority, into which he was very probably drawn by his friends, there being many of them deep in this ſcheme, ſuch as Mr Henry Piercy, afterwards Lord Piercy, Mr Goring,

Mr

Yet even in ſimple love ſhe uſes art,
  Though weepings are from looſer eyes but leaks,
Yet eldeſt lovers ſcarce would doubt her heart,
  So well ſhe weeps, and thus to Goltho ſpeaks.

[*D*] *That relate to them in the notes.*] We will in this note give a liſt of ſuch of his works, as were written within this period, that is, before he was honoured with the title of Poet Laureat, and which, in the judgment of thoſe times, were generally thought to have deſerved it.

II. *The* JUST ITALIAN, *a Tragi-Comedy*, London, 1630, 4*to*.

This dramatick performance is dedicated to Edward Earl of Dorſet, whoſe favourable opinion of it ſaved it from the condemnation of a haſty audience. It is introduced by two copies of verſes, one written by Mr William Hopkins, and the other by Mr Thomas Carew; and it cannot certainly be denied to have much wit, deep contrivance, and a quick ſucceſſion of buſy ſcenes handſomely expreſſed. Some of our later Poets, who had read this piece, loſt nothing by their reading; and if it were not an invidious taſk, one might ſhew where and what they gained.

III. *The* CRUEL BROTHER, *a Tragedy*, London, 1630, 4*to*.

This is dedicated to Richard Lord Weſton, at that time Lord High Treaſurer of England. The author acknowledges, in this Dedication, ſome errors in the piece itſelf; and in this, no doubt, the Criticks will allow him a ſound judgment; it ſeems however to have been pretty well received.

IV. COELUM BRITANNICUM, *a Maſque at Whitehall, in the Banquetting-Houſe, on Shrove Tueſday night, the* 18*th of February* 1633.

It was attributed to our author, though the machinery, which was very fine, was contrived and executed by Inigo Jones, and part of the piece itſelf written by Tho. Carew (12). The King himſelf wore a maſk in this piece, and the reſt of the performers were men of the firſt quality in the three nations (13). This we find omitted in Mr Langbaine's catalogue.

V. *Triumphs of Prince D'Amour, a Maſque, preſented by his Highneſs at his palace in the Middle Temple the* 24*th of February* 1635, 4*to*.

This maſque, at the requeſt of the honourable ſociety of the Middle Temple, was invented and written by our author in three days, and was preſented by the members thereof as an entertainment to the Prince Elector. The muſick of the ſongs and ſymphonies was compoſed by Mr Henry and Mr William Lawes, his Majeſty's ſervants (14).

VI. *Platonick Lovers, a Tragi-Comedy*, London, 1636, 4*to*.

VII. *The Wits, a Comedy*, London, 1636, 4*to*.

This play is dedicated to our author's true friend, and early patron, Endymion Porter, Eſq; one of the Gentlemen of the King's bed-chamber. There is a copy of verſes in vindication of it, prefixed by Thomas Carew, Eſq; It was favourably received by the publick after it's firſt performance, in which it ran ſome riſk of being loſt, and was for many years acted with great applauſe.

VIII. BRITANNIA TRIUMPHANS, *a Maſque preſented at Whitehall by the King's Majeſty and his Lords, on Sunday after Twelfth night, anno* 1637, 4*to*.

This piece is not inſerted in Mr Langbaine's catalogue, or in the folio edition of our author's works, but has been very lately printed in Ireland.

IX. *The* TEMPLE *of* LOVE, *a Maſque, preſented by the Queen's Majeſty and her Ladies at Whitehall.*

[*E*] *At the bottom of the page.*] Within the ſpace preſcribed to this note, his performances were but few:

X. SALMACIDA SPOLIA, *a Maſque, preſented to the King and Queen at Whitehall, the* 21ſt *of January* 1639, London 1639, 4*to*.

The ſubject was ſet down by our author and Inigo Jones; the invention, ornament, ſcenes, &c. by the latter, and what was ſpoken or ſung was written by Mr Davenant, then her Majeſty's ſervant; and the muſick compoſed by Lewis Richard, Maſter of her Majeſty's muſick (15). This piece is likewiſe omitted in Mr Langbaine's catalogue, and in the collections of Davenant's works, which however is a point of injuſtice; for though no queſtion can be made that Inigo Jones was a man of exalted genius, yet convincing evidence might be brought to prove, that in matters of this nature few people had a more lively imagination, or a taſte more correct, than our author.

It muſt have been ſome time within this period, that he publiſhed the firſt edition of his *Miſcellaneous Poems*, which I muſt confeſs I have never ſeen, but I am acquainted with their contents from later editions. Theſe conſiſted of addreſſes to his patrons and his friends, of new years complements to the Queen, of prologues and epilogues to his own and other mens plays, and other things of a like nature. It muſt be confeſſed, that as a great part of them were written while he was a very young man, ſo they want this apology to palliate the roughneſs of ſome, and the want of eaſe and perſpicuity in others; though in his ſucceeding works he is not at all liable to this cenſure. But whatever exceptions may be taken to his poetical character in theſe juvenile performances, we muſt allow, that the candour, gratitude, tenderneſs, friendſhip, and good nature, expreſſed in them, make ſufficient amends, inaſmuch as it plainly proves, that, if, allowing for the ſtate of our poetry at that time, he deſerved to be admired for his parts; the many amiable qualities of his mind rendered him alſo very juſtly beloved.

[*F*] *Some*

(*l*) Langbaine's Engliſh Dramatic Poets, p. 110.

(*m*) As appears by the recommendatory verſes of Sir John Suckling, Mr Waller, Mr Cowley, Mr Carew, &c.

(*n*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 413, 414.

(*o*) Phillips's Theatrum Poetarum, P. ii. p. 191.

(12) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 413.

(13) Sir Wm. Davenant's Works, p. 382.

(14) Langbaine's Engliſh Poets, p. 1, 11.

(15) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 413.

Mr Jermyn, Mr Aſhburnham, Sir John Suckling, and others (p). Moſt of theſe, upon the diſcovery of their deſign, ſought to ſecure themſelves by flight, and Mr Davenant among the reſt; but a proclamation being publiſhed for apprehending him, he was ſtopped at Feverſham, ſent up to town, and put into the cuſtody of a Serjeant at Arms (q). In the month of July following he was bailed, and, not long after, finding it expedient to withdraw to France, he had the misfortune to be ſeized again in Kent, by the Mayor of Canterbury. At laſt, however, he had the good luck to compleat his intention, and to retire beyond the ſeas, where he continued for ſome time (r). But the Queen ſending over a conſiderable quantity of military ſtores, for the uſe of the Earl of Newcaſtle's army, Mr Davenant (s) came over with them, offered his ſervice to that noble Peer, who was his old friend and patron, and was by him made Lieutenant-General of his Ordnance (t), to the no ſmall diſlike of ſome, who thought that a poſt very unfit for a Poet; in which, however, they made no great compliment to their General, who wrote poems and plays as well as Mr Davenant (u). It is very probable, that he took ſome pains to qualify himſelf effectually for his duty in that capacity, ſince, in the month of September, 1643 (w), he received the honour of knighthood from the King, at the ſiege of Glouceſter, as a mark of the ſatisfaction he took in his ſervices, at a ſeaſon when he had a very fair opportunity of diſcovering who they were that deſerved that character. His Muſe, in the midſt of theſe toils and troubles, ſometimes raiſed her voice, and the ſame gratitude he had expreſſed to former patrons, he was inclined to ſhew to ſuch as protected his fortunes now, ſome inſtances of which were made publick [F]. It does not appear how he came to leave the northern army, nor have we any accounts of his military ſervices after the time before-mentioned; but, after the King's affairs began to decline, he judged it neceſſary to retire into France, where he was extreamly well received by the Queen (x), and, it ſeems, was taken much into her confidence, ſince we find him embarked in a negotiation of great importance, when the King was at Newcaſtle, which was in the ſummer of 1646. Before this time Sir William had embraced the Popiſh Religion, which, we have reaſon to judge, might be a concurring, if not a principal, cauſe of his being employed at this time, and upon ſuch an occaſion. The noble Hiſtorian (y), who had always a particular friendſhip for him, has given a full account of it, though not much to his advantage, but ſtill with all the tenderneſs due to his acknowledged ſenſe of Sir William's good intentions, and of that long and intimate acquaintance that had ſubſiſted between them; which is ſo much more worthy the reader's notice, as it has entirely eſcaped the obſervation of moſt of thoſe, who have undertaken to give us this Gentleman's memoirs, though the moſt remarkable paſſage in his whole life (z) [G].

Upon

(p) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, B. i. p. 97.

(q) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 412.

(r) Sir John Mennes's Poems, p. 35.

(s) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, B. ii. p. 53.

(t) Life of Wm. Duke of Newcaſtle, written by his Dutcheſs, p. 150.

(u) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 235, 236.

(w) Walkeley's catalogue of the Dukes, Marquiſſes, Earls, Viſcounts, Barons of England, Baronets, Knights, &c. Lond. 1653. 8vo. p. 163.

(x) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 412.

(y) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 495.

(z) Such as Langbaine, Winſtanley, &c.

[F] *Some inſtances of which were made publick.*] It is very probable, that the two following pieces were written ſome years earlier than they were printed, for it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that after Mr Davenant had fallen ſo grievouſly under the diſpleaſure of the Parliament, he could have any great intercourſe with his Stationer at London, ſo that it is more likely, theſe plays having been formerly acted with applauſe, were now printed in the abſence, though not without the conſent, of their author.

XI. *The unfortunate Lovers, a Tragedy*, London, 1643, *and again in* 1649, 4*to*.

This tragedy is founded upon an Italian ſtory, was received very kindly at the time of it's appearance, and was often acted after the Reſtoration. It is ſomewhat ſtrange that this ſhould be omitted in Mr Langbaine's catalogue of our author's works, notwithſtanding it is mentioned by Winſtanley (16), and which is more in Mr Langbaine's own catalogue of plays.

XII. *Love and Honour, a Tragi-Comedy*, Lond. 1649, 4*to*.

The ſcene is laid in Savoy, and after dramatick entertainments were revived again, Mr Langbaine aſſures us, that he has ſeen this play often acted with applauſe, at the play-houſe in Lincoln's-inn fields, and afterwards at the theatre in Dorſet Garden (17). In point of ſtile it reſembled Shakeſpear rather than Fletcher, and is more correctly finiſhed than any of Sir William Davenant's former plays, which ſhews that he was not hurt by the applauſe that he had met with, but thought himſelf obliged to labour hard, and take ſo much the more pains to deſerve it. Both theſe plays are without any teſtimonies of the author's friends before them, becauſe publiſhed at a time, when, perhaps, there were not many who were inclined to inform the world that they were his friends.

XIII MADAGASCAR, *with other poems*, London, 1648, 8*vo*, 2*d* edit.

His Madagaſcar was addreſſed to Prince Rupert, and muſt have been written many years before, ſince there are ſome commendatory verſes addreſſed to him expreſly upon this poem, by his old friend Sir John Suckling, who died about ſix years before the printing of this edition. There are ſome other commendatory verſes alſo, that were prefixed to the firſt edition, and were reprinted now; and amongſt theſe likewiſe there is a copy of Sir John Suckling's. We may diſcern from the printing of this ſecond edition at that juncture, how much the poetick talent of Sir William Davenant was then admired, ſince it is plain he could then have no other patron than the publick, being himſelf an exile in France, and many of his friends with him. The dedicatory inſcription before theſe poems is very ſingular and laudable, and as at the ſame time it is very ſhort, the reader will probably be well pleaſed to peruſe it. Thus it runs:

If theſe POEMS *live, may their memories by whom they were cheriſhed*, ENDYM. PORTER, H. JERMYN, *live with them.*

[G] *Though the moſt remarkable paſſage in his whole life*] The King, in retiring to the Scots, had followed the advice of the French Ambaſſador, who had promiſed on their behalf, if not more than he had authority to do, at leaſt more than they were inclined to perform. To juſtify however his conduct at home, he was inclined to throw the weight in ſome meaſure upon the King, and with this view, he, by an expreſs, informed Cardinal Mazarine, that his Majeſty was too reſerved in giving the Parliament ſatisfaction, and therefore deſired that ſome perſon might be ſent over, who might have a ſufficient degree of credit with that Monarch, to perſuade him to ſuch compliances as were neceſſary for his ſervice. 'The Queen, ſays the Noble Hiſtorian (18), who was never adviſed by thoſe 'who either underſtood or valued his true intereſt, 'conſulted with thoſe about her, and ſent Sir William 'Davenant, an honeſt man and a witty, but in all reſpects inferior to ſuch a truſt, with a letter of credit 'to the King, who knew the perſon well enough under another character than was like to give him much 'credit in the argument in which he was intruſted, although her Majeſty had likewiſe otherwiſe declared

'her

(16) Lives of the moſt famous Engliſh Poets, p. 186.

(17) Account of the Engliſh Dramatick Poets, p. 109.

(18) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 495.

Upon his return to Paris, he fell in with that ſet of people, who laboured to ſilence the ſtorm of their ſorrows by ſome kind of amuſement; his were literary; and the deſire he had of writing an heroick poem, meeting with much leiſure, and ſome encouragement, led him to undertake one of a new kind, the two firſt books of which he finiſhed at the Louvre, where he lived with his old friend Lord Jermyn, and theſe, with a ſenſible preface, addreſſed to Mr Hobbes, his anſwer, and ſome commendatory poems, were publiſhed in England (*a*). All, however, were not captivated by Sir William's verſe, or frighted into ſilence by the Philoſopher of Malmſbury's proſe, ſo that the worth of this work was quickly drawn into queſtion, and, upon this, the King's little Court were extreamly divided (*b*). Fame, however, was ſo thin a diet, that Sir William Davenant was willing to venture into any climate that promiſed a better: yet, like a worthy man, he had a view to his country's good, while he conſulted his own. He had heard, that vaſt improvements might be made in the loyal colony of Virginia, in caſe they had proper artificers, and, finding there were many of theſe in France, who were deſtitute of employment, he formed a very wiſe and honeſt project of removing induſtrious men, who were in want of bread, to a fruitful country that was in want of them; which having, by the aſſiſtance of Queen Henrietta-Maria, brought to bear, he embarked, with his little colony, at one of the ports in Normandy (*c*). But, as he was a moſt unlucky traveller, ſo, before his veſſel was clear of the French coaſt, ſhe was met by one of the Parliament ſhips of war, taken and carried into the Iſle of Wight, where our diſappointed projector was ſent cloſe priſoner to Cowes-Caſtle (*d*), and there had leiſure enough, and, which is more extraordinary, wanted not inclination to reſume his heroick poem; and, having writ about half the third book, in a very gloomy priſon, he thought fit to ſtop ſhort again, finding himſelf, as he imagined, under the very ſhadow of death. This part of his poem was alſo publiſhed, and was, in thoſe days, well received (*e*) [*H*]. In this ſituation

' her opinion to his Majeſty, " That he ſhould part " with the Church for his peace and ſecurity." Sir William Davenant had, by the countenance of the French Ambaſſador, eaſy admiſſion to the King, who heard him patiently all he had to ſay, and anſwered him in that manner that made it evident he was not pleaſed with the advice. When he found his Majeſty unſatisfied, and that he was not like to conſent to what was ſo earneſtly deſired by them by whoſe advice he was ſent, who undervalued all thoſe ſcruples of conſcience which his Majeſty himſelf was ſtrongly poſſeſſed with, he took upon himſelf the confidence to offer ſome reaſons to the King to induce him to yield to what was propoſed, and among other things ſaid, ' It ' was the opinion and advice of all his friends,' his Majeſty aſking ' What friends?' and he anſwering, ſaid, ' that it was the opinion of the Lord Jermyn;' the King ſaid, ' that the Lord Jermyn did not under' ſtand any thing of the Church.' The other ſaid, ' the Lord Colepepper was of the ſame mind.' The King ſaid, ' Colepepper had no religion,' and aſked, ' Whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer was of ' that mind?' to which he anſwered he did not know, for that he was not there, and had deſerted the Prince, and thereupon ſaid ſomewhat from the Queen, of the diſpleaſure ſhe had conceived againſt the Chancellor, to which the King ſaid, ' The Chancellor was an ho' neſt man, and would never deſert him, nor the Prince, ' nor the Church, and that he was ſorry he was not ' with his ſon, but that his wife was miſtaken.' Davenant then offering ſome reaſons of his own, in which he mentioned the Church ſlightingly, as if it were not of importance enough to weigh down the benefit that would attend the conceſſion, his Majeſty was tranſported with ſo much indignation, that he gave him a ſharper reprehenſion than was uſual for him to give to any other man, and forbid him to preſume to come again into his preſence. Whereupon the poor man, who had in truth very good affections, was exceedingly dejected and afflicted, and returned into France to give an account of his ill ſucceſs to thoſe who ſent him.

[*H*] *And was in thoſe days well received*] He publiſhed at Paris a diſcourſe upon this poem by way of preface to it, in a letter to Mr Thomas Hobbes, dated from the Louvre at Paris, January 2, 1650, with the anſwer of Mr Hobbes, dated at Paris January 10, the ſame year (19). Mr Waller and Mr Cowley wrote commendatory verſes on the two firſt books of this poem. The three firſt books of it were printed under the following title, GONDIBERT, *an Heroic Poem, written by Sir* WILLIAM DAVENANT. The ſeventh and laſt canto of the third book, was printed at London in 8*vo*, 1685 (20). Mr Hobbes, in his letter abovementioned, affirms, that he never yet ſaw a poem that had ſo much ſhape of art, health of morality, and vigour and beauty of expreſſion, as this of our author. But that gentleman obſerves in his letter to the Honourable Edward Howard, on his intended impreſſion of his poem of the *Britiſh Princes*, dated at Chatſworth, November 6, 1668, ' that his judgment in poetry ' hath been once already cenſured by very good wits ' for commending Gondibert. But yet have they not ' I think, continues he, diſabled my teſtimony. For ' what authority is there in wit? a jeſter may have it; ' a man in drink may have it, and be fluent over-night, ' and wiſe and dry in the morning. What is it? or, ' Who can tell whether it be better to have it or be ' without it, eſpecially if it be a pointed wit? I will ' take my liberty to praiſe what I like, as well as they ' do to reprehend what they do not like.' Mr Langbaine tells us, that it was deſigned by him to be an imitation of an Engliſh drama, it being to be divided into five books, as the other is into five acts; the canto's to be the parallel of the ſcenes, with this difference, that this is delivered narratively, the other dialogue-wiſe (21). The Honourable Edward Howard, Eſq; tells us, ' that in this poem there are many ' remote and excellent thoughts, with apt and perſpi' cuous expreſſions, the eſſential dignities of the Mu' ſes; whoſe chiefeſt beauties flow from the ornaments ' of words, and delightful variety of imagination; ' from which choice productions of nature, the Muſes ' are moſt deſirous to adopt their children, and, in no ' ſmall degree, are juſtly acknowledged to the honour ' of his pen. Notwithſtanding which, his heroick ' poem of *Gondibert*, coming into the world in a ca' pricious time of cenſure, perhaps did not meet with ' a deſerved reception, though the ſevereſt judges, I ' doubt not, are forced to grant, that there is in that ' work more to be praiſed than pardoned.' Mr Thomas Rymer obſerves (22), that our author's wit is well known, and that in the preface to this poem there appear ſome ſtrokes of an extraordinary judgment; that he is for unbeaten tracks and new ways of thinking, but that certainly in his untried ſeas he is no great diſcoverer. One deſign of the Epick Poets before him, was to adorn their own country, there finding their heroes and patterns of virtue, whoſe example, as they thought, would have the greateſt influence and power over poſterity. ' But this Poet, ſays Mr Rymer, ' ſteers a different courſe; his heroes are all foreigners, ' he cultivates a country that is nothing akin to him, ' it is Lombardy that reaps the honour of all. Other ' Poets chooſe ſome action or heroe ſo illuſtrious, that ' the name of the poem prepared the reader, and made ' way for it's reception. But in this poem none can

' divine

(*a*) Langbaine's Engl. Dramatick Poets, p. 112, 113.

(*b*) See certain verſes written by the author's friends, to be reprinted with the ſecond edition of Gondibert.

(*c*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 412.

(*d*) This appears from his own poſtſcript to part of the third book of Gondibert.

(*e*) Langbaine's Engliſh Poets, p. 112.

(19) Printed for John Holden, at the ſign of the anchor in the New Exchange, 1651. 12mo.

(20) Reprinted alſo in the folio edition of his works.

(21) An account of the Dramatick Poets, p. 112.

(22) Preface to his tranſlation of Rapin's Reflections on Ariſtotle's treatiſe of Poetry.

ſituation we find him in October 1650, and, indeed, in a worſe ſituation no man could well be, the Parliament having delivered him over, by an ordinance, to be tried by a high commiſſion court, where, ſuppoſing that innocence might have been ſafe, it was pretty difficult to know how a man ſhould prove himſelf innocent (f). He was conveyed from the Iſle of Wight to the Tower of London, and, for ſome time, his life was in the utmoſt hazard; nor is it well known how it was ſaved; ſome ſay, that two Aldermen of York, to whom he had been very kind when they were priſoners, and when he had a high command in the Marquis of Newcaſtle's army, interpoſed out of gratitude (g); others, that Milton was his friend (h), and prevented the utmoſt effects of party rage

divine what great action he intended to celebrate, nor is the reader obliged to know whether the heroe be Turk or Chriſtian. Nor do the firſt lines give any light or proſpect into his deſign. Methinks, though his religion could not diſpenſe with an invocation, he needed not have ſcrupled at the propoſition. Yet he rather chooſes to enter in at the top of the houſe, becauſe the mortals of mean and ſatisfied minds go in at the door. And I believe the reader is not well pleaſed to find his poem begin with the praiſes of Aribert, when the title has promiſed a Gondibert. But before he falls on any other buſineſs, he preſents the reader with a particular deſcription of each heroe, not truſting their actions to ſpeak for them as former Poets have done. Their practice was fine and artificial, his he tells us is a new way. Many of his characters have but little of the heroick in them; Dalga is a jilt proper only for Comedy; Birtha, for a Paſtoral; and Aſtragon, in the manner here deſcribed, yields no very great ornament to an heroick poem: nor are his battles leſs liable to cenſure than thoſe of Homer. He dares not, as other Heroick Poets, heighten the action by making Heaven and Hell intereſted, for fear of offending againſt probability, and yet he tells us of

‘—— *Threads by patient Parcæ ſlowly ſpun.*

‘And for being dead his phraſe is,

‘*Heaven call'd him where peacefully he rules a ſtar.*

‘And the emerald he gives to Birtha has a ſtronger tang of the old woman, and is a greater improbability, than all the enchantments in Taſſo. A juſt medium reconciles the fartheſt extreams, and one preparation may give credit to the moſt unlikely fiction. In *Marino*, Adonis is preſented with a diamond ring, where indeed the ſtone is much-what of the ſame nature; but this preſent is made by Venus, and from a goddeſs could not be expected a gift of ordinary virtue.’ The ſame Critick afterwards tells us, ‘that the ſort of verſe of which Sir William makes choice, might contribute much to the vitiating of his ſtile, for thereby he obliges himſelf to ſtretch every period to the end of four lines. Thus the ſenſe is broken perpetually with parentheſes, the words jumbled in confuſion, and a darkneſs ſpread over all; ſo that the ſenſe is either not diſcerned, or found not ſufficient, for one juſt verſe which is ſprinkled on the whole tetraſtich. In the Italian and Spaniſh, where all the rhymes are diſſyllable, and the percuſſion ſtronger, this kind of verſe may be neceſſary; and yet, to temper that grave march, they repeat the ſame rhyme over again, and then they cloſe the ſtanza with a couplet farther to ſweeten the ſeverity. But in French and Engliſh, where we rhyme generally with only one ſyllable, the ſtanza is not allowed, much leſs the alternate rhyme in long verſe, for the ſound of the monoſyllable rhyme is either loſt before we come to it's correſpondent, or we are in pain by the ſo long expectation and ſuſpence. This alternate rhyme, and the downright morality throughout whole canto's together, ſhew Davenant better acquainted with the Quatrains of Pybrach which he ſpeaks of, than with any true models of Epick Poeſy. After all, Davenant is ſaid to have a particular talent for the manners, his thoughts are great, and there appears ſomething roughly noble throughout this fragment, which had he been pleaſed to finiſh, it would doubtleſs not have been left ſo open to the attack of Criticks.’ All theſe objections to the meaſure of the verſe, had been foreſeen, conſidered, and anſwered, by Sir William Davenant; but inſtead of troubling the reader with what he has delivered very well, but very much at large, upon this ſubject, we will content ourſelves with ſaying, that his reaſons had ſo much weight with Mr Dryden, a better Poet indeed than him, and at the ſame time a better Critick than Mr Rymer, that he thought fit to imitate him in the choice of his ſtanza, and gives the following reaſons for it in a letter to Sir Robert Howard (23). ‘I have ſays he, choſen to write my poem in quatrains or ſtanzas of four, in alternate rhyme, becauſe I have ever judged them more noble, and of greater dignity, both for the ſound and number, than any other verſe in uſe amongſt us, in which I am ſure I have your approbation. The learned languages have certainly a great advantage over us, in not being tied to the ſlavery of any rhyme, and were leſs conſtrained in the quantity of every ſyllable, which they might vary with ſpondees or dactyls, beſides ſo many other helps of grammatical figures, for the lengthening or abbreviation of them, than the modern are in the cloſe of that one ſyllable, which often confines, and more often corrupts, the ſenſe of all the reſt. But in this neceſſity of our rhymes I have always found the couplet verſe moſt eaſy, though not ſo proper for this occaſion; for there the work is ſooner at an end, every two lines concluding the labour of the Poet; but in quatrains he is to carry it farther on, and not only ſo, but to bear along in his head the troubleſome ſenſe of four lines together. For thoſe who write correctly in this kind muſt needs acknowledge, that the laſt line of the ſtanza is to be conſidered in the compoſition of the firſt. Neither can we give ourſelves the liberty of making any part of a verſe for the ſake of rhyme, or concluding with a word which is not current Engliſh, or uſing the variety of female rhymes, all which our fathers practiſed, and for the female rhymes they are ſtill in uſe amongſt other nations; with the Italian in every line, with the Spaniard promiſcuouſly, with the French alternately, as thoſe who have read the *Alarique*, the *Pucelle*, or any of their later poems, will agree with me. And beſides this they write in Alexandrins, or verſes of ſix feet, ſuch as, amongſt us, is the old tranſlation of Homer by Chapman. All which, by lengthening of their chain, makes the ſphere of their activity the larger. I have dwelt too long upon the choice of my ſtanza, which you may remember is much better defended in the Preface to *Gondibert*, and therefore I will haſten to acquaint you with my endeavours in the writing.’ The learned Profeſſor of Greek in the univerſity of Aberdeen, cenſures the ſtructure of the poem, but at the ſame time pays a compliment to the abilities of the author (24). ‘It was indeed, ſays he, a very extraordinary project of our ingenious countryman, to write an Epick Poem without mixing allegory, or allowing the ſmalleſt fiction throughout the compoſure. It was like lopping off a man's limb, and then putting him upon running races, though it muſt be owned, that the performance ſhews with what ability he could have acquitted himſelf, had he been found and entire.’ After all, it will, in the eye of a judicious reader, paſs for an inconteſtible proof of the merit of this poem, that it has been a ſubject of controverſy for near a hundred years, that is, from it's firſt appearance to the preſent time: perhaps the diſpute had been long ago decided, if the author's leiſure or inclination had permitted him to finiſh it. At preſent we ſee it to great diſadvantage, and if, in ſpite of this, it has any beauties, we may well conclude that it would have come much nearer perfection, if the ſtory begun with ſo much ſpirit, had been brought to an end upon the author's plan.

(f) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 81, 82.

(g) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 412.

(h) Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Paradiſe Loſt, by J. Richardſon, p. xc.

(23) Preface to his *Annus mirabilis*, Lond. 1669. 8vo.

(24) Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer, Lond. 1735. 8vo. p. 141.

rage from deſcending on the head of this ſon of the Muſes. But, whoever ſaved his life, we find him two years after a priſoner in the Tower, where he obtained ſome indulgence by the favour of the Lord Keeper Whitlocke (*i*); upon receiving which he wrote him a letter of thanks, that would have ſecured him the reputation of the politeſt pen of thoſe times, if nothing of his had remained beſides [*I*]. This liberty of his left him only room to ſollicit further favours, which he likewiſe obtained, and was, at laſt, entirely delivered from every thing but the narrowneſs of his circumſtances; and againſt theſe, encouraged by the intereſt of his friends, he likewiſe made a bold effort. He knew very well, that a play-houſe was utterly inconſiſtent with the purity of thoſe times, and yet, if he could open any thing like one, it would be ſure to be well filled; he managed his project with great addreſs, by degrees brought it to bear; and, having the countenance of Lord Whitlocke, Sir John Maynard, and other perſons of great rank (*k*), who were aſhamed of the hypocriſy that then prevailed, he opened a kind of a theatre at Rutland-Houſe, where ſeveral pieces were acted, and theſe, if they did not gain him reputation, brought him money, of which, at that time, he ſtood in great need. The firſt of theſe entertainments, for that was the name they originally bore, was performed May 21ſt, and publiſhed September the third, 1656 (*l*). As to the names and nature of theſe mixt compoſitions, we ſhall give the reader the beſt account we can in the notes [*K*]. After the

(*i*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 546, 547.

(*k*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 412.

(*l*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 650.

[*I*] *If nothing of his had remained beſides.*] This ſhort epiſtle, as it regards a very eſſential part of his perſonal hiſtory, ſo, as we hinted in the text, it affords inconteſtible evidence of his writing as eaſy and correct proſe, with as much true ſpirit, and as far removed either from meanneſs or bombaſt, as any that can be produced in our language, even if liberty were given to tranſlate from Voiture, or any other of the boaſted letter-writers in a neighbouring nation (25)

(25) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 546, 547.

'My Lord,

'I Am in ſuſpence, whether I ſhould preſent my 'thankfulneſs to your Lordſhip for my liberty of 'the Tower, becauſe, when I conſider how much of 'your time belongs to the publick, I conceive, that 'to make a requeſt to you, and to thank you after'wards for the ſucceſs of it, is to give you no more 'than a ſucceſſion of trouble; unleſs you are reſolved 'to be continually patient and courteous to afflicted 'men, and agree in your judgment with the late wiſe 'Cardinal, who was wont to ſay, *If he had not ſpent 'as much time in civilities as in buſineſs, he had undone 'his maſter.*

'But whilſt I endeavour to excuſe this preſent of 'thankfulneſs, I ſhould rather aſk your pardon for 'going about to make a preſent to you of myſelf, for 'it may argue me to be incorrigible, that, after ſo 'many afflictions, I have yet ſo much ambition as to 'deſire to be at liberty, that I may have more oppor'tunity to obey your Lordſhip's commands, and ſhew 'the world how much I am,

'My Lord,

Tower, Aug. 9, 1652,

'Your Lordſhip's moſt
'obliged, moſt humble,
'and obedient ſervant,

'WILL. DAVENANT.

[*K*] *The beſt we can in the notes.*] Some of the people then in power, it ſeems, were lovers of Muſick, and, at bottom perhaps, were wiſe enough to know, that there was nothing ſcandalous or immoral in the diverſions of the theatre; but this they did not think proper to own, and therefore perſecuted the poor Players who attempted to act privately, ſometimes in one place, and ſometimes in another, as if they had held ſeditious or lewd aſſemblies (26). Sir William Davenant therefore, when he applied for permiſſion, called what he intended to repreſent an Opera; but, when he brought it upon the ſtage, it appeared quite another thing, which, when printed, had the following title:

(26) Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica, or an Hiſtorical Account of the Engliſh Stage, p. 8, 9.

XIV. *Firſt Day's Entertainment at* Rutland-Houſe, *by Declamation and Muſick, after the manner of the Ancients.* Lond. 1656. 8*vo.*

This being an introductory piece, it required all the author's wit to make it anſwer different intentions; for, firſt, it was to be ſo pleaſing as to gain applauſe; and next, it was to be ſo remote from the very appearance of a play, as not to give any offence to that pretended ſanctity which was then in faſhion. It began with muſick, then followed a prologue, in which the author banters the oddity of his own performance. The curtain being drawn up to the ſound of ſlow and ſolemn muſick, there followed a grave declamation by one in a gilded roſtrum, who perſonated Diogenes, and whoſe buſineſs was to rail at and expoſe publick entertainments. Then muſick in a lighter ſtrain, after which a perſon in the character of Ariſtophanes, the old comic Poet, anſwered Diogenes, and ſhewed the uſe and excellency of dramatick entertainments. The whole of the grave entertainment was concluded by a ſong, accompanied with muſick, in which the arguments on both ſides are ſuccinctly and elegantly ſtated. The ſecond part of the entertainment conſiſted of two lighter declamations; the firſt, by a citizen of Paris, who wittily rallies the follies of London; the other, by a citizen of London, who takes the ſame liberty with Paris, and it's inhabitants. To this was tacked a ſong, and after that came a ſhort epilogue. The muſick, which was very good, was compoſed by Dr Coleman, Capt. Cook, Mr Henry Laws, Mr George Hudſon.

XV. *The Play-houſe to be Lett.*

This was another very ſingular entertainment, compoſed of five acts, each being a diſtinct performance. The firſt act is introductory, ſhews the diſtreſs of the players in the time of vacation, that obliges them to lett their houſe, which ſeveral offer to take for different purpoſes, amongſt the reſt a Frenchman, who had brought over a troop of his countrymen to act a farce. This is performed in the ſecond act, which is a tranſlation of Moliere's *Sganarelle*, or, the Cuckold in Conceit; all in broken French, to make the people laugh. The third act is a ſort of comic opera, under the title of the Hiſtory of Sir Francis Drake. The fourth act is a ſerious opera, repreſenting the cruelties of the Spaniards in Peru. The fifth act is a burleſque in Heroicks, on the amours of Cæſar and Cleopatra; has a great deal of wit and humour, and was often acted afterwards by itſelf (27).

(27) Langbaine's Engliſh Poets, p. 109, 110. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 413.

XVI. *News from Plimouth*, a Comedy.

XVII. *Law againſt Lovers*, a Tragi-Comedy.

This is compoſed out of two of Shakeſpeare's plays; *Meaſure for Meaſure*, and *Much ado about Nothing*. Mr Langbaine gives a very good character of it (28); and, indeed, it is very ſmoothly and correctly written.

(28) An account of the Dramatick Poets, p. 108, 109. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 413.

XVIII. *The Diſtreſſes*, a Tragedy.

In Mr Langbaine's catalogue this is ſtiled a Tragi-Comedy (29), merely becauſe it is fortunate in it's cataſtrophe.

(29) An account of the Dramatick Poets, p. 107.

XIX. *The Siege, a Tragi-Comedy.*

The ſcene is laid at Piſa in Italy, and it derives it's title from the ſame cauſe with the former.

XX. *The Fair Favourite*, a Tragi-Comedy.

All theſe plays were acted in the time of Oliver and Richard, firſt printed in quarto, and afterwards reviſed, and inſerted in the author's works. To theſe we may add,

XXI. *The Siege of* RHODES, *in two parts.*

Theſe

the ice was thus broke he grew a little bolder, and not only ventured to write, but to act, ſeveral new plays, which were alſo ſomewhat in a new taſte; that is, they were more regular in their ſtructure, and the language, generally ſpeaking, ſmoother and more correct than in the old tragedies (*m*). Theſe improvements, there is good reaſon to believe, were, in a great meaſure, owing to Sir William's long reſidence in France, which gave him an opportunity of reading their beſt writers, and hearing the ſentiments of their ableſt criticks upon dramatick entertainments, when they were as much admired and encouraged there as, for ſome years, they had been ſlighted and diſcountenanced in England. That theſe were really improvements, and that the publick ſtood greatly indebted to Sir William Davenant, as a Poet as well as Maſter of a theatre, may be put out of all doubt, if there be any regard due to Mr Dryden's judgment [*L*]. Upon the commotions which preceded the Reſtoration, and particularly upon Sir George Booth's inſurrection, Sir William Davenant fell into freſh troubles, and underwent another impriſonment, from which, however, he was quickly releaſed (*n*). He complimented General Monk upon his good deſigns, and the great capacity he had ſhewn in the execution of them, in a ſhort poem, and his Majeſty King Charles the Second, upon his return, in a very long one (*o*). Soon after the Reſtoration there were two companies of players formed, one under the title of the King's Servants, the other under that of the Duke's Company, both by patents from the Crown; the firſt granted to Henry Killigrew, Eſq; and the latter to Sir William Davenant (*p*). The King's Company acted firſt at the Red Bull, at the upper end of St John's-ſtreet, from thence they removed to a new play-houſe in Vere-ſtreet, Clare-market, and, after playing a year or two there, they eſtabliſhed themſelves in the Theatre-Royal in Drury-lane. As for Sir William Davenant, it was ſome time before he compleated his company, into which he took all who had formerly played under Mr Rhodes, in the Cockpit in Drury-lane, and, amongſt theſe, the famous Mr Betterton, who appeared firſt to advantage, under the patronage of Sir William Davenant (*q*). He opened the Duke's theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields with his own dramatick performance of *The Siege of* RHODES, the Houſe being finely decorated, and the Stage ſupplied with painted ſcenes, which were by him introduced at leaſt, if not invented (*r*), affording certainly a great addition of beauty to dramatic entertainments, tho' ſome there are who have inſinuated, that fine ſcenes proved the ruin of fine acting [*M*].

We

These were a kind of operas, and acted to muſick. The author reviſed, altered, and augmented them, after the Reſtoration, when they had the honour of the King's preſence: they were alſo printed and publiſhed in folio, with a dedication to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and very much eſteemed.

[*L*] *If there be any regard due to Mr Dryden's judgment.*] What we have ventured to advance in the text and notes, in favour of an author and his works, now ſo little regarded, ſeems to ſtand in need of ſome ſupport, and therefore we ſhall cite what ſo great a Poet, and ſo good a judge of Poetry, has written upon this ſubject, with regard to heroick plays. Mr Dryden (30) tells us, ‘The firſt light we had of them on the Engliſh theatre, was from the late Sir William Davenant. It being forbidden him, in the religious times, to act tragedies and comedies, becauſe they contained ſome matter of ſcandal to thoſe good people, who could more eaſily diſpoſſeſs their lawful Sovereign, than endure a wanton jeſt, he was forced to turn his thoughts another way, and to introduce the examples of moral virtue, writ in verſe, and performed in recitative muſick. The original of this muſick, and of the ſcenes which adorned his work, he had from the Italian operas; but he heightened his characters, as I may probably imagine, from the examples of Corneille, and ſome French Poets. In this condition did this part of Poetry remain at his Majeſty's return, when growing bolder, as now being owned by publick authority, Davenant reviewed his *Siege of Rhodes*, and cauſed it to be acted as a juſt drama. But, as few men have the happineſs to begin and finiſh any new project, ſo neither did he live to make his deſign perfect. There wanted the fullneſs of a plot, and the variety of characters, to form it as it ought; and, perhaps, ſomewhat might have been added to the beauty of the ſtile; all which he would have performed with more exactneſs, had he pleaſed to have given us another work of the ſame nature. For myſelf, and others who come after him, we are bound, with all veneration to his memory, to acknowledge what advantage we received from that excellent ground work which he laid; and, ſince it is an eaſy thing to add to what already is invented, we ought all of us, without envy to him, or partiality to ourſelves, to yield him the precedence in it.’

[*M*] *Proved the ruin of fine acting.*] It may, poſſibly, afford ſome ſatisfaction to the reader, to have this point briefly explained. He has heard, that, in King Charles Iſt's time, dramatick entertainments were accompanied with rich ſcenery, curious machines, and other elegant embelliſhments, proceeding chiefly from the ſkill and care, the great capacity and wonderful dexterity, of that celebrated Engliſh Architect Inigo Jones. But theſe were employed only in maſques at Court, and were too expenſive for the little theatres in which plays were then acted. In them there was nothing more than a curtain, of ſome very coarſe ſtuff, upon the drawing up of which the ſtage appeared either with bare walls on the ſides, coarſly matted, or covered with tapeſtry, ſo that for the place originally repreſented, and all the changes ſucceſſively in which the Poets of thoſe times indulged themſelves very freely, there was nothing to help the reader's underſtanding, or to aſſiſt the actor's performance, but bare imagination. It is true, that, while things continued in this ſituation, there were a great many play-houſes, ſometimes ſix or ſeven, open at once. Of theſe, ſome were large, and in part open, where they acted by day-light; others ſmaller, but better fitted up, where they made uſe of candles. The plainneſs of the theatre made the prices ſmall, and this drew abundance of company; yet, upon the whole, it may be well doubted, whether the ſpectators, in all theſe houſes, were really ſuperior in number to thoſe who have frequented the theatres in later times. If the ſpirit and judgment of the actors ſupplied all deficiencies, and made, as ſome would ſuggeſt, plays more intelligible without ſcenes than they afterwards were with them, it muſt be very aſtoniſhing at leaſt, if not incredible; neither is it difficult to aſſign another cauſe why thoſe, who were concerned in play-houſes, were angry with ſcenes and decorations, which was, that, notwithſtanding the advanced prices, their profits, from that time, were continually ſinking. An author, who ſeems to be very well acquainted with the ſubject on which he writes, aſſures us, that the whole ſharers in Mr Hart's company divided a thouſand pounds a year apiece, before theſe new and expenſive decorations came into faſhion (31). Sir William Davenant conſidered things in another light; he was well acquainted with the alterations which the French theatre had received, under the auſpice of Cardinal Richlieu,

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(*m*) See this explained in the note.

(*n*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 682.

(*o*) Theſe poems are inſerted in the general collection of his works.

(*p*) Apology for the life of Mr Colley Cibber, p. 75.

(*q*) Life of Betterton, p. 5.

(*r*) Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica, or an Hiſtorical Account of the Engliſh Stage. Lond. 1699. 8vo. p. 18. Life of Betterton, p. 6.

(30) Eſſay on Heroick Plays.

(31) Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica, or an Hiſtorical Account of the Engliſh Stage, p. 11.

We muſt not omit that, upon the King's return, and Sir William Davenant's having an intereſt at Court, he gave a noble inſtance of his gratitude to Mr Milton, who had been ſo inſtrumental in ſaving his life ten years before, by rendering him the like ſervice, and preſerving him from feeling the effects of that reſentment which was ſo ſtrong againſt him, that many writers have conſidered his as a kind of miraculous eſcape (*s*). After all the ſtorms that he had met with, Sir William Davenant had the comfort of paſſing the laſt years of his life in credit and quiet. He transferred his company to the new and magnificent theatre built in Dorſet-Gardens (*t*), where ſome of his old plays were revived, with very ſingular circumſtances of royal kindneſs and favour, and a new one, when brought upon the Stage, met with great applauſe. The laſt labour of his pen was in altering a play of Shakeſpear's, ſo as to render it agreeable to that age, or rather, ſuſceptible of thoſe theatrical improvements which he had brought into faſhion; and in this alſo he had as much ſucceſs as he could expect; and, though he did not live to ſee the full effects of it, yet the higheſt tribute of praiſe has been paid, and the ſtricteſt juſtice done, to his memory and merit, by that excellent Poet, who ſucceeded to his laurel (*u*) [*N*]. He died at his houſe in little Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, April 7th, 1668, aged ſixty-three (*w*), and, two days afterwards, was interred in Weſtminſter-Abbey, when, to the great grief of honeſt Mr Wood, there was an inexcuſable error committed in the ceremony, for, through haſte, the laurel-wreath was forgot, which ſhould have been placed upon his coffin (*x*). On his grave-ſtone is inſcribed, in imitation of Ben Johnſon's ſhort epitaph, O RARE SIR WILLIAM DAVENANT! It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that his remains reſt very near the place, out of which, thoſe of Mr Thomas May, Hiſtorian and Secretary to the Parliament, who cauſed him to be interred there with a fine monument and pompous inſcription, were removed (*y*). As to the character of our author (*z*), the reader may eaſily collect it from this account of his life and works; to facilitate which ſtill farther, ſome other particulars have been placed in the notes [*O*]. In regard to his family, we
have

(*s*) Explanatory Notes, &c. by J. Richardſon, p. xci.

(*t*) Life of Mr Betterton, p. 7.

(*u*) See this at large in the note [*N*].

(*w*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 414.

(*x*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 169.

(*y*) Antiquities of St Peter's, Weſtminſter, Vol. II. p. 23. in the Appendix.

(*z*) Langbaine's Engliſh Poets, p. 115.

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lieu, who had an excellent taſte; and he remembered the elegant contrivances of Inigo Jones, which were not at all inferior to the deſigns of the beſt French maſters; Sir William was likewiſe ſenſible, that the Monarch he ſerved was an exquiſite judge of every thing of this kind; and all theſe conſiderations, taken together, excited in him a paſſion for the advancement of the theatre, to which without diſpute the great figure it has ſince made is chiefly owing. Mr Dryden acknowledged his admirable talents in this way, and very gratefully remembers the pains taken by Sir William to ſet a work of his in the faireſt light poſſible, and to which he very ingenuouſly aſcribes, in a great meaſure, the ſucceſs with which it was received.

[*N*] *By that excellent Poet, who ſucceeded to his laurel.*] At the opening of the new play-houſe in Dorſet-Gardens, Sir William Davenant's play, called *Love and Honour*, was acted before the Court; upon which occaſion Mr Betterton, who played Prince Alvaro, wore the King's coronation ſuit; his Royal Highneſs of York gave Mr Harris, who played Prince Proſpero, his; and Mr Price, who performed the part of Lionel Duke of Parma, had a very rich ſuit, that was given him by the Earl of Oxford (32). We come now to the works penned by our Laureat in the evening of his days; the laſt of which were,

XXII. *The Man's the Maſter*, a Comedy. Lond. 1669. *4to.*

This play was acted in our author's life-time, with great applauſe, though not publiſhed till after his deceaſe; the deſign, and part of the language, is borrowed from Scarron's *Jodelet, ou le Maiſtre valet*, and part from *L'Heretier ridicule*, a Comedy of the ſame author's (33).

XXIII. *The* TEMPEST, *or the* INCHANTED ISLAND, *altered from* Shakeſpear *by Sir* William Davenant *and Mr* Dryden. Lond. 1676. *4to*

In the preface to this play, which is dated Dec. 1ſt, 1669, Mr Dryden gives the following account of the ſhare our author had in this performance, and is that which we have hinted at in the text. 'Sir William Davenant, ſays he, who was a man of quick and piercing 'imagination, ſoon found that ſomewhat might be 'added to the deſign of Shakeſpear, of which neither 'Fletcher nor Suckling had ever thought. And, there'fore, to put the laſt hand to it, he deſigned the coun'terpart to Shakeſpear's plot, namely, that of a man 'who had never ſeen a woman, that, by this means, 'thoſe two characters, of Innocence and Love, might 'the more illuſtrate and commend each other. This 'excellent contrivance he was pleaſed to communicate 'to me, and to deſire my aſſiſtance in it. I confeſs, 'that, from the very firſt moment, it ſo pleaſed me, 'that I never writ any thing with more delight. I 'might likewiſe do him that juſtice to acknowledge, 'that my writing received daily his amendments, and 'that is the reaſon why it is not ſo faulty as the reſt 'which I have done, without the help or correction 'of ſo judicious a friend. The comical parts of the 'ſailors were alſo of his invention, and, for the moſt 'part, his writing, as you will eaſily diſcover by the 'ſtile.'

[*O*] *Have been placed in the notes*] We have already mentioned a poem written ſome years after the Reſtoration, under the ſame title with Sir John Suckling's, *viz. The Seſſions of the Poets*; in this our author is a little ſeverely, not to ſay rudely, handled in the following ſtanzas (34).

Will. Davenant would fain have been ſteward o' th' court,
  To have fin'd and amerc'd each man at his will,
But Apollo, it ſeems, had heard a report,
  That his choice of new plays did ſhew h'ad no ſkill.

Beſides, ſome critics had ow'd him a ſpite,
  And a little before had made the god fret,
By letting him know the Laureat did write
  That damnable farce, *The Houſe to be Lett.*

The Hiſtorian of Oxford takes ſome pains to inform us, that, while our author was in that Univerſity, he made but a ſmall progreſs in the ſeverer parts of learning, but ſtriking out into the ſmoother road of Poetry, he at once indulged his own inclination, and diſcovered the force of his natural genius, which, without the aſſiſtance of any guides, and with but a very ſmall acquaintance with the ancients, enabled him to aſpire unto, and even acquire, the Laurel. This is very handſomely expreſſed by Dr Fell, or whoever tranſlated Mr Wood's ſentiments upon that ſubject (35). *Sed ingenium ipſius, tam aſperis & horridis ſtudiis ſemper averſum ad amæniores Poëticæ campos ſtatim properavit. In his nemo lætiori decurſu, nemo feliciori volatu lauream promeruit, & quamvis omnibus veterum ſubſidiis deſtitutus ſolâ tamen ingenii vi, eos ita aſſequutus videtur, ut grande profectò rariſſimique exempli documentum dederit, quantum ſine arte ſola natura præſtare valeat.* Mr Dryden, who knew him better, and who was alſo a better judge, has given us a true picture of his poetick character (36). 'I found him, ſays he, of ſo quick a 'fancy, that nothing was propoſed to him on which 'he could not ſuddenly produce a thought, extreamly 'pleaſant and ſurpriſing, and thoſe firſt thoughts of
'his,

(32) Hiſt. of the Engl. Stage, p. 91.

(33) Langbaine's Engliſh Poets, p. 109.

(34) Dryden's Miſcellanies, Vol. II. p. 90.

(35) Hiſt. & Ant. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 168.

(36) Preface to the Tempeſt.

have not been able to collect any diſtinct account of it, farther than what regards two of his ſons, concerning whom the reader will receive all the information we can give in the ſucceeding articles. Sir William Davenant's works entire were publiſhed by his widow in 1673, and dedicated to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, afterwards King James II; and, in her dedication, ſhe tells him, that his Royal Father was not diſpleaſed with her huſband's writings, that the Queen his Mother graciouſly took him into her family, was diverted by, and often ſmiled upon, his endeavours; and that the latter part of his life had been ſpent in the ſtudy and labour to entertain his Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs.

‘ his, contrary to the old Latin proverb, were not always the leaſt happy. And, as his fancy was quick, ſo likewiſe were the products of it remote and new. He borrowed not of any other, and his imaginations were ſuch as could not eaſily enter into any other man. His corrections were ſober and judicious, and he corrected his own writings much more ſeverely than thoſe of another man, beſtowing twice the time and labour in poliſhing which he uſed in invention.’ Thus, with all the induſtry in our power, we have collected, and, with all the care and application poſſible, have digeſted, the ſcattered memoirs of this once celebrated Poet; and, to juſtify our diligence therein, we will ſum up all by putting poſterity in mind, that it is to him we owe the ſetting our theatre upon a level with thoſe of France and Italy (37), the preſerving the greateſt genius for Poetry this nation ever produced (38), and the bringing upon the ſtage, and inſtructing, the ableſt actor that ever trod thereon (39). E

(37) Hiſt. & Ant. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 169.

(38) Explanatory Notes, &c. by J. Richardſon, p. xci.

(39) Life of Betterton, p. 5.

D'AVENANT (**Charles**) the eldeſt ſon of Sir William Davenant, was born ſome time in the year 1656 (*a*), and received the firſt tincture of letters at the grammar-ſchool of Cheame, in the county of Surry, under the care of Mr George Aldrich, of Cambridge (*b*). He gave very early proofs of an active and ſprightly genius; and, though it muſt have been a great misfortune to him to loſe, as he did, his father, when ſcarce twelve years of age, yet care was taken to ſend him to Oxford to compleat his ſtudies, where he became a Fellow-Commoner of Baliol-College in Midſummer Term 1671, but left that Univerſity without taking a degree (*c*). The firſt proof which the publick received of his parts was a dramatick compoſition, written when he was about nineteen years of age, and which was received with great kindneſs by a very polite audience, and frequently acted afterwards with juſt applauſe (*d*) [*A*]. He had a conſiderable ſhare in the theatre in right of his father, which, probably, induced him to turn his thoughts ſo early to the ſtage; yet he was not long detained either by that, or by the ſucceſs of his play, in the flowery road of Poetry. On the contrary, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Civil Law, in which he had the degree of Doctor conferred upon him by the Univerſity of Cambridge (*e*). He was elected, with James St Amand, Eſq; to repreſent the borough of St Ives in Cornwall, in the firſt Parliament of King James II, which was ſummoned to meet May 19th, 1685 (*f*); and, about the ſame time, he was jointly empowered, with the Maſter of the Revels, to inſpect all plays, to preſerve the decorum of the Stage, by preventing any thing that might have a tendency to immorality from appearing thereon (*g*). He was alſo appointed a Commiſſioner of the Exciſe (*h*), and continued in that employment for near ſix years, that is, from 1683 to 1689; during which ſpace that branch of the revenue was managed with great advantage to the Crown, as well as with great honour and fidelity by ſuch as were intruſted with it, as he demonſtrated to the publick by comparing their conduct, and the conſequences of it, with thoſe of their ſucceſſors; againſt which account, though there were ſome cavils raiſed, yet the facts contained therein could not be contradicted (*i*) [*B*]. His thorough acquaintance with

(*a*) As appears from the time at which he died, and his age at the time of his death.

(*b*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 945.

(*c*) Faſt. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 213.

(*d*) Langbaine's Engliſh Dramatick Poets, p. 116.

(*e*) From private information.

(*f*) Parliamentary Regiſter, p. 126. Willis's Notit. Parliament. Vol. II. p. 130.

(*g*) Langbaine's Engl. Dramatick Poets, p. 116.

(*h*) Animadverſions on a late ſeditious book, intituled, *Eſſays on the Ballance of Power*, &c. p. 5.

(*i*) See this matter diſcuſſed in note [*B*].

[*A*] *And frequently acted afterwards with juſt applauſe.*] This ſingle dramatick performance of our author has the following title:

I. Circe, *a Tragedy, acted at his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York's theatre*, Lond. 1677, 4*to*.

After the death of Sir William Davenant, thoſe miſchiefs, to which the theatre became expoſed in his life-time, began to threaten it's deſtruction. For the two companies, vying with each other, that of the Duke rather choſe to make their court to the town by rich dreſſes, beautiful ſcenes, ſurprizing machinery, and other decorations of that ſort, than play to thinner houſes than uſual, which ſerved only to heighten that falſe taſte, that has been always the bane of dramatick entertainments. To the introduction of theſe, this new piece was ſo far accommodated, that, notwithſtanding it's title, Mr Langbaine ſays juſtly, that it was conſidered rather as an Opera, yet the ſubject ſuiting very well with the deſign, and the verſes written with great eaſe and ſpirit, it was with all theſe helps generally, if not univerſally, admired (1). The reader muſt obſerve, that it was not printed till two years after it was firſt acted, upon which occaſion Mr Dryden wrote a Prologue, and the Earl of Rocheſter an Epilogue, both beautiful pieces in their kind. In the former there was this fine apology for the author's youth and inexperience (2).

Your *Ben* and *Fletcher* in their firſt young flight,
Did no *Volpone* nor no *Arbaces* write,
But hopp'd about, and ſhort excurſions made
From bough to bough, as if they were afraid;
And each was guilty of ſome ſlighted *maid*.
Shakeſpear's own Muſe her *Pericles* firſt bore,
The Prince of *Tyre* was elder than the *Moor*.
'Tis miracle to ſee a *firſt* good play,
All *hawthorns* do not bloom on *Chriſtmas-day*.
A ſlender Poet muſt have time to grow,
And ſpread and burniſh as his brothers do;
Who ſtill looks lean ſure with ſome pox is curſt,
But no man can be, *Falſtaff* fat at firſt.
Then damn not, but indulge, his rude eſſays;
Encourage him, and bloat him up with praiſe.
That he may get more bulk before he dies,
He's not yet fed enough for ſacrifice.
Perhaps if now your grace you will not grudge,
He may grow up to *write*, and you to *judge*.

[*B*] *Yet the facts therein could not be contradicted.*] It may be reaſonably believed, though, at this diſtance of time, it cannot be poſitively affirmed, this gentleman

(1) Engliſh Dramatick Poets, p. 116.

(2) Original Poems and Tranſlations, by John Dryden, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 241.

with the laws and conſtitution of the kingdom, joined to his great ſkill in figures, and his happineſs in applying that ſkill according to the principles advanced by Sir William Petty, for the perfecting Political Arithmetick, enabled him to enter deeply in the management of affairs, and procured him great ſucceſs as a political writer (*k*). In all his pieces he reaſons entirely upon Revolution principles, and pays the higheſt compliments to the perſonal virtues, and excellent abilities, of the Prince then upon the throne; notwithſtanding which ſuch as oppoſed him made no ſcruple of diſputing his principles, and of maintaining, that his real view was to ſubvert the government, though he pretended to ſupport it by

(*k*) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 217.

man had ſome leſſer employment in the Exciſe, before he was advanced to the rank of a Commiſſioner. It is to one of his adverſaries that we are indebted for this circumſtance, that Mr Davenant came to the board at Midſummer 1683, when this part of the revenue, which for many years had been let to farm, came again into the hands of the Crown, and was delegated to ſix Commiſſioners (3). The hiſtory of their management, as given by Dr Davenant himſelf, is what we have referred to in the text, and a ſmall part of which we ſhall tranſcribe here, from which the reader will diſcern, that, when this gentleman undertook to give the publick his ſentiments as to the management of the revenue, he was not either an ignorant or an impertinent pretender, but one who perfectly underſtood the matter which he promiſed to make plain, and pointed out the only method for correcting the errors of the adminiſtration that will ever be found practicable, *viz.* that of detecting the faults in particular departments, ſhewing whence they ariſe, and how they may be amended. Let the author now ſpeak for himſelf, and tell us how that commiſſion was executed while he remained a member (4)

(3) Remarks upon ſome wrong computations and concluſions, &c. p. 8.

(4) Diſcourſes on the publick revenues and trade of England, Vol. I. p. 77.

‘ When the exciſe was put from a farm into a commiſſion, the Commiſſioners, at their firſt coming in, did not make any material change of officers, deferring that till they had better knowledge of thoſe under them, and till they were more maſters of their buſineſs; and by degrees, and with great caution, they weeded out ſuch unqualified, corrupt, or negligent officers, as had been partially brought in during the former management, which was ſupine enough towards the latter end. And whereas the method of keeping the ſtock-books, and way of charging the people, were different almoſt in every collection, they ſettled one uniform method through the whole kingdom, taking that form for a pattern which had been made uſe of with moſt ſucceſs in the beſt managed collections, which were Yorkſhire, Wales, and the four northern counties.

‘ To ſee which method put in execution, and to ſee ſuch other directions performed as the Commiſſioners ſhould afterwards give, they appointed four general Riders, and eight general Superviſors. But as a check above all, and which was indeed the life of their whole affair, the Commiſſioners themſelves made frequent circuits round the kingdom, viewing every particular officer in his reſpective diviſion, without which the inferior officers would have run into ſloth, and the ſuperior into corruption. And in theſe circuits they could obſerve who were remiſs, who diligent, who deſerved advancement, who wanted removing; and here they ſuited each man's diſtrict to his capacity, and, if their officers were corrupt, here they got true information of their proceedings.

‘ But theſe Commiſſioners had done little good abroad with their inſpection, if the officers had not been ſenſible, that they were overlooked by perſons ſkilful in the matter, and able to hit a fault; for that Commiſſioner who rides abroad not fully poſſeſſed of his buſineſs, ſhall be hourly impoſed upon by the inferior officers, and leave things in a worſe order than he found them. They rarely made any addition of officers to increaſe the King's charge, but upon their own view in theſe circuits, and upon a full conviction that ſuch increaſe of expence would turn to the King's account.

‘ They took care to employ reſponſible men for their Collectors, by which means their accounts have been made up with very little ſupers upon any officer. In ſix years time they had got together twelve hundred Gaugers, active and ſkilful, and ſuch a ſet of men, as perhaps no Prince had ever a better employed in his revenue. And as to the commiſſion itſelf, it was firſt compoſed of perſons who all of them, ſome way or other, had been before converſant in the exciſe, and who agreed very well together; for in ſix years of that management, not one thing was ever put to the vote among them.

‘ They were generally perſons not above their employments, and who had no other buſineſs but the King's to follow; and they had a large ſalary which put them beyond corruption. Their management was impartial, no man was turned out to let in another, but upon ſtrong proof, and the report of a Commiſſioner or General Officer upon the ſpot. So that he who was ſkilful and diligent, looked upon himſelf as in for life, for which reaſon they were ſerved heartily and with affection.

‘ Their management was uncorrupt; no place was ſold, or ſuffered to be ſold, under them; by which they could pick and chooſe the beſt, and were entirely maſters of their inferior officers. They were ſteady and conſtant in their proceedings, not giving out general orders one week and contradicting them the next.

‘ They did not vex the people any where with unreaſonable fines; and knowing the revenue in ſome meaſure to be precarious, they were not ſevere in London in exacting arrears, for fear that if they ſhould bring any diſtreſs and trouble upon the London brewery, it would occaſion the making ill drink, and ſo drive the people to brew themſelves, which would deſtroy the duty.

‘ Theſe Commiſſioners did believe, that their ſkill, fidelity, and diligence, would always recommend them to any government, and keep them in their employments; they therefore quitted their private buſineſs and profeſſions, to devote themſelves wholly to the King's ſervice, managing his revenue with the ſame care, affection, and frugality, as the father of a family would uſe in the ordering his own affairs, which occaſioned my Lord Rocheſter, (no incompetent judge in thoſe matters) at his leaving the Treaſury, to take particular notice to the late King, how well that branch had been conducted.

‘ But, after all, the ſucceſs with which this management was attended, is chiefly to be attributed to the wiſdom and ſteady conduct of thoſe noble perſons, who, while they governed at the head of the Treaſury, in their ſeveral turns, did more at Whitehall towards keeping this branch in order, than was done in Broadſtreet. When the principal officers and Commiſſioners of every revenue were in a manner of their chooſing, and under their direction, they took care that the King ſhould be well and diligently ſerved, and the publick taſted the benefit of that great power which was truſted with them. They had notice how each perſon attended or underſtood his buſineſs; they called every month to know what Commiſſioners were abroad ſurveying in the country; they looked into all tranſactions weekly, and took an exact account every quarter how the duty proceeded; and, in ſhort, the ſtrict eye which the Treaſury kept over the Commiſſioners, rendered them watchful over their inferior officers; all which together made the revenue flouriſh.’

To this high character of theſe Commiſſioners, he adds, by way of contraſt, a very different one of thoſe who ſucceeded them, and in reſpect to this he was very vigorouſly oppoſed by one, who had ſome particular reaſons for vindicating their conduct whom the Doctor had expoſed, but even this writer (5) does not at all contradict what had been advanced in reference to the behaviour of the firſt ſet of Commiſſioners while they were in office.

(5) Remarks upon ſome wrong computations and concluſions, &c. p. 4.

by expoſing the errors of the Miniſtry (*l*). His performances in this kind, during the reign of King William, were very numerous; and, as they met with high approbation then, ſo the importance of the ſubjects of which they treat, and the ſingular and ſolid learning they contain, make them very much eſteemed and valued even at this day. We ſhall give the reader the correcteſt catalogue we can of them in the notes [*C*]. It was in one

[*C*] *The correcteſt catalogue we can of them in the notes.*] A certain writer tells us, that Dr Davenant having laid wagers that the army of the allies would not ſucceed in Flanders, and particularly that they would not be able to take Namur (6), his loſing them provoked him to draw his pen againſt the government, ſo that, if he is believed, private pique, and particular prejudices, were the ſource of this gentleman's publick ſpirit. His books however are penned in a manner very different from this, and ſeem to ſpeak the writer very heartily deſirous that the war then carried on ſhould be attended with ſucceſs, and the power of France humbled, without exhauſting the ſtrength of this nation. Such is the apparent view of his firſt political work:

II. *An Eſſay upon Ways and Means of ſupplying the War*, Lond. 1695, 8*vo*.

In this treatiſe he diſcovered his great capacity in the art of computation, and with much induſtry and pains pointed out the means of judging truly of the nature of funds, upon which important ſubjects he wrote with ſo much ſtrength and perſpicuity, as gained him great reputation, and ſufficiently recommended to the publick whatever pieces came abroad by the author of *The Eſſay on Ways and Means*, which was the method Dr Davenant took to diſtinguiſh moſt of his ſucceeding writings, as well as if he had put his name to them, which however, for ſome prudential reaſons, he declined.

III. *An Eſſay on the Eaſt India Trade*, London, 1697, 8*vo*.

This, which was no more than a pamphlet, wore the form of a letter to the moſt honourable John Lord Marquis of Normanby, afterwards Duke of Buckinghamſhire. In it the author gives a ſhort and clear view of the importance of trade in general, and afterwards enters very fairly and freely into the nature of the trade to the Eaſt Indies, which he confeſſes to be detrimental to the inhabitants of Europe in general, but ſhews, that it may be advantageous to ſome particular nations, that it is ſo to England, and that the monopoly of this trade in the hands of the Dutch, might be worth to them ſix millions ſterling annually. He likewiſe gives his reaſons, why the prohibitions then intended of Eaſt India and Perſia wrought ſilks, would be deſtructive to that trade in general, and hazard it's being utterly loſt to the kingdom.

IV. *Diſcourſes on the Publick Revenues, and of the Trade of England; by the author of the Eſſay on Ways and Means. Part* I. *To which is added, A Diſcourſe upon improving the Revenue of the State of Athens, written originally in Greek by Xenophon, and now made Engliſh from the Original, with ſome Hiſtorical Notes; by another hand.* Lond. 1698, 8*vo*.

In this piece, the author undertakes to diſcover his ſenſe upon the following very important topicks, *viz.* Of the uſe of political arithmetick, in all conſiderations about the revenue and trade. On credit, and the means and methods by which it may be reſtored. On the management of the King's revenues; Whether to farm the revenues may not, in this juncture, be moſt for the publick ſervice? On the publick debts and engagements.

The Diſcourſe on the Revenue of the State of Athens, was written by the famous Walter Moyle, Eſq; and addreſſed by him to Dr Davenant, in which addreſs there occurs a paſſage, which ſhews that there were ſome thoughts of ſending over our author in quality of Director-General to the Eaſt Indies, and is alſo a clear teſtimony, what that great man's notions were in reference to the real intentions, as well as great importance, of our author's writings. Speaking of what might be expected upon the concluſion of a peace with France, he ſays (7), ‘ Trade being of ſuch mighty ‘ conſequence to the intereſt of the nation, will, we ‘ hope, meet with due encouragement and protection ‘ from our laws, and will be ſettled under the ableſt ‘ management and the wiſeſt regulation. Theſe ‘ branches of our commerce, which have been impaired ‘ or loſt by the pyratick war, and the fatal interruption ‘ of our navigation, may be retrieved by ‘ the peace; and other trades, and particularly that ‘ with France, which the negligence, or the miſtaken ‘ counſels of the laſt reigns, had ſettled upon a foot ſo ‘ deſtructive to our intereſt, may be eſtabliſhed to our ‘ advantage in a new treaty of commerce. The great ‘ trade to the Eaſt Indies, with ſome few regulations, ‘ might be eſtabliſhed upon a bottom more conſiſtent ‘ with the manufactures of England, but in all appearance ‘ this is not to be compaſſed, unleſs ſome ‘ publick ſpirited man (*), with a maſterly genius, be ‘ placed at the head of our affairs in India; and tho' ‘ we, who are his friends, are loth to loſe him, 'twere ‘ to be wiſhed for the good of the kingdom, that the ‘ gentleman whom common fame, and the voice of ‘ the world, have pointed out as the ableſt man for ‘ ſuch a ſtation, would employ his excellent judgment ‘ and talents that way, in the execution of ſo noble and ‘ uſeful a deſign. The general intereſt of a nation ‘ ought to be the care of particular men, the main ‘ bent of their ſtudies, and the chief purſuit of their ‘ enquiries; every man ought to ſet his helping hand to ‘ ſuch a work, and your own generous labours upon ‘ this ſubject have ſet an excellent pattern to the reſt ‘ of the world.’

V. *Diſcourſes on the Publick Revenues, and on the trade of England, which more immediately treat of the foreign traffick of this kingdom. By the author of the Eſſay on Ways and Means. Part* II. Lond. 1698, 8*vo*.

In this excellent work, the author has undertaken to explain four very important points, ſo as to render them perfectly intelligible even to common underſtandings; the firſt is the nature of foreign trade, in which he not only ſhews that it is really beneficial to this kingdom, but how it comes to be ſo, and what are the proper methods of enquiring, whether foreign trade is beneficial or not within any given period whatever. The ſecond point is as to the care and protection of trade, in which a multitude of curious points are incidentally illuſtrated. The third point he labours, is that of the plantation trade, and in reference to this there are more uſeful obſervations advanced, and more important facts laid down, than are to be met with in the ſame compaſs in any book publiſhed in our language. The advantages and diſadvantages which may be derived from the Eaſt India trade, or which it may be expoſed to, is our author's topick in his fourth diſcourſe, at the beginning of which he gives the following account of what he would have underſtood to be the ſcope and intention of all his writings (8). ‘ The ‘ author's aim is to deliver things plainly, without the ‘ diſguiſe of hard words and terms, which rubbiſh ‘ being removed, the precious ore will ſooner appear ‘ that is to be found in ſtudies of this nature. His ends ‘ are compaſſed if he can ſet out intricate matters in ‘ an eaſy manner, hoping thereby to induce the young ‘ Nobility and Gentry of the kingdom to take a pleaſure ‘ in theſe ſort of contemplations, and he wiſhes ‘ this preſent performance did in any degree anſwer ‘ the deſire he has of ſerving the publick.

‘ 'Tis a great delight to him to obſerve, that many ‘ of our young Nobility and Gentry have expreſſed an ‘ inclination to inform themſelves of the ſtate of England, ‘ and that learning begins to be more in faſhion ‘ than of late years, people being not aſhamed now of ‘ underſtanding Greek and Latin. Nothing did more ‘ help to advance the Roman greatneſs, than that ‘ their youth were bred up to an early knowledge of ‘ their country's buſineſs, to which they attained by ‘ progreſſive ſteps, through ſeveral offices of the State, ‘ wherein they gained the experience that fitted them ‘ at laſt for the magiſtracies of chiefeſt truſt and importance. ‘ They qualified themſelves for the publick ‘ ſervice, by ſeaſoning betimes their underſtandings ‘ with the love of letters; for, in thoſe days, whoever

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(*l*) Animadverſions on a late ſeditious book, intituled, *Eſſays on the Ballance of Power*, &c. p. 5.

(6) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 118.

(*) Dr Davenant himſelf.

(7) In his introduction to the tranſlation of that diſcourſe of Xenophon.

(8) Diſcourſe on the publick Revenues, and on the Trade of England, Vol. II. p. 320.

one of theſe books that the author ſuffered himſelf to be ſo carried away by his zeal, as to treat the Church, or, at leaſt, ſome Church-men, in ſo diſreſpectful a manner, as to draw upon himſelf a very unuſual mark of cenſure from one of the Houſes in Convocation (m) [D].

It

‘ ever pretended to intermeddle in matters of government, did firſt cultivate his mind with wiſdom and the precepts of Philoſophy, by which afterwards he might ſteer his actions, giving to the ſearch into uſeful arts or ſublimer ſtudies thoſe hours, which, in this age, are conſumed in riots and vain pleaſures.

‘ The young Nobility and Gentry not yet tainted, are the beſt hopes of a diſeaſed Commonwealth The warmth and ſpirit of ſuch, muſt aſſiſt their meaſures who deſire and are able to promote a right adminiſtration. And in national aſſemblies, it has been generally obſerved, that the young men are leaſt infected with corruption, and that they would always follow truth, but for the falſe lights which crafty guides ſet up with a purpoſe to miſlead them, for, while we are young, we are either aſhamed, or have not leiſure, to play the knave; but we come to it as age and diſcretion grow upon us.

‘ The writer's aim is to ſtir up the youth of the kingdom to bend their thoughts to the ſtudy of trade and the publick revenues, that, being maſters of the general notions of trade thereunto relating, they may not be miſlead by crafty and intereſted Merchants, or by ambitious and deſigning Politicians. When the youth of a nation have well informed their own reaſon, they follow her dictates, deliberating well and wiſely for their King and country, without being hurried to and fro by the whirlwind of a prevailing faction’

In anſwer to this performance, more eſpecially to what is advanced therein concerning the exciſe, there was publiſhed a pamphlet under the following title:

Remarks upon ſome wrong Computations and Concluſions, contained in a late tract, intituled, Diſcourſes on the Publick Revenues, and on the trade of England, *in a Letter to Mr D S.* London, 1698, 8*vo*.

VI *An Eſſay upon the Probable Methods of making the People Gainers in the Ballance of Trade. By the author of the Eſſay on Ways and Means.* London, 1699, 8*vo*

In this diſcourſe he inſiſts upon the following heads, *viz.* Of the people of England. Of the land of England, and it's product. Of our payments to the publick, and in what manner the ballance of trade may be thereby affected That a country cannot increaſe in wealth and power but by private men doing their duty to the publick, and but by a ſteady courſe of honeſty and wiſdom, in ſuch as are truſted with the adminiſtration of affairs.

VII. *A Diſcourſe upon* GRANTS *and* RESUMPTIONS, *ſhewing how our anceſtors have proceeded with ſuch Miniſters, as have procured to themſelves Grants of the Crown Revenue, and that the Forfeited Eſtates ought to be applied towards the Payment of Publick Debts. By the author of the Eſſay on Ways and Means.* Lond. 1700, 8*vo*.

In anſwer to this came out a very large and accurate work intituled,

JUS REGIUM: *or, The King's Right to grant Forfeitures and other Revenues of the Crown, fully ſet forth, and traced from the beginning. His Majeſty vindicated as to his Promiſe, concerning his Diſpoſal of the Forfeited Eſtates. The manifold Hardſhips of the Reſumption, and the little Advantage we ſhall reap by it, plainly demonſtrated.* Lond. 1701, 8*vo*

VIII. *Eſſays upon the Ballance of Power; the Right of making War, Peace, and Alliances; Univerſal Monarchy. To which is added an Appendix, containing the Records referred to in the ſecond Eſſay.* London, 1701, 8*vo*.

A very large and full anſwer to this work was publiſhed, under the title of

Animadverſions on a late factious book, intituled, Eſſays upon the Ballance of Power, &c *with a Letter containing a Cenſure upon the ſaid book, wherein the King, the Miniſtry, and the Church of England, are cleared from the malicious Aſperſions caſt upon them by the Enemies of this Government.* Lond 1701, 8*vo*.

The author of this pamphlet tells us (9), that Dr Davenant made himſelf conſpicuous, and ſecured a great party in the nation, by his early quarrel to the government, upon account of the mal-adminiſtration of affairs, which he would perſwade the world to be the reſult of his love to his country, when we all know his ſpleen has no other cauſe, than his having no more a ſhare in the management of one of the branches of the revenue.

IX. *A picture of a Modern Whig, in two Parts.* Lond 1701, 1702, 8*vo*.

There is nothing but general report, founded upon the likeneſs of the ſtile and other circumſtantial evidence, to prove that this bitter pamphlet fell from the pen of our author, and, if it did, he muſt be allowed to have been the greateſt maſter of invective that ever wrote in our language.

[D] *From one of the Houſes in Convocation.*] Our author, who is ſaid by his enemies to have been a very warm party-man himſelf, and blamed for calculating moſt of his writings for the ſervice of a party, makes it however the chief point in moſt of his books, and in that eſpecially which drew upon him this misfortune, to ſhew, that no country can be happy while party ſubſiſts in it, and that government can never be well adminiſtered while in the hands of a party. To ſhew that this was the caſe at that time, more eſpecially in the Church, he delivers himſelf in the following extraordinary flow of reſentment (10):

‘ As to religion, ſays he, 'tis notorious that many of thoſe lately in play, have uſed their utmoſt endeavours to diſcountenance all Revealed Religion They were more enraged at the Church party for believing in the Apoſtles Creed, than from the Tory principles ſome of them had advanced. Nothing but the ſubverſion of all divine worſhip, could make way for that immorality which they intended to put in practice; all ſort of Divines forbid the arts and ways by which they purpoſed to thrive, they were therefore to unſettle men in their opinions about religious matters, by which they hoped to prepare the minds, eſpecially of the vulgar, to have different thoughts of vice and virtue than what they had heretofore entertained, which if they could have compaſſed, they did not doubt to be well eſteemed of, as being the reverſe of what honeſt and virtuous men ought to be, and acting quite oppoſite to what all religions have enjoined. They would have been ſafe indeed, and it would cover all their crimes, if nothing could be thought foul, treacherous, or diſhoneſt, by which a man was to reap advantage, and if the people could have been once brought to think every thing good which they ſaw to proſper. Upon theſe grounds they have done their utmoſt to turn all religion to a jeſt. Do not we all know, that, in the midſt of their prophane mirth, a modeſt Chriſtian durſt hardly put in a word in favour of the ſecond perſon of the Trinity, without expoſing himſelf to laughter? To hear 'em talk ſometimes, one would imagine they believed a true Chriſtian could not be a friend to the government. Good God! what a ſtrange mixture of men have we lately ſeen upon the ſtage? irreligious Phanaticks, and arbitrary Republicans! *Are not a great many of us able to point out to ſeveral perſons, whom nothing has recommended to places of the higheſt truſt, and often to rich* BENEFICES *and* DIGNITIES, *but the open enmity which they have, almoſt from their cradles, profeſſed to the divinity of Chriſt.*’

What was done upon this will beſt appear, from tranſcribing part of the Journal of the Upper Houſe of Convocation (11).

Seſſio x. Die Sabbati 22 Martii.

The Moſt Reverend and Right Reverend Fathers being met in the Jeruſalem Chamber, made their accuſtomed prayers to Almighty God. Which being done, the ſaid Moſt Reverend produced a certain printed book, intituled, *Eſſays upon the Ballance of Power*, and after the reading of a certain paragraph in the fortieth page of the ſaid book, the Preſident and his Suffragans agreed, That the following paper ſhould be fixed over ſeveral doors in Weſtminſter-abbey.

March

(m) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 222.

(9) P. 5.

(10) P. 39, 40.

(11) The Hiſt. of the Convocation of the Prelates and Clergy of the Province of Canterbury, Lond. 1702. 4to. p. 75.

It is not at all ſtrange that one, who wrote upon ſuch topicks, and with ſo much freedom as he did, who cenſured boldly the meaſures he diſapproved, and had ſometimes the good fortune to find his ſentiments eſpouſed by the repreſentatives of the nation, ſhould feel the reſentments of men in power, or be expoſed to very harſh treatment from thoſe who endeavoured to refute him, in order to gain their favour (*n*). But a different behaviour might be expected from ſuch as undertake to write hiſtory, and who ought therefore to be very ſecure of their facts, before they deliver them as ſuch to the publick and to poſterity; yet a certain writer bears very hard upon Dr Davenant, for his conduct as a Member of Parliament in the reign of King William; tells us, that his circumſtances were ſuch as would have prevented him from having a ſeat after the act for qualifications took place, that the narrowneſs of them made it more than ſuſpected he was bribed by Count Tallard, the French Miniſter; and inſtances, in a particular vote, where Dr Davenant himſelf acknowledged he had given it againſt his conſcience (*o*). Yet we find our author complaining in his books of being ſhut out of active life, and having no other way to benefit his country but by his pen (*p*), which would have been very ſtrange language, if, at the ſame time, he had ſat in Parliament; but the truth of the matter is, that he did not obtain a ſeat in the reign of King William till the year 1698, when he was elected, with Francis Stonehouſe, Eſq; for the borough of Great Bedwin, as he was afterwards in the year 1700 (*q*); at which time alſo he wrote as warmly againſt France as any man; ſo that if the French Miniſter really allowed him a penſion, he beſtowed his money very ill; and the improbability of the fact makes better evidence neceſſary to prove it, than the bare aſſertion of an author very apt to be angry, and to believe, and ſay, any thing of thoſe with whom he is angry. This is farther certain, that, in 1704, Dr Davenant wrote a book, to ſhew the neceſſity of peace at home while a neceſſary war was carried on abroad; which he dedicated to Queen Anne (*r*), and which was ſuppoſed to be written at the deſire of Lord Halifax; though the Hiſtorian before-mentioned tells us, that he deſpiſed the author, and would never have any confidence in him (*ſ*). This drew upon him the reſentment of that party by whom he had been formerly eſteemed, and who beſtowed upon him as ill language, or rather worſe, than he had received from his former opponents (*t*). He was afterwards appointed Inſpector General of the Exports and Imports (*u*), in which employment he gave a very high teſtimony of his abilities, ſo that, to ſpeak with impartiality, he ought to be eſteemed a perſon who ſerved his country faithfully when in office, and uſefully when out; as for his remaining works they will be mentioned in the notes [*E*]. It is preſumed, that the care taken in repreſenting fairly and fully the performances

March 22, 1700.

Whereas this day a book intituled *Eſſays upon* I *The Ballance of Power.* II. *The Right of making War, Peace, and Alliances.* III *Univerſal Monarchy, &c.* was brought into the Jeruſalem Chamber, where his Grace the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the reſt of Suffragan Biſhops of his province, were aſſembled in Convocation: in the 40th page of which book are theſe words, *Are not a great many of us able to point out*, &c.

It is deſired by the ſaid Archbiſhop and Biſhops, that the author himſelf whoever he be, or any one of the great many to whom he refers, would point out to the particular perſons whom he or they know to be liable to that charge, that they may be proceeded againſt in a judicial way, which will be eſteemed a great ſervice to the Church; otherwiſe the abovementioned paſſage muſt be looked upon as a publick ſcandal.

THO. TYLLOTT,
Clericus Superioris Domus Convocationis.

[*E*] *They will be mentioned in the notes*] In this note we are to ſpeak of ſuch of our author's writings, as he publiſhed after the time that he is ſuppoſed to have reconciled himſelf to the Miniſtry.

X. *Eſſays upon Peace at home and War abroad, in two parts, by Charles Davenant, LL.D.* Lond. 1704, 8*vo.*

Whatever the motives might be which induced our author to compoſe and publiſh this piece, it is very certain that it is one of the wiſeſt and weightieſt that ever fell from his pen. That he was not aſhamed in any degree of this undertaking, appears from his putting his name to the book: and that he was as far from taking ſhame to himſelf on the ſcore of his former writings or behaviour, appears very clearly from the following paragraphs in his Dedication to the Queen, which are therefore highly deſerving the reader's notice.

'That for many years there have been parties in this kingdom is too evident, but 'twas what the beſt Patriots all along deplored, though formerly the miſchief was hardly to be avoided: endeavours to keep up a great land force in times of peace, neglect of trade, general profuſion, the ſpoils ſome had made upon the publick, and their alienating crown lands to an immenſe value both here and in Ireland, could not but provoke them who were to feel the weight of preſent taxes and of future debts.

In a free nation ſuch conduct will ever inflame the minds of men, and excite all true lovers of their country to exert their utmoſt ſtrength in it's reſcue. Theſe conteſts, to promote good government, and to carry on a bad one, divided the realm. The corruptions of the age were attacked with virtuous courage at firſt by thin ſquadrons, whoſe numbers increaſed from time to time, till at laſt they were ſtrong enough to make ſuch a ſtand, as prevented univerſal ruin. In the mean while, miſmanagement was ſupported with more warmth than perhaps was either juſt or decent. And theſe ſtruggles were no ſmall interruptions to your immediate predeceſſor in his counſels, and in his buſineſs of the war

And 'tis no wonder the face of the waters is not yet quite ſmooth, after a high ſtorm there will remain an agitation of the waves for many hours. Ambition may be ſtill at work, and ſome may yet be graſping at power, which they hope to compaſs by the aids and voices of their faction: but God has enriched your princely heart with ſuch prudence, as ſoon diſcerns what moſt conduces to the happineſs of the nations over which your ſceptre is extended.'

XI. *Reflections upon the Conſtitution and Management of the Trade to Africa, through the whole Courſe and Progreſs thereof, from the Beginning of the laſt Century to this Time; wherein the Nature and uncommon Circumſtances of that Trade are particularly conſidered, and all the Arguments urged alternately, by the two contending Parties here, touching the different Methods now propoſed by them, for carrying on the ſame to a national Advantage, impartially ſtated and conſidered. By all which a clear view is given of ſuch a Conſtitution, as (if eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament) would in all probability render the African Trade a permanent, creditable,*

(*n*) State-Tracts in the reign of William III. Vol II. p. 734, 735, 740, 741, 742.

(*o*) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 216, 217.

(*p*) Diſcourſe on Grants and Reſumptions, p. 41.

(*q*) Parliamentary Regiſter, p. 19.

(*r*) See an account of it in note [*E*].

(*ſ*) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 217.

(*t*) A Defence of the two laſt Parliaments, p. 35.

(*u*) Hiſt. of Europe for 1705. Appendix, p. 82.

performances of Dr Davenant, whoſe merit, as a political writer, whatever his failings might be, has been always acknowledged, will prove acceptable to the publick; the rather, becauſe hitherto ſuch accounts as have been given of his life and writings have been but very imperfect. He died in poſſeſſion of his employment November 6th, 1714 (*w*).

(*w*) Help to Hiſtory, Vol III. p. 296. Le Neve, Monumenta Anglicana, p. 293.

ditable, and advantageous Trade to Britain. Lond. 1709, fol. in three parts.

There is indeed no name to any of theſe treatiſes, but it was very well known at the time they were publiſhed by whom they were written, and therefore in a large collection of tracts, in the hands of a perſon perfectly well acquainted with literary hiſtory, they had this title given them (12), *Dr Davenant's Reflections on the Trade to Africa, 3 parts*, 1709 It muſt be acknowledged, that, excluſive of the reaſonings and arguments advanced in this performance, and which have been frequently copied ſince; there are abundance of material facts, and curious pieces of Hiſtory, which will render them always admired, and valued by thoſe who are deſirous of underſtanding the ſubject thoroughly, which they are intended to explain.

(12) Catalogue of the Library of Anthony Collins, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 14.

XII. *A Report to the Honourable the Commiſſioners for putting in execution the Act, intituled*, an Act for the taking, examining, and ſtating the publick Accounts of the kingdom, *from* Charles Davenant, LL.D. *Inſpector-General of the Exports and Imports.* Lond. 1712, 8*vo*, Part I.

XIII. *A ſecond Report to the Honourable the Commiſſioners, &c.* Lond 1712, 8*vo*.

The laſt of theſe Reports is dated from the Inſpector-General's office, Dec. 10, 1711 (13), and the deſign of both is, to give a general account of the trade of the kingdom from 1663 to 1710. This was the laſt work of our author, and contains in it a collection of facts of ineſtimable value to ſuch as are willing to diſtinguiſh between rumour, or common opinion, and the true ſtate of things, in reference to the commerce of Great Britain with her neighbours. E

(13) At the concluſion of that Report.

D'AVENANT (William) younger brother to the former, and fourth ſon to Sir William Davenant; was educated at Magdalen Hall, in the Univerſity of Oxford, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, July 19th, 1677 (*a*). He tranſlated into Engliſh from the French a book, intituled, *Animadverſions upon the famous* Greek *and* Latin *Hiſtorians*, written by the celebrated Mr la Mothe le Vayer (*b*), who was Tutor to the French King Louis XIII; which was very well received. He took the degree of Maſter of Arts July 5th, 1680 (*c*), and about the ſame time entering into holy orders, was preſented to a living in the county of Surrey, by his patron Robert Wymondſole, of Putney, Eſq; with whom he travelled into France; and in the ſummer of the year 1681, as he was diverting himſelf by ſwimming in a river near Paris, he was unfortunately drowned in the ſight of his Pupil, to the great regret of all who knew him, having added to great natural parts, by an aſſiduous application to ſtudy, as much ſound learning and true knowledge as could be expected in a perſon ſo young. E

(*a*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 205.

(*b*) Printed at Oxford, 1698. 8vo.

(*c*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 213.

DAVIES (Sir John), an eminent Lawyer and Poet [*A*] of the laſt century, was born at Chiſgrove in the pariſh of Tyſbury in Wiltſhire, being the ſon of a wealthy Tanner

[*A*] *An eminent Lawyer and Poet.*] In quality of a Lawyer, Sir John gave the world the following pieces: I. *A Diſcovery of the true Cauſes, why Ireland was never entirely ſubdued, nor brought under obedience of the crown of England, until the beginning of his Majeſty's happy reign.* Lond. 1612, 4*to*. Dedicated to the King with this Latin verſe only:

Principis eſt virtus maxima noſſe ſuos.

II. *A Declaration of our Sovereign Lord the King, concerning the title of his Majeſty's ſon Charles, the Prince and Duke of Cornwall.* Lond. 1614. In 14 ſheets, folio. Printed in two columns, one in French, and the other in Engliſh. III *Le Primer Reports des caſes & matters en ley reſolves & adjudges en les courts del Roy en Ireland.* Dublin 1615. Lond. 1628 and 1674, fol. To the ſecond edition was added a table, not in the former. It was from this book chiefly, that Sir John Pettus ſelected matter for another, intitled, *England's Independency upon the Papal Power, hiſtorically and judiciouſly ſtated by Sir* John Davies, *Attorney-General in Ireland, and by Sir* Edward Coke, *Lord Chief Juſtice of England, in two Reports, ſelected from their great volumes, with a Preface written by Sir* John Pettus. Lond. 1674, 4*to*. IV. *A perfect Abridgment of the eleven books of Reports of Sir* Edward Coke. Lond. 1651, 12*mo*. It was written in French by Sir John Davies, and tranſlated into Engliſh by another hand. V. *Jus imponendi Vectigalia: Or, the Learning touching Cuſtoms, Tonnage, Poundage, and Impoſitions on Merchandizes*, &c *aſſerted* London, 1656 and 1659, 8*vo*. Beſides theſe, there are ſome manuſcripts of his writing and compoſing; *viz. A large Epiſtle to Robert Earl of Saliſbury of the ſtate of the counties of Monaghan, Fennanagh, and Downe, and of Juſtices of Peace, and other Officers of Ireland*; written in 1607: alſo *A Speech* (when he was Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in Ireland) *before Arthur Lord Chicheſter, Viſcount Belfaſt, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland*, 21 May 1613. Theſe pieces were in the library of Sir James Ware of Ireland, and afterwards (Mr Wood believes) in that of the Earl of Clarendon (1). Sir John's principal performance as a Poet, and for which he deſerves the higheſt commendation, is his Poem on *The Original, Nature, and Immortality of the Soul.* Dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. It was republiſhed by Mr N. Tate, in 1714, with a Dedication to the Earl of Dorſet and Middleſex; and the editor gives us the following juſt and advantageous character of it. 'As others have laboured to carry out 'our thoughts, and entertain them with all manner of 'delights abroad; 'tis the peculiar character of this 'author, that he has taught us (with Antoninus) to 'meditate upon ourſelves; that he has diſcloſed to us 'greater ſecrets at home; ſelf-reflection being the only 'way to valuable and true knowledge, which conſiſts 'in the *Science of a man's ſelf.*—— Our author has not 'only placed and connected together the moſt amiable 'images of all thoſe powers that are in our ſouls; but 'he has furniſhed and ſquared his matter like a true 'Philoſopher; that is, he has made both body and 'ſoul, colour and ſhadow, of his poem, out of the 'ſtore-houſe of his own mind, which gives the whole 'work a real and natural beauty: he is beholding to 'none but himſelf; and by knowing himſelf thoroughly, he is arrived to know very much; which 'appears in his admirable variety of well choſen metaphors and ſimilitudes, that cannot be found within 'the compaſs of a narrow knowledge. For this reaſon 'the poem, on account of it's intrinſick worth, would 'be as laſting as the *Iliad* or *Æneid*, if the language ''tis wrote in were as immutable as that of the Greeks 'and Romans. ——— In the following poem are repreſented the various movements of the *Mind.* Herein, 'as in a mirror that will not flatter, we ſee how the '*Soul* arbitrates in the *Underſtanding* upon the various '*reports* of *Senſe*, and all the changes of *imagination*: 'how

(1) Wood. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 506, 507.

Tanner of that place, and became a Commoner of Queen's-College in Oxford in Michaelmas Term 1585; where having laid a good foundation of academical learning, and taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he removed to the Middle-Temple, and, applying himſelf to the ſtudy of the Common Law, was called to the Bar. Some time after, being expelled that ſociety for beating a Gentleman (*) at dinner in the Common-Hall, he retired to Oxford, and proſecuted his ſtudies there. Afterwards, by the favour of Thomas Lord Elleſmore, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, being reinſtated in the Temple, he practiſed as a Counſellor, and became a Burgeſs in the Parliament held at Weſtminſter in 1601. Upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, our author, with Lord Hunſdon, went into Scotland, to congratulate King James [*B*], who afterwards made him his Sollicitor, and then his Attorney-General in Ireland; where, in 1606, he was made one of his Majeſty's Serjeants at Law, and was afterwards Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in that kingdom. The year following, on the 11th of February, he received the honour of knighthood from the King at Whitehall. In 1612, he quitted the poſt of Attorney-General in Ireland, and was made one of his Majeſty's Engliſh Serjeants at Law. After his ſettling in England, he was often appointed one of the Judges of Aſſize on the Circuits. He married Eleanor Touchet [*C*], youngeſt daughter of George Lord Audley, afterwards Earl of Caſtlehaven; by whom he had a ſon, an idiot, who died young, and a daughter named Lucy, married to Ferdinand Lord Haſtings, afterwards Earl of Huntington [*D*]. In 1626, Sir John was appointed Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench: but, before the ceremony of his inſtallation could be performed, he died ſuddenly, of an apoplexy, the ſeventh of December, at his houſe in the Strand, in the 57th year of his age; and was buried in the church of St Martin in the Fields [*E*], leaving behind him the character of a bold ſpirit, a ſharp and ready wit, and of a man completely learned, but in truth more a Scholar than a Lawyer (*a*).

(*) Mr Richard Martin, afterwards Recorder of London.

(*a*) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 505, 506, 507.

‘ how compliant the *Will* is to her dictates, and obeys her as a Queen does her King, at the ſame time acknowledging a ſubjection, and yet retaining a majeſty: how the *Paſſions* move at her command, like a well-diſciplined army: from which regular compoſure of the *Faculties*, all operating in their proper time and place, there ariſes a complacency upon the whole ſoul, that infinitely tranſcends all other pleaſures.— What deep Philoſophy is this, to diſcover the proceſs of God's art in faſhioning the ſoul of man after his own image! ——— What eloquence and force of wit, to convey theſe profound ſpeculations in the eaſieſt language, expreſſed in words ſo vulgarly received, that they are underſtood by the meaneſt capacities (2).' This is the ſame poem, which Anthony Wood (3) intitles *Noſce Teipſum*. Printed in 1599, and again in 1622. To which were added by the ſame hand: *Hymns of Aſtrea* in acroſtic verſe; and *Orcheſtra, or A Poem expreſſing the antiquity and excellency of Dancing, in a Dialogue between* Penelope *and one of her Woers*; containing 131 ſtanzas, unfiniſhed. Mr Wood mentions alſo *Epigrams*, and a *Metaphraſe of ſeveral of King* David'*s Pſalms*, written by Sir John Davies, but never publiſhed.

(2) Preface.

3) Ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *He went into Scotland, to congratulate King James*] Being introduced into his Majeſty's preſence, the King enquired of Lord Hunſdon the names of the gentlemen who accompanied him; and his Lordſhip naming among them John Davies, who ſtood behind, the King preſently aſked, whether he was *Noſce Teipſum* (*); and being anſwered he was, he graciouſly embraced him, and aſſured him of his favour (4).

(*) The title of his poem on the Soul.

(4) Wood, ibid, col. 506.

[*C*] *He married* Eleanor Touchet] This lady was of a very extraordinary character. She had, or pretended to have, a ſpirit of prophecy; and her predictions, received from a voice, which ſhe often heard (as ſhe uſed to tell her daughter Lucy, and ſhe others) were generally wrapped up in dark and obſcure expreſſions. It was commonly reported, that, on the Sunday before her huſband's death, as ſhe was ſitting at dinner with him, ſhe ſuddenly burſt into tears: whereupon he aſking her the occaſion, ſhe anſwered; *Huſband, theſe are your funeral tears:* to which he replied, *Pray therefore ſpare your tears now, and I will be content that you ſhall laugh when I am dead* After Sir John's death, ſhe lived moſtly at Parſton in Hertfordſhire; and, in 1649, an account was publiſhed of her *Strange and wonderful prophecies*. She died in St Bride's pariſh in London, the 5th of July 1652, and was buried in St Martin's church, near the remains of her huſband (5).

(5) Wood, ibid. col. 507, 508. See alſo the Hiſtory, &c. of Archbiſhop Laud, P. ii. lib. iv. ann. 1634.

[*D*] *Lucy, married to Ferdinand Lord Haſtings, afterwards Earl of Huntington*] Upon that Lord's ſuit to his daughter, Sir John Davies made the following epigram (6):

Lucida vis oculos teneri perſtrinxit amantis,
Nec tamen erravit, nam via dulcis erat.

(6) Wood. ibid.

[*E*] *He was buried in the church of St Martin in the Fields*] Soon after, a monument was fixed on a pillar near his grave, with an inſcription on it, giving him this character (7): *Vir ingenio compto, rara facundia, oratione cum ſoluta, tum numeris aſtricta, fælicissimus: Juridicam ſeveritatem morum elegantia, & amæniore eruditione mitigavit: Patronus fidus, Judex incorruptus, ingenuæ Pietatis amore, et anxiæ ſuperſtitionis contemptu, juxta inſignis.* ‘ He was a man of fine abilities and uncommon eloquence, and a moſt excellent writer both in proſe and verſe: he tempered the ſeverity of the Lawyer with the politeneſs and learning of the Gentleman: he was a faithful Advocate, an impartial Judge, and equally remarkable for a love of ingenuous piety, and a contempt of anxious ſuperſtition.'

(7) Wood. ibid.

T

DAVIES (JOHN) a learned Critic in the XVIIIth century, was born in London April 22, 1679. His father was a Merchant, or Tradeſman, in that city, who died while his children were young; and his mother (*a*), a daughter of Sir John Turton, Knight [*A*]. Our author was educated in grammar learning at the Charterhouſe-ſchool; and admitted, June 8, 1695, into Queen's-College in Cambridge, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1698. He was, on the 7th of July 1701, elected Fellow of that College (*b*); and the year following took the degree of Maſter of Arts. In

1709

(*a*) She was living in the year 1743.

(*b*) In the room of Mr Aſhton, Maſter of Jeſus-College.

[*A*] *A daughter of Sir John Turton, Knt*] John Turton, Eſq; was called to the degree of Serjeant at Law, April 11, 1689; conſtituted one of the Barons of the Exchequer, May 9, following; when he was knighted: and, on the 27th of June 1696, removed to the King's Bench, of which he was made one of the Juſtices (1).

(1) See *Chronica Juridicialia*, &c. under thoſe years.

1709 he had the honour of being one of the Proctors of the Univerſity. Having now diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his many excellent qualifications, he was collated in 1711, by Dr John Moore, Biſhop of Ely, that great patron of learning and learned men, to the rectory of Fen-Ditton near Cambridge, and to a Prebend in the church of Ely (*c*). The ſame year he took the degree of Doctor in Laws. Upon the death of Dr James, he was choſen in his room Maſter of Queen's-College, March 23, 171$\frac{6}{7}$: and created Doctor in Divinity in 1717, when King George I. was at Cambridge (*d*). This learned perſon died March 7, 173$\frac{1}{2}$. in the fifty-third year of his age; and was buried in the middle of Queen's-College-Chapel. Soon after, a handſome flat marble-ſtone was laid over his grave, with an inſcription [*B*]. As the ſeveral things which he hath publiſhed, are in Greek, or Latin, we will, for that reaſon, give an account of them only in the note [*C*]. We ſhall not attempt this learned and induſtrious man's character, leſt it ſhould ſuffer from our imperfect repreſentation. However, thus far we will venture to ſay, that his works have been received, in general, with great applauſe [*D*]; and moſt of them have paſſed through ſeveral editions.

[*B*] *A handſome flat marble ſtone was laid over his grave, with an inſcription.*] At the top, are the Doctor's arms, *viz.* Or, between a chevron three mullets, ſable; impaling thoſe of his wife (Edwards) And beneath is the following inſcription:

Hic ſitæ ſunt reliquiæ
Joannis Davies,
L. L. *et* S. T. D.
Hujus Collegii Præſidis,
ac Elienſis Canonici.
Natus eſt Londini *Aprilis*
die XXII. MDCLXXIX.
Denatus in his Ædibus
Martii die VII. MDCCXXXI.
Plura dici noluit vir optimus.

[*C*] *As the ſeveral things which he hath publiſhed, are in Greek or Latin, we will, for that reaſon, give an account of them only in the note*] Iſt then, he publiſhed in 1703, a new edition of Maximus Tyrius, under this title: *Maximi Tyrii Diſſertationes, Gr. & Lat. ex interpretatione Heinſii, recenſuit Jo. Daviſius, &c. 8vo.* II. He gave a new edition of Julius Cæſar; *C. Julii Cæſaris* [*& A. Hirtii*] *quae exſtant omnia. Ex recenſione Joannis Daviſii, Coll Regin. Cantab. Socii, cum ejuſdem Animadverſionibus, ac notis Pet. Ciacconii, Fr. Hottomanni, Joan. Brantii, Dionyſ. Voſſii, & aliorum. Acceſſere Metaphraſis Graeca Librorum Septem de Bello Gallico, necnon Indices neceſſarii. 4to*, Cantab. 1706 and 1727. III. And of Minucius Felix; *M. Minucii Felicis Octavius. Ex recenſione Joannis Daviſii; Cum ejuſdem Animadverſionibus, ac Notis integris Des. Heraldi & Nic. Rigaltii, necnon ſelectis aliorum. Accedit Commodianus, aevi Cyprianici Scriptor, cum obſervationibus antehac editis, aliiſque nonnullis, quae jam primum prodeunt.* Cantab. 1707 and 1712, 8*vo.* IV. Next, he undertook to publiſh new and beautiful editions of M. T. Cicero's Philoſophical pieces, by way of ſupplement to what the moſt learned Grævius had publiſhed of that excellent author, but had been hindered by death from finiſhing. He put out therefore in 1708, 1. his Tuſculan Diſputations, under this title; *M. Tullii Ciceronis Tuſculanarum Diſputationum Libri* V. *Cum Commentario Joannis Daviſii, 8vo*, Cantab. 1709 (2), and again in 1723, 1730, 1738. The 1ſt and the laſt edition have at the end Dr Ric. Bentley's *Emendationes.* The other pieces of Tully were publiſhed by our author in the following order; 2. *M. Tullii Ciceronis de Natura Deorum Libri tres. Cum Notis integris Paulli Manucii, Petri Victorii, Joachimi Camerarii, Dionyſ. Lambini, Fulv. Urſini, & Joannis Walkeri. Recenſuit, ſuiſque Animadverſionibus illuſtravit ac emaculavit Joannes Daviſius, &c.* Cantab. 1718 (3), 1723 and 1733, 8*vo.* 3. *M. Tullii Ciceronis libri de Divinatione & de Fato. Recenſuit & ſuis Animadverſionibus illuſtravit ac emendavit Joannes Daviſius. Accedunt integrae Notae Paulli Manucii, Petri Victorii, Joachimi Camerarii, Dionyſ. Lambini, & Fulv. Urſini, una cum Hadriani Turnebi Commentario in Librum de Fato,* Cantab. 1721, 1730, 8*vo.* 4. *M. Tullii Ciceronis Academica. Recenſuit, Variorum Notis ſuas immiſcuit, & Hadr. Turnebi Petrique Fabri Commentarios adjunxit Joannes Daviſius, &c.* Cantab. 1725, 1736, 8*vo.* 5. *M. Tullii Ciceronis de Legibus Libri tres. Recenſuit, ac Petri Victorii, Paulli Manucii, Joachimi Camerarii, Dionyſii Lambini, & Fulvii Urſini Notis ſuas adjecit Joannes Daviſius, &c. Accedit Hadriani Turnebi Commentarius.* Cantab. 1727, 8*vo.* 6. *M. Tullii Ciceronis de Finibus Bonorum & Malorum Libri quinque. Ex recenſione Joannis Daviſii, &c. Cum ejuſdem Animadverſionibus, & Notis integris Petr. Victorii, P. Manucii, Joach. Camerarii, D. Lambini, ac Fulvii Urſini.* Cantab. 1728, 1741, 8*vo.* He had alſo gone as far as the middle of the third Book of Cicero's Offices, in order for a new edition of that moſt valuable work: but being prevented by death from finiſhing it, he recommended it in his will to the care of that great patron of learning Richard Mead. M. D. who put it into the hands of Dr Thomas Bentley, that he might fit it for the preſs. But the houſe where Dr Bentley lodged (in the Strand, London) being ſet on fire thro' his careleſſneſs, as 'tis ſaid, in reading after he was in bed, Dr Davies's notes and emendations periſhed in the flames, and ſo were irrecoverably loſt (4). V. Another thing publiſhed by our learned author, was, *Lactantii Firmiani Epitome Divinarum Inſtitutionum ad Pentadium fratrem. Eam ex vetuſtiſſimo MS^{o} Taurinenſi nuper editam recenſuit, & ſuis animadverſionibus illuſtravit, ac emendavit Joannes Daviſius.* Cantab. 1718, 8*vo.*

[*D*] *His works have been received, in general, with great applauſe.*] Both at home and abroad. Abbé d'Olivet in particular, the French Tranſlator of *Cicero de Natura Deorum* gives our author juſt commendations for his beautiful edition of that book (5). But he ſeems afterwards to have altered his opinion, as appears from the harſh judgment he paſſes upon Dr Davies, in the Preface to his new edition of Tully's Works (6), which we ſhall here ſubjoin for the ſake of the curious and learned reader. *Joannes Daviſius Anglus.* His viginti annis pleraque Ciceronis *Philoſophica* edidit, operis Græviani perfectorem ſe profeſſus. Verùm, ut erumpat aliquando ex me vera vox, & dicam ſine circuitione quod ſentio, *Homini homo quid præſtat!* Quæ in Grævio modeſtia! quam ingenuus pudor! In altero quæ confidentia! aut, ne dixerim mollius, quæ procacitas! Tamen fateor, & libenter quidem, fuit in eo ingenium perſpicax, acutum, ſolers: itaque locos aliquot feliciter explicuit. At minime ferendus eſt, qui antiquis lectionibus è textu exterminatis, ſuis autem in earum locum ſomniis, ſi diis placet, inducendis, novum velit architectari Ciceronem: adeo ut, ſi qua ejus volumina ſecundis tertiiſve curis retractata in lucem redierint, ultima editio ſit etiam peſſima: ſuſcepto quaſi certamine cum populari ſuo Richardo Bentleio, quem ſuarum ad Tuſculanas emendationum approbatorem amplificatoremque habuerat, uter eſſet in contaminandis veterum exemplaribus licentior.

(*c*) The fifth ſtall; into which he was inſtalled Sept. 24. 1711. Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, Ely, &c. by Brown Willis, Eſq; edit. 1730. 4*to.* p. 385.

(*d*) For moſt of theſe particulars we are obliged to the preſent worthy Maſter of Queen's Coll. and to the learned Dr W. Richardſon, Maſter of Emanuel.

(2) The dedication of this book to Biſhop Moore is dated Octob. 15. 1708.

(3) The dedication of this book to Dr Richard Bentley is dated July 26. 1717.

(4) Vide Præf. Ciceron. de Nat. Deor. edit. 1733.

(5) In the Preface to Vol. I. of his *Entretiens de Ciceron ſur la Nature des Dieux.* Edit. Paris 1721. 8vo. p. xvii. See alſo the Letter immediately following, from Mr Le Preſident Bouhier, p. xxv. xxvi.

(6) Paris 4to. Vol. I. Præf. p. 11.

DAVIS (JOHN) an excellent Pilot, and fortunate diſcoverer of unknown countries, in the XVIth century, was born at Sandridge, a pleaſant ſeat, in the pariſh of Stoke-Gabriel, near Dartmouth in Devonſhire (*a*). His birth near that eminent ſea-port,

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(*a*) Weſtcot, Deſcript. of Devonſhire in Sandridge. Prince's Worthies of Devon. Exeter, 1701. p. 247.

port, having given him a fair opportunity, to which probably was added a ſtrong natural diſpoſition, he put himſelf early to ſea: where, by the help of a good maſter, and his ſubſequent induſtry, knowledge, and experience, he became the moſt expert Pilot, and one of the ableſt Navigators of his time (*b*). The firſt publick employment he had, was in the year 1585, when he undertook to diſcover *a new Paſſage*, by the North-weſt parts of America to the Eaſt-Indies. For that purpoſe, he ſailed from Dartmouth, on the ſeventh of June, with two barks [*A*], and met, July 19th, many iſlands of ice floating, in 60 degrees northern latitude (*c*). They were ſoon encompaſſed with them; and going upon ſome, perceived, that the roaring noiſe they heard, at which they were greatly aſtoniſhed, was cauſed only by the rolling of the ice together. The next day, they diſcovered the ſouthern coaſt of Groenland; five hundred leagues diſtant from the Durſeys, or Miſſenhead, in Ireland (*d*); and obſerved it to be extremely rocky and mountainous, and covered with ſnow, without any ſigns of wood, graſs, or earth to be ſeen. The ſhore, likewiſe, was ſo full of ice, that no ſhip could come near it by two leagues: and ſo ſhocking was the appearance of it, and the cracking of the ice ſo hideous, that they imagined it to be a quite deſolate country, without a living creature, or even any vegetable ſubſtance; for which reaſon Captain Davis named it, *The Land of Deſolation* (*e*). Perceiving that they were run into a very deep bay, wherein they were almoſt ſurrounded with ice, they kept coaſting along the edge of it, South-ſouth-weſt, till the 25th of July; when, after having gone fifty or ſixty leagues, they found that the ſhore lay directly north. So they altered their courſe to the north-weſt, in hopes of finding their deſired paſſage: but on the 29th they diſcovered land to the north-eaſt, in 64 degr. 15 min. Latitude. Making towards it, they perceived that they were paſſed the ice, and were among many green, temperate, and pleaſant iſlands, bordering upon the ſhore; though the hills of the continent were ſtill covered with great quantities of ſnow. Among theſe iſlands were many fine bays, and good roads for ſhipping: they landed in ſome, and the people of the country came down and converſed with them [*B*] By ſigns they made Mr Davis underſtand, that there was a great ſea towards the north and weſt (*f*). He ſtaid in this place till the firſt of Auguſt, and then proceeded in his diſcovery. The ſixth of that month, they found land in 66 degr. 40 min. Latitude, quite free from ice; and anchored in a ſafe road, under a great mountain, the cliffs whereof gliſtered like gold. This mountain he named, *Mount Raleigh*: the road where their ſhips lay at anchor, *Totnes road*: the bay which encompaſſed the mountain, *Exeter Sound*: the foreland towards the north, *Dier's Cape*: and the foreland towards the ſouth, *Cape Walſingham*. He departed from hence the eighth of Auguſt, coaſting along the ſhore, which lay ſouth ſouth-weſt, and eaſt-north-eaſt; and on the eleventh came to the moſt ſoutherly cape of that land, which he named *The Cape of God's Mercy*, as being the place of their firſt entrance for the diſcovery. Going forward, they came into a very fine ſtraight, or paſſage, in ſome places twenty leagues broad, in others thirty, quite free from ice, the weather in it very tolerable, and the water of the ſame colour and nature as the main ocean. This paſſage ſtill retains the name of its firſt diſcoverer, being called to this day *Fretum Davis*, or *Davis's Straights*. Having ſailed, north-weſt, ſixty leagues (*g*) in this paſſage, they diſcovered ſeveral iſlands in the midſt of it; in ſome of which they landed. The coaſt was very barren, without wood or graſs; and the rocks were like fine marble, full of veins of divers colours. Some days after they continued ſearching for the North-weſt Paſſage [*C*], but found only a great number of iſlands. And, on the 20th, the wind

(*b*) Prince, ibid.

(*c*) Voyages, Navigations, *&c.* publiſhed by R. Hakluyt, Vol. III. edit. 1600. p. 98, *&c.* and Purchas his Pilgrimes, Part iii. Book iii. c. 2. p. 463, 464.

(*d*) See Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, edit. 1735. p. 222.

(*e*) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 99, 119.

(*f*) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 100, 119.

(*g*) Mr Davis himſelf ſays only, *thirty or forty leagues*. See Hakluyt, as above, p. 119.

[*A*] *With two barks.*] One of fifty tuns, named *the Sunſhine* of London, which carried twenty three perſons, John Davis, Captain: the other was of thirty-five tuns, named *the Moonſhine* of Dartmouth, having nineteen perſons on board, William Bruton, Captain. They were fitted out at the charge of ſeveral of the Nobility and Gentry, particularly Sir Francis Walſingham, Secretary of State, and of many Merchants of London and the Weſt Country. The chief manager of this undertaking, was, Mr William Sanderſon, Merchant and Globe-maker in London; who recommended to the adventurers Mr John Davis, a man well grounded in the principles of Navigation, for Captain and chief Pilot in this expedition. Some attempts had been made before, by Capt. Henry Hudſon, Capt. Martin Frobiſher, Capt. Adrian Gilbert, and others, to diſcover this North-weſt paſſage; but without ſucceſs (1). Mr Davis informs us, (2) that 'in his firſt voyage he 'was not experienced of the nature of thoſe climates, 'and had no direction either by Chart, Globe, or 'other certain relation, in what altitude that paſſage 'was to be ſearched.'

[*B*] *The people came down and converſed with them.*] Namely by ſigns. For the Engliſh could not underſtand the Savages language; whoſe pronunciation was very hollow, through the throat. Before they would come near, they pointed to the Sun, and ſtruck their breaſt, and the Engliſh doing the like, the others ventured to truſt themſelves with them. They were a very tractable people, void of craft or double dealing, eaſy to be brought to any civility or good order, and took great care of one another. Their light garments were made of birds ſkins with the feathers on; and the heavier of Seals-ſkins. Their buſkins, hoſe, and gloves, were neatly ſewed, and well dreſſed. Theſe iſlands had no freſh water, but pools of melted ſnow: And the cliffs abounded with ore, that look'd like gold. Upon the rocks, and in the moſs, grew a ſhrub, whoſe fruit was very ſweet, and full of red juice, like Corinths, ſuppoſed to be the Cranberry, or Bear-Berry (3).

[*C*] *They continued ſearching for the North-weſt paſſage.*] And, for the following reaſons, concluded that in all probability there was ſuch a paſſage, 1. Becauſe this place was all iſlands, with great ſounds between them. 2. The water remained of one colour with the main ocean, without altering. Whereas the colour of the water, in whatever Bay they came, was very blackiſh. 3. They ſaw to the Weſt of thoſe iſles, three or four whales, which they judged to come from a weſterly ſea, not having ſeen any to the eaſt-ward. 4. As they were rowing into a very great ſound lying South-weſt, from whence the Whales came, on a ſudden there came a violent counter-check of a tide from the

(1) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p 98, *&c.*

(2) Ibid. p. 119.

(3) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 100, 101. See alſo Voyages and Diſcoveries to the South and North, by Sir John Narbrough, *&c.* in the Introduction, p. xvii. edit. 1694. 8vo.

wind coming contrary, they altered their courſe and deſign; and returning for England, arrived at Dartmouth the 29th of September (*b*). The next year he undertook a *ſecond* voyage, for the further diſcovery of the North-weſt Paſſage, being ſupported and encouraged again by Secretary Walſingham, and other adventurers (*i*). With a view therefore of ſearching the bottom of the Straights he had been in the year before, he ſailed from Dartmouth, May the 7th, 1586, with four ſhips [*D*], and the 15th of June diſcovered land in 60 degr. Latitude, and 47 degr. Longitude weſt from London. The ice along the coaſt reached in ſome places ten, in ſome twenty, and in others fifty leagues into the ſea; ſo that, to avoid it, they were forced to bear into 57 degr. Latitude. After many tempeſtuous ſtorms, they made the land again, June the 29th, in 64 degr. of Latitude, and 58 of Longitude; and ran among the temperate iſlands they had been at the year before. But the water was ſo deep, they could not eaſily come to an anchor: However, they found means to go aſhore, on ſome of the iſlands, where they were extremely careſſed and welcomed by the natives, who knew them again (*k*). Having finiſhed a pinnace, which was to ſerve them for a ſcout in their diſcoveries; they landed, not only in that, but alſo in their boats, in ſeveral places [*E*]: and, upon the ſtricteſt ſearch, found the land not to be a continent, as they imagined, but a collection of huge, waſte, and deſert iſles, with great ſounds and inlets paſſing between ſea and ſea (*l*). They purſued their voyage the 11th of July, and on the 17th in 63 degr. 8 min. Latitude, met with a moſt prodigious maſs of ice, which they coaſted till the 30th. This was a great obſtacle, and diſcouragement to them, not having the like there the year before; and, beſides, the men beginning to grow ſickly; the crew of the *Mermaid*, on which he chiefly depended, forſook him, and reſolved to proceed no further (*m*). However, not to diſappoint Mr W. Sanderſon, who was the chief adventurer in this voyage, and for fear of loſing the favour of Secretary Walſingham, who had this diſcovery much at heart, Mr Davis undertook to proceed alone in his ſmall bark of thirty tuns. Having therefore fitted, and well victualled it, in a harbour lying in 66 degr. 33 min. Latitude, and 70 degr. Longitude; which he found to be a very hot place, and full of muſcatoes; he ſet ſail the 12th of Auguſt, and coming into a ſtraight followed the courſe of it for eighty leagues, till he came among many iſlands, where the water ebbed and flowed ſix fathom deep (*n*). He had hopes of finding a paſſage there, but upon ſearching further in his boat, he perceived there was none. So, he returned again into the open ſea, and kept coaſting ſouthward as far as 54 degr. ½ of Latitude: in which time he found another great inlet near forty leagues broad, between two lands, weſt, where the water ran in with great violence. This, he imagined, was the paſſage ſo long ſought for; but the wind being then contrary, and two furious ſtorms happening ſoon after, he neither thought it ſafe nor wiſe to proceed further: eſpecially in one ſmall bark, and when the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced. Wherefore he ſailed for England the 11th of September (*o*); and arrived thither in the beginning of October [*F*]. By what obſervations he made, he concluded, that the north parts of America are all iſlands (*p*). He made a *third* voyage to theſe parts again the year following, 1587. All the weſtern Merchants, and moſt of thoſe of London refuſed to be engaged further in the undertaking: but the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, and Secretary

(*b*) Hakluyt, p. 102, 119.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 119.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 103, 104.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 103, 105.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 119.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 120.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 107, 108, 120.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 120.

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the South-weſt againſt the flood they came with, not knowing from whence it proceeded. 5. In ſailing twenty leagues within the mouth of that entrance they had ſounding in ninety fathoms, and the farther Weſt they ran, the deeper was the water, ſo that cloſe to the ſhore among theſe iſles, they could not find ground in 330 fathoms. 6. It ebbed and flowed ſix or ſeven fathoms, the flood coming from divers parts, ſo that they could not perceive the chief ſource of it (4).

[*D*] *With four ſhips.*] Namely, The Mermaid, of one hundred and twenty tuns: The Sunſhine, of ſixty tuns: The Moonſhine, a bark of thirty-five tuns: and a Pinnace of ten tuns, named The North Star. About the beginning of June, when they came into near ſixty degrees of latitude, Mr Davis divided this little fleet; ſending the Sunſhine, and the North Star, to ſeek a paſſage North-ward, between Groenland and Iſeland to the latitude of eighty degrees; whilſt he proceeded himſelf, with the Mermaid and the Moonſhine, in the further diſcovery of the North-weſt-paſſage (5). The Sunſhine returned to England, Octob. 4. with a quantity of Seal-ſkins; but the Pinnace was loſt.

[*E*] *They landed - - - - - - - in ſeveral places*] And ſaw the habitations of the natives, which were only a kind of tents cover'd with Seal-ſkins. They found likewiſe a grave, with ſeveral buried in it, being cover'd with ſeal ſkins, and having a croſs laid over them. The people are of good ſtature, well proportion'd in body, have ſmall ſlender hands and feet, broad viſages, ſmall eyes, wide mouths generally beardleſs, great lips, and are cloſe-toothed. They are very apt to bleed, and therefore ſtop their noſes with deer's hair, or the hair of an elan (6). They are idolaters, and have abundance of images. Their meat, which is moſtly fiſh, they eat raw; and drink ſalt-water, and eat graſs and ice with pleaſure. Seldom are they out of water; except when they go to ſleep on the land, in ſome warm corner, or under a rock. Their nets for catching fiſh, are made of the fin of a whale. When they grow familiar they are very thieviſh; and ſo covetous are they of iron, that they could not forbear ſtealing any thing that was made of that metal. Their way of kindling a fire is thus: they take a piece of board having a hole half through, in which they put the end of a round ſtick, (like a bed-ſtaff,) dipped in train oil; then working it round in that hole, with a leather thong, like a turner, they ſoon get a fire by the violent agitation. Mr Davis got among theſe people copper-ore, and black and red copper (7). —— Whilſt he remained among theſe iſlands, he ſaw a whirlwind, that laſted three hours, and took up great quantities of water into the air, with incredible violence and fury (8).

[*F*] *And arrived thither in the beginning of October.*] Soon after his arrival, he writ a letter to Mr W. Sanderſon, dated from Exeter, 14 Octob. wherein he tells him. ——— 'I have now experience of much of the 'North-weſt part of the world, and have brought the 'paſſage to that likelyhood, as that I am aſſured it 'muſt bee in one of foure places, or els not at all. 'And further I can aſſure you upon the perill of my 'life, that this voyage may be performed without fur'ther charge, nay with certain profite to the adven'turers, if I may have but your favour in the action '(9).'

[*G*] *Two*

(4) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 102.

(5) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 103, 108, 109.

(6) Or elk; a kind of ſtag.

(7) Hakluyt, ibid. p. 104, 105.

(8) P. 105.

(9) Ibid. p. 108.

Secretary Walſingham, ſet it forwards. Mr Davis having, in his laſt voyage, diſcovered prodigious quantities of excellent cod-fiſh, in 56 degr. of Latitude; for that reaſon, two ſhips were ſent along with him for fiſhing, and one only for the diſcovery of the North-weſt Paſſage [G]. They ſailed from Dartmouth the 19th of May, and diſcovered land the 14th of June, at ſixteen leagues diſtance, being very mountainous, and covered with ſnow (q). On the 21ſt of June the two barks left him, and went upon the fiſhing, after having promiſed him, not to depart till his return to them about the end of Auguſt. But having finiſhed their voyage in about ſixteen days after, they ſet ſail for England, without any regard to their promiſe. As for Captain Davis, he purſued his intended diſcovery, in the ſea between America and Groenland, from 64 to 73 degr. of Latitude. Having entered the Straights which bear his name, he went on northward, from the 21ſt to the 30th of June; naming one part *Merchants Coaſt* (r); another, *The London Coaſt*; another *Hope-Sanderſon*, in 73 degr. Latitude, being the furtheſt he went that way. The wind coming northerly, he altered his courſe, and ran forty leagues weſt, without ſeeing any land (s). On the 2d of July, he fell in with a great bank of ice, which he coaſted ſouthward till the 19th of July, when he came within ſight of Mount-Raleigh on the American coaſt, in about 67 degrees of Latitude. Having ſailed ſixty leagues north-weſt into the gulf that lies beyond it, he anchored, July 23d, at the bottom of that gulf, among many iſlands, which he named *The Earl of Cumberland's Iſles*. He quitted that place again the ſame day, and ſailed back ſouth-eaſt, in order to recover the ſea; which he did the 29th in 62 degr. of Latitude. The 30th, he paſſed by a great bank, or inlet, to which he gave the name of *Lumley's Inlet*; and the next day by a head land, which he called *The Earl of Warwick's Foreland*. On the firſt of Auguſt, he fell in with the ſouthermoſt cape, named by him *Chudley's Cape*: and, the 12th, paſſed by an iſland which he named *Darcy's Iſland*. When he came in 52 degr. of Latitude, not finding the two ſhips that had promiſed to ſtay for him, he was in great diſtreſs, having but little wood, and only half a hogſhead of water left. However, taking courage, he made the beſt of his way home, and arrived at Dartmouth September the 15th (t), very ſanguine, that the *North-weſt Paſſage* was moſt probable, and the execution eaſy [*H*]. But Secretary Walſingham being otherwiſe engaged, and dying not long after, that deſign was laid aſide (u). Mr Davis, notwithſtanding, did not remain idle. For, Auguſt 26, 1591, he was Captain of the *Deſire*, Rear-Admiral to Mr Thomas Cavendiſh, in his ſecond unfortunate expedition to the South-Sea: and is highly blamed by Mr Cavendiſh, for having deſerted him, and thereby being the cauſe of his overthrow (w). After many diſaſters, Mr Davis arrived again at Bear-Haven in Ireland June 11, 1593 (x). He performed afterwards no leſs than five voyages to the Eaſt-Indies [*I*], in the ſtation of a Pilot (y). One was in a Dutch ſhip, wherein he ſet out March 15, 159$\frac{7}{8}$. from Fluſhing, and returned to Middleburgh, July 23, 1600 (z). Of the reſt we have no account, only of one he performed with Sir Edward Michelbourne (a), in which were ſpent nineteen months, from December 5, 1604, to July 9, 1606. During this voyage Mr Davis was ſlain, on the 27th of December 1605, in a deſperate fight with ſome Japoneſe near the coaſt of Malacca (b). He married Faith, daughter of Sir John Fulford, of Fulford in Devonſhire, Knight, by Dorothy his wife, daughter of John Lord Bourchier Earl of Bath (c); by whom probably he had iſſue: for ſome of his poſterity are ſaid to have been living ſome years ago, at, or near, Deptford (d). He was author of ſome things in the naval way [*K*].

(q) Ibid. p. 111, 120.

(r) Becauſe he found people there, that merchandiſed with him. Hakluyt, p. 112.

(s) Ibid.

(t) Ibid. p. 114, 120.

(u) Ibid. p. 120.

(w) See above under the article CAVENDISH (THOMAS).

(x) Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 842—852.

(y) Prince, ubi ſupra.

(z) See Collection of Voyages &c. publiſhed by J. Harris, 2 Vol. fol. Lond. 1705. Vol. I. p. 49, &c.

(a) Purchas his Pilgrimes, Vol I. p. 132. and Vol. III. p. 536.

(b) Harris, ibid. p. 57.

(c) Weſtcot Pedigree. See Prince, ubi ſupra.

(d) Prince, ibid.

[G] *Two ſhips were ſent along with him for fiſhing, and one only for the diſcovery of the North-weſt Paſſage.*] The two barks that were ſent with him for fiſhing, were, *The Elizabeth*, of Dartmouth; and *The Sunſhine*, of London. The Pinnace he was to proceed in, in his diſcoveries, was called *The Helen* of London (10).

[*H*] *Very ſanguine that the North-weſt Paſſage was moſt probable, and the execution eaſy.*] This he declared to his great patron Mr W. Sanderſon, in a letter from Sandridge, the next day after his return to England — 'I have, ſaith he, made my ſafe returne in health, with all my company, and have ſailed threeſcore leagues further than my determination at my departure I have been in 73 degrees, finding the ſea all open, and forty leagues betweene land and land. The paſſage is moſt probable, the execution eaſie, as at my coming you ſhall fully know (11).' —— But the Spaniſh Invaſion happening the year following, and Secretary Walſingham dying two years after, that deſign was laid aſide, and never again attempted by Mr Davis (12).

[*I*] *He performed afterwards no leſs than five voyages to the Eaſt Indies*] 'He was the firſt Pilot that conducted the Zealanders' to that country, ſays Mr. Prince (13): which may be true of the Zealanders in particular But the Dutch had been once before to the Eaſt-Indies; namely in the year, 1595 (14). And if Mr Davis ſet out for the Eaſt-Indies, firſt in 159$\frac{7}{8}$, as Mr Prince ſeems to intimate, I don't find how he could poſſibly perform *five voyages* thither, in that ſpace of time; namely between, 159$\frac{7}{8}$, and 1605

[*K*] *He was author of ſome things in the Naval way*] I. 'The account of his ſecond voyage, for the diſcovery of the North-weſt Paſſage, in 1586 (15),' ſeems to be of his compoſition; for he ſpeaks always in it in the firſt perſon. II. There are likewiſe in print two letters of his (16), to Mr Sanderſon: one dated from Exeter, 14 October, 1586; and the other from Sandridge, 16 September, 1587. III. Hakluyt hath alſo preſerved (17), 'A Traverſe-Booke made by M. John Davis in his third voyage for the diſcoverie of the North-weſt Paſſage, Anno 1587.' IV. And moreover it appears, that our author, J. Davis, compoſed a treatiſe intituled, 'The World's Hydrographicall Deſcription.' For Hakluyt hath extracted out of it, and publiſh'd, 'A report of Maſter John Davis, of his three voyages made for the diſcovery of the North-weſt Paſſage (18).' V. His voyage to the Eaſt-Indies in a Dutch ſhip, in the year 1598, was written alſo by himſelf (19). VI We are informed, that 'There is a Rutter, [Routier.] or Brief Directions for ſailing into the Eaſt Indies, digeſted into a plain method, by this ſame perſon John Davis of Limehouſe, (as he is there called) written upon experiment of his five voyages thither, and home

(10) Ibid. p. 111.

(11) Hakluyt, p. 114.

(12) Ibid. p. 120.

(13) Ubi ſupra.

(14) Vide Hug Grotii Annales & Hiſt. de Rebus Belgicis, ed Amſt. 1657. p. 232.

(15) As publiſhed in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 103.

(16) Printed in the ſame volume, p. 108, 114.

(17) Ibid. p. 115, &c.

(18) Ibid. p. 119, 120.

(19) See Harris's Collect. ubi ſupra, p. 49.

' again (20).' But, either it was not written by the ſame John Davis, who is the ſubject of this article: or elſe, our John Davis was not ſlain in the Eaſt-Indies, as we have ſaid above upon the authority of Purchas, and of thoſe that have copied from him. This point we muſt ſubmit to the curious and inquiſitive reader, not being able to determine it at this great diſtance of Time.

C

(20) Prince, as above. This is printed in J. Harris's Collection of Voyages, Vol. I. p. 224.

DAVYSON or DAVISON (William) a very eminent Stateſman, and Secretary of State, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was, if not a native of Scotland, at leaſt, deſcended from thoſe who were, as himſelf profeſſed to Sir James Melvile *(a)*, which is all that we know of his family. At what time he came into the Court of Queen Elizabeth, or in what ſtate, cannot, at this diſtance of time, be poſitively affirmed; it is moſt probable, that his parts and learning, together with that extraordinary diligence and wonderful addreſs for which he was always diſtinguiſhed, recommended him to Mr Killigrew, afterwards Sir Henry Killigrew, with whom he went in quality of Secretary, at the time he was ſent into Scotland to compliment Queen Mary upon the birth of her ſon *(b)*. This was in the year 1566, and there is good reaſon to believe that he remained thence forward about the Court, and was employed in ſeveral affairs of great conſequence. In 1575, when the States of Brabant and Flanders aſſumed to themſelves the adminiſtration of all affairs, till his Catholick Majeſty ſhould appoint a new Governor of the Low-Countries, Mr Daviſon was ſent over with a publick character from the Queen to thoſe States, under the plauſible pretence of exhorting them to continue in their obedience to his Catholick Majeſty, but, in reality, to ſee how things actually ſtood in that part of the world, that her Majeſty might be the better able to know how to proceed in reſpect to the ſeveral applications made to her from the Prince of Orange, and the people of Holland *(c)*. He executed this commiſſion very ſucceſsfully, and therefore, when things were riper, the Queen ſent him over as her Miniſter, to pacify the troubles that had ariſen at Ghent; and, when his preſence was no longer neceſſary there, he was commiſſioned on her behalf to the States of Holland in 1579 *(d)*. His conduct there gave equal ſatisfaction to the Queen his Miſtreſs, and to thoſe with whom he negotiated. He gave them great hopes of the Queen's aſſiſtance and ſupport; but, when a ſum of money was deſired, as abſolutely neceſſary towards providing for their defence, he very readily undertook to procure it, upon reaſonable ſecurity; in conſequence of which a very conſiderable ſum was ſent from England, for which all the valuable jewels and fine plate, that had been pledged by Matthias of Auſtria to the States of Holland, and which were the remains of the magnificence of the houſe of Burgundy, were tranſported to England *(e)*. Theſe journies, and the ſucceſs attending them, gave Mr Daviſon great reputation at Court, inſomuch that, in all matters of a nice and difficult nature, Daviſon was ſome way or other continually employed. Thus in 1583, when things were very much embroiled in Scotland, he was ſent thither as the Queen's Ambaſſador, in order to counteract the French Miniſters, and to engage the King of Scots, and the people, both to ſlight the offers made them from that country, and to depend wholly upon aſſiſtance from England *(f)* [*A*]. Affairs in the Low-Countries coming at laſt to a criſis, and the States reſolving

(a) Sir James Melvile's Memoirs, p. 157.

(b) Camden. Ann. Eliz. p. 123.

(c) Strype's Ann. Vol. II. p. 403. Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 299.

(d) Several papers relative to this Negotiation are ſtill in the Harleian Library of MSS, as I have been informed by the ingenious Mr W. O. of Gray's-Inn.

(e) Camden. Ann. Eliz. p. 328, 329.

(f) Sir James Melvile's Mem. p. 158. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 395.

[*A*] *And to depend wholly upon aſſiſtance from England.*] The great jealouſy Queen Elizabeth had of every thing that paſſed in Scotland, made her extremely careful in the choice of all ſuch perſons, as in the courſe of her reign, ſhe had occaſion to ſend thither. At this time, not only Mary Queen of Scots was priſoner in England, but her ſon James VI, was alſo a priſoner to ſome of his own ſubjects in Scotland. It was to facilitate the liberty of both, that the French King ſent ambaſſadors to England in the beginning of the year 1583, with inſtructions to try whether Queen Elizabeth might not be induced to conſent, that Mary Queen of Scots, being releaſed, ſhould return home and govern jointly with her ſon (1). The Queen ſeemed not averſe to this propoſal, in caſe ſhe had any reaſonable ſecurity, that the Queen of Scots and her ſon, would undertake nothing to her prejudice; and, as they were to go into Scotland, to preſs the ſame thing there, ſhe took care to join Mr Daviſon on her part in the ſame journey, and with the ſame commiſſion (2). We have in the memoirs, which of thoſe times and that country, are beſt eſteemed, a very extraordinary, though a very ſhort, account of this embaſſy, which it is neceſſary the reader ſhould ſee. ' About this time the Lord Burleigh chief ruler in England, cauſed ſend in one Mr ' Daviſon, to be an agent here, to ſee what buſineſs ' he could brew, who was afterwards made Secretary. ' For after the deceaſe of Walſingham, Secretary Cecil ' being advanced to be Lord Burleigh and Great Treaſurer of England, two Secretaries were choſen, one ' call'd Mr Smith, and this Daviſon, whoſe predeceſſor ' was a Scotſman. Upon which conſideration, he was ' thought more able to conquer credit here. He had ' been in Scotland before, and was at my houſe in ' company with Sir Henry Killigrew, my old friend, ' when he was reſident in Scotland. At which time he ' acknowledged to me that he was come of Scotſmen, ' and was a Scotſman in his heart, and a favourer of ' the King's right and title to the Crown of England. ' He deſired me to keep all ſecret from Mr Killigrew, ' promiſing if he could find the means to be employed ' here, that he would do good offices. His Majeſty ' was for the time at Falkland, and wrote for me to be ' directed to ride and meet the ſaid Daviſon; whom I ' was commanded to convey to Coupar, there to remain till his Majeſty had time to give him audience. ' Afterwards I convoyed him to my own houſe, and ' from that to Falkland, where his Majeſty found his ' commiſſion to ſmall avail. But becauſe Walſingham ' had refuſed at his being here to ſpeak with the Earl ' of Arran; albeit, the ſaid Earl had offered, by me, ' to give ſatisfaction to him in all his deſires, ſo that ' he would confer with him, which Walſingham ' ſtill refuſed; but Mr Daviſon was directed at ' this time to deal with the Earl of Arran, to ' ſee what advantage might be had at his hand. ' For my Lord Burleigh was not content that Walſingham was ſo preciſe, therefore Daviſon entred into familiarity with him, and was made his goſſip, and ' heard his frank offers and liked well of them. For ' after that the Lords were fled to England and forefalted, the Council of England thought they had ' ſome ground to build a new faction upon, to trouble ' the King and his Eſtate. And whereas the ſaid Daviſon had promiſed before, to ſhew himſelf a kind ' Scotſman, I perceived him clean altered, and a perfect practiſer againſt the quiet of this ſtate, whereof ' I advertiſed his Majeſty. After his return to England, ' not

(1) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 137, 138.

(2) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 395.

reſolving to depend upon Queen Elizabeth, in the bold deſign they had formed of defending their freedom by force of arms, and rendering themſelves independent, Mr Daviſon, at this time Clerk of the Privy-Council, was choſen to manage this delicate buſineſs, and to conclude with them that alliance which was to be the baſis of their future undertakings (*g*). In this, which, without queſtion, was one of the moſt perplexed tranſactions in that whole reign, he conducted things with ſuch a happy dexterity, as to merit the ſtrongeſt acknowledgments on the part of the States, at the ſame time that he rendered the higheſt ſervice to the Queen his Miſtreſs, and obtained ample ſecurity for thoſe expences which that Princeſs thought it neceſſary to be at (*h*), in order to keep danger at a diſtance, and to entertain the flames of war in the dominions of her enemy, whom, at that juncture, ſhe knew to be meditating how he might transfer them into her own [*B*]. Upon the return of Mr Daviſon into England, after the concluſion of this treaty, he was declared of the Privy-Council, and appointed one of her Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, in conjunction with Sir Francis Walſingham (*i*); ſo that, at this time, theſe offices may be affirmed to have been as well filled as in any period that can be aſſigned in our hiſtory, and yet by perſons of very different, or rather oppoſite, diſpoſitions; for Walſingham was a man of great art and intrigue, one who was not diſpleaſed that he was thought ſuch a perſon, and whoſe capacity was ſtill deeper than thoſe who underſtood it beſt apprehended it to be (*k*). Daviſon, on the other hand, had a juſt reputation for wiſdom and probity; and, though he had been concerned in many intricate affairs, yet preſerved a character ſo unſpotted, that, to the time he came into this office, he had done nothing that could draw upon him the leaſt imputation (*l*). It is an opinion countenanced by Camden, and which has met with general acceptance, that he was raiſed in order to be ruined, and that, when he was made Secretary of State, there was a view of obliging him to go out of his depth in that matter which brought upon him all his misfortunes (*m*). This conjecture is very plauſible, and yet there is good reaſon to doubt whether it is well founded. Mr Daviſon had attached himſelf, during the progreſs of his fortunes, to the potent Earl of Leiceſter, and it was chiefly to his favour and intereſt that he ſtood indebted for this high employment, in which if he was deceived by another great Stateſman, it could not be ſaid that he was raiſed and ruined by the ſame hands. But there is nothing more probable than that the bringing about ſuch an event, by an inſtrument which his rival had raiſed, and then removing him, and rendering his parts uſeleſs to thoſe who had

(*g*) Cabala, P. ii. p. 2, 3, 34.

(*h*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 290.

(*i*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 624.

(*k*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, chap. vii.

(*l*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 625.

(*m*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 544, 545.

'not to have ſuch a fear as it formerly had of the 'Earl of Arran. For there was a meeting drawn on 'at the borders, betwixt the Earl of Hunſdon and the 'Earl of Arran, who had long and privy conference 'together, to keep a great friendſhip betwixt the two 'princes and countries, with a ſecret plot, that the 'Earl of Arran ſhould keep the King unmarried for 'three years; under this pretext, that there was a 'young maid of the blood in England, who about that 'time would be ready for marriage, whereupon the 'Queen would declare his Majeſty ſecond perſon (3).' This quotation ſufficiently ſhews how little credit is due, even to the beſt memoirs, when they are plainly written from memory, and not in the ſtrict way of journal; for in all that Sir James has ſet down, there is very little, if any, truth. All the world knows, that Lord Burleigh was Treaſurer long before the death of Sir Francis Walſingham, and that he was Joint-Secretary with Mr Daviſon, who was not ſent by Lord Burleigh, neither did he come after Walſingham, or treat with thoſe with whom Walſingham refuſed to treat, but almoſt a year before him (4). The King was in the hands of the Earl of Gowry, when Mr Daviſon treated with him; afterwards the King made his eſcape, proſecuted thoſe who had confined him, and recalled the Earl of Arran, contrary to his promiſe; to expoſtulate with him, upon all which, Queen Elizabeth, ſome months after, ſent Sir Francis Walſingham (5); ſo that there is the ſtrangeſt confuſion in theſe memoirs, that ever appeared in a book written by a perſon of ſo great credit and capacity. It may be however true, that Mr Daviſon had at this time altered his ſentiments; and there is very little reaſon to doubt what he ſays of his extraction, ſince it was not any evil intention that led him into theſe miſtakes, but the fault was entirely in his memory, which here, and in many other places, betrayed him.

[*B*] *How he might transfer them into her own.*] After the taking of Antwerp by the Spaniards, it became abſolutely requiſite for the Queen to determine what part ſhe would take in the concerns of the Continent, and upon what terms ſhe would agree to aſſiſt the Dutch in the defence of their liberties. The eyes of all Europe were then fixed upon her conduct, and many great Princes abroad, thought ſhe had better declined than accepted the offers of the States. Some of her own council were of that opinion, and it was the Earl of Leiceſter and his party who preſſed her to this conjunction, that Earl himſelf intending to go, as he afterwards did, in a very high character to Holland (6). The treaty with the States, was negotiated between their miniſters, and a Committee of the Privy-Council here, but the carrying it into execution was entirely remitted to the care of Mr Daviſon. The Queen's inſtructions to him, counterſigned by Secretary Walſingham are ſtill preſerved, and conſiſt of nine articles, but they are without date (7). It appears however, that in September 1585, his negotiation was far advanced; for upon the 5th of that month, the Queen ſent him a commiſſion to take poſſeſſion of Fluſhing in her behalf, and to put the Brill into the hands of the Perſon whom General Norris ſhould appoint (8), There are alſo letters extant from him to the Earl of Leiceſter and Secretary Walſingham, relating to theſe affairs; as alſo a very remarkable diſpatch from the Commiſſioners, who had concluded this treaty, to Mr Daviſon, dated October the 3d, in which they acquaint him of her Majeſty's entire approbation of his conduct, and ſignifying that the diſcontent which it ſeems had been already ſhewn about this treaty, did not in the leaſt regard him, but referred to thoſe who had the adminiſtration of affairs in Holland, who are ſaid to have ſhewn a ſpirit of over-reaching; and as they were compoſed chiefly of traders and advocates, the former reſpecting nothing but their profit, and the latter flying naturally to quirks and tricks, there was no better to be expected from them (9). Upon the whole, it appears that no Miniſter could have greater truſt repoſed in him, or deſire a more ample approbation of his ſervices than he met with. In one thing only he ſeems to have been a little uneaſy, and that was the narrowneſs of his allowance, which made him very deſirous of returning to England, that the riſe of his reputation might not be purchaſed with the ruin of his eſtate (10). He was not however recalled till after the Earl of Leiceſter went over thither; and we find the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh intreating him to give his advice to his eldeſt ſon Mr Thomas Cecil, appointed Governor of the Brill, at the ſame that Sir Philip Sydney ſucceeded Mr Daviſon in the command of Fluſhing (11).

[*C*] *Who*

(3) Sir James Melvile's Memoirs, p. 157, 158.

(4) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 395, 397. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 324—327.

(5) Saunderſon's Life of Mary Queen of Scots, p. 99.

(6) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 290.

(7) Cott. Libra. Titus B. 2.

(8) Cabala, P. ii. p. 34.

(9) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 290. Cabala, P. ii. p. 34.

(10) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 290. Cabala, P. i. p. 2, 3.

(11) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 290.

had raiſed him, gave a double ſatisfaction to him who managed this deſign. The tracing the principal ſteps of this tranſaction, which was, without doubt, one of the fineſt ſtrokes of political management in that whole reign, was what chiefly determined us to inſert this article. When the reſolution was taken, in the beginning of October 1586, to bring the Queen of Scots to a trial, and a commiſſion was iſſued for that purpoſe, Secretary Daviſon's name was inſerted in that commiſſion; but it does not appear that he was preſent when that commiſſion was opened at Fotheringay-Caſtle, on the 11th of October, or that he ever aſſiſted there at all (*n*). Indeed, the management of that tranſaction was very wiſely left in the hands of thoſe who, with ſo much addreſs, had conducted the antecedent buſineſs for the conviction of Anthony Babington, and his accomplices, upon the truth and juſtice of which, the proceedings againſt the Queen of Scots entirely depended (*o*). On the 25th of October the ſentence was declared in the Star-Chamber, things proceeding ſtill in the ſame channel, and nothing particularly done by Secretary Daviſon (*p*). On the 29th of the ſame month the Parliament met, in which Serjeant Puckering was Speaker of the Houſe of Commons; and, upon an application from both Houſes, Queen Elizabeth cauſed the ſentence to be publiſhed, which, ſoon after, was notified to the Queen of Scots (*q*); yet, hitherto, all was tranſacted by the other Secretary, who was conſidered, by the nation in general, as the perſon who had led this proſecution from beginning to end [*C*]. The true meaning of this long and ſolemn proceeding was certainly to remove, as far as poſſible, any reflection upon Queen Elizabeth; and, that it might appear in the moſt conſpicuous manner to the world, ſhe was urged, and even conſtrained, to take the life of the Queen of Scots, inſtead of ſeeking or deſiring it. This aſſertion is not founded upon conjecture, but is a direct matter of fact; for, in her firſt anſwer to the Parliament, given at Richmond the 12th of November, ſhe complained that the late act had brought her into a great ſtrait, by obliging her to give directions for that Queen's death; and, upon the ſecond application, on the 24th of the ſame month, the Queen enters largely into the conſequences that muſt naturally follow upon her taking that ſtep, and, on the conſideration of them, grounds her returning no definitive reſolution even to this ſecond application (*r*). The delay which followed after the publication of the ſentence, gave an opportunity for the French King, and ſeveral other Princes, to interpoſe, but more eſpecially to King James, whoſe Ambaſſadors, and particularly Sir Robert Melvile, preſſed the Queen very hard (*s*). Camden ſays, that his Ambaſſadors, unſeaſonably mixing threatnings with intreaties, they were not very welcome; ſo that, after a few days, the Ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed, with ſmall hopes of ſucceeding in what they came about (*t*). But we are elſewhere told, that, when Melvile requeſted a reſpite of execution for eight days, ſhe anſwered, *Not an Hour* (*u*). This ſeemed to be a plain declaration of her Majeſty's final determination, and ſuch in all probability it was, ſo that her death being reſolved, the only point that remained under debate was, how ſhe ſhould die, that is, whether by the hand of an executioner, or otherwiſe (*w*). In reſpect to this, the two Secretaries ſeem to have been of different ſentiments. Mr Daviſon thought the forms of juſtice ſhould go on, and the end of this melancholy tranſaction correſpond with the reſt of the proceedings (*x*). Upon this Sir Francis Walſingham pretended ſickneſs, and did not come to Court, and by this means the whole buſineſs of drawing and bringing the warrant to the Queen to ſign fell upon Daviſon, who, purſuant to the Queen's directions, went through

(*n*) Hollinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1565. State Trials, Vol. I. p. 145. Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 488.

(*o*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 128. Carleton's thankful Remembrance of God's Mercies, p. 115.

(*p*) Saunderſon's Life of Mary Queen of Scots, p. 116, 117.

(*q*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 161.

(*r*) Hollinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1580.

(*s*) Spotiſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 351, 352, 353.

(*t*) Saunderſon's Life of Mary Queen of Scots, p. 119.

(*u*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 522.

(*w*) See Daviſon's Apology in Note [*H*]. Oſborn's traditional Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, §. iv. Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 625.

(*x*) See this plainly aſſerted in his Apology.

[*C*] *Who had led this proſecution from beginning to end.*] Such as are acquainted with the hiſtory of thoſe times, know, that the whole of Babington's conſpiracy was detected by Sir Francis Walſingham, and that he ſuffered it to go on for ſome time after it was diſcovered, that he might the more effectually come at the bottom of it, and trace out all that were concerned in it (12). Upon this, it was reſolved to remove the Queen of Scots, and to confine her cloſely, either in Hertford Caſtle, or at Fotheringay; when the laſt mentioned place was reſolved on, orders were ſent to Sir Amias Pawlet, then her keeper, for her removal, with inſtructions not to give her above two days warning, and not to let her know where ſhe was going, till after ſhe had been two or three days upon the road; at length, when ſhe was brought to Fotheringay, Queen Elizabeth herſelf thought proper to write, or at leaſt to ſubſcribe with her own hand, the following letter to Sir Amias Pawlet, in gratitude, as Mr Strype ſays, for his fidelity ſhewn in the management of that removal, which letter was tranſcribed from a copy taken by Michael Hickes, the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh's Secretary (13).

(12) State Trials, Vol I. p. 128. Biſhop Carleton's thankful Remembrances of God's Mercies, p. 115. Udal's Life of Mary Queen of Scots, p. 395.

(13) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 361, 362.

To my faithful Amyas.

AMYAS, my moſt careful and faithful ſervant, God reward thee treblefold in the double, for thy moſt troubleſome charge ſo well diſcharged. If you knew, my Amyas, how kindly, beſides dutifully, my grateful heart accepteth your double labours and faithful actions, your wiſe orders and ſafe conduct, perform'd in ſo dangerous and crafty a charge, it would eaſe your travel [trouble writ over head] and rejoice your heart. And which I charge you to carry this moſt juſt thought, that I cannot balance in any weight of my judgment, the value I prize you at; and ſuppoſe no treaſure to countervail ſuch a faith, and condemn myſelf in that fault which I have committed, if I reward not ſuch deſerts. Yea, let me lack, when I have moſt need, if I acknowledge not ſuch a merit with a reward; *non omnibus datum.*

But let your wicked miſtreſs know how, with hearty ſorrow, her vile deſerts compel theſe orders; and bid her from me, aſk God forgiveneſs for her treacherous dealing towards the ſaver of her life many years to the intolerable peril of her own. And yet, not content with ſo many forgiveneſſes, muſt fall again ſo horribly far paſſing a woman, much more a princeſs. Inſtead of excuſing, whereof not one can ſerve, it being ſo plainly confeſſed by the authors of my guiltleſs death; let repentance take place, and let not the fiend poſſeſs, ſo as her beſt part be loſt. Which I pray, with hands lifted up to him that may both ſave and ſpill, with my loving adieu, and prayer for thy long life,

Your aſſured and loving ſovereign in heart,
by good deſert induced,

ELIZABETH Regina.

[*D*] In

through it (y) in the manner that Camden has related [D]. But it is very remarkable, that, while theſe judicial ſteps were taking, the other method, to which the Queen herſelf ſeemed to incline, proceeded alſo, and Secretary Walſingham, notwithſtanding his ſickneſs, wrote the very day the warrant was ſigned, which was Wedneſday, February 1ſt, 1586-7, to Sir Amias Pawlet and Sir Drew Drury, to put them in mind of the aſſociation, as a thing that might countenance at leaſt, if not juſtify, this other way of removing the Queen of Scots (z). It is true, that Mr Daviſon ſubſcribed this letter, and wrote another to the ſame perſons two days after; but it appears plainly from the anſwer, that the keepers of the Queen of Scots conſidered the motion as coming from Walſingham. Theſe letters will be found in the notes [E]. The warrant being delivered to the Lords of

(y) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 532. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 372.

(z) See the letters referred to in note [E].

[D] *In the manner that Camden has related.*] When one conſiders the many and great advantages this hiſtorian had, as himſelf declares, and as the papers he refers to prove, one cannot but pay a very high deference to his authority; but at the ſame time it cannot but afford the curious reader a very high pleaſure to compare his accounts of things, with the papers themſelves, from which he profeſſes to have drawn them. We have on another occaſion inſerted his extract from Mr Daviſon's apology (14), in a ſucceeding note we ſhall inſert that ſingular paper as it fell from our author's own hand (15). At preſent let us ſee how he choſe to repreſent the whole of this tranſaction (16), after weighing and conſidering thoſe authentick authorities which were in his poſſeſſion.

(14) Biographia Britann. Vol. II. p. 1263.

(15) See our Author's Apology in note [H].

(16) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 532.

'In the midſt, ſays he, of theſe doubtful and perplexing thoughts which ſo troubled and ſtaggered the Queen's mind, that ſhe gave herſelf wholly over to ſolitarineſs, ſate many times melancholy and mute, and frequently ſighing, muttered this to herſelf, *Aut fer aut feri*, that is, either bear or ſtrike; and out of I know not what emblem, *Ne feriare feri*, that is, ſtrike leſt thou be ſtricken; ſhe delivered a writing to Daviſon, one of her Secretaries, ſigned with her own hand, commanding a warrant under the Great Seal of England, to be drawn up for the execution, which ſhould lie in readineſs if any danger chanced to break forth in that time of jealouſy and fear, and commanded him to acquaint no man therewith. But the next day, while fear ſeemed to be afraid of her own counſels and deſigns, her mind changed, and ſhe commanded Daviſon, by William Killigrew, that the warrant ſhould not be drawn. Daviſon came preſently to the Queen, and told her that it was drawn and under ſeal already. She was ſomewhat moved at it, and blamed him for making ſuch haſte. He notwithſtanding acquainted the Council both with the warrant and the whole matter, and eaſily perſwaded them who were apt to believe what they deſired, that the Queen had commanded it ſhould be executed. Hereupon, without any delay, Beale, who in reſpect of religion, was of all others, the Queen of Scots moſt bitter adverſary, was ſent down with one or two executioners, and a warrant, wherein authority was given to the Earls of Shrewſbury, Kent, Derby, Cumberland, and others, to ſee her executed according to law, and this without any knowledge of the Queen at all. And though ſhe at that very time told Daviſon, that ſhe would take another courſe with the Queen of Scots, yet did not he for all that call Beale back.'

See 3. Whit. Mary Queen of Scots 2. [illegible] where X

[E] *Theſe letters will be found in the notes.*] Theſe I think were firſt publiſhed by Mr Hearne, who tells us they were copied by a friend of his in the month of September, 1717, from a manuſcript folio book, containing letters to and from Sir Amias Pawlet, when the Queen of Scot's Governor at Fotheringay (17).

(17) Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, p. 673, 674, 675, 676.

X it is taken that these [illegible] letters were not first published [illegible] Mackenzie in his lives of Scot. Writers, & were furniſhed to him from the originals by [illegible] of Christ's Church Oxford. [illegible]

To Sir Amice Poulet.

AFTER our hearty commendations, we find by ſpeech lately utter'd by her Majeſty, that ſhe doth note in you, both a lack of that care and zeal of her ſervice that ſhe looketh for at your hands, in that you have not in all this time, of yourſelves, without other provocation, found out ſome way to ſhorten the life of that Queen, conſidering the great peril ſhe is ſubject unto hourly, ſo long as the ſaid Queen ſhall live. Wherein, beſides a kind of lack of love towards her, ſhe noteth greatly, that you have not that care of your own particular ſafeties, or rather of the preſervation of religion and the publick good, and proſperity of your country; that reaſon and policy commandeth, eſpecially having ſo good a warrant and ground for the ſatisfaction of your conſciences towards God and the diſcharge of your credit and reputation towards the world, as the oath of aſſociation which you both have ſo ſolemnly taken and vowed, and eſpecially the matter wherewith ſhe ſtandeth charged, being ſo clearly and manifeſtly proved againſt her. And therefore ſhe taketh it moſt unkindly, that men profeſſing that love towards her, that you doe, ſhould, in any kind of ſort, for lack of the diſcharge of your duties, caſt the burthen upon her; knowing as you do, her indiſpoſition to ſhed blood, eſpecially of one of that ſex and quality, and ſo near to her in blood as the ſaid Queen is. Theſe reſpects we find do greatly trouble her Majeſty, who, we aſſure you, has ſundry times proteſted, that if the regard of this danger of her good ſubjects and faithful ſervants, did not more move her than her own peril, ſhe would never be drawn to aſſent to the ſhedding her blood. We thought it very meet to acquaint you with theſe ſpeeches lately paſſed from her Majeſty, referring the ſame to your good judgments, and ſo we commit you to the protection of the Almighty.

At London, Your moſt aſſured friends,
Feb. 1, 1586.

FRANCIS WALSINGHAM,
WILLIAM DAVISON.

After reading this letter from Walsingham & Davison, it must be difficult to pity the latter for his subsequent disgrace. H. H.

This letter was received at Fotheringay, the 2d of February, at five in the afternoon.

An abſtract of a letter from Mr Secretary Daviſon, of the ſaid 1ſt of February, 1586, as followeth

'I pray let this and the incloſed be committed to the fire, which meaſure ſhall be likewiſe meet to your anſwer, after it hath been communicated to her Majeſty for her ſatiſfaction.'

A poſtſcript in a letter from Mr Secretary Daviſon, of the 3d of February, 1586.

'I intreated you in my laſt, to burn my letters ſent unto you for the argument ſake, which by your anſwer to Mr Secretary (which I have ſeen) appeareth not to have been done; I pray you, let me intreat you to make heretiques of th' one and the other, as I mean to uſe your's, after her Majeſty hath ſeen it.'

In the end of the poſtſcript.

'I pray you let me hear what you have done with my letters, becauſe they are not fit to be kept, that I may ſatisfie her Majeſty therein, who might otherwiſe take offence thereat; and if you entreat this poſtſcript in the ſame manner, you ſhall not erre a whit.

'(A. Poulet, D. Drury.)'

A copy of a letter to Sir Francis Walſingham, of the 2d of February, 1586, at 6 in the afternoon, being the anſwer to a letter from him, the ſaid Sir Francis, of the 1ſt of February, 1586, received at Fotheringhay, the 2d day of February, at five in the afternoon.

SIR,

YOUR letters of yeſterday, coming to my hands this preſent day at five in the afternoon, I would not fail, according to your directions, to return my anſwer with all poſſible ſpeed, which ſhall deliver unto you, of the Council, they ſent it down by Mr Beale, their Clerk, a man of a ſour and ſtubborn temper, and who had always ſhewn a great bitterneſs againſt the Queen of Scots. The day of his departure does not appear, but Queen Mary had notice given her on the Monday to prepare for death on the Wedneſday, which ſhe accordingly ſuffered (*a*). As ſoon as Queen Elizabeth was informed of it, ſhe expreſſed great reſentment againſt her Council, forbid them her preſence, and the Court; and cauſed ſome of them to be examined, as if ſhe intended to call them to an account for the ſhare they had in this tranſaction (*b*). We are not told particularly who theſe Counſellors were, except the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh (*c*), who fell into a temporary diſgrace about it, and was actually a witneſs againſt Mr Daviſon. As for the Earl of Leiceſter and Secretary Walſingham, they had prudently withdrawn themſelves at the laſt act of the tragedy, and took care to publiſh ſo much by their letters into Scotland (*d*). As for Secretary Daviſon, upon whom it was reſolved the whole weight of this buſineſs ſhould fall, he was deprived of his office, and ſent priſoner to the Tower, at which nobody ſeems to have been ſo much alarmed as the Lord Treaſurer (*e*), who, though himſelf at that time in diſgrace, wrote thereupon to the Queen in ſtrong terms, and once intended to have written in much ſtronger [*F*]. This application had no effect; for the Queen having ſent her kinſman Mr Cary, ſon to the Lord Hunſdon, into Scotland, to excuſe the matter to King James, charged with a letter to him, under her own hand, in which ſhe, in the ſtrongeſt terms poſſible, aſſerted her own innocence (*f*); there was a neceſſity of doing ſomething, that might carry an air of evidence, in ſupport of the turn ſhe had now given to the death of that Princeſs. On the 28th of March following, Daviſon, after having undergone various examinations, was brought to his trial in the Star-Chamber, for the contempt of which he had been guilty, in revealing the Queen's counſels to her Privy-Counſellors, and performing what he underſtood to be the duty of his office in quality of her Secretary. We have ſeveral accounts of this trial, which, in a variety of circumſtances, differ from each other [*G*]. In this, however, they all agree, that the Judges, who fined him ten thouſand marks,

(*a*) Gunton's Hiſt. of Peterborough, p. 76. Stowe's Annals, p. 742.

(*b* Strype's Ann. Vol. III. p. 375.

(*c*) Biograph. Britan. Vol. II. p. 1263.

(*d*) Saunderſon's Life of Mary Queen of Scots, p. 120, 128.

(*e*) Strype's Ann. Vol. III. p. 372.

(*f*) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 539.

you, with great grief and bitterneſs of mind in that I am ſo unhappy to have lyven to ſee this unhappy day, in the which I am required, by direction from my moſt gracious ſovereign, to do an act which God and the law forbiddeth. My good livings and life are at her Majeſty's diſpoſition, and am ready to looſe them this next morrow, yf it ſhall ſo pleaſe her; acknowledging that I hold them as of her meer and moſt gracious favour. I do not deſire them, to enjoy them, but with her Highneſſe's good liking; but God forbid that I ſhould make ſo fowle a ſhipwracke of my conſcience, or leave ſo great a blott to my poſteritie, to ſhed blood without law and warrant, truſting that her Majeſty, of her accuſtomed clemency, will take this my dutiful anſwer in good part (and the rather, by your good mediation) as proceeding from one who will never be inferior to any chriſtian ſubject living, in duty, honour, love and obedience towards his ſovereign. And thus I commit you to the mercy of the Almightie. From Fotheringhay, the 2d of February, 1586.

Your moſt aſſured poore friends,

A. POULET,
D. DRURY.

Your letters coming in the plural number, ſeem to be meant as to Sir Drew Drewrye, as to myſelf, and yet, becauſe he is not named in them, neither the letter directed unto him, he forbeareth to make any anſwer, but ſubſcribeth in heart to my opinion.

[*F*] *And once intended to have written in much ſtronger.*] We have ſhewn in it's proper place, what degree of Queen Elizabeth's reſentment fell upon the Lord Treaſurer, who was not only forbid the Queen's preſence and the court, but examined, when perhaps unwittingly he let fall ſomething, as if what Mr Daviſon ſaid of the Queen's intention, induced him and the reſt of the Council, to ſend the warrant by Beale. This ſeems to have thrown the ſtorm upon Daviſion, and to have occaſioned his being committed to the Tower; the news of which ſo much ſurprized the Treaſurer, that, on Monday February the 13th, he drew up a letter to the Queen, of which, as Mr Strype aſſures us, the laſt paragraph ran in the following words (18). 'And 'having ended that concerneth myſelf, I cannot in 'duty forbear to put your Majeſty in mind, that if Mr 'Daviſon be committed to the Tower, who beſt knoweth his own cauſe, the example will be ſorrowful to 'all your faithful ſervants, and joyful to your enemies. 'And as I can remember many examples in your father's, your brother's, your ſiſter's, yea your own time, 'of committing of counſellors, either to other men's 'houſes, or to their own; ſo can I not remember any 'one example of a counſellor committed to the Tower, 'but where they are attainted afterwards of high-treaſon: and what your Majeſty intendeth towards this your ſervant, I know not, but ſure I am, 'and I preſume to have ſome judgment therein, I 'know not a man in the land, ſo furniſhed univerſally 'for the place, and neither know I any that can come 'near him.'

(18) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 372.

Thus it was in the firſt minutes of this Lord's letter concerning Daviſon, but in his review thereof ſent to the Queen, it ran in theſe words with more reſerve.

'I beſeech your Majeſty pardon me, to remember 'to let you underſtand my opinion of Mr Daviſon; I 'never perceived by him, that he thought your Majeſty would have miſliked to have had an end of the 'late capital enemy. And what your Majeſty minded 'to him in your diſpleaſure, I hear to my grief. But 'for a ſervant in that place, I think it hard to find a 'like qualified perſon. Whom to ruin in your heavy 'diſpleaſure, ſhall be more your Majeſty's loſs than 'his.'

W. B.

[*G*] *Which in a variety of circumſtances, differ from each other.*] The learned Camden has given a very ſuccinct and elegant detail of the proceedings (10), beſides which, there is a manuſcript account of the trial in Caius College in Cambridge (20), and a third in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, taken by one William Nutt (21), who was an eye witneſs. Whoever ſhall compare theſe, will find the truth of what is aſſerted in the text; and that they very ſeldom agree preciſely in any thing, not ſo much as ſetting down in the ſame order, the names of the Commiſſioners, a thing in itſelf very material, not only in regard of their precedency, but alſo as to their order in ſpeaking. Theſe commiſſioners were Sir Chriſtopher Wray, Chief Juſtice of England, who for the time, ſat as Lord Privy-Seal; the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Archbiſhop of York, the Earl of Worceſter, the Earl of Cumberland, and the Earl of Lincoln, the Lord Grey and Lord Lumley, Sir James Croft the Comptroller, Sir Gilbert Gerrard Maſter of the Rolls, the Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, Edmund Anderſon; Sir Roger Manwood, the Lord Chief Baron, and Sir Walter Mildmay, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr Camden aſſerts, that the charge againſt him, by Popham the Attorney-General,

(19) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 540.

(20) Claſs A. 1090. 8. p. 267.
Printed in 7 State Trials

(21) Tit. Juridic 7843. 802. p. 235.
Printed in 7. State Trials.

marks, and impriſonment during the Queen's pleaſure, gave him a very high character, and declared him to be, in their opinions, both an able and an honeſt man (g). One thing is very remarkable, that, in the concluſion of this buſineſs, Sir Chriſtopher Wray, Chief Juſtice of the Queen's Bench, told the Court, that, though the Queen had been offended with her Council, and had left them to examination, yet now ſhe forgave them, being ſatisfied that they were miſled by this man's ſuggeſtions (h). Sir James Melvile, who wrote at that time, and who ſeems to have had ſome prejudice againſt Daviſon, ſaid very candidly and fairly, upon this occaſion, that he was deceived by the Council (i). As ſoon as the proceeding was over, the Queen, to put it out of doubt with the King of Scots, that his mother was put to death without her privity or intention, ſent him the judgment given againſt Daviſon, ſubſcribed by thoſe who had given it, and exemplified under the Great Seal, together with another inſtrument, under the hands of all the Judges of England, that the ſentence againſt his mother could not in the leaſt prejudice his title to the ſucceſſion (k). As for Mr Daviſon, now left to a ſtrange reward for his paſt ſervices, a long impriſonment, which brought upon him downright indigence, he comforted himſelf with the thoughts of his innocence; and, to ſecure his memory from being blaſted by that judgment which had withered his fortune, he had long before wrote an Apology for his own conduct, which he addreſſed to Secretary Walſingham, as the man moſt intereſted in it, and who could beſt teſtify whether what he affirmed was truth or not. In this he gave a very clear and natural detail of the tranſaction, which coſt him all his ſufferings [H]. It is allowed by all who have written on this ſubject, and more eſpecially by Camden,

ral, was, that the Queen, from her innate clemency, never intended the Queen of Scots, though condemned, ſhould have been put to death, notwithſtanding which, ſhe ordered the warrant to be drawn up, and committed it to Daviſon's truſt and ſecrecy. Neither of the other trials come up to this, but ſay, only, that ſhe committed the warrant of ſpecial care and truſt, to Mr Daviſon, that it might be ready on any ſudden occaſion. Mr Daviſon's defence in the Cambridge manuſcript, differs in ſeveral things from Camden's account of it; the Oxford manuſcript differs from both, eſpecially in this, that it aſſerts, Mr Daviſon affirmed therein, that when the Queen delivered him the warrant, ſhe did it with this expreſſion, 'Now you have it, let me 'be troubled no more with it.' It is in all the trials agreed, that the Lord Treaſurer's evidence, and Daviſon's own examinations, were all the proofs inſiſted upon; but that the Queen's Counſel refuſed to read thoſe examinations, as things improper to be divulged, nor is there a ſyllable of them in any of the trials. Yet they are ſtill preſerved, and the curious reader may have recourſe to them if he pleaſes.

[H] *Which coſt him all his ſufferings.*] The following paper is ſo curious, and ſo difficult to be met with, that it is preſumed the reader will be very well pleaſed to find it here, as it muſt be eſteemed one of the moſt valuable pieces, which, for the illuſtration of Hiſtory, has been inſerted in this collection (22).

Secretary Daviſon's Apology, addreſſed to Sir Francis Walſingham.

On Wedneſday the firſt of this preſent, about ten of the clock, came one of the Grooms of the Chamber to me, to let me underſtand, that her Majeſty had called for me by my Lord Admiral, who was in the Privy-Chamber. I found his Lordſhip there, who told me the cauſe of my ſending for. Having firſt ſummarily diſcourſed unto me, ſome ſpeech that had paſſed that morning betwixt her Majeſty and him, touching the execution of the Scottiſh Queen, the concluſion of which was, that ſhe would no longer defer it, and therefore had commanded him to ſend expreſly for me to bring the warrant unto her: whereupon, returning to my chamber, I took both that and divers other things to be ſigned for her ſervice, and returning back, ſent in Mr Brook to ſignify my being there to her Majeſty, who immediately called for me. At my coming in, her Majeſty, firſt aſking me Whether I had been abroad that fair morning? adviſing me to uſe it oftener, and reprehending me for the contrary, finally demanded, What I had in my hands? I anſwered, divers warrants, and other things, to be ſigned for her Majeſty's ſervice She enquired whether my Lord Admiral had not ſent for me, and whether I had not brought up the warrant for the Scots Queen? I anſwered yes, and thereupon calling for it, I delivered it into her hands. After the reading thereof, calling for pen and ink, ſhe ſigned it, and laying it from her, aſked me. Whether I was not heartily ſorry that it was done? mine anſwer was, that I was ſorry a Lady ſo near in blood to herſelf, and of her place and quality, ſhould ſo far forget her duty to God and her Majeſty, as to give her this cauſe. But ſithence this act of her Majeſty was in all men's opinion of that juſtice and neceſſity, that ſhe could not defer it without the manifeſt danger of her perſon and ſtate, I could not be ſorry to ſee her Majeſty take this courſe of removing the cauſe of that danger, which threatened the one and the other; proteſting nevertheleſs, that I was ſo far from thirſting after the blood of that unhappy Lady, that if there had been any other way to preſerve her Majeſty and the State from miſchief, than by taking her life, I could have wiſhed it. But the caſe ſtanding ſo in the opinion of all men, that either her Majeſty or ſhe muſt die, I muſt confeſs freely, that I preferred the death of the guilty before the innocent. After this ſhe commanded me to carry it to the Seal, and to give my Lord Chancellor order from her to uſe it as ſecretly as might be, and, by the way, to ſhow it to Mr Secretary Walſingham, becauſe ſhe thought the grief thereof would kill him outright, for ſo it pleaſed her Majeſty to ſay of him. This done, ſhe called for the reſt of the warrants, and other things I had to ſign, and diſpatched them all with the beſt diſpoſition and willingneſs that could be. In the mean time, repeating unto me ſome reaſons why ſhe had ſo long deferred the matter, as, namely, for her honour's ſake, that the world might ſee that ſhe had not been violently or maliciouſly drawn unto it, ſhe concluded, that ſhe was never ſo ill adviſed as not to ſee and apprehend her own danger, and the neceſſity ſhe had to proceed to this execution; and thereupon, after ſome intermingled ſpeech here and there, ſhe told me, ſhe would have it done as ſecretly as might be, and miſliking that it ſhould be executed in the open Court, or green of the caſtle, expreſly willed, that it ſhould be done in the hall; which I take to be a certain argument, both of her meaning it ſhould be done, and in the form preſcribed in the warrant. But after I had gathered up my papers, and was ready to depart, ſhe fell into ſome complaint of Sir Amias Pawlet and others, that might have eaſed her of this burthen, wiſhing me yet to deal with Mr Secretary, and that he would jointly write to Sir Amias and Sir Drury, to ſound their diſpoſitions, aiming ſtill at this, that it might be ſo done, as the blame might be removed from herſelf. And though I had always refuſed before to meddle therein, upon ſundry of her Majeſty's former motions, as a thing I utterly condemned, yet was I content, as I told her for her ſatisfaction, to let Sir Amias underſtand what ſhe expected at his hands; albeit I did before-hand aſſure myſelf it ſhould be ſo much labour loſt, knowing the wiſdom and integrity of the gentleman, who I thought would not do any unlawful act for any reſpect in the world; but finding her Majeſty deſirous to have him ſounded in this behalf, I departed from her Majeſty with

(g) State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 20.

(h) In the MSS. in the Bodleian Library, at the cloſe.

(i) Memoirs of the remarkable Affairs of State in England and Scotland, p. 172.

(k) Camd Annal. Eliz. p. 547, 548.

(22) Tranſcribed by Mr John Urry, of Chriſt church, from the Papers of Sir Amias Pawlet.

Camden, that he was a very unhappy, though, at the ſame time, a very capable and honeſt

with promiſe to ſignify ſo much to Mr Secretary, and that we would both acquaint Sir Amias of her pleaſure. And here repeating to me again, that ſhe would have the matter cloſely handled, becauſe of her danger, I promiſed to uſe it as ſecretly as I could; and ſo, for that time, departed. That afternoon I repaired to my Lord Chancellor, where I procured the warrant to be ſealed, having in my way viſited Mr Secretary, and agreed with him about the form of the letter which ſhould be written for her Majeſty's ſatisfying to Sir Amias Paulet and Mr Drury, which, at my returning to my Lord Chancellor, was diſpatched. The next morning I received a letter from Cranmer, my ſervant, whom I left at Court, ſignifying unto me her Majeſty's pleaſure, that I ſhould forbear going to my Lord Chancellor's till I had ſpoken with her. And within an hour after came William Killigrew, with the like meſſage from her, whom I returned with this anſwer, that I would be at the Court as ſoon as himſelf, and give her Majeſty an account of what I had done. At my coming to her, ſhe aſked me whether I had been at my Lord Chancellor's? I anſwered her, Yes; ſhe demanded, What needed that haſte? I anſwered, that I had done no more than ſhe commanded, and thought it no matter to be dallied withal; but, ſaith ſhe, methinks the beſt and ſafeſt way for me is to have it otherways handled, particularizing a form, that ſhe, as ſhe pretended, liked better, naming unto me ſome that were of that opinion, whoſe judgments ſhe commended. I anſwered, that I took the honourable and juſt way to be the beſt and ſafeſt, if ſhe meant to have it done at all; whereto her Majeſty replying nothing for that time, left me, and went to dinner. Within a day or two after, her Majeſty being in the Privy Chamber, called me unto her, and ſmiling told me, how ſhe had been troubled with me that night, upon a dream ſhe had that the Scots Queen was executed, pretending to be ſo troubled with the news, that if ſhe had had a ſword ſhe could have run me through; but this being delivered in a pleaſant and ſmiling manner, I anſwered her Majeſty, that it was good I was not near her ſo long as that humour laſted; but withal, taking hold of her ſpeech, I aſked her Majeſty in great earneſtneſs, What it meant? and Whether, having proceeded thus far, ſhe had not a meaning to go forward with the execution? Confirming this with a ſolemn oath, and ſome vehemency, ſhe anſwered yes; but ſhe thought it might receive a better form, becauſe, ſaith ſhe, this caſteth the whole burthen upon myſelf; whereto I replied, that the form preſcribed by her warrant was ſuch as the law required, and the only form that was to be kept in honour and juſtice. She anſwered, there were wiſer men than myſelf of another opinion; I told her I could not anſwer for other men, but this I was ſure of, that I never heard any man give ſound reaſon to prove it either honourable or ſafe for her Majeſty, to take any other courſe than that which ſtandeth with law and juſtice: ſo without farther replication or ſpeech at that time, her Majeſty roſe up and left me.

The ſame afternoon (as I take it) ſhe aſked me if I had heard from Sir Amias Paulet, I told her no: but within an hour or two after, going to London, I met with letters from him in anſwer to thoſe that were written to him by Mr Secretary and myſelf. The next morning having acceſs to her Majeſty, upon ſome other occaſion, I told her I had letters from Mr Paulet, which her Majeſty, deſirous to ſee, took and read, but finding thereby that he was grieved with the motion made unto him, offered his life and all he had to be diſpoſed of by her Majeſty, but abſolutely refuſing to be an inſtrument in any ſuch action as was not warranted in honour or juſtice. Her Majeſty falling into ſome terms of offence, complaining of the dainty (as ſhe called it) perjury of him and others, who, contrary to their oath of aſſociation, did caſt the burthen upon herſelf, ſhe roſe up, and, after a turn or two, went into the gallery, whither I followed her: and there renewing her former ſpeech, blaming the niceneſs of thoſe preciſe fellows, who in words would do great things for her ſafety, but in deed perform nothing: and concluded, ſhe would have it well enough done without them; and here, entering into particularities, named unto me, as I remember, one Wingfield, who, ſhe aſſured me, would, with ſome others, undertake it: which gave me occaſion to ſhew unto her Majeſty, how diſhonourable, in my poor opinion, any ſuch courſe would be; how far off ſhe would be from ſhunning the blame and ſtain thereof, which ſhe ſought ſo much to avoid; and here, falling particularly into the caſe of Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drew Drury, told her, that 'twas a marvellous extremity ſhe would have expoſed theſe two gentlemen unto, for if, in a tender care for her ſecurity, they ſhould have done that which ſhe deſired, ſhe muſt either allow their act or diſallow it: if ſhe allowed it, ſhe took the matter upon herſelf, with her infinite diſhonour; if ſhe diſallowed it, ſhe overthrew thoſe faithful gentlemen, who, ſhe knew, did truly and faithfully love her; and not only themſelves, but their whole eſtate and poſterity; and therefore thought this a moſt dangerous and diſhonourable courſe, both for herſelf and them; and ſo, after ſome particular ſpeech of Mr Secretary and others, touching ſome matters paſt heretofore, her Majeſty calling to underſtand whether it was time to go to the cloſet, brake off our diſcourſe.

At my next acceſs to her Majeſty, which I take was Tueſday, the day before my coming from Court, I having certain things to be ſigned, her Majeſty entered of herſelf into ſome earneſt diſcourſe of the danger ſhe daily lived in, and how it was more than time this matter was diſpatched, ſwearing a great oath, that it was a ſhame for them all that it was not done; and thereupon ſpake unto me to have a letter written to Mr Poulet for the diſpatch thereof, becauſe the longer it was deferred, the more her danger increaſed; whereunto (knowing what order had been taken by my Lords in ſending the commiſſion to the Earls) I anſwered, that I thought there was no neceſſity of ſuch a letter, the warrant being ſo general and ſufficient as it was. Her Majeſty replied little elſe, but that ſhe thought Mr Poulet would look for it. And this, as near as I can poſſibly remember, is a faithful and true report of what hath paſſed betwixt her Majeſty and me, from the day of ſigning the warrant, and the commandment given unto me to carry it unto the Seal, until the hour of my departure from the Court. In all which I muſt proteſt unfeignedly before God, that I neither remember any ſuch commandment given me by her Majeſty as is pretended, neither did ever I conceive ſuch an intent or meaning in her; and that my innocency herein may the better appear, let it be conſidered, firſt, what the commandment is; and next, upon what conſiderations it was granted: the commandment, as I underſtand it, hath two parts, one, that I ſhould conceal it from the reſt of her Majeſty's Council; another, that I ſhould retain it by myſelf until ſome tumultuary time, as a thing her Majeſty meant not otherwiſe to put in execution; both which, I muſt in all duty and humbleneſs, under her moſt gracious favour, abſolutely deny. And, for the firſt, I truſt, her Majeſty, in her princely and honourable nature, will not deny, but that ſhe firſt ſent for me by my Lord Admiral to bring the warrant unto her, which proveth that his Lordſhip was acquainted with her purpoſe; and next, that ſhe gave me expreſs word, both to carry it forthwith to the Seal, with a meſſage to my Lord Chancellor, who conſequently muſt be acquainted with it, and alſo, by the way, to impart it to Mr Secretary; ſo that theſe three being made privy to it with her own good liking, and myſelf, as I ſay, not reſtrained from the contrary by any ſuch commandment as is pretended, what reaſon had I to conceal it from my Lord Treaſurer, to whom my Lord Admiral had firſt imparted it, or from my Lord Leiceſter, to whom her Majeſty had ſignified as much; as, likewiſe, to Mr Vice-Chamberlain; and, as they are all well acquainted with the reſt of the whole proceeding, and, as far intereſted in the cauſe as myſelf or any of the others, unleſs her Majeſty had a meaning that Mr Secretary and I ſhould have dealt alone in ſending of it to the Earls, which, for mine own part, I confeſs I never liked, knowing her Majeſty's purpoſe was often to myſelf to remove as much of the burthen as ſhe might from her own ſhoulders upon others, which I knew my own unfit to ſuſtain. Now, ſeeing the end of ſigning honeſt man. As ſuch we have ſeen him recommended to Queen Elizabeth by the Treaſurer Burleigh (*l*), and as ſuch he was ſtrongly recommended by the Earl of Eſſex to King James. It ſeems, that noble perſon ſtuck faſt by him under his misfortunes, which plainly ſhews the party to which he had always adhered. That Lord loſt no opportunity of ſolliciting the Queen in his favour, and never let ſlip any occaſion of teſtifying for him the warmeſt and the ſincereſt affection (*m*). At length, it ſeems, he was not altogether unſucceſsful; for though, upon the death of Secretary Walſingham, the Queen abſolutely rejected his motion, that Mr Daviſon ſhould come into his place, yet, afterwards, it ſeems, that ſhe yielded, in ſome degree, as plainly appears by the Earl's letter to King James, which, for that reaſon, is placed in the notes [*I*]. That we are under an incapacity of tracing him farther, is owing to the profound ſilence of the writers of thoſe times, who,

(*l*) In the letters cited in note [*F*].

(*m*) Cabala, P. i. p. 213.

and ſealing this warrant, in all reaſonable probability and judgment, was to go forward, withal that the delay thereof did infinitely increaſe her Majeſty's peril, and thereby hazard the whole eſtate; ſeeing it was imparted to ſome by her Majeſty's own order, and no cauſe or poſſibility being ſealed to keep it from the reſt, as much intereſted in the cauſe as myſelf; and, finally, ſeeing I could neither, as I take it, in law nor duty of a good ſubject, conceal it from them, the cauſe importing ſo greatly her Majeſty's life as it did, and the diſpoſition both of the time and the ſtate of things at home and abroad, being ſuch as it was, I truſt it ſhall ſufficiently appear, that I was both in reaſon, duty, and neceſſity, forced thereunto, unleſs I would have wilfully endangered myſelf, whoſe offence, if aught in the mean time had happened amiſs unto her Majeſty, muſt have been in my own cenſure, worthy of a thouſand deaths; and as to my proceeding therein with the reſt of my Lords, after it was reſolved that it was neither fit nor convenient to trouble her Majeſty any farther with it, conſidering that ſhe had done all that the law required at her hands, and that ſhe had both to myſelf and others ſignified, at other times, her indiſpoſition to be acquainted with the particular circumſtances of time, place, *&c.* and that to detain the warrant, in expectation of any farther directions from herſelf, was both needleſs and dangerous, conſidering the hourly hazards her Majeſty lived in. And finally, that my Lords knowing her Majeſty's unwillingneſs to bear all the burthen alone, were content moſt reſolutely, honourably, and dutifully, to eaſe her as much as they might; with what reaſon and juſtice ſhould I have hindered the courſe of juſtice, tending ſo greatly to her Majeſty's ſafety, and preſervation of the whole realm; and for the other part of keeping it by me to ſuch ends as is before alledged, I truſt the world doth not hold me ſo undutiful to her Majeſty, or ill adviſed for my particular, as to take ſuch a charge upon me, to the evident peril of her Majeſty's life, ſubverſion of the whole eſtate, and mine own utter overthrow; neither is there cauſe to think, I ſpeak in all reverence, and under her Majeſty's gracious favour, that her Majeſty having proceeded ſo far as ſhe had done, to the trial of that lady's fact, found her guilty, by a moſt honourable jury of her Nobility, aſſembled her Parliament only for that purpoſe, graciouſly heard their petitions, and diſmiſſed them with ſo great hope, publiſhed afterwards the Proclamation for her diſablement, rejected the ſuits both of the French and Scottiſh Kings for her life, and returned their Ambaſſadors hopeleſs; confirmed the impriſonment by her letters to both Princes, (ſome of which it pleaſed her to communicate with myſelf,) proteſted many hundred times her neceſſity and reſolution to go through with all, (albeit for ſundry reaſons ſhe had ſo long deferred it) having given her commandment to me many days before, to bring up the warrant unto her, and then voluntarily ſent for it by my Lord Admiral, ſigning it as ſoon as I brought it, her expreſs commandment given me to carry it to the Seal, and to have it ſecretly handled. And, finally, her particular direction, whilſt ſhe was ſigning other things, at the ſame time to have the execution done in the Hall, miſliking that it ſhould be done in the Green or open Court, with a number of other foregoing and following circumſtances, may ſufficiently teſtify her Majeſty's diſpoſition to have it proceeded in. Albeit ſhe had to myſelf and others declared her unwillingneſs to have been made acquainted with the time, and other circumſtances, having done all that the law required of her, or that in honour was fit and expedient for her to do.

[*I*] *Which for that reaſon is placed in the notes.*] We will, in this note, diſcuſs with as much a brevity as poſſible, what relates to the character and fortune of Secretary Daviſon. After his account of his trial in the Star-Chamber, Camden winds up his relation in the following words (23). 'Thus Daviſon, a man of ' good ſenſe, but not at all ſkilled in court-arts, having, as many thought, been introduced upon the ſtage ' purely to perform his part in this tragedy, was obliged ' to quit his ſtation now it was over, and thruſt behind ' the ſcene, not without general compaſſion, into a ' tedious impriſonment.' It appears plainly, that this was our author's own ſentiments of the matter, tho' introduced by him, as the common opinion of the times. But if Daviſon was brought in only to act a part, it may be enquired who it was that recommended him as a fit perſon for ſuch a purpoſe? In the Oxford copy of his trial (24), it is ſaid, that Mr Daviſon, in his defence, affirms, that he communicated it only to the Treaſurer, and the Treaſurer to the reſt of the Council; that Lord was alſo the only witneſs againſt him, and from hence one would imagine, that *he* thought him fit to act his part, if his own letters, which the reader has ſeen, did not ſpeak a very contrary language. We have already ſhewn, that Daviſon was brought into buſineſs by the Earl of Leiceſter and his friends, but he was made Secretary by the Queen herſelf. The Earl of Eſſex in one of his letters to Mr Daviſon, writes thus (25), 'I told her how many ' friends and well-wiſhers the world did afford you, ' and how for the moſt part throughout the whole realm, ' her beſt ſubjects did wiſh, that ſhe would do herſelf ' the honour to repair you, and reſtore you to that ' ſtate which ſhe had overthrown; your humble ſuffering of theſe harms, and reverend regard to her ' Majeſty, muſt needs move a princeſs ſo noble and ſo ' juſt, to do you right; and more I had ſayd, if ' my gift of ſpeech had been any way comparable to ' my love. Her Majeſty ſeeing her judgment opened ' by the ſtory of her own actions, ſhewed a very feeling ' compaſſion for you; ſhe gave you many praiſes, and ' amongſt the reſt, that which ſhe ſeemed to pleaſe ' herſelf in, was, that you were a man of her own ' choice. In truth, ſhe was ſo well pleaſed with thoſe ' things, that ſhe ſpake and heard of you, as I dare, ' if of things future there be any aſſurance, promiſe to ' myſelf, that your peace will be made to your own ' content, and the deſires of your friends, I mean in ' her favour and your own fortune, to a better eſtate ' than, or at leaſt the ſame you had, which with all ' my power I will employ myſelf to effect.' It is not eaſy to make this agree with the ſtory of a man brought upon the ſtage to act a particular part, and then to be ſtripped and neglected. But farther ſtill, upon the death of Sir Francis Walſingham, in 1590 (26), the Earl of Eſſex again repreſented to the Queen, that Mr Daviſon was the fitteſt perſon to ſucceed him, and that ſhe could not find a perſon in England, that in the ſpace of three or four years, would know how to ſettle himſelf, to ſupport ſo great a burthen. How the Queen received this, take in his own words. 'She ' gave me leave to ſpeak, heard me with patience; ' confeſſed with me, that none was ſo ſufficient, and ' could not deny, but that which ſhe lays to your ' charge, was done without hope, fear, malice, envy, ' or any reſpect of your own, but merely for her ſafety ' both of ſtate and perſon. In the end, ſhe abſolutely ' denied to let you enjoy that place, and willed me to ' reſt ſatisfied, for ſhe was reſolved. Thus much I ' write to let you know, I am more honeſt to my ' friends, than happy in their cauſes. What you will

(23) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 544, 545.

(24) See the former reference to that MS.

(25) Cabala, P. i. p. 213.

(26) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 621.

who, while they celebrate the fortunate and great, leave the leſs happy in obſcurity, however virtuous or worthy. But, as it is, we have not only collected the ſcattered materials of his memoirs into a body, and thereby added a conſiderable character to this extenſive collection, but have alſo (which is one of the principal intentions of this work) detected a great deal of falſe hiſtory, which has been long obtruded on the world, to the prejudice of truth, and of this Gentleman's memory, who, by his contemporaries, was eſteemed worthy of all honours. We ſee he came not ſuddenly or ſurpriſingly into his high office, but eaſily, naturally, and gradually, in the very ſame way that his predeceſſors Cecil, Smith, and Walſingham, had done, and with the general approbation of all the Council. We ſee that, as he was no mean or obſcure perſon when called to that high employment, ſo he was not given to ſerve turns at the peril of his life and reputation; and that, notwithſtanding the Star-Chamber ſentence, he very well knew how to make his innocence plain, both to that age and to poſterity. Whatever motives thoſe authors might have, who lived near theſe times, to palliate or conceal the circumſtances of that action, which proved the cauſe of Mr Daviſon's fall, we lie under no temptation, and are as free from any inclination to hide or to throw a ſhade over truth. In removing all ſuch obſtructions, and bringing into open day theſe ſingular and intereſting points, we not only rectify the partial accounts which are contained in private memoirs, and ſupply the neceſſary deficiences of general hiſtories, but apply to their proper uſe, and bring to the publick view, in an agreeable light, thoſe remains of theſe buſy times, which, otherwiſe, might lie hid in ſtudies, and be at moſt known only to a very few, who, either through indoleace or timidity, decline any communication of what, by a long courſe of reading in this way, they have diſcovered.

' have me do for your ſuit, I will as far as my credit is any ' thing worth. I have told moſt of the Council, of my ' manner of dealing with the Queen; my Lord Chamberlain tells me, he hath dealt for you alſo, and they ' all ſay, they wiſh as I do, but in this world that is ' enough.' It may be preſumed, that the principal ground of the Queen's reſolution, was the conſequences which ſhe foreſaw muſt attend making Daviſon again Secretary, in reference to the King of Scots, and the apprehenſion of this, very probably occaſioned the Earl of Eſſex to write the following letter to that monarch (27).

(27) Cabala, P. i. p. 213.

' Moſt excellent King, for him that is already bound ' for many favours, a ſtile of thankfulneſs is much ' fitter than the humour of ſuing; but ſo it falls out, ' that he, which to his own advantage would have ' ſought nothing in your favour, but your favour itſelf; ' doth now for another, become an humble petitioner ' to your Majeſty: your Majeſty cannot be ſuch a ' ſtranger to the affairs of this country; but as you ' know what actions are done in this place, ſo you underſtand the minds of the men by whom they are done. ' Therefore I doubt not, but the man for whom I ſpeak, ' is ſomewhat known to your Majeſty, and being ' known, I preſume of greater favour (Mr Secretary ' Daviſon) being fallen into her Majeſty's diſpleaſure ' and diſgrace, beloved of the beſt and moſt religious of ' this land, doth ſtand as barred from any preferment, ' or reſtoring in his place, except out of the honour and ' nobleneſs of your own royal heart, your Majeſty will ' undertake his cauſe. To leave the nature of his ' fault to your Majeſty's beſt judgment, and report of ' your own ſervant; and to ſpeak of the man, I muſt ' ſay truly, that his ſufficiency in Council and matters ' of ſtate, is ſuch, as the Queen confeſſeth, in her ' kingdom ſhe hath not ſuch another. His virtue, ' religion, and worth, in all degrees, is of the world ' taken to be ſo great, as no man in his good fortune ' hath had more general love than this gentleman in ' his diſgrace: and if to a man ſo worthy in himſelf, ' and ſo eſteemed of all men, my words might avail; ' I would aſſure your Majeſty, you would get great ' honour and great love, not only here amongſt us, ' but in all places of Chriſtendom where this gentleman ' is any thing known, if you ſhould now be the author ' of his reſtoring to his place, which in effect he now ' is, but that as a man not acceptable to her Majeſty, ' he doth forbear to attend. I do in all humbleneſs, ' commend this cauſe to your Majeſty, having the warrant of a good conſcience, that I know to be both ' honourable and honeſt, and your Majeſty to the ' bleſſed protection of that mighty God, to whom will ' pray, for your Majeſty's happy and proſperous ' eſtate, he that will do your Majeſty all humble ſervice.'

Greenwich, April 18th, 1589. R. ESSEX.

E

DAWES (Sir WILLIAM) Archbiſhop of York in the XVIIIth century, was the youngeſt ſon of Sir John Dawes, Baronet [*A*], by Jane his wife, the daughter and only child of Richard Hawkins, of Braintree, in the county of Eſſex, Gent. He was born September 12, 1671, at Lyons (a ſeat which came by his mother) near Braintree (*a*); and received the firſt rudiments of learning at Merchant-Taylors-School in London, from Mr John Hartcliffe, and Mr Ambr. Bonwicke ſucceſſively maſters of that ſchool: under whoſe care he made great proficiency in the knowledge of the Claſſicks; and was a tolerable maſter of the Hebrew tongue, even before he was fifteen years of age; which was

(*a*) Preface to the Works of the moſt Rev. Father in God Sir William Dawes, Bart. in 3 Volumes, 8vo. Lond. 1733. p. i, &c.

chiefly

[*A*] *Was the youngeſt ſon of Sir John Dawes, Knt*] That family was once poſſeſs'd of a very large eſtate: and Sir Abraham, our author's great grand-father, was accounted one of the richeſt commoners in his time, and in ſplendor and magnificence of houſe-keeping liv'd up to the port of any nobleman. But, in the time of the civil wars, the family adhering to the royal cauſe ſuffer'd great loſſes and depredations in their fortune. An eſtate of theirs, particularly, in one county (1), was ſequeſter'd to the value of 1500 l. *per ann.* and the family ſeat at Rowhampton in Surrey, where the furniture amounted to ſeveral thouſand pounds, was plunder'd. To make the family ſome ſort of amends, K. Charles II. created, in 1663, Sir John (the father of the late Sir William, of whom we are writing) a baronet; in memory of paſt ſervices and ſufferings, and eſpecially as an acknowledgment of the ſeveral conſiderable ſums of money, tranſmitted by him and his father to the royal family, during their exile. Sir John was a perſon of excellent qualities, every way ſuitable to the dignity he was promoted to: but his exaltation to honour would not have ſo well become the depreſſion of his fortune, had it not been his happineſs to marry a lady of a very plentiful one, Jane, the daughter and only child of Richard Hawkins, Gent. as is abovemention'd; by whom he had ſeveral children, and among the reſt, three ſons, whereof Sir *William* was the youngeſt (2).

(1) Lincolnſhire.

(2) Preface, &c. as above, p. v, vi, vii, viii.

[*B*] *Upon*

chiefly owing to the additional care that Dr Kidder, afterwards Biſhop of Bath and Wells, was pleaſed to take of his education (*b*). In Act Term 1687, he became a ſcholar of St John's College in Oxford, and after his continuance there two years or upwards, was made Fellow (*c*). But his father's title and eſtate ſoon deſcending to him, upon the death of his two brothers which happened about the ſame time [*B*]; he left Oxford, and entering himſelf a Nobleman in Catherine-Hall, Cambridge, lived in his eldeſt brother's chambers; and, as ſoon as he was of fit ſtanding, took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*d*). His intention, from the very firſt, was to enter into holy orders; and therefore to qualify himſelf for that purpoſe, among other introductory works, he ſeems to have made ſome of our late eminent Divines a conſiderable branch of his ſtudy, even before he was eighteen years of age: And he ſhewed always a ſerious and devout temper of mind, and a true ſenſe and love of piety and religion (*e*). After he had taken his Maſter of Arts degree, not being of age to enter into holy orders, he thought it proper to viſit the eſtate he was now become owner of, and to make a ſhort tour into ſome other parts of the kingdom, which he had not yet ſeen. But his intended progreſs was, in ſome meaſure, ſtopped by his happening to meet with Frances, the eldeſt daughter of Sir Thomas Darcy, of Braxſtead-Lodge, in Eſſex, Baronet, a fine and accompliſhed woman, whom he made his addreſſes to, and, not long after, married (*f*). As ſoon as he came to a competent age, he was ordained Deacon and Prieſt by Dr Compton, Biſhop of London [*C*]. Shortly after, he was created Doctor in Divinity, by a Royal Mandate, in order to be qualified for the Maſterſhip of Catherine-Hall; to which he was unanimouſly elected, in 1696, upon the death of Dr John Echard (*g*). At his coming thither he found the bare caſe of a new chapel, begun by his predeceſſor; to the finiſhing, and fitting up of which, he contributed very liberally (*h*). And, among other beneficial acts to his College, he obtained, through his intereſt with Queen Anne and her chief Miniſters, an act of Parliament for annexing the firſt prebend of Norwich, which ſhould become vacant, to the Maſterſhip of Catherine-Hall for ever (*i*). Not long after his election, he became Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, and diſcharged that dignity with univerſal applauſe (*k*). In 1696, he was made one of the Chaplains in ordinary to King William; and, ſhortly after, was preſented by his Majeſty to a Prebend of Worceſter (*l*) [*D*], in which he was inſtalled Auguſt 26, 1698 (*m*). On the 10th of November 1698, he was collated by Archbiſhop Tenniſon to the Rectory, and, the 19th of December following, to the Deanery, of Bocking in Eſſex (*n*): and behaved in that pariſh in a very charitable and exemplary manner [*E*]. After Queen Anne's acceſſion to the throne, he was made one of her Majeſty's Chaplains, and by his excellent behaviour came to be ſo great a favourite with her, that he had a reaſonable expectation of being advanced to ſome of the higheſt dignities in the Church. Accordingly, though he happened accidentally to miſs of the Biſhoprick of Lincoln [*F*], which became vacant in the year

(*b*) Ibid. p. viii, ix. Dr Kidder was for ſome time Rector of Rayne near Braintree.

(*c*) Wood, Athen. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 1088.

(*d*) Preface, &c. as above, p. xii, xiii.

(*e*) Ibid. p. xi, xiii.

(*f*) Ibid. p. xvi.

(*g*) Ibid. p. xxi.

(*h*) It was conſecrated Sept. 1, 1704. Ibid. p. xxvi.

(*i*) Ibid. p. xxvi, xxvii, xxviii.

(*k*) Ibid. p. xxviii, xxix.

(*l*) Ibid p. xx.

(*m*) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. 1727. 4to. p. 674.

(*n*) Repertorium Eccleſiaſticum, &c by Ric. Newcourt, Vol. II. Lond. 1710. p. 68, 70.

[*B*] *Upon the death of his two brothers, which happened about the ſame time.*] The elder of the two, Sir Robert, then a nobleman of Catherine-Hall in Cambridge, died unexpectedly of a violent fever; and the younger, whoſe name was John, then a Lieutenant of a ſhip belonging to a ſquadron commanded by Sir John Narborough, was (in waiting on ſome company from on board) much about the ſame time unhappily drown'd. Their deaths were in a manner ſo coincident, that one and the ſame poſt brought the news of both (3).

[*C*] *He was ordained Deacon and Prieſt by Dr Compton Biſhop of London.*] Upon which occaſion (as we are told) he was often heard to ſay, 'That, when he laid 'aſide his lay-habit' (in which he was as elegant, as others of the like ſtation) 'he did it with the greateſt 'pleaſure in the world, and look'd upon Holy Orders 'as the higheſt honour that could be conferr'd upon 'him (4).'

[*D*] *Was preſented by his Majeſty to a prebend of Worceſter.*] In a ſermon, preach'd at Whitehall, Nov. 5, 1696 (5), he pleaſed the King ſo well, that his Majeſty ſent for him, and without any manner of ſollicitation gave him a Prebend of Worceſter, with this ſhort compliment, 'That the thing indeed was but ſmall, 'and not otherwiſe worth his acceptance, but as it was 'an earneſt of his future favour, and a pledge of what 'he intended to him (6).'

[*E*] *And behav'd in that pariſh in a very charitable and exemplary manner.*] The author of the preface to his ſermons informs us, that 'The care of mens ſouls 'was the principal ingredient of his character; but 'what gave an additional luſtre to this, and made him 'indeed the darling of the whole neighbourhood, was 'the reſpect he likewiſe had to men's bodily wants and 'infirmities, in his kind condeſcenſion and liberality to 'the poor. For as he was a ſtranger to that ſupercilious diſdain, which a ſenſe of ſuperiority, either in 'birth or fortune, is apt to create in weak heads, and 'an utter enemy to thoſe little feuds about dues and 'perquiſites, which are often known to embroil whole 'pariſhes, and breed confuſion, wherever they are too 'rigidly inſiſted on; ſo, to preſerve an harmony and 'good underſtanding with his people, his cuſtom was, '*every ſunday, to invite a certain number of the better 'ſort to dine with him*, when, all the while, ſuch a 'freedom was viſible, as made every one to think himſelf at home, and ſuch a plenty withal, as ſhew'd that 'his liberality was extended to many more than thoſe, 'who had the honour to ſit at his table (7). —— He 'uſed to preach, himſelf, conſtantly, while he continued Rector of that pariſh. And his uſual method 'was, to make choice of ſome principal paſſage out of 'the goſpel for the day, in the morning, and to preach 'upon the ſame text in the afternoon, by way of repetition and improvement. His diſcourſes were uſually 'plain and familiar, and ſuch as were beſt adapted to 'a country audience (8): and yet, under his management and manner of expreſſion, they far ſurpaſs'd the 'moſt elaborate compoſitions of other men: for ſuch 'was the comelineſs of his perſon, the melody of his 'voice, the decency of his action, and the majeſty of his 'whole appearance, that he might well be pronounced 'the moſt compleat Pulpit-Orator of his age (9).'

[*F*] *Though he happen'd accidentally to miſs of the Biſhoprick of Lincoln.*] The reaſon of his miſſing of it, was this; being appointed to preach before Queen Anne on the 30th of January, (whilſt that Biſhopric was vacant by the death of Dr James Gardiner) Sir William was not afraid to utter ſome bold truths, which at that time were not ſo well reliſh'd by certain perſons in power, who took occaſion from thence to perſuade the Queen (contrary to her inclination) to give it to Dr W. Wake, late Archbiſhop of Canterbury. This however made no impreſſion upon Sir William: and therefore

(3) Ibid. p. xii, xiii.

(4) Ibid. p. xvii, xviii.

(5) The firſt in his poſthumous Works, 3 Vols. 8vo.

(6) Preface, &c. as above, p. xx.

Preface, &c. bove, p. v, vii, viii.

(7) Ibid. p. xxiv, xxv.

(8) Ibid. p. xxiii.

(9) Ibid. p. xxxvi.

year 1705; yet her Majeſty, of her own mere motion, named him to the ſee of Cheſter (o), in the year 1707, upon the death of Dr Nicolas Stratford: and he was conſecrated February 8, 1707-8 (p). In 1713-4, he was, by the recommendation of his worthy predeceſſor Dr John Sharp, tranſlated to the archiepiſcopal ſee of York; being elected thereto February 26, and enthronized by proxy the 24th of March following (q). He continued above ten years in this eminent ſtation [G], honoured and reſpected by all. At length a diarrhœa, to which he had been ſubject ſeveral times before, coming to be attended with a fever, and ending in an inflammation of his bowels, it put a period to his life April 30, 1724, in the fifty-third year of his age (r). He was buried in the chapel of Catherine-Hall, Cambridge, near his Lady, who died December 22, 1705, in the 29th year of her age. By her he had ſeven children, William, Francis, William, Thomas, who all died young; and Elizabeth, Jane, and Darcy, that ſurvived him (s). He was author of ſeveral things; ſome whereof were publiſhed by himſelf [H], and others after his deceaſe under this title, 'The whole Works of the moſt Reverend Father in God, Sir William Dawes, Baronet, late Lord Archbiſhop of York, Primate of England, and Metropolitan. In three Vols. 8*vo*. With a Preface, giving ſome Account of the Life, Writings, and Character of the Author. *Lond.* 1733.' With regard to his perſon and character: The figure of his body was tall, proportionable, and beautiful. There was in his look and geſture ſomething eaſier to be conceived than deſcribed; that gained upon every one in his favour, even before he ſpoke one word. His behaviour was eaſy and courteous to all. His civility free from the formality of rule, flowing immediately from his good ſenſe. His converſation lively without any tincture of levity, and chearful without betraying the dignity of his high ſtation. He had a genius well fitted for a ſcholar, a lively imagination, a ſtrong memory, and a ſound judgment. He was a kind and loving Huſband, a tender and indulgent Parent, and ſo extraordinary good a Maſter, that he never was obſerved to be in a paſſion; and took care of the ſpiritual as well as the temporal welfare of his domeſticks. In his epiſcopal capacity, he behaved in a moſt worthy and exemplary manner [I]: And, in general, was a kind Friend, a generous Patron, a devout Chriſtian, a laborious Prelate, a fine Gentleman, and a worthy Patriot. We ſhall give the reſt of his character in the note [K].

therefore when he was told by a certain nobleman, that he had loſt a biſhopric by his preaching, his reply was, 'That, as to that he had no manner of concern upon 'him, becauſe his intention was never to gain one by 'preaching (10).'

[G] *He continued above ten years in this eminent ſtation*] Upon his being promoted thereto, he was made *a Privy-Counſellor*. And after Queen Anne's demiſe, he was conſtituted one of the Lord's Juſtices of the kingdom, until the arrival of the late King George, by whom he was call'd again to his place in the Privy-Council (11).

[H] *He was author of ſeveral things; ſome whereof were publiſh'd by himſelf.*] Thoſe publiſh'd by himſelf, were, I. 'An Anatomy of Atheiſm.' London, 1693, 4°. being a Poem in five ſheets; dedicated to Sir Geo. Darcy, Bart. It has not indeed all the perfections of a poetick compoſition; a luculency of fancy, and pomp of expreſſion may perhaps be thought wanting in it: but then it has this equivalent excellence, that the arguments both for and againſt the exiſtence of a God, are urg'd and anſwer'd in a clear method, and eaſy diction, fitted for the comprehenſion of every common reader. This Poem was wrote by the author, before he was eighteen years of age (12). II. 'The Duties 'of the Cloſet,' &c. written by him before he was twenty one years of age (13). III. 'The Duty of 'communicating explain'd and enforc'd, &c.' compos'd for the uſe of his pariſh of Bocking, in order to introduce there a monthly celebration of the Holy Communion; which uſed to be adminiſtred, before his coming thither, only at the three great feſtivals of the year (14). IV. 'Sermons preach'd upon ſeveral occaſions before 'King William, and Queen Anne,' London, 1707, 8°. dedicated to Queen Anne. V. He alſo drew up the preface to the works of Offspring Blackall, D. D. late Biſhop of Exeter, London, 1723, fol. 2 volumes.

[I] *In his epiſcopal capacity, he behav'd in a moſt worthy and exemplary manner*] He viſited his large dioceſe with great diligence and conſtancy, Nottinghamſhire one year, and Yorkſhire another; but every third year he did not hold any viſitation. He perform'd all the offices of his function with becoming ſeriouſneſs and gravity. He took great care and caution, to admit none but ſufficient labourers into the Lord's harveſt; and when admitted, to appoint them ſtipends adequate to their labour. He adminiſtred juſtice to all with an equal and impartial hand; being no reſpecter of perſons, and making no difference between the poor and rich, but eſpouſing all into the intimacy of his boſom, his care, his affibility, his proviſion, and his prayers (15).

[K] *We ſhall give the reſt of his character in the note.*] So ſtrict an obſerver was he of his *word*, that no conſideration whatever could make him break it; and ſo inviolable in his *friendſhip*, that without the diſcovery of ſome eſſential fault indeed, he never departed from it. A great point of conſcience it was with him, how he made *promiſes* for fear of creating fruitleſs expectances: but when, upon proper conſiderations, he was induced to do it, he always thought himſelf bound to employ his utmoſt intereſt to have the thing effected; and till a convenient opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf, was not unmindful to ſupport the petitioner (if in mean circumſtances) at his own expence: for *charity* indeed was the predominant quality of his ſoul (16). —— Both as a Biſhop and Peer of the realm, he conſider'd himſelf as reſponſible for the ſouls committed to his charge in one reſpect, and as intruſted with the lives and fortunes of his fellow ſubjects, in the other. If in ſome parliamentary debates (wherein he made a very conſiderable figure) he happen'd to diſſent from other great men, who might have the ſame common good in view, but ſeem'd to purſue it in a method incongruous to his ſentiments; this ought to be accounted his honour, and a proof of his integrity, but cannot, with any colour of juſtice, be deem'd party-prejudice, or a ſpirit of contradiction in him; becauſe thoſe very men, whom he ſometimes oppos'd, at other times he join'd himſelf to, whenever he perceiv'd them in the right. The truth is, all parties he diſclaim'd. His opinion was, that whoever enters the Senate-houſe, ſhould alway carry his conſcience along with him; that the honour of God, the renown of his prince, and the good of his fellow-ſubjects ſhould be, as it were, the Polar-ſtar to guide him; that no multitude, though never ſo numerous; no faction, though never ſo powerful; no arguments, though never ſo ſpecious; no threats, though never ſo frightful; no offers, though never ſo advantageous and alluring, ſhould blind his eyes, or pervert him to give any the leaſt vote, not directly anſwerable to the ſentiments of his own breaſt (17).

C

(o) Preface, &c. as above, p. xxix, xxx, xxxi.

(p) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. as above, p. 338.

(q) Ibid. p. 63.

(r) Preface, &c. as above, p. xxxii, xxxiii.

(s) Ibid. p. li.

(10) Ibid. p. xxx, xxxi.

(11) Ibid p. xxxi.

(12) Preface, &c. as above, p. xi.

(13) Ibid. p. xiii, xiv.

(14) Ibid p. xxiii.

(15) Preface, &c. p. xliv, xlv.

(16) Ib. p. xxxviii, xxxix.

(17) Ibid. p. xlii, xliii, xliv.

DEE (John) a perſon famous in the XVIth century for his extenſive learning, more eſpecially in the Mathematical Sciences; but withal extreamly credulous, extravagantly vain, and a moſt deluded enthuſiaſt. He was deſcended from an ancient family of that name in Radnorſhire (*a*): his father's name was Rowland Dee, a perſon in good circumſtances, and, as Mr Wood tells us, a Vintner in Londer (*b*). He was born July 13th, 1527 (*c*), at London, and, after ſome time ſpent at ſchool there, and at Chelmſford in Eſſex, he was, in the year 1542, ſent to St John's College at Cambridge, where he applied himſelf, as he aſſures us, with wonderful diligence to his ſtudies (*d*) [*A*]. In the month of May 1547, he went into the Low-Countries, on purpoſe to converſe with Gemma Friſius, Gerardus Mercator, Gaſpar à Mirica, Antonius Gogava, &c; and, either at the cloſe of that year, or the beginning of the next, returned to Cambridge (*e*), where, upon the erecting Trinity College by King Henry the VIIIth, he was choſen one of the Fellows (*f*), and entered the new College with great applauſe; which fair reputation he held not long [*B*]. In 1548 he had the degree of Maſter of Arts (*g*); but, being poſſeſſed with a roving diſpoſition, diſturbed with the injurious reports that were ſpread of him, or deſirous of making the Mathematical Knowledge he had acquired, by indefatigable diligence, more conſpicuous, he again left England, the ſame year, and went to the Univerſity of Louvain, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf extreamly, ſo that he was viſited by the Duke of Mantua, by Don Lewis de la Cerda, afterwards Duke of Medina, Cœli, and other perſons of great rank (*h*). While he remained there, Sir William Pickering was his pupil (*i*); and in this Univerſity, it is probable, he had the degree of Doctor of Laws conferred upon him, though it does not certainly appear. July 15th, 1550, he went from thence to Paris, where, in the College of Rheims, he read lectures upon *Euclid's Elements*, with prodigious applauſe, and very great offers were made him in caſe he would have accepted a Profeſſorſhip in that Univerſity; which, however, he refuſed (*k*). In 1551 he returned into England, was well received by Sir John Cheke, introduced to Mr Secretary Cecil, and even to King Edward himſelf, from whom he firſt received a penſion of one hundred crowns a year, which was afterwards exchanged for a grant of the Rectory of Upton upon Severne, his Majeſty's preſentation to which he received May 9th, 1553 (*l*). In the next reign he was, for ſome time, very kindly treated,

[*A*] *With wonderful diligence to his ſtudies*] We have the life of this extraordinary perſon written in ſeveral languages and by various hands, which ſhews, that, notwithſtanding all his errors and follies, it was thought a point of conſequence, not to our own only, but to the literary hiſtory of all Europe, that a juſt account of his life and labours ſhould be preſerved (1). This may apologize for the pains taken in this article, which we dare aſſure the reader, is both fuller and more correct than any thing that has been yet publiſhed concerning him; but, at the ſame time we muſt readily acknowledge, that the greateſt part of it is founded on that excellent Latin life of this author, publiſhed by Dr Thomas Smith, compared, however, throughout with many other writers of our own and other nations, and with Mr Dee's own writings. He appears from them, as from every thing elſe that relates to him, to have been a man vain and conceited in the higheſt degree, of which it will be judged no ſmall proof, that he drew and exhibited to his friends an ample ſcheme of his pedigree, which he pretended to deduce from Roderick the Great, Prince of Wales. Anthony Wood ſays, that his father Rowland Dee was a Vintner, as is mentioned in the text. Dr Smith, who was much better informed, contents himſelf with obſerving, and that, perhaps, from conjecture only, this Rowland Dee was a man in good circumſtances; but we are elſewhere told, which is probably the truth, that his father was a menial ſervant to King Henry VIII, that ſome way or other he had been indifferently treated at Court, which recommended his family in a peculiar manner to the deſcendants of this Monarch (2). A very learned perſon, who was acquainted with our author's perſon and family, tells us, that he was deſcended from the Dees of Nanty Groes, and that the name was originally written Du, which in the Britiſh language ſignifies black (3). It appears from ſome of our author's correſpondencies, that he was ſometimes ſtiled by others, and perhaps wrote himſelf, Dey inſtead of Dee. As to the life he led at Cambridge, take it in his own words (4): ‘*Anno* 1542, I was ſent by my father Rowland Dee to the univerſitie of Cambridge, there to begin with Logick, and ſo to proceed in the learning of good arts and ſciences, for I had before been meetly well furniſhed with underſtanding of the Latin tongue, I being then ſomewhat above fifteen years old. In the years 1543, 1544, 1545, I was ſo vehemently bent to ſtudie, that for thoſe years I did inviolably keep this order, only to ſleep four hours every night; to allow to meat and drink, and ſome refreſhing after, two hours every day; and of the other eighteen hours, all, except the time of going to, and being at, the divine ſervice, was ſpent in my ſtudies and learning.’

[*B*] *Which fair reputation he held not long.*] He brought over with him from the Low Countries ſeveral mathematical inſtruments, made by the direction of Gemma Friſius, together with a pair of great globes made by Gerard Mercator, with other things of conſiderable value; of all which he not only freely granted the uſe to his fellow ſtudents, but made a preſent of them to his college at his departure (5). However, his aſſiduity in making aſtronomical obſervations, which, in thoſe days, were always underſtood as connected with the deſire of penetrating into futurity, brought ſome ſuſpicion upon him, which was ſo far increaſed by a very ſingular accident that befel him, as to draw the imputation of a Conjurer, which he could never ſhake of in the ſpace of threeſcore years after. As to this accident it happened ſoon after his removal from St John's, and being choſen one of the Fellows of Trinity, and he relates it thus (6): ‘I was out of St John's college, choſen to be one of the Fellows of Trinity-college, at the firſt erection thereof by King Henry VIII. I was alſo aſſigned there to be the Under Reader of the Greek tongue, Mr Pember being the Chief Greek Reader then in Trinity-college. Hereupon, I did ſet forth, and it was ſeen of the univerſity, a Greek Comedy of Ariſtophanes, named in Greek Εἰρήνη, in Latin *Pax*, with the performance of the Scarabœus, or beetle, his flying up to Jupiter's palace with a man and his baſket of victuals on her back, whereat was great wondering, and many vain reports ſpread abroad, of the means how that was effected.'——He adds—— ‘In that college alſo by my advice and my endeavours divers ways uſed with all the other colleges, was their Chriſtmas Magiſtrate, firſt named and confirmed an Emperor. The firſt was one Mr Thomas Dun, a very goodly man of perſon, ſtature, and complexion, and well learned alſo. They which yet live, and were hearers and beholders then, can teſtify more than is meet here to be written of theſe my boyiſh attempts, and exploits ſcholaſtical.’

(*a*) Vita Joannis Dee, Mathematici Angli, Thom. Smitho ſcriptore, p. 43.

(*b*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 142.

(*c*) Compendious Rehearſall of John Dee, &c. chap. i.

(*d*) Athen Oxon. Vol. II. col. 142. Compendious Rehearſall, ch. i.

(*e*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 4.

(*f*) Compendious Rehearſall, ch. i.

(*g*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 5.

(*h*) Compendious Rehearſall, ch. ii.

(*i*) The ſame who was afterwards ſo great a favourite with Queen Elizabeth.

(*k*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 7.

(*l*) Compend. Rehearſall, ch. iii.

(1) Vita Joannis Dee, Mathematici Angli, Scriptore Thoma Smitho, S. T. D. Niceron Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſtres, Vol. I. p. 345. Hiſtoire de la Philoſophie Hermetique, p. 310. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 142. Aſhmole's Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum, p. 478.

(2) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 353.

(3) Jo. Dav. Rheſus in Cambro Britannicæ Linguæ inſtitutionibus, &c. Lond. 1592. fo. p. 60.

(4) Compend. Rehearſall, ch. i.

(5) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 4.

(6) Compend. Rehearſall, ch. i.

ed, as having, in his youth, been fellow ſtudent with ſome of Queen Mary's principal Miniſters; but, however, it was not long that he continued in this ſituation, a charge being brought againſt him, of a very high nature, upon which he was committed to ſafe cuſtody, and in very great danger of his life (m) [C]. At length, however, through the juſtice and clemency of King Philip and Queen Mary, he obtained his liberty, and thought his credit ſo little impeached by what had happened, that, the very next year, he preſented a memorial to Queen Mary, for preſerving ancient writings and monuments (n), and for recovering ſuch as were in danger of periſhing; which, aſſuredly, was a very good deſign, and would have been attended with conſequences very favourable to literature, if it had taken effect. By what accident it was hindered we have not any account; yet, that Mr Dee was a perſon well qualified to execute what he propoſed, and ſupported his requeſt by very weighty and rational arguments, the reader may perceive by his Memorial, which is inſerted in the notes [D]. Upon the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth, at the deſire

(m) Vita Joannis Dee, p 8.

(n) See this Memorial in note [D].

[C] *And in very great danger of his life*] At the very entrance of Queen Mary's reign, Mr Dee entered into ſome correſpondence with ſeveral of the Lady Elizabeth's principal ſervants, while ſhe was at Woodſtock and at Milton, which being obſerved, and the nature of his correſpondence not known, two informers, whoſe names were Ferrys and Prideaux, charged him with practiſing againſt the Queen's life by inchantments, upon which he was ſeized at Hampton-Court, while his lodgings in London were ſearched and ſealed, and, after being ſome time in confinement, he was examined upon four articles by Sir John Bourne, then Secretary of State; afterwards upon eighteen more, before the Privy Council; next he was transferred to London, and underwent an examination before the Lord Chief-Juſtice Brooke of the Common-Pleas, which did not prevent his being brought into the Star-Chamber, where, after a trial, being diſcharged of all ſuſpicion of treaſon, he was turned over to Biſhop Bonner, to ſee if he could find any hereſy in him. In the Biſhop of London's priſon he was bedfellow to Barthlet Green who was burned for his firm adherence to the Proteſtant faith; as to Mr Dee, his religious notions did not lead him to burning, ſo that after this tedious perſecution, Auguſt 19, 1555, he was, by an order of Council, reſtored to his liberty; entering into a recognizance, however, to appear the firſt and laſt days in the enſuing term, and for his good behaviour (7).

[D] *By his memorial, which is inſerted in the notes.*] The reaſons which may juſtify our inſerting the following paper are mentioned in the text, to which we will add here, that, if our author may be relied upon, that famous treatiſe of Cicero, the loſs of which is ſo much regretted by the learned world, was once extant in this kingdom, which is a fact not generally known. In this our author Dee followed the example of the celebrated John Leland, who was very zealous and active for the ſame purpoſe; neither is poſterity barely indebted to them for their good intentions, but owes them likewiſe much in their private capacities, for preſerving many valuable manuſcripts, that have come down even to our time. But to return to the point.

A ſupplication to Queen Mary by John Dee, for the recovery and preſervation of antient writers and monuments. Dated the fifteenth of January, 1556 (8).

To the Queen's Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

IN moſt humble wiſe complaining, beſeecheth your Highneſs, your faithful and loving ſubject John Dee, Gent. to have in remembrance how, that among the exceeding many moſt lamentable diſpleaſures that have of late happened unto this realm, through the ſubverting of religious houſes, and the diſſolution of other aſſemblies of godly and learned men, it hath been, and for ever, among all learned ſtudents, ſhall be, judged not for the leaſt calamity, the ſpoil and deſtruction of ſo many and ſo notable libraries, wherein lay the treaſure of all antiquity, and the everlaſting ſeeds of continual excellency, within this your Grace's realm. But albeit that in thoſe days, many a precious jewel, and antient monument, did utterly periſh, as at Canterbury did that wonderful work of the ſage and eloquent Cicero, *de Republica*; and in many other places the like: yet if in time great and ſpeedy diligence be ſhewed, the remanents of ſuch incredible ſtore, as well of writers theological, as in all other liberal ſciences, might be ſaved and recovered, which now, in your Grace's realm, being diſperſed and ſcattered, yea, and many of them, in the unlearned men's hands, do ſtill yet in this time of reconciliation daily periſh, and perchance of purpoſe by ſome envious perſon encloſed in walls, or buried in the ground, to the great injury of the famous and worthy authors, and the pitiful hindrance of the learned in this your Highneſs's realm, whoſe travailes, watchings, and pains, might greatly be relieved and eaſed, for that ſuch doubts and points of learning as much cumber and vex their heads, are moſt pithily, in ſuch old monuments, debated and diſcuſſed. Therefore your ſaid ſuppliant maketh moſt humble petition unto your Majeſty, that it might ſtand with your good will and pleaſure, ſuch order and means to take place, as your ſaid ſuppliant hath deviſed, for the recovery and continual preſervation of all ſuch worthy monuments as are yet extant, either in this your Grace's realm of England, or elſewhere in the moſt part of all Chriſtendome. Whereby your Highneſs ſhall have a moſt notable library, learning wonderfully be advanced, the paſſing excellent works of our fore-fathers from rot and worms preſerved, and alſo hereafter, continually, the whole realm may, through your Grace's goodneſs, uſe and enjoy the whole incomparable treaſure ſo preſerved, where now no one ſtudent, no, nor any one college, hath half a dozen of thoſe excellent jewels, but the whole ſtock and ſtore thereof drawing nigh to utter deſtruction and extinguiſhing, will here and there, by private men's negligence, and ſometimes malice, many a famous and excellent author's book is rent, burnt, or ſuffered to rot and decay. And your ſaid ſuppliant is ſo much the more willing to move this ſuit unto your Highneſs, for that by his ſaid device, your Grace's ſaid library might, in very few years, moſt plentifully be furniſhed, and that without any one penny charge unto your Majeſty, or doing injury to any creature. Finally, in the erecting of this your Library Royal, your Grace ſhall follow the footſteps of all the famous and godly Princes of old time, and alſo do like the worthy Governors of Chriſtendom at theſe days, but far ſurmounting them all, both in the ſtore of rare monuments, and likewiſe in the incredible fruit, which of this your Highneſs's act, will follow e'er it be long. The merit whereof ſhall redound to your Majeſty's honourable and everlaſting fame here on earth, and undoubtedly in Heaven be highly rewarded, as knoweth God. Whom your ſaid ſuppliant moſt heartily beſeecheth, long to preſerve your Grace in all proſperity. Amen.

Imprimis, The Queen's Majeſty's commiſſion to be granted for the ſeeing and peruſing of all places within this her Grace's realm, where any notable or excellent monument may be found, or is known to be. And the ſaid monument, or monuments, ſo found and had by the ſaid Commiſſioner, then of the former poſſeſſor in the Queen's Majeſty's name to be borrowed, and ſo, nevertheleſs, to be reſtorable to the ſaid former poſſeſſor, after ſuch convenient time, wherein, of every ſuch monument, one fair copy may be written, if the ſaid former poſſeſſor be diſpoſed to have his ſaid monument or monuments again; and thereupon, either he, or his aſſigns, do, at the ſaid library, the place whereof is by the Queen's Grace to be appointed, demand the ſaid monument or monuments by bill aſſigned with the hand of the ſaid Commiſſioner, wherein both the name or names of the ſaid monument or monuments, is, or are, particularly expreſſed; and alſo the convenient time for the ſaid reſtitution preſcribed.

That

(7) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 8.

(8) In the Cotton Library, Vitellius, c. vii.

deſire of Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leiceſter, he delivered ſomewhat upon the principles of the ancient Aſtrologers, about the election of a fit day for the coronation of the Queen (o); and, as ſtrange and ridiculous as this may ſeem in our times, yet it is very certain, that, by theſe notions, he recommended himſelf to the potent favourite before-mentioned, and to ſeveral others of the Nobility, nay, and to the Queen herſelf, in ſuch a degree, that ſhe promiſed to be kinder to him than her brother King Edward had been, and actually afforded him ſome very extraordinary marks of her notice and favour [*E*]. He was, by this time, become an author; but, as the learned author of his life very well obſerves, a little unluckily, for his books were ſuch as ſcarce any pretended to underſtand; and though he tells us himſelf, that Queen Elizabeth condeſcended to be his ſcholar (*p*), and to receive his inſtructions, as to the concealed ſenſe of them, yet it does not appear that ſhe reaped any great benefit from this aſſiduity. As his talent lay, in a great meaſure, in treating myſterious ſubjects in ſo obſcure a manner, that his words ſeem ſcarce to convey any meaning, ſo the rewards that were beſtowed upon him proved of the like nature, the Queen making him a promiſe of the Deanery of Glouceſter, which was, notwithſtanding, conferred upon Mr Man, when he was ſent Ambaſſador to Spain; and other gifts, of the like kind, to Mr Dee proved of no ſervice to him, though it is likely that, from time to time, he had preſents made him in ready money (*q*). In the ſpring of the year 1564, he went abroad again, to preſent the book which he dedicated to the then Emperor Maximilian, and returned into England in the ſummer (*r*); in the courſe of which journey he was ſo ſerviceable to the Marchioneſs of Northampton, that ſhe remained his conſtant patroneſs ever after. In 1568, by the advice, as he ſays, of Secretary Cecil, he engaged the Earl of Pembroke to preſent the Queen with his *Propædumata Aphoriſtica* (*s*), which was graciouſly received; and, on his preſenting one to the Earl himſelf, he gave him twenty pounds (*t*). In 1570 Sir Henry Billingſley's tranſlation of Euclid appeared, with our author's preface before it, and enriched throughout with his notes, which did him much more honour than all his other performances, as they furniſhed inconteſtible proofs of a more than ordinary ſkill in the Mathematicks (*u*). In 1571 we find him in Lorrain, where falling grievouſly ſick, and in great danger of death, the Queen was graciouſly pleaſed to ſend him two Phyſicians, and to afford him other marks of royal beneficence (*w*). After his return to England, he ſettled himſelf in his houſe at Mortlake, where he continued to proſecute his ſtudies with extraordinary diligence; and with great induſtry, and, at a large expence, collected a noble library, conſiſting of the moſt curious books in all ſciences, and a very numerous and valuable collection of manuſcripts, moſt of which were afterwards diſperſed and loſt (*x*) [*F*]. In 1572 the appearance

That it may be referred to my Lord Cardinal's Grace, and the next Synod, to conclude an order for the allowance of all neceſſary charges, as well toward the riding and journeying for the recovery of the ſaid worthy monuments, as alſo for the copying out of the ſame, and framing of neceſſary ſtalls, deſks, and preſſes, meet for the preſervation and uſe of the ſaid monuments, in the Queen's Majeſty's library aforeſaid.

That the ſaid commiſſion be with ſpeed diſpatched, for three cauſes eſpecially: Firſt, leſt after this motion made, the ſpreading of it abroad might cauſe many of them to hide, and convey their good and antient writers, which, nevertheleſs, were very ungodly done, and a certain token that ſuch are not ſincere lovers of good learning. Secondly, that by the travel of theſe three months, February, March, and April next, going before the Synod in May next appointed, the ſaid Synod may have good proof, whereby to conjecture how this matter will take ſucceſs. And thirdly, upon the ſaid trial of three months, the proportion of the charges in riding and writing, may the better be weighed what they will in manner amount unto.

A meet place to be forthwith appointed for the ſaid monuments to be ſent unto, until the ſaid library may be made apt in all points neceſſary; and that, in this ſaid place, before, or at, the ſaid Synod time, the ſaid monuments may be viewed and peruſed, according to the pleaſure of my Lord Cardinal's Grace, and the ſaid next Synod.

Finally, that by farther device of your ſaid ſuppliant John Dee, God granting him his life and health, all the famous and worthy monuments that are in the notableſt libraries beyond the ſea, (as in the Vatican at Rome, S. Marci at Venice, and the like at Bononia, Florence, Vienna, *&c.*) ſhall be procured unto the ſaid library of our Sovereign Lady and Queen, the charges thereof, beſide the journeying, to ſtand in the copying of them out and the carriage into this realm only. And as concerning all other authors printed, that they likewiſe ſhall be gotten, in wonderful abundance, their carriage only into this realm to be chargeable.

[*E*] *Some very extraordinary marks of her notice and favour.*] That account which our author has given us of his own life, very juſtly claims entire credit, for reaſons that will appear hereafter. In this he affirms, that William Herbert Earl of Pembroke, and Lord Robert Dudley, carried him to Queen Elizabeth at Whitehall before her coronation, when ſhe took him to her ſervice, and promiſed that where her brother had given him a crown ſhe would give him a noble. Her Majeſty alſo gave directions to Dr Matthew Parker Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to grant Mr Dee a diſpenſation for enjoying the rectories of Upton and Long Lednam for ten years, as well as any other that he ſhould obtain within that term. The Queen alſo promiſed him the Maſterſhip of St Catherine's, upon the removal or death of Dr Mallet who was then poſſeſſed of it, notwithſtanding which, however, it was afterwards given to Dr Wilſon. One may from hence collect, that he had frequent employment given him, upon which theſe pretenſions were founded, but that, notwithſtanding, his credit at Court was not ſufficient to overcome the publick odium he lay under, and which was the true cauſe of his miſſing theſe and other greater preferments (9).

[*F*] *Moſt of which were afterwards diſperſed and loſt.*] This library of his conſiſted of four thouſand books, of which above a fourth part were manuſcripts, he had ſpent near forty years in collecting them, and they had been valued by thoſe who were good judges at two thouſand pounds (10). Amongſt his inſtruments there was a quadrant made by the famous Richard Chancellor, of five foot ſemidiameter; two globes of Mercator's, a loadſtone of great value, a very curious clock, a great collection of original Iriſh records, the like collection of Welſh records, grants, donations, and pedigrees; a box full of ſeals, and other curioſities of the ſame kind. A great part of theſe he ſays he took out of the corner of a church, where many of them

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(*o*) Compend. Rehearſall, ch. v.

(*p*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 11.

(*q*) Compend. Rehearſall, ch. iv.

(*r*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 12.

(*s*) See the catalogue in note [*P*]. No. i.

(*t*) Compend. Rehearſall, ch. iv.

(*u*) See the catalogue, No. v, vi.

(*w*) Comp. Rehearſall, ch. iv.

(*x*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 143.

(9) Compend. Rehearſall, ch. iv.

(10) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 17. Compendious Rehearſall, ch. vii.

appearance of a new ſtar, occaſioned, according to the humour of that age, many ſtrange, and ſome very ſuperſtitious ſpeculations, the true principles of Aſtronomy being but indifferently underſtood; we need not wonder, when ſo fair an opportunity offered, our author ſhould make a diſplay of his abilities among the reſt (*y*); but it certainly deſerves to be remembered to his honour, that the learned Camden, taking notice, in his hiſtory, of this phænomenon, was pleaſed, at the ſame time, to ſpeak of Mr Dee with great reſpect (*z*) [*G*]. On the 16th of March, 1575, the Queen, attended by many of her Nobility, went to Mr Dee's houſe, in order to have ſeen his library, but being informed, that his wife had been buried but a few hours before, ſhe declined going into the houſe, yet deſired him, however, to bring out a glaſs, but of what kind we find no where expreſſed, which had occaſioned much diſcourſe; which he accordingly did; ſhewed her the properties of it, and explained to her Majeſty their cauſes, in order to wipe off the aſperſion under which he had ſo long laboured, of being a Magician (*a*). In 1577 a comet appeared, which ſtruck weak minds with great apprehenſions, and made way for many wild and groundleſs predictions, which met with much more notice than they deſerved. Upon this occaſion Queen Elizabeth ſent for Mr Dee to Windſor, where, for three days together, according as ſhe had leiſure, ſhe heard his diſcourſes upon that ſubject (*b*). He made many obſervations of this comet, and intended to have publiſhed the reſult of them, but his papers are loſt, and Dr Smith very truly obſerves, that Aſtronomy will not much ſuffer by their miſcarriage (*c*), for, with all his learning, he was certainly one of the moſt ſuperſtitious and credulous men that age produced. The Queen, however, was ſo well pleaſed with the pains he took upon this occaſion, that ſhe gave him her promiſe he ſhould not be interrupted in his lucubrations, and that, notwithſtanding the vulgar reports to his prejudice, he might depend upon her royal protection in the proſecution of his ſtudies (*d*). In the ſucceeding year her Majeſty, being greatly indiſpoſed, he was ſent abroad to confer with the German Phyſicians, and upon this, and other occaſions, received, as he has left inconteſtible evidence to prove, ſome very memorable tokens of the Queen's affording countenance to his endeavours; though certainly they were none of the wiſeſt, and could be excuſed only by the honeſty of his intention (*e*) [*H*]. In reſpect to

(*y*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 5, 6.

(*z*) Annal. Eliz. p. 272.

(*a*) Compend. Rehearſall, ch. iv.

(*b*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 18.

(*c*) This comet was obſerved by Tycho Brahe very exactly.

(*d*) Comp. Rehearſall, ch. v.

(*e*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 13.

them had been ſpoiled and rotted, by the falling of the rain continually upon them through the decayed roof. He does not tell us what church this was, but I have reaſon to believe that it was Wigmore chapel, becauſe I find that he applied himſelf to Sir William Cecil afterwards Lord Burleigh, for an order to Mr Harley, Keeper of the Records in that chapel, to be allowed the liberty of examining and tranſcribing them (11). He had likewiſe a large chemical laboratory, the materials of which coſt him upwards of two hundred pounds. It was upon his leaving the kingdom in 1583, as is afterwards related in the text, that the populace, who always believed him to be a conjurer, and one who dealt with the devil, broke into his houſe at Mortlake, where they tore and deſtroyed many things, and diſperſed the reſt, part of which, with great difficulty, and by the help of publick authority, he recover'd, but the reſt were totally loſt, at leaſt to him. We may judge from the expence he was at in making and procuring this collection, that he obtained occaſionally, very conſiderable bounties from the Queen, or from her Miniſters, ſince it does not appear that any great fortune was left him by his father, and he was beſides, as might be very eaſily proved, a very expenſive man (12).

(11) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 354.

(12) Hooke's Poſthumous Works, p. 206.

[*G*] *Was pleaſed at the ſame time to ſpeak of Mr Dee with great reſpect.*] This paſſage in Camden, being both ſingular and ſhort, the reader will perhaps be pleaſed to ſee, as it gives us ſome light into our author's notions as an aſtronomer (13). 'I know not whether 'it be worth while, ſays he, to mention that which all 'Hiſtoriographers of our time have recorded, viz. 'That in November, a new Star appeared in Caſſiopea's Chair, which, as myſelf obſerved, in brightneſs 'exceeded Jupiter in the perigee of his excentrick 'and epicycle. It continued in the ſame place 'full ſixteen months, being carried about with the diurnal motion of the Heaven. Thomas Diggs and 'John Dee, two famous mathematicians amongſt us, 'have learnedly proved by the doctrine of parallaxes, 'that it was in the celeſtial, not in the elementary region, and were of opinion, that it diſappeared by a 'little and little, by aſcending. 'Tis certain, that after eight months, all men perceived it to grow leſs 'and leſs. Theodore Beza, wittily applied it to the 'ſtar which appeared at the birth of Chriſt, and the 'ſlaughter of the infants under Herod, and admoniſhed 'Charles IX, King of France, who had acknowledged 'himſelf author of the maſſacre of Paris, to beware in 'this verſe,

'Tu vero, Herodes ſanguinolente, time.

'Nor was he out in his conjecture. For in the 5th 'month after the diſappearing of this ſtar, after long 'and horrible pains, he died of exceſſive bleeding.'

(13) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 272.

[*H*] *By the honeſty of his intention.*] It is certain, that, according as the manners and cuſtoms vary in ſeveral ages, people are apt to change their notions of things which muſt be an excuſe for our venturing to cenſure that ſingular reſpect which was paid to our author by Queen Elizabeth, and the principal perſons of her court. To juſtify theſe cenſures, we muſt have recourſe to his own pen, where ſpeaking, or rather writing, of what he did in the year 1577, and the next year, he delivers himſelf thus (14). 'My careful and faithful 'endeavour was with great ſpeed required, as by divers meſſages ſent to me one after another in one 'morning, to prevent the miſchief which divers of her 'Majeſty's Privy-Council ſuſpected to be intended againſt her Majeſty's perſon, by means of a certain 'image of wax, with a great pin ſtuck into it, about 'the breaſt of it, found in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, &c. 'wherein I did ſatisfie her Majeſty's deſire, and the 'Lords of the honourable Privy-Council within few 'hours, in godly and artificial manner, as the honourable Mr Secretary Wilſon, whom at the leaſt I required to have by me a witneſs of the proceedings, 'which his Honour, before me, declared to her Majeſty, then ſitting without the Privy Park, by the 'landing place at Richmond, the honourable Earl of 'Leiceſter being alſo by.

(14) Compendious Rehearſall, ch. v.

'My dutiful ſervice was done in the diligent conference, which, by her Majeſty's commandment, I had 'with Mr Dr Bayley, her Majeſty's phyſician, about 'her Majeſty's grievous pangs and pains, by reaſon of 'tooth-ake, and the rheume, &c. A. 1578, October.

'My very painful and winter journey, about a thouſand five hundred miles by ſea and land, was undertaken and performed, to conſult with the learned 'phyſicians and philoſophers beyond the ſeas, for her 'Majeſty's health recovering and preſerving, having by 'the Right Honourable Earl of Leiceſter, and Mr Secretary Walſingham, but one hundred days allowed 'unto me to go and come again in, A. 1578. My 'paſſport may ſomewhat give evidence, and the journal to this, the Queen muſt have been very thoroughly ſatisfied; and, as ſhe was a very wiſe Princeſs, and could judge perfectly of the diſpoſitions of men, ſhe knew how to diſpoſe them to her ſervice, of what kind ſoever they were; and of this it may be, that few better inſtances can be given than in our author, whoſe parts, learning, and application were equally extraordinary, and might have performed great things, if under the direction of a ſound and ſolid judgment. This, certainly, the Queen ſometimes laboured to ſupply; for September 17th, 1580, as ſhe came from Richmond to London in her coach, ſhe took Mortlake in the way, and ſeeing Mr Dee at his door, beckoned him to come to her, and, when he was at her coach-ſide, pulled off her glove, gave him her hand to kiſs, deſired him to come oftener to Court, and to let her know, by ſome of her Privy-Chamber, that he was there (*f*). At this time it is highly probable that ſhe gave him a hint, of her deſire to be thoroughly informed as to her title to countries diſcovered in different parts of the globe, by ſubjects of England, or perſons employed in the ſervice of any of her predeceſſors; to which the indefatigable Mr Dee applied himſelf with ſuch vigour, that, on the 3d of October following, he preſented to the Queen, in her garden at Richmond, two large rolls, in which thoſe countries were geographically deſcribed, and hiſtorically explained; with the addition of all the teſtimonies and authorities neceſſary to ſupport them from records, and other authentick vouchers; theſe the Queen very graciouſly received, and, after dinner, the ſame day, conferred with Mr Dee about them in the preſence of ſome of her Privy-Council, and of the Lord Treaſurer eſpecially (*g*). That wiſe man ſeemed not to have any high opinion of them, but the Queen directed him to peruſe and examine them, which he did, and then returned them to Mr Dee, on the 10th of the ſame month, and the ſame day, about five in the afternoon, the Queen came to our author's houſe, called for him, and told him, that the Treaſurer highly approved of the pains he had taken, and of what he had performed in this reſpect for her ſervice (*h*). This work of his, for a copy of which, he aſſures us, he was offered one hundred pounds, but refuſed it, as a thing improper for him to grant, is ſtill preſerved in the Cotton Library (*i*). His next employment, of conſequence enough to be remembered, was about the reformation of the Calendar, which, though it never took effect, yet was one of the beſt of his performances, did him the moſt credit with thoſe who were the beſt judges (*k*), procured him the honour of many converſations with the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, who not only vouchſafed to read his book very carefully, but alſo wrote his ſentiments upon it to his ſon Sir Robert Cecil (*l*), who likewiſe made notes upon it; and, though it was never publiſhed, yet it has paſſed through the hands of ſeveral of our moſt eminent Mathematicians with ſingular approbation, conſidering the time in which it was compoſed [*I*]. We come now to that period of Mr Dee's life, by which

(*f*) Compendious Rehearſall, ch iv.

(*g*) See the catalogue of his Works, No. 3. Vita Joannis Dee, p. 19.

(*h*) Compend. Rehearſall, ch. iv.

(*i*) Sub Auguſto I.

(*k*) See this fully proved in note [*I*].

(*l*) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 354, 355.

'nal little book of every day's journey or abode for 'thoſe hundred days account may ſuffice.' It is not at all impoſſible, that Mr Dee might render other, and thoſe too, more conſiderable ſervices than any of theſe which he has mentioned, and which he might have his reaſons for not inſerting; ſuch as are acquainted with Leiceſter's Common-Wealth, and other ſecret hiſtories of thoſe times, will eaſily allow this to be credible, and may perhaps form a ſhrewd gueſs at the nature of thoſe ſervices (15).

[*I*] *Conſidering the time in which it was compoſed.*] The reader will find the title of this, amongſt the reſt of the works of Mr Dee, in a ſubſequent note. It was addreſſed to the Lord Burleigh, but without any epiſtle dedicatory or apology whatever; at the end of it there was a petition to the Queen, that this reformation of his might receive the ſanction of publick authority; to facilitate which, there is added a ſcheme of the year, 1583, as it would have ſtood, if, as our author flattered himſelf, his propoſal had taken place (16). We know not by what means this learned treatiſe came into the hands of Mr Thomas Allen of Glouceſter-Hall, but very probable it might be by gift, ſince Mr Dee was his particular friend, and both of them favourites with the Earl of Leiceſter. He diſpoſed of it by will to Sir Kenelm Digby, who, notwithſtanding he gave a large number of manuſcripts to the Bodleian Library, kept this nevertheleſs in his own hands, till in the year 1635 he beſtowed it upon Mr John Barber, from whom it was purchaſed by Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; and remains ſtill amongſt the manuſcripts beſtowed by him on the Univerſity of Oxford (17). At the time it was compoſed and preſented to the Lord Treaſurer, it was referred by the Privy-Council to the peruſal and examination of three of the beſt Mathematicians in the kingdom; and their report, as it is a curioſity, the reader will perhaps be glad to ſee. It runs thus (18).

'It was agreed by Mr Digges, Mr Savile, and 'Mr Chambers, that upon their ſeveral peruſal of 'the book written by Mr Dee, as a diſcourſe upon 'the Reformation of the Vulgar Calendar for the 'Civil Year, that they do allow of his opinion; that 'whereas in the late Roman Calendar reformed, there 'are ten days cut off to reduce the Civil Year to the 'ſtate it was eſtabliſhed in at the Council of Nice; 'the better reformation had been to have cut off 'eleven days, and to have reduced the Civil Year according to the ſtate it was in at the Birth of Chriſt. 'And ſo they all agree, that ſuch a reformation had 'been more agreeable to the account of Chriſt. And 'ſo they do alſo aſſent, that having regard to the 'Council of Nice, the ſubſtraction of ten days is 'agreeable to truth: And therefore, the better to agree with all countries adjacent, that have received 'their reformation of ſubſtracting ten days only, they 'think it may be aſſented unto without any manifeſt 'error: Having regard to obſerve certain rules hereafter, for omitting ſome leap-years in ſome hundred 'years. And for the ſubſtracting of ten days, Mr Dee 'has compiled a form of a calendar, beginning at 'May and ending at Auguſt, wherein every of theſe 'four Months, May, June, July, Auguſt, ſhall have 'in the ends of them ſome days taken away, without 'changing of any feaſt or holiday, movable or fixed, 'or without altering the courſes of Trinity Term, that 'is to ſay, May to conſiſt of twenty-eight days, taking from it three days; June to have twenty-nine 'days, taking from it but one day; July to conſiſt of 'twenty-eight days, taking from it three days; Auguſt to conſiſt of twenty-eight days, taking from it 'three days; all which days ſubſtracted, make ten 'days. In the which four months, no feſtival day is 'changed, but remain upon the accuſtomed days of 'their months. And becauſe the Roman Calendar 'hath joined to it a great company of rules, of which 'only are capable the ſkillful computiſts or aſtronomers, it is thought good to make a ſhort table, like 'an Ephemerides, to continue the certainty of all the

(15) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 31.

(16) See the Catalogue of his Works, No. 38.

(17) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 20.

(18) Smith's Manuſcript Collections, Vol. XC. p. 139.

which he has been moſt known to the world, though for matters which have rendered him very juſtly leaſt to be regarded, inaſmuch as they ſhew, that he had not only a boundleſs curioſity, but likewiſe a depraved judgment. His ambition to ſurpaſs all men in knowledge carried him, at length, into a deſire of knowing beyond the bounds of human faculties, and, in order thereto, of having recourſe to methods equally contrary to the laws of God, and to the rules of right reaſon (*m*). In ſhort, he ſuffered himſelf to be deluded into a firm opinion, that, by certain invocations, an intercourſe or communication with ſpirits might be obtained, from whence he flattered himſelf he might gain great inſight into thoſe which are ſtiled occult ſciences, and which, in truth, are no ſciences at all. He found, very unluckily for him, a young man, who had dipped more deeply into the practice of theſe follies than himſelf, one Edward Kelley, a native of Worceſterſhire, and who readily undertook to be his inſtrument in theſe matters, for which he was to give him fifty pounds a year (*n*). December 2d, 1581, they began their incantations, in conſequence of which Edward Kelley was, by the inſpection of a certain table, conſecrated for that purpoſe, with many ſuperſtitious ceremonies, enabled to acquaint Mr Dee with what the ſpirits thought fit to ſhew and diſcover; theſe conferences were continued for about two years, during which ſpace he ſeems to have totally deſerted his former ſtudies, and to have addicted himſelf entirely to theſe ſpecious and deluſive arts, to which, though ſome inſinuate that he was invited and encouraged by Edward Kelly, yet there ſeems to be no clear proof of this, but rather the contrary; for Mr Dee ſeems to have ſought out Kelley for his purpoſe, retained him long afterwards when he was deſirous of leaving him, and had recourſe to the ſame methods ſome years after Kelley and he were parted (*o*). The ſubjects of theſe converſations he committed to writing, and they are ſtill preſerved, though they were never publiſhed [*K*]. In the mean time there came over hither a Poliſh Lord, one Albert Laſki, Palatine of Siradia, a perſon diſtinguiſhed by his great parts and extenſive learning, no leſs than by his high birth, and the honourable ſtation he held in his own country. He was very kindly received, treated with the utmoſt reſpect, and, in a very extraordinary degree, careſſed by perſons of the firſt rank during his ſtay in England, and, amongſt the reſt, by Robert Earl of Leiceſter, the Queen's great favourite, and our author's chief patron (*p*). To contribute more effectually to this foreigner's ſatisfaction, that Earl ſent for Mr Dee to Court, July 31ſt, 1583, and

(*m*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 46.

(*n*) Aſhmole's Theatrum Chemicum, p. 479.

(*o*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 23. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 143.

(*p*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 400.

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feaſts movable, depending only upon Eaſter, and agreeing with the Roman Calendar, which may ſerve for an hundred or two hundred years, and ſo eaſily renewed as we ſee yearly almanacks are, if the ſins of the world do not haſten a diſſolution.

‘Whereupon her Majeſty may pleaſe upon report to commit it to conſideration of counſel, whether ſhe will have this reformation publiſhed, which if ſhe will, it were expedient that it were done by proclamation from her Majeſty, as thereunto adviſed and allowed by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, to whoſe office it has always belonged to determine and eſtabliſh the cauſes belonging to eccleſiaſtical government. March 25, 1583.’

I intended to have added here the ſentiments of the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh upon Mr Dee's project, which not only ſhew the great opinion that able ſtateſman had of our author's learning; but do alſo much honour to that Miniſter's memory, as they clearly demonſtrate how much attention he ſhewed to whatever came before him, and had any tendency to the publick benefit (19). But conſidering that this life has already ſwelled beyond the bounds which I deſigned it, I ſhall content myſelf with pointing out where the papers of Lord Burleigh, and of his ſon Sir Robert Cecil, may be ſtill found by the inquiſitive reader: I think myſelf however obliged to add, that whenever this matter has been in later times brought upon the carpet, we never fail of finding Mr Dee's opinion mentioned, and his treatiſe upon this ſubject conſulted. As for inſtance, when this matter was propoſed at Oxford in 1645, the celebrated Mr John Greaves, then the ableſt man in theſe matters, conſidered and commended what John Dee had written; and in 1699, when moſt people expected that ſomething of this kind would have been done, the very judicious Dr Wallis, though he was againſt any alteration, and actually hindred it, yet approved clearly of what our author had delivered (20). This abundantly ſhews that, with all his whims and weakneſſes, Mr Dee was a man of learning and ſenſe, and that there is no reaſon for burying his memory or his writings in oblivion. Yet as impartiality and truth ought ever to appear in collections of this kind, it is but juſt this note ſhould be concluded with an intimation that poſſibly Mr Dee himſelf might derive great aſſiſtance from a treatiſe written long before by the incomparable Roger Bacon (21) upon this ſubject.

[*K*] *Though they were never publiſhed.*] We ſhall have occaſion hereafter to mention the collections ſent abroad by the learned Meric Caſaubon, out of the Cottonian Library, which begin in the month of May 1583. At preſent we are to take notice of what are ſtill preſerved, though not publiſhed (22). Theſe conſiſt of the firſt five books of Dr Dee's tranſactions with ſpirits, all written with his own hand, with as much care and exactneſs as poſſible; they begin with what was performed upon the 22d of December 1581, and have an appendix, in which the hiſtory is continued to the 23d of May 1583; and as Caſaubon's book begins with the 28th of the ſame month, there is nothing more evident than that the entire hiſtory of what paſſed while Dee and Kelley were together, is yet in being. This firſt part was very near being burnt in the cheſt which contained it, in the great fire of London in 1666, but being preſerved by accident, and without any body's knowing what the contents of that cheſt were, the diſcovery of them, when they came to be opened, made ſo much noiſe, as reached the ears of Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; a great collector of curious Papers, and indeed of ſingularities of every kind. By him they were purchaſed, cleanſed, digeſted into their proper order, and, together with many more valuable monuments of the knowledge and induſtry of our anceſtors, are repoſited in his noble Muſeum (23). The reaſon of my being thus particular, in which however I follow the example of Dr Smith, is this; there has been, as the reader will be informed hereafter, a very ſtrong ſuſpicion (though, for my own part, I muſt confeſs I think there is little ground for it) that this regular hiſtory of Mr Dee's intercourſe with ſpirits is a mere mummery, that we are the dupes, not he, and that the whole ought to be conſidered as a journal of private intelligence, which he received and tranſmitted to the court of Queen Elizabeth, in the ſpace of between ſix and ſeven years, that he continued in thoſe parts. Now if any ingenious and inquiſitive perſon ſhould ever be able to make this out, or ſo much as probable, it would become a matter of great conſequence to know where the unprinted part of theſe tranſactions is, and to what period of time it extends, a due ſenſe of which gave occaſion to this note.

(19) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 355.

(20) Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 257. § 4.

(21) Biographia Britan. Vol. I. p. 353.

(22) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 23.

(23) In the 3d Vol. of Papers written by, and relating to, Mr Dee.

[*L*] In

and told him, that, in two days time, he would bring that Poliſh Lord to dine with him, which obliged Mr Dee to diſcloſe his circumſtances plainly to the Earl, importing no leſs than that, without ſelling his plate, he was not able to provide them with a dinner; which declaration procured him, that very day, upon the Queen's coming to Sion from Greenwich, a preſent of forty angels in gold (*q*). This foreigner being once introduced, became a conſtant viſitant to Mr Dee, and, having himſelf a byaſs to thoſe ſuperſtitious arts that, in thoſe times, were but in too much credit in almoſt all the Courts in Europe, he became wonderfully taken with the company of one whom he eſteemed to be ſo great a man, in poſſeſſion of ſuch high and valuable ſecrets, and who, as he perſwaded himſelf, had a conſtant communication with the Angels and ſpiritual Beings (*r*). After much intreaty, he was received, by Mr Dee, into their company, and into a participation of their ſecrets (*s*). But, within a ſhort ſpace of time, all their affairs running into great diſorder, the Palatine of Siradia propoſed that they ſhould accompany him, with their families, into his own country; to which, upon aſſurance of being provided for there, Mr Dee and Mr Kelley yielded; and accordingly, September the 21ſt, in the ſame year, they went all privately away from Mortlake, in order to embark for Holland (*t*) [*L*]. After running great hazards at ſea, they landed at the Brill, and from thence travelled by land through Germany into Poland, where, February 3d, 1584, they arrived at the principal caſtle belonging to Albert Laſki (*u*), whom, together with all his family, they miſerably abuſed with their fanatical pretences to a converſation with ſpirits; but, at length, wearied with theſe deluſions, the Palatine of Siradia found means to engage them to leave that country, to go and pay a viſit to the Emperor Rodolph the IId, at the city of Prague, the capital of his kingdom of Bohemia, which they accordingly did; and, in the month of Auguſt, the ſame year (*w*), by the recommendation of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, Mr Dee had an audience of that Prince, who was thought to ſpend too much of his time with Chymiſts, and ſuch ſort of people, and to allow them a greater meaſure of reſpect than they deſerved (*x*). It is no wonder therefore Rodolph was inclined to hear what a man, who had made ſo much noiſe over Europe, had to offer; the rather, as he pleaded the protection of his father the Emperor Maximilian, to whom he had dedicated one of his books (*y*); but Dee entered into ſuch a tedious diſplay of his own importance, and ſuch extravagant ſtories of the chryſtal that was brought him by an angel (*z*), that he was quickly diſguſted, and declined all farther interviews (*a*). Upon this Mr Dee, who had made a tour into Poland (*b*), and brought away his wife and family from thence, finding himſelf in deep diſtreſs, and not knowing how to ſubſiſt, applied himſelf to his old patron Albert Laſki (*c*), whom he prevailed upon to introduce him to Stephen King of Poland; which accordingly he did, April 17th, 1585, at Cracow (*d*). But that Prince, after hearing what he had to propoſe, detected his deluſions ſo clearly, that, deſpairing of making any great figure in that Court, he reſolved, in a few months, to return to Prague (*e*), his pride being ſuch, that he could not bear ſtaying long in a place, where thoſe honours were refuſed which, he had the vanity to think, were due even from the greateſt Potentates, to a perſon of his extraordinary merit. He did not remain long in that high credit he ſo much affected, on his return to the Emperor's Court; for the Pope's Nuncio interfering, and giving the Emperor to underſtand how ſcandalous it appeared to the Chriſtian world, that he ſhould entertain two ſuch notorious Magicians as Dee and Kelley, his Imperial Majeſty, at laſt, reſolved to baniſh them his dominions (*f*), which he accordingly did; but, notwithſtanding this, William Count of Roſenbergh, a young Nobleman, who had great power, and a vaſt eſtate in Bohemia, one of their pupils, gave them ſhelter in the caſtle of Trebona (*g*), which belonged to him, and where they not only remained in ſafety, but lived in ſplendour, Kelley having, in his poſſeſſion, (as is reported) that philoſophical

(*q*) Compend. Rehearſall, ch. iv.

(*r*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 143.

(*s*) Relation of Dr Dee's Actions with Spirits, p. 20, 22, 25.

(*t*) Aſhmole's Theatrum Chemicum, p. 481. from Mr Dee's Diary. Relation of Dr Dee's Actions with Spirits, p. 33.

(*u*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 27.

(*w*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 143.

(*x*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 28, 29.

(*y*) Relation of Dr Dee's Actions with Spirits, p. 230, 231.

(*z*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 143.

(*a*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 30. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 143.

(*b*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 31.

(*c*) Relation of Dr Dee's Actions with Spirits, p. 379.

(*d*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 33.

(*e*) Relation of Dr Dee's Actions with Spirits, p. 403, 408.

(*f*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 35, 36.

(*g*) Relation of Dr Dee's Actions with Spirits, p. 444.

[*L*] *In order to embark for Holland*] In this note I ſhall endeavour to give ſome particulars, as to the ſtate and condition of the ſeveral perſons in this company, as being very neceſſary for the better apprehending the facts ſtated in the text. Albert Laſki was a learned man, middle aged, well ſhaped, of a graceful appearance, and who wore a very long beard; he had been received with all imaginable reſpect here in England, feaſted and careſſed by the Univerſity of Oxford, but after ſtaying about four months in this kingdom, he privately withdrew, ſays the hiſtorian, being got deeply into debt (24). It is not at all improbable, that he might have been drawn into theſe bad circumſtances through his acquaintance with Dee and his family, for, as we have ſeen, they were in extream want when this Poliſh gentleman arrived. That they flattered him in a high degree is very apparent, ſince it is owned that they promiſed him the kingdom of Poland, with the addition of Moldavia, and deviſed a pedigree for him, as if he had deſcended from the noble Houſe of Lacy, allied, by their intermarriages with the Mortimers, to the Blood-royal of England (25). As for John Dee he was now in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age, and on the 5th of February, 1578, had married Jane Fromond, his ſecond wife, who had formerly lived in the family of the Lady Howard, wife to the Lord High-Admiral, his ſon Arthur was then in the fourth year of his age, and beſides he had two or three other children (26). Edward Kelley was in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and had lately married a wife, by whom he had no children. They went in boats down to Graveſend, where they embarked on board a Daniſh ſhip bound for Holland, their houſhold-ſtuff and effects being on board another ſhip; but meeting with very tempeſtuous weather, they were obliged to go on ſhore again at Queenborough in Kent, and in their paſſage from the ſhip, were in the utmoſt danger of periſhing. On the 3d of October, they ſet out from the Brill for Rotterdam, on the 17th of the ſame month they came to Emden, and on the 26th to Bremen, where they ſtaid for ſome time; on the 7th of November they came to Lubeck, and on the 14th of December to Roſtoch, from thence on Chriſtmas day to Stetin in Pomerania, and on the 3d of February 1584, to the town of Laſki (27).

(24) Camden. Annal. p. 400.

(25) See the beginning of the relation of Dr Dee's Actions with Spirits, publiſhed by Dr Caſaubon.

(26) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 22, 26.

(27) Theſe dates are collected from Dee's own Diary.

[*M*] *Not*

philoſophical powder of projection, by which they were furniſhed with money, not competently only but profuſely (*b*) [*M*]. While they were in this ſituation, Mr Dee was ſtill very earneſt in the proſecution of their commerce with ſpirits, notwithſtanding that Kelley, from time to time, expreſſed great reluctancy, gave him frequently to underſtand, that he was in a miſerable ſtate of deluſion, and that thoſe which he took for angels were evil ſpirits, and from the profligate actions, and ſcandalous impurities, which, by their ſuggeſtions, (if the whole are not downright romances) they were drawn into manifeſtly appeared (*i*). But Kelley, in the mean time, made frequent journies to different places, once into Poland, and often elſewhere, to confer with the moſt famous Chymiſts, of which there were many at that time in Germany; and from them it is thought he learned many things about the powder (*k*) which they brought out of England, that he did not communicate to his friend Mr Dee. This ſeems to be certain, that there were great quarrels and diſputes between them, and ſuch jealouſies and heart-burnings in their families, as brought on, at length, an abſolute rupture; but, in this tranſaction, Kelley ſeemed to have acted a much wiſer part than his companion, ſince it appears, from an entry in Mr Dee's Diary, that he was ſo far intimidated, as to deliver up to Kelley, January 4th, 1589, the powder, the books, the glaſs, with ſome other things; and thereupon received his diſcharge in writing, under his hand and ſeal (*l*). This tranſaction, of which no footſteps remain but what is contained in the entry before-mentioned, there is good reaſon to believe, proved the foundation of Kelley's future fortunes, and the ſource of Dee's ſubſequent miſeries (*m*). The noiſe that their adventures made in the world, if not ſome ſecret and more material reaſon, induced Queen Elizabeth and her Miniſters to invite Mr Dee home, to which he was at length perſwaded; and, on the firſt of May, 1589 (*n*), he ſet out from Trebona in his way to England. On the 9th of April he arrived at Breame, where he received a letter of compliment from the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, to whom, in return, he made a preſent of twelve Hungarian horſes. November the 16th he came to Staden, where he met with Mr, afterwards Sir Edward Dyer, who was going the Queen's Ambaſſador to Denmark, and who had been ſent the year before to him from the Court. Beſides all this, he was attended by a guard of horſe (*o*), whom he paid very liberally, and, beſides waggons for his goods, had no leſs than three coaches for the uſe of his family; ſo that the whole of his charges, in this ſhort journey, as he ſtated it to the Queen's Commiſſioners, fell ſhort only by four of the ſum of eight hundred pounds (*p*). Upon the 23d of November following he landed at Graveſend, and, on the 9th of December, preſented himſelf to the Queen at Richmond, and was very graciouſly received (*q*). He retired ſoon after to his own houſe at Mortlake, which he found in a very ſad condition, and, by the aſſiſtance of perſons in power, began to collect together the ſcattered remains of his library, and the furniture belonging to it; in which he was more ſucceſsful than he could well expect, ſince he recovered about three-fourths of his books, and did not eſtimate his whole loſs at full four hundred pounds (*r*). It is amazing to find how ſoon he was in wants again, of which the Queen had quickly notice, as well as of the vexations he ſuffered on account of the averſion

(*b*) Aſhmole's Theatrum Chemicum, p. 481. Dr Dee's Diary.

(*i*) Relation of Dr Dee's Actions with Spirits, P. ii. p. 16, 17, 19, 20.

(*k*) Aſhmole's Theatrum Chemicum, p. 482.

(*l*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 53. Theatrum Chemicum, p. 482.

(*m*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 144.

(*n*) Theatrum Chemicum, p. 482.

(*o*) Compendious Rehearſall, ch. ix. Vita Joannis Dee, p. 39.

(*p*) Compend. Rehearſall, ch. ix.

(*q*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 144. Theatrum Chemicum, p. 483.

(*r*) Compend. Rehearſall, ch. viii.

[*M*] *Not competently only, but profuſely.*] It is very remarkable that in all Dr Dee's book of Tranſactions with Spirits, though there is mention more than once of the powder, and of Kelley's finding it in the earth, yet there is not the leaſt circumſtance of their making projection. But from the time of their coming to Trebona we find no more lamentations for want of money; and that before his departure Mr Dee delivered up the powder to Kelley, yet, perhaps, not without ſome ſmall reſerve, as we ſhall ſee hereafter reaſon to believe; Mr Aſhmole found in Dee's private diary ſome hints as if Kelley (28) had communicated the great ſecret to him, of which, however, there is not the leaſt probability. Anthony Wood tells us that at this time Arthur Dee, who was about eight years old, played at quoits with pieces of gold made by projection, as the young Count Roſenbergh did with pieces of ſilver. This is very certain, that Sir Edward Dyer, Queen Elizabeth's Miniſter, firmly believed that Kelley had the powder at leaſt, if not the ſecret, and made Queen Elizabeth, and even the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh believe it, which coſt Sir Edward a ſhort confinement at Prague; and Kelley, who was then become a Baron by the Emperor's patent, his life. Sir Thomas Brown, the famous phyſician of Norwich, gave the following account in a letter to Anthony Wood, of what he had learned from the mouth of Dr Arthur Dee, ſon to John Dee, upon this ſubject (29). 'That he, the ſaid Arthur, hath affirmed to him with an oath, that he had ſeen projection made by his father and Kelley, and tranſmutation of pewter diſhes and flaggons into ſilver, which the goldſmiths of Prague bought of them. — That the ſaid tranſmutation was made by a ſmall powder they had found in ſome old place, and a book lying by it containing nothing but Hieroglyphicks, which book his father beſtowed much time upon, but he could not hear that he could make it out. He ſaid alſo that Kelley dealt not juſtly with his father, and that he went away with the greateſt part of the powder, and was afterwards impriſoned by the Emperor in a certain caſtle, from whence attempting an eſcape he fell and broke his leg, and was impriſoned again. That his father, Dr John Dee, preſented Queen Elizabeth with a little part of the powder, who having made trial thereof ſhe attempted to get Kelley out of priſon, and ſent certain perſons for that purpoſe, who giving opium drink to the keepers, laid them ſo faſt a ſleep that Kelley found an opportunity to attempt an eſcape, and there were horſes ready to carry him away, but the buſineſs unhappily ſucceeded; Arthur Dee was a youth when he ſaw the projection made in Bohemia, with which he was ſo inflamed that he fell wholly upon that ſtudy, and read not much all his life but books of that ſubject.—Two years before his death he contracted with John Huniades, or Hans Hungar, in London, to be his operator. This Hans Hungar having lived long in London, and growing in years, he reſolved to return to Hungary; whereupon going firſt to Amſterdam he had orders giving him to remain there till Dr Arthur Dee came to him.—The Doctor, to my knowledge, was ſerious in this matter, and had provided all things in readineſs to go, but ſuddenly he heard that Hans Hungar was dead and ſo deſiſted, *&c.*'

(28) Theatrum Chemicum, p. 482.

(29) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 142.

[*N*] *He*

averſion the common people had conceived againſt him (*s*). To diſpel the former, the Queen, in 1590, promiſed to give him two hundred angels to keep his Chriſtmas; one half of which ſum he received, and gives a broad hint, that the Queen and himſelf were cheated of the other (*t*); to quiet his apprehenſions as to the latter, ſhe ſent him a meſſage by Thomas Cavendiſh, Eſq; that he might freely purſue his ſtudies, and depend upon her protection and favour; of which indeed he received, from time to time, continual proofs (*u*) [*N*]. He yet retained as much credit as ever with ſuch of his old friends as were living (*w*); for as to the Earl of Leiceſter, and many other of his former patrons, they were taken away by death during his abſence. Of thoſe that were left he received frequent viſits, ſome preſents, and very kind offers, particularly from Sir Thomas Jones (*x*), who would have given him his caſtle of Emlin in Wales, with all neceſſary accommodations to live in; which, however, he did not think fit to accept, as depending upon far greater helps from the Queen (*y*). At length, however, after meeting with many diſappointments, his creditors growing impatient, and ſome of his friends leſs ready to grant him their aſſiſtance than he had formerly found them, he took a reſolution of applying in ſuch a manner to the Queen, as might, at laſt, procure him ſome ſettled ſubſiſtence. Accordingly, November 9th, 1592, he ſent the Queen a memorial by the Counteſs of Warwick (*z*), in which he very earneſtly preſſed, that commiſſioners might be appointed to hear his pretenſions, to ſee and examine the teſtimonies he was able to exhibit in ſupport of his ſeveral claims, to receive a juſt ſtate of his affairs, to know what would relieve, and give him ſatisfaction, and, finally, to report all theſe to her Majeſty. This had a good effect; for, upon the 22d of the ſame month, Mr Wolley, who was the Queen's Secretary for the Latin tongue, and Sir Thomas Gorge, went, by her Majeſty's command, to Mortlake (*a*), where Mr Dee exhibited a book, containing a diſtinct account of all the memorable tranſactions of his life, thoſe which occurred in his laſt journey abroad only excepted; and as he read this hiſtorical narration, he produced all the letters, grants, and other evidences requiſite to confirm them, and where theſe were wanting, named living witneſſes (*b*). This original book falling into the hands of the learned Dr Thomas Smith, induced him to write his Latin life of our author (*c*), and, though theſe memoirs are but uncouthly drawn up, as, from the quotations, the reader will ſufficiently diſcern, yet there ſeems to be no juſt ground to queſtion the truth of the matters of fact which they contain [*O*]. The point he chiefly laboured to carry, by this application, was a grant

[*N*] *He received from time to time continual proofs.*] The Queen graciouſly recommended Mr Dee to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, deſiring that ſome proviſion might be made for him, and ſignified to him at the ſame time that Mr Dee's laſt journey abroad was not without her allowance (30), which is a point worthy of remark, becauſe the contrary ſeems apparent from all who have written any thing about him In conſequence of this there was a grant made to Dr Aubrey, Maſter of Requeſts, of five advowſons of rectories in the dioceſe of St David's, to the amount in the whole of near one hundred pounds *per Annum*, in truſt for Mr Dee, which Grant ſerved only to raiſe a clamour againſt him as if he had received vaſt things from the Crown, and yet this Grant, like the reſt, never produced him a ſingle penny, though he obſerves that he paid all the fees that were uſually paid for paſſing it (31). It was the Archbiſhop alſo that thought of the Hoſpital of St Croſſe, affirming that it was a fit living for him, and Mr Dee a fit man to have it. This induced our author to apply himſelf to the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, November 6, 1592, in hopes of having his aſſiſtance, who uſed him very civilly, and told him, That if he could procure any other friend to move it to her Majeſty, he would do as much as in him lay to ſupport his demand with the Queen, which was all he could deſire; and upon theſe motives he reſolved to petition the Queen for this Maſterſhip of St Croſſe, which the Queen herſelf had once before promiſed him, and had even given him room to hope he ſhould be made Provoſt of Eaton (32).

[*O*] *To queſtion the truth of the matters of fact which they contain.*] The title of this work which he read to the Commiſſioners, the original of which ſtill remains in the Cotton Library (33), and a tranſcript of it amongſt Dr Smith's written collections, runs thus,

'The Compendious Rehearſal of John Dee, his dutiful Declaration and Proof of the Courſe and Race of his ſtudious Life for the Space of half an hundred Years, now by God's Favour and Help fully ſpent, and of the very great Injuries, Damages, and Indignities which for theſe laſt nine Years he hath in England ſuſtained, contrary to her Majeſty's very gracious Will and expreſs Commandment made unto the two honourable Commiſſioners by her moſt Excellent Majeſty thereto aſſigned, according to the Intent of the moſt humble Supplication of the ſaid John, exhibited to her moſt Gracious Majeſty at Hampton-Court, *Ann.* 1592, Nov. 9.'

This book is divided into fourteen chapters, with an appendix, which brings it down to the year 1593. In theſe he ſets forth the ſeveral facts that have been recited in the text; the offers made to him by the Univerſity of Oxford, and various foreign Univerſities, to have engaged him to have accepted of a Profeſſor's Chair: Letters upon particular occaſions from her Majeſty, the Earl of Oxford, the Earl of Leiceſter, the Lord Chancellor Hatton, the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, Sir Henry Sidney, Lord-Deputy of Ireland, and many others; he ſhews in what manner he had been injured; the ways he had ſubſiſted for ſeveral years, receiving in gifts five hundred pounds, and having run into debt to the amount of three hundred and three; the conſtant ſervices he had rendered the Queen; the many diſappointments he had met with, in which, to the preferments before-mentioned, he adds, the Wardenſhip of Wincheſter College and the Maſterſhip of Sherborne; nor does he forget what offers had been made him by Princes beyond the ſeas, which, as a ſpecimen of this ſingular memorial of his own merit, be pleaſed to take in his own words (34).

'It may ſuffice me, a poor ſtudious gentleman, for my foreign credit for ever, that in this tract of my ſtudious race I might have ſerved five Chriſtian Emperors, namely, Charles the Vth, Ferdinand, Maximilian, this Rodolph, and this preſent Moſcovite, of every one their ſtipend, directly or indirectly, offered, and mounting greater each than other, as from five hundred dollars yearly ſtipend, to a thouſand, two thouſand, three thouſand, and laſtly, by a meſſenger from this Ruſſia or Muſcovite Emperor, purpoſely ſent with a very rich preſent unto me at Trebona Caſtle, and with proviſion for the whole journey, (being above twelve hundred miles from the caſtle where I lay) of my coming to his court at Moſkow, (with my wife, children, and my whole family) there to enjoy at his Imperial hands two thouſand pounds ſterling, yearly ſtipend, and of his Protector yearly, a thouſand rubles, with my diet alſo to be allowed me free out of the Emperor's own

' kitchen,

(*s*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 39.

(*t*) Compend. Rehearſal, ch. iv.

(*u*) Theatrum Chemicum, p. 483.

(*w*) Comp. Rehearſal, ch. x.

(*x*) Theatrum Chemicum, p. 483.

(*y*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 39.

(*z*) See that Memorial at the beginning of the Compendious Rehearſal.

(*a*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 39.

(*b*) All this appears from the Compendious Rehearſal, which is the book mentioned.

(*c*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 40.

(30) See the letter printed at the end of Dr Caſaubon's Preface.

(31) Compend. Rehearſal, ch. iv.

(32) Idem, ibid.

(33) Vitellius C. VII.

(34) Compend. Rehearſal, ch. ii.

grant of the Maſterſhip of St Croſſe, then poſſeſſed by Dr Bennet, when he ſhould be promoted to a Biſhoprick; and many reaſons he alledged, why that preferment would be more convenient, as well as more acceptable, to him than any other (*d*). Upon the report made by the Commiſſioners to the Queen, her Majeſty deſired the Lady Howard to comfort Mrs Dee by a letter and preſent, which was brought by Mr Secretary Wolley, on the 2d of December following, with a preſent of one hundred marks from the Queen, a promiſe of his having the preferment he deſired when it ſhould become vacant, and a penſion of two hundred pounds a year out of the revenues of the Biſhoprick of Oxford, till ſuch time as he could be put in poſſeſſion of it (*e*). Theſe promiſes, like the former, coming to nothing, he, on the 15th of February, 1593, having firſt conſulted his friend Sir John Wolley, engaged his patroneſs the Counteſs of Warwick to preſent another ſhort Latin petition to the Queen; but what followed upon that does not appear (*f*). However, December 8th, 1594, he obtained a grant of the Chancellorſhip of St Paul's (*g*); but this not anſwering his end, he applied himſelf next by letter to Dr Whitgift, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in which he inſerted a large account of all the books he had either publiſhed or written, of which ſome account will be given in the notes [*P*]. In conſequence

(*d*) Compendious Rehearſal, ch. xiii, xiv.

(*e*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 40. Compendious Rehearſal in the Appendix.

(*f*) This petition is likewiſe annexed to the book laſt cited.

(*g*) Theatrum Chemicum, p. 483.

‘kitchen, and to be in dignity with authority amongſt the higheſt ſort of the Nobility there, and of his Privy Councellors, &c. Of this laſt great preferment offered many Engliſhmen yet living, and in this kingdom, be witneſſes; the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel his letter is ready to be ſhowed, and other letters of men of credit, can be ſufficient teſtimonies, beſides the fore-runner to ſeek me, and the Embaſſadors or Meſſengers their own writings thereof here lying.

‘*Note*, That the Commiſſioners jointly read two of the Teſtimonies.’

The laſt line of the quotation was left on purpoſe to ſhew the manner in which Mr Dee proceeded, for he or one of his ſervants read the book, and then the letters, inſtruments, books, and other evidences were put into the Commiſſioners hands. It is indeed true, that we have only Mr Dee's word for this; but then we muſt conſider the book was not written to be publiſhed, conſequently not to impoſe upon the world, and the rewards afterwards promiſed, and more eſpecially the preferments obtained in conſequence of the Commiſſioners report, is an unexceptionable teſtimony that it was believed. One thing by the way; there was an entry of this matter in Mr Dee's Diary, copied from thence by Mr Aſhmole, but ſo as that if this work of Dee's had not remained, it might have rendered his whole hiſtory ſuſpicious; for Mr Aſhmole has ſet down (35) Secretary Walſingham inſtead of Wolley, as one of the Commiſſioners, who was dead near two years before, miſled no doubt by Mr Dee's writing only the initial letter of his name.

(35) Theatrum Chemicum, p. 480.

[*P*] *Of which ſome account will be given in the notes.*] This catalogue, is, for the moſt part, tranſcribed out of the ſixth chapter of the treatiſe mentioned in the foregoing note, with ſome explanations by Dr Smith, to which we ſhould have added ſome others, if we had not been deterred by an apprehenſion that it might draw this article into too great a length, and, as they ſtand, theſe catalogues are very curious and correct.

Books printed and publiſhed.

I. Propædeumata Aphoriſtica de præſtantioribus quibuſdam naturæ virtutibus Aphoriſmi. 12mo, Londini, anno 1558.

II. Monas Hieroglyphica ad Regem Romanorum Maximilianum. Antwerpiæ 1564.

III. Epiſtola ad eximium Ducis Urbini Mathematicum, Fredericum Commandinum, præfixa libello Machometi Bagdedini de ſuperficierum diviſionibus, edito opera Devi & ejuſdem Commandini Urbinatis. Piſauri 1570.

IV. *The Britiſh Monarchy, otherwiſe called The Petty Navy Royal*, 1576 (36).

(36) This is extant in MS. in the Aſhmolean Collection.

V. *Preface Mathematical to the Engliſh Euclid, publiſhed by Sir Henry Billingſley, Knt. where he ſays many more arts are wholly invented, by name, definition, property, and uſe, than either the Grecian or Roman Mathematicians have left to our knowledge*, 1570.

VI. *Divers and many Annotations and Inventions diſperſed and added after the tenth book of Engliſh Euclid*, 1570.

VII. Epiſtola præfixa Ephemeridibus Joannis Feldi a, 1557, cui rationem declaraverat Ephemerides conſcribendi.

VIII. Parallaticæ commentationis praxeoſque Nucleus quidam. Londini 1573.

Unpubliſhed, of which ſome were left imperfect.

I. *The great volume of famous and rich diſcoveries, wherein alſo is the Hiſtory of King Solomon every three years, his Ophirian voyage, the originals of Preſbyter Joannes, and of the firſt great Cham and his ſucceſſors for many years following The deſcription of divers wonderful Iſles in the northern, Scythian, Tartarian, and the other moſt northern ſeas, and near under the North Pole, by record written* 1200 *years ſince, with divers other rarities*, 1576. Exſtat in Bibliotheca Cottoniana ſub Vitellio C. VII.

2. *The Britiſh complement of the perfect Art of Navigation. A great volume. In which are contained our Queen Elizabeth her tables gubernautick for navigation by the Paradoxall Compaſs, invented by him* (*ann.* 1557) *and navigation by great circles, and for Longitudes and Latitudes, and the Variation of the Compaſs, finding moſt eaſily and ſpeedily, yea, if need be, in one minute of time, and ſometimes without ſight of ſun, moon, or ſtars, with many other new and needful inventions gubernautick*. 1576.

3. *Her Majeſty's title royal to many forraigne countreys, kingdoms, and provinces, by good teſtimony, and ſufficient proof recorded, and in twelve volume ſkins of parchment, fair written for her Majeſty's uſe, and at her Majeſty's commandment*, 1578.

4 De Imperatoris nomine auctoritate & potentia: *dedicated to her Majeſty in Engliſh*, 1579.

5. Prolegomena & Dictata Pariſienſia in Euclidis Elementorum Geometricorum, librum primum & ſecundum, in Collegio Rhemenſi, 1550.

6. De uſu Globi Cœleſtis, ad R. Edwardum Sextum, 1550.

7. *The Art of Logick in Engliſh*, 1547.

8. *The thirteen Sophiſtical Fallacies, with their Diſcoveries, written in Engliſh meeter*, 1548.

9. Mercurius Cœleſtis, Libri 24; *written at Louvaine*, 1549.

10. De nubium Solis, Lunæ, ac reliquorum Planetarum, imo ipſius Stelliferi Cœli, ab infimo terræ centro diſtantiis, mutiuſque intervallis, & eorundem omnium magnitudine, liber ἀποδεικτικὸς ad Edwardum Sextum, Angliæ Regem, 1551.

11. Aphoriſmis Aſtrologici 300. 1553.

12. *The true cauſe and account not vulgar of Floods and Ebbs, written at the requeſt of the Right Honourable Lady, Lady Jane, Ducheſs of Northumberland*, 1553.

13. *The Philoſophical and Poetical Original occaſions of the Configurations and names of the heavenly aſteriſmes: written at the requeſt of the ſame Ducheſs*, 1553.

14. *The Aſtronomical and Logiſtical Rules and Canons, to calculate the Ephemerides by, and other neceſſary accounts of heavenly motions; written at the requeſt, and for the uſe, of that excellent Mechanicien, Maſter Richard Chancellor at his laſt voyage into Moſcovia*. 1553.

conſequence of this letter, and, perhaps, of other applications, he obtained a grant of the Wardenſhip of Mancheſter-College, vacant by the promotion of Dr Hugh Bellot to the Biſhoprick of Cheſter, his patent paſſing the Great Seal May 25th, 1595 (h); and, on the 14th of February 1596, he arrived, with his wife and family, in that town; and, on the 20th of the ſame month, was inſtalled in his new charge (i). He continued there about ſeven years; but, whether through his own ill management and haughty behaviour, or, as he alledged, through the reſtleſs and unquiet diſpoſition of the Fellows of that College, ſo it was, that the greateſt part of that time he lived but an unquiet life; to which, perhaps, it might not a little contribute, that, during the whole ſpace he remained there, he was looked upon, by the inhabitants of the place, and of all the country round, as a perſon who had a kind of ſupernatural ſkill, and who could afford them relief in a variety of caſes that lay out of the reach of Phyſick (k). However this might be, ſo uneaſy he grew, from the diſputes in the College, and from the reports that prevailed abroad, that, June 5th, 1604, he preſented a petition to King James, earneſtly deſiring him that he might be brought to a trial, that, by a judicial ſentence, he might be delivered from thoſe ſuſpicions and ſurmiſes, under which he had now laboured for upwards of fifty years (l); and, on the eighth of the ſame month, he addreſſed the like ſupplication to the Parliament (m); but the King having been informed, by the Earl of Saliſbury, as to the nature of his ſtudies, was very far from giving him any mark of royal countenance (n) or favour, which muſt have made a very deep impreſſion upon a man of his vain and ambitious ſpirit, which all his misfortunes could never alter or amend. In the month of November, in the ſame year, being then in a very weak and bad ſtate of health, he quitted Mancheſter (o) with his family, in order to return to his houſe at Mortlake,

(h) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 41.

(i) Theatrum Chemicum, p. 483.

(k) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 144.

(l) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 42.

(m) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 144.

(n) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 42. Theatrum Chemicum, p. 483.

(o) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 42.

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15. De acribologia Mathematica volumen magnum ſex decim continens libros. 1555

16. Inventum Mechanicum paradoxum de nova ratione delineandi circumferentiam circularem unde valde rara alia excogitari percifique poterunt problemata. 1556.

17. De ſpeculis comburentibus libri 6. 1557. Aliquantilla pars exſtat in Bibliotheca Cottoniana, ſub Vitellio C. VII

18. De perſpectiva illa qua peritiſſimi utuntur Pictores. 1557.

19. Speculum unitatis, ſive Apologia pro Fratre Rogerio Bacone Anglo: in quo docetur nihil illum per dæmoniorum feciſſe auxilia, ſed Philoſophum fuiſſe maximum naturaliterque, & modis homini Chriſtiano licitis maximas feciſſe res quas indoctum ſolet vulgus in dæmoniorum referre facinora. 1557.

20. De Annuli Aſtronomici multiplici uſu. 1557.

21. Trochilica inventa, lib. 2. 1558.

22. Περι αναβιβασμῶν θεολογικῶν. lib. 3. 1558.

23. De tertia & præcipua perſpectivæ parte quæ de radiorum fractione tractat. lib. 3. 1559.

24. De itinere ſubterraneo. lib. 2. 1560.

25. De triangulorum rectilineorum areis. lib. 3. demonſtrati ad excellentiſſimum Mathematicum Petrum Nonium conſcripti. 1560.

26. Cabbalæ Hebraicæ compendioſa tabella. 1562.

27. Reipublicæ Britannicæ Synopſis, *in Engliſh*, 1562.

28. De trigono circinoque analogico opuſculum Mathematicum & Mechanicum, lib. 4. 1565. Exſtat in Bibliotheca Cottoniana, ſub Vitellio C. VII.

29. De Stella admiranda in Caſſiopeiæ aſteriſmo, cœlitus demiſſa ad orbem uſque veneris iterumque in cœlis penetralia perpendiculariter retracta poſt decimum ſextum ſuæ apparitionis menſem. 1573.

30. Hipparchas redivivus Tractulus. 1573.

31. De unico Mago & triplicæ Herode eoque Antichriſtiano. 1570.

32. *Ten ſundry and very rare Heraldical blaſonings of one creſt or cognizance, lawfully confirmed to certain ancient armes, lib. i.* 1574.

33. Atlantidis vulgariter Indiæ Occidentalis nuncupatæ emendatior deſcriptio Hydrographica quam ulla alia adhuc evulgata. 1580.

34. De modo Evangelii Jeſu Chriſti publicandi, propagandi, ſtabiliendique, inter infideles Atlanticos volumen, magnum libris diſtinctum quatuor quorum primus ad Sereniſſimam noſtram Potentiſſimamque Reginam Elizabetham inſcribitur: ſecundus ad ſummos privati ſuæ ſacræ Majeſtatis Conſilii Senatores: tertius ad Hiſpaniarum Regem Philippum Quartus ad Pontificem Romanum. 1581.

35. Navigationis ad Cathayam per ſeptentrionalia Scythiæ & Tartariæ litora delineatio Hydrographica Arthuro Pett & Carolo Jackmanno Anglis verſus illas partes navigaturis in manus tradita cum admirandarum quarundam inſularum annotatione in illis ſubpolaribus partibus jacentium 1580.

36. Hemiſphærii Borealis Geographica atque Hydrographica deſcriptio longe à vulgatis chartis diverſa: Anglis quibuſdam verſus Atlantidis Septentrionalis litora navigationem inſtituentibus dono data 1583.

37 *The originals and chief points of our antient Britiſh Hiſtories diſcourſed upon and examined.* 1583.

38. *An Advice and Diſcourſe about the reformation of the vulgar Julian Year, written by her Majeſty's Commandment, and the Lords of the Privy Council.* 1582

39. *Certain Conſiderations and Conferrings together of theſe three ſentences, antiently accounted as oracles,* Noſce teipſum: Homo homini Deus: homo homini lupus. 1592.

40. De hominis corpore, ſpiritu, & anima, ſive microcoſmicum, totius naturalis Philoſophiæ compendium. lib. 1.

41. *The Compendious Rehearſal of John Dee his dutiful Declaration, and proof of the courſe and race of his ſtudious life, for the ſpace of half a hundred years, &c.* 1592.

42. De horizonte æternitatis. 3. libr. 1. de horizonte: liber Mathematicus & Phyſicus, 2. De Æternitate: Liber Theologicus, Metaphyſicus, & Mathematicus. 3 De horizonte æternitatis: liber Theologicus, Mathematicus, & Hierotechnicus.

43. Thalattocratia Britannica, ſive de Britannico maris imperio Collectanea extemporanea quatuor dieurum ſpatio celeri conſcripta calamo. Sept. 20, Manceſtriæ.

Beſides theſe enumerated and owned by himſelf, there are likewiſe ſeveral other pieces of his remaining, agreeable to what himſelf inſinuates at the end of his catalogue, as well in his Compendious Rehearſal, as in his Letter to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Amongſt theſe there are three volumes of Miſcellanies in the Aſhmolean Library, in the laſt of which is contained that collection of papers, relating to his commerce with ſpirits, which precedes, in point of time, that which is to be the ſubject of the next note. There are likewiſe preſerved in the Cotton Library the ſeveral treatiſes following, *viz.*

44, Correctiones & Supplementa Sigeberti ex MS. Codicibus per Joannem Dee.

45. De coni recti atque trianguli ſectione illa quæ Parabola ab antiquis Geometris vocabatur

46. *Several Letters and Papers between John Dee and Roger Edwards, of a Theological Argument*

lake, but came firſt to London, where he remained but a ſhort time; and finding himſelf now very old, infirm, and deſtitute of any powerful protector, (the Earl of Saliſbury, to whom he had offered his ſervice, having ſlighted him,) he had recourſe to his former invocations, and ſo came to deal again, as he believed, with ſpirits (p). He purſued the ſame practices at Mortlake, where we find him in the year 1607, having procured one Bartholomew Hickman to ſerve him in the ſame manner as Edward Kelley had formerly done (q). His friend John Pontoys alſo returned out of Poland, and was admitted into his confidence (r). Theſe tranſactions were continued to Monday the 7th of September 1607, which is the laſt date in that journal publiſhed by Caſaubon (s) [Q]. As this book made a very great noiſe upon it's firſt publication, ſo many years after the credit of it was revived by one of the wiſeſt and ableſt Mathematicians of his time, the celebrated Dr Hooke, who believed, that not only Dr Caſaubon but Archbiſhop Uſher, and other learned men, were entirely miſtaken in their notions about this book, and that, in reality, our author Dee never fell under any ſuch deluſions, but was a man of great art and intrigue (t), and made uſe of this ſtrange method of writing to conceal things of quite another nature, as the reader ſhall be acquainted in the notes [R]. In the latter end

(p) Relations of Dr Dee's Actions with Spirits, P. ii. p. 32.

(q) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 42.

(r) Relations of Dr Dee's Actions with Spirits, P. ii. p. 44.

(s) Idem, ibid.

(t) Hooke's Poſthumous Works, p. 206, 207.

[Q] *In that Journal publiſhed by Caſaubon.*] The title of this work at large runs thus: ‘A true and faithful Relation of what paſſed for many years between Dr John Dee, a Mathematician of great fame in Queen Elizabeth and King James their reigns, and ſome Spirits, tending, had it ſucceeded, to a general Alteration of moſt States and Kingdoms in the world. His private Conferences with Rodolph, Emperor of Germany: Stephen, King of Poland; and divers other Princes about it. The Particulars of his Cauſe, as it was agitated in the Emperor's Court by the Pope's intervention. His Baniſhment and Reſtoration in part; as alſo the Letters of ſundry great men and Princes, ſome whereof were preſent at ſome of theſe Conferences, and Apparitions of Spirits to the ſaid Dr Dee, out of the original Copy written with Dr Dee's own hand: kept in the Library of Sir Thomas Cotton, Knt. Baronet, with a Preface confirming the Reality (as to the point of Spirits) of this Relation, and ſhewing the ſeveral good uſes that a ſober Chriſtian may make of all. By Meric Caſaubon, D. D.' Lond. 1659, fol.

We ſhall give the reader a ſhort paſſage out of Dr Caſaubon's Preface, to juſtify the pains we have taken in a former note to ſhew, that the piece which he apprehended was totally loſt is ſtill preſerved, and if any uſe can be made of it (for which I would not be willingly bound) may be produced to publick view as well as the reſt. The paſſage is this, which gives a fair account of what he publiſhed. ‘In the year of our Lord 1584, September the 3d, being a Monday, Dr Dee firſt appeared, being preſented by honourable perſons, and expected before the Emperor Rodolph. Among other things he then told him, that, for theſe two years and a half, God's holy angels had uſed to inform him: Our book or firſt action here beginneth, 28 May, 1583, according to this reckoning it muſt be, that, above a year and three months before began the firſt apparition. The account then of fifteen months from the firſt apparition we want: How much in bulk that might come to I cannot tell, neither will I warrant all perfect from this 28 May 1583, to the fourth of April 1587, though, for the moſt part, the coherence is right enough to that time: but from thence to the twentieth of March 1607, there is a vaſt chaſm or hiatus of no leſs than twenty years: How this hath happened I cannot tell certainly; what I gueſs is this, ſome years after Dr Dee's death, about *anno Dom.* 1608, Sir Robert Cotton bought his library (what then remained of it) with his Magical Table, and the original manuſcript written with his own hand, whereof this is a copy: The book had been buried in the earth, how long years or months I know not; but ſo long, tho' it was carefully kept, ſince yet it retained ſo much of the earth, that it began to moulder and periſh ſome years ago, which when Sir T. Cotton aforementioned obſerved, he was at the charges to have it written out before it ſhould be too late: Now full fifty years, or not many wanting, being paſſed ſince this original came to Sir Robert, it is very likely, that, had any more in all that time been heard of, Sir Robert, or Sir Thomas his ſon and heir, would have heard of it, and got it as ſoon as any body elſe: And becauſe no more hath been heard of all this while, it is more than probable, that no more is extant not in England, nor I think any where elſe: haply the reſt might periſh ſome part (if not all) even whilſt the Doctor lived.'

[R] *Shall be acquainted in the notes*] We are told by Dr Hooke, that what firſt put him upon ſuſpecting there was ſomewhat concealed under the ſtrange relations contained in Dr Dee's book, was his vehement proteſtation, upon the peril of his ſoul if he lied, in his letter to the Archbiſhop (37), that he had never meddled with unlawful arts, or deviated into any practices unbecoming of a Chriſtian. What confirmed him in his opinion, cannot be either better or more briefly expreſſed than in his own words, which are theſe: ‘Upon turning it over, and comparing ſeveral particulars in it one with another, and with other writings of the ſaid Dr Dee, and conſidering alſo the life, actions, and eſtate, of the ſaid author, ſo far as I can be informed, I do conceive that the greateſt part of the ſaid book, eſpecially all that which relates to ſpirits and apparitions, together with their names, ſpeeches, ſhews, noiſes, clothing, actions, and the prayers and doxologies, &c. are all Cryptography, and that ſome parts alſo of that which ſeems to be a Journal of his voyage and travels into ſeveral parts of Germany, are alſo cryptographical, that is, that under thoſe feigned ſtories which he there ſeems to relate as matters of fact, he hath concealed relations of quite another thing, and that he made uſe of this way of abſconding it, that he might the more ſecurely eſcape diſcovery if he ſhould fall under ſuſpicion, as to the true deſigns of his travels, or that the ſame ſhould fall into the hands of any ſpies, or ſuch as might be employed to betray him, or his intentions concerning the inquiſition that ſhould be made, or proſecution, if diſcovered, would be more gentle for a pretended enthuſiaſt than for a real ſpy. What his deſigns or buſineſs with the Emperor, the King of Poland, and others, was, is hard to determine, *i. e.* firſt, Whether he were ſent upon ſome private meſſage by the Queen, or any of the then Miniſters of State, to enquire into, and diſcover, the ſecret deſigns or actions of that Court, is hard now to determine; but 'tis likely. For in his apology he alledges, that the Lord Treaſurer had, by the Queen's orders, written to the Archbiſhop to ſignify, what he went beyond ſea by her good favour and licence; and we find alſo, that the Queen did ſend ſeveral letters and meſſengers to call him home, and that upon his return the Queen received him kindly at Richmond, and that ſhe uſed to call at his houſe at Mortlack, and ſhewed herſelf courteous to him upon all occaſions. ——— When he returned he left Kelley with the Emperor, who for ſeveral years afterwards kept correſpondence with Dr Dee here, which might poſſibly continue to execute the ſame deſign, Kelley being now grown Sir Edward Kelley, and the Emperor's Chemiſt. And, in probability, Dr Dee might have ſufficiently furniſhed him with Cryptography enough to ſend what intelligencies he pleaſed without ſuſpicion, which was eaſily conceived under any other feigned ſtory. I will not determine whether this were his buſineſs I ſay,

(37) See this in Mr Dee's Letter before mentioned at the end of Dr Caſaubon's Preface. Hooke's Poſthumous Works, p. 206, 207.

end of his life he became miſerably poor, as we are told by Anthony Wood, and was obliged to diſpoſe of his books to procure ſubſiſtence, which, at certain times, when, through his own ill management, he brought himſelf into ſuch diſtreſs, might be true; but there ſeems to be good ground to believe he held his preferment to the laſt, and did not ſell his houſe at Mortlake, which was his own, and which ſeems to have been of ſome conſiderable value, ſince, in his former diſtreſſes, he had thoughts of mortgaging it for four hundred pounds (*u*). It is highly probable, that he remained under theſe deluſions to his end, and was actually providing for a new journey into Germany, when, worn out by age and diſtempers, he breathed his laſt ſome time in the year 1608, being in the eighty-firſt year of his age (*w*). He was buried in the chancel of the church at Mortlake, but without any tomb-ſtone, or other memorial; and yet the ancient inhabitants of that place were able, in 1672, to ſhew the very ſpot where he was interred (*x*). He left behind a numerous poſterity, both male and female, and, amongſt theſe, his eldeſt ſon Arthur, who was bred at Weſtminſter-ſchool under the learned Camden (*y*), applied himſelf to Phyſick, and became Phyſician in ordinary firſt to the Grand Duke of Muſcovy, and afterwards to King Charles the Firſt (*z*).

ſay, or whether it might not be upon his own account, to ſee if he could make a fortune under the Emperor, by means of Chemiſtry, or Mathematicks, or Aſtrology, or Mechanicks, all which I find by his writings he was well verſed in, and eſpecially in the buſineſs of Opticks, Perſpective, and Mechanick contrivances, an effect of which I conceive his cryſtal, or angelical ſtone, or *Chryſtallum Sacratum*, as he terms it, to have been, for that it was of a conſiderable bigneſs, and was placed upon a pedeſtal or table, which he calls a Holy Table, which might contain the apparatus to make apparitions, when he had a mind, to be ſeen in it, as likewiſe to produce noiſes and voices if there were occaſion. All which might be done by art, as hath been ſhewn both formerly by Roger Bacon, and of late by the echoing head. ——— He was likewiſe well verſed in Cabaliſtical learning and Cryptography, as appears by the title of a treatiſe written by him upon that ſubject, and by that book which he ſeems to have prized ſo much, and calls the book of Enoch, which I take to be of no other uſe than for Cryptography and Cabaliſms. I will not determine, I ſay, whether his deſign might not be by theſe, and ſome other ſuch ingenuities, as particularly a glaſs which he mentions, p. 256, the ſecret of which he opened to Dr Curtz, the Emperor's Phyſician, for battering in a dark night, *&c.* which what he means by it I underſtand not, but Dr Curtz told him, that concluſion would be very acceptable to the Emperor. He had alſo written ſix books *de Speculis Comburentibus*; two books of the aſtronomical ring, or ring dial; and two books alſo of clock-work, to find entertainment and encouragement from the Emperor. But I do rather conjecture that he was employed by the Queen for ſome private affairs of State, and that he made uſe of theſe his inventions in order to obtain the freer and more unſuſpected acceſs to the Emperor, which having not ſucceeded as might have been expected, he was recalled and returned into England in November 1589. That a great part of this treatiſe is Cryptography, I conceive is very probable from theſe and divers other conſiderations: Firſt, for that he took ſuch care to preſerve the book of Enoch, which I conjecture to contain the methods and keys of what was concealed in this book: next, for that the method and manner thereof is ſo like to that of Trithemius his Cryptography, that I conceive, were it worth while, it would not be difficult to decypher a great part of it by analogy thereunto. Now tho' at that time the key or method of that book were not ſo well and commonly known, yet I do not doubt but this inquiſitive man had got knowledge of it in his travels and enquiries in Germany, poſſibly when he preſented his *Monas Hieroglyphica* to the Emperor Maximilian 1564, and poſſibly it might be upon the ſame account that he made choice of his way of invocations and revelations to conceal his meaning, that I ſhewed before Trithemius had done in his. Trithemius alſo pretended to revelation, as may be ſeen in the Hiſtory of his Life, though not ſo frequent as this author has done in this book, at leaſt if the ſenſe thereof be underſtood literally, but that I conceive to be nothing but the outward form, appearance, or dreſs, of the ſubſtance and ſubject of the book, which lay abſconded from common diſcovery under that maſk or diſguiſe, though yet I am apt to believe, he had ſome artificial contrivances to perform this alſo when he ſaw cauſe. Thirdly, for that there are very many plain inſtances of Cryptography, both by changing and putting ſome letters for others, and numbers for letters, and numbers alſo for words, and tables for diſpoſing or placing letters according to ſeveral orders and methods, to be ſeen in the book itſelf: and the book which he calls the book of Enoch ſeems to be nothing elſe: Beſides, the words that he ſets down as delivered by his ſpirits, are many of them inarticulate according to the commonly accepted ſounds or pronunciation of thoſe characters they are written with, and therefore were not put to ſignify thoſe letters. It would be too long to give inſtances out of the book itſelf of theſe particulars, and 'tis needleſs, ſince they are ſo very many and frequent in every part of the book. He hath likewiſe divers polygonal figures, as I conceive, for the ſame purpoſe, and many other ſuch indications of Cryptography.' There is, without doubt, ſomething very plauſible, as well as highly ingenious, in this learned gentleman's conjectures, in which, if he had made a trial of decyphering, and had ſucceeded even in the ſmalleſt part, would have put his ſentiment beyond contradiction. As it is, there ſeems to be three reaſons, that, duly weighed, will ſcarce allow us to ſubſcribe to his judgment of this book. The firſt is, that Mr Dee began theſe actions in England, for which, if we ſuppoſe the whole treatiſe to be written in cypher, there is no account can be given, any more than for purſuing the ſame practices in King James's time, who cannot be imagined to have uſed him as a ſpy. The ſecond, that he admitted Albert Laſki, Francis Puccius, and William Roſenbergh (38), to be preſent at theſe conſultations, which is not very reconcileable to the notion, that the whole is no more than an allegorical hiſtory, for then all that they did muſt have been mere artifice and impoſture, which, in ſo long a ſpace of time, and under the inſpection of ſo many witneſſes, would certainly have been diſcovered. Laſtly, upon the return of Mr Dee from Bohemia, Mr Edward Kelley (39) did actually ſend an account to the Queen, of practices againſt her life, but then this was in a plain and open manner, and in conſequence of his publick declarations of his unſhaken loyalty towards her Majeſty's perſon and government, which declarations were not only unneceſſary, but very inexpedient for him to make at Prague, if he had been employed there as a ſpy, neither would he have taken this way of informing the Queen, if there had been any ſuch miſterious correſpondence between Mr Dee and her Miniſters as Dr Hooke ſuggeſts.

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(*u*) Compendious Rehearſal, ch. ii.

(*w*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 43.

(*x*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 144.

(*y*) Camd. Epiſt. p. 47.

(*z*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 141.

(38) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 34.

(39) Strype's Annals, Vol. IV. p. 1.

DENHAM (Sir JOHN), an eminent Poet of the XVIIth century, was the only ſon of Sir John Denham, Knight, of Little Horſely in Eſſex, ſome time Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland, and one of the Lords Juſtices of that kingdom, by Eleanor his wife, daughter of Sir Garret More, Knight, Baron of Mellefont in Ireland (*a*). He was born at Dublin in the year 1615 (*b*); but was brought over from thence very young, upon his father's being made one of the Barons of the Exchequer in England, in 1617. He had his education in grammar learning at London, and, in Michaelmas Term 1631, he was entered a Gentleman-Commoner in Trinity-College in Oxford, being then ſixteen years of age; where (as Anthony Wood expreſſes it) ' being looked upon as a ſlow, ' dreaming, young man, and more addicted to gaming than ſtudy, they could never ' imagine he could ever enrich the world with the iſſue of his brain, as he afterwards ' did.' After three years ſtay in the Univerſity, and having been examined in the publick ſchools for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he entered himſelf in Lincoln's-Inn; where he was generally thought to apply himſelf very cloſely to the ſtudy of the Common Law. But, his itch of gaming continuing, he was often ſtript of all his money; and, his father chiding him ſeverely, and threatning to diſcard him, if he did not reform, he wrote thereupon a little *Eſſay againſt Gaming*, which he preſented to his father, to convince him of his deteſtation of it (*c*). His father dying in 1638 (*d*), he fell to gaming again, and ſquandered away ſeveral thouſand pounds. In the latter end of the year 1641, he publiſhed his tragedy called *The Sophy* [*A*]; which was greatly admired, and gave Mr Waller occaſion to ſay of our author, that *he broke out like the Iriſh Rebellion, threeſcore thouſand ſtrong, when no body was aware, or in the leaſt ſuſpected it.* Soon after he was pricked for High-Sheriff of the county of Surrey, and made Governor of Farnham-Caſtle for the King. But, not being well ſkilled in military affairs, he ſoon quitted that poſt, and retired to his Majeſty at Oxford, where he publiſhed his poem called *Cooper's Hill* [*B*]. In 1647, he was entruſted by the Queen with a meſſage to the King, then in the hands of the army, and employed in other affairs relating to his Majeſty [*C*]. In April 1648, he

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[*A*] *His Tragedy called The Sophy.*] It was acted at the private houſe in Black Friars, with great applauſe, and firſt printed in 4*to*, London 1642; afterwards in 8*vo*, 1667, and again in 8*vo*, 1671. The plot is the ſame with that of Baron's *Mirza*, taken from Herbert's *Travels*, in the *Life of Abbas* (1).

[*B*] *His Poem called Cooper's Hill.*] It was printed at Oxford in 1643, in one ſheet and an half, in 4*to*; reprinted with additions at London in 1650 and 1655, in 4*to*; and again in 1667 and 1668, in 8*vo* (2). The editions of 1667, &c. after the Reſtoration, differ conſiderably from the preceding ones; as may be ſeen in the *Miſcellany Poems publiſhed by Mr Dryden* (3). It was tranſlated into Latin verſe by Mr Moſes Pengry, of Brazen-noſe college in Oxford, and publiſhed there in 1676 in 4*to*, under the title of, *Cooper's Hill, Latinè redditum, ad nobiliſſimum Dominum* Gulielmum *Dominum* Cavendiſh, *honoratiſſimi Domini* Gulielmi *Comitis* Devoniæ *filium unicum* (4). Mr Dryden, ſpeaking of *Cooper's Hill* (5), ſays, it is *A Poem, which for majeſty of the ſtyle, is, and ever will be, the exact ſtandard of good writing.* And the noble author of an *Eſſay on Human Life* obſerves (6), that ' *Cooper's* ' *Hill* has met with univerſal applauſe, though it's ' ſubject ſeems rather deſcriptive than inſtructing: but ' it is not the hill, the river, nor the ſtag-chace; it is ' the good ſenſe, and the fine reflexions ſo frequently ' interſperſed, and as it were interwoven with the reſt, ' that gives it the value, and will make it, as was ſaid ' of true wit, everlaſting like the ſun.' Mr Pope celebrates this poem in the following lines of his *Windſor Foreſt* (7).

Ye ſacred Nine, that all my ſoul poſſeſs,
Whoſe raptures fire me, and whoſe viſions bleſs;
Bear me, O bear me, to ſequeſter'd ſcenes,
The bow'ry mazes, and ſurrounding greens:
To Thames's bank, which fragrant breezes fill;
Or where ye Muſes ſport on *Cooper's Hill*.
(On *Cooper's Hill* eternal wreaths ſhall grow,
While laſts the mountain, or while Thames ſhall flow.)
I ſeem thro' conſecrated walks to rove,
I hear ſoft muſick die along the grove:
Led by the ſound, I roam from ſhade to ſhade,
By godlike Poets venerable made:
Here his firſt lays majeſtick *Denham* ſung;
There the laſt numbers flow'd from *Cowley*'s tongue.

And Mr Somerville has the following lines (8) on our Poet.

——Tread, with reſpectful awe,
Windſor's green glades, where *Denham*, tuneful bard,
Charm'd once the liſtning Dryads with his ſong,
Sublimely ſweet. O! grant me, ſacred ſhade,
To glean ſubmiſs what thy full ſickle leaves.

There is in the following verſes (9) a fooliſh inſinuation that Sir John Denham was not the author of *Cooper's Hill*.

Then in came *Denham*, that limping old bard,
Whoſe fame on the *Sophy* and *Cooper's Hill* ſtands;
And brought many Stationers, who ſwore very hard,
That nothing ſold better, except 'twere his lands.

But Apollo adviſed him to write ſomething more,
To clear a ſuſpicion, which poſſeſs'd the Court,
That *Cooper's Hill*, ſo much bragg'd on before,
Was writ by a Vicar, who had forty pound for't.

[*C*] *He was intruſted by the Queen with a meſſage to the King——and employed in other affairs relating to his Majeſty.*] Our Poet himſelf ſhall give us an account of this circumſtance of his life. In his Dedication of his Poems to King Charles II, he addreſſes that Prince as follows. ' Sir, after the delivery of ' your royal father's perſon into the hands of the army, ' I undertaking to the Queen-Mother, that I would ' find ſome means to gain acceſs to him, ſhe was ' pleaſed to ſend me, and by the help of Hugh Peters ' I got my admittance, and coming well inſtructed ' from the Queen, (his Majeſty having been long kept ' in the dark) he was pleaſed to diſcourſe very freely ' with me of the whole ſtate of his affairs. ' At his departure from Hampton-Court, he was ' pleaſed to command me to ſtay privately in London, ' to ſend to him, and receive from him, all his letters ' from and to all his correſpondents at home and a' broad, and I was furniſhed with nine ſeveral cyphers ' in order to it. Which truſt I performed with great ' ſafety to the perſons with whom we correſponded: ' but about nine months after, being diſcovered by ' their knowledge of Mr Cowley's hand, I happily eſ' caped both for myſelf and thoſe that held correſpon' dence with me.'

[*D*] *He*

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 422.

(*b*) This is collected from his age at the time of his admiſſion in the Univerſity.

(*c*) Wood, ibid.

(*d*) He died Jan. 6. and was buried at Egham in Surrey, where he had an eſtate.

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 423. and Langbaine's Account of the Dramatick Poets, Oxf. 1691. p. 128.

(2) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(3) Part v. p. 73 & 82. edit. 1727.

(4) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 188.

(5) Epiſtle Dedicat. before his Rival Ladies.

(6) In the Preface to the 2d edit. 1736, 4to.

(7) Works of Alex. Pope, Eſq; Lond. 1736. 12mo. Vol. I. p. 78.

(8) The Chace, a Poem, Book iii. v. 366.

(9) The Seſſion of the Poets, in the Miſcell. Poems, Part ii. p. 92.

he conveyed away James Duke of York [*D*], then under the tuition of Algernoon Earl of Northumberland, from St James's, and carried him into France to the Prince of Wales, and the Queen-mother. Not long after, he was ſent Ambaſſador from King Charles II. to the King of Poland [*E*]. In 1652, or thereabout, he returned into England; and, his paternal eſtate being greatly reduced by gaming and the Civil Wars, he was kindly entertained by the Earl of Pembroke at Wilton, and continued with that Nobleman about a year. At the Reſtoration, he entered upon the office of Surveyor of his Majeſty's Buildings [*F*], in the room of Inigo Jones, deceaſed; and, at the coronation King Charles II, was created Knight of the Bath. Upon ſome diſcontent ariſing from a ſecond marriage, he loſt his ſenſes: but ſoon recovering from that diſorder, he continued in great eſteem at Court, and with all perſons of taſte, for his Poetical Writings [*G*]. He

[*D*] *He conveyed away James Duke of York.*] So we are told by Anthony Wood: but my Lord Clarendon aſſures us, the Duke went off *with Col. Bamfield only* (10), who contrived the means of his eſcape.

[*E*] *He was ſent Embaſſador from King Charles* II, *to the King of Poland.*] William (afterwards Lord) Crofts was joined in the embaſſy with Sir John Denham (11). Among our author's Poems is one intitled, *On my Lord* Crofts *and my Journey into Poland, from whence we brought* 10000 *l. for his Majeſty, by the decimation of his Scottiſh ſubjects there.*

[*F*] *He entered upon the office of Surveyor of his Majeſty's Buildings.*] Mr Wood pretends (12), King Charles I had granted our Poet the reverſion of that place after the deceaſe of Inigo Jones: but Sir John himſelf, in the Dedication of his Poems, aſſures us, King Charles II, at his departure from St Germains to Jerſey, was pleaſed freely, without his aſking it, to confer it upon him.

[*G*] *He was in great eſteem ——— for his poetical writings*] In the Dedication of his Poems to King Charles II, he tells us, he had been diſcouraged by King Charles I. from writing verſes. ' One morning ' (ſays he) waiting on him (*the King*) at Cauſham, ' ſmiling upon me, he ſaid he could tell me ſome news ' of myſelf, which was that he had ſeen ſome verſes of ' mine the evening before (being thoſe to Sir R. Fanſhaw) and aſking me when I made them, I told him ' two or three years ſince: he was pleaſed to ſay, that ' having never ſeen them before, he was afraid I had ' written them ſince my return into England; and ' though he liked them well, he would adviſe me to ' write no more, alledging, that when men are young, ' and have little elſe to do, they might vent the overflowing of their fancy that way; but when they ' were thought fit for more ſerious employments, if ' they ſtill perſiſted in that courſe, it would look as ' if they minded not the way to any better. Whereupon I ſtood corrected, as long as I had the honour ' to wait upon him.' But King Charles II was an encourager of our author's Muſe, eſpecially while he *had the good fortune to wait upon his Majeſty in* Holland *and* Flanders; *and was pleaſed ſometimes to give him arguments, to divert and put off the evil hours of their baniſhment, which now and then,* he tells us, *fell not ſhort of his Majeſty's expectation.* After his promotion to the office of Surveyor of the royal buildings, *he gave over poetical lines, and made it his buſineſs,* he ſays, *to draw ſuch others, as might be more ſerviceable to his Majeſty, and, he hoped, more laſting.* Then he adds: ' Since that time I never diſobeyed my old maſter's ' commands, till this ſummer at the Wells, my retirement there tempting me to divert thoſe melancholy ' thoughts, which the new apparitions of foreign invaſion and domeſtick diſcontent gave us; but theſe ' clouds beieg now happily blown over, and our ſun ' clearly ſhining out again, I have recovered the relapſe, it being ſuſpected it would have proved the ' epidemical diſeaſe of age, which is apt to fall ' back into the follies of youth: yet Socrates, Ariſtotle, ' and Cato, did the ſame; and Scaliger ſaith, that ' fragment of Ariſtotle was beyond any thing that Pindar or Homer ever wrote.' Our author's Dedication concludes with a farewel to the Muſes. ' As for ' thoſe latter parts, *ſays he, ſpeaking of his Poems,* ' which have not yet received your Majeſty's favourable ' aſpect, if they who have ſeen them do not flatter me, ' (for I dare not truſt my own judgment) they will ' make it appear, that it is not with me as with moſt ' of mankind, who never forſake their darling vices, ' 'till their vices forſake them; and that this divorce ' was not *Frigiditatis cauſa*, but an act of choice, and ' not of neceſſity. Therefore, Sir, I ſhall only call it ' an humble petition, that your Majeſty will pleaſe to ' pardon this new amour to my old miſtreſs, and my ' diſobedience to his commands, to whoſe memory I ' look up with great reverence and devotion; and ' making a ſerious reflexion upon that wiſe advice, it ' carries greater weight with it now, than when it was ' given: for when age and experience has ſo ripened ' man's diſcretion as to make it fit for uſe, either in ' private or publick affairs, nothing blaſts and corrupts ' the fruit of it ſo much as the empty, airy, reputation ' of being *Nimis Poeta*; and therefore I ſhall take my ' leave of the Muſes, as two of my predeceſſors did, ' ſaying;

' Splendidis longum vale dico nugis.
' His verſus et cætera ludicra pono.'

Our author's poems are as follow: I. *Cooper's Hill* (13). II. *The Deſtruction of Troy: an Eſſay on the Second Book of Virgil's Æneis. Written in the Year* 1636. London, 1656, in four ſheets and a half in 4*to* (14). III. *On the Earl of Strafford's Trial and Death.* IV. *On my Lord* Crofts', *&c. Journey into Poland, &c.* (15). V. *On Mr* Thomas Killegrew's *Return from Venice, and Mr* William Murrey's *from Scotland.* VI. *To Sir* John Mennis, *being invited from Calais to Bologne, to eat a Pig.* VII. *Natura Naturata.* VIII. Sarpedon's *Speech to* Glaucus, *in the twelfth Book of* Homer. IX. *Out of an epigram of* Martial. X. *Friendſhip and Single Life, againſt Love and Marriage.* XI. *On Mr* Abraham Cowley, *his Death, and Burial amongſt the antient Poets.* XII. *A Speech againſt Peace, at the Cloſe Committee.* XIII. *To the Five Members of the Honourable Houſe of Commons: The humble Petition of the Poets.* XIV. *A Weſtern Wonder.* XV. *A Second Weſtern Wonder.* XVI. *News from Colcheſter: Or, a proper new Ballad of certain carnal Paſſages betwixt a Quaker and a Colt, at Horſly near Colcheſter in Eſſex.* XVII [illegible]*ong.* XVIII. *On Mr* John Fletcher's *Works.* XI[illegible] *Sir* Richard Fanſhaw, *upon his Tranſlation of* Pa[illegible] Fido. XX. *A Dialogue between Sir* John Pooley *and Mr* Thomas Killigrew. XXI. *An Occaſional Imitation of a Modern Author upon the Game of Cheſs.* XXII. *The Paſſion of* Dido *for* Æneas. XXIII. *Of Prudence. Of Juſtice.* Theſe two pieces are tranſlated from the Latin of *Mancini*, a noble Italian, who was contemporary with *Petrarch* and *Mantuan*, and not long before *Taſſo*. The author wrote upon the four *Cardinal Virtues*; but Sir John Denham tranſlated only the two firſt, ' not (he tells us) to turn the kindneſs he intended the author into an injury; for the two laſt ' are little more than repetitions and recitals of the ' firſt; and (to make a juſt excuſe for him) they could ' not well be otherwiſe, ſince the two laſt virtues are ' but deſcendants from the firſt, *Prudence* being the true ' mother of *Temperance*, and true *Fortitude* the child ' of *Juſtice* (16). XXIV. *The Progreſs of Learning.* XXV. *Cato Major, of Old Age, a Poem.* It is taken from the Latin of *Tully*, though much altered from the original, not only by the change of the ſtyle, but by addition and ſubſtraction. Our author tells us, that ' intending to tranſlate this piece into proſe (where ' tranſlation ought to be ſtrict) finding the matter very ' proper for verſe, he took the liberty to leave out ' what was only neceſſary to that age and place, and ' to take, or add, what was proper to this preſent age ' and occaſion, by laying the ſenſe cloſer, and in fewer ' words, according to the ſtyle and ear of theſe times.'

The

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(10) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. III. P. i. p. 130. edit. Oxf. 1720.

(11) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 423.

(12) Ibid.

(13) See the Remark [*B*].

(14) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(15) See the Remark [*E*].

(16) Poems, &c. by Sir John Denham, p. 90.

He died at his office near Whitehall, in March 1688, and was interred in Weſtminſter, near the tombs of Chaucer, Spencer, and Cowley (*e*).

The three firſt parts, ſays he, *I dedicate to my old friends, to take off thoſe melancholy reflexions, which the ſenſe of age, infirmity, and death, may give them. The laſt part I think neceſſary for the conviction of thoſe many, who believe not, or at leaſt mind not, the immortality of the ſoul, of which the Scripture ſpeaks only poſitively, as a Law-giver, with an* Ipſe dixit. *But if a Heathen Philoſopher bring ſuch arguments from reaſon, nature, and ſecond cauſes, which none of our atheiſtical Sophiſters can confute, if they may ſtand convinced, that there is an immortality of the ſoul, I hope they will ſo weigh the conſequences, as neither to talk, nor live, as if there was no ſuch thing* (17). XXVI. *The Sophy, a Tragedy* (18). The above pieces have been ſeveral times printed together, in one volume, in 12*mo*, under the title of *Poems and Tranſlations, with the Sophy, a Tragedy: Written by the Honourable Sir John Denham, Knight of the Bath.* The ſixth edition is of 1719. Beſides theſe, Anthony Wood mentions *A Panegyrick on his Excellency the Lord General* George Monk, *Commander in Chief*, &c. Lond. 1659, in one ſheet, in 4*to*. Though our author's name is not to it, it was generally aſcribed to him. *A Prologue to his Majeſty at the firſt play preſented at the* Cock-Pit *in* Whitehall, *being part of that noble entertainment, which their Majeſties received, Nov.* 19, *ann.* 1660, *from his Grace the Duke of Albemarle.* This Prologue was printed at London, in 1660, on one ſide of a broad ſheet of paper. *A new Verſion of the Pſalms of David. The True Preſbyterian without diſguiſe: or, a character of a Preſbyterian's ways and actions.* Lond. 1680, in half a ſheet in *folio*. Our author's name is to this poem; but it was then queſtioned by many whether he was the author of it. In the year 1666, there were printed by ſtealth, in 8*vo*, certain *Poems* intituled, *Directions to a Painter*, in four copies or parts, each dedicated to King Charles II. They were very ſatirically written againſt ſeveral perſons engaged in the Dutch war in 1665. At the end of them was a piece intituled, *Clarendon's Houſe-warming*, and after that his *Epitaph*, both containing bitter reflexions on Edward Earl of Clarendon. Sir John Denham's name is to theſe pieces; but they were generally thought to be written by Andrew Marvel, Eſq; The Printer of them, being diſcovered, was ſentenced to ſtand in the pillory for the ſame (19).

T

DENNY (Sir Anthony) Knight, favourite, and one of the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, to King Henry VIII, was the ſecond ſon of Thomas Denny [*A*], of Cheſhunt, in the county of Hertford, Eſq; by Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Mannock (*a*). He had his education in St Paul's ſchool, London, under the famous William Lilly (*b*); and afterwards in St John's College in Cambridge: in both which places he ſo improved himſelf, that he became an excellent ſcholar, as well as a perſon of great worth (*c*). His merit having made him known at Court, he was conſtituted, by King Henry VIII, one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber, Groom of the Stole, and a Privy-Counſellor; and likewiſe received the honour of Knighthood from that Prince (*d*): with whom being in great favour, he raiſed a conſiderable eſtate upon the ruins of the diſſolved Monaſteries. For, in 1537, King Henry gave him the Priory of Hertford, together with divers other lands and manors [*B*]. He further granted him, in 1539, on the 15th of December, the office of Steward of the manor of Bedwell and Little Berkhamſtead in Hertfordſhire [*C*]. Beſides which, Sir Anthony alſo obtained the manor of Butterwick, in the pariſh of St Peter in St Alban's (*e*); the manors of the Rectory, and of the Nunnery, in the pariſh of Cheſhunt (*f*); and of Great Amwell (*g*), all in the county of Hertford. Moreover, in 1541, there was a large grant made to him, by Act of Parliament, of ſeveral lands that had belonged to the Abbey of St Alban's, lately diſſolved [*D*].

Not

[*A*] *Was the ſecond ſon of Thomas Denny.*] The family of Denny is traced up by ſome as high as the year of Chriſt 725. About that time, the Moors having invaded France with a prodigious army, were oppoſed by Charles Martel: who had under him an officer named *Denny*, by whoſe bravery and conduct the French ſlew thirty thouſand of the enemy in one battle, and got a glorious victory. Deſcended from him, as is ſuppoſed, was *John Denny*, Eſq; who ſerved King Henry V, in his wars in France, and being ſlain there, was buried at St Denis in Paris. His deſcendants were ——*Henry*: ——*William*, of Cheſhunt in Hertfordſhire, and High-Sheriff of that county in the year 1480 (1)———*Edmund*, [whom Sir William Dugdale by miſtake calls Edward (2)] He was a Clerk in the Exchequer; and in 1504 conſtituted the King's Remembrancer (3): and on the 6th of May 1514, one of the Barons of the Exchequer (4). He died on the 22d of December 1520 (5).———His eldeſt ſon, John, died without iſſue: and his ſecond ſon ———*Thomas*, was the father of Sir *Anthony*, who is the ſubject of this article.

[*B*] *Together with divers other lands and manors.*] Particularly the tythes iſſuing out of Almeſhoe-manor in St Hippolits near Hitchin (6).

[*C*] *The office of Steward of the manor of Bedwell and little Berkhamſtead in Hertfordſhire.*] And, moreover, the office of Keeper of the park of Bedwell, and the deer; and of Keeper of the dwelling-houſe of Bedwell: alſo the herbage and pannage of the ſaid park, and the free-warren of the rabbets, within the pariſhes of Eſſingdon and Berkhamſtead (7).

[*D*] *Moreover, in 1541, there was a large grant made to him, by Act of Parliament, of ſeveral lands that had belonged to the abbey of St Alban's lately diſſolved.*] For in the Parliament begun at Weſtminſter the 16th of January 33 Henry VIII, it was enacted, that Anthony Denny, Eſq; one of the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, ſhould have to him and his heirs, all the manor or lordſhip of the king of Parkbury in the county of Hertford, and all the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, with the appurtenances in *Park*, called Boreham, Spirth, and Grimeſgate field, late in the occupation of John Coningſby, the firſt crop of a meadow in *Park* called Mapenham-mead, ſeven acres of land called Cleypits next Eiwood; one annual penſion or yearly rent of 26*s.* 8*d.* accuſtomed to be paid yearly out of the vicarage of St Stephen, all the tythes of hay in Sleep, Smalford, Thread, Huſſes, and Beach, the two watermills called the Park-mill and the Moor-mill, with all watercourſes and profits belonging to them, the grange or farm called the Bech, and the grange or meſſuage called Butterwick, in the pariſh of St Peter's; the views of Franc-pledge, courts, profits of views of franc-pledge and courts, heriots, relieves, eſcheats, waifes, eſtraies, wards, marriages, liberties, and all other hereditaments with their appurtenances, in the pariſhes of St Stephens, Park, Sleep, Smalford, Thread, Huſſes, and Beach, Boreham, Idleſtre, Britiſh, and Naſthide, belonging to the manor of Parkbury, alſo Stordwood, Beach-grove, Ballſgrove, Meadgrove, Butterwick-copice, Haily-grove, and Park-grove; except Cowley-mill, Stanford mill, Sopwell-mill, and the advowſons and patronages of churches, chapels, and chauntries, to hold of the King, his heirs and ſucceſſors, in chief by Knights ſervice, to wit by

the

(*e*) Wood, ibid. col. 423.

(17) Ibid. p. 119.

(18) See the Remark [*A*].

(19) Wood, ibid. col. 423, 424.

(*a*) From the pedigree of the family of the Denny's, taken by Sir M. Cary, and inſerted into the *Hiſtorical Antiq. of Hertfordſhire*, by Sir Henry Chauncy. Edit. fol. 1700. p. 298.

(*b*) See the life of Dr John Colet, &c. by Samuel Knight, D. D. 8vo. Lond. 1724. in the Miſcellanies, at the end, No. 4. p. 392.

(*c*) See the life of Sir John Cheke, &c. by John Strype, M. A. 8vo. edit. 1705. p. 217.

(*d*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 419.

(*e*) Hiſtor. Antiq. of Hertfordſhire, &c. by Sir Henry Chauncy, as above, p. 46c.

(*f*) Idem, p. 301.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 283.

(1) Fuller's Hiſt. of Waltham-Abbey, p. 12.

(2) Baronage, Vol. II. p. 419.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Chronica Juridicialia, under the year 1514.

(5) Chauncy, as above, p. 298.

(6) Chauncy, as above, p. 399.

(7) Ibid. p. 280.

Not content with that, he found means to procure a thirty-one years leaſe, of the many large and rich demeſnes, that had been poſſeſſed by Waltham-Abbey in Eſſex (*b*): of which his lady purchaſed afterwards the reverſion [*E*]. In 1544, the King gave him the advantageous Wardſhip of Margaret, the only daughter and heir of Thomas Lord Audeley, deceaſed (*i*). On the 31ſt of Auguſt 1546, he was commiſſioned, with John Gate, and William Clerk, Eſquires, to ſign all warrants in the King's name (*k*). In this reign he did an eminent ſervice to the great ſchool of Sedberg in Yorkſhire, belonging to the College wherein he had received his education. For, the building being fallen to decay, and the lands appropriated thereto ſold and embezzled, he cauſed the ſchool to be repaired, and not only recovered, but alſo ſettled the eſtate ſo firmly, as to prevent all future alienations (*l*). When King Henry VIII was on his death-bed, Sir Anthony had the honeſty and courage to put him in mind of his approaching end; and deſired him, to raiſe his thoughts to heaven, to think of his paſt life, and to call on God for mercy through Jeſus Chriſt (*m*). So great an opinion had that King of him, that he appointed him one of the executors of his will, and one of the Counſellors to his ſon and ſucceſſor King Edward VI: and bequeathed him a legacy of three hundred pounds (*n*). He did not live long after this: for he died in the year 1550 (*o*); Dr Fuller being miſtaken when he ſays it was in 1548 (*p*). By his wife Joan, daughter of Sir Philip Champernon, of Modbury in Devonſhire, a Lady of great beauty and parts [*F*], he had ſix children; of whom Henry, the eldeſt, was father of Edward Denny, knighted in 1589, ſummoned to Parliament in 1605, and advanced, on the 24th of October 1626, to the dignity of Earl of Norwich (*q*). As for Sir Anthony Denny's character; one of his contemporaries informs us, that his whole time and cares were taken up with, and employed about, Religion, Learning, and the care of the Public (*r*): and highly commended him for his prudence and humanity. The learned Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, wrote an excellent epitaph for him, ſome years before his deceaſe [*G*]. And Sir John Cheke, who had a great eſteem for him, honoured his memory with an elegant Heroick Poem [*H*].

(*b*) Fuller's Hiſt. of Waltham-Abbey. at the end of his Hiſtory of the Church. Lond. 1655. p. 12.

(*i*) Chauncy, as above, p. 129.

(*k*) Conventiones, Acta Publica, &c. publiſhed by T. Rymer. Tom. XV. p. 100.

(*l*) Fuller, as above, & Aſcham Ep. p. 331.

(*m*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, P. i. 2d edit. p. 350.

(*n*) Conventiones, &c. by T. Rymer, ubi ſupra, p. 101. Fuller's Church Hiſtory, Book v. p. 243, &c.

(*o*) Chauncy, as above, p. 129.

(*p*) Fuller, Hiſt. of Waltham-Abbey, p. 13.

(*q*) Dugdale, ubi ſupra.

(*r*) *Religio, Doctrina, Reſpublica, omnes curas tuas ſic occupant, ut extra has tres res nullum tempus conſumas.* Aſcham Epiſtol. commend. p. 329. Edit. Oxon. 1703.

the 20th part of one whole Knight's-fee, at the yearly rent of 1 *l.* 10 *d.* ſterling, payable at the feaſt of St Michael the archangel (8).

(8) Statut. 33 H. VIII. See the Hiſtorical Antiq. of Hertfordſhire, &c. as above, p. 494, 504.

[*E*] *Of which his Lady purchaſed afterwards the reverſion*] She bought it of King Edward VI, for the ſum of three thouſand pounds and upwards; and obtained with it large privileges in Waltham-foreſt (9).

(9) Fuller's Hiſtory of Waltham-Abbey, p. 13.

[*F*] *A Lady of great beauty and parts.*] And alſo a favourer of the Reformed Religion, in the moſt dangerous times. For ſhe ſent eight ſhillings by her man to Anne Aſcough, when ſhe was impriſoned in the Counter (10).

(10) Fuller, ibid. and Fox's Acts and Monuments, edit. 1583, p. 1238, 1239.

[*G*] *Henry Howard Earl of Surrey, wrote an epitaph for him, ſome years before his deceaſe*] Which is as follows:

Death, and the King, did, as it were, contend,
Which of them two bare Denny greateſt love:
The King, to ſhew his love can farre extend,
Did him advance his betters farre above.
  Nere place, much wealth, great honour, eke him gave,
  To make it knowne, what power great Princes have.

But when death came with his triumphant gift,
From worldly carke (*) he quit his wearied ghoſt
Free from the corpes, and ſtraight to Heaven it lift.
Now deme that can, who did for Denny moſt.
  The King gave welth, but fading and unſure:
  Death brought him bliſſe, that ever ſhall endure.

(*) i. e. Cares.

This epitaph, as Mr Fuller obſerves (11), was made by a poetical prolepſis, or anticipation. For, the noble and ingenious author of it did not ſurvive Sir Antony; being ſacrificed, in the year 1546, to the jealouſy of that brutiſh tyrant Henry VIII.

(11) Hiſtory of Waltham-Abbey, p. 13.

[*H*] *Sir John Cheke——honoured his memory with an elegant Heroick Poem.*] In which he highly commends his piety, his zeal for religion, his obliging behaviour to the King his maſter, his readineſs to do good to all, his inoffenſive temper, &c. Some of the verſes are as follow:

Deneius venit ad ſuperos mortalia linquens,
Britannos inter clarus——
Quis dignam illius factis vocem, quis promere verba
Poſſit, & excelſas laudes æquare canendo?
Quæ pietas, & quanta viri? Quis fervor in illo
Relligionis erat? Quam purus cultus in illo
Cæleſtis patris? Quanta in Chriſtum Fidei vis
Extitit illius ſacrata morte redempti?
Munera quæ rurſum? Quos & libavit Honores
Juſtitiæque Speique Deo? Quæ Victima laudis
Cæſa fuit? ——
O quibus Hic (*) *Studiis, quo illum eſt amplexus amore,*
Quem ſibi ſubjectumque bonum, ſervumque fidelem
Scribat, & officia hæc haud parvo munere penſans,
Oſtendit ſe herumque bonum, regemque benignum.
Conſiliumque Lepos quantum ſuperadditus auget,
Et juvat optatas ad res bene conficiendas,
Ille alios tantum ſuperat, qui flectere mentem
Henrici potuit, miſcens nunc utile dulci,
Seria nunc levibus texens, nunc grandia parvis.
Quam facilem curſum hic aliis ad vota ſequenda
Fecerat, atque aditum multis facilem patefecit?
Quam bona multa aliis, & quam mala nulla cuiquam
Intulit? Et laudem ſummam virtutis habebat
Hujus, qui nullos nec apertos læſerat hoſtes, &c. (12).

(*) Hen. VIII.

(12) Life of J. Cheke, as above, by J. Strype, p. 219, 220.

C

DERHAM (WILLIAM) a moſt excellent Chriſtian Philoſopher, and Divine, who flouriſhed in the end of the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth century, was born at Stowton near Worceſter, on the 26th of November 1657. He had his ſchool-education at Blockley in his native county, under the Reverend Mr Nathaniel Collier: And, May 14, 1675, in the eighteenth year of his age, was admitted into Trinity-College, Oxon. under the tuition of the learned Dr Willes, father of the preſent Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts January 28, 1678-9; and by that time, had ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learning, and other valuable and eminent qualifications, that he was earneſtly recommended by Dr Ralph Bathurſt, then Preſident of Trinity-College, to Dr Seth Ward, Biſhop of Saliſbury: By whoſe intereſt and recommendation, he became Chaplain, as ſoon as he had entered into holy orders, to Catharine Lady Dowager Grey of Warke. He was ordained Deacon by Dr Compton, Biſhop of London, May 29, 1681, and Prieſt by Biſhop Ward, juſt now mentioned, July 9, 1682. On the 5th of July 1682, he was preſented by Mr Neville to the Vicarage of Wargrave in Berkſhire. But he did not long continue there, for, on the 31ſt of Auguſt 1689, he was preſented by Mrs Jane Bray to the Rectory of Upminſter in Eſſex (*a*), a living of above two hundred pounds value, and not more than fifteen miles from London: Which lying at ſo convenient a diſtance from that metropolis of the kingdom, gave him an opportunity of converſing, and keeping a correſpondence, with the greateſt virtuoſo's in the nation. Being therefore placed in that quiet and retired ſtation, ſuitable to his contemplative and philoſophical temper, he applied himſelf, with great eagerneſs, to the ſtudy of Nature, and to Mathematicks, and Experimental Philoſophy. In which he became ſo eminent, that he was, ſoon after, choſe Fellow of the Royal Society. And he proved one of the moſt uſeful and induſtrious Members of it, frequently publiſhing, in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, curious obſervations, and valuable pieces, of which the particulars follow. ‘ Part of a Letter —— dated Dec. 6, 1697. Giving ‘ an account of ſome Experiments about the Height of the Mercury in the Barometer, ‘ at top and bottom of the Monument:’ [in London] and a Deſcription of a portable Barometer (*b*). ‘ A Letter —— dated Jan. 13, 1697-8, about a contrivance to meaſure ‘ the Height of the Mercury of the Barometer, by a Circle on one of the Weather- ‘ plates: With a Regiſter, or Diary of the Weather, obſerved every day at Upminſter, ‘ during the year 1697 (*c*).’ ‘ A Letter to Dr Sloane; with a Regiſter of the Weather, ‘ Winds, Barometer's Height, and Quantity of Rain falling at Upminſter in Eſſex, ‘ during the year 1698 (*d*).’ A Regiſter of the Weather, *&c.* as above, for the year 1699 (*e*) [*A*]. Obſervations on the Death-Watch; or, that Inſect which makes a Noiſe like the Beats of a Watch (*f*). Obſervations on the Weather, Rain, Winds, *&c.* for 1699, 1700, 1701, 1702. compared with other Obſervations made at Townley in Lancaſhire by Mr Townley, and communicated to our author (*g*). An Account of ſome Spots obſerved in the Sun in June 1703 (*h*). Obſervations on the Great Storm Nov. 26, 1703 (*i*). The Hiſtory of the Death-Watch (*k*) [*B*]. Account of an Inſtrument for finding the Meridian, with a Deſcription of the ſame (*l*). Experiments on the Motion of Pendulums *in vacuo* (*m*). A Proſpect of the Weather, Winds, and Height of the Mercury in the Barometer, on the firſt day of the Month; and of the whole Rain in every Month in the year 1703, and the beginning of 1704. Obſerved at Townley in Lancaſhire by R. Townley, Eſq; and at Upminſter in Eſſex by our author (*n*). Account of a Glade of Light ſeen in the Heavens, 20 March, 1705-6 (*o*). Tables of the Weather, *&c.* for the year 1705 (*p*). Account of a pyramidal Appearance in the Heavens, ſeen in Eſſex April 3, 1707 (*q*). Experiments and Obſervations on the Motion of Sound: in Latin, a long and curious paper (*r*) [*C*]. On the Migration of Birds (*s*). Account of an Eclipſe of the Sun Sept. 3, 1708, as obſerved at Upminſter (*t*): And of an Eclipſe of the Moon, Sept. 18, 1708 (*u*). Account of a ſtrange Meteor, or *Aurora Borealis*, in Sept. or Octob. 1706 (*w*). An Account of a Child's crying in the Womb (*x*) [*D*]. The Hiſtory of the great Froſt in 1708 (*y*). Account of Spots obſerved in the Sun by our author, from 1703 to 1708 (*z*): and from 1707 to 1711 (*a*). Of ſubterraneous Trees found at Dagenham-Breach in Eſſex (*b*). Account of an Eclipſe of the Moon, ſeen at Upminſter

[*A*] *A Regiſter of the Weather*, &c.] In theſe Regiſters, he exhibits to view, in ſeparate columns, every day at the hours of 8, 12, and 9, the *Weather*, *Winds*, *Clouds*, height of the *Barometer*, (and in that for 1699 only, of the *Thermometer*) *Rain*, &c.

[*B*] *The Hiſtory of the Death-watch.*] In treating of this inſect, he gives, firſt, a draught of it as it appeareth to the naked eye, and as magnified with a microſcope. Then he informs us, That it is very much like a louſe in ſhape and colour, but runneth more nimbly: and is common in every houſe in the warm months; but in the cold ſeaſon of the year, they hide themſelves in dry and obſcure places. Their eggs, which are much ſmaller than the nits of lice, though ſhaped like them but more tranſparent, they lay in dry duſty places. Theſe are hatch'd by the warmth of the approaching ſpring, about the begining of March; and at the firſt leaving their egg-ſhell, are perfectly like the mites in cheeſe, but exceedingly ſmall, ſo as ſcarce to be diſcerned by the ſharpeſt eye, without the help of a Convex-glaſs. In this ſhape they continue ſix weeks, or two months, and then gradually grow to their more perfect ſtate. Their *ticking noiſe* is a wooing-act, and is commonly in July, and about the beginning of Auguſt. But they do not every Year beat alike, doing it ſometimes ſooner, ſometimes later, ſometimes much, ſometimes little. After they have ſpent ſome time in ticking, they copulate. Death-watches, both young and old, feed upon dead inſects, and upon little crumbs of biſket, tallow, &c. mix'd among the duſt.

[*C*] *Experiments and obſervations on the motion of ſound, &c.*] In this curious paper, he obſerves, (in the firſt place,) the diſagreement between the moſt eminent authors concerning the velocity of ſound, that is, how many Engliſh feet a ſound moves in one ſecond of time; and gives a table of it. Then from the experiments he had made upon that ſubject, he deduces the following obſervations, That there is no variation of ſound from the different elevation or direction of the gun: that the motion of ſound, is not alter'd by the alterations in the air: that ſounds produced from different bodies, move with the ſame velocity: that the motion of ſound is uniform. He likewiſe treats therein of the following ſubjects; of an echo at a great diſtance, and in the air; and of the motion of echo's; of the aſcending and deſcending of ſounds; of the remiſſneſs and intenſeneſs of ſounds, according to the alteration of the air; of the influence of winds, on the motion of ſounds; of the velocity of winds, and of ſounds. Experiments on ſounds made in Italy, &c.

[*D*] *An account of a child's crying in the womb.*] 'Twas the child of one Clark of Horn-Church is Eſſex, who was heard to cry in his mother's womb, at times, for five weeks. And though the poſſibility of ſuch a thing is queſtion'd by Etmuller and Diemerbroek (1), yet our author proves from ſeveral matters of fact, that it is not only poſſible, but alſo has happen'd many times; although it was not of ſo long continuance, and with ſuch frequent re-iterations of the crying, as it happened in this inſtance.

[*E*] *Miſchiefs*

(*a*) Moſt of theſe particulars, eſpecially the dates, were communicated to us by his worthy ſon, Dr W. Derham, Fellow of St John's College, Oxon.

(*b*) No. 236, p. 2, &c. of the Philoſophical Tranſactions.

(*c*) No. 237, p. 45, &c.

(*d*) Ibid. No. 249, p. 45, &c.

(*e*) No. 262. p. 527.

(*f*) No. 271, p. 832.

(*g*) No. 286, p. 1443.

(*h*) No. 288, p. 1504.

(*i*) No. 289, p. 1530.

(*k*) No. 291, p. 1586.

(*l*) No. 291, p. 1578.

(*m*) No. 294, p. 1785.

(*n*) No. 297, p. 1877.

(*o*) No. 305, p. 2220.

(*p*) No. 309, p. 2378.

(*q*) No. 310, p. 2411.

(*r*) No. 313, p. 2.

(*s*) No. 315, p. 123.

(*t*) No. 320, p. 312.

(*u*) Ibid.

(*w*) Ibid. p. 310.

(*x*) No. 324, p. 485, 487.

(*y*) Ibid. p. 454.

(*z*) No. 330, p. 270.

(*a*) Ibid. p. 278.

(*b*) No. 335, p. 478.

(1) Etmuller. *Diſſertat. de abſtruſo reſpirationis humanæ negotio*; where Diemerbroek's opinion is related.

Upminſter Jan. 12, 1711-12 (c). Of a Woman big with Child, and having the Small-pox, delivered of a Child having the ſame Diſtemper, Sept. 8, 1713 (d). An Account of the Rain at Upminſter for eighteen Years (e). Tables of the Barometrical Altitudes for 1708, at Zurich in Switzerland; and of the Rain at Piſa in Italy, and Zurich, and Upminſter, for 1707, 1708. With Remarks on the Winds, Heat, and Cold, &c (f). Miſchiefs occaſioned by ſwallowing the Stones of Bullace and Sloes (g) [E]. Extracts from Mr Gaſcoigne's and Mr Crabtrie's Letters, proving Mr Gaſcoigne to have been the Inventer of the Teleſcopick Sights of Mathematical Inſtruments, and not the French (h). Obſervations about Waſps, and the Difference of their Sexes (i) [F]. Obſervations on the *Lumen Boreale*, or Streaming, on Oct. 8, 1726 (k). Tables of the Eclipſes of Jupiter's Satellites, from 1700 to the Year 1727; with Remarks on thoſe Tables (l). The Difference in Time of the Meridians of divers Places computed from Obſervations of the Eclipſes of Jupiter's Satellites (m). A Letter to Sir Hans Sloane, Bart. R. S. Pr. &c. containing a Deſcription of ſome uncommon Appearances obſerved in an *Aurora Borealis*, the thirteenth of October, 1728 (n). Of the Meteor called the *Ignis Fatuus* [Will of the wiſp] from obſervations made in England, by our Author, and others in Italy, communicated by Sir Thomas Dereham, Bart. (o) [G]. I have placed theſe ſeveral pieces here together, becauſe they are of the ſame kind and nature, and were all publiſhed in the ſame collection, *i. e.* the Philoſophical Tranſactions. To return now to other books compoſed in the mean time by our ingenious author. He publiſhed in his younger years, 'The Artificial Clock-maker. A Treatiſe of Watch and Clock-work, 'ſhewing to the meaneſt Capacities, the Art of Calculating Numbers to all Sorts of 'Movements; the Way to alter Clock-work; to make Chimes, and ſet them to Muſical 'Notes; and to calculate and correct the Motion of Pendulums. Alſo Numbers for divers Movements: With the ancient and modern Hiſtory of Clock-work; and many 'Inſtruments, Tables, and other Matters, never before publiſhed in any other book [*H*]. The fourth Edition, with large Emendations, was publiſhed in 1734, 12*mo*. In the years 1711 and 1712, he preached ſixteen Sermons at Mr Boyle's Lecture [*I*], which, having put into a new form, he publiſhed in 1713, under this title, 'Phyſico-Theology: 'or, a Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of God, from his Works of Creation. Being the Subſtance of Sixteen Sermons preached in St Mary le Bow Church, 'London, at the Honourable Mr Boyle's Lectures, in the year 1711 and 1712. With 'large Notes, and many curious Obſervations, 8*vo* [*K*].' And, in purſuance of the ſame

(c) No. 336, p. 522.

(d) No. 337, p. 165.

(e) No. 341, p. 130.

(f) Ibid. p. 342.

(g) No. 349, p. 484.

(h) No. 352, p. 603.

(i) No. 382, p. 53.

(k) No. 398, p. 245.

(l) No. 402, p. 415.

(m) No. 407, p. 33.

(n) No. 410, p. 137.

(o) No. 411, p. 204.

Our ingenious author communicated alſo to the Royal Society, ſeveral pieces which he received from his learned correſpondents. See Philoſophic. Tranſactions, No. 366, p. 121. No. 369, p. 250. & No. 382, p. 67.

[E] *Miſchiefs occaſioned by ſwallowing the ſtones of bullace and ſloes.*] There being a notion, 'that the 'ſtones of ſloes, cherries, &c. are uſeful in preventing 'a ſurfeit from the fruit,' our ingenious author ſhews in this paper, the danger of that ill-grounded opinion, in the inſtance of a neighbouring clergyman's ſervant: who having in his youth been a great lover of fruit, uſed greedily to devour all ſorts he could come at, and bullace and ſloes being the eaſieſt to be gotten, he uſed to ſwallow great quantities of them, without evacuating many of the ſtones by ſtool. But the conſequence of it was, That he came to have exceſſive pains in his ſtomach, and to vomit up, whatever he eat. At length, after violent vomitings, he brought up, at divers times, above one hundred and twenty bullace and ſloe-ſtones, beſides many others of which he could not keep account.

[F] *Obſervations about waſps, &c.*] In theſe obſervations he ſhews, that there are three ſorts of waſps. The *Queens*, or *Females*, which never work; the *Kings*, or *Males*; and the *common Labouring Waſps*; each of them very diſtinct. The Queen, or Female-Waſp (by many called the *King-Waſp*) is much longer in the body, and larger, than any other Waſp. The Male-Waſps are leſſer than the Queens, but as much longer and larger than the common Waſps, as the Queen is longer and larger than theſe. Theſe males alſo have no ſtings, which the Queens and common Waſps all have. And they may be known from other Waſps, by their *Antennæ*, or horns; which are longer and larger than either thoſe of the Queen or common Waſps, and with them they ſeem, in running, to feel more than the others do. But the grand and chief difference, are the parts of generation of theſe Male-Waſps, which the curious author accurately deſcribes (2).

[G] *Of the Meteor call'd the* Ignis Fatuus, &c.] He proves in this paper, from obſervations made by himſelf and by Sir Tho. Dereham, that the *Ignes Fatui* are not, as divers ſkilful Naturaliſts have imagined, only the ſhining of a great number of the Male-Glow worms in England, or of the *Pyrauſtæ* in Italy, flying together; but, are very much like that ſort of *Phoſphorus*, which doth indeed ſhine in the dark, but doth not burn any thing as common fire doth. Moreover, that they appear, in Italy, moſtly in moraſſy grounds, in dark nights, and in cold, ſnowy, and even rainy weather; but not ſo much in ſummer (3).

[H] *The Artificial Clock-Maker, &c.*] In the preface the ingenious author informs us, that 'this little book was 'a part of the diverſion of his juvenile years, and at firſt 'drawn up in a rude manner, only to pleaſe himſelf, and 'divert the vacant hours of a ſolitary country life. But 'was publiſh'd, purely in hopes of its doing ſome good in 'the world, among ſuch whoſe genius and leiſure lead 'them to mechanical ſtudies, or thoſe whoſe buſineſs 'and livelihood it is.' ——— Afterwards he adds, — 'Upon the account of the innocence of my end in 'publiſhing this book, and that it was written only as 'the harmleſs (I may add alſo the virtuous) ſport of 'leiſure hours; I think myſelf excuſable to God and 'the world, for the expence of ſo much time, on a 'ſubject different from my profeſſion.'

[I] *In the years* 1711 *and* 1712, *he preached ſixteen Sermons at Mr Boyle's lecture.*] How he came to be appointed to preach that lecture, he tells us in the following words. ——(4) 'Having the honour to be a 'member of the Royal Society, as well as a Divine, 'I was minded to try what I could do towards the improvement of Philoſophical matters to Theological 'uſes; and accordingly laid a ſcheme of what I have 'here publiſhed a part of, and when I had little elſe 'to do, I drew up what I had to ſay, making it rather the diverting exerciſes of my leiſure hours, than 'more ſerious Theological ſtudies. This work (altho' 'I made a conſiderable progreſs in it at firſt, whilſt a 'novelty, yet) having no thoughts of publiſhing I 'laid aſide, until your Grace, being info[illegible] 'deſign by ſome of my learned friends both of the 'Clergy and laity, was pleaſed to call me to the unexpected honour of preaching Mr Boyle's lectures: 'an honour I was little aware of in my country privacy, and not much acquainted with perſons in high 'ſtations, and not at all particularly, with your 'Grace.'———

[K] *Phyſico-Theology, &c.*] This curious treatiſe, which was intended for young gentlemen at the univerſities (5), is divided into eleven books, ſubdivided into the following chapters. Book I. Of the outworks of the terraqueous globe in general. Ch. 1. Of the

(2) Ubi ſupra, No. 382, p. 53, &c.

(3) No. 411, as above, p. 204, &c.

(4) In the Dedication of his Phyſico-Theology to Thomas Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

(5) See the Preface to that book, p. 8.

ſame noble and pious deſign, he publiſhed, in 1714, ‘ Aſtro-Theology: or, a Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of God, from a Survey of the Heavens. Illuſtrated with Copper-plates, 8*vo* [*L*].’ Upon the acceſſion of the late King George I, due notice being taken of our learned author's worth and ingenuity, his preſent Majeſty, then Prince of Wales, made him his Chaplain, and procured for him a Canonry of Windſor, into which he was inſtalled Sept. 19, 1716. The Univerſity of Oxford, likewiſe, in conſideration of his merit, learning, and ingenuity, conferred on him the degree of Doctor in Divinity, by diploma, the 26th of June 1730 [*M*]. But to return to our author's writings: When Eleazar Albin publiſhed his Natural Hiſtory of Birds, and Engliſh Inſects (*p*), with many beautiful Cuts, they appeared illuſtrated ‘ with very curious Notes and Obſervations by our learned Author.’ And he alſo reviſed *Miſcellanea Curioſa* (*q*). The laſt thing he publiſhed of his own compoſition, was, ‘ Chriſto-Theology: or, a Demonſtration of the Divine Authority of the Chriſtian Religion, being the Subſtance of a Sermon preached at Bath, on November 2, 1729, and publiſhed at the earneſt Requeſt of the Auditory. *Lond.* 1730, 8*vo*.’ —— It was not only with his own writings that this excellent author obliged the world, but alſo with thoſe of ſeveral great and learned men. For he publiſhed ſome pieces of the late moſt worthy and ingenious Mr Ray [*N*], and gave new editions of others, with great additions from the author's own

the atmoſphere in general. Ch. 2. Of the winds. Ch. 3. Of the clouds and rain. Ch. 4. Of light. Ch. 5. Of gravity. Book II. Of the terraqueous globe itſelf in general. Ch. 1. Of the figure of the terraqueous globe. Ch. 2. Of the bulk of the terraqueous globe. Ch. 3. The motions of the terraqueous globe. Ch. 4. Of the place and ſituation of the terraqueous globe, in reſpect of the heavenly bodies. Ch. 5. The diſtribution of the earth and waters. Ch. 6. The great variety and quantity of all things upon, and in the terraqueous globe, provided for the uſes of the world. Book III. Of the terraqueous globe in particular, more eſpecially the earth. Ch. 1. Of the ſoils and moulds in the earth. Ch. 2. Of the various *ſtrata* or beds obſervable in the earth. Ch. 3. Of the ſubterraneous caverns, and the vulcano's. Ch. 4. Of the mountains and vallies. Book IV. Of animals in general. Ch. 1. Of the five ſenſes in general. Ch. 2. Of the eye. Ch. 3. Of the ſenſe of hearing; and of ſound. Ch. 4. Of the ſenſe of ſmelling. Ch. 5. Of the taſte. Ch. 6. Of the ſenſe of feeling. Ch. 7. Of reſpiration. Ch. 8. Of the motion of animals. Ch. 9. Of the place allotted to the ſeveral tribes of animals. Ch. 10. Of the ballance of animals, or the due proportion in which the world is ſtocked with them. Ch. 11. Of the food of animals. The apparatus for the gathering, preparing, and digeſtion of the food; and the great Sagacity of animals in finding out and providing their food. Animals care of their young, and the preſervation of animals in winter. Ch. 12. Of the cloathing of animals. Ch. 13. Of the houſes and habitations of animals. Ch. 14 Of animals ſelf-preſervation. Ch. 15. Of the generation of animals. A ſurvey of the particular tribes of animals. Book V. A ſurvey of man. Ch. 1. Of the ſoul of man. Of man's invention. Ch. 2. Of man's body, particularly its poſture. Ch. 3. Of the figure and ſhape of man's body, Ch. 4. Of the ſtature and ſize of man's body. Ch. 5. Of the ſtructure of the parts of man's body. Ch. 6. Of the placing the parts of man's body. Ch. 7. Of the proviſion in man's body againſt evils. Ch. 8. Of the conſent between the parts of man's body. Ch, 9. Of the variety of men's faces, voices, and hand-writing. Book VI. A ſurvey of quadrupeds. Ch. 1. Of their prone poſture. Ch. 2. Of the heads of quadrupeds. Ch. 3. Of the necks of quadrupeds. Ch. 4. Of the ſtomachs of quadrupeds. Ch. 5. Of the heart of quadrupeds. Ch. 6. Of the difference between man and quadrupeds in the nervous kind. Book VII. A ſurvey of birds. Ch. 1. Of the motion of birds, and the parts miniſtring thereto. Ch. 2. Of the head, ſtomach, and other parts of birds. Ch. 3. Of the migration of birds. Ch. 4. Of the incubation of birds. Book VIII. Of inſects and reptiles. Ch. 1. Of inſects in general. Ch. 2. Of the ſhape and ſtructure of inſects. Ch. 3. Of the eyes and *antennæ* of inſects. Ch. 4. Of the parts and motion of inſects. Ch. 5. The ſagacity of inſects to ſecure themſelves againſt winter. Ch. 6. Of the care of inſects about their young. Book IX. Of reptiles and the inhabitants of the waters. Ch. 1. Of reptiles. Ch. 2. Of the inhabitants of the waters. Book X. Of vegetables; their anatomy. Flowers and ſeeds; their ſupport. Vegetables that are peculiarly uſeful. Book XI. Contains practical inferences from the foregoing ſurvey. Wherein he ſhews, that God's works are great and excellent; ought to be enquired into; are manifeſt to all; ought to excite us to fear and obedience to God; and to thankfulneſs; and that we ought to pay God all due homage and worſhip, particularly that of the Lord's day.

This curious and valuable book hath paſſed through many editions (6), and been tranſlated into French, and ſeveral other languages.

[*L*] *Aſtro-Theology.*] This treatiſe is divided into eight books. Book 1. The magnitude of the univerſe. Book 2. Number of the heavenly bodies. Book 3. The due ſituation of them. Book 4. The motions of the heavens. Book 5. Of the figure of the heavenly bodies. Book 6. Of attraction and gravity. Book 7. Of light and heat. Book 8. Practical inferences—— It is dedicated to his preſent Majeſty, who was, at the time of its publication, Prince of Wales.

[*M*] *The univerſity of Oxford———conferred on him the degree of Doctor in Divinity by diploma*, &c.] The diploma was as follows:

Cancellarius, Magiſtri, & Scholares Univerſitatis Oxonienſis Omnibus ad quos hæ Literæ pervenerint, ſalutem in Domino Sempiternam.

Cum eum in finem Honores Academici à majoribus noſtris inſtituti fuerint, ut Viri de re literaria bene meriti Gratia quadam peculiari inſignirentur; Cumq; Vir Reverendus & Doctiſſimus *Gulielmus Derham*, olim è Col. S. S. Trinitatis, A.M. & Eccleſiæ Windleſorienſis Canonicus, ob Libros ab ipſo editos (quibus Phyſicam & Matheſin auctiorem reddidit, & ad religionem veramque Fidem exornandam revocavit) apud Literatos tam exteros quam noſtrates in maximo pretio haberetur; Sciatis, Nos Cancellarium, Magiſtros, & Scholares antedictos, Virum cum primis Principi, Eccleſiæ, Orbique literato percarum, ſummo quo potuimus Honore proſequi volentes, eundem Reverendum Doctiſſimumq; *Gulielmum Derham* hoc 26 die menſis Junii A. D. 1730, in ſolenni & frequentiſſimo Doctorum & Magiſtrorum ſenatu, unanimi Suffragio, Doctorem in S. S. Theologia conſtituiſſe & renunciaſſe, eumque omnibus & ſingulis Doctoralis in S. Theologia Gradûs Privilegiis & Honoribus cumulaſſe. In cujus rei teſtimonium ac fidem, Publicum Univerſitatis noſtræ Oxon Sigillum his literis apponi juſſimus. Dat. in Domo Convocationis noſtræ Die Annoq; ſupradict.

[*N*] *He publiſhed ſome pieces of the late moſt worthy and ingenious Mr Ray.*] Namely, I Mr Ray's Synopſis of Birds and Fiſhes, under this title, Joannis Raii *Synopſis Methodica Avium & Piſcium*; *Opus Poſthumum, quod vivus recenſuit & perfecit ipſe inſigniſſimus author: In quo multas ſpecies, in ipſius Ornithologia & Ichthyologia deſideratas adjecit: Methodumque ſuam Piſcium Naturæ magis convenientem reddidit. Cum Appendice & Iconibus* Lond. 1713, 8*vo* The editor informs us in his preface, that this book was finiſhed by the learned author about the year 1693, or 1694, and lay a long time in the hands of a diſhoneſt bookſeller, who would neither publiſh it, nor let Mr Ray's friends have it again. II. In 1718, he publiſhed, ‘ Philoſophical

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(*p*) In four volumes, 4to.

(*q*) In three volumes, 8vo. 1726.

(6) There were three editions of it within the firſt year. And the 8th was publiſhed in 1732.

own manuſcripts [O]. To him the world is likewiſe indebted for the publication of the ‘ Philoſophical Experiments and Obſervations of the late eminent Dr Robert Hooke, ‘ F. R. S. and *Geom. Prof. Greſh.* and other eminent virtuoſo's in his time. *Lond.* 1726, ‘ 8*vo.* with copper Cuts.’ Among other curioſities, of which he had great numbers, he had collected a ſpecimen of Inſects (*r*), and likewiſe nicely preſerved the male and female of moſt kinds of Birds in this iſland. Thus, this good and great man, having ſpent his life in the moſt agreeable ſtudy of Nature, and made all his reſearches therein ſubſervient to the glorious end of promoting the honour of God, and true piety and religion in the world [*P*], gave up his pious ſoul to his Maker on the 5th of April 1735, at Upminſter, and was buried there. Dr Derham, as to his perſon, was pretty tall, and ſeemed to be of a ſtrong and healthful conſtitution. His moral character was quite amiable; and, among other inſtances of his bounty, he was a Phyſician to the Bodies as well as to the Souls of his Pariſhioners; none, or but few, of them, having occaſion to apply to any one elſe but him for relief in the time of illneſs. Such was his ſkill in Phyſick, as well as in all other branches of Knowledge!

(*r*) See Philoſophical Tranſact. No. 291, p. 1586.

‘ phical Letters between the late learned Mr Ray, and ‘ ſeveral of his ingenious correſpondents, natives and ‘ foreigners. To which are added thoſe of Francis ‘ Willughby, Eſq; The whole conſiſting of many cu‘ rious diſcoveries and improvements in the hiſtory of ‘ quadrupeds, birds, fiſhes, inſects, plants, foſſils, ‘ &c.’ Lond. 8*vo*.

[*O*] *And gave new editions of others with great additions from the author's manuſcripts.*] That is, of ‘ The Wiſdom of God manifeſted in the Works of the ‘ Creation, &c.’ the 6th edit. 8*vo*, 1714. And of ‘ Three Phyſico-Theological Diſcourſes, concerning, ‘ 1. The primitive chaos, and creation of the world. ‘ The general deluge, its cauſes and effects. 3. The ‘ diſſolution of the world, and future conflagration,’ &c. The 3d edition, illuſtrated with copper-plates, and much more enlarged than the former editions, from the author's own MSS, 8*vo*, 1713.

[*P*] *Promoting the honour of God, and true piety and religion in the world.*] What he ſays himſelf of his Aſtro-Theology in particular (7), may in general be applied to his works; they are ‘ deſigned for the good ‘ of mankind, particularly for the conviction of infi‘ dels and irreligious, for the promotion of the fear ‘ and honour of God, and the cultivating of true reli‘ gion.’ C

(7) In the concluſion of the Preliminary Diſcourſe.

DEVEREUX (WALTER) the firſt Earl of Eſſex of this name and family, a General equally diſtinguiſhed for his courage and conduct, and a Nobleman not more illuſtrious by his titles than by his birth. He was deſcended from a moſt ancient and noble family, being the ſon of Sir Richard Devereux, Knight, by Dorothy, daughter of George Earl of Huntingdon (*a*), and grandſon of Walter Viſcount of Hereford, ſo created by King Edward the VIth, with a very peculiar circumſtance of honour (*b*) [*A*]. He was born about the year 1540, at his grandfather's caſtle in Carmarthenſhire (*c*), educated in his youth with all the care due to his high birth, and applied himſelf to his ſtudies with great diligence and ſucceſs (*d*). He ſucceeded to the titles of Viſcount Hereford and Lord Ferrers of Chartley, in the nineteenth year of his age (*e*), and being early diſtinguiſhed for his modeſty, learning, and loyalty, ſtood in high favour with his Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth (*f*). In the year 1569, upon the breaking out of that deſperate rebellion in the north, under the potent Earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, he ſhewed his duty by raiſing a conſiderable body of forces (*g*), which joining thoſe belonging to the Lord Admiral and the Earl of Lincoln, he was declared Marſhal of the Army; which did good ſervice, in obliging the rebels to diſperſe, and the Earls to retire for ſhelter into Scotland (*h*). This behaviour ſo highly recommended him to the Queen, that, in 1572 (*i*), ſhe honoured him with the Garter, and on the 4th of May, the ſame year, created him Earl of Eſſex (*k*), as being deſcended, by his great grandmother, from the noble family of Bourchier, long before honoured with the ſame title (*l*). In the preamble of his patent, his deſcent from that houſe is mentioned, as well as the ſervice he had rendered the Queen by his aſſiſtance in the ſuppreſſing that formidable rebellion (*m*), and with great ceremony he was inveſted with his new dignity, being conducted into the Queen's preſence

(*a*) Baronagium Angliæ, A. D. 1596. MS. penes Author. fol. 12.

(*b*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 177.

(*c*) Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

(*d*) From the Biſhop of St David's Sermon at this Earl's Funeral. See note [G].

(*e*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 177.

(*f*) Speed's Hiſt. of England, p. 842.

(*g*) Stowe's Annals, p. 664.

(*h*) Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 1212. *b.* n. 40.

(*i*) Nobilitas politica vel civilis per Thom. Milles, fol. 1608. p. 180.

(*k*) Vincent's Correction of Brook's Catalogue, p. 187.

(*l*) Catalogue of the Succeſſions, &c. by R. Brook, p. 84.

(*m*) From a copy of this Earl's Patent.

[*A*] *With a very peculiar circumſtance of honour.*] This family of Devereux deſcended from William Devereux of Bodynham in the county of Hereford, of which he was Sheriff in the forty-fifth of Edw. III (1). His grandſon, Sir Walter Devereux, married Anne, ſole daughter and heir of William Lord Ferrers of Chartley; and in the thirty-fourth of Henry VI, was Sheriff of Glouceſterſhire (2). In the firſt year of Edward IV, he was advanced to the dignity of a Baron of this realm, by the title of Lord Ferrers, and had large grants from the Crown, out of the forfeitures of thoſe who adhered to Henry VI (3). This Walter Lord Ferrers was ſlain at Boſworth field, fighting valiantly in the cauſe of Richard III (4). His ſon, John Lord Ferrers of Chartley, eſpouſed Cecily, daughter to Henry Bourchier Earl of Eſſex (5), by whom he had Walter his ſon and heir, who in the ſeventeenth of Henry VIII was conſtituted Juſtice of South Wales, being then Knight of the moſt noble Order (6) of the Garter. It was this noble perſon, who, on the ſecond of February, in the fourth of Edward VI, was advanced to the dignity of Viſcount Hereford (7), with this ſingular clauſe in his patent, ‘ that he and his heirs ‘ male, ſhould enjoy the rank and degree of Viſcount ‘ Hereford in all Parliaments and Councils within the ‘ realm of England, and other the King's territories ‘ and kingdoms (8);’ which, in the opinion of Sir Richard St George, Garter King at Arms, gave the Viſcounts of Hereford a right to ſit in the Parliament of Ireland. This Walter Viſcount Hereford married, firſt, Mary, daughter of Thomas Marquis of Dorſet (9), by whom he had Sir Richard Devereux, Knt. father to Walter Earl of Eſſex of whom we are ſpeaking, and alſo Sir William Devereux, who died without iſſue male. By his ſecond wife, Margaret, daughter of Robert Garniſh of Kenton, in the county of Suffolk, Eſq; he had one ſon, Sir Edward Devereux of Caſtle Bromwich in the county of Warwick, whoſe deſcendants were Viſcounts of Hereford (10), till the title became extinct in Price, late Lord Viſcount Hereford, who died July 22, 1748 (11).

(1) Rot. Fin. 45 E. III. membr. 8.

(2) Rot. Fin. 34 H. VI. mem. 6.

(3) Pat. 1 E. IV. p. 5. m. 1. Pat. 10 E. IV. m. 6.

(4) Polyd. Virgil. p. 564.

(5) Clauſ. 1 H. VII. in dorſo. Polyd. Vergil. p. 512. n. 30.

(6) Pat. 17 H. VIII, p. 2.

(7) Pat. 4 E. VI p. 8.

(8) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. III. p. 276.

(9) Baronagium Angliæ MS. fol. 12.

(10) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 182.

(11) Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. XVIII. p. 333.

preſence by the Earls of Suſſex and Huntingdon, the cap and circle of gold being carried by the Earl of Leiceſter, the Earl of Bedford bearing the ſword of ſtate, the Queen herſelf hanging the ſword croſs his ſhoulders, and impoſing the cap and coronet with her own hand (*n*). In the month of January following, he was one of the Peers that ſat in judgment upon the Duke of Norfolk (*o*). At this time he was ſo favourably looked upon by the Queen, that ſome, who were for confining her good graces to themſelves, and to their friends, began to wiſh him at a greater diſtance, and therefore greatly encouraged an inclination he ſhewed, to adventure both his perſon and fortune for her Majeſty's ſervice in Ireland (*p*) [*B*]. Accordingly, on the 16th of Auguſt 1573, he embarked at Liverpool, accompanied by the Lord Darcy, the Lord Rich, and many other perſons of diſtinction, together with a multitude of volunteers, whom the hopes of preferment, and his Lordſhip's known reputation, inclined to follow his fortune (*q*). His reception in Ireland was not very promiſing from the beginning; for landing at Knockfergus, on the 16th of September, he found the chiefs of the rebels profeſſing a ſtrong inclination to ſubmit, but that was only to gain time, and to accompliſh their own purpoſes; for then they withdrew again, and broke out into open rebellion (*r*). The Lord Rich was called away by his own affairs, and, by degrees, moſt of thoſe who went abroad with the Earl dropped off, and came home again, upon a variety of pretences (*s*). In this ſituation Eſſex deſired the Queen to carry on the ſervice in her own name, and by her own command, though he ſhould be at one half of the expence (*t*). Afterwards he applied to the Earls of Suſſex and Leiceſter, and the Lord Burleigh, to induce the Queen to pay one hundred horſe and ſix hundred foot; which, however, did not take effect; but the Queen, perceiving how hardly this Nobleman was dealt with, and how, in contempt of her commands, the Lord Deputy had delayed ſending him his commiſſion, ſhe was inclined to recal him out of Ulſter, if Leiceſter and others, who found their account in his abſence, had not diſſwaded her (*u*). The Lord Deputy having at laſt, in 1574, ſent him his patent, perceiving him buſy in fortifying Clandeboy, which was indeed the great end of his coming thither, diſpatched poſitive orders to him to purſue the Earl of Deſmond one way, while himſelf preſſed him another (*w*). The Earl of Eſſex obeyed, though with reluctance, and had the good luck to force, or to perſwade, the Earl of Deſmond to ſubmiſſion (*x*). He gained great honour by this, and, it is high probable, would have performed much higher things, if the ſame fallacious arts had not with-held his hands in the winter, which had blaſted his beſt endeavours in the ſummer [*C*]. The ſame

(*n*) Milles, de Nobilitate politica & civili, p. 71, 72.

(*o*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 82.

(*p*) Stowe's Annals, p. 677.

(*q*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 178.

(*r*) Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, P. i. p. 341.

(*s*) Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

(*t*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 287.

(*u*) Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

(*w*) Chronicles of Ireland by Vowell, alias Hooker, p. 136.

(*x*) Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, P. i. p. 342.

[*B*] *For her Majeſty's ſervice in Ireland.*] It is of great conſequence to the perſonal hiſtory of this Nobleman, which very well deſerves to be known, and which nevertheleſs has been but very obſcurely repreſented, that the original cauſe of his going to Ireland ſhould be thoroughly underſtood. The troubles of Ireland were at this juncture very great, for in Ulſter, Brian Mac-Phelim, who had ſeized a great part of the country of Clandeboy, burnt the town of Knockfergus, that is, Fergus's rock, and others in thoſe parts began to raiſe tumults (12). Againſt theſe, Walter Earl of Eſſex craved leave to undertake an expedition, following therein the counſel of thoſe, who deſired above all things to have him farther off, and to plunge him into dangers, under pretence of procuring him honour, which he knew well enough, but being a ſtirring man, and one addicted to a martial life, from his youth, he held his reſolution, and made an agreement with the Queen, that, upon certain conditions, the one half of Clandeboy, if he drove out the rebels, ſhould be granted to him and his ſoldiers (13). For the defence whereof, he ſhould maintain, at his own charge, two hundred horſemen, and four hundred foot; and, to furniſh himſelf for the war, he borrowed of the Queen ten thouſand pounds of Engliſh money, mortgaging his lands in Eſſex for the ſame (14). Sir William Fitz-Williams, Lord Deputy of Ireland, fearing leſt the name of ſo great an Earl ſhould eclipſe his glory in Ireland, adviſed the Queen that he might not be ſent, feigning, ſays Camden, I know not what general revolt of all Ulſter (15). But Eſſex for all that was ſent, and that the Lord Deputy's honour and authority might ſtand uneclipſed, he was commanded to receive his patent from him, whereby to be made Governor of Ulſter, which he was long in procuring, and that not without very importunate ſollicitation. Dr Fuller treats this ſubject, as indeed he does all ſubjects, very facetiouſly; he ſays, the Earl of Eſſex mortgaged his fine eſtate, and afterwards ſold it outright for money to buy a bear's-ſkin, but that when he came to take and flay the bear, he found greater difficulties than he expected; and at the ſame time intimates, that as this was the firſt, ſo it was the laſt bargain of the kind made with that Queen (16), in which he is certainly miſtaken, for bargains of that kind were common enough, tho', as he very juſtly obſerves, they very ſeldom turned to the benefit of thoſe who made them. All this ought not, however, to bring any imputation upon the underſtanding of this noble perſon, who moſt certainly acted like a very wiſe, as well as a very honeſt and brave man. He had in view the ſervice of the Queen, the nation, and himſelf, and if he had been as fairly dealt with as his fidelity deſerved, all his views would have been fully accompliſhed, that is to ſay, the rebels would have been reduced, the country planted, and his family would have derived from his labours a very large eſtate.

[*C*] *Which had blaſted his beſt endeavours.*] As ſoon as the Earl had engaged Deſmond to lay down his arms, he undertook a long march againſt Turlough Lenigh, O Donnel (17) joining with him; but from Con O Donnel, Turlough's ſon-in-law, who would not ſerve under him, he took the caſtle of Liffer, and gave it to Hugh O Donnel: Turlough, in the mean while, ſpinning out the time with parties, till Eſſex was of neceſſity to return, who, as he had tired out his body with labours and cares all the ſummer, ſo, winter approaching, he conſidered ſeriouſly, by what means Ulſter, which had been ſo long neglected that it was grown wild and ſavage, might be reduced to civility. And, upon mature deliberation he ſhewed, that if three towns were built at the Queen's charge, and ten forts by the common purſe of the ſoldiers, in ſuch convenient places as he had deſigned, above ſeven thouſand pounds of Engliſh money might be gathered yearly from thoſe people, and after two years the Queen ſhould not need to maintain any more garriſons there. Whilſt he was wholly taken up about theſe projects, and other commendable endeavours, he narrowly eſcaped being ſlain by the rebel Iriſh. For Brian Mac Phelim, who had treacherouſly ſlain one Moore, an Engliſh Captain, had conſpired with Turlough and the Scots to cut him off. Which as ſoon as he underſtood, he thought it beſt not to expect their coming but to attack them. And attack them he did ſo reſolutely, that, with the ſlaughter of two hundred Iriſh, he took Brian, and Rory Oge his half

(12) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 286.

(13) Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

(14) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 178.

(15) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 286.

(16) Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

(17) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, P. i. p. 341. Lloyd's Worthies, p. 487.

ſame misfortune attended his ſubſequent attempts; and, except the zeal of his attendants, the affection of the Engliſh ſoldiers, and the eſteem of the native Iriſh, he gained nothing by all his pains. Worn out at length with theſe fruitleſs fatigues, he, the next year, deſired leave to conclude, upon honourable terms, an accommodation with Turlough Oneile, which was refuſed him (*y*). He then ſurrendered the government of Ulſter into the Lord Deputy's hands, as believing the forces allowed him altogether inſufficient for it's defence; but the Lord Deputy, of a ſudden, obliged him to reſume it, and to march againſt Turlough Oneile, which he accordingly did; and his enterprize being in a fair way of ſucceeding, he was ſurprized to receive inſtructions, which peremptorily required him to make peace (*z*). This likewiſe he concluded without loſs of honour, and then turned his arms againſt the Scots from the weſtern iſlands, who had invaded, and taken poſſeſſion of his country. Theſe he quickly drove out, and, by the help of Norris, followed them into one of their iſlands, and was preparing to diſpoſſeſs them of other poſts, when he was required to give up his command, and afterwards to ſerve at the head of a ſmall body of three hundred men, with no other title than their Captain (*a*). Theſe were the artifices of Leiceſter, to ruffle and diſtract him; but the Earl, notwithſtanding he was inwardly grieved, continued to perform his duty punctually, without any ſhew of reſentment, out of reſpect to the Queen's ſervice (*b*) [*D*]. In the ſpring of the ſucceeding

(*y*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 302.

(*z*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 188.

(*a*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 302. Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 388. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 178.

(*b*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 302.

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half brother, and Brian's wife. Thus, ſays Camden, the year was brought to a cloſe to no man's advantage, but to the great misfortune and loſs of the Earl of Eſſex (18). It muſt, however, be obſerved, that this learned perſon is in a great miſtake as to the year, for he ſets it down expreſsly 1573, whereas it was 1574, and indeed his own relation ſhews it muſt have been ſo, for in the year 1574 he ſets down nothing of the affairs of Ireland, becauſe he had in reality ſet them down before.

(18) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 289.

[*D*] *Out of reſpect to the Queen's ſervice.*] We find all theſe matters very clearly ſtated by Mr Camden, who wrote from good memoirs, and, ſo far as we are able to judge, with great candour and impartiality. He has not, however, as indeed it was not his buſineſs, cleared up this matter entirely, and ſhewn us how this worthy Lord was ſo groſsly abuſed. It is certain that Queen Elizabeth meant nothing like it, nor is it at all probable that her Miniſters, in general, had any ſuch deſign; but thus the matter appears to have been managed. The Queen intended to have gratified the Earl in moſt of his requeſts, but at the ſame time to have done this in ſuch a manner, as not to leſſen either the dignity or the power of the Lord Deputy Fitz-Williams. She therefore directed a letter, dated March 15 1574-5, to both of them, in which ſhe ſhews what ſhe thought reaſonable in behalf of the Earl, and refers the manner and other circumſtances to the Lord Deputy (19), who knowing perhaps he ſhould make himſelf friends at home by ſuch a conſtruction, boldly took upon him, under colour of this letter, to diſprove the whole enterprize, and after all the labours and loſſes of the Earl of Eſſex, to ſtrip him of every thing. The chief reaſon of this ſeems to have been, that the Earl had intimated ſomething, which, if well improved, might have ſaved the Queen great ſums of money, and promoted the ſervice of Ireland very much. What this was, will appear from the following paſſage in his Lordſhip's letter to the Queen (20). 'Your Majeſty taketh hold of my words written to the Lords in October, to diminiſh your numbers to two thouſand men of all ſorts. It may pleaſe you therefore to conſider of my words, which were theſe: And I ſee no reaſon, but if her Majeſty kept two thouſand ſoldiers (without which, obedience or profit will not be had of Iriſh or Engliſh in Ireland) why thirteen hundred of them ſhould not, for the moſt part, reſide in Ulſter. This was, and is ſtill, my opinion, and I hope cannot be conſtrued but by theſe ſoldiers were meant Engliſh bands, and not to be extended towards officers or Kearne, which are neither at commandment, nor can be employed but in their charges. Beſides, I never took upon me to ſet down my opinion for the government of the whole realm, wherewith I neither had to do, nor with your favour will have to do, but only of my charge, and therefore I truſt my words have not procured this diminiſhment of your Majeſty's army. But now I will ſay directly, that which before I ſpake conjecturally, that two thouſand Engliſh ſoldiers, under bands, well maintained, will be enough to govern all the whole realm of Ireland, and to make all that be rebels, or that be of the Iriſh faction, to quake, and either to be good ſubjects, or to ſeem good ſubjects.' How the Earl reſented this uſage, will beſt appear from his own ſhort and ſignificant letter to the Council, in which, with great ſpirit and freedom, and yet with the utmoſt modeſty and decorum, he very accurately ſtates his own caſe (21).

(19) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, P. i. p. 341. Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p 63. Lloyd's Worthies, p. 488.

(20) Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p. 68, Lloyd's Worthies, p. 488,

(21) Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p. 69, 70.

'My good Lords,

'I Have of late ſeen a letter ſigned by the Queen's Majeſty, and jointly endorſed to my Lord Deputy and me, concerning mine enterprize in the province of Ulſter, which, although it carry a ſhew of a preſent proceeding therein, and of a conſent to all my petitions, yet hath it brought forth none other effects but the preſent diſcharge of all that ſerve under me, and a final diſſolving of my enterprize. Whereunto, what anſwer I have made to her Majeſty, may appear unto you by the copy of my letter herein incloſed; and although it become me to ſtand contented with any thing that her Majeſty ſhall ſignify to be her will, yet when I compare this concluſion to the courſe that hath been taken with me ſince my coming hither, I cannot but think the dealing very ſtrange. Firſt, I came with the good liking of all your Lordſhips, and with the allowance of the Council here, ſo as by the conſents of both realms I took my journey, the matter being firſt thoroughly debated, and ſo digeſted as though no ſcruple ſhould at any time ariſe. I had not been here three months, but that it was given forth that the continuance of the enterprize was in queſtion, and in that ſtay hath it remained ever ſince, till now, that in all appearance the proceeding therein is agreed upon, and all my petitions granted, and yet the ſame letter that ſo doth aſſure me of all this gracious favour, is a warrant to my Lord Deputy (as he taketh it) to overthrow the whole. My Lords, I humbly deſire you to conſider well of this matter: It is ſomewhat to me (although little to others) that my houſe ſhould be overthrown, with ſuffering me to run myſelf out of breath with expences. It is more, that in the word of the Queen I have, as it were, undone, abuſed, and bewitched, with fair promiſes, Odonell Mac Mahon, and all others that pretend to be good ſubjects in Ulſter. It is moſt that the Queen's Majeſty ſhall adventure this eſtate, or elſe ſubdue rebellion with intolerable charge. For will not all parts of this realm take hold of this diſſolution? or, can any in Ulſter, or in any part of the realm, hope of defence hereafter? But to return to my own eſtate: let my life here, my good Lords, be examined by the ſtricteſt Commiſſioners that may be ſent, I truſt in examining my faults they will alledge this for the chief, that I have unſeaſonably told a plain, probable, honourable, and effectual way, how to do the country good. For of the reſt they can ſay nothing of me, but witneſs my miſery by plague, famine, ſickneſs, continual toil, and continual wants of men, money, carriages, victuals, and all things meet for great attempts: and if any of theſe have grown by my default, then condemn

ing year he came over to England, where he was very far from ſtifling the juſt indignation he had conceived againſt the all-powerful favourite, for the inexcuſable uſage he had met with (c). But as it was the cuſtom of that great man to debaſe his enemies by exalting them, ſo he procured an order for the Earl of Eſſex's return into Ireland, with the ſounding title of EARL-MARSHALL (d) of that kingdom, and with promiſes, that he ſhould be left more at liberty than in times paſt; but, upon his arrival at Ireland, as the judicious Mr Camden tells us (e), he found his ſituation ſo little altered for the better, that he pined away with grief and ſorrow, which, at length, proved fatal to him, and brought him to his end. There is nothing more certain, either from the publick hiſtories, or private memoirs, and letters of that age, than that this noble Earl was one of the worthieſt, honeſteſt, and beſt of men (f); one who, in his publick capacity, ſhewed himſelf a ſtout Soldier, a loyal Subject, and a moſt diſintereſted Patriot, as, in his private life, he was of a very chearful temper, kind, affectionate, and beneficent to all who were about him; and, to ſay much in a little compaſs, one commended by all parties (g), and to whoſe prejudice there is not the ſlighteſt inſinuation to be met with in all the papers of thoſe times. He was taken ill of a flux on the 21ſt of Auguſt, and, in great pain and miſery, languiſhed to the 22d of September 1576, when he departed this life at Dublin, being ſcarcely thirty-five years old (h). There was a very ſtrong report at the time, of his being poiſoned; and, if we may judge from what the learned Camden ſays upon the ſubject, it was no eaſy matter to decide whether that report was without grounds (i) [E].
It

(c) Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

(d) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 178.

(e) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 308.

(f) Holinſhed, Strype, Speed, &c.

(g) See the letters from Sir Henry Sidney and Sir Nich. White in the notes.

(h) Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

(i) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 309.

‘ demn me in the whole. I pray you, my Lords, pardon my earneſtneſs, I think I have reaſon that am thus amazed with an overſudden warning, that muſt take a diſcharge before I am made acquainted with the matter; I think it had been a better courſe, that I might have had time to have made ſome profitable peace with Tyrlanghe, which hath been ſought at my hands, and not at one inſtant to loſe my travail, my money, my credit, and, with the ſame, hazard the honour of her Majeſty, and of the realm of England. I truſt, my Lords, my plain dealing ſhall not do me hurt with you; for my own part, a ſolitary life is beſt for a diſgraced perſon, but becauſe there is none of you but hath profeſſed favour towards me, and ſome of your Lordſhips are mixed with me in blood and alliance, I crave of you all, that, as I have entered into this action with your good liking and advices, ſo now the failing, being no way to be laid upon me, you will all be means for me to her Majeſty to deal well with me for my charge, as in honour, conſcience, and juſtice, you ſhall think good.’ What was the ſenſe of diſintereſted people in thoſe days upon theſe points, will moſt unexceptionably appear from the following paſſages, in a letter from Sir Nicholas White, Maſter of the Rolls in Ireland, to the Lord Burleigh (22): ‘ But what good thing can be hoped for here, when a Prince's determination, touching ſo great an enterprize, in the hands of ſo ſufficient and ſo honourable a ſubject to perform it, ſhall be ſo ſuddenly revoked. And if I might with all humility ſay it to her Highneſs, there are two things of great moment, that ſeem ſtrange to us here if they be true. The one is, the letting of the realm to farm, wherein ſo many hearts may be alienated from the landlord to the farmer. And the other is, the caſting up of the Earl's enterprize between the fallow and the ſeed; which will make Ulſter deſperate, and all the reſt doubtful. And truly, if ſhe look not back where ſhe began, and review both the man and the matter, ſhe ſhall puff up the Iriſh into incorrigible pride, and pull down the hearts of all good Engliſh ſubjects to a perpetual diffidence of any ſettled government in this realm. ——— There cannot go out of this land a man with greater fame of honour, nor can come in, whoſe bounty hath deſerved more. And if that noble mind of his, deſirous of honour, and ſo careleſs of gain, were employed with the aſſociation of grave council, I believe God hath ordained him to do great things.’

[E] *Whether that report was without grounds.*] There were few facts that happened in this reign which have made more noiſe in the world than the death of this Earl of Eſſex; and though Camden, as a wiſe man and a grave hiſtorian, treats the ſuſpicion of poiſon as a popular report, and takes occaſion to aſſign the reaſon of ſuch reports in a manner which does great honour to the Earl's memory; yet it is evident enough that he did not altogether diſbelieve it himſelf, or intend to make his readers diſbelieve it. But let us hear what he ſays (23). ‘ The death of this Nobleman carried with it a ſuſpicion of poiſon among the vulgar ſort, who always ſuſpect them to be poiſoned whom they eſteem and love, altho' Sidney, Lord Deputy of Ireland, after diligent inquiſition made, wrote to the Council in England, that the Earl, upon his firſt taking his bed, ſaid many times, that this was a thing uſual and ordinary with him; that whenſoever he was troubled and perplexed in mind he fell into the Bloody-flux, and that he ſuſpected nothing at all of the poiſon, and that his body retained the ſame colour in his ſickneſs which it had in his perfect health; no ſpot, no infection, no ſhedding of the hair or nails, and being embowelled no ſign at all of poiſon appeared; that though the Phyſicians differed in their judgments, yet they applied nothing againſt the force of poiſon; and that his cupbearer was falſely accuſed of infuſing ſomething in water, and mixing it with wine. Yet have we ſeen the ſame man openly pointed at for a poiſoner.’ In a famous book, publiſhed when all the parties were living, and in which, though commonly treated as a libel, there are abundance of ſtrange truths, we have the whole proceſs of this execrable affair ſet forth to publick view, in the following terms (24). ‘ It was my chance to come to the underſtanding of divers particulars concerning that thing, both from one Lea, an Iriſhman, Robert Honnies, and others, that were preſent at Penteneis, the Merchant's houſe in Dublin, upon the key where the murder was committed. The matter was wrought, eſpecially by Crompton, Yeoman of the Bottles, by the procurement of Lloyd; and there was poiſoned at the ſame time, and with the ſame cup, as given of courteſy by the Earl, one Mrs Alice Draycot, a goodly gentlewoman, whom the Earl affectioned much; who departing thence towards her own houſe, which was eighteen miles off, the aforeſaid Lea accompanying her, and waiting upon her, ſhe began to fall ſick very grievouſly upon the way, and continued with increaſe of pains, and exceſſive torments, by vomiting until ſhe died, which was the Sunday before the Earl's death, enſuing the Friday after; and when ſhe was dead her body was ſwolne into a monſtruous bigneſs and deformity, whereof the good Earl hearing the day following, lamented the caſe greatly, and ſaid, in the preſence of his ſervants, Ah, poor Alice, the cup was not prepared for thee, albeit it were thy hard deſtiny to taſte thereof; young Honnies alſo, whoſe father is maſter of the children of her Majeſty's chapel, being at that time page to the ſaid Earl, and accuſtomed to take the taſte of his drink (though ſince entertained alſo, among other, by my Lord of Leiceſter, for better covering of matters) by his taſte that he then took of the compound cup (though in very ſmall quantity, as you know the faſhion is) yet was he like to have loſt his life, but eſcaped in the end, being young, with the loſs only
‘ of

(22) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 388.

(23) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 309.

(24) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 25, 26.

It muſt, however, be owned, that an inquiry was immediately made by authority, and Sir Henry Sidney, then Lord-Deputy of Ireland, wrote very fully upon this ſubject to the Privy-Council in England (*k*), and to one of the members of that Council in particular (*l*), of which ſomething will be ſaid in the notes [*F*]. The corps of the Earl was

(*k*) Sidney Papers, Vol. I. p. 140.

(*l*) The Earl of Leiceſter; ſee Note [*F*].

‘ of his hair, which the Earl perceiving, and taking ‘ compaſſion of the youth, called for a cup of drink ‘ a little before his death, and drank to Honnies, ‘ ſaying, I drink to thee, my Robin, and be not afraid, ‘ for this is a better cup of drink than that whereof ‘ thou tookeſt the taſte when we were both poiſoned, ‘ and whereby thou haſt loſt thy hair, and I muſt ‘ loſe my life. This, hath young Honnies reported ‘ openly in divers places, and before divers Gentlemen ‘ of worſhip, ſince his coming into England; and the ‘ aforeſaid Lea, the Iriſhman, at his paſſage this way ‘ towards France, after he had been at the fore-named ‘ Mrs Draycot's death, with ſome other of the Earl's ‘ ſervants, have, and do moſt conſtantly report the ‘ ſame, where they may do it without the terror of ‘ my Lord of Leiceſter's revenge.’ The ſame tale, with the ſame circumſtances, is very prettily told in verſe, by an anonymous writer, who took an ill natured care of preſerving the Earl of Leiceſter's memory (25). There want not, however, authorities from writers of unſuſpected credit. Sir Nicholas White (26), in his letter to the Lord Burleigh, immediately after the death of the Earl of Eſſex, tells him, That he was frequently with his Lordſhip in his laſt ſickneſs, who doubted that he was poiſoned, and at the ſame time acquitted that nation of having any hand therein, ſaying, with ſome paſſion, No, Turlough Oneile, himſelf, would have attempted no villany againſt my perſon. There is a long, full, and moſt inſtructive hiſtory of his laſt ſickneſs yet extant (27); written, as, from ſome circumſtances, I conjecture, by the Earl's faithful dependant, Sir Edward Waterhouſe, the beginning of which the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee. ‘ Walter, the noble Earl of Eſſex ‘ and Eu, Earl Marſhal of Ireland, Knight of the moſt ‘ honourable Order of the Garter, falling ſick on a ‘ laſke, as it was ſuppoſed, called *dyſenteria*, thorough ‘ aduſtioun of choller, on Friday the 21ſt of Auguſt; ‘ or whether it were of any other accident, the living ‘ God knoweth, and will revenge it; he was grievouſly tormented by the ſpace of twenty-two days, ‘ having ſuch abundance of water as every day and ‘ night he had few leſs than twenty, thirty, or ſome ‘ times forty ſtools, through which, being ſore weakened in body, and natural ſtrength diminiſhed, he addreſſed himſelf to that, which his friends and ſervants feared, that is, to finiſh his life, to our great ‘ ſorrow, but to his everlaſting joy.’

[*F*] *Of which ſomething will be ſaid in the notes.*] This Lord-Deputy of Ireland, Sir Henry Sydney, had ſhewn great civility and reſpect to the Earl of Eſſex, and gave as high teſtimonies to the merit of that Nobleman when deceaſed, as the warmeſt and beſt affected friend in the world could have done. He was not at Dublin, but in a country progreſs, at the time of this Nobleman's deceaſe, which is an unlucky circumſtance, as it left it out of his power to ſpeak, otherwiſe than by hearſay; which might be the cauſe of that viſible inconſiſtency in the following letter of his to Sir Francis Walſingham, to be laid before the Council, in which, he ſays, the Earl of Eſſex did not think himſelf poiſoned; that thoſe about him did not think ſo either, but pretended to think ſo to pleaſe the Earl; and yet that it was not the Earl's own thought, but was put into his head by others; ſo that if from the whole of his relation the council could receive any ſatisfaction, it muſt have been by relying entirely upon his ſentiment in that matter, as the reader will judge from the peruſal (28). ‘ Hearing, beſides, ‘ that letters had been ſent over, as well before his ‘ death as after, that he died of poiſon, I thought ‘ good to examine the matter as far as I could learn, ‘ and certify you, to the end you might impart the ‘ ſame to the Lords, and both ſatisfy them therein, ‘ and all others whom it might pleaſe you to participate the ſame unto, and would believe the truth. ‘ For in truth there was no appearance, or cauſe of ſuſpicion that could be gathered, that he died of poiſon. ‘ For the manner of his diſeaſe was this: a flux took ‘ him on the Thurſday at night, being the thirtieth of ‘ Auguſt laſt paſt, in his own houſe, where he had that ‘ day both ſupped and dined; the day following he ‘ rid to the Archbiſhop of Dublin's, and there ſupped ‘ and lodged: the next morning following he rid to ‘ the Viſcount of Baltinglas, and there did lie one ‘ night, and from thence returned back to this city: ‘ all theſe days he travelled haſtily, fed three times a ‘ day without finding any fault, either through inflammation of his body, or alteration of taſte, but often ‘ he would complain of gripes in his belly, and ſometimes ſay, that he had never hearty grief of mind ‘ but that a flux would accompany the ſame. After ‘ he returned from this journey, he grew from day to ‘ day ſicker and ſicker, and having an Iriſh Phyſician ‘ ſent to him by the Earl of Ormond, Dr Trevor, an ‘ Oxford man; and my Phyſician, Mr Chaloner, Secretary of this State, and not unlearned in Phyſick, ‘ and one that often for good will, giveth counſel to ‘ his friends in caſes of ſickneſs; and one Mr Knell, ‘ an honeſt Preacher in this city, and a Chaplain of his ‘ own, and a Profeſſor of Phyſick, continually with ‘ him, they never miniſtred any thing to him againſt ‘ poiſon. The Iriſh Phyſician affirmed, before good ‘ witneſs, that he was not poiſoned; what the other ‘ do ſay of that matter, by their own writings, which ‘ herewith I ſend you, you ſhall perceive. And drawing towards his end, being ſpecially aſked by the ‘ Archbiſhop of Dublin, whether he thought that he ‘ was poiſoned or no, conſtantly affirmed that he ‘ thought he was not, nor that he felt in himſelf any ‘ cauſe why he ſhould conjecture ſo to be. In his ‘ ſickneſs his colour rather bettered than impaired, ‘ no hair of his body ſhed, no nail altered, no tooth ‘ looſed, nor any part of his ſkin blemiſhed. And when ‘ he was opened, it could not appear that any entrail ‘ within his body, at any time had been infected with ‘ any poiſon. And yet I find a brute there was that ‘ he was poiſoned, and that aroſe by ſome words ſpoken of by himſelf, and yet not originally at firſt conceived of himſelf, as it is thought by the wiſeſt here, ‘ and thoſe that were continually about him: but one ‘ that was very near him at that time, and whom he ‘ entirely truſted, ſeeing him in extream pain with flux ‘ and gripings in his belly, by reaſon of the ſame ſaid ‘ to him, *Ey the Maſs, my Lord, you are poiſoned.* ‘ Whereupon the Yeoman of his cellar was preſently ‘ ſent for to him, and mildly and lovingly he queſtioned with him, ſaying, that he ſent not for him to ‘ burden him but to excuſe him. The fellow conſtantly anſwered, that if he had taken any hurt by ‘ his wine he was guilty of it, for, my Lord, ſaith he, ‘ ſince you gave me warning in England to be careful ‘ of your drink, you have drank none but it paſſed my ‘ hands. Then it was reported, that the boiled water ‘ which he conſtantly drank with his wine, ſhould be ‘ made of water wherein flax or hemp ſhould be ‘ ſteeped, which the Yeoman of his cellar flatly denied, ‘ affirming, the water which he always boiled for him ‘ was perfect good. Then it was imputed to the ſugar, he anſwered, he could get no better at the ‘ Steward's hands, and fair though it were not, yet ‘ wholſome enough, or elſe it had been likely that a ‘ great many ſhould have had a ſhrewd turn, for my ‘ houſhold and many more have occupied of the ſame ‘ almoſt this twelve months. The Phyſicians were ‘ aſked what they thought? that, they ſpake doubtfully, ‘ ſaying, it might be that he was poiſoned, alledging ‘ that this thing or that thing might poiſon him, ſince ‘ they never gave him medicine for it, they conſtantly affirm that they never thought it, but for argument's ſake, and partly to pleaſe the Earl. He ‘ had two gentlewomen that night at ſupper with him ‘ that the diſeaſe took him, and they coming after to ‘ viſit him, and he hearing that they were troubled ‘ with ſome looſeneſs, ſaid, that he feared that they ‘ and he had taſted of one drug, and his page (who ‘ was gone with his body over before I returned). ‘ The women, upon his words, were afraid, but never ‘ ſick, and be in as good a ſtate of health as they were ‘ before they ſupped with him.’ It is to be obſerved, that

(25) *Legend of* Robert *Earl of* Leiceſter, MS. but printed under the title of Leiceſter's *Ghoſt*.

(26) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 464, 465.

(27) There are ſeveral copies of this MS. In ſome it is addreſſed to the Earl of Suſſex. It is printed in T. Hearne's Preface to his edition of Camden's Annals.

(28) Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p. 140. See alſo the other relations of his death beforementioned Fuller' Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

was ſpeedily brought over to England, carried to the place of his nativity Carmarthen (*m*), and buried there with great ſolemnity, and with moſt extraordinary teſtimonies of the unfeigned ſorrow of all the country round about [*G*]. This great and good Peer married Lettice,

(*m*) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1263. Strype'sAn. Vol. II. p. 466, 467. Fuller'sWorthies Wales, p. 28.

that in this letter there is a fair character given of a ſpiritual and corporal Phyſician, who attended the Earl of Eſſex, but the Lord Deputy found cauſe to change his ſentiments of him afterwards, as appears from the following letter written by Sir Henry Sidney to his brother-in-law the Earl of Leiceſter, upon this melancholy ſubject, dated from Dundalk, February 4, 1576 (29).

(29) Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p. 80. Camden's Britannia, by Biſhop Gibſon, Folio. Vol. II. col. 1404.

‘ My deareſt Lord, I received not your letter of the 25th of November until the 24th of this January, by James Preſcot, who was ſeven times at the ſea and put back again before he could recover this coaſt. I truſt I have ſatisfied your Lordſhip with my writing, and others by my procurement ſent by Pakenham, touching the falſe and malicious report of the Earl of Eſſex's poiſoning. If not, what you will have more done ſhall be done. I am ſorry I hear not how you like of that I have done, and the more for that I am advertiſed of Pagnaney's arrival there. I would not have doubted to have made Knell to have retracted his inconſiderate and fooliſh ſpeech and writing, but God hath prevented me by taking him away, dying of the ſame diſeaſe that the Earl died, which moſt certainly was free from poiſon, and a mere flux; a diſeaſe appropriated to this country, and whereof there died many in the latter part of the laſt year, and ſome out of mine own houſhold, and yet free from any ſuſpicion of poiſon.' There is no queſtion to be made, that the Lord-Deputy's care in this reſpect was very acceptable to the Earl of Leiceſter, and perhaps might have gone a great way, if not in ſilencing the clamour, at leaſt in preventing the belief, which the Earl's ſtrange illneſs had created of his dying by poiſon, if the Earl of Leiceſter himſelf had not kept the mouth of fame open, by his indiſcreet marriage of the Counteſs of Eſſex, which gave occaſion to ſuch as envied him and hated him to ſay, that if what was ſuſpected had not been true, there would have been no ſuch willingneſs found either in him or her, ſo haſtily, and in the midſt of ſuch rumours, to have concluded this indecent marriage (30), which by an odd accident was made doubly indecent: Sir Francis Knolles, the father of the Lady, being not able to perſuade himſelf that the match was really made ſo ſoon, and being reſolved to truſt no other eyes but his own, obliged them to be married again in his preſence (31), which made a freſh outcry in the nation, and kept thoſe ſtories alive and in remembrance, which, in this world at leaſt, had otherwiſe ſunk into oblivion.

(30) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 26. Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28. Lloyd'sWorthies, p. 486.

(31) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 309.

[*G*] *Of all the country round about.*] The Earl's body was brought over to Wales as ſoon after his deceaſe as poſſible, by Mr Waterhouſe, but was not interred till the 26th of November, when his obſequies were performed in the pariſh church of Carmarthen (32), and his funeral ſermon preached by Dr Richard Davies Lord Biſhop of St David's. That Reverend Prelate had been long and intimately acquainted with this noble perſon, and from his own knowledge gave him a very high character. He ſaid (33), that taking no pride in the nobility of his birth, he had made it the buſineſs of his life to render his titles illuſtrious by his actions; that, inheriting the courage of his anceſtors, he had given ſuch proofs of it upon all occaſions, that her Majeſty, if he had lived, might have uſed his ſervice to be a terror to all enemies foreign and domeſtick; that his prudence and diſcretion were admirable from his youth; that his eloquence was natural and eaſy; his affability, and gentleneſs of behaviour, altogether unaffected; that his piety was perfectly ſincere; ſo that religion loſt in him an excellent advocate, and a zealous protector. That, from his youth, he was conſtantly inclined to ſuch ſtudies as ſuited his condition, to Hiſtory in general, and to that of his own country in particular; and that if any thing more eſpecially claimed his attention, it was genealogies, deſcents, and pedigrees, in which he was ſo thoroughly verſed, as to be well acquainted with all the noble houſes in Europe. That for his fortitude he was revered in England and Ireland, and that there was no ſubject could affright or corrupt him from the execution of ſtrict juſtice. That to the haughty and arrogant he was as a lion, to the humble and meek as a lamb. That he had the utmoſt abhorrence for oppreſſion; and that he once remembered, when complaint was made to his Lordſhip of one of his men who had done a violent thing, he ſaid that his ſervant could do him no greater diſhonour, than, by pretence of his authority, to do any poor man wrong; and the Biſhop appealed to all who heard him for the truth of this part of his character, that he was a comfortable refuge to all in adverſity, and the conſtant ſupport of ſuch as were oppreſſed by power: he added farther, that as in the time of King Richard II. Sir Thomas Montacute was called the good Earl of Saliſbury, and in the reign of Henry VI, Sir Thomas Beauchamp was ſtiled the good Earl of Warwick, ſo in this of Queen Elizabeth he deſerved, for the like qualities, to be called the good, the virtuous, and the valiant Earl of Eſſex. This ſermon, together with a long genealogical epitaph in Latin verſe, was printed and dedicated to the young Earl by Edward, afterwards Sir Edward Waterhouſe (34), and was held ſo remarkable in thoſe days, that Raphael Holinſhed having brought his book juſt then to a cloſe, inſerted it at the end of his Chronicle. After all, Queen Elizabeth herſelf did the greateſt honour to this noble Peer, when, in a letter under her hand, ſhe ſtiled him (35) *the rare jewel of her realm, and the bright ornament of her nobility*.

(32) Strype's Anna Vol. II. p. 466.

(33) Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 1263.

(34) There is only an extract of the ſermon in Holinſhed.

(35) In the Dedication by Mr Waterhouſe to Robert Earl of Eſſex.

Before we part with this ſubject, it may be proper to give the reader the two laſt paragraphs of that celebrated Dedication, becauſe they contain matter very curious in itſelf, and which, though frequently mentioned elſewhere, yet always ſuppoſed to be grounded upon this indiſputable authority.

‘ To the end, ſays Mr Waterhouſe to the young Earl, that you may know what you are by birth and blood, and that you ſhould not by ignorance, or lack of knowledge of yourſelf, do any thing unworthy the noble houſes from whence you are deſcended: a well-wiſher of your's hath joined to this ſermon, amongſt other epitaphs containing your father's due praiſes, his ſtately deſcent in well-digeſted Latin verſes, not to puff you up with any ſwelling vanities, but to give you a reaſon how you bear your armour and badges of honour, and to remember you what error you enter into, if you ſhould blemiſh the virtues of your noble anceſtors, or to do any thing as I ſaid unworthy your birth and calling.

‘ Laſtly, my Lord, have always before your eyes the fear of God, and the counſel of the Earl your father at his death, namely, that you ſhould ever be mindful of the moment of time aſſigned both to your father and grandfather, the eldeſt having attained but to ſix and thirty years, to the end, that upon conſideration of the ſhort courſe of life that you in nature are to look for, you might ſo employ your tender years in virtuous ſtudies and exerciſes, as you might in the prime of your youth become a man well accompliſhed to ſerve her Majeſty and your country, as well in war as peace, whereunto he commanded you to bend all your endeavours, and with thoſe conditions heaped his bleſſings upon you. I pray therefore that God will increaſe thoſe conditional bleſſings, and the cauſes of them in you, to the end that her Majeſty may think of you hereafter, as of a true ſervant, and humble ſubject, one of the pillars of her eſtate, her Majeſty's kinſman by many alliances, and the ſon of a moſt noble father.'

In order to his clearly underſtanding the firſt part of the foregoing quotation, it is neceſſary for the reader to ſee the titles given to this noble Peer, at, and after his deceaſe. He was then ſtiled (36) ‘ The Right Honourable Walter Devereux, Earl of Eſſex and Eu, Earl Marſhal of Ireland, Viſcount Hereford, and Bourcher, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Bourcher, and Louvain, Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter.' It does not however appear, that this noble perſon in his life-time ever took the title of Earl of Eu, or of Viſcount Bourcher, which may more clearly appear by the manner in which Garter proclaimed his ſtile at the time of his creation, and this was in the following

(36) Holinſhed's Chron. p. 1263.

Lettice, daughter to Sir Frances Knolles, Knight of the Garter, who ſurvived him many years, and whoſe ſpeedy marriage after his death to the Earl of Leiceſter, upon whom common fame threw the charge of haſtening his death, did not at all contribute to diſcredit that report (*n*). By this lady he had two ſons, Robert and Walter. Of the former we ſhall ſpeak in the next article, and incidentally likewiſe of the latter; as alſo two daughters, Penelope, firſt married to Robert Lord Rich, and then to Charles Blount Earl of Devonſhire; and Dorothy, who, becoming the widow of Sir Thomas Perrot, Knight, eſpouſed for her ſecond huſband Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland (*o*).

(*n*) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 309. Fuller's Worthies. Wales, p. 28.

(*o*) Baronagium Angliæ, MS. fol. 12. Vincent's Correction of Brooke's Catalogue, p. 187. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 178.

following words (37): *Du treſhault & puiſſant Seigneur Gautier d'Evereux Count d'Eſſex, Viſcount de Hereford, Baron Ferrers de Chartley, & Chevalier du treſnoble Order de la Jarretiere.* However, as is it recited in the preamble of this noble Lord's Patent, that he was heir male of the noble family of the Bourchers, Earls of Eſſex; it was from thence inferred, that he was the heir of all their honours: now William Bourcher was created by Henry V Earl of Eu in Normandy (38), and his ſon Henry Bourcher was, in the twenty-fifth of Henry VI, created Viſcount Bourcher (39), and by that title ſummoned to Parliament (40); and in the firſt year of Edward IV, he was created Earl of Eſſex (41). Thus the writer ſees clearly how theſe titles came to be attributed to the family of Devereux. E

(37) Milles de nobilitate polit. vel civil. p. 72.

(38) Rot. Norman. 7 H. V. p. 1. m. 4.

(39) Clauſ. 25 H. VI. m. 24. in dorſ.

(40) Vincent's Corrections of Brooke, p. 192.

(41) Chart. 1 E. IV. p. 2. n. 1.

DEVEREUX (ROBERT) Earl of Eſſex, a gallant ſoldier, a great favourite, and an unhappy victim to the arts of his enemies and his own ambition, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was ſon to Walter Earl of Eſſex, of whom we have ſpoken in the preceding article, and Lettice, daughter to Sir Francis Knolles, who was related to Queen Elizabeth, born November 10th, 1567, at Nethewood, his father's ſeat in Herefordſhire (*a*), when that noble perſon had attained no higher title than that of Viſcount Hereford (*b*). In his tender years it is reported, that there did not appear any pregnant ſigns of an extraordinary genius; and one, who was long in his ſervice, and could not but be well acquainted with the ſecrets of the family, aſſures us, that his father died with but a very cold conceit of him (*c*), which, ſome thought, proceeded from his extraordinary affection for his younger ſon Walter Devereux, who, it ſeems, had quicker and more lively parts in his childhood. When Walter Earl of Eſſex breathed his laſt in Ireland, he recommended this ſon of his, then in the tenth year of his age, to the protection of Thomas Radcliffe Earl of Suſſex, and to the care of William Cecil Lord Burleigh (*d*), whom he appointed his guardian. Mr Waterhouſe, then Secretary for Ireland, a perſon equally favoured by his father, and Sir Henry Sidney, Lord-Deputy of Ireland, had the immediate direction of his perſon and eſtate, which, though not a little injured by his father's publick ſpirit, was, however, very conſiderable; and the regard ſhewn for his concerns, by the moſt powerful perſons at Court, was ſo remarkable, that Mr Waterhouſe made no difficulty of affirming, there was not, at that time, any man ſo ſtrong in friends as the little Earl of Eſſex (*e*). It was, certainly, out of reſpect to both families, that this Gentleman laboured earneſtly to bring, to a happy concluſion, a treaty of marriage, which had been for ſome time on foot between Mr Philip afterwards Sir Philip Sydney, the Lord-Deputy's ſon, and Penelope, ſiſter to the Earl of Eſſex; in which, however, he had not the ſucceſs he deſired (*f*). His application on behalf of the young Earl, that he might be preſerved in the poſſeſſion of thoſe honours which his father had enjoyed in Wales, and which were attended with power and influence rather than profit, had better fortune through the aſſiſtance of the Earl of Suſſex (*g*), who eaſily procured from the Queen this mark of favour for a tender youth, whoſe father had deſerved ſo well [*A*]. In 1578, when he was about twelve years of age, he was ſent to the Univerſity

(*a*) Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 863.

(*b*) Fuller's Worthies, Herefordſhire, p. 38.

(*c*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 19, 20.

(*d*) Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 221.

(*e*) Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p. 147.

(*f*) Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 863. Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p. 147.

(*g*) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 465.

[*A*] *Whoſe father had deſerved ſo well.*] We have mentioned Sir Edward Waterhouſe in the text, as the perſon who took care of the young Earl of Eſſex immediately after his father's death. He was indeed a very extraordinary perſon, and deſerves to be as much remembered as any man of his rank that ever lived; he was deſcended from an antient and honourable family ſeated in Hertfordſhire, where King Henry VIII, dining at his father's houſe, that Monarch, upon a view of his children, ſaid of Edward who was the youngeſt, *this will be the crown of your family* (1). His parts were ſo great, and his probity ſo generally underſtood, that he was at once the favourite of the Earl of Eſſex, Sir Henry Sydney, and the Lord Burleigh. When the firſt was dying he is ſaid to have taken his leave of this gentleman with many kiſſes, crying out, *Oh my Ned, Oh my Ned, farewel! Thou art the faithfulleſt and friendlieſt Gentleman that ever I knew* (2). His fidelity reached beyond the grave, for he immediately tranſported the Earl's dead corps to Wales, where he was infinitely beloved, and from thence, on the third of October, he wrote to the Earl of Suſſex, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, with a requeſt concerning the young Earl (3), 'That whereas his Lordſhip, for the education of his children, and payment of his legacies, by aſſurance in his life-time, and by his laſt Will and Teſtament, repoſed eſpecially therein upon his Lordſhip, foraſmuch as the late Earl had in his life-time divers offices, as the keeping of the caſtle of Carmarthen, ſtewardſhip of divers of her Majeſty's ſeigneuries in thoſe parts of South Wales, the whole fees accuſtomed to ſuch offices, not amounting to above one hundred marks: which fees his Lordſhip always beſtowed upon his under officers. By occaſion of which offices, the inhabitants in thoſe ſeigneuries did the rather depend upon his Lordſhip, and now would be ſorry that any other than the new Earl of Eſſex ſhould have commandment in ſuch office over them: and becauſe he well underſtood that the having of theſe ſmall offices might be to the new Earl's great continuing of the hearts of his countrymen, and beſides might be the better able, when he ſhould come to years, to do ſervice to his Sovereign; he therefore was, in behalf of his Lordſhip and my Lord Treaſurer, to requeſt, that all theſe offices might be beſtowed upon this new Earl of Eſſex. Which ſhould be as well executed as if his Lordſhip were of full age. And if occaſion of ſervice ſhould require, his Lordſhip might, although he were an infant, have the willing hearts of many to do him ſervice.' By this application thoſe offices were preſerved to the young Earl, who ſpent his youth in

(1) Fuller's Worthies, Hertfordſhire, p. 21.

(2) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 537.

(3) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 465.

ſity of Cambridge by the Lord Burleigh, who placed him in Trinity-College, under the care of Dr Whitgift, then maſter of it, and afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*b*). He was educated there with much ſtrictneſs, and applied himſelf to learning with great diligence, ſo that, his quality conſidered, there were few young men of his ſtanding more diſtinguiſhed, either for ſolidity of judgment, or for an eaſy and eloquent manner of expreſſing their ſentiments (*i*). Some bold writers have aſſerted, that, as Dr Whitgift roſe in his preferments (*k*), he ſunk in the eſteem of his pupil, who, as they would have us believe, conceived an early diſlike to Biſhops; but ſuch as knew the world well in thoſe days, and had the faireſt opportunities of knowing the Earl, aſſert the direct contrary, and that he continued always to treat the Archbiſhop as his particular friend, and to reſpect him as a parent (*l*). In 1582, having taken the degree of Maſter of Arts, he ſoon after left Cambridge (*m*), and retired to his own houſe at Lampſie in South Wales, where he ſpent ſome time in privacy and retirement; and was ſo far from having any thing of the eagerneſs or impetuoſity natural to youth, that, inſtead of being diſpleaſed, he became enamoured of his rural retreat (*n*), inſomuch, that it was with difficulty he was prevailed upon to leave it (*o*). His firſt appearance at Court, at leaſt as a candidate for royal favour, was in the ſeventeenth year of his age; when however he came thither, it is certain he could not have hoped, or even wiſhed, a better reception (*p*) [*B*]. He brought thither, amongſt other ſtrong recommendations, a fine perſon, an agreeable behaviour, and an affability which procured him many friends, beſides the rare qualities of true piety, unaffected zeal for the publick welfare, and a warmth and ſincerity in his friendſhips, which entitled him to univerſal eſteem (*q*). He, by degrees, ſo far overcame that reluctance which he is ſaid to have ſhewn, to uſe the aſſiſtance of the powerful Earl of Leiceſter, that, towards the cloſe of the year 1585, he accompanied him, with many others of the nobility, to Holland, where we find him the next year in the field, with the title of General of the Horſe (*r*); and, in this quality, he gave the higheſt proofs of perſonal courage in the battle of Zutphen, September 22d, 1586, in which action Sir Philip Sydney was mortally wounded (*s*). It was for his gallant behaviour upon this occaſion, that the Earl of Leiceſter conferred upon him the honour of a Knight-Banneret in his camp (*t*). On his return to England it very quickly appeared, that the Queen not only approved but was deſirous alſo of rewarding his ſervices; and his father-in-law the Earl of Leiceſter, being advanced to the office of Lord Steward of her Majeſty's Houſehold, ſhe, on the 23d of December 1587, made the Earl of Eſſex Maſter of the Horſe

in

in thoſe parts, and had a very great intereſt there; ſo that the world wondered much in the laſt action of his life, this Earl did not rather chooſe to bring over his friends into that part of the iſland from Ireland, where he had ſuch numbers at his devotion; but it was his hard fate to rely upon an influence which he had not, and to ſlight that which he really had (4).

[*B*] *Or even wiſhed a better reception.*] It is a very difficult thing to give a true account of this Lord's firſt introduction to favour, as the beſt authors we have, not only contradict each other, but are frequently inconſiſtent with themſelves, in what they have left us upon this ſubject. Sir Henry Wotton ſays (5), 'that there 'was, for ſome time, a very ſtiff averſion in the Earl 'of Eſſex, from applying himſelf to Leiceſter, for 'what ſecret conceits he knew not (which is not a 'little ſtrange, ſince this writer could not be ignorant 'of the report that his father was poiſoned by Lei'ceſter's procuring) but howſoever that humour was 'mollified by time, and by his mother, ſo to the 'Court he came under this Lord.' Sir Robert Naunton, who was very well acquainted with thoſe times, ſeems to doubt of this; for though he agrees that Leiceſter might have his reaſons for bringing that young Lord to Court (6), 'yet (ſays he) that the ſon of a 'Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Viſcount Hereford, and 'Earl of Eſſex, who was of the antient Nobility, and 'formerly in the Queen's good grace, could not have 'a room in her favour without the aſſiſtance of Lei'ceſter, was beyond the rule of her nature, which, as 'I have elſewhere taken into obſervation, was ever 'inclinable to favour the Nobility.' Dr Fuller reckons up, in his manner, the ſeveral titles which the young Earl had to Queen Elizabeth's kindneſs and affection, and amongſt the reſt he lays great weight upon his mother's intereſt, who was of the Queen's kindred. But Camden tells us the Queen hated his mother, which is probable enough, her character being none of the brighteſt. Upon the whole, the Earl of Clarendon ſeems to have given the cleareſt and moſt probable account of this matter (7): 'tho' 'the firſt approach, ſays he, of the Earl to Court was 'under the ſhadow of the great Earl of Leiceſter, yet 'he owed him rather for his invitation thither, than his 'preferment there. For no queſtion he found advan'tage from the ſtock of his father's reputation, the 'people looking on his quality with reverence (for I 'do not find that any young Nobleman had yet ſur'prized their hopes or drawn their eyes) and on his 'youth with pity, for they were nothing ſatisfied con'cerning his father's death, who had been advanced 'to honourable dangers, by the mediation of ſuch as 'delighted not in his company. And if there were 'not any ſuch compaſſion in the Queen, yet ſurely ſhe 'beheld him as the ſon of an excellent man, that died 'in her ſervice, and had left a precious fame ſurviving.' This agrees perfectly well with what the Earl himſelf ſays, *that he had but few friends when he firſt came to Court* (8), and therefore we muſt refer the political endeavours of Leiceſter to plant him in the Queen's favour, either to leſſen the weight of his own attendance, and that burthen of publick hate which fell upon him as a favourite, or elſe to his deſire of giving a counterpoiſe to Ralegh, who, though likewiſe of his own raiſing, had now ſpirit as well as ſtrength enough to ſtand upon his own legs, to his return from Holland, where he had received the higheſt honours, behaved himſelf with ſo much courage, modeſty, and generoſity, upon all occaſions, that the fame of his actions abroad was the harbinger that procured him ſo good quarter at home (9). The Queen loved to ſee her Nobility reſpected and eſteemed by foreigners, more eſpecially when theſe honours did not leſſen a juſt ſenſe of their dependance upon, and duty to, herſelf, which was the caſe of this Earl, who, at the beginning, ſhewed ſuch a profound deference and ſubmiſſion to the Queen, as of all things wrought moſt upon her nature; beſides, at that time, the Earl being a new man at Court, had no party that rendered him formidable, which made the Queen more eaſy in beſtowing her favours, eſpecially when ſhe ſaw this young Nobleman was very acceptable to the people; ſo that ſhe did not ſeem to make him ſo much her own, as to receive him for her favourite from their choice, which ſhe lived afterwards to repent (10).

[*C*] *That*

(*b*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 19. Yet his being bred under that Prelate is doubtful.

(*i*) Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 221.

(*k*) Codrington's life of Robert the ſecond Earl of Eſſex.

(*l*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 19.

(*m*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 136.

(*n*) As he tells us himſelf, in his Apology addreſſed to Mr Anthony Bacon.

(*o*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 2, 3.

(*p*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

(*q*) Fuller's Worthies, Herefordſhire, p. 38.

(*r*) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1434.

(*s*) Stowe's Annals, p. 737.

(*t*) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1434.

(4) Oſborn's Works, Vol. II. p. 70.

(5) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 4.

(6) Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

(7) Diſparity between George Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Eſſex.

(8) See his Apology near to the beginning.

(9) Stowe's Annals, p. 736, 737.

(10) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

in his room (u). In the ſucceeding year, which ſome have held the moſt critical of that reign, he continued to riſe, and, indeed, almoſt reached the ſummit of his fortune; for, when her Majeſty thought fit to aſſemble an army at Tilbury, for the defence of the kingdom, in caſe the Spaniards had landed, ſhe gave the command of it, under herſelf, to the Earl of Leiceſter, and created the Earl of Eſſex General of Horſe (w), ſhewing him, upon that occaſion, not only as much countenance as his own high ſpirit could expect, but a degree of favour even ſuperior to that of Leiceſter (x); ſo that, from this time, he was conſidered as the favourite declared; and, if there was any mark yet wanting to fix the peoples opinion in that reſpect, it was ſhewn, by the Queen's conferring on him the moſt noble of the Garter (y). We need not wonder that ſo quick an elevation, and to ſo great a height, ſhould ſomewhat affect the judgment of ſo young a man, and therefore there will not appear any thing ſtrange in the eagerneſs he is ſaid to have ſhewn, in diſputing the Queen's favour with Sir Charles Blount (z), who, in proceſs of time, became Lord Montjoy and Earl of Devonſhire; which, however, coſt him ſome blood; for that brave man taking diſtaſte at ſomewhat the Earl ſaid of a favour beſtowed upon him by the Queen, challenged him, and, in Marybone-Park, after a ſhort diſpute, wounded him in the knee; with which the Queen, who did not love to be controuled in her actions, was ſo far from being diſpleaſed, that ſhe ſwore a round oath, it was fit that ſome one or other ſhould take him down, otherwiſe there would be no ruling him (a). However, ſhe reconciled the rivals, and it will remain an honour to both their memories, that, profeſſing themſelves friends, they remained ſuch, ſo long as they lived together (b). In the beginning of the year 1589, the Earl of Eſſex took a very extraordinary ſtep, which, how much ſoever it might increaſe the reputation of his courage, did certainly no great credit to his prudence (c). Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake had undertaken an expedition, for reſtoring Don Antonio to the crown of Portugal, which the Earl beheld as an action too glorious for others to perform, while he was a ſpectator only. He followed the fleet and army therefore to Spain, and, having joined them at Corunna, proſecuted the reſt of the expedition with great vigilance and valour; which, however, was not attended with much ſucceſs, at the ſame time that it expoſed him to the Queen's diſpleaſure (d) [C]. At his return, however, he ſoon recovered her Majeſty's good graces; nor was

(u) Pat. 30 Eliz. p. 18.

(w) Stowe's Annals, p. 749.

(x) Earl of Clarendon's Diſparity between George Duke of Buckingham and Robert Earl of Eſſex.

(y) Milles de Nobilitate Politica vel Civili, p. 180.

(z) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

(a) See the article of BLOUNT (CHARLES) Earl of Devonſhire.

(b) As appears by Bacon's Apology addreſſed to this Nobleman.

(c) Stowe's Annals, p. 752.

(d) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 6, 7.

[C] *That it expoſed him to the Queen's diſpleaſure.*] The reaſons which induced the Earl of Eſſex to riſque at once his life and the Queen's favour, by thruſting himſelf into the dangers of this expedition both by ſea and land, are very differently repreſented; ſome ſay that it was merely from a thirſt of glory that he quitted the pleaſures of a Court, to expoſe himſelf firſt at ſea, and then in the field (11); others, that his hatred to the Spaniards was what chiefly prompted him; while there want not thoſe again, who aſcribe that action to a ſofter paſſion, his pity for the unfortunate Don Antonio King of Portugal (12). Mr Camden indeed ſuggeſts, that he flattered himſelf with the honour of commanding in chief, becauſe moſt of the officers ſtood indebted for his brother's aſſiſtance in obtaining their commiſſions (13). The truth ſeems to be, that he was inſtigated by a mixture of all theſe motives except the laſt, and chiefly by the deſire of being preſent at ſettling the new King upon the throne of Portugal, which thoſe beſt acquainted with the Hiſtory of theſe times, and with the conduct of that expedition (14), acknowledge to have been feaſible enough, if they had proceeded directly to Liſbon, but they failed by making an attempt upon Corunna, with which the Earl was not acquainted, and ran a great hazard by ſeeking the Engliſh fleet upon the coaſt of Portugal, while they were thus employed. His Lordſhip carried with him his brother Walter Devereux, Sir Philip Butler, Sir Roger Williams, and Sir Edward Wingfield (15). They joined the Engliſh fleet on the 13th of May, 1589; on the 16th they landed, and the ſame day the Earl ſkirmiſhed with the Spaniards. He was preſent in every action that paſſed in the neighbourhood of Liſbon, and, by a trumpet, challenged the Governor, or any of equal quality with himſelf, to ſingle combat (16). At length, when for want of artillery it appeared impracticable for them to become maſters of the caſtle, and their army, which had been much leſſened by the attack upon Corunna, diminiſhing daily, it was found neceſſary to return home, which they did towards the cloſe of the month of June (17). This may ſerve for a fair account of what happened to the Earl abroad in this adventure; as to the conſequences of it at home, they are very conciſely as well as elegantly repreſented by Sir Henry Wotton (18).

‘All his hopes of advancement, ſays he, had like to have been ſtrangled almoſt in the very cradle, by throwing himſelf into the Portugal voyage without the Queen's conſent, or ſo much as her knowledge, whereby he left his friends and dependants near ſix months in deſperate ſuſpence what would become of him. And, to ſpeak truth, not without good reaſon: For firſt, they might well conſider, that he was himſelf not well plumed in favour for ſuch a flight: Beſides that now he wanted a Lord of Leiceſter at home, for he was dead the year before, to ſmooth his abſence, and to quench the practices at Court. But above all, it lay open to every man's diſcourſe, that though the bare offence to his Sovereign and miſtreſs was too great an adventure, yet much more when ſhe might, as in this caſe, have fairly diſcharged her diſpleaſure upon her laws. Notwithſtanding, a noble report coming home before him, at his return all was clear, and this excurſion was eſteemed but a ſally of youth: nay, he grew every day more and more in her gracious conceit. Whether ſuch intermiſſions as theſe do ſometimes foment affection, or that having committed a fault he became the more obſequious and pliant to redeem it; or that ſhe had not received into her royal breaſt any ſhadows of his popularity.’ The truth of this relation, with reſpect to the Queen's reſentment, will appear more clearly from her Majeſty's own letter (19) upon his firſt departure from Court.

‘ESSEX,

‘YOUR ſudden and undutiful departure from our preſence and your place of attendance, you may eaſily conceive how offenſive it is and ought to be unto us. Our great favours beſtowed upon you without deſerts, hath drawn you thus to neglect and forget your duty: for other conſtruction we cannot make of theſe your ſtrange actions. Not meaning therefore to tolerate this your diſordered part, we gave directions to ſome of our Privy-Council, to let you know our expreſs pleaſure for your immediate repair hither, which you have not performed as your duty doth bind you, increaſing thereby greatly your former offence and undutiful behaviour in departing in ſuch ſort without our privity, having ſo ſpecial office of attendance and charge near our perſon. We do therefore charge and command you forthwith, upon the receipt of theſe our letters, all excuſes and delay ſet apart, to make your preſent and immediate repair unto us, to underſtand our farther pleaſure. Where-

(11) Stowe's Annals, p. 752.

(12) Fuller's Worthies, Herefordſhire, p. 38.

(13) Annal. Eliz. p. 603.

(14) See what the Earl himſelf ſays on this ſubject in his Apology.

(15) Stowe's Annals, p. 754.

(16) Winſtanley's England's Worthies, p. 223.

(17) Sir William Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 15, 16, 17.

(18) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 6, 7.

(19) Fuller's Worthies in Herefordſhire, p. 38.

was it long before this was teſtified to the world, by his obtaining new marks of favour, in grants of a very conſiderable value, a circumſtance in which his credit with the Queen ſeemed much ſuperior to that of all her other favourites (e). He had now loſt the ſupport of his father-in-law the Earl of Leiceſter, who died the preceding year, and who, tho' he was ſuppoſed to act the Politician, in preferring him to the Queen's favour, (if, indeed, that was at all his work,) yet ſhewed the ſincerity of his affection to him by ſeveral clauſes in his will (f), notwithſtanding which loſs, he kept his ground at Court, and by careſſing Mr Cartwright and others, looked upon as Puritans, ſeemed to affect becoming the head of that party which adhered to Leiceſter while living (g). About this time he ran a new hazard of the Queen's favour by a private, and, as it was then conceived, inconſiderate match with Frances, only daughter of Sir Francis Walſingham, and the widow of Sir Philip Sidney, which her Majeſty apprehended to be, in ſome meaſure, derogatory to the honour of the houſe of Eſſex (h); and though, for the preſent, this buſineſs was paſt by, yet it is thought that it was not ſo ſoon forgot. In 1591, Henry the Fourth of France, having demanded freſh aſſiſtance from the Queen, though he had already a body of her troops in his ſervice, ſhe was pleaſed to ſend the Earl of Eſſex with four thouſand men, a ſmall train of artillery, and a competent fleet, into Normandy, where it was propoſed that he ſhould join the French army, in order to undertake the ſiege of Rouen (i). The French King however, either through want of power, the diſtraction of his affairs, or ſome other cauſe, neglected to perform his promiſe, notwithſtanding that Eſſex made a long and hazardous journey to his camp, at that Monarch's requeſt, in order to have concerted meaſures for giving the Queen ſatisfaction (k). Upon his return from this journey, which proved of little conſequence, Eſſex, to keep up the ſpirit of his officers, conferred the honour of knighthood upon many of them, a circumſtance with which the Queen was much offended (l). He likewiſe made excurſions from his camp to the very walls of Rouen; and the Earl, expoſing his perſon very freely in theſe ſkirmiſhes, came off indeed unhurt himſelf, but loſt there his only brother Walter Devereux, then in the flower of his age, being two years younger than the Earl (m). He returned ſome time after, to give an account of the ſtate of things to the Queen, and then came back to his charge, the ſiege of Rouen being formed, and the French King expreſſing a great deſire to become maſter of it. This winter ſervice harraſſing the troops exceedingly, provoked Eſſex not a little, who ſollicited King Henry for leave to proceed in his manner, promiſing to make a breach with his own artillery, and then to ſtorm the place with the Engliſh troops; which the King, however, refuſed, as being not at all deſirous of having that rich place taken and plundered by the Engliſh, in his ſight (n). Eſſex ſtill more diſpleaſed at this, and reſolved not to continue in a place where no reputation was to be got, firſt challenged the Governor of Rouen, Mr Villars, and, upon his refuſing to fight (o), left the command of the Engliſh troops to Sir Roger Williams, an officer of great courage and experience, and then embarked for England, where his preſence was become very neceſſary, his enemies having repreſented his behaviour in a very indifferent light to the Queen his miſtreſs (p) [D]. At this time he was exceedingly courted by very different

ſorts

(e) Camd. Annal. p. 862.

(f) See that Earl's Teſtament in the Introduction to the Sidney Papers.

(g) Heylin's Hiſt. of the Preſbyterians, p. 349.

(h) Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p. 312.

(i) Stowe's Annals, p. 462.

(k) Camden. Ann. Eliz. p. 628.

(l) She ſaid his Lordſhip had done well to have built his almſhouſes before he had made his Knights.

(m) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 27.

(n) Camd Annal. Eliz. p. 630.

(o) Winſtanley's England's Worthies, p. 223.

(p) Camden. Annal. p. 647.

‘ of ſee you fail not, as you will be loth to incur our
‘ indignation, and will anſwer for the contrary at your
‘ uttermoſt peril. The 15th of April, 1589.’

[D] *In a very indifferent light to the Queen his miſtreſs.*] It is very ſeldom that ſkilful Courtiers are at a loſs in framing general accuſations againſt ſuch as they would ruin, more eſpecially if they have an opportunity of doing this in their abſence. Againſt the Earl of Eſſex his enemies inſinuated, that having carried a fine body of troops under old and experienced officers out of the kingdom, with a promiſe of great things, he had nevertheleſs done little or nothing; that with ſome danger to himſelf, and much more to the troops, he had made a long journey to the French King, which ended in no more than an audience of compliment; that his fierce and haſty ſpirit had led him to thoſe uſeleſs and dangerous excurſions under the walls of Rouen, where he had loſt an only brother, the Queen a gallant officer, and the nation a perſon infinitely beloved; that whereas he was ſent abroad to ſerve his country, by reducing Rouen, which might ſerve as a place of arms, and a cautionary town for the ſecurity of Engliſh auxiliaries, he had ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by the French Monarch, had ſerved him in the accompliſhment of other deſigns, leaving this, for which he was ſent, uneffected; and, laſtly, that notwithſtanding his troops had been very little in ſervice, they had ſuffered ſo much as not to be able to keep the field without recruits; ſo that, in all this time, the Queen had been loſing her ſubjects and acquiring nothing (20).

But the Earl of Eſſex, upon his return, defended himſelf with great ſenſe and ſpirit againſt this accuſation. He ſhewed that the inaction of the troops upon their firſt going over was a great affliction to him, but far from being his fault, as he was continually labouring to perſuade the King to comply with his agreement, and to undertake the ſiege of Rouen, which, if he could not bring about it was far from being a crime, though he knew it to be a misfortune; that to remove this inaction he made a hazardous journey to the King's quarters, in which he ſhewed his ſtrong deſire for accompliſhing what he was ſent for; that he had expoſed himſelf in thoſe excurſions as much as any man, and as he was principally wounded by the loſs of his brother, ſo the credit of the nation inſtead of ſuffering, was raiſed by that high eſteem which the French expreſſed of the bravery ſhewn by the Engliſh in thoſe encounters; that the aſſiſtance he had given the French King and his Generals, was to remove thoſe obſtacles which prevented the ſiege, and which, if not removed, it had never been undertaken; that the loſs which the army had ſuſtained was through the fortune of war, and not from any fault of his, ariſing chiefly from diſeaſes, great inclemency of the weather, and the want of thoſe conveniencies which the allies ought to have furniſhed, and which, notwithſtanding all the inſtances he could make, had been neglected (21).

The French Hiſtorians do all the juſtice imaginable to the Queen's punctuality in performing her promiſes, and to the zeal of the Earl of Eſſex in promoting the ſervice (22). They acknowledge that the ſiege was chiefly retarded by the Marſhal de Biron's opening the trenches before the fort of St Catherine's, they add, that having demanded the government of the place when it ſhould be taken, and the King having told him that he was under a promiſe to another, the Mar-

ſhal

(20) Sir Henry Wotton, Sir Robert Naunton, Camden, &c.

(21) See the Earl's Apology, addreſſed to Mr A. Bacon, and the Authors before-cited.

(22) Abrege Chronologique de l'Hiſtoire de France, par le Sieur de Mezeray, Tom. VI. p. 63.

ſorts of people, for many of the young Nobility, who were deſirous of entering into the world under the patronage of ſome eminent perſon, preferred the Earl, as well on account of his great affability to his followers, as becauſe of his known intereſt with the Queen (*q*). All the military men that were not of a very old ſtanding, looked upon him as their chief, and one from whoſe favour they were to derive preferment; the Puritan Miniſters alſo, and their dependants, conſidered him as the ſucceſſor to the Earl of Leiceſter, and, conſequently, as their Protector (*r*). One need not wonder therefore, that, having ſuch power, he had ſo many enemies, and that theſe ſhould gain advantages over him in his abſence; but, upon his return, he triumphed for the moſt part; and the Queen, who looked upon herſelf as tied to him by former acts of kindneſs, ſeldom refuſed him any new marks of favour, for which he was importunate in his demands (*s*). We find him preſent in the Parliament which began at Weſtminſter, February 19th, 1592-3 (*t*), in which ſeſſion, chiefly through his intereſt, Sir Thomas Perrot, who had married his ſiſter, was reſtored in blood, which had been corrupted by the attainder of Sir John Perrot his father, who had been Lord-Deputy of Ireland; and in this ſeſſion it was, that the Houſe of Peers paid a very extraordinary complement to the Earl of Eſſex (*u*) [*E*]. About this time alſo the Queen, who had given him ſo many marks of her favour, added to them a new honour, which was, at the ſame time, a very high teſtimony of her confidence, by cauſing him to be ſworn one of the members of her moſt honourable Privy-Council (*w*). He met, however, in this, and in the ſucceeding years, with various cauſes of chagrin, partly from the loftineſs of his own temper, but chiefly from the artifices of thoſe who envied his great credit with the Queen, and were deſirous of reducing his power within bounds. Occaſion was taken, in this reſpect, from a dangerous and treaſonable book, written abroad by Perſons the Jeſuit, and publiſhed under the name of Doleman, with intention to create diſſention in England about the ſucceſſion to the Crown (*x*); which book, as the whole deſign of it was moſt villainous, ſo, from a ſuperior ſpirit of malice, it was dedicated to the Earl of Eſſex, on purpoſe to create him trouble; in which it had it's effect (*y*). But what chiefly grieved and broke his ſpirits, or, rather, ſowred them, was his perceiving plainly, that, though he could, in moſt ſuits, prevail for himſelf, yet he was able to do little or nothing for his friends, as particularly appeared in the caſe of Sir Francis Bacon, which, though the Earl bore with ſome impatience, yet it gave him an opportunity of ſhewing the greatneſs of his mind, by giving that Gentleman a ſmall eſtate in land, which ought to have bound him better to his fortunes (*z*) [*F*]. Indeed, the Earl of Eſſex was never wanting, upon any occaſion, to his friends,

(*q*) Fuller's Worthies, Herefordſhire, p. 38.

(*r*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

(*s*) Reliquiæ Wottonionæ, p. 9.

(*t*) Dewes's Journals of the Reign of Queen Eliz. p. 456.

(*u*) Townſend's Hiſtorical Collections, p. 41.

(*w*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 179. Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 863.

(*x*) A Conference about the next Succeſſion to the Crown of England, 4to. 1593. The Dedication is dated the laſt day of that year.

(*y*) Sidney State Papers, p. 350, 357.

(*z*) See this in Bacon's Apology addreſſed to the Earl of Devonſhire.

ſhal was inclined to let that enterprize fail (23), and they farther admit, which is a full juſtification of the Earl of Eſſex, that he offered with his own troops to have opened the trenches between the Mountain of St Catherine and the town (24), in which, if his advice had been followed, the place muſt certainly have been taken before the Duke of Parma could have marched to it's relief.

[*E*] *Paid a very extraordinary compliment to the Earl of Eſſex.*] As this matter of fact appears to be of a very ſingular, as well as a very commendable nature, it was judged that the reader would not be diſpleaſed with ſeeing it taken notice of here. On Tueſday the 13th of March 1592-3, the Biſhop of Worceſter, took notice that ſeveral poor ſoldiers were ſeen begging in the ſtreets, who were wounded or maimed in the ſervice of their Queen and country, in France, in the Low Countries, or on the ſeas, and therefore moved, that their Lordſhips would condeſcend to a contribution for their relief. This was immediately agreed to, and it was ordered, that every Archbiſhop, Marquis, Earl, and Viſcount, ſhould pay forty ſhillings; every Biſhop thirty ſhillings; and every Baron twenty ſhillings; which ſums the Biſhop of Worceſter was appointed to receive from the Lords Spiritual, and the Lord Norris from the Temporal Peers; the diſtribution of the ſaid collection being referred by their Lordſhips to the Earl of Eſſex and the Lord Willoughby of Ereſby (25). On Thurſday the 5th of April following, the Houſe of Lords made a further order, reciting that beforementioned, that it had been complied with, and that the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, had alſo contributed very largely, but that the number of diſtreſſed objects being great, and the relief but ſmall, it was farther decreed by them, That all the Lords of Parliament who had been abſent, and did not contribute before the end of the ſeſſion, ſhould be required by the Lords who had their proxies, or by the Lord Keeper, to pay double the ſums beforementioned, and notice is likewiſe taken of an order to the ſame purpoſe by the Houſe of Commons; it is added at the cloſe, if any Lord Spiritual or Temporal ſhould refuſe to do this, which it was hoped in honour none would, there ſhould be means uſed to levy the ſame (26).

[*F*] *Which ought to have bound him better to his fortunes.*] There are few circumſtances relating to the life of this noble perſon that do greater honour to his memory, than the reſpect he ſhewed for men of parts and learning, in which he acted with ſo much ſincerity and greatneſs of mind, as evidently demonſtrated, that if on any occaſion he had reco[illegible] to their ſervices, they were ſure to find in him not only a kind and very acceſſible patron, but a real friend, and, to the utmoſt of his power, a conſtant and zealous protector. It was this diſpoſition of mind that led him to afford ſo many teſtimonies of friendſhip to Mr Daviſon, when he laboured under his misfortunes (27); to teſtify ſuch kindneſs to his ſon, as appears in that admirable letter of his which is ſtill extant, and of which it is hard to ſay, whether the peruſal of it raiſes a higher idea of his parts or of his probity. It was this turn of his that induced him to cauſe the immortal Spenſer to be interred at his expence (23). It was this that, in the latter part of his life, engaged him to take the ingenious Sir Henry Wotton, and the learned Mr Cuffe, into his ſervice, as in his earlier days he had engaged thoſe incomparable brothers, Anthony and Francis Bacon, to ſhare his fortunes and his cares (29). He had a high opinion, as indeed who had not, of the eloquence, and other great abilities of the younger brother, whoſe pen he uſed, when either his want of leiſure or his diffidence would not allow him to employ his own, which indeed was ſecond to none. It was the ſenſe he had of the great ſagacity, the ſtrong penetration, and the extenſive knowledge of the elder brother, more eſpecially in foreign affairs, that inſpired him with a deſire of having him for his conſtant companion, in order to which he gave him an apartment in his houſe, a plentiful penſion out of his purſe, beſides large preſents for occaſional ſervices (30). Some appearances there are, that ſpeak neither of theſe brothers ſo hearty in his intereſt as might have been expected from the ſtrong ties of gratitude they were under.

But

(23) Memoires de Sieur du Pleſſis Mornay, Tom. II. p. 95.

(24) Memoires de Sully, Tom. I. cap. cxxxiii.

(25) Townſend's Hiſtorical Collections, p. 41.

(26) Dewes's Journal of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 463, 464.

(27) Cabala, p. 213, 214, 215.

(28) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 783.

(29) See the Articles of BACON and CUFF in this Dictionary.

(30) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 13, 14.

was it long before this was teſtified to the world, by his obtaining new marks of favour, in grants of a very conſiderable value, a circumſtance in which his credit with the Queen ſeemed much ſuperior to that of all her other favourites (*e*). He had now loſt the ſupport of his father-in-law the Earl of Leiceſter, who died the preceding year, and who, tho' he was ſuppoſed to act the Politician, in preferring him to the Queen's favour, (if, indeed, that was at all his work,) yet ſhewed the ſincerity of his affection to him by ſeveral clauſes in his will (*f*), notwithſtanding which loſs, he kept his ground at Court, and by careſſing Mr Cartwright and others, looked upon as Puritans, ſeemed to affect becoming the head of that party which adhered to Leiceſter while living (*g*). About this time he ran a new hazard of the Queen's favour by a private, and, as it was then conceived, inconſiderate match with Frances, only daughter of Sir Francis Walſingham, and the widow of Sir Philip Sidney, which her Majeſty apprehended to be, in ſome meaſure, derogatory to the honour of the houſe of Eſſex (*h*); and though, for the preſent, this buſineſs was paſt by, yet it is thought that it was not ſo ſoon forgot. In 1591, Henry the Fourth of France, having demanded freſh aſſiſtance from the Queen, though he had already a body of her troops in his ſervice, ſhe was pleaſed to ſend the Earl of Eſſex with four thouſand men, a ſmall train of artillery, and a competent fleet, into Normandy, where it was propoſed that he ſhould join the French army, in order to undertake the ſiege of Rouen (*i*). The French King however, either through want of power, the diſtraction of his affairs, or ſome other cauſe, neglected to perform his promiſe, notwithſtanding that Eſſex made a long and hazardous journey to his camp, at that Monarch's requeſt, in order to have concerted meaſures for giving the Queen ſatisfaction (*k*). Upon his return from this journey, which proved of little conſequence, Eſſex, to keep up the ſpirit of his officers, conferred the honour of knighthood upon many of them, a circumſtance with which the Queen was much offended (*l*). He likewiſe made excurſions from his camp to the very walls of Rouen; and the Earl, expoſing his perſon very freely in theſe ſkirmiſhes, came off indeed unhurt himſelf, but loſt there his only brother Walter Devereux, then in the flower of his age, being two years younger than the Earl (*m*). He returned ſome time after, to give an account of the ſtate of things to the Queen, and then came back to his charge, the ſiege of Rouen being formed, and the French King expreſſing a great deſire to become maſter of it. This winter ſervice harraſſing the troops exceedingly, provoked Eſſex not a little, who ſollicited King Henry for leave to proceed in his manner, promiſing to make a breach with his own artillery, and then to ſtorm the place with the Engliſh troops; which the King, however, refuſed, as being not at all deſirous of having that rich place taken and plundered by the Engliſh, in his ſight (*n*). Eſſex ſtill more diſpleaſed at this, and reſolved not to continue in a place where no reputation was to be got, firſt challenged the Governor of Rouen, Mr Villars, and, upon his refuſing to fight (*o*), left the command of the Engliſh troops to Sir Roger Williams, an officer of great courage and experience, and then embarked for England, where his preſence was become very neceſſary, his enemies having repreſented his behaviour in a very indifferent light to the Queen his miſtreſs (*p*) [*D*]. At this time he was exceedingly courted by very different ſorts

(*e*) Camd. Annal. p. 862.

(*f*) See that Earl's Teſtament in the Introduction to the Sidney Papers.

(*g*) Heylin's Hiſt. of the Preſbyterians, p. 349.

(*h*) Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p. 312.

(*i*) Stowe's Annals, p. 462.

(*k*) Camden. Ann. Eliz. p. 628.

(*l*) She ſaid his Lordſhip had done well to have built his almſhouſes before he had made his Knights.

(*m*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 27.

(*n*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 630.

(*o*) Winſtanley's England's Worthies, p. 223.

(*p*) Camden. Annal. p. 647.

'of ſee you fail not, as you will be loth to incur our 'indignation, and will anſwer for the contrary at your 'uttermoſt peril. The 15th of April, 1589.'

[*D*] *In a very indifferent light to the Queen his miſtreſs.*] It is very ſeldom that ſkilful Courtiers are at a loſs in framing general accuſations againſt ſuch as they would ruin, more eſpecially if they have an opportunity of doing this in their abſence. Againſt the Earl of Eſſex his enemies inſinuated, that having carried a fine body of troops under old and experienced officers out of the kingdom, with a promiſe of great things, he had nevertheleſs done little or nothing; that with ſome danger to himſelf, and much more to the troops, he had made a long journey to the French King, which ended in no more than an audience of compliment; that his fierce and haſty ſpirit had led him to thoſe uſeleſs and dangerous excurſions under the walls of Rouen, where he had loſt an only brother, the Queen a gallant officer, and the nation a perſon infinitely beloved; that whereas he was ſent abroad to ſerve his country, by reducing Rouen, which might ſerve as a place of arms, and a cautionary town for the ſecurity of Engliſh auxiliaries, he had ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by the French Monarch, had ſerved him in the accompliſhment of other deſigns, leaving this, for which he was ſent, uneffected; and, laſtly, that notwithſtanding his troops had been very little in ſervice, they had ſuffered ſo much as not to be able to keep the field without recruits; ſo that, in all this time, the Queen had been loſing her ſubjects and acquiring nothing (20).

But the Earl of Eſſex, upon his return, defended himſelf with great ſenſe and ſpirit againſt this accuſation. He ſhewed that the inaction of the troops upon their firſt going over was a great affliction to him, but far from being his fault, as he was continually labouring to perſuade the King to comply with his agreement, and to undertake the ſiege of Rouen, which, if he could not bring about it was far from being a crime, though he knew it to be a misfortune; that to remove this inaction he made a hazardous journey to the King's quarters, in which he ſhewed his ſtrong deſire for accompliſhing what he was ſent for; that he had expoſed himſelf in thoſe excurſions as much as any man, and as he was principally wounded by the loſs of his brother, ſo the credit of the nation inſtead of ſuffering, was raiſed by that high eſteem which the French expreſſed of the bravery ſhewn by the Engliſh in thoſe encounters; that the aſſiſtance he had given the French King and his Generals, was to remove thoſe obſtacles which prevented the ſiege, and which, if not removed, it had never been undertaken; that the loſs which the army had ſuſtained was through the fortune of war, and not from any fault of his, ariſing chiefly from diſeaſes, great inclemency of the weather, and the want of thoſe conveniencies which the allies ought to have furniſhed, and which, notwithſtanding all the inſtances he could make, had been neglected (21).

The French Hiſtorians do all the juſtice imaginable to the Queen's punctuality in performing her promiſes, and to the zeal of the Earl of Eſſex in promoting the ſervice (22). They acknowledge that the ſiege was chiefly retarded by the Marſhal de Biron's opening the trenches before the fort of St Catherine's, they add, that having demanded the government of the place when it ſhould be taken, and the King having told him that he was under a promiſe to another, the Marſhal

(20) Sir Henry Wotton, Sir Robert Naunton, Camden, &c.

(21) See the Earl's Apology, addreſſed to Mr A. Bacon, and the Authors before-cited.

(22) Abregé Chronologique de l'Hiſtoire de France, par le Sieur de Mezeray, Tom. VI. p. 63.

ſorts of people, for many of the young Nobility, who were deſirous of entering into the world under the patronage of ſome eminent perſon, preferred the Earl, as well on account of his great affability to his followers, as becauſe of his known intereſt with the Queen (*q*). All the military men that were not of a very old ſtanding, looked upon him as their chief, and one from whoſe favour they were to derive preferment; the Puritan Miniſters alſo, and their dependants, conſidered him as the ſucceſſor to the Earl of Leiceſter, and, conſequently, as their Protector (*r*). One need not wonder therefore, that, having ſuch power, he had ſo many enemies, and that theſe ſhould gain advantages over him in his abſence; but, upon his return, he triumphed for the moſt part; and the Queen, who looked upon herſelf as tied to him by former acts of kindneſs, ſeldom refuſed him any new marks of favour, for which he was importunate in his demands (*s*). We find him preſent in the Parliament which began at Weſtminſter, February 19th, 1592-3 (*t*), in which ſeſſion, chiefly through his intereſt, Sir Thomas Perrot, who had married his ſiſter, was reſtored in blood, which had been corrupted by the attainder of Sir John Perrot his father, who had been Lord-Deputy of Ireland; and in this ſeſſion it was, that the Houſe of Peers paid a very extraordinary complement to the Earl of Eſſex (*u*) [*E*]. About this time alſo the Queen, who had given him ſo many marks of her favour, added to them a new honour, which was, at the ſame time, a very high teſtimony of her confidence, by cauſing him to be ſworn one of the members of her moſt honourable Privy-Council (*w*). He met, however, in this, and in the ſucceeding years, with various cauſes of chagrin, partly from the loftineſs of his own temper, but chiefly from the artifices of thoſe who envied his great credit with the Queen, and were deſirous of reducing his power within bounds. Occaſion was taken, in this reſpect, from a dangerous and treaſonable book, written abroad by Perſons the Jeſuit, and publiſhed under the name of Doleman, with intention to create diſſention in England about the ſucceſſion to the Crown (*x*); which book, as the whole deſign of it was moſt villainous, ſo, from a ſuperior ſpirit of malice, it was dedicated to the Earl of Eſſex, on purpoſe to create him trouble; in which it had it's effect (*y*). But what chiefly grieved and broke his ſpirits, or, rather, ſowred them, was his perceiving plainly, that, though he could, in moſt ſuits, prevail for himſelf, yet he was able to do little or nothing for his friends, as particularly appeared in the caſe of Sir Francis Bacon, which, though the Earl bore with ſome impatience, yet it gave him an opportunity of ſhewing the greatneſs of his mind, by giving that Gentleman a ſmall eſtate in land, which ought to have bound him better to his fortunes (*z*) [*F*]. Indeed, the Earl of Eſſex was never wanting, upon any occaſion, to his friends,

(*q*) Fuller's Worthies, Herefordſhire, p. 38.

(*r*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

(*s*) Reliquiæ Wottonionæ, p. 9.

(*t*) Dewes's Journals of the Reign of Queen Eliz. p. 456.

(*u*) Townſend's Hiſtorical Collections, p. 41.

(*w*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 179. Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 863.

(*x*) A Conference about the next Succeſſion to the Crown of England, 4to. 1593. The Dedication is dated the laſt day of that year.

(*y*) Sidney State Papers, p. 350, 357.

(*z*) See this in Bacon's Apology addreſſed to the Earl of Devonſhire.

ſhal was inclined to let that enterprize fail (23), and they farther admit, which is a full juſtification of the Earl of Eſſex, that he offered with his own troops to have opened the trenches between the Mountain of St Catherine and the town (24), in which, if his advice had been followed, the place muſt certainly have been taken before the Duke of Parma could have marched to it's relief.

[*E*] *Paid a very extraordinary compliment to the Earl of Eſſex.*] As this matter of fact appears to be of a very ſingular, as well as a very commendable nature, it was judged that the reader would not be diſpleaſed with ſeeing it taken notice of here. On Tueſday the 13th of March 1592-3, the Biſhop of Worceſter, took notice that ſeveral poor ſoldiers were ſeen begging in the ſtreets, who were wounded or maimed in the ſervice of their Queen and country, in France, in the Low Countries, or on the ſeas, and therefore moved, that their Lordſhips would condeſcend to a contribution for their relief. This was immediately agreed to, and it was ordered, that every Archbiſhop, Marquis, Earl, and Viſcount, ſhould pay forty ſhillings; every Biſhop thirty ſhillings; and every Baron twenty ſhillings; which ſums the Biſhop of Worceſter was appointed to receive from the Lords Spiritual, and the Lord Norris from the Temporal Peers; the diſtribution of the ſaid collection being referred by their Lordſhips to the Earl of Eſſex and the Lord Willoughby of Ereſby (25). On Thurſday the 5th of April following, the Houſe of Lords made a further order, reciting that beforementioned, that it had been complied with, and that the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, had alſo contributed very largely, but that the number of diſtreſſed objects being great, and the relief but ſmall, it was farther decreed by them, That all the Lords of Parliament who had been abſent, and did not contribute before the end of the ſeſſion, ſhould be required by the Lords who had their proxies, or by the Lord Keeper, to pay double the ſums beforementioned, and notice is likewiſe taken of an order to the ſame purpoſe by the Houſe of Commons; it is added at the cloſe, if any Lord Spiritual or Temporal ſhould refuſe to do this, which it was hoped in honour none would, there ſhould be means uſed to levy the ſame (26).

[*F*] *Which ought to have bound him better to his fortunes.*] There are few circumſtances relating to the life of this noble perſon that do greater honour to his memory, than the reſpect he ſhewed for men of parts and learning, in which he acted with ſo much ſincerity and greatneſs of mind, as evidently demonſtrated, that if on any occaſion he had reco[illegible] to their ſervices, they were ſure to find in him not only a kind and very acceſſible patron, but a real friend, and, to the utmoſt of his power, a conſtant and zealous protector. It was this diſpoſition of mind that led him to afford ſo many teſtimonies of friendſhip to Mr Daviſon, when he laboured under his misfortunes (27); to teſtify ſuch kindneſs to his ſon, as appears in that admirable letter of his which is ſtill extant, and of which it is hard to ſay, whether the peruſal of it raiſes a higher idea of his parts or of his probity. It was this turn of his that induced him to cauſe the immortal Spenſer to be interred at his expence (23). It was this that, in the latter part of his life, engaged him to take the ingenious Sir Henry Wotton, and the learned Mr Cuffe, into his ſervice, as in his earlier days he had engaged thoſe incomparable brothers, Anthony and Francis Bacon, to ſhare his fortunes and his cares (29). He had a high opinion, as indeed who had not, of the eloquence, and other great abilities of the younger brother, whoſe pen he uſed, when either his want of leiſure or his diffidence would not allow him to employ his own, which indeed was ſecond to none. It was the ſenſe he had of the great ſagacity, the ſtrong penetration, and the extenſive knowledge of the elder brother, more eſpecially in foreign affairs, that inſpired him with a deſire of having him for his conſtant companion, in order to which he gave him an apartment in his houſe, a plentiful penſion out of his purſe, beſides large preſents for occaſional ſervices (30). Some appearances there are, that ſpeak neither of theſe brothers ſo hearty in his intereſt as might have been expected from the ſtrong ties of gratitude they were under.

But

(23) Memoires de Sieur du Pleſſis Mornay, Tom. II. p. 95.

(24) Memoires de Sully, Tom. I. cap. cxxxiii.

(25) Townſend's Hiſtorical Collections, p. 41.

(26) Dewes's Journal of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 463, 464.

(27) Cabala, p. 213, 214, 215.

(28) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 783.

(29) See the Articles of BACON and CUFF in this Dictionary.

(30) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 13, 14.

friends; as many of the writers of thoſe times agree, and of which Camden gives a remarkable inſtance in the year 1595, in his attending the funeral of Sir Roger Williams, an old experienced officer, whom he had long encouraged and ſupported; though the roughneſs of his behaviour had expoſed him to the diſlike of Sir Walter Raleigh, and other conſiderable perſons (*a*). But whatever diſadvantages Eſſex might labour under from intrigues at Court, yet, in times of danger, the Queen had commonly recourſe to his aſſiſtance. Thus, in 1596, when the Spaniards in the month of April laid ſiege to Calais, and the diſcharges from their batteries were heard at Greenwich, an army was haſtily raiſed, and marched towards Dover, the command of which was given to the Earl of Eſſex (*b*), the Queen intending to have embarked theſe troops for the aſſiſtance of the French, which, however, they wiſely declined, being willing rather to let the Spaniards keep Calais for a little while, than ſee it reſcued from them by the Engliſh, who would, preſuming on their old rights, probably keep it for ever (*c*). The Queen, however, taking advantage of that warm diſpoſition which appeared in her people, to contribute, as far as in them lay, to keep the war at a diſtance, and to prevent the Spaniards from meditating a ſecond invaſion, ordered a fleet to be equipped for attacking Cadiz, beſt part of the expences being born by the principal perſons engaged in that enterprize (*d*). The command of this army and fleet was, with joint authority, intruſted to Robert Earl of Eſſex, and Charles Lord Howard, then Lord High Admiral of England, with whom went many of the moſt diſtinguiſhed officers, both for the land and ſea ſervice, that were then in England; the Council being compoſed of Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Ralegh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, and Sir Conyers Clifford; the fleet, for it's number of ſhips, and for the land ſoldiers and mariners aboard, being the moſt conſiderable that, in thoſe times, had been ſeen (*e*). On the firſt of June they ſailed from Plymouth, but were forced to put back by a contrary wind, which changing, they took the firſt opportunity of putting again to ſea. On the 18th of the ſame month they arrived at Cape St Vincent, where they met with an Iriſh bark, which informed them, that the port of Cadiz was full of ſhips, and that they had no notice whatever of the ſailing of the Engliſh fleet, or that ſuch an expedition was ſo much as intended (*f*). After this welcome news they purſued their voyage, and, on the 20th in the morning, they anchored near St Sebaſtian's, on the weſt-ſide of the iſland of Cadiz, where the Admiral would have had the forces debarked, in order to their immediately attacking the town; which Eſſex cauſed to be attempted, but found to be impracticable, and, upon the advice of Sir Walter Ralegh, deſiſted (*g*). Camden indeed charges this raſhneſs upon Eſſex, but Sir Walter Ralegh, who is certainly better authority in this point, ſtates it the other way (*h*). It was then propoſed by the Earl to begin with attacking the fleet, which was a very hazardous enterprize, but, at laſt, agreed to by the Lord Admiral; of which, when Eſſex received the news, he threw his hat into the ſea for joy. The next day this gallant reſolution was executed with all imaginable bravery, and, in point of ſervice, none did better, or hazarded his perſon more, than the Earl of Eſſex (*i*), who, in his own ſhip, *The Due Repulſe*, went to the aſſiſtance of Sir Walter Ralegh, and offered, if it had been neceſſary, to have ſeconded him in boarding the St Philip (*k*). The Spaniards behaved very gallantly, ſo long as there were any hopes, and when there were none, ſet fire to their ſhips, and retired (*l*). The Earl of Eſſex then landed eight hundred men at the Puntall, and, having firſt taken proper meaſures for deſtroying the bridge, next attacked the place with ſo much fury, that it was very quickly taken, and, the next day, the citadel ſurrendered upon a capitulation, by which a great ranſom was ſtipulated for the town (*m*). An offer was then made of two millions of ducats to ſpare the ſhips, and more might have been obtained, but the Lord Admiral ſaid, *He came there to conſume and not to compound*; of which, when the Spaniards were informed, they reſolved to have the burning of their own fleet, which they accordingly ſet on fire; their loſs by which was computed at twenty millions (*n*). The Earl was very deſirous of keeping Cadiz, which he offered to have done with a very ſmall garriſon, but the Council differed from him in opinion; ſo that, having plundered the iſland, and demoliſhed the forts, they embarked on the 5th of July, and bore away for the port of Faro in Algarve, which they plundered and deſtroyed; thence they proceeded to Cape St Vincent, and being driven by a briſk wind out to ſea, it fell under conſideration, whether they ſhould not ſail for the Azores, in hopes of intercepting the Plate Fleet, which was carried in the negative; and the Earl's propoſal, with two of her Majeſty's ſhips, and ten others, to make this attempt, was rejected likewiſe (*o*); which Mr Camden attributes to the deſire of ſome of the officers, who had made

(*a*) Annal. Eliz. p. 707.

(*b*) Stowe's Annals, p. 770.

(*c*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 718.

(*d*) See the Earl of Eſſex's Apology.

(*e*) Stowe's Annals, p. 771.

(*f*) Sir William Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 28.

(*g*) Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, by William Oldys, Eſq; p. 95.

(*h*) Annal. Eliz. p. 722.

(*i*) See the Cadiz Voyage in Hakluyt.
Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. fo. 1929.
Sir Wm. Monſon's Account, &c. p. 29.

(*k*) Sir Walter Ralegh's Relation of the Cadiz action in his Genuine Remains, publiſhed by his grandſon, p. 23.

(*l*) See the account of this Action at large in Hakluyt.

(*m*) Sir William Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 30, 31.

(*n*) Stowe's Annals, p. 774.

(*o*) Sir William Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 32.

But we muſt not always truſt appearances, more eſpecially in caſes where direct and plain proofs might certainly be had, if the ſuſpicion raiſed upon thoſe appearances were in reality well founded. As to Anthony Bacon, we have already ſhewn that whatever precautions he took for his own ſafety, his affection to and for his noble patron followed him beyond the grave. His brother Francis was of a warmer, but at the ſame time of a leſs firm and ſteady temper; he was ſuſceptible both of hopes and fears, and ſtill more ſuſceptible of praiſe, and with much of his eloquence, had a tincture of Tully's vanity, as well as his timidity, otherwiſe he would never have pleaded the Queen's *taking a liking to his pen* in defence of a declamation againſt the memory of his friend (31). His refuſal might indeed have coſt him dear, but it would have preſerved his reputation, which is more tarniſhed in this than in any other point of his private character.

(31) See the beginning of his Apology addreſſed to the Earl of Devonſhire.

[G] *Gained*

made large booties, to get their treaſure ſafe on ſhore (*p*). They looked in, however, at Corunna, and the Earl would have then proceeded to St Andero and St Sebaſtian; but others, thinking they had done enough, the fleet returned proſperouſly to Plymouth, on the 8th of Auguſt following, and the Earl, with his ſquadron, two days after (*q*). He was very well received by the Queen, and highly applauded by the people; but, as it was too common with him, not entirely ſatisfied in himſelf; which induced him to write (at a time when ſome faults were imputed to him) a kind of narrative of this exploit, and a cenſure upon other mens conduct; which gained him little credit, and did him leſs good (*r*) [*G*]. Yet, whatever the ſentiments might be of the graver and wiſer part of the Court, it appears plainly, that, upon his return from this expedition, the Earl of Eſſex ſtood very high in the favour of the Queen, and of the nation; and, perhaps, it might have gained him an acceſſion of favour with the former, if the Earl had not enjoyed ſo much of the latter, or had ſeemed to value it leſs than he did; but, as he had little of diſſimulation in his temper, ſo the warmth with which he diſcovered either his affection or diſlike, expoſed him continually to the ſiniſter practices of his enemies, who were thoroughly ſkilled in thoſe arts which he knew leaſt about (*s*). They inſinuated, therefore, to the Queen, that, conſidering the Earl's popularity, it would not be at all expedient for her ſervice to receive ſuch as he recommended to civil employments; and this they carried ſo far, as to make even his approbation deſtructive to mens fortunes (*t*), whom they had encouraged and recommended themſelves; a thing hardly to be credited, if we had not the higheſt evidence to prove it [*H*]. It was a natural conſequence that the

(*p*) Annal. Eliz. p. 728.

(*q*) Sir William Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 33.

(*r*) See this explained in the Notes.

(*s*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

(*t*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 730.

[*G*] *Gained him little credit, and did him leſs good.*] It is commonly ſaid, that, upon the Earl of Eſſex's returning from Cadiz, his glory and his power were both in their utmoſt ſplendor; the Queen and her people being equally diſpoſed to afford the kindeſt reception to their joint favourite. We may, however, form ſome doubt of this for various reaſons, of which we will mention only a few: Firſt then, the Queen was unwilling the Earl ſhould have gone at all, if he could have been perſuaded to have ſtaid at home; ſhe took amiſs his objections to a divided command, and gave many other teſtimonies of her entertaining ſome prejudices againſt him before his departure (32). Next, at his return he was blamed for his partiality to the land officers, for his countenancing opinions directly oppoſite to thoſe of the majority, and for miſrepreſenting the reaſons upon which the ſentiments of the majority were grounded, which, on his firſt coming home, had much weight, and prevented, as will be ſeen in a ſucceeding note, his being able to provide, by his recommendations, for his beſt friends (33). In order to ſupport and maintain himſelf, the Earl drew up a narrative in which he ſhewed the advantages, and diſplayed the beneficial conſequences of this expedition, 'in which, ſays he, the Engliſh took two galleons, routed fifteen gallies with an unequal number of ſhips, freed many of their countrymen condemned to the gallies, and releaſed ſeveral Spaniards from impriſonment; took the beſt fortified city in all Spain, and ſtayed thirteen days in their country; brought home, beſides the galleons aforeſaid, a hundred braſs guns, with a rich booty: and the ſailors, but eſpecially the ſoldiers, great plunder. The enemy loſt thirteen of his moſt ſerviceable ſhips, forty India merchant-men, and four others; beſides vaſt quantities of ammunition, proviſions, *&c.* rendering it almoſt impoſſible he ſhould in ſome time appear again at ſea in a formidable manner (34).' If he had ſtopped here it had been well, for as this did credit to all, ſo there is no doubt that all would have joined in ſupporting the credit which it gave them. But it fell out that the Earl, forgetting his own miſtakes, and more eſpecially making ſo many Knights, the far greater part from amongſt his own deſcendants, would needs write a cenſure of this voyage, by ſetting down whatever was omitted in the proſecution of it, and then, by way of anſwer to thoſe objections, imputing all miſcarriages to other men, by which he raiſed to himſelf many implacable enemies, and there is too much reaſon to believe, did not gain him one friend. A ſpecimen of the laſt objection and it's anſwer will abundantly confirm this obſervation, and at the ſame time give great light into his perſonal hiſtory, as well as a ſtrong inſtance of his capacity for writing well, if he had choſen his ſubject better (35).

Objection. '*That ſince the chief of our ſervice conſiſted in the taking or deſtroying the Spaniſh ſhipping and naval ſtores, Why did we not look into their principal ports, and do them all the miſchief we were able?*

'*Anſwer.* That my end in going to Cadiz was not only becauſe it was a principal port, but the moſt likely to be held by us, in regard not only to the ſituation and natural ſtrength thereof, but that alſo from thence we might (if ſome greater ſervice did not divert us) go to all the ports betwixt that and the nethermoſt parts of Biſcay, which ſeemed better to me than to have alarmed the enemy firſt in the midſt of his country, or the neareſt parts thereof to ours, in regard that by acting in that manner, our attempts would have been more difficult, and our retreat at laſt from thoſe parts leſs ſafe, conſidering the wants, ſickneſs, and other inconveniences, which generally attend fleets and armies in long voyages. But after we had done what we could at Cadiz, it was by all our ſea officers thought a capital offence, ſo much as to mention the paſſing over the bar of St Lucar.

'Between St Lucar and Liſbon there is not any good port, and from the latter I was reſtrained by my inſtructions: nay, though we had been permitted to have gone thither, yet I found our ſeamen of the ſame caſt that Sir Francis Drake and his company were, when they loſt the opportunity of taking that place, not caring to paſs by the caſtle of St Julian.

'From Liſbon to the Groyne there is not any port capable of containing either the King of Spain's, or other large ſhipping; but to the latter place I at length prevailed with them, not without great difficulty, to go, having both vowed and proteſted againſt their refuſal, and even parted company with them when they offered to hold on their courſe; but when we came to the mouth of the harbour, and ſent in ſome veſſels, we could not diſcover any thing there, nor at Ferrol, for in that port we alſo looked.

'After this we held our laſt council, and then I urged going to St Andrew's Paſſage, St Sebaſtian's, and all the principal ports along the coaſt; but the Lord Admiral abſolutely refuſed going farther, complaining of wants, and repreſenting the danger of being embayed, with many other inconveniencies, in which opinion Sir Walter Ralegh confirmed him, ſo that both of them ſeemed deſirous to have the honour of fruſtrating the deſign; and as to our landing at the Groyne, and attempting the town, they would by no means hear of it, but every one preſently cried out, *let us make ſail homewards*, ſince which time they have uſed ſuch ſpeed, that by my endeavouring to bring with me the St Andrew taken at Cadiz, and the fly-boat with our artillery, I have loſt company with them all, except Monſieur Duvenvoord and his ſquadron, and ſome ſmall ſhips (36).'

[*H*] *If we had not the higheſt evidence to prove it.*] It is a juſt obſervation made upon theſe times, that the great

(32) Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, p. 94.

(33) Camd. Ann. p. 729, 730.

(34) Extracted from the Earl's Narrative by Camden.

(35) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 363, 364.

(36) Sir Henry Wotton ſpeaks much like a courtier, if this be the piece of which he ſpeaks when he ſays, that the Cadiz Expedition was the Earl's moſt fortunate action, and no leſs modeſt, for there he wrote, with his own hand, a cenſure of his omiſſions.

the Earl, who wanted not penetration enough to ſee, or ſpirit to reſent this, ſhould behave towards thoſe he took to be the authors of ſuch counſels with viſible marks of anger and diſcontent; and this conduct of his made him frequently upon bad terms even with the Queen herſelf, who was a Princeſs very jealous of her authority, and, in caſes of this nature, bore but very indifferently with any expoſtulations (*u*). However, as well out of her natural kindneſs to him, as from a deſire of ſhewing a juſt acknowledgment for his late ſervice, ſhe was pleaſed, on the 19th of March 1597, to appoint him Maſter of the Ordnance by patent (*w*). This ſeems to have had a good effect, in quieting the mind, and raiſing the ſpirits, of this great Nobleman, who, upon the report that the Spaniards were forming a new fleet at Ferrol and Corunna, for the invaſion of Ireland at leaſt, if not England, readily offered his ſervice to the Queen, and chearfully declared, as Camden aſſures us, that he would either defeat this new armada, which had threatned England for a year together, or periſh in the attempt, as one willingly devoted for the ſervice of his country (*x*). The Queen, well pleaſed with this propoſal, gave it all the countenance that could be deſired, and cauſed a conſiderable fleet, though not ſo conſiderable as the action required, to be equipped for this ſervice. The Earl of Eſſex was appointed General, Admiral, and Commander in Chief, the Lord Thomas Howard Vice, and Sir Walter Ralegh Rear-Admirals, the Lord Montjoy was Lieutenant-General of the land-forces, and Sir Francis Vere, Marſhal. We may gueſs at the intereſt which the Earl had in the ſucceſs of this voyage by the number of his friends, who engaged therein as volunteers, and, amongſt them of the Nobility, were the Earls of Rutland and Southampton, and the Lords Cromwell and Rich (*y*). His ſanguine hopes however were, in ſome meaſure, diſappointed; for ſailing about the 9th of July from Plymouth, they met, at ſixty leagues diſtance, with ſo rough a ſtorm, and of four days continuance, that they were obliged to put back to Plymouth, where they remained wind-bound for the ſpace of a month (*z*), in which time a great part of their proviſions was conſumed. While the fleet was thus laid up, the Earl of Eſſex and Sir Walter Ralegh ſet out poſt for the Court, in order to receive freſh inſtructions (*a*). The propoſals made by Eſſex, even after this diſappointment, were very bold and great, but, as Camden ſeems to inſinuate, very difficult and dangerous, if not impracticable; ſo that the Queen would not countenance his projects, but rather left the direction of the expedition to the Commanders in Chief, according as the ſeaſon and circumſtances might encourage or permit (*b*). The ſame Hiſtorian, and almoſt all who have written upon this ſubject after him, ſpeak of an old miſunderſtanding between Eſſex and Sir Walter Ralegh before they left England, which was productive of moſt of the miſchiefs that afterwards happened; which there is good reaſon however to believe

(*u*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 24, 25.

(*w*) Pat. 39 Eliz. p. 7.

(*x*) Annal. Eliz. p. 738.

(*y*) Stowe's Annals, p. 783.

(*z*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 738.

(*a*) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1935.

(*b*) Annal. Eliz. p. 739.

great Stateſmen knew how to poiſon with oil, and to break men's fortunes by contributing to their exaltation. The rivals of the Earl of Eſſex, whenever he made any propoſals for the publick ſervice, were ſure to provoke him with objections, which, out of the warm ſincerity of his heart, he commonly anſwered, by promiſing to perform even more than he firſt offered, and then they were ſure to find out pretences for ſending thoſe with him, who would perplex him as much in the execution, as they had done in the firſt contrivance of his project; but how ſucceſsful ſoever theſe arts might be in the cabinet of a Princeſs now full of years and of ſuſpicions, and ſurrounded with the enemies of Eſſex, yet it could not impoſe upon the nation, for which reaſon it did not in the leaſt leſſen that Nobleman's popularity; and therefore thoſe who envied his greatneſs, contrived to render this criminal, by repreſenting to the Queen, that though ſhe might ſafely beſtow honours and employments upon the Earl himſelf, in order to avail herſelf of his great virtues and extraordinary talents, yet nothing could be more dangerous to her tranquillity, than to receive into her ſervice even ſubordinate Miniſters of his recommendation; becauſe being already maſter of the military, he would by that means draw the civil power into his hands. We have ſeen that he could not reſtore Daviſon whom the Queen had made Secretary of State, and whom ſhe thought fitter for that office than any other man. We have ſeen that he could not make Sir Francis Bacon Sollicitor-General, though he exerted for that purpoſe the whole ſtrength of his intereſt. We ſhall now ſee, that a promotion being reſolved his approbation was ſufficient to prevent it; and, what is ſtill more extraordinary, the perſon injured reſents the good will of the Earl, inſtead of taking amiſs that inſolent abuſe of power, which other Miniſters had exerciſed in ſetting him aſide, and this in breach too of their own promiſes. The perſon thus treated was Sir Thomas Bodley, and, as nobody can deſerve better credit in this buſineſs, he ſhall tell his ſtory himſelf, who having acknowledged that the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh intended to have made him Secretary of State, in caſe the Earl of Eſſex, upon the general rumour of it, had not highly commended him, tells us, that he had learned from his ſon the Earl of Saliſbury, that they had no other motive to ſet him aſide, but the Earl's good opinion, which was grounded only on his belief of Bodley's merit, who, upon this ſubject, makes theſe reflections (37): ‘ When I had thoroughly now ‘ bethought me firſt in the Earl, of the ſlender holdfaſt ‘ he had in the favour of the Queen, of an endleſs ‘ oppoſition of the chiefeſt of our Stateſmen, like ſtill ‘ to wait upon him; of his perillous, and feeble, and ‘ uncertain advice, as well in his own, as in all the ‘ cauſes of his friends: and when moreover for myſelf ‘ I had fully conſidered, how very untowardly ‘ theſe two Counſellors were affected unto me, upon ‘ whom before in cogitation I had framed all the fabrick ‘ of my future proſperity, how ill it did concur ‘ with my natural diſpoſition, to become, or to be ‘ counted, either a ſtickler or partaker in any publick ‘ faction; how well I was able by God's good bleſſing ‘ to live of myſelf, if I could be content with a ‘ competent livelihood; how ſhort time of further life ‘ I was then to expect by the common courſe of nature. ‘ When I had, I ſay, in this manner repreſented ‘ to my thoughts my particular eſtate, together with ‘ the Earl's, I reſolved thereupon to poſſeſs my ſoul ‘ in peace all the reſidue of my days: to take my full ‘ farewel of State employments, to ſatisfy my mind ‘ with that mediocrity of worldly living that I had of ‘ my own, and ſo to retire me from the Court, which ‘ was the epilogue and end of all my actions and endeavours ‘ of any important note, till I came to the ‘ age of fifty-three.’ This event happened at the time the great perſons beforementioned were at open enmity, and before that treaty was concluded, of which the reader will have an ample account in the ſucceeding note.

(37) Life of Sir Thomas Bodley, written by himſelf.

[*I*] *Which*

believe a groundleſs imputation upon both (*c*) [*I*]. As ſoon as the fleet was repaired, and the land-forces were debarked that, by the Queen's command, were to remain at home, they ſailed again from Plymouth the 17th of Auguſt, having now two points in view, the one to burn the Spaniſh fleet in their own harbours, the other to intercept the ſhips they expected from the Weſt-Indies. Camden blames Eſſex for appearing openly within ſight of the Spaniſh coaſt, and thereby alarming the enemy; but Sir William Monſon acquaints us with the true reaſon of the Earl's conduct, which was, by making a ſhow of a few ſhips to draw out the enemies fleet, it being found impoſſible to burn them in port (*d*). He alſo inſinuates, that Sir Walter Ralegh kept at a diſtance from the fleet, which was another diſcouragement; but, from the beſt accounts we have, this alſo appears to be a groundleſs imagination (*e*). Sir Walter is afterwards ſaid to have ſeparated from the fleet by deſign, under pretence of repairing his ſhip; but Sir William Monſon tells us plainly, that this ſeparation was owing to an involuntary miſcarriage in Eſſex himſelf (*f*). When they joined again at the iſlands it appears plainly, that Eſſex and Ralegh were very good friends, notwithſtanding there were ſome, on both ſides, who laboured all they could to incenſe them againſt each other. When they had refreſhed at Flores, Eſſex commanded Ralegh to ſail for Fayall, which he intended to attack with the whole fleet; but Sir Walter coming there firſt, and apprehending that the ſmalleſt delay might have prevented their deſign, very gallantly attacked, and very happily ſucceeded, in making himſelf maſter of the iſland before the arrival of Eſſex with the reſt of the fleet (*g*). This gave occaſion to Sir Walter's enemies to repreſent his vigilance and activity in the light of diſobedience and contempt to Eſſex, which occaſioned very high diſputes, but, by the interpoſition of Lord Thomas Howard, all things were compromiſed, Sir Walter excuſed what had happened to the Earl, and the Earl accepted his excuſe (*h*). As the relations of this, which is called the *Iſland Voyage*, already publiſhed, are very exact, and in themſelves larger than this whole life it cannot be expected that we ſhould enter here into all the other particulars of this voyage; we ſhall therefore content ourſelves with obſerving, that, notwithſtanding the Spaniſh fleet eſcaped, and ſome other untoward accidents happened, in which the Earl was not altogether without blame, yet three ſhips from the Havannah, the cargoes of which amounted to near one hundred thouſand pounds, were taken, by which the beſt part of the expences of the undertaking were defrayed, and ſo the fleet returned to England towards the cloſe of October (*i*). In reſpect to what Camden ſuggeſts, that, after their arrival in England, Eſſex and Ralegh accuſed each other, by which great diſturbances were occaſioned (*k*), there is ſome reaſon to doubt the matter of fact, and to believe they were both wiſer men, and knew their reſpective intereſts better than to act in ſuch a manner [*K*]. It is very true, that the Earl of Eſſex, upon his return from the Iſland Voyage,

(*c*) See this explained in the Note.

(*d*) Annal. Eliz. p. 740. Sir Wm. Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 34.

(*e*) Annal. Eliz. p. 740. See the accurate Account of this Expedition, written by Sir Arthur Gorges, in the IVth Vol. of Purchas's Pilgrims.

(*f*) Sir William Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 34. Annal. Eliz. p. 740.

(*g*) Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, p. 116.

(*h*) See the Accounts of this Voyage before referred to.

(*i*) Stowe's Annals, p. 784. Sir Wm. Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 37, 38.

(*k*) Annal. Eliz. p. 745.

[*I*] *Which there is good reaſon, however, to believe a groundleſs imputation upon both.*] There ſeem to be few opinions better founded than that, which, with due caution, admits the private letters of perſons of good ſenſe and experience, written at the time when things were tranſacted, to be the beſt documents for ſuch points, either of publick or of private Hiſtory, as are not likely to be generally known with the ſame degree of certainty as facts of another ſpecies. Amongſt other papers of a very curious and inſtructive nature, which have been publiſhed lately in a very valuable collection, are the letters of Rowland White, Eſq; to Sir Robert Sydney, at that time Governor of Fluſhing. Mr White was Sir Robert's agent at Court, and from theſe letters it appears, that the Nobleman, on whoſe favour Sir Robert chiefly relied, was the Earl of Eſſex; ſo that we cannot well have better authority, in reference to what paſſed at Court in thoſe days, than the informations of this gentleman, concerned to make the cloſeſt enquiries he could, and bound in honour to relate what proved the reſult of them with the utmoſt fidelity. We learn from him, that, in the beginning of the year 1597, there were great intrigues at Court, where Secretary Cecil was the moſt favoured Counſellor, had long private conferences with the Queen, and retarded or advanced mens ſuits at his pleaſure (38). Eſſex at this time was in ſome diſcontent, tho' a great favourite likewiſe, kept or was ſaid to keep his bed, when he was not very ſick, receiving frequent meſſages from the Queen, and having alſo private audiences (39). In the beginning of the month of March, Sir Walter Ralegh had ſeveral private interviews with the Earl, in order to bring about a good underſtanding between him and the Secretary, which he urged would have ſeveral good conſequences, ſuch as, making the Queen eaſy, removing a great obſtacle in the management of publick affairs, and contributing not a little to forwarding the ſchemes concerted for humbling the common enemy (40). It is eaſy to ſee from hence, that there could be no pique between the Earl and Sir Walter Ralegh, for if there had, Sir Robert Cecil was too wiſe a man to have employed him. While this treaty was in negotiation, there was a competition for the office of Warden of the Cinque Ports, Sir Robert Cecil ſupporting the new Lord Cobham, and the Earl of Eſſex recommending Sir Robert Sydney firſt, and finding that would not do, ſtanding for it himſelf, upon which it was propoſed that he ſhould accept of the Maſterſhip of the Ordnance, which he did (41). Soon after this, Sir Henry Leigh was, at the recommendation of the Earl of Eſſex, made Knight of the Garter (42); and the Earl concurred in promoting the Lord Borows to the government of Ireland. In May the treaty was in a manner concluded, the Earl, by the mediation of Sir Walter Ralegh, was reconciled to the Secretary, and they concerted together all the meaſures preparatory to the Iſland Expedition, and from the ſame letters we learn, that Sir Walter Ralegh, who was entruſted with the care of victualling the fleet, had been remarkably civil to the Earl of Eſſex in what related to the proviſion of his own ſhip; and when they were obliged to return by contrary winds, Mr White repreſents their coming to London together, as the effects of their perfect intelligence, and does not give the leaſt hint of any variance between them.

[*K*] *Than to act in ſuch a manner.*] In the text we have given ſeveral inſtances of Mr Camden's inclination to repreſent the diſputes between the Earl of Eſſex and Sir Walter Ralegh, as the principal cauſe of the miſcarriages in this voyage, which, from the facts contained in the laſt note, ſeem not very probable. We may add to this, that Sir Arthur Gorges, who wrote the very beſt account of this voyage, tells us, that when the Earl and Sir Walter met at Flores, the Earl acquainted him with the ſurmiſes that had been vented of his abſence, and named to him ſome who had taxed him ſecretly, and yet pretended to love him; upon which Sir Arthur makes the following reflexion (43): 'Though the Earl had many doubts and 'jealouſies

(38) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 23.

(39) Ibid. p. 18.

(40) Ibid. p. 24.

(41) Ibid. p. 31.

(42) Ibid. p. 47.

(43) See his Account of that Voyage in the IVth Vol. of Purchas's Pilgrims.

Voyage, ſhewed evident ſigns of deep diſpleaſure, retired to his houſe at Wanſtead, and, under pretence of ſickneſs, abſented himſelf from the ſervice of Parliament then ſitting; and it is alſo very true which Camden reports, that his diſſatisfaction aroſe from the Lord Admiral's being created Earl of Nottingham in his abſence, with ſome particular clauſes in the preamble of his patent, which, as they were highly honourable for that noble Peer, Eſſex conceived threw ſome diſparagement upon himſelf (*l*). But as to what the ſame Hiſtorian inſinuates, that he was no leſs diſpleaſed that Sir Robert Cecil was advanced to be Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter, becauſe he conſidered him as his principal antagoniſt, and a faſt friend to Sir Walter Ralegh (*m*), there is ſome reaſon to queſtion, and in the notes it will be ſhewn, that the firſt was the great if not the ſole cauſe of the Earl's diſquiet, that his diſtaſte was very far from being peeviſh or unreaſonable, and that thoſe who are reputed to have been his greateſt enemies, were, in reality, the very perſons that procured this noble perſon the ſatisfaction he deſired [*L*]. This ſatisfaction conſiſted in creating the Earl of Eſſex Earl-Marſhal of England, which was done December 28th, 1597 (*n*), and he took his place in Parliament accordingly on Wedneſday the 11th of January following; but whereas Camden reports, that this office had been ſuppreſſed, or lain dormant, from the death of the Earl of Shrewſbury, from whence it might be inferred, that it was a very extraordinary thing for the Queen to be drawn to this promotion, it is clearly a miſtake, the Earl of Suſſex ſitting, in this very Parliament, as Earl-Marſhal, and having precedence accordingly (*o*). We may add to this, that Camden himſelf had occaſion to conſider this point of the ſucceſſion, power, and prerogative of the Earls Marſhal of England, very cloſely; nor is it at all improbable, that it was, upon this very occaſion, for the Earl of Eſſex is the laſt Marſhal mentioned in his liſt, and he ſhews very fully his hereditary claim to that great honour (*p*). It is generally agreed, that this noble perſon had nothing of diſſimulation in his nature, and therefore, having obtained this new favour of the Queen, he was perfectly well pleaſed, and very readily promiſed Sir Robert Cecil Secretary of State, who was appointed to execute a commiſſion of great importance to the French King, that nothing to the prejudice of his intereſt ſhould be done in his abſence, without which promiſe the Secretary would not have gone; and this he not only performed with the utmoſt punctuality, but even diſcharged the Secretary's buſineſs, in his abſence, with the utmoſt care and vigilance, and all this time no quarrels with Sir Walter Ralegh, or ſo much as the leaſt coldneſs; on the contrary, Sir Walter knowing that the Earl had engaged himſelf to his relation Sir Robert Sydney, in reference to the poſt of Vice-Chamberlain, which was then vacant, he declined ſolliciting for it purely out of reſpect to Eſſex (*q*). But in the month of May 1598, Sir Robert Cecil returning to England with new notions in relation to the peace, there quickly aroſe freſh diſputes in the Council about the expediency of that meaſure, which was very earneſtly as well as eloquently preſſed by the old and wiſe Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, and as warmly decried by the Earl of Eſſex, who wanted not very plauſible reaſons

(*l*) Dewes's Journal of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 529, 531. Annal. Eliz. p. 746.

(*m*) See this explained in the Note.

(*n*) Spelman's Poſthumous Works, p. 171.

(*o*) Annal. Eliz. p. 746. Dewes's Journal of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 523.

(*p*) See the Appendix to Camden's Letters, publiſhed by Smith, p. 96.

(*q*) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 82, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93.

'jealouſies buzzed into his ears againſt him, yet I 'have often obſerved, that both in his greateſt actions 'of ſervice, and in the time of his chiefeſt recreations, 'he would ever accept of his counſel and company, 'before many others who thought themſelves more in 'his favour.' In reference to the high diſpute at Fayall, Sir Henry Wotton tells us, that when one, whoſe name he ſays he need not remember, preſſed the Earl to put Sir Walter at leaſt to a Court Martial, he anſwered (44), *That I would do if he were not my friend.* Some copies indeed read, *if he were my friend*, which perhaps is the true reading. We may very eaſily reconcile all this, by ſuppoſing that both the Earl and Sir Walter might have their reaſons for not letting the world know how far they were friends. Mr White, in his Letters to Sir Robert Sydney during the Earl's abſence on this expedition, obſerves, that the creation of Barons, which it was intended ſhould have preceded the meeting of Parliament, was, by Secretary Cecil, put off till the Earl's return (45), and this plainly ſhews that he kept, or would be thought to keep, that treaty of good correſpondence which he had concluded with his Lordſhip.

(44) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 31.

(45) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 69.

[*L*] *The ſatisfaction he deſired.*] In order to apprehend this matter clearly, we muſt firſt learn what was the true cauſe of the Earl of Eſſex's diſcontent, which was very far from being ſo idle or unreaſonable as ſome have repreſented it. The Lord Admiral Howard had, in his abſence, been raiſed from the degree of a Baron to the title of Earl of Nottingham, and in the preamble of the patent his taking of Cadiz is particularly mentioned. Now, by virtue of a regulation made in the reign of Henry VIII. the Great Chamberlain of England, the Earl Marſhal, the Admiral, and the Steward of the Houſhold, were to have precedency in Parliament of all Peers of the ſame rank, ſo that if the Earl of Eſſex had attended the ſervice of the Houſe, the Earl of Nottingham, though created but a few days before, would have taken place of him in virtue of this regulation (46), though in the ſervice for which he was raiſed to his new title, the Earl of Eſſex had the precedency, and had no reaſon to believe that the Queen was not perfectly ſatisfied with his behaviour in that expedition. It was this that occaſioned his retiring from Court, and ſhewing ſuch high marks of diſcontent, with the motives of which, when the Queen was thoroughly acquainted, ſhe ſhewed herſelf ſo little pleaſed, that the Earl of Nottingham thought proper to retire, though he was Lord Steward as well as Lord Admiral, and going to his houſe at Chelſea gave out that he was ſick (47). The Queen immediately laid the fault upon the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh and Sir Robert Cecil, who, ſays Mr White, with infinite proteſtations, execrations, and vows, denied it; however, to ſet matters right again they had recourſe to Sir Walter Ralegh, whom they ſent to the Earl of Eſſex to diſpoſe him to admit of ſome expedient (48), which is certainly a proof that Sir Walter and he were not upon bad terms, or had been accuſing one another to the Queen. By his interpoſition the Earl was content, that his hereditary claim to the dignity of Earl Marſhal being admitted, by which he recovered his precedency again, he was willing to forget what was paſt; and it is very remarkable, that, after this agreement was made, Mr White writes to Sir Robert Sydney, that the world exceedingly wondered to ſee the too great familiarity that was grown between the Earl of Eſſex, Sir Robert Cecil, and Sir Walter Ralegh, none but they enjoy him, ſays he, and they carry him away as they liſt (49). This is a very ſingular piece of ſecret Hiſtory, and ſets the whole of theſe tranſactions in a new point of light.

(46) Camd. An p. 745, 746.

(47) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 77.

(48) Idem, ibid.

(49) Ibid. p. 7

[*M*] Of

reaſons in ſupport of what he ſaid (r). The Treaſurer, at length, grew into a great heat, inſomuch that he told the Earl of Eſſex, that he ſeemed to be intent upon nothing but blood and ſlaughter; the Earl explained himſelf upon this, that the blood and ſlaughter of the Queen's enemies might be very lawfully his intention, that he was not againſt a ſolid but a ſpecious and precarious peace, that the Spaniards were a ſubtle and ambitious people, who had contrived to do England more miſchief in time of peace than of war; and that as to an enemy, whoſe hands it was impoſſible to bind by treaty, it was better not to tie up our own (s). The Treaſurer at laſt drew out a Prayer-Book, in which he ſhewed Eſſex this expreſſion, *Men of blood ſhall not live out half their days* (t). Yet Camden, from whom we have all this, acknowledges, that many thought the arguments of Eſſex had weight, and that, in reality, his chief concern was for the honour and happineſs of his native country, which he thought might be better promoted by an open war, which would always keep the King of Spain's hands full at home, than by an unſteady peace, which might give his Catholick Majeſty time to recover his ſucceſſive loſſes, and allow him leiſure alſo to practiſe his uſual arts for weakening us (u). As the Earl knew well enough, that various methods would be uſed to prejudice the common people againſt him, more eſpecially ſuch as, in any degree, got their living by trade, or thought themſelves oppreſſed by the taxes levied for the ſupport of the war, he reſolved to write a vindication of his own proceedings, and to deliver his own arguments with all the advantages that his own pathetick eloquence could give them (w), which he addreſſed to his dear friend Anthony Bacon, and which ſtill remains a memorial of his great virtues and admirable abilities [M]. About this time died the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh (x), which was a great misfortune to the Earl of Eſſex, ſince the remembrance of his father, the truſt repoſed in him by committing this his eldeſt ſon to his care, and the reſpect and obedience which had been ſhewn him by the young Lord for ſeveral years, preſerved in him a tenderneſs for his perſon, and a real concern for his fortunes; but when that great Counſellor was gone, thoſe who hated the Earl acted without any reſtraint, croſſed whatever he propoſed, ſtopped the riſe of every man he loved, and treated all his projects with an air of ſupercilious contempt, except one which they thought would be his ruin. By the death of the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh the Chancellorſhip of the Univerſity of Cambridge became vacant, upon which, as the higheſt mark of their reſpect poſſible, that learned body choſe the Earl of Eſſex (y) in his room. Upon this account he went down to pay them a viſit, was entertained at Queen's College with great magnificence; and, as a proof of their general affection, the room in which he lay was, long after, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Eſſex Chamber (z). We may account this one of the laſt inſtances of this great man's felicity, for he was now advanced too high to ſit at eaſe; and thoſe who longed for his honours and employments, very buſily ſtudied how they might bring about his fall. The firſt great ſhock he had given him in the Queen's favour, was on the ſcore of the perſon he propoſed to be ſent over to Ireland, before he was drawn to have thoughts of going thither himſelf; and though, in appearance, he was reconciled and reſtored to the Queen's favour, yet there is good reaſon to doubt whether it was ever recovered in reality (a), or at leaſt to the degree in which he formerly held it. The reader will find the cauſe, the circumſtances, and the conſequences of this quarrel, in the notes [N]. An event

(r) Stowe's Annals, p. 789. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 765, 766, 767.

(s) Ibid. p. 771.

(t) See the article of CECIL (WILLIAM) Lord Burleigh, in this Dictionary. Cabala, P. i. p. 344.

(u) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 771.

(w) This apology ſtole into the world not long after it was written, with which the Queen was exceedingly offended.

(x) Camd. Annal. p. 773.

(y) Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 864.

(z) Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p. 156.

(a) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 772, 773.

[M] *Of his great virtues and admirable abilities.*] The title of this work runs thus: *To Mr Anthony Bacon, an Apologie of the Earle of Eſſexe, againſt thoſe which falſlie and maliciouſlie take him to be the only Hindrance of the Peace and Quiet of his Countrie* (50). In it he gives a ſuccinct and very impartial account of the undertakings and conduct of his whole life; he declares his love of peace; and his diſlike of war when it is a worſe evil than a bad peace; he explains the cauſes for ſuſpecting the ſincerity of the Spaniſh offers, obſerves, that when they treated before, they at the ſame time laboured to corrupt Dr Lopez, the Queen's Phyſician, to poiſon her, and even at this time he aſſerts, that there was one Anthony Rolles, a priſoner in the Tower, who came over with a commiſſion from the King of Spain, to offer him, the Earl of Eſſex, whatever title, preferment, or penſion he ſhould deſire, for taking their part (51). He next opens the political motives that might, in all probability, induce the Catholick King to conclude a peace, without any true intention of living at quiet; the great advantages that might ariſe from thence to Spain, and bad conſequences to us and our allies, more eſpecially the States of Holland, of whoſe government and intereſts he diſcourſes with great clearneſs and capacity, and ſhews how fit he was to manage, as he did that very year, a new treaty between the Queen his Sovereign and that Republick (52).

[N] *In the notes.*] We have the beſt, indeed the only full account of this matter from Camden, who was a very judicious man, as well as furniſhed with the beſt memoirs of that reign that were to be procured, and therefore we will give it in his words. Having mentioned the motives alledged by Eſſex for carrying on the war, he proceeds thus (53): ‘ There followed after this, ſays he, a pretty warm diſpute between the Queen and Eſſex, about the choice of ſome fit and able perſon to ſuperintend the affairs of Ireland, at which none were preſent but the Lord Admiral, Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary; and Windebanke, Clerk of the Seal: for whereas the Queen looked upon Sir William Knolles, uncle to Eſſex, as the moſt proper perſon for that charge; and Eſſex contending that Sir George Carew would much better execute that office (perhaps on purpoſe to get rid of him), and when the Queen could by no means be perſuaded to approve his choice, he quite forgot himſelf and his duty, and turned his back upon his Prince in a kind of contempt. The Queen, not able to bear his inſolence, beſtowed on him a box on the ear, and bad him go and be hanged. He immediately clapped his hand on his ſword, and the Lord Admiral ſtepping in between, he ſwore a great oath he neither could nor would put up an affront of that nature, nor would he have taken it at the hands of Henry VIII himſelf, and in a great paſſion immediately withdrew from the Court. The Lord Keeper adviſed him, in a ſerious and conſiderate letter, to apply himſelf to the Queen for pardon (54), alledging, *that 'twas the beſt way to ſtoop to her anger for the preſent, remembering that paſſage of Seneca,* If the law puniſhes a guilty perſon he muſt ſubmit to juſtice; if one innocent he muſt yield to fortune. *If he had given the* Queen

(50) Reprinted under the title of the Earl of Eſſex's Vindication of the War with Spain in 1729. 8vo.

(51) Earl of Eſſex's Vindication of the War with Spain, p. 24.

(52) Camd. Annal. p. 776.

(53) Idem, ibid. p. 771.

(54) Theſe letters may be found at large in the Cabala, P. i. p. 216, 217. As alſo in Winſtanley's England's Worthies, p. 232. where there is a ſtrange miſtake as to the time in which the Earl's anſwer was written.

event happened much about this time, which ſhewed the ſentiments the enemies of England had of this noble perſon, and ought therefore to have endeared him to ſuch as had a real affection for their country: there was one Edward Squire ſeized and impriſoned for treaſon, and his caſe came out to be this; he had been a groom in the Queen's ſtables, went afterwards to ſea with Sir Francis Drake, was taken priſoner and carried to Spain, where he was perſwaded by a Jeſuit to undertake poiſoning the Earl of Eſſex, and afterwards Queen Elizabeth, for performing which he had poiſon given him in a bladder (*b*). He found means to rub this, as he was directed, upon the pommel of the Queen's ſaddle, got himſelf afterwards recommended to ſerve on board the Earl's ſhip in the Iſland Voyage, where, in like manner, he poiſoned both the arms of his great chair; yet no effect followed in either caſe (*c*). Upon this the Spaniſh Jeſuit ſuſpecting the man, and not his drug, cauſed information to be given in England againſt Squire, who, finding himſelf betrayed by his Confeſſor, opened the whole ſcene, and plainly acknowledged his endeavours to diſpatch both the Queen and the Earl, for which he was deſervedly executed (*d*). The miſeries of Ireland continued all this time, or rather increaſed, and when propoſals were made, in the Queen's Council, for ſending over a new Governor, with certain reſtrictions, Eſſex took occaſion of ſhewing, that nothing had been hitherto ſo expenſive as an ill timed frugality, and that the Iriſh rebels had been the only gainers by the reſtraints put upon the Engliſh Deputies (*e*). Thoſe who hated this noble perſon were not diſpleaſed when they found him in this diſpoſition, and, at length, took, in their turn, occaſion, from his objections, to ſuggeſt, that the total reduction of that iſland was to be expected from none but himſelf; which, at firſt, he declined; but perceiving that he could enjoy little quiet or comfort at home, that it was with difficulty he maintained his credit, and that by failing the expectations of his friends he ſhould gradually loſe them, he conſented to accept that fatal preferment, and agreed to go over into that kingdom, which had been the grave of his father's fortunes, and which his beſt friends foreſaw would prove the gulf of his own (*f*) It is indeed true, that he had a great army granted him, and that due care was taken for the payment of it; that his powers were very large, and his appointments very great; but theſe were obtained with many ſtruggles, and notice was taken of every thing he promiſed, or ſeemed to promiſe, in order to obtain them (*g*); and, when all things were regulated, he was ſo far from going with alacrity, as to a place which he had ſought, and to a command which he meditated for the ſake of greater things, that he ſeemed rather to look upon it as a baniſhment, and a place aſſigned him for a retreat from his Sovereign's preſent diſpleaſure, rather than a potent government beſtowed upon him by her favour [O]. On the 12th of March 1598, his commiſſion for Lord Lieutenant paſſed the Great Seal (*h*), and, on the 27th of the ſame month, about two

(*b*) Biſhop Carleton's thankful Remembrances of God's Mercy, cap. xiv.

(*c*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 779.

(*d*) Stowe's Annals, p. 788.

(*e*) This is affirmed by Bacon in his declaration of the Earl of Eſſex's treaſon.

(*f*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 27.

(*g*) As appeared from the ſpeeches of the Lords of the Privy-Council in the Star-Chamber.

(*h*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. II. p. 1,11.

Queen a juſt offence, 'twas not in his power to make her amends; whereas if ſhe had done him an injury, he was obliged in prudence, duty, and religion, to bear with his Sovereign, to whom he had ſo many obligations, for that there was a vaſt difference between a Prince and a ſubject. He ſent the Lord Keeper his anſwer in a long and paſſionate letter, which his friends afterwards unadviſedly divulged, wherein he appealed from the Queen to God Almighty, in expreſſions ſomething to this purpoſe: 'That there is no tempeſt ſo boiſterous as the reſentment of an angry Prince: that the Queen was of a flinty temper: that he well enough knew what was due from him as a ſubject, an Earl, and Grand Marſhal of England, but did not underſtand the office of a drudge or a porter: that to own himſelf a criminal was to injure truth, and the author of it, God Almighty: that his body ſuffered in every part of it by that blow given him by his Prince: that 'twould be a crime in him to ſerve a Queen who had given him ſo great an affront. What! was it impoſſible for crowned heads to wrong, and ſo to ſtand accountable to their ſubjects? Was any power below of an unlimited nature? And did not Solomon ſay, that he is a fool who laughs when he is ſtricken? They only that were gainers by the miſcarriages of Princes were obliged to take the indignities they offered, and thoſe who ſuſpected the omnipotence of the Deity, might, if they pleaſed, place it in earthly Princes: for my part, ſaid he, I have ſuffered ſo many and great injuries, that I cannot but reſent them from my very heart.' However, in a little time he became more pliant, received his pardon, and was re-admitted into the Queen's favour, who always thought it a leſs crime to offend a perſon, than to proſecute him with a perfect hatred. However, his friends were apt to date his ruin from this unlucky circumſtance, having made this remark, That fortune ſeldom careſſes a caſt-off favourite a ſecond time, and Princes once diſobliged are ſeldom heartily reconciled.

[O] *Beſtowed upon him by her favour.*] The truth of this may be not only probably collected, but in ſome meaſure proved, from an epiſtle of his to the Queen, written after his appointment to the government of Ireland, and before his going thither, of which there is a very imperfect copy in the Cabala (55), but that loſs is now ſupplied, by the following full and correct tranſcript of that valuable and authentick paper, from the collections in the Harleian Library (56). If we conſider the Earl's character, and how incapable he was of diſſembling, the weight of this evidence will be the greater; but without taking in that, I look on the very ſtile of the letter to be ſuch as will put all ſuſpicion of artifice out of the caſe, which will teach the reader what to think of the Declaration of his treaſons, that ſtands entirely upon this bottom, that he had plotted a revolution in England before he went to Ireland, and deſired the Lieutenancy that he might put himſelf at the head of an army, and enter into a confederacy with the rebels.

To the Queen.

'FROM a mind delighting in ſorrow, from ſpirits waſted with paſſion, from a heart torn in pieces with care, grief, and travel; from a man that hateth himſelf, and all things elſe that keep him alive; what ſervice can your Majeſty expect, ſince any ſervice paſt deſerves no more than baniſhment and proſcription to the curſedeſt of all iſlands? It is your rebels pride and ſucceſſion muſt give me leave to ranſom myſelf out of this hateful priſon, out of my loathed body, which, if it happen ſo, your Majeſty ſhall have no cauſe to miſlike the faſhion of my death, ſince the courſe of my life could never pleaſe you.

Happy

(55) Cabala, P. i. p. 216.

(56) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, p. 133.

two in the afternoon, he ſet out from Seething-Lane, and paſſing through the city in a plain habit, accompanied by many of the Nobility, he was attended by vaſt crowds of people out of town; and it was obſerved, with a view, perhaps, to prepare the world to have a bad opinion of his conduct, that the weather was exceeding fair when he took horſe, but, by that time he came to Iſlington, there was a heavy ſtorm of rain, attended with thunder and lightning (*i*). The like bad weather he met with at ſea, ſo that he did not arrive at Dublin, or take upon him his charge, before April 15th, 1599 (*k*). He found things in that country in a ſtate very different from what he expected, and perceived that there was nothing to be done, at leaſt to any purpoſe, till he was well acquainted with the country in which he was to act. He found likewiſe, that the new-raiſed men he had brought over were altogether unfit for action, till they were ſeaſoned to the country, and well acquainted with diſcipline (*l*). Theſe conſiderations hindered him from marching directly to Ulſter, for fear Tir-Oen ſhould make any advantage of his weakneſſes; and the Council deſiring that he would ſuppreſs ſome diſorders in Munſter, he thought that a fair occaſion of exerciſing his new troops, and did it effectually (*m*) On his return to Dublin, that very day two months on which he had received the government, he wrote a letter to the Queen, containing a free, fair, and full repreſentation of the ſtate of things in that country; which moſt admirable performance pointing out all the ſteps that were afterwards taken, and by which his ſucceſſor made an end of the war, remains upon record in Ireland (*n*); but, of the contents thereof, not a ſyllable is mentioned in Camden, or the reſt of our Hiſtorians. This letter he ſent over to the Queen by his Secretary, in hopes that from thence ſhe might have derived a juſt notion of the ſtate of things in that iſland, but it produced no ſuch effect; on the contrary, the Queen was exceedingly provoked that he had not marched into Ulſter, in order to attack Tir-Oen, and repeated her orders upon that head in very ſtrong terms (*o*). Before theſe arrived, Sir Henry Harrington, with ſome of the freſh troops, had been worſted by the O Brians; which ſo provoked Eſſex, that he cauſed the remains of thoſe troops to be decimated (*p*); which, with the throwing a ſoldier over-board in his laſt expedition, with his own hands, are the only inſtances of ſeverity that are recorded of him (*q*). When he received the Queen's orders, and was on the point of marching into Ulſter, he was prevailed upon to enter the country of Ophaly, to reduce the O Connors and the O Moores, which he performed; but his troops were ſo harraſſed and diminiſhed thereby, that, with the advice and conſent of the Council of Ireland, he wrote home for a recruit of two thouſand men (*r*). In the midſt of theſe croſſes in Ireland, an army was ſuddenly raiſed in England, under the command of the Earl of Nottingham; no-body well knowing why, but, in reality, from the ſuggeſtions of the Earl's enemies to the Queen, that he rather meditated an invaſion on his native country, than the reduction of the Iriſh rebels (*s*). At length Eſſex, intending for Ulſter, ſent orders to Clifford, who commanded in Connaught, to march towards the enemy on that ſide, that Tir-Oen might be obliged to divide his forces; which was executed, but with ſuch ill fortune, that the Engliſh, being ſurprized, were beaten, with the loſs of their Commander in Chief, together with Sir Alexander Ratcliffe, and one hundred and forty men (*t*). Upon the arrival of the ſuccours which he had demanded, the Lord Lieutenant marched, though with a ſmall force, againſt Tir-Oen, in the latter end of the month of Auguſt; but, on the 8th of September following, was prevailed upon to confer with him alone at the ford of Ballaclynch; and afterwards, with counſellors on both ſides, when he concluded a truce for ſix weeks, and ſo from ſix weeks to ſix weeks, till May, provided that, on a fortnight's notice, either party might be at liberty to reſume the war (*u*). He was lead to this by the weak and deſperate reſolution he had taken of returning to England, whither he had once ſome thoughts of tranſporting a body of his forces, but was diſſwaded from it by his friends. However, upon receiving a ſharp letter, directed to him and the Council, from the Queen, he determined to ſtay no longer, ſettled the government in the beſt manner he could, and, with a few of his friends, came over to England (*w*). He arrived before any notice could be received of his deſign, went directly to the Court at Nonſuch, and preſented himſelf to the Queen on the 28th of September, where he met with a tolerable reception, but was, ſoon after, committed, treated with a mixture of kindneſs and ſeverity, till, upon his abſolute ſubmiſſion, he was brought before ſome of the Privy-Council, ſeverely reprimanded, diſmiſſed from the Board, ſuſpended from the exerciſe of all his great offices, except that of Maſter of the Horſe, and committed to a Keeper, Sir Richard Barkley, who was, not long after, withdrawn (*x*). Such was the iſſue of the Queen's reſentments; as for what happened afterwards, it was the effects of his own ill conduct, wrought up to a

degree

(*i*) Stowe's Annals, p. 788.

(*k*) Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, P. i. p. 416.

(*l*) Collected from the ſeveral accounts of his proceedings in that kingdom.

(*m*) As is acknowledged in a letter of Sir Robert Cecil's, in Winwood's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 57, 71.

(*n*) Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, P. ii. p. 418.

(*o*) Camden. Annal. p. 790.

(*p*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, P. i. p. 421.

(*q*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 30.

(*r*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, P. i. p. 421.

(*s*) Sir William Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 39.

(*t*) Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, P. i. p. 421.

(*u*) Camden. Annal. p. 791, 792.

(*w*) Stowe's Annals, p. 789.

(*x*) Camden. Annal. p. 795—799.

Happy he could finiſh forth his fate
In ſome unhaunted deſart, *moſt obſcure*
From all ſociety, *from* love *and* hate
Of worldly folk; *then ſhould he ſleep ſecure:*
Then wake again and yield God *ever* praiſe,
Content with hips, *and* haws, *and* brambleberry,
In contemplation paſſing out his days,
And change of holy thoughts *to make him merry.*
Who when he dies *his* tomb *may be a* buſh,
Where harmleſs Robin *dwells with gentle* Thruſh.

Your Majeſty's exil'd ſervant,

ROBERT ESSEX.

[P] *From*

event happened much about this time, which ſhewed the ſentiments the enemies of England had of this noble perſon, and ought therefore to have endeared him to ſuch as had a real affection for their country: there was one Edward Squire ſeized and impriſoned for treaſon, and his caſe came out to be this; he had been a groom in the Queen's ſtables, went afterwards to ſea with Sir Francis Drake, was taken priſoner and carried to Spain, where he was perſwaded by a Jeſuit to undertake poiſoning the Earl of Eſſex, and afterwards Queen Elizabeth, for performing which he had poiſon given him in a bladder (b). He found means to rub this, as he was directed, upon the pommel of the Queen's ſaddle, got himſelf afterwards recommended to ſerve on board the Earl's ſhip in the Iſland Voyage, where, in like manner, he poiſoned both the arms of his great chair; yet no effect followed in either caſe (c). Upon this the Spaniſh Jeſuit ſuſpecting the man, and not his drug, cauſed information to be given in England againſt Squire, who, finding himſelf betrayed by his Confeſſor, opened the whole ſcene, and plainly acknowledged his endeavours to diſpatch both the Queen and the Earl, for which he was deſervedly executed (d). The miſeries of Ireland continued all this time, or rather increaſed, and when propoſals were made, in the Queen's Council, for ſending over a new Governor, with certain reſtrictions, Eſſex took occaſion of ſhewing, that nothing had been hitherto ſo expenſive as an ill-timed frugality, and that the Iriſh rebels had been the only gainers by the reſtraints put upon the Engliſh Deputies (e). Thoſe who hated this noble perſon were not diſpleaſed when they found him in this diſpoſition, and, at length, took, in their turn, occaſion, from his objections, to ſuggeſt, that the total reduction of that iſland was to be expected from none but himſelf; which, at firſt, he declined; but perceiving that he could enjoy little quiet or comfort at home, that it was with difficulty he maintained his credit, and that by failing the expectations of his friends he ſhould gradually loſe them, he conſented to accept that fatal preferment, and agreed to go over into that kingdom, which had been the grave of his father's fortunes, and which his beſt friends foreſaw would prove the gulf of his own (f). It is indeed true, that he had a great army granted him, and that due care was taken for the payment of it; that his powers were very large, and his appointments very great; but theſe were obtained with many ſtruggles, and notice was taken of every thing he promiſed, or ſeemed to promiſe, in order to obtain them (g); and, when all things were regulated, he was ſo far from going with alacrity, as to a place which he had ſought, and to a command which he meditated for the ſake of greater things, that he ſeemed rather to look upon it as a baniſhment, and a place aſſigned him for a retreat from his Sovereign's preſent diſpleaſure, rather than a potent government beſtowed upon him by her favour [O]. On the 12th of March 1598, his commiſſion for Lord Lieutenant paſſed the Great Seal (b), and, on the 27th of the ſame month, about two

Queen a juſt offence, 'twas not in his power to make her amends; whereas if ſhe had done him an injury, he was obliged in prudence, duty, and religion, to bear with his Sovereign, to whom he had ſo many obligations, for that there was a vaſt difference between a Prince and a ſubject. He ſent the Lord Keeper his anſwer in a long and paſſionate letter, which his friends afterwards unadviſedly divulged, wherein he appealed from the Queen to God Almighty, in expreſſions ſomething to this purpoſe: 'That there is no tempeſt ſo boiſterous as the reſentment of an angry Prince: that the Queen was of a flinty temper: that he well enough knew what was due from him as a ſubject, an Earl, and Grand Marſhal of England, but did not underſtand the office of a drudge or a porter: that to own himſelf a criminal was to injure truth, and the author of it, God Almighty: that his body ſuffered in every part of it by that blow given him by his Prince: that 'twould be a crime in him to ſerve a Queen who had given him ſo great an affront. What! was it impoſſible for crowned heads to wrong, and ſo to ſtand accountable to their ſubjects? Was any power below of an unlimited nature? And did not Solomon ſay, that he is a fool who laughs when he is ſtricken? They only that were gainers by the miſcarriages of Princes were obliged to take the indignities they offered, and thoſe who ſuſpected the omnipotence of the Deity, might, if they pleaſed, place it in earthly Princes: for my part, ſaid he, I have ſuffered ſo many and great injuries, that I cannot but reſent them from my very heart.' However, in a little time he became more pliant, received his pardon, and was re-admitted into the Queen's favour, who always thought it a leſs crime to offend a perſon, than to proſecute him with a perfect hatred. However, his friends were apt to date his ruin from this unlucky circumſtance, having made this remark, That fortune ſeldom careſſes a caſt-off favourite a ſecond time, and Princes once diſobliged are ſeldom heartily reconciled.

[O] *Beſtowed upon him by her favour*] The truth of this may be not only probably collected, but in ſome meaſure proved, from an epiſtle of his to the Queen, written after his appointment to the government of Ireland, and before his going thither, of which there is a very imperfect copy in the Cabala (55), but that loſs is now ſupplied, by the following full and correct tranſcript of that valuable and authentick paper, from the collections in the Harleian Library (56). If we conſider the Earl's character, and how incapable he was of diſſembling, the weight of this evidence will be the greater; but without taking in that, I look on the very ſtile of the letter to be ſuch as will put all ſuſpicion of artifice out of the caſe, which will teach the reader what to think of the Declaration of his treaſons, that ſtands entirely upon this bottom, that he had plotted a revolution in England before he went to Ireland, and deſired the Lieutenancy that he might put himſelf at the head of an army, and enter into a confedeeracy with the rebels.

To the Queen.

'FROM a mind delighting in ſorrow, from ſpirits waſted with paſſion, from a heart torn in pieces with care, grief, and travel; from a man that hateth himſelf, and all things elſe that keep him alive; what ſervice can your Majeſty expect, ſince any ſervice paſt deſerves no more than baniſhment and proſcription to the curſedeſt of all iſlands? It is your rebels pride and ſucceſſion muſt give me leave to ranſom myſelf out of this hateful priſon, out of my loathed body, which, if it happen ſo, your Majeſty ſhall have no cauſe to miſlike the faſhion of my death, ſince the courſe of my life could never pleaſe you.

(b) Biſhop Carleton's thankful Remembrances of God's Mercy, cap. xiv.

(c) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 779.

(d) Stowe's Annals, p. 788.

(e) This is affirmed by Bacon in his declaration of the Earl of Eſſex's treaſon.

(f) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 27.

(g) As appeared from the ſpeeches of the Lords of the Privy-Council in the Star-Chamber.

(b) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. II. p. 1, 11.

(55) Cabala, P. i, p. 216.

(56) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, p. 13

two in the afternoon, he ſet out from Seething-Lane, and paſſing through the city in a plain habit, accompanied by many of the Nobility, he was attended by vaſt crowds of people out of town; and it was obſerved, with a view, perhaps, to prepare the world to have a bad opinion of his conduct, that the weather was exceeding fair when he took horſe, but, by that time he came to Iſlington, there was a heavy ſtorm of rain, attended with thunder and lightning (*i*). The like bad weather he met with at ſea, ſo that he did not arrive at Dublin, or take upon him his charge, before April 15th, 1599 (*k*). He found things in that country in a ſtate very different from what he expected, and perceived that there was nothing to be done, at leaſt to any purpoſe, till he was well acquainted with the country in which he was to act. He found likewiſe, that the new-raiſed men he had brought over were altogether unfit for action, till they were ſeaſoned to the country, and well acquainted with diſcipline (*l*). Theſe conſiderations hindered him from marching directly to Ulſter, for fear Tir-Oen ſhould make any advantage of his weakneſſes; and the Council deſiring that he would ſuppreſs ſome diſorders in Munſter, he thought that a fair occaſion of exerciſing his new troops, and did it effectually (*m*) On his return to Dublin, that very day two months on which he had received the government, he wrote a letter to the Queen, containing a free, fair, and full repreſentation of the ſtate of things in that country; which moſt admirable performance pointing out all the ſteps that were afterwards taken, and by which his ſucceſſor made an end of the war, remains upon record in Ireland (*n*); but, of the contents thereof, not a ſyllable is mentioned in Camden, or the reſt of our Hiſtorians. This letter he ſent over to the Queen by his Secretary, in hopes that from thence ſhe might have derived a juſt notion of the ſtate of things in that iſland, but it produced no ſuch effect; on the contrary, the Queen was exceedingly provoked that he had not marched into Ulſter, in order to attack Tir-Oen, and repeated her orders upon that head in very ſtrong terms (*o*). Before theſe arrived, Sir Henry Harrington, with ſome of the freſh troops, had been worſted by the O Brians; which ſo provoked Eſſex, that he cauſed the remains of thoſe troops to be decimated (*p*); which, with the throwing a ſoldier over-board in his laſt expedition, with his own hands, are the only inſtances of ſeverity that are recorded of him (*q*). When he received the Queen's orders, and was on the point of marching into Ulſter, he was prevailed upon to enter the country of Ophaly, to reduce the O Connors and the O Moores, which he performed; but his troops were ſo harraſſed and diminiſhed thereby, that, with the advice and conſent of the Council of Ireland, he wrote home for a recruit of two thouſand men (*r*). In the midſt of theſe croſſes in Ireland, an army was ſuddenly raiſed in England, under the command of the Earl of Nottingham; no-body well knowing why, but, in reality, from the ſuggeſtions of the Earl's enemies to the Queen, that he rather meditated an invaſion on his native country, than the reduction of the Iriſh rebels (*s*). At length Eſſex, intending for Ulſter, ſent orders to Clifford, who commanded in Connaught, to march towards the enemy on that ſide, that Tir-Oen might be obliged to divide his forces; which was executed, but with ſuch ill fortune, that the Engliſh, being ſurprized, were beaten, with the loſs of their Commander in Chief, together with Sir Alexander Ratcliffe, and one hundred and forty men (*t*). Upon the arrival of the ſuccours which he had demanded, the Lord Lieutenant marched, though with a ſmall force, againſt Tir-Oen, in the latter end of the month of Auguſt; but, on the 8th of September following, was prevailed upon to confer with him alone at the ford of Ballaclynch; and afterwards, with counſellors on both ſides, when he concluded a truce for ſix weeks, and ſo from ſix weeks to ſix weeks, till May, provided that, on a fortnight's notice, either party might be at liberty to reſume the war (*u*). He was lead to this by the weak and deſperate reſolution he had taken of returning to England, whither he had once ſome thoughts of tranſporting a body of his forces, but was diſſwaded from it by his friends. However, upon receiving a ſharp letter, directed to him and the Council, from the Queen, he determined to ſtay no longer, ſettled the government in the beſt manner he could, and, with a few of his friends, came over to England (*w*). He arrived before any notice could be received of his deſign, went directly to the Court at Nonſuch, and preſented himſelf to the Queen on the 28th of September, where he met with a tolerable reception, but was, ſoon after, committed, treated with a mixture of kindneſs and ſeverity, till, upon his abſolute ſubmiſſion, he was brought before ſome of the Privy-Council, ſeverely reprimanded, diſmiſſed from the Board, ſuſpended from the exerciſe of all his great offices, except that of Maſter of the Horſe, and committed to a Keeper, Sir Richard Barkley, who was, not long after, withdrawn (*x*). Such was the iſſue of the Queen's reſentments; as for what happened afterwards, it was the effects of his own ill conduct, wrought up to a degree

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(*i*) Stowe's Annals, p. 788.

(*k*) Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, P. I. p. 416.

(*l*) Collected from the ſeveral accounts of his proceedings in that kingdom.

(*m*) As is acknowledged in a letter of Sir Robert Cecil's, in Winwood's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 57, 71.

(*n*) Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, P. ii. p. 418.

(*o*) Camden. Annal. p. 790.

(*p*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, P. i. p. 421.

(*q*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 30.

(*r*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, P. i. p. 421.

(*s*) Sir William Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 39.

(*t*) Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, P. i. p. 421.

(*u*) Camden. Annal. p. 791, 792.

(*w*) Stowe's Annals, p. 789.

(*x*) Camden. Annal. p. 795—799.

Happy he could finiſh forth his fate
In ſome unhaunted deſart, *moſt obſcure*
From all ſociety, *from* love *and* hate
Of worldly folk; *then ſhould he ſleep ſecure:*
Then wake again and yield God *ever* praiſe,
Content with hips, *and* haws, *and* brambleberry,
In contemplation paſſing out his days,
And change of holy thoughts *to make him merry.*
Who when he dies his tomb *may be a* buſh,
Where harmleſs Robin *dwells with gentle* Thruſh.

Your Majeſty's exil'd ſervant,

ROBERT ESSEX.

[*P*] *From*

degree of madneſs from the artifices of his ſubtle enemies [P]. In the ſummer of the year 1600 he recovered his liberty, and, in the autumn following, he received Mr Cuffe, who had been his Secretary in Ireland, into his councils; who laboured to perſwade him, that ſubmiſſion would never do him any good; that the Queen was in the hands of a faction, who were his enemies; and that the only way to reſtore his fortune, was to find a means of obtaining an audience, in which he might be able to repreſent his own caſe, let that means be what it would (y). The Earl heard this dangerous advice without conſenting to it, till he found there was no hopes of getting his farm of the ſweet wines renewed, then it is ſaid that, giving a looſe to his paſſion, he let fall many vehement expreſſions, and, amongſt the reſt, this fatal reflection (z), *That the Queen grew old and cankered, and that her mind was become as crooked as her carcaſe.* Camden ſays (a), that this was aggravated by ſome of the Court Ladies, whom he had diſappointed in their intrigues. The Earl of Clarendon ſeems to ſuſpect the truth of it (b), but another great Hiſtorian, who knew all the paſſages of thoſe times well, is more clear in this reſpect (c). We have elſewhere traced the progreſs of his unlucky contrivance, in which he ſeemed to act rather as the inſtrument of his enemies, in ſhaping his own and his friends deſtruction, than as a man of abilities, (which ſurely he did not want) ſtruggling with the frowns of fortune (d). Thoſe enemies, who had exact intelligence of all that he propoſed, having provided effectually againſt the execution of his deſigns, hurried him upon his fate by a meſſage ſent on the evening of the 7th of February, requiring him to attend the Council, which he declined (e). He then gave out that they ſought his life, kept a watch in Eſſex-Houſe all night, and ſummoned his friends, for his defence, the next morning. The Queen, being informed of the great reſort of people of all ranks to the Earl, ſent the Lord Keeper Egerton, the Earl of Worceſter, Sir Francis Knolles, (his uncle by the mother's ſide) and the Lord Chief-Juſtice Popham, to know his grievances, whom, after a ſhort and ineffectual conference, he confined; and then, attended by the Earls of Rutland and Southampton, the Lord Sands, the Lord Monteagle, and about two hundred Gentlemen, he went into the city, where the Earl of Bedford, the Lord Cromwell, and ſome other Gentlemen, joined him, but his dependance on the populace failed him; and Sir Robert Cecil prevailing upon his brother the Lord Burleigh to go with Sir Gilbert Dethick, then King at Arms, and proclaim Eſſex and his adherents traytors, in the principal ſtreets, the Earl found it impoſſible to return to his houſe by land; and, therefore, ſending Sir Ferdinando Gorges before to releaſe the Chief-Juſtice, who, for his own ſake, thought fit to extend that order to the reſt of the Privy-Counſellors; the Earl, with his principal attendants, returned in boats to Eſſex-Houſe, which was quickly inveſted by the

(y) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 31.

(z) Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 230.

(a) Annal. Eliz. p. 837.

(b) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 52.

(c) Sir Walter Ralegh's *Prerogative of Parliaments in England.* Middleburgh, 1628. 4*to.* p. 43.

(d) See the article of CUFFE (HENRY) in this Dictionary.

(e) See the Declaration of Treaſons of the Earl of Eſſex, by Sir Francis Bacon.

[P] *From the artifices of his ſubtle enemies.*] It may not be amiſs, for the ſake of preſerving the connection of this great man's hiſtory, and to prevent that confuſion which may eaſily happen from two diſtinct proceedings againſt him upon this affair, to ſet down the dates a little more particularly, but at the ſame time as conciſely as poſſible. He was preſently after his arrival, that is, on the ſecond of October, confined in the houſe of the Lord Keeper Egerton very ſtrictly, ſo that even his family were not permitted to ſee him, his friends had little countenance at Court, and the Queen ſpoke with more or leſs vehemence, but ever with diſpleaſure (57). But her Majeſty being informed that the people both in town and country took great liberty in their diſcourſes, the Lords of the Council in the Star-chamber, at the laſt ſitting in Michaelmas term, on the twenty-eighth of November 1599, were commanded to ſay, what they thought might juſtify what had been done, and put a ſtop to theſe murmurs; the Lord Keeper began with obſerving, that the Queen was an abſolute Prince, and yet condeſcended to inform her people, that the army lately ſent into Ireland was ſuch a one as a King's ſon might have thought it an honour to command, and a better than our antient Kings had to conquer France, that ſhe forgave the perſon ſhe choſe to command it a debt of eight thouſand pounds, and put into his purſe a gift to the value of twenty-two thouſand; that the ſcheme of the war was laid down in Council, which himſelf approved; that he followed quite another courſe in Ireland, and contrary to the Queen's expreſs commandment, which was a contempt of a very high nature; and ſince his return, the Privy-Council of Ireland had diſavowed his actions, and of theſe points the Lord Keeper directed the Juſtices of Peace to give full information in their reſpective counties. The Lord Treaſurer Buckhurſt ſhewed how the Queen's treaſure had been waſted; the Lord Admiral Nottingham magnified the promiſes the Earl made before he went, his ſaying that he would make the earth tremble beneath him, that notwithſtanding this the army had ſuffered much diſhonour, was greatly weakened, and ſuch propoſals of peace brought over, as, with a great oath, he ſwore the Queen would hazard her perſon, and die amongſt them, before ſhe would grant. The Lord Chamberlain Hunſdon ſaid only, that the army was great, and that with ſuch an officer at their head as the Earl of Eſſex might have endangered Spain. Sir Francis Knolles ſpoke to the ſame effect. The Secretary, Sir Robert Cecil, in a ſpeech full of proteſtations, in which he ſtiled thoſe who diſliked the Queen's Miniſters the devil's children and wicked ſpirits, affirmed, that in a little more than ten years the Queen had ſpent three millions four hundred thouſand pounds upon Ireland; that the Earl had a royal army, that he had diminiſhed it without doing any thing, that he returned contrary to her Majeſty's expreſs commands, and that if he had ſtaid but twenty days longer the Queen had ſent him a ſucceſſor (58). The Earl was not preſent at this time, nor had any opportunity of defending himſelf. His confinement continued all the winter with the ſame ſeverity; this threw him into a grievous fit of ſickneſs, from which he recovered but ſlowly through his exceſſive anxiety; at length he was permitted to ſee his Lady, and ſome hopes were given him as if the Queen meant to humble and not to cruſh him. Laſt of all he was brought to a publick audience, before a Committee of the Privy-Council and others, in the Lord Keeper's houſe, June 5, 1600, where, for eleven hours, he heard all the ſpeeches that were made againſt him with great humility, kneeling, till, upon the motion of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, he was allowed to ſtand, then to lean, and at laſt to ſit upon a ſtool (59); but he knelt again when he received his ſentence, and though no mention was made of his poſt of Maſter of the Horſe, yet the Earl of Worceſter performed the functions of it, and he had no aſſurance of his being reſtored (60). He was remanded into cuſtody, and his keeper continued with him till the 27th of Auguſt, and then he was permitted to retire to Ewelme lodge in Oxfordſhire (61).

(57) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 139, 140, 141, 142, 144.

(58) Theſe ſpeeches are annexed to the laſt edition of the Earl's Apology. Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 146.

(59) See the Proceedings upon this Commiſſion, drawn up by Sir Francis Bacon. Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 199.

(60) Idem, ibid. p. 201.

(61) Idem, ibid. p. 213.

[Q] *They*

the Earl of Nottingham, Lord Admiral, with a great force, to whom, after many diſputes, and ſome blood ſpilt, he and his adherents, at laſt, ſurrendered (*f*). Eſſex was carried that night to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's palace at Lambeth, with the Earl of Southampton, and the next day they were ſent to the Tower (*g*). On the 19th of the ſame month they were arraigned before their Peers, and, after a long trial, the moſt material circumſtances of which, we have had occaſion to mention elſewhere, they were found guilty, and ſentence of death pronounced by the Lord Buckhurſt, who ſat as Lord High Steward (*h*). Upon this melancholy occaſion all that Eſſex ſaid was, *If her Majeſty had pleaſed, this body of mine might have done her better ſervice; however, I ſhall be glad if it may prove ſerviceable to her any way* (*i*). After he was remanded to the Tower, there were great pains taken to draw from him very large and full confeſſions; which was the more eaſy, as he was truly and ſincerely pious; and, after he was once perſwaded, that his project was of a treaſonable nature, made it a point of conſcience to diſcloſe all he knew, though it was highly prejudicial to his friends, and could do no good to himſelf; and, indeed, he did not appear either to deſign or deſire it (*k*). Two reaſons ſeem eſpecially to have moved ſuch as ſet on foot theſe practices, by which the honeſty of Eſſex was rendered fatal even to his laſt breath, and they were ſuch as became politicians, who had nothing but ſelf-intereſt in view, which, if they could promote, they had not either conſideration or pity for others. The firſt was, that, by his proper confeſſion, they might effectually eſtabliſh the truth of his plot, increaſe the number of it's circumſtances, heighten the apparent danger of it's conſequences, and thereby furniſh plentiful materials for proclamations, ſermons, and declarations (*l*), which might remove from the unhappy Earl all means of obtaining mercy, excite in the Queen the utmoſt horror, and, at the ſame time, terify her with diſmal apprehenſions, while the nation in general was aſtoniſhed, and their affection for the unhappy ſufferer cooled, or, at leaſt, confounded. In all which, for a time, they gained their end [*Q*]. The other motive was finding out evidence againſt the chief of his adherents, many of them of great quality, and ſome alſo of great fortune, whom they meant to let eſcape out of the briars, provided nevertheleſs that they left their fleeces behind them, in which they were likewiſe but too ſucceſsful (*m*), rendering highly profitable to themſelves that clemency which their Royal Miſtreſs would have extended freely. Camden adds to this another circumſtance, which wants explaining: he ſays, that he diſcovered many in Scotland, France, and the Low-Countries, who were embarked with him, beſides others in England, and the Lord Montjoy, who ſucceded him in the government of Ireland, ſo that their numbers obliged the Queen to diſſemble what ſhe knew; he adds, that he gave a confeſſion under his hand, which his enemies ſhewing to King James ſome time after, brought him and his friends into great diſeſteem with that Prince (*n*). We ſhall endeavour to give ſome light into this in the notes [*R*].

After

(*f*) Stowe's Annals, p. 792.

(*g*) Camd. Ann. p. 846.

(*h*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 208.

(*i*) Camden. Annal. p. 857.

(*k*) See extracts of his confeſſions at the end of the declaration of his treaſons.

(*l*) See the Earl of Clarendon's Diſparity between the Duke Buckingham and the Earl of Eſſex.

(*m*) Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 319.

(*n*) Camd. Ann. p. 860.

[*Q*] *They gained their end.*] What it was that in thoſe times the enemies of this unfortunate Peer laboured to impute to him, ſeems to be moſt clearly ſtated by Heylyn (62), as Sir William Dugdale well obſerves, and his account is the true key to what was ſuggeſted by the Attorney-General Coke at the Earl's trial, and is covertly inſinuated in the long Declaration of treaſons, drawn at the Queen's command by Sir Francis Bacon, and much altered by direction as himſelf confeſſes. Take this paſſage in Heylyn's own words: 'While the Prelates of the Church were buſied upon diſputes, the Preſbyterians found themſelves ſome better work, in making friends, and faſtening on ſome eminent patron to ſupport their cauſe. None fitter for their purpoſe than the Earl of Eſſex, gracious amongſt the military men, popular beyond meaſure, and as ambitious of command as he was of applauſe. He had his education in the houſe of the Earl of Leiceſter, and took to wiſe a daughter of Sir Francis Walſingham, who fitted and prepared him for thoſe applications which hitherto he had neglected, upon a juſt fear of incurring the Queen's diſpleaſure. But the Queen being now grown old, the King of Scots, not much regarded by the Engliſh, and very ill obeyed by his natural ſubjects, he began to look up towards the crown, to which a title was drawn for him as the direct heir of Thomas of Woodſtock Duke of Glouceſter, one of the younger ſons of King Edward III. This man the Puritans cry up with moſt infinite praiſes, both in their pulpits and in their pamphlets, telling him that he was not only great in honour and the love of the people, but *temporis expectatione major*, far greater in the expectation which his friends had of him. And he accordingly applies himſelf to thoſe of the Puritan faction, admits them to places of moſt truſt and credit about his perſon, keeps open houſe for men of thoſe opinions to reſort unto, under pretence of hearing ſermons, and hearing no ſermons, with more zeal and edification than thoſe which ſeemed to attribute a power to inferior Magiſtrates for curbing and controuling their undoubted Sovereigns. Which queſtionleſs muſt needs have ended in great diſturbance to the Church and State, if he had not been outwitted by Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Ralegh, and the reſt of their party in the Court by whom he was firſt ſhifted over into Ireland, and at laſt brought upon the ſcaffold, not to receive a crown but to loſe his head. Which happened very opportunely for King James of Scotland, whoſe entrance might have been oppoſed, and his title queſtioned, if this ambitious man had proſpered in his undertakings, which he conducted generally with more heat than judgment.'

[*R*] *In the notes.*] We have elſewhere mentioned a letter written to Anthony Bacon, Eſq; concerning the death and confeſſion of this unfortunate Peer (63), and as in that we find a fair and genuine account of his Lordſhip's real intentions, correſponding exactly with what Camden hints, who was unwilling to ſpeak plainer, becauſe, as he elſewhere confeſſed, he knew King James's thoughts upon this matter, notwithſtanding they were none of the plaineſt; for ſometimes he ſtiled Eſſex *his martyr*, and, at others, he expreſſed no great kindneſs for him; what follows will ſufficiently account for both, and fulfil all that has been promiſed for it in the text (64).

'After his Lordſhip's condemnation, upon his ſuit to the Lords, there was ſent to him one Aſhton, that was preacher in his houſe, a man baſe, fearful, and mercenary, but ſuch a one, as, by a formal ſhew of zeal, had gotten a good opinion of that noble Lord, who that way (being himſelf moſt religious) might eaſily be deceived. How the man was prepared I touch not, but how he dealt, the ſubſtance of which was his own confeſſion to a worthy perſon, as he

'well

(62) Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 349.

(63) See the article of BACON (ANTHONY) in this Dictionary.

(64) In the Appendix to the genuine addition of Camden's Annals by Thomas Hearne.

After drawing out of Eſſex all that he could ſay, and thereby rendering death more deſirable to him than life, the 25th of February was fixed for his execution, as to which the Queen was irreſolute to the very laſt, ſo that ſhe ſent Sir Edward Cary to countermand it; but, as Camden ſays, conſidering afterwards his obſtinacy, his refuſing to aſk her pardon, and declaring that his life was inconſiſtent with her ſafety, ſhe countermanded thoſe orders, and directed he ſhould die (*o*). There is a ſtrange ſtory current in the world about a ring, which the Earl of Clarendon ſtiles a looſe report, that crept into diſcourſe (*p*) ſoon after his miſerable end; yet a foreign writer, of great reputation, gives us this as an undoubted truth, and that upon the authority of an Engliſh Miniſter, who might be well preſumed to know what he ſaid; and therefore, in the words of that writer, we ſhall report

'well knoweth, I will fully relate unto you. At his coming to my Lord he found his Lordſhip exceeding chearful, and prepared with great contentation for his end, with whom he began to deal to this effect: My Lord, I am unfeignedly ſorry to ſee no more ſenſe in you of theſe great and fearful ſins into which you have fallen, whereby you have diſhonoured God, ſhamed your profeſſion, offended your Sovereign, and pulled upon yourſelf many notes of infamy. You have now manifeſted to the world, that all your ſhew of religion was mere hypocriſy; that you are in heart either an Atheiſt or a Papiſt, which doth plainly appear, in that all your inſtruments, followers, and favourers, were of this quality, moſt of them men of no means, but either baſe perſons whom you had raiſed, or ſuch as had lewdly conſumed their own patrimony. And if there were any of better condition for their ſtate, yet were they either recuſants, or ſuch as were diſcontented with the preſent government, ſo as the badneſs of both your cauſe and action doth herein ſhew itſelf, that not one man, but of the ſort beforementioned, took your part or liked your courſe. Beſides, however you would colour it with other pretences, your end was an ambitious ſeeking of the crown, the hope whereof, for their own raiſing, made theſe men ſo follow, animate, and applaud you. So that if by a true confeſſion and unfeigned repentance you do not unburthen yourſelf of theſe ſins, you ſhall carry out of the world a guilty ſoul before God, and leave upon your memorial an infamous name to poſterity. Therefore I will ſay to you as Joſhua did to Achan, (for you have diſhonoured God more than ever he did) Give glory to God and make confeſſion of your faults, for, as Solomon ſaith, He that hides his ſins ſhall not proſper.

'Many more words of gall and bitterneſs to this effect he ſpake, as himſelf confeſſed, wherein, tho' peradventure I may forget in the preciſeneſs of form, I religiouſly proteſt I fail not in the ſubſtance and matter. My Lord with this ſtrange ſtile was much amazed, his expectation being ſo greatly deceived, as looking rather in his caſe for a comforter, than ſo bitter and ſlanderous an accuſer, who after a ſad and ſilent pauſe made anſwer to this effect: Mr Aſhton you have laid grievous things to my charge, of which if I could not with truth free and clear myſelf, I might juſtly be holden one of the moſt unworthieſt creatures on earth. And I aſſure you to have theſe reports carried and believed in the world, is more grievous to me than a thouſand deaths. Firſt, touching my religion, I have always abhorred atheiſm and ſuperſtition, believing in the true God, and deſiring to ſerve him in that form of his worſhip profeſſed and maintained in England, in which from my infancy I was brought up, and have conſtantly holden the profeſſion thereof to this day. True it is, in thoſe publick ſervices wherein I have been employed, I have had uſe of men of ſundry qualities, but howſoever I loved their valour, faithfulneſs, and knowledge of ſervice that were not religious, I was ever grieved for the want thereof in them, and neglected no opportunity I poſſibly could gain to bring them unto it. For the crown I never affected it, neither, praiſe I God, was I ever ſo careleſs of my ſoul, as, by ſeeking a crown on earth, to which I had no manner of title, to deprive my ſoul of a crown in Heaven where I have ſo aſſured hope. Neither am I ignorant what ſucceſs God, in his juſtice, hath laid upon ſuch ambitious courſes in ages paſt. But being a principal member in this commonwealth, I could not but ſee and feel what miſery was near unto my country, by the great power of ſuch as are known indeed to be Atheiſts, Papiſts, and Penſioners, to the mortal enemies of this kingdom. I knew myſelf bound in conſcience as a Chriſtian to prevent the ſubverſion of religion; and, as an Engliſhman, to have regard of my native country. The only means left to turn away theſe evils was, to procure my acceſs to her Majeſty, with whom I aſſured myſelf to have had that gracious hearing, that might have tended to the infinite happineſs of this State, both in removing evil inſtruments from about her perſon, and in ſettling a ſucceſſion for the crown, to the preventing of Spaniſh ſervitude, and ſaving of many thouſand Engliſhmens lives; no, no, Mr Aſhton, I never deſired other condition than the ſtate of a ſubject, but only to my Sovereign, and not to baſe and unworthy vaſſals under her. My Lord, ſaith Aſhton, theſe are general ſpeeches, and not unlike to thoſe you uſed at your arraignment, and not much more believed of me now, than they were of many then. You muſt remember you are going out of the world, you know what it is to receive ſentence of death here, but yet you know not what it is to ſtand before God's judgment ſeat, and to receive the ſentence of eternal condemnation. Leave therefore all glorious pretences, free your conſcience from the burthen of your grievous ſins, for I proteſt I cannot believe that you have any other pretence than that I have told you, or can name one man (other than ſuch as I have mentioned) that was either adviſer, perſuader, or approver of your purpoſes. Neither ſee I any reaſon why, that I being watchman over your ſoul, ſhould not as well have been adviſed withal, if theſe things had been ſo, as any other. His Lordſhip with infinite grief replied, Mr Aſhton, I cannot marvel though my proteſtations are not believed of my enemies, when they ſo little prevail with a man of your quality. But I am able to tell you that are a Miniſter and preacher of the Goſpel, and the meſſenger of God to me at this my laſt end, by particulars ſo to confirm that which I have ſpoken, as you ſhall no longer doubt of it. Then his Lordſhip ſhewed him, as he confeſſed, his whole end to tend to the ſettling of the ſucceſſion by Act of Parliament on the King of Scotland, as the true and indubitate heir, after her Majeſty, of this kingdom, and named to him ſundry worthy perſons, both of religion, honour, and ſtate, that had their conſents, and were engaged with him therein. Aſhton, having very attentively marked my Lord's words, made this reply, Theſe be great matters your Lordſhip hath opened unto me, and the concealing of them may touch my life. Alſo I hold myſelf bound in allegiance to reveal them; beſides, the publiſhing of them may give ſatiſfaction to many that hold the ſame opinion of your courſes which I did; and further, it may be dangerous to her Majeſty's perſon in ſome practice hereafter, by them, or ſome of their inſtruments, the burthen whereof your ſoul muſt bear, if you can and do not prevent it, and I will be a witneſs againſt you that you have ſpoken it. Thus being extreamly urged, he made confeſſion according to the premiſſes, namely, that he meant to have eſtabliſhed the King of Scots's title in ſucceſſion, and that in this intention he had many of the worthieſt perſons of the land in conſent with him, which alſo he had an earneſt purpoſe to have revealed at his death, as Aſhton and others have confeſſed, but that he was ſo mightily diſſuaded and commanded to the contrary as a thing that might tend to the great danger of her Majeſty's perſon.'

[S] *We*

(*o*) Annal. Eliz. p. 860.

(*p*) Diſparity between the Duke of Bucks and Earl of Eſſex.

port it (*q*) [S]. The manner of the Earl's ſuffering death is ſo largely related in Camden, and others, that we ſhall not meddle with it here, farther than to obſerve, that, as many actions of his life ſpoke him a hero, ſo this laſt action ſhewed him a true Chriſtian, by manifeſting that he was far leſs careful of his body than his ſoul, and much more afraid of his ſin than of his puniſhment (*r*). His character is very fully drawn by Sir Henry Wotton (*s*), very fairly by Sir Robert Naunton (*t*), very freely by Camden (*u*), and very finely touched by the maſterly pen of the Noble Hiſtorian (*w*); neither are there wanting ſome uſeful touches in Oſborne (*x*), Fuller (*y*), Lloyd (*z*), Winſtanley (*a*), and other writers of leſs fame. It appears from the compariſon of theſe, that, in reſpect to the publick, he was truly a Patriot, had a great regard to his Sovereign's honour, and no leſs zeal for his country's ſervice; he valued himſelf on loſing a father and a brother, and in ſpending a great part of his ſubſtance, in the cauſe of both; his projects were high but very honourable, and the difficulties with which they were embarraſſed ſeemed rather to invite than to deject him. He was, however, too covetous of royal favour, and, ſome ſay, not reſpectful enough to the royal perſon; and, if there was any truth in this, his fault was inexcuſable, the Queen preventing his merit by her favours, as well as rewarding it by honours; nor did he feel the Sun-ſhine only, but the dew of the Court, ſince, if the Lord Treaſurer Buckhurſt computed right, and he was no enemy to my Lord of Eſſex, he received in grants, penſions, and places, to the amount of three hundred thouſand pounds; but then, as he received all this from, he ſpent it for, the Publick; and if he ſometimes appeared covetous, it was that he might be always generous; for, to his honour be it ſpoke, learning never approached him ungraced, merit unrewarded, or want without receiving relief. His Sovereign's favour he loſt often, the fidelity of his friends, and the affection of the people, never; yet he ſometimes truſted thoſe who had been formerly his enemies, and was not fortunate in all his enterprizes, which renders the wonder greater. As to his perſon, he is reported to have been tall, but not very well made, his countenance reſerved, his air rather martial than courtly, very careleſs in dreſs, and very little addicted to trifling diverſions. Learned he was, and a lover of learned men, wrote with that facility which is the true mark of genius, with that cloſeneſs and perſpicuity which is the happieſt fruit of learning, and that noble ſimplicity which is the characteriſtick of a great mind. Sincere in his friendſhip, but not ſo careful as he ought to have been in making a right choice; ſound in his morals, except in the point of gallantry, and thoroughly well affected to the Proteſtant religion, of which he had very juſt notions, deſpiſing alike the meanneſs of Superſtition, and the folly of Infidelity. He died in the thirty-fourth year of his age, leaving, by his wife, only one ſon Robert (*b*), of whom in the next article, and two daughters; Frances, who became the wife of William firſt Earl (then Marquis) of Hertford, and laſtly Duke of Somerſet (*c*); and Dorothy, who firſt married Sir Henry Shirley, of Stanton-Harold in the county of Leiceſter, Bart. and

(*q*) Maurier Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire de Hollande, p. 215.

(*r*) Stowe's Annals, p. 794.

(*s*) In his parallel between the Earl of Eſſex and the Duke of Buckingham.

(*t*) Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

(*u*) Annal. p. 861 —864.

(*w*) Diſparity between the Duke of Bucks and the Earl of Eſſex.

(*x*) In his traditional Memoirs of Q. Elizabeth, and his political deductions from the death of the Earl of Eſſex.

(*y*) Worthies, Herefordſhire, p. 38.

(*z*) State Worthies, p. 563.

(*a*) England's Worthies, p. 221.

(*b*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 863.

(*c*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 179.

[S] *We ſhall report it.*] There are without doubt many falſhoods and fables relating to our Hiſtory, recorded very ſeriouſly in foreign writers, for want of having a due knowledge of our cuſtoms and conſtitution; thus the French Ambaſſador here, or his ſon (65), wrote a letter to the Duke de Rohan, in which he aſſures him, that Eſſex's eloquence put all his Judges to ſilence at his trial, and that the Lords were all intoxicated with drink and tobacco when they brought him in guilty. Camden has refuted a ſtory that prevailed very early, as if Queen Elizabeth had ſhewn the head of the Earl of Eſſex to the French Ambaſſadors, who were ſent to congratulate her upon diſcovering his conſpiracy (66). But we know with the greateſt certainty, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty Henry IV was brought to believe there was any truth in it, and that he told the Queen's Miniſter, when he aſſured him that the Earl deſired to die in private, that he knew the contrary, and that Eſſex had deſired earneſtly that his laſt declarations might be made in publick (67). But to the point; the Chevalier Louis Aubery de Maurier, who was many years the French Miniſter in Holland, a man of great parts and unſuſpected veracity, delivers this tale in the following words (68): ‘It will not, I believe, be thought either impertinent or diſagreable to add here what Prince Maurice, had from the mouth of Mr Carleton, Embaſſador from England in Holland, who died Secretary of State; ſo well known under the name of my Lord Dorcheſter, and who was a man of great merit. He ſaid, that Queen Elizabeth gave the Earl of Eſſex a ring in the height of her paſſion for him, ordering him to keep it, and that whatever he ſhould commit ſhe would pardon him when he ſhould return that pledge. Since that time the Earl's enemies having prevailed with the Queen, who beſides was exaſperated againſt him for the contempt he ſhewed for her beauty, which, through age, began to decay, ſhe cauſed him to be impeached. When he was condemned, ſhe expected that he ſhould ſend her the ring, and would have granted him his pardon according to her promiſe. The Earl, finding himſelf in the laſt extremity, applied to Admiral Howard's Lady, who was his relation, and deſired her, by a perſon whom he could truſt, to return the ring into the Queen's own hands. But her huſband, who was one of the Earl's greateſt enemies, and to whom ſhe told this imprudently, would not ſuffer her to acquit herſelf of the commiſſion, ſo that the Queen conſented to the Earl's death, being full of indignation againſt ſuch a proud and haughty ſpirit, who choſe rather to die than to implore her mercy. Some time after the Admiral's Lady fell ſick, and being given over by her Phyſicians, ſhe ſent word to the Queen that ſhe had ſomething of great conſequence to tell her before ſhe died. The Queen came to her bedſide, and having ordered all the attendants to withdraw, the Admiral's Lady returned her, but too late, that ring from the Earl of Eſſex, deſiring to be excuſed that ſhe did not return it ſooner, having been prevented doing it by her huſband. The Queen retired immediately, being overwhelmed with the utmoſt grief; ſhe ſighed continually for a fortnight following, without taking any nouriſhment, lying a-bed entirely dreſſed, and getting up an hundred times a night. At laſt ſhe died with hunger and with grief, becauſe ſhe had conſented to the death of a lover who had applied to her for mercy. This melancholy adventure ſhews, that there are frequent tranſitions from one paſſion to another, and that as love often changes to hate, ſo hate, giving place ſometimes to pity, brings the mind back again into it's firſt ſtate.’ Sir Dudley Carleton, who is made the author of this ſtory, was a man who deſerved the

(65) This letter is printed in Winwood's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 296.

(66) Annal. p. 877.

(67) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 309.

(68) Hiſtoire de Hollande, p. 215, 216.

and afterwards to William Stafford, of Blatherwyck in the county of Northampton, Eſq; (d). He left alſo, by Mrs Southwell, a natural ſon named Walter.

(d) Idem, ibid.

the character that is given of him, and could not but be well informed of what paſſed at Court; but whoever conſiders the age of Queen Elizabeth at the time when the Earl of Eſſex firſt entered her preſence, will find it difficult to believe the Queen ever conſidered him in the light of a lover. This Counteſs of Nottingham was the daughter of the Lord Viſcount Hunſdon, related to the Queen, and alſo by his mother to the Earl of Eſſex. Before we part with this ſubject it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that ſomething of truth there certainly is as to the Queen's death being haſtened by an accident relating to a ring, and by her reflecting on the death of the Earl of Eſſex. In the ceremony of her coronation ſhe was wedded to the kingdom with a ring, which ſhe always wore, till, the fleſh growing over it, it was filed off a little before her deceaſe. About the ſame time obſerving, that the loſs of Eſſex, and the confuſion of his friends, had put her entirely into the hands of thoſe who began to neglect her, and to court her ſucceſſor, ſhe could not help ſaying, in an exceſs of paſſion, *They have now got me in a yoke, I have nobody left me that I can truſt, my condition is the perfect reverſe of what it was* (69). It is alſo true, that a melancholy ſenſe of this brought her to her end about twenty-five months after the death of Eſſex.

(69) Annal. Eliz. p. 910, 911.

E

DEVEREUX (ROBERT) ſon to the former, and the third Earl of Eſſex of this family. He was born ſome time in the year 1592, at Eſſex Houſe in the Strand (a), and, at the time of his father's unhappy death, was under the care of his grandmother, by whom he was ſent to Eaton-ſchool, where he received the firſt tincture of a learned education (b). In the month of January 1602, he was removed to the Univerſity of Oxford, entered a Gentleman-Commoner of Merton-College, where he had an apartment in the Warden's lodgings, then Mr Savile, afterwards the celebrated Sir Henry Savile, his father's dear friend, and who, for his ſake, was exceedingly careful in ſeeing that he was learnedly and religiouſly educated (c). The very next year he was reſtored to his hereditary honours (d); and in 1605, King James making a viſit to the Univerſity of Oxford, our young Earl of Eſſex was created Maſter of Arts on the 30th of Auguſt, for the firſt time, which, very probably, he had forgot, or he would not have received the ſame honour above thirty years afterwards (e). At this time Henry Prince of Wales, attended by his Tutor Sir Thomas Chaloner, was matriculated of this Univerſity, and, at this time alſo, from a ſuppoſed harmony in their tempers, we are told, that there was a great intimacy between his Royal Highneſs and the Earl of Eſſex; they were both of a ſerious diſpoſition, yet much inclined to rough and robuſt exerciſes, more eſpecially tennis, at which, it is ſaid, a quarrel enſued between them, attended with ſuch conſequences, as made the King's interpoſition neceſſary (f) [A]. The remainder of this year, and the beginning of the next, the Earl ſpent in academical ſtudies becoming his age and quality, and ſuitable to the gravity of his temper. In the mean time Robert Earl of Saliſbury, and Lord High Treaſurer of England, who had acted as Prime Miniſter from the time of the King's acceſſion, perceiving that this young Nobleman was like to ſucceed to his father's fortune as well as titles, and to become a favourite both with Prince and People, grew very deſirous that the antient enmity between their families might be extinguiſhed; and, as he had married his ſon and heir-apparent to the Lady Catherine Howard, eldeſt daughter to the Earl of Suffolk, he projected a marriage between the Earl of Eſſex and Lady Frances Howard, the ſecond daughter of the ſame noble Peer (g), which proving acceptable enough

(a) Life and Death of the illuſtrious Robert Earl of Eſſex, by Robert Codrington, M. A. p. 3.

(b) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 92.

(c) Winſtanley's England's Worthies, p. 350.

(d) Vincent's Diſcovery of Errors in Brooke's Catalogue, p. 188.

(e) Faſti Oxonienſes, Vol. I. col. 172, 269.

(f) Codrington's Life of Robert Earl of Eſſex.

(g) Wilſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, in the ſecond Vol. of the Compleat Hiſt. of England, p. 686.

[A] *As made the King's interpoſition neceſſary.*] There is ſome cauſe to wonder, conſidering the great figure this Nobleman made in the world, we ſhould never have any tolerable account of his life and actions. As for that written by Mr Codrington (1), it is not only entirely defective in point of method, but it is alſo very barren of facts, ſuch only excepted as are collected from the news writers of thoſe times. The ſame thing may with equal juſtice be ſaid of Winſtanley's account of this great Peer (2). Yet it is chiefly from theſe accounts that Mr Wood (3) has taken the memoirs he has given us of this noble perſon, but then they are much better ranged and digeſted. As to this ſtory of the Earl's quarrel with Prince Henry it ſtands upon the credit of Codrington, who mentions no time when it happened, for that is ſupplied by the conjecture of Mr Wood, in which he has ſhewn great judgment, by placing it in that period, when, if there be any truth in it, this event muſt have happened. Take the relation in Mr Codrington's own words: ‘Prince Henry and the young Earl, ſays he, delighting themſelves one morning with the exerciſe and the pleaſure of the tennis-court, after that a ſet or two were played, there did ariſe ſome difference upon a miſtake: from bandying of the ball, the Prince being raiſed into a choler, did begin to bandy words, and was ſo tranſported with his paſſion, that he told the Earl of Eſſex that he was the ſon of a traitor. The Earl of Eſſex was then in the flouriſh of his youth, and full of fire and courage, and being not able to contain himſelf, he did ſtrike the Prince with his racket on the head, and that ſo ſhrewdly, that (as it is ſaid) ſome drops of blood did trickle down. The news of this was preſently brought to the King's ear, who having examined the buſineſs, and fully underſtood the manner and the occaſion of it, did diſmiſs the Earl without any great check, and being a true peacemaker, he told his ſon that he who did ſtrike him then, would be ſure with more violent blows to ſtrike his enemy in times to come.’ It is ſurprizing that Mr Wilſon, who lived many years as a domeſtick ſervant with the Earl of Eſſex, and who took ſo much pains to do juſtice to the Earl's actions both in his publick hiſtory, and in his private memoirs of his own life, which are now printed, ſhould ſay nothing of this, more eſpecially when he had ſo fair an opportunity, as in that paſſage where he endeavours to account for King James's diſlike to the Earl (4), from that inſtinct, or ſecret prediction, that divine fate often imprints in the apprehenſion, whereby he did foreſee in him a hand raiſed up againſt his poſterity, ſince, without doubt, this quarrel with, and ſtriking the Prince, had been a much more ſatisfactory reaſon. Beſides, this ſtory does not well agree with the ſpirit of Prince Henry, who would ſcarce have borne ſuch an inſult, or with that prudence for which he was ſo remarkable, as to be very unlikely to give any ſuch provocation, more eſpecially as his father, in common diſcourſe, often ſtiled the Earl of Eſſex *his martyr*, whence it is improbable the ſon ſhould take him for a traytor.

(1) Life and Death of the illuſtrious Robert Earl of Eſſex, by Robert Codrington, M. A. London, 1646. 4to. This piece is reprinted in the firſt Vol. of the Harleian Miſcellany.

(2) England's Worthies, 1660. 8vo. p. 350.

(3) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 91.

(4) Hiſtory of Great Britain, &c.

[B] *That*

enough to both families, took place accordingly January 5th, 1606, the Lady being thirteen and the Earl fourteen years of age (*b*). The new-married couple being too young to cohabit together, the Earl was ſent to improve himſelf by travel, and the young Counteſs of Eſſex remained with her mother (*i*). His Lordſhip ſpent about four years beyond the ſeas, and returned in the year 1610, with the reputation of being one of the beſt accompliſhed Noblemen of his time (*k*). The Counteſs of Eſſex, in this ſpace, became diſtinguiſhed for her beauty, but at the expence of her diſcretion, the world having made free with her reputation (*l*), upon which it is certain that ſhe ſet too little value [*B*]. It does not however appear, that any of theſe untoward reports reached the ear of her Lord upon his coming to England, for he was very deſirous of conſummating the marriage, and was ſo indulgent as to look upon the averſion ſhewn by the Lady, as the effects of that modeſty which ought to have been her greateſt ornament. While he was ſolliciting her conſent to go down and live with him at his ſeat in Staffordſhire; he was ſurprized with the ſmall-pox, which were either of the moſt malignant kind, or were rendered ſo by the adminiſtration of drugs, which were the very reverſe of Phyſick (*m*). However, the Earl's youth, temperance, and ſtrong conſtitution, got the better of the diſeaſe, and the Earl of Suffolk compelled his daughter to comply with her huſband's deſires, and to go down with him to Chartley (*n*). There her head ran upon the Viſcount Rocheſter, who was at once the King's favourite and her's; and, in hopes of becoming one day his wife, ſhe entered into a variety of wicked practices againſt the health as well as honour of her Lord; and, at length, having overcome all ſenſe of ſhame, ſhe inſtituted a publick ſuit againſt him, before Commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe, in 1613 (*o*), which remains a blemiſh to our publick hiſtory [*C*]. In the latter end of the month of September ſentence

(*b*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 92.

(*i*) Wilſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, &c. p. 686.

(*k*) Hiſtorical Narration of the firſt fourteen years of King James, cap. v.

(*l*) Wilſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, &c. p. 686.

(*m*) Hiſtorical Narration, &c. cap. vii.

(*n*) Wilſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, &c. p. 687.

(*o*) See Archbiſhop Abbot's Memorial, in relation to the caſe between the Earl and Counteſs.

[*B*] *That ſhe ſet too little value.*] It appears from the judicial proceedings for diſſolving this marriage, that the Counteſs of Eſſex was about thirteen when ſhe contracted it (5), the Earl returned from his travels four years after, ſo that her love intrigues muſt have commenced very early; it is not however very eaſy to diſcover with whom ſhe had that familiarity which ſullied her reputation before the Earl's return. Mr Wilſon tells us (6), ‘ that ſhe, growing to be a beauty of ‘ the greateſt magnitude in that horizon, was an object ‘ fit for admirers, and every tongue grew an orator at ‘ that ſhrine. The Prince of Wales, now in his puberty, ſent many loving glances as Ambaſſadors of ‘ his good reſpects, and amorous expreſſions are fit ſubjects for jealous reproaches to work on.’ What he adds ſoon after, in reference to Prince Henry's quitting her, and the cauſe of it, ſeems to have happened after the Earl of Eſſex came home. Read it in his own words: ‘ This Lady being taken with the growing ‘ fortunes of Robert Car, Viſcount Rocheſter, and ‘ grounding more hope upon him than the uncertain ‘ and hopeleſs love of the Prince, ſhe caſt her anchor ‘ there, which the Prince ſoon diſcovered, and ſlighted ‘ her accordingly. For dancing one time among the ‘ ladies, and her glove falling down, it was taken up ‘ and preſented to him by one that thought he did him ‘ acceptable ſervice, but the Prince refuſed to receive ‘ it, ſaying publickly, he would not have it, it was ‘ ſtretched by another, meaning the Viſcount: this ‘ was an aggravation of hatred between the King's ſon ‘ and the King's friend.’ Another writer of great diſtinction, who dealt very much in ſecret hiſtory, and who is believed to have been as well verſed in it as any man of his time, gives us a very plain and clear account of this, interwoven with greater matters, with which, as a curioſity, we will gratify our readers. Speaking of the Counteſs of Eſſex, he ſays (7), ‘ ſhe ‘ was ſo delicate in her youth, as, notwithſtanding that ‘ ineſtimable Prince Henry's martial deſires, and initiation into the ways of godlineſs, ſhe being ſet on ‘ by the Earl of Northampton, her father's uncle, ‘ firſt caught his eye and heart, and afterwards proſtituted herſelf to him, who reaped the firſt fruits of ‘ her virginity. But thoſe ſparks of grace, which ‘ even then began to ſhew their luſtre in him, with ‘ thoſe more heroick innated qualities derived from ‘ virtue, which gave the law to his more adviſed ‘ actions, ſoon raiſed him out of the ſlumber of that ‘ diſtemper, and taught him to reject her following ‘ temptations with indignation and ſuperciliouſneſs. ‘ God beſt knows, whether that haſtened his end; ‘ moſt certain it is, that ſome months before his Highneſs's death, Viſcount Rocheſter's familiarity and ‘ her's took it's firſt initiation by Mrs Turner's procurement. The Scots have a conſtant report amongſt ‘ them, as I learned from one of them, that Sir Thomas Overbury, ſeeing divers croſſings and oppoſitions to happen between that peerleſs Prince and ‘ ſaid Rocheſter, by whoſe means only he expected to ‘ riſe, and fearing it would in the end be a means to ‘ ruin Rocheſter himſelf, did firſt give that damnable ‘ and fatal advice, of removing out of the way and ‘ world that royal youth by faſcination, and was himſelf afterwards in part an inſtrument for the effecting ‘ of it; and therefore ſay they in Scotland, it happened ‘ by the juſt judgment of God afterwards, as a puniſhment upon him, that he himſelf died by poiſon.’

[*C*] *Which remains a blemiſh to our publick Hiſtory.*] It was without doubt a great weakneſs in King James to give that countenance which he did to this wicked affair, but he was at that time ſo much addicted to his favourite, afterwards Earl of Somerſet, that he was willing to contribute in any manner whatever to his ſatisfaction (8). It is however highly probable, his Majeſty was perſuaded that the Earl of Eſſex gave his conſent to it, neither was this altogether void of truth, for the Earl, tired with his wife's humours, diſpleaſed with the world's talk, and deſirous to be reſtored to his former free and happy ſtate of life, was willing enough, upon the perſwaſion of the Earl and Counteſs of Suffolk, to part with his Lady, ſuppoſing, at that time, it might be done without loſs of reputation (9). A commiſſion having paſſed the Great-Seal in the ſummer of the year 1613, the libel was filed in the month of June, and the Earl put in his anſwer on the 5th of July. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury was very much diſturbed at this, being equally diſpleaſed, that, by colluſion between the parties, the bond of matrimony ſhould be diſſolved, or that the new diſtinction which the King ſo much approved, that my Lord was *impotens in genere verſus hanc*, ſhould take place, the ſad effects of which, with reſpect to the reputation of the Commiſſioners, and the ill conſequences that muſt attend ſo bad a precedent in the face of the world, he clearly foreſaw. Upon this he deſired to examine the Earl of Eſſex more particularly, which was refuſed, becauſe the Earl, hearing the outcry this matter made, and how much it touched his own character, had altered his ſentiments (10). This forced the Commiſſioners to go on in another way, and to truſt entirely to the evidence of the Lady, ſupported by corroborating circumſtances of a very ſtrange, or rather of a very ſhameful nature. At laſt, September 25, the ſentence of nullity was pronounced, and December 26, the Lady was married again to the Earl of Somerſet in the King's chapel, the foreign Miniſters invited to the marriage, and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury in a manner compelled to honour it with his preſence (11). To add to the Earl of Eſſex's perplexity, he was called upon to pay back his wife's fortune, which did not agree at all with his circumſtances, whoſe quality obliged him to live at the very extent of his income. That

(5) So it is ſet forth in her libel, and the fact is admitted for truth in the Earl's Anſwer.

(6) Hiſtory of Great Britain, &c. p. 686.

(7) Sir Simmonds Dewes in his Hiſtory of his own life and times, a valuable MS. in the Harleian Library, fol. 47.

(8) See the Article of COKE, (Sir EDWARD).

(9) This appears from Archbiſhop Abbot's Memorial.

(10) See the Proceedings at large in this cauſe.

(11) As appears from his ſecond Memorial.

ſentence was pronounced by the major part of theſe Commiſſioners, that the marriage was null and void with reſpect to the parties, becauſe of the frigidity alledged by the Counteſs, and acknowledged by the Earl to be in him with reſpect to her; from which, however, diſſented Dr Abbot, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Dr King, Biſhop of London, Sir John Bennet, Francis James, and Thomas Edwards, Doctors of Laws (p). The Lady being thus at liberty from a huſband ſhe did not love, married with great pomp and ſplendor, before the cloſe of the year, the man with whom ſhe was ſo much enamoured, while the Earl of Eſſex, to whom the diſgrace, from the thing itſelf, was doubled by the circumſtances which attended it, endeavoured to hide himſelf in the country from the obſervance of the world, and the reproach to which he was expoſed, from the bad conduct of an unhappy woman, born to be undone by that beauty for which ſhe was ſo much admired (q). His own venerable caſtle of Chartley in Staffordſhire, which deſcended to him from the antient family of Ferrers, was commonly the place of the Earl's reſidence, where he lived with great magnificence, in a friendly correſpondence with all the Gentlemen of the country round about, and, in proceſs of time, with as general affection and reſpect from all ranks and degrees of people as he could poſſibly deſire. Sometimes he made a tour to Drayton, where his grandmother the Counteſs of Leiceſter reſided, and ſometimes he viſited his brother-in-law the Earl of Hertford in Wiltſhire (r). Manly ſports, ſuch as hunting, ſhooting, and riding long journies, made a great part of his ſummer recreations; in the winter, good cheer, feaſting, with maſks and plays, compoſed commonly by Arthur Wilſon, who was his Groom of the Chambers, ſerved to mitigate my Lord's melancholy, and to give the Country Gentlemen content (s). In this manner he paſſed near ſeven years, and then, in the ſpring of 1620, the war being hot in the Palatinate, his Lordſhip, at the requeſt of his friend Henry Earl of Oxford, reſolved to go thither, under the command of Sir Horatio Vere, an old ſoldier, and one of great reputation (t). The two Earls propoſed to raiſe each a regiment, but carried over companies only for the preſent, compoſed however, for the moſt part, of Gentlemen, who went rather to acquire knowledge in the art of war, than to obtain either pay or preferment in that ſervice (u) [D]. Though the fatigues and diſappointments they met with, in

(p) Caſes of Impotency and Divorce, Vol. III. p. 159.

(q) Wilſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, &c. p. 693.

(r) Arthur Wilſon's Account of his own life, printed in the firſt Vol. of Peck's *Deſiderata Curioſa*, cap. iv.

(s) Codrington's Life of Robert Earl of Eſſex.

(t) Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 351.

(u) Wilſon's Account of his own life, cap. v.

That he might anſwer this demand he was compelled to cut down his fine woods at Adderſton, nor would this have done, if his grandmother, the Counteſs of Leiceſter, had not ſupplied him with a conſiderable ſum of money to prevent his ſelling a part of his eſtate (12). We need not wonder therefore, that the Earl of Eſſex was not over-fond of the Court, or that King James, after buſying himſelf ſo much in this matter, ſhould not be well pleaſed with the ſight of a man, who, in ſo tender a point, had been ſo groſly injured.

(12) Hiſtorical Narration of the firſt fourteen year of King James.

[D] *Than to obtain either pay or preferment in that ſervice.*] It is ſaid by more writers than one, that the Earl of Eſſex went abroad to learn the art of diſcipline and arms, that he might be the more capable of doing ſervice to his country. It is much more probable, that the accompanying the Earl of Oxford, and the diverting his own melancholy thoughts, were at this time his principal motives, rather than any foreſight he could then have of what afterwards fell out. His company was to have conſiſted of two hundred and fifty men, but ſuch was his intereſt, and the general affection borne him, that when he came to muſter his company in Holland, it conſiſted of full three hundred, ſo that the pay of fifty men came out of his own pocket (13). The Marquis of Spinola, with the Auſtrian army under his command, being in full march for the Palatinate, Prince Henry of Naſſau, with a ſmall body of troops of which the Engliſh made a part, undertook to follow him, and to join that army which the Princes of the Union had raiſed for the defence of that electorate, which his Highneſs accordingly performed with great addreſs. In this march the inhabitants of the town of Coblentz, very unexpectedly, and without any reaſon given, fired upon the Engliſh from their ramparts, when a cannon ball paſſed between General Vere and the Earl of Eſſex who were talking together, and wounded one Mr Flood who ſtood behind them (14). After they had with much difficulty joined the army of the Princes, who by that junction became ſuperior in force to Spinola, the war was carried on in a very dilatory manner, till the ſeaſon of the year rendered it impracticable to keep the field any longer, and then the Engliſh forces being put into garriſon in the Palatinate, the Earl returned home through France, where he met with a very odd adventure, of which Mr Wilſon, his Hiſtorian, gives us the following account (15): 'We had, ſays he, from 'Frankendale, a convoy of a hundred horſe which 'brought us into Lorrain. From Mentz we travelled 'by ourſelves into France, and came to Compeigne in 'Champagne, where my Lord ſent away moſt of his 'train the ſtrait way to Bologne, and himſelf, with 'ſome few of us, took poſt, though he went three 'miles out of the way to come to the poſt road. 'The next ſtage was Gourney; where the knaviſh 'Poſt-Maſter ſeeing us likely to be good gueſts, to 'keep us there all night delayed, or rather indeed 'refuſed us horſes, pretending he could not furniſh 'them till morning. Which being contrary to my 'Lord's intention, for he took the poſt road to make 'more haſte, not to hinder him, he was much troubled. And as we were wrangling for this coarſe entertainment with our hoſt, my Lord's horſes (the 'Gentlemen and Grooms who went with them miſtaking the way) came by. Which ſeen, his Lordſhip with joy preſently mounted his own horſes, to 'go the next ſtage. The inn-keeper, deceived of his 'prey, fell into raging and railing, which my Lord 'not brooking, ran after him with a cudgel (for his 'words were very provoking) to give him a parting 'blow. The inn-keeper's activity carried him to a 'garret, where, thruſting his head out at a window, 'he cried *murder, murder*, with a fury, not thinking 'there were three ſtories betwixt him and his danger. 'It ſeems it was enough: for before we were got twelve 'ſcore yards in the ſtreet, we found ourſelves barricadoed with carts, and encircled with five hundred 'people, men, women, and children, with pitchforks, ſwords, and guns, ſmiths with iron bars, and 'every one with that came next to hand beſet us. 'We had each a caſe of piſtols, and cloſely ſtood 'upon our guard. The confuſion and noiſe was great; 'no man knew for what. But we were very ſenſible 'of ſome knocks from a little hill above us, by Friers, 'who had filled their laps with ſtones, and kindly diſtributed them among us. Above half an hour we 'ſtood in this condition, ſtaring on one another (no 'man but the virtuous Friers offering us injury) expecting what they had to lay to our charge. At laſt 'a Gentleman came to us who was a Lieutenant of 'horſe, wiſhing us to put up our ſwords and piſtols if 'we loved our ſafety. For if we had done any miſchief it was impoſſible to eſcape, if we had done 'none we ſhould receive none. So he went from us 'to examine the buſineſs, and in a quarter of an hour 'returned, pacified the people, and opened the way 'to us. My Lord commanded me to give him two 'Engliſh pieces, but he refuſed them.'

(13) Hiſtory of Great Britain, &c.

(14) Idem, ibid.

(15) Arthur Wilſon's Account of his own life, cap. iv.

[E] *Which*

in their firſt martial adventure, might have diſcouraged them from proceeding, yet theſe Lords went over again into Holland in 1621, and, in quality of volunteers, put themſelves under the direction of Prince Maurice of Naſſau, and, by their behaviour, merited the general applauſe of the whole army (w). They returned in the winter to England, where they both ſteered the ſame courſe, in giving ſome oppoſition to the deſigns of the Court in Parliament, where, though the Earl of Eſſex was never eloquent, yet he ſpoke very pertinently, and was very well heard; into the royal preſence he came but ſeldom, perceiving that he was not very agreeable to the King; which was attributed to the roughneſs of his deportment, and his affecting the manner and garb of a ſoldier (x). An accidental affair induced King James to publiſh more of his mind in this reſpect than he intended, or indeed than it was any way fit he ſhould. The caſe was this; the Nobility of England in general were much diſpleaſed with this Monarch's profuſion of honours, ſo contrary to the practice of his predeceſſor, and which, they apprehended, leſſened the dignity of the Peerage (y). Yet what troubled them moſt was, the vanity of ſome Gentlemen of large eſtates, who, by mere dint of money, procured to themſelves either Scotch or Iriſh titles of Viſcounts and Earls, in right of which they pretended to take place of Engliſh Barons. To remedy this grievance a petition was drawn up, and preſented to the King, in which the matter was ſtrongly but ſuccinctly ſtated; which petition was ſubſcribed by thirty-three of the Nobility, amongſt whoſe names the Earl of Eſſex makes the third. King James was highly diſpleaſed with this application, and, as if he had conſidered it as flowing entirely from the Earl of Eſſex, diſcharged upon him the greateſt part of his reſentment, making uſe, as we are told, amongſt others, of this expreſſion, *I fear thee not Eſſex, if thou waſt as well beloved as thy father, and had forty thouſand men at thy heels* (z). This ſowre treatment at Court gave the Earl ſo much a greater reliſh for his military expeditions abroad, which, with no other reward than the increaſe of his reputation, he followed the two next ſummers; and, in 1624, when the States of the United Provinces were allowed to raiſe four regiments, conſiſting of ſix thouſand men in England, he commanded a third, and the Lord Willoughby the fourth, which is the more remarkable, as theſe two noble Peers were afterwards at the head of oppoſite armies in our unfortunate Civil War; the Lord Willoughby, by the title of Earl of Lindſey, having the command of the King's army, as the Earl of Eſſex had of that of the Parliament (a). This expedition was none of the moſt fortunate, and a great ſickneſs breaking out in the army carried off the Earl of Southampton and his ſon, and the Earl of Oxford, who died before Breda (b). In 1625 a grand ſupply was ſent from England, but, by ſome ill management, the forces were kept ſo long on board the tranſports, that an epidemick diſtemper broke out amongſt them, which differed very little from the plague, and carried off the greateſt part (c). Upon the death of King James, and a Parliament being ſummoned to meet at Oxford, the Earl of Eſſex came over in the ſummer, and found the plague raging at home, and with no leſs violence at Oxford than at London (d). That Parliament breaking up abruptly, his Lordſhip went from Oxford to his brother the Earl of Hertford's houſe in Wiltſhire, where he remained for ſome time. Out of this retirement he was drawn by an order from the King to repair to Court, with intention to employ his Lordſhip in an expedition againſt Spain; to which he was eaſily perſwaded, as having an inclination to carry ſtill higher that reputation which, under his noble father's happy command, the Engliſh had attained at Cadiz (e). He was not, however, ſo fortunate, and, indeed, there hardly ever was an attempt made by the Engliſh that did leſs credit either to their courage and conduct, than this naval enterprize, which, as it was badly contrived, was ſtill worſe executed [E]. At his return he waited upon the King, and gave him a ſhort account of the diſappointments they had met with, and of the cauſes of thoſe diſappointments; after which he did not remain long at Court, where he was, in ſome meaſure, out of his element, but returned to his old ſeat in Staffordſhire, where, for a few weeks, his friends and his books took up all his time (f). In the ſummer of 1626 he returned again to his command in the Low-Countries, and marched with the reſt of the army into the Duchy of Cleves, where, that year, they had no great ſucceſs; and yet the Engliſh forces abroad were ſo miſerably harraſſed with fatiguing marches, and dangerous diſeaſes, flowing from an unwholeſome climate, that it was thought expedient to embody all the four regiments in one corps, under the command of General Morgan, and to march that into the country of Bremen; upon which the Earl of Eſſex, conceiving it not for his honour to remain abroad, thought fit to return home (g). He arrived in England at a time when it might have been expected that his martial genius, and

(w) Codrington's Life of Robert Earl of Eſſex.

(x) Wilſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, &c. p. 736.

(y) Annals of the Reign of King James.

(z) Wilſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, &c. p. 747.

(a) Wilſon's Account of his own life, cap. vii.

(b) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 200.

(c) Wilſon's Account of his own life, cap. vii.

(d) Annals of the Reign of Charles I.

(e) Wilſon's Account of his own life, cap. viii.

(f) Winſtanley's England's Worthies, p. 352.

(g) Wilſon's Account of his own life, cap. viii.

[E] *Which as it was badly contrived, was ſtill worſe executed.*] It was a very unlucky omen, at the very beginning of a new reign, to undertake ſo ſtrange an expedition as this was, of which none who were competent judges had any hopes at all. The reaſon aſſigned for it was, the ill uſage received from Spain, in the negotiation for the Prince's marriage, and in the buſineſs of the Palatinate; but the truth was believed to be, that it was to gratify the Duke of Buckingham's reſentment againſt the Condé Olivarez, and to raiſe his reputation with the people; for at firſt it was intended that he ſhould have commanded the fleet (16), afterwards Sir Edward Cecil was choſen for that command, and for that purpoſe created Viſcount Wimbledon. The Earl of Eſſex and he were great friends, and therefore the King ſent for the Earl, and prevailed upon him to go the voyage in quality of Vice-Admiral (17). The fleet and tranſports conſiſted of about one hundred and twenty ſail, having about ſixteen thouſand ſeamen and ſoldiers on board. They ſailed,

(16) See Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts in Churchill's Collect. of Voyages.

(17) Arthur Wilſon's Account of his own life, chap. vii.

and military experience, would have recommended him to ſome conſiderable command, great preparations being made, at that juncture, for an expedition in ſupport of the French Proteſtants. There is no doubt of the Earl's affection for that cauſe, or of his willingneſs to hazard his life upon ſuch an occaſion; but, as the Duke of Buckingham had formed a reſolution to command in chief, we need not wonder that the Earl of Eſſex, who valued himſelf not a little on the antiquity of his family, declined ſerving under him, and, to avoid all invitations, retired, as uſual, to his ſeat at Chartley (*b*). He came up, however, the next year, to attend his duty in Parliament, where things ran very high; and ſuch as had no good will to the great favourite, puſhed him, with much violence, to the great diſpleaſure of his Royal Maſter, and by impeding the publick ſervice to the no ſmall detriment of the nation (*i*). We find the Earl of Eſſex again at Chartley in the ſummer following, when, upon the murder of the Duke of Buckingham, he diſpatched Mr Wilſon, now become his Secretary, to Portſmouth, who performed his journey, of near three hundred miles, in three days, which argues that he went upon ſome buſineſs of conſequence, but of what nature is to us entirely unknown (*k*). The winter of that year the Earl ſpent at the houſe of his brother the Earl of Hertford, at Netley in Wiltſhire, which wrought a notable change in his circumſtances. There happened to be with his ſiſter the Counteſs of Hertford, as a viſiter, one Mrs Elizabeth Paulet, a very beautiful young Lady, daughter to Sir William Paulet, of Eddington in the ſame county, who was a natural ſon of the Marquis of Wincheſter's (*l*). With this Lady the Earl was ſo much taken, that ſhe was preſſed to ſtay the Chriſtmas holidays; and, notwithſtanding the misfortunes he had met with from his firſt unlucky marriage, the Earl concluded this with ſome precipitation, marrying his ſecond Lady in the ſpring of the year following (*m*). It was in conſequence of this marriage, and the diſlike which the new Counteſs had to him, that the Earl was forced to part with Mr Arthur Wilſon, in whom he had repoſed the greateſt truſt and confidence (*n*). This ſhews that the Earl was far from being a moroſe huſband; and yet, in a ſhort time, there grew ſome ſuſpicions of this Lady's behaviour; notwithſtanding which the Earl owned a child of which ſhe was brought to bed, and cauſed it to be baptized by his own name Robert, which ſon of his lived to be about five years old (*o*); but the Earl was divorced from his Lady in about two years, on account of her familiarity with one Mr Uvedale; and, from this time, his Lordſhip ſeems to have laid aſide all thoughts of the Ladies, and to have addicted himſelf entirely to cares of another nature (*p*). His temper differed, in many things, from that of his father, who, notwithſtanding he endeavoured to imitate in others, more eſpecially in courting the favour of the people, careſſing the Miniſters that were looked upon as puritannically affected, profeſſing an extraordinary friendſhip for military men, and being likewiſe a kind patron to the Poets; methods that, in thoſe ſtirring and tumultuous times, raiſed him a great character, and enabled him to become an inſtrument either of much good, or of much hurt, to the publick (*q*). There is no notice taken in any of our Hiſtories, publick or private, of this Nobleman's going to Ireland, ſo that we are abſolutely ſtrangers to the motives upon which he undertook that voyage; but that he actually went thither in 1632, and was extreamly well received by the Lord-Deputy Wentworth, afterwards the famous Earl of Strafford, is very certain, as well as that this produced very ſtrong profeſſions of friendſhip on both ſides (*r*). The Noble Hiſtorian tells us, that this was afterwards changed into an oppoſite diſpoſition, from the conduct of the Earl of Strafford, in reſpect to the Clanrickard family, for which he informs us, that the Earl of Eſſex had a great regard (*s*); as indeed he very well might, ſince the Earl of St Alban's and Clanrickard married his mother (*t*). He paſſed his days after his uſual manner, either at his own ſeat, or thoſe of his friends, and, as occaſion required, at his houſe in London, till the publick ſervice called him again into the view of the world, which was in the year 1635, when King Charles reſolved to vindicate his ſovereignty of the ſeas againſt the French and Dutch, who had formed a deſign of invading it (*u*). It was with this view that the King equipped a ſtout fleet, under the command of the Earl of Lindſey, to anſwer the purpoſes before-mentioned; and, at the ſame time, a ſmaller ſquadron, of twenty ſail, put to ſea for the guard of the coaſts, and protection of the trade of England, which, with the title of Vice-Admiral, was commanded by the Earl of Eſſex; and both fleets had all the ſucceſs that could be deſired; for, though the French and Dutch joined their naval forces, they were able to do nothing; and, towards the cloſe of the year, the States ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to compliment the King upon the birth of the Princeſs Elizabeth, which, as a judicious writer obſerves, was a teſtimony of reſpect, flowing purely

(*b*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 9.

(*i*) See Frankland's Annals, Ruſhworth's Collections, and the Compleat Hiſt. of England.

(*k*) Wilſon's Account of his own life, cap. viii.

(*l*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 92.

(*m*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 15.

(*n*) Wilſon's Account of his own life, cap. ix.

(*o*) Winſtanley's Engl. Worthies, p. 352.

(*p*) Wilſon's Account of his own life, cap. ix. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 93.

(*q*) Codrington's Life of Robert Earl of Eſſex. Wilſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, &c. p. 736.

(*r*) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 205, 232.

(*s*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 50.

(*t*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 450.

(*u*) Frankland's Annals, Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts.

ſailed, the Admiral from Plymouth, and the Earl of Eſſex with his ſquadron from Falmouth, on the 8th of October 1635, and, after ſome hard weather which they had reaſon to expect at that ſeaſon of the year, arrived upon the coaſt of Spain, where they performed very little. The Earl of Eſſex indeed took a fort, that gave the ſoldiers an opportunity of drinking freely of Spaniſh wines, and this threw them into fevers and fluxes. The Commander in Chief ſhewed himſelf every way unfit for ſuch a charge, he was continually conſulting, giving orders, and iſſuing inſtructions, which the ſeamen never minded; ſo that after much time, and many men loſt, he thought fit to return a few days before the arrival of the Plate Fleet, and came back to England at the very cloſe of the year (18). This untoward buſineſs did not fix the leaſt imputation upon the Earl, who did what little there was done, but was not able to engage the General to act with that ſpirit neceſſary to preſerve diſcipline, and render an army victorious.

(18) See Ruſhworth, Frankland, &c.

[*F*] *He*

purely from this diſplay of his Majeſty's power at ſea (*w*). In 1639 the foreign enemies of the King and kingdom having artfully wrought upon the temper of the Scots, and excited them to rebellion, the King found himſelf under a neceſſity of employing force to reduce them, and, having raiſed a noble army, appointed the Earl of Arundel General, the Earl of Eſſex Lieutenant-General, and the Earl of Holland General of the Horſe (*x*). Eſſex, with a part of the army, had orders to advance to Berwick, and, in his march thither, he met with ſeveral Scotch Noblemen, who pretending to be well affected to the King, informed him of the great ſtrength of their countrymen, of their march towards England, and of the great hazard he muſt run by approaching them with ſo inconſiderable a force. The Earl heard them, quickened his march, took poſſeſſion of Berwick, found the Scots had, in reality, hardly any forces, and, if the King had ſent him proper orders, would have marched on to Edinburgh, and reduced that people to their duty (*y*). The Scots, upon the approach of the King's army, addreſſed themſelves to the King's Generals, and eſpecially to the Earl of Eſſex, with great humility; the other two received their applications kindly enough, but Eſſex behaved with becoming dignity, ſent their letters to the King, and, when his Majeſty was prevailed upon to liſten to an accommodation, refuſed to have any concern in it, or ſo much as to receive the viſits of the Scots Commiſſioners till the pacification was ſigned (*z*). When there was no farther occaſion for his ſervice he was diſmiſſed, rather with coldneſs than civility, which could not but diſguſt a man of his high ſpirit (*a*). In 1640 the Earl of Eſſex both received and returned mortifications, for the Scots broke through all they had promiſed, and raiſed a powerful army, which obliged the King to have, once more, recourſe to a regular force, with which he marched northwards; but, in this expedition, the Earl of Eſſex had no command (*b*). Upon the death of the Lord Aſton, who was Warden of Needwood Foreſt, cloſe by the Earl of Eſſex's houſe at Chartley, his Lordſhip aſked it as a favour to ſucceed him; and was refuſed in ſuch a manner, as he could not avoid taking it for an affront (*c*). On the 28th of Auguſt he ſigned a petition to the King, with eleven other Peers, to terminate theſe diſputes without blood, and for the ſpeedy calling of a Parliament (*d*). On Michaelmas-day following the King appointed him one of the Commiſſioners for treating with the Scots at Rippon; and when the Long Parliament was begun, which obliged the King to think of popular meaſures, the Earl of Eſſex, together with ſeveral other Noblemen, was ſworn of the Privy-Council on the third of February (*e*). At this time the Noble Hiſtorian is very clear, that, whatever diſtaſtes his Lordſhip might have conceived againſt certain men, or certain meaſures, he was perfectly well affected to the Conſtitution, as well in Church as in State (*f*) [*F*]. In the month of May 1641, the Earl of Eſſex was made Lord Chamberlain of the King's Houſhold, upon the removal of the Earl of Pembroke; which was not well received by the angry men in the Houſe of Commons, who fancied that the Earl of Pembroke had loſt the King's favour by his inclination to them (*g*). At this ſeaſon ſome of the wiſeſt perſons about his Majeſty would have perſwaded him to have declared Eſſex General of his army, as the moſt effectual means of preſerving it; with which advice, however, he would not comply. On the other hand, thoſe who were for driving things to extremities, and had framed a bill for taking the militia from the King, propoſed to give the command of all the forces by land to the Earl of Eſſex, and to devolve the power at ſea upon the Earl of Northumberland, with a view,

[*F*] *He was perfectly well affected to the Conſtitution as well in Church as in State.*] It is certainly a thing difficult enough, to come at the true character of the principal perſons on both ſides in this unhappy war; yet with reſpect to the Earl of Eſſex it is generally agreed, that he was a Nobleman of very upright intentions. Sir Philip Warwick (19), who ſpeaks the leaſt favourably of him, allows, that he was no ill ſoldier, and valued much among the men of that profeſſion; he ſays he was a man much diſobliged at Court, and of ſuch a natural confuſed ſpirit, that he was not able to diſcern the ill conſequences of his indifference towards the Crown, but at the ſame time he confeſſes, the Court was not artificial enough to make that right uſe of him, which his intereſt amongſt the ſoldiers, and his blunt, plain, Engliſh nature might have been formed into, by a ſeeming confidence. The Noble Hiſtorian tells us plainly, he had no ambition of title, or office, or preferment, but only to be kindly looked upon, and kindly ſpoken to, and quietly to enjoy his own fortune; and without doubt no man in his nature more abhorred rebellion than he did, nor could he have been drawn into it by any open and tranſparent temptation, but by a thouſand diſguiſes and couzenages. His pride ſupplied his want of ambition, and he was angry to ſee any other man more reſpected than himſelf, becauſe he thought he deſerved it more, and did better requite it. For he was in his friendſhips juſt and conſtant, and would not have practiſed foully even againſt thoſe that he took to be his enemies. No man had credit enough with him to corrupt him in point of loyalty to the King, while he thought himſelf wiſe enough to know what treaſon was. But the new notions were too hard for him, and intoxicated his underſtanding, ſo that he quitted his own to follow theirs, who, as he thought, wiſhed as well, and judged better, than himſelf. He adds, that when he accepted the commiſſion to be General, he did it with a view of being the preſerver, and not the deſtroyer, of the King and kingdom (20). We have this character fully confirmed by Denzil Lord Hollis, who could not but be well acquainted with this Nobleman's real intentions, and was too honeſt to miſrepreſent them (21). The kindneſs he ſhewed to ſuch of the clergy as fell under the diſpleaſure of the Biſhops, was owing to the compaſſion in his nature, and the ſincerity of his zeal for the eſſentials of religion, as the Earl of Clarendon tells us (22), with great candour. 'The 'Earl of Eſſex, ſays he, was rather diſpleaſed with 'the perſon of the Archbiſhop, and ſome other Biſhops, than indevoted to the function, and towards 'ſome of them he had great reverence and kindneſs, 'as Biſhop Moreton, Biſhop Hall, and ſome other of 'the leſs formal and more popular Prelates; and he 'was as much devoted as any man to the Book of 'Common Prayer, and obliged all his ſervants to be 'conſtantly preſent with him at it, his houſhold Chaplain being always a moſt conformable man, and a 'good ſcholar.'

(*w*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 23, 24.

(*x*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 38.

(*y*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 30. Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 39.

(*z*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 130. Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 40, 41.

(*a*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 130. Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 42.

(*b*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 35.

(*c*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 48.

(*d*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 36.

(*e*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 52. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 37.

(*f*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 77.

(*g*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 46.

(19) Memoirs of the Reign of Charles I. p. 130.

(20) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 305.

(21) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Holles, p. 9, 21, 23, 24, 30.

(22) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 77.

view, in all probability, to gain over thoſe two great Peers entirely to their intereſts (*h*). When his Majeſty had taken a reſolution of making a journey into Scotland, and found it neceſſary to appoint a ſingle perſon to have the chief command in the ſouthern parts of the kingdom during his abſence, he, in the beginning of Auguſt, ſigned a commiſſion, appointing the Earl of Eſſex Lieutenant-General of all his forces on this ſide Trent, with a power of increaſing their number if it ſhould be found neceſſary (*i*). This mark of royal confidence could not be greater than that which was afterwards beſtowed upon him, in a very unuſual manner, by the Houſe of Lords; for, having taken a reſolution to adjourn themſelves for a certain time, they, by an order, dated September 9th, appointed a Standing Committee, of which the Earl of Eſſex was Chairman (*k*). On the King's return from Scotland things began to run more and more into confuſion, the populace aſſuming a moſt unbounded liberty, and coming in ſuch a tumultuous manner to Whitehall and Weſtminſter, as created no ſmall apprehenſion, both to the King and to the Parliament. In order to remove this, the Houſe of Commons, on the third of January, petitioned his Majeſty for a guard out of the city, under the command of his Lord Chamberlain the Earl of Eſſex, of whoſe fidelity to the King and Commonwealth, they ſaid, no queſtion was ever made (*l*). This his Majeſty thought fit to decline, and the very next day, being the 4th of the ſame month, he went in perſon to the Houſe of Commons, and demanded the five members (*m*). Upon the diſturbances which followed, his Majeſty thought proper to retire from his Capital, and requiring, upon that occaſion, his Houſehold ſervants to attend him, the Earls of Eſſex and Holland pleaded their obligation (*n*) to aſſiſt in the deliberations of the Houſe of Peers; upon which they were removed from their reſpective employments. We are told by the Noble Hiſtorian, that this was entirely the work of the Earl of Holland, who, when he found Eſſex reſolved and prepared to go, aſſured him they ſhould be both murdered at Hampton-Court, which engaged him to go with that Earl into the city; and this was ſo reported to the King, as to induce him to treat both with the ſame ſeverity; which was not only a little imprudent, but proved, as the wiſeſt men in thoſe times thought, extreamly fatal (*o*) [*G*]. By degrees, and with the mixture of a great deal of art, the Earl of Eſſex was wrought upon to accept the honour, or, rather, to ſuſtain the burthen that was intended to be impoſed upon him; and, about the middle of July 1642, he was declared General of the army raiſed for the ſafety of the King's perſon, and defence of both Houſes of Parliament (*p*), and complimented with their votes of living and dying with him. It is believed, that the Earl accepted this office in hopes that it would have produced a ſpeedy end of theſe troubles; but he was quickly undeceived in that point, by finding, that the King had an army about him, and ſo much reſented his Lordſhip's behaviour, that he had cauſed him to be proclaimed a traytor, and refuſed to accept an application for peace, becauſe it came from his hands (*q*). On the 9th of September following the Earl of Eſſex marched out of London in great pomp and ſplendor, attended by both Houſes of Parliament, to the rendezvous of the army, which was appointed to be at Northampton, where about fifteen thouſand men were aſſembled, and there his ſtandard, which was orange colour, was firſt diſplayed againſt the King (*r*). He marched from thence to Worceſter, his Majeſty being then at Shrewſbury, where having recruited his army, and finding himſelf leſs at a loſs for men than for the means of ſubſiſting them, he began his march directly towards London (*s*), Octob. 14th; the Earl of Eſſex followed his Majeſty from Worceſter, but the King, being leſs incumbred with baggage, gained ground, and might, poſſibly, have accompliſhed what he had in view, if his Majeſty, diſdaining to be purſued, had not turned back, and, on Sunday, October 23d, engaged the army of the Parliament, under the Earl of Eſſex, between Keinton and Edgehill in Warwickſhire, where both ſides claimed the victory,

though

(*h*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 90, 91.

(*i*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 47.

(*k*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 96.

(*l*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, B. II. p. 20.

(*m*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 52.

(*n*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, B. II. p. 41.

(*o*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 156.

(*p*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, B. II. p. 97.

(*q*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 61.

(*r*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 16.

(*s*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 249.

[*G*] *Extreamly fatal.*] It is very certain, that, as the Earl of Eſſex was coldly treated at Court, ſo he was never taken into the counſels or confidence of thoſe of the other party, who reſolved to hide from him as much as poſſible their real intentions, and to let him ſee nothing but fair pretences, that might induce him to become their inſtrument (23). The truth of this appears by the meſſages he carried from the King to the Houſe of Peers, and ſtill more from his behaviour upon the King's coming to the Houſe of Commons, and demanding the five members, for he inſtantly moved the Houſe of Lords to intercede on their behalf, ſuppoſing them to be in real danger, and that the King's reſentment would have been fatal to them; at which thoſe in the ſecret ſmiled, knowing well, that thoſe members were to the full as ſecure as the King himſelf (24). It is indeed ſtrange that he altered his reſolution upon any thing told him by the Earl of Holland, becauſe he was a man of whom he had formerly no good opinion. But, as the Earl of Clarendon juſtly obſerves, it was much ſtranger that the Court ſhould make no difference in the puniſhment of their offences, where there was ſo wide a difference between the perſons. The Earl of Holland held all that he had by the favour and from the bounty of the Crown, which had raiſed him to what he was (25); whereas the Earl of Eſſex had received great diſobligations, and even in reſpect to his office of Lord Chamberlain, was allowed to have done full as much favour to the Court in accepting his white ſtaff, as was expreſſed by conferring it on him. Yet there is ſomething very extraordinary, and at the ſame time nothing improbable, in what the Noble Hiſtorian ſuggeſts, that the taking from him that white ſtaff, trivial as the circumſtance ſeems, was the true ſource of the Civil War. He reaſons thus (26): if the King had excuſed the attendance of the Earl of Eſſex, had ſignified to him ſo much, and continued him in his employment, he would never have accepted the commiſſion to be General of the Parliament's army, from the punctuality of his temper, and the conſideration of his being immediately in the King's ſervice. If he would not have accepted that commiſſion, there could have been no army, for it was chiefly his reputation that raiſed it, in which alſo Whitlocke agrees (27), and if no army could have been raiſed, an agreement muſt have been made, which would have prevented all the misfortunes, miſchiefs, and miſeries, that afterwards enſued.

[*H*] *Though*

(23) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 538.

(24) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 117.

(25) See the character of the Earl of Holland in Clarendon and Sir P. Warwick.

(26) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 156.

(27) This we find alſo handſomely expreſſed in May's Hiſtory of the Parliament.

though neither had any great reaſon [*H*]. He retired after this diſpute with his forces to Warwick, and from thence returned in obedience to the preſſing ſollicitations of the Parliament, with as much diligence as it was poſſible, to London, where he was received with all the reſpect and veneration poſſible; on the 7th of November had the thanks of the Houſes given him in a very ſolemn reſolution, and a preſent beſides of five thouſand pounds (*t*). Theſe ceremonies were diſturbed by the approach of the King's army, which, having taken Reading, continued their march directly to London, Prince Rupert making himſelf maſter of Brentford. The Lord-General Eſſex went immediately to Turnham-Green, where he aſſembled his forces, which were greatly augmented by the timely arrival of the city trained-bands under the Earl of Warwick, who gave up his command as ſoon as he came to the army, which faced the King's troops all day, but ſuffered them, at length, to retire, without fighting (*u*). This was a tranſaction attended with much wonder on both ſides: the Noble Hiſtorian ſays, that the Earl of Eſſex made the right uſe of the ſuperiority of his troops, by keeping them in order of battle, the major part of them being ſuch as he could not have relied on if he had engaged, but ſeems to blame the King for not attacking them (*w*); and Sir Philip Warwick is of the ſame opinion (*x*). On the other hand Whitlocke aſſures us, the King's army was in a very indifferent condition in all reſpects, and had not ammunition enough to have ſerved them for a briſk charge (*y*). The beginning of the year 1643 was ſpent in a treaty, the Parliament having ſent Commiſſioners for that purpoſe to Oxford, and, at the requeſt of the King, enlarged the time originally allowed them to the 15th of April; and the very ſame day, the treaty breaking off abruptly, the Earl of Eſſex began his march with their army towards Oxford (*z*). It was the deſire of ſome of the moſt active men in the party, that the Earl might ſtrike at the root as they called it, that is, beſiege Oxford, and make himſelf maſter of the perſon of the King; but whether he found that impracticable, or was not much inclined to that ſervice, ſo it was, that he turned off to Reading, which he inveſted on the 17th; Sir Arthur Aſton commanded in it for the King, with a garriſon of between three and four thouſand men; but the town, being a long and irregular

(*t*) Whitlocke's Mem. p 64. Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 16.

(*u*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 65. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 233.

(*w*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 261.

(*x*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 233.

(*y*) Memorials, p. 65.

(*z*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 265.

[*H*] *Though neither had any great reaſon.*] Whoever looks for truth in Hiſtory will find it difficult enough to be met with in moſt caſes, but in none more viſibly than in the accounts given us of battles, where, generally ſpeaking, they rather diſcover the inclinations of the writer than the real ſtate of facts, which are alſo very difficult to be got at. In point of numbers the armies were not very unequal, that of the Earl of Eſſex would have been ſuperior in this reſpect to the King's if all his forces had been with him, but ſome of his beſt regiments did not come up till the battle was in a manner over. On the other hand, if the King's army that engaged was actually more numerous, it was much worſe armed; a great part of it conſiſted of Welſhmen, who had nothing but pitchforks and cudgels, but they came to their buſineſs with a good will, and as they charged with the firſt, ſo ſuch as returned from that field picked up arms ſufficient to make a better appearance when they were next called to action. It is certain that the King was the aggreſſor in this battle, from a point of honour, that he would not be purſued, or rather, becauſe he accounted it a dangerous thing to continue his march to London with ſuch a force in his rear. In reference to the perſonal behaviour of the Earl of Eſſex, what follows is the moſt juſt and the moſt particular of any that I have met with (28). ‘The Earl of Lindſey, with a pike in his hand, led on the main body of the army, in which was the King's own regiment, encountered by the Lord General Eſſex, who expoſed himſelf to all the danger that a battle could make, firſt leading on his troop, then his own regiment of foot, and breathing courage into them, till, being diſſuaded by divers from engaging himſelf too far, he returned to the reſt of the army to draw them on. The chief regiments having begun the battle, Sir Philip Stapleton, with a brave troop of gentlemen (which were the General's life-guard, and commanded by him) charged the King's regiment on their right flank within their pikes, and came off without any great hurt, though thoſe pikemen ſtoutly defended themſelves, and the muſqueteers, being good firemen, played fiercely upon them. The battle was hot at that place, and ſo many of the King's ſide ſlain, that the Parliament army began to be victorious there, they took the ſtandard-royal, the bearer, Sir Edward Varney, being ſlain, and the General, the Earl of Lindſey, ſore wounded, was taken priſoner. But the ſame fortune was not in every part, for the King's right wing, led by Prince Rupert, charged fiercely upon the left wing of the other, (conſiſting moſtly of horſe) and prevailed altogether, for the Parliament troops ran almoſt all away in that wing, and many of their foot companies diſmayed with their flight, fled all away before they had ſtood one charge; Colonel Eſſex being utterly forſaken by that whole brigade which he commanded, went himſelf into the van, where he performed excellent ſervice both by direction and execution, till, at the laſt, he was ſhot in the thigh, of which he ſhortly after died. Some part of their diſheartening was cauſed by the revolt of their own ſide, for Sir Faithful Forteſcue, at the beginning of the fight, inſtead of charging the enemy diſcharged his piſtol on the ground, and with his troop wheeling about ran to the King's army, to whom he had formerly given notice thereof by his Cornet. The Parliament army had undoubtedly been ruined that day, and an abſolute victory gained on the King's ſide, if Prince Rupert and his purſuing troops had been more temperate in plundering ſo untimely as they did, and had wheeled about to aſſiſt their diſtreſſed friends in other parts of the army; for Prince Rupert followed the chaſe to Keynton town, where the carriages of the army were, which they preſently pillaged, uſing great cruelty, as was afterwards related, to the unarmed waggoners and labouring men; a great number of the flying Parliament ſoldiers were ſlain in that chaſe, which laſted two miles beyond Keynton, and ſo far till the purſuers were forced to retire, having met with Colonel Hampden, who marched with the other brigade of the army that brought on the artillery.’ As to the King's ſtandard it was given by the General to his Secretary Mr Chambers, from whom it was taken by one Captain Smith and carried back to the King, to whom the General intended to have reſtored it in caſe it had not been thus recovered (29). The Parliament claimed the victory on account of their keeping the field of battle, for they ſtood all night upon the ſame ground where the King's army was drawn up; and as to the King's title to the victory, it conſiſted in taking of Banbury the next day, from whence it appears that great faults were committed on both ſides. If the Earl of Eſſex had marched to Banbury, the reputation of his arms had been much raiſed, which at that time was a thing of great conſequence, and if after the taking of Banbury the King had marched to London, he would have reaped all the fruits of a victory whether he had it or not (30).

(28) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, B. III. p. 18, 19.

(29) As appears by the relation ſent to Parliament after the battle.

(30) See Warwick's Memoirs.

irregular built place, would not admit of proper fortifications; and beſides, the garriſon wanted powder to ſuch a degree, that, in ten days time, it was ſurrendered; and for this Colonel Richard Fielding, who made the capitulation, the Governor being wounded, was ſentenced at Oxford to loſe his head; but, however, he did not ſuffer (*a*). The articles granted by the Earl of Eſſex were but ill obſerved by his ſoldiers, of which he ſhewed his reſentment in a very high degree (*b*). After this ſucceſs great things were expected from him by the Parliament; but a ſickneſs which prevailed in his army, and it's not being ſupplied ſo well as hitherto it had been, weakened him very much, and put it out of his power to do any thing of importance; which ſo much irritated ſome of the leading men in Parliament, that they talked of removing him, and of giving the command to Sir William Waller; but he being preſently after defeated at Rowndway-Down, put an end to that ſcheme (*c*). The Lord-General Eſſex was not at all a ſtranger to what was ſaid and thought of him at London; and, as he was a man of great plainneſs and ſincerity, he was reſolved to leave them in no doubt as to what were his real intentions; and, therefore, wrote the Parliament a letter of ſo extraordinary a nature (*d*), that we have judged it neceſſary to inſert it in the notes [*I*]. While the Earl, with his army, quartered about Thame in Oxfordſhire, they ſuffered not a little by the continual enterprizes of Prince Rupert, who had a numerous body of horſe in their neighbourhood; and his endeavours would, probably, have been more ſucceſsful againſt any other General than the Earl of Eſſex, who was not only extreamly vigilant, but alſo very ready to repair in perſon to any poſts that were attacked, by which he prevented the ill conſequences that would otherways have attended ſudden impreſſions (*e*). All his care, and all his courage, expreſſed in their ſervice, did not, however, entirely ſatisfy the Houſe of Commons; as, on the other hand, his Lordſhip was very far from being well pleaſed with that temper which prevailed amongſt them; and moſt of the Nobility who had hitherto concurred with them, inclined now to the Earl's opinion (*f*). At this juncture it appears, from the beſt authority, that the King and the Earl of Eſſex were equally deſirous of putting an end to this unhappy war, and that each had it in his power, as well as will, to have accompliſhed this good deſign, if both had not ſuffered themſelves to be fatally diverted from their intentions, and thereby loſt an opportunity, the like of which never offered itſelf to either of them any more (*g*) [*K*]. The King, over-perſwaded by thoſe who had the

[*I*] *To inſert it in the notes.*] We have in another place mentioned the diſpoſition of the Parliament at this juncture, when two parties, that agreed in nothing elſe, joined in preſſing the Earl to advance towards Oxford, one deſiring nothing ſo much as to make an end of the war, and the other, with equal paſſion, thirſting for the deſtruction of the King; the Lord General Eſſex knew, that the former was as much out of his power as the latter was diſtant from his will. It was very much againſt his judgment that he advanced to Thame, where the heat of the weather, and the marſhineſs of the ſoil, increaſed the diſtemper in his army, ſo that hundreds were diſabled in a day; yet he ſtill received the ſame preſſing meſſages from London, in anſwer to which he wrote the following letter (31).

' Mr Speaker,

' I Would have given you the true relation of the ſkirmiſh on Sunday laſt, between ſome of the horſe and the enemy near Buckingham, but Sir Philip Stapleton and Colonel Goodwin being then upon the ſpot, I refer the relation thereof unto them. Since when, being informed that the King had ſent more forces to Buckingham to maintain that place, and bring theſe parts into contribution, where the enemy ſtayed until the army came within two miles of them, and then made haſte away towards Banbury, notwithſtanding they had perſuaded the people that they would not quit the place till they had beaten me out of the country: I then underſtanding that they were fled, held it not fit to go to the town with my army, but ſent Colonel Middleton with ſome horſe to clear that town and coaſt, which they did, and then adviſed where to quarter with moſt conveniency for our army, and moſt ready for the enemy, the Queen's forces being like to join with them very ſuddenly; and that our army may the better ſerve the Parliament and city, and counties adjacent, and be more ſafely ſupplied with money from London, and lie moſt conveniently to join the forces with the Lord Gray in Northamptonſhire, I was adviſed to march to Great Brickhill, as the moſt fit place for all purpoſes, the enemies chief ſtrength being in horſe, and this army neither recruited with horſe, arms, nor ſaddles, it is impoſſible to keep the counties from being plundered, nor to fight with them but when and where they liſt, we being forced when we move to march with the whole army, which can be but ſlowly, ſo that the counties muſt ſuffer much wrong, and the cries of poor people are infinite. If it were thought fit to ſend to his Majeſty, to have peace, with the ſettling of religion, the laws and liberties of the ſubject, and to bring unto juſt trial thoſe chief delinquents that have brought all this miſchief to both kingdoms; and as my Lord of Briſtol ſpake once in Parliament, how we may be ſecured to have thoſe things performed hereafter. Or elſe, if his Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to abſent himſelf, there may be a day ſet down to put a period to all theſe unhappy diſtractions by a battle, which, when and where they ſhall chooſe, that may be thought any way indifferent, I ſhall be ready to perform that duty I owe you; and the propoſitions to be agreed upon between his Majeſty and the Parliament, may be ſent to ſuch an indifferent place, that both armies may be drawn near the one to the other, that if peace be not concluded, it may be ended by the ſword: no officers of the army to be of the committee, nor no intercourſe to be between them.

SIR,

Great Brickhill,
July 9, 1643.
I am your aſſured friend,

ESSEX.

[*K*] *To either of them any more.*] In order to explain this matter thoroughly, which is in itſelf equally curious and important, we muſt obſerve that factions ran very high both at Oxford and at Weſtminſter, yet thoſe who wiſhed well to the King and kingdom had the ſame views in both places, that is, were very deſirous of ſeeing peace reſtored, and the conſtitution preſerved, by an agreement upon moderate terms. In order to this, the King was adviſed to publiſh the utmoſt conceſſions he was inclined to make, and to give the ſtrongeſt aſſurances in his power with reſpect to their being conſtantly adhered to, and then to have marched with his army, which was in a very good condition, directly up to London, which if he had done, ſays Whitlocke

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(*a*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 315, 316.

(*b*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 267. Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 314.

(*c*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 70.

(*d*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. ii. p. 291.

(*e*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 322, 323.

(*f*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 71.

(*g*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 342.

(31) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 290, 291.

the leaſt knowledge even, and perhaps the leaſt affection for, his cauſe, having a better army than he had yet brought into the field, marched towards Glouceſter, which, on the 10th of Auguſt, he inveſted (*b*). It had a numerous garriſon, commanded by Colonel Maſſey, who made a vigorous and obſtinate reſiſtance, and this weakened the King's army exceedingly, which, without doubt, was leaſt fit for that ſervice. The city of London was greatly alarmed at the news of this ſiege, which affected them in their trade for the preſent, and gave them a bad proſpect of their ſecurity for the future; the Parliament made an advantage of this diſpoſition in their own people, and, on the twenty-firſt of the ſame month, publiſhed an order, forbidding any ſhops to be opened till Glouceſter was relieved (*i*). In order to effect this, all ways and means were practiſed to ſettle the mind of the General, and next, part of the London trained bands and auxiliaries were ordered to recruit his army, ſo that, on the 29th of the ſame month, the Earl of Eſſex marched from Ayleſbury with an army very little ſhort of twenty thouſand men (*k*). He proceeded with much caution, and though his motions were obſerved by General Wilmot, with a great body of horſe, yet he carried his point, obliged the King to raiſe the ſiege, entered Glouceſter in triumph September 15th, and, ſoon after, ſurprized Cirenceſter, where the King had two regiments of horſe, and very conſiderable magazines (*l*). His Lordſhip continuing his march into Berkſhire, Prince Rupert, with his horſe, incommoded his rear very much; and the King, with his foot, being arrived near Newberry, the Earl found himſelf obliged to fight, which accordingly he did, on the 20th of September, with very great reputation to himſelf, in reſpect both to courage and conduct; though, after all, it was but a drawn battle, or if any, the King had the title to the victory, for by it he opened a paſſage to London, if he had loſt no time in the proſecution of that deſign, for which, it is ſuppoſed, he fought (*m*). But as he let ſlip this opportunity, ſo Eſſex improved that negligence, and, with great diligence and dexterity, marched to Reading, and from thence nearer London. His army being quartered at Windſor, and in the neighbourhood, the Earl, with ſome of the great officers, went to London, where the Speaker came to compliment him at Eſſex-Houſe, as did the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, in their ſcarlet gowns; and his behaviour at Newberry fight was magnified to as high a degree, as their eloquence could reach (*n*). The Earl afterwards returned to the army; but, upon receiving orders to join Sir William Waller, he ſent for anſwer, *That he held it not for their ſervice*; after which jealouſies daily increaſed, and, at laſt, a committee was appointed for recruiting and reforming the army, which gave him a great deal of diſtaſte (*o*) and uneaſineſs, yet his opinion, That he was bound in honour to do nothing to the prejudice of thoſe who intruſted him, hindered him from giving any countenance to the applications he received from the Lords and Commons aſſembled at Oxford, while thoſe in Parliament, who diſliked his conduct, took the neceſſary meaſures for curtailing his army, and making the forces he commanded inferior to thoſe at the head of which they had placed their own creatures (*p*). In the ſpring of the year 1644 the Earl of Eſſex, in obedience to the preſſing ſollicitations of his maſters, marched into Oxfordſhire, and, advancing to Abingdon, General Wilmot quitted the town upon his approach, and retired towards Oxford, which gave him an opportunity of advancing within a mile of that place on one ſide, at the ſame time that Sir William Waller, with his forces, came almoſt as near it on the other (*q*). The King was thought to be effectually blocked up in that city, and this ſituation of his equally alarmed his own friends and the enemies of the Earl of Eſſex. One of the King's Privy-Council apprehended his ſituation to be ſo deſperate, that he adviſed him to render himſelf into the hands of Eſſex; to which the King anſwered, *It was poſſible he might fall into* Eſſex*'s hands, but it ſhould be when he was dead* (*r*). On the other hand, the inveterate party in the Parliament apprehended nothing ſo much as that this might really happen; and therefore they wrote a ſhort and peremptory letter, directing him, in caſe of any application of that kind, to do nothing without their orders (*s*). The King, on the 29th of May, quitted Oxford in the duſk of the evening, marched all night between the two armies, and got ſafe

(*b*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 262.

(*i*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 291.

(*k*) Codrington's Life of Robert Earl of Eſſex.

(*l*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 292.

(*m*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 73. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 263.

(*n*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 295. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 74.

(*o*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 653.

(*p*) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Holles, p. 21, 24.

(*q*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 396.

(*r*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 270. Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 397.

(*s*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p 89. Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 396.

Whitlocke (32), it is believed he might have done his buſineſs; but the King was prevailed upon by the Lord Culpepper to undertake the ſiege of Glouceſter, which, by an obſtinate reſiſtance, ruined his army to ſuch a degree as he could never retrieve. Sir Edward Walker, who had the beſt opportunity of knowing the King's real intentions (33) in ſuch points, affirms, that he was afraid ever to comply with that advice, from an apprehenſion that there would be no reſtraining the licence of the ſoldiers, and that by concluding the war in this manner, he ſhould totally deſtroy his capital. But without determining any thing as to the King's motive, certain it is that he loſt his opportunity. As to the Earl of Eſſex, the zeal he ſhewed for the good of the nation, and the authority he had by being at the head of the army, gave many of the Lords courage to ſpeak their minds freely, and to ſhew their diſtaſte to violent meaſures; but finding they loſt ground in Parliament by the exorbitant ſtretches of power which the Houſe of Commons aſſumed to themſelves, and which the Republicans had with great addreſs transferred to a Committee, where they had a conſtant majority, the Lords propoſed to the Earl of Eſſex their retiring, with their friends in the Houſe of Commons, to him and the army for protection, which they judged muſt ſoon have brought thoſe who remained at Weſtminſter to a compliance (34). The Earl thought this might prove a blemiſh to his honour, upon which the Lords, not thinking themſelves ſafe any longer where they were, withdrew into the King's quarters. Thus this opportunity was loſt of doing all that the Earl took up arms to do, while his and the King's antagoniſts, by conſidering nothing as juſt or unjuſt, but as it contributed to or claſhed with their views, brought their projects to bear, and the kingdom into confuſion.

(32) Memorials, p. 69.

(33) In his remarks on William Lilly's life of King Charles the Firſt.

(34) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 342.

ſafe out of their reach (*t*). Upon this the Earl of Eſſex ſent Waller orders to follow him, as having a lighter body of troops; about this he made ſome ſcruples, but the Earl inſiſting upon his orders, Waller, at length, obeyed, but complained to the Parliament, who wrote in very quick terms to the Lord-General, who ſubſcribed his anſwer, *Your innocent, though ſuſpected, ſervant* (*u*). He then marched into Dorſetſhire, where he took Weymouth, and relieved Lyme, while the King, in the mean time, with great addreſs, gave Waller the ſlip, and returned to Oxford on the twenty-firſt of June, where, in a ſhort time, he aſſembled an army of ten thouſand men, and, gaining ſome advantage over Waller, followed the Earl of Eſſex into the Weſt, where all the forces he then had were (*w*). By the perſwaſion of Lord Roberts, who believed he had a great intereſt in Cornwall, Eſſex was engaged to march thither, where, by degrees, the King drove him to the ſea, and ſhut him up in ſuch a manner, that he could neither tell how to fight, or find any thing for his ſoldiers to eat. In this ſituation the King wrote him a very kind letter, with propoſals for a treaty, which he rejected, as he had done a propoſal of the ſame ſort from the King's officers, aſſigning, as his reaſon, that he had no authority (*x*). In theſe deſperate circumſtances his horſe, under the command of Sir William Balfour, broke through, or rather ſlipped by, the King's army, and, on the firſt of September, the Earl of Eſſex, with a few of the officers he moſt eſteemed, embarked at Foy, and eſcaped to Plymouth, leaving his foot under Major-General Skippon, who ſubmitted to be diſarmed, gave up their artillery and ammunition, and were conducted through the King's quarters into thoſe of the Parliament (*y*). The Earl himſelf quickly embarked on board a man of war, and returned to London, where he was received with all outward marks of reſpect and eſteem (*z*); which gave him, however, but very little ſatisfaction [*L*]. In the month of October, the armies under the Earl of Mancheſter and Sir William Waller having joined, the Earl of Eſſex went down again, to put himſelf at the head of that army which was intended to attack the King in his return from the Weſt to Oxford (*a*). Great preparations were made for that purpoſe, and great expectations there was at London of the event; but, before this could be accompliſhed, the Earl of Eſſex fell ſick; upon which a committee of Lords and Commons were appointed to viſit him, and to expreſs the affection of both Houſes to him; but, if we may judge from what Whitlocke

has

[*L*] *But very little ſatisfaction*] We have very full accounts of the ſtate and ceremony with which the Lord General was received by the Parliament, who were extreamly well pleaſed with his ſending them the letters written him by the King's officers, and by his Majeſty himſelf, on the ſubject of peace. Perhaps ſome amongſt them were the more ceremonious, as thinking they had him now in their power, and that, underſtanding as they did the art of raiſing money, and obliging the people to pay for a rod to ſcourge themſelves, he might at length be laid aſide like an old ſtaff now they found their ſtrength increaſe, though at their firſt ſetting out they were not able to move without leaning upon him. As for the Earl, he was very ſenſible of their former treatment, concerning which a Noble writer gives us a free and full detail, which cannot but prove ſatisfactory to the reader. Having mentioned the Earl's detaching Sir William Waller after the King, while he marched weſtward himſelf, contrary to the route that had been laid down for him, he proceeds thus (35): 'Accordingly he gave that account to the 'Parliament and Committee of the two kingdoms, 'with his deſire of their directions. They were ſo 'mad to ſee themſelves defeated of their plot, that 'they would not, for many days, return him any an'ſwer at all; his diſobedience was blown up and trum'peted about by them and their agents: ſome of 'whom did not ſtick to ſay, It were better my Lord 'of Eſſex and his whole army were loſt and ruined, 'than the Parliament not obeyed, and that by their 'conſents, he nor his army ſhould be looked after or 'cared for more: a maxim they have forgotten now, 'in the caſe of Sir Thomas Fairfax and his army's not 'diſobedience, but open rebellion, but they were as 'good as their words then, and did moſt maliciouſly, 'wilfully, and treacherouſly, (as to the Parliament's 'cauſe, which they ſeemed to be zealous in) ſuffer 'General and army to be loſt, and the whole weſt left 'farther out of the Parliament's reach, than at any time 'before. Sir Arthur Haſlerigg poſted up to London, 'breathing out nothing but ruin and deſtruction to the 'Earl of Eſſex, ſpoke it out in the hearing of ſeveral 'perſons, that he would ruin him or be ruined him'ſelf. His malice and violence was ſo great at the 'Committee of the two kingdoms, where he and his 'party were prevalent, that a report was thence 'brought down to the Houſe of Commons, by which 'Sir William Waller was taken off from from follow'ing the King, and by that means the King was left 'at liberty to bend his whole force for the Weſt, af'ter my Lord of Eſſex, which he preſently did. At 'laſt they left my Lord of Eſſex at liberty to proceed 'in that weſtern expedition, but with a reſolution to 'let him periſh. He takes in Weymouth, and ſome 'other towns, goes on as far as Cornwall, whither 'the King's forces follow him at the heels, cut off all 'proviſion from him, preſs upon him exceedingly, 'and put him to very great ſtreights. He engaged in 'a country encloſed with deep ditches and ſtrong 'fences, that he could neither break through nor 'march away, but ſends letter upon letter, meſſenger 'upon meſſenger, to the Parliament, repreſenting his 'condition, and how eaſy it was, with a ſmall force 'ſent upon the back of the King's army, if but only a 'good party of horſe, to ſtop their proviſions and turn 'the tables, ſtreighten them, and free him, than 'which certainly nothing had been more eaſy, and 'would have ſaved the kingdom a maſs of treaſure, 'and thouſands of good mens lives, which the con'tinuance of the war, after that time, did coſt. But 'our maſters did not deſire then to ſee the war at an 'end, they had not the ſword in thoſe hands they 'would have it, for to break the King's forces, well 'knowing they muſt then have had a peace, and ſuch 'a peace as had carried with it an eſtabliſhment of the 'King's government, a keeping up the Nobility and 'Gentry; all things muſt have returned into their 'proper channel, and the ſecurity of the Parliament 'and kingdom being provided for, the law of the land 'muſt have taken place, their arbitrary empire been 'at an end, and their deſign wholly defeated. There'fore my Lord of Eſſex muſt not be relieved, but ſa'crificed to their ambition; the King's army muſt be 'yet preſerved, to give them a colour to new model 'theirs, and put the power into the baſe hands of 'their creatures, which ſhould keep the kingdom in a 'perpetual bondage; and though they ended the war 'with the King, yet never made peace, but conti'nued to grind the faces, and break the backs of the 'people, with taxes and free quarter, to maintain an 'army when no enemy was left; in a word, they go'vern by the ſword, the height of all miſery and ſla'very any land can undergo.'

[*M*] A

(*t*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 407.

(*u*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 672. Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 397.

(*w*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 272, 273.

(*x*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 98. Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. 691, 692, 693.

(*y*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 102, 103. Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 699—711.

(*z*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 409.

(*a*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 105.

(35) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Holles, p. 23, 24, 25, 26.

has written upon this ſubject, there was ſomething more in the matter, and they were inſtructed to make him a compliment of another kind (b) [*M*]. However that might be, certain it is, that, when the Parliament army ſurrounded the King's, who was much inferior in ſtrength, in the town of Newberry, and attacked him on the 27th of the month laſt mentioned, the Earl of Eſſex was not in that action, which the Parliament called a victory, but the King made a good retreat, put his artillery into Dunnington-Caſtle, and, about a week after, having recruited his forces, marched thither, and brought off his train. After this engagement the Earl of Eſſex gave orders for ſlighting Newberry, with which the Parliament was much offended (c). On his return to London he found things in great confuſion, and, which was not a little extraordinary, his two rivals, the Earl of Mancheſter and Sir William Waller, as much diſſatisfied as himſelf, and, in point of truſt and confidence, exactly in the ſame ſituation that he was (*d*). The Earl, however, was very ſenſible of the hand that principally hurt him, and had formed a reſolution of being too quick for him; in order to this he held a Council at Eſſex-Houſe, at which were preſent the Chancellor of Scotland, and the reſt of the Scots Commiſſioners, Mr Denzil Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, and other friends of the Earl, and to which Serjeant Maynard and Mr Whitlocke were invited (*e*). The point there debated was, the attacking Lieutenant-General Cromwell in Parliament, as an incendiary; which was very fully and clearly opened by the Lord Chancellor Loudon, and the Members of the Houſe of Commons, who were preſent, were very hearty in the deſign, and thought it might be executed with all the ſucceſs that could be deſired (*f*). But the two Lawyers, though they pretended to be no friends to Cromwell, threw cold water upon the project, and repreſented it in ſuch a light, as intimidated the Scots Commiſſioners, and ſo the matter ended at leaſt there; but Whitlocke owns, that the conſultation came to the knowledge of Cromwell, who treated Maynard and himſelf the better for it, and, no doubt, hated the Earl of Eſſex for it ſo much the more (*g*). The Self-denying Ordinance, by which all the Members in both Houſes were to be deprived of their commands, was, by this time, brought into Parliament; and though it made a ſlow paſſage through the Houſe of Lords, yet it was at laſt carried, Sir Thomas Fairfax fixed upon to be the new General, and the clauſe for the ſecurity of the King's perſon left out of his commiſſion; which was a plain indication of what was to follow, and of the true deſign of new modelling the army (*h*). On the 2d of April 1645, the Earl of Eſſex ſurrendered his commiſſion, but not without ſome viſible marks of diſcontent (*i*). It was then thought proper to reduce a part of the troops that had ſerved under him, and that too without paying them; to which ſome of the horſe quartered in Hertfordſhire were not willing to ſubmit, and the friends of the new model propoſed, as the ſhorteſt method, to cut them to pieces. Mr St John alſo wrote a letter to the Committee of Hertfordſhire, to excite the people to fall upon them; but theſe extremities were prevented by the Earl of Eſſex interpoſing, and prevailing upon them to acquieſce (*k*). In the beginning of December, the ſame year, the Parliament voted, that the Earl of Eſſex ſhould be made a Duke (*l*), as they had formerly voted him ten thouſand pounds a year; but he had no benefit by theſe votes, nor was there any great care taken for the payment of his arrears. It is generally allowed, that, after he laid down his command, he began to have different apprehenſions of things, and to have been very deſirous of preventing thoſe miſeries that he plainly ſaw were coming upon theſe nations; his intereſt and credit were to the laſt very great, and ſome have thought, if he had lived longer, he would have endeavoured to have exerted them for the publick ſervice (*m*) But, being ſeized with a ſudden and violent illneſs, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon, he died greatly lamented, at Eſſex-Houſe in the Strand, September 14th, 1646 (*n*). The Parliament directed a publick funeral for him, which was performed, with great ſolemnity, on the 22d of October following, in the Abbey-Church of St Peter, Weſtminſter (*o*), when Mr Richard Vines preached his funeral ſermon to a very great audience, compoſed of perſons of very great diſtinction; and the number would certainly have been much larger, if the Parliament had not made an order, that neither his brother the Marquis of Hertford, nor any who had borne arms for the King, ſhould be preſent at that ceremony (*p*). Such was the end of this Great Man, in whom the title of Eſſex became extinct, and whoſe virtues deſerved, that his memory

(*b*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 720. Memorials, p. 108.

(*c*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 281. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 132.

(*d*) Holles Memoirs, p. 18, 19, 20.

(*e*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 116.

(*f*) Holles Memoirs, p. 30, 31. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 117.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Holles Memoirs, p. 34. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 139.

(*i*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iv. p. 15.

(*k*) Holles Memoirs, p. 32.

(*l*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 182.

(*m*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 133.

(*n*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 498.

(*o*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iv. p. 329.

(*p*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 225.

[*M*] *A complement of another kind.*] Whoever conſiders the paſſage cited in the former note, will very eaſily diſcern what temper the dominant party were in with reſpect to the Earl of Eſſex. He had ſtill indeed the title of General, and they were not deſirous he ſhould have any more, this was the return they made him whoſe reputation had firſt raiſed them an army; that was a work which he only could do, but they were now entering upon works which they very well knew he neither could nor would do. This meſſage to him therefore had an outward form of civility (36); but withal an inward mixture of reproach, the former ſerved to amuſe the people who had a high reverence for the General, the latter was to prevent his obſtructing their deſigns. Whitlocke gives this cautious, and yet very intelligible account, of that Janus-faced complement, for it is obſervable that theſe three Earls of Eſſex were made unhappy by their virtues, flattered out of their reaſon, and exalted to the higheſt honours by thoſe who meant to make their fall the greater. But let us hear Whitlocke (37): 'The Houſes being 'informed that the Lord General was not well, and 'ſtayed behind the army, they ſent a Committee of 'the Lords and Commons to viſit him, and to expreſs 'the affections of both Houſes to him. This was not, 'as was given out, a piece of courtſhip, but I think 'real, and there was cauſe enough that it ſhould be 'ſo, the General having ſo highly deſerved from 'them. Yet there were ſome had deſigns againſt him, 'and were deſirous to remove him from his command, 'becauſe

(36) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 720.

(37) Memorials, p. 108.

memory ſhould be tranſmitted to poſterity with greater care and attention than had been hitherto paid to it, and which we have endeavoured to accompliſh.

‘ becauſe they were jealous that he was too much inclined to peace, and favouring of the King and his party. I think I knew as much of his mind as others did, and always obſerved him to wiſh for peace, yet not upon any diſhonourable or unjuſt terms; he was a lover of Monarchy and Nobility, which he ſuſpected ſome deſigned to deſtroy, together with Gentry, Miniſtry, and Magiſtracy, which humour began then to boil up; but he reſolved to ſupport them, and wanted not advice to that end. But the jealouſies upon him who was a moſt faithful and gallant man, and ſervant to the publick, gave him great trouble in his thoughts, and they did work ſo high with his enemies, that ſome gave out he was by private intimation to forbear engaging in this ſervice, and for certain he was not in it.’ E

D'EWES (Sir SYMONDS), Knight and Baronet, an accurate Hiſtorian, a judicious Critick, an eminent Antiquary, an inquiſitive ſearcher into many different branches of Science, and a communicative friend, as well as generous Patron of learned men (*a*). He was deſcended from a very antient family in the Low-Countries, his anceſtors retiring hither very early (*b*), and acquiring a very conſiderable ſettlement in the county of Suffolk; by which he was born to a large paternal eſtate, and was well allied in that county, as may be proved from indubitable authorities [*A*]. He was the ſon of Paul D'Ewes, Eſq; by his wife Cecily, daughter and ſole heireſs of Richard Symonds, of Coxden in the county of Dorſet (*c*). He drew his earlieſt breath, as himſelf informs us, at the ſeat of his grandfather before-mentioned, December 18th, 1602 (*d*); and, having acquired the firſt tincture of letters in his father's houſe, the pregnancy of his parts became ſo apparent, that, in the ſixteenth year of his age, he was ſent to the Univerſity of Cambridge, and entered a Fellow-Commoner there, of St John's College, under the tuition of the famous Dr Richard Holdſworth, July the 9th, 1618 (*e*). It does not appear either how long he remained there, or whether he took any degree; but this is very certain, that, in return for the great acquiſitions he made in that celebrated ſeat of the Muſes, he preſerved a filial reverence for the place, and expreſſed ſo warm a concern for it's reputation, as ſeems to have expoſed him to the reſentment of ſome peeviſh writers, who cannot bear that any notions ſhould be queſtioned, and much leſs contradicted, which they have once embraced, or in favour of which they have thought fit to declare (*f*). His inclinations to collect the beſt materials, for the forming a correct and compleat Hiſtory of Great Britain, ſhewed themſelves very early, ſince he aſſures us himſelf, that he began to put this deſign in execution when he was not above eighteen years of age (*g*). He was no leſs ſtudious in preſerving the hiſtory of his own times, ſetting down carefully the beſt accounts that he was able to obtain of every memorable tranſaction at the time it happened (*h*); an inſtance or two of which, and thoſe very curious in their kind, the reader will find in the notes [*B*]. This laudable diſpoſition, in ſo young a man, recommended him to the

(*a*) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 698. Fuller's Worthies, Suffolk, P. iii. p. 75.

(*b*) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 478.

(*c*) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 653.

(*d*) Life of Sir Symonds D'Ewes written by himſelf, MS. in the Harleian Library, fol. 1. *a*.

(*e*) From the information of the late Rev. and learned Mr Baker. Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors in Greſham College, p. 57.

(*f*) See Hearne's *Sprotti Chronica*, p. 240. Nicholſon's Hiſtorical Library, P. i. p. 154.

(*g*) See this date fixed in note [*D*].

(*h*) But he ſeems to have corrected and enlarged thoſe accounts afterwards.

[*A*] *As may be proved from indubitable authorities*] In the pariſh church of St Michael Baſſiſhaw, there was, in one of the windows, a beautiful repreſentation of a man in compleat armour, and his wife's pourtraiture on the other ſide, which, by the inſcription, appeared to have been in memory of Adrian D'Ewes, a lineal deſcendant from the very antient and noble family of Des Ewes, Lords of the diſtrict of Keſſell in the duchy of Gueldres, who retired hither upon the breaking out of wars in that country (1). He died of the ſweating ſickneſs in the month of July 1551, having lived under the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. He married Alice Ravenſcroft, by whom he left iſſue, as appears from his will (2), four ſons, Gerard, James, Peter, and Andrew. His eldeſt ſon, Gerard D'Ewes, lies buried in the iſle of Upminſter church in Eſſex, having been Lord of the manour of Gains, *alias* Upminſter; he died April 12, 1591, leaving by his wife, Grace Hinde, a ſon, Paul Dewes, Eſq; and a daughter Alice, who married William Lathom, Eſq; who repurchaſed this manor of Gains, *alias* Upminſter, which he had ſold to his father-in-law (3).

[*B*] *The reader will find in the notes.*] In order to juſtify what has been aſſerted in the text, it will be ſufficient to produce two paſſages from our author's work, one of which ſhall be his deſcription of the great favourite Buckingham, when he was riſing in his fortunes; and the other, his ſuccinct detail of Prince Charles's voyage to Spain. As to the firſt, having deſcribed the tilting in the preſence of the French Embaſſador, brother to the great favourite of Lewis XIII, the Conſtable Luynes, on Monday January 8, 1620-21, in the Tilt-Yard over-againſt Whitehall, he proceeds thus (4): ‘ After this moſt of the tilters, except the Prince, went up to the French Lords in a large upper room of the houſe, ſtanding at the lower end of the Tilt-Yard, and I crowding in after them, and ſeeing the Marquis of Buckingham diſcourſing with two or three French Monſieurs, I joined to them, and moſt earneſtly viewed him for about half an hour's ſpace at the leaſt, which I had opportunity the more eaſily to accompliſh, becauſe he ſtood all that time he talked bareheaded. I ſaw every thing in him full of delicacy and handſome features, yea his hand and face ſeemed the more accompliſhed, becauſe the French Monſieurs that had inveſted him were very ſwarthy hard favoured men. That he was afterwards an inſtrument of much miſchief both at home and abroad, is ſo evident upon record as no man can deny, yet this I do ſuppoſe proceeded rather from ſome jeſuited incendiaries about him, than from his own nature, which his very countenance promiſed to be affable and gentle.’ The ſecond paſſage is this (5):

‘ February 1622-23, there happened on Monday the 17th day of this month, ſo ſtrange an accident as future ages will ſcarce believe it, for Charles Prince of Wales began his journey from London into Spain on Monday the 17th day of February, with the beloved Marquis of Buckingham, Sir Francis Cottington, and Mr Endymion Porter, only in his company, who, beſides the King himſelf, were the only men acquainted with the Prince's reſolution. Their going was ſo ſecretly carried, as none I believe knew of it in England till they were landed in France. Through which kingdom they paſſed by poſt-horſe into Spain. The journey was thought ſo dangerous, being above eleven hundred Engliſh miles by land, beſides the croſſing the ſeas between Dover and Calais, as all men were generally enſadded at the adventure, often wiſhing it had been better adviſed upon, although all knew the Spaniards durſt do the Prince no harm, ſo long as his royal ſiſter and her illuſtrious offspring ſurvived. Soon after followed

(1) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 698. Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 478.

(2) In Regiſtro Curiæ Dom. Archidiaconi Lond. Lib. IV. fol. 34. *a.* & *b.*

(3) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 652.

(4) Life of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, fo. 53. *b.*

(5) Ibid. fo. 67. *a.*

the eſteem and acquaintance of perſons of the firſt rank in the Republick of Letters, and amongſt theſe to the celebrated Sir Robert Cotton, who introduced him likewiſe to the famous Mr Selden *(i)*; which circumſtances we learn from himſelf, together with the opinion he entertained of theſe great men, which the reader will not probably think unworthy of his notice [*C*]. In the year 1626 he married Anne, daughter to Sir William Clopton, of Eſſex, who, though very young, was an exquiſite beauty, and, though his paſſion ſeems to have increaſed for her, after ſhe became his wife, to a degree of extravagance (*k*), yet it did not hinder him from proſecuting his ſtudies with equal vigour and diligence; inſomuch that, when he was little more than thirty years of age, he had, with infinite care and labour, finiſhed that large and accurate work *(l)*; which contributes not a little to explain the moſt important tranſactions of one of the moſt glorious reigns in our Hiſtory, but will likewiſe ſerve to tranſmit his own name and memory with luſtre to poſterity [*D*]. In 1639 we find him High-Sheriff of the county of Suffolk (*m*), having been

‘ followed the Lord Hayes, Earl of Carliſle, and paſſed into France, to excuſe to that King the Prince's ſudden and ſecret paſſing through his kingdom without giving him a viſit. All men now took it for granted, that the Prince's marriage with the Infanta Maria, the King of Spain's ſiſter, was concluded on, and that he went over only to conſummate it, no man imagining that he would take up ſuch a reſolution upon uncertainties, eſpecially occaſioning ſo vaſt an unneceſſary expence, at a time when the King's wants preſſed him much. But God, whoſe decree binds Princes as well as peaſants, had otherwiſe diſpoſed, ſo as our royal ſuitor arriving at Madrid in Spain on Friday the $\frac{7}{17}$th of March, about three weeks after his departure from London, and taking ſhip for his return into England on the $\frac{18}{28}$th of September then next enſuing, ſtayed in Spain about ſeven months, in all which time he ſeldom ſaw or ſpake with the Spaniſh Princeſs, nor could ever receive a fair and ſincere denial from her brother, although her marriage had been abſolutely diſpoſed of by her father's laſt Will and Teſtament, he bequeathing her to Ferdinand, ſon and heir of Ferdinand II, the Emperor of Germany, who afterwards did accordingly eſpouſe her.’

[*C*] *Unworthy of his notice.*] Before we give the reader this paſſage, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that our author's journal was entirely made for his own private uſe and advantage, and ſeems to have been written purely for the ſecuring ſuch of his own thoughts as he was deſirous to review, and for preſerving ſuch informations as he received upon his enquiries (6); and as he had not any intention, or perhaps the leaſt foreſight, that theſe notices of his might be made publick, ſo nothing contained in them ought to be conſidered as any way derogatory from the reputation of thoſe of whom he ſpeaks. We will now proceed to the remarks made by our author. ‘ On Tueſday September 28, 1624, going, as I frequently uſed, to viſit Sir Robert Cotton, England's prime Antiquary, I there met Mr John Selden of the Inner Temple, a man of deep knowledge, and almoſt incomparable learning, as his many publiſhed works do ſufficiently witneſs, with whom Sir Robert, our joint-friend, brought me acquainted, and we held ever after a good outward correſpondence, but both of them being more learned than pious, I never ſought after, or ever attained, unto any great entireneſs with them, yet I had much more familiarity with Sir Robert Cotton than with Mr Selden, being a man exceedingly puſt up with the apprehenſion of his own abilities.’

We ought likewiſe to conſider, that in thoſe induſtrious times, it was the cuſtom, amongſt ſuch eminent perſons as had an opportunity of attaining extenſive intelligence, to commit almoſt every thing to writing; thus the learned and judicious Earl of Clarendon wrote his own life (7) at large, out of which he drew a great part of his materials for his excellent Hiſtory. Mr Whitlocke, in like manner, digeſted what occurred to him moſt worthy of notice into that large work of his, which has been ſince publiſhed; and as different men have different ſentiments, ſo it may not be amiſs to quote here a paſſage of his relating to Mr Selden (8).

‘ Divers members of both Houſes, whereof I was one, were members of the Aſſembly of Divines, and had the ſame liberty with the Divines, to ſit and debate, and give their votes in any matter which was in conſideration amongſt them. In which debates Mr Selden ſpake admirably, and confuted divers of them in their own learning. And ſometimes when they had cited a text of Scripture to prove their aſſertion, he would tell them, Perhaps in your little pocket Bibles with gilt leaves (which they would often pull out and read) the tranſlation may be thus, but the Greek, or the Hebrew, ſignifies thus and thus; and ſo would totally ſilence them.’

[*D*] *With luſtre to poſterity.*] The title of this book runs thus: *The* Journals *of all the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth, *both of the* Houſe *of* Lords *and* Houſe *of* Commons, *collected by Sir* Symonds D'Ewes, *of* Stow-Hall *in the County of* Suffolk, Knight *and* Baronet. *Reviſed and publiſhed by* Paul Bowes, *of the Middle-Temple*, London, *Eſq*; Lond. 1682, fol.

It muſt certainly be allowed, that as this was a very great and uſeful, ſo it was alſo a very painful and laborious undertaking, ſuch a one as few men would have ventured upon, and ſtill fewer would have accompliſhed, with that ſkill and accuracy which appears in this performance, the benefits derived from which might well have reſtrained ſome ſplenetick perſons from ſpeaking ſo ſlightly as they do of the author's abilities (9). That account which he has given us of his motives to this undertaking, and the manner in which it is executed is very large and ſatisfactory, and a few paragraphs from thence will ſhew us what ſort of a work this is, and what ſort of a man he was who compiled it. Theſe are his words,

‘ Becauſe I know the original Journal Books of either Houſe to be more judiciouſly obſerved, and more to be eſteemed, than the collections of any private men, therefore I have diſtinguiſhed, by ſome annotation or animadverſion, what is taken out of them, or what out of any other material whatſoever. Nor are thoſe animadverſions of mine own at any time added, without ſome neceſſary motive, or upon ſome good ground. Very copious indeed they are in the two firſt Journals of the Upper Houſe, and Houſe of Commons, in *ann.* 1 *Regin. Eliz.* becauſe all matters of form were to be once for all diſcuſſed. In all the other Journals they are more ſuccinct and infrequent.

‘ I confeſs it coſt me many days, beſides other expences, to bring theſe enſuing volumes to that perfection in which I now enjoy them. In which, beſides the abundance of the knowledge in this kind eſpecially gained by it, which Sir Edward Coke, Knt. a learned writer of this age, calls *Lex Parliamentaria*, I have, as I much deſired, done ſome honour to the memory of that glorious Queen, England's royal Elizabeth, in that I have collected in one body the ſum of the agitations of all her Parliaments, or at leaſt ſo much of them as could poſſibly be gotten, being a work not only ſingular, in reſpect that I am the ſole enjoyer of it, but alſo becauſe I reſt confident, that never any other man attempted it, much leſs brought it to perfection. Which I the rather believe, becauſe, when I was one day diſcourſing with Sir Robert Cotton, the Prime Antiquary of this our age, not long before his deceaſe, touching the two aforeſaid volumes he had of the Journals of this Queen's reign, that I wondered he would treaſure up in his library ſuch fragmentary and imperfect ſtuff, he made me no other anſwer but that he was compelled to ſtore up them, becauſe he knew not how to come by any better; and certainly, if this work, which I have now by God's providence finiſhed, had been performed by any other,

(*i*) Life of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, fol. 75. *b.* Fuller's Worthies, Suſſex, p. 711.

(*k*) Life of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, fol. 91 *b*, 94 *b*, 97 *a*, 106 *a b*, 108 *a*.

(*l*) He tells us ſo himſelf in his preface.

(*m*) Fuller's Worthies, Suffolk, p. 74.

(6) This appears plainly from ſeveral of the author's reflections upon the facts ſet down in his life.

(7) See the advertiſement prefixed to his Hiſt. of the Rebellion, in one Vol. in fol. Oxon. 1732.

(8) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 71.

(9) Thom. Hearne in præfat. Lib. Nig. Scaccarii, p. x.

been ſome time before knighted. The ſame year, having occaſion to write to Archbiſhop Uſher, he mentioned that Hiſtory of Great Britain, in making collections for which he had already ſpent upwards of twenty, and, in the writing it, thirteen years; and was ſo unfortunate as to let fall a hint, that this Hiſtory might, poſſibly, furniſh emendations in almoſt every page of Camden's *Britannia* (*n*); which letter of his coming to light, among other epiſtles to that learned Prelate, has drawn upon him the heavieſt cenſures, as if he had been prompted to this expreſſion from a mixture of vanity and envy, without any competent capacity (*o*); in which, perhaps, there is as much wrong done to him, as he is ſuppoſed to have done to Camden [*E*]. In the Long Parliament, which was ſummoned to meet November the 3d, 1640, he was elected to ſerve as a Burgeſs for the town of Sudbury in Suffolk (*p*), and, on the 2d of January following, he made occaſionally a ſpeech in Parliament, in ſupport of the antiquity of that Univerſity in which he was bred (*q*), which has expoſed him to very ſevere uſage from Anthony Wood (*r*), Thomas Hearne (*s*), and ſome other writers (*t*); but with how much reaſon or foundation muſt be left to the judgment of the reader [*F*]. July 15th, 1641, he was, by the favour of

other, it could not have been hid from him, who was a very ſedulous gatherer, as of other rarities, ſo eſpecially of parliamentary paſſages, for about the ſpace of forty years before his death.

'Touching the rarities and treaſures of knowledge contained in theſe enſuing volumes, to omit many things, thus much it ſhall not be amiſs to premiſe, that there may not only hence be gathered whatſoever almoſt concerns the privileges, cuſtoms, and uſages of either Houſe, but hiſtorical matter alſo touching the Church and State, and in the whole frame may be frequently ſeen the admirable wiſdom of her Majeſty, and this her great Council, in the happy quenching of ſuch emergent differences as aroſe, and in their timely proviſion againſt the ambitious Spaniard, the reſtleſs and irreconcileable enemy of her Majeſty's religion, perſon, and realms.

'In all Parliaments, and ſeſſions of Parliaments, the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, do, for the moſt part, much excel thoſe of the Upper Houſe, in variety and abundance of obſervable matter, and in their copious and orderly relating each day's paſſage.

'I ſhall not need further to enlarge myſelf, but here to ſhut up this preſent diſcourſe, this inſtant Friday the 3d day of February, *Anno Dom.* 1631, that though through God's Providence I have finiſhed theſe volumes, which are intended chiefly for my own private uſe and my poſterity's; yet I have already entered upon other and greater labours, conceiving myſelf not to be born for myſelf alone, according to that old ſaying, *Melius mori, quam ſibi vivere* (10).'

The greateſt men may miſtake in their conjectures, and this appears to have been the caſe of our author, in reſpect to his being the only perſon that ever thought of a work of this nature, for we find that it was not only thought of by another perſon, but in part executed, and it was the publication of this that brought the more ample collection of Sir Symonds D'ewes to ſee the light. A certain Prelate, who, upon other occaſions, ſhews himſelf no great admirer of our author, has however done him all the juſtice imaginable with reſpect to this (11). His words are theſe: 'Heyward Townſhend, an eminent Member of the Houſe of Commons, preſerved the debates in Parliament of her laſt fourteen years, which long after the author's death were publiſhed under the title of *Hiſtorical Collections*, &c. But this, as vaſt an undertaking as it ſeems to be, is only a part of that more comprehenſive one of Sir Symmonds D'Ewes, whoſe Journal of both Houſes, during her whole reign, was ſoon after given us in print.' This was a noble ſpecimen of his ſteadineſs and diligence in perfecting what he had once undertaken, and may ſerve to convince us, that he proſecuted with ſpirit his reſolution of comparing the Hiſtory of Great Britain with the records, which, as he himſelf aſſures us, he formed in the month of April 1620.

[*E*] *As he is ſuppoſed to have done to Camden.*] We find the charge againſt this Gentleman very mildly and modeſtly ſtated by Biſhop Gibſon in his life of Camden, prefixed to the Engliſh tranſlation of his *Britannia*. Theſe are his words (12): 'In the year 1607 he put the laſt hand to his *Britannia*, which gained him the titles of the Varro, Strabo, and Pauſanias of Britain, in the writings and letters of other learned men. Nor did it ever after meet with any enemies that I know of, only Sir Simon D'Ewes encouraged us to hope for animadverſions upon the work, after he had obſerved to a very great man, that there was not a page in it without a fault. But it was only threatening, and neither the world was the better, nor Mr Camden's reputation e'er the worſe for it.' This is a very ſoft tranſlation of a very harſh paragraph in Dr Smith's Life of the ſame author, in which he aſſures us (13), that this work was univerſally approved by all proper judges, one only, Sir Simon D'Ewes, excepted, who moved, ſays he, by I know not what ſpirit of envy, gave out that there was ſcarce a page, &c. In this track we find Biſhop Nicholſon in his account of the *Britannia*, where he ſays (14), 'Some early attempts were made by an envious perſon, one Brook or Brookmouth, to blaſt the deſervedly great reputation of this book, but they periſhed and came to nothing, as did likewiſe the terrible threats given out by Sir Symmonds D'Ewes, that he would diſcover errors in every page.' Let us now conſider the grounds upon which theſe great men have gone in prejudice to the memory of a perſon, who for any thing that appears, had nothing of that bad ſpirit which is here imputed to him. He was ambitious of holding a correſpondence with Archbiſhop Uſher, to whom, in a long Latin letter, he gives an account of himſelf (15), of the pains he had taken in collecting a great library of the choiceſt pieces that regarded the Engliſh Hiſtory, and adds farther, that he had ſpent thirteen years in his labours to compile an accurate Engliſh Hiſtory, to which he ſays he was principally moved, by obſerving the many miſtakes of the common writers, *and indeed*, ſays he, *what can be expected from them, conſidering that even in the ſo much admired* Britannia *of* Camden *himſelf, there is not a page, at leaſt hardly a page, without errors.* The reader will conſider that this was a private letter, written to a Prelate, whoſe ſtation in the learned world was not at all inferior to that which he held in the Church. One would have imagined, from what theſe writers have ſaid, that this Gentleman had publiſhed his ſentiments of the *Britannia* to all the world, with a view to leſſen Camden's work, and exalt the merit of his own; whereas the fact, as the reader ſees, is quite otherwiſe. Beſides, amongſt the letters printed by Dr Smith, there is one from Sir John Savile to Camden (16), in which there is ſuch a number of corrections as may ſerve to render what our author has advanced not altogether incredible. There is without doubt a great reſpect due to the memory of learned men, but then this ought to be joined with a juſt regard for learning and truth, which qualification being admitted, Sir Symonds D'ewes will not appear either ſo vain or ſo envious a perſon as they would make him.

[*F*] *Muſt be left to the judgment of the reader.*] It is to be obſerved, that this ſpeech of Sir Symonds D'Ewes was occaſional, and involuntary; a bill for four ſubſidies, towards the relief of the King's army in the northern counties, had been twice read in the Houſe of Commons, and the Committee who drew the bill, having placed Cambridge before Oxford, an occaſion was ſought to tranſpoſe thoſe names, when the bill came to be debated in a grand Committee of the

'whole

(*n*) Uſher's Letters, p. 496.

(*o*) Vita Guliel. Camdeni a Thom. Smitho, 4to. 1691. p. xlv.

(*p*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. P. iii. p. 8.

(*q*) Fuller's Worthies in Suffolk, p. 75.

(*r*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. Lib. i. p. 30. Though, as it ſtands in the Latin, the language is much more civil and reſpectful than in the other cenſures of this Gentleman's performance.

(*s*) Thomæ Sprotti Chronica, p. 240.

(*t*) Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 154.

(10) This ſentence occurs more than once in his other writings.

(11) Nicholſon's Hiſtorical Library, p. 86.

(12) Camden's Britannia, folio, the ſecond edition, London, without any year.

(13) Vita Camdeni, p. xlv.

(14) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 4.

(15) Archbiſhop Uſher's Letters, p. 496.

(16) Camdeni Epiſtolæ, p. 36.

of his Sovereign, created a Baronet (u). But, upon the breaking out of the Civil War, he adhered to the Parliament; and we find his name in the liſt of thoſe Members who took the Solemn League and Covenant, purſuant to an order of the Houſe of Commons February 3d, 1643 (w). This did not hinder his having a ſincere veneration for the conſtitution of his country, and a loyal affection to the perſon of his Prince; ſo that when things came to extremities, and it was found neceſſary to purge the Parliament, by turning out of it all who were of ſuch old-faſhioned principles, and, for this purpoſe, a guard of ſoldiers was ſent thither, December 6th, 1648 (x). Sir Symonds D'Ewes was amongſt the number (y). Thoſe that were left in the Houſe indeed, ſent to the commanding officer to reclaim him, and the reſt of the Members in his condition; but to no purpoſe, for he was never allowed to enter thoſe doors again ſo long as he lived. When it was thus put out of his power to render any farther ſervice to the publick, he gave himſelf up entirely to the proſecution of thoſe ſtudies which had been always the principal delight he enjoyed, in the innocent occupations of a private life. He digeſted into order the vaſt collections he had made, in reference to the antiquities of this kingdom in general, and ſeveral adjacent counties in particular; ſome volumes of which are yet preſerved, and remain inconteſtible evidences of his wonderful diligence, and excellent diſpoſition (z). He collated

(u) See Sir Wm. Dugdale's Catalogue.

(w) See that liſt publiſhed by order of the Parliament in that year, 4to.

(x) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iv. p. 1353.

(y) Heath's Chronicle, p. 192, 193.

(z) Theſe, or at leaſt a part of them, are in the library belonging to the College of Arms.

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whole Houſe, which was on Saturday January 2, 1640, and then our author ſtood up to prevent the putting of a queſtion, and ſpoke as follows (17):

(17) See the title in note [G].

‘ I ſtand up to perſuade, if it may be, the declining of the preſent queſtion, and the further diſpute of this buſineſs. Yeſterday we had a long debate about the putting out of a word, and now we are fallen upon the diſpute of putting one word before another. I account it no honour to *Cambridge* that it got the precedence by voices at the former Committee, nor will it be any glory to *Oxford* to gain it by voices here, where we all know the multitude of borough towns of the weſtern parts of England do ſend ſo many worthy members hither, that if we meaſure things by number and not by weight, Cambridge is ſure to loſe it. I would therefore propound a more noble way and means for the deciſion of the preſent controverſy than by queſtion, in which, if the univerſity of Oxford, which for mine own part I do highly reſpect and honour, ſhall obtain the prize, it will be far more glory to it than to carry it by multitude of voices, which indeed can be none at all. Let us therefore diſpute it by reaſon, and not make an idol of either place, and if I ſhall be ſo convinced, I ſhall readily change my vote, wiſhing we may find the ſame ingenuity in the Oxford men.

‘ There are two principal reſpects, beſides others, in which theſe famous univerſities may claim precedence each of other.

‘ Firſt, in reſpect of their being, as they were, places of note in the elder ages.

‘ Secondly, as they were antient nurſeries and ſeed plots of learning.

‘ If I do not therefore prove, that Cambridge was a renowned city at leaſt five hundred years before there was a houſe of Oxford ſtanding, and whilſt brute beaſts fed, or corn was ſown, on that place where the ſame city is now ſeated; and that Cambridge was a nurſery of learning before Oxford was known to have a grammar-ſchool in it, I will yield up the bucklers. If I ſhould loſe time to reckon up the vain allegations produced for the antiquity of *Oxford* by *Twine*, and of *Cambridge* by *Caius*, I ſhould but repeat *Deliria ſenum*, for I account the moſt of that they have publiſhed in print to be no better. But I find my authority without exception that in the antient catalogue of the cities of *Britain*, *Cambridge* is the *ninth* in number, where *London* itſelf is but the *eleventh*; and who would have thought that ever *Oxford* ſhould have contended for precedence with *Cambridge*, which *London* gave it above twelve hundred years ſince? This I find in *Gildas Albanius* his Britiſh ſtory, who died about the year 520, being the antienteſt domeſtick monument we have, page 60. And in a Saxon anonymous ſtory written in Latin touching the Britons and Saxons, page 39, who ſaith of himſelf, that he lived in the days of *Penda* King of the *Mercians*, in the tenth year of his reign, and that he knew him well, which falls out to be near upon the year 620. And, laſtly, I find the catalogue of the ſaid *Britiſh* cities, with ſome little variation, to be ſet down in *Nennius* his Latin ſtory of *Britain*, page 38, and he wrote the ſame, as he ſays of himſelf, in the year 880. They all call it *Cair grant*, the word *Cair*, in the old *Celtique* tongue, ſignifying a city.

‘ Theſe three ſtories are exotick and rare monuments remaining, yet only in antient manuſcripts amongſt us, not known to many, but the authority of them is irrefragable and without exception. The beſt and moſt antient copies that I have ſeen of *Gildas Albanius* and *Nennius*, remain in the univerſity library of *Cambridge*, being thoſe I have vouched, and the *Saxon* anonymous in a library here near us. This *Cair-grant* is not only expounded by *Alfred* of *Beverly* to ſignify *Cambridge*, but alſo by *William de Ramſay* Abbot of *Croyland*, in his manuſcript ſtory of the life of *Guthlacus*, ignorantly in thoſe elder days reputed a ſaint. The ſaid William goes further, and ſays, it was ſo called *à Granta flumine*. This place remained ſtill a city of fame and repute a long time under the reign of the Engliſh Saxons, and is called in divers of the old manuſcript Saxon Annals Ᵹꞃanꞇeceaꞅꞇeꞃ. And notwithſtanding the great devaſtations it ſuffered, with other places, by reaſon of the Daniſh incurſions, yet in the firſt tome or volume of the book of *Domeſdei* (for now I come to cite record) it appears to have been a place of conſiderable moment, having in it *decem Cuſtodias*, and a caſtle of great ſtrength and extent, and ſo I have done with Cambridge as a renowned place.

‘ And now I come to ſpeak to it as it hath been a nurſery of learning, nor will I begin higher with it than the time of the learned Saxon Monarch King *Alfred*, becauſe I ſuppoſe that no man will queſtion or gainſay, but that there are ſufficient teſtimonies of certain perſons that did together in Cambridge ſtudy the arts and ſciences much about the time. And it grew to be a place ſo famous for learning about the time of William the Firſt, the Norman, that he ſent his younger ſon *Henry* thither to be there inſtructed, who himſelf being afterwards King of England by the name of Henry the Firſt, was alſo ſirnamed *Beauclerk*, in reſpect of his great and invulgar knowledge. If I ſhould undertake to alledge and vouch the records and other monuments of good authority, which aſſert and prove the increaſe and flouriſhing eſtate of this univerſity in the ſucceeding ages, I ſhould ſpend more time than our great and weighty occaſions at this preſent will permit, it ſhall therefore ſuffice to have added, that the moſt antient and firſt endowed college of England was *Valence* college in *Cambridge*, which, after the foundation thereof, as appears by one of our Parliament Rolls remaining upon record in the Tower of London, received the new name or appellation of *Pembroke Hall*. It is in *Rotu. Parliam. de ann.* 38 *H. VI. Numb.* 31. It appearing therefore ſo evidently, by all that I have ſaid, that *Cambridge* is in all reſpects the elder ſiſter, which I ſpeak not to derogate from *Oxford*. My humble advice is, that we lay aſide the preſent queſtion, as well to avoid diviſion amongſt ourſelves, as to entomb all further emulation between the two ſiſters, and that we ſuffer the preſent bill to paſs as it is now penned, and the rather becauſe I think *Oxford* had the precedence in the laſt bill of this nature that paſſed this houſe.’

[G] *Appeared*

collated and tranſcribed ſeveral ancient records and monuments of paſt times, ſuch as the **Black Book** of the **Exchequer** (*a*), which he had ſome thoughts of publiſhing. He made a noble collection of Roman coins, of which, as he was a very good judge himſelf, in reſpect to their value, ſo he ſpared no expence that appeared neceſſary for accompliſhing the ends (*b*) he propoſed, in making that collection. He was a great patron of learned men, and very free in his communications, as appears from the acknowledgments made by the induſtrious Mr Weever, who received great helps (*c*) from him in carrying on his large and uſeful work. That he was not, as ſome have repreſented him, a vain man, may appear from hence, that ſcarce any thing of his writing appeared in his life-time [*G*]. He was rather deſirous of being uſeful to the literary world in another way, that is, in the way of a collector of ſcarce, curious, and valuable pieces, more eſpecially ſuch as regarded the hiſtory, antiquities, and records of this nation; to which ſtudies, when he had once addicted himſelf, he was, in a great meaſure, weaned from that general and indeterminate purſuit of knowledge, with the deſire of which he had been before poſſeſſed (*d*). It was the deep ſenſe he had of the great advantages that might ariſe to his country, from the application of a man of learning and fortune to things of this nature, his juſt conception of the deficiencies in moſt of the hiſtories publiſhed in and before his time, and the great examples he had before his eyes of the learned Camden, the beneficent Sir Robert Cotton, and the judicious Mr Selden, that inſpired him with a ſtrong inclination of compoſing, or, at leaſt, amaſſing the materials for thoſe great works, that, we have his own authority to prove, were the principal objects of his care for many years, and which, it is highly probable, he carried to ſome degree of perfection (*e*) [*H*]. This diſpoſition of his procured him very great reſpect and eſteem from the ableſt and wiſeſt perſons of his times, ſuch as the learned Spelman, the famous Selden, and many others (*f*); but later writers, either for want of better knowing this gentleman's real character, or for ſome other reaſons, have not treated his memory with that decency (*g*) that might have been expected; and, therefore, the reader will not be diſpleaſed to find, in the notes, a very ſhort and modeſt vindication of our author and his writings from their cenſures [*I*]. He

[*G*] *Appeared in his life-time.*] The only piece of his which is known to deſerve that title, is that the reader has ſeen in the foregoing note, which was printed under the following title:

A Speech *delivered in* Parliament *by Sir* Symonds D'Ewes, *touching the Antiquity of* Cambridge. Lond. 1642, *4to*.

In thoſe days, when there were ſome people living who were thought to know as much of our antient Hiſtory and records as moſt folks, and but for whom certainly we had known but little of them, this ſpeech was held ſo far from being idle or ridiculous, that it gave this gentleman a great reputation. We may be very well ſatisfied of this, ſince the following tract, which is commonly aſcribed to John Selden, Eſq; was ſuſpected, by ſuch as pretended to have great inſight into matters of that kind, to have fallen from the pen of our learned author, and the point is left undecided by a great Critick in ſuch learning (18).

A Brief Diſcourſe concerning the Power of Peers and Commons in Parliament, in point of Judicature. Lond. 1640, *4to*.

If this was really of his writing, it is a very ſtrong proof that he was not covetous of applauſe, ſince he neither owned it publickly, nor gave any private intimation to his friends that might ſecure his title. On the other hand, if the ſuppoſing it to be his ariſes purely from conjecture, it muſt give us a very high opinion of his credit in thoſe days, ſince the very raiſing a doubt whether this belonged to him or to Selden, does the higheſt honour to his character as an Antiquary.

[*H*] *To ſome degree of perfection.*] The reader will perceive, by what has been already quoted from his Preface to the Journals of Parliament in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that as he was far from inclining to hide them from the publick, ſo, on the other hand, he had no intention to acquire fame to himſelf in his life-time by the publication of them. His diſpoſition was the very ſame with regard to his other great undertakings; he was conſcious to himſelf of the uncertainty whether he might finiſh all or any of them, but this did not hinder him from beginning them, as appears from his own words, which will beſt expreſs his meaning (19).

‘The chief of the works beforementioned, and by me intended for the publick good, are theſe enſuing:

‘A General Hiſtory of Great Britain, from the firſt Inhabitants to the preſent Times, to be drawn eſpecially out of Record, and other abſtruſe and exotick Monuments, for the reformation of all the Chronicles or Hiſtories of this kind yet extant, which will require ſeveral volumes.

‘The Survey of Norfolk, Suffolk, Eſſex, and Cambridgeſhire, out of Records or Original Deeds.

‘The Antiquity of the Municipal or Common Laws of the Realm before the Norman Conqueſt, out of Record alſo for the greateſt part, or other invulgar materials. For which I have a deſire alſo, if my time will ſuffice for collection, to add a ſecond part out of the Itinerant and Plea Books, chiefly remaining in the Treaſury at Weſtminſter.

‘Theſe I have propoſed to myſelf to labour in, beſides divers other ſmaller works, as well Theological as Moral, like him that ſhoots at the ſun, not in hopes to reach it, but to ſhoot as high as poſſibly his ſtrength, art, or ſkill will permit. So though I know it impoſſible to finiſh all theſe during my ſhort and incertain life, having already entered into the thirtieth year of my age, and having many unavoidable employments and cares of an eſtate and family, yet if I can but finiſh a little in each kind, it may hereafter ſtir up ſome able judgments to add an end to the whole, in the ſame way and ſearch I ſhall have waded in before them. In the mean time I ſhall always pray, as I do ſincerely deſire, that by all my endeavours God may be glorified, the *truth* divine or human vindicated, and the *publick* benefited.

‘*Sic mihi contingat vivere, ſicque mori.*

SIMONDS D'EWES.

[*I*] *And his writings from their cenſures.*] It cannot but be eſteemed an action right in itſelf, grateful with reſpect to the dead, and uſeful to the Republick of Letters, when care is taken to revive the memory of worthy men, and to reſcue them from miſrepreſentations, which is worſe than oblivion. Sir Simonds D'Ewes, having been bred under Dr Richard Holdſworth of St John's in Cambridge, who was a man of moderate principles, though ſteadily attached to the Conſtitution in Church and State; came into the world with ſentiments that did not much recommend him to Archbiſhop Laud, and other warm Divines. But for all this he was ſincerely religious, and though his affection to liberty induced him to ſtay with the Parliament, where we find, by ſeveral fine ſpeeches (20), that he was a great maſter in thoſe parts of learning moſt uſeful to a Senator, yet he was far from inclining either to Anarchy or a Commonwealth. He very

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(*a*) A tranſcript of this, with his learned notes, is in the Harleian collection.

(*b*) Fuller's Worthies, p. 75.

(*c*) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 698.

(*d*) Life of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, fo. 47. *a*.

(*e*) Archbiſhop Uſher's Letters, p. 496. See likewiſe his preface to his Journals of the Parliaments of Q. Elizabeth.

(*f*) See his letter to Archbiſhop Uſher before-cited, the Archbiſhop's Anſwer, and other letters to Sir Symonds in that collection.

(*g*) See this matter explained in note [*I*].

(18) Biſhop Nicholſon in his Hiſtorical Library, P. i. p. 195.

(19) At the cloſe of his preface to his Journals of the Parliaments in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

(20) See theſe ſpeeches at large in the firſt volume of Ruſhworth's Collections.

He deceaſed April 18th, 1650, in the forty-eighth year of his age (*b*), and was ſucceeded in his eſtate and titles by his ſon Willoughby D'Ewes, to whom Sir Symonds D'Ewes's Journals of the Parliaments of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when publiſhed, were dedicated, by his couſin, and Sir Symonds's nephew, Paul Bowes, Eſq; of the Middle-Temple, who was himſelf a Gentleman of great worth and learning.

(*b*) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. Lib. xiv. p. 23.

very well knew, that the former muſt make way for tyranny of ſome ſort or other, and the latter altogether incompatible with the laws of England, and with the temper and intereſts of the nation. It is to be hoped therefore, that the Reverend Mr Fuller was not afraid of giving offence, when he drew up his notes concerning this worthy perſon, which are not only deſtitute of any remarkable facts, and without method, but without dates alſo, one only excepted, and that falſe (21). He might, without doubt, have been better informed, if he had taken any degree of pains, and therefore his omiſſions in this reſpect are the leſs excuſable. Doctor Smith, a very learned and good man, to whoſe care we owe the beſt memoirs of ſome of the greateſt men that have flouriſhed in this kingdom, was unluckily prejudiced againſt the memory of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, on account of his preſuming to think Camden not infallible (22), and what he has wrote upon this ſubject being tranſcribed by Mr Bayle, foreigners can have no other idea of this Gentleman than as he has painted him, a man envious of the merit of others, and having very little of his own (23). Yet it is very certain D'Ewes had the greateſt honour for Camden, whom he mentions very reſpectfully, though he tells us in his Preface to his Journals of the Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth, that they will enable his reader to correct many things in the Annals written by this great man of that reign, but he gives due praiſes to his performance, and it was his eſteem for his memory, though he did not carry that ſo far as to be in love with his miſtakes, betrayed him into the expreſſion, for which he has been cenſured. Biſhop Nicholſon, in his dry way, ſneers at Sir Symonds D'Ewes more than once (24), and hints, that though he promiſed much he had performed little, which is the more extraordinary, when in his Preface he very plainly points out where the vaſt collections made by this painful Antiquary are to be found (25). We need however wonder the leſs at this, when at the ſame time he ſpeaks ſo harſhly of John Leland, *the bulkieſt promiſes of ſuch noted writers commonly prove the moſt abortive*, and the reaſon he gives for it is, *deſpair of anſwering the world's raiſed expectations, very much contributing to their miſcarriage* (26). This remark provoked the laborious Mr Hearne to remark upon him in his turn, *yet the moſt abortive pieces of Leland*, ſays he, *are far better, and much more correct, than the moſt compleat performances of ſome writers* (27). Notwithſtanding which obſervation, the very ſame Thomas Hearne has dealt moſt unkindly by our author. After he had undertaken to publiſh the Black Book of the Exchequer, he was generouſly ſupplied by the late Edward Earl of Oxford, with the copy of that valuable piece made by our famous Antiquary, bearing this title, *Liber niger parvus MS. Scaccarii ex parte rememoratoris Regis, integre tranſcriptus & cum Autographo accurate comparatus à meipſo Simonds D'Ewes*. It was by the help of this communication Mr Hearne was enabled to add a great many curious and inſtructive notes from the margin of our author's book. Yet in his Preface he has expreſſed his gratitude in the following character (28): 'The reader will not wonder at his leaving this work unpubliſhed, contrary, as I believe, to his original intention, when he ſhall underſtand that D'Ewes, tho' a man diligent and learned, was nevertheleſs vain and empty towards his ſacred Majeſty; like Selden, an enemy and adverſary, and one, who many things (amongſt the reſt an Engliſh Hiſtory, for the writing of which, in my judgment, he was very little fit) having promiſed, compleated only a very few.' This is but one paſſage out of many in which he depreciates this Gentleman's character, which ſurely is a little hard, conſidering he would have had no opportunity of doing ſo, had he not availed himſelf of his labours. It has been already ſhewn, that this reproach, with reſpect to his political principles, was not very well founded, and perhaps Mr Hearne would have dealt with him more ſoftly, if he had known that in the latter part of his life he was wont to obſerve, not by way of compliment to the Long Parliament, *That they alone had paſſed more laws than all the Parliaments put together that had ſat before them* (29). But whatever his principles might be with reſpect to Church or State, and whether theſe were allied to, or remote from, thoſe of the induſtrious Mr Hearne, juſtice was certainly due to his writings, with which he ought to have been better acquainted before he pronounced ſo poſitively, that though he promiſed much he performed but little. Whoever conſiders that his promiſes and performances were equal ſecrets to the publick, till his private letters were printed, and his vaſt collections fallen into other hands, will be very probably of another opinion, and think that the character afforded him by a Reverend Hiſtorian, who was never ſuſpected of being a friend to the memories of men, who in their life-times ſhewed themſelves enemies to our Conſtitution in Church or State, is much more agreeable to truth, and to the real merits of the perſon concerned (30): 'We ſhall next, ſays he, mention Sir Simonds D'Ewes, a Gentleman educated at the univerſity of Cambridge, celebrated for a moſt curious Antiquary, highly eſteemed by the great Selden, and particularly remarkable for his Journals of all the Parliaments in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and for his admirable manuſcript library, he left behind him, now in the hands of one of the greateſt genius's (31) in the age.' E

(21) Fuller's Worthies, Suffolk, p. 75.

(22) See what is ſaid before in note [*E*].

(23) See the article of CAMDEN (WM.) in Bayle's Dictionary.

(24) Hiſtorical Library, P. i. p. 4, 19, 23.

(25) See both that to the Engliſh and alſo that to the Iriſh Hiſtorical Library.

(26) Hiſtorical Library, P. i. p. 153.

(27) Thomæ Sprotti Chronica, p. 238.

(28) In Præfat. Lib. Nig. Scac. p. x.

(29) Fuller's Worthies, Suffolk, p. 75.

(30) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 686.

(31) The late Earl of Oxford.

DICKINSON or DICKENSON (EDMUND) a celebrated Phyſician and Chemiſt in the reigns of Charles and James II. His family were originally of Ritington in Lancaſhire, but his father, the Reverend Mr William Dickinſon, ſettled in Berkſhire, where he was Rector of Appleton. He married Mary, the daughter of Edmund Colepeper, Eſq; of Halingborne in Kent, by whom he had this ſon, who was born September the 26th, 1624, at Appleton in the county of Berks (*a*). He received the firſt rudiments of learning and languages at the famous College of Eaton, whence, in 1642, he came to Oxford, and was admitted of Merton-College as one of the Eaton Poſt-maſters (*b*). June the 22d, 1647, he became Bachelor of Arts, and was admitted Probationer-Fellow of his College (*c*). On November 27th, 1649, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, and was entered on the Phyſick line (*d*). July 3d, 1656 (*e*), he was admitted to his Bachelor's degree in that faculty, wherein he quickly diſtinguiſhed himſelf as well as in other branches of curious and uſeful knowledge, and, on July 17th, 1656, took the degree of doctor (*f*). The firſt thing which made him known in the learned world, was an oration ſpoken by him in the Hall of Merton-College, July 10th, 1653, in defence of *Freedom* in *Philoſophizing*, which was highly and juſtly admired (*g*). In 1655 he publiſhed, at Oxford, his *Delphi Phœnicizantes*, i. e. *Delphos derived from the Phœnicians*; of which moſt learned piece it is hard to ſay, whether it gained the author more

(*a*) MS. Memoirs communicated to the author of this article.

(*b*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946.

(*c*) MS. Memoirs and Wood. Wood's Faſt. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 59.

(*d*) MS. Memoirs and Wood, ubi ſup. col. 70.

(*e*) Ibid. col. 111.

(*f*) MS. Memoir.

(*g*) Vide Cren. Faſcicul. Diſſert. Hiſt. &c. Vol. I. p. 195. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946.

friends at home, or reputation abroad [*A*]. Dr Gilbert Sheldon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, had ſo juſt a ſenſe of the value of that work, and the worth of him who penned it, that he would gladly have perſuaded him to have applied himſelf to Divinity, and to have taken orders; but our author was fixed in his choice (*b*). The Warden and Fellows of Merton-College, in deference to his extraordinary merit, conferred on him the place of Superior Reader of Linacre's Lectures, which he held for ſome years (*i*). He then applied himſelf to Chemiſtry with much aſſiduity; and about this time it was that he received the firſt viſit from an illuſtrious French adept, who commended our author's ſkill and diligence, and encouraged him to proceed in his ſtudies (*k*). At length leaving the College, that he might practiſe his profeſſion more conveniently, he took a houſe in the High-ſtreet of Oxford, where he dwelt many years (*l*). In 1669 he married his firſt wife, Mrs Elizabeth Luddington, of an antient family, ſeated at Carleton-Scroop in Lincolnſhire; by this Lady he had his only daughter (*m*). The mother dying in child-bed, was interred in St Peter's Church at Oxford, where a monument is erected to her memory (*n*). He wedded ſome time after Helena, the daughter of * * * * Mole, Eſq; of Ayleſbury in the county of Bucks, who dying in a ſhort time, he continued ever after a widower (*o*). On the death of the famous Dr Thomas Willis, which happened in 1684 (*p*), our author was prevailed on to remove to London, and there he took Dr Willis's houſe in St Martin's-Lane, where he practiſed with great ſucceſs many years (*q*). Having been ſo happy as to reſtore to health, after all hopes of recovery were loſt, Henry [Bennet] Earl of Arlington, Lord Chamberlain to Charles II. that Nobleman, in gratitude, introduced him to the King, who, in 1684, appointed him one of his Phyſicians in Ordinary, and Phyſician to his Houſhold (*r*). As that Prince was a great lover of Chemiſtry, and a conſiderable proficient therein (*s*), Dr Dickenſon grew into great favour, and was honoured with much of his Majeſty's converſation in the royal elaboratory, which was under the King's bed-chamber, and to which he had a private ſtair-caſe from thence (*t*). His favour laſted as long as the life of his Royal Maſter; and his brother and ſucceſſor King James the Second continued him in both his places (*u*). In 1686 our author publiſhed in Latin his Epiſtle to Theodore Mundanus, the illuſtrious French adept before-mentioned, as alſo his Anſwer, tranſlated from the French into Latin. This is one of the moſt curious, as it is abſolutely the moſt rational, piece that ever appeared on Hermetick Philoſophy, and is ſtill highly eſteemed [*B*]. Some ſmall time after the abdication of his unfortunate Maſter,

(*b*) MS. Memoir.

(*i*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946.

(*k*) MS. Memoir. Wood, ubi ſupra, vide etiam Epiſt. Theod. Mundan. Edm. Dickinſon, p. 146.

(*l*) MS. Memoir.

(*m*) Ibid.

(*n*) Ibid.

(*o*) MS. Memoir.

(*p*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 158.

(*q*) MS. Memoir.

(*r*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946.

(*s*) See the Duke of Buckinghamſhire's character of K. Charles II. Memoirs of eminent perſons deceaſed in 1712, p. 305.

(*t*) MS. Memoir.

(*u*) Ibid. Vide etiam Titul. Epiſtol. ad Mundan. de Quinteſſentia Philoſophorum. Oxon. 1686. 8vo.

[*A*] *Friends at home, or reputation abroad*] The title of this book at large runs thus: *Delphi Phœnicizantes, ſive Tractatus in quo Græcos, quicquid apud Delphos celebre erat (ſeu Pythonis aut Apollinis Hiſtoriam, ſeu pæanica certamina & premia, ſeu priſcam templi formam atque inſcriptionem, ſeu Tripodem, Oraculum, ſpectes) è Joſuæ,* &c. *Hiſtoria Scriptiſque ſacris effinxiſſe, rationibus haud inconcinnis oſtenditur. Et quamplurima quæ Philologiæ ſtudioſis apprimè jucunda futura ſunt, aliter ac vulgo ſolent, enarrantur.* The ſcope of this tract was to prove, that the Greeks borrowed the ſtory of the Pythian Apollo, and all that rendered the oracle at Delphos famous, from the Holy Scriptures, and the book of Joſhua in particular. In treating this very obſcure ſubject, he ſhews a wonderful ſkill in the Hebrew, Arabick, and Greek tongues, a perfect knowledge of Antiquity, and a moſt penetrating judgment. The quickneſs of his thoughts, the probability of his conjectures, and his profound erudition, deſerve the higheſt applauſe. The judicious Carpſou mentions him with much reſpect as a very uſeful Commentator on Joſhua: to ſay the truth, there are abundance of ſtrokes in this piece which throw light on the darkeſt paſſages in Sacred and Prophane Hiſtory, which is the reaſon this Diſſertation gave ſuch high ſatisfaction to the learned world (1). To this treatiſe were added, 1. *Diatriba de Noæ in Italiam Adventu; ejuſque nominibus Ethnicis.* i. e. *A Diſſertation on the coming of* Noah *into* Italy, *and of the names under which he was known to the Heathens.* In which are alſo a multitude of curious obſervations, as well Philological and Mythological, as Hiſtorical. Struvius (2), the learned German, who has written ſo uſefully on literary Hiſtory, takes notice of it, and ſome modern writers have borrowed from it without naming it at all. II. *De Origine Druidum.* i. e. *Of the Riſe of the Druids.* This treatiſe, in relation to the eldeſt of our Britiſh Philoſophers, is very conciſe, but diſcovers the author's great knowledge in our Antiquities, and is particularly mentioned by Stollius (3), and the author honoured with the title of a moſt learned Antiquary by Reimannus (4). III. *Oratiuncula pro Philoſophia liberanda.* This is the oration mentioned in the text, as the firſt of our author's performances. Mr Wood (5) tells us, that this was ſpoken, when, according to the ſtatutes of his houſe (Merton-college) he varied from the mind of Ariſtotle, and ſo it is marked in the end of the oration. IV. *Zach. Bogan, Edmundo Dickenſon.* This letter does our author as much honour as any of his own works, it is filled with citations from the moſt antient authors in ſupport of his opinions, and the higheſt commendations of his learning, induſtry, and judgment. The *Delphi Phœnicizantes* came out originally at Oxford in 1655, in 12*mo*, with a Dedication to Dr John Goddard of the College of Phyſicians, London, and Warden of Merton-college at Oxford. It was printed at Franckfort in 1669, 8*vo* (6), of which edition Wood never heard; and at Rotterdam in 1691. By Crenius in the firſt Tome of his *Faſciculus Diſſertationum Hiſtorico-critico-philologicarum*, in 12*mo*, and not in 8*vo*, as Wood ſays, which is an indication he had not ſeen it. He adds, *This book is much valued by foreigners, and they ſpeak very honourably of it and it's author* (7). This muſt be underſtood of the foreigners Wood had converſed with (which were not a few) at Oxford. We have ſhewn the ſame thing from their writings; indeed what wonder, conſidering our author was ſcarce thirty when he wrote this moſt learned tract?

[*B*] *And is ſtill highly eſteemed.*] In order to give the reader a juſt idea of this moſt curious treatiſe, it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that Theodore Mundanus viſited our author Dickenſon firſt at Oxford, a little after the Reſtoration, perhaps in 1662 (8). He found him then a deep admirer of ſublime Chemiſtry, and exhorted him to purſue his ſtudies with ſuch aſſurances, as had probably great effect upon his mind, becauſe we find by his letter he had read Lully, Ripley, Philalethes, *&c.* and had actually employed much time in endeavouring to reach their ſenſe. In 1679 (9), Theodore Mundanus paid him a viſit at London, and renewed his acquaintance. It may from circumſtances in the Doctor's epiſtle be gathered, that he was by this time not a little cooled in his inclinations towards Chemiſtry, at leaſt towards Alchemy. And therefore to give him ſpirits to addreſs himſelf again to ſuch enquiries, Mundanus made two projections in his preſence (10). This is ſo ſtrange a fact, that to leave the Engliſh reader without ſcruple about it, we ſhall tranſcribe the words of Theod. Mundanus, writing to Dr Dickenſon (11), who cauſed

(1) Carpſov. Introd. libr. can. Vol. I. p. 166.— Vol. II. p. 485. Fabricii Bibliogr. Antiq. p. 29, 420. Reimman. Idea Syſtem Antiq. Literar. p. 439. Spizel. de re literaria Sinenſium, p. 49.

(2) Biblioth. Hiſt. p. 665.

(3) Introd. in Hiſt. Liter. p. 434.

(4) Ubi ſupra.

(5) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946. Cren. Faſciculus Diſſ. Vol. I. p. 203.

(6) Corn. a Beughem Biblioth. Chronol. p. 79. Crenius in Præf. Faſciculi Diſſert. Tom. I. Rot. 1691.

(7) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946.

(8) De Quinteſſ. Philoſoph. p. 146.

(9) Ibid.

(10) MS. Memoir.

(11) De Quinteſſ. Philoſoph. p. 149.

Maſter, Dr Dickenſon retired from practice, being in years, and very much afflicted with the ſtone; he continued nevertheleſs to apply himſelf to his ſtudies, and, as he was a Gentleman of great candour, and very communicative, ſo, at his houſe in St Martin's-Lane, there were frequent aſſemblies of the Learned, who were willing to improve theſe valuable qualities in Dr Dickenſon to their own advantage (*w*). He had long meditated a ſyſtem of Philoſophy, not founded on his own conjectures, or the experiments of other men, but chiefly from the lights afforded by the Moſaick Hiſtory, compared with the theories of the Antients. Part of this laborious work, when he had brought it into order, was unfortunately burnt. The Doctor, however, was not diſcouraged; he ſet about the ſame taſk again, and, at length, finiſhed and committed it to the preſs. It appeared in 1702, under the title of *Phyſica Vetus & Vera* (*x*). The ſame genius, the ſame learning, the ſame exquiſite judgment, and, above all, the ſame modeſt zeal for truth, and the ſame pious concern for Revealed Religion, were viſible in this, that had rendered his firſt treatiſe ſo much admired. All who had a taſte for Oriental Learning, and the Corpuſcularian Syſtem, which, in thoſe days, were not a few, highly applauded Dr Dickenſon's book, and with ſuch it ſtill is, and ever will be, in great credit [*C*]. The reſt of his days he ſpent in the improvement of his mind, and in converſing with his friends, who, through the whole courſe of his life, were the moſt eminent perſons in the kingdom, either for parts or preferment, for their intrinſick merit, or elevation in dignity; ſuch as Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who loved and underſtood Chemiſtry, Dr Seth Ward, afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury, Archbiſhop Sheldon, and the worthy Archbiſhop Tenniſon, *&c* (*y*). He yielded to fate, through a ſevere fit of the ſtone, on the third of April 1707, being then in the eighty-third year of his age, and was interred in the Church of St Martin's in the Fields (*z*). He left behind him a character every way worthy of eſteem, as well as that (ſo juſtly acquired by his labours in his profeſſion, and his curious writings) of being one of the moſt knowing and ſucceſsful Phyſicians of his time; which, if we recollect he was contemporary with Willis, Sydenham, Lower, *&c.* we ſhall the better comprehend it's extent (*a*). Beſides the pieces before-mentioned, he is ſuppoſed to have been the author of *Parabola Philoſophica, ſeu Iter Philareti ad Montem Mercurii* (*b*), i. e. *A Philoſophical Parable, or a Journey to the Mount of Mercury, by* PHILARETES; no way inferior to any thing he owned. If this tract be truly his, as there ſeems no cauſe to aſſign it any other author (*c*), then it may ſerve as a full anſwer to one of Anthony Wood's remarks in his uſual petulant ſtile, and indeed worthy of no other author (*d*) [*D*]. The reader

(*w*) MS. Memoir.

(*x*) Lond. 1702, 4to.

(*y*) MS. Memoir. See alſo the dedications prefixed to *Delphi Phœnicizantes*, and *Phyſica vetus & vera*.

(*z*) MS. Memoir.

(*a*) See theſe articles in this Dictionary.

(*b*) De Quinteſſentia Philoſophorum, p. 212.

(*c*) This is farther explained in note [*D*].

(*d*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946.

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cauſed them to be printed. ' That therefore I might, ' by an irrefragable argument, teſtify how high and ' how honourable an opinion I had conceived of you, ' as alſo that I might eſtabliſh your confidence in the ' principles of our Philoſophy, and encourage you in your ' enquiries, I made two projections in your preſence. ' Neither know I any thing which ought to induce you ' to ſcruple the truth of what I affirm to you, that ' though it is now forty years ſince I was *Philoſophus* ' *Adeptus*, i. e. an adept, or one perfect in the Alche- ' miſtical ſcience, yet, yourſelf excepted, there are not ' three perſons, to whom, in that ſpace, I have made ' known myſelf or my art.' But to ſtrengthen the thing ſtill farther, hear what Dr Dickenſon himſelf ſays to Theodore Mundanus (12). *I heretofore thought of the tranſmutation of metals, juſt as we think of the ſtrange accounts we hear of wonderful facts done, or odd cuſtoms which prevail, in regions at a vaſt diſtance. So ſhould I have ever thought, as till then indeed I did think, when two years ago you had the goodneſs, by an illuſtrious demonſtration, to take from me all power of doubting any longer.* It is now time to come to the book, which bore this title, *Epiſtola* Edmundi Dickinſon, M. D. & M. R. *ad* Theod. Mundanum, *Philoſophum Adeptum, de Quinteſſentia Philoſophorum & de vera Phyſiologia. Una cum Quæſtionibus Aliquot de ſecreta Materia Phyſica. His Accedunt Mundani Reſponſia.* OXONIÆ, *E Theatro Sheldoni, anno* 1686, 8*vo.* i. e. Ed. Dick. *to* Theod. Mund. *an* Adept *of the Quinteſſence of the Philoſophers, and the true Syſtem of Phyſicks. As alſo certain Queries, as to the Materials in Alchemy. To which are annexed the anſwers of* Mundanus. The letter is dated from London, July 31, 1683, and the anſwer of Mundanus from Paris, September 22, 1684. It was not on this account that we called him a French Philoſopher in the text, but becauſe, when Dr Dickenſon wrote in Latin, he choſe to anſwer in French. From this language his epiſtle was tranſlated by H. B (13), whom I ſuppoſe to have been their common friend Dr Becket. The book was reprinted at Rotterdam 1699, 8*vo* (14). And there is a large account of it (as it well deſerved) in the Literary Journal mentioned in the margin (15). One thing is very remarkable, that this curious piece eſcaped Profeſſor Boerhaave, who would otherwiſe have mentioned it in his ſo much eſteemed *Elementa Chemiæ*.

[*C*] *In great credit.*] The title of this book runs thus: *D. Edmundi Dickinſoni, M. D. Phyſica Vetus & Vera: ſive Tractatus de naturali veritate hexaëmeri Moſaici. Perquem probatur in hiſtoria Creationis univerſæ methodum atque modum, tum veræ Philoſophiæ principia, ſtrictim atque breviter a Moſe traditur.* Lond. 1702, 4*to.* i. e. *The antient and true Syſtem of Phyſicks, or a Treatiſe concerning the natural truth of the Moſaick Creation, in ſix Days. In which it is proved, that the Method and Mode of the Creation of the univerſe, according to the Principles of True Philoſophy, are ſtrictly and conciſely laid down by Moſes.* It was printed again at Rotterdam 1703, 4*to*, and Leoburg. 1705, 12*mo* (16). This ſhews the ſale it had in thoſe parts of Europe, where ſuch ſyſtems are moſt canvaſſed, and of conſequence their value beſt underſtood. As the author was an old-faſhion'd writer, and not at all inclined to adopt opinions merely for their being plauſible, we need not wonder that ſome admirers of the moderns were but indifferently pleaſed with his performance. Amongſt theſe Stollius (17) hath explained himſelf in the cleareſt terms, though he confeſſes him to have been a man of great learning. But this cenſure of his ariſes from his diſlike of the Atomick ſyſtem, for there are parties among Philoſophers as well as Politicians. Fabricius (18) mentions him and it with reſpect, and ſo does the celebrated Buddeus in many places with due commendations (19). But what ſufficiently demonſtrates the wiſdom, judgment, and penetration of Dr Dickenſon, is, that the famous Leibnitz, and the moſt learned Wolfius, have, in many things, followed his track.

[*D*] *Worthy of no other author.*] That we may not be ſuſpected of ſlandering the Oxford Antiquary, let his own words be produced. After mentioning our author's being appointed Superior Reader of Linacre's Lecture in his own college, he goes on (20), *and about that time ſpent much labour and money in the art of Chemiſtry, kept an Operator, and gave out to his acquaintance that he would publiſh a book thereof, but as yet there is nothing of that ſort extant by him.* We muſt underſtand this of Mr Wood's knowledge, which, in his

(12) Ibid. p. 4.

(13) Ibid. p. 145.

(14) Corn. a Beughem. Bibliogr. Eruditorum curioſa. Amſterd. 1701. 12mo. p. 85.

(15) Ephem. Erudit. Belg. An. Dom. 1699. Menſ. Maj & ſeq.

(16) Struv. Biblioth. Philoſoph. p. 161.

(17) Introd. in Hiſt. Liter. p. 661, 663.

(18) Bibliogr. Antiq. p. 282.

(19) Iſagog. Vol. I. p. 245. Compend. Hiſt. Philoſoph. p. 300, 301, 391, 496, 497.

(20) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946.

reader is to know, that this ſplenetick perſon, having contracted a diſlike to our author during his reſidence in the Univerſity, could never mention him, on any occaſion, without ſuffering ſomewhat of his bitterneſs to appear, by which, without perceiving it, he deſtroys what he propoſes to effect, inaſmuch as ſhewing his partiality equally abates the credit of his teſtimony as a witneſs, and takes away all pretence for paſſing any cenſure upon him as a judge. Of this more at large in a note [*E*]. Our learned Phyſician left alſo behind him, in manuſcript, a treatiſe in Latin, on the *Grecian Games*, which, without queſtion, was extremely worthy of ſeeing the light, and hath been lately publiſhed (*e*). Before we diſmiſs this article it will be proper to obſerve, that, as our author wrote altogether in Latin, ſo he is among the number of thoſe Britiſh writers better known abroad than in his own country (*f*). To this alſo the ſubjects on which he wrote did, without doubt, contribute not a little, being ſince his death, leſs the objects of young peoples ſtudies, or of the notice of the learned. But, as there ſeems to be a ſpirit of inquiry reviving, and as the Oriental Languages begin to be again conſidered, the bringing this life (hitherto ſhamefully neglected) into a work of this ſort, will certainly be approved; as alſo the large accounts given of his writings in the notes. This we the rather hope, becauſe, though no Engliſh writer is better known by his performances, through the northern parts of Europe, than Dr Dickenſon, yet no foreigner has touched one circumſtance of his life, becauſe (his works being all publiſhed in his life-time) they had no opportunity of acquainting themſelves with his character: a thing carefully provided againſt on their ſide, no writer of ſuch eminence dying in any other country of Europe, but immediate care is taken of his memory; of which, were it in this place proper, numerous inſtances might be produced.

(*e*) Annexed to an account of the life and writings of Edmund Dickinſon, M. D. Lond. 1739. 8vo.

(*f*) As appears by the authorities cited in the notes.

his own opinion, was extenſive, though I much doubt it deceived him here. For if the *Parabola Philoſophica* was our author's, as I am thoroughly perſuaded it was, for reaſons that I ſhall preſently mention, then, without queſtion, it was the very treatiſe Dr Dickenſon mentioned to his friends; but becauſe Anthony à Wood was not of the number, he was peeviſh enough to advance a falſe fact of his own ſhewing (though to be ſure he over-looked it) for our author's letter to Mundanus (22) is mentioned in the ſame place, and therein is a conciſe ſyſtem of chemical principles. The arguments which induce me to believe he wrote the *Parabola Philoſophica* are theſe: 1. The judgment of Mundanus, who tells him he is ſure it is his. 2. The conformity of the ſtile and method. 3. Dr Dickenſon publiſhing Mundanus's letter without diſowning the book.

[*E*] *At large in a note.*] The point diſcuſſed in the foregoing note, ſufficiently demonſtrates what an inclination the Oxford Antiquary had to ſtrike at Dr Dickenſon, and, as far as in him lay, to leſſen that great reputation which he had raiſed by his ſucceſsful labours in his profeſſion, and his learned writings. But the Doctor being living, it might not be expedient to proceed to greater lengths, at leaſt openly. However, he has ſufficiently vented his ſpleen, without naming the perſon againſt whom his envious ſhafts are directed, and yet ſo plainly pointing him out, as to leave no ſcruple or doubt upon the peruſer's mind who it is he means (22). The ſtory is too long to be inſerted here, and will fall in with greater propriety hereafter, in the mean time it may not be amiſs to obſerve, whence the diſtaſte of Wood aroſe, and indeed it is ſo ſtrange a one from his own account of the matter, which had he not committed to writing the world could never have known, that it is not eaſy to conceive any thing more extravagant (23). Dr Dickenſon was much Mr Wood's ſenior in Merton-college, and, as himſelf ſays, very kind to him when he firſt came thither (24). In proceſs of time, however, Dr Dickenſon being Fellow of his college, of which what little eſtate Wood's family had was held, the money taken for fines on renewing of leaſes, which was paid to Dr Dickenſon as Burſar or Treaſurer, were, in Mr Wood's opinion, very high, and though he does not aſcribe this expreſsly to the Doctor, yet it ſeems to be the true ground of all his miſconſtructions of his conduct. There was a long diſpute in the college between the Fellows and their Warden, Sir Thomas Clayton, in which, though Dr Dickenſon was of the ſame ſide with Mr Wood, yet becauſe they did not ſucceed in their oppoſition, and the college was obliged to pay a very large debt contracted by the Warden, Mr Wood will have it, that Dr Dickenſon was gained by Sir Thomas Clayton's artifices and flattery, of which, except his own ſuſpicion, he offers no kind of evidence whatever (25). Hence however we may judge of his temper and diſpoſition, which ought to render us very cautious in giving an implicit credit to whatever he is pleaſed to ſay of his contemporaries. It muſt indeed be owned, that what he ſays of thoſe gentlemen who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their writings, in another work of his, is, for the moſt part, free from any of theſe objections (26), but then it is very well known that work received many caſtigations from Biſhop Fell, by whoſe care it was tranſlated into Latin and publiſhed, and it is as well known, that Mr Wood complained loudly of this, and was highly diſpleaſed that any thing he had written ſhould be omitted or ſoftened on any account whatever (27). Theſe remarks were in juſtice due to the character of this learned and excellent perſon, and are by no means intended to leſſen that obligation which the publick certainly owes to the indefatigable diligence of the Oxford Antiquary, whoſe labours, notwithſtanding his prejudices and peeviſhneſs, are highly uſeful, and ought therefore to be juſtly valued.

X

(21) De Quinteſſ. Philoſoph. p. 212.

(22) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 160, 161.

(23) The late Earl of Oxford received, from John Anſtis, Eſq; Mr Wood's Diary, in his own hand, whence the author drew that life of his printed by Tho. Hearne.

(24) Life of Anthony à Wood, written by himſelf, at the cloſe of Thom. Caii *Vindiciar. Antiquitatis Academiæ* Oxonienſis, p. 472.

(25) Wood's Life, p. 552.

(26) Hiſt. & Antiquit. Oxon. Vol. II.

(27) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 799.

DIGBY (Sir Everard) was deſcended from a very antient and honourable family, diſtinguiſhed by the confidence, and honoured with many teſtimonies, of royal favour, by ſeveral of our Monarchs, as well for the eminent abilities of their mind, as for the gallant exploits performed by them in the field (*a*) [*A*]. His father Everard Digby, of Dryſtoke

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 436.

[*A*] *As for the gallant exploits performed by them in the field.*] In order to do juſtice to this family it is requiſite to obſerve, that though the Digbys of Warwickſhire were, and are ſtill, noble, yet the Digbys of the county of Rutland were of the elder houſe, which appears thus: Sir Everard Digby of Tilton in the county of Leiceſter, to take the family no higher, though that might be done from record, was ſlain at Towton field, fighting there on the ſide of Henry VI (1). This Sir Everard, by Jaquetta, daughter of Sir John Ellis, left iſſue ſix ſons, of whom the eldeſt, Sir Everard Digby, was the anceſtor of this family, as Simon Digby, the ſecond ſon, was of the Digbys of Coleſhill in Warwickſhire, now repreſented by the Lord Digby, Baron of Geaſhill in the kingdom of Ireland, from whence, as the reader will ſee in the text, deſcended the Earls of Briſtol (2). This Sir Everard Digby juſt mentioned, married Mary, the daughter

(1) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 436.

(2) See a large account of this family in Dugdale's Warwickſhire.

Dryſtoke in Rutlandſhire, Eſq; was a perſon of great worth and learning, had his education at St John's College in Cambridge, where he took the degree of Maſter of Arts; and, though a man of an independent fortune (b), gave very ſignal marks of his inclination to, and his great ſucceſs in, his ſtudies [B]. This Gentleman, of whom we are ſpeaking, was born ſome time in the year 1581, educated with great care, but under the tuition of ſome Popiſh Prieſts; for, when he was about eleven years of age, he had the miſfortune to loſe his father, who, as he was a man of ſound knowledge, and extenſive capacity, would, very probably, have given him better impreſſions, and have taught him to act rather by the light of his own reaſon, than merely according to the dictates of thoſe, who, by having the care of him in his infancy, had aſſumed a deſpotic empire over his ſpirit. In reſpect to his parts, however, he was very far from being at all deficient, abating his blind zeal for Popery, and his ſervile ſubmiſſion to the Prieſts (c). In his perſon he was remarkably handſome, very expert in his exerciſes, extreamly modeſt and affable in his behaviour, ſo that he was juſtly reputed one of the fineſt Gentlemen in England (d). He was brought very early to the Court of Queen Elizabeth, where he was much taken notice of, and received ſeveral marks of her Majeſty's favour. On the coming in of King James he went likewiſe to pay his duty, as others of his religion did, was very graciouſly received, and had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him, being looked upon as a man of a fair fortune, pregnant abilities, and a court-like behaviour (e). Theſe accompliſhments, aſſiſted by the influence of the Prieſts, who were perfectly ſatisfied, that, in purſuing his intereſt, they conſulted their own, procured his marriage to Mary, daughter and ſole heireſs of William Mulſho, Eſq; of Gothurſt in Buckinghamſhire, with whom he had a great fortune (f); which gave occaſion for his ſettlement of that, and of his own eſtate, upon the children of that marriage (g). One would have imagined, that, conſidering his mild temper, and happy ſituation in the world, he might have paſſed his days in honour and peace, without running the ſmalleſt hazard of meeting that dreadful and diſgraceful death, which has introduced his name into all our hiſtories. It happened, however, unfortunately for him, that, having a great acquaintance with Sir Thomas Treſham, a very active and zealous Papiſt, he poſſeſſed his mind with ſuch diſaffection to his Prince, ſuch falſe notions of the ill uſage that thoſe who ſtiled themſelves Catholicks had met with, and ſuch apprehenſions of ſtill greater miſchiefs ready to befal them, that he was ripe to receive any counſels that ſhould be given him, for redreſſing theſe pretended grievances, and preventing thoſe threatned evils, of how dangerous and deſperate a nature ſoever they might be (h) [C]. His intimate friendſhip with Robert Cateſby, Eſq; proved the means of his being drawn in to act againſt that government, towards which he had ſo long borne the utmoſt diſlike. This Mr Cateſby was a man of determined courage, as well as great parts; he had been, for ſeveral years, very deep in all the plots formed

(b) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 354.

(c) See the preface to Sir Everard Digby's private papers.

(d) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 354.

(e) The Earl of Northampton's ſpeech to him at his conviction. State Trials, Vol. I. p. 245.

(f) Wright's Hiſt. and Antiquities of Rutlandſhire, p. 114.

(g) Coke's Rep. Lib. viii. fo. 165. b.

(h) This Sir Everard Digby himſelf alledged, in anſwer to the Earl of Northampton's ſpeech.

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daughter of Sir John Heydon, by whom he had Kenelm Digby, Eſq; of Dry Stoke, or Stoke Dry, for ſo it is now commonly called, in the county of Rutland, who, by Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Cope, Knt. had Everard Digby, Eſq; who married Mary, daughter and coheireſs of Francis Neal and the Widow of Samſon Erderſwick, Eſq; by whom he had three ſons and two daughters, the eldeſt of which ſons was Sir Everard Digby, who is the ſubject of this article (3).

[B] *And his great ſucceſs in his ſtudies.*] This gentleman publiſhed ſeveral treatiſes, ſome of them upon learned, and others on curious ſubjects, and of theſe the following titles may poſſibly gratify the reader's curioſity (4).

I. *Theoria Analytica viam ad Monarchiam ſcientiarum demonſtrans.* Lond. 1579. 4*to*.

II. *De Duplici Methodo libri duo, Rami Methodum refutantes.* Lond. 1580, 8*vo*.

III. *De Arte Natandi, libri duo.* Lond. 1587.

IV. *A Diſſwaſive from the taking away the Goods and Livings of the Church, &c.* Lond. 4*to* (5).

[C] *And deſperate a nature ſoever they might be*] It is very remarkable, that the far greateſt part of the perſons embarked in this treaſon were Gentlemen of family and fortune; Robert Cateſby, Eſq; was a Gentleman of an antient family, whoſe anceſtor was a Privy-Counſellor and favourite to Richard III. Ambroſe Rookwood, and Francis Treſham, Eſquires, were men of large eſtates, and the latter undertook to advance two thouſand pounds upon this occaſion. Mr Thomas Piercy was related to the Earl of Northumberland, and the King's ſervant; in ſhort, except Robert Keys, who had ſpent his fortune, and Thomas Bates, who was Mr Cateſby's man, they were all perſons in ſuch circumſtances, as nothing but their furious zeal could have driven into ſuch a conſpiracy (6). The means by which Sir Everard Digby was wrought upon, himſelf affirmed to be theſe: Firſt, he was told that the King had broke his promiſes to the Catholicks, for which, however there was no foundation, ſince Watſon the Prieſt, who was executed in the firſt year of the King for treaſon, confeſſed, that having had acceſs to his Majeſty at Edinburgh twice, he told him plainly what thoſe of his religion had to expect, and this put him upon plotting againſt him. Mr Piercy, a principal inſtrument in this conſpiracy, went likewiſe into Scotland upon the ſame errand, and had the like anſwer. He was next told, that ſeverer laws againſt Popery would be made in the next Parliament, that huſbands would be made liable for their wives offences, and that it would be made a præmunire only to be a Catholick. But the main point was, that the reſtoring of the Catholick religion was the duty of every member, and that, in conſideration of this, he was not to regard any favours received from the Crown, the tranquillity of his country, or the hazards that might be run in reſpect to his life, his family, or his fortune (7). All this himſelf and very probably many of his companions believed, or otherwiſe it is not eaſy to account for their involving themſelves in ſuch a ſeries of dangers, or for their adhering to each other with ſuch fidelity, that, in the courſe of ſeveral years intrigue, there was nothing divulged (8). But what is yet a ſtronger, and indeed an invincible proof, that it was a miſtaken notion of religion which guided them throughout, was the exceeding care they took to the very laſt, to prevent thoſe Prieſts from coming into any trouble by their means, who had brought all this deſtruction upon themſelves, for attaining which they ſcrupled nothing; Sir Everard Digby valuing himſelf in his private papers, upon affirming falſehoods to the Lords for this purpoſe; and Francis Treſham taking it upon his death, that he had not for ſeveral years ſeen Father Garnet, upon account of a difference between them, the direct contrary of which was afterwards confeſſed by Garnet himſelf (9).

(3) Wright's Hiſt. and Antiq. of Rutland, p. 115.

(4) Hyde Catalog. impreſſor. Libror. Biblioth. Bodleianæ, p. 220.

(5) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 354.

(6) Diſcourſe of the manner of the diſcovery of the Gunpowder Plot, p. 62, 63.

(7) The arraignment and execution of the late late traytors. Lond. 1666. 8vo. In which it is affirmed, that Sir Everard declared, that, to reſtore Popery, he cared not if he rooted out all his poſterity.

(8) See the Attorney-General Coke's ſpeech at Garnet's arraignment.

(9) Proceedings againſt the traytors in the Powder Plot, p. 105.

formed by the Jeſuits; and, notwithſtanding that which had miſcarried in the beginning of this reign, he ventured to frame a new one in his own mind, which he communicated only to a few of his intimate friends, in the cloſe of the year 1604 (*i*); and this was, blowing up the Parliament-Houſe with gunpowder. When they had taken all the methods for putting this abominable ſcheme in execution, they began to reflect, that they could make no uſe even of their ſucceſs, if they did not provide, at the ſame time, for an inſurrection, and the eſtabliſhment of a new government. It was therefore, upon mature deliberation, agreed by the confederates, at a meeting they held in the city of Bath, that Mr Cateſby ſhould take in to their aſſiſtance whom he ſhould think think fit, provided they were bound by the oath of Secrecy which themſelves had taken (*k*). In purſuance of this reſolution, Mr Cateſby applied himſelf to his friend Sir Everard Digby, whom he acquainted with the whole affair, and with their reſolution of ſeizing the Princeſs Elizabeth, and proclaiming her Queen, upon the execution of the Powder-treaſon at London; in which his aſſiſtance was particularly neceſſary, as ſhe was then at the Lord Harrington's, at Comb-Abbey in Warwickſhire (*l*). To this Sir Everard willingly aſſented, and offered fifteen hundred pounds towards defraying the expences of this dark deſign, entertained Mr Fawkes afterwards at his houſe (*m*), and, the weather being rainy, adviſed him, upon his return to London, to be very careful in obſerving that the powder was not damp; ſo induſtrious and indefatigable he was, that, when the reſt of the conſpirators, upon the diſcovery of their deſign, at the very point of execution, fled down into the country, they found him at Dunchurch, as had been concerted, and, in company with him, they retired towards Staffordſhire, where, after a deſperate defence, in which ſome of theſe unhappy men were ſlain (*n*) [*D*], Sir Everard Digby, and others, were taken (*o*). Upon the commitment of Sir Everard to the Tower, he perſiſted ſteadily to maintain his own innocence as to the Powder treaſon, and abſolutely denied his having knowledge of any other perſons being embarked in this deſign, than ſuch as were either killed or taken; in which, notwithſtanding all the arguments that could be uſed by thoſe noble perſons before whom he was examined, he continued obſtinately firm (*p*). This reſolution of his did not proceed from any hopes of eſcaping, but from an earneſt deſire of avoiding, if poſſible, being the inſtrument of other mens ruin, or diſcloſing more than was already diſcovered, being ſtill ſatisfied, that he was engaged in a good cauſe, and having much leſs concern about his life, than about the bad effects to that cauſe which the detection of this plot might produce (*q*). This, which is the ſtrongeſt proof of the infatuation that may be brought upon minds naturally virtuous, appears fully from a paper of his, written under his confinement, and ſent privately to his family [*E*]. When he

(*i*) Diſcourſe of the manner of the diſcovery of the Gunpowder Plot, p. 40, 41—47.

(*k*) Hiſt. of the Powder Treaſon, Lond. 1681. 4to. p. 9.

(*l*) See Sir Everard Digby's own account of this this matter in note [*F*].

(*m*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 247.

(*n*) Diſcourſe of the manner of the diſcovery of the Powder Plot, p. 69, 70.

(*o*) Hiſt. of the Powder Treaſon, p. 18.

(*p*) See the preface to Sir Everard Digby's private papers.

(*q*) This manifeſtly appears from the whole ſubſtance of his private papers, written by him under his condemnation.

[*D*] *In which ſome of theſe unhappy men were ſlain.*] In this note we will give the reader a ſuccinct account of the proceedings of the conſpirators in town and country, which will ſhew how perfectly they had concerted their meaſures, and how punctual they were in executing each the part that had been aſſigned him. The 4th of November fell that year upon a Sunday, and it was paſt twelve at night when ſearch was made under the Parliament-houſe, and Mr Guy Fawkes ſeized there booted and ſpurred (10). Mr Piercy had early notice of this, and ſet out of town about four in the morning. Mr Cateſby was gone the night before. Mr Winter and the two Wrights ſoon followed (11). We come now to another part of the conſpiracy, ſtill ſtranger than any of the reſt, which is this: there was one John Grant, Eſq; a zealous Papiſt, who lived near Warwick, who having collected ſeveral perſons of his own principles, and determined courage, went on Monday night, about the very time that Fawkes was ſeized in London, broke open the ſtables of one Mr Bennock at Warwick, who made it his buſineſs to break horſes for the menage, and took thoſe of ſeveral gentlemen that were in his hands, and coming well armed, and being now well mounted, made the beſt of their way to Dunchurch, where they found Sir Everard Digby and his party ready (12), and, on Wedneſday the 7th of November, being joined by their accomplices from London, and knowing all their hopes had failed them there, they reſolved, as their laſt reſource, openly to take up arms, and Father Teſmond, *alias* Greenwell, a Jeſuit, went into Lancaſhire to excite thoſe of their religion to join them (13). They had flattered themſelves with a great appearance in their favour, but they could never aſſemble above fourſcore, nor could they depend upon many of thoſe, or even upon their own ſervants (14). Sir Fulk Grevil, Deputy-Lieutenant, though an old and infirm man, ſeized the horſes and arms of ſeveral gentlemen in his neighbourhood in Warwickſhire, and made about ſixteen of their followers priſoners (15). Sir Richard Verney, High-Sheriff of the county, likewiſe took ſome of them (16). On Thurſday they were at Robert Winter's houſe, where they had abſolution given them by Father Hammond, though in open rebellion (17). They were purſued through Worceſterſhire by Sir Richard Walſh, which forced them to take ſhelter at Holbitch, the ſeat of Stephen Lyttleton, in Staffordſhire, where Sir Richard, who was Sheriff of Worceſterſhire, with the people who came in to his aſſiſtance, ſurrounded them (18). He ſent a trumpet to ſummon them to ſurrender, promiſing to intercede with the King to ſpare their lives, for as yet they had no notice of the Powder Treaſon; but the conſpirators rejected this offer with contempt, and prepared to defend themſelves as well as they could. This was on the Friday, and finding their powder damp, they placed a ſmall parcel in a pan before the fire, upon a bag which held ſeventeen or eighteen pounds; a ſervant, who knew nothing of this, throwing ſome wood upon the fire, a ſpark flew out into the pan, which blew up all the powder, together with the roof of the houſe, and at the ſame time wounded Cateſby, Rookwood, and Grant (19). About eleven o'clock the Sheriff, and thoſe with him, attacked the houſe, when Thomas Winter was ſhot in the ſhoulder, both the Wrights were killed, Ambroſe Rookwood fell ſoon after; then as Winter, Cateſby, and Piercy, were ſtanding together, the two laſt were ſhot through by the ſame ball, Winter, being hurt in the belly by a pike, was taken (20), and upon this the reſt ſubmitted and were ſent up to London, excepting Robert Winter and Stephen Lyttleton, who for ſome weeks hid themſelves (21). Francis Treſham ſtayed in town, and for ſome time preſerved his liberty, but was at length ſeized, made an ample confeſſion, but finding himſelf in a dying condition with the ſtrangury, denied again what he had ſaid that it might be of no uſe (22).

[*E*] *And ſent privately to his family.*] While Sir Everard Digby was priſoner in the Tower, he wrote in juice of lemon or otherwiſe, upon ſlips of paper, as opportunity offered, and got theſe conveyed to his Lady, by ſuch as had permiſſion to ſee him. Theſe

(10) Diſcourſe of the manner of the diſcovery, &c. p. 36.

(11) See Thomas Winter's confeſſion, dated 23d Nov. 1605. annexed to the manner of the diſcovery.

(12) Hiſt. of the Gunpowder Treaſon, p. 16, 17.

(13) Ibid.

(14) Diſcourſe of the manner of the diſcovery, &c. p. 64.

(15) Ibid. p. 65.

(16) Hiſt. of the Powder Treaſon, p. 17.

(17) Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 383.

(18) Proceedings againſt the Traytors, p. 123.

(19) Diſcourſe of the manner of the diſcovery, p. 69, 70.

(20) Hiſt. of the Powder Treaſon, p. 18.

(21) But the King's proclamation was firſt ſent down into the country, directing they ſhould be taken alive.

(22) Proceedings againſt the Traytors, p. 147, 148.

he was brought to his trial at Weſtminſter, January 27th, 1605-6; he was indicted for being acquainted with and concealing the Powder-treaſon, taking the double oath of Secrecy and Conſtancy, and acting openly, with other traytors, in rebellion; to which indictment he pleaded guilty (*r*). After this he endeavoured to extenuate his offence, by ſhewing the motives to it, which have been before explained; then requeſted, that, as he had been alone in the crime, he might alone bear the puniſhment, without extending it to his family, that his debts might be paid, and that he might be beheaded; to which he received no favourable anſwer (*s*). Yet the Earls of Northampton and Saliſbury, of whom the latter owned him for his relation, ſpoke mildly to him, and ſhewed him how very little ſervice his behaviour had done him, ſince Fawkes confeſſed, that he was acquainted with the Powder-treaſon; and many other things, which he had laboured to conceal, were, by other means, found out (*t*). But, whatever he might ſay in his examinations, certain it is, that, upon his having ſome notice of it's being thought, by his own party, a very wild and ill-concerted enterprize, in which he engaged, he could write a very clear defence againſt this imputation, though he refuſed to make any when his life was at ſtake; ſo much more did he fear reproach amongſt thoſe of his own communion, than a violent and ignominious death [*F*]. Yet, after ſentence of death was paſſed,

(*r*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 244.

(*s*) See the Attorney-General Coke's anſwer to his petition.

(*t*) See their ſpeeches at his trial.

Theſe notes, or advertiſements, were preſerved by the family as precious relicks, till, in the month of September 1675, they were found at the houſe of Charles Cornwallis, Eſq; executor to Sir Kenelm the ſon of Sir Everard Digby, by Sir Rice Rudd, Baronet, and William Wogan, of Gray's-Inn, Eſq; (23). The firſt of theſe papers runs thus:

(23) Annexed to the Proceedings againſt the Traytors, and other pieces relating to the Popiſh Plot, printed by the orders of Mr Secretary Coventry, dated December 12th, 1678. No. 1.

'I have not named any, either living or dead, that ſhould have hurt my Lord Saliſbury, and only intended theſe general informations, to procure me acceſs of ſome friend, that I might inform my knowledge, for I never intended to hurt any creature, though it would have gained me all the world. As yet they have not got of me the affirming that I know any Prieſt particularly, nor ſhall ever do to the hurt of any but myſelf. At my firſt examination the Earl of Saliſbury told me, that ſome things ſhould be affirmed againſt me by Gerrat the Prieſt, who, ſaith he, I am ſure you know well. My anſwer was, if I might ſee him I would tell him whether I knew him or no, but by that name I did not know him; nor at Mrs Vauxe's, as he ſaid I did, for I never ſaw a Prieſt there. Yeſterday I was before Mr Attorney and my Lord Chief-Juſtice, who aſked me if I had taken the ſacrament to keep ſecret the plot as others did? I ſaid that I had not, becauſe I would avoid the queſtion of at whoſe hands it were. They told me that five had taken it of Gerard, and that he knew of the plot, which I ſaid was more than I knew.

'Now for my intention, let me tell you, that if I had thought there had been the leaſt ſin in the plot, I would not have been of it for all the world, and no other cauſe drew me to hazard my fortune and life, but zeal to God's religion. For my keeping it ſecret it was cauſed by certain belief, that thoſe which were beſt able to judge of the lawfulneſs of it, had been acquainted with it, and given way unto it. More reaſons I had to perſuade me to this belief than I dare utter, which I will never to the ſuſpicion of any, though I ſhould to the rack for it, and as I did not know it directly that it was approved by ſuch, ſo did I hold it in my conſcience the beſt not to know any more if I might.

'I have, before all the Lords, cleared all the Prieſts in it for any thing that I know, but now let me tell you what a grief it hath been to me, to hear that ſo much condemned, which I did believe would have been otherwiſe thought on by Catholicks; there is no other cauſe but this which hath made me deſire life, for when I came into priſon death would have been a welcome friend unto me, and was moſt deſired, but when I heard how Catholicks and Prieſts thought of the matter, and that it ſhould be a great ſin that ſhould be the cauſe of my end, it called my conſcience in doubt of my very beſt actions and intentions in queſtion, for I knew that myſelf might eaſily be deceived in ſuch a buſineſs, therefore I proteſt unto you, that the doubts I had of my own good ſtate, which only proceeded from the cenſure of others, cauſed more bitterneſs of grief in me, than all the miſeries that ever I ſuffered, and only this cauſed me to wiſh life, till I might meet with a ghoſtly friend. For ſome good ſpace I could do nothing, but with tears aſk pardon at God's hands for all my errors, both in actions and intentions, in this buſineſs, and in my whole life, which the cenſure of this, contrary to my expectance, cauſed me to doubt, I did humbly beſeech that my death might ſatisfy for my offence, which I ſhould and ſhall offer moſt gladly to the giver of my life. I aſſure you, as I hope in God, that the love of all my eſtate and worldly happineſs did never trouble me, nor the love of it ſince my impriſonment did ever move me to wiſh life. But if that I may live to make ſatisfaction to God and the world, where I have given any ſcandal, I ſhall not grieve if I ſhould never look living creature in the face again. And beſides that deprivations endure all worldly miſery, I ſhall not need to clear any living body either private or publick, for I never named any body, but reported that thoſe that are dead did promiſe that all forces in thoſe parts about Mr Talbot would aſſiſt us, but this can hurt nothing, for they openly ſpoke it. You muſt be careful how you ſend, for Mr Lieutenant hath ſtayed the * * * * book, but take no notice of it. Let my brother ſee this, or know the contents; tell him I love his ſweet comforts as my greateſt jewel in this place. If I can I will convey in the tables a copy of a letter which I ſent yeſterday, it is, as near as I can underſtand, the meaning of the inſtruction; I perceive it works with the Lords, for I ſhall be ſent to them. Oh how full of joy ſhould I die, if I could do any thing for the cauſe which I love more than my life. Farewel my ——.'

[*F*] *Than a violent and ignominious death.*] This, which is the laſt of Sir Everard's papers, is alſo the moſt material, and muſt appear, to every impartial reader, an inconteſtible proof of what the Attorney-General Coke affirmed at the trial of theſe conſpirators, That their ſcheme was no more than an appendix to the plots framed by their party in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and, in a great meaſure, an improvement upon the ſcheme of Watſon and Clarke on King James's coming to the throne: it runs thus (24).

(24) The ſame papers, No. 9.

'My deareſt, the * * * * * * I take at the uncharitable taking of theſe matters, will make me ſay more than ever I thought to have done. For, if this deſign had taken place, there could have been no doubt of other ſucceſs: for that night, before any any other could have brought the news, we ſhould have known it by Mr Cateſby, who ſhould have proclaimed the heir-apparent at Charing-Croſs, as he came out of town; to which purpoſe there was a proclamation drawn, if the Duke had not been in the Houſe, then was there a certain way laid for the poſſeſſing him; but, in regard of the aſſurance they ſhould have been there, therefore the greateſt of our buſineſs ſtood in the poſſeſſing the Lady Elizabeth, who, lying within eight miles of Dunchurch, we would have eaſily ſurprized before the knowledge of any doubt: this was the cauſe of my being there. If ſhe had been in Rutland, then Stoaks was near, and, in either place, we had taken ſufficient order to have been poſſeſſed of her; there was alſo courſes taken for the ſatisfying the people if the firſt had taken effect, as the ſpeedy notice of liberty and freedom

'from

paſſed, he ſeemed to be very much affected; for, making a low bow to thoſe upon the bench, he ſaid, *If I could hear any of your Lordſhips ſay you forgave me, I ſhould go the more chearfully to the gallows.* To this all the Lords anſwered, *God forgive you, and we do* (u). On Thurſday the 30th of January Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, John Grant, and Thomas Bates, were executed, purſuant to their ſentence, at the weſt-end of St Paul's church, when Sir Everard is ſaid to have expreſſed a very different ſenſe of his crime from that which he had written concerning it after his confinement (w). But of this, and of a much more extraordinary circumſtance attending his tragical departure out of this life, ſome notice will be taken in the notes [*G*]. He left at his death two young ſons, who were afterwards Sir Kenelm Digby and Sir John Digby, and expreſſed his affection towards them by a well written and pathetick paper, which he deſired might be communicated to them at a fit time, as the laſt advice of their father. We ſhall take occaſion, in another place, to ſhew how the Powder-treaſon was really diſcovered, and by whom (x); at preſent it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that even this ſecond part of the deſign, in which Sir Everard Digby was to have acted, was likewiſe timely diſcovered, and, as the plot proved the ruin of Sir Everard, ſo that diſcovery was the riſe of his relation. For the Lord Harrington, who had the care of the Princeſs Elizabeth, having received ſome intimation of an intention to ſeize her, immediately ſent up John Digby, a younger ſon of the Lord Digby's, to Court, with an account of all he knew; where the young Gentleman told his tale ſo well, as to acquire thereby the King's good graces, who, not long after, knighted him (y), employed him in a long negotiation in Spain, and, September 15th, 1622, created him Earl of Briſtol. His ſon was the famous George Lord Digby, who, while he bore that title, made ſo great a figure in the Houſe of Commons, was Secretary of State afterwards to King Charles I, and, ſucceeding to his father's title, attended King Charles the Second in his exile, was inſtalled Knight of the Garter in the month of April 1661, and made a great figure throughout that reign. He was ſucceeded

(u) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 247.

(w) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 384.

(x) See the article of HABINGTON (THOMAS) in this Dictionary.

(y) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 436.

‘ from all manner of ſlavery, as the ceaſing of wardſhips and all monopolies, which, with change, would have been more plauſible to the people if the firſt had been, than it is now. There was alſo a courſe taken to have given preſent notice to all Princes, and to aſſociate them with an oath anſwerable to the League in France. I have not uttered any of theſe things, nor ever thought to do. For my going from Dunchurch I had this reaſon; firſt, I knew that Fawkes could reveal me, for I muſt make choice of two beſides Mr Cateſby, which I did of him and Mr Winter; I knew he had been employed in great matters, and, till torture, ſure he carried it very well: ſecondly, we all thought, if we could procure Mr Talbot to riſe that * * * * * * * * * * party, at leaſt, to a compoſition * * * * * * * * * * * that was not little, becauſe we had in our company his ſon-in-law, who gave us ſome hope of, and did not much doubt of it. I do anſwer your ſpeech with Mr Brown thus: Before that I knew any thing of the plot, I did aſk Mr Farmer what the meaning of the Pope's brief was; he told me, that they were not (meaning Prieſts) to undertake or procure ſtirs, but yet they would not hinder any, neither was it the Pope's mind they ſhould, that ſhould be undertaken for Catholick good. I did never utter thus much, nor would not but to you; and this anſwer, with Mr Cateſby's proceedings with him and me, gave me abſolute belief, that the matter in general was approved, though every particular was not known. I dare not take that courſe that I could, to make it appear leſs odious, for divers were to have been brought out of the danger, which now would rather hurt them than otherwiſe. I do not think there would have been three worth ſaving that ſhould have been loſt; you may gueſs that I had ſome friends that were in danger, which I had prevented; but they ſhall never know it. I will do as much as my partner wiſheth; and it will then appear, that I have not hurt or accuſed one man; and howſoever I might, in general, poſſeſs them with fear, in hope to do the cauſe good, yet my care was ever to loſe my own life rather than hurt the unworthieſt member of the Catholick Church. Tell her, I have ever loved her and her houſe, and, though I could never ſhew it, I will not live to manifeſt the contrary. Her Go: I hope will remember me, who I am, temporal reſpects, indebted to: your ſiſter ſalute from me, whoſe noble mind to me, in this miſery, I will never * * * * * * * my Lord of Arundel may do much with the Lord and the Queen. One that you write of, which dearly loveth him, and is dearly loved of him again, can tell him that I love him, and did manifeſt it in his ſight, and he might have found it; laſt time as I ſaw him was in his company as I think. I am ſure when this was, he was there. If your mother were in town, you ſhould do it, to * * * * * her. Farewell, and where you cannot underſtand, ſend to me by your next, and I will explain.’

[*G*] *Some notice will be taken in the notes.*] We have a pretty full account of the manner in which Sir Everard and his accomplices finiſhed their days; and that too penned within a very ſhort time after it happened: it runs thus (25). ‘ Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, Grant, and Bates, according to their judgment, were drawn, hanged, and quartered, at the weſt-end of St Paul's Church, in London, where all but Grant died very penitent; Sir Everard Digby proteſted, from the bottom of his heart, he aſked forgiveneſs of God, the King, the Queen, the Prince, and all the Parliament; and, if that he had known it at firſt to have been ſo foul a treaſon, he would not have concealed it to have gained a world, requiring the people to witneſs he died penitent and ſorrowful for this vile treaſon, and confident to be ſaved in the merits of his ſweet Saviour Jeſus, &c. He prayed kneeling about half a quarter of an hour, often bowing his head to the ground; in the ſame manner they all prayed, but no voice heard ſaving now and then, O Jeſu, Jeſu, ſave me, and keep me, &c. Which words they repeated many times upon the ladder. Friday, the laſt of January, in the Parliament-Yard at Weſtminſter, were executed, as the former, Thomas Winter, Rookwood, Keyes, and Fawkes; which Fawkes, at his death, was more penitent than any of the reſt, and beſought all Catholicks never to attempt any ſuch bloody act, being a courſe which God did never favour nor proſper. Keyes, in obſtinacy, cohered much with Grant; they all craved teſtimony that they died Roman Catholicks; their quarters were placed over London gates, and their heads upon the Bridge.’ It is very ſtrange, that no notice at all ſhould be taken, in this account, of that extraordinary circumſtance which Mr Wood mentions as a thing generally known (26), That, when the executioner plucked out his heart, and, according to the manner, held it up, ſaying, *Here is the heart of a traytor*, Sir Everard made anſwer, *Thou lieſt.* This, continues Mr Wood, a moſt famous author mentions, but tells us not his name. This famous author is the Lord Bacon (27), and the paſſage referred to is this. ‘ We ourſelves indeed remember to have ſeen the heart of a man who was embowelled, according to the cuſtom amongſt us in the execution of traytors, which, being thrown into the fire, as is uſual, ſprung up at firſt ſix foot high, and continued

‘ leaping

(25) Stowe's Annals, continued by Howes, p. 862.

(26) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 354.

(27) Hiſtoria Vitæ & Mortis.

ſucceeded by his ſon John, who died in 1698, without iſſue, in whom the title became extinct, his younger brother Francis being killed in the Dutch war (z).

‘ leaping gradually lower and lower between ſeven and eight minutes, as far as our memory reaches. There is alſo an old and credible tradition, of an ox that lowed after it was embowelled. But it is more certain that a man, who ſuffered in the manner we have before-mentioned, his entrails being taken out, and his heart almoſt torn away, and in the hands of the hangman, was heard to utter three or four words of a prayer, which, we ſay, is more credible than what is reported of the ſacrifice, becauſe the friends of ſuch criminals are wont to give money to the executioner, that he may be the quicker in performing his work, and the ſooner put them out of their pain; whereas, in ſacrifices, we ſee no cauſe why the Prieſts ſhould uſe ſuch extraordinary diligence.’ This proves no more than the poſſibility of ſuch a thing in Lord Bacon's opinion, but cannot be properly applied as a proof to this particular fact, from which, in all it's circumſtances, it manifeſtly differs. E

DIGBY (Sir KENELME) the ſon of the former, and a very famous Philoſopher in the XVIIth century. It is extreamly difficult to fix the time of his birth, there being authorities for three different days, but the 11th of June 1603 ſeems to have been generally received (a). It is ſaid, that King James reſtored his eſtate to him in his infancy (b); which, however, is a miſtake, ſince it was decided at law, that the King had no title to it. Both theſe points ſhall be cleared up in the notes [A]. At the time of his father's unfortunate death he was with his mother at Gothurſt, being then but in the third year of his age. He ſeems to have been taken early out of her hands, ſince it is certain that he renounced the errors of Popery very young, and was carefully bred in the Proteſtant religion chiefly, as there is good reaſon to believe, under the direction of Archbiſhop Laud (c), then Dean of Glouceſter, who had a very great affection for him, and who had reclaimed a near relation of his from Popery (d). In 1618 Mr Kenelme Digby was ſent to the Univerſity, and entered of Glouceſter-Hall (e), where the direction of his ſtudies was committed to Mr Thomas Allen, one of the moſt learned and able men of thoſe times (f); though he had another member of that ſociety for his Tutor. His being recommended to Mr Allen was a great advantage to our young ſtudent, for he quickly diſcerned the natural ſtrength of his faculties, and that ſpirit of penetration which is ſo ſeldom met with in perſons of his age. He took pains, therefore, to ſhew him the right method of applying

[A] *Shall be cleared up in the notes.*] The famous Antiquary of Oxford is clear and poſitive, that the birth of this gentleman ought to be fixed to the 11th of July 1603 (1), in ſupport of which he quotes two authorities that have very great weight with him, but not altogether ſo great with me (2). As to Dr Napier of Buckinghamſhire, his work is written in a very bad hand, and I could give more inſtances than one, of nativities in his book, that diſagree with the pariſh regiſters of perſons to whom they belong, and therefore an entry therein ought not to be looked upon as deciſive. Again, as to Mr Gadbury, there is great probability that his date was borrowed from Dr Napier's book, and if it was not, the ſame exceptions lie againſt it as have been urged againſt that In the life-time of Sir Kenelme there is no doubt that the 11th of June was taken to be his birth-day. The famous Ben Johnſon, in a copy of verſes to his honour; ſpeaking of a ſea-fight in which he commanded, and of his undaunted courage, ſays (3),

Witneſs thy action *done at* Scanderoon,
Upon thy birth-day *the* eleventh *of* June.

Theſe two verſes indeed do more honour to the hero than the Poet, but a man muſt have a ſtrange opinion of Johnſon's judgment, to believe he would falſify a date for the ſake of ſuch poetry. Mr Wood indeed ſays, and very truly, that this action was not upon the 11th but upon the 16th of June (4), which is indeed a proof that the Poet miſtook the date of the battle, but not at all that he miſſed that of the birth-day, for ſixteenth would have run as well, at leaſt no worſe, than eleventh. After Sir Kenelme's death, we find the very ſame day, I mean the eleventh of June, fixed upon in his epitaph (5), and therefore it ſeems to have been the true date. In the fourth edition of Bayle's Dictionary (6), and in all the late editions of Moreri (7), there is an article of our author, in which the day of his birth and of his death is ſaid to be the eleventh of March, but whence this date was borrowed it is impoſſible to conceive, becauſe I know not of any writer that has fixed either his death or his birth upon that day. But enough of this; let us now ſpeak of the eſtate of the family. The diſpute about it was determined in the Court of Wards, in Michaelmas term the eighth of King James, that is, in 1610, and in what manner, the reader ſhall learn from the beſt authority (8). ‘ Sir Everard Digby, ſeized in fee of the manor of Stoke in the county of Rutland, and of the mannor of Tilton in the county of Leiceſter, held (by way of admittance) of the King, by Knights ſervice *in capite*, by act executed in his life-time, and before any treaſon by him committed, conveyed the ſaid manors to the uſe of himſelf for life, and afterwards to the uſe of his eldeſt ſon and heir apparent in tail, with divers remainders over to his other iſſues. And afterwards the ſaid Sir Everard Digby was attainted and executed, for the heinous and horrible powder treaſon, committed after the ſaid conveyance, his eldeſt ſon being then within age. The queſtion was, Whether the wardſhip of the body, or of the third part of the ſaid manors, ſhould be to the King by force of the ſtatutes of 32 and 34 H. VIII? And it was reſolved by the two Chief-Juſtices, the Chief Baron, and the whole Court of Wards, that the King ſhall never have wardſhip or primer-ſeiſin, but where there is an heir general or ſpecial. For the ſaid ſtatutes of 32 and 34 H. VIII. give wardſhip or primer-ſeiſin to the King, in divers caſes where there is no deſcent, as if the King's tenant conveys his land for the advancement of his wife, preferment of his children, or payment of his debts, but doth not give wardſhip or primer-ſeiſin in any caſe, where there is not any heir general or ſpecial, becauſe wardſhip or primer-ſeiſin ought to be of the land of ſome anceſtor who has an heir.’ Thus it appears a certain writer was miſtaken in affirming, that, at the requeſt of his Queen, King Charles I. reſtored Sir Kenelme Digby to the large eſtate of his anceſtors (9). His father had taken due care in this reſpect, and it ſeems was very well adviſed (10), yet he died under great concern even as to that point, for diſcovering, when it was too late, the univerſal odium attending the Popiſh-powder-plot, and fearing this might prejudice even Courts of juſtice, or excite the Parliament in ſo very extraordinary a caſe, to make ſome law *ex poſt facto*, for increaſing the puniſhment of ſuch as were concerned in it, he not only doubted, but ſeems to have died under a perſuaſion, that his eſtate would be confiſcated (11).

(z) Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 35.

(a) Johnſon's Underwoods, p. 243. See alſo Ferrar's Epitaph on Sir K. D.

(b) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 351. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 29.

(c) In this point that Prelate was remarkably vigilant.

(d) Wharton's Hiſtory of the Troubles and Trial of Archbiſhop Laud.

(e) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 383.

(f) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 351.

(1) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 383. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 351.

(2) Dr Richard Napier's Collection of Nativities, in the Aſhmolean Library. John Gadbury's Almanack for the year 1673.

(3) In his Underwoods, p. 243.

(4) This appears from Sir Kenelme Digby's own letter upon that ſubject.

(5) See that epitaph at the cloſe of this article.

(6) It is to be obſerved, that the article of DIGBY (Sir KENELME) is an additional one, not to be aſcribed to Bayle himſelf.

(7) In which the article is barely copied from Bayle.

(8) Coke's Reports, P. viii. fo. 166.

(9) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 580.

(10) Wright's Antiquities of Rutlandſhire, p. 114.

(11) See his private papers.

applying his wonderful capacity, which he frequently compared to that of the ſo much celebrated wit of Italy Picus de Mirandula (g), to the ſublimer parts of Philoſophy; ſo that notwithſtanding his ſtay at Oxford was but between two and three years, yet, upon his leaving that Univerſity in 1621, in order to travel, he was conſidered as a very extraordinary perſon, and ſuch high expectations of him raiſed, as he lived afterwards to fulfil (h). Having made the tour of France, Spain, and Italy, and having been in all places remarkably well received, he returned to England in 1623; and being preſented to the King, at the Lord Mountague's houſe at Hinchinbroke, on the 23d of October the ſame year, with high commendations of his learning, he there received the honour of knighthood in the preſence of Charles Prince of Wales and the famous Duke of Buckingham, then juſt returned out of Spain, where Mr Digby had attended on his Royal Highneſs, as himſelf informs us (i). In a very ſhort time after Sir K. Digby rendered himſelf very remarkable, by the happy application of a ſecret which he met with in his travels, as to which we will, from his own authority, inform the reader fully in the notes [B]. After the demiſe of King James,

(g) Spoken probably of the univerſality of his genius.

(h) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 581.

(i) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 351. Digby of Bodies, p. 308, 309.

[B] *In the notes.*] This ſecret of his was that which has ſince made ſo much noiſe in the world, under the title of the ſympathetick powder, the virtues of which were, as he aſſures us, thoroughly enquired into by King James, his ſon the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Buckingham, with other perſons of the higheſt diſtinction, and all was regiſtered among the obſervations of the great Chancellor Bacon, to add, by way of appendix, to his Natural Hiſtory (12). The matter of fact on which this was grounded, take in his own words: 'Mr James Howell, well known for his publick works, and particularly his *Dendrologies*, endeavouring to part two of his friends engaged in a duel, ſeized, with his left hand, the hilt of the ſword of one of the combatants, and with his right hand laid hold of the blade of the other. They, being tranſported with fury one againſt the other, ſtruggled to rid themſelves of the hindrance their friend made, that they ſhould not kill one another, and one of them roughly drawing the blade of his ſword, cut to the very bone, the nerves, and muſcles of Mr Howell's hand, and then the other, diſengaging his hilt, gave a croſs-blow on his adverſary's head, which glanced towards his friend, who, heaving up his ſore hand to ſave the blow, he was wounded on the back of his hand, as he had been before within. The two combatants, ſeeing Mr Howell's face beſmeared with blood by heaving up his wounded hand, left fighting at once, and ran to embrace him, and having ſearched his hurts, they bound up his hand with one of his garters to cloſe the veins, which were cut and bled abundantly. They brought him home, and ſent for a ſurgeon, but this being heard at Court, the King ſent one of his own ſurgeons, for his Majeſty much affected the ſaid Mr Howell.

'It was my chance to be lodged hard by him, and four or five days after, as I was making myſelf ready, he came to my houſe, and prayed me to view his wounds, for I underſtand, ſaid he, that you have extraordinary remedies upon ſuch occaſions, and my ſurgeons are apprehenſive that it might grow to a gangrene, and ſo the hand muſt be cut off. In effect, his countenance diſcovered that he was in much pain, which he ſaid was inſupportable, in regard of the extreme inflammation. I told him I would willingly ſerve him, but if haply he knew the manner how I would cure him, without touching or ſeeing him, it may be he would not expoſe himſelf to my manner of curing, becauſe he would think it, perhaps, either ineffectual or ſuperſtitious. He replied, that the wonderful things which many have related unto me of your way of curing, make me nothing at all doubt of it's efficacy. I aſked him then for any thing that had the blood upon it, ſo he preſently ſent for his garter wherewith his hand was firſt bound, and having called for a baſon of water, as if I would waſh my hands, I took a handful of powder of vitriol which I had in my ſtudy, and preſently diſſolved it. As ſoon as the bloody garter was brought me, I put it within the baſon, obſerving in the mean while what Mr Howell did, who ſtood talking with a gentleman in a corner of my chamber, not regarding at all what I was doing, but he ſtarted ſuddenly, as if he had found ſome ſtrange alteration in himſelf. I aſked him What he ailed? I know not what ails me, replied he, but I find that I feel no more pain; methinks that a pleaſing kind of freſhneſs, as if a wet cold napkin did ſpread over my hand, has taken away the inflammation that tormented me before. I anſwered, ſince you feel already ſo good an effect of my medicament, I adviſe you to caſt away all your plaiſters, only keep the wound clean, and in a moderate temper betwixt heat and cold. This was preſently reported to the Duke of Buckingham, and a little after to the King, who were both very curious to know the circumſtance of the buſineſs, which was, that after dinner I took the garter out of the water, and put it to dry before a great fire. It was ſcarce dry but Mr Howell's ſervant came running, that his maſter felt as much burning as ever he had done, if not more, for the heat was ſuch, as if his hand were betwixt coals of fire; I anſwered that though that had happened at preſent, yet he ſhould find eaſe in a ſhort time, for I knew the reaſon of this accident, and I would provide accordingly, for his maſter ſhould be free from that inflammation, it may be before he could poſſibly return unto him, but in caſe he found no eaſe, I wiſhed him to come preſently back again; if not he might forbear coming. Thereupon he went, and at the inſtant I did put again the garter into the water, he found his maſter without any pain at all.

'King James, who had received a punctual information of what had happened, would fain know how it was done. I readily told him what the author, of whom I had the ſecret, ſaid to the Great Duke of Tuſcany on the like occaſion: it was a religious Carmelite, who came from the Indies and Perſia to Florence, he had alſo been in China, and having done many ſtrange cures with his powder, after his arrival in Tuſcany, the Duke ſaid he would be very glad to learn it of him. The Carmelite anſwered, that it was a ſecret he had learnt in the Oriental parts, and he thought there was not any perſon in Europe who knew it but himſelf, and that it deſerved not to be divulged, which could not be done if his Highneſs meddled with the practice of it, becauſe he was not likely to do it with his own hand, but muſt truſt a ſurgeon, or ſome other ſervant, ſo that in a ſhort time divers others would come to know it as well as himſelf. But a few months after, I had an opportunity to do an important curteſy to the ſaid Fryar, which induced him to diſcover unto me his ſecret, and the ſame year he returned to Perſia, ſo that now there is no other knows this ſecret in Europe but myſelf. The King replied, that I need not be apprehenſive that he would diſcover any thing, for he would not truſt any body in the world to make experience of his ſecret, but that he would do it with his own hands, and therefore deſired ſome of the powder, which I delivered, inſtructing him in all the circumſtances, whereupon his Majeſty made ſundry proofs, whence he received ſingular ſatisfaction.'

If any inquiſitive reader ſhould demand, whether the Lord Bacon ever publiſhed this account or not, the anſwer muſt certainly be in the negative, and yet no inference can be fairly drawn from thence to the prejudice of Sir Kenelme Digby's relation, firſt, becauſe that noble Philoſopher never publiſhed his Appendix to his Natural Hiſtory, and next, becauſe in that very work, he has given us of his own knowledge, and indeed as to his own perſon, a relation to the full as ſtrong as this, though of another kind (13). He tells us he had a wart from his childhood upon one of his fingers, and that being at Paris when he was about ſixteen years old,

(12) Extract from Sir Kenelme Digby's diſcourſe upon the ſympathetick powder.

(13) Bacon's Natural Hiſtory, century 10. No. 997, 998.

James, he made as great a figure in the new Court, though he was not remarkable for paying his homage to the great favourite. He became, notwithſtanding, a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, a Commiſſioner of the Navy, and a Governor of Trinity-Houſe (*k*); which employments, if they added but little to the weight of his purſe, ſerved however to heighten his reputation. Some diſputes having happened with the Venetians in the Mediterranean, by which the Engliſh trade ſuffered, as well as by the depredations committed by the Algerines, Sir Kenelme Digby ſailed with a ſmall ſquadron thither in the ſummer of 1628, took ſeveral armed veſſels belonging to the Infidels, ſetting the Engliſh ſlaves that were on board at liberty; and, on the 16th of June, having gained a conſiderable victory with a very inferior force, he likewiſe brought the Venetians to reaſon; ſo that as he left England with a very high character as a Scholar, he returned to it with no leſs credit as a gallant Soldier, and a wiſe Commander (*l*). After his coming back to England, his antient friend, and director of his ſtudies, Mr Thomas Allen, of Glouceſter-Hall, died there, full of years and reputation, having collected an excellent library of manuſcripts as well as printed books, many of which laſt he rendered as valuable as the firſt, by inſerting his learned notes in their margins; all which, as a teſtimony of his affection and eſteem for his eminent abilities, he beſtowed, by his will, upon Sir Kenelme Digby (*m*). This was in the year 1632, and Sir Kenelme, conſidering the great value of the manuſcripts, how much they were eſteemed in the Univerſity, and how ſerviceable they might prove to ſuch as conſecrated the greateſt part of their time to their ſtudies, moſt generouſly beſtowed them, the very next year, upon the Bodleian Library (*n*). Sir Kenelme continued, to this time, a Member of the Church of England, but going ſome time afterwards into France, he began to have ſome religious ſcruples, occaſioned, as it is ſuppoſed, by the vigorous ſollicitations of ſeveral zealous Eccleſiaſticks of the firſt rank; and having applied himſelf, for about two years, to the peruſal of books of controverſy, though, as he himſelf confeſſed, all of the ſame ſide, he, at length, changed his ſentiments, and, in 1636, reconciled himſelf to the Church of Rome (*o*); which, as it gave very great uneaſineſs to his friends in England, ſo to none more than to Archbiſhop Laud, who had borne him for many years a very particular affection (*p*). This occaſioned his writing to that Prelate a very large apology for his conduct, who returned him a very ample anſwer, full of tenderneſs and good advice, which is ſtill extant, and does great honour to the Archbiſhop's memory (*q*) [*C*]. His Grace had very little hopes that theſe admonitions would operate on the mind of Sir Kenelme Digby, which was certainly carried

(*k*) See the article of DIGBY (Sir (KENELME) in Bayle.

(*l*) Sir Kenelme's letter on this ſubject. Johnſon's Underwoods, p. 243. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 351.

(*m*) See the article of ALLEN (THOMAS). Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 351.

(*n*) See the preface to the catalogue.

(*o*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 351.

(*p*) Sir Kenelme, apprehenſive of this, wrote to that Prelate very early, to give him an account of it.

(*q*) Wharton's Troubles and Trial of Archbiſhop Laud, Vol. I. p. 610.

old, he had a great number of warts that broke out on both hands in a month's time, upon which the Engliſh Ambaſſador's Lady cauſed them to be rubbed with a piece of bacon with the rine on, which ſhe nailed upon the poſt of her window, which looked to the ſouth, and the conſequence of that was, that in the ſpace of five weeks all the warts died away, and amongſt them that which he had for ſeveral years. His Lordſhip likewiſe gives the receipt for making the weapon ſalve in the ſame place, upon which he makes ſeveral very judicious remarks.

The celebrated Mr Bayle, in a letter of his dated March 27, 1697, has the following paſſage, which may prove acceptable to the curious reader (14). ‘ It is ſome time ago that I mentioned to you a Phyſician in Friezeland, who has performed ſeveral cures ‘ without giving any thing to his patients. He contents himſelf with mingling with their urine ſomewhat, which, as the malady requires, either ſweats, ‘ vomits, or purges. He continues this practice, and ‘ I am told he was domeſtick to a certain great Lord of ‘ Italy, who was ſent for to the Court of Vienna to ‘ cure the Emperor, which he actually did. This man ‘ diſcovered his maſter's ſecret and has ſet up for himſelf. Yet he is not the only one who poſſeſſes it, ‘ for there are three others who purſue this practice as ‘ well as he; one is at Leyden, another at Antwerp, ‘ and another has been here in this city of Rotterdam ‘ for two or three months. He has been but lately in ‘ any degree of credit. His houſe is at preſent like ‘ the pool of Betheſda, all who are diſeaſed run thither. ‘ It is certain that he has cured ſome, and that he has ‘ ſweated a great many. The Phyſicians cry out againſt him with the utmoſt fury, and, as there are ‘ more in this country than in any other, who are apt ‘ to deny as impoſſible whatever they do not comprehend, ſo there are numbers who join in the ſame ‘ outcry with the Phyſicians. But not being able to ‘ deny the fact that many have been ſweated, they attribute this to a prepoſſeſſed imagination. For my ‘ own part I cannot think it impoſſible, phyſically ‘ ſpeaking, that a man ſhould be made to ſweat by ‘ having ſomething put into his urine.’ There was a German Phyſician, who, in the year 1700, undertook to cure diſeaſes in the ſame manner here in England (15).

[*C*] *And does great honour to the Archbiſhop's memory.*] This letter is dated from Lambeth, March 27, 1636. It is very large and full, written, not in decent terms only, but with great delicacy; ſome part of it the reader will expect to ſee, and we will give him what m[illegible] concerns the perſonal hiſtory of this gentleman (16). ‘ Whereas you ſay that you have returned ‘ into that communion, who, from your birth, had ‘ right of poſſeſſion in you, and therefore ought to ‘ continue it, unleſs clear and evident proof (which you ‘ ſay ſurely cannot be found) ſhould have evicted ‘ you from it. Truly, Sir, I think this had been ‘ ſpoken with more advantage to you and your cauſe ‘ before your adhering to the Church of England than ‘ now; for then right of poſſeſſion could not have been ‘ thought little. But now, ſince you deſerted that ‘ communion, either you did it upon clear and evident ‘ proof, or upon apparent only. If you did it then ‘ upon clear and evident proof, Why ſay you now no ‘ ſuch can be found? If you did it but upon apparent ‘ and ſeeming proof, a ſemblance of very good reaſon ‘ (as yourſelf calls it) why did you then come off from ‘ that communion till your proof were clear and evident? And why may not that which now ſeems ‘ clear and evident be but apparent, as well as that ‘ which then ſeemed clear unto you, be but ſemblance ‘ now? Nor would I have you ſay, that clear and ‘ evident proof cannot be found; for a man in this ‘ caſe of religion, to forego the communion which ‘ had right of poſſeſſion in him from his birth: for the ‘ propoſition is an univerſal negative, and of hard proof. ‘ And therefore, though I think I know you and your ‘ judgment ſo well, that I may not, without manifeſt ‘ wrong, charge you that you did in this great action, ‘ and ſo nearly concerning you, *ad pauca reſpicere*, ‘ which our great maſter tells us breeds facile and eaſy, ‘ rather than ſafe and warrantable, determinations; ‘ yet it will lie upon you not only in honour without, ‘ but alſo in conſcience within, to be able to aſſure ‘ yourſelf, that you did *ad plurima*, if not *ad omnia* ‘ *reſpicere*. The thing being ſo weighty in itſelf, and ‘ the miſerable diviſion of Chriſtendom (never ſufficiently

(14) Oeuvres de Bayle, Tom. IV. p. 735.

(15) Oeuvres de St Evremond, Amſterd. 1726. Tom. V. p. 348.

(16) Wharton's Troubles and Trial of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 610.

ried away with that veneration which he thought due to the faith of his anceſtors, and for which his father was underſtood to have died a martyr; and, perhaps, he was alſo influenced by that praiſe which he received from all ſides, upon the ſubject of his converſion (r). At leaſt this is certain, that, to ſhew at once his parts and his ſincerity, he wrote very eagerly in defence of his new, or rather old religion, that the world might take notice he was a thorough convert, and that it might ſeem he had done nothing precipitately, or without due conſideration (s). Theſe works of his were ſeveral times printed [D], After a long ſtay in France, where he was highly careſſed, he came over to

ciently to be lamented) making the doubt ſo great, that you who have been on both ſides, muſt needs lie under the diſpute of both ſides, whether this laſt act of your's be not in you rather a relapſe into a former ſickneſs, than a recovery from a former fall.

‘But againſt this, the temper of your mind (you ſay) arms you againſt all cenſures, no ſlight air of reputation being able to move you. In this I muſt needs ſay you are happy: for he that can be moved from himſelf by the changeable breath of mens lives, more out of than in himſelf, and which is a miſery beyond all expreſſion, muſt in doubts go to other men for reſolution, not to himſelf; as if he had no ſoul within him. But yet *poſt conſcientiam fama*, and though I would not deſire to live by reputation, yet I would leave no good means untried, rather than live without it. And how far you have brought yourſelf in queſtion, which of theſe two, conſcience or reputation, you have ſhaken by this double change, I leave yourſelf to judge, becauſe you ſay your firſt was with a ſemblance of very good reaſon. And though you ſay again that it now appears you were then miſled, yet you will have much ado to make the world think ſo.

‘The way you took in concealing this your reſolution, of returning into that communion, and the reaſons which you give, why you ſo privately carried it here, I cannot but approve. They are full of all ingenuity, tender and civil reſpects, fitted to avoid diſcontent in your friends, and ſcandal that might be taken by others, or contumely that might be returned upon yourſelf. And as are theſe reaſons, ſo is the whole frame of your letter (ſetting aſide that I cannot concur in judgment) full of diſcretion and temper, and ſo like yourſelf, that I cannot but love even that which I diſlike in it. And though I ſhall never be other than that I have been to the worth of Sir Kenelme Digby, yet moſt heartily ſorry I am, that a man, whoſe diſcourſe did ſo much content me, ſhould thus ſlide away from me before I had ſo much as ſuſpicion to awaken me, and ſuggeſt that he was going. Had you put me into a diſpenſation, and communicated your thoughts to me before they had grown up into reſolutions, I am a Prieſt, and would have put on what ſecrecy you ſhould have commanded. A little knowledge I have, (God knows a little) I would have ventured it with you in that ſerious debate you have had with yourſelf. I have ever honoured you ſince I knew your worth, and I would have done all offices of a friend to keep you nearer than now you are. But, ſince you are gone, and ſettled another way, before you would let me know it, I know not now what to ſay to a man of judgment, and ſo reſolved, For to what end ſhould I treat, when a reſolution is ſet already? ſo ſet, as that you ſay no clear and evident proof can be found againſt it: nor can I tell how to preſs ſuch a man as you to ring the changes in Religion. In your power it was not to change; in mine it is not to make you change again. Therefore, to the moderation of your own heart, under the grace of God, I muſt and do now leave you for matter of Religion, but retaining ſtill with me, and entirely, all the love and friendlineſs which your worth won from me, well knowing that all differences in opinion ſhake not the foundations of Religion.

‘Now to your poſtſcript, and then I have done. That I am the firſt, and the only perſon, to whom you have written thus freely: I thank you heartily for it. For I cannot conceive any thing thereby, but your great reſpect to me, which hath abundantly ſpread itſelf all over your letter. And had you written this to me with a reſtraint of making it further known, I ſhould have performed that truſt: but ſince you have ſubmitted to me, what further knowledge of it I ſhall think fit to give to any other perſon, I have, as I took myſelf bound, acquainted his Majeſty with it, who gave a great deal of very good expreſſion concerning you, and is not a little ſorry to loſe the ſervice of ſo able a ſubject. I have likewiſe made it known in private to Mr Secretary Cooke, who was as confident of you as myſelf. I could hardly believe your own letters, and he as hardly my relation. To my Secretary I muſt needs truſt it, having not time to write it again out of my ſcribbled copy; but I dare truſt the ſecrecy in which I have bound him. To others I am ſilent, and ſhall ſo continue, till the thing open itſelf; and I ſhall do it out of reaſons very like to thoſe which you give, why yourſelf would not divulge it here. In the laſt place, you promiſe yourſelf that the condition you are in will not hinder me from continuing to be the beſt friend you have. To this I can ſay no more, than that I could never arrogate to myſelf to be your beſt friend, but a poor, yet reſpective, friend of your's I have been ever ſince I knew you: and it is not your change that can change me, who never yet left but where I was firſt forſaken, and not always there.’

[*D*] *Theſe works of his were ſeveral times printed.*] There is nothing more common, than for perſons, who have thought fit to alter their choice as to a religious ſyſtem, to vindicate this conduct of theirs by writing, and the higher their ſtation, the greater their character, the more extenſive their reputation, ſo much the more neceſſary works of this kind are thought, and, without queſtion, ſo much the more difficult they are found. Our author had exhibited the beſt excuſes in his power to make, and, very probably, in the beſt dreſs, to his Grace of Canterbury; and how theſe were received, as well as what the nature of them might be, we may eaſily conjecture from the preceding note. As to thoſe pieces which are to be the ſubject of this, their titles are theſe:

I. *A Conference with a* Lady *about* Choice *of* Religion. *Paris* 1638. *Lond.* 1654. 8*vo*. This was a piece written in an eaſy, polite, and conciſe ſtile, in which it's author was peculiarly happy; his principal aim was to ſecure a general approbation of his conduct, by keeping to ſuch arguments as ſuited beſt with common underſtandings; and, at the ſame time, inſinuated, that, in the choice of a religion, an uninterrupted authority of the ſafety of ſalvation, in any communion, was of high importance, and that, with regard to ſpeculative points, liberty of opinion was not precluded. Dr Twiſſe, one of the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter, wrote an anſwer to this treatiſe, which was never publiſhed.

II. *Letters between the Lord* George Digby *and Sir* Kenelme Digby, *Knight, concerning* Religion. *Lond.* 1651. 8*vo*. Theſe letters, though printed thirteen years after, were written at the time which we have aſſigned them. The firſt, from Lord Digby to Sir Kenelme Digby, is dated November 2d, 1638, from Sherborne; and therein his Lordſhip attacks the authority of the Fathers with reſpect to Articles of Faith, in which he ſhews, that though Proteſtants, as well as Papiſts, frequently appeal to them in points where they think their judgments agreeable to their own doctrines, yet in others, where they differ from them, they are rejected by both; whence he infers, their authority can be deciſive to neither. Sir Kenelme Digby, in his anſwer, dated at London, December 6th, 1638, takes a great deal of pains to apologize for the Fathers, and diſtinguiſhes between their ſentiments as to Articles of Faith, and ſuch points of doctrine in which, without prejudice to the Church, freedom of opinion may be allowed. As to the firſt he will have their authority deciſive, to England, and was very well received by the Queen, who, in the year 1638, employed him, and Mr Walter Mountague, in the management of an affair, that afterwards made a very great noiſe (t). The King was, at that time, preparing for a war with the Scots, of which we have elſewhere given the reader ſome account (u); and his ſituation, at that time, was ſuch, as induced him to aſk, as well as to accept, the aſſiſtance of ſuch of his ſubjects as were able and willing to ſupply him with money. The Nobility led the way, and the Clergy of the Church of England contributed, in a manner, proportionable rather to their zeal than to their intereſt (w). The Queen taking notice of this, and being very deſirous that thoſe of her religion ſhould not appear deficient in loyalty at ſuch a juncture, prevailed upon the two Gentlemen before-mentioned to write a kind of circular letter to thoſe of the Romiſh perſwaſion throughout the kingdom, in ſupport of one of her own, to excite their liberality at this ſeaſon (x). Theſe endeavours were attended with very conſiderable effects, which, however, ought undoubtedly to be attributed to principles of honour rather than any thing elſe; for we have very good authority to prove, that this proceeding was ill reliſhed at Rome, from whence inſtructions were ſpeedily ſent, to caſt a damp upon the loyalty of the Engliſh Papiſts (y) [E]. In the month of January 1640, the Houſe of Commons ſent for Sir Kenelme Digby, in order to know how far, and upon what grounds, he had acted in this matter, which he opened to them very clearly (z); and the Queen herſelf alſo ſent a meſſage to the Houſe, in which ſhe ſtated her own concern in the matter, and the motives for her conduct; with which the Houſe was, or at leaſt ſeemed to be, ſatisfied (a). Yet upon an addreſs, that his Majeſty would remove ſuch as were of the Popiſh Religion from Court, and more eſpecially from his royal preſence, Sir Kenelme Digby and Mr Walter Mountague were particularly named, and felt the effects of it (b). Upon the breaking out of the Civil War, Sir Kenelme Digby remaining at London, was, by the Parliament, committed priſoner to Wincheſter-Houſe (c), where, however, he was treated with great reſpect, was viſited by men of all parties, and ſome amongſt them of the firſt diſtinction (d). At length, in the year 1643, her

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(r) This appears from ſeveral paſſages in thoſe pieces of his, as well as from the great influence he had afterwards amongſt the Papiſts.

(s) Of which he ſpoke much in his letter to Archbiſhop Laud.

decisive, though not as to the ſecond Lord Digby, in his anſwer, dated at Sherborne March 29th, 1639, returns to the charge with great ſtrength of reaſoning. He ſhews, that rejecting ſuch a deciſive authority in the Fathers, does by no means infer a diſreſpect of them; and profeſſes, that though he cannot ground his faith preciſely upon what they deliver, he nevertheleſs believes them to have been ſincerely pious and excellent perſons. He obſerves, that, if ſuch an authority was due to them, as is contended for, it muſt be chiefly attributed to thoſe of the earlieſt ages; and that, with reſpect to the Fathers of the firſt three centuries, there are great diſputes about the genuineneſs of the writings aſcribed to them, and a doubtful rule can be no rule at all. He inſiſts farther, that their authority cannot be deciſive, becauſe ſometimes they contradict each other, ſometimes they are inconſiſtent with themſelves, ſometimes they teach what is not either received by Proteſtants or Papiſts, and ſometimes they ſhew a manifeſt want of ability in handling thoſe ſubjects of which they treat. In theſe letters there is great civility expreſſed on both ſides, inſomuch, that few controverſies have been managed with ſo little acrimony; which, after all, is the higheſt commendation that can be beſtowed upon them, ſince the matters to which they relate had been as juſtly and as concluſively debated, by other as able writers, long before.

[E] *Upon the loyalty of the Engliſh Papiſts.*] We have, in as conciſe terms as poſſible, repreſented the matter of fact clearly in the text; from whence it appears, that the Queen was the firſt mover in this affair. She ſays in her letter, that ſhe had ventured to anſwer for the zeal of the Catholicks, and that, after ſollicitng ſo often in their favour, ſhe was deſirous of preſenting his Majeſty with ſome marks of their gratitude (17). For the management of this affair, an aſſembly was called at London, of the principal perſons of that perſwaſion, in which Signior Con, the Pope's Nuncio to the Queen, preſided, by which aſſembly the Queen's propoſal was embraced and recommended, and, upon the letters of Digby and Mountague, treaſurers were appointed in the ſeveral counties to collect this contribution, which amounted to upward of twenty thouſand pounds (18). As this money was intended for the ſupport of an army raiſed againſt the Scots, who, under pretence of religious diſputes, but in reality excited by emiſſaries from France, were in arms againſt the King, it is a point of ſome importance to know what the ſentiments were of the Court of Rome in a caſe of this nature; and theſe are preſerved to us in the following paper (19).

A Letter from the Pope *to his* Nuncio *in* England *at the beginning of the* War *with* Scotland, *but badly tranſlated.*

'You are to command the Catholicks of England 'in general, that they ſuddenly deſiſt from making 'ſuch offers of men, towards this northern expedition, 'as we hear they have done, little to the advantage of 'their diſcretion. And likewiſe it is requiſite, con'ſidering the penalty already impoſed, that they be 'not too forward with money, more than what law 'and duty enjoins them to pay, without any innova'tion at all, or view of making themſelves rather 'weaker pillars of the kingdom than they were be'fore.

'Inform the Provincials of every order, that it is 'expreſly prohibited no more aſſemblies (of what na'ture ſoever) ſhall admit of the Laity to have either 'voice or ſeſſion in it, being what will be urged for a 'precedent, *tho' it* is but only an uſurpation.

'Declare unto the beſt of the Peers and Gentlemen, 'by word of mouth or letter, that they ought not to 'expreſs any averſeneſs, in caſe the High Court of 'Parliament be called, nor ſhew any diſcontent at the 'acts which do not point-blank aim at religion, being, 'in general, the moſt fundamental law of that king'dom.

'Adviſe the Clergy to deſiſt from that fooliſh, nay, 'rather, illiterate and childiſh cuſtom of diſtinction in 'the Proteſtant and Puritan Doctrine. And, eſpecial'ly, this error is ſo much the greater, when they un'dertake to prove, that Proteſtaniſm is a degree nearer 'the Catholick Faith than the other: for, ſince both 'of them be without the verge of the Church, it's 'needleſs hypocriſy to ſpeak of it, yea, it begets more 'malice than 'tis worth.

'That the Provincials are herein required to give a 'general warning, throughout all orders, that no reli'gious perſon ought to be ſeduced (by any Noblemen, 'either Officers of the Crown, or the like, who pre'tend to be eciſmatick) into a præmunire. For he 'that dares not follow the truth as his conſcience di'rects him, is not worthy to be ſought or followed by 'any of our faith. But, on the other ſide, we give 'the like command, that whoſoever is thought inclin'ing to God in his heart, let no man be ſo raſh to 'boaſt and ſpeak it abroad.

'All buſy enquiries are forbidden, but eſpecially in'to arcana's of State.

'That none of the Church, whether Lay-Brother 'or Eccleſiaſtick, contribute ſo largely as they have 'done her Majeſty the Queen-Dowager of France having vouchſafed to write a letter, with her own hand, in favour of Sir Kenelme, and to procure his liberty, it was granted upon certain terms (*e*), and a very reſpectful letter written in anſwer to that of the Queen upon this ſubject (*f*) [*F*]. Before he quitted the kingdom, however, he was ſummoned before a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, in order to give an account of any knowledge he might have of tranſactions between Archbiſhop Laud and the Court of Rome, and particularly as to an offer ſuppoſed to be made to that Prelate from thence of a Cardinal's Hat; Sir Kenelme Digby aſſured the Committee, that he knew nothing of any ſuch tranſactions, and that, in his judgment, the Archbiſhop was what he ſeemed to be, a very ſincere and learned Proteſtant (*g*); of all which he took care that his Grace ſhould be informed, as well as that his enemies were very ſollicitous to diſcover any thing that might fix an imputation of that ſort upon his conduct (*h*). We may eaſily conceive, that a perſon of Sir Kenelme Digby's ſtudious and philoſophick genius, could not be altogether idle even while under confinement, but that his thoughts would be ſometimes employed upon thoſe ſublime and important topicks which had formerly furniſhed matter for his meditations; and accordingly we find, that, during his reſidence in Wincheſter-Houſe, he compoſed two pieces at leaſt, that ſoon after ſtole abroad into the world, and kept alive that fame which their author had acquired in better times. Theſe two pieces regard the works of others, and may be juſtly eſteemed judicious criticiſms, as well as very learned philoſophical diſſertations [*G*]. His appearance at the Court of France, to return thanks to the Queen-Mother, for her gracious interpoſition in his favour, was highly acceptable to many of the learned in that kingdom, who had a very high opinion of his abilities, and were charmed with the life and freedom of his converſation, which is, on all hands, allowed to have been very agreeable, notwithſtanding that ſpirit of envy which purſued him living, and which has not ceaſed to perſecute his memory ſince his death (*i*). It is highly probable, that, about this time, having heard ſo much of the fame of Des Cartes, he reſolved to go and pay him a viſit at Egmond, the place he had choſen for his retreat, where he accordingly found him, and had a converſation with him upon a very remarkable ſubject (*k*); and though he did not declare to that Philoſopher who he was, yet Des Cartes

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(t) Whitelock's Memorial, p. 32. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 141.

(u) In the article DEVEREUX (ROBERT) II. Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. P. ii. p. 821.

(w) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. I. p. 818.

(x) Sanderſon's Hiſtory of the Reign of Charles the Firſt, p. 247. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 141.

(y) See what is delivered on this head in Ruſhworth.

(z) Publick Intelligence. Lond. 1640. 4to.

(a) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. I. p. 823.

(b) See the Commons Addreſs.

(c) This appears from his letters dated from thence.

(d) Which created great jealouſies.

(17) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. I. p. 818.

(18) Sir Kenelme Digby affirmed this when examined before the Houſe of Commons in 1640.

(19) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. I. p. 821.

(*e*) Archbiſhop Laud's Hiſt. of his own troubles, Aug. 3. 1643.

(*f*) See that letter in the note.

(*g*) Wharton's Troubles and Trial of Archbiſhop Laud, Vol. I. p. 209.

(*h*) The perſon employed was Mr Edward Lenthorpe.

(*i*) As appears from the writings of Roſs, Stubbes, &c.

(*k*) Des Maizeaux's Life of M. St Evremond, p. 41.

'done to the ſociety, but diſpoſe their charity that 'every order may partake alike.'

[*F*] *Upon this ſubject.*] Mr Wood tells us, that Sir Kenelme Digby was very active for the King in the beginning of the Civil Wars (20); but it is moſt probable, that he was prevented from being active, ſince it is very evident that he was committed to Wincheſter-Houſe about the time it broke out, and continued in that confinement till he was diſcharged in the manner mentioned in the text. Mr Hearne has preſerved the copy of a letter directed to the Queen-Regent of France, in the language of that country, a tranſlation of which follows (21).

Madam,

'The two Houſes of Parliament having been informed, by the Sieur de Greſſy, of the deſire your 'Majeſty has, that we ſhould ſet at liberty Sir Kenelme Digby; we are commanded to make known 'to your Majeſty, that although the religion, the paſt 'behaviour, and the abilities of this Gentleman, might 'give juſt umbrage of his practiſing to the prejudice of 'the conſtitutions of this realm; nevertheleſs, having 'ſo great regard to the recommendation of your Majeſty, they have ordered him to be diſcharged, and 'have authorized us farther to aſſure your Majeſty, of 'their being always ready to teſtify to you their reſpects upon every occaſion, as well as to advance 'whatever may regard the good correſpondence between the two States. We remain,

Your Majeſty's

Moſt humble ſervants, *&c.*

By whom this letter was to be ſent does not appear, but, moſt probably, by the Committee to whom this matter was referred. In regard to the terms upon which this Gentleman was ſet at liberty, they will ſufficiently appear from the following paper, entirely written with, as well as ſubſcribed by, his own hand.

'Whereas upon the mediation of her Majeſty the 'Queen of France, it hath pleaſed both Houſes of 'Parliament to permit me to go into that kingdom; 'in humble acknowledgment of their favour therein, 'and to preſerve and confirm a good opinion of my 'zeal and honeſt intentions to the honour and ſervice 'of my country, I do here, upon the faith of a 'Chriſtian, and the word of a Gentleman, proteſt and 'promiſe, that I will, neither directly nor indirectly, 'negotiate, promote, conſent unto, or conceal, any 'practice or deſign, prejudicial to the honour or the 'ſafety of the Parliament. And, in witneſs of my 'reality herein, I have hereunto ſubſcribed my name, 'this 3d day of Auguſt, 1643.

'KENELME DIGBY.'

[*G*] *As well as very learned philoſophical diſſertations.*] Both were written in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, and are ſo full of deep learning, that the reader cannot help allowing there muſt have been prodigious ſtore in that magazine, which could furniſh ſuch variety and choice upon ſuch ſudden occaſions.

III. *Obſervations upon* Religio Medici, *occaſionally written by Sir* Kenelme Digby, *Knt.* Lond. 1643, 8*vo.* Theſe obſervations, digeſted into the form of a letter, were written in the night between the 22d and 23d of December, 1642, and addreſſed to Edward Earl of Dorſet, Sir Kenelme's great friend and patron, and who was a very great admirer of that famous piece written by the ingenious Dr Brown. Whoever peruſes theſe obſervations carefully, will diſcern that Sir Kenelme Digby was not either ſo credulous, or ſo ſuperſtitious a man as ſome have repreſented him, and tho' there are many crude and haſty cenſures in that letter, yet there are alſo ſome very ſtrong and ſenſible meditations upon very uncommon ſubjects.

IV. *Obſervations on the 22d ſtanza, in the ninth canto of the 2d book of Spenſer's Fairy Queen.* Lond. 1644, 8*vo.* This likewiſe was a letter to Sir Edward Stradling, written haſtily, and containing a very deep philoſophical commentary upon the moſt myſterious verſes that ever fell from the pen of their learned author, and which are thought to have been admirably explained in this diſcourſe. Beyond all doubt, if Sir Kenelme Digby has reached the ſenſe of his author, it does very high honour to Mr Spenſer, and might kindle a ſpirit of emulation in ſuch as read his excellent writings with delight, to attempt ſomething of the ſame kind with reſpect to other obſcure paſſages, which, cleared up in the ſame manner, would not fail of being very acceptable to the literary world.

(20) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 352.

(21) Walteri Hemingford Chronicon, p. 581.

[*G*] *Which*

Cartes preſently diſcovered him by his diſcourſe, which is a circumſtance worthy of notice [H]. Our author is alſo reported to have had many conferences with him after at Paris (l), where he ſpent the beſt part of the enſuing year in a cloſe application to his ſtudies, and in frequenting the aſſemblies of the learned in that city, where he was generally well received, and, for the reaſons before aſſigned, greatly admired (m). He had now leiſure to digeſt that Philoſophy which he had been ſo long meditating, and of which he framed a ſyſtem, in two parts, which, in his own language, but with a licence or privilege from the French King, he publiſhed in the following year, and which is regarded by the learned as his principal performance (n). Some have inſinuated, that, in this work of his, he has taken to himſelf the honour of many weighty and curious obſervations which he met with in the writings of his learned and judicious friend Thomas Allen, of Glouceſter-Hall (o); but as never any proof of this was attempted, and as Sir Kenelme Digby, in every thing he penned, had the air of an original writer, this ought, in juſtice, to be conſidered as a very groundleſs ſuggeſtion. We ſhall give the reader a more full account of theſe two parts of his Philoſophy in the notes [I]. After the King's affairs

(l) To which ſome paſſages in his treatiſe on Bodies ſeem to refer.

(m) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col 352.

(n) See the titles, &c. in the note.

(o) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 575. See alſo the article of ALLEN (THOMAS) in the General Dictionary.

[H] *Which is a circumſtance worthy of notice.*] The late very ingenious and knowing M. des Maizeaux, in the life of M. St Evremond, tells us, this gentleman was informed by Sir Kenelme Digby, that, having read the writings of that great Philoſopher Des Cartes, he reſolved to go in perſon to Holland on purpoſe to ſee him (22). He did ſo, and found him in his retirement at Egmond. There that ſtudious and intelligent perſon received and converſed with him as a ſtranger, but after a conſiderable time ſpent in a free and learned diſcourſe upon a great variety of ſubjects, M. Des Cartes, who had ſeen ſome of his works, told him, that he did not doubt but he was the famous Sir Kenelme Digby. And if you Sir, replied the Knight, were not the illuſtrious M. Des Cartes, I ſhould not have come on purpoſe to ſee you. Then Sir Kenelme Digby remarked to the Philoſopher, that our ſpeculative diſcoveries were indeed pretty and agreeable, but that after all they were too uncertain and unprofitable to take up a man's whole thoughts; that life was almoſt too ſhort to attain to the right knowledge of neceſſary things; that it would be much more worthy of him, who ſo well underſtood the frame of the human body, to ſtudy ways and means to prolong it, than to apply himſelf to the barren ſpeculations of Philoſophy. Des Cartes aſſured him that he had already conſidered that matter, and that to render a man immortal was what he would not venture to promiſe, but that he was very ſure it was poſſible to lengthen out his life to the period of the Patriarchs. When Monſ. de St Evremond told M. des Maizeaux this particular, he added, that they were not ignorant in Holland that Des Cartes flattered himſelf he had made this diſcovery, and that he had heard ſeveral perſons talk of it who had known that Philoſopher, that Des Cartes's friends alſo in France knew it, and that Abbot Picot, his diſciple and martyr, being perſuaded that he had found out this great ſecret, would not believe the news of his death, and that when he was aſhamed to doubt of it any longer, he cried, *'tis done and over, the world will ſoon be at an end!*

(22) Des Maizeaux's Life of M. St Evremond, p. 41.

[I] *Of theſe two parts of his Philoſophy in the notes.*] In order to treat the ſubject of this note as clearly and as conciſely as poſſible, we will firſt give the titles of our author's works, then ſome obſervations upon them, next ſhew how they were received, and laſtly, ſpeak of the anſwers that were written to them.

V. *A Treatiſe of the Nature of Bodies.* Paris 1644, fol. printed again at London in 1658, 1665, and 1669, all which editions are in 4*to*, and to the laſt ſome other pieces of his are added.

VI. *A Treatiſe declaring the Operations and Nature of Man's Soul, out of which the Immortality of Reaſonable Souls is evinced.* Paris 1644, fol. printed again at London 1645, 1657, 1669, all in 4*to*, and together with the former treatiſe.

VII. *Inſtitutionum Peripateticarum libri quinque, cum Appendice Theologica de Origine Mundi*, that is, *five books of Peripatetick Inſtitutions, together with a Theological Appendix concerning the Origin of the World.* Paris 1651, fol. This piece is added to the two former, tranſlated into Latin by J. L. together with a preface prefixed in the ſame language, by Thomas Anglus, that is, Thomas White, who alſo tranſlated theſe Peripatetick Inſtitutions into Engliſh.

The author addreſſes the two treatiſes firſt mentioned, which are indeed but the firſt and ſecond parts of the ſame work, to his ſon Kenelme Digby, and his epiſtle to him is dated at Paris, Auguſt 31, 1644, and the French King's privilege at Fontainbleau, the 26th of September in the ſame year. It will appear clearly to ſuch as peruſe theſe pieces, that our author was a man of very deep thought, extenſive learning, and very happy in ſupporting his philoſophick arguments by a very dextrous application of facts. He was entirely addicted to the Corpuſcularian Philoſophy, which for thoſe times he very well underſtood, but his notions being for the moſt part very new, and the relations advanced by him very extraordinary, thoſe who envied him took occaſion from thence to treat him not only with ſeverity but indecency, and better writers having ſucceeded him, have not taken the pains to expoſe this ill uſage, perhaps to prevent the world's taking notice how much they were obliged themſelves to our learned Knight. An inſtance will make all this plain. Our author having explained the ſenſe of ſmelling, and ſhewn why brutes have it in ſo much greater perfection than human creatures, he proceeds thus (23):

(23) Digby on Bodies, p. 310.

‘Without doubt the like uſe men would make of this ſenſe, had they not on the one ſide better means than it to know the qualities of meats: and therefore this is not much reflected upon. And on the other ſide, were they not continually ſtuffed and clogged with groſs vapours of ſteamy meat, which are daily reeking from the table and their ſtomachs, and permit not purer atoms of bodies to be diſcerned, which require clear and uninfected organs to take notice of them. As we ſee it fare with dogs, who have not ſo true and ſenſible noſes when they are high fed, and lie in the kitchen amidſt the ſteams of meat, as when they are kept in their kennel with a more ſpare diet fit for hunting.

‘One full example this age affordeth us in this kind, of a man whoſe extremity of fear wrought upon him to give us this experiment. He was born in ſome village of the country of Liege, and therefore among ſtrangers he is known by the name of John of Liege. I have been informed of this ſtory by ſeveral (whom I dare confidently believe) that have had it from his own mouth, and have queſtioned him with great curioſity particularly about it.

‘When he was a little boy there being wars in the country, as that ſtate is ſeldom without moleſtations from abroad, when they have no diſtempers at home, which is an unſeparable effect of a country's ſituation upon the frontiers of powerful neighbouring Princes that are at variance, the village of which he was, had notice of ſome unruly ſcattered troops that were coming to pillage them, which made all the people of the village flie haſtily, with what they could carry with them, to hide themſelves in the woods, which were ſpacious enough to afford them ſhelter, for they joined upon the foreſt of Ardenne. There they lay till ſome of their ſcouts brought them word that the ſoldiers, of whom they were in ſuch apprehenſion, had fired their town and quitted it. Then all of them returned home excepting this boy, who it ſeemeth being of a very timorous nature, had images of fear ſo ſtrong in his fancy, that firſt he ran farther into the wood than any of the reſt, and afterwards

apprehended

affairs were totally ruined, this Gentleman found himſelf under a neceſſity of returning into England (*p*), in order to compound for his eſtate, as is generally ſaid, tho' another account is given of this journey (*q*); but at what time he came, how long he remained here, or where he reſided, is very uncertain. He met however, during his ſtay, with ſeveral misfortunes, ſtill more ſenſible than that which brought him over. Amongſt theſe we ought to reckon the loſs of his eldeſt ſon Kenelme Digby, Eſq; a young Gentleman of great hopes, with reſpect both to his abilities and his virtues (*r*). He engaged himſelf with the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Peterborough, the Lord Petre, and many other Noblemen and Gentlemen, who, on July 7th, 1648, appeared for the King, under the Earl of Holland, near Kingſton in Surry, but, being attacked before they could well form, were obliged to retire into Huntingdonſhire, where, at St Neot's, they were ſurprized by Colonel Adrian Scroop's regiment of horſe, and, though they made a gallant defence, were totally routed; Colonel Dalbier, who till then had ſerved the Parliament, and is ſaid to have taught Cromwell the art of war, with Mr Digby, being ſlain upon the ſpot (*s*). The Parliament, notwithſtanding Sir Kenelme's compoſition, did not, for reaſons which will be hereafter mentioned, judge it proper that he ſhould remain in England, and therefore not only ordered him to withdraw, but voted if he ſhould afterwards, at any time, return without leave of the Houſe firſt obtained, he ſhould loſe both life and eſtate (*t*). Upon this he went again into France, where he was very kindly received by Queen Henrietta-Maria, Dowager of England, to whom he had been, for ſome time, Chancellor, and was, not long after, ſent into Italy, where he was, at firſt, well received by Pope Innocent X (*u*); but Mr Wood ſays he behaved to him ſo haughtily, that he very

quickly

(*p*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 581.

(*q*) See this fully cleared in note [*L*].

(*r*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 542.

(*s*) See the preface to his father's treatiſe of *Bodies*, addreſſed to him.

(*t*) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 329.

(*u*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 585.

'apprehended that every body he ſaw through the 'thickets, and every voice he heard, was the ſoldiers, 'and ſo hid himſelf from his parents that were in much 'diſtreſs, ſeeking him all about, and calling his name 'as loud as they could. When they had ſpent a day 'or two in vain they returned home without him, and 'he lived many years in the woods, feeding upon 'fruits, and wild roots, and maſt.

'He ſaid that after he had been ſome time in this 'wild habitation, he could by the ſmell judge of the 'taſte of any thing that was to be eaten, and that he 'could at a great diſtance wind by his noſe where 'wholeſome fruits or roots did grow. In this ſtate he 'continued (ſtill ſhunning men with as great fear as 'when he firſt ran away; ſo ſtrong the impreſſion 'was, and ſo little could his little reaſon maſter it) 'until, in a very ſharp winter, that many beaſts of the 'foreſt periſhed for want of food, neceſſity brought 'him to ſo much confidence, that, leaving the wild 'places of the foreſt, remote from all people's dwellings, he would, in the evenings, ſteal among cattle 'that were fothered, eſpecially the ſwine, and among 'them glean that which ſerved to ſuſtain wretchedly 'his miſerable life. He could not do this ſo cunningly, 'but that often returning to it, he was upon a time 'eſpied, and they who ſaw a beaſt of ſo ſtrange a 'ſhape, for ſuch they took him to be, he being naked 'and all overgrown with hair, believing him to be a 'ſatyr, or ſome ſuch prodigious creature as the rencounters of rare accidents tell us of, laid wait to apprehend him. But he that winded them as far off as 'any beaſt could do, ſtill avoided them, till at length 'they laid ſnares for him, and took the wind ſo advantageouſly of him, that they caught him, and then 'ſoon perceived he was a man, though he had quite 'forgotten the uſe of all language, but by his geſtures 'and cries he expreſſed the greateſt affright that 'might be, which afterwards he ſaid (when he learnt 'to ſpeak anew) was becauſe he thought thoſe were 'the ſoldiers he had hidden himſelf to avoid, when he 'firſt betook himſelf to the wood, and were always 'living in his fancy, through his fears continually reducing them thither.

'This man, within a little while after he came to 'good keeping and full feeding, quite loſt that acuteneſs 'of ſmelling which formerly governed him in his taſte, 'and grew to be in that particular as other ordinary 'men were. But at his firſt living with other people, 'a woman that had compaſſion of him, to ſee a man 'ſo near like a beaſt, and that had no language to call 'for what he wiſhed or needed to have, took particular care of him, and was always very ſollicitous to 'ſee him furniſhed with what he wanted; which made 'him ſo apply himſelf unto her in all his occurrents, 'that whenſoever he ſtood in need of ought, if ſhe were 'out of the way and were gone abroad into the fields, 'or to any other village near by, he would hunt her out 'preſently by his ſcent, in ſuch ſort as with us thoſe dogs 'uſe to do which are taught to draw dry foot. I imagine 'he is yet alive, to tell a better ſtory of himſelf than 'I have done, and to confirm what I have here ſaid of 'him; for I have it from them who ſaw him but a few 'years agone, that he was an able ſtrong man, and 'likely to laſt yet a good while longer.

'And of another man I can ſpeak aſſuredly myſelf, 'who being of a very temperate or rather ſpare diet, 'could likewiſe perfectly diſcern by his ſmell the qualities of whatſoever was afterwards to paſs the examination of his taſte, even to his bread and beer. 'Wherefore to conclude, it is evident both by reaſon 'and by experience, that the objects of our touch, our 'taſte, and our ſmell, are material and corporeal 'things, derived from the diviſion of quantity into 'more rare and more denſe parts, and may with eaſe 'be reſolved into their heads and ſprings, ſufficiently 'to content any judicious and rational man.'

The reception given to this work when it firſt appeared, may be collected from this character given of the author by one who wrote in his own time (24), *Sir Kenelme Digby is an ingenious learned gentleman, and an ornament of this nation, as his book of Bodies ſhews.* We might cite many writers of our own, and of the French nation, of the ſame ſtanding, to vouch with equal ſtrength in favour of his reputation; but perhaps it will be ſufficient to take notice of the learned Morhoff, who had conſulted moſt of his writings, cites them often, and ſpeaks of their author with great applauſe (25). The Abbe Vallemont is a great admirer of Sir Kenelme Digby's writing (26), and applauds the ſagacity with which he handles the moſt difficult ſubjects, his penetration in diſcovering the true cauſes why they were difficult, and his perſpicuity in delivering his own notions.

We muſt not however imagine, that Sir Kenelme could make himſelf ſo famous by his writings without meeting ſome degree of cenſure, and in an age ſo full of cavils as that was, of oppoſition; accordingly, we find that he was attacked at home by Alexander Roſs, a voluminous writer, who likewiſe undertook to diſparage the abilities of Dr Hervey and Sir Thomas Brown. The title of his work was,

The Philoſophical Touchſtone, or Obſervations upon Sir Kenelme Digby'*s Diſcourſes of the Nature of Bodies, and of the Reaſonable Soul,* &c. *in which his erroneous Paradoxes are refuted.* Lond. 1645, 4*to*.

He was alſo attacked abroad in a ſmall treatiſe, intituled,

Triumphans Anima, ſive Philoſophica Demonſtratio immortalitatis Animæ. Frank. 1661, 12*mo*. This was publiſhed under the fictitious name of Amandus Verus, which concealed John Chriſoſtom Enggenfield, a very learned Bavarian, J. U. D. concerning whoſe hiſtory the curious reader may meet with ſome circumſtances in the author cited in the margin (27).

[*K*] *We*

(24) Leigh's Religion and Learning, p. 180.

(25) Polyhiſtor. II. 2, 15, 5. II. 2, 3, 6. II. 2, 8, 4. II. 2, 14, 2. II. 2, 32, 3. II. 2, 40, 2. II. 2, 47, 6. II. 2, 48, 1. III. 5, 1, 10.

(26) La phyſique occulte, p. 195.

(27) Vincentii Placcii Theatrum Anonymorum & Pſeudonymorum, P. ii. p. 38.

quickly loſt his good opinion; and adds farther, that there was ſuſpicion of his being no faithful Steward of the contributions raiſed in that part of the world, for the aſſiſtance of the diſtreſſed Catholicks in England (*w*). However that matter might be, it is very certain, that he viſited ſeveral other Courts in Italy, where he was treated with great reſpect, as well on account of his perſonal qualifications, as from the eſteem thoſe Princes had of the Queen his miſtreſs (*x*). But, whether his conduct deſerved thoſe imputations mentioned by Mr Wood, or whether his figure and addreſs were capable of making ſuch impreſſions as another writer mentions, we have not lights ſufficient to determine (*y*) [*K*]. After Cromwell had aſſumed the ſupreme power in this kingdom, Sir Kenelme Digby, who had now nothing to fear from the Long Parliament, ventured to return home (*z*), and continued here a great part of the year 1655, when it is very certain that he was embarked in ſome very great deſign, and, as ſome writers have ſuggeſted, this was, reconciling the Papiſts to the Protector (*a*). This created great jealouſies againſt him on all ſides, and the countenance he received from Cromwell, who is ſaid to have been very much taken with him, produced no ſmall clamour againſt his government (*b*). Whether either of them were ſincere, or whether, like thorough Politicians, each acted a part which ſuited with their intereſts at that juncture, remains doubtful; but that the facts already mentioned are certainly true, and that Mr Wood has not injured Sir Kenelme in his cenſure (*c*), may be proved to the reader's ſatisfaction [*L*]. Beſides all this, after

Sir

[*K*] *We have not lights ſufficient to determine.*] It appears from the original picture of Sir Kenelme Digby ſtill remaining, that though he was a perſon of the largeſt ſize, as indeed his family generally were, yet he was a very well made graceful man; his gallant action at ſea, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, affords us a pregnant proof of his courage, which ſhewed itſelf alſo upon other occaſions; and his writings, which are peculiarly calculated to enliven the drieſt, as well as to enlighten the darkeſt ſubjects, cannot leave us in any doubt as to the faculties of his mind. But that with all theſe high qualities he had his imperfections, who can doubt? Of what nature theſe failings were the reader muſt collect, as well as he can, from Mr Wood's account, which is this (28): ‘He was not only maſter of a good graceful and judicious ſtile, but alſo wrote an admirable hand both faſt and Roman. His perſon was handſome and gigantick, and nothing was wanting to make him a compleat Cavalier. He had ſo graceful elocution and noble addreſs, that had he been dropped out of the clouds into any part of the world, he would have made himſelf reſpected; but the Jeſuits who cared not for him, ſpoke ſpitefully, and ſaid it was true, but then he muſt not ſtay there above ſix weeks. He had a great faculty, which proceeded from abundance of wit and invention, of propoſing and reporting matters to the Virtuoſi, eſpecially to the Philoſophical Aſſembly at Montpellier, and Royal Society at home. Which is the reaſon why many ſay, that as he was moſt exactly accompliſhed with all ſorts of learning, ſo he was guilty withal of extravagant vanities.’ Mr Lloyd (29), who likewiſe wrote when things were freſh in memory, beſtows a better character on our illuſtrious Knight, who he reports of a fluent invention and diſcourſe, as appears from his long diſcourſe at Montpellier in France, and his entertainments of the Ladies of the ſeveral nations he travelled in; of a great faculty in negotiations both at France, Rome, and Florence, and moſt of the ſtates of Italy, of one of the Princes whereof it is reported, that, having no children, he was very willing his wife ſhould bring him a Prince by Sir Kenelme, whom he imagined the juſt meaſure of perfection.

[*L*] *May be proved to the reader's ſatisfaction.*] In the articles relating to our author inſerted in foreign collections, his loyalty to King Charles I, his ſteady attachment to King Charles II, and his averring himſelf to be of the Romiſh religion at the peril of his life, are extolled as ſo many acts of heroiſm (30). As it is our buſineſs to diſcover truth, we are under a neceſſity of obſerving, that this gentleman has no title to theſe praiſes, and that whatever tincture of envy there might be in the cenſures paſſed upon his Philoſophical character, what is ſaid to the prejudice of his political behaviour will admit of no ſuch extenuation. His practices in favour of the Catholicks, with thoſe who murdered King Charles I. began early, as appears from the following paſſages in a letter from the Lord Byron to the Marquis of Ormond (31), dated from Caen in Normandy, March 1, 1649, N. S. ‘In ſome letters from good hands I meet with a particular of great concernment, which I thought fit to advertiſe your Excellency of by this bearer, Major Jamot, who, though a Roman Catholick, yet herein ſo much deteſts their ways, that truly I believe it will alter his opinion. The buſineſs is briefly this: Sir Kenelme Digby, with ſome other Romaniſts, accompanied with one Watſon an Independent, who hath brought them paſſes from Fairfax, is gone for England to join the intereſts of all the Engliſh Papiſts with that bloody party that murdered the King, in the oppoſition and extirpation of monarchical government, or if that government be thought fit, yet that it ſhall be by election, and not by ſucceſſion as formerly provided; that a free exerciſe of the Romiſh religion be granted, and of all other religions whatſoever, excepting that which was eſtabliſhed by law in the Church of England. This deviliſh deſign, which moſt certainly is now ſetting on foot, I doubt may have an ill influence upon Ireland, eſpecially upon O-Neil's party, if not prevented by your vigilance and prudence. Poyntz (my Lord of Worceſter's devil) I hear is a prime actor in it, and it is much ſuſpected that Walſingham, whom your Excellency knows for a pragmatical knave, and I believe comes over in Darcy's frigate, is employed by Sir K. Digby, though pretending ſome other buſineſs. Sir Edward Nicholas either hath, or will write to your Excellency, concerning this particular, and Major Jamot is able to ſay ſomething in it. I am the apter to believe it, becauſe, when I was in England, ſomething to this purpoſe was propounded by the Independent party to the Recuſants.’ This was followed by a letter from Secretary Nicholas, incloſing a letter from Dr Winſtad, a Phyſician of the Romiſh religion at Rouen, dated February 7. 1649, in which he gives the following account of the ſame journey, from his own knowledge (32): ‘Tueſday laſt arrived here Sir Kenelme Digby from Paris, with divers young gentlemen in his company, only there was a wry-necked fellow amongſt them, which Sir Kenelme commended to my acquaintance and care, as being he ſaid in a conſumption, and for that cure had changed the air and came into France, but was now going into England, with an intention to return within ſixteen or twenty days, and then would ſtay here, or go into Languedoc for his health. Feeling his hand and pulſe, I aſſured him that he was in no conſumption nor never had been. Afterwards I perceived that this was but a pretence, and that he was an agent for that accurſed crew, his name Watſon, Scoutmaſter to the rebels. I ſpake freely my mind of the murther, and the judgment that was made here by the French; his anſwer was, that the French abhorred the fact in general. I ſpared no curſes, for I aſſure myſelf it is no ſin to curſe the enemies of God and my King. I aſked Sir Kenelme Digby why he would go now into England, conſidering the abomination of that country; his anſwer was, that he had not any means to ſubſiſt longer, and if he went not now he muſt ſtarve. I anſwered

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(*w*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 352.

(*x*) So it appears from various Letters of a perſon then at Rome.

(*y*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 581.

(*z*) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 263, *a*.

(*a*) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol IV. p. 195.

(*b*) See this largely diſcuſſed in note [*L*].

(*c*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 352.

(28) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 351.

(29) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 582.

(30) See the article of DIGBY (Sir KENELME) in Bayle and Moreri.

(31) Collection of original letters and papers found amongſt thoſe of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 216.

(32) Ibid. p. 220.

Sir Kenelme had left England, and was again in France, we find him not only applying to the government of England, and particularly to Secretary Thurloe, for private favours, but in reſpect to matters of publick concern (d), and on the behalf of the Engliſh Merchants at Calais, who, without doubt, would not have applied to him, if they had not believed his credit with the Protector better than their own. But what ſerves to put this matter entirely out of doubt, is a letter of his, which contains ſuch extraordinary acknowledgments and aſſurances, as renders it every way worthy of the reader's notice (e) [M]. After

(d) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. IV. p. 244.

(e) See the ground of this letter in that laſt referred to. Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. IV. p. 591.

'it was the better choice to die, if he remembered the obligations he had to the Queen-Regent of France, who took him from thoſe that would have deſtroyed him. He anſwered, that the Queen-Regent knew of his going, and that he had the King of France's paſs, and would return again ſuddenly. I next preſt him to ſtay two or three months; he replied, that by that time all his buſineſs would be ſettled. I deſired him not to think to have from thoſe at London any toleration, for that for my part I had rather live in exile all the days of my life, and ſuffer at Tyburn when I came home, than that my publick liberty to ſerve God ſhould ſpring from the bloody murtherers of my Sovereign.' What his thoughts were of the deſign appears likewiſe from his own words: 'The plot as I am told about, which Sir Kenelme Digby (who came a few days ſince to this town) is employed as agent to treat with thoſe horrid rebels, the Independents of England, is for the ſubverſion of ſucceſſive hereditary monarchy there, and to make it elective, and to eſtabliſh Popery there, and to give toleration to all manner of religions, except that of the Church of England according to the practice thereof.' The reader will obſerve that this treaty was with the Independents, and that as ſoon as the Preſbyterian faction recovered power, Sir Kenelme Digby was baniſhed by the Parliament, as an artful, buſy, and dangerous perſon. When Oliver came into power, the ſame deſign of the Papiſts was revived again, for the proſecution of which Sir Kenelme Digby came over in 1655, when he lived here in all the eaſe, freedom, and credit imaginable (33), converſing entirely with thoſe who were favourers of that government, which induced Mr Holles, afterwards Lord Holles, to publiſh a pamphlet, in which he addreſſes himſelf to Cromwell in the following terms (34): 'What liberty the Prieſts and Jeſuits take, how far they prevail on the people, what countenance they receive from this government, is apparent enough by not proceeding againſt them in juſtice, as if no laws were in force for their puniſhment. Your private negotiations with the Pope, and your promiſes, that, as ſoon as you can eſtabliſh your own greatneſs, you will protect the Catholicks, and the inſinuations that you will countenance them much farther, are ſufficiently known and underſtood, and of their dependance upon, and devotion to, you, there needs no evidence beyond the book lately written by Mr White, a Romiſh Prieſt, and dedicated to your favourite Sir Kenelme Digby, entitled, The Grounds of Obedience and Government, in which he juſtifies all the grounds and maxims in your declaration, and determines poſitively, that you ought to be ſo far from performing any promiſe, or obſerving any oath that you have taken, if you know that it is for the good of the people, that you break it. Albeit they foreſeeing all that you now ſee, did therefore bind you by oath not to do it, and that you offend both againſt your oath and fidelity to the people, if you maintain thoſe limitations you are ſworn to, and ſure what you do muſt be ſupported by ſuch Caſuiſts.' This point is ſtill more explicitly handled by Mr Prynne, who tells us of Cromwell (35) 'that Sir Kenelme Digby was his particular favourite, and lodged by him at Whitehall; that Maurice Conry, Provincial of the Franciſcans in England, and other Prieſts, had his protections under hand and ſeal, and that he ſuſpended laws and executions againſt Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits, though ſometimes taken in their pontificalibus at maſs, and were ſoon after releaſed; and that he endeavoured to ſtop the bill againſt Papiſts the very morning he was to paſs it, by his Whitehall inſtruments, who moved it's ſuſpenſion for a time, as not ſuiting with the then preſent foreign correſpondencies, againſt whom it was carried by eighty-eight votes, that it ſhould be ſent up with the reſt then paſſed, and that he writ to Mazarine to excuſe his paſſing that bill, as being carried on by a violent Preſbyterian party, much againſt his will, and that yet it ſhould not hurt them though paſſed, &c.' All theſe teſtimonies taken conjunctly with the letter produced in the next note, are certainly very deciſive, and prove plainly, that Sir Kenelme had preciſely his father's principles, and purſued nothing with ſo much vehemence as the eſtabliſhment of Popery in England, under any government, and upon any terms. It is very ſtrange that this did not ruin him with the Queen-Dowager, but that it did not is very certain, as it likewiſe is, that theſe intrigues were continued to the very laſt hour of our diſturbances, Lambert, who made the final ſtruggle, being a concealed Papiſt, and King Charles II, or at leaſt his Miniſters, ſo thoroughly apprized of theſe points, as to ſend inſtructions to thoſe who managed his affairs in England, to concert nothing with the Papiſts (36), though, as we have ſeen, there might be honeſt men amongſt them, who deteſted thoſe treacherous arts, by which, after the miſcarriage of the powder-treaſon, diſaffection was cunningly ſpread all over England, commotions excited in Scotland, and, by degrees, the body of the Papiſts in Ireland precipitated into a bloody maſſacre, and a moſt unnatural rebellion. As this detail has a near relation to Sir Kenelme Digby's perſonal hiſtory, ſo it opens to our view one of the darkeſt parts of that diſagreeable period of our Hiſtory, in which many people are apt to think that the Papiſts are accuſed rather from prejudice than proof; whereas, in reality, though they muſt be allowed an admirable faculty in mining, yet it would not be at all impoſſible to prove, that, during this ſpace, the Popes and their agents were as active abroad, as Cromwell and his party were indefatigable at home, and both with the like views, though not from the ſame principles; and hence we may eaſily account for Sir Kenelme Digby's great favour and credit with the Protector.

(33) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 263, 264.

(34) A letter from a true and lawful Member of Parliament, &c. Lond. 1656. 4to. p. 58.

(35) True and perfect narrative of what was done, or ſpoken by, and between Mr Prynne, the old and newly forcibly late ſecluded Members, the army Officers, and thoſe now ſitting, both in the common Lobby, Houſe, and elſewhere, on the 7th and 9th of May, &c. Lond. 1659. 4to. p. 57.

(36) Collection of original letters and papers found amongſt thoſe of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 216, 225, 243.

[M] *Every way worthy of the reader's notice.*] This letter ſtands in need of no introduction, ſince it comes directly up to the point mentioned in the text, and is an excellent inſtance of the advantages that may be drawn from ſuch kind of collections, in works of this nature (37).

(37) State Papers, Vol. IV. p. 591.

Sir Kenelme Digby to Secretary Thurloe.

'Right Honourable, Paris, Mar. 18, 1656.

'THE French Ambaſſador taking leave of me yeſterday, told me, that his Secretary at London had, among other things, written to him, that Sir Robert Welſh had ſpoken ſomething to your Honour much to my prejudice, and that ſince ſome letter of a Lady to me had been intercepted, the contents whereof did in ſome ſort make good what he had ſpoken. I believe your Honour hath ſo good information what this woful Knight is, that if there were nothing but the venom that his malicious tongue can ſpit, I ſhould not think it needful to trouble myſelf, much leſs your Honour's more ſerious occaſions, with taking any notice of it. But ſince he hath contrived as I verily believe, ſome better name than his own, to ſeem to juſtify what would have no credence from him, I may not ſit down without beſeeching your Honour, to ſearch the matter to the bottom, and to drive it to the utmoſt. I look upon this as a contriving of his, becauſe forging of letters, and doing treacheries of this kind, hath been his ordinary courſe, and becauſe I am confident that nobody in the world, who hath ſo much familiarity with me as to write to me, but knoweth me ſo well, as to be ſure that whatſoever may be diſliked by my Lord Protector and the Council of State, muſt be deteſted by me. My obligations to his Highneſs are ſo

After ſome ſtay at Paris, he went to ſpend the ſummer of the year 1656 at Toulouſe; and, as he had there the pleaſure of converſing with a great many learned and ingenious men, ſo he frequently entertained them, in his turn, not only with his Mathematical, Phyſical, and Philoſophical Diſcoveries, but with ſuch communications alſo received from his friends in the different parts of Europe, as he thought moſt capable either of extending knowledge, or of creating pleaſure or delight *(f)*. Amongſt theſe was a relation he obtained concerning a petrified city in Africa, which he likewiſe tranſmitted to a friend in England in the month of September, the ſame year, and which very undeſervedly drew upon him a very heavy load of calumny and reproach *(g)* [*N*]. We find him the next year at Montpellier, in the ſouth of France, whither he went, partly for the ſake of his health, which began to be impaired by ſevere fits of the ſtone, and partly for the ſake of enjoying the learned ſociety of ſeveral worthy and ingenious perſons, who had formed themſelves into a kind of academy *(h)* there, and to whom he read his large diſcourſe of the ſympathetick powder, afterwards printed and publiſhed in ſeveral languages, and, at that time, generally well received *(i)* [*O*]. We are indebted to the letters lately publiſhed

(f) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 352.

(g) Stubbes's Animadverſions on the *Plus Ultra* of Glanville, p. 161.

(h) See the advertiſement to the reader before the French tranſlation.

(i) La Phyſique occulte, par M. de Vallemont, p. 195.

ſo great, that it would be a crime in me to behave myſelf ſo negligently as to give cauſe for any ſhadow of the leaſt ſuſpicion, or to do any thing that might require an excuſe or apology. I make it my buſineſs every where, to have all the world take notice how highly I eſteem myſelf obliged to his Highneſs, and how paſſionate I am for his ſervice, and for his honour and intereſts, even to the expoſing of my life for them. If your Honour cannot readily find out the bottom of this villainy plotted againſt me upon notice of ſo much, I will take poſt the next day to return into England (though it may be much to the prejudice of my domeſtick affairs, in my broken eſtate, becauſe my debts are not yet quieted) and I doubt not but I ſhall ſoon make diſcovery of ſome wicked treachery intended againſt me; for this wretched creature hath as much malice to me as he is capable of, firſt, as being an Iriſh Papiſt (whoſe whole tribe have an implacable animoſity againſt me), and next, becauſe I have heretofore ſhamed him, and have broken ſome cheating deſigns of his, by making publick ſome of his infamous villanies, for which he never durſt make any expoſtulation with me. I humbly crave pardon of your Honour, for ſuffering myſelf to be thus far tranſported. My excuſe is, that I ſhould think my heart were not an honeſt one, if the blood about it were not warmed with any the leaſt imputation upon my reſpects and my duty to his Highneſs, to whom I owe ſo much. I humbly crave a line or two from your Honour, that I may either reſolve to return preſently home, or remain ſatisfied by your having diſcovered the villany attempted againſt me, which, with all humility, expecting, I reſt,

‘Your Honour's Moſt Humble,

‘and Moſt Obedient ſervant, *&c.*’

[*N*] *A very heavy load of calumny and reproach.*] The matter of fact hinted at in the text was plainly this: Mr Fitton, an Engliſh Gentleman, who was at that time Library-Keeper to the Great Duke of Tuſcany, wrote a letter, dated July 2, 1656, to Sir Kenelme Digby, at Toulouſe, with an Account of a city within the territories of Tripoli in Africa, ſuppoſed to be entirely petrified by the riſing of a vapour out of the earth; which piece of intelligence Sir Kenelme having written to a friend in England, he was ſo free in communicating it, that it was at length printed in the *Mercurius Politicus* (38). The famous Dr Stubbes took occaſion from this to ſhew at once his diſlike to Sir Kenelme Digby, and to gratify his profeſſed averſion for the Royal Society, by treating the thing as an abſurd and ridiculous falſhood, and by ſaying of Sir Kenelme, whom he would have repreſented as the author of it, *That he was the Pliny of our age for lying* (39). To ſhew that ſuch a city as this there is from the accounts given by modern writers, would indeed vindicate the ſagacity of our author, and ſhew that he made a better judgment of things than his antagoniſt Stubbes; but we can do more than this, for we can ſhew that Sir Kenelme did not either credit a haſty, or an idle report, but that it had been current ſome time, and the truth of it believed upon good authority; which is ſufficient to juſtify Sir Kenelme in his Philoſophick character, and to demonſtrate that though he was extreamly curious, he was not at all credulous (40).

(38) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 353.

(39) Animadverſions upon Glanville's *Plus Ultra*, p. 161.

(40) Philoſophical Experiments and Obſervations of the late eminent Dr Robert Hooke, publiſhed by W. Derham. Lond. 1726. 8vo. p. 386, 387.

The following paper was delivered to Richard Waller, Eſq; Fellow of the Royal Society, by Mr Baker, who was the Engliſh Conſul at Tripoli, Nov. 12, 1713.

‘ABOUT forty days journey S. E. from Tripoli, and about ſeven days from the neareſt ſea-coaſt, there is a place called Ougila, in which there are found the bodies of men, women, and children, beaſts and plants, all petrified of a hard ſtone like marble. That about 1654 or 5, the Corſairs having taken ſeveral of the Engliſh ſhips, Admiral Blake was ſent with a ſquadron of men of war to Tripoli, from which place and Tunis he had all the captives delivered without ranſom, at which time the report of this diſcovery of the abovementioned city was new, ſo that he obliged the Alkade to procure a whole figure for him, which he promiſed. But Blake not ſtaying long enough there, but ſailing to Leghorn, he ſent a ſmall frigate to Tripoli to fetch it aboard, in which frigate one Mr Hebden (then a young gentleman) went, who told Mr Baker that he himſelf ſaw a figure of a man petrified, which was conveyed to Leghorn, and thence to England, and that it was carried to Secretary Thurloe.

‘The ſame Mr Baker told me, that, when he was at Tripoli, he ſpoke with ſeveral Turks, who affirmed themſelves to have been eye-witneſſes of the ſaid petrifactions. That particularly an officer that commanded a garriſon of two hundred men, on a frontier place called Derney, not many days journey from the place, had promiſed him to procure a figure thence; the ſame affirmed the relation, that accordingly he ſent ſome ſpies to find the place, which at that time they could not, as he ſent him word, it being wholly buried in the ſands, which in that country are carried in great clouds; that a ſtrong north wind blows the ſand off, and by that means diſcovers the place, which, at other times, is covered by theſe ſands.

‘He farther told me, that this Mr Hebden died about two years ſince a priſoner in the Fleet, though he had been formerly ſent to Moſcow by King Charles II. He ſaid he had procured the arm of a fig tree, as big as his arm, petrified, whereon the bark and wood were plainly viſible, the bark grey, the wood yellowiſh, of the true colour of the plant; that in the bark was a groove, in which were ſeveral ſmall inſects, like the lady cow, petrified; that he had preſented this piece of petrified wood to my Lord Torrington, in whoſe poſſeſſion he believes it now is.’

[*O*] *At that time generally well received.*] Our author deſigned to have collected Roger Bacon's Works, and actually tranſlated from the Latin of Albertus Magnus, Biſhop of Ratiſbon, a ſmall piece, intituled,

VIII. *A Treatiſe of adhering to God.* Lond. 1654, 8*vo*.

IX. *Of the Cure of Wounds by the Powder of Sympathy.* Lond. 1658, 8*vo*, ſpoken in French in a ſolemn aſſembly at Montpellier in France in 1657, and tranſlated into Engliſh by Richard White, Lond. 1660, reprinted at London with the treatiſe of Bodies, *anno* 1669, publiſhed of the famous Mr Algernoon Sydney (*k*), for the knowledge of this Gentleman's paſſing the year 1658, and part of the year 1659, in the Lower Germany, and more eſpecially in the Palatinate; but, as to what he ſays of his going there by the name of Earl or Count Digby, and other circumſtances of a very diſparaging nature, they ſeem to flow from a mixture of inconnected reports, joined to a very high diſlike of the perſon to whom they related. It is probable, that he returned from thence towards the cloſe of the laſt mentioned year to Paris, where we find him in 1660, and employed there, after his accuſtomed manner, in converſing with the learned, moderating in their aſſemblies, and giving them occaſional lights from his own obſervations and informations. This circumſtance we derive from the pen of a very ingenious and knowing perſon, who wrote it as acceptable news to his great patron in England (*l*) [*P*]. He returned the following year to England, and was very well received at Court, notwithſtanding the Miniſters were far from being ignorant of the irregularity in his conduct, and the court that he had paid to Oliver while the King was in exile (*m*). It does not, however, appear, that any other favour was ſhewn him, than ſeemed to be due to a man of letters (*n*). In the firſt ſettlement of the Royal Society, we find him appointed one of the Council, by the title of Sir Kenelme Digby, Knight, Chancellor to our dear mother Queen Mary (*o*). He was not likely to be conſidered or truſted in the beginning of King Charles's adminiſtration, becauſe he not only ſhewed himſelf an open but a buſy Papiſt, interfered in their quarrels, and declared himſelf, upon all occaſions, an eager enemy to the Jeſuits (*p*), who were not at all behind with him in reſentment, but took all the care they could to leſſen his character, and to defame him. As long as his health would permit, he attended the meetings of the Royal Society, and gave his aſſiſtance towards the improvements that were then made in uſeful knowledge; one of his diſcourſes (*q*) was printed and publiſhed by itſelf, of which we ſhall take notice [*Q*]. He ſpent the remainder of his days at his houſe in Covent-Garden, where he enjoyed the company of his friends, and was much viſited by the lovers of Mathematical and Philoſophical Learning; ſo that, according to a cuſtom which then prevailed much in France, he had a kind of Academy, or Literary

(*k*) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 698.

(*l*) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 302.

(*m*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 352.

(*n*) Kennet's Chronicle. p. 286.

(*o*) Sprat's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, p. 137.

(*p*) In the edition of 1669, added to his treatiſe of Bodies.

(*q*) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 286.

1669, and tranſlated into Latin by Laur. Stranſius of Darmſted in Heſſe. It is alſo printed in the book intituled *Theatrum Sympatheticum*, publiſhed by John Andreas Endter at Norimberg, 1662, in 4*to*, of which there is an account in our Philoſophical Tranſactions. As to the philoſophical arguments in this treatiſe, and the manner in which the author accounts for the ſtrange operations of this remedy, they were highly admired in thoſe days, have been often copied ſince, and even in this inquiſitive and judicious age, are allowed to be very ingenious, though not very convincing.

[*P*] *Who wrote it as acceptable news to his great patron in England.*] The perſon mentioned in the text is Mr Oldenburgh, afterwards Secretary to the Royal Society, who, in his letter to Mr Boyle, dated Paris Mar. 20, 1660 writes thus (41): ‘ Sir Kenelme ‘ Digby will himſelf aſſure you, by the annexed, of ‘ his reſpects to you. We met lately at the houſe of ‘ a Chemiſt, where the queſtion was agitated about the ‘ diſſolvent of gold, Whether the univerſal ſpirit of ‘ the world, in it's undetermined nature, or, as it is ‘ ſpecified and contracted to a mineral, be the menſtruum of that noble metal? The diſcuſſion hereof ‘ being rather made by authority than reaſon, gave ‘ ſmall ſatisfaction to the auditors, whereof the learned ‘ Knight himſelf being the chief, did moderate the ‘ action, but not determine the queſtion, interlacing ‘ the diſcourſes of others with ſeveral conſiderable relations, whereof two did raviſh the hearers to admiration. The one was of a King's houſe in England, ‘ which having ſtood covered with lead for five or ſix ‘ ages, and being ſold after that, was found to contain three fourths of ſilver in the lead thereof. ‘ The other was of a fixed ſalt, drawn out of a certain ‘ potters earth here in France, at a place called Arcueil, which ſalt being for ſome time expoſed to the ‘ ſun-beams, became ſalt-petre, then vitriol, then lead, ‘ tin, copper, ſilver, and, at the end of fourteen ‘ months, gold; which he aſſured to have experienced ‘ himſelf, and another able Naturaliſt beſides him. ‘ I muſt confeſs I would rather ſee this than believe it, ‘ though the author be a very authentick gentleman.’ Theſe facts, as they are very cloſely ſet down, and without any illuſtration of circumſtances, have an air of incredibility: but without doubt if we knew exactly how they were related by Sir Kenelme, they would not appear either ſo ſtrange or ſo improbable. As to the alterations of lead indeed, and it's growing heavier in time, ſo as to endanger the buildings covered with it, we meet with ſome very extraordinary inſtances in Mr Boyle's own writings (42); and as to the other matter, ſtrange as it is, it appears not to have reſted entirely upon Sir Kenelme Digby's authority, and ſeems beſides to have ſome concurrence with the accurate experiments long afterwards made in France by that ingenious and candid Chemiſt Mr Homberg. It may not however be amiſs to remark, by the way, that Sir Kenelme Digby had a true philoſophick ſpirit, and was much more covetous of knowledge than of wealth, and as deſirous of communicating ſcience as of obtaining it; which ſometimes expoſed him, as it hath done other great men, to the ſupercilious contempt of perſons far inferior both in learning and in underſtanding.

(41) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 302.

(42) Ibid. Vol. III. p. 460.

[*Q*] *Of which we ſhall take notice.*] In this note we are to ſpeak of the laſt genuine work of our author's, which was

X. *Diſcourſe concerning the Vegetation of Plants.* Lond. 1661, 8*vo*, and again in 1669, 4*to*, printed in Latin at Amſterdam 1663, and again in 1669, 12*mo*, under this title: *Diſſertatio de Plantarum Vegetatione.*

This work is highly applauded by the learned Morhoff, whoſe judicious character of it will give the reader a true idea of the worth of our author (43). ‘ Magnam huic vegetationi lucem affert liber Kenelmi ‘ Digbæi, de vegetatione plantarum, è lingua Angl. in ‘ Lat. converſus, quo eleganter proceſſum nutritionis & ‘ accretionis è ſemine demonſtrat, cujus Diſſertationis ‘ argumentum libro ſuo de immortalitate animæ inſeruit. Tota illa Diſſertatio ſubtiliſſima eſt, & cum accuratione legi meretur. Mathematica demonſtratione ‘ enim ob oculos ponit, quomodo à primo ſeminali ‘ puncto partes extra partes procedunt, partim ſalibus ‘ aëris aut terreſtribus evocatæ, partim preſſione aëris & ‘ humoris externi, partim calore ſubterraneo, quæ omnia ‘ hic ſingulatim explicare, nimis eſſet operoſum. Videatur Auctor ille, & cum ipſo conferatur Honor: Fabri, qui partes plantarum, quæ ſucceſſione excreſcunt, ‘ optime delineavit, &, ut exiſtimo, maxime ad mentem Digbæi.’

(43) Polyhiſtor. II. 2. 40. 2.

The reader may find in Wood, and in ſome other authors, ſeveral pieces attributed to Sir Kenelme Digby (44), but as theſe were publiſhed after his deceaſe by one Hartman, who was his Operator, and who put Sir Kenelme Digby's name in the title-page, with a view to recommend compoſitions very unworthy of him to the publick; they ſeem by no means to deſerve a place here, which, with our deſire to bring this article within bounds as much as poſſible, are our reaſons for rejecting them.

(44) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 353.

rary Aſſembly, in his own dwelling (r). Some years before his death, he cauſed a vault to be built under the eaſt end of the ſouth iſle of Chriſt-Church within Newgate, in which was depoſited the body of his wife, and over it was erected a very ſtately altar monument of black marble, whereon her buſt, made of copper gilt, was placed, with four inſcriptions in honour of her memory (s). This lady's name was Venetia, daughter to Sir Edward Stanley, of Tongue-Caſtle in Shropſhire, Knight of the Bath, by his wife the Lady Lucy, daughter and coheireſs of Thomas Piercy, Earl of Northumberland (t), which Sir Edward Stanley was the ſon of Sir Thomas Stanley, Knight, and grandſon of Edward Earl of Derby (u), by the Lady Dorothy Howard, daughter of Thomas Duke of Norfolk. We ſhould have been able to have rendered this article much more perfect, if we could have had the aſſiſtance of that noble manuſcript which Sir Kenelme cauſed to be collected at the expence of a thouſand pounds, as well out of private memorials, as from publick hiſtories and records in the Tower, and elſewhere, relating to the Digby family in all its branches (w); but not knowing where this was to be found, we have drawn together, with no ſmall pains, what lay ſcattered about him in a variety of authors, and have digeſted the ſeveral facts they mentioned in the beſt order we could. In the ſummer of the year 1665, his old diſtemper the ſtone increaſed upon him very much, and brought him very low, which rendered him deſirous, as it is ſaid, of going to France (x); which, however, he lived not to accompliſh, but deceaſing on his birth-day, June 11th, 1665 (y), when he was ſixty-two years of age, his corps was interred near that of his lady in the Church before-mentioned (z). Sir Kenelme's valuable library, which was juſtly eſteemed a moſt excellent collection, had been tranſported into France at the firſt breaking out of the troubles, and improved there at a very conſiderable expence; but, as he was no ſubject of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's, it became, according to that branch of the prerogative which the French ſtile *Droit d'Aubain*, the property of the Crown upon Sir Kenelme's deceaſe. This was a very great injury to his family, as may appear from hence, that, being afterwards begged from that King, the new poſſeſſor, for I think one can hardly call him proprietor, ſold it (and, it is very probable, below it's real value) for ten thouſand crowns. Sir Kenelme left an only ſon, John Digby, Eſq; who ſucceeded to the family eſtate (a), and, therefore, there is plainly ſome miſtake in the account given us by a certain great Hiſtorian (b), who ſays, that the death of this ſon of Sir Kenelme produced the ruin of his family, as that did the finding his grandfather's papers; of which, in the former article, we gave ſome account, and of which it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomewhat farther here [R]. This John Digby, Eſq; of Gothurſt in Buckinghamſhire, dying many years after his father, left behind him, by his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Edward Longueville, of Wolverton, in the ſame county, Baronet, by the Lady Margaret his wife, daughter of Sir Thomas Temple, of Stow, two daugters and coheirs, Margaretta-Maria, married to Sir John Conway, of Bodey in Flintſhire, Baronet, to whom ſhe was firſt wife, and by whom ſhe had Margaretta, married to Sir Thomas Longueville, of Eſtcluſham in Denbighſhire, Baronet, and Henry Conway, Eſq; who died before his father married to Honora, daughter and heir of ——— Ravenſcroft, of Bretton in Flintſhire, Eſq; and left only one daughter Honora, married to Sir John Glynne, of Hawarden-Caſtle in Flintſhire, Baronet; and Charlotta-Theophila, married to Richard Moſtyn, of Penbeddw in Flintſhire, Eſq; by whom ſhe had two daughters, Bridget, married to Lytton Lytton, of Knebworth in Hertfordſhire, Eſq; and Charlotta, married to Richard Williams, Eſq; third ſon of Sir William Williams, of Llanvorda in Shropſhire, Eſq; and brother to Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Baronet, and one ſon Richard, and Penelope, who died a Nun abroad (c). We cannot conclude this

(r) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 827.

(s) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 352, 353.

(t) Strwe's Survey of Lond n by Strype, Vol. I. B. iii. p. 137.

(u) E S em. antiq. fam. Stanleiorum.

(w) So his ſon John Digby informed Anthony Wood.

(x) See the article DIGBY (Sir KENELME) in Bayle.

(y) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 827.

(z) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 581.

(a) Wright's Antiquities of Rutland, p. 115.

(b) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 11.

(c) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. V. p. 353.

[R] *To ſay ſomewhat farther here*] The great Hiſtorian mentioned in the text is the Biſhop of Saliſbury, who ſeems to have had ſome particular concern in this extraordinary tranſaction, or at leaſt to have been for ſome time poſſeſſed of Sir Everard Digby's original papers, his own words are theſe (45): 'I will mention what I myſelf ſaw, and had for ſome time in my 'poſſeſſion; Sir Everard Digby died for being of the 'conſpiracy. He was the father of the famous Sir 'Kenelme Digby. The family being ruined upon the 'death of Sir Kenelme's ſon, when the executors were 'looking out for writings to make out the titles of the 'eſtates they were to ſell, they were directed by an 'old ſervant to a cupboard that was very artificially 'hid, in which ſome papers lay that ſhe had obſerved 'Sir Kenelme was oft reading. They looking into it 'found a velvet bag, within which there were two 'other ſilk bags (ſo carefully were thoſe relicks kept) 'and there was within theſe a collection of all the 'letters that Sir Everard writ during his impriſonment. 'In theſe he expreſſes great trouble, becauſe he heard 'ſome of their friends blamed their undertaking: he 'highly magnifies it, and ſays, if he had many lives 'he would willingly have ſacrificed them all in carrying it on. In one paper he ſays, they had taken 'that care that there was not above two or three worth 'ſaving, to whom they had not given notice to keep 'out of the way: and in none of thoſe papers does he 'expreſs any ſort of remorſe for that which he had 'been engaged in, and for which he ſuffered.' We will now compare this with the atteſtation prefixed to the papers (46): 'The ſeveral papers and letters of 'Sir Everard Digby, which are, as we have been credibly informed, the original papers and letters written by him concerning the gunpowder treaſon, were 'found by us Sir Rice Rudd, Bart. and William Wogan of Gray's-Inn, Eſq; in the preſence of Mrs Urſula Giles, and Mr Thomas Hughes, about the month 'of September 1675, at the houſe of Charles Cornwallis, Eſq; who was Executor of Sir Kenelme Digby (ſon and heir to the ſaid Sir Everard) tied up in 'two ſilk bags, amongſt the deeds, evidences, and 'writings of the ſaid Sir Kenelme Digby.

'RICE RUDD.
'WILLIAM WOGAN.'

It is not clear from the Prelate's account whoſe executors he means, but it looks as if it were the executors of Sir Kenelme's ſon (47), whereas the certificate ſhews,

(45) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 11.

(46) At the cloſe of the preface to Sir Everard Digby's private papers, publiſhed in 1675. 8vo.

(47) John Digby, Eſq; ſon to Sir Kenelme, appears from Wright's Hiſt. of Rutlandſhire, to have been living in 1684.

this article better than by the following verſes, compoſed by way of epitaph on Sir Kenelme Digby.

Under this tomb the matchleſs Digby *lies,*
Digby *the great, the valiant, and the wiſe;*
This age's wonder, for his noble parts,
Skilled in ſix tongues, and learn'd in all the arts:
Born on the day he died, the eleventh of June,
And that day bravely fought at Scanderoon;
It's rare that one and the ſame day ſhould be
His day of birth, of death, of victory!

R. Ferrar.

ſhews, that the papers were not found by any executors at all, but by two gentlemen of credit, in the houſe of the executor of Sir Kenelme Digby. In the certificate two ſilk bags are mentioned, though not the velvet bag; and, which is very ſingular, there is no notice at all taken of their being led to this diſcovery by hearing of the cupboard, or of the old ſervant, but there are the names of two perſons in whoſe preſence they were found, and it is not impoſſible they might take to themſelves ſome merit in the diſcovery. But from the certificate, one can ſee no reaſon to judge they were hidden at all, but rather that they were accidentally found, ſearching among Sir Kenelme's papers, who might die in circumſtances indifferent as to himſelf, but whoſe eſtate, as we have ſeen, was too well ſecured to prejudice his ſon or his family. E

DIGGES (Leonard) Eſq; a conſiderable Mathematician in the XVIth century, was the ſecond ſon of James Digges, of Digges-Court in the pariſh of Berham in Kent, Eſq; [*A*] by Philippa his ſecond wife, daughter of John Engham, of Chartham in the ſame county. He was born at Digges-Court, and educated for ſome time in Univerſity-College in Oxford, where he laid a very good foundation of learning. Retiring from thence without a degree, he proſecuted his ſtudies, and became an excellent Mathematician, a ſkilful Architect (*a*), and a moſt expert Surveyor of land. He compoſed ſeveral books [*B*], and died about the year 1574 (*b*). By his wife Bridget, daughter of Thomas Wilford, Eſq; (*c*) and ſiſter to James and Thomas Wilford, two brave Knights, of Hartridge, in the pariſh of Cranbrook in Kent, he had a ſon, of whom we ſhall give ſome account in the next article.

(*a*) For all manner of buildings, for conveniency, pleaſure, ſtate, ſtrength; and excellent at fortifications. Fuller's Worthies of England, in Kent, p. 82.

(*b*) Wood's Athenæ, edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 180, 181.

(*c*) Wood, ibid. calls her by miſtake *Sarah*. See below, note [*B*] of the article DIGGES (Thomas).

[*A*] *Was the ſecond ſon of James Digges of Digges-Court in the pariſh of Berham in Kent, Eſq;*] That family was antient and conſiderable, in the county of Kent. One of them in the reign of King Richard I. had the aldermanry of Newingate in Canterbury, which was then a hereditary office. *John* Digges, Alderman of the ſame city, in 1258, was a great benefactor to the Franciſcans, then newly ſettled at Canterbury; and bought for them an iſland in that city called Binnewight. *Adomarus* Digges, of Digges-Court, was a Judge in King Edward IId's reign, and had much land about Rainham and Newington, where a marſh ſtill bears his name, being called Digges's Marſh. *Roger* Digges was one of the Repreſentatives in Parliament for the city of Canterbury, in the 29th, 31ſt, and 34th years of the reign of King Edward III. *John* Digges, of Digges-Court, was Sheriff of Kent in the 2d year of King Henry IV; and his grandſon *John*, in the 4th year of King Edward IV; and his *ſon* of the ſame name in the 11th year of King Henry VII; and his ſon *James* bore the ſame office in the 2d year of King Henry VIII. His eldeſt ſon, *Thomas*, ſold Digges-Court to Capt. Thomas Halſey of London (1). It was the chief ſeat of the Digges family for above two hundred years (2).

[*B*] *He compoſed ſeveral books.*] Namely, I. *Tectonicum*: Briefly ſhewing the exact meaſuring, and ' ſpeedy reckoning of all manner of lands, ſquares, ' timber, ſtones, ſteeples,' &c. Lond. 1556, 4*to*. Augmented, and publiſhed again, by his ſon Tho. Digges, Lond. 1592, 4*to*, and reprinted there in 1647, 4*to*. II. ' A Geometrical practical treatiſe, ' named *Pantometria*, in three books.' This he left in manuſcript: but, after his death, his ſon ſupplied ſuch parts of it as were obſcure and imperfect, and publiſhed it at London in 1591, fol. joining thereto, ' A Diſcourſe Geometrical of the five regular and Platonical Bodies, containing ſundry theoretical and ' practical Propoſitions ariſing by mutual conference ' of theſe Solids inſcription, circumſcription, and ' transformation.' III. ' Prognoſtication everlaſting ' of right good effect: or, choice Rules to judge the ' Weather by the Sun, Moon, and Stars, &c.' Lond. 1555, 1556, and 1564, 4*to*, corrected, and augmented by his ſon, with divers general tables, and many compendious rules. Lond. 1592, 4*to* (3). C

(1) *Villare Cantianum*, &c. by T. Philipot, Eſq; edit. 1664. fol. p. 60. and the Hiſtory of Kent, by J. Harris, D.D. fol. 1719. p. 35, 118, 427, 430, 431, 447.

(2) Ibid. p. 370.

(3) Wood, ut ſupra, col. 180, 181.

DIGGES (Thomas) after a liberal education even from his tendereſt years, went and ſtudied for ſome time at Oxford; and by the improvements he made there, and the ſubſequent inſtructions of his learned father (*a*), became one of the moſt excellent Mathematicians of his time; upon which account he was greatly eſteemed by Dr John Dee, and other his learned contemporaries. When Queen Elizabeth ſent ſome of her forces to the aſſiſtance of the oppreſſed inhabitants of the Netherlands, Mr Digges was appointed Muſter-Maſter-General of them (*b*); whereby he had an opportunity of becoming perfectly ſkilled in military affairs. He writ and publiſhed ſeveral books [*A*].
But

(*a*) See the preface to his *Stratioticos*.

(*b*) See Stratioticos, edit. 1590, p. 237.

[*A*] *He writ and publiſhed ſeveral books.*] Namely, theſe; I. *Alæ ſive Scalæ Mathematicæ*, i. e. Mathematical wings or ladders. Lond. 1573, 4*to* This book contains ſeveral demonſtrations, for finding the parallaxis of any comet, or other cœleſtial body, with the correction of the errors in the uſe of the *Radius Aſtronomicus*. II. ' An Arithmetical Military Treatiſe, ' containing ſo much of Arithmetick, as is neceſſary ' towards Military Diſcipline.' Lond. 1579, 4*to*. III. ' Geometrical treatiſe named *Stratioticos*, requiſite for ' the perfection of Soldiers.' Lond. 1579, 4*to*. This was begun by his father, but finiſhed by our author: They were both reprinted together in 1590, with ſeveral amendments and additions, under this title; ' An Arithmetical Warlike treatiſe named *Stratioticos*, ' compendiouſly teaching the Science of Nombers, as
' well

But his moſt valuable character, is, that his piety was as great as his learning. He died Auguſt 24, 1595. and was buried in the Church of St Mary Aldermanbury, London (c); where a monument was erected to him [*B*]. If he was great in himſelf, he was greater in his ſon, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the enſuing article.

'well in Fractions as Integers, and ſo much of the 'Rules and Æquations Algebraicall, and Art of Numbers Coſſicall, as are requiſite for the Profeſſion of a 'Souldier. Together with the Moderne Militare Diſcipline, Offices, Lawes, and orders in every well 'governed Campe and Armie inviolably to be obſerved.' Firſt publiſhed by Thomas Digges, Eſq; 1579, reviewed and corrected by the author himſelf, and augmented with ſundry additions. Lond. 1590, *4to*, in three books. At the end of it there is 'A briefe and 'true report of the Proceedings of the Earle of Leyceſter for the reliefe of the towne of Sluce, from his 'arrival at Vliſhing, about the end of June 1587, untill the ſurrendrie thereof 26 Julii next enſuing. 'Whereby it ſhall plainelie appeare his Excellencie 'was not in anie fault for the loſſe of that Towne.' IV. 'Perfect Deſcription of the Celeſtial Orbs, according to the moſt antient Doctrine of the Pythagoreans, *&c.* Lond. 1592, *4to*, ſet at the end of his 'father's *Prognoſtication*. V. 'Humble Motives for 'Aſſociation to maintain the Religion eſtabliſhed. 'Printed in 1601, *8vo*. To which is added, his Letter to the ſame purpoſe, to the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of England.' VI. 'England's Defence: A 'Treatiſe concerning Invaſion: Or, a brief Diſcourſe 'of what Orders were beſt for repulſing of Foreign Enemies, if at any time they ſhould invade us by ſea 'in Kent, or elſewhere.' Written in 1599, but not publiſhed till 1686, Lond. fol. in five ſheets. There was a tract of the ſame nature publiſhed at the end of his *Stratioticos*, edit. 1590, entitled, 'A briefe Diſcourſe what orders were beſt for repulſing of forraine forces, if at any time they ſhould invade us by 'ſea in Kent, or elſewhere.' It contains only five leaves in *4to*. VII. A Letter printed before Dr John Dee's *Parallaticæ commentationis, praxeoſque Nucleus quidam*. Lond. 1573, *4to*. Beſides theſe, and his *Nova Corpora*, he had by him ſeveral Mathematical Treatiſes ready for the preſs; which, by reaſon of law-ſuits, and other avocations, he was hindered from publiſhing (1).

[*B*] *Where a monument was erected to him.*] It was deſtroyed in the general conflagration of London, in 1666: but, the inſcriptions on it are preſerved in J. Stow's Survey of London, with Mr Strype's Additions (2), being as follows:

'*Thomas Digges*, Eſquire, ſonne and heyre of Leonard 'Digges, of *Wotton* in the county of *Kent*, Eſquire, 'and of *Bridget* his wife, daughter to *Thomas Wilford*, 'Eſquire; which *Thomas* deceaſed the 24. day of 'Auguſt, *Ann. Dom.* 1595.

'*Agnes*, wife to *Thomas Digges*, Eſq; Daughter of 'Sir *William Sentleiger*, Knight, and of *Urſula* his 'wife, daughter of *George Nevil*, Lord of *Abergavenny*, By whom the ſaid *Thomas* had iſſue *Dudley* 'his ſonne and heyre, Leonard his ſecond ſon; *Margaret* and *Urſula* now living; beſide *William* and '*Mary*, who died young.

Deo Opt. Max. & Memoriæ.

Hic reſurrectionem mortuorum expectat Thomas Digſæus Armiger, ex antiquâ Digſæorum, in Cantiâ, familiâ oriundus. Vir fide & pietate in Deum ſingulari, rei militaris admodum peritus, optimarum literarum ſtudioſus, & Scientiis Mathematicis ad miraculum (ut ex libris editis conſtat) eruditiſſimus: Quem Deus in Cæleſtem Patriam, Anno Salutis 1595, *evocavit. Chariſſimo Marito Uxor moeſtiſſima poſuit.*

'Here lieth in aſſured hope to riſe in Chriſt, Thomas Digges Eſquire, ſome time Muſter-Maſter of the 'Engliſh Army in the Low Countries: A man zealouſly affected to true Religion, wiſe, diſcreete, 'courteous, faithful to his Friends, and of rare knowledge in Geometry, Aſtrologie, and other Mathematicall Sciences: who finiſhed this tranſitory Life 'with an happy end, in *Anno* 1595.

That the Dead might live, Chriſt died.

The Digges's coat was, Gules, on a Croſs argent, five Eagles diſplayed, ſable. C

(c) Wood, ibid. col. 278, 279.

(1) Wood, ut ſupra, col. 278, 279. See Stratioticos, p. 359, 360.

(2) Edit. 1720. Book iii. Vol. I. p. 71, 72.

DIGGES (DUDLEY) eldeſt ſon of Thomas mentioned in the laſt article, was born in the year 1583 (*a*), and entered a Gentleman-Commoner of Univerſity-College, Oxon. in 1598; where he very much improved himſelf in learning, under the tuition of Dr George Abbot, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*b*). Having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, on the firſt of July 1601 (*c*), he went and ſtudied for ſome time at the Inns of Court; and then travelled beyond ſea, having before received the honour of knighthood. After much experience, and proper remarks on the laws, cuſtoms, and manners, of foreign nations, he returned home, excellently well qualified to ſerve his King and Country (*d*). But obſerving too many to juſtle for place, and croſs the publick intereſt, if not joined with their own private gain; he was ſatisfied with the conſciouſneſs of his own merit, knowing good men only can deſerve honours, though the worſe might attain them. His moderate deſires, therefore, confined a long while his thoughts to the innocence of a retired life (*e*), till the year 1618, when he was ſent by King James I. Embaſſador to the Czar, or Emperor of Ruſſia. In 1620. he was commiſſioned with Sir Maurice Abbot, to go to Holland, in order to obtain the reſtitution of goods taken by the Dutch, from ſome Engliſhmen in the Eaſt-Indies [*A*]. He departed in November (*f*), but how long he ſtayed there, doth not appear. He was a Member of the third Parliament of King James I. which met at Weſtminſter January 30, 1620-1; and was ſo little compliant with the Court meaſures, as to be among thoſe whom the King called *Ill-tempered Spirits*. And, therefore, ſoon after the diſſolution of that Parliament, he was, for a puniſhment, ſent into Ireland, upon a forced commiſſion with others under the Great Seal, for the enquiry of ſundry matters concerning his Majeſty's pretended ſervice (*g*). He was likewiſe a Member of the firſt Parliament of King Charles I. in 1626; and joined thoſe eminent patriots, who were for bringing George Villiers Duke of Buckingham, the King's great favourite and Prime Miniſter, to an account: and ſo earneſt did he prove in that affair, that he was one of the eight chief managers, who carried up, on the

8th

(*a*) For Mr Wood informs us, that he was fifteen years of age in 1598. Vol. I. col. 618.

(*b*) Wood, ibid.

(*c*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 160.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) From his monumental inſcription, at Chilham in Kent.

(*f*) Camden's Annals of King James I. under the year 1620, printed at the end of *Camdeni Epiſtolæ*. Lond. 1691. 4to.

(*g*) Ruſhworth's Hiſt. Collections, P. i. edit. 1659. p. 55.

[*A*] *In the Eaſt-Indies.*] For the Dutch were then beginning to uſe, in the Eaſt-Indies, thoſe wicked and ſupplanting arts againſt the Engliſh (the deliverers of their country, and the founders of their liberties) which ended in the tragical affair at Amboyna; of which an account was publiſhed in 1624, *4to*.

[*B*] *Who*

8th of May, a charge againſt him [*B*] to the Houſe of Lords (*b*); for which he was committed to the Tower (*i*). But ſo highly offended were the Commons at his impriſonment, that they reſolved to proceed to no other buſineſs till they were righted in their liberties (*k*). Whereupon one of the Courtiers, to excuſe that irregular ſtep, ſaid, That his Majeſty conceived, Sir Dudley went too far beyond his commiſſion, in that, ſpeaking of King James the Firſt's death, and the plaiſter applied to him by the Duke of Buckingham, he had ſaid, *That he did forbear to ſpeak further in regard of the King's honour*, or words to that effect; which his Majeſty conceived to be to his diſhonour, as if there had been any underhand dealing by Him in applying of the plaiſter; and that might make his ſubjects jealous of him. Theſe words, laid to Sir Dudley's charge, occaſioned an uncommon proteſtation from the Commons [*C*], which was alſo taken by thirty-ſix of the Lords. And Sir Dudley being releaſed ſoon after, proteſted, That the matter charged upon him was far from his words, and never came into his thoughts (*l*). He was again Member of the third Parliament of King Charles I. which met at Weſtminſter the 17th of March 1627-8, being one of the Knights of the Shire for Kent (*m*), but ſeemed to be more moderate than he had been in the two laſt. For, when Secretary Coke moved for the diſpatch of the ſubſidies (*n*), he was ſeconded by Sir Dudley [*D*]. However, his ſpirits were rouzed, when any attempts were made upon the liberties of his country, or the Conſtitution of Parliament [*E*]. For, on the 14th of April, he opened the grand conference between the Lords and Commons 'concerning the liberty of the perſon of every Freeman,' with a ſpeech, wherein he made many excellent obſervations [*F*],

tending

(*b*) Ibid. p. 302.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 356. His lodgings were alſo ſearched, and the papers found there taken away. See Ruſhworth, ibid. p. 400, &c.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 358.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 360, 361.

(*m*) Liſt of Members in Harris's Hiſt. of Kent.

(*n*) Ruſhworth, ibid. p. 537, 538.

[*B*] *Who carried up a charge againſt him*] It was opened by Sir Dudley himſelf, who in his Prologue uſed theſe words (1): —— 'The Houſe of Commons, by a fatal and univerſal concurrence of complaints from all the ſea-bordering parts of this kingdom, did find a great and grievous interruption and ſtop of trade and traffick: The baſe pirates of *Salle* ignominiouſly infeſting our coaſts, taking our ſhips and goods, and leading away the ſubjects of this kingdom into barbarous captivity; while, to our ſhame and hindrance of commerce, our enemies did (as it were) beſiege our ports, and block up our beſt rivers mouths. Our friends, on ſlight pretences, made imbargoes of our Merchants goods, and every nation, upon the leaſt occaſion, was ready to contemn and ſlight us: ſo great was the apparent diminution of the antient honour of this crown, and once ſtrong reputation of our nation. Wherewith the Commons were more troubled, calling to remembrance, how formerly in France, in Spain, in Holland, and every where, by ſea and land, the valors of this kingdom had been better valued. — The Commons therefore wondering at the evils which they ſuffered, and debating of the cauſes of them, found they were many, drawn, like one line, to one circumference, of *decay of trade*, and *ſtrength of honour*, and *reputation* in this kingdom; which, as in one center, met in one great man, the cauſe of all who I am here to name, the Duke of Buckingham.' —— Then, after after having read the preamble to the charge, he continued his ſpeech, in which he hath this paſſage. —— 'The laſt of the charges which are prepared, will be an injury offered to the perſon of the late King of bleſſed memory, who is with God; of which, as your Lordſhips may have heard heretofore, you ſhall anon have further information. Now upon this occaſion, I am commanded by the Commons to take care of the honour of the King our Sovereign that lives, —— and alſo his bleſſed father, who is dead; on whom, to the grief of the Commons, and their great diſtaſte, the Lord Duke did (they conceive) unworthily *caſt ſome ill odor of his own foul wayes*; whereas ſervants were antiently wont to bear, as in truth they ought, their Maſters faults, and not caſt their own on them undeſervedly.' —— Theſe words I have taken notice of, becauſe they were miſunderſtood and miſapplied, as will be ſeen under note [*C*] and above in the text of this article.

[*C*] *Occaſioned an uncommon Proteſtation from the Commons.*] Being as follows: 'I proteſt before Almighty God, and this Houſe of Parliament, That I never gave conſent that Sir Dudley Digges ſhould ſpeak theſe words that he is now charged withal, or any words to that effect; and I have not affirmed to any, that he did ſpeak ſuch words, or any to that effect.' This was taken by every member in particular for himſelf; and it was ordered, That they that were ſick in town, ſhould have three of the Houſe ſent to them, to take the ſame proteſtation. The King, to pacify the Commons, ſignified to them by the Vice-Chamberlain, That he underſtood, *out of ſome notes taken at the Conference* (2), that Sir Dudley Digges had ſpoken the words wherewith he was charged; but, *now*, was ſatisfied that he did not ſpeak them, nor any words to ſuch effect. Nevertheleſs, the Duke of Buckingham affirmed to the Houſe of Peers, that ſome words were ſpoken at the late Conference by Sir Dudley Digges, which ſo far did trench upon the King's honour, that they were interpreted treaſonable: he therefore earneſtly deſired, ſince divers conſtructions had been made of thoſe words, that every one of thoſe who had reported them, would be pleaſed to produce their notes taken at the Conference. But after a long debate upon that matter in the Houſe of Peers, thirty-ſix of them made this voluntary proteſtation, That the ſaid Sir Dudley Digges did not ſpeak any thing at the ſaid Conference, which did or might trench on the King's honour (3). It followed therefore, as Mr Rapin obſerves (4), from the teſtimony of the Lords, and the proteſtation of the Commons, either, That the King was wrong and maliciouſly informed; or, that he wanted and ſought an opportunity of puniſhing Sir Dudley Digges, for having ſpoken ſo irreverently of the Duke as he did. For which purpoſe the words abovementioned were invented.

[*D*] *He was ſeconded by Sir Dudley.*] Who ſaid, among other things —— 'We have freely concluded our liberties, we have offered five ſubſidies: his Majeſty hath given us gracious anſwers: we have had good by our beginnings: what have we done for the King? nothing is done that the King can take notice of. — He will ſettle our properties and goods; have we not had a gracious anſwer? — I dare ſay confidently we ſhall have as much as any ſubjects had from their King (5).'

[*E*] *However his ſpirits were rouzed, when any attempts were made upon the liberties of his country, &c.*] For when Sir John Finch, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, interrupted Sir John Elliot in the Houſe, telling him, 'There is a command laid upon me, that I muſt command you not to proceed;' Sir Dudley Digges vented his great uneaſineſs in theſe words: 'I am as much grieved as ever. Muſt we not proceed? let us ſit in ſilence, we are miſerable, we know not what to do (6). This was on the 5th of June 1628.

[*F*] *With a ſpeech wherein he made many excellent obſervations.*] Among other things, he ſays—— 'I am firſt commanded to ſhow unto your Lordſhips in general, that the laws of England are grounded on reaſon, ancienter than books, conſiſting much in unwritten cuſtoms: yet ſo full of juſtice aud true equity, that your moſt honourable predeceſſors and anceſtors, many times propugned them with a *Nolumus mutare* (i. e. we will not change them;) and ſo ancient, that from the Saxons days, notwithſtanding the inju-

'ries

(1) Ruſhworth, ubi ſupra, p. 302, &c.

(2) Between the Lords and Commons, where theſe words were ſaid to have been ſpoken.

(3) Ruſhworth, as above, p. 360, 361. See alſo Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs, &c. by Mr Whitelock, edit. 1732, p. 5, 6.

(4) Hiſt. of England, edit. fol. 1733. Vol. II. p. 251.

(5) Ruſhworth, as above, p. 538.

(6) Ibid. p. 606.

tending to eſtabliſh the liberties of the ſubject (o). In all theſe affairs, he ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his parts and abilities, that he was much taken notice of by the Court; being, in conſequence of that, one of thoſe eminent Patriots whom they thought worth while to gain to their ſide (p). Accordingly they tempted him with the honourable and advantageous office of Maſter of the Rolls, of which he had a reverſionary grant the 29th of November 1630 (q), and became poſſeſſed of it the 20th of April, 1636 [G], upon the death of Sir Julius Cæſar (*). But he did not enjoy it quite three years; for he died the 18th of March 1638-9, which the wiſeſt men reckoned among the publick calamities of thoſe times (r). After having lain ſome time in ſtate, he was buried in Chilham-Church in Kent; in which pariſh he had a good eſtate (s), and built a noble ſeat (t). A monument was afterwards erected in that Church, in memory of him, and his lady, and others of that eminent family; with an inſcription, of which the ſubſtance is included in this article (u). His Lady was Mary, one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir Thomas Kemp, of Chilham aforeſaid; with whom he had part of the eſtate there, and purchaſed the reſt, of the three other daughters and coheirs (w). As to his character; his actions, related above, ſhow, that he was, (as one (x) expreſſes it,) ‘ a great aſſertor of his country's liberty in the worſt of times, when the ſluices of prerogative were opened, and ‘ the banks of the law were almoſt overwhelmed with the inundations of it.’ Beſides which, we are informed, that, his underſtanding few could equal, and his virtues fewer would. He was a pious Man, a careful Father, a loving Huſband, a fatherly Brother, a courteous Neighbour, a merciful Landlord, a liberal Maſter, and a noble Friend (y). He was author of a few things [H]. As hereditary learning ſeemed to run in the veins of that family (z); Sir Dudley had a brother, *Thomas*, and a ſon named *Dudley* [I], who were both learned men, and writers.

‘ ries and ruins of time, they have continued in moſt ‘ parts the ſame; as may appear in old remaining monuments of the laws of Ethelbert the firſt Chriſtian ‘ King of Kent, Ina King of the Weſt-Saxons, Offa ‘ of the Mercians, &c. whoſe laws are yet to be ſeen, ‘ publiſhed (as ſome think) by Parliament. ——— ‘ And though, during the troubleſome times of the ‘ Danes, the laws in a manner were laid aſleep in the ‘ kingdom; yet, by the bleſſing of God, good King ‘ Edward, commonly called St Edward, did awaken ‘ theſe laws, ——— and confirmed them (7), *confirmavit*: which *confirmavit* ſheweth, that good King ‘ Edward did not give thoſe laws, which William the ‘ Conqueror, and all his ſucceſſors ſithence that, have ‘ ſworn unto ——— And, as we have now, even in ‘ thoſe Saxon times they had their Courts Barons, and ‘ Courts Leets, and Sheriffs Courts, by which (as Tacitus ſaith of the Germans) their anceſtors *Jura reddebant per pagos & vicos*: i. e. adminiſtred juſtice in ‘ the burghs and villages. And, I believe, as we have ‘ now, they had their Parliaments, where new laws ‘ were made, *cum conſenſu Prælatorum, Magnatum,* ‘ *& totius communitatis*; i. e. with the conſent of the ‘ Prelates, great men, and the whole community; or, ‘ as another writes, *cum conſilio Prelatorum, Nobilium,* ‘ *& ſapientum Laicorum*, with the advice of the Prelates, Nobility, and wiſe men of the laity. ——— Be ‘ pleaſed then to know, that it is an undoubted and fundamental point of this ſo ancient Common-Law of ‘ England, that the ſubject hath a true property in his ‘ goods and poſſeſſions; which doth preſerve as ſacred ‘ that *Meum* and *Tuum*, the nurſe of induſtry, the mother of courage, and without which there can be no ‘ juſtice, of which *Meum* and *Tuum* is the proper object. But this undoubted birthright of free ſubjects ‘ hath lately not a little been invaded and prejudiced, &c (8).

[G] *And became poſſeſſed of it the 20th of April, 1636.*] The author of his epitaph obſerves upon that occaſion, that ‘ This did crown his former actions, ‘ and though it would not increaſe his integrity, yet it ‘ made him more conſpicuous; and whom his acquaintance before, now the kingdom, honoured. If the ‘ example of his juſtice had powerful influence on all ‘ Magiſtrates, the people who are governed would be ‘ happy on earth, and the rulers in Heaven, with him, ‘ who counted it an unworthy thing to be tempted to ‘ vice by the reward of virtue.’ What is ſaid in the ſame place is not literally true; namely, that he was ‘ unbiaſſed by popular applauſe, or *Court-hopes*.’ For, if he was unbiaſſed by Court-hopes, why did he accept of the place of Maſter of the Rolls?

[H] *He was author of a few things*] The only thing he publiſhed was this; I. ‘ A Defence of Trade: ‘ in a Letter to Sir Tho. Smith, Knight, Governor of ‘ the Eaſt India Company.’ London, 1615, *4to*. After his death there was printed under his name; II. ‘ A Diſcourſe concerning the Rights and Privileges of the Subject, in a conference deſired by the ‘ Lords, and had by a Committee of both Houſes, ‘ 3 Apr. 1628.’ Lond. 1642, *4to*. At this Conference it was, that Sir Dudley made the Speech mentioned above, note [F]. And, very likely, this *Diſcourſe* is the ſame with that ſpeech. III. He made ſeveral *Speeches* upon other occaſions; inſerted in Ruſhworth's Collections (9), and *Ephemeris Parliamentaria* (10). IV. He collected the Letters that paſſed between the Lord Burleigh, Sir Fr. Walſingham, and others, about the intended marriages of Queen Elizabeth, with the Duke of Anjou, in 1570, &c. and with the Duke of Alençon in 1581. They were publiſhed in 1655, under this title; ‘ The compleat Ambaſſador: or two Treaties of the intended ‘ marriage of Queen Elizabeth of glorious memory; ‘ comprized in Letters of Negotiation of Sir Francis ‘ Walſingham, her Reſident in France. Together ‘ with the anſwers of the Lord Burleigh, the Earl of ‘ Leiceſter, Sir Tho. Smith, and others. Wherein, ‘ as in a clear mirror, may be ſeen the Faces of the ‘ two Courts of England and France, as they then ‘ ſtood; with many remarkable paſſages of State, not ‘ at all mentioned in any Hiſtory. Faithfully collected by the truly Honourable Sir Dudley Digges, ‘ Knight, late Maſter of the Rolls.’ Lond. 1655, fol. The publiſher, who ſigns himſelf A. H. ſays in the Preface, that this ‘ piece was never intended for the ‘ preſs, but had ſlept long amongſt the papers of ‘ Sir Dudley Digges, a perſonage of known wiſdom ‘ and integrity, and who underſtood well the value of ‘ this manuſcript, which had nothing forged or ſuppoſititious in it.’

[I] *Sir Dudley had a brother Thomas, and a ſon named Dudley*] His brother Thomas was educated in Univerſity-college, Oxon (11), took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, Octob. 31, 1606 (12), retired to London; and then travelling beyond ſea, ſtudied in foreign univerſities; from whence returning a good ſcholar, and an accompliſhed perſon, he was created Maſter of Arts, Nov. 20, 1626 (13). He tranſlated from Spaniſh into Engliſh, ‘ Gerardo the unfortunate ‘ Spaniard.’ Lond. 1622, *4to*, written by Gonçalo de Ceſpedes. And from Latin into Engliſh verſe, ‘ The ‘ Rape of Proſerpine.’ Lond. 1617, &c. *4to*, written by Claudian. He died April 7, 1635, being accounted a good Poet, and Orator; and a great maſter of the Engliſh, French, and Spaniſh languages (14). ——— As for *Dudley*, the third ſon of Sir Dudley Digges, he was admitted into Univerſity-college, Oxon. in 1629, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, Jan. 17, 1631-2. Being the next year elected Fellow of All-ſouls-college, he took the degree of Maſter Octob. 15, 1635 (15), and having a great memory, and excellent

natural

(o) Ephemeris Parliamentaria: or, a faithful Regiſter of the Parliament 3 & 4 Car. I. edit. 1654. fol. p. 54.

(p) Whitelocke, ubi ſupra, p. 14.

(q) Pat. 6 Car. I. p. 6.

* See above the article CÆSAR (JULIUS). Mr Newcourt ſays, he ſucceeded after Cæſar's death, Aug. 1. 1636. which ſeems to be a miſtake. *Repertorium Eccleſ.* Vol. I. p. 341.

(r) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 619.

(s) Namely, the caſtle and manor, and the impropriate tythes, of that pariſh. Hiſt. of Kent, by J. Harris, D. D. Lond. 1719. fol. p. 75, 369.

(t) Partly upon the ruins of the old caſtle. Harris, ibid. p. 369.

(u) Ibid.

(w) Ibid.

(x) *Villare Cantianum*: or, Kent ſurveyed and illuſtrated, &c. by T. Philipot, Eſq; Lond. 1664. fol. p. 116.

(y) From his monumental inſcription, as above.

(z) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Kent, p. 82.

(7) *Excitatas reparavit, reparatas decoravit, decoratas confirmavit.* Lib. de Chertſey.

(8) Ephemeris Parliamentaria, ut ſupra, p. 54, 55.

(9) Part i. edit. 1659. p. 302, 360, 538, 606.

(10) Edit. 1654 fol. p. 54, 139, 154.

(11) Wood's Athenæ, Vol. I. col. 599.

(12) Idem, Faſti, col. 174.

(13) Ibid. col. 235

(14) Wood, col. 600.

(15) Ibid. Faſti, col. 252, 262.

natural parts, which he improved by cloſe ſtudying, he became a general ſcholar, and a good Poet and Linguiſt. He wrote ‘ An Anſwer to a printed book entitled, *Obſervations upon ſome of his Majeſty's late Anſwers and Expreſſes,*’ Oxon. 1642, 4*to*, and ‘ The Unlawfulneſs of Subjects taking up Arms againſt their Sovereign in what caſe ſoever, with Anſwers to all Objections.’ Lond. 1643, 4*to*, reprinted ſeveral times ſince. He died Octob. 1, 1643 (16). —— The eldeſt ſon and heir of Sir Dudley Digges, was named *Thomas*, and his ſecond ſon *John* (17). C

(16) Idem, Athenæ, Vol. II. col. 21, 32.

(17) Harris, as above, p. 379.

DODWELL (Henry) a very learned writer, in part of the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth century, was born in the pariſh of St Warburgh in Dublin [*A*], towards the latter end of October, 1641 (*a*); and baptized November 4th (*b*). His father had an eſtate in Conaught, but it being ſeized by the Iriſh rebels, he came, with his wife and child, to England in 1648, to obtain ſome aſſiſtance among their relations. After ſome ſtay in London, they went to York, and placed their ſon in the free-ſchool of that city (*c*), where he continued five years, and laid the foundation of his future great accompliſhments. His father, after having ſettled him with his mother at York, went to Ireland, to look after his eſtate, but died of the plague at Waterford: and his mother going thither for the ſame purpoſe, fell into a conſumption, of which ſhe died, in her brother Sir Henry Slingſby's houſe (*d*). Being thus deprived of his parents, Mr Dodwell was reduced to ſuch ſtreights that he had not money enough to buy pen, ink, and paper [*B*]; and ſuffered very much for want of his board being regularly paid (*e*). Thus he continued till 1654, when his uncle, Mr Henry Dodwell, Rector of Newbourn and Hemley in Suffolk, ſent for him, diſcharged his debts [*C*], and not only aſſiſted, but alſo perfected him, in his ſtudies (*f*). With him he remained about a year, and then went to Dublin, where he was at ſchool for a year longer (*g*). In 1656 he was admitted into Trinity-College in that city, of which he was ſucceſſively choſen Scholar and Fellow (*h*). But in 1666 he quitted his Fellowſhip, in order to avoid going into holy orders (*i*), as the ſtatutes of the College require [*D*]. He came the ſame year to England, and reſided at Oxford (*k*) for the ſake of the publick library. Thence he returned to his native country for a time (*l*), and in 1672 publiſhed, at Dublin, in 8*vo*. a poſthumous treatiſe of his late learned Tutor John Stearn, M. D. to which he put a preface of his own [*E*]. His

(*a*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. edit. 1721. col. 232. and life of Mr Henry Dodwell, &c. by Fr. Brookeſby, B. D. Lond. 1715. 8vo. p. 11.

(*b*) Brokeſby, p. 12.

(*c*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Brokeſby, ibid. p. 13, 14, 15.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 15.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 16, 17.

(*g*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Ibid.

(*i*) Ibid. and Brokeſby, p. 23.

(*k*) Wood, ibid. and Brokeſby, p. 38.

(*l*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *Was born in the pariſh of St Warburgh in Dublin.*] Though Ireland was the place of his birth, yet by both parents he was of Engliſh extraction. His father, William Dodwell, was in a military office, being Corporal of the Field, a poſt now diſuſed, but equal to a Captain of horſe (1). His grandfather (who firſt of that family ſettled in Ireland) was Henry Dodwell, a Clergyman (2), a native of Oxford, and ſon of William, ſuppoſed to be brother of Alderman Henry Dodwell, Mayor of that city in the year 1592 (3). — As for Mr Dodwell's mother; ſhe was daughter of Sir Francis Slingſby, uncle to that Sir Henry Slingſby, who was beheaded in 1658, for being concerned in a plot againſt Oliver Cromwell then Protector. Sir Francis Slingſby was a very brave officer under Sir George Carew Lord Preſident of Munſter (4).

(1) Brokeſby, as above, p. 7, 8.

(2) Ibid. p. 8.

(3) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(4) Brokeſby, p. 8, &c.

[*B*] *That he had not money to buy pen, ink, and paper.*] So that he was forced to uſe ſuch paper as young gentlewomen had covered their work with, and thrown away as no longer fit for their uſe, he having no other to write his exerciſes on; and to make uſe of charcoal, inſtead of pen and ink, which he had not money to purchaſe; and then, when he came to ſchool, to borrow pen and ink of his ſchool-fellows to fit his exerciſes for his maſter's ſight (5).

(5) Brokeſby, ubi ſupra, p. 15.

[*C*] *Diſcharged his debts.*] The non-payment of which, and eſpecially of his board, had procured him a great deal of neglect and ill treatment; which was to him frequently matter of melancholy reflexions, and had made a very great impreſſion upon his tender mind, as appears from the following inſtance. One night, when at his uncle's, he was heard to cry out bitterly, and make a ſad noiſe, in his ſleep. Upon which, his uncle going to him, and awaking him, the young man told him, that he dreamed his landlord Hind was come to fetch him back to York: the thoughts of which gave him inexpreſſible uneaſineſs (6).

(6) Ibid. p. 17.

[*D*] *As the ſtatutes of the college require.*] By the ſtatutes of that college, the Fellows are obliged to take Orders when they are Maſters of Arts of three years ſtanding. The learned Biſhop Jer. Taylor, offered to uſe his intereſt for procuring a diſpenſation of the ſtatute. But Mr Dodwell refuſed to accept of that kind offer; leſt it ſhould be an ill precedent, and of bad conſequence afterwards to the college. The reaſons given for his declining the miniſterial function, were, 1. The great weight of that office, and the ſevere account which the Miniſters of Chriſt have to give to their Lord and Maſter. 2. His natural baſhfulneſs, and humble opinion, and diffidence of himſelf; tho' he was, unqueſtionably, very well qualified in point of learning, of every kind. 3. That he thought he could do more ſervice to religion, and the Church, by his writings, whilſt he continued a layman, than if he took Orders: for then, the uſual objections made againſt clergymens writings on thoſe ſubjects, *viz.* ‘ That they plead their own cauſe, and are biaſſed by ſelf-intereſt,’ would be entirely taken off (7).

(7) Ibid. p. 23, 24, &c.

[*E*] *A poſthumous treatiſe of his late learned tutor John Stearne, M. D. to which he put a preface of his own.*] He entituled that book, *De Obſtinatione: Opus poſthumum Pietatem Chriſtiano-Stoicam Scholaſtico more Suadens:* and his own preface, *Prolegomena Apologetica, de uſu Dogmatum Philoſophicorum,* &c. Wherein he apologizes for his tutor; who, by quoting ſo often in that book, and ſetting a high value upon the writings and maxims of the Heathen Philoſophers, particularly of the Stoicks, might ſeem to depreciate the Holy Scriptures. Mr Dodwell therefore premiſes firſt, that the author's deſign in that work, is only to recommend *Moral Duties,* and enforce the practice of them by the authority of the antient Philoſophers; and that he doth not meddle with the great myſteries of Chriſtianity, which are diſcoverable only by divine revelation. After that, he ſhews, that in things which concern our practice, reaſon is to be regarded, and even in things wherein God hath ſuperadded a farther revelation of his will in the Holy Scriptures: That in the examination of natural reaſoning, the authority of the great aſſertors and vindicators of Reaſon challenges our regard; and conſequently the Philoſophers. —— Moreover, he argues, that the great end of Revelation, was to inſtruct us in things, which we could not by our reaſon attain to the knowledge of; but that in ordinary caſes our reaſon is given us by God to be our guide and director, it being the candle of the Lord. That Revelation was ſuperadded by God to make a farther diſcovery of his will, and to aſſiſt our natural reaſon, and hence not to be expected in caſes where reaſon is ſufficient to attain the end. That faith, or belief of divine revelation, is founded on reaſon, and that ſome acts of reaſon precede faith, and are ſuppoſed in our belief of divine revelation, *&c.* Laſtly, he ſhows, that by *Obſtinatio,* Dr Stearn meant what the Greeks call ἀπάθεια, εὐστάθεια, ἀναμαρτησία, i. e. Firmneſs, His ſecond work was, ‘ Two Letters of Advice. I. For the Suſception of Holy Orders. II. For Studies Theological, eſpecially ſuch as are Rational.’ To the ſecond edition of which, in 1681, was added, ‘ A Diſcourſe concerning the Phœnician Hiſtory of Sanchoniathon [*F*].’ In 1673, he wrote a Preface, without his name, to ‘ An Introduction to a devout Life,’ by Francis de Sales, the laſt Biſhop and Prince of Geneva; which was publiſhed at Dublin, in Engliſh, this ſame year, in 12*mo* (*m*). He came over again to England in 1674, and ſettled in London; where he became acquainted with ſeveral learned men; particularly in 1675, with Dr William Lloyd, afterwards ſucceſſively Biſhop of St Aſaph, Litchfield and Coventry, and Worceſter. With that eminent Divine he contracted ſo great a friendſhip and intimacy, that he attended him to Holland, when he was appointed Chaplain to the Princeſs of Orange: He was alſo with him at Saliſbury, when he kept his reſidence there as Canon of that Church; and ſpent afterwards a good deal of time with him at St Aſaph (*n*). In 1675 he publiſhed ‘ Some Conſiderations of preſent Concernment; How far the Romaniſts may be truſted by Princes of another perſuaſion,’ in 8*vo* [*G*]. The year following he put out ‘ Two ſhort Diſcourſes againſt the Romaniſts. 1. An Account of the fundamental Principle of Popery, and of the Inſufficiency of the Proofs which they have for it. 2. An Anſwer to ſix Queries propoſed to a Gentlewoman of the Church of England, by an Emiſſary of the Church of Rome [*H*].’ In the year 1679, he publiſhed, in 4*to*, ‘ Separation of Churches from Epiſcopal Government, as practiſed by the preſent Nonconformiſts, proved Schiſmatical, from ſuch Principles as are leaſt controverted, and do withal moſt popularly explain the Sinfulneſs and Miſchief of Schiſm [*I*]. This being animadverted upon by R. Baxter (*o*), was vindicated, in 1681, by Mr Dodwell, in ‘ A Reply to Mr Baxter's pretended Confutation of a Book, intituled, *Separation of Churches*, &c.’ To which were added, ‘ Three Letters to Mr Baxter, written in the year 1673, concerning the Poſſibility of Diſcipline under a Dioceſan Government, *&c.*’ 8*vo*. In 1682 came out his ‘ Diſſertations on St Cyprian [*K*].’ The year following, he

(*m*) Brokeſby, as above, p. 33, 36. Mr Dodwell reviſed it, and left out whatever was Popiſh; publiſhing it under this title. *An Introduction to a Devout Life: containing eſpecially a prudent Method for Spiritual Cloſet Exerciſes, and Remedies againſt the Difficulties ordinarily occurring in the conduct of a pious Life. Fitted for the uſe of Proteſtants.*

(*n*) Ibid. p. 38, 39.

(*o*) In his True and only Way of Concord of all the Chriſtian Churches. Lond. 1680, 8vo.

Firmneſs, the not ſinking under adverſities and misfortunes (8).

[*F*] *Two letters of advice* ——— *and* — *concerning the Phœnician Hiſtory of Sanchoniathon.*] One of the two letters was written for the uſe of a ſon of Biſhop Leſley, a brother to Mr Charles Leſley, well known for his uſeful writings againſt the Quakers, Deiſts, Papiſts, and Socinians; one for whom Mr Dodwell had a great eſteem (9). ——— As for his *Diſcourſe on Sanchoniathon*; it was occaſioned by ſome letters that paſſed between him and the learned Dr Tho. Smith. This learned perſon having deſired Mr Dodwell's thoughts concerning that author; Mr Dodwell wrote this diſcourſe, wherein he delivers it as his opinion, that Philo-Byblius was the forger, or contriver, of that Hiſtory under the name of Sanchoniathon.

[*G*] *Some Conſiderations of preſent Concernment, &c.*] This book was chiefly levelled againſt Father P. Walſh, and others concerned in *the Iriſh Remonſtrance*, and *the Controverſial Letters*; which occaſioned a kind of ſchiſm amongſt the Iriſh Papiſts (10). See the *Iriſh Remonſtrance* in Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, *&c.* edit. Lond. 1728, fol. p. 515, 516, 620, *&c.*

[*H*] *An account of the fundamental principle of Popery*, ——— *and An Anſwer to Six Queries, &c.*] That fundamental principle, is, the pretended *Infallible Authority* of that Church. He begins this treatiſe, by ſhowing, that the Romaniſts are guilty of formal ſchiſm with reſpect to us in England; ſince they ſeparated from us upon the prohibition of Pius V, by his Bull dated Febr. 25, 1569. There is a very long preface to this ſhort tract, ‘ concerning the uſefulneſs of the following hypotheſis.’——His *Anſwer to the Six Queries*, was occaſioned, by their being preſented to a gentlewoman of the Church of England, by a Romaniſt, in order to ſeduce her. Whereupon Mr Dodwell was deſired, to give a ſhort and diſtinct anſwer to them: which he accordingly did. The queries were, 1. ‘ Whether any one going from the Church of England, and dying a Roman Catholick can be ſaved? 2. Whether they be idolaters, or no? 3. Where was the Church of England before Luther's time? 4. Why all the Churches are not united in one? 5. Why the Church of England doth not hold up to confeſſion, faſting-days, holy oil, which we ourſelves commend? 6. Why was Reformation done by Act of Parliament?’ Theſe *two Diſcourſes* make but a very ſmall volume in 12*mo*. They were reprinted in 1688, 4*to*, with ‘ A new Preface relating to the Biſhop of Meaux, and other modern Complainers of Miſrepreſentation.’

[*I*] *Separation of churches, &c.*] This book was occaſioned by an *Anſwer to a Sermon* of the learned John Sharp, (afterwards Archbiſhop of York) on Romans xiv. 19, by a Nonconformiſt. Mr Dodwell undertook to vindicate the doctrine contained in this ſermon: and that produced the book now before us. In which Mr Dodwell ſhews, that ſeparation from epiſcopal communion renders perſons unſecure of their eternal ſalvation: that ſalvation is ordinarily to be expected from the participation of the Sacraments of Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper, which God has appointed as the ordinary means of obtaining the Goſpel-benefits, not to be obtained merely by hearing the word, and prayer: that the validity of the Sacraments depends on the authority of the perſons adminiſtring them, there being ſuch whom God has commiſſioned to act as his Miniſters, whoſe acts he will ratify in heaven: that God is not obliged to beſtow ſpiritual benefits on any, who receive the Sacraments from perſons not thus authorized, beſides their adminiſtring them being an uſurpation on God's authority, *&c.* In this book, he hath learned diſcourſes, on the *Sin unto Death*; and the *Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt*. He intended to write, moreover, ‘ A Hiſtory of the firſt Schiſms in the Chriſtian Church,’ as a ſecond part of this work; which he ſtiled the *Hiſtorical* part, as the former the *Rational*. Accordingly he began it, and in Latin, that it might be beneficial to foreigners, as well as our nation; but he never finiſhed it (11).

[*K*] *Diſſertations on St Cyprian*] They were compoſed at the requeſt of the excellent Dr J. Fell, Biſhop of Oxford, who deſired our author to write Obſervations on St Cyprian, when he was about publiſhing his beautiful edition of that Father. This produced theſe Diſſertations; which were dedicated by the author to that Prelate, on the 7th of April 1682, and printed, that year, in the ſame ſize as Biſhop Fell's St Cyprian, and deſigned to be bound with it. A ſecond edition of them, under the title of *Diſſertationes Cyprianicæ*, &c. was reprinted at Oxford in 1684, 8*vo*. They are chiefly explanations of ſome paſſages in St Cyprian. In the XIth Diſſertation he ſhews, ‘ How ſmall the *number of martyrs* was in the firſt perſecutions; and how later Martyrologies, eſpecially of the Romaniſts, have multiplied them without the authority of antient monuments.’ This ſubject he handled, particularly at the requeſt of Dr W. Lloyd Biſhop of St Aſaph (12); with a proſpect of the ſucceſſion of King James II (13). And he [Mr Dodwell] thought, that the leſſening the number of martyrs, leſſened not the glory of Chriſtianity, when the heroic conſtancy

(8) See Brokeſby, p. 26, &c.

(9) Ibid. p. 33.

(10) Brokeſby, ubi ſupra, p. 40, &c.

(11) Brokeſby, p. 58, &c.

(12) Brokeſby, as above, p. 102.

(13) Four Letters which paſſed between the Biſhop of Sarum, and Mr Hen. Dodwell. Publiſhed by Mr Nelſon, London, 1713, 12*mo*.

he publiſhed ‘ A Diſcourſe concerning the One Altar, and the One Prieſthood, inſiſted ‘ on by the Ancients (*p*) in their Diſputes againſt Schiſm.’ *Lond.* 8*vo*. In 1684, a diſſertation of his on a paſſage of Lactantius [*L*], was inſerted in the new edition of that author at Oxford, by Thomas Spark, in 8*vo*. His treatiſe ‘ Of the Prieſthood of ‘ Laicks [*M*],’ appeared in 1686, in 8*vo*. About the ſame time (*q*) he was preparing for the preſs the Poſthumous Works of the learned Dr John Pearſon, Biſhop of Cheſter [*N*]. He publiſh'd alſo, ‘ Diſſertations on Irenæus [*O*].’ On the 2d of April 1688, he was elected by the Univerſity of Oxford, Camden's Profeſſor of Hiſtory, without any application of his own, and when he was at a great diſtance from Oxford (*r*): And the 21ſt of May was incorporated Maſter of Arts in that Univerſity (*s*). But this beneficial and creditable employment of Profeſſor he did not enjoy long; being deprived of it in November 1691, for refuſing to take the Oaths of Allegiance to King William and Queen Mary (*t*). When their Majeſties had ſuſpended thoſe Biſhops, who would not acknowledge their authority; Mr Dodwell publiſhed ‘ A cautionary Diſcourſe of Schiſm, ‘ with a particular Regard to the Caſe of the Biſhops, who are ſuſpended for refuſing to ‘ take the new Oath.’ London, 8*vo* (*u*). And when thoſe Biſhops were actually deprived, and others put in their Sees [*P*], he joined the former, looking upon the new Biſhops, and their adherents, as Schiſmatics. He wrote likewiſe ‘ A Vindication of the deprived ‘ Biſhops:’ and ‘ A Defence of the ſame [*Q*].’ After having loſt his Profeſſorſhip, he continued

(*p*) Particularly by Ignatius. This book was occaſioned by an objection of Mr R. Baxter. In oppoſition to whom, Mr Dodwell affirms, That the *One Prieſthood*, was that of the Biſhop: and the *One Altar*, Epiſcopal Communion.

(*q*) For the *Imprimatur* bears date Sept. 9. 1686.

(*r*) He was then in Shropſhire. Brokeſby, p. 181.

(*s*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 231, 232. and Brokeſby, as above, p. 180, 181.

(*t*) About which time he writ *Concerning the Caſe of taking the new Oath of Allegiance, with a Declaration*, &c. containing only nine pages.

(*u*) Upon occaſion of this diſcourſe it was ſaid, That allowing his plea to ſtand, he had made Religion for the Church, not the Church for Religion. See the life of Mr John Kettlewell, &c. Lond. 1718. p. 317.

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conſtancy and patience of them that ſuffered, which tended ſo much to its honour, was the great reaſon the perſecutors put a ſtop to theſe ſlaughters. However, Mr Dodwell was ſeverely, nay rudely, reflected upon for this Diſſertation, by Biſhop Burnet; who thus ſpeaks to him: ‘ In one of theſe [Diſſertations] ‘ you laboured to leſſen one of the glorious characters ‘ of the Chriſtian religion from the number of the ‘ martyrs; and in the next, (concerning the ſignal ‘ courage and fortitude of the martyrs) you began the ‘ account of the patience and fortitude of the martyrs ‘ with the wilfulneſs of the firſt Chriſtians, and their ‘ deſire of fame and vain-glory. It is true, you after ‘ that gave better reaſons for it: but would a Vaninus, ‘ a Hobbes, and a Spinoza, ſay any thing more dero‘ gatory to that glory of our moſt holy faith, than you ‘ wrote in thoſe two Diſſertations?’ In anſwer to that, Mr Dodwell replies, That he wrote thoſe Diſcourſes ‘ with a deſign of advancing, not of underva‘ luing martyrdom.’——And that he could have eaſily confuted his adverſaries, had it not been for the ‘ great veneration he had for the goodneſs and piety ‘ of ſeveral of the Fathers, who were of too eaſy belief ‘ of matter of fact not ſufficiently atteſted (14).’ This Diſſertation was profeſſedly attacked by Father Thierry Ruinart, a Benedictin; in the General Preface to his *Acta Primorum Martyrum ſincera & ſelecta, ex Libris cum editis tum manuſcriptis collecta, &c. Notiſque & obſervationibus illuſtrata. His præmittitur Præfatio generalis, in qua refellitur Diſſertatio* 11ma. *Cyprianica de Paucitate Martyrum.* Paris 1689, 4*to*, and Amſtel. 1712, fol. Mr Dodwell never anſwered this Preface; not that it was unanſwerable, but really out of tenderneſs for religion: becauſe he muſt have been forced to expoſe the *weakneſs* or *credulity* of antient writers, which ſome irreligious wretches would lay hold on to vile purpoſes (15). At the end of theſe Diſſertations are ſome chronological tables, chiefly the Canons of Ptolemy collated with manuſcripts; ſome *Faſti* out of manuſcripts; a fragment of Theon; and another of the Emperor Heraclius, both founded on Ptolemy's Canons.

(14) Four Letters, ibid.

(15) Ibid. p. 103.

[*L*] *A Diſſertation on a paſſage of Lactantius.*] In his treatiſe *de Mortibus Perſecutorum*, ſect. 17. The words are ——*per circuitum ripæ Strigæ* Nicomediam *venit*. In explaining which, Mr Dodwell obſerves, That *Striga* is firſt uſed for the limit of a Roman camp, and thence for the borders of fields, and limits of countries: that rivers were convenient for all theſe ends: that as Euphrates was the boundary of the Roman empire towards the Parthians, and the Rhine towards the Germans, ſo was the Danube of the Illyrian Province. And, becauſe paſſage by water was the eaſieſt for infirm perſons, Diocleſian made choice of it in his chronical weakneſs to go to Nicomedia, partly by the Danube, and partly by the Euxine ſea, though it was *per circuitum*, by taking a compaſs about.

[*M*] *Of the Prieſthood of Laicks.*] *De Jure Laicorum Sacerdotali, ex Sententia Tertulliani aliorumque Veterum*; as the title of it is. 'Twas written by way of anſwer to H. Grotius's Diſſertation *De Coenæ Adminiſtratione ubi paſtores non ſunt, &c.* which was tranſlated about this time into Engliſh by Mr William Baxter, the Antiquarian, and publiſhed under this title, ‘ Anti-Dodwelliſm (16): being two curious tracts for‘ merly written by Hugo Grotius, concerning a ſolu‘ tion of theſe two curious queſtions: 1. Whether the ‘ Euchariſt may be adminiſtered in the abſence of, or ‘ want of Paſtors, *&c.*’

(16) Probably becauſe it was contrary to what Mr Dodwell had aſſerted in his book of *Schiſm*, and its defence.

[*N*] *The Poſthumous Works of the learned Dr John Pearſon.*] They were printed at London in 1688, 4*to*, under this title, *V. Cl. Johannis Pearſonii, S. T. P. Ceſtrienſis nuper Epiſcopi, Opera Poſthuma Chronologica, &c. viz. De Serie & Succeſſione primorum Romæ Epiſcoporum Diſſertationes duæ: quibus præfiguntur Annales Paulini, & Lectiones in Acta Apoſtolorum. Singula prælo tradidit, edenda curavit, & Diſſertationis novis additionibus auxit H. Dodwellus, &c. Cujus etiam acceſſit de eadem Succeſſione uſque ad Annales Cl. Ceſtrienſis Cyprianicos, Diſſertatio Singularis.* The additions made by Mr Dodwell, are, a Diſcourſe to ſhew that Theophilus Antiochenus, the author of the Diſcourſe *ad Autolycum*, was not Theophilus Biſhop of Antioch: another, to ſhew, what St Jerom meant by this paſſage, ‘ That the Churches were governed ‘ by a Council of Preſbyters at firſt, till diviſions a‘ roſe, *&c.*’ Another, to prove, how little Euſebius was acquainted with Latin authors, or affairs in the Weſt; and how long after his Chronicon he wrote his Hiſtory. A Diſſertation concerning the younger Agrippa's death. A Diſcourſe, ſhewing, that Celibacy and Virginity were not ſo much eſteemed in the firſt ages of the Church, as in the following times. A Diſcourſe about Tertullian's Epocha, in his firſt book againſt Marcion, c. 19. A Diſſertation concerning the ſucceſſion of the firſt Biſhops of Rome, brought down to the time where the Biſhop begins his Cyprianic Annals: which Annals are inſerted in Biſhop Fell's edition of St Cyprian (17).

(17) This diſſertation contains 226 pages.

[*O*] *Diſſertations on Irenæus.*] They were printed at Oxford in 1689, in 8*vo*, under the title of *Diſſertationes in Irenæum.* Though they are ſix in number, they are only prolegomena to what the author further deſigned. He hath joined to this work, *Philippus Sidetes de Catechiſtarum Alexandrinorum Succeſſione*, i. e. Of the Readers in the School of Alexandria; with notes. At the end there is, A Chronological Table.

[*P*] *When thoſe Biſhops were actually deprived, and others put in their Sees.*] The deprived Biſhops were, Dr Will. Sancroft, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; Dr Will. Lloyd, Biſhop of Norwich; Dr Fr. Turner, of Ely; Dr Tho. Kenn, of Bath and Wells; Dr Rob. Frampton, of Glouceſter; and Dr Tho. White, of Peterborough. And thoſe put in their Sees were, Dr John Tillotſon, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; Dr John Moore, at Norwich; Dr Sim. Patrick, at Ely; Dr Rich Kidder, at Bath and Wells; Dr Edw. Fowler, at Glouceſter; and Dr Rich. Cumberland, at Peterborough.

[*Q*] *A Vindication of the deprived Biſhops.*] This was printed at London in 1692, 4*to*, being an anſwer to continued for ſome time in Oxford, and then retired to Cookham a village near Maidenhead, about an equal diſtance between Oxford and London; and therefore convenient to maintain a correſpondence in each place, and to conſult friends and books, as he ſhould have occaſion (*w*). While he liv'd there, he became acquainted with Mr Francis Cherry of Shotteſbrooke, a perſon of great learning and virtue, for the ſake of whoſe Converſation he remov'd to Shotteſbrooke, where he chiefly ſpent the remainder of his days (*x*). In 1692, he publiſhed his Camdenian Lectures read at Oxford [*R*]: And in 1694, 'An Invitation to Gentlemen to acquaint themſelves with ancient Hiſtory;' being a preface to *Degory Whear*'s 'Method of reading Hiſtory,' tranſlated into Engliſh by Mr Bohun. About this time having loſt one or more of the Dodwells, his kinſmen, whom he deſigned for his heirs; he married on the 24th of June 1694, in the 52d year of his age, a perſon, in whoſe father's houſe at Cookham he had boarded ſeveral times: and by her had ten children (*y*). In 1696 he drew up the Annals of Thucydides, and Xenophon, to accompany the editions of thoſe two authors by Dr John Hudſon, and Mr Edward Wells. Having likewiſe compiled the Annals of Velleius Paterculus, and of Quintilian, and Statius, he publiſhed them all together in 1698, in one volume, 8*vo* [*S*]. About the ſame time he wrote an account of the leſſer Geographers, publiſhed by Dr Hudſon [*T*]: And, 'A Treatiſe concerning the Lawfulneſs of inſtrumental Muſick in Holy Offices (*z*):' Occaſioned by an organ being ſet up at Tiverton in 1696. With ſome other things [*U*]. In 1701, he publiſhed his account of the Greek and Roman Cycles [*W*], which was the moſt elaborate of all his pieces, and ſeems to have been the work of the greateſt part of his life (*a*). The ſame year was publiſhed a letter of his [*X*], concerning Mr Toland's diſingenuous treatment of him (*b*). The year following appeared 'A Diſcourſe [of his] concerning the Obligation to marry within the true Communion, following from their ſtyle of being called a Holy Seed' (*c*). And 'An Apology for the Philoſophical Writings of Cicero,' againſt the objections of Mr Petit: prefixed to Tully's five books *De Finibus*, or, Of Moral Ends, tranſlated into Engliſh by Samuel Parker, Gent. As alſo the Annals of Thucydides and Xenophon [*Y*]. In 1703 he publiſhed 'A Letter concerning the Immortality of the Soul, againſt Mr Henry Layton's Hypotheſis, 4*to*.' And, 'A Letter to Dr Tillotſon about Schiſm,' 8*vo*. written in

(*w*) Brokeſby, as above, p. 223.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 305.

(*y*) Ibid. p. 305, 306. Only ſix ſurvived him; namely, two ſons, and four daughters. One of his ſons, is the learned Mr Wm Dodwell, Rector of Shotteſbrooke.

(*z*) Publiſhed in 1700. 8vo.

(*a*) Dr Halley, in his account of that book, at the end of Brokeſby's life of Mr Dodwell, p. 638.

(*b*) Brokeſby, p. 321, &c.

(*c*) This was annexed to Mr C. Leſley's Diſcourſe on the ſame ſubject.

to a book publiſhed by *Humphrey Hody*, *B. D.* London 1691, 4*to*, entituled, 'The Unreaſonableneſs of a Separation from the New Biſhops: or a treatiſe out of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, ſhewing, that although a Biſhop was unjuſtly deprived, neither he nor the Church ever made a Separation, if the Succeſſor was not a Heretick. Tranſlated out of an ancient Greek Manuſcript in the Publick Library at Oxford,' *viz.* among the Baroccian MSS. Mr Hody writing an anſwer to *The Vindication*, &c. Mr Dodwell publiſhed 'A Defence of the Vindication of the Depriv'd Biſhops.' Lond. 1695, 4*to*. To which he put a preface that was then ſuppreſſed, but printed afterwards, with this title, 'The Doctrine of the Church of England, concerning the Independency of the Clergy on the Lay-Power, as to thoſe Rights of theirs which are purely Spiritual, reconciled with our Oath of Supremacy, and the Lay-Deprivations of the Popiſh Biſhops in the beginning of the Reformation (18).'

(18) See the life of Mr John Kettlewell, &c. Lond. 1718, 8vo. p. 316.

[*R*] *His Camdenian Lectures read at Oxford.*] The firſt was read May 25, 1688, and the ſixteenth, or laſt, Nov. 6, 1691. Beſides which, there are three more, that were prepared, but not read. Theſe Lectures are upon *Hiſtoriæ Auguſtæ Scriptores*, i. e. thoſe authors, who wrote the Hiſtory of the Roman Emperors, from the time of Trajan to that of Diocleſian. They were printed at Oxford 1692, 8*vo*, under this title, *Prælectiones Academicæ in Scholâ Rhetorices Camdenianâ: cum Fragmentis è Libris Linteis.* Theſe *Libri Lintei*, were the Annals, or Commentaries of the antient Romans, which uſed to be written on linnen.

[*S*] *Having likewiſe compiled the Annals of Velleius,* &c.] The title of them was, *Annales Velleiani, Quinctilianei, Statiani; ſeu Vitæ P. Velleii, M. Fabii Quinctiliani, Papinii Statii (obiterque Juvenalis) pro temporum ordine diſpoſitæ.* Thoſe of *Velleius Paterculus*, were written at the requeſt of Dr Charlett, late Maſter of Univerſity-college, Oxon. when he procured an edition of that author in 1692. At the end of theſe Annals is an Appendix, concerning *Julius Celſus*, who digeſted Cæſar's Commentaries; and concerning *Commodianus*; in two Diſſertations addreſſed to the moſt learned Grævius.

[*T*] *He wrote an account of the Leſſer Geographers.*] The *firſt* volume of theſe Geographers was publiſhed in 1698, 8*vo*. The *ſecond* in 1703. The *third* and *fourth* in 1712, *&c.* Mr Dodwell's account of the ſeveral authors, is printed in thoſe volumes.

[*U*] *With ſome other things.*] Particularly *De Tabulis Coelorum Diſſert. Et Tabulæ Chronolog. pro mente* XII *Patriarch.* Theſe are printed in Dr Grabe's *Spicilegium*, Vol. I, among the notes. The firſt is a Diſſertation on theſe words, ταις πλαξι των ȣρανων. *Tabulis Coelorum*, uſed in the Teſtament of the XII Patriarchs. Whereby Mr Dodwell underſtands the archetypal and original *Law*, as it is in the ſupreme lawgiver, *in heaven*; in oppoſition to the written Law of Moſes: and ſuppoſes it to be alſo part of Enoch's prophecy. The other piece is, *Chronological Tables*, according to the author of the Teſtament of the Twelve Patriarchs, inſerted in that collection of Dr Grabe.

[*W*] *His account of the Greek and Roman Cycles.*] It was printed at Oxford in 1701, 4*to*, under this title, *De Veteribus Græcorum Romanorumque Cyclis, obiterque de Cyclo Judæorum ætate Chriſti, Diſſertationes Decem, cum Tabulis neceſſariis. Inſeruntur Tabulis Fragmenta Veterum inedita, ad rem ſpectantia Chronologicam. Opus Hiſtoriæ veteri, tam Græcæ quam Romanæ, quam & Sacræ quoque neceſſarium.* At the end, are, *Tabulæ Chronologicæ ad hoc opus illuſtrandum neceſſariæ.* The contents of theſe Diſſertations are, 1. Of Meton's Cycle. 2. Of that of Calippus. 3. Of the Athenian Cycles before Meton. 4. The Cycles of the Olympiads. 5. The Delphic and Boeotian Cycles. 6. Of the Iſthmian Games, and Corinthian and Sicilian Cycles. 7. Of the Nemean Games, and Argolic Cycles. 8. Of the Laconic Cycles. 9. Of the Macedonian and Jewiſh Cycles. 10. Of the antient Roman Cycles.

[*X*] *A Letter of his.*] It was inſerted in the ſecond edition of 'The Canon of the New Teſtament vindicated, by J. Richardſon, B. D.' in anſwer to J. Toland's Amyntor: who had (19) quoted a long paſſage out of Mr Dodwell's Diſſertations on Irenæus (20), tending (as that impious author imagined) to invalidate the authority of the Holy Scriptures, and to repreſent the Canon of the New Teſtament as precarious and ill-grounded (21).

(19) Page 69, &c.

(20) Diſſertat. I. §. 38, 39.

(21) See Brokeſby, p. 321.

[*Y*] *As alſo the Annals of Thucydides and Xenophon.*] They were printed at Oxford in 4*to*, under this title; *Annales Thucydidei et Xenophontei. Præmittitur Apparatus, cum vitæ Thucydidis Synopſi Chronologicâ.*

in the year 1691, The year following came out, his ‘ Chronology of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus,’ in the Oxford edition of that Hiſtorian by Dr Hudſon, folio; his ‘ Two Diſſertations on the age of Phalaris and Pythagoras [*Z*];’ and his ‘ Admonition to Foreigners, concerning the late Schiſm in England [*AA*].’ When the bill for preventing Occaſional Conformity was depending in Parliament, he writ a treatiſe, intituled, ‘ Occaſional Communion fundamentally deſtructive of the Diſcipline of the Primitive Catholick Church, and contrary to the Doctrine of the lateſt Scriptures concerning Church Communion;’ which was publiſhed in 1705, at London, 8*vo*. About the ſame time, obſerving that the deprived Biſhops were reduced to a ſmall number (*d*), he wrote, ‘ A Caſe in View conſidered: in a Diſcourſe, proving that [in Caſe our preſent invalidly deprived Fathers ſhall leave all their Sees vacant, either by Death or Reſignation] we ſhall not then be obliged to keep up our Separation from thoſe Biſhops, who are as yet involved in the Guilt of the preſent unhappy Schiſm.’ *Lond.* 1705. 8*vo*. Some time after, he publiſhed ‘ A farther Proſpect of the Caſe in View, in anſwer to ſome new Objections not then conſidered.’ *Lond.* 1707. 8*vo*. Hitherto Mr Dodwell had acted in ſuch a manner, as had procured him the applauſe of all, except ſuch as hated or deſpiſed the Nonjurors; but, about this time, he publiſhed ſome opinions that drew upon him almoſt univerſal cenſure. For, in order to exalt the powers and dignity of the Prieſthood, in that *One Communion*, which he imagined to be the *Peculium* of God, and to which he had joined himſelf, he endeavoured to prove, with his uſual perplexity of learning, That the doctrine of the Soul's *Natural Mortality* was the true and original Doctrine; and that Immortality was only at Baptiſm conferred upon the Soul, by the Gift of God, through the Hands of One Sett of regularly-ordained Clergy (*e*). In ſupport of this opinion, he writ, ‘ An Epiſtolary Diſcourſe, proving, from the Scriptures and the firſt Fathers, that the Soul is a Principle naturally mortal; but immortalized actually by the pleaſure of God, to Puniſhment, or to Reward, by its Union with the Divine Baptiſmal Spirit. Wherein is proved, That none have the Power of giving this Divine Immortalizing Spirit, ſince the Apoſtles, but only the Biſhops.’ *Lond.* 1706. 8*vo*. At the end of the Preface to the Reader, is a Diſſertation to prove, ‘ That Sacerdotal Abſolution is neceſſary for the Remiſſion of Sins, even of thoſe who are truly penitent.’ This Diſcourſe being attacked by ſeveral perſons [*BB*], our author endeavoured to vindicate himſelf in the three following pieces: namely, 1. ‘ A Preliminary Defence of the Epiſtolary Diſcourſe, concerning the Diſtinction between Soul and Spirit: in two Parts. I. Againſt the Charge of favouring Impiety. II. Againſt the Charge of favouring Hereſy. In the former is inſerted a Digreſſion, proving, that the Collection of the Code of the Four Goſpels in Trajan's Time, is no way derogatory to the ſufficient Atteſtation of them.’ *Lond.* 1707. 8*vo*. 2. ‘ The Scripture Account of the Eternal Rewards or Puniſhments of all that hear of the Goſpel, without an Immortality neceſſarily reſulting from the Nature of the Souls themſelves that are concerned in thoſe Rewards or Puniſhments. Shewing particularly, I. How much of this Account was diſcovered by the beſt Philoſophers. II. How far the Accounts of thoſe Philoſo-

‘ phers

(*d*) Brokeſby, ut ſupra, p. 453.

(*e*) Preface to Dr Sam. Clarke's Sermons; by Benjamin Biſhop of Wincheſter. Edit. 1730. 8vo. p. xvi.

[*Z*] *Two Diſſertations on the age of Phalaris and Pythagoras.*] They were occaſioned by the diſpute between Dr Bentley and the Honourable Mr Boyle, concerning the Epiſtles of Phalaris. In the preface, Mr Dodwell ſhews, That Atoſſa the daughter of Cyrus was not the firſt inventer of Epiſtles, as the Doctor had aſſerted: But the thing ſhe invented, was, the manner of joining the tables on which they were written, with ſuch exactneſs, that they might be more conveniently carried. Theſe two Diſſertations were printed at Oxford in 8*vo* under this title: *Exercitationes duæ: prima de ætate Phalaridis: ſecunda de ætate Pythagoræ Philoſophi.*

[*A A*] *His Admonition to Foreigners, concerning the late Schiſm in England.*] The title of it was, *De nupero Schiſmate Anglicano Parænesis ad Exteros, tam Reformatos quam etiam Pontificios, qua Jura Epiſcoporum vetera, eorundemque à Magiſtratu Seculari Independentia, omnibus aſſerenda commendantur.* Lond. 8*vo*. i.e. ‘ An Admonition to Foreigners, as well of the Reformed Religion as Papiſts; wherein the ancient Right of Biſhops, and their Independency on the Secular Magiſtrate, are aſſerted and recommended.’ The ſchiſm here mentioned, is that which was occaſioned by the deprivation of ſome of the Biſhops, and the putting others into their Sees. See above note [*P*].

[*B B*] *This Diſcourſe being attacked by ſeveral perſons.*] The chief books written againſt it were theſe: I. ‘ A Charge of Hereſy maintained againſt Mr Dodwell's late *Epiſtolary Diſcourſe*, concerning the Mortality of the Soul: by way of addreſs to the Clergy of the Church of England. Laying open his oppoſition to the received Creeds, and his falſification of all ſacred and profane Antiquity.’ By Edmund Chiſhull late Chaplain at Smyrna, and Fellow of C.C.C. Oxon. Lond. 1706, 8*vo*. In this book the author gives the following character of Mr Dodwell. —— ‘ His modeſty will, I hope, excuſe me, if I have expreſſed myſelf ſomewhat freely concerning the ſize of his judgment and underſtanding, and if I rank him only in that lower claſs of learned men, who are indeed fitted for the collecting of materials, but are unqualified to judge rightly of, and to reaſon upon what they ſhall collect.’ The other pieces publiſhed againſt the Epiſtolary Diſcourſe were, II. ‘ A Letter to Mr Dodwell; wherein all the Arguments in his Epiſtolary Diſcourſe againſt the Immortality of the Soul are particularly anſwered, and the Judgment of the Fathers concerning that matter truly repreſented.’ By Samuel Clarke, M. A. Lond. 1706, 8*vo*. III. ‘ A Philoſophical Diſcourſe concerning the natural Immortality of the Soul; wherein the great queſtion of the Soul's Immortality is endeavoured to be rightly ſtated and fully cleared. Occaſioned by Mr Dodwell's late Epiſtolary Diſcourſe. In two parts.’ By John Norris, M. A. Rector of Bemerton. Lond. 1708, 8*vo*. IV. Thomas Milles, M. A. afterwards Biſhop of Waterford and Liſmore, publiſhed alſo an Anſwer to Mr Dodwell, Oxford 1707, 8*vo*, intituled, ‘ The Natural Immortality of the Soul aſſerted and proved from the Scriptures and Firſt Fathers: in anſwer to Mr Dodwell's Epiſtolary Diſcourſe, in which he endeavours to prove the Soul to be a Principle naturally mortal.’

[CC] *Our*

phers were corrected, and improved, by the Helleniſtical Jews, aſſiſted by the Revelations of the Old Teſtament. III. How far the Diſcoveries fore-mentioned were improved by the Revelations of the Goſpel. Wherein the Teſtimonies alſo of S. Irenæus and Tertullian are occaſionally conſidered.' *Lond.* 1708. 8*vo.* And, 3. ' An Explication of a famous Paſſage in the Dialogue of S. Juſtin Martyr with Tryphon, concerning the Immortality of Human Souls. Being a Letter to the learned Author of a Book, intituled, Ἡ Χάρις δοθεῖσα, &c. With an Appendix, conſiſting of a Letter to the Rev. Mr John Norris, of Bemerton; and an Expoſtulation relating to the late Inſults of Mr Clarke and Mr Chiſhull.' *Lond.* 1708. 8*vo.* Upon the death of Dr William Lloyd, the deprived Biſhop of Norwich, on the firſt of January 1710-11; Mr Dodwell, with ſome other friends, wrote to Dr Thomas Kenn, of Bath and Wells, the only ſurviving deprived Biſhop, to know, Whether he challenged their ſubjection? He returned for anſwer, That he did not: and ſignified his deſire that the breach might be cloſed by their joining with the Biſhops poſſeſſed of their ſees; giving his reaſons for it. Accordingly Mr Dodwell, and ſeveral of his friends, joined in communion with them (*f*). But others refuſing ſo to do, Mr Dodwell was exceedingly concerned at it, and wrote, ' The Caſe in View now in Fact. Proving, That the Continuance of a ſeparate Communion, without Subſtitutes in any of the late Invalidly-deprived Sees, ſince the death of William late Lord Biſhop of Norwich, is ſchiſmatical. With an Appendix, proving, That our late Invalidly-deprived Fathers had no Right to ſubſtitute Succeſſors, who might legitimate the Separation, after that the Schiſm had been concluded by the Deceaſe of the laſt Survivor of thoſe ſame Fathers.' *Lond.* 1711. 8*vo.* Our author wrote ſome few other things [*CC*], beſides all that has been already mentioned. At length, after a very ſtudious, and aſcetick courſe of life, he died at Shotteſbrooke the 7th of June 1711, in the ſeventieth year of his age; and was buried in the chancel of the Church there (*g*), where a monument is erected to him [*DD*]. Mr Dodwell, as to his perſon, was of a ſmall, but well-proportioned ſtature, of a ſanguine and fair complexion, of a grave

(*f*) Brokeſby, ut ſupra, p. 460.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 550.

[*CC*] *Our author wrote ſome few other things.*] Namely, I. *Diſſertatio ad Fragmentum quoddam T. Livii*, i. e. ' A Diſſertation on a fragment ſuppoſed to be Livy's;' extant among Archbiſhop Laud's MSS. in the Bodleian Library. This Diſſertation is mentioned by Mr Hearne, in his notes on Book vi. of Livy, of his edition. Mr Dodwell likewiſe ſettled the times of the actions related by that author, by the years *ab Urbe Cond.* according to the Varronian account, ſet at the top of each page (22). II. At the requeſt of a Gentleman in the Iſle of Man, who had deſired his thoughts on this point, ' Whether the Church of England had juſt reaſons, when ſhe reformed, to lay aſide the uſe of Incenſe, which was practiſed in all Churches before our quarrel with the Church of Rome?' he wrote, in 1709, ' A Diſcourſe concerning the Uſe of Incenſe in Divine Offices. Wherein it is proved, that that practice, taken up in the Middle Ages, both by the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches, is, notwithſtanding, an Innovation from the doctrine of the firſt and pureſt Churches, and the Traditions derived from the Apoſtles. Serving alſo to evince, That even the Conſent of thoſe Churches of the Middle Ages, is no certain Argument, that the particulars wherein they are ſuppoſed to conſent, were faithfully derived from the Apoſtles, againſt the modern Aſſerters of the Infallibility of Oral Tradition.' Printed at London in 1711, 8*vo.* III. *Julii Vitalis Epitaphium, cum Notis Henrici Dodwelli, &c Commentario G. Muſgrave. Accedit Dodwelli Epiſtola ad Cl. Goezium de Puteolanâ & Bajanâ Inſcriptionibus. Iſcæ Dunmoniorum & Londini*, 1711, 8*vo.* This epitaph of *Julius Vitalis*, on which Mr Dodwell wrote notes, was found at Bath, and publiſhed by Mr Hearne at the end of his edition of King Alfred's Life by Sir John Spelman, 8*vo.* The Letter to Mr Goetz Profeſſor at Leipſick, was written by Mr Dodwell in 1700, being an explanation of an inſcription on Memonius Caliſtus, found at Puteoli; and on another found at Baiæ. IV. *De ætate & patriâ Dionyſii Periegetæ.* On the age and country of Dionyſius the Geographer. Printed in the Oxford edition of that author in 1710, 8*vo.* V. *De Parmâ Equeſtri Woodwardianâ Diſſertatio, &c.* On the ancient Roman ſhield, formerly in Dr Woodward's poſſeſſion, whereon was repreſented the ſacking of Rome by the Gauls. This Diſſertation Mr Dodwell was prevented by death from finiſhing: it was publiſhed by Mr Hearne in 8*vo.* Oxon. 1713. The learned author ſuppoſes, this ſhield to have been made about the time of Nero. VI. Four Letters, which paſſed between the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Sarum, and Mr Henry Dodwell, were printed from the originals. Lond. 1713, 12*mo.*

(22) Brokeſby, p. 514.

Mr Dodwell wrote likewiſe, VII. *A Tract concerning the Death of Judas.* Wherein he ſhowed, that ἀπήγξατο does not ſignify his being *ſtrangled with grief*, as Grotius and Dr Hammond underſtood it, but that he *hanged* himſelf. It was never printed: nor the following, being VIII. *A Diſſertation concerning the Time of the Greek Tranſlation of the Old Teſtament by the* LXX. In which he proved, from the teſtimony of Eupolemus in Clemens Alexandrinus, and others, that it was not in the time of Demetrius Phaleræus a Prince, and of Ptolemy Phyladelphus the ſon of Ptolemy Lagida; but of Demetrius Phaler, a Grammarian, and of Ptolemy Philopator, who might be ſurnamed Philadelphus as well as the former; as there were ſeveral Phyſcones, Soteres, Philometores, and Euergetæ. This Diſſertation was left unfiniſhed: as alſo IX. *A Diſſertation concerning the Laws of Nature and Nations*; in which the author propoſed to ſhew, that theſe laws were not (as is generally ſuppoſed) the reſult of reaſon, though highly congruous thereto; but laws delivered by Almighty God, to Adam, or Noah, the firſt common parents of all mankind, or at leaſt to ſome in thoſe firſt ages, wherein God moſt frequently *revealed* his Will: that theſe were tranſmitted by tradition: that they muſt proceed from the *arbitrary* pleaſure of the great Governor of the univerſe, *&c.* X. He deſigned to publiſh *The Epiſtle of St Barnabas*, with a literal tranſlation, and notes; having, ever ſince the year 1691, wrote *prolegomena* to it. But though he reſumed this deſign not long before his deceaſe, yet it was left imperfect. XI. Laſtly, He began to ſettle *the Time and Order in which Tertullian wrote each of his Books.* But on this ſubject he made but a very little progreſs (23).

(23) See Brokeſby, paſſim.

[*DD*] *Where a monument is erected to him.*] On the ſtone over his grave was put this inſcription:

Here lieth
The Learned and Pious
HENRY DODWELL, M.A.
Sometimes Fellow
Of Trinity College near Dublin,
Camden Profeſſor of Hiſtory in Oxon.
Born at Dublin Oct. MDCXLI.
Died at Shotteſbrooke
The VII. of June, MDCCXI.
Anno Æt. LXX.

But

grave, and ſerious, but a comely, pleaſant countenance; of a piercing eye, of a ſolid judgment, and ready apprehenſion (*b*). He naturally enjoyed ſo ſtrong and vigorous a conſtitution of body, that he knew not, by his own experience, what the head-ach was (*i*). His induſtry was prodigious, as appears by the many books he publiſhed. Extremely frugal he was of his time [*EE*], and indefatigable in his ſtudies, by which means he became acquainted with almoſt all authors, both ſacred and profane, ancient and modern (*k*). He ſtudied, not for his own benefit only, but alſo for that of others: for he was generouſly communicative, and always ready to aſſiſt others in worthy undertakings; very zealous to promote learning, and though learned almoſt beyond any one of his age, yet (what is very uncommon) of ſingular humility and modeſty. Accordingly he was courted and admired by the moſt eminent men abroad (*l*), who beſtow the higheſt encomiums upon him, on all occaſions (*m*). It muſt however be owned, that as he converſed more with books than men, his *Style* is, for that reaſon, obſcure and intricate, and full of digreſſions: for he often complained to his friends, that he was not able to comprize his thoughts in few words (*n*). With regard to his moral character; He was a perſon of great Sobriety and Temperance; of exemplary Charity, notwithſtanding the narrowneſs of his fortune; of ſtrict Piety; a great lover of the Clergy, and a zealous Member of the Church of England (*o*). As for his being a Nonjuror, That indeed gives no very advantageous idea of his diſcretion or judgment: but it muſt be conſidered, on the other hand, that Conſcience is a ſtubborn thing, that will not always ſtoop to Intereſt or Ambition.

(*b*) Mr Hearne, in his edit. of Leland, Vol. V. p. 112.

(*i*) Brokeſby, ut ſupra, p. 547.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 521.

(*l*) Particularly, Card. Noris, Mr Grævius, Perizonius, Pagi, Magliabecchi, &c. Ibid. p. 543.

(*m*) See at the beginning of the Diſſertation *De Parmâ Woodwardianâ.*

(*n*) Brokeſby, p. 535. and life of J. Kettlewell, as above, p. 318.

(*o*) Brokeſby, p. 525, 531, &c.

But this inſcription not being thought proportionable to the merit of ſo great a man, a monumeut was erected to him by his widow; on which was placed the following elegant epitaph, compoſed by Dr Robert Freind, late Maſter of Weſtminſter-ſchool.

Accede Hoſpes quicunque Literarum Studia
Vel Humanarum vel Divinarum Sapis.
Diſce marmor hoc quem ſignet virum.
Hic Ille ſua condi oſſa voluit,
Cui inter vivos fruſtra quæſiveris parem,
HENRICUS DODWELLUS
In quo conjuncta erant
Cum memoriâ rerum prope infinitâ
Et Inventionis Foecunditas
Et Judicii Acumen.
Cum mirifico quodam Pudore,
Animi Firmitas inconcuſſa.
Cum aliquâ in diſputando vehementiâ,
Candor eximius.
Quod difficilimis in re Chronologicâ nodis
Feliciter expeditis,
Novam Antiquæ Hiſtoriæ Lucem affuderit,
Eam Illi Laudem ultrò omnes
Quaſi Suam & Propriam tribuunt.
Sed & Hanc etiam cum paucis communem habuit,
Quod toties in Arenâ Criticâ
Sine Faſtu & Maledicentiâ certaverit:
Omnemque, quaqua patet, Eruditionis ambitum
Capaci Mente comprehenderit,
Iſtius, interim,
Quam aucupari ſolent Eruditorum coryphæi,
Gloriolæ Contemptor.
Ad majora ſcilicet intentus,
Primævæ in Eccleſiâ Diſciplinæ Vindex
Audire maluit
Quam Reipublicæ Literariæ Lumen.
Vetera itaque Patrum Chriſtianorum Monumenta
Indefeſſus perluſtravit;
Et quorum Scripta animo accuratè infixerat,
Eorum Severitatem & Sanctimoniam
In Vitâ accuratius expreſſit.
E Collegio SS. Trinitatis, prope Dubliniam,
Doctorum Suffragiis accerſitus,
Oxonium migravit;
Ubi Camdeniani Prælectoris munus
Multâ cum Laude, quoad potuit, ſuſtinuit:
Inde cum receſſiſſet,
In Ædibus Shotteſbrochianis,
Amiciſſimi Viri Hoſpitio uſus,
Inter Libros delituit, conſenuit, obiit,
Juris Regii & Epiſcopalis
Ad extremum uſque Spiritum Propugnator.
Animam Eruditam, Simplicem, Piam
Deo reddidit, Jun. 7. A. D. 1711. Æta. 70.
Conjugi Optimo ANNA DODWELLA.
M. P. (24).

[*E E*] *Extremely frugal he was of his time.*] How deſirous he was to ſave and improve it, is evident from the care he took not to loſe that part of it wherein he travelled, which was chiefly *on foot*, through his own choice, rather than by ſtage-coaches, that he might thereby be maſter of his own hours, often reading as he walked. For this end, he carried with him in his journies, books fitted for his pockets, the Hebrew Bible in four ſmall volumes, the Greek New Teſtament, and the Common Prayer, accordingly. For the ſame purpoſe he had Thomas à Kempis, S. Auguſtine's Meditations, and other books of the like nature and ſize (25). After he was ſettled in Berkſhire, he generally walked from Shotteſbrooke to London, in a day, which is ſix and twenty miles (26). C

(24) Brokeſby, p. 550, 552, &c.

(25) Ibid. p. 523, 524.

(26) Ibid. p. 548.

DONNE (JOHN) an eminent Poet and Divine of the laſt century, was born in London [*A*], in the year 1573, and educated in his father's houſe, under a private Tutor, till the eleventh year of age, when he was ſent to the Univerſity of Oxford: at which time it was obſerved of him, as formerly of the famous Picus Mirandula, that *he was rather born than made wiſe by ſtudy* (*a*). He was admitted a Commoner of Hart-Hall, together with his younger brother, in Michaelmas Term 1584 (*b*). He declined taking his firſt degree at Oxford, by advice of his relations, who, being of the Romiſh religion, diſliked the oath tendered upon that occaſion. After he had ſtudied three years in that Univerſity,

(*a*) Iſaac Walton's Lives of Dr John Donne, &c. Lond. 1675. p. 11, 12.

(*b*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 554.

[*A*] ——— *born in London.*] His father, who was a Merchant, was deſcended from a very antient family in Wales; and his mother from the famous Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England, and Judge Raſtal, author of an *Abridgment* of the *Statutes.* His father, who died before our author's admiſſion at Lincoln's-Inn, left him a portion of 3000*l.* (1)

(1) Walton's Lives of Dr Donne, &c. p. 11, 12.

Univerſity, he removed to Cambridge *, and from thence, about three years after, to Lincoln's-Inn in London [*B*], where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his great improvement in the ſtudy of the Law (*c*). He was now in his eighteenth year, and as yet had profeſſed himſelf of no particular denomination of Chriſtians: but, about his nineteenth year, he laid aſide the ſtudy of the Law, and of all other ſciences, and ſet himſelf wholly to conſider the points of religion controverted between the Romiſh and Reformed Churches [*C*]; which ended in a ſincere attachment to the Proteſtant Religion (*d*). In the years 1596 and 1597, Mr Donne accompanied the Earl of Eſſex in his expeditions againſt Cadiz and the Azores Iſlands, and ſtaid ſome years in Italy and Spain [*D*], where he made many uſeful obſervations, and perfected himſelf in the languages of thoſe countries. Soon after his return to England, he was made Secretary to the Lord Chancellor Egerton [*E*], and continued in that employment five years; during which time, he married privately, and without her father's conſent, the daughter of Sir George More, Chancellor of the Garter and Lieutenant of the Tower; who was ſo incenſed at the match, that he procured our author to be diſmiſſed from the Lord Chancellor's ſervice, and committed to priſon (*e*) [*F*]. He ſoon obtained his liberty, but was put to the trouble of a long and expenſive law-ſuit, to recover poſſeſſion of his wife, who was forcibly detained from him. At length, time, together with our author's extraordinary merit, and winning behaviour, ſo far wrought upon Sir George, that he was prevailed on to uſe his intereſt with the Lord Chancellor, that his ſon-in-law might be reſtored to his poſt: but this requeſt was refuſed [*G*]. As for Sir George, he was ſo far reconciled to Mr Donne and his wife, as not to deny them his paternal bleſſing; but would contribute nothing towards their ſupport, though they ſtood in great need of it, our author's fortune being much diminiſhed by the expence of his travels, books, law-ſuit, and the generoſity of his temper. However, his wants were, in a great meaſure, prevented by the ſeaſonable bounty of their kinſman Sir Francis Wooley, who entertained them ſeveral years at his houſe at Pirford in Surrey, where our author had ſeveral children born to him (*f*). During his reſidence at Pirford, he applied himſelf, with great diligence and ſucceſs, to the ſtudy of the Civil and Canon Laws; and, about this time, was ſollicited by Dr Morton (afterwards Biſhop of

(*) Probably to Trinity-College.

(*c*) Walton, ibid. p. 12.

(*d*) Id. ib. p. 13, 14.

(*e*) Id. ib. p. 15—18.

(*f*) Ib. p. 18—20.

[*B*] *He removed—to Lincoln's-Inn in London.*] His mother and his guardians, who were of the Romiſh perſuaſion, made choice of Tutors (who were ſecretly of the ſame perſuaſion) to inſtruct young Mr Donne in the Mathematicks and other liberal ſciences; with orders, at the ſame time, to inſtil into him the principles of the Romiſh Church. And he himſelf confeſſes (2), they had almoſt perverted him to their faith.

(2) Preface to his *Pſeudo-Martyr.* Lond. 1610. 4to. See the next remark.

[*C*] *He ſet himſelf to conſider the points controverted between the Romiſh and Reformed Churches.*] Let us hear our author himſelf upon this head. 'I had a longer 'work, *ſays he* (3), to do than many other men: for 'I was firſt to blot out certaine impreſſions of the Romane Religion, and to wreſtle both againſt the examples and againſt the reaſons, by which ſome hold was 'taken, and ſome anticipations early layde upon my 'conſcience, both by perſons, who by nature had a 'power and ſuperiority over my will, and others, who 'by their learning and good life ſeemed to me juſtly to 'claime an intereſt for the guiding and rectifying of 'mine underſtanding in theſe matters.' Afterwards he ſays: 'Although I apprehended well enough, that 'this irreſolution not only retarded my fortune, but 'alſo bred ſome ſcandal, and endangered my ſpiritual 'reputation, by laying me open to miſinterpretations; 'yet all theſe reſpects did not tranſport me to any violent and ſudden determination, till I had, to the 'meaſure of my poore wit and judgment, ſurveyed 'and digeſted the whole body of Divinity controverted 'between ours and the Romane Church. In which 'ſearch and diſquiſition, that God, which awakened 'me then, and hath never forſaken me in that induſtry, as he is the author of that purpoſe, ſo he is a 'witneſs of this proteſtation, that I behaved my ſelfe, 'and proceeded therein with humility and diffidence 'in my ſelfe, and by that, which, by his grace, I 'tooke to be the ordinary meanes, which is frequent 'praier and equall and indifferent actions.' When he ſet about this enquiry, as he believed Cardinal Bellarmine to be the beſt defender of the Popiſh cauſe, he applied himſelf to the examination of that writer's works; and, about the twentieth year of his age, had marked all the Cardinal's works with obſervations under his own hand; which he ſhewed to the then Dean of Glouceſter, and, at his death, bequeathed as a legacy to one of his friends (4).

(3) Ibid.

(4) Walton, ubi ſupra, p. 14.

[*D*] *He ſtayed ſome years in Italy and Spain.*] The time he ſpent in Spain was, at his firſt going into Italy, deſigned for travelling to the Holy Land, and viewing Jeruſalem and our Saviour's ſepulchre. But the diſappointment of company, or a ſafe convoy, or the uncertainty of returns of money into thoſe remote parts, prevented his deſign (5).

(5) Ib. p. 15.

[*E*] *He was made Secretary to the Lord Chancellor Egerton*] This, probably, was intended by that Lord only as an introduction of our author to ſome more conſiderable employment in the State. For his Lordſhip often expreſſed his high opinion of his Secretary's abilities; whom he treated rather as a friend than a ſervant, conſtantly admitting him to a place at his own table (6).

(6) Ibid.

[*F*] *He married—the daughter of Sir George More—who was ſo incenſed at the match, that he procured our author to be diſmiſſed from the Chancellor's ſervice, and committed to priſon*] Sir George's daughter lived in the Lord Chancellor's family, and was niece to his Lady. Sir George, having ſome intimations of the intended marriage, removed his daughter, in all haſte, from the Chancellor's to his own houſe at Lotheſley in Surrey; and the friends on both ſides endeavoured to draw them from their mutual affection to each other: but to no purpoſe; for, having exchanged the moſt faithful promiſes, they found means to have their marriage privately conſummated. The affair was broke in the ſofteſt manner to Sir George by his friend and neighbour the Earl of Northumberland. But Sir George was ſo tranſported with anger, that he preſently engaged his ſiſter, the Lord Chancellor's Lady, to join with him in requiring Mr Donne's diſmiſſion, and would not be ſatisfied till his ſuit was granted. The Chancellor, at diſmiſſing our author, declared, *He parted with a friend, and ſuch a Secretary as was fitter to ſerve a King than a ſubject.* But Sir George's anger was not ſatisfied, till our author, together with Mr Samuel Brook (*), who married him, and his brother Mr Chriſtopher Brook (†), who gave the Lady in marriage, were all committed to three ſeveral priſons. Mr Donne, who was the firſt enlarged, never reſted, till, by his ſollicitation and intereſt, he procured the liberty of his two impriſoned friends (7).

(*) He had been our author's fellow Pupil at Cambridge, and was afterward Maſter of Trinity-College.

(†) He had been our author's Chamber-fellow at Lincoln's-Inn.

(7) Ib. p. 15—18.

[*G*] *This requeſt was refuſed.*] The Lord Chancellor returned for anſwer, that, 'though he was unfeignedly ſorry for what he had done, yet it was in'conſiſtent with his place and credit, to diſcharge and 're-admit ſervants, at the requeſt of paſſionate petitioners (8)'

(8) Ib. p. 19.

of Durham) to go into Holy Orders, and accept of a benefice, which the Doctor would have reſigned to him: but Mr Donne thought fit to decline this obliging offer [*H*]. He lived with Sir Francis till that Gentleman's death; a little before which, by the mediation of Sir Francis, a perfect reconciliation was effected between our author and his father-in-law; Sir George obliging himſelf to pay Mr Donne 800*l.* at a certain day, as a portion with his wife, or 20*l.* quarterly for their maintenance, till the ſaid portion was paid. After the death of Sir Francis Wooley, Mr Donne took a houſe for his wife and children at Mitcham in Surrey [*I*], and lodgings for himſelf near Whitehall in London; where he was much viſited and careſſed by the Nobility, foreign Miniſters, and other perſons of diſtinction (*g*). Some time after, at the earneſt entreaty of his friends, he removed his family to London, where Sir Robert Drury, a Gentleman of a conſiderable eſtate, gave him a commodious apartment in his own large houſe in Drury-Lane (*h*). He was incorporated Maſter of Arts in the Univerſity of Oxford (having before taken the ſame degree at Cambridge) the 18th of April 1610 (*i*). About two years after, he was prevailed on, not without ſome difficulty, to accompany Sir Robert Drury to Paris (*k*) [*K*]. Before

(*g*) Ib. p. 20—25.

(*h*) Ib. p. 28.

(*i*) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 187.

(*k*) Walton, ubi ſupra, p. 29.

[*H*] *He thought fit to decline Dr Morton's obliging offer.*] Dr Morton, having deſired a conference with our author, told him, 'he had a matter to propoſe to 'him; which nevertheleſs he would not declare to 'him, but upon condition, that he ſhould not return a 'preſent anſwer, but paſs three days in faſting and 'prayer, and, after a ſerious conſideration of the pro'poſal, then return with his anſwer.' Mr Donne promiſing to obſerve this condition, Dr Morton told him, 'he was no ſtranger to his neceſſities, and would now 'renew the attempt he had formerly made, to per'ſuade him to wave his expectations of Court-prefer'ment, and enter into Holy Orders, with this addi'tional reaſon, that, the King having juſt made him '(Dr Morton) Dean of Gloceſter, he was ready to re'ſign to him (Mr Donne) a very good benefice he was 'poſſeſſed of, if God ſhould incline his heart to em'brace this motion;' adding, that 'no man's parts or 'education ſet him above that employment, which is '*to be an Ambaſſador for the God of glory, that God* '*who by a vile death opened the gates of life to man*'*kind*.' Mr Donne performed his promiſe, and the third day after returned with his anſwer, which was to this effect: 'That he acknowledged his (Dr Mor'ton's) great kindneſs, with an heart full of humility 'and thanks, but could not accept his offer; not that 'he thought himſelf too good for that calling, or that 'his education and learning, though not eminent, 'might not, by the aſſiſtance of God's grace, render 'him in ſome meaſure fit for it; but becauſe ſome 'former irregularities of his life had been too noto'rious, not to expoſe him to the cenſure of the world, 'and perhaps bring diſhonour to the ſacred function: 'beſides, being determined by the beſt Caſuiſts, that '*God's glory ſhould be the firſt end, and a maintenance* '*the ſecond motive, to embrace that calling*, his pre'ſent condition was ſuch, he feared he could not re'concile his conſcience to that rule (9).' This was our author's preſent reſolution.

(9) Ib. p. 21—24.

[*I*] *He ſettled his wife and children at Mitcham in Surrey.*] His fortune, at this time, was very narrow, as appears from ſeveral of his letters. Writing to the Honourable Sir R. D. he ſays: 'There is not one 'perſon, beſides myſelf, in my houſe, well. I have 'already loſt half a child, and with that miſchance of 'her's my wife fallen into an indiſpoſition, which 'would afflict her much, but that the ſickneſs of her 'children ſtupifies her; of one of which, in good 'faith, I have not much hope. This meets a fortune 'ſo ill provided for phyſique and ſuch relief, that if 'God ſhould eaſe us with burials, I know not how to 'perform even that. I flatter myſelf in this, that I 'am dying too; nor can I truly die faſter by any 'waſte, than by loſs of children. *From my hoſpital at* '*Mitcham* (10).' In another letter, addreſſed to Sir Henry Goodere, having expreſſed his wiſhes for death, he adds—*which though I know it is not meerly out of a wearineſſe of this* (life), *becauſe I had the ſame deſires, when I went with the tide, and enjoyed fairer hopes than now; yet I doubt worldly encumbrances have encreaſed it* (11). We ſhall add but one paſſage more from another of our author's letters: 'I write from 'the fire-ſide in my parler, and in the noiſe of three 'gameſome children, and by the ſide of her, whom 'becauſe I have tranſplanted into a wretched fortune, 'I muſt labour to diſguiſe that from her by all ſuch ho'neſt devices, as giving her my company and diſ'courſe (12).' Here you have part of the picture of his narrow fortune, and the perplexities of his generous mind: and thus it continued with him for about two years; all which time his family remained conſtantly at Mitcham; to which place he often retired himſelf, and deſtined ſome days to a conſtant ſtudy of ſome points of controverſy betwixt the Engliſh and Romiſh Church, and eſpecially thoſe of Supremacy and Allegiance (13).

(10) Dr Donne's Letters to ſeveral Perſons of Honour, &c. Lond. 1654, 4to. p. 152.

(11) Ib. p. 49.

(12) Ib. p. 137.

(13) Walton, ubi ſupra, p. 28.

[*K*] *He was prevailed on, not without ſome difficulty, to accompany Sir Robert Drury to Paris.*] Mrs Donne, who was with child, and in an ill ſtate of health, expreſſed ſome reluctance at her huſband's intended journey, ſaying, *her divining ſoul boded her ſome ill in his abſence*, and therefore deſired him not to leave her. This made Mr Donne lay aſide all thoughts of the journey, and really reſolve againſt it. But Sir Robert becoming very importunate in his requeſt, Mrs Donne, at laſt, gave a faint conſent to the journey, which was propoſed to be but for two months (14). Mr Walton is miſtaken in telling us, Sir Robert Drury accompanied the Lord Hay in his embaſſy from King James to the French King: for that Lord was not ſent Embaſſador to France till July 1616 (15), whereas it is evident from the dates of ſome of our author's letters (16), that he was at Paris with Sir Robert Drury in 1612. Mr Donne, before his departure, preſented his wife with a copy of verſes (17), in which we may particularly admire the following beautiful ſimilitudes.

(14) Ib. p. 29.

(15) Camden's Annals of King James, an. 1616.

(16) Letters to ſeveral Perſons of Honour, &c. p. 127, &c.

(17) Intituled, A Valediction forbidding Mourning. See his Poems, &c. Lond. 1719. 12mo. p. 35.

Our two ſouls therefore, which are one,
  Though I muſt go, indure not yet
A breach, but an expanſion,
  Like gold to airy thinneſs beat.

If they be two, they are two ſo
  As ſtiff twinn compaſſes are two;
Thy ſoul, the fixt foot, makes no ſhow
  To move, but doth, if t'other do:

And though it in the center ſit,
  Yet when the other far doth rome,
It leans and hearkens after it,
  And grows erect, as that comes home.

Such wilt thou be to me, who muſt,
  Like t'other foot, obliquely run:
Thy firmneſs makes my circle juſt,
  And makes me end where I begun.

We ſhall here give the reader Iſaac Walton's account of Mr Donne's *viſion*, ſoon after his arrival at Paris. It was not indeed told him by our author himſelf, but by a perſon of honour, who had a great intimacy with Mr Donne (18). However take it in Walton's own words (19): 'Two days after their arrival there, 'Mr Donne was left alone, in that room in which 'Sir Robert, and he, and ſome other friends had 'dined together. To this place Sir Robert returned 'within half an hour; and, as he left, ſo he found 'Mr Donne alone; but in ſuch an extaſy, and ſo altered

(18) Life, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 31.

(19) Ib. p. 29, 30.

fore this journey, and after our author's return from France, many of the Nobility and others preſſed the King to confer ſome ſecular employment on him (*l*) [*L*]: but his Majeſty, conſidering him as better qualified for the ſervice of the Church, rejected their application (*m*). About this time, the diſputes concerning the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy being on foot, our author, by King James's eſpecial command, wrote a treatiſe on that ſubject, intituled, *Pſeudo-Martyr* [*M*], printed at London in 1610, in *4to*; with which his Majeſty was ſo highly pleaſed, that, reſolving to prefer him in the Church, he was now very preſſing with him to enter into Holy Orders: but Mr Donne, being deſirous to qualify himſelf for the ſacred function by a cloſer application to the ſtudies of Divinity and the learned languages, deferred his compliance with the King's inſtances, till about three years after, when he was ordained both Deacon and Prieſt by his good friend Dr John King (*), then Biſhop of London (*n*). Preſently after, he was appointed one of the Chaplains in ordinary to his Majeſty; and about the ſame time, attending King James in a progreſs, he was created Doctor in Divinity, at the recommendation of that Prince, by the Univerſity of Cambridge (*o*). His abilities, and induſtry in his profeſſion, were ſo eminent, and himſelf ſo well beloved and eſteemed by perſons of quality, that, within the firſt year of his entering into ſacred Orders, he had the offer of fourteen ſeveral benefices: but, as they lay in the country, his natural inclination to living in London, the place of his birth, and of his friends and acquaintance, made him refuſe them all. Immediately after his return from Cambridge, his wife died [*N*]; and his grief for her loſs was ſo great, that, for ſome time, he betook himſelf to a retired and ſolitary life (*p*). Soon after, he was choſen Preacher of Lincoln's-Inn, and was in high eſteem with the Members of that Honourable Society. In 1619, he was appointed, by King James, to attend the Lord Hay Earl of Doncaſter, in his embaſſy to the Princes of Germany; and, about fourteen months after his return to England, he was advanced to the Deanry of St Paul's [*O*], vacant by the removal of Dr Cary to the Biſhoprick of Exeter (*q*). Soon after,

(*l*) Ib. p. 34.

(*m*) Ib. p. 35.

(*) He had been Chaplain to the Lord Keeper Egerton, at the ſame time that Mr Donne was his Secretary.

(*n*) Ib. p. 36—38.

(*o*) Ib. p. 39—41.

(*p*) Ib. and p. 42.

(*q*) Ib. p. 43—46.

‘ tered as to his looks, as amazed Sir Robert to behold ‘ him: inſomuch that he earneſtly deſired Mr Donne ‘ to declare what had befallen him in the ſhort time of ‘ his abſence. To which Mr Donne was not able to ‘ make a preſent anſwer; but, after a long and perplext pauſe, did at laſt ſay, *I have ſeen a dreadful* ‘ *viſion ſince I ſaw you: I have ſeen my dear wife paſs* ‘ *twice by me thorough this room, with her hair hanging* ‘ *about her ſhoulders, and a dead child in her arms:* ‘ *this I have ſeen ſince I ſaw you.* To which Sir ‘ Robert replied, *Sure, Sir, you have ſlept ſince I* ‘ *ſaw you, and this is the reſult of ſome melancholy* ‘ *dream, which I deſire you to forget, for you are* ‘ *now awake.* To which Mr Donne's reply was, *I* ‘ *cannot be ſurer that I now live, than that I have* ‘ *not ſlept ſince I ſaw you; and am as ſure, that, at* ‘ *her ſecond appearing, ſhe ſtopt, and lookt me in the* ‘ *face, and vaniſht.* Reſt and ſleep had not altered ‘ Mr Donne's opinion the next day: for he then affirmed this viſion with a more deliberate, and ſo ‘ confirmed a confidence, that he enclined Sir Robert ‘ to a faint belief, that the viſion was true. It is truly ‘ ſaid, *that deſire and doubt have no reſt:* and it proved ſo with Sir Robert; for he immediately ſent a ‘ ſervant to Drury-houſe, with a charge to haſten ‘ back and bring him word, whether Mrs Donne were ‘ alive, and, if alive, in what condition ſhe was as to ‘ her health. The twelfth day, the meſſenger returned with this account; that he found and left ‘ Mrs Donne very ſad, and ſick in her bed; and that, ‘ after a long and dangerous labour, ſhe had been delivered of a dead child. And, upon examination, ‘ the abortion proved to be the ſame day, and about ‘ the very hour that Mr Donne affirmed he ſaw ‘ her paſs by him in his chamber.’

[*L*] *Many of the Nobility, and others, preſſed the King to confer ſome ſecular employment on him: but his Majeſty—rejected their application.*] King James, it ſeems, had given our author ſome hopes of a State-employment, being always much pleaſed with his company and converſation, eſpecially at his meals, where there were uſually diſcourſes and debates, concerning religion or literature, between his Majeſty, and thoſe Divines, whoſe places required their attendance on him at thoſe times; particularly Dr Montague, Dean of the Chapel (*), and Dr Andrews (†), his Majeſty's Almoner (20). Among others, who ſollicited our author's advancement in the State, was the Earl of Somerſet, when in the greateſt height of favour: who being at Theobalds with the King, and one of the Clerks of the Council dying there, diſpatched a meſſenger for Mr Donne to come thither immediately, and, at our author's coming, ſaid to him; *To teſtify the reality of my affection, and my purpoſe to prefer you, ſtay in this garden till I go up to the King, and bring you word that you are Clerk of the Council: doubt not my doing this; for I know the King loves you, and know the King will not deny me.* But it happened otherwiſe; for the King denied the Earl's requeſt, and replied; *I know Mr Donne is a learned man, has the abilities of a learned Divine, and will prove a powerful preacher; and my deſire is, to prefer him that way, and in that way I will deny you nothing for him* (21). It appears from one of our author's letters (22), that he ſollicited in vain for the place of one of his Majeſty's Secretaries in Ireland, upon the death of Sir Geoffrey Fenton.

(*) Then Biſhop of Wincheſter.

(†) Afterwards Biſhop of Wincheſter.

(20) Ib. p. 34, 35.

(21) Ib. p. 35, 36.

(22) Dr Donne's Letters, &c. p. 145.

[*M*] *His Pſeudo-Martyr.*] King James himſelf had engaged in the controverſy concerning the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, as appears by his *Works* ſtill extant. As he had ſome diſcourſes with Mr Donne upon that ſubject, he was ſo pleaſed with his clearneſs in ſtating the objections made to the taking thoſe oaths, and his anſwers to them, that he commanded our author to draw up the objections and anſwers in form, and bring them to him: which our author performed within ſix weeks, and brought them to the King in his own hand-writing, as they now ſtand in the book abovementioned (22). The title, at length, is: *Pſeudo-Martyr: Wherein out of certaine Propoſitions and Gradations this Concluſion is evicted; that thoſe, which are of the Romane Religion in this Kingdome, may and ought to take the Oath of Allegiance.* It is dedicated to King James I, with a *Preface* addreſſed *to the Prieſtes and Jeſuites, and to their diſciples in this kingdome.* This book was animadverted upon by one Thomas Fitzherbert, in a *Cenſure of it*, ſubjoined to his *Supplement to the Diſcuſſion of Dr Barlow's Anſwer to the Judgment of a Catholick Engliſhman*, &c. printed at St Omers in 1613, in *4to*.

(22) Walton, ubi ſupra, p. 35.

[*N*] *His wife's death.*] Mrs Donne died the 15th of Auguſt 1617, on the ſeventh day after the birth of her twelfth child, and was buried in the pariſh-church of St Clement's near Temple-Bar, in London (23). She left our author in a narrow unſettled eſtate, with ſeven children then living, to whom he gave a voluntary aſſurance, that he would never bring them under the ſubjection of a ſtep-mother; which promiſe he faithfully kept (24). The firſt ſermon he preached after the death of his wife, was in the church where ſhe lay buried, on this text out of Jeremiah's *Lamentation: Lo, I am the man that have ſeen affliction* (25).

(23) See her epitaph in Stowe's Survey of London, ed. 1720. fol. Vol. II. B. iv. p. 113.

(24) Walton, ubi ſupra, p. 41, 42.

(25) Ib. p. 43.

[*O*] *He was advanced to the deanry of St Paul's.*] Upon the vacancy of the deanry, the King ſent an order after, the vicarage of St Dunſtan in the Weſt, and another benefice, fell to Dr Donne; the advowſon of the former having been given him by the Earl of Dorſet, and that of the latter by the Earl of Kent. In 1623-4, he was choſen Prolocutor of the Convocation (r); on which occaſion he ſpoke a Latin oration, as his inauguration ſpeech (s). About the ſame time, he was appointed by the King to preach ſeveral occaſional ſermons, at Paul's Croſs, and other places: theſe diſcourſes were miſrepreſented to his Majeſty, who gave the Doctor an opportunity of juſtifying himſelf in his royal preſence (t) [*P*]. The year following, he was ſeized with a dangerous fit of ſickneſs [*Q*]; of which, however, he recovered, and publiſhed, on that occaſion, his moſt excellent book of *Devotions*, which he had written on his ſick bed (u). He continued in perfect health till the fifty-ninth year of his age, when, being with his eldeſt daughter Mrs Harvey, at Abery-hatch in Eſſex, in Auguſt 1630, he was taken with a fever, which brought on a conſumption (w): notwithſtanding which, he returned to London, and preached in his turn, at Court, as uſual, on the firſt Friday in Lent (x) [*R*]. He died [*S*] the thirty-firſt of March 1631 (y), and was buried in the Cathedral Church of St Paul's, where a monument was erected over him [*T*]. His character is excellently drawn by the writer of his life [*U*]; and

(r) Ib. p. 47.

(s) It is extant in his Poems, &c. Lond. 1719. 12mo. p. 358.

(t) Ib. p. 47—49.

(u) Ib. p. 49—51.

(w) Ib. and p. 52.

(x) Ib. p. 67, 68.

(y) See his epitaph below.

order to Dr Donne to attend him the next day at dinner. When his Majeſty was ſat down, he ſaid: 'Dr Donne, I have invited you to dinner; and, though you ſit not down with me, yet I will carve to you of of a diſh that I know you love well; for knowing you love London, I do therefore make you Dean of Paul's; and when I have dined, then do you take your beloved diſh home to your ſtudy; ſay grace there to yourſelf, and much good may it do you (26).'

(26) Ib. p. 46.

[*P*] *His Sermons were miſrepreſented to the King, who gave the Doctor an opportunity of juſtifying himſelf, in his royal preſence*] His Majeſty was told, that Dr Donne had fallen in with the general humour of the pulpits, and was buſy in inſinuating a fear of the King's inclination to Popery, and a diſlike of his government. Whereupon his Majeſty ſent for our author, and required his anſwer to the accuſation; which was ſo clear and ſatisfactory, that the King ſaid, *he was right glad he reſted no longer under the ſuſpicion*. When the King had ſaid this, Dr Donne kneeled down, and thanked his Majeſty, and proteſted, his anſwer was faithful and free from all colluſion; and therefore deſired *that he might not riſe, till, as in like caſes he always had from God, ſo he might have from his Majeſty ſome aſſurance that he ſtood clear and fair in his opinion*. At which the King raiſed him from his knees, and proteſted *he believed him, and that he knew he was an honeſt man*, and doubted not, but that *he loved him truly*. And having thus diſmiſſed him, he called ſome Lords of his Council into his chamber, and ſaid with much earneſtneſs, *My Doctor is an honeſt man, and, my Lords, I was never better ſatisfied with an anſwer than with that he hath now made me: and I always rejoice, when I think, that by my means he became a Divine* (27).

(27) Ib. p. 48, 49.

[*Q*] *He was ſeized with a dangerous fit of ſickneſs.*] In this diſtemper, he was viſited daily by his good friend Dr Henry King, one of the Reſidentiaries of St Paul's, and afterwards Biſhop of Chicheſter: who, obſerving that our author's ſickneſs rendered his recovery doubtful, took a proper opportunity to acquaint him, that, 'as there had been an offer lately made to the chapter, for renewing the leaſe of the beſt prebendal corps belonging to that church, which had been refuſed, becauſe the tenant had offered too low a fine; his intention was, if he could not raiſe him to an higher ſum, to prevail with the other Reſidentiaries to join in accepting what was offered;' deſiring the Dean would agree to this propoſal, 'as it would be a conſiderable addition to his preſent eſtate, which (he knew) ſtood in need of it.' The Dean thanked the Doctor for his kind offer, but declared he could not accept it, ſaying, 'he dared not, upon his ſick bed, when God had made him uſeleſs to the ſervice of the Church, make any advantage from it; but that, if he ſhould reſtore him to ſuch a degree of health, as again to ſerve at his altar, he ſhould then gladly take the reward, which the bountiful benefactors of that church had deſigned him;' proteſting, 'he would not augment, on his ſick bed, that little worldly eſtate he ſhould leave behind him (28).'

(28) Ib. p. 49, 50.

[*R*] *He preached, in his turn, at Court, as uſual, on the firſt Friday in Lent*] His text, upon this occaſion, was: *To God the Lord belong the iſſues from death*, Pſal. lxviii. 20. It was printed at London in 1633, in 4*to*, under the title of *Death's Duel, or a Conſolation to the Soule againſt the Dying Life and Living Death of the Body*, &c. *Being his laſt Sermon, and called by his Majeſty's Houſhold*, THE DOCTOR'S OWNE FUNERAL SERMON.

[*S*] *His death.*] Finding himſelf haſtening to his end, he ſent for many of his intimate friends, and took his laſt leave of them. Having done this, and ſettled his private affairs, he waited his diſſolution with much chearfulneſs and reſignation, and cloſed his laſt breath with theſe words, *Thy kingdom come, thy will be done* (29). It muſt not be omitted, that, among other preparations for death, he made uſe of this very remarkable one. He ordered an urn to be cut in wood, on which was to be placed a board of the exact height of his body. This being done, he cauſed himſelf to be tied up in a winding-ſheet, in the ſame manner as dead bodies are. Being thus ſhrouded, and ſtanding with his eyes ſhut, and with juſt ſo much of the ſheet put aſide, as might diſcover his thin, pale, and death-like face, he cauſed a ſkilful painter to take his picture. This piece, being finiſhed, was placed near his bed-ſide, and there remained as his conſtant remembrancer to the hour of his death (30).

(29) Ib. p. 75.

(30) Ib. p. 71, 72.

[*T*] *A Monument was erected over him.*] It was compoſed of white marble, and carv'd from the picture mentioned in the laſt remark, by order of his executor Dr King Biſhop of Chicheſter, who wrote the inſcription, as follows:

JOHANNES DONNE S.T.P.
Poſt varia Studia, quibus ab annis tenerrimis fideliter,
Nec infeliciter, incubuit,
Inſtinctu et impulſu Spiritus Sancti, monitu et hortatu
Regis JACOBI, Ordines Sacros amplexus,
Anno ſui Jeſu 1614, et ſuæ ætatis 42,
Decanatu hujus Eccleſiæ indutus 27 Novembris 1621,
Exutus Morte ultimo die Martii 1631.
Hic, licet in occiduo cinere, aſpicit Eum,
Cujus Nomen eſt Oriens.

[*U*] *His character —— drawn by the Writer of his life.*] 'He was of ſtature moderately tall, of a ſtrait and equally proportion'd body, to which all his words and actions gave unexpreſſible addition of comelineſs. The melancholy and pleaſant humour were in him ſo contempered, that each gave advantage to the other, and made his company one of the delights of mankind. His fancy was unimitably high, equalled only by his great wit, both being made uſeful by a commanding judgment. His aſpect was chearful, and ſuch as gave a ſilent teſtimony of a clear knowing ſoul, and of a conſcience at peace with itſelf. His melting eye ſhew'd that he had a ſoft heart, full of noble compaſſion; of too brave a ſoul to offer injuries, and too much a Chriſtian not to pardon them in others. He did much contemplate (eſpecially after he enter'd into his ſacred calling) the Mercies of Almighty God, the immortality of the Soul, and the Joys of Heaven, and wou'd often ſay, in a kind of ſacred extaſy, *Bleſſed* and his abilities, both as a Preacher [*W*], and a Poet [*X*], are ſufficiently ſeen in his incomparable writings [*Y*]. He left behind him a ſon of both his names [*Z*].

ſed be God, that he is God, only, and divinely like himſelf! He was by nature highly paſſionate, but more apt to reluct at the exceſſes of it. A great lover of the offices of Humanity, and of ſo merciful a ſpirit, that he never beheld the miſeries of mankind without pity and relief. He was earneſt and unwearied in the ſearch of knowledge; with which his vigorous ſoul is now ſatisfied, and employ'd in a continual praiſe of that God that firſt breathed it into his active body; that body which once was a Temple of the Holy Ghoſt, and is now become a ſmall quantity of Chriſtian Duſt. But I ſhall ſee it reanimated. *Feb.* 1639. I. W. (31).'

[*W*] *His abilities as a preacher.*] Mr Walton tells (32) us, that, upon his firſt entring into Holy Orders, his Modeſty was ſuch, he could not be perſuaded to preach to any eminent auditory, but went uſually, accompanied by ſome one friend, to preach privately in ſome village near London; his firſt ſermon being preached at Paddington. This he did till the King ſent and appointed him a day to preach before him at Whitehall; and, though much was expected from him, both by his Majeſty and others, yet he was ſo happy as to exceed their expectations; 'Preaching the word ſo, as ſhewed his own heart was poſſeſſed with thoſe very thoughts and joys he laboured to inſtil into others: A preacher in earneſt, weeping ſometimes for his auditory, ſometimes with them; always preaching to himſelf, like an Angel from a cloud, but in none; carrying ſome, as St Paul was, to heaven in holy raptures, and enticing others by a ſacred art and courtſhip to amend their lives; here picturing a vice ſo as to make it ugly to thoſe that practiſed it, and a virtue ſo as to make it be beloved even by thoſe that loved it not; and all this with a moſt particular grace and an unexpreſſible addition of comelineſs.'

[*X*] ——— *a poet.*] Our author's poems conſiſt of I. *Songs and Sonnets.* II. *Epigrams.* III. *Elegies.* IV. *Epithalamions or Marriage Songs.* V. *Satyres.* VI. *Letters to ſeveral Perſonages.* VII. *Funeral Elegies.* VIII. *Holy Sonnets.* They are printed together in one Volume, 12*mo.* London 1719; with the addition of *Elegies upon the author by ſeveral perſons.* Mr Dryden has very juſtly given Dr Donne the character of *the greateſt wit, tho' not the greateſt Poet of our nation* (33); and in his *Dedication* of *Juvenal* to the Earl of Dorſet, he ſays (34): 'Donne alone, of all our countrymen, had your talent; but was not happy enough to arrive at your verſification. And were he tranſlated into numbers and Engliſh, he wou'd yet be wanting in the dignity of expreſſion. — You equal Donne in the variety, multiplicity, and choice of thoughts; you excel him in the manner and the words. I read you both with the ſame admiration, but not with the ſame delight. He affects the metaphyſicks, not only in his ſatyrs, but in his amorous verſes, where nature only ſhou'd reign; and perplexes the minds of the fair-ſex with nice ſpeculations of philoſophy, when he ſhou'd engage their hearts, and entertain them with the ſoftneſs of love.' A little farther (35), Mr Dryden aſks: 'Wou'd not Donne's *Satyrs*, which abound with ſo much wit, appear more charming, if he had taken care of his words and of his numbers?' Whether our late excellent poet (*) took the hint from this queſtion, or not, is uncertain; but he has ſhew'd the world, that Dr Donne's *Satires*, when *tranſlated into numbers and engliſh* (as Mr Dryden above expreſſes it) are not inferior to any thing in that kind of poetry, even his own admirable writings.

[*Y*] *His writings.*] Beſides the *Pſeudo Martyr*, and volume of poems already mention'd, there are extant the following Works of Dr Donne, *viz.* I. *Devotions upon emergent Occaſions, and ſeveral ſteps in his Sickneſs.* 12mo. Lond. 2d edit. (36). II. *Paradoxes, Problems, Eſſays, Characters,* &c. *To which is added a Book of* Epigrams, *written in Latin by the ſame author; tranſlated into Engliſh by* J. Maine, D. D. *As alſo* Ignatius his Conclave, *a Satyr tranſlated out of the original copy written in Latin by the ſame author; found lately amongſt his own papers*, Lond. 1653, 12*mo.* Theſe pieces are dedicated, by the author's ſon Dr John Donne (37), to Francis Lord Newport. Part of this collection was publiſh'd, in 1633, under the title of *Juvenilia, or Certain Paradoxes and Problems*, 4*to.* The *Epigrams* were firſt printed in 1632, under the title of *Faſciculus Poematum et Epigrammatum miſcellaneorum*, &c. 8*vo.* The Satire, intitled *Ignatius his Conclave*, was firſt printed in 1626, in 8*vo.* under the title of *Ignatius his Conclave, viz. of eſtabliſhing a Church in the Moon*; and again in 1635, under the title of *Ignatius his Conclave, or his Inthronization in a late Election in Hell*, 12*mo.* With this piece was printed another intitled *An Apology for the Jeſuits.* III. Three volumes of *Sermons*, in folio; the firſt printed in 1640; the ſecond in 1649; and the third in 1660. IV. *Eſſays in Divinity,* &c. *Being ſeveral Diſquiſitions interwoven with Meditations and Prayers, before he went into Holy Orders*, Lond. 1651, 12*mo.* They were publiſhed after the author's death, by his ſon. V. *Letters to ſeveral Perſons of Honour*; publiſhed by the author's ſon, in 4*to.* Lond. 1654. There are ſeveral of Dr Donne's *Letters*, and others to him from the Queen of Bohemia, the Earl of Carliſle, Archbiſhop Abbot, and Ben Johnſon, printed in a book intitled *A Collection of Letters made by Sir Tobie Matthews, Knt.* Lond. 1660, 8*vo.* VI. *The ancient Hiſtory of the Septuagint*; tranſlated from the Greek of Ariſteas, Lond. 1633, 12*mo.* This tranſlation was reviſed and corrected by another hand, and printed in 1685, in 8*vo.* VII. ΒΙΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ: *or a Declaration of That Paradox or Theſis, that Self-Homicide is not ſo naturally a Sin, that it may not be otherwiſe*, London, 1644, 1648, &c. 4*to.* The original, under the author's own hand, is preſerved in the Bodleian Library. Mr Walton gives this piece the character of 'An exact and laborious treatiſe, wherein all the laws violated by that Act (*Self-murder*) are diligently ſurvey'd, and judiciouſly cenſured: a treatiſe written in his younger years, which alone might declare him then not only perfect in the Civil and Canon Law, but in many other ſuch ſtudies and arguments, as enter not into the conſideration of many, that labour to be thought great clerks, and pretend to know all things (38).' In one of our author's *Letters*, addreſs'd to Sir Robert Carre, and ſent with this book in manuſcript, he ſpeaks of it himſelf in the following terms: 'Becauſe it is upon a miſinterpretable ſubject, I have always gone ſo near ſuppreſſing it, that it is only not burnt. No hand hath paſſed upon it to copy it, nor many eyes to read it; only to ſome particular friends in both Univerſities, then when I writ it, I did communicate it; and I remember I had this anſwer, that *certainly there was a falſe thread in it, though not eaſily found.* Keep it, I pray, with the ſame jealouſy: let any, that your diſcretion admits to the ſight of it, know the date of it, and that it is a book written by *Jack Donne*, and not by Dr *Donne.* Reſerve it for me if I live (*), and if I die, I only forbid it the preſſe and the fire. Publiſh it not, but yet burn it not, and between thoſe do what you will with it (39).'

[*Z*] *He left behind him a ſon of both his names.*] He was educated at Weſtminſter School, and elected from thence a Student of Chriſt Church in Oxford, in 1622. Afterwards he travell'd abroad, and took the degree of Doctor of Laws at Padua in Italy. The 30th of June, 1638, he was incorporated in the ſame degree in the Univerſity of Oxford. He died in 1662, and was interr'd in the Church-yard of St Paul's Covent-Garden. Mr Wood gives him the character of an Atheiſtical Buffoon, and tells us, he was much valued by King Charles II (40): no great compliment to that monarch's judgment. This Dr Donne, beſides ſeveral pieces of his father, publiſh'd (as Wood expreſſes it) *ſeveral frivolous trifles*, under his own name; among which is, *The Humble Petition of Covent-Garden againſt Dr John Baber a Phyſician*, Lond. 1661 (41).

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(31) Ib. p. 77, 78.

(32) Ib. p. 39, 40.

(33) Dedication of his Eleonora. See his Original Poems, &c. Vol. II. p. 293.

(34) The Satyrs of Decimus Junius Juvenalis, &c. Lond. 1735. 12mo. Ded. p 9.

(35) Ib. p. 97.

(*) Mr Pope. See his Satires of Dr J. Donne.

(36) See the text, reference (u).

(37) See the laſt remark.

(38) Life, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 60.

(*) Our author was then ſetting out for Germany.

(39) Dr Donne's Letters, &c. p. 21, 22.

(40) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol I. col. 276, 277.

(41) Ibid.

DRAKE (Sir Francis) one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the naval heroes in the glorious reign of Elizabeth. A man, of whom it may be truly ſaid, That he had a head to contrive, a heart to undertake, and a hand ready to execute, whatever promiſed glory to himſelf, and good to his country. As he was, properly ſpeaking, the ſon of merit, we have but a very indifferent account of his family, or even of his father: that which Camden (*a*) gives us, and which he ſays he had from Drake's own mouth, is ſo embarraſſed with inconſiſtent circumſtances, that there is no relying upon it, and truſting to our reaſon at the ſame time, as will be ſhewn in the notes [*A*]. We will, therefore, give the reader, in this place, a plainer account, as early in it's riſe, ſupported by good authority, and, in all it's circumſtances, very agreeable to the ſequel of his ſtory, leaving it to his judgment to piece therewith the chief points in Camden's relation (*b*); which may be alſo reputed truths, if we knew with certainty how to reconcile, and bring them in (*c*). According then to this other account, I find he was the ſon of one Edmund Drake, an honeſt Sailor, and born near Taviſtock in the year 1545, being the eldeſt of twelve brethren, and brought up at the expence, and under the care, of his kinſman Sir John Hawkins. It is likewiſe ſaid, that, at the age of eighteen, he was Purſer of a ſhip trading to Biſcay, at twenty he made a voyage to Guinea, and, at the age of twenty-two, had the honour to be appointed Captain of the Judith, and, in that capacity, was in the harbour of St John de Ulloa, in the gulph of Mexico, where he behaved moſt gallantly in the glorious actions, under Sir John Hawkins, and returned with him into England with a very great reputation, but not worth a groat (*d*). Upon this he conceived a deſign of making repriſals on the King of Spain, which, ſome ſay, was put into his head by the Miniſter of his ſhip; and, to be ſure in Sea-divinity, the caſe was clear the King of Spain's ſubjects had undone Mr Drake, and therefore Mr Drake was at liberty to take the beſt ſatisfaction he could on the ſubjects of the King of Spain (*e*). This doctrine, how rudely ſoever preached, was very taking in England, and therefore he no ſooner publiſhed his deſign, than he had numbers of volunteers ready to accompany him, though they had no ſuch pretence to colour their proceedings as he had (*f*). In 1570 he made his firſt expedition with two ſhips, the Dragon and the Swan, and the next year in the Swan alone, wherein he returned ſafe, if not rich [*B*]. And, having now means ſufficient to

perform

(*a*) Annal. rerum Anglican. & Hibernicar. regnante Elizebetha. Edit. Hearne, p. 351.

(*b*) His accounts are followed alſo in Fuller's Holy State, p. 123. Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 236. Engliſh Hero, p. 1.

(*c*) See this further explained in note [*A*].

(*d*) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

(*e*) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 236.

(*f*) Stowe's Annals, p. 807. Camden's Annals, p. 351.

[*A*] *As will be ſeen in the notes.*] As in venturing to depart from what Camden has ſaid, we, at the ſame time, leave the great road in which all other writers have travelled, it is but juſt that we ſhould give the world a full account of the motives which induced us to take this ſtep, that it may clearly appear, it did not proceed from ſingularity, but neceſſity. Our learned Hiſtorian, ſpeaking of the events (1) which happened in the year 1580, has theſe words: 'About this time returned into England Francis Drake, having acquired great wealth and greater reputation, by proſperouſly ſailing round about the world, being, if not the firſt of all which could challenge this glory, yet, queſtionleſs, the firſt but Magellan whom death cut off in the midſt of his voyage. This Drake, to relate no more than what I have heard from himſelf, was born of mean parentage in Devonſhire, and had Francis Ruſſel, afterwards Earl of Bedford, for his godfather, who, according to the cuſtom, gave him his Chriſtian name. Whilſt he was yet a child, his father embracing the Proteſtant doctrine, was called in queſtion by the Law of the Six Articles made by Henry VIII againſt the Proteſtants, fled his country, and withdrew himſelf into Kent. After the death of King Henry, he got a place among the ſeamen in the King's navy to read prayers to them, and, ſoon after, he was ordained Deacon, and made Vicar of the church of Upnore upon the river Medway, where the Royal fleet uſually rides. But, by reaſon of his poverty, he put his ſon apprentice to the maſter of a bark, his neighbour, who held him cloſely to his buſineſs, by which he made him an able ſeaman; his bark being employed in coaſting along the ſhore, and ſometimes in carrying merchandize into Zealand and France. The youth being painful and diligent, ſo pleaſed the old man by his induſtry, that, being a bachelor, at his death he bequeathed his bark unto him by his laſt will.' It falls out unhappily for this ſtory, that the parts of it are not conſiſtent. If Drake was in his tender years or childhood, when his father was perſecuted on the ſcore of the Six Articles, he muſt have been born a good while before the year 1539 (2), and if ſo, how could Sir Francis Ruſſel be his godfather, who was himſelf born in 1527 (3)? ſo that without much ſtraining this account, they might be both of an age. It is very certain, that Mr Drake was but a young man when Sir John Hawkins made himſelf Captain of the Judith, but according to this computation he was thirty-five or thirty-ſix at leaſt. It is allowed by all the [illegible]ters of his time, that he died in the flower of his [illegible] which could not well be ſaid, if he had been [illegible] ſixty and ſeventy. As to the account that I have [illegible]lowed, we have it from John Stowe, who was a very induſtrious careful man, and particularly inquiſitive into things of this nature (4). Beſides, as the reader ſees in the text, he ſettles every ſtep of his advancement, and affirming that he was in the twenty-ſecond year of his age when he became Captain of the Judith, this fixes his birth to 1545, ſince he was veſted with that command in October 1566; by fixing this date, the facts mentioned by Camden from the mouth of Sir Francis Drake become very probable; for Sir Francis Ruſſel might well be his godfather, and all the events follow that he ſets down, only the perſecution his father ſuffered muſt have been in the reign of Queen Mary, which is the more probable, if we conſider that Camden himſelf aſſures us, Queen Elizabeth, in the beginning of her reign, made that eſtabliſhment of the fleet in the river Medway, where Drake's father read prayers to the ſeamen (5). Neither is this the only miſtake in Sir Francis Drake's ſtory by that author.

[*B*] *Wherein he returned ſafe if not rich.*] We have no particular account of theſe two voyages, or what he performed in them. They were made in the years 1570 and 1571, and there is nothing clearer than that Captain Drake had two great points in view, the one was, to inform himſelf perfectly of the ſituation and ſtrength of certain places in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, the other to convince his countrymen, that notwithſtanding what had happened to Captain Hawkins in his laſt voyage, it was a thing very practicable to ſail into theſe parts and return in ſafety; for it is to be obſerved, that Hawkins and Drake ſeparated in the Weſt-Indies, and that the former, finding it impoſſible to bring all his crew home to England, had ſet a part of them, but with their own conſents, aſhore in the bay of Mexico, and theſe being looked upon as ſo many men loſt, and indeed very few of them found their way home, the terror of ſuch a captivity as theſe poor men were known to endure, had a great effect (6). But Captain Drake in theſe two voyages, having very wiſely avoided coming to blows with the Spaniards, and bringing home ſufficient returns to ſatisfy his

owners,

(1) Camden's Annals, p. 351.

(2) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 256.

(3) As appears from the inſcription on his monument.

(4) See the life of Mr Stowe, written by the Rev. Mr Strype, prefixed to his edition of Mr Stowe's Survey of London.

(5) Annal. Eliz. p. 86.

(6) See the accounts of John Oxenham's Voyage in Hakluyt, p. 594.

perform greater matters, as well as ſkill to conduct them, he laid the plan of a more important deſign with reſpect to himſelf, and to his enemies (g). This he put in execution on the twenty-fourth of March 1572, on which day he ſailed from Plymouth, himſelf in a ſhip called the Paſcha, of the burthen of ſeventy tons, and his brother John Drake in the Swan, of twenty-five tons burthen, their whole ſtrength conſiſting of no more than ſeventy-three, men and boys; and, with this inconſiderable force, on the twenty-ſecond of July he attacked the town of Nombre de Dios, which then ſerved the Spaniards for the ſame purpoſes (though not ſo conveniently) as thoſe for which they now uſe Porto Bello. He took it in a few hours by ſtorm, notwithſtanding a very dangerous wound he received in the action; yet after all they were no great gainers, but, after a very briſk action, were obliged to betake themſelves to their ſhips with very little booty. His next attempt was to plunder the mules laden with ſilver, which paſſed from Venta Cruz to Nombre de Dios; but in this ſcheme too he was diſappointed. However, he attacked the town of Venta Cruz, carried it, and got ſome little plunder. In their return they unexpectedly met with a ſtring of fifty mules laden with plate, of which they carried off as much as they could, and buried the reſt. In theſe expeditions he was very much aſſiſted by a nation of Indians, who then were, and yet are, engaged in a perpetual war with the Spaniards. The Prince, or Captain of theſe people at this time, was named Pedro, to whom Captain Drake preſented a fine cutlaſs which he wore, and to which he ſaw the Indian had a mind. Pedro, in return, gave him four large wedges of gold, all theſe Captain Drake threw into the common ſtock, with this remarkable expreſſion, 'That he thought it but juſt, that ſuch as bore the charge of ſo uncertain a voyage, on his credit, ſhould ſhare the utmoſt advantages that voyage produced.' Then embarking his men with all the wealth he had obtained, which was very conſiderable, he bore away for England, and was ſo fortunate as to ſail in twenty-three days from Florida to the Iſles of Scilly, and thence, without any accident, to Plymouth, where he arrived the ninth of Auguſt 1573 (h). His ſucceſs in this expedition, joined to his honourable behaviour towards his owners, gained him a high reputation, and the uſe he made of his riches ſtill a greater; for, fitting out three ſtout frigates, at his own expence, he ſailed with them to Ireland, where, under Walter Earl of Eſſex (the unfortunate father of that ſtill more unfortunate Earl, who was beheaded) he ſerved as a volunteer, and did many glorious actions (i). After the death of his noble patron he returned into England, where Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, who was then Vice-Chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth, Privy-Counſellor, and a great favourite, took him under his protection, introduced him to her Majeſty, and procured him her countenance (k). By this means he acquired a capacity of undertaking that grand expedition, which will render his name immortal. The thing he firſt propoſed was, a voyage into the South-Seas through the Streights of Magellan, which [illegible] hitherto [illegible] Engliſhman ever attempted. This project was well received at Court, [illegible] time, Captain Drake ſaw himſelf at the height of his wiſhes; for, in his former voyage, having had a diſtant proſpect of the South-Seas he framed an ardent prayer to God, that he might ſail an Engliſh ſhip in them, which he now found an opportunity of attempting, the Queen's permiſſion furniſhing him with the means, and his own fame quickly drawing to him a force ſufficient (l) [C]. The fleet with which he ſailed on this extraordinary undertaking,

owners, diſſipated theſe apprehenſions, as well as raiſed his own character; ſo that at his return from his ſecond voyage, he found it no difficult matter to raiſe ſuch a ſtrength, as might enable him to perform what he had long meditated in his own mind, but which he never would have been able to effect, but by purſuing this cautious method.

[C] *Quickly drawing to him a force ſufficient.*] We have obſerved in the text, that Captain Drake was the firſt Engliſhman at leaſt, ſo far as we know, that had ſo much as a ſight of the South-Seas; and, as Mr Camden remarks, he was ſo inflamed with that ſight, as to have no reſt in his own mind till he had accompliſhed his purpoſe of ſailing an Engliſh ſhip in thoſe ſeas (7). He was not, however, ſo forward as to tell this to all the world, becauſe he foreſaw that ſuch an undertaking would be attended with many difficulties; that the navigation was new, and required much conſideration before it was attempted; that the Spaniards were ſufficiently alarmed by his laſt attempt, and that it would be highly raſh for him to adventure upon ſuch an enterprize, without having the ſanction of publick authority. While he meditated this great deſign in his own mind, without communicating it to any, he took care to procure the beſt lights he could to engage ſeveral bold and active men to ſerve under him wherever he went, and by a well timed diſplay of publick ſpirit, made himſelf known to, and gained ſome powerful friends at, Court (8). But while he was thus wiſely and warily contriving what he afterwards ſo happily executed, one John Oxenham, who had ſerved as a ſoldier, a ſeaman, and a cook, and had gained great reputation by his gallant behaviour in the laſt voyage under him, believed he had penetrated Captain Drake's ſcheme, and thought to be beforehand with him in the execution of it; accordingly, in 1575, this man ſailed in a bark of one hundred and forty tons burthen, with ſeventy brave fellows to Nombre de Dios, where laying his bark up in a creek, he marched croſs the Iſthmus, with his companions, got into the South-Seas with ſome canoes, and took two Spaniſh ſhips with an immenſe treaſure in gold and ſilver; but wanting Drake's abilities and generoſity, though he was little, if at all, inferior to him in courage, fell out with his men, which occaſioned ſuch a delay in his return, that the Spaniards found and diſcovered the treaſure, afterwards deſtroyed many, and at length took him and ſome of his companions, whom for want of a commiſſion to juſtify their proceedings, they hanged as pyrates (9). Captain Drake, before he had any knowledge of the iſſue of this buſineſs, and being acquainted with no more than was publick throughout all the Weſt of England, that Oxenham was ſailed upon ſome ſuch deſign, brought his own project to bear by the means mentioned in the text (10), and eaſily obtained a force ſufficient to accompliſh it, which, all things conſidered, muſt at this day appear a very extraordinary event, more eſpecially if we conſider that he never diſcloſed his real intention after he had his commiſſion, nor indeed could diſcloſe it with ſafety, and yet made all his preparations ſo judiciouſly, that it does not appear any other circumnavigator met with fewer diſcouragements than he, who performed all by the

(g) Sir Francis Drake revived, by Philip Nichols, Preacher, a 4to of 94 pages in black letter, publiſhed by Sir Francis Drake, Baronet, his nephew.

(h) See that relation; as alſo Camden's Annals, p. 351. Stowe, Hollinſhed, and Speed.

(i) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

(k) Idem, ibid.

(l) Camden's Annals, p. 352. Stowe's Annals, p. 689. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 237.

(7) Annals, p. 352.

(8) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

(9) Hakluyt's Voyages, p. 594. Camden, Annal. p. 353.

(10) Stowe's Annals, p. 689.

undertaking, conſiſted of the following ſhips; the Pelican, commanded by himſelf, of the burthen of one hundred tons; the Elizabeth, Vice-Admiral, eighty tons, under Captain John Winter; the Marygold, a bark of thirty tons, commanded by Captain John Thomas; the Swan, a fly-boat of fifty tons, under Captain John Cheſter; and the Chriſtopher, a pinnace of fifteen tons, under Captain Thomas Moon (*m*). In this fleet were embarked no more than one hundred ſixty-four able men, and all the neceſſary proviſions for ſo long and dangerous a voyage; the intent of which, however, was not openly declared, but given out to be for Alexandria, though all men ſuſpected, and many knew, he intended for America. Thus equipped, on the fifteenth of November 1577, about three in the afternoon, he ſailed from Plymouth, but a heavy ſtorm taking him as ſoon as he was out of port, forced him, in a very bad condition, into Falmouth, to refit; which having expeditiouſly performed, he again put to ſea the thirteenth of December following (*n*). On the twenty-fifth of the ſame month he fell in with the coaſt of Barbary, and, on the twenty-ninth, with Cape Verd; the thirteenth of March he paſſed the equinoctial, the fifth of April he made the coaſt of Brazil in 30° N. L. and entered the river De la Plata, where he loſt the company of two of his ſhips; but meeting them again, and having taken out of them all the proviſions they had on board, he turned them adrift. On the twenty-ninth of May he entered the port of St Julian's, where he did the leaſt commendable action of his life, in executing Mr John Doughty, a man next in authority to himſelf; in which, however, he preſerved a great appearance of juſtice (*o*) [*D*]. On the twentieth of Auguſt he entered the Streights of Magellan, on the twenty-fifth

(*m*) Camden's Annals, p. 354. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 730, 748. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. I. p. 46.

(*n*) Camden's Annals, p. 354.

(*o*) See the relation in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 733. All which is omitted in the reviſed account in Purchas, to which we before referred.

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the light of his own judgment, and at the expence of private perſons who had an entire confidence in him.

[*D*] *A great appearance of juſtice.*] This is by much the moſt remarkable paſſage in the life of our hero in reference to his moral character, and for which, as we ſhall ſee, he has been very ſeverely cenſured. We will firſt ſtate the matter of fact briefly and plainly, then mention the ſurmiſes which have been raiſed thereupon; and laſtly, ſhew the reader what has been, or may be, alledged in his juſtification, which we take to be the true courſe of rendering works of this kind uſeful; ſince in other books, the actions of great men are ſeen only in particular lights, according as the author's ſubject, or ſometimes his humour, inclines him to place them; but the buſineſs of a Biographer, is from the relation of facts, to ſhew what the man of whom he is ſpeaking really was. Let us proceed then in the preſent caſe to the buſineſs.

On the 18th of June, Captain Drake arrived with his ſmall fleet at Port St Julian, which lies within one degree of the Streights of Magellan, where he continued about two months, during which time he made the neceſſary proviſion for paſſing the Streights with ſafety (11). Here it was, that, on a ſudden, having carried the principal perſons engaged in the ſervice to a deſart iſland lying in the bay, he called a kind of Council of War, or rather Court Martial, where he expoſed his commiſſion, by which the Queen granted him the power of life and death, which was delivered him with this remarkable expreſſion from her own mouth: *We do account that he*, Drake, *who ſtrikes at thee, does ſtrike at us.* He then laid open with great eloquence, for tho' his education was but indifferent he had a wonderful power of ſpeech, the cauſe of this aſſembly, he proceeded next to charge Mr John Doughty, who had been ſecond in command during the whole voyage, when Drake was preſent, and firſt in his abſence, with plotting the deſtruction of the undertaking, and the murder of his perſon. He ſaid, he had the firſt notice of this gentleman's bad intentions before he left England, but that he was in hopes his behaviour towards him would have extinguiſhed ſuch diſpoſitions, if there had been any truth in the information: he then appealed for his behaviour to the whole aſſembly, and to the gentleman accuſed; he next expoſed his practices from the time they left England, while he lived towards him with all the kindneſs and cordiality of a brother, which charge he ſupported by producing papers under his own hand, to which Mr Doughty added a full and free confeſſion; after this the captain, or as in the language of thoſe times, he is called, the General, quitted the place, telling the aſſembly he expected that they ſhould paſs a verdict upon him, for he would be no judge in his own cauſe. Camden, as the reader will ſee, ſays, that he tried him by a jury, but other accounts affirm, that the whole forty perſons of which the court was compoſed, adjudged him to death, and gave this in writing under their hands and ſeals, leaving the time and manner of it to the General. Mr Doughty himſelf ſaid, that he deſired rather to die by the hands of juſtice than to be his own executioner. Upon this, Captain Drake having maturely weighed the whole matter, preſented three points to Mr Doughty's choice. Firſt, to be executed upon the iſland where they were, next to be ſet a ſhore on the main land, or, laſtly, to be ſent home to abide the juſtice of his country. He deſired he might have till the next day to conſider of theſe, which was allowed him, and then giving his reaſons for rejecting the two laſt, he declared that he made the firſt his choice, and having received the ſacrament with the General, from the hands of Mr Francis Fletcher, Chaplain to the Fleet, and made a full confeſſion; his head was cut off with an ax, by the Provoſt Marſhal, July 2d 1578. It is very remarkable, that this iſland had been the ſcene of another affair preciſely of the ſame nature, fifty-eight years before, when Magellan cauſed John de Carthagena, who was joined in commiſſion with him by the King of Spain, to be hanged for the like offence, and from hence it was called the Iſland of true Juſtice (12).

As to the imputations which this matter brought upon Drake, we will firſt cite what Camden ſays of this tranſaction (13). 'On the 26th of April entering into 'the mouth of the River of Plate, he ſaw an infinite 'number of ſea calves. From thence ſailing into the 'haven of St Julian, he found a gibbet ſet up as is 'thought by Magellan for the puniſhment of certain 'mutineers. In this very place, John Doughty, an 'induſtrious and ſtout man, and the next unto Drake, 'was called to his trial for raiſing a mutiny in the 'fleet, found guilty by twelve men after the Engliſh 'manner, and condemned to death, which he ſuffered undauntedly, being beheaded, having firſt received the Holy Communion with Drake. And indeed, the moſt impartial perſons in the fleet were of 'opinion that he had acted ſeditiouſly, and that 'Drake cut him off as an emulator of his glory, 'and one that regarded not ſo much, who he himſelf 'excelled in commendations for ſea matters, as who 'he thought might equal him. Yet wanted there not 'ſome who pretending to underſtand things better than 'others, gave out that Drake had, in charge from 'Leiceſter to take off Doughty upon any pretence 'whatever, becauſe he had reported that the Earl of 'Eſſex was made away by the cunning practices of 'that Earl.' We find this matter touched in ſeveral other books, and particularly in two, which were written on purpoſe to expoſe the Earl of Leiceſter, and perhaps deſerving the leſs credit for that reaſon (14).

It may be offered in defence of Sir Francis Drake, that this man was openly put to death, after as fair a trial as the circumſtances of time and place would permit; that he ſubmitted patiently to his ſentence, and received the ſacrament with Drake, whom he embraced immediately before his execution. Beſides theſe, there are two points which deſerve particular conſideration. *Firſt*,

(11) See the relation of this Voyage in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 733. Engliſh Hero, or Sir Francis Drake revived, p. 71.

(12) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 396.

(13) Annal. Eliz. p. 354.

(14) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 41. Leiceſter's Ghoſt, Stanza 112, 113.

fifth of September he paſſed them, having then only his own ſhip, which, in the South-Seas, he new named the Hind; on the twenty-fifth of November he came to Machao, in the latitude of thirty degrees, where he had appointed a rendezvous in caſe his ſhips ſeparated: but Captain Winter having repaſſed the Streights, was returned to England. Thence he continued his voyage along the coaſts of Chili and Peru, taking all opportunities of ſeizing Spaniſh ſhips, or of landing, and attacking them on ſhore, till his crew were ſated with plunder, and then coaſting North America, to the height of forty-eight degrees, he endeavoured to find a paſſage back into our ſeas on that ſide, which is the ſtrongeſt proof of his conſummate ſkill, and invincible courage; for, if ever ſuch a paſſage be found to the northward, this, in all probability, will be the method; and we can ſcarce conceive a clearer teſtimony of an undaunted ſpirit, than attempting diſcoveries after ſo long, ſo hazardous, and ſo fatiguing a voyage (p). Here, being diſappointed of what he ſought, he landed, and called the country New Albion, taking poſſeſſion of it in the name, and for the uſe, of Queen Elizabeth; and, having careened his ſhip, ſet ſail from thence on the twenty-ninth of September 1579, for the Moluccas. The reaſon of Captain Drake's chuſing this paſſage round, rather than returning by, the Streights of Magellan, was, partly, the danger of being attacked at a great diſadvantage by the Spaniards, partly the lateneſs of the ſeaſon, whence dangerous ſtorms and hurricanes were to be apprehended (q). Perhaps too he gave out amongſt his ſeamen, that he was deterred by the confident, though falſe, report of the Spaniards, that the Streights could not be repaſſed [E]. On the thirteenth of October he fell in with certain iſlands, inhabited by the moſt barbarous people he had met with in all his voyage. On the fourth of November he had ſight of the Moluccas, and coming to Ternate, was extreamly well received by the King thereof, who appears, from the moſt authentick relations of this voyage, to have been a wiſe and polite Prince. On the tenth of December he made Celebes, where his ſhip unfortunately ran on a rock the ninth of January following, whence beyond all expectation, and in a manner miraculouſly, they got off, and continued their courſe.

(p) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 400. See alſo ſome remarks on this paſſage in Dampier's Voyages.

(q) See all the accounts of this voyage in the authors before-mentioned.

Firſt, that in ſuch expeditions, ſtrict diſcipline and legal ſeverity are often abſolutely neceſſary. *Secondly*, that as to the Earl of Eſſex, for whoſe death Doughty had expreſſed concern, he was Drake's firſt patron, and it is therefore very improbable he ſhould deſtroy a man for endeavouring to detect his murther. We may add to all this, if liberty may be indulged to conjectures, that this man preſuming upon the Earl of Leiceſter's favour, (who very probably impoſed him upon Drake to be rid of him) was from thence encouraged to form deſigns againſt Drake, and this might alſo be the reaſon which hindered him from inclining to an abſolute pardon, as doubting whether it was poſſible to truſt one who had ſo far abuſed his confidence already, and whoſe known intereſt with ſo great a man, might always enable him to find inſtruments, in caſe he was wicked enough to enter upon freſh intrigues. All this however, is ſubmitted entirely to the reader's judgment; ſince it is our deſign only to furniſh proper lights from the intelligence which has come to our hands, but by no means to aim at impoſing our ſenſe of things upon the publick.

[E] *That the Streights could not be repaſſed*] In ſpreading this report, the Spaniards certainly acted very wiſely, for it intimidated even the boldeſt navigators of other nations from attempting this paſſage, from an apprehenſion, that when they were once in thoſe ſeas, they ſhould never get out again, but either fall into the hands of the Spaniards from whom they could hope no mercy, or periſh by famine before they could poſſibly reach the Eaſt-Indies (15). It is very evident from Captain Drake's conduct, for we have no other way left of coming at his ſentiments, that he had maturely weighed all theſe things before he left England. He carried five ſhips with him to Port St Julian, that the people might be more at their eaſe, and have greater plenty of proviſions; but when he came thither he broke up two of them, that there might be leſs danger of ſeparating in ſtrange ſeas, which though it failed him, was nevertheleſs a juſt precaution. In the next place it appears, that he had formed a deſign of returning by a new paſſage, which tho' often attempted on the other ſide, no Engliſhman could ever have thought to have tried in this manner, becauſe till he opened the way, none had the leaſt notion of entering theſe ſeas. Laſtly, he had taken great care to victual himſelf properly, that if this deſign failed, as it did, he might be in a condition to follow the example of Magellan. In order to encourage his people to this, he ſeemed to give credit to the opinion propagated by the Spaniards, of the great danger in repaſſing the Streights of Magellan, which however, were actually repaſſed by Captain John Winter, though Drake and his company could know nothing of this at that time. But that Captain Drake could not apprehend any impoſſibility in the thing itſelf, we may be aſſured from hence, that in this very voyage he had not only paſſed the ſtreights, but had alſo been driven back again, not through the ſtreights indeed, but in the open ſea, of which we have a very diſtinct account given us from his own mouth, by his relation Sir Richard Hawkins, which is very curious, and well deſerves the reader's notice (16): 'In all the Streights it ebbeth and floweth more or leſs, and in many places it riſeth very little, but in ſome Bays where are great in-draughts, it riſes eight or ten feet, and doubtleſs farther in more. If a man be furniſhed with wood and water and the wind good, he may keep the main ſea, and go round about the Streights to the ſouthwards, and it is the ſhorter way; for beſides the experience which we made, that all the ſouth part of the Streights is but iſlands, many times having the ſea open. I remember that Sir Francis Drake told me, that having ſhot the Streights, a ſtorm took him firſt at North-Weſt, and afterwards vered about to the South-Weſt, which continued with him many days with that extremity, that he could not open any ſail, and that at the end of the ſtorm he found himſelf in fifty degrees, which was ſufficient teſtimony and proof that he was beaten round about the Streights, for the leaſt height of the Streights is in fifty two degrees and fifty minutes, in which ſtand the two entrances or mouths. And moreover, he ſaid, that ſtanding about when the wind changed, he was not wellable to double the ſouthermoſt iſland, and ſo anchored under the lee of it; and going aſhore, carried a compaſs with him, and ſeeking out the ſouthermoſt part of the iſland, caſt himſelf down upon the uttermoſt point groveling, and ſo reached out his body over it. Soon after he embarked, where he acquainted his people that he had been upon the ſouthermoſt known land in the world, and further to the ſouthward upon it than any of them, or any man as yet known. Theſe teſtimonies may ſuffice for this truth unto all, but ſuch as are incredulous, and will believe nothing but what they ſee; for my part, I am of opinion, that the Streight is navigable all the year long, although the beſt time be in November, December, and January, and then the winds are more favourable, which at other times are variable as in all narrow ſeas.'

(15) See obſervations on the paſſage into the South-Seas by the Streights of F. Magellan, together with an account of the Voyages made through them down to Sir John Narborough's.

(16) Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 95, 96.

courſe. On the ſixteenth of March he arrived at Java Major, thence he intended to have proceeded for Malacca, but found himſelf obliged to alter his purpoſe, and think of returning directly home (*r*). On the twenty-fifth of March 1580, he put this deſign in execution; and, on the fifteenth of June, he doubled the Cape of Good Hope, having then on board his ſhip fifty-ſeven men, and but three caſks of water. On the twelfth of July he paſſed the Line, reached the coaſt of Guinea on the ſixteenth, and there watered. On the 11th of September he made the iſland of Tercera, and, on the 3d day of November, the ſame year, entered the harbour of Plymouth. In this voyage he compleatly ſurrounded the globe, which no Commander in Chief had done before (*s*) [*F*]. His ſucceſs in the voyage, and the immenſe maſs of wealth he brought home, raiſed much diſcourſe throughout the kingdom, ſome highly commending, and ſome as loudly decrying him. The former alledged, that his exploit was not only honourable to himſelf, but to his country; that it would eſtabliſh our reputation for maritime ſkill in foreign nations, and raiſe a uſeful ſpirit of emulation at home; and that as to the money, our Merchants having ſuffered deeply from the faithleſs practices of the Spaniards, there was nothing more juſt than that the nation ſhould receive the benefit of Drake's repriſals. The other party alledged, that, in fact, he was no better than a pyrate; that, of all others, it leaſt became a trading nation to encourage ſuch practices; that it was not only a direct breach of all our late treaties with Spain, but likewiſe of our old leagues with the houſe of Burgundy; and that the conſequences would be much more fatal than the benefits reaped from it could be advantageous. Things continued in this uncertainty during the remainder of the year 1580, and the ſpring of the ſucceeding year. At length they took a better turn; for, on the fourth of April 1581, her Majeſty going to Deptford in Kent, went on board Capt. Drake's ſhip, where after dinner ſhe conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and declared her abſolute approbation of all that he had done, to the confuſion of his enemies, and to the great joy of his friends (*t*). She likewiſe gave directions for the preſervation of his ſhip, that it might remain a monument of his own and his country's glory. In proceſs of time the veſſel decaying, it was broken up, but a chair, made of the planks, was preſented to the Univerſity of Oxford, and is ſtill preſerved (*u*) [*G*]. In 1585 he ſailed

(*r*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 748.

(*s*) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. I. p. 46—57. Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 742.

(*t*) Camden's Annals, p. 351. Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 400. Stowe's Annals, p. 689. Hollingſhed, Speed.

(*u*) See Mr Cowley's Poems, edit. 1680. p. 8, 42.

[*F*] *Which no Commander in Chief had done before.*] The firſt into whoſe thoughts the poſſibility of this entered, was the celebrated Chriſtopher Columbus, whoſe knowledge in the art of navigation, when one conſiders the defects in Philoſophy and Aſtronomy in his time, appears perfectly amazing (17). Sir John Cabot, father to Sebaſtian Cabot, who was contemporary with Columbus, comprehended his principles perfectly, which induced him to propoſe to our King Henry the Seventh, the finding a North-Weſt Paſſage. Ferdinand Magellan, a Portugueſe by birth, offered his ſervice to the Crown of Spain, and propoſed ſearching for a paſſage to the South, which was accepted. He ſailed from St Lucar, September the twentieth, 1519, he found and paſſed the Streights, which bear his name the next year, but in his return was killed in the Eaſt-Indies. His ſhip came back ſafe to Spain, and as this was the firſt, ſo it was the only example that Captain Drake had to encourage him in his deſign; and to ballance this, there were a multitude of unfortunate attempts afterwards. In 1527, the Spaniards ſent Garcia de Loaiſa, a Knight of Malta, with a ſquadron of ſeven ſhips to follow the route of Magellan. He paſſed the Streights indeed, loſt ſome of his ſhips in the South-Seas, others put into the Ports of New Spain, and only his veſſel and another reached the Eaſt-Indies, where himſelf and all his people periſhed. Another ſquadron of ſeven ſhips fitted out by the Biſhop of Placentia, had no better fortune; for having reached the South-Seas, they were ſo diſcouraged, that they proceeded no further. In 1526, the Genoeſe ſent two ſhips to paſs theſe Streights, of which, one was caſt away, and the other returned home without effecting any thing. Sebaſtian Cabot, in the ſervice of the crown of Portugal, made the like trial, but not being able to find the Streights, returned into the River of Plate. Americus Veſpuſius, from whom the new world received it's name, undertook to perform in the ſervice of the Crown of Portugal, what Cabot had promiſed, but this vain man was ſtill more unlucky, for he could not find either the Streights, or the River of Plate. Some years after, the Spaniards equipped a ſtout ſquadron under the command of Simon de Alcaſara, but before they reached the height of the Streights, the ſailors mutinied, and obliged their commander to return (18). Such repeated misfortunes diſcouraged even the ableſt and boldeſt ſeaman, ſo that from this time, both Spaniards and ſtrangers dropped all thoughts of emulating Magellan, and highly probable it is, that if Captain Drake had fully diſcloſed his deſign, he had not been more fortunate than the reſt. His courage therefore may well be admired, who durſt endeavour an enterprize, the declaring of which had infallibly deſtroyed it; his ſagacity in navigating ſeas, wholly unknown, as well in his return, as in his going out, for not a man on board his ſhip had ever ſeen the Cape of Good Hope, can hardly be enough admired. His intrepidity in ſailing ſo far to the North, in hopes of coming that way home was very ſurprizing, and the methods he took through all the voyage, to keep his people ſteady, in full ſpirits, and for the moſt part in good health, muſt give us a very high idea of his capacity; and therefore, we need not at all wonder that upon his coming to England, his fame roſe to ſuch a height, as to provoke envy as well as praiſe.

[*G*] *And is ſtill preſerved.*] It is obſerved by Mr Camden, that when the Queen went to dine on board the Golden Hind, there was ſuch a concourſe of people, that the wooden bridge over which they paſſed broke, and upwards of an hundred perſons fell into the river, by which accident, however, there was nobody hurt, as if, ſays he, that ſhip had been built under ſome lucky conſtellation. Upon this occaſion, the following verſes made by the ſcholars of Wincheſter College, were nailed to the mainmaſt (19).

Plus Ultra, *Herculeis inſcribas*, Drace, *Columnis*,
Et magno, dicas, Hercule major ero.

In Engliſh thus,

His pillars paſs'd thou DRAKE may'ſt boldly claim,
Than HERCULES the great, a greater name.

Drace, *pererrati quem novit terminus orbis,*
Quemque ſimul mundi vidit uterque Polus;
Si taceant homines, facient te ſidera notum.
Sol neſcit comitis non memor eſſe ſui.

Which may be rendered,

Expos'd to thee have earth's laſt limits been,
Thou at like diſtance both the Poles haſt ſeen;
Were mankind mute, the ſtars thy fame would blaze,
And Phœbus ſing his old companion's praiſe.

Digna

(17) See his life written by his ſon, in the 2d Volume of Churchill's Collect. of Voyages.

(18) See large accounts of theſe Voyages in Eden, Hakluyt, and Purchas.

(19) Camden's Annals, p. 359.

ſailed again to the Weſt-Indies, having under his command Captain Chriſtopher Carliſle, Captain Martin Frobiſher, Captain Francis Knollys, and many other Officers of great reputation. In that expedition he took the cities of St Jago, St Domingo, Carthagena, and St Auguſtin, exceeding even the expectation of his friends, and the hopes of the common people, though both were ſanguine to the laſt degree (*w*). Yet the profits of this expedition were but moderate, the deſign of Sir Francis being rather to weaken the enemy than to enrich himſelf (*x*). In 1587 he proceeded to Liſbon with a fleet of thirty ſail, and having intelligence of a great fleet aſſembled in the Bay of Cadiz, which was to have made part of the Armada, he, with great courage, entered that port, and burnt there upwards of ten thouſand ton of ſhipping; and, after having performed all the ſervice that the State could expect, he reſolved to do his utmoſt to content the Merchants of London, who had contributed, by a voluntary ſubſcription, to the fitting out of his fleet. With this view, having intelligence of a large carrack expected at Tercera from the Eaſt-Indies, thither he ſailed; and though his men were ſeverely pinched for want of victuals, yet, by fair words, and large promiſes, he prevailed upon them to endure theſe hardſhips for a few days; within this ſpace the Eaſt-India ſhip arrived, which he took, and carried home in triumph; ſo that throughout the whole war there was no expedition ſo happily conducted as this, with reſpect to reputation or profit (*y*); and therefore we need not wonder, that, upon his return, the mighty applauſe he received might render him ſomewhat elate, as his enemies report it did; but certain it is, that no man's pride had ever a happier turn, ſince it always vented itſelf in ſervice to the publick [*H*]. Thus, at this time, he undertook to bring water into the town of Plymouth, through the want of which, till then, it had been grievouſly diſtreſſed; and he performed it by conducting thither a ſtream from ſprings at eight miles diſtance, that is to ſay, in a ſtrait line; for in the manner by which he brought it, the courſe it runs is upwards of twenty miles (*z*). In 1588 Sir Francis Drake was appointed Vice-Admiral under Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, High Admiral of England: here his fortune favoured him as remarkably as ever, for he made prize of a very large galleon, commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, who yielded on the bare mention of his name. In this veſſel fifty thouſand ducats were diſtributed among the ſeamen and ſoldiers, which preſerved that love they had always borne to their valiant Commander. It muſt not, however, be diſſembled, that, through

(*w*) Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 534. Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 169. Camden's Annals, p. 353. Stowe's Annals, p. 709. Hollingſhed. Speed.

(*x*) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 169.

(*y*) Stowe's Annals, p. 808, Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 170.

(*z*) Weſtcot's Survey of Devonſhire, M.S. Stowe's Annals, p. 808.

Digna Ratis quæ ſtet radiantibus inclyta ſtellis;
Supremo cæli vertice digna Ratis.

Thus tranſlated,

Amidſt the *ſtars*, thy SHIP were fitly plac'd,
And *ſtars* in gracing it, be doubly grac'd.

The ſame learned author in another famous work of his (*), takes notice of a circumſtance very extraordinary in relation to this celebrated ſhip, which is ſo ſtrange in itſelf, that we ſhould have paſſed it by in a writer of leſs credit; but what Camden thought fit to record of things happening in his own time, it might be juſtly thought a fault in us to omit. Speaking of the Shire of Buchan in Scotland, he ſays: 'It is hardly worth 'while to mention the Clayks, a ſort of Geeſe, which 'are believed by ſome with great admiration, to grow 'upon trees on this coaſt, and in other places, and 'when they are ripe to fall down into the ſea, becauſe 'neither their neſts nor eggs can any where be found. 'But they who ſaw the ſhip in which Sir Francis 'Drake ſailed round the world, when it was laid up in 'the river Thames, could teſtify that little birds bred 'in the old rotten keels of ſhips, ſince a great number 'of ſuch, without life and feathers, ſtuck cloſe to the 'out-ſide of the keel of that ſhip. Yet I ſhould think 'that the generation of theſe birds, was not from the 'logs of wood, but from the ſea, termed by the poets, 'the Parent of all things.' But to proceed in our narration. Time that deſtroys all things, having made great breaches in this ſhip, which for many years had been contemplated with juſt admiration at Deptford, it was at length broke up, and a chair made out of the planks was, by John Davies, Eſq; preſented to the Univerſity of Oxford, upon which the famous Abraham Cowley made the following epigram, that neither the hero nor his veſſel might want the aſſiſtance of the Muſes to render them immortal (20):

) Britannia, cond edition, 1263, 1264.

(20) Cowley's Works, Vol. II. p. 563.

To this great ſhip, which round the world has run,
And matcht in race, the chariot of the ſun;
This Pythagorean ſhip (for it may claim)
Without preſumption, ſo deſerv'd a name.
By knowledge once, and transformation now
In her new ſhape, this ſacred port allow,
Drake and his ſhip, could not have wiſh'd from fate,
An happier ſtation, or more bleſt eſtate:
For lo! a ſeat of endleſs reſt is given
To her in Oxford, and to him in Heaven.

To this, let us add another hitherto unpubliſhed.

Thy glory DRAKE, extenſive as thy mind,
No time ſhall tarniſh, and no limits bind:
What greater praiſe! than thus to match the SUN
Running that RACE, which cannot be outrun.
Wide as the WORLD thou compaſs'd, ſpreads thy
Fame,
And with that WORLD, an equal date ſhall claim.

[*H*] *Since it always vented itſelf in ſervice to the publick.*] It muſt be obſerved, that though in his voyage round the world, our gallant ſeaman had the Queen's commiſſion, yet he had not the honour to command any of the Queen's ſhips. But in the expedition of 1585, Sir Francis Drake went on board one Man of War, and his Vice-Admiral, Frobiſher, was in another (21). In this laſt enterprize, in 1587, he had four of the Queen's ſhips, and twenty ſix ſail of ſeveral ſizes fitted out by the Merchants of London; ſo that if we conſider the expectations which his former ſucceſſes had raiſed, his having now ſeveral intereſts to ſerve, and thoſe in a manner oppoſite to each other, one cannot but admit, that this fortune was very ſingular, as well as his conduct great, that could give full ſatisfaction to all. Yet this he did in ſo high a degree, that Sir William Monſon confeſſes in his naval tracts, envy herſelf knew not what to object, either to the management, or the iſſue of this voyage (22). If therefore Sir Francis Drake bore his head a little higher upon his return, it was highly pardonable, and all that we find objected to him, is no more than this, that in the ſoldier like language of that time, he very merrily called this, *burning the King of Spain's beard* (23). This expreſſion was indeed blunt and coarſe enough, and yet there is ſomething in it expreſſive; it is on all hands allowed that he did infinite miſchief, and retarded thereby the coming of the Armada for a whole year.

(21) See the ſeveral authors referred to in the text.

(22) Naval Tracts, p. 170.

(23) Bacon's Works, Vol. III. p. 523.

[*I*] *Being*

through an overſight of his, the Admiral ran the utmoſt hazard of being taken by the enemy; for Drake being appointed, the firſt night of the engagement, to carry lights for the direction of the Engliſh fleet, he, being in full purſuit of ſome hulks belonging to the Hanſe towns, neglected it, which occaſioned the Admiral's following the Spaniſh lights, and remaining almoſt in the centre of their fleet till morning. However, his ſucceeding ſervices ſufficiently effaced the memory of this miſtake, the greateſt execution done on the flying Spaniards being performed by the ſquadron under his command (a) [I]. The next year he commanded as Admiral at ſea the fleet ſent to reſtore Don Antonio King of Portugal, the command of the land-forces being given to Sir John Norris. They were hardly got out to ſea before the Commanders differed, though it is on all hands agreed, that there never was an Admiral better diſpoſed with reſpect to ſoldiers, than Sir Francis Drake.

(a) Camden's Annals, p. 565, 573. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 602. Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 172. Stowe, Hollinſhead, Speed. See alſo the article of DEVEREUX (ROBERT I.) Earl of Eſſex.

[I] *Being performed by the ſquadron under his command.*] We will begin this note with obſerving, that a little before this formidable Spaniſh armament put to ſea, the Ambaſſador of his Catholick Majeſty had the confidence to propound to Queen Elizabeth, in Latin verſe, the terms upon which ſhe might hope for peace; which, with an Engliſh tranſlation by the facetious Dr Fuller (24), we will preſent to the view of the reader, the rather, becauſe it appears that Drake's expeditions to the Weſt-Indies makes a part of this meſſage. The verſes are theſe:

Te veto ne pergas bello defendere Belgas:
Quæ Dracus eripuit nunc reſtituentur oportet:
Quas pater evertit jubeo te condere cellas:
Relligio Papæ fac reſtituetur ad unguem.

In Engliſh.

Theſe to you are our commands,
Send no help to the Netherlands;
Of the treaſure took by Drake,
Reſtitution you muſt make;
And thoſe abbies build anew
Which your father overthrew.
If for any peace you hope,
In all points reſtore the Pope.

The Queen's extempore return:

Ad Græcas, bone Rex, fient mandata calendas.

Worthy King, know this your will,
At Latter Lammas we'll fulfil.

There is a letter ſtill preſerved by Strype, written by Sir Francis Drake to the Lord High-Treaſurer Burleigh, dated June 6, 1588, wherein he acquaints him, that the Spaniards were approaching, and that though their ſtrength outwent report, yet the chearfulneſs and courage which the Lord Admiral expreſſed, gave all who had the honour to ſerve under him aſſurance of victory. This compliment, which ſure was very well turned, proved alſo a prophecy, which Sir Francis had his ſhare in fulfilling (25). On the twenty-ſecond of July, Sir Francis obſerving a great Spaniſh ſhip, commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, who was reputed the projector of this invaſion, floating at a diſtance from both fleets, ſent his pinnace to ſummon thoſe who were on board to yield; Valdez, to maintain his credit and pretence to valour, returned, that they were four hundred and fifty ſtrong, that he himſelf was Don Pedro, and ſtood much upon his honour, and thereupon propounded ſeveral conditions upon which he was willing to yield: but the Vice-Admiral replied that he had no leiſure to parley, but if he thought fit inſtantly to yield he might, if not he ſhould ſoon find that Drake was no coward. Pedro hearing it was Drake, whoſe name was ſo terrible to the Spaniards, preſently yielded, and, with forty-ſix of his attendants, came aboard Sir Francis's ſhip, where, giving him the ſolemn Spaniſh congee, he proteſted, 'that they were all reſolved to 'have died fighting, had they not fallen into his hands, 'whoſe felicity and valour was ſo great, that Mars the 'god of war, and Neptune the god of the ſea, ſeemed 'to wait upon all his attempts, and whoſe noble and 'generous carriage toward the vanquiſhed, had been 'oft experienced by his foes.' Sir Francis, to requite theſe Spaniſh complements with real Engliſh kindneſs, ſet him at his own table, and lodged him in his own cabbin, ſending the reſt of his company to Plymouth. Drake's ſoldiers were well recompenſed with the plunder of this ſhip, wherein they found fifty-five thouſand ducats of gold, which they joyfully ſhared amongſt them (26). This Don Pedro Valdez remained above two years Sir Francis Drake's priſoner in England, and, when he was releaſed, paid him for his own and his two Captains liberties, a ranſom of three thouſand five hundred pounds (27). The Spaniards, notwithſtanding their loſs was ſo great, and their defeat ſo notorious, took great pains to propagate falſe ſtories, which in ſome places gained ſo much credit as to hide their ſhame. This provoked all good Engliſhmen, and, amongſt them, none more than Sir Francis Drake, who, to ſhew that he could upon occaſion draw his pen as well as his ſword, vouchſafed this refutation of their romances (28): 'They were not aſhamed to pub'liſh in ſundry languages in print, great victories in 'words: which they pretended to have obtained a'gainſt this realm, and ſpread the ſame in a moſt falſe 'ſort over all parts of France, Italy, and elſewhere; 'when, ſhortly after, it was happily manifeſted in very 'deed to all nations, how their navy, which they 'termed invincible, conſiſting of one hundred and 'forty ſail of ſhips, not only of their own kingdom, 'but ſtrengthened with the greateſt argoſies, Portugal 'carracks, florentines, and large hulks of other coun'tries, were by thirty of her Majeſty's own ſhips of 'war, and a few of our own merchants, by the wiſe, 'valiant, and advantageous conduct of the Lord Charles 'Howard, High-Admiral of England, beaten and 'ſhuffled together even from the Lizard in Cornwall, 'firſt to Portland, where they ſhamefully left Don Pe'dro de Valdes with his mighty ſhip; from Portland to 'Calais, where they loſt Hugh de Moncado, with the 'gallies of which he was Captain; and from Calais 'driven with ſquibs from their anchors, were chaſed 'out of the ſight of England, round about Scotland 'and Ireland. Where, for the ſympathy of their re'ligion, hoping to find ſuccour and aſſiſtance, a great 'part of them were cruſhed againſt the rocks, and 'thoſe other that landed, being very many in number, 'were, notwithſtanding, broken, ſlain, and taken. 'And ſo ſent from village to village, coupled in hal'ters, to be ſhipped into England, where her Majeſty, 'of her princely and invincible diſpoſition, diſdaining 'to put them to death, and ſcorning either to retain 'or entertain them, they were all ſent back again to 'their countries, to witneſs and recount the worthy 'atchievement of their invincible and dreadful na'vy. Of which the number of ſoldiers, the fear'ful burthen of their ſhips, the commanders names 'of every ſquadron, with all other their magazines of 'proviſions, were put in print, as an army and navy 'irreſiſtible and diſdaining prevention; with all which 'their great terrible oſtentation, they did not in all 'their ſailing round about England ſo much as ſink or 'take one ſhip, bark, pinnace, or cock boat, of ours, 'or ever burnt ſo much as one ſheepcote on this land.' If the knowledge of a writer, with reſpect to the ſubject which employs his pen, ought to render his relation more credible; or if the quality of an author can add any weight to his productions, this will not fail of being eſteemed as well as believed. To ſpeak the truth plainly, there is not perhaps in our own or in any other language, within ſo narrow a compaſs, ſo full, ſo perſpicuous, and ſo ſpirited a relation of a tranſaction, glorious as this was, extant in any Hiſtory. Indeed, what wonder, if the defeat of the Spaniards be as finely painted by the pen, as it was gallantly atchieved by the ſword, of Sir Francis Drake!

(24) Holy State, p. 303.

(25) This letter was formerly among the Lord Burleigh's Manuſcripts. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 523.

(26) Engliſh Hero.

(27) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 523. Life of Sir Francis Drake, p. 195.

(28) Strype's Annals, Vol. III, p. 531, 532.

[K] *There*

Drake. The ground of their difference was this; the General was bent on landing at the Groyne, whereas Sir Francis, and the ſea-officers, were for ſailing to Liſbon directly, in which, if their advice had been taken, without queſtion, their enterprize had ſucceeded, and Don Antonio been reſtored. For it afterwards appeared, on their invading Portugal, that the enemy had made uſe of the time they gave them to ſo good purpoſe, that it was not poſſible to make any impreſſion. Sir John Norris, indeed, marched by land to Liſbon, and Sir Francis Drake very imprudently promiſed to ſail up the river with his whole fleet; but when he ſaw the conſequences which would have attended the keeping his word, he choſe rather to break his promiſe, than to hazard the Queen's navy; for which he was grievouſly reproached by Norris, and the miſcarriage of the whole affair was imputed to his failure in performing what he had undertaken; yet Sir Francis fully juſtified himſelf on his return, for he made it manifeſt to the Queen and Council, that all the ſervice that was done was performed by him, and his ſailing up the river of Liſbon would have ſignified nothing to the taking the caſtle, which was two miles off, and that without reducing it there was no taking the town (*b*) [*K*]. The war with Spain ſtill continuing, and it being evident that nothing galled the enemy ſo much as the loſſes they met with in the Indies, a propoſition was made to the Queen by Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake, the moſt experienced ſeamen in her kingdom, for undertaking a more effectual expedition into thoſe parts, than had hitherto been made through the whole courſe of that war; and, at the ſame time, they offered to be at a great part of the expence themſelves, and to engage their friends to bear a conſiderable proportion of the reſt (*c*). The Queen readily gave ear to this motion, and furniſhed, on her part, a ſtout ſquadron of men of war, on board one of which, the Garland, Sir John Hawkins embarked. Their whole force conſiſted of twenty-ſeven ſhips and barks, and on board them were about two thouſand five hundred men. Of all the enterprizes throughout the war, there was none of which ſo great hope was conceived as of this, and yet none ſucceeded worſe. The fleet was detained, for ſome time after it was ready, on the Engliſh coaſt, by the arts of the Spaniards, who, having intelligence of it's ſtrength, and of the ends for which it was intended, they conceived, that the only means whereby it might be diſappointed was by procuring ſome delay; in order to which they gave out, that they were ready themſelves to invade England; and, to render this the more probable, they actually ſent four gallies to make a deſcent on Cornwall (*d*). By theſe ſteps they carried their point; for the Queen and the nation being alarmed, it was by no means held proper to ſend ſo great a number of ſtout ſhips on ſo long a voyage, at ſo critical a juncture. At laſt this ſtorm blowing over, the fleet ſailed from Plymouth on the twenty-eighth of Auguſt, in order to execute their grand deſign of burning Nombre de Dios, marching thence by land to Panama, and there ſeizing the treaſure which they knew was arrived from Peru. A few days before their departure, the Queen ſent them advice, that the plate fleet was ſafely arrived in Spain, excepting only one galleon, which, having loſt a maſt, had been obliged to return to Porto Rico. The taking of this veſſel ſhe recommended to them as a thing very practicable, and which could prove no great hindrance to their other affair. When they were at ſea the Generals differed, as is uſual in conjunct expeditions. Sir John Hawkins was for executing immediately what the Queen had commanded, whereas Sir Francis Drake inclined to go firſt to the Canaries, being preſſed thereto by Sir Thomas Baſkerville, in which he prevailed; but the attempt they made was unſucceſsful, and then they ſailed for Dominica, where they ſpent too much time in refreſhing themſelves, and ſetting up their pinnaces. In the mean time the Spaniards had ſent five ſtout frigates to bring away the galleon from Porto Rico, having exact intelligence of the intention of the Engliſh Admirals to attempt that place. On the thirtieth of October Sir John Hawkins

(*b*) Camden's Annals, p. 601—606.
Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 174.
Stowe's Annals, p. 755.
Hollingſhed.
Speed.

(*c*) Camden's Annals, p. 698, 699, 700.
Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 182, 183.
Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 583.
Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1183.
Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

(*d*) Camden's Annals, p. 697.

[*K*] *There was no taking the town.*] Before this expedition, all difficulties, however great, were ſeen to bend before the fortune of Sir Francis Drake; but whether it was the ſtrange diviſion of command, for there were two Generals in Chief declared, and a third who expected to command them, though without a commiſſion. Whether they were deceived in the furniſhing the fleet, which would not have been the caſe if the ſole management had been committed to Sir Francis Drake, or whether their hopes failed them in Portugal, ſo it was, that, with reſpect to the great end of their expedition, they miſcarried; and as they carried Don Antonio out with ſtrong hopes of leaving him a King, ſo, when they brought him home, he left all his hopes behind (29). In moſt of our Hiſtories many aſperſions are thrown upon Sir Francis Drake, and Sir William Monſon very impartially profeſſes, that he cannot excuſe his breaking his promiſe to Sir John Norris, though he allows the thing was impracticable. Now, though the breaking a promiſe be a bad thing, one might be tempted to think, that not being able to keep it is a pretty tolerable excuſe; the Queen and her Council underſtood it ſo, for Sir Francis alledged, and it could not be denied, that the very time time they ſpent at the Groyne, the Spaniards employed in fortifying Liſbon, which was the reaſon he oppoſed that meaſure (30). He ſhewed, that whatever was done there or elſewhere for the credit of the nation, was performed ſolely by the fleet and by his orders, in conſequence of which a large fleet, laden with naval ſtores from the Hanſe Towns, was taken, and a great quantity of ammunition and artillery. He farther ſhewed, that, had it not been for the fleet, the army muſt have been ſtarved; and that, if they had ſtayed any longer, neither fleet nor army could have returned home; all which diſtreſſes aroſe from their not going about their principal buſineſs at firſt, which was what he adviſed; but when he found he could not prevail upon ſome men to manage their own affairs right, he contented himſelf with managing, as well as he could, thoſe that were immediately within his own province, and with reſpect to theſe, even the cenſurers of this expedition admit, that nobody could have managed them better. Happy for Sir Francis Drake, if, upon his receiving this firſt check at play, he had withdrawn his ſtake.

(29) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 606.
Stowe's Annals, p. 755.

(30) Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 174.

weighed from Dominica, and, in the evening of the ſame day, the Francis, a bark of about thirty-five tons, and the ſternmoſt of Sir John's ſhips, fell in with the five ſail of Spaniſh frigates before-mentioned, and was taken; the conſequences of which being foreſeen by Sir John, it threw him into a fit of ſickneſs, of which, or rather of a broken heart, he died on the twelfth of November 1595 (e). At this time they were before Porto Rico, and the very ſame evening Sir John Hawkins died, while the great officers were at ſupper together, a cannon ſhot from the fort pierced the cabin, killed Sir Nicholas Clifford, wounded Captain Stratford, and mortally wounded Mr Brute Browne, ſtriking the ſtool from under Sir Francis Drake, who was drinking, without doing him any hurt at all. The next day, November 13th, 1595, the General, purſuant to the reſolution of a Council of War, made a deſperate attack on the ſhipping in the harbour of Porto Rico, which was attended with great loſs to the Spaniards, yet with very little advantage to the Engliſh, who meeting with a more reſolute reſiſtance, and much better fortifications, than they expected, were obliged to ſheer off. The Admiral then ſteered for the main, where he took the town of Rio de la Hacha, which he burnt to the ground, a church, and a ſingle houſe belonging to a Lady, only excepted. After this he deſtroyed ſome other villages, and then proceeded to Santa Martha, which he likewiſe burned. The like fate had the famous town of Nombre de Dios, the Spaniards refuſing to ranſom any of theſe places, and the booty taken in them being very inconſiderable. On the twenty-ninth of December Sir Thomas Baſkerville marched, with ſeven hundred and fifty men, towards Panama, but returned on the ſecond of January, finding the deſign of reducing that place to be wholly impracticable. This diſappointment made ſuch an impreſſion on the Admiral's mind, that it threw him into a lingering fever, attended with a flux, of which he died on the twenty-eighth of the ſame month, about four in the morning; though Sir William Monſon hints, that there were great doubts whether it was barely his ſickneſs killed him [L]. Such was the end of this great man, when he had

lived

(e) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 183. MS. Remarks on Hakluyt.

[L] *Whether it was barely his ſickneſs that killed him.*] In the text we have ſtated the facts according to the lights given us, and, from the authorities of the beſt writers in thoſe times, we will in this note endeavour to clear up ſome paſſages that might otherwiſe ſeem obſcure, and by doing this we ſhall, in ſome meaſure, enable the reader to form a juſt notion as to his death. Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins were, without doubt, two of the moſt experienced officers, that thoſe ſtirring times, and that glorious reign, had bred. Each of them had his reaſons for undertaking that expedition, and both of them acted from motives of honour; they knew well the ſituation of the countries which were to be the ſcene of their actions, and the plan they laid was equally worthy of the great experience they had, and the high reputation raiſed thereby. In few words, their aim was to plunder and deſtroy Nombre de Dios, to force a paſſage through the Iſthmus, and then to make themſelves maſters of Panama, which done, they were to act as circumſtances ſhould direct (31). The preparations made for their voyage, chiefly at the expence of the Generals, were ſuch as could not be concealed: the Spaniards, being apprized of theſe, alarmed England, and thereby gained time to ſend advice into America. When, after many months delay, the Queen allowed them to proceed, ſhe charged him with another project, which was attacking Porto Rico, where, according to her information (and it was true) the whole cargo of a rich galleon was depoſited (32). When they were at ſea, Sir Thomas Baſkerville ſtarted a third project, which was reducing one of the Canary Iſlands, to which Sir Francis Drake aſſented, as believing, that, whatever became of their expedition, the conqueſt of that iſland would be of very great importance to the nation (33). Their miſcarriage in that was many ways detrimental, but chiefly through this which they did not foreſee, that it gave time for the Court of Spain to ſend five frigates, with nine hundred regular troops on board, to St John de Porto Rico. Of this they had no ſuſpicion, and therefore they ſpent more time than they needed to have done before they went thither, and the bark Francis being taken in their paſſage, Sir John Hawkins truly foreſaw what afterwards happened, that the Spaniards, by the help of the reinforcement that ſquadron carried, would be too ſtrong for them. The ſad accident of his death, and of two principal Commanders deſperately wounded the ſame evening, damped the ſpirits of the ſoldiers and ſeamen exceedingly. General Drake himſelf, when he took his leave of Mr Brown in order to go to the attack, could not help ſaying, *Brute, Brute,* (that was his Chriſtian name) *how heartily could I lament thy fate, but that I dare not let my ſpirits ſink now* (34). The ſeveral enterprizes that followed, were to gratify other mens projects, but at laſt Sir Francis Drake returned to his firſt deſign, and made an attempt upon the Iſthmus, but the Spaniards were too well provided, ſo that he plainly ſaw things went not with him as in former days. The whole of this expedition was a ſeries of misfortunes, in which Providence made uſe of their own counſels to deſtroy them. If they had gone at firſt to Porto Rico, they had done the Queen's buſineſs and their own. If, when they had intelligence of the Spaniſh ſuccours being landed there, they had proceeded directly to the Iſthmus, in order to have executed their deſigns againſt Panama, before their forces had been weakened by that deſperate attack, they might poſſibly have accompliſhed their firſt intention, but graſping too many things ſpoiled all. A very ſtrong ſenſe of this threw Sir Francis Drake into a melancholy, which occaſioned a bloody-flux, the natural diſeaſe of the country that brought him to his end (35). His body, according to the cuſtom of the ſea, was ſunk very near the place where he firſt laid the foundation of his fame and fortune. This appears to be a plain and probable relation of the end of this great man; if the reader has a mind to ſee it ſet in a ſtronger light, Mr Fuller ſhall afford him that ſatisfaction, which will be heightened by knowing that he wrote from the mouth of Henry Drake, Eſq; who accompanied his couſin in that unfortunate expedition (36). 'Now began the diſcontent of Sir Francis to feed upon him. He conceived that expectation, a mercileſs uſurer, computing each day ſince his departure, exacted an intereſt and return of honour and profit proportionable to his great preparations, and tranſcending his former atchievements. He ſaw that all the good which he had done in this voyage, conſiſted in the evil he had done to the Spaniards afar off, whereof he could preſent but ſmall viſible fruits in England. Theſe apprehenſions accompanying, if not cauſing, the diſeaſe of the flux, wrought his ſudden death; and ſickneſs did not ſo much untie his clothes, as ſorrow did rend at once the robe of his mortality aſunder. He lived by the ſea, died on it, and was buried in it. Thus, an extempore performance, ſcarce heard to be begun before we hear it is ended, comes off with better applauſe, or miſcarries with leſs diſgrace, than a long ſtudied and openly premeditated action. Beſides, we ſee how great ſpirits having mounted up to the higheſt pitch of performance, afterwards ſtrain and break their credits in ſtriving to go beyond it. Laſtly, God oftentimes

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(31) It was upon this plan they formed the offer they made to the Queen, and, no doubt, had good intelligence.

(32) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 583. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1183. Stowe's Annals, p. 808.

(33) Engliſh Hero, p. 206.

(34) Fuller's Holy State, p. 129.

(35) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 700. Sir Wm. Monſon's Tracts, p. 182.

(36) Fuller's Holy State, p. 130, 131.

lived fifty-five years (*f*), according to ſome, but according to our computation fifty-one (*g*), but his memory will ſurvive as long as that world laſts which he firſt ſurrounded. His death was generally lamented by the whole nation, but more eſpecially by his countrymen, who had great reaſons to love him from the circumſtances of his private life, as well as to eſteem him in his publick character. He was elected Burgeſs for the town of Boſſiney, alias Tintagal, in the county of Cornwall, in the Parliament held the twenty-ſeventh of Queen Elizabeth, and for the town of Plymouth in Devonſhire, in the thirty-fifth of the ſame reign (*h*). It is indeed true, that he died without iſſue, but not that he lived and died a Bachelor, as ſeveral authors have written (*i*); for he left behind him a widow, Elizabeth (*k*), daughter and ſole heireſs of Sir George Sydenham, of Combe-Sydenham in the county of Devon, Knight, who afterwards married William Courteney, Eſq; of Powderham-Caſtle in the ſame county. It was not the cuſtom of thoſe times to ſet up cenotaphs, at leaſt for private perſons, otherwiſe one might have expected ſome monument ſhould have been erected to the memory of Sir Francis Drake. Indeed it was needleſs; for his picture was common not only here, but in all parts of Europe, inſomuch, that a diſturbance was occaſioned at Rome by the imprudence of a famous Painter, who cauſed the head (*l*) of Sir Francis Drake to be hung up in a publick place, next to that of his Catholick Majeſty. Hitherto we have ſpoken of his publick actions, let us now, as we have ample and excellent materials, diſcourſe ſomewhat of his perſon and character. He was low of ſtature but well ſet, had a broad open cheſt, a very round head, his hair of a fine brown, his beard full and comely, his eyes large and clear, of a fair complexion, with a freſh, chearful, and very engaging countenance (*m*). As Navigation had been his whole ſtudy, ſo he underſtood it thoroughly, and was a perfect maſter in every branch, eſpecially in Aſtronomy, and in the application thereof to the Nautick Art. As all men have enemies, and all eminent men abundance of them, we need not wonder that Sir Francis Drake, who performed ſo many great things, ſhould have as much ill ſpoken of him as of any man of the age in which he lived. Thoſe who diſliked him alledged, that he was a man of low birth, haughty in his temper, oſtentatious, ſelf-ſufficient, an immoderate ſpeaker, and, though indiſputably a good Seaman, no great General; in proof of which they took notice of his neglecting to furniſh his fleet thoroughly in 1585, his not keeping either St Domingo or Carthagena, after he had taken them, the ſlender proviſion he made in his expedition to Portugal, his breaking his word to Sir John Norris, and the errors he committed in his laſt undertaking (*n*). In excuſe of theſe it is ſaid, that the glory of what he did might very well remove the imputation of his mean deſcent; what was thought haughtineſs in him, might be no more than a juſt concern for the ſupport of his authority, his diſplay of his great ſervices, a thing incident to his profeſſion, and his love of ſpeaking qualified by his wiſdom and eloquence, which hindered him from ever dropping a weak or an ungraceful expreſſion. In equipping his fleet, he was not ſo much in fault as thoſe whom he truſted; ſickneſs hindered his keeping the places he took in the Weſt-Indies; his counſels were continually croſſed by the land-officers in his voyage to Portugal; and, as to his laſt attempt, the Spaniards were certainly well acquainted with his deſign, at leaſt as ſoon as he left England, if not before. His voyage round the world, however, remains an inconteſtible proof of his courage, capacity, patience, quick-ſightedneſs, and publick ſpirit, ſince therein he did every thing that could be expected from a man, who preferred the honour and profit of his country to his own reputation, or private gain (*o*) [*M*]. It was the felicity of our Admiral to live under the reign of a Princeſs,

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'leaves the brighteſt men in an eclipſe, to ſhew, that 'they do but borrow their luſtre from his reflection. 'We will not juſtify all the actions of any man, tho' 'of a tamer profeſſion than a ſea Captain, in whom 'civility is often counted preciſeneſs. For the main, 'we ſay, that this our Captain was a religious man 'towards God, and his houſes, generally ſpeaking, 'churches, where he came chaſt in his life, juſt in his 'dealings, true of his word, and merciful to thoſe that 'were under him, hating nothing ſo much as idleneſs.'

[*M*] *To his own reputation or private gain.*] The materials that I have collected from ſeveral writers in that age, and which are to be digeſted into this note, will, I hope, ſufficiently juſtify what is advanced in the text, and ſhew, that if Sir Francis Drake amaſſed a large fortune to himſelf, by continually expoſing himſelf to labours and perils which hardly any other man would have undergone, for the ſake even of the greateſt expectations, he was far from being governed by a narrow and private ſpirit; on the contrary, his notions were free and noble, and the nation ſtands indebted to his memory, for advantages, infinitely greater than are commonly imagined.

I. He was the great author of our navigation to the Weſt-Indies; for though he was not the firſt that went thither, yet, after the ſevere check that Sir John Hawkins met with when Drake commanded the Judith, our ſeamen were much diſcouraged, and in all probability, would ſcarce have adventured upon any expeditions of that ſort in haſte, if he had not encouraged them by his two proſperous voyages. In theſe he acted with extraordinary caution, and was remarkably careful of the health and ſafety of his ſeamen, that he might beget in them not only a confidence in himſelf, but a thorough contempt of thoſe vulgar fears, which repreſented voyages into that part of the world as ſo difficult and dangerous in many reſpects, beſides that of falling into the hands of the Spaniards (37). In this he ſucceeded ſo well, that, in the ſpace of a very few years, many ſmall veſſels, moſt of them commanded by perſons bred under him, followed that courſe, and partly by trading, partly by privateering, brought great wealth into the nation, and accuſtomed the Engliſh mariners to traverſe ſeas, and viſit ports, to which, but for his vigilance and good fortune, they had remained much longer ſtrangers (38). On this account, therefore, he may be conſidered, very juſtly, as the author of all our ſucceſs in thoſe parts; for tho' ſeveral famous ſeamen engaged afterwards in expeditions of the like nature, and began to think of making ſettlements alſo in thoſe remote parts, yet it was but in conſequence of the lights he gave them, and from that ſpirit of emulation which was raiſed by the extenſive reputation he had acquired.

II. He

(*f*) Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 583. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1183. Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 182. Stowe's Annals, p. 808. Camden's Annals, p. 700. Engliſh Hero, p. 206. Fuller's Worthies, p. 261.

(*g*) In the margin of Stowe's Annals he is ſaid to have died at fifty-five; but, from all the paſſages in that account of him, he appears to have been no older than we have reported him.

(*h*) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 122, 295.

(*i*) Fuller's Worthies, p. 261.

(*k*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 244. Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 531.

(*l*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 540.

(*m*) Stowe's Annals, p. 808. Fuller's Holy State, p. 131.

(*n*) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 399. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. VI. p. 1185. Stowe's Annals, p. 808.

(*o*) Camden's Annals, p. 351. The World encompaſſed, p. 18. Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 399. Engliſh Hero, p. 206.

(37) See Sir Richard Hawkins's Obſervations on his Voyage to the South-Seas.

(38) Drake's Antiquities of York, p. 230.

Princeſs, who never failed to diſtinguiſh merit, or to beſtow her favours where ſhe ſaw deſert. Sir Francis Drake was always her favourite, and ſhe gave a very lucky proof of it in reſpect to a quarrel he had with his countryman Sir Bernard Drake, whoſe arms Sir Francis had aſſumed, which ſo provoked the other, who was a ſeaman likewiſe, that he gave him a box on the ear. The Queen took up the quarrel, and gave Sir Francis a new coat, which is thus blazoned: *Sable a feſs wavy between two pole ſtars argent*, and for his creſt, *a ſhip on a globe under ruff*, held by a cable, with a hand out of the clouds, over it this motto, *Auxilio divino*, underneath, *Sic parvis magna*, in the rigging whereof is hung up by the heels *a wivern, gules*, which was the arms of Sir Bernard Drake (*p*). Her Majeſty's kindneſs, however, did not extend beyond the grave; for ſhe ſuffered his brother Thomas Drake, whom he made his heir, to be proſecuted for a pretended debt to the Crown, which much diminiſhed the advantages he would otherwiſe have reaped from his brother's ſucceſſion (*q*). This brother of his accompanied him in his laſt expedition, as his brother John, and his brother Joſeph, had done in his firſt voyages to the Weſt-Indies, where they both died; and both Thomas and John left children behind them, whereas Sir Francis, and nine of his other brethren, died without (*r*). As for the land eſtate which he had purchaſed, and which was very conſiderable, (for though, on proper occaſions, he was extreamly generous, yet he was alſo a great œconomiſt;) it came to his nephew and godſon Francis Drake, ſon to his brother Thomas (*s*), who, by letters patents, dated Auguſt 2d, 1622, in the twentieth year of the reign of King James the Firſt, was created a Baronet (*t*), and, in the beginning of the next reign, was returned one of the Knights of the Shire for the county of Devon (*u*). He was twice married, firſt to Jane, daughter of Sir Amias Bampfylde, of Poltimore in the ſame county, Knight, by whom he had a daughter that died an infant; and, ſecondly, to Joan, daughter of Sir William Strode, of Newman, Knight, by whom he had four ſons (*w*). The eldeſt, Sir Francis Drake, Baronet, married Dorothy, the daughter of Mr Pyn, but dying without iſſue, the title devolved upon his nephew by his ſecond brother Thomas, who became thereby Sir Francis Drake, Baronet, who frequently repreſented the town of Taviſtock in Parliament (*x*). He was thrice married, but had no iſſue; but by his laſt wife, who was the daughter of Sir Henry Pollexfen, Knight, Lord Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, his ſon and ſucceſſor by her was Sir Francis-Henry Drake, Baronet, who died January 26th, 1740, leaving iſſue by his wife, the ſiſter of Sir William Heathcote, Baronet, three ſons and two daughters (*y*). The eldeſt of theſe, Sir Francis-Henry Drake, Baronet, is the preſent repreſentative of this family, and member in the preſent Parliament for Beeralſton, in the county of Devon, who has ſtill, in his poſſeſſion, a Bible, with an inſcription indented on the edges, ſignifying, that it made the tour of the world with Sir Francis Drake (*z*). There are many other relicks preſerved in the cabinets of the curious, in memory of this famous perſon; ſuch as the ſtaff made out of his ſhip before it was broke up, in that of Mr Thoreſby at Leeds (*a*); and there is hardly any collection of Engliſh money, in which there are not pieces of Queen's Elizabeth's coin, ſuppoſed to be marked with a Drake, in honour of Sir Francis's voyage round the world, in the twenty-ſecond year of her reign. I ſay, ſuppoſed, becauſe ſome curious perſons ſuggeſt, that this bird upon her coin is not a Drake but a Dove, and conſider this tradition as a vulgar error (*b*). It may be ſo indeed, for any thing we know with certainty; as, on the other hand, it may not be ſo, for any thing that has been ſaid to the contrary. Two things, however, are certain; one, that there are a variety of marks upon the

(*p*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 245.

(*q*) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 400.

(*r*) Stowe's Annals, p. 807. Fuller's Holy State, p. 129.

(*s*) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. I. p. 531.

(*t*) Sir Wm. Dugdale's Catalogue, p. 93.

(*u*) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 254.

(*w*) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. I. p. 532.

(*x*) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, p. 354.

(*y*) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. I. p. 532.

(*z*) From his own information.

(*a*) Ducatus Leodienſis, or, Topography of Leeds, p. 484.

(*b*) Biſhop Nicholſon's Engliſh Library, p. 266.

II. He was alſo the firſt that ſhewed his own nation, what, till then, no other nation had ever attempted, that it was practicable with a very ſmall force to act againſt the Spaniards, both by ſea and land, as this nation have acknowledged, and attribute to him all the troubles they afterwards met with from the French and Dutch, as well as from the Engliſh (39). In his expedition of 1572, he had but two ſhips, if they might be ſo called, one of ſeventy tons, commanded by himſelf, the other of twenty five tons, commanded by his brother John, and his whole force conſiſted but of ſeventy three men and boys. Yet after he was diſcovered, and known to be upon the coaſt, and to have committed hoſtilities, he had the courage to reſolve upon remaining there, and to do his buſineſs with pinnaces, finding his ſhips too large, and therefore intending to deſtroy one, and convert the other into a ſtore-ſhip; but knowing that his ſeamen would never conſent to this, tho' the ſhips were his own, and the beſt part of his eſtate; he prevailed upon the carpenter of the leſſer, to bore holes in the bottom of her in the night, without ſo much as communicating the deſign to his own brother who commanded her. This happy temerity was followed by as much ſucceſs as he could wiſh, ſince he kept the Bay of Mexico for many months in a manner blocked up, and his fertility in inventing expedients to anſwer all purpoſes, and to provide againſt all dangers, excited that amazing ſpirit amongſt the ſeamen of his time, that is ſcarce credible in ours (40). A ſpirit that rendered them ſo famous, as to occaſion their being ſought after, and employed by all nations, but more eſpecially the French and Dutch, as might be ſhewn from numerous inſtances.

III. His genius was far from being confined to ſmall undertakings, though neceſſity compelled it's firſt appearance in ſuch; for when he undertook his voyage round the world, he not only framed the ſcheme in his own head, but kept it entirely within his own breaſt, bringing it out only by parts, as the execution required, and propoſing nothing to be effected till he had made the neceſſary proviſions for effecting it, tho' without any communication, by which he drew his people firſt into the South-Seas, thence to the Eaſt-Indies, and home by a route new to him and them, which he had never accompliſhed, if his intentions had been foreſeen from the beginning (41). In 1585, he executed a great undertaking with a conſiderable force, having under him, Captain Frobiſher, and other able ſeamen, with like conduct and courage, and with dreadful deſtruction to the enemy; ſo that there is very little reaſon to regret Sir Philip Sydney's not going that voyage with him, nor will any wiſe man believe implicity on the credit of Sir Fulk Grevil, that Sir Francis Drake was leſs capable of performing any ſervice in America,

(39) See the account of Captain Drake's expedition by Lopez the Spaniard, in Hakluyt.

(40) Camden. Britannia, 2d edition, p. 34. Engliſh Hero.

(41) This Sir Wm. Monſon fairly acknowledges, though no great admirer of Sir Francis Drake.

the coin of that Queen, and the other, that they were ſometimes placed in commemoration of remarkable events; as for inſtance, the Belgick Lion very fairly impreſſed upon the Queen's breaſt, at the time when ſhe took the United Provinces under her royal protection (c). It is, therefore, far from being impoſſible, and perhaps it is not carrying the thing too far, to ſay, that it is not altogether improbable, there may be ſome truth in this vulgar notion; for, that nothing of this is recorded in the hiſtories of this reign, is no conſiderable objection, ſince we are ſatisfied, that many things of a like nature, the truth of which cannot be diſputed, were nevertheleſs omitted, partly from the abundance of more weighty materials, and partly from the want of attention in our Hiſtorians to things of this nature, which would have left us in the dark as to many curious particulars, if their negligence had not excited a ſtrong ſpirit of enquiry in the learned lovers of Engliſh Hiſtory, who have lived in ſucceeding times, and whoſe induſtry has been repaid by a variety of uſeful, as well as entertaining diſcoveries.

(c) Thoreſby's Ducatus Leodienſis, p. 366.

America, than that excellent perſon (42), or that he left him behind, from a jealouſy of his ſuperior abilities.

(42) In his large life of Sir Philip Sidney.

IV. We are aſſured by Camden (43) and other writers, that Sir Francis Drake firſt brought tobacco into England, from whence a certain writer moſt unaccountably took it in his head, to conclude his life of Sir Francis Drake, with a violent invective againſt that plant, and an outragious abuſe upon all who take it (44). But men of milder tempers and clearer judgments will acknowledge, that Sir Francis was in this a very great benefactor to his country, ſince it will not be eaſy to name any one commodity, through which ſuch vaſt advantages have accrued to this nation. It is true, that Sir Walter Ralegh is commonly entitled to this honour, but then it is grounded upon his bringing it into uſe, by his own practice and example. Yet in both of theſe truly great men, the good done to their country, was but accidental; for we cannot ſuppoſe that either of them could foreſee what prodigious wealth the cultivation of tobacco would bring into Great-Britain, and yet this ought not to leſſen, in the leaſt, our gratitude or veneration towards their memories.

(43) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 449.

(44) Winſtanley's Britiſh Worthies, p. 211.

V. The laſt thing I have to ſay, and I ſay it upon the credit of Mr Camden, is, that he was the author of our trade to the Eaſt-Indies; for as that learned writer informs us, the books, papers, and charts, that were found in the Eaſt-India ſhip, which he took in his return from his expedition to the coaſts of Spain in 1587, gave thoſe lights which encouraged the undertaking a trade to thoſe parts, and produced an application to the Queen, for eſtabliſhing our firſt Eaſt-India Company (45) Theſe are facts that are certainly worth the knowing, remembring, and conſidering, that we may do proper juſtice to the character of this illuſtrious perſon, who, as from low and mean beginnings, he raiſed himſelf to move in a ſuperior orb; ſo by his example, he encouraged and raiſed thoſe Engliſh fleets that have ſince given law in the ſeas, which he viſited with barks ſo ſmall, that they would now be ſcarce thought capable of ſuch a voyage. Let us conclude with a circumſtance, which though not of ſo publick, is yet, not altogether of a private nature, and deſerves to be remembred to the honour of this worthy perſon, and of Sir John Hawkins, who, in 1588, adviſed the eſtabliſhment of the cheſt at Chatham, for the relief of ſeamen wounded in their country's ſervice (46). They were indeed, both remarkable for bearing in mind that they had been (47) once ſeamen themſelves, as long as they lived; and though they were very ſtrict in maintaining diſcipline, yet they were ſo well obeyed from a principle of affection, that inſtances of ſeverity were things to which they were very ſeldom conſtrained. E

(45) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 551.

(46) Camden's Britannia, p. 233.

(47) Sir Richard Hawkins's obſervations on his voyage to the South-Seas, p. 288.

DRAKE (JAMES), a noted political writer and Phyſician in the end of the XVIIth and beginning of the XVIIIth, century, was born at Cambridge in the year 1667, and, by the care of an indulgent father, had a very liberal education. In 1684, he was admitted into the univerſity wherein he was born; and ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf not only in his college, but alſo in publick, by his quickneſs and ingenuity. Some time before the Revolution, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, after having performed his exerciſes with very great applauſe; and in proceſs of time he commenced Maſter, with unuſual honours paid him by men of the brighteſt parts in the univerſity. He took a turn to London in the year 1693, where being ſoon made known, he was very much admired at all places frequented by ingenious men: and having a particular genius to the ſtudy of Phyſick, was encouraged in the purſuit of it by Sir Thomas Millington, and the moſt eminent members of the College of Phyſicians. In 1696 he took the degree of Doctor in that Faculty (a), and was ſoon after Fellow of the Royal Society, as likewiſe of the College of Phyſicians. But, whether through his own inclination, or that the narrowneſs of his fortune ſtreightened him ſo as not to let him appear in a proper equipage; (without which a Phyſician is not duly regarded) he had been in London but a ſhort time, before the Bookſellers laid hold of him: in whoſe ſervice being liſted as an author, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee whatever he did paſs off very currently, and to meet with a favourable acceptance from the publick. In 1697, he contributed very much to the publication of a pamphlet, entituled, 'Commendatory Verſes upon the Author of Prince Arthur, and 'King Arthur:' which was very well received. But the next book he publiſhed did not meet with the ſame favourable reception: I mean, 'The Hiſtory of the laſt Parliament 'begun at Weſtminſter the 10th day of February, in the 12th year of King William, 'A.D. 1700.' Lond. 1702, *8vo.* For the Houſe of Lords thinking, it reflected too ſeverely on the memory of the late King William, they convened the author before them in May 1702 [*A*], and ordered him to be proſecuted by the Attorney-General; who brought

(a) The Memorial of the Church of England, &c. To which is added an Introductory Preface, wherein is contained the life and death of the Author. Edit. 1711. 8vo. The learned Dr W. Richardſon could not find, in the Univerſity Regiſters, ſuch a perſon as W. Drake, M. D. of Cambridge.

[*A*] *They convened the author before them in May 1702.*] The paſſage that gave offence, was in the preface, and ran thus.——'And, perhaps, there was 'a third thing in proſpect, of deeper reach than all 'theſe, which was, That ſhould it have pleaſed God, 'for our ſins, to have ſnatch'd from us the king on the 'ſudden, by chance of war, or other fatal accident, 'during the tumult of arms abroad, and the civil diſorders they had raiſed amongſt us at home, and a 'numerous, corrupt, licentious party throughout the 'nation, from which the Houſe of Commons was 'ſometimes not free; they might entertain hopes, 'from brought him to a trial, in which he was acquitted the year following (*b*). In 1704, being diſguſted at his diſappointment of being made one of the Commiſſioners of the ſick and wounded, as was promiſed him; and diſſatisfied, at the rejecting of the *Bill to prevent Occaſional Conformity*, and the diſgrace of ſome of his friends who were ſticklers for it, he writ, in concert with Mr Poley Member of Parliament for Ipſwich, ‘ The Memorial of ‘ the Church of England: Humbly offered to the Conſideration of all true Lovers of our ‘ Church and Conſtitution.’ Lond. 1704, 8*vo*. The Lord-Treaſurer Godolphin, and other great officers of the Crown in the Whig intereſt, therein ſeverely reflected upon, were ſo highly offended at the publication of it, that they repreſented it to Queen Anne, as an inſult upon her Majeſty's honour, and an intimation that the Church was in danger under her adminiſtration [*B*]. Accordingly, her Majeſty took notice of it in her ſpeech to the enſuing

(*b*) Memorial as above: and Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. edit. 1719. p. 841, 842. Hiſtory of Q. Anne, by A. Boyer, fol. 1735. p. 18, 19.

‘ from the advantage of being at the helm, and the ‘ aſſiſtance of their rabble, to have put in practice ‘ their own ſchemes, and, *To have given us a new* ‘ *model of government of their own projection*; and ſo ‘ to have procured to themſelves a laſting impunity, ‘ and to have mounted their own beaſt, the rabble, ‘ and driven the ſober part of the nation, like cattle, ‘ before them. That this is no conjecture, will readi‘ ly appear to any conſidering perſons from the *Treat* ‘ *ment her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of Denmark,* ‘ *the Heireſs Apparent to the Crown, met with all a*‘ *long from them, and all their party* They were ‘ not contented to ſhew her a *conſtant neglect and* ‘ *ſlight* themſelves, but their whole party were in‘ ſtructed not only to treat her with diſreſpect, but ‘ ſpight: They were buſy to traduce her with falſe ‘ and ſcandalous aſperſions; and ſo far they carried ‘ the affront, as to make her at one time almoſt *The* ‘ *common ſubject of the tittle-tattle of almoſt every* ‘ *coffee-houſe and drawing-room*, which they promoted ‘ with as much zeal, application and venom, as if a ‘ bill of excluſion had then been on the anvil, and ‘ theſe were the introductory ceremonies’

This paſſage being complain'd of, and read, in the Upper Houſe, the Lords ordered the bookſellers, for whom that book was printed, to attend their houſe on the Saturday following But before that day came, Dr Drake having owned himſelf to be the author of the book in queſtion, he was on the 9th of May examined by the Lord-Keeper; who aſked him, ‘ What ‘ he had to ſay concerning the ſaid book?’ And the book and the paragraph being ſhewed him, ‘ He ‘ owned he writ the book, and that paragraph in ‘ particular; and thought he had juſt reaſon to write ‘ it, he having heard her Highneſs talked of diſ‘ reſpectfully in almoſt every coffee-houſe.’ Then he withdrew, and, after ſome debate, was called in again; and the Lord-Keeper told him, ‘ The houſe ‘ was not ſatisfied with what he had ſaid, but thought ‘ he trifled; and required him to acquaint the Houſe ‘ with the grounds of his writing that paragraph.’ He anſwered, ‘ He found it mentioned in divers ‘ anonymous pamphlets publiſhed at that time, and ‘ hoped, it was no hurt to anſwer thoſe pamphlets, ‘ and deſired time to recollect what thoſe pamphlets ‘ were;’ and then withdrew. After ſome time he was called in again, and aſked, ‘ If he could charge ‘ any perſon or perſons in the kingdom, with the ‘ matters aſſerted by him in that paragraph? and, ‘ Whether he had heard any other perſon ſay, that ‘ they could charge any perſon whatſoever with the ‘ matters contained in that paragraph?’ To theſe queſtions he anſwered, ‘ That he did not know of any ‘ ſuch perſon.’ Being further aſked, ‘ If he had any ‘ other grounds beſides the pamphlets? And what ‘ theſe pamphlets were?’ He ſaid, he had no other grounds beſides theſe ſeveral pamphlets following, the two *Legion Letters*; the *Black Liſt*; the *Jura Populi Anglicani*; and, *Toland*'s *Reaſons for, inviting over the Princeſs of Hanover*. Laſtly, being aſked, ‘ If ‘ in any of theſe pamphlets there was any thing ſaid ‘ about *Setting aſide the preſent Queen?*’ he anſwered, ‘ He did not remember there was.’ Then he being withdrawn, the Lords took the aforeſaid paragraph into conſideration, and reſolved and declared, ‘ That in ‘ the preface of a book intituled, *The Hiſtory of the* ‘ *laſt Parliament*, &c. written by Dr Drake, as he ‘ owned at the bar, there were ſeveral groundleſs, ‘ falſe, and ſcandalous expreſſions, tending to create ‘ jealouſies in her Majeſty of her people, and to cauſe ‘ great miſunderſtandings, fears, and diſputes amongſt ‘ the Queen's ſubjects, and to diſturb the peace and ‘ quiet of the kingdom (1).’

[*B*] *And an intimation that the Church was in danger under her adminiſtration.*] The deſign of that book, was not ſo much to ſhow the danger of the Church under *The government of the Queen*, as under the *then* adminiſtration; namely, that of the Lord-Treaſurer Godolphin, the Duke of Marlborough, and all thoſe who countenanced the whig, or diſſenting intereſt, and had been the occaſion of the miſcarrying of the bill againſt Occaſional Conformity. And the publication of it at that time, was, with a view of influencing the election of the new parliament. Such was the real intention of that book. But, as moſt Miniſters of State are apt to repreſent affronts againſt themſelves, as inſults upon their Maſters, or even as down-right treaſon; it was ſo in the preſent caſe. That the reader may beſt judge of the drift of that book, we ſhall give here the beginning of it; with a few extracts from the ſame. It begins in theſe words. ‘ Thoſe that look no deeper than the ſurface of things, ‘ are apt to conclude without heſitation, that the ‘ *Church of England* is in a very flouriſhing condi‘ tion: Its dignities and preferments make a very ‘ goodly ſhew, and the patronage of the Queen ſeems ‘ to promiſe a continuance of proſperity: But, for all ‘ this fine complexion and fair weather, there is a ‘ Hectick Fever lurking in the very bowels of it; ‘ which, if not timely cured, will infect all the hu‘ mours, and at length deſtroy the very being of it. ‘ The nation has a long time abounded with *Sectaries*, ‘ who, in the preceding Century, violently overturned ‘ both Church and State.———The ſons of thoſe men ‘ yet remain, and inherit many of them the principles ‘ of their fathers; it would therefore be no very un‘ charitable ſuppoſition, without any other argument, ‘ to imagine them heirs of their deſigns likewiſe.—— ‘ If, ſince the Church recovered its ancient luſtre and ‘ authority, they have been more ſilent, and, in ap‘ pearance, more moderate, it is not that they are bet‘ ter tempered or affected, but that, ſubmitting to the ‘ neceſſity of the times, they have diſſembled their in‘ tentions better: Yet ſome overt-attempts here, and ‘ the whole courſe of their proceedings in Scotland ‘ during the two laſt reigns, ſufficiently ſhew us what ‘ treatment we might expect, if they had the power. ‘ ———The hiſtory of their carriage towards the ‘ Church is publick and recent, as likewiſe are the ‘ advances that have been made in their favour, and ‘ the repulſes which the Church has met with. Every ‘ thing has paſt in Scotland to the deſire of the Preſ‘ bytery, even to the endangering of the Church and ‘ Monarchy of England, and the diſheriſon of its ‘ Conſtitution, and the immediate prejudice of its So‘ vereignty; but, on the contrary, nothing for the ſe‘ curity of the Church here. ———All attempts to ‘ ſettle it on a perpetual foundation have been oppoſed, ‘ and rendered ineffectual.’ ——— Then he ſhows, what danger the Church hath been brought into, by putting its beſt friends out of their places, viz the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Rocheſter, Nottingham, Jerſey, and Winchelſea; Sir Edward Seymour; the Lords Granville, Guilford, Gower; Earl of Dorſet, Sir George Rook, and other great patrons and aſſerters of the intereſt of the Church at Court; who were turned out, without the leaſt pretence or colour of offence (2). ——Next he proves, what want of moderation there is in all Sects whatſoever, though they reproach the Church of England for having none; and, conſequently, how little favour ſhe muſt expect from them, if they ſhould be uppermoſt. ‘ The *In*‘ *dependents*

(1) Complete Hiſtory of England, and Boyer's Hiſt. of Q. Anne, as above.

(2) Memorial, &c. edit. 1711. p. 1, 2, 3, 4, 23.

enſuing Parliament, October 27, 1705 (c) [C], and was addreſſed by both Houſes [D] upon that occaſion (d). Moreover, the 6th of December was appointed by the Houſe of Lords, to enquire into the danger of the Church: when, after a long debate, it was voted, That the Church was not in danger (e). The 14th of that month, the Commons concurred in the ſame reſolution: in conſequence of which, they beſought her Majeſty to puniſh the authors and ſpreaders of the ‘ ſeditious and ſcandalous report’ abovementioned. Soon after, the Queen put out a Proclamation for diſcovering the author of the *Memorial (f)*. Whereupon, the Printer being taken into cuſtody, and examined before one of the Secretaries of State, pretended to make a diſcovery; but could do nothing more than fix it upon three of the members of the Houſe of Commons, namely, Mr Poley, Mr Ward, and Sir Humphrey Macworth; and related, that a woman in a maſk, with another barefaced, brought him the manuſcript, and made a bargain with him to have two hundred and fifty printed copies; which he delivered to four porters, ſent to him by the perſons concerned. But though the woman that came to the Printer without a maſk, and ſome of the porters, were found out, yet it was impoſſible to fix it with certainty upon any of the three Gentlemen abovementioned, or upon any other perſon (g); ſo that Dr Drake, the true author of the *Memorial* remained undiſcovered. It was not the Parliament only that ſhewed their reſentment againſt that book; for, on the 31ſt of Auguſt, the Grand Jury of the city of London having preſented it, at the ſeſſions, as a falſe, ſcandalous, and traiterous libel, it was forthwith burnt in the ſight of the Court then ſitting: and the Tueſday following before the Royal Exchange; by the hands of the common hangman (h). But though Dr Drake then eſcaped, yet as he was very much ſuſpected of being the author of that book, and had rendered himſelf obnoxious upon other accounts, to ſome perſons then in power, occaſions were ſought for endeavouring to ruin him if poſſible. A news-paper he was publiſhing at that time, under the title of *Mercurius Politicus*, afforded his enemies the pretence they wanted. For, they taking exception at ſome paſſages therein, proſecuted him in the Queen's-Bench, in the beginning of the year 1706. His caſe was argued at the bar of that Court on the 30th of April; when, upon a flaw in the information [E], the trial was adjourned: and the ſixth of November following, the Doctor was acquitted (i). However, the government brought a writ of error (k). The ſeverity of this proſecution, joined to repeated diſappointments, and ill uſage from ſome of his party, flung the Doctor into a fever; of which he died at Weſtminſter, on the 2d of March 1706-7, after a ſhort confinement to his bed; not without violent exclamations againſt the rigor of his proſecutors (l). Beſides thoſe books of his that are mentioned above; he made a new Engliſh tranſlation of Herodotus, which was never publiſhed (m): And finiſhed, not long before his deceaſe, ‘ A New Syſtem of Anatomy,’ which was firſt printed in 1707 [F]. He likewiſe publiſhed, ‘ *Hiſtoria*

(c) Hiſt. of Q. Anne by Boyer, as above, p. 210.

(d) Ibid.

(e) Idem, p. 217, 218. But twenty-ſix Lords proteſted againſt that reſolution. Ibid.

(f) Ibid. p. 220, 221.

(g) Ibid.

(h) Ibid. p. 179. See alſo A Detection of the Court and State of England, &c. Vol. III. edit. 1718. 8vo. being a Continuation of Roger Coke's Detection, &c. p. 275, 276.

(i) Boyer's life of Q. Anne, as above, p. 285. and Preface to the Memorial, p. ix, x.

(k) Ibid.

(l) Preface, &c. as above, and Annual Liſt of the deaths of eminent Perſons: at the end of Boyer's Hiſt. of Q. Anne, p. 42.

(m) Which was undoubtedly owing to Mr Littlebury's excellent tranſlation, publiſhed in the year 1709. 2 Vols. 8vo.

‘ *dependents* and *Preſbyterians* formerly in England and Ireland; the Kirk of *Scotland*, heretofore and at preſent; the *Anabaptiſts* at Munſter; the *Lutherans* in divers parts of Germany, Sweden, Denmark, &c. the *Calviniſts* in Holland, and at Geneva; and the *Roman Catholicks*, at ſeveral times, almoſt all the world over, have in their reſpective turns experimentally demonſtrated by their practice, that they will not endure a rival Church in their dominions; and ſome of them——not even tolerate it (3).’ In another place, he gives this excellent character of the Church of England. ‘ Our Church is not ſo rigid, or ſo capricious, as to require an abſolute uniformity of ſentiments among her ſons in matters of doubt or ſpeculation, which are not eſſential to the true faith, nor neceſſary to the maintenance of order and good diſcipline: She does not require *implicite Faith*, nor command her ſons to believe as the Church believes, whether they comprehend her meaning or not, or can be convinced in their underſtandings that thoſe things are true, which ſhe delivers as ſuch. She could wiſh, indeed, that all her ſons had as ſound and clear underſtandings to embrace all uſeful truths, as ſtrong conſtitutions to digeſt all wholſome food: But, like a tender indulgent mother, ſhe does not reject thoſe *weak ones*, who, through infirmity, cannot receive all that is good and conducive, if they admit All that is eſſential to the Chriſtian Faith, and neceſſary to Chriſtian Communion (4).’

[C] *Her Majeſty took notice of it in her ſpeech*] In theſe words. ——— ‘ I cannot but with grief obſerve, there are ſome amongſt us, who endeavour to foment animoſities.———I mention this with a little more warmth, becauſe there have not been wanting ſome ſo very malicious, as, even in print, to ſuggeſt *The Church of England*, as by law eſtabliſhed, to be *in danger* at this time (5).’

[D] *And was addreſſed by both Houſes.*] The Lords in their addreſs, promiſed, ‘ Ever to ſhew the utmoſt deteſtation of thoſe ungrateful and wicked men, who laboured to diſhonour her Majeſty's reign, and diſtract her ſubjects with unreaſonable and groundleſs jealouſies of dangers to the Church of England: And to concur in all meaſures requiſite to put a ſtop to the malice of thoſe incendiaries, &c. (6).’

[E] *Upon a flaw in the Information.*] In the libel ſet forth in the information, the word NOR was inſerted; and in the libel given in evidence, the word NOT. Upon arguing of that error, the court inclined for the party accuſed; whereupon the trial was adjourned (7).

[F] *A new Syſtem of Anatomy, which was firſt printed in* 1707.] A ſecond edition was publiſhed in 1717 (*), and others ſince, with additions. The title of the book is, ‘ *Anthropologia Nova*: Or, A New Syſtem of Anatomy. Deſcribing the Animal Oeconomy, and a ſhort Rationale of many Diſtempers incident to Human Bodies. Illuſtrated with above fourſcore figures, drawn after the life. With a preface by W. Wagſtaffe, M. D. and reader of Anatomy at Surgeons-hall.’ In this preface Dr Wagſtaffe makes the following obſervations: ‘ How much and how eminently Dr Drake excelled in all the qualifications I have mentioned,’ [*viz* In giving the *rationale* of things, and enquiring into the nature and cauſes of *phænomena*] ‘ the learned world already have been judges, and poſterity, I am perſuaded, will reap the benefit of his labours (8).’——‘ The ſentiments of others are candidly and ingenuouſly delivered by him, and like one who thoroughly underſtood them; and whenever he diſagrees with, or aſſents to their conjectures, or propoſes any thing of his own, he gives his reaſons with the utmoſt impartiality, without the triumph and oſtentation of a conqueror, or any fond opinion of his own merit (9). ———He does not behave himſelf like a meer deſcriber of the parts, but like an unprejudiced enquirer into nature, and an abſolute maſter of his pro- ‘ feſſion.

(3) P. 7.

(4) P. 27.

(5) Boyer's Hiſt. of Q. Anne, p. 210.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Boyer, as above, p. 286.

(*) In 2 Vols. in 8vo.

(8) P. iv. ſecond edition.

(9) P. vii.

‘ *Hiſtoria Anglo-Scotica* [*G*]: or an Impartial Hiſtory of all that happened between the Kings and Kingdoms of England and Scotland, from the Beginning of the Reign of William the Conqueror, to the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Comprehending their ſeveral Homages, Incurſions, Devaſtations, Depredations, Battles, Sieges, Leagues, Truces, Breaches, Intermarriages, and divers other Matters worth knowing. Faithfully extracted from the beſt Hiſtorians of both Nations. With a Prefatory Dedication.’ London, 1703, 8*vo*.——His character is thus repreſented. He was a man of quick pregnant parts, well ſtored with learning, and improved by good converſation. He had a great maſtery of the Engliſh tongue, and wrote with eaſe and fluency in a manly ſtile. Tho’ various judgments were paſſed upon his political writings, according to people’s different humours, paſſions, and intereſts; yet all agreed in commending his way of writing (*n*).

(*n*) Annual Liſt, &c. by Boyer, ubi ſupra.

‘ feſſion. And if Dr Lower has been ſo much and ſo deſervedly eſteemed for his ſolution of the *Syſtole* of the heart, Dr Drake, by accounting for the *Diaſtole*, ought certainly to be allowed his ſhare of reputation, and to be admitted as a partner of his glory (10).’ The plates, which are in number XXVII, are accurately drawn, and well engraved: Some of them are taken from Swammerdan. An appendix to this book was publiſhed in 1728, in one volume, 8*vo*.

(10) P. viii.

[*G*] *Hiſtoria Anglo-Scotica*, &c.] Dr Drake was not the author, but only the publiſher of this book. In the dedication of it, he ſays, that, ‘ Upon a diligent reviſal, in order, if poſſible, to diſcover the name of the author, and the age of his writing, *he found*, that it was written in, or at leaſt not finiſhed till the time of King Charles the Firſt.’ ——— But he ſays nothing more of the manuſcript, nor how it came into his hands.————There is alſo ‘ A diſcourſe (of his, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (11)) concerning ſome influence of reſpiration on the motion of the heart, hitherto unobſerved.’ ——— He moreover writ, ‘ The Sham-Lawyer, or, The Lucky Extravagant, a Comedy, 4*to*. acted at the Theatre Royal, 1697.’ Moſtly borrowed from two of Fletcher’s plays, *viz*. The Spaniſh Curate, and Wit without Money (12). And put notes to the Engliſh tranſlation of Le Clerc’s Hiſtory of Phyſick. Lond. 1699, 8*vo*.

C

(11) No. 281, p. 1217.

(12) Langbain’s Lives of the Engliſh Dramatick Poets.

DRAYTON (MICHAEL) a renowned Poet in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles I; was of an antient and worthy family, originally deſcended from the town of *Drayton* in Leiceſterſhire; which gave name to his progenitors, as a learned Antiquary of his acquaintance has recorded (*a*). But his parents removing into the bordering county of Warwickſhire, he was born there, as we receive it from his own information (*b*); and, as it is remembered by his countryman Sir William Dugdale, as well as others, who have followed him, at Atherſton (*c*); but more particularly it appears, that the little village of Harſull, or Hartſhill, in that pariſh, will claim the honour of his birth; whereof it were the greater pity to deprive it, as it is repreſented to have been obſcure till rendered conſpicuous for his nativity, by the author of thoſe Latin verſes at the bottom of his picture; which being publiſhed in the life-time, and under the inſpection of our Poet himſelf, before his own edition of his works, could not have eſcaped his correction had it been erroneous [*A*]. It may alſo be computed from the circumſcription upon the ſaid picture, which with all other circumſtances very agreeably correſponds, containing the year of our Lord, and that of his own age, when it was engraved, that he was born in the year 1563. In his tender age he was bleſſed with ſuch a forwardneſs of genius, ſuch a ſweetneſs of aſpect, temper, and deportment, as rendered him not only the delight of his inſtructors, but preferred him to the favour of ſome perſons of diſtinction. In the year 1573, being then but ten years of age, he appears to have been page to ſome perſon of honour, as we collect from his own words: and, as for his propenſity to learning, it no leſs evidently appears in the ſame place (*d*), that he could then conſtrue his *Cato*, and ſome other little collections of ſentences; which made him very anxious to know, *What kind of ſtrange Creatures* theſe *Poets* were? and very ſollicitous with his Tutor, that, if he could, *he would make him*, of all things, *a Poet*. So he was put to the reading of Mantuan, and Virgil’s Eclogues, with others of the inſpired tribe; till, even then, he ſcorned any thing that looked like a ballad, though written by William Elderton [*B*]. If after this, he finiſhed not his education at the Univerſity

(*a*) See the Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire, by W. Burton, Eſq; fol. 1622. in the town of Drayton.

(*b*) Drayton’s Polyolbion; in Warwickſhire. Song 13.

(*c*) Sir William Dugdale’s Antiq. of Warwickſhire, 2d edit. fol. Vol. II. 1730. p. 1086.

(*d*) Drayton’s Elegies; in his Epiſtle to Henry Reynolds, Eſq; of Poets and Poetry.

[*A*] *Could not have eſcaped his correction*] Theſe verſes, in the vein of Arioſto, have not been cited by any author who has written of our Poet that we have met with, and are as follow:

Lux HARESHULLA tibi (*Warwici* villa, tenebris
Ante tuas cunas, obſita) prima fuit.
Arma, Viros, Veneres, Patriam modulamine dixti;
Te Patriæ reſonant Arma, Viri, Veneres.

Thus in Engliſh:

HARSULL, *ſmall town, where firſt your breath you drew,*
Till by your birth renown’d, was known to few:
Albion, Arms, Legends, Love, with fame you crown’d;
Albion, Arms, Legends, Love, your Fame reſound.

[*B*] *Though written by Will. Elderton.*] This Elderton was a famous Comedian of thoſe days; a facetious fuddling companion, who having a great readineſs at rhiming, compoſed abundance of ſonnets and catches upon love and wine, which were then in great vogue among the light and merry part of the town; but he was not more notable for his drollery and his doggerel, than he was for his drinking, inſomuch that he was ſeldom remembered for his ſingular faculty in either of the former, but his thorough practice in the latter was joined to it; wherefore we find him called the Bachanalian Buffoon, the Red-nos’d ballad-maker, and ſuch like. It ſeems by this exceſſive habit he indulged himſelf in, over his ſtrong drink, that he fell a martyr to Sir John Barlycorn, as ſome of his contemporary writers have hinted (†). We find he was dead before the year 1592, and Mr Camden has preſerved this epitaph on him:

Hic ſitus eſt ſitiens, atque ebrius Eldertonus;
Quid dico, hic ſitus eſt? hic potius ſitis eſt (1).

Which

(†) See the controverſial writings of Dr G. Harvey and T. Naſh, &c.

(1) Camden’s Remains. Ed 4to. 1614. p. 3

Univerſity of Cambridge, it is apparent, from the credible teſtimony of one of his own friends, that he was ſome time a Student in that at Oxford [C]; and by the ſupport, it ſeems, of Sir Henry Goodere; however, he might not be ſo formally entered, as to be remembered by Anthony Wood, though he has made greater digreſſions in the commemoration of ſeveral others, who were more diſtantly related to that Univerſity. In 1588, he ſeems, from his own deſcription of the *Spaniſh Invaſion*, which the Spaniards themſelves, with no leſs preſumption, than arrogance, or vain-glory, had ſtiled *Invincible*, to have been a ſpectator, at Dover, of it's defeat (*e*); and might, poſſibly, be engaged in ſome military poſt or employment there; as we find ſome mention made of his being well ſpoken of by the Gentlemen of the Army. He took delight very early, as we have ſeen, in the ſtudy of Poetry; but how ſoon he delighted the publick with any of his own, all thoſe who have written of him have been very incurious to learn, or inform us. He was certainly eminent for ſome of his poetical publications, nine or ten years before the death of Queen Elizabeth, and how much ſooner, we have not yet diſcovered. At leaſt, ſo early as the year 1593, when he was but thirty years of age, he ſet forth in print, a Collection of his *Paſtorals*; likewiſe ſome of the moſt grave and weighty poems, which have rendered him moſt memorable, and beſt ſupported his fame to poſterity, were, not longer after, publiſhed. His *Barons Wars*, and *England's Heroical Epiſtles*: His *Downfalls* of *Robert of Normandy*; *Matilda*; and *Gaveſton*; for which laſt he is called, by one of his contemporaries, *Tragœdiographus*, and part of his *Polyolbion*, were all written before the year 1598: For all which, and his other deſerts, he was highly celebrated at that time, and diſtinguiſhed not only as a great genius, but a good man; not only for the ſweetneſs and elegance of his words, but of his actions and manners; for his humane and honourable principles, as well as his refined and polite parts: And thus was he characterized, not only by Poets, or the more florid and panegyrical writers of thoſe days, but alſo by Divines, Hiſtorians, and other Scholars of the moſt ſerious and ſolid learning. Of which *Works* and *Characters*, from ſuch contemporary writers, in hopes of reviving his memory ſomewhat more proportionable to his merits, than thoſe who, through their ungrateful negligence, conceited ſufficiency, or blind purſuit of ignorant guides (*f*), have very ſuperficially attempted the ſame, we ſhall here below be more particular: But, as what we find ſufficient for one note, firſt of his *Works* aforeſaid, with ſome others of his early compoſitions [*D*]: And as to thoſe *Characters* of him, ſuch as were

(*e*) In his Poem intituled Moſes his Birth and Miracles; hereafter again mentioned.

(*f*) Compare Fuller and Phillips with their plagiary Winſtanley; and Jacob, his plagiary with him, &c.

Which may be thus rendered, or imitated:

Dead drunk here Elderton *does lie*;
Dead *as he is, he ſtill is* drie:
So of him, it may well be ſaid,
Here he, *but not his* thirſt, *is laid*.

[C] *Some time a ſtudent in that at Oxford.*] Tho' he appears not in Wood's *Faſti*, to have taken any degree there, yet as he was ſome time a ſtudent in this univerſity, it is conceived that he ought to have been ranked by that author, among the Oxford writers, from the authority of our Poet's intimate acquaintance Sir Aſton Cokain, in theſe lines;

OXFORD, our other academy, you
Full worthy muſt acknowledge of your view:
Here ſmooth-tongu'd DRAYTON was inſpir'd by
Mnemoſyne's manifold progeny (2).

[*D*] *Firſt of his ſaid Works, and other early compoſitions.*] Firſt, of thoſe poems abovementioned. What is there called a Collection of his PASTORALS, was firſt publiſhed under, at leaſt the oldeſt edition we have ſeen thereof, was diſtinguiſhed with, the title of, IDEA: *The Shepherd's Garland, faſhioned in nine Eglogs*; *with* ROWLAND'*s Sacrifice to the Nine Muſes. Dedicated to Mr Robert Dudley: By M.* DRAYTON, and printed in *4to* 1593. This *Shepherds Garland*, &c. is the ſame that was reprinted afterwards with emendations by our author, in the firſt folio edition of his works, under the title of PASTORALS: *containing Eglogues: With the Man in the Moon*. They are nine in number, written in ſtanzas of various meaſures, adorned with tales, ſonnets, *&c.* and in this folio edition they are dated 1619. There are many of the true rural images, and much of the beautiful ſimplicity in theſe paſtorals, for which this ſpecies of poetry is ſo much admired. Our author has been therefore juſtly applauded for theſe eclogues, by ſome able judges of our time, and claſſed among the beſt paſtoral writers in his own, for the many new and beautiful varieties, embelliſhments, and improvements, that he has introduced therein: yet ſuch has been the juſtice as well as judgment of others in our time, that though they have, in the very title-page of a late edition, profeſſed to give us his Works complete in one volume (3), neither theſe, nor many others of his moſt conſiderable compoſitions, are therein reprinted, or ſo much as ſpoken of: But perhaps a ſecond volume is intended to ſupply the deficiencies of the firſt. As to his other poems abovementioned, they are hiſtorical. In an old edition of them in *8vo* without date, but printed near about the middle of King James's reign, our author's Dedication before the BARONS WARS to Sir W. Aſton, is in verſe; and in the Preface he ſeems to hint as if his travels had not afforded the leiſure and ſtudy he deſired. In his folio edition of theſe poems with others, the Dedication before thoſe *Wars* to his ſaid patron, is in proſe. In this latter edition, theſe *Barons Wars* in the reign of Edward II, are illuſtrated with marginal notes by the author, which have been all ſince omitted (4) by his late editor, though the author of the Preliminary Diſcourſe, was deſirous of a more ample commentary (5). There are commendatory verſes before both editions, by Mr Thomas Green, E. Heywood, John Beaumont, and the learned Mr Selden. His ENGLAND'S HEROICAL EPISTLES were newly enlarged, and republiſhed in *8vo*, 1598; which is the moſt antient edition we have ſeen, or read of. Theſe Epiſtles are written in our heroick meaſure of ten ſyllables, and are very judiciouſly explained in the neceſſary places, by ſhort notes drawn out of good authentick Hiſtories, and printed at the end of each epiſtle. There are twenty-four of them, with a ſhort ſummary in fourteen lines of their titles, at the end. They are profeſſedly written in the vein of *Ovid's Epiſtles*; but of a much more ſubſtantial and affecting nature, as they concern ſo many real perſons of the higheſt rank in our Chronicles, and illuſtrate ſo much real matter of fact in their moſt unfortunate, perplexing, and often criminal loves, by the ſtrongeſt ſentiments, and moſt moving numbers. Beſides the author's Preface, there are three panegyrical poems prefixed, which were addreſſed to him by William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Sterline, a famous Poet of Scotland before ſpoken of in this work (6), Sir Edmond Scory, and Mr Thomas Haſſel. In the undated *8vo* edition abovementioned, there are near a dozen Dedications, before as many of the Epiſtles, to ſo many of the author's friends and patrons of both ſexes. The firſt Epiſtle of Fair Roſamond, to King Henry

(2) Choice Poems of ſeveral ſorts, &c. by Sir Aſton Cokain. Lond. 8vo, 1669, p. 11.

(3) See the Works of MICHAEL DRAYTON, Eſq; &c. being all the Writings of that celebrated Author. Now firſt collected into one Volume. Printed by J. Hughes, and ſold by R. Dodſley, &c. Folio, 1748.

(4) In the new edition of Drayton's Works, fol. 1748.

(5) Hiſtorical Eſſay on the Life and Writings of Michael Drayton, Eſq; prefixed to the ſaid new edition of his Works, fol. 5.

(6) Vol. I.

were written by authors who beſt knew the man, and were themſelves beſt qualified to judge of his talents; ſuch characters we hope may here, in this article, alſo apart, be acceptably aſſembled, or referred to [*E*]. He was in theſe his younger, and indeed to his

Henry II (7), is dedicated to Lucy Counteſs of Bedford; to whom he ſays, 'I ſtrive not to affect ſingularitie, 'yet would faine flye imitation, &c. Much would 'ſhe ſay to a King, much would I ſay to a Counteſs; 'but that, the method of my epiſtle muſt conclude 'the modeſty of her's; which I wiſh may recommend 'my ever vowed ſervice to your Honour.' In his Dedication of another Epiſtle to Lady *Anne Harrington*, the wife of Sir *John Harrington*, he forbears to enlarge upon her excellencies, becauſe 'dejected minds 'want that pure fire which would give vigour to 'virtue.' The next Dedication is to Sir *Walter Acton*, Knight of the Bath (8). The next to *Edward* Earl of *Bedford*, contains the moſt perſonal particulars of our author (†). The next is to Sir *John Swinerton*, Alderman of London (9). The next is to his worthy and eſteemed friend Mr *James Huiſh*, upon the ſubject of Dedications. The next is to Mrs *Elizabeth Tanfield*, ſole daughter and heir of Laurence Tanfield, Eſq; a famous Lawyer. The next is to Sir *Thomas Monſon*: before the Epiſtle of King *Edward* IV to *Jane Shore*, and her *Anſwer*. Our Poet, in his notes of the Chronicle Hiſtory, upon the ſecond of theſe two letters, after having given Sir Thomas More's deſcription of Jane Shore, mentions a curious pourtrait of her in theſe words: 'That picture which 'I have ſeen of her was ſuch, as ſhe roſe out of 'her bed in the morning, having nothing on but 'a rich mantle, caſt under one arm over her ſhoulder, and ſitting in a chair, on which her arm did 'lie' We remember a late publiſhed print of her, in *mezotinto*, in a light or looſe covering, very open at her boſom; whether copied from that, or one at Eaton-College, we cannot at preſent determine (†). The dedication to the next pair of theſe Epiſtles, is to Sir Henry Goodere of Poleſworth (in Warwickſhire) Knight, the nephew of that worthy old Sir Henry Goodere, who was our Poet's moſt early patron (10) in reſpect to whom, he ſays in this Dedication, 'Till 'ſuch time as I may in ſome more large meaſure make 'known my love to the happy and generous family of 'the *Gooderes*, to which I confeſs myſelf beholding 'for the moſt part of my education, I wiſh you all 'happineſs.' The next, is to *Henry*, the Son of *Edward Lucas*, Eſq; of whoſe parents he acknowledges himſelf to have received great favours, though there were many in England of whom he might juſtly challenge greater; 'had I not been born in ſo evil an 'hour, ſays he, as to be poyſoned with that gall of ingratitude.' The laſt, which is the eleventh of theſe Dedications; the ſecond brace of epiſtles having none before them, but ſeem to be joyned under the patronage of the firſt, is addreſſed to the Lady Frances Goodere (†). It were eaſy for thoſe who have been converſant in theſe Poems of our Author, to obſerve how the moderns, even the late Mr Pope himſelf, have imitated Drayton, and refined upon his pattern, in thoſe diſtinctions which are eſteemed the moſt delicate improvements of our Engliſh verſification at this day; ſuch as the turns, the pauſes, the contraſts, and elegant tautologies, &c. It is alſo eaſy for ſuch readers to point out ſeveral thefts, and petty larcenies which have been committed upon our Poet, however obſolete and unfaſhionable he may have been accounted, by ſome writers of eminent character; and ſhew, where verſes have been appropriated to ſome famous wits, which were compoſed by him, even as many years before they were born, as they attained to when they died. We ſhall here for brevity ſake mention but one inſtance, and that is in theſe lines,

> Th' *Arabian* bird which never is but [illegible],
> Is only chaſt, becauſe ſhe is alone:
> But had our mother nature made them two,
> They would have done as Doves and Sparrows do (11).

Theſe are aſcribed to a famous nobleman, who was one of the brighteſt Wits in the reign of King Charles II, and have been admired, as worthy of him: In his works they are not otherwiſe materially alter'd, than by the tranſpoſure of the rhymes in the firſt couplet, and the retrenchment of the meaſure in both (12). His other more early and famous Hiſtorical Poems, before mentioned to have been written in Queen Elizabeth's time, are intituled, His LEGENDS; firſt, of *Robert*, Duke of *Normandy*; in which is ſeen a picture of diſtreſſed integrity; ſecondly, *Matilda*, a Pattern of Chaſtity; and thirdly, *Pierce Gaveſton*, a Warning Piece to Court Minions and Prime Miniſters, againſt the abuſe of their Princes favour. He afterwards added to them the Legend of *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of Eſſex, printed *4to*, 1609, an example of ſpeedy advancement to grandeur, by politick advantages taken of his Prince's violent appetites and the troubled times (13). Our author had good encouragement for illuſtrating their hiſtories in this poetical manner; the like having been ſo well received before from other eminent hands (14). They are dedicated in his folio edition to Sir Walter Aſton; and therein are embelliſhed with ſhort and uſeful explanatory notes in the margin; which are left out in the late new folio edition. When his SONNETS were firſt publiſhed, we cannot ſay, but it ſhould ſeem that he ſet them forth, or wrote ſome of them before the death of Queen Elizabeth, becauſe among thoſe five additional ſonnets which he directed to ſome great and worthy perſonages, but never revived them himſelf in his folio edition, one is to *James* King of *Scots*, before he came into England; another, which might be writ afterwards, is inſcribed to *Lucy*, Counteſs of *Bedford*, in which he ſays, *ſhe rain'd upon him her ſweet ſhowers of gold*; and the laſt to Sir *Anthony Cook*, to whom he ſays of theſe rhymes, that but for him, they had ſlept in ſable night; and that he had borrowed no man's conceits. The whole number ſhould be ſixty eight or ſixty nine. There was an edition of all, or moſt of thoſe poems abovementioned, publiſhed in *8vo*, 1605, and another, as we have heard, in 1610, beſides the undated one of the ſame ſize before ſpoken of. His ODES (*) were written after Queen Elizabeth's death, as appears in one of them, and dedicated to Sir Henry Goodere, Gent. of the King's Privy-Chamber, in verſe. They are ſeventeen in number and not one reprinted in the late new edition: nor is his Fable of the OWL a pretty allegorical poem, therein preſerved. It was firſt printed ſoon after King James came to the Crown (15), and reprinted in the authors laſt edition in ſmall folio. In which there are title-pages to every Poem we have mentioned but the firſt, which are all dated 1619, wherefore we think this volume of them was all printed that year. The title of it is, POEMS *by* Michael Drayton, Eſq; *The* BARONS WARS, ENGLAND'S HEROICAL EPISTLES, IDEA, ODES, *The* LEGENDS of ROBERT Duke of NORMANDY, MATILDA, PIERCE GAVESTON, and the Great CROMWELL: The OWL. EGLOGUES, with the MAN in the MOON. The reſt of his compoſitions we ſhall mention under the years they were publiſhed.

[*E*] *Such characters we hope may here be acceptably aſſembled, or referred to.*] And firſt, Mr Charles Fitz-Geoffry, the learned Divine and Poet of Broadgate's Hall, in an Hiſtorical Poem he publiſhed at the time that ſome of Drayton's earlieſt pieces appeared, gives him the appellation of the *Golden Mouth'd Poet*, for the purity and precioufneſs of his phraſe (16). And Mr Francis Meres, alſo a Divine of no ſmall repute at that time for his moral and poetical writings, having mentioned all Drayton's hiſtorical poems, recited as part of the title above, that is, all therein but the three laſt, in a work he publiſhed before the death of Queen Elizabeth, gives him this character: 'Michael Drayton, among '*Scholars*, *Soldiers*, *Poets*, and all ſorts of people, is 'helde for a man of virtuous diſpoſition, honeſt converſation, and well-governed carriage, which is al'moſt miraculous among good wits in theſe declining 'and corrupt times (17).' Two years after Mr Robert Allot, in his Common-Place Book, of the Select Thoughts, of our moſt eminent Engliſh Poets in that century, has many extracts from Michael Drayton's earlier pieces beforementioned, whereby he makes a figure as conſiderable as moſt of them (*). Another Poet of that time refers to an Elegiac Poem upon the death of Sir Philip Sidney, that was compoſed by Drayton; which was never reprinted in his works; and if it was written ſoon after Sir Philip's death (18), it is likely his latter years, much beloved and befriended by Sir Walter Aſton, of Tixhall in Staffordſhire, to whom, for his kind patronage, he gratefully dedicates many of his Poems, whereof his *Barons Wars* was the firſt, in the ſpring of his acquaintance, as our Poet expreſſes it himſelf to him (*g*). Nevertheleſs, we have ſince gathered, from thoſe Epiſtles before-mentioned (*h*), and, till then, unobſerved by all who have written of him, that his moſt early dependance was upon another noble patron, named Sir Henry Goodere, of Poleſworth, in his own county; to whom he has liberally acknowledged himſelf obliged for the greateſt part of his education, and by whom, ſome time before his death, our Poet was recommended to the patronage of the Counteſs of Bedford; as may evidently appear, in his Epiſtle, to her Lord here-under recited [*F*]. However, it is no leſs viſible, from his many dedications, and acknowledgments alſo, to Sir Walter Aſton, that he was, for many years, patronized by him, and accommodated with ſuch ſupplies, as afforded him leiſure to finiſh ſome of his moſt elaborate compoſitions. Nay, it is intimated, we know not from what authority, that he was, by the intereſt of the ſaid Sir Walter, with Sir Roger Aſton, Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to King James in his minority, made, in ſome meaſure, miniſterial to an intercourſe of correſpondence between the ſaid young King of Scots and Queen Elizabeth. The words of my author are theſe; ſpeaking of the ſaid Sir Roger Aſton, and of his being of the Bed-chamber to that King when a child; that 'He was the perſon principally entruſted with the meſſages and letters that paſſed between his Maſter and Queen Elizabeth; and, by the interpoſition of Sir Walter Aſton, Mr Drayton was, in this reſpect, very uſeful, in faithfully performing the various ſervices which he was commanded (*i*).' But if theſe ſervices were performed by Mr Drayton ſo early as in the childhood of that King, we fear it will be found too ſoon for him to have had the intereſt or recommendation of Sir Walter Aſton thereto, becauſe, at the publication of ſome, which were not his earlieſt poems, they were but in the ſpring of their acquaintance, as he has ſaid himſelf: ſo that, if he was in any ſuch ſort truſted, it muſt be much later than that King's childhood, and nearer the cloſe of the Queen's reign. He certainly had fair proſpects from his ſervices, labours, or other teſtimonies of early attachment to the King's intereſt, of ſome favour or preferment, beſides from what he had written among his *Sonnets* in his praiſe, as a Poet, while King of Scots. He was alſo one of the foremoſt of Apollo's train in England, who welcomed his Majeſty to his Britiſh dominions with *A Congratulatory Poem to King James, &c. 4to*, 1603: and how, through intereſt or ingratitude, it might have proved his ruin, but for his own patient and prudent conduct under the indignity, he has, with as much freedom as was then convenient, himſelf informed us both in proſe and verſe (*k*). The ſame year he was choſen, by Sir Walter Aſton, one of the Eſquires who attended him when he was, with others, created Knight of the Bath at the coronation of the ſaid King (*l*). We find not that our author ever reprinted thoſe poems in praiſe of his Majeſty; and the ungrateful reception they met with,

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(7) However, her ſtory had been before illuſtrated in The Complaint of Roſamond, by Sam. Daniel, 4to. 1590, &c.

(8) Sir Walter Aſton, rather perhaps.

(†) Therefore it is tranſcribed in Note [*F*].

(9) He was Lord Mayor of London in 1612. Tho. Delaune's *Angliæ Metropolis*, 8vo. 1690. p. 235. and Thomas Dekker, the City Poet, wrote the ſolemnity of his entry, called *London Triumphing*, &c. that year printed in quarto.

(†) Two other Poets, beſides Drayton, had written the ſtory of Shore's Wife in verſe; Thomas Churchyard, in the Mirror for Magiſtrates, and Hen. Chettle.

(10) See Dugdale's Warwickſhire, of this family of the Gooderes.

(†) Who was daughter of old Sir Henry Goodere, and wife of Sir Henry the Nephew above, whom Drayton ſays, he knew from her cradle.

(11) Heroic Epiſtles; in that of King John to Matilda.

(12) The Works of the Earl of Rocheſter, &c. 8vo. 1739. p. 110.

(13) Drayton's Pref. to the folio edit. of his LEGENDS.

(14) Boccace and John Lidgate, in the Fall of Princes; alſo the Mirror of Magiſtrates, by Tho. Sackvile, after Earl of Dorſet; W. Baldwin, John Higgens, Edw. Ferrars, Tho. Churchyard, T. Blener Haſſet, &c. &c. in the ſeveral editions between the years 1559 and 1620.

(*) In his folio edition.

(15) London, quarto, 1604. and there is, at leaſt in the laſt edition, a Latin encomium before it, by A. Grenewai.

(16) In his life and death of Sir Francis Drake, in verſe.

(17) Palladis Tamia, &c. 8vo. 1598, fol. 281. b.

(*) *England's Parnaſſus*: or, The choiceſt Flowers of our modern Poets, &c. 8vo. 1600.

(18) In 1586.

(*g*) Drayton's Dedication of the Barons Wars, to Sir Walter Aſton.

(*h*) In note [*D*].

(*i*) Hiſtorical Eſſay of the Life and Writings of Michael Drayton, Eſq; in the late new edition of his Works, as before quoted, fol. 6.

(*k*) See his Pref. to Poly-Olbion; and in his Elegies, his Epiſt. to Mr George Sandys, &c.

(*l*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, as before.

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likely to have been the earlieſt of his performances. That Poet calls him Noble DRAYTON! and obſerves, how well he bewailed our ſaid loſs in dreary verſe (19). A Divine of Cambridge at the ſame time publiſhed a dramatick performance, wherein a character being given of the Wits of that age, one of the interlocutors, in a dialogue between *Ingenioſo* and *Judicio*, ſays,

DRAYTON's ſweet Muſe is like a ſanguine die,
Able to raviſh the raſh gazer's eye.

And the other anſwers — 'However, he wants one 'true note of a Poet of our times, and that is this; 'he cannot ſwagger it well in a tavern, or domineer in 'a hot-houſe (20).' There is a deſcription of Drayton's, quoted by two or three authors of thoſe times with applauſe; and one of them, who was the learned tranſlator of Arioſto's Satires, in his verſion of another Italian Wit, where he is deſcribing, in a note, how the Muſes were deſpiſed in that age by the ſtupid Midas's, and ſlaviſh jaylors of their own pelf, has ſaid, 'He will ſet down the *worth of a Poet*, as that *ſweet 'Muſe* of his, who not unworthily beareth the *name* 'of the Chief *Archangel*, ſingeth, after *his ſoul-'raviſhing manner*;' part of which verſes as quoted from the earlier editions, are as follow:

The diff'rence only 'twixt the *Gods* and *Us*,
Allow'd by them, is but diſtinguiſh'd thus;
They gave them breath, men by their pow'rs are born;
That life THEY give, the POET doth adorn:
And from the world, when they diſſolve mens breath,
He in the world doth give men life in death (21).

Mr W. Burton, the learned Antiquary of Lindley in Leiceſterſhire, ſpeaking of Mr Drayton as his near countryman and old acquaintance, adds further of him, theſe words, 'Who, though thoſe Tranſalpines ac-'count us, *Tramontani*, rude and barbarous; holding 'our brains ſo frozen, dull, and barren, that they can 'afford no invention or conceits; yet may he compare, 'either with their old *Dante*, *Petrarch*, or *Boccace*; 'or their Neoteric *Marinella*, *Pignatello*, or *Stigliano*; but why ſhould I go about to commend him, 'whoſe own works and worthineſs have ſufficiently extolled to the world (22).' Other teſtimonies of our author's merit might be added were they neceſſary, and not liable to be thought tedious or ſuperfluous.

[*F*] *As may evidently appear in his Epiſtle to her Lord here recited*] It is in theſe words:

To the Right Honourable and my very good Lord,
EDWARD Earl of BEDFORD.

'Thrice noble and my moſt gracious Lord,

'THE love I have ever borne to the illuſtrious 'houſe of BEDFORD, and to the honourable fa-'mily of the HARINGTONS; to the which by mar-'riage your Lordſhip is happily united, hath long ſince 'devoted my true and zealous affection to your honou-'rable ſervice, and my Poems to the protection of my 'noble Ladie, your Counteſſe; to whoſe ſervice I 'was firſt bequeathed by that learned and accompliſhed 'Gentleman, Sir HENRY GOODERE, not long ſince 'deceaſed; whoſe I was, whileſt he was; whoſe pa-'tience pleaſed to beare with the imperfections of my 'heedleſs and unſtayed youth. That excellent and 'matchleſs Gentleman, was the firſt cheriſher of my 'Muſe, which had been by his death left a poor or-'phan to the world, had he not before bequeathed it to 'that Ladie, whom he ſo dearly loved. Vouchſafe 'then my dear Lord to accept this Epiſtle, which I 'dedicate as zealouſly, as I hope you will patronize 'willingly, until ſome more acceptable ſervice may be 'witneſs of my love to your Honour.

'Your Lordſhip's ever,

'MICH. DRAYTON (23).'

[*G*] The

(19) Sir Philip Sidney's *Orania*, &c. by N. B. (which is ſuppoſed to be Nich. Britton) 4to. 1606. Again, 4to, 1653. M. 3.

(20) The Return from Parnaſſus, or the Scourge of Symony: a comedy acted by the Students of St John's College in Cambridge, 4to. Lond. 1606.

(21) The Blazon of Jealouſy, tranſlated from Bened. Varchi; with notes, by R. T. 4to. 1615. p. 48. from the Heroic Epiſt. of Hen. Howard, Earl of Surry, to Giraldine.

(22) Burton's Deſcrip. of Leiceſterſhire, as before.

(23) His Dedic. before Queen Iſabella's Epiſt. to K. Richard II. in the octavo undated edit. of Drayton's Poems.

with, as well as the diſagreeable ſcenes he might behold of ſuch wicked vices, and effeminate vanities, as afterwards prevailed at Court, ſo degenerating from that in the Muſe-nurſing *Maiden Reign* (*m*), might damp all deſire of raiſing himſelf there. We have not time to examine how far, in his Fable of the OWL, publiſhed in 1604, he may have made any thing applicable to his preſent caſe (*n*). In 1613, he publiſhed the firſt part of his POLY-OLBION [*G*]. In 1619, came out his firſt folio volume of poems, before deſcribed. In 1622, the foregoing part of the *Polyolbion* was reprinted, together with the ſecond part, making in all thirty books or ſongs. In 1626, we find him, before a copy of his own verſes, ſtiled POET-LAUREAT [*H*]. In 1627 was publiſhed the ſecond part or volume of his poems; containing his *Battle of* AGINCOURT, in ſtanzas of eight lines: *The Miſeries of Queen* MARGARET, in the like ſtanza: NYMPHIDIA, or the *Court of* FAIRIES; a maſter-piece in the groteſque kind (*o*): *The Queſt of* CYNTHIA, another beautiful piece; both reprinted in Dryden's Miſcellanies. *The* SHEPHERD'S SIRENA; alſo, *The* MOON CALF, a ſtrong ſatire upon the maſculine affectations of Women, and the effeminate diſguiſes of the Men, in thoſe times; as they were by others alſo then expoſed in proſe (*p*): Laſtly, there are his ELEGIES upon ſundry occaſions. Theſe are introduced by *The Viſion of* BEN JONSON on the *Muſes* of his friend Michael Drayton; wherein he is very particular in the enumeration and praiſe of his ſeveral compoſitions: Alſo by another poem upon the battle of *Agincourt*, by J. Vaughan; and another by his friend Henry Reynolds, Eſq; Thoſe Elegies are twelve in number, though there are but eight reprinted in the late new edition. In 1630 he publiſhed another volume of poems, in 4*to*, intituled, *The* MUSES ELIZIUM, in ten ſundry NYMPHALLS; with three divine poems, on NOAH'S *Flood*; MOSES his *Birth* and *Miracles* (†); and DAVID and GOLIAH. The Paſtoral Poems are dedicated to Edward Sackvile, Earl of Dorſet, and Lord Chamberlain; whoſe durable *Favours* had now made him one of his *Family*; and theſe are written in verſe of various meaſure. His Divine Poems are in Engliſh Heroic Meaſures: and are dedicated to the Counteſs of Dorſet; and there

[*G*] *The Firſt Part of his* POLY-OLBION, *&c.*] By this Greek title, ſignifying *very happy*, he denotes England; and the antient name of *Albion*, is by ſome derived from Ολϐιον, happy (24). It is a chorographical deſcription of the rivers, mountains, foreſts, caſtles, *&c.* in this iſland, intermixed with the remarkable antiquities, rarities, commodities, *&c.* thereof. This firſt part is dedicated to Prince Henry, by whoſe encouragement it was written; and there is a picture at full length of that hopeful Prince, in a military poſture, exerciſing his pike. He had ſhewed Drayton ſome ſingular marks of his favour, and ſeems to have admitted him as one of his poetical penſioners, but dying before the book was publiſhed, our Poet loſt the benefit of his patronage. The reaſon why the publick was ſo long debarred of it, he has intimated in his Preface, where he acknowledges that the means to finiſh it, were owing to the bounty of Sir Walter Aſton. There are eighteen ſongs in this volume, illuſtrated with the learned notes of Mr Selden; and there are maps before every ſong, wherein the cities, mountains, foreſts, rivers, *&c.* are repreſented by the figures of men and women. His metre of twelve ſyllables being now antiquated, it is quoted more for the Hiſtory than the Poetry in it; however, it contains many excellent lines, and is ſo exact, that, as Biſhop Nicholſon obſerves, 'Drayton's Poly-Olbion affords a much truer 'account of this kingdom, and the dominion of Wales, 'than could well be expected from the pen of a 'Poet (25),' 'Tis interwoven with many fine epiſodes; of the conqueſt of this iſland by the Romans (26); of the coming of the Saxons (27), the Danes (28), and the Normans (29), with an account of their Kings; of the noble Engliſh Warriours in the conqueſt of France, *&c*(30). our brave navigators(31); the Saints(32); and of the Civil Wars in England (33), *&c.* This volume was reprinted in 1622, with the Second Part, or Continuation of *Twelve Songs* more, making thirty in the whole, and dedicated to Prince Charles; to whom he gives hopes of beſtowing the like pains upon Scotland. There are verſes before this Second Part by William Brown, Geo. Wither, and John Reynolds. 'Tis as accurately written as the Firſt Part; but Mr Selden being otherwiſe engaged, had not time to adorn this Second with notes, and perhaps the want of a friend to help out the expence, may be the reaſon it was not adorned with maps. From the encomiums of thoſe Poets we ſhall not make any extract; but add this ſhort one, wherewith we have been favoured by the learned and ingenious tranſlator into Latin, of ſome of the fineſt eſſays written by Mr Pope, out of a Poem that is now in the preſs, wherein there are theſe lines:

> DRAYTON, ſweet ancient Bard, his ALBION ſung,
> With their own praiſe her echoing *Vallies* rung;
> His bounding Muſe o'er ev'ry *Mountain* rode,
> And ev'ry *River* warbled where he flow'd (34).

[*H*] *Before a copy of his own verſes ſtiled* POET LAUREAT.] Before the poſthumous Poems of Abraham, the ſon of Dr Philemon Holland, among the commendatory verſes, the firſt copy of ten lines, bears this title; *Michael Drayton, Eſq; and Poet Laureat, in commendation of the author*, &c. which ends with this diſtich:

> Proceed, let not *Apollo*'s ſtock decay,
> POETS and KINGS, are not born ev'ry day (35).

It is likely this ſtile or appellation of *Poet Laureat* was not formerly confined ſo ſtrictly as it is now, to his Majeſty's ſervant, known by that title, who is preſumed to have been at that time Ben Jonſon (†); becauſe we find it given to others only as a diſtinction of their excellency in the art of Poetry. So it was beſtowed alſo upon our author's friend Mr George Sandys, and we could produce an author who has called Francis Quarles by the ſame title. As for the pictures of our Poet appearing ſo conſtantly laureated, it may be a complement alſo of the Painters and Gravers. The print of Mr Drayton before the firſt volume of his Poems in folio, graved by W. Hole in 1613, has a wreath of bays above his head, and ſo has his buſt in Weſtminſter-abbey: the like had the painting of him, as we have heard, which was in the collections of the late Thomas Sclater Bacon, Eſq; at his ſeat in Cambridgeſhire; and ſo likewiſe another delicate pourtrait in miniature, ſaid to be painted of him by Peter Oliver, which was in the poſſeſſion of the late Lord Lanſdown, and highly eſteemed by him. as we have lately been ſatisfied, not only from an ample deſcription (36), but alſo by the ſight of it. And yet when we find, that the pourtraits of Joſhua Sylveſter, John Owen, and others, who never had any grant of the Poet Laureat's place, are as formally crowned with laurel as thoſe who had the utmoſt right to it; there is reaſon to believe, it was only an honour conferred by the artiſts who drew or engraved thoſe pictures, here mentioned of Maſter Drayton.

[*I*] *Com-*

(*m*) The Dedicat. of his folio edit. to Sir W. Aſton.

(*n*) As little of his publiſhing appeared between the years 1605 and 1610, but two editions of his Poems in thoſe years, his friend J. Davis, of Hereford, in his book of Epigrams, then printed, charges him not to forſake the Muſes, &c.

(*o*) As Mr Walter Harte juſtly obſerves, in his notes on the ſixth Thebaid of Statius, at the end of his Poems, in 8vo. 1727.

(*p*) See the pamphlets intituled *Hæc Homo* and *Hic Mulier*, 4to. 1620, &c.

(†) Towards the end of the ſecond Canto of this Poem he deſcribes the Plagues of Egypt, from the Plague which then raged in London, at his writing thereof; which was ſo long before this publication, as the year 1603.

(24) See Mr Selden's notes on *Poly-Olbion*, p. 19.

(25) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, edit. 1736. fol. p. 5.

(26) Song 8.

(27) Song 11.

(28) Song 12.

(29) Song 17.

(30) Song 18.

(31) Song 19.

(32) Song 24.

(33) Song 22.

(34) *Sea-Piece*: Canto 2. By Dr James Kirkpatrick.

(35) Hollandi Poſthuma, &c. Cantab. impenſis Hen. Holland, 4to. 1626.

(†) Drayton himſelf ſays, He leaves the Laurel to thoſe who may look after it; in his Dedic. to Sir W. Aſton, of *The Owl*, in edit. fol. 1619.

(36) In a letter from Mr George Vertue, dated Nov. 11. 1749.

there are ſome images truly ſublime in them. But there is not one of theſe Poems revived, or ſo much as mentioned, in the late edition, pretending to have comprehended all the works of this celebrated Poet. At the end of the firſt Divine Poem, there are three copies of verſes in praiſe of the author; by Beal Sapperton, in Latin; Mr John Fletcher and Thomas Andrews in Engliſh; which laſt has very expreſly diſplayed the great extent of our Poet's renown. In 1631, he exchanged his laurel for a crown of glory, as it is expreſſed in his monumental inſcription. He was buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey among the Poets; and the handſome table monument of blue marble, which was raiſed over his grave the ſame year (*q*), is adorned with his effigies *in buſto*, laureated. On one ſide is a creſt of *Minerva*'s cap, and *Pegaſus* in a ſcutcheon on the other (*r*). Among thoſe poetical friends who have lamented his death, was Sir Aſton Cokain, who, in gratitude for his having brought him acquainted with Sir Thomas Burdet, Bart. by our Poet, compoſed an elegy upon him [*I*]; and Ben Jonſon is ſaid to have been the author of his epitaph, which was written in letters of gold upon his monument.

(*q*) Remains, in John Stowe's Survey of London, edit. fol. 1633. p. 763.

(*r*) See the Hiſt. and Antiquities of Weſtminſter-Abbey, by J. Dart, Vol. II. p. 81.

[*I*] *Compoſed an elegy upon him.*] The firſt lines of the ſaid elegy are theſe:

> PHOEBUS, art thou a God, and canſt not give
> A privilege unto thy own to live?
> Thou canſt: but if that Poets ne'er ſhould die,
> In Heaven, who ſhould praiſe thy deity?
> Elſe ſtill, my DRAYTON, thou hadſt liv'd and writ;
> Thy *life* had been immortal as thy *wit*.

And it ends with theſe:

> But I moleſt thy quiet; ſleep, while we,
> That live, cou'd leave our lives to die like Thee (37).

(37) Sir Aſton Cokain's Poems, as before, p. 66, 67.

The epitaph on his monument, aſcribed to Ben Jonſon, is in theſe words:

> Doe, pious marble, let thy readers know
> What they, and what their children owe,
> To Drayton's name; whoſe ſacred duſt
> We recommend unto thy truſt:
> Protect his memory, and preſerve his ſtory,
> Remain a laſting monument of his glory:
> And when thy ruins ſhall diſclaime
> To be the treaſurer of his name;
> His name, that cannot fade, ſhall be
> An everlaſting monument to thee.

G

DRYDEN (JOHN), the moſt eminent Poet of the laſt century, was ſon of Eraſmus Dryden, of Tichmerſh in Northamptonſhire, third ſon of Eraſmus Dryden, of Canons-Aſhby, in the ſame county, Baronet; and was born at Aldwincle near Oundle in that county, the ninth of Auguſt 1631 (*a*). He was educated in grammar learning at Weſtminſter-ſchool, being King's Scholar there, under the famous Dr Buſby; and was from thence elected, in 1650, a Scholar of Trinity-College in Cambridge (*b*). During his ſtay at ſchool, he tranſlated the *Third Satire of Perſius* [*A*], for a Thurſday-night's exerciſe (*c*); and, the year before he left it, wrote a poem *On the Death of the Lord Haſtings*; a performance very unworthy of the great Poet he afterwards proved. In 1658, he publiſhed *Heroick Stanzas on the late Lord Protector, written after his Funeral* (*d*). In 1660, came out his *Aſtræa Redux* [*B*], *a Poem on the happy Reſtoration and Return of his ſacred Majeſty King Charles* II (*e*); and, the ſame year, his *Panegyrick* to the King *on his Coronation* (*f*). In 1662, he addreſſed a poem *To the Lord Chancellor Hyde, preſented on New-Year's Day* (*g*); and the ſame year publiſhed *A Satire on the Dutch* (*h*). His next piece was his *Annus Mirabilis: The Year of Wonders* 1666: *An Hiſtorical Poem* (*i*). In 1668, Mr Dryden, upon the death of Sir William Davenant, was made Poet-Laureat and Hiſtoriographer to King Charles II (*k*); and, the ſame year, publiſhed his *Eſſay on Dramatick Poeſy* [C]. Our author's firſt *Play*, intituled *The Wild Gallant*, appeared in

(*a*) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 414. See the epitaph in the remark [*Y*].

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(*c*) See the remark [*A*].

(*d*) See Original Poems and Tranſlations, by John Dryden, Eſq; now firſt collected and publiſhed together; in two Volumes, 12mo. London, 1743. Vol. I. p. 17.

(*e*) Ib. p. 22.

(*f*) Ib. p. 32.

(*g*) Ib. p. 36.

(*h*) Ib. p. 135.

(*i*) Ib. p. 43.

(*k*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *During his ſtay at ſchool, he tranſlated the* Third Satire of Perſius.] We learn this from the following advertiſement at the head of that Satire. *I remember I tranſlated this Satire, when I was a King's Scholar at Weſtminſter-ſchool, for a Thurſday-night's exerciſe; and I believe that it, and many other of my exerciſes of this nature, in Engliſh Verſe, are ſtill in the hands of my learned maſter, the Reverend Dr Buſby* (1).

(1) The Satires of D. J. Juvenalis, &c. Lond. 1735. 12mo. p. 257.

[*B*] *His* Aſtræa Redux.] A remarkable diſtich in this piece expoſed our poet to the ridicule of the wits. It was this:

> An *horrid ſtillneſs* firſt invades the ear,
> And in that *ſilence* we the tempeſt fear (2).

(2) Original Poems and Tranſlations, by John Dryden, Eſq; now firſt collected and publiſhed together; in two Volumes. 12mo. Lond. 1743. Vol. I. p. 23.

Among others, Captain Alexander Radcliff has a fling at it in the following lines of his *News from Hell* (3):

> Laureat, who was both learn'd and florid,
> Was damn'd long ſince for *ſilence horrid*:
> Nor had there been ſuch clutter made,
> But that his *ſilence* did *invade*:
> *Invade!* and ſo't might well, that's clear;
> But what did it *invade?* An *Ear*.

(3) Second Part of Miſcellany Poems, p. 98. edit. 1727.

[*C*] *His* Eſſay on Dramatick Poeſy.] It is dedicated to Charles Earl of Dorſet and Middleſex. Mr Dryden tells his patron, that the writing this eſſay had ſerved as an amuſement to him in the country, when the violence of the plague (in 1665) had driven him from the town; but that he finds many things in it, which he does not now approve, his judgment being not a little altered ſince the writing it. Preſently after he ſays: 'For the way of writing plays in verſe, which 'I have ſeem'd to favour, I have, ſince that time, 'laid the practice of it aſide, till I have more leiſure, 'becauſe I find it troubleſome and ſlow. But I am no 'way altered from my opinion of it, at leaſt with any 'reaſons which have oppoſed it. For your lordſhip 'may eaſily obſerve, that none are very violent againſt 'it, but thoſe who either have not attempted it, or 'who in 1669 (*l*), and was followed by a great number of others; a liſt, and ſome account, of which we ſhall give in the remark [*D*]. Mr Gerard Langbaine, a contemporary writer

(*l*) Langbaine's Account of the Engliſh Dramatick Poets. Lond. 1691. p. 130, &c.

‘who have ill ſucceeded in their attempt.’ In the preface *to the reader*, we are told, that the drift of this diſcourſe was to vindicate the honour of our Engliſh writers from the cenſure of thoſe who unjuſtly prefer the French before them. ‘This (*ſays* Mr Dryden) I intimate, leſt any ſhould think me ſo exceeding vain, as ‘to teach others an art, which they underſtand much ‘better than myſelf. But if this incorrect Eſſay, written in the country, without the help of books, or advice of friends, ſhall find an acceptance in the world, ‘I promiſe to myſelf a better ſucceſs of the ſecond part, ‘wherein I ſhall more fully treat of the virtues and ‘faults of the Engliſh poets, who have written either ‘in this, the epick, or the lyrick way.’ The *Eſſay* is drawn up in the form of a dialogue between *Eugenius*, *Crites*, *Liſidcius*, and *Neander*. It was animadverted upon by Sir Robert Howard, in the *Preface* to his *Great Favourite* or *Duke of Lerma*; to which Mr Dryden replied in a defence of it, prefix'd to the ſecond edition of his *Indian Emperor*.

[*D*] *A liſt, and ſome account, of Mr* Dryden's plays.] I. *The Wild Gallant:* A Comedy: acted at the Theatre Royal, and printed in *4to:* London, 1699. This was Mr Dryden's firſt attempt in dramatick poetry, and met with but very indifferent ſucceſs in the action. Mr Langbaine tells us (4), Mr Dryden confeſſed, the plot was not originally his own: ‘but however (*he ‘adds, with a ſneer*) having ſo much altered and ‘beautified it, we will do him the honour to call him ‘the author of the *Wild Gallant*; as he has done Sir ‘Robert Howard, the author of the *Duke of Lerma*[*]: ‘and by way of excuſe I ſhall tranſcribe his own lines ‘(‖) in behalf of a new brother of Parnaſſus:

‘’Tis miracle to ſee a firſt good play;
‘All hawthorns do not bloom on Chriſtmas-day:
‘A ſlender poet muſt have time to grow,
‘And ſpread and burniſh as his brothers do:
‘Who ſtill looks lean, ſure with ſome pox is curſt;
‘But no man can be *Falſtaff* fat at firſt.’

To ſay the truth, this play is ſo indifferent a performance in itſelf, and was ſo ill received, that, if the author had not had a peculiar force of inclination to writing, he would have been ſufficiently diſcouraged from any farther progreſs. II. *The Indian Emperor, or, the Conqueſt of Mexico by the Spaniards: being the Sequel of the Indian Queen:* A Tragi-Comedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal in 1670, and printed in *4to*. It is dedicated to the Ducheſs of Monmouth and Buccleugh. It is written in heroic verſe, or rhyme, and appeared on the ſtage with great approbation. The ſtory may be found in Mariana's *Hiſtory of Spain*, B. 26. ch. 3. and Sir Paul Ricaut's *Hiſtory of Peru*. III. *An Evening's Love, or, The Mock Aſtrologer:* A Comedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in *4to*, 1671. It is dedicated to the Duke of Newcaſtle. The principal plot of this play is built on Calderon's *El Aſtrologo fingido*; and the play is, for the moſt part, taken from Corneille's *Feint Aſtrologue*, Moliere's *Depit Amoreux* and *Precieuſes Ridicules*, and Quinault's *Amant Indiſcret*. IV. *Marriage Alamode:* A Comedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in *4to*, 1673. It is dedicated to the Earl of Rocheſter. This play, though ſtiled a Comedy, is rather a Tragi-Comedy, and conſiſts of two actions, the one ſerious, and the other comic; both borrowed from two ſtories, which the author has tacked together. The ſerious part is founded on the ſtory of *Seſoſtris* and *Timareta* in the *Grand Cyrus*, Pt. 9. B. 3. and the characters of *Palamede* and *Rodophil* on the ſtory of *Timantes* and *Parthenia* in the ſame romance, Pt. 6. B. 1. The character of *Doralice* ſeems borrowed from the ſtory of *Nogaret*, in a piece called *The Annals of Love*; and Melantha's making court to herſelf, in *Rodophil*'s name, from *Les Contes d'Ouville, part* 1. p. 13. V. *Amboyna:* A Tragedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in *4to*, 1673. It is dedicated to the Lord Clifford of Chudleigh. The plot of this play is chiefly founded on hiſtory, being an account of the cruelty of the Dutch to our countrymen in Amboyna, A. D. 1618; for which ſee Stubbs's *Relation of the Dutch Cruelties*, &c. Wanley's *Hiſtory of Man*, B. 4. ch. 10. The Rape of *Iſabinda* by *Harman* is built on a novel in Cynthio Gyraldi, *Dec.* 5. *Nouv.* 10. VI. *Miſtaken Huſband:* A Comedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in *4to*, 1675. Mr Langbaine tells us (5), Mr Dryden was not the author of this play, ‘tho' it was adopted by him, ‘as an orphan, which might well deſerve the charity ‘of a ſcene, which he beſtow'd on it.’ It is in the nature of Low Comedy, or Farce, and written on the model of Plautus's *Menechmi*. VII. *Aurenge-Zebe, or, The Great Mogul:* A Tragedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in *4to*, 1676. It is dedicated to the Earl of Mulgrave. The ſtory is related at large in Tavernier's *Voyages in the Indies*, *Vol.* I. *Pt.* 2. *ch.* 2. Mr Langbaine (6) determines, that the characters of *Aurenge-Zebe* and *Nourmahal* are borrowed from Seneca's *Phædra* and *Hippolytus*. But whoever conſiders them, will ſee, that there is nothing alike through their whole ſtory, excepting only the love of a mother-in-law towards her ſon-in-law, and the ſon-in-law's averſion; and as to the characters (a thing Mr Langbaine ſeems never to underſtand) *Hippolytus* has an averſion to love; *Aurenge-Zebe* is in love: *Hippolytus* is an hunter; *Aurenge-Zebe* is a warrior: as for *Nourmahal*, ſhe is a degree beyond the lewdneſs even of Seneca's *Phædra*, who degenerates extremely from her original in Euripides, and indeed has none of her qualities, but only revenge for diſappointed love. Mr Langbaine accuſes our poet likewiſe of theft, in borrowing, or rather imitating, ſeveral paſſages of Seneca, in this play. But, with his leave, a poet deſerves praiſe, rather than cenſure, who tranſplants the beauties of antient authors into his own works. This play is written in heroick verſe, or rhyme. VIII. *The Tempeſt, or, The Inchanted Iſland:* A Comedy: acted at the Duke of York's Theatre, and printed in *4to*, 1676. This is only an alteration of Shakeſpear's *Tempeſt* by Sir William Davenant and Mr Dryden. The characters of the *ſailors* were chiefly the invention and writing of Sir William, as is acknowledged by Mr Dryden in the preface. IX. *Feign'd Innocence, or, Sir Martin Mar-all:* A Comedy: acted at the Duke of York's Theatre, and printed in *4to*, 1678. The foundation of this play is originally French, the greateſt part of the plot, and ſome of the language of Sir Martin, being taken from Quinault's *Amant Indiſcret*, and Moliere's *Etourdi*. Warner's playing on the lute, inſtead of his maſter, is copied from Du Pare's *Francion*, B. 7; and the hint of Old Moody and Sir John ſeems borrowed from Shakerly Marmion's (*) *Fine Companion*. X. *The Aſſignation, or, Love in a Nunnery:* A Comedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in *4to*, 1678. It is dedicated to Sir Charles Sedley. This play, Mr Langbaine tells us (7), was *damn'd on the ſtage*, or, as the author expreſſes it in the *epiſtle dedicatory*, *ſucceeded ill in the repreſentation*: but ‘whether the fault was in the play itſelf, or in the lame‘neſs of the action, or in the number of it's enemies, ‘who came reſolved to damn it for the title,’ he will not pretend, any more than the author, to determine. Mr Ravenſcroft, in the prologue to his *Careleſs Lovers*, acted the year following, reflects on this and the preceding play, in theſe lines:

An author did, to pleaſe you, let his wit run,
Of late, much on a *ſerving-man* and *cittern* (‡);
And yet you wou'd not like the *ſerenade*;
Nay, and you damn'd his *Nuns* in *maſquerade*:
You did his Spaniſh ſing-ſong too abhor;
Ah! que locura con tanto rigor!
In fine, the whole by you ſo much was blam'd,
To act their parts the players were aſham'd.

Several of the incidents and characters of this play are borrowed: thoſe of the Duke of Mantua, Frederick, and Lucretia, from the ſtory of *Conſtance the Fair Nun*, in the *Annals of Love*, p. 81. thoſe of Aurelian, Camillo, Laura, and Violetta, from the ſtory of *Deſtiny* and writer (*m*), has treated Mr Dryden with more ſeverity than juſtice, on account of his dramatick

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(4) Account of the Engliſh Dramatick Poets, p. 175.

(*) Defence of his Eſſay, &c. p. 5.

(‖) Prologue to Dr Davenant's Circe. See Original Poems, &c. Vol. II. p. 242.

(5) Ubi ſupra, p. 166.

(6) Ib. p. 156.

(*) A writer of plays in Charles the Firſt's time.

(7) Ib. p. 154.

(‡) Warner playing on the lute.

(*m*) Id. ibid.

and *Star*, in Scarron's *Romance of the Players* (*). Benito's affectation of muſick is taken from Quinault's *Jodolet*, in his *Comedie ſans Comedie*; and Frontona's throwing water on Laura, from Fontaine's *Contes*, P^{te}. 1^{cre}. n. 11. XI. *The State of Innocence, or, the Fall of Man*: An Opera, written in heroick verſe, and printed in *4to*, in 1678. It is dedicated to her Royal Highneſs the Ducheſs of York, on whom the author paſſes the following extravagant compliment: 'Your perſon is ſo admirable, that it can ſcarce receive addition, when it ſhall be glorified; and your ſoul, which ſhines through it, finds it of a ſubſtance ſo near her own, that ſhe will be pleaſed to paſs an age within it, and to be confined to ſuch a palace.' To this piece is prefixed *An Apology for Heroick Poetry and poetick Licence*. The ſubject is taken from Milton's *Paradiſe Loſt*, and many of that excellent poet's thoughts and expreſſions are copied in this play; but with what ſucceſs, the judicious reader will eaſily determine. Mr Nat. Lee wrote commendatory verſes on this play, and ſpeaks of it in theſe terms:

(*) Or, Comical Romance, as it is miſ-tranſlated.

To the dead bard your fame a little owes:
For Milton did the wealthy mine diſcloſe,
And rudely caſt what you cou'd well diſpoſe.
He roughly drew, on an old-faſhion'd ground,
A chaos; for no perfect world was found;
Till thro' the heap your mighty genius ſhin'd:
His was the golden Ore, which you refin'd.
He firſt beheld the beauteous ruſtick maid,
And to a place of ſtrength the prize convey'd:
You took her thence, to Court the virgin brought,
Dreſs'd her with gems, new-weav'd her hard-ſpun thought,
And ſofteſt language, ſweeteſt manners taught:
Till from a comet ſhe a ſtar did riſe,
Not to affright, but pleaſe our wond'ring eyes.
Betwixt ye both is fram'd a nobler piece,
Than e're was drawn in Italy or Greece.

But theſe lines, as Mr Dryden himſelf juſtly obſerves in the *Apology*, &c. 'ought to be eſteem'd the effect of Mr Lee's love to him, rather than his deliberate and ſober judgment.' XII. *The Conqueſt of Granada by the Spaniards*, in two parts: Two Tragi-Comedies: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in *4to*, in 1678. Theſe two plays are dedicated to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, and were received on the ſtage with great applauſe. The ſtory is to be found in Mariana's *Hiſtory of Spain*, B. 25. ch. 18. Thuanus's *Hiſtory*, B. 48. Guicciardine, l. 12. &c. Mr Langbaine tells us (8), the characters in theſe plays are all borrowed from French and Spaniſh Romances, particularly *Almahide*, *Grand Cyrus*, *Ibrahim*, and *Guſman*: but, in truth, that of *Almanzor* ſeems rather a copy of Homer's *Achilles*, ill underſtood. Theſe plays are written in heroick verſe, or rhyme. To the firſt is prefix'd *An Eſſay on Heroick Plays*; and to the ſecond, *A Defence of the Epilogue, or An Eſſay on the Dramatic Poetry of the laſt Age*. Mr Richard Leigh, a player belonging to the Duke of York's Theatre, attack'd Mr Dryden's *Conqueſt of Granada*, in a Pamphlet, intitled; *A Cenſure of the Rota: On Mr Dryden's Conqueſt of Granada*: Oxford, 1673, in *4to*. This occaſioned ſeveral other Pamphlets, particularly; *The Friendly Vindication of Mr Dryden from the Cenſure of the Rota*; Cambridge, 1673, in *4to*: *Mr Dryden vindicated in a Reply to the Friendly Vindication of Mr Dryden; with Reflexions on the Rota*; London, 1673, in *4to*: and *A Deſcription of the Academy of the Athenian Virtuoſi, with a Diſcourſe held there in Vindication of Mr Dryden's Conqueſt of Granada, againſt the author of the Cenſure of the Rota*; London, 1673, in *4to*. Mr Elkanah Settle likewiſe criticiſed on theſe Plays of our author's, in a Pamphlet, intitled, *Reflexions on ſeveral of Mr Dryden's Plays; particularly The Firſt and Second Part of the Conqueſt of Granada*; By E. Settle, Gent. London, 1687, in *4to*. XIII. *All for Love, or The World well loſt*: A Tragedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in *4to*, 1678. It is dedicated to the Earl of Danby. This Play is written in imitation of Shakeſpear's Style, and is chiefly taken from that author's *Anthony and Cleopatra*. Mr Dryden tells us (9), he prefers the Scene betwixt *Anthony* and *Ventidius*, in the firſt Act, to any thing he had written in this kind. At the ſame time he acknowledges the introducing of *Octavia* to be an error in the contrivance of the drama. 'For, though, *ſays he*, I might uſe the privilege of a Poet to introduce her into Alexandria, yet I had not enough conſidered, that the compaſſion ſhe moved to herſelf and children was deſtructive to that which I reſerved for Anthony and Cleopatra; whoſe mutual love being founded upon vice, muſt leſſen the favour of the audience to them, when virtue and innocence were oppreſſed by it. And though I juſtified Anthony in ſome meaſure, by making Octavia's departure to proceed wholly from herſelf, yet the force of the firſt machine ſtill remained, and the dividing of pity, like the cutting of a river into many channels, abated the ſtrength of the natural ſtream.' XIV. *Tyrannick Love, or, The Royal Martyr*: A Tragedy: acted at the Theatre Royal, and printed in *4to*, 1679. This play is written in heroick verſe, or rhyme, and dedicated to the Duke of Monmouth. The Plot founded on Hiſtory. See *Zoſim.* l. 4. *Socrat.* l. 5. c. 14. *Herodian* l. 7, 8. *Jul. Capit. in vit. Max. Jun.* XV. *Troilus and Creſſida, or, Truth found out too late*: A Tragedy: acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed in *4to*, 1679. It is dedicated to the Earl of Sunderland, and has a Preface prefixed concerning *the grounds of Criticiſm in Tragedy*. This play is originally Shakeſpear's, and reviſed and altered by Mr Dryden, who added ſeveral new ſcenes; among which the laſt in the third act is allowed, even by Langbaine (10), to be a maſter-piece. The plot was taken by Shakeſpear from Chaucer's *Troilus and Creſſida*, which that poet (according to Mr Dryden) tranſlated from the original ſtory, written in Latin verſe by one Lollius a Lombard. Mr R. Duke addreſſed a copy of verſes to our author on occaſion of this play; in which he thus compliments him at the expence of Shakeſpear:

(8) Ib. p. 158.

(9) In the Preface.

(10) Ib. p. 173.

Shakeſpear, 'tis true, this tale of Troy firſt told;
But, as with Ennius Virgil did of old,
You found it dirt, but you have made it gold.
A dark and undigeſted heap it lay,
Like Chaos e're the dawn of infant day;
But you did firſt the chearful light diſplay.
Confus'd it was as Epicurus' world
Of atoms by blind chance together hurl'd;
But you have made ſuch order thro' it ſhine,
As loudly ſpeaks the workmanſhip divine.

XVI. *OEdipus, King of Thebes*: A Tragedy: acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed in *4to*, 1679. It was written jointly by Mr Dryden and Mr Lee, and is juſtly eſteemed an excellent Play. The ſubject has been treated by the beſt dramatick writers in all languages, particularly by Sophocles, Seneca, and M. Corneille. Mr Dryden, in the Preface, taxes Seneca with 'running after Philoſophical Notions, more proper for the ſtudy than the ſtage;' and accuſes Corneille of failing in the character of his Hero, which he calls *an error in the firſt concoction*. XVII. *Secret Love, or the Maiden Queen*: A Tragi-Comedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in *4to*, 1679. The ſerious part of the plot is founded on the *Hiſtory of Cleobuline Queen of Corinth*; and the characters of Celadon, Florimel, Olinda, and Sabina, are borrowed from the ſtory of Piſiſtrates and Cerintha in the *Grand Cyrus*, P^{t}. 9. B. 5. XVIII. *The Rival Ladies*: A Tragi-Comedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in *4to*, 1679. It is dedicated to the Earl of Orrery. The Dedication is in the nature of a Preface, in defence of Engliſh verſe, or rhyme. Mr Langbaine (11) accuſes Mr Dryden of a groſs miſtake in the Preface, where he ſays, 'that the Tragedy of *Queen Gorbuduc* was written in Engliſh verſe, and conſequently that verſe was not ſo much a new way among us, as an old way revived; and that this Play was written by the late Lord Buckhurſt,

(11) Ib. p. 168.

‘hurſt, afterwards Earl of Dorſet.’ Mr Langbaine obſerves, that Gorbuduc was not a *Queen*, but a *King* of the race of *Brute*; and that the three firſt acts were written by Mr Thomas Norton; and that the play itſelf is not in rhyme, but blank verſe. Sir Robert Howard, in the Preface to his Plays, anſwered this Preface of Mr Dryden's. In this Play, the diſpute between Amideo and Hippolyto, and Gonſalvo's fighting with the Pyrates, in the laſt act, are borrowed from the ſtory of Encolpius, Giton, *&c.* in Petronius Arbiter; and the cataſtrophe bears a near reſemblance to Scarron's *Rival Brothers*. XIX. *The Kind Keeper, or, Mr Limberham:* A Comedy: acted at the Duke's Theatre, printed in *4to*, 1680. It is dedicated to John Lord Vaughan. Some of the incidents are borrowed from Cynthio Gyraldi's *Novels*, P^{te}. 1^{ere}. *Dec.* 3. *Nouv.* 3. and from the *Zelotide* of M. de Pais. Mr Langbaine, who takes this to be the beſt of Mr Dryden's Comedies, tells us (12), that it ſo much expoſed the *keeping* part of the town, that it was ſtopt after the third night; but that the author took care to omit in the publication what had given offence on the ſtage. A writer of thoſe times concludes a ſhort *Satire againſt Keeping* with theſe lines (13):

Dryden, good man, thought *Keepers* to reclaim,
Writ a kind Satire, call'd it *Limberham*.
This all the herd of *Letchers* ſtraight alarms;
From *Charing-Croſs* to *Bow* was up in arms.
They damn'd the Play all at one fatal blow,
And broke the glaſs that did their picture ſhow.

XX. *The Spaniſh Fryar, or, The Double Diſcovery:* A Tragi-Comedy: acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed in *4to*, 1681. It is dedicated to John Lord Haughton. Mr Langbaine is very angry with Mr Dryden for the character of the *Fryar*. ‘Whether, *ſays he* (14), Mr Dryden intended his character of *Dominick* as a ſatire on the Romiſh Prieſts only, or on the Clergy of all opinions in general, I know not; but ſure I am, that he might have ſpared his reflecting quotation in the front of his Play;

‘Ut melius poſſis fallere, ſume togam.

But the truth is, ever ſince a certain worthy biſhop refuſed orders to a certain poet, Mr Dryden has declared open defiance to the whole clergy; and ſince the church began the war, he has thought it but juſtice to make repriſals on the church —— But, whatever ſucceſs this way of writing may find from the ſparks, it can never be approved of by ſober men, *&c.*’ The comick parts of Elvira, Lorenzo, *&c.* are founded on a Novel called *The Pilgrim*, written by M. S. Bremond. XXI. *The Duke of Guiſe:* A Tragedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in *4to*, 1683. It was written by Mr Dryden and Mr Lee, and dedicated to the Earl of Rocheſter. The plot is taken from Davila, Mezerai, and other writers of the French affairs. See alſo Thuanus, l. 93. For the ſtory of Malicorn the conjurer, read Roſſet's *Hiſtoires Tragiques*, &c. p. 449. This play gave great offence to the Whigs, and was immediately attacked in a pamphlet, intitled; *A Defence of the Charter and Municipal Rights of the City of London, and the Right of other municipal Cities and Towns of England. Directed to the Citizens of London. By* Thomas Hunt. In this piece, Mr Dryden is charged with condemning the Charter of the City of London, and executing it's magiſtrates in effigy, in his *Duke of Guiſe*; a Play, ‘moſt certainly intended to provoke the rabble into tumults and diſorders.’ About the ſame time were printed *Some reflexions upon the pretended Parallel in the Play called* The Duke of Guiſe. The author of this pamphlet tells us, ‘he was wearied with the dulneſs of this play, and extremely incenſed at the wicked and barbarous deſign it was intended for; that the fierceſt *Tories* were aſhamed of this piece; in ſhort, that he never ſaw any thing, that cou'd be called A *Play*, more deficient in wit, good character, or entertainment, than this.’ In anſwer to this, and Mr Hunt's Pamphlet, Mr Dryden publiſhed *The Vindication: or, The Parallel of the* French Holy League, *and the* Engliſh League and Covenant, *turn'd into a Seditious Libel againſt the King and his Royal Highneſs, by* Thomas Hunt, *and the author of* Reflexions, *&c.* London, 1683, *4to*. In this *Vindication*, he tells us, that, in the Year of the Reſtoration, the firſt Play he undertook was the *Duke of Guiſe*, as the faireſt way, which the *Act of Indemnity* had then left, of *ſetting forth the riſe of the late Rebellion*; that at firſt it was thrown aſide, by the advice of ſome friends, to whom he ſhew'd it; but that, at the earneſt requeſt of Mr Lee, (with whom he had promiſed to join in another play, after the writing of *OEdipus*, and who now claim'd his promiſe) it was afterwards produced between them; and that only the firſt ſcene, the whole fourth act, and ſomewhat more than half the fifth, belonged to him (*Mr Dryden*) all the reſt being Mr Lee's. XXII. *Albion and Albanius:* An Opera: performed at the Queen's Theatre in Dorſet Garden, and printed in *folio*, 1685. The ſubject of it is wholly allegorical, and intended to expoſe the Lord Shafteſbury and his party, who are repreſented by the man on the pedeſtal, with a long pale face, &c. encompaſſed by ſeveral heads, which ſuck poiſon from his ſide. The muſick for this Opera was made by one Grabut; and Mr Langbaine tells us (15), the following ſatirical lines were made upon this occaſion:

Grabut his yoke-mate n'ere ſhall be forgot,
Whom th' God of tunes upon a Muſe begot.
Bays on a double ſcore to him belongs,
As well for *writing* as for *ſetting* ſongs.
For ſome have ſworn (th' intrigue ſo odd is laid)
That *Bays* and he miſtook each other's trade,
Grabut the lines, and he the muſick made.

XXIII. *Don Sebaſtian, King of Portugal:* A Tragedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in *4to*, 1690. It is dedicated to the Earl of Leiceſter. This play is generally eſteemed one of the beſt of Mr Dryden's, and was received with great applauſe; though the actors were forced to curtail it after the firſt night, it being, as the author himſelf tells us in the Preface, *inſupportably too long*. As for the ſtory, or plot, it is chiefly founded on a French novel of the ſame name. XXIV. *King Arthur: or, The Britiſh Worthy:* A Tragedy: acted at the Theatre in Dorſet Garden, and printed in *4to*, 1691. It is dedicated to the Marquis of Halifax. This play is more remarkable for ſinging and fine ſcenery, than for any excellency of the drama. The ſtory in general is founded upon Geoffrey of Monmouth's Hiſtory: the *Inchanted Grove*, and the character of *Oſmond*, are taken from Taſſo. XXV. *Amphytrion, or, The Two Socias:* A Comedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in *4to*, 1691. It is dedicated to Sir Leviſon Gower. This play is taken from Plautus and Moliere. XXVI. *Cleomenes: The Spartan Heroe:* A Tragedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in *4to*, 1692. It is dedicated to the Earl of Rocheſter. There is prefixed to it *The Life of Cleomenes*, tranſlated from Plutarch by Mr Creech. This play was at firſt prohibited by the Lord Chamberlain; but, upon examination, being found innocent of any deſign (as had been ſuggeſted) to ſatirize the government, it was ſuffered to be repreſented, and had great ſucceſs. In the Preface, the author tells us, a fooliſh objection had been raiſed againſt him by the Sparks, for Cleomenes not accepting the favours of Caſſandra. ‘They, *ſays he*, would not have refuſed a fair Lady: I grant, they would not; but let them grant me, that they are not heroes.’ He adds: ‘Some have told me, that many of the fair ſex complain for want of tender ſcenes, and ſoft expreſſions of love. I will endeavour to make them ſome amends, if I write again; and my next heroe ſhall be no Spartan.’ XXVII. *Love Triumphant, or, Nature will prevail:* A Tragi-Comedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in *4to*, 1694. It is dedicated to the Earl of Shafteſbury, and is the laſt Mr Dryden wrote or intended for the Theatre. It met with but indifferent ſucceſs; though in many parts the genius of that great man breaks out, eſpecially in the diſcovery of Alphonſo's ſucceſsful love, and in the cataſtrophe, which is extreamly affecting. ——Thus, in the ſpace of twenty-five years, Mr Dryden produced (beſides his other numerous poetical writings) twenty-ſeven plays. As to the character of Mr Dryden's dramatick performances, we find, that the Criticks, his contemporaries, made very free with them; particularly, Mr Gerard Langbaine (16): and it muſt be confeſſed, they are

(12) Ib. p. 164.

(13) Cleve's Poems, p. 94.

(14) Ib. p. 171.

(15) Ib. p. 152.

(16) See the next remark.

dramatick performances [*E*]. In 1671, Mr Dryden was publickly ridiculed on the ſtage, under

are not the leaſt exceptionable of his compoſitions. As to Tragedy, the Criticks have obſerved, that Mr Dryden ſeldom touches the *paſſions*, but deals rather in pompous language, poetical flights, and deſcriptions. That this was his real taſte, appears, not only from his Tragedies themſelves, but from two inſtances mentioned by Mr Gildon (17). The firſt is, that, it being recommended to him to turn his thoughts to a tranſlation of *Euripides*, rather than of *Homer*, he replied, that *he confeſſed he had no reliſh of that Poet*, who was a great maſter of *Tragick ſimplicity*. The other is, that he conſtantly expreſſed a very mean, if not contemptible, opinion of Mr *Otway*, who is univerſally allowed to have ſucceeded very happily in affecting the *paſſions:* though, in the preface to his tranſlation of M. *Freſnoy*, he ſpeaks more favourably of that Poet. The author, who mentions theſe inſtances, aſcribes this *guſto* in Mr Dryden to his great converſation with French Romances. As to Comedy, our Poet himſelf acknowledges his want of genius for that ſpecies of the drama. ‘ I know, *ſays he* (18), I am not fitted by ‘ nature to write Comedy: I want that gaiety of humour, which is required in it. My converſation is ‘ ſlow and dull, my humour ſaturnine and reſerved. ‘ In ſhort, I am none of thoſe, who endeavour to break ‘ jeſts in company, or make repartees. So that thoſe, ‘ who decry my Comedies, do me no injury, except it ‘ be in point of profit: reputation in them is the laſt ‘ thing to which I ſhall pretend.’ But, perhaps, Mr Dryden would have wrote better in both kinds of the drama, had not the neceſſity of his circumſtances obliged him to conform himſelf to the popular taſte. Hence my Lord Lanſdowne (19):

Dryden himſelf, to pleaſe a frantick age,
Was forc'd to let his judgment ſtoop to rage:
To a wild audience he conform'd his voice,
Comply'd to cuſtom, but not err'd thro' choice.
Deem then the people's, not the writer's ſin,
Almanzor's rage, and rants of *Maximin:*
That fury ſpent, in each elaborate piece,
He vies for fame with antient Rome and Greece.

And Mr Dryden himſelf inſinuates as much in the following paſſage (20): ‘ I remember ſome verſes of my ‘ own *Maximin* and *Almanzor*, which cry vengeance ‘ upon me for their extravagance. ——— All I can ſay ‘ for thoſe paſſages, which are, I hope, not many, is, ‘ that I knew they were bad enough to pleaſe, even ‘ when I writ them. But I repent of them among my ‘ ſins; and if any of their fellows intrude by chance ‘ into my preſent writings, I draw a ſtroke over all ‘ thoſe *Dalilahs* of the Theatre, and am reſolved I ‘ will ſettle myſelf no reputation by the applauſe of ‘ fools. 'Tis not that I am mortified to all ambition; ‘ but I ſcorn as much to take it from half-witted ‘ judges, as I ſhould to raiſe an eſtate by cheating of ‘ bubbles; neither do I diſcommend the lofty ſtile in ‘ Tragedy, which is naturally pompous and magnificent. But nothing is truly ſublime, that is not juſt ‘ and proper.’ He tells us elſewhere (21), that his *Spaniſh Fryar* was *given to the people*, and that *he never wrote any thing* (in the dramatick way) *to pleaſe himſelf, but* his *Anthony and Cleopatra*, i. e. his *All for Love, or, The World well loſt.*

[*E*] *Mr Langbaine has treated Mr Dryden with more ſeverity, than juſtice, on account of his dramatick performances.*] He begins his account of our Poet with treating him as an errant plagiary. ‘ Mr Dryden, ‘ *ſays he* (22), is the moſt voluminous writer of our ‘ age, he having already extant above twenty plays of ‘ his own writing, *as the title-page of each would perſuade the world*; though ſome people have been ſo ‘ bold as to call the truth of this in queſtion, and to ‘ propagate in the world another opinion.’ Speaking of Mr Dryden's *Comedies*, he tells us (23), ‘ he is for ‘ the moſt part beholden to French Romances and ‘ Plays, not only for his plots, but even a great part ‘ of his language.’ Having obſerved, that Mr Dryden, in the preface to his *Conqueſt of Granada*, *magiſterially buffs at, and domineers over*, the French writers, he deſires the reader to take notice, that all the characters of that play are ſtolen from the French: ‘ ſo that, *ſays he* (24), Mr Dryden took a ſecure way ‘ to conqueſt; for having robbed them of their weapons, he might ſafely challenge them, and beat them ‘ too; eſpecially having gotten *Pence de Leon* (*) ‘ on his ſide, in diſguiſe, and under the title of *Almanzor:* and ſhould Monſ. Voiture preſume to lay ‘ claim to his own ſong, *l'Amour ſous ſa loy*, &c. ‘ which Mr Dryden has robbed him of, and placed in ‘ the play of *Sir Martin Marr-all* (being that ſong, ‘ which begins *Blind Love to this hour* &c.) our Poet ‘ would go nigh to beat him with a ſtaff of his own ‘ rhimes, with as much eaſe, as Sir Martin defeated ‘ the Bailiffs in the reſcue of his rival.’ Mr Langbaine, next, undertakes the defence of Shakeſpear, Fletcher, and Johnſon, againſt the attacks of Mr Dryden, whom he repreſents as treating the memory of thoſe great Poets with the utmoſt diſreſpect. ‘ Had ‘ he, *ſays he* (25), only extended his conqueſts over ‘ the French Poets, I had not meddled in this affair; ‘ and he might have taken part with *Achilles* and *Rinaldo*, againſt *Cyrus* and *Oroondates*, without my engaging in this foreign war: but when I found him ‘ fluſhed with his victory over the great *Scudery*, and ‘ with *Almanzor*'s aſſiſtance triumphing over the noble ‘ kingdom of *Granada*; and not content with conqueſts abroad, like another *Julius Cæſar*, turning his ‘ arms upon his own country; and, as if the proſcription of his contemporaries reputation was not ‘ ſufficient to ſatiate his implacable thirſt after fame, ‘ endeavouring to demoliſh the ſtatues and monuments ‘ of his anceſtors, the works of thoſe his illuſtrious ‘ predeceſſors, *Shakeſpear*, *Fletcher*, and *Johnſon*; ‘ I was reſolved to endeavour the reſcue and preſervation of thoſe excellent trophies of wit, by raiſing ‘ the *Poſſe Comitatus* upon this Poetick *Almanzor*, to ‘ put a ſtop to his ſpoils upon his countrymen.’ The foundation of this heavy charge, is, ſome paſſages in the Poſtſcript to Mr Dryden's *Conqueſt of Granada*; in which he ſpeaks of *Shakeſpear*, as *writing, in many places, below the dulleſt writers of any age*; of Fletcher, as *a perſon, that neither underſtood correct plotting, nor what is called The Decorum of the Stage*; of Johnſon, as a writer, whoſe chief *excellency lay in the low characters of vice and folly*; and of all three together, as guilty, in every page of their works, of *ſome ſoleciſm in ſpeech, or ſome notorious flaw in ſenſe.* And here Mr Langbaine applies to Mr Dryden the character, which an ingenious writer (†) draws of a malignant wit; ‘ who, conſcious of his own vices, and ſtudious to conceal them, endeavours by detraction to ‘ make it appear, that others alſo, of greater eſtimation in the world, are tainted with the ſame, or ‘ greater: as infamous women generally excuſe their ‘ perſonal debaucheries, by incriminating upon their ‘ whole ſex, calumniating the moſt chaſte and virtuous, to palliate their own diſhonour.’ This is the ill-natured turn Mr Langbaine gives to our author's *Apology*, in the ſame *Poſtſcript*, where he begs the reader's pardon for accuſing thoſe authors, deſiring him to conſider, that ‘ he lives in an age wherein his leaſt ‘ faults are ſeverely cenſured, and that he has no way ‘ left to extenuate his failings, but by ſhewing as great ‘ in thoſe whom he admires.’ Mr Langbaine proceeds to cenſure Mr Dryden for *aſſaulting with all the bitterneſs imaginable, not only the Church of England, but alſo the ſeveral profeſſions of the Lutherans, Calviniſts, Preſbyterians*, &c. though I muſt obſerve, *ſays* ‘ *he* (26), by the way, that ſome people among the ‘ perſuaſions here mentioned might juſtly have expected better uſage from him on account of old acquaintance in the year 1659.’ We ſhall not enter upon Mr Langbaine's defence of Shakeſpear, Fletcher, and Johnſon; which he concludes with theſe words: ‘ As to his (*Mr Dryden's*) reflexions on this triumvirate ‘ (*Shakeſpear, Fletcher, and Johnſon*) in general; ‘ I might eaſily prove, that his *improprieties in grammar* are equal to theirs, and that he himſelf has been ‘ guilty of *ſoleciſms in ſpeech*, and *flaws in ſenſe:* but ‘ this would be to waſte paper and time; and beſides, ‘ I conſider, that Apollo's laws, like thoſe of our own ‘ nation, allow no man to be tried twice for the ſame ‘ crime: and Mr Dryden having already been ar- ‘ raigned

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(17) In his Laws of Poetry, as laid down by the Duke of Bucks, &c. p. 211.

(18) In his Defence of the Eſſay on Dramatick Poeſy, prefixed to his Indian Emperor.

(19) In his Eſſay on Unnatural Flights in Poetry. See his Works. Vol. I. p. 93. edit. 1736.

(20) Epiſtle Dedicatory to the Spaniſh Fryar.

(21) Preface to his Tranſlation of M. Du Freſnoy's Art of Painting, p. 58. Lond. 1716, 8vo.

(22) Ubi ſupra, p. 130.

(23) Ib. p. 131.

(24) Ib. p. 132.

(*) The chief hero in a romance called *Almahide.*

(25) Ib. p. 133.

(†) Dr Charleton, in his Different Wits of Men, p. 120.

(26) Ib. p. 140.

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under the character of *Bays*, in the Duke of Buckingham's Comedy called *The Rehearſal* [F]. In 1679, was publiſhed *An Eſſay on Satire* [G], written jointly by Mr Dryden and the Earl of Mulgrave (*n*). In 1680, came out a Tranſlation of *Ovid's Epiſtles*, in Engliſh Verſe, by ſeveral hands; two of which, *viz. Canace to Macareus*, and *Dido to Æneas*, were tranſlated by Mr Dryden, who likewiſe wrote the Preface; and that of *Helen to Paris* by Mr Dryden and the Earl of Mulgrave (*o*). In 1681, Mr Dryden publiſhed his *Abſalom and Achitophel* (*p*) [*H*]; and, the ſame year, his *Medal, A Satire againſt*

(*n*) Original Poems, &c. Vol. I. p. 328.

(*o*) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 83, &c.

(*p*) Ib. Vol. I. p. 143.

'raigned before the Wits, upon the evidence of the '*Rota*, and found guilty by Mr Clifford the foreman 'of the jury; I ſhall ſuppreſs my farther evidence, ''till I am ſerved with a *ſubpæna* by him, to appear 'before that Court. or have an action clapped upon 'me by his Proctor, as guilty of a *Scandalum Archi-*'*Poetæ*; and then I ſhall readily give in my depo'ſitions (27).'

(27) Ib. p. 150.

[*F*] *Mr Dryden was ridiculed on the ſtage—in the Rehearſal.*] The character of *Bays*, in that excellent ſatirical Comedy, we are told (28), was originally intended for Sir *Robert Howard*, under the name of *Bilboa*. But the repreſentation being put a ſtop to by the breaking out of the plague in 1665, it was laid by for ſeveral years, aud not exhibited on the ſtage till 1671: in which interval Mr Dryden being advanced to the *Laurel*, the noble author changed the name of his Poet from *Bilboa* to *Bays*, and made great alterations in his play, in order to ridicule ſeveral dramatick performances, which had appeared ſince the firſt writing of it. Thoſe of Mr Dryden, which fell under his Grace's laſh, are *The Wild Gallant*, *Tyrannick Love*, *The Conqueſt of Granada*, *Marriage Alamode*, and *Love in a Nunnery*; and how juſtly, may be ſeen in the following extracts.

(28) See the Key to the Rehearſal, printed with that play, p. 88. edit. 1735.

Conqueſt of Granada. Part ii. p. 48.

So two kind turtles, when a ſtorm is nigh,
Look up, and ſee it gathering in the ſky;
Each calls his mate to ſhelter in the groves,
Leaving, in murmurs, their unfiniſh'd loves:
Perch'd on ſome dropping branch, they ſit alone,
And coo, and hearken to each other's moan.

Rehearſal, p. 18.

So boar and ſow, when any ſtorm is nigh,
Snuff up, and ſmell it gathering in the ſky;
Boar beckons ſow to trot in cheſnut groves,
And there conſummate their unfiniſh'd loves:
Penſive in mud, they wallow all alone,
And ſnore and gruntle to each other's moan.

Conqueſt of Granada. Part i. p. 55.

As ſome fair tulip, by a ſtorm oppreſt,
Shrinks up, and folds it's ſilken arms to reſt;
And bending to the blaſt, all pale and dead,
Hears from within the wind ſing round it's head:
So ſhrouded up your beauty diſappears;
Unveil, my love, and lay aſide your fears:
The ſtorm that caus'd your fright is paſt and gone.

Rehearſal. p. 28.

As ſome tall pine, which we on Ætna find
T' have ſtood the rage of many a boiſt'rous wind,
Feeling without that flames within do play,
Which wou'd conſume his root and ſap away;
He ſpreads his worſted arms unto the ſkies,
Silently grieves, all pale, repines, and dies:
So ſhrouded up your bright eye diſappears;
Break forth, bright ſcorching ſun, and dry my tears.

Tyrannick Love. p. 25.

——— My earthly part,
Which is my tyrant's right, death will remove:
I'll come all ſoul and ſpirit to your love.
With ſilent ſteps I'll follow you all day;
Or elſe before you in the ſun-beams play.
I'll lead you hence to melancholy groves,
And there repeat the ſcenes of our paſt loves.
At night I will within your curtains peep;
With empty arms embrace you, while you ſleep.
In gentle dreams I often will be by,
And ſweep along before your cloſing eye.
All dangers from your bed I will remove;
But guard it moſt from any future love.
And when at laſt in pity you will die,
I'll watch your birth of immortality:
Then, turtle-like, I'll to my mate repair,
And teach you your firſt flight in open air.

Rehearſal. p. 55.

Since death my earthly part will thus remove,
I'll come a humble bee to your chaſte love:
With ſilent wings I'll follow you, dear cuz,
Or elſe before you in the ſun-beams buz:
And when to melancholy groves you come,
An airy ghoſt, you'll know me by my hum;
For ſound being air, a ghoſt does well become.
At night into your boſom I will creep,
And buz, but ſoftly, if you chaunce to ſleep;
Yet in your dreams I will paſs ſweeping by,
And then both hum and buz before your eye.

Mr Dryden affected to deſpiſe the ſatire levelled at him in the *Rehearſal*, as appears from his *Dedication* of the tranſlation of *Juvenal* and *Perſius* (29), where, ſpeaking of the many *lampoons* and *libels*, that had been written againſt him, he ſays: 'I anſwered not the *Re*'*hearſal*, becauſe I knew the author ſat to himſelf 'when he drew the picture, and was the very *Bays* of 'his own farce: becauſe alſo I knew, that my betters 'were more concerned than I was in that ſatire; and, 'laſtly, becauſe Mr *Smith* and Mr *Johnſon*, the main 'pillars of it, were two ſuch languiſhing gentlemen in 'their converſation, that I could liken them to no'thing but to their own relations, thoſe noble cha'racters of men of wit and pleaſure about town.' But it is impoſſible our Poet could be inſenſible of the force of that admirable ſatire; and we ſhall be convinced that he felt it's edge, if we reflect on the character of *Zimri*, in his *Abſalom* and *Achitophel* (30), in which he took a full revenge on the author of the *Rehearſal*.

(29) Edit. 1735. p. 12.

(30) See the remark [*H*].

[G] *The Eſſay on Satire.*] This piece, which was handed about in manuſcript, containing reflexions on the Ducheſs of Portſmouth and the Earl of Rocheſter; they, ſuſpecting Mr Dryden to be the author of it, hired three men, who took their opportunity to cudgel our Poet, in Will's coffee-houſe in Covent-Garden, the 16th of December, at eight of the clock at night. We give you this ſtory on the authority of Anthony Wood (31).

(31) Ath. Oxon. col. 805, 806.

[*H*] *His Abſalom and Achitophel.*] This poem, which was at firſt printed without the author's name, is a ſevere ſatire on the contrivers and abettors of the rebellion, againſt King Charles II, under the Duke of Monmouth; and may ſerve to convince us of what Mr Dryden ſays in the preface, that *he could write ſeverely with more eaſe than he could gently*. 'The 'violent, *ſays he*, on both ſides, will condemn the 'character of *Abſalom* (*), as either too favourably, 'or too hardly drawn: but they are not the violent 'whom I deſire to pleaſe. The fault, on the right'hand, is to extenuate, palliate, and indulge; and to 'confeſs freely, I have endeavoured to commit it. Beſides

(*) The Duke of Monmouth.

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againſt Sedition (q) [I]. In 1682, came out his *Religio Laici* (r) [K]. In 1684, he publiſhed

'Beſides the reſpect, which I owe his birth, I have a greater for his heroick virtues; and *David* himſelf (†) could not be more tender of the young man's life, than I would be of his reputation. But, ſince the moſt excellent natures are always the moſt eaſy; and, as being ſuch, are the ſooneſt perverted by ill counſels, eſpecially when baited with fame and glory; 'tis no more a wonder that he withſtood not the temptations of *Achitophel* (‖), than it was for Adam to have reſiſted the temptation of the two devils, the ſerpent and the woman (32).' Mr Dryden goes on to aſſign the reaſon why he left the ſubject unfiniſhed. 'The concluſion of the ſtory, *ſays he*, I purpoſely forbore to proſecute, becauſe I could not obtain from myſelf to ſhew *Abſalom* unfortunate. The frame of it was cut out but for a picture to the waiſt; and if the draught be ſo far true, 'tis as much as I deſigned. Were I the inventor, who am only the Hiſtorian, I ſhould certainly conclude the piece with the reconcilement of *Abſalom* to *David*. And who knows but this may come to paſs? things were not brought to extremity where I left the ſtory: there ſeems, yet, to be room left for a compoſure; hereafter, there may be only for pity. I have not ſo much as an uncharitable wiſh againſt *Achitophel*; but am content to be accuſed of a good-natured error, and to hope with *Origen*, that the *devil* himſelf may, at laſt, be ſaved. For which reaſon, in this poem, he is neither brought to ſet his houſe in order, nor to diſpoſe of his perſon afterwards, as he in wiſdom ſhall think fit (33).'

This poem is celebrated in ſome commendatory verſes, addreſſed to the then *unknown* and *concealed* author, by Mr Nat. Lee, Mr Richard Duke, and Mr N. Tate. The firſt of theſe gentlemen affirms,

'Tis ſpirit ſeen, whoſe fiery atoms roul
So brightly fierce, each ſyllable's a ſoul (34).

The ſecond tells Mr Dryden,

Not David's ſelf could in a nobler verſe
His glorioſly offending ſon rehearſe,
Tho' in his breaſt the Prophet's fury met,
The father's fondneſs, and the Poet's wit (35).

And the laſt repreſents him as triumphing over the *idol cauſe* of faction and rebellion:

That cauſe, whoſe growth to cruſh our Prelates wrote
In vain, almoſt in vain our heroes fought;
Yet by one ſtab of your keen ſatire dies:
Before your ſacred lines their ſhatter'd *Dagon* lies (36).

There are two tranſlations, in Latin verſe, of Mr Dryden's *Abſalom and Achitophel*: one by Dr William Coward, a Phyſician, of Merton-college in Oxford; publiſhed in 4*to* at Oxford 1682 (37): the other by Dr Francis Atterbury, afterwards biſhop of Rocheſter; publiſhed the ſame year in 4*to* (38). That the reader may judge a little of the comparative merit of theſe two tranſlations, we ſhall tranſcribe a few lines from the beginning of the original, and ſubjoin the different verſions.

The *Original*.

In pious times, e're prieſt-craft did begin,
Before polygamy was made a ſin;
When man on many multiply'd his kind;
E're one to one was, curſedly, confin'd;
When nature prompted, and no law deny'd,
Promiſcuous uſe of concubine and bride:
Then Iſrael's Monarch, after Heaven's own heart,
His vig'rous warmth did variouſly impart
To wives and ſlaves; and, wide as his command,
Scatter'd his maker's image thro' the land (39).

Dr Coward's *Tranſlation*.

Nondum myſtarum pia fraus eluſerat orbem,
Nondum uni conjux porrexerat ora capiſtro;
Sed ſimilem amplexa eſt, natura urgente, maritum
Sponſaque, et innocuo reſidens in fornice pellex.
Tunc qui Judaicas rerum flectebat habenas,
Jeſſides, cœlo charum caput, integer ævi,
Igne pari nuptas arſit, ſervaſque, tonantis
Ectypa ſyderei brevibus tranſcripta tabellis
Diffundens lati vaga per confinia regni.

Dr Atterbury's *Tranſlation*.

Cognovere pias nondum pia ſæcula fraudes
Arte ſacerdotum, nondum vetuere maritos
Multiplici celebrare jugo connubia leges;
Cum vir ſponſarum numeraverat agmen, et uni
Non ſervare toro, fato adverſante, coactus
Plurima fertilibus produxit ſtemmata lumbis;
Cum ſtimulos natura daret, nec legibus ullis
Et ſponſæ et lenæ vetitum eſt commune cubile;
Tunc Iſraelis, cælo cedente, Monarcha
Concubitu vario vernas nuptaſque fovebat;
Quaque erat Imperii limes, ibi meſſe feraci
Tranſcripta Archetypi ſparſim generatur imago.

An Anſwer was publiſhed to Mr Dryden's *Abſalom and Achitophel*, intitled, *Azariah and Huſhai, a Poem*, Lond. 1682, in 4*to*, ſaid to be written by Mr Elkanah Settle. *A Second Part of Abſalom and Achitophel* was undertaken, and written, by Mr Tate, at the requeſt, and under the direction, of Mr Dryden, who wrote near two hundred lines of it himſelf, beginning with

Next theſe a troop of buſy ſpirits preſs,

and ending with

To talk like *Doeg*, and to write like thee (40);

beſides ſome touches in other places.

[*I*] *His Medal, a Satire againſt Sedition.*] This poem was occaſioned by the ſtriking of a medal, on account of the indictment againſt the Earl of Shafteſbury, for high-treaſon, being found *ignoramus* by the Grand-Jury at the Old Bailey, in November 1681; for which the Whig party made great rejoicings, by ringing of bells, bonefires, &c. in all parts of London (41). The poem is introduced with a very ſatirical *Epiſtle to the Whigs*; in which the author ſays: 'I have one favour to deſire of you at parting, that when you think of anſwering this poem, you would employ the ſame pens againſt it, who have combated with ſo much ſucceſs againſt *Abſalom and Achitophel*; for then you may aſſure yourſelves of a clear victory without the leaſt reply. Rail at me abundantly; and, not to break a cuſtom, do it without wit. By this method you will gain a conſiderable point, which is wholly to wave the anſwer of my arguments. —— If God has not bleſſed you with the talent of rhiming, make uſe of my poor ſtock and welcome: let your verſes run upon my feet; and for the utmoſt refuge of notorious blockheads, reduced to the laſt extremity of ſenſe, turn my own lines upon me, and, in utter deſpair of your own ſatire, make me ſatirize myſelf (42). The whole poem is a ſevere invective againſt the Earl of Shafteſbury, and the Whig party. Mr Elkanah Settle wrote an anſwer to this poem, intituled, *The Medal Revers'd*, Lond. 1681, 4*to*.

[*K*] *His Religio Laici.*] The whole title is: *Religio Laici, or, A Lay-man's Faith*. This piece is intended as a defence of Reveal'd Religion, and the excellency and authority of the Scriptures, as the only Rule of Faith and Manners, againſt Deiſts, Papiſts, and Preſbyterians. The author acquaints us, in the preface, that it was written for an ingenious young Gentleman, his friend, upon his tranſlation of Father Simon's *Critical Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament*; and that the ſtyle of it is *Epiſtolary*. Whereupon he adds: 'If any one be ſo lamentable a critick, as to require the ſmoothneſs, the numbers, and the turn of heroick poetry in publiſhed a Tranſlation of M. *Maimbourg's Hiſtory of the League*; in which he was employed by the command of King Charles II, on account of the plain parallel between the troubles of *France* and thoſe of *Great Britain* (s). Upon the death of King Charles II, he wrote his *Threnodia Auguſtalis*; *A Poem ſacred to the happy Memory of* that Prince (t). Soon after the acceſſion of King James II, our author turned Roman Catholick [L]; and, in 1686, he wrote *A Defence of the Papers written by the late King of bleſſed Memory, and found in his ſtrong box* [M]. In 1687, he publiſhed his *Hind and Panther* [N], *A Poem* (u); and, in 1688, his *Britannia Rediviva, a Poem on the Birth of the Prince* (w). He

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(q) Ib. p. 189.

(r) Ib. p. 209.

(†) King Charles.

(‖) Lord Shafteſbury.

(32) Original Poems, &c. Vol. I. p. 146, 147.

(33) Ibid.

(34) Ib. p. 1.

(35) Ib. p. 3.

(36) Ib. p. 4.

(37) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 230.

(38) Id. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1063.

(39) Original Poems, &c. Vol. I. p. 151.

(40) Ib. p. 182.

(41) See Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 390.

(42) Original Poems, &c. Vol. I. p. 195, 196.

(s) See the Epiſtle Dedicatory to the King.

(t) Original Poems, &c. Vol. I. p. 106.

(u) Ib. p. 243.

(w) Ib. p. 123.

' in this Poem, I muſt tell him, that if he has not ' read *Horace*, I have ſtudied him, and hope the ſtyle ' of his *Epiſtles* is not ill imitated here. The expreſ‑' ſions of a poem, deſigned purely for inſtruction, ' ought to be plain and natural, and yet majeſtick; ' for here the Poet is preſumed to be a kind of Law‑' giver, and thoſe three qualities, which I have named, ' are proper to the legiſlative ſtyle (43).'

(43) Ib. p. 225.

[*L*] *He turned Roman Catholick.*] Upon this occaſion, Mr T Brown wrote *The Reaſons of Mr Bays's changing his Religion conſidered, in a Dialogue between* Crites, Eugenius, *and Mr* Bays. London, 1688, in 4*to*. Alſo, *The late Converts expoſed: Or, The Reaſons of Mr* Bays's *changing his Religion conſidered, in a Dialogue*; *Part the Second.* London, 1690, in 4*to*. There likewiſe appeared another piece againſt Mr Dryden, intituled, *The Revolter*; *A Tragi-Comedy, acted between the* Hind and Panther *and* Religio Laici. London, 1687, in 4*to*.

[*M*] *His Defence of the Papers written by the late King of bleſſed Memory, and found in his ſtrong box*] This piece was written in oppoſition to Dr Stillingfleet's *Anſwer to ſome Papers lately printed, concerning the Authority of the Catholick Church, in Matters of Faith, and the Reformation of the Church of England.* London, 1686, in 4*to*. Mr Dryden, in the abovementioned piece, takes occaſion, from the two *Papers*, publiſhed by King James II. and by him affirmed to have been found in the Strong Box of the deceaſed King Charles II (44), to vindicate the authority of the Catholick Church, in decreeing Matters of Faith, upon this principle, that, *The Church is more viſible than the Scripture, becauſe the Scripture is ſeen by the Church* (45); and to abuſe the Reformation in England, which, he affirms (46), *Was erected on the Foundation of Luſt, Sacrilege, and Uſurpation.* Dr Stillingfleet, hereupon, publiſhed *A Vindication of the Anſwer to ſome late Papers*, London, 1687, in 4*to*; in which he treats Mr Dryden with ſome ſeverity: And another author (47) obſerved, that this Tract of Mr Dryden ' Is very light, and in ſome places even ' ridiculous; and ſhews that the author's talent lay to‑' wards controverſy no more in *proſe*, than it appears ' by the *Hind and Panther* it did in *verſe*.'

(44) See the Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 422.

(45) Defence, &c. p. 2, 3.

(46) Ibid.

(47) The author of the Continuation of the preſent State of the Controverſy between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, &c. Lond. 1688, 4to. p. 28.

[*N*] *His Hind and Panther.*] It is divided into three parts, and is a direct defence of the Romiſh Church, chiefly by way of dialogue between a *Hind*, who repreſents the Church of Rome, and a *Panther*, who ſuſtains the character of the Church of England. Theſe two beaſts very learnedly diſcuſs the ſeveral points controverted between the two Churches, as, Tranſubſtantiation, Church-Authority, Infallibility, &c. In the preface, the author tells us, this Poem ' Was ' neither impoſed on him, nor ſo much as the ſubject ' given him by any man. It was written, *ſays he*, ' during the laſt winter, and the beginning of this ' ſpring, though with long interruptions of ill health, ' and other hindrances. About a fortnight before I ' had finiſhed it, his Majeſty's *Declaration for Liberty* ' *of Conſcience* came abroad; which, if I had ſo ſoon ' expected, I might have ſpared myſelf the labour of ' writing many things which are contained in the third ' Part of it. But I was always in ſome hope, the ' Church of England might have been perſuaded to ' have taken off the *Penal Laws*, and the *Teſt*, which ' was one deſign of the Poem, when I propoſed to ' myſelf the writing of it. 'Tis evident that ſome ' part of it was only occaſional, and not firſt intend‑' ed: I mean that defence of myſelf, to which every ' honeſt man is bound, when he is injuriouſly attacked ' in print (48).' Mr Dryden then lets us into the ſubject matter of the Poem, and the ſtyle in which it is written. ' The *Firſt* Part, *ſays he*, conſiſting moſt ' in general characters and narration, I have endeavoured to raiſe, and give it the majeſtick turn of ' heroick Poeſy. The *Second*, being matter of diſ‑' pute, and chiefly concerning Church-Authority, I ' was obliged to make as plain and perſpicuous as poſ‑' ſibly I could; yet not wholly neglecting the numbers, ' though I had not frequent occaſions for the magni‑' ficence of verſe. The *Third*, which has more of the ' nature of domeſtick converſation, is, or ought to be, ' more free and familiar than the two former. There ' are in it two *Epiſodes* or *Fables*, which are inter‑' woven with the main deſign; ſo that they are pro‑' perly parts of it, though they are alſo diſtinct ſtories ' of themſelves. In both of theſe I have made uſe ' of the common-places of ſatire, whether true or ' falſe, which are urged by the members of the one ' Church againſt the other (49).' In the *Firſt Part*, Mr Dryden ſpeaks of his own *converſion* in the following terms:

(48) Original Poems, &c. p. 247, 248.

(49) Ib. p. 249, 250.

But, gracious God, how well do'ſt thou provide
For erring judgments an unerring guide!
Thy throne is darkneſs in th' abyſs of light,
A blaze of glory that forbids the ſight.
O teach me to believe thee thus conceal'd,
And ſearch no farther than thyſelf reveal'd;
But her alone for my director take,
Whom thou haſt promis'd never to forſake!
My thoughtleſs youth was wing'd with vain deſires;
My manhood, long miſled by wandring fires,
Follow'd falſe lights; and when their glimpſe was gone,
My pride ſtruck out new ſparkles of her own.
Such was I, ſuch by nature ſtill I am;
Be thine the glory, and be mine the ſhame.
Good life be now my taſk; my doubts are done—— (50).

(50) Ib. p. 253.

The *Third Part* begins with an Apology for the Fable or Contrivance of this Poem; as if Mr Dryden foreſaw the ridicule, to which it would expoſe him.

Much malice, mingled with a little wit,
Perhaps, may cenſure this myſterious writ;
Becauſe the Muſe has peopled *Caledon*
With Panthers, Bears, and Wolves, and Beaſts unknown,
As if we were not ſtock'd with monſters of our own.
Let *Æſop* anſwer, who has ſet to view
Such kinds as Greece and Phrygia never knew;
And mother *Hubbard*, in her homely dreſs,
Has ſharply blam'd a *Britiſh Lioneſs*——
Led by theſe great examples, may not I
The wanted organs of their words ſupply (51)?

(51) Ib. p. 290.

This Poem was immediately attacked by the wits, particularly by Mr Charles Montague, afterwards Earl of Halifax, and Mr Matthew Prior, who joined in writing *The Hind and Panther tranſverſed to the Story of the Country Mouſe and the City Mouſe*. London, 1687, 4*to*. In the preface to which, the authors obſerve, That Mr Dryden's Poem ' Naturally falls into ' ridicule,' and that, in this burleſque, ' Nothing is ' repreſented as monſtrous, and unnatural, which is ' not equally ſo in the original.' They afterwards remark, that ' We have this comfort under the ſeverity ' of Mr Dryden's Satire, to ſee his abilities equally ' leſſened with his opinion of us; and that he could ' not be a fit champion againſt the *Panther*, 'till he

' had

He was ſuppoſed to have been engaged in tranſlating M. Varillas's *Hiſtory of Hereſies*, but to have dropped that deſign [*O*]. At the Revolution, having diſqualified himſelf for Court favours, by turning Papiſt, he was diſmiſſed from the office of Poet-Laureat [*P*], in which he was ſucceeded by Mr Thomas Shadwell; againſt whom he wrote his *Mac Flecknoe* [*Q*]. The ſame year he publiſhed *The Life of St Francis Xavier*; tranſlated from the French of Father Dominic Bouhours. In 1693, came out a Tranſlation of *Juvenal* and *Perſius* [*R*]; in which, the *firſt*, *third*, *ſixth*, *tenth*, and *ſixteenth Satires* of *Juvenal*, and *Perſius entire*, were done by Mr Dryden, who prefixed a long and beautiful *Diſcourſe*, by way of *Dedication* to the Earl of Dorſet (*x*). He contributed likewiſe to the Tranſlation of *Ovid's Metamorphoſes*, publiſhed, ſeveral years after his death, by Dr Garth; in which, the *firſt Book*; the Story of *Meleagar* and *Atalanta* in the *eighth*; that of *Baucis* and *Philemon* in the ſame; the Fable of *Iphis* and *Ianthe* in the *ninth*; that of *Pygmalion* and the *Statue* in the *tenth*; the Story of *Cinyras* and *Myrrha*, in the ſame; that of *Ceyx* and *Alcyone* in the *eleventh*; the *twelfth Book*; the *Speeches* of *Ajax* and *Ulyſſes*, and the *Death* of *Ajax*, in the *thirteenth*; the Story of *Acis* and *Galatea*, in the ſame; and the *Pythagorean Philoſophy* in the *fifteenth*; are Mr Dryden's (*y*). In 1695, he publiſhed a Tranſlation, in proſe, of M. *Du Freſnoy's Art of Painting* [*S*]; and, in 1697, a Tranſlation

(*x*) See the remark [*R*].

(*y*) See Original Poems, &c. Vol. II. p. 150, &c. See alſo Mr Dryden's Fables. Lond. 1734. 12*mo*. p. 80, 115, 123, 127, 200, 240, 265, and 299.

'had laid aſide all his judgment.' Dr Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury, ſpeaks with great ſeverity of this Poem, as well as of it's author (52).

(52) See the next remark.

[*O*] *He was ſuppoſed to have been engaged in tranſlating M. Varillas's Hiſtory of Hereſies, but to have dropped that deſign.*] This we learn from a paſſage in Dr G. Burnet's *Defence of the Reflexions on the Ninth Book of the firſt Volume of M. Varillas's Hiſtory of Hereſies. Being a Reply to his Anſwer* (53). The Doctor ſays: 'I have been informed from England, that a Gentleman, who is famous both for poetry, and ſeveral other things, has ſpent three months in tranſlating M. Varillas's *Hiſtory*; but that, as ſoon as my *Reflexions* appeared, he diſcontinued his labour, finding the credit of his author was gone. Now, if he thinks it is recovered by his *Anſwer*, he will perhaps go on with his tranſlation; and this may be, for ought I know, as good an entertainment for him, as the converſation he has ſet on foot between the *Hinds* and *Panthers*, and all the reſt of the animals; for whom M. Varillas may ſerve well enough as an author; and this *Hiſtory* and that *Poem* are ſuch extraordinary things of their kind, that it will be but ſuitable to ſee the author of the *worſt Poem* become likewiſe the tranſlator of the *worſt Hiſtory*, that the age has produced. If his grace and his wit improve both proportionably, we ſhall hardly find, that he has gained much by the change he has made, from having no religion to chooſe one of the worſt. It is true, he had ſomewhat to ſink from in matter of *wit*; but as for his *morals*, it is ſcarce poſſible for him to grow a worſe man than he was. He has lately wreaked his malice on me for ſpoiling his three months labour; but in it he has done me all the honour that a man can receive from him; which is to be railed at by him. If I had ill-nature enough to prompt me to wiſh a very bad wiſh for him, it ſhould be, that he would go on and finiſh his *tranſlation*. By that it will appear, whether the Engliſh nation, which is the moſt competent judge in this matter, has, upon the ſeeing our debate, pronounced in M. Varillas's favour or me. It is true, Mr D. will ſuffer a little by it; but at leaſt it will ſerve to keep him in from other extravagancies; and if he gains little honour by this work, yet he cannot loſe ſo much by it as he has done by his laſt employment.' This paſſage, beſides the fact it lets us into, ſhews how ill an opinion Dr Burnet had entertained of Mr Dryden (54).

(53) Pag. 138, 139. Amſterd. 1687. 12mo.

(54) See the remark [*Z*].

[*P*] *He was diſmiſſed from the office of Poet-Laureat*] Mr Mat. Prior, in the *Dedication* of his *Poems* to the Earl of Dorſet and Middleſex, having ſaid of the great Earl of Dorſet, that 'he was ſo inviolable in his friendſhip, and ſo kind to the character of thoſe whom he had once honoured with a more intimate acquaintance, that nothing leſs than a demonſtration of ſome eſſential fault could make him break with them; and then too his good nature did not conſent to it without the greateſt reluctance and difficulty:' adds; 'Let me give one inſtance of this among many. When, as Lord Chamberlain, he was obliged to take the King's penſion from Mr Dryden, who had long before put himſelf out of a poſſibility of receiving any favour from the Court; my Lord allowed him an equivalent out of his own eſtate. However diſpleaſed with the conduct of his old acquaintance, he relieved his neceſſities; and while he gave him his aſſiſtance in private, in publick he extenuated and pitied his error.'

[*Q*] *His Mac Flecknoe.*] This is one of the beſt, and ſevereſt, ſatires in the Engliſh language. Mr Richard Flecknoe, with whoſe name it is inſcribed, was a very indifferent Poet of thoſe times (55), or rather, as Mr Dryden expreſſes it (56),

In proſe and verſe, was own'd, without diſpute,
Thro' all the realms of *nonſenſe*, abſolute.

(55) Langbaine, ubi ſupra, p. 199.

(56) Original Poems, &c. Vol. I. p. 136.

[*R*] *The Tranſlation of Juvenal and Perſius.*] In the *Dedication* to the Earl of Dorſet, Mr Dryden gives us the following account of this tranſlation: 'I would excuſe, *ſays he* (57), the performance of this tranſlation, if it were all my own; but the better, tho' not the greater, part being the work of ſome gentlemen, who have ſucceeded very happily in their undertaking; let their excellencies atone for my imperfections, and thoſe of my ſon's. I have peruſed ſome of the *Satires*, which are done by other hands; and they ſeem to me as perfect in their kind, as any thing I have ſeen in Engliſh verſe. The common way, which we have taken, is not a *literal tranſlation*, but a kind of *paraphraſe*; or ſomewhat which is yet more looſe, betwixt a paraphraſe and imitation. It was not poſſible for us, or any men, to have made it pleaſant any other way. If rendering the exact ſenſe of theſe authors, almoſt line for line, had been our buſineſs, *Barten Holiday* had done it already to our hands.——But he wrote for fame, and wrote to ſcholars. We write only for the pleaſure and entertainment of thoſe Gentlemen and Ladies, who, though they are not ſcholars, are not ignorant: perſons of underſtanding and good ſenſe; who, not having been converſant in the original, or at leaſt not having made Latin verſe ſo much their buſineſs, as to be Criticks in it, would be glad to find, if the wit of our two great authors be anſwerable to their fame and reputation in the world.—— This muſt be ſaid for our tranſlation, that if we give not the whole ſenſe of *Juvenal*, yet we give the moſt conſiderable part of it: we give it, in general, ſo clearly, that few notes are ſufficient to make us intelligible.—— If ſometimes any of us (and 'tis but ſeldom) make him expreſs the cuſtoms and manners of our native country, rather than of Rome; 'tis either when there was ſome kind of analogy betwixt their cuſtoms and ours, or when, to make him more eaſy to vulgar underſtandings, we give him thoſe manners, which are familiar to us.'

(57) Dedication, p. 107.

[*S*] *His Tranſlation of M. Du Freſnoy's Art of Painting.*] The *Second Edition, corrected and enlarged*, was publiſhed at London, in 1716. The Title is: *The Art of Painting: By C. A. Du Freſnoy: With Remarks: Tranſlated into Engliſh; with an Original Preface, containing a Parallel between Painting and Poetry: By Mr Dryden. As alſo a ſhort account of the moſt eminent Painters, both ancient and modern:* By R. G. (*) Eſq; It is dedicated to the Earl of Burlington. The editor acquaints us (58), that ſome liberties have been taken with this excellent tranſlation; of which

(*) Richard Graham.

(58) See the Dedication.

tion of all *Virgil's Werks* [*T*]. Beſides the *Original Pieces* and *Tranſlations* hitherto mentioned, Mr Dryden wrote many others, publiſhed in the *Six Volumes* of *Miſcellanies* (z), and

which he gives the following account. ‘ The miſfortune that attended him (Mr *Dryden*) in that undertaking, was, that, for want of a competent knowledge in *Painting*, he ſuffered himſelf to be miſled by an unſkillful guide. Monſ. *de Piles* told him, that his *French Verſion* was made at the requeſt of the author himſelf, and alter'd by him till it was wholly to his mind. This Mr *Dryden* taking upon content, thought there was nothing more incumbent on him, than to put it into the beſt *Engliſh* he cou'd, and accordingly perform'd his part here (as in every thing elſe) with accuracy. But, it being manifeſt that the *French* tranſlator has frequently miſtaken the ſenſe of his author, and very often alſo not ſet it in the moſt advantageous light; to do juſtice to Monſ. *du Freſnoy*, Mr *Jervas* (a very good Critick in the *language*, as well as in the *ſubject* of the Poem) has been prevailed upon to correct what was found amiſs: and his amendments are every where diſtinguiſhed with proper marks.’ Mr Dryden, in his *Preface* (59), tells us, it was not of his own choice that he undertook this work. ‘ Many, *ſays he*, of our moſt ſkillful Painters, and other Artiſts, were pleaſed to recommend this author to me, as one who perfectly underſtood the rules of painting, who gave the beſt and moſt conciſe inſtructions for performance, and the ſureſt to form the judgment of all who loved this noble art.’ He freely owns, he thought himſelf uncapable of performing this tranſlation, either to the ſatiſfaction of others, or his own credit. ‘ Not, *ſays he* (60), but that I underſtood the original *Latin*, and the *French* author, perhaps as well as moſt Engliſhmen: but I was not ſufficiently verſed in the *Terms of Art*.’ However, having obtained the aſſiſtance of others in this particular, he tells the reader, he may aſſure himſelf of a tolerable tranſlation. ‘ In this one particular only, *ſays he*, I muſt beg the reader's pardon: the *proſe tranſlation* of the poem is not free from *poetical* expreſſions, and I dare not promiſe, that ſome of them are not fuſtian, or at leaſt highly metaphorical; but this being a fault in the firſt digeſtion (that is, the original *Latin*) was not to be remedied in the ſecond, *viz.* the tranſlation.’ When Mr Dryden undertook this work, he was already engag'd, he tells us (61), in the Tranſlation of *Virgil*, from whom he borrowed only two months; and he acquaints us (62), that his *preface* was begun and ended in twelve mornings: ‘ and perhaps, *ſays he*, the judges of Painting and Poetry, when I tell them how ſhort a time it coſt me, may make me the ſame anſwer, which my Lord Rocheſter made to one, who, to commend a bad Tragedy, ſaid it was written in three weeks; *How the Devil could he be ſo long about it?*’ Mr Pope has addreſſed a copy of verſes *To Mr* Jervas, *with* Freſnoy'*s Art of Painting, tranſlated by* Mr Dryden; in which are theſe lines:

Read theſe inſtructive leaves, in which conſpire
Freſnoy's cloſe art, and *Dryden*'s native fire:
And reading wiſh, like theirs, our fate and fame,
So mix'd our ſtudies, and ſo join'd our name;
Like them to ſhine thro' long ſucceeding age,
So juſt thy ſkill, ſo regular my rage (63).

[*T*] *His Tranſlation of Virgil.*] It has paſſed thro' ſeveral editions, and appeared in various forms. The *Paſtorals* (or *Eclogues*) are dedicated to Hugh Lord Clifford, Baron of Chudleigh. Mr Dryden tells his patron, ‘ What *he* now offers his Lordſhip, is the wretched remainder of a ſickly age (*), worn out with ſtudy, and oppreſſed by fortune; without other ſupport than the conſtancy and patience of a Chriſtian (64);’ and he adds (65), that he began this work in his great *climacterick*. The *Life of Virgil*, which follows this *Dedication*, the two *Prefaces* to the *Paſtorals* and *Georgicks*, and all the *Arguments* in proſe to the whole Tranſlation, were given him, he tells us (66) by two worthy friends of his (‖), who, ſeeing him ſtraitened in his time, took pity on him, and lent him their aſſiſtance. Beſides which, Mr Dryden had the advantage of peruſing the Earl of Lauderdale's tranſlation of the *Æneis*; of which he gives us the following account: ‘ The late Earl of Lauderdale ſent me over his new tranſlation of the *Æneis*; which he had ended before I engaged in the ſame deſign. Neither did I then intend it: but ſome propoſals being afterwards made me by my Bookſeller, I deſired his Lordſhip's leave that I might accept them; which he freely granted, and I have his letter yet to ſhew for that permiſſion. He reſolved to have printed his work; which he might have done two years before I could publiſh mine; and had performed it, if death had not prevented him (†) But having his manuſcript in my hands, I conſulted it as often as I doubted of my author's ſenſe. For no man underſtood Virgil better than that learned nobleman (67).’ Mr Congreve, likewiſe, he tells us (68), did him the favour to reviſe the *Æneis*, and compare his verſion with the original. And, ‘ I ſhall never be aſhamed to own, *adds Mr* Dryden, that this excellent young man has ſhewed me many faults, which I have endeavoured to correct.’ The tranſlation of the *Georgicks* is dedicated to the Earl of Cheſterfield; and That of the *Æneis* to the Earl of Mulgrave. This latter *dedication* contains the author's thoughts on *Epic Poetry*, particularly that of *Virgil*. At the end of the *Æneis*, is *A poſtſcript to the reader*; in which Mr Dryden acquaints him (69), that the *Firſt Georgick*, and the greateſt part of the *laſt Æneid*, were tranſlated at *Denham-Court*, the houſe of Sir *William Bowyer*; and the *Seventh Æneid*, at *Burleigh*, the ſeat of the Earl of *Exeter*. And ſpeaking of ſome particular parts of Virgil, tranſlated by other hands, he ſays: ‘ Whoever has given the world the tranſlation of part of the *Third Georgic*, which he calls *The Power of Love*, has put me to ſufficient pains to make my own not inferior to his: As my Lord *Roſcommon*'s *Silenus* had formerly given me the ſame trouble. The moſt ingenious Mr *Addiſon* of Oxford has alſo been as troubleſome to me as the other two, and on the ſame account: After his *Bees*, my little ſwarm is ſcarcely worth the hiving. Mr *Cowley*'s *Praiſe of a Country Life*, is rather an imitation of *Virgil*, than a verſion (70).’ Mr Dryden likewiſe informs us (71), that, when he began this work, Gilbert Dolben, Eſq; ſon of Dr Dolben, Archbiſhop of York, made him a preſent of all the ſeveral Editions of *Virgil*, and all the Commentaries of thoſe Editions in *Latin*: ‘ Amongſt which, *ſays he*, I could not but prefer the *Dauphin*'s, as the laſt, the ſhorteſt, and the moſt judicious. *Fabrini* I had alſo ſent me from *Italy*; but either he underſtands *Virgil* very imperfectly, or I have no knowledge of my author.’ The *Poſtſcript* is followed by ſome *Notes and Obſervations on Virgil*'s *Works in Engliſh*, which, the author tells us (72), he wrote *par maniere d' acquit*, becauſe he had obliged himſelf by articles to do ſomewhat of that kind.—— It is generally allowed, that Mr Dryden's tranſlation of *Virgil* is, upon the whole, extremely well performed; at leaſt, better than by any other Poet in any other language. Dr Felton ſays in it's commendation, that ‘ Thoſe who excel him, where they obſerve he hath failed, will fall below him in a thouſand inſtances where he hath excelled (73):’ And Mr Pope, the beſt Poet of his times, ſpeaking of Mr Dryden's tranſlation of ſome parts of *Homer*, ſays, ‘ Had he tranſlated the whole work, I would no more have attempted *Homer* after him, than *Virgil*; his verſion of whom (notwithſtanding ſome human errors) is the moſt noble and ſpirited tranſlation I know in any language (74).’ Dr Trapp (75) charges Mr Dryden with groſly miſtaking his author's ſenſe in many places; with adding or retrenching, as his turn is beſt ſerved by either; and with being leaſt a tranſlator, where he ſhines moſt as a Poet: and whereas it is a juſt rule laid down by my Lord Roſcommon, that a tranſlator, in regard to his author, ſhould

Fall as he falls, and as he riſes riſe;

Mr Dryden, he tells us, frequently acts the very reverſe of this precept; of which he produces ſome inſtances, and remarks in general, that the firſt ſix Books of

(z) Printed ſeveral times for J. Tonſon.

(59) P. 1.

(60) Pref. p. 3.

(61) Ib. p. 4.

(62) Ib. p. 60.

(63) Works of A. Pope, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 67. edit. 1735. 8vo.

(*) Mr Dryden was then ſixty-ſix years old.

(64) The Works of Virgil, &c. edit. 1721. 12mo. Vol. I. p. 7.

(65) Ib. p. 8.

(66) Ib. Vol. III. p. 435.

(‖) The Preface to (or Eſſay on) the Georgicks was written by Mr Addiſon.

(†) My Lord Lauderdale's Tranſlation has been ſince publiſhed.

(67) Ib. p. 434, 435.

(68) Ibid.

(69) Ib. p. 1005.

(70) Ib. p. 1007.

(71) Ib. p. 1005.

(72) Ib. p. 1007, 1008.

(73) Diſſertation on reading the Claſſicks, &c. Lond. 1730. p. 130.

(74) Preface to the Iliad of Homer, tranſlated by Mr Pope.

(75) See his Works of Virgil, tranſlated into Engliſh blank Verſe, &c. Lond. 1735. 12mo. Pref. to the Æneis, p. 83—89.

and in other collections. They conſiſt of *Tranſlations* from the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets; *Epiſtles* to ſeveral perſons; *Prologues* and *Epilogues* to various Plays, and on various occaſions; *Elegies*; *Epitaphs*; and *Songs* (*a*). His laſt work was his *Fables* [*U*], *Ancient and Modern*; *tranſlated into Verſe from Homer*, *Ovid*, *Boccace*, *and Chaucer*. A new Collection of our author's *Poetical Works* has been lately publiſhed (*b*), under the title of *Original Poems and Tranſlations, by John Dryden, Eſq*; *now firſt collected and publiſhed together* [*W*]. As to his performances in *proſe*, beſides thoſe already mentioned, he wrote the *Lives* of *Plutarch* and *Lucian*, prefixed to the tranſlations of thoſe authors by ſeveral hands; the *Life* of *Polybius*, before the tranſlation of that Hiſtorian by Sir Henry Sheer; and the *Preface* to the *Dialogue concerning Women*, by Wm. Walſh, Eſq; This great Poet died the firſt of May 1701 (*c*), and was interred in Weſtminſter-Abbey [*X*], where a monument has been ſince erected over him, by John late Duke of Bucks [*Y*]. We ſhall ſet down his character, as

(*a*) See Original Poems, &c. Vol. II.

(*b*) For J. and R. Tonſon. In two Vols. 12mo. Lond. 1743.

(*c*) See his epitaph in the remark [*Y*].

of the *Æneis*, which are the beſt and moſt perfect in the Original, are the leaſt ſo in the Tranſlation, and the ſix laſt Books *vice verſa*.

[*U*] *His Fables.*] To this work is prefixed, by way of *Preface*, a critical Account of the authors, from whom the *Fables* are tranſlated. Among the original pieces, the *Ode on St Cecilia's Day* is juſtly eſteemed one of the moſt perfect in any language, and has been ſet to muſick more than once; particularly, in the winter of the Year 1735, by that great maſter Mr Handel; and publickly performed, with the utmoſt applauſe, on the Theatre in Covent-Garden. Mr Pope has celebrated this Ode in the following lines:

> Hear how *Timotheus'* vary'd lays ſurprize,
> And bid alternate paſſions fall and riſe!
> While, at each change, the ſon of *Libyan Jove*
> Now burns with glory, and then melts with love:
> Now his fierce eyes with ſparkling fury glow;
> Now ſighs ſteal out, and tears begin to flow:
> *Perſians* and *Greeks* like turns of nature found,
> And the world's victor ſtood ſubdu'd by ſound:
> The *Power of Muſick* all our hearts allow;
> And what *Timotheus* was, is *Dryden* now (76).

All the other parts of this *Miſcellany* are ſo excellent, that the reader muſt think Mr *Dryden* (as, he tells us (77), he thought himſelf) *as vigorous as ever in the faculties of his ſoul*, though he was ſixty-eight years of age at the publication of this his *laſt Work*.

[*W*] *Original Poems and Tranſlations, by John Dryden, Eſq; now firſt collected and publiſhed together.*] The editor acquaints us in the *preface* with the motives to the publication of this collection. 'It was 'thought, *he tells us*, but juſtice to the productions of 'ſo excellent a poet, to ſet them free, at laſt, from 'ſo diſadvantageous, if not unnatural, an union (*viz.* '*of being blended with the Compoſitions of inferior* '*Writers*); an union, which, like the cruelty of *Mezentius* in *Virgil*, was no leſs than a junction of *living* and *dead* bodies together.' And a little farther: 'It is *now* high time the *Partnerſhip* ſhould be 'diſſolved, and Mr *Dryden* left to ſtand upon his own 'bottom. His *Credit*, as a *Poet*, is out of all danger, 'though the withdrawing his *Stock* may, probably, 'expoſe many of his *Co-Partners* to the hazard of a '*Poetical Bankruptcy*.' There is a collection of *Original Poems and Tranſlations by* Mr Dryden, publiſhed by *J. Tonſon*, in 1701, in a thin *folio*: But, as it contains not much above half the pieces, ſo it does not at all anſwer the deſign of this collection, which, with the author's *Plays*, *Fables*, and *Tranſlations* of *Virgil*, *Juvenal*, and *Perſius*, is intended to complete Mr Dryden's *Works* in *twelves*. The *Firſt volume* of this collection conſiſts of our author's *Larger Poems*; and the *Second*, of his *Tranſlations*, *Epiſtles*, *Prologues*, *Epilogues*, *Elegies*, *Epitaphs*, and *Songs*. Particular care, we are told, has been taken to render this edition as correct as poſſible, by reforming numberleſs errors of the preſs, which have been continued down through all editions hitherto publiſhed; but eſpecially by obſerving the ſtricteſt accuracy in the *pointing*: 'An article of correctneſs (*ſays the editor very juſtly*) 'too generally neglected, though ſo much of the '*beauty*, as well as the *perſpicuity*, of language depends upon it.'

[*X*] *He was interred in Weſtminſter-Abbey.*] There are ſome circumſtances, relating to the funeral of Mr Dryden, recorded in the *Memoirs of the Life of Mr Congreve* (78); with which we ſhall entertain the reader. The day after Mr Dryden's death, the Dean of Weſtminſter (79) ſent word to the Lady Elizabeth Howard, Mr Dryden's widow, that he would make a preſent of the ground, and all the other Abbey Fees. The Lord Halifax likewiſe ſent to the Lady Elizabeth, and Mr Charles Dryden her ſon, offering to defray the expences of our Poet's funeral, and afterwards to beſtow 500 pounds on a monument in the Abbey; which generous offer was accepted. Accordingly, on the Sunday following, the company being aſſembled, the corps was put into a velvet hearſe, attended by eighteen mourning coaches. When they were juſt ready to move, the Lord Jefferies, Son of the Lord Chancellor Jefferies, with ſome of his rakiſh companions, coming by, aſked whoſe funeral it was; and being told, it was Mr Dryden's, he proteſted, he ſhould not be buried in that private manner; that he would himſelf, with the Lady Elizabeth's leave, have the honour of his interment, and would beſtow a thouſand pounds on a monument in the Abbey for him. This put a ſtop to the proceſſion, and Lord Jefferies, with ſeveral of the Gentlemen, who had alighted from the coaches, went up ſtairs to the Lady Elizabeth, who was ſick in bed. His Lordſhip repeated the purport of what he had ſaid below; but the Lady Elizabeth abſolutely refuſing her conſent, he fell on his knees, vowing never to riſe till his requeſt was granted. The Lady, under a ſudden ſurprize, fainted away; and Lord Jefferies, pretending to have obtained her conſent, ordered the body to be carried to Mr Ruſſel's an undertaker in Cheapſide, and leave it there till farther Orders. In the mean time, the Abbey was lighted up, the ground opened, the Choir attending, and the Biſhop waiting ſome hours to no purpoſe for the corps. The next day, Mr Charles Dryden waited upon the Lord Halifax, and the Biſhop, and endeavoured in vain to excuſe his mother, by relating the truth. Three days after, the Undertaker, having received no orders, waited on the Lord Jefferies, who pretended, it was a drunken frolick, that he remembered nothing of the matter, and he might do what he pleaſed with the body. Upon this, the Undertaker waited on the Lady Elizabeth, who deſired a day's reſpite, which was granted. Mr Charles Dryden immediately wrote to the Lord Jefferies, who returned for anſwer, That he knew nothing of the matter, and would be troubled no more about it. Mr Dryden applied again to the Lord Halifax, and the Biſhop of Rocheſter, who abſolutely refuſed to do any thing in the affair. In this diſtreſs, Dr Garth ſent for the corps to the College of Phyſicians, and propoſed a funeral by ſubſcription: which ſucceeding, about three weeks after Mr Dryden's deceaſe, Dr Garth pronounced a fine Latin Oration over the body; which was conveyed from the College, attended by a numerous train of coaches, to Weſtminſter-Abbey. After the funeral, Mr Charles Dryden ſent a challenge to the Lord Jefferies, which the latter refuſed; and Mr Dryden publickly declaring, he would watch every opportunity to meet and fight him, his Lordſhip thought fit to leave the town upon it.

[*Y*] *A Monument has been ſince erected over him by John late Duke of Buckinghamſhire.*] Mr Dryden had no monument erected to him for ſeveral years; to which Mr Pope alludes in his *Epitaph intended for Mr Rowe* (80), in which is this line, ſpeaking of Dryden:

Beneath

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(76) Eſſay on Criticiſm, v. 376.

(77) In the Preface.

(78) Compiled, &c. by Charles Wilſon, Eſq; Lond. 1730. 8vo. Part ii. p. 3, &c.

(79) Dr Sprat, Biſhop of Rocheſter.

(80) Works of A. Pope, Eſq; edit. 1735. 12mo. Vol. II. p. 155.

repreſented by different writers, in the remark [Z]. It is inſinuated, that he had offered himſelf for Holy Orders, but was refuſed ; and had failed likewiſe in his application for the Provoſtſhip of Eaton-College (d). He himſelf tells us, he had formed a plan for an *Heroic Poem* (e) ; but he did not live to execute any part of it. Mr Dryden married the Lady

Beneath a rude and nameleſs ſtone he lies.

In a note upon which, we are informed, that the tomb of Mr Dryden was erected upon this hint by the Duke of Buckingham ; to which was originally intended this Epitaph :

This *Sheffield* rais'd : The ſacred duſt below
Was *Dryden* once : The reſt who does not know ?

Which the author ſince changed into the plain inſcription now upon it, being only the name of that great Poet. The Inſcription is,

J. DRYDEN.
Natus Aug. 9, 1631.
Mortuus Maii 1, 1701.
Johannes Sheffield, Dux Buckinghamienſis, fecit.

[Z] *Mr Dryden's Character, as repreſented by different writers.*] To ſhew our impartiality, we ſhall begin with Biſhop Burnet, who, ſpeaking of the corruption of the times, ſays : 'The *Stage* was defiled beyond all example, *Dryden*, the great maſter of Dramatic Poeſy, being a monſter of immodeſty and impurities of all Sorts (81).' The late Lord Landſdown took upon himſelf to vindicate Mr Dryden's Character from this ſevere imputation. He obſerves (82), that, 'He was ſo much a ſtranger to *Immodeſty*, that *Modeſty* in too great a degree was his failing. A monſter of impurities of all ſorts! *Adds his Lordſhip:* Good God! What an idea muſt That give! Is there any wickedneſs under the Sun, but what is comprized in thoſe few words? But, as it happens, he was the reverſe of all this, a man of regular life and converſation, as all his acquaintance can vouch. And, I cannot but grieve, that ſuch raſh expreſſions ſhould eſcape from a Biſhop's pen. If bearing falſe witneſs againſt one's neighbour is a breach of the Commandment, Can there be a more flagrant one than this?' His Lordſhip concludes with obſerving, that Mr Dryden's writings 'Will do honour to his name and country, and his Poems laſt as long as the Biſhop's Sermons.' Mr Burnet the Biſhop's ſon, in reply to this paſſage of my Lord Lanſdown's, obſerves (83), that *Immodeſty*, in the Biſhop's words, is not oppoſed to *Modeſty*. but *Chaſtneſs*, and that this expreſſion, as well as that of *Impurities of all Sorts*, can only be meant of *Dramatick Poeſy*, of which only the Biſhop was ſpeaking ; and have nothing to do with Mr Dryden's life and converſation. Indeed, he acknowledges, a writer more accurate in his ſtile, would rather have uſed the terms *obſcenities*. Whereupon he aſks : 'Are not Dryden's *Comedies* then full of obſcenities, of immodeſty, and impurities?' He inſtances in his *Limberham, or The Kind Keeper* ; and then ſays : 'Where is the Clergyman, who would not merit his Lordſhip's eſteem inſtead of cenſure, for calling this play *a monſter of immodeſty and impurities of all ſorts?* And this, this only is Dr Burnet's crime, for which he is to be unbiſhop'd, unchriſtian'd, and ſtigmatiz'd as a flagrant falſe witneſs againſt his neighbour.' Mr Congreve, in the *Dedication* of our Poet's *Dramatick Works* to the Duke of Newcaſtle, has drawn his character to very great advantage. 'Mr Dryden, *he tells us*, had perſonal qualities to challenge both love and eſteem from all who were truly acquainted with him. He was of a nature exceedingly humane and compaſſionate ; eaſily forgiving injuries, and capable of a prompt and ſincere reconciliation with them who had offended him. —— His friendſhip, where he profeſſed it, went much beyond his profeſſions. — As his reading had been very extenſive, ſo was he very happy in a memory tenacious of every thing that he had read. He was not more poſſeſſed of knowledge, than he was communicative of it. But then his communication of it was by no means pedantick, or impoſed upon the converſation ; but juſt ſuch, and went ſo far, as by the natural turns of the diſcourſe, in which he was engaged, it was neceſſarily promoted or required. He was extreme ready and gentle in his correction of the errors of any writer who thought fit to conſult him ; and full as ready and patient to admit of the Reprehenſion of others in reſpect of his own overſights or miſtakes. He was of very eaſy, I may ſay, of very pleaſing, acceſs ; but ſomething ſlow, and as it were diffident in his advances to others. He had ſomething in his nature that abhorred intruſion in any ſociety whatſoever. Indeed it is to be regretted, that he was rather blameable in the other extream : for by that means he was perſonally leſs known, and conſequently his character might become liable both to miſapprehenſions and miſrepreſentations. —— He was, of all the men that ever I knew, one of the moſt modeſt, and the moſt eaſily to be diſcountenanced, in his approaches, either to his ſuperiors, or his equals. —— As to his *Writings* —— I may venture to ſay in general terms, that no man hath written in our language ſo much, and ſo various matter, and in ſo various manners, ſo well. Another thing I may ſay very peculiar to him ; which is, that his parts did not decline with his years ; but that he was an improving writer to the laſt, even to near ſeventy years of age ; improving even in fire and imagination ; as well as in judgment : witneſs his *Ode on St Cecilia's Day*, and his *Fables*, his lateſt performances. He was equally excellent in verſe and in proſe. His proſe had all the clearneſs imaginable, together with all the nobleneſs of expreſſion ; all the graces and ornaments proper and peculiar to it, without deviating into the language or diction of poetry. — I have heard him frequently own with pleaſure, that if he had any talent for Engliſh proſe, it was owing to his having often read the writings of the great Archbiſhop Tillotſon. His verſification and his numbers he could learn of nobody : for he firſt poſſeſſed thoſe talents in perfection in our tongue : and they who have beſt ſucceeded in them ſince his time have been indebted to his example ; and the more they have been able to imitate him, the better have they ſucceeded. —— In his *Poems*, his Diction is, wherever his ſubject requires it, ſo ſublimely and ſo truly poetical, that it's eſſence, like that of pure gold, cannot be deſtroyed. Take his verſes, and diveſt them of their rhimes, disjoint them in their numbers, tranſpoſe their expreſſions, make what arrangement and diſpoſition you pleaſe of his words, yet ſhall there eternally be poetry, and ſomething which will be found incapable of being reduced into abſolute proſe. —— What he has done in any one ſpecies, or diſtinct kind (*of writing*), would have been ſufficient to have acquired him a great name. If he had written nothing but his *Prefaces*, or nothing but his *Songs*, or his *Prologues*, each of them would have entitled him to the preference and diſtinction of excelling in his kind.' It ſhould be remembered, that Mr Congreve, in drawing this character of Mr Dryden, diſcharged an obligation laid upon him by our Poet in theſe lines (84) :

Be kind to my remains ; and O defend,
Againſt your judgment, your departed friend!
Let not th'inſulting foe my fame purſue,
But ſhade thoſe laurels which deſcend to you.

Dr Garth, in his *Preface* to the tranſlation of *Ovid's Metamorphoſes*, in which Mr Dryden's ſhare is conſiderable, ſpeaks of him as follows : 'I cannot paſs by that admirable Engliſh Poet, without endeavouring to make his country ſenſible of the obligations they have to his Muſe. Whether they conſider the flowing grace of his verſification ; the vigorous ſallies of his fancy ; or the peculiar delicacy of his periods ; they'll diſcover excellencies never to be enough admired. If they trace him from the firſt productions of his youth, to the laſt performances of his age, they'll find, that, as the tyranny of rhyme never impoſed on the perſpicuity of the ſenſe, ſo a languid

'ſenſe

(d) See Tom Browne's Late Converts expoſed, &c. in the Preface.

(e) See the Dedication of his *Aurenge-Zebe*.

(81) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I.

(82) Letter to the author of the Reflexions Hiſtorical and Political, &c. p. 5.

(83) Remarks upon the Lord Lanſdowne's Letter, &c. p. 25.

(84) See his verſes to Mr Congreve on his Comedy called The Double Dealer ; prefixed to that play.

Lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the Earl of Berkſhire, who ſurvived him about eight years, and by whom he had three ſons, Charles, John, and Henry [*AA*].

‘ ſenſe never wanted to be ſet off by the harmony of ‘ rhyme. And as his earlier works wanted no maturity, ſo his latter wanted no force or ſpirit. ——— ‘ As a tranſlator, he was juſt; as an inventer, he was ‘ rich. —— With all theſe wond'rous talents, he was ‘ libelled in his life-time by the very men, who had no ‘ other excellencies, but as they were his imitators. ‘ Where he was allow'd to have ſentiments ſuperior to all ‘ others, they charged him with theft: But how did ‘ he ſteal? no otherwiſe than like thoſe, that ſteal ‘ beggars children, only to cloath them the better.’ The teſtimony of ſo great a Poet, and ſo good a judge, as Mr Pope, muſt not be omitted, when we are ſetting down the praiſes of Mr Dryden. In a letter to Mr Wycherley, dated December the 26th, 1704 (85), he ſays: ‘ It was certainly a great ſatisfaction to me, ‘ to ſee and converſe with a man, whom in his writings I had ſo long known with pleaſure. But it was ‘ a high addition to it, to hear you at our very firſt ‘ meeting doing juſtice to your dead friend Mr *Dryden*. ‘ I was not ſo happy as to know him; *Virgilium tantum vidi*. Had I been born early enough, I muſt ‘ have known and loved him. For I have been aſſured, not only by yourſelf, but by Mr Congreve ‘ and Sir William Trumbul, that his perſonal qualities ‘ were as amiable as his poetical, notwithſtanding the ‘ many libellous miſrepreſentations of them; againſt ‘ which the former of theſe Gentlemen has told me ‘ he will one day vindicate him (*). I ſuppoſe thoſe ‘ injuries were begun by the violence of party; but ‘ it is no doubt they were continued by envy at his ‘ ſucceſs and fame. And theſe ſcribblers, who attacked him in his latter times, were only like gnats in a ‘ ſummer's evening, which are never troubleſome, but ‘ in the fineſt and moſt glorious ſeaſon; for his Fire, ‘ like the Sun's, ſhone cleareſt towards it's ſetting.’ The Editor of *Original Poems and Tranſlations by John Dryden*, Eſq; &c. (86), ſpeaking, in the *Preface*, of his Character, ſays: ‘ Poſterity has been juſt to his ‘ Fame, and he ſtands now in full poſſeſſion of that ‘ *eſtabliſhed Reputation*, ſo juſtly due to the ſprightlineſs of his wit, the livelineſs of his imagination, ‘ the beauty of his ſentiments and expreſſion, but ‘ eſpecially that *improved harmony* of his Numbers, ‘ ſo happily begun by his predeceſſor Mr *Waller*; and ‘ if ſince brought to a greater perfection by a POET ‘ of our own times (†), it is what he himſelf always ‘ owned to be owing to the foundation laid by Mr ‘ *Dryden*. To this honour may be added another, ‘ that he improved our Proſe as much as our Verſe, ‘ and is, in that way too, one of the moſt correct ‘ writers in the Engliſh Language.’

[*AA*] *He had three ſons, Charles, John, and Henry.*] Charles became Uſher of the Palace to Pope Clement XI. and, upon his return to England, left his brother John to officiate in his room, and was drowned in ſwimming croſs the Thames near Windſor, in 1704. He wrote ſeveral pieces, and tranſlated the *Sixth Satire* of *Juvenal*. Mr John Dryden tranſlated the *Fourteenth Satire* of *Juvenal*, and was author of a Comedy intituled, *The Huſband his own Cuckold* (87). He died at Rome not many months after his father. Mr Henry Dryden entered into a religious Order. T

(85) Works of A. Pope, Eſq; Vol. V. p. 2. edit. 1737. 12mo.

(*) He did ſo in the Dedication of Mr Dryden's Plays to the Duke of Newcaſtle. See towards the beginning of this remark.

(86) In two volumes, 12mo. 1743.

(†) Mr Pope.

(87) Printed in 1696.

DUDLEY, the ſurname of a noble family in England, formerly Viſcounts L'Iſle, Earls of Warwick and Leiceſter, and Dukes of Northumberland (*a*). In order to give the reader a clear and diſtinct account of this great Houſe, concerning which many of our beſt writers have fallen into palpable errors, it is requiſite to obſerve, that this ſurname was taken from the caſtle of Dudley, and aſſumed as the antient cuſtom of England was, by the younger children of the Barons of that place (*b*). This caſtle ſtands upon the very edge of Staffordſhire, on the ſummit of a lofty rock, affording a free and pleaſant proſpect over a vaſt extent of country (*c*). So much as remains of it, (for, in ſpite of the injuries of time, and of men far leſs merciful, there are ſtill ſome remains,) may claim the honour of being part of one of the oldeſt fortreſſes in this iſland (*d*). Dudo, an Engliſh Saxon, beſtowed his name upon it about the year 700 (*e*). At the time of the Norman Conqueſt it was granted to a Norman Baron, whoſe name was Fitz-Auſculph (*f*), but did not remain long in his family; for the daughter of William Fitz-Auſculph being married to Fulk Paganel, brought with her the inheritance of Dudley-Caſtle, which deſcended to her ſon Ralph Paganel, who took up arms for the Empreſs Maud againſt King Stephen (*g*). His ſon Gervaſe Paganel married Iſabel, daughter to Robert Earl of Leiceſter, by whom he had a daughter Hawiſe, who was firſt married to John de Somery, and afterwards to Roger de Berkeley, of Berkeley-Caſtle (*h*). Her ſon by the firſt marriage, Ralph de Somery, was Baron of Dudley in right of his mother, and flouriſhed in the reign of Richard I. The male heirs of this family ended in John de Somery, who died in the fifteenth of Edward II. leaving his ſiſters, Margaretta and Joan, coheireſſes. The eldeſt of theſe ſiſters, Margaret, married Sir John Sutton, of the antient Saxon family of Sutton in Nottinghamſhire, who became, in her right, Baron of Dudley (*i*). This noble perſon, taking part with Thomas Earl of Lancaſter againſt the evil Miniſters of Edward II. was compelled, in order to ſave his life, to convey all his right and title in the caſtle and manor of Dudley, and many other large eſtates, to Hugh le Deſpencer, ſon to Hugh Earl of Wincheſter; but, in the firſt of Edward III. he obtained reſtitution of them all (*k*). His ſon John married Iſabel, daughter to John de Charlton, Lord of Powis, by whom he had a ſon named John, concerning whom there occurs little either in Records or Hiſtory, except that he inherited a great eſtate from his grandmother (*l*). He died in the eighth of Henry IV. leaving a ſon of the ſame name, who was then five years of age, and who carried the ſtandard at the ſolemn funeral of Henry V (*m*). He was in great favour with King Henry VI. or rather with his uncle the good Duke of Glouceſter, by whom he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and ſworn into that high office in the month of January 1428 (*n*). According to Sir William Dugdale's account, this noble perſon was honoured with many other high employments in that reign, and lived much beyond it; of which there is ſome reaſon to doubt, ſince we have the poſitive authority of Sir Philip Sydney to the contrary (*o*), who ſeems to have been well acquainted with, and to have taken great pains about, the genealogy

(*a*) See Milles, Brook, Vincent, Dugdale.

(*b*) Of which there are many inſtances, as particularly in Touchet Lord Audley, the younger ſon's taking the name of Audley.

(*c*) Plot's Natural Hiſtory of Staffordſhire, ch. x. §. 27.

(*d*) Camden's Britan. in Staffordſhire.

(*e*) Dugdal. Monaſt. Anglican. Vol. II. p. 122.

(*f*) Camden's Britannia in Staffordſhire.

(*g*) Liber niger Scaccarii, p. 62.

(*h*) Dugdal. Monaſt. Anglican. Vol. II. 912. *a.* n. 30.

(*i*) Clauſ. 19 E. II. in Dorſo, m. 27.

(*k*) Clauſ. 1 E. III. p. 1. m. 7.

(*l*) Lib. cedul. 2 H. IV. p. 17.

(*m*) Hollinſhed, p. 584, *a.* n. 20.

(*n*) This appears from the table of chief Governors of Ireland, collected from Records publiſhed in Sir James Ware's Works.

(*o*) In his Remarks on a libel againſt Robert Earl of Leiceſter, his uncle.

genealogy of his family. It is therefore highly probable, that his ſon John Sutton, Baron of Dudley (*p*), ſucceeded him in that title pretty early in that reign, and was employed in many great affairs during the continuance of it, and particularly in an embaſſy to France, where he was attended by Leon d'Or, a Purſuivant of his own (*q*). After his return he obtained ſeveral large grants from the Crown, was advanced to be Treaſurer of the King's Houſhold, and, in the 39th year of his reign, was elected one of the Knights Companions of the moſt noble Order of the Garter (*r*). After the acceſſion of King Edward IV. he grew likewiſe into great favour with that Prince, and, in the very firſt year of his reign, obtained a ſpecial diſcharge, under the Broad Seal, for all ſuch ſums of money as might be due and owing from him on account of the poſt he held in the former reign (*s*); in the fourth year of the ſame King he obtained a grant of one hundred marks *per annum*, out of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, for his great integrity, and in conſideration of his large expences in the King's ſervice; and the year following had another grant of one hundred pounds a year for life, out of the cuſtoms of the port of Southampton (*t*). He was alſo employed, together with the Earl of Arundel, and other noble perſons, to treat with the French King for a continuance of peace, and intruſted in many other affairs of great conſequence by his royal maſter (*u*). Sir William Dugdale was of opinion, that he died towards the cloſe of that reign, and mentions his being ſucceeded in his barony by his grandſon John, who, he aſſures us, was ſummoned to Parliament the firſt of Richard III (*w*). It is however evident, from the Regiſter of the Order of the Garter, that the old Lord lived not only through that reign, but even ſo low as that of Henry VII (*x*), and that there never was any ſuch grandſon as Sir William Dugdale, miſled by more antient writers, ſuppoſes [*A*]. On the contrary, this John Sutton, Lord Dudley, was appointed

(*p*) This may be collected from what appears on record as to his ſon Edmund Sutton Lord Dudley.

(*q*) Exit. Pell. m. 25 H. 6.

(*r*) Anſtis's Regiſter of the Garter, Vol. II. p. 163.

(*s*) Pat. 1 E. IV. p. 1. m. 10.

(*t*) Pat. 4 E. IV. p. 1. m. 10. P. 4 E. IV. p. 2. m. 29.

(*u*) Rot. Franc. 17 E. IV. m. 2.

(*w*) Baronage, Vol. II. p. 216.

(*x*) Anſtis's Regiſter of the Garter, Vol. II. p. 230, 231.

[*A*] *As Sir William Dugdale, miſled by more antient writers, ſuppoſes.*] It is a point that enters ſtrictly within the plan of this work, and muſt at the ſame time be of much publick utility, to correct, where it can be done, the genealogies of great families, more eſpecially when the miſtakes about them receive countenance from authors of great character. This happens to be the caſe of the Suttons, Barons of Dudley, whoſe ſucceſſion the learned Sir William Dugdale found recorded in the Heralds books, particularly in the collections of Glover, who was a man of great reputation; and to theſe he laboured, as well as he could, to reconcile the circumſtances he met with in the patent rolls, and thoſe of Parliament. Now there being great miſtakes in thoſe collections, it was impoſſible that Sir William Dugdale, reducing the facts he met with to theſe erroneous pedigrees, ſhould fail of adding to the miſtakes, as we ſhall plainly prove he did: but firſt let us ſee what that great man has ſaid.

After obſerving that John Sutton Baron of Dudley, by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Sir John Berkeley, and widow of the Lord Powis, had iſſue three ſons, Edmund, John, and William, and a daughter Margaret (1), in which he is certainly right, he proceeds thus: ‘Which Edmund, in 7 Edward IV, being then a Knight, accompanied (2) John Earl of Worceſter, Deputy to George Duke of Clarence, Lieutenant of Ireland, into that realm, for the ſafeguard thereof: and in the thirteenth of the ſame reign, in conſideration of his expences (3) in the King's ſervice, as well in this realm as in Ireland, obtained the ſtewardſhip of the manor of Aberbury in the county of Salop, then in the King's diſpoſal, by reaſon of the minority of George, ſon and heir to John Earl of Shrewſbury, but died in his father's life-time, leaving iſſue by Joyce, his firſt wife, ſiſter and co-heir to John Tiptoft Earl of Worceſter, John his ſon and heir, as alſo four other ſons, *viz.* Arthur, Geoffry, Thomas, and George, and a daughter called Alianore, married to Charles Somerſet Earl of Worceſter: and by Maud his ſecond wife, daughter of Thomas Lord Clifford, two ſons, Thomas, who married ———, daughter and coheir to Lancelot Threlkeld of Gerworth, and Richard a Clerk: as alſo four daughters, *viz.* Joyce, married to William Middleton, of Stokkelde in the county of York, Eſq; Margaret to Edward Lord Powis; Alice to Sir John Ratcliffe, of Ordſale in the county of Lancaſter, Knight; and Dorothy, to Sir John Muſgrave, Knight (4). Which John, in the firſt of Richard III, obtained a grant to himſelf, and the heirs male of his body, of the manors of Derlaſton, Bentley, Titteſovre, Hertwel, Pakynton, and Newton in the Moors, *in com.* Stafford, Bruggenorth in the county of Salop, and Rokeby in the county of Warwick. And by his teſtament, bearing date the 17th of Auguſt *anno* 1487 (2 Hen. VII. (5)) he bequeathed his body to be buried (6) within the priory of St James at Dudley, appointing that a tomb ſhould be ſet over his grave. Alſo that twenty-four new torches ſhould be lighted during the performance of divine ſervice at his funeral; likewiſe that every Prieſt or religious perſon coming thereto ſhould have four pence, and every Clerk ſinging three pence. Moreover, that twenty marks in money ſhould be diſpoſed in alms the ſame day, and on the morrow, to poor people to pray for his ſoul, and for the ſoul of his wife and all their friends. Furthermore, that a thouſand maſſes ſhould be ſaid for him ſo ſoon as poſſible after his burial, which maſſes to coſt ſixteen pounds thirteen ſhillings, and fourpence. And having been ſummoned to Parliament (7) from the firſt of Richard III till the third of Henry VII, died ſoon after, leaving iſſue by (8) Cecily his wife, daughter of Sir William Willughby, Knt. Edward his ſon and heir, Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter (9), elected ſhortly after the beginning of King Henry VIIIth's reign: and ſummoned to Parliament from the (10) ſeventh of Henry VII, to the twenty-firſt of Henry VIII, incluſive.’

The firſt error that occurs in this account, is, that Edmund did not die in the life-time of his father John, Baron of Dudley, but ſucceeded him in that honour. The next, that by his wife Joyce he was not father of any of the children mentioned by Dugdale, but had by her an only ſon whom he does not mention, *viz.* Edward, who ſucceeded him in the barony, and was Knight of the Garter, whom Dugdale makes his grandſon. As to the children by the ſecond marriage they are right, except the firſt, whoſe name was Jane and not Joyce. With reſpect to the grants made to, and the will made by, John Lord Sutton, ſon to Edmund, they really relate to his father; and whereas he ſays, that this John married Cecily, daughter to Sir William Willughby, the truth is, that Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley, ſon of Edmund Lord Dudley, married that Lady, and had by her John Sutton Lord Dudley, and alſo a daughter Eleanor, who married Charles Somerſet Earl of Worceſter, which Lady, Dugdale makes to have been the daughter of Edmund Sutton Lord Dudley, by his firſt wife. Theſe facts are ſet right from a manuſcript Peerage of England written in the year 1596 (11), and that they are really ſet right will appear from hence, that whereas Dugdale makes John, Baron of Dudley, ſon to Edmund, deceaſe in the beginning of the reign of Henry VII, it is evident beyond all contradiction from the regiſter of that moſt noble Order, this was John Sutton Lord Dudley (12), Knight of the Garter, not the ſon, but the father of Edmund. The reaſon of theſe miſtakes was this, Sir William Dugdale was perſuaded, that John Sutton, Baron of Dudley, who was born in the third year of Henry

(1) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 216.

(2) Rot. Franc. 7 Ed. IV. m. 12.

(3) Pat. 13 E. IV. p. 1. m. 1.

(4) Ex coll. R. Gl. 8.

(5) Pat. 1 R. III. p. 3.

(6) Miles, qu. 8.

(7) Clauſ. de iiſd. ann. in dorſo.

(8) Ex coll. R. Gl. 8.

(9) Inſtit. &c. of the Garter, per E. A.

(10) Clauſ. de iiſd. ann. in dorſo.

(11) Baronagium Angliæ, magnatum ſcilicet illius Regni ſtemmata recentiora, ad conſanguinitates, affinitateſque, per intermixta connubia diſcernendas delineata. Fol.

(12) Anſtis's Regiſter of the Order of the Garter, Vol. II. p. 231.

appointed, by King Edward V. which is very remarkable, to hold the feaſt of St George at Windſor; which he accordingly did on the 24th of May 1483 (*y*). He was alſo preſent in a Chapter of the Order held in King Richard the Third's palace in Weſtminſter, in the firſt year of his reign. In the third year of King Henry VII. the feaſt of St George being held with extraordinary ſolemnity, and offerings then made for the Knight's Companions deceaſed, according to the cuſtom of the Order, we find the ſword of John Lord Dudley, or, as they ſpelt it in thoſe days, Dudely, offered by the Earl of Shrewſbury and the Lord Denham (*z*). This noble perſon eſpouſed Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Berkeley, of Beverſton in the county of Glouceſter, Knight, by whom he had iſſue three ſons and one daughter; his eldeſt ſon Edmund Sutton (*a*), from whom the Barons Dudley deſcended; which title remains to our times, as will be ſhewn in the notes [*B*]; William, who became, in proceſs of time, Biſhop of Durham, and died in 1483 (*b*), was the youngeſt ſon; Margaret his daughter married Sir George Longueville, of Little Billing in the county of Northampton, Knight. The ſecond ſon of this noble Peer was Sir John Dudley, Knight, who married Elizabeth, one of the two daughters of Sir John Bramſhot, of Bramſhot in the county of Suſſex, Knight (*c*), and by her he had only one ſon Edmund, of whom in the next article.

(*y*) Liber niger Ordin. Priſcil. p. 155.

(*z*) Anſtis's Regiſter of the Garter, Vol. II. p. 231.

(*a*) Baronagium Angliæ, fol. 21.

(*b*) Godwin. de præſulib. P. ii. p. 135.

(*c*) Baronagium Angliæ, fol. 21.

Henry IV, was Knight of the Garter in the reign of Henry VI, and father to Edmund Sutton; whereas, in truth, he was his grandfather by another John whom he does not mention at all: farther ſtill, whereas Dugdale ſays that John Sutton married Cecily, daughter of Sir William Willughby, Knt. and had by her Edward his ſon and heir; whereas the manuſcript before cited ſays, that Edward Lord Dudley married that Lady, and had by her a ſon John and a daughter Alianore. We can prove from Sir William Dugdale himſelf, that the account in the manuſcript is right, and his own is wrong; for, ſpeaking of Charles Somerſet Earl of Worceſter, he tells us, that his third wife was Eleanor, daughter of Edward Lord Dudley (13), and not John Lord Dudley, as ſet forth in the article of that noble family. But notwithſtanding theſe miſtakes, and thoſe that have been diſcovered by others, his work is truly valuable, ſince, before it appeared, we had nothing upon the ſubject in any degree worthy of it, and we ſhould have had, in all probability, nothing worthy of it yet, if Sir William Dugdale's labours had never appeared; but the moſt diligent and careful man living may be miſled if he truſts to bad guides, or if he travels at a time when none but bad guides are to be had.

(13) Baronage, Vol. II. p. 294.

[*B*] *As will be ſhewn in the notes*] In the former note we have ſhewn that Edward Lord Dudley, by Cecily his wife, had iſſue John, his ſon and heir, who married Cecily daughter of Thomas Gray, Marquis of Dorſet, by whom he had his ſon and ſucceſſor, Edward Lord Dudley (14), who was in great favour with Queen Mary (15), and who deceaſed July 4, 1586: He married, firſt, Catherine, daughter to the Lord Chandos, by whom he had an only daughter (16); ſecondly, Jane, daughter to the Earl of Derby, by whom he had two ſons, Edward and John; and thirdly, he married Mary, daughter to William Lord Howard of Effingham (17). His ſon Edward, Lord Dudley, eſpouſed Theodoſia, daughter of Sir James Harrington, Knight, by whom he had a ſon, Ferdinando, and three daughters; Mary married to James Earl of Hume, in Scotland; Anne, who was the wife of Baron Schomberg, and the mother of the great Marſhal Schomberg; and Margaret, who married Sir Miles Hobart, Knight of the Bath (18): As for his ſon Ferdinando, he was made Knight of the Bath at the creation of Henry Prince of Wales, and eſpouſing Honora daughter to the Lord Beauchamp, and grand-daughter to the Earl of Hertford, had iſſue by her an only daughter, Frances (19). He died November 22, 1621, in his father's life-time. The old Baron of Dudley being a man of very diſſolute life, ruined the large eſtate which deſcended to him from his anceſtors, and to repair it married his grand-daughter Frances to Humble Ward, Eſq; (20), the ſon of a rich Goldſmith of London, deſcended from the ancient family of the Wards, in Norfolk. This Gentleman adhering ſteadily to his Sovereign, King Charles the Firſt, in all his troubles, was by him knighted at Oxford, June 24, 1643, and on the 23d of March, the ſame year, was created Baron Ward of Birmingham, in the County of Warwick, and in that year, likewiſe, deceaſed the old Lord Dudley, by which the honour deſcended to Lady Ward (21). Humble, Lord Ward, died October 4, 1670, having had iſſue three ſons and four daughters; Edward, the eldeſt ſon, ſucceeded in the honour and eſtate, John died an infant, and William, the third ſon, ſettled at Willingſworth in the County of Stafford (22). Edward, Lord Ward, became, a very little before his death, Lord Dudley, by the deceaſe of his mother in 1701; by his Lady Frances, daughter of Sir William Brereton of Cheſhire, Baronet, and ſole heireſs to her brother, he had three ſons, John, William, and Ferdinand, and three daughters; the eldeſt and youngeſt of his ſons died unmarried, William, the ſecond ſon, married Frances, daughter of Thomas Dilkes, Eſq; by whom he had three ſons and a daughter, Frances, who married William Lea, Eſq; of Hale-Owen, in the County of Salop, and died in the life-time of his father; upon the demiſe therefore of Edward, Lord Dudley and Ward, the titles deſcended to the eldeſt ſon of William, beforementioned: Which Edward Lord Dudley and Ward, married Diana, daughter of Thomas Howard of Aſhſted, in the County of Surrey, Eſq; and dying March 28, 1704, under-age, left his Lady big with child of a ſon, who was Edward Lord Dudley and Ward. He dying September 6, 1731, unmarried, his honours and eſtate devolved upon his uncle William, ſon to William Ward, Eſq; ſecond ſon to Edward, firſt Lord Dudley and Ward, and he dying unmarried, the title of Dudley deſcended to Ferdinando Dudley Lea, ſon of Frances, daughter of William Ward, Eſq; beforementioned (23). As for the barony of Ward, it deſcended to John Ward of Sedgley Park in the county of Stafford, Eſq; grandſon of William Ward of Willingſworth, third ſon of Humble, firſt Lord Ward of Birmingham, and this Nobleman is now in poſſeſſion of Dudley caſtle (24).

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(14) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 720.

(15) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 34.

(16) Baronagium Angliæ, fol. 21.

(17) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 216.

(18) Idem, ibid.

(19) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 32.

(20) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 217.

(21) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 32.

(22) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 472.

(23) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 34.

(24) From private information.

DUDLEY (EDMUND), a celebrated Lawyer, and able Stateſman, in the reign of Henry VII. He was, as we have before informed the reader, the grandſon of John Sutton, Baron of Dudley, and Knight of the Garter, by his ſecond ſon Sir John Dudley (*a*); and, therefore, the malicious reports of his being the ſon of a Mechanick, and that the whole ſtory of his deſcent was a fable, framed by his ſon's flatterers in the time of his greatneſs, though adopted by ſome authors of reputation, is equally groundleſs and ridiculous (*b*) [*A*]. He was born ſome time in the year 1462, in the ſecond year of the

reign

(*a*) Baronagium Angliæ, fol. 21.

(*b*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, 2d edit. Vol. I. p. 420.

[*A*] *Is equally groundleſs and ridiculous.*] We cannot ſet this matter in a clearer light, than by giving the reader what the famous Dr Fuller has ſaid upon this ſubject (1). 'Edmund Dudley, Eſq; ſays he, 'was ſon to John Dudley, Eſq; ſecond ſon to John 'Sutton firſt Baron of Dudley, as a learned Antiquary

'hath

(1) Worthies in Staffordſhire, p. 43.

reign of Edward IV. and his father having, in his own and in his wife's right, a very plentiful fortune, he received a ſuitable education (*c*); and, diſcovering very early the great pregnancy of his parts, he was ſent, in the year 1478 (*d*), to the Univerſity of Oxford, being then about the age of ſixteen. When he had ſpent there ſome time in the ſtudy of antient learning, he was removed to London, and, being intended for the profeſſion of the Law, he was placed in Gray's-Inn (*e*), where, when he afterwards became ſo eminent, his arms, finely depicted, amongſt thoſe of many other noble and illuſtrious perſons, were placed in one of the windows of the Hall (*f*). It is very certain, that he ſtudied the Law with great diligence, and came to be very ſoon conſidered as one of the moſt conſiderable

(*c*) Bale's Scrip. Britan. cent. xi.

(*d*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 11.

(*e*) Fuller's Worthies in Staffordſhire, p. 43.

(*f*) Origines Juridiciales, p. 309.

' hath beheld his pedigree derived. But his deſcent is ' controverted by many, condemned by ſome, who ' have raiſed a report that John, father to this Edmund, was but a Carpenter, born in Dudley town, ' (and therefore called John Dudley) who travelling ' ſouthward to find work for his trade, lived at Lewes ' in Suſſex, where they will have this Edmund born, ' and for the pregnancy of his parts, brought up by ' the Abbot of Lewes in learning. But probably ſome ' who afterwards were pinched in their purſes by this ' Edmund, did in revenge give him this bite in his reputation, inventing this tale to his diſparagement. ' I muſt believe him of noble extraction, becauſe qualified to marry the daughter and heir of the Viſcount ' L'Iſle, and that before this Edmund grew ſo great ' with King Henry VII, as by the age of John his ' ſon, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, may probably be collected.' This writer is frequently unhappy in his accounts, in which he is too often followed by ſuch as have written ſince his time. He ſays that Edmund Dudley was the grandſon of John Sutton, firſt Baron of Dudley; in the very page before this he informs us, that William Dudley Biſhop of Durham, who died in 1483, was the ſon of John Dudley, the eighth Baron of Dudley, of Dudley caſtle in the county of Stafford (2). Now there is nothing more certain, than that this William Dudley was the uncle of our Edmund Dudley, and that his father John Dudley, the eighth Baron of Dudley, was the very ſame perſon with John Sutton the firſt Baron of Dudley, which Dr Fuller might eaſily have diſcerned, if he had conſidered the time when theſe Dudleys lived. The ſtory of the Carpenter he had out of a manuſcript intituled *A View of Staffordſhire, by Samſon Erderſwick, Eſq*; which he highly commends (3). This tale, which Fuller treats as it deſerves, paſſed for true Hiſtory with all the enemies of the Leiceſter family. In a famous Popiſh libel in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, I find it obſerved of Robert Earl of Leiceſter (4). ' That he was the ſon ' of a Duke, the brother of a King, grandſon of an ' Eſquire, and great grandchild of a Carpenter. *The* ' *Carpenter*, ſays my author, *was in all likelihood the* ' *happieſt of his race, for he perhaps was an honeſt man* ' *and died in his bed.*' But though Dr Fuller is right in his criticiſm, yet he is right upon wrong grounds, for he did not marry the daughter and heir of the Viſcount L'Iſle before he was high in King Henry's favour, ſince that match was the pure effects of it, the Lady being the King's ward (5). His other argument is ſtill worſe, for John, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, was not born till eight years after the marriage, and not quite ſix years before the King's death (6); ſo that if it proves any thing, it muſt prove directly the reverſe of what he cites it to prove. In our ſubſequent articles the reader will ſee the true reaſon, why the fooliſh ſtory of the Carpenter came to gain any credit, and that was the endeavours of this Gentleman's ſon to deprive the chief of his family of his honour and dignity, and to attribute to himſelf, in a direct deſcent from his anceſtors, the barony of Dudley, to which indeed they never had any title at all; and thus from a malignant ambition in him to be deſcended wholly from Lords, his enemies took the advantage of ſuggeſting, that his grandfather was not ſo much as a gentleman, and ſo turned his own art upon himſelf, or rather upon his deſcendants.

But we cannot part with this matter thus. There was another writer of much greater figure than Dr Fuller, whom the ſtory of the Carpenter alarmed, and who, though he profeſſes that he was ſatisfied this was falſe, yet he ſaw no reaſon to believe that our Edmund Dudley was deſcended from the Barons of Dudley, though he knew that with his own hand that Gentleman, in a pedigree of his family, aſſerted himſelf ſo to be (7). But notwithſtanding this, Sir William Dugdale thinks he might be the ſon of ſome Gentleman of the name of Dudley, but not of the Baron's family, of which he ſays there are many in ſeveral parts of England. Upon the whole he ſuggeſts, that though the father of Edmund Dudley was without doubt a Gentleman, ſince he married a woman of conſiderable family and fortune, yet it was not impoſſible that his grandfather might be a Carpenter, or if not his grandfather, his great-grandfather. In anſwer to this we ſhall obſerve, firſt, that it is a very ſtrange thing Sir William Dugdale ſhould doubt, that ſo wiſe and learned a man as Mr Dudley is on all hands confeſſed to be, ſhould not know who his grandfather was as well as Mr Erderſwick, the father of this tale of the Carpenter. In the next place, Why, ſince this tale is abſolutely falſe as to his father, which is the matter of fact affirmed, muſt it be ſuppoſed true of his grandfather, or his great-grandfather, of which there is not a word ſaid any where? But, thirdly, though Sir William Dugdale aſſerted this in his Hiſtory of Warwickſhire, yet afterwards, when he came to examine things better, in order to compoſe a Hiſtory of our Nobility in general, he thought fit to abandon this notion, and though his account of the Suttons, Barons of Dudley, is not very exact, yet he is very clear that Edmund Dudley was really the ſon of John Sutton, Baron of Dudley, and conſequently allows that neither his grandfather, nor his great-grandfather, could be a Carpenter.

But ſince we have ſaid ſo much upon this head, we will go a little farther, and put it entirely out of doubt, both by reaſon and authority. In the firſt place let it be obſerved, that Edmund Dudley, Eſq; was admitted into the ſervice and Council of King Henry VII. in the firſt year of his reign, when that gentleman was in the twenty-third or fourth year of his age, and in the life time of his grandfather, John, Lord Dudley, Knight of the Garter. Now, though it is ſaid that he owed this preferment to his prudence and reputation, yet is it not reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that theſe might have been overlooked, if he had not been alſo a man of quality? In the next place, when Perkin Warbeck publiſhed a proclamation, in which he reproached King Henry VII. with admitting many mean and low men into his Councils, of whom he gives a long catalogue (8). Can one imagine, that if Edmund Dudley's birth had not been truly noble, he would not have ſtood there, as well as Sir Richard Empſon, Biſhop Fox, and Sir Reginald Bray? Thirdly, How came Bale, Pitts, and all the old writers in general, to inſiſt ſo expreſsly on the nobility of his birth, without the leaſt note of doubt, or ſuſpicion of the matter? Fourthly, when ſo much weight is every where laid upon the mean birth of Sir Richard Empſon, who was the ſon of a ſievemaker at Towceſter; how can it be conceived that Edmund Dudley, in the ſame condemnation, ſhould be mentioned by the ſame writers with ſo much reſpect for his birth, if it had not been in thoſe times, as clear as any thing could be? or, what but reſpect to his family could move King Henry VIII. to reſtore his ſon, a child of eight years old, in blood, and give him his eſtate. Laſtly, in point of authority, I ſhall mention but one writer, becauſe his name is ſufficient to ſilence all diſputes, it is the famous John Leland, who, in his Itinerary, has theſe words (9). ' The Viſcount ' Duddeley now being, is of the Suttons, that married ' the heirs general of the Duddelys. He cometh by his ' mother ſide, of the Talbot, Lord or Viſcount Liſle.' This is ſpoken of Sir John Dudley, Viſcount Liſle, and being ſet down in a note book merely for his proper uſe, cannot be ſuſpected, ſince no Antiquary deſires to deceive himſelf.

[*B*] *During*

(2) Ibid. p. 42.

(3) Ibid. p. 45.

(4) Taken from the extracts of a libel written in Latin, amongſt the papers of Lord Burleigh.

(5) See the Record cited in the text.

(6) So it appears from his petition to Parliament to be reſtored in blood.

(7) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol I. p. 420.

(8) See the ſubſtance of this proclamation in Lord Bacon's Hiſtory.

(9) Vol. VIII. p. 29.

conſiderable perſons of the profeſſion; which induced Henry VII. a Prince who was an excellent judge of the talents of men, to take him very early into his ſervice (g); it is alſo ſaid, that, for his ſingular prudence and fidelity, he was ſworn of the King's Privy-Council, in the 23d year of his age (b); and, as Polydore Virgil affirms this, who was then here, there can be no cauſe to doubt. In 1492 we find he was one of thoſe great men in the King's army near Bologne, who offered propoſitions to the King for the concluſion of a treaty with France, and adviſed him to comply with them (i); which he at their interceſſion did, and a peace was accordingly ſigned November 6th, 1492. This was the fineſt ſtroke in politicks of that reign; and though the peace was very far from being well received in England, yet it anſwered the King's purpoſes compleatly, and was highly honourable for this nation, ſince an annual tribute was, in plain terms, ſtipulated, and actually paid during the remainder of this reign and part of the next (k) [B]. It is highly probable, that Mr Dudley was one of the King's principal inſtruments in this intrigue, ſince, two years afterwards, we find he obtained the wardſhip and marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Grey, Viſcount L'Iſle, ſiſter and coheireſs of John Viſcount L'Iſle, her brother (l). In 1499 he was one of thoſe who ſigned the ratification of the peace beforementioned, by authority of Parliament (m). This plainly ſhews, that he was a perſon in great credit with his country, as well as in high favour with his Prince, whom he ſerved in promoting the filling of his coffers, under colour of the Law, though with very little reſpect to the principles of equity and juſtice, as an able and excellent author informs us (n) [C]. But, in what capacity he did this, is not at all in our power to aſſert. We are

(g) Fuller's Worthies in Staffordſhire, p. 43.

(b) Polydor. Virgil. Hiſtoria Angliæ, p. 567. n. 10.

(i) Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XII. p. 490.

(k) See that point explained in the note.

(l) Eſc. 20 H. VII.

(m) Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XII. p. 710.

(n) Lord Bacon in his life of Henry VII.

[B] *During the remainder of this reign, and part of the next.*] It was a maxim with Henry VII. to have as little to do with the Continent as poſſible, but when he was obliged to have to do with it, he carried things as high as he could. In the beginning of his reign, he had temporized with the French King, to prevent having a foreign war and domeſtick broils to deal with at the ſame time. But finding the French grew upon him, he reſolved to make war in ſuch a manner, as ſhould procure him peace for the future (10). He laid before the Parliament, therefore, the ground of his quarrel, in which he was certainly right. For this induced them to eſpouſe the propoſal of a war very warmly; but to avoid oppreſſing the meaner ſort of people in raiſing money for the ſupport of it, they granted the King a benevolence by law, which was collected by way of requeſt, but of the better ſort only, and brought in a vaſt ſum of money (11). The King on his part, raiſed an army of twenty-five thouſand foot, and one thouſand ſix hundred horſe, and attended by the flower of his Nobility, paſſed the ſeas after Michaelmas 1492. And as if he intended no time ſhould be loſt, he afterwards actually opened the ſiege of Bologne, though propoſitions had been made for amicably compoſing all diſputes; upon which a negotiation was begun, and while the ſiege went on, a peace was concluded by the commiſſioners, to continue for both Kings lives; 'in which, ſays Lord Bacon (12), there was no article of importance, being in effect, rather a bargain than a treaty. For all things remained as they were, ſave, that there ſhould be paid to the King, ſeven hundred and forty five thouſand ducats, in preſent, for his charges in that journey, and five and twenty thouſand crowns yearly, for his charges ſuſtained in the aids of the Britains. For which annual ſum, though he had Maximilian bound before for thoſe charges, yet he counted the alteration of the hand, as much as the principal debt. And beſides, it was left ſomewhat indefinitely, when it ſhould determine or expire, which made the Engliſh eſteem it as a tribute carried under fair terms. And the truth is, it was paid both to the King, and to his ſon King Henry VIII. longer than it could continue upon any computation of charges. There was alſo aſſigned by the French King, unto all the King's principal Counſellors, great penſions, beſides rich gifts for the preſent. Which, whether the King did permit to ſave his own purſe from rewards, or to communicate the envy of a buſineſs that was diſpleaſing to his people, was diverſly interpreted. For certainly, the King had no great fancy to own this peace. And therefore, a little before it was concluded, he had, underhand, procured ſome of his beſt captains and men of war, to adviſe him to a peace under their hands in an earneſt manner, in the nature of a ſupplication. But the truth is, this peace was welcome to both Kings. To Charles, for, that it aſſured unto him the poſſeſſion of Britain, and freed the enterprize of Naples. To Henry; for, that it filled his coffers; and, that he foreſaw at that time, a ſtorm of inward troubles coming upon him, which preſently after brake forth. But it gave no leſs diſcontent to the nobility and principal perſons of the army, who had many of them ſold, or engaged their eſtates upon the hopes of the war. They ſtuck not to ſay, that the King cared not to plume his nobility and people to feather himſelf. And ſome made themſelves merry with, that the King had ſaid in Parliament, that after the war was once begun, he doubted not but to make it pay itſelf; ſaying, he had kept promiſe.' The curious reader may find a very fair and full account of this matter in the French Hiſtorians, which will convince him, that they differed very little in their judgment of the matter from us, that is, they thought the honour of the nation highly concerned, and blamed Lewis XII. who ſucceeded in 1498, for renewing this treaty, and undertaking to continue the payment of thoſe ſums annually, which had been ſtipulated by his father (13). This they ſay he might very well do for the ſake of peace, but then he ſhould have done it as an act of his own, and not as heir and ſucceſſor to his father, and ſo bound to comply with, and diſcharge his engagements (14).

[C] *As an able and excellent author informs us.*] In all our general hiſtories, this matter is handled in the groſs, ſo that it is very difficult to conceive wherein the crimes of Empſon and Dudley conſiſted; but Lord Bacon, who underſtood the matter well, relates every circumſtance freely and fully, in the following manner (15). 'As Kings do more eaſily find inſtruments for their will and humour, than for their ſervice and honour; he had gotten for his purpoſe, or beyond his purpoſe, two inſtruments, Empſon and Dudley, bold men and careleſs of fame, and that took toll of their maſter's griſt. Dudley was of a good family, eloquent, and one that could put hateful buſineſs into good language. But Empſon, that was the ſon of a Sieve-maker, triumphed always upon the deed done, putting off all other reſpects whatſoever. Theſe two perſons being Lawyers in ſcience, and Privy-Counſellors in authority, turned law and juſtice into wormwood and rapine. For firſt, their manner was to cauſe divers ſubjects to be indicted of ſundry crimes, and ſo far forth to proceed in form of law; but when the bills were found, then preſently to commit them: and nevertheleſs, not to produce them in any reaſonable time to their anſwer, but to ſuffer them to languiſh long in priſon, and by ſundry artificial devices and terrors, to extort from them great fines and ranſoms, which they termed compoſitions and mitigations. Neither did they towards the end, obſerve ſo much as the half face of juſtice in proceeding by indictment, but ſent forth their precepts to attach men, and convent them before themſelves and ſome others, at their private houſes in a Court of Commiſſion, and there uſed to ſhuffle up a ſummary proceed-

(10) Polydor. Virgil. Hiſt. Angliæ, lib. xxvi.

(11) Hollinſhed, Stowe.

(12) Hiſt. of H. VII. in the 3d Vol. of his Works, p. 447.

(13) P. Daniel Hiſt. d'France, Vol. VI. p. 671.

(14) Recueil des Roys des France leurs Couronne et Maiſon, par J. du Tillet, P. ii. p. 380.

(15) In his Hiſt. of H. VII. in the 3d Vol. of his Works, p. 491.

are aſſured by Stowe, that, in 1497, he was Under-Sheriff of London, and continued ſo for ſix years (o); which might, indeed, put it in his power to pack Juries, and to have a hand in other enormities with which he was charged; but, that the ſame perſon ſhould, at the ſame time, be Under-Sheriff of London, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Lawyers at the Bar, and a Privy-Counſellor, is not to be conceived (p). The ingenious Dr Fuller gives us a more plauſible account, for he makes him a *puiſne Judge* (q); but it happens unluckily, that, had he been ſo, it muſt have appeared, which it does not. Beſides, as a Judge, he could not have meddled with the King's revenue; as a Baron of the Exchequer he might, but neither was he that. Polydore Virgil, who was well acquainted with thoſe times, tells us, what both he and Sir Richard Empſon were, but he tells it us in Latin; they were, ſays he, *Fiſcales Judices* (r); the misfortune is, that we do not know how to put this into Engliſh. It might, perhaps, be no improbable gueſs, that they were Attorney and Sollicitor General; for which, however, no direct authority can be alledged. In the Parliament held in 1504, Edmund Dudley, Eſq; was Speaker of the Houſe of Commons (s), and, about the ſame time, was, by the King's writ, diſcharged from the ſtate and degree of a Serjeant at Law (t), as Sir William Dugdale tells us; another writer calls it degraded, which, however it may ſound, was, in reality, an act of favour (u) [D]. In the Parliament in which this Gentleman was Speaker, there were ſeveral acts paſſed, much for the publick benefit; but which, at the ſame time, very plainly diſcovered, that they were framed and digeſted by Lawyers; and this, perhaps, was one reaſon why they were found very practicable in the execution, and, like many other laws made in this reign, have been ſince admired for going clearly and directly to the ends that they were meant to accompliſh (w) [E]. In conſideration, as it may be preſumed,

(o) Annals, p. 487.

(p) See this point examined in note [D].

(q) Worthies in Staffordſhire, p. 43.

(r) Hiſt. Angliæ, p. 613. n. 10.

(s) Bacon's Hiſt. H. VII. in his Works, Vol. III. p. 494.

(t) Chronica Series, p. 77.

(u) Chronica Juridicialia, p. 147.

(w) Lord Bacon's Hiſt. H. VII.

'ing by examination, without trial of jury, aſſuming 'to themſelves there, to deal both in pleas of the 'Crown, and controverſies civil. Then did they alſo 'uſe to enthrall and charge the ſubjects lands with 'tenures in capite, by finding falſe offices, and thereby 'to work upon them for wardſhips, liveries, premier 'ſeiſins, and alienations, being the fruits of thoſe tenures, refuſing, upon divers pretexts and delays, to 'admit men to traverſe thoſe falſe offices according to 'the law. Nay, the King's wards, after they had accompliſhed their full age, could not be ſuffered to 'have livery of their lands, without paying exceſſive 'fines, far exceeding all reaſonable rates. They did 'alſo vex men with informations of intruſion, upon 'ſcarce colourable titles. When men were outlaw'd 'in perſonal actions, they would not permit them to 'purchaſe their charters of pardon, except they paid 'great and intolerable ſums, ſtanding upon the ſtrict 'point of law; which, upon outlawries, giveth forfeiture of goods: Nay, contrary to all law and colour, they maintained, the King ought to have the 'half of mens lands and rents, during the ſpace of 'full two years, for a pain, in caſe of outlawry. They 'would alſo ruffle with jurors, and enforce them to find 'as they would direct; and if they did not, convent 'them, impriſon them, and fine them.' It appears from Polydore Virgil, that at firſt, theſe proceedings were carried on with much temper and addreſs; that is to ſay, the penalties levied, were not very ſevere, and thoſe who paid them, were commonly perſons in prety good circumſtances, which prevented any great clamour: but by degrees, when the legality of theſe proceedings ſeemed to be thorougly eſtabliſhed, they were extended farther, and then it was, that they created ſuch a general diſſatisfaction, as induced the King to promiſe reſtitution, and to part with his Miniſters, Sir Richard Empſon, and Edmund Dudley.

[*D*] *Which however it may ſound, was in reality an act of favour.*] That learned Herald and Antiquary mentioned in the text, gives us a large account of this matter (16). 'In the nineteenth of Henry VII, ſays 'he, he was Speaker of the Parliament, and ſhould 'the ſame year have been made a Serjeant at Law, 'but, for what reaſon I will not take upon me to aſſign, he deſired that he might be diſcharged from 'aſſuming that degree, whereupon the King directed 'his precept to William, Biſhop of London, then Lord 'Keeper of the Great Seal, commanding his forbearance of making out any writ to him for that purpoſe.' This ſufficiently ſhews Dr Fuller's miſtake in affirming our Dudley to have been a Puiſne Judge, for if ſo he muſt have been a Serjeant. We have a large account of the antient manner of making Serjeants at Law, from an author of great dignity (17), who informs us, that the Chief Juſtices of the Common-Pleas, with the advice of the other Judges of that Court, were wont to ſet down the names of a certain number of the diſcreeteſt perſons who had moſt profited in the Laws, and were thought to be of beſt diſpoſition, which being preſented to the Lord Chancellor of England in writing, he, by the King's writ, charged every of the perſons elect, to be before the King at a day by him aſſigned, to take upon him the ſtate and degree of a Serjeant at Law, under a great penalty which in thoſe writs was ſpecified. But there were many reaſons why perſons thus named choſe to avoid taking upon them that dignity, though it may be doubted whether this was not the firſt inſtance of a perſon's being diſcharged by the interpoſition of the royal authority, but it was ſoon followed, for we find in the ſecond year of Henry VIII, that the King granted to Richard Brooke (18) an exemption from being called to the degree of a Serjeant againſt his good will, or if he was called, to refuſe it. Sometimes alſo they were diſcharged from that degree in order to their enjoying ſome office that was inconſiſtent therewith, which was the caſe of Thomas Fleming, Serjeant at Law, who was diſcharged by writ directed to himſelf from Queen Elizabeth, November 5, in the thirty-ſeventh year of her reign, in order to his being made Sollicitor-General (19). Now, from what Sir William Dugdale ſays, it looks as if there was ſome particular reaſon for Mr Dudley's deſiring his diſcharge, and it is not impoſſible that it might be for obtaining the office of Sollicitor-General. It is very true that Sir William Dugdale mentions but two Sollicitors in the whole reign of Henry VII, *viz.* Andrew Dimmock, who obtained that office in the firſt of Henry VII, and John Ernley, who came into it in the twenty-ſecond of the ſame reign (20). But that there were other perſons in that office within that ſpace of time, may be concluded from hence, that Andrew Dimmock was raiſed to the degree of a Baron of the Exchequer in the eleventh year of that King, and one cannot ſuppoſe, that in ſo buſy a reign there ſhould be no Sollicitor for eleven years together. Something of the ſame kind might be ſaid as to the poſt of Attorney-General, in which we find Sir James Hobart during that whole reign.

[*E*] *That they were meant to accompliſh.*] We have this matter admirably ſet forth by the wiſe and judicious Hiſtorian of this reign (21). 'In this Parliament, ſays he, there were not made any ſtatutes memorable touching publick government. But thoſe 'that were, had ſtill the ſtamp of the King's wiſdom 'and policy. There was a ſtatute made for the diſannulling of all patents of leaſe or grant, to ſuch as 'came not upon lawful ſummons to ſerve the King in 'his wars againſt the enemies or rebels, or that ſhould 'depart without the King's licence, with an exception 'of ſeveral perſons of the long robe. Providing nevertheleſs, that they ſhould have the King's wages 'from their houſe till their return home again. There 'hath

(16) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 420.

(17) From a MS. of the Lord Chancellor Forteſcue.

(18) See the Chronica Series in that year.

(19) See the copy of that writ in the Origines Juridiciales, p. 140.

(20) In his Chronica Series, p. 75, 79.

(21) Bacon's Hiſt. of H. VII. in the 3d Vol. of his Works, p. 494.

ſumed, of the great ſervices rendered by him in this high ſtation, we find, that, two years afterwards, he obtained a grant of the Stewardſhip of the rape of Haſtings, in the county of Suſſex (*x*). This was one of the laſt favours that he received from his Maſter, who, at the cloſe of his life, is ſaid to have been very much troubled at the oppreſſions and extortions of which his Miniſters, particularly Empſon and Dudley, had been guilty, inſomuch that he expreſſed a willingneſs to make reſtitution to ſuch as had been injured, and directed the ſame by his will (*y*). Polydore Virgil (*z*), and ſome other courtly writers, take occaſion from hence to free that Monarch, in a great meaſure, from blame, diſcharging, as is commonly done, all the errors and evil practices in his government upon the ſhoulders of Empſon and Dudley (*a*), who, it is very certain, loſt their heads for them. But, that they did not drive the King, or even deceive him, into ſuch meaſures, the judicious Lord Bacon (*b*) has very plainly proved, from inſtances that are worth the reader's notice [*F*]. The King died at Richmond on the 21ſt of April 1509 (*c*); and he was ſcarce laid in his grave before Mr Dudley was ſent to the Tower, the clamour of

(*x*) Pat. 22 H. VII. p. 2.

(*y*) Hollinſhed, Stowe.

(*z*) Hiſt. Angliæ, lib. xxvi.

(*a*) Hall, Cooper, and Stowe.

(*b*) Hiſt. of Hen. VII. See alſo Grafton's Chronicle in the ſame reign.

(*c*) Polydor. Virgil. Hiſt. Angliæ, p. 790.

‘ hath been the like made before for offices, and by this ſtatute it was extended to lands. But a man may eaſily ſee, by many ſtatutes made in the King's time, that the King thought it ſafeſt to aſſiſt martial law by law of Parliament. Another ſtatute was made, prohibiting the bringing in of manufactures of ſilk wrought by itſelf, or mixed with any other thread. But it was not of ſtuffs of whole piece (for that the realm had of them no manufacture in uſe at that time) but of knit ſilk, or texture of ſilk; as ribbons, laces, cauls, points, and girdles, which the people of England could then well ſkill to make. This law pointed at a true principle, that where foreign materials are but ſuperfluities, foreign manufactures ſhould be prohibited. For that will either baniſh the ſuperfluity, or gain the manufacture. There was a law alſo of reſumption of patents of gaols, and the reannexing of them to the ſheriffwicks, privileged officers being no leſs an interruption of juſtice than privileged places. There was a law likewiſe to reſtrain the bye-laws, or ordinances, of corporations, which many times were againſt the prerogative of the King, the common law of the realm, and the liberty of the ſubject, being fraternities in evil. It was therefore provided, that they ſhould not be put in execution without the allowance of the Chancellor, Treaſurer, and the two Chief-Juſtices, or three of them, or of the two Juſtices of Circuit where the corporation was. Another law was in effect to bring in the ſilver of the realm to the mint, in making all clipped, miniſhed, or impaired coins of ſilver, not to be current in payments, without giving any remedy of weight, but with an exception only of reaſonable wearing, which was as nothing in reſpect of the uncertainty; and ſo upon the matter to ſet the mint on work, and to give way to new coins of ſilver which ſhould be then minted. There likewiſe was a ſtrong ſtatute againſt vagabonds, wherein two things may be noted, the one, the diſlike the Parliament had of gaoling them, as that which was chargeable, peſterous, and of no open example. The other, that in the ſtatutes of this King's time (for this of the nineteenth year is not the only ſtatute of that kind) there are ever coupled the puniſhment of vagabonds and the forbidding of dice and cards, and unlawful games unto ſervants and mean people, and the putting down and ſuppreſſing of ale-houſes, as ſtrings of one root together, and as if the one were improfitable without the other. As for riot and retainers, there ſcarce paſſed any Parliament in this time without a law againſt them, the King ever having an eye to might and multitude. There was granted alſo that Parliament a ſubſidy, both from the temporality and the clergy. And yet nevertheleſs, e'er the year expired, there went out commiſſions for a general benevolence, though there were no wars, no fears. The ſame year the city gave five thouſand marks for confirmation of their liberties; a thing fitter for the beginnings of Kings reigns than the latter ends. Neither was it a ſmall matter that the mint gained upon the late ſtatute, by the recoinage of groats and half groats.

[*F*] *That are worth the reader's notice.*] The turn given by ſome writers to theſe oppreſſions and exactions, is this, that the King intended one thing, and his Miniſters did another. He found many of his ſubjects either too rich, or too proud, to ſtoop to the laws, which conceiving to be the effects of thoſe domeſtick commotions with which the realm had been often troubled, he judged that the beſt phyſick for this ſtate malady, was the calling great and opulent offenders to juſtice; but Sir Richard Empſon, and Mr Dudley, extended this plan, ſo as to take in all ranks of people, and at the ſame time ſtretched the laws, and heightened the ſeverities of them beyond the intention of the legiſlators; with all which, when the King was thoroughly informed, he was highly offended (22). But that there was little or no truth in this; that the King was himſelf as ſevere, and as rapacious as his Miniſters could be; and that there is very ſmall reaſon to ſuppoſe he was at all ignorant of any of their proceedings, will appear from the following inſtances; one of which, the noble author had from good authority, and the other he relates from his own knowledge: ſo that if we aim at diſcovering truth in this buſineſs, we may eaſily diſcern it (23).

‘ There remaineth to this day, ſays Lord Bacon, a report, that the King was on a time, entertained by the Earl of Oxford, his principal ſervant, both for war and peace, nobly and ſumptuouſly, at his caſtle at Hemingham; and at the King's going away, the Earl's ſervants ſtood in their livery-coats, with cognizances ranged on both ſides, and made the King a lane. The King called the Earl to him, and ſaid to him, my Lord, I have heard much of your hoſpitality, but I ſee it is greater than the ſpeech: theſe handſome gentlemen and yeomen which I ſee on both ſides of me, are ſure your menial ſervants. The Earl ſmiled, and ſaid, it may pleaſe your Grace, that were not for mine eaſe, they are moſt of them my retainers that are come to do me ſervice at ſuch a time as this, and chiefly to ſee your Grace. The King ſtarted a little, and ſaid, by my faith, my Lord, I thank you for my good chear, but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my ſight, my Attorney muſt ſpeak with you. And, it is part of the report, that the Earl compounded for no leſs than fifteen-thouſand marks. And to ſhew farther the King's extreme diligence, I do remember to have ſeen a book of accompt of Empſon's, that had the King's hand almoſt to every leaf, by way of ſigning, and was in ſome places poſtilled in the margin with the King's hand; likewiſe, where was this remembrance.

> ‘ Item, *Receiv'd of ſuch a one,* five *marks for a pardon to be procured, and if the* pardon *do not paſs, the money to be repaid, except the* party *be ſome otherways ſatisfied.*

‘ And over againſt this memorandum, of the King's own hand,

‘ *otherwiſe ſatisfied.*’

It was by ſuch ſmall ſums as theſe, as our excellent Hiſtorian well obſerves, that King Henry collected that immenſe maſs of treaſure of which he died poſſeſſed, and how immenſe that wealth was, in compariſon of thoſe, or indeed of theſe times, that learned and painful Antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, has told us, from a book of receipts and payments kept between the King, and Mr Edmund Dudley, viz. four millions and a half in coin and bullion, excluſive of rich furniture, wrought plate, and jewels. It appears likewiſe from the ſame book, that the extraordinary, or caſual reve-

venue

(22) Polydor. Virgil. Hiſt. Angl. lib. xxvi.

(23) Hiſt. of H. VII. in the 3d Vol. of his Works, p. 492, 493.

of the people being ſo great, that this ſtep was thought abſolutely neceſſary to quiet them (d); tho' Stowe ſeems to think, that both he and Sir Richard Empſon were decoyed into the Tower, or they had not been ſo eaſily taken (e). At the ſame time numbers of their ſubordinate inſtruments were ſeized, impriſoned, tried, and puniſhed (f). On the 16th of July, the ſame year, Edmund Dudley, Eſq; was arraigned, and found guilty of High-Treaſon, before Commiſſioners aſſembled in Guild-Hall (g) [G]. The King taking a progreſs afterwards into the country, found himſelf ſo much incommoded by the general outcry of his people, that he cauſed Sir Richard Empſon to be carried down into Northamptonſhire, where, in the month of October following, he was alſo tried and convicted, and then remanded back to the Tower (b). In the Parliament which began January 21ſt, 1510, of which Sir Thomas Ingleby was Speaker, Sir Richard Empſon and Edmund Dudley, Eſq; were attainted of High-Treaſon (i). The King, however, was unwilling to execute them; and Stowe (k) informs us, that a rumour prevailed, as if Queen Katherine had interpoſed, and procured Mr Dudley's pardon. To give ſome employment to his thoughts during his tedious impriſonment, and, perhaps, with a view of extricating himſelf happily out of all his misfortunes, he compoſed a very extraordinary piece (l), which he addreſſed to King Henry VIII; but, as it never came to his hand, ſo it could not contribute to ſave the head from which it ſprung [H]. The clamours of the people continually increaſing,

venue ariſing from the ſale of offices, compoſition of penalties, and diſpenſing with the laws, was advanced to one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds a year (24).

[G] *Before Commiſſioners aſſembled in Guild-Hall.*] It appears from the account given by Stowe, that Sir Richard Empſon, and Mr Dudley, were ſent for to attend the King in the Tower of London at ſuch a time, very probably, as his Privy-Counſellors were ſworn; and having thus put themſelves in the power of thoſe who had no good will to them, they were committed to priſon, contrary, as he inſinuates, to their expectations (25). Grafton tells us, that in the laſt year of King Henry VIIth's reign, they were by ſpecial Commiſſion, appointed to enquire of the offenders againſt penal laws, which they diligently proſecuted; but, ſays he, the malice of the people was ſo increaſed againſt them, for their endeavours and ſervice in the ſaid Commiſſion, the new King, to pacify the populace, was obliged to proceed againſt them (26). Accordingly, Edmund Dudley, Eſq; was brought, on the day mentioned in the text, before Edward, Duke of Buckingham; Henry, Earl of Northumberland; Thomas, Earl of Surrey; George, Earl of Shrewſbury; Thomas, Earl of Derby; Thomas, Prior of St John's of Hieruſalem, in England; Charles Somerſet, of Herbert, Knight; Stephen Jennings, Mayor of the City of London; John Fineux, Knight; Robert Rede, Knight; William Hodie, Knight; Robert Brudnele, Humphry Coningſby, John Fiſher, Knight; John Boteler, William Grevill, Thomas Lovell, Knight; Edward Poynings, Knight; Henry Marney, Knight; Thomas Englefield, Knight; and Robert Drury, Knight; Juſtices to enquire, &c (27). He was then indicted, together, as it ſeems, with Sir Richard Empſon, for high-treaſon; in proof of which, it was alledged, that during the ſickneſs of the late King, in the month of March preceding, they ſummoned certain of their friends to be in arms at an hour's warning, and upon the death of the ſaid King, to haſten to London. Out of which, and other circumſtances, it was collected by the jury, that their intention was to ſeize on the perſon of the new King, and ſo to aſſume the ſole government, or, if they could not attain this, to deſtroy him. It was a very ſtrange inference, that becauſe a man who had the misfortune to labour under the publick hatred, deſired the aſſiſtance of his friends, in order to come ſafe to London, therefore this implied a deſign to impriſon and deſtroy the King; but as ſtrange as it was, the jury it ſeems thought it credible. However, Sir Richard Empſon was ſent down into the country, and there tried for as ſtrange a felony as this was a treaſon (28). To ratify all this, they were attainted in Parliament, notwithſtanding an excellent ſpeech made by Sir Richard Empſon, which was not, as is generally ſuppoſed, written for him by the Lord Herbert (29); for the ſubſtance of it was long before printed in one of our chronicles (30). The whole of theſe proceedings, which were in the firſt and ſecond years of the reign of Henry VIII. were recited at large in the petition exhibited in the name of John Dudley, the ſon of Edmund, by his guardian Edward Guildford, Eſq; in the third year of the ſame reign, upon which he obtained a ſpecial Act of Parliament, for the repeal of this attainder; which ſufficiently ſhews, that it was founded rather in clamour, than in juſtice, and that the Parliament were as willing to remove that precedent as to make it.

[H] *To ſave the head from which it ſprung.*] It is ſomewhat ſtrange, that this book, though ſeen and peruſed by many, and thence made often the theme of publick diſcourſe, ſhould never yet ſee the light; as from the title and contents it ſeems well to deſerve. We will firſt give the reader theſe, next ſpeak of the fate of the author's original book, and laſtly, ſay ſomewhat of it's conſequences. It was entituled (31),

The Tree *of the* Commonwealth, *by* Edmund Dudley, Eſq; *late Counſellor to King* Henry VII, *the ſame* Edmund, *being at the compiling thereof, priſoner in the Tower, in* 1 Hen. VIII.

'The effect of this treatiſe, conſiſteth in three eſpe-'cial points.

'Firſt, Remembrance of God, and the faithful of 'his holy Church, in the which, every Chriſtian prince 'had need to begin.

'Second, Of ſome conditions and demeanors neceſ-'ſary in every prince, both for his honour and aſſurety 'of his continuance.

'Thirdly, Of the Tree of Commonwealth, which 'toucheth people of every degree, of the conditions 'and demeanors they ſhould be of.'

As to the original book, as it miſſed the King's hands, ſo it ſeems the family were alſo deprived of it; but many years afterwards, it was met with by that faithful hiſtorian and curious collector, of whatever regarded our antiquities, honeſt John Stowe; who believing the ſight of it would be welcome to the grandſon of this great man, then Earl of Warwick, he ſet himſelf to make a very fair tranſcript of it; which, when he had performed, he carried to that noble perſon, by whom it was very graciouſly accepted, John Stowe receiving in return, as much thanks, and as many good words as he could wiſh (32). The original, that induſtrious man kept to his death; long after which, with the greateſt part of his hiſtorical collection, it came into the poſſeſſion of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, who purchaſed them at a conſiderable price, about the time that he began to collect his noble library of manuſcripts, afterwards purchaſed by the late worthy Earl of Oxford, in which it is highly probable, this original work is to be found, though ſeveral copies of it have been, and are ſtill to be met with in other Libraries, beſides that before ſpecified in the margin, which probably was tranſcribed from the Earl of Warwick's.

It may be conjectured, that if this piece had been preſented, as it's author intended, to King Henry VIII. it might have delivered him from his misfortunes; but as Camden ſays on another occaſion, ſome ill ſtar ſeems to have waited upon all ſuch undertakings. King Henry VIII. being very deſirous of having ſuch a book as our author Dudley had compoſed for his uſe, aſſigned this employment to another of his father's Counſellors, Dr Thomas Ruthall, Biſhop of Durham (33), a man famous for his abilities, and who executed it with all the ſkill

(d) Lord Herbert's Hiſt. of H. VIII. p. 1.

(e) Annals, p. 486.

(f) See Grafton, Stowe, Hollinſhed.

(g) Petition in Parliament for the reſtitution of his ſon, 3 Hen. VIII.

(b) Hollinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 804.

(i) Polydor Virgil. Hiſt. Angliæ, lib. xxvii.

(k) Annals, p. 487.

(l) Hollinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 798.

(24) Diſcourſe of foreign war, with an account of all the taxations from the Conqueſt to the end of the reign of Q. Elizabeth, p. 53. in which the ſum is written in words at length.

(25) Annals, p. 486.

(26) Brief Chronicle of England, fo. 120. *b.*

(27) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 420, 421.

(28) Hollinſhed, Vol. II. p. 804.

(29) Hiſt. of the reign of H. VIII. p. 2.

(30) Hollinſhed, Vol. II. p. 803.

(31) Cat. Lib. MSS. Ang. & Hib. Oxon. Tom. II. p. 102. where it is ſaid, there is a copy of it among the MSS of Wm. Bromley, of Bagington in Warwickſhire, Eſq;

(32) See Strype's life of Stowe, prefixed to his edition of the Survey of London.

(33) Godwin. de præſulibus, P. ii. p. 136.

increaſing, and being rather exaggerated than ſoftened by ſeeing numbers of mean fellows, whom theſe great men had employed as informers and witneſſes, convicted and puniſhed, while they were ſpared, the King was, at laſt, obliged to iſſue his writ for their execution, in obedience to which the Sheriffs of London, Auguſt 18th, 1510 (*m*), brought Sir Richard Empſon and Edmund Dudley, Eſq; out of the Tower to a ſcaffold upon the Hill, where they both loſt their heads. The ſame night their bodies were interred; that of Empſon in White-Friers, and that of Dudley in the Black-Friers Church (*n*). Such was the end of our great Lawyer and Stateſman, in the forty-eighth year of his age. We are aſſured, that he inherited ſome eſtate from his father, and a better from his mother, to whom he was found heir at her death, in the thirty-ſixth year of his age. He was a gainer by both his marriages, and a great gainer by the laſt; to which if we add the profits of his profeſſion, what he received from his Maſter's bounty, and what might be diverted into his own coffers, in it's paſſage to the royal treaſury, we have no great reaſon to ſcruple what Stowe relates as a fact, that, at the time of his fall, he had an eſtate of eight hundred pounds a year, and above twenty thouſand pounds in money, excluſive of plate, jewels, and rich furniture (*o*). As to his character, it ſufficiently appears from what has been ſaid, as well of his abilities as actions; and, in reference to his family, becauſe there are many diſputes about it, and we go ſomewhat a different road from that in which thoſe travelled who went before us, we ſhall ſpeak of it at large in the notes [*I*]. The reader may obſerve, in this and the ſubſequent articles, that we are careful in giving him matters of fact, without adopting the ſentiments of any of our Hiſtorians, farther than we find them ſupported by evidence. Several of them aſcribe all the exactions and proſecutions under colour of penal laws, which began in this reign, almoſt as ſoon as the Civil Wars ceaſed, to Sir Richard Empſon and Mr Dudley; but there is no proof at all to ſupport this, more eſpecially with reſpect to the latter, who ſeems to have entered into the management of ſuch affairs but a very few years before the King's death. The Noble Hiſtorian, who has ſo impartially written the hiſtory of Henry VII, ſpeaks clearly to this point; of which, if we conſider his profeſſion, he muſt be allowed a much better judge than any who have taken upon them to treat of the ſame ſubject. The King's cloſe and griping diſpoſition, he plainly admits, was the cauſe of all theſe rigorous proceedings; but he obſerves, that Cardinal Morton, Sir Reginald Bray, and ſome other Miniſters in the beginning of his reign, took much pains to bridle his avaricious diſpoſition; which, however, was not ſo underſtood by the people, who, meaſuring the merits of Miniſters by thoſe events which fell out under their adminiſtration, attributed to them thoſe miſchiefs which, but for their interpoſition, had been far greater than they were. The wiſe Lord Bacon tells us, that, upon their demiſe, and the coming of Sir Richard Empſon, and Edmund Dudley, Eſq; into the direction of theſe matters, the King made no account of them at all, farther than as they obeyed his orders, and carried all things as far as they would go, which Polydore Virgil, and other writers, ſay they did; and Lord Bacon alſo ſays much the ſame: and, if this be the truth, then they were ſtrictly and properly the King's inſtruments; but it may be with ſome diſtinction in their practices: for, if Dudley had been as guilty as Empſon, he might have been convicted for ſuch offences as he was, whereas the matter objected to him was treaſon: as to the other great men of this line, they are treated much in the ſame way, and writers give what colour they think fit to their actions; which makes their characters uniform indeed, but in a way that will not ſatisfy impartial readers, who know that all actions may be ſet in different lights, and will therefore expect to be told, why they are ſet in one light rather than another. This, whenever it is in our power, we ſhew; and when not, we content ourſelves with the bare matters of fact, knowing that even the greateſt men are inconſiſtent, and that there is no ſuch thing as gueſſing, with any degree of certainty, at their ſecret intentions. Laſtly, it is to be obſerved, that, when we ſpeak of rewards, honours, or offices, conferred for the wiſdom, fidelity, and great ſervices of thoſe who receive them, we ſpeak commonly

in

(*m*) Stowe's Annals, p. 488.

(*n*) Hollinſhed's Chronicle, p. 809.

(*o*) Stowe's Annals, p. 487.

ſkill and accuracy imaginable. It happened however a little unluckily for him, that, prompted by the ſame deſire which warmed the breaſt of his maſter, he had drawn up a book of the ſame kind, with reſpect to his Biſhoprick of Durham, and cauſed both, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, to be very neatly bound in parchment, preciſely in the ſame manner. When therefore, Cardinal Wolſey came from the King, to enquire for this ſyſtem of government for his uſe, the Biſhop directed his Secretary to reach the new parchment book, who by miſtake, reached him that of the Biſhoprick of Durham. The Cardinal taking the liberty to read the book firſt, then carried it to his maſter with this complement; I bring your Grace a mine, out of which, when your occaſions require it, you may take a large maſs of treaſure: it was not long before this miſtake reached the Biſhop's ears, which affected him ſo ſtrongly, that, falling into a fever, he died, and Wolſey ſucceeded him. Another treatiſe of the like nature, was penned for the ſpecial uſe of King Edward VI. by William Thomas, Eſq; Clerk of the Council in his reign (34), who afterwards had the misfortune to be hanged, drawn, and quartered for high-treaſon, in that of Queen Mary.

[*I*] *We ſhall ſpeak of it at large in the notes.*] Sir William Dugdale takes no notice at all of this gentleman's having two wives, and indeed, I do not find any writer that mentions his having had iſſue by the firſt, except the manuſcript Baronage, which has been ſo often cited; from thence, we learn that he married, firſt, Anne, Daughter of Sir Andrews Windſor, afterwards Lord Windſor, then the widow of Sir Roger Corbet, of Morton, in the County of Salop, by whom he had a daughter Elizabeth, who married William, Lord Stourton (35). His ſecond wife, was Elizabeth, daughter of Edward, Lord Liſle, and ſiſter and coheireſs to John, Viſcount L'Iſle, by whom he had three ſons, John Dudley, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, of whom in the next article, Sir Andrews Dudley, Knight of the Garter, and Jerom Dudley, Eſq; con-

cerning

(34) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 175.

(35) Baronagium Angliæ, fo. 21.

in the words of the grant, and mean thereby no more, than to declare the cauſes expreſſed by the Royal Donor, without pretending to maintain that theſe were never miſtaken.

cerning whom we know very little, except that he lived long in the family of his brother the Duke of Northumberland, and that he was provided for by the will of the Ducheſs. As to the Lady Elizabeth Grey, about five years after the deceaſe of her huſband Edmund Dudley, ſhe married Arthur Plantagenet, ſon to Edward IV. by Lady Elizabeth Lucy, who in her right upon the reſignation of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who had married that lady's neice, was created Viſcount L'Iſle. By this noble perſon ſhe had three daughters; Bridget, married to Sir William Carden, Knight; Frances, who eſpouſed John Baſſet, Eſq; firſt, and afterwards, Thomas Monk of Potheridge, in the County of Devon, Eſq; from whom deſcended, George, created by King Charles II. Duke of Albemarle; and laſtly, Elizabeth, the wife of Sir Francis Jobſon, Knight (36). E

(36) See the Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

DUDLEY (John), ſon of the former, Baron of Malpas, Viſcount L'Iſle, Earl of Warwick, and Duke of Northumberland; reputed, by many of our Hiſtorians, the moſt powerful ſubject ever flouriſhed in this kingdom. He was born ſome time in the year 1502, when his father was in the very zenith of his power, and ſtood in equal credit with the King and his ſubjects, as appears by his being choſen, the year after, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons (*a*). At the time his father was put to death, this John, his eldeſt ſon, was about eight years old; and it being well enough known, that the ſeverity exerciſed in that act was rather to ſatisfy the people than juſtice, John Dudley, by Edmund Guilford, Eſquire of the body to the King his Guardian, petitioned the Parliament that the attainder might be reverſed of Edmund Dudley, his late father, and himſelf reſtored in blood; which was accordingly obtained, and a ſpecial act paſſed for that purpoſe in 1511 (*b*). There is no reaſon to doubt, that all due care was taken of his education, by a mother equally diſtinguiſhed by her virtues and her quality, and by a Guardian, who is celebrated for being one of the fineſt Gentlemen in a Court then eſteemed the politeſt in Europe (*c*). But, as to any particulars, Hiſtorians are ſilent. When his mother, with the King's conſent, married Arthur Plantagenet, who, in her right, was created Viſcount L'Iſle (*d*), which was about the year 1523, we find that he was brought to Court, and, being a young Gentleman of a fine perſon, and highly accompliſhed, he attended the King's favourite Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, in his expedition into France (*e*); where his gallant behaviour not only entitled him to the ſpecial notice of his noble General, but procured him alſo the honour of knighthood (*f*). It may be reaſonably preſumed, that, upon his return, he met with a kind reception at Court, having many relations in great favour; but it ſeems he truſted chiefly to his own abilities, and very wiſely attached himſelf to the King's Firſt Miniſter Cardinal Wolſey (*g*), whom he accompanied in his embaſſy to France, in the nineteenth year of that reign (*h*); and, making a proper uſe of the advantage which this afforded, entered, not long after, into the King's ſervice, as appears from a patent (*i*) granted him for the office of Maſter of the Armory in the Tower, with the allowance of a groom. His hopes at Court did not hinder him from attending to his concerns in the country, where he was very careful to improve his intereſt amongſt the Gentry; and, in 1536, was Sheriff of Staffordſhire, where he lived hoſpitably, and had the good-will of his neighbours in a much greater degree, than when he was exalted to a far ſuperior ſtation (*k*). About two years after this he entered himſelf of the ſociety of Gray's-Inn (*l*); but that he ever ſtudied the Laws there, as his father did, ſeems to be very doubtful; though ſome authority might be brought to prove it (*m*). The Court was ſtill his home, and Wolſey his patron ſo long as he had power. He was alſo in great confidence with the next Prime Miniſter Thomas, Lord Cromwell; ſo that upon the coming over of Lady Anne of Cleves, whom that Stateſman had engaged the King to marry, when that Lord was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Eſſex, and Great Chamberlain of England, he was made Maſter of the Horſe to the intended Queen (*n*). On the firſt of May 1539, he was the firſt of the challengers in the triumphant tournament held at Weſtminſter, in which he appeared with great magnificence (*o*) [*A*]. The fall of the Earl of

(*a*) Lord Herbert's Hiſt. of H. VIII. p. 6.

(*b*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 218.

(*c*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 421.

(*d*) Pat. 15 H. VIII. p. 1.

(*e*) Stowe's Annals, p. 519, 520.

(*f*) November 6th, 1523.

(*g*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 421.

(*h*) Stowe's Annals, p. 531.

(*i*) Pat. 26 H. VIII. p. 1.

(*k*) Fuller's Worthies in Staffordſhire, p. 53.

(*l*) Origines Juridiciales, p. 299.

(*m*) Heylin's Hiſt. of the Reformation, p. 189.

(*n*) Hollinſhed's Chron. p. 919. *b*.

(*o*) Stowe's Annals, p. 579.

[*A*] *In which he appeared with great magnificence.*] We are told that this great man, who did not riſe over haſtily at the beginning, took a great deal of pains to qualify himſelf for the King's ſervice; in order to which he made a tour to Italy, and remained ſome time at Rome: as with the like deſign he viſited France, by which means he became a very compleat Courtier, and capable of employments of very different kinds (1). In this, which was to make way for his future honours, he, to pleaſe the King, accepted an office in the houſhold of a Queen who was not like to enjoy that honour long, it being well enough known in the Court, that the King had not married her from affection but from policy (2). This tournament, in which he made the principal figure, had been proclaimed in France, Flanders, Scotland, and Spain, for all comers to try their proweſs againſt the Engliſh challengers, who were Sir John Dudley, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Thomas Poynings, Sir George Carew, Knights, Anthony Kingſton, and Richard Cromwell, Eſquires. They came into the liſts upon May-day, preceded by a band of Knights and Gentlemen, all dreſſed in white velvet, the furniture of their horſes was of the ſame, but the challengers themſelves were very richly dreſſed. The firſt day there were forty-ſix defendants, amongſt whom were the Earl of Surrey, Lord William Howard, Lord Clinton, and Lord Cromwell, ſon to the Prime-Miniſter who was a little before created Earl of Eſſex. Sir John Dudley, by ſome miſchance of his horſe, had the misfortune to be overthrown by one Mr Breme, but however he mounted again and performed very gallantly. After this was over, the challengers rode in ſtate to Durham Houſe, where they entertained the King, Queen, and Court. On the ſecond of May, Anthony Kingſton and Richard Cromwell were made Knights; on the third, the challengers fought on horſeback with ſwords againſt twenty-nine defendants. Sir John Dudley and the Earl of Surrey

(1) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 421.

(2) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 271.

of Eſſex, which happened ſoon after, did not in the leaſt affect the favour or the fortune of Sir John Dudley, who had a very great dexterity in maintaining himſelf in the good graces of powerful Miniſters, without embarking too far in their deſigns (*p*), preſerving always a proper regard for the ſentiments of his ſovereign, which kept him in full credit at Court in the midſt of many changes, as well of men as of meaſures. It was owing to this wiſe conduct of his, as well as to his ſplendid manner of living, and great liberality, not only to the extent but beyond the limits of his eſtate, that he never wanted friends to ſollicit in his behalf, and to excite, in his Royal Maſter, a juſt attention to his ſervices (*q*). This very clearly appeared ſoon after the death of his father-in-law, when the King, by letters patents, bearing date the twelfth of March 1542, raiſed him to the dignity of Viſcount L'Iſle (*r*), with very ſingular marks of his eſteem and conſideration [*B*]. At the next feſtival of St George he was alſo elected Knight of the Garter (*s*). This was ſoon after followed by a much higher inſtance, both of kindneſs and truſt; indeed, ſuch an inſtance, as had ſcarce any example in former times, and has not been conſidered as a precedent fit to follow in thoſe that have ſucceeded ſince; for the King, conſidering his prudence, his courage, and his activity, as well as the occaſion he had, and was like to have, for a man of ſuch talents in that office, conſtituted him Lord High-Admiral of England for life (*t*). The next year he commanded a fleet of two hundred ſail, with which he proceeded to the Scotch coaſts, where he performed all the ſervice that was expected from him, and, having landed his forces, marched through the ſouthern provinces of Scotland by land, and moſt effectually reſtored the tranquillity of the marches (*u*) [*C*]. He next embarked for France, and, on the twenty-eighth of July 1543, appeared before Bologne, then beſieged by King Henry VIII. in perſon, and, by his great diligence and courage, facilitated very much the taking of the place, of which the King left him the charge, with the title of his Lieutenant (*w*). In this important employment he did more than his maſter had reaſon to expect, and as much as the nation or himſelf could deſire [*D*]. On the twenty-ſeventh of March 1646, the King declared him, by patent, Lieutenant-General, and Commander of all his forces at ſea (*x*), for the more effectual carrying on of the

(*p*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 421.

(*q*) Strype's Memorials.

(*r*) Pat. 34 H. VIII. p. 3.

(*s*) Regiſter of the Order of the Garter.

(*t*) Pat. 34 H. VIII. p. 7.

(*u*) Cowper, Hollinſhed, and Strype.

(*w*) Stowe's Annals, p. 585.

(*x*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 84.

Surrey running firſt with equal advantage. On the fifth of May they fought on foot at the barriers againſt thirty defendants. In the courſe of theſe military diverſions, the challengers, at a vaſt expence, entertained both Houſes of Parliament, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and their wives, and all the perſons of diſtinction then in town, as a reward for which, the King gave to each of them a houſe and a hundred marks a year for ever, out of the revenues of the Knights of Rhodes, which had been given to his Majeſty by the Parliament then ſitting (3).

(3) Hollinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 950, 951.

[*B*] *Of his eſteem and conſideration*] We have before obſerved, that, upon the marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Viſcount L'Iſle, and widow of Edmund Dudley, Eſq; to Sir Arthur Plantagenet, he was raiſed to that dignity, which was limited to his heirs male by that Lady, in prejudice of her children by the firſt marriage, but he dying in the Tower on the third of March 1542 (4), it was repreſented to the King that this honour naturally deſcended to Sir John Dudley, to which therefore he was advanced by patent (5), in conſideration (as the preamble ſets forth) not only of the acceptable and laudable ſervices of his beloved and faithful ſubject Sir John Dudley, Knt. variouſly done, but alſo his vigilance, foreſight, faithfulneſs, valour, and illuſtrious deſcent. To hold the ſaid title to him, and the heirs male of his body, and to enjoy ſeat and place in Parliament among the Viſcounts of this realm of England, and in all other the King's dominions, with a grant of an annuity of twenty marks, payable half yearly out of the revenues of the counties of Warwick and Leiceſter, by the Sheriffs of the ſaid counties.

(4) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 312.

(5) Pat. 34 H. VIII. p. 3.

[*C*] *The tranquallity of the marches.*] We find the Lord Viſcount L'Iſle, from the time of his being promoted to the great office of Lord High-Admiral, commonly mentioned, by that title, in all our hiſtories. It is plain enough, that he had ſerved with reputation at ſea, before he obtained that honour, ſince we are told, by a perſon who attended him in all his expeditions, that he boarded and took the Admiral of Sluys, fighting her ſhip to ſhip (6). In this expedition to Scotland, he had a fleet of two hundred ſail, on board of which, at Newcaſtle, he embarked an army of ten thouſand men; on the 4th of May, 1544, he landed the troops about four miles from Leith, from whence, they marched to Edinburgh, the Lord Admiral commanding the van-guard, and the Earl of Hertford the main battle (7); the former, had the credit of routing the Scots, and of forcing the principal gate of Edinburgh, into which, he was the firſt man that entered (8); the fleet alſo, did infinite miſchief, ruining the ſea-coaſts, and taking all the ſhips which the Scots had in thoſe parts, particularly, the Salamander, a very fine ſhip of war, preſented by the French King, to his ſon-in-law King James, at the time of his marriage; and the Unicorn, built by order of the King of Scots. The fleet quitted Leith on the 15th of May, after ſpoiling the port, deſtroying the pier, burning the town, ruining the towns and villages on each ſide the river, as high as Stirling, and ſinking every veſſel, great and ſmall, that they did not carry away. The land army, in it's return, proceeded with the ſame rigour, and, in our hiſtories, there is a long liſt of places, by the ruin of which, their rout was diſtinguiſhed (9). This was, in execution of the King's orders: afterwards, it ſeems, his Hiſtorian thought of it in another light, when he ſaid, we did on that occaſion too much for lovers, and for conquerors, too little (10).

(6) The valiant exploits of the Right Honourable the Viſcount L'Iſle, Lord Admiral, &c. by Mr Cock, Lancaſter-Herald, preſerved amongſt the papers of the Sidney family.

(7) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 331.

(8) Lancaſter-Herald's account of his exploits before cited.

(9) Hollinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 963.

(10) Lord Herbert's Hiſt. of H. VIII. in the Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 243.

[*D*] *As the nation, or himſelf could deſire*] The ſiege of Bologne, was formed on the 19th of July, by the Duke of Suffolk; the King came to the camp in perſon on the 26th, the Lord Admiral arrived there on the 28th of the ſame month, where he encamped the neareſt the town of any of the King's forces. In this ſiege, he was preſent in moſt of the attacks, and had there, the misfortune to loſe his eldeſt ſon. The place was ſurrendred on the 14th of September, and on the 18th, the King made his public entry into it, and ſoon after, delivered the keys of the place to the Lord Admiral, with the title of Governor; and upon his embarking for England, on the 30th of the ſame month, declared him his Lieutenant-General (11). The Dauphin being not far off, with an army of upwards of fifty-thouſand men, he firſt formed a deſign of retaking the place by ſiege; and afterwards, on the 9th of October, attempted it by ſurprize, in which, through the vigilance, care, and courage of the Lord Admiral, and his garriſon, the French were repulſed, with the loſs of eight hundred men of their beſt troops; and this, all our writers allow (12), to have been one of the gallanteſt actions performed in that war, none of the breaches being repaired, and the place in a manner open. On the 1ſt of February following, the Lord Admiral ſallying out of Bologne, with a ſmall body of horſe and foot, attacked a much ſuperior corps of French forces, under the command of Monſ. de Beiz, forced them to retire precipitately, and made themſelves maſters of twelve pieces of canon (13).

(11) From the Journal of this Siege, inſerted in Lord Herbert's Hiſtory.

(12) Hollinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 967. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 342.

(13) Hollinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 967.

[*E*] *And*

the war againſt France; and this at a time when the French, by the help of money, and alliances with the maritime powers of Europe, had drawn together a very great naval force, and threatened to make the Engliſh feel the weight of it, not only at ſea, but by covering an invaſion, which they had long meditated; all which vaſt deſigns were fruſtrated by the courage and conduct of the Lord Viſcount L'Iſle, with a force much inferior to theirs (y). After this the Lord High-Admiral returned their viſit, landed five thouſand men upon their coaſts, burnt the town of Treport, and ſome other villages; and the French army advancing offered them battle, which they declined; and he thereupon reimbarked his troops, having, in this expedition, loſt only a ſingle man, and done infinite miſchief to the enemy (z) [*E*]. The ſame year he was, together with Dr Cuthbert Tonſtall, Biſhop of Durham, and Dr Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury and York, appointed a Commiſſioner to take the oath of Francis the French King, for obſerving the treaty of peace ſigned June 7th, 1546 (*a*); which he performed with great ſolemnity. On the ſixteenth of October following he was, together with many other perſons of rank, named in a commiſſion for ſettling the accompts of the army. This was one of the laſt ſervices he performed in the reign of that great Prince, to whom he owed all his honours and fortune, receiving from him, towards the cloſe of his reign, very large grants of Church-lands, which delivered him from the inconveniences that muſt otherwiſe have enſued from his unbounded generoſity; which grants, however, created him many enemies (*b*) [*F*]. The King's health daily declining, his Majeſty made the beſt proviſion he could for the ſafety and quiet of his ſon's reign; in order to which he cauſed his laſt will and teſtament to be framed, with much deliberation, by the ableſt and wiſeſt of his Counſellors, which he ſealed and ſubſcribed December 30th, 1546 (*c*); and therein, as the laſt mark of his affection and truſt, he named Sir John Dudley, Lord Viſcount L'Iſle, one of his ſixteen executors, and gave him alſo a legacy of five hundred pounds, which was the higheſt that he beſtowed upon any of them (*d*). By this will they were conſtituted Privy-Counſellors, and had the government put into their hands, which gave them a legal authority, ſince this will was founded upon an act of Parliament (*e*). On the laſt day of the month of January ſucceeding, King Henry VIII died, and his ſon Edward VI ſucceeded him, to the general joy and ſatisfaction of the nation (*f*). It was not long before great alterations were made in the diſpoſitions by the late King's will; which alterations were, in truth, the ſource of all the miſchiefs that followed. The Earl of Hertford, who was the King's uncle, and, by that near relation, in very great credit about his perſon, thought that ſufficient regard had not been ſhewn to him, by the bare nomination to a ſeat in the Council, among ſo many where, at firſt, he did not perceive that he was like to have any precedency. He therefore preſſed to be declared Protector, that the State might have ſome viſible head; to which, very probably, from their own views, the major part of the Council yielded, much againſt the will of the Lord Chancellor Wriotheſly, who ſhewed, that this was departing entirely from the will of Henry VIII, which was the only legal rule they had (*g*). The Protector ſoon after took from him the Seals, and thought of nothing ſo much as how to eſtabliſh his own power. It is indeed reported, by many writers, that he was excited to theſe ſteps by a wiſer man than himſelf, by whom they mean the Lord Viſcount L'Iſle (*h*); but of this, as there is no evidence, ſo in truth there is not much probability. Amongſt the firſt of the Protector's projects one was, to get his brother, Sir Thomas Seymour, made High-Admiral, in whoſe favour the Lord Viſcount L'Iſle reſigned, not willingly (*i*) to be ſure, but upon the

[*E*] *And done infinite miſchief to the enemy.*] The French King at an immenſe expence, hired from ſeveral of the Italian powers, what in thoſe days was accounted a very large fleet; it conſiſted of upwards of two hundred ſail of all ſorts, beſides gallies; which, however, met with an accident when it firſt put to ſea, one of their beſt ſhips, of the burthen of eight hundred ton taking fire (14). Between Alderney and Guernſey, their gallies attacked the Lord Admiral, who, had but a ſmall ſquadron with him, bending all their endeavours to take his own ſhip; which, however, he defended ſo well againſt eighteen of thoſe veſſels at once, that they were at length glad to retire (15). The whole French fleet appearing before St Helens, and making a ſhew of attempting ſomething upon the coaſt, the Admiral advanced, with his ſmall fleet of ſixty ſail, but after exchanging ſome ſhot, the French retired. The Engliſh fleet being then reinforced, and taking ſome troops on board, offered them battle again, forced them to retire to their own coaſts, where they were ſpectators of thoſe miſchiefs done by the Engliſh (16), which are briefly mentioned in the text. All theſe tranſactions happened between the beginning of June, and the end of Auguſt, 1545.

[*F*] *Which grants, however, created him many enemies.*] The Abbey of Hales-Owen, in Shropſhire, dedicated to the Bleſſed Virgin, and St John the Evangeliſt; which, at the diſſolution, had lands of the annual value of three hundred thirty-ſeven pounds, fifteen-ſhillings and ſix-pence, according to Speed, was granted to Sir John Dudley, by King Henry VIII, in the thirtieth year of his reign (17); the hoſpital of Burton Lazars, in Leiceſterſhire, which, was the largeſt foundation of that kind in England, being valued, both according to Dugdale and Speed, at the annual rent of two-hundred ſixty-five pounds, ten ſhillings, was granted to the Lord L'Iſle, by the ſame monarch, in the thirty-ſixth year of his reign (18); the Manor of Choſel, near Ringſtead, in the County of Norfolk, was about the ſame time granted to him, as being annexed to the hoſpital beforementioned; by the ſame grant, he acquired the Hoſpital of St Giles's (19), without the Bar of the Old Temple, London. The ſame King, in the thirty-ſeventh year of his reign, granted to John Dudley, Lord Viſcount L'Iſle, and Lord High-Admiral of England, as well in conſideration of his ſervice, as for the ſum of one thouſand pounds ſterling, the ſite, circuit, and precinct of the Hoſpital, or Priory of St John of Jeruſalem (20), only the lead, bells, timber, ſtone, glaſs, and iron, and other things of the church, were ſpecially reſerved to the King's Majeſty. I have likewiſe ſeen accounts of ſome other ſmall grants, with which I will not trouble the reader.

[*G*] *And*

(*y*) The valiant exploits of the Right Honourable the Viſcount Liſle, Lord Admiral, &c. by Mr Cock, Lancaſter-Herald, preſerved among the papers of the Sidney family.

(z) Hayward's life of Ed. VI. p. 16.

(*a*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 98.

(*b*) See this point explained in the note.

(*c*) Alen, Qu. p. 32.

(*d*) See the King's Will in Fuller's Church Hiſtory.

(*e*) See Lord Herbert's Hiſt. of H. VIII. and Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation.

(*f*) Stowe's Annals, p. 593.

(*g*) Hayward, Burnet, Strype.

(*h*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 422.

(*i*) Stowe's Annals, p. 594.

(14) Lord Herbert's Hiſt. of H. VIII. Vol. II. p. 250.

(15) Lancaſter-Herald's account of his exploits before cited.

(16) Hollinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 970.

(17) Tanner's Notitia Monaſtica, p. 452.

(18) Ibid. p. 239.

(19) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 500. Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 602, 611.

(20) Ibid. p. 668.

the beſt terms he could make. Accordingly, February 17th, 1547, the very ſame day that the new Lord Admiral's patent paſſed, he was created Earl of Warwick, and made Great Chamberlain of England; neither was it long before he had great grants from the Crown, particularly Warwick Caſtle and Manor (*k*). This has occaſioned ſeveral writers to repreſent the promotions made, and titles conferred about this time, as proceeding from his intrigues; whereas, in truth, he had a title by deſcent to the Earldom of Warwick; King Henry VIII intended to have created him Earl of Coventry (*l*); and the new King's coronation made it natural to do ſomething extraordinary to grace it. The Duke of Somerſet, Lord Protector, finding himſelf under a neceſſity of marching an army into Scotland, reſolved to command it in perſon, and took the Earl of Warwick with him, in quality of his Lieutenant-General (*m*); in this expedition he added to that great reputation which he had already acquired, as even his enemies themſelves confeſs, being the chief author of that victory which was then obtained, and would alſo have puſhed the war to a glorious concluſion, if he had been intruſted with the ſole command; as it was, his conduct was univerſally commended, and all the blame fell elſewhere (*n*) [*G*]. He was next employed by the Duke of Somerſet, Lord Protector, in conjunction with many other honourable perſons, to compromiſe matters with the French, who, after the death of King Henry, were very deſirous of getting Bologne again into their hands (*o*), which it was of great conſequence to the Protector to prevent, and yet to avoid, if poſſible, engaging in a war; both which ends were effected for the preſent; to which the induſtry and authority of the Earl of Warwick did not a little contribute (*p*). It was this activity of his in buſineſs, which was generally attended with ſucceſs, that chiefly recommended him to the Protector Somerſet, who certainly had much ſlowneſs and timidity in his nature, which made him admire men of quick parts and ſolid abilities, whoſe advice he uſed from time to time, but more eſpecially liſtened to the counſels of Warwick, Sir William Paget, who was Secretary, and Sir William Cecil, who afterwards enjoyed the

(*k*) Pat. 1 Ed. VI. p. 6, 9.

(*l*) Strype's Memorials.

(*m*) Stowe's Annals, p. 595.

(*n*) See Patten's Relation, inſerted both in Hayward and Hollinſhed.

(*o*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 135.

(*p*) Hayward, Burnet, Strype.

[*G*] *And all the blame fell elſewhere.*] Sir John Hayward, who took upon him to write the Hiſtory of this reign, was no friend at all to the noble perſon who is the ſubject of this article, and yet he allows him all the honour of this expedition. We will firſt give the reader a ſhort character of the Earl of Warwick as he has drawn it, and afterwards ſome other paſſages, which will fully juſtify what we have advanced in the text (21). 'The Earl of Warwick, ſays he, was a man of antient Nobility, comely in ſtature and countenance, but of little gravity or abſtinence in pleaſures, yea ſometimes almoſt diſſolute, which was not much regarded, if, in a time when vices began to grow into faſhion, a great man was not over ſevere. He was of a great ſpirit and highly aſpiring, not forbearing to make any miſchief the means of attaining his ambitious ends. Hereto his good wit and pleaſant ſpeeches were altogether ſerviceable, having the art alſo by empty promiſes and threats to draw others to his purpoſe. In matters of arms he was both ſkilful and induſtrious, and as well in foreſight as reſolution preſent and great. To ſay truth, for enterprizes by arms he was the minion of that time, ſo as few things he attempted but he atchieved with honour, which made him more proud and ambitious when he had done. He generally increaſed both in eſtimation with the King, and authority among the Nobility, doubtful, whether by fatal deſtiny to the State, or whether by his virtues, or at leaſt by his appearances of virtues.' After this character, the ſame author proceeds to give us the following relation (22): 'As the Engliſh directed their way towards the place where they underſtood the Scots aſſembled, they came to a river called Lynne, croſſed with a bridge of ſtone, The horſemen and carriages paſſed through the water, the footmen over the bridge, which, becauſe it was narrow, the army was long in ſetting over. The avaunt guard marched forth, and the battail followed; but as the rear was paſſing over a thick miſt did ariſe. The Earl of Warwick having before eſpied certain plumps of Scottiſh horſemen in ranging the field, returned towards the rear, to prevent ſuch danger as the thickneſs of the miſt, the nearneſs of the enemy, and the diſarray occaſioned by the narrowneſs of the bridge, might caſt upon them. The Scots conjecturing, as it was, that ſome perſonage of honour ſtayed to have a view of the rear, called to the Engliſh to know if any Nobleman were near, for that one whom they named, well known to be of honourable condition, would preſent himſelf to the General, in caſe he might ſafely be conducted. Certain young ſoldiers, not uſed to ſuch trains, made raſh and ſudden anſwer, That the Earl of Warwick was near, under whoſe protection he might be aſſured. Hereupon they paſſed the water, placed two hundred of their prickers behind a hillock, and, with forty more, caſt about to find the Earl. Now the Earl eſpying ſix or ſeven of them ſcattered near the army, and taking them to be of the Engliſh, ſent one to command them to their array, and to that end himſelf rode an eaſy pace towards them, followed only with ten or twelve on horſeback: he that had been ſent before, was ſo heedleſs either to obſerve or advertiſe what they were, that the Earl did not diſcover them to be enemies until he was in the midſt among them. Certainly a Commander ſhould not careleſsly caſt himſelf into danger, but when either upon neceſſity or miſadventure he falleth into it, it much advanceth both his reputation and enterprize, if bravely he behave himſelf. Now, the Earl eſpying where he was, gave ſo rude a charge upon a Captain of the Scots, named Dandy Care, that he forced him to turn, and chaced him above twelve ſcore at the lance's point. Herewith the reſidue retired deceitfully towards the place of their ambuſh, from whence iſſued about ſixty more. Then the Earl gathered his ſmall company about him, and, with good countenance, maintained the fight. But the enemy in the end, whether perceiving ſome ſuccours advancing from the army where the alarm was then taken, or whether intending to draw the Engliſh further into their ambuſh, turned away an eaſy pace. The Earl forbad his men from following, fearing a greater ambuſh behind the hill, as in truth there was. At his return he was received with great applauſe by the Engliſh ſoldiers, for that he did ſo well acquit himſelf in the danger, whereunto, by error, and not by raſhneſs, he had been carried. One of his men was ſlain; another hurt in the buttock; a third, named Vane, ſo grievouſly hewn, that many thouſands have died of leſs than half his hurts, whereof, notwithſtanding he was cured afterwards. Of the Scots three were taken priſoners, and preſented to the General by the Earl.' When a challenge was brought in the name of the Earl of Huntley, to the Lord Protector, the Earl of Warwick told the trumpeter, that he would undertake that Lord, and give him a thouſand crowns reward upon his bringing news that his offer was accepted (23). In the battle of Muſſleborough, fought Sept. 10, which was one of the greateſt defeats the Scots ever received, the victory was the pure effects of the courage and

(21) Hiſt. Ed. VI. p. 15. in which what regards the war with the Scots is by far the beſt written part of the book, being drawn from Patten's Relation. Stowe's Chronicle, p. 594.

(22) Hayward's Hiſt. of Ed. VI. p. 17.

(23) Hollinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 984. in which Patten's Relation is inſerted in his own words; and there it is but one hundred crowns, whereas Hayward makes it one thouſand.

the ſame place (q). Happy had it been for him, if he had conſtantly followed their opinions. But it ſo fell out, that, without regarding the feebleneſs of the government, he perſiſted in a war with Scotland, which was very indifferently managed, aſſumed the direction of affairs at home entirely to himſelf, undertook too many great enterprizes at once, which unluckily croſſed one another, and, by degrees, brought all into confuſion (r). His own brother, the Lord Admiral, entered into ſtrange practices againſt him, which occaſioned much diſturbance in the Court; but there is no ſign that the Earl of Warwick had any correſpondence with him, but, on the contrary, diſcountenanced his proceedings, and, in appearance at leaſt, ſupported the cauſe of the Duke of Somerſet, who, after temporizing a long time, cauſed the Lord Admiral, in the end, to be attainted by Parliament, and executed (s). In the midſt of theſe troubles the common people in moſt parts of the kingdom, as is uſual when any State is diſtracted by factions, began to grow mutinous and diſobedient, and, at laſt, broke out into inſurrections (t). The Protector Somerſet permitted theſe to grow to a great head, either from an unwillingneſs to ſhed the blood of his countrymen, for he was certainly a man of a mild and merciful diſpoſition, or that he might gain time to bring in foreign troops, which he might have afterwards at his own diſpoſal. In Devonſhire they grew ſo ſtrong, that they beſieged the city of Exeter, and, before they could be reduced by the Lord Ruſſell, a new rebellion broke out in Norfolk, under the command of one Robet Ket, a Tanner, who was very ſoon at the head of ten thouſand men (u). The ſwiftneſs of their progreſs excited a commotion in Yorkſhire, and, in both places, the rebels went upon levelling principles, thought of nothing but pulling down the Nobility, and changing the Conſtitution at their fancy: this was an evil not to be trifled with, and therefore an army of ſix thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe, which was to have been employed againſt the Scots, received orders to march towards the rebels, under the command of John Earl of Warwick, whoſe known military abilities rendered him fitteſt for this ſervice. He preſerved Norwich with ſome difficulty, and afterwards fought with the rebels, who both, in drawing up their men, and, in the courſe of the action, behaved much better than could have been expected from ſuch raw ſoldiers (w). The Earl, however, defeated them, and killed about a thouſand men, other writers ſay many more. This greatly diſcouraged, but did not diſſipate them; on the contrary, they collected all their ſcattered parties, and offered him battle a ſecond time. The Earl marched directly towards them, but, when he was on the very point of engaging, he ſent them a meſſage, *That he was ſorry to ſee ſo much courage expreſſed in ſo bad a cauſe; but that, notwithſtanding what was paſſed, they might depend upon the King's pardon on delivering up of their leaders*; to which they anſwered, *That he was a Nobleman of ſo much worth and generoſity, that, if they might have this aſſurance from his own mouth, they were willing to ſubmit* (x). The Earl accordingly went amongſt them, upon which they threw down their arms, delivered up Robert Ket and his brother William, with the reſt of their chiefs, who were hanged; upon hearing which the Yorkſhire rebels diſperſed, and ſo all was quiet again (y). This rebellion being ſuppreſſed in the ſummer, the Lords of the King's Council, amongſt whom was the Earl of Warwick, began in the autumn to confer amongſt themſelves, as to the cauſes of that diſtreſſed and diſcontented ſtate into which the nation was reduced. The Protector upon this ſent Secretary Petre to know the meaning of their meetings, whom they kept with them; and, October 8th, 1549, they went into the city, where, having acquainted the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, that they had no other views than for the ſafety of the King's perſon, the redreſs of grievances, and the reſtoring the peace of the kingdom, the city thankfully concurred with them; upon which the Protector, who had removed the King from Hampton-Court to Windſor, ſubmitted himſelf, and was ſent priſoner to the Tower on the 28th of the ſame month (z). The Earl of Warwick was again made Lord High-Admiral, by the King's letters patents, with very extenſive powers (a). At this time, it is ſaid, the Papiſts had ſome hopes that he would favour their religion; but, whether as a Politician he gave them any grounds for theſe hopes, whether they took them up without grounds, or whether, as others had done, he altered his ſyſtem when he came into power, certain it is that he adhered ſteadily to the Reformation, and, ſhortly after

(q) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 424.

(r) Stowe, Hollinſhed, Speed.

(s) Hollinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 996.

(t) Stowe's Annals. p. 597.

(u) Hayward, Burnet, and Strype.

(w) There is a long and very diſtinct relation of this expedition in Speed.

(x) Hollinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1036.

(y) Stowe's Annals, p. 597.

(z) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 136.

(a) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 194.

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and conduct of the Earl of Warwick. The Lord Grey began the battle, contrary to his orders, and being ſoundly beaten, had like to have thrown all into confuſion, but the Earl of Warwick ſtood firm, though very much expoſed, and, giving his orders with great preſence of mind, recovered all, and drove the Scots out of the field. What little was done afterwards was by his command, and the execution of it truſted to his brother, Sir Andrews Dudley (24). But the Protector had his reaſons for returning as ſoon as poſſible to London; and Biſhop Burnet ſays, that the Earl of Warwick was not diſpleaſed with that, becauſe he ſaw it would leſſen the Duke's reputation; which is a conjecture only, and ought to be conſidered as ſuch, and not at all eſteemed a fact, ſince there is no evidence to ſupport it (25). At that time the Protector had ſo good an opinion of the Earl of Warwick, that he left him behind in the North to treat with the Scots, which proved indeed a thing of no conſequence, as the Scots never intended to treat, but made that propoſal to the Duke of Somerſet, only to gain time, as the Duke accepted it, becauſe it afforded him a fair pretence for returning into England (26). It has little or no relation to the Earl of Warwick's character, whether this war was wiſely or imprudently entered into; ſince it is univerſally acknowledged, that he diſcharged the truſt repoſed in him with great capacity, hazarded his perſon freely, and, by a right application of his military ſkill, gained a glorious victory, which procured him, at that time, what he certainly deſerved, a very high and general reputation.

(24) Lancaſter-Herald's account of his exploits, before cited. Hayward, Hollinſhed, Stowe.

(25) Hiſt. of the Reform. Vol. II. p. 35.

(26) See Hayward and Burnet.

[H] In

after, procured the removal of ſome who differed in opinion from him in that and many other reſpects (*b*) [*H*]. He ſtood, at this time, ſo high in the King's favour, and had ſettled ſo firm a friendſhip with the reſt of the Lords of the Council, that nothing was done but by his advice or conſent; to which, therefore, we muſt attribute the releaſe of the Duke of Somerſet out of the Tower, and reſtoring him to ſome ſhare of power and favour at Court. The King was much pleaſed with this, and, being deſirous that the friendſhip of theſe two great men ſhould not be barely in appearance, a marriage was propoſed between the eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Warwick and the Lady Anne Seymour, daughter to the Duke of Somerſet; which, at length, was brought to bear, and, on the third of June, 1550, was ſolemnized in the King's preſence, who expreſſed great ſatiſfaction thereat (*c*). The King's favour to him ſtill continued, or rather increaſed, ſo that upon his ſurrendering the office of Lord High-Chamberlain of England, which was beſtowed upon the Marquis of Northampton, the King was pleaſed to make him Lord Steward of his Houſhold, by Letters Patents (*d*), not only expreſſive of his Majeſty's affection and eſteem, but containing alſo ſome other matters that deſerve the reader's notice [*I*]. In the month of April, 1551, he was conſtituted Earl Marſhal of England (*e*); but whereas a certain Hiſtorian ſays, that he was joined in an embaſſy with William, Marquis of Northampton, to the French King, about the ſame time (*f*), it is clearly a miſtake; ſince it appears, from unexceptionable authority, that it was his ſon the Lord Viſcount L'Iſle. On the 15th of Auguſt the ſame year, Sir Robert Dudley, one of the Earl's younger ſons, was ſworn one of the ſix ordinary Gentlemen of the Chamber (*g*); a ſhort time afterwards the Earl of Warwick was made Lord Warden of the Northern Marches (*h*); and, on the 11th of October the ſame year, he was advanced to the dignity

(*b*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reform. Vol. II. p. 139.

(*c*) Taken from King Edward's Journal.

(*d*) Pat. 4 Ed. VI. p. 2.

(*e*) Pat. 5 Ed. VI. p. 4.

(*f*) Sir John Hayward, in his Hiſt. of Ed. VI. from whom it has been often tranſcribed.

(*g*) Taken from King Edward's Journal.

(*h*) Pat. 5 Ed. VI p. 7.

[*H*] *In that and many other reſpects.*] If we conſider the removal of the Lord Protector Somerſet from the government, as it is ſtated by Stowe and other plain writers, it will appear that the far greateſt part of the King's Council concurred in that meaſure, and offered very plauſible reaſons for their ſo doing (27). Sir John Hayward is very clear, that the whole was a contrivance of the Earl of Warwick's, that the reſt were but his tools, and that the articles objected againſt the Protector were invented to make him odious (28). It is very true, that when the Council met to take this bold ſtep of pulling down the King's uncle, it was at Ely houſe, where the Earl of Warwick then reſided; yet it no where appears that he was at the head of this buſineſs, nor indeed could he be, when the Lord Chancellor Rich, and the Lord St John, who was Preſident of the Council, were at all the conſultations. The articles againſt the Protector are extant in our Hiſtories, there is nothing in them of black and heinous crimes, but of preſumption, overbearing, and high indiſcretions, many of the facts in them were notoriouſly known, and the Duke of Somerſet confeſſed them in his ſubmiſſion (29). When the Lords went to the King to juſtify their complaints, the Earl of Warwick went not with them, which Sir John Hayward ſays was a piece of craft, it might be ſo, and it might alſo be the effects of tenderneſs and modeſty. He was appointed by the Council one of the Lords to attend upon the King's perſon, which was a great honour, but then he ſhared it with five others (30). Sir John Hayward ſpeaks much of his ſecret conferences with the Earls of Arundel and Southampton, and affirms, that not being able to work theſe great Peers to ſerve his purpoſes, he got them both excluded from the Council. Biſhop Burnet is of quite another opinion, he ſuggeſts, that the Papiſts were in hopes of making ſome great advantage by this notable change in the government, becauſe they were ſure of the other two Earls, and had a favourable opinion of Warwick (31). But it ſeems he was a very great politician, he ſaw that the King was a firm Proteſtant, and perhaps he made it a rule with him to be of the religion of the Crown; ſo that it is very likely his conferences with Arundel and Southampton might be upon this ſubject, Whether it was beſt to ſtop the reformation of religion or to promote it? and there is nothing more certain, than that in this they differed, that the two Earls were for the old Popiſh road, but the Earl of Warwick was for marching in the King's high-way; and therefore it is no wonder that he procured their excluſion from Councils, in which he was determined to lead, and knew very well they were not inclined to follow (32). In all this he acted like a great Stateſman, though perhaps not upon virtuous or religious principles; whatever cenſures he may deſerve for this, muſt light upon him in common with many others, for few Stateſmen are very remarkable for a ſteady adherence to any thing but their own intereſt, and if his happened at this time to concur with the true intereſt of his country, he was ſo much the leſs to blame.

[*I*] *That deſerve the reader's notice*] Theſe letters patents bear date, February 20th, 1550, in the fourth of Edward VI (33), wherein the King recites, ' That ' whereas Henry VIII, late King of England, granted ' to his moſt beloved Couſin and Counſellor, Charles, ' late Duke of Suffolk, deceaſed; the office of Lord ' Steward of the Houſhold, by the name of Great Maſter of the Houſhold, or the Great Maſter of the ' King's Houſhold: and, whereas, by Act of Parliament, in May 22 Hen. VIII, it was enacted, that ' during the time the late Duke of Suffolk, and his ' ſucceſſors in the ſaid office, ſhould enjoy the ſaid poſt ' of Lord Steward; they ſhould be called Lord Steward ' of the King's Houſhold, as by the ſaid Act appears. ' That, attributing much to the loyalty, wiſdom, and ' virtue of his beloved Couſin and Counſellor, John, ' Earl of Warwick, &c. and having always experienced ' his conſtancy in the Chriſtian Religion, his valour in ' war, ſedition, and riots; his friendly and faithful inclination towards him, and deſiring his abode and reſidence in his Palace, and attendance on his Royal ' Perſon. By advice of his Privy-Council, he grants ' to the ſaid Earl of Warwick the office of Lord, or ' Great Maſter of his Houſhold for life, with all fees, ' wages, &c. as the ſaid Duke of Suffolk, Earl of ' Wiltſhire, or any Steward of the King's Houſhold, ' held, or enjoyed. And commands, that the ſaid ' Earl of Warwick, have his Letters Patent, without ' fine or fee, great or ſmall, to his uſe to be paid.' At this time he was looked upon as ſo warm a Proteſtant, that the moſt zealous Divines had recourſe to his favour and protection; amongſt the reſt, Dr Hooper, appointed about that time, Biſhop of Glouceſter, who ſcrupled much the wearing the epiſcopal habit, and for whom, the Earl, out of reſpect to the tenderneſs of his conſcience, actually interpoſed; but afterwards, when the Earl became better acquainted with the ſtate of the queſtion, and was made ſenſible of the conſequences that might follow from indulging ſuch a ſingularity in ſentiments, he withdrew his protection, and Dr Hooper was forced to ſubmit (34). On the other hand, tho' it is certain, that Dr Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, wrote him a letter of complement after the fall of the Protector, yet he never ſhewed him any countenance, nor did he give the leaſt oppoſition to his being deprived of the rich Biſhoprick of Wincheſter, when he knew that Archbiſhop Cranmer, conſidered it as a thing neceſſary to the peace of the Church (35). The reader is left to judge from theſe facts, whether he was a man wholly indifferent about religion, or a deep diſſembler, willing to do any thing that might either gain, or preſerve power.

[*K*] *Of*

(27) Stowe's Chronicle, p. 597. Hollinſhed, Vol. II. p. 1057.

(28) Hiſt. Ed. VI. p. 322.

(29) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reform. Vol. II. p. 138.

(30) King Edward's Journal of his own reign, in the Appendix to Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation.

(31) Hiſt. Ed. VI. p. 103, 112. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 139, 140.

(32) See what is ſaid upon this ſubject in Leiceſter's Commonwealth,

(33) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 203, 208.

(34) Fuller's Church Hiſt. cent. xvi. p. 403. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 152, 154.

(35) See the account of his deprivation in Burnet and Strype.

nity of Duke of Northumberland (*i*), at the ſame time that the Marquis of Dorſet was created Duke of Suffolk. In a few days after theſe promotions, the conſpiracy of the Duke of Somerſet, as it was called, broke out, being betrayed by Sir Thomas Palmer; the Duke, his Ducheſs, and ſeveral other perſons, were ſent priſoners to the Tower; and the King, being perſuaded that he had really formed a deſign to murder the Duke of Northumberland, reſolved to leave him to the law (*k*). Accordingly, on the 1ſt of December, he was brought to his trial in Weſtminſter-Hall, where the Duke of Northumberland, which was very indecent, ſat as one of his Judges (*l*). He was acquitted of the treaſon, but found guilty of the felony, upon a ſtatute made in the third year of that reign, received ſentence of death, and on the 22d of January following, was executed upon Tower-hill; which many conſidered as an effect of the potent Duke of Norrhumberland's reſentment (*m*) [*K*]. About this time, or rather a little before, he was elected Chancellor of Cambridge

[*K*] *Of the potent Duke of Northumberland's reſentment.*] This buſineſs of the Duke of Somerſet's death, is very warily related in our old chronicles, more eſpecially thoſe written neareſt the time, yet in one of theſe (36), we have the following account. 'Sir Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerſet, was again apprehended and caſt into the Tower of London, by means of Sir John Dudley, lately made Duke of Northumberland, at this time, of great authority in the realm. It was laid to the Duke of Somerſet's charge, that he purpoſed, and went about, the death of the Duke of Northumberland, being one of the Privy-Council, and therefore, by ſtatute, was guilty both of treaſon and felony. Of this he was after arraigned at Weſtminſter, and by his peers acquitted of treaſon, but condemned of felony. At this time many of the people rejoiced, being perſwaded, that the King's uncle ſhould never be put to death for felony, and thereby, thought he ſhould have eſcaped: but he was had again to the Tower, and there kept, until he was brought out to his death.' Sir John Hayward, according to his uſual cuſtom, charges it roundly upon the Duke of Northumberland, as if he conſpired againſt the Duke of Somerſet, and not that Duke againſt him, he relates the matter thus (37). 'The Duke of Northumberland, being now inferior unto none of the nobility in title of honour, and ſuperior to all in authority and power, could not reſtrain his haughty hopes from aſpiring to an abſolute command. But, before he would directly level at his mark, the Duke of Somerſet was thought fit to be taken away, whoſe credit was ſo great with the common people, that although it ſufficed not to bear out any bad attempt of his own, yet, was it of force, to croſs the evil purpoſes of others. And now to begin the third act of this tragedy, ſpeeches were caſt, that he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed King in divers countries; which albeit, they were known to be falſe, inſomuch, as the Miller's ſervant at Battle-Bridge, in Southwark, loſt both his ears upon a pillory for ſo reporting; yet, the very naming of him to be King, either as deſired by himſelf, or by others eſteemed worthy, brought with it a diſtaſteful reliſh, apt to apprehend ſuſpicion to be true. After this, he was charged to have perſwaded divers of the nobility to chuſe him Protector at the next Parliament. The Duke being queſtioned, neither held ſilence as he might, nor conſtantly denied it, but entangled himſelf in his doubtful tale. One Whaley, a buſy-headed man, and deſirous to be ſet on work, gave firſt light to this appeachment, but the Earl of Rutland did ſtoutly avouch it. Herewith, Sir Thomas Palmer, a man neither loving the Duke of Somerſet, nor beloved of him, was brought by the Duke of Northumberland to the King, being in his garden. Here he declared, that upon St George's day laſt, before the Duke of Somerſet, being upon a journey towards the North, in caſe Sir William Herbert, Maſter of the Horſe, had not aſſured him, that he ſhould receive no harm, would have raiſed the people; and that he had ſent the Lord Grey before, to know, who would be his friends: alſo, that the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Pembroke, and other Lords, ſhould be invited to a banquet, and if they came with a bare company, to be ſet upon by the way; if ſtrongly, their heads ſhould have been cut off at the place of their feaſting. He declared further, that Sir Ralph Vane, had two thouſand men in readineſs; that Sir Thomas Arundel, had aſſured the Tower; that Seymour and Hammond would wait upon him, and that all the horſe of the Gendarmorie, ſhould be ſlain. To this, Mr Secretary Cecil added, that the Duke had ſent for him, and ſaid, that he ſuſpected ſome ill meaning againſt him, whereto Mr Secretary anſwered, that if he were not in fault, he might truſt to his innocency, if he were, he had nothing to ſay, but to lament him. The Duke being advertiſed of theſe informations againſt him, by ſome, who had ſome regard to honeſty, did forthwith defy the Secretary by his letters. Then he ſent for Sir Thomas Palmer, to underſtand what he had reported of him, who denied all that he had ſaid; but by this hot and humourous ſtriving, he did but draw the knots more faſt.' We have this account afterwards repeated, and a little diverſified, in ſpeaking of the Duke's trial, ſentence, and execution. Biſhop Burnet ſpeaks with much more tenderneſs of this unfortunate nobleman; and though he bears pretty hard every where upon the Duke of Northumberland, yet he does not venture to charge that Duke of with forging any of the circumſtances of this conſpiracy (38); to ſay the truth, the friends of Somerſet, in the very ſame breath that they charge Northumberland with bringing him by art to the block, let fall things that ſeemed to ſpeak quite the contrary; for inſtance, a certain author (39), delivers himſelf thus. 'The Duke of Somerſet is trained by his enemies to ſuch fears and jealouſies, as tranſport him beyond his own good nature, to an attempt one morning upon the Earl of Warwick, now Duke of Northumberland, a bed, where being received with much kindneſs, his heart relented, and he came off *re infecta*. At his coming out, one of his company aſked him if he had done the deed? he anſwered, no; then, ſaid he, you are, yourſelf undone. And indeed, it ſo fell out, for when all other accuſations failed, this only ſtuck by him, and could not be denied, and ſo he was found guilty by a ſtatute of his own procurement, viz. *That if any ſhould attempt to kill a Privy-Counſellor, although the fact were not done, yet it ſhould be felony, and to be puniſhed with death.*' This fact of Somerſet's going with an intention to murder Northumberland in his chamber, is related more at large by a foreign author of the higheſt credit, who is known to have had his materials from the moſt knowing perſons in this kingdom, who might perhaps be more free in their communications, than they would have been in penning a hiſtory, for which they muſt have been accountable themſelves, if it had been publiſhed; the reader will be probably pleaſed to ſee what he ſays (40). 'Northumberland having drawn the chief power into his own hands, he had nothing elſe to do, but to remove Somerſet himſelf out of the way, towards whom he ſhewed ſuch a contempt, as drove the other upon the thoughts of killing Dudley, for the vindication of his own authority. Somerſet therefore went to his houſe, under pretence of a viſit, covered with a coat of mail under his cloaths, and carrying with him, a party of men, whom he left in the next chamber; but, when he was introduced in the civileſt manner to Dudley, who was naked, and lying upon his bed, the good natured man repenting, he would not execute his deſign, and departed without ſtriking a ſtroke.' It is the obſervation of the very learned and judicious Mr Camden (41), that *the Duke of Somerſet loſt his life for a very ſmall crime, and that upon a nice point, ſubtilly deviſed and managed by his enemies.* Now if Doctor Fuller may be admitted to explain this ſhort text, he will bring it home

(*i*) Pat. 5 Ed. VI. p. 4.

(*k*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 179.

(*l*) See the proceedings againſt Edward Duke of Somerſet, in the 7th Vol. of the State-Trials.

(*m*) Fuller, Hayward, Strype.

(36) Cooper's Chronicle, fo. 352.

(37) Hiſt. of Ed. VI. in the 2d Vol of the Compleat Hiſt. of England, p. 320.

(38) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 178, 179.

(39) Lloyd's State Worthies, p 425, 426.

(40) Preſident de Thou's Hiſt. of his own times, tranſlated by the Reverend Dr Wilſon, Vol. II. p. 409.

(41) Camden's Britannia, in Engliſh, 2d edition, col. 97, 98.

Cambridge (*n*), in the room of that unfortunate Peer of whom we have been ſpeaking; but at what time he became High-Steward, which Dr Heylyn aſſures us he was (*o*), and that theſe two offices have never been in one perſon before or ſince, is very uncertain. This great Politician had now raiſed himſelf as high as it was poſſible, in point of dignity and of power; the aſcendancy he had gained over the young King was ſo great, that he directed him entirely at his pleaſure; and he had, with ſuch dexterity, wrought moſt of the great Nobility into his intereſts, and had ſo humbled and depreſſed all who ſhewed any diſlike to him, that he ſeemed to have all things to hope, and little to fear (*p*). We ought, therefore, to attribute to this ſituation, and that vain pride which naturally triumphs in the breaſts of ambitious men, his mean and barbarous uſage of the head of his family, and his near relation, John, Baron of Dudley, whoſe eſtate being entangled by uſurers, he, by purchaſing aſſignments of mortgages, drew by degrees entirely into his own hands, ſo as at laſt to compaſs what he for many years deſired, the poſſeſſion of the antient caſtle of Dudley; which he not only thoroughly repaired, but added alſo a moſt noble ſtructure, worthy of his wealth and greatneſs, which was called the new building, adorning all parts of the caſtle, with the arms of the noble families from which, by his mother's ſide, he was deſcended, that, in ſucceeding times, it might not be taken for an acquiſition, but the patrimony of his family (*q*). This was certainly going far enough, or rather much too far; yet he ventured ſtill farther, and, having deſpoiled his poor couſin of his caſtle and eſtates, thruſt the titles of Dudley and Somerie amongſt his other baronies, leaving his unhappy kinſman a new and ſtrange title in their ſtead; for living, as well as he could, amongſt the great families in Staffordſhire and Warwickſhire, who pitied his misfortunes, he went there currently by the name of Lord Quondam, till, by a ſudden revolution, he became maſter of Dudley caſtle again, and his ſon obtained, out of the forfeiture of this potent Duke, an ample fortune, free from all incumbrances, with a clear title. But to return to our Hiſtory. Many writers there are who inſinuate, that, from the time the Duke of Northumberland and his family came to have the perſon of the King, as well as the direction of the Government, in their hands, the health of that young Prince began to decline; but theſe, perhaps, are no other than calumnies, ſince the decay of the King's health may, with great probability, be attributed to his having the meaſles and ſmall-pox in a ſhort time, one after the other, which could not but harraſs extreamly a conſtitution naturally tender; and theſe were diſeaſes which artifice or intrigue could never procure, though they might have afforded a better colour to bad deſigns, if ſuch had been really entertained, than a lingering conſumption which followed them (*s*). It does not indeed appear, that the Duke of Northumberland had any cauſe to ſuſpect the loſs of his power while that King lived, nor did he ſeem to fear it; but, when he diſcerned his Majeſty's health to decline apace, it was very natural for him to conſider how he might render himſelf and his family ſafe. This appears plainly, from the hurry with which the marriage was concluded between the Lady Jane Grey, eldeſt daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, and his fourth ſon Lord Guildford Dudley, which was celebrated in the month of May, 1553, that is, not above two months before the King died (*t*). We may however ſuppoſe that he had, for ſome time, been contriving in his mind that plan, for the diſpoſal of the Kingdom, which he carried afterwards into execution [*L*]. In the Parliament held a little before the King's death, the Duke of Northumberland procured a conſiderable ſupply to be granted, and, in

(*n*) Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 128.

(*o*) Hiſt. of the Reformat. p. 161.

(*p*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 176.

(*q*) Antiquities of Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 423.

(*r*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 216.

(*s*) See the account of the King's ſickneſs at large in Burnet and Strype.

(*t*) Stowe's Annals, p. 609.

home to the noble perſon whoſe article we are writing, ſpeaking of Somerſet's accuſation (42), he ſays, 'Here I muſt ſet John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, as a 'tranſcendent, in a form by himſelf, being a competent lawyer, ſon to a Judge, known ſoldier, and able 'ſtateſman, and acting againſt the Protector, in all 'theſe his capacities. Indeed, he was the very ſoul 'of the accuſation, being all in all, and all in every 'part thereof.' It may be preſumed, that the King was as well informed in theſe points, as any writer whatever; and it appears as well from his Journal, which he kept very exactly, and very ſecretly (43), as from a private letter of his to Mr Barnaby Fitzpatrick (44), that he did not judge his uncle altogether ſo innocent, or, that he was convicted without evidence. But after all can be ſaid, the reſentment of the Duke of Northumberland, was certainly ſeen in his execution, if not in his condemnation; ſince the King might have been eaſily prevailed on to ſpare his uncle, if he had been applied to, or rather muſt have been drawn with difficulty to conſent to the death of him, he had ſo long conſidered as a parent. Here then lay the cruelty of Northumberland, which was generally remembered when his fall came, and loudly charged upon him by the people (45); and yet it may be urged, if not in juſtification, yet in excuſe, that he was not bound to regard his own life leſs than Somerſet did his, who, for his ſecurity, procured that act of Parliament on which he died, nor could it be well expected, that he ſhould have more pity or commiſeration for his rival in thoſe unhappy circumſtances, than Somerſet, when Protector, had for his own brother.

[*L*] *Which he carried afterwards into execution.*] We are told by Sir John Hayward, that after the creation of the Marquis of Dorſet, and the Earl of Warwick, Dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, and other promotions and alterations made at court (46), there followed ſomewhat of ſtill greater conſequence, which he introduces thus: 'And which was the accompliſhment of miſchief, Sir Robert Dudley, one 'of the Duke of Northumberland's ſons, a true heir, 'both of his hate againſt perſons of the Nobility, and of 'his cunning to diſſemble the ſame, was ſworn one of 'the ſix ordinary gentlemen. He was afterwards, for 'luſt and cruelty, a monſter of the Court, as apt to 'hate, ſo a moſt ſure executioner of his hate; yet, 'rather by practice, than open dealing, as wanting 'rather courage than wit. After his entertainment 'into a place of ſo near ſervice, *the* King *enjoyed his* '*health not long*.' After laying this foundation, he takes it for granted in ſeveral paſſages in the ſubſequent part of his work, that the King was poiſoned by the procurement of the Duke of Northumberland; yet the reverend Mr Strype cenſures him for writing ſo poſitively without authorities, and not without reaſon. His very introduction is ill grounded; for, as the King tells us himſelf, Sir Robert Dudley was ſworn one of his gentlemen in ordinary, Auguſt 15th, 1551 (47), and the promotions of which, Sir John Hayward makes this a conſequence, were in the October following, it was

(42) Church Hiſtory, p. 406.

(43) There is a full account of the conſpiracy and trial of the Duke of Somerſet, in that Journal, Dec. 1, 1551.

(44) This letter is in Fuller's Church Hiſtory.

(45) When he was brought priſoner to the Tower, a woman thruſt a handkerchief in his face dipped in the Duke of Somerſet's blood.

(46) Hiſt. of Ed. VI. in the 2d Vol. of the Compleat Hiſt. of England, p. 320.

(47) King Edward's Journal under that date.

in the preamble of that act, a direct cenſure of the Duke of Somerſet's adminiſtration; and, having wiſely anſwered his purpoſes by this ſingle meaſure, diſſolved that Parliament immediately (*u*). He then applied himſelf to the King, and ſhewed him the neceſſity of ſetting her aſide, from the danger the Proteſtant religion would be in, if the Lady Mary, ſhould ſucceed him; in which, from the piety of that young Prince, he met with no great difficulty. Biſhop Burnet ſays, he did not well underſtand how the King was prevailed upon to paſs by his ſiſter Elizabeth, who had been always much in his favour (*w*); perhaps he might be told, that it was impoſſible to aſſign any reaſons for diſinheriting one ſiſter, that might not alſo be applied for the other; ſo that there was a neceſſity of depriving both, or neither. Yet, when this was done, there was another difficulty in the way. The Ducheſs of Suffolk was the next heir, and ſhe might have ſons, and, therefore, to bar theſe in favour of Lady Jane Dudley ſeemed to be unnatural, as well as illegal; the Ducheſs herſelf contributed, as far as in her lay, to remove this obſtacle, by devolving her right upon her daughter, even if ſhe had male iſſue; which ſatisfied the King, who was but in the ſixteenth year of his age, and might not therefore perceive the fallacy of reſigning not only her own claim, but that of thoſe who might deſcend from her, which ſhe could not poſſibly have power to do (*x*). The King's conſent being obtained, the next point was to procure a proper inſtrument to be drawn by the Judges; in doing which the Duke of Northumberland made uſe of threats as well as promiſes, and when done at laſt, it was in ſuch a manner, as plainly ſhewed it to be illegal in their own opinions (*y*) [*M*]. At
this

(*u*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 195. Stowe's Annals, p. 609.

(*w*) Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 222.

(*x*) This appears from the inſtrument for eſtabliſhing the Lady Jane.

(*y*) See Judge Montague's relation, which is inſerted in Fuller's Church Hiſtory.

was in the month of April 1552, that the King had the meaſles and the ſmall-pox, and his health did not begin to decline till ſome time afterwards, ſo that there is great impropriety in ſaying, that after his coming into a place ſo near him, the King enjoyed his health not long. All the reſt of our hiſtorians ſpeak very doubtfully of the King's death, chiefly from a great indiſcretion, which was the putting him into the hands of a woman, after the Phyſicians began to doubt whether he could be ſaved by their ſkill; from which time it is certain, that he did grow worſe, and ſo the Phyſicians were called in again (48); yet there are many who will hardly take this for a teſtimony of his being poiſoned, though Sir John Hayward, ſays, *ſhe was a ſchoolmiſtreſs well inſtructed for the purpoſe* (49), but will rather conceive, that the Duke of Northumberland conſented to this, in hopes of ſaving the King's life; which, if he was a ſound politician, he muſt have conſidered, as of greater conſequence to him, than to any other man in the kingdom. But be this as it will, there is no ſort of proof, that the Duke took ſuch early care as he might have done for his family, if he had any foreſight of the King's death; but his doing things as he did in a hurry, ſeems to ſhew quite the contrary, and indeed, there is a letter of his to Sir William Cecil, which looks as if he had deceived himſelf much in this particular, and entertained hopes of the King's recovery, after they were loſt by others. Yet it cannot be conceived, that while the whole nation was alarmed by the King's ſickneſs, the Duke ſhould be wholly unconcerned as to the event, which is the reaſon of it's being ſaid in the text, that he might have digeſted in his mind that ſcheme of the ſucceſſion, ſome time before he mentioned it to the King; and that looking upon it as a dangerous undertaking, and his laſt ſhift, he delayed it till the neceſſity became preſſing.

[*M*] *As plainly ſhewed it to be illegal in their own opinions.*] The full narrative of this whole important tranſaction, and of the Duke of Northumberland's behaviour therein, is thus briefly and clearly delivered by Biſhop Burnet (50). ‘On the 11th of June, ſays he, Montague, that was chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, and Baker and Bromley, two Judges, with the King's Attorney and Sollicitor, were commanded to come to Council. There they found the King with ſome Privy-Counſellors about him. The King told them, he did now apprehend the danger the kingdom might be in, if, upon his death, his ſiſter Mary ſhould ſucceed, who might marry a ſtranger, and ſo change the laws and the religion of the realm; ſo he ordered ſome articles to be read to them, of the way in which he would have the crown to deſcend. They objected, that the Act of Succeſſion, being an act of Parliament, could not be taken away by any ſuch device: yet the King required them to take the articles, and draw a book according to them: they aſked a little time to conſider of it. So having examined the ſtatute of the firſt year of this reign, concerning treaſons, they found that it was treaſon, not only after the King's death, but even in his life, to to change the ſucceſſion. Secretary Petre, in the mean while preſſed them to make haſte: when they came again to the Council, they declared they could not do any thing, for it was treaſon, and all the Lords ſhould be guilty of treaſon, if they went on in it. Upon which, the Duke of Northumberland, who was not then in the Council-Chamber; being advertiſed of this, came in great fury, calling Montague a traytor, and threatned all the Judges, ſo that they thought he would have beaten them. But the Judges ſtood to their opinion. They were again ſent for, and came with Goſnald added to them, on the 15th of June. The King was preſent, and he ſomewhat ſharply aſked them, why they had not prepared the book as he had ordered them? they anſwered, That whatever they did, would be of no force without a Parliament. The King ſaid, he intended to have one ſhortly. Then Montague propoſed, that it might be delayed till the Parliament met. But the King ſaid, he would have it firſt done, and then ratified in Parliament, and therefore, he required them on their allegiance, to go about it, and ſome Counſellors told them, that if they refuſed to obey, that they were traytors. This put them in a great conſternation; and old Montague thinking it could not be treaſon whatever they did in this matter while the King lived, and at worſt, that a pardon under the Great-Seal would ſecure him, conſented to ſet about it, if he might have a commiſſion, requiring him to do it, and a pardon under the Great-Seal when it was done. Both theſe being granted him, he was ſatisfied. The other Judges being aſked, if they would concur, did all agree, being overcome with fear, except Goſnald, who ſtill refuſed to do it. But he alſo being ſorely threatned, both by the Duke of Northumberland, and the Earl of Shrewſbury, conſented to it the next day. So they put the entail of the crown, in form of law, and brought it to the Lord Chancellor, to put the ſeal to it. They were all required to ſet their hands to it; but, both Goſnald and Hales refuſed. Yet the former was wrought on to do it, but the latter, though a moſt ſteady and zealous man for the Reformation, would upon no conſideration yield to it: after, that the Lord Chancellor for his ſecurity, deſired that all the Counſellors might ſet their hands to it, which was done on the 21ſt of June, by thirty-three of them, it is like, including the Judges in the number. But Cranmer, as he came ſeldom to Council after the Duke of Somerſet's fall, ſo he was that day abſent on deſign. Cecil, in a relation which he made one write of this tranſaction for clearing himſelf, afterwards, ſays, that when he had heard Goſnald and Hales declare how much it was againſt law, he refuſed to ſet his hand to it as a Counſellor, and only ſigned it as a witneſs to the King's ſubſcription. But Cranmer ſtill refuſed to do it, after they had all
‘ſigned

(48) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 224.

(49) Hiſt. of Ed. VI. in the 2d Vol. of Compleat Hiſt. p. 327.

(50) Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 223.

this time indeed the Duke, either from the hurry of his paſſions, the fear he had of what might happen from delays, or the haughtineſs ariſing from a ſeries of good fortune which had ſo long continued, began to loſe much of his former gentleneſs and affability, as he ſhewed himſelf amazingly rapacious in the grants which he obtained from a King, whoſe age, excluſive of his ſickneſs, made it indecent at leaſt, if not illegal, to accept ſuch mighty bounties, the worth of which he could never be preſumed to know, from his giving them thus laviſhly away. The Duke was no leſs careful in drawing to himſelf as much power, and diffuſing his intereſt as wide as poſſible; ſo that whatever happened he might not want a retreat, or find his ſchemes in danger of being broken through an oppoſition by the diſcontented Nobility, in which ſchemes, notwithſtanding their difficulty, he ſucceeded to his wiſh, his eſtate being enlarged, and his offices multiplied, beyond any thing that had in former times been beſtowed upon any ſubject (z) [*N*]. The Letters Patents for diſpoſing of the Crown were ſigned by King Edward on the 21ſt of June (a), and on the 6th of July that Monarch expired, expreſſing to the laſt great ſatisfaction in the proviſion he had made for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant Religion, and the happineſs of his people (b). It is ſaid, that the Duke of Northumberland was very deſirous of concealing the King's death for ſome time, but this being found impoſſible, he carried his daughter-in-law, the Lady Jane, from Durham-Houſe to the Tower for the greater ſecurity, and on the 10th of July proclaimed her Queen (c); the Council alſo wrote to Lady Mary requiring her ſubmiſſion, but they were very ſoon informed that ſhe was retired into Norfolk, where many of the Nobility, and multitudes of people, reſorted to her (d). It was then reſolved to ſend forces againſt her under the command of the Duke of Suffolk, but Queen Jane, as ſhe was then ſtiled, would by no means part with her father, and the Council earneſtly preſſed the Duke of Northumberland to go in perſon, to which he was little inclined, as doubting their fidelity. He ſignified as much in the ſpeech he made at taking his leave, and was anſwered with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that men could give; the Earl of Arundel particularly told him, he was ſorry it was not his chance to go with him, in whoſe preſence he could find in his heart to ſpend his blood even at his feet (e). On the 14th of July the Duke, accompanied by the Marquis of Northampton, the Lord Grey, and others, marched through Biſhopſgate with two thouſand horſe, and ſix thouſand foot; but, as they rode through Shoreditch, he could not forbear ſaying to the Lord Grey, *The people preſs to ſee us, but not one ſays God ſpeed us* (f). His activity and courage, for which he had been ſo famous, ſeemed, from this time, to have deſerted him; for though he advanced to St Edmund's-Bury in Suffolk, yet finding his troops diminiſh, the people little affected to him, and no ſupplies coming from London, though he had wrote to the Lords in the moſt preſſing terms, he retired back again to Cambridge (g). In the mean time the Council thought of nothing but how to get out of the Tower, and at laſt effected it, under pretence of going to the Earl of Pembroke's houſe at Baynard's Caſtle, to give audience to the foreign Ambaſſadors. This was on the 19th of the ſame month, and the firſt thing they did when they came there, was to ſend for the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, whom they accompanied to Cheapſide, and there Garter King at Arms proclaimed Queen Mary; the Earl of Arundel, and Lord Paget, went the ſame

night

(z) See this at large in the note.

(a) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 222.

(b) Fuller's Church Hiſtory, cent. xvi. p. 425.

(c) Stowe's Annals, p. 610.

(d) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 233.

(e) Stowe's Annals, p. 610, 611.

(f) Heylin's Hiſt. of the Reformation, p. 161.

(g) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 238.

'ſigned it, and ſaid he would never conſent to the diſinheriting of the daughters of his late maſter. Many 'conſultations were had to perſwade him to it. But 'he could not be prevailed on, till the King himſelf 'ſet on him, who uſed many arguments from the 'danger religion would otherwiſe be in, together with 'other perſwaſions; ſo that by his reaſons, or rather 'importunities, at laſt he brought him to it.'

[*N*] *Been beſtowed upon any ſubject.*] If all the inſtances that might be alledged of this, were carefully collected, they would ſwell this note very much beyond it's proper bounds; and therefore, it ſhall ſuffice to alledge here, the teſtimony of the induſtrious Strype, who, though in other places he has diſtinctly conſidered them, thus ſums up the matter at once, ſpeaking of the Duke's ſtate and condition, in the year 1553 (51). 'Dudley, the great Duke of Northumberland, now 'bore all the ſway at Court, and, in effect, did what he 'liſted. This year, beſides the County Palatine of 'Durham, the honour and power of which was like 'to fall to him; the King gave him Bernard's Caſtle 'there, with very great additions of lands and lordſhips 'in that county, and in Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, and York, or any otherwhere in the Biſhoprick 'of Durham for life. He had alſo granted to him, 'the manors of Feckenham, Bromeſgrove, King's Norton in Worceſterſhire, with many other lands. 'The year before, he was made Chief Steward of 'the Eaſt-riding of York, and of all the King's 'lordſhip in Holderneſs and Cottingham in the ſaid 'county. The year before that, he was conſtituted 'General Warden, or Keeper of the Marches of 'England, towards Scotland, namely, of the Eaſt, 'Weſt, and middle Marches. Which were ſcarcely 'before, put into one man's hand (except the Marquis 'of Dorſet immediately before him) and he to appoint his deputy-wardens. And his patent was 'ordered to be drawn up in the moſt large and 'comprehenſive manner, endowing him with as much 'authority, power, pre-eminence, commodity, and 'liberty, as any before him had enjoyed, from Richard the ſecond's time, to Henry the eighth, as 'the warrant ran. Beſides theſe things in the North, 'he obtained of the King, great and ſpreading demeans in Somerſetſhire, Warwick, and Worceſterſhire, and many other counties. So that by this 'time, the Duke had prodigiouſly enriched himſelf, 'and made himſelf formidably great, by lands and 'lordſhips, honours and offices, caſtles and places 'of truſt heaped upon him by the King, by whom 'it was not ſafe to deny him any thing he aſked. 'He had ſtrengthened his intereſt alſo, by raiſing 'himſelf friends upon the King's coſt, as more 'eſpecially the Lord Clinton, and Sir John Gates, 'and his brother, Sir Andrews Dudley, Maſter of 'the Wardrobe, and taken into the order of the 'Garter; and his own ſons, John, raiſed to the 'degree of Earl of Warwick, and maſter of the 'King's horſe (52); Sir Robert Dudley made a 'Lord (53), and the King's Carver, and Guildford 'Dudley, whom the Duke was now marrying to one 'of the royal blood, *viz.* the Lady Jane, eldeſt 'daughter of the Duke of Suffolk.'

(51) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 422.

(52) This was only by his father's being created Duke of Northumberland.

(53) He was a Lord barely by courteſy, as all the reſt of the Duke's ſons were.

[*O*] *Will*

night poſt to pay their duty to her (b). The Duke of Northumberland had advice of this on the 20th, and about five in the afternoon the ſame day, cauſed her to be proclaimed at Cambridge, throwing up his cap and crying, *God ſave Queen Mary!* with how much joy and ſincerity may be eaſily imagined (i); about an hour afterwards came letters from the Council to the Duke of Northumberland, by one of the Heralds, requiring him to diſband his forces, upon receiving which the Duke gave leave to every man to depart, and ſoon after he was arreſted in King's-college by Slegge, Serjeant at Arms; but other letters coming from the Council, that all men ſhould go each his way, the Duke ſaid to thoſe that kept him, *Ye do me wrong to withdraw my liberty, ſee ye not the Council's letters, without exception, that all men ſhould go whither they would.* Whereupon they who guarded him and the other Noblemen, ſet them at liberty, and ſo they continued for that night, and the Earl of Warwick, the Duke of Northumberland's ſon, was ready in the morning to have rode away, at which time the Earl of Arundel came from the Queen to the Duke into his chamber, who, when he ſaw him, ſaid, *For the love of God conſider, I have done nothing but by the conſent of you, and all the whole Council.* *My Lord*, replied the Earl of Arundel, *I am ſent hither by the Queen's Majeſty, and in her name I arreſt you.* *I obey it*, ſaid the Duke, *I beſeech you, my Lord of Arundel, uſe mercy towards me, knowing the caſe as it is.* *My Lord*, anſwered the Earl, *you ſhould have ſought for mercy ſooner, I muſt do according to my commandment.* And thereupon committed the charge of him, and of others, to the guard, and Gentlemen that ſtood by (k). The 25th of July, the Duke, with the reſt, were brought to the Tower of London, under the conduct of Henry Earl of Arundel, with a body of light horſemen (l). On Friday the 18th of Auguſt he was arraigned, a great ſcaffold being ſet up in Weſtminſter-Hall, with John, Earl of Warwick, his ſon and heir, and William Parr, Marquis of Northampton, before Thomas Duke of Norfolk, High-Steward of England on that occaſion. As to his behaviour at his trial, which was equally modeſt and decent, ſome particulars of it will be mentioned in the notes (m) [O]. After his condemnation he was carried back to the Tower, where he remained a cloſe priſoner. Monday, the twenty-firſt of Auguſt, was the day fixed for his execution, when a vaſt concourſe of people aſſembled upon Tower-Hill, all the uſual preparations being made, and the executioner ready; but, after waiting ſome hours, the people were ordered to depart. This delay was to afford time for his making an open ſhew of the change of his religion, ſince that very day, in the preſence of the Mayor and Aldermen, as well as ſome of the Privy-Council, he heard maſs in the Tower (n). The next day he was actually brought out to ſuffer death, on the ſame ſcaffold, on Tower-Hill, where he made a very long ſpeech to the people; of which there remains nothing but what relates to his religion, which he not only profeſſed to be then that of the Church of Rome, but that it had been always ſo, taking upon himſelf the odious character of a hypocrite in the ſight of God, as well as a diſſembler with men (o). John Fox affirms, that he had a promiſe of pardon even if his head was upon the block, if he would recant and hear maſs (p); and ſome have believed that he entertained ſuch a hope to the laſt, from a paſſage in his ſpeech [P]. However that may be, it is allowed that he behaved with becoming

(b) Heylin's Hiſt. of the Reformation, p. 164.

(i) Stowe's Annals, p. 612.

(k) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 239. Stowe's Annals, p. 612.

(l) Hollinſhed and Speed.

(m) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 21, 22.

(n) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 243. Stowe's Annals, nals, p. 614.

(o) Hollinſhed, Stowe, and Speed.

(p) Book of Martyrs, Vol. III. p. 12, 13.

[O] *Will be mentioned in the notes.*] The indictment having been read, containing a charge againſt him of high-treaſon. The Duke of Northumberland, with great reverence towards the Judges, proteſted his faith and allegiance to the Queen, whom he confeſſed grievouſly to have offended, and ſaid he meant not to ſpeak any thing in defence of his acts, but requeſted to underſtand the opinion of the court in two points (54):

First, Whether a man doing any act by the authority of the Prince's Council, and by warrant of the Great Seal of England, and doing nothing without the ſame, might be charged with treaſon for any thing he might do by warrant thereof.

Secondly, Whether any ſuch perſons as were equally culpable in that crime, and thoſe by whoſe letters and commandments he was directed in all his doings, might be his judges, or paſs upon his trial as his Peers?

To which it was anſwered: 'That the Great-Seal 'which he had for his warrant, was not the Seal of 'the lawful Queen of the realm, nor paſſed by authority, but the Seal of an uſurper, and therefore could 'be no warrant to him. And that if any were as 'deeply to be touched in the caſe as himſelf, yet ſo 'long as no attainder was of record againſt them, they 'were perſons able in law to paſs on any trial, and not 'to be challenged but at the Prince's pleaſure.' After which anſwer the Duke uſed few words, but confeſſed the indictment; by whoſe example the other priſoners arraigned with him did the like, and thereupon had judgment. The Duke, on receiving his ſentence, ſaid: 'I beſeech you, my Lords, all to be humble ſuitors to 'the Queen's Majeſty, and to grant me *four* requeſts: '*Firſt*, That I may have that death which Noblemen 'have had in times paſt, and not the other, *Secondly*, 'That her Majeſty will be gracious to my children, 'which may hereafter do good ſervice, conſidering 'that they went by my commandment, who am their 'father, and not of their own free wills. *Thirdly*, 'That I may have appointed to me ſome learned men 'for the inſtruction and quiet of my conſcience. And '*fourthly*, That ſhe will ſend two of the Council to 'commune with me, to whom I will declare ſuch 'matters as ſhall be expedient for her and the commonwealth. And thus I beſeech you all to pray for 'me.'

(54) Stowe's Annals, p. 614.

[P] *From a paſſage in his ſpeech.*] Several authors agree in affirming that he made a long ſpeech at the time of his death, and we have reaſon to regret that only a part of it is preſerved, which is what follows: (55) 'Good people, all you that be here preſent to ſee 'me die, though my death be odious and horrible to 'the fleſh, yet I pray you judge the beſt in God's 'works, for he doth all for the beſt. And as for me 'I am a wretched ſinner, and have deſerved to die, 'and moſt juſtly am condemned to die by Law. And 'yet this act whereof I die was not altogether of me, 'but I was procured and induced thereunto by others; 'I was I ſay induced thereunto by others. Howbeit, 'God forbid that I ſhould name any man unto you, 'I will name no man unto you, and therefore I beſeech you look not for it. I, for my part, forgive 'all men, and pray God alſo to forgive them, and if 'I have offended any of you here, I pray you and all 'the world to forgive me, and moſt chiefly I deſire 'forgiveneſs of the Queen's Highneſs, whom I have 'moſt grieviouſly offended. And I pray you all to 'witneſs

(55) Ibid. p. 615.

becoming courage and compoſure, putting off his damaſk gown when he had done ſpeaking, and then kneeled down, ſaying, to them that were about him, *I beſeech you all to bear me witneſs that I die in the true Catholick faith*, and then ſaid the Pſalms of *Miſerere*, and *De profundis*, his *Pater noſter*, and ſix of the firſt verſes of the Pſalm, *In te Domine ſperavi*, ending with this verſe, *Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my ſpirit.* And when he had thus ended his prayers, the Executioner aſked him forgiveneſs, to whom he ſaid, *I forgive thee with all my heart, do thy part without fear.* And bowing towards the block, he ſaid, *I have deſerved a thouſand deaths*; then laid his head on the block, and was beheaded; whoſe body, with the head, was buried in the Tower by the body of Edward Duke of Somerſet, ſo that there lie between the high altar in St Peter's church, two Dukes between two Queens, *viz.* Queen Anne and Queen Catherine, all four beheaded (*q*). Such was the end of this potent Nobleman, who, with the title of a Duke, exerciſed, for ſome time, a power little inferior to that of a King, in the fifty-firſt, or at moſt in the fifty-ſecond year of his age, one differently repreſented by our Hiſtorians [Q], but

(*q*) Stowe's Annals, p. 615.

'witneſs for me, that I depart in perfect love and 'charity with all the world, and that you will aſſiſt me 'with your prayers at the hour of death. —— 'And here I do proteſt unto you, good people, moſt 'earneſtly, even from the bottom of my heart, that 'this which I have ſpoken is of myſelf, not being re'quired nor moved thereunto by any man, nor by any 'flattery or hope of life; and I take witneſs of my Lord 'of Worceſter (*) here, mine old friend and ghoſtly 'father, that he found me in this mind and opinion 'when he came to me, but I have declared this only 'upon mine own mind and affection, and for the zeal 'and love that I bear to my natural country. I could, 'good people, rehearſe much more even by expe'rience, that I have of this evil that hath happened 'to this realm by theſe occaſions, but you know I 'have another thing to do, whereunto I muſt prepare 'me, for the time draweth away. And now I be'ſeech the Queen's Highneſs to forgive me mine of'fences againſt her Majeſty, whereof I have a ſingular 'hope, foraſmuch as ſhe has already extended her 'goodneſs and clemency ſo far upon me, that whereas 'ſhe might forthwith, without judgment, or any far'ther trial, have put me to moſt vile and cruel death, 'by hanging, drawing, and quartering, foraſmuch as 'I was in the field in arms againſt her Majeſty. Her 'Highneſs nevertheleſs, of her moſt merciful goodneſs, 'ſuffered me to be brought to my judgment, and to 'have my trial by law, where I was moſt juſtly con'demned. And her Highneſs hath now alſo ex'tended her mercy and clemency upon me, for the 'manner and kind of my death. And therefore my 'hope is, that her Grace, of her goodneſs, will remit 'all the reſt of her indignation and diſpleaſure towards 'me, which I beſeech you all moſt heartily to pray 'for, and that it may pleaſe God long to preſerve her 'Majeſty, to reign over you in much honour and feli'city.' I muſt confeſs it does not appear to me, that this ſpeech of the Duke implies any perſuaſion of pardon, but quite the contrary; he recapitulates thoſe inſtances of juſtice and kindneſs, which he would have the people believe, he, in his own opinion, had received from the Queen, and from thence infers, that her Majeſty would retain no reſentment againſt him after he was dead, and conſequently would not proceed againſt his family, of which many were obnoxious to her juſtice, and all of them to her ſuſpicions. If, therefore, any promiſes were made to him, it is more likely that they ſhould relate to his children, and his brother, in favour of whom he might poſſibly reſolve to die as he lived, like a Courtier, as he evidently did.

(*) Dr Nich. Heath.

bid. p. 615.

[Q] *One differently repreſented by our Hiſtorians*] We have the following character of this great man, drawn by the hand of a famous Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian (56). 'Such was the end of this great perſon, 'the firſt Earl of Warwick, and the laſt Duke of Nor'thumberland of this name and family. By birth he 'was the eldeſt ſon of Sir Edmund Sutton, *alias* Dud'ley, who, together with Sir Richard Empſon, were 'the chief inſtruments and promoters under Henry VII 'for putting the penal laws in execution, to the great 'grievance and oppreſſion of all ſorts of ſubjects. For 'which, and other offences of a higher nature, they 'were both ſacrificed to the fury of the common peo'ple, by King Henry VIII, which poſſibly might 'make him carry a vindictive mind towards that 'King's children, and prompt him to the diſinheriting 'of all his progeny. Firſt trained up (as his father had 'alſo been before him) in the ſtudy of the Common 'Laws, which made him cunning enough to pick 'holes in any man's eſtate, to find ways by which to 'bring their lives in danger. But finding that the long 'ſword was of more eſtimation than the long robe in 'the time of that King, he put himſelf forward on all 'actions wherein honour was to be acquired, in which 'he gave ſuch teſtimony of his judgment and valour, 'that he gained much on the affections of his Prince, 'by whom he was created Viſcount L'Iſle, on the '15th of March, *anno* 1541, inſtalled Knight of the 'Garter in 1543, and made Lord Admiral of England. 'Employed in many actions againſt the Scots, he came 'off always with ſucceſs and victory, and having ſaid 'this, we have ſaid all that was accounted either good 'or commendable in the whole courſe of his life. 'Being advanced unto the title of Earl of Warwick by 'King Edward VI, he thought himſelf in a capacity 'of making Queens, as well as Richard Nevil (one of 'his predeceſſors in that title) had been for ſetting up 'and depoſing Kings; and they both periſhed under the 'ambition of thoſe proud attempts. Puniſhed as Ne'vil alſo was, in having no iſſue male remaining to 'preſerve his name. For though he had ſix ſons, all 'of them living to be men, and all of them to be mar'ried men, yet they went all childleſs to the grave, I 'mean, as to the having of lawful iſſue, as if the curſe 'of Jeconijah had been laid upon them. With him 'died alſo the proud title of Duke of Northumberland, 'never aſpired to by the Piercies, though men of emi'nent nobility.' The reader may compare this with the following ſketch of his character by Biſhop Burnet, than whom no man could be better acquainted with the Hiſtory of thoſe times (57). 'Thus died the am'bitious Duke of Northumberland. He had been, in 'the former parts of his life, a great Captain, and had 'the reputation of a very wiſe man: he was generally 'ſucceſsful, and they that are ſo, are always eſteemed 'wiſe. He was an extraordinary man in a lower ſize, 'but had forgot himſelf much when he was raiſed 'higher, in which his mind ſeemed more exalted than 'his fortunes. But as he was tranſported by his rage 'and revenge out of meaſure, ſo he was as ſervile and 'mean in his ſubmiſſions. Fox, it ſeems, was in'formed, that he had hopes given him of his life, if 'he ſhould declare himſelf of the Popiſh religion, even 'though his head were laid on the block; but which 'way ſoever he made that declaration, either to get 'his life by it, or that he had really been always what 'he now profeſſed, it argues that he regarded religion 'very little, either in his life, or at his death. But, 'whether he did any thing to haſten the King's death, 'I do not find it was at all enquired after. Only thoſe 'who conſider how much guilt diſorders all people, 'and that they have a black cloud over their minds, 'which appears either in the violence of rage, or the 'abjectneſs of fear, did find ſo great a change in his de'portment in theſe laſt paſſages of his life, from what 'was in the former parts of it, that they could not but 'think there was ſome extraordinary thing within him, 'from whence it flowed.' We may well ſuppoſe, that ſome ſhining qualities were very conſpicuous in this unfortunate Duke, since the greateſt enemy his family ever had, at the cloſe of his moſt virulent invective againſt his ſon, the Earl of Leiceſter, has theſe words, which

(56) Heylin's Hiſt. of the Reformation of the Church of England, p. 189.

(57) Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 244.

but of whom it may be truly ſaid, that though even his enemies could not deny he had many great, and ſome good, qualities, yet the beſt friends to his memory muſt confeſs, they were much overballanced by his vices. His relict, Jane, Ducheſs of Northumberland, was a Lady of great piety and virtue, of whom therefore we ſhall give a ſhort account in a note [*R*]. His brother, Sir Andrews Dudley, Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, fell under the ſame condemnation with himſelf, but, through the clemency of Queen Mary, his life was ſpared; ſome particulars of which the reader will find at the bottom of the page [*S*]. This great Duke had alſo a numerous iſſue, *viz.* eight ſons and five daughters, of whom ſome went before him to the grave, others ſurvived, and lived to ſee a great change in their fortunes; we ſhall likewiſe give a ſuccinct account of them, for the reader's ſatisfaction [*T*]. It may not be amiſs to remember here, that Sir John Sutton, Baron of Dudley, was taken into the new Queen's favour, though he did not live to enjoy it long, dying in leſs than a month after the great Duke his couſin, and, by the Queen's ſpecial command, was, on the 21ſt of September 1553, buried with great pomp and ceremony at Weſtminſter, the Heralds attending at his funeral, when his ſtile and titles were publickly proclaimed (*r*). His ſon Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley, received ſtill higher marks of her Royal beneficence, ſince, by her Letters Patents, ſhe reſtored to him and the heirs of his body all the manors of Horburne and Smethwick, with the advowſon of the church of Horburne in the county of Stafford; as alſo the whole priory of Dudley, and the tithes of Norfield and Sedgeley, with divers meſſuages and lands, parcel of the poſſeſſions belonging to the ſame priory, then in the poſſeſſion of the Crown by the attainder of John, Duke of Northumberland (*s*). This Lord taking to wife Catherine, the daughter of Sir John Bridges, Lord Chandos of Sudeley, one of the Ladies in ordinary attending on the Queen, ſhe granted to him, and to the heirs of their two bodies, the lordſhips of Sedgeley, Himley, and Swinford, with the parks of Etinſhall, Sedgeley, and Himley; the hays, foreſts, and chaces, of Aſhwood and Chaſpell, with all the land called Willingſworth, and divers other lands and tenements

in

which falling from him are very remarkable (58). 'In his father, no doubt, there were to be ſeen many 'excellent good parts, if they had been joined with 'faith, honeſty, moderation, and loyalty. For all the 'world knows that he was very wiſe, valiant, magna'nimous, liberal, and aſſured friendly where he once 'promiſed, of all which virtues, my Lord his ſon hath 'neither ſhew nor ſhadow.' That he was a good maſter, and that he had a ſervant in whom the memory of paſt favours out-lived the Duke, as well as his fortunes, will appear from the following paſſage, recorded in an old Hiſtory of our Peerage (59), and except the laſt ſentence tranſcribed by Sir William Dugdale (60).' John Cock, Lancaſter Herald, ſome time ſer'vant to this Duke, begged of Queen Mary to bury 'the head of his old maſter in the Tower of London, 'which was granted him with the whole body, and 'performed accordingly. In remembrance whereof, 'the ſaid Lancaſter, did ever after bear for his creſt, '*a bear's head, ſilver; crowned, gold.*' It may not be amiſs to add here, that it was alſo in gratitude for this good office he was made Lancaſter Herald in 1585, when Robert, Earl of Leiceſter, ſon to this Duke, went Governor of the Low-Countries, whom he attended (61).

[*R*] *A ſhort account in a note.*] The name of this lady, was Jane Guilford, daughter and heir of Sir Edward Guilford, Marſhal of Calais, Lord-Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Maſter of the Ordnance under King Henry VIII, by Eleanor, ſiſter and heireſs of Thomas Weſt, Lord la Warre. It ſeems this was a marriage of affection, their fathers having been intimate friends, and themſelves brought up together while children. The Duke married her when he was ſcarce of age, ſo that they had lived together thirty years at the time he loſt his life, when her eſtate was truly deplorable, being, in the ſtrict ſenſe of the words, turned out of doors, all her furniture ſeized, left without fortune, without friends, and without neceſſaries, her huſband and her ſon executed, her other ſons living, but by permiſſion; ſo that conſidering her age, her quality, and the manner in which ſhe had ſpent her days, the Duke being as abſolute in his own houſe, by affection, as in the ſtate by power, ſhe could not but be very miſerable. By degrees however things grew better, more eſpecially after the marriage of Queen Mary to King Philip, the Spaniſh lords and ladies of his court, employing all their intereſt in her favour, as appears from her will, written with her own hand, in which ſhe expreſſes a very grateful ſenſe of their kindneſſes. But no reaſon has been aſſigned hitherto for their behaviour towards her, though there was a very good one; for her uncle Henry Guilford had ſerved long in Spain, was knighted by King Ferdinand, and for his gallant behaviour in war, had the arms of the kingdom of Granada granted him, as an augmentation of his paternal coat; ſhe deceaſed at her houſe at Chelſea, in the forty-ſixth year of her age, on the 22d of January 1554-5, and was buried with great funeral ſolemnity in the church there, on the 1ſt of February following, and had a noble monument erected there, with a ſuitable inſcription to perpetuate her memory (62).

[*S*] *At the bottom of the page.*] It does not appear, at what time this gentleman received the honour of knighthood, but we find, that by the title of Sir Andrews Dudley, Knight, he had the manor of Whitney granted him by King Edward VI, in the year 1551 (63). A like grant of the manor of Minſter Lovel, and the hundred of Chadlington, paſſed in the month of February, 1552; in the month of October, the ſame year, upon his being recalled from the caſtle of Guiſnes, of which he was captain, he was appointed one of the four gentlemen in ordinary of his Majeſty's Privy-Chamber (64); he was alſo keeper of the palace of Weſtminſter, and, as the warrants to him plainly ſhew, Maſter of the Wardrobe (65); but the laſt and greateſt favour he received in that reign, was his being elected, April 23d, in the ſixth year of Edward VI, one of the Knights Companions of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter (66). He joined, as it was natural for him to do, with the Duke his brother, and for that offence, on the 19th of Auguſt 1553, received judgment to die as a traytor, notwithſtanding which, he was reprieved, and afterwards pardoned, and diſcharged out of the Tower, Octob. 18, 1554, living the remainder of his life privately, at his houſe in Tothill-ſtreet, where he deceaſed in 1559, but it does not appear that any notice was taken of him by Queen Elizabeth, ſo that, at the time of his demiſe, his fortune was but ſmall (67).

[*T*] *For the reader's ſatisfaction.*] We are here to ſpeak of the Duke of Northumberland's poſterity, and firſt of the ſons, which were eight.

I. Henry, who was killed at the ſiege of Bologne, at the age of nineteen, married to Wynefred, daughter to the Lord Rich; upon whoſe death there is an elegy extant, by Leland (68).

II. Thomas, who died when he was two years old.

III. John, who had the title of Earl of Warwick in his father's life-time; at the coronation of Edward VI, he was made one of the Knights of the Bath; in the fifth year of that monarch's reign, he accompanied the Marquis of Northampton, who carried the Order of the Garter to the French King (69). In the ſixth of

Edward

(*r*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 34.

(*s*) Pat. 1 & 2 P. & M.

(58) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 178.

(59) Catalogue of Nobility, by Ralph Brook, p. 149, 150.

(60) Baronage, Vol. II. p. 219.

(61) Weever's Funeral Monuments, in his Cat. of Heralds.

(62) Theſe particulars are taken from the Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

(63) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 497.

(64) From the King's Journal.

(65) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 233, 234. Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 520.

(66) Regiſter of the Order.

(67) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

(68) Publiſhed by Hearne, at the end of Roſs of Warwick's Hiſtory.

(69) MS. ſub effig. Jul. C. IX. in Bibl. Cotton.

in the county of Stafford (*t*): her Majeſty alſo granted him, though the date does not appear, the whole caſtle of Dudley, the park called the Conigree, the old park of Dudley, with divers other lands lying in Dudley, Rowley, and Sedgeley, in the county of Stafford; all which came to the Crown by the forfeiture of the ſaid John, Duke of Northumberland (*u*). The Queen alſo made this Lord Governor of the caſtle of Hampnies in Picardy, for the term of his natural life (*w*). By his Lady beforementioned, he had only one daughter, Anne, married to Thomas Wylmer, Eſq; Counſellor at Law (*x*). As to his other marriages and iſſue, the reader has ſeen them already in another place (*y*); we ſhall therefore add nothing farther here, than that this noble Peer dying July 4, 1586, in the twenty-eighth year of Queen Elizabeth (*z*), his body was interred in the church of St Margaret, Weſtminſter.

(*t*) Pat. 1 & 2 P. & M.

(*u*) Pat. 21 Eliz. per inſpex.

(*w*) Pat. 1 & 2 P. & M. p. 4.

(*x*) Catalogue of Nobility, by R. B.

(*y*) In note [*B*] in the article of DUDLEY.

(*z*) F. F. in officio arm. fol. 13. *a*.

Edward VI, he was made Maſter of the Horſe, with a fee of one hundred pounds per annum (70). He had the wardſhip granted him, of Sir Edward Seymour, Knight, ſon to the Protector (71). But whereas it is ſaid, by certain writers, that when his father cauſed the Lord Paget to be deprived of the Garter (72), it was to make room for his ſon the Earl of Warwick, that is not likely to be true, becauſe this young nobleman never had it at all; he was condemned with his father, but reprieved and releaſed out of the Tower with his uncle, and going to his brother's houſe at Penſhurſt in Kent, died there in two days time; ſo that it is probable, he was dying when he was diſcharged (73). He was, as a certain writer informs us, a nobleman of great hope, and one of the mirrors of his age for religion, learning, and military affairs (74). He deceaſed, October the 21ſt, 1554, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, leaving no iſſue by his Counteſs, the daughter of the Duke of Somerſet, who after his death, married Sir Edward Umpton, Knight (75).

IV. and V. Ambroſe and Robert, of whom hereafter.

VI. Guilford, who, as we have ſhewn in the text, married Jane, daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, in the month of May, 1553, and on the 12th of February following, loſt his life, together with his unfortunate lady, upon the ſcaffold (76).

VII. Henry, who married Margaret, the ſole daughter and heireſs of Thomas, Lord Audley, High-Chancellor of England, and was killed at the ſiege of St Quintins, in 1557. His widow married Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and from her deſcended the Howards, Earls of Suffolk (77).

VIII. Charles, who at his death, was but four years old.

The daughters were five, *viz.*

1. Mary, who married Sir Henry Sydney, Knight of the Garter, Lord Deputy of Ireland, and Lord Preſident of Wales, from whom deſcended the Earls of Leiceſter of that name (78).
2. Margaret, who died when ſhe was ten years old.
3. Catherine, who became the wife of Henry Haſtings, Earl of Huntington, and Lord Preſident of the North, by whom ſhe had no iſſue, ſhe ſurvived him long, and deceaſing in the month of Auguſt, 1620, was interred by her mother in Chelſea church (79).
4. Temperance, who died at a year old (80).
5. Another Catherine, who died at ſeven years of age (81).

E

(70) Pat. 6 E. VI. p. 51.

(71) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 111.

(72) Hiſt. of Ed. VI. in the Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 236. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 206.

(73) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 202.

(74) Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 819.

(75) Brook's Catalogue of the Nobility, p. 218. Milles's Cat. of Honour, p. 819.

(76) Baronagium Angliæ, fo. 21.

(77) Milles's Cat. of Honour, p. 818.

(78) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

(79) Milles's Cat. of Honour, p. 818. Memoirs before-fore cited.

(80) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 220.

(81) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

DUDLEY (Lady Jane), ſee **GRAY** (Lady Jane), or, as Heylyn ſtiles her, Queen Jane.

DUDLEY (Ambroſe), ſon of John, Duke of Northumberland beforementioned, afterwards Baron L'Iſle, and Earl of Warwick, through the favour of Queen Elizabeth. He was born, as I conjecture, either in 1530 or 1531, and was carefully educated in his father's family, and ſhewing an early propenſity to arms, he attended his father, then Earl of Warwick, when he went into Norfolk againſt the rebels in the year 1549 (*a*), and there it was, in all probability, that he deſerved the honour of knighthood, which was conferred upon him November the 17th, with the Duke of Lunenburgh, Sir John Perrot, Sir Nicholas Pelham, and Sir Thomas Ruſſel (*b*). We find him very high in King Edward's favour in 1552, when he aſſiſted at ſeveral tournaments, made, as ſome writers inſinuate, to amuſe the young King, while his uncle the Duke of Somerſet was under ſentence of death (*c*). He was then ſtiled Lord Ambroſe Dudley, and received by that title ſome marks of benevolence from the King his maſter (*d*). He continued all that reign, as the reader may conceive, in much credit at Court, and being in arms at the ſame time with the Duke of Northumberland on the behalf of Lady Jane, he was attainted, received ſentence of death, and remained a cloſe priſoner till October 18, 1554 (*e*), when he was diſcharged out of the Tower, and pardoned for life (*f*). Upon the demiſe of his mother, the Ducheſs of Northumberland, in the ſucceeding year, he became poſſeſſed of the Lordſhip of Hale Owen, charged with ſome annuities to his younger brothers by the Will of that Lady (*g*). In 1557, in company with both his brothers, he attended the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Viſcount Montacute, the Lord Wilton, and the Earl of Lincoln, who, in the month of May, with a body of eight thouſand men, paſſed over into the Low-Countries, and joined the Spaniſh army that lay then before St Quintins (*h*). He had his ſhare in the famous victory that was gained over the French who came to the relief of the place, and was likewiſe preſent during the remaining part of the ſiege, which after the battle was reſumed (*i*). Having had the misfortune to loſe there his youngeſt brother, who was a perſon of great hopes, and a ſingular favourite with King Edward VI (*k*), this matter was ſo repreſented to Queen Mary, that ſhe conſented to reſtore the whole family in blood, and accordingly an act paſſed this year for that purpoſe, by which Sir Ambroſe Dudley, Knight, was entirely freed from the inconveniencies derived upon him by the attainder of John, Duke of Northumberland, his father (*l*) [*A*]. On the

(*a*) Cooper, Hollinſhed, Stowe.

(*b*) Nom. Equit. MS. in Bibl. Cotton. Not. Claudius c. ii. p. 186.

(*c*) Taken from King Edward's Journal.

(*d*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 500.

(*e*) Ibid. Vol. III. p. 208.

(*f*) Cole's Eſc. Lib. ii. Not. 61. A. 13. in Bibl. Harley.

(*g*) See the Ducheſs's will in the Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney Papers.

(*h*) Hollinſhed's Chron. p. 1133.

(*i*) Stowe's Annals, p. 631.

(*k*) As appears by ſeveral paſſages in the King's Journal.

(*l*) An. 4 & 5 Ph. & Mar. No. 12.

[*A*] *By the attainder of John, Duke of Northumberland, his father.*] It is highly probable, that this reſtitution in blood was obtained by the power of King Philip, on account of the good ſervices that had been performed by all the brothers at St Quintins, where the youngeſt, Henry, in the laſt aſſault given to the place, was killed by a ſhot, as he was ſtooping to draw his ſtocking over his knee, that it might not incommode him in ſcaling (1). This act of Parliament recites (2), that by reaſon of the attainders of John, Duke

(1) Hollinſhed's Chron. p. 1134.

(2) An. 4 & 5 Ph. & Mar. No. 12.

the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth, he became immediately one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons at her Court, and was called, as in the days of her brother, Lord Ambroſe Dudley (*m*). In the firſt year of her reign, he obtained a grant of the manor of Kibworth Beauchamp in the county of Leiceſter, to be held by the ſervice of Pantler to the Kings and Queens of this realm at their coronation (*n*), which ſeemed to be a happy omen of the reſtitution of his family, ſince that office had been, by his father, and other his anceſtors Earls of Warwick, enjoyed. In the firſt promotion however he had no higher preferment given him, and was alſo paſſed by in the firſt creation of Peers (*o*). In the ſecond year of her reign, the Queen beſtowed on him a much ſtronger mark of her kindneſs, by advancing him to the great office of Maſter of the Ordnance (*p*), and to ſhew her confidence in him the greater, he was ſo conſtituted for life. On Chriſtmas day, in the fourth year of her reign, he had the antient honour of his family, though with ſome change in the title, conferred upon him, being created by patent Baron of Kingſton L'Iſle in the county of Berks, in conſideration of his illuſtrious blood, fidelity, valour, prudence, and other great merits, as the preamble of that patent recites (*q*); and the very next day was advanced to the honour of Earl of Warwick, with very ſingular circumſtances of the Queen's eſteem [*B*]. It was about this time judged neceſſary to ſend over a body of Engliſh troops to Normandy, upon a promiſe made by the Proteſtants to Queen Elizabeth, that they ſhould have a very important port put into their hands, which being conſidered as a matter of the higheſt importance, the Council recommended to her the Earl of Warwick, as the propereſt perſon to be entruſted with the command. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1562, he was honoured with a commiſſion to be the Queen's Lieutenant in Normandy, where the important town of Havre de Grace, called by our writers New Haven, was delivered to him, and he was with great ſolemnity ſworn into his office (*r*). He behaved himſelf, in the courſe of that expedition, with the greateſt courage and conduct, executed the Queen's orders with the utmoſt punctuality, and when he found himſelf ſhut up in the place, defended it with all the firmneſs and prudence imaginable; neither would he deliver it up, though warmly preſſed by a great army, and attacked within by famine and peſtilence, till he received the Queen's expreſs commands, and then obtained an honourable capitulation (*s*) [*C*]. While he commanded in France, the Queen cauſed him to be elected Knight

(*m*) This appears from ſeveral MSS of Dr John Dee, to whom he was a bountiful patron.

(*n*) Pat. 1 Eliz.

(*o*) Camden. Ann. Eliz. p. 33.

(*p*) Pat. 2 Eliz. p. 4.

(*q*) Pat. 4 Eliz. p. 6.

(*r*) Pat. 4 Eliz. p. 2. in dorſo & Rymer.

(*s*) Hollinſhed's Chron. p. 1222.

Duke of Northumberland, the ſaid Ambroſe Dudley, and Robert Dudley, Knights, now remain out of all name and reputation, to their great diſcomfort, grief, and daily ſorrow. And for as much as the ſaid Ambroſe and Robert be, and always, ever ſince the ſaid attainders have been, and always hereafter intend to be, her Highneſs's true and faithful ſubjects: It may therefore pleaſe her Highneſs, &c. at their moſt humble petitions, for the true and faithful ſervice which they had done, and intend to do during their lives; and having already given good proof and trial of their fidelity, &c. it was therefore enacted, with the aſſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and of the Commons in Parliament aſſembled, That the ſaid Ambroſe Dudley, and Robert Dudley, Knights, the Lady Mary Sidney, and Lady Catherine Haſtings, and every of them, and their heirs, and the heirs of every of them, from henceforth, may, and ſhall, by authority of this act, be reſtored and enabled in blood and name, and made heir and heirs, as well to the ſaid Sir John Dudley, Knight, late Duke of Northumberland, their ſaid father, as alſo to any other their aunceſtor or aunceſtors, lyneal or collateral, in ſuch manner and form, as if the ſaid late Duke their father, or they, or any of them had never byn attainted, and as yf no ſuch attainder or attainders were, or had byn had: the corruption of bloud between the ſaid late Duke their father, and your ſaid ſubjects, or any of them, or the corruption of bloud between your ſaid ſubjects, and any other their aunceſtor, or aunceſtors, or any act of Parliament, or judgment at Common-Law, concerning the attainder of the ſaid late Duke their father, or of the ſaid Sir Ambroſe Dudley, or of the ſaid Sir Robert Dudley, or any of them, or any other thing, whereby the bloud of the ſaid late Duke their father, or of the ſaid Sir Ambroſe Dudley, or of the ſaid Sir Robert Dudley, or any of them, is, ſhould, or might be, corrupted, &c. And it was alſo enacted, that the ſaid Ambroſe Dudley, and Robert Dudley, the Lady Mary Sidney, and the Lady Catherine Haſtings, and every of them, and their heirs, &c. ſhall be enabled to demand, aſk, have, hold, and enjoy, all ſuch lands, tenements, and hereditaments, &c. which at any time hereafter ſhall deſcend, come, remain, or revert from any their aunceſtor, or aunceſtors, as if the ſaid Duke their father, or any of them had never byn attainted, and as though no ſuch attainder of their ſaid late father, or of them, or any of them had ever been had or made.

[*B*] *With very ſingular circumſtances of the Queen's eſteem*] It is no unreaſonable conjecture, that the Queen had the raiſing of this noble perſon and his brother much at heart, from the very beginning of her reign; at which, though ſome hiſtorians affect much amazement, and have recourſe to the influence of the ſtars, to account for what they could not comprehend (3), there ſeems however, to be no great difficulty in the caſe. In her youth, the princeſs Elizabeth, had converſed very intimately with Ambroſe and Robert Dudley, ſaw them high in her brother King Edward's favour, and probably had made uſe of their intereſt in thoſe times of proſperity. They had been alſo, abating the great diſtance in their rank, companions in adverſity under Queen Mary; nor is it at all improbable, that they might render the Princeſs Elizabeth very acceptable ſervice, during the latter part of that reign, when both the brothers had recovered ſome degree of favour. But notwithſtanding all this, the Queen proceeded ſlowly, and with much deliberation The preamble to his patent for the Earldom of Warwick ſets forth (4), That the Queen conſidering that the way to increaſe her royal dignity, is by advancing men to titles of honour, eminent for their abilities and valour, and of ſuch, the more ſhe prefers, the brighter her crown ſhines. And Sir Ambroſe Dudley, Knight, Baron L'Iſle, being lawfully deſcended from the illuſtrious and ancient race of the Earls of Warwick, as alſo he is at the preſent eldeſt ſon of John, late Duke of Northumberland, and Earl of Warwick. She therefore being willing to reſtore the family, has created him Earl of Warwick, by girding him with a ſword, and placing a cap of honour and circle on his head; to hold to him, and the heirs male of his body, with remainder to Sir Robert Dudley, Knight, Maſter of the Horſe to her Majeſty, otherwiſe called Sir Robert Dudley, Knight, brother of the ſaid Sir Ambroſe Dudley, Knight, Baron L'Iſle, and now Earl of Warwick, and to the heirs male of the body of the ſaid Sir Robert, with a grant of twenty pounds annually, out of the fee-farm rent of the city of Coventry, payable by the ſheriff and citizens of the ſaid city.

(3) Camden. Annal. p. 109.

(4) Pat. 4 Eliz. p. 6.

[*C*] *And then obtained an honourable capitulation*] About this time, the firſt civil wars on the ſcore of religion

Knight of the Garter, and the enſigns of the Order were ſent over to him thither (*t*). Upon his return he was received with great kindneſs by his Sovereign, who continued to him her accuſtomed favour, and gave him, upon many occaſions, extraordinary marks of her confidence. In 1566 he was created Doctor of Laws by the Univerſity of Oxford (*u*), and, in 1568, he was added, with ſome other Noblemen, to the Lords of her Majeſty's Privy-Council, as a Commiſſioner in the great cauſe of the Queen of Scots, upon her retiring into England; and took the oath of ſecrecy impoſed upon that occaſion (*w*). In 1569 he, together with the Lord Clinton, was appointed jointly and ſeverally the Queen's Lieutenants in the North, upon that dangerous rebellion which broke out under the Earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, which, by his care and vigilance, was happily ſuppreſſed. In 1570 the Queen was pleaſed to grant him the office of Chief-Butler of England (*x*). In the beginning of the ſucceeding year, when the unfortunate Thomas Duke of Norfolk was brought to his trial before George Earl of Shrewſbury, as Lord High-Steward of England, he was one of the Peers appointed, by the Queen's Commiſſion, to ſit upon the trial (*y*). In the ſame year he was ſworn one of the Members of her Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy-Council (*z*). We find him in all the great and publick ſervices during this active and buſy reign, but never in any of the intrigues with which it was blemiſhed; for he was a man of great ſweetneſs of temper, and of unexceptionable character, ſo that he was beloved by all parties, and hated by none (*a*). He diſtinguiſhed himſelf particularly as the zealous patron of the trade and manufactures of his country, which induced him to promote a deſign, formed by ſome Merchants of London, for opening the trade to Barbary; which, however, was not attended with ſo much good fortune as they expected; upon which that noble Lord, in 1585, procured a licence from the Queen, for the ſole tranſporting of cloths into thoſe parts for two years, that Thomas Starkey, Gerard Gore, and other Merchants of London, who were embarked in the firſt unfortunate adventure, might repair the loſſes they had ſuſtained (*b*). In 1586 he was one of the Peers that aſſiſted at the trial of Mary Queen of Scots, and to whom, as a perſon for whom ſhe had a particular regard, that unfortunate Princeſs addreſſed herſelf when the Aſſembly broke up (*c*). In the laſt years of his life he endured great pain and miſery, from the wound received in his leg, when he defended Newhaven againſt the French, and this, at laſt, brought him ſo low, that, ſubmitting to the opinion of Phyſicians and Surgeons, he conſented to an amputation, which was accordingly performed, but without ſucceſs, ſo that he departed this life ſoon after at Bedford-Houſe, Bloomſbury, February 20th, 1589, when he was about the age of threeſcore (*d*). As the long decline of his health gave him timely notice of the approach of death, he made a long and very remarkable will, ſome few paſſages of which the reader will find in the notes [*D*].

This

(*t*) Funeral's MS. Not. 31, in Bibl. Joh. Anſtis, Arm.

(*u*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 91.

(*w*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 171.

(*x*) See the inſcription upon his monument.

(*y*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 245.

(*z*) See the inſcription upon his monument.

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies in Staffordſhire.

(*b*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 450.

(*c*) See the proceedings at the Caſtle of Fotheringay.

(*d*) Camden. Annal. p. 621.

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ligion broke out in France, King Charles IX, being then in his minority. The Guiſes, who were at the head of the Papiſts, had the King, and the Queen his mother, in their hands, which induced the Prince of Condé, and the other Chiefs of the Proteſtants, to deſire the protection of Queen Elizabeth, which ſhe accordingly granted. The Earl of Warwick embarked at Portſmouth, October the 17th, 1562, but was obliged by ill weather to put into Dover, from whence he ſailed again, and was again forced back, ſo that he did not arrive at Newhaven till the 29th of the ſame month; he found the place in the hands of Sir Adrian Poynings, who had taken poſſeſſion of it on the 2d of September. While the Civil-War continued, the Engliſh Lord-Lieutenant, gave all the aſſiſtance poſſible to the Proteſtants, but they having made up their quarrel with the Court, declared againſt the Engliſh, upon which, the Lord-Lieutenant obliged all the French to quit the town (5). It was not long before the place was inveſted by a numerous army, under the command of the Conſtable Montmorency, the Proteſtants being as active againſt the Engliſh as any, that they might recover the favour of the Court. The place was quickly deprived of freſh water, partly through the dryneſs of the ſeaſon, and partly by the pains taken by the French to cut off the aqueducts, which obliged the ſoldiers to boil their victuals in ſalt water. This produced an epidemick diſtemper, by which numbers periſhed. Notwithſtanding all this, the Lord-Lieutenant continued to make an obſtinate defence, and frequently repulſed the French in their aſſaults, as is very largely related by our own Hiſtorians, and is alſo clearly admitted by theirs (6). The Queen having intelligence of the ſtate that things were in, expreſſed with tears her commiſeration for her ſubjects, and that ſhe might no longer expoſe ſo many brave men at once to ſickneſs and the ſword; ſhe publickly applauded their noble courage, and at the ſame time directed the Earl of Warwick to capitulate upon honourable terms. He ſent accordingly commiſſioners to treat, and on this occaſion, going himſelf upon the rampart without armour, to ſpeak to a French officer of diſtinction, he was baſely, and againſt the rules of war, ſhot with a poiſoned bullet in the leg, which proved not only the cauſe of his loſing that limb, but afterwards his life (7). It was not long before the articles of ſurrender were adjuſted, and were in ſubſtance theſe, *viz.* That the town, with all the ammunition, ſhipping, and furniture, which belonged to the French King and his ſubjects, ſhould be ſurrendered. That the large tower ſhould forthwith be delivered up to Montmorency. That the priſoners taken on both ſides ſhould be exchanged without ranſom, and that the Engliſh ſhould have free liberty to depart in ſix days, if the wind ſerved, with all things that belonged to the Queen and them. The hoſtages delivered were, Sir Oliver Manners, the Earl of Rutland's brother; the captains, Leighton, Pelham, and Horſey. The laſt that ſtayed, ſays Camden, was Colonel Edward Randolph, who out of a piety, never enough to be commended, carried upon his ſhoulders the ſick and deceaſed ſoldiers into the ſhips. Thus was Newhaven, after it had ſtood the ſiege of a ſickneſs, more violent than the enemies fire, left at laſt to the French, after the Engliſh had been maſters of it eleven months. The ſoldiers that were brought back to England ſick of the infection, ſcatter'd the bad influence thereof ſo unhappily, that it ſeized on the whole kingdom in a miſerable manner, and there were carried out of the city of London alone, which then conſiſted of an hundred and twenty-one pariſhes, twenty-one thouſand five hundred and thirty corps (8).

[*D*] *The reader will find in the notes.*] Theſe paſſages are at the cloſe of the will, and are produced to ſhew the temper of mind in which he died, the great affection he had for his friends, and who thoſe friends were (9). 'Concerning all our goods, chattels, and 'moveables whatſoever, I do give and bequeath them 'to my aforeſaid beloved wife, whom I do ordain and

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(5) Hollinſhed's Chron. p. 1201.

(6) Stowe, Hollinſhed, Camden, Mezeray, P. Daniel.

(7) As appears from Sir Wm. Dethick's account in the MS. preſerved in the Office of Arms cited in the text.

(8) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 101.

(9) Ex Regiſt. vocat. Drury, n. 75. qu. 43. in cur prærog. Cantuar.

This noble perſon was thrice married, firſt to Anne, daughter and heir of William Whorwood, Eſq; Attorney-General to King Henry VIII, by his firſt wife Caſſandra, daughter to Sir Edward Grey, Knight, which Lady died on the 26th of May 1552, his and her only ſon John dying before her (e). He married next Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Gilbert Talboys, Knight, ſiſter and ſole heireſs to George, Lord Talboys (f); and, after her deceaſe, by whom he had no iſſue, he married Lady Anne Ruſſell, daughter to Francis, Earl of Bedford, by whom alſo he had no iſſue (g). Sir William Dethick had the direction of his funeral, which was performed with great ſolemnity; Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, who had married his ſiſter, was chief mourner, and his corps was attended to the grave by the Earls of Kent, Bedford, Cumberland, and Pembroke, the Lords Dudley and St John, Sir William Ruſſell, Sir Henry Knevet, Sir John Harrington, Sir Fulk Grevil, Sir Drew Drury, and Sir Henry Lea (h). He was interred April 9th, 1590, in the midſt of the chapel dedicated to the Bleſſed Virgin, at Warwick, where a curious altar-monument is erected to his memory, by the pious care of his relict Anne, Counteſs of Warwick, with his effigies in armour, and mantle of an Earl lying thereon, his head reſting on a mattreſs cut in marble, with his hands conjoined, as in prayer, and, at his feet, a bear couchant muzzled, all painted to the life (i). On this monument there is a large inſcription, which, being already inſerted in ſeveral books (k), it would be needleſs to tranſcribe; and, therefore, let us conclude with obſerving, that he was called by the people, long before and after his deceaſe, THE GOOD EARL of WARWICK (l).

(e) Cole's Eſc. Lib. ii. p. 14.

(f) Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 822.

(g) Baronagium Angliæ, MS. fo. 21.

(h) Funeral's MS. Not. 31, in Bibl. Joh. Anſtis, Arm.

(i) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney Papers.

(k) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 447, 448.

(l) Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 821.

‘ make my ſole and only executrix of this my laſt will ‘ and teſtament, requiring her to have an honourable ‘ conſideration of all my ſervants, according to their ‘ ſpecial deſerts and times ſpent in my ſervice, as in ‘ part, I do declare by a codicil hereunto annexed. ‘ And I do inſtantly intreat my very aſſured good ‘ Lords, the Lord Burleigh, Lord-Treaſurer of England, the Earl of Cumberland, the Earl of Huntingdon, to be overſeers of this my ſaid will, beſeeching ‘ them to yield their honourable and friendly furtherance unto my ſaid executrix, for the better performance of the ſame: and in teſtimony of my moſt ‘ dutiful and faithful heart towards her moſt excellent ‘ Majeſty, whoſe days I inſtantly beſeech God to ‘ lenghthen here upon earth, to the comfort of his ‘ Church and this realm with much happineſs, and after ‘ her pilgrimage here ended, ſhe may everlaſtingly ‘ reign with him. I do will and bequeath to her Highneſs, my beſt jewel ſet with an emerald, moſt humbly ‘ beſeeching her gracious acceptation, notwithſtanding ‘ the baſeneſs thereof; and that it would pleaſe her ‘ Highneſs to continue her good favour towards my ‘ ſaid wife, whom I leave to continue her moſt faithful, and devoted ſervant, recommending this moſt ‘ effectually as my laſt petition to her Majeſty. I do ‘ give and bequeath to my ſaid very good Lord, the ‘ Lord-Treaſurer, my collar of gold of the Order, and ‘ my George annexed thereunto. And to the Earl of ‘ Cumberland, my brooche with diamonds, with an ‘ agate therein; and to my Lord of Huntingdon, my ſecond beſt George and beſt garter, and a baſon and ‘ ewer of ſilver, of forty pounds at the leaſt: and to ‘ my dear ſiſter the Counteſs of Huntingdon, a jewel ‘ worth five-hundred marks; and to my neice the ‘ Counteſs of Pembroke, a diamond of fifty pounds: ‘ and to my very good Lord, the Lord-Chancellor, ‘ my beſt George, with a chain and garter. To my ‘ Lord Cobham, and Lord Grey of Wilton, either of ‘ them a George. To Mr Secretary Walſingham, ‘ my honourable good friend, a baſon and ewer of ‘ ſilver of forty pounds. And to my little neice Sidney, a jewel of one-hundred marks. And to Mr ‘ Vice-Chamberlain, a pair of gilt livery pots of ‘ twenty pounds. And to Mr Roger Manners, my ‘ beſt foot cloth nag, and the beſt furniture belonging ‘ to the ſame. In witneſs, &c.’ E

DUDLEY (ROBERT), Baron of Denbigh, and Earl of Leiceſter, ſon of John, Duke of Northumberland, and brother to Ambroſe, Earl of Warwick, before-mentioned. We have no certainty at all as to the time of his birth, or diſtinct account of the manner of his education, except that he had a competent knowledge of the Latin tongue, and was thoroughly verſed in the Italian (a). He received the honour of knighthood when he was but a youth, and came very early into the ſervice and favour of King Edward (b). It was one of his father's maxims to marry his children while they were young, as the ſureſt means of fixing their fortunes, bringing them into a ſettled courſe of life, and giving him an opportunity of procuring for them valuable grants, or places of honour and profit. Accordingly June the 4th, 1550, being the day after the marriage of his brother the Lord L'Iſle to the Duke of Somerſet's daughter, Sir Robert Dudley eſpouſed Amy, daughter of Sir John Robſart (c), at Sheen in Surrey, the King honouring their nuptials with his preſence [A]. He was, not long after, made Maſter of the King's

(a) Upon both which he is complimented by Dr Wilſon, in his Dedication to him of a Diſcourſe upon Uſury.

(b) This appears from the King's Journal, and all the hiſtories of that reign.

(c) See this explained in the note.

[A] *The King honouring their nuptials with his preſence.*] There is not any article in this collection, encumbred with more difficulties than this of Queen Elizabeth's diſtinguiſhed favourite, the third in deſcent of the ſame family, to the third in deſcent of the ſame royal houſe. Edmund Dudley, Eſq; was the chief Miniſter of Henry VII. John, Viſcount L'Iſle, honoured, living and dying, with the favour of King Henry VIII; and, by the title of Northumberland, ruling all things under Edward VI; and this Robert, Earl of Leiceſter, from the very entrance of Queen Elizabeth's reign, taking in the ſpace of near thirty years, in as high credit and power as a ſubject could be; but notwithſtanding all this, and that hardly any nobleman's name occurs more frequently in our Hiſtories, yet there are many particulars relating to his life, which are very obſcure, chiefly from the different views which thoſe perſons had, by whom they were recorded, and theſe we ſhall principally endeavour to clear up, as far as the narrow bounds which the nature of ſuch a collection preſcribes will allow.

As to this marriage, King Edward enters it thus in his Journal (1). ‘ June 4, 1550, Sir Robert Dudley, ‘ third ſon to the Earl of Warwick, married Sir John ‘ Robſart's daughter, after which marriage, there were ‘ certain gentlemen that did ſtrive who ſhould firſt take ‘ away a gooſe's head, which was hanged alive on two ‘ croſs poſts.’ Authors differ as to the name of this lady. Brooke, in his firſt edition (2), calls her Amy, in which he agrees with ſome ancient authorities that I have ſeen; but in his ſecond edition, following the general courſe of other authors, he ſtiles her Anne (3), and indeed, in old writings it is very difficult to diſtinguiſh between *Amie* and *Anne*. She was a very conſiderable heireſs, and deſcended of a noble family in Norfolk,

(1) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. in the Appendix, p. 15.

(2) Cat. of Nobility, p. 136.

(3) Vincent's Errors in Brooke's Cat. p. 310.

King's Buckhounds for life (*d*), and, on the 15th of Auguſt 1551, he was ſworn one of the Six Gentlemen of the King's Chamber in Ordinary, together with Mr Barnaby Fitzpatrick (*e*). In the month of October he was, amongſt many other perſons of diſtinction, appointed to wait upon the Queen-Dowager of Scotland, and appears to have had a ſhare in moſt of the King's diverſions, who gave him, upon all occaſions, very pregnant marks of his ſingular affection (*f*). In the firſt year of Queen Mary he fell into the ſame miſfortunes with the reſt of his family, was brought priſoner from the Queen's camp to London, ſent to the Tower, indicted of high-treaſon, and, upon his pleading guilty (*g*), received ſentence of death, but was pardoned for life, and ſet at liberty October 18th, 1554 (*h*). He was reſtored in blood at the ſame time, and by the ſame act of Parliament with his brother (*i*), but had the advantage of him in one reſpect, being raiſed to the important poſt of Maſter of the Ordnance by Queen Mary (*k*), which has been thought to give ſome credit to the earlieſt piece of ſecret hiſtory that is to be met with in reſpect to this great man, if we except what regards King Edward's death (*l*); though, perhaps, both are without foundation [*B*]. On the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth it very ſoon appeared, that the change of Sovereigns had created no alteration but in the degree of his favour: he was immediately entertained at Court as one of the new Queen's principal favourites, promoted to the office of Maſter of the Horſe, with the fee of one hundred marks *per annum* (*m*), and named firſt in the commiſſion for compounding with ſuch as might be called to receive the honour of knighthood at the Queen's coronation, by the name of Lord Robert Dudley (*n*). On the 4th of June 1589, he was inſtalled Knight of the Moſt Noble Order of the Garter, and ſworn of the Council (*o*). Theſe great preferments excited ſome degree of envy, the rather, becauſe this noble perſon, in compliance with his Sovereign's humour, and perhaps with his own, lived at a very high rate, and, in point of magnificence, ſurpaſſed moſt of the Nobility, tho' he had not as yet any other title than he derived from curteſy. In 1562 he obtained from the Queen the Caſtle and Manor of Kenilworth, together with Aſtell-Grove in Warwickſhire, the Lordſhips, Manors, and Caſtles of Denbigh and Chirk, of very large value (*p*). The ſame year he became High-Steward of the Univerſity of Cambridge, and obtained prodigious grants from the Crown, and from others, in virtue of that influence which he was known to have at Court [*C*]. All

(*d*) Pat. 4 Ed. V. §. 6.

(*e*) See King Edward's Journal of that date.

(*f*) Strype, Holinſhed, Stowe, Speed, Burnet.

(*g*) Stowe's Annals, p. 618.

(*h*) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

(*i*) See DUDLEY (AMBROSE) Earl of Warwick.

(*k*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 208.

(*l*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 425.

(*m*) Pat. 1 Eliz. P. iv. m. 12.

(*n*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 493.

(*o*) From the plate in St George's Chapel at Windſor.

(*p*) Stowe's Annals, p. 657, 658.

Norfolk, one of her anceſtors by the father's ſide, having been a peer of the realm in the reign of Henry V, and two of them Knights of the Garter in the reign of that prince, and of his ſon (4). So, that as we obſerved in the text, this match at the time it was made, agreed perfectly with his father's maxim, and afforded Sir Robert Dudley a very good eſtabliſhment for a younger brother, which he improved, by procuring grants to his father-in-law and himſelf.

[*B*] *Though perhaps both are without foundation.*] We are told in that famous book, which is aſcribed to Parſons the Jeſuit, that at the very cloſe of K. Edward's reign, the Duke of Northumberland wrote flattering letters to the Lady Mary, promiſing to aſſiſt in eſtabliſhing her ſucceſſion (5), which ſeems not a little incredible. It is not however at all unlikely, that his younger ſons, Ambroſe and Robert, might expreſs an affection for her cauſe, and a great unwillingneſs to act againſt her, which turned afterwards highly to their advantage; but in this, as in the ſucceeding reign, the younger brother ſhewed himſelf the more expert courtier of the two, attaching himſelf wholly to King Philip after his marriage; ſo that we find him made choice of to carry meſſages between the King and Queen, riding poſt (6) upon ſuch occaſions, and neglecting nothing that might ingratiate him with either of theſe princes. This aſſiduity recommended him to the poſt he obtained under the Queen, and in all probability he had a great ſhare in King Philip's favour, not only then, but long after, which, at the firſt acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth, he employed for her ſervice, and was for ſome years looked upon as a perſon well affected to his Catholick Majeſty, and rather a friend than an enemy to the Popiſh intereſt; yet without running any hazards in their defence, and purely by obſerving great civility towards them, which he afterwards excuſed out of gratitude for favours formerly received. But when the Papiſts felt the ſeverity of the laws, and ſaw this noble perſon ſet himſelf at the head of the Puritans, they made no ſcruple of affirming loudly, that he was once theirs; that if Queen Mary had lived, he would have neglected nothing to ingratiate himſelf with her; and that following his father's example, he was ready to embrace, or at leaſt to profeſs, any Creed that might promote his own progreſs at Court, and leſſen the greatneſs of thoſe who refuſed to depend upon him.

[*C*] *Which he was known to have at Court.*] The intelligent reader will obſerve, that notwithſtanding the revenues of the Crown were far inferior in thoſe days, to what they are now, yet ſuch as had the favour of the prince, knew how to turn it to greater advantage than can be done at this day; as for inſtance, the Earl of Leiceſter having obtained a licence for tranſporting cloths, ſold it immediately to ſome of the Merchant-Adventurers, for the ſum of ſix-thouſand two-hundred ſixty-ſix pounds thirteen ſhillings and four pence (7). He made ſuch a diſplay of his power over the Queen his miſtreſs's mind, that even her beſt friends, and oldeſt ſervants, were glad to court his favour, as appears by a letter in a very humble ſtile, from Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh, with a preſent (8). By the reputation of this high influence, he obtained whatever he ſought, almoſt from all hands. As for example, he had a patent of the ſtewardſhip of the Biſhoprick of Ely, confirmed by the Dean and Chapter of that place, alſo the office of Chamberlain of the County Palatine of Cheſter. And theſe following were after conferred on him, the ſtewardſhip of the foreſt of Snoden; the ſtewardſhip of Reading; the ſtewardſhip of Abingdon; the ſtewardſhip of Harrow on the Hill, from Roger, Lord North. The ſtewardſhip of Tewxbury, Cleve, Swell, and Longney, with the fees of eleven pounds *per annum*, and the Bailiwick, with the fees, of ſixty-ſix ſhillings and eight pence. The ſtewardſhip of Clun. A patent of maſter of the game and liberties belonging to the Biſhoprick of Coventry and Lichfield, with licence to muſter his tenants, &c. with a fee of ten pounds *per annum*. A patent from the Archbiſhop of York, of the high-ſtewardſhip of his poſſeſſions, and maſter of his game, with a fee of ten pounds. The ſtewardſhip of the Church of Norwich, with a fee of ten pounds. A grant of a rent-charge of ſix pounds *per annum*, from the Biſhop of Wincheſter, for term of his life, out of the manor of Taunton, and other lands in Somerſetſhire, confirmed by the Dean and Chapter. The ſtewardſhip of the lands of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and a rent-charge of ten pounds *per annum*, granted by the Dean and Chapter of Chriſt-Church, Canterbury. And a patent in reverſion, of the ſtewardſhip of the lands of the Biſhop of London, with a fee of ten pounds *per annum*, granted by Edwin, Biſhop of London, and a confirmation of the ſame from the Dean and Chapter. The ſtewardſhip of the honour of Tickhall, with the accuſtomed fee.

(4) See this explained in note [D].

(5) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

(6) Strype's Memorials.

(7) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

(8) Peck's Deſiderata, Vol. II. Lib. vii. p. 28.

All things gave way, at this time, to his ambition, influence, or policy, ſo that whatever he deſired for himſelf, or his friends, were obtained as ſoon as demanded. He had a grant of Windſor-Park, in terms as ample as he could deſire, or the Queen could give (q). In his attendance on the Queen, when ſhe viſited the Univerſity of Cambridge, the higheſt reverence was paid him; he was lodged in Trinity-College, conſulted in all things, requeſts made to the Queen through him, and, Auguſt 10th, 1564, he, on his knees, entreated the Queen to ſpeak to the Univerſity in Latin, which ſhe accordingly did (r). At Court, however, Thomas, Earl of Suſſex ſhewed himſelf averſe to his counſels, and ſtrongly promoted the overture of a marriage between the Queen and the Archduke Charles of Auſtria, as much more worthy of ſuch a Princeſs than any ſubject of her own, let his qualities be what they would. This was reſented by Lord Robert, who inſinuated, that foreign alliances were always fatal, that her ſiſter Mary never knew an eaſy minute after her marriage with King Philip, and that her Majeſty ought to conſider, ſhe was herſelf deſcended of ſuch a marriage as, by thoſe lofty notions, was decried; ſo that ſhe could not contemn an alliance with the Nobility of England, but ſhe muſt, at the ſame time, reflect on her father's choice, and her mother's family (s). Theſe diſputes created a kind of civil war in the very palace, both Lords openly avowing their diſtaſte to each other, and keeping their ſervants armed about their perſons, and, whenever they went abroad, as if things were to be decided by the ſword. But the Queen taking up the matter, reconciled them, or rather prevented an open rupture (t). But this without any diminution of Lord Robert Dudley's aſcendency, who continued daily to ſollicit and obtain new grants and offices for himſelf, and his dependants, which, by degrees, grew ſo numerous, and made ſo great a figure, that he was ſtiled the *Heart of the Court* by the common people. It was thought neceſſary to give ſome colour to theſe extraordinary marks of royal indulgence, and therefore the Queen thought proper to propoſe him as a ſuitor to the Queen of Scots, promiſing that Princeſs all the advantages that ſhe could expect or deſire, either for herſelf or her ſubjects, in caſe ſhe conſented to the match (u). The ſincerity of this was ſuſpected at that time, when the deepeſt Politicians believed, that, if the Queen of Scotland had complied, it would have ſerved only to countenance the preferring him to his Sovereign's bed. But the French faction at the Court of Queen Mary repreſented to her, that ſuch a ſtep would be highly diſhonourable to a Queen-Dowager of France, and a Queen of Scotland in her own right; which induced her to reject the propoſal (w), in a manner that ſome have thought proved as fatal to her as to another Lady, who was ſuppoſed to be ſacrificed to his ambition of marrying a Queen (x) [D]. Whatever truth there might be in theſe ſuggeſtions, very certain it is, that, on the

(q) Pat. 3 Eliz. p. 5.

(r) Journal of the Queen's viſit to the Univerſity of Cambridge.

(s) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 117.

(t) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. iv.

(u) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 102.

(w) Life of Mary Queen of Scots, by Sanderſon.

(x) See this fully explained in the note.

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fee. The ſtewardſhip of the city of Briſtol, with the fee of four pounds; alſo the ſtewardſhip of the Biſhoprick, with the ſame fee. The ſtewardſhip of Eveſham, with the fee of forty ſhillings. The ſtewardſhip of the honour of Grafton. He was alſo choſen High-Steward of the Manor and Hundred of Andover, by the Bailiffs and Burgeſſes there; alſo ſteward of the town of great Yarmouth, and Recorder of the town of Malden in Eſſex (9).

[D] *To his ambition of marrying a Queen.*] The death of this lady, happened Sept. 8. 1560, at a very unlucky juncture for the Earl's reputation, becauſe the world at that time conceived it might be much for his conveniency to be without a wife, this iſland then holding two Queens, young and without huſbands. The manner too of this poor lady's death, which Mr Camden ſays, was by a fall from a high place (10), was another untoward circumſtance, which added to the number of this favourite's enemies, filled the world with the rumour of a lamentable tragedy. The reader will perhaps expect to be gratified with ſome account of this, and it ſo falls out, that the induſtrious John Aubrey, Eſq; ſpeaking of Cumnor in Berkſhire where this happened, inſerts the following relation, which is very circumſtantial, and carries in it ſtrong pretences to abſolute certainty. At all events it is very curious, and much clearer than any thing elſe that is to be met with on this ſubject (11). ‘ Robert Dudley, Earl of Leiceſter, a very goodly perſonage, being a great favourite to Queen Elizabeth, it was thought, and commonly reported, that had he been a bachelor or widower, the Queen would have made him her huſband; to this end, to free himſelf of all obſtacles, he with fair flattering intreaties, deſires his wife to repoſe herſelf here, at his ſervant Anthony Forſter's houſe, who then lived in the manor-houſe of this place; and alſo preſcribed to Sir Richard Varney (a prompter to this deſign) at his coming hither, that he ſhould firſt attempt to poiſon her, and if that did not take effect, then by any other way whatſoever to diſpatch her. This was proved by the report of Dr Walter Bayley, ſome time Fellow of New-College, then living in Oxford, and Profeſſor of Phyſick in that Univerſity; who, becauſe he would not conſent to take away her life by poiſon, the Earl endeavoured to diſplace him. This man reported for certain, that there was a practice in Cumnor, among the conſpirators, to have poiſoned this innocent lady a little before ſhe was killed, which was attempted after this manner. They ſeeing her ſad and heavy, as one that well knew by her other handling, that her death was not far off, began to perſwade her, that her preſent diſeaſe was melancholy and other humours, and would needs counſel her to take ſome potion, which ſhe abſolutely refuſing to do, as ſuſpecting the worſt; they ſent a meſſenger for Dr Bayley, and intreated him to perſwade her to take ſome little potion by his direction, and they would fetch the ſame at Oxford, meaning to have added ſomething of their own for her comfort, as the Doctor upon juſt cauſe and conſideration did ſuſpect, ſeeing their great importunity, and the ſmall need the lady had of phyſick, and therefore he peremptorily denied their requeſt, miſdoubting, as he afterwards reported, leaſt if they had poiſoned her under the name of his potion, he might after have been hanged for a colour of their ſin; and the Doctor remained ſtill well aſſured, that this way taking no effect, ſhe would not long eſcape their violence, which afterwards happened thus. Sir Richard Varney, who by the Earl's order, remained that day of her death alone with her, with one man only; and Forſter, who had that day forcibly ſent away all her ſervants from her to Abingdon fair, about three miles diſtant from this place; they firſt ſtifling her, or elſe ſtrangling her, afterwards flung her down a pair of ſtairs and broke her neck, uſing much violence upon her; but however, tho' it was reported, that ſhe by chance fell down ſtairs, but ſtill, without hurting her hood that was upon her head; yet the inhabitants will tell you there, that ſhe was conveyed from her uſual chamber where ſhe lay to another, where the beds head of the

‘ chamber

(9) Extract of Grants to Robert Earl of Leiceſter, amongſt the Sidney MSS.

(10) Annal. Eliz. p. 102.

(11) Antiquities of Berkſhire, Vol. I. p. 149—154.

the 28th of September 1564, the Queen created him Baron of Denbigh (*y*), and the next day Earl of Leiceſter, with all the ceremony imaginable, which, in the preamble of the patent, is ſaid to be in conſideration of his noble blood, great loyalty, eminent valour, diſtinguiſhed prudence, and other numerous virtues; as alſo on account of his being lawfully deſcended from the illuſtrious and antient Earls of Warwick (*z*). He received, before the cloſe of the year, a very conſiderable addition to his new honours, by being elected Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford (*a*). His great influence in the Court of England was not only known at home but abroad, which induced the French King, Charles IX. to ſend him, as well as the Duke of Norfolk, the Order of St Michael, then the moſt honourable in France; and both theſe great Peers were inſtalled with the greateſt ſolemnity poſſible January 24th, 1565 (*b*), and a very particular relation of the whole ceremony has been carefully preſerved to poſterity (*c*). If we may truſt the reports of Camden, and other Hiſtorians, he was the principal mover in the affair of the Duke of Norfolk's ſuit to the Queen of Scots, which proved ſo fatal to them both (*d*). The Duke wanted not friends to diſſwade him from that dangerous enterprize, or to ſhew him how much hazard he might run, by exciting the hate of one Queen, thro' his diſcovering ſo much affection for the other; but Leiceſter infuſed bolder counſels, and made him believe, that Queen Elizabeth ſhould not have power to hinder or reſent his marriage if ſhe would (*e*). But he was fatally deceived, and, as the Lord Burleigh long before hinted to him, the purſuit of that match coſt him his head, the Earl of Leiceſter being one of thoſe Peers that ſat in judgment upon him in 1572, and condemned him to death (*f*). About this time it is ſuppoſed, and ſome writers pretend that it has been legally proved, that the Earl married Douglas, Baroneſs-Dowager of Sheffield (*g*); which, however, was carried with ſuch privacy, that it did not come to the Queen's ears, though a great deal of ſecret hiſtory was publiſhed, even in thoſe days, concerning the adventures of this unfortunate Lady [*E*]. One might be tempted to ſuppoſe, notwithſtanding the confidence with

(*y*) Stowe's Annals, p. 658.

(*z*) Pat. 6 Eliz. p. xii. m. 18.

(*a*) Hiſt. & Ant. Oxon. L. i. p. 286.

(*b*) Stowe's Annals, p. 659.

(*c*) Aſhmole's Order of the Garter, p. 369, 370.

(*d*) Camden. Annal. p. 171.

(*e*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

(*f*) See the arraignment of that Duke in the State-Trials.

(*g*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 222.

'chamber, ſtood cloſe to a privy poſtern door, where they in the night came and ſtifled her in her bed, bruiſed her head very much, broke her neck, and at length flung her down ſtairs, thereby believing the world would have thought it a miſchance, and ſo have blinded their villainy. But behold the mercy and juſtice of God in diſcovering this lady's murther; for one of the two perſons that was a coadjutor in this murder, was afterwards taken for felony in the Marches of Wales, and offering to publiſh the manner of the aforeſaid murder, was privately made away in the priſon, by the Earl's appointment; and Sir Richard Verney, the other, dying about the ſame time in London, cried miſerably, and ſaid to a perſon of note not long before his death, that all the Devils in Hell did tear him in pieces. Forſter, likewiſe after this fact, being a man formerly addicted to hoſpitality, company, mirth, and muſick, was afterwards obſerved to forſake all this with much melancholy and penſiveneſs; ſome ſay with madneſs, pined and drooped away. The wife alſo of Bald Butler, kinſman to the Earl, gave out the whole fact a little before her death, Neither are the following paſſages to be forgotten, that as ſoon as ſhe was murdered, they made great haſte to bury her before the Coroner had given in his inqueſt; which the Earl himſelf condemned, as not done adviſedly, and her father, Sir John Robertſett, hearing, came with all ſpeed hither, cauſed her corps to be taken up, the Coroner to ſit upon her, and further enquiry to be made concerning this buſineſs to the full; but it was generally thought, that the Earl ſtopped his mouth; and to make plain to the world, the great love he bare to her while alive, and what a grief the loſs of ſo virtuous a lady was to his tender heart, cauſed her body to be re-buried in St Mary's church in Oxford, with great pomp and ſolemnity. It is alſo remarkable, that Dr Babington, the Earl's chaplain, preaching the funeral ſermon, tript once or twice in his ſpeech, by recommending to their memories, that virtuous lady ſo pitifully murdered, inſtead of ſaying, pitifully ſlain.' There are ſome things in this account not very conſiſtent, which in ſo dark an affair, is not at all ſtrange, but with reſpect to the leaſt intelligible paſſage of all, which is her father's being ſo ſilent about a matter which opened the mouths of all the world beſides; a very probable account may be given, which is this, the Inquiſition taken after the death of this Lady, was to determine who were her heirs, for her father was long before dead, and this was the reaſon that inquiſition produced no other effect, than preſerving the family eſtate, which was very conſiderable, to John Walpole, Eſq; anceſtor to the preſent Earl of Orford. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the Lord Robert Robſart, came over from the Low Countries with King Edward III, and that he left behind him three ſons, John, Lewis, and Theodorick; or, as we wrote it in thoſe days, Tyrrey; Lewis, the ſecond brother became Lord Bourchier by his marriage, and was a Knight of the Order of the Garter, but dying in the life-time of his elder brother, he became his heir (12). This Sir John Robſart, was alſo a Knight of the Garter, and dying in 1450, left his eſtate to Sir John Robſart his ſon, who had iſſue, Sir Theodorick, or Sir Tyrrey Robſart, who married the daughter and heireſs of Sir Thomas Syderſton, in the County of Norfolk, by whom he had iſſue, Sir John Robſart, and a daughter Lucy, who married Edward Walpole, Eſq; of Houghton (13). Sir John Robſart left behind him an only daughter, Amy, who was the wife of Lord Robert Dudley, and by the Inquiſition before mentioned, John Walpole, Eſq; in right of his mother Lucy Robſart, aunt to this unfortunate Lady, was found to be her next heir, and came into poſſeſſion of her lands (14).

[*E*] *Concerning the adventures of this unfortunate Lady.*] It may ſeem a little ſtrange, to inſert in the notes to a Stateſman's life, the memoirs of ſeveral Ladies, and of many of his intrigues; but the misfortune is, that we have no remedy; the learned Camden, and the judicious Sir William Dugdale, have been forced to take the ſame method, which, as it is a proof of the neceſſity, ſo it amounts to a vindication of the practice. This Lady Douglas Howard, was the grand-daughter of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, the daughter of William Howard, the firſt Baron of Effingham, and Knight of the Garter, and the widow of John, Lord Sheffield of Butterwick, who died ſudenly of an extream rheum in his head, which the malicious people of thoſe times, called *a Leiceſter cold* (15). It is beyond all doubt, that the Earl of Leiceſter had by her a ſon, Sir Robert Dudley, of whom we ſhall ſpeak of hereafter, and to whom, by the name of his baſe ſon, he left the bulk of his fortune, as alſo a daughter. It likewiſe appeared by depoſitions taken long after in the Star-Chamber, upon the oath of Lady Douglas Sheffield herſelf, and of ſeveral other perſons, that ſhe having been firſt contracted in Cannon-Row (16), within the liberties of Weſtminſter, about two years before, was ſolemnly wedded to him at Aſher, in the County of Surry, by a lawful Miniſter, according to the form of matrimony by Law eſtabliſhed in the Church of England, in the preſence of Sir Edward Horſey, Knt. who gave her in marriage, as alſo of Robert Sheffield, Eſq; Dr Julio, Henry Frodſham, and five other perſons, whoſe

(12) Eſc. 9 H. VI. n. 52.

(13) Carta, 27 H. VIII.

(14) Viſit. de Com. Norf. in offic. Arm.

(15) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

(16) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 222.

with which theſe ſtories are told, that they muſt be exaggerated at leaſt, if not falſe, ſince the Earl, at this juncture, obtained an act of Parliament to enable him to erect an Hoſpital at Warwick; which he afterwards did, and plentifully endowed it, that it might bear his name, and preſerve his memory as a moſt religious perſon, the character which of all others he moſt affected, to ſucceeding times (b) [*F*]. Yet very great doubts have been moved upon this ſubject, ſome affirming, that, in the former part of his life, he inclined to favour the Papiſts, but, at the perſwaſion of his friend the Lord North, altered his conduct, and became the patron of the Puritans (i). In the thirteenth of Queen Elizabeth he procured, from the Earl of Arundel, an aſſignment of the Wardenſhip of New Foreſt, which had been granted to his anceſtors in the ſixth of Edward III (k). He is reported to have had much of his father's temper, which appeared in nothing more than the pains he took to adorn his Caſtle of Kenilworth, and to render it, as his father had done Dudley-Caſtle, one of the faireſt, as well as one of the ſtrongeſt, places in England,

(b) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney Papers.

(i) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 10.

(k) Grants to Robert Earl of Leiceſter, amongſt the Sidney MSS.

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whoſe names are there ſpecified, and that the ring wherewith they were ſo married, was ſet with five pointed diamonds, and a table diamond, which had been given to him by the then Earl of Pembroke's grandfather, upon condition, that he ſhould not beſtow it upon any but whom he did make his wife. Likewiſe, that the Duke of Norfolk was the principal mover of that marriage; but that this Earl, pretending a fear of the Queen's indignation, in caſe it ſhould come to her knowledge, made her to vow not to reveal it till he gave leave, whereupon all her ſervants were commanded ſecrecy therein. And it was alſo farther depoſed, that within two days after the birth of this Sir Robert Dudley, which happened at Sheen, where he was chriſtened by a miniſter ſent from Sir Henry Lea, having to his godfathers, the Earl of Warwick his uncle, and the ſame Sir Henry, and to his godmother, the Lady Dacres of the South, by their deputies; the ſaid Lady Douglas, received a letter from this Earl, which one Mrs Eriſa (then Lady Parker) read, wherein his Lordſhip did thank God for the birth of this his ſon, who might be their comfort and ſtaff of their old age, as are the words of the letter, and ſubſcribed your loving huſband, Robert Leiceſter. Likewiſe, that the ſaid Lady Douglas, was after this ſerved in her chamber as a Counteſs, until he commanded the contrary, for fear the marriage ſhould be diſcloſed. Some of the Wits in the Court of Queen Elizabeth, after the Earl's publick marriage with the Counteſs Dowager of Eſſex, ſtiled theſe two Ladies, Leiceſter's two Teſtaments, calling Lady Douglas the old, and Lady Lettice the new (17). In order to ſtifle this affair, however, as much as poſſible, the Earl made ſeveral propoſitions to Lady Douglas Sheffield, to deſiſt from her pretenſions, particularly, as ſhe herſelf depoſed, in the cloſe arbour in the Queen's gardens at Greenwich, where, in the preſence of Sir John Hubbard and George Digby, he offered her ſeven hundred pounds a year, adding at the ſame time threats, that if ſhe would not comply, he would never come near her, nor ſhould ſhe receive from him one penny of money. Being able to do nothing, either by fair means or foul, he went ſomewhat farther, ſo that the poor Lady, to ſhelter herſelf from his reſentment, was conſtrained to marry Sir Edward Stafford, a perſon of high birth, great honour, and the Queen's Embaſſador in France (18), which being, as ſhe herſelf confeſſed, an act which did the greateſt wrong poſſible to her own pretenſions, and to thoſe of her ſon; ſhe upon her oath declared, that her motive thereto was this, that having had ſome ill potions given her, which occaſioned the loſs of her hair and nails, ſhe knew no other way to preſerve her life (19). Such is the hiſtory of the Lady Douglas, whom ſome reckon the ſecond wife of this potent Earl.

[*F*] *Which of all others he moſt affected, to ſucceeding times.*] The ſtatute mentioned in the text, to have been paſſed in the 13th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, gave power and authority to him, his heirs, executors, and aſſigns, to eſtabliſh an Hoſpital, either in Warwick, or in Kenilworth, to have continuance for ever, with a perpetual ſucceſſion, and to be ruled, governed, and directed in all things as they ſhould appoint (20). The Earl long after, by deed-poll under his hand and ſeal, November 1ſt, 1585, reciting (21), 'That ſince the ſaid act, he had appointed a houſe in the town of Warwick, for the ſaid Hoſpital, and had placed therein one maſter, *viz.* Ralph Griffin, Profeſſor of Divinity, and twelve poor brethren, who ever ſince the making of the ſaid act, had their abode and relief there, at the Earl's charge. Now the ſaid Earl calling to remembrance, that the good and charitable deeds and works of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and others his anceſtors, being provided and intended for the relief of the poor within the ſaid town of Warwick, but inſtituted and ordained according to the error and ſuperſtitious ignorance of thoſe former times, are abrogated and taken away. And withal, being continually mindful of the great mercy and goodneſs of Almighty God, freely beſtowed upon him many ways, and eſpecially by the ſingular bounty and favour of his moſt gracious ſovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth. And in reſpect thereof, by the authority of the ſaid ſtatute, ordains, eſtabliſhes, and appoints an Hoſpital in the ſaid town of Warwick, to have continuance for ever; for the finding, ſuſtentation, and relief of poor needy and impotent men, and eſpecially of ſuch as ſhould be hereafter wounded, maimed, or hurt in the wars, in the ſervice of her Majeſty, her heirs and ſucceſſors; and did found and eſtabliſh the ſaid Hoſpital, to conſiſt of one maſter, and twelve poor brethren, to be called the Hoſpital of Robert, Earl of Leiceſter, in Warwick. And the ſaid Ralph Griffin, having lately been preferred by her Majeſty, at the earneſt ſuit of the ſaid Earl, to the Deanry of Lincoln, in the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, he thereupon ordained, that Thomas Cartwright ſhould be, during his life, maſter of the ſaid Hoſpital, unleſs removed, or reſigning, and in that caſe, ſuch perſons as the Earl, or his heirs, ſhould appoint, ſhould be maſter. And did further ordain, that the twelve perſons there named, then dwelling and abiding in the ſaid Hoſpital, ſhould be the then preſent twelve brethren of the ſaid Hoſpital. And that upon the death, reſignation, deprivation, or other lawful removing of any of them, ſuch perſon or perſons, as by the ſaid Earl, or his heir or heirs after his death, ſhould be named or appointed a brother, or brethren of the ſaid Hoſpital, ſhould be the brethren of the ſaid Hoſpital for ever. And if the ſaid Earl, or his heir or heirs, did not from time to time, within three months next after the ſaid twelve brethren, or any of them ſhould die, reſign, be deprived, or otherwiſe lawfully removed from the ſaid Hoſpital; then ſuch perſon and perſons, as from time to time, upon the default of the ſaid Earl, and his heirs, in form aforeſaid, ſhould be appointed, and preferred to be a brother, or brethren, by the Biſhop of Worceſter for the time being, and the Recorders of Coventry and Warwick for the time being, or any two of them, under hands and ſeals, ſhould be a brother, and brethren of the ſaid Hoſpital for ever. And he appointed the ſaid maſter and brethren, a Body Corporate and Politick, *&c.* and the lands, tenements, *&c.* thereof, ſhould be for ever thereafter, ruled, governed, ordered, and directed, according to ſuch rules, ſtatutes, and ordinances, as were thereto annexed, or at any time thereafter ſhould be ſet forth, made, deviſed, and eſtabliſhed by the ſaid Earl, by writing, or writings under his hand and ſeal; which writing, containing a compleat body of Statutes, the Earl executed on the 26th of the ſame month.' It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that Thomas Cartwright beforementioned, was the great chieftain of the Puritans, by which, having obtained this preferment for himſelf, he condeſcended for ſome time to leave the Church undiſturbed (22).

(17) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

(18) Camden. Annal. p. 320.

(19) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 222.

(20) D'Ewes's Journal of the Parliaments in the Reign of Q. Eliz. p. 147.

(21) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

(22) Fuller's Worthies in Hertfordſhire, p. 27.

[G] At

land, which, if Sir William Dugdale was well informed, was a project that coſt him about ſixty thouſand pounds (*l*). There, in the month of July 1575, he entertained the Queen his Miſtreſs for ten days, with the greateſt elegance as well as magnificence, at a boundleſs expence (*m*). Of this, none of the leaſt remarkable tranſactions of his life, ſome farther account is given at the bottom of the page [*G*]. In 1576 happened the death of Walter, Earl of Eſſex, which, as we have elſewhere ſhewn, drew upon this noble Peer many ſuſpicions, more eſpecially after his marriage with the Counteſs of Eſſex was declared (*n*); as to which the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee, in the notes, ſome particulars that were reſerved for this place [*H*]. In 1578, the Duke of Anjou preſſing the match that had been propoſed between him and Queen Elizabeth, and ſending over Monſieur Simier, a very gallant Gentleman, attended by a large train of French Nobility, the Earl of Leiceſter was doubtful whether the marriage might not take effect. The Earl, as it is ſaid by our Hiſtorians, had, ſome time before, ſounded the Queen's diſpoſition in chooſing him for a huſband, and not receiving a favourable anſwer (*o*), he abandoned all thoughts thereof, and privately married the Counteſs of Eſſex, as before related. This marriage Simier diſcovered to the Queen, apprehending his Lordſhip to be the greateſt bar to the Duke's pretenſions; and Camden relates, that ſhe was ſo enraged thereat, that ſhe commanded him not to ſtir from the Caſtle of Greenwich, deſigning to have committed him to the Tower, but was diſſwaded from it by the Earl of Suſſex (*p*): this he reſented ſo far, as it was thought he had ſome intention to cauſe him to be murthered; and one day Simier waiting on her Majeſty in her barge, not far from Greenwich, a gun was diſcharged from a neighbouring boat, and one of the Queen's bargemen wounded through both his arms; this was ſuggeſted to be intended to diſpatch Simier, but, on enquiry, it appeared to have been wholly accidental, and the man, who had been apprehended, was ſet at liberty (*q*) [*I*]. The Duke of Anjou ſending an embaſſy, com-
poſed

(*l*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 249.

(*m*) Hollinſhed's Chron. p. 1299.

(*n*) See the article of DEVEREUX (WALTER) Earl of Eſſex.

(*o*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 37.

(*p*) Camden. Annal. p. 329.

(*q*) Hollinſhed, Stowe, Speed.

[*G*] *At the bottom of the page.*] There was a large relation of the Queen's entertainment at this palace, written by George Gaſcoign, Eſq; out of which, Sir William Dugdale tells us (23), that the Queen was ſurprized at her entrance, with the ſight of a floating iſland on the large pool there, bright blazing with torches, on which were clad in ſilks, the Lady of the Lake, and two nymphs waiting on her, who made a ſpeech to the Queen in metre, of the antiquity and owners of that caſtle, which was cloſed with cornets and other muſick. Within the baſe court, was a noble bridge ſet up of twenty feet wide, and ſeventy feet long, over which the Queen paſſed; on each ſide whereof, on poſts erected, were preſents on them to her by the Gods, *viz.* a cage of wild fowl, by Sylvanus; divers ſorts of fruits, by Pomona; of corn, by Ceres; of wine, by Bacchus; of ſea-fiſh, by Neptune; of all habiliments of war, by Mars; and of muſical inſtruments, by Phœbus. Alſo, during the ſeveral days of her ſtay, various rare ſhews and ſports were exerciſed, *viz.* In the chaſe, a Savage man with ſatyrs, bear-baitings, fire-works, Italian tumblers, a country bride-ale, with running at the Quinting, and morrice dancing; and that nothing might be wanting which thoſe parts could afford, the Coventry men came and acted the ancient Play, long ſince uſed in that City, called Hock's Tueſday, ſetting forth the deſtruction of the Danes in King Ethelred's time, which pleaſed the Queen ſo much, that ſhe gave them a brace of bucks, and five marks in money, to bear the charges of a feaſt. Likewiſe, on the pool, there was a Triton riding on a Mermaid eighteen foot long, as alſo Arion on a Dolphin, with rare muſick. The coſts and expences of theſe entertainments, may be gueſſed at by the quantity of beer then drank, which amounted to three-hundred and twenty hogſheads of the ordinary ſort; and for the greater honour thereof, Sir Thomas Cecil, ſon and heir to the Lord Burghley, Lord Treaſurer; Sir Henry Cobham, brother to the Lord Cobham; Sir Thomas Stanhope, and Sir Thomas Treſham, were then knighted, and the next enſuing year, the Earl obtained a grant of the Queen for a weekly market at Kenelworth, on the wedneſday, with a fair yearly on Midſummer-day (24). There is alſo in Strype (25), a long and very circumſtantial narrative of all that paſſed at this royal viſit, by one who was preſent, and is very well worth the reading, as it ſhews the temper of the Queen, and manners of thoſe times.

(23) Warwickſhire, p. 249.

(24) Pat. 18 Eliz. p. 6.

(25) Annals, p. 391—394.

[*H*] *Some particulars that were reſerved for this place.*] In that famous book of Perſons the Jeſuit, or whoever elſe was the author of this favourite's ſecret hiſtory, beſides the account quoted in another place, there is a ſhort detail of this iniquitous tranſaction, which follows an hint of Lord Sheffield's being taken off in the ſame manner, and for the ſame reaſon, that is, becauſe this great man had a mind to his wife. This relation runs thus (26). ‘The like good chance had he in the death of my Lord of Eſſex, as I have ſaid before, and that at a time moſt fortunate for his purpoſe; for when he was coming home from Ireland, with intent to revenge himſelf upon my Lord of Leiceſter, for begetting his wife with child in his abſence (the child was a daughter, and brought up by the Lady Shandois, W. Knolles's wife) my Lord of Leiceſter hearing thereof, wanted not a friend or two to accompany the Deputy, as among other, a couple of the Earl's own Servants; Crompton, if I miſs not his name, yeoman of his bottles; and Lloyd, his Secretary, entertained afterward by my Lord of Leiceſter, and ſo he died in the way of an extreme flux, cauſed by an Italian recipe, as all his friends are well aſſured; the maker whereof was a Surgeon, as is believed, that then was newly come to my Lord from Italy, a cunning man, and ſure in operation.’ The judicious Mr Camden, in treating expreſsly upon this ſubject, leaves it doubtful and open, but glancing occaſionally at it elſewhere, he ſhews plainly his own belief, that this imputation was not falſe. Sir Robert Naunton goes farther, and having in all probability the very book, we have firſt cited, in his eye, proceeds thus (27). ‘I am not bound to give credit to all vulgar relations, or to the libels of the times, which are commonly forced and falſified, ſuitable to the moods and humours of men in paſſion and diſcontent; but that which leads me to think him no good man, is, amongſt others of known truth, that of my Lord of Eſſex's death in Ireland, and the marriage of his Lady, yet living, which I forbear to preſs, in regard, that he is long ſince dead, and others living, whom it may concern.’

(26) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 23.

(27) Fragmenra Regalia, cap. iii.

[*I*] *Was ſet at liberty.*] It may not be amiſs, for a reaſon which will be hereafter given, to exhibit two accounts that are yet extant of this great peer's malice to this French gentleman, which aroſe, as the writer of his ſecret hiſtory ſays, from his having had the boldneſs to tell the Queen of the Earl's marriage, with the widow of Eſſex, which though celebrated at Wanſtead, in the preſence of the Earl of Warwick, the Lord North, Sir Francis Knolles, and others; at Mr Stoner's houſe, by one Dr Culpeper, a clergyman, yet the Queen heard nothing of it in ſeveral days. This it was that provoked Leiceſter firſt to attempt taking him off by poiſon (28). ‘And when that failed (ſays this author) he appointed, that Robin Tider, his man, as after, upon his ale-bench he confeſſed, ſhould have ſlain him at the Black-Friars at Greenwich, as
‘he

(28) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 37.

poſed of ſome perſons of the firſt diſtinction in France, into England in 1581, they were received by the Queen with all poſſible marks of diſtinction, and the Earl of Leiceſter was one of the Noblemen appointed to confer with them, and that engaged for their diverſion, in juſtings, barriers, and turney; but the people in general ſhewing great diſcontent at the propoſed marriage, it induced the Queen to iſſue her proclamation, under a ſevere penalty, that none of her ſubjects ſhould either ſtrike, or draw weapon, within four miles of London, or the Court (*r*). And the Duke thinking his preſence might contribute to his point more than the oratory of his Embaſſadors, who ſignified to him the Queen's declining the marriage, he came in perſon to prefer his ſuit; but having remained in England the ſpace of three months, and finding his application to be ineffectual, he ſet out on the ſixth of February for Sandwich (*s*); the Earl of Leiceſter, with a train of one hundred Gentlemen, and three hundred others of inferior ſort, attending him to Antwerp, as did alſo the Lord Hunſdon, and the Lord Charles Howard, who had each of them one hundred and fifty followers (*t*). The Confederates of the Low-Countries, believing it might pleaſe the Queen, had ſent over their agents to the Duke in England, to deſire he would be their protector againſt the Spaniards, and the Queen promiſing him aid, he accepted of their offer, and, on his arrival at Antwerp, was, with the Earl of Leiceſter, who accompanied him, entertained with great ſtate and ſolemnity; and, having ſeen him inveſted in the government of the ſaid Provinces, the Earl, on the 19th of February, together with the Engliſh Nobility, and their trains, returned to England (*u*). In 1584 he prevailed on the chief of the Nobility and Gentry in the kingdom to ſubſcribe an aſſociation, by which they bound themſelves to purſue unto death, whoſoever ſhould attempt any thing againſt Queen Elizabeth; and this, by ſome authors, is ſaid to be in hatred to the Queen of Scots, and that a plot being formed to ſet her at liberty, he was for making her privately away (*w*). His averſion againſt that unhappy Princeſs is ſuppoſed to have roſe from a private view, of conveying the Crown into the family of the Dudleys, as a certain author informs us (*x*), by advancing the Earl of Huntington to the Throne, who had a claim to the Crown as being deſcended, in a direct line, from George, Duke of Clarence (*y*), who had married the ſiſter of the Earl (*z*), and was ever after cloſely attached to his intereſts [*K*]. As he was now in the very height of power and influence,

(*r*) Stowe's Annals, p. 689.

(*s*) Hollinſhed's Chron. p. 1130.

(*t*) Stowe's Annals, p. 690.

(*u*) Hollinſhed's Chron. p. 1344.

(*w*) Camden. Annal. p. 418.

(*x*) Heylin's Hiſt. of the Preſbyterians.

(*y*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

(*z*) Obſervations on the Reign of Q. Elizabeth.

‘ he went forth at the garden gate; but miſſing alſo that purpoſe, for that he found the gentleman better provided and guarded than he expected; he dealt with certain Fluſhiners, and other pirates, to ſink him at ſea, with the Engliſh gentlemen his favourers, that accompanied him at his return into France. And though they miſſed of this practice alſo (as not daring to ſet upon him, for fear of ſome of her Majeſty's ſhips, who to break of this deſignment, attended by ſpecial commandment, to waft him over in ſafety) yet the aforeſaid Engliſh gentlemen, were holden four hours in chace at their coming back, as Maſter Rowley well knoweth, being then preſent; and two of the chacers, named Clark and Harris, confeſſed afterward the whole deſignment.’ Mr Camden (29), much to the ſame purpoſe, ‘ That in the mean while, Simier continued amorouſly to ſollicit Queen Elizabeth in Anjou's behalf. And altho' ſhe excuſed herſelf a long time, yet he brought her to that paſs, that Leiceſter, who from his heart was againſt the marriage, and others, ſpread rumours abroad, that by love potions, and unlawful arts, he had inſinuated into the Queen's affection, and induced her to the love of Anjou. M. Simier on the other ſide, left no means uneſſayed to remove Leiceſter out of his place and favour with the Queen, revealing to her his marriage with Eſſex's widow; the Queen thereupon grew into ſuch a paſſion, that ſhe commanded Leiceſter not to ſtir out of the Caſtle of Greenwich, and intended to have committed him to the Tower of London, which his enemies much deſired. But Suſſex, though his greateſt adverſary, and one that earneſtly endeavoured to promote the marriage, diſſuaded her, as out of a ſolid judgment, and the innate generoſity of his noble mind, he was of opinion, that no man ought to be troubled for his lawful marriage, which hath ever been had in honour and eſteem. Yet glad he was, that by this marriage, he was now put beſide all hopes of marrying with the Queen. Nevertheleſs, Leiceſter was ſo incenſed thereat, that he bent himſelf to revenge the wrong he had received. And there wanted not ſome, who accuſed him, as if he had ſuborned one Teudor, of the Queen's guard, a bravo, to take away Simier's life. This is certain, the Queen commanded by publick proclamation, that no man ſhould offer any affront to Simier, his attendants, or ſervants, either by word or deed. About this time it happened, that while the Queen for her pleaſure, was rowed in her barge upon the Thames, near Greenwhich, attended by Simier, the Earl of Lincoln, and Hatton, her Vice-Chamberlain, a young man diſcharged a piece out of a boat, and ſhot one of the bargemen in the Queen's barge, through both his arms. who was preſently apprehended and led to the gallows, for a terror to him; but he ſolemnly proteſting, that he did it unwittingly, and thought no harm, was ſoon diſcharged. Neither would the Queen believe what ſome buzzed in her ears, that he was purpoſely ſet on to miſchief, either her or Simier. So far was ſhe from giving way to any ſuſpicion againſt her ſubjects, that ſhe was wont to ſay, *ſhe could believe nothing of her* people, *which* parents *would not believe of their* children.’ The reader will plainly diſcern, that whatever we may think of ſuch things now, they were looked upon, even by wiſe men, as very credible at the time in which they are ſaid to have happened.

(29) Annal. Eliz. p. 329.

[*K*] *And was ever after cloſely attached to his intereſts.*] In this note, it is intended to diſcuſs the ſeveral ſuſpicions that were entertained of Leiceſter's views upon the Crown, ſome of which are thought to have been as early as the cloſe of King Edward's reign, and that the great Duke of Northumberland meant not to deprive, or to depreſs the two princeſſes farther, than to bring them to certain matches which he had propoſed, and which, having once brought to bear, he would have put down his daughter-in-law, Queen Jane, with the ſame facility that he ſet her up (30). This ſcheme is ſo fine ſpun, that one can hardly believe there is ſo much in it as a thread of truth; and yet his proclaiming Queen Mary at Cambridge. his deſiring to confer with the Queen's Counſellors, his compliance with the old religion at his death, the ſudden reſtitution of his family in the next reign, and the early favour of his ſon Robert in this, in which none of his wives had any ſhare, are circumſtances not eaſily accounted for; indeed ſo far from it, that Mr Camden has more than once recourſe to the ſtars (31). The firſt ſcheme in this reign, was with reſpect to the Queen of Scots, whoſe title Leiceſter openly abetted, and, in conjunction with the Earl of Murray, drove on the marriage between that Queen and the Duke of Norfolk, which he is afterwards ſaid to have betrayed to

(30) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 85.

(31) Annal. Eliz. p. 70—583.

influence, ſo he ſtood expoſed, as might be naturally expected, to the ſhafts of envy, and as, except his father, who had the rule in a minority, there never was any ſubject in England greater than himſelf, ſo the attempt made upon his character ſurpaſſes any thing that is to be met with in antient or modern ſtory (*a*). This piece, which is commonly called LEICESTER's COMMONWEALTH, was publiſhed at leaſt, if not written, beyond the ſeas, but imported hither in great quantities; and from the books having leaves edged with green, and the ſuppoſed author's name, it was ſtiled *Father Perſons's Green Coat* (*b*). The drift of this book was to repreſent to the people, that the Engliſh Conſtitution was ſubverted, and a new form imperceptibly introduced, to which no name could be ſo properly given as that of a *Leiceſtrian Commonwealth*; and, in order to render this notion plauſible, the Earl of Leiceſter was not only repreſented as an Atheiſt in point of Religion, a ſecret traytor to the Queen, an oppreſſor of her people, an inveterate enemy to the Nobility, a compleat monſter with regard to ambition, cruelty, and luſt; but it was alſo ſuggeſted that, purſuing his father's plan, he had thrown all offices of truſt and profit into the hands of his creatures and dependants; ſo that the Court, the Fortreſſes, the Navy, the Kingdom of Ireland, the Northern and Welſh Marches, the Iſle of Wight, and, in ſhort, every thing was in his power, and the Queen had ſcarce any thing left her but a titular ſovereignty (*c*). It is no wonder that a libel like this ſhould make a very great noiſe, or that the Queen and her Miniſters ſhould take the alarm as they did; but it is really ſomewhat ſurprizing, that her Majeſty thought the propereſt method for removing the impreſſion this bitter performance was ſure to make upon the vulgar, ſhould be iſſuing letters from the Privy-Council, in which all the facts contained therein were declared to be abſolutely falſe, not only to their knowledge who ſigned ethem, but alſo of the Queen herſelf (*d*); which however ſhe did, as appears from ſome of thoſe letters yet extant (*e*) [*L*]. His nephew, the learned and ingenious Sir Philip Sidney, undertook to refute

(*a*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. iii.

(*b*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 360.

(*c*) This, in few words, is the ſcope of that treatiſe.

(*d*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 359.

(*e*) See a copy of ſuch a letter in the notes.

to Queen Elizabeth for his own ſecurity, that is to ſay, himſelf ſaid it by way of excuſe; for that he firſt promoted, then revealed, and at length proſecuted it as a crime, are undeniable facts (32). His enemies gave this turn to the whole, that by theſe practices, he meant to remove the Duke of Norfolk, the moſt powerful and popular nobleman in England, out of his own way, and Mary's title out of the way of the Queen. This being effectually done, there followed an Act of Parliament, in 1571, of a very ſtrange nature, of which, as it is almoſt the only thing the Hiſtorian ſpeaks of, as from his own knowledge, Camden (33) ſhall give an account to the reader. 'The iniquity 'of theſe times, and the love which the Parliament of 'England (now met at Weſtminſter) bare to their prince 'and country, was the occaſion of a law, for preventing the practices of ſeditious perſons; whereby, according to the tenor of former laws, it was provided, 'that if any man ſhould attempt the death, or perſonal hurt, of the Queen, or raiſe war, or excite 'others to war againſt her; or if any one ſhould give 'out, that ſhe is not the lawful Queen of this realm; 'but that any other can claim a juſter title thereto, or, 'ſhould pronounce her to be an Heretick, Schiſmatick, 'or Infidel, or ſhould uſurp the right and title of the 'kingdom during her life, or ſhould affirm, that any 'other has a right to the Crown, or that the laws and 'ſtatutes cannot limit and determine the right of the 'Crown, and the ſucceſſion thereof, every ſuch perſon 'ſhould be guilty of high-treaſon. That if any one 'during the Queen's life, ſhould, by any book, written or printed, expreſsly maintain, that any perſon 'is, or ought to be the Queen's heir and ſucceſſor, except the *natural iſſue* of her body, or ſhould publiſh, 'print, or diſperſe any books or writings to that 'effect, he, and his abettors, ſhould for the firſt offence be impriſoned for a whole year, and forfeit the 'one-half of his goods. If any ſhould offend a ſecond 'time, he ſhould incur the penalty of a Premunire, 'that is, loſs of all his goods, and perpetual impriſonment. Some looked upon this as too ſevere, who 'thought it would tend to the eſtabliſhing the quiet 'of the nation, if an heir apparent were declared. 'But it is incredible, what jeſts thoſe that lewdly catch 'at words, made upon that clauſe, except the *natural* '*iſſue* of her body, ſince the Lawyers term thoſe children *natural*, which are begotten out of wedlock, 'whom nature alone, without the intervention of honeſt matrimony, hath begotten, and thoſe they call '*lawful*, according to the tenor of the Common-Law 'of England, who are in lawful matrimony begotten 'of ſuch a one's body. So that I myſelf, being then a 'young man, have often heard people ſay, that this word 'was inſerted in the act by Leiceſter, with a deſign, 'that one time or other he might impoſe ſome *baſtard* '*ſon* of his upon the Engliſh, for the Queen's natural 'iſſue.' We have the ſame thing confirmed to us by various authors, but whatever view there might be from this act, it was held, that the Earl of Leiceſter entertained a good opinion of his brother Huntington's pretenſions, which produced a very cloſe correſpondence between thoſe two Lords, who had not been always upon ſuch friendly terms (34). The nature of this title was very plauſible, and could not but ſound pleaſing enough in the ears of the people, more eſpecially, ſuch as were inclined to Puritaniſm, of whom that Peer was a declared protector. In reſpect to his pretenſions, they were very clear and ſhort; Henry Haſtings, Earl of Huntingdon, who had married Lady Katherine Dudley, daughter to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, was the ſon of Francis, Earl of Huntingdon, by Katherine his wife, one of the daughters, and heirs of Henry Pole, Lord Montacute, who was ſon and heir to Sir Richard Pole, Knight of the Garter, by Margaret Plantagenet, Counteſs of Saliſbury, who was the daughter and heireſs of George, Duke of Clarence, brother to King Edward IV (35). It is ſaid, that this title was commonly diſcourſed of by ſuch as favoured it, or would be thought to favour it, becauſe the power of the Earl of Leiceſter was ſuch, that no-body durſt complain of their diſcourſes; and, on the other hand, few or none thought it their buſineſs to queſtion it, for fear of being drawn within the ſtatute abovementioned, made on purpoſe to tie peoples tongues upon that ſubject; in which, upon the whole, it proved of ſervice to the true heir. Some however there were, who inſinuated, that the Earl of Leiceſter meant to ſet up his brother-in-law, as his father, the Duke of Northumberland, had done his daughter-in-law; that is, till ſuch time as he could make a better title in his own family, by the marriage of his ſon to the Lady Arabella (36); and it is highly probable, that theſe crooked ſchemes of his, after the death of Mary Queen of Scots, induced the Cecils to reconcile themſelves to her ſon; and thus there was a compleat turn made by Queen Elizabeth's Miniſters, ſince, in the beginning of her reign, Leiceſter was the avowed Champion of the Queen of Scots title, and was very near ruining Lord Keeper Bacon, and Secretary Cecil (37), for being ſecret favourers of the houſe of Suffolk.

(32) Stowe, Strype.

(33) Annal. Eliz. p. 241.

(34) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 87.

(35) Heylin's Hiſt. of the Preſbyterians, p. 277. Brook's Cat. of Nobility, p. 269.

(36) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 86, 87.

(37) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. ix.

[*L*] *As appears from ſome of thoſe letters yet extant.*] Amongſt the papers of Dr William Chaderton, Biſhop of Cheſter, who had been formerly the Earl of Leiceſter's Chaplain, there was found one of theſe circular letters directed to Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange, the refute this invective, and actually compoſed an anſwer, which is ſtill preſerved, but, either from the multiplicity of his affairs, or from other reaſons with which we are not acquainted, was never finiſhed, or at leaſt never publiſhed (*f*). Yet, notwithſtanding all the pains that were then and afterwards taken to ſuppreſs and diſcredit it, this ſecret hiſtory gained a moſt unaccountable currency; nor was the myſtery of the writing, printing, and publiſhing, any more than the name of it's real author, ever certainly diſcovered, which, with other concurrent circumſtances, has induced a ſuſpicion, that not only the Popiſh exiles abroad, but ſome abler heads, who were jealous of Leiceſter's power and influence at home (*g*), had a great hand therein, or, at leaſt, furniſhed the materials [*M*]. In 1585 the aſſociation, contrived by the Earl of Leiceſter, was approved in Parliament, and a law paſſed to carry it into execution (*h*); which, with many other penal ſtatutes, affrighted many of the Nobility; ſo that Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, and ſon to the unfortunate Duke of Norfolk, endeavoured to retire out of the kingdom, which brought him into great troubles; the Earl of Northumberland, being ſent priſoner to the Tower, deſtroyed himſelf with his own hands, and the Lord Paget ſought ſhelter beyond the ſeas; all of whom pretended to charge their misfortunes on the ſeverities with which they were proſecuted at home (*i*). At this time the affairs of the Proteſtant Low-Countries were in a perplexed ſituation, and the States thought that nothing could contribute ſo much to their recovery, as prevailing upon Queen Elizabeth to ſend over ſome perſon of great diſtinction, whom they might ſet at the head of their concerns, civil and military (*k*); which propoſition, Camden ſays, ſo much flattered the ambition of this potent Earl, that he willingly conſented to paſs the ſeas upon this occaſion, being well aſſured of having

(*f*) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

(*g*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 360.

(*h*) D'Ewes Journal of the Parliaments of Q. Eliz. p. 324.

(*i*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 411.

(*k*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 352.

the Biſhop himſelf, and the reſt of the Juſtices of Peace in the counties of Lancaſter and Cheſter (38); in which, after taking notice of the induſtry with which libels were ſpread, and deſcribing the nature of this infamous one againſt the Earl of Leiceſter, one of her Majeſty's principal Noblemen, and one of her Chief-Counſellors of State, which had moved her Majeſty, by letters under her own hand to the Lord-Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen of London, to declare and teſtify his innocence; they thought it their duty to follow her Majeſty's example, which induced them to write this letter to inform them, firſt, that her Majeſty had noted in them ſome ſlackneſs in the proſecution and ſuppreſſion of former libels, therefore ſhe expected upon this ſecond notice, that they would uſe greater diligence in ſearching out and preventing the circulation of this miſchievous book; after which they proceed, firſt in the Queen's name, and then in their own, in the following terms:

‘ That ſhe (the Queen) verily looketh for the moſt ſtrict and preciſe obſervation thereof, in the ſharpeſt manner that may be deviſed, teſtifying in her conſcience before God unto you, that her Highneſs not only knoweth in aſſured certainty, the books and libels againſt the ſaid Earl to be moſt malicious, falſe, and ſcandalous, and ſuch as none but an incarnate devil himſelf could dream to be true, but alſo thinkethe to be of the fulneſs of malice, ſubtilie contrived to the note and diſcredit of her princelie government of this realm, as though her Majeſty ſhould have failed in good judgment and diſcretion in the choice of ſo principal a Counſellor about her, or be without taſte, or care of all juſtice and conſcience, in ſuffrynge ſuche heynous and monſterous crimes, as, by the ſaid books and libels, be infamouſlie imputed to paſs unpuniſhed, or finally, at the leaſt, to want either good will, ability, or courage, if ſhe knew theſe enormities were true, to call any ſubject of her's whatſoever to render ſharp account of them, according to the force and effect of her laws. All which defects (God be thanked) we, and all good ſubjects, to our unſpeakable comforts, do know, and have found to be far off from the nature and vertue of her moſt excellent Majeſty. As of the other ſide, both her Highneſs, of her certain knowledge, and we, to do his Lordſhip but right, of our ſynceare conſciences muſt needs affirm, theſe ſtrange and abominable crimes to be raiſed of a wicked and venomous malice againſt the ſaid Earl, of whoſe good ſervice, ſincerity of religion, and all other faithful dealings towards her Majeſty and the realm, we have had long and true experience. Which things conſidered, and withal knowing it to be an uſual trade of traiterous minds, when they would render the Prince's government odious, to detract, and bring out of credit the principal perſons about them, her Highneſs, taking the abuſe to be offered to her own ſelf, hath commanded us to notify the ſame unto you, to the end, that, knowing her good pleaſure, you may proceed therein as in a matter highly touching her own eſtate and honour. And therefore we wiſh and require you, to have regard thereof accordingly, that the former negligence and remiſsneſs ſhewed in the execution of her Majeſty's commandment, may be amended by the diligence and ſeverity that ſhall be hereafter uſed. Which amendment and carefulneſs in this cauſe chiefly, her Majeſty aſſuredly looketh for, and will call for account at all your hands.

‘ And ſo we bid you heartily farewel. From the Court at Greenwich this 20th day of June, 1585.

‘ Your very loving friends,

‘ T. Bromley, Canc.
‘ W. Burghley,
‘ Geo Shrewſbury,
‘ H. Derby,
‘ F. Bedford,
‘ C. Haward,
‘ J. Hunſden,
‘ F. Knollys,
‘ H. Sydney,
‘ Chr. Hatton,
‘ Fr. Walſingham.
‘ Wal. Myldmay.’

[*M*] *Or at leaſt furniſhed the materials.*] We are at a loſs for the original title of this book, for it has gone by many; it is very probable however, that it was at firſt called A Dialogue between a Scholar, a Gentleman, and a Lawyer (39). but in the body of the book the author plainly declaring, that the old Engliſh Monarchy was now changed into a Leiceſtrian Commonwealth, the book was again printed with the title of *Leiceſter's Commonwealth, &c* (40). Both theſe editions were printed beyond the ſeas, without any name of author or Printer, or ſo much as the place of the impreſſion, or the year; yet that it was in 1584, is plain enough from the facts mentioned in it (41). Dr Thomas James (42), who was a very learned and knowing man, aſcribed it to Robert Perſons the Jeſuit. Anthony Wood ſays (43), that it was commonly ſuppoſed to be written by him, and adds, in a parentheſis, that he had moſt of his materials for the compoſition thereof, from Sir William Cecil Lord Burleigh. Upon what foundation this report ſtands it is not eaſy to ſay, but this is certain, that Perſons himſelf denied that he was the author of it, neither is it reckoned amongſt his works either by Pits or Rybadeneira. Yet whoever conſiders and compares the conference about the ſucceſſion which Perſons publiſhed under the name of Doleman, will not eaſily believe that he was not the author of this book alſo, though perhaps he might not call it Leiceſter's Commonwealth, and therefore might think himſelf at liberty to deny his writing a book under that title. As to Lord Burleigh's furniſhing the materials, when we conſider the paper ſigned by him, which the reader has ſeen in the foregoing note, it muſt appear very improbable, It may not however be amiſs to obſerve, that it is on all hands agreed, that our

(38) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. I. Lib. iv. p. 46.

(39) So I collect from an old MS. of it.

(40) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 358.

(41) Such as the death of Thomas, Earl of Suſſex, and the ſickneſs of the Lord Denbigh, who was the Earl of Leiceſter's ſon.

(42) In the life of Father Perſons, printed at the end of the Jeſuits Downfal, 1612. p. 55, 56.

(43) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 360.

having ample powers granted him, and ſome ſort of authority, over the Lord High-Admiral of England (*l*), which, as it was without example, could not but be highly grateful to one of his high temper, who loved command; more eſpecially over ſuch as might, in other reſpects, eſteem themſelves his equals. Accordingly, October 22d, in the ſame year, he was conſtituted Captain-General of all ſuch forces as ſerved, or thereafter ſhould ſerve, in the Low-Countries, for the relief of the inhabitants there: and was empowered to levy in England, or the dominion of Wales, five hundred able and ſufficient men, of his tenants and ſervants, to attend his perſon beyond the ſeas; and in his paſſage thither, and returning from thence, them, and every of them, to employ in his ſervice, as he ſhall think convenient; which retainers and followers, under his hand and ſeal ſignifying the ſame, were, during the time ſo employed in his ſervice, to have the Queen's protection for their bodies, lands, and goods; any law, ſtatute, or reſtraint, to the contrary thereof, in any wiſe, notwithſtanding: With a mandate to all Juſtices of Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, *&c.* and all other officers, to be obedient thereto (*m*). Before his departure the Queen admoniſhed him to have a ſpecial regard to her honour, and to attempt nothing which ſhould be inconſiſtent with the employment to which he was advanced; and particularly ſhe required him to ſearch into the method of the States raiſing and falling the value of money, that ſo the ſoldiers might not receive their pay at one rate, and give it out at another; and very affectionately recommended to his care the young Noblemen of the country, and more eſpecially the ſons of the late Prince of Orange (*n*). On the eighth of December, 1585, he embarked, having with him fifty ſail of ſhips; and thoſe that accompanied, or ſoon after followed him, were the Earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Eſſex, the Lord Audley, the Lord Willoughby, the Lord Sheffield, the Lord North, and the Lord Borroughs, Sir William Ruſſell, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Robert Sidney, Sir Henry Stanley, Sir Gervaſe Clifton (*o*), Sir Thomas Shirley, Sir William Pelham, Lord Marſhal of the Field, Sir Arthur Baſſet, Sir Walter Walter, with many other perſons of diſtinction (*p*). On the 10th he arrived at Fluſhing, with his whole train, his perſon being guarded by fifty archers, bearing bows and arrows, fifty halberds, and fifty muſqueteers, were magnificently entertained by Sir Philip Sidney, Governor of the town for her Majeſty, by Grave Maurice, ſecond ſon to the late Prince of Orange, by the Queen's Embaſſador and the States, and all ſorts of people, expreſſed the greateſt joy on his arrival (*q*). This was carried to a very extraordinary height on both ſides, great feaſts given, and nothing to be ſeen during the remaining part of that month but mirth and diverſions; on the fifteenth of January following all the points of ceremonial were ſettled, for the eſtabliſhment of ſuch an adminiſtration as might be for the common benefit, and prevent all diſputes; accordingly, on the 26th of the ſame month, the Earl was ſworn to the States, and the States to the Queen, and to obey the Earl as her Lieutenant (*r*). On the ſixth of February following they publiſhed their placard concerning his authority, which was very ample; his Excellency then entered upon the diſcharge of his office, and ſome exploits were performed againſt the Spaniards, which highly raiſed the reputation of the Engliſh troops, and the characters of the officers who commanded them (*s*). On the 23d of April, 1586, being at Utrecht, his Lordſhip kept the feaſt of St George with prodigious magnificence, in which, as one of our Hiſtorians ſays, he appeared moſt Prince-like, inveſted in his robes of the Order, guarded by the principal Burghers in the town, and his own guard of fifty halberdiers, in ſcarlet cloaks, edged with purple and white velvet (*t*). It ſeems the Queen was not at all pleaſed with theſe proceedings of the States, or of her Lieutenant, and therefore ſent over her Vice-Chamberlain (*u*), with letters written in ſo ſharp a ſtile, as made both the States and the Earl very uneaſy [*N*]. Upon explanations from the one, and very deep ſubmiſſions from the other,

(*l*) Annal. Eliz. p. 458.

(*m*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 799.

(*n*) Annal. Eliz. p. 458.

(*o*) Stowe's Annals, p. 711.

(*p*) Annal. Eliz. p. 458.

(*q*) Hollinſhed's Chron. p. 1424.

(*r*) Stowe's Annals, p. 712.

(*s*) Hollinſhed's Chron. p. 1432.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 1433.

(*u*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 459.

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our famous Hiſtorian Mr Camden had his materials for the firſt part of the Annals of Queen Elizabeth, from that noble perſon, and many are of opinion that he actually wrote them; now, upon examination it will be found, that a great many of the facts in Leiceſter's Commonwealth are likewiſe related, though in a ſofter and leſs peremptory ſtile, in thoſe Annals, of which we have given in this work ſeveral inſtances; from whence it may be concluded, that whoever was the author of this book was well ſupplied with intelligence, and that, notwithſtanding the declaration of the Privy Counſellors, it was not univerſally believed to be a heap of falſhoods, though undoubtedly there are abundance of falſhoods in it, and many things repreſented as indubitable facts, that are no more than exaggerated ſuggeſtions. No pains were ſpared in circulating it abroad as well as at home, for in the year after it's original publication, it was tranſlated into French under the title of *La Vie Abominable, Ruſes, Trahiſons, Murtres, Impoſtures, Empoiſonements, Paillardiſes, Atheiſmes, & autres tres Iniques Converſations, duquel ia uſe & uſe Journellement, le my Lord de Leceſtre Machiaveliſte, contre l'Honneur de Dieu, la Majeſte de la Royne d'Angleterre ſa Princeſſe, &c.* not mentioning where printed, but in 8*vo*, 1585. It has been ſeveral times reprinted in Engliſh, particularly in 1600 in 8*vo*, in 1631 in the ſame ſize, the running-title in this edition being a letter of State of a Scholar of Cambridge; in 1641 in 4*to* and in 12*mo*, with the addition of Leiceſter's Ghoſt; and again reprinted in 1706 in 8*vo*, under the title of ſecret Memoirs of Robert Dudley Earl of Leiceſter, with a preface by Dr Drake, who pretended it was printed from an old manuſcript. The deſign of reprinting it in 1641 was to give an ill impreſſion of the government of Charles I, and the like was ſuppoſed to be the deſign of Dr Drake in his publication; to ſay the truth, it may be conſidered as a ſtanding libel upon all overgrown Miniſters and governments by faction.

[*N*] *As made both the States and the Earl very uneaſy.*] In order to apprehend this matter clearly, it will be neceſſary to ſee, firſt the power granted by the States, which over and above the powers granted him by the Queen's commiſſion and their own, were expreſſed to be in their placard of the 6th of February, 1586 (44). ' The higheſt and ſupreme commandment ' and abſolute authority above, and in all matters of ' warfare

(44) Annal. Eliz. p. 459. Strad. de Belgo Belg. Lib. vii. p. 477.

other, the Queen was pacified, and his Excellency left to proſecute the duties of his charge (w). His expedition for the relief of Grave, a place of great importance, beſieged by the Prince of Parma, was, at firſt, attended with great appearance of ſucceſs; but, after he had taken the forts that impeded his paſſage to the place, the Dutch Governor very unexpectedly ſurrendered, at the perſwaſion, as was reported, of his miſtreſs; for which, notwithſtanding he obtained an honourable capitulation, his Excellency cauſed him, and two other officers of note, to be put to an ignominious death (x). The Engliſh forces continued to render great ſervice, the Lord Lieutenant himſelf driving the Spaniards out of the whole iſland of Betawe (y). The Lord Willoughby, at Bergen-op-Zoom, beat a convoy going to Antwerp, which was a thing of great conſequence; and Count Maurice, aſſiſted by Sir Philip Sidney, took Axel by ſurprize (z). His Excellency had to deal with one of the beſt officers that age, or indeed any other, had produced, the Prince of Parma, who is ſaid to have projected the taking of Utrecht when the Lord Lieutenant was there in perſon, and, with that view, intended to have ſent in a conſiderable number of men, in various diſguiſes; but it ſeems his plot was diſcovered, and diſappointed (a). The Prince of Parma then inveſted Reinberch, in which there was a garriſon of twelve hundred Engliſh troops, under the command of Colonel Morgan; his Excellency thought himſelf obliged to diſengage that place, and yet was unwilling to hazard a battle, and therefore beſieged Zutphen, which had the deſired effect, for the Duke of Parma marched immediately to engage the allied army; accordingly, on the 22d of September, the vanguards came to action, in which the Engliſh diſtinguiſhed themſelves, though with ſome loſs; and there it was that the famous Sir Philip Sidney received a mortal wound (b). The Spaniards, however, had been certainly beaten, if the Duke of Parma, with his whole army, had not advanced to their aſſiſtance. The ſiege of Zutphen was notwithſtanding continued, and ſome very brave actions performed before it; but, however, they were not able to reduce the place (c) [O]. Upon his Excellency's return to the Hague he found the States uneaſy and diſcontented;

(w) Hiſtory of the Wars of Flanders, P. ii. p. 240.

(x) Strada de Bello Belgic. Lib. vii. p. 488.

(y) Stowe's Annals, p. 718.

(z) Camden. Annal. p. 461.

(a) Stowe's Annals, p. 733.

(b) Camden. Annal. p. 462.

(c) Stowe's Annals, p. 736.

'warfare both by ſea and land, to execute and adminiſtrate the ſame to the reſiſtance of the enemy, even as his Excellency ſhould think moſt commodious to the preſervation of thoſe countries, and ſo further, to do all ſuch things as appertain to the office of a general Captain. And furthermore, we commit the adminiſtration and uſe of policy and juſtice over the aforeſaid united Provinces and aſſociated cities, and members of the ſame, into his hands, to execute and adminiſtrate the ſame, with ſuch power and authority as have had in times paſt, all the other Governors of theſe Low-Countries before him, and eſpecially, as have been exerciſed, and lawfully adminiſtered in the time of Charles the fifth, &c. We therefore command all Governors of Provinces and Cities, all Admirals, Vice-Admirals, all Officers and Soldiers by ſea and land; and furthermore, all other Counſellors, Officers, Treaſurers, Receivers, Bailiffs, Burgomaſters, Magiſtrates, &c. of what quality or condition ſoever, to honour, reſpect, and obey him, as they ought to do, &c.' In the Queen's letter, among other expreſſions, were theſe. 'How contemptuouſly you have carried yourſelf towards us, you ſhall underſtand by this meſſenger, whom we ſend to you for that purpoſe. We little thought, that one, whom we had raiſed out of the duſt, and proſecuted with ſuch ſingular favour above all others, would, with ſo great contempt, have ſlighted and broken our commands, in a matter of ſo great conſequence, and ſo highly concerning us and our honour. Whereof, though you have but ſmall regard, contrary to what you ought by your allegiance, yet think not that we are ſo careleſs of repairing it, that we can bury ſo great an injury in ſilence and oblivion. We therefore command you, that, all excuſe ſet apart, you do forthwith, upon your allegiance which you owe unto us, whatſoever Heneage our Vice-Chamberlain ſhall make known to you in our name, upon pain of further peril.' She alſo wrote to the States-General. 'That to her diſgrace, and without her knowledge, they had conferred the abſolute government of the confederate Provinces upon Leiceſter her ſubject, though ſhe had abſolutely refuſed it herſelf, &c. ſhe therefore adviſed them to turn Leiceſter out of that abſolute authority, whoſe commiſſion ſhe had limited, not that ſhe thought their cauſe unworthy to be favoured, but to provide for, and ſecure her own honour, which ſhe eſteemed more dear to her than life itſelf.' Bentivoglio (45), intimates as though this ſtep muſt have been before ſecretly made known to the Queen, or the Earl of Leiceſter would not have accepted the Government, without her private conſent. And Strada (46), more openly charges her Majeſty with an ambitious view of ſeeking to add the Low-Countries to her dominions, by permitting Leiceſter to take upon him the ſovereignty. But this is improbable. The Provinces had been twice offered her by a ſolemn embaſſy from the States, her Parliament had ſollicited the acceptance, and promiſed her ſupplies to ſupport it, and the univerſal inclination to ſubmit to her, in conjunction with the forces ſhe had ready to ſend over, muſt have rendered all oppoſitions impracticable. It has been obſerved, that Strada was an Italian Jeſuit in the pay of Spain, and conſequently the Engliſh could expect no fair repreſentation from him, who hated them as hereticks and as enemies. Yet he ſays, the Earl of Leiceſter was ſuch an abſolute maſter of his own temper, that he could as he pleaſed adapt it to any man's humours or deſigns. Agreeable to this, Mezeray calls him a ſubtle, dextrous courtier; and what other Hiſtorians cite, argues him to be a man of great abilities, though the general hatred and envy of many people ſuppreſſed his real virtues, or imputed them to artifice and deſign.

[O] *They were not able to reduce the place.*] While the Earl of Leiceſter continued the ſiege, *viz.* on the 4th of October, the great fort demanded a parley, which being granted, Count Hollock, or as we now write Hohenloe, ſtepped out to confer with them (47), but in the midſt of the conference, as the Count was ſpeaking, he was ſhot through the mouth, and the ball took off the jewel at his Ear. To revenge this treachery, the Engliſh repeated their attacks, and the ſame day made an aſſault on the leſſer fort ſword in hand. Captain Edward Stanley, was the firſt who mounted the breach, and perhaps truer courage was never ſhewn (48). He was oppoſed by the Captain of the fort, who ſtanding alone in the breach, aimed his pike at his breaſt as he was entring. On which, with great preſence of mind, laying hold of the pike, he ſtrove with all his force to pluck him from his poſt, if he refuſed to let go his hold. But finding his ſtrength inſufficient to effect his purpoſe, he ſuffered himſelf to be raiſed up by his competitor on the rampart, and his ſoldiers following, ſo terrified the garriſon with his unexpected preſence, that deſerting the defence, as many as were able, made their eſcape by a back gate, and fled to Zutphen, leaving their Captain priſoner. The Earl of Leiceſter knighted Stanley for his courage, preſented him with forty pounds ſterling, and ſettled a penſion on him for life. He likewiſe knighted Captain Reade, who alſo ſhewed great bravery on that occaſion. And the enemy, much terrified, abandoned the great fort the next night. But the Earl judged it not convenient

(45) Hiſt. of the Wars of Flanders, P. i. l. iv. p. 240.

(46) De Bello Belgic. Lib. vii. p. 477.

(47) Stowe's Annals, p. 738.

(48) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 462. Stowe's Annals, p. 738, 739. Strada de Bello Belgic. p. 553.

diſcontented; they received him coldly, and, as their own writers ſay, with expoſtulations and complaints. He endeavoured to ſatisfy them, and, for that purpoſe, entered into a long detail of what had been effected, and of the cauſes why more was not effected, which, however, did not anſwer his purpoſe; he then attempted to diſſolve the Aſſembly, failing in that too, he declared in anger his reſolution of returning to England (*d*). However, being afterwards brought into a better temper, he gave them to underſtand, that though he ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution of returning home, it ſhould be ſo far from being prejudicial to them, that he would make it turn to their advantage (*e*). Whatever exterior marks of ſatisfaction this might produce, it is very certain that the States retained their diſpleaſure, which proceeded from the ſuſpicions, that notwithſtanding the oath of fidelity he had taken, he practiſed upon the minds of the people, and laboured to poſſeſs them with an opinion, that he was better affected to the Proteſtant religion and the publick good than themſelves (*f*), the conſequences of which they clearly foreſaw, and very much feared [*P*]. His ſubſequent behaviour did not leſſen their apprehenſions, for when the day came for his departure, he, by a publick act, gave up the care of the Provinces into the hands of the Council of State, but privately, by an act of reſtriction of the ſame date, he reſerved to himſelf an authority over all Governors of provinces, cities, and forts, and not contented with that, deprived the Council of State, and thoſe who had the chief direction in the Provinces, of their accuſtomed juriſdiction (*g*). He experienced in his paſſage all the difficulties of the ſeaſon and the country, being obliged to embark and land ſeveral times, and to make uſe part of the way of a waggon. He arrived at the Court at Richmond on the 23d of November (*h*), where, notwithſtanding all that was paſt, he was very well received by the Queen. Her Majeſty was at that juncture more uneaſy than ever about the Queen of Scots, apprehending herſelf to be in great danger from the practices ſet on foot for obtaining the liberty of that Princeſs, whom ſhe had now taken a reſolution to remove, and was therefore glad of the Earl of Leiceſter's preſence, in whom ſhe had ever a great confidence (*i*). When the matter came to be debated in Council, which was before his return, he was conſulted by letter; and it is ſaid that the Earl

(*d*) Bentivoglio's Hiſtory of the Wars of Flanders, p. 224.

(*e*) Grotius de Reb. Belg. l. v.

(*f*) Camden. Annal. p. 463.

(*g*) Brandt's Hiſt. of the Reformat. B. xiv.

(*h*) Stowe's Annals, p. 741.

(*i*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, c. iii.

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venient for his army to continue any longer before Zutphen, till the rigour of the ſeaſon ſhould be abated, it being ſufficiently blocked up by the garriſons which lay in the towns round about it. Many perſons of eminent rank amongſt the Engliſh nation having highly diſtinguiſhed themſelves, the Earl of Leiceſter (49), in reward of their merit and for his own honour, conferred in his camp, the dignity of a Knight Banneret on the Earl of Eſſex, and the Lord Willoughby, the Lord Audley, and the Lord North; and knighted Sir Henry Goodyere, Captain of the Guard, Sir Henry Norris, Sir John Borroughs, Sir John Winkfield, Sir Roger Williams, Sir Robert Sidney, Sir Philip Butler, Sir Henry North, Sir Thomas Denis, Sir William Knolles, Sir George Farmer, Sir George Digby, Sir —— Steward, and Sir — Beauford. On the 15th of October, his Excellency, after ſecuring of Deventer, came to Arnheim to viſit his nephew Sir Philip Sidney, whom he found paſt all hopes of recovery, dying two days after to his infinite regret, and was bewailed by him with great ſorrow, ſhutting himſelf up for a whole day, as Stowe relates, who is very circumſtantial in whatever regards this noble perſon.

(49) Stowe's Annals, p. 739, 740.

[*P*] *And very much feared.*] But notwithſtanding theſe outward profeſſions of regard, they were jealous of him (50), and privately proceeded to ſtraiten his authority. And in other letters to the Queen, would have inſerted a clauſe to limit his command on his return to them, had not the Lord Buckhurſt interpoſed, and laid before them the miſchief it would have produced from his Lordſhip's power with her Majeſty. Theſe proceedings were not agreeable to the majority of the people, who were firm in the intereſt of the Earl of Leiceſter, and threatened to be revenged of the States, if the Queen ſhould take any offence at their alterations (51). In Frieſland, the Clergy offered her Majeſty the ſovereignty of the Low-Countries without any reſtriction, having held two Synods on the occaſion. The Synod at Sneek preſented a petition to the Lord Buckhurſt, in which they invited her Majeſty to come to the aſſiſtance of Chriſt, who threw himſelf and his children into her arms, and implored her protection (52), and ſeveral other towns proteſted they would depend only on her Majeſty; alſo the preachers at Amſterdam, openly inveighed againſt the magiſtrates from their pulpits, and libels were ſet up againſt the States. But as the people ſeemed determined to take up arms, the Lord Buckhurſt ſignified to them from her Majeſty, That it was her inclination to ſend back the Earl of Leiceſter, to compoſe their differences, by re-aſſuming the Government. And this expectation of his Lordſhip's preſence, gave a check to their violence, and put a further ſtop to the proceedings of the States, who had begun to introduce a new ſcheme of government. Prince Maurice was brought to profeſs all good will and amity to his Lordſhip, and Count Hollock promiſed to receive him with all honour and friendſhip; alſo the States-General, and Council of State, both publickly and privately aſſured the Lord Buckhurſt, of all duty and fidelity to him. But before the Queen was prevailed on to give conſent to his Lordſhip's return, ſhe required Lord Buckhurſt, by letter, to let the States know, ſhe expected they ſhould ſend an army into the field, on his arrival, of ten or twelve thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, and give aſſurances, that one hundred thouſand pounds, ariſing from the extraordinary contributions, ſhould be delivered at ſuch reaſonable times, as might ſerve to defray the charges of the ſaid army, into the hands of ſome perſon of the country, who ſhould be nominated by the Earl of Leiceſter, to be treaſurer of the army, and to be iſſued out by his Lordſhip's direction, with the privity of the Council of State. But this not being agreeable, the Lord Buckhurſt acquainted the Queen with their ſentiments; and that on their non-compliance he had declared to them, he had no commiſſion to promiſe his Lordſhip's return. On this, they reſolved to provide for their own ſecurity, and accordingly eſtabliſhed new ſuperintendants on their frontiers, which was oppoſed by Lord Buckhurſt, as contrary to the twenty-fourth article of their contract, by which the nomination of them was reſerved to her Majeſty's Lieutenant, yet his oppoſition produced no effect. However, as their perils increaſed continually on them, there ſeemed no other means left to prevent their entire ruin, but the ſettlement of a preſent Government, attended with a proportionable ſupply of men and money. The Lord Buckhurſt, out of a true ſenſe of thoſe difficulties which the States laboured under, and the uncertainty of his Lordſhip's return, drew up a new ſcheme for the eſtabliſhing ſuch a government in the United Provinces; which very highly offended the Earl of Leiceſter, and ſeems to be the principal motive of the averſion and hatred he ever after expreſſed towards him (53).

(50) Willis's Letters to the Earl of Leiceſter and Sec Walſingham, in Cab. P. ii. p. 9, 32, *& ſeq.*

(51) Brandt's Hiſt. lib. xiv.

(52) Cabala, p. 9.

(53) Cabala, P. ii. p. 28—32, 33—36.

Earl gave it as his opinion, that it would be the ſafeſt and beſt expedient to make uſe of poiſon, which was vigorouſly oppoſed by Secretary Walſingham, to whom, though a Court Divine was ſent to ſettle his conſcience as to the lawfulneſs of this method, he remained fixed in his ſentiment, that it ought to be done by form of Law (*k*). Accordingly a commiſſion was drawn, grounded upon the late Act of Parliament, in which all the Members of the Privy-Council were appointed to be her Judges, and, amongſt others, the Earl of Leiceſter; but being abroad, he neither aſſiſted at the trial, nor at the judgment given in the Star-Chamber, neither was he preſent in Parliament; yet ſufficient care was taken to make all the world ſenſible that he approved theſe meaſures, by printing the applications to the Queen from both Houſes, in a letter directed to him, and in this very form, together with that letter, they are ſtill to be found in one of our old Chronicles (*l*). It is no wonder, therefore, that, laying aſide all thoughts of what had diſtaſted her in his miſconduct in the Low-Countries, the Queen was wonderfully pleaſed to have him near her again upon ſuch an occaſion, more eſpecially as the ſame point upon which he had been conſulted before, came again upon the carpet; for the trial had done little for the Queen's ſatisfaction if execution did not follow, and how that might be done with leaſt diſcredit to Queen Elizabeth, remained a point difficult to decide. The Earl of Leiceſter kept to his firſt notion, and propoſed making her away privately; another ſcheme was offered, as little honourable though more extravagant, which was, to ſend her back to Scotland and have her put to death upon the frontiers of both countries. The majority of the Council approved neither, but inclined rather to proſecute the legal method in the end as well as at the beginning (*m*). The Queen ſeems to have concurred with the Earl of Leiceſter, as appears from the letters written to Sir Amias Pawlet and Sir Drew Drury, which not taking effect, the other way was at laſt reſolved on, and Daviſon, by a very artful piece of management, bore all the blame (*n*). About this time he was conſtituted Lord Chief-Juſtice in Eyre of all the foreſts ſouth of Trent (*o*), and, as appears from ſeveral letters in the Cabala, was highly favoured by Queen Elizabeth [*Q*]. During his abſence from the Low-Countries the Spaniards had bribed York and Stanley, two Engliſhmen whom the Earl had appointed, the firſt Governor of a fort near Zutphen, and the other of Deventer, to deliver thoſe places into their hands, which, by the treachery of York, ſo wrought on Stanley as he complied, and the loſs thereof gave occaſion to loud exclamations and complaints againſt the Earl of Leiceſter (*q*). Whereupon the States-General immediately aſſembling, agreed to inveſt Prince Maurice (*r*) with the full power and authority of Stadtholder and Captain-General of Holland, Zealand, and Friezeland, and to give him command over all the militia within the ſaid Provinces. And purſuant to this determination, they obliged all their officers to receive a new commiſſion from him, and to take a new oath to the States, and diſcharged all recuſants whatſoever from the ſervice. Queen Elizabeth was diſpleaſed with theſe alterations in their government, and reſented the diminution of the Earl of Leiceſter's authority as an injury offered to herſelf, and thereupon immediately directed the Lord Buckhurſt, her kinſman, to enquire into, and complain of, the innovations introduced in the abſence of the Earl, and to ſettle all differences between them; and the States, in return, aſſured her Majeſty, that their late proceedings were but proviſional, and enforced through fear of a general revolt on the loſs of Deventer; but that, at his Lordſhip's arrival, they would readily acknowledge both him and his authority, in as ample a manner as it had been granted to him at the firſt (*s*). Alſo in their letter to the Queen, March 1, they repreſented to her, that they were infinitely ſorry her Majeſty ſhould entertain any ſiniſter conceit of their actions and proceedings, which they attributed to the practice of their enemies, and concluded with deſiring the Earl might return to his government, which they alledged was highly neceſſary to their ſafety [*R*]. The

(*k*) Camden. Annal. p. 485.

(*l*) Hollinſhed's Chron. p. 1580.

(*m*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 519.

(*n*) See the article of DAVISON in this Dictionary.

(*o*) 1. Pat. 28 Eliz. p. 1.

(*p*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 552, 553.

(*q*) Brandt's Hiſt. of the Reformation in the Low-Countries, p. 409.

(*r*) Bentivoglio's Wars of Flanders, lib. iv. p. 345.

(*s*) Cabala, P. ii. p. 14. Brandt's Hiſt. of the Reformat. B. xiv.

[*Q*] *Was highly favoured by Queen Elizabeth.*] It might have been expected, that, after the indignation expreſſed againſt him by his Sovereign, for exceeding his authority in the Low Countries, could have little hopes of obtaining new marks of favour, conſidering more eſpecially how many places of honour and profit he held already. Yet the Earl was ſo compleat a Courtier, that he knew how to turn this diſagreeable accident in a little time to his ſervice. His conduct in the affair of the Queen of Scots, was very acceptable to the temper of Queen Elizabeth; his intelligence from Spain, which he never wanted, and was never truſted either to the eye or ear of a Secretary of State, gratified her Majeſty highly, who knew by experience that it deſerved entire credit; but what proved of the higheſt ſervice of all, was his opening her Majeſty's eyes in relation to the double-dealing of the Duke of Parma, who, while engaged in a treaty with England, was taking all the neceſſary meaſures to invade it. By theſe ſteps he regained the Queen's confidence entirely, and then it was ſuggeſted, that as he had been ſo unfortunate to incur her diſpleaſure, of which he had received very publick marks, as well by letters, as by the meſſage with which Vice-Chamberlain Heneage had been entruſted, it was neceſſary, for the ſatisfaction of the world in general, and of the States of Holland in particular, that this ſhould be cancelled by ſome extraordinary act of grace, by which it might be known both at home and abroad, that he was cleared from all imputations, and ſtood on as good terms with the Queen his Miſtreſs as ever. This affords us a pregnant inſtance of his art and addreſs, and many other like inſtances might be given, ſufficient to ſhew, that whenever he met with cloudy weather at Court, he could never be brought to believe that it was fair again, unleſs he felt the warmth as well as ſplendor of ſunſhine; and thus every return to favour coſt her Majeſty a fine for her anger, and brought him an ample reward for the humility of his ſubmiſſions (54).

(54) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

[*R*] *Was highly neceſſary to their ſafety.*] While the negotiations mentioned in the text were carrying on between the Queen's Miniſter and the States, the creatures of the Lord Lieutenant in the Low-Countries were far enough from being inactive; on the contrary, they were ſo buſy, and took ſuch exceptions to every thing that was done by the States in the Earl's abſence, that at laſt they intimidated them to ſuch a degree, as to be almoſt afraid of acting at all, and even to wiſh ſincerely

The Queen yielded to this, but with ſome difficulty, ſo that his Lordſhip did not go back to his charge, as was deſired and expected, in the beginning of the ſpring, which his friends in Holland gave out afforded great advantage to the enemy. The Duke of Parma began the campaign with the ſiege of Sluys, the moſt conſiderable town in Flanders, except Oſtend, that remained in poſſeſſion of the States. He firſt attacked the fort of Blanchenberg, commodious for the conveying ſuccours to the beſieged by land, which made little reſiſtance, as his coming thither was unexpected, and no proviſion made to oppoſe him (*t*). His next ſtep was to raiſe a fort in the iſland of Caſante to cut off all relief by ſea. But before he could execute his deſign, Sir Roger Williams, with five companies from Bruges, entered the town, and ſupplied it with proviſions and ammunition to hold out a conſiderable time againſt him. Whilſt this town was beſieged, the Earl of Leiceſter, on the 18th of June, was made Lord Steward of the Queen's Houſhold (*u*), and ſetting ſail from England on the 25th of the ſame month, landed in Zealand about the latter end of it. He brought with him a conſiderable ſupply both of horſe and foot. Prince Maurice and the Deputies of the States attended on him at Fluſhing, to congratulate his return, and left Count Hollock to watch the motions of the enemy. When they had conferred on raiſing the ſiege, it was determined to attempt it by ſea, to which end they ſhipped five thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe, with all neceſſary proviſions for the relief of the town, and on the fleet's appearing in the channel, the Earl of Leiceſter made ſignals to the beſieged that he was come to their aſſiſtance (*w*). But on examination, finding the channel blocked up, and the paſſage ſecured, he ſaw it would be in vain to proceed that way. For three days he continued in ſuſpenſe what ſtep to take, and then weighing anchor he bent his courſe towards Oſtend, with a reſolution to ſuccour the beſieged by land. The Earl of Leiceſter had no ſooner landed his forces, but he prepared to attack the fort of Blanchenberg, and, joining the whole garriſon of Oſtend to his army, marched directly againſt it. The loſs was of no leſs conſequence to the Duke of Parma, than the gaining it would have been advantageous to the Earl, and therefore the Duke, leaving the ſiege every where well provided, led the remainder of his army to the defence of the fort againſt his Lordſhip (*x*). The Engliſh were ready to begin their batteries when the Duke of Parma came up, but on ſight of the army they deferred their hoſtilities, and after ſome conſultation retired to Oſtend, from whence they returned with the ſame fleet where they had before been at anchor, not far from Sluys, and the Duke of Parma again preſented himſelf to their view, whereby they found themſelves under a neceſſity to retire once again, and never more attempted to raiſe the ſiege. The loſs of Sluys renewed the miſunderſtanding between the Earl of Leiceſter and the States, whilſt the blame of the action was thrown by each party on the miſmanagement of the other. The Earl complained of the State's negligence, in not making ſufficient preparations, and not reſtraining the firſt attempts of the Spaniards againſt the town. And the States, in return, virulently inveighed againſt his Lordſhip, and imputed the whole misfortune to his ill conduct, and the delay of the Engliſh forces. And this diſſatisfaction increaſing, they refuſed to eſtabliſh him in that abſolute authority which had been conferred on him at his firſt arrival. This diminution of his power was ſo highly reſented by him, that he openly expreſſed his diſpleaſure againſt the States, and the Dutch writers charge him with having entered into indirect practices to regain it, by forming parties in his progreſs through the country, and converſing chiefly with the Miniſters and private perſons (*y*), ſo that they, and the common people, were ſo tranſported with his appearances of piety, and his zeal for their intereſts, as to approve of all he did, and loudly exclaimed againſt the proceedings of the States [*S*]. The Queen, however, being well apprized by her Miniſters at home

(*t*) Cabala, P. ii. p. 42.

(*u*) Stowe's Annals, p. 743.

(*w*) Bentivoglio's Wars of Flanders, P. ii. l. iv. p. 246.

(*x*) Brandt's Hiſt. lib. xiv.

(*y*) Bentivoglio, and Brandt's Hiſt. p. 414, 416.

ſincerely for the return of the Lord Lieutenant, that ſome degree of weight might be reſtored to the government. In theſe practices the Earl's moſt indefatigable agents were the Clergy, and how very able he was to manage a ſet of men, who, of all others, delight themſelves moſt in managing the minds of the multitude, will appear from the following letter, which certainly is a maſter-piece in it's kind, though both in the matter and the ſtile, it differs not much from many of this noble perſon's epiſtles (55).

(55) Brandt's Hiſtory of the Reformation, B. xiv. p. 413.

GENTLEMEN,

'THAT I did not return ſuch an anſwer to ſeveral of your letters as you deſired and expected, was not for want of good will towards ſerving the cauſe of God, and defending the poor people, but it was becauſe I had not yet received her Majeſty's reſolutions, about what was farther neceſſary to be done for the ſervice of your country. But the Queen having given me full directions with regard to the forces ſhe will ſend to your aſſiſtance, and having laid her commands upon me to return, I therefore, poſtponing all private views and conſiderations, and abandoning all thoſe advantages which God has beſtowed on me in this kingdom, intend to haſten over, and ſatisfy the deſires of a people who have ſo often called for me, to which the zeal and good inclinations of ſome have more induced me than the demerits of others, that ſuffer themſelves to be made tools for keeping me back by ſlanders and detractions, which I ſhall nevertheleſs enter into my book of oblivion, that no harm may befal thoſe who ſeek to do me ſuch diſſervices. And I hope I ſhall never give the people any cauſe to diminiſh their good will and affection for me. In the mean time I intreat you to go on in your duty, and to admoniſh and excite thoſe under your care to peace and unity, to the end that they may more and more deſerve all the benefits they receive. For the reſt I refer myſelf to my arrival, and ſo I recommend you, Gentlemen, to the protection of the Almighty.

Given at London, Your good friend,
Jan. 7, O. S.

R. LEICESTER.'

[*S*] *And loudly exclaimed againſt the proceedings of the States.*] At his ſecond departure from the Low-Countries.

home of the ſituation of affairs in the Low-Countries, thought proper to re-call him by an inſtrument dated November 9, 1587, and at the ſame time appointed Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby, Captain-General of her forces (z). Camden relates, that the Earl of Leiceſter, on his return, finding an accuſation was preparing againſt him by the Lord Buckhurſt and ſome other of his enemies, for his miſconduct in the management of affairs in the Low-Countries, and that he was ſummoned to appear before the Council, privately implored the Queen's protection, and earneſtly beſought her, 'Not to receive ' him with diſgrace upon his return, whom, at his firſt departure, ſhe had ſent out with ' honour; nor bring down alive to the grave, whom her former goodneſs had raiſed from ' the duſt (a).' And that the Queen was ſo pacified with his expreſſions of humility and ſorrow, as to paſs by the diſpleaſure ſhe had conceived againſt him, and to admit him into her former grace and affection. The day when it was expected he ſhould have given in his anſwer, he took his place at the Council table, and when the Secretary had begun to read his accuſation, he roſe up and interrupted him, complaining of being injured, and declaring that his publick commiſſion was limited by private inſtructions, and making his appeal to the Queen, he evaded the accuſation, and came off in triumph; and by his power with her Majeſty, he ſo far prevailed, that a cenſure was paſſed upon the Lord Buckhurſt, who was confined thereupon to his houſe for ſeveral months. It is very certain, that how much ſoever this noble perſon's employment in the Low-Countries might gratify his ambition, or perhaps his vanity, it was very far from turning in any other manner to his advantage; ſince, at his laſt going over, he took up very large ſums of money at high intereſt upon his barony of Denbigh (b), which, after his return, he found it impoſſible to diſcharge, upon which the Merchants who had lent the money, moſt of whom had borrowed it upon their own private credit in order to ſupply him at that juncture, finding themſelves very much diſtreſſed by this diſappointment, applied for redreſs to the Lord Treaſurer as well as to the Lord Chancellor, but it does not appear that any thing was or could be done for their relief. Whether it was in regard to this affair, or ſome other relating to the tranſactions in the Low-Countries, certain it is, that the Earl had frequent differences with the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, which at length roſe ſo high, that his Lordſhip told the Earl plainly at Council, *that he found his Lordſhip very much inclined to croſs him upon all occaſions, and more eſpecially before the Queen*; *and that he liked it ſo ill, that he could and would find ways to anger him as well*; adding ſome other ſpeeches, which the Lord Treaſurer took as a charge againſt him for acting to the Queen's prejudice, upon which, the very ſame night, he reſolved to expoſtulate the matter freely with the Earl by letter, which he ſent him the next day, and received an anſwer in the evening (c). This as it ſerves to ſhew the temper of this noble Peer much better than any of the accounts we have of him extant, and as the reader may poſſibly think it a better vindication than any that

(z) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVI. p. 13.

(a) Annal. Eliz. p. 556.

(b) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 498, 499.

(c) See this at large in the notes.

Countries, the Earl of Leiceſter left the free adminiſtration of publick affairs to the States, without making uſe of any ſuch precaution as he had taken when he was there before; notwithſtanding which we are poſitively told, and therefore it muſt reſt upon the Hiſtorian's (56) credit who ſays it, that he had it in his head to uſurp the government, and to ſend the Prince of Orange and the Penſionary Barnevelt, priſoners into England; ſo that he reckons it amongſt the many wonderful eſcapes of the inhabitants of theſe provinces, from the open tyranny of Philip II, and from the fox like ſubtleties of William, Prince of Orange, that they were not ſubdued by the all-graſping ambition of our potent Earl of Leiceſter. It is indeed certain, that before he quitted that Government, the Earl diſtributed amongſt his particular friends, ſome gold medals, of which there are yet to be found in the cabinets of the curious; on the face (57), the Earl's effigies in buſt armed, with this inſcription, Robertus Dudleus. Com. Leyc. Belg. Guber, i. e. Robert Earl of Leiceſter, Governor of the Low-Countries; on the reverſe, a Shepherd's dog looking back upon the flock, from which he is going; and in the *exurgue*, under the dog's legs, Invitus Desero, i. e. unwillingly I abandon; about the circle, Non gregem sed ingratos, i.e. not the flock, but the ungrateful. Theſe inſinuations had ſuch an effect upon the minds of the people, that the whole nation was in confuſion, ſome Dutch garriſons affecting to adhere to the Engliſh; and on the other hand, Sir William Ruſſell taking ſuch ſteps, as gave no ſmall jealouſy to the State, which was augmented (58), by the coming of the Lord High-Admiral of England upon their coaſts, juſt at that juncture. Theſe jealous ſuſpicions, at laſt roſe ſo high, that the Dutch well affected to their own government, according to the genius of that people, to which the Earl of Leiceſter conformed in his medals, ſtruck others, upon which were the old alluſion of the two pots ſwimming at ſea, with this inſcription, *ſi collidimur, frangimur*; i. e. if we claſh we are undone. The Lord Admiral did all he could to ſettle the minds of the States, and of their ſubjects; which, however, was not effected till the Queen ſent her orders to the Lord Willoughby, to reduce by force, if that ſhould be neceſſary, ſuch places as refuſed to yield obedience to the States, which convinced them, that they had at leaſt done her Majeſty wrong, whatever foundation there might be for queſtioning the upright meaning of the Earl of Leiceſter, who in this command, ſays the Hiſtorian, was the firſt Engliſhman that bore the ſwelling title of *Excellency*; and therefore, many at home were very well pleaſed to ſee him forced to lay it down with ſo little honour (59). The nature of the ſubject, a juſt regard for truth, and a ſincere deſire the reader ſhould want no lights that is in our power to give, oblige us to obſerve, that the Earl of Leiceſter's medal, is far from being any concluſive evidence of his bad intentions, ſince the words, fairly conſtrued, mean no more than that he left with reluctance, thoſe whom he had conſidered in the light of a flock committed to his charge; and this, notwithſtanding ſome of them had repaid with ingratitude, all the care he had taken. We muſt alſo remark, that thoſe who diſliked the Earl in England, concurred with his enemies in Holland, to give a ſanction to all their jealouſies and ſurmiſes, which, whatever effects they might have in thoſe times, cannot paſs for unſuſpected teſtimonies in theſe. The Earl of Leiceſter had his faults, and thoſe very great faults too, but other miniſters might not be without them, or even without a propenſity of magnifying thoſe of the Earl of Leiceſter, in order to prejudice him with their ſovereign, in whoſe confidence, while he had ſo large a ſhare, it was impoſſible that he ſhould eſcape envy, or that ſuch as envied him, ſhould (contrary to the nature of that paſſion) always ſpeak truth.

(56) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 555.

(57) Evelyn's Diſcourſe of Medals, p. 98.

(58) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 556.

(59) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 555.

[T] At

than have been offered of his proceedings, we have placed it at the bottom of the page [T]. It has before been obſerved, that the Duke of Parma, who was a great Politician as well as a great Captain, ſet on foot a negotiation with the Engliſh Court, as if it had been in his power to have concluded an abſolute peace; upon which, the Earl of Derby, and ſome other perſons of credit and diſtinction, and amongſt the reſt Sir James Crofts, Comptroller of the Queen's Houſhold, were ſent over with the title of Commiſſioners to negotiate with them, in the month of April 1588 (d). A great deal of time was ſpent to very little purpoſe, and notwithſtanding the Duke of Parma was earneſtly ſollicited, he could never be prevailed on to produce the commiſſion by which his Catholick Majeſty impowered him to treat and conclude, becauſe in reality, he had no ſuch commiſſion to produce. Sir James Crofts, who was a plain man, and heartily deſirous that a peace between England and Spain ſhould take effect, made a journey to Bruſſels, without having any authority ſo to do, in order to confer with the Duke (e); in which, though the reſt of the Commiſſioners allowed that he was too forward, yet they cleared him from any ill intention, as well as from doing any thing that was amiſs; yet, upon their being recalled in the month of Auguſt following, Sir James Crofts was accuſed by the Earl of Leiceſter, for his unadviſed journey to Bruſſels, and by an order of the Privy-Council, committed to priſon (f). The whole nation was by this time alarmed with the apprehenſions of the Spaniſh Armada, and amongſt other precautions that were taken, an army was aſſembled at Tilbury, conſiſting of between ſixteen and ſeventeen thouſand men, of which the Earl of Leiceſter was made Lieutenant-General, and the Earl of Eſſex commanded the horſe (g). Queen Elizabeth, that ſhe might encourage her ſubjects by her preſence, went to review that army in perſon; and upon that occaſion, made a ſhort and memorable ſpeech, which as it contains a character of this nobleman, given by his Sovereign to her people, it is requiſite to inſert (h). ‘I myſelf, ſaid ſhe, will be your General, Judge, and Rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, for your forwardneſs, you have deſerved rewards and crowns; and we do aſſure you, on the word of a Prince, they ſhall be duly paid you. In the mean time, my Lieutenant-General ſhall be in my ſtead, than whom, never Prince commanded a more noble, or worthy ſubject, not doubting, but by your obedience to my General, by your concord in the camp, and your valour ‘in

(d) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 567.

(e) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 510.

(f) Tranſactions with Spain amongſt the MSS. of Lord Burleigh.

(g) Stowe's Annals, p. 750.

(h) Memoirs of the Reign of Qu. Elizabeth, p. 395.

[T] *At the bottom of the page.*] We have the circumſtances mentioned in the text, from Mr Strype, who had taken notice of a former difference between theſe noblemen, and preſerved two excellent letters occaſioned thereby (60), but much too long to be inſerted here. As for the letter written by the Lord-Treaſurer, upon this laſt quarrel, that gentleman does not give us ſo much as a line of it, though he has preſerved the Earl of Leiceſter's anſwer entire, and a very extraordinary paper it is (61).

(60) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 131, in the Appendix.

(61) Ib. Vol. III. p. 205, in the Appendix.

My Lord,

‘I Know not from whence my hap hath it, but it hath fallen out ſundry times, both contrary to my expectations, and much leſs by any deſert of mine, that I have found your Lordſhip more ready to thwart and croſs my endeavours than any other man's, eſpecially in the preſence of her Majeſty, and for ſuch cauſe as I have been the more earneſt in, when by your Lordſhip's own allowance and opinion, it had been ſo reſolved on by our conference before, as fit and meet advices to be given her Majeſty, for the beſt furtherances of her own ſervices. And theſe cauſes have lately been moſt in queſtion; in which, I myſelf, by her appointment, have been furtheſt employed, *viz.* about aſſiſtance of the Low-Countries. And therefore, did both at your Lordſhip's hands, and other my Lords, hope to be aſſiſted and comforted, ſo far as my opinion ſhould tend to the ſervice of her Majeſty, and to matters, being before, by your Lordſhip and others, debated, and agreed upon. Wherefore, finding it to fall out otherwiſe, and to draw difference in argument, where there was good aſſent before; what was it? but to leave me in her Majeſty's opinion, to be a man either affectionate or opinionative in mine own conceits; and withall, to ſee her Majeſty's ſervice hindred, and to take lack through ſuch needleſs and unprofitable controverſies among Counſellors. Albeit, I know and grant among Counſellors, there may, and muſt riſe, by way of argument, diviſions in opinion, which is both lawful and very convenient, and oft doth, without any cauſes of miſlike at all. And God forbid there ſhould be. But, my Lord, in theſe cauſes, we have been two or three times before her Majeſty, we had debated the matter before. And the courſe I took, was no other than your Lordſhip did beſt like and moſt adviſe. And to fall into contrary opinions before her Majeſty, cauſed me both to take it ill, and to ſhew it plainly to you as I did. And for the words which I added withal, which your Lordſhip doth ſet down in your letter, that I did charge you with ſome matters towards her Majeſty; aſſuredly, my Lord, I uſed no ſuch words. But finding myſelf grieved with ſuch croſs handling, as both at this and at other times I have done, I told your Lordſhip, I ſaw your Lordſhip very ready to croſs me now-a-days before her Majeſty. That I like it ſo ill, that I would and could find way to anger you as well. And that I had not dealt in this ſort either with you or any of your's, but much otherwiſe. And ſo my Lord I have done to my poor power, and with as much deſire to have you my aſſured friend, as any friend you have found in England. Which finding theſe occaſions more than once falling to my lot, I can hardly diſſemble or bear the unkind dealing of them, but rather to deal as I am dealt withal, when all kindneſs is not only ſo little regarded but hardly requited. In which conceit, my Lord, I pray you think I can be as others are to me. And to that end was my ſpeech and my meaning, and that I ſaid was to your Lordſhip's ſelf, and before none other, but moved, as your Lordſhip ſaid, in paſſion. And as I have been loth to have the occaſion that ſhould drive me to take ſuch hard or unkind courſes, as I ſee ſome do, and my ſelf very deeply felt. Thus much, my Lord, I have thought good to ſet down, which receiving your Lordſhip's letter, even as I came from the Court, had no time till late this night to anſwer. Wherein I will not hide the conceit I had upon the cauſes I have ſhewed, finding myſelf indeed heartily moved and grieved, but plainly and flatly to deliver my mind, rather than to diſſemble as many can. Leaving to your Lordſhip to conſider of my doings, how you have found them, if I be well uſed. And ſo in very haſte, leaving the reſt till I ſpeak with yourſelf, I commit you to the Lord. From my houſe, this Monday night.

‘Your Lordſhip's very friend, if you ſo regard me,

‘R. LEYCESTER.’

‘ in the field, we ſhall ſhortly have a famous victory over thoſe enemies of my God, of ‘ my kingdom, and of my people.’ At this time, there is nothing plainer than that he ſtood as well with Queen Elizabeth as ever; and it is highly probable, that the Earl of Leiceſter, than whom no man underſtood a court better, was perſwaded of this himſelf, otherwiſe he would never have ſought an employment ſtill greater than any he had, which was that of the Queen's Lieutenant in England and Ireland, nor would he have obtained it as he did, if the Queen's favour had not been as ſtrong towards him as ever; but a ſtop was put to the paſſing the letters-patents prepared for this purpoſe, by the Lord Chancellor Hatton, and the Lord-Treaſurer Burleigh, who are ſaid to have ſhewed the Queen in time, what hazards ſhe might run, by intruſting ſo large, or rather ſo exorbitant, a power in the hands of a ſingle perſon (*i*). It is not at all improbable, that the danger of the Spaniſh Invaſion being by this time over, made the Queen think ſo extenſive a command unneceſſary, which inclined her to liſten to the ſuggeſtions of thoſe two great Stateſmen upon this ſubject. Whether the Earl of Leiceſter conceived any diſlike at this, and thought of retiring from Court, as ſome have ſuggeſted, or whether, as it was uſual with him, he was deſirous of enjoying the pleaſures of privacy in the country at that ſeaſon; certain it is, that he ſet out about the end of Auguſt, for his Caſtle of Kenelworth (*k*), but making ſome ſtay at his houſe at Cornbury in Oxfordſhire, he there breathed his laſt, September the 4th 1588, when he was about the age of fifty-ſix (*l*). At the time of his demiſe, he was of the Queen's Privy-Council, Lord-Steward of the Houſhold, Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, High-Steward of that of Cambridge, Chief Juſtice in Eyre in the Counties beyond Trent, the Queen's Lieutenant and Captain-General of the Forces in Holland, Governor and Captain-General of the United Provinces, and General of the forces raiſed in England againſt the Spaniards; Knight of the French King's Order of St Michael, and of the moſt noble Order of the Garter (*m*). Some writers add, Earl-Marſhal of England (*n*), but without authority; for certainly, he never enjoyed that office (*o*). As to the manner of his death, there are very different opinions, and all countenanced by ſome authority. We are told by Camden, that he died of a fever (*p*). Sir Robert Naunton (*q*), who was well acquainted with the tranſactions of thoſe times, informs us, that though he ended not his days by ſo violent a death, or by the fatal ſentence of judicature, as his father and grandfather, yet (as is ſuggeſted) by that poiſon which he had prepared for others, wherein they report him a rare artiſt [*U*]. At Court an opinion prevailed, that he did not leave the world by a natural diſeaſe, but by ſome practices of a diabolical nature; concerning which, ſeveral examinations were taken before the Privy-Council (*r*), with which, perhaps it may not be amiſs to make the reader acquainted [*W*]. That he died under a cloud, which time and emulation,

(*i*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 583.

(*k*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 593.

(*l*) Stowe's Annals, p. 750.

(*m*) Annal. Eliz. p. 583.

(*n*) Stowe's Annals, p. 750.

(*o*) See Camden, and Spelman's Accounts of Earl Marſhals.

(*p*) Annal. Eliz. p. 583.

(*q*) Fragm. Regal. cap. iii.

(*r*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III.

[*U*] *Wherein they report him a rare artiſt.*] It appears from hence, that Sir Robert Naunton (62) did not entirely diſcredit the reports that ran upon this ſubject, which were indeed very publick, and the names of the perſons frequently mentioned who were employed in theſe pernicious practices, as well as thoſe who ſuffered by them. As to the former, there was one Salvadore, a domeſtick of the Earl's, who died himſelf very ſuddenly; and Dr Julio (63), who was very highly in his favour. As to the latter, beſides the Lord Sheffield and the Earl of Eſſex, who are thought to have been removed for the ſake of their wives, there are ſome others that have been publickly ſaid to travel the ſame road, by the ſame conveyance, though for other reaſons. As for inſtance, the Cardinal Chaſtillion, who died at Canterbury in 1570, as he was going out of England, and who is ſaid to have offended this great Earl, by informing the Queen of the arts which he uſed to diſguſt ſuch foreign Princes as ſought her Majeſty in marriage. That this Prelate was highly careſſed by the Queen is beyond all doubt, and that he was poiſoned is likewiſe certain, but by whoſe contrivance is by no means clear (64). The caſe of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton may be accounted, of all others, that which bears the hardeſt upon the Earl in point of circumſtances; he is ſaid to have been poiſoned in a ſallad at Leiceſter-Houſe, being taken ill at table, and dying before he could be removed: the latter part of this ſtory is acknowledged by the Earl of Leiceſter himſelf, in a letter to Secretary Walſingham; and as to the former, it depends upon a family tradition, that Sir Nicholas accuſed the Earl upon his death-bed. However, it was the report generally prevailed, and Camden does not ſpeak of it as a thing entirely groundleſs (65). The ſame ſtory is told of his great competitor the Earl of Suſſex, but with no great ſhew of probability or truth, much leſs of certainty, though ſaid to have been taken from his own mouth. He was indeed the Earl's enemy to the very laſt, for on his death-bed he is reported to have given this caution to his friends (66): ‘ I am paſſing into another world, ‘ and muſt now leave you to your fortunes, and to the ‘ Queen's grace and goodneſs, but beware of the gipſey (Leiceſter) for he will be too hard for you all, ‘ you know not the beaſt ſo well as I do.’ All theſe tales would be abſolutely incredible, if the propoſal for taking off the Queen of Scots by a doſe was not poſitively vouched by Camden, and the Lady Sheffield's loſs of her hair and nails teſtified by herſelf upon oath. Hence it was a ſaying in thoſe days, That folks often fell without ſeeing the hand that puſhed them, and that many died who knew not their own diſeaſe.

[*W*] *To make the reader acquainted.*] We have obſerved in the text, that, upon the return of Sir James Crofts, Comptroller of the Houſhold, who was one of the Commiſſioners in the Low-Countries, he was committed for acting imprudently in the diſcharge of his truſt. After the Earl of Leiceſter's death, among other reports that flew abroad, one was, that the ſon of this Gentleman had been inſtrumental in his Lordſhip's ſudden end (67). Upon this Mr Edward Crofts, and ſeveral other perſons, were brought before the Privy-Council, when the following facts came out, as they are tranſcribed from the original minutes; being examined concerning the Earl of Leiceſter's death, he (Edward Crofts) ſaith, that after his father Sir James Crofts was committed, this examinate came home to his own houſe at Charing-Croſs, and lamenting, ſaid unto Smith and Pille's wife, that he and all his were undone except he had help. And Smith ſaid he would do what he could; and willed this examinate to give him the names of all the Council, which he did. And Smith promiſed to tell him who were his father's enemies; and did after tell him that the Earl of Leiceſter was his great enemy. Within two or three days after, Smith, walking up and down with this examinate, made a flirt with his thumb, and bad him be of good comfort, for the bear is tied to the ſtake, or muzzled, whether he doth not remember; and in what manner or ſort the Earl was dealt withal he

(62) Fragmenta Regalia, c. iv.

(63) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

(64) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 238, 239.

(65) Annal. Eliz. p. 221.

(66) Naunton's Fragm. Regalia, c. iv.

(67) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 594. Appendix, p. 269.

tion, the companions of great ones brought upon him, as a certain writer ſuggeſts (s), one would think a little improbable; ſince Camden aſſures us, that the Queen expreſſed a very deep concern for his death, but then, the force of this aſſertion is leſſened, by his adding, that ſhe ſuffered his goods to be ſold by publick auction, for the diſcharge of a debt due to the Crown, in purſuance of a maxim, from which ſhe rarely departed, of remitting to none the claims upon them from her Treaſury (t). Whatever the diſpoſition of his Sovereign might be to him, he left the ſtrongeſt teſtimonies of duty and fidelity towards her, that words could poſſibly expreſs, in his laſt will, penned by his own hand, during his laſt reſidence in Holland; which is a piece ſo ſingular, that it cannot but afford pleaſure to ſee a part of it in the notes (u) [*X*]. In that inſtrument, which is written with amazing

(s) Fragm. Regal. c. iii.

(t) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 584.

(u) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State Papers.

he doth not know. That Smith told him, that his father ſhould not remain in priſon a full month. And that this examinate ſhould be the man that ſhould obtain the warrant for his delivery, and ſo he did. All the perſons abovementioned were examined as well as Mr Crofts, who confirmed every tittle of what he had ſaid, particularly Smith himſelf; but what puniſhment they ſuffered, or whether they ſuffered at all, is not mentioned. We learn alſo from the ſame author, that the Earl of Leiceſter was in good health on the 27th of Auguſt, when he wrote a letter to the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh in behalf of a friend of his, excuſed his going out of town without taking leave of him, and declared his intention to return ſpeedily, which is a plain proof that he did not retire from any diſcontent.

[*X*] *In the notes.*] There is no need of any introduction to this piece, after what is ſaid of it in the text, it begins thus (68): ‘ This is the laſt Will and Teſtament of me Robert Earl of Leiceſter, her Majeſty's Lieutenant-General of all her forces in the Low-Countries, and Governor and Captain-General of all the United Provinces, written with his own hand the firſt of Auguſt, in Middleborough, 1578. Firſt, I take it to be the part of every true Chriſtian, to make a true teſtimony of his faith at all times, and eſpecially in ſuch a caſe and ſuch a time as this is. And therefore I do mean here faithfully to make a ſhort declaration, to teſtify in what faith I do live and depart from this world, through the grace of my Lord and Saviour, to continue me in the ſame till the ſeparation of this life and body. And ſo I do acknowledge my creation and being to be had and continued by the Providence of our Almighty God, the creator of all things both in Heaven and Earth, and do confeſs that above all deeds that his Divine Majeſty hath done for mankind, is the gift of his bleſſed ſon Chriſt Jeſus to be the Redeemer and Saviour of his people that be faithful, by whoſe only merits and paſſion I verily believe, and am moſt aſſured of, the forgiveneſs of all my ſins, be they never ſo great or infinite, and that he only is the ſufficient ſacrifice that hath appeaſed the wrath of his father, and that bleſſed lamb which innocently ſuffered all torments, to bear the bitter burden due to us miſerable wretches, for his moſt tender compaſſion over all that have grace to believe on him. All which his grace's goodneſs and mercy I moſt faithfully take hold on, being ſo promiſed by himſelf, who is the only truth itſelf, that I am the child of ſalvation, and to be the inheritor of his everlaſting kingdom, and to meet with him at the joyful day of reſurrection with all the faithful children and ſaints of God. In this faith I now live, and in this faith I truſt to change this life, with continual prayer to the Throne of Grace, to grant me, during this pilgrimage of mine, a true, humble, and penitent heart, for the due recognition of all my offences, and the willing amendment of the ſame, and to fly inſtantly to the ſure anker-hold, my Lord and Saviour Chriſt Jeſus, to whom, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be all honour, glory, and dominion, for ever, Amen. Thus being in perfect health and memory, and having ſet down my faith as a true Chriſtian, and being uncertain of the hour of death, I think it my part to ſettle my worldly matters in as good eſtate as I can, eſpecially being haſtily and ſuddenly ſent over, and likewiſe having very little leiſure ſince my arrival to get any time for my private buſineſs. But firſt, my will is to commit this wretched body of mine, when it ſhall pleaſe God to ſeparate it from the ſoul, to the order of my dear friends that ſhall be living, as my executors, and my overſeers of this my laſt Will and Teſtament, and they to take ſuch order for the burial of my body as they ſhall think meet, always requiring that it may be done with as little pomp or vain expences of the world as may be, being perſuaded that there is no more vain expences than that is; a convenient tomb or monument I wiſh there ſhould be. And for the place where my body ſhould lie it is hard to appoint, and I know not how convenient it is to deſire it, but I have always wiſhed, as my dear wife doth know, and ſome of my friends, that it might be at Warwick, where ſundry of my anceſtors do lie, either ſo, or elſe where the Queen's Majeſty ſhall command; for as it was, when it had life, a moſt faithful, true, loving ſervant unto her; ſo living, and ſo dead, let the body be at her gracious determination if it ſhall ſo pleaſe her. Touching my bequeſts, they cannot be great by reaſon my ability and power is little, for I have not diſſembled with the world my eſtate, but have lived always above any living I had (for which I am heartily ſorry) leſt that through my many debts from time to time, ſome men have taken loſs by me. My deſire therefore is, and I do charge my executors to have due conſideration, that if any perſon ſhall juſtly, after my deceaſe, make ſuch complaint, that they ſhall be ſatisfied as far as it ſhall be found in any equity it is due unto them, with advantage to them. Beſides I do here appoint my moſt dear well-beloved wife, the Counteſs of Leiceſter, to be my ſole executrix of this my laſt Will and Teſtament, and do require her, for all love between us, that ſhe will not only be content to take it upon her, but alſo to ſee it faithfully and carefully performed. And albeit there may many imperfections be found with the making of this Will, for that I am no Lawyer, nor have any Counſel with me to place things in ſuch form as ſome are able, yet as my true meaning is, I truſt, to expreſs, that accordingly it may be interpreted, for I mean to make it as plain as I can. And firſt of all, before and above all perſons it is my duty to remember my moſt dear and moſt gracious Sovereign, whoſe creature under God I have been, and who hath been a moſt bountiful and princely miſtreſs unto me, as well in advancing me to many honours, as in maintaining me many ways by her goodneſs and liberality. And as my beſt recompence to her moſt excellent Majeſty, can be from ſo mean a man chiefly in prayer to God, ſo, whilſt there was any breath in this body, I never failed it even as for mine own ſoul. And as it was my greateſt joy in my life-time to ſerve her to her contentation, ſo it is not unwelcome to me, being the will of God, to die and end this life for her ſervice. And yet, albeit I am not able to make any piece of recompence of her great goodneſs, yet will I preſume to preſent unto her a token of an humble and faithful heart, as the leaſt that ever I can ſend her, and with this prayer withal, that it may pleaſe the Almighty God, not only to make her the oldeſt Prince that ever he gave over England, but to make her the godlieſt, the virtuouſeſt, and the worthieſt in his ſight, that ever he gave over any nation. That ſhe may indeed be a bleſſed mother and nurſe to this people and Church of England, which the Almighty God grant for his Chriſt's ſake. The token I do bequeath unto her Majeſty, is the jewel with three great emeralds, with a fair large table-diamond in the midſt, without a foil, and ſet about with many diamonds without foil, and a rope of fair white pearl, to the number of ſix hundred, to hang the ſaid jewel at, which pearl and jewel was once purpoſed for her Majeſty, againſt a coming to Wanſtead, but it muſt now thus be diſpoſed, which I do pray you my dear wife ſee performed, and delivered to ſome of thoſe whom

‘ I ſhall

(68) Ex. Regiſt. vocat. Leiceſter, qu. 1. in Cur. Prerog. Cantuar.

amazing art, in as much, as the language thereof is ſcarce to be diſtinguiſhed from that of nature, he takes great care of his family, and ſhews wonderful condeſcenſions towards his wife; though after all, the bulk of his fortune is ſecured to his ſon Robert, whom he ſtiles conſtantly his baſe ſon, with what meaning muſt be left to conjecture. As he died before his brother Ambroſe, Earl of Warwick, and that noble peer was univerſally beloved, he had intereſt enough to carry his brother's teſtament, or at leaſt, the moſt eſſential parts thereof into execution, which otherwiſe would have been attended, if we may gueſs from what happened in the next reign, with inſuperable difficulties (*w*). The corps of the Earl of Leiceſter was removed from Cornbury Park to Warwick, where it was interred in our Lady's Chapel, adjoining to the Quire of the Collegiate Church, and a very noble monument is erected to his memory, with his effigies in armour lying on his back, with his Earl's Coronet on his head, and the effigy of his Counteſs lying by him, with an inſcription in capitals, the ſubſtance of which, the reader has already ſeen, as it contains little more than a recapitulation of his employments (*x*). The character beſtowed upon him by Camden (*y*), is to this effect. He was looked upon as a finiſhed courtier in every reſpect; elegant in his dreſs, liberal in his way of living, bountiful to ſoldiers and men of letters; very adroit in chuſing his time and carrying his point; complaiſant in his temper, but inſidious towards rivals; amorous in the former part of his life, and in the latter, uxorious to a ſtrange degree. As for the reſt, as he preferred an envied height of power to ſolid virtue; he furniſhed matter for a multitude of malicious detractors to deſcant upon, who, even in the zenith of his glory, failed not to proſecute him with their libels, which were mixed with abundance of untruths. To ſum up all, what was ſaid of him in publick, had the air of praiſe and panegyrick; but in private, and where people durſt be free, he was repreſented in quite a different light. This without doubt, conſidering it's brevity, is an admirable deſcription, and by far ſuperior to the diffuſe accounts that are to be met with in other writers; but as it is perfectly adapted to the Hiſtorian's ſubject, it may be poſſibly thought too ſuccinct, to cloſe a particular article compoſed of ſuch a variety of matter, and therefore we will endeavour with the utmoſt impartiality, to ſubjoin a more copious repreſentation of this great Stateſman and fortunate favourite in publick and in private life. He is ſaid to have inherited the parts, as his brother the Earl of Warwick was the heir of his father's virtues (*z*). His ambition was great, but his abilities were greater. His dexterity as a courtier, appeared as ſoon as he entered the Court; for he obtained under King Edward, more than any of his brethren, in point of places and donations (*a*), and this addreſs continued through all his different ſituations; he complimented Queen Mary upon her acceſſion (*b*), though he went a priſoner out of her preſence; and notwithſtanding he met, as might be expected, with a bad reception, yet he perſevered till he obtained, not only a pardon, but a place. He ſecured however, ſo good an intereſt with her ſucceſſor, that he was declared a favourite, as ſoon as ſhe was declared a Queen, and maintained the firſt place in her confidence as long as he lived; as he was deſirous of the graces of his Sovereign, ſo he ſtudied that the world ſhould take notice of his ſucceſs, which appeared early in the magnificence beyond example, with which he diſcharged the office of Conſtable, or Prince of the Revels, in the Temple (*c*), and in this he perſiſted through his whole life, introducing creatures of his own, to elbow out any of whom the Queen took notice, without his participation, and thereby kept himſelf always ſupreme (*d*). But though he loved the ſtation of a Favourite, he affected alſo that of a Miniſter (*e*). He would be firſt in all things, and he was ſo; in the Court, in the Camp, and in the Cabinet, at the ſame time; he changed his parties often, but never his views. He affected in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time, a great reſpect for the Spaniſh and Popiſh intereſt; adviſing her to give good words to King Philip, that ſhe might have leiſure to ſettle the affairs of religion, and of her kingdom, upon a ſolid foundation; and thus he made his court at home, and preſerved his intereſt and intelligence abroad, which he uſed to the laſt, and is ſaid to have bequeathed it as a legacy to his ſon-in-law, Eſſex (*f*). The Papiſts and the Puritans ſeparating from the Church about the ſame time, he went over to the latter, the former having chiefs of their own, not to be removed but by proſecutions, which therefore was the way that he took (*g*). He profeſſed a kindneſs for Mary Queen of Scots, but it was to pleaſe Queen Elizabeth, and when he propoſed the Aſſociation afterwards, which proved the ruin of that Princeſs, it was ſtill to pleaſe, as well as to preſerve Elizabeth (*h*). His religious zeal was intirely governed by, or at leaſt had a conſtant connection with, his temporal intereſts, which induced him ſometimes to take meaſures that were not at all agreeable to thoſe Prelates that were at the head of the Church, who could never be brought to conſider him as a friend to themſelves, or a well-wiſher to it (*i*) [*Y*]. As great a Politician as he was, he never choſe a back game, tho' no-body knew

(*w*) See the next article.

(*x*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 450.

(*y*) Annal. Eliz. p. 583, 584.

(*z*) Fuller's Worthies, Staffordſh.

(*a*) See Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. c. xxviii.

(*b*) Stowe's Annals, Burnet, &c.

(*c*) Dugdale's Orig. Juridicial.

(*d*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

(*e*) Scrinia Recluſa, p. 315.

(*f*) Character of the Earl of Eſſex, p. 35.

(*g*) Heylin's Hiſt. of the Reformation, p. 339.

(*h*) Camden, Naunton, Strype.

(*i*) Fragmenta Regalia, ch. iii.

'I ſhall hereafter nominate and appoint to be my 'overſeers for her Majeſty.'

[*Y*] *Or a well-wiſher to it.*] In this note, it is propoſed to give ſome account of the diſputes this potent Earl had with the Clergy, which have been tranſmitted to poſterity, with circumſtances not much to his honour. He exerciſed his office of Chancellor of Oxford with a very high hand, and by preferring his dependants, ſecured himſelf a great influence there, attended, as might be expected, with much clamour (69). He differed with Archbiſhop Grindal, and though he was much in the confidence of the Queen, brought him at firſt into diſcredit with her, and then into diſgrace; nay, to ſuch a degree was this perſecution carried, that the

(69) See Leiceſter's Commonwealth. Strype in his Annals, life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, &c. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon.

knew better how to play it, when no other road to ſucceſs was left (*b*). It was this deſire of ſeeming as well as being powerful, that made him induſtrious to prevent any from being called to Council, before he knew what road they would take, and what length they would run. He ſought and loved men of abilities, but took care to keep them at a diſtance from Court, and in ſtations where he might be uſeful to them, and they to him; thus he ſent Sir Henry Sydney, his brother-in-law, over to Ireland, placed the Earl of Pembroke in Wales; Lord Hunſdon at Berwick, and the Earl of Huntington at York, with the title of Preſident of the North (*l*); in a word, he reduced the management of domeſtick affairs into a regular ſyſtem, ſo that there was no part of the kingdom, in which he had not an influence, and in the counties round his caſtle of Kenelworth, almoſt every thing was dependent upon him, either through hope or fear (*m*) [Z]. When we conſider this

the poor prelate deſired to lay down his archiepiſcopal dignity, and actually cauſed the inſtrument of his reſignation to be drawn; but his enemies believing he was near his end, did not preſs the perfecting of it, and ſo he died with his mitre on his head, of a broken heart (71). He kept his houſe long, and was reported to be blind; a certain author, no great friend to Biſhops, and whoſe teſtimony is the more credible when he ſpeaks kindly of them, ſhall give the hiſtory of this Archbiſhop's fall, and of the ſhare the Earl had in it, his words are theſe (72). 'There was an Italian Doctor (one Julio Bargarucei) that having a known wife alive, yet bearing himſelf on the countenance of ſome great Lord, did marry another gentlewoman. This good Archbiſhop not winking at ſo publick a ſcandal, convened him for that, and proceeded by eccleſiaſtical cenſures againſt him; letters were preſently written from this great Lord to the Archbiſhop to ſtop the proceeding, to tolerate, to diſpenſe, or to mitigate the cenſure, but the Biſhop remained ſtill unmoved and unmoveable; when no ſubjects intreaty could be found to prevail, they intreat the Sovereign to write in the Doctor's behalf, but this John Baptiſt, not only perſiſted in his *non licet habere eam*, but alſo, in a reverend faſhion, required an account of her Majeſty's faith, in that ſhe would ſeem to write in a matter, that if ſhe were truly informed, was expreſsly againſt the word of God. The Queen, in a gracious diſpoſition, was purpoſed to have yielded an account in writing, but the great Lord not only diſſwaded her from that, as too great an indignity, but incenſed her exceedingly againſt him; whereupon he was privately commanded to keep his houſe, where, becauſe he was ſometimes troubled with ſore eyes, his friends gave out he was blind. In which if he reſembled Tireſias the Soothſayer, he might alſo have been like him in another reſpect, by foretelling the fate of his perſecutor. For that Lord, that ſo perſecuted this prelate about his phyſician's two wives, dying twenty years ſince, left two wives behind him, that can hardly be yet agreed, which was his lawful wife.' A certain Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian acquaints us, that Dr Julio's divorce, was not the ſingle fault of this Archbiſhop, it ſeems he would not part with Lambeth Houſe (73), to which the Earl had a mind; but the moſt remarkable circumſtance in this buſineſs, is, that the Archbiſhop's want of vigilance in ſuppreſſing Puritans, was the cauſe aſſigned for oppreſſing him by that very nobleman, who was known to be their principal protector, and to whom conſequently this could not give any real offence (74). Dr Whitgift ſucceeding in the Archbiſhoprick of Canterbury, ſucceeded alſo in a ſhort time to the diſlike of the Earl of Leiceſter, who having provided for Mr Cartwright, the father and chief of the Puritans, not only by making him maſter of his Hoſpital at Warwick, but alſo by granting him an annuity of fifty pounds a year out of his own eſtate, recommended him alſo to the Archbiſhop, with whom he had had many controverſies (75). Mr Cartwright on his ſide behaved very reſpectfully, and his Grace not civilly only, but kindly, for which the Earl thanked him, as if the favour had been done to himſelf, by letter, intimating at the ſame time, what good things might be expected in caſe Mr Cartwright was again allowed to preach; but the Archbiſhop would not be drawn into that, and gave his Lordſhip his reaſons in a long epiſtle (76). The Earl was then ſilent upon this ſubject, but ſoon after addreſſed himſelf to the Archbiſhop upon another, which was to demand his opinion as to the lawfulneſs of aſſiſting the Dutch, on the ſcore of religion againſt their Sovereign the King of Spain, which he knew, could not fail of bringing him into great difficulties. The Archbiſhop in his anſwer, declined giving any ſuch opinion, for which conduct of his, he advanced many reaſons; but theſe would not ſatisfy, and he was at laſt obliged to pen a reſolution of what was ſtiled the Queen's caſe of conſcience in that matter, which he did ſo wiſely, that no exceptions could be taken (71). The Archbiſhop, and the Lord-Treaſurer Burleigh, being Viſitors of St John's College in Cambridge, the Earl of Leiceſter interpoſed, by his letters, to ſtay their proceedings, which occaſioned much trouble (78). In the mean time Mr Cartwright broke out again, and the conduct of the Puritans gave the Queen ſo much trouble, that the Earl of Leiceſter to preſerve the Queen's favour, thought fit to leave them. Dr Heylin gives us this account of the matter (79). 'It is worth obſerving, that the Puritans were then moſt buſy, as well in ſetting up their diſcipline, as in publiſhing their railing and ſeditious pamphlets, when the Spaniards were hovering on the ſeas with their terrible navy. At what time they conceived, and that not improbably, that the Queen and Council would be otherwiſe buſied than to take notice of their practices, or ſuppreſs their doings, or rather, that they durſt not call them into queſtion for their words and actions, for fear of alienating the affections of ſo ſtrong a party as they had raiſed to themſelves; the ſerious apprehenſions of which miſchievous Counſels prevailed ſo far on Leiceſter and Walſingham, that they did abſolutely renounce any further interceſſion for them, profeſſing that they had been horribly abuſed with their hypocriſy, which poſſibly might happen better for themſelves than it did for the Church, the Earl of Leiceſter going to his own place before the end of this year, and Walſingham being gathered to his fathers within two years after.'

[Z] *Either through hope or fear.*] In the foregoing note, we have ſhewn what a ſtroke he had in the Church, and how little able the firſt ſubject of the Queen was to bear up againſt his diſpleaſure, though conceived upon none of the juſteſt motives. As to his power paramount in the ſtate, we may form ſome idea of that, from the obſervance that was ſhewn to him, when he viſited Buxton Wells, by the Earl of Shrewſbury, one of the ancienteſt peers in the kingdom, and the ſenſe which Queen Elizabeth expreſſed of that Earl's behaviour in the following letter (80), written in her own hand, which contains, perhaps, as high a teſtimony of favour, as ever was expreſſed by a Sovereign to a ſubject.

ELIZABETH.

'OUR very good couſin: being given to underſtand from our couſin of Leiceſter, how honourably he was, not only lately, received by you our couſin, and the Counteſs, at Chatſworth, and his diet, by you both diſcharged at Buxton's, but alſo preſented with a very rare preſent; we ſhould do him great wrong, holding him in that place of favour we do, in caſe we ſhould not let you underſtand, in how thankful ſort we accept the ſame at both your hands, not as done unto him, but unto our ownſelf: reputing him as another ourſelf. And therefore, you may aſſure yourſelf, that we taking upon us the debt, not as his, but our own, will take care accordingly to diſcharge in ſuch honourable ſort, as ſo well deſerving creditors as ye are, ſhall never have cauſe to think ye have met with an unthankful debtor, *&c.*'

(*k*) Scrinia Recluſa, p. 315.

(*l*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

(*m*) Strype, Naunton, *&c.*

(71) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 580.

(72) Sir John Harrington's Brief View of the State of the Church of England, p. 5, 6.

(73) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Cent. xvi. B. ix. p. 163.

(74) See Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Grindall.

(75) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Cent. xvi. B. ix. p. 102.

(76) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift.

(77) That anſwer is extant in Strype.

(78) Strype's Annals, and Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift.

(79) Hiſt. of the Preſbyterians, lib. viii. p. 284, 285.

(80) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 501.

this attentively, we ſhall be the leſs ſurprized at his great weight in Parliament, where he had always a ſtrong party in the Houſe of Commons at his devotion; and in the Houſe of Peers, he directed things at his will, having ſometimes ſix, eight, or even ten proxies in his own hands (n), there being at that time no order to reſtrain ſo exorbitant a privilege. If in any thing he overſhot himſelf, it was in accepting the command in the Low-Countries, to which thoſe who were leaſt inclined to him, were moſt ready in giving their approbation (o), and in his abſence, brought Sir Chriſtopher Hatton into high credit, with which he was much offended (p). It is certain his dignity did not anſwer his expectation, but ſerved rather to hurt his fortune and to impair his power, both which however he would have recovered if he had lived, for he perfectly underſtood the Queen's temper, and had a great aſcendancy over it. In his private life he affected a wonderful regularity, was very circumſpect in his ſpeeches, and wrote as well as any man of his time (q). It was a ſaying of his, that a great man ought to know every thing, and be able to do every thing by himſelf, or by his inſtruments; which he made good in his practice. But with reſpect to men of ordinary rank, whom he employed and admitted to great familiarities, their favour was ſeldom of any long date, but he found ways and means to diſpoſe of them, either in diſtant employments, or otherwiſe, ſo that when he thought proper to diſpenſe with their ſervices, they might be able to do him no hurt (r). He carried his pretences to piety very high, though to gratify his paſſions, he fell into vices that could not be concealed; and though no man talked more of moderation and juſtice, yet he was guilty of ſome acts of oppreſſion that were both violent and mean [*AA*]. It is wonderful, that, with theſe great inequalities in his behaviour, he ſhould be able to maintain himſelf, and under ſuch a reign, in the poſſeſſion of abſolute power, for ſuch a number of years as he did, and that too in ſpite both of open and ſecret oppoſition; which fully juſtifies an obſervation that has been made upon his conduct, *viz. That his depth was not fathomable in thoſe days, or his policy to be reached in theſe* (s). In a word, the family of Dudley, in three deſcents, furniſhed men of ſuch capacities, as our Hiſtories ſcarce record the like; the grandfather, the father, and the ſon, were all great men, but the laſt the greateſt and moſt fortunate of the three, if any man can be ſo reputed whom flattery itſelf would be aſhamed to ſtile good. This Earl had by his laſt Counteſs, Lettice, daughter of Sir Francis Knolles, Knight of the Garter, and widow of Walter Devereux, Earl of Eſſex, an only ſon Robert, Baron of Denbigh, who died in his childhood, July 15, 1584, for whom an altar-monument was erected by that of his father at Warwick, with his effigies thereon, and a very pompous inſcription to his memory (t). As for Lettice, Counteſs of Leiceſter, ſhe ſurvived near forty-ſix years after the deceaſe of the Earl, by whom an ample

(n) D'Ewes's Journals of Parliament, p. 314.

(o) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 458.

(p) Camden. Annal. p. 583.

(q) Many of theſe are preſerved in the Cabala, Strype's Annals, Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa.

(r) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 519.

(s) Scrinia Recluſa, p. 317.

(t) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 450.

It was but an ill return that he made to this nobleman, if it be true as ſome have ſuggeſted, that he countenanced the ſtories told to his prejudice out of female jealouſy by his Counteſs, and thereby brought him into ſuſpicion with the Queen his miſtreſs (81), who had confided in him formerly, as much as in any man of his quality, the Earl of Leiceſter himſelf excepted, and had been ever faithfully ſerved.

On what account this exorbitant indulgence was ſhewn to the Lord Leiceſter by the Queen, is not for us to decide, which even in thoſe days was but indifferently underſtood. However, that her Majeſty was ſuppoſed to have had thoughts of marrying him, not libels and ſecret hiſtories, but even the graveſt and moſt authentick writers affirm; and therefore we may attribute to this, the ſingular condeſcenſion of the Queen on one ſide, and the lofty behaviour of the Earl on the other. Oſborne (69), who lived near her time, and was a paſſionate admirer of this Princeſs, makes no manner of doubt of it, and having mentioned ſome of the reaſons ſaid to be uſed to give a colour to this marriage, he proceeds thus. 'Nor could Leiceſter render his bed vacant to a more 'thriving end, as he is rumoured to have done, than 'to make room for the greateſt and moſt fortunate 'Princeſs the ſun ever looked upon without bluſhing, 'in relation to oppreſſion or blood: this may be allowed upon the ſcore of probability, that his Lordſhip would hardly have been ſo rampant and uncivil, 'without ſome extraordinary invitation, as to draw a 'blow in her preſence, from another Privy-Counſellor 'more zealous poſſibly than diſcreet; to whom, when 'the Queen ſaid, *He had forfeited his hand*, his reply 'was, *He hoped ſhe would ſuſpend that judgment, till 'the traytor had loſt his head, who did better deſerve 'it*: but this accident bordering ſo near the confines 'of her honour, did admit no further debate, it being 'no other than ſhe, in a leſs ſprightly humour might 'have given him herſelf, none being more flexible to 'all kind of jollities than the minds of Princes, when 'unbent from publick affairs.'

In all public Commiſſions, the Earl of Leiceſter's name was ſure to be inſerted, and in moſt of them he took care to act, for he was an excellent patron, and ſeldom failed any body that was attached to him; he miſſed no opportunity of gratifying himſelf and his followers, and frequently obtained grants of great value, ſuch as of timber, waſte lands, encroachments upon foreſts, and licences for importing and exporting certain goods, all of which he ſold for large ſums of money (82). He valued himſelf not a little upon the court paid him by the nobility; and ſuch as held themſelves of too high rank to make ſuch kind of ſubmiſſions, he frequently found means to reach, when they leaſt expected it. Such were his deeds at Court, in quality of the Queen's favourite and chief miniſter, which he thought title ſufficient to command obedience from men of all ranks, as appears from his behaviour to the Lord Chief Juſtice Anderſon, as we have ſhewn in another place (83). For all this, his Lordſhip was not always a courtier, he could ſometimes act the patriot too, and that with equal life and ſpirit, as when he declared in Parliament, that a huſband ſhould be impoſed upon the Queen, or that ſhe ſhould be obliged to nominate a ſucceſſor for the ſecurity of the State (84). But it has been doubted whether he was in earneſt in that bold declaration, or whether he made it with a view to diſcover what other great peers were of this ſentiment, and then to lead them, under colour of zeal for their country, into practices which might render them obnoxious to the reſentment of the crown (85).

[*AA*] *That were both violent and mean.*] We are informed by Camden (86), that when the Lord Paget retired beyond the ſeas, he complained that he was forced to take this ſtep for his own preſervation, becauſe, through the arts of Leiceſter and Walſingham, he found the Queen's favour entirely eſtranged from him, which might poſſibly paſs for a calumny, if ſoon after, upon his being attainted in Parliament, the Earl of Leiceſter had not procured a grant to himſelf of Paget, afterwards ſtiled Eſſex-Houſe. We are told by Sir Robert Atkyns (87), that this Earl cauſed ſome of his agents

(81) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

(69) Traditional Memoirs on the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, §. 19.

(82) Of theſe many inſtances might be given if we had room.

(83) See the article ANDERSON (Sir EDMOND).

(84) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 123, 124.

(85) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

(86) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 411.

(87) Hiſtory of Glouceſterſhire, p. 268.

ample proviſion was made for her, with the higheſt teſtimony of affection, in his Will, of which ſhe was appointed executrix, and that ſhe loſt no time in proving it, appears by the date, September 6, 1588, when her Lord had not been two days dead (u). Her Ladyſhip was likewiſe very expeditious in a third marriage with Sir Chriſtopher Blount, a gentleman who had great dependance upon her ſon the Earl of Eſſex, and whoſe tender friendſhip for him afterwards coſt him his life (w). It does not appear, that, during the remaining part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the Counteſs-Dowager of Eſſex had any great intereſt, though her ſon ſucceeded her huſband in the Queen's favour. On the contrary we are told, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty the Earl of Eſſex prevailed upon the Queen to admit the Counteſs his mother to her royal preſence, and this too after repeated diſappointments; neither could he afterwards prevail in the ſame ſuit, though he urged it with much warmth (x). We need not wonder therefore, that her ſollicitations could avail him little in his laſt misfortunes, though it is very certain that ſhe did for him all that was in her power. But in the reign of King James ſhe had great credit at Court, at leaſt for ſome time, as will be ſeen elſewhere. The laſt years of her life were ſpent in retirement in the country, where ſhe lived hoſpitably and charitably till her deceaſe, which happened December the 25th, 1634 (y). She was buried with great funeral pomp in the ſame tomb with her ſecond huſband, in the church at Warwick, and on the right hand of his monument there is a large copy of verſes, in two columns, on a tablet, to her Honour, ſubſcribed Gervaſe Clifton (z).

(u) Ex. Regiſt. vocat. Leiceſter, qu. 1, in Cur. Prerog. Cantuar.

(w) See the article DEVEREUX (ROBERT) Earl of Eſſex.

(x) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 93.

(y) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 448.

(z) Memoirs prefixed to Sidney Papers.

agents to apply themſelves to the Lord Berkeley, for a ſight of his family evidences, that the Earl might be the better able to ſhew his alliance to that noble houſe, ſome of which they took away, and then a title being ſet up by the Earl of Leiceſter, to part of Lord Berkeley's lands, he loſt them for want of thoſe evidences to ſupport his right. We have mentioned in another part of this work, the caſe of Mr Arden, of Park-Hall in Warwickſhire (88), who was brought to an untimely end, for deſpiſing that low method of making court to this great man, to which ſome of his neighbours condeſcended, which was by wearing his livery. Sir William Dugdale acquaints us with the injury done to one Mr Robinſon of Warwickſhire, who by ſome ſtrange methods loſt his eſtate, which was afterwards found in this great Earl's poſſeſſion (89). But in another place we are informed, that this Robinſon, was the ſon of a gentleman killed in the Queen's ſervice at Newhaven, under the Earl of Warwick, that he was bred up in Leiceſter's ſervice, in which he ſpent a great deal of money, and thereby entangled his eſtate; that upon this, ſuits grew between him and the uſurers, who at the bottom were but this Lord's inſtruments, and in an attempt of theirs to get poſſeſſion, a man was killed by Robinſon, or ſome of his party in their own defence, for which he was impriſoned, tried, and convicted, but loſt only his *eſtate* (90); which with other lands, was afterwards conveyed to the Queen in exchange, and ſo all farther diſputes prevented. But the Earl's power and influence, great as they were, met now and then with a check, and particularly in the caſe of Sir John Packington, to whom having wrote to know the titles to the Biſhop and Dean of Worceſter of certain lands, the honeſt Knight fairly ſent him word, that if he meant to make any uſe of him to the prejudice of the Church, he had miſtaken his man (91). We have carried theſe memoirs to an unuſual length, for which the nature of them muſt be our excuſe, ſince the article is certainly of great importance, and would have afforded matter for many more ſheets, if we had not ſtudied brevity, as far as was conſiſtent with perſpicuity. E

(88) See the article ARDEN (EDWARD).

(89) Warwickſhire, p. 1129.

(90) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

(91) Life and Actions of Sir John Packington, MS.

DUDLEY (Sir ROBERT) as he was called here, and, as he was ſtiled abroad, Earl of Warwick, and Duke of Northumberland. He was ſon of Robert Earl of Leiceſter by the Lady Douglas Sheffield, and was born at Sheen in Surrey in 1573, where, for reaſons that we have ſeen in the former article, he was very carefully concealed, as well to prevent the Queen's knowledge of the Earl's engagements with his mother, as to hide it from the Counteſs of Eſſex, to whom he was then contracted, if not married (a). At the time of his birth, however, and ſome time after, he was conſidered as the Earl of Leiceſter's lawful ſon by Ambroſe Earl of Warwick, and others of his neareſt relations, particularly by Sir Thomas Butler and his ſon, who, as the Earl affirms in his Will, intended to leave his ſon Robert their eſtate. When he was about five years of age, his father, the Earl of Leiceſter, married Lettice, Counteſs-Dowager of Eſſex, openly, and thereupon his ſon Robert was no longer treated as his lawful child, but as his natural iſſue by the Lady Douglas Sheffield. Out of her hands the Earl was very deſirous of getting him, in order to put him under the care of Sir Edward Horſey, Knt. Governor of the Iſle of Wight (b), which ſome have imagined was with a ſiniſter view, not againſt the boy, for whom Leiceſter had ever the greateſt tenderneſs, but with a thought of bringing him upon the ſtage at ſome proper time, as his natural ſon by another Lady. At that time, however, he failed of his purpoſe, but not long after it ſeems he prevailed, and got the child into his hands; he ſent him then to ſchool at Offington in Suſſex in 1583, where he was under the care of one Owen Jones, to whom, upon a certain occaſion, the Earl expreſſed himſelf to this purpoſe (c): 'Owen, thou knoweſt that Robin my boy is my 'lawful ſon, and as I do, and have charged thee, to keep it ſecret, ſo I charge thee not 'to forget it; and therefore ſee thou be careful of him.' There he received the firſt rudiments of literature, and gave very extraordinary proofs of the wonderful pregnancy of his parts, which were not only equal, but even ſuperior to thoſe of any of his family. After remaining four years in this private ſchool, he was removed, in 1587, to the Univerſity of Oxford, and there entered of Chriſt-Church by the ſtile of *Comitis filius*, i. e. an Earl's ſon, and placed under the care of Mr Thomas Chaloner, afterwards Sir Thomas Chaloner, and Tutor to Prince Henry (d). In about a year after he came to the univerſity, and when he was about the age of fifteen, his father died, leaving him, after the deceaſe of

(a) See the article DEVEREUX (WALTER, Earl of Eſſex.

(b) From the depoſitions taken in the Star-Chamber.

(c) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 223.

(d) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 275.

of his uncle Ambroſe, Earl of Warwick, his noble caſtle of Kenelworth, the lordſhips of Denbigh and Chirk, and the bulk of his eſtate, which, before he was of age, he in a great meaſure enjoyed, notwithſtanding the enmity borne him by the Counteſs-Dowager of Leiceſter. He was at this time looked upon, and very deſervedly, as one of the fineſt Gentlemen in England; in his perſon tall, well ſhaped, having a freſh and fine complexion, but red haired; learned beyond his age, more eſpecially in the Mathematicks; and very expert in his exerciſes, and particularly in riding the great horſe, in which he was allowed to excel any man of his time (*e*). With theſe accompliſhments and a great fortune, it is no wonder that he was every where well received, and particularly at Court, more eſpecially as he was of a frank and open diſpoſition, very generous and friendly, and though few were ſo well verſed in books, much addicted to an active life. His genius prompted him to great exploits, and having a particular turn to Navigation and diſcoveries, he reſolved, ſoon after he was of age, to make a voyage into the South Seas at his own expence, in hopes of acquiring as great fame thereby as the famous Thomas Cavendiſh of Trimley, Eſq; his dear and intimate acquaintance, whoſe ſiſter he married. But after a great deal of pains taken, and much money ſpent, the government would not ſuffer him to proceed, looking upon it as a dangerous voyage, in which they thought it not fit to hazard the lives of the Queen's ſubjects (*f*). Mr Dudley was not to be cured of his deſire of going to ſea, even by this diſappointment, and therefore fitted out a ſmall ſquadron for the river Oroonoque, and the coaſts adjacent, of which he took the command in perſon; he ſailed from Southampton road November 6, 1594, and returned to St Ives in Cornwall about the end of May 1595, having performed all, and indeed more, than could be expected from him, conſidering his ſmall ſtrength, taking, ſinking, and otherwiſe deſtroying, nine ſail of Spaniſh ſhips, one of which was a man of war of ſix hundred tons, which he fought board and board for two days, till he had no powder left, and ſhe afterwards ſunk at ſea (*g*). He wrote a particular account of this voyage at the requeſt of the Reverend Mr Hakluyt, which he afterwards publiſhed in his large and valuable Collection [*A*]. In the ſucceeding year he fitted out two ſhips and two pinnaces, for the South Seas, under Capt. Benjamin Wood, at his ſole expence, and attending the Earl of Eſſex and the Lord High-Admiral of England in their glorious expedition againſt the Spaniards, he, for his gallant behaviour at the taking of Cadiz, received the honour of knighthood from the firſt of thoſe noble Peers (*h*). In the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Robert Dudley being then a widower, married Alice, daughter to Sir Thomas Leigh (*i*), and ſettled upon her in jointure great part of his eſtate, and gaining by this marriage ſome powerful friends, he began to entertain hopes of reviving the honours of his family. He conſidered with himſelf that it was not yet too late to make proof of the legitimacy of his birth, by which he would become clearly entitled to the honour of Lord L'Iſle and Earl of Leiceſter, as heir to his father, as alſo to the earldom of Warwick, by virtue of the limitations in his uncle's patent, as alſo to the caſtle of Warwick, and ſeveral fair manors in that county and elſewhere, by force of the entail; full of theſe hopes, in the year 1605, he commenced a ſuit in the Court of Audience of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the plague being then at London, obtained a Commiſſion directed to Dr Zachary Babington, Chancellor of the dioceſe of Lichfield, to examine witneſſes on that head,

which

(*e*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p 225.

(*f*) So it appears from his own account of it in Hakluyt.

(*g*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 574.

(*h*) Camden Annal.

(*i*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 250.

[*A*] *In his valuable Collection.*] It was certainly a mark of true courage, as well as of publick ſpirit, that as ſoon as he became of age, and entered into the poſſeſſion of his fortune, Mr Dudley, inſtead of indulging himſelf in the pleaſures of a Court, ſhould undertake ſo long and hazardous a voyage, as even the laſt of the two was, which he projected The ſhips that he fitted out, were the Bear, of two-hundred tons, in which he commanded himſelf; the Bear's Whelp, Captain Monk, and two Pinnaces, the one called the Friſking, and the other the Earwig. Captain Monk returned with his veſſel and two prizes, before the end of the year; of which, Mr Dudley having no knowledge, waited for him near the Azores; but hearing no news, and finding many of his men ſick, he thought it better to proceed in his undertaking, as ſoon as it was in his power to do it conveniently. Accordingly having taken two prizes, he put Captain Benjamin Wood into the one, which he called the Intent, and Captain Wentworth into the other; ſo that having now three ſail under his command, he made the beſt of his way for the iſland of Trinidad, in the Weſt-Indies Upon his arrival there, he detached the ſhip called the Intent, and her conſort, to the Leeward-Iſlands, and with his own veſſel, laboured to make what diſcovery he could of the great Empire of Guiana; the writings and example of Sir Walter Raleigh, having been no ſmall motives to this enterprize. All the account he gives us of the countries, the rivers, and the people, as alſo of the reports that prevailed amongſt them of very rich countries that lay farther within land, agree perfectly well with the relations of that learned Knight and ſhew plainly, that he did not magnify any thing beyond the informations that he received. Mr Dudley heard, as well as he, of ſilver and gold mines, particularly, one of the latter at Wakkaru, and alſo obtained ſome ſpecimens of gold from another place. It ſeems, he was in expectation of Sir Walter's coming thither, and was in great hopes of their making very conſiderable diſcoveries together, which induced him to ſtay as long as it was ſafe for him to do, and then he returned to Europe, as is related in the text, having barely as much proviſion left as would ſerve for his voyage (1). After gaining, by this expedition, experience ſufficient to qualify him for a ſea commander; he went with the Earl of Eſſex, and the Lord High-Admiral Howard, to Cadiz, in quality of Captain of the Nonpariel (2), and in that warm ſervice, ſhewed all the courage of an adventurous young man, and all the coolneſs and conduct of an old officer, as was reported of him at his return. It is probable, that the reader will be deſirous of knowing what became of Captain Wood's enterprize in the South-Seas, whither he was ſent with a good ſhip, and a pinnace fitted out in 1595, at the expence of ſome thouſand pounds; but the misfortune is, that no information on that ſubject can be had, no news being ever heard, either of the ſhips or men (3), which was much regretted in thoſe days, becauſe Mr Benjamin Wood, was looked upon as a man of ſteady courage, great integrity, and of uncommon abilities as a ſeaman, which recommended him to the favour and friendſhip of this great genius.

(1) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 575, 576, 577.

(2) Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 148.

(3) Remarks on the ſeveral Attempts made to paſs the Streights of Magellan.

[*B*] *As*

which was accordingly done (*k*). But no ſooner had Lettice, Counteſs of Leiceſter, notice of theſe proceedings, than ſhe procured an information to be filed, by Sir Edward Coke, the King's Attorney-General, in the Star-Chamber, againſt Sir Robert Dudley, Sir Thomas Leigh, Dr Babington, and others, for a conſpiracy; and, upon the petition of Lord Sidney, an order iſſued out of that Court for bringing in all the depoſitions that had been taken by virtue of the Archbiſhop's commiſſion, ſealing them up and depoſiting them in the Council cheſt (*l*). In order, however, to keep up ſome appearance of impartiality, Sir Robert Dudley was allowed to examine witneſſes, as to the proof of his legitimacy, in that court, which when he had done in as full a manner as in ſuch a caſe could be expected, a ſudden order was made for ſtaying all proceedings, and locking up the examinations, of which no copies were to be taken but by the King's licence (*m*). This was ſuch a blow to all the hopes of Sir Robert Dudley, and made it ſo evident that he had no favour to expect where his enemies had influence enough to preclude him from juſtice, that he reſolved to retire abroad, in hopes that time might either leſſen his misfortune, or at leaſt mitigate the ſharp ſenſe he had of it; in order to this he applied for a licence to travel for three years, which was very readily granted him, there being many who choſe to have him out of their way, and others, who bore him good will, thought that at this juncture his withdrawing for a time might be of uſe to him. But in the manner of his leaving the kingdom there was ſomething that ſhewed, he inherited ſome of the vices as well as moſt of the great qualities of his family (*n*) [*B*]. He had not been long abroad, before ſuch as meant him no good procured, notwithſtanding his licence, a privy-ſeal, commanding his return into England, being very ſenſible that he would not obey it. The pretence for this was, that he had aſſumed in foreign countries the title of Earl of Warwick, which irritated ſome at Court extreamly (*o*). It ſeems they formed a true notion of his circumſtances and diſpoſition, for Sir Robert, finding himſelf well received at the Court of Florence, reſolved to continue there notwithſtanding the letter of re-call, and this gave a handle for ſeizing his whole eſtate, which was veſted in the Crown, during his natural life, by the ſtatute of fugitives.

He

(*k*) From the proceedings in the Star-Chamber.

(*l*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 224; 18 Octob. 1603.

(*m*) Proceedings in the Star-Chamber.

(*n*) See this explained in the note.

(*o*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 127.

[*B*] *As well as moſt of the great qualities of his family.*] When Sir Robert Dudley had once ſettled his reſolution of quitting England, he reſolved to make the place of his retreat as agreeable to him as it was poſſible, and therefore prevailed upon a young lady, at that time eſteemed one of the fineſt women in England, and of a family diſtinguiſhed for their beauty, to bear him company in the habit of his page (4). This Lady was Mrs Elizabeth Southwell, the daughter of Sir Robert Southwell, of Woodriſing in the county of Norfolk (5), who, as the reader will find in the text, he afterwards eſpouſed, in virtue of a diſpenſation from the Pope; whence a certain writer, who bore him no good will, has taken occaſion to ſay, that he left England, becauſe he could not be allowed to have two wives (6); in which, there would have been more truth, if Sir Robert Dudley had married that Lady here, as it is very certain he did not. How much ſoever ſhe might be blamed in following him as ſhe did, yet her conduct afterwards was without exception, and as ſhe lived in honour and eſteem, and had all the reſpect paid her, that her title of a Ducheſs could demand; ſo it is reported, that Sir Robert never altered his affections, but to ſhew his high regard for her memory, cauſed a noble tomb to be erected to her memory in the church of St Pancratius in Florence (7), where her body lies interred, and where he deſired that he might be buried with her. As to his iſſue by this Lady, they will be taken notice of hereafter. It is very probable, that this marriage might prove a great bar to his return into England, and might be alſo a motive to the paſſing ſo extraordinary a law as that was, by which Lady Alice Dudley, was enabled to diſpoſe of her jointure during his life. But before we cloſe this note, it may not be amiſs to examine what the reaſons were, which induced the Lords in the Star-Chamber to treat Sir Robert Dudley's cauſe as they did. It ſeems that Sir William Leighton, upon whoſe advice he chiefly depended, when he found what evidence might be produced to prove the marriage of Lady Douglas Sheffield, with Robert Earl of Leiceſter, gave him advice, which though wiſe and well laid in itſelf, yet gave an opportunity to Sir Robert's enemies, to caſt out ſuch inſinuations as threw an odium upon his whole proceedings. For when the commiſſion mentioned in the text was brought down, and a Notary came afterwards to ſpeed it, Sir William reſolved to commence a ſuit in the courts at Lichfield, in the name of Sir Robert Dudley, in which one John Buſhell was raiſed up as the adverſary upon a charge, that he ſhould have called Sir Robert, a Baſtard three years before; upon this, one Goffe cites him to the court, in *cauſa probri & convitii*, and Goffe earneſtly preſt him to appear thereto. It was never intended by this ſuit to puniſh Buſhell, but only to prove the marriage and legitimation. Buſhell appeared, and made ſuch anſwer as ſuited beſt for their purpoſe. The thirty-ſix articles were exhibited, thirty whereof tended to prove the marriage and legitimation, and ſome of the reſt the defamation. And Dr Babington, then ſitting in judgment in the court, and knowing the matter to be there proſecuted, unduly, againſt a raiſed adverſary, upon colour of defamation, admitted a very unlawful proſecution of the libel, and ordered the defendant to make preſent anſwer, and then Frodſham, Saliſbury, and Jones, were again examined as witneſſes. And after their examinations, carried back to Clarges, Goffe, and Leigh's houſes, and had diet and apparel given them by directions of Sir Robert Dudley, and Sir William Leighton. For theſe offences and undue proceedings, which tended to call in queſtion the Lord of Leiceſter, and his then Lady's marriage, and her jointure, and the eſtates of many of the King's ſubjects, they were all committed; Sir William Leighton fined three-hundred pounds, Babington, one-hundred marks, Goffe, forty pounds, Saliſbury, and Frodſham, one-hundred pounds a piece, and Jones, forty pounds. All the examinations and depoſitions taken in the Court of Audience by the Commiſſioners, and at Lichfield, ſuppreſſed and damned. The examinations and depoſitions in the Court, that concern the marriage between the Earl of Leiceſter, and the Lady Douglas Sheffield, to be ſealed up by the Clerk of the Court, and never to be ſeen or publiſhed; Jones, Saliſbury, and Frodſham, to be ever after held ſuſpected in their teſtimonies touching the marriage and legitimation of Sir Robert Dudley, and the reſt were acquitted (8). But this ſentence takes no notice of the depoſitions of Lady Douglas, Sir Robert Dudley's mother; of Lady Parker, and many other perſons, who depoſed to his legitimacy; and yet this gave a colour for ſealing and locking theſe up, which was what the friends of Lettice Counteſs of Leiceſter ſought, and ſhews how dangerous a thing it was to leave matters of ſo high a nature to be determined in that Court, without the aſſiſtance of a jury, and without appeal (9). An inconvenience, which by degrees was ſo much felt, and ſo generally underſtood, that it was by Act of Parliament diſſolved, at the common prayer of the whole nation.

(4) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 225.

(5) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 128.

(6) Engliſh Spaniſh Pilgrim. 4*to*, 1630, p. 64.

(7) So his ſon Charles D. of N. informed Anthony Wood.

(8) E Regiſt. Cammer. Stellat. Paſch. A. iii. Jac. fol. 107.

(9) Compare this with the patent to Ducheſs Dudley.

He left behind him Lady Alice Dudley his wife, and four daughters, for whom ſufficient proviſion was made. In this ſituation things continued for ſome years, till ſome perſons about Henry Prince of Wales ſuggeſted to him, that Kenelworth Caſtle was one of the fineſt and moſt magnificent places in the inland parts of the kingdom, and very fit for his Royal Highneſs's reſidence, upon which ſome overtures were made to Sir Robert Dudley abroad, as well as to Lady Alice at home, the Prince deſiring to have it by way of purchaſe. Theſe propoſals were very readily accepted, on account, as it is ſaid, of ſome promiſes that were made of having regard to his claims when a proper opportunity offered (*p*). In the mean time a commiſſion iſſued for enquiring into the value of this eſtate, and the return thereto being very curious, the reader will find it in the notes [*C*]. The treaty beforementioned came at laſt to a concluſion, and deeds were executed bearing date November 21, 1611, by which, in conſideration of fourteen thouſand five hundred pounds, to be paid in one year to the ſaid Sir Robert Dudley or his aſſigns, the ſaid caſtle of Kenelworth, together with the manor and lands bearing the ſame name, the manors of Rudfen, Balſhall, and Long Itchington, were ſettled upon the ſaid Prince and his heirs, with condition that Sir Robert ſhould hold the Conſtableſhip of the ſaid caſtle for the term of his natural life, by patent from his Royal Highneſs: of this purchaſe-money, which was but a very inconſiderable ſum in compariſon of the value of the eſtate, but three thouſand pounds was ever paid, and that to a Merchant who broke ſoon after, not one penny coming to the hands of Sir Robert Dudley (*q*). Prince Henry likewiſe dying, his title to the caſtle and lands deſcended to his brother Charles Prince of Wales, who, in the nineteenth year of the reign of King James I, procured an Act of Parliament to enable Alice Lady Dudley, who had a jointure therein, to alienate it, notwithſtanding her coverture, in conſideration of the ſum of four thouſand pounds, to be paid her out of the Exchequer, and a yearly penſion (*r*); which ſaid ſum was accordingly paid, as the penſion likewiſe was for ſome time, but grew afterwards into arrear, through the diſtreſs of that Prince's affairs after he came to the throne (*s*). But though Sir Robert Dudley lived in exile, and without receiving any conſiderable ſupplies from England, he ſtill cheriſhed ſome hope of his return; to facilitate which, and to ingratiate himſelf with King James, he drew up a ſcheme for improving the royal revenue (*t*), which ſcheme falling into the hands of ſome perſons of great diſtinction, and being by them made publick, this was conſidered as a thing of a pernicious nature, for which they were impriſoned, but upon a diſcovery of the true author, they were ſhortly after releaſed [*D*]. The place which Sir Robert Dudley
choſe

(*p*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 324.

(*q*) See the preamble to Ducheſs Dudley's patent.

(*r*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 251.

(*s*) So acknowledged in the preamble.

(*t*) Hamond L'Eſtrange's Life and Reign of King Charles I. p. 111.

[*C*] *The reader will find in the notes.*] The credit of this paper, will ſufficiently appear from the ſubject of it, and the facts that are contained therein; all that is farther requiſite, is to acquaint the reader, that the original is ſtill preſerved in that great treaſury of Britiſh Antiquities, the Cotton Library.

The Caſtle of KENILWORTH, ſituate upon a rock.

The circuit thereof, within the walls, containeth ſeven acres, upon which the walks are ſo ſpacious and fair, that two or three perſons together may walk upon moſt places thereof.

The caſtle, with the four gate-houſes, all built of free-ſtone hewn and cut, the walls in many places, of fifteen and ten foot thickneſs, ſome more, ſome leſs, the leaſt four foot in thickneſs ſquare.

The caſtle and four gate-houſes, all covered with lead, whereby it is ſubject to no other decay than the glaſs, through the extremity of the weather.

The rooms of great ſtate within the ſame, and ſuch as are able to receive his Majeſty, the Queen, and Prince at one time, built with as much uniformity and conveniency, as any houſes of later time, and with ſuch ſtately cellars, all carried upon pillars and architecture of free-ſtone, carved and wrought, as the like are not within this kingdom, and alſo all other houſes for offices anſwerable.

There lyeth about the ſame in chaſes and parks, twelve hundred pounds *per annum*, nine hundred pounds whereof are grounds for pleaſure, the reſt in meadow and paſture thereto adjoining tenants and freeholders.

There joyneth upon this ground, a park-like ground, called the King's Wood, with fifteen coppices lying all together, containing ſeven-hundred eighty-nine acres within the ſame, which in the Earl of Leiceſter's time were ſtored with red deer, ſince which, the deer ſtrayed, but the ground in no ſort blemiſhed, having great ſtore of timber, and other trees of much value upon the ſame.

There runneth through the ſaid grounds, by the walls of the caſtle, a fair pool, containing one-hundred and eleven acres well ſtored with fiſh and fowl, which at pleaſure is to be let round about the caſtle.

In timber and woods upon this ground, to the value as hath been offered, of twenty thouſand pounds, having a convenient time to remove them, which to his Majeſty, in the ſurvey, are but valued at eleven-thouſand ſeven-hundred twenty-two pounds, which proportion, in a like meaſure, is held in all the reſt upon the other values to his Majeſty.

The circuit of the caſtle, manors, parks, and chaſes lying round together, contain at leaſt, nineteen or twenty miles in a pleaſant country, the like both for ſtrength, ſtate, and pleaſure, not being within the realm of England.

Theſe lands have been ſurvey'd by Commiſſioners from the King and the Lord Privy-Seal, with directions from his Lordſhip, to find all things under the true worth; and upon oath of jurors, as well freeholders as cuſtomary tenants, which courſe being held by them, are notwithſtanding ſurveyed and returned at thirty-eight-thouſand five-hundred fifty-four pounds and fifteen ſhillings; out of which, for Sir Robert Dudley's contempt, there is to be deducted ten-thouſand pounds; and for the Lady Dudley's jointure, which is without impeachment of waſte, whereby ſhe may fell all the woods, which by the ſurvey, amount unto eleven-thouſand ſeven-hundred twenty-two pounds.

		l.	*s.*
The total of the ſurvey ariſeth as followeth.	In land	16431	9
	In Woods	11722	2
	The Caſtle	10401	4

His Majeſty hath herein, the mean profits of the caſtle and premiſſes, through Sir Robert Dudley's contempt, during his life, or his Majeſty's pardon, the reverſion in fee, being in the Lord Privy-Seal.

[*D*] *They were ſhortly after releaſed.*] I have taken notice of this matter altogether, though there was fourteen years difference between the framing of of this propoſal of Sir Robert Dudley's, and the commitment of the noble perſons who publiſhed it. It was written about the year 1613, and ſent to King James,
being

choſe for his retreat, upon his leaving his native country, was Florence, where he was very kindly received by Coſmo II, Great Duke of Tuſcany, and, in proceſs of time, was made Great Chamberlain to his Serene Highneſs's Conſort, the Arch-Ducheſs Magdalen of Auſtria, ſiſter to the Emperor Ferdinand II, with whom he was a great favourite (*u*). He diſcovered in that Court thoſe great abilities for which he had been ſo much admired in England, contrived ſeveral methods of improving ſhipping, introduced new manufactures, excited the Merchants to extend their foreign commerce, and by other ſervices of ſtill greater importance, obtained ſo high a reputation, that, at the deſire of the Archducheſs, the Emperor Ferdinand beforementioned, by his letters-patents, dated at Vienna, March the 9th, 1620, created him a Duke of the Holy Roman Empire (*w*), upon which he aſſumed his grand-father's title of Northumberland, and ten years after got himſelf enrolled by Pope Urban VIII, amongſt the Roman nobility (*x*). Under the reign of the Grand Duke Ferdinand II, he became ſtill more famous, on account of that great project which he formed, of draining a vaſt tract of moraſs between Piſa and the ſea, and raiſing Livorno, or Leghorn, which was then, though an ancient, yet a mean and pitiful place, into a large and beautiful town, improving the haven by a mole, which rendered it both ſafe and commodious; and having engaged his Serene Highneſs to declare it *ſcala franca*, or a free port, he, by his influence and correſpondencies, drew many Engliſh merchants to ſettle and ſet up houſes there (*y*), which was a thing of great importance to our Italian trade, and, conſidered in that light, was of very great ſervice to his native country. It was not only in the Courts of Princes, that Sir Robert Dudley, by a happy application of his great talents, made himſelf admired, but alſo among the learned, to whom he was a generous patron and conſtant friend, and at the ſame time held a very high place himſelf in the republick of letters, as well on account of his ſkill in Philoſophy, Chemiſtry, and Phyſick, as his perfect acquaintance with all the branches of the Mathematicks, and the means of applying them for the ſervice and benefit of mankind; of all which, he has left abundant evidence in his excellent writings (*z*) [*E*]. In gratitude to his merit, and for

(*u*) Fuller's Worthies, Surrey, p. 84.

(*w*) So recited in the preamble of the Ducheſs's patent.

(*x*) Il Ceremoniale del Rome, Anno 1630.

(*y*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 127.

(*z*) See this explained in the notes.

being in all reſpects, as ſingular and as dangerous a paper as ever fell from the pen of man, for which reaſon, I ſhall not tranſcribe any part of it here, but refer the reader in the margin, to the paper itſelf (10), which Wood ſuppoſes to have remained a manuſcript; and which, conſidering the miſchief it has done, one would have wiſhed might have been the caſe. His great-grandfather's book, was a very unlucky precedent, and this, which I take to have been a copy of it (11), ſuited to the times, was a paper to the full as unlucky; for though neither King James I, nor King Charles I, or their Miniſters, made uſe of it, or intended to make uſe of it, yet it was turned to their prejudice, and the people were excited to abhor Stateſmen, as the author of this project, who might very probably abhor it as much as they. I will give the hiſtory of it from a very able and authentick writer, the brother of that learned and worthy gentleman (12), who detected the real author of it, when it was firſt made the ſubject of public clamour. His words are theſe. ‘ It is not unworthy ‘ the notice, by what artifices they, that is the patriots ‘ in 1628, did really endeavour to make the King ‘ odious to his ſubjects, of which I ſhall only touch ‘ upon one grand impoſture fobbed about by many ‘ of theſe chief ring-leading members. And this was ‘ of a paper by them carefully and plentifully ſpread ‘ abroad, to diſcover the impertinence of Parliaments, ‘ and how by the ſubjects purſes, to keep the nation in ‘ a good defence againſt the King's enemies. And ‘ this was ſuggeſted, that the King had not only ‘ ſuch a deſign on foot, but by him, or his means, this ‘ plot firſt took birth; whereas it was diſcovered by ‘ Sir David Foulis, one not ignorant of ſtate-affairs, ‘ being thereunto ſeveral times employed by King ‘ James of bleſſed memory, that this paper was contrived ‘ ſeveral years before, *viz.* about 1613, by Sir Robert ‘ Dudley, then living at Florence, under the title of Duke ‘ of Northumberland. By which means, it ſeems ‘ ſome men would not leave any ſtone unturned, rather ‘ than fail of their intended ends; nor can I quit him ‘ from the ſame ignorance and malice, who long afterwards publiſhed it under the name of, “ Strafford's “ Plot diſcovered, *&c.*” endeavouring thereby to ‘ make him odious to the ſimple people, as if he had ‘ been the compoſer of it, and this only, becauſe a ‘ copy of it was found in his ſtudy.’

In order to render theſe facts completely clear, we muſt not omit telling the reader who the perſons were, that Whitlocke, ſays, were committed for the firſt offence (13), and againſt whom another writer aſſerts, that informations were filed by Sir Robert Heath, then Attorney-General, in the Star-Chamber (14), *viz.* the Earls of Bedford, Somerſet, and Clare; Sir Robert Cotton, Baronet; John Selden, and Oliver St John, Eſquires; it will be likewiſe proper to mention, that the contrivance of faſtening it upon the Earl of Strafford, was immediately after his deceaſe, as appears from the title of the treatiſe expreſſed more at large; it ran thus, ‘ Strafford's Plot diſcovered, and ‘ the Parliament vindicated in their Juſtice executed ‘ upon him by the late diſcovery of certain propoſitions ‘ delivered to his Majeſty by the Earl of Strafford a ‘ little before his tryal; with this inſcription, Propoſitions for the bridling of Parliaments, and for the ‘ increaſing of his Majeſty's revenue, *&c.*’

[*E*] *Abundant evidence in his excellent writings.*] We have already ſpoken of the account of his voyage to the iſland of Trinidad, and the mouth of the river Oroonoque, to one of the iſlands in which it is ſaid he gave his own name. We have alſo ſpoken of the propoſition made by him in reſpect to Parliaments, and the increaſe of the revenue, either of which might ſufficiently prove him a man of quick parts and ſolid abilities; but the work by which he is chiefly known to the learned world, and which in truth is moſt worthy of his general learning and great compaſs of knowledge, is that which follows, *viz.*

Del Arcano del Mare, &c. *Firenze*, 1630, 1646, in two volumes in folio. This work has been always ſo ſcarce, as ſeldom to have found a place even in the catalogues that have been publiſhed of rare books. It is full of ſchemes, charts, plans, and other marks of it's author's mathematical learning, but is chiefly valuable on the ſcore of the projects that are contained therein, for the improvement of navigation and the extending of commerce. If we conſider what has been ſince done, the work will appear leſs valuable; but capable judges will allow for the time in which it was wrote, and in that point of view it will appear truly admirable, as the author hints at many things that were in thoſe days totally unknown, and of which, notwithſtanding, he appears to have judged very right. There are alſo many things that have not as yet been executed, which might turn to the advantage of any maritime power that would be at the expence to proſecute his deſigns. In ſhort, it is a ſingular treaſury of curious and important ſchemes, which manifeſtly prove the author's high capacity for the advancement of uſeful knowledge, no man having ever had a ſtronger propenſity to reduce ſpeculations to practice than he, and the ſucceſs that attended his labours in this reſpect, ought to derive an extraordinary degree

(10) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. in the Appendix, p. 12.

(11) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 128.

(12) Foulis's Hiſt. of Plots, B. i. p. 68.

(13) Memorials of Engliſh Affairs, p. 14.

(14) Advertiſements on Mr Saunderſon's Hiſt. of King Charles I, p. 94.

for the ſupport of his dignity, the Grand Duke beſtowed upon him a penſion of two-thouſand ſequins *per annnm*; which, however, went but a little way in his expences, for he affected magnificence in all things, built a noble palace for himſelf and his family at Florence (*a*), and much adorned the caſtle of Carbello, three miles from that capital; which the Grand Duke gave him for a country retreat, and where he breathed his laſt, in the month of September, 1649 (*b*), in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age; leaving behind him, by Elizabeth his Ducheſs, to whom, by the Pope's diſpenſation he was married, a very numerous poſterity, as the reader will ſee in the notes [*F*]. As for Alice, Lady Dudley, his ſecond wife, whom he left in England; ſhe, by the aſſiſtance of her friends and relations, ſecured to herſelf, and her daughters, the remains of that great fortune, which devolved to him in conſequence of the Earl of Leiceſter's will, and other conveyances; and being herſelf a Lady of great parts, as well as diſtinguiſhed piety, ſhe had a great ſhare in the favour of King Charles I, inſomuch, that upon her humble application to him at Oxford, ſetting forth the ſituation and ſtate of her huſband abroad, and the great loſſes ſhe had ſuſtained by reſigning her jointure, upon expectancies which had been very indifferently fulfilled; that Prince was graciouſly pleaſed, by letters patents under the Great Seal of England, to give her the rank, ſtile, and title of a Ducheſs (*c*), during the term of her natural life; as alſo, the like privileges and precedences to her daughters, as if they had been Duke's daughters, with other ſignal teſtimonies of his gracious condeſcenſion and eſteem. The preamble of this patent, as it is in itſelf a thing very extraordinary, and contains many points of hiſtory relative to this family, under the ſanction of ſo high an authority, is placed at the bottom of the page [*G*]. This prudent and pious Lady

(*a*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 127.

(*b*) As appears from his ſon's letter.

(*c*) Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 225.

degree of credit, to whatever he ſuggeſts as practicable; though beyond all doubt, ſomething of the like genius muſt be required, in ſuch as attempt to make uſe of any of his projects, which are delivered in a manner not very intelligible to vulgar underſtandings.

We are told by Mr Wood (15), that our author wrote a phyſical treatiſe, entitled Catholicon, which was well eſteemed by the Faculty, but as he had never ſeen it, he could ſay no more of it, and the very ſame reaſon muſt excuſe us. He was the the author of a very famous powder, called *Pulvis Comitis Warwicenſis*, or, *the Earl of* Warwick's *Powder*, which ſhews that Dr Heylin was miſtaken in affirming, that he never took that title (16), by which however it is certain he was known in Italy, before the Emperor created him a Duke. This celebrated powder is thus made, *Take of Scammony, prepared with the fumes of Sulphur, two ounces; of diaphoretic Antimony, an ounce; of the Cryſtals of Tartar, half an ounce; make them all together into a powder.* It is directed to be made different ways, both by Schroder and Zwelfer, but this is much the readieſt, and what the ſhops are now accuſtomed to uſe; it was not at firſt received by the College, but is now become common in extemporaneous preſcriptions, eſpecially as a purge for children, to whom it is convenient to give, becauſe of the ſmallneſs of the quantity requiſite for a doſe; it is a ſmart purge, and frequently given to children againſt worms, from five to fifteen grains; and to grown perſons, from fifteen grains to half a dram. Dr Marcus Cornacchinus (17) varied this medicine a little in the proportions of the ingredients, and then publiſhed a treatiſe upon it, in which he recommended it as a kind of univerſal remedy; but notwithſtanding all his pains, the original receipt has been preferred. It may not perhaps be amiſs to add, ſince we are ſpeaking of his inventions, that he is believed to have been the firſt perſon who broke ſetting-dogs (18). One might inſiſt upon many other particulars, if the nature of this collection did not reſtrain us.

[*F*] *In the notes.*] This Duke of Northumberland, as he was ſtiled in Italy, had by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Southwell, a ſon, Charles, who aſſumed the title of Earl of Warwick (19), and four daughters, all honourably married in that country, *viz.* the eldeſt to the Prince of Piombino, of the Houſe of Arragona Appiano; the ſecond to the Marquis of Clivola, of the Houſe of Maleſpina; the third to the Duke of Caſtillion del Lago, of the Houſe of La Cloregnia; and the fourth to the Earl of Carpegna, brother to the Cardinal of that name. Charles, titular Duke of Northumberland, married in France, Mary Magdalen Gouffier, a relation of the Duke of Rohanet, by whom he had ſeveral children; the eldeſt, Robert, ſtiled Earl of Warwick, was page to the Elector of Bavaria; another ſon, was an eccleſiaſtick in France (20); one of his daughters, who was of the Bed-Chamber to the Ducheſs of Savoy, married for her ſecond huſband, the Marquis Palliotti, of Bologna, by whom ſhe had a daughter, whoſe name was Adelhida (21), married to Charles, Duke of Shrewſbury, who died not many years ago, and a ſon who died likewiſe in England, in a manner ſuitable to his crime, but unworthy of his birth (22). Theſe are indeed but very imperfect notices of the deſcents in this noble line, but they are the beſt that we have been able to obtain, and will ſerve to inform the reader of the ſtrange viciſſitudes that have happened to this great family, of which, for any thing that we know, there remains not any heir male, that is to ſay, deſcending from Edmund Dudley, father to the Duke of Northumberland; for as to the ancient houſe of the Suttons, Barons of Dudley, though the eldeſt branch of it be likewiſe extinct as to heirs male, yet many of the younger branches ſtill flouriſh, by the ſirname of Dudley, for Edmund Sutton, Lord Dudley, who was brother to John Dudley, had by his ſecond wife, the widow of Sir Thomas Harrington, a ſon Thomas, who left behind him three ſons, and as many daughters; and Richard Dudley, the eldeſt of theſe, left likewiſe a numerous poſterity (23); Sir William Dudley, of Clapton in Northamptonſhire, is from the ſame ſtock, deriving himſelf from Sir John Sutton (24), the firſt Baron of Dudley of that name.

[*G*] *At the bottom of the page.*] The following copy of the preamble to the Letters-Patent, by which Alice, Lady Dudley, was created a Ducheſs, was tranſcribed from the original, in 1670, then in the hands of Lady Katherine Leveſon, and collated and compared by Sir William Dugdale, Garter King at Arms; ſo that it affords the moſt authentick evidence, as well as a larger account of the principal circumſtances that are briefly mentioned in the text (25).

‘Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* To all Archbiſhops, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, Viſcounts, Biſhops, Barons, Knights, and all other our loving ſubjects, to whom theſe our letters ſhall come, greeting. Whereas, in or about the beginning of the reign of our dear father, King James of famous memory, there was a ſuit commenced in our High-Court of Star-Chamber, againſt Sir Robert Dudley, Knight, and others, for pretending himſelf to be lawful heir to the honours and lands of the Earldoms of Warwick and Leiceſter, as ſon and heir of the body of Robert, late Earl of Leiceſter, lawfully begotten upon the Lady Douglas, his mother, wife to the ſaid late Earl of Leiceſter, and all proceedings ſtayed in the Eccleſiaſtical-Courts, in which the ſaid ſuit depended for proof of his legitimation. Yet nevertheleſs, did the ſaid Court vouchſafe liberty to the ſaid Sir Robert, to examine witneſſes in the ſaid Court of Star-Chamber, in order to the making good of his legitimacy, and divers witneſſes were examined there accordingly. Whereupon,

(15) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 127.

(16) Advertiſements on Saunderſon's Hiſt. of Charles I, p. 94.

(17) He dedicated his treatiſe with very high complements to our author.

(28) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 128.

(19) So Mr Wood was informed by his ſon.

(20) Sir Philip Skippon's Travels, p. 673.

(21) Collins's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 66.

(22) Life of Marquis Palliotti.

(23) Baronagium Angliæ. MS. fol. 21.

(24) Baronettage, Vol. IV. p. 124.

(25) Pat. Car. I. 20. Maii 23.

Lady Alice Ducheſs Dudley lived after this honour was conferred upon her many years, admired for her many amiable qualities, and very juſtly revered for that ſingular zeal which ſhe expreſſed in doing good, a diſpoſition, which, by extraordinary care in their education, as well as by the force of her own excellent example, ſhe ſo infuſed into her five daughters, that, if all their works of piety and bounty were collected together, and properly ſet forth, they would make a very conſiderable volume, independent of any panegyrick they might be thought to deſerve; which is a reaſon ſufficient, that, excepting a ſingle inſtance, we ſhall not mention thoſe prodigious works of charity in this article, but content ourſelves with referring the reader to authors that will in ſome meaſure ſatisfy his curioſity (*d*). Of theſe daughters, Lady Alezia Dudley dying a maiden, bequeathed her fortune of three thouſand pounds to be diſpoſed of to charitable uſes, at the diſcretion of her mother who ſurvived her, which Will of her's was punctually fulfilled, and many feel the effects of it at this day (*e*). Lady Douglas Dudley died alſo a maid. Lady Katherine Dudley eſpouſed Sir Richard Leveſon, Knight of the Bath. Lady Frances Dudley was the wife of Sir Gilbert Kniveton, Knight; and Lady Anne Dudley married Robert Holborn, Eſq; afterwards Sir Robert Holborn, Knt. and Sollicitor-General to King Charles I (*f*). Alice, Ducheſs Duddeley, as ſhe herſelf ſpells it, departed this life January 22, 1668-9, in the ninetieth year of her age, and lies buried in the church of Stoneley

(*d*) Narrative of the Life and Death of Alice Ducheſs Dudley, prefixed to her Funeral Sermon. Dugdale's Warwickſhire, and Baronettage.

(*e*) In the augmentation of ſmall vicarages.

(*f*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 225.

upon, by full teſtimony upon oath, partly made by the ſaid Lady Douglas herſelf, and partly by divers other perſons of quality and credit, who were preſent at the marriage with the ſaid late Earl of Leiceſter, by a lawful miniſter, according to the form of matrimony then by law eſtabliſhed in the Church of England, and the ſaid Sir Robert and his mother, owned by the ſaid late Earl of Leiceſter, as his lawful wife and ſon, as by many of the ſaid depoſitions remaining upon record in our ſaid Court, ſtill appear, which we have cauſed to be peruſed for our better ſatisfaction herein. But a ſpecial order being made, that the ſaid depoſitions ſhould be ſealed up, and no copies thereof taken, without leave, did cauſe him the ſaid Sir Robert, to leave this our kingdom. Whereof his adverſaries taking advantage, procured a ſpecial Privy-Seal to be ſent unto him, commanding his return into England. Which he not obeying, becauſe his honour and lands were denied unto him, all his lands were therefore ſeized on to the King our father's uſe. And not long afterwards, Prince Henry, our dear brother deceaſed, made overture to the ſaid Sir Robert, by ſpecial inſtruments, to obtain his title by purchaſe of and in Kenilworth Caſtle in our county of Warwick, and his manors, parks, and chaſes, belonging to the ſame, which upon a great under-value amounted as we are credibly informed, to about fifty-thouſand pounds, but were bought by the ſaid Prince our brother in conſideration of fourteen thouſand five hundred pounds; and upon his faithful engagement, and promiſe of his princely favour unto the ſaid Sir Robert, in the ſaid cauſe, to reſtore him both in honours and fortunes. And thereupon, certain deeds were ſealed in the ninth year of the reign of our ſaid father, and fines alſo then were levyed, ſetling the inheritance thereof, in the ſaid Prince our brother, and his heirs. But the ſaid Prince our brother departing this life, there was not above three thouſand pounds, of the ſaid ſum of fourteen-thouſand five hundred pounds ever paid, if any at all, to the ſaid Sir Robert's hands; and we ourſelves, as heir to the ſaid Prince our brother, came to the poſſeſſion thereof. And it appearing to our ſaid Council, that the ſaid Alice, Lady Dudley, wife of the ſaid Sir Robert, had an eſtate of inheritance of and in the ſame, deſcendable unto her poſterity, in the nineteenth year of our ſaid dear father's reign, an Act of Parliament was paſſed, to enable the ſaid Lady Alice, wife to the ſaid Sir Robert, to aliene her eſtate which ſhe had by the ſaid Sir Robert therein, from her children by the ſaid Sir Robert, as if ſhe had been a feme-ſole, which accordingly ſhe did, in the nineteenth year of our ſaid father's reign, in conſideration of four-thouſand pounds, and further payments yearly to be made by us to her, out of our Exchequer, and out of the ſaid caſtle and lands, which have not been accordingly paid unto her by us for many years, to the damage of the ſaid Lady Alice and her children, to a very great value. Which Sir Robert, ſettling himſelf in Italy, within the territories of the Great Duke of Tuſcany, from whom he had extraordinary eſteem, he was ſo much favoured by the Emperor Ferdinand the ſecond, as that being a perſon not only eminent for his great learning and blood, but for ſundry rare endowments, as was well known, he had, by letters-patents from his Imperial Majeſty, the title of Duke given unto him, to be uſed by himſelf and his heirs for ever, throughout all the dominions of the ſacred Empire. Which letters-patents have been peruſed by our late Earl Marſhal and Heralds. And whereas our dear father not knowing the truth of the lawful birth of the ſaid Sir Robert, as we piouſly believe, granted away the titles of the ſaid Earldoms to others, which we now hold not fit to call in queſtion, nor ravel into our deceaſed father's actions, eſpecially they having been ſo long enjoyed by thoſe families, to whom the ſaid honours were granted, which we do not intend to alter: and yet, as we having a very deep ſenſe of the great injuries done to the ſaid Sir Robert Dudley, and the Lady Alice Dudley, and their children; and that we are of opinion, that, in juſtice and equity, the poſſeſſion ſo taken from them, do rightly belong unto them, or full ſatisfaction for the ſame. And holding ourſelves in honour and conſcience obliged to make them reparation now, as far as our preſent ability will enable us. And alſo, taking into our conſideration, the ſaid great eſtate, which ſhe the ſaid Lady Alice Dudley had in Kenilworth, and ſold at our deſire to us, and at a very great under value, and yet not performed, or ſatisfied, to many thouſand pounds damage. And we alſo caſting our princely eye upon the faithful ſervice done unto us, by Sir Richard Leveſon, Knight of the Bath, who hath married the Lady Catherine, one of the daughters of the ſaid Duke, by his ſaid wife, by the ſaid Lady Alice Dudley; and alſo, the great ſervices which Robert Holbourne, Eſq; hath done to us by his learned pen, and otherwiſe; which ſaid Robert Holbourne hath married the Lady Anne, one other of the daughters of the ſaid Duke, by his ſaid wife, the Lady Alice Dudley: We have conceived our ſelves bound in honour and conſcience, to give the ſaid Lady Alice, and her children, ſuch honour and precedencies as is or are due to them in marriage or blood. And therefore, we do not only give and grant unto the ſaid Lady Alice Dudley, the title of Ducheſs Dudley for her life in England, and other our realms and dominions, with ſuch precedencies as ſhe might have had, if ſhe had lived in the dominions of the ſacred Empire, as a mark of our favour unto her, and out of our prerogative royal, which we will not have drawn into diſpute. But we do alſo farther grant unto the ſaid Lady Katherine and Lady Anne, her daughters, the places, titles, and precedencies of the ſaid Duke's daughters, as from the time of their ſaid father's creation, during their reſpective lives, not only in England, but in all other our kingdoms and dominions, as a teſtimony of our princely favour and grace unto them, conceiving ourſelves obliged to do much more for them, if it were in our power, in theſe unhappy times of diſtraction, &c.'

Stoneley in Warwickſhire, where a noble monument is erected to her memory (g) [H]; yet the effects of her wiſdom, piety, and charity, have eſtabliſhed one more laſting and better. Her only child that ſurvived her was Lady Katherine Leveſon, relict of Sir Richard Leveſon, who died in the month of February 1673, at Trentham in the county of Salop, and was buried in the pariſh-church of Lilſhull (h); of whoſe extenſive charities ſome notice muſt neceſſarily be taken at the bottom of the page [I], becauſe it will ſerve to

[H] *To her memory.*] This ſtately monument at Stonely, ſtanding on the north ſide of the chapel, was built by Alice, Ducheſs Dudley herſelf, in her life-time, with one below it, for her daughter Lady Alezia, who died May 23, 1621 (26). It may not be amiſs in this note, to give ſome account of the Ducheſs's deſcent; her grandfather was Sir Thomas Leigh, Knt. Lord-Mayor of London, at the time of Queen Elizabeth's acceſſion, who married Alice Barker, the neice of Sir Rowland Hill, a very rich merchant, who left her the greateſt part of her fortune; their eldeſt ſon Sir Rowland Leigh, ſettled at Longborough in Glouceſterſhire, and inherited a great fortune from his godfather (27). Thomas, the ſecond ſon, was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and created Baronet by King James, he eſpouſed Catherine, daughter to Sir John Spencer, of Wormleighton, Knt. anceſtor to the Earls of Sunderland, and to his preſent Grace of Marlborough (28). Alice, Ducheſs Dudley, was the third daughter of this marriage; and her nephew Sir Thomas Leigh, for his ſteady adherence to King Charles I, in all his troubles, was created a peer of England, by the ſtile and title of Baron Leigh of Stonely in the county of Warwick (29), which honours are ſtill enjoyed by his deſcendant, and it may, without ſuſpicion of flattery, be ſaid, that the virtues of this noble family, their piety, probity, and charity, have conſtantly accompanied the title.

[I] *At the bottom of the page.*] What we have to deliver in this note, may be fully and at the ſame time ſuccinctly ſet forth from the caſe of this Lady, with reſpect to the manor of Balſhall in Warwickſhire, which belonging formerly to the Knights Templars, was aſſigned by King Henry VIII, for the dowry of Katherine his laſt Queen, and the reverſion granted by his ſon Edward VI, to his uncle the Lord-Protector Somerſet; upon his attainder, the inheritance was granted by the Crown, to John, Earl of Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, and upon his attainder, Queen Mary gave it to Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley, but afterwards propoſing to revive the order of the Knights of St John of Jeruſalem, that Lord reconveyed this manor to the Crown, which put it in the power of Queen Elizabeth to grant it, as ſhe did, by letters-patent to Sir Robert Dudley, Earl of Leiceſter and his heirs (30); who by his deed, dated in the twenty-firſt year of the ſame Queen's reign, ſettled this manor and Itchington after his deceaſe, upon Ambroſe Dudley his brother, then Earl of Warwick, and the iſſue of his body, and for want of ſuch iſſue, upon the Lady Mary Sidney, daughter to John, Duke of Northumberland, ſiſter to both the aforeſaid Earls, and wife to Sir Henry Sidney, then Lord Preſident of Wales, for her life, and after her deceaſe, upon Sir Philip Sidney her firſt ſon, and the iſſue male of his body; and for want of ſuch, upon Sir Robert Sidney, ſecond ſon to the ſaid Lady Mary, and his iſſue male (31). From this entail, Robert Sidney, Earl of Leiceſter, made his claim, he being ſon to Sir Robert Sidney, whoſe elder brother Sir Philip, died without iſſue, and after the death of Ambroſe Dudley, Earl of Warwick, without iſſue, he got into preſent poſſeſſion of all the great eſtate of Robert Dudley, the old Earl of Leiceſter, except only what his Counteſs Dowager had for her jointure, of which Balſhal and Itchington were part; and ſhe favouring his title, granted him a leaſe of both during her life, and, he, held both after her deceaſe, by virtue of his pretended title, by the ſaid entail; during which he cut all the timber of Balſhall heath and the demeſnes, to the value of many thouſand pounds. Robert Dudley, Earl of Leiceſter, revoked this deed of entail; and by his laſt will and teſtament, dated at Middleburgh in Zealand, the firſt of Auguſt, 1587, the year before he died, he gave this eſtate to Ambroſe, Earl of Warwick for life, and the inheritance to Sir Robert Dudley, Knight, who obtained a decree in Chancery for the whole; but upon his retiring, the ſuit ceaſed till his death, when the Lady Katherine Leveſon, and the Lady Anne Holbourn, after a long ſuit in Chancery, obtained Balſhall and Itchington, but could not get into quiet poſſeſſion thereof, till a little before the reſtoration of Charles II, at which time the Lady Anne Holborn, had three parts of the eſtate, and the Lady Katherine Leveſon a fourth part, the ſaid Lady Holborn, having purchaſed her ſiſter the Lady Douglas's fourth part, for the ſum of one-thouſand pounds; and the Lady Frances Kniveton her other ſiſter, dying without iſſue, it was agreed ſhe ſhould have her fourth part alſo, in conſideration of the great ſums of money ſhe had expended in the law ſuits, the Lady Katherine Leveſon having been at no charge. Which Lady Anne Holbourn in her life-time greatly repaired the church, which was in a very ruinous condition, and by her will endowed it with one-hundred pounds *per annum*, for the maintenance of a preaching miniſter for ever; but the Lord Viſcount Brouncker, having a legacy of fifteen-hundred pounds, and doubting her eſtate would not hold out to pay her debts, charitable gifts, and legacies, 'tis ſuppoſed he perſwaded her by a codicil annexed to her will, to reduce the ſalary from one-hundred pounds, to fifty pounds *per annum*. She gave alſo by her will, five-hundred pounds to finiſh the repairs of the church; and alſo, fifty pounds *per ann*, to be paid out of the rents at Itchington, for the augmentation of the church there, and many other great legacies; for the payment of which, and of her debts, her three parts of Itchington were by decree in Chancery ſold to Serjeant Newdigate, and her three parts of Balſhall, to the Lady Katherine Leveſon, who, being thereby poſſeſſed of the whole, except what was given to the two churches, out of her pious care and charity, to the poor of Balſhall, did by a codicil annexed to her will, bearing date, on or about the twenty-firſt of February, 1670, give and deviſe all the manor and lordſhip of Balſhall, and all the rents and iſſues of her eſtate there, for the founding an hoſpital as near the church as conveniently might be, for twenty poor perſons, being widows, and poor women not married, of good lives and converſations, to be choſen out of the poor inhabitants of the pariſh of Balſhall; and if there ſhould not be ſo many poor widows and poor women unmarried in the ſaid pariſh, to be placed in the ſaid houſe, that then ſuch as ſhould be wanting, for the time only, of ſuch want, and no longer, ſhould be choſen out of the poor inhabitants of Itchington, in the county of Warwick; of Trentham, in the county of Stafford, and Lilleſhull, in the county of Salop, there to remain for their reſpective lives, except for their miſcarriages they ſhould be removed, and to have the yearly ſum of eight pounds *per annum*, and alſo yearly one gown of grey cloth, with the letters K. L. in blue cloth, to be ſet upon the breaſt thereof, to be worn continually by them; and if they, or any of them, ſhould refuſe to wear the ſaid gowns, with the letters aforeſaid, then to be put out, and others elected in their rooms. That immediately after the erecting and finiſhing of the ſaid houſe, there ſhould be a Miniſter of God's word provided, who ſhould twice every day read the ſcripture, and pray, either in the church of Balſhall, or houſe, hoſpital, or alm-houſe, with the ſaid poor perſons, and inſtruct them for the good of their ſouls; for which, he ſhould be allowed twenty pounds *per annum*, and that he ſhould alſo teach and inſtruct twenty of the pooreſt boys of the inhabitants of Balſhall and pariſh, until they ſhall be fit to be apprentices, not taking any thing from their parents. According to this deviſe, an hoſpital was built, and in the firſt of Queen Anne (32), it was enacted, that the ſaid houſe ſhould be made an hoſpital, and incorporated, and named, and called the Hoſpital of the Lady Katherine Leveſon; that there ſhould be for ever thereafter, eleven Governors, which ſhould be incorporated and made one body politick, to have perpetual ſucceſſion, and a common-ſeal, to be capable to compleat the hiſtory of this illuſtrious family. A family, at leaſt as remarkable as any that have flouriſhed in this kingdom; which has produced as great men, and as good women, as any that are mentioned in our Hiſtories, and of which hitherto we have had but very imperfect accounts, which it is preſumed will appear a ſufficient reaſon to juſtify the care that has been taken of them in this work, a care, that, though it has rendered theſe articles very extenſive, might have carried them to a far greater length, if we had not uſed all the precaution poſſible to avoid prolixity, without prejudice to that perſpicuity, the want of which would have been deſtructive to our original deſign.

(g) Memorials and Characters of eminent Perſons, in the Appendix, No. xxx.

(h) Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 228.

(26) Taken from the monumental inſcription in Stonely church.

(27) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 463.

(28) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 216.

(29) Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 465.

(30) Pat. 3 Eliz. p. 8.

(31) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 968.

(32) Account of Modern Charities, p. 95.

capable of purchaſing lands, of ſuing and being ſued; of making leaſes, of chooſing officers and ſervants, and to have the power to enlarge the number of the almswomen, and the buildings, as to them ſhall ſeem meet and convenient. As alſo, that they ſhould take care conſtantly to have the ſum of one-thouſand pounds out at intereſt, to anſwer and ſatisfy for any accident of fire, or otherwiſe relating to the ſaid hoſpital; and, that in all meetings relating to the good government thereof, there ſhould not be leſs than ſix Governors, and the majority of thoſe preſent to be binding. Since which Act of Parliament, their ſtock increaſing, they have enlarged the ſaid hoſpital, and placed therein twenty-ſeven old women; and in the year 1721, made an order, that the ſame ſhould be further enlarged, at which ſeaſon it was expected, that in due time a new pile of building might be erected, and the number of perſons enlarged to thirty-four, with an allowance of twelve pounds *per annum*. This pious and charitable lady, has an inſcription erected to her memory, in the chapel of our Lady at Warwick, with which, in reſpect to the hiſtorical particulars contained therein, we will conclude this article (33). 'To the memory 'of Lady Katherine, late wife of Sir Richard Leveſon 'of Trentham, in the county of Stafford, Knight of 'the Bath, one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir 'Robert Dudley, Knight, which honourable Lady 'taking notice that theſe tombs of her noble anceſtors 'being much blemiſhed by conſuming time, but more 'by the rude hands of impious people, were in danger 'of utter ruin, by the decay of this chapel, if not 'timely prevented, did in her life-time give fifty 'pounds for it's ſpeedy repair: and by her laſt will and 'teſtament, bearing date the 18th of December 1673, 'bequeath forty pounds *per annum*, iſſuing out of her 'manor of Foxley, in the county of Northampton, for 'it's perpetual ſupport, and preſervation of theſe mo'numents in their proper ſtate, the ſurpluſage to be 'for the poor brethren of her grandfather's hoſpital in 'this borough, appointing William Dugdale, of Blythe-'Hall in this county, Eſquire, who repreſented to her 'the neceſſity of this good work, and his heirs, to'gether, with the Mayor of Warwick for the time be'ing, to be her truſtees therein.' E

(33) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 441.

DUGARD (WILLIAM) a very eminent Schoolmaſter in the XVIIth century, was the ſon of Henry Dugard a Clergyman, and born at Bromſgrave in Worceſterſhire in the year 1606. He had his education chiefly under Mr Henry Bright, Maſter of the royal ſchool adjoining to Worceſter cathedral, and Prebendary of that church, by whoſe good inſtructions he made a great progreſs in all kind of claſſical learning. At the age of ſixteen, on the 13th of September 1622, he was admitted into Sidney-college in Cambridge, and put under the tuition of his uncle, Richard Dugard Bachelor of Divinity (*a*). In the year 1626 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and that of Maſter in 1630 (*b*). Soon after, he was appointed Maſter of Stamford ſchool in Lincolnſhire; from whence, on the 27th of July 1637, he was elected, 'with one mutual conſent and agreement,' Maſter of the free-ſchool in Colcheſter (*c*): which he very much improved, not only in number of ſcholars, but alſo in divers uſeful and neceſſary repairs and amendments about the houſe (*d*). He reſigned it the 17th of January 1642-3 (*e*), and on the 10th of May 1644, was choſen Head-Maſter of Merchant-Taylors ſchool in London. As he was a very diligent, exact, and excellently learned man in all grammatical learning, that ſchool greatly flouriſhed under his care and influence (*f*). But for ſhewing, as was thought, too great an affection to the Royal Cauſe [*A*], and eſpecially for being concerned in printing Cl. Salmaſius's Defence of King Charles I [*B*], he was deprived of his ſchool on the 20th of

(*a*) This account is taken from the Admiſſion-book of Sidney-Coll. and was communicated by the late Maſter Dr J. Adams.

(*b*) From the Grace-book of that college.

(*c*) From the Aſſembly Books of that town.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid. and Hiſt. of Colch.

(*f*) Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Additions, edit. 1720, Vol. I. B. i. p. 170, 203.

[*A*] *But for ſhewing, as was thought, too great an affection to the Royal Cauſe.*] That he was very well affected to King Charles I. and to the Royal Intereſt, appears from a curious regiſter he kept of his ſchool (1), wherein the following verſes of his are entered.

On the beheading of King Charles I.

Μάρτυς ὑπερ θείων πατρικῶντε νόμων ὄχ' ἄριστος
Σκηπτούχων ΚΑΡΟΛΟΣ μεν ἀλειτέων χερσὶν
ἔπιπτεν.

i. e. 'Charles, the beſt of Kings, is fallen by the 'hands of cruel, or wicked, men: a martyr for the 'laws of God, and thoſe of his country,'

And on the burial of Oliver Cromwell's mother in Weſtminſter-Abbey.

Μήτηρ τοῦ τέκνου καταράτου ἔνθαδε κεῖται,
Ὃς δύο μὲν βασιλεῖς τε καὶ ὤλεσε τρεῖς βασιλείας.

i. e. 'Here lieth the mother of a curſed ſon, who has 'been the ruin of two Kings, and of three kingdoms.' However, it was not for theſe verſes, as Mr Strype at firſt imagined (2), that he was diſmiſſed the ſchool, but for being concerned in printing the book mentioned above; and alſo Εἰκὼν βασιλικὴ (*).

[*B*] *Eſpecially for being concerned in printing Claudius Salmaſius's Defence of King Charles* I.] Of this, Mr Dugard has left the following memorandum in the Regiſter-book above-mentioned. *Ad Februarii* 20, 1649. *Atque hæc ſunt nomina diſcipulorum quos ego* Gulielmus Dugard, *in Scholam liberam digniſſimæ Societatis* Mercatorum Sciſſorum *admiſi a Maij*, 10, 1644, *ad Februarij* 20, 1649. *Quo tempore a Concilio Novi Status ab Achididaſcalatus officio ſummotus, & in carcerem* Novæ Portæ *conjectus ſum; ob hanc præcipue cauſam, quod* Claudii Salmaſii *librum (qui inſcribitur* Defenſio Regia pro Carolo primo ad ſereniſſimum Regem Carolum ſecundum legitimum Hæredem & Succeſſorem) *typis mandandum curaveram: Typographeo inſuper integro ſpoliatus, ad valorem mille Librarum minimum; Nihil jam reliquum habens, unde victum quæram uxori & ſex liberis. Quos Dei miſericordis, & benigniſſimi Patris Providentiæ alendos committo & commendo, per Jeſum Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum.*

GULIELMUS DUGARD.

E carcere Novæ Portæ,
Martis 7. *Anno Dom.* 1649.

Then

(1) Now extant in Sion College Library.

(2) Ubi ſupra, p. 170.

(*) Wagſtaffe's Vindicat. p. 51.

of February 1649-50, and impriſoned in Newgate; his wife, and ſix children, turned out of doors; and a printing-preſs of his, which he valued at a thouſand pounds, ſeized (g). Being ſoon after releaſed, he opened, on the 15th of April 1650, a private ſchool on Peters hill, London. But on the 25th of September, the ſame year, he was reſtored to his former ſtation, by means of the ſame Council of State, who had cauſed him to be removed (h). There he continued with great ſucceſs and credit till about the middle of the year 1661, when he was diſmiſſed, for breaking ſome orders of the Company of Merchant-Taylors, having been publickly warned and admoniſhed of it before (i). He preſented a remonſtrance to them upon that occaſion, but to no purpoſe (k). Whereupon he opened a private ſchool in Coleman-ſtreet, July 4, 1661, and by the 25th of March following, had gathered an hundred and ninety-three ſcholars; ſo great was his reputation, and the fame of his abilities (l). But he lived a very little while after; for he died in the year 1662. He gave by Will ſeveral books to Sion-College Library (m). Beſides the qualifications of his mind, which made him be highly valued and eſteemed; he was alſo an excellent Scholar, and particularly a good Orator and Poet (n). He publiſhed ſome few books for the uſe of his ſchools [C].

(g) Ibid. p. 203. This was done by the then Council of State.

(h) Ibid.

(i) Ibid. p. 170.

(k) Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, *&c.* Lond. 1728, p. 447.

(l) Stow and Strype, ubi ſupra.

(m) Catalog. & Hiſtor. Biblio. Sionenſ. per Gul. Reading, fol. Lond. 1724, p. 41.

(n) Stow and Strype, ubi ſupra. He writ a very neat and beautiful hand.

Then follows immediately.

Nomina Diſcipulorum; quos ego Gulielmus Dugard *admiſi in privatam Scholam, quam aperui in vico vulgo dicto* Peters-Hill, *in ædibus conductitiis ab Aprilis* 15, *ad Septembris* 25, 1650. *Quo tempore a digniſſima Societate* Mercatorum Sciſſorum, *hortatu tamen Concilii Status, ad antiquam provinciam Scholæ* Mercatorum Sciſſorum *reſtitutus ſum* (3).

[C] *He publiſhed ſome few books for the uſe of his ſchools.*] Namely, 1. A ſhort Rhetoric. *Rhetorices Compendium*, Lond. 8*vo*. 2. Some ſelect Dialogues of Lucian. *Luciani Samoſatenſis Dialogorum Selectorum Libri duo. A* Gulielmo Dugardo *recogniti, & (variis collatis exemplaribus) multo caſtigatius quam ante editi. Cum Interpretatione Latina, multis in locis emendata, & ad calcem adjecta*. Lond. 8*vo*. In the preface to this book, he obſerves the danger and hurt of putting books into the hands of children indiſcriminately, without ſelecting what is beſt in them, and leaving out the bad. And aſcribes the corruption of manners, then too much prevailing, to the injudicious and careleſs uſe of books of all ſorts. Then he affirms, that the chief regard is to be had to the morals of youth, which are not to be endangered even under pretence of the greateſt learning. *Quantum enim detrimentum adoleſcentium animis afferant ii, qui vel hunc, vel alios id genus Authores ſine rerum delectu in lucem edunt, aut legendos proponunt, noſtorum temporum perquam corrupti mores, quorum incauta lectio parens eſt, ſatis declarant. Habendæ igitur potior virtutis ratio, neque committendum unquam, ut illius jacturam, vel maximæ eruditionis prætextu, Juventus faciat.* 3. Our Author alſo publiſhed *a Greek Grammar*, &c.

(3) Stow and Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 203.

C

DUGDALE (WILLIAM) a moſt induſtrious and excellent Antiquary and Hiſtorian, in the XVIIth century, was the only ſon of John Dugdale [*A*] of Shuſtoke, near Coles-Hill in Warwickſhire, Gent. by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Arthur Swynfen, a younger ſon of William Swynfen of Swynfen in Staffordſhire (a). He was born at Shuſtoke the 12th of September 1605; and had his firſt education in grammar-learning under Mr Tho. Sibley, Curate at Nether Whitacre near his native place, till he arrived to the age of ten years and upwards; and afterwards under Mr James Cranford, in the free-ſchool at Coventry, till he was near fifteen years old. Then returning home to his father, he received further inſtructions from him, eſpecially in Law (b), and Hiſtory; in all which he became ſoon after well verſed by his own indefatigable induſtry. Mean time, his father being aged, and grown very infirm with a dead palſy, and deſiring to ſee him matched in his life-time, he married, on the 17th of March 1622-3, Margery, ſecond daughter to John Huntbach of Seawall in the pariſh of Biſhbury in Staffordſhire, Gent. As he was then but in the eighteenth year of his age, he boarded with his wife's father till the death of his own father, which happened on the 4th of July 1624. But, ſoon after that, he went and kept houſe at Fillongley in Warwickſhire, where he had an eſtate formerly purchaſed by his father. In 1625 he bought the manor of Blythe in Shuſtoke aforementioned; and, the year following, ſold his eſtate at Fillongley, and came to reſide at Blythe-Hall. His natural inclination leading him to the ſtudy of Antiquities and Hiſtory (c), he was greatly encouraged thereto by that great Antiquarian Samuel Roper, Eſq; a Derbyſhire Gentleman, and Barriſter at Law, with whom he became acquainted about the year 1615. And having alſo, after his ſettling at Blythe-hall, read Mr William Burton's Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire, and being made known to him (d), he was by that learned perſon introduced (e) to Sir Simon Archer of Tamworth, Knt. a great lover of Antiquities; who delivered to him collections he had made out of divers ancient writings, and brought him acquainted with Sir Simon Archer of Brome-Court, and moſt other

(a) The Life of Sir William Dugdale, written by himſelf, and prefixed to his Hiſt. of St Paul's Cathedral, 2d edit. 1716. See alſo the end of the Preface to his Antiquities of Warwickſhire.

(b) His father read firſt to him Littleton's Tenures, and afterwards ſeveral other Law books. Life, *&c.* as above. p. v.

(c) Life, *&c.* as above. and Wood, Faſt. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 7. *&c.*

(d) Blythe-hall was but eight miles from Lindley, where Mr W. Burton reſided.

(e) About the year 1630. Life, *&c.* as above, p. v.

[*A*] *Was the only ſon of* John Dugdale.] This John Dugdale was the only child of James Dugdale, of Cletherow in Lancaſhire, Gent. (which name and family had been of long continuance in thoſe parts) and had his chief education in St John's College, Oxon. Where applying himſelf to the ſtudy of the Civil-Law, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts; and continuing there the ſpace of fourteen years, was for ſome time Clerk of the Accompts for that College, and Steward of their Courts. During ſome years of his ſtay in that college, he was tutor to William Paulet, only ſon to the Lord Giles Paulet, younger ſon to William, the firſt Marquis of Wincheſter, of that noble family. When he left the Univerſity, reſolving to ſettle in the country, he took liking to the woodland part of Warwickſhire, where Mr Paulet had a fair eſtate. Selling therefore his lands in Lancaſhire, he gave him a large fine for a leaſe of the impropriate Rectory of Shuſtoke, during the term of ſixty years, where finding the houſe ruinous he all new built it. Fixing himſelf there, and marrying his wife Elizabeth abovementioned, he had by her our author, William; and one daughter, named Mary, which became the wife of Richard Seawall, ſon of Henry Seawall, Alderman of Coventry (1).

(1) Life, *&c.* as above; and Mr John Dugdale's epitaph in our author's Antiq. of Warwickſhire, edit. 1730, Vol. II. p. 1046.

[B] *He*

other Gentlemen in Warwickſhire. By their advice and encouragement he undertook a Deſcription of that County, of which we ſhall give an account below. In 1638 he accompanied Sir Simon Archer to London, who introduced him to the learned Sir Henry Spelman: and, during his reſidence in that place, he had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the moſt eminent Antiquarians in the nation [B]. Among the reſt, Sir Chriſtopher Hatton took great liking to him, and joined with Sir Henry Spelman in recommending him to Thomas Earl of Arundel, then Earl Marſhal of England; who, on the 24th of September 1638, created him a Purſuivant at Arms Extraordinary, by the name of Blanch-Lyon, having obtained the King's warrant for that purpoſe. Afterwards, he was made Rouge-Croix-Purſuivant in Ordinary, by virtue of his Majeſty's Letters-Patent dated March 18, 1639-40, in the room of Mr Edward Walker, removed to the office of Cheſter-Herald. By which means, having a lodging in the Heralds-Office, with

[B] *He had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the moſt eminent Antiquarians in the nation*] Take a full account of all this in Mr Dugdale's own words. 'After he ſettled at Blythe-hall, having read the deſcription of Leiceſterſhire, publiſhed by Mr William Burton of Lindley in that county, (about eight miles diſtant from Blythe-hall) he was introduced into his acquaintance by Mr Fiſher Dilke of Shuſtoke, a kinſman to Mr Burton, and by the ſaid Mr Burton, into the acquaintance of Sir Simon Archer, of Tamworth in the county of Warwick, Knt. Who being much affected to Antiquities, and having made ſome collections out of divers ancient writings, did freely communicate to him what he had ſo gathered, and brought him acquainted with moſt of the gentlemen of note in the county; who being deſirous, through his incitation, to preſerve the honour of their families by ſome ſuch publick work, as Mr Burton had done by thoſe in Leiceſterſhire, did freely communicate unto him the ſight of their ancient evidences. Amongſt the which he found none more knowing, and forward to encourage ſuch a work, than Sir Simon Clarke of Brome-Court, in the pariſh of Salford, who imparted to him divers things of conſequence, eſpecially the Leiger-book of the Priory of Kenilworth. Sir Simon Archer going to London with his Lady in Eaſter-Term, Anno 1638, much importuned Mr Dugdale to accompany him in that journey; whereunto he aſſenting, Sir Simon being acquainted with the learned Sir Henry Spelman, Knt. (a perſon famous for his knowledge in Antiquities) and then near eighty years of age, brought Mr Dugdale to him: who receiving him with great humanity, and finding, upon diſcourſe with him, and the ſight of divers Collections relating to the Antiquities of Warwickſhire, (which he then ſhewed him) that he had made ſome good progreſs in thoſe ſtudies, told him, That being a perſon ſo well inclined to that learning, and ſo good a proficient therein, he eſteemed him very fit to ſerve the King in the Office of Arms; and that the moſt noble Thomas Earl of Arundel, then Earl Marſhal of England, having by virtue of that office, the nomination of all ſuch as were admitted into that ſociety, would think it a good ſervice to the publick, to prefer ſuch thereunto as were thus naturally qualified, and found ſedulous in thoſe ſtudies, offering to recommend him, the ſaid Mr Dugdale, to his Lordſhip for that purpoſe: which he did accordingly. Whereupon he was introduced unto that honourable perſon, firſt, by Sir George Greſteley of Drakelow, in the county of Derby, Bart. (who was then in London,) and well known to his Lordſhip. Waiting ſome time upon Sir Henry Spelman, Sir Henry told him, That there was a Yorkſhire Gentleman, one Mr Roger Dodſworth, who had taken much pains in ſearch of Records, and other ancient memorials, relating to the Antiquities of that country, but eſpecially as to the Monaſtery-foundations in the Northern parts of this realm, which work he did not a little recommend to the pains and care of ſome induſtrious and diligent ſearchers into Antiquities: affirming, that out of his own great affection thereto, he had in his younger years got together the tranſcripts of the foundation-charters of divers Monaſteries in Norfolk and Suffolk (himſelf being a Norfolk man) much importuning Mr Dugdale to join with Mr Dodſworth in that commendable work, which by reaſon of his youth, and inclination to proſecute thoſe ſtudies, might in time be brought to ſome perfection. Unto which propoſal Mr Dugdale readily aſſented, and, within few days after, caſually meeting with Mr Dodſworth, at Mr Samuel Roper's chamber in Lincoln's-Inn, and communicating what they were in hand with, as to their farther progreſs in thoſe ſtudies, readily engaged themſelves to each other, to endeavour the gaining of what tranſcripts they could obtain from any ancient Leiger-books, publick Records, original Charters, or other manuſcripts of note, in order thereto; but ſtill with this reſervation, that Mr Dugdale ſhould not neglect his collections touching the Antiquities of Warwickſhire, wherein he had made a conſiderable progreſs. Being thus in London, and deſirous to gain acquaintance with all perſons of note, there, who ſtood affected to Antiquities, Mr Roper brought him to Mr Henry Lillye, an arms painter in Little-Britain, who according to that meaſure of learning he had gained, was not a little verſed in thoſe ſtudies, having been imployed by divers perſons of honour and quality in framing their pedigrees, out of original evidences, and other warrantable authorities. Hereupon converſing ſome time with Mr Lillye, he there accidentally met with one Mr Richard Gaſcoigne, a Yorkſhire Gentleman, who alſo ſtood much affected to thoſe ſtudies, eſpecially as to matters of pedigree, wherein he had taken ſome pains for divers northern families; who having great acquaintance with Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, of Kirby in the county of Northampton, afterwards created Lord Hatton, a perſon highly affected to thoſe ſtudies, and who had not ſpared for coſt in gaining ſundry tranſcripts from publick Records, Leiger-Books, ancient Charters, and many choice MSS. brought Mr Dugdale to that moſt worthy perſon, by whom he was made welcome, with all expreſſions of kindneſs, and readineſs to further him in thoſe his labours. In order thereunto Sir Chriſtopher made him ſoon acquainted with Sir Thomas Fanſhaw, his near kinſman, at that time the King's Remembrancer in the Exchequer (afterwards Lord Viſcount Fanſhaw) by means of which great office he had the cuſtody of divers Leiger-books, and other manuſcripts of great antiquity; ſpecially that notable Record called the Red Book, as alſo Teſta de Nevill, Kirby's Queſt. Nomina Villarum, and others, to all which by his favour he had free acceſs. Nor was he leſs careful to obtain the like acceſs for him to the Records in the Tower of London, through his intereſt with old Mr Collet, the chief clerk at that time there under Sir John Burroughs, whom he amply rewarded with ſundry gratuities, for his kindneſs and pains in furthering Mr Dugdale, as to his Collections from thoſe rarities there repoſed. During his ſtay alſo at London at that time, he was by the ſaid Mr Samuel Roper, brought into the acquaintance of Sir Thomas Cotton, Bart. ſon to the moſt worthy Sir Robert Cotton, founder of that incomparable library in his houſe at Weſtminſter, of moſt rare and choice manuſcripts, whereby he had alſo free acceſs thereto, and made ſuch Collections as were of ſingular uſe to him in ſeveral volumes, which have been ſince made publick. By the ſaid Mr Roper, he was alſo introduced into the acquaintance of Mr Scipio Squire, then one of the Vice-Chamberlains of the Exchequer, through whoſe kindneſs and favour he had acceſs to that venerable Record, called Doomſday-Book, as alſo to the Fines, Plea-Rolls, and ſundry other things of Antiquity remaining in the Treaſury (2).'

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(2) Life, &c. p. v, vi, vii.

with a yearly ſalary of twenty pounds out of the Exchequer, and perquiſites, for his ſupport; he ſpent that, and part of the year following, in augmenting his collections out of the records in the Tower, and other places. In ſummer 1641, through Sir Chriſtopher Hatton's encouragement, he employed himſelf, with one Mr William Sedgwick a ſkilful arms-painter, in taking exact draughts of all the monuments in the Abbey Church at Weſtminſter, St Paul's Cathedral London, and in many other Cathedral, Collegiate, Conventual, and Parochial Churches [*C*], wherein any tombs or monuments were to be found; to the end that the memory of them, in caſe of that deſtruction then imminent, might be preſerved for future and better times. In 1642 he received orders, by warrant under the Royal Signet Manual dated June 1, to repair to his Majeſty at York, according to the duty of his place. Which he accordingly did, and continued there till about the middle of July, when he received the King's command to attend Spencer Earl of Northampton Lord Lieutenant of Warwickſhire (*f*), who was then endeavouring to ſecure the chief places in and near that county, and to diſperſe the forces aſſembled by the Lord Brook for the Parliament's ſervice (*g*). During his attendance upon that Lord, he ſummoned the caſtle of Banbury which ſurrendered to his Majeſty, but Warwick and Coventry refuſing ſo to do, the perſons by whom they were held, were proclaimed traytors by Mr Dugdale. He attended the King at Edge-hill battle, the 23d of October 1642 [*D*], and afterwards to Oxford (where on the firſt of November he was created Maſter of Arts (*h*)), and thence to Reading and Brentford; his Majeſty intending to proceed to London. But being forced to return back to Oxford, our author continued there (*i*) by his Majeſty's command, till the ſurrender of that garriſon to the Parliament, June 26, 1646. And, in the mean time, was, on the 16th of April 1644, created Cheſter-Herald, in the room of Edward Walker, Eſq; advanced to the office of Norroy. In this ſame year he took a journey to Worceſter, and extracted out of the Regiſters of the Biſhop, and Dean and Chapter, the like materials for his Antiquities of Warwickſhire, as he had done at Litchfield. Likewiſe, during his long reſidence at Oxford, he applied himſelf to the ſearch of ſuch Antiquities, in the Bodleian and other Libraries, as he thought might any way conduce towards the furtherance of the *Monaſticon*, deſigned by Mr Roger Dodſworth and himſelf; as alſo of whatſoever might relate to matter of Hiſtory, touching the antient Nobility of this realm, of which he made good uſe in his Baronage. After the ſurrender of Oxford garriſon, upon articles, in May 1646, Mr Dugdale having the benefit of them, repaired to London, and, for the ſum of a hundred and ſixty-eight pounds, compounded for his eſtate which had been ſequeſtered. Then he, and Mr Dodſworth, vigorouſly proeeeded to compleat their collections for the *Monaſticon*, out of the Tower Records, and Cottonian Library: in which latter, Mr Dugdale ſorted many bundles of original letters, and choice memorials, and cauſed them to be bound in eighty volumes [*E*]. In May 1648 he waited on the Lady Hatton to Calais, who was to meet there the Lord Hatton her huſband: and when his Lordſhip returned to Paris, Mr Dugdale accompanied him thither, and ſtayed near three months in that city; where, through the favour of Mr Francis Du Cheſne, he had the peruſal of the collections of his learned father Andrew du Cheſne (*k*), out of which he copied many curious things, relating to the Priories-alien in England, which were cells to great abbies in France, &c. He returned to England in Auguſt, having a ſafe conduct from Queen Henrietta-Maria. After which, he and Mr Dodſworth, went on compleating their collections for the *Monaſticon*, and preparing them for the preſs. When they were ready,. the bookſellers not caring to venture upon ſo large and hazardous a work, Mr Dodſworth and Mr Dugdale hired ſums of money, and printed at their own charge the firſt volume, which was publiſhed in the year 1655 [*F*], in folio, as were the ſecond and third volumes afterwards. In

(*f*) The Life of Sir William Dugdale, &c. as above.

(*g*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 10.

(*h*) Ibid. col. 7.

(*i*) Reſiding moſtly in Hart-hall. Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 7.

(*k*) Author of a Hiſtory of England in French, and ſeveral other curious books.

[C] *And in many other Cathedral, Collegiate, Conventual, and Parochial Churches.*] Particularly, thoſe at Peterborough, Ely, Norwich, Lincoln, Newark upon Trent, Beverley, Southwell, Kingſton upon Hull, York, Selby, Cheſter, Litchfield, Tamworth, Warwick, &c. The draughts were taken by Mr Sedgwick, then ſervant to Sir Chriſtopher Hatton; but 'tis probable the inſcriptions were copied by Mr Dugdale's exact pen. They were depoſited in Sir Chriſtopher Hatton's library (3).

(3) Life, &c. p. ix.

[D] *He attended the King at Edge-hill battle, on the 23d of October* 1642.] And about that time, committed to writing the moſt memorable paſſages in that battle, of which he had been a ſpectator. That the relation of all particulars relating thereto might be the better underſtood, he took with him, in the February following, ſome Gentlemen of note and a ſkilful ſurveyor, and rode to Banbury, (the Caſtle whereof was then his Majeſty's garriſon) and thence to the field of battle, which he exactly ſurveyed; noting where each army was drawn up, how and where the cannon on each part were placed, as alſo the particular graves wherein all the ſlain were buried: obſerving, from the relation of the neighbouring inhabitants, the certain number of bodies which lay interred in every grave, which in the whole did not amount to quite one-thouſand, though the general report of the vulgar made them no leſs than five-thouſand (4).

(4) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 10; and Life, ubi ſupra, p. xii.

[E] *In which latter (the Cottonian) Mr Dugdale ſorted many bundles of original letters, and choice memorials, and cauſed them to be bound in eighty volumes.*] They were bundles of moſt valuable papers of ſtate, which Sir Robert Cotton had obtained from ſeveral hands: containing the tranſactions between Cardinal Wolſey, and others, with ſeveral of his letters; as alſo of T. Cromwell afterwards Earl of Eſſex, Secretary Paget, Cecil Lord Burleigh, Secretary Walſingham, and others, relating as well to foreign as domeſtic affairs; and likewiſe the letters and papers of Mary Queen of Scots, John Duke of Norfolk, and other eminent perſons in thoſe times. Mr Dugdale having ſorted them, cauſed them to be bound up with claſps, with the arms of Sir Thomas Cotton on each ſide of every book (5).

(5) Life, &c. p. xv.

[F] *The firſt volume which was publiſhed in the year* 1655.] Under this title. *Monaſticon Anglicanum; ſive Pandectæ Coenobiorum Benedictinorum, Cluniacenſium, Ciſtercenſium, Carthuſianorum. A primordiis ad eorum uſque diſſolutionem. Ex MSS. ad Monaſteria olim*

In the mean time, our induſtrious author having finiſhed 'The Antiquities of Warwickſhire, illuſtrated [*G*],' he printed that valuable work at his own charge: and for near a year and a half, whilſt it was printing, continued in London, in order to correct the preſs himſelf, becauſe the ordinary correctors were not ſkilled in the pedigrees. During his reſidence in which place, he had an opportunity of collecting materials for The Hiſtory of St Paul's Cathedral in London [*H*], which he publiſhed in 1658, fol. Upon the reſtoration of King Charles II, he was, through Lord Chancellor Hyde's recommendation, advanced to the office of Norroy King of Arms, then vacant by the promotion of Sir

olim pertinentibus, Archivis Turrium Lond. Ebor. Curiarum Scaccarii, Augmentationum; Bibliothecis, Bodleiana, Arundelliana, Cottoniana, Seldeniana, Hattoniana, aliiſque, digeſtum. Adorned with the proſpects of Abbeys, Churches, *&c.* After the publication of this, the printing of the ſecond volume was put off for above five years, till the greateſt part of the impreſſion of the firſt was ſold, in order to raiſe money for going on with that expenſive work (6). This is the reaſon why the ſecond volume was not publiſhed till the year 1661; The title of it was, *Monaſtici Anglicani Volumen alterum. De Canonicis Regularibus, Auguſtinianis, Scilicet, Hoſpitalariis, Templariis, Gilbertinis, Præmonſtratenſibus, & Maturinis ſive Trinitarianis. Cum Appendice ad Volumen primum de Coenobiis aliquot Gallicanis, Hibernicis, & Scoticis. Nec non quibuſdam Anglicanis antea omiſſis*, &c. Theſe two volumes were collected, and totally written by Mr Dodſworth; but Mr Dugdale took great pains, in methodizing and diſpoſing the materials, in making ſeveral indexes to the two volumes, and in correcting them at the preſs: for Mr Dodſworth died in Auguſt 1654, before the tenth part of the firſt volume was printed off (7), The third volume was publiſhed in 1673, under this tittle. *Monaſtici Anglicani volumen tertium & ultimum. Additamenta quædam in volumen primum, ac volumen ſecundum, jampridem edita; Nec non fundationes, ſive dotationes, diverſarum Eccleſiarum Cathedralium ac Collegiatarum, continens. Ex Archivis regiis, ipſis autographis, ac diverſis Codic. Manuſcriptis decerpta.* Several curious things in this volume were communicated by Mr Ant. Wood, and Sir Tho. Herbert, Baronet (8). Theſe three volumes contain chiefly the *Foundation*-Charters of the Monaſteries at their firſt erection, the *Donation*-Charters in after-times being purpoſely omitted; which are ſo numerous, that twenty ſuch volumes would not contain them.

[*G*] *The Antiquities of Warwickſhire illuſtrated.*] The whole title of the book is, 'The Antiquities of Warwickſhire illuſtrated; from Records, Leiger-Books, Manuſcripts, Charters, Evidences, Tombes, and Arms: beautified with Maps, Proſpects, and Portraictures, Lond. 1656 fol.' The Author gives us this account of it.—'As for the work itſelf, it is an *Illuſtration of the Antiquities* with which my native country (Warwickſhire) hath been honoured; in accompliſhing whereof, I have ſpent the chiefeſt of my time for much more than twenty years, diligently ſearching into the vaſt treaſuries of publique Records, beſides a multitude of Manuſcripts, original Charters, and Evidences in private hands, as the margents where they are cited do manifeſt (9).'————A ſecond edition of this curious and uſeful book was publiſhed in 1730 ———— 'in two volumes, printed from a copy corrected by the author himſelf, and with the original copper-plates. The whole reviſed, augmented, and continued down to this preſent time; by William Thomas, D. D. ſometime Rector of Exhall, in the ſame county. With the addition of ſeveral proſpects of gentlemens ſeats, churches, tombs, and new and correct maps of the county, and of the ſeveral hundreds, from an actual ſurvey made by Henry Beighton, F. R. S. Alſo compleat liſts of the Members of Parliament and Sheriffs taken from the original Records; and an alphabetical index and blazonry of the arms upon the ſeveral plates.' One fault there is in the method of this book; namely, That the pariſhes are not diſtinguiſhed from the villages by any particular mark. The titles at the beginning of the ſeveral diviſions, ſhould therefore have been printed in different characters: as for inſtance, the pariſhes in old Engliſh letter, or in capitals; and the villages in Italic, as they are now. The name of each pariſh ſhould likewiſe have been put at the top of the page, or pages, which contain an account of the ſame. —— However, this is our author's maſter-piece (10), and allowed to be the beſt methodized and moſt accurate account that ever was wrote of this nature (11).

[*H*] *During his reſidence in which place, he had an opportunity of collecting materials for The Hiſtory of St Paul's Cathedral in London.*] Of which he gives us himſelf the following account. 'Meeting caſually there with Mr John Reading, a Nottinghamſhire Gentleman, who had formerly been Clerk of the Niſi Prius for the Midland-Circuit, and with whom before the Rebellion he was acquainted, he friendly invited Mr Dugdale to his houſe at Scriveners-hall, with promiſe to ſhew him ſome old manuſcript books, original charters, and other ancient writings. Coming thither accordingly, Mr Reading brought forth five ancient manuſcript books in folio, which were Leiger-books of the lands anciently given to the Cathedral of St Paul in London; and freely lent them to him, to carry into the country until the next enſuing Michaelmas Term, intimating that he ſhould have the uſe of many more upon his next return to London. But in Michaelmas Term, when Mr Dugdale came to reſtore thoſe books ſo lent, he found that Mr Reading was dead, and had conſtituted one Mr Williams, a Barriſter at Law of the Temple, his executor. Addreſſing himſelf therefore to the ſaid Mr Williams, and deſiring a ſight of the reſt, he very civilly brought him to Scriveners-Hall, and there ſhewing him many other old manuſcript-books, original charters, and very ancient writings in bags and hampers, all relating to that great Cathedral, he freely lent them to him, to carry to his own lodging, they amounting to no leſs than ten porters burdens.' Having them therefore thus in his private cuſtody, and beſtowing pains to ſort them into order, he made extracts from them, of what he found hiſtorical in reference to that church. And to the end the memory of thoſe noble and ancient monuments might be preſerved (which were afterwards deſtroyed, the church being made an horſe-garriſon by the late rebellious uſurpers) did by the help and favour of ſundry worthy perſons who voluntarily offered to be at the charge of thoſe plates, in which the repreſentations of them were cut in braſs, as alſo the lively proſpects of the whole fabrick (inſide and out), accompliſh the ſame; and having ſuccinctly framed an hiſtorical narrative of the foundation and endowment thereof, likewiſe of all the chantries, and what elſe was moſt memorable therein, publiſhed it, under this title, 'The Hiſtory of St Paul's Cathedral in London from its Foundation till theſe Times: Extracted out of original Charters, Records, Leiger-books, and other Manuſcripts. Beautified with ſundry Proſpects of the Church, figures of Tombs and Monuments, *&c.*' Lond. 1658. fol. There was a 'Second Edition' of this curious book 'corrected and enlarged by the author's own hand. To which is prefixed his life written by himſelf. Publiſhed by *Edward Maynard*, D. D. Rector of Boddington in Northamptonſhire.' London, 1716, fol. Five of the original plates being loſt, five new ones were engraved for this ſecond edition. There are in it great additions, which were not in the former edition: particularly, a new introduction, and many additions in ſeveral places, to the quantity of ſome ſheets in all; beſides an account of the new-building of St Paul's from year to year to 1685; with a catalogue of the ſeveral benefactors, and the ſums they gave towards the building of it, our author being one of the Commiſſioners appointed for that work: and, which is more than all the reſt together, 'An Hiſtorical account of the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches of York, Rippon, South-well, Beverley, Durham, and Carliſle.'

[*I*] He

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(6) Ibid.

(7) Ibid. and Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 14.

(8) Wood, ibid. col. 15.

(9) Preface, p. 1.

(10) Wood, as above, col. 15.

(11) See The Engliſh Topographer, *&c.* Lond. 1720, 8*vo*, p. 233.

Sir Edward Walker to that of Garter ; and his patent paſſed the Great-Seal on the 18th of June 1660 (m). In 1662 he publiſhed ‘ The Hiſtory of Imbanking and Draining of divers Fens and Marſhes, both in Foreign Parts and in this Kingdom, and of the Improvement thereby. Extracted from Records, Manuſcripts, and other authentick Teſtimonies. Adorned with ſeveral Maps, *&c.*’ fol. Written at the deſire of the Lord Gorges, Sir John Marſham, Bart. and others who were adventurers in that coſtly and laudable work, for draining the great Level, which extends itſelf into a conſiderable part of the counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Northampton, Norfolk, and Suffolk. About the ſame time, he compleated the ſecond volume of Sir Henry Spelman's Councils, and publiſhed it in 1664 [*I*]. As alſo the ſecond part of that learned Knight's Gloſſary [*K*]. Likewiſe, having in his many years ſearch into Records, *&c.* taken notes, as occaſion offered, of the names of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers, Lord Treaſurers, Juſtices itinerant, Juſtices of the King's-Bench and Common-Pleas, Barons of the Exchequer, Maſters of the Rolls, King's Attorneys and Sollicitors, and Serjeants at Law ; he compiled out of them a book entituled *Origines Juridiciales*, &c [*L*]. which he publiſhed in 1666, fol. His next work, was, *The Baronage of England* [*M*], of which the firſt

[*I*] *He compleated the ſecond volume of Sir Henry Spelman's Councils, and publiſhed it in* 1664.] Under this title, *Concilia, Decreta, Leges, Conſtitutiones in re Eccleſiarum Orbis Britannici* ; viz. *Pan-Anglica, Scotica, Hibernica, Provintialia, Dioceſana : Ab introitu Normannorum, An. Dom.* MLXVI. *ad exutum Papam, ſive ad An. Dom.* MDXXXI. *Acceſſerunt etiam alia ad rem Eccleſiaſticam ſpectantia ; uti reperiuntur in eorundem Actis, Canonibus Eccleſiaſticis, Principum reſcriptis, Libris impreſſis, antiquis Manuſcriptis, Chartis, Schedis, & Monumentis veteribus.* Sir Henry Spelman's name only appears in the title. And the Book is dedicated, by Charles Spelman, Sir Henry's grandſon, to Gilbert Sheldon, Archbiſhop of Canterbury ; who, with the Earl of Clarendon, had been the chief promoters of this work, and put Mr Dugdale upon it. 'Twas printed in a very incorrect manner ; but Mr William Somner took a great deal of pains, in noting all the faults, in the margin of a copy belonging to him, which was depoſited in the Library of the Church of Canterbury. What great ſhare Mr Dugdale had in this work, will beſt appear from hence : That, out of *two-hundred and ninety-four* articles whereof that volume conſiſts, *a hundred and ninety-one* are of his collecting, being thoſe that are marked with an * in the liſt of the contents, at the beginning of the volume (12). The materials for it (beſides thoſe left by Sir Henry Spelman) were gathered by Mr Dugdale, out of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops Regiſters, the Cottonian and other Libraries, and our ancient Engliſh Hiſtorians (13).

[*K*] *As alſo the ſecond part of that learned Knight's Gloſſary*] The firſt part was publiſhed in 1626, fol. and afterwards conſiderably augmented and corrected by Sir Henry. He did not live to finiſh the ſecond part, but left much of it looſely written ; with obſervations, and ſundry bills of paper, pinned thereto. Theſe Mr. Dugdale took the pains to diſpoſe into proper order, tranſcribing many of thoſe looſe papers, &c. And having reviewed the firſt part, cauſed both to be printed together in 1664, (14) under this title, *Gloſſarium Archaiologicum, continens Latino-barbara, peregrina, obſoleta, & novæ ſignificationis vocabula.* There was another Edition of it in 1687. The ſecond part, digeſted by Mr Dugdale, began at the letter M. But Mr Wood obſerves (15), that it ‘ comes far ſhort of the firſt.’ Nay, ſome have aſſerted (16), ‘ that he or they who put out the ſecond part of Sir Henry Spelman's Gloſſary, did not do right to his memory.’ In anſwer to which, Dr R. Brady gives us the following account (17). ‘ The firſt part [of the Gloſſary] to the letter N. was publiſhed in the year 1626, the whole being then finiſhed, and offered by Sir Henry Spelman, to Mr Bill the King's Printer, for the value of five pounds in books only : But he refuſing to give him that ſmall rate for the Copy, he ventured to print the firſt part of it at his own charge, and moſt of the books lay upon his hands till the latter end of the year 1637, when two Bookſellers in St Paul's Churchyard took them off. The next year, Mr Dugdale being with Sir Henry Spelman, and telling him, that many learned men were very deſirous to ſee the remaining part of that work, Sir Henry then told him what is here related, and *produced both parts of the Gloſſary*, the firſt whereof was printed, and interleaved with blank leaves, as alſo was the ſecond, which was in manuſcript, wherein he had added and altered much. After King Charles IId's Reſtoration, the Earl of Clarendon then Lord Chancellor, and Dr Sheldon then Biſhop of London, inquired of Mr Dugdale what was become of the remaining part of the Gloſſary, or whether it was ever finiſhed ? He told them it was finiſhed, and in the hands of Mr Charles Spelman, grandchild to Sir Henry, and youngeſt Son to Sir John. Whereupon they deſired Mr Dugdale to move him to print it ; which he did : but finding that the Bookſellers would give nothing for the Copy, and that he was not able to print it at his own charge, and returning this Anſwer to the Lord Chancellor, and Biſhop of London, they contributed liberally themſelves, and procuring many Subſcriptions to that purpoſe, deſired Mr Dugdale to receive the money, and deal with a Printer to perform the work : which he did, and cauſed it to be printed as he received it, all under the proper hand-writing of Sir Henry Spelman, without alteration or addition.’ This account the Reader will be pleaſed to compare with the beginning of this Note, which is taken out of Sir William Dugdale's Life, written by himſelf. But that learned Author aſſures us, in the ſame Life (18), that the ſecond part of the Gloſſary was publiſhed, ‘ without any alteration from Sir Henry's Copy, as by ſome hath been ignorantly ſurmiſed.’

[*L*] *Origines Juridiciales, &c.*] The whole title, is, ‘ *Origines Juridiciales* : or Hiſtorical Memorials of the Engliſh Laws, Courts of Juſtice, Forms of Tryal, Puniſhment in Caſes criminal, Law-writers, Law-books, Grants and Settlements of Eſtates, Degree of Serjeants, Inns of Court and Chancery. Alſo a Chronologie of the Lord Chancellors, and Keepers of the Great Seal, Lord Treaſurers, Juſtices Itinerant, Juſtices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, Barons of the Exchequer, Maſters of the Rolls, King's Attorneys and Sollicitors, and Serjeants at Law.’ The Hiſtorical Part, which was deſigned as an Introduction to the Chronological Tables, is divided into ſeventy-eight chapters. And the book is adorned with the heads of Sir John Clench, Sir Edward Coke, Sir Randolph Crew, Sir Robert Heath, Edward Earl of Clarendon to whom the Book is dedicated, Sir Orlando Bridgman, Sir John Vaughan, and Mr Selden. There are alſo plates of the Arms, in the windows of the Temple-Hall, and other Inns of Court, &c. The firſt Edition, as is ſaid above, was in 1666 ; and the ſecond in 1671. having the three laſt Plates more than the firſt, but being very full of faults. There was a pretended third Edition in 1680. but it is only the ſecond, with a new Title-page ; and a Continuation, in three leaves at the end, of the Chronology and Catalogues aforeſaid. Biſhop Nicolſon recommends this Book, as a proper Introduction to the Hiſtory of the Laws of this Kingdom (19).

[*M*] *The Baronage of England.*] The whole title of Tome I. is thus, ‘ The Baronage of England, or an Hiſtorical Account of the Lives and moſt memorable actions of our Engliſh Nobility in the Saxons Time, to the Norman Conqueſt ; and from thence, of firſt tome appeared in print, in 1675, and the ſecond and third in 1676, fol. The firſt treating of ſuch of the Earls, and their deſcendants, as had their firſt advancements before the end of King Henry IIId's reign; and of all others, who held their honours or baronies *by tenure*, as antiently. The ſecond, of thoſe, whoſe original hath been (*viz.* of Earls *by creation*, and Barons *by ſummons* to Parliament) before the 11th year of King Richard IId's reign. And the third of thoſe and their poſterity, who have had their *creations by patent*, as moſt Barons had, or by writ of ſummons from that time (11 Rich. II.) till the year 1676; the Dukes, Marquiſſes, and Viſcounts, being therein likewiſe included, and reſerved to their proper times and places (*n*). Upon the death of Sir Edward Walker, which happened on the 20th of February 1676 7, our author was appointed in his

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(m) Life, *&c.* as above, p. xvii.

(12) See the Preface.

(13) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(14) Life, *&c.* as above.

(15) Ubi ſupra, col. 13.

(16) Atwood, *Jani Anglorum Facies nova.* edit. p. 265.

(17) Animadverſions upon a book called *Jani Anglorum Facies nova.* edit. 1684, fol. p. 229, 230.

(11) Page xix.

(19) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library ; under the title of that book.

of thoſe who had their riſe before the end of King Henry the Third's Reign. Deduced from publick Records, antient Hiſtorians, and other Authorities.’——That of the ſecond is the ſame, with this difference——‘ Which had their riſe, after the end of King Henry the Third's reign, and before the eleventh year of King Richard the Second.’——And of the third——‘ As had their riſe, from the tenth year of King Richard the Second, until this preſent year 1676.’ Theſe two laſt Volumes are generally bound together. What induced our Author to undertake this work, he tells us in the following words. ‘ I muſt ingenuouſly acknowledge, that I had not any thoughts of attempting this work here made publick, until (by God Almighties diſpoſal) attending the late King Charles the Firſt, of bleſſed memory, in his garriſon at Oxford, according to the duty of my place; and continuing in his ſervice there, from the beginning of November An. 1642. until the end of June, 1646, I had both leiſure and opportunity of peruſing many excellent Hiſtorical Manuſcripts, choicely preſerved in the famous Bodleian Library, and ſundry Colleges there; whence having gathered a large ſtock of fit materials in order to ſuch a work, I grew encouraged to proceed farther; and thereupon, betook myſelf to a diligent ſearch into thoſe old Records in the Tower of London, Office of the Rolls, Exchequer, and ſundry other publick places. Next into that incomparable Treaſury of moſt antient and choice Manuſcripts; which the late worthy Sir Robert Cotton Bart. had, in his time, happily got together: and after that, into divers other, no leſs eſtimable; which, with much charge, had been gained by the Right Honourable, the late Lord Hatton; and by his eſpecial favour communicated to me; likewiſe into that elaborate collection from the Pipe-Rolls, made by Mr Roger Dodſworth, my late deceaſed friend, and into ſundry other, whereunto my Quotations do refer: amongſt which, thoſe of Robert Glover, formerly Somerſet-Herald, (moſt opportunely acquired from ſeveral hands, wherein they lay obſcured) were not the leaſt (20).’ The collecting of the materials for this work, coſt the induſtrious Author a great part of thirty years labour (21). But, notwithſtanding his great care and pains, there are many faults in it: ſo that the Gentlemen at the Heralds Office, dare not depend upon the generality of matter relating to pedigree therein (22). However, this moſt uſeful work did not deſerve the ſevere cenſure, which a ſour and ill-natured pedant (23), hath paſſed upon it, in his ‘ Three letters, containing remarks on ſome of the numberleſs errors and defects in Dugdale's Baronage (24).’ For, therein he is charged, with inaccuracy (25), want of capacity, and judgment (26), much negligence and ignorance (27), maſter-piece of ſtupidity (28), with groſs and complicated blunders (29); who, as often as he has opportunities, falls into miſtakes (30), and has fagotted his collections together (31). That, a very great number of inconſiſtencies, and contradictions are plentifully ſtrewed through his whole book (32) &c. He owns indeed, that ‘ Dugdale is eſteemed by much the beſt writer, who has yet made a general treatiſe on this ſubject [of the Peerage] for which he ſeemed aptly qualified, being very laborious and induſtrious, and having been furniſhed with a vaſt number of excellent materials, and favoured with opportunities of acceſs to public Offices and Libraries, from whence a ſtructure truly noble, and worthy of the ſubject, might have been raiſed; but having more regard to his profit than his honour, and the work being very large and tedious, he did not allow himſelf time to examine and compare his vouchers, nor the taſks of his ſeveral *Ammanuenſes* (33).——He had (ſays he elſewhere) a greedy appetite to Antiquities, but, like the Oſtrich, he ſwallowed whatever came in his way, unchewed, and it paſſed thro' him undigeſted. He ſeems to have had little Judgment in collecting, and leſs care and underſtanding in tranſcribing; and his manner of compoſing is ſtill leſs excuſable, as it more affects other men. His Avarice made him undertake burdens too heavy for his ſhoulders, and puſhed him beyond his ſpeed. His eye was ſo fixed on his chief end, that he overlooked the means of deſerving either praiſe or profit. His works (I ſpeak as to that before me) ſeem to have been patched up by the help of Alphabets, and from whatever occurred, which, either by himſelf or his illiterate *Ammanuenſes*, was thought to the preſent purpoſe; extracts were crudely huddled together, without any regard to truth or probability, or the conſiſtence of one part with another; which is the reaſon that in any fact, wherein any plurality of perſons is concerned, whereby it comes to be related in ſeveral places, it is very rare if ſuch relations are not materially different, and ſometimes none true. The margin of his book, I own, I have found uſeful, as it directs the neareſt way to better information; but his authorities there, are in general ſo erroneouſly vouched, that they give no evidence to the purpoſes for which they are produced; ſo that there is no depending upon him, without examining his witneſſes. In fine, his diſagreeing fragments of unhewed materials are ſo unartfully diſpoſed, and ſo coarſely laid together, that the whole heap ſeems to me no better than *rudis indigeſtaque moles* (34).’ i. e. a rude and undigeſted heap.——Such is the harſh and unmannerly attack of the anonymous letter-writer, upon Mr Dugdale's book now before us.——It muſt be owned, that there are many miſtakes in the Baronage (and miſtakes are indeed hardly avoidable in a work of that nature). But the induſtrious and learned Author, inſtead of being reviled, or treated with contempt, ought to be corrected with mildneſs, and duly eſteemed, for having proceeded, at once, ſo far in a work, wherein very little progreſs had been made before he took it in hand: all other accounts of the Nobility, by Milles, Brooke, &c. being little more than bare catalogues, or at beſt very lean performances.——If the letter-writer had pointed out Mr Dugdale's faults and miſtakes (which he had great opportunities of diſcovering, by his place in the Exchequer) he ſhould at leaſt have treated him with decency and good manners. 'Twas the leaſt that was due to the memory of a man, who had publiſhed ſo many uſeful books: a man whoſe name will be remembered with veneration and honour, while that of ſnarling Ch. Hornby will be buried in everlaſting oblivion.——It were greatly to be wiſhed, that Gentlemen of ſkill and leiſure, would make a thorough review of ſo uſeful a book as the Baronage; and, after having compared it with the Records and our antient Hiſtorians, &c. give a new Edition of it. No greater ſervice could be done to the curious and inquiſitive Reader, or to any one who is a lover of the Engliſh Hiſtory.——Mr Wood informs us (35), that Mr Dugdale ſent to him Copies of all the Tomes of this work, with an earneſt deſire that he would peruſe, correct and add to them what he could obtain from record or other authorities: whereupon ſpending a whole long vacation in that matter, he drew up at leaſt ſixteen ſheets of corrections, but more additions; which being ſent to the Author, he remitted a good part of them into the margin of a Copy of large paper of his Baronage.

(*n*) See Preface to Tome I, p. 2, col. 1.

(20) Preface to Vol. I. p. 1, 2.

(21) Life, &c. as above, p. xix.

(22) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 16.

(23) Suppoſed to be Charles Hornby, Eſq; late Secondary of the Pipe-Office.

(24) Lond. 1738, 8vo.

(25) Page 4.

(26) Page 20.

(27) Page 18.

(28) Page 31.

(29) Ibid. & p. 44.

(30) Page 58.

(31) Page 47.

(32) Page 10.

(33) Page 4.

(34) Page 62, 63.

(35) Ubi ſupra, col. 16.

his room Garter Principal King of Arms (*o*). His patent for that office paſſed the Great-Seal April 26, 1677; and he was ſolemnly created Garter, the 24th of May following, at the College of Arms. The next day he received from his Majeſty the honour of knighthood, much againſt his will by reaſon of the ſmallneſs of his eſtate (*p*). But, to return to his works. In 1681 he publiſhed ‘ A Short View of the late Troubles in England; Briefly ſetting forth, Their Riſe, Growth, and tragical Concluſion. As alſo, ſome Parallel thereof with the Barons-Wars in the Time of King Henry III. But chiefly with that in France, called the Holy League, in the Reigns of Henry III and Henry IV, late Kings of that Realm. To which is added, A perfect Narrative of the Treaty at Uxbridge in *ann.* 1644.’ Oxford, fol. And, ‘ The antient Uſage in bearing of ſuch Enſigns of Honour as are commonly called Arms (*q*).’ With ‘ A true and perfect Catalogue of the Nobility of England. A true and perfect Liſt of all the preſent Knights of the Garter, *&c.* as they now ſtand in St George's Chapel in Windſor-Caſtle, Sept. 10, 1681.’ And, ‘ A Catalogue of the Baronets of England, from the firſt erection of that dignity, until the 4th of July 1681 incluſive.’ Oxf. 1681, 8*vo* [*N*]. There was a ſecond edition of it in the beginning of the year following, wherein the Catalogue of Baronets was continued to the 6th of December. The laſt thing he publiſhed was, ‘ A perfect Copy of all Summons of the Nobility to the Great Councils and Parliaments of this Realm, from the XLIX. of King Henry the IIId until theſe preſent Times. With Catalogues of ſuch Noblemen as have been ſummoned to Parliament in right of their Wives, and of ſuch other Noblemen as derive their Titles of Honour from the Heirs-Female from whom they are deſcended; and of ſuch Noblemens eldeſt ſons as have been ſummoned to Parliament by ſome of their Fathers Titles. Extracted from publick Records.’ Lond. 1685, fol. He writ ſome other things, which were never publiſhed [*O*]. His Collections of Materials for his Antiquities of Warwickſhire, and Baronage of England, all written with his own hand, being twenty-ſeven volumes in folio, he gave by Will to the univerſity of Oxford; together with ſixteen other volumes, ſome of his own hand-writing; and they are now preſerved in Aſhmole's Muſæum. He gave likewiſe ſeveral books to the Office of Heralds in London, and procured many more for the ſame (*r*) [*P*]. At length this moſt induſtrious perſon contracting a great cold at Blythe-Hall, died of it in his chair, about one o'clock in the afternoon, Feb. 10, 1685-6, in the eighty-firſt year of his age. His body being conveyed to the parochial church of Shuſtoke abovementioned, was, on the 12th day of the ſame month, depoſited in a ſtone coffin, lying in a little vault, which he had cauſed to be made under the north ſide of the chancel of the church there. Over that vault he had erected in his life-time an altar-tomb of free-ſtone; and had cauſed to be fixed in the wall above it, a tablet of white marble, whereon was engraved an epitaph made by himſelf [*Q*]. He had ſeveral children

[*N*] *The antient uſage in bearing of ſuch enſigns of honour as are called arms, &c.*] To both the editions of this book are added, ‘ 1. An exact Alphabetical Catalogue of all the Shires, Cities, Burrough-towns, Cinque-ports in England; ſpecifying the number of the Knights of the Shires, *&c.* 2. A true and perfect Catalogue of the Nobility of Scotland, *&c.* 3. A true and perfect Catalogue of the Nobility of Ireland, with a liſt of all the Shires, Cities, and Burroughs of Ireland, which make returns of Parliament, *&c.*’ All three compiled by Charles Hatton, Eſq; ſon of Chriſtopher Lord Hatton (36).

[*O*] *He writ ſome other things, which were never publiſhed.*] Particularly, ‘ Hiſtorical accounts of the ancient Families of Haſtings Earl of Huntingdon, and Maners Duke of Rutland. And, Genealogical Tables of the Kings and ancient Nobility of England; of the Kings and principal Nobility of Scotland; and of the other Kings of Chriſtendom, and great Families of Germany.’ He made, for his own uſe, *Indexes* to moſt of our Engliſh Hiſtorians, *viz.* Matthew Paris, Matthew of Weſtminſter, Roger de Hoveden, Henry of Huntingdon, Ethelward, Ingulphus, Thomas of Walſingham, *&c.* And alſo, in twenty-ſix thin folio's, Indexes to the ſixty volumes of Collections from Records by Sir John Kniveton, in the Library of the late Lord Hatton: beſides thoſe to Leland's Itinerary, and Collectanea.———Our author was likewiſe the chief promoter of the Saxon Dictionary by Mr William Somner, printed at Oxford in 1659 (37).

[*P*] *He gave likewiſe ſeveral books to the Office of Heralds in London, and procured many more for the ſame.*] Beſides his Antiquities of Warwickſhire, and the reſt of his printed books, he gave thereto, One large volume MS. of the Arms and Monuments in the Cathedral of York, and divers other churches in that county, lively pricked with a pen (by Mr Gregory King then his Clerk, ſince Rouge-Dragon Purſevant of Arms) and the epitaphs tranſcribed according to the very letter of each: another MS. containing a tranſcript of three old viſitations, which were not in the Heralds Office, *viz.* of Lancaſhire, in King Henry the VIIIth's time; Staffordſhire in Queen Elizabeth's time; and Northumberland in the time of King James I. Another MS. marked L. 12. containing divers arms in colours of foreign Kings and Princes, Britiſh Kings, ancient Engliſh, Scottiſh, and Iriſh Nobility. *&c.*———By his procurement alſo it was, that Tho. Povey, Eſq; then one of the Maſters of the Requeſts, gave to the ſaid office, thoſe MSS. containing copies and extracts from divers publick Records: and that the late Duke of Norfolk beſtowed upon it, in 1678, ſeveral manuſcript, as well as printed, books relating to Hiſtory and Genealogy (38).

[*Q*] *Whereon was engraved an Epitaph made by himſelf.*] Which is as follows.

M. S.
WILLIELMI DUGDALE Equ.
aur. Antiquitatum WARWIC. Comitatus
Illuſtratoris;
Qui per omnes
Curiæ Heraldicæ gradus aſcendens,
in principalem Regem
Armorum Anglicorum titulo GARTER
tandem evectus eſt.
UXOREM MARGERIAM
IOH. HUNTBACH de SEWAL in Com. Staff.
filiam duxit:
e qua filios plures, ab hac luce
in tenera ætate ſublatos,
IOHANNEM vero ſuperſtitem,
filiaſq; diverſas ſuſcepit.
Diem obiit 10 Febr. A° MDCLXXXV (39).

[*R*] *He*

(*o*) There was a great diſpute then between the King and the Earl-Marſhal, about the Right of Nomination to that office. See our author's Life, p. xix. *&c.*

(*p*) Life, *&c.* as above, p. xxi.

(*q*) This is moſtly taken from W. Wyrley's book entituled, *The true Uſe of Armory*, &c. Lond. 1592, 4*to*. See Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 16; and Vol. I. col. 427.

(*r*) Life, *&c.* p. xxii, xxiii.

(36) Wood, ib.

(37) Life, *&c.* p. xxiv.

(38) Life, *&c.* as above.

(39) See his Antiq. of Warwickſhire, 2d edit. Vol. II. p. 1046.

dren [*R*] by his wife mentioned above, which died the 18th of December 1681, aged ſeventy-five, after they had been married almoſt fifty-nine years (*s*). Sir William Dugdale's character is ſufficiently manifeſt from what hath been ſaid of him in this article. However, we ſhall add the character given of him by Mr Wood (*t*). 'Had this indefatigable perſon ſequeſtered himſelf from worldly troubles, and totally addicted himſelf 'to his ſtudies, and had minded the publick more than his private concerns, the world 'might have juſtly enjoyed more of his lucubrations, and thoſe more true and accurate 'than ſuch as are already publiſhed, eſpecially thoſe in his latter days: Yet however what 'he hath done is prodigious, conſidering the great troubles that he had endured for his 'loyalty, and the cumbrances of this world that he had run through; and therefore his 'memory ought to be venerated, and had in everlaſting remembrance, for thoſe things 'which he hath already publiſhed, which otherwiſe might have periſhed and been eternally buried in oblivion.'

(*s*) She was buried in the ſame vault with him. Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 16.

(*t*) Ubi ſupra, col. 17.

[*R*] *He had ſeveral children.*] Both ſons, and daughters. One of his daughters, named *Elizabeth*, was married to the famous Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; All his ſons died young, except JOHN, who was created Maſter of Arts at Oxford, on the 9th of September 1661, being then chief Gentleman in the chamber of Edward Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor of England (40). October 26, 1675, he was appointed Windſor-Herald upon the reſignation of his brother-in-law Elias Aſhmole, Eſq (41); and Norroy King of Arms in the beginning of March 1685-6, about which time he was knighted by K. James II. He publiſhed 'A Catalogue of the Nobility of England, according 'to their reſpective Precedencies, as it was preſented 'to his Majeſty on New-years-day An. 1684.' To which is added 'The Blazon of their paternal Coats of 'Arms, and a Liſt of the preſent Biſhops.' Printed at London on a broad ſide of a large ſheet of paper in 1685; and again, with additions, in 1690 (42). This Sir John Dugdale died Aug. 31, 1700. C.

(40) Wood, Faſti, Vol. II. col. 143, 144.

(41) Memoirs of the Life of El. Aſhmole, Eſq; &c. publiſhed by Ch. Burman. Lond. 1717, 12mo, p. 54.

(42) Wood, ibid.

DUPPA (*a*) (BRIAN) ſucceſſively Biſhop of Chicheſter, Saliſbury, and Wincheſter, in the XVIIth century, was born at Lewiſham in Kent [*A*] March 10, 1588-9 (*b*). He was educated in Weſtminſter ſchool in the quality of a King's ſcholar; and learned Hebrew of Dr Lancelot Andrews, then Dean of that church. From thence he was elected ſtudent of Chriſt-Church Oxon. in May 1605 (*c*). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, May 6, 1609 (*d*). In 1612 he was elected Fellow of All-Souls-college (*e*); and the 28th of May 1614, took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*f*). Afterwards he went into Holy Orders; and travelled abroad, particularly into France and Spain (*g*). In 1619 he was unanimouſly choſen one of the Proctors of the univerſity; in which office he acquitted himſelf well, being an excellent Scholar, and a genteel and diſcreet perſon (*h*). On the 1ſt of July 1625, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity (*i*); at which time he was Chaplain to the Prince Palatine. He was alſo Chaplain to Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Dorſet, by whoſe intereſt and recommendation to the King, he was appointed Dean of Chriſt's-Church in Oxford, June 30, 1629, and inſtalled the 28th of November following (*k*). To this church and college he was a great benefactor [*B*]. In 1632 and 1633, he was Vice-Chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford (*l*), which office he diſcharged with great moderation and prudence. Being conſtituted, in 1634, Chancellor of the church of Sarum, he was collated thereto the 19th of June (*m*). Soon after, he was made Chaplain to King Charles I, and appointed, in 1638 (*n*), Tutor to Charles Prince of Wales, and afterwards to his brother the Duke of York (*o*): which proved his future happineſs, being then accounted by all a moſt excellent man. On the 19th of May 1638, he was preſented to the rectory of Petworth in Suſſex (*p*); and, about the ſame time, nominated to the biſhoprick of Chicheſter. He had reſtitution of the temporalities the 12th of June (*q*), and was conſecrated the 17th of the ſame month (*r*). In the year 1641, he was tranſlated to the See of Saliſbury, but received no benefit from it, on account of the enſuing confuſions (*s*). Upon the ſuppreſſion of Epiſcopacy, he went and waited on the King and Prince at Oxford, where he continued ſome time. After the ſurrendering of that city, he attended his Majeſty (to whom he was a great favourite) in other places; particularly during his impriſonment in the Iſle of Wight (*) [*C*]: and is ſaid by ſome, to have aſſiſted him in compoſing his *Pourtraicture* (*t*) [*D*]. 'Tis certain, the King intruſted him with matters of the greateſt moment

(*a*) Or *de Uphavgh.* Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 269.

(*b*) *Anno Domini* 1588 *exeunte* as it is in his epitaph.

(*c*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Id. Faſti, Vol. I. col. 183.

(*e*) Id. Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Id. Faſti, col. 196.

(*g*) Athen. ubi ſupra. & Cl. Gul. Richardſoni Continuatio Fr. Godwini de Præſulibus. Cant. 1742, p. 243.

(*h*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Id. Faſti, Vol. I. col. 232.

(*k*) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 256.

(*l*) Id. Faſti, Vol. I. col. 254, 256.

(*m*) J. Le Neve, Faſti, &c. Lond. 1716, fol. p. 269.

(*n*) Genealogical Hiſtory of the Kings of England, &c. by F. Sandford and Stebbing, Lond. 1707, p. 612.

(*o*) W. Richardſon, &c. ubi ſupra.

(*p*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra, col. 270. He ſuppoſes that Dr Duppa kept it for ſome time *in commendam* with his See.

(*q*) J. Le Neve, as above, p. 59. Pat. 14 Car. I. p. 19.

(*r*) G. Richardſon, ubi ſupra, p. 515.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 358.

(*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*t*) See Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728, p. 652, 774.

[*A*] *Was born at Lewiſham in Kent.*] Moſt authors affirm, that he was born at Greenwich; and ſo it is in his epitaph, which may have occaſioned this general miſtake. But the Biſhop himſelf ſays in his Will, that *he was born at Lewiſham*; of which place his father, Jeffry Duppa, was then vicar (1). Mr Wood, in his *Hiſtoria & Antiquitates Univ. Oxon.* rightly affirms, that it was at Lewiſham; (though he ſays otherwiſe in his Athenæ:) And ſo doth likewiſe David Lloyd, in his *Memoirs of the Lives, Actions, &c. of thoſe noble, reverend, and excellent perſonages that ſuffered by death, ſequeſtration, &c. in our late inteſtine wars* (2).

[*B*] *To this church and college he was a great benefactor.*] He began wainſcotting the choir, and paving the cathedral, and glazing the windows with painted glaſs: All which were finiſhed by his ſucceſſor, Dr Samuel Fell (3). He alſo bequeathed thereto, at his death, a handſome legacy, as will be ſhown afterwards.

[*C*] *Particularly during his impriſonment in the Iſle of Wight.*] The diſtreſſed King uſed to ſay, That his confinement was much relieved by the good Biſhop's converſation (4).

[*D*] *And is ſaid by ſome to have aſſiſted him in compoſing his Pourtraicture.*] That is, 'Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ. 'The Pourtraicture of his Sacred Majeſtie, in his 'ſolitudes and ſufferings.' One author ſuppoſes (5), that Dr Gauden, the publiſher of that book, 'prevailed with Biſhop Duppa to give him one chapter:' but is not poſitive in that point. However, the Biſhop is 'thought by many to have been privy to the compoſing of it (6).'

(1) See Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra, col. 269, 271. & Hiſtor. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 183.

(2) Page 598.

(3) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 408, 441.

(4) Hiſtory of the Church of Weſtminſter, &c. by Mr Dart, fol. Vol. II. p. 10.

(5) Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. as above, p. 774.

(6) See Dr J. Barwick's Life, Engl. edit. 8vo, 1724, Appendix, p. 366.

moment and concern, eſpecially in ſupplying the vacant biſhopricks; and he was continued in the ſame truſt under King Charles II, during the Uſurpation (*u*). After the barbarous death of his gracious Maſter, our worthy Biſhop retired to Richmond in Surrey, where he ſpent moſt of his time in great devotion and ſolitude till the Reſtoration of his royal pupil King Charles II. Then his paſt ſervices and ſufferings were not forgotten. For he was tranſlated to the rich biſhopric of Wincheſter [*E*], to which he was elected September 10, 1660, and confirmed the 4th of October following. He was alſo made Lord Almoner (*w*). In the beginning of the ſame year, before his tranſlation, he was appointed one of the Viſitors of the univerſity of Oxford, to put out thoſe, who had been thruſt into the places of the ejected Maſters and Fellows, during the times of confuſion (*x*). About the year 1661, he began an hoſpital at Richmond, which he tolerably well endowed [*F*]. He had deſigned ſome other works of piety and charity, but was prevented by death: for he enjoyed his new dignity little more than a year and a half. He died at Richmond March 26, 1662, aged 73 years and ſixteen days (*y*). A few hours before he expired, King Charles II honoured him with a viſit, and kneeling down by the bed ſide begged his bleſſing, which the Biſhop, with one hand on his Majeſty's head, and the other lifted up to Heaven, gave with a moſt paſſionate zeal (*z*). After his body had lain ſome time in ſtate at York-Houſe in the Strand, it was decently conveyed thence, the 24th of April following, to the abbey-church of Weſtminſter, where it was buried on the north ſide of King Edward the Confeſſor's chapel (*a*). Soon after a large marble-ſtone was laid over his grave; and a monument, with an inſcription, erected to his memory [*G*]. By his Will, he bequeathed ſeveral ſums to charitable uſes [*H*]. He died as he lived, honoured and beloved of all that knew him, being a perſon of ſuch exemplary piety, eminent candor, humility and meekneſs; and of ſo clear a character, that he left not the leaſt ſpot upon his life or function (*b*). Moreover, he was a man of excellent parts, a very good Preacher, and an ornament to his profeſſion, not only by the qualifications of his mind, but alſo by the comelineſs of his perſon, and gracefulneſs of his deportment, which rendered him worthy the ſervice of a Court, and every way fit to ſtand before Princes (*c*). He wrote a few things, of which we ſhall give an account in the note [*I*].

[*E*] *He was tranſlated to the rich biſhopric of Wincheſter*] 'To the great joy and comfort, as Mr Wood 'obſerves (7), of many Lords and Gentlemen, as well 'as the clergy, who all had a deep ſenſe and memory 'of his prudence and piety, owing to him a laſting tribute, 'for his great example of virtue and godlineſs, &c.'

[*F*] *About the year* 1661, *he began an hoſpital at Richmond, which he tolerably well endowed.*] For the endowment of it, he purchaſed land in Sheperton in Middleſex, of Dr Bates, for *fifteen hundred and forty pounds*, which he ſettled for the maintenance of the poor people placed in that hoſpital, or almſhouſe; but the ground whereon that almſhouſe was built, not being ſettled at the time of his deceaſe, by reaſon of the death of the perſon intruſted, he directed his executors, in his will, to purchaſe that ground, and cauſe it to be ſettled for ever according to his intent (8). This almſhouſe is of brick, and ſtands on the hill above Richmond; being the effect of a vow made by the founder, in the time of King Charles the Second's exile.—— On the gate is this inſcription.

'I will pay the vows which I made to God in my 'trouble.'

In memoriam auſpicatiſſimi
Reditus
Caroli *ſecundi ad ſuos*
Hoc Ptochotrophium
Ad honorem Dei & Levamen Pauperum,
Extrui curavit
B. D. E. Winton
Regi
Ab Eleemoſynis
Anno Domini
1661.

In it are ten poor widows, who are allowed twentypence a week a-piece, and twenty ſhillings to buy coals, and a gown once in two years. The miniſter and churchwardens are overſeers of it. But the poor widows, being alms-women, are not to have any benefit from the pariſh, and ſo live in a very mean condition (9). The Biſhop had a more than ordinary affection for Richmond, becauſe he had privately reſided there ſeveral years during the times of confuſion, and eſpecially becauſe he had educated the Prince in that place (10).

[*G*] *A large marble ſtone was laid over his grave; and a monument*, &c.] The ſtone over his grave, is of black marble, nine foot nine inches in length, and five foot two inches in breadth; on which are engraved only theſe Latin words: *Hic jacet Brianus Winton.*

[*H*] *By his Will he bequeathed ſeveral ſums to charitable uſes.*] Particularly, lands in Pembridge in Herefordſhire, which coſt 250l. ſettled upon an almſhouſe there begun by his father. *Five hundred pounds* directed to be paid to the Biſhop of Sarum, to be beſtowed upon an organ in that church, or ſuch other uſe as the Biſhop ſhall think fitteſt. *Five hundred pounds* to the Dean and Chapter of Chriſt-Church in Oxford, towards the new buildings. *Two hundred pounds* to be beſtowed on the cathedral church of Chicheſter, as the Biſhop, and Dean and Chapter ſhall think fit. And to the cathedral church at Wincheſter, *two hundred pounds*. To the poor of Lewiſham in Kent, where he was born, *forty pounds*. To the poor of Greenwich in Kent, *forty pounds*. To the poor of Weſtrham in Suſſex, *twenty pounds*; and *twenty pounds* more to provide communion-plate for that pariſh, if they want it, otherwiſe that 20l. alſo to the poor. To the poor of Witham in Suſſex, *twenty pounds*. *Ten pounds* per ann. for ten years, to William Watts, to encourage him to continue in his ſtudies. To ten widows of clergymen 500l. i. e. *fifty pounds* a-piece. To ten loyal officers that were not yet provided for, 500l. i. e. *fifty pounds* a-piece. To All Souls College, Oxon. *two hundred pounds*. By a codicil he gave *three hundred pounds* to the repair of St Paul's cathedral in London, and, in ſeveral ſums, to private friends and ſervants, above *three thouſand pounds*, — &c. (11). So that the character given of him by Biſhop Burnet (12), is neither kind, nor juſt. 'He had been, ſays he, the King's 'tutor, though no way fit for that poſt, but he was a 'meek and humble man, and much loved for the 'ſweetneſs of his temper; and would have been more 'eſteemed, if he had died before the Reſtauration, *for 'he made not the uſe of the great wealth that flowed 'in upon him, that was expected.*' It muſt be remembred, that Biſhop Burnet ſeldom or never ſpeaks well of any of his order.

[*I*] *He wrote a few things*, &c.] Namely, 1. 'The 'Soul's Soliloquie, and Conference with Conſcience.' A Sermon before King Charles I, at Newport, in the Iſle of Wight, on the 25th of October, being the monthly faſt, on Pſalm xlii. 5. Lond. 1648, 4to. 2. 'Angels rejoicing for Sinners repenting,' a ſermon on Luke xv. 10. Lond. 1648. 4to. 3. 'A Guide 'for

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(*u*) Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy, *&c.* by J. Walker, Lond. 1714, P. ii. p. 62.

(*w*) G. Richardſon, ut ſupra, p. 243. Wood, as above, and J. Le Neve, ubi ſupra, p. 288. He was then in the 72d year of his age.

(*x*) Biſhop Kennet, as above, p. 220.

(*y*) Wood, as above, col. 270, 271.

(*z*) Biſhop King's Sermon at the Funeral of Biſhop Duppa, Lond. 1662, 4*to*.

(*a*) Wood, ubi ſupra; and The Antiquities of St Peter's Weſtminſter, *&c.* by J. Crull, edit. 1715, 8*vo*, p. 201, *&c.*

(*b*) Wood, ubi ſupra. See alſo Biſhop King's Funeral Sermon on Biſhop Duppa.

(*c*) Ibid.

(7) Athenæ, col. 270.

(8) From a copy of his Will, now before us.

(9) The Natural Hiſtory and Antiquities of Surrey, by J. Aubrey, Eſq; Vol. I. p. 59, 60.

(10) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 271.

(11) From his Will.

(12) Hiſt. of his own Time, edit. 1724, fol. p. 177.

‘ for the Penitent: Or, a model drawn up for the help of a devout ſoul wounded with ſin.’ Lond. 1660, 8vo. and 12mo. 4. ‘ Holy Rules and Helps to Devotion, both in prayer and practice, in two parts.’ Lond. 1674, 12mo. with the author's picture in the beginning. Publiſhed by Benj. Parry of Corpus Chriſti College, Oxon. (15). The *life of Archbiſhop Spotſwood* is likewiſe ſaid by ſome to have been written by our author: but Mr Wood juſtly obſerves, that could not be, becauſe it was written by a native of Scotland. C

(15) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 270.

DUREL (JOHN) a learned Divine in the XVIIth century, who wrote ſeveral pieces in vindication of the Church of England, was born at St Helier's [*A*] in the Iſle of Jerſey, in the year 1625 (*a*). About the end of the year 1640, he was entered a Student of Merton-college in Oxford; but when that city came to be garriſoned for King Charles I, and the ſeat of the Muſes was turned into a ſeat of war, Mr Durel, after a ſtay of two years there, retired into France: and having ſtudied for ſome time at Caen in Normandy, took the degree of Maſter of Arts, in the Sylvanian college of that place, on the 8th of July 1644 (*b*). Then he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity, and aſſiduouſly purſued it above two years, at Saumur, under the famous Moſes Amyrault (*c*) Divinity Reader in that Proteſtant univerſity. In the year 1647 he returned into his native country, and continued there for ſome time among his relations (*d*). But after the reduction of that iſland by the Parliament-forces in 1651, having been concerned in the defence of it for the King (*e*), he was forced to withdraw, or rather expelled, from thence. Whereupon he withdrew to Paris, and received Epiſcopal Ordination in the chapel of Sir Richard Browne, Knt. then his Majeſty's (*f*) Reſident in France, from the hands of Thomas Biſhop of Galloway, tranſlated after the King's Reſtoration to Orkney [*B*]. Not finding any employment in or about Paris, he came to St Malo's; and had no ſooner acquainted his friends with the condition he was in, but the Reformed Church of Caen invited him very kindly, by an expreſs, to come and be one of their Miniſters, in the abſence of the moſt learned Samuel Bochart [*C*], who was going into Sweden. Not long after, the Landgrave of Heſſe having written to the Miniſters of Paris, to ſend him a Miniſter to preach in French at his Highneſs's Court, he was by them recommended to that Prince, of whom likewiſe he received a very kind invitation by ſeveral letters (*g*). But not thinking fit to accept of either of thoſe places [*D*], he choſe to be Chaplain to the Duke De la Force, father to the Princeſs of Turenne; in which ſtation he continued above eight years (*h*). Upon the Reſtoration of King Charles II he came over to England, and was very inſtrumental in ſetting up the new Epiſcopal French church at the Savoy in London [*E*], wherein he officiated firſt on Sunday 14 July 1661, and continued

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 731.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Or *Amyraldus*, as his name is latinized. He was a learned Divine, and author of ſeveral good books. See our author's *View of the Government, &c. in the Reformed Churches*, p. 149.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) See *Cæſarea*, or Account of Jerſey, *&c.* by P. Falle, 2d edit. 1734, 8*vo*, p. 119.

(*f*) K. Charles II.

(*g*) See A View of the Government and Publick Worſhip of God in the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas, *&c.* by our author, J. Durel. Lond. 1662, 4*to*, p. 93, 94.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 17, 94, 77.

[*A*] *Was born at St Helier's.*] The chief town in the iſland; ſo named from Helerius, a pious hermit, martyred there: and not from Hilary, Biſhop of Poictiers, who never was in the iſland, or had any relation thereto (1). Therefore, the right name of that town is not St Hilary, as it is called by A. Wood, Camden, and many other writers, but St Helier.

(1) Account of Jerſey, *&c.* as above, p. 9, 10.

[*B*] *And received Epiſcopal Ordination ——— from the hands of Thomas Biſhop of Galloway*, &c.] Being a native of Jerſey, ordained in France, and by a Scotch Biſhop, that made a certain writer (2) doubt, whether he was *Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Preſbyter*, a Preſbyter of the Church of England, as he ſtiles himſelf in his *Vindication*, &c. But that author ſhowed therein both his ignorance and malice: for the inhabitants of Jerſey being true and faithful members of the Church of England, any one of them that had received epiſcopal ordination, might juſtly call himſelf a Preſbyter of the Church of England.

(2) The author of *The Nonconformiſts vindicated from the abuſe put upon them by* Mr Durel *and* Mr Scrivener. Suppoſed to be H. Hickman, Lond. 1679, 8*vo*.

[*C*] *The moſt learned Samuel Bochart.*] Author of *Canaan*, *Phaleg*, *Hierozoicon*, and other excellent books, intended for the explanation of the holy Scriptures; wherein he ſhews a prodigious ſkill in the Oriental, and other languages, and a fund of good ſenſe and exquiſite judgment. He was invited about the year 1651 to Sweden, by Queen Chriſtina.

[*D*] *But not thinking fit to accept of either of thoſe places.*] He tells us, That ‘ the providence of God did not permit him to go to either of theſe places whither he was invited (3),’ but aſſigns no other particular reaſon.

(3) View of the Government and Publick Worſhip of God, &c. as above, p. 94.

[*E*] *And was very inſtrumental in ſetting up the new Epiſcopal French church at the Savoy in London.*] We have a full account, in one of his books (4), of the origin and foundation of that epiſcopal church, which we ſhall give in his own words. ‘ About twenty years ſince (5) the Duke of Soubize, living near the Court, and finding it troubleſome, and ſometimes impoſſible for him, by reaſon of his infirmities, to go to church as far as Threadneedle-ſtreet, where the Walloons have their church, he had commonly a French ſermon preached before him in his own houſe every Sunday. Thither the French, who live in thoſe parts, did uſually reſort, to ſave themſelves the labour and toil of going up ſo great a way into the city. This they found ſo commodious, that after the Duke was dead, they reſolved to ſet up a French church about the Strand, and wholly to leave going to that of the city, except ſuch men as continued to pay their uſual ſtipend (as ſome there were that did) towards the maintenance of their miniſters, and others ſometimes upon occaſion. But this notwithſtanding, thoſe of London ſo highly reſented the erecting of that new church, that ever ſince they endeavoured by all means poſſible to pull it down. Their laſt aſſault againſt it, was after the Reſtoration of King Charles II, — when they made their addreſſes to his Majeſty, to have the French congregation at Weſtminſter (for ſo it was called, as being within the liberties thereof) broken, and forbidden ever to aſſemble any more; giving for reaſon of this their humble petition, That the ſaid congregation was not eſtabliſhed by any lawful authority, and that by their privilege, all thoſe of the French language, whereſoever they lived, in either of the cities of London or Weſtminſter, have but one only place, where they are permitted to aſſemble for the publick worſhip of God in their own tongue. They of Weſtminſter, to keep up their congregation, preſented their humble ſuit to his Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to conſider, what trouble and toil it would be for them, eſpecially ſuch as had great families and young children, to go every Sunday to church at ſuch a diſtance. The King, all things conſidered, found out a way to grant them both their requeſts; by breaking the French congregation of Weſtminſter, according to the deſire of thoſe of the Walloons congregation of London, as being eſtabliſhed indeed without any lawful authority; and by ſetting up a new church under the immediate juriſdiction of the Biſhop of London, wherein divine ſervice ſhould be performed in French, according to the book of Common-prayer; his Majeſty being pleaſed to provide for the maintenance of a miniſter, to be therein a conſtant preacher; and leaving it to every one's liberty to join with thoſe of the old Walloons congre-

(4) Ibid. p. 73.

(5) *i. e.* about the year 1640.

nued to officiate there for ſome years after, with great liking and applauſe (*i*). In April 1663, he was made Prebendary of North Aulton in the cathedral church of Saliſbury, being then Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majeſty (*k*); and, the 11th of February following, ſucceeded Dr Hawles in a canonry of Windſor (*l*). On the 1ſt of July 1668, he was inſtalled into the fourth prebend of Durham (*m*), and had a rich donative conferred on him (*n*). The 28th of February 1669-70, he was actually created Doctor in Divinity (*o*), by virtue of the Chancellor's letters [*F*]. In 1677 King Charles II gave him the deanery of Windſor, vacant by the death of Dr Bruno Ryves, into which he was inſtalled July 27 (*p*). He had alſo the great living of Witney in Oxfordſhire conferred on him (*q*). All which preferments he obtained, partly through his own qualifications, being not only a good Scholar, but alſo ‘ a perfect Courtier, ſkilful in the arts of getting into the favour of great men ;’ and partly through his great intereſt with King Charles II, to whom he was perſonally known both in Jerſey and France (*r*). Mr Wood thinks (*s*), that had he lived ſome years longer, he would undoubtedly have beeen promoted to a biſhopric. He publiſhed ſeveral things [*G*]; and among the reſt, ‘ I. The Liturgy of the Church of England aſſerted, in a ‘ Sermon, preached [in French] at the Chappel of the Savoy, before the *French Congregation*, which uſually aſſembles in that place, upon the firſt day that divine ſervice was ‘ there celebrated according to the Liturgy of the Church of England.’ Tranſlated into Engliſh by G. B. Doctor in Phyſick. Lond. 1662, 4*to*. II. ‘ A View of the Government and publick Worſhip of God in the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas. ‘ Wherein is ſhewed their Conformity and Agreement with the Church of England, as it ‘ is eſtabliſhed by the Act of Uniformity.’ Lond. 1662, 4*to* [*H*]. Exceptions having been made to this book by the Nonconformiſts [*I*], our author publiſhed, III. *A Vindication of the Church of England againſt the unjuſt and impudent accuſations of the Schiſmatics*, Lond. 1669, 4*to* [*K*]. He died June 8, 1683, and was buried, the 12th day of the ſame month

(*i*) Ibid. p. 73, & Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 732.

(*k*) Wood, ibid.

(*l*) Antiquit. of Berkſhire, by El. Aſhmole, Eſq; Vol. III. edit. 1718, p. 276.

(*m*) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. edit. 1727, p. 267.

(*n*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. II. col. 180.

(*p*) Antiquit. of Berkſhire, ubi ſupra, p. 242.

(*q*) From private information of a friend who knew him.

(*r*) From the ſame information.

(*s*) Ubi ſupra.

‘ gation of London, or to become members of the ‘ new French church of Weſtminſter, which was likewiſe permitted by his Majeſty's letter, to add to ‘ that Miniſter, for whom his Majeſty was to provide, ‘ as many others, as by them ſhould be thought convenient, provided the ſaid miniſters be preſented to the ‘ Biſhop of London for the time being, to be by him ‘ inſtituted.’

[*F*] *By virtue of the Chancellor's Letters*] Wherein, among other commendations of him, his Lordſhip (6), ſaid ; ‘ his fame was ſo well known to them ‘ [i. e. the Univerſity] eſpecially for the great pains ‘ he had taken in the Church, that he could hardly ‘ propoſe to them any thing in his behalf, in which ‘ they would not be willing to prevent him.——— Adding—— that ‘ of his parts and learning they were ‘ better judges than himſelf, but had not ſo much experience of his loyalty, fidelity and ſervice to his ‘ Majeſty as himſelf, &c (7).’

[*G*] *He publiſhed ſeveral things.*] Namely, beſides thoſe mentioned above, theſe few following. 1. *Theoremata Philoſophiæ rationalis, moralis, naturalis, & ſupernaturalis, quorum veritatem tueri conabitur in Coll. Sylvano Acad. Cadomenſis, &c.* 8 *Jul.* 1644. *Cadom.* 1644. 4to. They were the Theſes he maintained in the Univerſity of Caen, when he took his Maſter of Arts degree. 2. He publiſhed, a French, and Latin, Tranſlation of the Common-prayer-book, upon the review of it at the Reſtoration: 3. The whole Duty of Man, tranſlated into French; ſaid to be by the Doctor's Lady, but very probably with his aſſiſtance (8). 4. He intended to publiſh a collection of the ſeveral Liturgies of all the Proteſtant Churches; but never did (9).

[*H*] *A view of the Government and publick worſhip of God in the Reformed Churches, &c.*] In this book, the learned Author puts the Controverſy between the eſtabliſhed Church of England and the Diſſenters upon its right foot. For, the Preſbyterians having given out, ‘ That the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas, ‘ were as much averſe to the Government and publick ‘ Worſhip of God in the Church of England as themſelves,’ He ſhews, in Sect 1, the conformity of the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas with the Reformed Church of England, in theſe particulars. Becauſe, thoſe Churches that follow the Confeſſion of Augſburg, have the ſame Ceremonies with the Church of England; have ſubordination of Paſtors, and in ſome Biſhops and Archbiſhops, both name and thing; ſet Forms of Prayers; Holy-days, and Faſt-days; magnificent Churches, Organs, Surplice, Church-Ornaments, Croſs in Baptiſm, receiving the Communion kneeling, &c. All which he confirms by quotations from authentick writers, and by letters ſent to him by the Miniſters of moſt of the Reformed Congregations in the ſeveral parts of France. In Sect II. He maintains, that in thoſe things, in which ſome Reformed Churches beyond the Seas differ from the Reformed Church of England, they do not pretend ſhe ſhould rather conform to them, than they to her, and that they never deſired the abolition of our Church-government, or of our Book of Common-prayer, but that they approve of both, and wiſh we may ever enjoy the benefit of both in peace and quietneſs.——At the end, there is an Appendix, containing, among other things, the Preface to the *Agenda*, or Form of Prayer uſed in the Churches of Poland and Lithuania. And a letter of Dr Peter Du Moulin, wherein he informs our Author, that in 1651, Archbiſhop Uſher told him, David Blondel had concluded his *Apologia pro Hieronymi ſententia*, (i. e. his book in favour of Preſbytery) with words to this purpoſe. ‘ By all that we have ſaid to ‘ aſſert the rights of the Preſbytery, we do not intend ‘ to invalidate the antient and Apoſtolical Conſtitution ‘ of Epiſcopal Preeminence. But we believe that ‘ whereſoever it is eſtabliſhed conformably to the antient Canons, it muſt be carefully preſerved, and ‘ whereſoever, by ſome heat of contention or otherwiſe, it hath been put down or violated, it ought to ‘ be reverently reſtored.’ But that book having been written at the earneſt requeſt of the Aſſembly of Weſtminſter, of the Scots eſpecially, who had their Agents at Paris to ſtrengthen their party by miſinforming the Proteſtants of France, and winning them to their ſide: when theſe Agents ſaw this concluſion of Mr Blondel's manuſcript, they expoſtulated with him very loud for marring all the good he had done in his book, and never left importuning him, till they had prevailed upon him to put out that concluſion.

[*I*] *Exceptions having been made to this by the Nonconformiſts.*] Particularly in a book entituled, *Apologia pro Miniſtris in Anglia (vulgò) Nonconformiſtis, Anno* 1662. *Aug.* 24. *Die Bartholomæo dicto, ejectis. Adverſus argutiolas, putidaſque calumnias, Durelli, Elliſi, aliorumque. Per Irenæum Eleutherium A. M. ex Acad. Cantab.* i. e. ‘ An Apology for the Non‘ conformiſt Miniſters in England, ejected Aug 24. ‘ 1662. againſt the little ſubtilties and ſtinking calum‘ nies of Durell, Ellis, &c.’ In which Mr Durell is treated with great contempt, and called many hard names. The Author of it was Henry Hickman (10); and it was viſibly printed beyond Sea.

[*K*] *A Vindication of the Church of England, &c.*] The Apology having been written in Latin, our Author publiſhed this his vindication in the ſame language, under this title, *Sanctæ Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ adverſus*

(6) James Duke of Ormond.

(7) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(8) Wood, ubi ſupra; and from private information. See alſo our author's *View of the Government and Publick Worſhip of God*, &c. as above, p. 187.

(9) View of the Government, &c. p. 14.

(10) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 731. 895.

month, about the middle of the north iſle joining to the choir of the collegiate chapel at Windſor, in a ſmall brick vault: over which, a flat black marble ſtone was ſoon after laid (*t*), with a ſhort inſcription [*L*]. Mr Wood gives the following character of him: ‘ He was a perſon of unbiaſſed and fixed principles, untainted and ſteady loyalty, as con‘ſtantly adhering to the ſinking cauſe and intereſt of his Sovereign in the worſt of times; ‘ who dared with an unſhaken and undaunted reſolution to ſtand up and maintain the honour ‘ and dignity of the Engliſh Church, when ſhe was in her loweſt and deplorable condition. ‘ He was very well verſed alſo in all the controverſies on foot between the Church and the ‘ Diſciplinarian party; the juſtneſs and reaſonableneſs of the eſtabliſhed conſtitutions of the ‘ former, no one of late years hath more plainly manifeſted, or with greater learning more ‘ ſucceſsfully defended againſt its moſt zealous modern oppugners than he hath done, as by ‘ his works is manifeſt (*u*).’ The ſame author calls him elſewhere (*w*), ‘ the judicious and ‘ laborious advocate for the Church of England, both in word and in deed.’ Other writers have alſo ſpoken in his praiſe, and even his antagoniſt Dr Lewis Du Moulin, commends him for his civility and candour, and the ſmoothneſs and beauty of his language (*x*).

(*t*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 735.

(*u*) Ib. col. 732.

(*w*) Faſti, Vol. II. col. 180.

(*x*) In familiari progreſſu vir civilis ingenio, ore probo, pectore niveo, oratione profluente, & lenocinante. *Patronus bonæ fidei*, &c. p. 1.

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verſus iniquas atque inverecundas Schiſmaticorum Criminationes, Vindiciæ. The Preſbyterians taking great offence at it, publiſhed theſe anſwers, ‘ 1° *Bonaſus* ‘ (11) *Vapulans*: or ſome caſtigations given to Mr ‘ John Durell for fowling himſelf and others in his ‘ Engliſh and Latin book.’ Lond. 1672. 8vo. reprinted in 1679 under this title, ‘ The Nonconformiſts vindicated from the abuſes put upon them by ‘ Mr Durell and Mr Scrivner.’ 2. Dr Lewis Du Moulin publiſhed alſo this anſwer thereto, *Patronus bonæ fidei, in cauſa Puritanorum, contra Hierarchas Anglos: ut diſceptatur in ſpecimine confutationis vindiciarum clariſſ. Viri Joh. Durelli, cujus periculum fit, cum paſſim in ejus opere, tum maxime in capite primo, in quo agitur de authoribus nuperorum motuum in Anglia.* Lond. 1672. 8vo.

(11) A wild beaſt like a bull, which when purſued by the hunters, lets fly his ordure plentifully in their faces.

[*L*] *With a ſhort inſcription.*] As follows,

Johannes Durell S. Th. D.
Windſorienſis Sacelli Decanus, hic
jacet, beatam expectans Reſurrectionem,
obiit Ann. Ætatis 58. *A. Chr. Nat.* 1683.
8 *Id. Jun.*

i. e. Here lieth John Durell, D. D. Dean of Windſor, waiting for a happy Reſurrection, he died June 8. 1683. in the 58th year of his age. C

DYER (Sir JAMES) an eminent Lawyer, a worthy Patriot, and Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was the ſecond ſon of Richard Dyer, of Wymaulton in Somerſetſhire, Eſq; in which county this worthy perſon was born, at his father's ſeat of Roundhill (*a*), in the beginning of the XVIth century, as there is good reaſon to believe, in 1511 (*b*). He received part of his education at Broadgate-Hall, in the univerſity of Oxford (*c*), where he was entered a Gentleman-Commoner; and removed from thence without taking a degree, as being intended for the ſtudy of the Law, to the Middle-Temple, London. In that learned ſociety he very ſoon became remarkable, as well for the quickneſs of his parts, as for his extream diligence in his profeſſion; and after having continued for ſome time in the degree of Barriſter, he was elected ſummer reader of that houſe, in the ſixth year of the reign of King Edward VI (*d*). He was by the King's writ, bearing date 19th of May, 1552, called to the degree of a Serjeant at Law (*e*), and was alſo Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, in the parliament which met the firſt of March the ſame year (*f*). On the 19th of October, 1553, he was, together with William Standford, made one of the Queen's Serjeants at Law (*g*). In this ſtation, he aſſiſted with the gentleman beforementioned, at the trial of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Knt. at the Guild-hall of London, for high-treaſon, April 17, 1554 (*h*), at which time his collegue, Serjeant Standford, behaved with great warmth and bitterneſs againſt the priſoner; but Serjeant Dyer took very little or no ſhare in that proſecution, which certainly does honour to his memory, as that proſecution did none at all to the Crown, or to thoſe who managed it (*i*). On the 8th of May, 1556, being then a Knight and Recorder of Cambridge, as well as one of the Queen's Serjeants, he was conſtituted one of the Juſtices of the Common-Pleas (*k*), and muſt therefore be the perſon mentioned by the Reverend Mr Strype (*l*), though he is ſtrangely miſtaken as to his title [*A*]. April the 23d, 1557, he was removed to the King's-Bench (*m*), and ſat as a Puiſne Judge there, during the remainder of Queen Mary's reign. In the beginning of that of Queen Elizabeth, *viz.* November the 18th, 1559, he was again made one of

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies, Somerſetſhire, p. 25.

(*b*) From an original picture.

(*c*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Tom. I. col. 210.

(*d*) E Regiſt. Hoſpic. med. Templ.

(*e*) Chron. Jurid. p. 163.

(*f*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 210.

(*g*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 351.

(*h*) Hollinſhed's Chron. Vol. II.

(*i*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 63.

(*k*) Spelman. Gloſſar. p. 344.

(*l*) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 390.

(*m*) Chron. Jurid. p. 165.

[*A*] *Is ſtrangely miſtaken as to his title.*] It may be eaſily conceived, that ſo wiſe a man, and ſo great a lawyer, as Sir James Dyer, ſhould perfectly underſtand the conſtitution of the Church; and without entering at all into the violences of parties, be willing to lay hold of any opportunity of doing a thing which he thought right in itſelf, whatever turn things might take, or which Church ſoever prevailed. We are therefore, obliged to Mr Strype, for ſetting down, and thereby preſerving, the memorial of the juſt and pious act done, by this learned and upright lawyer, though he ſeems, through ſome miſtake, to be willing to attribute it to another of the ſame name; but as there was no ſuch perſon, and as all the circumſtances of this fact perfectly agree with our Chief Juſtice's character and ſituation, there can be no doubt that he was the man. The ſtory, as related by Mr Strype, runs thus (1). ‘ I ſhall inſert into this hiſtory one particular ‘ matter, which how little ſoever it may be thought, ‘ yet becauſe of the ſtrangeneſs and rarity of it may ‘ deſerve to be recorded. It was the deappropriation ‘ of an impropriation, in the dioceſe of Bath and ‘ Wells; which was reſtored back to the Church, by ‘ Dyer, Lord Chief Juſtice, in the reign of King ‘ Philip and Queen Mary; and by James Dyer, and ‘ his heirs for ever, made preſentative, or preſentable ‘ lawfully, and by royal authority. It was the church ‘ of Staplegrove juxta Taunton. And James Dyer, ‘ Knight, and Capital Juſticiar of the Bench, preſented ‘ Chr. Dyrling thereunto, Sept. 17, 1575, void by the ‘ death of Walter Gardiner.’

(1) Strype's Ann. Vol. II. p. 390.

[*B*] In

of the Judges of the Common-Pleas, but he did not long continue in that ſtation, for Sir Anthony Brown, who preſided in that court, in the reign of Queen Mary, and who had remained in that poſt in the firſt year of Queen Elizabeth, being inflexible in his adherence to the Romiſh Communion, it was not thought proper to leave him any longer in ſo high an office (*n*), though in all other reſpects, he was a moſt worthy perſon; neither indeed did himſelf deſire it, but rather choſe to ſerve in a leſs diſtinguiſhed place; and therefore, on the 22d of January following, the Queen was pleaſed to conſtitute and appoint Sir James Dyer, Knt. Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas (*o*); and the very ſame day, Sir Anthony Brown was made one of the Judges of the ſame court, in the room of Sir James Dyer (*p*). In this high office, few have ſerved with greater reputation during their lives, or left a greater character behind them, either in point of probity or ſufficiency (*q*). In 1572, he aſſiſted at the trial of Thomas Duke of Norfolk; and upon the Duke's deſiring to have counſel allowed him, alledging it was no more than had been granted to Humphry Stafford, in the reign of Henry VII; Sir James Dyer anſwered, that it was true, but that it was to a point of Law, *viz.* whether he was legally taken out of ſanctuary or not; but that as to point of fact, he neither had, nor could have, counſel, as the law ſtood (*r*). He continued in his office without the leaſt diminution, either of his own reputation, or the Queen's favour, twenty-four years, which is longer than any who ſat, either before or after (*s*). At length, full of years, and in the juſt eſteem of all good men, he paid his laſt debt to nature, at Stowton in Huntingdonſhire, where he had purchaſed an eſtate, March 24, 1581, in the ſeventieth year of his age, and was buried in the pariſh church there, on the ninth of April following (*t*). Of his family we ſhall give the reader ſome account in the notes [*B*]. He was the author of a large book of reports, printed about twenty years after his deceaſe, and which have been highly eſteemed for their ſuccinctneſs and ſolidity. He left behind him alſo, ſome other writings, relative to his profeſſion, of all which, the reader will meet with a more full account, at the bottom of the page [*C*]. By theſe, in conjunction with the ſervices he rendered his country

(*n*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 152.

(*o*) SpelmanGloſſ. p. 344.

(*p*) Chron. Jurid. p. 167.

(*q*) Tanner, Bibl. Britannico-Hibernica, p. 242.

(*r*) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 86.

(*s*) Fuller's Worthies, Somerſetſh. p. 25.

(*t*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 211.

[*B*] *In the notes.*] This worthy Judge married Margaret, daughter of Sir Maurice Abarrow, of Hampſhire, Knt. which Lady, at the time of his marriage with her, was the widow of Sir Thomas Elliot, of Carlton in Cambridgeſhire, Knt. and deceaſed Auguſt 25, 1569, without having any iſſue by her ſecond huſband (2); ſo that a large eſtate, which our Sir James Dyer purchaſed in Huntingdonſhire, came after his deceaſe, to his nephew, Richard Dyer, ſon to his brother, Lawrence Dyer, whoſe deſcendant was raiſed to the degree of a Baronet (3), by letters patent, dated June 8, 1627, and is therein ſtiled of Stowton in Huntingdonſhire, but that honour is now extinct.

(2) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 211.

(3) Baronettage of England, Vol. V. p. 272.

[*C*] *At the bottom of the page.*] The firſt edition of our author's Reports was printed in 1601, again in 1606, in 4to. in 1621, in folio, in 1672, in folio; but the beſt edition is in 1688, and bears the following title, literally tranſlated from the French.

Reports of ſeveral ſelect matters and reſolutions, of the reverend judges and ſages of the law, touching and concerning many principal points, debated by them in the ſeveral reigns of the moſt high and potent Princes, the Kings Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth, and the Queens Mary and Elizabeth, collected and reported by that moſt reverend Judge, Sir James Dyer, Knt. heretofore Chief Juſtice *of the* Common-Pleas, *in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; to which are now added, many thouſand references to other books of the Common Law, as well antient as modern, beſides a great number of caſes that were never before printed, with three, Tables, the firſt, containing the principal matters in the ſaid book; the ſecond, the names of all the caſes reported therein; and the third, the names of the new caſes added in the margin.*

That learned and worthy Judge, Sir Edward Coke, gives us the following ſhort and clear account, of the progreſs of Reports, and of the characters of their authors, to his own time (4). 'Right profitable alſo, are the antient books of the Common Laws yet extant, as Glanvil, Bracton, Britton, Fleta, Ingham, and Nova Narrationes, and thoſe alſo of later times, as the old Tenures, old Natura Brevium, Littleton, Doctor and Student, Perkins, Fitzh. Nat. Br. and Stamford, of which the regiſter Littleton, Fitzherbert, and Stamford, are moſt neceſſary, and of greateſt authority and excellency; and yet the other alſo are not without their fruit. In reading of the caſes in the books at large, which ſometimes are obſcure, and miſprinted, if the reader, after the diligent reading of the caſe, ſhall obſerve how the caſe is abridged, in thoſe two great abridgements of Juſtice Fitzherbert, and Sir Robert Brooke, it will both illuſtrate the caſe, and delight the reader; and yet neither that of Statham, nor that of the book of aſſizes, is to be rejected: and for pleading, the great book of Entries is of ſingular uſe and utility. To the former Reports, you may add the exquiſite and elaborate commentaries at large of Maſter Plowden, a grave man, and ſingularly well learned; and the ſummary and fruitful obſervations of that famous and moſt reverend Judge and Sage of the Law, Sir James Dyer, Knt. late Chief Juſtice of the Court of Common-Pleas, and mine own ſimple labours: then have you fifteen books or treatiſes, and as many volumes of the Reports, beſides the Abridgments of the Common Laws, for I ſpeak not of the ſtatutes and acts of parliament, whereof there be divers great volumes. And for that, it is hard for a man to report any part or branch, of any art or ſcience, juſtly and truly, which he profeſſeth not; and impoſſible to make a juſt and true relation of any thing that he underſtands not; I pray thee beware of Chronicle Law, reported in our Annals, for that will undoubtedly lead thee to error: for example, they ſay, that William the Conqueror decreed, that there ſhould be Sheriffs in every ſhire, and Juſtices of Peace to keep the countries in quiet, and to ſee offenders puniſhed; whereas the learned know, that Sheriffs were great officers, and miniſters of juſtice, as now they are, long before the Conqueſt; and Juſtices of Peace had not their being until almoſt three hundred years after, viz. in the firſt year of Edward III.' The learned and loyal Judge Jenkins, in his preface to his Reports, ſpeaks alſo to this purpoſe (5). 'Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, Sir William Stamford, Lord Broke, Lord Dyer, Sir George Croke, and Mr Edmond Plowden, all remarkably great men, have illuſtrated our Law by their learned writings. They who would effectually read our laws, muſt again and again turn over whatever is to be found concerning them, whether in printed books, or among our written records: but before they beſtow their pains upon the more antient writings, becauſe many things in them are grown obſelete, and gone into diſuſe; and many other points are diſtracted by variety of opinions; it is of importance to gentlemen, that as ſoon as they have acquired the rudiments of the Law, they ſhould diligently collect and imprint on their minds, the ſolemn judgments and reſolutions of the Judges, that they may raiſe their ſuperſtructures

(4) Preface to the third part of his Reports.

(5) Preface to his Centuries.

country upon the bench, he came fully up to the character which Camden has given him, of being ever diſtinguiſhed by an equal and calm diſpoſition, which rendered him in all caſes, a moſt upright Judge, as his penetration made him a fit interpreter of the laws. ‘ Jacobus Dierus, in communi Placitorum Tribunali Juſtitiarus primarius, qui animo ‘ ſemper placido & ſereno, omnes Judicis æquiſſimi partes implevit, & Juris noſtri prudentiam commentariis illuſtravit (u).’

(u) Annal. Eliſ. p. 393.

‘ tures of knowledge upon well laid foundations, that ‘ they may not be forced to learn what they muſt unlearn again.’

Our author has alſo written. *A Reading upon the Statute of* 32 *Hen.* VIII, *cap.* 1. *of Wills*; and, *upon the 34th and 35th Hen.* VIII, *cap.* 5. *for the explanation of the Statute*, Lond. 1648, 4to.

His reports were abridged by Sir Thomas Ireland, and by another perſon. E

E.

EDMONDES (a), EDMONDS, or EDMUNDS, (Sir THOMAS) Knt. memorable for his embaſſies at ſeveral Courts, was born at Plymouth in Devonſhire (b), about the year 1563 (c). He was the fifth and youngeſt ſon of Thomas Edmondes, Head-cuſtomer of that port, and of Fowye in Cornwal, by Joan his wife, daughter of Antony Delabere, of Shirbourn in Dorſetſhire, Eſq; who was third ſon of Henry Edmondes, of New Sarum, Gent. [A], by Juliana his wife, daughter of William Brandon, of the ſame place (d). Where he had his education is not known. But we are informed, that he was introduced to Court by his name-ſake, Sir Thomas Edmonds [B], Comptroller of the Queen's Houſhold (e): and being initiated into public buſineſs, under that moſt accompliſhed Stateſman, Sir Francis Walſingham, Secretary of State (f), he was, undoubtedly through his recommendation, employed by Queen Elizabeth in ſeveral embaſſies. In 1592, that wiſe and diſcerning Princeſs, appointed him her Reſident at the Court of France, or rather Agent for her affairs in relation to King Henry IV, with a ſalary of twenty ſhillings a day (g) [C]. And on the 17th of May, 1596, made him a grant of the office of Secretary to her Majeſty for the French tongue, ‘ in conſideration of his faithful and acceptable ſervice heretofore done (h).’ Towards the end of that year he returned to England, when Sir Antony Mildmay was ſent Embaſſador to King Henry; but he went back again to France, in the beginning of May following, and in leſs than a month returned to London (i) [D]. In October 1597, he

(a) So he generally writ his name, as appears from ſeveral Orders of Council in the author's poſſeſſion.

(b) Mr Weſtcot, Deſcr. of Devon. in Pedig. Sir W. Pole, Stateſmen of Devon. See Prince's Worthies of Devon. edit. 1701, p. 287.

(c) Hiſtorical View of the Negotiations between England, &c. from the State-Papers of Sir Tho. Edmondes, &c. by T. Birch, Lond. 1749, p. 12 of Introduct.

(d) Ibid.

(e) Ibid. and D. Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1679, 8vo, p. 962.

(f) Birch, ubi ſupra. Introd. p. 12. and Hiſtorical View, as above, p. 323.

(g) Introd. ibid. and View of the Negotiations as above, p. 1, 11, 18.

(h) Rymer, Vol. XVI. p. 290.

(i) View of the Negotiations, &c. as above, p. 47, 49, 50.

[A] *Who was third ſon of Henry Edmondes, of New Sarum, Gent.*] Sir Thomas Edmondes, as the Rev. Mr Birch obſerves (1), was deſcended of a good family, different branches of which ſettled in ſeveral counties: but the books in the Heralds-office are ſo defective in his pedigree, that it is not to be traced higher than his grand-father, Henry Edmondes of New Sarum, abovementioned; who had three ſons, Laurence, *Henry*, and Thomas, and three daughters.

[B] *By his name-ſake, Sir Thomas Edmonds.*] Ant. Wood takes Sir Thomas Edmondes, who is the ſubject of this article, to have been *the ſon* of this Sir Thomas Edmonds, and *brother* to Sir Clement Edmonds, tranſlator of Cæſar's Commentaries (2). But Mr Prince aſſures us (3), that they had different coats of arms, and conſequently were of two diſtinct families.

[C] *With a ſalary of twenty ſhillings a day.*] But this allowance was ſo ill paid, or ſo inſufficient for his ſubſiſtence, that he was obliged to repreſent, in moſt pathetic terms, his diſtreſs to the Lord-Treaſurer, in a letter dated 21 Dec. 1593. Wherein, after repreſenting how much he was indebted to one Mr Smyth's charity and pity, who had not only lent him, but alſo given him extraordinary credit for money; he adds, ‘ It is to many known the poor life I do here lead, ‘ under the burden of this heavy expence, far above ‘ my power to bear, proteſting to your Lordſhip, in ‘ the faith of a Chriſtian, ſuch to be my preſent miſery, ‘ as I have not the means, wherewith to put a good ‘ garment on my back, to appear in honeſt company; ‘ my horſes the moſt part ſpoiled and ſpent, what by ‘ accidents, and the length of time; and generally ‘ never ſuffered in my poor particular, the like extremity of penury (5).’ Mr Birch obſerves upon that occaſion, That complaints of Queen Elizabeth's parſimony were not at all unuſual among her Miniſters, both at home and abroad. And it is remarkable, that the Lord-Treaſurer himſelf, in a letter ſtill extant in the paper-office, written in the critical year 1588, while the Spaniſh Armada was expected againſt England, excuſes himſelf to Sir Edward Stafford, then Embaſſador in France, for not writing to him oftner, on account of her Majeſty's unwillingneſs to be at the expence of meſſengers (6).

[D] *And in leſs than a month returned to London.*] The occaſion of theſe frequent and ſudden voyages, was, King Henry's requiring Queen Elizabeth, to ſend 4000 men to his aſſiſtance, according to treaty: and his refuſing to give up Boulogne for a caution (7).

(1) Introduction, as above, p. xi.

(2) Ath. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 472.

(3) Worthies, ubi ſupra.

(5) View of the Negotiat. &c. as above, p. 11, 12.

(6) Ibid. p. 21.

(7) View of the Negotiat. &c. p. 50.

he was diſpatched again as Agent for her Majeſty to the King of France (*k*); and returned to England about the beginning of May 1598, where his ſtay was extremely ſhort, for he was at Paris in the July following (*l*). But, upon Sir Henry Neville's being appointed Embaſſador to the French Court, he was recalled, to his great ſatisfaction, and arrived at London in June 1599 (*m*). Sir Henry Neville gave him a very great character (*n*), and recommended him to the Queen in the ſtrongeſt terms [*E*]. Before the end of that year, namely, about December the 26th, he was ſent to Archduke Albert, Governor of the Netherlands, with a letter of credence, and inſtructions to treat of a peace. The Archduke received him with great reſpect; but not being willing to ſend Commiſſioners to England, as the Queen deſired, Mr Edmondes went to Paris, and having obtained of King Henry IV, *Boulogne* for the place of treaty, he returned to England, and arrived at Court on Sunday morning, February 17 (*o*). The 11th of March following, he embarked again for Bruſſels (*p*); and on the 22d, had an audience of the Archduke, whom having prevailed upon to treat with the Queen, he returned home, April 9, 1600, and was received by her Majeſty with great favour, and highly commended for his ſufficiency in this negotiation (*q*). Soon after, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners for the treaty of Boulogne, together with Sir Henry Neville, the Queen's Embaſſador in France, John Herbert, Eſq; her Majeſty's ſecond Secretary, and Robert Beale, Eſq; Secretary to the Council in the North; their commiſſion being dated the 10th of May, 1600. The two laſt, with Mr Edmondes, left London the 12th of that Month, and arrived at Boulogne the 16th, as Sir Henry Neville did the ſame day from Paris. But after the Commiſſioners had been above three months upon the place, they parted, July the 28th, without ever aſſembling, by reaſon of a diſpute about precedency between England and Spain (*r*). Mr Edmondes, not long after his return, was appointed one of the Clerks of the Privy-Council: and, in the end of June, 1601, was ſent to the French King, to complain of the many acts of injuſtice committed by his ſubjects againſt the Engliſh merchants. He ſoon after returned to England; but, towards the end of Auguſt, went again, and waited upon King Henry IV, then at Calais; to whom he propoſed ſome meaſures, both for the relief of Oſtend, then beſieged by the Spaniards, and for an offenſive alliance againſt Spain (*s*). After his return to England, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners, for ſettling with the two French Embaſſadors, the depredations between England and France, and preventing them for the future (*t*). The 20th of May, 1603, he was knighted by King James I; and, upon the concluſion of the peace with Spain, on the 18th of Auguſt, 1604, was appointed Embaſſador to the Archduke at Bruſſels (*u*). He ſet out for that place the 19th of April, 1605 (*w*); having firſt obtained a reverſionary grant of the office of Clerk of the Crown (*x*). And, though abſent, was choſen one of the Repreſentatives for the Burgh of Wilton, in the parliament which was to have met at Weſtminſter, Nov. 5, 1605, but was prevented by the diſcovery of the Gun-powder-plot (*y*) [*F*]. During his embaſſy, he promoted, to the utmoſt of his power, an accommodation between the King of Spain and the States-General of the United Provinces (*z*) [*G*]. He was recalled in 1609, and came back to England about the end of Auguſt, or the beginning of September (*a*). In April 1610, he was employed as one of the Aſſiſtant-Commiſſioners, to conclude a defenſive league with the Crown of France (*b*). And having been deſigned, ever ſince the year 1608, to be ſent Embaſſador into that kingdom [*H*], he was diſpatched thither in all

(*k*) Ib. p. 52.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 176.

(*m*) Ib. p. 183, 189. and Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. publiſhed by Edm. Sawyer, Eſq; Lond. 1725, fol. Vol. I. p. 44, 45, 46, 50.

(*n*) Memorials, &c. p. 44, 45.

(*o*) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 139; and Letters of the Sidney-family, Vol. II. p. 165, 166, 169.

(*p*) Letters of the Sidney-family, ibid. p. 178, 179.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 186.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 194; and Memorials, as above, p. 186, 187, 188, 192—224.

(*s*) View of the Negotiations, &c. p. 200, 201; and Memorials, &c. p. 346, 348.

(*t*) Memorials, &c. p. 394.

(*u*) Memorials, Vol. II. p. 26. View of the Negotiations, &c. p. 217, 218.

(*w*) Ib. p. 219.

(*x*) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 58.

(*y*) View of the Negotiations, &c. p. 235.

(*z*) Ibid. p. 263, &c.

(*a*) Ib. p. 301, 308.

(*b*) Ib. p. 310.

[*E*] *And recommended him to the Queen in the ſtrongeſt terms.*] Namely, in theſe words. —— 'I ſhould 'be very ungratefull, yf I ſhould not yeald a true 'teſtimony unto this gentleman Mr Edmonds, and 'acknowledge the great light I have receaved, by his 'frendly and reall communicating with me his 'knowledge of the affaires of this ſtate; which I aſſure 'your Majeſtie to be very exquiſite, and his 'judgment and ſufficiency ſuche withall, as I hold him 'to have bin a worthy miniſter of your Majeſtie's 'here, and to be very able to do you good 'ſervice, whereſoever yt ſhall be your gracious 'pleaſure to make further uſe of him (8).

[*F*] *But was prevented by the diſcovery of the Gun-powder-plot.*] Sir Thomas ſent to our Miniſtry ſeveral notices about that plot, which he learned at Bruſſels; and, among the reſt, That the Engliſh regiment, in the ſervice of the Archduke, was to be brought over to England, for ſeconding the enterprizes of the conſpirators, after the execution of that helliſh deſign (9).

[*G*] *During his embaſſy, he promoted an accommodation between the King of Spain, and the States-General.*] It appears from ſome of his diſpatches, that Prince Maurice was extremely averſe to an accommodation; and uſed all the efforts imaginable, to perſuade Henry IV, to prevent the ſucceſs of the treaty about the truce. And, while it was negotiating, he was of a very *craving* humour: for, not ſatisfied with the large treatments granted by the States, nor contented with the reſtitution from the Archdukes of all the Prince of Orange's land in Burgundy, and the Netherlands; he further demanded ſatisfaction for certain pretenſions, grounded upon grants to his father from the States of Brabant and Flanders, which carried with them no ſhew of equity (10). In his conduct he appeared to have been of a very warm temper; apt to fly out upon contradiction, and embrace haſty reſolutions, from which he was afterwards obliged to recede, in a manner that did him no credit (11).

[*H*] *And having been deſigned, ever ſince the year 1608, to be ſent Embaſſador into that kingdom.*] His abilities, integrity, and faithfulneſs in his maſter's and country's ſervice, were ſuch a terror to the French Court, that they endeavoured to prevent his coming, and to have another appointed. For Mr de Puiſieux, one of their Prime-Miniſters, takes notice, in a letter to their Embaſſador in England, that they would get nothing, by having him in the room of Sir George Carew, ſince Sir Thomas Edmondes underſtood them too well. 'If he ſhould be ſent, adds Mr de Puiſieux, it is only with a deſign to make a fuller 'diſcovery of our affairs. We cannot, nor ought to 'oppoſe openly, the appointment of him; but 'whoever can underhand divert this ſtroke, would, in my 'opinion, do a good ſervice.' And Secretary de Villeroy, in a letter to the abovementioned Embaſſador, has theſe words, 'Let me know, — whether 'there is a means of procuring Sir Thomas Edmondes 'to

(8) Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. as above, Vol. I. p. 44.

(9) See View of the Negotiat. &c. as above, p. 248—255, 257.

(10) Ibid. p. 286, 288, 289, 294.

(11) Ib. p. 286, 287.

all haſte, in May 1610, upon the news of the execrable murder of King Henry IV, in order to learn the ſtate of affairs there (c). He arrived at Paris, May the 24th, where he was very civilly received [*I*], and on the 27th of June, had his audience of Mary de Medicis, Queen Regent; the young King [Lewis XIII] being preſent (*d*). In November following, he cauſed an Italian to be apprehended at Paris, for having ill deſigns againſt his maſter, King James I (*e*) [*K*]. There being, in 1612, a competition between him and the Spaniſh Embaſſador, about precedency (*f*), we are told, that he went to Rome privately, and fetched a certificate out of the Pope's Ceremonial, ſhewing that the King of England is to precede the King of Caſtile (*g*). He was employed, the ſame year, in treating of a marriage between Henry Prince of Wales, and the Princeſs Chriſtine, ſiſter to Lewis XIII, King of France; but the death of that Prince, on the 6th of November, 1612, put an end to this negotiation (*h*). And yet, on the ninth day of the ſame month, orders were ſent him, to propoſe a marriage between the ſaid Princeſs and our Prince Charles: however, he had more diſcretion than to open ſuch an affair ſo ſoon after the brother's death (*i*) [*L*]. About the end of December 1613, Sir Thomas deſired leave to return to England, but was denied till he ſhould have received the final reſolution of the Court of France, about the treaty of marriage; which having obtained, he came to England towards the end of January, 1613-14. Though the Privy-Council ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this match, becauſe they had not ſooner been made acquainted with ſo important an affair; yet ſo zealous was the King for it, that he ſent Sir Thomas again to Paris, with inſtructions, dated July 20, 1614, for bringing it to a concluſion. But, after all, it appeared that the Court of France were not ſincere in this affair, and only propoſed it to amuſe the Proteſtants in general (*k*). In 1616, Sir Thomas aſſiſted at the conference at Loudun, between the Proteſtants and the oppoſite party; and, by his journey to Rochelle, diſpoſed the Proteſtants to accept of the terms offered them, and was of great uſe in ſettling the Pacification (*l*). About the end of October, in the ſame year, he was ordered to England; not to quit his charge, but after he ſhould have kiſſed the King's hand, and received ſuch honour as his Majeſty was reſolved to confer upon him, in acknowledgment of his long, painful, and faithful ſervices, then to go and reſume his charge; and continue in France, till the affairs of that kingdom, which then hung in a ſlippery and uncertain ſtate, ſhould be better eſtabliſhed. Accordingly, he came over to England in December; and on the 21ſt of that month, was made Comptroller of the King's Houſhold; and the next day ſworn a Privy-Counſellor. He returned to the Court of France in April 1617; but took his leave of it towards the latter end of the ſame year. And on the 19th of January, 1617-18, was advanced to the place of Treaſurer of the Houſhold (*m*): which was all the preferment he enjoyed, tho' he deſerved the poſt of Secretary of State, that he had been recommended for (*n*), and which none was better qualified to diſcharge. He was elected one of the Burgeſſes for the Univerſity of Oxford, in the firſt parliament of King Charles I, which met June 18, 1625, and was alſo returned for the ſame, in the next parliament, which aſſembled at Weſtminſter the 26th of February following; but his election being declared void (*o*), he was choſen for another place. Some of the Speeches he made in this parliament, are printed [*M*]. On the

(*c*) Ibid. p. 301 308, 312.

(*d*) Ib. p. 313.

(*e*) Memorials, as above, Vol. III. p. 234.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 350.

(*g*) Lloyd's State Worthies, as above, p. 963.

(*h*) View of the Negotiations, &c. p. 352—372.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 373.

(*k*) Ib. p. 375, 376. and Memorials as above, Vol. III. p. 488, 492, 497.

(*l*) View of the Negotiations, &c. p. 390.

(*m*) Ibid, p. 399, 400, 401, 405.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 373, 374, 379, 405.

(*o*) Wood, Hiſt. & Ant. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 443.

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to be employed elſewhere; which would be a great relief to the Queen.———However, I am not of opinion that you ſhould make this propoſal; for, if it does not ſucceed, it will only ſerve to exaſperate *this little man*, who has ſpirit and courage enough (12).'

[*I*] *Where he was very civilly received.*] Tho' his perſon was not very agreeable to the French Court, as is manifeſt from the laſt note, yet his coming at that juncture was well taken. 'For, the next day after his arrival, he was viſited by the Maſter of the Ceremonies, from the young King and the Queen Regent, to bid him welcome, and to make their acknowledgements to King James for that kind office of ſending thither his Embaſſador. Sir Thomas was the firſt in the performance of his office to the new King, for which he received many congratulations, and was viſited with great affection by all the foreign Miniſters at Paris, eſpecially thoſe who were profeſſed friends to Great Britain (13).'

[*K*] *He cauſed an Italian to be apprehended——for having ill deſigns againſt King James I.*] The fellow had maintained ſeveral times, that if he had killed the King of England, he would think himſelf abſolved of all his ſins: and added, that he had a purpoſe ſhortly to go into England (14).

[*L*] *However he had more diſcretion than to open ſuch an affair ſo ſoon.*] And when he excuſed himſelf to our Court for that omiſſion, King James approved of his conduct in that point; as appears from a letter of his Majeſty, dated December 11, to Sir Thomas: wherein are theſe words.—— 'Wee do very weall allow of your cariage thairin, as fully agreeing with our meaning in our former direction, thogh peradventure ſum words tharin might cauſe it to be miſtaken. For it had been a very blunt thing in us, that you, our Miniſter, ſhould, ſo ſoone after ſuch a irreparable loſſe receaved by us, have begunne to talk of mariage, the moſt contrary thing that could be to death and funeralls. But becauſe wee doubted not, that that motione would be renewed againe unto you, if not by Villeroy, at leaſt by the Duke of Buillon, our meaning was thairfor, that you ſhould intertayn the motione (15).'

[*M*] *Some of the Speeches he made in this Parliament are printed.*] The firſt was on the 22d of March 1627. when he ſpoke to this effect. 'The King congratulating this preſent Parliament, he prays for a bleſſed *ſupply*, he aſſures us of his gracious inclination towards us, and of the conſequence of this meeting, doth intimate how much the ſafety of ourſelves and confederates abroad depends upon the good ſucceſs thereof; and he wiſheth a general oblivion of things that are paſt, leaſt they cauſe diſtractions a-new, without a primary and free ſupply to his Majeſty (16).' The ſecond was January the 28th 1628. being as follows. 'I am ſorry this houſe hath given occaſion of ſo many meſſages about *tunnage and poundage*, after his Majeſty hath given us a full ſatisfaction. You may perceive his Majeſty is ſenſible of the neglect of his buſineſs; we that know this, ſhould not diſcharge our duties to you, if we ſhould not perſuade you to that courſe, which ſhould procure his Majeſties good opinion of you. Yourſelves

(12) Lettres a Monſ. de la Boderie, edit. Amſterd. 1733, 8*vo*, Tom. I. p. 247, 251, 252. & Tom. II. p. 266.

(13) View of the Negotiat. &c. p. 313.

(14) Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 234.

(15) Ib. p. 373.

(16) Ephemeris Parliamentaria, fol. Lond. 1654, p. 30.

the 11th of June, 1629, he was commiſſioned to go Embaſſador to the French Court, on purpoſe to carry King Charles's ratification, and to receive Lewis the Thirteenth's oath, for the performance of the treaty of peace, then newly concluded between England and France: which he did in September following (*p*). And with this honourable commiſſion, he concluded all his foreign employments. Having, after this, enjoyed a creditable and peaceful retreat for about ten years, he departed this life, Sept. 20, 1639 (*q*). His Lady was Magdalene, one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir John Wood, Knt. Clerk of the Signet, by whom he had one ſon, and three daughters [*N*]. She died at Paris, December 31, 1614, with a character amiable and exemplary in all reſpects. Sir Thomas had with her the manor of Albins, in the pariſhes of Stapleford-Abbot, and Naveſtoke in Eſſex, where Inigo Jones built for him a manſion-houſe, delightfully ſituated in a park, now the ſeat of Sir John Abdy, Bart. (*r*). As to his perſon, Sir Thomas was ſmall of ſtature (*s*), but great in underſtanding. He was a man of uncommon ſagacity, and indefatigable induſtry, in his employments abroad; always attentive to the motions of the Courts where he reſided, and punctual and exact in reporting them to his own [*O*]: of a firm and unſhaken reſolution in the diſcharge of his duty, beyond the influence of terror, flattery, or corruption. The French Court, in particular, dreaded his experience and abilities, as hath been ſhewn above; and the Popiſh and Spaniſh party there could ſcarce diſguiſe their hatred of ſo zealous a ſupporter of the Proteſtant intereſt in that kingdom. His letters and papers, in twelve volumes in folio, were once in the poſſeſſion of Secretary Thurloe, and afterwards of the Lord Chancellor Somers [*P*]. The ſtyle of them is clear, ſtrong, and maſculine, and entirely free from the pedantry and puerilities, which infected the moſt applauded writers of that age, namely, Lord Bacon, Sir Henry Wotton, Dr Donne, &c. (*t*).

(*p*) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XIX. p. 86. View of the Negotiat. &c. in the Introd. p. xv.

(*q*) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. B. xiv. p. 18.

(*r*) View of the Negotiat. &c. in the Introd. p. xv.

(*s*) Ibid. in the body of the book, p. 64, 331, 333.

(*t*) Ibid. in the Introd. p. xv. xvi.

'ſelves are witneſſes how induſtrious his Majeſty was 'to procure you gracious Laws in his Father's time, 'and, ſince that, what enlargement he hath made of 'our Liberties (*), and yet ſtill we give him cauſe to 'repent him of the good he hath done. Conſider 'how dangerous it is to alienate his Majeſties heart 'from Parliaments (17).' David Loyd tells us (18), alluding in all likelyhood to theſe ſpeeches, that Sir Thomas angered the faction againſt the Court, with his principles, that the King was to be truſted: that the revenue was to be ſettled: that the Proteſtant cauſe was to be maintained: that jealouſies were to be removed, and things paſt were to be forgotten.—— Beſides theſe two ſpeeches, there are ſeveral letters of his publiſhed, in the three Volumes of Memorials of Affairs of State (19).

[*N*] *By whom he had one Son, and three Daughters.*] The Son named Henry, was born in 1600, and died in 1635, being ſunk into the moſt inveterate and incorrigible habit of drunkenneſs (20). He was Knight of the Bath (21). The Daughters were, *Iſabella*, born at Bruſſels in November 1607. who had her name from the Archducheſs her Godmother, and was married about March 1624-5, to Henry Lord Delawar. 2. *Mary*, married to Robert Mildmay, Eſq; by whom ſhe had Benjamin Lord Fitz-walter, Father of the preſent Earl Fitz-walter. 3. *Louiſa*, born at Paris in 1611, and baptized the 15th of September, Lewis XIII. ſtanding Godfather, and the Queen-Regent Godmother, by their proxies the Princeſs of Orange and the Duke of Bouillon. In March 1635-6, ſhe married clandeſtinely one of her father's genteeler ſervants (22).

[*O*] *And punctual and exact in reporting them to his own.*] Sir Robert Cecill, in ſome letters of his, gives this character of Sir Thomas: That he was 'very 'truſty and ſufficient (23): That her Majeſty was well 'pleaſed with his carriage in all things: and that his 'letters ſatisfied the Queen in every thing committed 'to his charge (24).'

[*P*] *His Letters and Papers, &c.*] Several of them, together with abſtracts from the reſt, were publiſhed by the Rev Mr Thomas Birch F. R. S. in a book intituled, *An Hiſtorical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Bruſſels, from the year* 1592 *to* 1617. *Extracted chiefly from the MS. State-papers of Sir Thomas Edmondes Kt. Embaſſador in France, &c. and of Anthony Bacon, Eſq; Brother to the Lord Chancellor Bacon.* London 1749. 8vo.

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(*) By granting the Petition of Right.

(17) Ib. p. 241.

(18) State Worthies, as above, p. 963.

(19) Publiſhed by Edm. Sawyer, Eſq; Lond. 1725.

(20) Letters and Diſpatches of Thomas Earl of Strafford, Vol. I. p. 463.

(21) Weſtcot, Pedig. MS.

(22) View of the Negotiations, as above, in the Introduct. p. xiv. xv.

(23) Ibid. in the body of the book, p. 134.

(24) Ibid. p. 183, 184.

EDWARDS (THOMAS) a famous Preſbyterian writer in the XVIIth century, and a bitter enemy to the Independents, who then bore ſway in this kingdom, was educated in Trinity-college in Cambridge [*A*], where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in the year 1605, and that of Maſter in 1609 (*a*). He was incorporated Maſter of Arts at Oxford, July 14, 1623 (*b*). Where and what, his preferments were, we do not find: But we learn from himſelf (*c*), that, though he conformed, yet he was always a Puritan in his heart [*B*]. He exerciſed his Miniſtry, chiefly as a Lecturer, at Hertford, and

(*a*) From the Univerſity-Regiſt.

(*b*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. Faſti, col. 226.

(*c*) Gangræna, Part. i. 2d edit. 1646, 4*to*, p. 75, 76.

[*A*] *Was educated in* Trinity-*College in* Cambridge.] He muſt have removed from ſome other College to Trinity; for he was not admitted there, according to their books, till 1605, the very year when he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (1).————There was another Thomas Edwards, born at Huntingdon, educated there in Grammar-learning, and admitted into Sidney-college, October 16, 1614. But he did not take any degree in that College (2), nor, as it ſeems, in the Univerſity; and conſequently could not be the ſame with our Author. However, after all, tho' we have taken great care to inform ourſelves, which of theſe two was the perſon we are writing of, yet we could come at no certainty therein. Mr Wood aſſures us, that he was a Cambridge-man (3).

[*B*] *Yet he was always a Puritan in his heart.*] Of which take the following account in his own words. 'I never had a canonicall coat, never gave a penny to 'the building of Pauls, took not the canonicall oath, 'declined ſubſcription for many years before the Parliament, (though I practiſed the old conformity) would 'not give *ne obulum quidem* to the contributions againſt 'the Scots, but diſſuaded other Miniſters; much leſſe 'did I yeeld to bow to the Altar, and at the name of 'Jeſus, or adminiſter the Lords Supper at a table 'turned Altarwiſe, or bring the people up to rails, or 'read the book of ſports, or highly flatter the Archbiſhop in an epiſtle dedicatory to him, or put articles into the High-Commiſſion-Court againſt any, 'but was myſelf put into the High-Commiſſion-Court, 'and purſevants with letters miſſive, and an attachment, ſent out to apprehend me, for preaching a Sermon at Mercers Chapel, on a Faſt-day in July 1640. 'againſt the Biſhops and their faction, ſuch a free Sermon as I believe never a ſectary in England durſt 'have preached in ſuch a place and at ſuch a time '(4).'

(1) From the College-books.

(2) From the Admiſſion, and other books of that college.

(3) Faſti, ubi ſupra.

(4) Gangræna, as above, P. i. p. 75, 76.

[*C*] *And*

and at ſeveral places in and about London *(d)*; and was ſometimes brought into trouble for oppoſing the received Doctrines, or not complying duly with the eſtabliſhed Church [*C*]. When the long Parliament declared againſt King Charles I, our author embarked himſelf, with wife, children, eſtate, and all that was dear to him, in the ſame ſhip with them [*D*], and by all his actions, ſermons, prayers, praiſes, and diſcourſes, earneſtly promoted their intereſt *(e)*. But when the Independent party began to appear, and eſpecially to be uppermoſt, he became as furious againſt them as he had been againſt the Royaliſts; and oppoſed them with great virulence, both by writing and acting. The ſeveral pieces he publiſhed againſt them, were as follows. I. ‘ Reaſons againſt the Independant Government of particular Congregations, &c.’ Lond. 1641, 4to *(f)*. II. *Antapologia:* Or, a Full Anſwer to the ‘ Apologeticall Narration of Mr Goodwin, Mr Nye, Mr Sympſon, Mr Burroughs, Mr Bridge, Members of the Aſſembly of Divines. Wherein is handled many of the Controverſies of theſe times: *viz.* 1. Of a particular viſible Church. 2. Of Claſſes and Synods. 3. Of the Scriptures, how farre a Rule for Church-Government. 4. Of Formes of Prayer. 5. Of the Qualifications of Church-members. 6. Of Submiſſion and Non-Communion. 7. Of Excommunication. 8. Of the Power of the Civill Magiſtrate in Eccleſiaſticals. 9. Of Separation and Schiſme. 10. Of Tolerations, and particularly of the Toleration of Independencie. 11. Of Suſpenſion from the Lord's Supper. 12. Of Ordination of Miniſters by the people. 13. Of Church Covenant. 14. Of Non-reſidencie of Church-members [*E*].’ Lond. 1644, 4to. *(g)*. III.

[*C*] *And was ſometimes brought into trouble, &c.*] He gives us the following relation of it. ‘ Many years ago when I was perſecuted by ſome Prelates and their creatures, in no poſſibility nor capacity by my principles and practices of preferment, I preached againſt, and upon all occaſions declared myſelf againſt, the Browniſts, Separatiſts, Antinomians, and all errors in that way, as well as againſt Popiſh Innovations and Arminian Tenets. There are many who were my Auditors in thoſe times can and will witneſs what I have preached *at London* and at *Hartford* againſt thoſe errors, when I have in the ſame places preached ſuch ſermons againſt the prevailing opinions, innovations, and corruptions of the Prelates, that many thought I ſhould never have preached again; and indeed was not without many ſufferings and troubles, being put out of places, ſtopped from coming into others, and at laſt letters miſſive with an attachment ſent out to bring me into the High-Commiſſion-Court. About thirteen years ago at *Magnus Church*, I preaching againſt forſaking the publick aſſemblies, had, on a Lecture night at the ſame Church, a bill given me up (among the bills to pray for the ſick) ſpeaking bitterly for ſo doing. At *Hartford* about ten years ago, when Independency and the Church way began to be fallen too by ſome men of note, and ſome people to look after it, I preached againſt it early, and by all wayes laboured to preſerve the people. About eight yeares ago when errors on the right hand tooke with many, I did at a *Lecture* in the city, *at Aldermanbury*, and *Coleman-Street*, preach againſt apoſtaſie and falling to errors on the right hand, and more particularly at Coleman-Street, (many in that pariſh being then leaning that way) gave ſome conſiderations againſt errors on the right hand.——I never yet ſought any great things for myſelf, great livings, or coming into publick places of honour and reſpect, to be of the Aſſembly, or to preach in any publicke places before the Magiſtrates either at Weſtminſter or London, but have contented myſelfe with ſmall meanes, and to preach in private places in compariſon, having refuſed many great livings and places, preaching here in London for a little, and that but badly paid (as many well know) minding the worke and ſervice, little the maintenance. I can ſpeak it truly that in theſe open times when many young men, raw preachers, men who never bore the heat of the day, have got great livings of two or three hundred a yeere well ſituated with houſes and all accommodations, I have for the publick good declined all ſuch offers, ſpent *my owne temporall eſtate* to miniſter to my neceſſities, not having had for almoſt theſe two laſt years forty pounds *per annum*, notwithſtanding my conſtant preaching on Lords dayes, week dayes, and all extraordinary occaſions of faſtings and thankeſgiving—— (5).

[*D*] *When the long Parliament declared againſt King* Charles I. *our Author embarked himſelf—— in the ſame ſhip with them.*] He declares this himſelf, in the firſt part of his Gangræna, in the epiſtle dedicatory to the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament (6). ‘ All my actions from the beginning of your ſitting, my Sermons, Prayers, Praiſes, Diſcourſes, Actings for you ſpeak otherwiſe. [i. e. than ſaucineſs and diſreſpect] I am one who out of choiſe and judgement have imbarked myſelfe, with wife, children, eſtate, and all thats dear to me, in the ſame ſhip with you, to ſinke and periſh, or to come ſafe to land with you, and that in the moſt doubtfull and difficult times, not only early in the firſt beginning of the war and troubles, in a malignant place among Courtiers and thoſe who were ſervants and had relations to the King, Queen and their Children, pleading your cauſe, juſtifying your wars, ſatisfying many that ſcrupled: but when your affairs were at loweſt, and the chance of war againſt you, and ſome of the grandees and favourites of theſe times were packing up and ready to be gone, I was then higheſt and moſt zealous for you, preaching, praying, ſtirring up the people to ſtand for you, by going out in perſon, lending of money, in the later going before them by example; and as I have been your Honours moſt devoted ſervant, ſo am I ſtill yours, and you cannot eaſily loſe me.’——

[*E*] *Antapologia, &c.*] This is ‘ Humbly ſubmitted (by the Author) ‘ to the Honourable Houſes of Parliament.’ And, in the Preface, he ſays (7), ‘ That he had drawn up that anſwer, for *their* ſakes in ſpeciall who *were* apt to be troubled with many doubts and feares about the conſtitution and government of the viſible Church, and the way of worſhip and Communion in it: and, as to undeceive *them* in the Apologiſts, the Apologie, and their Church-way, ſo to ſatisfie *his Readers* in *their* ſcruples and doubts about Presbyterie.’——A little after, he adds, —— ‘ This *Antapologia* I here recommend to you for a true glaſſe to behold the faces of Presbyterie and Independencie in, with the beauty, order, ſtrength of the one, and the deformity, diſorder and weakneſſe of the other: and good Reader, I have ſome reaſon to beleeve and hope, that if you will indeed reade and conſider, looke impartially and throughly into this glaſſe, you may be either changed into the image of it, or at leaſt ſo ſtumbled at Independencie, as to be kept from falling into it.’—— The book which this *Antapologia* anſwereth, was, ‘ An Apologeticall Narration of ſome Miniſters (8), formerly in exile, now members of the Aſſembly of Divines.’ 'Tis inſerted in the *Antapologia*, and anſwered there paragraph by paragraph. In one place (9), our Author pleads ſtrongly for the *lawfulneſs of ſet-formes of Prayer* preſcribed. ‘ I muſt tell you, ſays he, this great controverſie upon it is raiſed only by yourſelves (10), and the Browniſts, there being no Divines, nor no Reformed Churches that I know of, but doe allow the lawful uſe of ſet-formes of prayer, compoſed and framed by others (as by ſynods and aſſemblies) and doe make uſe of ſuch ſometimes, as the Churches of France and Holland in the

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(d) Gangræna, P. iii. edit. 1646. in the Preface.

(e) See Gangræna, P. i. in the Epiſt. Dedic. p. 2, 3.

(f) This was anſwered the ſame year, by a woman named Catharine Chidley.

(g) This was publiſhed the laſt week in June or the firſt in July, 1644. See Preface to Gangræna. P. i. in the beginning.

(5) Gangræna, P. iii. in the Pref. p. 14, 15, 16.

(6) Page 2.

(7) Page 1.

(8) Namely, Goodwin, &c. as above, in the title of the book.

(9) Antapologia, p. 97, &c.

(10) *i. e.* the Independents.

III. ‘ *Gangræna*: or, a Catalogue and Diſcovery of many of the Errours, Hereſies, Blaſphemies, and pernicious Practices of the Sectaries of this time, vented and acted in England in theſe four laſt years: as alſo a particular Narration of divers Stories, remarkable Paſſages, Letters; an Extract of many Letters, all concerning the preſent Sects; together with ſome Obſervations upon, and Corollaries from, all the forenamed premiſſes.’ Lond. 1645, 4to. reprinted afterwards. IV. ‘ The ſecond part of *Gangræna*, &c.’ Lond. 1646, 4to. V. ‘ The third part of *Gangræna*. Or, A new and higher Diſcovery of the Errors, Hereſies, Blaſphemies, and inſolent Proceedings of the Sectaries of theſe times; with ſome Animadverſions by way of Confutation, upon many of the Errors and Hereſies named [*F*].’ In theſe three parts of Gangræna, he gives Catalogues of the Errors of the Independents, and other Sectaries of his time; and expreſſes himſelf againſt them with great ſharpneſs [*G*]. He alſo publiſhed, VI. ‘ The caſting down of ‘ the

administration of Sacraments uſually doe, and thoſe who practiſe them not ſo much, yet at leaſt hold them lawfull. And I challenge you in all your reading to name one Divine of note and orthodox that ever held ſet-formes of prayer preſcribed unlawfull, excepting only Independents.’ In another place (11) he lays down many cogent reaſons againſt an univerſal Toleration.

[*F*] *With ſome Animadverſions by way of Confutation upon many of the Errors and Hereſies named.*] The reſt of the title, which is very long, is as follows. ‘ As alſo a particular relation of many remarkable ſtories, ſpeciall paſſages, copies of letters written by Sectaries to Sectaries, copies of letters written from godly Miniſters and others, to Parliament-men, Miniſters, and other well-affected perſons; an extract and the ſubſtance of divers letters, all concerning the preſent Sects: together with ten corollaries from all the forenamed premiſes. Briefe animadverſions on many of the Sectaries late pamphlets, as *Lilburnes* and Overtons books againſt the Houſe of Peeres, Mr *Peters his laſt report of the Engliſh Warres, The Lord Mayors farewell from his Office of Maioralty, M. Goodwins thirty eight Queres upon the Ordinance againſt Hereſies and Blaſphemies*, M. Burtons *Conformities Deformity, M. Dells* Sermon before the Houſe of Commons; wherein the legiſlative and judiciall power of the Houſe of Peeres over Commoners is maintained and fully proved againſt the Sectaries, the power of the Houſe of Commons clearely demonſtrated to be overthrowne upon the mediums brought by the Sectaries againſt the Lords; the late Remonſtrance of the City of London juſtified, the late Lord Mayor (12) and the City vindicated from unjuſt aſperſions, our brethren of Scotland cleered from all the calumnies and reproaches caſt upon them, and the Magiſtrates power in ſuppreſſing Hereſies and Blaſphemies aſſerted. As alſo ſome few hints and briefe obſervations on divers pamphlets written lately againſt me and ſome of my books, as M. *Goodwins* pretended reply to the Antapologie, M. *Burroughs* Vindication, *Lanſeters* Lance, *Gangræna* playes *Rex, Gangræna Chreſtum*, M. *Saltmarſhes* anſwer to the ſecond part of *Gangræna*. A juſtification of the manner and way of writing theſe books called *Gangræna*, wherein not onely the lawfulneſſe, but the neceſſity of writing after this manner is proved by Scripture, Fathers, the moſt eminent Reformed Divines, Caſuiſts, the practice and cuſtome of all ages.’ Lond. 1646. 4to.

[*G*] *In theſe ——— he gives Catalogues of the Errors of the Independents, and other Sectaries of his time; and expreſſes himſelf againſt them with great ſharpneſs.*] The Errors, Hereſies, and Blaſphemies he particularly takes notice of, are by him referred to theſe ſixteen heads or ſorts of Sectaries (13), viz. 1. Independents. 2. Browniſts. 3. Chiliaſts, or Millenaries. 4. Antinomians. 5. Anabaptiſts. 6. Manifeſtarians or Arminians. 7. Libertines. 8. Familiſts. 9 Enthuſiaſts. 10. Seekers, and Waiters. 11. Perfectiſts. 12. Socinians. 13. Arians. 14. Antitrinitarians. 15. Antiſcripturiſts. 16. Scepticks and Queſtioniſts, who queſtion every thing in matters of Religion; namely all the Articles of Faith, and firſt principles of Chriſtian Religion, holding nothing poſitively nor certainly, ſaving the doctrine of pretended liberty of conſcience for all, and liberty of propheſying.——Some of their errors, as ſet down by our Author, are as follows, ‘ That the Scriptures cannot be ſaid to be the word of God; there is no word but Chriſt, the Scriptures are a dead letter, and no more to be credited than the writings of men, not divine but human inventions. That the Scriptures are unſufficient and uncertain, there is no certainty to build any Doctrine upon them, they are not an infallible foundation of faith (14). That the holy writings and ſayings of Moſes and the Prophets, of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and the proper names, perſons, and things contained therein, are Allegories, and theſe Allegories are the myſtery and ſpiritual meaning of them. That the new Teſtament, nor no place of Scripture in it, binds any further than the Spirit for preſent reveals to us that ſuch a place is the word of God (15). That God hath a hand in, and is the Author of the ſinfulneſſe of his people; that he is the Author not of thoſe actions alone, in and with which ſin is, but of the very pravity, ataxy, anomy, irregularity and ſinfulneſſe itſelf which is in them. That all lyes come forth from out of the mouth of God. That no man was caſt into hell for any ſin, but only becauſe God would have it ſo. That the ſoul dies with the body, and all things ſhall have an end, but God only ſhall remaine for ever (16). Every creature in the firſt eſtate of creation was God, and every creature is God, every creature that hath life and breath being an efflux from God, and ſhall return into God again, be ſwallowed up in him as a drop is in the ocean (17). That by Chriſts death, all the ſins of all the men in the world, Turks, Pagans as well as Chriſtians, committed againſt the morall law and firſt covenant, are actually pardoned and forgiven, and this is the everlaſting Goſpel. That no man ſhall periſh or go to hell for any ſin, but unbelief only (18). That the leaſt truth is of more worth than Jeſus Chriſt himſelf (19). That there is a perfect way in this life, not by Word, Sacraments, Prayer and other Ordinances, but by the experience of the Spirit in a mans ſelf. That a man baptized with the Holy Ghoſt knows all things, even as God knows all things; which point is a deep myſtery and great ocean, where there is no caſting anchor, nor ſounding the bottome. That if a man by the Spirit knew himſelf to be in the ſtate of grace, though he did commit murther or drunkenneſſe, God did ſee no ſin in him. There is no free-will in man either to good or evil, either in his naturall or glorified eſtate (20). That the morall law is of no uſe at all to believers, that ’tis no rule for believers to walk by, nor to examine their lives by, and that Chriſtians are freed from the mandatory power of the law. Neither faith, nor repentance, nor humiliation, nor ſelf-denial, nor uſe of ordinances, nor doing as one would be done to, are duties required of Chriſtians, or ſuch things as they muſt exerciſe themſelves in, or they can have no part in Chriſt. That the doctrine of repentance is a ſoul-deſtroying doctrine. That ’tis as poſſible for Chriſt himſelfe to ſin, as for a Child of God to ſin. That God doth not chaſtiſe any of his children for ſin; and let believers ſin as faſt as they can, there is a fountain open for them to waſh in (21). That God’s Children are not to aſk the pardon and forgiveneſſe of their ſins, they need not, they ought not, and ’tis no leſſe than blaſphemy for a childe of God to aſke pardon of ſins, ’tis infidelity to aſke pardon of ſins, and David’s aſking forgiveneſſe of ſin was his weakneſſe. That the ſoul of a man is mortall as the ſoul of a beaſt, and dies with the body (22). There is no reſurrection at all of the bodies of men after this life, nor heaven nor hell, nor devils after this life (23). That in points of Religion, ‘ even

(11) Ib. p. 279, &c.

(12) Sir Iſaac Pennington.

(13) Gangræna, P. i. p. 16.

(14) Ibid. p. 18, & 112.

(15) Ibid. p. 19,

(16) Ibid. p. 20 & 110.

(17) Ib. p. 21.

(18) Ib. p. 22.

(19) Page 23.

(20) Ib. p. 24.

(21) Ib. p. 25.

(22) Ib. p. 26.

(23) Ib. p. 27.

‘ the laſt and ſtrongeſt hold of Satan; or, a Treatiſe againſt Toleration.’ Part I. Lond. 1647,

‘ even in the Articles of Faith, and principles of Religion, there's nothing certainly to be believed and built on, only that all men ought to have liberty of conſcience, and liberty of propheſying (24). 'Tis as lawful to break any of the ten commandments, as to baptize an infant: yea, 'tis as lawful to commit adultery and murther, as to baptize a child. That the Church of England and the Miniſtry thereof is Antichriſtian, yea of the devill, and that 'tis abſolutely ſinfull and unlawfull to hear any of their Miniſters preach in their Aſſemblies (25). That all ſettled certain maintenance for Miniſters of the Goſpel, eſpecially that which is called Tithes, is unlawfull, Jewiſh, and Antichriſtian. That 'tis unlawfull to worſhip God in places conſecrated, and in places where Superſtition and Idolatry have been practiſed, as in our Churches. That there is no need of human learning, nor for reading Authors, for Preachers, but all books and learning muſt go down; it comes from the want of the Spirit, that men write ſuch great volumes, and make ſuch adoe of learning (26). 'Tis unlawfull for the Saints to joyn in prayer where wicked men are, or to pray with any of the wicked (27). That there are Revelations and Viſions in theſe times; yea to ſome they are more ordinary, and ſhall be to the people of God generally within a while. That the gift of Miracles is not ceaſed in theſe times, but that ſome of the Sectaries have wrought miracles. 'Tis ordinary for Chriſtians now in theſe dayes, with Paul to be wrapt up to the third Heavens, and to hear words unutterable, and they cannot well have aſſurance of being Chriſtians, that have not found and had experience of this (28). All the Earth is the Saints, and there ought to be a community of goods, and the Saints ſhould ſhare in the lands and eſtates of Gentlemen and rich men. That 'tis lawfull for a man to put away his wife upon indiſpoſition, unfitneſſe, contrariety of mind, &c. 'Tis unlawful for Chriſtians to fight, and take up arms for their laws and civil liberties. That uſing of ſet formes of prayer preſcribed is Idolatry (29). That 'tis not lawful for a Chriſtian to be a Magiſtrate, but upon turning Chriſtian he ſhould lay down his Magiſtracy (30). That God hath a bodily ſhape and proportion (31). The Souls of the Saints departed now in Heaven, are on Earth every where preſent with their friends, and with all the affairs of this world, ſeeing and knowing them; and do now with Chriſt govern and rule the Kingdoms of the Earth, and all the affairs here below (32). That there is no need of Univerſities, that Univerſities are of the devill; that human learning is fleſh oppoſed to the ſpirit, and that if men be anointed with the ſpirit, and accepted amongſt the Saints, they are ſufficiently qualified (33). That all ſhall be ſaved at laſt, both all men and devils: and ſhall ſee, feel, and poſſeſs bleſſedneſs to their everlaſting ſalvation and comfort (34). That Chriſt ſhed his bloud for kine and horſes and all other creatures, as well as for men, &c (35).’ Theſe, and many more, are ſome of the blaſphemies and horrid impieties, advanced and maintained in theſe unhappy Kingdoms, during thoſe lawleſs diſtracted times, when every one did what ſeemed right in his own eyes. And no wonder; if we do but obſerve, what ſort of creatures ſet up for the great Reformers of Religion, and Inſtructers of Mankind; namely (to uſe our Author's words) ‘ ſwarms of illiterate Mechanicks, as Smiths, Taylors, Shoomakers, Pedlars, Weavers, Women-preachers, &c. (36).’ And, by name, ‘ one Heath the Collar-maker of Watton, one Rice the Tinker of Aſton, one Field the Bodies-maker of Hertford, one Crew the Taylor of Stevenage,’ all in Hertfordſhire: and the like in other Counties (37).

He quotes his authorities and vouchers all along; and affirms, that the ‘ truth of the maine ſubſtance and matter of whatever he relates, both for opinions and matters of fact, is plainly demonſtrated; by his quoting Books knowne to hundreds, by naming perſons known for witneſſes, by relating things common in the times, and theſe ſet by the errors in the margents, or joyned to the matter, ſo manifeſt that he that runs may read it (38).’ Nay, he makes this declaration.——— ‘ I can ſay of it, that of all the particulars in this kind that I have related in theſe three books [*of Gangræna,*] beſides many matters of fact in *Antapologia*, (which in all amount to ſome thouſands) I do not know of any one particular related by me, excepting one, that I have reaſon to ſuſpect was not true, and yet that was written me in a letter by a reverend and godly Miniſter, and was the voice of the Country (39).’

But it muſt be remembred, that among the errors above-mentioned, our Author places many Doctrines maintained by the Arminians, (and not taken notice of by me) which, tho' condemned by the Synod of Dort, time hath ſhewn to be moſt plain and unqueſtionable truths.

It is not only by ſuch Quotations out of the books of Independent writers, as are ſet down above, that Mr Edwards ſhews his great inveteracy againſt that whole party. But he doth it likewiſe by cenſuring their actions; and diſplaying, their inſolencies, pride, and arrogance; their covetouſneſs, and ambition: their ſubtilties, and hypocriſy; their tumults and riots even in the moſt ſacred places (40); their libertiniſm and atheiſm; their inceſts, and other uncleanneſſes; their looſeneſs, immorality, and drunkenneſs; their deceitfulneſs, lying, and ſlandering; their horrible affronts to authority (41); their contempt of all that is ſacred and ſerious, witneſs their baptizing of a horſe, &c. (42).———He likewiſe endeavours to expoſe them to the utmoſt, by relating ſome of their abſurd and non-ſenſical ſayings: as for inſtance——— ‘ Chriſt judges not by the eye, or eare, he regards not mens prayers or duties; if they have Chriſt in their heart, though they do not read and pray, and *trade in duties*, Chriſt judges them according to their heart (43).’——— ‘ I rejoyce that Chriſt is beginning *to ſet up houſe-keeping*, and his Saints ſhall not want while Chriſt have one penny; come buy without money, gold tried and white raiment, and anoint thine eies with eie ſalve that thou maieſt ſee’ (44)———One preaching on John 20. 17. ‘ *Touch me not, I am not yet aſcended*; collected from thoſe words theſe three tranſcendent points. Firſt, That laymen, weavers, tinkers and coblers being gifted might be preachers. Secondly, Learning was not any means or help to underſtand the meaning of the Scriptures. Thirdly, That any chamber, barne or ſtable, or other place was as holy as the Church; and that there was no holineſs in the temple, for God deſtroyed it; nor in any Church (45).’——— But when he comes to ſpeak of a *Toleration*, (which the Independents were then making ſtrong intereſt for, in order to work themſelves into all places of truſt or profit,) he loſes all patience. ‘ This land, ſaith he, is become already in many places a chaos, a babel, another Amſterdam, yea worſe, we are beyond that, and in the highway to Munſter, but if a general Toleration ſhould be granted, ſo much written and ſtood for, England would quickly become a Sodom, an Egypt, Babylon, yea, worſe than all theſe (46). —A Toleration is the grand deſigne of the devil, his maſter-peece, and chief engine he works by at this time to uphold his tottering kingdome; it is the moſt compendious, ready, ſure way to deſtroy all religion, lay all waſte, and bring in all evil; it is a moſt tranſcendent, catholique, and fundamentall evill for this kingdom of any that can be imagined. As originall ſin is the moſt fundamentall ſin, all ſin; having the ſeed and ſpawn of all in it: ſo a Toleration hath all errors in it, and all evils—— (47). Independency is become a compound of many errors, as Antinomianiſm, Browniſm, Anabaptiſm, Libertiniſm, and if Independency could once get a Toleration, we ſhould then ſee it ſpeak out to purpoſe. And as Independency is in this ſenſe all error, being the great cauſe of them, ſo many errors are for Independency, that is the love of errors cauſes many to become Independents—— (48)’ ———One remarkable particular in theſe books, muſt not paſs without obſervation: and it is, that as early as the year 1646, the Independents had formed deſigns againſt the life of King Charles I. and reſolved to cauſe him to be beheaded (49).—— Finally, we learn from

(24) Page 28.

(25) Page 29.

(26) Page 30.

(27) Page 31.

(28) Page 32.

(29) Page 34.

(30) Page 35.

(31) Gangræna, P. iii. p. 2.

(32) Ib. p. 4, 6.

(33) Ibid. p. 9, 45, 80.

(34) Page 10, 11.

(35) Ibid. & p. 36.

(36) Gangræna, P. i. p. 116, and Epiſt. Dedicat. p. 8.

(37) Gangræna, P. iii. p. 81; as Paul Hobſon the Taylor, and Lieutenant-Col. Hewſon the one-ey'd Shoemaker. Ib. p. 45, 46.

(38) Ibid. Pref. p. 6.

(39) Ib. p. 9.

(40) Grangræna, P. i. Epiſt. Dedic. p. 3, 61, &c.

(41) Ib. P. iii. p. 185, 186, 187 —240.

(42) Ib. p. 17, 18, &c.

(43) Ib. p. 45.

(44) Ib. p. 53.

(45) Ib. p. 62.

(46) Ib. p. 152.

(47) Ib. p. 153.

(48) Ib. p. 157.

(49) Gangræna, P. ii. p. 131; and P. iii. p. 97, 172, 183, 184, 195, 237.

1647, 4to. VII. ‘ Of the particular Viſibility of the Church.’ VIII. ‘ A Treatiſe of ‘ the Civil Power in Eccleſiaſticals, and of Suſpenſion from the Lord's Supper.’ Lond. 1642, 1644 *(b)*. He promiſed ſeveral other pieces [*H*], but it doth not appear he publiſhed them. The time and place of his death are to us unknown.

from thence, that at firſt ‘ the Independents would ‘ preach freely, aſking nothing (50).’ But they have ſince altered their minds; and maintain, as firmly as the Miniſters of the eſtabliſhed Church, that they who preach the Goſpel muſt live of the Goſpel.

[*H*] *He promiſed ſeveral other pieces.*] Particularly, 1. A Fourth Part of his Gangræna (51). 2. An Hiſtorical Narration of all the proceedings and ways of the Engliſh Sectaries (52). 3. Catalogue of the Judgments of God upon the Sectaries within theſe four years laſt paſt (53). 4. Many Tractates againſt the Errors of the Times (54). 5. He promiſed, to be like that tree ſpoken of in the Revelation, to yield fruit every month; i. e. to be often ſetting forth one Tractate or other (55). But he was not as good as his word.——As for his character: he profeſſes himſelf ‘ a plain, open-hearted man, who hated ‘ tricks, reſerves and deſigns’ (56): zealous for the Aſſembly of Divines, the Directory, the uſe of the Lord's Prayer, ſinging of Pſalms, &c (57). and ſo earneſt for what he took to be Truth, that he was uſually called in Cambridge *young Luther* (58).

C

EGERTON (THOMAS) Lord High Chancellor of England, in the reign of King James I, was the ſon of Sir Richard Egerton of Ridley in Cheſhire, deſcended from the antient family of the Egertons, in that county [*A*]. He was born in Cheſhire, about the year 1540 *(a)*, and admitted Commoner of Braſen-noſe-College in Oxford, about 1556, in the ſeventeenth year of his age. Having continued there three years, and laid a good foundation of learning, he removed to Lincoln's-Inn, and applied himſelf with ſuch ſucceſs to the ſtudy of the Law; that he became a noted Counſellor *(b)*. Being taken notice of by that good judge of merit, Queen Elizabeth, ſhe conſtituted him on the 28th of June 1581, her Sollicitor-general *(c)*. The year following, he was elected Lent-Reader of Lincoln's-Inn, a place conferred on none but perſons of great learning. He became alſo one of the Governors of that Society, and continued ſo for twelve years ſucceſſively *(d)*. On the 2d of June, 1592, he was made Attorney-general *(e)*, and knighted ſoon after. April 10, 1594, he was appointed Maſter of the Rolls *(f)*: And, upon the death of Sir John Puckering, had the Great Seal of England delivered to him at Greenwich, May 6, 1596 *(g)*, with the title of Lord-Keeper; being at the ſame time ſworn of her Majeſty's Privy-Council *(h)* [*B*]. He was permitted, notwithſtanding, to hold the Maſterſhip of the Rolls till May 18, 1603, when King James I, conferred it on Edward Bruce, created afterwards Baron of Kinloſſe *(i)*. In 1598, the Lord-Keeper was in commiſſion for treating with the Dutch, in order to leſſen our charge of the war with Spain; and, with the Lord Buckhurſt, and others, ſigned a new treaty at London, with the Embaſſadors of the States, whereby the Queen was eaſed of no leſs than a hundred and twenty thouſand pounds a year *(k)*, beſides other advantages *(l)*. In 1600 he was again in Commiſſion with the Lord Treaſurer Buckhurſt, and the Earl of Eſſex, for negotiating affairs with the Senate of Denmark *(m)*. This Earl, upon his diſgrace, was committed to the Lord Keeper's cuſtody, who did him many good offices, and endeavoured to keep him from thoſe dangerous precipices [*C*], which proved afterwards his ruin.

[*A*] *Was the ſon of Sir Richard Egerton of Ridley in Cheſhire, deſcended from the antient family of the Egertons in that county.*] Sir William Dugdale (1), and Mr Wood (2), ſay, he was a *natural* ſon of Sir Richard Egerton. And Robert Stephens, Eſq; that he was deſcended, *though in an oblique line*, from an antient family in Cheſhire (3). But Dr Fuller (4), Arthur Collins, Eſq; (5), and others, do not mention his being illegitimate. The latter informs us, That his mother was Alice, daughter of —— Spark, of Bickerton in Cheſhire.——The famous and knightly family of the Egertons took their ſurname from Egerton, in this county, the place of their habitation: and derive their deſcent from Philip, a younger ſon of David of Malpas (6). From him, in lineal deſcent, was Sir *John Egerton* of Egerton, Knt. who fighting valiantly for the Houſe of Lancaſter, under the Lord Audley, General for King Henry VI, was ſlain at the battle of Bloreheath in Staffordſhire, Sept. 23, 1459. He was ſucceeded by *Philip* his eldeſt ſon, who had iſſue John Egerton of Egerton, Eſq; and Sir **RALPH EGERTON** of **RIDLEY** in Cheſhire, Knt. This Sir *Ralph* was one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber to King Henry VIII, and knighted by him for his valour and conduct at the ſieges of Terouenne and Tournay, and the battle of Spurs. Alſo, in conſideration of his good ſervices, he was appointed Standard-Bearer of England for life, with a ſalary of 100 *l. per annum*. Dying about the year 1528, he was ſucceeded by his ſon and heir *Richard*, who was of age in the year 1531, and afterwards knighted; father of the Lord Chancellor Egerton, whom we are treating of in this article.

[*B*] *He had the great Seal of England delivered to him —— with the title of Lord-Keeper.*] And came into that place — *magna expectatione, & integritatis opinione*, i e. with a great expectation, and opinion of integrity (7): which he fully anſwered.

[*C*] *Who did him many good offices, and endeavoured to keep him from thoſe dangerous precipices, which proved afterwards his ruin.*] For that purpoſe he writ a letter to him, wherein, among other things, he tells him.——‘ I will not preſume to adviſe you; ‘ but ſhoot my bolt, and tell you what I think. The ‘ beginning, and long continuance, of this ſo unſeaſonable diſcontentment, you have ſeen and proved, ‘ by which you aim at the end: if you ſtill hold this ‘ courſe, which hitherto you find to be worſe and ‘ worſe, (and the longer you go, the further you go ‘ out of the way) there is little hope or likelihood the ‘ end will be better. You are not yet gone ſo far, ‘ but that you may well return: the return is ſafe, but ‘ the progreſs is dangerous and deſperate in this courſe ‘ you hold. If you have any enemies, you do that for ‘ them, which they could never do for themſelves.— ‘ This being your preſent ſtate and condition, what is ‘ to be done? What is the remedy, my good Lord? ‘ I lack judgment and wiſdom to adviſe you, but I ‘ will never want an honeſt true heart to wiſh you well; ‘ nor, being warranted by a good conſcience, will fear ‘ to ſpeak that I think. I have begun plainly, be not ‘ offended if I proceed ſo.——The medicine and ‘ remedy, is, not to contend and ſtrive, but humbly ‘ to yield and ſubmit. Have you given cauſe, and yet ‘ take a ſcandal unto you? then all you can be is too ‘ little to make ſatisfaction. Is cauſe of ſcandal given

‘ unto

(b) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(50) Ib. p. 121.

(51) See Gangræna, P. iii. p. 244, 249.

(52) Gangræna, P. i. p. 42.

(53) P. iii. p. 96, 97.

(54) Ibid. Pref. p. 16.

(55) Part. i. Pref. 2.

(56) Ibid. in the body of that book, p. 41.

(57) P. iii. p. 147.

(58) Ib. p 41.

(a) This I infer from A. Wood's words, mentioned in the text of this article.

(b) Wood's Ath. Vol. I. edit. 1721, col. 417.

(c) Pat. 23 Eliz. p. 1.

(d) Dugdale's Baron. Tom. III. p. 414; and A. Collins's Peerage, edit. 1735, Vol. I. p. 466.

(e) Pat. 34 Eliz. p. 7.

(f) Pat. 36 Eliz. p. 5.

(g) Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1596; and Chron. Jurid. 8*vo*. Ar. Collins, ubi ſupra.

(h) Collins, ibid.

(i) Pat. 1 Jac. p. 2. Newcourt's Repert. Eccleſ. &c, Vol. I. p. 341.

(k) And not *twelve thouſand* as it is in the General Dictionary.

(l) Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1598.

(m) A. Collins, ubi ſupra.

(1) Baronage, Tom. III. p. 414.

(2) Ath. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 417.

(3) Letters and Remains of the Lord Chancellor Bacon, Lond. 1734, 4*to*, Introd. p. 7.

(4) Worthies of Engl. in Cheſhire, p. 176.

(5) Peerage of Engl. Vol. I. edit. 1735, p. 466.

(6) Camd. Britan. in Cheſhire, edit. 1722, Vol. I. col. 667.

(7) Camd. Annal. Eliz. ad ann. 1596.

ruin (*n*). When he was in actual rebellion, the Lord-Keeper, and others of the Nobility, were ſent to him, in order to perſuade him to return to his duty, wherein they expoſed themſelves to much danger (*o*) [*D*]. After that Earl's execution, the Lord-Keeper was in a ſpecial commiſſion for compounding with his accomplices: And in another, in 1602, for putting the Laws in execution againſt Jeſuits, and ſeminary Prieſts (*p*). Upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, her ſucceſſor King James I. ſignified to the Privy-Council, April 5, 1603, by his ſign manual, That it was his will and pleaſure, Sir Thomas Egerton ſhould exerciſe the office of Lord-Keeper, till further orders. And he waiting upon his Majeſty at Broxbourn in Hertfordſhire, reſigned the Great Seal to the King, who delivered it again to him, ordering him to make uſe of it as he had done before. On the 19th of July following (*q*), King James cauſed the Great Seal to be broke, and put a new one into the hands of the Lord-Keeper Egerton, with a paper of his own ſigning, whereby he created him Baron of Elleſmere, for his good and faithful ſervices, not only in the adminiſtration of juſtice, but alſo in Council, both to the late Queen and himſelf: the Patent for which he cauſed to be diſpatched the 21ſt of the ſame month. And on the 24th, conſtituted him Lord High Chancellor of England (*r*). In 1609, he was commiſſioned to compound with all thoſe, who holding lands by Knight's ſervice, &c. were to pay the aid for making the King's eldeſt ſon (Prince Henry) a Knight (*s*). On the third of November, 1610, he was unanimouſly elected Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, and inſtalled the 10th of the ſame month at London; in the room of Rich. Bancroft, Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*t*). In 1612, he was one of the Lords who ſigned the articles of marriage between the Princeſs Elizabeth, daughter of King James, and the Elector Palatine (*u*). His health declined ſome time before his deceaſe; particularly in the year 1615, when ſtrong application was made by Sir Francis Bacon for his office of High-Chancellor (*w*) [*E*]. And to add to his affliction, that arrogant perſon, the Lord Chief

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'unto you; yet policy, duty, and religion, enforce you to ſue, yield, and ſubmit to our Sovereign; between whom and you there can be no equal proportion of duty, where God requires it as a principal duty and care to himſelf; and when it is evident, that great good may enſue of it to your friends, yourſelf, your country, and your Sovereign, and extreme harm by the contrary. There can be no diſhonour to yield; but in denying, diſhonour and impiety (8).' —— In another letter, he tells him,——'By way of caution, take this from me; There are ſharp eyes upon you, your actions, publick and private, are obſerved: It behooveth you, therefore, to carry yourſelf with all integrity and ſincerity, both of hands and heart, leſt you overthrow your own fortunes, and diſcredit your friends that are tender and careful of your reputation and well-doing (9).'

[*D*] *Wherein they expoſed themſelves to much danger.*] The Queen hearing of the Earl of Eſſex's deſperate deſigns, ſent the Lord-Keeper, the Earl of Worceſter, Sir William Knolles, Comptroller of the Houſhold, and uncle to the Earl of Eſſex, and Lord Chief Juſtice Popham, to know the cauſe of their tumultuous meeting. The gates being ſhut, they were, after ſome ſtay, let in by the wicket, but all their ſervants kept out, except the Purſe-bearer with the Seal. The court-yard was full of company, and the Earl of Eſſex in the midſt of them; to whom the Lord-Keeper addreſſing himſelf, ſaid, 'That he was ſent, with the other Gentlemen, from the Queen, to know the cauſe of their aſſembling; and, if they had ſuffered any grievances, he promiſed them a fair and equitable redreſs.' To that the Earl of Eſſex anſwered in a louder tone than ordinary, 'That his life was ſought; that he was in danger of being murthered in his bed; and had been perfidiouſly dealt withal; that letters had been counterfeited under his hand and ſeal, *&c.*' Chief Juſtice Popham anſwered, 'If any ſuch matter were attempted or intended, it were fit for him to declare it, and to be aſſured of their faithful relation; and he ſhould not fail of her Majeſty's princely indifferency and juſtice.' The Earl of Southampton complained, of the aſſault upon him by the Lord Gray: to which Popham replied, 'That juſtice had been done, and the party in priſon.' Then the Lord-Keeper preſſed the Earl of Eſſex, 'to impart his grievances, if not openly, yet privately, and promiſed ſatisfaction.' Upon which the multitude interrupted him, crying out, 'Away, my Lord, they abuſe you, they deſtroy you, they undo you, you loſe time.' The Lord-Keeper putting on his hat, 'commanded them all upon their allegiance, to lay down their weapons, and depart.' Whereupon the Earl of Eſſex, and all the reſt, put on their caps; and going into the houſe, the Lords followed him as to a private conference, fearing the multitude, which cried out, 'Kill them, ſhop them up, keep them for pledges, caſt the great ſeal out at window.' When they were come into the inner apartments, the Earl of Eſſex ordered the doors to be bolted upon them, bidding them, 'Have patience whilſt he ſhould go and take order with the Mayor and Sheriffs for the city, and that he would be with them again within an hour.' And ſo he left them in the cuſtody of Sir John Davis, Francis Treſham, and Owen Saliſbury, who guarded them with muſkets, primed, and cockt. But the Earl of Eſſex meeting with great oppoſition in London, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, one of his accomplices, perſuaded him to ſend him to his houſe, to diſcharge the Lord-Keeper, &c. and with them to intercede with the Queen for his pardon. The Earl conſented that the Lord Chief Juſtice Popham ſhould be releaſed, and none elſe; but he refuſing to accept of his liberty, except the Lord-Keeper might enjoy the ſame, Gorges diſcharged them all: at which the Earl was extremely angry (10).

[*E*] *Strong application was made by Sir Francis Bacon for his office of High-Chancellor*] As appears by the following extracts of ſome of his letters. One dated Feb. 12, 1615, begins thus. 'It may pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty, Your worthy Chancellor, I fear, goeth his laſt day. God hath hitherto uſed to weed out ſuch ſervants as grew not fit for your Majeſty, but now he hath gathered to himſelf a true ſage, or *ſalvia*, out of your garden; but his Majeſties ſervice muſt not be mortal.'———Then he moves for his place; and uſes the following arguments, amongſt others,—Becauſe his father (Sir Nic. Bacon) had it: That great inconveniencies would follow, if it was conferred either on Sir Edward Coke, Henr. Hobert, Eſq; Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, or Geo. Abbot, Archbiſhop of Canterbury.———He likewiſe offers this to his Majeſty's conſideration, That the place of Attorney-General, which he ſhould reſign, was honeſtly worth ſix thouſand pounds a year; and his place of the Star-chamber was worth fifteen hundred pounds *per annum*.———In another Letter, dated Feb. 15, he acquainted the King with the Chancellor's recovery.——But, ſays he, 'whoever thinketh his diſeaſe is but melancholy, he maketh no true judgment of it; for it is plainly a formed and deep cough, with a pectoral ſurcharge; ſo that, at times, he doth almoſt *animam agere* [i. e. expire, in a fit of coughing.']———In a letter to Sir George Villiers, of Feb. 21. 1615, he deſires, by his intereſt, to be ſworn a Privy-Counſellor, becauſe the Lord Chancellor's health was growing with the days, and his reſignation an uncertainty. Adding, that the Lord Chancellor

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(*n*) Camden, as above, under the years 1599, 1600, 1601.

(*o*) Ibid. See alſo Stowe's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 789.

(*p*) Collins, as above, p. 470.

(*q*) R. Brooke ſays, it was the 17th. Catal. of Kings, Princes, *&c.* fol. Lond. 1622, p. 389.

(*r*) Fœdera, Conventiones, *&c.* publiſhed by T. Rymer, Vol. XVI. p. 495. Ar. Collins, ubi ſupra.

(*s*) Ar. Collins, p. 471.

(*t*) Wood, Ath. ut ſupra; & Faſti, Vol. I. col. 185.

(*u*) A. Collins, ubi ſupra.

(*w*) See Cabala, or Myſteries of State, *&c.* edit. 1663, p. 28, 29, 30; and The Works of Francis Lord Bacon, Vol. IV.

(8) Cabala, p. 234, 235.

(9) Ib. p. 235.

(10) Camden's Annals as above, under the year 1601. The Life and Death of James the Sixth, King of Scotland, by Will. Sanderſon, Eſq; Lond. 1656, fol. p. 239, 240. Ar. Collins, ubi ſupra, p. 469.

Chief Juſtice Sir Edward Coke, ſued him, about the ſame time, in a præmunire [*F*], which gave him a great deal of uneaſineſs (*x*). However, recovering from his indiſpoſition, he was, on the 12th of May, 1616, conſtituted Lord High Steward, for the trial of Robert Earl of Somerſet, and Frances his wife (*y*). And he was ſo honeſt, as to refuſe to affix the Great Seal to the pardon granted them afterwards by King James I (*z*). But his infirmities returning more violently upon him, and finding himſelf unable to bear the fatigues of his laborious employment, he earneſtly intreated the King to be diſcharged from his office (*a*) [*G*]. His Majeſty parted with an old and faithful ſervant with all imaginable tenderneſs; and, as a mark of his ſavour, advanced him to the dignity of Viſcount Brackley, on the 7th of November, 1616 (*b*). He alſo let him keep the Seal till the beginning of Hilary-term following, when he ſent Secretary Winwood for it [*H*], with this meſſage, 'That himſelf would be his under-keeper, and not diſpoſe of it, 'whilſt he lived to bear the title of Chancellor.' Which was accordingly done (*c*). On the 24th of January 1616-17, he voluntary reſigned the office of Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, wherein he was ſucceeded by William Earl of Penbroke (*d*). His

Lordſhip's

(*x*) Ib. p. 31, &c.

(*y*) A. Collins, ubi ſupra.

(*z*) See Truth brought to Light, &c. or Hiſtorical Narration of the firſt XIV. years of King James, Lond. 1651, 4*to*, p. 63.

(*a*) Cabala, p. 235, 236.

(*b*) Pat. 14 Jac. p. 26; and Catalogue, &c. by R. Brooke, as above.

(*c*) *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, or Anſwer to the Court and Character of King James, &c. by W. Sanderſon or Dr Goodman, Lond. 1650, 12*mo*, p. 171.

(*d*) Wood, Faſti, as above, Vol. I, col. 201.

Chancellor told him the day before, 'If the King 'would aſk his opinion, touching the perſon he would 'recommend to ſucceed him, upon death, or diſabi'lity, he would name him for the fitteſt man:' and aſks Villiers's advice, whether uſe may not be made of that offer (11).

[*F*] *Sir Edward Coke ſued him, about the ſame time, in a præmunire*.] He did not act as principal in that affair, but was at the bottom of it. The caſe was this; Sir Edward had heard and determined a cauſe at common law; but there was ſome jugling in the matter. For the witneſs that knew, and ſhould have related the truth, was prevailed upon to be abſent, if any man would undertake to excuſe his non-appearance: a pragmatical fellow of the party undertook it; went with the witneſs to a tavern, called for a gallon-pot full of ſack, bid him drink; and ſo leaving him, went into the Court. This witneſs is called for, as the prop of the cauſe; the undertaker anſwers upon oath, 'He left him in ſuch a condition, that if he 'continues in it but a quarter of an hour, he is a dead 'man.' This evidencing the man's incapacity to come, deaded the matter ſo, that it loſt the cauſe. The Plaintiffs that had the injury, bring the buſineſs about in Chancery. The Defendants, Richard Glanville, and William Allen, having had judgment at common law, refuſe to obey the orders of that Court; whereupon the Lord Chancellor, for contempt of the Court, commits them to priſon. They prefer two Indictments againſt his Lordſhip, in the Star-chamber, the laſt day of Hilary-term; the Lord Chief Juſtice Coke joins with them, and foments the difference, threatning the Lord Chancellor with a præmunire, upon Statutes 27 Edw. III. and 4 Hen. IV.—In Eaſter-term 1616, the Lord Chancellor being recovered from his indiſpoſition, purſued the affair; and it being brought to a hearing before King James I. who had conſulted beforehand the moſt eminent Lawyers, he gave judgment, 'That the Statutes of 27 Edw. III. cap. 1, 'and 4 Henr. IV. cap. 23, did not extend to the 'Court of Chancery;' for the firſt was ordained againſt thoſe that ſued to Rome, and the latter was deſigned to ſettle poſſeſſions againſt diſturbances, and not to take away remedy in equity (12). Sir Francis Bacon, afterwards Lord Verulam, obſerves upon this occaſion—(13).—'That the laſt day of the Terme '(and, that which all men did condemn, the ſuppoſed 'laſt day of my Lord Chancellor's life) theſe two In'dictments were preferred.———But this I will ſay, 'if they were ſet on that preferred them, they were 'the worſt workmen that ever were that ſet them on; 'for there could not have been choſen two ſuch 'cauſes, to the honour and advantage of the Chan'cery, for the juſtneſs of the decrees, and the fowl'neſs and ſcandall, both of fact, and perſon, in thoſe 'that impeached the decrees. The Grand-jury, con'ſiſting (as it ſeemeth) of very ſubſtantiall and intel'ligent perſons, would not finde the bills, notwith'ſtanding they were much clamoured by the parties, 'and twice ſent back by the Court; and, in conclu'ſion, reſolutely ſeventeen out of nineteen found an '*Ignoramus*.'———A little after, he calls 'this a 'great and publique affront, not only to the reverend 'and well deſerving perſon of the Chancellor, (and 'at a time when he was thought to lye a dying, 'which was barbarous) but to the high Court of 'Chancery;'———This foul affair greatly ſerved to haſten Sir Edward Coke's diſgrace.

[*G*] *He earneſtly intreated the King to be diſcharged from his office*.] And writ this letter to his Majeſty for that purpoſe. 'Moſt gracious Sovereign, I find 'through my great age, accompanied with griefs and 'infirmities, my ſenſe and conceipt is become dull 'and heavy, my memory decayed, my judgment 'weak, my hearing imperfect, my voice and ſpeech 'failing and faltering, and in all the powers and fa'culties of my mind and body great debility. Where'fore, *conſcientia imbecillitatis*, [conſcious as I am of 'my weakneſs] my humble ſuit to your moſt ſacred 'Majeſty, is, to be diſcharged of this great place, 'wherein I have long ſerved; and to have ſome 'comfortable teſtimony under your royal hand, that 'I leave it at this humble ſuit, with your gracious 'favour: ſo ſhall I, with comfort, number and ſpend 'the few days I have to live, in meditation, and 'prayers to Almighty God, to preſerve your Majeſty, 'and all yours, in all heavenly and earthly felicity 'and happineſs. This ſuit I intended ſome years 'paſt, (†) *ex dictamine rationis & conſcientiæ*; love 'and fear ſtayed it: now neceſſity conſtrains me to 'it; I am utterly unable to ſuſtain the burthen of 'this great ſervice; for I am come to St Paul's de'ſire,' *Cupio diſſolvi, & eſſe cum Chriſto*.———In another letter he expreſſeth 'an earneſt deſire to ſerve 'ſtill: but, (ſaith he) when I remember St Paul's 'rule, *Let him that hath an office wait on his office*; 'and do conſider, withall, my great age, and many 'infirmities, I am dejected, and do utterly faint: for 'I ſee and feel ſenſibly, that I am not able to per'form thoſe duties as I ought, and the place requires; 'and thereupon I do ſeriouſly examine myſelf, what 'excuſe or anſwer I ſhall make to the King of Kings, 'and Judge of all Judges, when he ſhall call me to 'accompt; and then my conſcience ſhall accuſe me, 'that I have preſumed ſo long to undergo and wield 'ſo mighty and great a charge and burthen.——— He concludes thus,——'ſo, I moſt humbly beſeech 'your ſacred Majeſty, graciouſly to regard the great 'age, infirmity, and impotency of your moſt devoted, 'obedient, loyal, and faithful ſervant; let me not be 'as Domitius after was, * *Maluit deficere quam deſinere*; but, with your princely favour, give me leave 'to retire myſelf from the carefull ſervice of this great 'office, and from the troubles of this world, and to 'ſpend the ſmall remnant of my life in meditation 'and prayer——— (14).'

[*H*] *He alſo let him keep the Seal till the beginning of Hilary-term following, when he ſent Secretary Winwood for it*.] This we are aſſured of by Mr W. Sanderſon, the publiſher of *Aulicus Coquinariæ*; by way of reply to Sir Ant. Weldon; who, in his *Court and Character of King James* (15), ſays, that the Lord Chancellor was removed by Villiers's means, for 'not 'giving way to his exorbitant deſires:———and, 'that to deſpight him the more, and to vex his very 'ſoule, in the laſt agony he ſent Bacon, his deſired 'ſucceſſor, (one he hated) for the ſeales, which the 'old man's ſpirit could not brook, but ſent them by 'his own ſervant to the King, and ſhortly after yeelded 'his ſoul to his Maker.' The Great Seal was delivered to Sir Francis Bacon, March 7. 1616-7 (16).

[*I*] *And*

(11) See Lord Bacon's Works, Vol. IV; and Cabala, p. 28, 29, 30.

(12) Life of King James I. by Ar. Wilſon, as above, under the year 1616. Ar. Collins, as above, p. 473.

(13) See his Letters in Vol. IV, of his Works; and Cabala, p. 31, 32.

(†) From the dictates of reaſon and conſcience.

(*) He choſe rather to faint than to quit.

(14) Cabala, p. 235, 236.

(15) Page 125, edit. Lond. 1650, 12*mo*.

(16) Chron. Juridicialia, p. 185.

Lordſhip's illneſs increaſing, the King ſent the Earl of Buckingham, and Sir Francis Bacon, to ſignify to him, that he intended to give him the title of an Earl, and an annual penſion; but being at that time ſeventy-ſeven years of age, he did not live to enjoy either (*e*). For he died, at York-houſe in the Strand, March 15, 1616-17, in a good old age, and full of virtuous fame, and was buried privately at Dodleſton in Cheſhire (*f*). He was a perſon of a moſt venerable gravity, both in his countenance and behaviour, having been ſeldom ſeen to ſmile (*g*); ſo that many went to the Chancery, on purpoſe only to ſee his venerable garb; and happy they who had no other buſineſs there, as Dr Fuller well obſerves (*h*). As to his inward abilities; he had a quick wit and apprehenſion, profound judgment, and ready utterance (*i*). He was a prudent man, a good Lawyer, juſt and honeſt, ſo that none of the Bench in his time went beyond him: and after his death, all of the long robe lamented his loſs (*k*). He was attended by ſervants of moſt able parts, and was the firſt Chancellor ſince the Reformation, who had a *Chaplain*, namely John Williams, afterwards Lord-Keeper, and Archbiſhop of York. When he ſaw King James ſo profuſe to the Scots, with the grave fidelity of a Stateſman he ſcrupled not often to tell him, That as he held it neceſſary for his Majeſty amply to reward thoſe his countrymen, ſo he deſired him carefully to preſerve his Crown-lands for his own ſupport, ſeeing he or his ſucceſſors, might meet with Parliaments, which would not ſupply his occaſions, but on ſuch conditions as would not be very acceptable unto him. It was an ordinary ſpeech in his mouth, Froſt and Fraud both end in foul (*l*). By his firſt Lady, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Ravenſcroft, of Bretton in the county of Flint, Eſq; he had iſſue two ſons, Sir Thomas Egerton, Knt. who died in his life-time; and John, who ſucceeded him, and was created Earl of Bridgewater [*I*]. Alſo a daughter, Mary, married to Sir Francis Leigh, of Newnham-Regis, in the county of Warwick, Knight of the Bath. He had no iſſue by his ſecond, and third Lady (*m*). He writ a few things, but only one piece was publiſhed in his life-time [*K*].

(*e*) Camdeni regni Jacobi I. Annalium Apparatus, ad ann. 1617.

(*f*) Dugdale's Baronage, ubi ſupra; and Life and Death of King James I. by Ar. Wilſon, Eſq; Lond. 1653, fol. p. 97.

(*g*) Dugdale, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Worthies, in Cheſhire, p. 176.

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra, col. 418.

(*l*) Fuller's Worthies, ubi ſupra, p. 177.

(*m*) Dugdale, ubi ſupra; and Ar. Collins, p. 475, 476.

[*I*] *And John, who ſucceeded him, and was created Earl of Bridgewater.*] The Lord Chancellor Egerton's noble deſcendents, and inheritors of his honours and eſtates, to this preſent time, have been. 1. *John*, his ſecond ſon, created Earl of Bridgewater, May 27. 1617. He died Decemb. 4. 1649. 2. *John*, who died Octob. 26. 1686. 3. *John*, born Nov. 9. 1646, who died March 19. 1700-1. 4. *Scroop*, born Auguſt 11. 1681, died in January 1744-5. 5. *John*, born 29 April 1727. died in February 1747 8. 6. *Francis*, a minor, is the preſent Duke of Bridgewater, (17).

(17) Ar. Collins, ubi ſupra, p. 476 —485.

[*K*] *He writ a few things, but only one piece was publiſhed in his life-time*] That piece was, 'Speech 'in the Exechequer-chamber, touching the *Poſt-nati*. 'Lond. 1609. 4to. in ſixteen ſheets' But in the year 1651, there was publiſhed, a little book entituled, 'Certaine Obſervations concerning the Office 'of the Lord Chancellor. Compoſed by the Right 'Honorable, and moſt learned, Thomas Lord Elleſmere, late Lord Chancellor of England.' Small octavo. extracted chiefly from records. He alſo left behind him at his death four MSS. of choice collections fit to be printed, concerning (1). The Prerogative Royal. (2). Privileges of Parliament. (3). Proceedings in Chancery. (4). The power of the Star-chamber (18).

(18) Wood's Ath. as above, col. 418.

C

ELSYNGE (Henry) Clerk of the Houſe of Commons, in the reign of King Charles I, was born at Batterſey in Surrey in the year 1598; being the eldeſt ſon of Henry Elſynge, Eſq; (*a*) [*A*]. After a ſuitable education in Weſtminſter-ſchool, he was admitted, in 1621 (*b*), into Chriſt's-Church-College in Oxford; and took the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, June 22, 1625 (*c*). But, without taking any further degrees, he went and travelled abroad; and ſpent, at ſeveral times, above ſeven years in foreign countries. By which he became ſo accompliſhed a gentleman, that his company and converſation was deſired by perſons of the higheſt quality and beſt judgment. He was in particular ſo highly valued by Archbiſhop Laud, that his Grace procured him the place of Clerk of the Houſe of Commons, to which he proved of infinite uſe, as well as a ſingular ornament (*d*). For he was the moſt excellent Clerk, both to take and expreſs the ſenſe of the Houſe, that ever ſat there: and alſo ſo great a help to the Speaker, and to the Houſe, in ſtating the Queſtions, and drawing up the Orders free from exceptions, that it much conduced to the diſpatch of buſineſs, and the ſervice of the Parliament (*e*). His diſcretion alſo and prudence was ſuch, that though the Long Parliament was by faction kept in continual diſorder, yet his fair and temperate carriage made him commended and eſteemed by all parties, how furious and oppoſite ſoever they were among themſelves. And therefore, for theſe his abilities and good conduct, more reverence was paid to his ſtool than to the Speaker Lenthall's chair, who being obnoxious, timorous, and intereſted, was often much confuſed in collecting the ſenſe of the Houſe, and drawing the debates into a fair queſtion; in which Mr Elſynge was always obſerved to be ſo ready and juſt, that generally the Houſe acquieſced in what he did of that nature (*f*). At length, when he ſaw that the greater part of the Houſe were impriſoned and ſecluded; and that the remainder would bring the King to a trial for his life; he deſired, on the 26th of December 1648, to quit his place, by reaſon, as he alledged, of his bad ſtate of health: but moſt people underſtood his reaſon to be (and he acknowledged it to Mr Whitelock and

(*a*) Wood's Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 177.

(*b*) Mr Wood ſays it was in 1622, but by the time of taking his degree, it muſt have been in Michaelmas term 1621.

(*c*) Id. Faſti, Vol. I. col. 231.

(*d*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Whitelock's Memorials, edit 1732, p. 364.

(*f*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *Being the eldeſt Son of* Henry Elſynge *Eſq.*] Who was Clerk of the Houſe of Lords, and a perſon of great abilities. His father was Henry Elſynge Citizen of London, Son of John Elſynge of Daxworth in Cambridgeſhire (1).

(1) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

and others of his friends) becauſe he would have no hand in the buſineſs againſt the King (*g*). After having quitted his advantageous employment, he retired to his houſe at Hounſlow in Middleſex; where contracting many infirmities of body, by his ſedentarineſs, ſome diſtreſſes in his family, and by a deep melancholy for the ſufferings and loſs of his Sovereign, he departed this life, about the middle of Auguſt in the year 1654, and in the fifty-ſixth of his age. He was buried in his private chapel at Hounſlow, which is the burying place of his family (*h*). He was a man of very great parts, and ingenuous education; was very learned, eſpecially in the Latin, French, and Italian languages; a great Student, and a very juſt and honeſt man: one, in a word, of whom the great Mr Selden was very fond (*i*). He was author of a few good things, of which we ſhall give an account in the note [*B*].

(*g*) Whitelock, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Whitelock, ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *He was Author of a few good things, &c.*] Namely, 1. 'The ancient method and manner of 'holding Parliaments in England.' Lond. 1663. reprinted ſince in 12°. the third edition being in 1675. Mr Wood ſuppoſes (2), that it is moſtly taken from a MS. entituled, *Modus tenendi Parliamentum apud Anglos*: 'Of the form and manner of holding a Parliament in England, and all things incident thereunto, 'digeſted and divided into ſeveral chapters and titles,' an. 1626, 'written by our Author's Father, who died 'while his Son was in his travels.' This curious little book, which ſeems to have been a collection made by the Author for his own uſe, is divided into eight Chapters. Ch. 1. Of ſummons. Ch. 2. Of appearance. Ch. 3. Of the place of meeting, and form of ſitting. Ch. 4 Of Parliament days. Ch. 5. Of Proxies. Ch. 6. Of the cauſe of Summons. Ch. 7. Of the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. Ch. 8. Receivers and Tryers of Petitions.——In Chap. 1. He ſhows, among other curious particulars, 'who were antiently 'ſummoned to Parliament.' And they were 'Archbiſhops, and Biſhops;' on account of their dignity and tenure. 'All Abbots and Priors, which held 'by an Earldom or a Barony,' by reaſon of their tenure. 'All Earls and Barons by reaſon of their 'inheritable Nobility and tenure, and their Peers alſo,' by reaſon of their tenure. 'The Judges, and 'Barons of the Exchequer, the King's Privy Council, 'and his learned Counſel,' were alſo ſummoned; but had no vote, nor were ſummoned on account of their tenure.—— 'The Knights of the Shires, and the 'Barons of the Cinque Ports' were alſo ſummoned: and, 'The Citizens and Burgeſſes were ever elected 'and ſent to the Parliament.' Next he enquires, 'whether the ſummons were antiently by one general 'writ or particular writs:' and affirms, that 'before 'the Conqueſt, the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, and 'the Peers were ſummoned to Parliament by one general Summons; and, that the others who were 'neither Lords nor Peers had particular writs.' He alſo gives, the firſt writ of Summons extant upon record, namely that of 49 Hen. iii; the titles of the parties ſummoned; the form of the antient writ for the election of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, &c. In Chap. III. he examines, 'Whether the Lords 'and Commons did antiently ſit in one room together. And, whether the Commons did antiently 'ſit at conference with the Lords.' In Chap. IV. he enquires, 'On what days the Parliament may not 'ſit:' and ſhows by ſome inſtances, that they formerly uſed to ſit on Sundays.——II. Mr Elſynge likewiſe wrote 'A Tract concerning Proceedings in Parliament;' never publiſhed. It was ſome time in manuſcript in the poſſeſſion of Sir Matth. Hale, who bequeathed it in his Will to Lincoln's-Inn Library. III. Our Author left alſo behind him ſome Tracts and Memorials of his own writing, but ſo imperfect, that his executor would not publiſh them, leſt they ſhould prove injurious to his memory. IV. Ant. Wood aſcribes moreover to Mr Elſynge, 'A declaration or remonſtrance of the ſtate of the kingdom, 'agreed on by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in 'Parliament, 19 May 1642. *Lond.* 1642. in ſix ſheets '4to.' But it is too virulent to be conſiſtent with Mr Elſynge's character as given above. The reader may ſee it in Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collect. Vol. 4. and in Edw. Huſbands's Collection of Remonſtrances, &c. Lond. 1643. 4to. p. 195.

(2) Athen. ubi ſupra.

C

ELYOT (Sir THOMAS) a Gentleman of eminent learning in the reign of King Henry VIII, and author of ſeveral works [*A*], was ſon of Sir Richard Elyot, of the county of Suffolk; and educated in academical learning at St Mary's Hall in Oxford [*B*], where he made a conſiderable progreſs in Logick and Philoſophy (*a*). After ſome time ſpent at the univerſity, he travelled into foreign countries, and, upon his return, was introduced to the Court of King Henry, who, being a great patron of learned men, conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and employed him in ſeveral embaſſies, particularly to Rome in 1532, about the affair of the divorce of Queen Catherine, and afterwards, about the year 1536, to the Emperor Charles V (*b*). Sir Thomas was an excellent Grammarian, Poet, Rhetorician, Philoſopher, Phyſician, Coſmographer, and Hiſtorian; and no leſs diſtinguiſhed for his candour, and the innocence and integrity of

his

(*a*) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. VIII. n. 77; and Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 67.

(*b*) Wood, ibid.

[*A*] *Author of ſeveral Works.*] I. *The Caſtle of Health*, London, 1541, 1572, 1580, 1595, &c. in 8vo. II. *The Governor*, in three books. London, 1544, 1547, 1580, &c. in 8vo. III. *Of the Education of Children*. London, in 4to. IV. *The Banquet of Sapience*. London, in 8vo. V. *De Rebus Memorabilibus Angliæ*: for the compleating of which he had peruſed many old Engliſh Monuments (*). V. *A Defence or Apology for good women*. VI. *Bibliotheca Eliotæ: Elyot's Library, or Dictionary*. London, 1541, &c. fol. Which work *Cooper* augmented, and enriched with *thirty three thouſand* words and phraſes, beſides a fuller account of the true ſignification of words. He tranſlated likewiſe, from Greek into Engliſh, *The Image of Governance, compiled of the Acts and Sentences by the Emperor* Alexander Severus. London, 1556, 1594, &c. in 8vo. And from Latin into Engliſh, 1. *St Cyprian's Sermon of the mortality of man*. London, 1534, in 8vo. 2. *The Rule of a Chriſtian Life*, written by Picus Earl of Mirandola. London 1534, in 8vo (1).

(*) See Roger Aſcham's *Toxophilus*, p. 28.

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 67.

[*B*] *Educated in Academical learning at St Mary's Hall in Oxford.*] The year of his admiſſion, thro' the defect of the record, cannot eaſily be determined; unleſs it was about the year 1514: for, four years after, *viz.* in 1518, one Thomas Elyot was admitted *ad lecturam alicujus libri facultatis Artium Logices Ariſtotelis*, which is the admiſſion to the degree of bachelor of arts; and in Lent the ſame year he completed that degree by determination in School-Street. It appears likewiſe, that the ſaid Thomas Elyot was, in the beginning of Auguſt 1524, admitted *ad lecturam alicujus libri inſtitutionum*, that is, to the degree of bachelor of the Civil Law. Now if it could be made appear, that Sir Thomas Elyot died at about fifty years of age, we might certainly conclude him to be the ſame with Elyot the bachelor of arts and of the Civil Law; otherwiſe not (2). Parker (3) makes our Author to have been bred in Jeſus College in Cambridge.

(2) Id. ibid.

(3) In his Σκελέτος. Cantabr.

[C] *Leland*

his life (*c*). He was courted and celebrated by all the learned men of his time, particularly the famous Antiquary Leland, who addreſſed a copy of Latin verſes to him [*C*]. A ſimilitude of manners, and ſameneſs of ſtudies, recommended him to the intimacy and friendſhip of Sir Thomas More (*d*). He died in 1546, and was buried, the 25th of March, in the church of Carleton in Cambridgeſhire, of which county he had been Sheriff (*e*).

[*C*] *Leland addreſſed a copy of Latin verſes to him*] We ſhall tranſcribe them for the entertainment of the learned reader. They are extant in his *Encomia illuſtrium virorum* (4).

Ad Thomam Eliotam, Equitem ornatiſſimum.

Forſitan expectas, Eliota diſerte, venuſtum
Ut tranſmittam aliquod munus ab urbe tibi.
Ut non exſpectes, mentis tamen intimus in me
Promeruit candor munus at omne tuæ
At ne quid temere mittam, vel quod ſit ineptum,
Reſtat in officiis unica cura meis.
Non aurum mittam, longo nam temporis uſu
Fulgidus eſt auri deperiturus honor.
Non in Erythræis creſcentia munera conchis;
Margaritarum gratia fluxa, brevis.
Sed neque gemmarum radiantia ſidera mittam:
Tantum oculos paſcunt, cætera nuda quidem.
Excutienda mihi quare ſunt munera, quæ non
Corrumpant ullo ſæcula longa modo.
Talia ſed magno quæruntur dona labore,
Et poſcunt animi fertilioris opem.
Quum mea nil aliud poſſit præſtare Camœna,
Præter Caſtaliis carmina miſta modis:
Carmina fac igitur capias hæc fronte remiſſa,
Munera, ſed meritis inferiora tuis.
Queis modo ſi annuerint ſtabilem fata optima vitam,
Longè auro & gemmis ſplendidiora dedi.
Sic te perpetuo victuros ſcribere libros,
Edere me juvet & carmina digna cedro.

T

(*c*) Pitſeus, de Illuſtr. Angl. Script. ann. 1546, n. 969.

(*d*) Id. ibid.

(*e*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(4) *Apud* Jo. Lelandi de reb. Britan. Collectanea, Oxon. 1715, 8*vo*. In Append. P. i. p. 144.

ETHEREGE (GEORGE), a celebrated Wit in the reigns of King Charles and King James II, and eminent for his poetical genius, eſpecially in Comedy. He is ſaid to have been deſcended of an antient family in Oxfordſhire [*A*], or allied to it (*a*), and born about the year 1636, but not very diſtant from London 'tis believed, as ſome of his neareſt relations appear to have been ſettled not far from this metropolis, in the county of Middleſex. 'Tis thought he had ſome education at the univerſity of Cambridge, but it ſeems he travelled into France, and perhaps Flanders alſo, in his younger years; and at his return, ſtudied, for a while, the Municipal Laws, at one of the Inns of Court in London (*b*). But the polite company he ke[illegible] and his own natural talents, inclining him rather to court the favour of the Muſes, and cultivate the *Belles Lettres*, he purſued the ſame ſo effectually, that the town was obliged with his firſt dramatick performance in the year 1664 (*c*); intituled *The Comical Revenge: or, Love in a Tub* [*B*]; the writing whereof brought him acquainted, as he has himſelf informed us, with Charles, afterwards Earl of Dorſet; to whom it is, by the author, dedicated. And the fame of this play, with his lively humour, engaging converſation, and refined taſte in the faſhionable gallantries of the town, ſoon eſtabliſhed him in the ſocieties, and rendered him the delight of thoſe leading Wits among the Quality and Gentry of chief rank and diſtinction, who made their pleaſure the chief buſineſs of their lives, in that reign; ſuch as George Villiers Duke of Bucks, John Wilmot Earl of Rocheſter, Sir Car. Scroop, Sir Charles Sidley, Henry Savile, *&c.* Encouraged hereby to proceed, he brought another comedy upon the Stage; but it was four years after, in the year 1668 (*d*), intituled, *She would if ſhe could*; which alſo gained him no leſs applauſe [*C*]. And it was expected that he would, by the continuance

(*a*) MS. notes on the Lives of the Engliſh Poets, by Tho. Coxeter, Eſq;

(*b*) Idem. Alſo C. Gildon's Lives and Characters of the Engl. Dramatick Poets, 8*vo*, p. 53.

(*c*) So Mr Coxeter in his Notes above cited; tho' neither Langbaine, nor any of his followers, ever ſaw that firſt edition.

(*d*) In both the Catalogues of the Bodleian Library; that by Dr Tho. Hyde, fol. 1674; and the laſt, by Mr Robert Fyſher, fol. 1738, this firſt edition of that Play is dated in 1668; though the ſecond is only cited, after Langbaine, by C. Gildon; and after him, by G. Jacob.

[*A*] *An ancient Family in Oxfordſhire.*] Whereof, there was one, reſiding at Thame in that county, before the Reformation; from whence ſprung the learned Dr *George Etherege*, who was born there, about the year 1520; educated at Chriſt-Church-College, in the Univerſity of Oxford; was King's Profeſſor of the Greek Tongue there, in the Reign of Queen Mary, and ſome part of Queen Elizabeth's: but then, as he had been an oppoſer of the Proteſtants, was obliged to reſign it; whereupon he followed his Profeſſion of Phyſick in the City of Oxon, and inſtructed ſeveral ſcholars, who were the ſons of ſome Roman Catholic gentlemen, in the Sciences, to his old age, being alive in 1588; and was buried in the ſaid city, when he died. He wrote and tranſlated many learned books in his younger years; as John Leland has, in his poetical encomiums remembered (1); being a good Hebretian, Grecian and Poet; ſome of them written in Divinity, Phyſick, Muſick, and Verſe; among which was his *Acta Henrici Octavi*, in a Greek Poem, which he preſented to Queen Elizabeth, when, in a progreſs, ſhe viſited that Univerſity, *Anno* 1566. But it being thought only deſigned for the uſe of her Majeſty, and its author, it was during his life kept from the preſs, and ſo has continued ever ſince in MS. and *ſub noctibus atticis* (2). He alſo tranſlated a book written by Paulus Ægineta into Engliſh; the Pſalms of David into Hebrew verſe; and moſt part, or all of Juſtin Martyr, from the original Greek; beſides ſome other things, for the particulars whereof we ſhall at preſent refer to our author (3).

[*B*] *The Comical Revenge: or Love in a Tub.*] 'This Comedy was acted at his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York's Theatre, then newly erected in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields; and firſt printed, as is obſerved above, in Quarto, 1664. again, in 1669, 1689, 1690; and afterwards in the volume of our Author's Comedies printed together. It is dedicated by him, to the Honourable Charles Lord Buckhurſt; to whom he ſays, 'I could not have wiſhed myſelf more fortunate, than I have been, in the ſucceſs of this poem: the writing of it, was a means to make me known to your Lordſhip; the acting of it, has loſt me no reputation; and the printing of it, has now given me an opportunity to ſhew how much I honour you, &c. (4).' Mr Langbaine ſays that, 'This Comedy, though of a mixed nature; part of it being ſerious, and writ in heroic verſe, yet has ſucceeded admirably on the ſtage; it having been always acted with general approbation (5).'

[*C*] *His Comedy entitled, She would, if ſhe could, gained him no leſs applauſe.*] This alſo, was acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, as was obſerved above, in 1668; again, in 1671, &c. Alſo acted at the

(1) Vid. *Princip. ac Illuſtrium aliquot & Eruditorum in Anglia Virorum, Encomia, &c. a Joanne Lelando* Antiquario conſcripta. edit. 4*to*, Lond. 1589, p. 111.

(2) Biſhop Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, edit. fol. 1736, p. 85.

(3) See A. Wood, in Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. i. p. 289, a. And Athen. Oxon. Tom. I. col. 237.

(4) Sir George Etherege's Dedicat. to the Lord Buckhurſt of *The Comical Revenge*, &c.

(5) Account of the Dramatick Poets, 8*vo*, Oxon. 1691, p. 189.

continuance of his ſtudies to poliſh and enliven the theatrical taſte, be no leſs conſtant in ſuch entertainments than the moſt aſſiduous of his contemporaries. But it was aſcribed to his indolence, or too great an indulgence in his pleaſures, rather than any cloſe engagement at that time to more ſerious applications in the affairs of State, that his ingenuity was ſo alienated from the exerciſe of his pen; and indeed it is manifeſt, that there was an interval of above ſeven years, between that, and the appearance of his next, which was alſo his laſt dramatick production; and which, by the way, will ſhew us when that poem was written by his friend the Earl of Rocheſter which we ſhall here below cite; wherein though our author is highly complimented with all the requiſites of an accompliſhed Poet, he is yet condemned to loſe the Laurel for that delay [*D*]; his ſaid laſt comedy not being publiſhed till 1676. It is intituled, *The Man of Mode: or, Sir Fopling Flutter*. It is dedicated by him to the Ducheſs of York, who then was Mary the daughter of the Duke of Modena; in the ſervice of which Ducheſs our author, as he ſays in his ſaid dedication, he then was; and this play ſtill exalted his reputation, even above what both the former had done; he having therein, as perhaps he had alſo partly ſet himſelf ſome example in the others before, ſhadowed forth (but ſomewhat diſguiſedly) ſome of his noted acquaintance and contemporaries who were known, or thought to be ſo, by his ſaid draughts of them,

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the Theatre-Royal, by their Majeſties Servants, and printed Quarto, 1693, &c. And tho' it has neither Dedication, Preface, Prologue, nor Epilogue, that might inform us of its ſucceſs, the reaſon whereof may perhaps preſently appear, yet has it had great encomiums alſo beſtowed upon it. One of our comick writers, who was his contemporary, and afterwards Poet Laureat, writes thus of this Play, ‘ *She would, if ſhe could*, I think, and have the authority of ſome of ‘ the beſt judges for it, is the beſt Comedy that has ‘ been written ſince the Reformation of the ſtage. ‘ And even that, for the imperfect repreſentation of ‘ it at firſt, received ſuch prejudice, that had it not ‘ been for the favour of the *Court*, in all probability ‘ it had never got up again; and it ſuffers for it, in ‘ great meaſure, to this very day (6).’ Mr Phillips ſays of theſe two Comedies, *Love in a Tub*, and *She would, if ſhe could*, that for pleaſant wit and no bad oeconomy, they are judged not unworthy the approbation they have met with (7). Gildon agrees with Langbaine, that this laſt, is a Comedy of the firſt rank; and Langbaine further wiſhes ‘ For the publick ‘ ſatisfaction, that this great maſter would oblige the ‘ world with more of his performances; which would ‘ put a ſtop to the crude and indigeſted Plays, which, ‘ for want of better, cumber the ſtage (8).’ Theſe applauſes aroſe from our Author's changing the ſtudy after old copies, and chimerical draughts from ungrounded ſpeculation, which is but painting with dead colours, for thoſe, taken directly from the freſheſt practiſe and experience in original life. He drew his characters from what they called the *Beau monde*; from the manners and modes then prevailing with the gay and voluptuous part of the world; which has made them appear the more natural, tho' we cannot ſay the more innocent. He has alſo ſpirited his dialogues, eſpecially in the courtſhip of the fair ſex, for which he is diſtinguiſhed by Mr Dryden and others, with a ſparkling gaiety which had but little appeared before upon the ſtage, in parts pretending to the character of modiſh Gallants; and to judge of his figures according to the rules of true reſemblance, he will appear a maſterly hand; but ſtrictly to examine them, by the rules of honour, morality, and the principles of virtue, where none ſuch are ſeriouſly profeſſed; as the main buſineſs in the Comedies of thoſe times, and moſt ſince, are intrigues of unlawful love, would be a ſeverity, that might tend to eclipſe that expoſure of thoſe corruptions, which has ever been allowed as the greateſt benefit of Theatrical repreſentations; according to the reflexions which have been made on the comic writings of our Author, and ſome other contemporaries, by a late writer (9): tho' it is by the ſame hand alſo owned on the other ſide, that corruptions are too often taught upon the ſtage, under the pretence of expoſing them. To deſcribe and make known thoſe poiſonous things which are baneful to the body, may be neceſſary and ſufficient for the avoidance of the ignorant; but thoſe examples that poiſon the morals and virtues of the mind, are ſo palatable to the vicious, that the ſimple or bare deſcriptions of them often prove fatal, unleſs accompanied with ſuch powerful antidotes, as may deſtroy their miſchievous efficacy, or ſuch proſpects of their deſtructive conſequences, as may terrify mankind more by their durable diſaſters, than tempt them by their fleeting delights; as the ſame Author has alſo obſerved upon this topic (10): and this part of the argument has been alſo more directly applyed to Sir George's Plays, particularly by a late reformer of the ſtage, who had been a comick writer himſelf; and who, upon quoting a reflexion that had been made on a ſpeech in one of his own Comedies, as too much inclining to a vein of wantonneſs, may ſeem to have aimed at ſome apology for it, by recriminating upon this play of our Author's, as what is intirely written in that vein; where ſpeaking of luſcious expreſſions and deſcriptions that gratify a ſenſual appetite, he ſays, ‘ This expedient to ſupply the deficiency of wit, has ‘ been uſed more or leſs, by moſt of the authors who ‘ have ſucceeded on the ſtage; tho' I know but one ‘ who has profeſſedly writ a play upon the baſis of ‘ the deſire of multiplying our ſpecies; and that is, ‘ the polite Sir *George Etherege*; if I underſtand what ‘ the lady would be at in the play called *She would, ‘ if ſhe could*. Other Poets have here and there, given ‘ an intimation that there is this deſign, under all the ‘ diſguiſes and affectations which a lady may put on; ‘ but no author except this, has made ſure work of ‘ it, and put the imaginations of the audience upon ‘ this one purpoſe from the beginning to the end of ‘ the Comedy. It has always fared accordingly; ‘ for, whether it be, that all who go to this piece, ‘ *would, if they could*, or that, the innocents go to it, ‘ to gueſs only what *She would, if ſhe could*, the play ‘ has always been well received (11).’

[*D*] *Condemned to loſe the Laurel for that delay.*] In the ſaid famous Poem, written by the Lord Rocheſter (*), after the example of Sir John Suckling's upon the like ſubject, Apollo finds ſome plauſible pretence of exception to the claim of every poetical candidate for the laurel crown; therefore our Poet, by the ſcheme or drift of it, could eſcape no leſs diſappointment than the reſt; yet his Lordſhip, to do him ample juſtice, has ſufficiently ſhewed his merits to it, in every thing but his perſeverance to exert them; which, after having firſt of all diſcarded Mr Dryden, he next expreſſes thus.

> This reverend Author was no ſooner ſet by,
> But Apollo had got gentle George in his eye;
> And frankly confeſſed, of all Men that writ,
> There's none had more Fancy, Senſe, Judgment or
> Wit:
> But, i'th' crying ſin Idleneſs, he was ſo harden'd,
> That his long *ſev'n years* ſilence was not to be par-
> don'd.

Which plainly ſhews that the Poem in which theſe lines are written (12) was juſt before the publication of our Author's next Play abovementioned in the text, and here, in the following note.

[*E*] *And*

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(6) See *The Humoriſt*, a Comedy, by Tho. Shadwell of the Middle Temple, 4*to*, 1671, in Pref.

(7) E. Phillips's Collection of the Poets, P. ii. p. 53; and W. Winſtanley copies his words.

(8) Langbaine's Account of the Engl. Dramatick Poets, p. 187.

(9) In a Diſcourſe upon Comedy, MS. 4*to*, among the Collections of the late N. Boothe, Eſq; of Gray's-Inn, p. 13.

(10) Idem, p. 15.

(11) See *The Spectator*, Vol. I. No. 51.

(*) Tho' it has ſince been fathered, as well as ſome others, without any authority, upon George D. of Buckingham. See The Tryal of the Poets, for the Bays, in Imitation of a Satire in Boileau, among The Miſcellaneous Works of Geo. late D. of Buckingham, &c. 8*vo*, 1704, p. 41.

(12) The Seſſion of the Poets, in Lord Rocheſter's Works, 8*vo*, 1739. And in Dryden's Miſcellanies, edit. 12*mo*, 1716, P. ii. p. 96.

them, to many of the audience, which rendered the Play very popular [*E*]. It ſeems he was

[*E*] *Which made the Play very popular.*] This Comedy, called *The Man of Mode, or Sir Fopling Flutter*, acted alſo at the Duke's Theatre, beſides the firſt edition, abovementioned, in 1676, had other impreſſions in 1684, &c. Our Author, in his courtly Dedication to the ſaid Ducheſs of York has this, among other very complaiſant and reſpectful expreſſions; 'I hope the honour I have of *belonging to you*, will excuſe my preſumption: 'tis the firſt thing I have produced in your ſervice, and my *duty* obliges me to what my *choice* durſt not elſe have aſpired.' The ſong in the laſt act, was tranſlated by Sir Car Scroop, from part of an Elegy written in French by *Madame la Comteſſe de la Suze* (13). The Prologue was alſo written by the ſaid Baronet; in which he has theſe Verſes.

> With modeſt fears a *Muſe* does firſt begin,
> Like a *young wench* newly entic'd to Sin:
> But, tickled once with praiſe, by her good will,
> The wanton fool would never more lye ſtill.
> 'Tis an *old miſtreſs* you'll meet here to night,
> Whoſe charms you once have look'd on with delight;
> But now of late, ſuch dirty drabs have known ye,
> A Muſe 'oth' better ſort's aſham'd to own ye, &c.

And he goes on, to cenſure the ſuperfluous importation of any foreign characters of folly, when we are overſtocked with ſuch varieties, as are giving continual provocation to be expoſed at home. Therefore he entreats the audience, to be favourable to their own breed, and forbare to damn in the copy, what they have admired in the original. The Epilogue to this Play was written by Mr Dryden; in which he found it proper to anticipate the audience with an opinion that there was no perſonal ſatire intended, and to prevent any thing of that kind being ſuſpected therein: ſo deſcribes one of the principal characters, that of Sir Fopling, which was moſt liable to ſuch ſuſpicion, as a draught drawn only from the imagination, or its ideas ariſing from the collective body of Fops in general, and pointing, by no means, at any particular man. To which purpoſe the former part of that Epilogue is thus written:

> Moſt modern Wits, ſuch monſtrous *Fools* have ſhown,
> They ſeem not of Heav'n's making, but their own.
> Thoſe nauſeous *Harlequins*, in *Farce* may paſs,
> But there goes more to a ſubſtantial aſs;
> Something of Man, muſt be expos'd to view,
> That, Gallants, they may more reſemble you:
> Sir *Fopling* is a *Fool*, ſo nicely writ,
> The Ladies would miſtake him for a *Wit*.
> And when he ſings, talks loud, and cocks, would cry,
> I vow, methinks he's *pretty* company;
> So briſk, ſo gay, ſo travell'd, ſo refin'd!
> As he took pains to graff upon his kind.
> True Fops help Nature's work, and go to ſchool,
> To file, and finiſh God Almighty's Fool:
> Yet none Sir *Fopling*, him, or him can call;
> He's *Knight 'o th' Shire*, and repreſents you all:
> From each he meets, he culls what e'er he can,
> *Legion*'s his name, a *People* in a *Man*.

And to the ſame ſenſe concludes,

> Yet every man is ſafe from what he fear'd,
> For no one Fool is hunted from the herd.

And yet he has here ſo deſcribed his dreſs, his airs, and humours, however gathered only from this chemerical precedent, as he would have it thought, on the Drama, that the town was rather confirmed in, than diverted thereby from applying the imaginary to a real perſon. And who was the original of this picture agreed upon at laſt to be, but Beau Hewit, the moſt notorious Fop of that time! as we have been credibly informed; alſo that the part of Dorimant was drawn for the Author's friend the Earl of Rocheſter; wherein his inconſtancy, falſhood, and triumphs, in the conqueſt and ruin of the fair, are varniſhed over with ſuch agreeable and captivating graces, of modiſh and polite gallantry, that they may have been no leſs delectable to the lighter, than diſpleaſing to the graver part, or thoſe whoſe buſineſs it is, to aſſume, or profeſs this character. The Poet has alſo drawn out ſome ſketch of himſelf in this Play, if we miſtake not, in the character of Medley: nay, as we alſo had it from the ſame intelligence, that of the late Mr John Bowman, who had either acted the part of Sir Fopling, or ſome other in this Comedy, when it was in its earlieſt and higheſt repute, the very Shoemaker, in the firſt act, was alſo meant for a real perſon; who, by his improvident courſes, having been before unable to make any profit of his trade, grew afterwards, upon this publick repreſentation of him, ſo notable, and drew ſuch a reſort of the beſt cuſtomers to him, as obliged him to ſuch cloſe application in his buſineſs, and made him ſo ambitious of giving ſatisfaction, that he thenceforth became a very thriving man, and acquired a very ſubſtantial and comfortable maintenance for himſelf and family. The play met with extraordinary ſucceſs upon the ſtage, however different judgments have been given of it. Langbaine ſays, 'It is written with great art and judgment; and is acknowledged by all to be as true Comedy, and the characters as well drawn to the life, as any play that has been acted ſince the Reſtauration of the Engliſh ſtage (14):' with whom Gildon agrees. 'Tis true our Author has here in this, as well as his other Comedies before, made ſome witty alluſions, and ſimilies drawn from the Sportſman's language, or phraſes uſed in the country diverſions of hunting and hawking; which might not be ſo familiarly reliſhed by ſome of his Criticks, or meer Courtiers, Citizens, and Cockneys in town: and though he may not have ſo highly built upon any little underplots, that keep up the ſpirit and buſineſs of the ſcenes, till they have gathered to one ſuch capital plot as might at laſt break out into that ſurpriſing diſcloſure of events, which would anſwer the expectation of ſome judges; whence it was objected, that he had written two, as one Author, (*) or as another, not over correctly, *three taking Plays without one Plot*; tho' 'tis by others aſſerted, theſe three Plays are neither without Plot or Humour (15): Yet thoſe little objections, from ſome of his audience, were foundation enough it ſeems, for a ſatirical pen to raiſe a little character of him upon, in that poem, where the ſaid ſatiriſt mentions our Author, among the better ſort of thoſe Poets, who were then damned, as he acknowledges, only by the ignorant, after this manner.

> A fourth, for writing ſuperfine,
> With words correct in every line:
> And one that does preſume to ſay,
> A Plot's too groſs for any Play.
> Comedy ſhould be clean and neat,
> As Gentlemen do talk and eat:
> So, what he writes, is but Tranſlation,
> From Dog and Partridge Converſation (16).

But our Author has been handled, with regard particularly to this laſt Comedy, more ſeverely yet, by that Critick in Proſe, who, as we have above read, beſtowed ſome cenſure upon the laſt before mentioned: but with what candour and equity, this has been ſo rigorouſly reflected on, is ſubmitted to other judges; by ſome of whom, it has been thought that, to ſift out ſome coarſe and indelicate ſentiments or expreſſions from the meaneſt or loweſt characters, and mention nothing that is gay, witty, or polite, from any others; nothing like what Dorimant has accoſted the widow with,

> They taſte of Death, who do at Heaven arrive,
> But we this Paradiſe approach alive!

I ſay,

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(13) See *Le Recüeil des Pieces Gallentes*, Tom. I. p. 42.

(14) In his Account of Sir G. Etherege, as before.

(*) In the Works of G. Duke of Bucks, as before, p. 60.

(15) Miſcellanea Aurea: or, The Golden Medley, *&c.* 8*vo*, 1720, p. 291.

(16) See *The Ramble*, an Heroick Poem; with ſome Terreſtrial Hymnes and Carnal Ejaculations; by Alexander Radcliffe, of Gray's Inn, Eſq; 8*vo*, 1682: in his *News from Hell*, p. 5; reprinted in Dryden's Miſcellanies, edit. 12*mo*, 1716, P. ii, p. 101.

was addicted to ſome great extravagancies ; being too free of his purſe in gaming, and of his conſtitution with women and wine ; which embarraſſed his fortune, impaired his health, and brought ſome ſatirical reflexions upon him. Gildon ſays, that for marrying a Fortune he was knighted (*e*) ; but we have it more particularly in a poem of thoſe times, which never was printed, that to make ſome reparation of his circumſtances, he courted a rich old widow ; but her ambition was ſuch, that ſhe would not marry him unleſs he could make her a Lady ; which he was forced by the purchaſe of knighthood to do (*). This might be, as it is computed, from the chronological order in which that poem ſeems to have been tranſcribed, in the volume of ſuch like poems, wherein we have ſeen it, about the year 1683 (*f*). We hear not of any iſſue he had by this Lady : but we have been informed that he cohabited, whether before, or after his ſaid marriage, we know not, for ſome time with Mrs Barry the Actreſs, and had a daughter by her ; that he ſettled five or ſix thouſand pounds upon her ; but that ſhe died young (*g*). From the ſame intelligence we have alſo learnt, that Sir George was, in his perſon, a fair, ſlender, genteel man ; but ſpoiled his countenance with drinking, and other habits of intemperance ; and in his deportment, very affable and courteous, of a ſprightly and generous temper ; which with his free, lively, and natural vein of writing, acquired him the general character of *Gentle George*, and *Eaſy Etherege* ; in reſpect to which qualities, we may often find him compared with Sir Charles Sidley [*F*]. His ſaid courtly addreſs, and other accompliſhments, won him the favour of the Ducheſs aforeſaid, afterwards, when King James was crowned, his Queen ; by whoſe intereſt and recommendation he was ſent Ambaſſador abroad. In a certain paſquil that was written upon him, it is intimated as if he was ſent upon ſome embaſſy to Turkey ; which, becauſe never printed that we know of, we ſhall here in a note tranſcribe [*G*], to ſhew how free the Wits could be with his character, who had been ſo with his own conduct. Gildon ſays, that being in particular eſteem with the late Queen, King James's conſort, he was ſent Envoy to Hamburgh (*b*) ; but it is, in ſeveral books evident, that he was, in that reign, a Miniſter at Ratiſbon ; at leaſt, from the year 1686, to the time that his Majeſty left this kingdom, if not later ;

more

I ſay, to gather us out a few weeds only, and overlook every flower, has been thought, in this inſtance, but a partial deſcription of the Muſes garden ; and ſome of our moſt celebrated Comedies written ſince, might ſuffer as much or more, by ſuch inequitable examination. The part of Dorimant ſeems not ſo expreſsly intended for the perfect fine Gentleman, as the refined rake or libertine ; the unconfinable rover after amorous adventures ; therefore, ſtrict honour and honeſty are not to be expected in ſuch a character ; and the play is unjuſtly brought to the teſt, upon the falſe and unallowable propoſition of its being an abſolute pattern of genteel Comedy. If all plays were to paſs the ordeal of moral virtue, it would have company enough in the fiery ſentence ; and under ſuch a merciless trial, it might not in ſome meaſure, be denyed, ‘ But that the negligence of every thing which engages the attention of the ſober and valuable part of mankind, appears very well drawn in this piece ; as it muſt be denyed, that it is neceſſary to the character of a fine Gentleman, that he ſhould in that manner trample upon all order and decency.’ And tho' we cannot be ſo very violently prejudiced, as to aſſert that ‘ This *whole* celebrated *Piece* is a perfect contradiction of good manners, good ſenſe, and common honeſty ; that there is nothing in it, but what is built upon the ruin of virtue and innocence ;’ and, ‘ That nothing but being loſt to a ſenſe thereof, can make any one ſee this Comedy, without obſerving more frequent occaſions to move ſorrow and indignation, than mirth and laughter ;’ yet, we may partly coincide with the Critick, in the concluſion of his remarks on this play ; where, at the ſame time, that he allows it to be nature, we alſo agree, it is nature (tho' not in the utmoſt, yet) in its corruption and degeneracy (17). Theſe three Comedies were reprinted together in the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, but ſo blindly, as to the time when they were written, having no particulars of any date, but that of the year in which they were then reprinted, that there is no knowing by any thing in the book, whether they were ever publiſhed before, or that the Author was not then alive (18) ; an imperfection, for want of ſome conſiderate editor, common in the new impreſſions of books, often to the perplexity, obſtruction, and miſguidance of ſtudious men in their purſuits of hiſtorical knowledge. At the end of this edition, are the two poetical Epiſtles of our Author, which, in his Embaſſy, he addreſſed to the Earl of Middleton, and three other ſmall Poems, that will hereafter be ſomewhat further ſpoken of (19).

[*F*] *Often find him compared with Sir Charles Sidley.*] Among other teſtimonies which might be produced, that of his learned friend Mr John Evelyn is in theſe words,

While fathers are ſevere, and ſervants cheat,
Till bauds and whores can live without deceit,
Sidley and eaſy Etherege will be great (20).

Another Poetical Writer has theſe lines upon them ;

Here gentle Eth'rege's and Sidley's Muſe,
Warm the coy maid, and melting love infuſe :
No unchaſt words, with harſh offenſive ſound,
The tender ears of bluſhing virgins wound ;
Nor thought, which nauſeous images inſpire,
And damp the glowing heat of ſoft deſire :
But calm and eaſy the ſweet numbers move,
And ev'ry verſe is influenc'd by love (21).

[*G*] *We ſhall here, in a note tranſcribe.*] This Paſquil upon our Author, alſo two of his Plays, and his embaſſy to Turkey, as we have it now before us, conſiſts of theſe lines :

Eth'rege by Knight and Lords united club,
Pickled his *Play*, and *Perſon* in a *Tub* :
For *Comical Revenge*, the Lord thought fit
To have a ſingle Trial of his Wit ;
In which the Title, if well underſtood,
Does ſhew, he *wou'd* write better *if he cou'd* :
But he and's Play have different miſhaps ;
One's purg'd to cure, t'other to get more claps.
His meagre face did his bad fate foretell ;
That, like himſelf, 'twou'd not be count'nanc'd well :
Inſtead of ſenſe, he welcomes you with ſound ;
For his Fee-ſimple was two hundred pound :
Yet let us not at this great bounty ſcoff ;
He's the firſt Fire-ſhip e'er was well paid off.
Ovid to *Pontus* ſent, for too much Wit ;
Eth'rege to *Turkey*, for the want of it (22).

[*H*] *May*

(*e*) Lives, &c. of Engl. Dramatick Poets, as above.

(*) In a *Conſolatory Epiſt.* to Capt. *Julian*, aſcribed to G. Duke of *Bucks*; this match is reflected on.

(*f*) This Poem is intituled *The Preſent State of Matrimony* ; to be ſeen, in a fair MS. Collect. of Satires, Vol. II. in the Harleian Library. There are other copies, with enlargements to the ſame ſenſe.

(*g*) This from the information of the late Mr John Bowman, the oldeſt Actor of his time ; who knew Sir George, as well as Mrs Barry.

(*b*) In his Account of Sir G. Etherege, as before, p. 53.

(17) The Spectator, Vol. I. edit. 8*vo*, 1747, No. 65, p. 399, &c.

(18) The Works of Sir George Etherege, containing his Plays and Poems: printed for J. Tonſon, &c. 8*vo*, 1704. They were reprinted in 12*mo*, 1715.

(19) In note [*I*].

(20) Mr Evelyn's Imitation of Ovid's 15th Elegy.

(21) Mr Charles Tooke, To a young Lady, with the firſt edition of *A Collection of Poems*, viz. *The Temple of Death*, &c. third edit. 12*mo*, 1716, p. 2.

(22) So, in an old MS. copy, found among the Earl of Arlington's Papers, in 1739.

more eſpecially it appears that he was then there, in his own letters, which he wrote from thence; ſome, to the Earl of Middleton, in verſe; to one whereof his Lordſhip engaged Mr Dryden to return a poetical anſwer; in which he invites Sir George to write another play, and to keep him in countenance for his having been ſo dilatory in his laſt, reminds him how long the comedy, or farce, of *The Rehearſal* had been hatching, by the Duke of Buckingham, before it appear'd (*i*); but we meet with nothing more of our author's writing, after his laſt comedy aforeſaid, for the ſtage. However, there are in being ſome other letters of his in proſe, which were written alſo from Ratiſbon; two whereof, which he ſent to the ſaid Duke of Buckingham, when he was in his receſs; becauſe they are not only entertaining in themſelves, but will give us a ſtronger, and more exact reſemblance, both of the writer and receiver, than any draught that could be made with the moſt vivid colours, in a more diſtant deſcription, may not, we perſuade ourſelves, be thought tedious here to produce [*H*]. As for his other compoſitions, such as have

(*i*) See theſe Letters in Dryden's Miſcellanies, &c.

[H] *May not be thought tedious here to produce.*] We have met with but three letters of Sir George's writing in Proſe, from Ratiſbon. One is directed to his friend in London, whoſe name is not mentioned, and dated from that city, Auguſt 23. 1688; wherein, he gives a ſhort account of ſome German Beauties there, &c. There is moreover, ſomething arch in this letter; where Sir George is ſpeaking of an indolent friend ‘ whoſe miſtreſs, ſays he, I ſhould pity, but that I am perſuaded his prudence has made him chuſe her in the *Family*:’ and a little further, he talks in the very ſame ſenſe of himſelf: ‘ I have learned to ogle and languiſh in publick, like any *Walcup*; and to content myſelf in private, with a piece of *Houſhold-bread*, as well as ſome of my friends (23).’ But the other two letters, which are more conſiderable for their contents, being thought worthy of revival, and proper to illuſtrate this article, we ſhall here recite; the firſt of them is as follows:

(23) See *Familiar Letters* by *John* Earl of *Rocheſter*, &c. Vol. II. 1697. Publiſhed by *Ch. Gildon*, and printed for *Sam. Briſcoe*; who, in an advertiſement before the ſame, ſays, that, in the next Trinity-Term would be publiſhed a *Third* Volume of *Familiar Letters*; which would conſiſt entirely of the Lord *Rocheſter*'s, the Duke of *Buckingham*'s, and Sir *George Etherege*'s: but we learn not that ſuch volume was ever publiſhed; though perhaps ſome of thoſe written by Sir *George* might afterwards be printed in other Collections.

To GEORGE Duke of BUCKINGHAM.

My Lord,

‘ I Received the news of your Grace's retirement into *Yorkſhire*, and leading a ſedate contemplative life there, with no leſs aſtoniſhment, than I ſhould hear of his *Chriſtian* Majeſty's turning *Benedictine* Monk, or the Pope's wearing a long perriwig, and ſetting up for a flaming beau in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age. We have a picture here in our Town-Hall, which I never look upon, but it makes me think on your Grace; and I dare ſware you'll ſay, there is no diſhonour done you, when you hear whoſe it is: in ſhort, 'tis that of the famous CHARLES the Vth, who amidſt all the magnificence that this fooliſh world affords, amidſt all his *African* laurels and *Gallic* triumphs, freely diveſted himſelf of the Empire of *Europe*, and his hereditary kingdoms, to paſs the remainder of his life in ſolitude and retirement.

‘ Is it poſſible that your Grace, who has ſeen ten times more luxury than that Emperor ever knew; converſed with finer women; kept politer company; poſſeſſed as much too, of the true real greatneſs of the world as ever he enjoyed, ſhould in an age, ſtill capable of pleaſure, and under a fortune, whoſe very ruins would make a comfortable *Electorate* here in *Germany*; is it poſſible, I ſay, that your Grace ſhould leave the Play at the beginning of the fourth Act, when all the Spectators are in pain to know what will become of the Hero, and what mighty matters he is reſerved for, that ſet out ſo advantageouſly at firſt? That a perſon of your exquiſite taſte, who has breathed the air of Courts even from your infancy, ſhould be content, in that part of your life which is moſt difficult to be pleaſed, and moſt eaſy to be diſguſted, to take up with the converſation of country Parſons; a ſort of people, whom to my knowledge, your Grace never much admired; and do penance in the nauſeous company of Lawyers, whom I am certain you abominate!

‘ To raiſe our aſtoniſhment higher; who could ever have propheſied, though he had a double gift of *Noſtradamus* his ſpirit, that the Duke of *Buckingham*, who never vouchſafed his embraces to any ordinary beauty, would ever condeſcend to ſigh and languiſh for the heireſs apparent of a thatched cottage, in a ſtraw hat, flannen petticoat, ſtockings of as groſs a thrum as the blew-coat boys caps at the hoſpital, and a ſmock, the Lord defend me from the wicked idea of it! of as coarſe a canvas as ever ſerved an apprenticeſhip to a mackarel-boat? who could have believed, till matter of *fact* had confirmed the belief of it; and your Grace knows that matter of fact is not to be diſputed, that the moſt poliſhed refined epicure of his age, that had regaled himſelf in the moſt exquiſite wines of *Italy*, *Greece*, and *Spain*, would, in the laſt ſcene of his life, debauch his conſtitution in execrable *Yorkſhire* ale? and that he, who all his life-time, had either ſeen Princes his play-fellows or companions, would ſubmit to the nonſenſical chat, and barbarous language of farmers and higglers!

‘ This, I confeſs, ſo much ſhocks me that I cannot tell what to make on't; and, unleſs the news came to me confirmed from ſo many authentic hands, that I have no room left to ſuſpect the veracity of it, I ſhould ſtill look upon it to be apocryphal. Is your Grace then in earneſt, and really pleaſed with ſo prodigious an alteration of perſons and things? for my part, I believe it; for I am certain that your Grace can act any perſon better than that of a hypocrite.

‘ But I humbly beg your Grace's pardon for this familiarity I have taken with you. Give me leave therefore if you pleaſe, to tell you ſomething of myſelf. I preſume that an account of what paſſes in this buſy part of the world, will not come unacceptable to you, ſince all my correſpondents from *England* aſſure me, your Grace does me the honour to enquire often after me, and has expreſſed ſome ſort of a deſire, to know how my new character fits upon me.

‘ Ten years ago, I as little thought that my ſtars deſigned to make a politician of me, and that it would come to my ſhare to debate in publick aſſemblies, and regulate the affairs of *Chriſtendom*, as the Grand Signior dreamed of loſing *Hungary*: but my royal Maſter having the charity to believe me maſter of ſome qualities, of which I never ſuſpected myſelf, I find that the zeal and alacrity I diſcover in myſelf, to ſupport a dignity which he has thought fit to confer upon me, has ſupply'd all other defects, and given me a talent, for which, till now, I juſtly fancied myſelf uncapable.

‘ I live in one of the fineſt and beſt mannered cities in *Germany*, where 'tis true we have not pleaſure in that perfection as we ſee it in *London* and *Paris*, yet to make us amends, we enjoy a noble ſerene air, that makes us hungry as hawks; and though buſineſs, and even the worſt ſort of buſineſs, wicked politics, is the diſtinguiſhing commodity of the place, yet I will ſay, that for the *Germans*, they manage it the beſt of any people in the world; they cut off, and retrench, all thoſe idle preliminaries and uſeleſs ceremonies that clog the wheels of it every where elſe: and I find, that, to this day, they make good the obſervation that *Tacitus* made of their anceſtors; I mean, that their affairs, let them be ever ſo ſerious and preſſing, never put a ſtop to good eating and drinking, and that they debate their weightieſt negotiations over their cups.

‘ 'Tis true, they carry this humour by much too far for one of my complexion; for which reaſon I decline appearing among them, but when my Maſhave been printed, they conſiſt, for the greateſt part, of little airy ſonnets, ſmart lampoons,

'ters concerns make it neceſſary for me to come to their aſſemblies. They are indeed a free-hearted, open ſort of gentlemen that compoſe the *Diet*; without reſerve, affectation, and artifice; but they are ſuch unmerciful plyers of the bottle, ſo wholly given up to what our ſots call good-fellowſhip, that 'tis as great a conſtraint upon my nature, to ſit out a night's entertainment with them, as it would be to hear half a ſcore long-winded Preſbyterian Divines cant ſucceſſively one after another.

'To unboſome myſelf frankly and freely to your Grace, I always looked upon drunkenneſs to be an unpardonable crime in a *young* fellow, who, without any of theſe foreign helps, has fire enough in his veins to enable him to do juſtice to *Cælia*, whenever ſhe demands a tribute from him. In a *middle-aged* man, I conſider the bottle only as ſubſervient to the nobler pleaſure of love; and he that would ſuffer himſelf to be ſo far infatuated by it, as to neglect the purſuit of a more agreeable game, I think deſerves no quarter from the ladies: in *old age*, indeed, when it is convenient very often to forget and ſteal from ourſelves, I am of opinion that a little drunkenneſs diſcreetly uſed, may as well contribute to our health of body, as tranquillity of ſoul.

'Thus I have given your Grace a ſhort ſyſtem of my morals and belief in theſe affairs. But the gentlemen of this country go upon a quite different ſcheme of pleaſure: the beſt furniture of their parlours, inſtead of innocent *China*, are tall overgrown Rummers; and they take more care to enlarge their cellars, than their patrimonial eſtates. In ſhort drinking is the hereditary ſin of this country; and that Hero of a *Deputy* here, that can demoliſh, at one ſitting, the reſt of his brother *Envoys*, is mentioned with as much applauſe as the Duke of *Lorain*, for his noble exploits againſt the *Turks*; and may claim a ſtatue, erected at the publick expence in any town in *Germany*.

'Judge then, my Lord, whether a perſon of my ſober principles, and one, that only uſes wine, as the wiſer ſort of Roman Catholics do images, to raiſe up my imagination to ſomething more exalted, and not to terminate my worſhip upon it, muſt not be reduced to very mortifying circumſtances in this place; where I cannot pretend to enjoy converſation, without practiſing that vice which directly ruins it.

'And as I have juſt reaſon to complain of the men, for laying ſo unreaſonable a tax upon pleaſure: ſo I have no leſs occaſion to complain of the women, for wholly denying it.

'Could a man find out the ſecret to take as long a leaſe for his life, as *Methuſelah*, and the reſt of the Antidiluvian gentlemen, who were three hundred years in growing up to the perfection of vigor, enjoy'd it the ſame number of years, and were as long in decaying, ſomething might be ſaid for the two crying ſins of both ſexes here; I mean, drunkenneſs in the men, and reſervedneſs in the ladies. What would it ſignify to throw away a week's, nay, a month's enjoyment upon one night's debauch, if a man could promiſe himſelf the age of a patriarch? or where would be the mighty penance in dancing a dozen years attendance after a coy female; watching her moſt favourable moments, and moſt acceſſible intervals, at laſt to enjoy her, if infirmities and old age were to come ſo late upon us?

'But ſince fate has given us ſo ſhort a period to taſte pleaſure with ſatisfaction; three or four days ſickneſs is too great a rent-charge upon human nature, and drunkenneſs cannot pretend, out of its own fund, to acquit the debt. And, my Lord, ſince our gayety and vigor leave us ſo ſoon in the lurch; ſince feebleneſs attacks us, without giving us fair warning; and we no ſooner paſs the meridian of life but begin to decline; it is hardly worth a lover's while to ſtay as long for compaſſing a miſtreſs, as *Jacob* did for obtaining a wife; and without this tedious drudgery and application, I can aſſure your Grace that an amour is not to be managed here.

'But, my Lord, I forget that while I take upon me to play the moraliſt, and to enlarge ſo rhetorically upon the precioufneſs of time, I have already made bold with too much of your Grace's: for which reaſon, I here put a ſtop to my Diſcourſe, and will endeavour, the next pacquet that goes from this place, to entertain your Grace with ſomething more agreeable.

I am,

Ratiſbon,
Nov. 12. 1686. My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt obedient Servant,

G. ETHEREGE (24).

Here, our reader has the moſt frank and undiſguiſed, natural and lively images of Sir George's ſentiments upon the Duke's retirement from all the ſplendor and luxury of life; his own employment in his political capacity, with the habits and tempers of thoſe gentry of both ſexes, among whom he reſided; and what is moſt directly to the purpoſe in this place, a more faithful and perſpicuous pourtrait of his own humour and genius, than he could have been diſplay'd by, in all the characters that were to be drawn of him. Now the reader is to judge, whether there is not a ſcene as diverting, a ſpirit as briſk, and a reſemblance of himſelf as clear, in the next.

To his *Grace the Duke of* BUCKINGHAM.

My Lord,

'I Never enjoy myſelf ſo much, as when I can ſteal a few moments from the hurry of publick buſineſs, to write to my friends in *England*; and as there are none there, to whom I pay a profounder reſpect than to your Grace, wonder not if I afford myſelf the ſatisfaction of converſing with you by way of letters, the only relief I have left to ſupport your abſence at this diſtance, as often as I can find opportunity.

'You may gueſs by my laſt, whether I don't paſs my time very comfortably here; forced as I am by my character, to ſpend the better part of my time in ſquabbling and deliberating with perſons of beard and gravity, how to preſerve the ballance of Chriſtendom; which would go well enough of itſelf, if the Divines and Miniſters of Princes would let it alone: and when I come home ſpent and weary from the *Diet*, I have no Lord Dorſet's or Sir Charles Sidley's to ſport away the evening with; no Madam I....., or Lady A.....s; in ſhort, none of thoſe kind charming creatures *London* affords, in whoſe embraces I might make myſelf amends for ſo many hours murder'd in impertinent debates; ſo that, not to magnify my ſufferings to your Grace, they really want a greater ſtock of chriſtian patience to ſupport them, than I can pretend to be maſter of.

'I have been long enough in this town, one would think, to have made acquaintance enough with perſons of both ſexes, ſo as never to be at a loſs how to paſs the few vacant hours I can allow myſelf: but the terrible drinking that accompanies all our viſits hinders me from converſing with the men ſo often as I would otherwiſe do; and the *German* Ladies are ſo intolerably reſerved and virtuous, with tears in my eyes I ſpeak it to your Grace, that it is next to an impoſſibility to carry on an intrigue with them. A man has ſo many ſcruples to conquer, and ſo many difficulties to ſurmount, before he can promiſe himſelf the leaſt ſucceſs, that for my part I have given over all purſuits of this nature. Beſides, there is ſo univerſal a ſpirit of cenſoriouſneſs reigns in this town, that a man and a woman cannot be ſeen at *Ombre* or *Picquet* together, but 'tis immediately concluded, ſome other game has been play'd between them; and as this renders all manner of acceſs to the ladies almoſt impracticable, for fear of expoſing their reputation to the mercy of their ill-natured neighbours, ſo it makes an innocent piece of gallantry often paſs for a criminal correſpondence.

'So that, to deal freely with your Grace, among ſo many noble and wealthy families as we have in

(24) Miſcellaneous Works, written by G. late Duke of Buckingham, &c. 8vo, 1704, p. 124, &c.

poons, and ſmooth panegyricks; which we ſhall only conciſely enumerate at the foot of the

‘this town, I can only pretend to be truely acquainted with one: the gentleman's name was *Monſieur Hoffman*, a frank, hearty, jolly companion; his father, one of the moſt eminent wine merchants of the city, left him a conſiderable fortune, which he improved by marrying a *French* Jeweller's daughter of *Lyons*. To give you his character in ſhort, he was a ſenſible, ingenious man, and had none of his country vices; which I impute to his having travelled abroad, and ſeen *Italy*, *France*, and *England*. His lady is a moſt accompliſhed, ingenious perſon, and notwithſtanding ſhe is come into a place, where ſo much formality and ſtiffneſs are practiſed, keeps up all the vivacity and air, and good humour of *France*.

‘I had been happy in my acquaintance with this family for ſome months; when an ill favoured accident robbed me of the greateſt happineſs I had hitherto enjoy'd in *Germany*, the loſs of which I can never ſufficiently regret. *Monſieur Hoffman*, about three weeks ago, going to make merry with ſome friends, at a village ſome three leagues from this place, upon the *Danube*; by the unſkilfulneſs or negligence of the watermen, the boat, wherein he was, unfortunately chanced to overſet, and of ſome twenty perſons, not one eſcaped to bring home the news, but a boy, who miraculouſly ſaved himſelf, by holding faſt to the rudder, and ſo by the rapidity of the current was caſt upon the other ſhore.

‘I was ſenſibly afflicted at the death of my worthy friend; and ſo indeed were all who had the honour of knowing him. But his wife took on ſo extravagantly, that ſhe, in a ſhort time, was the only talk both of city and country. She refuſed to admit any viſits from her neareſt relations; her chamber, her antichamber, and pro-antichamber were hung with black; nay, the very candles, her fans, and tea-table wore the livery of grief: ſhe refuſed all manner of ſuſtenance, and was ſo averſe to the thoughts of living, that ſhe talked of nothing but death: in ſhort, you may tell your ingenious friend *Monſieur de Saint Evremond*, that *Petronius* his *Epheſian Matron*, to whoſe ſtory he has done ſo much juſtice, in his noble tranſlation, was only a type of our more obſtinate, as well as unhappy German widow.

‘About a fortnight after this cruel loſs, for I thought it would be labour loſt to attack her grief in its firſt vehemence, I thought myſelf obliged, in point of honour and gratitude to the memory of my deceaſed friend, to make her a ſmall viſit, and condole her ladyſhip upon this unhappy occaſion: and though I had been told that ſhe had refuſed to ſee ſeveral perſons who had gone to wait on her, with the ſame errand, yet I preſumed ſo much upon the friendſhip her late huſband had always expreſſed for me, not to mention the particular civilities I had received from herſelf, as to think I ſhould be admitted to have a ſight of her: accordingly I came to her houſe, ſent up my name, and word was immediately brought me, that if I pleaſed I might go up to her.

‘When I came into the room, I fancied myſelf in the territories of death; every thing looked ſo gloomy, ſo diſmal, and ſo melancholy. There was a grave *Lutheran* miniſter with her, who omitted no arguments to bring her to a more compoſed and more chriſtian diſpoſition of mind. *Madam*, ſays he, *You don't conſider that by abandoning yourſelf thus to deſpair, you actually rebel againſt Providence. I can't help it*, ſays ſhe; *Providence may e'en thank itſelf, for laying ſo inſupportable a load upon me. O fye, Madam*, cries the other, *this is downright impiety; what would you ſay now, if heaven ſhould puniſh it by ſome more exemplary viſitation? That is impoſſible*, replies the lady ſighing; *and ſince it has robbed me of the only delight I had in this world; the only favour it can do me, is to level a thunderbolt at my head, and put an end to all my ſufferings.* The parſon finding her in this extravagant ſtrain, and ſeeing no likelihood of perſuading her to come to a better temper, got up from his ſeat, and took his leave of her.

‘It came to my turn now, to try whether I was not capable of comforting her; and being convinced by ſo late an inſtance, that arguments brought from religion were not likely to work any extraordinary effects upon her, I reſolved to attack her ladyſhip in a more ſenſible part, and repreſent to her the great inconveniencies, not which her ſoul, but her body received from this inordinate ſorrow.

‘*Madam*, ſays I to her, *next to my concern for your worthy huſband's untimely death, I am grieved to ſee what an alteration the bemoaning of his loſs has occaſioned in you.* Theſe words, raiſing her curioſity to know what this alteration was, I thus continued my diſcourſe. *By endeavouring, Madam, to extinguiſh, or at leaſt to alleviate your grief, than which nothing can be more prejudicial to a beautiful woman, I intend a publick benefit; for if the publick is intereſted, as moſt certainly it is, in the preſerving of a beautiful face, that man does the publick no little ſervice who contributes moſt to its preſervation.*

‘This odd beginning operated ſo wonderfully upon her, that ſhe deſired me to *leave this general road of compliments, and explain myſelf more particularly to her.* Upon this, delivering myſelf with an unuſual air of gravity, which your Grace knows I ſeldom carry about me, in the company of ladies, I told her that, *Grief ruins the fineſt faces, ſooner than any thing whatſoever*; and that, *as envy herſelf could not deny her face to be the moſt charming in the univerſe, ſo if ſhe did not ſuffer herſelf to be comforted, ſhe muſt ſoon expect to take her farewel of it.* I confirmed this aſſertion, by telling her of one of the fineſt women we ever had in *England*, who did herſelf more injury in a fortnight's time, by lamenting her only brother's death, than ten years could poſſibly have done; that I had heard an eminent Phyſician at *Leyden* ſay, That *Tears, having abundance of ſaline particles in them, not only ſpoiled the complexion, but haſtened wrinkles: But, Madam*, concluded I, *why ſhould I give myſelf the trouble to confirm this by foreign inſtances, and by the teſtimonies of our moſt knowing Doctors, when alas! your own face ſo fully juſtifies the truth of what I have ſaid to you.*

‘*How!* reply'd our diſconſolate widow, with a ſigh, that came from the bottom of her heart; *and is it poſſible that my juſt concern for my dear huſband, has wrought ſo cruel an effect upon me in ſo ſhort a time?* with that, ſhe ordered her gentlewoman to bring the looking-glaſs to her, and having ſurveyed herſelf a few minutes in it, ſhe told me, *ſhe was perfectly convinced that my notions were true. But*, cries ſhe, *what would you have us poor women do in theſe caſes; for, ſomething*, continues ſhe, *we owe to the memory of the* deceaſed, *and ſomething too, to the* world, *which expects at leaſt the common appearances of grief from us.*

‘*By your leave, Madam*, ſays I, *all this is a miſtake, and no better; you owe nothing to your huſband, ſince he is dead, and knows nothing of your lamentation. Beſides, could you ſhed an ocean of tears upon his hearſe, it would not do him the leaſt ſervice: much leſs do you lie under any ſuch obligation to the world, as to ſpoil a good face only to comply with its tyrannic cuſtoms. No, Madam, take care to preſerve your beauty, and then let the world ſay what it pleaſes; your ladyſhip may be revenged upon the world whenever you ſee fit. I am reſolved*, anſwers ſhe, *to be intirely governed by you; therefore tell me frankly, what ſort of a courſe you'd have me ſteer? why Madam*, ſays I, *in the firſt place forget the defunct; and in order to bring that about, relieve nature, to which you have been ſo long unmerciful, with the moſt exquiſite meats, and the moſt generous wines. Upon condition you'll ſup with me*, cries our afflicted lady, *I will ſubmit to your preſcription.* But why ſhould I trouble your Grace with a narration of every particular?

‘In ſhort, we had a noble regale that evening in her bedchamber; and our good widow puſhed the glaſs ſo ſtrenuouſly about, that her comforter, meaning myſelf, could hardly find the way to his coach. To conclude this farce, which I am afraid begins now to be too tedious to your Grace, this *Phœnix* of her ſex, this pattern of conjugal fidelity, two mornings ago, was married to a ſmooth-chinn'd enſign

‘ of

the page [*I*]. All that we have met with more than is here mentioned or referred to of
his

‘ of Count *Trautmandorf*'s Regmient; that had not a farthing in the world but his pay to depend upon! I aſſiſted at the ceremony; tho' I little imagined the lady would take the matrimonial receipt ſo ſoon.

‘ I was the eaſier perſuaded to give your Grace the larger account of this Tragi-comedy, not only becauſe I wanted better matter, to entertain you with at this lazy conjuncture, but alſo to ſhow your Grace that not only *Epheſus*, in antient, and *England* in latter times, have afforded ſuch fantaſtical widows, but even *Germany* itſelf; where, if the ladies have not more virtue, than thoſe of their ſex in other countries, yet, they pretend at leaſt a greater management of the out ſide of it.

‘ By my laſt pacquet from *England*, among a heap of nauſeous traſh, I received the *Three Dukes of Dunſtable*, which is really ſo monſtrous and inſipid that I am ſorry *Lapland* or *Livonia* had not the honour of producing it: but if I did penance in reading it, I rejoyced to hear that it was ſo ſolemnly interred to the tune of cat-calls. The *Squire of Alſatia* however, which came by the following poſt, made me ſome amends for the curſed impertinence of the *Three Dukes*; and my witty friend Sir C....S....y's *Bellamira* gave me that intire ſatisfaction, that I cannot read it over too often.

‘ They tell me my old acquaintance Mr *Dryden* has left off the theatre, and wholly applies himſelf to the ſtudy of the controverſies between the two Churches. Pray Heaven! this ſtrange alteration in him portends nothing diſaſtrous to the State; but I have all along obſerved, that Poets do religion as little ſervice by drawing their pens for it, as the Divines do Poetry, by pretending to verſification.

‘ But I forget how troubleſome I have been to your Grace: I ſhall therefore conclude with aſſuring that I am, and to the laſt moment of my life ſhall be, ambitious of being,

My LORD,

Your GRACE's moſt obedient and
moſt obliged ſervant,

Ratiſbon, Octob. 21.
1689. G. ETHEREGE (25).

So this letter is dated, in the volume here referred to, from whence the copy above is tranſcribed; but there ſeems to be a little miſtake in it, and that the original was dated the year before; otherwiſe, it will appear to have been ſent by our Author, to his noble friend, above a year after the ſaid Duke was dead; beſides, 'tis likely he ſhould have had Sir Charles Sidley's Comedy of *Bellamira* ſent him ſooner than two years after it was publiſhed, for it was firſt printed in 1687; and as Shadwell's *Squire of Alſatia* was firſt printed in 1688, 'tis moſt probable this letter was written the ſame year, becauſe Mr *Dryden* had given over his Popiſh controverſies, upon the Revolution, and before the next year.

[*I*] *Enumerate at the foot of the page.*] Of theſe his ſmaller Poems, we have met with about twenty that have been aſcribed to him in print, beſides the little ſonnets that are interſperſed in his Plays; tho' in the moſt particular account that has been given of him, and his writings (26), there are not above half a dozen of them mentioned. One of the earlieſt perhaps of theſe his leſſer Poems, may be that, *To Her Excellency the Marchioneſs of* NEWCASTLE, *after the reading of her incomparable* POEMS: It conſiſts of about forty lines, and begins thus, *Madam, with ſo much wonder we are ſtruck* (27): and becauſe we have hitherto given but a very ſlender ſpecimen of our Author's poetry, the concluſion of this panegyric may here ſerve for a further taſte of it.

While we, your praiſe, endeav'ring to rehearſe,
Pay that great *duty* in our humble *verſe*;
Such as may juſtly move your anger, you,
Like Heav'n, forgive them, and accept them too.
But what *we* cannot, your brave *Hero* pays,
He builds thoſe monuments we ſtrive to raiſe;
Such, as to after ages ſhall make known,
While he records *your* deathleſs fame, his *own*:
So when an *Artiſt*, ſome rare *Beauty* draws,
Both, in our *wonder* ſhare, and our *applauſe*:
His Skill, from Time, ſecures the glorious Dame;
And makes *Himſelf* immortal in *her Fame*.

Another of his panegyrical Poems bears this title—*To Mr I. N, on his tranſlations out of the French and Italian*; beginning with, *While others toil, our country to ſupply*, &c. about a page and half. His tranſlation of *Voiture's Urania*, is in four ſtanzas of alternate verſe, beginning thus—*Hopeleſs I languiſh out my days*. His ſong, *To Sylvia*, is in three ſtanzas, or quadrains; concluding with, *Who ſees her muſt love, and who loves her muſt die*: by which it is ſtill remembered among our ſonneteers. Another *Song*.—*Tell me no more you love*, &c. in ſixteen lines. *To a very young lady*; beginning, *Sweet bud of beauty*; in fourteen lines. *To a lady who fled the ſight of him.*—*If I my Celia could perſuade*; in eighteen lines. *To a lady, aſking him, how long he could love her.*—*It is not Celia in our power*; in two ſtanzas of ſix. *The Divided Heart.*—*Ah Colin that I were but ſure*: near a page. *The Imperfect Enjoyment.*—*After a pretty amorous diſcourſe*: fifty lines. *The forſaken Miſtreſs: a Dialogue*, between *Phillis* and *Strephon*.—*Tell me gentle Strephon why*: About a page. Here are eleven of our Author's Poems, which are to be found in one volume (28). In another, entituled our Author's Works, we find, the laſt of them reprinted; and four beſides, that are different, viz. A *ſong* of two ſtanzas on the inquietudes of love; beginning with, *Ye happy Swains whoſe Hearts are free*. And another *Song of Baſſet*, in eight ſtanzas of alternate verſe. Beginning—*Let Equipage and Dreſs deſpair* (†). We have alſo, in that volume called our Author's Works, the *two* poetical *letters* ſent by him from *Ratiſbon*, as was before obſerved, to the Earl of *Middleton*; both written in verſe of eight feet; the former containing near fourſcore lines, the latter near forty; deſcribing the dreſs and humours, of the ladies eſpecially, in thoſe parts, and how he paſſed his time among them; much in that airy and amorous vein wherein his letters in Proſe are written, before recited. Thoſe five Poems are in the volume before mentioned (29). And theſe two poetical letters are to be found likewiſe in two other collections at leaſt; one in that, which is ſtiled, *Familiar Letters* by the Lord *Rocheſter*, &c. before quoted (30), where we have alſo a poetical *anſwer* to the former of our Author's (31), tho' it is not mentioned in that collection by whom it was written; but in another, the name of Mr Dryden appears to it (32), who in the beginning of his ſaid *Anſwer* takes notice that at the time of his writing the ſame, about 1687, Sir George was aged fifty-one years; from whence may be computed the time of his birth, as it is above given. And in the concluſion of that Anſwer, Mr Dryden intimates that Sir George had ſome while ſince begun another Play, which he incites him to finiſh, as what could not fall below the *Rehearſal*; and as he knew no George, meaning our Author and the Duke of Buckingham, who could write any thing under ten years warning; as we have partly hinted already in the text above. There are beſides that *anſwer*, the two ſaid poetical letters, in this ſame volume, and two *Songs* more of his, not before mentioned. The one beginning with theſe words—*Ceaſe anxious world, your fruitleſs pain*; in three ſtanzas of ſix lines: and the other, with theſe—*In ſome kind dream upon her, Slumber ſteal*; in fifteen lines (33). Laſtly, there are three Poems more aſcribed to our Author, in another volume, which we have alſo before quoted. One is entituled, *The Libertine*: beginning, *Since death, on all, lays his impartial hand*; conſiſting of three ſtanzas of eight lines, and a chorus (34). The others, are *two Satires*, upon Nell Guyn, one of King Charles's Miſtreſſes. The firſt is called, *Madam Nelly's complaint*: beginning with—*If Sylla's ghoſt made bloody Cat'line ſtart*:
in

(25) Miſcellaneous Works of George Duke of Buckingham, as before, p. 131, *&c.*

(26) See Giles Jacob's Account of the Poets, in his article of Sir G. Etherege.

(27) One volume of her Ladyſhip's Poems, *&c.* was publiſhed in folio 1653: another, of her Letters and Poems, in 1676.

(28) A Collection of Poems, *viz.* *The Temple of Death*, &c. third edit. printed for D. Brown, *&c.* 12*mo*, 1716.

(†) Theſe two are alſo printed in Dryden's Miſcellanies, 12*mo*, 1716, P. ii. p. 268, 344.

(29) The Works of Sir G. Etherege, 8*vo*, 1704, at the end of his Plays.

(30) Vol. II. 1697, p. 56.

(31) Page 61.

(32) In Dryden's Miſcellanies, as before, Vol. II. p. 281.

(33) Idem, p. 213.

(34) See The Miſcel. Works of the D. of Bucks, as before, p. 120.

his writing in proſe, is, a ſhort piece, intituled, *An Account of the Rejoycing at the Diet of* Ratiſbonne, *performed by Sir* George Etherege, *Knight, reſiding there, from his Majeſty of* Great Britain; *upon Occaſion of the Birth of the Prince of Wales. In a Letter from Himſelf.* Printed in the Savoy 1688 (*k*). How far beyond this, or the next year he lived, the writers on our Poets who have ſpoken of him, have been, as in many other particulars of his life, ſo in the time when he died, very deficient. In Gildon's ſhort and imperfect account of him, which we have been forced to conſult in want of better, 'tis ſaid that after the Revolution he went for France to his Maſter, and died there, or very ſoon after his arrival in England from thence (*l*). But there was a report, as we have received it from an ingenious Gentleman, that Sir George came to an untimely death, by an unlucky accident at Ratiſbon; for after having treated ſome company with a liberal entertainment at his houſe there, in which having perhaps, taken his glaſs too freely, and being, through his great complaiſance, too forward, in waiting on ſome of his gueſts at their departure, fluſh'd as he was, he tumbled down the ſtairs and broke his neck, ſo fell a martyr to his civility (*m*). Some of his ſurviving relations, having received a credible account of, from a perſon who was acquainted with them, we ſhall ſuccinctly mention, in the ſhort note hereunto ſubjoined [*K*].

(*k*) Printed in folio, on a half ſheet.

(*l*) Gildon, as before.

(*m*) This account we received from John Locker, Eſq;

in about two leaves. The other is called *The Lady of Pleaſure*; with its argument at the head of it, whereof the firſt line is, *The Life of Nelly truely ſhown.* In about three leaves and a page (35). Theſe two ſatires, as we remember, were printed before, without any author's name: and indeed, they ſeem to be written, the laſt eſpecially, in a groſſer ſtile, with more blunt or vulgar expreſſions in it, than was cuſtomary to Sir George, beſides as it mentions the death of Nell Guyn, we believe it may therefore be found, it was written after that of our Author.

[*K*] *In a ſhort note hereunto ſubjoined*] Since the foregoing part of this article was printed off, we have been informed, that there are two Wills in the Prerogative office, which might poſſibly have given ſome further light into the family, and other particulars relating to our Author, could we have had a timely extract of them. The firſt is executed by William Etherege, Anno 1649 (36); the laſt, by another William Etherege, in Middleſex, Anno 1690 (37): whether the former was the father of our Author, or any other relation, and the latter his brother, we have not now time to examine. But from thoſe who have been converſant with ſome ſurvivers of the family, we have received intelligence that, our Author Sir George, had a brother, who lived and died at Weſtminſter; had been a great courtier, yet a man of ſuch ſtrict honour, that he was eſteemed a reputation to the family. His picture, painted in a gown, with his fine black curled hair, is in the poſſeſſion of a friend. He had been twice married, and by his firſt wife, had a ſon; a little man, of a brave ſpirit, who inherited the honourable principles of his father. He was a Colonel in King William's wars; was near him in one of the moſt dangerous battles in Flanders, I think it was the battle of Landen, in 1693, when his Majeſty was wounded, and the Colonel both loſt his right eye, and received ſuch a contuſion on his ſide, as he complained of to his death. He was offered in Queen Anne's reign, twenty two hundred pounds for his commiſſion, but refuſed to live at home in peace, when his country was at war This Colonel Etherege died at Eling in Middleſex, about the third or fourth year of the late King George; when his dear friend, the Lord Rivers, had his body opened; and there was found a gathering where he had received his bruiſe, which looked like a ſodden turnip, and probably haſtened his death. He was buried in Kenſington church, near the altar; and there is a tombſtone over his vault, in which was alſo buried his wife, ſon, and ſiſter: That ſon was graciouſly received at Court by Queen Anne, and ſoon after his father returned from the wars in Flanders, under the Duke of Malborough, ſhe gave him an Enſign's commiſſion, intending further to promote him, in reward of his father's ſervices; but he died a youth: and that ſiſter married Mr Hill of Feverſham in Kent; but we hear not of any male iſſue ſurviving.

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(35) Works of the D. of Bucks. p. 29, 34.

(36) In the Vol. entit. *Fairfax*, Qu. 82.

(37) Vol. *Dyke*, Qu. 41.

EVELYN (JOHN) a great Philoſopher, a worthy Patriot, and a learned writer in the XVIIth century. He was deſcended from a very antient and honourable family, as appears from ſeveral authentick vouchers, a branch of which, at the time of his birth, was ſettled in the county of Surrey, though it flouriſhed originally in the county of Salop, at a place which is ſtill called Evelyn (*a*) [*A*]. George Evelyn, Eſq; purchaſed the eſtate

of

(*a*) Additions to Camden's Britannia, publiſhed in Engliſh by Biſhop Gibſon, Vol. I. col. 649.

[*A*] *At a place which is ſtill called Evelyn.*] Our Author himſelf, had taken great pains to enquire into the origin of his family, in conſequence of which, he found that they had formerly written their name Avelyn and Ivelyn, as well as Evelyn, which might be confirmed by a variety of inſtances; he was likewiſe informed, that a branch of their family flouriſhed in France, and that one of them was taken priſoner, at the battle of Agincourt; but what had more of certainty, and deſerved better to be depended upon, was taken from the tradition of the family, that they came from Long Ditton into Surrey, and to Long Ditton, from Harrow on the Hill, but that originally, they were ſeated at the town of Evelyn, in the hundred of South Bradford, in the county of Salop; of which county alſo he reports, that the Onſlows likewiſe were, who removed about the ſame time from a place of that name, in the neighbourhood of Shrewſbury; as the Hattons alſo did from a place called Cold Hatton, in the ſame hundred with Evelyn in Shropſhire; and, which is very remarkable, all ſettled again near each other in Surrey (1). George Evelyn, Eſq; the founder of this branch of the Evelyns in Surrey, firſt carried the art of making gunpowder to perfection in England, and for the conveniency of his works in the neighbourhood, purchaſed an eſtate at Wotton, of one Mr Owen, but who were the owners of this place in early times does not appear (2). This George Evelyn had a conſiderable intereſt at Court, and procured from Queen Elizabeth a grant, in conjunction with Thomas Reeves, of the Rectory of St Nicholas Coleabby in Queenhith Ward, London, which afterwards came by meſne conveyances to the family of the Hackers, and by the attainder of Colonel Francis Hacker, who commanded the guard when King Charles the firſt was murdered, came again to the Crown (3). It was in the latter part of his life that this gentleman came to live at Wotton, which however did not hinder him from planting there, as appears from what our Author himſelf tells us (4). ' In a word, to give an inſtance of what ſtore of woods and timber of prodigious ſize there were growing in our little county of Surrey, the neareſt of any to London, and plentifully furniſhed, both for profit and pleaſure, with ſufficient grief and reluctancy I ſpeak it, my own grandfather had ſtanding at Wotton, and about that eſtate, timber that now were worth one hundred thouſand pounds, ſince of what was left my father, who was a great preſerver of wood, there has been thirty thouſand pounds worth

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(1) Aubrey's Antiq. of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 116.

(2) Camden's Britannia, by Biſhop Gibſon, Vol. I. col. 185.

(3) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 425, 506.

(4) Camden's Britannia by Biſhop Gibſon, Vol. I. col. 186.

of the family at Wotton in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and had by two wives ſixteen ſons and eight daughters; he departed this life May 30, 1603, in the ſeventy-third year of his age, leaving his eſtate at Wotton to Richard Evelyn, Eſq; his youngeſt and only ſurviving ſon by his ſecond wife (b). This Richard Evelyn, Eſq; married Eleanor, daughter and heireſs of John Standfield of Lewes in the county of Suſſex, Eſq; and was a perſon of great worth and virtue (c) [B]. He had by the Lady beforementioned three ſons, *viz.* George, John, and Richard; of the ſecond of theſe, John, we are to ſpeak in this article. He was born October 31, 1620, at his father's ſeat at Wotton (d), and was very carefully educated in his tender years, receiving the firſt elements of learning at the free-ſchool at Lewes in Suſſex, from whence he removed in 1637 to Baliol-college in Oxford (e), where, as a Gentleman-Commoner, he remained for about three years, during which ſpace he proſecuted his ſtudies in Logick and Philoſophy, and then removed to the Middle-Temple, where he remained till the breaking out of the Civil War, when he repaired to Oxford, and obtained leave from King Charles I, under his own hand, to travel beyond the ſeas for his improvement (f). In the ſpring of 1644 he left England, in order to make the tour of Europe, which he performed very ſucceſsfully, making it his buſineſs to enquire carefully into the ſtate of the Sciences, and the improvements made in all uſeful arts, wherever he came; concerning which he made very large and valuable collections, the contents of which he moſt generouſly communicated to all ſuch as applied to him for information (g). He ſpent ſome time at Rome, and having an opportunity there to learn the true ſentiments of the Papiſts upon the cutting off Archbiſhop Laud's head, he thought himſelf obliged, in juſtice to that great Prelate's memory, to give an atteſtation thereof under his own hand (h) [C]. He viſited likewiſe other parts of Italy for the ſake of improving himſelf in Architecture, Painting, the knowledge of Antiquities, medals, and other branches of polite literature, and at the ſame time left nothing unexamined, that could contribute to the perfect underſtanding of Natural Philoſophy, to which, beyond all other ſciences, he was paſſionately addicted. We have an inſtance of his care and induſtry in this reſpect, preſerved by one of the greateſt and moſt intelligent Philoſophers of this or of any other country (i) [D]. In 1647 Mr Evelyn came to Paris, where,

(b) Aubrey's Antiq. of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 126.

(c) See ſome farther particulars relating to him in the notes.

(d) Aubrey's Antiq. of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 117.

(e) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 941.

(f) So Mr Evelyn himſelf informed Mr Aubrey.

(g) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 417.

(h) Hiſt. of the Troubles and Trial of Archbiſhop Laud, Vol. I. p. 616.

(i) Works of the Hon. Robert Boyle, Vol. II. p. 306.

'of timber, fallen by the axe and the fury of the late 'hurricane and ſtorm: now no more, Wotton ſtript 'and naked and aſhamed almoſt to own its name.'

[B] *Of great worth and virtue.*] Richard Evelyn, Eſq; mentioned in the text, had beſides his three ſons, two daughters, Elizabeth, who married Edward Darey, of Dartford in Kent, Eſq; and Jane the wife of William Glanville, Eſq; (5). George Evelyn, Eſq; elder brother to our Author, enjoyed the family eſtate at Wotton fifty-eight years; and dying in 1698, at the age of eighty-three, he left it to his brother John; he was a perſon of great worth, and generally eſteemed by his neighbours as appeared from his being frequently elected Knight of the Shire for the County of Surrey (6). In his time, there was a very extraordinary diſcovery made upon opening the family vault, of which there is a full account in the additions to the Engliſh Britannia, which there is ſo much the more reaſon to credit, as thoſe additions came from our Author himſelf. After deſcribing the ridge of hills that divide Surrey from Suſſex and Kent, he proceeds thus (7): 'Not far from the bottom, ſtands an ancient ſeat 'of the Evelyns of Wotton, among ſeveral ſtreams 'gliding thro' the meadows, adorned with gentle riſings 'and woods, which as it were encompaſs it. And 'theſe, together with the gardens, fountains, and other 'hortulane ornaments, have given it a place, and 'name amongſt the moſt agreeable ſeats. In opening the ground of the churchyard of Wotton, to 'enlarge a vault belonging to this family, they met 'with a ſkeleton, which was nine foot and three 'inches long, as the (*) worthy and famous Mr John 'Evelyn had it atteſted, by an antient and under'ſtanding man then preſent, who accordingly mea'ſured it and marked the length on a pole, with 'other workmen who affirmed the ſame. They 'found it lying in full length between two boards of 'the coffin, and meaſured it before they had diſ'compoſed the bones. But trying to take it out, it 'fell all to pieces, for which reaſon they flung it 'amongſt the reſt of the rubbiſh, after they had ſe'parately meaſured ſeveral of the more ſolid bones.'

[C] *Under his own hand.*] In order to underſtand this matter, it is neceſſary that the reader ſhould know, that amongſt other things charged upon Archbiſhop Laud, one was, that he had endeavoured to reconcile the Church of England to the Church of Rome, and had kept a ſecret correſpondence with the Pope, and to maintain this, witneſſes were called to ſhew in what credit he ſtood at Rome. Sir Henry Mildmay had told the Archbiſhop in private diſcourſe, that he was the moſt hateful man there, that had ever ſat in the See of Canterbury ſince the Reformation, but when he was examined as a witneſs, he affirmed that there were two factions at Rome, one of which did indeed ſpeak very ill of the Archbiſhop, but the other ſpoke very well of him. The Archbiſhop intimated, that he did not believe Sir Henry Mildmay had ever been at Rome. Mr Chaloner depoſed, that at Rome ſome had a good opinion of the Archbiſhop, and thought him well inclined to them, for which reaſon they prayed for him; Mr Anthony Mildmay ſeconded his brother's account, and ſaid that the Jeſuits hated him, but that the ſecular Prieſts loved the Archbiſhop very well, but this was hearſay only (8). After the Archbiſhop's death, this matter was much talked of, and therefore, as Mr Evelyn happened to be at Rome when the Archbiſhop was put to death, he was deſired to give ſome account of the general ſentiments of people there, which he accordingly did in the following certificate (9).

I was at Rome in the company of divers of the Engliſh Fathers, when the news of the Archbiſhop's ſufferings, and a copy of his ſermon, made upon the ſcaffold, came thither. They read the ſermon, and commented upon it, with no ſmall ſatisfaction and contempt, and looked upon him as one that was a great enemy to them, and ſtood in their way, whilſt one of the blackeſt crimes imputed to him, was his being popiſhly affected.

JOHN EVELYN.

[D] *Of this or of any other country.*] The perſon mentioned in the text, is the honourable Mr Boyle, who ſpeaking of the effects of cold, and of the reaſons there are to believe that they may ſubſiſt, even after the cold which produced them ceaſes, provided they are not expoſed to a degree of heat that muſt deſtroy them, mentions the preſerving of ſnow the whole year round in repoſitories, far from being cold enough to produce ſuch an effect; which therefore ought to be attributed to the bare keeping of the ſnow from being expoſed to warm air. To illuſtrate this, that learned man tells us, he intended to have cited from ſome books, an account of theſe ſtorehouſes which he remembered to have ſeen in *Italy*; but

(5) Aubrey's Antiq of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 127.

(6) Camden's Britannia by Biſhop Gibſon, col. 164, in the edit. of 1695, but left out in the laſt edit. to which there is no date.

(7) Ibid. Vol I. col. 186.

(*) Theſe epithets added ſince our author's deceaſe.

(8) State Tryals, Vol I. p. 897.

(9) Archbiſhop Laud's Troubles and Trial, Vol. I. p. 616.

where, being recommended to Sir Richard Browne, Bart. the King's Miniſter there, he made his addreſſes to his only daughter Mary, whom he not long after married, and in her right became poſſeſſed of Sayes-Court near Deptford in Kent, where he reſided after his return to England, which was about the year 1651 (*k*). He had before that time recommended himſelf to the notice of the learned world, by publiſhing ſeveral treatiſes which were extreamly well received, and the leiſure he had in his retreat at Sayes-Court after his return, put it in his power to add quickly to their number. Theſe were for the moſt part tranſlations, either from the learned or modern languages, for he was perfectly verſed in both, without any unreaſonable prepoſſeſſions in favour of Antiquity, or prejudice againſt it. Such kind of labours, whatever they may be thought of now when tranſlations are become common, were then very juſtly eſteemed, and were, without queſtion, highly ſerviceable, as well in propagating uſeful knowledge, as in the improvement of our ſtile, of which Mr Evelyn was a great maſter, as theſe treatiſes, if he had left none beſides, might ſufficiently demonſtrate [*E*]. The ſituation of publick affairs induced

but miſſing of his expectation in books, he endeavoured to ſupply it by enquiry.——But let him tell the reſt of his ſtory himſelf——meeting therefore the other day, ſays he (10), with my ingenious friend, Mr John Evelyn, his inquiſitive travels, and his inſight into the more polite kinds of knowledge, and particularly architecture, made me deſire and expect of him that account of the Italian way of making conſervatories of ſnow, that I had miſſed of in ſeveral authors, and having readily obtained my deſire of him, I ſhall not injure ſo juſtly eſteemed a ſtile as his, to deliver his deſcriptions in any other words than thoſe enſuing ones, wherein I received it from him. ‘ The ‘ ſnow pits in Italy, &c. are ſunk in the moſt ſolitary ‘ and cooled places, commonly at the foot of ſome ‘ mountain, or elevated ground, which may beſt pro‘ tect them from the meridional and occidental ſun: ‘ twenty five foot wide at the orifice, and about fifty ‘ in depth, is eſteemed a competent proportion. And ‘ though this be excavated in a conical form, yet it ‘ is made flat at the bottom or point. The ſides of ‘ the pit are ſo joiſted, that boards may be nailed ‘ upon them very cloſely jointed. His Majeſty's at ‘ Greenwich, newly made on the ſide of the caſtle ‘ hill, is, as I remember, ſteened with brick, and ‘ hardly ſo wide at the mouth. About a yard from ‘ the bottom, is fixed a ſtrong frame, or treſſel, upon ‘ which lies a kind of wooden grate, the top or cover ‘ is double thatched with reed or ſtraw, upon a copped ‘ frame or roof, in one of the ſides whereof, is a nar‘ row door caſe, hipped on like the top of a dormer, ‘ and thatched, and ſo it is compleat.’ *To conſerve ſnow.* ‘ They lay clean ſtraw upon the grate or wat‘ tle, ſo as to keep the ſnow from running through, ‘ whilſt they beat it to a hard cake of any icy con‘ ſiſtence, which is near one foot thick, upon this ‘ they make a layer of ſtraw, and on that ſnow beaten ‘ as before; and ſo continue a bed of ſnow and a ‘ bed of ſtraw S. S. S. till the pit be full to the brim. ‘ Finally, they lay ſtraw or reed, for I remember to ‘ have ſeen both, a competent thickneſs over all, and ‘ keep the door locked. This grate is contrived, that ‘ the ſnow melting by any accident in laying, or ex‘ traordinary ſeaſon of weather, may drain away from ‘ the maſs, and ſink without ſtagnating upon it, which ‘ would accelerate the diſſolution, and therefore the ‘ very bottom is but ſlightly ſteened. Thoſe who are ‘ moſt circumſpect and curious, preſerve a tall circle ‘ of ſhady trees about the pit, which may rather ſhade ‘ than drip upon it.’ This is certainly an admirable ſpecimen of that care with which our Author regiſtred his diſcoveries, as well as the curioſity which prompted him to enquire into every thing worthy of notice, either natural or artificial, in the countries through which he paſſed. It is much to be regretted, that a work ſo entertaining and inſtructive, as the hiſtory of his travels would have been, appeared even to ſo indefatigable a perſon as he was, a taſk for him too laborious to undertake; for we ſhould have then ſeen clearly, and in a true light, many things in reference to Italy, which are now very indiſtinctly and partially repreſented; and we ſhould alſo have met with much new matter never touched before, and of which we ſhall now probably never hear at all.

[*E*] *Might ſufficiently demonſtrate.*] As ſeveral of theſe treatiſes were printed before the Author's return to England, and others without his name; ſo we muſt depend upon the general opinion of the world, and the authority of Mr Wood for their being his; yet there is no great reaſon to ſuſpect any miſtake, ſince the account of them was publiſhed in his life-time, and therefore Mr Evelyn had an opportunity of ſetting the world right, if any error had been committed of conſequence enough to have merited his notice,

I. *Of Liberty and Servitude*, 1649, 12mo. This was a tranſlation, and in all probability the firſt Eſſay of our Author's pen.

II. *A Character of* England, *as it was lately preſented in a letter to* a Nobleman *of* France *with reflection upon* Gallus Caſtratus 1651. 16to. the third edition of this book appeared in 1659, at preſent it is very ſcarce.

III. *The State of* France, London 1652. 8vo.

IV. *An Eſſay on the firſt Book of* Titus Lucretius Carus, *de rerum natura, interpreted and made into* Engliſh *verſe by* J. Evelyn, Eſq; London 1656. 8vo. the frontiſpiece to this book, was deſigned by his Lady Mrs Mary Evelyn. There is a copy of verſes by Edmund Waller, Eſq; of Beaconsfield, prefixed and directed to his worthy friend Mr Evelyn, and part of the character he gives him is worthy the reader's attention. After deſcribing the ſubject of the book he proceeds thus:

> So vaſt this argument did ſeem,
> That the wiſe author did eſteem,
> The *Roman* language (which was ſpread
> O'er the whole world in triumph led)
> A tongue too narrow to unfold
> The wonders which he would have told.
> This ſpeaks thy glory, noble friend,
> And *Britiſh* language does commend.
> For here *Lucretius* whole we find,
> His words, his muſick, and his mind.
> Thy art has to our country brought
> All that he writ and all he thought.
> *Ovid* tranſlated, *Virgil* too,
> Shew'd long ſince what our tongue could do,
> Nor *Lucan*, we nor *Horace* ſpar'd,
> Only *Lucretius* was too hard;
> *Lucretius*, like a fort, did ſtand
> Untouch'd, till your victorious hand,
> Did from his head this garland bear,
> Which now upon your own you wear.
> A garland! made of ſuch new bays,
> And ſought in ſuch untrodden ways,
> As no man's temples e'er did crown,
> Save this great author's and your own.

V. *The* French *Gardiner inſtructing how to cultivate all ſorts of Fruit-trees and Herbs for the Garden, together with directions to dry and conſerve them in their natural,* &c. Lond. 1658. in *twelves*, and ſeveral times after. In moſt of the Editions is added, *the Engliſh Vineyard vindicated, by* John Roſe, *Gardiner to his Majeſty King* Charles II. *with a tract of the making and ordering of Wines in France.* The third edition of this French Gardiner, which came out in 1676, was illuſtrated with ſculptures.

VI. *The Golden Book of St* Chryſoſtom, *concerning the Education of Children.* Lond. 1659. 12mo.

[*F*] *Is*

(*k*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 941.

(10) Boyle's Works, Vol. II. p. 306.

induced him to conſider that privacy with which he lived at Sayes-Court as a very great bleſſing; and ſo fond was he of this rural retreat, that he was very deſirous of making it his ſettled courſe of life, though but a young man, with a conſiderable fortune, and extreamly admired and courted by all his acquaintance. This ſtudious diſpoſition, together with his diſguſt of the world, occaſioned by that ſtrange ſcene of violence and confuſion that was then acted upon the publick ſtage, was ſo ſtrong, that he actually propoſed to the Honourable Mr Robert Boyle, the raiſing of a kind of college for the reception of perſons of the ſame turn of mind, where they might enjoy the pleaſure of agreeable ſociety, and at the ſame time paſs their days without care or interruption. His ſcheme for ſuch an eſtabliſhment is equally entertaining and curious [*F*]. But when a proſpect appeared of better

[*F*] *Is equally entertaining and curious*] The letter, in which this plan of a college is contained, is directed to the Hon. Mr Robert Boyle, and dated from Sayes-Court, September 3, 1659. Our author expreſſes himſelf very much at large, and very pathetically repreſents, though with great caution and modeſty, the miſeries of the times, and the reaſons which might induce men of true virtue and ſtrict ſcience to think of ſheltring themſelves in ſome quiet retreat, from the diſagreeable accidents to which they might be liable, in ſuch times, and amongſt ſuch men, as the world then abounded with. He declares, that if he had been a ſingle perſon, and without family, he would, without heſitation, have dedicated his fortune to the raiſing ſuch a college as he propoſed, to the thoughts of which he ſeems to have been led by a diſcourſe of the great Lord Chancellor Bacon's. He likewiſe obſerves, that notwithſtanding his ſituation in the world prevented him from undertaking ſuch a thing alone, yet nothing could give him greater pleaſure than the hopes of aſſociating Mr Boyle therein. He ſays farther, that, though this project had been long ſwimming in his mind, yet he had never communicated it to any perſon whatever, ſo that Mr Boyle need not be under any apprehenſions of opening himſelf freely upon a thing of ſo private a nature. He adds to all this, that he had no particular cauſe of diſcontent, being, with reſpect to his circumſtances, perfectly eaſy, happy, and ſatisfied in his family; well reſpected in the world; and, in all things, as free from the neceſſity of looking for ſuch a retreat, excluſive of his own inclination, as any Gentleman whatever. Without taking notice of theſe parts of his letter, the plan itſelf would be ſcarce intelligible; to have tranſcribed them at large, would have ſwelled this note beyond it's proper bounds; and therefore I judged it proper to contract them: but with reſpect to the author's ſcheme, which is very curious and entertaining, at the ſame time that it has a cloſe relation to his perſonal hiſtory, it is certainly requiſite that ſhould appear in the author's own words. No doubt Mr Boyle wrote an anſwer to it, which would have been well worth the peruſal, but whether that be ſtill preſerved or not is very uncertain. As for Mr Evelyn's propoſal, it runs thus (11):

‘I propoſe the purchaſing of thirty or forty acres of land, in ſome healthy place, not above twenty-five miles from London, of which a good part ſhould be tall wood, and the reſt upland paſtures, or downs ſweetly irrigated. If there were not already an houſe which might be converted, *&c.* we would erect, upon the moſt convenient ſite of this near the wood, our building, *viz.* one handſome pavillion, containing a refectory, library, withdrawing-room, and a cloſet; this the firſt ſtory: for we ſuppoſe the kitchen, larders, cellars, and offices, to be contrived in the half ſtory under ground. In the ſecond ſhould be a fair lodging-chamber, a pallet-room, gallery, and a cloſet, all which ſhould be well and very nobly furniſhed, for any worthy perſon that might deſire to ſtay any time, and for the reputation of the college. The half ſtory above, for ſervants wardrobes and like conveniencies. To the entry fore-front of this court, and at the other back-front, a plot walled in, of a competent ſquare for the common ſeraglio, diſpoſed into a garden, or it might be only carpet, kept curiouſly, and to ſerve for bowls, walking, or other recreations, *&c.* if the company pleaſe. Oppoſite to the houſe, towards the wood, ſhould be erected a pretty chapel, and, at equal diſtances, even within the flanking walls of the ſquare, ſix apartments or cells for the members of the ſociety, and not contiguous to the pavillion, each whereof ſhould contain a ſmall bed-chamber, an outward room, a cloſet, and a private garden, ſomewhat after the manner of the Carthuſians. There ſhould likewiſe be an elaboratory, with a repoſitory for rarities and things of nature; aviary, dove-houſe, phyſick-garden, kitchen-garden, and a plantation of orchard-fruit, *&c.* all uniform buildings, but of ſingle ſtories, or a little elevated. At convenient diſtance, towards the olitory garden, ſhould be a ſtable for two or three horſes, and a lodging for a ſervant or two. Laſtly, a garden-houſe and conſervatory for tender plants. The eſtimate amounts thus: the pavillion, 400 *l*; the chapel, one hundred and fifty pounds; apartments, walls, and out-houſing, ſix hundred pounds; the purchaſe of the fee for thirty acres, at fifteen pounds *per* acre, eighteen year's purchaſe, four hundred pounds; the total, fifteen hundred and fifty pounds; ſixteen hundred pounds will be the utmoſt. Three of the cells or apartments, that is, one moiety with the appurtenances, ſhall be at the diſpoſal of one of the founders, and the other half at the others. If I and my wife take up two apartments (for we are to be decently aſunder however I ſtipulate, and her inclination will greatly ſuit with it, that ſhall be no impediment to the ſociety, but a conſiderable advantage to the œconomick part) a third ſhall be for ſome worthy perſon, and, to facilitate the reſt, I offer to furniſh the whole pavillion compleatly to the value of five hundred pounds, in goods and moveables, if need be for ſeven years, till there ſhall be a publick ſtock, *&c.* There ſhall be maintained, at the publick charge, only a Chaplain well qualified, an antient woman to dreſs the meat, waſh, and do all ſuch offices; a man to buy proviſion, keep the garden, horſes, *&c.* a boy to aſſiſt him and ſerve within. At one meal a day, of two diſhes only, unleſs ſome little extraordinary upon particular days or occaſions (then never exceeding three) of plain and wholſome meat; a ſmall refection at night: wine, beer, ſugar, ſpice, bread, fiſh, fowl, candle, ſoap, oats, hay, fuel, *&c.* at four pounds *per* week, two hundred pounds *per annum*; wages, fifteen pounds; keeping the gardens, twenty pounds; the Chaplain, twenty pounds *per annum*. Laid up in the treaſury one hundred forty-five pounds, to be employed for books, inſtruments, drugs, trials, *&c.* The total, four hundred pounds a year, comprehending the keeping of two horſes for the chariot, or the ſaddle, and two kine; ſo that two hundred pounds *per annum* will be the utmoſt that the founders ſhall be at to maintain the whole ſociety, conſiſting of nine perſons (the ſervants included) though there ſhould no others join capable to alleviate the expence; but, if any of thoſe who deſire to be of the ſociety, be ſo well qualified as to ſupport their own particulars, and allow for their proportion, it will yet much diminiſh the charge, and of ſuch there cannot want ſome at all times as the apartments are empty. If either of the founders thinks expedient to alter his condition, or that any thing do *humanitus contingere*, he may reſign to another, or ſell to his colleague, and diſpoſe of it as he pleaſes, yet ſo as it ſtill continue the inſtitution. ORDERS. At ſix in ſummer prayers in the chapel. To ſtudy till half an hour after eleven. Dinner in the refectory till one. Retire till four. Then called to converſation (if the weather invite) abroad, elſe in the refectory. This never omitted but in caſe of ſickneſs. Prayers at ſeven. To bed at nine. In the winter the ſame, with ſome abatements for the hours, becauſe the nights are tedious, and the evenings converſation more agreeable. This in the refectory. All play interdicted, ſans bowls,

‘ cheſs,

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(11) Boyle's Works, Vol. II. p. 398, 399.

better times, it occaſioned ſome change in his ſentiments, and, upon an attempt being made to damp the deſires of the people for the King's return, he drew his pen in that critical ſeaſon in defence of his Majeſty's character (*m*), which, at ſuch a juncture, was both an acceptable and a very important ſervice [*G*]. Immediately after the King's return, Mr Evelyn was introduced to, and graciouſly received by, him, nor was it long before he received a very ſingular mark of the King's eſteem for, and confidence in, him. It happened thus: there had many troubles and diſputes fallen out between the Ambaſſadors of the crowns of France and Spain, for precedence in the Courts of foreign Princes, and amongſt theſe there was none more remarkable than that upon Tower-Hill, on the landing of an Ambaſſador from Sweden, September 30, 1660, which was ſo premeditated a buſineſs on both ſides, that the King, foreſeeing it would come to a quarrel (*n*), and being willing to carry himſelf with indifference towards both, which could not be otherwiſe done, than leaving them at liberty to take what methods they thought proper for ſupporting their reſpective pretences, but to ſhew at the ſame time his concern for the publick tranquillity, orders were given for a ſtrict guard to be kept upon the place, and all his Majeſty's ſubjects were enjoined not to intermeddle, or take part with either ſide; and the King was farther pleaſed to command, that Mr Evelyn ſhould, after diligent enquiry made, draw up and preſent him a diſtinct narrative of the whole affair, which he accordingly

(*m*) Kennet's Regiſter, p. 117.

(*n*) Continuation of Heath's Chron. p. 751.

' cheſs, &c. Every one to cultivate his own garden. ' One month in ſpring a courſe in the elaboratory on ' vegetables, &c. In the winter a month on other ' experiments. Every man to have a key of the ela' boratory, pavilion, library, repoſitory, &c. Weekly ' faſt. Communion once every fortnight, or month ' at leaſt. No ſtranger eaſily admitted to viſit any of ' the ſociety, but upon certain days weekly, and that ' only after dinner. Any of the ſociety may have ' his commons to his apartment, if he will not meet ' in the refectory, ſo it be not above twice a week. ' Every Thurſday ſhall be a muſick meeting at con' verſation hours. Every perſon of the ſociety ſhall ' render ſome publick account of his ſtudies weekly, ' if thought fit, and eſpecially, ſhall be recommended ' the promotion of experimental knowledge, as the ' principal end of the inſtitution. There ſhall be a ' decent habit and uniform uſed in the college. One ' month in the year may be ſpent in London, or any ' of the Univerſities, or in a perambulation for the ' publick benefit, &c. with what other orders ſhall be ' thought convenient.'

[*G*] *And a very important ſervice.*] The conduct of Mr Evelyn in this critical year 1659, which was in truth the moſt active in his whole life, is hardly taken notice of by any of thoſe who have undertaken to preſerve his memoirs, and therefore we will endeavour to give the reader as much light into it as poſſible. After the death of Oliver, and the depoſition of Richard Cromwell, there were many of the Commanders in the Army, that ſhewed an inclination to reconcile themſelves to the King, which diſpoſition of theirs was very much encouraged by ſuch as had his Majeſty's intereſt truly at heart. Amongſt theſe, Mr Evelyn had a particular eye upon Colonel Herbert Morley (12), an old experienced Officer in the Parliament Army, who had two ſtout Regiments entirely at his devotion, was very much eſteemed by his party, and had the general reputation of being a perſon of great probity and honour. It was a very dangerous ſtep as things then ſtood, to make any advances to one in his ſituation, yet Mr Evelyn, conſidering how much it might be in that gentleman's power to facilitate the King's return, fairly ventured his life, by adviſing the Colonel freely to make his peace with, and enter into the ſervice of, the King. The Colonel, as might well be expected, acted coldly and cautiouſly at firſt, but at laſt accepted Mr Evelyn's offer, and deſired him to make uſe of his intereſt to procure a pardon for himſelf, and ſome of his relations and friends whom he named, promiſing in return to give all the aſſiſtance in his power to the royal cauſe. At the ſame time that Mr Evelyn carried on this dangerous intercourſe with Colonel Morley, he formed a reſolution of publiſhing ſomething that might take off the edge of that inveteracy, expreſſed by thoſe who had been deepeſt in the Parliament's intereſt, againſt ſuch as had always adhered to the King, and with this view he wrote a ſmall treatiſe which had the deſired effect, and was ſo generally well received, that it ran through three impreſſions that year, the title of this piece was (13),

(12) Baker's Chron. with additions, Lond. 1696, fol. p. 661.

(13) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 942.

VII. *An* Apology *for the* Royal Party, *written in a letter to a perſon of the late Council of State; with a touch at the pretended* Plea *of the* Army. Lond. 1659. in two ſheets in 4to.

But while Mr Evelyn and other gentlemen of his ſentiments were thus employed, thoſe of the contrary party were not idle, and amongſt theſe one Marchmont Needham, who firſt wrote with great bitterneſs for the King againſt the Parliament, and afterwards with equal acrimony for the Parliament againſt the King, was induced to pen that piece mentioned in the text, which was deſervedly reckoned one of the moſt artful and dangerous contrivances, for impeding that healing ſpirit that began now to ſpread itſelf through the nation, and with that view was handed to the preſs by *Praiſe-God Barebone* one of the fierceſt zealots in thoſe times, the title of which at large runs thus (14): *News from Bruſſels, in a letter from a near attendant on his Majeſty's perſon, to a perſon of honour here, dated* March the 10th 1659. the deſign of this pretended letter was to repreſent the character of King Charles the Second in as bad a light as poſſible, in order to deſtroy the favourable impreſſions that many had received of his natural inclination to mildneſs and clemency. All the King's friends were extremely alarmed at this attempt, and ſaw plainly that it would be attended with moſt pernicious conſequences; but Mr Evelyn, who had as quick a foreſight as any of them, reſolved to loſe no time in furniſhing an antidote againſt this poiſon, and with great diligence and dexterity, ſent abroad in a week's time a compleat anſwer which bore the following title.

(14) Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 117.

VIII. *The late news or meſſage from* Bruſſels *unmaſked.* Lond. 1659. 4to.

This was certainly a very ſeaſonable and a very important ſervice, which for his own ſafety our Author managed with ſuch ſecrecy, that hardly any body knew from whom this Pamphlet came. But how much ſoever he had reaſon to be pleaſed with the ſucceſs of his pen upon this occaſion, he could not help being extremely mortified at the change he perceived in his friend Colonel Morley's behaviour, who of a ſudden grew very ſilent and reſerved, and at length plainly avoided any private converſation with Mr Evelyn. In this ſituation our Author had the courage to write him an expoſtulatory letter, which was in effect putting his life into his hands, and yet even this failed of procuring him the ſatisfaction he expected; however he felt no inconvenience from it, for this alteration in Colonel Morley's countenance towards him, was not at all the effects of any change in his diſpoſition, but aroſe from his having entered into new engagements for the King's ſervice, with Sir Anthony-Aſhley Cooper and General Monk (15), who had tied him down to ſuch abſolute ſecrecy, that he was not able at that juncture to give Mr Evelyn any hint that might make him eaſy, but by degrees theſe clouds were diſpelled, and he ſaw plainly enough from the Colonel's publick behaviour, that he had no reaſon to apprehend any miſchief from the confidence he had repoſed in him.

(15) Baker's Chron. continued by E. Phillips, Lond. 1674, fol. p. 722.

accordingly did, and it is a very curious and remarkable piece, though not taken notice of in any of the accounts of our author's writings, which is the reaſon of our ſpeaking of it with all it's circumſtances [H]. Our author began now to enter into the active ſcenes of life, but yet without bidding adieu entirely to his ſtudies; on the contrary, he publiſhed, in the ſpace of a few months, ſeveral learned treatiſes upon different ſubjects (o), which met with great applauſe, the rather, becauſe the author expreſſed in ſome of them his intention to proſecute more largely ſeveral philoſophical ſubjects, in a manner that might render them conducive to the benefit of ſociety; and of his capacity for performing theſe promiſes, ſome of theſe pieces were inſtances ſufficient to ſatisfy every intelligent reader, as well as to juſtify the character he had already acquired, of being at once an able and agreeable

(o) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 941.

[H] *With all its circumſtances.*] This piece of Mr Evelyn's is very curious, and not being to be met with in any of his works, the reader cannot be diſpleaſed with having this opportunity of peruſing it, more eſpecially when he ſees, by the concluſion, what the conſequences were of this political riot. The title of it ran thus: *The manner of the Encounter, between the French and Spaniſh Ambaſſadors, at the landing of the Swediſh Ambaſſador.*

‘Upon Monday laſt being the 30th of September, about ten in the morning the Spaniſh Ambaſſador's coach, in which were his Chaplain with ſome of his gentlemen, attended by about forty more of his ſervants in livery, was ſent down to the Tower wharf, and there placed itſelf near about the point, where the ranks of ordnance determine towards the gate leading into the bulwark. Next after him came the Dutch and (twelve a-clock paſt) the Swediſh coach of honour, diſpoſing of themſelves according to their places. About two hours after this (in company with his Majeſty's Coach Royal) appeared that of the French Ambaſſador's, wherein were Le Marquis d'Eſtrade, ſon to the French Ambaſſador, with ſeveral more of his gentlemen, and as might be computed near an hundred and fifty in train, whereof above forty were horſemen well appointed, with piſtols, and ſome of them with carabines, muſquetoons, or fuzies: in this poſture and equipage ſtood they expecting upon the wharf, and as near as might be approaching to his Majeſty's coach, which was oppoſite to the ſtairs, about three in the afternoon the Swediſh Ambaſſador being landed, and received into his Majeſty's coach, which moved leiſurely before the reſt, and was followed by that of the Swede's. The French Ambaſſador's coach endeavoured to go the next, driving as cloſe as poſſibly they could, and advancing their party with their ſwords drawn, to force the Spaniards from the guard of their own coach, which were alſo putting in for precedency next the King's. His Majeſty's coach now paſt the Spaniard's, who held as yet their rapiers undrawn in their hands, ſtepping nimbly on either ſide of the hindmoſt wheels of their maſter's coach drew their weapons and ſhouted, which cauſed the French coach horſes to make a pauſe: but when they obſerved the advantage, which by this the Spaniſh Ambaſſador's coach had gained, being now in file after the Swedes, they came up very near to the Spaniard's, and at once pouring in their ſhot upon them, together with their foot, then got before their coach, fell to it with their ſwords, both which the Spaniards received without removing one jot from their ſtation.

‘During this *demeſle* (in which the French received ſome repulſe and were put to a ſecond ſtand, a bold and dextrous fellow, and as moſt affirm with a particular inſtrument as well as addreſs, ſtooping under the bellies of the French Ambaſſador's coach-horſes, cut the hamſtrings of two of them, and wounded a third, which immediately falling, the coach for the preſent was diſabled from advancing farther, the coachman forced out of his box, and the poſtilion mortally wounded, who falling into the arms of an Engliſh gentleman that ſtepped in to his ſuccour, was by a Spaniard pierced through his thigh. This diſorder (wherein ſeveral were wounded and ſome ſlain) cauſed thoſe in the French to alight, and ſo enraged their party, that it occaſioned a ſecond briſk aſſault both of horſe and foot, which being received with extraordinary gallantry, many of their horſe retreated and wheel'd off to St Katherine's.

‘It was in this ſkirmiſh, that ſome brickbatts were thrown from the edge of the wharf, which by a miſtake are ſaid to have been provided by the Spaniſh Ambaſſador's order the day before: but that they were not caſt by any of the Engliſh, is atteſted by the general conſent of all the ſpectators.

‘In this interim then (which was near half an hour) the Spaniſh coach went forward after his Majeſties, with about twenty of its retinue following, who ſtill kept their countenances towards the French as long as they abode on the wharf, and that narrow paſſage of the bulwark (where the conteſt was very fierce) without diſorder: ſo as the firſt which appeared on Tower-Hill, where now they were entring, was his Majeſty's coach followed by the Swedes Ambaſſador's, and next by that of Spain with about twenty-four or thirty of his Liveries ſtill diſputing it, with a leſs number of French who came after them in the rear.

‘And here beſides what were ſlain with bullets on the wharf, and near the bulwark, whereof one was a Valet de Chambre of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador's, and ſix more, amongſt which a poor Engliſh Plaiſterer, and near forty wounded, fell one of the French, who was killed juſt before his Highneſs's Life-Guard, no one perſon of the numerous ſpectators intermeddling, or ſo much as making the leaſt noiſe or tumult, people or ſoldiers, whereof there were three companies of foot, which ſtood oppoſite on the hill to the Guards of Horſe, 'twixt whom the antagoniſts lightly ſkirmiſhed ſome freſh parties of French coming out of ſeveral places and protected by the Engliſh, amongſt whom they found ſhelter till the Spaniſh Ambaſſador's coach having gained and paſſed the chain which leads into Crochet Friers, they deſiſted and gave them over.

‘Whatever diſadvantage the French came off with in this rencounter, wherein except one man that fought among the Spaniards with a half pike, not any of the Engliſh were ſeen to act any thing that might contribute to the ſucceſs of one ſide more than another, till a few of the multitude which ſtood on that ſide of the wharf being enraged by the wounds, which they received from the ſhot that came in amongſt them, and whereof 'tis ſaid ſome of them afterwards died, were forced to defend themſelves with what they found at hand. For ſo careful was Sir Charles Berkeley, Captain of his Royal Highneſs's Life-Guard, to put in execution what he had in ſtrict charge from his Majeſty, that not a man of the ſpectators was ſuffered with impunity ſo much as with a ſwitch in his hand. The French King from this occaſion gained an advantage to the prerogative he ſtood upon, greater than if this conteſt had not happened; for whereas, this buſineſs of precedence had been hitherto in controverſy between him and Spain, in ſo much that to prevent all inconveniencies, an accord had been lately made here between the Spaniſh Ambaſſador and the Count of Soiſſons, that they ſhould aſſiſt at no publick ceremonies, but upon all ſuch caſual encounters paſs on their way as they fortuned to meet: The King of France countermanding this agreement, and ſending poſitive charge to D'Eſtrade not to abate any thing of thoſe pretenſions formerly ſtood upon, and hearing what enſued upon his Ambaſſador's executing of his injunctions, was ſo incenſed thereat, that the quarrel had proceeded to an abſolute breach of the late concluded peace between the two Kingdoms, had not the King of Spain condeſcended to agree that thence forward, precedence ſhould be yielded to the French upon all ſuch like occaſions without any diſpute.’

agreeable writer [*I*]. About the cloſe of the year 1662, when his Majeſty was pleaſed, by his Letters Patent, to erect and eſtabliſh the Royal Society for the improvement of Natural knowledge, John Evelyn, Eſq; was appointed one of the firſt Fellows and Council (*p*). He had given a proof the ſame year how well he deſerved that diſtinction, by a ſmall but excellent work of his, intituled SCULPTURA (*q*), of which, as it is now become very ſcarce, an account ſhall be given in the notes [*K*]. Upon the firſt appearance of the nation's

(*p*) Sprat's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, p. 137.

(*q*) See an account of that Work in the notes.

[*I*] *An able and agreeable writer.*] It is certain that very few authors who have written in our language, deſerve this character ſo well as Mr Evelyn, who tho' he was acquainted with moſt ſciences, and wrote upon many different ſubjects, yet was very far, indeed the fartheſt of moſt men of his time, from being a ſuperficial writer. He had genius, he had taſte, he had learning, and he knew how to give all theſe a proper place in his works, ſo as never to paſs for a pedant, even with ſuch as were leaſt in love with literature, and to be juſtly eſteemed a polite author by thoſe who knew it beſt. His performances during this year, except one, were but light and trivial in compariſon of thoſe that he afterwards ſent abroad; but it is neceſſary however, that the reader, who will expect a large account of thoſe, ſhould take notice of theſe likewiſe.

IX. *A* Panegyrick *at his Majeſty King* Charles II. *his* Coronation. Lond. 1661. fol.

X. Inſtructions *concerning the erecting of a* Library. *Written by* Gabriel Naudé, *publiſhed in* Engliſh *with ſome improvements, by* John Evelyn, Eſq; Lond. 1661. 8vo.

XI. Fumifugium; *or the inconveniencies of the air, and the ſmoke of* London *diſſipated. Together, with ſome remedies humbly propoſed, by* John Evelyn, London 1661. 4to. in five ſheets addreſſed to the King and Parliament, and publiſhed by his Majeſties expreſs command.

XII. Tyrannus, *or the* Mode; *in a diſcourſe of* ſumptuary Laws, London 1661. 8vo.

[*K*] *In the notes.*] Of this work which has been always looked upon as a very great curioſity, from the time of its publication to this day, the title at large runs thus. XIII. Sculptura: *or the Hiſtory and Art of* Calcography *and* engraving *in* copper, *with an ample enumeration of the moſt renowned* maſters *and their* works. *To which is annexed, a new manner of engraving or* Mezzo Tinto, *communicated by his Highneſs* Prince Rupert, *to the* Author *of this treatiſe.* Lond. 1662. 8vo. In the dedication to Mr Robert Boyle, dated at Sayes-Court, April 5th 1662, he obſerves, that he wrote this treatiſe at the reiterated inſtances of that gentleman. The *firſt* chapter treats of Sculpture, how derived and diſtinguiſhed, with the ſtyles and inſtruments belonging to it. The *ſecond*, of the original of Sculpture in general. In this chapter our Author obſerves that letters, and conſequently Sculpture, were long before the Flood, Suidas aſcribing both letters and all the reſt of the Sciences to Adam. After the Flood, as he ſuppoſes, there were but few who make any conſiderable queſtion, that it might not be propagated by Noah to his poſterity, tho' ſome admit of none before Moſes. 'But what then ſhall we think of that book of the wars of the Lord, which this ſacred Author mentions Num. xxi. not to inſiſt upon the eighty eighth, and one hundred and nineteenth Pſalms, by many aſcribed to ſome of the patriarchs his predeceſſors? Mercurius Triſmegiſtus, three hundred years after the Flood, and long before Moſes, engraved his ſecret and myſterious things in ſtone, as himſelf reports, reforming what had been depraved by the wicked Cham, ſome in letters, ſome in figures, and enigmatical characters, ſuch haply as were thoſe contained in the magnificent and ſtupendous obeliſks, erected by Miſra the firſt Egyptian Pharaoh, which being at leaſt, four hundred years before Moſes, as the moſt indefatigable Kircher has computed, does greatly preſage their antiquity to have been before that holy Prophet. But not to put too much ſtreſs upon ſuperannuated tradition, this we are ſure of is of faith and without controverſy, that in Moſes we have the tables of ſtone engraven by the finger of God himſelf, where the command is expreſs even againſt the abuſe of this very art, as well as an inſtance of the idolatry atteſting that of Sculpture, *Thou ſhalt not make to thyſelf any graven image.* But this which is indeed, the firſt writing that we have Scripture to vouch for, does yet preſuppoſe engraving to have been of much greater antiquity. What elſe were the Teraphim, what the Pentos ſtolen by Rachael? The Idols of Terah? Or the Egyptians? &c. But we forbear to expatiate only that which is Ben Syrac, ſomewhere in Eccleſiaſticus delivered, that the original of idolatry was from images to preſerve the memory of the dead, as in proceſs of time by the flatterers of great men, it was turned to be an object of adoration, plainly infers graving to have been older than Idolatry.' But now, continues our Author, to recover its eſteem again beyond all prejudice (however by others abuſed as indeed many of the beſt things have been;) it was we know imputed for a ſpiritual talent in Bezaleel, and Aholiab, who made Intaglias to adorn the High Prieſt's Pectoral. And we have ſaid how the Egyptians reverenced it, as ſeeming to have uſed it before letters, or rather their Hieroglyphics, importing ſacred ſculpture were thoſe elements by which they tranſmitted to poſterity, what they eſteemed moſt worthy of record, and not as ſome have imagined wrapp'd up in thoſe enigmatical figures, the ſecrets of their arts both divine and ſecular; ſuch as were alſo the Horapollinis notæ, and all thoſe other venerable antiquities of this nature, tranſported to Rome out of Egypt, in no leſs than two and forty prodigious obeliſks, interpreted by the induſtrious Kircher. Suidas attributes the invention to the Father of the Faithful, others to Theut or Hermes, ſome to Cadmus and the Phœnicians. Bibliander will have letters and ſculpture from Adam, Joſephus from Henoch; Philo from Abraham, Euſebius, from Moſes, Cyprian from Saturn, where by the way, becauſe it is ſaid he did *Literas imprimere*, Petrus Calaber, who calls himſelf Pomponius Lætus, abſurdly deduces, that even the Typographical Art was known in the age of this Hero. But thence it deſcended to the Egyptians, by Miſraim, and ſo was communicated to the Perſians, Medes, and Aſſyrians, thence to the Greeks, and laſtly to the Romans, from whom it was derived to us, as Peter Crinitus, in his ſeventh Book *de honeſtâ Diſciplina*, out of a very antient manuſcript *Bibliothecæ Septimianæ*, ſeems to deduce. Now ſhould all this but relate to the ſeveral characters it ſhall yet ſerve our purpoſe, ſince whoever was the inventor of letters, was alſo doubtleſs the father of Sculpture, as is apparent if not by the columns erected by Seth, (one whereof *Angelus Roccha*, in his *Bibliotheca Vaticana*, preſumes to have been of braſs) by ſeveral other inſtances, the writing with ink, paper, or parchment, being altogether a novelty in compariſon with the more antient forms and materials, ſuch as were the ſlit ſtones or ſlates, which ſucceeded the ſtately marbles, and preceded the thinner leaves of bark and tables of wood, which, from the German Bucher, ſignifying the Fagus or Beech tree, whoſe fruit does ſtill with us retain the name of Beech maſt, were called Books, to whatever voluble or folding matter applied. For before the invention of paper, they uſed the leaves of palm, as *Varro, de Sibylla*; then the rinds of trees, afterwards ſheets of lead, linnen, wax, and ivory, as Vopiſcus tells us. They wrote in ſilk among the Perſians and Chineſe, and laſtly were invented parchment and paper. But, whether in all theſe or whatever the ſubject were ſome few later excepted, it was ſtill by inſculping, ſcarifying, and making a kind of inciſion into it, eſpecially intending to conſign to poſterity, their laws divine and human, Roman, Egyptian, or Hebrew for ſo of old.

——Verba minantia fixo
Ære ligabantur.

Thus were the Hieronicæ preſerved in the temple of Olympian Jove, and the Roman Conſuls in the Capitol, tion's being obliged to engage in a war with the Dutch, the King thought proper to appoint

tol, and as by thoſe innumerable inſcriptions of irrefragable and undeniable antiquities does appear, we have already computed how probable it is, that Sculpture was in uſe in Egypt ſomewhat before, or at leaſt, as ſoon as the Patriarch Abraham went thither. But the leſs diſcerning Greeks who received it from the Egyptians, could tell us of no writings of theirs extant before Homer, if we will prefer the authority of Joſephus before that of Tatian, a learned Aſſyrian and contemporary with Juſtin Martyr, where he mentions no leſs than ſeventeen Greek writers more ancient than Homer. There are alſo enumerated the names of twenty Argive Kings from Inachus to Agamemnon, which ſtrongly infers the means of recording by Sculpture and writing to have been very antient. For ſo we read, that the Poems of Heſiod were ingraven in lead. Ariſtotle mentions Daphne, a certain Devotreſs of Apollo, Sabinus and Diodorus many others. But when or however it were, thence, as we obſerved, it travelled into Greece, that Theatre of Arts, where it ſoon arrived to the ſupremeſt height of perfection, when being applied to the forming of figures, it was celebrated by all the witty men of thoſe and the ſucceeding ages. Homer tells us, of the engraving in the ſhield of Achilles, Heſiod of that of Hercules, not to mention the Sculptures upon the chariot of the ſun deſcribed by the Poet, becauſe it is altogether fictitious, tho' extremely ingenious, and whence perhaps they might have their *Vehicula Cælata*, mentioned by Q. Curtius. The *third* chapter treats of the reputation and progreſs of Sculpture among the Greeks and Romans down to the middle ages, with a diſcuſſion of ſome pretenſions to the invention of copper cuts, and their impreſſions. The *fourth*, of the invention and progreſs of Chalcography, in particular together, with an ample enumeration of the moſt renowned maſters and their works. The *fifth*, of drawing and deſign, previous to the Art of Chalcography, and of the uſe of pictures in order to the education of children. In this chapter our Author, in honour of the Art upon which he writes, diſcourſes thus: ‘ It was in the former chapter, that we made rehearſal of the moſt renowned Gravers and their works, not that we had no more to add to that number, but becauſe we would not mingle theſe illuſtrious names and qualities there, which we purpoſely reſerved for the crown of this diſcourſe; we did therefore forbear to mention what his Highneſs Prince Rupert's own hands have contributed to the dignity of that Art, performing things in graving of which ſome enrich our collection comparable to the greateſt Maſters, ſuch a ſpirit and addreſs there appears in all that he touches, and eſpecially in that of the Mezzotinto, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter more at large, having firſt enumerated thoſe incomparable gravings, of that his new and inimitable ſtile, in both the great and little decollations of St John the Baptiſt, the ſoldier holding a ſpear and leaning his hand on a ſhield, the two Mary Magdalens, the old man's head, that of Titian, &c. after the ſame Titian, Georgion and others; we have alſo ſeen a plate etched by the preſent French King and other great perſons, the Right Honourable the Earl of Sandwich, ſometimes as we are told diverting himſelf with the burine, and herein imitating thoſe antient and renowned Heroes, whoſe names are loud in the trumpet of fame, for their ſkill and particular affection to theſe Arts. For ſuch of old, were Lucius Manilius, and Fabius, noble Romans, Pacuvius the tragic Poet, nephew to Ennius; Socrates, the wiſeſt of men, and Plato himſelf, Metrodorus and Pyrrhus the Philoſopher, did both deſign and paint, and ſo did Valentinian, Adrian, and Severus, Emperors, ſo as the great Paulus Æmilius eſteemed it of ſuch high importance, that he would needs have his ſon to be inſtructed in it, as in one of the moſt worthy and excellent accompliſhments belonging to a Prince. For the Art of graving, Quintilian likewiſe celebrates Euphranor, a polite and rarely endowed perſon, and Pliny, in that chapter where he treats of the ſame Art obſerves, that there was never any one famous in it, but who was by birth or education a gentleman, therefore he and Galen in their recenſion of the liberal Arts, mention that of graving in particular amongſt the moſt permanent, and in the ſame catalogue numbers it with Rhetorick, Geometry, Logic, Aſtronomy, yea, Grammar itſelf, becauſe there is in theſe Arts, ſay they, more of fancy and invention than ſtrength of hand, more of the ſpirit than of the body. Hence Ariſtotle informs us, that the Grecians did univerſally inſtitute their children, in the Art of painting and drawing, for an oeconomique reaſon there ſignified, as well as to produce proportions in the mind: Varro makes it part of the ladies education, that they might have the better ſkill in the works of Embroidery, &c. and for this cauſe is his daughter Martia celebrated amongſt thoſe of her fair ſex. We have already mentioned the learned Anna Schurman, but the Princeſs Louiſa has done wonders of this kind, and is famous throughout Europe for the many pieces which inrich our cabinets, examples ſufficient to vindicate its dignity, and the value that has been ſet upon it, ſince both Emperors, Kings, and Philoſophers, the great and the wiſe, have not diſdained to cultivate and cheriſh this honourable quality of old, ſo nobly reputed, that amongſt the Greeks a ſlave might not be taught it: how paſſionately does Pereſkius, that admirable and univerſal genius, deplore his want of dexterity in this Art! Baptiſta Alberti, Aldus Pomponius, Guaricus Durer, and Rubens, were politely learned and knowing men, and it is hardly to be imagined, of how great uſe and conducible a competent addreſs in this Art of drawing and deſigning, is to the ſeveral advantages which occur, and eſpecially to the more noble mathematical Sciences, as we have already inſtanced in the lunary works of Hevelius, and are no leſs obliged to celebrate ſome of our own countrymen famous for their dexterity in this incomparable Art, ſuch was that Blagrave, who himſelf cut thoſe diagrams in his Mathematical Jewel, and ſuch at preſent, is that rare and early prodigy of univerſal ſcience, Dr Chr. Wren, our worthy and accompliſhed friend. For if the ſtudy of Eloquence and Rhetorick were cultivated by the greateſt genius's and heroick perſons which the world has produced, and that by the ſuffrage of the moſt knowing to be a perfect Orator, a man ought to be univerſally inſtructed, a quality ſo becoming and uſeful ſhould never be neglected.' In the *ſixth* chapter he diſcourſes of the new way of Engraving or Mezzo Tinto, invented and communicated by his Highneſs Prince RUPERT, and he therein obſerves, ‘ that his Highneſs did indulge him the liberty of publiſhing the whole manner and addreſs of this new way of engraving, but when I had well conſidered it, ſays he, (ſo much having been already expreſſed, which may ſuffice to give the hint to all ingenious perſons how it is to be performed) I did not think it neceſſary, that an art ſo curious, and as yet ſo little vulgar, and which indeed does not ſucceed where the workman is not an accompliſhed deſigner, and has a competent talent in painting likewiſe, was to be proſtituted at ſo cheap a rate, as the more naked deſcribing of it here, would too ſoon have expoſed it to. Upon theſe conſiderations, then it is, that we leave it thus enigmatical, and yet that this may appear no diſingenuous rhodomontade in me, or invidious excuſe, I profeſs myſelf to be always moſt ready *ſub ſigillo*, and by his Highneſs's permiſſion, to gratify any curious and worthy perſon, with as full and perfect a demonſtration of the entire Art, as my talent and addreſs will reach to, if what I am now preparing to be reſerved in the Archives of the Royal Society concerning it, be not ſufficiently inſtructive.' There came however, into the hands of the communicative and learned Richard Middleton Maſſey, M. D. and F. R. S. the original manuſcript written by Mr Evelyn, and deſigned for the Royal Society, intitled *Prince* Rupert's *new way of* Engraving, *communicated by his Highneſs to Mr* Evelyn. In the margin of which is this note, *This I prepared to be regiſtred in the Royal Society, but I have not yet given it in, ſo as it ſtill continues a ſecret.* In this manuſcript, he firſt deſcribes the two inſtruments employed appoint Commiſſioners to take care of the ſick and wounded; this was in November 1664, and Mr Evelyn was one of the number, having all the ports between Dover and Portſmouth in his diſtrict; and Sir Thomas Clifford, who was afterwards a Peer, and Lord High-Treaſurer of England, was another of thoſe Commiſſioners (r). We find theſe particulars in a letter from our author to Mr Boyle, in which he expreſſes how great a ſatisfaction it would have been to have had that worthy and charitable perſon for his colleague. His literary labours within the compaſs of this year were not only as great, but even greater than in any of thoſe preceding, which aroſe from the great deſire the author had to ſupport the credit of the Royal Society, and to convince the world, that Philoſophy was not barely an amuſement fit to take up the time of melancholy and contemplative perſons, but a high and uſeful ſcience, worthy the attention of men of the greateſt parts, and capable of contributing in a ſupream degree to the welfare of the nation (s). In this noble deſign, as never any man engaged with a better will, or proſecuted his intentions with greater diligence, ſo it may be truly ſaid, that never any advocate for Philoſophy employed his talents with greater ſucceſs. He exerted them alſo in the defence, and for the improvement, of the publick taſte in Architecture and Painting, with equal vigour and with equal applauſe. The ſame praiſes that were beſtowed upon him then, have been continued in reſpect to his works from the gratitude of poſterity, nor are his learned efforts in behalf of ſcience and the polite arts, leſs reliſhed now than at the time of their firſt appearance, a reward, which, though it may have been deſerved by many, has however been received by few, at leaſt in the ſame degree with our author, and is therefore an inconteſtible proof of his merit [L]. As there is nothing more natural, than for men of true

ployed in this new manner of engraving, viz. the *Hatcher* and the *Style*, and then proceeds to explain the method of uſing them. He concludes with the following words: 'This invention or new manner of Chalcography, was the reſult of chance, and improved by a German ſoldier, who eſpying ſome ſcrape on the barrel of his muſquet, and being of an ingenious ſpirit, refined upon it, till it produced the effects you have ſeen, and which indeed is, for the delicacy thereof, much ſuperior to any invention extant of this Art, for the imitation of thoſe maſterly drawings, and, as the Italians call it, that morbidezza expreſſed in the beſt of their deſigns. I have had the honour to be the firſt of the Engliſh to whom it has been yet communicated, and by a ſpecial indulgence of his Highneſs, who with his own hands was pleaſed to direct me with permiſſion to publiſh it to the world, but I have eſteemed it a thing ſo curious, that I thought it would be to profane it, before I had firſt offered it to this illuſtrious Society. There is another way of engraving by rowelling a plate with an inſtrument, made like that which our Scriveners and Clerks uſe to direct their rulers by on parchment, only the points are thicker ſet into the rowell. And when the plate is ſufficiently freckled with the frequent reciprocation of it, upon the poliſhed ſurface, ſo as to render the ground dark enough, it is to be abated with the ſtyle, and treated as we have already deſcribed. Of this ſort I have ſeen a head of the Queen Chriſtina, graved, if I miſtake not, as big as the life, but not comparable to the Mezzo Tinto of Prince Rupert, ſo deſervedly celebrated by

J. EVELYN.

[L] *An inconteſtible proof of his merit.*] The digeſting the numerous works of this elegant and excellent writer in their natural order, is a work of no ſmall pains, as thoſe who have given the world his memoirs heretofore were very ſenſible, and for that reaſon never attempted it; yet that is not the cauſe of our mentioning it here, but a conſideration of quite a different nature, which is, that we may not be blamed for any deficiency or miſtake into which we may happen to fall through want of proper guides, in ſpite of all the care that we could poſſibly take; and having premiſed this, we will proceed in our catalogue:

XV. SYLVA: *or, a Diſcourſe of* Foreſt Trees, *and the Propagation of* Timber *in his Majeſty's Dominions. As it was delivered in the* Royal Society *the 15th of October 1662, upon Occaſion of certain* Queries *propounded to that illuſtrious Aſſembly by the Honourable the principal Officers and Commiſſioners of the Navy. To which is annexed,* POMONA: *or, an Appendix concerning* Fruit Trees, *in relation to* Cyder, *the making, and ſeveral ways of ordering it: publiſhed by expreſs Order of the Royal Society. By* John Evelyn, *Eſq; Fellow of the Royal Society.* Lond. 1664, fol.

The bare Hiſtory of the editions of this moſt valuable work, the contents of which are too well known to ſtand in need of any account to be given of them here, is ſufficient to employ all the room that we have to ſpare. It was written by the command, it was publiſhed in virtue of an order, of the Royal Society, ſigned by the Lord Viſcount Brouncker, their Preſident, and dedicated to the King. The ſecond edition of it was publiſhed in 1669, with a new dedication to King Charles II, dated from Sayes-Court Aug. 24. The firſt paragraph of which is ſo remarkable as to deſerve, in a great degree, the reader's notice. '*Sir*, This ſecond edition of *Sylva*, after more than a thouſand copies had been bought up and diſperſed of the firſt impreſſion, in much leſs than two years ſpace (which Bookſellers aſſure us is a very extraordinary thing in volumes of this bulk) comes now again to pay it's homage to your Serene Majeſty, to whoſe auſpices alone it owes the favourable acceptance which it has received in the world. But it is not that alone which it preſumes to tell your Majeſty, but to acquaint you that it has been the ſole occaſion of furniſhing your almoſt exhauſted dominions with more I dare ſay than two millions of timber trees, beſides infinite others, which have been propagated within the three nations at the inſtigation, and by the direction, of this work; and that the author of it is able, if need require, to make it out by a competent volume of letters and acknowledgments, which are come to his hands from ſeveral perſons of the moſt eminent quality, many of them illuſtrious, and divers of them unknown to him, in juſtification of what he aſſerts, which he the rather preſerves with the more care, becauſe they are teſtimonials from ſo many honourable perſons of the benefit they have received from the endeavours of the Royal Society, which now-a-days paſſes through ſo many cenſures; but ſhe has yet your Majeſty for her Founder and Patron, and is therefore the leſs concerned, ſince no man of worth can lightly ſpeak ill of an Aſſembly, which your Majeſty has thought fit to dignify by ſo ſignal a relation to it.' There follows next a ſhort diſcourſe *To the Reader*, in which the occaſion, contents, and deſign of the work, are cleared; then a copy of Latin verſes by the learned Dr Beale; to theſe ſucceed another copy of Latin verſes, written by R. Bohun, Eſq; and then a third in Greek, by John Evelyn, junior, Eſq; POMONA, which is but an *Appendix*, is however dedicated to that beſt of Miniſters, Thomas, Earl of Southampton, and Lord High Treaſurer of England. The *third* edition, with great additions and improvements, was publiſhed in 1679. The *fourth* edition in 1705, in which the Diſcourſe to the reader is very much enlarged, and every chapter of the work very conſiderably augmented. There was a *fifth* edition, with all the leſſer pieces of our author relating to agriculture and gardening annexed, in 1729, all in folio; nor is there any reaſon to doubt it's farther ſucceſs.

(r) Boyle's Works Vol. V. p. 402.

(s) See his large Preface prefixed before his *Sylva*.

true learning to preſerve a laſting regard and affection for the academies where they firſt purſued

XVI. *A* Parallel *of the Antient Architecture with the Modern, in a collection of ten principal Authors, who have written upon the* five Orders, *viz.* Palladio *and* Scammozzi, Serlio *and* Vignola; D. Barbaro *and* Cataneo; L. B. Alberti *and* Viola, Bullant *and* De Lorme; *compared with one another. The three Greek Orders,* Doric, Ionic *and* Corinthian, *compriſe the* firſt *part of this* Treatiſe, *and the* two *Latin*; Tuſcan *and* Compoſita, *the latter; written in* French *by* Roland Freart, *Sieur* de Chambray; *made* Engliſh *for the benefit of Builders. To which is added an account of* Architects *and* Architecture, *in an Hiſtorical and Etymological Explanation of certain* Terms, *particularly affected by* Architects; *with* Leon Baptiſta Alberti*'s Treatiſe of* Statues. *By* John Evelyn, *Eſq; Fellow of the* Royal Society. *Lond.* 1664. folio.

This work, as well as the former, is dedicated to King Charles the Second, and the Dedication dated from Sayes-Court, Auguſt 20th. I will take the liberty of quoting ſome lines from it, not for the ſake of panegyrick, tho' in that no writer excelled our Author, but upon the ſcore of the facts that are mentioned therein, which there is a probability might not otherwiſe fall in the reader's way. After an apology for prefixing his royal name to a tranſlation, our Author proceeds thus. 'I know none indeed, to whom could I more aptly inſcribe a diſcourſe of Building, than to ſo Royal a Builder, whoſe auguſt attempts have already given ſo great a ſplendour to our imperial city, and ſo illuſtrious an example to the nation! it is from this contemplation, Sir, that after I had, by the commands of the Royal Society, endeavoured the improvement of timber and the planting of trees, I have advanced to that of Building, as its proper and natural conſequent, not with a preſumption to incite or inſtruct your Majeſty, which were a vanity unpardonable, but by it to take occaſion of celebrating your Majeſty's great example, who uſe your Empire and authority ſo worthily, as fortune ſeems to have conſulted her reaſon, when ſhe poured her favours upon you; ſo as I never caſt my eyes on that generous deſignation in the Epigram,

——*Ut donem* Paſtor *&* ædificem,

without immediate reflection on your Majeſty, who ſeem only to value thoſe royal advantages you have above others; that you may oblige, and that you may build. And certainly, Sir, your Majeſty has conſulted the nobleſt way of eſtabliſhing your greatneſs, and of perpetuating your memory, ſince, whilſt ſtones can preſerve inſcriptions, your name will be famous to poſterity; and, when thoſe materials fail, the benefits that are engraven in our hearts will outlaſt thoſe of marble. It would be no paradox, but a truth, to affirm that your Majeſty has already built, and repaired, more in three or four years, notwithſtanding the difficulties and the neceſſity of an extraordinary oeconomy for the publick concernment, than all your enemies have deſtroyed in twenty; nay, than all your Majeſty's predeceſſors have advanced in an hundred, as I could eaſily make out, not only by what your Majeſty has ſo magnificently deſigned and carried on at that, your antient honour of Greenwich, under the conduct of your moſt induſtrious and worthy ſurveyor, but in thoſe ſplendid apartments, and other uſeful reformations for ſecurity and delight about your Majeſty's Palace at Whitehall, the chargeable covering firſt, then paving and reformation of Weſtminſter-Hall, care and preparation for rebuilding St Paul's, by the impiety and iniquity of the late confuſions, almoſt dilapidated, with what her Majeſty the Queen-Mother has added to her Palace at Somerſet-Houſe, in a ſtructure becoming her royal grandeur, and the due veneration of all your Majeſty's ſubjects, for the honour ſhe has done both this your native city, and the whole nation. Nor may I here omit what I ſo much deſire to tranſmit to poſterity, thoſe noble and profitable amænities of your Majeſty's plantations, wherein you moſt reſemble the divine Architect, becauſe your Majeſty has propoſed in it ſuch a pattern to your ſubjects, as merit their imitation and profoundeſt acknowledgments, in one of the moſt worthy and kingly improvements that nature is capable of. I know not what they talk of former ages, and of the now contemporary Princes with your Majeſty, theſe things are viſible: and ſhould I here deſcend to more particulars, which yet were not foreign to the ſubject of this diſcourſe, I would provoke the whole world to produce me an example parallel with your Majeſty, for your exact judgment and marvellous ability in all that belongs to the naval Architecture, both as to its proper terms and more ſolid uſe, in which your Majeſty is maſter of one of the moſt noble and profitable arts that can be wiſhed, in a Prince to whom God has deſigned the dominion of the ocean, which renders your Majeſty's Empire univerſal; where, by exerciſing your royal talent and knowledge that way, you can bring even the Antipodes to meet, and the poles to kiſs each other; for ſo likewiſe, not in a metaphorical but natural ſenſe, your equal and prudent government of this nation, has made it good, whilſt your Majeſty has ſo proſperouſly guided this giddy bark, through ſuch a ſtorm, as no hand, ſave your Majeſty's, could touch the helm, but at the price of their temerity.' There is alſo another Dedication to Sir John Denham, Knight of the Bath, Superintendant, and Surveyor of all his Majeſty's buildings and works, in which there are ſeveral matters of fact worth knowing, as indeed there are in all Mr Evelyn's Dedications; for tho' no man was naturally more civil, or more capable of making a complement handſomely; yet his merit was always conſpicuous in his good manners; and he never thought that the ſwelling ſound of a well turned period, could atone for want of ſenſe. It appears from the Dedication of the ſecond edition of the Sylva to King Charles the Second, that there was a ſecond edition of this work alſo in the ſame year, viz. 1669, as there was a third in 1697, which was the laſt in the Author's life-time, and therefore the laſt that I am obliged to mention. In this third edition, which is very much improved, *the account of* Architects *and* Architecture, which is an original work of Mr Evelyn's, and a moſt excellent one of its kind, is dedicated to Sir Chriſtopher Wren, Surveyor of his Majeſty's buildings and works, and therein occurs a paſſage that concerns the perſonal hiſtory of our Author ſo much, that it would be unpardonable in me to omit it. Having ſaid in the firſt paragraph, that if the whole Art of building were loſt, it might be found again in the noble works of that great Architect, which, tho' a very high, is no unjuſt complement; more eſpecially, continues our Author, St Paul's Church and the Monument, and then adds. 'I have named St Paul's, and truly not without admiration, as oft as I re-call to mind, as frequently I do, the ſad and deplorable condition it was in, when, after it had been made a ſtable of horſes and a den of thieves, you, with other gentlemen and myſelf, were, by the late King Charles, named Commiſſioners to ſurvey the dilapidations, and to make report to his Majeſty, in order to a ſpeedy reparation: you will not, I am ſure, forget the ſtruggle we had with ſome who were for patching it up any how, ſo the ſteeple might ſtand, inſtead of new building, which it altogether needed: when, to put an end to the conteſt, five days after (16), that dreadful conflagration happened, out of whoſe aſhes this Phœnix is riſen, and was by providence deſigned for you. The circumſtance is too remarkable, that I could not paſs it over without notice. I will now add no more, but beg your pardon for this confidence of mine, after I have acquainted you that the *Parallel* to which this was annexed being out of print, I was importuned by the Bookſeller to add ſomething to a new impreſſion, but to which I was no way inclined; till, not long ſince, going to St Paul's to contemplate that auguſt pile, and the progreſs you have made, ſome of your chief workmen gratefully acknowledging the aſſiſtance it had afforded them, I took this opportunity of doing myſelf this honour.' The fourth edition of this work, printed long after our Author's death, viz. in 1733, was in folio, as well as the reſt; to which is added *the Elements*

(16) Auguſt 27, Sept. 2, 1666.

purſued their ſtudies; ſo Mr Evelyn gave a noble teſtimony of his high reſpect for that of Oxford, by uſing his utmoſt intereſt with the Lord Henry Howard, in order to prevail upon him to beſtow the Arundelian marbles, then remaining in the garden of Arundel houſe in the Strand (*t*), upon the univerſity, in which he happily ſucceeded, and obtained, in conſequence of it, all the reward he deſired, which was the thanks of that learned body, delivered by Delegates ſpecially appointed for that purpoſe (*u*); which venerable monuments of Antiquity ſtill remain at Oxford, and are now diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, as contributes equally to ornament and uſe, where, while they continue to command the admiration of every intelligent ſpectator, they muſt, at the ſame time, perpetuate the remembrance of that zeal with which Mr Evelyn exerted himſelf, in order to procure ſo proper as well as ſo magnificent an act of bounty, equally worthy of the Moſt Noble Perſon by whom it was beſtowed, and of that moſt learned body upon whom it was beſtowed (*w*) [*M*]. This was far from being the laſt favour conferred by that noble perſon, at the requeſt of Mr Evelyn, whom he honoured with his friendſhip in the moſt entire degree, after he arrived at the high title of Norfolk; as, on the other hand, Mr Evelyn made no other advantage of his kindneſs towards him, than giving a right direction to the natural generoſity of that excellent perſon, whence flowed ſome particular marks of kindneſs to the Royal Society, which were very gratefully accepted, and ſomething farther would have been procured, if the ſudden and unexpected death of that great and good man (*x*) had not fruſtrated the ſchemes formed by our author for the ſervice of that learned ſociety, to which, from it's very foundation, he was attached with a zeal, which, however warm, never felt any decay [*N*]. Mr Evelyn ſpent his time, at this juncture, in a manner as pleaſing

(*t*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 942.

(*u*) See a farther account of this matter in the notes.

(*w*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 28.

(*x*) Collins's Peerage of Engl. Vol. I. p. 90.

ments of Architecture, *by Sir* Henry Wotton, and ſome other things, of which, however, hints were met with in our Author's pieces.

XVII. Μυϛηρίον τῆς 'Ανομίας; *that is, another part of the* Myſtery *of* Jeſuitiſm, *or the new* Hereſy *of the* Jeſuits, *publickly maintained at* Paris, *in the College of* Clermont, *the twelfth of December* 1661, *declared to all the Biſhops of* France, *according to the copy printed at* Paris. *Together with the* imaginary Hereſy, *in three letters; with divers other particulars relating to this abominable* Myſtery, *never before publiſhed in* Engliſh, Lond. 1664. 8vo. This, indeed, has not our Author's name to it; but, that it is really his, and that he had reaſons for not owning it more publickly, will appear from the following extract of a letter from him to Mr Boyle (17). 'If my book of Architecture do 'not fall into your hands at Oxon, it will come with 'my apology when I ſee you at London, as well as 'another part of the Myſtery of Jeſuitiſm, which, 'with ſome other papers concerning that iniquity, I 'have tranſlated, and am now printing at Royſton's, 'but without my name.—So little credit there is in 'theſe days, in doing any thing for the intereſt of 'religion!'

(17) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 402.

XVIII. Kalendarium Hortenſe, *or the* Gardiners Almanack, *directing what he is to do monthly throughout the year, and what fruits and flowers are in prime. By* John Evelyn, Eſq; *Lond.* 1664, 8vo. The ſecond edition of this book, which I take to have been in folio, and bound with the *Sylva* and *Pomona*, as I am ſure it was in the third edition, was dedicated to Abraham Cowley, Eſq; with great complements from our Author, to that excellent and worthy perſon to whom it had been communicated before, which occaſioned Mr Cowley's addreſſing to John Evelyn, Eſq; his mixt eſſay in verſe and proſe, entitled, *the Garden*, which has been always admired as one of the fineſt pieces that fell from the pen of that illuſtrious Poet. We ſhould next inform the reader of the ſeveral editions this curious and uſeful work has gone through; but the truth is, we have it not in our power, the editions of it being long ago out of number, the laſt (at leaſt that we know of) of which any account was kept, was the ninth; ſince that, it is ſaid in the title page, a new edition. The Author made many additions as long as he lived, ſo that the beſt was that printed by way of Appendix to the fourth and laſt edition of the *Sylva* in his life-time, which is alſo, in the fifth edition of that work, printed after his deceaſe; we have had many Kalendars ſince, ſome better and ſome worſe; but it was eaſy to write after ſo fair an original, which, in method and form, as well as matter, is very elegant and conciſe, and withal very plain, ſuited exactly to the capacities of thoſe for whoſe uſe it was deſigned.

[*M*] *Upon whom it was beſtow.*] Theſe hiſtorical marbles, brought chiefly from the iſland of Paros, and containing the moſt antient and authentick inſcriptions, relative to the State of Athens, were, at an immenſe expence, purchaſed and brought into England, by Thomas Earl of Arundel, to whom our Author, Mr Evelyn, was well known in Italy, and were placed in the garden of his Palace without Temple-Bar; they were afterwards, as the reader has ſeen in the text, removed to Oxford, and are at preſent fixed on the outward wall of the Theatre, marked with the letter (H), to diſtinguiſh them from other antiquities of the ſame kind, and which are placed there likewiſe, that were beſtowed upon the Univerſity by the learned Selden (18). As a farther mark of the gratitude of that learned body, the following inſcription is placed under the arms of the noble family of Howard. 'Æternæ Memoriæ excellentiſſimi Dni. Domini 'Henrici Howard de Caſtle Reiſing, Fratris & Hæredis, Thomæ Howard Ducis Norfolciæ, a proſapiâ 'regiâ primi Comitis Angliæ, Comitis Surreiæ Dominis & Baronis de Howard, Domini & Baronis Mowbray Seagrave Brewes de Gower Fitzallen Clun Oſwaldſtree Maltrevers & Greyſtoke, ad Muley Urſhed 'Marocienſem Imperatorem Legati. Ob Marmora 'hæc Arundelianorum nomine per totum orbem celeberrima, avi ſui Thomæ Arundeliæ Comitis, ſupremi Angliæ Mareſcalli, ſummique artium liberalium patroni, ſumptibus & ſollicitudine ingentibus, ab 'Ottomanicâ Barbarie vindicata, & in Pallatium gentilitium Londini pridem traducta, ab ipſo dein donata, gratabunda, poſuit Univerſitas Oxonienſis.' that is, *To the perpetual Memory of that moſt excellent Nobleman*, Henry *Lord* Howard, *of* Caſtle Reiſing, *Brother and Heir of* Thomas Howard, *Duke of* Norfolk, *allied to the Royal Line, the firſt Duke of* England, *Earl of* Arundel, *and Primier Earl of* England; *Earl of* Surrey, *Baron of* Howard; and alſo *Baron* Mowbray, Seagrave, Brewes *de* Gower, Fitzallen, Clun, Oſwaldſtree, Maltrevers, *and* Greyſtoke, *Embaſſador to* Muley Urſhed, *Emperor of* Morocco: *on account of theſe ſtiled* Arundelian Marbles, *celebrated throughout the world; by his Uncle* Thomas *Earl of* Arundel, *Earl* Marſhal *of* England, *and the great Patron of the liberal Arts, with immenſe care and expence, reſcued from the barbarous* Turks, *and firſt brought to his* Palace *in* London, *and at length generouſly beſtowed upon* her, *the Univerſity of* OXFORD, *gratefully inſcribed this ſtone.*

(18) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 28.

[*N*] *Which, however warm, never felt any decay.*] This noble perſon was the ſon of Henry Earl of Arundel, and younger Brother to Thomas Earl of Arundel and Surrey, who was immediately after the Reſtoration, reſtored to the title of Duke of Norfolk. About the ſame time this noble perſon was created Baron Howard, of Caſtle Riſing, in the county of Norfolk; in 1672, he was created Earl of Norwich, and Earl Marſhal of England; in 1678, he ſucceeded his Brother in the title of Duke of Norfolk; and in 1683, he pleaſing as he could wiſh; he had great credit at Court and great reputation in the world, was one of the Commiſſioners for rebuilding St Paul's (y), attended the meetings of the Royal Society with great regularity; undertook readily whatever taſks were aſſigned him to ſupport that reputation, which, from their firſt inſtitution, they had acquired, and which, by degrees, triumphed over that envy which it raiſed. He was punctual in the diſcharge of his office as a Commiſſioner of the ſick and wounded, and when he had leiſure retired to his ſeat at Sayes-Court, where he carried into practice the rules he ſo judiciouſly laid down, and made his gardens the entertainment and the wonder of the greateſt and moſt judicious men of thoſe times, moſt of whom were his particular friends (z). Yet in the midſt of his employments, both publick and private, and notwithſtanding the continual pains that he beſtowed in augmenting and improving the books he had already publiſhed, he found leiſure ſufficient to undertake freſh labours of the ſame kind, and that too without any diminution of the high character he had obtained by his former writings [O]. He made a journey to Oxford in the ſummer of 1669, where, on the 15th of July, he was honoured with the degree of Doctor of the Civil Law, as a mark of the gratitude of that learned body (a), and of the juſt ſenſe they had of the credit derived to them from his being educated in Baliol-college. It was indeed a ſingular point of Mr Evelyn's felicity, that all the honours he obtained, and all the poſts to which he was raiſed, were the meer rewards of his merit, and beſtowed upon him without the leaſt ſollicitation. Thus, after King Charles II had tried, with very little effect, to promote trade, according to the advice of perſons engaged therein (b), when he thought proper to erect

he died at his houſe in Arundel-Street (19). His friendſhip for Mr Evelyn began early, and laſted without interruption, ſo long as they lived; as appears from a ſolemn memorial of his gratitude, on the part of Mr Evelyn (20), beſides ſeveral occaſional teſtimonies of deep reſpect in his works. It was at the requeſt of Mr Evelyn, that his Grace gave ſeveral teſtimonies of regard to the Royal Society, and beſtowed upon them the Arundel Library, which was a curious and valuable collection (21). He likewiſe intended to have given a moſt noble ſtatue of Minerva to the Univerſity of Oxford, but his unexpected death prevented Mr Evelyn from getting it timely removed (22).

[O] *By his former writings.*] It is a point of juſtice due to the merit and memory of our author, to remark, that though he wrote ſo much, and publiſhed ſo many books, upon ſuch a diverſity of ſubjects, yet is there none of them that carries any mark of haſte or negligence; on the contrary, they appear all of them to have coſt much ſtudy and attention, and to perform more than is promiſed by their titles; ſome inſtances of which will appear in this note.

XIX. *The* Hiſtory *of the* three *late famous* Impoſtors, *viz.* Padre Ottomano, *pretended Son and Heir to the late Grand Signior*; Mahomet Bei, *a pretended Prince of the* Ottoman *Family, but, in truth, a* Wallachian *Counterfeit*; *and* Sabbatai Sevi, *the ſuppoſed* Meſſiah *of the* Jews, *in the Year* 1666; *with a brief Account of the Ground and Occaſion of the preſent War between the* Turk *and the* Venetian: *Together with the Cauſe of the final Extirpation, Deſtruction, and Exile, of the* Jews *out of the Empire of* Perſia. Lond. 1668, 8*vo*.

This piece is dedicated to Henry Earl of Arlington, and, as I before obſerved, that Mr Evelyn's Dedications are filled with curious facts, rather than a crowd of complements; ſo, by giving him this, I ſhall at once juſtify that obſervation, and gratify his curioſity, as to the contents of a book that is now become very ſcarce; it runs thus:

My Lord,

'THESE enſuing diſcourſes entitle their original, to the noble induſtry and affection to truth of an illuſtrious perſon, and to the great and worthy ingenuity of a Perſian ſtranger, lately amongſt us, from whoſe mouth I have received the two following firſt narrations, and from whom I have been abundantly ſatisfied, that the particulars are of undoubted verity. For the third, and laſt, which concerns the ſtory of that impudent Jew, it will need little apology, ſince it proceeds not only from an eye-witneſs, but from the hand of a perſon who has already gratified the publick with the fruit of many rare and excellent obſervations, and which becomes due to your Lordſhip upon a juſt claim; ſo as your Lordſhip having been ſo pleaſed with the firſt relation, cannot be leſs with the following; though I ſhould never have preſumed to be their deferent in this unpoliſhed dreſs, had I not received ſome aſſurances of your pardon.

'It will doubtleſs appear very ſtrange, that impoſtures of this magnitude ſhould ſo long abuſe the world, were there no other intereſt in it than the vanity of the perſons who aſſume to themſelves the titles. Whatever the reaſon of it be, here we have matter of fact; and it was more than time the world ſhould at laſt be diſabuſed, which has been ſo long impoſed on, and even laboured under the common miſtake, That the cauſe of this obſtinate war and quarrel 'twixt the Turk and the Venetian, was grounded only upon the taking Sultan Oſman and his mother, pretended ſon and wife of Sultan Ibrahim, by the gallies of Malta. This was, my Lord, the believed report at my being at Venice the very year this action fortuned, and it has ſince gained credit, and filled our ears, and all the Hiſtories of this age, as a thing unqueſtionable; but, with what pretence of truth, theſe papers will both inform your Lordſhip, and give day to ſome other paſſages worthy the notice of inquiſitive men, and of a conjuncture ſo ſeaſonable for it, while the eyes and thoughts of all Europe are intent upon the ſucceſs of Candia. What concerns the Wallachian vagrant will be a ſervice both to his Majeſty and other Chriſtian Princes, whom this bold impoſtor has had the front to abuſe, but, *eripitur perſona*, the maſk is now off, and I have no more to add than that of being, &c.'

This Dedication is ſubſcribed J. E. and certainly if Mr Wood had ſeen it, he would not have ſaid as he does, *I know nothing yet to the contrary but this may be a tranſlation* (23). The nature and value of this little piece was much better known abroad, one of the beſt received Literary Journals extant having given, though at ſome diſtance of time, a very juſt character of it (24), with this very remarkable circumſtance, that the pretended Mahomet Bei was at that very juncture in the city of Leipſick. There is added, at the end of this piece, an account of the extirpation of the Jews in Perſia, during the reign of Shah Abbas the Second, which is not ſo large or perfect as the reſt, but then the author gives a hint of this, and does not preſs any thing farther than he is ſupported by authorities. He mentions a perſon, who, the very year that the book was publiſhed, took upon him the title of brother to the famous Count Serini, and that he had the misfortune to be ſhipwrecked in the Weſt of England (25), by which he impoſed upon perſons of quality, till, by unluckily calling for drink upon the road in very audible Engliſh, he diſcovered the cheat, and was obliged to renounce his new dignity to avoid Bridewell. He farther remarks with reſpect to Sabatai Sevi, that he was the twenty-fifth falſe Meſſiah that had attempted to impoſe upon the Jews, even according to their own account.

XX. *Publick*

(y) See Mr Evelyn's Dedication of his treatiſe of Architecture to Sir Chr. Wren.

(z) Life of Lord Keeper Guildford, p. 286.

(a) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 180.

(b) North's Examen of the Compleat Hiſt. of England.

(19) Collins's Peerage of Engl. Vol. I. p. 90.

(20) See his Dedication of the Idea of the Perfection of Painting to his Grace.

(21) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. IV, p. 120, 121.

(22) *Numiſmata*: or, a Diſcourſe on Medals, p. 42, 65.

(23) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 942.

(24) Act. Eruditorum Lipſienſium, A. D. 1690, p. 605.

(25) Theſe paſſages are in the Preface.

erect a particular Board for that purpoſe, and named ſeveral perſons of great rank to be members

XX. Publick employment, *and* an active life *preferred to* ſolitude, *in a reply to a late ingenious* Eſſay *of a contrary title.* Lond. 1667. in 8vo. This was written, in anſwer to a diſcourſe of Sir George Mackenzie's, preferring ſolitude to publick employment, which was at the time of its publication much admired, and as our Author apprehended this might prove an encouragement to indolence and timidity, he therefore wrote againſt it. We have in the Tranſactions of the Royal Society a character of this, and the piece before mentioned, which follows the account given of the ſecond edition of the *Sylva*, and is worthy the reader's peruſal (26). 'Beſides other treatiſes which are anonymous, ſays this account, as being of a reſerved nature, but are nevertheleſs, entirely for the honour of the King and this Kingdom, and generally for the good of all men, he hath lately made two conſiderable excurſions, in *one* of which, tracts for a caution of all future ages, and to denote the general aptneſs of mankind to be deluded and deceived, he hath publiſhed a well grounded hiſtory of the *three* late famous impoſtors, the firſt, merely caſual and innocent, in *Padre Ottomanno*; the ſecond, bold and impudent, in *Mahomet Bei*; the third, a confident cheat, in *Sabbatai Sevi*, the Jews counterfeit *Meſſias*: in the other tract, *publick employment* and *an active life* are preferred to *ſolitude*. Thus he, and other generous perſons, can, in the crowd of publick buſineſs, find or make leiſure to oblige all men; whilſt moroſe ſchoolmen and narrow criticks make it their main buſineſs, to out go ſatan in their falſe accuſations, diſingenuous ſurmiſes, and immodeſt diſturbances of the nobleſt endeavours and atchievements.'

XXI. *An* Idea *of the* perfection *of* Painting, *demonſtrated from the principles of art, and by examples conformable to the obſervations, which* Pliny *and* Quintilian *have made upon the moſt celebrated* Pieces *of the* antient Painters, *parallel'd with ſome works of the moſt famous modern Painters,* Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Julio Romano, *and* N. Pouſſin. *Written in French by* Roland Freart, *Sieur de* Cambray, *and rendred Engliſh by* J. E. *Eſquire, Fellow of the Royal Society.* Lond. 1668. 8vo. This tranſlation, is dedicated to Henry Howard of Norfolk, heir apparent to that Dukedom, and the dedication is dated from *Sayes-Court*, June the 24th 1668. In the preface, he obſerves, that the reader will find in this diſcourſe, divers uſeful remarks, eſpecially, where the Author 'treats of *Coſtume* (27), which we, continues he, have interpreted *Decorum*, as the neareſt expreſſion our language will bear to it. And, I was glad our Author had reproved it, in ſo many inſtances, becauſe, it not only grows daily more licentious, but even ridiculous and intolerable. But, it is hoped this may univerſally be reformed, when our modern workmen ſhall conſider, that neither the exactneſs of their deſign, nor ſkilfulneſs in colouring, has been able to defend their greateſt predeceſſors from juſt reproaches, who have been faulty in this particular. I could exemply in many others, whom our Author has omitted, and there is none but takes notice, what injury it has done the fame of ſome of our beſt reputed Painters, and how indecorous it is to introduce circumſtances, wholly improper to the uſages and genius of the places, where our hiſtories are ſuppoſed to have been acted.' Mr Evelyn then remarks, that this was not only the fault of Baſſano, who would be ever bringing in his wife, children, and ſervants, his dog, and his cat, and very kitchen-ſtuff, after the Paduan mode; but of the great Titian himſelf, Georgion, Tintoret, and the reſt, as Paulo Veroneſe is obſerved alſo to have done in his ſtory of Pharaoh's daughter drawing Moſes out of the river, attended with a guard of Swiſſes. Malvogius likewiſe, in a picture then in the King's gallery at Whitehall, not only repreſents our firſt parents with navels upon their bellies, but has placed an artificial ſtone fountain carved with imagery, in the midſt of his Paradiſe. Nor, does that excellent and learned Painter Rubens eſcape without cenſure, not only for making moſt of his figures of the ſhapes of brawny Flemings, but for other Sphalmata, and circumſtances of the like nature, tho' in ſome, he has acquitted himſelf to admiration, in the due obſervation of Coſtume, particularly in his crucifixes, &c. Raphael Urbino was, doubtleſs, one of the firſt who reformed theſe inadvertencies, but it was more conſpicuous in his latter, than in his former pieces. 'As for Michael Angelo, continues Mr Evelyn, tho' I heartily conſent with our critic in reproving that almoſt idolatrous veneration of his works, who hath certainly prodigiouſly abuſed the art, not only in the table this diſcourſe arraigns him for, but ſeveral more which I have ſeen, yet I conceive, he might have omitted ſome of thoſe imbittered reproaches he has reviled him with, who doubtleſs was one of the greateſt maſters of his time, and however he might ſucceed as to the *Decorum*, was hardly exceeded for what he performed in Sculpture, and the ſtatuary art by many even of the antients themſelves, and haply by none of the moderns, witneſs his Moſes, Chriſtus in Gremio, and ſeveral other figures at Rome, to ſay nothing of his talent in Architecture, and the obligation the world has to his memory, for recovering many of its moſt uſeful ornaments and members out of the neglected fragments, which lay ſo long buried, and for vindicating that antique and magnificent manner of building, from the trifling of Goths and Barbarians.' He obſerves next, that the uſual reproach of Painting, has been the want of judgment in Perſpective, and bringing more into hiſtory than is juſtifiable, upon one aſpect without turning the eye to each figure in particular, and multiplying the points of ſight, which is a point even Monſieur Freart, for all the pains he has taken to magnify that celebrated deciſion of Paris, has failed in. For the knowing in that art eaſily perceive, that even Raphael himſelf has not ſo exactly obſerved it, ſince, inſtead of one, as Monſieur Freart takes it to be, and as indeed it ought to have been, there are no leſs than four or five, as du Boſſe hath well obſerved in his treatiſe of the *converted Painter*, where, by the way alſo, he judiciouſly numbers amongſt the faults againſt Coſtume, thoſe Landſkips, groteſque figures, &c. which we frequently find abroad eſpecially, for in our country we have few or none of thoſe graceful ſupplements of ſteeples painted, horizontally and vertically on the vaults and ceilings of cupola's, ſince we have no examples for it from the Antients, who allowed no more than a frett to the moſt magnificent and coſtly of thoſe which they erected. But, would you know from whence this univerſal caution in moſt of their works proceeded, and that the beſt of our modern Painters and Architects have ſucceeded better than others of that profeſſion, it muſt be conſidered, that they were learned men, good Hiſtorians, and generally ſkilled in the beſt antiquities, ſuch were Raphael, and doubtleſs his ſcholar Julio, and if Polydore arrived not to the glory of letters, he yet attained to a rare habit of the antient guſto, as may be interpreted from moſt of his deſigns and paintings. Leon Baptiſt Alberti was ſkilled in all the politer parts of learning to a prodigy, and has written ſeveral curious things in the Latin Tongue. We know that of later times, Rubens was a perſon univerſally learned, as may be ſeen in ſeveral Latin Epiſtles of his to the greateſt ſcholars of his age. And Nicholas Pouſſin the Frenchman, who is ſo much celebrated and ſo deſervedly, did it ſeems arrive to this by his indefatigable induſtry, 'as the preſent famous Statuary, Bernini now living, ſays Mr Evelyn, has alſo done to ſo univerſal a maſtery, that not many years ſince he is reported to have built a theatre at Rome, for the adornment whereof, he not only cut the figures and painted the ſcenes, but wrote the play, and compoſed the muſick, which was all in recitativo. And I am perſuaded, that all this is not yet by far ſo much as that miracle and ornament of our age and country, Dr Chriſtopher Wren, were able to perform, if he were ſo diſpoſed, and ſo encouraged, becauſe he is maſter of ſo many admirable advantages beyond them. I alledge theſe examples partly to incite, and partly to ſhew the dignity and vaſt comprehenſion of this rare art, and that for a man to arrive to its utmoſt perfection, he ſhould be al-

(26) Philoſoph. Tranſact. No. 53.

(27) This piece is now become exceeding ſcarce, and is very much admired by the lovers of Painting.

members of that Council, he likewiſe appointed Mr Evelyn amongſt thoſe, that were recommended purely to that honour by their abilities (*c*). This preferment was ſo welcome to a perſon of his diſintereſted temper and true publick ſpirit, that he thought he could not expreſs his gratitude better, than by digeſting in a ſhort and plain diſcourſe the chief heads of the Hiſtory of Trade and Navigation, which he accordingly did, and dedicated that ſmall piece to the King, which was very graciouſly received, and is allowed to contain as much matter in as ſmall a compaſs, as any that was ever written upon a topick ſo copious, as well as ſo important (*d*) [*P*]. As this promotion not only opened the means, but alſo required the employing many of his hours in the ſervice of his country, it naturally diverted him in ſome meaſure from his ſtudies; but, notwithſtanding this, when the Royal Society (*e*) found it requiſite to demand the aſſiſtance of ſome of it's principal Members, and to exact from them the tribute of certain diſſertations upon weighty and philoſophical ſubjects, he did not plead either his age or his avocations in excuſe, but chearfully and vigorouſly ſet about the taſk that was aſſigned him, and performed it as happily as the Society or himſelf could wiſh, as the reader will learn at the bottom of the page [Q]. Theſe were all the preferments he met with in that reign, and though they were

(*c*) This was the original of the Board of Trade which ſtill ſubſiſts.

(*d*) See this explained in the note.

(*e*) See his Letter before his Philoſophical Diſcourſe upon Earth.

'moſt as univerſal as the Orator in Cicero, and the 'Architect in Vitruvius. But certainly, ſome tincture 'in Hiſtory, the Opticks and Anatomy, are abſolutely 'requiſite, and more in the opinion of our Author, 'than to be a ſteady Deſigner, and ſkilled in the tempering and applying of colours, which amongſt moſt 'of our modern workmen go now for the only accompliſhments of a Painter.'

[*P*] *As well as important.*] We have in the text ſhewn the occaſion and ground of this treatiſe, which from its bevity deſerves not the name of a book, ſo much as of a pamphlet. The title at large runs thus,

XXII. Navigation *and* Commerce, *their original and progreſs, containing a ſuccinct account of* Traffic *in general, its benefits and improvements, of diſcoveries, wars, and conflicts at ſea, from the original of* Navigation *to this day, with ſpecial regard to the* Engliſh Nation, *their ſeveral voyages and expeditions to the beginning of our late difference with* Holland, *in which his Majeſty's title to the dominion of the ſea is aſſerted, againſt the* novel *and* later *Pretenders. By* J. Evelyn, Eſq; S. R. S. Lond. 1674. 8vo.

There is a dedication prefixed to the KING, in which he takes notice of that relation, in which he ſtood by his new office to his Majeſty, which gave him the boldneſs to bring ſo inconſiderable an offering into his preſence. There is alſo a very ſuccinct account of it, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (28), and the truth is, that moſt people comparing the pompous title page, with the diminutive ſize of the book, have from thence formed a concluſion to its diſadvantage, and conſequently in ſome degree to the diſcredit of its Author. But whoever examines it narrowly, and weighs every part of it with due conſideration, will, if I miſtake not highly, entertain a different notion of this diſcourſe, and think it at leaſt equal to any thing we have of this gentleman's writing, which, ſo long as uſeful learning is eſteemed, and the Engliſh language underſtood, will be thought no mean character. In order to have a right notion of it, we muſt firſt of all reflect on the Author's deſign in writing it; the nature and copiouſneſs of the ſubject, and the perſons for whoſe uſe it was principally intended. As to Mr Evelyn's deſign it was plainly this, to digeſt into as narrow a compaſs as poſſible in the cleareſt method, and in the moſt flowing language, the Hiſtory of Commerce and Navigation in general, of thoſe of England in particular, and of the rights of the Britiſh Crown to the dominion of the ſea. Theſe were ſubjects equally important and extenſive, but it was by no means, his inclination to treat them in a full or in a ſcientifick manner, tho' this ſhort treatiſe is an abundant proof, that no man living was more capable of doing it, if that had been his view. But the truth is, he meant only to ſkim the cream, and to repreſent as ſuccinctly and fairly as poſſible, the ſtrongeſt and moſt intereſting motives, to make theſe ſubjects the ſtudy of Thoſe whom it moſt concerns the nation, ſhould have them in their heads and at their hearts. In ſhort, he meant it as a ſort of brief introduction for the uſe of thoſe noble and great perſonages, whom the King, for the honour of that board, had thought fit to aſſociate with him in this commiſſion (29). It was neceſſary to fix their attention, that the title ſhould promiſe much, it was no leſs requiſite, to ſecure a reading, that the piece ſhould be very ſhort. Take it in this light, it will appear inſtead of a ſuperficial a very wonderful performance, for it comprehends in little more than a hundred pages, an univerſal hiſtory of theſe matters, from the origin of trade down to that time, and upon a ſtrict review it will be found, that every material point is touched therein, and this at once in ſo ſprightly and ſo judicious a manner, as to excite a deſire in the ingenious and inquiſitive reader, to ſearch the ſeveral topicks to the bottom; and for their aſſiſtance in this reſpect, the beſt and moſt authentic Authors are indicated throughout, and tho' the treatiſe is ſo ſmall, yet there is an accurate index or table at the end, the ſlighteſt review of which will plainly demonſtrate the truth of all that I have ſaid. Upon the whole, inſtead of cenſuring Mr Evelyn for publiſhing ſo trite a pamphlet, upon affairs of ſuch national concern, we ought rather to applaud him for having reduced into an hour's reading, with much more labour to himſelf, than if he had wrote a great book, things of ſo much moment, and add to it our wiſhes, that ſome judicious perſon would make his learned diſſertation, the text, and within the compaſs of a moderate Quarto, illuſtrate, by proper notes, ſo excellent an abridgment of all that is requiſite to be known, upon matters that will never loſe their uſe, and which import this nation more than any other, to which nothing can contribute ſo much as their being fully explained.

[Q] *At the bottom of the page.*] The title of this learned diſcourſe, which will be ever eſteemed and has been often reprinted runs thus:

XXIII. TERRA: *A* Philoſophical Diſcourſe *of* Earth, *relating to the culture and improvement of it for vegetation, and the propagation of plants,* &c. *as it was preſented to the Royal Society,* April 29th 1675. *By* J. Evelyn, Eſq; F. R. S. London 1675. fol. and 8vo.

There is prefixed to this diſcourſe, a letter from the Lord Viſcount Brouncker, Preſident of the Royal Society, and our Author's anſwer; as theſe are very ſhort, and altogether hiſtorical, we will give them to the reader, and refer him to the Philoſophical Tranſactions, for a ſhort, full, and accurate account of the work (30).—His Lordſhip's letter runs thus— 'Sir, 'the Council of the Royal Society, conſidering with 'themſelves the great importance of having the publick meeting of the ſaid Society conſtantly provided 'with entertainments ſuitable to the deſign of their 'inſtitution, have thought fit to undertake to contribute each of them one, not doubting, but that many 'of the Fellows of the Society will join with them 'in carrying on ſuch an undertaking, and being well 'perſuaded of your approbation of this their purpoſe, 'ſo much tending to the reputation and ſupport of 'the ſociety, they deſire that you will be pleaſed to 'undertake for one, and to name any Thurſday after 'the fourteenth of January next, ſuch as ſhall be 'moſt convenient for you, when you will preſent the 'ſociety at one of their publick meetings by yourſelf, 'or ſome other of the Fellows for you, with ſuch a 'diſcourſe grounded upon, or leading to, philoſophical experiments on a ſubject of your own choice: 'in doing of which you will benefit the ſociety, and 'oblige, Sir, &c.

Lond. Dec. 28th 1674.

Mr

(28) Philoſoph. Tranſ. No. 114.

(29) It was in thoſe days known to have anſwered the author's aim very effectually.

(30) Philoſoph. Tranſactions, No. 119.

were none of them very conſiderable in reſpect of profit, yet they ſeem to have given him perfect content, and he was ſo eaſy in his own circumſtances, ſo good an œconomiſt, and ſo true a Patriot, that while he daily ſaw freſh improvements made in every county throughout the kingdom, and the commerce of the nation continually extended, he thought himſelf perfectly happy, and never failed to expreſs his ſentiments in that reſpect with all the warmth and freedom imaginable. The ſevere winter of 1683 gave ſome interruption to his domeſtick enjoyments, the froſt committing dreadful depredations in his fine gardens at Sayes-Court, of which he ſent a full and very pathetick account to the Royal Society, in the beginning of the ſucceeding ſpring (*f*) [*R*]. After the acceſſion of King

Mr Evelyn's anſwer runs thus.

'*My Lord*, I have, in obedience to your Lordſhip, and the irreſiſtible ſuffrages of that ſociety, over which you preſide, reſigned the papers to be diſpoſed of as you think fit: I hear your Lordſhip's ſentence is they ſhould be made publick. Why ſhould not a thouſand things of infinitely more value, daily enriching their collection, and which would better juſtify the laudable progreſs of that aſſembly, be oftner produced as ſome of late have been? This, my Lord, would obviate all unkind objections, and cover the infirmities of the preſent diſcourſe, with things indeed worthy our inſtitution. But as I am to obey your Lordſhip's commands, ſo both your Lordſhip and the ſociety are accountable for publiſhing the imperfections of, My Lord, &c.'

As theſe letters fully declare the occaſion and nature of this diſcourſe, as well as the means of its being made publick, we may reſt ſatisfied, that notwithſtanding the great modeſty of Mr Evelyn, this paſt in the opinion of the ſociety for a very extraordinary performance, otherwiſe they would never have cauſed it to be publiſhed, much leſs in the manner they did, nor is it leſs certain, that it every way anſwered their intention, it being univerſally well received abroad, as well as at home, and excited a juſt eſteem for that learned body.

[*R*] *Of the ſucceeding ſpring.*] It is a thing univerſally known, and by ſome ſtill remembered, that the winter of 1683 was the coldeſt of any, the ſignal effects of which have been recorded by credible authors. Mr Evelyn's letter therefore is a very great curioſity; it is dated from Sayes-Court, Deptford, April 14, 1684, and, excluſive of an admirable hiſtory, contains, in a very narrow compaſs, a multitude of uſeful remarks, as well as entertaining particulars. 'As to timber trees, ſays he, I have not many here of any conſiderable age or ſtature, except a few elms, which having been decaying many years, one cannot well find to have received any freſh wounds, diſtinguiſhable from old cracks and hollowneſſes; and indeed I am told by divers, that elms have not ſuffered as the great oaks have done, nor do I find, amongſt numerable of that ſpecies (elms) which I have planted, and that are now about twenty-five and thirty years ſtanding, any of them touched. The ſame I obſerve of limes, walnuts, aſh, beech, hornbeams, birch, cheſnut, and other foreſters: but, as I ſaid, mine are young comparatively, and yet one would think that ſhould leſs protect them becauſe more tender, ſo as it ſeems the rifting ſo much complained of has happened chiefly among the over-grown trees, eſpecially oaks: my Lord Weymouth made his lamentation to me, and ſo has the Earl of Cheſterfield, Lord Ferrers, Sir William Fermor, and others concerned in the ſame calamity, which I mention becauſe of their diſtant habitations. But if rightly I remember, one of theſe noble perſons lately told me, that, ſince the thaw, the trees which were exceedingly ſplit were come together and cloſed again, and I eaſily believe it, but, that they are really as ſolid as before, I doubt will not appear when they ſhall come to be examined by the axe, and converted to uſe: nor has this accident happened only to ſtanding timber, but to that which has been felled and ſeaſoned, as Mr Shiſh, the Maſter Builder in his Majeſty's ſhip-yard here, informed me: ſo much for our *indiginæ*.

'As for exoticks, I fear my cork trees will hardly recover, but the ſpring is yet ſo very backward, even in this warm and dry ſpot of mine, that I cannot pronounce any thing poſitively, eſpecially of ſuch whoſe bark is very thick and rugged, ſuch as is the cork, enzina, and divers of the reſinous trees. The conſtantinopolitan, or horſe-cheſnut, is turgid with buds, and ready to explain it's leaf. My cedars I think are loſt; the ilex and ſcarlet oak, not ſo; the arbutus, doubtful; and ſo are bays, but ſome will eſcape, and moſt of them repullulate and ſpring afreſh, if cut down near the earth at the latter end of the month. The Scotch fir ſpruce, and white Spaniſh, which laſt uſes to ſuffer in their tender buds by the ſpring froſts, have received no damage this winter; I cannot ſay the ſame of the pine which bears the greater cone, but other Norways and pinaſters are freſh; laurel is only diſcoloured, and ſome of the woody branches mortified, which being cut to the quick will ſoon put forth again, it being a ſucculent plant. Amongſt our ſhrubs, roſemary is entirely loſt; and, to my great ſorrow, becauſe I had not only beautiful hedges of it, but ſufficient to afford me flowers for the making a very conſiderable quantity of the Queen of Hungary's celebrated water: ſo univerſal I fear is the deſtruction of this excellent plant, not only over England, but our neighbour countries more ſouthward, that we muſt raiſe our next hopes from the ſeed. Halimus, or ſea purſelan, of which I had a pretty hedge, is alſo periſhed; and ſo another of French furzes; the cypreſs are all of them ſcorched, and ſome to death, eſpecially ſuch as were kept ſhorn in pyramids, but amongſt great numbers there will divers eſcape, after they are well chaſtiſed, that is, with a tough hazel or other wand to beat off their dead and duſty leaves, which growing much cloſer than other ſhrubs, hinder the air and dews from refreſhing the interior parts. This diſcipline I uſe to all my tonſile ſhrubs, with good ſucceſs, as oft as winter parches them.

'The berry-bearing ſavine, which, if well underſtood and cultivated, were the only beſt ſuccedaneum to cypreſs, has not ſuffered in the leaſt; it perfectly reſembles the cypreſs, and grows very tall and thick. I think the arbor thuya is alive, and ſo is the American acaia, acanthus, paliurus, pomgranad; my lauruſtinus looks ſuſpiciouſly; ſome large and old alaturnus's are killed, eſpecially ſuch as were more expoſed to the ſun, whereas thoſe that grow in the ſhade eſcape; the reaſon of which, I conjecture to be from the reciprocations of being ſomewhat relaxed every day, and then made rigid and ſtiff again all night; which bending and unbending, ſo often opening and cloſing the parts, does exceedingly mortify them and all other tender plants, which, growing in ſhady places, undergo but one thaw and change. Moſt of theſe will yet revive again at the root, being cut cloſe to ground: the phillyreas anguſti, and ſerratifolio's, both of them incomparably the beſt for ornamental hedges of any the perennial greens I know, have hardly been ſenſible of the leaſt impreſſion, more than tarniſhing of their leaves; no more have the Spaniſh jaſmines and Perſians; and I enumerate theſe particulars the more minutely, that gentlemen, who are curious, may take notice what plants they may truſt to abroad in all events, for I ſpeak only of ſuch as are expoſed.

'As for the choicer rarities, which are ſet in for hyemation, they certainly eſcape, or are impaired, accordingly as they are treated by the more or leſs experienced and induſtrious gardner, or commodiouſneſs of the conſervatory; but to ſay what may be added on this ſubject, would require a large chapter, not a letter; I would in the mean time adviſe ſuch as have ſuffered detriment in their green-houſes, not to deſpair, when they ſee the leaves of their myrtles, oranges, oleanders, jaſmines, and other precious ſhrubs, ruſſet or altogether ſhrivelled and falling; but to

(*f*) Philoſoph. Tranſactions, No. 158.

King James, we find him, in December 1685, appointed, with the Lord Viſcount Tiviot of the kingdom of Scotland, and Col. Robert Philips, one of the Commiſſioners for executing the great office of Lord Privy-Seal, in the abſence of Henry Earl of Clarendon Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which he held till March 11, 1686, when the King was pleaſed to make Henry Baron Arundel of Wardour Lord Privy-Seal (g). He wrote nothing under this reign at all. After the Revolution he was Treaſurer of Greenwich Hoſpital, and though he was then much in years, yet he wrote ſome, and tranſlated other pieces, amongſt which we are to reckon that labour of his, which has been ſo highly commended by the beſt judges, and which will do laſting honour to his country (h) [S].

One

(g) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 942.

(h) Nicholſon's Engl. Hiſtorical Library, p. 248.

‘to cut them to the quick, plaiſter the wounds, and plunge their caſes and pots, trimmed with freſh mould, &c. in a warm bed, carefully refreſhed, ſhaded, aired, and treated as ſick patients, and as the prudent gardner beſt knows how. But above all, that he be ſure not to expoſe them till theſe eaſtern winds (which I call our Engliſh Eteſians, and which makes our ſprings ſo uncomfortable, when we think Winter and all danger paſt) be qualified; for they are deadly to all our plants abroad, and frequently do us more prejudice than the moſt churliſh winters, as commonly finiſhing the deſtruction of what the froſts have ſpared; nor are we to be flattered with a warm day or two, which are apt to tempt gardners to ſet out their plants before the end of April, or that we find the wiſe mulberry put forth, which is certainly the moſt faithful monitor; nor ſhould we indeed cut or tranſplant any of the perennials, till of themſelves they begin to ſprout.

‘I need ſay nothing of holly, yew, box, juniper, &c. hardy and ſpontaneous to our country; and yet, to my grief again, I find an holly ſtandard, of near one hundred years old, drooping and of doubtful aſpect; and a very beautiful hedge, tho' indeed much younger, being clipp'd about Michaelmas, is mortified near a foot beneath the top, and in ſome places to the very ground; ſo as there is nothing ſeems proof againſt ſuch a winter, which is late cut and expoſed. This hedge does alſo grow againſt the ſouth, and is very ruſſet, whilſt the contrary ſide is as freſh and green as ever; and in all other places of my plantations that are ſhaded, the unſhorn hollies maintain their verdure, and are, I judge, impregnable againſt all aſſaults of Weather. Among the fruit-trees and murals, none ſeem to have ſuffered, ſave figs; but they being cut down, will ſpring again at the root.

‘The vines have eſcaped; and of the eſculent plants and ſallads, moſt, except artichokes, which are univerſally loſt; and, what I prefer before any ſallad whatever eaten raw when young, my ſampier, is all rotted to the very root; how to repair my loſs I know not, for I could never make any of the ſeed which came from the rock ſampier (tho' mine were of the very kind) to grow. The arboreſcent, and other ſedums, aloes, &c. tho' houſed, periſhed with me; but the yucca and opuntia eſcaped. Tulips many are loſt, and ſo the Conſtantinople-narciſſus, and ſuch tuberoſæ as were not kept in the chimney-corner, where was continual fire. Some anemonies appear, but I believe many are rotted; but I have made no great ſearch in the flowery parterre, only I find that moſt capillaries ſpring, and other humble and repent plants, notwithſtanding all this rigorous ſeaſon. My tortoiſe, which, by his conſtant burying himſelf in the earth at approach of winter, I looked upon as a kind of plant-animal, happening to be obſtructed by a vine-root from mining to the depth he was uſually wont to inter, is found ſtark dead, after having many years eſcaped the ſevereſt winter. Of fiſh I have loſt very few; and the nightingals, which for being a ſhort wing'd bird, and ſo exceeding fat at the time of the year we commonly ſuppoſe them to change the climate, whereas indeed they are then hardly able to flee an hundred yards, are as briſk and frolick as ever; nor do I think they alter their ſummer ſtations, whatever become of them all winter. I know not yet of any body who has given tolerable ſatisfaction, in this particular, amongſt our Ornithologiſts.’

[S] *Which will do laſting honour to his country.*] The following treatiſes were publiſhed within the period aſſigned in the text. We know nothing of the firſt, except that it has had a place in the catalogue of our author's Works, from which therefore we have no right to remove it; the ſecond is a tranſlation, and annexed to another and larger work of the ſame author's; the third is that work which we have ſo much commended, and to which this note principally refers.

XXIV. Mundus Muliebris: *or, the* Ladies Dreſſing-Room *unlocked, and her Toilette ſpread. In Burleſque. Together with the* Fop-Dictionary, *compiled for the Uſe of the* Fair-Sex. Lond. 1690, *4to*.

XXV. *Monſieur* de la Quintinye's *Treatiſe of* Orange-Trees, *with the raiſing of* Melons, *omitted in the* French *Editions; made* Engliſh *by* John Evelyn, Eſq; Lond. 1693.

This is added to the *Compleat Gardner*, written by the ſame author; tranſlated and publiſhed in folio, with theſe pieces, by Mr Evelyn. We are told at the beginning, that, about twenty years before, Monſ. de la Quintinye being in England, and making our author a viſit at his houſe, he requeſted of him ſome directions in relation to melons, for the cultivation of which that French gentleman was remarkably famous, who ſent them over accordingly to our author from Paris; and he aſſures us, that his great motive in publiſhing them, was to put into the hands of the world in general, and of the lovers of the art of gardening in particular, the very beſt directions, that, in reference to this curious ſubject, had ever been given. Theſe inſtructions make in the whole but one half ſheet: *the treatiſe of oranges* is larger, and is contained in thirteen chapters, excluſive of the preface; yet the chapters are of no great length, making in all not more than nine ſheets. The method is very natural and exact, the treatiſe full of curious obſervations; and therefore it was a great ſervice rendered to the publick by Mr Evelyn, to annex it to the tranſlation of the reſt of this great man's works, by which they are made compleat.

XXVI. NUMISMATA: *A Diſcourſe of* Medals, *antient and modern; together with ſome account of* Heads *and* Effigies *of illuſtrious and famous* Perſons, *in* Sculps *and* Taille Douce, *of whom we have no* Medals *extant, and of the Uſes to be derived from them. To which is added, a* Digreſſion *concerning* Phyſiognomy. *By* J. Evelyn, S.R.S. Lond. 1697, folio.

There is prefixed to this book, a ſhort but very affectionate dedication in Latin, to the only ſon and heir of Sidney Lord Godolphin, then Francis Godolphin, Eſq; now the Right Honourable Francis Earl of Godolphin, of whoſe father, Mr Evelyn, as indeed what good man does not? makes moſt honourable mention, as of his moſt intimate and moſt faithful friend, recommending to his young patron the cultivation of thoſe ſhining virtues, and great abilities, which were inherent to his family; and remarking to him, his peculiar happineſs in deſcending from a line equally diſtinguiſhed for parts and probity. The ingenious author has entered on his noble and extenſive deſign by informing the reader in his epiſtle, that having begun this work about five years before, he deſiſted from proſecuting it, upon the publiſhing of Mr Walker's treatiſe upon the ſame ſubject; but finding ſome particularities that admitted of a further improvement, he went on again with his own diſcourſe, and, after a ſhort introduction, bewailing the failure of marbles, ſtatues, trophies, &c. in perpetuating memorable actions.

He begins his *firſt* chapter with the uſe of medals, either made for money, or to preſerve the memory of worthy actions; obſerving their very early uſe in the world, and that the firſt Roman money was braſs, without any mark at all; then ſhews the original of ſtamping, which was for a teſtimonial of their being of ſuch a weight. The firſt ſilver ſtamped at Rome, was a little before the firſt Punic war, and gold not till about ſixty-two years after, at which time the worth of gold to ſilver, was as twelve and a half to one, tho' in the earlieſt times it bore but a decuple value among the

Romans

One would have imagined, that being now on the borders of fourſcore, and having been at leaſt half a century an author, he would have thought it no diſhonour to have ſued out his Writ of Eaſe, when, being full of years and glory, he might have laid down his pen with as general an approbation from the candid judges of that age, as their fathers had ſhewn to thoſe treatiſes which fell from it when he firſt took it up. But Mr Evelyn was not of that ſort of men who are glad of a plauſible excuſe of retiring from labour, notwithſtanding nature furniſhes them with ſtrength to go through it; on the contrary, he conſidered his health and his abilities, and, above all, his improved ſtock of knowledge from experience, as talents intruſted with him by Providence for the benefit of mankind; and he ſcorned in his old age to perform leſs diligently his duty, than, from a true principle of publick ſpirit, he had done in his youth. It was to this excellent frame of mind, ſo much admired and ſo little imitated, that we owe his laſt treatiſe, at leaſt his laſt new treatiſe upon ſallets (*i*), in which it is hard to ſay which deſerves to be commended moſt, the agreeable vivacity of his language, or the wonderful maturity of his judgment [*T*]. Happy old man, who ſtill

(*i*) See this farther explained in the note.

Romans and Greeks. Next, coming to ſpeak more particularly of medals, he is of opinion, that they did not, when firſt made, paſs for money, but were ſtampt in memory of particular famous actions or perſons. But upon the inundation of the Goths, the luſtre of medals ended, with all the more poſite arts. He then treats of the materials uſed for money, whether leather, paper, earth, porcelain, coral, ſhells, linnen, or the like. He in the next place ſpeaks of the time when the ſeveral metals came firſt in uſe, and is inclined to think iron and copper were the firſt, of which he gives ſeveral inſtances. Then he proceeds to conſider the impreſſions and ſizes, of which latter there were three.

The *ſecond* chapter treats of the medals of ſeveral nations, as Hebraic, Punic, Barbarous, thoſe of the Goths, Huns, Lombards, &c. with the Britiſh coins; where he ſays, he has ſeen a ſeries of all our coins, from Edward the Confeſſor to his own times, except Richard the third. Then returning to ſpeak of medals, he mentions the Saturnalian made in buffoonry, and touches upon ſome of the cuſtoms uſed at that feaſt; and obſerves, that, except thoſe, no medals were made but upon grave and ſerious occaſions. Speaking of the heads and reverſes, he ſays, medals without any reverſe are never antique, but may without head be good. Our author next makes ſeveral remarks touching the heads, as whether naked or crowned, bearded or ſhaven, &c. as likewiſe of the figures expreſſed at length on the reverſes. He proceeds to the Greek medals, with their ſeveral ornaments and reverſes; thence to the Barbarous, Parthian, Armenian, &c. and ſo to our Saxon, of all which he deſcribes the particular ornaments on their heads, &c. then he comes to medals made of remarkable perſons; touches upon Papal and French medals; after which he mentions the curious collection of Pyrrhus Ligorius, being twenty-ſix volumes of draughts of medals, inſcriptions, relievo's, &c. Greek and Roman; of the Duke of Savoy's, Duke Albert's of Bavaria, now in the cuſtody of the Royal Society, containing the images of Roman Kings, Conſuls, Dictators, Knights, Tribunes, &c. from the foundation of Rome to Julius Cæſar; after which, he remarks the niceneſs of the Antients, in having their reſemblances taken by none but exquiſite maſters; whence we may well believe their medals to be very like them: he concludes this chapter with a propoſal of deſigning, in dead-life, by a very good hand, what medals of undoubted truth can be procured, and theſe to be as well and exactly engraven on copper-plates.

The *third* chapter treats of antient and modern reverſes, as they relate to Hiſtory, Chronology, and other parts of learning, the uſe and benefit whereof he ſhews in ſeveral particulars; informing us not only in Hiſtory and Chronology, but alſo giving the true form of ſeveral habits, inſtruments, engines, machines, inventions, atchievements, cuſtoms, &c. of the Antients, but imperfectly otherwiſe deſcribed; together with the figure under which they repreſented their gods and genii, particular countries, &c. with the ſeveral rewards, as crowns, &c. for virtuous and noble actions: then deploring the want of medals to illuſtrate our own hiſtory, he gives an account of all, or the moſt, that have been ſtamped here, from Edward the third through the ſeveral reigns to the late Revolution, referring the reader for thoſe made ſince that time, to the late publiſhed *Hiſtoire Metallique de Guillaume* III, *by N. Chevalier, in fol. Amſterdam* 1692.

The *fourth* chapter treats of perſons and things deſerving the honour of medals, tho' moſt of them never obtained it; and in this he finds our nation too deficient, and names ſeveral ingenious worthies then living.

The *fifth* chapter is of inſcriptions upon medals, and their ſeveral forms and differences, chiefly relating to Roman and Greek medals; here he gives us the notes and abbreviations of words to be met with in Roman medals.

In the *ſixth* chapter, he lays down inſtructions for the procuring antique and rare medals, with directions to diſtinguiſh the true from counterfeits, preſenting a catalogue of ſome alphabetically; and in this place ſhews the ſeveral tricks uſed in making the cheats, and falſe ones, and ſets down ſome ways to take off medals, by a ſort of glew and ſuch like curioſities.

In the *ſeventh* chapter, our Author diſcourſes of mints, and the moſt ſkilful artiſts, with directions to collect and diſpoſe medals for the cabinet, and adds ſome reflections on the modern clipping, and diminution of coin. Here he obſerves the great number of mints in the ſame kingdom formerly, and the excellency of the method now uſed in minting, far beyond the old way of hammering, and in this place gives his opinion and reaſons, againſt either debaſing the coin, or enhancing the value, and then enumerates the moſt eminent maſters in this art: amongſt them he mentions Trecia of Milan, who cut the King of Spain's arms on a table diamond, next he gives a catalogue of authors treating of this ſubject, with ſome curious collectors of our own and other nations, and then concludes his chapter, with a catalogue of thoſe medals that ſucceed Jovianus, where Mr Walker's catalogue ends.

The *eighth* chapter gives an account of heads and effigies in Taille douce with particular directions for ſuch a collection, preſenting us with a catalogue of perſons meriting a place therein, as well women as men.

The *ninth* chapter, which concludes the work, contains a digreſſion concerning phyſiognomy, where the Author beginning with the head, goes through all the features of the face, and proportions of the body and limbs, giving his opinions and conjectures of the natural diſpoſitions, wit and qualifications, to be gathered from the obſervation of each part and member particularly interſperſed with hiſtorical remarks.

[*T*] *Or the wonderful maturity of his judgment.*] The title of this work was very ſhort being only this.

XXVII. ACETARIA: *A Diſcourſe of* Sallets, *by* J. E. S. R. S. *Author of the Kalendarium.* Lond. 1699. 8vo.

This, which was our Author's laſt work, was dedicated to the Lord Chancellor Somers, at that time Preſident of the Royal Society, and the view of this dedication, was to procure a publick eſtabliſhment for that ſociety, as will ſufficiently appear from the following paragraphs, which cannot ſeem tedious to the reader, ſince, except ſome of Mr Dryden's, he will hardly find any dedications in our language, penned with equal elegance and ſpirit.

My Lord,

‘THE idea and plan of the Royal Society, having been firſt conceived, and delineated by a great and learned Chancellor (31), which high of-
‘fice

(31) Francis Lord Verulam, and Viſcount St Albans.

ſtill in full poſſeſſion of his parts, undertook and accompliſhed ſome years after this the reviewing of his *Sylva*, in which laſt edition (*k*) he has interſperſed various circumſtances relative to his private life, as well as to his ſubject, and has alſo ſhewn that he had ſerious and affecting thoughts of his latter end, though not put in mind of it by his infirmities, which are circumſtances, that, if further explained, cannot be unacceptable to the inquiſitive reader [*U*]. It has been before hinted, that as his collections were very great,

‘ fice your Lordſhip deſervedly bears, not as an acquiſition of fortune, but your intellectual endowments, conſpicuous (among other excellencies) by the inclination your Lordſhip diſcovers to promote natural knowledge: as it juſtifies the diſcernment of that aſſembly to pitch upon your Lordſhip for their Preſident; ſo does it no leſs diſcover the candour, yea, I preſume to ſay, the ſublimity of your mind, in ſo generouſly honouring them with your acceptance of the choice they have made.

‘ A Chancellor, and a very learned Lord, was the firſt who honoured the Chair; and a no leſs honourable and learned Chancellor reſigns it to your Lordſhip (32).

‘ So as after all the difficulties and hardſhips the ſociety has hitherto gone through, it has, thro' the favour and protection of its Preſidents, not only preſerved its reputation from the malevolence of enemies and detractors, but gone on culminating and now triumphantly in your Lordſhip: under whoſe propitious influence, I am perſuaded it may promiſe itſelf, that which indeed has hitherto been wanting to juſtify the glorious title it bears of a Royal Society, the emancipating it from ſome remaining and diſcouraging circumſtances which it as yet labours under, among which that of a precarious and unſteady abode is not the leaſt.

‘ This honour was reſerved for your Lordſhip, and an honour permit me to call it, not at all unworthy the owning of the greateſt perſon living, namely, the eſtabliſhing and promoting real knowledge, and next to what is divine, truly ſo called, as far at leaſt as human nature extends towards the knowledge of nature, by enlarging her Empire beyond the land of ſpectres, forms intentional ſpecies, vacuum, occult qualities, and other inadequate notions, which by their obſtreperous and noiſy diſputes affrighting, and till of late deterring men from adventuring on farther diſcoveries, confined them in a lazy acquieſcence, and to be fed with fantaſms and fruitleſs ſpeculations, which ſignify nothing to the ſpecifick nature of things, ſolid and uſeful knowledge by the inveſtigation of cauſes, principles, energies, powers, and effects of bodies and things viſible, and to improve them for the good and benefit of mankind.’

It is a great pity this propoſition of our Author's was not accepted, ſince undoubtedly a national eſtabliſhment under the direction of ſo wiſe and prudent a perſon, would have enabled the ſociety to have proſecuted their laudable and uſeful deſigns, in a manner worthy of themſelves and honourable to their country. It is not however impoſſible, that this propoſition might come to nothing by their Preſident's loſs of power, which fell out very ſoon after; but however it happened, our Author's zeal and diligence in the application was truly laudable. He had the honour to be one of the firſt members, and he continued to be one of the moſt active for upwards of forty years. This laſt work is nothing inferior to any of the preceding, the ſame learning, the ſame perſpicuity, the ſame quickneſs and penetration reigns through the whole. The reader meets not only with all that he can expect, but with much more, and ſuch a multitude of curious obſervations are interſperſed, as render it as pleaſant and entertaining as it is uſeful. Yet the Author ſuſpecting that ſome might poſſibly cenſure the great pains he had taken upon ſuch a ſubject, and from thence infer, that he was lead to treat ſuch matters, with ſo much ſkill and pains, from the refined luxury of his own palate, took care to guard againſt this in the following elegant apology, which he has inſerted in his dedication.

‘ The favour I humbly beg is your Lordſhip's pardon for this preſumption. The ſubject is mean, and requires it, and my reputation in danger, ſhould your Lordſhip hence ſuſpect, that one could never write ſo much of dreſſing ſallets, who minded any thing ſerious, beſides the gratifying a ſenſual appetite with a voluptuary apician art. Truly, my Lord, I am ſo far from deſigning to promote thoſe *ſupplicia luxuriæ*, as Seneca calls them, by what I have here written, that were it in my power, I would re-call the world, if not altogether to their priſtine diet, yet to a much more wholſome and temperate than is now in faſhion; and what if they find me, like to ſome who are eager after hunting and other field ſports, which are laborious exerciſes; and fiſhing, which is indeed a lazy one, who after all their pains and fatigue, never eat what they take and catch in either? For ſome ſuch I have known: and tho' I cannot affirm ſo of myſelf, when a well dreſſed and excellent ſallet is before me, I am yet a very moderate eater of them. So as to this book, luxury, I can affirm, and that truly, what the Poet ſays of himſelf, on a leſs innocent occaſion, *Laſciva pagina, vita proba*. God forbid, that after all I have advanced in praiſe of ſallets, I ſhould be thought to plead for the vice I cenſure, and chuſe that of Epicurus for my Lemma. *In hac arte conſenui*, or to have ſpent my time in nothing elſe. The plan annexed to theſe papers, and the apparatus made to ſuperſtruct upon it, would acquit me of having bent all my contemplations on ſallets only, what I humbly offer your Lordſhip is, as I ſaid, part of natural hiſtory, the product of horticulture, and the field dignified by the moſt illuſtrious, and ſometimes tilled *Laureato vomere*, which as it concerns a part of Philoſophy, I may without vanity be allowed to have taken ſome pains, in cultivating as an inferior member of the Royal Society.’ Such was the modeſty, ſuch the learning, and ſuch the politeneſs, of this great man!

[*U*] *To the inquiſitive reader.*] It is chiefly from the works of great men, that the curious and particular paſſages of their lives are to be collected. This indeed is a thing of great labour, but at the ſame time infinitely pleaſant to thoſe who delight in honouring the memory of ſuch benefactors to mankind. In this note, we intend a ſpecimen of this ſort from the moſt extenſive and moſt hiſtorical of our Author's performances. We learn from thence, that the true ſignification of his Sirname Evelyn, written antiently Avelan or Evelin, was filberd, or rather hazel, which gives him occaſion to remark, that theſe trees are commonly produced where quarries of free-ſtone lie underneath, as at Hazelbury in Wiltſhire, Haſlingfield in Cambridgeſhire, and Haſlemere in Surrey (33). He more than once remarks, that his grandfather was a great planter and preſerver of timber, as it ſeems were the antient poſſeſſors of the place where he lived, from whence it acquired its name of Wotton (i. e.) Woodtown from the groves and plantations that were about it (34). He farther remarks, that there was an oak felled by his grandfather's order, out of which there was a table made, meaſured by himſelf more than once of five foot in breadth, nine and a half in length, and ſix inches thick, all entire and clear. It was ſet up in brick work for a paſtry board, and to fit it for that uſe, it was ſhortened by a foot, being originally ten foot and a half, as appeared from an inſcription cut in one of its ſides, from whence it appeared to have lain there above one hundred years, when our Author wrote this deſcription (35). When his grandfather's woods were cut down, which conſiſted entirely of oak, they ſprung up again, not oaks but beeches, and when theſe too in their turn felt the axe, there aroſe ſpontaneouſly a third plantation, not of oaks or beech, but of birch, which he does not ſet down as a thing ſingular in itſelf, but becauſe it happened under his own eye (36). He is a declared enemy to iron works, on account of their deſtroying woods; yet he obſerves from the prudential maxims prevailing in his own family, they had quite a contrary effect, as being one principal cauſe of their making ſuch large plantations, and taking ſo much

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(*k*) This is meant of the laſt edit. publiſhed in his life-time.

(32) Lord Viſcount Brounker, Chancellor to Queen Katherine. Charles Mountague, Eſq; Chancellor of the Exchequer.

(33) Evelyn's *Sylva*, or Diſcourſe of Foreſt Trees, fifth edit. p. 76.

(34) Ib. p. 301.

(35) Ib. p. 199.

(36) Ib. p. 213.

great, ſo he was far from confining them entirely to his own uſe, but was ever ready to communicate them for the benefit of others, and, conſidered in that light, was a great benefactor to the publick. An inſtance has been given in the notes to this purpoſe, in reſpect to the famous Mr Boyle, and many inſtances more might be given, of which, not to treſpaſs on the reader's patience, we will mention but a few; he it was that furniſhed to the late reverend and learned Biſhop of London thoſe additional remarks on the county of Surrey (*l*), which are publiſhed in his Engliſh edition of the *Britannia*; he contributed largely to Mr Houghton's valuable work (*m*); and the ingenious John Aubrey, Eſq; has teſtified, how often he was indebted to him for his friendly aſſiſtance in many of his undertakings (*n*). In reſpect to the Royal Society, he was equally aſſiduous in his attendance, and careful in his intelligence; whatever fell within the compaſs of his own extenſive enquiries, he never failed to tranſmit them to that judicious body, nor was he leſs attentive to the procuring them proper correſpondents both at home and abroad, of which copious teſtimonies are to be met with in their Regiſters, and in their printed Tranſactions (*o*) [*W*]. He might therefore juſtly ſtile himſelf, as he did, a Pioneer in their

(*l*) Sylva, p. 296.

(*m*) Houghton's Huſbandry and Trade improved, Vol. IV. p. 132.

(*n*) Miſcellanies, p. 87.

(*o*) See this explained in the note.

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much pains about them (37). It was a relation of his, that ſold Richmond new Park to King Charles the Firſt, after planting many fine trees there (38). Our Author carried this diſpoſition with him to Sayes-Court, where he muſt have ſhewn it very early, ſince he aſſures us, that the Marquis of Argyle preſented him with the Cones of a peculiar kind of fir, which he takes to be the Spaniſh pinaſter or wild pine, and gives a very particular account of the manner in which they grew in the Marquis's country in Scotland (39). He informs us, that it was the Lord Chancellor Bacon who introduced the true plane tree, which he planted originally about Verulam, from whence he had his title (40). Mr Evelyn takes to himſelf the honour of having propagated the alaternus from Cheſhire to Cumberland, which was before reputed an inhabitant only of the green houſe, but is found very capable, not only of living without doors, but of ſtanding unhurt by the rigour of our ſevereſt winters (41). He mentions a moſt glorious and impenetrable holly hedge, which he had at Sayes-Court four hundred feet in length, nine feet high, and five in diameter, which occaſions his dropping a hint, that the fine gardens he had raiſed there, were wholly ruined by the Czar of Muſcovy, who it ſeems lived there, for the ſake of being near the yard (42). He recommended Mr Gibbons the Carver, to King Charles the Second, by whom ſome exquiſite works were performed in St Paul's Cathedral (43). He was likewiſe conſulted by the Bedford family, about preſerving their fine trees, ſo long as the gardens were kept up about Bedford Houſe, which before the laſt edition of his book were demoliſhed, to make way for the new buildings about Bloomſbury (44). He takes notice of an admirable remedy for a Dyſentry, which had been otherwiſe in all probability buried in oblivion, and this is the fungus ſubſtance ſeparated from the lobes of Walnut Kernels, powdered and given in a glaſs of wine, which he affirms relieved the Engliſh ſoldiers in the famous Dundalk Campaign in Ireland ſoon after the Revolution, when all other remedies failed (45). He was acquainted with the Conde Mellor a Portugueſe Nobleman, who reſided ſome time at the Court of King Charles the Second, when an exile from his own, by whom he was informed, that his father, when Prime-Miniſter as himſelf had likewiſe been, received in a caſe a collection of plants of China oranges of which only one eſcaped, and was with difficulty recovered, and yet from this plant came all the China oranges that ever were ſeen in Europe, which our Author obſerves, is a moſt noble and wonderful inſtance, of what induſtry may do from the ſlighteſt and leaſt promiſing beginnings (46). One inſtance of the vaſt advantages derived from woods I ſhall borrow, becauſe the facts are notorious and indiſputable (47). 'Upon the eſtate of George Pitt, Eſquire, of Stratfeildſea, in the County of Southampton, a ſurvey of timber being taken in the year 1659, it came to ten thouſand three hundred pounds, beſides near ten thouſand ſamplers not valued and growing up naturally. Since this there hath been made by ſeveral ſales, five thouſand ſix hundred pounds, and there has been felled for repairs, building and neceſſary uſes, to the value at the leaſt of twelve hundred pounds, ſo as the whole falls of timber, amount to ſix thouſand eight hundred pounds. The timber upon the ſame ground being again ſurveyed, Anno 1677, appears to be worth above twenty one thouſand pounds, beſides eight or nine thouſand ſamplers, and young trees to be left ſtanding, and not reckoned in the ſurvey. But what is yet to be obſerved, moſt of this timber abovementioned being oak, grows in hedgerows, and ſo as that the ſtanding of it, does very little prejudice to the plough or paſture.' To conclude, this worthy perſon, who was born in a town famous for wood, who derived from his anceſtors an affection for plantations, who wrote the moſt correct treatiſe of foreſt trees extant in our own, or perhaps, in any language, and who was himſelf a moſt eminent Planter, had a ſtrong deſire, after the example of Sir William Temple, who directed his heart to be depoſited in his garden, to have his corps alſo interred in the like manner (48), but very probably he was prevailed upon to alter his mind afterwards, notwithſtanding what he had expreſſed upon that ſubject (49) in his book; which ſhews how warm and laſting, that paſſion for improvement was in his own breaſt, which, with ſo much learning, eloquence, and ſucceſs, he laboured to excite in the boſoms of his countrymen.

[*W*] *In their printed Tranſactions.*] It would take up too much time and room, to take notice of every thing that occurs in this valuable collection, that might be alledged to this purpoſe; and therefore we ſhall content ourſelves with a few inſtances. Upon ſome diſcourſe at the Royal Society of the eruptions of Mount Veſuvius, he procured the following extract of a letter from Mr Henry Robinſon, to whom it was written by Captain William Baddily, and at the ſame time produced ſome of the aſhes which are mentioned therein; which letter and which aſhes had been preſerved for upwards of thirty years (50).

'The ſixth of December 1631, being in the Gulph of Volo riding at anchor about ten of the clock that night, it began to rain ſand or aſhes, and continued till two of the clock the next morning. It was about two inches thick on the deck, ſo that we caſt it overboard with ſhovels, as we did ſnow the day before: the quantity of a buſhel we brought home, and preſented to ſeveral friends, eſpecially to the Maſters of Trinity-Houſe. There was in our company Capt. John Wilds, commander of the Dragon, and Capt. Anthony Watts, commander of the Elizabeth and Dorcas. There was no wind ſtirring when theſe aſhes fell; it did not fall only in the places where we were, but likewiſe in other parts, as ſhips were coming from St John d'Acre to our port, they being at that time an hundred leagues from us. We compared the aſhes together, and found them both one. If you deſire to ſee the aſhes, let me know.'——Thus in the ſpring of the year 1670, our author communicated, in the following letter to the Lord Viſcount Brouncker, a large and circumſtantial account of a very ſingular and extraordinary invention, by a perſon of rank, called the Spaniſh *Sembrador*, or new engine for ploughing and equal ſowing all ſorts of grain, and harrowing at once; by which a great quantity of ſeed-corn is ſaved, and a rich increaſe yearly gained; together with a deſcription of the contrivance and uſes of this engine, which epiſtle ran thus (51).

'I cannot deviſe better how to expreſs my great reſpects to your Lordſhip, than by my utmoſt endeavours to promote the intereſt of that Society, over which you have ſo long, with ſo much ability and affection,

(37) Ib. p. 253.

(38) Ibid. p. 40.

(39) Ib. p. 127.

(40) Ib. p. 116.

(41) Ib. p. 152.

(42) Ib. p. 159.

(43) Ib. p. 72.

(44) Ib. p. 215.

(45) Ib. p. 63.

(46) Ib. p. 141.

(47) Ib. p. 276.

(48) Ib. p. 297.

(49) Aubrey's Natural Hiſt. of Surrey, Vol. IV.

(50) Philoſoph. Tranſactions, No. 21.

(51) Ibid. No 60.

their ſervice, which expreſſion was well choſen, ſince it marked at once how humble and how indefatigable he was, in whatever might contribute to the advancement of that noble deſign, which was the baſis of their inſtitution. He was a true lover of freedom of thought in all philoſophical enquiries, which as he practiſed upon all occaſions himſelf, ſo he very readily indulged it to others; and though nobody was freer from prejudices, or ſpoke more diſcreetly than he did, of books that it was impoſſible for him to commend, yet he never reſented any attack made upon his own, but bore the contradiction of his opinion with all imaginable temper, being perſuaded that truth and reaſon would always triumph in the end, and that it was better to leave things to the deciſion of the publick, than to embark in endleſs controverſies, though in the defence of ſentiments ever ſo well founded (p) [X]. When we conſider the number of the books he publiſhed, and the variety

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‘ ſection, ſo faithfully preſided. This therefore will plead my excuſe with your Lordſhip, if, in ſome confidence of gratifying the generous deſigns of that noble aſſembly, I communicate to them, through your hands, not only the inſtrument which I herewith preſent them, but the diſcription of the uſe and benefit of it, from ſuch a deferent as I am ſure they will very highly value.

‘ My Lord, it is now almoſt two years ſince that, by ſomewhat an odd accident lighting upon a paper lately printed in Spaniſh, I found a ſhort paſſage in it, giving notice of a certain plough newly brought out of Germany into Spain; in both which places it had, upon trial, ſo generally obtained, as, beſides the royal privilege which was granted to the inventor, as to procure the univerſal approbation. Upon this hint I took the boldneſs to write to my Lord Ambaſſador, intreating his Excellency that, as his more weighty affairs would give him leave, he would not diſdain to inform himſelf more particularly concerning it. This his Lordſhip was not only pleaſed to do, but ſo highly obliging as to tranſmit to me the engine itſelf, together with a full deſcription of it and it's uſe; all of it written with his own noble hand, which I do here conſecrate to the Royal Society, to be inſerted among their precious *cimelia*.

‘ My Lord, being not ſo happy as to wait on you myſelf with it, at your publick aſſembly this day, I deſire your Lordſhip will cauſe theſe papers to be read there, and expoſe the inſtrument to their examination and trial. There are many gentlemen who will not be offended with theſe ruſticities, and who know how highly ſuch inventions, and even attempts, have been valued by the greateſt and the beſt of men. Something ('tis poſſible) may happen to be out of order, by reaſon of the long journey it hath paſſed; but their ingenious Curator will ſoon be able to reform, and, if need be, improve it. My Lord of Sandwich is that illuſtrious perſon to whom the Society is obliged for this, and many other favours and productions of his own more conſummate genius, which enrich their regiſters. But let me tell them, his Lordſhip hath made, and brought home with him, ſuch other polite notices and particulars, of Spain and other foreign parts, as I know no perſon, of the moſt refined and publick ſpirit, who hath approached him beſides your Lordſhip: an emulous and worthy example, certainly to the reſt of our noblemen and miniſters of ſtate abroad, who may travel with ſo many advantages to inform themſelves above others: and it is to me a ſhining inſtance, of both your Lordſhip's happy talents and great comprehenſion, that, in the throng of ſo many and ſo weighty employments, you can think of cultivating the arts, and of doubly obliging your country.’

The deſcription of this machine, tranſlated from the Spaniſh into Engliſh, is of a conſiderable length, and therefore we refer the reader to it in the Tranſactions. The chief reaſon for mentioning it here, was to ſhew how vigilant our author was in his enquiries, and how diligent in the proſecution of them; and yet not with any view of concealing the diſcoveries he made, but quite the contrary; that the Royal Society might have the honour, and the Britiſh nation the benefit, of them. In this reſpect, no doubt, he reaped abundant ſatisfaction, ſince it was declared, over and over again in the Tranſactions, that his *Sylva* had raiſed whole foreſts, and his *Pomona* produced numberleſs orchards; yet that he affected not praiſe out of any degree of vanity, but was really pleaſed with being the inſtrument of good to others, appears very plainly from that warmth, as well as readineſs, with which he recommended other men's works to the favour of the publick, even upon ſubjects on which he had employed his own pen, particularly in the caſe of Mr Smith, which is printed in the Tranſactions (52).

He was alſo very aſſiduous in procuring, as early as poſſible from abroad, all new books upon curious and uſeful ſubjects; as alſo ſuch, as, from their univerſal high character, were become ſcarce and dear; ſome of which he communicated to the Secretary of the Society, and of others he made large and curious extracts himſelf; and, as is very juſtly obſerved, his tranſlations were doubly valuable, on account of that clearneſs and fidelity with which he expreſſed the author's ſenſe, and the improvements that he added from his own obſervations, as he rendered no treatiſes into Engliſh, without being perfectly verſed in the ſubject upon which, as well as the language in which, they were written. He likewiſe, in teſtimony of his reſpect and duty to the Society, beſtowed upon them thoſe curious tables of veins and arteries, which he brought with him from Padua, and conſequently deſerved to be honourably mentioned in their regiſters, and to have his picture, as it is, hung up in their apartments (53).

[X] *Though in defence of ſentiments ever ſo well founded.*] Amongſt other advantages that attended the inſtitution of the Royal Society, one was it's giving birth to, and the higheſt encouragement for, free and open enquiries; nor was it any wonder, that, amongſt theſe, ſome turned upon thoſe learned perſons who firſt exerted themſelves in favour of this method of improving knowledge, amongſt theſe, Mr John Houghton, tho' with great decency and good manners, cenſured our author's great performance, on account of it's croſſing a notion he had advanced, *that it would be highly advantageous for the* nation, *if all the* timber *within* twelve *miles of a* navigable river *were deſtroyed*. It is but fair that he ſhould ſpeak for himſelf; his words then are theſe (54).

‘ I queſtion not but you eagerly expect to hear what may be ſaid, in anſwer to Mr Evelyn's *Sylva*. There he ſeems to be quite of another opinion, and to give many inſtances of profits from woods, ſo great that few other parts of huſbandry can equal them. I muſt confeſs Mr Evelyn is a great man, one that I have the honour to be acquainted with, and happy is he that is ſo; he is a gentleman of great piety, modeſty, and complacency; and alſo endowed with ſuch an univerſality of uſeful learning, that he may very well be eſteemed a darling of mankind. But he is particularly well verſed in the affairs of the woodman; and his *Sylva* is ſo good a book, that I have not heard of any thing written on the ſubject like it. To anſwer it, I will not pretend; to gainſay what he affirms I can't, for I believe he loves veracity more than life. I will only make ſome obſervations, and, if my ſentiments differ from his, I know he will pardon me, he being well inclined to allow freedom of thought, and alſo well verſed in a motto, (*) NULLIUS IN VERBA.

‘ Now I firſt obſerve the reaſons why this Sylva, or diſcourſe of foreſt-trees, was delivered to the Royal Society. It was, as I am told, in the title-page, upon occaſion of certain queries propounded to that illuſtrious aſſembly, by the honourable the principal Officers and Commiſſioners of the navy. What theſe queries were, do not altogether appear; but, by the diſcourſe, one of them ſeems to be how timber might be propagated in his Majeſty's dominions. An anſwer to this, our ingenious author hath bravely given. But my conſiderations are not how, or how not, to propagate

(p) See a proof of this in the notes.

(52) Ib. No. 109.

(53) Aubrey's Nat. Hiſt. of Surrey, Vol. IV, p. 121.

(54) Collections on Huſbandry and Trade, Vol. IV, p. 273.

(*) That of the Royal Society.

variety of the ſubjects upon which he employed his time, it is impoſſible to forbear wondering at his induſtry and application, which muſt be greatly heightened when we reflect how careful he was in reviewing, correcting, and augmenting all his original works, from whence it is evident, that whatever ſubject appeared weighty enough to attract his attention, never loſt it's place in his thoughts, but, on the contrary, was often reviewed, and reaped the continual benefit of the new lights he received, as well as of his future meditations, which is the true reaſon that his treatiſes are ſo perfect in their kind, and continue as much eſteemed by poſterity, as they were by the inquiſitive and judicious part of the world at the time they came firſt from the preſs. But this is not all; and our aſtoniſhment cannot but attend the information of his leaving behind him unfiniſhed, or at leaſt unpubliſhed, works of a more extenſive nature than thoſe that are printed, which had coſt him incredible pains, and for the compoſing of which he had made prodigious collections (q) [Y].

(q) See the Preface prefixed to his Diſcourſe on Sallets.

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propagate timber; but a query, *Whether it is beſt, within certain limits, to propagate it or no?* a thing quite beſide his deſign.

'Indeed in his introduction, he, like a very good Engliſhman, laments the notorious decay of our wooden walls, which he thought likely to follow, when our then preſent navy ſhould be worn out or impaired: and I muſt confeſs, when he conſidered the great deſtruction of our wood that had been made in the foregoing twenty years, by ſome thro' neceſſity, and others thro' ill ends and purpoſes; together with our not being uſed to fetch much timber from abroad, and a general cry that none could furniſh us with any for ſhipping, eſpecially ſo good as our own; with the addition of what amounted to a complaint from the honourable Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's navy: when he conſidered all this, I ſay, every good man will rather commend than blame his zeal.

'But now ſince that deſtruction of our timber, hath forced us to look out for a more convenient ſupply to London, and ſome other places; and our having greater experiences of ſea-fights than ever we had, before, other things are known; and it is believed, to my certain knowledge, by ſome of the Commiſſioners of the navy, and others, that have been greatly concerned in building of ſhips, that there is ſome other timber in the world that will build ſhips as well as ours; for inſtance, the French Ruby that we took from France, when he joined with Denmark and Holland againſt us, had ſuch good timber in it, that, as I have been told, England never had better; the bullets that entered this French ſhip, made only round holes without ſplinters, the thing our timber is valued for; and it was ſo hard, that the carpenters with their tools could hardly cut it, it was like a piece of iron.

'I fancy it ſome of that oak Mr Evelyn ſpeaks of in his forecited *Sylva*, chap. III. pag. 25. "There is, ſaith he, a kind of it ſo tough, and extreamly compact, that our ſharpeſt tools will hardly enter it, and ſcarcely the very fire itſelf, in which it conſumes but ſlowly, as ſeeming to partake of a ferrugineous and metalline ſhining nature, proper for ſundry robuſt uſes." Theſe laſt thirty ſhips that were built, have a great deal of foreign timber in them; and, altho' there is ſome decay in them already, yet I am told that the fault is not attributed to the foreign timber, but rather to the haſty building, the king having not a ſtock before hand, the timber had not time enough for a ſeaſoning. For theſe reaſons, and what I ſaid before about the increaſe of ſeamen, perſwades me to believe, that ſuch means will never leſſen our ſtrength; and I queſtion not, but, that for our money, we may be furniſhed ſufficiently from abroad.'

This paper was publiſhed November the ſixth 1683, and October the thirty-firſt 1701; the ſame gentleman publiſhed another paper, in which he maintained his former opinion (55), and undertakes to refute Mr Evelyn's obſervations, as to the profit made by planting, complaining that what he had before written, was never anſwered; intimating at the ſame time, that the reaſon was, becauſe it was unanſwerable; his words are theſe. 'Mr Evelyn tells us of one Mr Edward Salter, who planted an aſh, and before his death ſold it for forty ſhillings. I will not reckon the ground this aſh grew on to be worth any thing; but ſuppoſe the aſh when planted was worth but one ſhilling, and the man lived but eighty-four years after, the ſhilling would have amounted to ſix pounds eight ſhillings, which is far better than forty ſhillings.

'Again, three acres of barren land ſown with acorns, in ſixty years became a very thriving wood, and was worth three hundred pounds. Being 'twas barren land, I'll ſuppoſe it worth but three ſhillings the acre, nine ſhillings the three acres; which for ſixty years was worth, in preſent money, fifteen pounds, nine ſhillings, and ſeven-pence; which doubled every twelve years, makes four hundred ninety-five pounds, ſix ſhillings, and eight-pence. Suppoſe that the tillage, acorns, and ſetting, came but to the third part of fifteen pounds, nine ſhillings, and ſeven-pence, it would be upwards of one hundred and ſixty-five pounds; which together makes above ſix hundred pounds, for the three hundred pounds.'

This warm cenſure might be ſafely truſted by our author, without any anſwer, in thoſe days, when none pretended to decide without hearing both parties with attention. It is however but doing common juſtice to his memory, to ſet theſe points in a clear light, more eſpecially as it may be done in a very narrow compaſs. In the firſt place, Mr Evelyn lays down facts that are indiſputable, for he mentions no improvement in his book without clear authority. On the contrary, Mr Houghton's is a ſuppoſition, and, which is worſe, a ſuppoſition that is entirely groundleſs. He values the young aſh plant at a ſhilling; he might have read in Mr Evelyn, that an hundred ſaplings, of three years growth, are worth but eighteen-pence. Inſtead of fourſcore and four years, he ought to have ſet down a third, or at moſt half, that time; and then, at his own rate of compound intereſt, the value of the plant would not have exceeded a ſingle penny. His objections to the ſecond inſtance, are not leſs frivolous. Barren ground, in the common acceptation of the word, is ground worth nothing, and for that reaſon unlet and unemployed; our critic will have it worth three ſhillings an acre, and, having thus created a rent of nine ſhillings a year, he converts it next into a rent charge, and ſuppoſes a ſixty years leaſe of this barren land, to be worth two and thirty years purchaſe; and this money, put out at compound intereſt, is run up to twice as much as the wood is worth. We will not puſh things to extremity, but ſuppoſe, with him, the land worth nine ſhillings a year, and to be ſold for twenty years purchaſe, which would produce nine pounds; that nine pounds placed out at compound intereſt, at the rate of ſix per cent. would amount, in ſixty years, to two hundred eighty-eight pounds; ſo that there is twelve pounds, and all the intermediate profits by lopping, to pay for the original plantation and cultivation of the trees; upon the whole it is manifeſt, even from this author's manner of arguing, that planting wood is not only more honeſt and virtuous, but at the ſame time a ſafer and ſpeedier way of raiſing a great fortune, than the moſt exorbitant uſury.

[Y] *He had made prodigious collections.*] We may, from the large works which Mr Evelyn has publiſhed, from the compleat plan which he has given us of a large work he intended to publiſh, and from various circumſtances that occur in his letters, form a pretty ſure judgment of the method purſued by him, in compoſing the many and valuable treatiſes that fell from his pen. His way was when he had made choice of a ſubject, to reſolve it into its proper parts, and to entitle theſe according to the bulk of the volume, he propoſed, either books or chapters, that he might digeſt his materials under their proper titles. He then ſet down his own thoughts, in a free ſuccinct manner under every head, to which he added what occurred to him, uſeful or memorable in his reading, and when

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(55) Ibid. Vol. III. p. 179.

The Hiſtory of this learned perſon's life and labours terminates together, for, in a ſhort time after he had fitted the fourth edition of his *Sylva* for the preſs, he departed this life in the eighty-ſixth year of his age, Feb. 27, 1705-6 (*r*), and was interred at Wotton in a tomb of about three foot high of free-ſtone, ſhaped like a coffin, with an inſcription upon a white marble ſtone with which it is covered (*s*), expreſſing, according to his own intention (*t*), *That living in an age of extraordinary events and revolutions, he had learned from thence this truth, which he deſired might be thus communicated to poſterity, That all is vanity which is not honeſt, and that there is no ſolid wiſdom but in real piety.* As to that more laſting

he had finiſhed this, he digeſted his own thoughts regularly, ſupporting them by proper teſtimonies, from antient and modern authors, or if that were the caſe, ſhewing the reaſons for which he diſſented from them. This made his collections very large, in compariſon of the books he publiſhed, into which there entered nothing but the quinteſſence of the authors he had peruſed. The firſt great work which occupied his thoughts, was one of which he formed the plan in his travels, and of which neither Mr Wood, Mr Aubrey, nor any other writer that I have met with, takes the leaſt notice, tho' it was certainly a very great and important deſign, every way worthy of his learning, penetration, and vaſt abilities. He intended to have called it

A General Hiſtory of all Trades.

We have an account of this in one of his own letters to Mr Boyle, in which he aſſigns the reaſons for his laying it aſide, after it had coſt him incredible pains and application. The reader will without doubt, be pleaſed to ſee what he has ſaid upon this ſubject, his letter is dated from Sayes-Court, Auguſt the ninth 1659, and begins thus (56).

'I am perfectly aſhamed at the remiſſneſs of this recognition, for your late favours from Oxon, where though had you reſided, it ſhould have interrupted you before this time. It was by our common and good friend Mr Hartlib, that I came now to know you are retired from thence, but not from the Muſes, and the purſuit of your worthy deſigns, the reſult whereof we thirſt after with all impatience, and how fortunate ſhould I eſteem myſelf, if it were in my power to contribute in the leaſt to that which I augure of ſo great and univerſal a benefit! but ſo it is, that my late inactivity has made ſo ſmall a progreſs, that in the *Hiſtory* of *Trades*, I am not advanced a ſtep, finding, to my infinite grief, my great imperfections for the attempt, and the many ſubjections which I cannot ſupport, of converſing with mechanical capricious perſons, and ſeveral other diſcouragements, ſo that giving over a deſign of that magnitude, I am ready to acknowledge my fault, if from any expreſſion of mine, there was any room to hope for ſuch a production farther than by a ſhort collection of ſome heads and materials, and a continual propenſity of endeavouring in ſome particular, to encourage ſo noble a work as far as I am able, a ſpecimen whereof I have tranſmitted to Mr Hartlib, concerning the ornaments of gardens, which I have requeſted him to communicate to you, as one from whom I hope to receive my beſt and moſt conſiderable furniture, which favour I do again and again humbly ſupplicate, and eſpecially touching the firſt chapter of the third book, the eleventh and twelfth of the firſt, and indeed on every particular of the whole.' Whoever would be better acquainted with the whole extent of our Author's project, may conſult his extract of the life of Signor Giacomo Favi, who had the like, and intended to have travelled over the whole world, in order to collect proper materials; in which deſign having made ſome progreſs, he died of a fever at Paris. Of this gentleman, Mr Evelyn ſpeaks in raptures from the ſimilitude between their tempers, but it ſeems, he had not altogether the patience of that Italian virtuoſo, who could accommodate himſelf to the humours of the loweſt of the people, as well as make himſelf acceptable even to the greateſt monarchs of Europe (57). But tho' our Author deſiſted from the original plan, yet it was not till he had finiſhed ſeveral parts of it, particularly his Chalcography, which Mr Boyle prevailed upon him to publiſh, and the following pieces which he never publiſhed.

Five Treatiſes, *containing a full view of the ſeveral Arts of Painting in Oyl, Painting in Miniature, anealing in Glaſs, enamalling, and making Marble Paper.*

We may form a judgment from the piece he publiſhed, of the great loſs the world had from his not altering his reſolution, with reſpect to theſe, which no doubt were as thoroughly finiſhed, and as perfect in their kind as that. We may collect from the letter before mentioned, that a ſyſtem of gardening made a part of his great deſign, which however there are ſome grounds to believe, he detached from thence and conſidered as a whole or diſtinct ſyſtem of itſelf, to the compleating of which, he applied himſelf with great ſpirit and labour, and intended to have given it the following title, under which he ſhewed part of his collection to his friends.

Elyſium Britannicum.

We cannot poſitively affirm; but, there are very probable grounds to believe, that this was the very ſame work, of which he has given a plan before his *Acetaria*, about which he intimates in his Preface to that treatiſe, he had ſpent upwards of forty years, and his collections for which had in that time filled ſeveral thouſand pages. The title of this vaſt work as it is there expreſſed, is this.

The Plan of a Royal Garden. *Deſcribing and ſhewing the amplitude of that part of* Georgicks, *which belongs to* Horticulture.

He propoſed to divide this into three books, the firſt of which was to conſiſt of ſix chapters, wherein he meant to diſcourſe of the principles of things, the four reputed elements, the celeſtial influences, the ſeaſons, the natural ſoil of a garden, and all the artificial improvements that could be made therein. The ſecond book was to contain twenty four chapters, and of theſe it is ſufficient to ſay, that the twentieth chapter ſeems to have been executed in his diſcourſe of ſallets, and that the laſt chapter of this book, was no other than his Gardiners Kalendar. The third book was to be divided into twelve chapters, and to comprehend all the acceſſaries, ſo as to leave nothing which had ſo much as any relation to this favourite ſubject unexhauſted. The cauſe of his leaving this work alſo unfiniſhed, he very freely and plainly tells us, was his perceiving, that it exceeded his whole power of execution, that is, to come up to the ſcheme formed in his own mind, notwithſtanding his glorious ſpirit, his eaſy fortune, and indefatigable diligence. This we may very eaſily credit, when we conſider that his treatiſe of ſallets could not be above a fortieth, perhaps, not above a fiftieth, part of his intended performance.

To theſe his unpubliſhed works, we muſt add another, mentioned only by Mr Wood, who gives us nothing concerning it but the following title.

A Treatiſe of the Dignity of Man (58).

Our Author has likewiſe etched, when he came to Paris 1649 (59), five ſeveral proſpects of places, which he had drawn on the ſpot, between Rome and Naples, to which he prefixed alſo a frontiſpiece intitled, *Locorum aliquot inſignium & celeberrimorum inter* Romam & Neapolin, *jacentium* υποδειξεῖς & *Exemplaria*; *Domino Domino*, Thomæ Henſhaw, *Anglo, omnium eximiarum & preclariſſimarum artium cultori ac propugnatori maximo &* συνοπψαμενῷ αὐτῷ *non propter operis pretium ſed ut ſingulare amoris ſui teſtimonium exhibeat prima has* ἀδοκιμασίας *aqua forti excuſas & inſculptas* Jo. Evelynus *Delineator* D. D. C. Q. R. Hoare *excud.* I. *Tres Tabernæ ſivi Appii Forum, celebre illud, in ſacris Literis. Act.* 28. II. *Terracini, olim Anxuris, Promontorium.* III. *Proſpectus verſus* Neapolin, *a Monte* Veſuvio. IV. *Montis* Veſuvii *juxta* Neapolin *externa Facies.* V. *Montis* Veſuvii *Fauces & Vorago*; *ſive Barathrum internum.* He etched alſo a view of his own ſeat at *Wotton*, and another of *Putney* in *Surrey*.

[Z] *Taken*

(*r*) Hiſt. of Europe for 1706, p. 527.

(*s*) Aubrey's Nat. Hiſt. of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 131.

(*t*) See the inſcription in the book laſt cited.

(56) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 397.

(57) See the Life of this eminent perſon, who was a native of Bologna in Italy, prefixed to Mr Evelyn's *Chalcography.*

(58) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 942.

(59) Aubrey's Nat. Hiſtory of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 118.

laſting monument, which the pens of the moſt learned and ingenious men have conſecrated to his memory, in the characters which they have afforded us of him and his writings, the reader will find ſome notice taken at the bottom of page [Z]. By his moſt

[Z] *Taken at the bottom of the page.*] It is a natural and very juſt method of concluding articles like this, with characters of the author by eminent perſons; for it is firſt paying a due reſpect to their memories; next it affords the reader ſatisfaction, who is deſirous of learning on what authorities ſuch high characters are built; and laſtly, it juſtifies the praiſes beſtowed, and the pains taken, in the compiling ſuch articles, more eſpecially when they are carried to an extraordinary length. But it is requiſite, that even this neceſſary attention ſhould be kept within juſt bounds; and therefore having already cited Mr Boyle, and the Royal Society, in praiſe of Mr Evelyn, we ſhall now confine ourſelves only to a few, and thoſe too the moſt eminent, of the learned writers, who have celebrated this great man, and endeavoured to do juſtice to his labours. We will begin with Abraham Cowley, Eſq; who, in his eſſay, intituled *the Garden*, having declared that a rural retreat, and a life of privacy and ſtudy, was the utmoſt extent of his wiſh, and had been ſo for many years, proceeds thus (60). 'Several accidents of my ill fortune have diſappointed me hitherto, and do ſtill, of that felicity; for tho' I have made the firſt and hardeſt ſtep to it, by abandoning all ambitions and hopes of this world, and by retiring from the noiſe of all buſineſs, and almoſt company; yet I ſtick ſtill in the inn of a hired houſe and garden, among weeds and rubbiſh, and without that pleaſanteſt work of human induſtry, the improvement of ſomething which we call not very properly, but yet we call our own. I am gone out from Sodom, but I am not yet arrived at my little Zoar. O let me eſcape thither (is it not a little one), and my ſoul ſhall live. I do not look back yet, but I have been forced to ſtop, and make too many halts. You may wonder, Sir, for this ſeems a little too extravagant and pindarical for proſe, what I mean by all this preface: it is to let you know, that tho' I have miſſed, like a chymiſt, my great end; yet I account my affections and endeavours well rewarded, by ſomething that I have met with by the by; which is, that they have procured me ſome part in your kindneſs and eſteem, and thereby the honour of having my name ſo advantageouſly recommended to poſterity, by the epiſtle you are pleaſed to prefix to the moſt uſeful book that has been written in that kind, and which is to laſt as long as months and years. Among many other arts and excellencies which you enjoy, I am glad to find this favourite of mine the moſt predominant, that you chuſe this for your wife, tho' you have hundreds of other arts for your concubines, tho' you know them, and beget ſons upon them all, to which you are rich enough to allow great legacies; yet the iſſue of this ſeems to be deſigned by you to the main of the eſtate; you have taken moſt pleaſure in it, and beſtowed moſt charges upon it's education: and I doubt not to ſee that book, which you are pleaſed to promiſe to the world, and of which you have given us a large earneſt in your Kalendar, as accompliſhed as any thing can be expected, from an extraordinary wit and no ordinary expences, and a long experience. I know no body that poſſeſſes more private happineſs than you do in your garden, and yet no man who makes his happineſs more publick, by a free communication of the art and knowledge of it to others. All that I myſelf am able yet to do, is only to recommend to mankind the ſearch of that felicity which you inſtruct them how to find and to enjoy.

I.

Happy art thou whom God does bleſs,
With the full choice of thine own happineſs;
And happier yet, becauſe thou'rt bleſt,
With prudence how to chuſe the beſt.
In books and gardens thou haſt plac'd aright,
(Things which thou well doſt underſtand,
And both doſt make with thy laborious hand,)
Thy noble innocent delight.
And in thy virtuous wife, where thou again doſt meet
Both pleaſures more refin'd and ſweet;
The faireſt garden in her looks,
And in her mind the wiſeſt books.
Oh, who would change theſe ſoft, yet ſolid joys!
For empty ſhews, and ſenſeleſs noiſe;
And all which rank ambition breeds,
Which ſeem ſuch beauteous flowers, and are ſuch pois'nous weeds, *&c.*

The ingenious and learned Joſeph Glanville (61) gave a high character of our author, when but a very few of his works had appeared. 'Mr John Evelyn, ſays he, hath very conſiderably advanced the hiſtory of fruit and foreſt trees, by his Sylva and Pomona; and greater things are expected from his preparations for Elyſium Britannicum, a noble deſign now under his hands; and certainly the inquiſitive world is much indebted to this generous gentleman, for his very ingenious performances in this kind; as alſo for thoſe others of Sculpture, Picture, Architecture, and the like practical uſeful things, with which he hath inriched it.' But the judicious and reverend Dr William Wotton ſpeaks more highly of our author, as being acquainted with moſt of his writings; and in comparing the antient with the modern Agriculture, he delivers himſelf thus (62). 'In making my compariſon, I ſhall comprehend all that the Antients underſtood by their *Res Ruſtica*, as it takes in the *foreſter*'s, the *huſbandman*'s, and the *gardner*'s buſineſs: Cato, Varro, and Columella, include the graſier's alſo, thereby compleating the whole body of farming; but ſince his work cannot well be made a ſcience of, I ſhall omit it. By a *foreſter* here, I underſtand one that knows how to plant, propagate, and increaſe, all ſorts of timber-trees, what ſoils are proper for every ſort, how they may beſt be defended from dangers in their growth, to what uſes they are moſt applicable when they have arrived to their utmoſt perfection, and how they may be beſt applied. Such a man, in ſhort, as Mr Evelyn inſtructs in his Sylva, where he gives a full ſyſtem of the woodman's ſkill, what he ought to know, and what to practiſe. A great part of his work, and indeed the niceſt part of it, the Antients were ſtrangers to, as having leſs occaſion for it. The world was then, comparatively ſpeaking, in it's infancy; there was no want of wood for fuel, building, or ſhips, and this plenty made men leſs curious in contriving methods of preſerving what they had in ſo great abundance. England, till within a few ages, was every where over-run with wood: The Hercynian foreſt, antiently took up what is now the moſt flouriſhing part of Germany: and France, which is at preſent ſo wonderfully populous that little cultivable ground remains untilled, was in Cæſar's time over-ſpread with woods and foreſts. As Men increaſe, tillage becomes more and more requiſite, the conſumption of wood will be proportionably greater, and it's want, and the neceſſary uſes of timber, which grow upon men as they become more numerous, will, of conſequence, put them upon ways to preſerve and increaſe it. Commerce, with diſtant parts, will ſhew men rare and uſeful trees, to which their own ſoil was before a ſtranger; and luxury will ſoon teach them to tranſplant them. No wonder therefore, if modern writers excel the antients, upon a ſubject which they had leſs occaſion for. The Romans indeed were curious in planting trees for ſhade or fruit; but their induſtry in that particular, came under another head, as rather belonging to the gardner's work. It may therefore, perhaps, be eſteemed a ſmall character of Mr Evelyn's diſcourſe of foreſt-trees, to ſay, that it out-does all that Theophraſtus and Pliny have left us on that ſubject: For it not only does that and a great deal more, but contains more uſeful precepts, hints, and diſcoveries, upon that now ſo neceſſary a part of our *Res Ruſtica*, than the world had till then known, from all the obſervations of former ages. To name others after him, would be a derogation to his performance.' In comparing the antient and modern *huſbandman* and *gardner*, he ſpeaks as highly of Mr Evelyn's *Pomona*, and

(60) This poem of Mr Cowley's is dated, Chertſea, Aug. 16, 1666.

(61) *Plus Ultra*: or, The Progreſs and Advancement of Knowledge ſince the Days of Ariſtotle, p. 74.

(62) Reflexions on Ancient and Modern Learning, p. 274.

moſt virtuous and excellent wife, Mary, daughter of Sir Richard Brown (*u*), who was the companion of his fortunes, and in ſome meaſure alſo of his ſtudies, for almoſt three-ſcore years, he had five ſons and three daughters; of the former, all died young except one, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the next article; of the latter, only one ſurvived him, Suſannah, married to William Draper of Adſcomb in the county of Surrey, Eſq (*w*); His excellent widow did not out-live him quite three years, but dying Feb. 9, 1709, was, according to her own deſire, depoſited in a ſtone coffin, as near as could be to the corps of her dear huſband (*x*). Upon the ſtone coffin, in which the leaden one lies that holds her body, a white marble ſtone is placed of the ſame ſhape, with a very ſhort inſcription (*y*), which informs us, that at the time of her demiſe ſhe was in the ſeventy-fourth year of her age, and that ſhe was eſteemed, admired, beloved, and regretted, by all who knew her (*z*).

and of his *Kalendar*, which, however, we will omit. Biſhop Burnet (63), acknowledging ſome communications from him, ſtiles him 'that moſt ingenious and 'virtuous gentleman, Mr Evelyn, who is not ſatisfied 'to have advanced the knowledge of this age, by his 'own moſt uſeful and ſucceſsful labours, about planting and divers other ways, but is ready to contribute 'every thing in his power to perfect other men's endeavours.' The honourable Roger North ſpeaks thus of his brother the Lord-Keeper Guilford's viſit to our author, and of his manner of living (64). 'His Lordſhip was once invited to a philoſophical meal, at the 'houſe of Mr Evelyn at Deptford. The houſe was 'low, but elegantly ſet off with ornaments, and quaint 'motto's, at moſt turns; but, above all, his garden 'was exquiſite, being moſt boſcareſque, and, as it 'were, an exemplar, of his book of foreſt-trees. They 'appeared all ſo thriving and clean, that, in ſo much 'variety, no one could be ſatiated in viewing; and to 'theſe were added plenty of ingenious diſcourſes, which 'made the time ſhort.' A very critical inquirer into every thing relating to Engliſh hiſtory, the late Lord Biſhop of Carliſle, ſpeaking of his *Numiſmata*, beſtows the following character of that book, and it's author (65). 'We might juſtly have expected whatever 'could have been deſired on this ſubject, from the excellently learned pen of Mr Evelyn, had he bent his 'thoughts, as was believed, towards the conſideration 'of our Britiſh coins as well as medals. It now appears, that his Numiſmata carried him no farther 'than thoſe larger, and more choice pieces, that are 'uſually called by this latter name; whereon he has, 'indeed, treated with that accuracy and fineneſs, which 'became a gentleman and a ſcholar.' Our Author's works are alſo very honourably mentioned by ſeveral foreign writers (66), particularly by the judicious Morhoff, who tells us that ſome of them were tranſlated into Latin. It may prove ſome ſatisfaction to the inquiſitive reader, if we add that his picture was thrice drawn in oil, firſt in 1681, by Vanderborcht, a famous artiſt, and brought out of Germany at the ſame time with Wenceſlaus Hollar, the graver, by the Earl of Arundel; a ſecond time in 1648, by Walker; and the third time by Sir Godfrey Kneller, for his friend Mr Pepys of the admiralty, of which that at the Royal Society is a copy. There is a print of him by Nanteüil, in which he is repreſented, in a cloak in his own hair, and under him ſome books marked with the cypher J. E. He likewiſe drew him more than once in black and white, with Indian ink; and there is a picture of him in crayon by Lutterel (67). E

EVELYN (JOHN) ſon to the former. He was born at his father's houſe at Sayes-Court near Deptford, January 14, 1654 (*a*), and was there very tenderly educated in his infancy, being conſidered (after the death of his brother Richard Evelyn, January 27, 1657, who, though but five years of age, was eſteemed a kind of (*b*) prodigy) as the heir of the family. He was likewiſe univerſally admired for the pregnancy of his parts, which induced his father to ſend him in 1666 to Oxford, where he remained in the houſe of the moſt ingenious and learned Dr Ralph Bathurſt, then Preſident of Trinity-college, before he was admitted a Gentleman-Commoner, which was in Eaſter-term 1668 (*c*). It is not clear at what time he left Oxford, but Mr Wood ſeems to be poſitive that he took no degree there, but returned to his father's houſe, where he proſecuted his ſtudies under the directions of that great man (*d*). There is, however, good reaſon to believe, that it was during his reſidence in Trinity-college, and when he was not above fifteen years of age, he wrote that elegant Greek poem which is prefixed to the ſecond edition of the *Sylva*, and is a noble proof of the ſtrength of his genius, and wonderful progreſs in learning in the early part of his life. He diſcovered his proficiency ſoon afterwards, both in the learned and modern languages, by his elegant tranſlations (*e*); as well as his intimate acquaintance with the Muſes, in ſome original poems which were very juſtly admired. Of all theſe the reader will have a farther account in the notes [*A*]. He married Martha, daughter and

[*A*] *Will have a farther account in the notes.*] If we conſider the father's turn of mind, and how much the young gentleman muſt be obliged to hear and ſee of gardens and plantations, we need not in the leaſt wonder that he ſhould employ his pen firſt upon this ſubject, more eſpecially in the eaſy way of tranſlation, and from a book ſo juſtly, as well as generally admired, as the French jeſuit's has ever been. The title of our author's little treatiſe, was,

I. *Of* GARDENS, *four books, firſt written in Latin verſe, by* Renatus Rapinus; *and now made Engliſh, by* John Evelyn, Eſq; 1673, 8*vo.*

His father annexed the ſecond book of this tranſlation to his Sylva; and it muſt be allowed, that as the ſenſe is very faithfully rendered, ſo the poetry is very eaſy and harmonious, more eſpecially if we conſider it as the work of a lad of nineneen. The reader will judge of this from the following ſhort ſpecimen, containing inſtructions for the culture of the cypreſs-tree in gardens, founded upon the fable of the unhappy cataſtrophe of Cypariſſus (1), ſuppoſed to be changed into beautiful evergreen, by intemperate grief; or by the power of Apollo, at the youth's own requeſt. What is ſaid of Sylvanus, is an improvement of the fiction, as delivered by the antients.

Though *Cypreſs*'s contiguous well appear,
They better ſhew if planted not ſo near;
And ſince to any ſhape with eaſe they yield,
What bounds more proper to divide a field?
Repine not *Cypariſſus* then in vain,
Since by your change freſh honours you obtain.
SYLVANUS and this boy with equal fire,
Did heretofore a lovely *hart* admire.

While

(*u*) Baronettage of England, Vol. V. p. 146.

(*w*) Aubrey's Hiſt. of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 131.

(*x*) Baronettage, &c. Vol. V. p. 148.

(*y*) Aubrey's Hiſtory of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 132.

(*z*) Baronettage, &c. Vol. V. p. 149.

(63) Hiſt. of the Reformation, P. ii. p. 417.

(64) North's Life of Lord Keeper Guildford, p. 286.

(65) Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 248.

(66) Polyhiſtor, ii. 2, 21, 7. ii. 2, 41, 4.

(67) Aubrey's Nat. Hiſtory of Surrey, Vol. IV, p. 124.

(*a*) See the Genealogy of the family of Evelyn.

(*b*) St Chryſoſtom's *Golden Book*, tranſlated by J. Evelyn, Eſq; p. 119.

(*c*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1079.

(*d*) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. V. p. 149.

(*e*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1079.

(1) Rapin of Gardens, B. ii. p. 35.

and coheireſs of Richard Spenſer, Eſq; and having a head as well turned for buſineſs as ſtudy, became one of the Commiſſioners of the Revenue in Ireland, and would probably have been advanced to higher employments if he had not been cut off in the flower of his age, dying at his houſe in London March 24, 1698, in the forty-fifth year of his age (g). He had by his wife two ſons and three daughters. His eldeſt ſon Richard died an infant at Sayes-Court, as did his eldeſt daughter Martha-Mary. His ſecond daughter, Elizabeth, married Simon Harcourt, Eſq; eldeſt ſon and heir of Simon Lord Viſcount Harcourt, Lord High-Chancellor of Great Britain, by whom ſhe became mother to the preſent Lord Viſcount Harcourt (h). Jane, his third daughter, died an infant at his houſe in the pariſh of St Martin's in the Fields, and was interred at Kenſington. John Evelyn, his ſecond and only ſurviving ſon, born at Sayes-Court March 2, 1681, ſucceeded to his grandfather's eſtate. He was married at Lambeth chapel, September 18, 1705, to Anne, daughter of Edward Boſcawen of Worthivil in the county of Cornwall, Eſq; He was, by Letters Patents bearing date July 30, 1713, created a Baronet (i). This worthy Gentleman, who inherits the virtue and learning, as well as patrimony of his anceſtors, made ſeveral alterations and additions to the family ſeat at Wotton in 1717, one of which was the erecting a beautiful library, forty-five feet long, fourteen feet broad, and as many high, for the reception of that large and curious collection of books made by his grandfather, his father, and himſelf (k). He is at preſent the eldeſt of the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms, Fellow of the Royal Society, and is bleſſed with a numerous poſterity.

(g) Baronettage of England, Vol. V. p. 149.

(h) Collins's Peerage, Vol. III. p. 403.

(i) Baronettage, Vol. V. p. 149.

(k) Aubrey's Hiſt. of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 125.

While in the cooler paſtures once it fed,
An arrow, ſhot at random, ſtruck it dead.
But when the youth the dying beaſt had found,
And knew himſelf the author of the wound.
With never ceaſing ſorrow he laments,
And on his breaſt his grief and anger vents.
Sylvanus, mov'd with the poor creature's fate,
Converts his former love to preſent hate;
And no more pity in his angry words,
Than to himſelf th' afflicted youth affords.
Weary of life, and quite oppreſt with woe,
Upon the ground his tears in channels flow;
Which having water'd the productive earth,
The *Cypreſs* firſt from thence deriv'd it's birth,
With *Sylvan*'s aid; nor was it only meant
T' expreſs our ſorrow, but for ornament.
Chiefly when growing low, your fields they bound;
Or when your garden's avenues are crown'd,
With their long rows; ſometimes it ſerves to hide,
Some trench declining on the other ſide.
Th' unequal branches always keep that green,
Of which it's leaves are ne're diveſted ſeen.
Tho' ſhook with ſtorms, yet it unmov'd remains,
And by rough trials greater glory gains.

II. *The Life of* Alexander the Great, *tranſlated from the* Greek *of* Plutarch (2).

III. *The Hiſtory of the* GRAND VISIERS, Mahomet, *and* Achmet Coprogli; *of the three laſt* Grand Signiors, *their* Sultanas, *and chief Favourites*; *with the moſt ſecret Intrigues of the Seraglio*, &c. Lond. 1677, 8*vo*.

This was a tranſlation from the French, and has been eſteemed an entertaining and inſtructive hiſtory. Our author wrote alſo ſeveral poems occaſionally, of which two are printed in a celebrated collection (3); the one, intituled *on Virtue*, has been eſteemed excellent in it's kind by the beſt judges; and the other, ſtiled *the Remedy of Love*, has been alſo much admired.

(2) Printed in the fourth volume of Plutarch's Lives by ſeveral hands.

(3) Dryden's Miſcellanies, Vol. II. p. 262, 274.

F.

(a) So he called his Chronicle.

(b) Pitſ. de Illuſt. Angl. Script. Ætas XVI. ad ann. 1512, No. 913.

FABIAN, or FABYAN (ROBERT) author of the *Concordaunce of Stories* (a), or Chronicle of England and France, was born in London (b). He was brought up to trade, and became ſo conſiderable a Merchant that he was choſen one of the Aldermen of that illuſtrious city. In the 9th of Henry VII, namely in part of the years 1493 and 1494, he had the honour of being one of the Sheriffs of the ſame (c). He was a perſon of learning for the times he lived in, and had ſome ſkill in Poetry, both in Engliſh, Latin, and French (d) [A]. But he applied himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of Hiſtory; and compiled out of ſeveral authors [B] a Chronicle, which was printed after his deceaſe [C]. He died at London in the beginning of the year 1512, and was buried February

(c) J. Stow's Survey, with J. Strype's Addit, edit. 1720, Vol. II. B v. p. 126; and, our author's Chronicle, edit. 1533, fol. CCXXX. b.

(d) Bale. Script, Brytanniæ Cent. 8va, No. 62.

[A] *And had ſome ſkill in Poetry, both in Engliſh, Latin, and French.*] Take a ſample of his Engliſh Poetry, from the Prologue to his Chronicle, where he gives an account of that work.

Into ſeven partes, I have this booke divided,
So that the reader maie choſe where he will.
The firſt conteineth how the Britons guided
This lande, from Brute (*) Moliuncius untill:
And from Moliuncius, I have ſette for ſkill,
To the ninthe yere of kyng Caſſibelan
The ſeconde parte, for that the Romaines than
Conquered Britain. And thens to Severine
The thirde parte I have alſo aſſigned.
The fourthe endeth then at Conſtantine.
The fifte at Cadwaladar I have alſo diffined.
At the conqueſt I have eke determined
The ſixte parte. And of the ſeventh or laſte,
At our redoubted Prince I have the ende caſte,
Henry the eight whom God preſerve and ſave,
And hym defende from all adverſitie.

(*) Molmutius.

— — — — — — — — — — — —

And for this booke includeth ſtories fele,
And toucheth thynges doen in ſondrie place,
So that one tyme muſt with an other dele,
To kepe the yeres, the tyme and the ſpace,
Therfore this name ſhall it now purchace,
(Concordaunce of ſtories) by me provided,
The actuhour, ſans nome finally diviſed.

— — — — — — — — — — — —

He hath alſo Verſes at the beginning of the ſecond Volume of his Chronicle, ſome of which run thus:

Whoſo hym liketh theſe verſes to reade
With favour I praie he will them ſpel.
Let not the rudeneſſe of them him leade,
For to deſprave this rime dogrell.
Some part of the honor it doeth you tel
Of this old citee Troinovaunt:
But not thereof the halfe dell
Connyng in the maker is ſo adaunt.

[B] *Out of ſeveral Authors.*] Particularly, Euſebius, Eutropius, Paullus Diaconus, Matthæolus Veronenſis, Petrus Pictavienſis, Guido de Columna, Roger de Hoveden, Alured of Beverley, Ranulph Higden, John de Treviſa, Lydgate, John Froiſſard, Gaguin, Hartman Shedel, Jacobus Bergomas, Will. Caxton, and eſpecially Geoffrey of Monmouth (1).

[C] *A Chronicle which was printed after his deceaſe.*] It was firſt printed at London in 1516. fol. by R. Pynſon; and afterwards by William Raſtell, 1533, fol. in neat and ſmall black types, and on good paper. At the concluſion of each part, there is a Hymn to the Virgin Mary [omitted in the following Editions.] And at the end of all 'Thus endeth 'Fabyans Cronicle. Printed by W. Raſtell, and fynyſhed the laſte daye of December, in the yere of 'our Lorde. M. V. C. and XXXIII.' There are alſo at the end five leaves, which bring down the Hiſtory to the beginning of King Henry VIII. but are omitted in ſubſequent Editions, particularly in one of the year 1559. now before us. The whole work is divided into two Volumes: whereof the firſt begins at Brute, and ends at the death of our King Henry II. and Philip II. King of France. The ſecond Volume, which is the moſt valuable of the two, contains the Chronicles of England and of France, from the beginning of the reign of King Richard I. until the end of the reign of Charles IX. of France, that is till the year 1504, the 20th of King Henry VII. And it appears by the concluſion, that it was finiſhed by the Author, Novemb. 7. 1504 (2). The ſecond Volume begins with an account of the Wards of London, and the pariſh Churches in each Ward: and there are ſet down the Bailiffs of that City under every year, from the time they were appointed, that is from 1190, until the year 1209, when the two Bailiffs were converted, by King John, into a Mayor and two Shireves. Of theſe the Author gives [illegible] liſts, under each year, as far as his Chronicle reaches. He comprehends, as 'tis ſaid in the title-page, [illegible] Chronicles of England and of France; not all together, or under the reſpective years, but in diſtinct Chapters, or Articles, denoted, in the beginning, by the words *Anglia* and *Francia*.——We are told, that Cardinal Wolſey cauſed as many copies of this book as he could come at, to be burnt, becauſe the Author had made too clear a diſcovery of the large revenues of the Clergy (3). As for the character it bears: 'tis called by one who was a good

(1) Bale, Script. Brytanniæ Cent. octava, No. 62. p.642, edit. 1559.

(2) See p. 525, col. 1, edit. 1559.

(3) Bale, ubi ſupra.

February 28, in the church of St Michael's Cornhill (e); where formerly was to be ſeen his monument [D].

(e) And not of All Saints, as both Bale and Pits have it, ubi ſupra; and from them Dr Fuller in his Worthies, in London, p. 218.

a good judge (4), 'a painful labour, to the great ho-'nour of the city, and the whole realm.' He is very particular in the affairs of London, many good things being noted by him (which concern the government thereof) hardly to be had elſewhere. In the beginning of his ſeventh part, he obſerves Ralph Higden's method of making his years commence at Michaelmas: and is, in other reſpects, a great follower of that Author (5).

[D] *Where formerly was to be ſeen his monument.*] On which was the following inſcription: but now gone.

Like as the day his courſe doth conſume,
And the new morrow ſpringeth again as faſt,
So man and woman by natures cuſtome,
This life to paſſe, at laſt in earth are caſt,
In joy, and ſorrow, which here their time do waſt.
Never in one ſtate, but in courſe tranſitory,
So full of change is of this world the glory (6).

C

(4) Stow's Survey, &c. as above, B. v. p. 126.

(5) Dr Nicolſon's Engl. Hiſtorical Library, edit. 1736, fol. p. 69.

(6) Stow's Survey, as above, B. ii. p. 145.

FAIRFAX (THOMAS, Lord) a very active man in the Parliament's ſervice during our unhappy Civil Wars, in the laſt century, and at length General of their armies, was the eldeſt ſon of Ferdinando Lord Fairfax [*A*], by Mary his wife, daughter of Edmund Sheffield Earl of Mulgrave. He was born at Denton within the pariſh of Otley in Yorkſhire, in January 1611 (*a*). After a proper ſchool education, he ſtudied ſome time in St John's college in Cambridge, to which in his latter days he became a benefactor. He appears to have been a lover of learning, though he did not excel in any branch, except it was in the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Britain, as will appear in the ſequel. Being of a martial diſpoſition even in his younger years, but finding no employment at home, he went and ſerved in Holland as a voluntier under the command of Horatio Lord Vere [*B*], in order to learn the art of war (*b*). After ſome ſtay there (but how long we cannot learn) he came back to England; and, retiring to his father's houſe, married Anne, fourth daughter of the ſaid Lord Vere. Here he contracted a ſtrong averſion for the Court; either by the inſtigation of his wife, who was a zealous Preſbyterian (*c*), or elſe by the perſuaſions and example of his father, who grew 'actively and factiouſly diſaffected to 'the King (*d*).' So that, upon his Majeſty's firſt endeavours to raiſe a guard at York for his own perſon; [apprehended then by the people of thoſe parts, and found quickly after, to be the beginning of an army;] he was entruſted by his party to prefer a petition to the King, beſeeching him to hearken to his Parliament, and not to take that courſe of raiſing forces: which petition the King endeavouring to ſhun, he preſſed with that inſtance, and followed him ſo with it, on Heyworth-moor, in the preſence of near 100,000 people, that at laſt he preſented it upon the pomel of his ſaddle (*e*). Shortly after, upon the actual breaking out of the Civil Wars, in 1642, his father having received a commiſſion from the Parliament to be General of the forces in the North, he had a commiſſion under him to be General of the Horſe (*f*). His firſt exploit was at Bradford in Yorkſhire, which he obliged a body of Royaliſts to quit, and to retire to Leeds. A few days after, he and Capt. Hotham, with ſome horſe and dragoons marching thither, the Royaliſts fled in haſte to York. And the former having advanced to Tadcaſter, reſolved to keep the paſs at Wetherby, for ſecuring the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire, from whence their chief ſupplies came. Sir Thomas Glemham attempted to diſlodge them from thence; but, after a ſhort and ſharp encounter, retired (*g*). Whereupon William Cavendiſh Earl of Newcaſtle, and Henry Clifford Earl of Cumberland, united their forces at York, amounting to 9000 men (*h*), and reſolved to fall upon Tadcaſter: which being judged untenable, the Lord Fairfax, and his ſon Sir Thomas, drew out to an advantageous piece of ground near the town: but, after a ſix hours fight, were beaten, and withdrew in the night to Selby (*i*). Three days after, Sir Thomas marched in the night by ſeveral towns in

(*a*) A. Wood, Faſti, Vol. II. edit. 1721. col. 86.

(*b*) Ibid. & Anglia Rediviva; England's Recovery, &c. by Joſhua Sprigge, fol. Lond. 1647, p. 7.

(*c*) Memoirs of Edm. Ludlow, edit. 1698, Vol. I. p. 314.

(*d*) The Lord Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. edit. 1732, 8*vo*, Vol. II. p. 718.

(*e*) Sprigge, p. 8.

(*f*) Short Memorials of Tho. Lord Fairfax, Lond. 1699, 8*vo*, p. 96.

(*g*) Ib. p. 2—8.

(*h*) The Commons War of England, &c. Lond. 1662, 8*vo*, p. 22.

(*i*) Memorials, as above, p. 4—13.

[*A*] *Was the eldeſt ſon of Ferdinando Lord Fairfax*] The Heralds, according to their uſual flattering ſtrain, trace up this family's pedigree even higher than the Norman Conqueſt. Telling us, that it was at that time ſeated at Touceſter in Northumberland, from whence they removed into Yorkſhire (*). But it is a great queſtion, whether ſurnames were thus early taken from perſons complexions; as this of Fairfax, ſignifying *Fair locks*, from *fair*, and the Saxon feax hair: and the family ſeems to have had no notion of this derivation, when they took for their motto this rebus or pun, viz. the Latin words *Fare fac*, ſay, do. ——— But to return; Sir William Fairfax was High-Sheriff of Yorkſhire in the 26th and 31ſt of King Henry VIII. and Thomas, his grandſon, was advanced by King Charles I. May 4. 1627. to the title of Baron Cameron in Scotland (1). This Thomas Lord Fairfax married Helen, daughter to Robert Aſk, Eſq; and by her left five ſons and two daughters. Ferdinando, the eldeſt, was entirely attached to the Parliament (2); one of their committee for the county of York (3); and General of their forces in Yorkſhire, and the adjacent counties (4). He ſerved them with the utmoſt zeal, upon every occaſion, till his death, which happened, at York, March 13, 1647-8 (5). By his wife, Mary, daughter of Edmund Sheffield Earl of Mulgrave, as above related, he had three ſons; Sir Thomas, who is the ſubject of this article; Charles, ſlain at the battle of Marſton-moor, July 3. 1644; and another, not mentioned by name. Alſo ſix daughters (6). This family, as Mr Whitelock informs us (7), was deſcended from the Law.

[*B*] *Under the command of Horatio Lord Vere*] This Horatio, was fourth ſon of John de Vere the fifteenth Earl of Oxford of that noble family: and by King Charles I. ann. 1625, was advanced to the title of Lord Vere of Tilbury (8). He long ſerved in Holland, with great valour and reputation, jointly with his brother the brave Sir Francis Vere Governor of the Briel. In 1620. Sir Horatio commanded the Regiment ſent from England to the aſſiſtance of the Elector Palatine (9): and afterwards was employed in ſeveral other expeditions in the Netherlands. About the year 1632, or 1633, Sir Thomas Fairfax ſerved as a voluntier under him; and was at the conſiderable action of taking Boſch, or Bois-le-Duc, from the Spaniards, but had no command while he was there. He returned to England in 1634, or 1635 (10).

[C] *And*

(*) Britiſh Compendium, for Scotland, by F. Nichols, ed. 1729. p. 451.

(1) Compend. ib. and Camden's Britan. edit. 1722, Vol. II. col. 1189.

(2) Clarendon, ubi ſupra, Vol. III. p. 138.

(3) Id. Vol. II. p. 515.

(4) Id. Vol. III. p. 142.

(5) Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 296.

(6) Compendium, ubi ſupra.

(7) Memorials, p. 66.

(8) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. I. p. 199.

(9) Ar. Wilſon's Hiſt. of King James I. under 1620.

(10) Wood, as above, col. 86.

in which the Royaliſts lay, and came to Bradford, where he entrenched himſelf. But having too many ſoldiers to lye idle, and too few to be upon conſtant duty [C], he reſolved to attempt his enemies in their garriſons. Accordingly coming before Leeds, he carried that town (Jan. 23, 1642-3) after a hot diſpute, wherein a good ſtore of ammunition fell into his hands, of which he ſtood in great want (k). Next he defeated a party of 700 horſe and foot at Giſborough, under the command of Col. Slingſby (l). And then Wakefield and Doncaſter yielded themſelves to the Parliament. But, for theſe overt-acts, William Earl of Newcaſtle, the King's General, proclaimed Sir Thomas and his father traytors, and the Parliament did the like for the Earl (m). In the mean time, the Lord Fairfax being denied ſuccour from Hull, and the Eaſt Riding, was forced to forſake Selby, and retire to Leeds: of which the Earl of Newcaſtle having intelligence, he lay with his army on Clifford-moor, to intercept him in his way to Leeds. Whereupon Sir Thomas was ordered by his father, to bring what men he could to join with him at Sherburne, on purpoſe to ſecure his retreat. To amuſe the Earl, Sir Thomas made a diverſion at Tadcaſter, which the garriſon immediately quitted, and whereof he ſlighted the works. But the Lord Goring marching to its relief, with twenty troops of horſe and dragoons, defeated Sir Thomas upon Bramham-moor: who alſo received a ſecond defeat upon Seacroft-moor, where ſome of his men were ſlain, and many taken priſoners. So that he made his retreat with much difficulty to Leeds, about an hour after his father was ſafely come thither. And, according to him, this was one of the greateſt loſſes he ever received (n). Leeds and Bradford being all the garriſons the Parliament had in the North, Sir Thomas thought it neceſſary to poſſeſs ſome other place: therefore with about 1100 horſe and foot, he drove, on the 21ſt of May, the Royaliſts out of Wakefield, which they had ſeized again; and took 1400 priſoners, 80 officers, and great ſtore of ammunition (o). But, ſhortly after, the Earl of Newcaſtle coming to beſiege Bradford, and Sir Thomas and his father having the boldneſs, with about 3000 men, to go and attack his whole army, which conſiſted of 10,000, on Adderton-moor; they were entirely routed by the Earl, on the 30th of June (p), with a conſiderable loſs [D]. Upon that, Halifax and Beverley being abandoned by the Parliamentarians, and the Lord Fairfax having neither a place of ſtrength to defend himſelf in, nor a garriſon in Yorkſhire to retire to [E], withdrew the ſame night to Leeds, to ſecure that town. But, by his order, Sir Thomas ſtayed in Bradford with 800 foot and 60 horſe; wherein being ſurrounded, he was obliged to force his way through: in which deſperate attempt, his Lady, and many others, were taken priſoners [F]. At his coming to Leeds, he found things in great diſtraction; the Council of War having reſolved to quit the town, and retreat to Hull, which was ſixty miles off; with many of the King's garriſons in the way. However, though there were fifty or ſixty troops of Royaliſts within three miles of Leeds, he got ſafely to Selby, where there was a ferry, and hard by one of the Parliament's garriſons at Cawood (q). Immediately after his coming to Selby, being attacked by a party of horſe which purſued him, he received a ſhot in the wriſt of his left arm, which made the bridle fall out of his hand; and being among the nerves and veins, ſuddenly let out ſuch a quantity of blood, that he was ready to fall from his horſe. But taking the reins in the other hand in which he had his ſword, he withdrew himſelf out of the crowd [G]; and

after

(k) Ibid. p. 17.

(l) The Commons War, p. 24.

(m) Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 66. Heath's Chron. edit. 1676, fol. p. 43.

(n) His Memorials, as above, p. 22—27.

(o) Ibid. p. 28—34.

(p) Heath's Chron. p. 47. and Memorials.

(q) Memorials, p. 34—53.

[C] *And too few to be upon conſtant duty.*] According to his own account, he had but three troops of horſe, and about eight hundred foot; but, upon ſummoning the country, he made up the latter twelve or thirteen hundred (11). Whilſt he lay at Selby, he went and beat up a quarter of the Royaliſts at Sherburne, and took Major-general Windham, and others priſoners: but, in this attempt, his horſe was ſhot under him (12).

[D] *With a conſiderable loſs.*] Two thouſand were killed and taken; and the next day two thouſand priſoners were made, at the taking of the town (13).

[E] *Nor a garriſon in Yorkſhire to retire to.*] For Sir John Hotham, the Governor of Hull had declared, if they were forced to retreat thither, he would ſhut the gates on them. Whilſt the Lord Fairfax was muſing on theſe ſad thoughts, a meſſenger was ſent unto him from Hull, to let him know the townſmen had ſecured the Governor; that they were ſenſible of the danger he was in, and if he had any occaſion to make uſe of that place, he ſhould be very readily and gladly received there (14).

[F] *In which deſperate attempt, his Lady, and many others, were taken priſoners.*] As we learn from his own Memorials, in the following words:— ‘ I muſt ‘ not here forget my wife, who ran the ſame hazard ‘ with us in this retreat, and with as little expreſſion ‘ of fear; not from any zeal, or delight in the war, ‘ but through a willing and patient ſuffering of this ‘ undeſirable condition. I ſent two or three horſe‘ men before, to diſcover what they could of the ene‘ my, who preſently returned, and told us there was ‘ a guard of horſe cloſe by us.———I, with ſome ‘ 12 more, charged them. Sir Henry Fowles, Major‘ General Gefford, myſelf and 3 more brake through; ‘ Capt. Mudd was ſlain, and the reſt of our horſe ‘ being cloſe by, the enemy fell upon them, and ſoon ‘ routed them, taking moſt of them priſoners, among ‘ whom was my wife, the Officer Will. Hill, behind ‘ whom ſhe rid, being taken. I ſaw this diſaſter, but ‘ could give no relief; for after I was got through, ‘ I was in the enemies reer alone; thoſe who had ‘ charged through with me, went on to Leeds, think‘ ing I had done ſo too: but I was unwilling to leave ‘ my company, and ſtay'd till I ſaw there was no ‘ more in my power to do, but to be taken priſoner ‘ with them. I then retired to Leeds (15).’

[G] *He drew himſelf out of the crowd.*] Theſe additional circumſtances, from his own account, may not be unacceptable to the reader. ‘ ———The ene‘ my minding nothing ſo much as how to get away, ‘ I drew myſelf out of the crowd, and came to our ‘ men, who turned about, and ſeeing me ready to ‘ fall from my horſe, they lay'd me on the ground: ‘ now when I was almoſt ſenſeleſs, my Surgeon came ‘ ſeaſonably, and bound up the wound, and ſtopt the ‘ bleeding. After a quarter of an hour's reſt, I got ‘ a horſe-back again; the other part of our horſe had ‘ beaten the enemy back to Cawood, the ſame way ‘ they came firſt to us. Thus by the goodneſs of ‘ God, our paſſage was made clear; ſome went over ‘ the ferry after my father, I myſelf with others went

‘ through

(11) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 12, 15.

(12) Ibid. p. 18, &c.

(13) Hiſt. of the Civil Wars, by T. Hobbes, Lond. 1679, 8vo, p. 177.

(14) Memorials of Lord Fairfax, as above, p. 44, 45. See alſo, p. 22.

(15) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 49, 50.

after a very troubleſome and dangerous paſſage (being often attacked, ſometimes in the front, ſometimes in the rear) he came to Hull (r). Upon theſe repeated diſaſters, the Scots were haſtily ſollicited to ſend 20,000 men to the aſſiſtance of the Parliamentarians, who were thus likely to be over-powered. The Lord Fairfax, after his coming to Hull, made it his firſt buſineſs to raiſe new forces, and in a ſhort time had about 1500 foot, and 700 horſe. The town being little, Sir Thomas was ſent to Beverley, with the horſe and 600 foot: for, the Marquis of Newcaſtle (s) looking upon them as inconſiderable, and leaving only a few garriſons, was marched with his whole army into Lincolnſhire; having orders to go into Eſſex, and block up London on that ſide. But he was haſtily recalled Northward, upon the Lord Fairfax's ſending out a large party to make an attempt upon Stanford-bridge near York. The Marquis, at his return into Yorkſhire, firſt diſlodged from Beverley Sir Thomas, who retreated into Hull, to which the Marquis laid ſiege; but could not carry the place. During the ſiege, the horſe being uſeleſs, and many dying every day, Sir Thomas was ſent with them over into Lincolnſhire, to join the Earl of Mancheſter's forces, then commanded by Major-General Cromwell (t). At Horncaſtle, or Winſby, they routed a party of 5000 men, commanded by Sir John Henderſon: and, at the ſame time, the beſieged in Hull making a ſally upon the beſiegers, obliged them to retire. Theſe two defeats together, the one falling heavy upon the horſe, the other upon the foot, kept the Royaliſts all that winter from attempting any thing; and the Parliamentarians, after the taking of Lincoln, ſettled themſelves in winter quarters (u). But Sir Thomas had not long the benefit of them, for in the coldeſt ſeaſon of the year, he was commanded by the Parliament to go and raiſe the ſiege of Nantwich in Cheſhire, which the Lord Byron, with an army from Ireland, had reduced to great extremity. He ſet forward from Lincolnſhire December 29, and, being joined by Sir William Brereton, entirely routed, on the 21ſt of January, the Lord Byron, who was drawn out to meet them (w) [*H*]. After that, they took in ſeveral garriſons in Cheſhire, particularly Crew-houſe, &c (x). Sir Thomas having ſtayed in thoſe parts till the middle of March, was ordered back by his father into Yorkſhire, that by the conjunction of their forces he might be abler to take the field. They met about Ferry-bridge; and Col. Bellaſis, Governor of York, having advanced to Selby, to hinder their junction, they found means, notwithſtanding, to join, and entirely defeated him, on the 11th of April 1644 (y) [*I*]. This good ſucceſs rendered Sir Thomas maſter of the field in Yorkſhire, and nothing then hindered him from marching into Northumberland, as he had been ordered by the Parliament, to join the Scots, which were kept from advancing Southward by the ſuperior forces of the Marquis of Newcaſtle, quartered at Durham. But that ſtroke having thrown York into the utmoſt diſtraction, the inhabitants ſpeedily ſent to the Marquis to haſte back thither; by which means a way was left open for the Scots, who with cold and frequent alarms were reduced to great extremity. They joined the Lord Fairfax at Wetherby, on the 20th of April, and marching on to York, laid ſiege to that city [*K*], wherein

(r) Ibid. p. 52—56.

(s) He was created Marquis Oct. 27, 1643. Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 421.

(t) Memorials, as above, p. 59—65; and Whitelock, p. 75.

(u) Memorials, as above, p. 66—69.

(w) Ib. p. 69—76. Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. V. p. 302. Whitelock, p. 81.

(x) Ibid.

(y) Memorials, p. 76—79. Whitelock, p. 86.

‘ through the levels to Hull.———I had been twenty hours on horſeback, after I was ſhot, without any reſt or refreſhment, and as many hours before. And as a further affliction, my daughter [afterwards Ducheſs of Buckingham] not above five years old, being carried before her maid, endured all this retreat a horſeback; but nature not being able to hold out any longer, ſhe fell into frequent ſwoonings, and in appearance was ready to expire her laſt. Having now paſſed the Trent, and ſeeing a houſe not far off, I ſent her with her maid only thither, with little hopes of ſeeing her any more alive, though I intended the next day to ſend a ſhip from Hull for her. I went on to Barton, having ſent before to have a ſhip ready againſt my coming thither. Here I lay down to take a little reſt, if it were poſſible to find any in a body ſo full of pain, and a mind yet fuller of anxiety and trouble. Though I muſt acknowledge it as the infinite goodneſs of God, that my ſpirit was nothing at all diſcouraged from doing ſtill that which I thought to be my duty. I had not reſted a quarter of an hour, before the enemy came cloſe to the town. I had now not above a hundred horſe with me, we went to the ſhip, where under the ſecurity of her ordinance we got all our men and horſe aboard; and croſſing Humber, we arrived at Hull, our men faint and tired. I myſelf had loſt all, even to my ſhirt, for my cloaths were made unfit to wear with rents and blood. Preſently after my coming to Hull, I ſent a ſhip for my daughter, who was brought the next day to the town, pretty well recovered of her long and tedious journey. Not many days, after the Earl of Newcaſtle ſent my wife back again in his coach, with ſome horſe to guard her; which generous act of his gained him more reputation, than he could have got by detaining a lady priſoner, upon ſuch terms (16).’

[*H*] *Entirely routed, on the 21ſt of January, the Lord Byron, who was drawn out to meet them.*] His army of Iriſh conſiſted of 3000 foot, of whom above 2000 were ſlain or taken priſoners; and of 1800 horſe, moſt of whom eſcaped by flight. Col. George Monk, then in the King's ſervice, being taken in this action, was ſent up priſoner to the Tower of London, where he remained till 1647, when he entered into the Parliament's ſervice, for the reduction of Ireland. And his great bravery in that kingdom was the cauſe of his ſucceeding advancement (17).

[*I*] *They found means, notwithſtanding, to join, and entirely defeated him, &c.*] The Lord Fairfax took a great compaſs about, to deceive the vigilance of the Royaliſts, and by that means joined his ſon (18). Their attack was in three diviſions; the firſt led on by the Lord Fairfax himſelf; the next by Sir John Meldrum; and the third by Col. Bright, brother-in-law to Col. Lambert: Sir Thomas Fairfax led on the horſe. The matter was a long time diſputed with equality on both ſides, till the horſe forced a paſſage into the town, where the following priſoners were taken; 2 Colonels; 3 Lieutenant-Colonels; 1 Major of horſe, and 3 of foot; 8 Captains of horſe; 11 Captains of foot; 3 Captain-Lieutenants; 3 Lieutenants of horſe; 23 Lieutenants of foot; 12 Enſigns; 6 Cornets of horſe; 4 Quarter-maſters; above 60 Serjeants, Trumpets, &c. 1600 common Soldiers; 2000 Arms, and above; and all the bag and baggage (19).

[*K*] *Laid ſiege to that city.*] During the ſiege, St Mary's Tower, wherein many foundation-charters and other grants relating to the Monaſteries, in Yorkſhire and

(16) Memorials, p. 54, &c.

(17) Memorials, p. 69, &c. Whitelock, p. 81. Ruſhworth, Vol. V. p. 302; and Life of General Monk, by T. Skinner, M. D. edit. 1724, 8vo, ch. ii.

(18) Ruſhworth, Vol. V. p. 618.

(19) From the account then printed by authority.

wherein the Marquis of Newcaſtle had ſhut himſelf up (z); being cloſely purſued, on the way thither, by Sir Thomas, and Major-General Leſley (a). And when Prince Rupert was advancing out of Lancaſhire to the relief of that place, they marched with 6000 horſe and dragoons and 5000 foot, to ſtop his progreſs (b): but he eluding their vigilance, and fetching a compaſs about with his army, which conſiſted of above 20,000 men, got into York (c). Whereupon the Parliamentarians raiſed the ſiege, and retired to Heſſey-more. The Engliſh were for fighting, and the Scots for retreating; which laſt opinion prevailing, they both marched away to Tadcaſter (d), there being great differences and jealouſies between the two nations. But the raſh and haughty Prince, inſtead of haraſſing and wearing them out by prudent delays, reſolved, without conſulting the Marquis of Newcaſtle or any of his officers, to engage them, on Marſton-moor, eight miles from York, on the 2d of July: where that bloody battle was fought, which entirely ruined the King's affairs in the North (e). In this battle, Sir Thomas Fairfax commanded the right wing of the horſe [*L*]. The Prince, after his defeat, retiring towards Lancaſhire, and the Marquis, in diſcontent, ſailing away to Hamburgh (f), the three Parliament-Generals came and ſat down again before York, which ſurrendered the 15th of July: and the North was now wholly reduced by the Parliament's forces, except ſome garriſons (g). In September following, Sir Thomas was ſent to take Helmeſley-caſtle, where he received a dangerous ſhot in one of his ſhoulders, and was brought back to York, all being doubtful of his recovery for ſome time (h). Some time after, he was near being killed by a cannon-ſhot before Pomfret-caſtle [*M*]. Hitherto he had acquitted himſelf with undaunted bravery, and with great and deſerved applauſe from his party. Had he ſtopped here, or at ſuch times at leaſt as the King's conceſſions were in reaſon and equity a juſt ground for peace (which was more than once) he might have been honourably ranked among the reſt of thoſe Patriots, who took up arms only for the redreſs of grievances. But his boundleſs ambition, and his great deſire to rule, made him weakly engage, with the utmoſt zeal, in the worſt and moſt exceptionable parts of our unhappy Civil Wars. For, when the Parliamentarians thought fit to new model their army, and to lay aſide the honeſt but unſucceſsful Robert Devereux Earl of Eſſex; they unanimouſly voted Sir Thomas Fairfax to be their General in his room: and he being eaſy, and forward to undertake or execute any thing that he was put upon, was the more readily choſen by the two then prevailing parties of Preſbyterians and Independants. To him Oliver Cromwell was joined with the title of Lieutenant-General, but with intention of being his governor (i); and he was indeed the ſpring of all his ſucceeding motions. Sir Thomas being thus voted Commander in Chief of the Parliament's army on the 21ſt of January 1644-5 (k), received orders from the Parliament ſpeedily to come up from the North to London (l). Accordingly he repaired privately thither Febr. 18, and, the next day, was brought by four of the members into the Houſe of Commons, where he was highly complemented by the Speaker, and received his commiſſion of General (m). The 15th of the ſame month, an Ordinance was made, for raiſing and maintaining of forces under his command [*N*]: it having been voted, a few days before, that he ſhould nominate all the Commanders in his army, to be taken out of any the other armies, with the approbation of both Houſes (n). March 25, the Parliament ordered him 1500*l* (o). The 3d of April, he went from London to Windſor where he had appointed the general rendezvous; and continued there till the laſt day of that month, new-framing and modelling the army: or rather Cromwell doing it in his name. For, as Mr Rapin well obſerves (p), Cromwell had ſuch an influence over him, that he made him do whatever he pleaſed. April 16, he was appointed by both Houſes Governor of Hull (q). In the

mean

(z) Memorials, p. 77, 78, 79, 80.

(a) Whitelock, p. 87.

(b) Ib. p. 92.

(c) Ib. p. 93.

(d) Memorials, as above, p. 82, 83.

(e) Ib. p. 82, &c. and Lord Clarendon's Hiſt. edit. 1732, 8*vo*, Vol. IV. p. 503, &c.

(f) Lord Clarendon, ibid.

(g) Memorials, p. 89. Whitelock, p. 95.

(h) Ibid.

(i) Elenchus Motuum, autore G. Bates, edit. 1676, p. 67, 68.

(k) The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer, No. 89.

(l) Whitelock, p. 128.

(m) Ibid. p. 132.

(n) Ib. p. 130, 136.

(o) Ib. p. 138.

(p) Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. edit. 1733, fol. p. 516.

(q) Whitelock, p. 142.

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and other Northern counties, were depoſited, being accidentally blown up; Sir Thomas recovered as many of thoſe valuable pieces as he could, rewarding very generouſly ſuch ſoldiers as brought any of them to him. He had before employed Roger Dodſworth, to copy out great numbers of them, allowing him an annuity of 40*l. per ann.* during his life; by which means they were preſerved from irrecoverable ruin, and make a very conſiderable part of the *Monaſticon Anglicanum*. All the ſaid Dodſworth's collections and MSS. amounting in the whole to 122 volumes, were afterwards bequeathed by the Lord Fairfax to the Bodleian Library at Oxford (20).

[*L*] *In this battle, Sir Thomas Fairfax commanded the right wing of horſe.*] This right wing of horſe, which conſiſted of Sir Thomas Fairfax's troops in the van, and of the Scotch cavalry in the rear, (againſt which the Prince had a more peculiar indignation) was, at the firſt onſet of the King's left wing of horſe, put to rout; the Royaliſts following them in the purſuit ſo far (as it was their unhappy cuſtom) that thereby they became the overthrow of their own army (21).

[*M*] *He was near been killed, &c.*] This we learn from Mr Whitelock, in theſe words. 'Sir Thomas 'Fairfax and Colonel Forbes ſtanding together near 'Pomfret-caſtle, a cannon-bullet from thence came 'betwixt them, and the wind of it beat them both 'to the ground, and put out one of Col. Forbes's 'eyes, and ſpoiled that ſide of his face, and yet no 'other hurt to Sir Thomas Fairfax (22).'

[*N*] *An Ordinance was made, for raiſing and maintaining of the Forces under his command.*] This Ordinance imported, that there ſhould be forthwith raiſed and formed, for the defence of the King and Parliament, the true Proteſtant Religion, and the laws and liberties of the kingdom, an army conſiſting of 6600 horſe to be diſtributed into eleven regiments; and of 1000 dragooniers, to be diſtributed into ten companies; and of 14400 foot, to be diſtributed into twelve regiments, each regiment of foot to conſiſt of twelve hundred, and each ſuch regiment to be diſtributed into ten companies. For their maintenance, there was impoſed upon nineteen of the counties and cities in England, the monthly ſum of fifty three thouſand four hundred and fifty ſix pounds; which was raiſed in the ſame manner as our preſent Land-tax (23).

[O] *When*

(20) Wood, Faſt. Vol. II. col. 11, 14, 15. See alſo the article DUGDALE (Sir WILLIAM).

(21) Heath's Chron. p. 59.

(22) Whitelock, p. 124.

(23) Collection of all the publique Orders, &c. Printed for Edw. Huſband, Lond. 1646, fol. p. 599.

mean time, Taunton, in Somerſetſhire, one of the Parliament's garriſons, being cloſely beſieged by the Royaliſts, Sir Thomas Fairfax received orders to haſten to its relief, with 8000 horſe and foot (r). He began his march May 1, and by the 7th had reached Blandford in Dorſetſhire (s): but the King taking the field from Oxford, with ſtrong reinforcements brought by the Princes Rupert and Maurice; Sir Thomas was ordered by the Parliament, to ſend 3000 foot and 1500 horſe to relieve Taunton, and himſelf to return, with the reſt of his forces to join Oliver Cromwell and Major-General Browne, and attend the King's motions (t). The 14th of May he was come back as far as Newbury (u); where having reſted three nights, he went and faced Dennington-caſtle, and took a few priſoners. Thence he proceeded to lay ſiege to Oxford, as he was directed by the Committee of both kingdoms, and ſat down before it the 22d. But before he had made any progreſs in this ſiege, he received orders to draw nearer the King, who had taken Leiceſter by ſtorm, May 31, and was threatning the eaſtern aſſociated counties (w). Sir Thomas therefore riſing from before Oxford, June 5, arrived the ſame day at Marſh-Gibbon in Buckinghamſhire; on the 11th he was at Wootton, and the next day at Gilſborough in Northamptonſhire: where he kept his head-quarters till the 14th, when he engaged the King's forces at the fatal and deciſive battle of Naſeby [O], and obtained a compleat victory (x). The King, after that, retiring into Wales, Sir Thomas went and laid ſiege on the 16th to Leiceſter, which ſurrendered on the 18th (y). He proceeded, on the 22d, to Warwick; and thence (with a diſpoſition either to go over the Severn towards the King, or to move Weſtward as he ſhould be ordered) he marched on through Glouceſterſhire towards Marlborough, where he arrived the 28th (z). And here he received orders from the Parliament, to haſten to the relief of Taunton, which was beſieged again by the Royaliſts; letters being ſent at the ſame time into the aſſociated counties, for recruits, and the arrears of pay, for his army (a). But July 2, upon his coming to Blandford, he was informed that the Lord Goring had drawn off his horſe from before Taunton, and left his foot in the paſſages to block up that place, marching himſelf with the horſe towards Langport (b). Sir Thomas Fairfax therefore advancing againſt him, defeated him there on the 10th of July (c); and, the next day, went and ſummoned Bridgewater, which was taken by ſtorm on the 22d (d). He became alſo maſter of Bath the 30th of the ſame month; and then laid cloſe ſiege to Sherborne-caſtle, which was likewiſe taken by ſtorm Auguſt 15. And having beſieged the rich and famous city of Briſtol from the 22d of Auguſt to the 10th of September [P], it was ſurrendered to him by Prince Rupert (e); at which the King was ſo exceſſively angry [Q], that he ordered the Prince to go and ſeek his ſubſiſtence ſomewhere beyond ſea (f). After this laborious expedition, the General reſted ſome days at Bath, having ſent out parties to reduce the caſtles of the Deviſes and Berkley, and other garriſons between the Weſt and London; and on the 23d moved from Bath to the Deviſes, and thence to Warminſter on the 27th, where he ſtayed till October 8, when he went to Lyme in Dorſetſhire (g). From this place he came to Tiverton, of which he became maſter on the 19th (h); and then, as he could not undertake a formal ſiege in the winter ſeaſon, he blocked up the ſtrong city of Exeter, which did not ſurrender till the 13th of April following (i): in the mean time, he took Dartmouth by ſtorm January 18, 1645-6 (k); and ſeveral forts and garriſons at different

(r) Ibid. p. 144.

(s) Sprigge, ubi ſupra, p. 15.

(t) Ibid. p. 17. and Whitelock, p. 145.

(u) Sprigge, p. 19.

(w) Ibid. p. 21; and Whitelock, p. 146, 147. Memorable occurrences, at the end of *Mercurius Ruſticus.*

(x) Sprigge, p. 33, &c.

(y) Sprigge, p. 48, 49.

(z) Sprigge, p. 55.

(a) Whitelock, p. 153.

(b) Idem. p. 155; and Sprigge, p. 57, 60.

(c) Sprigge, p. 64, &c. Whitelocke, p. 158, 159.

(d) Sprigge, p. 66, &c Whitelock, p. 161, 162, 166.

(e) Sprigge, p. 76—120.

(f) Lord Clarendon, Vol. IV. p. 694.

(g) Sprigge, p. 124, 127, 128.

(h) Ib. p. 134, 144.

(i) Ib. p. 146, &c.

(k) Ib. p. 167; and Whitelock, p. 189.

[O] *When he engaged the King's forces at the fatal and deciſive battle of Naſeby.*] As I am not writing a hiſtory of England, I ſhall not enter into the particulars of this battle, but only take notice of the ſhare Sir Thomas Fairfax had in it. He commanded the main body of foot; and behaved with uncommon valour and bravery (24). During the engagement, having had his helmet beat off, he rid bareheaded up and down from one part of his army to another, to ſee how they ſtood, and what advantage might be gained: and coming up to his own life-guard, commanded by Col. Charles Doyley, he was told by him that he expoſed himſelf to too much danger, and the whole army thereby, riding bareheaded in the fields, and ſo many bullets flying about him; and Doyley offered the General his helmet, but he refuſed it, ſaying, ' It is well enough Charles.' (25)——This viſible difference appears in the encouragement given to the two contending parties, which may account for their different ſucceſs almoſt in every battle. The King's forces fought for Him, not for themſelves; and both officers and ſoldiers were in general negligent and unfaithful in their duty (26). But the Parliamentarian ſoldiers fought for Themſelves, for booty and plunder, at leaſt for very great rewards, and could not but mend their fortunes by fiſhing in troubled waters; no wonder therefore that they fought with ſo much fury and reſolution.

[P] *And having beſieged the rich and famous city of Briſtol, from the 22d of Auguſt to the 10th of September.*] Sir Thomas Fairfax, in his firſt ſummons to Prince Rupert, has theſe remarkable words; which are ſubmitted to the reader's conſideration.—— ' Sir, ' the Crown of England is and will be where it ought ' to be; we fight to maintain it there. But the King ' miſled by evil counſellors, or through a ſeduced ' heart, hath left his Parliament, under God, the ' beſt aſſurance of his crown and family: the maintaining of this ſchiſme is the ground of this unhappy ' war on your part: and what ſad effects it hath produced in the three kingdomes, is viſible to all men. ' To maintain the rights of the crown and kingdom ' jointly; a principal part whereof is, that the King ' in ſupream acts is not to be adviſed by men of whom ' the law takes no notice, but by his Parliament, the ' great counſel of the kingdom, in whom (as much ' as man is capable of) he hears all his people as it ' were at once adviſing him, and in which multitude ' of councellours lyes his ſafety, and his peoples intereſt; and to ſee him right in this; hath been the ' conſtant and faithfull endeavour of the Parliament. ' And to bring theſe wicked inſtruments to juſtice that ' have miſled him, is a principal ground of our fighting (27).'—But, from theſe plauſible and righteous ſentiments, Sir Thomas ſeems to have departed afterwards.

[Q] *At which the King was ſo exceſſively angry.*] And the more, as the Prince, in a letter to his Majeſty of the 12th of Auguſt, had aſſured him, ' that ' if no mutiny happened, he would keep Briſtol for ' four months (28).'

(24) Sprigge, p. 33, &c.

(25) Whitelock, p. 151.

(26) Clarendon, Vol. IV. p. 729.

(27) Sprigge, p. 98.

(28) Clarendon, ibid.

[R] *Febr.*

different times. Febr. 16, he defeated the Lord Hopton near Torrington *(l)* [*R*]. This Nobleman retreating with his broken forces into Cornwall, Sir Thomas followed him: In purſuit of whom he came to Launceſton Febr. 25, and to Bodmin March 2. On the 4th Mount Edgecombe was ſurrendered to him; and Fowey about the ſame time *(m)*. At laſt the Parliament-army approaching Truro, where Lord Hopton had his head-quarters; and he being ſo hemm'd in as to remain without a poſſibility of eſcaping; Sir Thomas, on the 5th of March, ſent and offered him honourable terms, if he would capitulate [*S*]. After ſome delays and difficulties, the Lord Hopton accepted of them; and a treaty was ſigned by Commiſſioners on both ſides, March 14; in purſuance of which, the Royaliſts, conſiſting of above 5000 horſe, were diſbanded; and took an oath never to bear arms againſt the Parliament *(n)*. But, before the treaty was ſigned, the Lord Hopton and Arthur Lord Capel, retired to Scilly, from whence they paſſed into Jerſey, Apr. 17, with Charles Prince of Wales, Sir Edward Hyde, and other perſons of diſtinction *(o)*. Thus the King's army in the Weſt being entirely diſperſed, by the vigilance and wonderful ſucceſs of General Fairfax; he returned, March 31, to the ſiege of Exeter, which ſurrendered to him upon articles, the 13th of April, as I have already obſerved *(p)*: and with the taking of this city ended our General's weſtern expedition. Having entirely ſubdued thoſe parts, which were the greateſt ſtrength and almoſt the only refuge of the Royaliſts, he marched, with wonderful ſpeed *(q)*, towards Oxford, the moſt conſiderable garriſon remaining in the King's hands. Setting out therefore from Exeter April 18, he came, on the 1ſt of May, with his army before that city, and began to lay ſiege to it *(r)*. The King, who was there, afraid of being encloſed, privately, and in diſguiſe, departed from thence on the 27th of April; and May 4 put himſelf into the hands of the treacherous Scots *(s)*. Oxford ſurrendered upon articles June 24 [*T*], as did Wallingford July 22 *(t)*. After the reduction of theſe places, Sir Thomas went and beſieged Ragland-caſtle in Monmouthſhire, the property of Henry Somerſet Marquis of Worceſter, which yielded Aug. 19 *(u)*. And thus, before Michaelmas 1646, the unhappy King Charles I. had neither army nor fortreſs left in England. The next employment required of the General, was to diſband Major-General Maſſey's brigade, which he did at the Deviſes. About that time he was ſeized with a violent fit of the ſtone, under which he laboured many days. As ſoon as he was recovered, he took a journey to London; where he arrived Novemb. 12, being met ſome miles off by great crowds of people, and the city-militia. The next day, both Houſes of Parliament agreed to congratulate his coming to town, and to give him thanks for his faithful ſervices and wiſe conduct [*U*]: which they did the day following, waiting upon him at his houſe in Queen-ſtreet *(w)*. Hardly had he had time to reſt, when he was called upon to convoy the two hundred thouſand pounds that had been granted to the Scottiſh army; the price of their delivering up, or betraying, their Sovereign King Charles [*W*]. For that purpoſe he ſet out

(l) Sprigge, p. 184, *&c.* and Whitelock, p. 192, 193.

(m) Sprigge, p. 203.

(n) Sprigge, p. 205—229. Whitelock, p. 198, 199.

(o) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 734; and Vol. V. p. 2, 4.

(p) Sprigge, p. 233—244.

(q) Whitelock, p. 201.

(r) Sprigge, p. 245, *&c.*

(s) Lord Clarendod, Vol. V. p. 22. T. Hobbes, as above, p. 185.

(t) Sprigge, p. 260—290. Whitelock, p. 210.

(u) Sprigge, p. 291—330.

(w) Sprigge, p. 311, *&c.* Whitelock, p. 227.

[*R*] *Febr. 16. he defeated the Lord Hopton near Torrington*] And, as a reward for this great ſervice; on the 24th of February, the Parliament ordered fifty thouſand pounds for his army, out of the Exciſe (29).

[*S*] *Sir Thomas Fairfax ſent and offered him, on the 5th of March, honourable terms, if he would capitulate.*] Namely, ‘to the ſouldiery in general, Engliſh and Forreigners, liberty either to go beyond ſea, or to their homes in England, as they pleaſed; and to ſuch Engliſh as ſhould chooſe to live at home, his protection for the liberty of their perſons, and for the immunity of their eſtates from all plunder or violence of ſouldiers, and all to go their wayes with what they had, ſaving horſes and armes; but for officers in commiſſion and gentlemen of quality, he ſhould allow them to go with horſes for themſelves and one ſervant or more, ſuitable to their quality, and with armes befitting gentlemen in a condition of peace; and ſuch officers as would goe beyond ſea for other ſervice, to take with them their armes and full number of horſes anſwerable to their offices. To all Troopers and inferiour ſort of Horſe officers bringing in and delivering up of their horſes and armes, 20*s.* a man in lieu of their horſes to carry them home: to Engliſh gentlemen of conſiderable eſtates, his paſſe and recommendation to the Parliament for their moderate compoſition (30).’

[*T*] *Oxford ſurrendred upon articles June 24*] And at that juncture, Sir Thomas expreſſed his regard to learning, by agreeing in the 14th article of the ſurrender, ‘That the Chancellour, Maſters and Schollers of the Univerſity of Oxon, and the Governours and Students of Chriſt-Church, and all other Heads and Governours, Maſters, Fellowes and Schollers of the Colleges, Hals, &c. of the ſame Univerſity, and the publick Profeſſors and Readers, and the Orator thereof, and all other perſons belonging to the ſaid Univerſity, or to any Colleges or Hals therein, ſhould and might, according to their ſtatutes, charters and cuſtomes, enjoy their ancient forme of government, ſubordinate to the immediate authority and power of Parliament: and that all the rights, privileges, franchizes, lands, tenements, houſes, poſſeſſions, rents, revenues, hereditaments, libraries, debts, goods and chattels, belonging to the ſaid Univerſity, or to Chriſt-church, or to any Colleges or Halls in the ſaid Univerſity (except ſuch rents and revenues as had been already taken and received by Ordinance of Parliament) ſhould be enjoyed by them reſpectively, free from ſequeſtrations, fines, taxes, and all other moleſtations whatſoever.—— And that all Churches, Chappels, Colledges, Hals, Libraries, Schooles, and publick buildings, within or belonging to the City or Univerſity, or to Chriſt's-Church, or the ſeveral Colleges or Hals thereof, ſhould be preſerved from defacing and ſpoyle.’ But it ſeems theſe articles were not reliſhed by the root-and branch-men (31). Sir Thomas took alſo great care for the preſervation of the publick library, which in ſeveral reſpects did ſuffer while the garriſon was poſſeſt by the royal party (32).

[*U*] *And to give him thanks for his faithful ſervices and wiſe conduct*] They gave him ſomething more ſubſtantial than words and compliments, by making him very conſiderable preſents and grants at different times. As namely, in 1645, they ſent him a jewel of great value, ſet with diamonds, which was tyed in a blue ribband, and put about his neck (33). In 1646 an ordinance was made for ſettling 5000l. a year upon him, and his heirs (34). And 4000l. a year was granted to him out of the Duke of Buckingham's eſtate (35): which probably was part of the 5000l. ſettled upon him by the Parliament. Inſtead of the other thouſand, 10,000l. was given him by Parliament (36).

[*W*] *The price of their delivering up, or betraying, their ſovereign King Charles.*] Mr Rapin takes great pains,

(29) Whitelock, p. 194.

(50) Sprigge, p. 205, 206.

(31) Sprigge, p. 267, 273.

(32) Wood, Faſt. ut ſupra, col. 88.

(33) Whitelock, p. 177, 180. Sprigge, p. 152.

(34) Whitelock, p. 223, 235, 246.

(35) Heath's Chron. p. 235.

(36) Whitelock, p. 298.

out from London, Decemb. 18, with a ſufficient force (x), carrying at the ſame time 50,000*l.* for his own army. The King being delivered by the Scots to the Parliament's Commiſſioners at Newcaſtle January 30, 1646-7; Sir Thomas went and met him, Feb. 15, beyond Nottingham, in his way to Holmby; and his Majeſty ſtopping his horſe, Sir Thomas alighted, and kiſſed his hand; and afterwards mounted, and diſcourſed with him as they rode along *(y)* [*X*]. The 5th of March following, after long debate in Parliament, he was voted General of the forces that were to be continued. He came to Cambridge the 12th of the ſame month, where he was highly careſſed and complimented, and created Maſter of Arts (z) [*Y*]. Hitherto, the crafty and ambitious Oliver Cromwell had permitted him to enjoy in all reſpects the ſupreme command, at leaſt to outward appearance. And, under his conduct, the army's rapid ſucceſs, after their new model, had much ſurpaſſed the expectation of the moſt ſanguine of their maſters, the Parliament. The queſtion now was, to diſband the majority of them after their work was done, and to employ a part of the reſt in the reduction of Ireland. But either of the two appeared to all of them intolerable. For many having, from the dregs of the people, riſen to the higheſt commands; and by plunderings and violence amaſſing daily great treaſures; they could not bear the thoughts of loſing ſuch great advantages. To maintain themſelves therefore in the poſſeſſion of them, Cromwell, and his ſon-in-law Ireton, as good a contriver as himſelf, but a much better writer and ſpeaker, deviſe how to raiſe a mutiny in the army againſt the Parliament. To this end they ſpread a whiſper among the ſoldiery, 'that the Parliament, now they had the King, intended to diſband them; to cheat them 'of their arrears; and to ſend them into Ireland, to be deſtroyed by the Iriſh.' The army enraged at this, were taught by Ireton to erect a council among themſelves, of two ſoldiers out of every troop and every company, to conſult for the good of the army, and to aſſiſt at the Council of War, and adviſe for the peace and ſafety of the kingdom. Theſe were called Adjutators, or Agitators (a), and wholly under Cromwell's influence and direction; the moſt active of them being his avowed creatures (b). Sir Thomas ſaw with uneaſineſs his power on the army uſurped by theſe Agitators, the forerunners of confuſion and anarchy, whoſe deſign (as he obſerves) was to raiſe their own fortunes upon the publick ruin: and that made him reſolve to lay down his commiſſion (c). But he was over-perſuaded by the heads of the Independent faction to hold it [*Z*], till he had accompliſhed their deſperate projects, of rendering themſelves maſters not only of the Parliament but of the whole kingdom. For, he joined in the ſeveral petitions and proceedings of the army that tended to deſtroy the Parliament's power *(d)*; about the beginning of June, he advanced towards London, to awe the Parliament, though both Houſes deſired his army might not come within fifteen miles of the ſame (e); June 15, he was a party in the charge againſt eleven of the Members of the Houſe of Commons *(f)* [*AA*]; in Auguſt, he eſpouſed the Speakers of both Houſes, and the ſixty-ſix Members that had fled to the army, and betrayed the privileges of Parliament: and entering London, Auguſt 6, reſtored them in a kind of triumph. For which he received the thanks of both houſes; and was appointed Conſtable of the Tower *(g)*. He was no way concerned in the violent removal of the King from Holmby [*B B*], by Cornet Joyce, on the 3d of June;

(x) Sprigge, p. 317. Whitelock, p. 231.

(y) Whitelock, p. 238.

(z) Ibid. p. 239, 240.

(a) Hobbes, ubi ſupra, p. 191, 192.

(b) Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 46.

(c) His Memorials, p. 105, 108.

(d) See Whitelock, p. 240, 241, 242, 246, &c.

(e) Ibid. p. 252, 261, 262.

(f) Papers then publiſhed; and Ruſhworth, Vol. VI. p. 570.

(g) Whitelock, p. 261—264.

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pains, in endeavouring to clear his friends the Scots, from the imputation of having ſold the King to the Parliament (37). But if the Parliament did not actually give that ſum for *this* very *conſideration*, it is certain, that it very much ſecured and haſtened the payment of the Scotch army's arrears: which, without ſuch a valuable pledge as the King's perſon, might have remained long unſatisfied. Tho' it is true that they were become very burdenſome to the Northern counties (38): But if they had grown too troubleſome, as they were no longer neceſſary, they would undoubtedly have been ſerved in the ſame manner as they afterwards were by Oliver Cromwell. Mr Whitelock's following words deſerve to be duly weighed. 'Now there began to be an 'underſtanding between ſome here and the Scots, for 'their delivery up of the King's perſon to the Parlia'ment (39).' And the ſame author mentions (40), that the King ſaid, 'he was bought and ſold.'

[*X*] *And afterwards mounted and diſcourſed with him as they rode along.*] The King ſaid to one of the Commiſſioners of the Parliament, 'That the General 'was a man of honour, and kept his word with 'him (41).' But we are not informed upon what occaſion.

[*Y*] *And created Maſter of Arts.*] He was alſo, Jan. 11. this year, elected one of the repreſentatives in Parliament for the Burgh of Cirenceſter (42).

[Z] *But he was over perſuaded ——— to hold it*] Tho' he had never thought of oppoſing or diſobeying the Parliament, yet he was diſpoſed to more concurrence with the impetuous humour of the army, when he ſaw it was ſo much complied with, and ſubmitted to, by all men (43).

[*AA*] *June* 15. *he was a party in the charge againſt eleven of the members of the Houſe of Commons.*] Theſe eleven accuſed members, were, Denzill Hollis, Eſq; Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, Major-General Maſſey, John Glynn, Eſq; Recorder of London, Walter Long, Edward Harley, and Antony Nicholl, Eſqrs. (44). The ſubſtance of the charge againſt them, only amounted to ſome *pretended* 'violent or 'oppreſſive ways, tending (as the words of the accu'ſation run) to overthrow the rights and liberties of 'the ſubjects of this nation.' But their real fault (which was far from being a fault) conſiſted in their oppoſing the army's unlawful and arbitrary proceedings; endeavouring to diſband it; or ſending part into Ireland: Which, as it tended to ruin and put a period to the exorbitant power of the army, was in their eyes an unpardonable crime. No wonder, therefore, that they oppoſed to the utmoſt all attempts towards their own diſſolution; and endeavoured to exclude from Parliament, or deſtroy, all thoſe that were for pulling them down from their exalted height, and ſending them back to their mechanick trades, or reducing them to their original meanneſs, obſcurity, and rags. And thus, as Mr Whitelock well obſerves (45), 'The army whom 'the Parliament had raiſed, paid, and commiſſionated, 'now mutiny againſt them, and with their ſwords in 'their hands, controul and oppoſe their principals and 'maſters.'

[*BB*] *He was no way concerned in the violent removal of the King from Holmby.*] The reaſons, ſent to the General by the authors of this violence, for their committing it, were, 'That they had intimation of a 'deſign,

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(37) Hiſt. edit. 1733, fol. Vol. II. p. 525.

(38) See Whitelock, p. 223, 225, 226, 227, 231.

(39) Page 231.

(40) Page 236.

(41) Whitelock, p. 238.

(42) Id. p. 234, 380.

(43) Clarendon, Vol. V. p. 45.

(44) Ruſhworth, ubi ſupra.

(45) Page 251.

June; and waited with great reſpect upon his Majeſty at Sir John Cutts's houſe near Cambridge (*b*). Being ordered, on the 15th of the ſame month, by the Parliament, to deliver the perſon of the King to ſuch perſons as both Houſes ſhould appoint; that he might be brought to Richmond, where propoſitions were to be preſented to him for a ſafe and well-grounded peace (*i*): inſtead of complying (though he ſeemed to do ſo) he carried his Majeſty from place to place, according to the ſeveral motions of the army [*CC*]. And yet he outwardly expreſſed, upon moſt occaſions, a due reſpect for him [*DD*]; ſo that his ambiguous conduct was owing to the fear he had, leſt the Parliament ſhould become maſters of the King's perſon. Thus,. not having the will or reſolution to oppoſe what he had not power enough to prevent, he reſigned himſelf entirely to Cromwell [*EE*]; and though he wiſhed nothing that Cromwell did, yet he contributed to bring it all to paſs (*k*). It was this undoubtedly that made him concur, Jan. 9, 1647-8, in that cruel Declaration of the army, wherein they adhered to the Commons votes, of ‘ No further addreſſe or application to the King; and reſolved to ſtand by the Parliament, in what ſhould be further neceſſary for ſettling and ſecuring the Parliament and kingdom, without the King and againſt him (*l*).’ His father dying at York March 13, he became poſſeſſed of his title and eſtate; and was appointed Keeper of Pontefract-caſtle, Cuſtos Rotulorum of Yorkſhire, *&c.* in his room (*m*). But his father's death made no alteration in his conduct, he remaining the ſame ſervile or deluded tool to Cromwell's ambition. For he not only ſent extraordinary ſupplies, and took all pains imaginable for reducing Col. Poyer in Wales; but alſo quell'd, with the utmoſt zeal and induſtry, an inſurrection of apprentices and others in London, April 9, who had declared for God and King Charles (*n*). The 1ſt of the ſame month, he removed his head-quarters to St Edmund's-bury; and upon the Royaliſts ſeizing Berwick and Carliſle; and the apprehenſion of the Scots entering England; he was deſired, May 9, by the Parliament, to advance in perſon into the North, to reduce thoſe places, and to prevent any danger from the threatned invaſion. Accordingly he began to march that way, the 20th (*o*). But he was ſoon recalled, to quell an inſurrection in Kent, headed by George Goring, Earl of Norwich, and Sir William Waller. Advancing therefore againſt them

(*b*) Id. p. 252; and Sir T. Fairfax's Memorials, p. 112, *&c.*

(*i*) Whitelock, p. 253, 255.

(*k*) Lord Clarendon, Vol. V. p. 52, 86.

(*l*) Paper printed at that time. See alſo Whitelock, p. 287.

(*m*) Whitelock, p. 296.

(*n*) Ib. p. 298, 299.

(*o*) Id. p. 305, 306, 307.

‘ deſign, which they were able to make good, of ſome to ſurprize the King (46);’ *viz.* the Parliament, or ſome by their order. For, as one obſerves, the King was then the golden apple contended for by the Parliament and the army.——Sir Thomas gives the following account of that affair. ‘ Being at Saffron-Walden, I had notice that Cornet Joyce, an Arch-Agitator, who quartered about Oxford, had ſeized on the King's perſon, removed his guards, *&c.* So ſoon as I heard of it, I immediately ſent away two regiments of horſe, commanded by Colonel Whaley, to ſet all things again in their due courſe and order. But before he came to Holmby, the King was advanced two or three miles on his way to Cambridge, attended by Joyce, where Colonel Whaley acquainted the King, he was ſent by the General to let him know how much he was troubled at thoſe great inſolencies that had been committed ſo near his perſon; and as he had not the leaſt knowledge of them before they were done, ſo he had omitted no time in ſeeking to remove that force, which he had orders from me to ſee done: and therefore he deſired his Majeſty that he would be pleaſed to return again to Holmby, where all things ſhould be ſettled again in as much order and quietneſs as they were before. And alſo he deſired the Commiſſioners of Parliament to re-aſſume their charge, and attend the King as uſual. But the King refuſed to return, and the Commiſſioners to act; whereupon Colonel Whaley urged them to it, ſaying, He had an expreſs command to ſee all things well ſettled again about his Majeſty, which could not be done, but by his returning again to Holmby. The King ſaid poſitively he would not do it; ſo the Colonel preſt him no more, having indeed a ſpecial direction from me to uſe all tenderneſs and reſpect, as was due to his Majeſty.——The next day I waited on his Majeſty [at Sir John Cutts's houſe], it being alſo my buſineſs to perſuade his return to Holmby, but he was otherwiſe reſolved, the Agitators having brought him into an opinion that the army was for him.——That it might appear what a real trouble this act was to me,——I called for a council of war to proceed againſt Joyce, for this high offence and breach of the articles of war; but the officers, whether for fear of the diſtempered ſoldiers, or rather (as I ſuſpected) a ſecret allowance of what was done, made all my endeavours in this ineffectual (47).’

(46) Whitelock, p. 251.

(47) Memorials, p. 112, *&c.*

[CC] *According to the ſeveral motions of the army*] The army was in the end of March 1647, at Walden; May 26, *&c.* at St Edmund's-bury; June 4, *&c.* at Newmarket; June 10, at Royſton; June 14, *&c.* at St Alban's; June 25, at Barkhamſtead; the 26th, at Uxbridge; the 30th, at High-Wickham; July 21, at Ayleſbury; the 24th, at Bedford; the 31ſt, at Uxbridge; Aug. 2, at Colebrook; the 4th, at Hammerſmith; the 6th, at London; the 7th, at Croydon; the 14th, at Kingſton; the 28th, at Putney; in November, at Hertford; in December, *&c.* at Windſor.——And the King was, till June 3, at Holmby; the 5th, at Huntington; the 8th, at Sir John Cutts's; the 11th, at Newmarket; the 24th, at Royſton; the 26th, at Hatfield; July 2, at Windſor; the 3d, at Caverſham; the 21ſt, at Woburne; the 24th, at Latimer's; Aug. 2, at Stoke-Abbey; the 14th, at Oatlands; the 24th, at Hampton-Court (48): where he continued till the 11th of November following, when he eſcaped into the Iſle of Wight.

(48) From Papers printed by authority at that time; and Whitelock, p. 249—267.

[*DD*] *And yet he outwardly expreſſed, upon moſt occaſions, a due reſpect for him.*] For, in letters from him to the Parliament, he declares, that he and his officers ‘ endeavoured only the ſettlement of the publick peace, and rights of the nation; and aſſured the King, that this being done with his concurrence, the rights of his Majeſty and his family ſhould be provided for; and in the mean time his Majeſty ſhould find from them all perſonal civilities and reſpects, and ſuch freedom as may ſtand with ſafety, and the truſt lying upon them.——That they are no enemies to Monarchy and Civil government.——That they conceived, to avoid all harſhneſſes, and afford all kindneſſes to his Majeſty, conſiſting with the peace and ſafety of the kingdom, is the moſt chriſtian, honourable, and prudent way; and that tender, equitable, and moderate dealing towards his Majeſty, his family, and party, is the moſt hopeful courſe, to take away the ſeeds of war, and feuds amongſt us and our poſterity, and to procure a laſting peace (49).’

(49) Whitelock, p. 258.

[*EE*] *He reſigned himſelf entirely to Cromwell.*] About this time, being tired with multiplicity of buſineſs and petitions at London, he appointed Cromwell, Ireton, Fleetwood, and divers other officers, and ſuch field-officers as were in town, or any five of them, to meet every day in Whitehall, to receive petitions, and conſider of buſineſſes relating to the army, and for the better preparing of diſpatches (50).

(50) Ibid. p. 292.

[*FF*] *With*

them from London, in the latter end of May, he defeated a conſiderable party of them at Maidſtone June 2, with his uſual valour *(p)* [*FF*]. But the Earl, and about 500 of the Royaliſts, getting over the Thames at Greenwich into Eſſex, June 3, they were joined by ſeveral parties brought by Sir Charles Lucas, and Arthur Lord Capel, which made up their numbers about 4000; and went and ſhut themſelves up in Colcheſter on the 12th of June (*q*). The Lord Fairfax, informed of their motions, paſſed over with his forces at Graveſend, with ſo much expedition, that he arrived before Colcheſter June 13. Immediately he ſummons the Royaliſts to ſurrender; which they refuſing, he attacks them the ſame afternoon with the utmoſt fury. But being repulſed, he reſolved, June 14, to block up the place, in order to ſtarve the Royaliſts ſhut up therein into a compliance. Theſe endured a ſevere and tedious ſiege of eleven weeks, not ſurrendering till Auguſt 28. and feeding for about five weeks chiefly on horſe-fleſh; all their endeavours for obtaining peace, or honourable terms, being ineffectual [*GG*]. This affair is the moſt exceptionable part in the Lord Fairfax's conduct. For, he granted the worſe terms to that poor town, than to any other in the whole courſe of the war; he endeavoured to deſtroy it as much as poſſible; he laid an exorbitant fine, or ranſom, of 12,000*l.* upon the inhabitants, to excuſe them from being plundered; and he vented his revenge and fury upon Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Liſle [*HH*], who had behaved in the beſt and moſt inoffenſive manner during the ſiege, ſparing that buffoon the Earl of Norwich, whoſe behaviour had been quite different (*r*): ſo that his name and memory there ought to be for ever deteſtable. After his mighty exploits againſt a poor and unfortified town, he took a kind of triumphant progreſs to Ipſwich, Yarmouth, Norwich, St Edmund's-bury, Harwich, Merſey, and Maldon (*s*). About the beginning of December, he came again to London, to awe that city and the Parliament, and to forward the proceedings againſt the King; quartering himſelf in the royal palace of Whitehall (*t*): and, ‘by ſpecial order from him and the Council of the army [*II*],’ it was, that ſeveral members of the houſe of Commons were ſecluded and impriſoned, the 6th and 7th of that month (*u*); he being, as one expreſſes it, lull'd in a kind of ſtupidity (*w*). He was foremoſt in the liſt of the King's Judges, but refuſed to act (*x*), probably by his Lady's perſuaſion [*KK*]. Feb. 14, 1648-9, he was voted

(*p*) Id. p. 309.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 312; and Hiſt. of Colcheſter, by P.M. B. i. p. 58, &c.

(*r*) Whitelock, p. 312, 318.

(*s*) Ib. p. 337.

(*t*) Heath's Chr. p. 192.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 359.

(*w*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 87.

(*x*) Ibid. and Lord Clarendon, Vol. V. p. 254.

[*FF*] *With his uſual valour.*] Though he was very much diſabled and indiſpoſed, and had a great fit of the gout then upon him, yet he could not be prevailed with to remain with the main body of the army in the field; but, with his foot wrapped up, he mounted on horſeback, led on his men in the greateſt danger, and was one of the firſt in all this action. Both ſides did their parts with much valour and reſolution, and there was ſcarce any action in the war more deſperate and hazardous, and better performed than this (51).

[*GG*] *All their endeavours for obtaining peace on honourable terms being ineffectual.*] For, as early as June 19, they propoſed, ‘That there might be a treaty between both armies for a peace:’ adding, that ‘it was the general peace of the kingdom they contended for.’ But Sir Thomas replied, ‘That ſuch a treaty, and for ſuch a peace, was not the proper work of himſelf, or the army, but theirs that had employed him:’ and he offered only, that if within 24 hours they laid down their arms, the common ſoldiers ſhould have liberty to depart to their ſeveral homes; and the officers paſſes to go beyond ſea. His terms grew much higher afterwards (52).

[*HH*] *And he vented his revenge and fury upon Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Liſle.*] From the very beginning of the ſiege, he expreſſed the utmoſt paſſion and reſentment againſt Sir Charles Lucas in particular (53): and, in his Memorials (54), is ſo injurious to his memory, as to call him, and Sir George, mere ſoldiers of fortune. His words are, ‘But Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Liſle, being mere ſoldiers of fortune, and falling into our hands by chance of war, were executed.’ Whereas Sir Charles was no more a ſoldier of fortune than his Lordſhip; for he had an eſtate in Eſſex, till diſpoſſeſſed of it by plundering rebels; and was heir to the honour and eſtate of his brother John Lord Lucas, for want of iſſue male. In his letter to the Parliament, his Lordſhip ſeems to queſtion, whether he had not prejudiced the honour and juſtice of Parliament in their execution. ‘——For ſome ſatisfaction, ſays he, to military juſtice, and in part of avenge for the innocent blood they have cauſed to be ſpilt, and the trouble, damage, and miſchieſe they have brought upon the towne, this country, and the kingdome, I have, with the advice of a Counſell of Warre, of the chieſe officers both of the country-forces and the army, cauſed two of them who were rendered at mercy, to be ſhot to death before any of them had quarter aſſured them. The perſons pitched upon for this example, were, Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Liſle, *in whoſe military execution I hope your Lordſhips will not find cauſe to think your honour or juſtice prejudiced* (55).’

[*II*] *And by ſpecial order from him and the Council of the Army.*] Theſe are Mr Whitelock's expreſs words; but the Lord Fairfax clears himſelf from it, in the following manner. ‘To prepare a way to this work [the King's Tryal] this agitating council did firſt intend to remove all out of the Parliament who were like to oppoſe them, and carried it on with ſuch ſecrecy, as I had not the leaſt intimation of it till it was done, as ſome of the members of the houſe can witneſs, with whom I was at that very time upon ſpecial buſineſs, when that attempt was made by Colonel Pride upon the Parliament, which I proteſt I never had any knowledge of till it was done. The reaſon why it was ſo ſecretly carried, that I ſhould have no notice of it, was, becauſe I always prevented thoſe deſigns when I knew them (56).’ The Lord Clarendon alſo confirms the ſame. ‘No body own'd this act of violence in the excluſion of ſo many members: there was no order made for it by the houſe. Fairfax the General knew nothing of it, and the guards themſelves being aſked “what authority they had,” gave no other anſwer, but “that they had orders (57).” But the ſame noble Author obſerves in the foregoing page, that the committee of Parliament that was appointed to confer with the General, for the better procuring a good intelligence and correſpondence between the Army and the Parliament, were forced to attend full three hours, before they could be admitted to his preſence; and then he told them ſullenly and ſuperciliouſly, ‘that the way to correſpond with the army, was to comply with their remonſtrance’ and the next morning a guard of muſqueteers was placed to ſeclude the members.

[*KK*] *He was foremoſt in the liſt of the King's Judges, but refuſed to act, probably by his Lady's perſuaſion*] She exclaimed aloud againſt the proceedings of the High-court, and the irreverent uſage of the King by his ſubjects, inſomuch that the court was interrupted (58): for her huſband, the Lord Fairfax, being called firſt as one of the Judges, and no anſwer being made, the crier called him the ſecond time, when there was a voice heard that ſaid, ‘he had more

(51) Whitelock, p. 309.

(52) See Hiſt. of Colcheſter, B. i. p. 57. *

(53) See Whitelock, p. 313.

(54) Page 122.

(55) Hiſt. of Colcheſter, as above, p. 69.

(56) Memorials, p. 119, 120.

(57) Clarendon, Vol. V. p. 239.

(58) Whitelock, p. 371.

voted to be one of the new Council of State (*y*). But on the 19th he refuſed to ſubſcribe the Teſt, appointed by Parliament, for approving all that was done concerning the King and Kingſhip (*z*). March 31, he was voted General of all the forces in England and Ireland, more to his honour than intrinſick power (*a*). In May, he marched againſt the Levellers, who were grown very numerous, and began to be troubleſome and formidable in Oxfordſhire, and utterly routed them at Burford (*b*). Thence, on the 22d of the ſame month, he repaired to Oxford with Oliver Cromwell, and other officers, where he was highly feaſted; and created Doctor of Laws (*c*). Next, upon apprehenſion of the like riſings in other places, he went and viewed the caſtles and fortifications in the iſle of Wight, and at Southampton, and Portſmouth; and near Guilford had a rendezvous of the army, which he exhorted to obedience (*d*). June 4, he was feaſted with other officers, *&c.* by the city of London, and preſented with a large and weighty baſon and ewer of beaten gold (*e*). In June 1650, upon the Scots declaring for King Charles II, the juncto of the Council of State having taken a reſolution to be beforehand, and not to ſtay to be invaded from Scotland, but to carry firſt the war into that kingdom; General Fairfax, being conſulted, ſeemed to approve of the deſign. But afterwards, by the perſuaſions of his Lady, and of the Preſbyterian Miniſters, he declared himſelf unſatisfied, that there was a juſt ground for the Parliament of England to ſend their army to invade Scotland: and reſolved to lay down his commiſſion, rather than engage in that affair [*LL*]. Whereupon, on the 26th, the ordinance whereby he was appointed commander in chief of all the forces of the Parliament being repealed, that high truſt was immediately committed to Oliver Cromwell (*f*); who was glad to ſee him removed, as being no longer neceſſary, but rather an obſtacle to his further ambitious deſigns. For a kind of compenſation, the Parliament ſettled an annual revenue of five thouſand pounds upon his Lordſhip (*g*). Being thus releaſed from all publick employment, he went and lived quietly at his own houſe in Nun-Appleton in Yorkſhire; always earneſtly wiſhing and praying (as we are aſſured) for the reſtitution of the Royal Family, and fully reſolved to lay hold on the firſt good opportunity to contribute his part towards it; which made him always looked upon with a jealous eye by the Uſurpers of that time. As ſoon as he was invited by General Monk to aſſiſt him againſt Lambert's army, he cheerfully embraced the occaſion, and appeared, on the 3d of December 1659, at the head of a body of gentlemen of Yorkſhire; and, upon the reputation and authority of his name, the Iriſh brigade, of 1200 horſe, forſook Lambert's army, and joined him. The conſequence was, the immediate breaking of all Lambert's forces, which gave General Monk an eaſy march into England (*h*). The 1ſt of January 1659-60, his Lordſhip made himſelf maſter of York (*i*); and, on the 2d of the ſame month, was choſen by the Rump-Parliament one of the Council of State, as he was again on the 23d of February enſuing (*k*). March 29, he was elected one of the Knights for the County of York, in the Healing Parliament (*l*): and was at the head of the Committee appointed, May 3, by the Houſe of Commons, to go and attend King Charles II. at the Hague; to deſire him to make a ſpeedy return to his Parliament, and to the exerciſe

of

(*y*) Whitelock, p. 381.

(*z*) Ibid. p. 383.

(*a*) Ibid. p. 392.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 401, 402.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 403. Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 86.

(*d*) Whitelock, p. 404. Heath's Chron. p. 234.

(*e*) Whitelock, p. 406.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 460, 461, 462. Ludlow's Mem. Vol. I. p. 314, *&c.*

(*g*) Ludlow, ib. p. 316.

(*h*) Epiſt. Dedic. to his Memorials, p. vii. viii.

(*i*) Kennet, Regiſter, *&c.* p. 7, 13.

(*k*) Ib. p. 3, 66.

(*l*) Ib. p. 101.

'more wit than to be there,' which put the court into ſome diſorder, and ſomebody aſking, who it was, there was no other anſwer but a little murmuring. But, preſently, when the impeachment was read, and that expreſſion uſed, of 'All the good people of England,' the ſame voice in a louder tone anſwered, 'No, nor the hundredth part of them:' upon which, one of the officers bid the ſoldiers give fire into that box whence thoſe preſumptuous words were uttered. But it was quickly diſcerned that it was the General's wife, who had uttered both thoſe ſharp ſayings; who was preſently perſuaded or forced to leave the place, to prevent any new diſorder.——Having been bred in Holland, ſhe had not that reverence for the Church of England, as ſhe ought to have had, and ſo had unhappily concurred in her huſband's entring into Rebellion, never imagining what miſery it would bring upon the kingdom; and now abhorred the work in hand as much as any body could do, and did all ſhe could to hinder her huſband from acting any part in it (59).——A. Wood relates ſome particular circumſtances of the Lord Fairfax's behaviour, at the time of the King's murder, that ſhow ſuch extreme hypocriſy, or ſo much indolence, ſtupidity, and eaſineſs in being impoſed upon, that they are hardly credible.—— ''Tis true, ſays he, that before the King was beheaded, he did uſe his power and intereſt to have the execution deferred for ſome days, forbearing his coming among the officers, and did fully reſolve with his own regiment to prevent the execution, or have it deferred till he could make a party in the army to ſecond his deſign: but behold his policy! all the morning of that day on which the King was beheaded, and the time when he was beheaded, he was with certain officers of the army at prayer or in diſcourſe, or both, in Major Tho. Harriſon's apartment in Whitehall (being a room at the hither end of that gallery looking towards the Privy-garden) and knew nothing of it, as it doth appear by this paſſage. When his Majeſty was beheaded, and his corps thereupon immediately coffined and covered with a black velvet pall, Bp. Juxon who attended him on the ſcaffold, and Thomas Herbert the only groom of his bedchamber that was then left, did go with the ſaid corps to the backſtairs to have it embalmed, and Mr Herbert, after the body had been depoſited, meeting with the General, Fairfax aſked him "how the King did?" Whereupon Herbert looking very ſtrangely upon him, told him that "the King was beheaded," at which he ſeemed much ſurpriſed (60).'

[*LL*] *And reſolved to lay down his commiſſion rather than engage in that affair.*] A committee from the Council of State went to confer with him upon that ſubject, in a room in Whitehall; but (tho' they went firſt to prayer, that God would direct them in this buſineſs, and Cromwell and moſt of the reſt prayed) yet the prayers of theſe hypocrites could not be countenanced with a heavenly influence, nor their reaſons and arguments prevail upon his Lordſhip. And if they had, very ſorry and diſappointed would many of them have been; as Mr Whitelock, a member of this committee, obſerves in the following words— 'none of the Committee ſo earneſt to perſuade the General to continue his commiſſion as Cromwell and the Soldiers. Yet there was cauſe enough to believe that they did not overmuch deſire it (61).'

[*MM*] *May*

(59) Lord Clarendon, Vol. V. p. 254, 255.

(60) Wood, Faſt. Vol. II. col. 87.

(61) Whitelock, p. 460—462. See alſo Ludlow, ubi ſupra, p. 315.

of his kingly office (*m*). May 16, he waited upon his Majeſty with the reſt [*MM*]; and atoned in ſome meaſure for all paſt offences, by readily concurring and aſſiſting in his Reſtoration. After the diſſolution of the ſhort Healing Parliament, he retired again to his ſeat in the country; where he lived in a private manner, till his death, which happened November 12, 1671, in the 60th year of his age (*n*) [*NN*]. Several letters, remonſtrances, and other papers, ſubſcribed with his name, are preſerved in Ruſhworth and other Collections, being publiſhed during the time he was General; but he diſowns moſt of them [*OO*]. After his deceaſe, ſome 'ſhort memorials, written by himſelf,' were publiſhed; which do him no great honour [*PP*]. The Lord Fairfax, as to his perſon, was tall, but not above the juſt proportion (*o*); and of a gloomy and melancholy diſpoſition. He ſtammered a little, and was a bad Orator in the moſt plauſible occaſion (*p*). As to the qualities of his mind; he was religious in the way he profeſſed, which was Preſbyterianiſm (*q*) [*QQ*]: of a good natural diſpoſition (*r*): a great lover of learning, having contributed to the edition of the Polyglott, and other large works (*s*): and a particular admirer of the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Great Britain, witneſs the encouragement he gave to Mr Dodſworth (*t*). He was of a meek and humble carriage, and but of few words in diſcourſe and Council; yet when his judgment and reaſon were ſatisfied, he was unalterable; and often ordered things expreſsly contrary to the judgment of all his Council (*u*). His valour was unqueſtionable. He was daring, and no ſelf-ſeeker (*w*). And in action in the field, he appeared ſo highly tranſported, that ſcarce any one durſt ſpeak a word to him, and he would ſeem like a man diſtracted and furious (*x*). His being outwitted by Cromwell, or ſuffering himſelf to become the tool and property of that wicked ambitious man, was his greateſt blemiſh. Happy would it have been for the nation, happy for himſelf, if he had retired ſooner [*RR*].

(*m*) Ib. p. 133.

(*n*) Epiſt. Dedic. as above, p. ix. and Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 88.

(*o*) Sprigge, p. 322.

(*p*) Lord Clarendon, Vol. V. p. 178. Sprigge, p. 323.

(*q*) Wood, Faſti, ut ſupra, col. 88. Ludlow's Mem. Vol. I. p. 314.

(*r*) Bellicoſum quidem, & ſua natura probum. BateiElench.Motuum, p. 68.

(*s*) Wood, Faſt. Vol. II. col. 48.

(*t*) Wood, Faſt. Vol. II. col. 14. Camden's Britannia, edit. 1722, Vol. II. col.886.

(*u*) Whitelock, p. 204, 205.

(*w*) Hiſt. of the Rebellions in England, &c. by Sir Roger Manley, p. 79.

(*x*) Whitelock, p. 205.

[*MM*] *May* 16, *he waited upon his Majeſty, with the reſt.*] 'He drew upon him, as A. Wood relates, 'the curioſity and eyes of all men, as known to them 'by name to have been Captain-General of the Parliament-Army. And when the firſt ceremony was 'paſt, he deſired, as 'tis ſaid, to ſee the King in private, and to aſk him pardon for the paſt offences, 'which accordingly he did with all ſubmiſſion (62).'

[*NN*] *Till his death, which happened November* 12. 1671. *in the* 60*th year of his age.*] He was buried in an iſle joyning on the Southſide to the Chancel of Bilburgh Church, near York. Over his grave was ſoon after put this Epitaph. 'Here lye the bodies of 'the right honourable Thomas Lord Fairfax of Denton, Baron of Camerone, who died Nov. the 12th. 'An. 1671, in the ſixtieth year of his age. And of 'Anne his wife, Daughter and Coheir of Horatio 'Lord Vere Baron of Tilbury. He had iſſue, Mary 'Ducheſs of Buckingham, and Elizabeth (63).'— His eldeſt Daughter, Mary, had the misfortune of having for huſband the witty, wicked, George Villiers Duke of Buckingham; to whom ſhe was married May 24, 1657 (64). She died in November 1704 (65). There is no account of the other daughter.

[*OO*] *But he diſowns moſt of them.*] In theſe words. 'One thing more requires I ſhould ſay ſomething to, before I conclude; that is, concerning papers and declarations of the army that came out in 'my name, and the Council of Officers. I ſay, from 'the time they declared their uſurped authority at 'Triplow-heath, I never gave my free conſent to any 'thing they did: but being yet undiſcharged of my 'place, they ſet my name in way of courſe to all their 'papers, whether I conſented or not: and to ſuch 'failings are all authorities ſubject (66).'

[*PP*] *After his deceaſe, ſome ſhort memorials, written by himſelf, were publiſhed; which do him no great honour.*] They were publiſhed in 1699, 8vo. by Brian Fairfax, Eſq; The author never deſigned them for the preſs, only to remain for the ſatisfaction of his own relations: but they were publiſhed to prevent a ſurreptitious edition. As I ſaid, they do no great honour to the noble author: for they are writ in an odd canting ſtrain; and moreover abound with miſtakes. For inſtance, in p. 122. now accidentally open before me, he ſays.—That the Beſieged in Colcheſter *after four months cloſe ſiege were compelled to ſurrender.* But the ſiege of that place laſted neither four months, nor three months; being only from the 13th of June to the 27th of Auguſt. And the like in other inſtances.

[*QQ*] *He was religious in the way which he profeſſed, which was Preſbyterianiſm.*] But Sir Roger Manley, on the other hand, ſays, that tho' 'conſtancy was attributed to his natural temper, being 'melancholy, *it* was notwithſtanding thought ductile 'where religion was in queſtion; and therefore Cromwell, that famous impoſtor in godlineſs, was given 'him for a ſuperviſing Lieutenant (68).'

[*RR*] *Happy for himſelf, if he had retired ſooner.*] For, as Mr Addiſon elegantly repreſents it,

When vice prevails, and impious men bear ſway,
The poſt of honour is a private ſtation (69).

Brian Fairfax, Eſq; the editor of his Lordſhip's Memorials, concludes his character with the following encomium; 'that ſo long as unfeigned piety towards 'God, invincible courage joyned with wonderful modeſty, and exceeding good nature: juſtice and charity to all men in his private life; and an ingenuous 'acknowledgment of his publick error, with hearty 'endeavours to make reparation, as ſoon as he was 'convinced of it, ſhall be eſteemed in the world: ſo 'long ſhall the name of my Lord Fairfax be honoured 'by good men, and be had in perpetual remembrance (70).'——The Duke of Buckingham, his Lordſhip's ſon-in-law, compoſed alſo an Epitaph for him, wherein he beſtows the higheſt praiſes and compliments upon him.

C

(62) Ubi ſupra, col. 88.

(63) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 88.

(64) Whitelock, p. 665.

(65) Annual Liſt at the end of Boyer's Hiſtory of Queen Anne.

(66) Memorials, p. 124, 125.

(68) Ubi ſupra.

(69) Cato, Act 4, ſcene 4.

(70) Epiſtle Dedicatory, p. ix, x.

FANSHAW (Sir **Richard**) an excellent Poet, employed in ſeveral embaſſies by King Charles I. and II, was the youngeſt ſon [*A*] of Sir Henry Fanſhaw, of Ware-Park in Hertfordſhire [*B*]. He was born about the year 1607 (*a*), and received the firſt rudiments

(*a*) For he was aged 59 in 1666, when he died. Epitaph.

[*A*] *Was the youngeſt ſon.*] And the tenth child, as it is in his epitaph, *proles undecima.*

[*B*] *Of Sir Henry Fanſhaw, of Ware-Park in Hertfordſhire.*] He was deſcended from the family of Fanſhaw, of Fanſhaw-gate in Derbyſhire; being the great-grandſon of John Fanſhaw, of that place: this John's two ſons, Henry and *Thomas*, were ſucceſſively Remembrancers of the Exchequer (1); and the latter buying Ware-park of Katharine Counteſs of Huntington, about the year 1570, made it the place of his reſidence. By his firſt wife, Mary daughter of ——— Bourchier, he had iſſue *Henry* his eldeſt ſon and heir, who was made a Knight, and died the 10th of March 1615; having had by his wife, Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Smith, Cuſtomer of the port of London, ten children; and among the reſt, Thomas, Simon, and RICHARD who is the ſubject of this article. Thomas, the eldeſt, was advanced by King Charles II. to the title of Viſcount

(1) Wood, ubi ſupra.

ments of his education from the famous Thomas Farnaby; afterwards he compleated his ſtudies in the Univerſity of Cambridge, and from thence went to travel into foreign countries; by which means he became a gentleman admirably accompliſhed (*b*). In 1635 he was, for his early abilities, taken into the ſervice of the State by King Charles I. and appointed Reſident to the Court of Spain: whence being recalled into England, at the beginning of the troubles in 1641, he followed the Royal intereſt during all the ſucceeding calamitous times, and was employed in ſeveral important matters of State. In 1644, attending the Court at Oxford, he had the degree of Doctor of the Civil Law conferred upon him (*c*): and being now grown very eminent for his excellent parts and learning (*d*), he was made Secretary to Charles Prince of Wales, whom he attended into the weſtern parts of England, and thence into the iſles of Scilly and Jerſey (*e*) [*C*]. In 1648, he was appointed Treaſurer of the Navy under the command of Prince Rupert, which office he managed till the year 1650, when he was created a Baronet by King Charles II, and ſent Envoy-extraordinary to the Court of Spain. Being recalled thence into Scotland, he ſerved there in quality of Secretary of State; to the great ſatisfaction of all parties, notwithſtanding he never took the Covenant or Engagement. In 1651, he was made priſoner at the battle of Worceſter, and committed to cloſe cuſtody in London: where continuing till he contracted a dangerous ſickneſs, he had liberty allowed him, upon giving bail, to go for the recovery of his health to any place he ſhould chooſe, provided he ſtirred not five miles from thence without leave from the Parliament. Among other places, he was at Tankerley-Park in Yorkſhire, in 1654; where, and during the reſt of his confinement, and at vacant hours afterwards, he made ſeveral tranſlations, and wrote divers poems, of which an account is given below (*f*). In February 1659-60, he repaired to King Charles II, at Breda, who knighted him the April following (*g*). Upon his Majeſty's Reſtoration, it was expected that he would have been made one of the Secretaries of State, not only from the kindneſs his Maſter long had for him, and the hopes formerly given him of it; but likewiſe as a recompence, in ſome meaſure, for the great ſufferings which both he and his family had ſuſtained in that King's ſervice. However miſſing that preferment, he had the place of Maſter of Requeſts conferred on him, a ſtation in thoſe times of conſiderable profit. Afterwards, for his known abilities, and accurate Latin ſtyle, he was alſo made Secretary of the Latin tongue (*b*). In 1661, being one of the Burgeſſes for the Univerſity of Cambridge, he was ſworn a Privy-Counſellor for Ireland (*i*): and having, by his reſidence in foreign courts, qualified himſelf for publick employments abroad, he was ſent Envoy-extraordinary to Portugal, with a dormant commiſſion to the Embaſſador, which he was to make uſe of as occaſion ſhould require. Shortly after, he was appointed Embaſſador to that Court, where he negotiated the marriage between his maſter King Charles II, and the Infanta Donna Catharina, daughter of King John VI. He returned to England towards the end of the ſame year (*k*). We are aſſured, that he was ſent again Embaſſador to that crown in 1662 (*l*); and when he had finiſhed his commiſſion, to the mutual ſatisfaction both of King Charles II, and of Alphonſo King of Portugal, being recalled in 1663, he was ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy-Council (*m*). In the beginning of the year 1664, he was ſent Embaſſador to Philip IV, King of Spain [*D*]; and arrived February the 29th at Cadiz, where he was ſaluted in a manner unexampled to others, and received with ſeveral circumſtances of particular eſteem (*n*) [*E*]. During his reſidence at this

Dromore: But his ſon Thomas ſold Ware-park to Sir Thomas Byde, Knt. Simon was alſo knighted. The place of Remembrancer of the Exchequer was enjoyed by Sir Henry, and Thomas Lord Viſcount Fanſhaw, and his ſon, during the reigns of King James I. and King Charles I. and II. (2).

[*C*] *And thence into the iſles of Scilly and Jerſey*] But not of Guernſey, as Mr Wood hath it (3): For it does not appear that the Prince was at all in Guernſey. See Lord Clarendon (4), and the reſt of our Hiſtorians.

[*D*] *In the beginning of the year* 1664, *he was ſent Embaſſador to Philip* IV. *King of Spain.*] His correſpondence during this embaſſy was publiſhed in 1702, in one volume 8*vo.* under this title. 'Original Letters 'of his Excellency Sir *Richard Fanſhaw*, during his 'embaſſies in Spain and Portugal: which, together 'with divers Letters and Anſwers from the chief Mini'ſters of State of *England*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, con'tain the whole negotiations of the treaty of peace be'tween thoſe three crowns.' The publiſher received thoſe letters from the hands of a daughter of Sir Richard, who had left them in her poſſeſſion. He obſerves in the preface, that 'Learned men of all de'grees, qualities, and employments, are extremely in'quiſitive after the *letters* and *correſpondencies* of ſuch 'perſons as have had the honour of being employed at 'foreign courts in the quality of Embaſſadors, Envoys, 'or Reſidents, or at home as Publick Miniſters; and 'their curioſity is ſoon accounted for, when we con'ſider the advantage that is gained by ſeeing things as 'they are in their native dreſs; before the ſucceeding 'embelliſhments of artifice or intereſt have diſguiſed, and 'rendered them more plauſible than in truth the origi'nals were deſigned for.' In Sir Richard's inſtructions, the chief points recommended to him, were, to demand reparation and puniſhment from ſome freebooters, who had taken ſhips from the Engliſh; and to endeavour to reſtore amity, trade, and commerce, and renew the alliance between England and Spain: to mediate an accommodation between Spain and Portugal: to get the tranſportation of blacks into the Weſt-Indies, appropriated to the Engliſh; and the pre-emption of Spaniſh wools, &c. (5).

[*E*] *And received with ſeveral circumſtances of particular eſteem.*] It appears from one of Sir Richard's letters, that this extraordinary reſpect was paid him not only upon his own, but alſo upon his maſter the King of England's account. His words are thus. 'I had 'not been three hours on ſhore [at Cadiz] when an 'Extraordinary arrived from Madrid, with more par'ticular orders than formerly from his Catholick Ma'jeſty, importing that our Maſter's fleet (when arrived) 'and this Ambaſſador, ſhould be preſaluted from the 'city in a manner unexampled to others, and which 'ſhould not be drawn into example hereafter. More'over (and this ſo likewiſe) that I and all my company 'muſt be totally defray'd, both here and all the way 'up to Madrid, upon his Catholick Majeſties accompt, 'with ſeveral other circumſtances of particular eſteem 'for

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(*b*) Short Account of Sir Ric. Fanſhaw, prefixed to his Letters, mentioned below.

(*c*) Wood. Faſt. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 43, 44.

(*d*) Short Account, as above.

(*e*) See Lord Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, edit. 1731, 8*vo*, Vol. IV. p. 672, 696, 704, 732, 733.

(*f*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*b*) Short Account, as above.

(*i*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Wood, ubi ſupra; and Short Account. See alſo Biſhop Kennet's Reg. & Chron. edit. 1728, p. 537, 559, 560, 588.

(*l*) Wood, ib.

(*m*) Short Account.

(*n*) See his Letters, p. 32, mentioned below.

(2) Wood, ibid. Sir Hen. Chauncy's Antiq. of Hertfordſhire, p. 207, 208; and Camden's Britan. edit. 1722, Vol. II. col. 1399.

(3) Ubi ſupra.

(4) Vol. V. p. 4.

(5) See his Letters, as above; and Earl of Arlington's Letters, Vol. II.

this Court King Philip died, Sept. 17, 1665; leaving his ſon Charles, an infant (*o*), and his dominions, under the regency of his Queen, Mary-Anne, daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand III (*p*). Our wiſe Miniſter taking an advantage of this minority, put the finiſhing hand to a peace with Spain; which was ſufficiently tired and weakened with a twenty-five years war, for the recovery of Portugal, that had been diſmembered from the Spaniſh crown in 1640. The treaty of peace was ſigned at Madrid, December 6, 1665 [*F*]. About the 14th of January following, his Excellency took a journey into Portugal, where he ſtaid till towards the end of March (*q*). The deſign of this journey undoubtedly was, to endeavour to bring about an accommodation between that crown and Spain: which however was not effected till 1667, by the mediation of his Britannick Majeſty (*r*). Sir Richard having fulfilled his commiſſion, was preparing for his return to England; when, June 4, 1666, he was ſeized at Madrid with a violent fever, which put an end to his life the 16th of the ſame month (*s*); the very day he had deſigned to ſet out on his return home. His body being embalmed, was conveyed by his lady, with all his children then living, by land to Calais, and ſo to London: whence being carried to All-Saints-Church in Hertford, it was depoſited in the vault of his father-in-law Sir John Harriſon, till May 18, 1671, when it was removed into a new vault, made on purpoſe for him and his family in the pariſh-church of Ware. Near the vault, there is a handſome monument erected to his memory (*t*) [*G*]. He was remarkable for his meekneſs, ſincerity, humanity, and piety; and alſo was an able ſtateſman and a great ſcholar, being, in particular, a compleat maſter of ſeveral modern languages, eſpecially the Spaniſh, which he ſpake, and writ, with as much exactneſs as if he had been a native of that country (*u*). What he wrote, or publiſhed, is mentioned in the note [*H*]. By his lady, Anne, eldeſt daughter of Sir John Harriſon, of Balls, he had ſix ſons and eight daughters; whereof only one ſon, and four daughters, ſurvived him (*w*).

(*o*) He was born 6 Nov. 1661.

(*p*) Short Account, as above.

(*q*) See The Earl of Arlington's Letters, Vol. II. 1701, p. 164, 168.

(*r*) Ib. p. 236, &c.

(*s*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*t*) Wood; and Short Account, ubi ſupra; and Sir Hen. Chauncy's Antiq. of Hertfordſhire, p. 211.

(*u*) Short Account, as above; and Langbaine's Account of the Engliſh Dramatick Poets, edit. 1699, p. 54.

(*w*) Epitaph.

'for our Royal Maſter above all the world beſides (6).' From a paſſage in another letter of his, it is evident, that the hope the Spaniards entertained, of having Tangier and *Jamaica* reſtored to them by England; was, 'That which made his arrival ſo impatiently 'longed for, and *ſo magnificently celebrated* (7).'

[*F*] *The treaty of peace was ſigned at Madrid, the 6th of December* 1665.] It is printed among the Earl of Arlington's letters, Vol. II. p. 114, &c. and in the Collections of Treaties.

[*G*] *Near the vault there is a handſome monument erected to his memory.*] Sir Henry Chauncy gives a deſcription of it (8), with the Epitaph: wherein the character given to Sir Richard is, that he was moſt eminent for ſweetneſs of temper, learning, loyalty, &c. *Vir Comitate Morum, Literarum Luce, Fidei conſtantia præſtantiſſimus*, &c. The reſt contains only an account of his family, marriage, iſſue, offices, and employments, which have been ſufficiently related already in this article.

[*H*] *What he wrote, or publiſhed, is mentioned in the note.*] 'Tis as follows, I. An Engliſh tranſlation, in rhyme, of the celebrated Italian paſtoral, called *Il Paſtor Fido*, or The Faithful Shepherd; written originally by *Battiſta Guarini* (9). Printed at London 1646, 4*to*. and 1664, 8*vo*. ſee a further account of it below. II. A tranſlation from Engliſh into Latin verſe, of, *The Faithful Shepherdeſs*, a Paſtoral; written originally by *John Eletcher*, Gent. Lond. 1658. III. In the octavo edition of The Faithful Shepherd, *anno* 1664, are inſerted the following poems of our author's, *viz.* 1. An Ode upon Occaſion of his Majeſty's Proclamation in 1630, commanding the Gentry to reſide upon their Eſtates in the Country. 2. A Summary Diſcourſe of the Civil Wars of Rome; extracted from the beſt Latin Writers in Proſe and Verſe. 3. An Engliſh Tranſlation of The fourth Book of Virgil's Æneis, on the Loves of Dido and Æneas. 4. Two Odes out of Horace, relating to the Civil Wars of Rome, againſt covetous rich Men. IV. He tranſlated from Portugueſe into Engliſh, *The Luſiad, or Portugal's Hiſtorical Poem*; written originally by Luis de Camoëns. Lond. 1655, &c. *fol.* V. After his deceaſe, namely in 1671, were publiſhed theſe two poſthumous pieces of his in 4*to*. *Querer per ſolo querer: To love only for Love's ſake*, a dramatick romance repreſented before the King and Queen of Spain; and *Fieſtas de Aranjuez: Feſtivals at Aranjuez.* Both written originally in Spaniſh, by Antonio de Mendoza; upon occaſion of celebrating the birth-day of King Philip IV, in 1623, at Aranjuez. They were tranſlated by our author in 1654, during his confinement at Tankerley-Park in Yorkſhire: Which uneaſy ſituation induced him to write the following ſtanza's on this work.

Time was, when I, a pilgrim of the ſeas,
When I 'midſt noiſe of camps and courts diſeaſe;
Purloin'd ſome hours to charm rude cares with verſe,
Which flame of *Faithful Shepherd* did rehearſe.

But now reſtrain'd from ſea, from camp, from court,
And by a tempeſt blown into a port;
I raiſe my thoughts to muſe on higher things,
And eccho arms and loves of Queens and Kings.

Which Queens (deſpiſing crowns and Hymen's band)
Would neither men obey, nor men command:
Great pleaſure from rough ſeas to ſee the ſhore;
Or from firm land to hear the billows roar (10).

We are told, that he compoſed ſeveral other things, remaining in manuſcript, which he writ in his younger years, but had not the leiſure to compleat (11).—Even ſome of the forementioned printed pieces have not all the perfection which our ingenious author could have given them. For, as the writer of the ſhort account of his life obſerves, 'being, for his loyalty and zeal to 'his maſter's ſervice, toſſed from place to place, and 'from country to country, during the unſettled times 'of our anarchy; ſome of his manuſcripts falling by 'misfortune into unſkilful hands, were printed and 'publiſhed without his conſent or knowledge, and before he could give them his laſt finiſhing ſtroaks.'—— But that was not the caſe with his excellent tranſlation of Paſtor Fido; which was publiſhed by himſelf, and hath been applauded by ſome of the beſt judges, particularly by Sir John Denham; who, after cenſuring ſervile tranſlators, goes on thus:

A new and nobler way thou doeſt purſue,
To make Tranſlations and Tranſlators too.
They but preſerve the aſhes, Thou the flame,
True to his ſenſe, but truer to his fame.

C

(6) Letters, p. 32.

(7) Page 128.

(8) Hiſtory of Hertfordſhire, p. 211.

(9) See Bayle's Dictionary, under the article GUARINI.

(10) Wood, ubi ſupra; and Short Account; and Lives of the Engliſh Dramatick Poets, by Langbaine, p. 55.

(11) Short Account.

FARQUHAR (George), an ingenious comic Poet, in the latter end of King William's reign, and part of Queen Anne's; was deſcended of a good family in the North of Ireland, where, it is ſaid, his parents held no mean rank (*a*). We have been informed, by a gentleman of that country, that his father was Dean of Armagh, but have not met with it confirmed: however, it is atteſted by another of his countrymen, that he was the ſon of a clergymen, and born at *Londonderry*, in that kingdom; which was in the year 1678, as may be computed from his account of him (*b*). There, he received his more juvenile inſtruction; and there he diſcovered a genius, ſo early devoted to the Muſes, that unleſs he is complimented, as he intimates Poets often by themſelves are, with being the Authors of ripe fruits in their greeneſt years, he gave ſeveral ſpecimens of his poetry before he was ten years old, in which he manifeſted a depth of thinking, as well as an elegancy of expreſſion, far beyond his years; one example whereof, being preſerved by the writer of his memoirs above quoted, may alſo, in this account of ours, be thought not unworthy of preſervation [*A*]. We receive it from the ſame hand, that his parents having a numerous iſſue, could beſtow on him no fortune further than a genteel education; therefore, when he was qualified for the Univerſity, he was ſent to *Trinity-College* in *Dublin*; which, as we are elſewhere informed, was in 1694, he being then in the ſeventeenth year of his age (*c*). Here, by the progreſs he made in his ſtudies, he acquired a conſiderable reputation (*d*); but we find it not conſented to, that he there took his degree of Bachelor of Arts (*e*); for indeed, his gay and volatile diſpoſition, could not long reliſh the grave and regular courſe of a collegiate life; and his own opinion of it, to that ſenſe, he afterwards freely enough diſplayed in ſeveral parts of his comedies, and other writings: beſides, the expence of it, without any immediate proſpect of ſome profitable returns, might be inconſiſtent with his circumſtances. The more polite and popular entertainments of the town, moſt attracted him, eſpecially thoſe of the ſtage; and he does not ſeem to have been in that college much above a year, or two at moſt, before he perceived ſome hopeful temptation of tranſplanting himſelf thither, from the encouragement he ſaw others receive. For, when Mr Joſeph Aſhbury, the maſter of Dublin theatre, had carried thither from England, among others, to recruit his company of players, Mr Robert Wilks, who had been, from the latter end of the year 1690, till his ſaid return into Ireland (*f*), under Mr Chriſtopher Rich, at Drury-Lane houſe, tho' very little to his advantage; but was now, at Dublin, much advanced in his ſalary, and much more careſs'd by his own countrymen than he had been at London, as we have it in another life of Mr Wilks, different from that laſt quoted (*g*); Mr Farquhar ſoon found alſo his own perſon, and his parts, being already known by ſome of his poetical performances, ſo recommend him to that maſter, or this player, that by the voluntary choice of the one, or cordial intereſt of the other, he was readily admitted into the ſaid theatre; but his ſervices there were of no long continuance. It is indeed reported, that his genteel figure, proper geſture, ready memory, and juſt elocution, rendered him very acceptable there; only his voice, which, either in ſpeaking or ſinging, among private company, made him alſo, as we have been informed by thoſe who knew him, very engaging, was too mild, too low, in thoſe publick and numerous aſſemblies. In ſhort, he could not rant and rave, and tear a paſſion to tatters, as Shakeſpear phraſes it (*h*); or captivate the commonalty of an audience, which is raviſhed more with ſound than ſenſe: and might poſſibly want, like Thomas Otway and Nat. Lee (*i*), that front or aſſurance, that conceit of ſelf-ſufficiency, which diſguiſes defects and improprieties, both in ſpeech and action; overbears the generality of ſpectators; and carries many veteran ſtagers plauſibly thro' thoſe parts, which they are unqualified naturally to perſonate. His more excellent talents, however, might have preſerved the Player at Dublin, and loſt the Poet at London, but for an accident, whereby he was near turning a feigned tragedy into a real one [*B*]; which

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(*a*) Memoirs of Mr George Farquhar, before his Works, edit. 1728; and the Account of him in Giles Jacob, &c.

(*b*) The Works of Sir James Ware, edit. Dublin, fol. Vol III. 1746, among the Additional Writers of Ireland, by the editor Walter Harris, Eſq; p. 263.

(*c*) Id. ibid.

(*d*) Memoirs of Mr Farquhar, as above, p. 4.

(*e*) See Authentic Memoirs of the Life of Mr Robert Wilks, by Daniel O' Bryan, Eſq; 8*vo*, 1732, p. 13.

(*f*) An Apology for the Life of Mr Colley Cibber, Comedian. &c. By Himſelf, 4*to*, 1740, p. 59, 137.

(*g*) The Life of that eminent Comedian Robert Wilks, Eſq; 8*vo*, 1733, p. 4, &c. See alſo The Hiſt. of the Engl. Stage, from the Reſtauration to the preſent Time; including The Lives, Characters, and Amours of the moſt eminent Actors and Actreſſes, &c. 8*vo*, 1741, p. 130, &c.

(*h*) In Hamlet.

(*i*) See *Roſcius Anglicanus*, &c. by John Downes, 8*vo*, 1708, p. 34. alſo Gildon's Dramatick Poets, in Otway; and the Compl. Liſt of Dram. Poets, 8*vo*, 1747, in Lee.

[*A*] *May in this account be thought not unworthy of preſervation*.] This early production of our author's, which has indeed in it ſomething beyond the years in which it is ſaid to be written, is as follows.

The pliant *ſoul* of erring youth,
Is like ſoft wax, or moiſten'd clay;
Apt to receive all heav'nly *truth*,
Or yield to tyrant *Ill* the ſway.

Slight folly in your *early* years,
At *manhood* may to *virtue* riſe;
But he, who in his *youth* appears
A *fool*, in *age* will ne'er be *wiſe* (1).

However, our author himſelf reflects upon the aſcribing ſome compoſitions to ingenious men in their green years, or their pretending to have written them before they did; as if it were not only unneceſſary, but might be diſadvantageous, thro' the extraordinary expectations it might raiſe, of proportionable improvements in their riper productions; ſo extenuate the character it was intended to magnify; where he brings in Poet Lyric, ſaying to his correſpondent, 'Now, Sir, 'here's a poem, which, according to the way of us 'Poets, I ſay, was written at fifteen; but, between 'you and I, it was made at five and twenty (2).'

[*B*] *He was near turning a feigned tragedy into a real one*.] This ſtory we find related after this manner. 'Mr Farquhar was extreamly beloved in Ireland, and had indeed the advantage of a very good 'perſon, tho' his voice was weak; but as he never 'met with the leaſt repulſe from the audience, in any 'of his performances, he was reſolved to continue on 'the ſtage till ſomething better ſhould offer; but his 'reſolution was ſoon broke by an accident. For Mr 'Farquhar being to play the part of Guyomar (3), who 'kills Vaſquez, one of the Spaniſh Generals; and forgetting to exchange his ſword for a foil, in the engagement, he wounded his brother tragedian who repreſented Vaſquez, very dangerouſly; and tho' it 'proved not mortal, yet it ſo ſhocked the natural tenderneſs of Mr Farquhar's temper, that it put a period 'to his acting ever after (4).'

(1) Memoirs of Mr George Farquhar, p. 4.

(2) Farquhar's Love and a Bottle, towards the end of the 4th act.

(3) In Mr Dryden's *Indian Emperor*.

(4) Memoirs of Mr Farquhar, as before. Life of Mr Wilks, 8*vo*, 1733, p. 5.

which being ſo repugnant to his inherent humanity, added to his other diſcouragement; and this happening at the time when Mr Wilks received a more profitable propoſal than he expected, from Mr Rich aforeſaid, of four pounds a week, if he would return, with his wife, to the Engliſh ſtage, it was with the leſs difficulty that Mr Farquhar was perſuaded to bear them company (k). After their arrival at London, which might be in the year 1696 (l), Mr Wilks, who was well acquainted with his abilities, ceaſed not his importunities, till he had prevailed with him to write a play (m); aſſuring him, that he was beheld by all who knew him, in a much brighter light than he had opportunity hitherto of ſhewing himſelf; and was fitter to exhibit entertaining compoſitions *for the ſtage*, than to echo thoſe of other Poets *upon it*. But he was more ſubſtantially invited yet, by a genteel and decent accommodation, which would enable him, both with means and leiſure, to exerciſe his genius at eaſe, in the ſtudy of dramatick poetry; for we are told, it was not very long after that accident at the Playhouſe in Dublin, before the Earl of Orrery, who was a patron as well as maſter of learning, in regard to his ſingular merits, which he ſaw hitherto unrewarded, gave him a Lieutenant's commiſſion in his own regiment, then in Ireland, which he held ſeveral years (n). From the former of which authorities here referred to, we alſo learn, that, as an officer of the ſaid rank in the army, he behaved himſelf very commendably, and gave ſeveral proofs both of his courage and conduct. Whether this commiſſion was conferred upon him before, or after he obliged the town with his firſt comedy, we are not particularly informed; and authors differ in their nomination of the firſt play that Mr Wilks performed in, upon his return to the Engliſh ſtage. Whether he acted the part of Palamede (o), as it has been affirmed by one of our dramatick Hiſtorians (p), or that of Armuſia (q), according to the aſſertion of another (r), is not here very material: but we have among Mr Farquhar's *Miſcellanies*, an Epilogue of his writing, which was ſpoken by Mr Wilks at his firſt appearance, as tis ſaid, *upon* the Engliſh ſtage (s); which we take to be rather this, his firſt appearance, upon his *return* thither, unleſs it may be urged, that our Author, who wrote ſuch verſes as are before quoted, at ten years of age, might very well write theſe, at twelve or thirteen. In the year 1698, his firſt comedy, called LOVE *and a* BOTTLE, appeared on the *Theatre-Royal* in Drury-Lane, and it was, as well for the ſprightly dialogue, as that lively turn of incidents in it, which fill the ſtage with buſineſs, and keep up the ſpirit of ſuch compoſitions, very well received, tho' Mr Wilks had no part in it. In 1699, the late celebrated Mrs Anne Oldfield, was, upon his judgment and recommendation, firſt admitted into the ſaid theatre [C], ſhe then being ſixteen years of age (t): and in the former part of the year 1700, he brought his CONSTANT COUPLE, or TRIP *to the* JUBILEE, upon that ſtage, it being then the Jubilee year at Rome, when ſome Popiſh zealots, of all countries, made their *trip* thither, to buy pardons and other trinkets or fairings, for the convenience of ſoul and body. But our Author drew ſuch a gay airy figure in Sir *Harry Wildair*; the part was ſo perfectly adapted to Mr Wilks's, genius, and it was ſo animated by his geſture and vivacity of ſpirit, that it is not determinable whether the Poet or the Player received more reputation by it. Towards the latter end of this year, we meet with Mr Farquhar in Holland, probably upon his military duty; from whence he has given a deſcription, in two of his letters, dated in Auguſt and October that year, from the Brill and from Leyden, no leſs equitable than facetious, as well of thoſe places, as the people (u); and in a third, dated from the Hague, in the ſame month laſt mentioned, he very humorouſly relates how merry he was there, at a treat made by the Earl of Weſtmorland; while, not only himſelf, but King William, and others of his ſubjects, were detained there by a violent ſtorm, which he has no leſs comically deſcribed (w); and has, among his poems, written alſo an ingenious copy of verſes to his miſtreſs upon the ſame ſubject. Whether this miſtreſs was the ſame perſon whom he calls his charming *Penelope*, in ſeveral of his love-letters addreſſed to her, and ſome others probably in

(k) Hiſt. of the Engliſh Stage, p. 131.

(l) Cibber's Apology, &c. p. 136, 137.

(m) The Life of Mr Wilks, 8vo, 1733, p. 5; and The Hiſtory of the Engliſh Stage, p. 131.

(n) Memoirs of Mr Farquhar, before his Works; and O'Bryan's Life of Mr Wilks, as before, p. 23.

(o) In Dryden's *Marriage a la Mode*.

(p) Cibber's Apology, p. 137.

(q) In Fletcher's Iſland Princeſs.

(r) In the Life of Mr Wilks, 8vo, 1733, p. 6.

(s) See Farquhar's Poems, Letters, and Eſſays, before his Plays, Vol. I. p. 35.

(t) Memoirs of the Life of Mrs Oldfield, p. 1, 2.

(u) See The Works of the late ingenious Mr George Farquhar, &c. edit. 1728, Vol. I. p. 21, 26.

(w) Id. p. 73.

[C] *Mrs Oldfield was by his recommendation, &c. admitted into the ſaid theatre.*] The particulars of this aſſertion we have from a perſon who was then ſervant to Mr Rich, maſter of that theatre, in a letter which he wrote to the editor of Mrs Oldfield's life, in which it is printed in theſe words.

SIR,

‘IN your Memoirs of Mrs *Oldfield* it may not be amiſs to inſert the following facts, on the truth of which you may depend. Her father Capt. *Oldfield*, not only run out all the military, but likewiſe the paternal bounds of his fortune, having a pretty eſtate in houſes in Pall-Mall. It was wholly owing to Capt. *Farquhar* that ever Mrs *Oldfield* became an actreſs, from the following incident. Dining one day at her aunt's, who kept the Miter Tavern in St James's Market (*), he heard Miſs *Nanny* reading a play behind the bar, with ſo proper an emphaſis, and ſuch agreeable turns ſuitable to each character, that he ſwore the girl was cut out for the ſtage, to which ſhe had before always expreſſed an inclination, being very deſirous to try her fortune that way. Her mother, the next time ſhe ſaw Capt *Vanbrugh*, who had a great reſpect for the family, told him what was Capt. *Farquhar*'s advice; upon which, he deſired to know whether, in the plays ſhe read, her fancy was moſt pleaſed with tragedy or comedy? Miſs being called in, ſaid comedy; ſhe having, at that time, gone thro' all *Beaumont* and *Fletcher*'s comedies; and the play ſhe was reading, when Capt. *Farquhar* dined there, was *The Scornful Lady*. Capt. *Vanbrugh*, ſhortly after, recommended her to Mr *Chriſtopher Rich*, who took her into the houſe, at the allowance but of fifteen ſhillings *per* week. However, her agreeable figure, and the ſweetneſs of her voice, ſoon gave her the preference, in the opinion of the whole town, to all our young actreſſes; and his Grace the late Duke of *Bedford*, being pleaſed to ſpeak to Mr *Rich* in her favour, he inſtantly raiſed her allowance to twenty ſhillings *per* week: her fame and ſalary, at length, roſe to her juſt merit.

Nov. 25,
1730.

‘Your humble ſervant,

‘CHARLES TAYLOR (5).’

(*) It was then kept by Mrs Voſs.

(5) Memoirs of Mrs Anne Oldfield, 8vo, 1741, p. 55, &c.

in which ſhe is not ſo called, we know not; but have been informed by an old officer of the army, who very well knew Mr Farquhar, and ſome of his youthful gallantries, that by that name we are to underſtand Miſs Oldfield, above mentioned; and that the perſon meant by Mrs V———, in one of them, ſaid to be her bedfellow (x), was Mrs Verbruggen the actreſs; the ſame, who was ſome years before Mrs Mountfort (y), from whom Mrs Oldfield received her firſt theatrical inſtructions, and ſucceeded, when ſhe died three or four years after in child-bed, in her principal parts, with ſingular commendation: and we ſhall ſee preſently, how comfortably Mr Farquhar could warm his fancy, and chafe up his inclinations, at this bright ſparkling flame of his: from whence we need not doubt what another perſon, who was acquainted alſo with her, has ſaid in theſe words; ‘ I have ‘ often heard Mrs Oldfield mention the many agreeable hours ſhe had ſpent in Mr Far‘quhar's company (z).’ But here, Chronology calls upon us, for the ſpace of a few lines, to Order. In the beginning of the following year, he was a ſpectator of, if not a mourner at, Mr Dryden's funeral; but the deſcription he has made of it, is indeed no mournful one (*a*). And now his laſt comedy having met with almoſt unparallelled ſucceſs, and ſo charmed the whole town, that nothing could reliſh like a continuation of it; he accordingly, in that year, 1701, brought out his comedy called *Sir* HARRY WILDAIR, *&c.* and when Mrs Oldfield came to ſhine out, equal with Wilks, in thoſe two plays, there were none at that time which more attracted the gay company at leaſt, which frequented the Theatre, or more engaged their approbation: of theſe three comedies hitherto ſpoken of, we ſhall ſay ſomething more hereafter, with his others, in a note together. In the next year, he publiſhed thoſe Miſcellanies, as ſome call them, or Collection of POEMS, LETTERS, and ESSAYS, which we have before cited; though, perhaps ſtiled, in this firſt edition, as we find them in ſome catalogues of books, by a title ſomewhat different (*b*); of which, it may not be improper here, to be ſomewhat more particular [*D*]. Some of thoſe

[*D*] *Of which it may not be improper to be here ſomewhat more particular.*] In this collection of our Author's *poems*, *letters*, and *eſſays*, reprinted with the the ſucceeding editions of his comedies, ſeveral of the poems ſeem, by their titles or ſubjects, to have been ſome of the earlieſt of his productions; as his *Pindarick* Ode *on the Death of General Schomberg*, who was killed at the battle of the Boyne, in Ireland, *anno* 1690. An *Epigram on the Riding-Houſe at Dublin*. *On the Death of Queen Mary*. An *Epilogue, ſpoken by Mr Wilks, at his firſt Appearance on the Engliſh Stage*, as before-mentioned. His *Prologue on the propoſed Union of the two Houſes*. His *Verſes written in Orinda's Poems, in imitation of Ovid*. Thoſe *To the ingenious Lady* who wrote *The Fatal Friendſhip* (6). *To a Lady, being detained from her by Storms*. And ſome others.

His *Letters*, as we obſerved, were written in 1700 and 1701. Some, when he was in Holland; and the reſt, when he was returned to England; of which we have mentioned ſome chief parts relating to his perſonal hiſtory, but the greateſt number contain his courtſhip and amours with one or two of the fair ſex; ſome, dated from *Grays-Inn*; others, from the *Inner Temple*; and ſome part of Eſſex, when he was in the country. In one of his amorous letters, containing a *conteſt between his head and his heart*, in which the latter, by the help of ſome other members, gets the better in the concluſion, which is ſlily witty and waggiſh; there runs throughout ſuch a ſingular vein of humour and drollery, that we may take it for a comedy in miniature (7). In another, his diſtinctions upon thoſe female maxims of amorous policy, aſſerting, that *if the women will fly, the men will purſue*; and that *enjoyment quenches love*; with his arguments againſt *the inconſiſtence of love with reaſon*, he has, like an honourable lover, ingeniouſly defeated thoſe tyrannical and heterodox principles in the fair ſex, and attempted to introduce a reformed ſyſtem in their doctrine of love; by diſtinguiſhing, like a man of ſenſe, what only is the paſſion of fools (8). But among his letters to his dear *Penelope*, or Mrs Oldfield as it is reported, that above referred to, in which Mrs Verbruggen is affirmed to be mentioned, concludes with his verſes upon *Roſamond's Pond* in St *James's Park*, and the Water-rat which had frighted his charmer aforeſaid, away from the banks of it, in theſe words.

Fair *Roſamond* did little think,
Her cryſtal *pond* ſhould turn a *ſink*;
To harbour *vermin* that might ſwim,
And frighten *beauties* from the brim.

Henceforth, deteſted pond, no more
Shall *beauties* crown your verdent *ſhore*;
Your *waves*, ſo fam'd for *am'rous* league,
Are now turn'd *Ratſbane* to *Intrigue*.

But his *letter* and *dialogue*, written to the ſame perſon, as 'tis ſaid, from *Gray's-Inn*, *upon her wearing her maſk* the evening before; which was a female faſhion in thoſe days, as well in *publick walks*, as among the ſpectators at the *Playhouſe*; becauſe they ſo naturally diſplay his pleaſant temper and talents, and will afford an idea of them as clear as moſt of the reſt, therefore may not be thought tedious to repeat, eſpecially as they are all that we ſhall revive out of this collection, are as follow.

‘ The arguments you made uſe of laſt night for ‘ keeping on your maſk, I endeavoured to defeat with ‘ reaſon; but that proving ineffectual, I'll try the force ‘ of rhyme, and ſend you the heads of our chat in a ‘ *poetical dialogue* between *You and I*.’

You.

Thus *Images* are *veil'd* which you *adore*;
Your *Ignorance* does raiſe your *zeal* the more.

I.

All *Image-worſhip* for *falſe zeal* is held;
Falſe idols ought indeed to be *conceal'd*.

You.

Thus *Oracles* of old were ſtill receiv'd;
The more *ambiguous*, ſtill the more *believ'd*.

I.

But *Oracles* of old were ſeldom *true*;
The *Devil* was in 'em—ſure he's not in *you!*

You.

Thus maſk'd in *Myſteries* does the *God-head* ſtand;
The more *obſcure*, the greater his *command*.

I.

The *God-head*'s hidden *pow'r* wou'd ſoon be paſt,
Did we not hope to *ſee* his *face* at laſt.

You.

You are my *Slave* already, *Sir*, you know;
To ſhew more *charms*, wou'd but increaſe your *woe*:
I ſcorn an *inſult* to a *conquer'd* foe.

I.

(x) Ibid. p. 64.

(y) Whoſe huſband, Mr W. Mountfort, was killed by Capt. Ric. Hill, Dec. 9, 1692; for which murder Charles Lord Mohun was tried and acquitted by his Peers in Feb. following. *Vide* State Trials, *&c.*

(z) Memoirs of the Life of Mrs Oldfield, p. 50.

(*a*) Farquhar's Letters, in his Works, as above, p. 71, where the great confuſion at that funeral is very viſible.

(*b*) Love and Buſineſs, *&c.* by Mr Farquhar, 8*vo*, 1702.

(6) Mrs Cath. Trother, printed 4*to*, 1698; which Gildon thinks deſerves the Applauſe it met with. His Dramatick Poets, in Append. p. 179.

(7) Farquhar's Letters, *&c.* p. 49.

(8) Id. p. 51.

thoſe letters were publiſhed, from the copies returned him, at his requeſt, by one of his female correſpondents, as appear therein (c); who was, as it is reported, the ſaid Mrs Oldfield; and ſhe often delighted to read them, many years after they were printed; as ſhe alſo did, that Eſſay at the end of them, which is called *A Diſcourſe upon* COMEDY, *in Reference to the* ENGLISH STAGE; which, as it is both very entertaining, and expreſſive of our Author's ſentiments upon this ſubject, a few extracts thereof may not, in this article, be unwelcome [*E*]. But what may give a more natural and lively repreſentation of him ſtill,

I.

I am your *Slave*, 'tis true; but ſtill you ſee,
All *ſlaves*, by nature, ſtruggle to be *free:*
But if you would *ſecure* the ſtubborn *prize*,
Add to your *wit*, the *fetters* of your *eyes*;
Then pleas'd with *thraldom*, would I *kiſs my chain*,
And ne'er think more of *liberty* again (9).

This collection of *Poems*, *Letters*, &c. is dedicated by our Author to *Edmund Chaloner*, Eſq; an ingenious admirer of the Muſes, eſpecially that of Mr Farquhar; and a deſcendent of the famous Sir Thomas Chaloner, who was himſelf a man of diſtinguiſhed wit and learning in his time; alſo a Soldier as well as a Poet, like Mr Farquhar; who has therein not only celebrated the virtuous qualities and accompliſhments of his Patron, in a very polite manner, but ſhewed, in the example of that Anceſtor, how harmoniouſly *Mars* and *Minerva* may combine, or make a moſt illuſtrious union in one perſon. How dangerouſly that brave Anceſtor eſcaped death, when ſhipwreck'd by the ſtorm that defeated the expedition of Charles the Emperor againſt the Algerines; when he catched, and held faſt in his mouth, the cable that ſaved his life, with the loſs of his teeth: how bravely he purchaſed the honour of being made Knight-Banneret in the field: How diſcreetly he diſcharged his embaſſy to Philip II. of Spain: how learnedly he wrote ſeveral books in proſe and verſe, ſome of which made even the grave Lord Burghley, a Latin Poet as well as himſelf, in his commendation, may not only be ſeen partly in this dedication, but more largely elſewhere (10); while here we proceed to obſerve that our Author, among other agreeable addreſſes to his Reader, in the *Preface* of this *Collection*, ſays very jocoſely of himſelf, as to his equipments, or ſtock and change of apparel or furniture for his underſtanding, that truly 'this gentleman is of ſome circumſtance and 'condition, and has not been engaged in the *ſhifts* 'that ſome late *ſparks* were put to for their habiliments, who *ferret* all the *wit-brokers* in town; *taking up*, from *ſeveral* places, and *ſtrut* in a *ſecond-hand finery*, patched up of the *ſcraps* and *remnants* of 'the *eminent* men of the *age*; for I muſt tell you, Sir, 'tho' his cloaths be but *plain*, yet they are his *own*, '*taken* up handſomely at one *place*, where he may have '*credit* for as much more when theſe are worn out.' It were eaſy, by many inſtances, in theſe *Letters*, &c. to point out the great ſpirit of vivacity and volubility in his *thoughts*; his drole and ſportive, his lepid and ludicrous vein: and in his *ſtyle*, ſometimes quaint, ſometimes florid, often comprehenſive and compact, ſome turns both of period and expreſſion, inclining to the elegant and ſententious, but commonly, through a humour naturally chearful, free and debonnair, not only pithy and poignant, but pleaſing and perſuaſive. Had the ſun-ſhine of his wit not been clouded ſo ſoon, but ſuffered by Death to have run a longer courſe, it would probably have brought to maturity, ſuch richer fruits of more ſolid and *ſerious ſubjects*, as would have preferred themſelves to the nicer, and more exquiſite taſte, of the moſt mature, ſerious, and *ſolid readers*. But in leſs than two years after the ſaid intercourſe of amorous epiſtles, Mr Farquhar was diverted from the publication of any more, by another fair lady who fell in love with him; and fearing no other impediment to her deſires of ſecuring him to herſelf, than the ſlenderneſs of her circumſtances, ſo contrived, that they were repreſented to him much more conſiderable than he at laſt found them. So he thought, before this diſcovery, that if Cupid's fire-arms would ſo effectually wound, when but ſingly loaden with the charming image of the fair, wherewith he had before been ſo deeply ſmitten; it were in vain now to think of eſcaping them when doubly charged, with beauty and fortune too. In ſhort, it ſeems his own inclination, as well as the proſpect of advantage, led him chearfully into the bands of matrimony; and we hear nothing to the contrary but they made a *Conſtant Couple:* nor is it otherwiſe objected to him, by the Poet who gave this unneceſſary caution:

Bid *Farquhar*, tho' bit, to his conſort be juſt (11).

For her affection ſo engaged his good nature, that he forgot the thoughts of that diſappointment; till afterwards another, from a noble or rather titled courtier, left him to increaſe the number of thoſe examples, which may convince the credulous, without the expence of a trial, that there may be ſome deluſions in *friendſhip*, more fatal than thoſe in *love*.

[*E*] *A few extracts thereof may not, in this article, be unwelcome.*] This *Diſcourſe upon Comedy* in reference to the *Engliſh Stage*, which is the laſt, printed in his collection of *Letters* beforementioned, conſiſting of about twenty-ſix pages, ſeems, by his mentioning at the entrance, his three firſt plays, to have been written in 1701. The uncommon ſucceſs which thoſe plays met with, having nettled ſome of the waſpiſh criticks, and provoked them to exert their little ſtings, he wrote it in juſtification of thoſe moderate irregularities, and other tolerable or compenſing liberties he had taken in them; but his allegations for them are ſo agreeably or plauſibly rational, that it is no wonder Mrs Oldfield ſhould prefer ſome parts thereof, as the moſt humorous of all other apologies for licence in this ſpecies (12) of the drama, equal to what is granted in all other branches of poetry, even tho' ſhe had received no previous impreſſion, from his engaging converſation, of partiality in his favour. For, in ſome places, his ſtyle and ſentiments are ſo adapted to his ſubject, and, againſt the auſterity of critical rules for the compoſition of *Comedy*, are ſo *comically* diſplayed, that he has left even thoſe pleaſed, whom he might not leave perſuaded: and in other parts, his ironical praiſe of *ancient rules*, for all ſyſtems of advice or reprehenſion, in our *modern modes* of corruption and vanity, contains ſome of the moſt delicate and refined ſpirit of *antient ſatire*. Indeed, he had briefly and blithly enough given us an abſtract of the uſual ſubject matter both in Tragedy and Comedy before, in a parley between LOVEWELL and LYRIC the Poet after this manner,

LOVE: What reliſh have you of Comedy?

LYR: No ſatisfactory one—My curioſity is foreſtalled by a fore-knowledge of what ſhall happen: for as the *Hero* in *Tragedy*, is either a whining cringing fool, that's always a ſtabbing himſelf; or a ranting hectoring bulley, that's for killing every body elſe: ſo the *Hero* in *Comedy* is always the *Poet*'s own *Character* (13).

LOVE: What's that?

LYR: A compound of practical rake, and ſpeculative gentleman, who always bears off the great fortune in the play, and ſhams off the Beau and Squire with a Whore or Chambermaid: and as the Cataſtrophe of all Tragedies is *Death*, ſo the end of Comedies is *Marriage*.

LOVE: And ſome think that the moſt tragical concluſion of the two, &c. (14).

But here in this profeſſed diſcourſe upon *Comedy* before us, our author ſaw reaſon to be more copious and explicit upon the topic; tho' after all when he comes to its definition, he makes no formal myſtery or frightful intricacy in it, but very freely and ſimply explains it to be no more at preſent than, *a well framed Tale, handſomely told, as an agreeable vehicle for cenſure or reproof:* which for ſenſible men qualified to uſe it, may be an explanation particular enough, and for ſtupid ones, any other which is more particular, would be only more puzzling. Among the points of doctrine laid down in this comic creed, or plan of his

(c) Mr Farquhar's Letters, as before. p. 42. Alſo towards the end of the Pref. p. 13.

(9) Mr Farquhar's Letters, as before, p. 46, *&c.* Further on this ſubject of women in diſguiſe, ſee *Leanthe*'s ſong, in the firſt ſcene of the third act; and *Lucinda*'s exit, in the firſt of the fourth, in our author's *Love and a Bottle.*

(10) In Hakluyt's Voyages, Camden's Annals of Q. Eliz. Wood's Ath. Oxon. and others.

(11) Memoirs relating to the late famous Mr Thomas Brown; with a Catalogue of his Library, 4*to*, 1704; in the Poem at the end, p. 19.

(12) Life of Mrs Oldfield, p. 49.

(13) Which, by the way, is allowed to have been his own practice in this very play, and others; and Indeed, in divers places, when any thing in another is to undergo the diſcipline of ridicule, he very generouſly makes free with ſomething of his own to partake of it.

(14) See Farquhar's Love and a Bottle, Act 4, Scene 2.

ſtill, is one among thoſe letters, which he calls THE PICTURE, containing a deſcription

and

his dramatic principles, we find not that he would have any other Poet more than himſelf, ignorant of the criticks rules, or is againſt their being read; but after that, he would have an able genius follow his own, or conform himſelf occaſionally to thoſe which are moſt ſuitable to his preſent ſubject, and ſuch perſons, as are to be inſtructed or entertained by it. He laments, that poetry alone of all other profeſſions, and chiefly the *Drama*, lies open to the inſults of all pretenders, and that this kind of all others muſt ſubmit to ſuch a variety of unequal judges. He allows without diſpute, that an author muſt endeavour to pleaſure that part of the audience, who can ſay the beſt claim to a judicious and impartial reflection; but deſires he would firſt conſider, to what diviſion that claim does moſt properly belong, tho' he foreſees that ſcholars will be angry with him, for making this the ſubject of a queſtion; yet will not allow that ſuch meer readers of antient authors in their antient languages are the better ſort of judges in this caſe. However, he allows one of theſe profound ſcholaſtics, after having turned thro' Ariſtotle and all the old criticks, to have formed a regular play, with a ſingle plot, without ſong or dance, circumſcribed to three hours, and unity of place, with the allowance of an hundred and fifty pounds to dreſs it; then after all, the meager empty thing, blown up indeed with windy words, is found by the player to have no more operative matter for him to ſhew his art upon, than a carpenter can find in a piece of ſteel: ‘ Here is the lamp and the ſcholar in every line, but not a ſyllable of the Poet; here is elaborate language, ſounding epithets, flights of words that ſtrike the clouds, while the poor ſenſe lags after, like the lanthorn in the tail of a kite, which appears only like a ſtar, while the breath of the player's lungs has ſtrength to bear it up in the air.'——So that, ‘ the audience not meeting the diverſion they expected on the ſtage, ſhift for themſelves in the pit; every one turns about to his neighbour in a maſk, and for default of entertainment now, they ſtrike up for more diverting ſcenes when the play is done: and tho' the play be regular as *Ariſtotle*, and modeſt as Mr *Collier* could wiſh, yet it promotes more lewdneſs in the conſequence, and procures more effectually for intrigue, than any *Rover*, *Libertine*, or *Old Bachelor* whatſoever. At laſt comes the Epilogue, which pleaſes the audience very well, becauſe it ſends them away, and terminates the fate of the Poet; the *Patentees* rail at him, the town damns him, and he may bury his copy *in Paul's*, for not a Bookſeller *about it* will put it in print.' Hence he further proceeds to obſerve, how the town has been often diſappointed in theſe critical plays, and how authors who have been admired in their ſpeculative remarks, have been ridiculed in the practice; ſo adviſes his friend to lay aſide his ſuperſtitious veneration for antiquity, and the uſual objections that the preſent age is illiterate, or their taſte vitiated; that we live in the decay of time, and the dotage of the world; which he contradicts, and aſks him, why we ſhould be ſo hampered in our opinions, as if all the ruins of antiquity lay ſo heavily on the bones of us, that we could not ſtir hand or foot?

‘ Why ſhou'd the Poets be hoodwinked at this rate, and by what authority ſhould *Ariſtotle*'s rules of poetry ſtand ſo fix'd and immutable? Why?—By the authority of two thouſand years ſtanding—becauſe, thro' this long revolution of time, the world has ſtill continued the ſame—by the authority of their being received at Athens, a city, the very ſame with London in every particular; their habits the ſame, their humours alike; their publick tranſactions, and private ſocieties *a la mode de France*;—in ſhort, ſo very much the ſame in every circumſtance, that *Ariſtotle*'s criticiſms may give rules to *Drury-Lane*; the *Areopagus* give judgment upon a caſe in the *King's Bench*; and old *Solon* ſhall give laws to the *Houſe of Commons!*'

Then he proceeds by farther illuſtrations to ſhew, that we are not to form theſe modern and domeſtick entertainments, if we hope for ſucceſs, upon antient or foreign plans; with ſpecifying how eaſy it were out of Dr *Tillotſon*'s Sermons, to trump up a pamphlet upon the *art of preaching*, whence concluſions ſhall be drawn as from *Ariſtotle* in *Poetry*, that any ſermon whatever, either by a *Preſbyter* in *Geneva*, or a *Jeſuite* in *Spain*, that deviates from theſe rules, deſerves to be hiſſed, and the Prieſt kicked out of the pulpit.

Then he gives another inſtance— ‘ I go down to *Woolwich*, and there upon a piece of paper, I take the dimenſions of the *Royal Sovereign*, and from hence I frame a *Model* of a *Man of War*: I divide the ſhip into three principal parts, the *Keel*, the *Hull*, and the *Rigging*: I ſubdivide theſe into their proper denominations, and by the help of a ſailor, give you all the terms belonging to every rope, and every office in the whole ſhip: will you from hence, infer that I am an excellent *Shipwright*, and that this model is proper for a trading *Junk* upon the *Volga*, or a *Venetian Galley* in the *Adriatic* Sea?'

It is further from his arguments to be gathered, that, if Homer had ſubmitted to the rules of criticiſm, he had been more regular, but more enervate; more formally circumſcribed, but leſs copious and ſublime; more crude, contracted, barren, and debaſed, than he any where is; in a word, had finiſhed every thing off, with the niceſt and moſt artful declenſion of grandeur and magnificence; whence and from other parts, 'tis inferred, that a *Homer* cannot want the leading-ſtrings of an *Ariſtotle*, and that *Poets* derived not their *Art* from books of criticiſm, but criticks theirs, from thoſe of Poetry. And he thinks that, ‘ If Prince *Arthur* had been in the place of the *Iliad*, we ſhould have had other rules for *Epic Poetry*; and Doctor *Blackmore*, had carried the bays from *Homer*, in ſpight of all the critics in *Chriſtendom*' In like manner, as the *Paradiſe Loſt* is not wholly confined to the dictates of that *Philoſopher*, other laws of *Epic Poetry* may be drawn out of *Milton* hereafter by another *Ariſtotle*. Then as for his rules of *Dramatic Poetry*; ‘ If they had been drawn from certain and immutable principles, and fix'd on the baſis of nature, (more convincingly than in thoſe generalities wherein it is the ſame in all nations) why ſhould not his *Ars Poetica* be as efficacious now, as it was two thouſand years ago? And a *ſingle Plot*, with perfect *Unity* of *Time* and *Place*, do as well in *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, as at the Play-houſe in *Athens?*'

He further looked upon *Homer*, as a man of too great a knowledge in the immaterialities of his art, to preſcribe it materially and pedantically by Grammar rules, or in mood and figure, to the varieties of genius among mankind. ‘ He was too much a Poet to give rules to that, whoſe excellence he knew conſiſted in a free and unlimited flight of imagination; and to deſcribe the *Spirit of Poetry*, which alone is the true *Art of Poetry*, he knew to be as impoſſible, as for human reaſon to teach the *Gift* of *Prophecy* by a definition'

He is for making *Æſop* the Father of Comedy, and thinks, ‘ we cannot now better ſeek for its foundation, than in his ſymbolical way of moralizing upon tales and fables, with this difference that his ſtories were ſhorter than ours. He had his tyrant *Lyon*, his ſtateſman *Fox*, his beau *Magpye*, his coward *Hare*, his bravo *Aſs*, and his buffoon *Ape*, with all the characters that crowd our ſtages every day; with this diſtinction nevertheleſs, that *Æſop* made his beaſts ſpeak good *Greek*, and our Heroes ſometimes can't talk good *Engliſh*' He goes on to ſhew how, by ſuch antient and modern practice, in Scripture *Parables*, and *Alluſions*, with other indirect, inſinuating, and moſt palatable, as well as expedient arts of ſchooling mankind into better manners, what was the primary *End* of *Comedy*, and would afford the juſteſt *Rules* for it. Thus having diſplayed the principal threads of his diſcourſe, he winds himſelf up in his concluſions.

‘ That our buſineſs lies not with a *French* or *Spaniſh* audience; that our deſign is not to hold forth to antient *Greece*, nor to moralize upon the vices and defaults of the *Roman* commonwealth: No, no; *An Engliſh play is intended for the uſe and inſtruction of an Engliſh audience*; a people not only ſeparated from the reſt of the world by ſituation, but different alſo from other nations, as well in the complexion and temperament of the natural body, as in the conſtitution of our body politick: as we are a *mixture of many nations*, ſo we have the moſt unac-

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and character of himſelf; which we ſhould not reſtrain from tranſcribing entirely, as what might contribute ſo properly and directly to the illuſtration of his life, if his works were a ſcarcity; but as they are not, we ſhall only here ſketch out a few of the ſtrongeſt, or moſt diſtinguiſhing and obſervable lineaments; that he may not be wholly unknown to thoſe who have not ſeen them, nor wholly forgotten by thoſe who have [*F*]. In 1703, came forth another diverting comedy of his, intituled THE INCONSTANT: *or, The Way to win Him*, which had merit enough to have been equally ſucceſsful with the reſt, but for the inundation of Italian, French, and other farcical interruptions; which, thro' the intereſt of ſome, and the depravity of others, broke in upon the ſtage, to the ſcandal, in being ſubmitted to, of our more refined taſte, which had preferred it's own genuine weighty ſterling, our true Engliſh humour, wit, and ſenſe, to ſuch coin as was baſe, light, and counterfeit. Theſe

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countable *medley of humours* among us, of any people upon earth; theſe humours produce variety of follies, ſome of them unknown to former ages; theſe new diſtempers muſt have new remedies, which are nothing but new counſels and inſtructions; ſo begs, if our *utile*, which is the *end*, be different from the antients, that our *dulce*, which is the *means*, be ſo too; for to different towns there muſt be different ways, &c.

‘ Then, what ſort of *dulce*, which he takes for the pleaſantry of the tale, or the plot of the play, muſt a man make uſe of to engage the attention of ſo many different humours and inclinations? Will a ſingle plot ſatisfy every body? Will the turns and ſurpriſes that may reſult naturally from the antient limits of time, be ſufficient to rip open the ſpleen of ſome, and phyſick the melancholy of others; ſcrew up the attention of a rover, and fix him to the ſtage, in ſpight of his volatile temper, and the temptation of a maſk? *To make the moral inſtructive you muſt make the ſtory diverting*: the ſplenetic Wit, the beau Courtier, the heavy Citizen, the fine Lady, and her fine Footman, come all to be *inſtructed*, and therefore muſt all be *diverted*; and he that can do this *beſt*, and with moſt applauſe, *writes the beſt Comedy*, let him do it by what *rules* he pleaſes, ſo they be not offenſive to religion and good manners.' Thus, his grand and general rule for our ſtage is, to be as generally inſtructive as he can, which cannot be, without making his work delightful to the generality. This ſecret of pleaſing ſo generally ſuch different taſtes in a modern audience, muſt be attained by ſtudying the humours of the moderns; ſo he prefers the models of *Shakeſpear*, *Fletcher*, and others of our own Poets, who made themſelves no ſlaves to the patterns or precepts of antiquity, before thoſe of *Plautus* and *Menander*. Not that he rejects, or deſpiſes all rules or decorum: he is not for having the *Engliſh Stage* a *State* of *Anarchy: No Sir,—For there are extreams in irregularity, as dangerous to an author, as too ſcrupulous a deference to criticiſm.* And hereof as he had given an inſtance of the one, ſo he alſo gives an example of the other. Concluding that, he is as little a friend to theſe rambling plays as any body; and that he has never eſpouſed their party by his own practice: yet cannot forbear ſome further vindication of the great *Shakeſpear* upon this head (*); and then, thus begs the critical carpers to let our old Engliſh authors alone.

‘ If they have left vice unpuniſhed, virtue unrewarded, folly unexpoſed, or prudence unſucceſsful, the contrary of which is the *utile* of the Comedy, let them be laſhed to ſome purpoſe: if any part of their plots have been independent of the reſt, or any of their characters forced or unnatural, which deſtroys the *dulce* of plays, let them be hiſſed off the ſtage: but if, by a true decorum in theſe material points, they have writ ſucceſsfully and anſwered the end of *Dramatic Poetry*, in every reſpect, let them reſt in peace, and their memories enjoy the encomiums due to their merit, without any reflexion for waving thoſe niceties, which are neither inſtructive to the world, nor diverting to mankind; but are like all the reſt of the critical learning, fit only to ſet people together by the ears, in ridiculous controverſies, that are not one jot material to the good of the public, whether they be true or falſe.'

[*F*] *That he may not be wholly unknown, to thoſe who have not ſeen them, nor wholly forgotten by thoſe who have.*] Our author tells the Lady to whom this reſemblance of himſelf was ſent, (when he was aged about twenty three years) that he would challenge *Vandyck* or *Kneller*, to draw it more to the life; and if he had not ſome thoughts that the ſubſtance would fall to her ſhare, he would not part with the likeneſs; which he thus colours forth, in ſome of the principal features, under the title of

‘ THE PICTURE.

‘ My *Outſide*, is, neither better nor worſe than my *Creator* made it, and the *Piece* being drawn by ſo great an *Artiſt*, 'twere preſumption to ſay there were many *Stroaks* amiſs. I have a body qualified to anſwer all the ends of its creation, and that's ſufficient.

‘ As to the *Mind*, which in moſt men wears as many changes as their body, ſo in me, 'tis generally dreſſed like my perſon, in black.——In ſhort, my conſtitution is very *ſplenetic*, and very *amorous*; both which I endeavour to *hide*, leaſt the former ſhould offend *others*, and that the latter might incommode *myſelf*: and my reaſon is ſo vigilant in reſtraining theſe two failings, that I am taken for an eaſy-natured man by my own ſex, and an ill-natured clown by your's.

‘ 'Tis true, I am very ſparing in my *praiſes* and *compliments* to a *Lady*, out of a fear, that they may affect myſelf more than her: for the idols which we worſhip, are generally of our own making; and tho' at firſt, men may not ſpeak what they think, yet truth may catch them on t'other hand, and make them think what they ſpeak.

‘ But moſt of all, I am cautious of *promiſing*, eſpecially upon that weighty article of *conſtancy*; becauſe, in the firſt place, I have never tryed the ſtrength of it in my own experience; and ſecondly, I ſuppoſe a man can no more engage for his *conſtancy*, than his *health*; ſince I believe they both equally depend upon a certain conſtitution of body; how far, and how frequently that may be liable to alteration, eſpecially in affairs of love, let the more judicious determine.

‘ I am ſeldom troubled with what the world calls *airs* and *caprices*; and I think it an idiot's excuſe for a fooliſh action, to ſay, *'twas my humour.—I can't reliſh the jeſt that vexes another in earneſt.*—I think it the worſt office in my nature to make *myſelf uneaſy* for what *another* ſhould be *puniſhed*.—I have ſo naturally a propenſity to *eaſe*, that I cannot cheerfully fix to any ſtudy that bears not a pleaſure in the application, which makes me inclinable to *Poetry* above any thing elſe.

‘ I have very little *eſtate*, but what lies under the circumference of my *hat*; and ſhould I, by misfortune, come to loſe my *head*, I ſhould not be worth a *groat*: but I ought to thank providence, that I can, by *three hours ſtudy*, live *one and twenty*, with ſatisfaction to myſelf, and contribute to the *maintenance* of more *families*, than ſome, who have *thouſands* a *year*.

‘ I have many *acquaintance*, very few *intimates*, but no *friends*, I mean in the old romantic way.—Nor can I *love* after the old romantic diſcipline: I would have my *paſſion*, if not led, yet at leaſt, waited on by my *reaſon*; and the greateſt proof of my affection that a lady muſt expect, is this: I would run any hazard to make us both *happy*, but would not, for any tranſitory pleaſure, make either of us *miſerable*, &c.'

(*) With a view to the rigid cenſures of Mr *Rymer*.

Theſe foreigners made partizans among our treacherous countrymen, to depricate our dramatick, and other poetical writers, eſpecially ſeveral whoſe compoſitions had been well received, and conſequently our Author; whom we meet with in a *ſatire* of that kind, publiſhed the next year, thus ſpoken of [*G*]. It ſeems to have been ſo early as 1704, that the Farce called THE STAGE COACH, in the compoſition whereof he was jointly concerned, made it's firſt appearance in print: and it has always given ſatisfaction, both in England and Ireland; unleſs to ſome ungrateful fault-finders, and thoſe who will ſeek matter to diſpleaſe themſelves in ſuch things as might yield them pleaſure. At this time Mr Farquhar had been about a twelve-month married, and it was at firſt reported, to a great fortune; which might not a little exaſperate the invidious temper of thoſe who grudged his proſperity. His next comedy, named THE TWIN RIVALS, which he dates at the bottom of the dedication, in December two years before that farce, might therefore be acted, and publiſhed, a year before it, as ſome have intimated it was; but, in ſeveral other accounts, it is ſpoken of as if it was neither played nor printed before 1705 *(d)*. Our Poet was poſſeſſed of his commiſſion in the army, when the Spaniſh expedition was made under the conduct of the Earl of PETERBOROUGH, tho' it ſeems he kept it not long after; and tho' Mr Farquhar was not embarked in that ſervice, or preſent at the defeat of the French forces, and the conqueſt of BARCELONA; yet, from ſome military friends in that engagement, he received ſuch diſtinct and compleat relations of it, in their epiſtolary correſpondence, and more particular information upon the return of ſome others, that he wrote a copious poem upon the ſubject, wherein he has made the ſaid Earl his hero. But it not being publiſhed till after our Poet's death, it is ſomewhat wanting in thoſe corrections wherewith it would have been improved and ornamented, had his health allowed him a deliberate review (*e*). Some two or three years after it was written (*), the impreſſion of it was addreſſed, by the Author's widow, to the ſaid Nobleman: and becauſe it was never reprinted with his other works, and is therefore now ſcarce, the epiſtle before it not being prolix, is here below preſerved [*H*]. This poem is enough to prove that Mr Farquhar did

(d) The Life of Mr Wilks, 8*vo*, 1733, p. 17; and Mr Harris in his Additions to Sir James Ware's Writers of Ireland, as before.

(*e*) See the Pref. to Mr Farquhar's *Barcellona*: a Poem, &c.

(*) In a MS. of this Poem now before us, there is no date; nor could we find any in the printed copy we have ſeen of the ſaid Poem, conſiſting of ſix canto's, and 48 pages in 4*to*, the bottom of it's title-page being cut off.

[G] *Whom we meet with, in a ſatire of that kind, publiſhed the next year, thus ſpoken of.*] In this ſatire, among ſome other Poets, whoſe endeavours to pleaſe the town, had made them objects of the author's conſideration, the omiſſion of Mr Farquhar's, would have made him appear too inconſiderable; but as they had met with a reception more ſingularly ſucceſsful, it may expoſe a ſingular deficiency as well in the author's genius as juſtice, to ſummon our Poet into the Court of *Apollo*, upon ſuch inſolid and ungrounded matter of accuſation, how natural ſoever and unavoidable it may be, for a general eſteem, to be ſure of propagating ſome particular envy.

Therefore, after the ſaid ſatiriſt has ſet Mr *Francis Manning*'s claim to the bays aſide, for the defects of his own writings, but allowed him to adopt thoſe of the Honourable Mr Charles Boyle, afterwards Earl of Orrery, he goes on thus:

> Is it ſo then, ſaid *Farquhar?* my matters are ſafe,
> By Saint *Patrick*, my buſineſs is done;
> For 'tis known, I have made Pit and Gallery laugh,
> Without any one's help but my own.
>
> My *Jubilee Dicky*, and airy Sir *Harry*,
> Will vindicate what I have ſaid;
> And none, but myſelf, has a title to carry
> The Laurels away on my head.
>
> By your leave, Brother *Teague*, reply'd Mac Fleckno's Ghoſt (†),
> Our countrymen are better known;
> The *Beauties* are borrow'd, of which you thus boaſt,
> But the *Faults*, I dare ſwear, are your own.
>
> Tho', the town may allow, what you'd have 'em all take
> For granted, with no one you joyn;
> Since none, but a man of your judgment, could make
> Such language, to ſuch a deſign.
>
> And I can't but applaud the reſolve you have ta'en,
> In the preſent employ which you chuſe;
> For it's nobler in red, to make a Campaign,
> Than to butcher an innocent Muſe (15).

(†) Tho. Shadwell.

(15) The *Trial of Skill: or a New Seſſion of the Poets*; calculated for the Meridian of *Parnaſſus*, &c. Printed fol. 1704, p. 8.

[H] *The Epiſtle—is here below preſerved*] This Epiſtle is as follows.

To the *Right Honourable* CHARLES *Earl of* PETERBOROUGH and MONMOUTH.

My LORD,

‘MY preſumption, in dedicating to your Lordſhip this Poem, found among my dear deceaſed huſband's writings, will I hope obtain, not only your Lordſhip's pardon, but favourable acceptance. For, to whom ſhould this addreſs be made, but to that Hero, who is the glorious ſubject of the ſong. Happy! could it by art repreſent, what was really done by your Lordſhip in that expedition, ſo ſurpriſing, as not only ſurpaſſes all *Poetic* deſcription, but makes even *truth* itſelf romantic. The difficulties your Lordſhip had to encounter, in the different intereſts and opinions of your confederates, was not the leaſt part of that undertaking. You were to convince, before you engaged, and your invincible reaſon was to confirm the aſſured conqueſt of your ſword. MONJUICH, beyond obeliſks and pyramids, will be the eternal monument of your fame; where, upon the fall of that great, tho' unhappy Prince of *Darmſtad*, your Lordſhip heroically interpoſed, turned, and aſſured the fate of the *Auſtrian* Monarchy. BARCELLONA, became the rival of MADRID, and MADRID itſelf had received its natural Lord; and had not envy itſelf blaſted the ſure-laid deſign, my Lord MORDENT had rivalled the glory of the BLACK PRINCE himſelf, on the Theatre of *Spain*.

‘Accept, great SIR, theſe laurels, planted by your tranſcendent valour, and reaped by your victorious arm. Accept that tribute, which is here offered, by an humble but ſincere hand, to that magnificent vertue, which hath reſtored the foundation of the *Auſtrian Spaniſh* Monarchy, and which none but our great QUEEN can eſtabliſh and confirm.

‘That your Lordſhip may live, to ſee the effects of ſo glorious an undertaking ratified, in a ſure and laſting peace; the *Weſt-India* trade flowing into the *Britiſh* channel; and the good wiſhes of all good men, derived into laſting bleſſings upon your Lordſhip and noble family, is the hearty prayers of my Lord,

Your LORDSHIP's moſt devoted,

humble ſervant,

MARGARET FARQUHAR (16).

(16) *Barcellona; a Poem*: or The Spaniſh Expedition under the command of *Charles* Earl of *Peterborough*, until the Reduction of the City of *Barcellona* to the Obedience of Charles III. By *Geo. Farquhar*, Gent. 4*to*. In Epiſt. Dedic.

[*I*] *Of*

did not burn all his unprinted writings before his death, as the author of his Memoirs has intimated he did. There are two more of his plays to be ſpoken of, which have no leſs attracted the town, and been received with no leſs approbation, than any before mentioned; the one, his comedy called THE RECRUITING OFFICER; which, as we compute, was firſt acted in 1706; tho', in the printed regiſters of our dramatick writings, the firſt edition of it is dated in the following year: and the firſt impreſſion of his laſt comedy, intituled THE BEAUX STRATAGEM, is mentioned in thoſe regiſters to have been no earlier than three years after our Author was dead: whence they have alſo, very unconſequently, inclined ſome to fix the date of his death ſo many years later than it really happened (*f*). Of theſe plays, and the reſt before named, we ſhall refer to ſome few further remarks, here proper to be remembered [*I*]. But of our Comic Author's untimely end, which

(*f*) See Giles Jacob of him, in his Account of the Poets; and The Compl. Liſt of all our Engl. Dramatic Poets, and of all the Plays, &c. annexed to The Tragedy of *Scanderberg*, 8*vo*, 1747, p. 230. And the Life of Mr Wilks, 8*vo*, 1733, p. 19.

[*I*] *Of theſe Plays, ſhall refer to ſome few further remarks, here proper to be remembered.*] It has been with ſome difficulty, and not without ſome doubt, that we have ſettled the firſt appearance and publication of theſe plays, thro' the uſual blindneſs in all latter editions, and blunders of our poetical regiſters in thoſe particulars, as we have in this article above done; to ſupply the text with thoſe neceſſary links of chronology, which, as the writings of a Poet are generally the main actions of his life, would have been wanting in that principal chain, or capital part thereof, had we reſerved the ſaid dates to be ſhrunk into this, or any other limb of it. The general character that has been given of theſe Comedies, is that, 'the *ſucceſs* of moſt of them far exceeded the author's expectations; that he was particularly happy in the choice of his *ſubjects*, which he took care to adorn with variety of characters and incidents; his *ſtyle*, is pure and unaffected; his *Wit*, natural and flowing; and his *plots*, generally well contrived. He laſhed the vices of the age, tho' with a merciful hand; for his Muſe was good-natured, not abounding over-much with gall, tho' he has been blamed for it by the critics: It has been objected to him, that he was too haſty in his productions; but I believe, by ſuch only, who are chiefly admirers of ſtiff and elaborate performances; ſince, with a perſon of a ſprightly fancy, thoſe things are often beſt, which are ſtruck off in a heat (17).' It has been alſo obſerved that his *humour*, being truly natural, makes all his plays very entertaining, and that, his principal *characters* in ſeveral of them, were generally copies of himſelf (18); which are gay, briſk, and vigorous; courtly, amorous and gallant, or intriguing parts; particularly 'tis ſaid, that, in his character of George Roebuck, a wild young rover, in his firſt play (19), newly come from *Ireland*, becauſe he would not, in obedience to his father, marry a woman, by whom he had twins at a birth there, who therefore follows him here to London, &c. it was thought, that the author has therein, or at leaſt in other incidents, ſketch'd out in ſome part, or ſome meaſure, his own ſtory. This is partly hinted at by a writer, of that time, who, ſpeaking of Mr *Thomas Browne*, ſays of him, and ſome other contemporary Poets, that 'had he been as happy in his temper as in his genius, he had certainly been hoiſted up among the firſt rate wits of his time: his lewdneſs had been no blot in his ſcutcheon there: 'twas not *Tate*'s ſeeming ſanctity that preferr'd him to the bayes; nor *Congreve*'s chaſtity, to the opinion of the quality: *Shadwell* had never been Laureate in his latter days, but by being an early rake, and fixing his reputation with *Dorſet*, *Sidley*, and the reſt: it was not *Vanbrugh*'s modeſt plays that raiſed his eſteem among the ladies, nor *Motteaux*'s pretence of being a perſecuted brother, that exalted him, from a ſolitary garret, to the reputation of a current credit upon the exchange, and a place in the Poſt-office: *Rowe* had ſhewn more wit in keeping his eſtate, than he has ſhown in all the plays he ever writ, eſpecially the laſt: and certainly Mr *Farquhar* knew how neceſſary lewdneſs was to eſtabliſh his reputation, when he expoſed *Roebuck* in the firſt play he writ, for his own character (20).' And yet his writings are not ſo diſagreeable in this reſpect, or corruptingly looſe as ſeveral of ſome other Poets here mentioned; his genteel gallants and flighty rakes have ſuch an airy volatile manner of carrying off any liberties in their ludicrous or jocular diſcourſe, that they are not ſo deeply affecting, nor leave ſuch pernicious impreſſions upon the imagination, as other figures of the like kind, more ſtrongly ſtampt, by more indelicate and heavier hands, have an untoward faculty of doing. In this our author's firſt play, Poet *Lyric* makes free with burleſquing ſome of *Nat Lee*'s Heroics, in his *Sophoniſba*, &c. 'Tis dedicated to *Peregrine* Marquis of *Carmarthen*, and the Prologue and Epilogue were written by *Joe Haynes*, a noted Player and Prologue-writer, of merry memory in thoſe times, who played *Pamphlet* the Bookſeller, and *Rigadoon* the Dancing Maſter, in this Comedy; and various other parts, not only on the ſmaller, but the larger ſtage of the world itſelf, in many other countries as well as *England*; diverting both Princes and people, wherever he went, Proteus and Camelion-like, in all ſhapes and colours: whether, as Mr *Joſeph Hains*, *Seignor Giuſtppe Hains*, or *Monſieur Hains*; whether, as Secretary *Hains*, Preceptor *Hains*, Doctor *Hains*, Count *Hains*; or any other dignity whereto he was advanced, or title he aſſumed (21).

Mr *Farquhar*'s next Comedy (22) is dedicated to Sir *Roger Moſtyn*, of *Moſtyn-Hall* in *Flintſhire*. The author's friend who wrote the Prologue, ſays the ladies may ſafely ſmile; for there is neither ſcandal, ſmut, lewd-tongued beau, or *double entendre* in it; to which ſenſe, our author aſſerts in his preface that, 'he has not diſpleaſed the ladies, nor offended the clergy; both which were now pleaſed to ſay, that a Comedy may be diverting without ſmut or profaneneſs.' The Epilogue was ſpoken by Mr *Wilks*, who acted ſo excellently the chief part, that our author, in that preface, ſays of him. 'Mr *Wilks* his performance has ſet him ſo far above competition, in the part of *Wildair*, that none can pretend to envy the praiſe due to his merit: that *he made the part*, will appear, ſays he, from hence, that whenever the ſtage has the misfortune to loſe *him*, Sir *Harry Wildair* may go the *Jubilee*.' But the Poet may be haply miſtaken in his prophecy, the ſource of theatrical merit may change its channel, and the *Part* in time, may make the *Player*, if it has not as yet altogether done ſo, equal to the original actor of it; ſeeing it has been always well received as often as it has been played, ſince death, for near theſe twenty years paſt, has denyed us his maſterly performance in it. And it were to be wiſhed, that this generous applauſe of that ſprightly and graceful actor's abilities, may not have tended to affect the character of our author's own; ſince it may ſeem, that, ſuch grateful encomiums upon the perfections of the Comedian, have promoted ſome ingratitude towards thoſe of the Comedy: for it is believed, that ſuch praiſes, by our author of his actors, have hinted, to ſome rivals for preheminence in the Muſes favour on the drama, who were jealous of any growing monopolies in that ſphere, ſome attempts to make a plauſible transfer of his praiſe, by attributing that which was due to the ſucceſs of Mr *Farquhar*'s Comedies, more to the merits of the Players than the Poet; more to the enlivening gaiety and gallantry of thoſe, by whom his characters were perſonated, than the intermixtures of that wit and humour, which uſually prepoſſeſs us in favour of ſuch characters in other plays (23); which illiberal artifice of Poets and other ingenious men, towards one another, is no novelty; for juſt ſo, not to mention other inſtances, Mr *Shadwell*, before had endeavoured the like alienation, by imputing the deſerved eſteem, and laudable reception of Mr *Otway*'s moſt approved Plays, not to any thing in the *Acts*, but the *Actors* of them (24). A later critick, who has alſo been a candidate for theatrical approbation, having in a uſeful work, which deſerves it, among others, drawn out the plot of this play,

(17) Memoirs of Mr George Farquhar, p. 5.

(18) Giles Jacob, &c.

(19) *Love and a Bottle.*

(20) Memoirs relating to the late Mr Thomas Browne, &c. Printed &c. by B. Bragg, 4*to*, 1704, p. 1, 2.

(21) See Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 879; and T. Thomas's Life of the late famous Comedian Jo. Haynes: containing his comical Exploits and Adventures at Home and Abroad, 8*vo*, 1701. But eſpecially The Reaſons of Mr Jo. Hains his Converſion and Reconverſion, in a Dialogue between Mr Bayes and Mr Hains: By Tho. Browne, in his Dialogues, 8*vo*, 1704, p. 203.

(22) The *Conſtant Couple*, &c.

(23) See The Tatler, edit. 8*vo*, 1713, p. 167. And Cibber's Apology, in 4*to*, as before, p. 336.

(24) See The *Tory Poets*: a Satire, 4*to*, 1682, p. 5.

which was ſo much regretted, in a perſon who had been ſo generally delightful, both in his writings

play, and called it a celebrated Comedy, full of contrivance; yet thinks, the plot not regular, or conſiſting of certain means, to compaſs a certain end; becauſe the cataſtrophe appears as it were involuntary, and owing to the chance of incidents, more than to meaſures concerted with deſign (25); which, whether defective or commendable, we have not now leiſure to examine, ſince, in ſome caſes, the greateſt *art*, is, artfully to conceal a *deſign*, under the appearance of *chance*. But here we are reminded of a little dialogue, which happened upon the great ſucceſs of this play, between *Jubilee Dicky*, a noted part in it, and *Thomas Durfey* the Poet, or Poetaſter, which you pleaſe; as we received it, from a late living Magazine of merry tales, jeſts, and other conceits of the noted wits and authors of his time. It ſeems *Durfey* wanted to bring a play upon the Theatre-Royal, and meeting little *Dicky* in the heighth of ſpirits, at the great reſort to *Farquhar*'s Comedy, aſked him, *When they ſhould have ſome breathing time, to get up a play of his? What is it?* ſaid Dicky. *Why don't you know the ſtory of* Maſſianello, *the Prince of* Fiſhermen? *Ay, ay, but I fear his* Fiſh *will grow* ſtale *upon his hands, or make but inſipid* entertainment *at our houſe, during this* Carnival *there. Why, will the humour in your* Conſtant Couple *laſt for* ever? *No, no, the* Trip *that is making in it* to this Jubilee, *will ſurely be at an* end *by the* Revolution *of the* next. But it ſcarcely was; for we are told, in one place, that it had a run for fifty two nights (26), and may learn from our author himſelf, that it ſo much filled the ſtage, for the greater part of that ſeaſon, that it brought the Play-houſe ſome fifty audiences in five months (27): and immediately after, he was encouraged to bring on a continuation of it in another Comedy for the next ſeaſon. In ſhort, the fancy of the town was ſo engroſſed even by the former of theſe Comedies, that *Durfey* ſoon carried his play to Mr *Betterton*'s company in *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, and the tripping humour in both of them, endured ſo long, that, little *Jubilee Dicky*, in all common diſcourſe, either with, or of him, loſt his chriſtian name ever after; and hundreds call'd him *Dicky*, as long as he lived, to one who called him *Henry Norris*.

This ſecond part (28), is dedicated by the author to the Earl of Albemarle. His Prologue to it is founded upon the ſame ſentiments, he ſoon after publiſhed more at large, in his *diſcourſe on Comedy*, as we have before ſhown; and we ſee here in verſe, as there in proſe, that his general deduction is, to make his *Dramatic Entertainments* generally delightful, that they may be alike inſtructive, which could not be done without making them engaging to the generality; by taking greater licence than the antients have confined us to, and drawing the ſeveral new ſhapes and habits in modern life, for an *Engliſh* ſtage, not from the patterns of old *Greece* or *Rome*, but rather to make the living *Audience* his rule, than the dead letter of *Ariſtotle*. He found, by ſucceſsful experience, the beſt *comic ſport* to conſiſt in ſpringing and fluſhing the freſh wild game that lay before, or about him, and taking his aim there; at the faſhionable gallantries, and modiſh extravagancies in real life; the new-fledg'd humours and manners, the full-plum'd vanities and affectations of the times; the ridiculous follies, ſeducing fallacies, the novel diſguiſes and deceits of the town: this was the fat-fed game he was for catching as it roſe, or ſhooting on the wing; as Mr *Pope* profeſſedly preſcribed and enjoyned himſelf to purſue afterwards (29): which was only to be done by more enlarged ſchemes in reſpect to the drama than were antiently limited, or are now deſcended to us. As for any formal and regular revival of the trite and thread-bare figures or characters of antiquity, he leaves them in poſſeſſion of the Antients, and to the rumination of the grave and critical Antiquaries; as he ſays, in that Prologue himſelf.

He leaves to learned pens, ſuch labour'd lays,
You are the Rules by which he writes his Plays:
From muſty books, let others take their view;
He hates *dull* reading, but he *ſtudies you*.

Thus then, the *Pit* and *Boxes* are his *Schools*,
Your *Air*, your *Humour*, his *Dramatic Rules*, &c.

The fourth of theſe plays (30), he dedicates to his countryman and fellow collegiate, *Richard Tighe*, Eſq; from whom he partly copied the character of young *Mirabell*, ſo well acted by Mr *Wilks*. It drew a ſplendid and crowded audience for ſix nights ſucceſſively, till Lent intervened, tho' the Tumblers, Rope Dancers, French Dancing Maſters, Dancing Dogs, French Strolers, and Italian Squallers, had now ſo much engroſſed the town, that our author has, with no leſs good ſenſe than good humour, very genteely rallied our depraved taſte and extravagance at that time therein; as well he might, when that beardleſs ſongſter *Sigiſmondo Fideli*, had twenty pounds a night for ſinging (31): Alſo in dancing, as Mr *Farquhar* obſerves, the charms of *Gallic* heels were too hard for an *Engliſh* head, and that no inſtruction in the moral of a play, could come in competition with that of a minuet. He owns that he took the hint of this Comedy from *Fletcher's Wild Gooſe Chaſe*; and that admired turn of the plot in the laſt act, which has drawn tears of joy from many bright eyes, was built upon a real adventure of the Chevalier *de Chaſtillon*, well known at *Paris*. There is an ingenious Epilogue to this play compoſed by *Nicholas Rowe*, Eſq; and in the humorous Prologue, written by Mr *Motteaux*, the Farce, above named, which was written by him in conjunction with our author, being mentioned, ſeems to have been compoſed the ſame year by them, if not before, tho' it might not be printed till the next.

And that ſame year alſo, ſoon after the Comedy laſt mentioned, his fifth ſeems to have been brought on the ſtage (32). It is dedicated to *Henry Brett*, Eſq; in December 1702, therefore printed the next year, as we preſume, from the date of that ſatire next quoted in the margin; tho' ſome writers know not of its appearance till two years later. Our Poet having in the preface, ingeniouſly obviated ſuch objections as had been made to it, owns himſelf obliged to Mr *Longueville* (†) for ſome expreſſions in the part of Teague; ſomething in that of the Lawyer, and for his hint of the *Twins*, upon which the author formed his plot. After this acknowledgment, he adds, that few of our modern writers have been leſs beholden to foreign aſſiſtance in their plays, than he in the ſcenes of this. But how ſlender ſoever the aſſiſtance was that he had, 'twas enough to be ſnarled at by the little cynical ſatiriſts, who envying the ſucceſs of his plays, had pronounced the beauties in them to be borrowed, but the blemiſhes to be his own; as was before related. Another of theſe ſatiriſts ſays of Mr *Farquhar*, with intent, perhaps, of fathering this play wholly upon the ſaid Mr *Longueville*, and one of our famous Poets, from whom it is there ſaid to be drawn, in theſe words,

His fame he built on mighty *D'avenant*'s wit,
And lately own'd a play, that he ne'er writ (33):

So names this, called the *Twin-Rivals*, in the margin. The reaſon why we have fixt the publication of the Farce before mentioned in the next year after the laſt play, is grounded on the authority of that author, who quotes two impreſſions of it in that year (34), tho' ſeveral others mention it, as if it was not publiſhed before our author had been three years in his grave.

Between the publication of this and his next dramatic performance, our Poet had been in Shrewſbury, and other parts of Shropſhire to recruit ſoldiers for his regiment or company; there he gathered matter for the plot and characters of his diverting Comedy upon that ſubject (35); and this as we compute, was acted in 1706, tho' it is not mentioned to have been printed before the next year. He dedicates it, for the hoſpitable reception he had there received, *to his friends round the Wrekin*, a noted hill in that county, which this play has made more ſo, by promoting a health in drinking to our friends ſo ſituated; 'a health that 'has the advantage over other celebrated toaſts, of 'being a laſting beauty; old without age, and com- 'mon

(25) A Companion for the Theatre: or, a View of our moſt celebrated Dramatick Pieces: in which the Plan, Characters, and Incidents of each are particularly explained, &c. 8*vo*, Vol. I. 1747, p. 70.

(26) Memoirs of Mrs Oldfield, as before, p. 2.

(27) Pref. to Mr Farquhar's *Inconſtant: or The Way to Win Him.*

(28) *Sir Harry Wildair*: being *The Sequel of The Trip to the Jubilee.*

(29) In his *Eſſay on Man.*

(30) The *Inconſtant: or The Way to Win Him*, 1703.

(31) Hiſt. of the Engliſh Stage, as before, p. 135.

(32) The *Twin Rivals*, 1703, 1705, &c.

(†) Who was, as we are told, our auther's countryman, and a Fencing Maſter, as was alſo his ſon James; and that he long laboured to produce a Comedy, but without ſucceſs.

(33) *Religio Poetæ*: or a *Satire on the Poets*, fol. 1703, p. 9.

(34) The *Stage Coach, a Farce*: Lond. 4*to*, 1704. Dublin, 4*to*, 1704. Mr Harris's Addit. to Sir James Ware's Writers of Ireland, as before.

(35) The *Recruiting Officer*.

writings and converſation, we can give but a melancholy, if not tragical account. For ſome debts, it ſeems, preſſing him to make his application to a certain noble courtier, who had beſtowed upon him moſt bountiful profeſſions of ſolid friendſhip, he was, by that plauſible patron, perſuaded to turn his commiſſion into the money he wanted, and this man of honour, by his intereſt, would get him another; but, when the *profitable* friend in his purſe was gone, he could not find the *honourable* one, truly at court, not in the courtier himſelf! which diſappointment, in this dependance on his courtly friend, with the other he had undergone in the fortune of that lady, whom he had eſpouſed for her love of him, now uniting to prey more eagerly on his mind, and tormenting it with the corroding reflections of ſome domeſtick difficulties, in the neceſſary accommodation of his family, made way to his heart, and, by a ſure, tho' no ſudden declenſion of nature, carried him off this worldly theatre, while his laſt play was acting, in the heighth of it's ſucceſs, at that in Drury-Lane: and tho' the audience all beſtowed their *plaudites* upon the performance, ſome could not conceal their tears for the approaching loſs of its author; which happened, in the latter end

‘ mon without ſcandal:’ and in this dedication, excuſes Mr *Rich* for acting his play upon *Durfey*'s third night, for his *Wonders of the* Sun, or Kingdom of Birds, tho' it is not ſaid in our erroneous regiſters of plays, to have been acted till three or four years after this time; and then, that it was at the Theatre in the Hay-Market. Our author alſo tells us, ‘ that the Duke of *Ormond* encouraged him, and the Earl of *Orrery* approved the play: my *Recruits* were *reviewed* by my *General* and my *Colonel*, and could not fail to paſs *muſter*; and ſtill to add to my ſucceſs, they were *raiſed* among my friends round the Wrekin (*).’ Mr Wilks played Captain Plume, and Mr Cibber, Captain Brazen, the two Recruiting Officers; Richard Eſtcourt, a celebrated Comedian and Mimic, played Serjeant Kite; and Sylvia the Juſtice's daughter was performed by Mrs Oldfield, whoſe name appears not in the *Dramatis Perſonæ* before any other Comedy of our author's earlier than this. Here again, as in the *Trip to the Jubilee*, we have been led to believe, that what ſupports the ſucceſs of the play in one of thoſe parts is, the proper ſenſe and obſervation of the player; that the humour is not conceived to be hit in Serjeant Kite, but is admirably ſupplyed by the action of Mr Eſtcourt (36). But a later writer who ſeems to have more particularly examined this play, and given us diſtinctly the plan, characters, and incidents of it, has been more regardful of its merits; and from its connected parts, concludes with this general character of the whole, where 'tis ſaid,— ‘ there are beſides the two grand deſigns, ſome leſſer ones, tending to gain recruits; yet, at the ſame time, are alſo conducive ſome way or other to the better carrying on the main buſineſs; ſuch as Serjeant *Kite*'s pretending to tell fortunes; —*Silvia*, in the habit of a man, making love to *Roſe*, a pretty country girl; —Captain *Plume*, cajoling *Bullock*, *Coſtar Pearmain*, and *Thomas Appletree*, with ſeveral other little incidents, which are extreamly diverting in the repreſentation, and altogether ſerve to render this Comedy as entertaining, as any one I know of, that the ſtage for many years has had to boaſt of; and I believe will always continue to be ſo; at leaſt while there are any military gentlemen in the kingdom; ladies who delight in a red coat and feather; or, in fine, while there remain any lovers of true nature in a Dramatic performance (37).’ This Comedy has lately been tranſlated into French, under the title of *L'Officier en Recruë*, and it was acted the night before we are now writing of it (†) to a full audience, at the little Theatre in the Hay-maket, by the Engliſh company of *Antigallic* Players, with great applauſe: from whence it may be concluded, this Comedy, as would probably be found in others of this author, were they put to the ſame trial, has in it, ſuch intrinſic merits, that its ſucceſs neither depends on any particular actors, nor will relinquiſh it, even in a foreign language.

The ſeventh and laſt of our Author's Comedies (38), was certainly written in or towards the end of the ſame year with that laſt mentioned; however an edition of it, which might be printed four years later (†), may have miſled ſome writers of him to think it was then firſt acted; and the author's advertiſement at the beginning, expreſſing his illneſs, as the Epilogue at the end, his being ready to expire, while the play was in action, might ſtrengthen their opinion to an aſſertion that the Comedy was not played, and the Poet did not die, before the year in which that edition was dated. But by looking only into the ſecond page of the Comedy, we may ſee reaſon to judge, from what Boniface the Innkeeper ſays to Aimwell, of his ale, when he bid the tapſter broach him ſome of his *Anno Domini*, marked 1706, after having pretended to be ſtored with ſome that was ſmooth as oyl, *&c.* and juſt fourteen years old, on the fifth of next March, 'tis very apparent that the play was finiſhed before this day of that Month in the ſaid year: and this is explained by the ſame humour which Boniface uſes three leaves further, where his ſaid gueſt talks with him about eatables. He had all dainties in the houſe, that might be got ready for ſupper; but the gueſt could have nothing that he names, therefore bid the landlord bring what he would, that is, what he had. So we may conclude from this, as from other authorities hereafter mentioned, that the play tho' rehearſed ſome months before, was acted in April following andtill the author made his exit, before the actors in it. Archer, a good ſociable character, and Mrs Sullen, who was ſociable to him, were very engagingly played by Mr Wilks and Mrs Oldfield (‡). It has been looked upon as an extraordinary teſtimony of the author's vigorous genius, that, tho' he was ſo crampt in time, as to have begun and ended this play in ſix weeks, and ſo depreſſed in ſpirits, by a ſettled ſickneſs upon him all the time, he has yet gained the reputation of having ſung herein like the ſwan, ſweeteſt when dying; the ſaid Comedy having been, as we may read, univerſally allowed to be his maſter-piece (39).

Many other particulars of theſe ſeven *Comedies*, &c. no leſs, or perhaps more material, muſt now be ſubmitted to the prohibition of Time: therefore we ſhall only here obſerve, that the firſt edition we have read of them printed with his *Poems* and *Letters* together, was in 1711 (40), and the firſt that we have ſeen of them was printed for Bernard Lintot, *&c.* in octavo 1714, which is adorned with a Sculpture before it, of Mr Farquhar, introduced, or led up by Ben. Jonſon to Apollo. They have ſo well maintained their credit ever ſince, as to arrive at eight (41) or nine editions at leaſt. But we cannot part with them, without obſerving one general defect in theſe, as well as almoſt all other modern editions of books; that all the dates, which would, were they faithfully preſerved, inform us when the ſeveral pieces in them were firſt ſeparately printed, are deſignedly ſuppreſſed, to give place in the title page, for that ſingle date of the year, in which they were all printed laſt together. This crippling uſage has been complained of, as a mercenary deceit in the proprietors of ſuch copies; tending to the obſcurity of their *authors*, the confuſion of thoſe editors and other *writers*, who are covetous of doing hiſtorical honour and juſtice to their memory, by a regular revival, or diſtinction of their performances; and conſequently, to the diſſatisfaction of all curious *readers*: and this only, it ſeems, to make ſuch books more vendible and taking, with ignorant and ſuperficial novices, by the greater air that is thus given them of novelty; leaſt ſuch ſhallow purchaſers ſhould diſreliſh them, for that which ſhould recommend them, by their having received the approbation or encouragement of more *judges*, than by ſuch ſuppreſſion of all chronological directions, as ſo many furrows in the face even of unwrinkled maturity, their cunning owners would have it thought they had ſtood the *teſt* of.

(*) Farquhar's Dedic. of the *Recruiting Officer*.

(36) Tatlers, Vol. I. No. 20.

(37) See A Companion to the Theatre, *&c.* Vol. II. p. 206.

(†) Feb. 9, 1749-50.

(38) The *Beaux Stratagem*.

(†) In 1710. See Giles Jacob; and The Life of Mr Wilks; 8*vo*, 1733, p. 19.

(‡) The Plot, Characters, and Incidents, of The *Beaux Stratagem*, are drawn out in *The Companion to the Theatre*, Vol. I. p. 24—32.

(39) Life of Mr Wilks, 8*vo*, 1733, p. 19.

(40) Mr Harris's Additions to Sir James Ware's *Writers of Ireland*, as before.

(41) The Works of the late ingenious Mr George Farquhar. Containing all his Poems, Letters, Eſſays, and Comedies, publiſhed in his life-time. The eighth edition. Printed for J. and P. Knapton, H. Lintot, *&c.* in 2 Vols, 12*mo*, 1742.

end of April in the year 1707, before he was thirty years of age; as may, by the authorities annexed, more convincingly appear [K]. Thus having attended our entertaining Dramatiſt o'er the contracted ſtage of his ſhort life, yet thro' the various characters, in ſome degree, which he acted on it, of the Player, the Lover, and the Huſband; the Soldier, the Critick, and the Poet, to his final cataſtrophe; it is here time to cloſe the ſcenes, and drop the curtain.

[K] *As may, by the authorities annexed, more convincingly appear.*] The particulars, relating to thoſe unhappy diſappointments which are ſaid to have haſtned the end of this ingenious Poet, and the time when he died, being drawn from the teſtimonies of ſuch as were acquainted with him, and coteſted by other authentic vouchers, are therefore the more credible, and leſs liable to doubt. We find, he had once the opinion, wherewith men of experience have ſometimes kindly appriſed many raw and credulous dependants upon their counterfeit patrons; and had ſome deſign, as we have heard, of diſplaying thoſe characters in their lively colours; of which, more hereafter may poſſibly be ſaid in another place. So long ſince, as in ſome of his early publications, he thus intreats his reader to admit him, with the uſual *forms* of civility — 'If you be a Courtier, you will ſhow your breeding; receive him with a *ſincere* ſmile; ſwear to do him *all the ſervice you can*; and you will certainly *keep your word*—as you uſed to do (42).' But now, it ſeems, he was more ſtrengthned in his faith of the ſincerity that there might be, without any guile or colluſion, in a Courtier's generous profeſſions; till his own fatal experience reſtored him to his former judgment, as we ſhall preſently ſee. Upon this part of our ſubject, one of thoſe writers before mentioned who knew him, thus expreſſes himſelf.

(42) Pref. to his Poems and Letters.

'His laſt Comedy, the STRATAGEM, he began and ended in ſix weeks, with a ſettled ſickneſs upon him all the time; nay, he even perceived the approaches of death, e'er he had finiſhed the ſecond act, and, as he had often foretold, dy'd before the run of his play was over. His other plays were dedicated to perſons of diſtinction, and he deſigned a dedication of this laſt to my Lord *Cadogan*; but his Lordſhip, for reaſons unknown, evaded it, tho' he made him a handſome preſent, with promiſes of his future favour; which probably, would have been fulfilled if our author had ſurvived; tho' he had but little reaſon to *rely on the promiſes of great men*; a certain great Courtier having prevailed on him to ſell his commiſſion, with ſolemn aſſurances of providing for him better, which he forgot to keep (43).' Here this author tells us, that Mr *Farquhar*, in one of his ſongs, ſeems to have pointed at that perſon, in the third ſtanza below recited; and this is all he quotes of that famous ſong; which conſiſts of thirteen ſtanzas: but becauſe the very firſt of them, and the two others, being upon the ſame topic, may partly as well concern or reſemble, and help to diſtinguiſh the ſaid great Courtier, as others of like features and complexion, they are here ſelected from the reſt, in the

(43) Memoirs of Mr George Farquhar, as above.

SONG of a TRIFLE.

A *Trifling Song* you ſhall hear,
Begun with a *Trifle*, and ended:
All *Trifling People* draw near
And I ſhall be *nobly* attended.

The Court is from Trifles ſecure,
Gold Keys are no Trifles, we ſee;
White Rods are no Trifles I'm ſure,
What ever their *Bearers* may be.

But if you will go to the place
Where Trifles abundantly breed,
The *Levee* will ſhow you his *Grace*,
Makes *Promiſes*, *Trifles* indeed.

A *Coach*, with ſix Footmen *behind*,
I count neither Trifle, nor Sin:
But ye Gods! how oft do we find
A *ſcandalous* Trifle *within*! &c (44).

(44) Song by *Archer*, in the third act of the *Beaux Stratagem*.

Then the ſame author goes on, in relation to Mr Farquhar's other diſappointment in theſe words —— ''Tis ſuppoſed that, thus failing of his expectations, together with an unfortunate marriage, *ſhortned his days*. For his wife, by whom he had two daughters only, thro' the reputation of a great fortune, tricked him into matrimony. This was chiefly the fault of her love; which was ſo violent for him, that ſhe reſolved to leave nothing untry'd to gain him: Tho' ſome huſbands would have proved meer huſbands in ſuch a caſe, Mr Farquhar was ſo charmed with her love and underſtanding, that he entirely forgave her; therefore, when I ſay, an unfortunate marriage conduced, with other circumſtances, to the ſhortning his days, I only mean that his fortune being too ſlender to ſupport a family, led him into a great many cares and inconveniencies: for I have often heard him ſay that, *it was more pain to him, in imagining that his family might want a needful ſupport, than the moſt violent death that could be inflicted on him*. But his wife being long ſince dead, his good friend Mr Wilks has been highly inſtrumental in ſetting his children above want (45).' This piece of friendſhip, is thus explained elſewhere. 'Mr Farquhar left two orphan daughters. Mr Wilks gave each of them a benefit-play, to put them out apprentice to *Manteau-makers*: and his worthy friend and patron, to whom he dedicated his *Miſcellanies*, *Edmund Chaloner*, Eſq; procured them a penſion of twenty pounds a year, which they now enjoy (46).'

(45) Memoirs of Mr George Farquhar, as before, p. 5, 6.

(46) Memoirs of the Life of Mr Wilks, 8*vo*, 1733, p. 33.

As to our authority for his laſt play being rehearſed in 1706, and then, or in the beginning of 1707, acted, and that the author died this year, it is to be found in the characters both of it, and himſelf, publiſhed at thoſe times (†), in one whereof, the author has ſpoken thus of him, but the next month after that in which we aſſerted him to have died. 'All that love *Comedy*, will be ſorry to hear of the *death of Mr Farquhar*, whoſe *two laſt plays*, had ſomething in them that was truly humorous and diverting. 'Tis true, the critics will not allow any part of them to be regular; but Mr *Farquhar* had a *Genius* for *Comedy*, of which one may ſay, that it was rather *above* rules than *below* them. His *Conduct*, tho' not artful, was ſurprizing: his *Characters*, tho' not great, were juſt: his *Humour*, tho' low, diverting: his *Dialogue*, tho' looſe and incorrect, gay and agreeable; and his *Wit*, tho' not ſuperabundant, pleaſant: in a word, his plays have, in the *tout enſemble*, as the Painters phraſe it, a certain air of novelty and mirth, which pleaſed the audience, every time they were repreſented; and ſuch as love to laugh at the Theatre, will probably *miſs* him more than they *now* imagine (47).'

(†) See the Prologue at the opening of the Theatre in the Hay-Market, Oct. 15, 1706, 1 ſheet.

(47) The *Muſes Mercury*: or *Monthly Miſcellany*, 4*to*, for *May*, 1707, p. 123.

Laſtly, that we might omit no ſatisfaction to our reader that could be further procured, in confirmation of this authority, the books belonging to the Church of that Pariſh, wherein he was buried, having been, at our requeſt, ſearched for the date of his interrment, our reverend and worthy friend has returned this anſwer to the queſtion.

SIR,

'IN St *Martin*'s Regiſter, on May the 3d 1707, one Mr *George Falkwere* was buried, whom I look upon to be the Poet; though ſomewhat differently ſpelt from his name. The nearneſs of the ſound, and the difficulty of ſpelling names aright, by perſons who only take them from common pronunciation, and the ignorance of Pariſh Clerks in general, will eaſily account for the difference here, &c.'

FASTOLFF (John), Knight, and Knight-Banneret; a valiant and renowned General, Governor, and Nobleman in France, during our conqueſts in that kingdom, under King Henry IV, V, and VI, of England; and Knight-Companion of the Moſt Noble Order of the Garter; has been fancied, from the title of his French barony, and from his name being ſo often corruptly mentioned in the French Hiſtories, by occaſion of his long reſidence, and many engagements in the wars there, to have been born in France, at leaſt of French extraction. Others, though allowing him a native of England, have no leſs erroneouſly fixed his birth-place in Bedfordſhire: But it is well known, in the real place of his nativity, that he was deſcended of an antient and famous Engliſh family in the county of Norfolk; which had flouriſhed there, as alſo in other parts of the kingdom, in very honourable diſtinction, from before the Conqueſt [*A*]: And from ſuch a train of illuſtrious anceſtors, many of them dignified, at leaſt with the honour of knighthood, inveſted with very eminent employments, and poſſeſſed of extenſive patrimonies, this Worthy is deſcended. But one of the moſt conſpicuous or principal branches of them being ſeated at *Caſtre* in *Fleg* near Great Yarmouth in that county, which eſtate deſcending to him, he afterwards adorned with a noble family ſeat (*a*), it is preſumed he was there born, or in Yarmouth itſelf. He was the ſon of John Faſtolff, Eſq; of that town, a man of conſiderable account in thoſe and other parts, both for his means and merits, eſpecially for his publick benefactions, pious foundations, *&c* (*b*). His mother was Dame Mary, the daughter of Nicholas Park, Eſq (*c*); and this their ſon was born in the latter end of King Edward the IIId's reign, as we have been particularly informed, by the author laſt cited, who is furniſhed with the materials that may ſpeedily, we hope, inform the public, as well in other neceſſary circumſtances, as the birth of this renowned Knight; which, according to his intelligence, could not happen later than 1377. It is not doubted but he was, by a ſtrict education, grounded as well, in that learning and other accompliſhments which afterwards, improved by his experience and ſagacity, rendered him ſo famous in war and peace, as is thoſe virtuous and religious principles, which governed his actions to the laſt. His father dying before he was of age, the ſafeguard of him and his eſtate were of that importance, that they were both committed to the care and direction of one of the firſt Noblemen in the kingdom. One author ſays, that he was ward to John Duke of Bedford, who was afterwards the moſt wiſe and able Regent of France we ever had there; and more expreſly, that he was the laſt ward which that Duke had (*d*); but we have been otherwiſe informed, that he was trained up in the Norfolk family (†), which may not be improbable, to thoſe who know it was not unuſual in thoſe times, even for young Nobles themſelves, at leaſt under wardſhip, to be trained under others, eſpecially Miniſters of State, in their houſes and families, as in academies of behaviour, and as candidates for preferment

(*a*) Camd. Britan. *De Icenis. Caſtor Sedes quondam fuit* Joannis Faſtolff, *Militis celeberrimi.*

(*b*) J. Speed's Hiſt. of Gr. Britain, in the Table of Religious Houſes; and J. Weaver's Funeral Monuments, fol. 363.

(*c*) Hiſt. of Norfolk, by the Rev. Mr Francis Blomefield, *&c.* p. 348.

(*d*) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Norfolk.

(†) So in a Letter from Norwich, by the Rev. Mr Blomefield to the author of this article, dated Sept. 29, 1749.

[*A*] *In very honourable diſtinction from before the conqueſt.*] We are informed by an ingenious gentleman of no common curioſity, in his enquiries after our old Engliſh coins, that one of the *Faſtolffs* was *Maſter* of the *Mint*, under Edgar one of our moſt famous Saxon Kings (1): and by another eminent reſtorer of antiquities, that *Nicholas Faſtolff* held lands the ninth of Edward II. in Wychinton, Redham, *&c.* in Norfolk (2): and in that year two fines were levied, the firſt (3) between *John Faſtolff* Querent, *Thomas Faſtolff* Parſon of Fekenham, and *Nicholas Faſtolff* Deforciants of lands in Caſtre and Great Yarmouth; and by the ſecond, ſeveral lands in Yarmouth, and Fleg in Norfolk, and Reydon in Suffolk, were ſettled on the ſaid *John* and *Joan* his wife for their lives, the remainder to *Nicholas*, ſon of *John* and *Ida* his wife in tail, remainder in fee to the right heirs of *Joan*. *Nicholas* was Chief Juſtice of Ireland (4), in the firſt of Edward III. and was a Juſtice Itinerant in Nottingham (5). And this *Nicholas* (6), ſon of *John*, with *Ada*, his wife, ſettled lands in Caſtre, and other parts of Norfolk, and Reydon in Suffolk, on themſelves in tail; then, to the heirs of *Nicholas*; remainder to *John*, ſon of *John* in tail; remainder to *Thomas* and *Richard*, brothers to *John*. In the 20th year of that King, *Alexander* (7) held lands in Reppes; and in the 23d, *Thomas* ſon of *Alexander* held others in Yarmouth, and in the 35th this *Thomas* died, ſeized of large poſſeſſions. In the 48th *John Faſtolff* was looked upon as a man of ſuch abilities and fidelity, that he was ſent into foreign parts (8) upon ſome ſecret negotiation, of high concern to the King; in which year *Hugh Faſtolff* of Great Yarmouth, was Lieutenant to *William Nevil* the Admiral, as he had ten years before been to *William Herle* (9); which *Hugh* was brother of *John Faſtolff*. In the firſt of King *Richard* II the Earl of Warwick, Admiral, makes Sir *John Faſtolff* of Yarmouth his Deputy, who had a protection in the third year (10), being then upon a naval expedition for the crown. Sir *Hugh Faſtolff*, his father dying the 5th of *Richard* II (11), he obtained a confirmation of free-warren in his demeſne-lands of Caſtre and Thwayte (firſt granted in the 44th of *Henry* III. to *Robert* de Caſtre). Many other Knights and Eſquires of the name, might be produced, and their extenſive territories named, eſpecially in the two counties here ſpecified; among whom, as it has been ſaid, the branch whence our Knight deſcended, was ſeated at Caſtre, where *John* (12), ſon of *Nicholas* appointed himſelf to be buried, in the church of the *Holy Trinity*; where alſo there was a free chapel, dedicated to St *John the Baptiſt*; to which *John Faſtolff* the elder (13) preſented in 1377, and *John*, ſon of *Alexander*, in 1383, and our religious Knight himſelf, about four years after his final return from the wars of France (14). His mother Dame *Mary Faſtolff*, who after his father's death was married to Sir *Thomas Mortimer*, died May 2, 1406, and was buried in the chapel or choir belonging to the chantry of the Holy Croſs. Her memory was honoured with an obiit, anniverſary and tomb, and there was an anniverſary kept for her ſoul in the college of his houſe at Caſtre, the ſame day they ſung it at Attleburgh (15). There are ſtill in being ſeveral other preſentations, and laſt wills of many others of this family, which being ſo numerous, ſo divided into ſeveral branches under the ſame chriſtian names, with ſuch frequent interchange, and traverſes, or conjunction of ſettlement, that it becomes very perplexing to deduce the pedigree of our Knight in a direct line, as may be ſeen in the elaborate attempts of a late very able Herald and Antiquary (16), to whom we are much indebted for this part, and muſt be, for others of our Worthy's hiſtory, ſince the family-papers, which are in being, and have been promiſed to ſee the light, will not be ſo timely publiſhed, as further to enlarge now our proſpect, or leſs doubtfully in many ſteps direct our progreſs.

(1) Sir Andrew Fountain's Saxon Coins. Tab. 5, No. 10.

(2) Nomina Villarum, &c.

(3) Fines, 9 Edw. II. ex Collect. MS. Pet. Le Neve.

(4) Rot. Clauſ. 1 Edw. III. p. 2, M. 20.

(5) Dugdale's Chr. Series.

(6) Rot. Fin. 6 Edw. III. ex Coll. Pet. Le Neve.

(7) Auxil. ad primogen. Reg. Milit. faciend.

(8) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. VII. p. 33.

(9) Plac. Mich. 38 Edw. III. m. 20. 3 Feb.

(10) Rymer, Vol. VII. p. 257.

(11) Eſch. 5 Ric. II, N. 49.

(12) Liber Haydon, in Regiſtro Norwic.

(13) E. Regiſt. Epiſc. Norwic.

(14) In the Regiſt. of Norwich.

(15) Blomefield's Hiſt. of Norfolk, *&c.*

(16) In the Regiſter of the Order of the Garter, by John Anſtis, Eſq; Garter, *&c.* Vol. I. fol. 1724. p. 145, *&c.*

[*B*] *That*

ferment to the ſervice of their country, at home or abroad. But if he was under Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolk, while he enjoyed that title among us, as we ſhall find it elſewhere reported, it could be but one year, he being baniſhed the kingdom by King Richard II. in 1398 [B], though his younger ſon, who was reſtored to that title, many years after, might be one of Sir John Faſtolff's feoffees And it is pretty evident, that he was, but a few years after the baniſhment of that Duke, in ſome conſiderable poſt under Thomas of Lancaſter, afterwards Duke of Clarence, and ſecond ſon of the ſucceeding King Henry IV. This Thomas was ſent by his father ſo early, according to ſome writers, as the ſecond year of his reign, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (e), which was in 1401. And it is not improbable but Faſtolff was then with him, for we are informed by an Hiſtorian who knew him, that in the ſixth and ſeventh years of the ſaid King Henry, that is, in 1405 and 1406, this John Faſtolff, Eſq; was continually with him (f). And the ſame Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was again there, upon his ſaid government in 1408, almoſt to the beginning of the next year, when alſo it is no leſs probable that Faſtolff was ſtill with him; becauſe that very year laſt mentioned, we find it aſſerted, that he was married in that kingdom, to a rich young widow of quality, named Milicent, Lady Caſtlecomb, daughter of Robert Lord Tibetot, and relict of Sir Stephen Scrope; the ſame perhaps who is mentioned, though not with the title of knighthood, by Sir P. Leyceſter, as above, to have been the ſaid Lord Lieutenant's Deputy of Ireland, during moſt of the intervals of his return to England, in thoſe years we have ſpoken of him in the ſaid government; which Deputy-Lieutenant died in his duty, alſo the ſaid year. This marriage was ſolemnized on the feaſt of St Hilary in Ireland, the year aforeſaid; and Faſtolff obliged himſelf in the ſum of a thouſand pounds, to pay her an hundred pounds a year, in the nature of pin-money during life; and ſhe received the ſame to the 24th year of King Henry VI (g). The lands in Wiltſhire and Yorkſhire which came to Faſtolff by this marriage with the ſaid Lady, deſcended to Stephen Le Scrope her ſon and heir. We may reaſonably believe, that this marriage in Ireland engaged his ſettlement in that country, or upon his eſtate at Norfolk in his own, till, in obedience to the commiſſion he received, his command of ſome forces, or poſt of truſt, under the Engliſh regency in France, ſoon after required his reſidence in that kingdom. For, according to the ſtricteſt calculation we can make, from the accounts of his early engagements in France, the many years he was there, and the time of his final return, it muſt be, not long after his ſaid marriage, that he left either England or Ireland, for that foreign ſervice: Being *employed abroad by King Henry IV (h), and had exerciſed Wars in France, Normandye, Angeoye, and in Mayne, as alſo in Gyen; having under the King, my Sovereigne Lord, Officees, and Governaunces of Countrees and Places; as of Caſtells, Fortraces, Citees and Townes, be* XXX *Yeer and more continyuid (i)*; which agrees very well, with what our firſt Engliſh Printer has publiſhed, in his conciſe, yet comprehenſive character of him, but little more than twenty years after his death, where he ſpeaks of his *exerciſyng the Warrys in the Royame of Fraunce* and other Countrees, *&c. by Fourty Yeres enduryng* (k). So that, we cannot ſee any room, either in the time or the temper, in the fortunes or employments of this our Worthy, for him to have been a companion with, or follower and corrupter of Prince Henry, in his juvenile and diſſolute courſes; nor, that Shakeſpear had any view of drawing his Sir John Falſtaff, from any part of this Sir John Faſtolff's character; or ſo much as pointing at any indifferent circumſtance in it, that can reflect upon his memory, with readers converſant in the true Hiſtory of him. The one is an old, humorous, vapouring, and cowardly, lewd, lying, and drunken debauchee, about the Prince's Court, when the other was a young and grave, diſcreet and valiant, chaſte and ſober, Commander abroad; continually advanced to honours and places of profit, for his brave and politic atchievements, military and civil; continually preferred to the truſt of one government or other; of countries, cities, towns, &c. or as a General, and Commander of armies, in martial expeditions, while abroad; made Knight-Banneret in the field of battle; Baron in France, and Knight of the Garter in England: and particularly, when finally ſettled at home, conſtantly exerciſed in acts of hoſpitality, munificence, and charity; a founder of religious buildings, and

(e) Sir Peter Leyceſter's Hiſtor. Antiquities, fol. 1673, p. 79.

(f) William of Wyrceſtre's Annals of Engliſh Affairs, MS. as quoted by Mr John Lewis in his Life of William Caxton, 8*vo*, 1737, p. 53, from Mr T. Hearne.

(g) The Regiſt. of the Moſt Noble Order of the Garter, *&c.* by John Anſtis, Eſq; Garter King of Arms, *&c.* Vol. I. fol. 141; and Dr Thornton's Northamptonſhire, fol. 104.

(h) So in the Letter from the Rev. Mr Blomefield, as before.

(i) Idem.

(k) Caxton's *Tully* as hereafter more fully quoted.

[B] *That Duke being baniſhed by King Richard* II. *in* 1398.] This *Thomas Mowbray* was created Duke of Norfolk, on September 29, being the 21ſt of *Richard* II. *Anno* 1397, as the Monk of St Albans records (17); and having charged *Henry* of Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford, with taxing the King of evil government, and he denying the ſame, a challenge enſued; which was ſo near being brought to a determination at Coventry, that they entred the liſts prepared at all points for the encounter; Duke *Thomas* his horſe was barbed with crimſon velvet, embroidered richly with his arms, in lions of ſilver, and with *Mulberry trees* for his *rebus*; to repreſent, according to the alluſive or ſymbolizing faſhion of thoſe days, his ſurname of *Mowbray* (18). But to prevent this combat, that Duke of Hereford was baniſhed, according to the Monk of St Albans, on the 13th of October 1398, for ten years; and this Duke of Norfolk, for life (19). But his adverſary being crowned a year after, by the name and title of *Henry* IV. the Duke of Norfolk died with grief at Venice, in the firſt year of the ſaid King's reign, *Anno* 1400 (20). So that, there is but a narrow ſpace of time that will admit our *Faſtolff* under the care, or in the ſervice of this Duke of Norfolk, while he held that title in England. As for his two ſons; the eldeſt named alſo *Thomas*, was never Duke of Norfolk; for being engaged in a conſpiracy againſt the King, he was five years after beheaded at York, with Archbiſhop Scroop (21): and his brother *John* was not reſtored to the title till the third of *Henry* VI (22). and yet might after that be, as we are informed he was, one of Sir *John Faſtolff*'s feoffees (23).

(17) Tho. Walſingham in *Ypodigm. Neuſtriæ*, p. 552. N. 16.

(18) Sandford's Genealog. Hiſt. of the Kings of England, edit. 1707, fol. 210.

(19) *Ypodigm. Neuſtriæ*, p. 551. N. 56.

(20) Idem, p. 552. No. 16.

(21) Sandford, p. 211; and T. Walſingham, p. 373.

(22) Ex Rot. Parliamenti tertii, apud Weſtmonaſt. An. 3 Hen. VI. m. 4. artic. 13.

(23) Letter from the Rev. Mr Blomefield, as before.

[C] *The*

and other ſtately edifices, ornamental to his country, as their remains ſtill teſtify; alſo a generous patron of worthy and learned men, and a publick benefactor to the pious and the poor; not only on this ſide, but even beyond his grave. In ſhort, the more we collate the circumſtances in this *Hiſtorical* character, with thoſe in that *Poetical* one, we can find nothing diſcreditable in the latter, that has any relation to the former, or that would miſlead an ignorant reader to miſtake, or confound them, but a little quibble, which makes ſome vicinity in their names, and a ſhort degree in the time wherein the one did really, and the other is feigned to live. And in regard to the Prince of Wales, or our Knight's being engaged in any wild or riotous practices of his youth, the improbabilities may alſo appear from the compariſon of their age, and a view of this Prince's commendable engagements [C], till

[C] *The improbabilities may alſo appear from the compariſon of their age, and a view of the Prince's commendable engagements, &c.*] This Prince *Henry*, born in ſouth Wales, 1388, was the eldeſt ſon of *Henry* of Bolingbroke, ſpoken of in the laſt note, afterwards King of England. This ſon, during his father's exile in 1398, was taken by *Richard* IId to Ireland, and impriſoned in the caſtle of Trim. He was afterwards ſome time a Student in Queen's College in Oxford, under his half uncle (24), *Henry Beaufort*, who was that year Chancellor of the ſaid Univerſity (25). *Richard* was depoſed, and the Prince's father, *Henry* IV. crowned in October 1399, and the Prince being arrived at the age of twelve years in 1400, had the ſucceſſion entailed on him in Parliament, was created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwal, Earl of Cheſter, and ſoon after Duke of Aquitaine. From Oxford, he was called to Court, where *Thomas Percy*, Earl of Worceſter, was his Governor, whoſe hoſtile attempts at the battle of Shrewſbury in July 1403, coſt that diſloyal Earl his head (26), and this Prince *Henry* almoſt his life; who, confronting the Percies in battle, was wounded in the face with an arrow; but this badge of honour and the overthrow of *Henry Percy*, by others called young Hotſpur, were hopeful tokens of his enſuing ſucceſs againſt *Owen Glendour* in Wales, whom he purſued to deſtruction, being then ſcarcely ſixteen; but if he purſued *Owen* to his death on the Welch mountains, it ſeems to have been beyond 1404, two or three years or more (27): Yet before he was miſled to any libertine courſes (however, on the ſtage, he is improbably repreſented in the height of them, before he was fifteen) and after *Faſtolff* was engaged in the ſervice of Prince *Henry*'s brother, *Thomas* of *Lancaſter* afterwards Duke of Clarence. *Falſtaff* in the play, appears to have been in the battle of Shrewſbury with Prince *Henry*; but *Faſtolff* in hiſtory, appears not there; being probably in Ireland, with, or by the appointment of, the ſaid *Thomas* of *Lancaſter* from his firſt going Lord Lieutenant thither; where our Knight ſhould then appear, in order to make out the *forty years ſervice* of Sir *John Faſtolff*, in France and other countries, as Caxton has above declared; and we compute, by the time that Prince *Henry* had appeaſed the tumults in Wales, and diſturbances in other countries, ſo as to be ſettled in any tolerable quiet or tranquillity at home, *Faſtolff* was married and ſettled in Ireland; ſoon after which, it muſt be allowed, that he was ſent by King *Henry* into France, to anſwer the *thirty years, and more*, he expreſſes himſelf above to have reſided in that kingdom. The interval between *Faſtolff*'s marriage in 1408, or departure to France, and the King's death in England 1412, is the only room we can ſee for the Prince's diſorderly excurſions; for it was not before he was of years beyond the command of tutors (28) however in the play he may appear in the midſt of them, before the battle of Shrewſbury: ſo that we ſee as little vacancy for our *Faſtolff*'s being a partaker of them, in hiſtory, or chronology, as there was probability he ſhould then, or any other time, be ſuch, in his more ſolid age and diſpoſition. He was at leaſt ten or eleven years older than the Prince; old enough to diſreliſh his youthful extravagancies; yet no ſuch diſparity in their age, as that he could be properly repreſented, by the old, gray-headed, unwieldy buffoon and debauchee, who appears ſuch a ſubject of deriſion on the ſtage. If *Faſtolff* had ever been a corrupter of the Prince, King *Henry* would never have preferred him to any poſts of honour, or truſt; nor would the Prince himſelf, when he came, reclaimed, to the Crown, have advanced him ſtill higher; but had diſcarded him with a ſum of money, or ſtipend, as he did the Libertines and Paraſites who had ſoothed him in his vices. His frolicks of robbing, in company with them, his own ſtewards, of his own money, and making them amends at the foot of their accounts (29); his attempt to reſcue one of his accomplices, whether Bardolf, or any other, in the Court of King's Bench, from the courſe of the law, and raſhly ſtriking the Chief Juſtice, Sir William Gaſcoyne, on the bench, for which he ſuffered impriſonment (30), were actions countenanced by men of other principles, diſpoſition, and conduct, than *Faſtolff*. But there are ſo many other diſagreements, which remove all ſimilitude between them, that the honours of the real Knight cannot be affected by the humours of the fictious one. That commitment by the ſaid Judge, of *Falſtaff* to the Fleet priſon in the play (31), was, when *Faſtolff* in hiſtory, had manifeſtly been a good while in France. In the play, *Falſtaff* is a man of mean, neceſſitous, ſhifting circumſtances throughout; *Faſtolff*, in record, was richly poſſeſſed of lands and eſtates in ſeveral places, from his youth. *Falſtaff* in the Poet's account, was near threeſcore before the battle of Shrewſbury (32). *Faſtolff* in hiſtory, not above twenty ſix; the theatrical *Falſtaff* ends his life, ſoon after his princely companion aſcends the throne, and before he goes into France (33), but the hiſtorical *Faſtolff*, in the accounts of the Heralds and Biographers, ſurvived that King *Henry* V. no leſs than thirty ſeven years. As to its being ſaid of the one, that he was a Page to the Duke of Norfolk (34), as we have before read, that the other was alſo trained up in the Norfolk family, there is nothing but what was reputable in that, ſince, in thoſe times, it was the cuſtom for Lords and Dukes themſelves to be ſo trained: nor does this ſeem a foundation ſo premeditated, ſo perſonally pointed at our Knight, ſo deeply or widely laid, as to intend the fixing a credit in ſo many falſe circumſtances, upon one that may be true; ſince it was probably, and might be as truly, ſaid of *Oldcaſtle* as *Faſtolff*: for the Poet firſt drew the character of his Sir *John Falſtaff*, in Sir *John Oldcaſtle*'s name; but being thereby thought to have diſpleaſed ſome deſcendants, or at leaſt, made too free with ſuch an early and eminent inſtrument, or advancer of, and ſufferer for our Reformation, the Poet was obliged to change the name, from one that might have well enough implyed the *old battered* bravo we ſee repreſented, to one that might as well expreſs other parts of the ſame character, by a *ſtaff* that was *falſe* in its ſoundneſs, or ſtrength for ſupport, and as little to be relied, or depended on, as a broken reed. Then, our *Faſtolff* appearing conſpicuous, tho' diſperſedly, in the old hiſtories of that Prince's time, yet thro' the want of diſtinct revival, being become much unknown to common fame in the Poet's days, might readily hint ſuch an eaſy variation, or tranſpoſition of the letters in his name, as would anſwer that purpoſe; but nothing in all his ſtory, that we have met with, could hint the character. That ſuch change of thoſe famous names in hiſtory, or ſubſtitution of one for the other, was made by the Poet, we may be ſatisfied from his own words; where he ſays, 'If you be not too much cloyed with fat 'meat, our humble author will continue the ſtory with 'Sir *John* in it, and make you merry with fair *Catharine* of *France*; where for any thing I know, '*Falſtaff* ſhall die of a ſweat, unleſs already he be 'killed with your hard opinions; for *Oldcaſtle* died 'a martyr, and this is not the man (35).' And yet the freedom thought by ſome grave writers to have been taken with both, has given them offence, notwithſtanding that Sir *John*'s name in the play, is not according to the ſtrictneſs of the letter, to be found in hiſtory. 'The Comedian, ſays one author, is not ex'cuſable by ſome alteration of his name, ſeeing the till that ſpace of time in which he indulged his interval of irregularities, when the diſtanc of

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(24) *In Vita Henrici Beaufort Cardinalis.*

(25) J. LeNeve's *Faſti Eccl. Angl.* fol. 1716, p 442.

(26) Ypodigm. Neuſtriæ, p. 559.

(27) Speed's Hiſt. of Great Britain, edit. fol. 1623, p. 776, *ad ann.* 1407.

(28) Sandford, fol. 278.

(29) *Titi Livii Foro Julienſis, Vita Henrici Quinti*, 8vo, 1716; and *John Speed*, p. 781.

(30) Sir *Thomas Elyot's Book named the* GOVERNOUR, 8vo, 1553.
Sir *Francis Biondy*'s Civil Wars of England, fol. 1646.
Edward Leigh's Choice Obſervat. of the Kings of Engl. 8vo, 1661, p. 125; and The *Britiſh Librarian*, 8vo, 1738, p. 267.

(31) Shakeſpear's Second Part of King Henry IV, Act & Scen. ult.

(32) Firſt Part of King Hen. IV. Act 2, Scene 2.

(33) Henry V, Act 2. Scene 3.

(34) Second Part of Hen. IV. Act 3. Scen. 3.

(35) Shakeſpear's Epilogue to the Second Part of Henry IV.

‘ vicinity of ſounds intrench on the memory of that worthy Knight; and few do heed the inconſiderable difference in ſpelling their names (36).’ Then in regard to the ſubſtitution of one perſon for the other, he ſays in one place, ‘ Stage Poets have themſelves been very bold with, and others very merry at, the memory of Sir *John Oldcaſtle*; whom they have fancied a boon companion, a jovial royſter, and yet a coward to boot; contrary to the credit of all chronicles, owning him a martial man of merit. The beſt is, Sir *John Falſtaff* hath relieved the memory of Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, and of late is ſubſtituted buffoon in his place; but it matters as little what petulant Poets, as what malicious Papiſts have written againſt him (37).’ In another place, the ſame author again has theſe words of Sir *John Faſtolff*, ‘ To avouch him by many arguments valiant, is to maintain that the ſun is bright; tho' ſince, the ſtage hath been over-bold with his memory, making him a thraſonical puff and emblem of mock-valour. True it is, Sir *John Oldcaſtle* was the make-ſport in all plays for a coward. It is eaſily known out of what purſe this black penny came; the Papiſts railing on him for a heretic (38), and therefore he muſt alſo be a coward; tho' indeed a man of arms every inch of him, and as valiant as any in his age. Now as I am glad that Sir *John Oldcaſtle* is put out, ſo I am ſorry, that Sir *John Faſtolff* is put in, to relieve his memory, in this baſe ſervice to be the anvil for every dull wit to ſtrike upon (39).’ But as other Dramatiſts before *Shakeſpear* had made free with *Oldcaſtle*, they ought to bear the firſt blame, and a larger ſhare of it, as they had taken greater liberties, tho' with leſs wit. For there was a play of *Henry* the V. before *Shakeſpear's*, in which not only *Oldcaſtle* is in the gang of robbers with the Prince (40), but there is a ſcene in which the Prince ſtrikes the Judge a box on the ear, whereas in *Shakeſpear*, this action is more modeſtly ſunk into a narrative. Then afterwards, as the ſame character ſerves, if you will, for *Faſtolff*, as well as it did for *Oldcaſtle*, this ſhows there was no particular ſatire intended by him upon one or the other. A late Poet Laureat, who firſt publiſhed *Shakeſpear* in a ſmall edition, is alſo for thinking him ſomewhat to blame, in this his ſecond choice of perſonating our Knight, Sir *John Faſtolff*, being a name of diſtinguiſhed merit in the wars of France, *&c* (41). tho' he afterwards found ſome colourable pretext for excuſing him, from the miſconſtruction of a much-commended retreat he made to the preſervation of his army, as will be hereafter related: And a later author yet, has by ſome ſtrong reflections upon *Shakeſpear*'s picture of *Falſtaff*, taken the notion alſo, that our Knight was directly deſigned to be expoſed therein, where he inſtances that, ‘ As of old the reputation of *Socrates* was in his life-time ſullied by *Ariſtophanes*, in perſonating him on the ſtage; ſo the memory of our heroe, had in this laſt age, met with the ſame hard fate by interludes in plays (42);’ then ſhews, how oppoſite to good manners and good nature, it is, to deride only the abſent, but how diſingenuous, unjuſt, and againſt the principles of humanity, to impair the fame of the dead; ſince the beſt and greateſt men have placed their reputation, in the next degree to their *ſouls*, as giving ſome ſhew of exiſtence and a ſort of immortality, whereby they ſurvive their *bodies*; a principle ſo far implanted by nature, that even the heathens have chearfully yielded up their lives, in contemplation of the glory of it (43). Yet a little further, owns that *Shakeſpear* cannot be charged with any premeditated ſpleen againſt the memory of our Knight, when he compoſed his Comedies, as he ſubſtituted Sir *John Faſtolff* for Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, which might be done at random, ſince his firſt deſign was evidently no more than to entertain the theatre with a fat, amorous, vain, cowardly, drunken old fellow, the corrupter of *Henry* V. while Prince, as the ſubject of mirth and ridicule: ‘and it muſt be confeſſed, that he has performed his deſign with incomparable wit, and inimitable humour, which have made ſuch laſting impreſſions on the generality of ſpectators, that they have been induced or bewitched into a belief, that this drollery was a piece of true hiſtory (44).’ We might produce ſome grave poetry alſo, written by authors on this ſubject, who were in the ſame way of thinking. But as we have elſewhere quoted ſome of it, from an hiſtorical poem in MS. we ſhall here only add part of two other ſtanzas from the ſame, where, tho' ſcandal is believed, in this ſtage-mirth, to purſue the ſteps of honour, yet if truth may ſettle our opinion, we may be ſatisfied.

——————Howe'er the Heaps
May crowd, in hungry expectation all,
To the ſweet *Nugilogues* of *Jack* and *Hal* (45).

And a little further, after having ſaid, what may ſuffice to do right to our Worthy, let the guilt fall where it may; ſince the election made by *Henry*, of his officers and miniſters was unqueſtionable; and judgment ſecured the honours he conferred, as well as the glory he acquired,

Then, from his bounty, blot out what may riſe,
Of comic mirth, to *Faſtolff*'s prejudice (46).

But perhaps, it has not been cautiouſly enough conſidered, whether there may not be ſome inadvertency in theſe applications? whether diſcredit may not be appropriated thereby, where it was never deſigned? Could it be ſuppoſed, that *Shakeſpear*'s natural candour and impartiality in other characters, had been warped in this, by any intereſt in, or reſpect towards, the *Shrewſbury* family, on account of ſome antiquated emulation or difference between *John* Lord *Talbot*, the moſt renowned anceſtor of that family, and Sir *John Faſtolff* in France; a man of that Poet's incomparable abilities could have made a *ſubſtantial ſatire* of it; could have burleſqued *Faſtolff*, as well as any body elſe, out of hiſtory, and transformed ſome incidents really graceful, into a character no leſs groteſque. But who does the horſing of a dead corps on *Falſtaff*'s back reflect upon (47)? whoſe honour ſuffers, in his being forced by the unexpected ſurpriſe of his armed plunderers to ſurrender his treaſure (48)? whoſe policy is impeached, by his creeping into a bucking baſket, to avoid the ſtorms of a jealous huſband (49): whoſe reputation ſuffers by his being buffeted in the diſguiſe of an old witch, or fortune-teller of *Brentford* (50)? or whoſe valour is to be called in queſtion, becauſe he cannot avoid being tormented by a ſwarm of little fairies in Windſor-foreſt (51)? If the good name of *Faſtolff* or any other man of honour, had ever been maliciouſly doomed to ſacrifice, to durable diſgrace or expoſure, in the character of *Falſtaff*, it would have been founded upon ſome important, ſome ſignificant tranſactions, ſome inſtances of flagitious and irreputable miſconduct, not ſuch odd, drole, inconſiderable circumſtances as theſe, the harmleſs iſſue of pleaſant wit and humour, or delightful union of nature and fancy; all ſo viſibly deviſed of the comic ſtrain, ſo deſigned only for innocent merriment and diverſion, without any perſonal reflexion on this great man, or any other, that we believe there is no real character to be read of in all *hiſtory*, that can be juſtly diſparaged by any application, diſcernably intended, of this imaginary one in *poetry*. But if, after this, ſucceeding readers or ſpectators whether Antiquaries, Heralds, Hiſtorians, or Poets, will indulge the like auſterity with ſome of their predeceſſors, will ſtill captiouſly conceive that character to have been directly levelled at this Knight, and ſtill with more rigour than candour, equity, or reaſon poſſeſs themſelves, that any ſterling coin, or plate of the true ſtandard, was ever meant to be any ways forged or imitated, by a piece of mettle of the moſt diſſimilar mixtures or allay; which, neither in weight or colour, form, ſtamp, or inſcription, bears any reſemblance; which pretends not to uſurp ſo much as the very name, but only borders upon it: if any I ſay, will cheriſh their credulity ſo far as this, and the *Falſtaff* of the Comedians muſt be ſtill taken for the *Faſtolff* of Chronologiſts, inſtead of exclaiming ſeriouſly, or with ſober ſadneſs in hiſtory, againſt the *poetical injury*, let a reparation be made by *poetical juſtice*; and for the falſe character impoſed under the name *Falſtaff*, let the real one appear, in the valiant and vigilant, truſty and incorruptible, politic and prudent, temperate and continent of our Knight, will clear him from being a promoter of, or partaker in them. For it is apparent, that he had been ſome time entruſted with a command in France, before the death of King Henry IV; becauſe in 1413, the very firſt year of his ſon, who was now grown the reformed, and ſoon after proved the renowned, Henry V; it appears that Faſtolff had the caſtle and dominion of *Veires* in Gaſcoigne, committed to his cuſtody and defence (*l*): whence it is very reaſonably inferred, that he then reſided in the ſaid duchy, which at that time was poſſeſſed by the Engliſh. In June 1415, Faſtolff, then only an Eſquire, was returned by indenture, with ten men of arms, and thirty archers, to ſerve the King at his arrival in France (*m*). Soon after King Henry was arrived in Normandy, in Auguſt following, with above 30000 men (*n*), the Engliſh army having conquered *Harfleur*, the moſt conſiderable port in that duchy, Faſtolff was conſtituted Lieutenant thereof, by the Earl of Derby, as one Hiſtorian informs us (*o*); but as we find it in others, the King, upon this conqueſt, conſtituted his ſaid uncle Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Dorſet, Governor of Harfleur, in conjunction with Sir John Faſtolff, and having repaired the fortifications, placed therein a garriſon of two thouſand ſelect men, as *Titus Livius* numbers them; or of fifteen hundred men at arms, and thirty-five Knights, according to *Hall*'s account; to which number one of the French Hiſtorians alſo adds, a thouſand archers (*p*). Towards the latter end of October in the year laſt mentioned, he was dangerouſly engaged in the ever-memorable battle of *Agincourt*, where the Engliſh, under their Heroick Monarch, obtained one of the moſt glorious victories upon record throughout their Annals. And here it is ſaid that Faſtolff, among others, ſignalized himſelf moſt gallantly by taking the Duke Alençon priſoner (*q*). Though other Hiſtorians ſay, upon that Duke's deſperate encounter with King Henry himſelf, in which he cut off the crowned creſt of his helmet, he was ſlain upon the ſpot (*r*). However, Faſtolff at this, or ſome other battle, did take a French General of the firſt quality priſoner [*D*]. For his eminent ſervices in thoſe victories, he received, before the 29th of January following, the honour of knighthood, and had the mannor and demeſnes of *Fritenſe*, near Harfleur, then beſtowed upon him during life (*s*). In the year 1418, he was ordered to ſeize upon the caſtle and dominion of *Bec Creſpin*, and other mannors, which were held by James D'Auricher, and ſeveral other Knights; and had the ſaid caſtle, with thoſe lands, granted him in ſpecial tail (*t*), to the yearly value of 2000 *ſcutes* (*u*). In 1420 he was at the ſiege of *Monſterau*, as Peter Baſſet has remembered; and in the next year at that of *Meaulx-en-Brie*. About five months after the deceaſe of King Henry V, the town of *Meulent* having been ſurprized, in January 1422, *John* Duke of *Bedford* Regent of *France*, and Sir *John Faſtolff* then *Grand Maſter* of his *Houſhold*, and *Seneſchal* of *Normandy*, laid ſiege to the ſame, and re-took it. In 1423, after the caſtle of *Cravent* was relieved, our Knight was conſtituted Lieutenant for the King and *Regent* in *Normandy*, in the juriſdictions of *Roan*, *Evreux*, *Alençon*, and the countries beyond the river *Seine*: alſo Governor

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(36) Dr Fuller's Worthies of England, in Norfolk.

(37) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Cent. XV. An. 1414. See alſo Speed's Hiſt. p. 804.

(38) See Tho. of Walſingham. Alſo Father Parſons, in his Three Converſions of England, Vol. II. 8*vo*, 1604. And his *Review* of X Diſputations printed the ſame year.

(39) Fuller's Worthies, as before.

(40) See Mr Theobald's Notes on Shakeſpear, Vol. III. 8*vo*, 1733, p. 148, *&c.*

(41) Shakeſpear's Works, by N. Rowe, Eſq; 8*vo*, 1709, in his Life of the author, p. 9.

(42) Mr Anſtis, in his Memoirs of Sir John Faſtolff, in The Order of the Garter, as before, p. 131.

(43) Idem.

(44) Ibid. p. 133.

(45) Τριναρχωδία: The ſeveral Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V, MS. 8*vo*, 1649, in Hen. V. Stanza 138.

(46) Id. Stanza 140.

(47) Firſt Part of Hen. IV. Act 5, Scene 10, *&c.*

(48) Id. Act 2, Scene 4.

(49) Merry Wives of Windſor.

(50) Idem.

(51) Ibidem.

(*l*) Inter Collect. Rymer, ad finem, Vol. XVII.

(*m*) Rymer, Vol. IX. p. 270.

(*n*) Monſtrelet, and Juv. Des Urſins.

(*o*) *Liber de Actis Armorum & Conqueſtûs Regni Franciæ, &c. Compilatus fuit, ad Nobilem virum,* Joh. Faſtolff, *&c.* 1459, *per* Pet. Baſſet, *Armig.* MS. in Officio Heraldorum.

(*p*) See T. Goodwin's Hiſt. of the Reign of Hen. V, King of England, fol. 1704, p. 72, from T. Livius, Pol. Virgil, Edw. Hall, and Monſtrelet.

(*q*) MS. Penes J. Anſtis, Armig. p. 286.

(*r*) Paradine, Monſtrelet, T. Goodwin, as before, &c.

(*s*) Rymer, Vol. IX. p. 329.

(*t*) Rot. Norman. 6 Hen. V. m. 36. m. 40.

(*u*) A gold coin, called by the French *Eſcue d'Or*, from the Latin word *ſcutum*, a ſhield, valued at 3 *s.* 4 *d.* See Judge Forteſcue *De Laud. Legum Angliæ*, p. 118. Alſo his Difference between an abſolute and limited Monarchy, p. 21.

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tinent Sir *John Faſtolff*: In the brave and experienced ſoldier, the wiſe and able ſtateſman, the ſteady patriot, the generous patron, and the pious benefactor. It would be a labour that might ſurely well reward itſelf, were it judiciouſly executed, to produce a rich and ſolid figure, of ſuch an original, as might put all copies out of countenance; of ſuch native brightneſs, as would eclipſe all feigned luſtre, or detrimental efficacy in any effigial counterfeit; and ſublimely to eſſay, whether the fictitious *Falſtaff* of *Shakeſpear*, ſo admirably figured out by art, like *Spenſer*'s *falſe Florimel*, ſo artfully imaged out of ſnow, would ſhrink and diſſolve away at the preſence of the *true* one(*). But whether it be ever effected or not, we may ſafely let the name of *Falſtaff* preſerve its corruption, without impairing *Faſtolff*'s merit, as the name of Epicurus, tho' diſtorted to ſignify voluptuous gormandry, and carnal delight, yet injured not the man among the wiſeſt Philoſophers: We may let Sign-Painters draw the picture of Sir *John Falſtaff* before the doors of drinking-houſes, and if *Faſtolff*'s reputation ſuffers, it muſt be in nobler company; and let ſuch *hiſtorians* as will write the lives of *highwaymen*, make *Falſtaff* the Captain-General of them (†), which cannot in juſtice be done without diſplacing his gallant Prince, even any hiſtorical highwayman cannot rob *Faſtolff* of the honours, due to his long, toilſome, and ſignal ſervices.

[*D*] *Did take a French General of the firſt quality priſoner.*] It does not appear to have been that Duke of *Alençon*, who was taken priſoner by *Faſtolff*, now at the battle of *Agincourt*; becauſe, while King *Henry* after having killed two of his adverſaries, was fighting aſtride over his brother, *Humphry* Duke of *Glouceſter*, beaten to the ground, as one hiſtorian writes (52), or rather defending his uncle the Duke of York, and ſtooping to raiſe him according to others (53); ſo ſoon as *Alençon*, taking the advantage of that inclining poſture, had cleft, or cut off the creſt of his Majeſty's helmet, and battered it with the ſtroke into his brow, he was, notwithſtanding the diſcovery he made of himſelf, by crying out, who he was, and the King's deſire to ſave him, cut to pieces on the place, by the ſurrounding guards. There was another Duke of *Alençon*, in ſucceeding battles; but we find not, either in the French or Engliſh hiſtories, that he was taken priſoner by *Faſtolff*. But we are elſewhere informed, it was the Duke of *Bar* who was taken by him; and yet that could not be in this battle; for, we find that among the French Princes and Lords who fell in ſuch numbers there, *Edward* Duke of *Bar* and *John* his brother, were both ſlain in the field (54): yet there was another Duke of *Bar*, who, after the ſiege of *Orleance*, appears to have brought ſuccours to *Charles* VII. the young King of France (55); and this might be the priſoner meant by one of our Poets, in a grave hiſtorical work, tho' written in antient Engliſh verſe, where he is characterizing our old hardy warriors in the conqueſt of France, &c. and having briefly deſcribed the bravery of that ſtout Sir *Philip Hall* (56), who regained us *Crotoy*, and obtained ſuch an admirable victory over the proud *Clermont*, he makes this compariſon:

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Strong *Faſtolff*, with this man compare we may;
By *Sal'ſbury* who, oft being ſeriouſly employ'd,
In many a brave attempt, the gen'ral foe annoy'd:
With excellent ſucceſs in *Maine*, and *Anjou* fought,
And many a bulwark there, into our keeping brought;
And choſen to go forth, with *Vaudemont* in war,
Moſt reſolutely took, proud *Renate* Duke of *Barre*(57).

[*E*] *About*

(*) Spenſer's Fairy Queen, B. iii. Canto 8, &c.

(†) Capt. Johnſon's Hiſtory of Highwaymen, fol. 1732, p. 1.

(52) Speed's Hiſt. of Britain, fol. 796.

(53) Monſtrelet, p. 231.

(54) Goodwin's Hiſt. of Hen. V, fol. 91.

(55) Father Daniel's Hiſtory of France, Vol. II. 8*vo*, 1726, p. 431.

(56) We read of Sir Philip Helle at the Succour of the Engliſh with Sir John Faſtolff at Orleance, in Stow's Annals, fol. edit. p. 369.

(57) Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*, in the eighteenth *ſong*. See alſo, in *Pol. Virgil*; and *Speed*'s Hiſt. p. 837, of this Duke.

vernor of the counties of *Anjou* and *Maine*, and before the battle of *Verneuil* was created *Banneret* (*w*). About three months after, Sir *John*, being then Captain of Alençon, and Governor of the marches thereof, laid ſiege to the caſtle of Tenuye in Maine, as a French Hiſtorian informs us (*x*), which was ſurrendered to him; and in 1424 he was ſent to oppoſe the delivery of *Alençon* to the French, upon a diſcovery made that a *Gaſcoigner* had ſecretly contracted to betray the ſame (*y*). In September 1425, he laid ſiege to *Beaumont le Vicompt*, which ſurrendered to him (z). And then alſo he took the caſtle of *Sillie-le-Guillem*, from which he was dignified with the title of Baron: But this, revolting afterwards again to the French, was aſſaulted by the Earl of Arundel (*a*), and retaken about ſeven years after. In the year laſt mentioned, our active warrior took alſo *St Ouen D'Eſtrais* near *Laval*, as likewiſe the caſtle of *Gravelle*, with other places of ſtrength from the enemy; for which dangerous and indefatigable ſervices in France, he was about the ſame time elected in England, with extraordinary deference to his merits, *Knight* Companion of the Order of the *Garter* [*E*]. In 1426, John Lord Talbot was appointed Governor of *Anjou* and *Maine*, and for this purpoſe Sir John Faſtolff was removed to another place of command (*b*), which in all probability might be the foundation of that jealouſy, emulation, or competition between them, which never was cordially reconciled. In October 1428, he had a protection granted him, being then going into France (*c*); and there he performed an enterpriſe of ſuch bravery and conduct, as is ſcarce thought to have been parallel'd in ancient or modern hiſtory (*d*); for it ſeems that the Engliſh army, at the ſiege of Orleance, being in great want of proviſions, artillery, and other neceſſaries, Sir John Faſtolff, with another approved Commander or two, were diſpatched for ſupplies thereof, by W. de la Pole Duke of Suffolk, to the *Regent* at Paris; who not only provided him plentifully therewith, but allowed him a ſtrong guard at his return, that he might convey the ſame ſafely to the ſiege. The French, knowing the importance of this ſuccour, to prevent it, joined two armies of much more numerous force than he had, to meet him; and, whether by ſeveral divided encounters, or in a pitched battle, as the French themſelves allow it, he totally overthrew them; ſlew greater numbers than he had under him, not to mention the wounded and the priſoners; then calmly conducted his convoy ſafe to the Engliſh camp. And becauſe it was in the time of Lent, and he had, among his other proviſion, ſeveral of his wains and carriages, which he made a moſt artful uſe of, as ſo many fortifications, laden with many barrels of herrings, the French, with their uſual air of depreciating any defeat, have ever ſince called this victory in their Hiſtories, *The* BATTLE *of* HERRINGS [*F*]; chuſing rather to give the honour of it to the

[*E*] *About the ſame time elected Knight of the Garter.*] The Duke of Bedford did before or after Sir *John Faſtolff*'s election, in a very particular and perſuaſive manner, recommend to the Sovereign and other Knights of the Garter, the election of Sir *John Radcliffe* alſo into the ſaid order, for his martial valour and virtues, his long faithful and ſignal ſervices of his country; having *exercyſed the Armys, the ſpace of* XXVIII *Wynters unreproched* (58): yet upon the vacancy of a ſtall at Windſor, by the death of the Earl of Weſtmorland, and a ſcrutiny made, on St George's Eve in the 4th of *Henry* VI. in which it was found, that Sir *John Faſtolff*, and Sir *John Radcliffe*, were not only nominated by a greater number before the other Knights of great merits, but by an equal number of votes, the ſaid Duke being then the King's deputy and preſident at that election, did yet of the two, tho' both as he ſaid were indeed undeniably deſerving of this honour, judge, Sir *John Faſtolff* to be moſt worthy of it; and, according to his authority, did declare him admitted into the place of the deceaſed (59), and *Radcliffe* was elected ſoon after upon another vacancy; which preferance to ſuch an extraordinary competitor, by ſuch an able and unblemiſhed, ſuch an honourable and unbiaſſed judge, muſt imply very high deſerts, in the receiver then abroad, of that exalted honour. In the *letter* ſent by, or in the name of King *Henry* VI. to Sir *John Faſtolff*, importing his election, there are theſe words:— '*Conſiderant, tans les bons, leaux, & honourable ſervices, que avez de pie cà faiz, en ſervice de noſtre tres redouté Seigneur & Pere, que Dieux aſſoille, & que faitez continuelement en noſtre; come pluſeurs autres deſertes d'onnour, que Dieux a ſouffrert eſtre en vous, en tollerant tousjours, comme bon & feal ſubject, les paines & travaulx de guerre, pour noſtre bon droit, & juſte querelle ſuſteiner, vous a eſleu un de noz compaignons du dit ordre* (60) &c.' As much as to ſay, 'In conſideration of your good, loyal, and honourable ſervices, heretofore performed, to our moſt redoubted Lord and Father, whom God abſolve, and which you are inceſſantly exerciſing under us; as well as for other deſerts of honour, wherewith God hath endowed you, and diſpoſed you, ſo conſtantly upon all occaſions, like a true and faithful ſubject, to endure the pains and toils of war, in ſupport of our full right and juſt quarrel; we have elected you one of our companions of the ſaid order, *&c.*' A commiſſion was alſo iſſued to the Earls of Warwick, Saliſbury, and Suffolk, to receive Sir *John*'s oath, and to inveſt him with the Garter; further directing, that he ſhould, with all convenient diſpatch, ſend over his helmet and ſword, to be hung up in the chapel at Windſor; and depute an honourable Knight of untainted character, to take poſſeſſion of his ſtall (61). Accordingly the *deputation* of Sir *John Faſtolff*, to Sir *Henry Inghouſe*, and Sir *William Breton*, appointing them jointly and ſeparately his Proctors, to take poſſeſſion of his ſtall; to offer his mantle, helmet, and ſword; and to take the oath required by the ſtatutes; as it was written in French, and dated from *Lancone*, the 3d of February, was ſent to them, and is alſo preſerved (62). And the Royal *Commiſſion*, directed to Sir *John Robeſſart* one of the Knights Companions of the Order, for the inſtallation of him, by Sir *Henry Inghouſe*, one of the ſaid Proctors, is dated from the King's caſtle of Wallingford, the 25th of February, 1426, and in the 5th year of the ſaid King *Henry* VI. wherein, to the character given again of Sir *John*, much in the ſenſe of the former, there is the addition made, of his *great ſenſe*, *courage*, and *experience* in *arms* (63). According to the tenor of theſe inſtruments (64), he was elected at the next inſtallation; and theſe are honourable teſtimonies of his perſonal qualifications and virtues; and of his fortitude, and merit in publick ſervices (65).

[*F*] *The Battle of Herrings.*] This battle is famous in hiſtory, antient and modern. A late French Hiſtorian, having recorded the death of that valiant *Thomas Montagu*, Earl of *Saliſbury*, who begun the ſiege of *Orleance*; and mentioned the other Engliſh Commanders, of greateſt diſtinction who lay before that town; ſuch as the Earl of *Suffolk*, the Lords, *Talbot* and *Scales*; *Faſtolff*, and *Glacidas*, as he is called (†), whoſe merits, ſupplying the place of his birth, had

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(*w*) Mr Anſtis, in the Regiſt. of the Garter, as before, fol. 137.

(*x*) Chartier, en l'Hiſt. de Charles VII. p. 9.

(*y*) Hollinſhed's Chron. p. 589.

(*z*) Peter Baſſet, as before.

(*a*) Hiſt. de Char. VII. p. 62.

(*b*) Hollinſhed, p. 597.

(*c*) Rymer, Vol. X. p. 408.

(*d*) Mr Anſtis, as before, in the Memoirs of Sir John Faſtolff, p. 138.

(58) See the Duke of *Bedford's Preſentation* of Sir *J. Radcliffe*, in the *Inſtitut.* &c. of the *Order* of the *Garter*, by *Elias Aſhmole*, Eſq; Windſor Herald, fol. 1672, p. 269.

(59) *Acta ſub Ann. Quarto Henrici Sexti*, in Mr Anſtis's Regiſt. of the Garter. called The *Black Book*, Vol. II. p. 96.

(60) *Aſhmole*'s Order of the Garter, in the Appendix, No. 21.

(61) Id. No. 22.

(62) Ib. No. 50.

(63) Id. No. 51.

(64) Contained in the *Regiſtr. Chartac.*

(65) Mr Anſtis's Regiſter of the *Garter*, in *Memoirs* of the *Life* of Sir John Faſtolff, p. 132.

(†) By *Monſtrelet*, Father *Daniel*, &c. who ſay, that General *Glacidas* was killed at this ſiege, in 1429. But we know of no ſuch *Engliſh* name; nor could it be meant for Sir *Tho. Gargrave*, who was then alſo ſlain there; he being of an eminent family in Yorkſhire: but there was *William Gladſdale*, a Commander of great bravery, then likewiſe killed in defending a caſtle; whom we take to be this *Glacidas*: See *Stow*'s Annals, fol. 370.

the interception of the dead fiſh, than the intrepidity of their living foes. But that the fortune of war is precarious, our Knight was a witneſs; who found it as neceſſary in his next adventure to exerciſe his conduct, as he did in the laſt his courage. For ſoon after the Engliſh army was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Orleance, though they received recruits from the Duke of Bedford, they were in no degree ſtrong enough to encounter the French army at *Patay*. At the battle which happened there in June 1429, many of the Engliſh, who were of moſt experienced and approved valour, ſeeing themſelves ſo unequal, and the onſet of the French ſo unexpected, that nothing but inevitable ruin would be the conſequence of a raſh reſiſtance, that all would be loſt; like thoſe who made ſuch a diſadvantageous oppoſition; therefore ſome ſaved themſelves, and among them, as it is ſaid, Sir John Faſtolff; who, with ſuch as could eſcape, retired to *Corbeil* (*e*). It ſeems he deemed it romantic, to encounter the torrent that ruſhed on them in ſuch a ſurprize, and ſo unprepared as his inferior forces were to repel it; but he being a principal Leader, it might well be expected that the overthrow of thoſe who ſtood up againſt it, would be imputed to his ſaid detachment, though the loſs would have probably been greater by his conjunction; ſo he might be thought reſponſible for the ill ſucceſs which happened, who would not have been accounted ſo, had it been worſe, and he either been killed, or with the great Lord Talbot, Lord Scales, Lord Hungerford, and Sir Thomas Rampſton, been taken priſoner of war. Here the French tales, which ſome Engliſh Hiſtorians have inconſiderately credited, contradict, or invalidate themſelves; for after having made the *Regent* moſt improbably, and without any examination, or audience of defence, diveſt Faſtolff

(*e*) *Jean Chartier*, Hiſt. de Char. VII. p. 26; and *Monſtrelet*, Vol. II. p. 45.

had raiſed him to the higheſt offices of command in the army; he proceeds to obſerve, that by reaſon of the diſcontinued, or piece-meal circumvallation, which the Engliſh had made about that town, the French were encouraged to ſteal their troops into it; and that this gave occaſion to a conſiderable action: ‘ For, the ‘ Count of *Clermont*, having got a body of troops at ‘ *Blois*, to guard a Convoy to *Orleance*, had infor- ‘ mation that *Faſtolff* was upon the road, conducting ‘ of proviſions from *Paris* to the camp. He gave no- ‘ tice of it to the Count of *Dunois*, and deſired him ‘ to make a ſally out of *Orleance*, and carry off that ‘ Convoy. The Count of *Dunois* came out accor- ‘ dingly with his horſe, paſſed the forts, and joined ‘ Count *Clermont*'s army, at *Jenville*; and, their ‘ troops being thus joined, amounted to *four thouſand* ‘ *men*. On the 12th of February, they ſet forward to ‘ meet *Faſtolff*, and came up with him at *Rouvray St* ‘ *Denis*. That *Engliſh* General had, only *two thou-* ‘ *ſand five hundred men* with him, and ranged his ‘ troops behind his carriages. The *French* immedi- ‘ ately fell upon them with their cannon, and if they ‘ had continued in that manner, to ſhatter in pieces ‘ their waggons, which ſerved as entrenchments, they ‘ had been infallibly loſt; but the impatience of *John* ‘ *Stuart*, Conſtable of *Scotland*, and his brother *Wil-* ‘ *liam*, was the cauſe of the ill ſucceſs that happened. ‘ They cried out, that it was now time to give battle, ‘ and lighting from their horſes, with the *Scotchmen* ‘ under their command, they marched up to the breach. ‘ The French were obliged to follow them; but, the ‘ *Engliſh* Archers having ſuffered them to draw near, ‘ made their diſcharge upon them at a ſmall diſtance, ‘ and cut off moſt of thoſe who were placed in the ‘ firſt ranks. *Faſtolff*, at the ſame time, having or- ‘ dered ſome of his battalions to advance with their ‘ ſwords and axes in hand, forced their aſſailants to ‘ retire. The horſe, which was to have ſuſtained the ‘ attack, inſtead of keeping their ground, when they ‘ ſaw the foot give way, betook themſelves to flight, ‘ and the *Engliſh* purſuing, utterly routed them. There ‘ were *five or ſix hundred French* and *Scots* left upon ‘ the field; the two *Stuarts* ſuffered the puniſhment ‘ of their imprudence, and were ſlain, with ſeveral ‘ other Lords and Gentlemen. The Count of *Dunois* ‘ was dangerouſly wounded; however, he got toge- ‘ ther the remains of his routed army, and re-entered ‘ *Orleance*, by paſſing between the intermitting forts, ‘ which had been built by the Engliſh. His arrival, ‘ a little recovered the townſmen from the conſterna- ‘ tion they were in, upon the news of this overthrow, ‘ which the beſiegers had mightily augmented. This ‘ engagement was called, *The Battle of the Herrings*; ‘ becauſe, among the proviſions which *Faſtolff* was ‘ carrying to the camp, there were a great many bar- ‘ rels of herrings (66).’ But if there were ſome who enlarged, there were alſo others who leſſened this victory; and among them one of the old French Hiſtorians, who mentions only a much ſmaller number to have been ſlain at it than the foregoing, and other writers. By this author we are informed, that *Faſtolff* in his return with his ſaid Convoy from *Paris* to *Orleance*, was met near *Janville* and encountred by the Duke of *Bourbon*, and his army, which was much more numerous than the Engliſh. There they had very many and deſperate ſkirmiſhes. *Stuart* the Conſtable of *Scotland*, and the Sieur D'Orval were killed, ‘ *&* ‘ *environ deux cent hommes en leur compagnee*,’ and about *two hundred men in their company*: then *Faſtolff* and his troops proceeded on their march to *Orleance* (67). This account, which mentions but the death of *two hundred*, may very well agree both with the other before quoted, which reckons their loſs at *five or ſix hundred men*, and even with that, here under recited, which computes the ſaid loſs at near three times this number; if we but underſtand that the leſſer number which fell, was meant to have been in the particular regiments of *Stuart* and *D'Orval* only, the other, of the whole *French* and *Scotch* army in general. But there is an hiſtory compiled more diſtinctly of theſe times, by one who was then alive; was preſent at moſt of the important occurrences in them, and had greater advantages of knowing the full truth of this action, than any others who have written of it; this was *Peter Baſſet* ſometime gentleman of the bed chamber to King *Henry* V (68), who in his ſaid hiſtory, which was never printed, written alſo in the French tongue, tho' with a Latin title, has been much more accurate in ſome circumſtances of this engagement than the reſt. He agrees, it was in the time of Lent, that this Convoy was ſo reſolutely defended by *Faſtolff* thro' the French army to the Engliſh camp; which accounts for the great quantities of fiſh there were among the other proviſions in it. That Sir *Thomas Rampſton* with his ſoldiers were alſo joined to him in this charge, and likewiſe Sir *Simon Morheir*, Provoſt of *Paris*, with his band of croſs-bows, and a party of the Regent's houſhold-troops; but that in all, they were not more than *fifteen hundred* men of arms; and when they were departed from *Janville en Beauſſe*, upon a very froſty morning towards the ſiege, and were arrived near *Rouvroy*, they diſcovered the enemy approaching them to the number as well *French* as *Scots*, of about *nine or ten thouſand men*; where, among other Lords and Nobles, were *Charles* the eldeſt ſon of the Duke of *Bourbon*, Sir *William Stuart*, &c. whereupon *Faſtolff* drew up his men in battle array, planted before the archers a palliſade, or entrenchment of ſharp pointed ſtakes, to obſtruct the French cavalry from over-bearing them, and chained or bound all his loaded cars and carriages of proviſions and artillery together alſo, as a more ſubſtantial bulwark, or encloſure againſt the cannon of the enemy; who, when they were approached, received their certain death or diſablement with ſuch inceſſant and vigorous activity, that the French were totally defeated and diſperſed. Sir *Wil-*

(66) Father Daniel's Hiſtory of France, Vol. II. *anno* 1429.

(67) *Jean Chartier*, Hiſt. Char. VII. p. 17.

(68) Vide Bale, et Pitzeus, de Scriptoribus Angl.

ſtolff of his honours [G], they no leſs ſuddenly reſtore him to them, *for*, as they phraſe it, *apparent cauſes of good excuſe* (f); though againſt the mind of the Lord Talbot; between whom, there had been, it ſeems, ſome emulous conteſts, and therefore it is no wonder that Faſtolff found him, upon this occaſion, an adverſary. 'Tis not likely that the Regent ever conceived any diſpleaſure at this conduct, becauſe Faſtolff was not only continued in military and civil employments of the greateſt concern, but appears more in favour with the Regent after the battle of Patay than before (*). It was but in 1430, that the Regent preferred him to the Lieutenancy of Caen in Normandy (g). In 1432 he accompanied the Regent into France, and was ſoon after ſent Ambaſſador to the Council of Baſil, and choſen, in the like capacity, to negotiate a final or temporary peace, with the adverſary of France (h). And that year, Faſtolff, with the Lord Willoughby, commanded the army which aſſiſted the Duke of Bretagne againſt the Duke of Alençon (i). Soon after which he was, for a ſhort ſpace, in England; for, in 1433, going abroad again, he conſtituted John Faſtolff of Olton, probably a near relation, his General Attorney (k). In 1434, or the beginning of the year after, he was again with the *Regent* of France; and, in 1435, he was again one of the Ambaſſadors to conclude a peace with the enemy of France (l). Towards the latter end of this year, the ſaid renowned *Regent* died at Rouen, *deſervedly reckoned among the greateſt men of his age*, ſays a late French Hiſtorian (m); and as the greateſt proof he could give of his truſt or aſſurance in the honour

(f) Edw. Hall's Chron. fol. 26. And Hollingſhed, fol. 601.

(g) Huet. Origin. de Caen. p. 50.

(h) Rymer, Vol. X. p. 525, 527, 530.

(i) Chartier, Hiſt. de Char. VII. p. 59.

(k) Rot. Fran. 12 Hen. VI. m. 5. 26 Jan.

(l) Rymer, Vol. X. fol. 642.

(m) Father Daniel's Hiſtory of France, A. D. 1435.

(*) So that, rather than any diſhonour here, can be allowed, the *Retreat* itſelf, as it is told, muſt be doubted.

liam Stuart and his brother, with abundance more, as well *French* as *Scots*, to the number of about *twenty five hundred*, were left dead in the field, and not one Engliſhman of any diſtinction or above the common rank loſt his life; but *Faſtolff* carried his troops, his proviſions, ammunition, *&c.* ſafe to the ſaid ſiege (69), and this battle has been very juſtly admired, no leſs for the extraordinary conduct of it, than its ſucceſs; it being almoſt incredible, as another has ſaid of it, that fifteen hundred Engliſh, under the fatigue of a march, encumbered with the charge of a large quantity of proviſions, ſhould gain a complete victory over nine or ten thouſand of the enemy who attacked them, under the conduct of the firſt perſons of diſtinction; and that by killing twenty five hundred of them on the ſpot, without the loſs of a ſingle ſoldier of reputation (70).

[G] *Diveſt Faſtolff of his honours*] However ſome of our Hiſtorians have been unwarily miſled by French writers, this may certainly be accounted worthy of remembrance, among thoſe Retreats which have met with great applauſe from men of the greateſt military ſkill and experience (71). Leaders to a battle, often improve every ſtep they take, as in their obſervations, intelligence, and knowledge, ſo conſequently in their judgments, reſolution, and determinations. The very motion of an army into different poſitions, or more advantageous places; the ſurpriſe of an enemy, diſappointed of ſuccours or ſupplies; the inequality that attack him, which may fall ſo heavy upon one part of the army that the other cannot relieve it; the diſcovery of unexpected reſerves, ambuſcades, or new recruits, may give a commander good occaſion of new reſolves, that may reverſe his proceedings; ſo that even a precipitous retirement may be more honourable, than an obſtinate perſeverance to unavoidable ruin; and ſurely, unleſs in caſes of inevitable neceſſity, a General, whoſe courage is duly tempered with the caution it ought to be, will not hazard a general loſs without ſome apparent proſpect of advantage; but conclude that, a prudent retreat will be more commendable than a diſhonourable overthrow. That this was the caſe here is evident, in that, the Regent was ſo far from depriving Sir *John Faſtolff* of his *George* and *Garter*, before any examination, and reſtoring them after one, or any other way diminiſhing or degrading him of his honour, that he was continually to his death, making additions to it; and more frequently now, more ſignally after this conduct at the *Battle of Patay*, in which the Engliſh had ſuch a vaſt inferiority of ſo many thouſand forces, than before. This were enough to clear his reputation, without any other argument; but hear what an able judge of theſe matters has ſaid upon this occaſion.

‘A charge of ſo high a nature, and ſuch a ſevere animadverſion, ſhould have been vouched by authentick contemporary writers; and 'till ſuch ſhall be produced, let us conſider what abſurd conſequences are neceſſarily imply'd in this cenſure; and whether theſe do not afford us reaſonable preſumptions to doubt the truth of this tradition: and here, to omit that the image of St *George*, was not in all probability, a ſymbol of the Order in that age; and admitting that thoſe words of the later Hiſtorians ſhould be conſtrued only to mean that the *Croſs* of St *George*, an enſign of it, was taken from him; it will be however confeſſed, that this Duke, then *Regent of France*, could not conſtitute or *inveſt* any perſon with this Order, tho' by this action, if it ſhould be true, it muſt be allowed, that he had an abſolute power to *diveſt* a companion, and that, without the knowledge of the Sovereign, or any concurrence of the other Knights; and, which is the more incredible, that he actually exerciſed this power upon an information only, without hearing or examining into the truth of the charge, or complaint; which ſeems not conſiſtent with the honour, generoſity, and exalted character of this Regent, who had the greateſt reverence for this Order (72), and was a moſt punctual obſerver of its ſtatutes (73), as appears from ſeveral circumſtances: and it is very ſurpriſing, that this moſt heroic Duke, who eſteemed himſelf limited and circumſcribed to the ſtatutes, in the caſe of the election of our Knight, ſhould be on a leſs guard in depoſing him, and thereby caſting on him an indelible infamy, by a voluntary power not allowed by the ſtatutes then in being; for the degradation of a Knight who ſhould fly from battle, was an article firſt inſerted into the ſtatutes made by King *Henry* VIII. which too is there reſtrained: if it ſhould *pleaſe* the *Sovereign* and the *Company* in the next *chapter*.’

But taking it for granted, as the ſame author proceeds, ‘that the Regent, upon the firſt repreſentation, ſhould have been ſo far warmed, as, under that impreſſion, to declare, that our Knight might in his opinion deſerve to be degraded for this his ſuppoſed demerit; or, in the higheſt extent, as theſe authors deliver it, the enſigns of the Order were actually demanded and taken from him, yet this haſty prepoſſeſſion of the Regent, cannot be conſtrued to be any diminution of the character of our Knight, ſince theſe ſame Hiſtorians inform us, that after an examination of this charge, thoſe enſigns were reſtored him, as they word it, for *apparent cauſes of good excuſe, tho' againſt the mind of the Lord Talbot*, who muſt have been a powerful adverſary. And tho' we have not the particulars of his vindication, or ſpecification of his conduct, yet ſuch an honourable acquittal, under theſe circumſtances, gives reaſonable grounds to preſume, that this ſudden accuſation had no pretence of foundation, but was a cauſeleſs defamation, and that his retiring was irreproachable. But it is the greateſt degree of evidence, that this *Regent* was fully convinced, and ſatisfied in the management of our Knight, in this critical nice juncture, in that he afterwards continued to employ him in military and civil adminiſtrations of the higheſt importance, *&c.*’ (74) as we have inſtanced by many examples in the text above, which ſufficiently prove, that he never could have been preferred to thoſe honourable employments, commands in the army, and offices of truſt, if ever he had been ſo degraded, diſhonoured, or diſgraced.

(69) Lib. de Actis Armorum, et Conqueſtûs Regni *Franciæ*, &c. Compilatus fuit ad Nobilem Virum *J. Faſtolff*, Baronem de *Cyllyegutllim*, anno 1459; per *Pet. Baſſet*, Armig. &c. MS. in Officio Armorum.

(70) Mr Anſtis, in the Mem. of Sir J. Faſtolff, as before, p. 138.

(71) See Sir *Walter Ralegh's Hiſt. of the World*, lib. v. c. ii. ſect. 8. And *Geo. Chapman's* Dedic. of his Tranſlat. of *Homer's* Battle of the *Frogs* and *Mice*, to the Earl of *Somerſet*: Wherein, he celebrates the brave and memorable *Retreat* of Sir *John Norris*, before *Ghent*, with a thouſand men, thro' the whole *Spaniſh* army, under the Duke of *Parma*, for three miles together.

(72) In Regiſt. *Arundel*, apud *Windſor*, p. 90.

(73) Aſhmole's Hiſt. p. 269.

(74) Anſtis, as before, p. 139, &c.

[H] *Became*

hour and integrity of Sir John Faſtolff, he made him one of the executors of his laſt Will (*n*). If any readers are inclined to ſuſpect, that theſe diſtinctions wherewith he honoured our Knight, were the product of any private or particular affection in the *Regent* towards him, let them obſerve, that Richard Duke of York, who ſucceeded in the Regency of France, made Faſtolff a grant of an annuity of twenty pounds a year out of his own eſtate, *pro notabili et laudabili ſervicio, ac bono conſilio: for his notable and laudable ſervices, and good counſel* (*o*). Which is ſufficient to ſhew this Duke's ſentiments alſo of his merits. In 1436, and for about four years longer, he ſeems to have been pretty well ſettled at his government in Normandy; after which, in 1440, he made his final return home, and, loaden with the laurels he had gathered in France, raiſed a new plantation of them in his native country; where he ſhone as bright in virtue as he had in valour, and became as illuſtrious in his domeſtic, as he had been in his foreign character [*H*]; peace having

[*H*] *Became as illuſtrious in his domeſtic, as he had been in his foreign character.*] As his valour made him a terror in war, his humanity made him a bleſſing in peace: all we can find in this ſcene of his receſs, being elegant, hoſpitable, and generous, either as to the places of his abode, or thoſe perſons and foundations on which he ſhowered his bounty. The ſtreams of his treaſure, that fed this fountain of his munificence, were very numerous and plentiful; as may be ſeen, in the jury's return to the writ of enquiry, into the lands and eſtates whereof he was poſſeſſed at his death (75) in Norfolk, Suffolk, Yorkſhire, and Wiltſhire. He was a benefactor to both the Univerſities; bequeathing a conſiderable legacy to Cambridge, for building the ſchools of Philoſophy and Law (76), for which the firſt order under their Chancellor *Laurence* Biſhop of Durham, is dated in June 1458; and at Oxford, he was ſo bountiful to Magdalen-College, thro' the affection he had for his friend *William Wainfleet*, the founder thereof two years before, that his name is commemorated in an *Anniverſary* ſpeech: and tho' the particulars of his bounty are not now remembered, becauſe he *enfeoffed* the ſaid founder in his life-time; it is yet known, that the boar's head in Southwark, now divided into tenements, yielding *one hundred and fifty pounds yearly*, together with *Calcedot* mannor in Suffolk, were part of the lands he beſtowed thereon; and *Lovingland* in that county is conceived alſo, to have been another part of his donation (77). But, at *Caſtre*, the antient ſeat of his family, is to be ſeen the remains of his magnificent ſeat or manſion houſe, the hall whereof was fifty nine feet long and twenty eight broad (78). At one corner thereof ſtands a ruinated tower of brick, above one hundred feet high, and over one of the windows are carved his arms ſurrounded with the Garter. The current tradition, that this houſe was erected by a *French* Nobleman who was taken priſoner by our famous Knight, according to the model and architecture of his own caſtle in *France*, as the price of his ranſom, does appear very probable from what has been before related. He furthermore appointed there by his executors, a college to be built for a maſter, ſix prieſts, and ſeven poor men, and that they ſhould endow it with an annuity of an *hundred and twenty marks*; chargeable upon part of his eſtate, but by ſome accident it was reduced to a *Chantry* (†). He likewiſe built a ſplendid ſeat in *Yarmouth*, and a *Royal Palace in* Southwark (79). His liberality alſo extended to *Bicling* and *Pulham-Mary*, in Norfolk; the churches thereof being formerly adorned with his arms; and among the ornaments in the laſt of them, there was the effigies of Sir *John Faſtolff* (80), in gilt armour *anneiled* on one of the glaſs windows, with his *Creſt*, on a *Wreath*, *Azure*, and *Or*; a *Plume* of *Feathers*, *Argent*; and two Eſcutcheons, with the *Croſs* of *St George*, within the *Garter*; and his Lady kneeling, in her coat armour; *Argent*, a *Saltere*, *Gules*; with theſe words ſubſcribed, *Orate pro animabus Johannis Faſtolff, qui multa bona fecit tempore vitæ*, &c (81). In ſome old books of Heraldry, his arms have been erroneouſly blazoned; for *Faſtolff* bears *Or* and *Azure*, quarterly; on a bend *Gules*, three *Croſlets* Argent; and not *Scollops*, according to the deſcription we may meet with in ſome pedigrees of the family; as may be proved not only from ſeveral original ſeals of the *Faſtolff*'s ſtill in being, but in the old arms which remain carved in ſtone over a window of his houſe at *Caſtre* by *Yarmouth* (82). Some errors have alſo eſcaped the pens of learned men, in relation to that *William Wircester* above quoted. He was learned in Antiquities, and Heraldry, Phyſick, and Aſtronomy; and had a good genius, as well for Hiſtory as Poetry. He is called in old writings not only ſervant, and *Soget*, or *Segret*, to Sir *John Faſtolff*, but was his Purſuivant, and (*) Secretary. Many of his letters, as we underſtand in this capacity are ſtill in being (83). But that he was Sir *John*'s Herald, by ſuch a title, or diſtinction, as *Botoner*, from the Croſs Croſlets *Botonèe*, in our Knight's arms, is a miſconjecture in one author (84), no leſs than it is in an other, who fancies, becauſe this learned writer was converſant in medicinal ſtudies, that he was therefore called a *Botaner*, or Herbaliſt (85). Whereas we may gather from his own writings, that he was born at Briſtol; that his father's name was *Worceſter* and his mother's *Botoner*, hence he often names himſelf *William Wyrceſter*, alias *Botoner*; and hence aroſe the error in Pits (86), and others, of making two diſtinct perſons of the two names. He had been exerciſed in wars above 44 years (87); ſo eminent and faithful were his ſervices, under this great man, that in his will he left him one of his executors. He wrote many books, tho' we meet with but one that was printed, and that is his tranſlation from the French, of *Cicero de Senectute* which he addreſſed to *William Wainfleet*, Biſhop of *Winton*, and will be further quoted in the next note. He wrote *Antiquities of* England; *Abbreviations of the learned*; *Medicinal* collections; a book of *Aſtrology*; another of *Cities*, *Monaſteries*, *Abbies*, &c (†); likewiſe his *Itinerary*; all it ſeems, or moſt of them, in Latin; beſides a particular treatiſe, gratefully preſerving the *life* and *deeds* of his maſter, under the title of *Acta Domini Johannis Faſtolff*, which we hear is ſtill in being, and has been promiſed the publick; had it been publiſhed ſooner, it might have prevented ſome miſtakes, if not liberties, which ſome conceive to have been unreaſonably taken with the name and memory of our Worthy. The ſon of this *Worceſter*, among other things, alſo made a *collection* of ſeveral authentic inſtruments relating to the *Engliſh Wars* and *Government* in *France*; which he dedicated to King *Edward* IV. wherein is a catalogue of the Princes, Dukes, Earls, Barons, Bannerets, Knights, and other perſons of eminence, who were of the *Regent's* court: Therein is remembered *Faſtolff*'s poſts of honour, and the places under his government; ſtiling him, Knight-Banneret, Baron of *Cilliguillim*; great Steward, or Grand-maſter of the *Regent*'s Houſhold; the King's Lieutenant of *Normandy* for one year, and after, Governor of *Anjou* and *Maine*, for many years; Captain of the City of *Mauns*, and the caſtles and towns of *Alançon*, *Mayn*, *Freſney le Vicont*, for fourteen years; likewiſe of *Cane*, *Verneiul*, and *Hunflue* ſome years. In this book are ſeveral publick memorials, concerning the grand articles and negotiations of peace and war; with ſome ordonnances as we remember, having ſeen a copy of this collection (88), which were compoſed in French and iſſued forth, by our no leſs politic, than heroic Knight; who, as well, penn'd thoſe things, which are worthy of being read, as performed thoſe, which merit to be recorded; being no leſs able to adviſe than to execute; and, as that collector remarks of him, if theſe his counſels, inſtructions, and admonitions, had been duly obſerved, they would have prevented many miſcarriages, which might conduce to our loſs of *France*.

[*I*] *Beyond*

(*n*) Regiſtr. Chichele, Vol. I. p. 475.

(*o*) Clauſ. 19 Hen. Hen. VI. 12 May. And *Sandford*'s Geneal. Hiſtory, fol. 386.

(75) Eſch. 38 and 39 Hen. VI. N. 45.

(76) Lib. Proct. Univ. Cantab.

(77) Mr Anſtis, as before, p. 142, &c.

(78) *Will. de Wirceſtre* in *Itin.* MS. in C. C. C. *Cant.* p. 229.

(†) Mr Anſtis, as above, p. 143.

(79) Vincent MS. in Off. Arm. N. 18. p. 122.

(80) MS. inter Collect. Johan. Anſtis, Armig.

(81) Mr Anſtis, as above, p. 141, 142.

(82) Mr Blomefield's Hiſtory of Norfolk, p. 348.

(*) Peter Baſſet, ut prius.

(83) The Rev. Mr Blomefield's Letter, as above.

(84) In Mr Anſtis, p. 135.

(85) Mr J. Lewis's Life of William Caxton, 8*vo*, p. 53.

(86) De Illuſt. Script. p. 648, 861.

(87) Itin. W. Worceſter, MS.

(†) Tho. Fuller cites a book of *Botoner*'s containing all the *Ancient Gentry* in the county of Norfolk. *Worthies of Engl.* fol. 250. And ſomething in poetry, he alſo wrote, as that humorous ballad called *Comedia ad Monaſterium Hulmi, &c. directa ad Reformationem ſequentem, &c.* 1477. Alſo a long Chronographical *Epitaph* in verſe, on the Lady *Milicent Faſtolff*; in the poſſeſſion of *Richard Foley*, Eſq; late Prothonotary of the Common Pleas.

(88) In *Quarto*, ſome time in the cuſtody of the late Brian Fairfax, Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms.

having her victories, no leſs glorious than thoſe of war. We have heard, there is ſtill in being, preſerved among the old family-writings, an *Inventory* of all the rich jewels, plate, furniture, *&c.* that he either had, or left in France, at his return to England. In 1443, he had licence granted him to employ ſome of his Majeſty's ſhips to convey materials for building, or furniſhing one of his manſion-houſes *(p)*. In 1450, he conveyed to John Kemp, the Cardinal-Archbiſhop of York, and others, his mannor of *Caſtre* in *Fleg*, and ſeveral other lands, in the deed of conveyance ſpecified (*q*). No retirement could obſcure his reputation, no infirmities weaken him in the exerciſe of generous actions, to the laſt. At length being arrived, in the year 1459, beyond the venerable age of fourſcore years [*I*], and ripe with the great honours of his good works, to be gathered from this world to a better, he diſpoſed himſelf in the moſt charitable and religious manner, to his appointed tranſlation. In that year, he ſays of himſelf, that he was *In good remembrance, albe it I am gretly vexid with ſickeneſſe, and thurgh age infebelyd* (*r*). He lingered under an hectic fever and aſthma for an hundred and forty-eight days (*s*); but before he departed he made his Will, on the fifth of *November* in that year (†), of which we ſhall give ſome extract below [*K*], and died the next day after, being that of St Leonard's feaſt, or the eve

before

[*I*] *Beyond the venerable age of fourſcore years.*] As may be computed from the time of his birth at the beginning mentioned; however, for the ſake of an even number, two or three odd years are omitted in the following character and account, that was publiſhed before a tranſlation of *Cicero*, by our firſt Printer, of this excellent man, about twenty two years after his death, in theſe words.—— 'Whiche book 'was tranſlated, and thyſtoryes openly declared, by 'the ordenaunce and deſyre of the noble auncyent 'Knyght, Syr *Johan Faſtolff*, of the Countee of Nor'folk, Banneret, lyvyng the age of fourſcore yere; 'exerciſyng the warrys in the Royame of *Fraunce*, 'and other countrees, for the diffence and unyverſal 'welfare of both Royames of *Englond* and *Fraunce*, 'by forty yeres enduryng, the fayte of armes haun'tyng, and in admynyſtryng juſtice, and polytique 'governaunce, under thre Kyngs; that is to wete, '*Henry* IV. *Henry* V. *Henry* VI. and was Governour 'of the Duchey of *Angeou*, and the Countee of *Mayne*; 'Capytayne of many Townys, Caſtellys, and For'treſſys, in the ſaid Royame of *Fraunce*; havyng the 'charge and ſaufguard of them dyverſe yeres; ocu'pyeng and rewlynge thre hondred ſperes, and the 'bowes acuſtomed thenne; and yeldyng good acompt 'of the foreſaid Townes, Caſtellys, and Fortreſſes, to 'the ſeyd Kyngs, and to theyr Lyeutenauntes, Pryn'ces of noble recommendacion; as, *Johan*, Regent 'of *Fraunce*, Duc of *Bedford*; *Thomas*, Duc of *Exe*'*ter*; *Thomas*, Duc of *Clarence*, and other Lyeute'nantes (89).'

[*K*] *Of his Will, we ſhall give ſome extract below.*] It was written in Latin, and a fair copy of it, not very correct, we have ſeen, as alſo a tranſlation or abſtract in Engliſh; but in neither is it expreſſed, who the witneſſes were, nor what the arms, or figure of the ſeal. It bears date, on the Sunday after the Feaſt of *All Saints*, in November 1459. ſetting forth, That the ſaid Sir *John Faſtolff*, Knight, of the County of Norfolk, and in the Dioceſe of Norwich, made and publiſhed this his laſt will and teſtament in his Manor of *Caſtre*, within the ſaid Dioceſe, in the following manner. Firſt, he commends his ſoul to *God*, to the Virgin *Mary*, and to all the *Saints*; and bequeaths his body to be buried after his death, in the conventual church of the Monaſtery of St *Bennet*, in the Holmes, in the ſaid Dioceſe, under the arch of the new chapel, which he lately rebuilt there, on the ſouth ſide of the choir or chancel, under a marble tomb, near the body of *Milicent* his former conſort, who lies interred there. He further ordains, that the Abbot, and the ſaid Convent, ſhall give ſecurity, before his interrment, that they will grant and confirm to *John Paſton*, and to ſuch others as ſhall be nominated by him, full power of granting the lands, *&c.* which the ſaid *John Paſton* and other Feoffees of the ſaid Sir *John Faſtolff*, or their Feoffees hold of the ſaid Abbot and Convent, to ſeven Monks, or Prieſts, and their Succeſſors, towards endowing and eſtabliſhing a College, within the Manor and Lordſhip of *Caſtre*; or ſo much of the land, as the ſaid Sir *John Faſtolff* ſhall think fit. Likewiſe orders, that all his debts ſhould be paid, and all forfeitures be fully compenſated, reſtored, and ſatisfied. He bequeaths towards the repair and ſupport of the harbour at *Great-Yarmouth*, and towards renewing and repairing the walls of the ſaid town, for the public benefit, or conſervation of the town, and the adjacent country, one hundred marks; on condition that, the Burgeſſes and Governors thereof, ſhall without delay, proceed to the ſaid reparations, that the inhabitants may pray for the repoſe of his ſoul. He gives to the pariſh churches of the ſeveral villages, wherein he had either ſeat, manor, lands or tenements, a ſilk gown, to celebrate maſs and pray for his ſoul in, and that there ſhould be erected in thoſe churches, his achievement of arms, embroidered at the diſcretion of his executors, and ſo as were moſt convenient to, or becoming thoſe churches. He bequeaths to his tenants and menial ſervants, a competent reward out of his goods and chattels, to the ſum of three hundred marks, according to their rank, condition, and merits; and ſo, as his gentleman or valets may have a proportion double to the reſt; more eſpecially regarding thoſe who conſtantly attended him, in all perils and dangers, in ſickneſs and health. Likewiſe gives to all the orders of religious and mendicant Friars, both in *Great-Yarmouth* and the city of *Norwich*, that they may offer their prayers for his ſoul, a ſufficient ſum, according to the diſcretion of his executors; on condition, that the partakers thereof have no property, but depend upon the alms and charity of good chriſtians for their ſupport. He bequeaths the reſidue of his goods, *&c.* after all debts, legacies, and charges are cleared, to his executors hereafter named; that they may diſtribute them according to diſcretion, and ſo as to promote the ſalvation of his ſoul, among the fitteſt objects of charity; the poor, infirm, lame, blind, thoſe confined to their beds, and who cannot maintain themſelves or their family. But ſtill to prefer his poor relations, neighbours, and thoſe who were known to him; or where he had any lordſhips, manors, lands, or tenements; and for repairing of churches, in the ſaid towns and villages; alſo the public roads and bridges, and other charitable uſes, eſpecially in Norfolk and Suffolk. And that, one thouſand marks or pounds be laid out, within a year, upon his funeral, his legacies and other charities aforeſaid. And that five hundred and thirty three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight pence, ſhall be laid out annually, ſo far as his goods, lands, *&c.* by ſale ſhall amount to, till they are fully diſpoſed of; and he exhorts in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, that this truſt be ſincerely and faithfully diſcharged by his executors; and as he would in conſcience, reaſon, and juſtice, do for them in like caſe; and as they will anſwer for the contrary at the tremendous tribunal of God. Then he conſtitutes *William* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *John* Lord de *Beauchamp*, *Nicholas* Abbot of *Langley*, *John Stokes*, Doctor of Laws, Friar *John Brackley*, Doctor of Divinity; *William Yelverton*, one of the King's Judges, *John Paſton*, Eſq; *Henry Filongley*, Eſq; *Thomas Howes*, Prieſt, and *William Worceſtre*, to be the executors of this his laſt Will. And the execution thereof he thus declares limited: that the ſaid *John Paſton*, and *Thomas Howes*, ſhall have the adminiſtration and diſpoſition of the moveable goods, money, *&c.* which ſhall ariſe from the ſale of his lands, and the produce thereof, and they only, to diſpoſe of the ſaid effects for the benefit of his ſoul; and none of the reſt to concern themſelves, in diſpoſing of his ſaid goods, *&c.* unleſs they

are

(*p*) Rymer, Vol. XI. p. 44.

(*q*) Clauſ. 29 Hen. VI.

(*r*) Mr Blomefield's Letter, from Norwich, beforementioned.

(*s*) MS. *Penes Dom. Hans Sloane, Baronet.*

(†) As is computed from the date in our copy of it, recited in the next note.

(89) *Tullius's* Book of *Old Age*: printed by *W. Caxton*, fol. 1481, in the Prohem. Alſo *The Britiſh Librarian*, 8vo, 1738, p. 255.

before, as it appears in the *Eſcheats* (t), being the 39th, or laſt year of King Henry the VIth's reign, and no leſs than thirty-ſix years beyond the extravagant retrenchment of T. Fuller (u). He was buried with great ſolemnity in a chapel of his own building, at the abbey-church of St Bennet at the Holm in Norwich, which was ruinated at the diſſolution (w); and ſo devoutly was he revered in the duſt, that John Beauchamp, Lord of Powyke, in his laſt Will dated the 15th of Edward IV (x), appointed a chantry, more eſpecially for the ſoul of Sir John Faſtolff. In one of Mr Aſhmole's choice old volumes of MSS. lately in the poſſeſſion of a noble Peer, to whom we have been beholden for many extracts out of it, there is a conciſe character of our Worthy, written in the reign of King Henry VII, by a Knight who was then King of Arms, wherein Sir John Faſtolff is called ' a rich Knight, and a grete bilder; having bilded *Caſter Hall* in *Northfolk*, ' a *Royal Palace* in *Southwork*, and another in *Yermouth*: a ſpeciall goode Maiſter to the ' Officers of Armes, and was moſt triumphantly brought in erthe, that I have heard of ' any man of his degre.' His arms are alſo there blazoned: *Or and Azure, quarterly; three Scollops* (*) *argent, in a Bend verd.* The creſt; *a Plume of Oſtridge Feathers,* of *various colours:* his cognizance; a *Book* with a *Pencil* in it; and a *Shield*, with a branch of *Laurel* flouriſhing out of it (y).

are requeſted to aid and aſſiſt them. And that none of the reſt, ſhall ſell, receive, or diſtribute any of his effects, without the conſent of thoſe two; nor any of them interfere in the adminiſtration while thoſe are alive; hoping they will not refuſe their aid, when it is requeſted. But if either of thoſe two decline, or refuſe to act and officiate, or ſhould die before the complete execution of his Will, then he of the two, who is willing to adminiſter, or does ſurvive, ſhall aſſociate one of the other executors, whom he thinks moſt fitting and capable. So, as often as one dies, or declines the truſt, the other ſhall elect one of the reſt. But where both ſhall refuſe to act, or both die, before a ſubſtitute is choſen, then ſuch two of the ſurvivors, as ſhall have a majority of ſuffrages among themſelves, are allowed to adminiſter; and the two thus choſen, may, as they ſee occaſion, conſult with the Biſhop of *Winton*, Lord *Beauchamp*, Abbot of *Langley*, Friar *Brackley*, *Yelverton*, *Filongley*, and *William Worceſter*. He further appoints *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Walter* Biſhop of *Norwich*, Maſter *Robert Popy*, Chancellor, and *Hugh Fen*, to be Superviſors of this his laſt Will; and deſires, that the two acting executors may receive ſuch recompence for their trouble, as the ſaid Biſhop of *Winton* and *John Stokes*, or the major part of the ſurvivors, ſhall think fit. He alſo ordains that the ſuperviſors of his Will, and the other executors, ſhall receive ſuch reward for their trouble, as the two acting executors ſhall account fully proportionable thereto: and that, if any of the ſaid executors ſhall obſtruct, or moleſt the ſaid *John Paſton* and *Thomas Howes*, in the due execution of their truſt, or incur any of the offences before mentioned, they ſhall be diſcharged from having any concern therein: or if they are thus troubleſome before they ſhall be admitted to a ſhare in the execution, he wills and ordains, that every ſuch delinquent ſhall be declared, and held, incapable of ſuch truſt, and be excluded from any ſhare in it. Dated in the year, &c. abovementioned.

G

FECKENHAM (John de) the laſt Abbot of Weſtminſter, was ſo called from his birth-place Feckenham-foreſt in Worceſterſhire, where his parents, who were poor cottagers, reſided; his right name being *Howman* (a). Shewing in his youth a very good genius, and a ſtrong propenſity to learning, the Prieſt of the pariſh inſtructed him ſome years; and then, by his own and other perſons intereſt, got him admitted into Eveſham monaſtery. After having continued ſome time there, he was, at the age of eighteen, ſent to ſtudy at Glouceſter-college in Oxford; an houſe for ſtudents of the Benedictine Order; where the monaſtery juſt now mentioned had an apartment (b). When he had ſufficiently improved himſelf in academical learning, he was recalled to his abbey, in order to give room for other ſtudents. That abbey being diſſolved among the ſmaller ones, Nov. 17, 1536, he ſubſcribed the reſignation with the reſt of his brethren, and had a yearly penſion of an hundred florins [*A*] allowed him during life (c). Whereupon, returning to his ſtudies at Oxford, he continued ſome years in Glouceſter-college (d): and in 1539, June 11, took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity (e); being then Chaplain to Dr John Bell Biſhop of Worceſter (f). That Prelate reſigning his See [*B*] Nov. 17, 1543 (g), Mr Feckenham was entertained in the ſame quality of Chaplain, by Dr Edmund Bonner Biſhop of London, with whom he continued till 1549. But Bonner being then deprived of his biſhopric (h), by the Reformers; Feckenham was committed to the Tower of London [*C*]. Soon after, he was borrowed thence, as his own words are (i), to

[*A*] *And had a yearly penſion of an hundred florins*] That is about 22 or 23*l.* a year. But Br. Willis, Eſq; ſays, it was only 10*l.* per ann (1).

[*B*] *That Prelate reſigning his See*] T. Fuller ſays (2), that it was *after his death*, our author Feckenham became chaplain to Biſhop Bonner: which is a miſtake.—J. Stevens (3) hath run into the like, or a greater error; when he affirms, that Biſhop Bell dyed in 1539: and Mr Dart alſo (4), when he places his death three years after 1537.—Ant. Wood more properly expreſſes it, in the following words: ' that ' Biſhop giving up his place in few years after.' viz. after 1539.—Dr John Bell, as is ſaid in the text o[illegible] this article, reſigned his See in 1543; and did n[illegible] die till Aug. 11. 1556 (5). What induced him to this reſignation, is no where expreſſed. He was for ſome time a promoter of the Reformation. But in 1543, when the act for the advancement of true religion, &c. was brought into Parliament, he did but *faintly* promote it, tho' he had promiſed Archbiſhop Cranmer to be ſtrenuous therein (6). So that, either a diſlike of the Reformation, or fear of danger, were the motives of this his reſignation.

[*C*] *Feckenham was committed to the Tower of London.*] The reaſon of his commitment is not very exactly known. Dr R. Horne, Biſhop of Wincheſter, ſays, the cauſe of his impriſonment, was his promiſing firſt, and then refuſing, to adminiſter the Sacraments [illegible]ter the Proteſtant manner (7). But T. Stapleton, [illegible]o is not much to be depended on, affirms, that it [illegible] his defending the faſt of Lent, and oppoſing juſti[illegible]on by faith alone; and thoſe, he ſays, were the cauſes to diſpute on the chief points controverted between the Proteſtants and Papiſts. The firſt diſputation he engaged in, was at the Savoy in the houſe of Francis Ruſſel Earl of Bedford: the ſecond at Sir William Cecil's in Channel-row: and the third at Sir John Cheke's in White-Friers. Thence he was carried down to Worceſterſhire, where he ſtill held a benefice; and had four ſolemn diſputations with John Hooper Biſhop of the dioceſe: the firſt at Perſhore during that Biſhop's viſitation, and the laſt in the cathedral of Worceſter (*k*) [*D*]. After that, he was remanded to the Tower, where he continued till the acceſſion of Queen Mary I. to the crown in 1553. But being then releaſed, he was called to Court, and made one of the Queen's Chaplains (*l*). He alſo became again Chaplain to Biſhop Bonner [*E*], when reſtored to his biſhopric, which was Sept. 5, 1553 (*m*). And, the 25th of January following, was collated by him to the prebend of Kentiſh-town, in St Paul's cathedral (*n*). The 10th of March next enſuing, he was elected Dean of the ſame church, in the room of Dr William May, deprived (*o*): and June 20, 1554, was collated to the rectory of Finchley in Middleſex, which he held only a few months (*p*). But the ſame year, on the 23d of September, he obtained the rectory of Greenford Magna in the ſaid county (*q*). Before I proceed further, I muſt obſerve, that on the 10th of February 1554, he was ſent by the Queen to the Lady Jane Gray (*viz.* two days before her execution) to commune with her, and to reduce her from the doctrine of Chriſt to Queen Mary's religion, as Mr Fox expreſſes it (*r*) [*F*]. In April, he was one of the Diſputants, at Oxford, againſt Archbiſhop Cranmer, and the Biſhops Ridley and Latimer, before they were inhumanly committed to the flames, and martyred for their ſtrict adherence to the Proteſtant religion: but he ſaid very little againſt them (*s*). He had alſo a conference, in 1555, with one Thomas Haukes, a Proteſtant; whom he endeavoured in vain to bring into a belief of Tranſubſtantiation (*t*): and though he appeared warm upon that occaſion, yet, if a juſt repreſentation is given of him, it was contrary to his natural diſpoſition. For, all Queen Mary's reign, he wholly employed himſelf in doing good offices to the afflicted Proteſtants, from the higheſt to the loweſt. Francis Ruſſel Earl of Bedford, and Ambroſe and Robert Dudley, afterwards Earls of Warwick and Leiceſter, taſted of his kindneſs: as did alſo Sir John Cheke. Nay he even interceeded ſo earneſtly with Queen Mary for the Lady Elizabeth's enlargement out of priſon, that he incurred the Queen's diſpleaſure for a while (*u*). In May 1556, the univerſity of Oxford conferred upon him the degree of Doctor in Divinity, without performing any exerciſe; and the enſigns of that honour were ordered to be carried to him (*), being then in great eſteem for his learning, piety, charity, humility, and other virtues (*w*). The September following he was made Abbot of Weſtminſter-abbey, which was then reſtored by Queen Mary, and fourteen Benedictin Monks placed there under his government with epiſcopal power (*x*) [*G*]. Upon the death of Queen Mary in 1558, her ſucceſſor Queen Elizabeth, not unmindful of her obligations to Dr Feckenham, ſent for him [*H*], before her coronation,

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(t) In Mr Anſtis's Preface to The Regiſt. of the Garter, Vol. I. p. 21.

(u) Worthies of Engl. in Norfolk.

(w) Mr Blomefield's Letter, as before.

(x) In Cur. Prærog. Cant.

(*) Which is a miſtake, as was obſerved.

(y) Sir *Thomas Wriotheſley*'s Heraldical Collections of the Knights of the Garter, Bath, &c. adorned with Limnings of their Portraits, Arms, &c. fol. MS. in the Poſſeſſion of the late Duke of *Montagu*. See an Abſtract of this volume, in *The Britiſh Librarian*, 8vo, 1738, p. 323.

(a) Cl. Reynerus Apoſt. Benedictin. in Anglia, Tract. I. p. 233. edit. Duaci, fol.

(b) A. Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 221; & Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 338.

(c) Reyner, p. 233, 234.

(d) Ibid.

(e) Wood, Faſt. Vol. I. col. 62.

(f) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(g) Faſti Eccleſ. Anglic. by J. Le Neve, edit. 1716, fol. p. 298.

(h) See the article BONNER (Edmund).

(i) Quaſi mutuatum accepit.

(1) Hiſt. of the Mitred Abbeys, Vol. I. p. 90.

(2) Church Hiſt. B. ix. p. 178.

(3) Additional volumes to the Monaſticon, edit. 1722, Vol. I. p. 288.

(4) Weſtmonaſterium, Vol. II. in the Lives of the Abbats, p. xxxvii.

(5) Fr. Godwin, de Præſulibus, edit. 1616, 4to, p. 522.

(6) See Dr Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, P. i. p. 321.

(7) Anſwer to Feckenham's Declaration of Scruples, &c. Lond. 1566.

cauſes alledged in the regiſter of Archbiſhop Cranmer; who for that reaſon ſummoned Feckenham to appear at Lambeth before ſeveral commiſſioners, and he perſiſting in his opinion, Cranmer cauſed him to be committed; for the truth whereof Stapleton appeals to the ſaid regiſter (8).

[*D*] *And the laſt in the cathedral of Worceſter.*] Some ſay, that J. Jewel Biſhop of Saliſbury was one of the opponents at this laſt diſputation (9). But Ant. Wood thinks it is falſe (10). Th. Stapleton mentioning this diſputation, ſays, Biſhop Hooper acknowledged, he was thoroughly ſatisfied with Mr Feckenham's reaſoning (11). But by this we may juſtly doubt of that writer's veracity. For Biſhop Hooper was a man not eaſily ſatisfied in any reſpect, much leſs with ſo direct an opponent to that opinion, for which he afterwards ſuffered; and therefore it carries with it an air of too great improbability. But, notwithſtanding, Reyner takes it from him, Wood from Reyner, and others from them both, without boggling at the abſurdity (12).

[*E*] *He alſo became again Chaplain to Biſhop Bonner*] And, as T. Fuller expreſſes it in his whimſical way, he croſſed the Proverb, *like maſter, like man*; the patron being cruel, the Chaplain kind, to ſuch who in judgment diſſented from him (13).

[*F*] *And to reduce her from the doctrine of Chriſt to Queen Mary's religion, as Mr Fox expreſſes it.*] Part of the communication between them, according to that author, was as follows: '*Feck.* Why? what do you 'receive in that Sacrament? [viz. the Lord's Supper] 'Do you not receive the very Body and Blood of 'Chriſt? *Jane.* No ſurely, I do not ſo believe. I 'think that at Supper, I neither receive Fleſh nor 'Blood; but Bread and Wine: which Bread when it 'is broken, and the Wine when it is drunken, putteth me in *remembrance*, how that for my ſins the 'Body of Chriſt was broken, and his Blood ſhed on 'the Croſs, and with that Bread and Wine, I receive 'the benefits that come by the breaking of his Body, 'and ſhedding of his Blood for our Sins on the Croſs. '*Feck.* Why? Doth not Chriſt ſpeak theſe words, '*Take, Eat, this is my Body.* Require you any plainer words? Doth he not ſay, it is his Body? *Jane.* 'I grant he ſaith ſo; and ſo he ſaith, *I am the Vine,* '*I am the Door*, but he is never the more the Door 'nor the Vine. Doth not St Paul ſay, *He calleth* '*things that are not as though they were?* God forbid, that I ſhould ſay, that I eat the very natural 'Body and Blood of Chriſt: for then either I ſhould 'pluck away my redemption, or elſe there were two 'Bodies, or two Chriſts. One Body was tormented 'on the Croſs, and if they did eat another Body, then 'had he two Bodies: or if his Body was eaten, then 'was it not broken upon the Croſs, or if it were 'broken upon the Croſs, it was not eaten of his Diſciples, &c (14).'

[*G*] *And fourteen Benedictin Monks placed there under his government*] They were brought in with ſome difficulty and oppoſition at firſt; for the Prebendaries of Weſtminſter, legally ſettled in their places, would not reſign them, till Cardinal Pole, partly by compulſion, partly by compenſation, obtained their removal (15). What T. Fuller affirms in the ſame place, appears improbable; that 'fourteen Benedictins only could be found in England, then extant 'ſince their diſſolution, which were unmarried, unpreferred to cures, and unaltered in their opinions.'

[*H*] *Queen Elizabeth, not unmindful of her obligations to Dr Feckenham, ſent for him*] The firſt meſſenger, it ſeems, found him planting thoſe elms which are now in the Prebendaries garden; and we are told, he would not go till he had finiſhed his plantation (16). Whether to his honour, or diſcredit, let the reader judge!

(*k*) Reyner; Wood, Athenæ; and Stevens, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Stevens, as above, p. 289.

(*m*) See the article BONNER (EDMUND). And Newcourt, Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 26, 48.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 171.

(*o*) Ib. p. 48.

(*p*) Ib. p. 605.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 615. He vacated it when made Abbat of Weſtminſter.

(*r*) Acts and Monuments of Martyrs, edit. 1684, Vol. III. p. 25.

(*s*) Ib. p. 36, &c. 63, 67.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 217, &c.

(*u*) T. Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, B. ix. p. 178, 179; and his Worthies of England, in Worceſterſhire, p. 177.

(*) Wood, Faſt. Vol. I. col. 85.

(*w*) Id. Athen. Vol. I. col. 222.

(*x*) Stevens, ubi ſupra, p. 278. Fuller's Worthies, in Weſtminſter, p. 240.

(8) Horn-blaſt, &c. Lov. 1567.

(9) Stevens, ubi ſupra, p. 289.

(10) Athen. ubi ſupra.

(11) Horn-blaſt, &c.

(12) Dart's Weſtmonaſt. ubi ſupra.

(13) Ch. Hiſt. B. ix. p. 178.

(14) Acts and Monuments, &c. as above, p. 25, 26.

(15) Sanderus de Schiſm. Angl. l. ii. p. 305, edit. Col. Agr. 1610; and T. Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, ubi ſupra, p. 179.

(16) Reyner, ubi ſupra, p. 235. Dart, as above.

nation, to conſult and reward him; and, as tis ſaid, offered him the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, provided he would conform to the laws, but he refuſed (*y*). He appeared in her firſt Parliament, taking the loweſt place on the Biſhops form; and was the laſt mitred Abbat that ſat in the Houſe of Peers (*z*). During his attendance there, he proteſted and ſpoke againſt every thing tending to the Reformation. Namely, the 27th of February 1559, he diſſented to the bill, For reſtoring the Supremacy to the Imperial Crown of this realm; March 15, to the Proviſoes in the bill for reſtoring the Firſt Fruits and Tenths to the Crown: March 22, to the bill for reſtoring the Patentees of the Biſhop of Wincheſter's lands: April 6, to the bill, impowering the Queen, upon the avoidance of any archbiſhopric or biſhopric, to take the Temporal Poſſeſſions thereof, and recompenſe them with perſonages impropriate: April 17, to the bill for the Supremacy a ſecond time; and likewiſe when it paſſed, at which time he made an elaborate ſpeech againſt it: And May 5, to the bill for annexing certain religious houſes to the Crown (*a*). He alſo made a long ſpeech againſt the bill for the Uniformity of Common Prayer, and ſervice in the Church (*b*) [*I*]. And offered zealouſly to be one of the Diſputants, at the ſolemn conference held at Weſtminſter, about religion, during this ſeſſion of Parliament; but was not admitted (*c*). This ſtrong oppoſition cauſing him to be looked upon with an evil eye, he was committed to the Tower in 1560 (*d*); where he continued till 1563, when he was taken thence, and put into the cuſtody of Robert Horne Biſhop of Wincheſter. But having written againſt each other about the oath of Supremacy, and now having frequent and warm diſputes upon that ſubject [*K*], he ſeems to have had but an uneaſy life there (*e*). And not altering his opinion, which ſeems to have been the end of his being put into the Biſhop's hand, he was remanded to the Tower in 1564. But, ſoon after, through the interceſſion of friends, he was removed to the Marſhalſea, where he had more liberty and air. Being alſo diſcharged from hence ſhortly after, he lived for ſome time in Holbourn, where he built an aqueduct (*f*). In 1571, he attended Dr John Story before his execution (*g*). We find him again in cuſtody in the year 1574; when he was releaſed upon bond of appearance (*h*). In 1578, he was in free cuſtody with Richard Cox Biſhop of Ely; whom the Queen had deſired, to uſe his endeavours to bring Dr Feckenham (being a man of learning and temper) to acknowledge her Supremacy, and to come to church: He was induced at length to acknowledge the Queen's ſupremacy in cauſes eccleſiaſtical, but could never be brought to a thorough conformity (*i*) [*L*]. Soon after, the reſtleſs ſpirit of ſome of the Roman Catholicks, and the frequent attempts upon the Queen's life, obliged her, for her greater ſafety, to have the moſt eminent and active of that profeſſion cloſely confined. Whereupon our author was impriſoned, among others, in Wiſbich-caſtle in the Iſle of Ely; in which town he built the croſs ſtill ſtanding there (*k*). He continued a priſoner the remainder of his life; which he ſpent in great piety and devotion, and in works of charity and beneficence. Dying in 1585, he was buried in Wiſbich church (*l*). He was a middle-ſized man, ſomewhat fat, round-fac'd, beautiful, and of a pleaſant aſpect, affable, and engaging in converſation (†). As to his character: Mr Camden calls him a learned and good man, that lived long, did a great deal of good to the poor, and always ſollicited the minds of his adverſaries to benevolence (*m*). T. Fuller ſtyles him, 'a man cruel to none, courteous and charitable to all 'who needed his help or liberality (*n*):' Dr Burnet, 'a charitable and generous man, 'that lived in great eſteem in England (*o*).' And Mr Dart concludes the account he gives of him in theſe words: 'though I cannot go ſo far as Reyner, to call him a martyr,

' yet

(*y*) Reyner, ubi ſupra, p. 235.

(*z*) J. Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. I. edit. 1725, p. 57. and Dart's Weſtm. ubi ſupra.

(*a*) See the Journals of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments, publiſhed by Sir S. Dewes, under thoſe ſeveral days.

(*b*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 75, 76.

(*c*) See Stevens, ubi ſupra, p. 289; and Strype, as above, p. 87, &c.

(*d*) Reyner, ubi ſupra; and Stevens, p. 289.

(*e*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 494, &c.

(*f*) Stevens, ib.

(*g*) Pitſ. de Illuſtr. Angl. Script. ad ann. 1585, p. 786.

(*h*) J. Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 329.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 525, &c. 641.

(*k*) Dart, as above; and Stevens, p. 289.

(*l*) Dart, ibid.

(†) Ibid. and Stevens, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Camdeni Annales Reg. Eliz. ad ann. 1559.

(*n*) Worthies, in Weſtminſter, p. 240.

(*o*) Hiſt. of the Reformat. P. ii. p. 397.

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judge! Sanders affirms, that the Queen would fain have had Monks in her new eſtabliſhment of religion; and, therefore, ſhe preſſed Feckenham and his Monks to continue in Weſtminſter-Abbey, and ſhe would ſecure them and their poſſeſſions, provided they prayed for her, and officiated according to her laws (17). But Sanders is an author of little credit.

[*I*] *He alſo made a long ſpeech againſt the bill for the Uniformity of Common Prayer, &c.*] Dr Burnet, afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury, had attributed this ſpeech to Archbiſhop Hethe (18). But Mr Strype hath reſtored it to its true author, from a MS. in the Cottonian Library (19), and publiſhed it at length in his Annals of the Reformation (20): where he obſerves (21), that in this ſpeech, Dr Feckenham made very unworthy and unbecoming reflections upon the foreign Proteſtants of greateſt eminence, as Luther, Melancthon, Zuinglius, Martyr, for their different ſentiments about the Sacrament; and eſpecially upon two of our own Biſhops, Cranmer and Ridley.

[*K*] *But having written againſt each other about the Oath of Supremacy, &c.*] What Dr Feckenham writ upon that ſubject, was in the time of the Parliament holden January 12. *Anno* 1562-3. and it was occaſioned by the bill for aſſurance of the Queen's royal power; the Papiſts imagining thereupon, that commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to exact from them the oath of ſupremacy. The title of his book was, *A declaration of ſuch ſcruples and ſtays of conſcience, touching the Oath of Supremacy, as Mr John Feckenham by writing did deliver unto the Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter, with his reſolution made thereto.* See below note [*M*]. As for the ſubſequent diſputes between him and Biſhop Horne, you have an account of them in Mr Strype's Annals of the Reformation (22).

[*L*] *But could never be brought to a thorough conformity.*] His reaſons principally were theſe. 1. 'He 'did not find fault indeed with any thing ſet forth in 'the book of common ſervice: but deſired withal, 'that all the reſt of the old ſervice that was taken out, 'ſhould be reſtored again; as prayer to the Saints, 'and for the dead, the ſeven Sacraments, and external ſacrifice. 2. He would not come to Church, 'becauſe he was not of our Church for lack of *Unity*; 'ſome being therein Proteſtants, ſome Puritans, and 'ſome of the Family of Love. 3. He would not conform, becauſe he could ſee nothing to be ſought, 'but by the ſpoil of the Church, and of Biſhops 'Houſes, and of Colleges Lands: which he ſaid 'made many to pretend to be Puritans, ſeeking for 'the fruits of the Church.' Theſe reaſons he gave in writing, with his name ſubſcribed, to Biſhop Cox above mentioned (23).

(17) Sanderus de Schiſmate Anglic. p. 345.

(18) Hiſt. of the Reformat. P. ii. p. 393.

(19) Veſpaſ. D. 18. No. 3.

(20) Vol. I. Appendix, p. 24. No. ix.

(21) Chap. iii. Vol. I. p. 75.

(22) Vol. I. p. 494, &c.

(23) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 500; and Vol. II. p. 526; and Appendix to B. ii. No. 29, p. 142.

‘ yet I can't gather, but that he was a good, mild, modeſt, charitable man, and a de‘ vout Chriſtian.’ We need not take notice of the fulſome character given of him by J. Pits (p). For a liſt of his works ſee the note below [*M*].

(p) Ubi ſupra.

[*M*] *A Liſt of his Works.*] The few things he publiſhed, were theſe, 1. ‘ A Conference Dialogue-‘ wiſe, held between the Lady Jane Dudley, and Mr ‘ John Feckenham, four days before her death, touch-‘ ing her faith, and belief of the Sacrament and her ‘ religion.’ Lond. 1554. 8vo. and 1625. 4to. There is a thing of the like nature in J. Fox's book of Martyrs (24), intituled, the Communication had between the Lady Jane and Feckenham. 2. Speech in the Houſe of Lords, 1553. 3. Two Homilies on the firſt, ſecond, and third articles of the Creed. Lond. 4to. 4. *Oratio funebris in exequiis Duciſſæ Parmæ, Caroli quinti filiæ, & Belgiæ Gubernatricis.* i. e. A funeral oration on the death of the Ducheſs of Parma, daughter of Charles V. and Governeſs of the Netherlands. 5. Sermon at the Exequy of Joan Queen of Spain, &c. on Deuter. xxxii. 28, 29. Lond. 1555. 8vo (25). 6. A Sermon at the funeral of Queen Mary, on Eccleſiaſtes iv. 2 (26). 7. ‘ A declaration of ſuch ſcruples ‘ and ſtaies of conſcience touching the Oath of Supre-‘ macy, as Mr Feckenham delivered by writing to Dr ‘ Horn, Biſhop of Wincheſter.’ Lond. 4to. 1566. Anſwered by Biſhop Horne in 1566. 4to. refuted by Thomas Stapleton the year following. This piece of Feckenham is printed in Reyner: who calls the Biſhop's anſwer thereto, an impious book, and full of lies; *librum impium, plenumque mendaciis.* 8. Objections or Aſſertions made againſt Mr John Goughe's Sermon preached in the Tower of London, 15 January 1570. 9. *Caveat Emptor.* Which ſeems to have been a caution againſt buying Abbey-Lands. He had alſo written Commentaries on the Pſalms; and a treatiſe of the Euchariſt, againſt John Hooper: which were loſt among other things (27).

(24) Vol. III. p. 25.

(25) Wood, Ath. ut ſupra, col. 222, 223.

(26) Stevens, p. 290.

(27) Wood, ubi ſupra; and Pits, p. 785.

FELL (John) a learned and moſt excellent Biſhop in the XVIIth century, and ſon of Samuel Fell, D. D. Dean of Chriſt-Church [*A*], by Margaret his wife, daughter of Thomas Wyld of Worceſter, Eſq; was born at Longworth (*a*) in Berkſhire, June 23, 1625 (*b*). He received his education moſtly in the free-ſchool at Thame in Oxfordſhire, and in Chriſt-Church Oxon. where he was admitted Student in 1636, at the age of eleven years. On the 24th of October 1640, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*c*), and that of Maſter June 2, 1643 (*d*): about which time he was in arms for King Charles I, within the garriſon of Oxford, and afterwards was an Enſign. In 1648 he was turned out of his Student's place by the Parliament-Viſitors, being then in Holy Orders; and from that time till the Reſtoration of King Charles II, he lived in a retired and ſtudious condition, partly in the lodgings of the moſt famous Phyſician Tho. Willis his brother-in-law (*e*), in Chriſt-Church, and partly in his (*f*) houſe over-againſt Merton-college in Oxford; wherein he, and others (*g*), kept up the devotions and orders of the Church of England, and adminiſtred the ſacrament and other duties to numbers of Royaliſts, eſpecially Scholars that had been ejected in the year 1648 (*h*). After the King's Reſtoration he was made Prebendary of Chicheſter, and Canon of Chriſt-Church, (in the room of Ralph Button ejected) into which laſt he was inſtalled July 27, 1660 (*i*). On the 30th of November following he was inſtalled Dean of Chriſt-Church (*k*), being then one of his Majeſty's Chaplains in Ordinary; and Doctor in Divinity (*l*) [*B*]. As ſoon as he was fixed in that eminent ſtation, he earneſtly applied himſelf to purge the college of all remains of hypocriſy and nonſenſe, which had but too much prevailed every where in the late times of confuſion: and to improve it in all ſorts of learning, as well as true religion; laying thoſe foundations that have rendered it ſo famous to poſterity, and will continue to make it ever flouriſh. Neither was he leſs diligent in reſtoring its diſcipline, than adorning it with magnificent buildings. For, by his own benefactions, and what he procured from others, he built the north ſide of the great Quadrangle [*C*], which had never been finiſhed before, though

(*a*) Some ſay, it was at Sunningwell, where his father was Rector. But ſee his epitaph below.

(*b*) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. edit. 1721, col. 795.

(*c*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 283.

(*d*) Ibid. Vol. II. col. 33.

(*e*) He had married his ſiſter. Wood, Athen. ubi ſupra, Vol. II. col. 549.

(*f*) *Viz.* the ſaid Mr Willis's.

(*g*) Eſpecially Mr John Dolben, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, and ſometimes Mr Richard Alleſtry. Wood, ubi ſupra, Vol. II. col. 549, 792.

(*h*) Ibid. and col. 795.

(*i*) Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, Ely, Oxford, &c. edit. 1730, 4to. p. 450, by Br. Willis, Eſq;

(*k*) Ibid. p. 442; and Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 795; & Hiſtor. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 256.

(*l*) Id. Faſti, Vol. II. col. 137.

[*A*] *Samuel Fell. D. D. Dean of Chriſt-Church.*] He was born in the pariſh of St Clement-Danes, London, elected Student of Chriſt-Church from Weſtminſter-School, in 1601, aged 17 years, took the Degrees in Arts, that of Maſter being compleated in 1608, elected Proctor of the Univerſity in 1614, admitted Bachelor of Divinity the year after, and about that time became Rector of Freſhwater in the Iſle of Wight. In May 1619, he was inſtalled Canon of Chriſt-Church, and the ſame year proceeded in Divinity, being about that time domeſtic Chaplain to King James I. In 1626, he was made Margaret-Profeſſor, and ſo conſequently Prebendary of Worceſter, (which was about that time annexed to the Profeſſorſhip) he being then a Calviniſt. But at length leaving his opinion, he was, through Archbiſhop Laud's intereſt (1), made Dean of Lichfield, in 1637; and, the year following, Dean of Chriſt-Church, in the place of Dr Duppa (2). He was a perſon of a moſt publick ſpirit, as will be always remembered by the many ſtately works he carried on in his college; as namely, finiſhing the wainſcott of the Choir, paving the Cathedral, and glazing the windows with painted glaſs, which his Predeceſſor Duppa had begun. He alſo laid out conſiderably on his lodgings, and compleated Peckwater, and the noble ſtaircaſe leading up to the hall; and began building the north ſide of the great Quadrangle, which he would ſoon have perfected: and, had not the times prevented it, endeavoured doing more. But having by his loyalty to his Prince, and zeal for the Church of England, exaſperated the rebels, who ſought his life, he was ejected, *Anno* 1647, and being threatned to be murdered, was forced to abſcond, and dying heart-broken February 1, 1648 (the day he was made acquainted with the murder of his Royal Maſter King Charles I) he was buried in the chancel of Sonningwell-Church near Abingdon in Berkſhire, (where he had been Rector and built the front of the parſonage houſe) with only this ſhort memorial, on a ſmall lozenge of marble, laid over his grave: *Depoſitum* S. F. February 1648 (3).

[*B*] *And Doctor in Divinity*] He was created ſo, October 3. 1660 (4).

[*C*] *He built the north ſide of the great Quadrangle.*] It was begun to be built in a manner ſuitable to the reſt of the Quadrangle, by his father Dr Samuel Fell; and was by him, the College, and ſeveral benefactors, carried on to the top, and had all the frame of timber belonging thereunto laid. But before the inſide could be finiſhed, and the top covered with lead, the civil wars began: ſo it continued expoſed to the weather, till the Preſbyterians became maſters of the Univerſity; who minding their own private concerns more than the public good, took the timber away, and employed it for their own uſe. But after the Reſtoration, Dr Fell, by his own benefaction, and thoſe of the then Canons, and

(1) A. Wood ſays, in his ſnarling ill-natured way, that ‘ he ‘ became after ‘ great ſeekings ‘ and cringings, a ‘ creature of Dr ‘ Laud Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Athen. ut ſupra, Vol. II. col. 118.

(2) Ibid. He was Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, in the years 1645, 1646, and part of 1647. Id. Faſti, Vol. II. col. 45, &c.

(3) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; as above, p. 441.

(4) Wood, Faſti, ubi ſupra, col. 137.

though begun by the renowned Cardinal Wolſey. Next he rebuilt part of the lodgings of the Canon of the ſecond ſtall, and the eaſt ſide of the Chaplain's quadrangle, both which were finiſhed in 1672; and a handſome range of buildings thereto adjoining, fronting the meadows, finiſhed in 1677 and 1678 [D]. The next fabrick erected by his care, were the lodgings belonging to the Canon of the third ſtall, near the paſſage leading from the great Quadrangle into Peckwater; finiſhed about the year 1674. And, finally, he built the ſtately tower over the principal gate of the college, begun on the old foundation (laid by Cardinal Wolſey) in June 1681, and finiſhed in November 1682, moſtly with the monies of benefactors, whoſe arms are carved on the ſtone roof of the gateway (m) [E]. He alſo made the elegant long walk in the meadow (n). In the years 1666, 1667, 1668, and part of 1669, he was Vice-Chancellor of the univerſity; and whilſt he continued in that office, took great care to have perſons of all degrees go in their proper habits. He likewiſe looked narrowly to the due performance of the publick exerciſes in the ſchools; and reformed ſeveral abuſes therein. That he might keep up the credit of them, and of the whole univerſity, he frequently attended himſelf the diſputations in the ſchools, the examinations for degrees, and the publick lectures of Profeſſors, and others; and by his preſence rendered them more conſiderable, and cauſed them to be better performed than they were before, or have been ſince (o). In a word, he was a moſt excellent Diſciplinarian: and kept up the exerciſes in his own college alſo with great ſtrictneſs; was admirable in training up youth of noble extraction, had a faculty in that peculiar to himſelf, and took great delight in it. Several mornings in the week conſtantly, he went round his college to the chambers of Noblemen and Gentlemen-Commoners, to examine and ſee what progreſs they made in their ſtudies. No one was a greater encourager and promoter of learning in the univerſity, and all publick works belonging thereunto, than himſelf; witneſs not only the edifices beforementioned, but alſo the Sheldonian Theatre, which was built chiefly by his ſollicitation. He likewiſe advanced the preſs, and improved printing in Oxford in ſuch a manner as it had been deſigned before by that publick-ſpirited perſon Archbiſhop Laud; by whom it would certainly have been effected, as well as other matters of greater concern relating to religion and learning, had not he been prevented by the iniquity of the times. He was an eager defender and maintainer of the univerſity and its privileges, eſpecially while he executed the office of Vice-Chancellor, and always endeavoured to advance its liberties; for which he often gained the ill opinion of the citizens of Oxford (p). So worthy and illuſtrious a perſon did well deſerve to be advanced to the higheſt dignities in the Church: Accordingly (upon the tranſlation of Dr Henry Compton to the See of London) he was nominated Biſhop of Oxford; elected January 8, confirmed February 5, and conſecrated Febr. 6, 1675-6 (q). At the ſame time he had leave to hold his deanery *in commendam*, purpoſely to keep him in the college, that he might do farther good therein, and in the univerſity. No ſooner was he ſettled in his See, but he undertook the rebuilding of the epiſcopal palace at Cuddeſden in Oxfordſhire: the outſide of which was finiſhed in 1679, and the inſide ſoon after (r). Holding alſo the Maſterſhip of St Oſwald's hoſpital at Worceſter, he rebuilt that in a ſumptuous manner, beſtowing all the profits of his income there, in augmenting it, and recovering its eſtates. And part of the revenues of his biſhopric ariſing from the impropriation of the diſſolved prebend of Banbury (s), he liberally gave five hundred pounds to repair that church; which being the largeſt in Oxfordſhire, and much out of repair, would otherwiſe have fallen down. He likewiſe eſtabliſhed daily prayers at St Martin's, *alias* Carfax, the principal city-church in Oxford, at eight in the morn-

and many generous perſons that had been formerly members of the College, and of others (5), quite finiſhed that building. *for the uſe of two Canons*; together with the part between the then imperfect building on the north ſide of the great gate, and the north-weſt corner of that Quadrangle (6). Towards this building, Dr J. Fell gave no leſs than five hundred and fifty pounds (7).

[*D*] *Next he rebuilt part of the lodgings of the Canon of the ſecond Stall, and the eaſt ſide of the Chaplains Quadrangle ——— and a handſome range of buildings thereto adjoining, fronting the meadows ——*] In the place where this laſt-mentioned range of buildings ſtands, Philip King, Auditor of Chriſt-Church, had built, about the year 1638, very fair lodgings of poliſhed free-ſtone. But they were burnt by careleſſneſs, Nov. 19. 1669, and with them the ſouth-eaſt corner of the Chaplain's Quadrangle, beſides part of the lodgings of the Canon of the ſecond Stall, which was blown up with gun-powder, to prevent the ſpreading of the fire towards the Library, Treaſury, and Church. But they were ſoon rebuilt by our worthy Dean's care, particularly the eaſt ſide of the Chaplain's Quadrangle, with a ſtraight paſſage under it, leading from the Cloiſter into the field, as it now is, which was finiſhed in 1672 (8).

[*E*] *And, finally, he built the ſtately Tower over the principal gate of the College, &c.*] Into this Tower he cauſed to be removed, *Anno* 1683, out of the *Campanile* (or ſteeple) in the Cathedral, the bell called *Great Tom of Chriſt-Church*; ſaid to be brought thither with the other bells from Oſeney-Abbey; which Biſhop Fell took care to have recaſt with additional metal, inſomuch, that it is now by far the biggeſt bell in England. Round it is this inſcription: *Magnus* Thomas Cuſius Oxonienſis, *renatus* April VIII. MDCLXXX, *regnante* Carolo Secundo, Decano Johanne Oxon. *Epiſcopo*, *Subdecano* Gulielmo Jane S. S. *Theol. Profeſſore*, *Theſaurario* Henrico Smith S. S. *Theol. Profeſſore*, *Curâ & Arte* Chriſtoferi Hodſon. The dimenſions of it are as follows, Diameter ſeven feet one inch; from the crown to the brim five feet nine inches; thickneſs of the ſtriking place ſix inches; weight of the whole bell near ſeventeen thouſand pounds; and of the clapper three hundred and forty two pounds; ſixteen men are required to ring it. It firſt rung out May 29. 1684, from which time to this, it is knolled every night, *a hundred and one times*, agreeable to the number of Students in the College, as 'tis ſaid; as a ſignal to all ſcholars to repair to their reſpective colleges and halls; and ſo it uſed to be, while it hung in the Campanile aforeſaid (9).

(m) Br. Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 442; and Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(n) Br. Willis, ibid.

(o) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra, col. 796.

(p) Ibid. col. 797.

(q) Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 435.

(r) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 797; and Vol. I. col. 740.

(s) In Oxfordſhire; formerly in the church and dioceſe of Lincoln.

(5) See a Liſt of them, and of what they gave, in Wood's Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 285.

(6) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra, col. 795, 796.

(7) Idem, Hiſt. & Antiq. ut ſupra.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Wood, ibid. [illegible] 796; and Br. Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 408, 409.

morning, and eight at night. In a word, he expended his whole ſubſtance in works of piety and charity. Among his other benefactions to his college, it muſt not be forgot, that the beſt rectories belonging to it, were bought with his money. And as he had been ſo bountiful a patron whilſt he lived, and as it were a ſecond founder of that college, ſo he left to it at his death an eſtate for the maintenance of ten or more exhibitioners for ever; who are, as vacancies happen, to be elected every firſt day of November; when there is a publick ſpeech ſpoken in the Refectory in commemoration of him (t). Thus this pious, learned, and zealous perſon, employed himſelf wholly in doing good. At length having brought his body to an ill habit, and waſted his ſpirits by too much zeal for the publick, and by forming too many noble deſigns: All theſe things contributed, with the unhappy turn of religion which he dreaded under King James II, to wear him quite out and ſhorten his life. So that he died July 10, 1686, to the great loſs of learning, of the whole univerſity, and of the Church of England (u). We may ſuppoſe that ſo active a man as he was, had not much time for contemplation. However, in general, what he publiſhed was excellent [*F*]. As to his character, beſides what hath been already ſaid of him above; He was the moſt zealous man of his time for the Church of England; and none went beyond him, in the performance of the rules belonging thereto. He conſtantly frequented divine ſervice in publick four times a day; and had, beſides, prayers twice every day in his own family. He was a perſon of ſtrict morals and great virtues. In particular he was a man of a moſt generous ſpirit, undervalued money, and diſburſed it ſo freely, upon learned, pious, and charitable uſes, that he left ſometimes for himſelf and his private uſe little or nothing. His charity was ſo great, that he was a huſband to the afflicted widow, a father to the orphan, and a tender parent to poor children (w) [*G*]. In his epiſcopal capacity, he was an excellent judge of men and merits, an exemplary ſuperviſor of his clergy, and a diligent aſſerter of the rights of the Church (x). To conclude his character; He was a bold and reſolute man, and did not value what the generality ſaid or thought of him, ſo as he could accompliſh his juſt and generous deſigns: which being too many to effect was the chief cauſe of ſhortening his days (y). In this one thing he was particular, that he was no admirer of the Royal Society (z). He was buried July 13, in the Divinity-chapel, or north iſle adjoining to the choir of Chriſt-church cathedral (a). Over his tomb, which is a plain decent marble, is an elegant inſcription, compoſed by the learned and polite Dean Aldrich, his ſucceſſor. He was never married.

(t) Br. Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 435, 443.

(u) Ibid. p. 443; and Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 799.

(w) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 797.

(x) Br. Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 435.

(y) Wood, as above, col. 797.

(z) Ibid. col. 562.

(a) Ibid. col. 799.

[F] *In general, what he publiſhed was excellent.*] It is as follows. I. 'The Intereſt of England ſtated: 'or a faithful and juſt account of the aims of all parties now pretending; diſtinctly treating of the de'ſignments of the Roman-Catholick, Royaliſt, Preſ'byterian, Anabaptiſt, &c. 1659. 4to. two ſheets.' But 'tis not certainly known, whether he was the author of this (10). II. 'The life of the moſt learned 'reverend and pious Dr Henry Hammond, who died 'April 25. 1660, &c.' Lond. 1660. 8vo. reprinted afterwards, with additions, at the head of Dr Hammond's works. III. He publiſhed, *Alcinoi in Platonicam Philoſophiam Introductio*. Oxon. 1667. 8vo (11). IV. *In laudem muſices carmen Sapphicum.* A ſapphic ode in praiſe of muſic. Deſigned undoubtedly for ſome of the public exerciſes in the Univerſity; for a copy of it, now by me, was ſet to muſic. It is very beautiful and elegant. V. He publiſhed, *Hiſtoria & Antiquitates Univerſitatis Oxonienſis, duobus voluminibus comprehenſæ*. Oxon. 1674. fol. beautifully printed. i. e. The Hiſtory and Antiquities of the Univerſity of Oxford, &c. written by Antony à Wood in Engliſh: and tranſlated, at the charge of Dr Fell, by Mr Chriſtopher Waſe, and Mr Richard Peers, beſides what he did himſelf. And he alſo was at the expence of the printing. But Mr Wood tells us, 'That Dr Fell tak'ing the liberty of putting in and out ſeveral things, 'according to his own judgment, and thoſe he em'ployed being not careful enough to carry the whole 'deſign in their head as the author would have done; 'he *deſireth therefore*, that the author might not be 'accountable for any thing which was inſerted by 'him; or be cenſured for any uſeleſs repetitions or 'omiſſions of his agents under him (12).' At the end of it there is a Latin advertiſement to the reader; containing an anſwer to a letter of T. Hobbes, wherein he complained, that Dr Fell had cauſed ſeveral things to be omitted or altered, which A. Wood had written in that book in his praiſe. VI. 'The vanity of 'ſcoffing; in a letter to a gentleman.' Lond. 1674. 4to. VII. He publiſhed, S. Clement's two Epiſtles to the Corinthians, in Greek and Latin: with notes at the end. *Oxoniæ* 1677. 12mo. VIII. 'Account of 'Dr Richard Alleſtry's life.' Being the preface to the ſaid Doctor's Sermons publiſhed by our author. IX. 'Of the Unity of the Church.' Tranſlated from the original of St Cyprian. Oxford 1681. 4to. X. He publiſhed a beautiful edition of St Cyprian under this title, *Sancti Cæcilii Cypriani Opera recognita & illuſtrata per Johannem Epiſcopum Oxonienſem*. Oxon. 1682. fol. XI. He publiſhed ſeveral Sermons, as 1. 'The character of the laſt days,' preached before the King, on 2 Pet. iii. 3. Oxon. 1675. 4to. 2. 'A 'Sermon preached before the Houſe of Peers on De'cember 22. 1680. Being the day of ſolemn humi'liation.' Mat. xii. 25. Oxford 1680. 4to. XII. He alſo publiſhed, or reprinted, every year while he was Dean of Chriſt-Church, viz. from 1661, to the time of his death, a book, commonly a claſſical author, againſt New-year, to diſtribute among the Students of his houſe: to which books he either put an Epiſtle, or running notes, or corrections. XIII. He publiſhed the following pieces, written by the author of the Whole Duty of Man, with proper prefaces, and the contents, or marginal abbreviations. Namely, *The Ladies calling*; *The Government of the Tongue*; *The Art of Contentment*; and *The Lively Oracles given unto us*, &c. Oxford 1675, 1678, &c. The general preface before the *folio* edition was written by our pious and learned author (13).——He was, with regard to his learning, accounted an excellent Grecian, Latiniſt, Philologiſt, and an accompliſhed divine (14).

[G] *And a tender parent to poor children.*] He conſtantly allowed a yearly penſion to a poor man of St Thomas's pariſh near Oxford, purpoſely that he ſhould teach *gratis*, twenty or twenty four poor children of that pariſh to read, ſome of which he afterwards bound apprentices, or made ſcholars (15).—— And ſo eminent was he for charity, the moſt lovely and eſpecial duty of Chriſtianity, that he became a treaſurer or almoner for the charity of others, and had frequently great and conſiderable ſums put into his hands, to be diſpoſed of by him as he thought fit (16).

(10) See Wood, Athen. ubi ſupra, col. 798.

(11) Ib. col. 221.

(12) Ib. col. 799.

(13) Wood, Ath. ut ſupra, col. 798.

(14) Br. Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 435.

(15) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 797.

(16) Willis, p. 435.

FENTON (EDWARD) a bold adventurer for diſcoveries, an experienced ſeaman, and a gallant officer in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was deſcended from an antient family in the county of Nottingham, and had ſome eſtate there (a), which he ſold, as did alſo his younger brother Geoffrey, afterwards Secretary of State for Ireland, being more enclined to truſt to their own abilities, than the ſlender hereditary patrimony deſcending to them from their anceſtors; and they were among the very ſmall number of thoſe, who take ſuch daring reſolutions in their youth without living to repent of them in their own old age. He was a perſon of very quick and lively parts, which had been improved by a good education (b), but as his brother's turn was to ſtudy and books, ſo his inclination lead him rather to a military and active life, which induced him to court the favour, and by degrees procured him the protection, of the two potent brothers Warwick and Leiceſter (c). He ſerved ſome time with great reputation in Ireland, but upon Sir Martin Frobiſher's report of the probability of diſcovering a North-Weſt Paſſage into the South-Seas, he reſolved to engage with him in his ſecond voyage, and accordingly was appointed Captain of the Gabriel, a bark of twenty-five tons, in which he accompanied that famous ſeaman in his voyage to the ſtreights which bear his name, in the ſummer of the year 1577; but in their return he was ſeparated from Sir Martin in a ſtorm, notwithſtanding which he had the good fortune to arrive ſafe at Briſtol (d). In the third expedition undertaken in 1578, he commanded the Judith, one of the fifteen ſail which compoſed Sir Martin Frobiſher's ſquadron, and had the title of Rear-Admiral (e). It is very certain that ſcarce any expedition was undertaken during that reign with greater expectation, or proſecuted with leſs effect; which misfortune put an end, for that time, to all endeavours of the like nature [A]. Captain Fenton, however, was very far from being convinced

(a) Thoroton's Hiſt. of Nottinghamſhire, p. 415.

(b) Fuller's Worthies, P. ii. p. 318.

(c) This appears from the inſtructions given him, on his undertaking his laſt voyage.

(d) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 757.

(e) Stowe's Annals, p. 808.

[A] *To all endeavours of the like nature.*] It is a queſtion that has been more than once ſtarted, but hardly ever diſcuſſed, *why ſo many great attempts for diſcovery were made in the reign of Queen* Elizabeth, *when the art of navigation was ſo imperfectly underſtood, in compariſon of what it now is, and when our ſhipping was ſo inconſiderable as on all hands it is at that time allowed to have been?* For this there may be various reaſons aſſigned, ſuch as, that it was an age of diſcoveries, the Spaniards and Portugueſe had led the way, and almoſt every nation in Europe that had ſhips or could build them, was for making ſome trial, which excited that ſpirit of emulation, which effectually brings to light the hidden powers of genius, and this it was that enabled the Engliſh to diſplay their natural advantages which in this reſpect, were many beyond other nations. Another motive was the Queen's encouragement to all enterprizes of this ſort, for from the beginning of her reign, ſhe had nothing more at heart than raiſing a force at ſea, and beſides, it was found in proceſs of time, that there was no better method than this, of employing reſtleſs and impatient ſpirits, that might have been otherwiſe troubleſome at home. A third cauſe was the number of gentlemen, that addicted themſelves to the ſea ſervice, who from an innate ſpirit of generoſity and activity, were moſt ready to ſet on foot and proſecute ſuch expeditions as tended to raiſe their reputations, by affording them frequent opportunities of diſplaying both their conduct and their courage. In reference to this particular diſcovery of a North-Weſt paſſage into the South-Seas, there were beſides the general motives, ſome that were peculiar to thoſe times, as for inſtance, this was looked upon as a point, in which the honour of England was highly intereſted, on account of the attempts made by the two Cabots, from whence, if it could have been perfected, we had an indubitable right to the title of firſt diſcoverers. In the next place, the great thing aimed at in thoſe days, was to come at a ſhare in the Eaſt-India trade, which at the time Captain Fenton made his two voyages, was altogether unknown to the Engliſh Nation, but was indeed, preſently after opened to us by Sir Francis Drake. Add to all this, that a new paſſage was ardently deſired from the difficulties, that were apprehended in proceeding by the old track of the Cape of Good Hope, which voyage its tedious length, and the great conſumption made thereby amongſt the ſeamen, had brought into diſcredit. A third queſtion of as great importance as any of the reſt may be moved, which is, *why after all the pains taken about it, all thoughts of this* diſcovery *were laid aſide even in this reign?* To anſwer this fully would require a great deal of room, but poſſibly the notions contained in the following remarks of Sir William Monſon, might ſomewhat contribute thereto (1). 'If (ſays he) by the North-Weſt there be ſo quick a paſſage, and ſo ſhort a way to go and come as is deſired, I ſay, the trade in a few years will be overlaid, for as it is now by the Cape of Good Hope, ſince we and the Hollanders have had traffick in the Eaſt-Indies, pepper is brought from two pence to four pence there, and when it increaſes in price where it ſhould leſſen, and falls where it ſhould increaſe, what think you in time, this voyage will come to if followed, either the one way or the other? Let us likewiſe conſider, what needleſs commodities they bring from thence. I ſee not but this country may live as well without ſpices as our forefathers have done, neither are they to be had in truck of our home commodities, as cloth, lead, and tin, but if the merchant make gain by this trade, the chiefeſt ſtock he employs muſt be in ſilver, which has, and will in time make ſuch a dearth of money in England, as all men in general will rue it: and as I have ſaid before, we ſhall have the leſs money, and the greater quantity of thoſe needleſs commodities, if the navigation ſhould prove ſhort and eaſy. If a man will ſpeak truly and indifferently of the trade of the Eaſt-Indies, it is not ſo fit for any King or Prince, as the King of Spain, who has other Indies to ſupply the ſilver that goes out of his country, then what hope have we to perſevere in that voyage, who have no mines or means by traffick to bring money into this kingdom? For this, take for an infallible argument, that country which receives more commodities than it vends, the overplus muſt of neceſſity be of money: and by reaſon of our waſteful expence in ſuch needleſs and ſuperfluous things, as ſilks, lawns, ſpices, wine, tobacco, ſugar, and a hundred ſuch vanities, we muſt confeſs there comes in much more of theſe commodities, than goes out of the realm in truck for them: and then let us conſider the benefit of this trade, and how long it is like to continue good for the benefit and profit of this kingdom. The miſchief that is befallen us by exhauſting our ſilver, was foreſeen long ſince by Charles the Fifth, Emperor, who beholding the greedy gain of the Portugueſes in their trade to the Eaſt-Indies, was wont to ſay, they were enemies to Chriſtendom, by carrying their treaſure from Europe to enrich the heathens.' In thoſe days ſuch ſuggeſtions as theſe muſt have been very plauſible, but we know from experience that there is nothing in them. Both the Engliſh and Dutch have proſecuted their trade to the Eaſt-Indies by the ordinary courſe, and have as Sir William ſays, carried prodigious quantities of ſilver to the Eaſt-Indies, but notwithſtanding this, the trade has been very profitable to them, by furniſhing them with vaſt quantities of rich goods, which they have exported and ſold with large profit, ſo

(1) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 433.

convinced by this miſcarriage that the deſign was impracticable; but, on the contrary, ſuggeſted from time to time, that the diſcovery of a North-weſt paſſage was a point of very great importance to the commerce and navigation of England, and might, notwithſtanding former diſappointments, be reſumed with reaſonable hopes of ſucceſs. His importunate ſollicitations for ſeveral years, joined to the intereſt of his noble patron the Earl of Warwick, procured him at length another opportunity of trying his fortune at ſea, and that in a way, and with a force, ſufficient to gratify his ambition *(f)*, and for the ſpeedy execution of which he immediately betook himſelf, with the aſſiſtance of his friends, to make all the preparations poſſible. Of this voyage we have ſeveral authentick accounts, and yet it is not eaſy to apprehend the true deſign of it *(g)*. The inſtructions given by the Privy-Council to Mr Fenton, and which are ſtill preſerved, ſay expreſsly, That he ſhould endeavour the diſcovery of a North-Weſt paſſage, but by a new route which is laid down to him, *viz.* he was to go by the Cape of Good Hope to the Eaſt-Indies, and, being arrived at the Moluccas, he was to go from thence to the South-Seas, and to attempt his return by the ſuppoſed North-Weſt paſſage, and not by any means to think of paſſing the Streights of Magellan, except in caſe of abſolute neceſſity *(b)* [*B*]. Notwithſtanding

ſo that the carrying out of ſilver, tho', at firſt ſight, it has a ruinous appearance, is in reality a right policy, becauſe by carrying it out we acquire the means of bringing larger quantities in. What the conſequence may be to Europe in general, is another conſideration, which however does not affect us, for while we thrive by the Eaſt-India trade, it would be madneſs, from ſpeculative conſiderations, to entertain the leaſt thoughts of reſtrictions. But if, by degrees, we ſhould be rivalled in that trade, then to be ſure reviving Captain Fenton's project, and trying to preſerve it by a new paſſage, would be a meaſure not rational only, but requiſite; neither, perhaps, is that period, which demands ſuch a conſideration, at ſo great a diſtance as ſome may imagine.

[*B*] *Except in caſe of abſolute neceſſity.*] The inſtructions given to Edward Fenton, Eſquire, by the Right Honourable the Lords of her Majeſty's Privy-Council, were dated April the ninth 1592, and are in all appearance extreamly preciſe (2). According to theſe inſtructions Mr Fenton is declared to be Captain-General in this expedition, the number of men to be employed therein is limited to two hundred, the gentlemen, miniſters, ſurgeons, factors, and their ſervants included. The following perſons were appointed to be the General's Council, viz. Captain Hawkins, Captain Ward, Mr Nicholas Parker, Mr Maddox, Mr Walker, Mr Evans, Randolph Shaw, and Matthew Talboys, and he was reſtrained from doing any thing of moment, without the conſent of at leaſt four of theſe aſſiſtants. Mr Maddox the miniſter was appointed Secretary, and directed to keep a fair journal-book of the meetings of this council, and of the tranſactions therein, which was to be preſented by them at their return to the Queen. In reference to the power of puniſhing, there is a very large and ample proviſion made, which becauſe it is more than probable, that ſomething of the like kind was put into all inſtructions, and as it gives great light into the method which Sir Francis Drake took upon the diſcovery of a conſpiracy againſt himſelf, it is more than probable the reader will be glad to ſee at large. This article, I the rather tranſcribe, becauſe it ſhews how men were reſtrained and kept to their duty, before martial laws received the ſanction of the legiſlature, whence it will appear, that regulations in thoſe days were nothing leſs than arbitrary, and that when Queen Elizabeth, by the advice of her Council, eſtabliſhed rules for diſcipline in virtue of her prerogative royal, that prerogative was a fence to the law, and ſecured the perſons ſuſpected, the invaluable privilege of being tried by a jury.

'V. Item, If there happen any perſon or perſons employed in this ſervice, of what calling or condition he or they ſhall be, ſhould conſpire or attempt privately or publickly, any treaſon, mutiny, or other diſcord, either touching the taking away of your own life, or any other of authority under you, whereby her Majeſty's ſervice in this voyage might be overthrown or impugned, we will therefore, that upon juſt proof made of any ſuch treaſon, mutiny, or any other diſcord, attempted as aforeſaid, the ſame ſhall be puniſhed by you or your Lieutenant, according to the quality and enormity of the fact.' Provided always, and it ſhall not be lawful either for you or for your Lieutenant, to proceed to the puniſhment of any perſon, by loſs of life or limb, unleſs the party ſhall be judged to have deſerved it, by the reſt of your aſſiſtants as is before expreſſed, or at leaſt by four of them. And that which ſhall concern life, to be by the verdict of twelve men of the company employed in this voyage, to be impannelled for that purpoſe, with the obſervation of the form of our country laws in that behalf, as near as you may. Provided if it ſhall not appear, that the forbearing of the execution by death, ſhall miniſter cauſe to increaſe the fact of the offender, then it were better to convince the party of his fact, by the oaths of twelve indifferent perſons, and to commit him to hard impriſonment until the return. And as well of the facts committed by any, as alſo of the proof thereof, and of the opinions of you and your aſſiſtants, and the manner of the puniſhment, the regiſter ſhall make a particular and true note in the book of your conſultation as is before appointed.'

He was reſtrained from removing Captain William Hawkins, who was to command his own ſhip, Captain Luke Ward, who was to command the ſecond ſhip, or Captain Carliſle, who was to have the command of the land forces. As to the nature and deſign of the voyage, the reader will be pleaſed to peruſe the three following articles, which will at leaſt ſhew him, in what light the Privy-Council deſired to repreſent them.

'VIII. You ſhall make a juſt and true inventory in every ſhip and veſſel appointed for this voyage, of all the tackle, munition, and furniture, belonging to them at their ſetting forth hence, and of all the proviſions whatſoever, and one copy thereof, under your hand, and under the hands of your Vice-Admiral and Lieutenant, to be delivered to the Earl of Leiceſter, and the other to the Governor of the Company for them, before your departure hence; and the like to be done at your return home, of all things then remaining in the ſaid ſhips and veſſels, with a true certificate how, and by what means, any parcel of the ſame ſhall have been ſpent or loſt.

'IX. Item, You ſhall uſe all diligence poſſible to depart from Southampton, with your ſaid ſhips and veſſels, before the laſt of this preſent month of April, and ſo go on your courſe by Cape de buena Eſperança, not paſſing by the ſtreight of Magellan, either going or returning, except upon great occaſion incident, that ſhall be thought otherwiſe good to you, by the advice and conſent of your ſaid aſſiſtants, or four of them at the leaſt.

'X. Item, You ſhall not paſs to the North-Eaſtward, of the fortieth degree of latitude at the moſt, but ſhall take your right courſe to the Iſles of the Malucos, for the better diſcovery of the North-Weſt paſſage, if, without hindrance of your trade, and within the ſame degree, you can get any knowledge, touching that paſſage, whereof you ſhall do well to be inquiſitive, as occaſion in this ſort may ſerve.'

The remaining articles in theſe inſtructions are not very material, whereas, thoſe that we have cited deſerve to be well conſidered, ſince whatever the literal import

(f) Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 402.

(g) See this explained in note [*C*].

(b) See theſe articles in the note.

(2) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 755.

ſtanding theſe inſtructions, Sir William Monſon tells us plainly, that Mr Fenton was ſent to try his fortune in the South-Seas (*i*), and ſo himſelf underſtood it. In the month of May 1582, Mr Fenton left the Engliſh coaſt, with three ſtout ſhips and a bark. With theſe he ſailed firſt to the coaſt of Africa, and then for that of Brazil, directly from whence he intended to have ſailed for the Streights of Magellan; but hearing there that the King of Spain, who had better intelligence it ſeems of his project and intentions than if he had read his inſtructions, had ſent Don Diego Flores de Valdez, with a ſtrong fleet into the Streights to intercept him, he, upon mature deliberation, reſolved to careen (*k*). Putting into a Portugueſe ſettlement for that purpoſe, he there met with three of the Spaniſh ſquadron, one of which was their Vice-Admiral, which he ſunk after a very briſk engagement, and then put to ſea in order to come home (*l*) [*C*]. His Vice-Admiral, Captain Luke

(*i*) Naval Tracts, p. 402.

(*k*) Hakluyt's Voyages. Vol. III. p. 726.

(*l*) Sir W. Monſon's Tracts, p. 402.

import of them might be, it is pretty certain that Mr Fenton underſtood, that his buſineſs was to go into the South-Seas, and that by the Streights of Magellan, and, as we have hinted in the text, the Spaniards were in good time apprized of this alſo. It is very likely, that the ſcheme expreſſed in theſe inſtructions, was that originally propoſed by this gentleman, and indeed a more probable way of finding the North-Weſt paſſage could not be deviſed, for which reaſon it is not at all impoſſible, that this old ſcheme may be ſome time or other reviewed, revived, and carried into execution. But whatever Mr Fenton's notions might be, my Lord of Leiceſter was for joining a little profit with the honour, and going through the fore-door into the South-Seas, as the ſhorteſt and moſt likely way to find a back door out of them; in a word, our General had his ſmall ſquadron equipped, manned, victualled, and ſupplied with goods proper for the coaſts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, and after diſpoſing of theſe, if he could find a North-Weſt paſſage it would do him honour, if not, he was to get home again as well and with as much wealth as he could.

[C] *In order to come home.*] As for the ſtrength which Captain Fenton had under his command, it was for thoſe times very conſiderable (*), conſiſting of two ſhips and two barks. The biggeſt of the ſhips was called originally the Bear, but upon occaſion of this voyage was new named the Leiceſter Gallion, of the burthen of four hundred tons, on board of this veſſel went General Fenton, having under him, Captain William Hawkins, and Mr Chriſtopher Hall. The other ſhip was the Edward Bonaventure of three hundred tons, of which Captain Ward was the Commander, and the Maſter one Thomas Perry, the Bark Francis of forty tons, was under the command of Captain John Drake, and the Elizabeth of fifty tons had in her, Captain Thomas Skevington. They were kept upon the Engliſh coaſt, by foul weather and contrary winds, all the month of May, but at length they put to ſea, being bound, as Captain Ward ſays, for China; on the third of Auguſt they came to an anchor upon the coaſt of Guinea, where they began to trade with ſome profit, then they went to the coaſt of Brazil, and upon enquiring of the General what courſe they ſhould ſteer in caſe of being ſeparated, it was agreed firſt to make the beſt of their way to the river of Plate, and then to the Streights of Magellan. Upon that coaſt they took a ſmall veſſel, with an officer or two and ſome Friars on board, from whom they had the firſt news of a Spaniſh Fleet in thoſe ſeas, and after they diſmiſſed them, they likewiſe gave the firſt intelligence to the Spaniſh Fleet of thoſe Engliſh ſhips being upon that coaſt. On the 20th of December, a Council was held on board the Gallion Leiceſter, in which Captain Fenton demanded their opinions, whether, notwithſtanding the Spaniſh Fleet was in thoſe ſeas, they ſhould continue to make the beſt of their way to the Streights, or whether it might not be better to winter ſome where elſe, and where? Upon this the opinons of Captain Hawkins and Captain Drake were deſired, becauſe they had paſſed the Streights before, but it ſeems, they could not well agree, and after hearing them, the Council were of opinion, that it might be very dangerous in the condition they were in, and the ſtrength of the enemy conſidered, to continue their voyage to the Streights of Magellan, and that therefore it would be but prudent to put into the Port of St Vincent in Brazil, or to ſail for the river of Plate, with all imaginable expedition. This produced a new conſultation, as to which of thoſe places ſhould be preferred, and at laſt, after much debate, it was agreed to go to Port St Vincent, there to refit and gain intelligence, of which notice was preſently given to the crews of their reſpective ſhips, that they might not apprehend the General had abandoned his deſign; on the 20th of January they came in ſight of St Vincent, and on the 24th in the morning, there was a Council held on board the Leiceſter, where, upon the propoſition of Captain Luke Ward, it was agreed to uſe the Portugueſe as friends, and to make ſatisfaction for what they might have occaſion for. The Spaniſh Fleet that had been ſent, as well to hinder the Engliſh from paſſing the Streights, as to ſettle and build a town there (3), was prodigiouſly ſtrong, conſiſting of no fewer than twenty three ſail of large ſhips, with three thouſand five hundred men on board, but never did a more unfortunate Fleet ſail from the coaſt of Spain, or from any other country, for five of their largeſt ſhips with eight hundred men were loſt upon their own coaſts, two more were diſabled, and the other ſixteen arriving on the coaſt of Brazil wintered in the Rio de Janeiro. There he had intelligence of Captain Fenton's being at ſea, upon which he reſolved to proceed earlier than he intended for the Streights. But meeting with a ſtorm, he ſent three of his largeſt but weakeſt ſhips, with his infirm men, and moſt of the women on board, to remain in ſafety at Port St Vincent, not having the leaſt ſuſpicion that the Engliſh were there. Theſe three Spaniſh ſhips attempted to enter the Port the afternoon of the ſame day, on which the Council was held which has been beforementioned. As theſe ſhips were very large, and had ſix hundred men on board, they fired upon the Engliſh immediately. General Fenton who did not expect this, and was embaraſſed by his inſtructions, was not very haſty to engage, upon which two of the ſhips attacked the Edward Bonaventure very briſkly, upon that the General ſeeing there was nothing to be done but by force, came in to her aſſiſtance, and behaved himſelf very gallantly till darkneſs put an end to the fight; the next morning it appeared, that the Spaniſh Vice-Admiral was ſunk, and moſt of her crew loſt, the Spaniards themſelves agree that he might have ſunk the other two, but he did not. After the fight the Engliſh ſhips put to ſea, and on the 29th of January, the Edward Bonaventure loſt ſight of the Admiral. Captain John Drake in the Francis had been ſeparated ſome time before, and ſailed for the river of Plate where he loſt his ſhip, but himſelf and his men got on ſhore. After this, General Fenton with the Leiceſter Gallion and the Elizabeth, ſailed to Spirito Santo in Brazil, where they victualled and refitted, and then returned to England. This account is ſufficient to convince the reader, of the truth of what we advanced in the former note; but if he has any ſcruples remaining, they will be entirely taken away by the peruſal of Sir William Monſon's ſhort Relation of this expedition (4). ‘ In the year 1582, and two years ‘ after Drake's return, her Majeſty ſent two ſhips and ‘ two pinnaces under the command of Mr Edward ‘ Fenton, to try his fortune in the South-Sea, which ‘ the King of Spain hearing, he employed Diego Flores de Valdes, who was after General of the Caſtile ‘ Squadron for England in 1588, to way-lay Fenton ‘ as he paſſed the Streights of Magellan, which Mr ‘ Fenton being informed of when he arrived at Brazil, ‘ and in the ſame Port where two of Flores's ſhips had ‘ ſtay'd, and with whom he had a ſmall encounter, ‘ and perceiving it was in vain to proceed any further, ‘ he returned home without ſeeing the Streights.’

(*) Ibid. p. 757.

(3) See the Account of Lopes Vaz, in Hakluyt.

(4) Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 402.

[*D*] *Either*

Luke Ward, who commanded the Edward Bonaventure of three hundred tons, was ſeparated from the Admiral ſoon after the action, and perceiving no hopes of rejoining him, proceeded homewards as well as he could, and, not without enduring great hardſhips, and paſſing through many difficulties, arrived at length ſafely at Plymouth, towards the latter end of the month of May 1583 (*m*). It is from this Captain Ward that we have an account of this voyage, which ſeems to be very fairly and honeſtly written, though it does not appear that he was in any degree in the ſecret of the deſign, or acquainted with the real intentions of his Admiral, either as to trade or diſcovery (*n*) [*D*]. As to Capt. Edward Fenton, he too returned ſafely into England, and does not ſeem to have loſt any credit by the diſappointment he met with in this expedition. It may be his patrons were ſatisfied with his conduct, and with the reaſons that he gave them for his return; which ſeems the more probable, ſince we find him at ſea again in 1588, and entruſted with the command of one of her Majeſty's ſhips. In ſome of the accounts of that glorious action, he is ſaid to have commanded the Antelope (*o*); yet Sir William Monſon (*p*) makes him Captain of the Mary Roſe; but, in which ever ſhip he was, it is unanimouſly agreed, that he behaved like a man of honour, and had a very diſtinguiſhed ſhare in thoſe actions, the fame of which will laſt as long as Hiſtory remains. We know little or nothing of his future courſe of life, except that he ſpent the remainder of his days, at, or near Deptford, it may be at Says-Court, afterwards the ſeat of Sir Richard Brown, and now in the poſſeſſion of Sir John Evelyn as his deſcendant, where he died in the ſpring of the year 1603, and was buried in the pariſh-church at Deptford (*q*). A monument was there erected to his memory, by the pious care of Richard Earl of Cork who married his niece, with a ſuitable inſcription thereon (*r*), which, becauſe it is not only elegant but ſuccinct, the reader will find in the notes [*E*]. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that one Edward Fenton

(*m*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol III. p. 768.

(*n*) As appears from his relation.

(*o*) Stowe's Annals, p. 747.

(*p*) Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 171.

(*q*) Harris's Hiſt. of Kent, p. 97.

(*r*) Fuller's Worthies, P. ii. p. 318.

[*D*] *Either as to trade or diſcovery.*] What we have delivered in the laſt note, is from Captain Ward's journal of this voyage, which is remarkably full and clear. He tells us amongſt other things, that General Fenton and his Lieutenant Hawkins could never agree, but who was in the fault does not at all appear. Another writer, and a man of great character (5), thinks they were all to blame, and lets us into a particular of this expedition, of which there is not a word mentioned elſewhere, and that is this, tho' other noblemen countenanced and forwarded the deſign, yet that noble Peer the Earl of Cumberland, was at the greateſt part of the expence. The ſame writer ſays, that the expedition was ruined by General Fenton's being perſuaded by ſome ignorant people to think of wintering in Brazil, for look, ſays he, and you'll find, that whoever turns but one foot back, never gets forward any more. But our buſineſs here, is to give an account of Captain Ward's return (6). As ſoon as he found himſelf parted from the Admiral, he propoſed to his officers and ſhip's company to rejoin him, but they poſitively declared the thing was impracticable, and that returning to Port St Vincent was running into the mouths of the Spaniards, ſo that they convinced, or rather put him under the neceſſity, of returning home. Accordingly on the firſt of February they ſhaped their courſe for England, they landed on the 11th of March on the iſland of Fernando, where ſome of their men through the treachery of the inhabitants were ſeized on ſhore; however, they had the good luck to fill three caſks of water which was of great conſequence to them, having now but very little of that, or of any other neceſſaries, and were ſo weakly manned, that they were afraid of touching any where elſe. On the 27th of May they had ſight of the lands end in England, and on the 29th in the morning brought the Ramhead to bear North of them, but the weather being thick and little wind, by a miſtake in their ſounding, they ran aſhore and were in great danger of being loſt in ſight of Plymouth, however they were afloat again at the next tide of flood, and then came in ſafely. We have no farther account of Captain John Drake, except that in an engagement with the Savages, he loſt five of his eighteen men, and with the other thirteen was taken priſoner. In this condition he continued fifteen months, when one Richard Fairweather, who had been maſter of his pinnace, perſuaded him and a young man who was with him, to attempt croſſing the river tho' it was nine leagues broad in a ſmall cance in order to get to the Spaniards; but when with much difficulty and danger they had reached the oppoſite ſhore, they were ſo weak and faint, that they were able to proceed no further, however meeting with ſome Indians, ſervants to the Spaniards, they gave them cloaths and meat, and a Spaniſh Captain being informed of their adventure, ſent four horſemen to bring them to his houſe and there he entertained them very kindly, intending to have ſent them back to Europe at his own expence; but the Viceroy of Peru, being acquainted with what had paſſed, ſent for them, upon which Captain Drake was diſpatched to Lima, but the other two men being married remained where they were (7). We will cloſe all with this remark, that the event plainly ſhews, if Mr Fenton had purſued his voyage to the Streights, he might have paſſed them without danger, and have executed his whole deſign.

[*E*] *The reader will find in the notes.*] The inſcription mentioned in the text runs thus (8).

Memoriæ perenni Edwardi Fenton, Reginæ Elizabethæ olim pro corpore Armigeri, Jano O-Neal, ac poſt eum Comite Deſmoniæ, in Hibernia turbantibus, fortiſſimi Taxiarchi, qui poſt luſtratum improbo auſu, ſeptentrionalis Plagæ Apochryphum mare, & excuſas variis peregrinationibus inertis naturæ latebras, anno 1588, in celebri contra Hiſpanos Naumachia, meruit navis prætoriæ Navarchus.

Obiit Anno Domini 1603.

In Engliſh thus.

To the never fading memory of Edward Fenton heretofore, Eſquire of the Body to Queen Elizabeth, a gallant Commander during the troubles of Ireland, firſt againſt Shane O-Neal, and then againſt the Earl of Deſmond, who after having explored the hidden paſſages of the Northern Seas, and in other hazardous expeditions viſited remote and ſcarce known places, merited the command of a royal ſhip in that glorious ſea fight againſt the Spaniards in the year 1588.

He died in the year of our Lord 1603.

The reverend Dr Fuller tells us, that this gentleman breathed his laſt ſome days after Queen Elizabeth, upon which he makes the following remark (9). 'Obſerve, by the way, how God ſet up a generation 'of military men both by ſea and land, which began 'and expired with the reign of Queen Elizabeth, like 'a ſuit of clothes made for her and worn out with 'her: for Providence deſigning a peaceable Prince to 'ſucceed her, in whoſe time martial men would be 'rendred uſeleſs, ſo ordered the matter, that they all 'almoſt attended their miſtreſs, before or after, within 'ſome ſhort diſtance, unto her grave.' He who conſiders that the famous Earl of Nottingham, Lord High-Admiral; Sir Charles Blount, Earl of Devonſhire, Sir George Carew, Earl of Totneſs, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir William Monſon, Sir Robert Manſel, and many more great officers by ſea and land ſurvived Queen Elizabeth, may poſſibly doubt, whether the Doctor formed

(5) Obſervations made by Sir Richard Hawkins in this voyage into the South-Seas, p. 87.

(6) This from the latter part of Capt. Luke Ward's Journal.

(7) Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 727.

(8) Fuller's Worthies, P. ii. p. 318.

(9) Id. ibid.

Fenton publiſhed a book tranſlated from the French, intituled (*s*), *The Wonderful Secrets of Nature*, collected from various authors, divided into forty-one chapters, and dedicated to the Lord Lumley; but it is generally agreed by the learned, that he was a different perſon from the Gentleman of whom we have been ſpeaking; and, indeed, conſidering the nature of this treatiſe, and comparing it with the character of Captain Fenton, one cannot well doubt the truth of this opinion (*t*).

formed a right judgment of the intention of Providence. This is certain that the reign of that Princeſs ſtands in no need at all of rhetorical flouriſhes; plain language, accuracy in facts, and impartiality in relating them, will ſet the hiſtory of it, above any thing with which even an ingenious fancy can adorn romance. E

FENTON (Sir GEOFFREY) a learned and elegant Writer, an active and able Stateſman, Privy-Counſellor, and Secretary of State in the kingdom of Ireland, during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I. He was deſcended from a very ancient family in Nottinghamſhire, and born in that county to a ſmall eſtate, towards the middle of the XVIth century (*a*). We have no diſtinct account of the place of his education, notwithſtanding which there is good reaſon to believe that he was very well brought up, ſince it is certain, that, while a young man, he gave very pregnant inſtances of his acquaintance with ancient and modern learning, as well as of his being perfectly verſed in the French, Spaniſh, and Italian languages (*b*), as is evident from his tranſlations, which procured him great reputation, and the countenance of ſeveral perſons of great quality, being very highly eſteemed (as indeed they deſerved to be) at the time they were publiſhed (*c*) [*A*]. What the inducements were which engaged him to leave his

(*s*) Tanneri Bibliothec. Britannico-Hibernica, p. 277.

(*t*) If our Capt. Fenton had been an author, he would probably have furniſhed Mr Hakluyt with his own voyage.

(*a*) Thoroton's Hiſtory of Nottinghamſhire, p. 415.

(*b*) Fuller's Worthies, Nottinghamſhire, p. 319.

(*c*) Ware's Engliſh Works, Vol. III. p. 328.

[*A*] *At the time they were publiſhed.*] It cannot but be acceptable to the judicious and inquiſitive reader, that we draw out of obſcurity, the hiſtory of ſuch worthy perſons as have made their way to conſiderable poſts in the government, by their polite accompliſhments. Whoever conſults either T. Fuller, or Lloyd who tranſcribed him, will find very high commendations of Sir Geoffrey Fenton, but will be at a loſs to know how he deſerved them, otherwiſe than by knowing he tranſlated an Italian book, and became Secretary of State for Ireland. We will endeavour to ſet this in a better light, by giving an account of moſt, if not all the writings that fell from his pen, and were made publick, from which the reader will receive ſeveral hints of the motives to his advancement, which could not have been obtained any other way, and will be alſo enabled to form ſome idea of his abilities.

I. *An Epiſtle or godly admonition ſent to the* Paſtors *of the* Flemiſh Church *in* Antwerp, *exhorting them to concord with other miniſters written by* Anthony de Carro. Lond. 1578. 8vo. A Tranſlation.

II. *An Account of a Diſpute at* Paris, *between* two Doctors *of the* Sorbonne *and two* Miniſters *of* GOD's Word. Lond. 1571. 4to. A Tranſlation.

III. Golden Epiſtles; *containing variety of diſcourſes both moral, philoſophical, and divine, gathered as well out of the remainder of* Guevara's *works as other authors*, Latin, French, *and* Italian. *By* Geoffrey Fenton, *newly corrected and amended*. Mon heur viendra. Lond. 1577. 4to.

In order to underſtand this title page clearly, it is requiſite to inform the reader, that the familiar Epiſtles of Anthony Guevara had been publiſhed in Engliſh, by one Edward Hellowes, ſo that this work of Mr Fenton's, conſiſted of ſuch pieces of the ſame author as were not contained in that work. The Epiſtle dedicatory is, to the Right Honourable and vertuous Lady Anne, Counteſs of Oxenford, and is dated from the author's chamber in the Black Friers, London, February the 4th 1575. This Lady was the daughter of Sir William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, and, from the following paſſage in the dedication, it will appear that noble perſon was our author's beſt patron, and that one great intention of Mr Fenton in tranſlating and publiſhing this work, was to teſtify his warm zeal and abſolute attachment to that great Miniſter. In the firſt part of his dedication he ſets forth the advantages, which the ſtudy of the ſciences bring to thoſe who are in an exalted ſtation, and having done this briefly, he proceeds thus. 'Theſe happy fruits of ſcience and learning, raiſe noble perſonages into merit and dignity, and ſet to work excellent wits, to record the reputation of their greatneſs and virtues, dividing the doings of their life, ſome into warnings to avoid harms and miſeries, and ſome into precepts the better to eſtabliſh examples and draw to imitation. And as above all others of our time, your Honour hath been always right worthily noted a diligent follower of thoſe arts and ſtudies, which beſt ſerve to the declaration and glory of true virtue and piety; ſo at the contemplation of the ſame, I am bold to bring forth, under the protection of your Ladyſhip, this treatiſe, containing a moral diſcourſe ſorted with Philoſophy and ſome texts of Divinity: not that I hold it worthy your view and judgment, but according to good meaning to uſe it as an interpreter of the devotion and ſervice wherein I am vowed to your Ladyſhip, and your honourable houſe and parents. And wherein the intentions of the writers in theſe days, this is a lamentable error that they conſider not thoſe cuſtoms and good doctrines, agreeing with holy virtues and commandments of the law of God, but think it is a great teſtimony of their ſingularity and excellency, to publiſh under forms of ſpeech, matter either merely vain in itſelf, or at leaſt unfruitful to the uſe and inſtruction of life, I thought good by the experience of their writings, not to be ſo curious to ſet out this work with elegancy of phraſe and rhetorick, as to exhibit precepts to live well, joining to that ſmall eloquence of words, I have uſed a diligence withal to dreſs and inſtitute converſation and manners, the ſame being the direct line that leads to virtue, which without this, is but the figure and image of that it ought to be. Wherein having reſpect to modeſty, I am far here from meaning to challenge the labours of others, and much leſs ſeek to obtrude upon mine own any dignity or merit, but refer me and my travel to the opinion of your Ladyſhip, whom I humbly beſeech, as touching the order and parts of art in the book, to judge them with that property of favour, which is wont to conſtrue nothing to blame, and for the texts and precepts, whether moral, civil, or of divinity, your Ladyſhip, in all the works you ſhall read, cannot find better doctrine than in the life of your honourable father, in whoſe manner and actions is fulfilled a more full example of virtue, than in all the rules and ſimilitudes which my pen can deliver. And as ſtones of rare and precious price, expreſs their luſtre better in gold than in any other metal; ſo good and well qualified diſcourſes are holden ſo much the more noble and dear, by how much are worthy and excellent the perſons to whom they are preſented, the dignity of the one ſupporting and amplifying the nobility of the other. And as trees tranſplanted or removed out of their natural ſtock into a better, become both more fair and goodly to behold, and yield a fruit more pleaſing 'the his own country in order to ſerve the Queen in Ireland, cannot, at this diſtance of time, be recovered; it is however certain that he went thither well recommended, and that being in particular favour with Arthur Lord Grey, then Lord-Deputy in that kingdom, he was ſworn of the Privy-Council about the year 1581 (*d*). It is more than probable that his intereſt might be conſiderably ſtrengthened by his marriage with Alice, the daughter of Dr Robert Weſton, ſome time Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and Dean of the Arches in England, a man of great parts, and who had no ſmall credit with the Earl of Leiceſter (*e*), and other Stateſmen in the Court of Queen Elizabeth; and when he was once fixed in his office of Secretary, his own great abilities and ſuperior underſtanding made him ſo uſeful to ſucceeding Governors, that none of the changes to which that government was more than enough ſubject in thoſe days, wrought any alteration in his fortune (*f*). One thing indeed might greatly contribute to this, which was the ſtrong intereſt he found means to raiſe, and never was at a loſs to maintain, in England; ſo that whoever was Lord-Deputy or Lord-Lieutenant in Ireland, Sir Geoffrey Fenton continued Queen Elizabeth's Counſellor there, as a man upon whom ſhe depended, from whom ſhe took her notions of the ſtate of affairs in that iſland, and whoſe credit with her was not to be ſhaken by the artifices of any faction whatever (*g*). He it was that infuſed into the Queen's breaſt that ſtrong averſion to Hugh O-Neile, whom ſhe had created Earl of Tyrone, and who, notwithſtanding that and numberleſs other obligations, remained ever a faithleſs rebel to the Queen, and an implacable enemy to the Engliſh nation. He it was that perſuaded the Queen, that the Iriſh were to be held in obedience by doing them, on all occaſions, ſtrict juſtice; but never to be won to a loyal affection for her government, by unneceſſary acts of indulgence. He it was that convinced her, the ſafety as well as glory of her government in that iſland, depended upon the flouriſhing of the Engliſh intereſt, as this again muſt do, upon the ſecurity which the Engliſh inhabitants had of enjoying their property under the protection of the laws, and without being expoſed to the caprices of great men, who might entertain too high notions of their own authority (*h*). The ſenſe that wiſe Princeſs had of Sir Geoffrey Fenton's wiſdom and fidelity, induced her to ſend for him frequently over into England, that ſhe might receive full and true accounts of the ſtate of things in Ireland, and take thereupon ſuch meaſures as appeared to her and her Council moſt expedient. Of this we have a very ſingular inſtance in the year 1585 (*i*), of which the reader will find an account at the bottom of the page [*B*]. But notwithſtanding Sir Geoffrey's ſentiments in reſpect to Tyrone, ſeveral

(*d*) Letter to Sir E. W. amongſt Burleighan MSS.

(*e*) Queen Elizabeth's Worthies.

(*f*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 661.

(*g*) See the article of BOYLE (RICHARD) Earl of Corke, in this Dictionary, note [Q].

(*h*) Collected from Letters to Lord Burleigh about this time.

(*i*) See this explained in the note.

'the taſte; in like ſort a work of learning, drawn out of his proper author, and recommended to ſome noble and vertuous perſonages, becomes ſo much the better received, and with a fruit more liked, by how much it is incorporate in the virtues and name of an excellent patron. In which reſpect knowing that there ſhines in your Ladyſhip, a virtue of learning and judgment, as doth the pearl in the gold, and that your mind is divinely inclined to the contemplation of vertuous ſtudies, I beſeech you let this be admitted amongſt the publick monuments of your virtue, tho' far unworthy of your noble deſire, yet being covered with the wings of your authority and name, it may be holden ſo much the more perfect and plauſible, by how much it is an imp graffed in the ſoil of your greatneſs, and inriched with the gold of your name and virtues, referring the faults rather to the infirmity of my ſkill and knowledge, than to my deſire and will, which is wholly dedicated to the ſervice of your right honourable father and his houſe.'

IV. *The Hiſtory of the Wars of* Italy, *by* Francis Guicciardini, *in twenty books.* Lond. 1599, folio.

This work is dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, and the dedication bears date January the ſeventh, 1578, from the author's chamber near the Tower of London. By comparing theſe two laſt dates it ſeems highly probable, that, in the edition which is now common, there is a new title page, and that, in reality, the book was publiſhed in 1579. He mentions his having wrote other pieces in his Epiſtle Dedicatory, as to which ſome writers expreſs great incertainty, but it is probable they are thoſe abovementioned; nor is it unlikely that Lord Burleigh adviſed him to go to Ireland, where that moſt vigilant Miniſter never wanted ſome perſon in his confidence, who ſent him from time to time advices of the true ſtate of that country.

[*B*] *At the bottom of the page.*] In order to juſtify what has been ſaid in the text, and to ſatisfy the reader of the great favour which Sir Geoffrey Fenton enjoyed in the Engliſh Court, through the recommendation of his patron the Lord Burleigh, we will cite but one paſſage, from many that might be quoted, from the Iriſh Hiſtory (1). 'But Secretary Fenton, who was one of the beſt ſervitors the Queen had in Ireland, and much confided in by her Majeſty, or, as others word it, was a moth in the garments of all the Deputies of his time, was frequently, as at this time, ſent for into England, to inform the Queen of the true ſtate of that kingdom. What diſcovery he made of the miſcarriages of the government I do not find, but they may be eaſily traced from the inſtructions he carried back, which bore date in December 1585, and were to this effect: That the Lord-Deputy, and the late Juſtices and Officers of the Exchequer, ſhould anſwer. 1. What became of the fines, recognizances, forfeitures, wards, marriages, and reliefs, belonging to her Majeſty, and of what value they were, ſince March 1579, and by whoſe warrants were they reſpectively given, pardoned, or diſpoſed of. 2. What leaſes have been made of the crown lands in that time, with, or without, fine, and what fine, what rent? 3. What debts were due to the Queen at Michaelmas 1579, or ſince, and by whoſe fault they remain unlevied? 4. That the faulty officers may be ſuſpended, and the recoverable debts immediately levied, and a liſt of the deſperate debts returned. 5. What debts have been remitted on account of the land being waſted, and what proof there was of ſuch waſte. 6. What profits and caſualties have been anſwered on Sheriffs accounts ſince Michaelmas 1579, and what ſums have been by warrants called *Mandamus's* divided amongſt the Barons and Officers of the Exchequer, &c. Beſides theſe, he had other inſtructions to communicate to the Deputy, *viz.* that ſince the kingdom was in peace, ſome of the army, being 1900 ſtrong, might be diſcharged. 2. That the Deputy ſhould certify, whether it were better to give the ſoldiers ſterling pay and no victuals, in which caſe he is to take nothing from the country without payment at ſuch reaſonable rate, as the government ſhall aſſeſs, or to continue victuals, and the old Iriſh pay, for the Queen will no longer allow both victuals and the encreaſed pay. 3. That the contribution

of

(1) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, p. 389.

ſeveral of the chief Governors of Ireland, and ſome of the moſt conſiderable men there were inclined to favour him, and to procure repeated acts of pardon for his repeated treaſons, and notwithſtanding theſe were, by conſtant experience, found altogether ineffectual, yet General Norris, who was Lord-Preſident of Munſter, and ſent over on purpoſe to reduce him, procured a commiſſion from the Queen directed to himſelf and Sir Geoffrey Fenton, dated May 9, 1595, empowering them to make a final treaty with the rebels (*k*). Accordingly, on the 24th of April 1596, they concluded ſuch a treaty with the Earl of Tyrone, who promiſed ſubmiſſion, ſwore obedience, and had a full pardon granted him, dated the 12th of May (*l*). Soon after this, General Norris and Secretary Fenton were appointed Commiſſioners to ſettle the province of Connaught, in which they were very ſucceſsful (*m*); but had not the ſame good fortune in a renewed conference with Tyrone, who was again in rebellion, and with whom, at the requeſt of General Norris, they entered into a freſh negotiation (*n*). In this ſtrange ſituation the affairs of Ireland continued, or rather grew worſe and worſe, till the great Earl of Eſſex was ſent over Lord-Lieutenant, and ſworn into that high office April 15, 1599 (*o*). He ſoon fell into the old track of negotiating with the rebels he was ſent to ſubdue, which proved his ruin (*p*). Upon his return to England, which was followed by the death of Sir Thomas Norris Lord-Preſident of Munſter, the affairs of that iſland became in a manner deſperate, but ſoon changed their appearance upon the coming over of Charles Lord Montjoy, with the title of Lord-Deputy, and Sir George Carew who was appointed Preſident of Munſter (*q*). With theſe noble perſons Sir Geoffrey Fenton entered into a ſtrict friendſhip, and, at their requeſt, came over to England in the ſummer of 1600, in order to procure the neceſſary ſupplies of men and money for the ſervice in Ireland, and his credit in England was ſo great, that he very ſpeedily obtained all that he could reaſonably expect, two thouſand old troops being that very year ſent into Ireland (*r*), which vigorous meaſure was quickly followed by the extinction of the rebellion, and total reduction of the kingdom (*s*). Upon the return of Sir Geoffrey Fenton into Ireland, he contributed as much as in him lay to the ſettling of publick affairs, and to the ſtrengthening the Engliſh Proteſtant intereſt, in which he proceeded with great ſucceſs, notwithſtanding the Iriſh were well enough inclined to have revolted upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, if their late loſſes, their terror of the Lord-Deputy Montjoy, and Tyrone's having ſurrendered himſelf, had not rendered ſuch an attempt extreamly dangerous, or rather abſolutely impracticable (*t*). In 1603, that noble perſon being conſtituted Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, had leave given him to come over to England, Sir George Carew, afterwards Earl of Totneſs, being ſworn Lord-Deputy in his abſence (*u*). At this time Sir Geoffrey Fenton married his only daughter Katherine to Mr Boyle, afterwards the great Earl of Cork (*w*), which proved to him a ſource

'of 2100 l. per annum in lieu of ceſs, purveyance, &c. be revived. 4. That Captain Norris be made Vice-Preſident of Munſter, with all the uſual allowance, except the ſalary of two hundred marks *per annum*, which muſt be reſerved for his brother the Lord Preſident, and that the Vice-Preſident's penſion of twenty ſhillings a day be immediately ſtopped. 5. That the Queen's orders be publickly read in Council, except they require ſecrecy, and then to be communicated to ſuch of the Engliſh Council as are ordinarily attending on the ſtate. 6. That all offices be given to fit perſons, who are perſonally to officiate, except in ſpecial caſes. 7. That the courts be removed out of the caſtle. 8. That the Secretary of State keep the ſignet, as in England, and that he make all bills, warrants, and writings, that require ſignature, and that he keep a regiſter thereof, and have his fees for the ſame. 9. That the Parliament being ended, Ulſter might be ſo ſettled that the Deputy might repair into Munſter, to watch the motions of Spain. 10. That ſuſpected perſons be ſecured, and that the ſuſpected inhabitants in towns be diſarmed, and that the loyal townſmen be armed and diſciplined, and that thoſe that were lately rebels be enjoyned to keep at home; and if the Spaniards land, that the forage be deſtroyed, and the cattle removed up into the country. The Queen alſo gave Secretary Fenton particular inſtructions about the plantation of Munſter, and deviſed a plot to this effect: that the undertaker for twelve thouſand acres ſhould plant eighty ſix families upon it, *viz.* his own family ſhould have ſixteen hundred acres, one chief farmer four hundred acres, two good farmers ſix hundred acres, between them; other two farmers two hundred acres a piece, fourteen freeholders each three hundred acres, forty copyholders each one hundred acres, and twenty ſix cottagers and labourers eight hundred acres, between them; and ſo proportionably for a leſſer ſigniory: and ſhe ordered, that, if any unforfeited lands be intermixed with the forfeited, that the party ſhould be compounded with to his content, and bought out, that ſo the undertaker might have his manor entire; and ſhe alſo ordered a better ſurvey to be made of the eſcheated lands, for the direction of the commiſſioners in ſetting them out to the undertakers.' It is very probable, that theſe marks of confidence in the Secretary were not highly pleaſing to the chief governors in Ireland, but it was what the Queen could not well avoid, many of the governors being much more concerned how to promote their own power, and augment their own fortunes, than to reduce the rebels, and extend the Queen's authority, which if they had ſteadily purſued, might certainly have been brought to paſs (2). We are told, that Sir William Fitzwilliams, who was many times Chief Governor of Ireland, by different titles, behaved there always extremely well, except when he was laſt in power, which is aſcribed to a very indiſcreet expreſſion of a great Miniſter, upon his ſolliciting ſome reward from the Queen for his many years ſervices in Ireland, who told him that his demand was ill founded, *for the government of* Ireland *was not conſidered as a* ſervice *but as a* preferment (3). Sir William having had time to reflect upon this court notion, he carried it into execution when he went over the laſt time in 1588, with the title of Lord-Deputy; ſo that we need not wonder that grounds of complaint were continually found againſt theſe great men, and tranſmitted into England, where, if ſupported by proofs, they were ſure of being heard and redreſſed. One thing appears much to the honour of Sir Geoffrey Fenton, which is, that, in the diſtribution of that vaſt plantation of Munſter, when large eſtates coſt little more than the aſking for, he deſired none for himſelf; neither was he in that commiſſion granted in the year 1587, which gave ſuch offence to the Lord-Deputy Fitzwilliams, but contented himſelf with diſcharging the duties of his own office, except, when by her Majeſty's, or the chief governor's, command, he was put upon other ſervices.

(*k*) Monſon's Affairs of Ireland, p. 37.

(*l*) Lib. M. inter MSS. Lambeth.

(*m*) Monſon, ubi ſupra.

(*n*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 775.

(*o*) Table of the Principal Governors of Ireland.

(*p*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 792.

(*q*) Pacata Hibernia.

(*r*) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 203.

(*s*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 893.

(*t*) Sir John Davis's Diſcovery why Ireland was never thoroughly ſubdued, p. 260.

(*u*) Table of the Chief Governors of Ireland.

(*w*) Thoreſby's Antiquities of Leeds, p. 64.

(2) Sir John Davis's Diſcovery, &c.

(3) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, p. 397.

ſource of great ſatisfaction, though he did not live to ſee his ſon-in-law reach the zenith of his fortunes, but he ſaw him entering the road to the higheſt preferments, and, what muſt have added to his pleaſure, ſaw this in ſome meaſure owing to his own intereſt and powerful recommendation [*C*]. His known zeal and great ſervices ſecured him a ſufficient intereſt in the new Court, and upon the coming over of Sir Arthur Chicheſter to exerciſe the office of Lord-Deputy of Ireland in 1604, Sir Geoffrey Fenton found a new friend, who had as great confidence in him (*x*) as his two predeceſſors; ſo that in full poſſeſſion of his credit and authority, and, with a very fair proſpect in reſpect to the happineſs of his poſterity, he paid that great debt which all men muſt pay, at his houſe in Dublin, October 19, 1608 (*y*), and with much funeral ſolemnity was interred at the cathedral church of St Patrick, in the ſame tomb with his wife's father the Lord Chancellor Weſton (*z*), leaving behind him the character of a polite Writer, an accompliſhed Courtier, an able Stateſman, and a true friend to the Engliſh nation, and Proteſtant intereſt in Ireland. At the time of his demiſe Sir Geoffrey Fenton left a ſon, Sir William Fenton, who ſurvived him ſeveral years, but whether he left any poſterity or not is more than, at this diſtance of place and time, we are able to determine.

(*x*) Earl of Cork's True Remembrances.

(*y*) Fuller's Worthies, Nottinghamſhire, p. 319.

(*z*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 661.

[*C*] *To his own intereſt and powerful recommendation.*] We have in another part of this work touched upon this matter, and of what fame has whiſpered of the ſecrets that were between theſe two great men, who certainly were not more cloſely related by alliance, than by their tempers, and the maxims which governed their reſpective conducts (4). We reſerved however for this note, ſome very curious paſſages in the Earl of Cork's (5) True Remembrances. After ſetting down his voyage to England, of which an account is given in the article relating to his life, he proceeds thus. 'Then I returned into Ireland with my Lord-'Preſident's licence to repair to Court, where in his 'way to Dublin where he propoſed to embark, he 'dealt very nobly and father-like by me, in perſwa'ding me it was high time for me to take a wife, in 'hopes of poſterity to inherit my lands, adviſing me 'to make choice of Sir Geoffrey Fenton's daughter, 'and that if I could affect her, he would treat with 'her parents to have the match between us, wherein 'he prevailed ſo far as the 9th of March 1602, I 'was in his Lordſhip's preſence contracted to her in 'her father's houſe at Dublin. The 25th of July '1603. I was married to my ſecond wife, Mrs Ka'therine Fenton, the only daughter of Sir Geoffrey 'Fenton, Principal Secretary of State, and Privy-Coun'ſellor in Ireland, with whom I never demanded any 'marriage portion, neither promiſe of any, it not be'ing in my conſideration; yet her father, after my 'marriage, gave me one thouſand pounds in gold with 'her. But that gift of his daughter unto me, I muſt 'ever thankfully acknowledge as the crown of all my 'bleſſings, for ſhe was a moſt religious, virtuous, lov'ing, and obedient wife unto me all the days of her 'life, and the happy mother of all my hopeful chil'dren, whom with their poſterity I beſeech God to 'bleſs.'—— 'I Richard Earl of Corke, was knighted 'by Sir George Carew, Lord-Deputy of Ireland at 'St Mary's Abbey near Dublin, the 25th of July '1603, being St James's day, and the very day that 'I was married to my ſecond wife, Mrs Katherine 'Fenton. I was ſworn a Privy-Counſellor to King 'James for the province of Munſter, at the Council-'table at Dublin, by the Lord Chicheſter, then Lord-'Deputy of Ireland, the 12th of March 1606, with 'commandment from the Lord-Deputy and council 'to Henry Dunkard, then Lord-Preſident of Munſter, 'to admit me into that council, who upon former 'direction from this ſtate had refuſed either to ſwear 'or admit me a Counſellor of that province.' In the life-time of Sir Geoffrey Fenton, there were born of this marriage a ſon Roger, and a daughter Alice, the Earl of Corke named his third ſon Geoffrey after his grandfather but he died young, the Counteſs of Cork dying in 1629, ſhe was buried in the choir of St Patrick's church in Dublin, in the ſame tomb with her father and grandfather. E

(4) See the article of BOYLE (RICHARD) Earl of Cork, note [*Q*].

(5) A copy of which was in the poſſeſſion of the late Mr Smith, Apothecary in the Strand.

FERRARS (GEORGE) a learned Lawyer, a grave Hiſtorian, a celebrated Poet, and a moſt accompliſhed Courtier, in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. He was deſcended from an antient family ſeated in Hertfordſhire (*a*), and was born there in a village not far from St Albans about the year 1510 (*b*). He was bred at the univerſity of Oxford, but in what particular Hall or College, even the moſt indefatigable Anthony Wood himſelf, has not, with all his induſtry, been able to diſcover (*c*). He removed from thence to Lincoln's-Inn, where he applied himſelf with ſuch vigour and diligence to the ſtudy of the Laws, as very ſoon rendered him eminent in his profeſſion (*d*), ſo that he made a conſiderable figure in Weſtminſter-Hall as an Advocate, at the ſame time that he was much admired in the Royal Court for his ſprightly wit and good breeding. His firſt riſe in his profeſſion, and at Court, was owing to the King's great Miniſter Cromwell Earl of Eſſex, who was himſelf a man of great parts and ſtrong paſſions, roſe purely by his abilities, and countenanced men of capacity as long as he continued in favour; neither does it appear that his misfortunes affected them in their progreſs at Court, but in the buſineſs of equity it happened otherwiſe, and it ſeems ſuch as had his countenance, were not ſo fortunate with reſpect to his ſucceſſors, which was the caſe of Mr Ferrars (*e*). He was the King's menial ſervant, whom he attended in war as well as peace, and ſerved, not with his pen only, but his ſword; in ſhort, he was a very gallant man in all the ſenſes of the word, which entitled him to ſo large a ſhare in that Monarch's favour, that, to manifeſt his affection for him, he made him a very conſiderable grant in his own native county, and that out of his proper and private eſtate (*f*) [*A*]. This was in the year

1535,

(*a*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 193.

(*b*) From MS. notes on the Art of Poetry.

(*c*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 193.

(*d*) Bale, de Script. P. ii. p. 108.

(*e*) See the Poem in note [*I*].

(*f*) Chauncy's Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, p. 567 a.

[*A*] *And that out of his proper and private eſtate.*] It appears from the roll of the gentlemen, able to ſpend ten pounds a year reſident in this county, in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, that one Mr John Ferrars of St Albans, had an eſtate in the hundred of Caiſhow, and from him, in all probability, our author was deſcended; and it is alſo very likely, that he had himſelf an eſtate in this county, deſcended to him from his anceſtors, before King Henry the Eighth made him a grant of the manor of Flamſtead. This place is by ſome writers ſuppoſed to have been antiently called Verlamſted (1), from the river

Verlam

(1) Norden's Deſcription of Hertfordſhire, p. 15.

1535, and yet within ſeven years afterwards, either through want of œconomy, or by too great confidence in his friends, he ſeems to have brought his affairs into a very untoward ſituation, which might perhaps be one reaſon, why he procured himſelf to be choſen a Member for the borough of Plymouth in the county of Devon (g), in the Parliament ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter on the twenty-ſecond of January, in the thirty-third year of that King's reign, where, during the ſeſſions, he had the misfortune to be taken in execution, by an officer belonging to the Sheriffs of London, and carried to the Compter, then in Breadſtreet (h), the news of which being carried to the Houſe of Commons occaſioned ſuch a diſturbance there, as not only produced his diſcharge (i), but a ſettled rule with reſpect to privilege; which, with the proceedings therein before the King, Lords, and Commons, make his caſe not only extreamly curious and entertaining, but of great uſe and importance, for which reaſon it will be found at the bottom of the page [B]. But notwithſtanding

(g) Willis's Notitia Parliam. Vol. II. p. 295.

(h) Grafton's Chronicle, p. 1255.

(i) Lex Parliamentaria, p. 263.

Verlam which riſes in it, and that by degrees it was ſoftened in the pronunciation into Flamſtead; tho' others will have it, that it received this denomination from its being the ſeat, which the Flamins held in the time of the Britons (2). However this matter may be, it is certain, that it was part of the poſſeſſions of the Monaſtery of St Alban's in the time of Edward the Confeſſor, and was granted by Leofstane, Abbot of that Monaſtery, to three Knights, to defend the country from thieves (3). It was taken from them by William the Conqueror, and given to Ralph de Tony (4), or as it is in Domeſday book, de Todeny, who was ſtandard-bearer to that Prince at the battle of Haſtings, and continued in his family, till, through the failure of heirs male, it came by the marriage of Alice Tony into that of the Beauchamps, Earls of Warwick, and, with the reſt of their lands, was held by Richard Nevil, Earl of Warwick, in right of Anne his wife; from her it was taken by Act of Parliament, and ſettled upon her two daughters, Iſabel and Anne, the former married to George Duke of Clarence, and the latter to Richard Duke of Glouceſter (5), afterwards King Richard the Third; but, in the third year of King Henry the Seventh, the old Counteſs of Warwick was reſtored to her whole eſtate by a new Act of Parliament, with power to alienate the ſame, or any part thereof, and ſhe conveyed it to the King, entailing it upon the iſſue male of his body, with the remainder to herſelf and her heirs (6), and it continued in the Crown, till, as we have mentioned in the text, it was granted by King Henry the Eighth to George Ferrars, Eſq; and his heirs, and in their line it continued, till, by the marriage of Catherine Ferrars, it came to Thomas Lord Viſcount Fanſhaw of the kingdom of Ireland, by whom it was ſold to Edward Peck, Serjeant at Law (7). This manor has Court Leet and Baron, conſiſts of between ſix and ſeven hundred acres of demeſne, and ſeveral copyholds, fineable at the will of the Lord; ſo that it was a very conſiderable grant in point of profit, excluſive of the pleaſantneſs of its ſituation, and the wholeſomeneſs of its air, for which it is deſervedly famous.

(2) Stillingfleet's Antiquities of the Britiſh Churches, p. 75.

(3) Chauncy's Hertfordſhire, p. 564.

(4) Domeſd. fol. 38. n. 22.

(5) Rot. Parl. 14 Edw. IV.

(6) Rot. Parl. 3 Hen. VII.

(7) Chauncy's Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, p. 567.

[B] *At the bottom of the page.*] A certain author has given us a very large account of this whole affair, under the title of *Ferrer's caſe* (8), without any mention of the author from whom it is taken, and alſo with ſome omiſſions; we will therefore ſet it down exactly here. For if it deſerved to take up ſo much room (as certainly it did) in a general hiſtory of England (9), the more reaſon there is that it ſhould be fully and truly ſtated in ſuch an article as this. In Hollinſhed it ſtands thus:

(8) Petyt's Miſcel. Parliam. p. 1.

(9) Hollinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 955.

‘ In the Lent ſeaſon, whilſt the Parliament yet continued, one George Ferrars, gentlemen, ſervant to the King, being elected a burgeſs for the town of Plimouth in the county of Devonſhire, in going to the Parliament houſe, was arreſted in London by a proceſs out of the King's-Bench, at the ſuit of one White, for the ſum of two hundred marks or thereabouts, wherein he was late afore condemned, as a ſurety for the debt of one Weldon of Saliſbury; which arreſt being ſignified to Sir Thomas Moils, Knight, then Speaker of the Parliament, and to the Knights and Burgeſſes, their order was taken, that the Serjeant of the Parliament, called St John, ſhould forthwith repair to the Compter in Breadſtreet, whither the ſaid Ferrers was carried, and there demand delivery of the priſoner.

‘ The Serjeant, as he had in charge, went to the Compter, and declared to the Clerks there what he had in commandment. But they, and other officers of the city, were ſo far from obeying the ſaid commandment, as, after many ſtout words, they forcibly reſiſted the ſaid Serjeant, whereof enſued a fray within the counter gates, between the ſaid Ferrars and the ſaid officers, not without hurt of either part, ſo that the ſaid Serjeant was driven to defend himſelf with his mace of arms, and had the Crown thereof broken by bearing off a ſtroke, and his own man ſtricken down. During this fray the Sheriffs of London, called Rowland Hill and Henry Suckliffe, came thither, to whom the Serjeant complained of this injury, and required of them the delivery of the ſaid Burgeſs as afore. But they, bearing with their officers, made little accompt either of his complaint or of his meſſage, rejecting the ſame contemptuouſly, with much proud language, ſo as the Serjeant was forced to return without the priſoner; whereas, if they had obeyed authority, and ſhewed the ſervice neceſſarily required in their office and perſon, they might, by their diſcretion, have appeaſed all the broil, for wiſdom aſſwageth the outrage and unreſtrainable furiouſneſs of war, as the Poet ſaith,

Inſtrumenti feri vincit ſapientia belli.

‘ The Serjeant, thus hardly intreated, made return to the Parliament houſe, and finding the Speaker and and all the burgeſſes ſet in their places, declared unto them the whole caſe as it fell, who took the ſame in ſo ill part, that they altogether, of whom there were not a few, as well of the King's Privy-Council, as alſo of his Privy-Chamber, would ſit no longer without their Burgeſs, but roſe up wholly, and repaired to the Upper Houſe, where the whole caſe was declared by the mouth of the Speaker, before Sir Thomas Audley, Knight, then Lord-Chancellor of England, and all the Lords and Judges there aſſembled, who judging the contempt to be very great, referred the puniſhment thereof to the order of the Common Houſe. They returning to their places again, upon new debate of the caſe, took order, that their Serjeant ſhould repair to the Sheriff of London, and require delivery of the ſaid Burgeſs without any writ or warrant had for the ſame, but only as afore. And yet the Lord-Chancellor offered them to grant a writ, which they of the Common houſe refuſed, being in a clear opinion, that all commandments, and other acts of proceeding from the Nether Houſe, were to be done and executed by their Serjeant without writ, only by ſhew of his mace which was his warrant. But before the Serjeant's return into London, the Sheriffs, having intelligence how heinouſly the matter was taken, became ſomewhat more mild, ſo as, upon the ſaid ſecond demand, they delivered the priſoner without any denial. But the Serjeant having then further in commandment from thoſe of the Nether Houſe, charged the ſaid Sheriffs to appear perſonally on the morrow by eight of the clock, before the Speaker, in the Nether Houſe, and to bring thither the Clerks of the Compter, and ſuch officers as were parties to the ſaid fray; and, in like manner, to take into his cuſtody the ſaid White, which wittingly procured the ſaid arreſt, in contempt of the privilege of the Parliament.

‘ Which commandment being done by the ſaid Serjeant, accordingly, on the morrow, the two Sheriffs, with one of the Clerks of the Compter, which was

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ſtanding the ſolemnity of this judgment, there have not been wanting ſome who have queſtioned the validity, or at leaſt the equity of it, and theſe have ſuggeſted, that there were ſome private and particular reaſons, which induced the King and the Houſe of Lords to ſuffer things to be carried ſo very high upon this occaſion (*k*); neither have there been wanting ſome, even of the great Sages of the Law, who have publickly expreſſed their doubts upon his caſe (*l*); notwithſtanding which it has continued to be taken for a precedent, though it has been very ſeldom mentioned, but thoſe ſuggeſtions and theſe opinions have been mentioned likewiſe [*C*]. He continued in high favour with King Henry

the chief occaſion of the ſaid fray, together with the ſaid White, appeared in the Common Houſe, where the Speaker charging them with their contempt and miſdemeanor aforeſaid, they were compelled to make immediate anſwer, without being admitted to any counſel, albeit, Sir Roger Cholmley, then Recorder of London, and other of the council of the city there preſent, offered to ſpeak in the cauſe, which were all put to ſilence, and none ſuffered to ſpeak but the parties themſelves, whereupon, in concluſion, the ſaid Sheriffs, and the ſame White, were committed to the Tower of London, and the ſaid clerk, which was the occaſion of the fray, to a place there called Little Eaſe; and the officer of London which did the arreſt, called Tailour, with four other officers, to Newgate, where they remained from the eight and twentieth, until the thirtieth of March, and then they were delivered, not without humble ſuit made by the Mayor of London, and other their friends.

‘And for ſo much as the ſaid Ferrers, being in execution upon a condemnation of debt, and ſet at large by privilege of Parliament, was not by law to be brought again into execution, and ſo the party, without remedy for his debt, as well againſt him as his principal debtor. After long debate of the ſame by the ſpace of nine or ten days together, at laſt they reſolved upon an Act of Parliament to be made; and to revive the execution of the ſaid debt againſt the ſaid Weldon which was principal debtor, and to diſcharge the ſaid Ferrars. But before this came to paſs, the Common Houſe was divided upon the queſtion; howbeit in concluſion the act paſſed for the ſaid Ferrars, by fourteen voices.

‘The King then being advertiſed of all this proceeding, called immediately before him the Lord-Chancellor of England and his Judges, with the Speaker of the Parliament, and other of the graveſt perſons of the Nether Houſe, to whom he declared his opinion to this effect: Firſt commending their wiſdoms in maintaining the privileges of their Houſe, which he would not have to be infringed in any point; he alledged, that he being head of the Parliament, and attending in his own perſon upon the buſineſs thereof, ought, in reaſon, to have privilege for him and all his ſervants attending there upon him. So that, if the ſaid Ferrars had been no Burgeſs, but only his ſervant, yet, in reſpect thereof, he was to have the privilege as well as any other. *For I underſtand,* quoth he, *that not only for your own perſons, but alſo for your neceſſary ſervants, even to your cooks and horſe keepers, enjoy the ſaid privilege; inſomuch, as my* Lord Chancellor *here preſent hath informed us, that he being* Speaker *of the* Parliament, *the Cook of the* Temple *was arreſted in* London, *and, in execution upon a ſtatute of the ſtaple. And for ſo much as the ſaid Cook, during all the Parliament, ſerved the* Speaker *in that office, he was taken out of execution by the privilege of the* Parliament. *And further we be informed by our* Judges, *that we at no time ſtand ſo highly in our* Eſtate Royal, *as in the time of* Parliament, *wherein we, as head, and you, as members, are conjoined and knit together into one body politick, ſo as, whatſoever offence or injury during that time is offered to the meaneſt member of the Houſe, is to be judged as done againſt* our perſon, *and the whole* Court *of* Parliament. *Which prerogative of the Court is ſo great (as our learned Council informeth us) as all acts and proceſſes coming out of any other inferior courts, muſt, for the time, ceaſe, and give place to the higheſt. And touching the party, it was a great preſumption in him, knowing our ſervant to be one of this* Houſe, *and being warned thereof before, would, nevertheleſs, proſecute this matter out of time, and thereupon was well worthy to have loſt his* debt, *which I would not wiſh, and therefore do commend your* Equity, *that having loſt the ſame by* Law, *have reſtored him to the ſame againſt him who was his* debtor. *And if it be well conſidered, what a* charge it *hath been to* us *and* you all, *not only in expence of our ſubſtance, but alſo in loſs of time, which ſhould have been imployed about the affairs of our* Realm, *to ſit here welnigh one whole fortnight about this one private caſe, he may think himſelf better uſed than his deſert. And this may be a good example to others, to learn good manners, and not to attempt any thing againſt the* Privilege *of this* Court, *but to take their time better. This is mine opinion, and if I erre I muſt refer myſelf to the* judgment *of our* Juſtices *here, and other* learned *in our* Laws.

‘Whereupon Sir Edward Montacute, Lord Chief Juſtice, very gravely told his opinion, confirming, by divers reaſons, all that the King had ſaid, which was aſſented unto by all the reſidue, none ſpeaking to the contrary. The act, indeed, paſſed not the Higher Houſe, for the Lords had not time to conſider of it, by reaſon of the diſſolution of the Parliament, the feaſt of Eaſter then approaching. Becauſe this caſe hath been diverſly reported, and is commonly alledged as a precedent for the privilege of the Parliament, I have endeavoured myſelf to learn the truth thereof, and to ſet it forth, with the whole circumſtance at large, according to their inſtructions who ought beſt both to know and remember it.’

[*C*] *Have been mentioned likewiſe.*] As, in the foregoing note, the reader is in full poſſeſſion of the caſe, we ſhall in this diſcuſs what has been obſerved thereupon by ſome very eminent writers; and firſt, let us obſerve, that a modern Author (10), whoſe eminent ſkill in our hiſtories and antiquities have very juſtly gained him a high reputation, makes ſome very bold remarks upon theſe proceedings, which we will report in his own words. ‘From this time the power and privilege of the Houſe of Commons took a progreſſive increaſe, and this precedent was gained by the King's want of an aid, who, at that time, expected the Commons would voluntarily offer him a ſubſidy, the Miniſtry in the Houſe of Lords knowing the King's Will, gave the Commons the compliment to puniſh thoſe that impriſoned one of their members.’ Theſe are facts, and it is to be wiſhed that ſome authority had been ſuggeſted in ſupport of them. It is true, our author ſeems to have been led by his reading, what another perſon reports as the opinion of the Lord Chief Juſtice Dyer, we ſhall come to that hereafter, but, in the mean time, we will endeavour to explain what is hinted at above from the works of a noble Hiſtorian (11). ‘During this ſeſſion of Parliament ſome wrong was offered, as our hiſtories ſay, to their antient privileges; a Burgeſs of theirs being arreſted: whereof the King underſtanding, not only gave way to their releaſing him, but puniſhment of the offenders, inſomuch, that the Sheriffs of London were committed to the Tower, and one delinquent to a place called Little Eaſe, others to Newgate. By which means the King, whoſe maſter piece it was to make uſe of his Parliaments, not only let foreign Princes ſee the good intelligence betwixt him and his ſubjects, but kept them all at his devotion: which alſo he ſo induſtriouſly procured, that rather than he would ſeem to require more at this time than they had lately given, he borrowed divers ſums of money of men above fifty pound yearly in his books, which he looked on often, giving them in lieu thereof Privy-Seals, as ſecurity for their repayment in two years; by this means, ſuffering his Parliament rather to take notice

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(*k*) Gurdon's Hiſt. of the High Court of Parliament, Vol. II. p. 365.

(*l*) Moore's Reports, fol. 57. n. 163.

(10) Gurdon's Hiſtory of the High Court of Parliament, Vol. II. p. 365.

(11) Lord Herbert's Hiſtory of Henry VIII.

Henry all his reign, and ſeems to have ſtood upon good terms with the Lord Protector Somerſet, in the beginning of the reign of Edward VI, ſince it appears that he attended the Protector, in quality of one of the Commiſſioners of the army, in his expedition into Scotland in 1548 (*m*), which perhaps might be owing to his being about the perſon of Prince Edward in his father's life-time, and conſequently one for whom that young Prince had a ſingular kindneſs [*D*]. Another inſtance of this happened about four years afterwards,

(*m*) Patten's Journal of the Scotiſh Expedition, p. 13.

'of his wants than to ſupply them, which yet ſerved to prepare them for his next occaſion. We have the ſame thing, tho' in fewer words, ſet down by Stowe, who tells us, that the Sheriffs were obliged to pay twenty pounds for their fees, before they were diſcharged; and that, in May following, the King took a Loan of all ſuch as were rated at fifty pounds and upwards in the ſubſidy book.' We will now proceed to what has been alledged as the ſentiment of the Lord Chief Juſtice Dyer (12), who lived in thoſe days, and whoſe authority, in a point of this nature, would be of the greateſt weight. 'It was ſaid by Dyer, that if a man be condemned in debt or treſpaſs, and is choſen one of the Burgeſſes or Knights of Parliament, and afterwards is taken in execution, he cannot have the privilege of Parliament, and ſo it was held by the ſages of the Law in the caſe of one Ferrers, in the time of King Henry the Eighth; and tho' the privilege at that time was allowed him, yet it was unjuſt.' But ſuppoſe, after all this, we ſhould reſort to Sir James Dyer himſelf, and in his Reports we ſhall find, that in the thirty-ſixth of Henry the Eighth, there was a caſe in the King's Bench, which brought the matter of Parliamentary privilege into queſtion, and that caſe was this (13). One Trewynard was taken upon an Exigent, at the ſuit of one Skewis, and being in execution, a writ of privilege iſſued from the Parliament to R. Chamond, then Sheriff of Cornwall, reciting, that Trewynard was a Burgeſs, and therefore entitled to the privilege of Parliament; in obedience to which writ the ſaid Sheriff, in the time of the laſt ſeſſion of the laſt Parliament, held in the thirty-fifth of the King, ſuffered him to go at large, and, upon this, an action of debt was brought by the ſaid Skewis againſt the ſaid Chamond. 'In this caſe three points are to be conſidered, firſt, whether privilege is to be granted to a Burgeſs of Parliament, taken upon a writ of execution; ſecondly, if the privilege be grantable, whether the party, ſo enlarged, is diſcharged of the execution for ever, or only during the time of the Parliament: and, thirdly, admitting that the privilege is not allowable in this caſe, yet, whether the Sheriff, by this writ, iſſuing from the Parliament, ſhall be held ſufficiently excuſed and diſcharged againſt the Plaintiff, in debt?' In reaſoning on the firſt head, he obſerves, 'that it ſeems the privilege is allowable; for the proof of which he ſays, it is neceſſary to conſider the ſtate of Parliaments, which conſiſts of three parts; the King, as the chief head; the Lords, as the principal members of the body; and the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, as the inferior members; he next mentions the ceremony and ſolemnity attending elections; and then goes on thus: after that the members are returned, their attendance is ſo neceſſary to the Parliament, that they ought not, for any buſineſs, to be abſent; and no one perſon can well be miſſed, for that he is a neceſſary member, and therefore if any die before the Parliament, a new one ſhall be choſen in his place, ſo that the entire number may not fail; and then, it follows, that the perſon of every ſuch member ought to be privileged from arreſt at the ſuit of any particular perſon, during the time that he is buſied in the affairs of the King and the Realm; and ſuch privilege has uſually been granted at all times by the King to the Commons, at the requeſt of the Speaker of the Parliament, the firſt day, &c. Common reaſon will perſuade, that, for as much as the King, and his whole Realm, have an intereſt in the body of every one of its members, it ſeems that the private commodity of any particular man, ought not to be regarded. Then, as to the firſt point, he concludes that the Court of Parliament is the higheſt Court, and has more privileges than any Court of the Realm, for which, it ſeems, that, in every caſe, without any exception, every Burgeſs is privileged, when arreſt is only at the ſuit of the ſubject; and the preſent caſe is ſo much the better, inaſmuch as the execution was ſued out during the ſitting of Parliament, in ſuch a caſe, as the Plaintiff was at his free election to ſue out an execution againſt his body, or againſt his eſtate or goods.' He then proceeds to the ſecond point, as to which he ſays, 'it ſeems to him the party is not diſcharged from the execution for ever, but only for a certain time,' for which he gives many reaſons. In reference to the third point, he ſays, 'it ſeems that the Sheriff is not chargeable, becauſe, if no default or offence in his office there is no reaſon to charge him, and there ſeems to be none in him, becauſe the office of a Sheriff lies chiefly in the execution and ſerving of writs and proceſs in the Law, for the doing of which he is the immediate officer, and to do which he is ſworn. For this reaſon he is required, by his office and oath, to make juſt return, and the Law intends and conſiders him as a lay perſon, and not to have any cognizance of the ſcience of the Law; and therefore, where a writ comes to him, whether it comes with or without authority, is not a point for him to diſpute; on this head he offers ſeveral reaſons, all tending to prove, that the Sheriff might think it right to execute that writ of privilege. He then puts this queſtion, and now let us ſee, in caſe the Sheriff diſobeyed this writ, what damage he would ſuſtain? Truly, he would be in danger of perjury, and alſo of impriſonment and ranſom at the King's will, and this was done in the ſame Parliament, in reſpect to Hill and Stukely (this ſhould be Suckliffe) the Sheriffs of London, who were committed to the Tower for their contempts, for that they would not ſuffer George Ferrers, who was arreſted upon an execution, to go at large, when the Serjeant at Arms came for him without any writ; ſo that, probably, Chamond might be terrified by this precedent from diſobeying the writ of Parliament, which is the higheſt Court of the Kingdom. And it plainly appears by the writ, that it was clear in Parliament, that the party ought to have his privilege in this caſe, for otherwiſe the writ ſhould have been a *Habeas Corpus cum Cauſa*, which writ is often granted before the Judges are ſatisfied whether privilege lies in any caſe or not; and if they find that it does not lie, then they remand the matter by *Procedendo*, &c. and tho' the Parliament do err in the grant of a writ of privilege, yet it is not reverſible in another Court, and therefore there can be no fault in the Sheriff.' I have ſtated this matter at large from Dyer's Reports, that the reader might ſee the reaſoning of that great man, who, in time, became himſelf Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, upon ſo nice a ſubject. It is true Sir Edward Coke, when Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in the thirty fifth of Elizabeth, delivered his opinion to the Houſe in theſe words (14); 'as for Trewynard's caſe, recited in my Lord Dyer, I have heard great learned men ſay, that that cauſe is no good Law, and that the Houſe did more than was warrantable.' But to put an end to all diſputes of this kind, in the firſt year of King James it was provided for by a ſtatute (15), that the diſcharging a perſon out of execution by privilege of Parliament, ſhould not void the judgment, in which the Legiſlature ſeem not to approve my Lord Coke's Law, ſo much as they did that of Lord Dyer.

[*D*] *Had a ſingular kindneſs*] It appears ſufficiently from all our hiſtories, that Edward the Sixth, in his infancy, was very weakly, and therefore the King his father was very anxious for the preſervation of his health, in reſpect to which, at the perſuaſion of this gentleman, he was ſent to the Priory of St Giles's (16) in the Wood, then the houſe of Sir Richard Page, Knight, Lieutenant of the Band of Penſioners given him by the ſaid King, and this for the ſake of its excellent air, ſtanding alſo very near Flamſtead. That eſtate came afterwards, by marriage, to the family of

(12) Moore, fol. 57. n. 163. Crompton's Jur. p. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

(13) Dyer, fol. 61.

(14) Dewes's Journal of the Parliaments of Queen Eliz. p. 516.

(15) Stat. 1 Jac I. c. xiii.

(16) Chauncy's Hertfordſhire, p. 571.

wards, at a very critical juncture, for, when the unfortunate Duke of Somerſet lay under ſentence of death, and it was obſerved on the one hand, that people murmured and gave open teſtimonies of diſcontent; and, on the other, that the King himſelf was very uneaſy and melancholy, thoſe who were about him thought it their intereſt to ſtudy any method to quiet and amuſe the one, and, if poſſible, to entertain and divert the other (n). In order to this, at the entrance of the Chriſtmas holidays, George Ferrars, Eſq; was proclaimed LORD of MISRULE, that is, a kind of Prince of ſports and paſtimes, which office he diſcharged for twelve days together at Greenwich, with great magnificence and addreſs, and entirely to the King's ſatisfaction. In this character attended by the politeſt part of the Court, he made an excurſion to London, where he was very honourably received by officers created for that purpoſe, ſplendidly entertained by the Lord Mayor, and, when he took his leave, had a preſent made him in token of reſpect (o) [E]. But notwithſtanding he made ſo great a figure in the diverſions of a Court, he preſerved at the ſame time his credit with all the learned world, and was no idle ſpectator of political affairs, as appears from the Hiſtory of the Reign of Queen Mary, which, though inſerted in the Chronicle, and publiſhed in the name of Richard Grafton (p), was in truth penned by our author, as we are told by honeſt John Stowe (q), an author of inconteſtible authority in ſuch caſes. To this circumſtance, if a certain critical writer had any way adverted, he would certainly have mentioned it amongſt many leſs curious and leſs uſeful particulars (r). This method of ſending works into the world under other mens names, who were benefited by it, was a thing in thoſe days very common, and indeed a great part of another General Hiſtory of England was compoſed in this manner; neither are the learned at a loſs for the names of the true authors of moſt of the reigns, as will be ſhewn in another place (s). Our author, Ferrars, was an Hiſtorian, a Lawyer, and a Politician, even in his poetry, as evidently appears from thoſe pieces of his that are inſerted in the MIRROR *for* MAGISTRATES (t), and which are ſcarce inferior to any thing that have found a place in that collection [F]. He wrote likewiſe, in the earlier part of his life,

(n) Stowe's Annals, p. 608.

(o) Grafton's Chronicle, p. 1317.

(p) Printed for Richard Tottle and Humphry Toye, 1569, fol.

(q) Annals, p. 632.

(r) Nicholſon's Engl. Hiſtorical Library, p. 87.

(s) See the article of SPEED (JOHN) in this Dictionary.

(t) Lond. 1559, 4to.

Saunders, who pulled down the old fabrick and built a new and very elegant houſe, in which, however, a bed very richly embroidered with the arms of England was preſerved, on account of the tradition that he had ſlept in it, and ſeveral panes of glaſs, in which the royal arms were alſo painted, found, for the ſame reaſon, admittance into the new houſe (17). We need not therefore at all wonder, that King Edward ſhould ſhew a particular liking to Mr Ferrars, whom he had known ſo long; and who, from the pleaſantneſs of his temper, was very likely to inſinuate himſelf into the good graces of a young Monarch, allowed to have parts much ſuperior to his years.

[E] *In token of reſpect.*] We have this ſtory, and the occaſion of it, largely enough related by ſeveral of our Hiſtorians; it is not therefore of any great conſequence, the rather, ſince they tranſcribe each other, from which we take it. Honeſt John Stowe (18) tells it thus: 'The King kept his Chriſtmas with open houſehold at Greenwich, George Ferrers, gentleman, of Lincoln's-Inne, being Lord of the merry diſports all the twelve days, who ſo pleaſantly and wiſely behaved himſelf, that the King had great delight in his paſtimes. On Monday the fourth of January, the ſaid Lord of Merry Diſports came by water to London, and landed at the Tower-Wharfe, entered the Tower, and then rode through Tower-Street, where he was received by Serjeant Vawce, Lord of Miſrule to John Mainard, one of the Sheriffs of London, and ſo conducted through the city with a great company of young Lords and Gentlemen, to the houſe of Sir George Barne, Lord Mayor, where he, with the chief of his company, dined, and after had a great banquet, and at his departure the Lord Mayor gave him a ſtanding cup, with a cover of ſilver and gilt, of the value of ten pounds, for a reward, and alſo ſet a hogſhead of wine, and a barrel of beer, at his gate, for his train that followed him, the reſidue of his gentlemen and ſervants dined at other Aldermens houſes, and with the Sheriffs, and ſo departed to the Tower-Wharfe again, and to the Court by water, to the great commendation of the Mayor and Aldermen, and highly accepted of the King and Council.' Grafton obſerves (19), that this was ſo acceptable to the young King, that he made it ſufficiently appear by his princely liberality in rewarding the ſervice; but he does not tell us what that reward was. I have found it ſome where ſuggeſted (20), that it was a large grant of Abbey-Lands, but I believe this muſt be a miſtake, for this grant was in the ſecond year of the King, and conſiſted of the Priory of Mergate, or Markiate, now called Market-Street, lying at a ſmall diſtance from Flamſtead, but in the county of Bedford, and valued at the time of the Diſſolution at the annual rent of one hundred forty three pounds one ſhilling and three pence (21). It is true it may be ſuggeſted, that there might be two grants, one in reward of his ſervices in Scotland, and the other upon this occaſion; but we may fairly alledge, in anſwer to this, that gifts of ſuch lands are ſo duly recorded, that it would be ſcarce poſſible to miſs finding ſome notice of it, if ſuch a ſubſequent grant there had ever been.

[F] *In that collection.*] The firſt edition of this book, in which edition were many of our author's pieces, was printed in 1559; the ſecond, into which the reſt of his Poems are inſerted, after his death in 1587; and the third, which was alſo not barely reprinted, in 1610, but with many additions; all in Quarto. The title of the ſecond edition, at large runs thus:

The Mirour *for* Magiſtrates, *wherein may be ſeen, by examples paſſed in this* Realm, *with how grievous plagues vices are puniſhed in great Princes and Magiſtrates, and how frail and unſtable worldly proſperity is found, where fortune ſeemeth moſt highly to favour.* Newly imprinted, and with the addition of divers tragedies enlarged.

The firſt edition of this book was publiſhed by William Baldwin, who prefixed an epiſtle before the ſecond part of it, wherein he ſignifies, that it was intended to reprint the *Fall of Princes*, by Boccace, as tranſlated into Engliſh by Lidgate the Monk; but, that upon communicating his deſign, to ſeven of his friends, all of them ſons of the Muſes, they diſſuaded him, propoſing to look over the Engliſh Chronicles, and to pick out of them ſuch ſtories as were moſt entertaining, and at the ſame time not void of inſtruction, which they undertook to adorn each with a robe of poeſy. Amongſt theſe friends of his, none more ready in promiſing, none more willing in performance, than our Mr George Ferrers, who furniſhed Mr Baldwin with four ſtories for that edition of the Mirour, &c. the titles of which follow:

1. *The fall of* Robert Treſilian, *Chief Juſtice of* England, *and other his fellows, for miſconſtruing the* Laws, *and expounding them to ſerve the* Princes *affections.*
2. *The* Tragedy, *or* unlawful Murder, *of* Thomas *of* Woodſtock, *Duke of* Glouceſter.
3. *Tragedy of King* Richard II.

4. *The*

(17) MS. Remarks on the Art of Engliſh Poetry.

(18) Annals, p. 608, 609.

(19) Grafton's Chronicle, p. 1317.

(20) Notes on the Art of Engliſh Poetry.

(21) Speed.

life, ſome pieces in his own profeſſion, which gained him great reputation, and which manifeſtly ſhews, that he was not ſo great a Courtier as to prefer the prerogative of the Crown to the rights or property of the ſubject, but one who well underſtood, that the welfare of this nation muſt depend upon maintaining, in it's full vigour, our moſt excellent conſtitution [G]. It very rarely happens, that, where a man ſo often changes his courſe of life as Mr Ferrars did, or, to ſpeak with greater propriety, was forced to do, that he maintains himſelf without blemiſh in the world's good opinion; and yet ſuch was his happy fortune, that change in his ſtation wrought none in his credit, but in all the variety of ſcenes through which he paſſed, and from the earlieſt to the lateſt day of his life, he was beloved, admired, and careſſed, by all who knew him, and more eſpecially reſpected by the learned, who conſulted him upon their labours as a candid Critick and a generous friend (u). For theſe circumſtances, notwithſtanding that deluge of oblivion which has ſwept away the remembrance of many great things done in thoſe times, we have with ſome pains been able to recover; though without queſtion much more might have been ſaid, if Leland had lived to perfect thoſe works which he began, or if his unhappy fate had not deterred others from attempting to preſerve the perſonal memoirs of thoſe illuſtrious and ingenious men, who flouriſhed in thoſe days [H]. Yet to that great man,

(u) Art of Engliſh Poetry.

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4. *The* Story *of* Dame Elianor Cobham, *Ducheſs of* Glouceſter, *&c.* which is much altered, and greatly augmented, in the ſecond edition.

In the *ſecond edition* are added to thoſe four,

5. *The* Story *of* Humphry Plantagenet, *Duke of* Glouceſter, *Protector of* England.

6. Tragedy *of* Edmund *Duke of* Somerſet.

Amongſt theſe the complaint of *Elianor Cobham*, Ducheſs of *Glouceſter*, who was baniſhed for her conſulting conjurers and fortunetellers about the life of King Henry the Sixth, and whoſe exile quickly made way for the murder of her huſband, has, of all his compoſitions, been moſt admired; the reader perhaps, will not think his time miſpent in the peruſal of a few ſtanzas (22); that Lady ſpeaks.

(22) Mirour for Magiſtrates, fol. 144.

The Iſle of Man was the appointed place
To penance me for ever in exile;
Thither, in haſte, they poaſted me apace,
And doubting ſcape they pin'd me in a pyle,
Cloſe by myſelf; in care, alas, the while
There felt I firſt poor priſoners hungry fare,
Much want, things ſkant, and ſtone walls hard and bare.

The chaunge was ſtraunge from ſylke and cloth of gold
To rugged fryze, my carcaſs for to cloath;
From Princes fare, and dainties hot and cold,
To rotten fiſh, and meates that one would loath:
The diet and dreſſing were much alike boath:
Bedding and lodging were all alike fine,
Such Down it was as ſerved well for ſwyne.

Neither doe I mine own caſe thus complayne,
Which, I confeſſe, came partly by deſert,
The only cauſe which doubleth all my payne,
And which moſt neer goeth now unto my hearte,
Is that my fault did finally revert,
To him that was leaſt guilty of the ſame,
Whoſe death it was, though I abode the ſhame:

Whoſe fatal fall when I do call to minde,
And how, by me, his miſchief firſt began;
So ofte I cry on fortune moſt unkinde,
And my miſhap moſt utterly doe banne,
That ever I to ſuch a nobleman,
Who from my crime was innocent and cleare,
Should be a cauſe to buy his love ſo deare.

Oh! to my heart how greevous is the wounde,
Calling to minde this diſmal deadly caſe,
I would I had been dolven under ground
When hee firſt ſaw or looked on my face,
Or tooke delight in any kind of grace;
Seeming in mee that him did ſtir or move,
To fancy me or ſet his heart to love.

Farewell Greenwych, my Pallace of delight,
Where I was wont to ſee the chriſtall ſtreames
Of royal Thames, moſt pleaſaunt to my ſight,
And farewell Kent right famous in all realmes,
A thouſand times I minde you in my dreames;
And when I wake moſt griefe it is to mee
That never more agayne I ſhall you ſee.

[G] *Our moſt excellent conſtitution.*] We have already obſerved, that the fall of his patron, Thomas Cromwell Earl of Eſſex, induced him pretty early to quit the publick exerciſe of his profeſſion as a Counſellor at Law, but not before he had given publick teſtimonies of his great knowledge and reading, as appears from

The double tranſlation of Magna Charta *from* French, *into* Latin *and* Engliſh. *Imprinted by* Elizabeth, *Widow to* Robert Redman, 12mo.

Other Laws enacted in the times of Henry *the* Third, *and* Edward *the* Firſt, *tranſlated into* Engliſh. But when or where printed does not appear.

[H] *Who flouriſhed in thoſe days.*] There is no doubt, that many of the Poems penned by our author in the earlier part of his life, and by which he recommended himſelf to the favour of his gracious Sovereigns Henry and Edward, are now loſt. Mr Wood mentions an Epitaph made on Dr Phayer (23), a very learned Phyſician, which is not now to be met with. The learned Mr Leland has entered amongſt his notes one, which ſhews the reſpect he had to our author's judgment, in theſe words (24). 'Mr Ferrars told 'me, that Gower the Judge could not be the man 'that write the bookes yn Engliſch, for he ſaid that 'Gower the Judge was about Edward the Secundes 'time.' His remarks upon the Engliſh Hiſtory, in the proſe part of the Mirror of Magiſtrates, are very judicious, and ſhew that he was perfectly maſter of the ſubject, that he had ſtudied it long and carefully, and had made diligent enquiry into the ſecret ſprings of great events, which might have qualified him to have undertaken the writing any part of our hiſtory with reputation. Of this, what he has written, *viz.* the reign of Queen Mary, is another good proof; and John Stowe (25), who loved not Grafton, and in truth had no reaſon to love him, might very probably let us into the ſecret of this reign being written by Mr Ferrars, purely to prevent Richard Grafton from having the credit of it, and indeed it is very unlike the reſt of his work, which, if a certain Prelate's judgment (26) will influence the reader, deſervedly procured him, from George Buchanan (27), the character of a very heedleſs and unſkilful writer. None of the authors we have met with deliver any thing as to Mr Ferrar's religion, but it is highly probable, if not certain, that he was a ſettled, and it may be a zealous, Proteſtant, not upon account of his receiving grants of Abbey Lands, for that might be but a precarious proof, but from his coming into the world under the protection of Thomas Lord Cromwell, a man certainly perſuaded of the truth of the Proteſtant Religion, whatever errors he might fall into in the practice, and from the high credit in which he ſtood with the

(23) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 135.

(24) Leland's Itinerary, Vol. VI. p. 46.

(25) Annals, p. 608.

(26) Biſhop Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 71.

(27) Hiſt. Scot. l. viii.

man we ſtand indebted for ſeveral particulars of our author's hiſtory, occaſionally ſet down in his valuable papers that are yet preſerved (*w*), as well as for that excellent poem which he addreſſes to Mr Ferrars, and which alone had been ſufficient to have tranſmitted his memory to poſterity with honour, if all other helps had been wanting [*I*]. With reſpect to the time of our author's death we are not exactly informed, all we know is, that he died in the year 1579, at his houſe at Flamſtead in Hertfordſhire, and was buried in the pariſh-church; for, as Mr Wood informs us, on the 18th of May the ſame year, a commiſſion was granted from the Prerogative, to adminiſter the goods, debts, chattels, &c. of him the ſaid George Ferrars, then lately deceaſed (*x*). There flouriſhed alſo at the ſame time with him one Mr Edward Ferrars, a Warwickſhire Gentleman of a good family, bred, as well as our author, at Oxford, a celebrated Poet likewiſe, and much in the good graces of Henry VIII, to whom a certain writer who lived near thoſe times aſcribed many of the pieces written by our author, and thereby miſled (*y*) Mr Wood in his firſt edition, but he afterwards corrected that miſtake from our author's poems (*z*). This Edward Ferrars died in 1564, and lies buried in the church of Badeſly Clinton, in the county of Warwick.

(*w*) Itinerary, Vol. VI. p. 46.

(*x*) Athen Oxon. Vol. I. col. 193.

(*y*) Meer's Wits Commonwealth, P. ii. p. 646.

(*z*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 146.

the Lord Protector Somerſet and King Edward the Sixth, to which it is ſcarce poſſible he ſhould have attained, if he had not been ſo. In his hiſtory alſo of the reign of Queen Mary, tho' written with much caution and wonderful moderation, and wherein he ſpeaks highly of the perſonal virtues of that Princeſs, yet he ſhews himſelf clearly of the reformed religion, more eſpecially in the large account he gives of the death of Archbiſhop Cranmer (28), and of Sir Thomas Wiat's inſurrection; and, indeed, in all other paſſages where it could be expected, referring for further particulars, to the Acts and Monuments written by John Fox.

(28) Grafton's Chronicle, p. 1350, 1351.

[*I*] *If all other helps had been wanting.*] What is ſaid in the text is no more, than what is juſtly due to the pains taken by that incomparable Antiquary John Leland, whoſe elegies in praiſe of the worthy perſons who flouriſhed in his time, are many of them ſhort hiſtories of their lives and actions, as the reader will perceive by the following Poem, the beginning of which alludes to Mr Ferrar's ſeat at Verlamum or Flamſtead, and is a very elegant complement. The late learned Biſhop Tanner thought, that the laſt lines related to the Duke of Somerſet's expedition into Scotland; but perhaps they may be with more juſtice referred to his expedition into that kingdom, when Earl of Hertford, in the reign of King Henry the Eighth; nor is it at all improbable, that Mr Ferrars might attend him in the firſt, as he certainly did in the laſt. Mr Leland's Poem runs thus (29):

(29) Principum ac Illuſtrium aliquot & Eruditorum in Anglia Virorum, Encomia, Trophæa, Genethliaca, et Epithalamia. A Joanne Lelando Antiquario conſcripta. Lond. 1589, p. 99.

Ad Georgium Ferrarium.

Si modo Verlamum vetus urbs victoribus olim
  Cognita Romanis tota niteret ovans:
Te niveis certe inſigniret grata lapillis,
  Texeret ac facili florea ſerta manu:
Queis tua congaudens redimiret tempora feſta
  Quod Muſas deamet Caſtaliumque gregem.
Concidit antiquæ ſed gloria funditus urbis,
  Albani fanum quod reparavit opus.
Fortunæ ſcandens alta ad faſtigia ſummæ,
  Cromuellus ſibi te vir catus aſſeruit.
Deinde animo leges patrias evolvis, & illis,
  Sedulus inſervis cauſidicoque foro.
Patronum veterem repetis patronus & ipſe,
  Ac lepidis dictis lætitiæque ſtudes.
Gloria at illius cecidit magnamque ruinam
  Paſſa eſt: ſic verſat ſors male fida rotas.
Aulica vita tibi placuit, mox regia magni,
  Te Henrici gremio foverat ampla ſuo.
Horrida bella ſonant, Martis fœtura coruſcat,
  Et Scotti & Morini tela cruenta vibrant.
Fortior occurris, gladio clypeoque reſumpto,
  Bellator prodis Martius, atque minax.
Vidiſti Scottos victor Morinoſque fugatos,
  Et patuit virtus amplior inde tua.
Perge, ut cœpiſti, magum te oſtendere factis
  Ferrari, & noſtro carmine major eris.

This I have found thus tranſlated, or rather Paraphraſed.

If that fam'd City which the Romans knew
(Renown'd for arms, renown'd for learning too)
Shone now in ſplendour as in days of old,
Happy her Citizen in Thee ſhe'd hold,
Whoſe genius back her former joys convey'd,
Caſtalian ſprings and ev'ry tuneful maid;
For in her turn, ſweet bard, each muſe is thine,
I am content with one, but thou haſt nine.
Proud of thy virtues, ſhe'd exalt thy fame
With golden honours, ſtrive to deck thy name;
But what ſhe was St Alban's is, and ſhe,
Tho' leſs her right, puts in her claim to thee.
The cautious Cromwell early call'd thee friend,
Beſpoke thy fortunes, taught thee to aſcend;
When to the laws you bent your maiden choice,
And crowds applauding liſtened to your voice;
While your great patron fill'd the chair of ſtate
And ſaw you in your turn becoming great,
You ſooth'd the burthen of perplex'd affairs,
Heighten'd his pleaſures, and conſol'd his cares.
At length he fell! O fall ſevere indeed!
And yet to all who fortune truſt, decreed.
Then to the Palace all your thoughts attend,
And mighty HENRY well ſupply'd your friend.
But war breaks out, the Scot and faithleſs Gaul,
By baſe invaſions for chaſtiſements call:
Thy ſword and ſhield are readily ſuſtain'd,
And martial heat again your veins diſtend;
The Scots well beaten, and the Gauls ſubdu'd,
All arts of peace are once again purſu'd.
Your valour found as ſterling as your wit,
All own your virtues for each ſtation fit,
For Courts and Camps alike by nature form'd,
With ſenſe enliven'd, and with courage warm'd:
Go FERRARS on, compleat your brave deſigns,
You have deſerv'd, and ſhall tranſcend my lines.

E

FISHER (John) Biſhop of Rocheſter in the XVIth century, a man worthy to live in better times, was born at Beverley in Yorkſhire, in the year 1459 (a). His father, named Robert, was a Merchant in that town, who lefe him an orphan very young. But his good and kind mother, whoſe name was Anne, though ſhe married again, did not neglect this ſon, and another younger ſhe had by her firſt huſband; cauſing them to be carefully educated in the collegiate church of their native place, Beverley. When fit for the univerſity, John was ſent to Michael-Houſe (b) in Cambridge, in the year 1484, and placed under the tuition of Mr William de Melton. He took the degrees in Arts in 1488 and 1491; and being elected Fellow of Michael-houſe (c), was one of the Proctors of the univerſity in 1495 (d). The ſame year, he was elected Maſter of Michael-houſe, in the room of his tutor William de Melton preferred to the dignity of Chancellor of the cathedral church of York (e): and having for ſome time before applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity, he took Holy Orders, and became eminent as a Divine. So that the fame of his learning and exemplary virtues reaching the ears of Margaret Counteſs of Richmond, mother of King Henry VII, ſhe choſe him her Chaplain and Confeſſor: in which ſtation he behaved with ſo much goodneſs and wiſdom, that ſhe committed herſelf and her whole family to his government and direction. And by his advice and perſuaſion it was, that ſhe undertook thoſe munificent foundations at Cambridge [A], of which an account is given lower (f). In 1501, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (g). The ſame year he was choſen Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge, and again in 1504 (h); during the exerciſe of which eminent office [B], he encouraged learning and good manners: and is ſaid by ſome to have had Prince Henry, afterwards King Henry VIII, under his tuition in that univerſity (i). In 1502, he was appointed, by charter, the Lady Margaret's firſt Divinity Profeſſor in Cambridge (k). Likewiſe, *anno* 1504, being nominated Biſhop of Rocheſter [C], upon the tranſlation of Richard Fitz-James to the See of London; he was confirmed by Pope Julius the Second's bull, dated 14 October 1504 (l). This ſmall biſhopric he would never afterwards exchange for a better, tho' he was offered both Lincoln and Ely [D]. For, he called his church his wife, and was wont to ſay, He would not change his little old wife, to whom he had been ſo long wedded, for a wealthier (m). At the time of this promotion he was attending the building and foundation of Chriſt's-college in Cambridge; and as he was not accommodated with a convenient lodging, Dr Tho. Wilkinſon Preſident of Queen's-college dying in 1505, the Society choſe him their Preſident in his room [E]. This Headſhip he gratefully accepted, and kept it a little above three years (n). In 1506, he perfected the foundation of Chriſt's-college, and was appointed in the ſtatutes Viſitor for his life, after the death of

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(a) G. Lilius in Vitâ Fiſheri.

(b) Now incorporated into Trinity college.

(c) The Life and Death of John Fiſher, written by Ric. Hall, D. D. but publiſhed under the name of Tho. Baily, Lond. 1655, 8*vo*, p. 1—8.

(d) T. Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p. 82. See alſo his Ch. Hiſt. B. v. p. 202.

(e) G. Lilius, ut ſupra, et J. Le Neve's Faſti, p. 318.

(f) Life, &c. as above, by Hall, p. 11, 12. Et Lilius.

(g) R. Hall, ib. p. 8.

(h) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambr. p. 86, 87.

(i) Antiquit. Britannicæ, p. 464. Vide Godwin. de Præſulibus, edit. Cl. W. Richardſon, 1743, p. 536, not. a.

(k) T. Baker's Pref. to our author's Sermon at the Lady Margaret's funeral, p. vii. lxiv.

(l) J. Le Neve, ubi ſupra, p. 250; & R. Hall, p. 13, &c.

(m) R. Hall, ubi ſupra, p. 16; and Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. v. p. 202, 203.

(n) R. Hall, p. 26. et Wharton. Angl. Sacra, P. i. p. 382.

[A] *And by his advice and perſuaſion it was, that ſhe undertook thoſe munificent foundations at Cambridge.*] For this, among others, we have the authority of the renowned Eraſmus (1). *Reverendus Epiſcopus Roffenſis, vir non ſolum mirabili integritate vitæ, verum etiam alta & recondita doctrina, tum morum quoque incredibili comitate commendatus maximis pariter ac minimis. ——His nominibus aliquando Regis Henrici qui nunc Angliam moderatur aviæ paternæ Margaritæ egregiè charus, & à confeſſionis ſecretis. Cui Margaritæ auctor fuit, ut in Academia Cantabrigienſi Collegia duo conſtruxerit, & amplis poſſeſſionibus ditaverit. Quorum alterum Chriſto Servatori, alterum S. Johanni Evangeliſtæ conſecravit. Solebat etiam ipſe pro ſua facultate bonæ ſpei adoleſcentes, maximè pauperiores liberaliter ad ſtudia nutrire.*

[B] *During the exerciſe of which eminent office.*] Dr William Richardſon ſeems to conclude, that Thomas Wolſey was choſen Chancellor in 1514, upon Biſhop Fiſher's refuſing to continue ſo any longer (2). But in R. Parker's Hiſtory of the Univerſity of Cambridge, it is ſaid, that Biſhop Fiſher was then confirmed in that office for life. '1514. *Hoc anno factus* [*ſcil. Joh. Fiſher*] *perpetuus Academiæ Cancellarius* (3).'

[C] *Being nominated Biſhop of Rocheſter.*] He was promoted thereto, chiefly through the original recommendation of him to King Henry VII. by Dr Richard Fox, Biſhop of Wincheſter, as he acknowledges in the dedication of his book againſt Oecolampadius to that Biſhop.—*Adde, quod Regi Henrico ſeptimo ——meam parvitatem commendaſti, ut ſola exiſtimatione, quam de me concepit, & mero motu, citra quodvis aliud obſequium, citra cujuſquam preces, quod & mihi non ſemel affirmabat, epiſcopatum Roffenſem, cui jam indignus præſum, ultro donaverit. Non deſunt forte complures quibus creditum eſt genitricem illius, nempe Comitem Richemondiæ, Derbiæque, foeminam eximiam, & plane incomparabilem, heramque mihi multis rationibus chariſſimam, ſuis precibus a filio dictum epiſcopatum impetraſſe mihi. Vere longe aliter ſeſe res habet. Quod & tuæ dominationi compertiſſimum eſt.————Sed ad dominationem tuam redeo, cui (ut dixi) poſt Regem prudentiſſimum defunctum, omnia commoda, quæ mihi meiſque ſuppetunt, ex hoc epiſcopatu me debere confiteor.* The ſubſtance of which is, that it was not through the Lady Margaret's intereſt, but the Biſhop of Wincheſter's original recommendation of him to King Henry VII. that he obtained the Biſhopric.——Before the King gave it him, he writ a letter to his mother, which begins thus. 'Madam, and I thought I ſhould not offend you, which I will never do wilfully, I am well myndit to promote Maſter Fiſher youre Confeſſor to a Buſhopric; and I aſſure you Madam, for non other cauſe but for the grete and ſingular virtue, that I know and ſe in hym, as well in conyng and natural wiſdom, and ſpecially for his good and vertuoſe lyving and converſation. And by the promotyon of ſuche a man, I know well, it ſhould corage many others to lyve vertuoſely, and to take ſuch wayes as he dothe, which ſhulde be a good example to many others hereafter. Howebeit without your pleaſure knowen I woll not move hym, nor tempt hym therein, &c— (4).

[D] *This ſmall biſhopric he would never afterwards exchange for a better, tho' he was offered both Lincoln and Ely.*] His own ſentiments upon that ſubject are truly juſt and noble. *Habeant licet alii proventus pinguiores, ego tamen interim pauciorum animarum curam gero, adeo ut quum utrorumque ratio reddenda fuerit, quod & propediem haud dubie futurum eſt, nec pilo meam ſortem optarim uberiorem.* i. e. Tho' others have larger revenues, I have fewer ſouls under my care, ſo that when I ſhall have to give an account of both, which muſt be very ſoon, I would not deſire my condition to have been better than it is (5).

[E] *The Society choſe him their Preſident in his room.*] Dr Fuller is miſtaken, when he ſays (6), that this election was, whilſt the Biſhop was 'employed in building of St John's-college.' For it was not built till ſome years after.

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(1) Epiſt. edit. Baſil, 1540, p. 253, &c. and 1125.

(2) In editione Godwini de Præſulibus, ubi ſupra.

(3) Hiſt. of Camb. edit. 1722, 8*vo*, p. 197.

(4) See at the end of the Biſhop's Funeral Sermon on the Lady Margaret, p. 41, publiſhed by T. Baker.

(5) Dedicat. to Biſhop Fox, as in the foregoing note.

(6) Ch. Hiſtory, B. v. p. 202.

of the munificent foundreſs (o). He was alſo the chief inſtrument in the foundation of St John's college in the ſame univerſity, and from the ſame bountiful hand the Counteſs of Richmond. Her intention was, to beſtow the remainder of her charities upon the moſt magnificent chapel, which her ſon King Henry VII was erecting at the eaſt end of Weſtminſter-Abbey, by richly endowing a chantry there. But communicating her deſign to her Confeſſor Biſhop Fiſher, the great director of her charity, ſhe was eaſily prevailed upon by him, to whom ſhe was all obedience, to alter her purpoſe, and found St John's college. The King's licence was obtained for that purpoſe; but before it was paſſed in due form, the King dies April 21, 1509, as does the Lady Margaret herſelf June the 29th following. By theſe unhappy and unforeſeen accidents, the care of the new foundation devolved upon her executors, of whom the moſt faithful and moſt active, nay the ſole and principal agent, was Biſhop Fiſher. And he carried it on with the utmoſt application, and an honeſt and induſtrious zeal (p). In 1512, he was appointed to go to the Council of Lateran at Rome, but never went (q) [*F*]. St John's-college being finiſhed in 1516, he repaired to Cambridge, and opened that college with due ſolemnity; and was alſo commiſſioned to make ſtatutes for the ſame (r). Not content with all that he had done for that noble ſeminary of learning, he became a conſiderable benefactor to it afterwards (s) [*G*]. And it was through his perſuaſion and intreaties, that Dr Richard Croke came and ſettled at Cambridge, where he was the firſt Greek Profeſſor after Eraſmus (t). Upon Martin Luther's firſt appearance, and his ſtout oppoſition to the errors and innovations of Popery, Biſhop Fiſher, like a zealous champion for the Church of Rome, was one of the foremoſt to enter the liſts againſt him. He not only endeavoured to prevent the propagation of his doctrine in his own dioceſe, and in the univerſity of Cambridge, over which, as Chancellor, he had a very great influence: but alſo preached and wrote, with great vehemence and earneſtneſs againſt him (u). The King's book, intituled, *An Aſſertion of the Seven Sacraments againſt Martin Luther*, is thought chiefly to be the work of Biſhop Fiſher (w): who, moreover, publiſhed, *A Defence of the King of England's Aſſertion of the Catholique Faith againſt M. Luther's Book of the Captivity of Babylon*; and, *A Defence of the Holy Order of Prieſthood, againſt Martin Luther.* With other pieces, mentioned below in note [*X*], among the reſt of his works. Nay, he even took a reſolution of going to Rome, for the ſettlement of thoſe points; but was diverted by Cardinal Wolſey's calling together a Synod of the whole clergy, wherein the Biſhop delivered himſelf with great freedom [*H*], on occaſion of the Cardinal's ſtately pride (x). Hitherto Biſhop Fiſher had continued in great favour with King Henry VIII, but the buſineſs of the divorce being ſet on foot in 1527, he adhered ſo firmly to the Queen's cauſe, and the Pope's Supremacy, that it brought him into great troubles, and in the end proved his ruin. For, the King who had a great eſteem for him, both on account of his honeſty and learning, having deſired his opinion on the ſubject of his marriage with Queen Catherine of Arragon; the Biſhop declared, That there was no reaſon at all to queſtion the

(o) T. Baker, ubi ſupra, Pref. p. xi.

(p) T. Baker, ibid. p. xv. xviii. xix. xxix. xxxii.

(q) Ibid. p. xlvi. & Wharton, ubi ſupra.

(r) T. Baker, p. xlv. xlvii.

(s) R. Hall, as above, p. 29, 30.

(t) Wood's Ath. Vol. I. edit. 1721, col. 105; and Strype's Eccl. Memor. Vol. I. p. 143.

(u) R. Hall, p. 34, 35.

(w) Ibid. p. 36.

(x) R. Hall. p. 36, &c. 40, 41.

[*F*] *But never went.*] For, as the learned Mr Baker well obſerves (7), 'tho' ſome of our hiſtorians 'have ſent him thither, and the Univerſity had re'commended their affairs to him, as ready to go, by 'a letter dated February 1514 (8), and tho' he had 'drawn up and ſealed procuratorial powers to William 'Freſel, Prior of Ledes, during his abſence, dated 'March 10 the ſame year, yet he never went; he 'ſays himſelf, his journey was ſtopt (9), and theſe 'procuratorial powers, together with other letters re'commending him to ſome men of note at Rome, are 'yet lodged amongſt the archives of St John's college, 'and ſhow, they were never delivered.'

(7) Preface, as above, p. xlvi.

(8) Reg. Liter.

(9) Lib. Rub.

[*G*] *He became a conſiderable benefactor to it afterwards.*] For he not only bore a part in the charge of the building; but much augmented the revenues of it with lands, whereby four fellowſhips were founded upon his own account, and one reader of an Hebrew Lecture, another of Greek, together with four examining readers, and four under-readers to help the principal. And obſerving that the price of victuals began to riſe, he gave wherewith (by weekly dividend) the fellows commons might be augmented: bequeathing alſo thereto his library (thought to be then the beſt in Europe) after his deceaſe; together with all his plate, hangings, and other houſhold-ſtuff whatſoever, by a deed of gift in his life-time; and putting the college in poſſeſſion of the ſame by indentures, only borrowing them back again for his own uſe, during his life. But they were ſeized, upon his being attainted of treaſon. He had moreover, to ſhew his perpetual good will to this college, built a little chapel near the college-chapel, and erected there a tomb of white marble finely wrought, for his own burial-place. But his body was laid elſewhere, as will be related in its due place (10).

(10) R. Hall, p. 30, 31.

[*H*] *Wherein the Biſhop delivered himſelf with great freedom.*] Part of his ſpeech was in theſe words—— 'I had thought, that when ſo many learned men, as 'ſubſtitute for the clergy, had been drawn into this 'body, that ſome good matters ſhould have been pro'pounded for the benefit and good of the Church: 'that the ſcandals, that lye ſo heavy upon her men, 'and the diſeaſe which takes ſuch hold on thoſe ad'vantages, might have been hereby at once removed, 'and alſo remedied. Who hath made any the leaſt 'propoſition againſt the ambition of thoſe men, whoſe 'pride is ſo offenſive, whiles their profeſſion is humi'lity? or againſt the incontinency of ſuch as have 'vowed chaſtity? how are the goods of the Church 'waſted? the lands, the tithes, and other oblations 'of the devout anceſtors of the people (to the great 'ſcandal of their poſterity) waſted in ſuperfluous rio'tous expences? how can we exhort our flocks to fly 'the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, when 'we that are Biſhops ſet our minds on nothing more 'than that which we forbid? if we ſhould teach ac'cording to our doing, how abſurdly would our doc'trines ſound in the ears of thoſe that ſhould hear us? 'and if we teach one thing, and do another, who be'lieveth our report? which would ſeem to them no 'otherwiſe than as if we ſhould throw down with one 'hand what we built with the other: we preach hu'mility, ſobriety, contempt of the world, &c. and 'the people perceive in the ſame men that preach 'this doctrine, pride and haughtineſs of mind, exceſs 'in apparel, and a reſignation of our ſelves to all 'worldly pomps and vanities. And what is this other'wiſe, than to ſet the people in a ſtand, whether they 'ſhall follow the ſight of their own eyes, or the belief 'of what they hear———— (11).'

(11) R. Hall, as above, p 37, 38.

[*I*] *The*

the validity of that marriage, ſince it was good and lawful from the beginning. And, from this opinion no conſiderations whatever could make him recede afterwards (y). When the affair came to be tried before the two Legates, Campeius and Wolſey; Biſhop Fiſher was one of the Counſellors aſſigned to the Queen; and preſented to the Legates a book he had written in defence of the marriage: making a ſpeech at the ſame time, wherein he deſired them, to take good heed of what they did in ſo weighty a buſineſs (z). In the Parliament which met November 3, 1529, a motion being made for ſuppreſſing the leſſer monaſteries, the Biſhop warmly oppoſed it in the Upper-Houſe [I]; and endeavoured to wipe off ſome general aſperſions, thrown upon the clergy in the Lower Houſe, at the bringing in of bills about mortuaries, pluralities, and probates of Wills (a). He alſo oppoſed in Convocation, the propoſal there made, for granting the monaſteries of 200*l. per annum* value, and under, to the King: ſo that the propoſal was then rejected (b). In 1530, he eſcaped two very great dangers, namely, of being poiſoned, and ſhot, in his houſe at Lambeth-marſh [K]; whereupon he retired to Rocheſter (c). When the queſtion, of giving King Henry VIII. the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England, was debated in Convocation, in 1531, the Biſhop oppoſed it with all his might: which only ſerved the more to incenſe the Court againſt him, and to make them watch for all opportunities of getting rid of ſo troubleſome a perſon (d). He ſoon gave them the opportunity they ſought for; namely, in his tampering with, and hearkening too much to, the viſions and impoſtures of Elizabeth Barton, the Holy Maid of Kent (e): a proceeding, which nothing but his age, his bigottry for the Church of Rome, and a deſire of ſupporting its doctrines by the ſame unlawful arts as have been too often employed, can excuſe (f). However, it is neceſſary to ſee what reaſons he alledges for his behaviour in that affair; for which the reader will be pleaſed to conſult the note [L].

The

(y) Ibid. p. 48, &c.

(z) Ibid. p. 66, &c.

(a) Ibid. p. 94; and Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. P. i. p. 82.

(b) R. Hall, ubi ſupra, p. 98, 99, 100.

(c) Ibid. p. 101, 102.

(d) Ibid. p. 107—124.

(e) See above, the article BARTON (ELIZABETH).

(f) R. Hall, ubi ſupra, p. 117, &c. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, P. i. p. 149, &c.

[I] *The Biſhop warmly oppoſed it in the Upper-Houſe.*] His ſpeech was as follows, ‘ My Lords, here are certain bills exhibited againſt the clergy, wherein there ‘ are complaints made againſt the viciouſneſs, idleneſs, rapacity, and cruelty of Biſhops, Abbots, Prieſts, ‘ and their Officials: but, my Lords, are all vitious, ‘ all idle, all ravenous, and cruel Prieſts, or Biſhops? ‘ And for ſuch as are ſuch, are there no laws provided ‘ already againſt ſuch? Is there any abuſe that we do ‘ not ſeek to rectify? Or can there be ſuch a rectification, as that there ſhall be no abuſes? Or are not ‘ clergymen to rectify the abuſes of the clergy? Or ‘ ſhall men find fault with other mens manners, whiles ‘ they forget their own? and puniſh where they have ‘ no authority to correct? if we be not executive in ‘ our laws, let each man ſuffer for his delinquency; ‘ or if we have not power, aid us with your aſſiſtance, ‘ and we ſhall give you thanks. But, my Lords, I ‘ hear there is a motion made, that the ſmall Monaſteries ſhall be taken into the King's hands, which ‘ makes me fear it is not ſo much the good as the ‘ goods of the Church, that is looked after. Truly, ‘ my Lord, how this may ſound in your ears I cannot ‘ tell, but to me it appears no otherwiſe, than as if ‘ our holy mother the Church were to become a bondmaid, and new-brought into ſervility and thraldom, ‘ and by little and little to be quite baniſhed out of ‘ thoſe dwelling places, which the piety and liberality ‘ of our forefathers, as moſt bountiful benefactors, ‘ have conferred upon her; otherwiſe to what tendeth ‘ theſe portentous and curious petitions of the Commons? to no other intent or purpoſe, but to bring ‘ the clergy into contempt with the laity, that they ‘ may ſeize their patrimony. But, my Lords, beware ‘ of yourſelves and your country; beware of your holy ‘ mother the catholique Church; the people are ſubject unto novelties, and Lutheraniſm ſpreads itſelf ‘ amongſt us. Remember, Germany and Bohemia, ‘ what miſeries are befallen them already; and let our ‘ neighbours houſes that are now on fire, teach us to ‘ beware our own diſaſters. Wherefore, my Lords, I ‘ will tell you plainly what I think, that except ye reſiſt manfully by your authorities, this violent heap of ‘ miſchiefs offered by the Commons, you ſhall ſee all ‘ obedience, firſt drawn from the clergy; and ſecondly ‘ from yourſelves; and if you ſearch into the true ‘ cauſes which reign among them, you ſhall find that ‘ they all ariſe *through want of faith*.’——At this ſpeech ſome of the Lords were pleaſed, others diſpleaſed. And the Duke of Norfolk, addreſſing himſelf to the Biſhop, ſaid, ‘ My Lord of Rocheſter, many of theſe words might have been well ſpared; but ‘ I wis that it is often ſeen that the greateſt clerks are ‘ not always the wiſeſt men.’ To which the Biſhop replied, ‘ My Lord, I do not remember any fools in ‘ my time that ever proved great clerks.’ But when the Commons heard of it, they were all in a flame, and ſent their ſpeaker Thomas Audeley to complain to the King: who thereupon ſent for the Biſhop, and aſked him, ‘ why he ſpake thus?’ The Biſhop anſwered, that ‘ being in counſel, he ſpake his mind in ‘ defence of the Church, whom he ſaw daily injured, ‘ and oppreſſed by the common people, whoſe office ‘ it was not to judge of her manners, much leſs to reform them, and therefore he thought himſelf in conſcience bound to defend her in all that lay within ‘ his power.’ The King bid him ‘ uſe his words ‘ more temperately,’ and that was all. Which gave the Commons little ſatisfaction (12).

[K] *In* 1530, *he eſcaped two very great dangers, namely of being poiſoned, and ſhot, in his houſe at Lambeth-marſh.*] One Richard Rouſe, who was acquainted with the cook, coming into the Biſhop's kitchen; took his opportunity, while the cook was gone to fetch him ſome drink, to throw a great quantity of poiſon into gruel which was prepared for the Biſhop's dinner. He could eat nothing that day, ſo eſcaped; but, of ſeventeen perſons that ate of it, one Mr Bennet Curwin, and an old widow, died, and the reſt never perfectly recovered their healths. Upon this occaſion, an act was made, which declared poiſoning to be high-treaſon, and adjudged the offender to be boiled to death. That ſevere puniſhment was inflicted upon Rouſe, in Smithfield, ſoon after. But the act was repealed, 1 Edw. VI. c. 12. & 1 Mar. c. 1.——As for the other danger, it was thus. A cannon-bullet, that was ſhot from the other ſide of the Thames, pierced through his houſe, and came very near his ſtudy, where he uſed to ſpend moſt of his time (13).

[L] *For which the reader will be pleaſed to conſult the note.*] Thoſe reaſons are taken from a letter written by him to the Houſe of Lords, while the bill for attainting Elizabeth Barton and her accomplices, was depending.———— ‘ It may pleaſe you to conſider ‘ that I ſought not for this woman's coming unto me, ‘ nor thought in her any manner of deceit. She was ‘ the perſon that, by many probable and likely conjectures, I then reputed to be right honeſt, religious, ‘ and very good and vertuous. I verily ſuppoſed, ‘ that ſuch feigning and craft, compaſſing of any guile ‘ or fraud had been far from her: and what default ‘ was this in me, ſo to think, when I had ſo many ‘ probable teſtimonies of her virtue? 1. The bruit of ‘ the country which generally called her the *Holy* ‘ *Maid*. 2. Her entrance into religion upon certain ‘ viſions which was commonly ſaid that ſhe had. ‘ 3. For the good religion and learning that was ‘ thought to be in her ghoſtly father (14), and in other

‘ virtuous

(12) R. Hall, ubi ſupra, p. 94, &c.

(13) R. Hall, ubi ſupra, p. 101, 102, and Burnet, as above, p. 113.

(14) Dr Bocking.

The Court having the advantage againſt him they wanted, ſoon made uſe of it, by adjudging him to be guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon, for concealing the Maid's ſpeeches that related to the King; and condemning him (with five others) in loſs of goods, and impriſonment during the King's pleaſure: but he was releaſed upon paying 300*l.* for his Majeſty's uſe [*M*]. In the ſame Parliament, which met Jan. 15, 1533-4, wherein this ſentence was paſſed upon him and the reſt of Elizabeth Barton's accomplices; an act was made, which abſolutely annulled King Henry's marriage with Catherine of Arragon; confirmed his marriage with Anne Boleyn; intailed the crown upon her iſſue, and nominally upon the Lady Elizabeth; made it high-treaſon *to ſlander* or do any thing to the derogation of this laſt marriage; and injoined all perſons whatſoever to maintain and keep the contents of this act (*g*). In purſuance of it, on the day of the prorogation of that Parliament, March 30, an oath was taken by both Houſes, whereby they 'ſwore to bear faith, truth and obedience all onely to the King's Majeſty, and to his heirs of his body of his moſt dear and entirely beloved lawfull wife Queen Anne, begotten and to be begotten. And farther to the heirs of the ſaid ſovereign Lord, according to the limitation in the Statute made for ſurety of his ſucceſſion in the crown of this realm mentioned and contained, and not to any other within this realm, nor foreign authority or potentate, &c (*h*).' Inſtead of taking this oath, Biſhop Fiſher withdrew to his houſe at Rocheſter. But he had not been there above four days, before he received orders from the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and other Commiſſioners, authorized under the Great-Seal to tender the oath, to appear before them at Lambeth. He appeared accordingly, and the oath being preſented to him, he peruſed it a while, and then deſired time to conſider of it; ſo five days were allowed him. At the expiration of them, he appeared again before the Commiſſioners, and told them, 'He had peruſed the oath with as good deliberation as he could: but as they had framed it, he could not (with any ſafety to his own conſcience) ſubſcribe thereto, except they would give him leave to alter it in ſome particulars; whereby his own conſcience might be the better ſatisfied, the King pleaſed, and his actions rather juſtified, and warranted by law.' They all made anſwer, that 'the King would not in any wiſe permit, that the oath ſhould admit of any exceptions or alterations whatſoever.' And the Archbiſhop in particular, ſaid, 'You muſt anſwer directly, whether you will or will not ſubſcribe.' To which the Biſhop replied, 'If you will needs have me anſwer directly, my anſwer is, that foraſmuch as my own conſcience cannot be ſatisfied, I abſolutely refuſe the oath.' Whereupon he was immediately committed to the Tower, it being on the 26th of April 1534 (*i*). But, in reſpect of his great reputation for learning and piety, earneſt endeavours were uſed to bring him to a compliance. Some Biſhops waited upon him for that purpoſe; as did afterwards the Lord Chancellor Audeley, and others of the Privy-Council, but they found him immoveable (*k*) [*N*]. Secretary Cromwell was alſo with him, to try to

(*g*) Statut. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 22.

(*h*) Statut. 26 Hen. VIII. c. 2.

(*i*) R. Hall, ubi ſupra, p. 138—147.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 150, &c.

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virtuous and well learned Prieſts, that then teſtified of her holineſs, as it was commonly reported. Finally, my Lord of Canterbury (15), that then was both her ordinary and a man reputed of high wiſdom and learning, told me that ſhe had many great viſions. And of him I learned greater things than ever I heard of the Nun herſelf.——— But here 'twill be ſaid, that ſhe told me ſuch words as was to the peril of the Prince, and of the realm.———The words that ſhe told me concerning the peril of the King's Highneſs were theſe, That ſhe had her revelation from God, that if the King went forth with the purpoſe that he intended, he ſhould not be King of England ſeven months after, and ſhe told me alſo, that ſhe had been with the King and ſhewed unto his Grace the ſame revelation.——— But whereas, I never gave her any counſel to this matter, nor knew of any forging or feigning thereof, I truſt in your great wiſdoms that you will not think any default in me touching this point ———It will be ſaid, that I ſhould have ſhewed the words unto the King's Highneſs. Verily if I had not undoubtedly thought that ſhe had ſhewed the ſame words unto his Grace, my duty had been ſo to have done. But when ſhe herſelf, which pretended to have had this revelation from God, had ſhewed the ſame; I ſaw no neceſſity why that I ſhould renew it again to his Grace.—— And not only her own ſaying thus perſuaded me, but her Prioreſs's words confirmed the ſame, and their ſervants alſo reported to my ſervants that ſhe had been with the King. And yet beſides all this, I knew it not long after by ſome others that ſo it was indeed——— (16).

(15) Archbiſhop Warham.

(16) Cotton. Lib. Cleop. E. 6. fol. 166. It is alſo printed in Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 87, 88.

[*M*] *He was releaſed upon paying* 300*l. for his Majeſty's uſe*] This is R. Hall's account (17). But Dr Burnet ſays, he does not find, that the King proceeded againſt him upon this act, till by new provocations he drew a heavier ſtorm of indignation upon himſelf (18). He obſerves further upon this point, that when the cheat was firſt diſcovered, Secretary Cromwell, ſent the Biſhop's brother to him, with a ſharp reproof for his carriage in that buſineſs; and withal adviſed him to write to the King, and deſire his pardon, which he knew the King, conſidering his age and ſickneſs, would grant. But he wrote back, excuſing himſelf, that all he did, was only to try whether her revelations were true, &c.—Cromwell ſent him a long anſwer (19); in which he charges the matter upon him heavily, and ſhews him, that he had not proceeded as a grave Prelate ought to have done; for he had taken all that he had heard of her upon truſt, and had examined nothing.———Then he ſhews, how guilty he was, in not revealing what concerned the King's life, and how frivolous all his excuſes were. —And after all, tells him, that though his excuſing the matter had provoked the King, and that if it came to a trial, he would certainly be found guilty; yet again he adviſes him to beg the King's pardon for his negligence, and offence in that matter, and undertakes that the King would receive him into his favour.—— But Fiſher was ſtill obſtinate, and made no ſubmiſſion, and ſo was included within the act for miſpriſion of treaſon.

(17) Page 138.

(18) Ubi ſupra, p. 154.

(19) It is printed in the Collection of Records at the end of Dr Burnet's 1ſt Part of the Hiſt. of the Reformat. No. 48. p. 123.

[*N*] *But they found him immoveable*] His anſwer to the Biſhops was thus, 'My very good friends, and ſome of you my old acquaintance, I know you wiſh me no hurt, but a great deal of good; and I do believe, that upon the terms you ſpeak of, I might have the King's favour as much as ever. Wherefore, if you can anſwer me to one queſtion, I will perform all your deſires. What is that, ſaid they? It is this, ſaid the Biſhop, what will it gain a man to to perſuade and convince him. He adviſed him to write to the King: But he told Cromwell, that as he knew the King's jealous temper, he was afraid of writing, for fear his Majeſty ſhould take ſomething amiſs: however, upon his repeated ſollicitations, he conſented to write. Cromwell found, that the thing which ſtuck moſtly with him, was, That the marriage was to be reckoned contrary to the law of God, on account of the prohibition in the Levitical Law. He ſent therefore Roland Lee, elect of Coventry and Lichfield, to talk with him upon that point. The iſſue was, Biſhop Fiſher declared, that he would ſwear to the ſucceſſion; never diſpute any more about the marriage; and promiſed allegiance to the King: But his conſcience could not be convinced, that the marriage was againſt the law of God (*l*). Theſe conceſſions did not ſatisfy the King [*O*]: who was reſolved to let all his ſubjects ſee, there was no mercy to be expected from him by any one who oppoſed his will (*m*). Therefore, in the Parliament which met the 3d of November 1534, he was attainted for refuſing the oath of ſucceſſion, and his biſhopric was declared void from the 2d of January following (*n*). During his confinement the poor old Biſhop was but hardly and unkindly uſed, and ſcarce allowed neceſſaries; as appears by Dr R. Lee's Letter, and the Biſhop's own complaints, to Secretary Cromwell (*o*) [*P*]. He continued above a year priſoner in the Tower, and might have continued there till releaſed by a natural death, which could not be far off conſidering his advanced age: But an unſeaſonable honour paid him by Pope Paul III (*p*), haſtened his deſtruction; that was, the creating of him, on the 21ſt of May 1535, Cardinal, by the title of Cardinal Prieſt of St Vitalis. When the King heard of it, he gave ſtrict orders that none ſhould be permitted to bring the Hat into his dominions; and therefore it came no nearer than Calais (*q*). Moreover, he ſent Secretary Cromwell to examine the Biſhop about that affair [*Q*], and from this time his ruin was abſolutely determined. But as no legal advantage could be taken againſt him, Richard Rich, Eſq; Sollicitor-General, a buſy and officious man, went to him, on the 7th of May (*r*); and in a fawning and treacherous manner, under pretence of conſulting him (as from the King) about a caſe of conſcience, unwarily drew him into a diſcourſe about the tender point of the Supremacy. Concerning which the Biſhop inconſiderately uttered theſe words: ‘ As to the buſineſs of ‘ Supremacy, I muſt needs tell his Majeſty, as I have often told him heretofore, and ‘ would ſo tell him, if I were to die this preſent hour, that it is utterly unlawful; and ‘ therefore

(*l*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 174, 175.

(*m*) Dr Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 354.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 158.

(*o*) Idem, p. 156.

(*p*) And not *Clement*, as Biſhop Burnet has it, ubi ſupra, p. 353. Clement died in 1534.

(*q*) R. Hall, as above, p. 168, 169.

(*r*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. v. p. (193.)

‘ to win the whole world, and to loſe his own ſoul.' ——To the Lords of the Privy-Council he anſwered thus, ‘ My Lords, you preſent before me a two-edged ‘ ſword; for, if I ſhould anſwer you with a diſacknowledgment of the King's Supremacy, that would ‘ be my death; and if I ſhould acknowledge the ſame ‘ perhaps contrary to my own conſcience, that would ‘ be aſſuredly unto me worſe than death. Wherefore ‘ I make it my humble requeſt unto you, that you ‘ would bear with my ſilence, for I ſhall not make ‘ any direct anſwer to it at all (20).'

(20) R. Hall, as above, p. 151, 153.

[*O*] *Theſe conceſſions did not ſatisfy the King*] When they were reported to him, he ſwore, ‘ Mother of ‘ God, both More and he ſhould take the oath, or he ‘ would know why they ſhould not; and they [Cromwell, and reſt of the counſellors] ſhould make them ‘ do it, or he would ſee better reaſons why they could ‘ not (21).'

(21) R. Hall, p. 156.

[*P*] *As appears by Dr R. Lee's letter, and the Biſhop's own complaints, to Secretary Cromwell*] Dr Lee repreſented to Secretary Cromwell, that the Biſhop's ‘ body could not bear the cloaths on his back; ‘ that he was nigh going, and that he could not continue unleſs the King were merciful to him.'——And how great and juſt were the poor Biſhop's complaints, appears from the following extract of a letter of his to the ſame Mr Secretary Cromwell.

‘ Furthermore, I beſeech you be good maſter unto ‘ me in my neceſſity. For I have neither ſhirt nor ‘ ſute, nor yet other cloaths, that are neceſſary for ‘ me to wear, but that be ragged and rent too ſhamefully: notwithſtanding, I might eaſily ſuffer that, if ‘ that would keep my body warm. But my diet alſo, ‘ God knoweth how ſlender it is at many times. And ‘ now, in my age, my ſtomach may no away but with ‘ a few kind of meats: which if I want, I decay forthwith, and fall into craſes and diſeaſes of my body, ‘ and cannot keep myſelf in health. And, as our ‘ Lord knoweth, I have nothing left unto me, for to ‘ provide any better, but as my brother of his own ‘ purſe layeth out for me, to his great hindrance. ‘ Wherefore, good Maſter Secretary, eftſones, I beſeech you, to have ſome pity upon me, and let me ‘ have ſuch things as are neceſſary for me, in mine ‘ age, and eſpecially for my health. And alſo that ‘ it may pleaſe you, by your high wiſdom, to move the ‘ King's Highneſs to take me unto his gracious favour ‘ again, and to reſtore me to my liberty, out of this ‘ cold and painful impriſonment. Whereby ye ſhall ‘ bind me to be your poor bedeſman for ever unto Almighty God: who ever have you in his protection ‘ and cuſtody. Other twain things, I muſt deſire upon you. The toon is, it may pleaſe you, that I ‘ may take ſome prieſt with me in the Tower, by the ‘ aſſignment of Maſter Lieutenant, to hear my confeſſion againſt this holy time. That other is, that I ‘ may borrow ſome books, to ſay my devotion more ‘ effectually theſe holy days, for the comfort of my ‘ ſoul. This I beſeech you to grant me of your charity. And this our Lord God ſend you a mery ‘ Chriſtmas, and a comfortable, to your heart's deſire. At the Tower, the 22d day of December, ‘ your poor bedeſman,

JOHN ROFF (22).

(22) Strype's Eccl. Memorials, Vol. I. p. 175, 176.

[*Q*] *Moreover he ſent Secretary Cromwell to examine the Biſhop about that affair.*] After ſome conference between them, Cromwell aſked him, ‘ My ‘ Lord of Rocheſter, what would you ſay, if the Pope ‘ ſhould ſend you a Cardinal's hat, would you accept ‘ of it?' The Biſhop replied, ‘ Sir, I know my ſelf ‘ to be ſo far unworthy of any ſuch dignity, that I ‘ think of nothing leſs; but if any ſuch thing ſhould ‘ happen, aſſure yourſelf I ſhould improve that favour ‘ to the beſt advantage that I could, in aſſiſting the ‘ holy Catholick Church of Chriſt, and in that reſpect ‘ I would receive it upon my knees.' When this anſwer was brought to the King by Secretary Cromwell, Henry ſaid in a great paſſion, ‘ Yea, is he yet ſo luſty? ‘ well, let the Pope ſend him a hat when he will, ‘ Mother of God, he ſhall wear it on his ſhoulders ‘ then, for I will leave him never a head to ſet it on ‘ (23).' The Biſhop's anſwer hath been differently repreſented by our hiſtorians, as if it had been, ‘ That ‘ if the Cardinal's hat was laid at his feet, he would ‘ not ſtoop to take it up.' But that was Sir Thomas More's anſwer to his daughter Mrs Roper, when ſhe acquainted him that the Biſhop was created a Cardinal (24).

(23) R. Hall, p. 170, 171.

(24) See Cotton. Libr. Cleop. E. 6. fol. 169.

‘ therefore I would not wiſh his Majeſty to take any ſuch power or title upon him, as he ‘ loves his own ſoul, and the good of his poſterity (*s*).’ The Biſhop being thus caught in the ſnare purpoſely laid for him; a ſpecial commiſſion was drawn up for trying him, dated June 1, 1535 [*R*], and the indictment againſt him for high-treaſon was found the 11th of the ſame month, it being (as the record expreſſes it) for having ſaid, ‘ The King ‘ owre Soveraigne Lord is not Supreme Hed yn Erthe of the Cherche of England (*t*).’ He was then ſo ill that he could not be brought to his tryal, but in the mean time all his books and other effects whatſoever were ſeized. On the 17th being a little recovered, he was brought to the King's-Bench-bar; partly on horſeback, and partly by water, becauſe his weakneſs did not permit him either to walk, or to go wholly on horſeback. Upon a ſhort tryal he was found by his jury guilty of high-treaſon [*S*]; chiefly, if not ſolely, for the words abovementioned, ſpoken by him in confidence to Mr Sollicitor Rich: and condemned to ſuffer death as in caſes of treaſon (*u*), notwithſtanding all that he could alledge in his own defence [*T*]. On the 22d of June he received the news of his execution on that day, from the Lieutenant of the Tower, at five o'clock in the morning, with great calmneſs; and ſlept ſoundly two hours after it. When he was getting up, he cauſed himſelf to be dreſſed in a finer and more cleanly manner than uſual [*U*]. Being come down ſtairs, he was carried in a chair, upon account of his great weakneſs, to the place of execution, upon Tower-hill; where, inſtead of ſuffering the uſual death of traitors, he was beheaded, about ten o'clock in the morning. Such was the tragical end of John Fiſher Bſhop of Rocheſter (*w*), after he had arrived to the age of 76 years 9 months, and ſome days over. His body was buried in the church-yard of All-hallows-Barking, removed afterwards within the chapel in the Tower; and his head ſet up the next day over London-bridge (*x*). He was a very tall man, as being ſix foot high; and, with that, comely, upright, and well-formed; and ſtrong and robuſt. But, in the decline of life, he grew extreamly emaciated. His complexion was brown, his forehead broad, and his features duly proportioned (*y*). Eraſmus repreſents him as a man of the greateſt integrity, of deep learning, incredible ſweetneſs of temper, and grandeur of ſoul [*W*]. Both friends and enemies acknowledge, that he was a pious man, ſober, temperate, and charitable; and not only learned himſelf, but alſo a great lover and encourager

[*R*] *A ſpecial commiſſion was drawn up for trying him*] The perſons in that commiſſion were, Sir Thomas Audeley Lord Chancellor, Charles Duke of Suffolk, Henry Earl of Cumberland, Thomas Earl of Wiltſhire, Thomas Cromwell Secretary, Sir John Fitz-James Chief Juſtice of England, Sir John Baldwin Chief Juſtice of the Common pleas, Sir William Paulet, Sir Richard Lyſter Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Sir John Port, Sir John Spilman, and Sir Walter late Juſtices of the King's-Bench, and Sir Antony Fitz-herbert, one of the Juſtices of the Common pleas (25).

[*S*] *He was found by his jury guilty of high-treaſon.*] Mr Jeremy Collier rightly thinks (26), that he was proceeded againſt only upon Statute 26 Henr. viii. c. 13. [and that too ſtrained.] This Statute made it high-treaſon, maliciouſly to wiſh or deſire by words or writing, or to imagine, invent, or attempt any bodily harm to be done to the King, the Queen, or their heirs apparent; or to deprive any of them of the *Dignity, Style, or name of their royal eſtates.*—At the time of his tryal, the Biſhop made the following obſervation with regard to that ſtatute;—— ‘ I pray ‘ you, my Lords, conſider, that by all equity, juſtice, ‘ worldly honeſty, and courteous dealing, I cannot ‘ (as the caſe ſtandeth,) be directly charged—with ‘ treaſon, though I had ſpoken the words indeed, the ‘ ſame being not ſpoken *maliciouſly*, but in the way of ‘ advice and counſel, when it was requeſted of me by ‘ the King himſelf; and that favour the very words of ‘ the ſtatute do give me, being made only againſt ſuch ‘ as ſhall *maliciouſly* gainſay the King's Supremacy, ‘ and none other: wherefore, although by rigour of ‘ law, you may take occaſion thus to condemn me, ‘ yet I hope you cannot find law, except you add rigour to that law to caſt me down, which herein I ‘ hope I have not deſerved (27).

[*T*] *Notwithſtanding all that he could alledge in his own defence*] He objected moſtly againſt the Sollicitor-general's evidence, and thought it exceedingly hard and cruel. And therefore he addreſſed himſelf to him in this manner; ‘ Mr Rich I cannot but mervail to hear you come in and bear witneſs againſt me ‘ of theſe words, knowing in what ſecret manner you ‘ came to me.’———Then addreſſing himſelf to his Judges, he related to them all the particulars of Rich's coming; and thus went on.——— ‘ He told me, ‘ that the King, for better ſatisfaction of his own conſcience had ſent unto me in this ſecret manner to ‘ know my full opinion in the matter [of the Supremacy] for the great affiance he had in me more than ‘ any other:———and he told me, that the King ‘ willed him to aſſure me on his honour, and in the ‘ word of a King, that whatever I ſhould ſay unto him ‘ by this his ſecret meſſenger, I ſhould abide no danger nor peril for it, neither that any advantage ſhould ‘ be taken againſt me for the ſame.———Now ‘ therefore, my Lords, concludes he, ſeeing it pleaſed ‘ the King's Majeſty to ſend to me thus ſecretly under ‘ the pretence of plain and true meaning, to know my ‘ poor advice and opinion in theſe his weighty and ‘ great affairs, which I moſt gladly was, and ever will ‘ be, willing to ſend him; methinks, it is very hard ‘ injuſtice to hear the meſſenger's accuſation, and to ‘ allow the ſame as a ſufficient teſtimony againſt me in ‘ caſe of treaſon (28).’

[*U*] *He cauſed himſelf to be dreſſed in a finer and more cleanly manner than uſual.*] And when his man expreſſed his wonder at it, ſeeing his Lordſhip knew well enough he muſt put off all again within two hours, and loſe it. ‘ What of that, ſaid the Biſhop, ‘ doeſt thou not mark, that this is our Marriage-day, ‘ and that it behoves us therefore to uſe more cleanli‘ neſs for ſolemnity of the Marriage-ſake (29).’

[*W*] *Eraſmus repreſents him as a man of the greateſt integrity, &c.*] See above note [*A*]. And alſo obſerve theſe words of the ſame celebrated author. *Aut egregiè fallor, aut is vir eſt unus cum quo nemo ſit hac tempeſtate conferendus, vel integritate vitæ, vel eruditione, vel animi magnitudine* (30). Dr S. Knight rightly obſerves, that he was, ‘ in all reſpects, the greateſt ‘ favorer of learning and learned men’ in his time: and that ‘ no age ever afforded a perſon whoſe heart ‘ was more ſet upon the promotion of good literature ‘ in himſelf, and others.’ Eraſmus, of immortal memory, whom he greatly admired, encouraged, and ſupported, is a pregnant inſtance of his ſingular affection for learned men. And his learning Greek, (*) when he was advanced in years, is a ſufficient proof of his reliſh and love for all polite literature. To which add, his endeavours to reſtore learning in the Univerſity of Cambridge to a right uſe, and to baniſh thence every thing that had too long uſurped that name (31).

[X] W

(*s*) R. Hall, p. 170—174.

(*t*) See Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. v. p. (193.)

(*u*) R. Hall, as above, p. 185—199.

(*w*) ‘ Which left ‘ one of the ‘ greateſt blots ‘ upon this kingdom's proceed‘ ings:’ ſaith Biſhop Burnet, Hiſt. of the Reformat. as above, p. 158.

(*x*) Burnet, ibid. p. 353, 354. R. Hall, ut ſupra, p. 201—211. T. Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. v. p. 203, 204.

(*y*) R. Hall, p. 215; and Fuller, p. 205.

(25) R. Hall, p. 189.

(26) Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 96.

(27) R. Hall, p. 194.

(28) R. Hall, as above, p. 191, 192, 193.

(29) R. Hall, p. 204. Burnet, as above, p. 353.

(30) Eraſmi Epiſt. p. 353. See alſo p. 357, 729.

(*) Eraſmi Ep. p. 359, 360, 307, 357.

(31) S. Knight's Life of Eraſmus, p. 136, 139, 140.

courager of learning (z). For, beſides the care he took of the foundation of the two colleges abovementioned, he deſigned alſo to have built one of his own (a). He was indeed much addicted to the ſuperſtitions in which he had been bred up. But few people, at the age of fourſcore, are very prone to forſake the notions they have imbibed from their tendereſt years. We ſhall give an account of what he writ, or publiſhed, in the note [*X*].

(z) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 155, 156, 354. Fuller, ubi ſupra. R. Hall, paſſim. Sanders, de Schiſm. Angl. Colon. Agr. 1610, p. 120, &c.

(a) Wharton. Angl. Sacra, P. i, p. 382.

[*X*] *We ſhall give an account of what he publiſhed.*] The ſeveral pieces publiſhed by him, were theſe. I. A Sermon on Pſalm 116. at the funeral of King Henry VII (32). II. A funeral Sermon at the moneth minde of Margaret Counteſs of Richmond. Printed by Wynkyn de Worde: republiſhed in 1708. by Thomas Baker B. D. with a learned preface. III. His opinion of King Henry the VIIIth's marriage, in a letter to T. Wolſey. Printed in the collection of records, at the end of Jeremy Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (33). IV. Commentary on the ſeven penytencyal Pſalmes. Written at the deſire of the Counteſs of Richmond. London 1509. 4to. & 1555. 8vo. V. Sermon on the Paſſion of our Saviour. VI. Sermon concerning the Righteouſneſs of the Phariſees and Chriſtians. VII. The method of arriving to the higheſt perfection in religion. Theſe four laſt were tranſlated into Latin by John Fenne (34). VIII. Sermon preached at London, on that day when the writings of M. Luther were publickly burnt; on John xv. 26. Cambridge 1521. tranſlated into Latin by R. Paice (35). IX. *Aſſertionum Martini Lutheri confutatio.* i. e. A confutation of Luther's Aſſertion; in 41 articles. X. *Defenſio Aſſertionis Henr. VIII. de 7 Sacramentis contra Lutheri Captivitatem Babylonicam.* i. e. A Defence of King Henry the 8th's book againſt Luther's intituled, The Captivity of Babylon. XI. *Epiſtola reſponſoria, Epiſtolæ Lutheri.* i. e. A letter in anſwer to Luther's. XII. *Sacerdotii Defenſio contra Lutherum.* A Defence of Prieſthood againſt Luther. XIII. *Pro damnatione Lutheri.* XIV. *De veritate Corporis & Sanguinis Chriſti in Euchariſtia, adverſus Johannem Oecolampadium.* Colon. 1527. 4to. i. e. Of the reality of the Body and Blood of Chriſt in the Euchariſt, againſt Oecolampadius. In this book he anſwers Oecolampadius, paragraph by paragraph, and gives him many hard names. It is but a very indifferent performance. XV. *De unica Magdalena contra Clichtoveum & Jac. Fabrum Stapulenſem.* i. e. That there was only one Magdalen, againſt Clichtoveus, &c. Lov. XVI. *S. Petrum Romæ fuiſſe.* i. e. That St Peter was at Rome, againſt Ulric Velenus. XVII. Several other ſmall Tracts, viz on the Benefit of Prayer. The neceſſity of Prayer. Expoſition of the Lord's Prayer. Pſalms, and Prayers. A letter on Chriſtian Charity, to Herman Lectatius, Dean of Utrecht. A Treatiſe on Purgatory, &c. Moſt of the foregoing pieces were printed together in one volume folio at Wurtzburg, in 1595. *Herbipoli.* It is alſo juſtly ſuppoſed, that he had a conſiderable hand in King Henry the 8th's book againſt Luther, intituled, *Aſſertio ſeptem ſacramentorum*, &c. tho' Biſhop Burnet is very angry with Sanders for ſaying ſo (36). For it is hardly credible, that a Prince of King Henry's diſpoſition ſhould have allowed himſelf time and leiſure enough for ſuch a work.—— Finally, there is in the Norfolk Library of MSS belonging to the Royal Society, an anſwer of Biſhop Fiſher's to a book printed at London in 1530. concerning King Henry's Marriage with Queen Catharine. N°. 151.

C

(32) Catalog. Biblioth. Bodl.

(33) Vol. II. p. 4.

(34) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 377; & Pits, de Illuſtr. Angl. Script. No. 948, ſub ann. 1535.

(35) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 31.

(36) Hiſt. of the Reformat. as above, p. 356.

FITZHERBERT (Sir **ANTHONY**) a very learned Lawyer, as his moſt excellent writings teſtify, and one of the Judges of the Court of Common-Pleas in the reign of King Henry VIII. He was deſcended from the moſt ancient and noble family of Herbert, honoured with the titles of Huntingdon and Pembroke, notwithſtanding what is ſaid to the contrary by the judicious and learned Mr Camden (a), whoſe authority, however, in this, as well as in ſome other points of a like nature, has borne down that of all others (b), and, which is ſtill worſe, even truth itſelf, as will manifeſtly appear in that examination, which, for this reaſon (and ſure a better could not be aſſigned) will be afforded to this point in the notes [*A*]. He was the younger ſon of Ralph Fitzherbert, of

(a) Britan. Lond. 1594. 4to, p. 267.

(b) Tanner's Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, p. 283.

[*A*] *To this point in the notes*] The matter of this note will give the reader full ſatisfaction, as to the means by which ſo many errors creep into all kinds of hiſtory, and more eſpecially into that of eminent perſonages, and their deſcents. It muſt be allowed, that, in things of this nature, the greateſt men may miſtake, and that ſuch miſtakes might be, and indeed ought to be excuſed; but for this very reaſon perſiſting in ſuch miſtakes is altogether inexcuſable; and for a man to preſume his own authority and credit to be of more conſequence than *truth*, is offering a great indignity to the publick; and yet it has ſometimes happened, that this indignity has been not only borne with, but ſuch as have endeavoured to ſet right miſtakes of this nature, have drawn upon themſelves only ſcorn and reproach. In the preſent caſe we will firſt ſtate the account given us by Camden, in all the editions of his book, except the laſt; then, the remark of Rafe Brooke upon that account; next Mr Camden's reply; after that, the ſubſtance of Brooke's rejoinder; and laſt of all, the paragraph as it ſtands in Camden's beſt and moſt correct edition; with a few obſervations as to the neceſſity and uſe of ſuch diſcuſſions.

CAMDEN (1).

Herbert married the ſiſter of William Earl of Hereford, and in her right, was Lord of Deane, from whom is deſcended the noble family of the Herberts; from hence alſo, if we ſhall credit the Heralds and Eſcutcheons of arms, Anthony Fitz Herbert, that great Lawyer, and Lord Chief Juſtice of England, took his original. But I think he rather deſcended from the worſhipful family of the Fitz Herberts in Derbyſhire.

BROOKE, or as he ſtiles himſelf YORK, i. e. *York Herald* (2).

'Your often and ſuſpicious objections, calling in 'queſtion the credit of her Majeſty's Heralds, as tho' 'you judged them ſcarce worthy to be believed, doth 'proceed, as I ſuppoſe, from a malignant humour in 'you, rather then of any good ground, or ſufficient 'reaſon, that might move you thereunto. But I truſt 'that thoſe of diſcretion will ſooner give credit unto 'them, in matter they ſhall aver by good warrantiſe 'and authority, than to you, who ground your con'tradicting arguments upon hearſays and opiniative 'imaginations. And where you charge the Heralds 'to have made Anthony Fitz Herbert, that was Lord 'Chief Juſtice of England, to be deſcended from that 'family of Herberts, which married the ſiſter of Wil'liam Earl of Hereford: I ſay, that therein they have 'done like honeſt and learned officers of arms; and 'thoſe that have, or ſhall, derive the ſaid Anthony, 'or any of that family of Fitz Herberts, from any 'other original than that aforeſaid, they have and 'ſhall err from the truth.'

CAMDEN's Reply (3).

That I did but ſo much as believe, that Anthony Fitz Herbert, Lord Chief Juſtice, did deſcend of the Lineage of the Fitz Herberts in the County of Derby. He revileth me as tho' he were Lord of my belief.

(1) Britannia, 1594, 4to, p. 267.

(2) Diſcovery of Errors in the much commended Britannia, p. 37.

(3) Ad Lectorem, p. 12.

of Norbury in the county of Derby, Eſq; and on this account in all probability it was, that,

He denieth it, and that with many words. He deriveth him from Peter, ſon of Herbert of Deane, of his own bare words, ipſe dixit, he ſaid it, but proof he bringeth none. Let him look upon the viſitation, and he ſhall ſee that he was of the Lynage of the Fitzherberts of Norbury in the County of Derby. Let him alſo give ear to one, that having diligently ſearched all the deeds with their ſeals fixed of that family, becauſe he would find out the truth, affirmeth, that they never, in former ages, did bare the arms of that Fitzherbert of Deane, but others, which they took from the Earls Ferrar's, of whom in the time of King Henry the Second, they held their lands, and that before and after they flouriſhed under the ſurname of Fitzherbert. Neither let this fellow, which hath ſo plodded in the pedigree of the Herberts, which deſcended from Peter ſon of Herbert, forget, how that they never took Fitzherbert for their ſurname, but, after the old and Welch faſhion, did alter always their ſurname by the chriſtian name of their father; for the ſon of Reginald, Peter Fitz Reginald, and until it came to William ap Thomas, whoſe ſon, the Earl of Pembroke, did aſſume the chriſtian name of Herbert for his ſurname, and left it to his poſterity. And ſo likewiſe did others out of that family, whom it ſhall be needleſs particularly to reckon up. But wherefore do I ſtay upon theſe points? I will in one word end all this matter. He derives this family from Peter Fitzherbert of Deane, but that Peter lived under King John and was of his Councel, as witneſſeth Roger of Wyndouer, 1211. But William Fitzherbert had Norbury in the year 1125, fourſcore years before, as appeareth by the book of Tutteſbury-Abby, where theſe words are to be read. In the year of the Incarnation 1125, William Prior and the Convent of the Church of St Maries of Tuteſbury, did give to William Fitzherbert, Norbury, to him and his heirs, *&c.* and for this did William give one meaſure of wheat.

BROOKS Rejoinder (4).

(4) A Second Diſcovery of Errors, p. 128.

‘Gentle reader, in my diſcovery I reproved this learned man for diſcrediting of her Majeſty's officers of arms in theſe words; if we ſhall credit the Heralds, Anthony Fitzherbert, the great Lawyer, and Lord Chief Juſtice of England, did deſcend from Herbert Lord of Deane, *&c.* as tho' their labours and travels were not to be believed or regarded ſo ſoon as his own thoughts, and thus moſt ſubtily he goeth about to impeach their credits, whoſe books he was not then worthy to carry, in regard of their knowledge and profeſſion. I think this man was much diſtempered in minde, when he ſuffered theſe obſtinate and unadviſed ſpeeches to paſs from him, or elſe was miſinformed by his negligent tutors, otherwiſe to ſeek revenge upon his adverſary. He would not have play'd Sampſon's part raſhly, to have cruſhed the pillars whereby he leaned, and have ſhaken the whole houſe upon himſelf. I appeal to the judgment of the indifferent reader, and his own writings, what this man will not ſay and write, when as in this place moſt untruly he dareth to charge me to derive Sir Anthony Fitzherbert to deſcend from one Peter Fitzherbert of Deane, when as I neither writ, or ever thought, of any ſuch matter, my words being only as before, that who ſo ever did derive the ſaid Sir Anthony to deſcend from any other family then of that which married with the ſiſter of William Earl of Hereford, ſhould err. And where he voucheth the viſitation of Derbyſhire to prove this Sir Anthony Fitzherbert to deſcend of Fitzherberts of Norbury, I marvel greatly at his weakneſs therein, conſidering that the ſame proveth no further then to Nicholas Fitzherbert in King Henry the Sixth's time, who was grandfather to the ſaid Sir Anthony beforementioned; but it ſheweth his ignorance, and that he dareth to alledge any thing to ſerve his turn, rather then he will be unfurniſhed of matter, altho' very impertinent to that in queſtion.

‘What will not this man ſay or put in print upon his own imagination or report of others, there being not any that will or can averr and prove, that they have ſearched and ſeen all the Fitzherberts deeds and charters, therefore have I no cauſe or reaſon to lend my ear, and much leſs to believe one which hath no name, neither that hath reported a truth. And for proof thereof I have at this inſtant in my cuſtody, divers original deeds and charters of the ſaid Fitzherberts being of the younger houſe, ſealed with the foreſay'd coat of the three lyons, about King Edward the Firſt's time, which will prove that the Fitzherberts of Norbury did uſe and bare the ſaid arms, as did they of Deane, which is alſo acknowledged to be true even by the ſaid Sir Anthony's own tombe at Norbury, where he lieth buried with the very ſame arms as Fitzherbert of Deane did uſe in King Henry the Third's time (which he that ſearched all their deeds miſſed to ſee) and if this good man, and his diligent ſearcher, be deſirous of further proof hereof, let them go and view the church and croſs in Caſtleton in Derbyſhire, but with better eyes than this man did the Caſtle of Norwich, for the Earl Bygots arms, and they ſhall find there very antient, both wrought in glaſs, and carved in ſtone, the ſaid arms of three lyons rampant, and the other coat he ſaith was taken from the Earls Ferrars arms quartered with the ſame.

‘This which he hath cited here out of the book of Tuteſbury-Abbey is not faithfully done, according to his former promiſe at the firſt, which I hold to be in him a great fault, to make a common occupation of falſifying of his authors which I find ſet down thus. *In the year from the Incarnation 1125, William Prior, and the Convent of St Mary of Tuteſbury, have given to William Fitzherbert, Norbury, in fee to him and to his heirs, in conſideration of one hundred ſhillings to be paid annually, fifty ſhillings at the feaſt of the Annunciation of St Mary, and the other fifty on the feſtival of St Michael, for his homage, &c.*

‘This learned man's fellow hath indeed diligently, and with his beſt endeavours, collected and ſet forth (with good authorities) for the late Right Honourable Henry Earl of Pembroke, the honourable and antient deſcent of Fitzherbert Lord of Deane, *&c.* which he is and will be ever ready to averr and prove true, therefore let us ſee how cunningly this learned man will carry himſelf, which ſaith he will end all this matter in one word, when I doubt he will not be able to make good his promiſe in a thouſand. Firſt he affirmeth, that the family of Fitzherbert of Deane, did never aſſume Herbert for their ſurname before William ap Thomas his ſon, in King Edward the Fourth's time, did aſſume the ſame, which I hold to be as untrue as his denial of Brute, our antient and great Monarch of Britain, which for the truth ſake, and his own credit, I wiſh he had omitted in his four former editions, as he hath now done in his fifth and laſt edition; as alſo his untrue interpreting of ſirnames, upon his own bare imagination, wherein he hath done great wrong, and miſled divers antient families from their right ſurnames and parents. Becauſe he findeth one Peter, to be the ſon of Herbert in King John's time, and that he was called Peter Fitzherbert, therefore, upon his bare word, *ipſe dixit*, he hath ſpoken it, we muſt believe it, and that the name of Fitzherbert was but a chriſten name, and not a ſurname, before King Edward the Fourth's time, altho' he hath produced no proof at all for the ſame; which to diſprove, and make plain that it was a ſurname long before, as alſo to warn him hereafter of the like vain imaginations conceived and bred in his own brain, I will endeavour to prove unto you, that this name of Herbert was a ſurname, and a noble family, above five hundred years paſt; all ſurnames being at the firſt taken either of their parents chriſtian names, their dwelling places, occupations, nicknames, or ſuch like; and that both Fitzherbert of Deane, and Fitzherbert of Norbury, were lineally deſcended of one paternal anceſtor, altho' here very cunningly he would carry away and abuſe the reader, with ſaying, that I derive the family of Fitzherbert from one Peter, ſon of Herbert in King John's time, when as I did never ſo much as once dream or think of any ſuch matter. For I do, and ever did, derive them to deſcend and come of Henry Fitzherbert, Cham-that, from a child, he was deſtined to a learned profeſſion (c). After he had received the firſt tincture of letters in the country, he was ſent to the univerſity of Oxford, but in what college he ſtudied there does not appear (d). He went from thence to one of the Inns of Court, but to which of theſe is alſo a point, that, at this diſtance of time, cannot be determined (e). His great parts, penetrating judgment, and incomparable diligence, ſoon diſtinguiſhed him in his profeſſion, and, in proceſs of time, he became ſo eminent, that November 18, 1511, being the third year of the reign of King Henry VIII, he was called to the ſtate and degree of a Serjeant at Law (f); and, in 1516, he received the honour of knighthood (g). As he roſe more into publick view, his prudence and probity became more and more conſpicuous, ſo that November 24, 1517, and in the ninth year of the ſame King's reign, he was appointed one of his Majeſty's Serjeants at Law (h). It was two years after this, and not before it as many of our writers ſay, that he publiſhed his great work in relation to the Law, which was then ſo well received, and has been ever ſince both reverenced and admired, as well for the utility of the matter, as the elegancy of it's form (i) [B]. It was not long after this that he publiſhed ſeveral other learned pieces, which

lain to King Henry the Firſt, ſon of William the Conqueror; and to prove the ſame I will firſt uſe the teſtimony of that worthy Herald, which our Pedant himſelf ſo much commendeth, Robert Glover, Somerſet-Herald, who, in his Collectanea, hath this: *Henry Fitzherbert, Chamberlane to King Henry the Firſt, married the daughter of Robert Corbet of Alenceſter, and had iſſue Herbert Fitzherbert, the King's Chamberlain, father of Herbert Lord of Deane, in right of his wife Luce, ſiſter of William Earl of Hereford.*

'This might perſuade this learned man to know and confeſs, that the firſt Herbert aſſumed not his ſurname of Henry his father, after the Welſh faſhion in King Edward the Fourth's time, for then ſhould he have been called Herbert Fitz-Henry. But this I doubt will not yet ſatisfy this learned man, unleſs I prove it by ſome other authentical record, wherefore I wiſh him to read this in the red book in the Exchequer, which he will not deny but to be very antient and authentical.' "*Tempore Henrici Secundi, Herbertus filius Herberti Camerarii ſenioris, tenuit feoda duorum militum in Comit' Southt' de Epo' Winton, & modo tenet Herbertus filius ejus.*" 'This doth prove directly, that the firſt Herbert, ſon of Henry, had his ſurname of Herbert, and not of Henry his father, which may give this man cauſe to be ſorry and repent him of his folly, and wrong he would and hath done unto this noble family of Fitzherbert, had he not been encountered in the ſame, yet will he object againſt me, and ſay, that altho' I have proved the family of Fitzherbert to have a ſurname in King Henry the Firſt's time, yet have I not proved Fitzherbert of Deane, and Fitzherbert of Norbury to be one family, and therein he thinketh ſurely to give me the jerk, if I fail to perform the ſame. Wherefore, to make good what before I have promiſed, and to ſtop his mouth, as alſo his diligent ſearchers and famous antiquaries whom he ſo much boaſteth of, who have very much wronged me, let both he and them ſatisfy themſelves with this, which Roger Hovedon, his own author, hath ſet down, who affirmeth that the firſt Herbert, father to the ſecond Herbert, Lord of Deane, and William Fitzherbert, which had Norbury given him in King Henry the Firſt's time, were both brothers, and that Reginald Earl of Cornwall, natural ſon of King Henry the Firſt, was begotten of their mother. The words are theſe. *Anno* 1177. *King Henry the Second gave to Herbert Fitzherbert and William, the brethren of Reginald Earl of Cornwall, and Joſſalane de la Pomeray, their Nephew, the kingdom of Limerick, for the ſervice of ſixty Knights fees, to hold of him and John his ſon, &c.*

'Thus hath Roger Hovedon, his own author, proved for me, that Reginald Earl of Cornwall, Herbert Fitzherbert, and William Fitzherbert of Norbury, were three brothers. And yet for a further proof, I will uſe here one more of this man's own teſtimonies, avouched in his Apologie *ad Lectorem*, which is, as he ſaith, an antient deed of the aforeſaid Reginald Earl of Cornwall, wherein he calleth the ſecond Herbert Lord of Deane his Nephew, and William Fitzherbert of Norbury his brother, and this I hope he will allow of, becauſe he hath avouched it himſelf. But to a worſe purpoſe than I have here applied it unto. *Reginaldus Henrici Regis filius omnibus &c. ſciatis me dediſſe Gulielmo de Boterell filio Alice Corbet materteræ meæ, totam terram quam dederam Gulielmo de Boterell in Comitatu Cornubiæ, patri ſcz. prædicti Willielmi vz. Penill Widune, &c. Teſtibus B. Exon. Epiſcopo & Nicholao filio meo, Herberto filio Herberti, Radulpho, & Richardo nepotibus meis, Willielmo fratre meo, Hugone de Dunſtavill &c.*

'Now that you have had manifeſted unto you, gentle reader, by good proofs and records, that theſe two great and honourable families of Fitzherbert of Deane and Norbury, had a ſurname in King Henry the Firſt's time, as alſo that they were deſcended of one original anceſtor, and did uſe all one coat of arms, which this Pedant, and his unnamed friend, hath laboured to obſcure. Give me leave here, I pray you, with your patience, to demand of him, by what commiſſion or authority he hath made this Anthony Fitzherbert to be Lord Chief Juſtice of England, which if he refuſe or fail to ſatisfie me of, let him not blame me if I tell him that he hath forged that title and office out of his own brain, as he hath done many others of the ſame kind. The ſaid Anthony himſelf never aſſuming any other title or office, than only Knight, and one of the King's Juſtices of his Common Bench.'

CAMDEN's Paragraph in his laſt Edition (5).

'*Whence, as ſome will have it, deſcended* Anthony Fitzherbert, *a moſt excellent* Lawyer, *as appeared both in that Court in which he ſat, and from his moſt elaborate writings which he publiſhed; but that he was of the Knightly family of the* Fitzherberts *in* Derbyſhire *has been the belief of others.*'

It appears plainly from hence, that Mr Camden was himſelf convinced that he could not ſupport his charge againſt the Heralds and Herald Painters, and therefore he withdrew it, but, that he might confeſs as little as poſſible, he ſtill inſerts both the opinions, as if they were oppoſite and inconſiſtent; whereas Brooke has manifeſtly proved, that they were very reconcileable, perfectly correſponding one with the other, and both of them true; our Judge being deſcended from the Fitzherberts of Norbury, and the Fitzherberts of Norbury from the ſame ſtock with the noble family of Herbert.

[*B*] *As the elegancy of its form.*] We have aſſigned the time when our author's *grand Abridgement* was publiſhed, from unqueſtionable authority. That original edition, magnificently printed upon royal paper, which is very fine, and in a character reſembling antient writing, is become very ſcarce and very dear. There have been ſeveral editions of it ſince, particularly one in 1665, in large folio, and another in 1577, in a ſhort folio, but upon a fine paper, and with a broad margin. I ſhall give the title from thence at large:

I. *La Graunde Abridgement, Collecte par le Judge tres reverend Monſieur* Anthony Fitzherbert, *dernierement conferre oveſque la copye eſcript & per ceo correcte, oveſque le nombre del fueil, per quel facilement poies trouer les caſes cy abrydges, en les liuers dans, novelment annote iammais devaunt imprimes. Auxi vous troueres les reſiduums de lauter livre places icy in ceo* *liuer*

(c) Pitſ. de Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 707.

(d) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 50.

(e) Tanner's Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, p. 283.

(f) Chronica Juridicialia, p. 151.

(g) Tanneri Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, p. 283.

(h) Chron. Jurid. p. 153.

(i) See Sir Edward Coke's Proem. to the tenth Part of his Reports.

(5) Britannia, 1606, fol. p. 313.

which gained him ſuch reputation, that, in Eaſter term 1523, and the fifteenth year of the reign of Henry VIII, he was made one of the Juſtices of the Court of Common Pleas (*k*), in which honourable ſtation he ſpent the remaining part of his life, diſcharging the duties of his office with ſuch ſufficiency, that he was held the oracle of the Law in his time, and with ſuch integrity as gained him univerſal reſpect (*l*). Two things are mentioned in reference to his conduct; one, that (without fear of his power) he openly oppoſed Cardinal Wolſey in the heighth of his favour (*m*); the other, that, when he came to lie upon his death-bed, foreſeeing the changes that were like to happen in the Church as well as State, he preſſed his children in very ſtrong terms to promiſe him ſolemnly, neither to accept grants, nor to make purchaſes of abbey-lands (*n*), which it is ſaid they did, and adhered conſtantly to that promiſe though much to their own loſs. We may add to this a third point, *viz.* that he continued his labours in the cloſet for the benefit of ſucceeding times, as well as upon the Bench for the advantage of his contemporaries, and provided thereby that poſterity ſhould be the better for his valuable writings (*o*) [*C*]. At length,

(*k*) Chron. Jurid. p. 155.

(*l*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 50.

(*m*) Tanneri Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, p. 283.

(*n*) Pitſ. de Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 707.

(*o*) Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 215.

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liuer en le fyne de lour apte titles. That is, *The Grand Abridgement collected by that moſt reverend Judge*, Mr Anthony Fitzherbert, *lately conferred with his own manuſcript corrected by himſelf, together with the folio's referring the caſes to the books, by which they may be eaſily found; an improvement never before made. Alſo in this edition, the additions or ſupplements are placed at the end of their reſpective titles.* The *Colophon* runs thus: Imprinted at London, in Fleet-Street, within Temple-Bar, at the ſign of the hand and ſtar, by *Richard Tottel*, the 20th day of Auguſt, Anno 1577, *Cum privilegio.* To this edition there is added a moſt uſeful and accurate table, by the care of William Raſtall, Serjeant at Law, and alſo one of the Juſtices of the Common Pleas in the reign of Queen Mary; which table is very highly commended by the Lord Chief Juſtice Coke.

As to the original of theſe abridgements of caſes, we are told that the firſt was publiſhed in the reign of King Henry the Sixth by Stathom (6), a learned Lawyer of that time and Baron of the Exchequer, concerning whom there is a very ſingular paragraph to be met with, in the works of the facetious Doctor Fuller (7), which will give ſome light into the reaſon of our author's compoſing his abridgement. 'Much eſteemed, ſays he, at this day, (ſpeaking of Stathom) for the antiquity thereof. For otherwiſe Lawyers behold him, as ſoldiers do bows and arrows ſince the invention of guns, rather for ſight than ſervice. Yea a grandee in that profeſſion hath informed me, that little of Stathom, if any at all, is Law at this day; ſo much is the practice thereof altered, whereof the learned in that faculty will give a ſatisfactory account, tho' otherwiſe it may ſeem ſtrange, that reaſon continuing always the ſame, Law grounded thereon ſhould be capable of ſo great alteration.'

Sir Edward Coke mentions our author, and this work of his, in many places, and always with much reſpect; tho' at the bottom he is far enough from being fond of Abridgements, yet he has left us a paſſage, in which he ſhews us not only his approbation of this, but even of that which Fuller would have us believe was worn altogether out of date, and is exceedingly puzzled to know, why the reaſon of things ſhould not outlaſt the things themſelves, and why the Law ſhould not remain always the ſame, tho' made to regulate the moſt changeable of all ſubjects, the manners, opinions, and circumſtances of men. But to the paſſage in Lord Coke (8), 'Perkins, Fitzherbert, Natura Brevium, and Stamford, of which the Regiſter, Littleton, Fitzherbert, and Stamford, are moſt neceſſary, and of greateſt authority and excellency, and yet the other alſo are not without their fruit. In reading of the caſes in the books at large, which ſometimes are obſcure and miſprinted, if the reader, after the diligent reading of the caſe, ſhall obſerve how the caſe is abridged in thoſe two great Abridgements of Juſtice, Fitzherbert and Sir Robert Brooke, it will both illuſtrate the caſe and delight the reader, and yet neither that of Stathom, nor that of the book of aſſizes, is to be rejected: and for pleading, the great book of entries is of ſingular uſe and utility.' Theſe reaſons are certainly clear and convincing, to which we may add, that there is ſomething ſingularly accurate in our author's method, ariſing probably from his writing this book with a deſign to publiſh it, whereas Sir Robert Brooke's Abridgement, like Sir James Dyer's Reports, was compoſed for his own uſe, and therefore in reading them this circumſtance ſhould be always remembred.

Magna Charta cum diverſis aliis ſtatutis. Lond. 1519, in 12mo. i. e. Magna Charta, *and ſeveral other ſtatutes.*

[C] *For his valuable writings.*] In this note we will endeavour to give a diſtinct account of the reſt of our author's writings, and of ſuch as have been attributed to him, and of which it is doubtful whether they are his or not.

II. *L'Office & auctoryte des juſtyces de peas, compyle & extrayte hors des anciens livres, ſi bien del commen ley, come des ſtatutes.* That is, *The office and authority of* Juſtices *of* Peace, *compiled and extracted out of the old books, as well of the Common Law, as of the Statutes.* Lond. 1538, 12mo. part in French, part in Engliſh, without the author's name, and ſeveral times afterwards.

It was held a very uſeful book for that time, being the firſt upon the ſubject that was ever publiſhed; it was afterwards augmented by Richard Crompton, Eſq; and printed in Quarto at leaſt ſeven times during his life, and before Serjeant Crompton publiſhed it with additions, it had been tranſlated and printed ſeveral times in Engliſh.

III. *L'Office de Viconts, Bailiffes, Eſcheators, Conſtables, Coroners, &c.* That is, *The Office of Sheriffs, Bailiffs of Libertys, Eſcheators, Conſtables, Coroners,* &c. Lond. 1538. 4to.

This has been alſo annexed by Serjeant Crompton, to his Office and Authority of Juſtices of the Peace, and has been frequently printed with it.

IV. *Of the* Diverſity *of* Courts.

This was written by him, as the reader will ſee hereafter, in the twenty firſt of Henry the Eighth, but without the author's name; it was originally written in French, but was tranſlated into Engliſh by W. H. of Grey's-Inn, and added by him to Andrew Horne's Mirrour of Juſtices.

V. *Natura Brevium novel*, that is, *The new Natura Brevium.* Lond. 1534. afterwards tranſlated into Engliſh, and often publiſhed with very accurate tables, having been always in very high eſteem; the nature and deſign of this work, as alſo the reaſon of its being ſtiled the new *Natura Brevium*, will fully appear from our author's ſhort and excellent proem.

'In every art and ſcience there are certain rules and foundations, to which a man ought to give credit, and which he cannot deny. In like manner, there are divers maxims and fundamentals in the knowledge of the Common Laws of the land, which a man ought to believe very neceſſary for thoſe who will underſtand the ſame, eſpecially at the beginning of their ſtudies: for, upon thoſe fundamentals, the whole Law doth depend. For which purpoſe, in time paſt, there was compoſed a very profitable book, called *The Regiſter*, which doth contain ſundry principles, by which he muſt be well inſtructed who would ſtudy the Law. And alſo for that purpoſe was there compoſed by a learned man, a book called *Natura Brevium*, which book doth declare and ſet forth the diverſities and natures of many original writs, with their proceſs, which book helped much to the underſtanding not only of *The Regiſter*, but alſo of the Laws of the land; but becauſe of late time that book hath been tranſlated into the Engliſh tongue, and

(6) Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 233.

(7) Fuller's Worthies, Derbyſhire, p. 233.

(8) Proem to the third Part of Coke's Reports.

length, full of years, in high eſteem with his Sovereign, and univerſally reverenced by his fellow-ſubjects, he yielded his laſt debt to nature the 27th of May, 1538, deſervedly lamented and admired (*p*). His body was interred in his own pariſh-church of Norbury (*q*), upon which there was ſome time afterwards laid a blue marble ſtone, with a very plain and modeſt inſcription, which, becauſe it is not eaſily to be met with, the reader will find inſerted in the notes [*D*]. This venerable Sage in the Law, Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, left behind him a very numerous poſterity; and as he became, by the death of his elder brother, John Fitzherbert of Norbury, Eſq; poſſeſſor of the land eſtate of his family, he was in a condition to provide, in a very plentiful manner, for his younger children (*r*); ſo that long after his deceaſe we find ſeveral very conſiderable families, not only in the county of Derby, but alſo in ſome other adjacent counties, that very juſtly valued themſelves upon having this learned and upright Judge for their common anceſtor (*s*) [*E*]. We ſhall, in a ſubſequent article, ſee, that ſome of his deſcendants (who underſtood his laſt words in ſo rigorous a ſenſe, as to believe they prohibited them from leaving the Church of Rome (*t*), as well as from acquiring church lands) ſuffered very ſeverely for their obſtinacy in that particular, but were notwithſtanding ſo far happy, as that while they remained exiles in foreign parts, by the modeſty of their behaviour, quickneſs of their parts, and great probity of their lives, they maintained the reputation of their family, and were not in the ſlighteſt degree a diſcredit to their country, abating their adherence to Popiſh tenets.

(*p*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 51.

(*q*) Fuller's Worthies, Derbyſhire, p. 233.

(*r*) The Grandeur of the Law, p. 191.

(*s*) Pitſ. de Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 707.

(*t*) See the article enſuing.

‘and many things are therein, which are not according to the Law of the land, and many other things are omitted which are very profitable and neceſſary for the underſtanding of the Law, for that cauſe is this work compoſed and publiſhed. Wherein, if there be any thing againſt the opinion of the ſages who have the adminiſtration of the Laws, the requeſt of him who hath taken the pains to make this treatiſe, is, that they would correct and amend the ſame, as they ſhall ſee good according to the Law.’

Theſe obſervations of our venerable author are highly commended, and ſtrongly ſupported, by that judicious writer, and exquiſite Lawyer, Sir Edward Coke (9), ‘For an example of an original writ, ſays he, among many others, I refer the ſtudious reader eſpecially to Caly's caſe, in Eaſter term in the twenty ſixth of the reign of the late Queen Elizabeth, of ever bleſſed memory, now publiſhed, whereby it more clearly appeareth how judicious the opinion of Juſtice Fitzherbert is, in his preface to his *Natura Brevium*, where he ſaith, that original writs are the foundations whereupon the Law dependeth, and how truly he calleth them the principles of the Law, and fortifieth alſo the opinion of Bracton, where he ſaith, that *Breve, formatum eſt, ad ſimilitudinem regulæ juris*, which caſe I have reported in that form, to this end, that ſtudents, ſeeing the ſingular uſe of original writs, will, in the beginning of their ſtudy, learn them, or at leaſt the principalleſt of them, without book, whereby they ſhall attain unto three things of no ſmall moment. 1. To the right underſtanding of their books. 2. To the true ſenſe and judgment of Law: and laſtly, 3. To the exquiſite form and manner of pleading.’

The ſame intelligent perſon has, in another place, given us a ſhort account of moſt of our author's Law treatiſes, in theſe words (10): ‘Fitzherbert's Abridgement was painfully and elaborately collected, and publiſhed in the eleventh year of King Henry the Eighth, by Fitzherbert, then Serjeant at Law: and he wrote alſo another book, called his *Natura Brevium*, an exact work, exquiſitively penned, and publiſhed in the ſix and twentieth year of Henry the Eighth, when he was Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, Knight, one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas: about the ſame time he wrote his treatiſe of Juſtices of the Peace, wherewith the Judges, as I have ſeen it reported, found fault, for that he therein affirmed, that Juſtices of Peace, having, by their commiſſion, authority to hear and determine felonies, &c. could not hear and determine murders, &c. which, amongſt others, they clearly over-ruled, that Juſtices of Peace lawfully might do.’

VI. *Of the ſurveying of Lands*, 1539. 8vo. Lond. 1567.

VII. *The Book of Huſbandry, very profitable and neceſſary for all perſons.*——Printed by Tho. Berthlet 1534, 8vo. and ſeveral times after in the reign of Queen Mary, and in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth. It is ſaid, in an advertiſement to the reader, that this book was written by one Anthony Fitzherbert, who had been forty years a huſbandman, from whence many have concluded, that this could not be our Judge, but have rather inclined to think it written by his brother John Fitzherbert. Upon examination, however, it will be found, that this latter opinion is leſs ſuſtainable than the former; for ſo it is, that, in the author's preface to his book *of meaſuring of lands*, he mentions his book of *Agriculture*, and in the advertiſement prefixed to the ſame book it is expreſsly ſaid, that the author of that treatiſe *of meaſuring*, was the author likewiſe of the book concerning *the office of a Juſtice of Peace*, whence it ſhould ſeem, that both thoſe books were written by our author, who perhaps in thoſe ſeaſons when he had leiſure to go down into the country, might apply himſelf as vigorouſly to huſbandry, as to the ſtudy of the Laws when in town; and as his genius naturally led him to method and order, ſo he might be inclined to commit his thoughts upon that uſeful ſubject to writing, tho', it may be very well doubted, whether he ever intended they ſhould be publiſhed.

[*D*] *Inſerted in the notes.*] We owe the preſervation of this inſcription to Mr Brooke, York-Herald, who publiſhed it in his diſpute with Mr Camden, as a point deciſive in his favour; for therein he obſerves, that, as to his bearing the antient arms of the family, and his being one of the Judges, not Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, appears from his epitaph, taken from his tomb at Norbury, whereon his arms are engraven, *viz.* Gules, three Lyons rampant, or, with this inſcription:

Of your Charitie, praye for the Souls of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, Knyght, one of the King's Juſtices of his Comon Bench, and ſome tyme Lo. and Patrons of this towne; and Dorathy his wiſe, daughter of Sir Henry Willoughby, Knyght, &c. Which Sir Anthony deceaſed 27 *May* 1538.

[*E*] *For their common anceſtor.*] We are informed by Mr Phillips, that, in the year 1684, there were the following families ſubſiſting, of the deſcendants of our Judge, *viz.* Baſil Fitzherbert, deſcended of William Fitzherbert, Eſq; a younger ſon of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert's, who marrying Elizabeth, daughter and coheireſs of Humphry Swinnerton, of Swinnerton in Staffordſhire, brought that eſtate likewiſe into the family, which, together with the old paternal ſeat of Norbury, was then enjoyed by Baſil Fitzherbert (11). William Fitzherbert, of Tiſſington in the county of Derby, was likewiſe deſcended, in a direct line, from Sir Anthony (12). As alſo Francis Fitzherbert, of Somerſall-Herbert in the county of Derby (13). Likewiſe John Fitzherbert, of Luckington in the county of Wilts, Eſquire (14). The reader may learn ſomething more, upon the ſame ſubject in the ſucceeding article (15).

(9) Proem to the eighth part of his Reports.

(10) Proem to the tenth Part of his Reports.

(11) Grandeur of the Law, p. 191.

(12) Ibid. p. 166.

(13) Ibid. p. 225.

(14) Ibid. p. 244.

(15) Pitſ. de Illuſt. Script. Angl. p. 813.

FITZHERBERT (THOMAS) a deep ſufferer for, and a learned defender of, the Popiſh cauſe, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was the ſon of William Fitzherbert by Iſabel his wife, daughter and one of the heirs of Humphrey Swinnerton of Swinnerton in Staffordſhire, fourth ſon of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, Knt (*a*), of whom in the former article, and born in the ſaid county of Stafford in 1552, in which county being initiated in grammar learning, he was ſent either to Exeter or Lincoln-college in 1568 (*b*). But having been moſtly before bred up in the Catholick religion, the college grew uneaſy to him, for though he would ſometimes hear a ſermon, which he was permitted to do by an old Roman Prieſt that then privately lived in Oxon, yet he would ſeldom go to prayers, for which he was often admoniſhed by the Sub-Rector of his Houſe (*c*). At length, ſeeming to be wearied with Hereſy, he receded without a degree to his patrimony, where alſo refuſing to go to his pariſh-church, he was impriſoned about 1572 (*d*). But being ſoon after ſet at liberty he became ſtill more zealous in his religion, and not only confirmed many wavering Catholicks, but wrote alſo Several Reaſons for the Catholicks not going to Proteſtant churches, for which being like to ſuffer, he withdrew and lived concealed (*e*). In 1580, when Campian and Perſons the Jeſuit came into England, he retired to London, found them out, ſhewed himſelf exceedingly attached to, and ſupplied them liberally. Whereupon bringing himſelf into a *Præmunire*, and foreſeeing great dangers, he went a voluntary exile into France, *anno* 1582, where he continued a zealous ſollicitor in the cauſe of Mary Queen of Scots, with the King of France and Duke of Guiſe, though in vain (*f*). After the deplorable death of that Princeſs, and the loſs of his own wife, Mr Fitzherbert reſolved to leave France and to repair to Madrid, in order to implore the protection of Philip II, to whom indeed moſt of the Engliſh exiles reſorted ſooner or later; he continued there till about the year 1589, and then, being either tired out with vain expectations, or finding that he was not a man of fit principles to thrive in that Court, he reſolved to accompany the Duke of Feria, who had been formerly in England with King Philip, married an Engliſh Lady, and was juſtly eſteemed a great patron of the nation in Spain, to the city of Milan in Italy, where he remained for ſome time, and from thence repaired to Rome (*g*). It is reported that during his reſidence there he fell into great neceſſities, notwithſtanding he had left behind him a competent fortune in England, which diſtreſs is ſuppoſed to have driven him to think of entering into Orders (*h*). However that matter may be, it is certain, that he took a lodging very near the Engliſh college, and obſerved the ſame hours of prayers they did who were reſident in the place. He ſpent the reſt of his time in compoſing ſeveral books, and, amongſt the reſt, one which he addreſſed to his ſon Edward Fitzherbert, Eſq; againſt the maxims of the famous Italian Politician, Nicholas Machiavel, which has been of ſome uſe to modern writers, and was in thoſe times eſteemed a moſt ſound and excellent treatiſe (*i*) [*A*]. He entered into the Society of Jeſus in the ſpring of the year 1614, and received Prieſts Orders much about the ſame time; after which he ſpeedily removed into Flanders, in order to preſide over the Miſſion, and continued at Bruſſels about two years, during which ſpace he wrote ſeveral books in defence of his opinions. In theſe, though he falls much ſhort of the reſt of his perſuaſion, yet he

(*a*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 631.

(*b*) Intrigues of Romiſh Exiles, p. 19.

(*c*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 631.

(*d*) Pitſ. de Illuſtr. Angl. Script. p. 813.

(*e*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 631.

(*f*) Intrigues of Romiſh Exiles, p. 35.

(*g*) Pitſ. de Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 813.

(*h*) Engliſh Spaniſh Pilgrim, p. 65.

(*i*) See this explained in note [*A*].

[*A*] *Eſteemed a moſt ſound and excellent treatiſe.*] The firſt writings publiſhed by our author, and which gave thoſe of his party a true opinion of his worth, that was not certainly inferior to any of their zealous champions at that time, were the following pieces:

I. *A Defence of the* Catholic Cauſe, *containing a treatiſe in confutation of ſundry untruths and ſlanders publiſhed by the* Heretics, *&c.* To which is added, *an* apology, *or* defence, *of his innocency, in a feigned* Conſpiracy *againſt her Majeſty's perſon, for which one* Edward Squire *was wrongfully condemned, and executed, in November* 1598. St Omer's 1602. This is the book which the learned Camden (1) tells us was written by Walpole a Jeſuit, or one under his name.

II. TREATISE *concerning* Polity *and* Religion, *Doway* 1606, 4to. wherein are confuted ſeveral principles of Machiavel. The ſecond part of the ſaid treatiſe was printed alſo at Doway 1610; and both together in 1615, 4to. A third part was printed at London 1652, 4to. being then, ſays Mr Wood, cried up for a good book, as the other parts had been.

III. *An ſit utilitas in ſcelere, vel de infelicitate Principis* Machiavellani? Rome 1610. 8vo. *that is,* whether there be any utility in wickedneſs? or, Of the infelicity of Machiavel's Prince.

Theſe laſt treatiſes met univerſally with a favourable reception, amongſt Proteſtants as well as Papiſts, and did the author great honour as they ſhewed him to be a man of deep ſenſe, ſtrong parts, and of a generous diſpoſition, as well as of much reading and ſingular experience. The truth is, theſe treatiſes give Mr Fitzherbert a right to be remembred among the learned men of our nation, ſince they were extremely well calculated to expel the poiſon infuſed by Machiavel's books, which have done incredible miſchief ever ſince they were publiſhed. Our author goes the right way to work, he ſhews that cunning, ſubtilty, and artifice, are but the mimicks of wiſdom and civil prudence, and therefore naturally beneath great minds, and altogether inconſiſtent either with a good heart or a good underſtanding. He ſhews next, that addreſs, intrigue, and contrivance, are ſo far from being proofs of genius, that they are convincing teſtimonies of the want of it, for that men of true genius move always in a direct path, with their eyes fixed on the object they would obtain, and overcome all obſtacles, not by dirty plots, but by noble perſeverance. He demonſtrates, that the Machiavelian principles lead to infelicity, and that as it is impoſſible a wicked man ſhould be happy, ſo it is as impoſſible that a wicked Prince ſhould be proſperous, or great; it is true that his language is not a little perplexed and obſcure, that his method, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, is ſomewhat embarraſſed and pedantick; and that he has intermixed many things in his diſcourſe, which might have been much better omitted; but tho' theſe circumſtances abate, yet they are far from deſtroying the merit of his work, in which the materials are to be found of a better refutation of Machiavel's writings than is to be met with in our own or perhaps in any other language.

(1) Pitſ. de Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 814.

he expreſſes himſelf with a bitterneſs, which would be altogether inexcuſable, but from the nature of his circumſtances, which, on the one hand, might ſharpen his temper; and, on the other, oblige him to write in ſuch a ſtile as might be moſt agreeable to his benefactors (*k*). Theſe books of his, at the time they were publiſhed, were highly commended and much eſteemed, though now they are little read, and hardly remembered [*B*]. His great parts, his extenſive and polite learning, together with the high eſteem that he had procured by his prudent behaviour at Bruſſels, procured him what any other in his ſituation would have eſteemed a very high preferment, but which he with much reluctancy accepted. This was the Government, with the title of Rector, of the Roman College at Rome, which office he exerciſed with unblemiſhed credit for twenty-two years, and was often named within that ſpace of time for a Cardinal's hat, in the room of Cardinal Alan, which it is thought he might eaſily have obtained, if it had been in reality the object of his ambition (*l*). But he was a man of a mild and moderate diſpoſition, more eſpecially in the latter part of his life, and for that reaſon was more willing to decline, than to aſpire to, that envied dignity. He died there Auguſt 27, 1640, in the eighty-eighth year of his age (*m*). His body was interred in the chapel belonging to the Engliſh college at Rome (*n*). As he remained ſo great a part of his life an exile, and under the imputation of being an enemy to his country, he may be juſtly reputed unhappy, but yet leſs ſo than a near relation of his who was contemporary with him, and reſided for ſome years in the ſame college (*o*) [*C*], ſince our author lived the far greater part of his days decently, if not ſplendidly, and died at laſt peaceably in his bed, exceedingly admired by thoſe of his own faction, and as much eſteemed as he could expect by the reſt of his countrymen, who diſliked nothing in him but his perſuaſion, and were ſorry that a man of his parts, learning, and politeneſs, ſhould, by his obſtinacy, make himſelf ſo unhappy.

(*k*) Intrigues of Romiſh Exiles, p. 23.

(*l*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 632.

(*m*) Intrigues of Romiſh Exiles, p. 31.

(*n*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 632.

(*o*) Pitſ. de Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 814.

[*B*] *And indeed hardly remembered.*] The remaining works of Mr Thomas Fitzherbert are entirely controverſial, and by no means equal to thoſe beforementioned, for the reaſons that have been briefly aſſigned in the text. The titles of them are as follow:

IV. *A large* Preface, *in which are laid open ſome few examples of the ſingular ignorance, lying, and other bad dealings, of Mr* William Barlow, *in his anſwer to* the cenſure of the apology ſet before *Robert Perſon's book, entituled,* A diſcuſſion of the anſwer of Mr *William Barlow,* to a book entituled, *The Judgment,* &c. printed 1612. 4to (2).

V. *Supplement to the Diſcuſſion of Dr* Barlow'*s anſwer to The* Judgment of a Catholick Engliſhman, *&c. interrupted by the death of the author* F. Rob. Perſons, *Jeſuit.* St Omer's 1613. 4to. Publiſhed under the two letters of F. T.

VI. *Cenſure of* Dr John Donne's *book entituled,* Pſeudo-Martyr (3).

VII. *Additions to the Supplement.*——Theſe two laſt are printed at the end of the Supplement to The Diſcuſſion, *&c.* againſt Dr William Barlow, Biſhop of Lincoln, beforementioned.

VIII. *Confutation of certain abſurdities in* Lancelot Andrews'*s anſwer to* Bellarmine. 1603. 4to. and publiſhed under the two letters of F. T. inſtead of T. F. This was written in vindication of Cardinal Bellarmine's Apology, for his anſwer made to King James's book, *De jure fidel.* Whereupon came out a book, entituled, *Epphata to* T. F. *or a Defence of the Biſhop of* Ely (Lancelot Andrews) *concerning his anſwer to Cardinal* Bellarmine'*s Apology, againſt the calumnies of a ſcandalous Pamphlet.* Camb. 1617. 4to. written by Sam. Collins, D. D.

IX. *Of the Oath of* Fidelity, *or* Allegiance, *againſt the* Theological Diſputations *of Rog. Widdrington.* St Omer's 1614. 4to.

X. *The* Obmuteſce *of* F. T. *to the* Epphata *of Dr Collins,* &c. Printed 1621. 8vo.

[*C*] *And reſided for ſome years in the ſame college.*] We were unwilling to multiply, beyond what neceſſity required, the number of articles in this book, and therefore choſe to ſpeak of the couſin of this gentleman, who, in his time, made a great figure in the Engliſh College at Rome, in a note. This Nicholas Fitzherbert was the ſecond ſon of John Fitzherbert, ſecond ſon of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert of Norbury in Derbyſhire, Knight. In his youth he was a ſtudent in Exeter College, and exhibited to it by Sir William Petre, about 1568, for his name ſtands in the regiſter under the title of Coll. Exon in 1571 and 1572, being then the Senior Under-Graduate of that College. About that time he left his native country, parents, and patrimony, for religion, and went beyond the ſeas as a voluntary exile (4). At firſt he ſettled at Bononia in Italy, to obtain the knowledge of the Civil Law, and continued there in 1580. Not long after he went to Rome, and, in the year 1587, began to live in the family of William Alan, the Cardinal of England, and continued with him till the time of his death, being then accounted eminent for his knowledge in the Laws and polite literature. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the learned world by the following pieces:

I. *Johannis Caſæ Galatæi de bonis moribus.* i. e. *John Galatæus,* of good manners. Rome 1595. This is no more than a tranſlation of a celebrated Italian treatiſe into Latin, intended for the ſpecial uſe of young ſcholars.

II. *Oxonienſis in Anglia Academiæ deſcriptio,* i. e. A deſcription of the Univerſity of *Oxford* in *England.* Rome 1602, in three ſheets and a half. 8vo.

III. *De Antiquitate & Continuatione Catholicæ Religionis in* Anglia. Of the Antiquity and Continuance of the Catholick Religion in England. Rome 1608. 8vo.

IV. *Vitæ Cardinalis Alani Epitome.* An Epitome of the Life of Cardinal Alan. Rome 1608. He alſo wrote the Life of that Cardinal, who was his patron, more at large, which, for certain reaſons, was never made publick (5).

This Nicholas Fitzherbert, in a journey that he made from Rome, was unfortunately drowned, ſome time in the year 1612 (6), being, in the opinion of his acquaintance, about ſixty three years of age. We have a very high character given of him by Pitts (7), as might well be expected, his religion conſidered, and his living, on account of it, an exile from his native country for ſo many years. E

(2) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 638.

(3) To which there was a Reply.

(4) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 382.

(5) See the article of ALAN (William).

(6) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 382.

(7) Pitſ. de Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 814.

FITZ-WILLIAM (William) an eminent Commander at ſea in the XVIth century, and created Earl of Southampton by King Henry VIII, was the ſecond ſon of Sir Thomas Fitz-William of Aldwarke in the county of York, Knt. by Lucia his wife, daughter and coheir to John Neville, Marquis Montacute (*a*). In the year 1510, he was made one of the Eſquires for the Body to King Henry VIII (*b*), and, in 1512, had that grant renewed for life (*c*). The year following, he was one of the Chief Commanders in the

(*a*) Catalogue of the Nobility, *&c.* by R. Brooke, p. 223; and Dugdale's Baron. Tom II. p. 105.

(*b*) Pat. 2 Hen. VIII. p. 1. m. 19.

(*c*) Pat. 4 Hen. VIII. m. 2.

the fleet ſent out againſt France [*A*]; and had the misfortune to be ſorely hurt with an arrow in attempting to deſtroy the French fleet at Breſt (*). Shortly after, he attended King Henry at the ſiege of Tournay; and, for his bravery there, received the honour of Knighthood (*d*). In 1520, he was Vice-Admiral of England, and employed in guarding the Channel, at the time the Emperor Charles V. came to England (*e*). He ſo ingratiated himſelf with the King his maſter, that he obtained from him, in 1521, a grant of the manor of Naveſby in Northamptonſhire, part of the poſſeſſions of Edward Stafford Duke of Buckingham, then lately attainted (*f*). At that time he was Embaſſador in France; but, upon a rupture between that kingdom and England, he was recalled, in January 1521-2, and ordered to ſea with a ſtrong fleet of twenty-eight ſail, to ſecure our Merchants, and take what French ſhips he could (*g*). Shortly after, he aſſiſted at the taking of Morlaix in Bretagne (*h*) [*B*]: and, with Sir William Sandes, and Sir Morice Barkeley, went and burnt Marguiſon, which was newly built and fortified; and many villages (*i*). In 1523, the King of France preparing to ſend John Duke of Albany Regent of Scotland into that kingdom, in order to invade England from that quarter; Sir William Fitz-William was made Admiral, and diſpatched, with a ſtrong fleet, to try to intercept him. Having miſſed of him, he determined to land on the French coaſt, which he accordingly did, at Treport in Normandy, and burnt the ſuburbs of that town, and ſeveral ſhips in the harbour; tho' there were but ſeven hundred Engliſh, oppoſed by ſix thouſand French (*k*). The year following, being Captain of Guiſnes in Picardy, he mightily annoyed Boulogne, and other places adjacent (*l*). Before the end of that year, he was made Treaſurer of the King's Houſhold; and, in October, ſent to France, with John Taylor Doctor of Law, to ſee the Lady Regent (whoſe ſon King Francis I, was then priſoner in Spain) ſwear to obſerve the articles of a treaty newly concluded between the two Crowns (*m*). In 1529, he was one of thoſe who ſubſcribed the articles exhibited in Parliament againſt Cardinal Wolſey (*n*). At the grand interview between the Kings of England and France in 1532, he attended his Maſter King Henry VIII to Boulogne, the place of interview, amongſt many other perſons of the higheſt quality (*o*). In May 1535, he was ſent, with the Duke of Norfolk, the Biſhop of Ely, and Dr Fox, to treat with the French King's Commiſſioners, about a league between the Crowns of England and France: one of the articles whereof were, That the Duke of Angouleſme, third ſon to the King of France, ſhould marry Elizabeth ſecond daughter of King Henry (*p*). Shortly after, he was made Knight of the Garter, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter; and in 1536, conſtituted Admiral of England, Wales, Ireland, Normandy, Gaſcogne, and Acquitaine (*q*). On the 18th of October 1537, he was advanced to the title of Earl of Southampton (*r*): and made Lord Privy-Seal the 27th of October 1539 (*s*). The April following, ſome diſputes having ariſen between England and France, he, and John Lord Ruſſel lately made High-Admiral, were ſent over to Calais with a few troops of horſe; and having ſet all things in good order, they quickly returned (*t*). He was alſo employed as Captain of the Foreward, in the expedition to Scotland, in October 1542; but, in the way thither, he died at Newcaſtle. However, ſo much eſteemed was he, that for the honour of his memory, his ſtandard was borne in the vanguard in all that expedition (*u*). By his Will, bearing date the 10th of September the ſame year, he ordered his body to be buried in the church of Midherſt in Suſſex (*w*). He left no iſſue by Mabel his wife, daughter to Henry Lord Clifford, and ſiſter to Henry the firſt Earl of Cumberland (*x*). Of this great man it is recorded, whilſt he was Admiral, that there was not a ſerviceable man under him whoſe name he knew not; not a week paſſed but he paid his ſhips; not a prize but his ſeamen ſhared in as well as

[*A*] *The year following, he was one of the chief commanders in the fleet ſent out againſt France*] The deſign of this expedition, was, to clear the ſea of French ſhips, before King Henry and his confederates attacked France by land. The moſt conſiderable perſons employed in this ſervice, beſides Sir William Fitz-William, were, Sir Edward Howard Lord Admiral, Sir Walter Devereux Lord Ferrers, Sir Wolſtan Browne, Sir Edward Ichyngham, Sir Antony Poyntz, Sir John Wallop, Sir Thomas Wyndham, Sir Stephen Bull, Arthur Plantagenet, William Sidney, Eſquires, &c (1). They ſailed to Breſt, and reſolved to attack the French fleet in that harbour, where it lay under the covert of many platforms raiſed on the land; beſides, which they had joined twenty four hulks together, with intention to ſet them on fire, and let them go adrift with the tide, to keep the Engliſh ſhips from theirs. Notwithſtanding that, Sir Edward Howard ſent out his boats, to make a ſhew of landing; whereupon the French flocking to the ſhore, to the number of above ten thouſand (the Engliſh in all the boats being not above fifteen hundred) he thought fit to land over againſt Breſt, where he burnt the country in ſight of the caſtle, under which the French ſhips lay, defended by their hulks. He could do no more at that time, for want of proviſions. But ſome gallies of the enemy having anchored, a few days after, at Conquet below Breſt; the Admiral, attended by Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir John Wallop, Sir Henry Sherborne, and Sir William Sidney, fell upon thoſe gallies, tho' they lay betwixt two rocks, that had bulwarks on them full of ordnance: and the Admiral boarded one galley, in which the commander of them,——Pregent, was; but he had the misfortune to be thruſt overboard by the enemy's pikes, and drowned. By which means this expedition became unſucceſsful (2).—An attempt of the like nature under the Marquis of Caermarthen, in 1694, did alſo miſcarry. Which ſhews the great difficulty of ſuch undertakings.

[*B*] *Shortly after, he aſſiſted at the taking of Morlaix, &c.*] There were ſeven thouſand men employed in that enterpriſe; and amongſt them the following nobility and gentry; the Lords Fitzwalter, and Curſon, Sir Richard Wyngfield, Sir Richard Jernyngham, Sir William Barantine, Sir Adrian Foſkew, or Forteſcu, Sir Edward Donne, Sir Edward Chamberlayne, Francis Bryan, Richard Cornewall, Sir Antony Poynes, Sir Henry Sherborne, Sir Edmond Bray, Sir Giles Capel, Sir William Pyrton, Sir John Cornewall, Sir John Wallop, Sir Edward Ichyngham, Sir William Sidney,

(*) E. Hall's Chron. in Hen. VIII. fol. 22; R. Hollinſhed's 3d Vol. of Chronicles, edit. 1587, p. 816. col. 2.

(*d*) Hall, as above, fol. 45; and Holinſhed, p. 824. col. 2.

(*e*) Hall, ubi ſupra, fol. 72.

(*f*) Pat. 13 Hen. VIII. p. 3.

(*g*) Life and Reign of King Henry VIII, by Edw. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, under the year 1522. Hall, as above, fol. 93.

(*h*) Hall, as above, fol. 100.

(*i*) Ibid. fol. 103. Holinſhed, p. 875.

(*k*) Hall, fol. 113. Holinſhed, p. 879.

(*l*) Hall, ibid. fol. 126, &c.

(*m*) Hall, as above, fol. 145. Holinſhed, p. 892.

(*n*) Lord Herbert, as above, under the year 1529.

(*o*) Hall, as above, fol. 208.

(*p*) Lord Herbert, as above, under the year 1535.

(*q*) Pat. 28 Hen. VIII. p. 1.

(*r*) Pat. 28 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(*s*) Lord Herbert, as above, under the year 1540.

(*t*) Hall, as above, fol. 243.

(*u*) Ib. fol. 254; and Lord Herbert, under the year 1541. See Holinſhed, p. 958.

(*w*) Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 105.

(*x*) R. Brooke, ubi ſupra.

(1) Hall, as above, fol. 22.

(2) See Lord Herbert, ubi ſupra, under the year 1513.

as himſelf; it being his rule, that none fought well but thoſe which did it for a fortune *(y)*. And it was chiefly for the ſake of recommending ſo worthy an example to poſterity, that we have inſerted here this article.

(y) Complete Hiſtory of the Tranſactions at Sea, *&c.* by Joſiah Burchett, Eſq; edit. Lond. 1720, p. 339.

Sidney, Antony Browne, Giles Huſe, Thomas More, John Ruſſel, Edward Bray, Henry Owen, George Cobham, Thomas Owdayle, Thomas Lovel, Robert Jernyngham, Antony Knevet, Eſquires, Sir John Tremayle, Sir William Skevyngton Maſter of the Ordnance, and John Fabian Serjeant at Arms, the chief encourager of this adventure (3). C

(3) Hall, as above, fol. 99, 100.

FLAMSTEED (John) one of the moſt eminent Engliſh Aſtronomers in the XVIIIth century, was born at Denby in Derbyſhire, Auguſt 19, 1646. His father, whoſe name was Stephen, was third ſon of Mr William Flamſteed of Little Hallam in that county. His mother was Mary, daughter of Mr John Spateman of Derby, Ironmonger, who died when he was a little above three years old. Our author had, from his infancy, a natural tenderneſs of conſtitution which he could never ſurmount (*a*). He was educated at the free-ſchool of Derby where his father lived, and at fourteen years of age, when he was but juſt become head of that ſchool, he was viſited with a ſevere fit of ſickneſs, followed by a conſumption and other diſtempers, which however did not ſo much obſtruct his progreſs in learning but that he kept his ſtation till the form broke up, and ſome of his ſchool-fellows went to the univerſity, to which, though deſigned for it, his father thought it not adviſable to ſend him on account of his infirmity. Being thus taken from ſchool in 1662, within a month or two after he had John de Sacroboſco's book *de Sphæra* put into his hands; this accident, and the leiſure which accompanied it, induced him to make Aſtronomy the principal object of his ſtudies [*A*]. He had already peruſed a great

(*a*) The reader will find in the note an account of the MSS. from which theſe particulars are taken, which remain in the hands of that learned, communicative, and worthy perſon, Mr James Hodgſon, F. R. S. and Maſter of the Royal Mathematical School at Chriſt's Hoſpital, in London.

[*A*] *Induced him to make Aſtronomy the principal objects of his ſtudies*] In the text of this article, we have given an account of his progreſs in that ſcience in his junior years, as it is repreſented in a manuſcript of his, written in 1707, and intitled (1), *Hiſtorica narratio vitæ meæ ab anno* 1646. *ad.* 1675. But we ſhall give a more particular account of his ſeveral ſteps in that ſtudy, from another manuſcript of his, dated May the 8th 1667, and intitled *The ſelf inſpections of* J. F. being an account of himſelf in the actions and ſtudies of his twenty one firſt years, written at ſeveral times, by his own hand. It is there he tells us, that, in 1662, he had *Sacroboſco*'s book *de Sphæra* lent him, which he ſet himſelf to read without any director, but not unſucceſsfully, for here he laid the ground of his mathematical knowledge. In that winter, ſome time before Chriſtmas, his father taught him arithmetic, and the doctrine of fractions, and the golden rule of three direct and converſe. At Chriſtmas, or a little after, he went to Uttoxeter for his health, and took with him Mr Thomas Fale'*s Art of Dialling* (2); and having ſeen a quadrant formerly, the conſtruction of which he was informed was laid down in that book, he ſet himſelf immediately to calculate a table of the ſun's altitudes at all hours in the Equator, Tropics, and ſome intermediate parallel in the latitude of fifty three degree, by Mr Fale's tables of natural ſines, which our author performed in Lent of that year without any help, and before he had heard of any artificial tables, and accordingly made himſelf a quadrant. The reſt of the winter he was greatly indiſpoſed, and his diſtemper continued violent upon him the ſummer of the year 1663, when it abated a little, and ſuffered him to proſecute his ſtudies. For upon his return home he was introduced to Mr Elias Grice, who told him of artificial tables, and ſhewed him Wingate's Canon. He procured likewiſe Mr Stirrup's *Art of Dialling*, which he read this ſummer with ſome other authors on mathematical ſubjects, as Mr Gunter's Sector and Canon, and ſoon after he obtained Mr William Oughtred's Canon, *in all which*, ſays he, *I read ſome parts curſorily, not abiding a tedious prelection of any throughout, without the help or directions of any one, not being permitted (becauſe they were ſcarce to be met with) the help of any one ſo much as to expound a term unto me.* His ſtudies were diſcountenanced by his father, but his natural inclination led him to proſecute them thro' all impeding occurrences. Having got the Artificial Canon, he calculated ſeveral both general and particular tables, fitting the particular ones to the latitude of Derby, *viz.* fifty three degrees. He collected alſo a calculative method of dialling from Mr Gunter's Sector, and tranſcribed it, with a method for the conſtruction of the quadrant and tables fitted thereto, calculated with his own hand in a ſmall paper book. In this taſk, and in peruſing ſome other authors on various ſubjects, he ſpent his ſtudious hours this year and the beginning of 1664, when he became acquainted with Mr George Linacre and Mr William Litchford, deſiring the friendſhip of the former on account of his knowledge of the fixed ſtars, and of the latter on account of his knowledge of the planets. Mr Flamſteed being deſirous to eſſay all ſorts of mathematical ſcience, and unwilling to be ſeen with Mr Gadbury's book which contained Horrox's tables, leſt he ſhould be ſuſpected to ſtudy Aſtrology, bought Mr Street's Caroline tables, intending, when he had an opportunity, not only to learn to calculate the places of the planets, but alſo to ſtudy their motions and underſtand their theory, but was prevented from executing this deſign for that year. January 1ſt, 1665, he applied himſelf to calculate the true places of the planets to a given time by his tables abovementioned, and accordingly effected it, tho' not ſo exactly as by his following calculations, yet ſo auſpiciouſly, as gave him a further encouragement to proſecute theſe endeavours, in which, ſays he, *I obſerve it was my fault to err more thro' want of care than knowledge, which ſince I animadverted, I have ſtriven with double care to prevent.* He employed himſelf afterwards in writing an Almanack for the year 1666, but never offered it to the preſs. He had in the ſummer of the preceding year, calculated ſeveral new tables, and digeſted ſome of them into a convenient book, and this year he added ſome more. He likewiſe calculated the nativities of ſeveral of his friends and acquaintance. He wrote alſo a piece upon the conſtruction and uſes of a quadrant, with neceſſary tables for the framing of the ſame, and of a rule which he had drawn, fitting both to the latitude of fifty three degrees. He began this piece Auguſt the eighth, and finiſhed it on the twenty fourth of the ſame month, intitling it his *Mathematical Eſſays*, which was the firſt piece he wrote, Auguſt the 26th he ſet out for Ireland, in order to be touched by Mr Valentine Greatraks, (3), but receiving no benefit returned to Derby, September the 23d following. Soon after he added an Appendix to his Mathematical Eſſays, and the projection of an univerſal dial, and a catalogue of ſeventy of the fixed ſtars, with their right aſcenſions, declinations, longitudes, and latitudes, to the year 1701, which he had compoſed by the Tychonic places, and allowing the annual proceſſion of the fixed ſtars 50″. He alſo proceeded to perfect the calculation of the ſolar eclipſe which was to happen June 22, 1666, in the morning, according to the Caroline tables. In the Lent aſſizes in 1666, he became acquainted with Mr Emanuel Halton of Wingfield manor, who lent him the Richleian tables compoſed by Natalis Durret, a Frenchman, the introduction to which Mr Flamſteed

(1) That is, An Hiſtorical Narration of my own Life, from 1646 to 1675.

(2) This was printed 1626, 4to.

(3) See an Account of this famous Stroaker in Mr Boyle's Life, prefixed to his Works.

a great deal of Hiſtory both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, but this was a new ſubject to him; and he found in it a mighty pleaſure; and having tranſlated ſo much as he thought neceſſary for his uſe into Engliſh, he proceeded to make dials by the directions of ſome ordinary books, and having changed a treatiſe of Aſtrology found amongſt his father's books for Mr Street's Caroline Tables, he ſet himſelf to calculate the places of the planets by them, and to enquire into the reaſons of them, in which he found little ſatisfaction, that author being very conciſe and ſhort, and leaving the reaſons of his proceſſes to be learned from others. Having calculated, by theſe tables, an eclipſe of the ſun which was to happen June 22, 1666, he imparted it to a relation of his, who ſhewed it to Mr Emanuel Halton of Wingfield manor (b), who coming ſoon after to ſee him, and finding that our author was not acquainted with the Aſtronomical performances of others, ſent him Ricciolus's *Almageſt*, and Kepler's *Rudolphine Tables*, with ſome other mathematical books to which he was before a ſtranger. Mr Halton, who was a good Algebraiſt, endeavoured to draw him in to the ſtudy of Algebra, by propoſing little problems to him, which, having not long before made himſelf acquainted with Euclid, he gave geometrical ſolutions to, and never applied himſelf unto Algebra till after he removed to London. He proſecuted his Aſtronomical ſtudies from this time with all imaginable vigour, and with all the ſucceſs that he could wiſh [B]. In 1669, he collected ſome remarkable eclipſes of the fixed ſtars by the moon, which would happen in 1670, and calculated them from the Caroline Tables, and directed them to the Lord Viſcount Brouncker, Preſident of the Royal Society (c), which produced very good effects [C]; for, this piece being read before that Society, was highly approved, and procured him letters of thanks from Mr Oldenburgh their Secretary, and Mr John Collins one of their members, with the latter of whom our author held a correſpondence for ſeveral years, and wrote a great many letters to him, moſt of which were in the hands of the late William Jones, Eſq; F. R. S. and of which we ſhall give the reader ſome extracts, ſince they will ſhew the progreſs of our author's ſtudies till his ſettlement at Greenwich in 1675, when that correſpondence ended [D].

From

(b) This Gentleman, Emanuel Halton, Eſq; was a very good Mathematician, as appears from ſome pieces of his in the Appendix to Mr Foſter's *Mathematical Miſcellanies*.

(c) This was towards the cloſe of 1669.

ſteed tranſlated into Engliſh, and corrected the errors of it. Mr Halton ſoon after communicated to him *Ricciolus*'s new *Almageſt* in Latin, which our author was extreamly glad to receive, becauſe it ſhewed a method of finding the Sun's true parallax by obſervations of the Moon's Dichotony, which he was very deſirous of inveſtigating at that time. He ſpent likewiſe ſome part of his time in Aſtrological Studies, 'but ſo, *ſays he*, as my labours were rather aſtronomical. Amongſt others, I ſpent ſome time on Mr Linacre's, and another great perſon's ſchemes, yet could I not any ways ſatisfy myſelf in the arcs of directions for the meaſuring of time, nor am I yet perfectly ſatisfied: yet I think Kepler's meaſures moſt rational and beſt grounded, tho', in the great perſon's nativity which I directed, I uſed Naboyd's meaſure, which is moſt in uſe amongſt Aſtrologers. In fine, I found Aſtrology to give general ſtrong conjectural hints, not perfect declarations.' After Mr Flamſteed had received *Ricciolus*'s *Almageſt*, he read it over with great attention. In 1667, ſome conſiderations of the different equations of time, uſed by ſeveral Aſtronomers, tho' well demonſtrated by none, induced him to endeavour the diſcovery of a demonſtrable equation. He was at firſt of opinion, that the natural days were always equal, and that there needed no equation of time; but whilſt he was endeavouring to demonſtrate this, he proved the contrary, firſt, that the exentricity of the Earth's Orbit from the Sun's Center cauſed an inequality; and afterwards, that the Ecliptic's Obliquity cauſed another inequality of the apparent day, which two cauſes applied together, would make the abſolute equation of time. After a long meditation having removed moſt of the difficulty, he wrote a letter of three ſheets to Mr Halton upon this ſubject. He likewiſe endeavoured ſomething with regard to the Obliquity of the Ecliptic, the Sun's true diſtance from the Earth, and the mean length of the tropical year, in April 1667.

[B] *And with all the ſucceſs that he could wiſh.*] He employed himſelf in calculating the places of the Planets obſerved by Hevelius, and related in his *Mercurius ſub ſole viſus*, from the Caroline tables, whereby Mr Flamſteed found that they agreed not ſo well with the Heavens as he preſumed they had, and that further obſervations were requiſite to correct them. An Eclipſe of the Sun happening October 25, 1668, he had calculated the times of the appearance from the Caroline tables, and afterwards obſerved it, but not being yet furniſhed with convenient inſtruments for meaſuring and correcting the times, he could not believe it accurate enough to be publiſhed, tho' he found by this that the tables differed very much from the Heavens.

[C] *Which produced very good effects.*] He ſpeaks of this in the Appendix to his *Self Inſpections*, in theſe words: 'At the latter end of the year 1669, I wrote an Almanack for the following year, not after the uſual method, but much more accurately, inſerting an Eclipſe of the Sun that might have been obſervable but was omitted in the Ephemerides, and five Appulſes of the Moon to fixed Stars. But this being rejected, as being beyond the capacity of the vulgar, and returned me. I excerped the Eclipſe and Appulſes, and addreſſed them with ſome aſtronomical ſpeculations to the Royal Society, ſuppreſſing my name under my anagram. My little labour was better accepted than I expected. I received a letter of thanks from Mr Oldenburgh, the Secretary of the Society. My papers I ſent to Mr Stanſby, he delivered them to Mr Aſhmole, that great lover of curioſity, and he preſented them to the Royal Society.' *The original manuſcript of this piece was in the hands of the late learned and ingenious* William Jones, Eſq; F. R. S. and *is inſcribed thus:* 'To the Right Honourable William Lord Viſcount Brouncker, Preſident of the illuſtrious Royal Society, as alſo the Right Worſhipfull worthy and truly ingenious Henry Oldenburgh, Eſq; Chriſtopher Wren, M. D. and all other the Aſtronomical Fellows of the ſaid Society. I. F. humbly preſents this epiſtle.' *At the cloſe of it he writes thus:* 'Excuſe, I pray you, this juvenile heat for the concerns of ſcience, and want of better language from one, who, from the ſixteenth year of his age to this inſtant, hath only ſerved one bare apprenticeſhip in theſe arts, under the diſcouragement of friends, the want of health, and all other inſtructors, except his better genius. I crave the liberty to conceal my name, not to ſuppreſs it. I have compoſed the letters of it written in Latin in this ſentence, *In Matheſi à ſole fundes.* I had many materials to add, but they would have ſwelled my letter beyond its preſcribed limits. If I may underſtand that you accept of theſe, or think them worth your notice you ſhall e'er long hear more from yours, &c. J. F.

[D] *When that correſpondence ended.*] In his letter dated at Derby, January the twenty fourth, 1669-70, he writes thus: 'Your's of the fifteenth I received, by which I underſtand that my papers, however unworthy, were read in the Royal Society, an honour which I could as little either expect or deſerve, as it

merited

From the time that the abovementioned piece was read to the Royal Society, he began to have

'merited their applauſe, or I their thanks. My intent in addreſſing thoſe Calculi to his Lordſhip (4) was only to give notice, what Phænomena the Heavens were about to afford us, which ſince I was not accommodated with inſtruments ſufficient to obſerve them with the requiſite accuracy myſelf, I made bold to preſent to his Honour, whom I ſuppoſed to be amply accommodated for ſuch obſervations. But preſcribing the uſe of a Teleſcope before other inſtruments, and taking occaſion thereon to urge ſomething too boldly on Mr Hook, and in another on Mr Street, concerning the Ephemerides, being likewiſe conſcious of my rude addreſſes to thoſe worthy perſons with my papers, and fearing that my heat for the promotion of ſcience might be worſe taken by them than I intended, knowing alſo the ſmallneſs of my merits, I reſolved to ſuppreſs my name till I underſtood how it was like to ſpeed with my papers. I fear I addreſſed myſelf too rudely to his Lordſhip, but ſince he is pleaſed to take notice of thoſe unpoliſhed papers and enquire after their author, you may pleaſe, if you have not already, to tender my humble and ſincereſt ſervices with my name to his Lordſhip, and deſire his excuſe for me that I have not explained my method of calculation; I ſuppoſe it cannot be hid to thoſe who are verſed in Trigonometry. It is the accurateſt I could chooſe, and the numbers were twice, ſome thrice, repeated, for more certainty. If any deſire to be more fully ſatisfied, I hope I ſhall anſwer their expectations in an epiſtle to the excellent Hevelius, containing a commentary on, and a correction of, ſeveral particulars, in his *Mercurius ſub ſole viſus*, and commentary on Mr Horrox's *Venus ſub ſole viſa*, which I have lying by me written in Latin about half a year ſince. But my ſtyle not pleaſing ſome of my more judicious friends, I have ſince then given myſelf to the peruſal of the Claſſic, old Roman, and ſome modern authors, that ſo I may beſtow a better language on it before I expoſe it to the view of ſuch ſeverities as I ſhall be ſure to meet with. I intend to preſent it, with an epiſtle *de æquatione temporis*, to the view of the Royal Society, before I commit it to the public; but by reaſon of my frequent diſtempers, my parents affairs, and the coldneſs of the ſeaſon, I ſhall be forced to protract the time I have ſet myſelf for the peruſal of my papers, which yet I hope to preſent you with compleated, within theſe ſix months. I have ſolar tables by me compoſed above two years ſince, to wit, before I was twenty one years of age, which I intend to expoſe with my epiſtle *de Æquatione Temporis*, directed to Mr Street, whom, on occaſion, you may let know I ſhall write to him before the term be over, by my kinſman an Attorney. But I ſhall be forced to trouble you with the letter, becauſe I know not the place of his habitation. I deſire to tranſact things fairly with him as I have done with his deceaſed antagoniſt Mr Wing, with whom I had a fair correſpondence, and tho' we differed *de Parallaxi & Æquationibus Syſtematis Solaris*, and ſeveral other things, yet our diſſent made us not the leſs friends, and tho' I may not ſubſcribe to Mr Street's opinions, *de fixatione apheliorum & nodorum in ſuperioribus, & de Æquationibus Lunæ oſcillatoriis*, yet I hope that he will not refuſe that we may friendly communicate by letters, of ſuch things as concern the Heavens and our ſtudies. As to the ſeverity of calculations, I ſuppoſe that if the artiſt be but careful and curious enough, we have canons ſufficiently large. In the ſtudy of my eſpecial friend Mr Halton, I once ſaw one of Vlaccus to every ten ſexagenary ſeconds: and if our ſupputations be exact to ſeconds, I think it is enough, and more than ever we may hope by inſtruments to obtain from the Heavens; I mean in defining the places of the Luminaries fixed, and the Planets. As for their Diameters, I dare not deny but that, by the help of glaſſes, we may be enabled to define them to ſeconds, or ſmaller parts; eſpecially if a ſhort teleſcope may be made to perform as much as a long one, which you ſay that Mr Newton hath not only proved by demonſtration, but fact. Sir, if it be no concealed ſecret, if you have the liberty, and may do it, I deſire that you would pleaſe to inform me of what glaſſes his ſmall Teleſcope is compoſed, how, or in what figures ground, and how diſpoſed in the tube. I intend to work ſome for my own uſe, and am framing ſuch an engine as Mr Hook deſcribes for the grinding and poliſhing of them. I intend to grind with ordinary fine ſand, dreſſed, and poliſh firſt with chalk, and after with putty. I know no better powders, but would be much obliged to any one that would inform me that, or any thing elſe, either concerning the uſual method or neceſſaries for grinding and poliſhing them; if you know any thing which you may freely impart, I ſhould be much obliged by a communication.'

(4) The Lord Viſcount Brouncker, Chancellor to the Queen.

In his letter dated at Derby July the ſixteenth, 1670, he writes thus. 'I have received another letter from you ſince, with an account of Gaſſendus's obſervations, and an information of Mengolus's book, for which I am obliged to you. Pray, when it is known, let me underſtand his opinion of the quantity of the Sun's horizontal parallaxes, and the refractions, and what refraction he allows the Sun in the altitude of twenty degrees. I ſuſpect, and have good reaſon for it, that in inland places it is nothing or not ſenſible in that altitude, for by ſome of Mr Wright's obſervations, the Sun at noon had no refraction the fifteenth of December in altitude fifteen degrees... I thank you for the advice of writing to Mr Townley.—I am at preſent calculating the Moon's Appulſes for the next year, which, when I have finiſhed, I will ſend him a ſpecimen of, to make way for our future correſpondence.... As for what I have noted in *Ricciolus*, beſides the frequent errors of his ſchemes, you may note theſe P. 161. he applies the horizontal parallax of the Sun in all altitudes, as if it was the ſame both in the zenith and the horizon, and ſo gathers the Ecliptic's obliquity $20''$ more than his own obſervations permit. P. 435, he, in his ſecond example, is guilty of the higheſt diſingenuity, for he firſt lays down a vicious obſervation, by which he thruſts the Sun's place above ten minutes further than either Street's or my tables afford, and then derives a right aſcenſion almoſt two minutes larger than his obſervation will allow, as I can eaſily prove, but that I have neither time nor room at preſent. If you deſire it, I ſhall make it good hereafter. P. 477, in his catalogue of the fixed ſtars, he protrudes the right ſhoulder of Auriga 1 deg. $20'$ forwarder than his own obſerved diſtances from Capella the brighteſt of the Pleiades and Procyon will permit, that he may make his catalogue agree with the Tychonick, from which, he was ſo conſcious of his own defects, he ſcarce has dared any where to recede; ſo that he ſeems to me rather to affect the name of having corrected our tables, than really to have amended what was faulty in any one. I had firſt notice of this ſtar's varying from the Tychonick Canon in Hevelius's *Mercurius ſub ſole*, but found it abſolutely confirmed by the *Ricciolan* obſervations. In his Appendix, p. 733, Prob. 3. he teaches how to correct the apparent time of the quadrature, as if the parallax cauſed the Moon to be really cave, when ſhe was apparently ſemi-illuminated. But this correction is needleſs, and all that is ſaid in that column and the two next, abſolutely to be rejected, ſince the parallax cannot vary the phaſis at all, as I can eaſily prove, and will appear to any one that duly conſiders what he there lays down. Laſtly, he is wholly inclined to the Peripatetics, againſt all other Philoſophy, and on this account favours Claramontius againſt Tycho, Kepler, and reaſon itſelf. And tho' he proteſts againſt it, yet I fear he was partial to Tycho, becauſe a Calviniſt, and propenſe to Claramontius, as one that was a Prieſt of his own order, and in his principles a rigid Peripatetic, and one that had left ſome perſons his relations of, and well deſerving from their ſociety.'

In a letter dated at Derby, September the nineteenth, 1670, he writes as follows. 'I ſat up this laſt night, waiting to obſerve the Eclipſe of the Moon. The Heavens were clear till midnight, after which they were by little and little covered over with thick whitiſh clouds, thro' which, when our clocks ſtruck one have accounts ſent him of all the mathematical books which were publiſhed either at home or

one, I ſaw the Moon eclipſed almoſt a digit, but I could not find a convenient ſtar to take its altitude, being on one ſide prohibited by the buildings, and the Heavens all covered with the white clouds, that none of the bigger ſtars, or any almoſt removed from the meridian, appeared, and the Moon was ſcarce an hour removed from the noonſtead, ſo that it was in vain to think to take her's amongſt the clouds. The Heavens continued covered with theſe till morning, and the Moon appeared very rarely through the clouds, ſo that deſpairing of any good obſervation, and ſeeing the Heavens thicken, I left off and went to my reſt, when I had ſeen the cuſps parallel to the horizon, and the ſiniſter end had covered the occidental ſpot, or *Palus Mareotidis*, of Hevelius, but could not note the time. I wrote to Mr Hook about the obſerving this Eclipſe. Pray if you chance to meet him, enquire whether he obſerved it or not: if he did, and the Heavens ſmiled on his endeavours, deſire him to be pleaſed to communicate his obſervations to me: for I think the Heavens anteverted our calculations ſome minutes, which, if ſo, favours an equation I have long ſince conceived ought to be induced into the Lunar Syſtem..... I hope ſpeedily to preſent you with the Phænomena of the next year, for I have as good as finiſhed my calculations.'

In his letter dated at Derby, October the firſt the ſame year he writes thus. 'If the Lunar Eclipſe laſt hath been obſerved by any in London, if you can procure the obſervation without trouble, pleaſe, by your next, to communicate it to me. I have now finiſhed my calculations, and am writing them out, but cannot tell what tongue to expoſe them in, Engliſh or Latin. Let me have your opinion, that ſhall rule me. The appearances are treble, the number I calculated laſt year, and moſt of them ſome way truly notable. I have read a part of Fabri's Optics. I was much pleaſed with his acuteneſs and accurateneſs at firſt, but coming to his forty third propoſ. I find it loſt, for in his ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth ſections, he demonſtrates not what he intends, but by drawing his ninety and ninety one ſchemes too cloſe, deceives and mocks his reader.'

In his letter dated at Derby, December the firſt following, he writes thus: 'I hope you have received my laſt, with my calculations of the laſt year's appearances, in my introduction to which, if I ſeem to have aſſerted too boldly againſt our Aſtronomical tables, I have now received an obſervation of my Couſin Wilſon that will fully confirm my affirmations, which I ſend you incloſed. I cannot but congratulate you for your happy correſpondence with P. Bertet, and I am much pleaſed to hear of De Mouton's book *de menſurâ Diam. Solis & Lunæ*, one of which, when they come to your hands, I deſire you to ſend me, and pay yourſelf out of what you have in your hands. If the piece be well done it will conduce no little to the correction of Aſtronomical Lunar tables. When I have received and peruſed it, I ſhall, according to your directions, write to De Mouton, till then, not having any occaſion offered, I ſuppoſe you will neither hold it convenient nor neceſſary. Sir, you once, I remember, proferred to lend me Mr Horrox's papers which are now in your hands. If, Sir, you have not procured them yet to be printed, nor any Bookſeller offers to undertake them, I would accept of the offer gladly, for I have leiſure now to peruſe any author, and I would gladly try if that deviation which is now very perceptible in the motion of Saturn, was not, in his time, ſenſible: for, if I remember aright, one of his books contains the obſerved diſtances of the Planets from the fixed ſtars, with other his obſervations, from which, nothing as yet, hath been deduced.'

In his letter dated at Derby, January the thirtieth, 1670-1, he writes as follows: 'I have lately written to Mr Moore, from whom I have received an anſwer full of his natural civility and generoſity. By his advice I have likewiſe wrote to Mr Townley, from whom I cannot yet expect an anſwer, by reaſon my letter went but on Tueſday laſt, and can ſcarce yet reach his hands..... I have the Tranſaction in which Mr Oldenburgh hath printed the ſhort abſtract of my calculations, which give the obſervers notice of ſuch appearances, but the other requiſites of the ſupputations being wanting, they will be put to a ſecond trouble of calculating to gain the anomalies, and other parts of the calculation, before they can be able to gueſs how, or where, any thing in our numbers are to be corrected. I am framing tables of oblique aſcenſions for the latitudes of London, Dantzick, and Derby, ſuppoſing the declination 23 gr. 30′. 00″ to ſecond minutes, the old ones falſely ſuppoſing it 23 gr. 31′ ½, to which I intend to add the angle orient, which will not a little aſſiſt calculations, and ſuch as are minding to make Aſtronomical predictions, or compare cæleſtial obſervations, with our numbers.'

In his letter dated at Derby, March the 20th 1670-1, he writes thus: 'I have both your letters..... I am exceedingly pleaſed to hear that Mr Horrox's papers will be printed, and I ſuppoſe the *Venus ſub ſole* with them, to which, having well peruſed it, I know not what can be added. The notes of Hevelius I find generally needleſs, and thoſe on the ſixth chapter, page 124, abſolutely falſe, conceding his own parallax, becauſe he hath taken the angle of the poſition of Venus, which is made by a line drawn through her's and the Sun's center, inſtead of the angle of the vertical circle, *per centrum Veneris*, with the Ecliptic or the parallactical angle, whence he not only vitiates the truly computed parallaxes of Mr Horrox, but alſo ſuppoſing the parallax of Venus from the Sun in altitude 1. 57, he falſely calculates theſe parallaxes.

h.		of Long.		of Lat.		Par Long.			Par Lat.	
3	15	1	20	1	27	which	0′	32	1′	50
3	35	1	17	1	28	ought	0	42	1	49
3	45	1	15	1	29	to be	0	44	1	48

So that what he hath deduced, from theſe his vitious parallaxes, ought, if his comment be printed with the original, to be corrected. Of this you may pleaſe to inform the Doctor. You wrote that Dr Wallis deſired my comment on the *Mercurius* of Hevelius might be printed with Horrox's papers. When I received your letter, I looked up my papers, but find that I ſhall ſcarcely have time to tranſcribe and fit them for the preſs, partly becauſe my occaſions, but more frequently my diſtempers, withdraw and detain me from my pen endeavours. For the ſpring coming on my blood increaſes, which if I ſhould not exerciſe ſtrongly, I ſhould ſpit up or receive into my ſtomach with great detriment to my health. When I return from exerciſe, other occaſions are ready to detain me. Farther, I have received a letter from Mr Oldenburgh, who is not willing that I ſhould advert too plainly on Hevelius, leſt he ſhould recede from his correſpondency, and detain his obſervations from us, if he be diſguſted. However, if I might but know by what time Mr Horrox's papers would be ready for the Printer, I would endeavour to get my notes ready to ſucceed them, for I am reſolved not to deſiſt if my diſtemper will be forced to intermit by my uſual remedies, which I much queſtion not, God permitting. In the mean time I am preparing caſes for my glaſſes, for which I hope to raiſe a pole to elevate them on this evening, and then I ſhall endeavour, when I have leiſure, to obſerve the Heavens, that I may ſome ways benefit the ſcience, I am enamoured of, Aſtronomy. . . . I have received and returned letters to Mr Townley, from whom I have an account of the Solar Eclipſe of 1668, October the 25th, and the occultation of Antares on May the 23d, 1670, of which I deſire you to procure me Mr Hook's obſervation, if he made any, for I fear Mr Street's is wreſted a little.'

In his letter dated at Derby, May the third, 1671, he writes as follows: 'I have your's of the twenty ſeventh laſt paſt, for the communications in which I heartily thank you. I am glad to hear that Mr Horrox's papers are gone to the preſs. I ſhall againſt that time they may be almoſt finiſhed, have retranſcribed my notes on Hevelius's *Mercurius ſub ſole*, which, leſt I may offend, I ſhall willingly ſubmit to

‘ the

or abroad. And in June 1670, his father taking notice of his correſpondence with ſeveral ingenious

the caſtigations and corrections of Dr Wallis, or any other ingenious perſon. My diſtempers and affairs of late have been ſo intermutually urgent, that I have performed little. I have by me a ſheet or two which I wrote ſome five years agone, *de æquatione temporis aſtronomica*, which I have laſt ſummer made Latin, and would gladly it might ſee the light. It being readieſt, I intend firſt to abſolve and ſend it to you, to be diſpoſed of as you ſhall think moſt meet. What you write of Mr Horrox's papers being in Mr Townley's hands, I am well pleaſed to hear of, and I hope I may do you ſome ſervice in that buſineſs, for Mr Townley correſponds with me very familiarly, and promiſes me all the ſervices he can do me in my ſtudies. But before this comes to your hands, I ſuppoſe you may hear of him in London, for he wrote to me ſome ten days agone, that he would ſet forward on Monday laſt for the city, which I ſuppoſe he will reach by this week's end. I am to go into Lancaſhire, and near his houſe the latter end of this month, where I intend to call if he be returned into the country. In the mean time, if you or Mr Jonas Moore can meet with him, you may do well to urge him in this buſineſs, and if I can do any thing when I go into Lancaſhire, let me have your directions and you ſhall not want my endeavours, either for collecting or methodizing any papers, that may fall or be intruſted into my hands. I deſire you, Sir, to let me hear from you concerning theſe things within this fortnight, for I cannot know preciſely what time this month I ſhall take my journey. I muſt before I end acknowledge myſelf much obliged to you and Mr Hook, for procuring me my glaſſes. They ſerve well in a tube of 13 ½ feet but cauſe ſome colours which will not be eaſily removed, tho' I put on a narrow aperture to the object glaſs. Pray preſent my ſervice to Mr Moore. I am reading his Algebra and find it not very difficult unto me, and intend when I ſhall have ſpare time to make ſome progreſs in Geometrical ſtudies.’

In his letter dated at Derby May the 13th, 1671, he writes thus: ‘Having written to Mr Oldenburgh, I thought convenient to incloſe this——I have ſent Mr Oldenburgh my obſervation of the moon's appulſe to the ſtar in virgo 9°. 53′. whoſe latitude 1°. 20′. north of the fourth light, which I ſaw covered by the dark ſide of the moon, in ſomething leſs latitude than the loweſt part of the *Propontis*, when Jupiter was elevated 32°. 52′ whence I deduced the hour 9. 16′. 30″. The preciſe emerſion I ſaw not, for I was elſewhere then engaged, but coming to the tube, I found that the ſtar was the breadth of the Caſpian Spot, or *Palus Mæotis*, diſtant from the moon's limb, and higher than the ſupreme part of the ſaid ſpot it's whole length; whence turning to my quadrant I took the height of the moon's ſupreme limb, 31°. 54′. therefore the ſtar's height was 71°. 45′. and the hour 10. 24′. 36″. I noted the height of Jupiter to be 22°, 36′. and find the hour thence 10. 25′. 00″. I am perſwaded that the times are pretty exactly taken, for they ſhew partly the ſame duration, and, all things conſidered, as the tables, but at leaſt 10 if not 15 minutes later. I deſire to hear from you, whether any of your acquaintance have obſerved this appearance, of which the Calculus is with the reſt in the Tranſactions. If you have any obſervations, pray favour me ſo far as to impart them to me. I have given Mr Oldenburgh a calculation of the moon's tranſit by Jupiter on the twentieth of September next at ſun-riſe, which I ſuppoſe he will if you deſire impart to you, for I have not time to tranſcribe it at preſent, but you ſhall command it when you pleaſe.’

In his letter dated at Derby July the 10th, 1671, he writes thus: ‘I have finiſhed my tranſcript of my Solar Tables, which I wait but for an opportunity to tranſmit ſafely unto you. Laſt week here I ſaw a boy, one Smedley, about fourteen years old, who has two perfect rows of teeth on the upper ſide of his mouth, round, ſave that the third tooth on each ſide from the fore-teeth are lately come forth, and has a third half cut and coming forth, more inwards towards the roof of his mouth. Of theſe two inwards extraordinary rows, the two foremoſt teeth of the ſecond row came firſt, not a year agone, the reſt all within this half year or leſs. —— The boy is of a good complexion and healthful, only in his childhood he was lamed in his knee.’

In his letter dated at Derby Auguſt the firſt 1671, he writes as follows: ‘With theſe I ſend my promiſed Solar Tables, by my ſchool-fellow Mr Sergeant, though I have not added the ſun's diameters, yet I intend, before theſe may be printed, to ſend them to you to be annexed to them, or included with the reſt. ———— My occaſions are ſo frequent, and I am ſo much forced from my ſtudies, that I fear I can ſcarce get any time to tranſcribe what I have written on Monſieur Hevelius, it being ſo prolix, that it will coſt me more time than I can poſſibly ſpare to abbreviate it. I eſteem myſelf obliged to continue my annual præadmonitions of the lunar appearances, which is a work not only neceſſary, but, if I flatter not myſelf too much, ſomething honourable for our countrymen, and therefore not to be diſcontinued. Sir, my ſpare hours betwixt my indiſpoſitions and affairs being now but few, and likely to be much leſs, I cannot poſſibly perform both theſe taſks, therefore deſire you to excuſe me my papers upon Hevelius, by which perhaps I might diſoblige him to the Engliſh Society which he honours, and permit me only to make my new calculations, towards which I have not as yet wrote one figure. If you think them not ſo neceſſary I ſhall forbear thinking of them, and perform my notes on Hevelius with all ſpeed and ſweetneſs poſſible. I ſhall have, e'er long, an opportunity of ſending to Dantzick, when perhaps I ſhall write to him, and inform him civilly of his errors myſelf. In the mean time I ſubmit my intentions to your diſcretion, and reſolve in this to be ruled by your advice. ——— I cannot but joy with you in the knowledge of your French correſpondence, but I fear you have given them an account of my abilities beyond what they will prove. I deſire to know if you ever communicated any of my calculations, or my few obſervations, unto any of them, and what you have in return. As for the correſpondence of the French Aſtronomers, I ſhall gladly undertake it with the firſt convenient opportunity, but not over haſtily. I have ſeveral obſervations of the moon's tranſits by the fixed ſtars, and her diameters made by Mr Gaſcoigne, and related in his letters, which yet the like for accuracy not being to be had amongſt the French, I think not fit to communicate, nor buy their acquaintance with them. As for my exerciſe *de Æquatione Temporis*, I have no perfect copy of it, ſo I cannot ſend one, but ſhall, if you have not already, inform them of my obſervations of the laſt viſible ſolar eclipſe, and the lunar tranſit, and ſome admonitions of future appearances.’

In his letter dated at Derby November the eighth, 1671, he writes thus: ‘I have now ſomewhat extraordinary to furniſh your correſpondencies, and ſhall have every day more and more. Laſt October I obſerved with my fourteen foot tube, and the Townleian micrometer, the underwritten diſtances of the Pleiades, which I have compared with thoſe I find in Mr Gaſcoigne's papers, and thoſe of Mutus in Ricciolus.’ Here Mr Flamſteed incloſes a ſcheme of the Pleiades.

In his letter dated at Derby January the thirty-firſt, 1671-2, he writes thus: ‘I have ſeen the December Tranſaction, in which Mr Oldenburgh has tranſcribed ſome lines from my letters concerning the appearance of Saturn, which I am glad to find agree ſo well with the like of the French Aſtronomers. You may farther intimate, that I viewed the ſame planet on New-year's day at night, with my long tube and more convex eye-glaſs. But neither myſelf, nor a young man with me, could diſcern any anſes, altho' the appearance was ſufficiently clear. I have ſeveral times meaſured the ſun's ſemidiameters, which none of my obſervations allow leſs in *Perigæo* than 16′. 24″ or 25″. I think I communicated to you ſome meaſures of his diameters when he appeared elliptical, ingenious Gentlemen, whom our author at that time had never ſeen, adviſed him to take

tical, if I have not I ſhall when you pleaſe to command them, for I owe and eſteem a good part of my endeavours a debt to you. I am now excerping ſome obſervations from Mr Gaſcoigne's and Crabtree's reciprocal letters, in which I find exact obſervations of the moon's eclipſe, December the tenth, 1638, and the ſun's May the twenty-ſecond 1639, this by Mr Gaſcoigne, that by Crabtree; which if they were not in Mr Horrox's papers, and Mr Townley would permit, might do well if they were added to them, of which I deſire to hear how many are printed by the next. —— If Mr Jonas Moore gives any attendance on the Heavens, I ſhall early enough let him know of ſome obſervable appearances, not publiſhed nor certified in the Tranſactions, with ſome obſervations made by the micrometer he gave me, and therefore a due debt to him. I have read De Mouton *de Æquatione Temporis, &c.* whoſe notes upon the equations of others might eaſily be redargued, but that I would ſpare your correſpondents, of whom if any now will agree to obſerve the diameters of the planets, the ſun and moon eſpecially, with the ſatellite appearances of Jupiter, I ſhall not fail as the weather and my diſtempers permit to do my endeavour to make reſpondent obſervations. All the times I have viewed the ſun I could never ſee any *macula* upon him, but his whole diſk perfectly clear. —— I had ſent you a draught of my new micrometer, but that I lately ſent one to Mr Townley, whoſe ſentiments I expect concerning it, before I mind it ſhould travel further.'

In his letter dated at Derby February the tenth, 1671-2, he writes thus: 'I have wrote to you lately, ſo have not much to write at this time. —— The Heavens of late have not favoured me with any ſerenity, more than ſerved one night, *viz.* February the firſt, to obſerve the immerſion of the firſt ſatellite into the ſhade of Jupiter, and the application of the third to his limb, of which I gave Mr Oldenburgh an account in a late letter. I am now excerping ſome things from Mr Gaſcoigne's letters to Mr Crabtree, and his anſwers, but find ſome ſchemes and papers wanting, of which Mr Crabtree could not be careleſs, but they are ſuppoſed to be fallen into Mr Jonas Moore's hands. Pray let him know what I am doing when you ſee him, they can be of no concern by themſelves, wherefore he may do well to put them into Mr Townley's hands, who owns the letters referring to them.' In this letter he likewiſe ſends the ſun's diameters on January the 5th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 15th, and 1ſt of February 1671-2.

In his letter dated at Derby February the twentieth, 1671-2, he writes as follows: 'Mr Halton is tranſlating Kinkhuyſen's *Moone-wiſer* into Engliſh that I may have a view of it, and at Mr Townley's requeſt I have lately wrote and ſent him the Hiſtory of Malting. I have begun that tract concerning the diſtances and diameters of all the planets, which I promiſed in my letter to Mr Oldenburgh, but ſhall go but very ſlowly forward, by reaſon that ſometimes my infirmities, oftener affairs, interrupt me. But this I have certainly learned from my obſervations, that the ſun's parallax is not above $10''$, yea probably but $7''$, and his diſtance, *à terrâ*, 26,000 ſemidiameters, which is a diſtance to which none ever durſt remove him yet, and thrice as far as I ſuppoſed him formerly in my Solar Tables.'

In his letter dated at Derby, April the firſt, 1672, he writes thus: 'The included paper contains the laſt obſervation of Jupiter's tranſit by a fixed ſtar, and another ſince made with my deductions therefrom. Theſe (being buſy at this time of the year) to ſave a labour of tranſcription I ſend through the hands of Mr Oldenburgh, that ſo you may have the peruſal of them. I hope you had my laſt, informing you that I have received Mr Horrox's papers, and ſatisfying you concerning the contents of my laſt letter. I have peruſed Horrox's *Venus ſub ſole*, and find he needs no comment ſave, in this he has taken the Sun's ſemidiameter leſs by $20''$ or more than really it was, ſo that this calculation will need ſome little correction, which if you think fit, I ſhall give them by way of comment. He has aſſumed the diameters of the fixed ſtars too large, which Hevelius has only well corrected, and his diameters of the Planets are much amiſs. But not having obſerved them all myſelf as I intend, if God afford me opportunity, I ſhall not meddle with them, yet only to you I may ſay, that thoſe ſettled in Hevelius, except in Venus and Mercury, are as erroneous as thoſe of Mr Horrox. Hevelius is much miſtaken in the parallactical angle in his *Venus ſub ſole*, but it is ſo eaſily proved that I cannot think, but if ever he again reads over that piece and his notes, he could not but ſee his miſtake. I find by my frequent obſervations, that the remoteſt ſatellite of Jupiter goes not twenty three ſemidiameters only from him, as Caſſini has it, but rather 24 ½ or ¾ as Mr Townley gave it me in a looſe note, and this you may prove by an obſervation, March the 19th, amongſt the reſt if you have it, I think thoſe obſervations the exacteſt that ever were had of this Planet, and if we had but a few more ſuch in ſeveral places of his orbit, I ſhould not doubt but to reſtore his motions more accurately than we have yet done, or perhaps can expect. I cannot think the ſatellites of Jove ſubject to any great inequalities in their motions, ſince I find their diſtances from Jupiter on each ſide him, equal in their greateſt elongations. If I had but the opportunity of obſerving one tranſit of Mars in his achronical appearance from a fixed ſtar, I ſhould not doubt but to derive the Sun's parallax and diſtance, *à terrâ* as well if not better therefrom, than from any obſervations as yet we poſſeſs. This I expect and have forecaſted for, but by an accident the courſe of my obſervations are, and will be, a little interrupted; for being laſt Thurſday night preparing to obſerve the diameter of Jupiter, I took my object glaſs of my long tube to ſmear it, as I had often done before at my candle. As I was holding it over the light it gave a crack, and a little piece ſplintered from it in the middle, and the glaſs cleft clear through. I durſt not remove it out of the box, becauſe I was afraid I could not ſo well make it cloſe again. I keep it by me, but dare not adventure to make any obſervations by it, tho' I have viewed the Moon with it, and find it does not perform much worſe if any than it did.'

In his letter dated at Derby, April the 17th 1672, he writes as follows. 'I have your's of the twelfth inſtant, whereby you intimate your deſire to have me ſay ſomething farther concerning the Lunar Theory of Mr Horrox, for the ſatisfaction of Dr Wallis. I am content, and therefore ſhall e'er long ſend you the whole calculation of the Moon's place at her laſt tranſit over the Pleiades, after his method, with my further thoughts upon it. I am very deſirous to be framing Lunar numbers but want obſervations of her apogæon diameters, which the inconveniency of my dwelling permits me not to make, becauſe the apogæon Moon in Sagittarius goes ſo very low this year; and further the refractions in her low meridional heights, would greatly diminiſh her vertical diameters, which upon continual experience I find can only be taken to the requiſite exactneſs, ſo that I fear I muſt wait till the year 1674, or 1675, e'er I can well obſerve them. I cannot but much approve of the form of Mr Horrox's Theory, and having conſidered it ſeveral times, I find that we might almoſt as eaſily compute her place in her orb as the elliptical place of any other Planet, if tables were fixed to his method, which therefore for facility of calculation, I intend to propoſe to myſelf to correct when I ſhall gain ſo much leiſure, and I hope this ſummer may afford it me.... The Heavens never ſince I broke my glaſs afforded me any opportunity for obſervation till yeſterday, when at noon having covered the broken part of my glaſs with the bigger piece, I took the Sun's diameter 5325 = 31—58 which ſtill conſpires for the exactly biſected excentricity, and the perigæon ½ diameter $16' 25''$. In this letter there are ſome remarks upon Mr Newton's letter concerning colours.'

In his letter dated May 6th, 1672, he writes thus: 'I have received two letters from you conveying the moſt current news for which I am bound to give

'you

take a journey to London, that he might be perſonally acquainted with them. He gladly

'you hearty thanks.... I hope you have by this time received a letter from me by Mr Sargeant..... I intimated by that, I would ſend you the Lunar tables by Monday next.'

In his letter dated at Derby, May the thirteenth following, he writes thus: 'With this you will receive the promiſed Lunar tables, to which I have added an *Epilogus* directed to yourſelf. But my deſire of brevity, and not to meddle where Mr Horrox had done any thing himſelf, reſtrained my thoughts in that place. Here with your leave I ſhall enlarge. How the Apogee of the Moon is librated, Mr Horrox has ſhewn us very well, but why it ſhould be ſo librated, methinks, he ſhews no good reaſon. What he ſays of the Sun's attracting that end of the axis of the ſyſtem next him, is framed from Kepler's groundleſs notions.' Mr Flamſteed then propoſes his own ſolution, and afterwards proceeds thus. 'You have ſometimes deſired to know what I found amiſs in the Hevelian edition of Horrox's *Venus ſub ſole*, I am not willing to let all be known I have againſt that great man, but in his comments on that treatiſe the main cauſe of his error there is, that he hath miſtaken the parallactical angles calculated by Mr Horrox at

h		° ′		° ′
3—15	ſupputat	70—56	and uſed inſtead of them,	46—34
3—35		68—53		48—37
3—45		67—55		49—35

Which were the Angles made by a line paſſing thro' the centers of the Sun and Venus with the Ecliptic, or that he hath uſed the ∠∠ECV inſtead of ∠∠NCL, whence having proceeded all thoſe faults and faulty corrections of Mr Horrox's works, which are found every where in the ſucceeding comments. He finds fault with Mr Horrox for having framed the Diameter of the Planets amiſs, whilſt his own, if well conſidered, tho' ſomething alike in proportion to each other, are not leſs erroneous in quantity. His greateſt Diameter of Jupiter is but $24''\frac{1}{2}$ yet I find that Mr Gaſcoigne once obſerved it $51''$ he ſays accurately. I have ſeen it above $46''$ and Mr Townley no leſs, and that it is wholly ſo much the obſerved elongations of the ſatellites from Jupiter's center, taken in minutes and ſeconds, compared with the eſtimated diameters do plainly evince. But Mr Horrox hath erred himſelf in the Sun's diameter which he ſtates only $31'$—$30''$ which my obſervations warrant $32'$—$42''$ Hevelius has ſtated it $32'$—$30''$. He has likewiſe in his comment on the ſixth chapter, p. 124. delivered the parallaxes of Longitude and Latitude in his own hypotheſis, which ſuppoſed the Sun's diſtance from the Earth, 5064 ſemidiameters of the Earth, and its horizontal parallax $41''$. I know not what warrant he may have for this, ſince he ſays nothing of it in his works that I have ſeen, but I hope at this next achronical apparition of Mars, or at the latter end of September next, to make thoſe obſervations of him which may ſhew his parallax, and by conſequence the Sun's, I hoped to have obſerved him this morning, but the ſkies are clouded, yet if they clear before Tueſday, I doubt not to gain another accurate obſervation of him, and to meaſure his diameter, which yet I could never do conveniently. I have obſerved the return of Jupiter to the ſtar in Virgo, $9^{\circ}\ 58''$. If you deſire it I ſhall ſend you both it, and what I obſerve of Mars when I have heard from you.... Since I wrote this, I have received your's of the 13th inſtant. I have therefore paſted new radixes to the meridian of Derby, that ſo they may comply the better with the ſolar numbers. I have ſo paſted them, that if you turn them up you may find thoſe for London under: but if you approve the radixes to Derby, that ſo they may comply the better with my ſolar numbers, the title may be written thus: *Lunares numeri, ad novum Lunæ ſyſtema excogitatum ab aſtronomo peritiſſimo Jeremia Horroxio; ad meridianum* Derbiæ, *notiſſimi coritanorum oppidi in ipſo ferè totius Angliæ umbilico ſiti, accommodati ab* J. F.'

In his letter dated at Derby, May 20th, 1672, he writes thus: 'I have lately obſerved the diſtance of Mars from a fixed ſtar very accurately. Laſt week I made equations for Mr Horrox's greateſt excentricity of the moon: for the leaſt, I have them made ready to my hands. This week I will more accurately calculate the equations of the apogæon and excentricities, and reduce the mean motions to current time. So that you may within a fortnight or three weeks at fartheſt, expect the Lunar tables from me, if God ſpare me health. I ſhall now have more time than formerly. I intend likewiſe to note the erroneous places in Hevelius's notes on the *Venus ſub ſole*, and ſend them as ſoon as I have finiſhed the new Lunar tables. My obſervation of Mars, I intend not to ſend you till I have made ſome more, which I expect about the middle of next month.'

In his letter dated at Derby, May 30th, 1672, he writes thus. 'I have this morning compleated my numbers for Horrox's theory, which I ſhall tranſcribe and ſend you, with ſome little account of the method of calculation as my leiſure and occaſions will permit. Theſe I hope to ſend you on Monday come ſevennight. I have late obſerved the return of Jupiter to the ſtar in Virgo $9^{\circ}.\ 58''$ but have not yet had time to commit it to my book, and calculate the times from the obſerved altitudes, but with the Lunar tables you may expect them.'

In his letter dated at Derby, June the 12th, 1672, he writes as follows. 'I had delivered my Lunar tables after Mr Horrox's ſyſtem to our carrier laſt Monday, but that ſome employments caſt upon me ſince the death of my uncle put me ſo behind hand, that I have finiſhed but this morning. However, I hope, they will be no whit the later in your hands, for I ſhall procure one of our Attorneys to deliver them to you, either the end of this week, or the beginning of the next. I have wrote in Latin an epiſtle to you containing what I have altered in their form, and what I think concerning the equation of time and alteration, of the excentricity and the variation. I ſuppoſe you print Mr Crabtree's letter which contains this theory with Mr Horrox's works, for the theory contained in the letter of December the tenth 1638, as I find in ſome looſe papers, and the exerciſes is not that which Horrox reſolved upon, and further in it the optical part of the equation varies, not but only the focus of the mean motion and the phyſical equation; ſo that the diſtance of the moon *à terrâ*, varies not above five ſemidiameters of the earth, which in his later papers he ſays all eclipſes, require to alter above ſeven. You have done well therefore to omit that letter, but in the room of it, I ſuppoſe you will give Mr Crabtree's which will lead to mine.'

In his letter dated at Derby, July the tenth, 1672, he writes thus. 'Included I ſend you the catalogue I promiſed. I have choſen thoſe towns where celeſtial obſervations have been made, and where I have found none, I have ordered them by comparing their poſitions to one another in our maps, which yet I dare not truſt, for by celeſtial obſervations of the pole's height, and eclipſes made in ſeveral places at once compared together, I find they place Italy too near, and all the towns of Poland, Germany, and France over remote. The maps I uſed were Speed's where I wanted, but I find them not good.——— I would gladly make ſome further enquiry into the nature of light and colours, but want a priſm for experiments, which may have two faces of an equal breadth, the third not half ſo broad as either of them, that ſo the angle included by the broader faces may be leſs than 30 gr. It needs not be large ſo it be but clear glaſs and well wrought. If you can procure me ſuch an one, provide it me againſt the latter end of the next week.'

In his letter dated at Derby, July the 23d, 1672, he writes thus. 'I have received Dr Wallis's letter to you of the 18th of this month, which finding me at an unuſual leiſure, I thought fit not to delay an anſwer that might give you ſatisfaction, tho' I hope you are ſatisfied already. The difference of the leaſt and greateſt extrencities in my tables, is as the Doctor makes it, $2323\,\surd^{5}$ *qualium Radius* $100000\,\surd^{\circ}$. That I wrote 22235 was a miſtake in the gladly embraced this offer, and viſited Mr Oldenburgh and Mr Collins, who introduced him

firſt tranſcript of my number, and ought to be made every where 2323 √’ for that I have uſed in all my calculations, and the table of equations is framed upon that difference elſe the greateſt diſtance could not be 7°—40′ as I have calculated it. The other faults of my copy pray correct after the Doctor's intimations. You need alter nothing in the example of the calculation, for the fault exceeds not one ſecond, which ſince we cannot obſerve with ſuch exactneſs, I willingly yield in any calculation, and few expect that ſeverity. I mention in my Epilogus the letter in which you have an account of Mr Horrox's theory, I mean that you ſent me the copy of, the theory from which, if I remember, you wrote me word, that Dr Wallis had long ſince tranſlated. This I ſuppoſe you intend to print, and it is neceſſary to be placed before my tables, and ſuppoſing that you intend it, I have ſaid nothing of any thing contained in that letter, but only of ſuch things as Horrox has ſaid nothing of.———I have lately procured ſome lough water (ſo the miners call it) for one Webſter the author of the Metallographia. It is found in the midſt of a firm ſtone in the lead mine. This I have is very tranſparent, but looks a little whitiſh and ſmells of ſulphur. I am promiſed ſome ſtones which being made of water, that congeals as it drops, are yet all of them hollow in the middle. Theſe are rarities ſeldom met with or heard of.'

In his letter dated at Derby, Auguſt the fifth, 1672, he writes thus. 'Your laſt I received on Wedneſday, and having then a letter new written to Mr Townley, I ſent the included papers of your's to him according to your deſire. When he returns them, I ſhall impart them to Mr Halton, to whom I believe they will be as welcome as to myſelf.——— But the buſineſs of this letter is to let you know, that you miſtook my meaning concerning the letter I mentioned in my Epilogus, which was not that of December the twentieth, 1638, but one of Crabtree's to Mr Gaſcoigne, dated Junii 21 1642, in which he deſcribes Mr Horrox's ſyſtem upon the author's ſecond thoughts, which he might find in his exerciſes, and his calculations on ſome looſe papers. This differs much from that in the December Epiſtle, for, 1. In that he makes the greateſt equation of the apogæon leſs than in his later papers. 2. The greateſt phyſical equation 5° 10′, the greateſt optical 2° 30′, whereas afterwards he made either of them 3° 50′ equal to each other. 3. In that epiſtle he directs to take $\frac{5}{6}$ of the Tychonic variation, but on after-thoughts he aſſumes $\frac{9}{10}$. Laſtly, that calculation is compiled by aid of Lanſberg's and Kepler's tables, which in this epiſtle is done more artificially by Trigonometry. Add, that he directs no correction of the mean motions, which yet I find in his Exerciſes and in Crabtree's letter. Theſe conſidered, the difference betwixt this firſt ſyſtem of Mr Horrox in the letter of December the 20th 1638, and that collected from his later papers by Mr Crabtree is ſo wide, that I believe you would not think fit to be placed before tables from which they differ ſo much. I have therefore tranſlated ſo much from that epiſtle of Crabtree, as contains the ſyſtem and trigonometrical method of calculation, which you may cauſe to be printed before the tables, which are framed from them and agree punctually with them.'

In his letter dated at Derby, Auguſt the thirteenth, 1672, he writes thus. 'I have your's of the tenth inſtant.———I am glad you are ſatisfied of Horrox's ſyſtem by the letter I ſent you. The precepts I found tranſlated by the ingenious Mr Shakerley, which I tranſcribed from him, becauſe I thought them clearer expreſſed than the Engliſh ones in Crabtree's letter, tho' they are in ſubſtance the very ſame. I remember not that he bids any where double the co-ſine of an arch, or that he uſes natural numbers at all. I doubt you miſtake, and that the third precept may have cauſed the error. It is *Duplicetur argumentum annuum & duplicati co-ſinui*; and the laſt two words I fear you read to the doubled co-ſine, by which nothing can be underſtood, but to the co-ſine of that argument doubled, which is clear another ſenſe and ſound enough. For his method of calculating the Proſthapheireſis of the orb, it is ſo framed as that it may include that little arch which *Street* applies at the focus of mean motion and calls the variation; otherwiſe, the difference betwixt *Anomalia media*, and *Anomalia excentri* doubled, as Crabtree finds it, will give Biſhop Ward's elliptic equation or Street's without that variation. As for that inequality in the moon's motion which Horrox calls the variation, and in his letter of December the 20th, confeſſes he knew not how to apply, and Crabtree alike in that of June the 21ſt, 1642. I eſteem it purely phyſical, and have not forgotten to ſay ſomething of it in the Epilogus to the tables, as you will find if you peruſe it again. Nor can Horrox be thought to have judged it otherwiſe on his after-thoughts, ſince he makes no uſe of it in computing the moon's diſtance from the earth, which if it were not only phyſical it muſt neceſſarily vary. I thought Crabtree's precepts ſufficiently clear for calculation. If they ſhall not be ſo to ſome, our tabular method and direction will explain them and render them eaſy, though we need not fear that any will give themſelves the trouble to calculate by them trigonometrically, when the tabular calculation is ſo eaſy, accurate, and expeditious. I think it is not any ways evident from Crabtree's letter, that his friend Mr Horrox died not the third of January 1640, except I have amiſs tranſlated ſomething. Pray peruſe it again and let me know, for beſides the note on the back of the letters, I find that in a letter of Crabtree's to Gaſcoigne, dated March the 18th 1640-1, he much laments the death of Horrox. Mr Gaſcoigne was ſlain in our wars, I believe in the year 1642, for I find no letters either of his or Crabtree's to him, after that of Junii 21, 1642, if I have not miſwritten. Crabtree lived much longer, I believe till 1652, if his neighbour Mr Wroe informed me truly. I ſhall write to morrow to Mr Townley, and will make one part of my deſires to be aſcertained of the time of his death.' In the poſtſcript he writes thus, 'when I came to compare Horrox's own ſyſtem in the letter of December the 20th, 1638, with his in Crabtree's letter, June the 21ſt, 1642, I found that Crabtree had demonſtrated it in Horrox's own words, from that letter in December 1638, I mean the libration of the apogæon, concerning which what I have written to you formerly, I intended once to have compoſed into the Epilogus, but upon ſecond thoughts, judged it better to take your opinion of it. I conſent that you ſhould inſert it, ſince I perceive you eſteem of it not amiſs, and I doubt not but hereafter to have ſomething that may further illuſtrate and confirm it, if occaſion be given.'

In his letter dated at Derby, May the 5th, 1673, he writes as follows. 'I received the ſheet omitted in Mr Horrox's book, without which I think it may do as well as with it; for the corrections in Crabtree's letter I find by Mr Horrox's exerciſes are the very ſame, he intended, only by this addition we ſhall ſee the progreſs of Horrox's endeavours, and how he framed that in the rough which he after mended, but left to his ſucceſſors to poliſh and perfect. I have ſpent my ſpare hours of late in correcting Kepler's numbers in the planet Mars, ſo as they may repreſent my obſervations which I think they will do very accurately, I mean thoſe of September laſt, which I made for finding his parallax and the ſun's. To make them fit all others is impoſſible, by reaſon that the places of the fixed ſtars are erroneouſly ſometimes ſtated by Tycho. But if we ſhould once be ſo happy as to have them reſtored by teleſcope obſervations on large inſtruments as Tycho's, I ſhould not doubt in a ſhort time to frame numbers that ſhould repreſent all the celeſtial appearances at leaſt of one age, and perhaps, the next very exactly. What I have done, I think will fit all obſervations as well as any, but my great deſire is to have them repreſent my own well, which being made with larger and more accurate inſtruments than were ever uſed before Mr Townley's time, muſt needs be more exact than any before his. I hoped to him to Mr Jonas Moore, who preſented him with Mr Townley's micrometer, and undertook to procure him glaſſes for a teleſcope at a moderate rate. At Cambridge he viſited Dr Iſaac Barrow, and Mr Iſaac Newton, and Dr Wroe, then Fellow of Jeſus-college there, with whom he correſponded frequently for the four following years. He alſo entered himſelf a Student of Jeſus-college. In the Spring of the year 1672 he excerpted ſeveral obſervations from Mr Gaſcoigne's and Mr Crabtree's letters, which had not been made publick, and which he tranſlated into Latin. He finiſhed the tranſcript of Mr Gaſcoigne's papers May 12, 1672. Amongſt that Gentleman's letters he found ſome, in which Mr Gaſcoigne ſhewed how the images of remote objects were formed in the diſtinct baſe of a convex object glaſs. From theſe our author got his Dioptrics in a few hours, having read Des Cartes's Dioptrics before, but learned little from them, becauſe Des Cartes diſcourſes not of this ſubject, his main buſineſs being to ſhew, how, by elliptical or hyperbolar glaſſes, all the rays of light which fall on the object parallel to the axis, may be collected into one point of the image in the diſtinct baſe, ſuppoſing all the rays of light of the ſame ſpecies, and liable to the ſame law of refraction, which yet Mr Iſaac Newton has demonſtrated they were not, by many experiments publiſhed in this year's Philoſophical Tranſactions. 'And this, ſays our author, is the only thing that I can perceive, for which Des Cartes's Dioptrics have been ſo celebrated.' The ſpare hours of the remaining part of the year 1672, were employed in his obſervations as the weather

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to have had many accurate obſervations this ſpring of all the planets, but the clouded Heavens have almoſt conſtantly deprived me of my foreſeen opportunities in all but Jupiter, of whom what I have obſerved Mr Oldenburgh can now inform you.'

In his letter dated at Derby, July the 7th, 1673, he writes thus. 'I wrote to you about a week agone. —— I might have informed you in my laſt, that after I had diſcovered the ſun's diſtance in September laſt, to be near 21000 ſemidiameters, I place it juſt ſo much in perigæo, then will his parallax be juſt $9'' 82$, which is preciſe the hundredth part of the ſun's ſemidiameter there *i. e.* $16' 22''$; ſo that I find the earth is but the millioneth part of the ſun. This cauſed me to think of putting it in a problem, which I did to puzzle ſome boaſting pretenders to ſkill. Thus the ſun's diſtance from the earth is 21000 of the earth's ſemidiameters, whoſe body is but the $\frac{1}{1000000}$ part of the ſun. Quere, *What is the ſun's diameter*.'

In his letter dated at Derby, July the twenty ſixth, 1673, he writes thus. 'Thurſday laſt I received a letter from Mr Gregory about the Scotch obſervatory and inſtruments. I had written a good way of an anſwer, but when I came to deſcribe my new micrometer, I find my papers in which I had deſcribed it removed. I have not time to ſearch for it at preſent, and am on Monday next to go ſome thirty miles from home, but ſhall return within three days, God willing. After, I ſhall ſearch for my papers, and return him an anſwer in the mean time. Yeſterday I wrote to Mr Townley to ſend you his advice, and think it convenient you would viſit Sir Jonas Moore, who has one of Mr Townley's micrometers, which Mr Gregory may there ſee fitted to the tube better, if I miſtake not, than by Mr Hook's.'

In his letter dated at Derby, Auguſt the twentieth, 1673, he writes thus. 'If Vlac's canon would be had for a crown or a noble, I ſhould be glad of it, but I cannot go beyond that rate, for my father takes notice of my expences, and I am at the outſide of my allowance. I have more than half finiſhed my Hecker, for ſo I call my Ephemeris, and after the next week hope to get time to conclude him, ſo that you may have him before Michaelmas. My ſervice to Mr Gregory, if he be ſtill in the city. I ſhall be glad to know what inſtruments and books he takes into Scotland with him.'

In his letter dated at Derby September the twenty-ninth, 1673, he writes thus: 'This day I have received one from you, by which I underſtand you have found thoſe tables of Vlac's I deſired. —— I am very well pleaſed with the news of Hugenius's treatiſe being come over, but more to hear of Caſſini's book of refractions being expected. I am of his opinion that they ought to be continued to the zenith, becauſe the refractive air reaches ſome heighth above our heads. But from Tycho's obſervations, ſuch as I find in Ricciolus's *Almageſt*, and ſome late experiments of mine own, which I intend to repeat as ſoon as I can borrow a convenient room, I have good reaſon to think that he makes them too large a little in the horizon, and their decreaſe over ſlow, or themſelves much too big in altitudes above thirty degrees. I ſhall ſhortly write to Mr Townley to engage him to make ſome ſuch experiments as I have thought of, and perhaps if mine own ſucceed I ſhall in the mean time let you know the event of them. —— I wiſh I could have any ways aſſiſted Mr Sherburne's Catalogue (5) with particulars of Mr Gaſcoigne's Life, who I believe was the firſt that applied ſcrews to teleſcopes. He made with them ſeveral curious obſervations *ab anno* 1638 to 1642. Such as could be found in his letters I have digeſted into a ſmall book, with notes of my own to them where they were needful for my own uſe. But I fear we have loſt many more, and that paſt hopes of recovery.'

(5) Subjoined to his verſion of Manilius.

In his letter dated at Derby December the 27th, 1673, he writes thus: 'Your's informs me of the reaſons why my Ephemeris is not printed, with which I am very well ſatisfied. But if you have not already done it, I would not have you propoſe the printing it at the charges of the Royal Society, leſt they loſe by it, to whom I am ſo much already obliged for their reſpects, that I deſire not to be made their further debtor. As for Mr Gregory, after I wrote the letter to him with the deſcription of the micrometer in it, I never heard any thing from him, and therefore forbore to write, ſuppoſing he would, if deſirous to have any correſpondence with me, have given me an occaſion to continue it by ſome anſwer to mine. I deſire to know from you what inſtruments he took into Scotland. If he deſire any intercourſe of letters, if he pleaſe to give me a good occaſion, he ſhall ever find me ready to ſatisfy and comply with his deſires.'

There is another letter of his from Derby, but without any date, in which he writes thus: 'I intend to ſend you my Hecker, which I hope to finiſh either this day or to-morrow. If that my father's affairs had not preſſed me extraordinarily, I had long ſince finiſhed it, but hope now will be ſoon enough. I find a table of the equation of natural days in Hugenius's piece ſeemingly much different from mine, from which it keeps a conſtant diſtance of about fourteen minutes of time, which that ingenious perſon has ſo contrived, that the equation may always be of the ſame ſpecies. I doubt not but that though it be ſeemingly different, I ſhall find it, on further examination, to agree exactly with ours, but not fit to be applied to aſtronomical calculations, or any experiments but thoſe about his watches; but of theſe more hereafter. In the mean time, when you find an opportunity to write to me again, I ſhall be glad to know what Mr Gregory has done in reference to the inſtruments he was about procuring, and what is the opinion about my alteration of Mr Townley's micrometer.'

weather permitted, and in preparing advertiſements of the appulſes of the moon and planets to the fixed ſtars, for the following year, which were printed by Mr Oldenburgh in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, and ſome obſervations of the planets which Mr Flamſteed imparted to him (*d*). In 1673 he wrote a ſmall tract in Engliſh, concerning the true diameters of all the planets, and their viſible diameters when at their neareſt diſtances from the earth, or their greateſt removes from it, which I lent, ſays he, to Mr Newton in 1685, who has made uſe of it in the fourth book of his *Principia*. By Mr Oldenburgh's means he exchanged ſome letters with Monſieur Caſſini. In 1673-4, beſides his uſual taſk, he wrote an Ephemeris, in which he ſhewed the falſity of Aſtrology, and the ignorance of thoſe who pretended to it, and gave a table of the moon's riſing and ſetting carefully calculated, together with the eclipſes and appulſes of the moon and planets to the fixed ſtars. This fell into the hands of Sir Jonas Moore, for whom, at his requeſt, Mr Flamſteed made a table of the moon's true ſouthings for that year, from which, and Mr Philips's Theory of the Tides, the high-waters being made, he found that they ſhewed the times of the turn of the tides very near, whereas the ordinary ſeamens coarſe rules would err ſometimes two or three hours (*e*). In the ſummer of the year 1674, our author paſſing through London in the way to Cambridge, Sir Jonas Moore informed him that a true account of the tides would be highly acceptable to his Majeſty, and offered the help of his ſervant to make the table, or any other work of the like nature. Upon this they reſolved to compoſe a ſmall Ephemeris for the King's uſe, which was in good part finiſhed before Midſummer, but not compleated till near Chriſtmas after, by reaſon of Mr Flamſteed's return to Derby about Michaelmas. Sir Jonas had heard him often diſcourſe of the weather-glaſs or Barometer, and the certainty of judging of the weather by it. Mr Townley having communicated to our author his obſervations and the rules deduced from them, Mr Flamſteed ſet up a barometer at Derby, where, for three years together before this, he had noted, thrice a day commonly, the height of the mercury in the barometer, and of a tinged ſpirit in the thermometer, and found, conſidering the different ſituation, that Mr Townley's remarks agreed very well with his, which were, That upon every ſinking of the mercury the air was more moved, and that either wind or rain followed, not the ſame day always, but one, two, three, or four days after, according to the time and height it had been ſtationary at. Something of this had been noted by Mr Boyle but not proſecuted, by reaſon that the daily watching it's motions and noting them, was thought perhaps a trouble which ſuch a trifling ſubject as the weather did not deſerve. But now, at Sir Jonas Moore's requeſt, Mr Flamſteed ſet up for him a pair of theſe glaſſes, and left him materials for making more. It had been long ſettled fair weather when Mr Flamſteed left London, ſoon after which the mercury in the glaſſes began to ſink, but no rain followed till the fourth or fifth day after. This made Sir Jonas eſteem the glaſſes and rules very much, of which informing the King and Duke of York, he was ordered to prepare them the next day, which he did, together with Mr Flamſteed's directions for judging of the weather from their riſing or falling. Sir Jonas had ſhewed the King and Duke our author's teleſcopes and micrometer before, and whenever he acquainted them with any thing which he had gathered from Mr Flamſteed's diſcourſe, he told them frankly from whom he had it, and recommended him to the Nobility and Gentlemen about the Court (*f*). Mr Flamſteed having taken his degree of Maſter of Arts at Cambridge, deſigned to enter into Orders, and to ſettle in a ſmall living near Derby, which was in the gift of a friend of his father's, and therefore went to Okeham in order to proceed to Peterborough at Chriſtmas, but it happened that there was no ordination there. In the mean time Sir Jonas Moore having been informed of his deſign, wrote to him to come to London, upon which he returned thither in the beginning of February 1674-5, and was entertained in the houſe of that Gentleman, who deſigned an employment for him, wherein Mr Flamſteed might have been aſſiſtant to his ſon, for whom Sir Jonas had procured the reverſion of his place, which, though in nothing like his father, he enjoyed for the few years he lived. But Sir Jonas finding Mr Flamſteed perſiſt in his reſolution to take Orders, and that his ſon's temper was ſuch as would make him as uneaſy as himſelf, he did not continue to diſſuade him from his intent. March the fourth following he brought Mr Flamſteed a warrant to be the King's Aſtronomer, with the ſalary of an hundred pounds *per annum*, payable out of the Office of Ordnance, to commence from the Michaelmas preceding (*g*). The Eaſter following our author was ordained at Ely houſe by Biſhop Gunning, who ever after converſed freely with him, and particularly upon the new Philſoſophy and opinions, though that Prelate had always maintained the old. Auguſt the 10th, 1675, the foundation was laid of the Royal Obſervatory at Greenwich [*E*].

While

(*d*) See the article of NEWTON (Sir ISAAC).

(*e*) See this point explained in note [*G*].

(*f*) Life of the late Lord Keeper Guilford, by Roger North, Esq; p. 286.

(*g*) Ward's Lives of the Greſham Profeſſors, p. 337.

[*E*] *Of the Royal Obſervatory at Greenwich*] Between the time of Mr Flamſteed's coming up to London in February, and the Eaſter following, an accident happened which haſtened, if not occaſioned, the building of the Obſervatory. The Sieur de St Pierre, a Frenchman who had ſome ſmall ſkill in Aſtronomy, and made an intereſt with the Ducheſs of Portſmouth, propoſed no leſs than the diſcovery of the longitude, and procured a kind of commiſſion from King Charles the Second to the Lord Brouncker, Dr Seth Ward Biſhop of Sarum, Dr Chriſtopher Wren, Sir Charles Scarborough, Sir Jonas Moore, Col. Titus, Dr Pell, Sir Robert Murray, Mr Hook, and ſome other ingenious perſons about the town and Court, to receive his propoſals, with power to elect and receive into their numbers any other ſkilful perſons, and to give the

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While it was building Mr Flamſteed reſided at the place laſt mentioned, his quadrant and teleſcopes being kept in the Queen's houſe; there he obſerved with them the appulſes of the moon and planets to the fixed ſtars. In 1681 his Doctrine of the Sphere [*F*] was

King an account of them, with their opinion. Sir Jonas Moore carried Mr Flamſteed to one of their meetings, where he was choſen into their number. The Frenchman's propoſals were then read, which were, I. To have the year and day of the obſervations. II. The height of two ſtars, and on which ſide of the meridian they appeared. III. The height of the moon's two limbs. IV. The height of the pole. All of them to degrees and minutes. It was eaſy to perceive from theſe demands, that the Sieur de St Pierre knew not that the beſt Lunar Tables differed from the heavens, and that therefore his demands were not ſufficient for determining the longitude of the place where ſuch obſervations were or ſhould be made, from that to which the Lunar Tables were fitted. This Mr Flamſteed immediately repreſented to the company. But they, conſidering the intereſt of his patroneſs at Court, deſired to have the Sieur de St Pierre furniſhed according to his demands. Mr Flamſteed undertook it, and having gained the moon's true place by obſervations made at Derby, Feb. 23, 1672, and November 12, 1673, gave him obſervations ſuch as he demanded. The Sieur de St Pierre did not think that they could have been given him, but anſwered that they were feigned. Mr Flamſteed delivered them to Dr Pell Feb. 19, 1674-5, who returning him his anſwer ſome time after, Mr Flamſteed wrote a letter in Engliſh to the Commiſſioners, and another in Latin to the Sieur de St Pierre, to aſſure him that they were not feigned, and to ſhew that if they had been ſo, yet if we had Aſtronomical Tables which would give us the true places of the fixed ſtars, and moon's true places, both in longitude and latitude nearer than to half a minute, we might hope to find the longitude of places by lunar obſervations, but not by ſuch as he demanded; but that we were ſo far from having the places of the fixed ſtars true, that the Tychonic Catalogues often erred ten minutes or more; that they were uncertain to three or four minutes, by reaſon that Tycho affirmed a faulty obliquity of the ecliptic, and had employed only plain ſights in his obſervations; that the beſt Lunar Tables differed ¼ if not ⅓ of a degree from the Heavens; and, laſtly, that he might have learned better methods than he propoſed from his countryman Morinus, whom it was proper to conſult before he made any more demands of this nature. Mr Flamſteed heard no more of the Sieur de St Pierre after this, but was informed that his letters being ſhewn King Charles the Second, he was ſtartled at the aſſertion of the places of the fixed ſtars being falſe in the Catalogues, and ſaid with ſome vehemence, *That he muſt have them anew obſerved, examined, and corrected, for the uſe of his ſeamen.* And further, when it was urged to him how neceſſary it was to have a good ſtock of obſervations taken for correcting the motions of the moon and planets, with the ſame earneſtneſs he declared, *That he muſt have it done*; and being aſked, Who could or ſhould do it? replied, *The perſon that informs you of them.* Upon this Mr Flamſteed was appointed, with the allowance abovementioned, and aſſurances, at the ſame time, of ſuch further additions as ſhould be found requiſite for carrying on the work. The next point to be thought of, was a place to fix in. Several were propoſed, as Hyde Park and Chelſea College. Mr Flamſteed went to view the ruins of the latter, and judged it might ſerve the purpoſe, and the better becauſe it was near the Court. Sir Jonas Moore enclined to Hyde Park; but Dr Chriſtopher Wren mentioning Greenwich, it was reſolved on. The King allowed five hundred pounds in money, with bricks from Tilbury Fort, where there was a ſpare ſtock, and ſome wood, iron, and lead, from a gatehouſe demoliſhed in the Tower, and promiſed to grant what more ſhould be neceſſary.

[*F*] *His Doctrine of the Sphere*] In the preface he obſerves, that, in this treatiſe, he has ſhewn how all the diurnal appearances of the ſun and ſtars are naturally made, and how, laying aſide all thoſe old projections of the ſphere which falſly ſuppoſe the earth's ſtability, they may be repreſented, and the problems concerning them anſwered, by new ones grounded on that true ſyſtem of the world, which ſuppoſes the annual and diurnal motions of the earth, propoſed at firſt by Pythagoras, aſſerted by Copernicus, demonſtrated by Kepler, and, as moſt agreeable to reaſon and experience, approved and entertained by the ableſt Aſtronomers of our times. He tells us, that, in the ſecond part, he has taught how to find within what ſpace of the earth the ſolar eclipſe is viſible, and where the principal phaſes appear by calculation, as alſo how all the requiſites of the ſame eclipſe may be found for any given place, without the calculation of parallaxes; which uſeful invention, ſays he, having never appeared in publick before, I find myſelf obliged to give the following account of it's original, that I may not hereafter be accuſed of injuſtice to two of my ſingular good friends, the admirably ingenious Sir Chriſtopher Wren, Maſter Surveyor of his Majeſty's buildings, and our ſouthern Tycho, Mr Edmund Halley. It was in the winter of the year 1676, that Mr Flamſteed lighted upon this method. The autumn before ſome ſpots had appeared in the ſun, and then he was obſerving a compact one that made more than two entire revolutions before it was wholly extinct. Examining his obſervations to find the reaſon of their different appearances, he collected from them that the ſpots adhered to the ſuperficies, and that they were carried round his centre once in twenty-five days and a quarter, the northern half of that axis on which this revolution was performed being inclined about eight degrees to the plane of the ecliptic, between the twelfth and eighteenth degrees of Virgo, which being concluded, he found that allowing what alterations muſt neceſſarily happen in their appearances by reaſon of the earth's diurnal progreſs in her orbit, all his obſervations would be repreſented as nearly as he could expect. And now having ſeen how the poles, axis, equator, and parallels in the ſun, altered their appearances to the eye placed on the earth, according as ſhe changed her place in her orbit, and 'being ill of the ſtone, that he might have ſomething to think of beſides his pains,' he ſet himſelf to conſider how the axis of the earth, and the ſeveral paths and parallels imagined on it, would appear from the ſun, and how the diurnal phænomena would be repreſented by an orthographical projection of our globe on a plane, ſtanding at right angles to the ecliptic, and the line connecting the centers of the ſun and earth. Here he found what he has delivered in the firſt ſection of his treatiſe of the Doctrine of the Sphere, *viz.* how the parallaxes of altitude, longitude, and latitude, were made and given by conſtruction; and upon a little farther conſideration, how the times of any appearance of a ſolar eclipſe, the part then darkened, with the inclination of the cuſps, might be determined without any calculation of them, by the help of projection. Much pleaſed with this diſcovery, he immediately conſtructed an eclipſe which he had obſerved at Derby, October 25, 1668, and, with a brief deſcription of the method, tranſmitted it to his kind friend and patron Sir Jonas Moore, by whom it was communicated to the Royal Society at one of their meetings. It happened that Sir Chriſtopher Wren was there preſent, who having viewed the figure only, told Sir Jonas, that himſelf had known the ſame method ſixteen years before, and, to aſſure him of it, ſent him ſoon after a like projection neatly drawn on paſtboard, and fitted with ſeveral ingenious contrivances of numbers and ſcales, for the conſtruction of ſolar eclipſes in our latitude. This Sir Jonas brought to Mr Flamſteed, then labouring under ſome diſtempers, to Greenwich, whereby the latter was ſatisfied, that the honour of the firſt diſcovery of this uſeful invention was abſolutely due to Sir Chriſtopher Wren, whom, of all mortals, he believed to have been the firſt who knew how to find the times of the beginning, middle, digits then darkened, inclination of the cuſps at any phaſis, and end of a ſolar eclipſe, without the calculation of parallaxes. In ſome diſcourſe which our author had with Mr Halley, before he went to obſerve the ſouthern conſtellations at St Helena, the latter mentioned the conſtruction of eclipſes (6) as poſſible, but, out of a tender affection, ſays Mr Flamſteed, to his own in-

(6) This ſhews ſomewhat of diſtaſte to Captain Halley, but they were afterwards good friends.

was publiſhed in a poſthumous work of Sir Jonas Moore (h). We may expect a new and accurate edition of this treatiſe of Mr Flamſteed, with a great many alterations and additions by him, from the very ingenious Mr James Hodgſon, F. R. S. About the year 1684 he was preſented to the living of Burſtow near Blechingley in Surry (i), which he enjoyed during his life. It appears from hence that he was but very moderately provided for, and yet it ſeems to have contented him, for notwithſtanding he had a warm and aſpiring mind, yet this diſcovered itſelf only in the purſuit of knowledge, which, like all other violent paſſions, occupied him in a manner entirely, and, by withdrawing his thoughts from ordinary conſiderations, enabled him to give the publick ſo many, and thoſe ſuch inconteſtible, marks of true genius. As theſe raiſed him to the notice of the world, and recommended him to the royal favour and protection; ſo they likewiſe procured him the friendſhip and confidence of ſome of the greateſt perſons in point of ſcience this nation could boaſt, ſuch as the incomparable Sir Iſaac Newton, who correſponded with him from 1680 to 1699; Dr Edmund Halley, William Molyneux of Dublin, Eſq; (k), Dr John Wallis, and ſeveral others; and of the celebrated M. Caſſini, for which indeed he was fitted by nature, as being himſelf very communicative, and bleſſed with ſo much candour and juſtice, that none of his correſpondents ran the leaſt hazard from their making him acquainted with their diſcoveries. He was alſo exceedingly ready to give any aſſiſtance in his power for facilitating the ſtudies of his friends, and took as much pleaſure in contributing to the reputation of others, as ſome do in leſſening the fame of their rivals that they may exalt their own. He ſhewed the ſame indefatigable aſſiduity in the proſecution of his labours for the improvement of Aſtronomy after this moderate proviſion was made for him that he did before, the Philoſophical Tranſactions affording ſuch clear evidences of his activity and diligence, as well as of his penetration and exactneſs, as muſt fully ſatisfy any candid enquirer of the truth of this aſſertion [*G*]. He ſpent the latter, as he had

ventions, or for what other reaſon I know not, he was pleaſed to conceal his method both from me, who then thought it ſcarce poſſible, and for ought I can underſtand from all others. Nor is it to be wondered at, that three of us ſhould make this diſcovery ſeverally, and without any intimation of the method from each other. For to me it ſeems very unlikely, that any one who admits the motion of the earth, and apprehends how the moon paſſing between the ſun and it, eclipſes ſome part of him to all thoſe people who lie under its paſſage ſhould ever miſs of it. But we might rather admire, had I not intimated the reaſon of it in the fifth ſection of the ſecond part, that the acute wit of the ſagacious Kepler ſhould overlook it, when he had diſcovered the method of finding by calculation, within what ſpaces on our globe the ſolar eclipſe is bounded, and where the principal phaſes of it would appear. Mr Flamſteed then tells us, that he had almoſt finiſhed what he had here delivered concerning the conſtruction of eclipſes, when it was intimated to him by his ingenious friend Mr Perkins, that there was little extant in the Engliſh tongue concerning the general method of calculation abovementioned, and that therefore he might do well to explain it. He conſidered then, that this might be performed more eaſily than is taught by the firſt famous inventor, and without his nonageſinary table. Waving therefore his firſt intent, which was not to engage himſelf in any thing which had been expreſsly handled by others before him, he thought it neceſſary to undertake this further taſk, and accordingly wrote the precepts relating to that ſubject after, tho' for method's ſake they are inſerted before the conſtruction of the ſolar eclipſe. He obſerves likewiſe that in 1670, he firſt publiſhed predictions of the moon's appulſes to fixed ſtars, which he continued eight years after ſucceſſively, firſt in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, after in the royal Almanack, propoſing them as an uſeful and the moſt practicable expedient for finding the longitude or difference of meridians betwixt any two places, by reaſon both of their frequency, and that a ſingle perſon might obtain whatever is required in obſervations of them, with a ſmall apparatus of inſtruments. But the calculation of parallaxes required in their application cauſed them to be leſs regarded than he hoped they would have been. He has therefore ſhewn how this tedious labour may be avoided, and the occultation or emerſion of a ſtar from the moon, or time of its viſible conjunction with the center and diſtance, then from her next limb, may be found by conſtruction as the phaſes of a ſolar eclipſe, and the difference of meridians betwixt two diſtant places by obſervations of the ſame appulſe made at each. And now, ſays he, the main difficulty being removed, I would again recommend this method to the ſtudy and practice of the ingenious Aſtronomer and Navigator.

[G] *Of the truth of this aſſertion.*] We find before the cloſe of the year 1675, a large and accurate account of a lunar eclipſe, December the twenty firſt, obſerved by our author, and communicated by him to Sir Jonas Moore in a letter from Greenwich, December the 24th (7). This paper, written in Latin, being communicated to the famous Signior Caſſini, he ſent over alſo his obſervations, with ſome remarks upon thoſe of Mr Flamſteed; in which he pays very high complements to that gentleman, in reſpect as well to his diligence and accuracy, as to his great ſkill and learning (8). Upon this Mr Flamſteed wrote him a ſhort letter, in which are contained ſome very curious celeſtial obſervations. Our author publiſhed likewiſe a very copious and clear account of the eclipſe of the ſun, June the twenty third, 1676, to which he added alſo the account ſent him by Mr Townley and Mr Halton, in the ſucceeding months of July and Auguſt. Himſelf at Greenwich, and Dr Edmund Halley at Oxford, obſerved ſome ſpots in the ſun very carefully, and publiſhed both their obſervations (9). On the twenty firſt of Auguſt the ſame year he obſerved, and publiſhed, an occultation of the planet Mars by the Moon, for the benefit of ſuch as were deſirous of ſettling thereby the difference of meridians (10). May the 18th, 1677, he obſerved a comet very carefully, of which he gave an account by a letter to Mr Oldenburgh. Upon the interruption of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, he ſent a moſt accurate account of his obſervation of an eclipſe of the moon, Auguſt the eighteenth, 1681, at Greenwich to Dr Hook (11), to whom he likewiſe communicated ſome obſervations upon tides, the practical knowledge of which with any tolerable degree of accuracy we owe entirely to his labours, as appears from the following account annexed to his tide table for the year 1683 (12). ‘Sir, conſidering how much the river of Thames is frequented by ſhipping, and how long it has been the chief place of commerce in theſe parts of the world, one would think our ſeamens accounts of its tides ſhould be very exact, and their opinions concerning them rational; whereas if they be enquired into, nothing will be found more erroneous and idle.

‘For they taking notice that the high waters at, and near, the new and full moons, run an hour and a half or two points of the compaſs longer than at the quarters, conclude generally that 'tis the inconſtancy of the winds that cauſes it, never conſidering how improbable it is that ſo inconſtant and changeable a cauſe, ſhould effect ſo conſtant an inequality.

‘In

(h) The title of this moſt uſeful and excellent work runs thus: *The Doctrine of the* Sphere *grounded on the* Motion *of the* Earth, *and the ancient* Pythagorean *or* Copernican *Syſtem of the World. In two Parts.* Lond. 1680, 4*to*.

(i) Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford, by Roger North, Eſq; p. 286. Aubrey's Antiq. of Surry.

(k) Some inſtances of which have been made publick.

(7) Philoſoph. Tranſactions, No. 121.

(8) Theſe are alſo printed in the Tranſactions.

(9) Ib. No. 127.

(10) Ib. No. 134.

(11) Hook's Philoſophical Collections, No. 3.

(12) Philoſoph. Tranſact. No. 143.

had done the former part of his life, in promoting true and uſeful knowledge, by the conſtant exerciſe of his own great abilities, and by taking all poſſible methods to obtain whatever lights the endeavours of others might afford him. In the latter end of the month of December, 1719, he was ſeized with a ſtrangury, which brought him to his end on the laſt day of the ſame month and year (l). He left a widow behind him by whom he had no children. His *Hiſtoria Cœleſtis Britannica* was publiſhed at London in 1725, in three volumes folio, and dedicated to the King, by his widow Mrs Margaret Flamſteed and Mr James Hodgſon; great part of this work was printed off before his death, and the reſt compleated, except the Prolegomena prefixed to the third volume. In the Preface we are informed, that, in 1704, he having communicated by a friend an account of his collection of obſervations to the Royal Society, they were ſo highly pleaſed with it, that

(l) Hiſtorical Regiſter, Vol. V. in the Diary.

‘ In which opinion the tide tables of our Almanacks have contributed much to confirm them, for therein the moon's age is got by the epacts, thence the time of her ſouthing by the allowance of forty eight minutes of time for every day's age, as if her diurnal motions and returns to the meridian were altogether equable, than which nothing is more falſe; and then the time of the high water at London-Bridge is made by adding three hours to the time of her ſouthing ſo got, as if there were the ſame conſtant ſpace of time betwixt the moon's ſouthing and the high waters, which by this means are often made two hours different from truth and experience.

‘ To amend this fault, ſome of the more ſkilful have calculated the times of the moon's ſouthings exactly, and then made their tide tables by adding three hours conſtantly to them, by which means tho' they agreed nearer with experience at the ſpring tides, or near the new and full moon, yet they erred not much leſs than by the old way of account they would have done at the quarters or in the neap tides, the inequality of the tides being above double to the error committed in finding the moon's ſouthings by her age.

‘ Mr Booker was the firſt that gave any directions for the amendment of this reckoning, and that was only to ſubſtract an hour from the times in his tide table about the firſt and laſt quarters of the moon, becauſe the neap tides did not flow ſo long as the ſprings by one point of the compaſs. But Mr Henry Philips, a perſon well known by his works of navigation, was certainly the firſt that brought the inequality to a rule, whoſe theory of the tides, and a table grounded on it for the year 1668, was printed in Mr Oldenburgh's Philoſophical Tranſactions for the month of April that year, numb. 34. which was found much more conformable to experience than was expected.

‘ Having frequent occaſion to paſs betwixt London and Greenwich by water ſome two years agone, I took notice that the tides ſeldom held out ſo long as Mr Philips's calculation gave them; and therefore in the months of October and November, I began to obſerve them more diligently, and procured them to be carefully noted by an ingenious friend at Tower-wharf. From theſe obſervations I raiſed a correction of Mr Philips's numbers, and cauſed a tide table to be made agreeable to it, which was printed by Mr Hook in his Philoſophical Collections numb. 4.

‘ But the weather then proving ſtormy and unſeaſonable, I durſt not rely on thoſe obſervations nor that correction, and therefore in the ſpring and ſummer months following of the year 1682, I ſet to obſerve them again; and with the help of my friends and ſervants, I noted the times of above eighty high waters at Tower-wharf and Greenwich, whereby I found that the greateſt and leaſt differences betwixt the moon's true ſouthing and the high waters, were not as Mr Philips had placed them at the full or new and quarter moons, but the greateſt nearer to the neaps, the leaſt to the higheſt ſpring tides. I found alſo that the inequality was not the ſame that he had made of it, and after a trial or two, that I could repreſent and anſwer above ſix hundred of theſe obſervations, with leſs than one quarter of an hour's difference, which, conſidering how difficult it is to determine the time of an high water exactly, I cannot but eſteem a very good agreement.

‘ Hitherto, our tide tables have only ſhewed the time of that one high water which next follows the moon's ſouthing, but in this new table I have given the times of both; concerning which I deſire it may be noted, that when by reaſon of great droughts in ſummer, or extreme froſts in winter, the ſprings are low, and the freſh waters leſs than uſual, the tides may hold up longer than the times noted in the table; as alſo when ſtrong north-weſterly or northerly winds blow, which bring in an extraordinary flood from the northern ſeas and keep it up longer than other times.

‘ So, on the contrary, when the winds blow hard on the oppoſite points of the compaſs, or when we have much rain and great freſhes, the tides hold out not ſo long as the times ſhewed in the table, the freſhes over-powering and checking them ſooner. Yet have I never found that the differences betwixt the calculated and obſerved high waters have much exceeded half an hour; moſt commonly they are ſcarce half ſo much.

‘ This table may be reduced, and made to ſerve for any other port of his Majeſty's dominions or neighbouring countries, by only ſubſtracting or adding ſo much time to the high water noted in it, as the high water obſerved in the ſaid place, ſhall be found to precede or follow the time of the high water the ſame day herein noted. For by ſuch accounts as I have met with and received of the tides in remote places, I find there is every where about England the ſame difference betwixt the ſpring and neap tides, that is here obſerved in the river of Thames.

‘ I could eaſily have made and given you a table for this reduction, if I durſt have relied on the account our mariners give of the tides in other ports; but I find their opinions different, except where they have copied from one another in their Kalendars, by reaſon of the aforementioned difference betwixt the times of the moon's ſouthings and the true high waters, for which reaſon I forbear it till further experience ſhall have informed us better.'

He continued to publiſh tables of the like nature, with continual improvements for many years together. We have choſen this familiar inſtance, that every reader might have it in his power to judge of the nature of Mr Flamſteed's enquiries, and of the value of his improvements. He took the ſame method in reſpect to things of a ſuperior nature, his diſcoveries end always at ſomething uſeful; and when he had once found errors in the common ſchemes of computation, he never left examining, ſearching, and comparing, till he found the ſource of the error, and was able to point out the ſureſt and ſpeedieſt way of inveſtigating the truth.

It would be tedious and trifling to give the heads of almoſt numberleſs papers, addreſſed by our author himſelf to the Secretaries of the Royal Society, or communicated to them by him from others. Let it ſuffice that through a long courſe of years Mr Flamſteed was never deficient in ſending his excellent remarks, which were of greater uſe in promoting the progreſs of that ſcience to which he applied, than the compaſs of a note will afford us by any means the power of deſcribing; ſo that the goodneſs of his royal maſter in erecting that poſt he ſo worthily filled, and his choice of ſo able, ſo indefatigable, and ſo communicative, a man to diſcharge it, were equally conſpicuous. How far he puſhed his enquiries, and to what a bulk his learned labours ſwelled by degrees, the reader will learn in the next note.

that they recommended the work to his Royal Highneſs Prince George of Denmark, who ordered Francis Roberts, Eſq; Sir Chriſtopher Wren, Sir Iſaac Newton, Dr David Gregory, and Dr John Arbuthnot, to inſpect Mr Flamſteed's papers, and accordingly a report was made in their favour. Upon this, ninety-ſeven ſheets were printed at the Prince's expence before his death, after which the remainder was publiſhed at the charge of our author and his executors, and will prove a noble and laſting monument to his memory (*m*) [*H*]. How great his reputation was, even in his life-time, appears from what has been already ſaid, and may be rendered ſtill more ſo, from the teſtimony of many eminent perſons, of which ſome notice will be taken at the bottom of the page (*n*) [*I*].
He

(*m*) It is apparent from hence, that this excellent Mathematician never remitted of his induſtry ſo long as he had ſtrength.

(*n*) Inſtitutions Newtoniennes, ou Introduction a la Philoſophie de M. Newton. Par M. Sigorne. Pref. p. 17, 18.

[*H*] *And will prove a noble and laſting monument to his memory.*] The firſt volume contains the obſervations of Mr William Gaſcoigne, the firſt inventor of the way of meaſuring angles in a teleſcope by the help of ſcrews, and the firſt who applied teleſcopical ſights to aſtronomical inſtruments taken at Middleton near Leeds in Yorkſhire, betwixt the years 1638, and 1643, collected from his letters to Mr Crabtree, with ſome of Mr Crabtree's obſervations of the ſame year; as alſo obſervations of the ſun's and moon's diameters, configurations, and elongations of Jupiter's ſatellites from him, ſmall diſtances of fixed ſtars, with appulſes of the moon and planets to them, obſerved with a teleſcope and micrometer at Derby by Mr Flamſteed, betwixt the years 1670, and 1675, with the larger intermutual diſtances of fixed ſtars, and of the planets from them; eclipſes of the ſun, moon, and Jupiter's ſatellites, ſpots on the ſun, comets, and refractions, taken with a ſextant of near ſeven foot Radius, a voluble quadrant, and the abovementioned inſtruments, betwixt the years 1675 and 1689, at the Royal Obſervatory; ranked under proper heads; with the places of the Moon, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury, deduced from the obſervations; and alſo neceſſary tables to be uſed with them. The ſecond volume contains his obſervations made with a mural arch of near ſeven foot Radius, and 140 degrees, on the limb of the meridional zenith, diſtances of the fixed ſtars, ſun, moon, and other planets, with the time of their tranſits over the meridian; together with obſervations of the ſun's and moon's diameters, eclipſes of the ſun, moon, and Jupiter's ſatellites, variations of the compaſs, from 1689, to the end of the year 1719, &c. tables ſhewing how to render the calculation of the ſtars and planets places, from the obſervations, eaſy and expeditious; to which are added the places of the moon (at the oppoſitions, quadratures, and on her limits, &c.) and the places of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury, derived from the abovementioned obſervations. The third volume contains a catalogue of the right aſcenſions, diſtances from the pole, longitudes and magnitudes, of near three thouſand fixed ſtars, with variations of their right aſcenſions and diſtances from the pole, whilſt they change their longitudes one degree, whereby the right aſcenſions and diſtances from the pole of the ſtars and planets being given, their longitudes and latitudes may be found by inſpection. To this volume is prefixed a very large preface, containing an account of all the aſtronomical obſervations made before his own time, with a deſcription of the inſtruments made uſe of, as alſo an account of his own obſervations and inſtruments, together with a new Latin verſion of Ptolomy's catalogue of 1026 fixed ſtars, from the Greek and Uleg-beigs places annexed on the Latin page, with the corrections, ſmall catalogues of the Arabs, Tycho Brahe's of about 780 fixed ſtars in a proper order, the Landgrave of Heſſe's of 386, Hevelius's of 1534, in a proper order; a catalogue of ſome of the ſouthern fixed ſtars not viſible in our hemiſphere, reduced to right aſcenſion, diſtance from the pole, longitude and latitude, with variations of right aſcenſions and diſtances from the pole, calculated from obſervations made by Dr Halley at St Helena, and Mr Flamſteed's ſtars places, and fitted to the year 1726.

[*I*] *At the bottom of the page.*] The merit of Mr Flamſteed, as an Aſtronomer, would be but very indifferently ſupported by producing general characters of him from hiſtorical or biographical writers, little known or diſtinguiſhed in the world for their ſkill in that ſcience: we will therefore preſent the reader with teſtimonies of another kind, that is, from ſuch as were themſelves eminent for their knowledge in Aſtronomy, who could not therefore be deceived, and who out of regard to their own reputation would never attempt to deceive others. Mr Stephen Gray in a letter of his dated from Canterbury, May the fifth 1701, deſcribing a very ingenious inſtrument invented by him for drawing a true meridian line by the pole ſtar (13), and alſo for finding the hour of the day or night by the ſame, has the following paſſage. 'That moſt learned, accurate, and judicious Aſtronomer, Mr John Flamſteed, Mat. Reg. and F. R. S. has lately diſcovered that there is a parallaxis of the earth's annual orbit at the pole ſtar, of about forty or forty five ſeconds, whereby the diameter of the ſtar's parallel is greater in June than in December, by about 1 minute 2 ſeconds, which he has evinced from ſeven years ſucceſſive obſervations, whereby the earth's motion is indubitably demonſtrated, as appears from his learned letter to Dr Wallis on that ſubject. Now if on the edge of this index there be drawn a ſcale of degrees, minutes, and ſeconds, to the Radius of the glaſs, we ſhall not only have a very accurate inſtrument for the hour, but be furniſhed with one whereby we ſhall ſee the truth of the earth's motion confirmed by the acceſs and receſs of our ſtar, towards and from the pole, according to the earth's place in the eclіptick, as that learned perſon abovementioned has diſcovered, and that not only when the ſtar tranſits the meridian, but in clear air at any time of the day, one ſhall likewiſe obſerve that annual increaſe of the pole ſtar's declination cauſed by the proceſſion of the equinox. My own obſervations aſſure me, that the pole ſtar may be ſeen in the day time with a teleſcope of ſixteen foot, for with one of this length I ſaw that ſtar on the 26th of April, this preſent year 1701, from four o' clock in the morning till ſeven, and could have ſeen it longer had not clouds interpoſed; and again the firſt of May, I did not look for the ſtar till the ſun had been up more than half an hour, *viz.* at five in the morning, yet I ſoon found it and ſaw it afterwards as oft as I pleaſed, till half an hour after nine the ſame morning; ſo that I doubt not this ſtar may be ſeen in a clear day throughout the whole year.' The very learned Dr William Wotton (14), who was a perſon of univerſal knowledge, produces the labours and diſcoveries of Mr Flamſteed to prove, that the antient Aſtronomy was not at all comparable to the modern; or, which is the ſame thing, that modern Aſtronomers have far ſurpaſſed the antients in point of accuracy, as well as extenſiveneſs in their obſervations. 'Galileo Galilei, ſays he, was the firſt who diſcovered four planets moving conſtantly round Jupiter, from thence uſually called his ſatellites, which afterwards were obſerved to have a conſtant, regular, and periodical motion. This motion is now ſo exactly known, that Mr Flamſteed, who is one of the moſt accurate obſervers that ever was, has been able to calculate tables of the eclipſes of the ſeveral ſatellites, according to which, Aſtronomers in different quarters of the world, having notice of the preciſe time when to look for them, have found them to anſwer to his predictions, and publiſhed their obſervations accordingly. This is an effectual anſwer to all that rhapſody which Stubbe has collected in his brutal anſwer to Mr Glanville's *Plus ultra*, about the uncertainty of all obſervations made by teleſcopes; ſince it is impoſſible to calculate the duration of any motion juſtly, by fallacious and uncertain methods. By the eclipſes of Jupiter's ſatellites, longitudes would ſoon be exactly determined, if tubes of any length could be managed at ſea.' That ingenious and intelligent Mathematician, William Molyneux, Eſq; of Dublin, gives our author a very high character and mentions ſeveral teſtimonies of his friendſhip. Dr Edmund Halley, in a parallel drawn by
him,

(13) Philoſoph. Tranſact. No. 270. p. 817, 818.

(14) Reflexions upon Ancient and Modern Learning, p. 175.

He was ſucceeded in his poſt of Aſtronomer Royal by the late learned and ingenious Dr Edmund Halley, though the Reverend Mr William Whiſton, as he has informed us, made ſome application during the vacancy, in which, though not ſucceſsful, he was not much diſappointed (*o*). There has been, while this article was in the preſs, a ſhort pamphlet of our author's publiſhed (*p*), being indeed no more than the copy of a letter to a gentleman at Turin in Piedmont, dated April 10, 1693, in relation to the dreadful earthquakes that had done ſo much miſchief the year before in Jamaica and Sicily, and had been, though but ſlightly, felt here. Our author does not ſeem to have employed much time in the conſideration of this difficult ſubject; he collects from theſe circumſtances, *viz.* That earthquakes always happen in calm ſeaſons; that a ſmall hollow noiſe in the air precedes them; that they are felt at ſea as well as on ſhore; that ſometimes they ſhake a whole country at once, ſometimes only a very ſmall part, and that gradually; that they are frequently attended with eruptions; that the upper ſtories of houſes are more affected than the lower; and that ſome people are made ſick by the ſhock: that moſt of them are really occaſioned by ſome tremor or exploſion in our atmoſphere, and he endeavours to ſhew how this will anſwer all the phænomena beforementioned. But in the end he admits, that ſome earthquakes may, indeed muſt, happen, from nitro-ſulphureous vapours taking fire in the earth, being induced thereto from the conſideration of what happened in Jamaica, Sicily, and other places. He expreſſes a very ſtrong reluctancy to the ſeeing this little work of his in print, for fear of cavils and diſputes, which he ſeems to have abhored as much as any man could, and which, in the preſent caſe, he took all imaginable pains to prevent. It had in all probability been buried in obſcurity, but for the late melancholy accidents, which brought it firſt to the Bookſeller's knowledge, and made it not improbable that it might be alſo acceptable to the publick. There are certainly in it ſome very juſt hints and uſeful obſervations, but it is too ſhort, and too haſtily written, conſidering the weight of the argument, to give that full ſatisfaction to an inquiſitive and judicious reader, which the name of ſo great a man might lead him to expect. It may be very ſerviceable however to ſuch as turn their thoughts this way, as it gives a fair and full inſtance of the true method of collecting the capital heads of an enquiry, that may conduct us in diſcovering,

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(*o*) Memoirs of his own Life, p. 296.

(*p*) Printed for A. Millar in the Strand, 1750, 8*vo*.

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him, and who could draw it better? between the antient Aſtronomers and the moderns diſcourſes thus. ‘Now in this ſcience to compare the antients with the moderns, and ſo make a parallel as juſt as may be, I oppoſe the noble Tycho Brahe, or Hevelius, to Hipparchus, and John Kepler to Claudius Ptolomee, and I ſuppoſe no one acquainted with the ſtars will doubt, that the catalogue of the fixed ſtars made by Tycho Brahe above C years ſince, does beyond competition far excel that of Hipparchus, being commonly true to a minute or two, when the other many times fails half a degree both in longitude and latitude; and this is the fairlier carried, for that it was as eaſy for Hipparchus to obſerve the fixed ſtars, as for Tycho or Hevelius, had he made uſe of the ſame induſtry and inſtruments, the teleſcope, wherewith we now obſerve to the utmoſt poſſible nicety, being equally unknown to Tycho, as to Hipparchus, and not uſed by Hevelius. But what may juſtly be expected from Monſieur Caſſini, and Mr Flamſteed in this matter, does yet further advance in preciſeneſs as not capable to err half a minute, though made with inſtruments of the production of Greſham.’ We are likewiſe told by that judicious Aſtronomer, Dr John Keil (15), ‘That Mr Flamſteed, with indefatigable pains for more than forty years, watched the motions of the ſtars, and has given us innumerable obſervations of the ſun, moon, and planets, which he made with very large inſtruments exactly divided by moſt exquiſite art, and fitted with teleſcopical ſights. Whence we are to rely more on the obſervations he hath made, than on thoſe that went before him, who made their obſervations with the naked eye without the aſſiſtance of teleſcopes. The ſaid Mr Flamſteed has likewiſe compoſed the Britiſh catalogue of the fixed ſtars, containing about three thouſand ſtars, which is twice the number that are in the catalogue of Hevelius, to each of which he has annexed its longitude, latitude, right aſcenſion, and diſtance from the pole, together with the variation of right aſcenſion and declination, while the longitude increaſes a degree. This catalogue, together with moſt of his obſervations, is printed on a fine paper and character, at the expences (16), of the late Prince George of Denmark.’ To all theſe authorities we will preſume to add, that of a foreign writer of great eminence, M. Sigorne, Member of the Sorbonne, and Profeſſor of Philoſophy in the Univerſity of Paris, who mentions the approbation of Mr Flamſteed (17), as the very ſeal of the Newtonian Philoſophy, by which with reſpect to the ſyſtem of the heavens, or rather of the heavenly bodies, it came to be eſteemed certain and beyond all diſpute. *Quant aux planettes principales*, dit il, *l'attraction ſeule du ſoleil doit les aſſujettir à decrire des ellipſes*, &c. *that is*, ‘With reſpect to the primary planets, the attraction of the ſun only is ſufficient to oblige them to deſcribe ellipſes, but as they ought alſo to attract each other, there was ſome room to apprehend that the regularity of their motion might be thereby ſomewhat diſturbed. We ought, however, to take Sir Iſaac Newton's word upon this head, ſince we ſhall preſently ſee from what he has done, that there is no reaſon to be in pain upon this account; according to his obſervation, bodies attract each other in a direct proportion of the quantities of matter they contain, and the converſe proportion of the ſquares of their diſtances, and in this proportion it is, that the planets affect each other. Now if the Newtonian Philoſophy be true, there is a certain method of knowing the quantity of matter in the planets, and conſequently of calculating the force of their impreſſions; ſuch a calculation being made, it appears that Mars, our Earth, Venus, and Mercury, attract each other ſo little, in proportion to the force with which they are attracted by the ſun, that the diſorder ariſing from thence muſt be altogether imperceptible in many revolutions; and hence there appears a wonderful agreement between the principles of this philoſophy and the phænomena. But this agreement appears ſtill more clearly in what happens, with reſpect to Jupiter and to Saturn, the quantity of matter in Jupiter is ſo great, that the calculation demonſtrates the effects of its attraction upon Saturn, ought to be very ſenſible in the time of their conjunction. Sir Iſaac Newton predicted this to the Aſtronomers, Flamſteed and Halley, but the former of theſe great men gave no credit at all to that prediction. However, the conjunction of thoſe two planets approaching, this ſingular obſervation was made for the firſt time, and the conſequence was, that the calculation was exactly verified. This procured the Newtonian Philoſophy the approbation of ſo great an Aſtronomer as Flamſteed, indeed it would have been very difficult for him to have denied it.’ We might add much more of the ſame

(15) In the Preface to his Introduction to the True Philoſophy, p. xiii. xiv.

(16) This was true only in part.

(17) Préface a la Inſtitutions Newtonniens, p. xvii. xviii.

ſo far as human reaſon is able to diſcover, the natural cauſes of ſuch tremendous convulſions.

kind, but the deſign of this note being fully anſwered, by our having ſhewn how high the fame of Mr Flamſteed has riſen, amongſt the beſt judges both at home and abroad, we ſhall conclude. E

FLEETWOOD (William) a very eminent Lawyer, and Recorder of the city of London in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was the ſon of Robert Fleetwood, who was the third ſon of William Fleetwood of Heſketh in the county palatine of Lancaſter, Eſq; and conſequently deſcended of a very antient and worthy family (a). He had a liberal education, and was for ſome time a member of the univerſity of Oxford, but whether of Brazen-Noſe-college or of Broadgate-hall, is a point not now to be certainly determined; but of one of thoſe two learned bodies he was (b). There being no intention of breeding him to Divinity, Civil Law, or Phyſick, he left the univerſity without a degree, and went to London, where he was entered of the Middle-Temple (c), and having very quick natural parts, and, which rarely happens in the ſame perſon, wonderful diligence and application, he became in a ſhort time a very diſtinguiſhed man in his profeſſion (d). In 1562 he was elected Summer-Reader of that houſe, and the very next year choſe again, but however did not read (e), which it may be preſumed was the reaſon, that, in 1568, he was elected Double Reader in Lent (f). His reputation was far from being confined to the Inns of Court, for it having been thought neceſſary to appoint Commiſſioners in the nature of a Royal Viſitation in the dioceſes of Oxford, Lincoln, Peterborough, Coventry and Lichfield, Mr Fleetwood was of that number (g). In 1569 he became Recorder of London, which was then held an employment of great credit and importance. It does not appear whether his intereſt with the Earl of Leiceſter procured him that place or not, but it is very certain that he was conſidered as a perſon entirely addicted to that Nobleman's ſervice, and conſequently one, who, in any caſe of neceſſity, could never want protection at Court (h). It was a very wiſe maxim in thoſe times, *That every great tranſaction ſhould have a colour of law*, and whenever any extraordinary meaſure was taken, the motives to it were ſo far from being kept ſecret, that the Queen took care that the whole world ſhould be made acquainted with it, to prevent falſe rumours from gaining ground. Thus, in 1571, upon the commitment of the Duke of Norfolk for treaſonable practices, the Recorder, Fleetwood, was directed to repair to the Guild-Hall (i), and there to declare in a proper manner to the Lord Mayor, his brethren the Aldermen, and the Commons, the nature of this conſpiracy, and the danger to which the Queen and her government had been expoſed, which he accordingly did, and acquitted himſelf with great reputation [A]. As in this, ſo in every thing elſe, he was extreamly

(a) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. I. p. 196.

(b) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 261.

(c) Tanner. Biblioth. Britannico-Hibernica, p. 286.

(d) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 261.

(e) Tanneri Biblioth. Britannico-Hibernica, p. 286.

(f) E. Regiſt. Societat. Med. Templ.

(g) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 168.

(h) Leiceſter's Commonwealth. Leiceſter's Ghoſt.

(i) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 237.

[A] *And acquitted himſelf with great reputation*.] We have more than once, had occaſion to ſpeak of the heavy misfortunes and untimely death, of this Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, whoſe great-grandfather was ſlain in Boſworth field, whoſe grandfather was condemned for high-treaſon, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and remained a priſoner under that ſentence, during the whole reign of Edward the Sixth, and whoſe father, the learned and witty Earl of Surry ended his days, as himſelf did, upon a ſcaffold (1). This noble perſon, by a contrivance of the Earl of Leiceſter's, was, in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, drawn into a deſign of marrying the Queen of Scots, to which Leiceſter pretended, that he would obtain Queen Elizabeth's conſent; inſtead of which he revealed to her all he knew, which brought diſgrace, ſuſpicion, and impriſonment upon the Duke of Norfolk. He was releaſed out of the Tower in 1570, chiefly by the intereſt of Sir William Cecil, who appears to have been his true friend, by the advice he gave him to marry as ſoon as poſſible, if he would avoid taking up his lodgings there again (2). The Duke neglected this caution, was the very next year drawn into new intrigues, in the management of which, he received ſeveral letters and papers from Mary Queen of Scots, which, when he had peruſed, he delivered to Mr Higford with orders to burn them, but inſtead of doing that, he hid them under a mat in the Duke's bedchamber; when ſomething of theſe matters was diſcloſed, the Duke again put under an arreſt, and Higford caſt into priſon, he confeſſed all he knew, and amongſt the reſt where the papers were to be found, amongſt which was a draught of the whole deſign, tranſcribed from one in the Queen of Scot's own handwriting; and alſo informed them that Barker, one of the Duke's ſervants, was privy to the delivery of the money to Brown, who was to have carried it into Scotland, and from whom it was pretended this diſcovery originally came. When the council had received this draught, the letters abovementioned, and others ſent by the Pope, and when Barker being apprehended had confeſſed every particular, Sir Ralph Sadler was ordered to keep a ſtrong guard upon the Duke's houſe at London, formerly belonging to the Carthuſian Friers (3). The third day after the Duke himſelf was examined, and not knowing what his ſervants had confeſſed, but ſuppoſing the draught with the letters were burnt, he ſtiffly denied all which they had confeſſed. Hereupon within a day or two, namely the ſeventh of September, he was, to the great grief of the people, carried back to the Tower of London, from whence the year before he was releaſed, by Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Henry Nevill, and Doctor Wilſon. Afterwards Baniſter, the Duke's Counſellor at Law, the Earl's of Arundel and Southampton, the Lord Lumley, the Lord Cobham, and Thomas his brother, Henry Percy, Lowder, Powel, Goodier, and others, were clapt in priſon, who every one of them in hopes of pardon, confeſſed what they knew. 'As ſoon, 'ſays Camden, as the Council produced theſe mens 'confeſſions, the Queen of Scots and Roſs's letters, 'with the draught, to the Duke's face, he was ſtrangely 'confounded. But upon ſight of the draught, and 'the letters, which he ſuppoſed to have been burnt, 'he was amazed, and at laſt brake forth into theſe 'words; *I am betrayed and undone by my confidents,* '*not knowing how to diſtruſt them, tho' diffidence is the* '*very eſſence of wiſdom* (4). However, he humbly 'prayed the Council to intercede for him to the Queen, 'promiſing to conceal nothing he knew, and ſolemnly 'proteſting, that he had never conſented to any thing, 'which might prejudice the Queen, or injure the 'realm, but had declared heartily againſt the plots 'they laid for ſurpriſing the Queen, for ſeizing upon 'the Tower of London, and ſetting the Queen of 'Scots at liberty, and that he never thought of calling 'over

(1) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 274.

(2) Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, p. 131.

(3) Stowe, Holinſhed, Strype.

(4) Camd. Annal. Eliz.

extreamly vigilant and active, looking upon himſelf as obliged in his office of a Miniſter of Juſtice, not only to do what he was commanded, or what appeared requiſite for the ſervice of the State, but to do it with alacrity and ſpirit, which without all doubt recommended him highly to the Stateſmen of thoſe times, but at the ſame time did not prevent his meeting ſome very untoward rewards for ſuch ſeaſonable and important ſervices (k). As for inſtance; in the year 1576, being informed that there was a great reſort of ſome of the Queen's ſubjects to a certain Popiſh chapel, kept in the houſe of one who was reputed to be a foreign Miniſter, he reſolved, in conjunction with the two Sheriffs and proper aſſiſtance, to go thither, thinking it a reproach to the city of London that the laws for preventing ſuch aſſemblies ſhould be therein openly broken, and this with the utmoſt impunity. He accordingly executed his purpoſe, not without communicating it, as has been thought, to ſome of the great Miniſters of State, without whoſe approbation he ſeldom did any thing. But however that might be, the perſon who kept this houſe, and who ſtiled himſelf an Ambaſſador from Portugal, complained to the Queen of this act of violence, in direct breach, as he affirmed, of the law of nations; and it ſo falling out, that a moſt advantageous treaty of commerce being juſt concluded with the Court of Portugal, the negotiation of which had been entruſted with this Miniſter, it was by the Queen therefore held neceſſary that he ſhould have ſatisfaction given him, and that in ſuch a manner as might be acceptable to his Court. Upon this motive both the Sheriffs and Recorder were arreſted, brought before the Privy-Council, remanded, and a Committee appointed to examine into the whole affair; by this Committee, or rather by Poſtſcript to the Committee's Order written by the Lord Treaſurer, the Recorder was directed to draw up a ſtate of his own caſe, his adverſary having repreſented to the Lords, that his houſe was firſt inveſted, and then entered by force of arms, ſeveral perſons coming in with their ſwords drawn, and not only himſelf inſulted and his ſervants maltreated, but his Lady and her women frighted almoſt out of their wits (l). Mr Fleetwood, upon the ſignification of their Lordſhips pleaſure, ſpeedily returned them ſuch a paper, which, for it's ſingularity, the reader will find at the bottom of the page [B]. But notwithſtanding this

(k) See this fully explained in note [B].

(l) Int. MSS. Burghleian.

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over foreign forces into Britain, but only to ſuppreſs the Queen of Scots rebellious ſubjects. The ſame day he was examined upon fifty articles, or thereabouts, and concealed nothing. Afterwards, the whole proceeding was reported in the Star-Chamber, in a full aſſembly of the nobility, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London being preſent, and after that to all the citizens at the Guildhall, by William Fleetwood their Recorder.' This ſpeech, as we ſhall ſee hereafter (5), was, for the further ſatisfaction of the publick, printed by the direction of thoſe for whoſe ſervice it was delivered.

[B] *At the bottom of the page.*] This narrative of Mr Fleetwood's, bears date November the 9th 1576 (6), and is delivered in the following words. 'Upon Sunday laſt, at eleven a clock in the forenoon, Mr Sheriff Kimpton, and Mr Sheriff Barnes, and I the Recorder, did repair unto the Charter-houſe, and knocking at the gates no man anſwered. Mr Sheriff B. by agreement, went upon the back ſtairs to ſee that no Maſs-hearers ſhould eſcape. And after divers knockings at the gate, the porter came, being a Portugal, who did ſpeak Engliſh, and ſay'd, my Lord, was not at home. Then, quoth we, let us ſpeak with you Mr Porter, for we have brought letters. And the porter anſwered us very ſtubbornly. And at length he opened the gate, and I the Recorder put in my left leg, meaning to enter in at the gate. And being half in, and half out, the porter knowing me very well, ſaid, Back, villain, and thruſt the gate ſo ſore upon my leg, that I ſhall carry the grief thereof to my grave. Sithence that time my pain hath been ſo great that I can take no reſt. And if Mr Sheriff Kimpton had not thruſt the gate from me, my leg had been utterly bruiſed into ſhivers. And beſides, the porter began to buſtle himſelf to his dagger, and took me by the throat. And then I thruſt him from me. For indeed, he was but a teſty little wretch. And ſo I willed Mr Sheriff and the officers to ſtay the fellow from doing any hurt to any other in his fury. After this, we paſt quietly all doors being open out of the hall up the ſtairs. And at the ſtair head there was a great long gallery, that in length ſtood eaſt and weſt. In the ſame gallery all the Maſs-hearers, both men and women were ſtanding. For the Prieſt was at the goſpel, and the altar candles were lighted as the old manner was. After this, we knocked at the outer door of the gallery, and all they looked back. And then Mr Sheriff K. and I, charged all ſuch as were Engliſhmen born, and the Queen's ſubjects to come forth of that place. And then came all the ſtrangers running towards us, ſome of them beginning to draw firſt their daggers, and then after they buckled themſelves to draw their rapiers. And by that time, two Bailiffs-errants of Middleſex, whoſe names, I remember not, being at the door, did draw their ſwords, and immediately Mr Kimpton cauſed the ſtrangers to be quiet, and I cauſed the Bailiffs to be quiet, and then Mr Kimpton with all the Maſs-hearers, with Signor Giraldie's wife, and her maids, were all in a heap, forty perſons at once ſpeaking in ſeveral languages. And then I ſaid to Mr Sheriff, I pray you let me and you make a way for my lady; and ſo he making way before, I kiſſed my hand, and took my Lady Giraldie by the hand, and led her out of the preſs to her chamber door, and there made a moſt humble curſey unto her, and after I put my hand out to the reſt of her gentlewomen, and firſt kiſt it, and delivered them into their chamber alſo. And Mr Sheriff Barnes came into the gallery, and ſo we three examined every man what he was. And firſt, ſuch as were Signor Giraldie's men we required them to depart. And after many lewd and contumelious words uſed by them againſt us, we, by fair means, got them out of the gallery into their lady's lodging. And then proceeded we to the examination of the ſtrangers, that were not of Signor Giraldie's houſe, nor of his retinue. And they moſt deſpightfully, againſt all civility, uſed ſuch like words in their language againſt us, that if our company had underſtood them there, might have chanced great harm. But in plain terms I ſaid unto them, Sirs, I ſee no remedy but ye muſt go to priſon. For moſt of you be free denizons. And then I willed the officers to lay hands on them, and immediately every man ſuddenly, moſt humbly put off his cap, and begun to be ſuitors and ſought favour. And ſo upon their ſubmiſſion we ſuffered them to depart all, ſaving Anthony Guarras, who was not willing to depart from us, but kept us company. And all this done, we examined the Engliſh ſubjects and ſent them to priſon, who, to ſay the truth, provoked the ſtrangers into fury and diſorder againſt us. For if the Engliſh then had according to our direction departed from the ſtrangers, and come forth unto us, the ſtrangers had been quiet, and we without trouble. But truly the greateſt fault

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(5) In the note [G].

(6) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 410, 411.

this repreſentation, and his being heard in perſon before the Council, where he made a long and good defence, he was, for this breach of the Ambaſſador's privilege, committed again cloſe priſoner to the Fleet, where he continued for ſome time, and at length, upon the Ambaſſador's departing the kingdom, was releaſed. One may collect from his behaviour and ſubmiſſion, as well as from a variety of circumſtances attending this affair, that the Privy-Council and the Recorder (not to carry the matter any higher) underſtood each other very well, and that the whole tranſaction was with a view to two different points; firſt, to deter the Papiſts from reſorting to theſe chapels; and next, to give the Merchants and traders in the city of London, a high opinion of her Majeſty's concern for whatever regarded commerce (*m*). This is certain, that whatever happened upon this occaſion did not in the leaſt injure either the credit of the Recorder in the city, or his intereſt at Court, as appears from his name being the firſt in the writ for calling Serjeants in Michaelmas term 1580, when, with Edward Flowerdue, Thomas Snagge, William Periam, and Robert Halton, he was advanced to that degree (*n*). It alſo appears that it did not in the leaſt abate his zeal againſt the Papiſts, on the contrary, he was as active in diſturbing their maſs-houſes, committing Popiſh Prieſts, and giving informations of their intrigues, as ever. Some inſtances of which are remarkable enough to deſerve the reader's notice [*C*]. In 1582, when he preſented Mr Thomas Blank to her Majeſty, upon

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was, that as well the Engliſh Maſsmongers, as alſo the free Denizons, for the covering of their own offences, practiſed rather to have murther committed than to be taken as they were. All this while the Maſs-ſayer ſtood at the north end of the altar, and no man living ſaid a word to him, nor touched him, ſaving that he did give to divers of our ſervants ſinging cakes, wherewith I was offended with them, for receiving that idolatrous bread. And all being done, and we ready to depart, it was ſaid by a ſtanderby, if ye look in at that door near the altar ſaid he, you ſhall find a number of Maſsmongers. And then did the Prieſt take a key out of his pocket, and ſmiling opened the door, and Mr Sheriff Kimpton with the Prieſt looked in, and there was no body. And then Anthony Guarras took me by the hand to ſee the altar how trim it was. For Mr Barnes and I ſtood afar off in the gallery. And I ſaid to Guarras, Sir, if I had done my duty to God and to the Queen, I had taken two hundred here upon All-hollown day laſt, and as many upon All-ſouls day alſo. Ho, Sir, ſaid Guarras unto me, become of this religion, and ſurely you will like it well, and it will be a ready means to make you a good Chriſtian. And ſo we went near the altar, where neither he nor I touched any manner of thing. And ſo we bade the Prieſt farewell, who gently ſaluted us. And I ſuddenly looking back, ſaw the Prieſt ſhake his head at us, and mumbled out words, which ſounded diable and male croix, or to that effect. And then I ſaid to Mr Sheriff, Sirs, let us depart for the Prieſt doth curſe. And ſo we departed. Anthony Guarras brought us to the utmoſt gate, where Mr Sheriff and I invited him to dinner with us, but he departed back to hear out the aforeſaid Maſs. The foreſaid Guarras at this buſineſs ſaid, that he himſelf was an Ambaſſador to a greater perſon than the——— and ſo did ſhake his head. What, quoth I, do you mean a greater perſonage than the Queen our Miſtreſs? Na, na, ſaid he, I meant not ſo. No, quoth I, it were not beſt for you to make compariſon with the Queen our Miſtreſs. Whoſe Ambaſſador are you then, quoth I? The Pope's? And then he departed further off in an anger. This Guarras was a very buſy fellow in this action. Among all theſe ſtrangers, I marked one Swygo, who is a free Denizon, married to an Engliſh woman. He is a broker, and hath his chief living by our merchants. This fellow made himſelf more buſy than it became him. There was a tall young fellow an Italian, that was very wanton with us. And it hath been told me, ſithence, that he and others are kept here for two cauſes, the one for uttering the Pope's allom, and the other to ſerve for intelligencer. Which I think are very ſpies. This youth was very buſy, and beſtirred him as tho' he had been treading of a galliard. There was one John Chivers, an Iriſhman, a Student of the Inns of Chancery, who, as it appeared unto me, I having a vigilant eye of all ſides, was a great ſtirrer of the ſtrangers againſt us. This young man when he could not prevail, then he got up to the ſouth end of the altar, and there he confronted the Maſs-ſayer with his cap on his head, who was on the other end, and ſtood there as tho' he had been an Italian. His garments were a cloak and a rapier after the Italian faſhion. And when I demanded what he was, he bowed on the one ſide and the other, as tho' he had not underſtood me, much like the faſhion of Signor Giraldie. By which I did not note that he had been often there. This is all that I do remember, and in my conſcience, and as I ſhall anſwer before God at the latter day, we uſed ourſelves with ſuch humble reverence unto his lady and her family, as more we could not do to the Queen our Miſtreſs, ſave kneeling. I ſent Signor Giraldie word as I remember at Eaſter laſt, by Mr Benedict Spinello, that he ſhould not ſuffer the Queen's ſubjects to repair to his Maſs: yea, and that other things alſo ſhould be amended, wherewith the people did wonderfully grudge at him: and I am ſure, Mr Spinello did my meſſage to him in a decent order. This is not the firſt time, that his houſe hath been dealt withal by the Sheriffs. Strumpets have been gotten with child in his houſe: and we of the hoſpital driven to take order for their keeping. The maſters ſhall juſtify this. I never ſaw any Ambaſſador ſent out of England, but that he was both wiſe and vertuous, and was not indebted to any. And whether Signor Giraldie was an Ambaſſador or not, ſurely my Lord, I knew not, until my Lords of the Council had told me thereof upon Monday laſt at the Council Board.’

[*C*] *The reader's notice.*] The laborious Mr Strype, who has preſerved from deſtruction and oblivion a multitude of paſſages, ſerving to illuſtrate the perſonal hiſtory of moſt of the eminent men for two centuries paſt, will furniſh us with ſufficient materials to make good all that is aſſerted in the text; what follows will ſhew, how cloſe a correſpondence there was between the great Miniſters and Mr Fleetwood, the former having an eye even to the ſmalleſt matters, and the latter ſtriving to make his court to them by his punctual adminiſtration of juſtice (7).

‘A French merchant, in a bag ſealed, delivered forty pounds to a carrier's wife of Norwich, to be carried thither to ſome certain correſpondent of his. But ſhe ſecretly conveyed the money to an houſe a good way off the inn, and within a quarter of an hour the French merchant came again to ſee his money packed up. But the woman denied that ſhe ever received one penny, with moſt horrible proteſtations. Upon this Secretary Walſingham, who was made acquainted with it, wrote to Fleetwood Recorder of London, from whoſe letter I have this relation, and the Frenchman. And after great ſearch made, the money was found and reſtored, ſhe not knowing of the ſame. The Recorder examined her in his ſtudy privately. But by no means would ſhe confeſs the ſame: but did bequeath herſelf to the devil, both body and ſoul, if ſhe had the money or ever ſaw it. And this was her craft that ſhe then [when ſhe ſaid ſo] had not the money, for it was either at her friend's, where ſhe left it, or elſe delivered. Then he aſked her, whether the French merchant did not bring her a bag ſealed, full of the metal that was weighty,

(*m*) Traditionary Memoirs of Qu. Elizabeth, p. 35.

(*n*) Chron. Jurid. p. 183.

(7) Amongſt Lord Burleigh's papers.

upon his being choſen Lord Mayor of London, he made a florid and copious ſpeech of the felicity of the nation in general, and of the advantages derived to the city of London in particular, by her Majeſty's religious, wiſe, and fortunate adminiſtration (o). The Queen, upon that occaſion, gave a gracious reception to the Mayor, and ordered the Lord-Chamberlain to confer upon him the honour of knighthood, but reprimanded ſeveral of her ſervants for ſuffering ſome of the young citizens to crowd ſo near her perſon as to trample upon the cloth of ſtate, and ſignified to the Recorder, that ſhe had been better pleaſed if he had been more ſparing of his praiſes. Mr Serjeant Fleetwood, who underſtood the language of a Court perfectly well, ſtates this matter at large in a letter to the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, but inſtead of expreſſing any great mortification from the Queen's reprimand, he inſiſts that he was in the right. *My good Lord*, ſays he, *I ſaid nothing but truly and juſtly, as it was indeed (p)*. It ſeems he was one of thoſe bold men that thought Princes may reprove without diſlike, and that however unpleaſant the anſwer, his diſcourſe did not give her Majeſty any real uneaſineſs. One thing was very remarkable in Mr Recorder's conduct, and deſerves to be remembered as an extraordinary feature of thoſe times. He kept a very exact Diary of all his proceedings, from which, from time to time, he made extracts, and tranſmitted them to the Lord-Treaſurer, who from thence perfectly underſtood whatever paſſed in the city of London, and indeed every where elſe if it fell within the compaſs of Mr Serjeant Fleetwood's notice, who in this reſpect ſeems to have been incredibly diligent, and to let nothing eſcape him that was either worth his patron's attention or his own (q). We may diſcern from ſome fragments of his Diary that are yet remaining, that we have no great reaſon to look upon the preſent as an age of more wickedneſs and debauchery than any that have preceded it, or that ought not to be compared with the times of that glorious Queen, the Recorder's ſecret hiſtory plainly ſhewing, that though juſtice was never more ſtrictly adminiſtered, yet the idle, the extravagant, and the vicious, were even then a very numerous party, and capable of committing as great outrages on the laws, ſacred and civil, as perhaps were ever committed at any time (r) [D]. This courſe of life, for the ſpace of many years, wore out at length the patience

(o) Baker's Chronicle, p. 402.

(p) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 147.

(q) So it appears from the Lord Treaſurer's papers.

(r) See this fully proved in the notes.

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weighty, were it either plate, coin, counters, or ſuch like. Then ſaid ſhe, I will anſwer no further. And then the Recorder uſing the Lord Mayor's advice, beſtowed her in Bridewell: where ſhe was puniſhed being well whipt. It was obſervable what ſhe ſaid then, that the devil ſtood at her elbow in the Recorder's ſtudy, and willed her to deny it. But ſo ſoon as ſhe was upon the croſs to be puniſhed, he gave her over.

‘ The ſame Recorder Fleetwood about this time, acquainted Secretary Walſingham in a letter to him of another ſtrange accident, of a woman named Mrs Norton that had drowned herſelf. She was mother-in-law to one Thomas Norton, a perſon of ſome reputation in London, whoſe father was then aged and ſick in bed, in her youth, ſhe was bred up in Sir Thomas More's family. In which place ſhe learned idolatrous toyes (I tranſcribe from the Recorder's letter) and uſages in the night, ſo as thereby ſhe was led by evil ſpirits, ſometimes to hang herſelf, and ſometimes to drown herſelf, as ſhe did at laſt. Some part of her lewd demeanour, was in the exerciſe of necromancy: that is to ſay, in conferences and ſpeeches had (as ſhe thought) with dead bodies being of her old acquaintance. The Recorder writ this accident, the rather to the ſaid Secretary, becauſe ſhe had left behind her divers children, brothers to the ſaid Thomas Norton which were ſhrewdly given. And that if the old man ſhould then die, it was to be feared all his goods would come to ſpoil. And therefore he propoſed, that if Mr Peter Oſborn, who was a worthy Citizen and Remembrancer of the Exchequer, had a commandment, he could deviſe ſome good order, as he the Recorder thought, for the ſaving of things that might be loſt. And he prayed his honour to make the Lord Treaſurer, who was Maſter of the Wards, acquainted with the unfortunate caſe. Such was the care of this good Recorder of the children of the city.’ This laſt ſtory plainly proves how little he liked the Papiſts, and if it was not for tiring the reader's patience, we could afford him large accounts of his hunting out Jeſuits, Maſſmongers, and Recuſants, without diſtinction of rank, age, or ſex. In ſhort, he was the greateſt plague theſe people had, and therefore in all the numerous libels againſt Queen Elizabeth's government, the Recorder of London is painted in the blackeſt colours, as a man without either moderation or pity, reſtleſs and officious, and willing to make his court to the Adminiſtration, in the way that was moſt in faſhion.

[D] *As perhaps were ever committed at any time.*] When we read in ſome of our old plays of ſo much quarrelling, fighting, and duelling, we are apt to fancy that things are magnified, whereas the naked truth is, that there were more diſturbances then in a week, than we now hear of in a year; in order to be ſatisfied of this, we need but caſt our eyes upon one of our old Chronicles, where the author ſpeaking of the pains taken to pave Smithfield, gives us the following ſhort hiſtory of the company that frequented it, during the whole period of Mr Fleetwood's Recorderſhip (8).

‘ This field commonly called Weſt Smithfield, was for many years called Ruffians-hall, by reaſon it was the uſual place of affrays and common fighting, during the time that ſword and bucklers were in uſe. When every ſerving-man from the baſe to the beſt, carried a buckler at his back, which hung by the hilt or pomel of his ſword, which hung before him. This manner of fight was frequent with all men, until the fight of rapier and dagger took place, and then ſuddenly the general quarrel of fighting abated, which began about the twentieth year of Queen Elizabeth, for until then, it was uſual to have affrays, fights, and quarrels upon the Sundays and Holidays, ſometimes twenty, thirty, and forty ſwords and bucklers, half againſt half, as well by quarrels of appointment as by chance. Eſpecially from the midſt of April, until the end of October, by reaſon Smithfield was then free from dirt and plaſhes. And in the winter ſeaſon, all the high ſtreets were much annoyed, and troubled with hourly frays of ſword and bucklermen, who took pleaſure in that bragging fight, and altho' they made great ſhew of much fury, and fought often, yet ſeldom any man hurt, for thruſting was not then in uſe, neither would one of twenty ſtrike beneath the waſte, by reaſon they held it cowardly and beaſtly. But the enſuing deadly fight of rapier and dagger, ſuddenly ſuppreſſed the fighting with ſwords and buckler.’ This may ſerve as an introduction to the following extract from our Recorder's Diary, tranſmitted to the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh about Michaelmas 1584 (9).

‘ At Bridewell, on Saturday we had a miniſter's wife of Cardiganſhire, who confeſſed, that ſhe was greatly ſought unto by young women, when they were gotten with child. She confeſſed that ſhe gave them ſaven, &c.

‘ One Higham an old fellow, that is both an excommunicate for putting away his wife, and alſo for ſuch other like part: he hath this year gotten three of

(1) Stow's Annals, p. 1024.

(9) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 280, 447.

patience and the conſtitution of Serjeant Fleetwood, notwithſtanding his high ſpirit, and the pleaſure which he apparently took in diſcharging his duty as a Magiſtrate with the utmoſt ardour and application. He thought, it ſeems, that ſome regard ought to be had to his paſt ſervices, and that he deſerved to be removed to ſome poſt of greater honour and leſs fatigue, to obtain which, upon a vacancy of one of the Queen's Serjeants, he ſollicited the Lord-Treaſurer Burleigh in a very warm and moving manner, in 1582, which ſollicitations however were without effect (s) [*E*]. It ſeems the Miniſters were ſo well pleaſed with his behaviour where he was, and found ſo much advantage from his dexterity in managing affairs in the city, that they were not willing to part with him; and therefore Serjeant Rhodes was preferred at that time to the poſt of which he was ſo deſirous, and Mr Fleetwood continued in his Recorderſhip ten years longer; but at length, when he was in a manner quite wore out, *viz.* Jan. 27, 1592, in the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth (*t*), when he had ſerved the Crown upwards of thirty years, he was made one of the Queen's Serjeants at Law, in which poſt however he did not continue long, dying, about that time twelvemonth, at his houſe in Noble-ſtreet in Alderſgate ward, which he had built but a little before (*u*), from whence his corps was carried to great Miſſenden in Buckinghamſhire, where he had purchaſed a good eſtate, and buried in the pariſh-church there. As for the private character of this our Magiſtrate, he was certainly of a very lively and facetious diſpoſition, which made him very acceptable in the city, and enabled him to do his patrons great ſervice there, which perhaps may account for his being ſtiled, in one of the bittereſt libels of thoſe times, *Leiceſter's mad Recorder* (*w*), with an inſinuation that he was placed in his office to encourage thoſe of this Lord's faction in the city; but it is very certain, that, whatever reſpect he had for, or obligations he might lie under to, that powerful Nobleman, he applied himſelf very aſſiduouſly to the Lord-Treaſurer Burleigh, and from him received both countenance and promotion. Amongſt the Latin poems of Thomas Newton of Cheſhire, who celebrated many of the great men in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (*x*), there is one addreſſed to our Recorder Fleetwood; and other inſtances might be brought to prove how much he was eſteemed, as well for his wit as his learning, in thoſe days [*F*]. He was perfectly well verſed in the Hiſtory of England,

as

(s) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 150.

(*t*) Chronica Jurid. p. 177.

(*u*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 261.

(*w*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth. Leiceſter's Ghoſt.

(*x*) Encomia quædam: a *Thoma Newton*, Ceſtreſhyro, ſucceſſivis horulis exarata. London. Apud T. O. 1589, p. 121.

' of the laundry maids with child in the Fleet, being ' there a priſoner. He ſtowteth out the matter with ' us, and will not find the children but writeth lewd ' letters unto us.

' Seſſions of Goal Delivery were the Monday after.

' Mr Dockwray's ſon of Chamberhouſe in Berkſhire, ' was arraigned for ſtealing of a portmanteau, with ' eighty four pounds in the ſame: taken out of an inn ' in London. But he was acquitted.

' There was one Heton a Preacher, who contended ' to be Parſon of St Andrew's Holborn, being maintained by ſome of the Pariſh, did confront Mr Vice-' Chamberlain (Sir Chriſtopher Hatton) therein, was ' brought to us for * * * a lewd vice which he hath ' been often accuſed of before this time. We bailed ' him. For my part, I was loth to have that vice ' openly ſpoken of, until further conſideration were ' had thereof. This Heton's father was at Newgate ' arraigned, and convicted for inceſt with his own ' daughter: and ſtood upon the pillory for the ſame.'

Another extract of his Diary (10), there remains written in the year 1586, which runs thus. ' Whitſunday May 23. upon Friday at afternoon, I ſat in ' the Commiſſion Eccleſiaſtical at Lambeth, with my ' Lord's Grace: where three Oxford Preachers were ' charged, for that they would have all temporal cauſes ' to be decided by the ſeniors of the church. And ' that her Majeſty had not to deal in cauſes eccleſiaſtical, with ſuch like matters. My Lord Almoner ' did bear much with them.

' Saturday was by me employed, to abbreviate and ' explain a new commiſſion, granted for the relief of ' the Fleet and King's Bench. And that I did by the ' command of my Lord of Canterbury his Grace.

' Wedneſday was ſpent at the Goal of Newgate, ' where we had little or nothing to do. The matters ' there were ſlender, and of no great importance. ' There were none executed.

' Your good Lordſhip peradventure may marvel, ' why we have had ſo few dealings in criminal cauſes ' at this our late ſeſſions. The reaſon is this. We ' have in priſon, here in Newgate, the moſt principal ' thieves of this realm. We lack none but Mannings, ' who doth daily gather into his ſociety lewd perſons, ' who commit in all parts of the realm moſt dangerous ' robberies. I hear that the Genn or Ingen (Engine) ' is in your Lordſhip's cuſtody. The want whereof is ' a great ſtay of many burglaries.'

(10) So in the Burleighan Papers, and in Strype.

September the 6th (11) he wrote and intended to have ſent another Diary, which after he had cloſed, he broke open again to tell the Lord Treaſurer, what mighty joy there was all over the city the next morning, and of his being invited out to ſix or ſeven places to ſupper, on the ſcore of its being the Queen's birthday, at firſt ſight this will appear a very inſignificant thing, but when it is conſidered that juſt at that juncture, Babington's plot was either diſcovered or divulged, it becomes a thing of conſequence; for very probably the Lord Treaſurer made his court, by being the firſt to inform the Queen, what a tender regard her ſubjects in the City of London, at ſo critical a ſeaſon, expreſſed for her health and ſafety.

[*E*] *Were without effect.*] The foregoing note is a very proper introduction to what we ſhall ſay here, becauſe it ſhews in what manner, Mr Recorder Fleetwood ſpent his time, and how ſtrict an account he thought it neceſſary for him to give of it; induſtrious Strype, to whom we have been before obliged, has preſerved this paſſage, and a very ſingular one it is, the letter to the Lord Treaſurer, was dated Eaſter Eve 1582, from Bacon-houſe, which, if I miſtake not, was in Chancery-Lane, and is ſometimes ſtiled Bacon's-Inn, or Curſitor's-Inn, from the Curſitors keeping their office there, and this appears to have been the reſidence of Serjeant Fleetwood, till he removed to Noble Street. The letter runs thus (12). ' My ſingular Lord, &c. ' I never reſt, and when I ſerve her Majeſty the beſt, ' then I am for the moſt part the worſt ſpoken of, ' and that many times in the court. I have no man ' to defend me, and as for my Lord Mayor, my chief ' head, I am driven every day to back him and his ' doings. My good Lord, for Chriſt's ſake be ſuch ' a mean for me, as that with credit I may be removed by her Majeſty from this intolerable toil. ' Certainly, I ſerve in a thankleſs ſoil. There is, as I ' learn, like to fall a room of the Queen's Serjeants. ' If your Lordſhip pleaſe to help me to one of thoſe ' rooms, aſſure your Honour, that I will do her Majeſty as painful ſervice as ſix of them ſhall do: help ' me, my good Lord, in my humble ſuit, and I will, ' God willing, ſet down for your Lordſhip ſuch a book ' of the Law, as your Lordſhip will like of.'

[*F*] *As well for his wit as his learning in thoſe days*] In reference to this Thomas Newton mentioned in the text, he appears to have been not only a good Latin Poet, but the profeſſed Panegyriſt of the

whole

(11) Strype's Annals, Vol. III.

(12) Amongſt Lord Burleigh's papers.

as alſo in it's Antiquities, with reſpect to which he was at great expence in procuring, and ſpent much time in the peruſal of, manuſcripts relating to theſe ſubjects, and for this reaſon was often conſulted by the learned perſons of thoſe times, who made ſuch things their chief ſtudy, and with whom alſo, when he had any leiſure, he was glad to confer. He was farther eſteemed a ſhrewd Politician, and indeed that character was moſt likely to recommend him to his patron Leiceſter. He was a good popular ſpeaker, and, when occaſion required, wrote very well upon ſubjects of government (y). Theſe matters however, drew him not at all from his profeſſion, in which he made a very great figure, being equally celebrated for his eloquence as an Advocate, and for the ſolidity of his judgment as a Lawyer. His employments hindered him from writing much, yet ſome pieces of his there are extant, and a great many more are loſt; thoſe however which remain are ſufficient to juſtify the character that has been given him [G]. Serjeant Fleetwood married Mariana, daughter to John Barley of Kingſey in the county of Bucks, Gent. by whom he had two ſons and two daughters. The ſons were both Knights; Sir William Fleetwood, the eldeſt, had his father's eſtate in Buckinghamſhire; and the younger, Sir Thomas Fleetwood, was of his father's profeſſion, became very eminent therein, and was made Attorney-General to Henry Prince of Wales. The daughters were both married to Knights; Cordelia, the eldeſt, to Sir David Foulis, of Ingleby in the county of York, Baronet; and Elizabeth to Sir Thomas Chaloner, Tutor to Prince Henry beforementioned (z). Theſe memoirs, however ſhort and imperfect, may ſerve in ſome meaſure to acquaint poſterity with the merit of this ingenious and accompliſhed Lawyer; and it is certainly to be regretted, that more care has not been taken to preſerve the perſonal hiſtories

(y) Wood, Strype, *&c.*

(z) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 262.

whole Leiceſtrian party. The reader will judge of his abilities, by his Epigram in praiſe of our Recorder Fleetwood, which I the rather inſert, becauſe his Poems are extremely ſcarce (13).

Ad D. *Guil Fletuodum* Rec. *Londinenſem.*

Ipſe forem brevibus Gyaris, & carcere dignus,
Culleolo inſutus, ſi te mea muſa ſileret
Theſpiadum Fletuode comes facunde ſororum,
Æqua juſtitiam trutinas qui lance ſeveram,
Et Londinigenis jura Anglica rite recludis,
Fulminea pollens velut alter voce Pericles.

This I have found tranſlated thus.

To the Worſhipful William Fleetwood, *Eſquire*, Recorder *of* London.

What the worſt men, for their worſt crimes deſerve,
Were the rewards to my *demerit* due;
If while my *muſe* can other *names* preſerve
She ſhould *forget* how much ſhe owes to *you.*

Needleſs her *Song* ſince FLEETWOOD knows to ſing,
A POET, he his graver cares laid by;
On PINDUS top if he but touch the ſtring,
The MUSES to their *Bard*, in raptures fly.

His graver cares reſumed and legal power,
All LONDON's many *ears* our FLEETWOOD draws;
And like the ATHENIAN chief in days of yore,
His thundering eloquence ſupports the LAWS.

(13) Principum, ac illuſtrium aliquot & eruditorum in Anglia Virorum, Encomia, trophæa, Genethliaca & Epithalamia. A Joanne Lelando Antiquario conſcripta, nunc primum in lucem edita. Quibus etiam adjuncta ſunt Illuſtriſſimorum aliquot Heroum, hodie viventium, aliorumque hinc inde Anglorum, Encomia quædam: à Thoma Newtono, Ceſtreſhyrio, ſucciſivis horulis exarata. Londini. Apud Thomam Orwinum, Typographum. 1589.

[G] *That has been given him.*] We have hitherto had but very indifferent accounts of our author's performances; Mr Wood aſſures us, that tho' he wrote many things, yet none of them, except one, appeared in his life-time, in which however he was certainly miſtaken, as will appear from the following catalogue, tho' we are far from aſſerting that this is perfect, but the reader may be aſſured, that it is as perfect as we could make it.

I. *An Oration made in* Guildhall, *before the* Mayor, *&c. concerning the late attempts of the Queen's Majeſties evil ſeditious ſubjects*, October 15th 1571. London *by* John Day 12mo.

II. *Annalium tam Regum* Edwardi *quinti*, Richardi *tertij*, *&* Henrico *ſeptimi*, *quam* Henrici *octavi*, *titulorum ordine alphabetico multo jam melius quam ante digeſtorum Elenchus. Studio & labore* Gulielmi Fleetwoodi, *Recordatoris Londinenſis, in ædibus Janæ Yetſwert* 1579, 1597 that is 'an index of the *Year Books* ' as well during the Reigns of *Edward* the Fifth, *Richard* the Third, and *Henry* the Seventh, as under ' that of *Henry* the Eighth, digeſted under *titles* in an ' *alphabetical* order, in a much better method than ' before.'

The bare tranſcribing this title at length, will perhaps be ſufficient to convince the reader, that a certain great critick might have ſpared his cenſure of our author's work, which he has delivered in the following words (14). 'The ſhort Epitome of this (Edward the ' Fifth) and the three following reigns, that was writ' ten and publiſhed by William Fleetwood Serjeant at ' Law, is ſo thin a piece, and refers ſo particularly to ' the tranſactions in the Courts at Weſtminſter, that ' it has been rather looked on as a *table* or *index* to ' the *Year Books* of thoſe times, than any hiſtorical ' treatiſe.' It is very difficult to underſtand, what he means by ſaying, it ought rather to be looked on as an index, than an hiſtorical treatiſe, when there is not ſo much as a ſyllable of hiſtory in it, and the running title throughout is, *Index temporum* E. 5. R. 3. & H. 7. and through the ſecond part, *Index temporis Henrici octavi*; ſo that in plain Engliſh, our critick miſtook an index of the Year Books, for Annals of the Reigns of theſe Princes. There is however a very remarkable dedication, prefixed to the Lord Chancellor Brumley, dated from Bacon-houſe, Auguſt 23d 1579. in which there are contained abundance of curious things. He obſerves, that the Year Books of the three firſt reigns, are infinitely better written, than thoſe of Henry the Eighth, which was the reaſon that he divided his work into two parts; the reaſon he gives for compoſing it is worthy of notice, he mentions the great Abridgment by Sir Robert Brooke, as a very ingenious performance in its kind, and, properly managed, very uſeful; but intimates, that he thought the chief cauſe why it was ſo much preferred to that of Fitzherbert, was on account of its being divided into a greater number of titles, there being only two hundred ſixty two in the former, and no fewer than ſix hundred thirty three in the latter. This, as he intimates, recommended it ſtrongly to young Students, who were but too apt to ſpend their whole time therein, without recurring to the books from whence it was taken, againſt which he remonſtrates to the Lord Chancellor as a very lazy and ineffectual method of ſtudy, by which men might come to perſuade themſelves they were Lawyers, when in truth they were nothing leſs. He obſerves, and obſerves very juſtly, that abridgments are of admirable uſe to thoſe who make them, and of very little uſe to any body elſe, with many other things to the ſame purpoſe. The deſign therefore of his labour, was to render the Year Books familiar to young ſtudents, by putting into their hands a copious and methodical index, which would enable them to make abridgments for themſelves, not by ſeeing in a narrow compaſs what

(14) Nicholſon's Engl. Hiſtorical Library, p. 83.

hiſtories of the eminent men of that profeſſion, many of whom have been true Patriots, great Stateſmen, and very worthy Members of the Republick of Letters.

what another man took to be the ſenſe of thoſe authorities, but by peruſing, in a ſmall ſpace of time, the authorities themſelves.

III. *A table to the Reports of* Edmund Plowden. This is in French.

There is ſomething laid down as certain in this table which ought to be corrected, as appears from the following paſſage in a diſcourſe by a learned Antiquary (15). 'Touching the Inns of the Serjeants, the houſes 'which they now have in Fleet-Street and Chancery-'Lane are but of late erection, and altho' Mr Ser'jeant Fleetwood in his table to Ployden's Commen'taries, would infer that there was no Serjeant's-Inn 'in the time of Henry the Seventh, there was a Ser'jeant's-Inn in Holdborn over againſt St Andrew's 'Church, now called Scrop houſe, whereof you ſhall 'have the record itſelf, being an inquiſition taken at 'Guildhall in the pariſh of St Laurence in Old 'Jury, in the Ward of Chepe in London, 13 Octob. '14 H. 7. *Juratores dicunt*, &c.'

(15) Mr Thynne's Diſcourſe of the Antiquity of the Houſes of Law.

IV. *A ſhort copy of Latin verſes prefixed to Sir* Thomas Chaloner'*s de Repub. Anglorum inſtauranda.*

V. *The Office of a Juſtice of Peace: Together with inſtructions how and in what manner Statutes ſhall be expounded.* Lond. 1658. 8vo.

VI. *Obſervations upon the* Eyre *of* Pickering Lambert'*s Archeion*, &c. MS. fol. ſome time in the Library of Richard Smith, Secondary of the Poultry Compter; with other things which I have not ſeen ſays Anthony Wood (16).

VII. There are alſo ſeveral political diſcourſes of his going from hand to hand in MS. and it appears he contributed conſiderably towards the laſt edition of Hollinſhed (17). E

(16) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 261.

(17) Tanner. Biblioth. Britannico-Hibernica, p. 286.

FLEETWOOD (JAMES) a pious and loyal Divine, and Biſhop of Worceſter in the reign of Charles II. He was deſcended from the ſame ancient family of Fleetwood of Heſketh in the county of Lancaſter, being the grandſon of Thomas Fleetwood, Eſq; Maſter of the Mint, by his fifth ſon Sir George Fleetwood, of the Vache in Chalfunt St Giles, in the county of Bucks, Knt. by Catherine, daughter of Henry Denny, of Cheſhunt in Hertfordſhire, Eſq; and Honora his wife, daughter of William Lord Grey of Wilton, and ſiſter to Edward Denny Earl of Norwich (*a*). As he was his father's ſeventh ſon he was intended for the Church, and as ſoon as he arrived at a proper age was ſent to Eaton ſchool (*b*), through which having paſſed, with great reputation to himſelf and ſatisfaction to his family, he was from thence removed to King's-college in Cambridge, of which he was admitted a Scholar in 1622 (*c*). He continued there near ten years, till he was removed by his kind patron Dr Robert Wright, Biſhop of Lichfield, who preſented him to the vicarage of Prees in the county of Salop (*d*), and, in September 1636, beſtowed on him the prebend of Eccleſhal in his cathedral, void by the reſignation of the Reverend Mr Higgons (*e*). He was hardly ſettled there before the Civil War broke out, which obliged him to leave his preferments in order to provide for his ſafety (*f*). He was a man of a very mild and gentle diſpoſition, but extreamly fixed in his purpoſes, which he aſſumed with much deliberation, and from which he could not be removed. A great many of his family ſtuck to the Parliament, and amongſt them ſome of his neareſt relations. Mr Fleetwood's ſubſiſtence was gone, but he ſtuck to his old principles, and became Chaplain to that noble Peer John Earl Rivers, in his capacity of Colonel of a regiment of foot, which he raiſed for the King's ſervice (*g*). In this ſituation he acquired fame though he could hardly get bread. For, in 1642, he was, by the univerſity of Oxford, created Doctor of Divinity by the King's ſpecial command (*h*), for the ſervice he rendered him in Edge-hill fight [*A*]. Soon after he was made

(*a*) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. I. p. 194.

(*b*) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, P. ii. p. 41.

(*c*) Faſt. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 30.

(*d*) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. I. p. 194.

(*e*) Willis's Hiſt. of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 441.

(*f*) Faſt. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 30.

(*g*) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. I. p. 194.

(*h*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 30.

[*A*] *He rendered him in Edgehill fight.*] It might be reckoned none of the ſmalleſt of the calamities which attended this deplorable war, that as it diſſolved the relation between the King and his ſubjects, ſo it diſturbed likewiſe the peace of private families, and divided, in point of ſentiments, intereſts, and behaviour, thoſe who by the ſtrongeſt ties of blood and nature were united. Our Divine's eldeſt brother George Fleetwood, Eſq; went into the Parliament's ſervice, where he had the rank of a Colonel, and was one of thoſe that were not only named, but ſat and acted as one of the King's Judges, for which he loſt his eſtate (1), and a grant being made of it to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, he ſold it to Sir Thomas Clayton (2). Another relation of our Divine, tho' I think in no nearer degree than that of a couſin, was Charles Fleetwood, Eſq; who married Mrs Ireton, Oliver Cromwell's daughter, and had for a time the title of Lord Fleetwood, was General of the Parliament forces, but by degrees loſt his credit and power, and returned again to the ſtate of a private gentleman (3). Our worthy Divine was in the battle of Keynton, or Edgehill, the firſt that was fought between the King and the Parliament, on Sunday October the 23d, 1643 (4), and which had been certainly deciſive, if Prince Rupert's conduct had in any degree been allied to his courage, but having routed the enemy's left wing, and purſuing them beyond their camp, he left the King with his infantry uncovered, which advantage was taken by ſome of the beſt officers in the Parliament's army, who immediately charged the King's own regiment which they put into great diſorder, killed his General, the loyal Earl of Lindſey, his Standard-bearer Sir Edmund Verney, and put the perſons of the King and his two ſons in very great danger. Some who were near his Majeſty adviſed him to withdraw with the two Princes, which counſel he approved in reſpect to his children, but not for himſelf. He would have recommended them to the care of the Duke of Richmond, but his Grace ſaid it was his duty to follow his Majeſty, and not to think of ſafety when he was in danger (5); the King then ſpoke to the Earl of Dorſet, who replied ſmiling, that all the Kings in the world ſhould not command him out of the field, when ſo good a cauſe required his ſword (6). At laſt the Princes were committed to the care of the gentleman penſioner who attended them, Sir Henry Blount (7), who with Mr James Fleetwood conveyed them from the field, for which ſervice the former was afterwards queſtioned by the Parliament, but juſtified himſelf from the duty of his office, and probably the latter would not have eſcaped ſo well, if he had not taken care to keep conſtantly out of their reach (8). It was his clear and ſingular fidelity upon this and every other occaſion, that kept him in conſtant favour with both his royal maſters, to whom through all their misfortunes he ſteadily adhered, tho' there is very little doubt to be made, that if he would have ſacrificed his principles, he might have made his peace from the intereſt of his powerful relations, but he never had a thought of that nature, and therefore choſe to remain in exile till he returned in triumph, and received the reward

(1) Hiſtory of Independency, P. ii. p. 124.

(2) Anthony à Wood, in his Diary.

(3) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. I. p. 195.

(4) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 251.

(5) Memoirs of the Houſe of Lennox.

(6) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1040.

(7) See the article of BLOUNT (Sir HENRY).

(8) Wood's Faſt. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 30.

made Chaplain to Charles Prince of Wales, and had alſo the rectory of Sutton Colefield in Warwickſhire (*i*) beſtowed upon him, for which preferment however he was little the better; for the King's affairs falling into confuſion, Dr Fleetwood travelled with the Earls of Kildare and Sterling, as he alſo did with that hopeful young Peer Eſme Duke of Richmond, who, dying at Paris in 1660, his title devolved upon Charles Stuart Earl of Lichfield (*k*), who was likewiſe a pupil of Dr Fleetwood's. After the Reſtoration of the King he returned to England, and was moſt graciouſly received by his Royal Maſter, being the firſt Divine that was ſworn one of his Chaplains in Ordinary. In June 1660 he was made Provoſt of King's college in Cambridge (*l*), and had alſo the rectories of Anſtey in Hertfordſhire, and of Denham in Bucks, being Proctor likewiſe in the Convocation for the clergy of the dioceſe of Lichfield (*m*). On the 29th of Auguſt 1675 he was conſecrated Biſhop of Worceſter, in the room of Dr Walter Blandford, in the church of St Peter le Poor in Broad-ſtreet, London (*n*). He diſcharged his epiſcopal function with great punctuality, and was exceedingly beloved both by the clergy and laity in his dioceſe, where he ſpent the remainder of his days in doing himſelf, and exhorting others to do good. He deceaſed July 17, 1683 (*o*), when he was ſomewhat above fourſcore, and lies interred under a monument, behind the high-altar, erected in his life-time, with an inſcription thereon by his own command, and of his own compoſition, of which the reader will find a very exact copy in the notes [*B*]. He was ſucceeded in the government of King's-college Cambridge by Sir Thomas Page (*p*), Knight, a perſon of incomparable abilities and of an unblemiſhed character; and in the See of Worceſter by Dr William Thomas, who was ſuſpended for not taking the oaths at the Revolution, but died before deprivation which was intended (*q*). To him ſucceeded the worthy and learned Dr Edward Stillingfleet, who, at his deceaſe, directed his body to be buried behind the high-altar, near the tomb of this pious and venerable Biſhop Fleetwood, which was accordingly performed.

(*i*) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, P. ii. p. 41.

(*k*) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. I. p. 194.

(*l*) Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 632.

(*m*) Liſt of the Convocation, 1661.

(*n*) Continuation of Godwin's Engliſh Biſhops, p. 424.

(*o*) See the monumental inſcription.

(*p*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 30.

(*q*) Willis's Hiſt. of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 654.

reward of his ſervices, and of that particular affection with which he was honoured as long as he lived by King Charles the Second (9), whoſe domeſtick ſervant he was during part of that cruel and unnatural war, when from the evil arts of a few general ruin enſued.

(9) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, P. ii. p. 41.

[*B*] *A very exact copy in the notes.*] This monumental inſcription which affords the higheſt teſtimony of the ſincere piety, and incomparable humility of this good prelate, who paſſed through all the viciſſitudes of this troubleſome life without the ſmalleſt reproach, has been frequently but faultily printed, ſo that the ſenſe of it was ſcarce to be collected, which is the reaſon of our giving it a place together with a tranſlation here. As for his youngeſt ſon Mr Archdeacon Fleetwood, by whoſe care it was in purſuance of his father's will engraved upon his tomb, he was alſo Rector of Ripple in his own Archdeaconry, to which he was collated by his father in 1676, upon the demiſe of Dr Hodges. He died in 1705, and lies buried in the Church of Ripple (10).

(10) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 664.

M. S.

Epitaphium hoc
Vivus, Videnſq; Scripſi,
Ponant quorum intererit.

Ego
Ja. Fleetwood S. T. P. Cathedræ *Wigorn* Epiſcopus
Nonageſimus
Miſerimus Peccatorum. Hic jaceo digniſſimus qui in
æternum jacerem: ſed miſericordiâ Domini
Gratiam conſecutus ſum.

Quo mihi nobilitas fucata.
Hoc glorior unum,
Quod Chriſtus de carne meâ eſt.

Proinde
Nemo me lachrymis decoret, me, vindice Chriſto,
Incolumen renovet patefacti foſſa ſepulchri.
Mox Cœli tentabo vias: Chriſtumq; ſupernè
Vivus carne meâ, viventem in carne videbo
Vixi Dixi.

At ſome diſtance follows.

Johannes Fleetwood Archi-diaconus *Wigornienſis*,
Filius prædicti Præſulis,
Natu minimus,
Epigraphen hanc poni curavit,
In memoriam Reverendi admodum Patris,
Vitam cum morte mutavit,
July 17.
Ætatis ſuæ octogeſimo primo,
Anno conſecrationis ſuæ octavo,
Salutis humanæ reparata,
Anno 1683.

Thus tranſlated.

This Epitaph
Living, and having the uſe of my faculties, I have written,
Let it be inſcribed by thoſe into whoſe hands it comes.
I James Fleetwood Dr of Divinity of the Cathedral
Church of Worceſter the (*) *ninetieth Biſhop, of*
ſinners the moſt miſerable lie here. Moſt worthy
to lie here for ever: but by the merciful
love of the Lord
I attained his Grace.
What to me imports varniſhed Nobility.
This is my only boaſt,
That Christ *took on him my Fleſh.*
Therefore,
Let none with tears deplore me, Christ *ſhall aſſert,*
His right and from the yauning Tomb redeem me,
Soon ſhall I climb the heavenly way and view,
Recloth'd with Fleſh, my Lord *in Fleſh too cloth'd.*
I have lived; I have ſpoken.
John Fleetwood Archdeacon of Worceſterſhire,
Son of the abovementioned Prelate,
by birth the youngeſt,
took care that this inſcription ſhould be here placed,
In memory of that right reverend Father,
who changed this life for another,
July xviith.
In the eighty firſt of his age,
The eighth year after his conſecration,
and from the coming of our Saviour,
1683.

(*) According to Biſhop Godwin's Catalogue he was the ninety-firſt.

FLEETWOOD (WILLIAM) a learned Divine, an excellent Preacher, and ſucceſſively Biſhop of St Aſaph and Ely in the XVIIIth century. He was deſcended from the Fleetwoods of Lancaſhire beforementioned, and inherited an eſtate in that county (*a*). His father was Jeffery Fleetwood, Eſq; and his mother Anne, daughter to Mr Richard Smith, Prothonotary of the Poultry Compter (*b*). He was born January 21, 1656, and, as we are told, in the Tower of London (*c*); but perhaps there may be ſome miſtake as to that circumſtance, ſince his father died in the Tower April 18, 1665, leaving his widow with ſix ſmall children (*d*); ſo that it is poſſible this circumſtance of his father's death, by tranſpoſing the two laſt figures of the year, might be confounded with his ſon's birth (*e*). He received the firſt tincture of letters at Eton ſchool, and was from thence elected to King's-college in the univerſity of Cambridge (*f*). About the time of the Revolution he entered into Holy Orders, and was conſidered as a celebrated Preacher almoſt at his firſt ſetting out. Having preached the anniverſary ſermon on the founder's day before the univerſity in his own college, March 25, 1689, it fell to his turn to preach before them on the Sunday following at St Mary's, when the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of colleges deſired him to print both ſermons, but he declining one part of the honour, printed only the firſt [*A*]. He was ſoon after made Chaplain to King William and Queen

(*a*) Account of his Life and Writings, prefixed to the Collection of his Sermons and Tracts, in fol. Lond.

(*b*) As appears from Mr Smith's Obituary.

(*c*) Account of Biſhop Fleetwood's Life and Writings.

(*d*) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. l. xiv. p. 37.

(*e*) Our Hiſtories take no notice of this ten years confinement of Mr Fleetwood, which they certainly would have done if it had ever happened.

(*f*) See the Dedication to the firſt part of his *Inſcriptionum Antiquarum Sylloge*.

[*A*] *Printed only the firſt.*] The true characteriſtick of a genius is this, that it not only penetrates but irradiates every ſubject, and how common or beaten ſoever gives it freſh life, ſets it in a new light and compels us to acknowledge that we are pleaſed both beſide and beyond our expectation. This obſervation could never be more properly made than at our entrance on the notes to this article, ſince our whole buſineſs in them will be to exhibit inſtances of the truth and juſtice of this remark.

I. *A* Sermon *preached before the Univerſity of* Cambridge *in* King's College Chapel *on the* 25th *of March*, 1689, *being the Anniverſary for Commemoration of King* Henry VI. *the Founder*, London 1689. 4to.

Our author made a very judicious choice of a text (1), upon this occaſion, viz. *For the adminiſtration of this ſervice not only ſupplieth the want of the* Saints, *but is abundant alſo by many thankſgivings unto* God. Which, having firſt handled with great perſpicuity and prudence as a Divine, he proceeds next to the application, and therein gives us not only a fine picture of Henry the Sixth, but interſperſes alſo a variety of hiſtorical paſſages, which the learned reader will allow me to ſay are hardly to be met with any where elſe. ‘First, ſays he, if St Paul ſo earneſtly exhorts to and commends a piece of private, caſual, temporary, tranſient charity, how much is due, what might be ſaid of ſuch a publick, ſo deliberately deſigned, ſuch a laſting one (an everlaſting one I hope) as I ſtand here the grateful ſubject of? A private man may caſt his bread upon the waters in hopes to find it after many days, and give a portion to ſeven, and alſo to eight, becauſe he knoweth not what evil ſhall be upon the earth. And if notwithſtanding this deſign, and theſe ſelf-intereſted principles, the work is excellent and acceptable both to God and Man, it muſt needs be infinitely more, ſo when a Prince becomes the donor, under whoſe conſideration none of thoſe hopes or fears can reaſonably be thought to fall. And if the relieving private and ſome few perſons, wants not its praiſe and glory, they muſt both of them riſe as the merit does, where the publick is obliged, and all may put in equal claim and title to the benefaction, that will be content with his way of education. The ſtory is well known to us be ſure, but he that would record the virtuous qualities and fair endowments of our glorious founder, to thoſe that are without or to poſterity, could not by any means forget that moſt remarkable and noble inſtance of his large and comprehenſive ſoul, in generouſly rejecting one of our firſt governors for his too partial fondneſs to his native county, and endeavouring to appropriate all the royal bounty to it only, conſidering with himſelf that tho' a private man might do the ſame with reaſon enough and juſtice too, yet that a Prince ſhould both in this and every thing beſides approve himſelf a father of the publick. Secondly, a formed premeditated and deliberate work of charity, has certainly the advantage of a caſual accidental one, this may be wreſted only by the importunity of ſome that want, compliance with the cuſtom of the place, forced by the example of the company and ſhame of being ſingular, or expreſt from men by the lamentable moans and preſence of ſome piteous object, and men are often ſeen upon removal of thoſe objects, and the going down of thoſe mechanick ſprings of tenderneſs, to harden and return again to their ill-natured tempers, and frequently repent them of the good they did, wiſhing themſelves again poſſeſſors of their riches. But he that acts deliberately, that forms his deſigns beforehand, without any preſent artificial motives, and certainly intends them for a laſting benefit to all poſterity, muſt be preſumed, in reaſon and in juſtice, to build upon the beſt and ſureſt grounds, to proceed upon the nobleſt and moſt perfect principles. It cannot indeed be ſaid, that this foundation was the deſign of many years before, for the King himſelf was then but twenty three at the moſt, an age moſt commonly of little thinking with great men, or at beſt of little elſe, than how to paſs away that ſpring of life in gaiety and pleaſure. But yet it was his earlieſt undertaking and deſign, and had for ſome conſiderable time been the whole employment of his thoughts, and his heart was ſo intent upon the matter, that he had little reſt till he had brought it to a hopeful proſpect, and to ſome degree of its perfection. It was no ſudden accidental thing that moved him, it was not the effect of his relenting thoughts after the ſhedding ſome innocent blood by the rage of his own hand, or by the haſty execution of ſome furious order, for he was meek and merciful, ſparing of blood, and tender to his ruin; of ſuch a gentle and forgiving diſpoſition, that when a rude and impious ſoldier ſtruck him knowingly in priſon, he afterwards upon the throne rebuked him only with a piece of Scripture, told him he ſhould not ſtrike the Lord's anointed; nor was it an effect of his repentance upon the cooling of his youthful blood, nor of the injunction of his confeſſor for ſome extravagancies common to that age. For what was ſaid of virtuous Gratian may be ſaid of him with equal truth, not Veſta's altar, Pontifex his bed, nor Flamen's pillow, was more pure and holy than his chamber. No honourable wife, no noble virgin, private maid, or conſecrated ſpouſe of Chriſt, called at his hands for ſatisfaction to their injured honour. He was of ſuch white innocence, and ſuch unſullied ſanctity in that behalf, that he could not bear thoſe liberties and freedoms, that ſince make up the very innocence and modeſty of Courts. This virtue was in truth ſo much his own, and ſo peculiarly engroſſed up by him, that he ſeems to have carried her to heaven along with him, and not to have left ſucceeding Kings the very virtue of hypocriſy, no, not ſo much as the grace to diſſemble any kind of liking to that purity. Nor was it an atonement for ſome loud oppreſſion, violence, injuſtice, or ſome ſacriledge. It is, ſaid one of old, the laſt defence of wicked Kings to take away from ſome to give to others, and deprecate the envy and the odium of their preſent rapines by ſome large works of bounty to poſterity; but it was not ſo with him, for tho' his reign were long and troubleſome, and its years might have been named and numbred from ſome remarkable calamity befalling his perſon or his government,

‘ his

(1) 2 Cor. ix. 12.

Queen Mary, and by the intereſt of Dr Godolphin, at that time Vice-Provoſt of Eton and Reſidentiary of St Paul's, he was made Fellow of that college, and Rector of St Auſtin's, London, which is in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's (g). His own great merit brought him ſoon after into the lecture of St Dunſtan's in Fleetſtreet, where his ſermons were generally admired. He maintained that high reputation which he acquired at the univerſity, by publiſhing a moſt admirable *Introduction to the Knowledge of Antiquities*, which has been very highly and very juſtly admired [B]. His love for that ſtudy, which he preſerved as long as he lived, did not hinder him from applying to the modern languages, and to every branch of polite learning. He was as candid a Critick as he was an indefatigable Scholar, and could readily admire and recommend the performances of others, and, where it was neceſſary, yield them any other aſſiſtance, of which he gave a pregnant inſtance in tranſlating a celebrated book of devotion, which was rendered

(g) See his Dedication to Dr Godolphin, prefixed to the ſecond part of the ſame book, dated November 1, 1690.

'his affairs perpetually embroiled by the prevailing faction of his powerful rival and competitor for ſovereignty, and by the paſſions of his own imperious and intriguing Queen, by the rude works of war abroad, and by the miſeries of a worſe at home, and conſequently a great deal of injuſtice muſt be done, yet no man ever had the hardineſs to charge the King with any evil, and that not for good manners or reſpect, but for the truth and juſtice ſake. And it is ſo little likely he would cement our buildings with the blood or tears of the oppreſſed, that when he was in want of money to expedite his intentions, and was ſhown the way by ſeizing to that uſe the eſtates of ſome that had forfeited them by treaſon, he generouſly rejected their advice, and could not bear the thoughts, that any one in after-times ſhould curſe our walls, and call with bitterneſs and anguiſh of their ſouls for their forefathers patrimony. ——In compliance therefore with the text, I thank the immortal God for that munificence, by which two royal great ſocieties were founded and endowed, which notwithſtanding all the depredations they have undergone, do yet ſubſiſt in fair and honourable manner, and are if not the envy yet at leaſt part of the praiſe and glory of their neighbours, for making a King, a young and mighty King, the inſtrument of ſo much good, for inſpiring into his ſoul ſuch chriſtian and ſuch generous purpoſes, inſtead of all thoſe vain, ambitious, towering imaginations, thoſe wicked, wanton, and luxurious thoughts, that fill the heads and hearts of common Princes; for giving us a founder, whoſe bounty makes us not more happy men than his example would, if followed, happy Chriſtians: for the advantage of all thoſe excellent graces and illuſtrious virtues that adorned his life, and ſhone ſo eminently in him: for his early zeal and piety, his ardent and unparallel'd devotion towards God, for his innocent and uncorrupted youth, for his ſanctity, ſobriety, and temperance, in every kind, for his great love to learning, and greater yet to good morality and true religion, for the firm and ſteddy virtues of his manhood, for his care of all his life, and that incredible watchfulneſs over all his thoughts, and words, and works, inſomuch, that in twelve years time, his confeſſor found no occaſion to enjoin him any ſort of penance, for his ready reſignation to the will of God in all conditions, for his admirable patience under all the ſorrows and diſtreſſes, the dangers and the difficulties, the exiles and impriſonments, with which his life was exerciſed for one and fifty years, and laſtly, for his holy end and ſufferings, being found at his devotions, by that inhuman Prince Richard the Third, that ſtabbed him to the heart, and left expiring out his ſoul amidſt his prayers. Theſe are the virtues, I can thank God for without a bluſh or ſecret check for flattering or enlarging, rare and unſeen in Kings, and read by private men with wonder and confuſion; ſo that I doubt, if moſt of us were left to judge of them, by the faint purſuits and feeble imitations we have made, there would be great temptations to conclude againſt their truth and poſſibility. Theſe are the virtues better far befit the fame and memory of chriſtian Kings, than thoſe of glorious heroes and triumphant Conquerors, enlargers of their Empires, and terrors of their Generations. For the true Engliſh of thoſe pompous titles is, that they have been the plagues of the earth, and mighty murderers of mankind, that they have made millions of wretched widows, orphans, and relations, have turned fair kingdoms into fields of blood and horror, and overrun the world with barbarous waſte and deſolation. And tho' theſe bears and tygers, wolves and foxes, are in ſome manner neceſſary and uſeful in the world, and make a glorious buſtle whilſt they live, and we are pleaſed with the relations of their acts when dead (better when dead); yet no man in his wits that can conſider and might chuſe his ſtate himſelf, but would prefer the palms of innocent and ſuffering Kings to all the laurels, and enſanguined wreaths of thoſe renowned Nimrods. Theſe are the virtues we can thank God for, becauſe they are ſo uſeful and ſo edifying to the world, ſo ſafe to recommend to all mankind, but eſpecially ſo proper for our private imitation, ſo ſuited to our way of living, that one would think the godly King had lived on purpoſe for our uſe and ſervice, and that our ſtatutes had been copied from his practice, with ſome deſign to ſhame us into duty, or make us inexcuſable if we could otherwiſe abuſe ſuch bounty, neglect ſuch virtue, and refuſe to write after ſo fair and goodly an original.'

[B] *And very juſtly admired.*] There is nothing more natural than for a man of letters, to exert his utmoſt as well as his earlieſt endeavours, to recommend and promote his favourite branch of ſcience, which as it was our author's intention in the following work, ſo he made no difficulty of owning it in his two dedications, one to the Students in the Univerſity of Cambridge, and more eſpecially in King's College, and the other to Dr Henry Godolphin, Fellow of Eton, and Reſidentiary of St Paul's. The title of this work at large runs thus.

II. *Inſcriptionum antiquarum Sylloge in duas Partes Diſtributa. Quarum prior inſcriptiones Ethnicas ſingulares & rariores penè omnes continet quæ vel* Gruteri, *Corpore*, Reyneſii *Syntagmate*, Sponii *Miſcellaneis; aliiſque ejuſdem argumenti Libris reperiuntur. Altera Chriſtiana Monumenta antiqua quæ hactenus innotuerunt omnia complectitur. In uſum Juventutis Rerum Antiquarum ſtudioſæ Edita & notis Quibuſdam illuſtrata: a* Guil. Fleetwood *Coll. Regal. apud Cantab. Socio.* Londini Impenſis Guil. Graves, Bibliopolæ Cantabrigienſis 1691. 8vo. It conſiſts of two parts. The firſt contains remarkable Pagan inſcriptions, collected from Gruter, Reineſius, Spon, and other writers, which is digeſted into five claſſes, the firſt, of *Gods*; the ſecond, of *Publick Works*; the third, of *Emperors*; the fourth, of *Prieſts*, *Magiſtrates*, *Soldiers*, &c. and the laſt, of *various perſons*, as parents, children, huſbands, wives, brothers, ſiſters, &c. The ſecond part contains the antient chriſtian monuments. The notes are very conciſe, and partly formed from the obſervations of others, and partly our author's own. If there ſhould ever be publiſhed another edition of this book, it would be of great advantage to the reader to give accurate indexes, eſpecially of the proper names, for there is at preſent only one which may be ſtiled a Gloſſary of the Antiquities, that occur in the monuments (2). It would likewiſe be very proper to add to the titles of the inſcriptions, the letter G. or R. or S. A. B. P. F. or W. in order to ſhew whether they were taken from Gruter, or Reineſius, or Spon, Aringhus, Baronius, Papebroch, Ferretius, Wheeler, &c. For by this means we might have recourſe to the ſources themſelves, if there ſhould be any ſuſpicion of a typographical miſtake, or we ſhould be deſirous of a more particular account of them.

(2) Acta Eruditorum Menſis Julii 1691, p. 327.

(b) See this point fully explained in the note.

rendered thereby as ſucceſsful here as it had been abroad (b) [C]. But after all he was chiefly diſtinguiſhed by his great talents for the pulpit, which rendered him ſo much and ſo generally admired, that he was frequently called upon to preach in the moſt publick places, and upon the moſt ſolemn occaſions; ſuch as, before the King, the Queen, the Houſe of Commons, the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, and elſewhere, as the reader will ſee at the bottom of the page [D]. He was deſired to undertake the defence of the Chriſtian religion according to the pious and noble deſign of the Honourable Mr Boyle, but it pleaſed God, that, at this time, he found himſelf not in a condition to diſcharge that duty in a manner ſatisfactory to himſelf, but to ſhew that he meant not to ſpare his pains, or to decline hazarding that credit which he had already attained, he digeſted and publiſhed his thoughts upon miracles, which was the ſubject he intended to have handled in caſe his health had permitted him to have preached thoſe *Lectures*; which work of his might have drawn him into a controverſy, if that had not been a thing which he ſtudiouſly declined [E]. Such were the labours of this great man during that reign, in which many were ſurprized that he did not obtain higher preferment; for, notwithſtanding

[C] *As if it had been abroad.*] This note relates to one of the beſt known and moſt admired pieces that fell from our author's pen, tho' it is not inſerted in the folio collection of his works, or ſo much as mentioned in the diſcourſe that is prefixed to them, tho' for what reaſon it is not eaſy to imagine; the title is this:

III. *A plain Method of* Chriſtian Devotion, *laid down in Diſcourſes, Meditations, and Prayers, fitted to the various occaſions of a religious life, in three parts, tranſlated and reviſed from the* French *of Monſieur* Jurieu, *by* William Fleetwood, D. D. Lond. 1692. 8vo.

The licence for printing it is dated April the 22d 1692, the author of the book was a Miniſter much admired in Holland, tho' his reputation ſunk afterwards, partly from his entertaining enthuſiaſtick opinions, and partly through the arts and credit of ſome whom he had provoked to be his enemies. This book however kept up its credit, as the tranſlation has likewiſe done, there having been a large impreſſion printed this very year (1750) and in the title of the book, this is ſaid to be the *twenty ſeventh* edition. It is impoſſible to read it with any degree of care without being affected by it. The deſign is perfectly good, the language plain and preciſe, there is not an expreſſion in it, that is not worthy of the pure light of the Goſpel; and upon the whole, there is nothing in it that hinders us from exerciſing our reaſon to heighten our devotion; and very probably it was the conſideration of theſe intrinſick excellencies in the book, rather than the great run which it had abroad, that induced our author to give it an Engliſh dreſs, and withal to prefix a moſt admirable preface, in which he ſhews the true uſe, and cautions the pious reader againſt the too frequent abuſes to which works of this kind are liable: Amongſt theſe, with great judgment and integrity, he ſhews the ſincere Chriſtian how to diſtinguiſh between the effects of a true chriſtian faith, and the accidental elevation or depreſſion of the natural ſpirits, which he has ſo ſkilfully deſcribed, and touched the general ſources of enthuſiaſm with ſo delicate a hand, that it is impoſſible for any candid writer to peruſe what he ſays, without owning him to have an equal diſcernment in Divinity and Philoſophy.

[D] *At the bottom of the page*] The pieces of which we are to ſpeak in this note, are thoſe Sermons preached by Mr Fleetwood within the compaſs of the period aſſigned in the text, upon particular or ſolemn occaſions, which he afterwards thought fit to publiſh, and which might in a great meaſure contribute to procure him the reputation of being one of the compleateſt orators in the pulpit in his time, when able and eloquent preachers were very far from being ſcarce.

IV. A Sermon preached before the Honourable Houſe of Commons, November the fifth 1691. Lond. 1691. 4to.

V. A Sermon preached at Chriſt-Church, before the Governors of that Hoſpital on St Stephen's day, 1691. Lond. 1691. 4to.

VI. A Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at St Mary le Bow, April the 11th, 1692. Lond. 1692. 4to.

VII. A Sermon preached at Guild-hall Chapel, December the 11th, 1692. Lond. 1692. 4to.

VIII. A Sermon preached before the Queen at White-hall, February the 12th, 1692-3. Lond. 1692-3. 4to.

IX. A Sermon againſt Clipping. Preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at Guild-hall Chapel, December the 16th, 1694. Lond. 1694. 4to.

X. A Sermon of the Education of Children. Preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at Guild-hall Chapel, November 1. 1696. Lond. 1696. 4to.

XI. A Sermon preached at St Paul's Cathedral before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, January the 30th, 1698-99. Lond. 1698-99. 4to.

XII. A Sermon preached before the King at White-hall, November the 5th, 1700. Lond. 1700. 4to.

XIII. A Sermon preached before the Gentlemen educated at Eton-College, December the 16th, 1701. Lond. 1701. 4to.

[E] *Which he ſtudiouſly declined.*] The title of this famous work of our author is very ſhort and plain, viz.

XIV. *An* Eſſay *upon* Miracles *in* two *Diſcourſes.* Lond. 1701. 8vo.

In the firſt diſcourſe he ſhews what a miracle is, viz. an extraordinary operation of God againſt the known courſe of the laws of nature appealing to the ſenſe; then he proceeds to prove, that the power of working miracles is in God alone, and delegated by him to whom he pleaſes, the character of Moſes in this reſpect is afterwards examined, as alſo the caſe of the Egyptian Diviners who oppoſed him before Pharaoh; laſtly, the Law in Deutronomy againſt falſe Prophets, for pretending to work miracles, is very fully ſifted; ſo that in the cloſe this poſition is laid down as fully proved, that the doctrine in general which is to be eſtabliſhed, muſt be fully and fairly ſtated before the miracles are wrought in ſupport of it. The ſecond diſcourſe relates to the miracles of Jeſus Chriſt; he ſhews therein, that it was foretold that Chriſt ſhould work miracles, and that it was expected, that Jeſus anſwered this expectation and fulfilled thoſe predictions; he examines ſome of the miracles at large, explains the end for which thoſe miracles were wrought, he diſcuſſes the great queſtion, whether we muſt judge of miracles by doctrine, or of doctrine by miracles, proves that ſigns and wonders are not true miracles, that ſtrange events are no miracles, anſwers all the objections that are uſually made, and ſets the evidence drawn from miracles in favour of the Chriſtian religion in a proper point of light.

The then reverend Mr Benjamin Hoadly now Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter, ſoon after publiſhed *a letter to Mr* Fleetwood *occaſioned by a late* Eſſay *on* Miracles. This letter is reprinted in Mr Hoadley's Tracts. The author of the account of the life and writings of Biſhop Fleetwood obſerves, that it has been often affirmed, and paſſes with ſome for a certain truth, that the Biſhop in a letter to the Reverend Mr Hoadley... *had given up his ſcheme*. But this the reader may be aſſured is a report altogether falſe. Nor is the Biſhop's not replying any juſt ground for ſuch a ſurmiſe, for it was almoſt a principle with him never to enter into controverſy, to which he had an extream averſion, the acrimony with which diſputes were too often carried on, being not at all agreeable to the calmneſs and meekneſs of his temper, for which reaſon he would not be drawn to defend what he had written. *I write*

withſtanding his being ſo early made a Chaplain to his Majeſty, and his conſtant attendance in that capacity, yet he never received any thing in the way of favour from the Crown, till, juſt before King William's death, he beſtowed upon him a canonry of Windſor at the requeſt of the Lord Godolphin (*i*). But it ſo fell out, that the grant for this canonry did not paſs the Seals before the King's demiſe, upon which the Houſe of Commons addreſſed Queen Anne to beſtow it upon their Chaplain. Her Majeſty however being acquainted by the Lord Godolphin with the true ſtate of the caſe, immediately aſſured him, that if the King intended to have given Mr Fleetwood this preferment he ſhould certainly have it, and ſhe was as good as her word (*k*). He continued Chaplain to the Queen as he had been to her predeceſſor, was much eſteemed at Court, greatly beloved in the city, and univerſally eſteemed one of the beſt preachers in the kingdom. In this ſituation it is not eaſy to conceive what the motives were which induced him to take a reſolution of reſigning his rectory and lectureſhip, and retiring into the country; but, whatever his motives were, he adhered ſteadily to that reſolution, and this, notwithſtanding his pariſhioners offered to keep a curate at their own expence, and to do whatever elſe he ſhould deſire to make him eaſy. He executed therefore what he had reſolved, and retired to the ſmall rectory of Wexham, which was of no greater value than ſixty pounds a year, where he enjoyed a neat houſe and pleaſant gardens, within a ſmall diſtance of his beloved college of Eton, living there in that privacy and retirement which he ſo ſtrongly affected. He withdrew himſelf from the world, but he could not withdraw that eſteem which all good men had conceived for his perſon, or extinguiſh that high reputation which reſulted from his writings. Indeed he ſometimes uſed his endeavours with reſpect to the latter, and being contented with the pleaſure of doing good, took pains to avoid being commended for the good he had done [*F*]. But other caſes there were which would not admit of this kind of management, what he publickly preached he could not avoid owning in print, and if never any thing of his had appeared but his ſermons on *relative duties*, thoſe alone had given ſufficient cauſe to look upon the retreat of ſuch a man as a loſs to the publick; and it was impoſſible that this ſhould ſlip out of the minds of ſerious and attentive people, while his duty, as the Queen's Chaplain, obliged him to attend upon particular occaſions, and to give, though leſs frequently, as ſtrong marks as ever of his ſingular abilities [*G*]. As for himſelf, he fully enjoyed the
benefits

(*i*) Account of the Life and Writings of Biſhop Fleetwood, p. 2.

(*k*) Aſhmole's Antiquities of Berkſhire, Vol. III. p. 281.

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my own ſenſe as well as I can, was his ſaying upon ſuch occaſions: *If it be right it will ſupport itſelf, if it be not it is fit it ſhould ſink.*

In 1706, there was printed at London in 8vo. *Reflections upon Mr* Fleetwood'*s Eſſay on Miracles, ſhewing the abſurdity, falſhood, and danger of his notions, with a ſupplement wherein is repreſented the extent and ſtrength of the evidence which* Miracles *give to* Revealed Religion. By John Gilbert, *a Preſbyter of the Church of* England.

Mr Jenkins likewiſe, in his *obſervations on the life of* Apollonius Tyanæus, makes ſome animadverſions upon the principles which Mr Fleetwood'*s Eſſay* proceeds upon, but without naming the author or the book.

[*F*] *For the good he hath done.*] The title at large of this work, than which ſome very good judges have thought, there is not a better among the many that have been written upon this ſubject, runs at length in the following words.

XV. *The Reaſonable* Communicant *or an Explanation of the Doctrine of the* Sacrament *of the* Lord's Supper *in all its parts, from the* Communion Service. *In a diſcourſe between a* Miniſter *and* one *of his* Pariſhioners. Lond. 1704. 8vo.

There have been ſeveral editions of it. It was aſcribed to another hand, and is expreſsly given to Mr Theophilus Dorrington, Rector of Wittreſham in Kent, in the Catalogue of the Tracts diſtributed by the Society for propagating Chriſtian Knowledge. But notwithſtanding this there is not the leaſt doubt of its being our author's, who in his preface aſſigns this cauſe for his writing it, viz. ' that he might not be obliged ' to repeat continually the contents of it to ſuch of his ' Pariſhioners, as from time to time came to be in' ſtructed how to become worthy partakers of the Sa' crament.'

[*G*] *Of his ſingular abilities.*] In this note we are to take notice of thoſe ſermons that were publiſhed by this great Divine before he became a Biſhop, and the firſt of theſe was,

XVI. *A Sermon preached on September the 7th* 1704, *being the day for the* Thankſgiving. Lond. 1704. 4to.

As this Sermon was preached on a ſolemn occaſion, ſo the author's publiſhing it aroſe from a very particular circumſtance, which as it was a ſtrong tho' diſagreeable proof to him of the great reſpect paid to his performance, it is neceſſary the reader ſhould have an account of it, which cannot be better given than in his own preface, more eſpecially as it is very ſhort.

' It is ſomewhat ſtrange, that I who have been ' forward enough to ſubmit to the orders of my ſupe' riors, and comply with the requeſts of my friends, ' in publiſhing many ſermons, ſhould now be con' ſtrained to publiſh one againſt my will, without ' command, and without requeſt. But ſo it is, that ' a certain perſon unknown to me, who took this ſer' mon from my mouth in characters, muſt needs think ' himſelf obliged to print it without my conſent, and ' was reſolved it ſeems to do ſo, if I would not take ' care of it myſelf. He had indeed honeſty enough ' to give me notice by another hand of his intentions, ' but not enough to keep him from invading his neigh' bour's right, which I muſt needs blame in him, tho' ' I have reaſon to think his purpoſe proceeded from ' no ill principle or diſreſpect to me. It is to this ſe' cret violence I give this ſermon up, and rather chuſe ' to publiſh it from the original, than let it come from ' a copy which cannot poſſibly be perfect, thinking it ' much better to prevent miſtakes, than to be at the ' pains to correct them afterwards, tho' I very much ' diſlike the being under a neceſſity of doing either.'

XVII. *The* Relative Duties *of Parents and Children, Huſbands and Wives, Maſters and Servants, conſidered in* ſixteen *practical Diſcourſes*; *with three Sermons upon the caſe of* ſelf-murther. Lond. 1705. in 2 vol. 8vo.

This was certainly in its kind one of the moſt ſatiſfactory and practical ſyſtems of Chriſtian morals, that was ever publiſhed by any Divine, in our own or in any other language. It was dedicated to the inhabitants of the united Pariſhes of St Auſtin and St Faith, to whom, as the author obſerved, theſe ſermons did in ſome meaſure peculiarly belong, as having been compoſed for their ſervice, preached in their hearing, and ſent abroad at their requeſt. All theſe circumſtances are highly honourable for this great man, inaſmuch as they plainly ſhew, that while he had the care of a pariſh, he applied all his time to the juſt diſcharge of his duty, made choice of ſubjects proper for their knowledge and practice, and treated thoſe ſubjects in
ſuch

benefits he propoſed to himſelf in his retirement, and indulged, in thoſe vacancies which that kind of life procured him, his natural inclination to the ſtudy of Britiſh Hiſtory and Antiquities, which as no man underſtood better, ſo none knew how to apply that kind of knowledge to uſeful and beneficial purpoſes in a clearer or more ſatisfactory method than he did, as appeared from a work of his, which, though publiſhed without his name, was immediately known to be his from it's excellence (*l*) [*H*]. We need not wonder, when all theſe particulars are conſidered, that this great man was not ſuffered to remain long in that privacy, which, though it was his own choice and very agreeable to his inclinations, was by no means ſo either to the welfare of the Church or the inclination of his friends, amongſt the moſt ſincere of which we may ſay, without flattering her memory, was the Princeſs then upon the throne. On the death of Dr William Beveridge Biſhop of St Aſaph, March 5, 1707 (*m*), her Majeſty of her own motive determined that Dr Fleetwood ſhould be his ſucceſſor, and this not only without the leaſt application on his behalf, but abſolutely without his knowledge, ſo that it was no ſecret to the publick when the firſt news of it was brought to him. The manner in which this preferment came appeared to him a ſufficient reaſon not to decline it, ſince it ſeemed to be the appointment of Providence, and as ſuch he embraced it, and was conſecrated June 6, 1708 (*n*). He ſoon found that Eccleſiaſtical as well as Civil government is a very difficult taſk. There was a ſpirit then abroad which he utterly diſapproved, and this ſpirit appeared more in that part of the kingdom where his dioceſe lay than in moſt others; yet his great and clear reputation, his uncommon abilities, and unblemiſhed life, which ſet off the epiſcopal character with much luſtre; his obliging and eaſy deportment, free from the leaſt tincture of pride or ſhew of ſuperiority, did not only place him above all indecent treatment, which was a great point gained in thoſe unequal times, but procured much reverence and affection to his perſon, from a clergy, that, almoſt to a man, differed from him in principle. He preached often before the Queen, and ſeveral of thoſe ſermons were printed [*I*]. He attended the Houſe of Lords conſtantly, and acted there with

(*l*) The author of this article is in poſſeſſion of ſeveral of the old Engliſh Hiſtories that formerly belonged to this Prelate, in which are many learned remarks under his own hand.

(*m*) Godwin. de Præſul. Angl. Cantab. 1743, fol. p. 277.

(*n*) Account of his Life and Writings, p. 4.

ſuch a manner as ſuited beſt with their occaſions. Another excellence in this work is, that it is a moſt clear and convincing demonſtration of the truth of the Chriſtian religion, ſince it exhibits ſo full, ſo rational, and ſo inviting a plan of moral duties, as muſt perſwade whoever conſiders them attentively, that the principles from whence they are deduced are inconteſtably the true principles of ſocial happineſs.

XVIII. A Faſt Sermon preached before the Queen at *St James*'s, April the 4th, 1705. Lond. 1705. 4to.

XIX. A Sermon preached before the Queen at *Windſor*, June the 17th, 1705. Lond. 1705. 4to.

[*H*] *From it's excellence.*] In order to make the deſign of this curious work clearly underſtood, we will inſert the title at large as it ſtands in the later editions.

XX. Chronicon Precioſum; or, *An account of Engliſh Gold and Silver Money, the price of Corn and other Commodities, and of Stipends, Salaries, Wages, Jointures, Portions, Day-labours, &c. in* England *for ſix* hundred *years laſt paſt; ſhewing from the decreaſe of the value of money, and from the increaſe of the value of* Corn *and other* Commodities, *&c. that a* Fellow *who has an* Eſtate *in Land of inheritance or a perpetual penſion of* five *pounds* per annum, *may conſcientiouſly keep his Fellowſhip, and ought not to be compelled to leave the ſame, tho' the* Statutes *of his* College *(founded between the years* 1440, *and* 1460*) did then vacate his* Fellowſhip *on ſuch condition.* Lond. 1707. 8vo.

The reader ſees from this large title the nature of this treatiſe; but it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the great learning and labour neceſſary for compoſing it, does not ſo readily appear, and therefore our dwelling upon it a little, cannot be diſagreeable to thoſe who are deſirous of knowing on what foundation the high and univerſal character of this Prelate ſtands. The great point to be determined was, what annual income in the reign of Queen Anne was equivalent to five pounds a year in the reign of King Henry the Sixth, and this with a view to a caſe of conſcience of very conſiderable extent, for the old ſtatutes remaining in force, there was nothing plainer than that the Fellows of Colleges to whom they related, and their ſuperiors, were equally concerned to know what five pounds in an equitable ſenſe might be extended to, on account of the changes that had happened to money, and to every thing purchaſed with money, the rather, becauſe if this could be done, it would afford an eaſy and invariable rule for determining the like caſes for the future, a thing that might alſo be highly ſerviceable another way, or rather many other ways. Now the method he took in reſolving this queſtion, was, without diſpute, the faireſt and the moſt ſatisfactory that could be deviſed. Firſt, he undertook to ſettle the value of money in the two different periods, and then by enquiring into the price of neceſſary commodities, and into the correſponding alterations of ſalaries and wages, he gave a clear account of all the variations incident to that ſum, which through this ſeries of time the ſtatute ſuppoſed ſufficient to purchaſe a ſingle man in a collegiate ſtate the neceſſaries of life; in conſequence of which deduction it appears, that the true equivalent of five pounds in King Henry the Sixth's reign, was thirty pounds in the reign of Queen Anne; that is to ſay, a man in the latter reign might live juſt as well, and no better, upon a clear annuity or rent charge of thirty pounds *per annum*, than he could have done, if he had been to live in the reign of Henry the Sixth upon five pounds.

[*I*] *And ſeveral of thoſe Sermons were printed.*] The pieces that are referred to in the text are thoſe that follow.

XXI. A Thankſgiving Sermon preached before the Queen at *St Paul*'s, Auguſt the 19th, 1708. Lond. 1708. 4to.

XXII. A Sermon preached before the Queen at *St James*'s, April the 17th, 1709. Lond. 1709. 4to.

XXIII. A Sermon preached before *the Lords*, January the 30th, 1709-10. Lond. 1709-10. 4to.

It was thought very extraordinary in this learned Prelate, that in a Sermon preached upon a State Faſt, which called for univerſal obſervation, he ſhould equally defeat the expectation of all parties; for the whole tenor of it was directly oppoſite to the ſentiments of thoſe who were ſtiled high churchmen, and the following picture at the cloſe was as little calculated to pleaſe ſome other people; nay, there are a few ſtrokes in it which he knew could not be pleaſing even to the royal ear; but in all his converſation with Courts, Biſhop Fleetwood had never picked up ſo much knowledge of this world, as to conceive his intereſt in it, comparable to the obligation he was under of ſpeaking in that place only what was juſt and right; and perhaps, it was this noble zeal for truth, which gave that ſpirit that glows in the following periods.

'As for the praiſes that are beſtowed upon King
'Charles the Firſt, I know not who ſhould envy them,
'nor how a Church of England Miniſter can honeſtly
'decline them: he muſt know nothing of that Prince's
'hiſtory; he muſt have little ſenſe of juſtice, grati-
'tude, or honour, by whom his memory is not held
'moſt precious It were a ſmall thing to ſay, no Prince
'(altho'

with that dignity and ſpirit which might have been expected from his private character, and which was perfectly agreeable to his function. He viſited his dioceſe, and his charge upon that occaſion ſhews, that he was a zealous, though not a furious, churchman (o). It has been thought one of the moſt perfect things in it's kind, and contains with much plainneſs and perſpicuity various inſtances of his great learning, not introduced with any view of ſhewing it, but perfectly adapted and abſolutely neceſſary to the ſubject [K]. The diſlike he had to the prevailing ſpirit in thoſe days, of magnifying the regal power in ſuch an indiſcreet manner as to repreſent tyranny in the light of the ordinance of God, and the moſt abject ſlavery as founded in the principles of religion, induced him to write upon that ſubject in ſuch a manner, as he thought moſt ſuitable to the temper of the times, and to which therefore he did not think proper to fix his name, but choſe rather that it ſhould go abroad into the world under an aſſumed character. On other occaſions he preached and publiſhed his ſermons as uſual, and their peculiar merit always procured them that reception they deſerved [L]. His Lordſhip, who was a man of much wiſdom and penetration, had not only an earneſt concern for the peace and proſperity of his own country, but a tender and Chriſtian-like ſenſe of the miſeries that might be felt in other nations, from that arbitrary ſcheme of extending her dominions through a great part, and her influence to the very extremities of Europe, which had been the characteriſtick of the policy of France, during the ſpace of a century at leaſt (p). It was this that made him diſſatisfied with the meaſures taken at the latter end of the Queen's reign, which diſſatisfaction, as it proceeded entirely from principle, ſo he never ſtudied to conceal it on one ſide, or ever ſhewed the leaſt inclination to vary from it on the other. A friend of his has ſet his conduct in this reſpect in a very true light [M]. He maintained his credit, notwithſtanding

(o) See what is ſaid upon this ſubject in the note.

(p) See his ſeveral Sermons preached before both Houſes of Parliament during the War.

'(altho' his father was a learned one) but I will ſay no private gentleman, did ever underſtand the conſtitution of our Church better, defend it with ſtronger arguments, adhere to it with more judgment, adorn it with better manners, live up to its good principles with more virtue, nor in performance of its offices ſhew more devout and exemplary good behaviour. I will not in theſe things, except the Queen upon the throne, nor that bleſſed Saint in heaven her ſiſter, than did King Charles the Firſt. No Prince did ever ſhew more perſonal favour to its miniſters, nor give more countenance and credit to its diſcipline and orders, And muſt I ſay, no Prince but he did ever die in its defence to juſtify the high eſteem we have him in? I may; becauſe it is ſo true, that they who envy him the glory of that title upon all accounts beſides, will yet allow he fell a Martyr for the Church of England. Would not that Church be moſt deſervedly the hatred and reproach of all the world, that ſhould be ſparing of her praiſes and beſt incenſe, but let it ever be unhallowed incenſe to his memory? Let them to make an end take heed, leſt ſome degree of guilt be thought to make thoſe people over tender, who are ſoon offended with the praiſes of King Charles the Firſt. And let even us ourſelves take heed, that ſuch our praiſes may appear ſo well deſigned, and be managed with that good temper, ſobriety, and modeſt truth, that they provoke thoſe men to nothing but compunction, and relentings, and repentance, where theſe things are wanting, and both ourſelves and them to the imitation of all thoſe excellent good qualities, thoſe civil virtues, and thoſe religious Chriſtian graces that made him appear ſo highly exemplary both in life and death.'

[K] *And abſolutely neceſſary to the ſubject.*] The title of this celebrated charge runs thus.

XXIV. *The Biſhop of* St Aſaph*'s charge to the Clergy of that* Dioceſe *in* 1710, *and now made publick by his Lordſhip's permiſſion.* Lond. 1710. 4to.

A Biſhop's charge at his viſitation ſeems to be, and indeed is, a thing ſo much of courſe, that the bare mention of it amongſt our Prelate's works might appear ſufficient upon the ſubject, but the caſe is far otherwiſe. Our Biſhop conſidered every thing not in the way of its being eaſieſt or ſooneſt, but of its being beſt done. Certain it is, that as he carried many things in the opinions of the beſt judges as high as they could go, ſo he aimed at perfection in all. He had obſerved that a Biſhop's charge was often ſo much a piece of oratory, that there was little in it of reaſon or conviction; that for the ſake of brevity, even the moſt important points were ſeldom dwelt upon, and yet that the ſhorteſt charge ſeemed tedious, by being repeated over and over again, at different places during the ſame viſitation. Againſt theſe inconveniencies our Prelate reſolved to guard; therefore his charge is as ſerious a thing as the ſubject, to which it chiefly relates, the care of men's ſouls. It is very methodical, and every point of it is illuſtrated at large, in which there is much learning, more good ſenſe, but above all a true ſpirit of ſincere piety. It was, contrary to the uſual method, printed before the viſitations, and ſent to the Clergy of his Dioceſe a conſiderable time before the Biſhop made his viſitation, that they might have leiſure not only to read, but to weigh, to conſider, and to comply with it. It has been ſaid, that his diſcourſes on relative duties formed an excellent ſyſtem of the doctrines; it may with equal truth be affirmed, that this charge is an admirable epitome of the diſcipline of the Church of England. In ſhort, like the reſt of Biſhop Fleetwood's writings, it is a true model of what ſuch a thing ſhould be, it is full of thoſe ſentiments, it is delivered in that language, it breaths the ſpirit, and carries in it the authority of a Chriſtian Biſhop. This I am ſenſible is ſaying a great deal, but I am at the ſame time as ſenſible, that it is ſaying no more than it deſerves, or than muſt be ſaid by any man who peruſes it with tolerable attention.

[L] *That reception they deſerved.*] The title of the firſt of theſe pieces, which is indeed written in a very peculiar ſtile taken at large runs thus.

XXV. *The thirteenth chapter to the* Romans *vindicated from the abuſive ſenſes put upon it, written by a* Curate *of* Salop, *and directed to the* Clergy *of that County, and the neighbouring ones of* North-Wales; *to whom the* author *wiſheth* patience, moderation, and a good underſtanding for *half an hour*. Lond. 1710. 8vo.

XXVI. A Sermon preached before the *Society* for the *Propagation* of the *Goſpel* in foreign parts, February the 16th, 1710-11. Lond. 1710-11. 4to.

[M] *In a very true light.*] Our Biſhop ſays he, 'Who was a ſteady friend to the old Miniſtry, becauſe he ſaw they had ſerved their country well and faithfully, could not be drawn to give any countenance to the meaſures of the new one, though endeavours had been uſed, and intimations given by the Queen herſelf who had a great value for him, how pleaſing his frequent coming to Court would be to her. But his ſentiments will beſt appear from his own words, in a letter to a friend to whom he uſed to ſpeak and write his mind freely; "When my duty to the Queen, and the good of my country, will permit it, my gratitude will never let me vote againſt my friends. When I have ſaved my conſcience, I give myſelf up to what I call my honour, and therefore under all the diſcouragements I can be, I ſhall always be on the ſide of the late Miniſtry, becauſe I know they ſerved the Queen and nation ſo well, that I am

" morally

withſtanding his difference with the Miniſtry, ſo entire, that when a faſt was appointed while the peace was in agitation, he was made choice of by the Houſe of Lords to preach before them upon that occaſion (q); but, by ſome means or other, the contents of his ſermon were either gueſſed at or known, and ſuch as thought they ſhould hear nothing from him that would pleaſe them, contrived to get the Houſe of Peers adjourned beyond the day, which indeed put it out of our Prelate's power to deliver what he had collected before the Houſe of Peers in a body, but notwithſtanding this he printed and put his ſentiments into the hands of the people [*N*]. This gave much offence to ſome great Miniſters of State, who very eaſily knew, from the ſpirit and language of the ſermon, from whom it came, and reſolved not to let ſlip any future opportunity of ſhewing their reſentment, for, how much ſoever it provoked, this, could give them none. It was not long, however, before the warmth of our Prelate's temper furniſhed them with the occaſion they wiſhed for, nor did they neglect it. Before this, however, the Biſhop of St Aſaph ſent abroad another tract of his without his name, in reference to Lay Baptiſm, about which a controverſy had been raiſed that made a great deal of noiſe. Our Prelate very well knew on how ſandy a foundation

(q) Account of his Life and Writings, p. 7.

“ morally aſſured they never will be ſerved better, and whenever they are I ſhall certainly be on their ſide who do that ſervice; I think I may be allowed to act as clear and diſintereſted a part as any man of our order, for ſure, if I could ſhift my ſide I might be well accepted, conſidering what relation I have had to one (the Earl of Rocheſter) who governs all, and who is very civil to me upon all occaſions; but the meaſures we are in are by no means pleaſing to me, as what will never do the nation's buſineſs; and I foreſee that all our millions and our blood ſpent for theſe twenty years paſt, will end in a deſpicable peace, which yet we muſt pitifully ſue for too.” When he was aſked about two years after this, his opinion of the ſituation of our publick affairs, his anſwer was. ‘ I have been, and am ſtill in ſo ill humour with relation to them, that I hardly can endure to think of them. We were in the greateſt honour abroad of any nation in the earth, we are now the ſcorn of all people: our friends hate us, and our enemies laugh at us. We ſhall neither have a good peace nor a good war, France will not give us the firſt, and we ourſelves have cut off the means of the laſt. The diſgrace of the Duke of Malborough was worth a million at leaſt, and yet I do not hear we got a farthing by it, which I impute not to our honeſty and virtue, but to our folly, malice, infatuation, and the great haſte we are in to be undone. The Parliament has paſſed ſuch a cenſure upon the Duke, that I dare aver no equal number of men in all the world, of what nation or religion ſoever, would have done. But the laying him aſide is ſo ſtrange a thing, that people are put to all their ſhifts to account for it, and to make it go down with the world, muſt invent, exaggerate, and ſay, and do any thing to make him appear worthy of ſuch uſage; but I expect it will turn to his enemies miſchief, as it certainly does to his honour, that after ſo keen and malicious an inquiſition into his conduct, their great maſter ſhould be able to accuſe him of nothing, but of doing what all Generals have done before him, and what King William always did.’

[*N*] *Into the hands of the people.*] The title of this extraordinary diſcourſe, which, as we have obſerved in the text, was printed, tho' never preached, ran in the following words.

XXVII. A Sermon on the *Faſt-day*, January the ſixteenth, 1711 12. againſt ſuch as *delight* in *war*. By a Divine of the Church of England. Lond. 1712. 8vo. The text is, Pſalm lxviii. 30. Towards the end he has the following paſſage. ‘ The war we are engaged in is acknowledged to be juſt, and the ſucceſſes God has crowned it with have been aſtoniſhingly great. And therefore they who now tell us that we entered wrong into it, are thoſe I doubt who would have us go wrong out of it; or if they mean that we have been at too great charge, it is manifeſt they know not how to value thoſe ſucceſſes. But I would ſpeak to Engliſhmen. Theſe great ſucceſſes it is plain have not been overbought, becauſe we are told it is by them that the enemies have been ſo far reduced, as to make propoſals for treating of a general peace. Would they have done it then without theſe great ſucceſſes? Or could we have obtained theſe great ſucceſſes at a leſs expence? I am as glad to confront ſo ſenſeleſs a ſlander with ſo great an authority, as I am to ſay, that our enemies have been at as great expence at leaſt to loſe their country, cities, and their armies, as we have been to win them, take them, and overcome them; and that their children, and their childrens children, will be paying debts (if arbitrary governments pay debts) contracted by diſgraces, loſſes, and defeats, which left them fighting ſtill in chains and ſlavery; while our poſterity ſhall be diſcharging debts, contracted by their fathers to leave them the Proteſtant Religion, a Proteſtant Succeſſion, and which muſt keep them both their liberties. Our enemies themſelves will hardly have the malice or the confidence to ſay this nation is an enemy to peace, or that whatever could be done has not been done, in order to the obtaining it. But we ſhall alſo give them cauſe I hope to ſay, that all that can be done, in order to the carrying on the war, is alſo done. The firſt without the laſt would only give them a pleaſure that we owe them not, and make us their ſcorn who have been hitherto their terror. But let us not ſo much as preſage the leaſt evil. I know very well in whoſe hands, under God, we are. This is a peace or war, that is not like any other peace or war, that we or our fathers have ſeen. It is one of the greateſt misfortunes that could befal a nation at this time, if peoples conſideration can be ſo ſhort and ſlight as to think this treaty will determine only, whether they ſhall ſave a little money by peace, or ſpend a little more by carrying on the war. Whereas, it will determine, in all likelihood, whether they ſhall ever have abilities and power again of giving or refuſing. I do not mean, that we ſhall article for or againſt a new Religion, a new Government, and a new King; but I mean, that unleſs the peace be good, thoſe things will certainly follow in their time, without and againſt all articles. And therefore no man can be too ſollicitous about this great event, that will determine the fortune of Europe for many years, and it may be for many ages, and, for our own particular, determine in its conſequence of all we have. And therefore they who are in earneſt, zealous for the glory and the ſafety of the Queen, the preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and for the Engliſh laws and liberties, will certainly beg of God ſo to direct, guide, and aſſiſt thoſe whom the Queen employs in this moſt nice and perilous affair of treating, that ſuch a peace may be obtained as will ſecure them all to us and our poſterity, or ſhould the war be ſtill found neceſſary, that he would go forth with our armies in the moſt glorious and ſurpriſing manner he hath hitherto done, and raiſed us up (he only can) a General wiſe, and brave, and fortunate, as was our laſt.’ This was indeed exceeding ſtrong, but it appears to have flowed from a true ſpirit of patriotiſm, and not from any private prejudice or perſonal diſlike to thoſe who were intruſted with power, tho' it is ſo far from being impoſſible, that, to ſpeak the truth, it is not at all improbable, they took it in quite another light, and believed that they were by this very ſermon denounced to the Britiſh nation, as the betrayers and enemies of their country.

[*O*] *To*

foundation that ſuperſtructure ſtood which he judged it expedient to demoliſh, and he did his buſineſs very effectually, but in ſo maſterly a manner that his hand was known, and many people concluded from the method and manner of the piece that it could be none but his, which perhaps added ſomewhat to the reputation it obtained [O]. In the month of May 1712, his Lordſhip ſent abroad four ſermons that he had preached upon particular occaſions, the lateſt of them in the year 1710, and the earlieſt above twenty years before; to which he prefixed a preface, ſhewing the occaſion of their being committed to the preſs at this time, in which there was nothing very extraordinary, at leaſt in compariſon of what befel it, and the noiſe it made (r). There was no taking advantage of the ſermons, for they were received with applauſe when they were preached, and therefore there could be nothing criminal in printing them either at this or any other time; but for the preface it was a new thing, it had the Biſhop of St Aſaph's name, and in that was diſtinguiſhed from the ſermons which had excited their diſlike. Of this preface therefore they took hold, and, upon a motion made for that purpoſe in the Houſe of Commons, an order was made to burn it. What end this anſwered is not eaſily underſtood, for it made both preface (s) and ſermons more generally read, and conſequently more generally admired [P].

(r) See the Spectator, Vol. V. No. 384.

(s) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. p. 717.

[O] *To the reputation it obtained.*] This diſpute took riſe from a perſon's publiſhing a book againſt Lay-Baptiſm, who had been himſelf baptized by a perſon not epiſcopally ordained, and who therefore judged it expedient to be rebaptized; ſo that his book was calculated to defend his own practice which was likewiſe juſtified and recommended, by the Reverend Dr Hickes a very learned man, but very rigid in his principles, and a very warm writer. The title of our author's book, was as follows.

XXVIII. *The* Judgment *of the* Church *of* England *in the caſe of* Lay-Baptiſm, *and of* Diſſenters Baptiſm. *By which it appears, that ſhe hath not by any public* Act *of her's, made or declared* Lay-Baptiſm *to be* invalid. *The* ſecond edition. *With an* additional letter *from* Dr John Coſin, *afterwards Biſhop of* Durham, *to* Mr Cordel, *who ſcrupled to communicate with the* French Proteſtants *upon ſome of the modern pretences.* Lond. 1712. 8vo. The ſecond part of the Judgment of the Church of England in the caſe of Lay-Baptiſm, and Diſſenters Baptiſm. Lond. 1712. 8vo.

To what has been ſaid of this treatiſe in the text we ſhall add very little here, and that from the writings of another Prelate, in order to ſhew the conſequences of this extraordinary controverſy. ‘ A conceit was taken up, ſays Biſhop Burnet (3), of the invalidity of Lay-Baptiſm, on which ſeveral books have been writ; nor was the diſpute a trifling one, ſince by this notion the teachers among the Diſſenters paſſing for Laymen, this went to the rebaptizing them and their congregations. Dodwell gave the riſe to this conceit, he was a very learned man, and led a ſtrict life, he ſeemed to hunt after paradoxes in all his writings, and broached not a few; he thought none could be ſaved but thoſe who by the ſacraments had a federal right to it, and that theſe were the ſeals of the covenant: ſo that he left all who died without the ſacraments, to the uncovenanted mercies of God; and to this he added, that none had a right to give the ſacraments, but thoſe who were commiſſioned to it, and theſe were the Apoſtles, and after them Biſhops and Prieſts ordained by them: it followed upon this, that ſacraments adminiſtred by others were of no value. He purſued theſe notions ſo far, that he aſſerted that the ſouls of men were naturally mortal, but that the immortalizing virtue was conveyed by Baptiſm given by perſons epiſcopally ordained.————This ſtrange and precarious ſyſtem was in great credit amongſt us, and the neceſſity of the ſacrament, and the invalidity of eccleſiaſtical functions, when performed by perſons who were not epiſcopally ordained, were entertained by many with great applauſe: this made the Diſſenters paſs for no Chriſtians, and put all thoughts of reconciling them to us far out of view: and ſeveral little books were ſpread about the nation to prove the neceſſity of rebaptizing them, and that they were in a ſtate of damnation till that was done, but few were by theſe arguments prevailed upon to be baptized: this ſtruck even at the Baptiſm by midwives in the Church of Rome, which was practiſed and connived at here in England, 'till it was objected in the conference held at Hampton-Court, ſoon after King James the Firſt's acceſſion to the Crown, and Baptiſm, was not till then limited to perſons in Orders. Nothing of this kind was ſo much as mentioned in the year 1660, when a great part of the nation had been baptized by Diſſenters, but it was now promoted with much heat. The Biſhops thought it neceſſary to put a ſtop to this new and extravagant doctrine; ſo a declaration was agreed to, firſt againſt the irregularity of all Baptiſm by perſons who were not in Holy Orders, but that yet according to the practice of the Primitive Church, and the conſtant uſage of the Church of England, no Baptiſm in or with water, (In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt) ought to be reiterated. The Archbiſhop of York at firſt agreed to this, ſo it was reſolved to publiſh it in the name of all the Biſhops of England; but he was prevailed on to change his mind and refuſed to ſign it, pretending that this would encourage irregular Baptiſm: ſo the Archbiſhop of Canterbury with moſt of the Biſhops of his Province reſolved to offer it to the Convocation. It was agreed to in the Upper-Houſe, the Biſhop of Rocheſter only diſſenting: but when it was ſent to the Lower-Houſe, they would not ſo much as take it into conſideration but laid it aſide, thinking that it would encourage thoſe who ſtruck at the dignity of the Prieſthood. This was all that paſſed in Convocation.’

(3) Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 603, 604.

[P] *And conſequently more generally admired.*] The title of this ſmall collection of Sermons ran thus.

XXIX. Four Sermons. I. *On the Death of Queen* Mary, 1694. II. *On the Death of the Duke of* Glouceſter, 1700. III. *On the Death of King* William, 1701. IV. *On the Queen*'s Acceſſion *to the Throne in* 1702. *With a Preface.* Lond. 1712. 8vo.

It muſt be allowed, that the whole of his Lordſhip's Preface bore very hard upon thoſe that were then intruſted with the conduct of publick affairs. It is by much too long for us to tranſcribe, but the paragraph that was thought to have drawn the cenſure of the Houſe of Commons, concludes that piece and runs thus. ‘ Never did ſeven ſuch years together paſs over the head of any Engliſh Monarch, nor cover it with ſo much honour: the Crown and Sceptre ſeemed to be the Queen's leaſt ornaments. Thoſe other Princes wore in common with her, and her great perſonal virtues were the ſame before and ſince. But ſuch was the fame of her adminiſtration of affairs at home, ſuch was the reputation of her wiſdom and felicity in chooſing Miniſters, and ſuch was then eſteemed their faithfulneſs and zeal, their diligence and great abilities in executing her commands: to ſuch a height of military glory, did her great General and her Armies carry the Britiſh name abroad: ſuch was the harmony and concord betwixt her and her allies: and ſuch was the bleſſing of God upon all her counſels and undertakings, that I am as ſure, as hiſtory can make me, no Prince of ours, was ever yet ſo proſperous and ſucceſsful, ſo loved, eſteemed, and honoured by their ſubjects and their friends, nor near ſo formidable to their enemies. We were, as all the world imagined then, juſt entring on the ways that promiſed to lead to ſuch a peace, as would have anſwered all the prayers of our religious Queen, the care and vigilance of a moſt able miniſtry, the payments of a willing and obedient people, as well as all the glorious toils and hazards of the ſoldiery, It was far from affecting the Biſhop, who knew very well that this was the pure effects of party rage, and that it would be diſapproved even by the wiſer and better part of thoſe who differed from him in ſentiments. He could not therefore be at all troubled about a thing that diſcredited his adverſaries as much as they meant to diſcredit him. On the contrary, he looked upon it as a complement made him by miſtake, for whatever faction has power may burn what they pleaſe, or rather what diſpleaſes them, and thoſe writings will ever diſpleaſe a faction moſt, that they are leaſt able to diſprove. The fire is a concluſive but not a convincing argument, it will certainly deſtroy any book but it refutes none. How far theſe were his Lordſhip's ſentiments, and how little he felt from the uſage which his preface had met with, the reader will learn from a letter of his to the Biſhop of Saliſbury (t), which is inſerted in the notes [Q]. As times of publick diſturbance, or thoſe of animoſity and confuſion which generally precede them, afford the emiſſaries of the Church of Rome the faireſt opportunity of practiſing upon weak and unwary minds, our Prelate could not help ſeeing, with much regret, that theſe practices were carried on very openly and ſucceſsfully in his dioceſe, where the pious gratitude due to Almighty God for the cures wrought by a mineral water, was diverted, by the boldneſs with which a certain Legend (u) was propagated; he thought it highly worthy of his notice, and for that reaſon compoſed and publiſhed a treatiſe, in which he examined this matter to the bottom, demonſtrating fully how very uſeful the knowledge of Hiſtory and Antiquities may be to a Proteſtant Divine; and in doing this he acted with ſo much candour, as left even thoſe whom he oppoſed no room to object [R]. He gave, not long

(t) This Letter is dated June 17, 1712; and the Order for burning his preface was made the 10th of the ſame month.

(u) That of St Winefride.

‘ when God for our ſins permitted the ſpirit of diſcord to go forth, and by troubling ſore the camp, the city, and the country, (and oh that it had altogether ſpared the places ſacred to his worſhip!) to ſpoil for a time this beautiful and pleaſing proſpect, and give us in its ſtead I know not what——Our enemies will tell the reſt with pleaſure. It will become me better to pray to God to reſtore us to the power of obtaining ſuch a peace, as will be to his glory, the ſafety, honour, and the welfare of the Queen and her dominions, and the general ſatisfaction of all her high and mighty allies.’

[Q] *Which is inſerted in the notes.*] This letter was communicated to the author of the account of Biſhop Fleetwood's life and writings prefixed to his works by Sir Thomas Burnet, Knight, one of the Juſtices of his Majeſty's Court of Common Pleas.

My Lord,

‘I Received the favour of your Lordſhip's letter, and took it, as I know it was intended, very kindly. The manner of my receiving the indignity put upon my Preface, was neither like a Chriſtian nor Philoſopher, but like a very worldly man. I knew the whole proceſs, and knew it to be a piece of revenge taken by a wicked party, that found themſelves ſorely ſtung, and it affected me accordingly, i. e. very little. I am not one that love to be the talk of the town, and in this part I confeſs I was uneaſy, although I think the talk was very much in my favour. The complaint was made by Hungerford, and ſeconded by Manley, people that ſhould indeed have been ordered to have burnt it, and thirded by what we call the Court, and carried by numbers without a wiſe word ſaid againſt it; Sir Peter King, Sir Joſeph Jekyll, Mr Lechmere, and others of the Robe, were very ſtrenuous advocates in its behalf, and ſo were other gentlemen, but to no purpoſe, for the Court divided one hundred and nineteen, and my friends but fifty four. If their deſign was to intimidate me, they have loſt it utterly; or if to ſuppreſs the book, it happens much otherwiſe; for every body's curioſity is awakened by this uſage, and the Bookſeller finds his account in it above any one elſe. The Spectator has conveyed above fourteen thouſand of them into other people's hands, that would otherwiſe have never ſeen or heard of it. In a word, my Lord, when I conſider that theſe gentlemen have uſed me no worſe, than I think they have uſed their own country, the Emperor, the States, the Houſe of Hanover, and all our allies abroad, as well as all the braveſt, wiſeſt, and honeſteſt men we have at home, I am more inclined to become vain, than any ways depreſſed at what has befallen me; and intend to ſet up for a man of merit upon this very ſtock. But pleaſantry apart my heart is wounded within me, when I conſider ſeriouſly whereabouts we are, and whither we are tending. The Court party do now own publickly, that except the allies accept of the conditions that are offered them, King Philip is not to make any renunciation, and certainly the allies cannot accept of thoſe conditions, unleſs they are diſtreſſed to the laſt degree; we muſt and ſhall have a ſeparate peace in ſpite of all that can be ſaid, and that muſt be without a renunciation on the part of France, and without a guaranty from the allies, and what a peace is that like to be? It is now ſaid, that England is to conſtrain the King of France, to content the States with a Barrier to their liking, and that the reſt will come in or ſtand out without any danger; but I am afraid England has loſt all her conſtraining power, and that France thinks ſhe has us in her hands, and may uſe us as ſhe pleaſes, which I dare ſay will be as ſcurvily as we deſerve. What a change has two years made? Your Lordſhip may now imagine you are growing young again, for we are fallen methinks into the very dregs of Charles the Second's politicks, ſaving that then they were more reaſonable, becauſe our enemy was then in ſo full power and luſtre, as might both terrify and dazzle a poor luxurious Prince that would not be diſturbed, nor ſeem to care much what became of England after he was gone. The preſent times may put you in mind of thoſe with this bad difference ſtill, that now the ruinous effects of thoſe advices ſeem to be taking place, after an interval of five or ſix and twenty years, and after ſuch an interruption as one would have thought, ſhould have quite baffled and deſtroyed them. I find, my Lord, upon reading my letter, that I have entered upon deep matters, which, conſidering the times and the Spaw waters I have taken, I ought not to have done. You will I hope excuſe me, for methought I was talking with you who I believe favour me. I have, I thank God, an entire truſt in his goodneſs, and know he has hitherto preſerved us beyond all reaſonable hopes, without and againſt all our deſervings; but will he ſtill go on to ſave us againſt our will, and in the midſt of our endeavours to deſtroy ourſelves? I hope he will, for elſe I think we are a loſt people. I pray God to preſerve your Lordſhip and all your family.’

I am,

June the 17th,
1712.

My Lord,

Your Lordship's moſt

humble ſervant,

W. ASAPH.

[R] *No room to object.*] The title of this work of our author's runs thus.

XXX. *The*

long after, a very ſingular ſpecimen of pious benevolence in a new and very extraordinary way, which was by ſending abroad, though without his name, a ſermon on the execution of a Gentleman for the murder of another Gentleman, with whoſe wife he had lived in a criminal converſation; which affair, though it made then a great noiſe, our Prelate apprehended might not make that impreſſion which the laws of God and man required, and for which publick executions are chiefly calculated. This ſermon had a very great ſale, and it may be preſumed from thence had a very good effect [*S*]. Upon the demiſe of the Queen, and the Hanover ſucceſſion taking place, our Prelate had as much reaſon to expect that his zeal and ſervices ſhould be conſidered as any of his rank or function; but he was very far from making any diſplay of his merit, or uſing even the lawful means of making it known to the King or his Miniſters. But as his ſervices were not of a nature to be concealed, ſo it was not long before they were rewarded. Upon the death of Dr John Moore Biſhop of Ely, July 31, 1714 (*w*), Dr Tenniſon, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſtrenuouſly recommended the choice of Biſhop Fleetwood for the vacant See, and he was accordingly, without the leaſt application directly or indirectly, nominated thereto, and actually tranſlated December the 18th in the ſame year (*x*). His new preferment had no other effect, than to quicken his diligence in the diſcharge of his duty in all it's branches, and in this way he continued to diſtinguiſh himſelf as far, and as long, as his ſtrength would permit, with indefatigable induſtry (*y*), of which the publick is in poſſeſſion of inconteſtible evidence, ariſing from a variety of excellent writings upon different ſubjects, of which ſome notice will be taken at the bottom of the page [*T*].

In

(*w*) Godwin. de Præſul. Angliæ, Cantab. 1743, fol. 645.

(*x*) Le Neve's Faſti Eccleſ. Angl. p. 72.

(*y*) Account of the Life and Writings, p. 8,9.

XXX. *The Life and Miracles of* St Wenefrede *together with her* Litanies, *with ſome hiſtorical obſervations made thereon.* London printed for Sam. Buckley, at the Dolphin in Little-Britain, 1713. 8vo.

Our Prelate ſhews us in his Preface what the motives were, which induced him to beſtow ſo much pains upon the life of St Wenefrede, that the concourſe of people to the well which carries her name was very great; that the Papiſts made uſe of this to influence weak minds, that they had lately reprinted a large life of this Saint in Engliſh; that theſe conſiderations might juſtly affect any Proteſtant Divine; and that for certain reaſons, which he did not think fit to explain, they affected him in particular. He farther obſerves, that Bollandus the Jeſuit, and other Popiſh writers, had taken the freedom of obſerving, that the inhabitants of England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and Bretagne in France, were remarkable for ſwallowing any kind of legend, and that ſuch as were laught at and deſpiſed elſewhere, met with very ready credit in any of theſe countries, which he thought a little provoking. In reference to the ſtory of St Wenefrede, he compares it with the rules laid down by the great criticks of that communion, for determining the credit and authenticity of all ſuch relations, and he ſhews that if thoſe laws have any foundation it deſerves no credit at all. He farther maintains, that concerning this St Wenefrede there was nothing at all written within upwards of five hundred years, after the time in which ſhe is ſaid to have flouriſhed, that within this period there flouriſhed many celebrated writers, who compoſed works upon ſuch ſubjects, as muſt have induced them to have taken notice of Wenefrede, if her ſtory had been at all known; and that it is impoſſible the legend now inſiſted upon ſhould contain facts worthy of belief, ſince if thoſe facts had ever happened they could never be liable to theſe objections.

But let us hear what he himſelf ſays to the Popiſh votaries. ‘In the caſe of pilgrimage, the buſineſs is ‘to thank God for his gifts and graces beſtowed upon ‘the Saint, or to pray to that Saint for ſomething ‘that we want, or to pray to God to hear us for that ‘Saint's ſake, or to that Saint to intercede with God ‘for us. In all which caſes a Pilgrim ought to have ‘the fulleſt aſſurance, and the greateſt certainty that ‘is poſſible to be had. Firſt, That Wenefrede did ‘once live as ſurely as he himſelf now lives. Secondly, ‘That ſhe was a Saint upon earth as ſurely as he is a ‘ſinner. Thirdly, That ſhe had her head ſtruck off ‘at Holy-well, and miraculouſly ſet on again, as ſurely ‘as he is now at Holy-well himſelf, and has his head ‘upon his ſhoulders. Fourthly, That ſhe is now glorified in Heaven, as ſurely as he is now praying on ‘Earth. I would deſire the Pilgrims to this Holy ‘Spring to conſider with themſelves, whether they ‘can or ought to want any of theſe points of certainty, ‘of the life and death, and ſanctity, and glorification of St Wenefrede, in caſe they are required to ‘thank God for her, or to pray to her, and then to ‘give me the patience of reading the following obſervations, in which I have endeavoured to ſhew ‘that they neither have, nor can have, that certainty ‘and aſſurance of her life, and death, and ſanctity, ‘which ought to be the bottom of praiſe to God for ‘her.’ The text of this life is the Engliſh Popiſh life of St Wenefrede, publiſhed by I. F. for we know nothing of him more then thoſe initials of his name, or of the name which he aſſumed; upon which, and upon the Preface, our Biſhop wrote his obſervations; he likewiſe added the Litanies, Prayers, and ſome other Legends relative to the ſame ſtory, which hitherto had lain hid in Libraries, and which might probably have periſhed there if they had not been ſought for upon this occaſion.

[*S*] *Had a very good effect.*] This Sermon of our excellent Biſhop was publiſhed under the following title.

XXXI. *A Funeral Sermon on the Death of Mr* Noble; *who was executed at* Kingſton, *for the Murder of a Gentleman, with whoſe wife he had criminal converſation.*

The name of the gentleman who was murdered was Mr Sayer, whoſe wife, after running him in debt, had ſeparated from him, and lived in a diſſolute manner. He had obtained a ſearch-warrant, and upon information given him, that Mrs Sayer, her mother, and Mr Noble, who was an Attorney, were at an houſe in Lambeth, Mr Sayer went thither with a peace officer in order to apprehend them, and in a fray which enſued, Mr Sayer was killed by Mr Noble, who was tried for this fact together with the two women, when they were acquitted and he was found guilty. He was a young man of good parts and had much buſineſs, there was, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, a prodigious outcry againſt him till he was found guilty, and then he was in a manner univerſally pitied. Great applications were made to the crown for mercy, but without the leaſt ſucceſs, it was a caſe of ſo ſingular, as well as ſo foul, a nature, that for a long time it was the common topic of diſcourſe; and our charitable Prelate endeavoured to turn this kind of uſeleſs attention to better purpoſe, by repreſenting, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt pathetic terms, the danger of entering into thoſe courſes which lead to ſuch unhappy acts; the wiſdom of embracing ſuch warnings, by recurring to an immediate and ſincere repentance; and finally, the uſefulneſs of ſuch dreadful examples, in order to give a check to the lawleſs vices of men, to protect the innocent from the rage of the guilty, and to execute by the ſword of civil juſtice the ſentence pronounced by the Law of God.

[*T*] *At the bottom of the page.*] We are in this note to render the reader a ſhort account of ſuch other treatiſes upon different ſubjects as fell from this learned Prelate's pen, and they were theſe.

XXXII.

In this courſe of life he perſiſted with unwearied ſpirit, notwithſtanding the great infir-
mities

XXXII. *The* Counſellor's Plea *for the* Divorce *of Sir* G. D. and Mrs F.

The caſe upon which this plea was formed was as follows. ‘I. G. D. without the knowledge and conſent of his father, then alive, but accounted not of ſound judgment, was, at the age of fifteen, by the procurement and perſwaſion of thoſe in whoſe keeping he was, married according to the Church form to M. F. of the age of fifteen. II. This young couple was put to bed in the day time, according to cuſtom, and continued there a little while, but in the preſence of the company, who all teſtify they touched not one the other, and after that they came together no more, the young gentleman going immediately abroad, the young woman continuing with her parents. III. G. D. after three or four years travel returned home to England, and being ſollicited to live with his lawful wife, refuſed it, and frequently and publickly declared he never would compleat the marriage. IV. Fourteen years have paſſed ſince this marriage ceremony was performed, and each party having, as is natural to think, contracted an incurable averſion to each the other, is very deſirous to be ſet at liberty; and accordingly application is made to the legiſlative power to diſſolve this marriage, and to give each party leave, if they think fit, to marry elſewhere.' The reaſons urged againſt ſuch diſſolution were firſt, that each party was conſenting to the marriage, and was old enough to give ſuch conſent, according to the known laws of the kingdom; the male being fifteen years old, the female thirteen; whereas the years of conſent are by law fourteen and twelve. Secondly, they were actually married according to the form preſcribed by the Church of England, the Miniſter pronouncing thoſe ſolemn words uſed by our Saviour. *Thoſe whom God has joined, let no man put aſunder.* They are therefore man and wife, both by the laws of God, and of the land; and ſince nothing but adultery can diſſolve a marriage, and no adultery is here pretended, the marriage continues indiſſoluble. Our author propoſes a variety of arguments in favour of the divorce, and obſerves, that what makes the marriage contract valid and obliging, is, that a male and female ſhould be at age to conſent, and at liberty to conſent, and ſhould actually conſent to give to each other the uſe and dominion of each other's body, excluſively to all the world beſides, as long as they both ſhall live. This is properly the marriage contract, and common to all nations and religions, and all beyond this is matter of ceremony, decency, and prudence, and ordered by the legiſlative powers of different countries as they ſee convenient. He afterwards ſhews that this was not a compleat marriage, becauſe it never was conſummated. But notwithſtanding all the learned arguments contained in this plea, which were offered at the bar or inſiſted upon in the debate of the Houſe of Lords, the bill was loſt, which was an irreparable misfortune to the parties.

XXXIII. A Thankſgiving Sermon preached at *Ely-houſe* Chapel, June the 7th, 1716.

XXXIV. A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Dioceſe of *Ely* at *Cambridge*, Auguſt the 7th, 1716. Lond. 1716. 4to.

In this charge our learned Biſhop takes notice of the Dignity of the Prieſthood, and the envy which has ever attended it, which having traced to its ſource, and proved to be altogether incapable of prejudicing religion, or the miniſters of religion, unleſs they concur with their own acts to depreciate themſelves. His Lordſhip then proceeds to the talents and abilities which are requiſite to qualify a man for the due execution of the holy function. ‘In order to this, ſays he, if we conſult the writings of ſome very famous Chriſtian Biſhops and others of old, and be obliged to believe them without departing from them in the leaſt, we ſhould find them ſo great, ſo many, and ſo hard to be obtained, that as I am ſure for my own part, ſo I may reaſonably fear that many of this aſſembly, deſpairing of ſuch attainments, muſt have betaken ourſelves to other callings, who, yet I hope ſhall give a good account to God each of our Stewardſhip....... According to the flights and exaggerations of thoſe devout and overfervid ſpirits, a very few people were they ſerious would ever go into holy Orders, which ſhould it ever happen would be very prejudicial to religion, tho' overſtocking the Church is alſo not without its miſchief.. There was ſomething like this happened in the matter of the bleſſed Sacrament, which may partly account for it. For the two or three firſt Centuries the generality of Chriſtians did frequently, even every Lord's Day, partake of the Lord's Supper; but this their frequency did naturally abate much of their devotion in the performance of that holy ſervice, which godly zealous men perceiving, ſet themſelves to write and preach upon that ſubject, and to raiſe the people's devout affections, and revive their antient fervours, ſaid ſo many fine exalted things, uſed ſo many ſtrong and bold alluſions, and lively figurative repreſentations, both of the Prieſt and Sacrifice, and Preſence, that they quickly made the duty of preparation ſo difficult, and the danger of coming to that table ſo great and dreadful, that even good people were afraid to venture, and rather choſe to ſtay away, altho' invited to that ſupper, than come without what was then made to be the wedding-garment. Thus good well meaning men do often cure one miſchief by another, and till they have tried they know not which is greater. The Biſhop remarks, that it is very well for us, that theſe great men's examples relieve us againſt the rigour of their rules and inſtructions; for after all they have ſaid, they were themſelves Biſhops and Preſbyters, and tho' very learned, and very good, yet not ſo ſuperlatively ſo, but that others might and did equal them.——In the Poſtſcript to this charge dated at Ely, Auguſt the 30th, 1716. he obſerves, that before theſe ſheets were quite finiſhed at the preſs, he received a letter from the Deputies of the Epiſcopal Reformed Churches in Great Poland, and Poliſh Pruſſia, and of the Epiſcopal Betlenian College in Tranſylvania, wherein they earneſtly entreated him, after the example of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Biſhop of London, to recommend the moſt deplorable eſtate thoſe Churches and that College were then in, to the charitable conſideration of the Clergy of his Dioceſe. The requeſt ſays he was ſo reaſonable, and the examples ſo good, that I complied with it and followed it immediately.......The Brief will come amongſt you about a month hence, but I hope and deſire you will in ſome of the interim, uſe your endeavours to diſpoſe your people to a more than ordinary liberality, in contributing to the neceſſities of theſe our Chriſtian Brethren of the ſame houſhold of faith with us.' This charge of the Biſhop's was attacked in a bold aſſuming and inſolent Pamphlet, entitled, *A letter to the Biſhop of* Ely, *upon the occaſion of his ſuppoſed late* Charge *ſaid to be delivered at* Cambridge, *Auguſt the 7th,* 1716. *as far as relates to what is therein urged againſt frequent Communion, and for the pretended* Epiſcopal *Reformed Churches of* Tranſylvania, Great Poland *and* Pruſſia. By *Philalethes*. Lond. 1717. 8vo. This letter is ſaid to have been written by Mr Matthias Earberry, a Nonjuring Clergyman.

XXXV. Papiſts not excluded from the *Throne* upon the account of Religion. Being a vindication of the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of *Bangor*'s (Dr Hoadly) Preſervative, &c. in that particular.

XXXVI. A Sermon preached before the King in the Chapel Royal at St *James*'s on March the ſecond, the firſt Sunday in Lent, 1717.

XXXVII. A Letter from Mr *T. Burdett* who was executed at *Tyburn*, for the murder of Captain *Falkner* to ſome Attornies Clerks of his acquaintance, written ſix days before his execution.

XXXVIII. A Letter to an Inhabitant of the Pariſh of St *Andrew*'s Holborn about new Ceremonies in the Church.

XXXIX. The Juſtice of paying Debts.

XL. A Defence of Praying before Sermon as directed by the LV Canon.

XLI. A Sermon upon Swearing.

XLII. A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Dioceſe of Ely in Auguſt 1722.

[U] *They*

mities brought upon him by his indefatigable labours (z), till at length he found his ſtrength ſo much declined, that he had reaſon to expect a ſpeedy remove from this life to a better, which happened at Tottenham in Middleſex, whither he had retired for the benefit of the air, Auguſt 4, 1723, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age (a), and was interred in the cathedral church of Ely, where a monument is erected to his memory by his Lady, who did not long ſurvive him, with an inſcription, which, having often been publiſhed, it is not neceſſary that we ſhould inſert (b). As to his character, it has been drawn by a very able pen, and one who had the honour and happineſs of being intimately acquainted with him (c), to the following effect: ‘He lived an uſeful, ſtudious, and exemplary life; ſo conſtantly employed in the good way of his profeſſion, that no man had fewer idle hours to anſwer for. He had a juſt ſenſe of the duty of his office, and lived up to the dignity of it. He was conſtant in preaching, which duty he diſcharged for many years three times a week: it may be truly ſaid, he was the moſt celebrated preacher of his time: I need not ſay how uſefully he employed his talent, or with how much eloquence; his ſermons fully ſpeak it, which he ſet off with ſuch a ſweetneſs of voice, and ſuch a graceful delivery, that he charmed his hearers into the warmeſt attention, and left a laſting impreſſion on their minds; and that which made his ſermons more uſeful, was the fine vein of caſuiſtry that ran through moſt of them, wherein he diſplayed a peculiar talent, in making things plain and eaſy which ſeemed to many difficult, and gave diſturbance to weak and honeſt minds: he informed the judgment, and then ſet the mind at reſt. To which may be added, what many of his auditors have often ſaid, that they ſeldom heard him preach but they learnt ſomething from him, that they had never obſerved or heard before. He was a diligent viſiter of the ſick, and a ſkillful healer of the wounds of conſcience, for the cure of which ſad malady he was often applied to by many who were not properly under his care, to whom he was a willing and a wiſe inſtructor. And theſe good offices he diſcharged in ſo affectionate and tender a manner, that beſides the inward ſatisfaction he had of doing much good, many of thoſe who had applied to him expreſſed the grateful ſenſe they had of this his labour of love, which he beſtowed upon them, by kind legacies bequeathed to him, ſome of which came to his hands after he was a Biſhop. In this ſtation he did not ceaſe to be a preacher; he was a conſtant one at St Aſaph, where the choir was well ſuited to his voice; not ſo at Ely, where the church was much too large for it; but in his own chapel at Ely-houſe, ſo frequent in the diſcharge of that good part of his office, though in the cold ſeaſon of the year, that he has ſometimes preached four and twenty ſermons in the ſpace of ſix months. He was a great lover of Antiquities, eſpecially of thoſe of his own country; but that did not caſt a ruſt upon his parts, or ſpoil his ſtile, an effect it often has upon thoſe whoſe genius leads them early into that kind of ſtudy. He was a uſeful Antiquarian, and at the ſame time a fine Preacher. The filling of the churches in the dioceſe of St Aſaph, where he was almoſt the general patron, with virtuous and worthy men, was what lay near his heart: he often expreſſed the great ſatisfaction he had in beſtowing preferments on worthy Clergymen, and was extreamly pleaſed when, upon experience and obſervation, he found that the care of their people was matter of conſcience to them. *So may it always be*, he uſed to ſay, *and with increaſe, for without that there was no living, but he was ſure no dying, with comfort.* He paid little or no regard to the importunate ſollicitations of the great men of that dioceſe, if the perſon recommended was not found, upon due enquiry, to be of an unblemiſhed life; and though he could not have the ſatisfaction he wiſhed, of filling his churches with men he thoroughly approved in other reſpects, yet he took much pains to fill them with men of virtue; and if ever he was moved beyond his uſual temper, it was when he found he had been deceived by teſtimonials that had little or no truth in them. He had a generous heart; his hands were always open to thoſe in want, eſpecially to the poorer clergy, to whom he often gave money or books, beſides the remiſſion of their fees. He was a liberal encourager of every charitable deſign that came in his way, never ſhewing any deſire to be rich, except in good works; and he was much pleaſed when he heard that any rich man had left ſomething to good uſes, ſaying ſometimes upon that occaſion, *It were almoſt reaſonable there ſhould be a moderate Purgatory, for ſuch as live and die ſo wealthy without doing any good to any body but their children, when there was ſo much want and miſery in the world.* He was much concerned to ſee ſo much paſſion and uncharitableneſs raiſed by difference in opinion in matters of religion, and thought that mere miſtakes, and ſuch differences as did not influence practice, were to be borne with. He was modeſt and humble almoſt to a fault, qualities rarely to be found in a breaſt ſo replete with knowledge as his was; and as he fled from his juſt praiſes, and was always uneaſy under them, ſo he was backward to cenſure others His temper was ſweet and even calm and meek, ſo that hardly any thing could diſcompoſe him, no paſſion, no reſentment, no partial mixtures, could find a place in his breaſt. To this happy temper of mind was joined a good degree of cool and ſedate courage, which he did not fail to ſhew whenever a proper occaſion called for it. And, to crown all his other good qualities, ſo much innocence of life, integrity of heart, and ſanctity of manners, hardly ever met in any one man in a fuller meaſure than they did in him. In a word, this good

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(z) His Lordſhip had very ill health for ſeveral years before his death.

(a) Account of his Life and Writings, p. 10.

(b) Willis's Hiſt. of Cathedrals Vol. III. p. 367.

(c) Account of his Life and Writings, p. 8.

‘ Biſhop excelled in every virtue that conſtitutes a wiſe man, and in every grace that di-‘ ſtinguiſhes a Chriſtian.’ To ſo ample, as well as ſo eloquent a character as this, it would be altogether improper for us to add any thing; but inaſmuch as in a work of this nature it may be juſtly expected, that the teſtimonies to ſo eminent a Prelate's merits ſhould be collected, the reader will find at the bottom of the page ſome inſtances of this kind, from a variety of writers of very different tempers and ſentiments, which may be regarded as an inconteſtible proof of his virtues and abilities; ſince, though it does not always happen, that great and good men are univerſally eſteemed, yet, when the praiſes of different parties are beſtowed upon an eminent perſon, it cannot but be preſumed that his worth muſt be very conſpicuous, to attract the ſuffrages of men of all opinions, in ſpite of thoſe little prejudices and prepoſſeſſions which are ſo apt to warp even the beſt minds, and to hinder them from publickly teſtifying their reſpect for thoſe, whom, in their hearts perhaps, they may ſecretly admire [*U*]. He left behind him an only ſon, Dr Charles Fleetwood, who inherited his paternal eſtate in Lancaſhire, and had been preſented a few years before by his father, as Biſhop of Ely, to the rectory of Cottenham in Cambridge, which he did not enjoy long.

Of this family and name there have been ſeveral other remarkable perſons, not in this only, but in other nations alſo, particularly in Sweden, where, as we have before obſerved, there is a Baron of that name, deſcended in a direct line from the Fleetwoods of Lancaſhire; and the perſon who now enjoys that honour, is highly eſteemed for his abilities, both civil and military, which have lately procured him conſiderable preferments. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that the Swedes look upon the title of Baron as that alone which confers true Nobility, as having annexed to it all the ranks and privileges derived to Nobility by their conſtitution. The crown does indeed beſtow other titles of honour, ſuch as Counts, but they are not much regarded; and the caſe is the ſame in Poland, where titles are aſſumed rather to procure reſpect when travelling through foreign countries, than to draw regard in their own.

[*U*] *They may ſecretly admire.*] We find this ſhort character given of our author and his writings, as well as of another Engliſh Prelate, by one whoſe reputation as a critick, will not fail to juſtify what he has advanced in the opinion of all good judges (4). *Biſhop* Fleetwood'*s ſoftneſs, and Biſhop* Blackhall'*s plainneſs, are their characters; excellent writers both!* The Reverend Dr Hickes (5) acknowledges him for an encourager of his great work, and indeed no wonder it was, that he ſhould lend his aſſiſtance for promoting endeavours ſo advantageous to that ſort of literature, which as it was his earlieſt, ſo it continued to be his lateſt ſtudy. The indefatigable Mr Hearne (6) confeſſes himſelf much obliged to Biſhop Fleetwood, for many ſingular inſtances of his friendſhip, and particularly mentions the preſent he received from him of an antient almanack, which he eſteemed to be, as indeed it was, a very great curioſity; and this ſhews how ready our Prelate was to entertain a free correſpondence with men of real merit, how different ſoever their political principles might be from his own, as in both theſe caſes it is well enough known they were. That candid writer, and eminent Antiquary, Brown Willis, Eſq; ſpeaks according to his manner briefly of our Biſhop (7), of whom he ſays, that *he was a general ſcholar, well ſkilled in Antiquities, and very communicative in imparting to him ſeveral collections.* It has created ſome wonder, that Biſhop Burnet is ſilent as to our author, in his Hiſtory; but whatever his motives might be, other writers within that period of time have purſued a different conduct; one of theſe, after tranſcribing thoſe paragraphs that gave offence to the Houſe of Commons, when his Lordſhip publiſhed his four Sermons, proceeds thus (8). ‘ Theſe ‘ words of eternal truth, pronounced in ſo awful and ‘ moving a manner, did the majority of this Houſe ‘ of Commons vote to be malicious and factious, and ‘ condemned his Lordſhip's Preface to be burnt by the ‘ hands of the common hangman. The good Biſhop, ‘ imitating the apoſtolical reſignation, as his perſecu-‘ tors imitated the Pagan barbariſm and inſolence, ‘ ſaid only when he was told of it, I eſteem myſelf ‘ happy to ſuffer with the Duke of Marlborough, the ‘ Earl of Godolphin, and ſo many other illuſtrious ‘ Patriots, whoſe reputation their enemies endeavour ‘ to blaſt; on the other hand, ſays our hiſtorian, this ‘ treatment of a Prelate of ſuch ſignal merit, ſo un-‘ blameable a life, and ſo univerſally eſteemed, parti-‘ cularly by the Queen herſelf, who before was uſed ‘ to call him her Biſhop, was highly reſented by many ‘ true ſons of the Church.’ The Reverend Mr William Whiſton, a man of great probity and a free ſpeaker, admired our Prelate as a preacher when he was a young man at the Univerſity, and admired him too as a Biſhop, which appears from the following ſtory that he tells us (9); after having mentioned ſeveral inſtances of the danger that the beſt men run of being corrupted in courts, he proceeds thus. It puts me in mind of what that excellent preacher and liver Biſhop Fleetwood, as I have been informed, ſaid upon the like occaſion. ‘ This good Biſhop once came to the Houſe of Lords ‘ a little too early, and overheard certain perſons de-‘ bating this queſtion, Whether a Courtier could be a ‘ Chriſtian or not? And when at length the company ‘ perceived he was there, they would needs have his ‘ opinion. He replied he was no Courtier, nor would ‘ determine that queſtion: but he acknowledged that ‘ he had learned ſo much by their diſcourſe, that it ‘ was not very fit for a good Chriſtian to go to Court.’ In the additions that have been made to an eminent Prelate's hiſtory of Engliſh Biſhops, we are told with regard to this worthy perſon, that his works being in all hands and his character univerſally eſteemed made it unneceſſary to be inſiſted upon there. E

(4) Dr Felton's Eſſay on the Claſſicks.

(5) He contributed to the publiſhing his Linguarum Vet. Septentrionalium Theſaurus.

(6) Liber Niger Scaccarii, p. 351. See alſo his Preface to Fordun's Scotichronicon, p. 47.

(7) Hiſt. of Cathedrals, Vol. III. p. 367.

(8) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 501, 502.

(9) Memoirs of his own Life, p. 305.

FLEMMING or FLEMMYNGE (Richard) Biſhop of Lincoln in the XVth century, and founder of Lincoln-college in Oxford, was deſcended from a good and ancient family (*a*), and born at Croſton in the county of York (*b*). After having been educated in grammar learning in his native county, he was ſent to Univerſity-college in Oxford; where he ſo improved himſelf in Logic and Philoſophy, that he met with no difficulty in obtaining his degrees; an honour which was then conferred only upon a few (*c*) [*A*]. On the 22d of Auguſt 1406, he was preſented, or collated, to the prebend

(*a*) *Illuſtris genere* J. Bale. Scriptorum Brytanniæ Centuria VII. No. 90.

(*b*) A. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. II. p. 159.

(*c*) Ibid. See alſo p. 402.

[*A*] *Which was then conferred only upon a few.*] *Tunc temporis paucis cum illo ſtudioſis communes;* as Mr Wood's own words are (1). Degrees were not ſo common then, as they have been ſince the beginning of

(1) Lib. II. p. 159.

bend of South-Newbald in the church of York, vacant by the reſignation of Tho. Langley Biſhop of Durham (d); and, the next year had the honour of being one of the Proctors of the univerſity of Oxford (e) [B]; but never was Chancellor of the ſame, as the famous Mr Leland hath aſſerted (f). Soon after taking his Maſter of Arts degree, he warmly eſpouſed J. Wiclef's cauſe; and ſo ſtrenuouſly aſſerted his opinions, that great numbers (and of thoſe ſome of the firſt quality) drawn in by his example, or convinced by his arguments, loudly declaimed againſt the corruptions of the Church of Rome. But, perſons whoſe intereſt it was to maintain thoſe corruptions, found means either to awe, or to bribe, him into ſilence. And, which is not much to his credit, he became as violent an oppoſer of Wiclef's doctrines, as he had heretofore been a patron of them [C]. So that the college he founded at Oxford (of which we ſhall preſently give an account) was deſigned as a ſeminary for writers and diſputers againſt that learned man's opinions (g). In the year 1415, he exchanged his prebend of South Newbald for that of Langford, in the cathedral church of York (b): and, ſome time before, was alſo made Rector of Boſton in Lincolnſhire (i). His learning, and perhaps withal his zeal againſt Wiclef, having recommended him to the eſteem of King Henry V, he was promoted by him to the biſhopric of Lincoln (k), having been firſt appointed by the Pope (l). He was then Profeſſor, or Doctor, in Divinity (m). The temporalities of his See were reſtored to him May 23, 1420 (n). In the year 1424, he was ſent to the Council of Conſtance, or Sienna; where, in the preſence of Pope Martin V, he made a very elegant ſpeech in vindication of his country againſt the calumnies and aſperſions of the Spaniſh, French, and Scottiſh Deputies [D]; which procured him great applauſe (o). And then, I ſuppoſe it was, he was made Chamberlain to Pope Martin aforeſaid (p). Upon his return from the Council, he cauſed Wiclef's bones to be taken up and burnt, as had been decreed in that aſſembly (q). The See of York being then vacant by the death of Dr Henry Bowett, the Pope by his own abſolute authority tranſlated Dr Flemming to that Archbiſhoprick; and he had reſtitution of the temporalities Decemb. 1, 1424 (r) [E]. But King Henry V, who by his late conqueſt of France was grown ſo powerful as to have no cauſe to dread the Pope's indignation or cenſures, ſo vehemently oppoſed this tranſlation, jointly with the Chapter [F], that the Biſhop was content to go back to Lincoln again (s). But though he met with this great diſappointment, he purſued his deſign, of founding a college in Oxford, to be a ſeminary for Divines, to write, preach, and diſpute againſt Wiclef's opinions. For that purpoſe, he obtained a licence from King Henry VI, dated Octob. 12, 1427, wherein he was impowered to found a college [G], which

(d) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. Vol. I. p. 163.

(e) Wood, ubi ſupra, p. 402.

(f) Comment. de Scriptoribus Britannicis, Edit. Oxon. 1709. p. 460. Vide Wood, ubi ſupra, p. 402.

(g) Wood, ubi ſupra. p, 159.

(b) Willis, ubi ſupra, Vol. I. p. 149.

(i) Wood, ibid.

(k) Wood, ibid.

(l) Catalog. of the Biſhops of England, &c. by Fr. Godwin, Biſhop of Landaff. Edit. 1615. 4to. p. 306.

(m) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(n) Willis, as above, Vol. II. p. 54.

(o) Wood, ubi ſupra, p. 159. J. Bale Scriptor. Brytanniæ Centuria Septima, No. 90.—and J. Pits de illuſt. Angliæ Scriptorib. ad ann. 1430, No. 794.

(p) See his Epitaph, below.

(q) Godwin, ubi ſupra. Wood, ubi ſupra. Lib. I. p. 193.

(r) Ibid. and Willis, Vol. I. p. 40.

(s) Godwin, ubi ſupra, and Latin Tranſlation, Edit. 1616. 4to. p. 357. and Willis, as above, Vol. I. p. 40.

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of the ſixteenth century. For Thomas Arundell, who was Archbiſhop of Canterbury from the year 1396 to the year 1413, had no other degree but that of Bachelor of Arts (2); tho' he was a very conſiderable and eminent perſon in his time. It is well known, how univerſal and extreme was the ignorance that reign'd in the fifteenth century!

[B] *And the next year, had the honour of being one of the Proctors of the Univerſity of Oxford*] Whilſt he was in that office, he cauſed the antient book of ſtatutes, belonging to the junior or northern Proctor, to be tranſcribed for the uſe of his ſucceſſors. And that copy is now preſerved among the Univerſity-Archives, being mark'd on the back with the letter C (3).

[C] *He became as violent an oppoſer of Wiclef's doctrines, as he had heretofore been a patron of them.*] As an inſtance of which, he ſuffered himſelf to be nominated one of the committee, that was choſen by the Univerſity of Oxford, for examining heretical books, and particularly Wiclef's, in the year 1411 (4). Mr Wood queſtions, whether our R. Flemmyng was one of that committee. His reaſons are, that, after the nomination of it, he finds, our author had maintained opinions in the ſchools, which in thoſe times were accounted downright hereſy: That they were condemned by thoſe commiſſioners, and oppoſed with ſo much ſharpneſs by Nicolas Ponce of Merton-college, that Flemmyng appealed to a general congregation. But the Archbiſhop of Canterbury ordered, his appeal not to be admitted; and injoined, that Flemmyng, and his adherents, whom he called beardleſs boys, and not fit to appear in the ſchools, ſhould be puniſhed according to their deſerts. Mr Flemmyng thinking himſelf ill uſed, carried his complaints to the King, who having examined the whole affair, writ to the Univerſity in his favour. But the Univerſity making unneceſſary delays in taking off the cenſures they had paſſed on him, the King ſent other preſſing letters: which, it is probable, were duly obeyed. —— On theſe accounts, A. Wood is inclined to believe, either that there were two Richard Flemmyngs then in the Univerſity; or that this our Richard was not one of thoſe commiſſioners; unleſs perhaps ſome time after (5). But, ſince he was one of the Proctors of the Univerſity in the year 1407; into which office he would undoubtedly never have been choſen, if he had continued publicly to maintain Wiclef's opinions: And, ſince J. Bale aſſures us (6), that his diſputes with Ponce were before he was choſen one of the committee; we may therefore conclude, that he had renounced thoſe opinions before the year 1411, or even perhaps before the year 1407.

[D] *Againſt the calumnies and aſperſions of the Spaniſh, French, and Scottiſh Deputies.*] For there aroſe a great diſpute between the Deputies of thoſe nations, about precedency, and the right of voting firſt (7).

[E] *Had the temporalities reſtored to him Decemb. 1. 1424.*] Mr Willis ſays, by miſtake, that he was tranſlated to York, Anno 1429 (8).

[F] *So vehemently oppoſed this tranſlation, jointly with the Chapter.*] Biſhop Godwin gives us this account of it. 'The Pope of his own abſolute authority, 'placed then in Yorke Richard Fleming Biſhop of 'Lincolne. Many ſtatutes and lawes had beene made 'to repreſſe this tyrannicall dealing of the Pope. But 'his excommunications were ſuch terrible bugs, as 'men durſt rather offend the lawes of their country, 'then come within the compaſſe of his cenſures. Yet 'the Deane and Chapter of Yorke taking ſtomacke 'unto them, uſed ſuch advantage as the Law would 'affoorde them, and by force kept out the new Archbiſhop from entring his Church. Much ado there 'was between them. The event was, that the Pope 'unable to make good his gift, was faine to returne 'Fleming to Lincolne again. —— (*)

[G] *Wherein he was impowered to found a college.*] He was impowered to found this college in the Church of All-Saints in Oxford, of which he was patron; and to unite and annex it to the ſame, together with the Churches of St Mildred and St Michael near Northgate, which were alſo in the patronage of his See. And the ſaid Churches ſo united, annexed, and incorporated, to name the Church of All-Saints; and to erect

(2) Ibid. p. 202.

(3) Wood, ubi ſupra, p. 402.

(4) Wood, ubi ſupra, Lib. I. p. 206.

(5) Wood, ibid.

(6) Ubi ſupra.

(7) Ibid. p. 208.

(8) Vol. II. p 54.

(*) Catalogue of the Biſhops, &c. as above, p. 608.

which ſhould conſiſt of one Warden, or Rector, and ſeven Scholars; and bear the name of The College of St Mary and All-Saints of Lincoln in the Univerſity of Oxford. Having thus obtained the royal licence, he ſet about his foundation; but before he had made any conſiderable progreſs in it, death ſnatched him away. However, he left money and effects in the hands of ſome perſons, which he appointed Overſeers of his new foundation; and they carried it on, and ſettled it, with all imaginable care and expedition (t). He died at his palace at Sleford, January 25, 1430-31; and was buried in Lincoln cathedral, under a raiſed tomb, with a long rhyming Epitaph [*H*], faſhionable in the times of ignorance he lived in (u). Bale, and Pits, mention two pieces written by him; and the latter ſays, his Works were long preſerved in the library of Lincoln-college: but they ſeem to have been no more than the ſpeeches he made at the Council of Sienna (w). After his deceaſe, his college met with ſeveral benefactors, but none ſo conſiderable as Thomas Rotherham, *alias* Scot, then Biſhop of Lincoln, and afterwards Archbiſhop of York [*I*], who deſerves the name of a ſecond founder. Its revenues have been alſo conſiderably augmented, by the munificence of ſeveral other generous and charitable perſons [*K*].

Our

(t) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(u) Wood, ubi ſupra. p. 159. and Willis, as above, Vol. II. p. 54, 55.

(w) Vide Bale and Pits, ubi ſupra.

erect and convert it into a collegiate church, or a college; and to annex to the ſame a chantry in the Church aforeſaid, of which the Mayor of Oxford for the time being was patron. Ordaining, that there ſhould be in this new foundation two Chaplains, to be placed or removed at the Rector's pleaſure: that the Rector and Scholars ſhould be perpetual patrons of this Church; and capable of purchaſing lands, rents, and tenements, not exceeding the yearly value of ten pounds.—— This point obtained, the Founder employed ſome perſons to buy tenements, on the ſite whereof he intended to erect his new college. Accordingly they bought Deep hall, belonging to St John Baptiſt's Hoſpital without Eaſt-gate, and a few other buildings. The Biſhop's death ſtop'd their further proceedings, when the firſt ſtone was hardly laid. However, certain truſtees appointed by him on his death-bed, placed a Rector, ſeven Scholars, and two Chaplains in his new foundation; which were to be maintained out of the revenues of the Churches abovementioned. And in the room of Deep-hall; and of two others, call'd Brend-hall, and Wynchester-hall, purchaſed about the year 1438; and of St Mildred's Church, taken down in the year 1436, was the college built, partly in the manner in which it now ſtands.

[*H*] *With a long rhyming Epitaph.*] Which was hung on a tablet, and ran in this manner (9).

Iſthuc qui graderis pauliſper perlege quæſo;
Sta, ſpeculans (†) quod eris, in me nunc vermibus eſo:
Qui fueram pridie juvenis, forma ſpecioſus;
Artes Oxoniæ diſcens, puer ingenioſus;
Juris (‖) divini creſcens exinde magiſter:
Pape Martini, Camerarii honore, Miniſter;
Hic cum Preſulibus in Lyncolne ſede locavit,
Et propriis manibus mira pietate ſacravit.
Poſt Eboracenſis tituli fulgore ſerenus,
Sub glebis denſis jaceo, quamvis vir amenus.
Mundi pompa, decor, applauſus, culmina queque,
Quid ſunt iſta, precor, niſi ſomnia ſtultitieque?
Vultu blanda favent, quorum caro nil niſi fenum.
Quid labor in Logicis? quid Doctorale cacumen?
Quid dant delicie? quid laus? quid opes operantur?
Omnia ſevitie mortis, velut umbra, fugantur.
O mors dira nimis, non parcens rebus opimis!
Antea ſublimis, per te jam ponor in imis.
Vita brevis vana eſt; habet hunc hec gloria finem;
Foſſa cubile manet, quo mortua membra reclinem.
Hinc recolas, qui laude volas, & corpore flores;
Hoc ſapias: quo (‡) divinas pro me, precor, ores.
Ecce ſub hoc lapide Flemmyng Richardus humatur.
Penſa, plange, vide, ſic omnis honor ſuperatur.
Doctor clarus erat; preſtans & Epiſcopus (*) iſte:
In quem crediderat, nunc eſto ſalus ſua Chriſte.

There is nothing remarkable in this long Epitaph; except, that Pope Martin conſecrated him Biſhop of Lincoln with his own hands. The reſt is a doleful deſcant upon the frailty of human nature; which might have been compriſed in much fewer words. ——His arms on his tomb are, barry of ſix argent and azure; in chief three fuſills; in baſe a mullet, gules.

[*I*] *After his deceaſe, his college met with ſeveral benefactors, but none ſo conſiderable as Thomas Rotherham, alias Scot, then Biſhop of Lincoln, and afterwards Archbiſhop of York.*] This great man was born at Rotherham in Yorkſhire, and ſucceſſively became Fellow of King's College Cambridge, Maſter of Penbroke-Hall, Chancellor of that Univerſity, Prebendary of Sarum, Chaplain to King Edward IV. Provoſt of Beverley, Keeper of the Privy-Seal, Secretary to four Kings, Biſhop of Rocheſter, then of Lincoln, and at length Archbiſhop of York, and Lord Chancellor from the year 1475, to 1483, tho' with ſome interruption (10). What induced him to this munificent benefaction, is thus related. In the year 1474, coming to Oxford, on his epiſcopal viſitation, John Triſtroppe Rector of this college preached before him, out of Pſalm lxxx. 14, and 15. ver; and from thence took occaſion, ſo pathetically to invite him to commiſerate their tender vine, their poor half-built college, that the Biſhop immediately promiſed he would do what the Rector had ſo earneſtly pleaded for. Accordingly, the year following, he compleated the edifice; increaſed the number of Fellows from ſeven to twelve, appropriating for their maintenance the Churches of Twyford in Buckinghamſhire, and Combe longa in Oxfordſhire; and gave the Society a Body of Statutes (they having none before) ſubſcribed with his own hand, Feb. 11, 1479. wherein he ordained, among other things, that the Fellows ſhould be choſen out of the Dioceſes of Lincoln, York, particularly Rotherham if any fit, and Bath and Wells (11).

[*K*] *Its revenues have been alſo conſiderably augmented, by the munificence of ſeveral other generous and charitable perſons.*] The chief benefactors have been, John Foreſt, Dean of Wells; John Southam, Archdeacon of Oxford; William Finderne, Eſq; Cardinal Henry Beaufort, Biſhop of Wincheſter; John Buketot, and Walter Bate, Prieſts; John Croſby, Treaſurer of Lincoln; William Dagvyle, Gent. Edmund Audley, Biſhop of Saliſbury; William Smyth, Biſhop of Lincoln; Sir William Findern, Knt. John Denham, Rector of Barnake in Northamptonſhire; Mrs Johanna Trapps; John Smith, Rector of Wykeham-Breux; Mr Thomas Hayne; John Randall, Rector of St Andrew Hubbard, London; Thomas Beckyngton, Biſhop of Bath and Wells; and John Williams, Biſhop of Lincoln, who built the chapel (12). Finally, the laſt, and one of their moſt conſiderable benefactors, hath been Nathanael Lord Crew, late Biſhop of Durham, and formerly Fellow and Rector of this Houſe. For his Lordſhip added twenty pounds a year to the Rectorſhip; and ten pounds a year to each of the twelve Fellowſhips, for ever: made up the Bible-Clerk's place, and the eight Scholarſhips, which before were very mean, worth ten pounds a year a piece: founded twelve exhibitions, of twenty pounds a year each: and made an augmentation of ten pounds a year a-piece for ever to the Curates of four Churches belonging to this college; viz. All-Saints, and St Michael in Oxford; Twyford in Buckinghamſhire; and

Comb

(9) Willis, ubi ſupra, Vol. II. p. 54.

(†) Quid. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(‖) Divinæ. Ibid.

(‡) Divinies pro me prius ores, ibid.

(*) Ipſe, ibid.

(10) See the Article ROTHERHAM (THOMAS).

(11) Wood, ubi ſupra, p. 161.

(12) Ibid. p. 160, 161, 162, 169, 170, 171.

Our author's nephew, or kinſman, ROBERT FLEMMING, deſerves alſo to be mentioned here, on account of his learning, and particularly of his ſkill in poetry and polite literature. He was educated at Oxford (*x*), and probably in Lincoln-college, then newly founded by his uncle, or kinſman. On the 21ſt of January 1451, he was admitted Dean of Lincoln (*y*), being famous for his knowledge and ingenuity. But, for his further improvement, he went to Italy, and viſited the Learned, and the univerſities; particularly, he attended the lectures of the celebrated Orator and Poet Baptiſta Guarini, who was Profeſſor of the Greek and Latin languages at Ferrara: And who had the honour of having for his hearers, ſeveral Engliſh gentlemen [*L*], eminent for their birth, and other diſtinguiſhing qualifications (*z*). From Ferrara our author went to Rome, where he ſtayed a year or two (*a*); and contracted an acquaintance with ſeveral learned men, eſpecially with Bartholomew [*M*] Platina, Librarian of the Vatican (*b*). He became alſo known to Pope Sixtus IV, in whoſe praiſe, during a ſummer's receſs at Tibur or Tivoli, he compoſed a poem in two books [*N*], inſcribed to his Holineſs: who was ſo pleaſed with it, that he made the author his Protonotary (*c*). At his return from Italy, he brought over with him ſeveral books curiouſly illuminated, and ſome of them of his own compoſition [*O*], which he bequeathed to Lincoln-college-library (*d*). On the 27th of September 1467, he was inſtalled into the prebend of Leighton-Manor, in the cathedral church of Lincoln (*e*); which he exchanged, December 3, 1478, for that of Leighton-Boſard (*f*). He founded in the cathedral abovementioned, namely in Trinity-chapel, a chantry for two Chaplains, which was valued at 14*l.* 6*s.* 9*d* (*g*). And dying Auguſt 12, 1483 (*h*), was buried near Biſhop Fleming his relation (*i*). His name is mentioned with honour by ſome of his contemporaries [*P*].

(*x*) Leland, ubi ſupra, p. 460.

(*y*) Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 77.

(*z*) Leland, ubi ſupra.

(*a*) Pits, de illuſtribus Angliæ Scriptorib. Ætas XV. ad an. 1470. No. 865.

(*b*) Leland and Pits, ibid.

(*c*) Leland, ibid.

(*d*) Ibid. and Wood Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. II. p. 170.

(*e*) Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 209.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 205

(*g*) Ibid. p. 34.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 77, 205. And not about 1470, as Pits ſays, ubi ſupra. Bale is more in the right, when he ſays, that he flouriſhed in the year 1470.

(*i*) J. Bale, Scriptor. Brytanniæ Centur. VIII, No. 21. And Pits and Leland, ubi ſupra.

Comb in Oxfordſhire (13). It is alſo ſaid, that his Lordſhip intended to have rebuilt the college; but being diſobliged by ſome of the members, he altered his deſign.

[*L*] *And who had the honour of having for his hearers, ſeveral Engliſh gentlemen.*] Namely, John Tiptot, Earl of Worceſter, a moſt learned man; William Gray, John Phrea, John Gundorp, &c (14).

[*M*] *Bartholomew.*] And not Baptiſt, as Mr Leland calls him (15). See the article PLATINA, in Mr Bayle's Dictionary. Our author celebrates that learned man in the following verſe,

Platina magna ſuæ lux & decus ille Cremonæ (16).

i. e. Platina the great light and ornament of his country Cremona.

[*N*] *In whoſe praiſe, during a ſummer's receſs at Tibur or Tivoli, he compoſed a poem in two books.*] Which he entitled, *Lucubrationes Tiburtinæ*, i. e. Tiburtine Lucubrations. Mr Leland quotes three verſes out of the firſt book; which, in his opinion, are moſt elegant. *Hi verſus, ex primo libro ſelecti, & Sixto applaudentes, mibi quidem videntur eſſe plane elegantiſſimi.*

Sane quiſquis in hunc oculos defixerit acreis,
In vultu facieque viri coeleſte videbit
Elucere aliquid, majeſtatemque verendam.

i. e. Whoſoever fixes his eyes on him, will ſee in his face and countenance ſomething heavenly ſhine, and a venerable Majeſty.

[*O*] *And ſome of his own compoſition.*] Leland, Bale, and Pits (17), mention the following. *Dictionarium Græcolatinum*; A Greek and Latin Dictionary. *Carmina diverſi generis, librum unum*; A book of verſes on various ſubjects. *Epiſtolarum ad diverſos, librum unum*; Letters to ſeveral perſons, &c.

[*P*] *His name is mentioned with honour by ſome of his contemporaries.*] Particularly by Lewis Carbo of Ferrara, who, in his funeral oration on the death of Guarini, thus ſpeaks. *Robertus Fleminge, Decanus Lincolnienſis eccleſiæ, qui ob ſingularem in ſtudiis humanitatis præſtantiam, atque exercitationem, inclyti Anglorum regis procurator Romæ factus eſt.* i. e. Robert Fleminge, Dean of Lincolne, who for his ſingular excellency and practice in polite ſtudies, was made the King of England's Procurator at Rome.

C

(13) See the Article CREW (NATHANAEL)

(14) Leland, ubi ſupra.

(15) Ibid.

(16) Leland, ibid. p. 461.

(17) Ubi ſupra.

FLETCHER (RICHARD) Biſhop of Briſtol, and afterwards tranſlated to Worceſter, and London, in the XVIth century, was born in Kent (*a*). He received his univerſity-education in Bennet, or Corpus-Chriſti, college, in Cambridge, of which he was Fellow (*b*). It doth not appear from the Regiſter-books of that univerſity, when he took his degrees: but, in 1572, he was incorporated Maſter of Arts at Oxford, being four years ſtanding in that degree at Cambridge (*c*); and if ſo, muſt have been admitted about the year 1561. On the 30th of September 1572, he was inſtituted to the prebend of Iſlington in St Paul's cathedral, London, which he reſigned in October 1589 (*d*). The 15th of November 1583 he was made Dean of Peterborough (*e*), but never Biſhop of that See, as Dr Fuller hath aſſerted (*f*). He was inſtalled into the prebend of Sutton longa in the church of Lincoln, January 23, 1585, and reſigned it in 1592 (*g*). He was alſo Rector of Alderkirke in Lincolnſhire (*h*). On the 8th of February 1586, he attended Mary Queen of Scots at Fotheringhay, at the time of her execution; and exhorted her, among other things, 'to apply Chriſt's meritorious obedience to her ſoul 'with the hand of true Faith,———and to make Chriſt her only ſacrifice for her ſins, 'and a ranſom for her redemption.' But ſhe deſired him, three or four times, not to trouble himſelf, nor her. For ſhe was ſettled in the ancient Catholick Romiſh Religion; and in defence thereof reſolved to ſpend her blood (*i*) [*A*]. In the year 1589 he was promoted

(*a*) The Worthies of England, by T. Fuller, D. D. in Kent. p. 72.

(*b*) Catalogue of the Biſhops of England, &c. by Fr. Godwin, Biſhop of Landaff. Lond. 1615. p. 502.

(*c*) Wood, Faſti. Edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 107.

(*d*) Newcourt Repertorium, &c. Vol. I. p. 168.

(*e*) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; 4to. Vol. II. edit. 1730. p. 511.

(*f*) Ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Willis, Vol. II. p. 244.

(*h*) Idem. Vol. I. p. 844.

(*i*) Annals of the Reformation, &c. by J. Strype, Vol. III. Edit. 1728. p. 385, &c. Camdeni Ann. Eliz.

[*A*] *And in defence thereof reſolved to ſpend her blood.*] Then Dean Fletcher ſaid to her, 'Madam, 'change your opinion, and repent of your former 'ſins and wickedneſs, and ſettle yourſelf upon this 'ground, that only in Chriſt Jeſu you hope to be 'ſaved.' Then ſhe anſwered again and again with great earneſtneſs, 'Good Maſter Dean, trouble no 'more yourſelf about this matter. For I was born moted to the biſhopric of Briſtol; being elected November 13, confirmed Decemb. 12, conſecrated Decemb. 14, and enthronized January the 3d following (*k*). We are told, that he took this See on condition to leaſe out the revenues to Courtiers [*B*], which he did in ſo extravagant a manner, that he left little to his ſucceſſors; inſomuch, that after his removal from thence, it lay vacant ten years (*l*). He was about the end of the year 1592 tranſlated to Worceſter; elected January 24, 1592-3, and confirmed February 10, following (*m*): having, ſome years before, been made Biſhop Almoner (*n*). Upon the death of Dr Aylmer Biſhop of London, in the beginning of June 1594, he made intereſt with the Lord Treaſurer Burghley to be tranſlated to that See: alledging, that he liked London better than any other town in the realm, as being the place of his education, and of his moſt common reſidence; where he had many agreeable friends, and a conſiderable ſhare in the love and eſteem of the citizens, who deſired that he might be their Biſhop; and amongſt whom his influence might be of great ſervice to the Court. But his requeſt ſeems not to have met with immediate ſucceſs. For, not till above ſix months after, namely December 30, 1594, was he elected Biſhop of London: he was confirmed the 10th of January following (*o*). A few days after, he being a widower, took to his ſecond wife a very handſome woman, the Lady Baker of Kent (*p*), ſiſter to Sir George Gifford, one of the Gentlemen Penſioners (*q*). And, perhaps, one of the ſecret reaſons of the Biſhop's earneſt endeavours for being tranſlated to London, was to gratify that Lady's deſire to live near the Court. Queen Elizabeth, who had an extreme averſion and antipathy to the Clergy's marrying, was highly offended at the Biſhop. She thought this marriage ſo very undecent in an elderly Clergyman, and a Biſhop, who alſo had been married before; that ſhe either reprimanded him with her own mouth, or ſent him a meſſage, not to appear in her preſence any more, nor to come to Court. The Biſhop finding himſelf in this bad condition, applied by letter to the Lord Treaſurer, to repreſent his caſe to the Queen, and to do him good offices. Upon the receipt of his letter, the Lord Treaſurer uſed ſome kind and honourable words concerning him. But,

(*k*) Willis, ubi ſupra, Vol. I. p. 779. Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, by J. Strype, Lond. 1718. p. 322.

(*l*) Willis, Vol. II. p. 779.

(*m*) Willis, ubi. ſupra, p. 648. Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 399.

(*n*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) The Life and Acts of Archbiſhop Whitgift, as above, p. 428, &c.

(*p*) Fuller, ubi ſupra, p. 73.

(*q*) Brief View of the State of the Church, &c. by Sir John Harrington. Lond. 1653. p. 27.

'in this Religion; I have lived in this Religion; and 'I am reſolved to die in this Religion.' Then ſaid the Earls [of Kent, and Shrewſbury,] who were commiſſioned to attend at her execution, when they ſaw how ſhe diſliked the Dean's exhortation, 'Madam, 'we will pray for your Grace with Maſter Dean, if 'it ſtands with God's good will, you may have your 'heart lightned with the true knowledge of God's 'good will, and his word; and ſo die therein.' Then anſwered the Queen, 'If you will pray *for* me, I will 'even from my heart thank you, and think myſelf 'greatly favoured by you. But to join in prayer with 'you, my Lords, after your manner, who are not of 'one and the ſelf ſame religion with me, it were a 'ſin: I will not. (1)' It ſeems to have been a very odd undertaking, (and to all appearance unſucceſsful,) to endeavour to perſuade one ſo bigotted to Popery as Mary Queen of Scots was, to renounce, in her laſt moments, that religion whence ſhe expected ſalvation. However, ſo the Queen underſtood it, and ſuch was the drift of the Dean's long and intricate ſpeech, as far as can be collected from the paſſage cited from it above in the text, and alſo from theſe other words out of the ſame..... 'Repent you truly of your former 'ſins and wickedneſs. Juſtify the juſtice now to be 'executed, and juſtify her Majeſty's faithfulneſs towards you at all times. Have a lively Faith in Chriſt 'our Saviour and Lord: and ſo ſhall you be rightly 'prepared unto death...... The ſpecial means to attain to forgiveneſs of ſin, is neither in man, nor by 'man, but by Faith only in Jeſus Chriſt crucified...... 'O, Madam, truſt not the devices which God's word 'doth not warrant, which is the true touchſtone, and 'the clear lanthorn to guide our feet into the way of 'peace, Jeſus Chriſt yeſterday, and to day, and the 'ſame for ever.———On him all the Saints call in 'the day of trouble; and have been heard and delivered, in him have they all truſted, and were never 'confounded. All other ciſterns are broken; and cannot hold the water of everlaſting life.——— 'Therefore, Madam, that you may ſo glorify the 'Lord in your laſt paſſage, that you may be glorified 'of him for ever, I moſt humbly beſeech your Grace 'in the tender mercy of God, to join with us preſent, 'in prayer to the throne of Grace; that we may rejoice, and you be *converted*; and God may turn his 'loving countenance toward you, and grant you his 'peace.'——— This ſpeech, which is preſerved by the induſtrious Mr Strype (2), doth not give a high idea of the author's capacity. And he hath been ſeverely cenſured for it by the admirers of the Queen of Scots; particularly by A. Wood, who obſerves, that he 'being the perſon appointed to pray with, and for, 'her, did perſuade her to renounce her religion, contrary to all Chriſtianity and Humanity (as it was by 'many then preſent ſo taken) to her great diſturbance (3).' Mr Camden calls it, *Verboſam orationem* (4), a long-winded ſpeech.

[*B*] *We are told, that he took this See on condition to leaſe out the revenues to Courtiers.*] This we learn from Sir John Harrington, whoſe account be pleaſed to take in his own words (5). 'I fortuned to be one 'day at the Savoy with Mr Secretary Walſingham, 'where Mr Fletcher was then upon his diſpatch for 'Briſtoll. A familiar friend of his meeting him there, 'bad God give him joy, my Lord elect of Briſtoll: 'which he taking kindly and courtly upon him, anſwered, "that it had pleaſed indeed the higher "powers ſo to diſpoſe of him. But, ſaid his friend "in his eare, do you not leaſe out *tot & tot* (6) to "ſuch and ſuch." He, clapping his hand on his 'heart, in a good gracefull faſhion, replied with the 'words of Naman the Syrian, *Herein the Lord be merciful to me*; but there was not an Elizeus to bid him 'go in peace.' What ſhall I ſay for him? *Non erat hoc hominis vitium ſed temporis.* [This was not the fault of the man, but of the time.] I cannot ſay ſo, for I have written otherwiſe in a book of mine, *Libro* 3. n°. 80.

'Alaſs a fault confeſt were half amended,
'But ſin is doubled, that is thus defended,
'I know a right wiſe man ſayes and believes
'Where no receivers are, would be no theeves.

'Wherefore at the moſt I can but ſay, *Dividatur*, '[let it be divided] He was a well ſpoken man, and 'one that the Queen gave good countenance to, and 'diſcovered her favour to him even in her reprehenſions, as Horace ſaith of Mecænas.

———Rerum tutela mearum
Cum ſis, & prave ſectum ſtomacheris ob unguem;

'for ſhe found fault with him once for cutting his 'beard too ſhort; whereas good lady (if ſhe had 'known that) ſhe would have found fault with him 'for cutting his Biſhoprick ſo ſhort.'

[C]

(1) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 388. Annals, Vol. III.

(2) Ubi ſupra, p. 385.

(3) Faſti, ubi ſupra.

(4) Annales, ubi ſupra.

(5) Briefe View &c. as above, p. 25, 26.

(6) i.e. So much and ſo much.

But, notwithſtanding, the Queen ſoon diſpatched an order to Archbiſhop Whitgift, to ſuſpend the Biſhop from the exerciſe of his epiſcopal function: which was accordingly executed, on the 23d of February, by the Archbiſhop himſelf in perſon. The ſeverity of this ſentence filled Biſhop Fletcher with the utmoſt grief and uneaſineſs, as appears by the copy of a letter of his inſerted in the note [*C*]. He lay ſome months under the weight of this ignominious cenſure, before he was reſtored. For it was not till July 1595 that the Lord Treaſurer ſignified to him, the Queen was in a good meaſure reconciled to him, and would give inſtructions and order to the Archbiſhop, to take off his ſuſpenſion: for which he was extremely thankful [*D*]. But tho' he was reſtored to the diſcharge of his function, yet, notwithſtanding all the entreaties of his friends, and thoſe ſome of the higheſt quality, the Queen would not permit him to come into her preſence for a twelvemonth; tho' for twenty years before he had waited in his place upon her perſon. This long abſence from Court the Biſhop laid much to heart; which induced him, in January following, to ſollicit the Lord Treaſurer, his former friend and mediator, to prevail upon the Queen that he might be admitted into her preſence. Whether the Biſhop ever recovered the place he once had in her Majeſty's favour, we cannot certainly learn (*r*); tho' we are told, that ſhe promiſed and gave him a viſit at Chelſea (*s*) [*E*]. However, his diſgrace ſat ſo heavy upon his mind, that it is thought to have haſtened his end. He died ſuddenly in his chair, at his houſe in London; being to all appearance well, ſick, and dead, in one quarter of an hour, June 15, 1596 (*t*). Mr Camden ſays, that he died *by immoderate taking of tobacco* (*u*) [*F*]. And others, that he died of diſcontent, thro' the Queen's diſpleaſure at him for his marriage; having had little enjoyment ſince he was made Biſhop of London (*w*). It is certain that he died ſuddenly, whilſt taking tobacco, which was not uſually taken in thoſe days, unleſs phyſically, or as a melancholy companion (*x*). He was buried in St Paul's cathedral, without any monument (*y*) [*G*]. As to his perſon, and character: He was courtly, and well ſpoken (*z*); of a comely perſon, and goodly preſence (*a*) [*H*]. He loved to ride the great horſe, and had much ſkill in managing thereof: he was condemned for very proud (ſuch his natural ſtately garb) by ſuch as knew him not, and commended for humility by thoſe that were acquainted with him (*b*). We do not find that he ever publiſhed any thing. One of his ſons, *John Fletcher*, of whom you have an account above, was a very ingenious Poet.

[*C*] *As appears by the copy of a letter of his.*] Wherein, among other things, he ſaid——— 'He 'confeſſed it was the more grievous and bitter unto 'him, by the remembrance both of her Highneſs former favour towards him; as alſo, for that he was 'now become unprofitable for the Church, and her 'Highneſs ſervice; to both which he had ſo wholly 'vowed himſelf, and all his poſſibility. Profeſſing '[to the Lord Treaſurer, to whom his letter was 'written] that he could have wiſhed, when he heard 'it, he had alſo heard (if juſtice would ſo have permitted) to have been ſequeſtered from his life itſelf. 'He added, that he knew how much his Lordſhip's 'approbation and grave mediation might in ſuch caſes 'avail with her Majeſty. Which if it might pleaſe 'him to vouchſafe him, he ſhould, he was perſwaded, 'with the whole Eccleſiaſtical State, be honoured for 'it; and give to himſelf matter of bond to his Lordſhip in all chriſtian devotion and dutifull obſervance.' This letter was dated from Chelſea, Feb. 24 (7).

[*D*] *For which he was extremely thankful.*] He expreſſed his great acknowledgment for it in this other letter to the Lord Treaſurer Burghley,——— 'That 'to hear of the leaſt her Highneſs gracious inclination 'towards him, in her princely clemency, he could 'not ſufficiently expreſs to his good Lordſhip, how 'greatly it had recomforted him, having theſe ſix 'months thought himſelf (as the Prophet ſpake) *free 'among the dead, and like unto him that is in the 'grave*; made unprofitable unto God's and her Majeſty's ſervice. That to hear of it alſo, as drawn on 'and wrought by his Lordſhip's honourable interceſſion, and ſo kind mediation, it had greatly added to 'his joy and alacrity. I do therefore, (as he proceeded) give your Lordſhip my intireſt thanks, beſeeching your Lordſhip to be perſuaded, that among 'ſo many to whom your Lordſhip hath been *Magnus* 'Ἐυεργετὴς [a great benefactor] there ſhall be none 'found, whoſe duty and devotion ſhall henceforth 'exceed his, who with his hand and heart giveth your 'Lordſhip this teſtimony of love and obſervance (8).'

[*E*] *She promiſed and gave him a viſit at Chelſea.*] 'There was, as Sir John Harrington informs us (9), 'a ſtayre, and a dore, made of purpoſe for her, in a 'bay-window: of which pleaſant wits deſcanted diverſly; ſome ſaid, that was for joy, to ſhew he 'would (as the Proverb is) caſt the houſe out at window for her welcome: ſome, more bitingly, called 'it the impreſſe or emblem of his entry into his firſt 'Biſhoprick, viz. not at the doore, but at the window.'

[*F*] *Mr Camden ſays, that he died by immoderate taking of Tobacco.*] His words are——— *qui, dum curas è nuptiis infauſtis & Reginæ improbatis (quæ Præſules conjugatos minus probavit) Nicoſia immodice hauſta obruit, vitam efflavit.*——— Fuller ſays (10), that he 'died more of grief than any other diſeaſe.' ——Tobacco (like all other faſhions) when it firſt came into uſe, was much decried; it being looked upon not only as nauſeous, but even poiſonous. So that many writers, and, amongſt the reſt, that Royal Pedant King James I (11), drew their pens againſt it. However, tho' ſome are confident that it is of the poiſonous ſort (12), common experience now ſhows, that it may be conſtantly uſed without danger, or even any viſible inconvenience. Peruſe, if you pleaſe, Dr Raphael Thory's excellent poem in its praiſe: intituled, *Hymnus Tabaci, Autore Raphaele Thorio* (13).

[*G*] *He was buried in St Paul's cathedral, without any monument.*] But the following verſes were, in Sir John Harrington's time (14), handed about as his moſt vulgar Epitaph; being ſome of the many ſarcaſms paſſed upon him on account of his ſecond marriage.

Here lies the firſt Prelate made Chriſtendom See,
  A Biſhop, a huſband unto a Ladee.
The cauſe of his death was ſecret and hid,
  He cry'd out, I die; and ev'n ſo he did.

[*H*] *Of a comely perſon, and goodly preſence.*] 'Qualities, as Dr Fuller obſerves (15), not to be caſt 'away in a Biſhop, though a Biſhop not to be choſen 'for them.' Handſom and comly perſons were in general moſt acceptable to Queen Elizabeth: which made her always, on an equality of deſert, to reflect favourably on ſuch who were of graceful countenance and ſtature (16). Our Biſhop could preach well, and would ſpeak boldly, and yet keep *decorum*. He knew what would pleaſe the Queen, and would adventure on that, though it offended others (17).

(*r*) Strype's Life of Whitgift, as above, p. 428, 429, 430.

(*s*) Sir John Harrington, ubi ſupra, p. 27.

(*t*) Ibid p. 430. And Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 205.

(*u*) Camdeni, Annales, ut ſupra, ad ann. 1596. See alſo Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*w*) Willis, as above, Vol. I. p. 779.

(*x*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 430.

(*y*) Godwin and Willis, ibid.

(*z*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 428.

(*a*) *Præſul Splendidus.* Camden, ubi ſupra. See Harrington, as above, p. 23.

(*b*) The Church-Hiſt. of Britain, by T. Fuller, &c. Lond. 1655. Book IX. p. 233.

(7) Strype, Life, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 429.

(8) Ibid. p. 430.

(9) Ubi ſupra, p. 27, 28.

(10) Church-Hiſt. ubi ſupra.

(11) See, A Counterblaſte to Tobacco; among King James's Works. Lond. 1616. fol.

(12) See Harleian Miſcellany, Vol. I. p. 521.

(13) Lond. 1651. 12mo.

(14) See Harrington, ubi ſupra, p. 28.

(15) Church-Hiſt. ubi ſupra.

(16) Idem, Worthies, in Kent, p. 72.

(17) Harrington, ubi ſupra, p. 26.

FLETCHER (Giles) author *of the Ruſſe Common Wealth*, and brother to Richard Fletcher Biſhop of London, of whom you have an account in the laſt article, was alſo born in Kent. He received his education in Eaton ſchool (*a*); and, in the year 1565, was elected Scholar of King's-college in Cambridge (*b*), where he took the degrees, of Bachelor of Arts in 1569; of Maſter of Arts in 1573; and of Doctor of Laws in 1581 (*c*): and became an excellent Poet (*d*). His abilities recommending him to that great judge of merit, Queen Elizabeth, he was employed by her as Commiſſioner into Scotland, Germany, and the Low-Countries (*e*). In the year 1588, he was ſent Embaſſador to Muſcovy; not only to conclude a league with Theodore Juanowich Emperor of that country, but alſo to re-eſtabliſh and put into good order the decayed trade of our Ruſſia Company. He met at firſt with a cold reception, and even with rough uſage. For the Dutch, it ſeems, envying the excluſive privilege which the Company juſt now mentioned enjoyed of trading thither, had done them ill offices at that barbarous and arbitrary Court. And a falſe rumour then ſpread, of our fleet's being totally deſtroyed by the Spaniſh Armada, had created in the Czar a contempt and diſlike for the Engliſh nation, thinking he might ſafely injure thoſe who were not in a capacity of being revenged. But the Embaſſador ſoon effaced thoſe ill impreſſions, and having obtained good and advantagious conditions [*A*], returned to England with ſafety and honour (*f*) [*B*]. Shortly after his return, he was made Secretary to the city of London, and one of the Maſters of the Court of Requeſts (*g*). Alſo, on the 20th of June 1597, he was conſtituted Treaſurer of St Paul's London (*h*). From the obſervations he had made during his embaſſy he drew up a curious account ‘of the Ruſſe Commonwealth: or Manner of Government by the Ruſſe Emperor (commonly called the Emperor of Moſkovia) with the Manners and Faſhions of the ‘People of that Countrey [*C*].’ Printed at London in 1591, 8*vo*. But it was quickly ſuppreſſed,

(*a*) The Worthies of England, by T. Fuller, D. D. in Kent, p. 78.

(*b*) Wood, Faſti, Edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 107.

(*c*) From the Regiſters of the Univerſity.

(*d*) Fuller and Wood, ibid.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Ibid. See The principal Navigations, Voyages, &c. of the Engliſh Nation, &c. by R. Hakluyt. Edit. 1600. Vol. I. p. 473.

(*g*) Fuller and Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Newcourt, Repertor. Eccleſ. Vol. I. p. 107.

[*A*] *And having obtained good and advantagious conditions.*] They were to this effect. 1. A continuation of league and amity between the Queen and the Emperor Theodore Juanowich, in like manner as was with his father Juan Baſilowich. 2. A confirmation and re-eſtabliſhment of the former privileges of the company of our Engliſh merchants, which were infringed and annulled in the principal points, with divers neceſſary additions, for the better ordering of their trade in thoſe countreys hereafter; viz. that the ſtate of the privilege granted before in the names of ſome private and particular men, be altered in that point, and the ſame granted by the name and ſtile of their incorporation, viz. to the fellowſhip of Engliſh merchants for the diſcovery of new trades. 3. That upon every ſurmiſe and light quarrel, the ſaid privilege be not revoked and annulled, as before time it hath been. 4. That juſtice ſhall be adminiſtred to the ſaid company and their agent without delay, upon ſuch as ſhall offer them any deſpite or injury, or ſhall exact or impoſe upon them any payment, taxation, or impoſition whatſoever, contrary to the freedom of the ſaid grant. 5. That the goods and commodities of the ſaid company be not forcibly taken as before time they have been by the Emperor's officers or people of authority, either for the uſe of the ſaid Emperor or of his officers. But in caſe they have need of the ſaid commodities, the ſame to be taken at reaſonable prices, and for ready money. 6. That the ſaid company be not charged hereafter with the anſwering of ſuch debts as are made by any Engliſhman not being of the ſociety. 7. That the Emperor's authorized people ſhall not hereafter repute any Engliſhman reſident in that countrey, to be factor, ſervant, or dealer in the ſaid company's affairs, but ſuch as the agent ſhall regiſter by name, within the offices where cuſtom is entered in all ſuch places of the land where the ſaid company have reſidencies to traffick. 8. That the names of ſuch as ſhall be ſo regiſtered be no longer continued in record, nor themſelves reputed as factors or dealers for the ſaid company, than the agent ſhall think good. But in caſe the ſaid agent ſhall think meet to ſtrike out of the regiſter any name of ſuch as have been employed in the company's ſervice, the ſaid perſon to be held as private, and whoſe act in bargaining or otherwiſe, ſhall not charge the ſaid company. 9. That if any Engliſhman within the countrey of Ruſſia be ſuſpected for any notorious crime, as felony, treaſon, &c. the ſame be not ſtraightways ſet upon the Pudkey (*), nor otherwiſe tormented, till ſuch time as he ſhall be convicted by plain and evident proofs: which being done, the whole proceeding to be ſent over to the Queen of England. 10. That the ſaid privilege with the additions, ſhall be publiſhed in all towns and parts of the Emperor's dominions, where the ſaid company have traffick. 11. That the ſaid company ſhall be permitted to uſe a ſole trade through the Emperor's countries, by the river Wolga into Media, Perſia, Bulgaria, and the other eaſt countries. 12. Whereas there was claimed of the ſaid company the ſum of 23,553 marks of debt, made by certain of the factors of the ſaid company, for payment whereof their whole ſtock was in danger of arreſt by publick authority; and alſo 2140 rubles for cuſtoms and houſe-rent, he obtained an abatement of eighteen thouſand one hundred and fifty three marks of the ſaid debt (1). ——The Ruſſia company to which theſe privileges were granted, was firſt incorporated by Charter, in the 1ſt and 2d of Philip and Mary; afterwards confirmed by Act of Parliament in the 8th of Queen Elizabeth (2).

[*B*] *Returned to England with ſafety*] We are told, ‘that after his ſafe return to London, he ſent ‘for an intimate friend, with whom he heartily expreſſed his thankfulneſs to God for his ſafe return ‘from ſo great a danger. For the Poets cannot fancy ‘Ulyſſes more glad to be come out of the den of Polyphemus, than he was to be rid of the power of ‘ſuch a barbarous Prince; who counting himſelf, by ‘a proud and voluntary miſtake, Emperor of all Nations, cared not for the Law of all Nations; and ‘who was ſo habited in blood, that had he cut off ‘this Embaſſador's head, he and his friends might ‘have ſought their own amends, but the queſtion is, ‘where he would have found it? (3)’ Dr Fuller is miſtaken, when he affirms (4), that our author was agent in Muſcovy in 1583. For the words of Mr Camden, which he refers to, imply no ſuch thing (5).

[*C*] *Of the Ruſſe Commonwealth.*] This curious and ſcarce little book, is divided into theſe three general parts. I. Coſmography of the Country. II. Policy. III. Oeconomy or private behaviour. And the ſecond part is ſubdivided into theſe four. The ordering of their State. Their judicial proceeding. Their warlike proviſions. Their Eccleſiaſtical State. The whole is compriſed into 28 chapters, of which the titles follow. 1. The breadth and length of the country, with the names of the Shires. 2. The ſoil and climate. 3. The native commodities of the country. 4. The chief cities of Ruſſia. 5. The houſe or ſtocke of the Ruſſe Emperor. 6. The manner of inauguration of the Ruſſe Emperors. 7. The form or manner of their publick government. 8. Their Parliaments and manner of holding them. 9. The Ruſſe Nobility, and means whereby it is kept in an under proportion agreeable to that State. 10. The manner of governing their Provinces or Shires. 11. The Emperor's Privy-Council. 12. The Emperor's cuſtoms and other revenues, and what they amount unto, with the Sophiſmes practiſed for the encreaſe of them. 13. The Ruſſe communalty, and their condition. 14. Their public

(*) i. e. roaſted to death.

(1) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra.

(2) See Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Additions, Edit. 1720. Vol. I. Book II. p. 204. And Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 267, &c.

(3) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(4) Ibid. in the Margin.

(5) Annales reg. Elizab. ad ann. 1583.

ſuppreſſed leſt it might give offence to a Prince in amity with England (*i*). Dr Fletcher died in the pariſh of St Catherine Coleman (*k*) in London, in the month of February 1610, and was probably buried in that church (*l*). He left two ſons, both learned men. The eldeſt, Giles, Bachelor of Divinity of Trinity-college in Cambridge, was equally beloved of the Muſes and Graces; and died at Alderton in Suffolk in 1623. Phineas, the younger, of King's-college in the ſame univerſity, was accounted an excellent Poet; and became afterwards Rector of Hilgay in Norfolk. He wrote ſeveral books (*m*); particularly, *De literatis antiquæ Britanniæ, præſertim qui doctrina claruerunt, quique Collegia Cantabrigiæ fundarunt*. Cantabr. 1633, 12*mo*. i. e. Of the learned in Britain, who have founded Colleges at Cambridge.

(*i*) Camdeni Annales Elizabethæ, ad an. 1583.

(*k*) Not of St Katharine in Coleman-ſtreet, as Mr Wood ſays by miſtake; for there is no ſuch Church: But of St Katharine Coleman, in Fenchurch-ſtreet.

(*l*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Ibid.

public juſtice and manner of proceeding therein. 15. The Emperor's forces for his wars, with the officers and their ſalaries. 16. Their manner of muſtering, armour, proviſion for victual, encamping, &c. 17. Their order in marching, charging, and their martial diſcipline. 18. Their colonies and policy in maintaining their purchaſes by conqueſt. 19, 20. Their borderers, with whom they have moſt to do in war and peace. 21. Their Church offices, and degrees. 22. Their Leiturgy or form of Church ſervice, with their manner of adminiſtring the Sacraments. 23. The doctrine of the Ruſſe Church. 24. Their manner of ſolemnizing marriages. 25. The other ceremonies of the Ruſſe Church. 26. The Emperor's domeſtic or private behaviour. 27. The Emperor's houſhold, and officers of his houſe. 28. The private behaviour, and manners of the Ruſſe people.——There are ſeveral particulars in this book, no leſs wonderful than true. As, for inſtance, what he ſays of the intenſe cold of that climate (6).—— 'The rivers and other waters are all frozen up a yard or more thick, how ſwift or broad ſoever they be. And this continueth commonly five months, viz. from the beginning of November till towards the end of March, what time the ſnow beginneth to melt. So that it would breed a froſt in a man to look abroad at that time, and ſee the winter face of that country. The ſharpneſs of the air you may judge of by this: for that water dropped down or caſt up into the air, congealeth into ice before it come to the ground. In the extremity of winter, if you hold a pewter-diſh or pot in your hand, or any other metal, (except in ſome chamber where their warm ſtoves be) your fingers will freeze faſt unto it, and draw off the ſkins at the parting. When you paſs out of a warm room into a cold, you ſhall ſenſibly feel your breath to wax ſtark, and even ſtifling with the cold, as you draw it in and out. Divers not only that travel abroad, but in the very markets and ſtreets of their towns, are mortally pinched, and killed withall: ſo that you ſhall ſee many drop down dead in the ſtreets, many travellers brought into the towns ſitting dead and ſtiff in their ſledds. Divers loſe their noſes, the tips of their ears, and the balls of their cheeks, their toes, feet, &c.——And yet in the ſummer time you ſhall ſee ſuch a new hue and face of a country; the woods (for the moſt part which are all of fir and birch) ſo freſh and ſo ſweet, the paſtures and meadows ſo green and well-grown (and that upon the ſudden) ſuch variety of flowers, ſuch noiſe of birds (ſpecially of Nightingales, that ſeem to be more loud and of a more variable note than in other countries) that a man ſhall not lightly travel in a more pleaſant country.——As the winter exceedeth in cold, ſo the ſummer inclineth to over-much heat; ſpecially in the months of June, July, and Auguſt, being much warmer than the ſummer air in England.—— (7). In winter-time, when all is covered with ſnow, and the ground ſo hard frozen, as that no ſpade, nor pickax can enter, their manner is not to bury their dead, but to keep the bodies (ſo many as die all the winter-time) in an houſe, in the ſuburbs, or out parts of the town, which they call Bohſedom, that is God's houſe: where the dead bodies are piled up together, like billets on a wood-ſtack, as hard with the froſt as a very ſtone, till the ſpring tide come, and reſolveth the froſt: what time every man taketh his dead friend, and committeth him to the ground.'——The account he gives of the arbitrarineſs of the government there, is ſurprizing, but well known (8). 'To ſhew his ſovereignty over the lives of his ſubjects, the late Emperor Juan Vaſilowich in his walks or progreſſes, if he had miſliked the face or perſon of any man whom he met by the way, or that looked upon him, would command his head to be ſtruck off. Which was preſently done, and the head caſt before him.'——He enlarges more fully upon that point, in the dedication of his book to Queen Elizabeth.—— 'My meaning, ſays he, was to note things for mine own experience, of more importaunce than delight, and rather true than ſtrange. In their manner of government, your Highneſs may ſee both: a true and ſtrange face of a *tyrannical* State, (moſt unlike to your own) without true knowledge of God, without written law, without common juſtice: ſave that which proceedeth from their *ſpeaking law*, to wit, the Magiſtrate who hath moſt need of a law, to reſtrain his own injuſtice (*). The practiſe hereof as it is heavy, and grievous to the poor oppreſſed people that live within thoſe countries: ſo it may give juſt cauſe to myſelf, and other your Majeſty's faithful ſubjects, to acknowledge our happineſs on this behalf, and to give God thanks for your Majeſty's moſt Prince-like, and gracious Government: as alſo to your Highneſs more joy and contentment in your Royal Eſtate, in that you are a Prince of ſubjects, not of ſlaves, that are kept within duty by love, not by fear.'——It was, undoubtedly, for theſe paſſages that the book was ſuppreſſed, as is ſaid above: but it was reprinted at London in 1643. 12mo. and is inſerted in R. Hakluyt's Navigations, Voyages, &c. Vol. 1. p. 474, &c. only a little contracted. Mr Camden, ſpeaking of this book, ſtyles it *libellum, in quo plurima obſervanda* (9), i. e. a book wherein are many things worthy of obſervation. C

(6) Fol. 4, &c.

(7) p. 106.

(8) Fol. 21. 6.

(*) They are much civilized, ſince that book was written.

(9) Ubi ſupra, ad ann. 1583.

FORTESCUE, FORTESKEWE, or FOSKEWE (Sir JOHN), an able Stateſman, an excellent Lawyer, a general Scholar, Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, and, as is commonly admitted, Lord High Chancellor of England, in the reign of King Henry the Sixth (*a*). A perſon ſo remarkable every way for abilities, dignities, and miſfortunes, that it is, in reality, not a little ſtrange we ſhould not hitherto have had a better account of him; more eſpecially ſince ſeveral attempts have been already made to this purpoſe, and that too by perſons equally capable, and one would have thought willing, to have given the world all the light poſſible into the perſonal hiſtory of ſo worthy, ſo learned, and ſo great a man [*A*]. He was indiſputably deſcended from the antient family of Forteſcue,

(*a*) Bale de Script. major. Brytan. cent. viii. 36. p. 613.

[*A*] *So worthy, ſo learned, and ſo great a man.*] It ſeems a little ſtrange, that Leland, in his hiſtory of Engliſh authors, has not ſo much as mentioned Sir John Forteſcue, and tho' this defect might ſeem to be in ſome meaſure ſupplied by the accounts given of him, by Bale and Pits, yet what they ſay of him is rather by way of character, and even in that they are not much to be depended upon, ſince Bale tells us, that, ſtep by ſtep, he roſe to the office of High Chancellor of England, which great office in the ſtate he teſcue, in the county of Devon; but ſome diverſity there is as to his immediate parentage. The Reverend Mr Prince, who had the inſpection, as he informs us, of pedigrees extracted from the Herald's-Office by Sir William Pole, is very poſitive that he was the ſecond ſon of Sir John Forteſcue of Norreis (*b*) [*B*]. But notwithſtanding this, the late Lord Forteſcue, one

executed long with much authority and dignity, and more to the ſame purpoſe (1), tho' it is very certain, that he never executed that office in this kingdom at all. He farther informs us, that he was a long time in exile, but upon what account he confeſſes himſelf ignorant, which is a pretty clear proof, that he was very far from being well acquainted with his perſonal hiſtory. As for Pits, in this, as in moſt other articles, he copies Bale, and whenever he ventures to depart from him is very ſeldom in the right. He is ſo cautious as to ſay, that it was reported Sir John Forteſcue paſſed part of his life in baniſhment, which, conſidering the confuſion of the times in which he lived, he thinks might probably be true enough; and then he proceeds to give us a catalogue of his works, of which, according to his manner, he gives us the title of four pieces, and adds, that he wrote ſeveral more, but, without doubt, he was a very indifferent judge of them, ſince the firſt and the laſt that he mentions, is the very ſame book (2) under different titles, an error which he very faithfully copied from Bale, except that in his performance the titles follow each other. They both profeſs to tranſcribe Robert Record, an author who deſerved a better fate than he met with, for he died a priſoner in the King's Bench in the laſt year of Queen Mary's reign (3), but they neither of them mention from what work of his they copied what they wrote, and perhaps, without breach of charity, we may ſuſpect that Pits never ſaw any of our author's books, or perhaps Record's account of him. We cannot doubt that the famous Mr Selden was much better acquainted with the hiſtory of Sir John Forteſcue, than can be collected either from his preface, or the notes he has written upon his book; and it was certainly a little unkind, not to give the world ſome farther lights as to ſo eminent a perſon, when they lay ſo much within his power. Doctor Fuller mentions him in ſeveral of his works (4), and that I think is the moſt that can be ſaid, for he has preſerved nothing worth reading about him in any of them. We might naturally have expected in the very copious preface, addreſſed to Sir John Holland, by the late Lord Forteſcue (5), a larger or at leaſt a more exact account of this reverend Judge; but it falls out quite otherwiſe, for he is very ſhort, tells us nothing which we did not know before, except, that he was poſſeſſed of a manuſcript which he believes Mr Selden never ſaw, and which, ſometime or other, perhaps, might ſee the light, tho' it never did, nor is he ſo kind as to tell us ſo much as its title. One thing he aſſerts which might have been as well omitted, that the remains of this great man are interred in Campden Church, in which there is a handſome monument to his memory, which induced Biſhop Tanner (6) to doubt whether it might not be ſo, whereas the fact is certain, that he was buried at Ebrighton (7) Ebburton, or Ebberton.

[*B*] *That he was the ſecond ſon of Sir John Forteſcue of Norreis.*] The Reverend Mr Prince begins his account of the learned perſon, who is the ſubject of this article in theſe words (8). 'Sir John Forteſcue, Knight, Lord Chief Juſtice, and Lord High Chancellor of England, was born moſt likely at Norreis, in the Pariſh of North Huiſh, near South Brent in this county, he was ſecond ſon of Sir John Forteſcue, Knight, Captain of Meaux in France, by his wife .... daughter and heir of Norreis, of Norreis, who was ſecond ſon of William Forteſcue of Wimſton, antiently Wimondeſton, in the Pariſh of Modbiry, the moſt antient ſeat of this honourable name and family in this county or the kingdom, in whoſe poſſeſſion it remained from the days of John King of England, to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, about four hundred years, ſo runs the antient deed, *Rex* Johannes, *per Literas ſuas Patentes, Datas anno* 10. *Regni ſui, conceſſit Johanni Forteſcue, Wymondeſton in Com. Devon.*' Yet in the ſpace of a few lines, he gives us ſuch an account of this matter as is not very conſiſtent herewith, his words are theſe. 'Here, 'ere I proceed farther in regard of the great variety of the families of this name which flouriſh in this county, and ſeveral other parts of England in high degree, it may not prove unacceptable to the curious herein, to lay down a brief account of the pedigree thereof as an induſtrious Antiquary of our own hath collected it from the Heralds Office. William Forteſcue of Wimpſton, ſeventh in deſcent from the firſt poſſeſſor, by Elizabeth, ſiſter and coheir of Thomas Beauchamp of Ryme, had iſſue, William, and Sir John Forteſcue, Captain of Meaux, William by Mabilia, daughter and heir of John Falwel, had iſſue, John, who by Joan, daughter and heir of John Pruteſton de Pruteſton, in the pariſh of Newton Ferrers, had three ſons, John of Wimpſton, William of Pruteſton, now Preſton, and John of Spridleſton, commonly Spurleſton. Sir John Forteſcue, ſecond ſon of William, Captain of Meaux, by the daughter and heir of Norreis as aforeſaid, had iſſue three ſons; Henry, who by his firſt wife had iſſue, Forteſcue of Wood, whoſe iſſue male failing, his daughter and heir was married unto Forteſcue of Preſton, by his ſecond wife, only daughter and heir of Fallapit, of Fallapit, in Eaſt Allwington had iſſue, Richard Forteſcue of Fallapit, whoſe heir male failing in the third deſcent, his daughter Elizabeth was married unto Lewis, third ſon of Forteſcue of Spridelſton, who hath continued the name there unto this day. The ſecond ſon of Sir John Forteſcue of Norreis, was Sir John Forteſcue our preſent ſubject, his third ſon was Richard, from whom iſſued the ſeveral families of this name in the eaſt parts of England, as at Poleſborn in Hartfordſhire, Fuſborn in Eſſex, Souldon in Bucks, &c. all which ſprang originally from Wimpſton aforeſaid.' It is needleſs to trouble the reader here with the corrections of this genealogy, ſince it will be ſet in a proper light in the next note; it is ſufficient to obſerve that it cannot be right, becauſe that in more inſtances than one it is inconſiſtent with itſelf, which in all probability aroſe from want of duly conſidering the collections made by Sir William Pole, which are on all hands allowed to have been very authentick. We have a very different account of this matter from Mr Waterhouſe (9), who aſſures us, that he had it from Sir John Forteſcue of Salden in Buckinghamſhire, which is conceived in theſe words. 'He was, ſays he, third ſon to Henry Forteſcue, ſon of Sir John Forteſcue, Knight, Captain of Meaux, and Governor of Bry in France under Henry the Fifth, which Sir John was ſecond ſon of William Forteſcue of Wimeſton, in the county of Devon, Eſq; ſo that our Chancellor being immediate heir in the eighth deſcent of Sir Richard Forteſcue, Knight, who came out of Normandy in the Conqueror's time, was generouſly deſcended by his father, and no leſs by his mother, who was a daughter and heir of Beauchamp, his eldeſt brother was Lord Chief Juſtice of Ireland, and died iſſueleſs.' The laſt part of this paragraph is directly contradicted by Prince, and indeed by all the accounts of the family of Forteſcue that can be relied upon. It is very true, that the male line in the eldeſt branch failed, but not as is here repreſented. There is yet another account which occurs in the labours of ſo careful and ſo judicious a writer, that it deſerves to be particularly examined, it runs thus (10). 'A gentleman of good ſenſe, who is very converſant in the affairs of the family, informs me, that Sir John Forteſcue, Lord Chief Juſtice, and afterwards Lord Chancellor of England, was the third ſon of John Forteſcue, Knight, Captain of Meaux, &c. and not of Henry Forteſcue, Chief Juſtice of Ireland, who, according to a pedigree of the family in his cuſtody, was the Chancellor's eldeſt brother. He thinks it pretty plain, for that, the fourteenth of Henry the Sixth, Henry Forteſcue, by deed indented, did grant and confirm unto John Forteſcue his brother, and Iſabella, who was wife of the ſaid John, all the meſſuages, lands, and tenements, of John Forteſcue, father of the ſaid Henry, 'in

(*b*) Worthies of Devon, p. 304.

(1) De Script. major. Brytan. cent. viii. 36. p. 613.

(2) De illuſtrib. Angl. Script. Æ. xv. 850. p. 649.

(3) Tanneri Biblioth. Britannico-Hibernia, p. 619.

(4) Worthies, Devonſhire, p. 256. Holy State, p. 236.

(5) Prefixed to our author's Book *The Difference between an abſolute and limited Monarchy.*

(6) Bibliothec. Britannico-Hibernia, p. 293.

(7) Atkins's Hiſt. of Glouceſterſhire, p. 425.

(8) Worthies of Devon, p. 304.

(9) In his Introduction to his Commentary on Forteſcue *de laudibus legum.*

(10) In the Notes to the Preface to the ſecond Edit. of the Tranſlation of Forteſcue *de laudibus legum*, fol. 1741. p. 50.

one of the Juſtices of his Majeſty's Court of King's-Bench, and afterwards of the Common-Pleas, is very clear that he was the third ſon of Sir Henry Forteſcue, Lord Chief Juſtice of Ireland (*c*); and when the matter comes to be fairly examined, it will be found that he is certainly in the right [*C*]. We have no account where this learned perſon was born (tho' it is very highly probable it was in the Weſt of England), or in what year; we are likewiſe in the dark as to the Univerſity (*d*) in which he ſtudied, or indeed whether he ſtudied in either; but moſt probable it is that he did, and that he applied himſelf particularly to the Civil Law, in which, we have not only teſtimony to prove, but his writings likewiſe ſhew, that he was very learned (*e*). It is true that the Reverend Mr Prince (*f*) thought it probable that he ſtudied at Oxford; and a very learned Prelate (*g*) ſays, that he was educated in Exeter College, in that Univerſity; but as he cites no authority for this, in reſpect to which no man was more accurate, it is reaſonable to believe that he ſpeaks from conjecture alſo, though certainly, in a point of this nature, any conjecture of his ought to have great weight. When he turned his thoughts to the municipal laws of England, and reſolved, according to the example of his father, to betake himſelf to that profeſſion, he ſettled in Lincoln's-Inn, where he quickly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very extraordinary manner (*h*), and where it is aſſerted that his lectures were crowded, on account of the high reputation he had acquired in the Civil as well as the Common Law; which is ſo much the more probable, as we have his own authority to prove that the Inns of Court were never in a more flouriſhing condition, or the profeſſion of the Law in greater reverence and eſteem, than at this time (*i*) [*D*]. The firſt date that occurs with reſpect to his preferments,

(*c*) See his Preface to Chancellor Forteſcue's Diſcourſe on a limited Monarchy.

(*d*) Bale and Pits are both ſilent upon this head.

(*e*) Pits de illuſtr. Angliæ Script. Æ xv. n. 850. p. 649.

(*f*) Worthies of Devon, p. 305.

(*g*) Tanneri Biblio. Britan. Hibern. p. 293.

(*h*) Bale de Script. Major. Brytan. cent viii. 36. p. 613.

(*i*) De laudibus Legum Angliæ, cap. 49.

‘ in Overcomb, Efford, and Alſton, in the pariſh of Holboughton, Devon.’ Againſt this account there ſeem to lie two objections, the firſt is, that there was a long deſcent of Forteſcues, the male line of which ended in Sir Francis Forteſcue, who died at the Bath, November the eleventh, 1729. all claiming a deſcent from Sir Henry Forteſcue, Chief Juſtice of Ireland, which does not at all agree with this account, the other objection is, that this Henry Forteſcue mentioned in the deed, might poſſibly be Henry Forteſcue of Wood, eldeſt ſon to Sir Henry Forteſcue, Lord Chief Juſtice, which will agree very well with the deſcent mentioned in the next note.

[C] *That he is certainly in the right.*] There is no doubt, that the houſe of Forteſcue was ſettled in the county of Devon in the reign of King John, if not before, and that their antient manſion was Winſton in Armington hundred, long ſince paſſed into other hands. It appears from Sir William Pole's manuſcript of Charters, the great Antiquary of that county, that in the thirtieth year of the reign of King Edward the Firſt, Adam Forteſcue, ſtiled ſon and heir of Adam Forteſcue, granted to Henry Lopperigges (11), an annual rent of ſeven ſhillings, which Richard the ſon of Philip uſed to pay him for his tenement in Wimonſton, to which his ſeal is affixed, being an oval ſhield charged with a ſtar, circumſcribed Ade Forteſcue. After him was William Forteſcue of the ſame place, a witneſs to the charter of John and William Ferrers, in the thirty fifth of Edward the Third, as the aforeſaid manuſcript ſhews. And in the ſecond of Richard the Second, being wrote William Forteſcue, Senior, he had a grant with Sir Philip and Sir Peter Courtney, Knights, from Richard Mauldif, called Somaiſter, of lands in Smytheſton, Crencomb, Wympell, and Thurverton. This William married Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of John Beauchamp of Kyme, in the county of Lincoln, and had iſſue two ſons, William Forteſcue of Winſton, which branch ended in an only daughter and heir of Thomas Forteſcue, named Jane, married to Edmund Babington of Wyke, in the county of Worceſter, Eſquire. John, the ſecond ſon of the firſt William Forteſcue, was one of thoſe brave Engliſhmen, who ſignalized themſelves under the ſtandard of that victorious Monarch, Henry the Fifth. Which John Forteſcue had the honour of Knighthood conferred on him for his valour in thoſe French wars, and was made Governor of Meaux in Berry. He took to wife * * * * * * * * * daughter and heir of William Norris, by whom he had iſſue, Sir Henry Forteſcue, Lord Chief Juſtice of Ireland (12), who had three ſons, firſt Henry Forteſcue of Wood, in the county of Devon, Sir Richard Forteſcue, from whom deſcended the Forteſcues of Punſborn, and the third ſon, was Sir John Forteſcue, Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, in the reign of King Henry the Sixth, and by his appointment Chancellor. This account is clear, conſiſtent, and well ſupported, ſo that there ſeems to be no reaſon why it ſhould not be willingly received, inſtead of thoſe vague, contradictory, unatteſted ſtories, that are to be met with in ſome books.

[D] *Than at this time.*] The moſt learned Antiquaries in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, whoſe ſentiments we have upon the ſubject of the Inns of Court and Chancery, agree fully in this, that they never were in ſo flouriſhing condition, as in the reign of King Henry the Sixth, and that this is a point wholly known from the account given of them by our author, who deſcribes thoſe eſtabliſhments as they ſtood about three hundred years ago, or more, referring that deſcription, not to the time when he wrote his book, but when he ſtudied in them. That very curious relation which cannot but be very acceptable to the intelligent reader, runs thus (13). ‘ To the intent, *moſt excellent Prince*, you may conceive the form and image of this ſtudy, as I am able I will deſcribe it unto you. For there are for theſe ſtudies ten leſſer houſes or Inns, and ſometimes more, which are called Inns of Chancery, and to every one of them belongeth an hundred ſtudents at leaſt, and to ſome of them a much greater number, tho' at one time they be not ever all together in the ſame. Thoſe ſtudents for the moſt part are young men, ſtudying the originals and the elements of the Law, who profiting therein as they grow to ripeneſs, ſo are they admitted into the greater Inns, called the Inns of Court, of which greater Inns there are four in number. And to the leaſt of them belongeth in form abovementioned, two hundred ſtudents or thereabouts, for in theſe greater Inns, no ſtudent can be maintained for leſs expences by the year, than twenty marks. And if he have a ſervant to wait upon him, as moſt of them have, then ſo much the greater will his charges be. Now by reaſon of this, the children only of Noblemen ſtudy the Laws in thoſe Inns, for the poorer and common ſort of people, are not able to bear ſo great charges for the exhibition of their children. And Merchants can ſeldom find in their hearts, to burthen their trade with ſo great yearly expences. And thus it falleth out, that there is hardly any man found within the realm ſkilful in the Laws, except he be a gentleman born, and one deſcended of a noble ſtock. Wherefore, they more than any other kind of men have a ſpecial regard to their nobility, and to the preſervation of their honour and fame; and to ſpeak with the ſtrict regard to truth, there is in theſe greater Inns, and even in the leſſer too, beſide the ſtudy of the Laws, as it were an univerſity or ſchool for the acquiſition of all commendable qualities requiſite for Noblemen. There they learn to ſing, and to exerciſe themſelves in all kind of harmony. There alſo they practiſe dancing and other genteel accompliſhments, as they are accuſtomed to do, which are brought up in the King's houſe. On working days moſt of them apply themſelves to the ſtudy of the Law, and on holy

‘ days

(11) E. Collect. T. Mellers.

(12) Selden, in his Preface to Forteſcue, *de laudibus legum*, &c.

(13) De laudibus legum, cap. 49.

preferments, is the fourth year of the reign of Henry the Sixth, when, as Sir William Dugdale informs us, he was made one of the Governors of Lincoln's-Inn, and was honoured again with the ſame employment three years after (*k*). In Michaelmas term 1430, he was promoted to the degree of a Serjeant at Law, and kept his feaſt upon that occaſion, as he himſelf informs us, with very great ſplendour (*l*) [*E*]. In 1441, he was in Eaſter term made one of the King's Serjeants at Law (*m*); and on the twenty-fifth of January 1442, he was conſtituted Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench at Weſtminſter (*n*). He is highly commended, by ſome of our moſt eminent writers, for that wiſdom, gravity, and uprightneſs, with which he preſided in that Court for ſo many years (*o*); but certainly they are ſomewhat miſtaken, or have not conſidered the hiſtory of the times in which he lived, who ſuggeſt that he was one of the King's principal Counſellors, and that the Court was in a great meaſure governed by his advice, the direct contrary of which is moſt likely to be true. For we cannot conceive, that ſo mild and good a man, as Sir John Forteſcue was, could act otherwiſe than miniſterially in the trial of many of the friends and ſervants of Humphry Duke of Glouceſter, called by the people the *good* Duke of Glouceſter, for high-treaſon, who were convicted upon ſlender evidence, and afterwards treated in a manner of which we find no other inſtance in our own, or in foreign records [*F*]. It is thought that he oppoſed the

(*k*) Origines Juridiciales, p. 142.

(*l*) De Laudibus Legum Angliæ, cap. 50.

(*m*) Chron. Series. p. 62, 63.

(*n*) Chron. Juridic. p. 127.

(*o*) Bale, Pits, &c.

‘days to ſtudy Holy Scripture, and out of the time of divine ſervice to the reading of Chronicles. For there indeed are virtues ſtudied, and from them are vices exiled. So that for the acquiſition of virtue, and eradicating of vice, Knights and Barons, with other States, and Noblemen of the realm, place their children in thoſe Inns, even, tho' they deſire not to have them learned in the Laws, nor to live by the practice thereof, but only upon their fathers allowance. Seldom, if at any time, is there heard amongſt them any ſedition or grudging; and yet the offenders are no otherwiſe puniſhed, than only by being removed from the company of their fellowſhip, which puniſhment they more fear than other offenders, impriſonment and irons: for he that is once expelled is never received to be a fellow in any of the other fellowſhips, and by this means there is continual peace, and their demeanour is like the behaviour of ſuch as dwell together in perfect amity.——— But there is one thing more which I would have you know, that neither at Orleans, where both the Canon and the Civil Laws are taught, and to which, for that reaſon, ſcholars reſort from all the adjacent countries; nor at Anjou, nor at Caen, or any Univerſity in France, Paris only excepted, are there ſo many youths grown up, employed in ſtudy, as in theſe Inns of Court and Chancery, tho' there are none that ſtudy there but what are Engliſh born.’ This reflects great honour on that age, tho' poſſibly ſomewhat at the expence of this.

[*E*] *With very great ſplendour.*] It is in the ſame book, and in proſecution of the ſame diſcourſe, that our very learned author gives Prince Edward an account of the ſtate and degree of a Serjeant at Law (14), wherein, perhaps, the reader may at firſt imagine there was ſomewhat of vanity, or at leaſt, of an inclination natural enough to old men, that of ſpeaking of himſelf. But whoever conſiders attentively the ſcheme of that book, will ſee quite the contrary. The deſign of its wiſe and worthy author, was to convince the young Prince, his pupil, that England was the country in the world, in which Laws were in the higheſt eſtimation, where they were equally the rule of the King's government, and the meaſure of the ſubjects obedience, and where conſequently neither could deſpiſe them without becoming a tyrant or a rebel. It was natural from hence for him to obſerve, that a Serjeant is a rank or dignity in the Law, unknown in any nation but this, and conſequently the ſtrongeſt mark of the high and univerſal reſpect paid to the profeſſion; to prove this the more fully, he mentions the expence with which the taking this ſtate or dignity was attended, and in doing this he is very brief, he obſerves, that according to the cuſtom then in uſe, they gave a great dinner like the feaſt at a King's Coronation, and continued their entertainments for ſeven days, which when there were eight Serjeants made at a time, amounted to three thouſand two hundred marks, or four hundred marks a piece; he is very particular in marking the number and price of the gold rings, of which, he ſays, not ſo much as a clerk in the Common Pleas, but received one, and that when himſelf was called, thoſe rings coſt him fifty pounds. He takes notice likewiſe, that none could be raiſed to the office of a Judge, either in the King's-Bench, or Common Pleas, but muſt be of the degree of a Serjeant, to which degree men could not be then raiſed till they had been at leaſt ſixteen years at the bar, which I the rather mention, becauſe it will enable us to form ſome notion of his own age, ſince, if we conſider, that he was called to the degree of Serjeant in 1430 (15), we may very well conclude, that he was born in or about the year 1395, which remark, tho' in itſelf a matter of no great conſequence, will have its uſe hereafter, when we come to mention his tranſactions in the laſt part of his life, where we have great need of conjecture and reflection to conduct us.

[*F*] *In our own or in foreign records.*] If this was a convenient place, and the nature of the work would allow us room, what is advanced in the text might be proved beyond all contradiction; that is to ſay, it might be ſhewn that ſuch things were done by the Court, or, to ſpeak ſtrictly, by the Queen and her favourites, as no good man could behold but with great concern. The ſingle inſtance hinted at in the text will be more than ſufficient, conſidering the narrow bounds within which we are circumſcribed, to juſtify what has been ſaid. We take this inſtance however a little higher, for the ſake of connection and perſpicuity, than the fact pointed at in the text abſolutely required (16). ‘Humphry, the renowned Duke of Glouceſter, Lord Protector, felt the firſt ſtroke of the evil angel, which was ſent to puniſh England and to root out her nobles. This Duke was much hated by the Queen, and her faction, as the only man who by his prudence, as alſo by the honour and authority of his birth and place, ſeemed to impeach that ſovereign command, which they pretended to ſettle in the King's own perſon, but meant indeed, as the manner is under ſoft Princes, to reign themſelves in another's name. Many great Lords were drawn on at the time of a Parliament then in February 1477, holden at Saint Edmund's Bury, to concur for his ruin, not perceiving that thereby they pluckt up the floodgate at which the Duke of York entered, overwhelming all of them in a deluge of blood. Whether they had any true or juſt fear of Glouceſter himſelf, leaſt, perhaps, he ſhould take revenge upon ſome particular perſons among them, is doubtful, tho' it be probable enough that they had. Here are ſome things that forewent this Parliament. About five or ſix years before the Ducheſs of Glouceſter, Eleanor, was convented for witchcraft and ſorcery, and afterward indicted of treaſon in the Guild-hall, in London, before the Earls of Huntington, Stafford, Suffolk, and Northumberland, and certain Lords, as Stanhope and Hungerford, with others, and Judges of both Benches, of which crimes ſhe was appealed by one Bolingbrook an Aſtronomer, and Thomas Southwell a Canon, which Southwell was charged to have ſaid Maſſes over certain inſtruments, by which the Aſtronomer ſhould practiſe Necromancy againſt the life of the King. Theſe being taken, accuſed her as acceſſary, ſhe having deſired the help of their art to know what would befall her. Some part hereof ſhe confeſſed, for which

(14) Ibid. cap. 50.

(15) Chron. Juridic. p. 123.

(16) Speed's Chronicle, p. 661.

the Duke of Suffolk (*p*), who, tho' a man of ſingular abilities, but very ambitious, became at laſt ſole Miniſter, and directed all things at his pleaſure. Yet, notwithſtanding the credit that nobleman had with the Queen, Sir John Forteſcue remained in great favour with the King, of which, in the twentieth year of his reign, he received a ſignal proof, by an unuſual augmentation of his ſalary (*), concerning which there ſeems to be ſomething obſcure, or miſtaken, in the writings of a celebrated author [G]. He held his high office throughout the whole reign of his gracious maſter King Henry the Sixth, to whom he ſteadily adhered, and ſerved him faithfully in all his troubles; and for this, in the firſt Parliament under King Edward the Fourth, which began at Weſtminſter on the fourth of November 1461, he was attainted of high treaſon (*q*), by the ſame Act of Parliament in which King Henry the Sixth, Queen Margaret, Edward their ſon, Henry Duke of Exeter, Henry Duke of Somerſet, Thomas Earl of Devonſhire, Jaſper Earl of Pembroke, and, in the whole, one hundred and fifty-three perſons of diſtinction were likewiſe attainted (*r*). On the thirteenth of May following, Sir John Markham was made Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench (*s*). After this misfortune, King Henry the Sixth flying into Scotland, it is generally believed that he conſtituted Sir John Forteſcue Chancellor of England (*t*), George Nevile then Biſhop of Exeter, to whom the Great-Seal had been delivered July the twenty-ſixth 1460, remaining in the Service of King Edward the Fourth; and this is the reaſon that the name of our great Lawyer does not occur in the records as Chancellor of England

' which ſhe was put to publick and ſolemn penance ' in London, upon three ſeveral days with wonderful ' ſhame to her perſon; and after ſhe was committed ' to perpetual priſon under the ward of Sir Thomas ' Stanley in the caſtle of Cheſter, but from thence ' removed to Kenelworth. Her pride, avarice, and ' lechery, were cauſes of her confuſion, ſaith Stowe, ' who hath ſet forth that buſineſs very diligently, tho' ' not ſeeming to attribute much credit to that accu' ſation of treaſon. The Duke of Glouceſter, her ' unhappy Lord and Huſband, whom ſhe by love cups ' and enchantments, was ſaid to have inveigled, uſing ' therein one Margaret Gurdmain, a witch of Eye in ' Suffolk, who was burnt in Smithfield, ſtung with ' this reproach, might reaſonably be thought not un' willing to do ſomewhat. Howſoever that was, his ' deſtruction borrowed countenance from that opi' nion. The Duke therefore being come to attend in ' this Parliament at Bury, was arreſted of High-Trea' ſon, by John Lord Beaumont, High-Conſtable of ' England, the Dukes of Buckingham and Somerſet, ' with others. Certain of the King's Houſhold were ' appointed to guard him. Not long after he was ' found dead. His body was ſhewed to the Lords and ' Commons, as if he had died of a palſy, or an apo' ſteme. Of thirty and two of his ſervants which ' were attached, Sir Roger Chamberlain, Knight, ' Richard Middleton, Thomas Herbert, Arthur Tur' ſey, Eſquires, and Richard Needham, Gentleman, ' were condemned of High-Treaſon, and had this un' exampled puniſhment: they were drawn from the ' Tower to Tyburn, hanged, let down quick, ſtript ' naked, marked with a knife to be quartered, and ' then a charter of pardon ſhewed for their lives, by ' the Marqueſs of Suffolk. But the Yeoman of the ' Crown had their livelihood, the Executioner their ' cloaths. Their pardons were thus obtained, by the ' earneſt diligence of Doctor Gilbert Worthington, a ' famous preacher, Parſon of St Andrew's in Holborn. ' Thomas Wilde, Eſq; the Duke's ſervant, alſo being ' condemned, and pardoned among others, had for a ' preamble in his letters patents words importing, that ' he had been one among many other traitors againſt ' the King, with Humphry, Duke of Glouceſter; ' who went about and practiſed to deliver Eleanor, ' late wife to the Duke, from out of priſon; for ' which purpoſe he had gathered a great power and ' number of men to come to the Parliament at Bury, ' there to have contrived the King's deſtruction.' This which is drawn wholly from Speed, who had the beſt helps, and wrote under the wiſeſt directions of any of our old Hiſtorians, muſt be diſtinguiſhed and explained to prevent miſtakes. Eleanor Cobham was proceeded againſt in 1440, but her enemies being able to make nothing of the charge of treaſon, brought her before Eccleſiaſtical Judges, who put her to that ſevere and extraordinary penance (17). But upon mature deliberation, this was conſidered as ſo dangerous a precedent, that it produced an Act of Parliament, for allowing women of quality, a trial by their Peers (18). As for her confederates, they were tried before Commiſſioners in the Guild-hall, London, and convicted of High-Treaſon, tho' none but Bolingbrook ſuffered; and there was in this, ſo much of hardſhip, and the publick clamour purſued the Lord Chief Juſtice Hody, who condemned them, ſo ſtrongly, that he broke his heart (19). It was in his room, that Sir John Forteſcue ſucceeded. In 1444, King Henry married Margaret, the Daughter of the titular King of Naples, Sicily, and Jeruſalem, at the monaſtery of Tichfield in Hampſhire (20); and on May the thirtieth, 1445, ſhe was crowned at Weſtminſter (21); within two years after which, followed the Tragedy of Humphry, Duke of Glouceſter and his followers, whoſe ſentences were afterwards reverſed by that Duke's being declared to die the King's good ſubject, by Act of Parliament (22). When the reader duly conſiders theſe facts, he will certainly eſteem it no compliment to be repreſented, as having a large ſhare in ſuch an adminiſtration.

[G] *In the writings of a celebrated author.*] We are told by the late Judge Forteſcue, in reference to this venerable perſon, that he had extraordinary favours ſhewn him from his Prince; for beſides the uſual ſalary of a Chief Juſtice, he had granted him an augmentation of it two ſeveral times, by two ſeveral annuities (23). ' The laſt of which, was an annuity of ' one hundred eighty marks out of the Hanaper, a ' great ſum in thoſe days, that he might *Statum ſuum* ' *decentius manutenere*, as the record ſays; and with ' that, was granted the ſum of one hundred ſixteeen ' ſhillings, eleven pence half penny, *percipiendum ſin*' *gulis annis, ad feſtum natalis Domini, pro una Roba* ' *& Furrara pro eadem, erga idem Feſtum, and* ſixty ' ſix ſhillings and ſix pence, *ſingulis annis, ad Feſtum* ' *Pentecoſtes, pro una Roba, & Linura pro eadem erga* ' *idem Feſtum*; the like favour, as Mr Selden obſerves, ' having never been granted to any Judge before.' We are not told by this learned perſon, where Mr Selden ſays, that this was a favour, the like of which was never granted to any Judge before; but certain it is, that where he mentions this Grant from the King, and gives us the date of it, there is no ſuch thing ſaid. Sir John Hody, his predeceſſor, had a grant of the very ſame nature, of a hundred and forty marks (24) &c. and whereas it is aſſerted, that Sir John Forteſcue had his ſalary twice augmented, and that this large augmentation, was the laſt; there is great reaſon to believe otherwiſe, and that it was in reality the firſt; after which, he had a grant for a hogſhead of wine annually during his life, to be received from the head Butler in the Port of Briſtol; and after that, another grant of the like kind, which laſt veſſel of wine was to be received from the ſame Port on the feaſt of St Michael the Archangel (25); the ſecond augmentation of his ſalary, was by Letters Patents, dated May the twenty eighth, 1447. by which forty pounds *per annum* were granted to him over and above what had been given him before, and this was in the twenty fifth year of that reign (26); neither were favours of this kind at all uncommon, tho' not altogether in ſuch high proportions to other Judges, which, however, does

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(*p*) Coke's Inſtitutes, p. 111. cap. 99. p. 208.

(*) P. 1. rot. pat. 20. Hen. VI. m. 10.

(*q*) Wilhelmi Wyrcœſtre Annales Rerum Anglæ. A. D. 1461.

(*r*) Cotton's Abridgment of the Records, p. 670.

(*s*) Chron. Juridic. p. 133.

(*t*) Selden's Preface to Forteſcue De Laudibus Legum Angliæ.

(17) Wilhelmi Wyrceſtre Annales Rerum Angliæ, A. D. 1440.

(18) Stat. 20. H. VI. c. 9.

(19) Stowe's Chronicle, p. 382.

(20) Cowper's Chronicle, fol. 262.

(21) Hiſt. Croylandenſis Contin. p. 504, 505.

(22) Stowe's Annals, p. 400.

(23) In his Preface to the *Difference between a limited and abſolute Government.*

(24) Chron. Juridic. p. 127.

(25) Pat. 21. H. VI. p. 2. m. 9.

(26) Chron. Juridic. p. 129.

land [*H*]. In the month of April 1463, he embarked with Queen Margaret, Prince Edward, the Duke of Exeter, Dr John Morton, Dr Robert Mackerell, and other perſons of diſtinction, who followed the fortunes of the Houſe of Lancaſter, to the number in the whole of two hundred, at Bamburg, and landed ſafely at Sluys in Flanders, from whence they were conducted to Bruges, and thence to Liſle, where the Queen had an audience of the Duke of Burgundy, to whom, with tears, ſhe related the long ſeries of her misfortunes, and the extreme miſery to which ſhe was reduced ; with which the Duke being exceedingly moved, comforted her in the beſt manner that he could, made her a preſent of a conſiderable ſum of money, and ſent her, with moſt of the Engliſh attending her Majeſty, into Lorrain, where her father then was, who gave them a caſtle to reſide in, till he ſhould be able to make further proviſion for them (*u*). In this exile he remained for many years, retiring from place to place as the neceſſities of the Royal Family required ; for though, during that ſpace, the Queen and Prince were often in motion, and great efforts were made to reſtore King Henry, yet, conſidering the age of the Chancellor Sir John Forteſcue, it is by no means probable that he was ſuffered to expoſe himſelf to ſuch hazards, more eſpecially as he might be capable of rendering great ſervices, by ſolliciting their intereſt at different Courts ; and could not at that time of life, being near fourſcore, be in any condition to ſuſtain the fatigues of war (*w*). It does not indeed appear, from any of the hiſtories that are extant, that our Chancellor had any hand in that negotiation, by which Queen Margaret, and the potent Earl of Warwick, were reconciled ; but it is, notwithſtanding, extremely probable that he had. We know very well, that the Queen was a high ſpirited woman, and that ſhe was not, without reaſon, highly provoked againſt that ambitious nobleman ; and therefore we may well preſume, that it muſt have been ſome perſon of diſtinguiſhed character, and who ſtood very high in her favour, who could ſo far pacify her reſentment, as to engage her in a treaty firſt, and prevail upon her afterwards, to think of marrying the Prince of Wales, her only child, to the Lady Anne Nevile, younger daughter to the Earl of Warwick ; the elder, Iſabel, being before married to George Duke of Clarence, brother to Edward the Fourth, whom the Queen conſidered as the uſurper of her huſband's throne (*x*). We may the more eaſily yield credit to this, when we are told that our Chancellor, in a certain book of his, ſtill preſerved though not publiſhed, repreſents himſelf as a Chief Counſellor of State at that time (*y*) ; which, if he was, he muſt undoubtedly have had a large ſhare in a tranſaction which was by far the moſt important of any that happened after the Queen and Prince retired out of England, which gave ſo great a turn to their affairs, and which was very near retrieving their deſperate game, and reſtoring the Line of Lancaſter, at that time, to the poſſeſſion of the imperial diadem of England. But whatever weight there may be in theſe conjectures, moſt certain it is, that the Chancellor obſerving the quick parts, and excellent underſtanding of his young maſter, who applied himſelf wholly to military exerciſes, and ſeemed to think of nothing beſide

qualifying

(*u*) Wilhelmi Wyrceſtre Annales Rerum Angliæ, A. D. 1463.

(*w*) See his own introduction to his book De Laudibus, &c.

(*x*) See Grafton, Stowe, Speed.

(*y*) Selden's Preface before cited.

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does not at all leſſen the argument which is drawn from thence of Sir John Forteſcue's ſtanding highly in the King's favour, but on the contrary, ſtrengthens and confirms it.

[*H*] *In the records as Chancellor of England.*] We have in an old Chronicle, the following account of ſome tranſactions at this time, which may poſſibly ſhew the reaſon, why Sir John Forteſcue was attainted by King Edward, and alſo point out with more certainty than has been hitherto done, the time after which he muſt have been made Lord Chancellor (27). ‘ Edwarde Erle of March, by cauſe King Henry had ‘ broken covenantes, was made King at Weſtminſter, ‘ *Anno Domini*, 1459. and ſtrayte King Edward rode ‘ northward, and at Towton not far from York on ‘ Palmes Sunday, advengid his fathers death and wan ‘ the field, where were ſlain XXM people on both ‘ parties. The Erle of Northumberland, the Lord ‘ Clifford, Sir John Nevil, the Erle of Weſtmor‘ landes brother, and Andrew Trollop, were killed at ‘ this time, King Henry, the Prince, the Queen, the ‘ Duke of Somerſet, Henry Duke of Exceſtre, the ‘ Lord Roos, Syr John Forteſcue, Chief Juge of Eng‘ land, and Tailboys Erle of Kyme, beyng at York, ‘ and hering of this fled firſt to Newcaſtle, and then ‘ to Berwick, delivering it to the Scots.’ This plainly ſhews, that he was only Chief Juſtice when he attended his maſter, King Henry, into Scotland ; and as from the time he left him there he never ſaw him any more, there ſeems to be no room to doubt, that he received the Great-Seal from that King there, as ſoon as it was known that George Biſhop of Exeter, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, continued to bear the title, and execute the Office of Lord Chancellor, by the authority of King Edward. It is true, that ſome have doubted whether he was ever Chancellor at all ; as for inſtance, Mr Thynne, a very learned Antiquary in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who expreſſes himſelf thus (28). ‘ Sir John Forteſcue was only Chief Juſtice of the ‘ Bench, and not Chancellor of England, as he is un‘ truly called by Molcaſter, in tranſlating his book ‘ of the Laws of England, ſince he was only Chan‘ cellor to the youngeſt Prince Edward, and his mo‘ ther, after he fled with them into France.’ This, however is falſe, for Sir John Forteſcue, in the preface to his own book, does poſitively ſtile himſelf *the King of* England'*s Chancellor*. So, as Mr Selden proves, he did in another work of his (29). Mr Whitlocke, who was perfectly well read in the Laws and Hiſtory of this nation, made no ſcruple of differing in this reſpect from Mr Thynne, his words are theſe (30) : ‘ Forteſcue, that lived in Henry Sixth, and Edward ‘ the Fourth's time, and was Chancellor of England, ‘ and being of the faction of Lancaſter, lived an exile ‘ in France, when that family was depreſſed writ a ‘ ſmall pamphlet of the Law of England, in that his ‘ baniſhment, wherein he reporteth, &c.’ It was probably upon theſe motives, that Sir Henry Spelman, who was ſo perfectly verſed in every thing relating to our Hiſtory and Antiquities, has added the name of Sir John Forteſcue to the Chancellors in the reign of King Henry the Sixth (31), upon a ſuppoſition that he muſt have been ſo appointed by that Monarch while in Scotland, which, as he truly ſays, is a ſufficient reaſon why nothing of this kind appears in our records at all ; indeed it is impoſſible it ſhould, ſince from the time he was Chancellor, King Henry was never acknowledged, or at leaſt, not for above ſix months, during which ſpace thoſe who ſet him at liberty, and reſtored him to the title of King, obliged him to acknowledge the Archbiſhop of York for his Chancellor, that prelate being brother to the potent Earl of Warwick, who valued himſelf on making and unmaking Monarchs at his pleaſure.

[*I*] *Than*

(27) Leland's Collectanea, Vol. II. p. 499. Cotton's Abridgment, p. 671.

(28) Hearne's Collection of Diſcourſes of famous Antiquaries, p. 113.

(29) The MS. of which Mr Selden had.

(30) Hearne's Collection of Diſcourſes, p. 130.

(31) Gloſſograph. p. 111.

qualifying himſelf for an expert commander (z); he thought it high time to give him ſome other impreſſions, and to infuſe into his mind juſt notions of the conſtitution of his country, as well as due reſpect to it's laws, that, if Providence ſhould favour his deſigns, he might govern as a king, and not as a tyrant or a conqueror (a). That theſe impreſſions might not eaſily wear out of his mind, but that by frequently reviewing what had paſſed in theſe converſations, he might the better fix them in his memory, and ſtrengthen them by his own meditations, the Chancellor digeſted them into a little treatiſe, written in the Latin tongue (b); which, how ſhort ſoever it fell of it's primary intention, that hopeful Prince being not long after cruelly murdered, yet will remain an everlaſting monument of this great and good man's reſpect for his country, and affection to his countrymen, which could not be better teſtified than it was by this ſhort treatiſe [I]. There may poſſibly ſome doubts ariſe about the preciſe time in which this valuable work was compoſed, and indeed ſomething of this kind has been already intimated, by writers of great authority (c). However, ſuch as will look carefully into the work itſelf, and compare it with the hiſtory of theſe times, will very plainly ſee that it was written within a year or two of Prince Edward's death; for the eſtabliſhing of which opinion, the proofs requiſite will be found at the bottom of the page [K]. This very curious and conciſe vindication, as well as elogium, of

(z) This appears from his own introduction.

(a) De Laudibus Legum Angliæ, cap. 37.

(b) So it appears from his own introduction.

(c) Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſt. Library, p. 232.

[I] *Than it was by this ſhort treatiſe.*] This diſcourſe of Sir John Forteſcue's, has, in the moſt eminent degree, thoſe two great properties, from which works of learning are juſtly ſtiled excellent, ſolidity in point of matter, and elegance in reference to its form. It is written in the way of dialogue, in which the characters are ſuſtained with great dignity and ſpirit; he ſhews the Prince, that it is abſolutely neceſſary for one of his condition to have a good underſtanding in the Laws, and a juſt regard for them too, in order to make himſelf eaſy, and to keep up the reverence due to them amongſt the people; he demonſtrates the advantage of a conſtitution governed by ſtated Laws, in making of which the ſubject has an intereſt; beyond that of a government, depending on the abſolute pleaſure of a Prince. He puts proper objections into the mouth of his pupil, and propoſes them with a great air of freedom, and then he reſolves them briefly, decently, and with much perſpicuity; he obſerves, that what was requiſite for a Prince to know in theſe matters lay within a narrow compaſs, and that there is no reaſon he ſhould apprehend any thing, either tedious or difficult in acquiring ſuch knowledge. Our author then proceeds to prove, that the Common Law is the moſt rational, as well as the moſt antient, in Europe. That the conviction of criminals by juries, and without racking, is more juſt and humane than the methods of neighbouring nations, our challenging of panels, writs of attaint upon corrupt verdicts, and the uſual wealth of our juries, ſuch ſecurities to the lives and property of the ſubject, as other countries are incapable of affording; that our Kings are greater and more potent in the liberties and properties of their people, than arbitrary tyrants in the vaſſalage of their ſlaves; that the Civil Law is more unreaſonable than ours in the legitimation of children born before marriage, as alſo in its axiom *partus ſequitur ventrem*, tuition of orphans, &c. that our Inns of Court are more convenient for the ſtudy of the Engliſh Law than their Univerſities, and that the degree of Serjeant at Law is as honourable, as that of Doctor in the Univerſities: and, in the laſt place, that the proceedings in our Courts of Juſtice are leſs dilatory than in thoſe of other nations. Theſe important and ſome of them too perplexed points, are handled with ſuch clearneſs and ſtrength of reaſon as may be truly ſaid to carry with them conviction; with great reaſon therefore, did a wiſe and worthy author, upon nearly the ſame ſubject, deliver his opinion of this work in theſe terms (32). ‘ If the Noblemen of this realm would ſee their ‘ children brought up in ſuch manner, that they ſhould ‘ have learning and knowledge more than they commonly have, eſpecially of the grounds and princi‘ ples of the Law of the Realm, tho' they had not ‘ the cunning of the whole body of the Law, but af‘ ter ſuch manner as Mr Forteſcue, in his book *De* ‘ *Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, advertiſeth the Prince to ‘ have, I ſuppoſe it would be a great help hereafter ‘ to the miniſtration of juſtice, and a right great glad‘ neſs to all people.’ Sir Edward Coke, who often mentions our author, and this work of his, mentions him always with applauſe; in one place he tells us, that beſides his profound knowledge in the Law, he was alſo an excellent Antiquary (33); and in another, he points out ſome particular chapters in this work, which he aſſures us are ſo excellent (34), that they deſerve to be written in letters of gold.

[K] *At the bottom of the page.*] In the courſe of the converſation the Prince propoſes it as an objection, that notwithſtanding the excellency of the Engliſh Laws, yet ſome of the Kings, his predeceſſors, had been deſirous of introducing the Civil Laws, of which therefore he deſires to know the reaſon. The Chancellor tells his Highneſs that he need not be at a loſs, for that ſince Princes might be eaſily conceived willing enough to change the Laws of England, becauſe of their binding alike upon them and their ſubjects, for the Civil Law built upon a principle directly oppoſite, *quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem*, that the will of the Prince ſhall have the force of a Law. Upon this it has been demanded, what authority the Prince had to affirm, that any Monarch of England ſhould form a deſign of changing the Common for the Civil Laws? The very learned Mr Selden diſcourſes thereupon thus (35). ‘ I ‘ confeſs, I here underſtand him not. What Kings of ‘ England ever deſired the Civil Laws of Rome? I ‘ have read of a proteſtation againſt them in Parlia‘ ment, by the King and Lords, which you may ſee ‘ in Rot. proceſſ. & jud. of the appeal of Thomas ‘ Duke of Gloceſter, and others, againſt Alexander ‘ Archbiſhop of York, Robert de Veer Duke of ‘ Ireland, Michael de la Pole Earl of Suffolk, and ‘ Robert Treſilian, Chief Juſtice, in Rich. 2. Parla‘ mento Weſtm. 3 Febr. Anno 11. where upon de‘ fault of the appellees, the appellants deſire that the ‘ Court would proceed to judgment. I remember ‘ alſo King Stephen, his publick edict againſt the Laws ‘ of Italy, but remember not any ſtory or authority ‘ teaching that any of our Kings would have had ‘ them here uſed. That of Stephen is related by that ‘ noble and moſt learned Friar, Roger Bacon, in his ‘ *Compendium Theologiæ*, or his *Opus minus* (both thoſe ‘ names are of one Ms book) where he is ſpeaking of ‘ the Civil Laws of Italy, and that they are abuſed and ‘ too much affected by Clergymen, leaving their pro‘ feſſion to ſtudy thoſe Laws.’ What he quotes from Bacon is to this effect, he ſays, that the ſeveral countries of Europe, ſuch as England, France, Spain, Germany, were governed by Laws and conſtitutions of their own reſpectively, and ſo were the people of Italy, therefore no reaſon that the Engliſh Clergy ſhould endeavour to bring in the Italian Laws, but rather that they ſhould live as their anceſtors had done under the Laws of their own country. King Stephen, ſays he, by a publick edict prohibited ſo much as the keeping the Italian Laws in a man's cuſtody, and if a Lay King took ſuch a method to prevent Laymen from being ſubjected to them, much more ought the Clergy to diſdain theſe Laws that were made by and belonged to Laymen. Mr Selden afterwards obſerves, that tho' Bacon is ſo clear about the Civil Law, yet another author, of full as great authority in things of this nature, ſuggeſts, that it was a book of the Canon Law, which Archbiſhop Theobald brought with him from Rome. All this, however, is very little to the purpoſe, and if it proves any thing, proves directly the contrary of what our author has put into the mouth of Prince Edward. Let us hear now, what another great

(32) D. 2. c. 46.

(33) In the Preface to the ſixth part of his Reports, fol. 1. a.

(34) In the Preface to the eighth part of his Reports, fol. 14.

(35) In his Notes on Forteſcue *de laudibus legum Angliæ*.

of our laws, was received with that eſteem and credit which it deſerved, immediately after
it's

great oracle of the Law takes to be the meaning of this paſſage (36). ' H. 6. had William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, &c. who endeavoured to have brought in the Civil Laws, which was the occaſion that the Chief Juſtice Forteſcue wrote in the commendation of the Laws of England, preferring them for the government of this Land before the Civil Laws. This Duke, with others, plotted the death and deſtruction of Humfry the good Duke of Glouceſter who ever ſtood in his way.' It is highly probable, that Sir John Forteſcue might differ with the Duke of Suffolk, and it is not at all impoſſible, that the Duke of Suffolk might have a high opinion of the Civil Law, tho' it would be no eaſy matter to produce any proof of either. But what then? The Duke of Suffolk had been dead many years, and the whole ſcope of this treatiſe plainly proves, that it was writ upon a ſudden occaſion, and all at a time. The laſt commentator, whoſe name I am ſorry it is not in my power to mention, gives quite another and a better turn to this (37). ' King Henry the Sixth's Queen was neice to the Queen of France, and came out of a country where an arbitrary Government prevails: in order to raiſe her own power, ſhe inſiſted and infuſed into her favourites, that the Duke of Glouceſter's adminiſtration according to the ſtrictneſs of the national Laws was mean, and below the dignity of that ſovereign power and dominion which the Civil Law conferr'd on the King's perſon, and therefore ſhe countenanced ſuch proceedings as looked imperious and abſolved from all reſtriction. Why may not our author have reſpect to this particular character and caſe?' This is very ſenſible and very clear, and, to ſay the truth, the Chancellor's whole book is very plainly built upon his apprehenſions, that a foreign education, and living ſo long in the earlier part of his life in a foreign country, might have bad effects upon the young Prince's mind, and bring him to have a diſlike, or at leaſt an indifference for the Laws and conſtitution of his native country. Sir John Forteſcue was a man of probity, a man of loyalty, and a man of letters, which his whole book and his whole conduct ſhows, for they are indeed reciprocal comments upon each other. His probity appears in his making the conſtitution of England his firſt and greateſt temporal concern; his loyalty was without reproach, he adhered to King Henry and Prince Edward ſo long as they lived; if he afterwards embraced the part of King Edward, it was when Providence and the Laws of the land had declared in his favour; his knowledge and learning are placed beyond diſpute, by this and by his other treatiſe, both which are ſhort, plain, and convincing. It remains, that in this note, according to the promiſe made in the text, we eſtabliſh the juncture at which his treatiſe *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ* was written, and if this cannot be done in few words yet no more ſhall be uſed than are neceſſary. The paſſage that I rely upon to fix within a year or ſo at the fartheſt, is that which follows, and I inſiſt upon it the rather, becauſe there is not a word ſaid of it by any of the learned commentators, upon this excellent work; it is in theſe words (38). ' Now what man is there ſo ſtout or reſolute, who has once gone through this horrid trial by torture, be he never ſo innocent, who will not rather confeſs himſelf guilty of all kinds of wickedneſs, than undergo the like tortures a ſecond time, who would not rather die once, ſince death would put an end to all his fears, than to be killed ſo many times, and ſuffer ſo many helliſh tortures, more terrible than death itſelf? Don't you remember, my Prince, a criminal, who when upon the rack impeached of treaſon a certain noble Knight, a man of worth and loyalty, and declared that they were both concerned together in the ſame conſpiracy: and being taken down from the rack he ſtill perſiſted in the accuſation, leaſt he ſhould again be put to the queſtion. Nevertheleſs, being ſo much hurt and reduced by the ſeverity of the puniſhment, that he was brought almoſt to the point of death, after he had the Viaticum and Sacraments adminiſtred to him, he then confeſſed and took a very ſolemn oath upon it, by the Body of Chriſt, and as he was now as he imagined juſt going to expire; he affirmed that the ſaid worthy Knight was innocent, and clear of every thing he had laid to his charge; he added, that the tortures he was put to were ſo intolerable, that rather than ſuffer over again, he would accuſe the ſame perſon of the ſame crimes, nay, his own father, tho' when he ſaid this, he was in the bitterneſs of death, when all hopes of recovery were over. Neither did he at laſt eſcape that ignominious death, for he was hanged, and at the time and place of his execution, he acquitted the ſaid Knight of the crimes wherewith he had not long before charged him. Such confeſſions as theſe, alas! a great many others of thoſe poor wretches make, not led by a regard to truth, but compelled to it by the exquiſiteneſs of their torments.' It is very evident, that this ſtory was at that time of ſo great notoriety, as not to lay the Chancellor under any neceſſity of mentioning the perſon's name; in the next place, it is very apparent, that it was a very recent thing with which the Prince was well acquainted, and therefore likely to move him the more. Laſtly, the circumſtances mentioned in the ſtory are ſuch as diſtinguiſhed it ſufficiently. The informer was a mean man, the perſon accuſed a Knight, and otherways of diſtinguiſhed reputation; this accuſation brought him into great trouble and danger, out of which, however, he was at length extricated, and as for the informer, his infidelity turned upon himſelf, and he was executed upon his own evidence. Let us hear then what a certain Hiſtorian ſays, who lived in theſe times, and was himſelf Sheriff of London, conſequently well acquainted with what he relates, and whoſe authority therefore ought not to be doubted. The ſtory he tells us, is in the year 1468, and, in his own words, runs thus (39). ' Sir Thomas Cooke late Mayor of London, was by one, named Hawkins, appeached of treaſon, for the which he was ſent to the Tower, and his place within London ſeized by the Lord Rivers, and his wife and ſervants clearly put out thereof. The cauſe was this. The forenamed Hawkins came upon a ſeaſon unto the ſaid Sir Thomas, requeſting him to lend a thouſand marks upon good ſurety, whereunto he anſwered, that firſt he would know for whom it ſhould be, and for what intent. At length underſtanding it ſhould be for the uſe of Queen Margaret, he anſwered he had no current wares, whereof any ſhifts might be made without too much loſs, and therefore required Hawkins to move him no further in that matter, for he intended not to deal withal, yet the ſaid Hawkins exhorted him to remember what benefits he had received by her, when ſhe was in proſperity, as by making him her wardrober and cuſtomer of Hampton, &c. But by no means the ſaid Cooke would grant goods nor money, altho' at laſt the ſaid Hawkins required but an hundred pounds, he was fain to depart without the value of a penny, and never came again to move him, which ſo reſted two or three years after, till the ſaid Hawkins was caſt into the Tower, and at length brought to the brake called the Duke of Exceſter's daughter, by means of which pain he ſhewed many things, amongſt the which, the motion was one that he had made to Sir Thomas Cooke, and accuſed himſelf ſo far that he was put to death. By means of which confeſſion, the ſaid Sir Thomas was troubled, as before is ſhewed, when the ſaid Sir Thomas had lain in the Tower from Whitſuntide till about Michaelmas, in the which ſeaſon many enquiries were made to find him guilty, and ever quit, till one jury, by means of Sir John Fog, indicted him of treaſon, after which an Oyer and Terminer was kept at the Guild-hall, in which ſat with the Mayor the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Rivers, Sir John Fog, with other of the King's Council. To the which place the ſaid Thomas was brought, and there arraigned upon life and death, where he was acquitted of the ſaid indictment, and had to the Counter in Bread-Street, and from thence to the King's-Bench. After a certain time that he was thus acquitted, his wife got again the poſſeſſion of her houſe, the which ſhe found in an evil plight, for ſuch ſervants of the Lord Rivers, and Sir John Fog, as were aſſigned to keep it, made havock of what they

' liſted.

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(36) Coke's Inſtitutes, P. iii. cap. 99.

(37) De Laudibus Legum Angliæ, p. 74.

(38) Ibid. p. 44.

(39) Fabian's Chron. p. 497.

it's being communicated to the learned men of the profeſſion (*d*), then flouriſhing in this kingdom; and yet, notwithſtanding the reputation both of the piece and it's author, it continued long as a kind of jewel in private libraries; and, when it was at laſt publiſhed, came abroad in a manner little ſuitable either to the value of the performance, or the reſpect due to the memory of this reverend Sage in the law (*e*); but, by degrees, all theſe inconveniencies have been removed, and, in conſequence of ſeveral new editions, we have it now in that ſtate in which ſo uſeful a book, and ſo honourable for our conſtitution, deſerved juſtly to appear [*L*]. But to return to our famous Chancellor. He had, without doubt, a very good opinion of the ſtate of King Henry's affairs, when he had intelligence that the Duke of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick, had releaſed him out of the Tower, placed him again upon the throne, and forced his competitor King Edward to leave England. Theſe ſucceſſes determined him not only to conſent to the propoſition made for Queen Margaret's going over with her only ſon Prince Edward, but made him alſo reſolve to accompany her himſelf (*f*). Great preparations were made for this expedition, in which they were favoured by the French King (*g*); but before they were in a condition to put to ſea, there happened a new change of affairs in England. For King Edward landing in the North, advanced with a very ſmall body of forces to York, where, upon his ſolemn declaration that he did not aim at the crown, but ſought only reſtitution to his duchy of York, and the eſtates belonging to his family (*h*), he quickly gained a ſuperior force, with which, paſſing by Marquis Montacute, he entered London, and made King Henry the Sixth once more a priſoner (*i*). Then marching to Barnet, with his brother the Duke of Clarence, now reconciled to him, he fought the Earl of Warwick, who ſtiled himſelf King Henry's Lieutenant, upon Gladmore-Heath, on Eaſter-Sunday, April the fourteenth 1471, and there gained a compleat victory (*k*). This, without doubt, was very unwelcome news to Queen Margaret,

(*d*) Bale and Pits, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) See the Preface to the folio Edit. A.D. 1741.

(*f*) Leland's Collectanea, Vol. II. p. 503.

(*g*) Hiſtoire de France, par P. Daniel, Vol. VI. p. 433.

(*h*) See Fabian, Grafton, Stowe, and Speed's Chronicles.

(*i*) Contin. Hiſt. Croylandenius, ap. Gale Scriptor. veter. rerum Anglican. Tom. I. p. 554.

(*k*) Leland's Collectanea, Vol. II. p. 534, 535.

‘ liſted. Alſo at his place in Eſſex, named Giddihall, were ſet another ſort to keep that place, the which deſtroyed his deer in his park, his conies, and his fiſh, without reaſon; and ſpared not braſs, pewter, bedding, and all that they might carry, for the which might never one penny be gotten in recompence; yet could notSir Thomas Cooke be delivered till he had paid eight thouſand pounds to the King, and eight hundred pounds to the Queen.’ We are farther told by Stowe, that Sir John Markham, Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, having directed the Jury that Sir Thomas Cooke's offence was but miſpriſion of treaſon, the Lord Rivers, and the Ducheſs of Bedford, his wife, informed the King thereof, and prevailed upon him afterwards to diſmiſs him from his office (40). If therefore this be the ſtory to which our learned author alludes, as methinks there is no great reaſon to doubt that it muſt be; then, it follows plainly the diſcourſe could not be written before the year 1469, and indeed there are ſome other circumſtances in that treatiſe, which might be urged to the ſame purpoſe, but this being remarkably clear, and ſo well atteſted by our antient Hiſtorians, there does not ſeem to be any neceſſity of alledging farther evidence, when nothing can poſſibly be oppoſed to it, but bare conjectures without proof, or even probability to ſupport them.

[*L*] *Deſerved juſtly to appear.*] The hiſtory of the ſeveral editions of this celebrated work, is not a bare matter of curioſity, but alſo of uſe, becauſe (except very briefly, by Biſhop Tanner) (41) we have not hitherto had ſo diſtinct a catalogue of them, as might be wiſhed. It firſt appeared in Latin only, under the following title, which ſeems to have been that of the manuſcript from whence it was printed.

Prænobilis militis cognomento Forteſcue, *De politica adminiſtratione & legibus civilibus Florentiſſimi regni* Angliæ *Commentarius.* Lond. *per* Ed. Whitchurch, *temp. Henr.* VIII. 12*mo.*

It was again printed in Latin and Engliſh, by the care of Robert Mulcaſter, Lond. 1567, 12*mo.* it was alſo publiſhed in Engliſh alone, under the following title,

A learned Commentary of the Politic Laws *of* England: *Wherein, by moſt pithy reaſons and demonſtrations, they are plainly proved to excel, as well the* Civil Laws *of the* Empire, *as alſo all other* Laws *of the* World; *with a large diſcourſe of the difference between the two Governments of Kingdoms, whereof the one is only* regal; *and the other conſiſteth of* regal *and* politic *adminiſtration conjoined.* Lond. 1599. 8vo.

It was again publiſhed both in Latin and Engliſh, with the following title.

De Laudibus Legum Angliæ, *written by Sir* John Forteſcue, *Lord Chief Juſtice, and after Lord Chancellor to King* Henry *the* Sixth. *Hereto are added the two ſums of Sir* Ralph de Hengham, *Lord Chief Juſtice to King* Edward *the* Firſt, *commonly called* Hengham Magna, & Hengham Parva, *with notes, both on* Forteſcue *and* Hengham. *By that famous and learned Antiquary,* John Selden, *Eſq*; *Lond.* 1616, 1640. 8vo. 1672. 12mo.

Some of theſe, and more eſpecially the laſt edition, were very faulty; the Stationers, as a certain author juſtly obſerves, regarding no body's profit but their own. In the mean time it came out again, ſoon after the Reſtoration, in a very flouriſhing dreſs; and tho' I cannot ſay with, yet involved in the following pompous title.

FORTESCUTUS ILLUSTRATUS; or a *Commentary on that nervous treatiſe,* De Laudibus Legum Angliæ; *written by Sir* John Forteſcue, *Knight, firſt Lord* Chief Juſtice, *after Lord* Chancellor *to King* Henry *the* Sixth, *which treatiſe dedicated to Prince* Edward, *that King's ſon and heir whom he attended in his retirement into* France, *and to whom he loyally and affectionately imparted himſelf in the virtue and variety of his excellent diſcourſe, he purpoſely wrote to conſolidate his princely mind in the love and approbation of the good* Laws *of* England, *and of the laudable cuſtoms of this his native country. The heroick deſign of whoſe excellent judgment and loyal addiction to his Prince, is humbly endeavoured to be revived, admired, and advanced by* Edward Waterhouſe, *Eſquire.* Lond. 1663. folio.

The very language of this title is a ſufficient ſample of the book, where the reader will find a profuſion of learning, and yet meet with very little ſatiſfaction. A ſhort chapter, a line, nay, a word, furniſhes occaſion, I cannot prevail upon myſelf to ſay, matter, for a folio page, diverſified with variety of languages, and embroidered with numerous quotations from Schoolmen and Divines, as well as Lawyers. This Commentary however was licenſed by the Judges, and dedicated to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and perhaps with a view to this dedication, the book was in ſome meaſure written, as the reader may perceive, from the following parallel, which our commentator has drawn between his author and his patron (42). ‘ My noble text, Maſter, and your noble ſelf, ſays he, to the Earl of Clarendon were —— Both Gentlemen by birth, both Lawyers by breeding, both Knights by degree, both wiſe men by experience, both loyal attendants on your Sovereigns receſſes abroad, and both honoured by your Sovereigns with the truſt and ſtate of Chancellors.’ The laſt edition we ſhall mention, is that printed at London in folio, in 1732, again in 1741, with a copious preface, and with large, learned, and uſeful annotations, an accurate index, and whatever elſe is neceſſary to ſatiſfy a curious and inquiſitive reader.

(40) Annals, p. 420. Fuller's Holy State, p. 262. Burton's Leiceſterſhire, p. 577.

(41) Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernia, p. 493.

(42) Forteſcutus illuſtratus, Lond. 1663. fol.

Margaret, who, with Prince Edward, Sir John Forteſcue, ſtiled Lord Chancellor of England, the Prior of St John's, who had the title of Lord High-Treaſurer, Lord Wenlock, and ſeveral others, landed the very ſame day at Weymouth, in Dorſetſhire (*l*). However, being joined by the Duke of Exeter and the Earl of Devonſhire, ſhe reſolved to proſecute her deſign, and to make head againſt the conqueror, relying upon a great reinforcement which was expected from Jaſper Earl of Pembroke, who was raiſing men in Wales for the ſervice of King Henry (*m*). But this was prevented by the vigilance of King Edward, who, having recruited his army as ſoon as poſſible, marched Weſtward, and reduced his enemies to the neceſſity of fighting near Tewkſbury, in Glouceſterſhire. This battle was fought on Saturday the fourth of May 1471, and was very bloody; but at length ended in the total defeat of the Queen's army, the Queen herſelf, the Prince, and moſt of the great perſons in her army, being either killed or taken priſoners (*n*). There is ſaid to be a tradition, that, after this deciſive ſtroke, Sir John Forteſcue retired to his ſeat at Ebberton or Ebrighton, three miles from Camden in Glouceſterſhire, where he paſſed the remainder of his days in privacy (*o*). But Hiſtory ſpeaks another language; for by that we are informed, that Prince Edward, being delivered by the gentleman who took him, upon promiſe of preſerving his life, was, for a haughty anſwer given to King Edward, baſely murdered by the Dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, the Lord Haſtings, and others (*p*). The Duke of Somerſet, the Lord St John, Sir Humphry Audley, and Sir Gervaſe Clifton, having retired into a church in Tewkſbury, continued there upon the King's promiſe of pardon, though they might have eſcaped from Saturday to Monday, when they were taken out and beheaded (*q*); at the ſame time Queen Margaret, the Lady Anne, Widow to Prince Edward, the Counteſs of Devonſhire, the Lady Catherine Vaus, Sir John Forteſcue, Sir John Sainctlowe, Sir Henry Rous, Thomas Ormond, Dr Mackerell, and five others, were ſpared (*r*). It is very certain, that in a ſhort time King Edward was prevailed upon to pardon and releaſe Sir John Forteſcue (*s*); nor is it at all impoſſible that he likewiſe reſtored him to this eſtate, which was of the value of four hundred pounds a year. This, I ſay, is not at all improbable, ſince Sir John Burg, to whom the manor of Ebrighton had been given, died the very ſame year (*t*). There is no manner of doubt that our Chancellor, ſeeing the affairs of the Houſe of Lancaſter entirely overturned, endeavoured to reconcile himſelf to the victorious Edward the Fourth, and that in this he ſucceeded; and it was in order to facilitate this reconciliation, that he wrote a kind of apology for his own conduct, which treatiſe the learned Selden had ſeen (*u*), and of which ſome manuſcript copies are ſtill preſerved, tho' it has never yet been publiſhed [*M*]. After all theſe extraordinary changes, as well of his maſters as of his fortunes, Sir John Forteſcue preſerved his old principles, in regard to the conſtitution, as appears from another learned and valuable work of his, written in the Engliſh

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(*l*) Hiſt. Croyland. Continuat. p. 555.

(*m*) See Fabian, Grafton, Stowe, Holinſhed, Speed.

(*n*) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 267.

(*o*) Nicholſon's Engl. Hiſtor. Library, p. 233.

(*p*) Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 688.

(*q*) See Stowe, Grafton, Speed.

(*r*) Leland Collectanea, Vol II. p. 506.

(*s*) Cotton's Abridgment of the Records, p. 693.

(*t*) Sir Robt. Atkins's Hiſt. Glouceſterſhire, p. 425.

(*u*) As appears from his Preface to Forteſcue's Book *de laudibus*.

[*M*] *Tho' it has never yet been publiſhed.*] The title of the piece hinted at in the text at large, runs thus.

Sir John Forteſcue'*s Declaracioun upon certayn wrytingis ſent out of* Scotteland, *agenſt the Kyngis title of his Roialme of* Englond (43). *By way of Dialogue.*

There is no doubt at all with me, that if we had this treatiſe publiſhed, we ſhould ſee that he made a very grateful return to the King for his mercy, which, more than one writer intimates, he freely obtained; but having formerly written in direct terms againſt the title of the Houſe of York, as well as in defence of that of Lancaſter, he judged it highly expedient for him now to give a fair account of his changing his ſentiments, for this may be well deduced from what Selden ſays in his preface, where ſpeaking of our author's taking the title of Chancellor, he delivers himſelf thus. 'In his *Declaration*, or rather *Retractation*, 'of that he had written againſt the title of the Houſe 'of York, himſelf, puts in the mouth of a friend of his 'expoſtulating with him theſe words, *conſidering that* '*ye were the chief Chancellor to the ſaid late King*.' But tho' we mention this, to ſhew the ſenſe he had of the royal mercy extended to him, yet we have in the text refuted from authority, the groundleſs inſinuation of a certain writer a little too apt to advance things at random, contained in theſe words (44). 'I 'ſuppoſe he grew weary of baniſhment, and the inte'reſts of the Houſe of Lancaſter, ſome time before the 'unhappy return of the Queen and her ſon, upon the 'Earl of Warwick's revolt, ſince we do not hear of 'him in their retinue.' It is ſhewn in the text, that he was in their retinue, if that expreſſion muſt be uſed towards a man of his rank, and that he ſhared in the diſmal conſequences of the deciſive defeat at Tewkſbury; ſo that to ſay, as the ſame writer does, that he changed his ſide and his principles is extremely harſh, and was certainly the effects of that writer's not knowing the true ſtate of his caſe. But a captious reader may poſſibly have it at his tongue's end to ſay; ſince you acknowledge that you have not ſeen this treatiſe, how, with any certainty, can you know it? To this it is very fit that an anſwer ſhould be given; for to be angry with a man's conjecture, without offering any thing towards the diſproof of it, is not only acting rudely, but ridiculouſly. But mark what is the true ſtate of the queſtion. I very readily acknowledge that he changed his political opinions, but I deny that he either changed his ſide or his principles. Not his ſide, for he adhered to King Henry and Prince Edward as long as they lived, ſo that he did not paſs from ſide to ſide, but very wiſely ſubmitted when he ſaw that reſiſtance was both vain and unjuſt. Not his principles either, for we ſhall ſee that he ſteadily maintained them after he acknowledged the right as well as the power to be in the Houſe of York. Now to prove all this, notwithſtanding that remarkable dialogue of his ſtill ſhut up in a library, let us hear what Sir Edward Coke ſays (45), who had peruſed this treatiſe, and who will not only give us a general view of its contents, but his opinion likewiſe of his predeceſſor's practice, and a better opinion than his in a point of this nature, all things conſidered, cannot be eaſily had; take it then in his own words. 'Forteſcue '*De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*: this book was written 'in the reign of King Henry the Sixth, in commen'dation of the Laws of England, containing withal 'much excellent matter worthy the reading: he wrote 'alſo a book in defence of the title of King Henry 'the Sixth, his Sovereign Lord and Maſter, to the 'Crown of England, but after, out of truth and con'ſcience, retracted the ſame, both which I have: where'in he deſerved ſingular commendation, in that he 'was not amongſt the number of thoſe, *qui ſuos amaſſent errores*, but yielded to truth when he found it. 'This Sir John Forteſcue was Lord Chief Juſtice of 'England, and his poſterity remain in great and good 'account to this day.' This certainly is deciſive, and comes up fully to all that I have ſaid.

(43) MS. Digby in Biblioth. Bodleian. 198.

(44) Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtor. Library, p. 233.

(45) In the Preface to the tenth Part of his Reports.

[*N*] *Which*

liſh language (w), and publiſhed in the reign of Queen Anne; which, tho' it has not been hitherto obſerved, appears, from ſome paſſages contained therein, to have been written not only after his being pardoned, but for the ſervice of Edward IV. my reaſons for aſſerting which will appear in the notes [*N*]. As to his other writings, as we know nothing more

(w) See a large Account of this Book in the Notes.

[*N*] *Which will appear in the notes.*] The title of this work, as it ſtood in it's original edition, runs thus: *The Difference between an* abſolute *and* limited Monarchy, *as it more particularly regards the* Engliſh *Conſtitution; being a Treatiſe, written by Sir* John Forteſcue, *Knight, Lord* Chief Juſtice, *and Lord* High-Chancellor *of* England, *under King* Henry VI. *Faithfully tranſcribed from the Manuſcript Copy in the* Bodleian Library, *and collated with three other Manuſcripts. Publiſhed with ſome Remarks, by* John Forteſcue Aland, *of the Inner-Temple, Eſq;* F. R. S. Lond. 1714, 8*vo*.

In reference to the genuineneſs of the peice, and to the certainty of it's being our author's, hear what the right honourable editor thereof, John, Baron Forteſcue of Credans, in the County of Waterford, (for ſo Mr Forteſcue Aland was afterwards created) ſays in his Preface. 'The firſt copy of this piece, I ſaw at Oxford ſome years ago, in the Bodleian Library, among the manuſcripts of Mr Selden, and being taken with the excellency of the ſubject, I procured a tranſcript of it, which I carefully examined myſelf in Oxford, and collated the ſame with three other manuſcript copies, two of which I found in the ſame library, among the manuſcripts of Archbiſhop Laud, and Sir Kenelm Digby; and the third, I found in the Cotton Library. But this copy is the faireſt, moſt perfect, and compleat of them all, and was tranſcribed by Sir Adrian Forteſcue's own hand, who was a deſcendant from our author, and lived in the reign of King Henry VIII; for I find written upon this copy, theſe words: *Iſte Liber pertinet* Adriano Forteſcue, *Militi, manu propria ſcriptus, Anno Domini* 1532, *& Anno Regis H. VIII.* 24 (46). But Archbiſhop Laud's copy ſeems to be the moſt ancient, for therein are to be found ſeveral Saxon characters in ſeveral places, and ſome very old words different from thoſe in this copy; but all the various readings which are material, for the curious Antiquary, I have noted in the margin of this book. As to the language, it is the Engliſh of thoſe times, participating very much of the nature of the Saxon tongue; for it has in it many words, and terminations of words, as alſo many phraſes, purely Saxon: And I choſe to publiſh it in it's own native dreſs, not only as it is a curious piece of antiquity, but that every man may be judge for himſelf of the true ſenſe and meaning of our author; and lay no imputation on the publiſher of altering the ſenſe, in attempting to give it a more modern dreſs.'

It is not eaſy to apprehend what the cauſe might be, which hindred the noble editor from ſpeaking clearly of the occaſion and deſign for, or time in, which it was written; but certain it is, that none of theſe are particularly marked, neither is the leaſt word ſaid, that this treatiſe was penned in favour of King Edward the Fourth, which, notwithſtanding, may be proved from ſeveral paſſages in the book itſelf, though it cannot be denied, that in the title of the manuſcript in the Cotton Library, it is ſaid to be addreſſed to King Henry the Sixth (47); this treatiſe is divided into twenty chapters, we will briefly run over the contents of them all. In the firſt, he ſhews the difference between an abſolute and a limited monarchy, which he very plainly and ſenſibly places in a King's ruling by laws of his own making, which he calls *Dominium Regale*; and in a Prince's governing by laws made with the conſent of his ſubjects, which he calls *Dominium Politicum & Regale*. In the ſecond chapter, he points out the means by which theſe differences in government grew, and that with equal perſpicuity and ſagacity. He ſuppoſes, that in rougher and more barbarous times, ſuch as had followers, and power, made uſe of them to ſettle principalities, and ſo ruled their people when ſettled, as they did before, that is, by their mere will and pleaſure. But when men were become milder and more civilized, he thinks they choſe their own governors, and preſcribed the terms upon which they would be governed; hence he takes occaſion to obſerve, that when Brute firſt ſettled this iſland, he brought with him a colony, and conſequently muſt have previouſly agreed with them how public affairs ſhould be adminiſtred. Let no haſty critic, or forward politician, blame our reverend author for giving credit to what others ſtile a fable; but let them obſerve the good uſe he has made of this piece of vulgar hiſtory, whether true or falſe, viz. to ſhew that there never was ſuch a thing as abſolute government eſtabliſhed in this iſland, and before they reject his reaſons for it, let them be ſure they can aſſign better. The buſineſs of his third chapter, is to ſhew the fruits of an abſolute and of a limited government; he inſtances, as to the former in France; and ſhews that the government there became abſolute by our invaſions, when their Kings, pleading neceſſity for raiſing ſupplies, and the impoſſibility of calling their Eſtates, took thence occaſion to tax the common people at their pleaſure, whence had ariſen their poverty and diſtreſſed condition, which he largely and pathetically deſcribes; and he deduces the power and ſtrength of the Engliſh nation, from their living under the other form of rule, which enabled them not only to defend themſelves, but to conquer their neighbours; and thus, ſays he, we may judge of the nature of governments by our Saviour's rule, *by their fruits ſhall ye know them*. Theſe three chapters fall in ſo exactly with the beginning of his book, *de Laudibus Legum Angliæ*; that, as the laſt and beſt commentator upon that piece obſerves, it is impoſſible he ſhould not have referred to it, as he does to another treatiſe, if that work had not been compoſed before this. In his fourth chapter, he ſhews how the French King's revenues come to be double to that of the King of England; becauſe, ſays he, the French King takes what he pleaſes, and the King of England what his people will pleaſe to give him. In the fifth chapter, he ſhews the miſchiefs that ariſe from a King's being poor, and more eſpecially from his being in debt; and this he does very fully, though very conciſely, arguing, that as he muſt always pay more in ſuch circumſtances, than he would need to pay if in better; ſo what he pays, coming in the end out of his peoples pockets, the nation muſt be impoveriſhed that ſuffers their King to be diſtreſſed. In the ſixth chapter, he ſhews the ordinary charges of the realm, in which he obſerves, that tonnage and poundage ought not to be conſidered as a part of the King's general revenue, ſince it is given for a particular uſe, and ſhould only be applied to the maintaining his dominion of the ſeas. His ſeventh chapter, treats of the extraordinary expence of the crown. In the eighth, he ſhews, that if the King's ſettled revenue be not ſufficient, it is the duty of his ſubjects to ſupply him, and in this kingdom more eſpecially, where both the King's ordinary and extraordinary expences, are employ'd for the benefit of his people. He inſiſts in his ninth chapter, on the danger of ſubjects becoming too potent; and he obſerves, that in France, the government was never ſubverted but by ſuch potent ſubjects; here I muſt crave the liberty of citing his own words. 'In our days, ſays he, we have ſeen a ſubgett of the Frenche Kyng gyvyn battel to the ſame Kyng, and put him to flight, and afterward beſegid him in Pariſe, his gretteſt Cyte, and ſo kepte hym ther, unto the time his ſaid Kyng had made ſuch end with him, his adherents, and fautours, as he deſired. We have alſo ſeen in our Realme, ſum of the Kyng's ſubgetts gevyn hym batell, by occaſyoun that their lyvelood and offices were the gretteſt of the lond, and els they would nor could have done ſo. The Erlys of Lyceſtre, and of Glouceſtre, which then war the gretteſt Lords of England, roſe ageyn theyr Kyng, Herry the thirde, and toke hym and his ſon priſoners in the feld. Whiche maner of demeanyng the Kyng of Scotts, that laſt dyyd, dredyng to be practyſyd in his lond, put out of the ſame lond, the Erles Dowglas, whoſe lyvelood and myght was nere hand equivalent to his owne, movyd therto by non other cauſe, ſave only drede of his rebellion.' The reaſon of citing this paſſage, is, on account of it's helping us to ſeveral dates. The French ſubject, who defeated

(46) See an Account of this Sir Adrian Forteſcue in the next Article; from whence will appear he was not the Chancellor's deſcendant.

(47) Claudius, A. viii. 21.

more of them than the titles, and the commendations that have been beſtowed upon them by ſuch as have peruſed them, we cannot pretend to ſay when they were written, one only excepted,

defeated his Sovereign, and ſhut him up in the city of Paris, till he made a treaty to his ſatisfaction, was Charles Count de Charolois, eldeſt ſon to the Duke of Burgundy, who formed a league of the great French Lords, againſt Lewis XI, which produced the civil war, covered with the ſpecious title of *the Publick Good*; he gained the battle of Montlehery, on Tueſday, July 16, 1465, and forced the King to grant him and his aſſociates what they pleaſed (48). The King of Scots ſpoken of, as long before deceaſed, was James the Second, who died in 1460 (49). In the tenth chapter, he enquires how the Crown may be beſt endowed; and therein he determines, that, all things conſidered, the beſt method for increaſing the King's Revenue, was to augment his Crown Lands. In the eleventh chapter, he ſhews how this may be done by a reſumption, but with due care, and under proper reſtrictions; and therein he ſeems to exempt the King's brethren, to whom, for their ſervices, as well as their being nigh in blood to his Highneſs, he ſays, the King had given lands, and that it did not become his magnificence to act otherwiſe. This plainly ſhews, that the King he means, was Edward the Fourth; for conſidering the dates formerly fixed, he could mean no other; at the cloſe of the chapter, he propoſes that a large ſubſidy ſhould be given the King by his people, that he may be able to give ample rewards to thoſe from whom the lands which he had inconſiderately beſtowed upon them, ſhould be taken, and this to prevent the King's falling into poverty again. The diſmal conſequences that muſt neceſſarily follow the bringing the Commons of this Realm into poverty, is the ſubject of the twelfth chapter, which, though at firſt ſight it may ſeem, in a great meaſure, antiquated; yet, if ſtrictly and ſoberly conſidered, the grounds of his obſervations will yet be found true; for he ſays, that on one hand, theſe needy Commons will be moſt ready to riſe up againſt the government; and, on the other, ſuch as are not inclined to riſe, will not have wherewithal to help the government; whence he infers, that if a people be rich, the King ought to be rich; but, if the people be not rich, the King muſt be poor: It appears from the particular mention of taxes in this chapter, that this treatiſe muſt have been written after the year 1474. In the thirteenth chapter, he labours to prove, that the only reaſon why the French do not rebel, is their want of courage; and upon this, he advances a very odd fact, that there were more men hanged in a year in England, for robbery and manſlaughter, than in ſeven years in France for the ſame crimes; he ſays, that in Scotland, there was hardly a man hanged for robbery once in ſeven years; but, in England, ſays he, if a man be very poor, and ſee another very rich, whom he may deſpoil by force, he will not fail to do ſo. In France, therefore, ſays he, it is not their poverty, but their want of heart, that keeps men from riſing. In the fourteenth chapter, he propoſes an act of Reſumption, and a large ſubſidy, as the only means by which the grandeur of the Crown could be reſtored; and the Commons freed from the neceſſity of giving continual ſupplies. The title of his fifteenth chapter is, how the King's Council may be beſt choſen and eſtabliſhed; this ſeems to have been a favourite deſign of his, and to have coſt him much more pains than any in his book; and therefore, as well as becauſe it is ſhort, we well give it the reader preciſely in his own words. ‘The Kings Counceile was wont to be choſyn of grete Princis, and of the gretteſt Lords, both Spirituellis and Temporallis, of the Realm; and alſo of other men that wer in grete auctorite and offices. Which Lords and Officers, had nerehand as many matters of their own to be treatid in the Counceile, as had the Kyng. Wher thorow whan thay came togeders, thay was ſo occupyyd with their own maters, and with the maters of their kynne, ſervants, and tenaunts, that they intendyd but lityll, and other while, nothyng to the Kyng's maters: and alſo, ther war but fewe maters of the Kyng's, but if the ſame maters, towchid alſo the ſaid Counceylors, their coſyns, their ſervaunts, tenaunts, or ſuch other as thay owy'd favor unto. And what lowar man was than ſytting in that Counceile, that durſt, ſay, ageyn the opynyoun of any of the grete Lords? And might not than men make, by meanys of corrupcion, ſum of the ſervaunts and Counceillours, of ſome of the Lords, to move the Lords to parcyalite, and to make them favourable and parcyal, as wer the ſame ſervaunts, or the parties that ſo movyd them. Than could no mater treatid in the Councile, be kepte privy and ſecrete. For the Lords oftyn tymes tould to their Counceylours and ſervaunts, that had ſewyd to them for the maters, hou thay had ſped in them, and who was ageyn them. Hou may the Kyng be councelid to reſtrayne gevyng away of his lond; of gevyng of offices corodyes, or pencions of abbeys, by ſuch gret Lords, to other menys ſervants, ſythen they moſt deſyer ſuch gyfts for themſelf and their ſervants. Which thyngs conſydery'd, and alſo many other, which ſchal be ſchewy'd hereafter, hyt is thought good, that the Kyng had a Counceile choſyn and eſtabliſchid, in the fourme that followith, or in ſome other fourme like thereunto. Firſt, that ther were choſyn xii temporal men, and xii ſpirituall men, of the wiſeſt and beſt diſpoſyd men that can be found in al the parties of the lande; and that they be ſworne to counceile the Kyng, after a fourme to be devyſyd for their othe. And in eſpecyall, that thay ſchal take no fee, nor clothyng, nor reward, of any man, excepte only of the Kyng, like as the Juſtices of the Kyng's Benche, and of the Common Place, be ſworne, whan thay take their offices. And that thees xxiv be always Counceilors; but, if ther be any defawte fownd in them, or that yt lyſt the Kyng, by the advyſe of the more partie of them, to chaunge any of them. And that every year, be choſyn by the Kyng, iv^{er} Lords Spiritual, and iv^{er} Lords Temporal, to be for that yere of the ſame Counceile, in like fourme as the ſaid xxiv ſchal be. And that they al have an heede, or a cheffe ruler, one of the ſaid xxiv, and choſyn and appointyd by the Kyng, havyng his office at the Kyng's pleaſure, which may then be callid *Capitalis Conciliarius*. Hyt ſchal not be neceſſarye, that the xij ſpiritual men of this Counceile, have ſo grete wages as the xij temporal, becauſe they ſchal not nede to kepe an houſehold in their countrey, while thay be abſent, as the temporal men muſt needs do, for their wives and children. By which conſyderation, the Spiritual Judges, in the Court of Parlement of Paris, takyn but CC franks by the yere; whereas, the Temporal Judges thereof, takyn by the year CCC frankes. The ſaid viij Lords alſo, which, by reaſon of their Baronies and aſtats, ben to the Kyng always, *Conſiliarii nati*, and therfor oughtyn to counceile him at al tymys, whan he woll nedyn not to have grete wags for their attendaunce to this Conceile, which ſhall laſt but for a yere. For temporal men, which, by reaſon of their enheritance and lyvelood, been made Scheriffs for a yere, takyn of the Kyng lityl and al moſt no thyng, for their ſervice of that yere. And though that wages of the ſaid xxiv Councelors, ſeme a new and a grete charge to the Kyng, yet, whan it is conſidered hou grete wages the grete Lords, and other men, which wer of the Kyng's Counceile, in tymes paſſed, toke for their attendaunce therunto, which maner of Counceile was nothyng ſo behovefull to the Kyng, and to his Realme, as this wol be, which wags ſchal than forwith ceaſſe; the wages of the xxiv Councellors ſchal appere no grete charge to the Kyng. And I can ſuppoſe, that ſumme Kyngs before this tyme, have gevyn to ſum one man that hath ſervyd him, as mych lyvelood yerely, as the ſaid wages woll come unto. And if the ſame wags be thought ſo grete charge unto the Kyng, the foreſaid Counceillours may be in leſs nombre, as to be xvi^{en} Counceillours of private perſonys, with ij Lords Spiritual, and ij Lords Temporal, ſo as than they be in all xx^{ti} Perſons. Thees Councellours may continually, at ſuch houres as ſchall be aſſigned to them, comeune and deliber upon the maters of deficultie, that fallen to the Kyng; and than upon the maters of the polycie of the Realme: as how the going out of the money may be reſtraynyd; how bullion may be brought into this land; how alſo plate, jewels,

(48) Du Tillet Chronique abbregé du Roys de France, p. 135, 136.

(49) Drummond's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 108.

excepted, to which he refers in a treatiſe already mentioned; but, however, we have taken all the care poſſible to repreſent thoſe titles diſtinctly, and to give the reader the beſt lights we can, where they may yet be found and conſulted by ſuch as have the curioſity to enquire after the labours of this excellent perſon, which, from what we have ſeen of his compoſitions, cannot but be eſteemed every way worthy of peruſal [O]. We know no-
thing

‘ jewels, and money, late borne oute, may be getyn yn ageyn, of which, right wiſe men may ſoon find the meanys. And alſo, hou the pricys of merchaundiſes, growyn in this lond, may be holden up and encreaſyd, and the prycys of merchaundiſe, brought into this lond, abatyd. How our Navye may be maynteny'd and augmentyd; and upon ſuch other pointz of polyçie, to the gretteſt profit and encreaſe that ever came to this lond. Hou alſo the Lawy's may be amendyd in ſuch thyngs as thay nede reformation in, wher thorough the Parlements ſchall or may do more good in a moneth, to the amendment of the Lawe, than thay may do in a yere, if the amendment thereof be not debatid, and by ſuch counçeile rypynd to their hands. Ther may be of this Counceile, when they liſte to come thereunto, or that they be deſyryd by the ſaid Counceilors, the gretteſt officers of the land, as Chauncelor, Treſorar, and Pryvye Seale, of which the Chancelor, whan he is preſent, may be Hye Preſident, and have the ſupreme rule of al the Counceile. Alſo, the Juges and Barons of th' Eſcheker, and the Clerk of the Rollis, and ſuch Lords as the ſaid forſaid Counceilors woll deſyer to be with them, for matters of grete diffyculty may be of this Counceile, whan they be deſyryd, and els not. All other maters which ſchal conſerne this Counceile, as whan a Counceilor dyyth, hou a new Counceylor ſchal be choſyn, how many howrs of the day this Counceil ſchal ſyt, whan they ſchal have any vacation, how long any of them may be abſent, hou he ſchal have his leve and lycenſe, with al other articles neceſſary for the demeanyng and rule of this counceile may be conceyvyd by leyſure and put in a boke, and that boke kept in this counceile as a regiſtre, or an ordynal hou thay ſchal do and be orderyd in every thyng.' The ſixteenth chapter ſhews how the Romans proſpered while their ſenate was maintained in its full authority, and how it declined when the credit and freedom of that venerable aſſembly decay'd. In the ſeventeenth chapter, inſtructions are given as to the manner in which places ought to be beſtowed, and it is therein obſerved, that the King had above a thouſand offices in his gift. In the eighteenth are advertiſements concerning the beſtowing of penſions. In the nineteenth, the advantages which might ariſe from theſe regulations are fully ſtated, and in Archbiſhop Laud's manuſcript this chapter ends abruptly, part of it being loſt, but in Sir Adrian Forteſcue's manuſcript this is ſupplied, and therein is a prayer in direct terms for King Edward the Fourth, for whoſe uſe, as from many other circumſtances, we have proved this treatiſe was undoubtedly written. The twentieth, that is the laſt chapter, demonſtrates the expediency of the King's beſtowing no gifts but by letters patent under his great ſeal, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, which, as this able ſtateſman very judiciouſly obſerves, would not only prevent improper and exceſſive gifts, but alſo ſave the King the trouble of denying, or, at leaſt, his being expoſed to unſeemly and importunate ſollicitations. Take it altogether, and it will appear to be a work which affords as full evidence of the learning, wiſdom, uprightneſs, publick ſpirit, and loyal gratitude of its author, as any that is extant, either in ours or in any modern language; and which as it is illuſtrated with the learned Judge Forteſcue's notes, may certainly be of very great uſe to all who are inclined to ſtudy the original and true foundation of our laws and civil conſtitutions.

[O] *Every way worthy of peruſal.*] The care with which this great man's works have been ſo long preſerved, the variety of copies, in different libraries, as well as numerous editions of his little treatiſe, in praiſe of the Laws of England, are more than ſufficient to refute that ill grounded, as well as ill bred, cenſure, of one, whoſe rank and function, ſhould have reſtrained from ſuch indecent language, more eſpecially of ſo great a man, and one ſo long ſince in his grave (50): ‘ he wrote, ſays he, other two books of the diſtinction, betwixt *Dominium Regale & Politicum*, and a retractation of his errors, about the title of the Houſe of York, both which are ſtill pretty common in manuſcript, but have not yet been thought worthy of the preſs. A third, he compiled likewiſe, as himſelf tells us, for the uſe of Prince Edward, which treated, *de natura legis naturæ*; and, in the opinion of its author, was a notably ſhrewd piece: but whether 'tis now loſt, or was deſtroyed, and recanted upon the forementioned change of his ſide and principles, I cannot tell.' We may believe him, ſince we ſhall ſhew that his intelligence, at leaſt in this point, was of no greater extent than his good manners. All the pieces that he ever was acquainted with, have been already mentioned, one only excepted, that, and the reſt, are as follows.

Opuſculum de Natura legis Naturæ, &c. (51). A pretty fair book for the time when it was written. ‘ A curious MS. on paper, ſmall folio, with large margins, eſpecially at the bottom, writ on both ſides, without introduction, dedication, or preface.' Each chapter hath its contents. The whole title is,

Opuſculum de Natura legis Naturæ, & de ejus cenſura in Succeſſione Regnorum Supremorum. i. e. ‘ A ſhort treatiſe of the Nature of the Law of Nature, and its influence in the Succeſſion of independent Sovereignties.' It is diſtinguiſhed as a firſt part *(pars prima)*. The concluſion of this piece (cap XLVIII) ſeems to intimate, an argument upon the rules of Succeſſion to Kingdoms in general. It is in the following words; *Scriptor progreditur, alium ſuperinde, quod de jure ſuccedendi in regnis, ſupremis intitulabitur, exordiens ſic libellum.* This ſecond part is now loſt, or probably deſtroy'd by its author. Mr Waterhouſe, in his commentary on Forteſcue, mentions the *Opuſculum* (52), under the character of an excellent treatiſe; a book of worth and weight, purpoſely penned to ſet forth to the Prince the juſt meaſure of government, according to the law of nature and nations. Tho' the language be a little incorrect, the ſenſe, conſidering the time when the author wrote, is very extraordinary; and he muſt be allowed to have been a perſon of general and uſeful learning. This is alſo in the Worſley Library, under the title of *Tractatus de Naturâ legis Naturæ, per D. Joannem Forteſcue* (53). The book *de Vigore legis Naturalis*, mentioned by both Bale and Pits, probably is the *Opuſculum.*

Defenſio-Juris Domus Lancaſtriæ (54).

A Defence of the Houſe *of* Lancaſter one leaf (55).

Genealogy of the Houſe *of* Lancaſter (56).

Of the title of the Houſe *of* York (57).

Genealogia Regum Scotiæ. In the ſame hand (58).

Defence of the Houſe *of* York. 4to (59). *In Coll. MS. Jameſii. Quædam excerpta ex Forteſcue, contra Titulum Edwardi* (60), in which you will find remarkable. *Ad quæ dicit miles prædictus, quod nulla mulier, obſtantibus lege & conſuetudine Angliæ, in Jure Coronæ & Regni illius ſuccedere poteſt. Sed*, &c.

A Dialogue *between* Underſtanding *and* Faith (61), ſix leaves fol. written by Sir John Forteſcue, in the time of King Henry the Sixth, *in quo, oſtendit, quibus modis & rationibus*, Deus *ſæpe caſtigat & punit* Reges *per eos, qui magis contra illum deliquerunt.*

A Prayer Book which ſavoureth much of the times we live in (62).

A Liſt of the Commodities of ENGLAND, *as rivers, havens, with their deſcription, ground, ſheep, cloth, tin, lead, gold, ſilver, &c. Then, wherein the honour of this land conſiſts, and what commodities our merchants bring out of ſeveral other countries* (63).

But it may be doubted, whether this was written by our author or not. Dugdale aſcribes to him *an abridgment of the book of aſſizes* (64), in which he ſeems to be miſtaken; yet it is very far from being impoſſible, that there may be other works of our author ſtill preſerved in manuſcript, with which the learned world is not yet acquainted, and it may be, that ſome of his
writings

(50) Eng. Hiſtor. Library, p. 233.

(51) Cat. lib. MS. 66. a. 72. a. 83. b.

(52) Forteſcutus illuſtratus, p. 215, 423.

(53) Catt. lib. MS. ii. 213. a.

(54) Biblioth. Cott. Otho. A. 3. fol. 98.

(55) Ibid. 4. F. 110.

(56) Ibid. A. 5. 91. miſplaced by the Bookbinder, F. 111.

(57) Ibid. 6. F. 92.

(58) Ibid. 7. F. 96.

(59) Ibid. 8. F. 67.

(60) Catt. lib. MS. p. 262. b. Wood's Athen. Vol. I. col. 616.

(61) Biblioth. Cott. Vitell. E. X. 25. F. 190.

(62) Riſdon, Devon. II. 244, 354.

(63) Cod. Laudian. i. 47.

(64) Orig. Juridic. p. 58.

thing of the remaining part of his life, which was very probably ſpent in an honourable retirement in the country, free from the cares, and remote from the dangers, that neceſſarily attend thoſe who paſs their time in Courts. Neither is there any diſtinct account preſerved of his death; we are only told in general, that he was near ninety-years of age (*x*) when he breathed his laſt, which the circumſtances of his life render very probable. His remains were interred in the Pariſh-Church of Ebburton, where one of his deſcendants, in the year 1677, cauſed a monument to be repaired, upon which was the effigies of this venerable perſon in his robes, and added an inſcription to his memory (*y*) [*P*]. It has been very truly reported, that all good men, and lovers of the Engliſh conſtitution, ſpeak of him with honour (*z*); and that he ſtill lives in the opinion of all true Engliſhmen, in as high eſteem and reputation as any Judge that ever ſat in Weſtminſter-Hall. He was a man acquainted with all ſorts of learning, beſides his knowledge in the Law, in which he was exceeded by none, as will appear by the many learned judgments he gave when on the Bench, in the year-book of Henry the Sixth. His character in Hiſtory, is that of pious, loyal, and learned; and he had the honour to be called the Chief Councellor of the King. He was a great courtier, and yet a great lover of his country. It would carry this article into too great a length, if we ſhould inſert here all that is even neceſſary to be ſaid of his learning and virtues; and therefore ſome points relative to theſe, and ſerving to ſet his character in a true light, are placed at the bottom of the page [*Q*]. His ſon and heir, Martin Forteſcue, Eſq; eſpouſed

(*x*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 307.

(*y*) See the inſcription in the notes.

(*z*) Lord Forteſcue, in his Preface to the Difference between an abſolute and a limited Monarchy.

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writings are loſt. John Speed (65) quotes him in his hiſtory, in a place where nothing occurs, at leaſt, in his publiſhed works, that has any relation to that paſſage; and yet Speed was too honeſt and too correct a writer, either to miſlead others, or to be miſled himſelf. It would be certainly a great benefit to the learned world, if all his manuſcripts were printed, for he was a man of general knowledge, great obſervation, and one who has given many uſeful notices, in relation to the dark parts of our Hiſtory and Antiquities.

(65) Chronicle, p. 681.

[*P*] *And added an inſcription to his memory.*] He lies buried in the Pariſh Church belonging to Ebburton, now written more frequently Ebrighton, where, in the chancel, there is a monument erected for him; probably, ſoon after his interment, by the appearance of its antiquity and workmanſhip: on this old tomb, lies his effigies at full length, in freeſtone, in his robes of Lord Chief Juſtice, which doubtleſs was done at the time that the ſaid monument was firſt erected; on the ſides and ends, are the Forteſcue's arms: over this tomb, a table of marble was faſtened, at the charges of the late Colonel Robert Forteſcue, of Weare and Filleigh, his direct heir (66), with the following inſcription engraven thereon.

(66) Copied from the Monument, by Anthony à Wood.

In
Fœlicem & immortalem Memoriam
Clariſſimi viri Domini,
Johannis Forteſcuti
Militis Grandævi, Angliæ Judicis Primarii
Et Proceſſu temporis ſub Hen. 6. Rege &
Edwardo Principe, ſummi Cancellarii,
Regis, Conſiliarii prudentiſſimi
Legum Angliæ, peritiſſimi
Nec non earundem
Hyperaſpiſtis
Fortiſſimi
Qui
Corporis exuvias lætam Reſurrectionem expectantes
Hic depoſuit
Marmoreum hoc Monumentum
poſitum eſt A. D.
MDCLXXVII.
Voto & expenſis Roberti Forteſcuti
Armigeri ejuſdem Familiæ Hæredis nuper Defuncti.

Angligenas intra Cancellos juris & æqui
Qui tenuit, cineres jam tenet urna viri
Lex viva ille fuit patriæ, lux ſplendida legis,
Forte bonis ſcutum, ſontibus & ſcutica.
Clarus erat Titulis, clarus majoribus, arte
Clarus, Virtute eſt! clarior emicuit!
Jam micat in tenebris, veluti Carbunculus, orbi
Nam virtus radios non dare tanta nequit.
Vivit adhuc Forteſcutus laudatus in ævum;
Vivit & in legum laudibus ille ſuis.

In Engliſh thus.

To
The happy and immortal Memory,
Of that moſt famous man,
SIR JOHN FORTESCUE;
An ancient Knight, Chief Juſtice of England,
And in proceſs of time under Henry VI.
And Prince Edward, High Chancellor;
Of the King, the moſt prudent Councellor;
In the Laws of England, profoundly learned;
And of thoſe Laws alſo
A Champion,
Invincible;
Whoſe earthly remains in expectation of
a joyful Reſurrection
are here depoſited;
This Marble Monument
Is erected,
MDCLXXVII.
By the direction, and at the expence of
ROBERT FORTESCUE, Eſq;
The direct heir of this family lately deceaſed.
Of him, who juſtice could the beſt explain,
This little URN doth all that's left contain.
His country's living Law, that Laws great light,
The ſcourge of wrong, and the defence of right.
His birth diſtinguiſhed, merit gave him ſtate,
Learning, applauſe, but virtue made him great.
Through darkneſs now a carbuncle he ſhines,
Nor wiſdom's rays the gloomy grave confines;
To lateſt times ſhall FORTESCUE be known,
And in the LAWS juſt PRAISE be read his own.

[*Q*] *Are placed at the bottom of the page*] We are told by Bale (67), upon the credit of Robert Record, a very ſenſible and learned man, and one well acquainted with the perſonal Hiſtory of Engliſh Scholars and Stateſmen, as well as with the civil Hiſtory of the Engliſh Nation; that this reverend perſon, through the whole courſe of his life, was a great lover of polite literature, and that he obtained great reputation for his learned lectures on the Civil-Law (the Common he probably means) while he was yet reſident in the Inns of Court. There is ſomething remarkable in the author's Latin Diction, and therefore I beg leave to cite his own words, *Excoluit tum juvenis, tum etiam ſenex, virtutem: literaſque politas, ut qui maximè, ſemper amavit. Inter forenſes Londini clariſſimus juris civilis interpres admittebatur: ac nobiliores in ſchola juvenes, peculiares à regibus conditas leges perdocuit.* This commendation of him is very juſt and well founded, ſince his writings plainly ſhew that he was a man of general learning, and of great reading for thoſe times; for we find him quoting Ariſtole, Tully, Quintilian, Boetius, St Au-

(67) De Script. major. Brytan. cent. viii. 36. p. 613.

eſpouſed the daughter of Richard Denſell, of Filleigh; and in her right was ſeated at Filleigh in Devonſhire (a), and had iſſue two ſons, John and William; the firſt married Jaquet, eldeſt daughter of Ralph St Leger, and had iſſue a ſon Bartholomew, who dying without iſſue, the eſtate at Filleigh devolved on William Forteſcue, Eſq; his uncle, which William was before ſeated at Buckland Filleigh, and by Maud his wife, daughter and heir of John Atkyns, of Milton, in the county of Devon, had iſſue three ſons, John, Edward, and James; as alſo a daughter Jaquet, married to William Dennis, of Southcomb in Devonſhire, Eſq; (b). The eldeſt ſon John Forteſcue, of Filleigh, Eſq; married Chriſtian, daughter of John Arſcott, of Holleſworth in the ſame county, Eſq; and had iſſue two ſons, William and John, and a daughter Alice, married to John Farry, Eſq; (c). William Forteſcue, Eſq; the eldeſt ſon, took to wife Anne, daughter of Sir Roger Gifford, of Brightley in Devonſhire, and had iſſue five ſons and eight daughters (d). Of his ſons, two of the youngeſt of them, Faithful and Nicholas, had the honour of knighthood conferred on them, and were diſtinguiſhed for their eminent abilities [R]. His eldeſt ſon was John

(a) Riſdon, Devonſh.

(b) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 30.

(c) From the Pedigree.

(d) Notes on Philpot's Catalogue of Knights.

St Auſtin, Aquinas, Ægidius, Romanus, Pariſienſis, and many other good authors; but he was far from drawing all his knowledge from books, he gathered much from his own experience, and was very communicative with reſpect to the fruits of it, of which it may not be amiſs to give here an inſtance or two, as in reality they make a part of his hiſtory, and are beſides, curious in themſelves, and not to be met with any where elſe. In anſwering an objection made by the Prince, that cauſes were often very tedious in England; he obſerves two things, firſt, that this was not an inconvenience to which the Engliſh laws only were liable; and next, that too much haſte, was a greater inconveniency than too little (68). Upon this ſubject, he adds: 'There are in France, in the Supreme Court of Parliament, ſome cauſes which have been depending upwards of thirty years. I myſelf know a caſe of appeal proſecuted in the ſaid court, which has been depending now theſe ten years, and it is likely will be ſo for ten years more, before it can be decided. While lately at Paris, my hoſt ſhewed me his proceſs in writing, which had been before the Court of Parliament for eight years, for four French Sols rent, which of our money, makes but eight-pence, and he had no proſpect of obtaining judgment in leſs than eight years more. I have known other caſes of the ſame nature: And for what appears to me, the laws of England do not admit of ſo great delays, as the laws of France. But it is really neceſſary there ſhould be delays in legal proceedings, provided they be not too dilatory and tedious. By theſe means the parties, in particular the party proſecuted, is better provided with his proper defence and advice of counſel, which otherwiſe neither of them could be either to proſecute or defend, judgment is never ſo ſafe when the proceſs is hurried on. I remember once at an Aſſizes and Goal Delivery at Saliſbury, that I ſaw a woman indicted for the death of her huſband within the year: ſhe was found guilty and burnt for the ſame. In this caſe the Judge of Aſſize, after the whole proceedings before him were over, might have reſpited the execution of the woman even after the expiration of the year. At a ſubſequent Aſſizes I ſaw a ſervant of the man who was ſo killed, tried and convicted before the ſame Judge for the ſame murder, who made an ample public confeſſion, that he was the only perſon who was guilty of the ſaid fact, and that his miſtreſs who had been executed was entirely innocent of it: wherefore he was drawn and hanged, and at the time and place of his execution, he lamented the caſe of his poor miſtreſs upon account of her innocence, and her being in no wiſe privy to her huſband's death. The fact being thus, how may we ſuppoſe the Judge to be affected with a ſenſe of conſcience and remorſe, for being ſo haſty in awarding judgment of execution, when it was in his power to have ſtay'd for ſome time further proceſs againſt her: he often owned to me with concern, that he ſhould never be able to ſatisfy it to his conſcience, for ſuch his precipitate behaviour. *Deliberation often brings judgment to maturity, which ſeldom or never happens where the proceedings are too much hurried on.* Wherefore the Laws of England admit *Eſſoins*, a ſort of practice not known in the Laws of other countries.' There is a caſe ſtill more remarkable than this to the ſame purpoſe, in the works of Sir Edward Coke (69), whoſe high opinion of our author we have already mentioned, and with reſpect to this very chapter, he commends it particularly, and adviſes that the rule which Sir John Forteſcue lays down, ſhould be always kept in mind by ſuch as are deſirous of rendering rather true than quick juſtice. That true Patriot, and moſt judicious Hiſtorian, Sir Walter Raleigh, ſpeaking of our reverend author, ſtiles him, *that notable bulwark of our Laws* (70). He had reaſon ſo to do, for never any author, either antient or modern, took more pains than he did to ſecure them againſt the ambition of Princes, as well as the paſſions and vices of private men. It is a very ſhrewd inſinuation of his, that how abſolute ſoever ſome conſtitutions might be upon the Continent, yet it was impoſſible an iſland ſhould be planted upon thoſe terms (71). The followers of Brute, ſays he, before they embarked, reſolved to unite themſelves into a ſociety, hence ſprung their policy, and to facilitate the execution of this deſign, they conſented to be governed by a ſingle perſon, hence aroſe our Monarchy. The remark of the late Judge Forteſcue upon this, is extremely ſenſible. 'It may be obſerved here, that our author does not affirm the ſtory of Brute to be true, but only produces it as an inſtance, which upon the ſuppoſition of its truth is very appoſite: tho' whether it be really true or no, is not material in this place, and is left to every man's own opinion.' We may from hence gather the reaſon why our learned author, and after him Sir Edward Coke, and many others, maintained that the Laws of the Britons were never cancelled, but ſubſiſted always; which, tho' oppoſed by the ingenious Mr Hakewill, and other learned Antiquaries, is a very good poſition; becauſe in matters of great obſcurity, that ſuppoſition ought to be held for truth, whence the beſt conſequences may be drawn, and as there cannot be a better reaſon for our remaining free than that we were always ſo, it is right to ſay, that the Laws of the antient Britons which were certainly favourable to liberty, never were or can be cancelled. Agreeable to this notion it was laid down for Law in the reign of Edward the Fourth, *that the* Common Law *has been from the* Creation *of the* World, *for it is* common reaſon (72). To conclude, there is hardly any writer of note, who has mentioned this great and good man, but has at the ſame time applauded his notions, and afforded a juſt tribute of praiſe to his great abilities and inflexible virtue. This character indeed may be well given him, for as adverſity could not break, ſo proſperity could not corrupt him, for when King Henry the Sixth, in the thirty fourth year of his reign, made another Sheriff for the county of Lincoln, than the Statute warranted, the two Chief Juſtices, Sir John Forteſcue, and Sir John Priſot, declared publickly for themſelves and their brethren, *that the* King *therein did an* error (73), and with this notable and noble inſtance of his integrity let us conclude this note.

[R] *And were diſtinguiſhed for their eminent abilities.*] The Noble Hiſtorian gives us a good account of the ſervice performed by Sir Faithful Forteſcue, at the battle of Edge-hill, in which he quitted the Parliament army, and threw himſelf at the beginning of the action into that of the King. It is indeed ſo good an account, that the reader ought to ſee it in his own words, which are theſe (74). 'As the right wing of the

(68) *De laudibus legum Angliæ.*

(69) Inſtitut. P. iii. cap. 104. p. 232. Preface to the eighth Part of his Reports, p. 29.

(70) Hiſt. of the World, Lond. 1614. P. i. B. ii. ch. iv. §. 16. p. 247.

(71) The Difference between a limited and abſolute Government, p. 12.

(72) See the Maxims prefix'd to Jenkins's Centuries.

(73) Coke's Inſtitutes, P. ii. p. 559.

(74) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 252.

John Forteſcue, of Filleigh, Eſq; who married Anne, daughter of Walter Porter, of Thetford in the county of Norfolk, Eſq; his eldeſt ſon, I preſume, was Robert Forteſcue, of Filleigh, Eſq; who married Grace, daughter of Sir Bevil Grenville, of Stowe, and ſiſter to John Earl of Bath; by whom having no iſſue male (e), the eſtate deſcended to Hugh Forteſcue, of Filleigh, Eſq; who married Bridget, ſole daughter and heir of Hugh Boſcawen, of Tregothnan, in the county of Cornwall, by Margaret his wife, fifth daughter, and at length co-heir, of Theophilus Earl of Lincoln, and Baron Clinton; whoſe ſiſters having no ſurviving iſſue, the barony of Clinton devolved on Hugh Forteſcue, of Filley, Eſq; ſon and heir of the beforementioned Hugh and Bridget; which Hugh having demanded a writ of ſummons to Parliament, purſuant to his claim, was, on the 16th of March 1721, called up to the Houſe of Peers, and took his ſeat according to the rank of the antient Barons Clinton, who, by ſeveral ſummons, had enjoyed it from the ſixth of February 1298, the twenty-ſixth of Edward the Firſt (*f*). In 1721, his Lordſhip was conſtituted Lord Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum of Devonſhire, and, on the twenty-ſeventh of May 1725, was elected a Knight of the moſt honourable order of the Bath: On his preſent Majeſty's acceſſion to the throne, he was again conſtituted Lord Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum of Devonſhire, and one of the Lords of his Majeſty's Bed-Chamber; but in 1733 reſigned his places (*g*). On a ſucceeding alteration of affairs, his Lordſhip came again into employment; and, as a teſtimony of reſpect paid to his ſervices, he was, by letters patents bearing date July the fifth 1746, created Baron Forteſcue, of Caſtle-Hill in the county of Devon, and Earl Clinton (*h*). Of this family likewiſe was the late William Forteſcue, Eſq; firſt Attorney-General to the Prince, and afterwards Maſter of the Rolls; and indeed there have been ſo many eminent perſons of this ſirname, and of theſe not a few bearing the ſame chriſtian-name, that it is a thing of very great difficulty to diſtinguiſh and ſtate their deſcents truly, more eſpecially as the heireſſes of the elder branches commonly married ſome gentleman of their own name; ſo that their deſcendants ſeem, from the lands which they inherit in right of their mothers, to be of elder families than they really were, a caſe not at all common in other numerous families.

‘the King's horſe advanced to charge the left wing, which was the groſs of the enemy's horſe, Sir Faithful Forteſcue, who having his fortune and intereſt in Ireland, was come out of that Kingdom to haſten ſupplies thither, and had a troop of horſe raiſed for him for that ſervice; but as many other of thoſe forces were, ſo his troop was likewiſe diſpoſed into that army, and he was now Major to Sir William Waller; he with his whole troop advanced from the groſs of their horſe, and diſcharging all their piſtols on the ground within little more than carabine ſhot of his own body, preſented himſelf and his troop to Prince Rupert, and immediately with his Highneſs charged the enemy. Whether this ſudden accident as it might very well, and the not knowing how many more were of the ſame mind, each man looking upon his companion with the ſame apprehenſions as upon the enemy, or whether the terror of Prince Rupert and the King's horſe, or altogether with their own evil conſciences wrought upon them, I know not, but that whole wing having unſkilfully diſcharged their carabines and piſtols into the air, wheel'd about, the King's horſe charging in the flank and rear, and having thus abſolutely routed them, purſued them flying, and had the execution of them above two miles.’ We may be ſatisfied, that this matter is not repreſented in too ſtrong a light in this relation, ſince it is placed rather in a ſtronger by the Hiſtorian of the Parliament, who aſcribes the great diſorder of their cavalry, which might, and indeed muſt, have been fatal to the Earl of Eſſex and his army, if Prince Rupert had ſhewn as much conduct as courage, to the going over of Sir Faithful Forteſcue with his troop (75). But how advantageous ſoever this might be to his Majeſty's cauſe, it was in ſome meaſure fatal to that corp, for in the confuſion that afterwards happened as they forgot to pull off their orange coloured ſcarfs, ſome of the royaliſts fired upon them, by which ſeventeen or eighteen were killed (76). It may be eaſily conceived, that this gentleman's behaviour drew upon him a very heavy load of reproach from thoſe whom he left. His juſtification however was very ſhort and explicit, his troop was raiſed for the Iriſh ſervice, and therefore when the Parliament obliged him to act againſt the King, it was taking ſuch an advantage of him, as left him no other means of recovering his freedom, and doing what he took to be his duty, than that of quitting their forces the firſt opportunity that offered. Their own proceeding was a leſſon to him, and by whatever arguments they could hope to juſtify their compelling him to take ſervice under the Earl of Eſſex, his leaving that ſervice muſt be likewiſe juſtified (77). His Brother, Sir Nicholas Forteſcue was a Knight of Malta, and was alſo Knighted by King James the Firſt at Whitehall (78), on the ſecond of February 1617. He was, as one characteriſes him, a perſon of ſo dexterous an addreſs, that when he came into notice, he came into favour, when he entered the court he had the chamber, yea, the cloſet of a Prince, open. A gentleman that did much in his perſon, and, as he would ſay, *let reputation do the reſt* (79). He and Sir Edmund Forteſcue were always obſerved ſo wary as to have all their enemies before them. He loſt his life in the ſervice of King Charles the Firſt in Lancaſhire (80). Of Sir Edmond Forteſcue of Vallowpit, or Fallowpit, before mention'd, and who alſo ſuffered deeply in the ſame cauſe, there are likewiſe ſome few particulars preſerved. After having ſerved Charles the Firſt with great courage and fidelity, as a brave Commander in the wars, and made as honourable articles for the ſurrender of Charles Fort at Salcombe, Devon, whereof he was Governor, as could be demanded. Upon the fall of the King, and his cauſe, he fled beyond ſea, and died in Holland, he was interred at Delft, where is a monument erected to his memory (81). He was forced to compound for his eſtate at ſix hundred and ſixty pounds and upwards in the ſame troubles. There was one John Forteſcue of Cookill in Worceſterſhire, Eſq; who paid two hundred thirty four pounds for his loyalty, and John Forteſcue of Bridleſt, Devon, perhaps, it ſhould be Spridleſtow, who paid two hundred and two pounds (82). In the next article ſome farther account will be given of the eminent perſons of this family, and whoever is deſirous of being ſtill better informed, may find abundant proofs of our not having exhauſted this copious ſubject (83). E

(*e*) Baronettage, Vol. III. p. 555.

(*f*) From the Caſe upon the Claim.

(*g*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 31.

(*h*) Ibid.

(75) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, lib. iii. ch. i.

(76) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 253.

(77) Dr Ryves's Remark.

(78) Lloyd's Loyal Martyrs, p. 668.

(79) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 31.

(80) Liſt of loyal Sufferers in the late diſmal times.

(81) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 312.

(82) Lloyd's loyal Martyrs, p. 668.

(83) In the Preface to Forteſcue *de laudibus legum Angliæ*, 1741. folio.

FORTESCUE (Sir John), a very learned gentleman, a true patriot, an able ſtateſman, Privy-Councellor, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James the Firſt. He was deſcended in a direct Line from the elder brother, or rather one of the elder brothers, of Chancellor Forteſcue, before-mentioned, who was his father's great uncle (*a*), as the reader will ſee by the account of his family in the notes [*A*]. He was but very young at the time the firſt misfortune beſel his family, in the perſon of Sir Adrian Forteſcue, Knight of the Bath, his father (*b*), who having unfortunately entered into a cloſe alliance with a family under the extreme diſpleaſure of King Henry the Eighth, had the ill luck, notwithſtanding he had ſtood for many years very high in that monarch's favour, to be involved in one of thoſe proſecutions which he thought neceſſary for his ſafety (*c*); and being attainted for high-treaſon, of which we have but a very dark account in our hiſtories, loſt his head (*d*); but died very much pitied, as being eſteemed a perſon of great learning and wiſdom, as well as a gallant man and a great officer, and one who fell rather to gratify the royal ſuſpicions, than from his being guilty of any formed deſign to the prejudice of the crown (*e*) [*B*]. To whom the care of his children devolved, we have not, at this

(*a*) According to the Pedigree ſet forth in the former Article.

(*b*) Who received that honour when Henry the Eighth was created Prince of Wales.

(*c*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 360.

(*d*) Hollinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 946, 947.

(*e*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 264.

[*A*] *In the notes.*] As there are few families in England ſo numerous, or divided into ſo many branches, ſettled in different parts of the kingdom as this of Forteſcue (1); ſo the confuſion and miſtakes which this has occaſioned, has thrown ſome obſcurity on very material paſſages in our hiſtory, which, as far as we are able, we have, in theſe two articles, endeavoured to rectify and ſet in a true light. It has been ſhewn, that Sir Henry Forteſcue, Chief Juſtice of Ireland, had three ſons, the ſecond of which was Sir Richard Forteſcue (2), who was the father of Sir John Forteſcue of Punſburn, in the county of Hertford (3), who married Alice youngeſt daughter of Sir Jeffery Bullen, Lord Mayor of London, by Anne his wife, daughter, and one of the heirs of Thomas Lord Hoo and Haſtings, Knight of the Garter, and was grandfather to Thomas Bullen, Earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond, the father of Queen Anne Bullen, the mother of Queen Elizabeth (4). From which match proceeded Sir John Forteſcue of Punſburn, porter of the town of Calais (5), who in the third year of King Richard the Third, having ſet at liberty John Vere Earl of Oxford, impriſoned by that King, went with him into France, and came over with Henry, Earl of Richmond, when he attained the Crown of England by his victory at Boſworth field, that Earl, upon his landing at Milford-Haven, knighted this Sir John Forteſcue (6), who in the ſecond of Henry the Seventh, for his valour at the battle of Newark on Trent, when John, Earl of Lincoln, and Lambert Simnel were defeated, was made Knight Banneret (7), and his brother Sir Adrian Forteſcue was made one of the Knights, at the creation of Henry Prince of Wales, on the eighteenth of February, in the nineteenth year of Henry the Seventh (8), during whoſe reign both brothers were in high favour. This Sir Adrian Forteſcue was a valiant ſoldier, and ſerved King Henry the Eighth in his wars (9). In the fifth of Henry the Eighth, he and John Forteſcue, Eſq; had the King's letters of protection (10) going with Sir Charles Herbert, Knight, in that expedition, when Teroven and Tournay were taken, and a memorable battle fought, called, by our Hiſtorians, *the battle of Spurs* (11); we alſo find this Sir Adrian Forteſcue attended on the Queen at that famous interview, *Anno* 1520, between King Henry the Eighth, and the French King (12). Alſo in the fifteenth of the ſame King, he was one of the principal commanders of thoſe forces that took Bray and Montdidier, and ravaged thoſe parts of France (13). But notwithſtanding all theſe ſervices he fell into diſgrace, and, as will be ſhewn in the next note, was executed for high-treaſon (14). He married firſt, Anne, daughter of Sir William Stoner, of Stoner in Oxfordſhire, by whom he had iſſue, Margaret, married to Thomas Lord Wentworth, and Frances, to Thomas Lord Fitzgerald, eldeſt ſon to the Earl of Kildare (15). But this Sir Adrian by his ſecond wife, Anne, daughter of Sir William Rede of Rockingham Caſtle in Northamptonſhire, had iſſue three ſons, John, the ſubject of this article, Thomas, and Anthony; as alſo two daughters, Mary, married to William, ſon and heir of John Norris of Fyfield in Berkſhire, and Elizabeth, married to Thomas Bromley of the county of Salop, Eſquire, lineally deſcended from the famous Sir John Bromley, who in the fourth year of the reign of King Henry the Fifth, recovered the Standard of Guyen, in that memorable battle of Corby (16) then gained by the French, for which eminent ſervice, he had not only the dignity of Knighthood conferred on him, but offices of ſpecial power and truſt, with lands of great value in the Duchy of Normandy, as alſo the ſame Standard of Guyen for his creſt. In which reign was alſo Henry Bromley, and Richard Bromley, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in thoſe wars, the firſt being a principal officer in the town of Caen (17), and in the ſeventh of Henry the Fifth, had in conſideration of his ſervices, a grant of all the lands and tenements, rents and ſervices, of Ralph Ruet: and the other being ſtiled of Harfleur, had a grant of all the lands, &c. of Sir Lionel de Recheburgh, Knight, and Jane his wife. From which Sir John Bromley, deſcended William Bromley, Eſq; Principal Secretary of State in the reign of Queen Anne. It appears from hence, our Stateſman Forteſcue was on all ſides honourably deſcended.

[*B*] *To the prejudice of the Crown.*] In order to underſtand this matter perfectly, we muſt take things a little higher. In the year 1536, there was a Rebellion againſt King Henry the Eighth, in Lincolnſhire, and in the northern counties; the former gave the King ſome apprehenſion, and therefore the Duke of Suffolk, who was ſent to ſuppreſs it, had inſtructions and authority to make uſe of fair means as well as foul, and it was by the former that he chiefly prevailed (18). Againſt the northern Rebels the Duke of Norfolk was ſent, who was aſſiſted by the Marquis of Exeter, and Biſhop Burnet ſays, it was owing to the Duke's great prudence, and by his timely applying for and publiſhing a general pardon, that all things were pacified and the King kept upon his throne; one Aſke, who had been at the head of the northern rebels, was invited to Court, kindly received by the King, who it was thought drew out of him ſome informations (19). Upon his return into the country it was ſaid that ſome new meetings were held, upon which the King was releaſed from the promiſes he had made in his pardon, many of the rebels were executed by martial law, many more tried, convicted, and put to death in different parts of the country, and the Lords Darcy and Huſſey being tried by their Peers, the Marquis of Exeter ſitting as High-Steward, found guilty, and beheaded, the former on Tower-hill, and the latter at Lincoln (20). The next year Sir Jeffery Pole gave ſome informations, upon which Henry, Marquis of Exeter, Henry Lord Montacute, elder brother to Cardinal Pole, and Sir Jeffery, and ſeveral other perſons, were apprehended, tried and executed, in the month of January following at Tower-hill and Tyburn (21). Sir Nicholas Carew, Maſter of the Horſe and Knight of the Garter, having preſumed to ſay that theſe proceedings were ſomething harſh, conſidering the Marquis was the King's couſin-german, and the grandſon of Edward the Fourth (22), he was tried, convicted, and executed on the third of March following; and now we come to the caſe of Sir Adrian Forteſcue, in which we ſhall uſe the beſt authorities we can find, and particularly that of a learned prelate, than whom there was no body better verſed in this period of our hiſtory (23). 'After theſe executions 'followed the Parliament in the year 1539, in which 'not only theſe attainders that were already paſſed 'were

(1) Preface to *Forteſcue de laudibus legum Angliæ*, Lond. 1741. p. xlix.

(2) From the Collections of T. Meller.

(3) Chauncy's Hertfordſhire, p. 310.

(4) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 799.

(5) Hall's Chronicle, f. 47. a.

(6) Jekyl's Cat. of Knights.

(7) Collections to the reign of Henry VII.

(8) From the MS. Collections of T. M.

(9) Hall, Stowe, Hollinſhed, Speed, Herbert.

(10) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XIII. p. 372.

(11) Strype's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 5.

(12) Rymer's Fœdera, XIII. 712.

(13) Hall's Chronicle, f. 114. a.

(14) A Catalogue of thoſe put to death for Religion or Treaſon, in the reign of Henry VIII.

(15) Baronag. Angliæ, MS. fol. 28.

(16) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 153.

(17) Pat. Norman. 7. H. V. p. 1. n. 219.

(18) Herbert's Hiſt. of the reign of Henry VIII.

(19) Hollinſhed's Chronicle, II. p. 943, 944. There is an excellent account of this Rebellion in Speed.

(20) Catalogue of thoſe put to death for Religion or Treaſon, in the reign of Henry VIII.

(21) Biſhop of Durham's Sermon on this Plot, makes Sir Geofry Pole the Diſcoverer.

(22) See the old Hiſtorians, Hollinſhed, Stowe, Speed.

(23) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 360.

this diſtance of time, been able to diſcover; but moſt certain it is, that due care was taken of them; ſo that the eldeſt, Mr John Forteſcue, became diſtinguiſhed for his extenſive knowledge, for his ſingular ſagacity, and for his perfect acquaintance with the beſt Latin and Greek authors (*f*). Theſe qualifications, joined perhaps to ſome diſtant affinity in blood, which there was between him and her Majeſty on the mother's ſide (*g*), brought him very early to the knowledge and eſteem of Queen Elizabeth, who made uſe of his learning in the direction of her ſtudies, to which ſhe was conſtant during her whole life, and rewarded the pains he took, in that reſpect, with the place of Maſter of the Wardrobe (*h*). We cannot doubt but the Queen had a great eſteem for, and a very high confidence in, him, ſince the ſecond great misfortune in his family, which was the conviction of his brother Sir Anthony Forteſcue, Knt. for high-treaſon (*i*), did not in the leaſt affect him; but, on the contrary, it may be preſumed his intereſt had a conſiderable ſhare in obtaining, from the clemency of the Queen, the pardon of that offence; which, tho' the criminals endeavoured to extenuate, they never attempted to deny, but were convicted upon their own confeſſions [*C*]. It does not appear, that, in the courſe of this reign, our

(*f*) Camden. Annal regn. Eliz. p. 1.

(*g*) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 799.

(*h*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 444.

(*i*) Camden. Annal. p. 89.

' were confirmed, but new ones of a ſtrange and unheard-of nature were enacted. It is a blemiſh never ' to be waſhed off, and which cannot be enough condemned, and was a breach of the moſt ſacred and ' unalterable rules of juſtice which is capable of no ' excuſe, it was the attainting of ſome perſons whom ' they held in cuſtody without bringing them to a ' trial.' Concerning which I ſhall add, what the great Lord Chief Juſtice Coke writes (24) ' Altho' I queſ' tion not the power of the Parliament, for without ' queſtion the attainder ſtands of force in Law, yet ' this I ſay of the manner of proceeding, *Auferat oblivio ſi poteſt, ſi non utrumque ſilentium tegat.* For ' the more high and abſolute the juriſdiction of the ' Court is, the more juſt and honourable it ought to ' be in the proceedings, and to give example of juſ' tice to inferior Courts.' " The chief of theſe were the Marchioneſs of Exeter, and the Counteſs of Sarum, the ſpecial matter charged on the former, is her confederating herſelf to Sir Nicholas Carew in his treaſons; to which is added, that ſhe had committed divers other abominable treaſons. The latter is ſaid to have confederated herſelf with her ſon the Cardinal, with other aggravating words. It does not appear by the journal that any witneſſes were examined, only that day that the bills were read the third time in the Houſe of Lords, Cromwell ſhewed them a coat of white ſilk, which the Lord Admiral had found among the Counteſs of Sarum's cloaths, in which the arms of England were wrought on the one ſide, and the ſtandard that was carried before the rebels was on the other ſide. This was brought as an evidence, that ſhe approved of the rebellion. Three Iriſh Prieſts were alſo attainted for carrying letters out of Ireland to the Pope and Cardinal Pole, as alſo Sir Adrian Forteſcue for endeavouring to raiſe Rebellion, Thomas Dingley, a Knight of St John of Jeruſalem, and Robert Granceter, Merchant, for going to ſeveral foreign Princes and perſuading them to make war upon the King, and aſſiſt the Lords Darcy and Huſſie in the Rebellion they had raiſed. Two gentlemen, a Dominican Frier and a Yeoman, were by the ſame Act attainted for ſaying, that that venomous ſerpent the Biſhop of Rome was ſupreme Head of the Church of England. Another gentleman, two Prieſts, and a Yeoman, were attainted for treaſon in general, no particular crime being ſpecified. Thus ſixteen perſons were in this manner attainted, and if there was any examination of witneſſes for convicting them, it was either in the Starchamber or before the Privy-Council, for there is no mention of any evidence that was brought in the Journals: there was alſo much haſte made in the paſſing this bill, it being brought in the tenth of May, was read that day for the firſt and ſecond time, and the eleventh of May for the third time. The Commons kept it five days before they ſent it back, and added ſome more to thoſe that were in the bill at firſt, but how many were named in the bill originally, and how many were afterwards added cannot be known. Forteſcue and Dingley, ſuffered the tenth of July. As for the Counteſs of Sarum, the Lord Herbert ſaw in a record, *that Bulls from the Pope were found in her houſe; that ſhe kept correſpondence with her ſon; and that ſhe forbade her tenants to have the New Teſtament in Engliſh, or any other of the books that had been publiſhed by the King's authority.* She was then about ſeventy years of age, but ſhewed by the anſwers ſhe made, that ſhe had a vigorous and maſculine mind. She was kept two years priſoner in the Tower after the Act had paſſed; the King, by that reprieve, deſigning to oblige her ſon to a better behaviour; but upon a freſh provocation by a new rebellion in the north, ſhe was beheaded, and in her the name and line of Plantagenet determined. The Marchioneſs of Exeter died a natural death." Tho' there is a moſt commendable ſpirit of juſtice, and an honeſt zeal for truth in what Biſhop Burnet ſays, yet having this opportunity it may not be amiſs to add ſome other hiſtorical lights in reſpect to theſe dark paſſages, which in the opinion of the beſt judges is the great uſe of works of this nature, in which ſuch points are frequently canvaſſed as are hardly diſcuſſed in any other place. Whoever conſiders the foregoing narration, will perceive, that here was a great number of perſons of high rank, or of much experience, or of great influence, taken out of the world, upon ſtrange ſurmiſes, and very forced conſtructions, even upon the face of the proceedings againſt them, for which no competent reaſon appears; for if the Marquis of Exeter had been truly guilty of raſh expreſſions, he might have pleaded real ſervices which far outwent them; or if he denied the words, his marching againſt the northern rebels, and his ſitting as Lord High-Steward at the trial of the Lords Darcy and Huſſey, were facts very much in his favour. But theſe could be of little uſe, if only a colour was ſought to ſweep off at once the Marquis and the friends of his family. A certain Hiſtorian, who, as we have more than once obſerved, had very extraordinary aſſiſtances, has ſuggeſted one cauſe why the King was ſo deſirous of having the Marquis of Exeter out of his way. They were ſiſters children, and the King in the earlier part of his reign had ſuch an affection for him, as to declare him his ſucceſſor, but now having a ſon of his own, he entertained apprehenſions that were not to be quieted by any milder methods (25). It might be objected to this, that the extraordinary inſtances the Marquis had given of his zeal for the King's perſon and government, might have over balanced theſe ſuſpicions. To this another Hiſtorian ſupplies us with an anſwer, which is, that the King took notice with how much eaſe he raiſed many thouſand men to ſuppreſs the rebellion (26), and the thoughts of his having ſo great an influence, inſtead of diminiſhing, augmented his fears, and added weight to his ſuſpicions. The ſame maxim extended itſelf to all the reſt who were involved partly by their connections with families allied to the Crown, and partly by the knowledge the King had of the courage of ſome, and the abilities of others. The ſame ſpirit is thought to have ruled in ſubſequent councils, for Edward Courtney, the ſon of the Marquis of Exeter, remained a priſoner all the reign of Edward the Sixth, tho' but a child, releaſed indeed by Queen Mary when a man, but ſent to the Tower again upon Wyat's inſurrection, ſet at liberty once more and ſuffered to travel, but at length, as was commonly reported, poiſoned at Padua, either on account of his deſcent from Edward the Fourth, or which, perhaps, was a greater crime, preferring in his affections the Lady Elizabeth to her royal ſiſter (27).

[*C*] *But were convicted upon their own confeſſions.*] The death of his father could not divert his youngeſt ſon from his attachment to the family of Pole, of which

(24) IV. Inſt. 37, 38.

(25) Speed's Chronicle, p. 779.

(26) Godwin's Annals, p. 123.

(27) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. I. p. 643.

our ſtateſman ever addicted himſelf to any party (*k*); he had a good eſtate, a profitable employment, and the Queen's favour, which he kept by doing his duty aſſiduouſly, and never interfering in buſineſs but when he was called to it. In the Parliament ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter, on the twenty-ninth of October, in the twenty-eighth year of her reign, he ſat as Burgeſs for the town of Buckingham, with Chriſtopher Edmonds, Eſq; (*l*). In the ſame year we find him joined with John Wolley, Eſq; of her Majeſty's Privy-Council, in a commiſſion to inſpect the money, jewels, and other valuable things, left by Anne Ducheſs of Somerſet, Widow of the Protector (*m*). In the Parliament ſummoned to meet on the fourth of February, in the thirty-firſt of the ſame reign, he was elected Knight of the ſhire for the county of Bucks, with Thomas Taſburgh, Eſq; (*n*). In the ſucceeding year, upon the death of Sir Walter Mildmay, he was raiſed to the great office of Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of the Exchequer, which he enjoyed during the remaining part of that reign (*o*); in this poſt he was very uſeful to the Lord Chancellor, to whom he was related, and who relied upon him entirely (*p*). His time was now, in a great meaſure, wholly taken up with the care of the revenue, in which he behaved with much prudence and circumſpection, as well as the higheſt probity (*q*); ſo that his royal miſtreſs was pleaſed to ſay of him and Secretary Walſingham, 'that they not only came 'up to, but exceeded, her expectations; the former in point of integrity, and the latter 'by his activity in her ſervice (*r*).' We need not wonder therefore, that, as well in regard to his parts and fidelity, as on account of his office, the Queen thought fit to take him into her moſt honourable Privy-Council (*s*). In the Parliament ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter November the nineteenth, in the thirty-fifth year of her reign, he was again choſen, with Sir Robert Dormer, Knight for the county of Buckingham (*t*); in 1592, we find his name in a commiſſion with Henry Lord Hunſdon, Thomas Lord Buckhurſt, Robert Cecil, afterwards Earl of Saliſbury, John Wolley, Eſq; and others, for the trial of Sir John Perrot, who, while intruſted with the government of Ireland, had been guilty of ſome indiſcretions, and had particularly indulged himſelf in paſſionate and diſreſpectful expreſſions of her Majeſty; and upon his trial being found guilty, he was nevertheleſs recommended to the Queen, as an object fitter for pity than rigour, which prevented his ſuffering according to his ſentence (*u*). In ſeveral other weighty affairs, and more eſpecially thoſe reſpecting the revenue, references were continually made to Sir John Forteſcue, for he was now knighted, and it appears that he dealt in them all with equal candour and caution; ſo that while he diſcharged the duties of his place with irreproachable fidelity, he gave general ſatisfaction, by that calmneſs with which he heard whatever was offered on the part of thoſe who had any favours to aſk, or buſineſs to tranſact with him (*w*). So high he ſtood in the Queen's eſteem, that when, through the ſtruggles amongſt her miniſters, ſhe found it difficult to know where to beſtow the ſeals of the duchy of Lancaſter, ſhe lodged them with him, till at length, upon long conſideration, they were delivered to Sir Robert Cecil (*x*). In the Parliament ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter October the twenty-fourth, in the thirty-ninth year of that reign, he was, with Francis Goodwin, Eſq; choſen Knight of the ſhire for the county of Bucks (*y*). The ſame year, in conjunction with ſeveral Privy-Counſellors, he was appointed to confer with miniſters ſent from the States-General, in which conference he dealt very roundly with them, and expoſtulated in pretty high terms on the large expences which they endeavoured to throw upon the Queen, by which he brought them to abate in their demands (*z*). In 1598, he was in another commiſſion for treating with the Dutch Ambaſſadors, and had a great ſhare in concluding a treaty

(*k*) Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p. 347, 350, 359, 369, 377, 382.

(*l*) Willis, Notitia Parliament. Vol. I. p. 90.

(*m*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. Append. No. xxi. p. 168, 169.

(*n*) Willis, Notitia Parliament. Vol. I. p. 78.

(*o*) Camden. Annal. p. 613.

(*p*) As appears from many paſſages in the Sidney Papers.

(*q*) Bacon's Works, Vol. III. p. 562. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XVI. p. 82, 201.

(*r*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 556.

(*s*) Liſt of Queen Elizabeth's Counſellors, amongſt Burleighan MSS.

(*t*) Willis, Notitia, Parliament. Vol. I. p. 78.

(*u*) Camden. Annal. p. 645, 646. Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, Chap. xii.

(*w*) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 27, 30, 33, 44, 45, 46, 64, 71, 79, 137.

(*x*) Who held them alſo in truſt, and had not the Office of Chancellor.

(*y*) Willis, Notitia Parliament. Vol. I. p. 79.

(*z*) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 5, 6, 7.

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which family he married a lady, who as ſome ſay, was ſiſter, but others with greater probability make her neice, to the Cardinal. In Queen Mary's reign this alliance was of uſe, it procured him the honour of Knighthood, and being ſent to Ireland with the title of Marſhal, from whence he returned and became Comptroller of the Houſhold to that Cardinal when Archbiſhop of Canterbury (28). In a very ſhort time after Queen Elizabeth's acceſſion, he was committed for practiſing with conjurers, to know how long the Queen would live, and for this, and other indiſcretions, orders were given to Dr Bonner, Biſhop of London (for he was not yet deprived) to proſecute Forteſcue, and thoſe concerned with him, in the Eccleſiaſtical Court (29). Yet even this did not prove a ſufficient warning, for by the perſuaſion, or at leaſt with the privity, of the French and Spaniſh Miniſters (30), Sir Anthony Forteſcue embarked in new ſchemes, for which he was again ſent to priſon; of the nature, ground, and iſſue of this plot, Camden gives us the following fair and clear account, viz. that Arthur Pole, and Jeffery Pole his brother, who were grandſons to George Duke of Clarence, with Sir Anthony Forteſcue and ſome others, entered into a deſign of withdrawing themſelves to France, where, by the aſſiſtance of the Houſe of Guiſe, they were in hopes of levying a conſiderable force, which they propoſed to tranſport into Wales, and there to proclaim Mary Queen of Scots, Queen of England, and Arthur Pole, Duke of Clarence. Forteſcue made a very full and clear confeſſion, but pleaded for himſelf and his friends, that they meant not to diſturb Queen Elizabeth's Government, becauſe none of their ſchemes were to take place till after her death, which they were aſſured would happen within the courſe of that year 1562; this, tho' it did not ſave them from condemnation, prevented their execution, her Majeſty being unwilling that ſo much Royal Blood ſhould be ſpilt upon the ſcaffold (31). She carried her compaſſion ſtill farther, and ſpared Preſtal the conjurer, becauſe he acted only an under part in this deſign. Both his misfortune and his eſcape ſhew plainly enough, that ſuperſtition and enthuſiaſm prevailed ſtrongly in thoſe times; for as he fell into this condemnation, by pretending to knowledge that he had not; ſo he obtained his liberty the ſame way, for he made his keeper believe that he was poſſeſſed of the Philoſopher's ſtone, upon which report the Earl of Pembroke begged his diſcharge as a new year's gift, which the Queen granted in 1566 (32). Such was the end of a very dangerous, and at the ſame time very ridiculous buſineſs, which if it had happened but a few years later in that reign, might have

(28) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 7.

(29) Memorials of the Dangers of Queen Elizabeth, in a ſuccinct View of the Treaſons contrived againſt her, p. 3.

(30) Camden. Annal. regn. Eliz. p. 89. Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 366.

(31) Camden. Annal. p. 89.

(32) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 366.

a treaty of equal benefit to the Crown and to the States [*D*]. In the troubles of the Earl of Eſſex, he conducted himſelf with ſuch prudence as to give no offence, either to the Queen or to thoſe who were that unfortunate nobleman's enemies; and was, notwithſtanding, underſtood throughout the whole to be his friend (*a*). In the proceedings in the Star-Chamber, at the cloſe of Michaelmas-term 1599, when all the great officers of State were called upon in publick, to ſpeak their ſentiments on that nice ſubject, with a view probably of obliging them to take either one part or the other; Sir John Forteſcue had the addreſs to ſpeak to the ſatisfaction of the audience, without falling into any of the heats with which others were tranſported. He firſt gave a clear account of the Queen's care and concern for the reduction of Ireland, and the meaſures purſued for that purpoſe, ſo far as they fell within the cognizance of his own office. He obſerved, that he was not called to Council when theſe matters were firſt in debate; he ſaid, that ſince he came rarely thither, moſt of his time being taken up in the management of the revenue, that, notwithſtanding this, he had a general knowledge of what paſſed in Council, from which general knowledge, however, he could collect nothing more than that notwithſtanding all the Queen's pains and providence, things were then in a worſe ſtate in Ireland than when the army firſt landed. After this, raiſing his voice, he complained, with tears in his eyes, of libels ſcattered abroad, to inflame the minds of the people; of the fatal conſequences of theſe factious intrigues amongſt great men; and cloſed his ſpeech with a pathetic recommendation of affection to the Queen's Majeſty, and a ſincere regard to the peace and welfare of the nation. He was one of the Commiſſioners, March the fifth 1600, preſent at the trial of Sir Chriſtopher Blount, Sir Charles Davers, Sir John Davis, Sir Gelly Merrick, and Henry Cuffe, for high-treaſon; but it does not appear that he took any ſhare therein, except that of being preſent on the Bench (*b*). At the time of the death of the Queen his miſtreſs, he was poſſeſſed of the offices of Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of the Exchequer, and Maſter of the Great Wardrobe; and was likewiſe a member of the Privy-Council (*c*). It is alſo very remarkable, that one of the laſt publick acts of her government, was a commiſſion directed to him, and others of the Privy-Council, for dealing with, and ſeeing baniſhed and tranſported out of her dominions, all ſeminary prieſts and jeſuits, as well thoſe then in priſon as out of priſon, or that at any time after ſhould come into or be found in her dominions; and directing, that a certificate of their proceedings ſhould be tranſmitted, under the hand of the Principal Secretary of State, to the Clerk of the Crown in the King's-Bench, in order to their being enrolled in the Crown-Office. Some writers affirm, that he oppoſed the admiſſion of King James to the vacant throne, but upon certain terms; for which that monarch is ſaid to have borne him ever afterwards a grudge (*d*). Yet there does not appear to be any evidence of either of theſe facts; but, on the contrary, many circumſtances which ſeem to be incompatible with either. It is not eaſy to conceive, by ſuch as are acquainted with our conſtitution, who could have taken upon them, with any hopes of ſucceſs or ſafety, to frame or preſcribe ſuch articles. An overture of this ſort, looks not very conſiſtent with the cautious and circumſpect conduct of Sir John Forteſcue, in the preceding part of his life. Beſides, upon the demiſe of the Queen, there appeared to be no doubt at all about the ſucceſſion, ſince the Privy-Council directed King James to be proclaimed before noon, at the Croſs in Cheapſide, the very day that the Queen died (*e*); and the only ſtruggle ſeems to have been, who ſhould aſſume the merit of communicating this acceptable news firſt to the King of Scots (*f*) [*E*]. We may add to theſe conjectures

(*a*) See the Proceedings annexed to the Earl of Eſſex's Apology.

(*b*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 209.

(*c*) As appears from comparing our Hiſtorians. Rymer's Fœdera, XVI. p. 489.

(*d*) Oſborn's Traditional Memoirs of the Reign of King James, § iii. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 22. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 307.

(*e*) Stowe's Annals, p. 817.

(*f*) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 12.

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have coſt the actors in it very dear. Sir Anthony Forteſcue ſurvived this many years, and by his Lady Catherine Pole, left a ſon John behind him.

[*D*] *Of equal benefit to the Crown and to the States.*] In order to this negotiation, the States-General ſent over John Duenvoord, Admiral of Holland; John Oldenbarnevelt, Keeper of the Seals; John Verke, John Hooting, and Andrew Heſſel, and joined in the ſame commiſſion, Sir Nowel Carron, their Agent in England, who being mightily for promoting the war did in the month of Auguſt hold a conference with Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper of the Great-Seal, the Earl of Eſſex, the Admiral, George Lord Hunſdon, the Lord Buckhurſt, Sir William Knolles, Sir Robert Cecil, and Sir John Forteſcue, commiſſioners appointed by the Queen (33), and ſubſcribed to the following articles: that the treaty made *Anno* 1585, ſhould be ratified and confirmed, excepting ſome articles relating to the civil adminiſtration: that the Confederate States ſhould pay to the Queen eight hundred thouſand pounds of Engliſh money, viz. thirty thouſand pounds yearly during the continuance of the war, to be employed againſt the common enemy, until four hundred thouſand pounds were paid: and if a peace were agreed on between the King of Spain and the Queen, there ſhould be paid of the remaining ſum twenty thouſand pounds yearly, till the eight hundred thouſand pounds were fully diſcharged. That eleven hundred and fifty Engliſh ſoldiers, who were in the garriſons of Fluſhing, Briel, and the adjacent ports, ſhould be paid by the States. That they might have the liberty to levy men in England under Engliſh officers, who ſhould ſerve under their pay: that if the Spaniard ſhould make a deſcent on the Iſles of Wight, Guernſey, Jerſey, or Scily, the States ſhould be obliged to aſſiſt the Queen with five thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe: that if it 'twas neceſſary to equip a fleet in England to ſerve againſt Spain, they ſhould provide an equal number of ſhips: that if any Engliſh forces were ſent over into Flanders or Brabant, they ſhould provide and furniſh out the ſame number of men: as for the money due to Pallavicini, the Queen ſhould reimburſe herſelf from Brabant and Flanders, and the reſt of the Provinces which were not within the union (34). By this treaty all the ends of true policy were anſwered, a juſt proviſion made for the continuance of the war againſt Spain, and the Queen's expence reduced one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds a year. In this negotiation, Sir John Forteſcue was underſtood to ſpeak the ſenſe, and to have the ſecret of the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, who at that time laid dangerouſly ill and died very ſoon after.

[*E*] *To the King of Scots.*] We have this matter very clearly ſet down in Stowe, where it is aſſerted, that the Lords cauſed King James to be proclaimed at the Palace Gate, by eight of the clock in the morning; by

(33) Rymer's Fœdera, XVI. p. 340.

(34) Camden Annal. regn. Eliz. p. 776.

conjectures and probabilities, a matter of fact relating to this gentleman, and his ſenſe of the point in queſtion; for within four days after the death of the Queen, he ſubſcribed, with other perſons of the firſt quality, a letter to the Lord Eure, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners then engaged in a negotiation at Bremen (*), ſignifying that King James was proclaimed with ſuch univerſal acclamation of all perſons, as declared the undoubted aſſurance, in every man's conſcience, of his rightful ſucceſſion; and betokened, as they hoped, the

(*) Bibl. Cotton. Galba, E. 1. fol. 40.

by eleven, he was likewiſe proclaimed in Cheapſide (35), Mr Secretary Cecil reading the proclamation in perſon, with a loud voice, being attended there, by moſt of the Nobility and the Privy Council. But the moſt diſtinct, perfect, and authentic account that can be had of this matter, and which fully proves the truth of what is aſſerted in the text, is that contained in the relation of Sir Robert Carey, afterwards Earl of Monmouth, who was nearly related to Queen Elizabeth, a great favourite with King James, and who, was the very perſon that carried him the news of her deceaſe (36). We will give it in his own words. 'I went to my lodging, and left word with one in the Cofferer's Chamber, to call me, if that night (Wedneſday, March the twenty-third) it was thought ſhe would die, and gave the Porter an angel, to let me in at any time when I called. Between one and two of the clock on Thurſday morning, he that I left in the Cofferer's chamber, brought me word, the Queen was dead. I roſe and made all haſte to the gate to get in. There I was anſwered, I could not enter; the Lords of the Council having been with him, and commanded him, that none ſhould go in and out, but by warrant from them. At the very inſtant, one of the Council, the *Comptroller* (37), aſked whether I was at the gate? I ſaid *yes*. He ſaid to me; if I pleaſed, he would let me in; I deſired to know how the Queen did? He anſwered, pretty well. I bad him good night. He replied and ſaid, Sir, if you will come in, I will give you my word and credit you ſhall go out again at your own pleaſure. Upon his word I entered the gate, came up to the Cofferer's chamber, where I found all the ladies weeping bitterly. He led me from thence into the Privy-Chamber, where all the Council was aſſembled. There I was caught hold of, and aſſured I ſhould not go for Scotland, till their pleaſure was farther known. I told them I came on purpoſe to that end. From thence they all went to the Secretary's Chamber; and as they went, they gave eſpecial command to the porters, that none ſhould go out of the gate, but ſuch ſervants as they ſhould ſend to prepare their coaches and horſes for London. There was I left in the midſt of the court to think my own thoughts, till they had done Council. I went to my brother's chamber, who was in bed, having been over watched many nights before. I got him up with all ſpeed, and when the Council's men were going out of the gate, my brother thruſt to the gate. The porter knowing him to be a great officer, let him out. I preſſed after him, and was ſtaid by the porter. My brother angrily ſaid to the porter: *Let him out, I will anſwer for him.* Whereupon I was ſuffered to paſs, which I was not a little glad of. I got to horſe, and rode to the Knight-Marſhal's lodging by Charing-Croſs, and there ſtaid till the Lords came to Whitehall-Garden (38). I ſtaid there till it was nine o'clock in the morning; and hearing that all the Lords were in the old orchard at Whitehall, I ſent the Marſhal to tell them, that I had ſtaid all that while to know their pleaſures, and that I would attend them, if they would command me any ſervice. They were very glad, when they heard I was not gone, and deſired the Marſhal to ſend for me, and I ſhould with all ſpeed be diſpatched for Scotland. The Marſhal believed them, and ſent Sir Arthur Savage for me. I made haſte to them, one of the Council, my Lord of Banbury that now is, whiſpered the Marſhal in the ear, and told him, if I came they would ſtay me, and ſend ſome other in my ſtead. The Marſhal got from them, and met me coming to them between the two gates. He bad me be gone, for he had learned for certain, that if I came to them they would betray me. I returned, and took horſe between nine and ten a clock, and that night I rode to Doncaſter. The Friday night I came to my own houſe to Wetherington, and preſently took order with my deputies to ſee the borders kept in quiet, which they had much to do, and gave order that the next morning the King of Scotland ſhould be proclaimed King of England, &c. at Morpeth and Alnewick. Very early on Saturday I took horſe for Edinburgh, and came to Norham about twelve at noon, ſo that I might well have been with the King by ſupper time, but I got a great fall by the way, and my horſe with one of his heels gave me a great blow on the head, that made me ſhed much blood. It made me ſo weak that I was forced to ride a ſoft pace after, ſo that the King was newly gone to bed by that time I knocked at the gate. I was quickly let in and carried up to the King's chamber. I kneeled by him, and ſaluted him by his title of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland. He gave me his hand to kiſs, and bade me welcome. After he had long diſcourſed of the manner of the Queen's ſickneſs, and of her death, he aſked what letters I had from the Council, I told him, none, and acquainted him, how narrowly I eſcaped from them, and yet I had brought him a blue ring from a fair lady (39), that I hoped would give him aſſurance of the truth that I had reported. He took it and looked upon it, and ſaid it is enough, I know by this you are a true meſſenger. Then he committed me to the charge of my Lord Hume, gave ſtrait command that I ſhould want nothing. He ſent for his Chirurgeons to attend me, and when I kiſſed his hand at my departure, he ſaid to me theſe gracious words, *I know you have loſt a near kinſwoman and a loving miſtreſs, but take here my hand I will be as good a maſter to you, and will requite this ſervice with honour and reward.*' The firſt author who ſuggeſted any thing in relation to Sir John Forteſcue was Francis Oſborn, Eſq; and the very title of his treatiſe ſhews, that it is not to be put into the balance with what we are told, by thoſe who were eye and ear witneſſes of what they relate; his account however is worth reading, and runs thus (40). 'The news of the Queen's death was brought him firſt, as I have heard, by Carey after Lord Lepington, and ſince Earl of Monmouth, who not able to ſatisfy ſuch a concourſe of doubts and queſtions, as far more reſolute natures than his do generally muſter upon leſs occaſions, the King ſtood as in a maze, being more affected thro' the fear of oppoſition, than pleaſed with the preſent report, till by a lamer poſt he was advertiſed of his being joyfully proclaimed in London by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and of the unqueſtioned reception, his title in all places met with, no leſs than that the hopes of ſome, and fears of the major part, aſſiſted by the prudent carriage of the Treaſurer, and ranting proteſtations of the Earl of Northumberland, that in all places vapoured he would bring him in by the ſword, had ſtop'd their mouths that deſired, in regard of the known feud between the nations, he might be obliged to articles: and amongſt theſe noble and publick ſpirits, was Sir John Forteſcue, Sir Walter Raleigh, the Lord Cobham, &c. all frowned upon after by the King.' In direct contradiction to this Mr Winwood, after Sir Ralph Winwood and Secretary of State, in a private letter written to his intimate friend the Duke de Tremouille, immediately upon the death of the Queen, has theſe words (41). *The ſame day the late Queen died, the King of Scots was proclaimed King in the city of London, between the hours of ten and eleven, with inexpreſſible applauſe, as he has been ſince through the whole kingdom, without* the leaſt oppoſition *being given by* any perſon *of what* quality *ſoever either by* word *or* deed. It is not eaſy to ſuppoſe, that Mr Winwood was not as well informed as Mr Oſborn, and it cannot be imagined that he would have written a direct falſehood to a perſon of ſuch quality, when he might have ſo eaſily avoided it by ſaying nothing.

(35) Stowe's Annals, p. 818.

(36) Taken from *Memoirs of his own Life*, a MS. which was in the hands of the late Lady Eliz. Spelman.

(37) Sir Henry Cock.

(38) King James was proclaimed before this at the Court Gates at Richmond.

(39) The Lady Scroop, who was deep in the King's ſecret, and had promiſed this token.

(40) Traditional Memoirs of the Reign of King James, by Fran. Oſborn, §. 3.

(41) Literal Tranſlation from Winwood's French Letter, which is the laſt of his firſt Volume.

the future happineſs of his reign. Now how much ſoever of ceremony and compliment there might be in this, one cannot well believe that Sir John Forteſcue would have ſet his name to it, if he had ever raiſed any objections againſt King James's coming in except upon terms. On the ſecond of May 1603, when King James came to Brockeſborne in the county of Hertford, the Seat of Sir Henry Cock, Comptroller of the Houſhold to Queen Elizabeth, the members of the Privy-Council were preſented to his Majeſty, and were continued in that high ſtation (*g*). When his conſort Queen Anne came from Scotland, the King went to meet her, and on the twenty-ſeventh of June dined with her, Prince Henry, and the Lady Elizabeth, at the houſe of Sir George Fermor, in Northamptonſhire, from whence he proceeded the ſame night to Sir John Forteſcue's, at Salden in Buckinghamſhire, where they lay (*h*); and certainly this could not paſs for any inſtance of diſtaſte or reſentment, but rather the contrary. On the twenty-fourth of July following, Sir Francis Forteſcue, ſon to Sir John, was made a Knight of the Bath, previous to the Coronation, which was another mark of royal favour (*i*). It is indeed true, that, inſtead of Chancellor of the Exchequer, the King made Sir John Forteſcue Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter (*k*), which is the ſingle matter of fact that has been ever urged to ſhew the probability of his declining in the King's eſteem; and yet it is very poſſible, that this might be done without the leaſt diſreſpect to Sir John, and upon terms with which he might be well ſatisfied. We may the rather eſteem this to have been the caſe from a ſubſequent fact, one of the moſt remarkable in our ſtateſman's life, and none of the leaſt memorable in that Monarch's reign (*l*). The King having ſummoned the firſt Parliament in his reign, to meet at Weſtminſter March the nineteenth 1603-4, a writ was iſſued to the Sheriff of Buckinghamſhire, Sir Francis Cheyne, to return two Knights for that county (*m*). The Sheriff accordingly brought on the election January the twenty-fifth, at Brickhill, and not at Ayleſbury, becauſe the plague was there. It was intended, that Sir John Forteſcue, and Sir Francis Goodwin, ſhould be elected; but upon the Sheriff's propoſing them, the freeholders cried out, *a Goodwin, a Goodwin*, notwithſtanding that the moſt conſiderable gentry, and the Juſtices of Peace, were in the intereſt of Sir John Forteſcue. Upon this, Sir Francis Goodwin himſelf came, and laboured all that was in his power, to induce the freeholders to conſent that Sir John Forteſcue's name ſhould ſtand firſt in the return; but they adhered to their former opinion, and, upon receiving the poll, Sir Francis Goodwin, and Sir William Fleetwood, were returned, by the Sheriff, Knights of the Shire for the county of Bucks (*n*). This was repreſented to the King, as a great inſult upon Sir John Forteſcue, an old Privy-Counſellor, and, as ſuch, worthy of honour and reſpect. It was diſcovered, that Sir Francis Goodwin was outlawed, which was ſuppoſed to be a ſufficient bar to his ſitting in Parliament; of which the Sheriff being informed, he made ſuch a return to the writ, viz. that Sir Francis Goodwin was choſen, but diſabled by being outlawed; which return was drawn for him by Sir Edward Coke, then the King's Attorney-General (*o*). The Lord Chancellor Egerton, upon this, iſſued a ſecond writ, which was delivered to the Sheriff by Sir John Forteſcue, and upon this Sir John was returned (*p*). On Thurſday the twenty-ſecond of March, when the Houſe met, Sir William Fleetwood moved, that Sir Francis Goodwin might take his ſeat as Knight with him for Buckinghamſhire; which the Houſe ordered the next day, and Sir Francis did take his ſeat accordingly (*q*). This occaſioned a long diſpute between the Houſe and the King, the true point in debate being this, Whether the Houſe was the proper judge of the return, or the Chancellor? For if the latter was not, then the ſecond writ was void in it's own nature; this diſpute laſted to the eleventh of April, when the King propoſed it to the Houſe as an expedient, that both theſe gentlemen ſhould be ſet aſide, and a new writ iſſued for the choice of a member (*r*). Upon this difference between the King and the Houſe of Commons, ſo many and ſuch ſtrange reports went abroad, that it was judged expedient, by the Lord Cecil, afterwards Earl of Saliſbury, who was then at the head of the adminiſtration, to give the King's Miniſters at foreign Courts an account of it, which he did (*s*) [*F*]. Upon mature deliberation

(*g*) Stowe's Annals, p. 822. Rymer's Fœdera, XVI. p. 491.

(*h*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. III. p. 356.

(*i*) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 17. Stowe's Annals, p. 827.

(*k*) So he is ſtiled in the Proceedings on the Election for Buckinghamſhire, in 1603-4.

(*l*) Coke's Detection of the four laſt Reigns, p. 22. Hiſt. of the High Court of Parliament, Vol. II. p. 414.

(*m*) Proceedings in the Caſe of Sir F. Goodwin, and Sir John Forteſcue, in State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 76.

(*n*) So in the Sheriff's Examination before the Houſe of Commons.

(*o*) Affirmed by Sir Francis Cheyne.

(*p*) So in his Examination.

(*q*) On Wedneſday March 23, but forbore coming afterwards.

(*r*) See the Speaker's Warrant in Note [*G*].

(*s*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 18.

[*F*] *Which he did.*] The following paſſage is extracted from a letter to Mr afterwards Sir Ralph Winwood by the Lord Cecil, dated April the twelfth 1604, the very day that the laſt writ was iſſued (42), ‘ If you have heard any thing of any queſtion between the King and the Lower Houſe of Parliament, you may ſatisfy yourſelf whatſoever you may hear, that the cauſe was only by lack of underſtanding of what was intended by his Majeſty, and not any other point of importance. So as if I did not conceive that idle diſcourſers are apt to make comments upon all things according to the levity of their own brain, I ſhould not have touched it at all, for to be ſhort, it was no more but this. That Sir Francis Goodwyn having laboured to be Knight of Buckinghamſhire, to the excluſion of an antient Counſellor Sir John Forteſcue, it was adviſed by the King's learned Counſel and Judges, whether there were not ſome means by the Laws to avoid it. Whereupon it being found that he was outlawed, and ſo certified by the Sheriff, conſequently a new writ was ſent forth by virtue whereof Sir John Forteſcue was choſen. Notwithſtanding the Lower Houſe having had notice that he was once choſen, and having found that the outlawry was pardoned, in effect, by his Majeſty's general pardon upon his Inauguration, altho' in true conſtruction of Law, he is not *Rectus in Curia*, until he hath ſued out his *ſcire facias*, they ſomewhat ſuddenly fearing ſome oppoſition which was never intended, allowed of him and rejected the other, which form of proceeding appeared harſh to the King, rather in form than matter. And therefore being then deſirous that the Higher Houſe might have ſome conference with the Lower Houſe (which we as of ourſelves did intimate unto them) they grew jealous of that propoſition as a matter which they miſliked to yield to after a judgment, and therefore did rather chooſe to ſend to the King, that they
‘ would

(42) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 18.

deliberation the Houſe of Commons thought fit to accept the propoſition the King had made, provided Sir Francis Goodwin, whom they had admitted to his ſeat, gave his conſent, which he very readily did; upon which a new writ iſſued, and Chriſtopher Pigott, Eſq; was choſen (*t*). It may be fairly preſumed, tho' the King did not carry his point in this matter, that Sir John Forteſcue thought himſelf much obliged; nor is it in any degree credible, that he would himſelf have meddled in this affair, as indeed he tranſacted many things in it perſonally, if he had been but ſlightly attached to the King, or in his principles an enemy to the Prerogative. We do not meddle with the merits of the caſe, but with the conduct of Sir John Forteſcue, who, being generally reputed a very wiſe man, as well as a man of honour, would have been aſhamed to have changed ſides in a few months, in ſo glaring a manner as to claim the aſſiſtance of that Prince's power which he had publickly adviſed ſhould be curtailed. Some authors have repreſented this as an act of great violence and injuſtice in King James, and that, as ſuch, it gave very high diſtaſte to his firſt Parliament (*u*). In order to countenance theſe notions, a very imperfect caſe upon this ſubject has been printed (*w*); but forty years after it happened, the Houſe of Commons ordered all that was entered upon that head in their journals to be printed (*x*), and from thence it appears in the light in which it is here placed; and to leave the reader without any doubt of this, Sir Francis Goodwin's letter, the Speaker's report of the thanks of the Houſe given to the King, together with his anſwer, and the warrant for the new writ, are inſerted in the notes (*y*) [*G*]. A little attention will ſhew, that this indiſputable matter of fact, is very hardly, if at all, reconcileable to what is ſuggeſted of Sir John Forteſcue's opposing

(*t*) Willis's Notitia Parliament. Vol. I. p. 79.

(*u*) Coke's Detection of the four laſt Reigns, p. 22. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 22.

(*w*) As an Appendix to the ſecond Edition of Lex Parliamentaria.

(*x*) This Order of the Houſe of Commons, is dated March 14, 1704.

(*y*) Theſe are not in the Caſe at the End of Lex Parliamentaria.

‘would be glad to ſhew himſelf the reaſons, to whom they owed all duty as their Sovereign, rather than to any other, taking it ſomewhat derogative from their Houſe, to attribute any ſuperiority to the Higher Houſe, ſeeing both Houſes make but one body, whereof the King is the Head. This being done, after two conferences, in the preſence of the King, the Council, and Judges, the matter was compounded to all men's likings, wherein that which is due is only due to Cæſar, for, but for his wiſdom and dexterity, it could not have had any concluſion with ſo general an applauſe. This being found by debate to be moſt certain, namely, that neither of them both were duly returned, and therefore reſolved of all parties, that a new writ ſhould go forth by warrant from the Speaker, wherein none of them ſhould ſtand to be elected, and ſo much for the truth of that cauſe.’ This and the following papers might have been conſulted by an author who ſtates this matthus (43). ‘He (i. e. the King) let them know in the caſe of the conteſted election, between Sir Francis Goodwin, and Sir John Forteſcue to be Knight of the Shire, for the county of Bucks, that he would have differences determined by his abſolute power; and tho' the Commons voted Sir Francis duly elected, yet the King commanded them to let the matter be heard before the Houſe of Lords, and the Judges: but Sir Francis Goodwyn fearing it might cauſe a rupture between the King and the Houſe of Commons, petitioned that a new writ might be iſſued to elect a Knight for that county in his ſtead.’ It appears from the proceedings, that the King deſired the Houſe to confer with the Judges, not as Umpires, but as his Counſellors, that he might receive ſatisfaction (44). It alſo appears from the paper which the Houſe ſent the King, that this was no new diſpute, ſince they alledged that in the twenty third year of the preceding reign a Burgeſs was returned dead, and another choſen, and returned by a new writ, but the party returned dead appearing, the Houſe of Commons admitted him to his ſeat, and notwithſtanding the Sheriff's return rejected the other. The very ſame year a Burgeſs for Hull was returned a lunatick, and a new one choſen upon a ſecond writ. The perſon firſt returned, appeared and claimed his place, the Houſe examined the matter, and found the firſt return to be true, and therefore they refuſed him, which they would not have done if the return had been falſe. In the twenty ninth year of the ſame reign, a writ was awarded into Norfolk for the choice of Knights, and election made and returned, but before the Parliament met, the Chancellor awarded a ſecond writ, and upon that alſo return was made, the Commons being attended with both writs and returns by the clerk of the Crown, examined the cauſe, allowed the firſt, and rejected the ſecond (45). The fault therefore in this caſe, lay in thoſe who adviſed the King to inſiſt ſo much upon this matter. But after all, the final reſolution was not taken upon Sir Francis Goodwin's petition, but upon the King's propoſal and Sir Francis Goodwin acquieſced under that reſolution of the Houſe, as the reader will ſee in the next note.

(43) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stu- Vol. I. p. 22.

(44) State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 75.

(45) D'Ewes's Journal of Parliaments in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 396, 397, 398, 399.

[*G*] *Are inſerted in the notes.*] The reader will doubtleſs obſerve, that the Lord Chancellor Egerton, and Sir Edward Coke then Attorney-General, had at this time a good underſtanding, and through them it is plain this advice with reſpect to the ſecond writ was both given and executed (46). The King therefore had reaſon to tell the Houſe of Commons as he did, that both the gentlemen were his good ſubjects, and that in one ſenſe it was indifferent to him, whether Sir John or Sir Francis was choſen; but in another, he was unwilling that any diſgrace ſhould be thrown upon an old Privy-Counſellor, ſince it was a thing himſelf had carefully avoided, and indeed it appears to have been from the accident of the plague's being at Ayleſbury, which frighted many of the better ſort from attending the county Court that Sir John Forteſcue loſt his election. But it is time to come to the papers, as we find them entered in the Journal Book of the Houſe of Commons (47).

(46) See Sir Francis Cheyne's Examination.

(47) State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 76, 77.

Sir Francis Goodwyn's Letter.

SIR,

‘I AM heartily ſorry to have been the leaſt occaſion, either of queſtion between his Majeſty and that honourable Houſe, or of interruption to thoſe worthy and weighty cauſes, which by this time in all likelihood had been in very good furtherance; wherefore underſtanding very credibly, that it pleaſed his Majeſty when the committees laſt attended him, to take courſe with them for a third writ and election for the Knightſhip of the county of Buckingham, I am ſo far from giving any impediment thereunto, that, contrarywiſe, I humbly deſire his Majeſty's direction in that behalf to be accompliſhed and performed. So praying you, according to ſuch opportunity as will be miniſtred, to give furtherance thereunto, I take my leave, and reſt

Your's

Fra. Goodwin.

Weſtm. this 11th of
April 1604.

Directed to the Right Worſhipful Sir Edward Phelips, *Knight, Speaker of the Honourable* Court *of* Parliament.

Die Veneris, viz. 13° *die Aprilis* 1604.

Mr Speaker returneth to the Houſe, the effect of his meſſage of thanks delivered the laſt day in the name of oppoſing King James, and of the King's reſentment ever after (z). For if this had been a thing generally known, the affront put upon him by his county, would have been a compliment to the King; as, on the other hand, one cannot eaſily conceive how the King could have been prevailed upon to interfere ſo far as he did, if he had not had a very high perſonal eſteem for Sir John Forteſcue. We may add, to ſhew that even this diſappointment did not leſſen this accompliſhed courtier's credit with his maſter, that there was a current report, the very next year, that he would have been created a Baron; the like honour being intended for the Chief Juſtice Sir John Popham, Sir Edward Coke, who was to ſucceed Sir Francis Gawdy as Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, and Sir Thomas Knivet, who was very active in detecting of the powder-treaſon (a). But the laſt only had that honour, which it is not at all improbable Sir John Forteſcue, who was a very modeſt and diſintereſted perſon, might decline. He was alſo, which ought to be conſidered as a very remarkable act of confidence, one of thoſe Privy-Counſellors to whom the King, in 1606, executed an indenture (*), ſignifying what lands ſhould be for ever annexed, and what jewels ſhould be held and reputed jewels belonging to the Crown; which, tho' one part of the indenture was under the Great-Seal, was in reality a family tranſaction, till confirmed (as the King intended it ſhould) by Act of Parliament. After this, we are able to meet with no farther particulars worthy of the reader's notice, which will not ſeem ſtrange if we remember that he muſt have been now above fourſcore, ſince he was a man, tho' a very young man, at the time of his father's death; he had, however, the ſatisfaction of ſeeing his ſon, Sir Francis Forteſcue, Sheriff of the county (b), which he had alſo repreſented in the laſt Parliament of Queen Elizabeth (c). He died, as Mr Camden tells us, December the twenty-third 1607 (d), at which time he was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter, Maſter of the Great Wardrobe (e) and a Privy-Counſellor. His parts and learning firſt introduced him at Court, where, from the beginning to the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, he was in conſtant favour, and, in the latter part of it, employed in matters of the higheſt importance; ſo that if we had ſet down every commiſſion in which he is named, and dwelt minutely upon all his ſervices, it would have ſwelled this life to a much larger extent (f), tho' there is not twenty lines to be met with about him in all our Biographers. His laſting love to literature, was rendered evident by his contributions to the library, which, through the care and diligence of Sir Thomas Bodley, was erected at Oxford; and the nature of his ſtudies, agreeable to what Camden reports, is no leſs evident from the titles of ſome of the books beſtowed by him upon that library, amongſt others, by a Sophocles, with manuſcript Scholia in Greek; for which Sir Thomas held himſelf ſo much obliged, that he gave particular directions for Sir John's being received with all imaginable reſpect, when, going occaſionally to Oxford, he went to viſit the library (g). He was a particular friend and patron to the learned Camden, and, as he acknowledges, gave him great aſſiſtance in compiling his Annals of the reign of Queen Elizabeth (h); which paſſage indeed is not in the Engliſh tranſlation, or in moſt of the Latin editions, but occurs in that of Mr Hearne's, printed from the author's own copy, which was in the poſſeſſion of Dr Smith. It might be probably for this reaſon, as well as in virtue of his office as Clarencieux King at Arms, that he aſſiſted at his funeral, which, if the memorandum he left be right, was ſolemnized on the fourth of July enſuing his death, that learned perſon being diſabled, by a fall from his horſe, from making ſuch a journey ſooner (i). His poſterity for ſeveral generations remained poſſeſſed of his eſtate and fine ſeat at Salden, and became extinct in Sir Francis Forteſcue, who died at Bath November the eleventh 1729, without iſſue.

(z) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 556.

(a) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 198.

(*) Rymer's Fœdera, XVI. p. 641.

(b) Fuller's Worthies, Buckinghamſhire, p. 140.

(c) Willis, Notitia Parliament. Vol. I. p. 79.

(d) In his Diary, commonly called his Annals of King James.

(e) So entered in the Viſitation Book.

(f) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XVI. p.

(g) Reliq. Bodleian, p. 108, 123.

(h) Annal Regn. Eliz. p. 613.

(i) Amongſt his ſhort Latin Notes relative to his own Life, at the cloſe of his Diary.

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of the Houſe to his Majeſty, as alſo of his Majeſty's anſwer, viz.

'That he related to this Houſe, the humble and 'dutiful acceptation of what his Majeſty had done, 'together with the humble thanks of the Houſe, for 'his zealous and paternal delivery of his grace unto 'us by his own mouth, what wonder they conceived 'in his judgment, what joy in his grace, what comfort they had in his juſtice, what approbation they 'made of his prudence, and what obedience they 'yielded to his power and pleaſure. That his direction gave all men ſatisfaction, that they were determined to purſue the courſe he had preſcribed. That 'now they were become ſuitors, he would be pleaſed 'to receive a repreſentation of the humble thanks and 'ſervice of the Houſe.

'His Majeſty anſwered that upon this ſecond acceſs, he was forced to reiterate what he ſaid before. 'That this queſtion was unhappily caſt upon him, for 'he carried as great a reſpect to our privileges as ever 'any Prince did, he was no ground ſearcher, he was 'of the mind that our privileges were his ſtrength, 'that he thought the ground of our proceeding, was 'our not underſtanding that he had intermeddled before we had decided, that he thought alſo we had 'no wilful purpoſe to derogate any thing from him, 'for our anſwer was a grave, dutiful, and obedient 'anſwer.

The Warrant *for a new Election of a* Knight *for* Bucks, *read and allowed in this form.*

'Whereas the Right Honourable Sir *John Forteſcue*, Knight, Chancellor of his Majeſty's Duchy of 'Lancaſter, and Sir *Francis Goodwyn*, Knight, have 'been ſeverally elected and returned Knights of the 'Shire for the county of *Bucks*, to ſerve in this preſent Parliament; upon deliberate conſultation, and 'for ſome ſpecial cauſes moving the Commons Houſe 'of Parliament. It is this day ordered and required, 'by the ſaid Houſe, that a writ be forthwith awarded 'for a new Election of another Knight for the ſaid 'Shire. And this ſhall be your Warrant.

Directed to my very loving friend Sir *George Coppin*, Knight, Clerk of the Crown in his Majeſty's High-Court of Chancery.

E

FOSTER (Samuel), an eminent Engliſh Mathematician in the XVIIth century, and Aſtronomy Profeſſor in Greſham College. As to this gentleman's family we are able to ſay nothing; all that is preſerved of him, in that reſpect, being no more than this, that he was a native of Northamptonſhire (*a*), and, in all probability, his parents were in competent, tho' not in affluent, circumſtances; ſince himſelf, and his elder brother Walter, were both ſent to Emanuel College in Cambridge (*b*). Samuel was admitted a Sizer there April the twenty-third 1616, took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1619, and that of Maſter in 1623 (*c*); he applied himſelf early to the ſtudy of the Mathematicks, and attained to a great proficiency in that kind of knowledge, of which he gave the firſt ſpecimen in the year 1624, as the reader will ſee at the bottom of the page [*A*]. He never had a Fellowſhip, and is therefore placed, by Mr Fuller (*d*), among the learned writers of Emanuel College, who were not Fellows. Upon the death of Mr Henry Gellibrand, Aſtronomy Profeſſor in Greſham College, February the ninth 1636 (*e*), our author, Mr Foſter, made intereſt to ſucceed him, and was accordingly choſen (*f*) on the ſecond of March following, but for what reaſon does not appear; he quitted it again on the twenty-fifth of November in the ſame year, and was ſucceeded therein by Mr Mungo Murray (*g*), a Scots gentleman. He continued, however, to purſue his mathematical ſtudies with great diligence; and, in 1638, he gave another proof of this, in a work of his (*h*) that was then extreamly well received, and is to this day very much eſteemed [*B*] In the mean time Mr Murray having been preſented to the rectory of Welles in Norfolk, by the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Arundel, and marrying in 1641, his Profeſſorſhip was thereby vacated (*i*); and, as Mr Foſter had formerly made way for him, ſo, by this alteration in his condition, he made way for Mr Foſter, who was accordingly choſen May the twenty-ſixth the ſame year (*k*); the civil war breaking out very ſoon after his becoming a ſecond time Aſtronomy Profeſſor at Greſham College, he became one of that worthy and learned ſociety of gentlemen who had ſtated meetings for cultivating the new Philoſophy, to whoſe parts and induſtry this nation, and indeed the whole republick of letters, ſtand ſo much indebted (*l*). In 1646, Dr Wallis, another Member of that Society, received from Mr Foſter a Mathematical Theorem, which he afterwards publiſhed (*m*). Neither was it only in this branch of ſcience that he excelled, but he was likewiſe well verſed in the antient languages, as appears from his reviſing and correcting the Lemmata of Archimedes, which had been tranſlated from an Arabick manuſcript into Latin, but not publiſhed by the learned Mr John Greaves (*n*). Our author made alſo ſeveral curious obſervations of Eclipſes, both of the ſun and moon, as well at Greſham College as in his native county of Northamptonſhire, at Coventry, and in other places (*o*); and was particularly famous for inventing, as well as improving, of Aſtronomical and other Mathematical inſtruments. We have mentioned all the treatiſes of his publiſhed in his life-time; but, beſides theſe, he wrote many more, which his long and great infirmities, hindered him from fitting for the preſs in the manner he intended (*p*). Theſe, however, have not been loſt to the world, ſince the greateſt part of them at leaſt, have been printed by the care of ſeveral of his learned friends, particularly Dr John Twyſden, and Edmund Wingate, Eſq; as the reader will be informed at the bottom of the page [*C*]. Our author, who did not live to

ſee

(*a*) Ward's Lives of the Greſham Profeſſors, p. 85.

(*b*) Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambrige, 147.

(*c*) As appears from the College Books.

(*d*) Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 147.

(*e*) Ward's Lives of the Greſham Profeſſors, p. 147.

(*f*) Id. ibid.

(*g*) He was profeſſor in Philoſophy at St Andrews.

(*h*) See an account of this Work in note [*A*].

(*i*) Ward's Lives of the Greſham Profeſſors, p. 89.

(*k*) Id. ibid. p. 85.

(*l*) Wallis's remarkable paſſages in his own life.

(*m*) Mechanicks, ch. v. prop. 24. p. 869.

(*n*) Foſter's Mathematical Miſcellanies, §. xi.

(*o*) See this explained in the notes.

(*p*) See Dr Twyſden's Preface.

[*A*] *At the bottom of the page.*] It is neceſſary to inform the reader, that this treatiſe, divided into two parts, was originally publiſhed at the end of the ingenious Mr Edmund Gunter's deſcription of the Croſs Staffe in three books. The titles ran thus.

I. *The deſcription and uſe of a ſmall portable* Quadrant *for the more eaſy finding of the hour of Azimuth.* 4to.

The Deſcription and uſes of another Quadrant *fitted for daily practice for finding the hour and Azimuth, and other things of the ſun's courſe in reference to the Horizon, with new lines ſerving to the forementioned and other purpoſe more accurately. Invented by* Mr Samuel Foſter *ſometime* Profeſſor *of* Aſtronomy *in* Greſham-College. *Lond.* 1624. 4to. 1662. 4to. 1673. 4to. 1652. 8vo.

The laſt mentioned edition of this book was publiſhed within a ſmall time after the author's deceaſe, by one Anthony Thomſon mathematical inſtrument maker (1), who in his preface tells us, they were intended as appendices to Mr Gunter's treatiſes, and the reader is farther to know, that the quarto editions were actually printed as ſuch, only ſome few copies that were printed ſeparately of the firſt edition for the uſe of the author's friends. In this as in all our author's other works, there is a preciſeneſs and a perſpicuity which could not fail of recommending them extremely, more eſpecially in thoſe days when theſe ſciences were not ſo well or ſo generally underſtood as at preſent. But how much ſoever the modern mathematicians may ſurpaſs thoſe of the laſt age, yet there is certainly great reſpect due to the memories of thoſe worthy men, by whoſe diligence and induſtrious application the firſt ſteps were made towards thoſe improvements, which have ſince followed, and which like ſcaffolds in building were abſolutely neceſſary to the raiſing thoſe ſtately piles that now attract every eye.

[*B*] *And is to this day very much eſteemed.*] There might poſſibly be ſome particular reaſon for our author's reſigning his Profeſſorſhip, tho' we have no account of it; to which conjecture, I am led by the obſervation of the moſt judicious and accurate Hiſtorian of Greſham-College, that upon the reſignation of our author, Mr Mungo Murray, was recommended by King Charles the Firſt. The title of the latter work of our author, publiſhed after he reſigned his employment, and before he was rechoſe is,

II. *The Art of Dialling.* Lond. 1638, 1675. 4to.

The edition in 1675, has ſeveral additions and variations taken from the author's own manuſcript, as alſo a ſupplement by the editor William Leybourne, who was firſt a Printer, then an editor, and laſtly an author of books, and who, as we ſhall hereafter have occaſion more than once to remark, was particularly inſtrumental in the preſerving and publiſhing ſeveral of Mr Foſter's writings.

[*C*] *At the bottom of the page.*] We are now come to ſpeak of ſuch of this gentleman's treatiſes as were publiſhed after his deceaſe, and which indeed make far the greater part of his works, the titles of them follow.

III. Poſthuma Foſteri: *containing the deſcription of a* ruler, *upon which are inſcribed divers* ſcales, &c. Lond. 1652. 4to.

This

(1) As appears by the Preface to Foſter's Miſcellanies.

ſee the fruits of his own and his friends endeavours, by which a foundation was laid for the Royal Society that happily ſprung from their meetings, after having been long in a de-

clining

This was publiſhed ſoon after the author's death by Mr Wingate.

IV. Four Treatiſes *of* Dialling. *Elliptical or azimuthal horologiography. Circular horologiography. Rectilineal or diametrical horologiography. Elliptical horologiography by ſpherical and not projective work.* Lond. 1654. 4to.

V. MISCELLANIES *or* MATHEMATICAL LUCUBRATIONS *of Mr* Samuel Foſter, *ſometime publick Profeſſor of* Aſtronomy *in* Greſham-College *in* London, *publiſhed, and many of them tranſlated into Engliſh, by the care and induſtry of* John Twyſden. C. L. M. D. *whereunto he hath annexed ſome things of his own.*

As the greateſt part of this book is printed both in Latin and Engliſh, ſo there are prefixed to it two dedications, the firſt in Latin addreſſed to Sir Henry Yelverton, Baronet, who was nephew to the editor Dr Twyſden by his mother, in which he tells him that he had collected theſe pieces of Mr Samuel Foſter out of his looſe papers, and had added to them ſome few pieces of his own, that Sir Henry might have ever at his hand what might put him in mind of the moſt learned author, and prevent himſelf alſo from ſlipping out of his memory when removed from this world. The other dedication is in Engliſh. To the Right Honourable Lady Suſanna Longueville, Baroneſs Grey, Ruthin, Haſtings, Waſhford and Valence. The epiſtle to the reader is alſo both in Engliſh and in Latin, beginning thus. ‘ *Courteous reader*, we have at laſt ‘ made publick theſe poſthumous works of that learned, ‘ induſtrious, and moſt ſkilful Mathematician, Mr Samuel Foſter. They would have come out more poliſhed and with greater luſtre, had himſelf lived to ‘ have added his laſt hand unto them. But ſince it ‘ hath pleaſed God to deny this unto us, we have rather made choice to bring them to their birth with ‘ our hands, ſuch as they are, than ſuffer thoſe things ‘ to periſh which we judged worthy of the preſs, or ‘ that the learned world ſhould be longer deprived of ‘ the genuine offspring of ſo worthy a perſon. The ‘ treatiſes themſelves are of different kinds, ſome of ‘ them written by the author in Latin, ſome in Engliſh, others promiſcuouſly in both languages. The ‘ Aſtroſcope, Planetary inſtruments, and ſome others we ‘ have tranſlated into Latin, and cauſed them to be ‘ printed in a double column, to the end that thoſe of ‘ our own nation who are not much ſkilled in the ‘ Latin tongue, may read them in their mother language. But ſtrangers not remain deprived of the ‘ knowledge of new and profitable inventions. Some ‘ others of them are put out without any verſion, becauſe in truth being employed in other things, I ‘ could not get leiſure enough to do them ; peradventure, if they ſhall bear a ſecond impreſſion, and no ‘ body elſe prevent me, I may labour in that alſo.’ In this volume there are no leſs than twelve ſmall treatiſes of Mr Samuel Foſter's, the titles of which are very exactly ſet down, as indeed every thing is, by the judicious and induſtrious Mr Ward, in that laſting monument which he has raiſed to the honour of the Profeſſors of Greſham-College. We ſhall however ſet down theſe titles ſomewhat more at large, and with a ſhort account of each.

1. Stellæ fixæ, *quas* Tycho *ad mille, in catalogum congeſſit,* & Keplerus *tabb.* Rudolphinarum *operi adnexuit ad annum incarnationis* 1671. *adſervatis eiſdem Latitudinibus, quoad Longitudines, ex additione nimirum gradus unius integri correctæ ; & à polo Eclipticæ ad polum mundi, quorum diſtantia eſt 23 grad.* 31 *min. reductæ : hoc eſt in aſcenſiones rectas & declinationes, eidem anno debitas conjectæ. A* Samuele Foſtero, *olim Aſtronomiæ Profeſſore in Collegio* Greſhami, *Londini.* That is, *A catalogue of the fixed ſtars which may ſerve for the year* 1671. In Latin, but with a table of the ſun's right aſcenſion for every degree of the ecliptic, at the end in Engliſh ; being a neceſſary introduction to the next treatiſe.

2. ASTROSCOPIUM, *pro facillimâ ſtellarum dignotione*, that is, *Aſtroſcopium, an inſtrument for the ready finding of the ſtars in the Heavens.* Written by Mr Foſter in Engliſh, with the Latin prefixed by Dr Twyſden. At the time the author invented this inſtrument it was equally curious and uſeful, being calculated for the ſervice of young Aſtronomers, with a view to encourage their progreſs in the ſcience.

3. *De inſtrumentis Planetariis. Cui uſui inſerviunt, & quomodo ſunt tractanda.* That is, *Of the Planetary inſtruments ; to what end they ſerve, and how they are to be uſed.* In two columns, the Latin by Dr Twyſden, and the Engliſh by Mr Foſter.

4. *Eclipſium tam Solarium quam Lunarium obſervationes.* That is, *Some obſervations of* Eclipſes *of the* Sun *and* Moon. In ſeveral of theſe obſervations our author was aſſiſted by Dr Twyſden, who has alſo added to them his own obſervations, as to the motion of a comet at Eaſton in Northamptonſhire from December the 14th, 1652. to the 24th of the ſame month, as alſo an account of a ſpot ſeen in the ſun at the ſame place, July the 2d, 1651.

5. *Ratio facillima computandi altitudinem Solis horarium ad quamlibet latitudinem, ſtruendis Tabulis altitudinem commodiſſima : quam à D.* Foſtero *olim acceptam, communicavit mihi D.* Palmerus, Ectonenſis. That is, *An eaſy way to calculate tables of the ſun's horarie altititude for any* latitude, *which being communicated to* Dr Twyſden, *by* Mr John Palmer *of* Ecton, *who received it long ſince from Mr* Foſter, *I thought worthy to be here inſerted.* In two columns Latin and Engliſh.

6. *Problemata Geometrica varia.* That is, *Geometrical Propoſitions of divers kinds.* In Latin and Engliſh.

7. *De Conſtructione Canones, Sin. Tang. & Secantium.* That is, *Of the Conſtruction of the Canon of Sines, Tangents, and Secants.* In Latin only.

8. *Quadrantis Horometrici olim editi demonſtratio.* That is, *A demonſtration of an horometrical Quadrant formerly publiſhed*, in Latin only.

9. *Epitome* Ariſtarchi Samii *de magnitudine* Solis & Lunæ. That is, *An Epitome of* Ariſtarchus Samius, *concerning the magnitude of the* Sun *and* Moon, in Latin only. This great Philoſopher Ariſtarchus Samius flouriſhed long after Pythagoras, and a little before Archimedes ; our author ſuppoſes, that he flouriſhed two hundred and eighty years before Chriſt. He held that which is now ſtiled the new ſyſtem, that the earth moved and the ſun remained at reſt ; there is nothing extant of his, except his treatiſe of the magnitudes and diſtances of the ſun and moon, which, together with the learned commentary of Pappus of Alexandria, was publiſhed in Latin by the famous Ferdinand Commandine at Piſa in 1572.

10. *Lemmata Archimedis, apud Græcos & Latinos jam pridem deſiderata, e vetuſto codice M.S. Arabico ; à Johanne Gravio traducta ; et nunc primùm cum Arabum ſcholiis publicata. Reviſa & pluribus mendis repurgata a* Samuele Foſter. That is, *The* Lemma's *of* Archimedes *not extant either in* Greek *or* Latin, *tranſlated from an old* Arabick *manuſcript by* John Greaves, *and now firſt publiſhed with the* Scholia *of a learned* Arabian. *Reviſed, and in many places corrected, by* Samuel Foſter. In Latin only.

11. *The* Geometrical Square *with the uſe thereof in plain and ſpherical Trigonometrie, chiefly intended for the more eaſy finding of the hour and Azimuth.* In Engliſh only.

12. *The conſtruction and uſe of the* horizontal planiſphere *in projective Dialling refractive Dials.* In Engliſh only.

To theſe are added two pieces of Dr Twyſden's, one of dialling, and the other of fortification, to which is annexed, an Appendix publiſhed by Mr William Leybourne conſiſting of three pieces, two written by Mr Halton, and the third entituled, Equations ariſing from a quantity divided into two unequal parts : and *the* ſecond *book of* Euclid's *elements demonſtrated by ſpecies by* John Leeke.

VI. *The* Sector *altered, and other ſcales added, with the deſcription and uſe thereof, invented and written by* Mr Samuel Foſter, *ſometime publick Profeſſor of* Aſtronomy *in* Greſham-College *in London, and now publiſhed by* W. L. London 1661, 1673. 4to.

This

clining ſtate of health, departed this life in the month of July 1652, in his own apartment at Greſham College, and was buried in the church of St Peter le Poor in Broadſtreet (*q*). There have been two other perſons of his name, who have publiſhed ſome mathematical pieces, and therefore it may not be amiſs to give ſome little account of them; indeed all the account we are able to give, is very far from being conſiderable, but it may nevertheleſs be of uſe to prevent miſtakes, and to avoid confuſion. The firſt of theſe was William Foſter, who, in his youth, was a diſciple of the famous Mr Oughtred's, and afterwards a teacher of the Mathematicks in London (*r*). He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a book he publiſhed, and dedicated to the celebrated Sir Kenelm Digby, of which the reader may find ſomewhat more in the notes [*D*]. The other was one Mark Foſter,

(*q*) Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham College, p. 85.

(*r*) See the note [*D*].

This was an improvement of Mr Gunter's Sector, and therefore publiſh'd amongſt his works, the fourth edition of which was printed in the former of theſe two years, and the fifth in the latter. In this laſt edition, Mr Leybourne corrected ſome overſights and miſtakes which were in the fourth edition from Mr Foſter's own manuſcript. Beſides theſe printed pieces, there was in the hands of the late William Jones, Eſq; a manuſcript treatiſe in folio, compoſed by Mr Foſter with this title,

VII. *The uſes of a general* Quadrant *invented by Mr* Samuel Foſter, *late Profeſſor of* Aſtronomy *in* Greſham-College.

We have before mentioned our author's plain and perſpicuous manner of treating abſtruſe ſubjects, a ſhort inſtance will beſt ſupport what we have advanced, and this ſhall be taken from his deſcription of thoſe planetary inſtruments he called *Theoricks* (2). His words are theſe.

(2) Miſcellanies, §.iii. p. 18, 24, 27.

‘ The finding out of the places of the five planets, in reſpect of Longitude and Latitude, is the thing principally intended in theſe Theoricks. Now this having been already declared, it ſhall not be amiſs to add ſomewhat of the principal paſſions belonging unto them, of which there are theſe three chief heads.

‘ Firſt, at ſometimes theſe five planets, in reſpect of that motion which they make according to the Longitude of the Ecliptic, do appear to go forward, agreeably to the order and ſucceſſion of the ſigns, that is, they appear to be direct in motion. Sometimes again they ſeem to go backward in motion, or to be retrograde, and in their changes from the one of theſe motions to the other, they muſt neceſſarily appear to be ſtanding ſtill or to be ſtationary.

‘ Secondly, their places being compared in reſpect of diſtance from the ſun, or one from the other, the planets may have ſeveral aſpects; as conjunction, when they are (any two of them) in one place of Longitude; oppoſition, when they are in oppoſite Longitude; Trine, when they are $\frac{1}{3}$ part of a circle, or four ſigns, diſtant from each other; Quartile, when they are three ſigns or a Quadrant of a circle diſtant; Sextile, when they are $\frac{1}{6}$ part of a circle or two ſigns diſtant. Venus and Mercury cannot make any of theſe aſpects with the Sun. And one of them with the other can make none, but the ſextile which often they do.

‘ Thirdly, their places being compared with the ſun's place, they are either under the ſun's beames, and are then ſaid to be combuſtible, or elſe they riſe after the ſun riſing when the ſun is up, and are called oriental; or they ſet after the ſun while the ſun is down, and are called occidental; or are oppoſite to the ſun, and are called acronychal. Venus and Mercury can never be acronychal, becauſe they never go far enough from the ſun: Venus only forty eight degrees, Mercurius only twenty nine degrees.

‘ Theſe things will not be well diſcovered by theſe Theoricks, it being a difficult buſineſs to ſet the juſt times of theſe changes in their courſes. If you deſire to know in which of theſe motions any planet is, the beſt way will be, when you have found their places for any one day, to enquire their Longitudes about five or ten days after in Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars, or about two or four days after, for Venus and Mercurius, becauſe the motions of theſe are much ſwifter than of the other. And ſo having found their places of longitude at two ſeveral times, you ſhall perceive what courſe they hold in reſpect of progreſs, regreſs, or ſtanding ſtill. For it muſt always be noted, that if a planet paſs from direct motion to ſtation, then that ſtanding is the firſt ſtation. But if it paſs from retrograde motion, then is the ſtation following to be taken for the ſecond ſtation.’——How modeſt he was in his opinion of his own abilities, and how ſenſible that, what he publiſhed in this treatiſe was valuable only to the younger ſtudents in Aſtronomy, we may gather from hence. ——The poetical kinds of riſing and ſetting, are called coſmical, acronychal, and heliachal. Theſe and ſome other paſſions of the planets, ſuch as are the emerſions and occultations are not to be expected from theſe Theoricks. They are difficult to be found, eſpecially for the planets which are always in motion, not reſiding any long time in one Longitude and Latitude. Beſides the ſame things have relation to the elevations of the pole above ſeveral horizons, which kind of concluſions are not proper for Theoricks, but muſt be referred to Aſtrolabes and other Spherical Inſtruments. The moſt exact practice this way is to be had in the aſtronomical tables, and trigonometrical ſpheric works to be conjoined therewith for ſuch purpoſes. They therefore that would have more; muſt there ſeek help and ways to ſatisfy themſelves. This that is here done may ſerve for an introduction to more exact workings: at leaſt it may ſupply the wants of ſuch whoſe ſkill and deſires reach not ſo far for whoſe ſakes it was principally intended——and that he was appriſed of the ſuperior merit of other Aſtronomers is plain from hence.——The way that I go is (in general) agreeable to Copernicus his frame of the world, and in particular to that which Kepler uſeth in his Rudolphin Tables. Only this difference there is: Kepler makes the orbits of the planets to be ellipſes, which is the better way; and I here do make them perfect circles, which is the eaſier way. And tho' it be defective, yet it makes no great difference in theſe ſmall inſtruments.

[*D*] *In the notes.*] The title of the book which he tranſlated and publiſhed, runs at large thus.

The Circles *of* Proportion *and the* Horizontal Inſtrument. *The former ſhewing the manner how to work* Proportions *both ſimple and compound, and the ready and eaſy reſolving of* Queſtions, *both in* Arithmetic, Geometry, *and* Aſtronomy, *and is newly increaſed with an additament for navigation. All which rules may alſo be wrought with the* pen *by* Arithmetic, *and the* Canon *of* Triangles. *The latter teaching how to work moſt* Queſtions, *which may be performed by the* Globe, *and to delineate* Dials *upon any kind of* Plain. *Hereunto is annexed the excellent uſe of* two Rulers *for calculation, invented and written in* Latin, *by* W. C. *tranſlated into* Engliſh, *and ſet out for the publick benefit, by* William Foſter. Lond. 1633. 4to. The dedication to Sir Kenelm Digby, is dated May 1. 1632. and in it, he writes thus.

‘ Being in the time of the long vacation, 1630, in the country of the Reverend, and my moſt worthy friend and teacher, Mr William Oughtred, to whoſe inſtruction I owe, both my initiation and whole progreſs in theſe ſciences. I, upon occaſion of ſpeech, told him of a ruler of Numbers, Sines, and Tangents, which one had beſpoken to be made, ſuch as is uſually called Mr Gunter's rule, ſix feet long, to be uſed with a pair of beam compaſſes. He anſwered, that was a poor invention, and the performance very troubleſome. But, ſaid he, ſeeing you are taken with ſuch mechanical ways of inſtruments, I will ſhew you what devices I have had by me theſe many years. And firſt he brought to me two rulers of that ſort to be uſed, by applying one to the other without

Foſter, who publiſhed a *treatiſe* of *Trigonometry* (s), but lived later in point of time than either of the other two. As for our author's eldeſt brother, Mr Walter Foſter (t), who was himſelf likewiſe no mean proficient in the Mathematicks, he became Fellow of his College, and Rector of Allerton in Somerſetſhire, as the reader will ſee, with ſome other circumſtances relating to him, at the bottom of the page [*E*]. Dr John Twyſden, abovementioned, was a Phyſician, brother to Sir Roger Twyſden, Baronet, a very learned man (u), a lover of the Mathematicks, and one who had been an intimate friend, and the companion of his ſtudies, to our author (w), Mr Samuel Foſter; and, in the careful publication of his poſtumous works, may juſtly be ſtiled the executor of his fame.

(s) Ward's Lives &c.

(t) Archbiſhop Uſher's Letters, p. 437.

(u) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. I. p. 214.

(w) As he affirms in his Preface, and in the Work.

out any compaſſes. And after that, he ſhewed me thoſe lines caſt into a circle or ring, with another moveable circle upon it. I ſeeing the great expediteneſſe of both theſe ways, but eſpecially of the latter, wherein it far excelleth any other inſtrument which hath been known, told him I wondered he could ſo many years conceal ſuch uſeful inventions, not only from the world, but from myſelf, to whom in other parts and myſteries of art he had been ſo liberal. He anſwered, that the true way of art is not by inſtruments, but by demonſtrations, and that it is a prepoſterous courſe of vulgar teachers to begin with inſtruments, and not with the ſciences, and ſo inſtead of artiſts to make their ſcholars only doers of tricks, and as it were juglers, to the deſpite of art, loſs of precious time, and betraying of willing and induſtrious wits upon ignorance and idleneſs. That the uſe of inſtruments is indeed excellent, if a man be an artiſt, but contemptible being ſet and oppoſed to art. And laſtly, that he meant to commend to me the ſkill of inſtruments, but firſt he would have me well inſtructed in the ſciences. He alſo ſhewed me many notes and rules for the uſe of thoſe circles, and of his Horizontal inſtrument which he had projected about thirty years before, the moſt part written in Latin. All which I obtained of him leave to tranſlate into Engliſh, and make publick for the uſe and benefit of ſuch as were ſtudious and lovers of thoſe excellent ſciences. Which thing, while I with mature and diligent care, as my occaſions would give me leave, went about to do, another, to whom the author in a long conference diſcovered his intent, uſing more haſte than good ſpeed, went about to pre-occupate, of which untimely birth and preventing, if not circumventing, forwardneſs, I ſay no more, but adviſe the ſtudious reader only ſo far to truſt as he ſhall be ſure doth agree to truth and art.'

[*E*] *At the bottom of the page.*] All the proof we have, that the Reverend Mr Walter Foſter, was elder brother to our author Samuel, is, that he took his degrees ſomewhat earlier, for he was admitted Bachelor of Arts, in 1617, Maſter in 1621, and Bachelor of Divinity, in 1628, at which time he was Fellow of his College, had an exceeding fair character there, and was well beloved, as fully appears from the following paſſage in a letter written by Dr Samuel Ward to the Lord Primate Uſher (3).

‘As for Dr Walſall's manuſcript of Rathrammus, I know where it is. I think it were not amiſs to print both thoſe treatiſes of Rathram's, with that *De Corpore & Sanguine Domini*, which is already extant. If I do not print them, your Lordſhip ſhall have a copy. As for the Latin copy of Ignatius's Epiſtles in Caius College Library, I was in good hope it had been the ſame with an old printed tranſlation which I have, but comparing them together, I find them differ much. I acquainted Mr Thomas Whalley, now Dr Whalley, with that you wrote in your letter. He ſeemed to me not unwilling to undertake, but now in this contagious time he is gone into the country. I ſpoke alſo with Mr Foſter of Emanuel College, who it ſeemeth hath taken ſome pains already in it, but then he was to go into the country. I am informed by ſome Fellows in that College, that being ſhortly to depart from the College by his time there allotted, finding in himſelf ſome impediment in his utterance, he could wiſh to be employed by your Lordſhip in ſuch like buſineſs. He is a good ſcholar, and an honeſt man. The worſt is, the book cannot be lent out of the College. I will ſee (by God's grace) at the return of our ſtudents what can be done, if God ſend life.' But notwithſtanding what is ſaid of the impediment in his ſpeech, he continued his ſtudies in Divinity, entered into Holy Orders, and poſſeſſed the living in Somerſetſhire, which is mentioned in the text. Dr Twyſden in his epiſtle to the reader, prefixed to Mr Foſter's Mathematical Lucubrations, ſpeaks of Mr Walter Foſter in the following terms. ‘In the laſt place, ſays he, let me admoniſh thee (courteous reader), that I have here obtruded nothing upon thee, which was not firſt taken out of the author's adverſaries, written with his own hand, which were communicated to me by that learned Divine Mr Walter Foſter, Bachelor in Divinity, ſkilful alſo in theſe ſtudies, to whom of right it belonged, to have raiſed up this ſeed to his deceaſed brother, had not his infirm health and domeſtick affairs held him in the country a great many miles diſtant from this place.'

(3) Archbiſhop Uſher's Letters, p. 437.

E

FOWLER (Edward) Biſhop of Glouceſter in part of this and the laſt century, and a moſt rational and moderate Divine, was born, in the year 1632 (a), at Weſterleigh in Glouceſterſhire, of which place his father William Fowler, was miniſter. His education in Grammar-learning was at the College-ſchool in Glouceſter, under William Ruſſell who had married his ſiſter. In the beginning of the year 1650. he became Clerk of Corpus-Chriſti-College in Oxford, and on the 14th of December 1653. one of the Chaplains thereof (b). The 23d of the ſame month, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (c). Afterwards retiring to Cambridge for a time, he took his Maſter of Arts degree, as a member of Trinity-college in that Univerſity; and ſoon after returning to Oxford, was incorporated in the ſame degree July 5. 1656 (d). About that time he became Chaplain to Amabella Counteſs-dowager of Kent [*A*], who preſented him to the Rectory of North-hill in Bedfordſhire (*). Having been educated in the Preſbyterian way [*B*] he ſcrupled embracing for a while the terms of Conformity, at the Reſtoration (e); but he conform'd afterwards, and became a great ornament to the Church. His excellent moral

(a) He was in the 82d year of his age at the time of his death in 1714. Epitaph.

(b) Wood, Ath. Oxon. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 1029.

(c) Ibid. & Faſti, col. 101.

(d) Idem, Faſti. col. 112.

(*) Wood Ath. as above.

(e) Dr Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. II. p. 302.

[*A*] *Amabella Counteſs-dowager of Kent*] She was daughter of Sir Antony Ben, Recorder of London, widow of Antony Fane, Eſq; third ſon to Francis, Earl of Weſtmoreland, and ſecond wife to Henry, Earl of Kent. He died in 1649, but ſhe did not die till Aug. 17. 1698. aged 92 (1). Dr Fowler acknowledges his relation to her, in the dedication to his *Libertas Evangelica.*

[*B*] *Having been educated in the Preſbyterian way.*] His father was ejected from the Vicarage of Weſterleigh, for Non-conformity, in 1662 (2).

(1) The Peerage of England by Ar. Collins, Eſq; ed. 1735. Vol. I. p. 234.

(2) Wood Ath. Vol. II. col. 1029.

[C] *With*

moral Writings rendred him ſo conſiderable, that Archbiſhop Sheldon, in order to introduce him into the metropolis of the kingdom, the city of London, collated him, Auguſt 25. 1673, to the Rectory of Allhallows-Breadſtreet (*f*). The 29th of February 1675-6, he was inſtall'd into the fourth Prebend in Glouceſter-Cathedral (*g*): And the 31ſt of March 1681, had inſtitution to the Vicarage of St Giles's Cripplegate, vacant by the death of Dr John Prichett Biſhop of Glouceſter, who had held it in commendam (*h*). The 10th of June following he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity (*i*). During the ſtruggle between the Proteſtant Religion and Popery in this Kingdom, our Author appear'd to great advantage in defence of the former (*); being one of thoſe illuſtrious Champions of the Reformation, which were an honour both to the Church and to the Age in which they lived (*k*). But this rendered him obnoxious, among the reſt, to the Court, and its adherents; and, in all probability, cauſed an ill-natur'd proſecution againſt him, in 1685, by ſome of his pariſhioners; who alledged, That he was guilty of Whiggiſm; That he admitted to the Communion excommunicated perſons before they were abſolv'd &c. We are told, this matter was carried ſo far, that Decemb. 9. after a tryal at Doctors-Commons, our author was ſuſpended, under pretence of his having acted ſeveral things contrary to the Canons of the Church, &c. (*l*). However, this affront did not intimidate or diſcourage him from performing what he thought his duty. For he was the Second who, in 1688, ſigned a Reſolution, entered into by the principal of the London clergy, Not to read King James the Second's new Declaration for liberty of conſcience (*m*). A perſon of ſo much learning and merit as Dr Fowler, was not left neglected or unrewarded at the Revolution. For April 23. 1691, he was nominated Biſhop of Glouceſter, (upon the deprivation of Dr Robert Frampton for refuſing to take the oaths,) confirmed July 2. and conſecrated the 5th of the ſame month (*n*). In this See he continued, without any tranſlation, till his deceaſe; which happened at Chelſea Auguſt 26 1714. He lies buried in a vault on the north ſide of Hendon Church-yard in Middleſex; within the Chancel of which Church there is ſet up a handſome monument for him, with an inſcription [*C*] containing his Character (*o*). This learned Author hath publiſhed, I. 'The Principles and Practices of certain Moderate Divines of the Church of England, abuſively called Latitudinarians (greatly miſunderſtood) truly repreſented and defended; Wherein (by the way) ſome Controverſies of no mean importance, are ſuccinctly diſcuſſed: In a free Diſcourſe between two intimate Friends [*D*]. II. The Deſign of Chriſtianity; or, a plain Demonſtration and Improvement of this Propoſition, viz. That the enduing men with inward real Righteouſneſs or true Holineſs, was the *Ultimate End* of our Saviour's coming into the world, and is the *Great Intendment* of his bleſſed goſpel [*E*]. III. *Libertas Evangelica*: or, a Diſcourſe of Chriſtian Liberty. Being a further purſuance of the argument of The Deſign of Chriſtianity [*F*]. IV. He

(*f*) Newcourt Repertor. Vol. I. p. 247.

(*g*) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Glouceſter, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. p. 742.

(*h*) Newcourt, ubi ſupra, p. 358.

(*i*) Wood, Faſti, ubi ſupra, col. 218.

(*) See below note [*G*].

(*k*) Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt of his own Time, Vol. I. ed. 1724. p. 462.

(*l*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol III. ed. 1719. p. 510. note [*c*].

(*n*) J. Le Neve's Faſti, edit. 1716. p. 102.

(*o*) Br. Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 727.

[*C*] *With an inſcription.*] Being as follows. 'To the pious memory of the Right Reverend Edward Fowler, late Lord Biſhop of Glouceſter; to which ſtation he was advanced by King William, in the year 1691. for his known ſteadineſs to the true intereſt of the Church of England, and of his country in times of danger. He approved himſelf worthy of that dignity, by a faithful and diligent diſcharge of his paſtoral office; till diſabled by age and bodily infirmities, he reſted from his labours in the 82d year of his age, admitted to partake of his reward. He departed this life, Aug 26. 1714 and was interred in the grave of his firſt wife, in this Church; leaving behind him, in the excellent treatiſes publiſhed by himſelf, laſting monuments of learning, judgment, piety, and chriſtian temper of mind. He was twice married, firſt to Ann, daughter of Arthur Bernardiſton, of the Inner Temple, Eſq; one of the Maſters of Chancery; ſhe departed this life, Dec. 19. 1696. He had by her three ſons, Nathaniel, Edward, and Richard; and five daughters, Anne, Anne, Suſannah, Elizabeth, and Mary; of whom Edward and Richard, Suſannah, Elizabeth and Mary, ſurvived him. His ſecond wife, Elizabeth, who likewiſe ſurvived him, was Elizabeth, widow of the Reverend Dr Ezekiah Burton, and daughter of Ralph Trevor of London, Merchant.'

At the bottom of this Epitaph, it is obſerved, that Richard, the younger ſon, 'did by his laſt will direct his executors, to cauſe a vault to be made, which for want of room in the Church, was made in the Church-yard, at the weſt-corner of that wall;' wherein were removed the Biſhop's body, that of his firſt wife, and thoſe of the ſaid Richard, and his wife and daughter, in 1717 (3).

[*D*] *The principles and practices of certain moderate Divines, &c.*] The firſt edition of this book was printed at London, 1670. 8vo. and a ſecond edition came out in 1671.—Some of the rational principles of thoſe moderate Divines, were as follow. They admitted the uſe of reaſon in matters of religion, and preached the reaſonableneſs of the chriſtian precepts; for which they were, in contempt, called the rational preachers (4). They maintained, that moral good and evil are ſo eſſentially in their own nature; and not becauſe God commands the one, and forbids the other (5). They ſo handled the doctrine of imputative righteouſneſs, as to ſhew the neceſſity of inherent righteouſneſs, and did not build it upon a ſtrong faith only (6). They aſſerted, that faith juſtifieth only as it implyeth obedience (7). And they condemned the barbarous doctrine of unconditional and abſolute Predeſtination (8).

[*E*] *The deſign of Chriſtianity, &c.*] This was firſt printed in 1671. and there was a ſecond edition in 1676. 8vo. The ſubſtance of it is ſummed up in theſe two propoſitions, in the contents. 1. That true holineſs is the deſign of Chriſtianity. 2. Upon what accounts the buſineſs of making men holy, came to be preferred by our Saviour before any other thing, and to be principally deſigned by him.——John Bunyan, the Antinomian, having writ againſt this excellent book, the author vindicated it, in *Dirt wiped off: or, a manifeſt diſcovery of the groſs ignorance, erroneouſneſs, and moſt unchriſtian and wicked ſpirit of one John Bunyan, Lay-preacher in Bedford, which he hath ſhewed in a vile pamphlet publiſhed by him againſt the deſign of Chriſtianity, &c.* Lond. 1672. 4to.

[*F*] *Libertas Evangelica, &c.*] Publiſhed at London, 1680. 8vo. The ſubſtance of this alſo, is ſummed up in theſe two propoſitions. 1. 'That the moſt excellent and moſt highly to be valued liberty doth conſiſt in an intire compliance with the laws of righteouſneſs and goodneſs: or in freedom from the dominion of corrupt and ſinful affections. 2. That this freedom to holy obedience and true goodneſs, or which

(3) Br. Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 727, 728.

(4) See p. 40. &c. 70, 103.

(5) p. 12.

(6) p. 115. &c.

(7) p. 159.

(8) p. 192. &c.

'IV. He alſo publiſhed ſome pieces againſt Popery [G], as I have intimated above. 'V. And on the Doctrine of the Trinity [H].' Likewiſe ſeveral Sermons [I]; and other Tracts [K].

'which conſiſteth in an entire compliance with the 'laws of righteouſneſs, is our Chriſtian liberty.'—— The value of theſe moſt excellent books hath been little underſtood, elſe they would have borne more impreſſions than they have.

[G] *He alſo publiſhed ſome pieces againſt Popery.*] Namely. 1. The Reſolution of this caſe of conſcience, whether the Church of England's ſymbolizing ſo far as it doth with the Church of Rome, makes it lawful to hold Communion with the Church of England? Lond. 1683. 4to. 2. A defence of the Reſolution, &c. in anſwer to a book intituled, *A modeſt Examination of the Reſolution, &c.* Lond. 1684 4to. 3. Examination of Cardinal Bellarmine's 4th note of the Church, viz Amplitude, or Multitude and Variety of Believers. 4. The Texts which Papiſts cite out of the Bible, for the proof of their Doctrine concerning the obſcurity of the Holy Scriptures examined. Lond. 1687. 4to (9). Antony Wood aſcribes alſo to him another tract in this controverſy: viz. 'The Texts 'examined which Papiſts cite out of the Bible, for 'the proof of their Doctrine concerning the inſufficiency of the Scriptures, and neceſſity of Tradition.' But it was written by J. Williams, afterwards Biſhop of Chicheſter (10).

[H] *And on the Doctrine of the Trinity.*] viz. 1. Certain propoſitions, by which the Doctrin of the H. Trinity is ſo explain'd, according to the ancient Fathers, as to ſpeak it not contradictory to natural reaſon. Together with a defence of them, in anſwer to the objections of a Socinian writer, in his newly-printed *Conſiderations on the Explications of the Doctrin of the Trinity*, occaſioned by theſe propoſitions, among other diſcourſes. In a letter to that author. Lond. 1694. 4to. 2. A ſecond defence of the propoſitions, by which the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity is ſo explained, according to the ancient Fathers, as to ſpeak it not contradictory to natural reaſon. In anſwer to a Socinian manuſcript, in a letter to a friend. Together with a third defence of thoſe propoſitions, in anſwer to the newly-publiſhed reflexions, contained in a pamphlet, entituled, *A Letter to the Reverend Clergy of both Univerſities.* Lond. 1695. 4to.

[I] *Likewiſe ſeveral Sermons.*] 1. A Sermon preached before the Judges, in the time of the Aſſizes, in the Cathedral Church at Gloceſter, Aug. 7. 1681. on 1 Tim. i. 19. Lond. 1681. 4to. publiſhed to put a ſtop to falſe and injurious repreſentations. 2. A Diſcourſe of Offences in two Sermons, Aug 19. and Sept. 2d 1683. in the Cathedral Church of Gloceſter, both on Matth. xviii. 7. Lond. 1683. 4to. publiſhed by reaſon of the heinous offence that was taken at the former, by ſome of that city, particularly the Common-Council, who made a wonderful wiſe order thereupon, which is printed at the end. 3. A Sermon preached at the general meeting of Glouceſterſhire-men; for the moſt part inhabitants of the city of London: in the Church of St Mary le Bow, December the 9th 1684. on 1 Pet. ii. 17. Lond. 1685. 4to. 4. The great wickedneſs and miſchievous effects of ſlandering, preached in the Pariſh Church of St Giles's, Nov 15. 1685. on Pſalm ci. 5. Lond. 1685. 4to. with a large preface of the author, and concluſion in his own vindication. 5. Sermon before the Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen on Wedneſday in Eaſter-week, in the Church of St Andrew in Holbourn, being one of the Anniverſary Spital-Sermons on Luke xvi. 9. Lond. 1688. 4to. 6. Sermon before the Lord-Mayor, &c. in the Church of St Mary le Bow, Apr. 16. 1690. being the Faſt-day, on Hoſea xi. 8. Lond. 1690. 8vo. 7. Sermon before the Queen at White-hall, March 22. 1690, on Jam. ii. 10. Lond. 1691. 4to. 8. Sermon before the Lord-Mayor, and the Court of Aldermen, on Eaſter-Monday 1692, being one of the Anniverſary Spital-Sermons. Lond. 1692. 4to. 9. Sermon at the meeting of the Sons of the Clergy, in St Mary Le Bow Church. Dec. 6. 1692. on John xiii. 34. Lond. 1692. 4to.

[K] *And other Tracts.*] viz. 1. An anſwer to the paper delivered by Mr Aſhton at his execution. Lond. 1690. 4to. 2. A diſcourſe of the great diſingenuity and unreaſonableneſs of repining at afflicting Providences; and of the influence which they ought to have upon us, on Job ii. 10. publiſhed upon occaſion of the death of Queen Mary; with a preface containing ſome obſervations touching her excellent endowments and exemplary life. Lond. 1695. 8vo (11). ——The firſt of theſe he begins, with obſerving, that 'the paper which paſſed under the name of *Mr* '*Aſhton's ſpeech*, ſeemed to him to be compoſed with 'too much *art* and *care*, to be the work of one who 'profeſſed, he *thought it better to employ his laſt mi-* '*nutes in devotion* ——And, as the whole nation was 'therein charged with the guilt of *Perjury* and *Rebel-* '*lion*, therefore, he rather believed it to be drawn 'up by ſome perſons of more art and leiſure; who 'thought it beſt to convey their own *ſentiments* (as 'they called them) under the more popular name of 'one who ſuffered for their cauſe.' C

(9) Both theſe are printed in the *Preſervative againſt Popery*, fol.

(10) See ibid.

(11) A. Wood, ubi ſupra; and from the books themſelves.

FOX (EDWARD) an eminent Stateſman in the XVIth Century, Almoner to Henry VIII. and biſhop of Hereford, was born at Durſley in Glouceſterſhire, and educated at Eton School (*a*). Thence he was admitted Scholar of King's College in Cambridge, March 27, 1512, and elected Provoſt of the ſame Decemb. 27, 1528 (*b*), which place he kept to the time of his death (*c*). He was in his youth a perſon of great vivacity, but having withal prudence to govern that ſpirit, it only ſerved to raiſe him, and render him eminent. His relation to Richard Fox biſhop of Wincheſter made him a Scholar, and his own inclination a politician (*d*). Being recommended as ſuch to Cardinal Wolſey, he took him into his ſervice; and, if our author is entirely to be credited (*e*), it was he that put the Cardinal upon aſpiring to the Papacy. However, being noted for a man of great ſenſe and addreſs, he was, in the beginning of the year 1528 (*f*), ſent embaſſador to Rome, jointly with Stephen Gardiner afterwards biſhop of Wincheſter, in order to obtain new Bulls from Pope Clement VII, for King Henry the Eighth's divorce from his queen Catharine of Arragon (*g*). He was then Almoner to that King, and reputed one of the beſt Divines in England (*h*). Having ſoon obtained the deſir'd Commiſſion or Bull from the Pope to the Cardinals Wolſey and Campegio, to try the affair in England; 'tis probable that they return'd from their Embaſſy, along with Campegio, who came over the October following (*i*). After that, Mr Fox whoſe abilities were ſufficiently known, had the honour of being employed in Embaſſies both in France and Germany (*k*). [A] It was

(*a*) The Worthies of England, &c. by T. Fuller, D.D. in Glouceſterſhire, p. 355.

(*b*) Wood, Athenæ, edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 655.

(*c*) Fuller, ibid. and Godwin de Præſulibus, edit. 1616, 4to. p. 544.

(*d*) State-Worthies, &c. by D. Lloyd. 1679. p. 87.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 88.

(*f*) He and Gardiner were diſpatched Feb. 10. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. 2d. edit. part I. p. 52.

(*g*) Life and reign of King Henry VIII. by Edward Lord Herbert, in the Complete Hiſt. of Eng. &c. Vol. II. edit. 1706. p. 100.

(*h*) Burnet, ibid.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 54, 55, and Herbert, p. 103. Gardiner was ſent back again to Rome, the beginning of the year following. See Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 62, 63.

(*k*) Wood, ubi ſupra. Et J. Bale Scriptorum Brytanniæ, Centuria Nona. No. 25. p. 711.

[A] *Had the honour of being employed in embaſſies both in France and Germany.*] During which, as he was diſcourſing one day of terms of peace, he ſaid, 'Honourable ones laſt long, but the diſhonourable no 'longer than till kings have power to break them: 'the ſureſt way therefore, ſaid he, to Peace, is a 'conſtant was in converſation with him, in 1529, that Thomas Cranmer afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury diſcover'd a plainer and ſhorter way for the King's divorce, than a tedious application to Rome; namely, by taking the Opinions of the moſt learned perſons and Univerſities of Chriſtendom: and it was He that made it known to the King as Cranmer's advice, when Stephen Gardiner, who was preſent at that converſation, would have put it off as his own. To him therefore Cranmer owed his introduction to Court, and by natural conſequence his advancement to the See of Canterbury (*l*). In 1530, he was employed with Stephen Gardiner at Cambridge, to obtain that Univerſity's determination about the King's marriage and divorce above mention'd (*m*) [*B*]. On the 27th of September 1531, he was inſtall'd Archdeacon of Leiceſter, upon the reſignation of Dr Stephen Gardiner (*n*); and in November 1533, was made Archdeacon of Dorſet (*o*). It was he that appriz'd the Clergy of their being fallen into a Præmunire, and adviſ'd them to make their Submiſſion to the King (*p*); which they did, by acknowledging him Supreme Head of the Church of England, and making him a preſent of a hundred thouſand pounds (*q*). In the year 1535, he was promoted to the Biſhopric of Hereford, having obtain'd the Royal aſſent to his election, September 2. and receiving conſecration Septemb. 25, and the Temporalities Octob. 4 following (*r*). He was the principal pillar of the Reformation, as to the management of the politick and prudential part of it; being of more activity, and no leſs ability than Cranmer himſelf (*s*). But he took care not to bring himſelf in danger of ſuffering perſecution on that account (*t*) [*C*]. A few months after his conſecration, namely on the 6th of December 1535, he was ſent Embaſſador to the Proteſtant Princes in Germany, then aſſembled at Smalcald; whom he exhorted to unite, in point of Doctrine, with the Church of England (*u*) [*D*]. He ſpent the winter at Wirtemberg, and held ſeveral Conferences with ſome of the German Divines, endeavouring to conclude a Treaty with them upon many articles of Religion, but nothing was effected (*w*) [*E*]. He return'd to England in the year 1536; and, after having enjoy'd his Epiſcopal dignity but two years and ſeven months, dy'd at London May 8. 1538 (*x*). According to his deſire,

(*l*) Burnet, as as above, p. 79, 80.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 86. and Herbert, ubi ſupra, p. 153.

(*n*) Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 114. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) Wood, ibid.

(*p*) D. Lloyd, ubi ſupra, p. 89.

(*q*) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 112, 113.

(*r*) Br. Willis, as above, Vol. I. p. 520.

(*s*) Fuller's Worthies, ubi ſupr.

(*t*) See Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(*u*) J. Sleidani Comment. de Statu Religionis, &c. lib. 9.

(*w*) Ibid. lib. 10. See Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. III. p. 111. &c.

(*x*) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

'constant preparedneſs for war. Two things he 'would ſay, muſt ſupport a Government; Gold and 'Iron: Gold, to reward its friends; and Iron, to keep 'under its enemies.' The Emperor offering him once a ſum of money, he did not accept of it: And, as his attendants ſcrupled to take what he had refuſed, 'Take 'it, ſays he to them, for you are not all the King of 'England's embaſſadors.' This ſaying was frequently in his mouth, 'Time and I will challenge any two in 'the world (1).'

(1) D. Lloyd, ubi ſupra, p. 88, 89.

[*B*] *In* 1530 *he was employed with Stephen Gardiner at Cambridge, to obtain that Univerſity's determination about the King's marriage and divorce.*] When they came to Cambridge, they ſpake to Dr William Buckmaſter the Vice-chanellor, whom they found very ready to ſerve the King; as was alſo Bonner, and ſeveral others, but there was a contrary party that met together and reſolved to oppoſe them. So that, at length, it was (not without a conſiderable oppoſition,) determined, 'That the King's Marriage was 'againſt the Law of God.' And 'it is thought 'ſtrange, as Biſhop Burnet obſerves, that the King who 'was otherwiſe ſo abſolute in England, ſhould meet 'with more difficulty in this matter at home, than he 'did abroad.' This the Biſhop reſolves, into the Univerſity's averſion in general to Luther's Doctrine, which was profeſſed by the chief promoters of the Divorce (2).

(2) See his Hiſt. of the Reformat. Part I. p. 86, 87. And Collection of Records, Book II. No. 32. p. 85. And Part III. Collect. of Records, No. 16. p. 20.

[*C*] *But he took care not to bring himſelf in danger of ſuffering perſecution on that account.*] This Biſhop Godwin hints at, when he ſays, that he was *Reformationis Eccleſiaſticæ illius tempore coeptæ, clanculum fautor:* a ſecret Favourer of the Reformation. That is, to the length of the eſtabliſhment, in the reign of King Henry VIII, as Mr Collier expreſſes it (3).

(3) Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 153.

[*D*] *Whom he exhorted to unite, in point of Doctrine, with the Church of England.*] After having obſerved, how nearly related the Kings of England and the Electors of Saxony were; he aſſures them of the King's great favour and affection to them, on account of their endeavours to propagate the true knowledge of God. And though they had been much reviled for caſting off the Pope, yet King Henry retain'd a very good opinion of them, and look'd upon them as honeſt perſons, who would not do any thing unſeemly, nor without ſufficient reaſon, and whoſe only aim was to promote the glory of God by the true preaching of the Goſpel. That the King his maſter's deſign was the ſame, as was manifeſt by the alterations he had made in England, having aboliſhed many errors, and renounced, with his Parliament's conſent, the Pope and all his impoſtures. And ſince they concurred in the ſame laudable work, the King had conceived a ſingular regard for them, and deſired them to go on ſo, that they might all profeſs the ſame doctrine, this being the moſt ſolid ground for a perpetual and laſting peace. That the King knew by experience, what confuſions aroſe from diverſity of opinions; and inſtanced in the Anabaptiſts amongſt them. That the Pope pretended now to call a Council; but unleſs there was a perfect agreement between the King his maſter and them, they would find themſelves under a great inconvenience, when they ſhould repair to that Council. They ought therefore to think of ſuch a peace, as ſhould be grounded on the ſure foundation of Scripture. The Pope would endeavour to the utmoſt to obſtruct ſuch an union, and therefore it could not be accompliſhed ſo long as his tyranny laſted. That the caſting off his uſurped authority in England, and reſtoring that kingdom to its original liberty, had put that idol and antichriſt in ſuch a rage; that what he could not do by force, (i. e. to reduce it again to ſlavery) he endeavoured to do, by ſtirring up underhand all the Princes in Europe againſt the King. But he was ſo well prepared, that he deſpiſed all his attempts: and he had informed them of it, not that he was afraid of the Pope, but that they might ſee, notwithſtanding his pretended peaceable diſpoſition in calling a Council, that he was far from thinking of peace. That a fair debate of the controverted points of religion, the King was ſenſible, would be very ſerviceable to the Church. But no Council ought to be ſuffered, which would only tend to eſtabliſh the papal tyranny. Therefore he exhorted them not to approve of ſuch a Council, till peace was reſtored to the Chriſtian World. In concluſion, he deſired a private conference upon thoſe points with ſome perſons appointed by them (4).

(4) Sleidan, ubi ſupra.

[*E*] *Endeavouring to conclude a Treaty with them, &c.*] The reader may ſee a particular account of this negotiation, in Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation (5); by which it appears, that the Elector of Saxony thought King Henry had only a political deſign in all this negotiation; intending to bring the German Proteſtant Princes into *a dependance on himſelf*, without any ſincere intentions with regard to religion. Biſhop Fox preſſed them alſo to approve of all that the King had done in the matter of his divorce, and of his ſecond marriage; but they could never be prevailed upon (6).

(5) Part or Vol. III. p. 111. &c.

(6) Ibid. And Sleidan, ubi ſupra, L. 10.

[*F*] *He*

deſire, expreſſed in his will, he was buried in the Church of St Mary Monthaw in Thames-ſtreet (*y*); in which pariſh the Biſhops of Hereford had then a Houſe, now divided into Tenements (*z*). But there was no monument erected to his memory (*a*). He was a very learned man [*F*], and author of ſome pieces, whereof we ſhall give an account in the Note [*G*].

(*y*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*z*) Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's additions, Vol. I. book 3. p. 211. 212.

(*a*) Br. Willis, ubi ſupra, Vol. I. p. 520.

[*F*] *He was a very learned man.*] So we are aſſured by Biſhop Godwin, who calls him, *Vir egregie doctus*, a man excellently learned (7). Wood alſo ſtyles him 'an eminent ſcholar of his time (8).' And D. Lloyd repreſents him as a fine preacher; but adds, that 'his inclination to politics, brake through all 'the ignoble reſtraints of pedantique ſtudies to an 'eminency (more by obſervation and travel, than by 'reading and ſtudy) that made him the wonder of 'the Univerſity, and the darling of the Court. When 'he was called to the pulpit or chair, he came off 'not ill, ſo prudential were his parts in Divinity; 'when advanced to any office of truſt in the Univerſity, he came off very well, ſo incomparable were 'his parts for government (9).'

[*G*] *And author of ſome pieces.*] He publiſhed a book, *De vera differentia Regiæ Poteſtatis & Eccleſiaſticæ, & quæ ſit ipſa veritas & virtus utriuſque.* Lond. 1534, & 1538. i. e. Of the true difference between the Royal and Eccleſiaſtical Power, &c. Tranſlated into Engliſh by Henry Lord Stafford (10).—— He alſo wrote *Annotations upon Mantuan, the Poet.* There is likewiſe an *Oration* of his, extant in the ſtory of the Lord Tho. Cromwell, in J. Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. And a letter from him and Gardiner, about their proceedings at Cambridge; in the collection of records, at the end of the 1ſt part of Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation (11.)

(7) Ubi ſupra.

(8) Ubi ſupra.

(9) D. Lloyd, as above.

(10) Bale, ubi ſupra. And Wood, Vol. I. col. 108, 655. Athenæ.

(11) Book II. No. 32. p. 85.

C

FOXE, or FOX, (Richard) a famous ſtateſman and biſhop in part of the XVth and XVIth centuries, and Founder of Corpus-Chriſti-College in Oxford, was born at Ropeſley near Grantham in Lincolnſhire [*A*] about the latter end of the reign of King Henry VI; being the Son of Thomas Fox and Helene his wife, perſons in mean circumſtances (*a*). His education in Grammar-learning was at Boſton, or according to ſome at Wincheſter. When fit for the Univerſity, he was ſent to Magdalen college in Oxford, where he ſoon ſurpaſſed all his equals in knowledge and reputation. But the plague obliged him to retire from thence, and to go and finiſh his ſtudies at Penbroke-hall in Cambridge (*b*). He is ſaid to have taken the Degree of Doctor in law at Oxford (*c*); but it could not be till ſome years after. When he had ſtayed a competent time at Cambridge, he went, for his farther improvement, to Paris, where he ſtudied Divinity and the Canon-law. In this place, he became acquainted with Dr John Morton Biſhop of Ely, whom the cruelty of that wicked uſurper Richard III. had forced to quit his native country, and to fly thither (*d*). By him probably, who knew his great learning and abilities, he was introduced to Henry Earl of Richmond; that was then meditating a deſcent upon England, in order to dethrone the uſurper: and, with the reſt of the Engliſhmen reſiding at Paris, He vowed and ſware to take his part (*e*). The Earl immediately received Dr Fox into ſecret familiarity (*f*): And having applied to Charles VIII king of France for aſſiſtance in his deſigned expedition, but being called away by multiplicity of buſineſs before he could obtain his deſire, he left the further proſecution of this matter to the Doctor, whom he thought the fitteſt man to manage ſo important an affair. Nor was he deceived in him; for he acted with that induſtry and prudence, that he ſoon procured men and money from the Court of France (*g*). Henry having gained the Crown of England, by his glorious victory at Boſworth on the 22d of Auguſt 1485, took care to reward thoſe who had faithfully ſerv'd him. Among the reſt, he made his truſty friend Dr Fox one of his Privy-counſellors, that he might continue to have the benefit of his good counſel and advice [*B*]. About the ſame time, the Doctor was collated to the Prebend of Biſhopſton in the Church of Sarum; and, in February 1485-6, to the Prebend of South-Grantham in the ſame Church (*h*). The February following he was nominated Biſhop of Exeter (*i*), and had reſtitution of the Temporalities April 2. 1487 (*k*). On the 24th of February 1486-7, he was appointed Keeper of the Privy-ſeal; for the better diſcharge of which office his Majeſty granted him, the 5th of July following, a penſion of twenty ſhillings a day (*l*). He was alſo made Principal Secretary of State, and Maſter of St Croſſe near Wincheſter (*m*). And the King employed him continually either in matters of counſel at home, or in Embaſſies of great importance abroad (*n*). In September 1487, he was ſent Embaſſador, with Sir Richard Edgecombe Comptroller of the Houſhold, to James III. king of Scotland [*C*], and concluded

(*a*) A. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. II. p. 227. And Mr Fulman's MSS. Collections.

(*b*) Wood, ibid. And Biſhop Godwin's Catal. of the Biſhops of Eng. edit. 1615. p. 246.

(*c*) Fulman's Collect.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra, p. 228. M. Parker, Antiq. Britan. edit. Hanov. 1605. p. 300.

(*e*) Edw. Hall's Chronicle, in Rich. III. fol. 47. b.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Godwin's Catal. of the Biſhops, edit. 1615. p. 245.

(*h*) Wood, Athenæ, Vol. I. edit. 1721. col. 665.

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) Rymer. Fœd. &c. Vol. XII. p. 322.

(*l*) Pat. 2 Hen. VII. p. 2. m. 5.

(*m*) Godwin, ubi ſupra. And Fulman's MSS.

(*n*) Godwin, ibid.

[*A*] *Was born at Ropeſley near Grantham in Lincolnſhire.*] Mr William Fulman (who had made collections for writing the life of Biſhop Fox (1), an extract of which has been communicated to me,) ſays, 'that the old houſe in which he was born is yet ſtanding.' And Mr Wood adds, that the Fellows of Corpus-Chriſti College uſed to viſit it, in their yearly audits (2).

[*B*] *Among the reſt, he made his truſty friend Dr Fox one of his Privy-Counſellors, &c*] He was the perſon in whom his Majeſty placed the moſt confidence, next to Dr John Morton, Archbiſhop of Canterbury. They were both vigilant and ſecret, and ſuch as kept watch with the King almoſt upon all men elſe. They had been both verſed in his affairs before he came to the Crown, and partakers of his adverſe fortune; therefore he was reſolved to promote them in the Church as much as he could (3).

[*C*] *In September* 1487, *he was ſent Embaſſador, with Sir Richard Edgecombe, to James III. King of Scotland, &c.*] Biſhop Godwin (4), and after him Antony Wood (5), are miſtaken, when they affirm, that it was after his return from this embaſſy that Dr Fox was made Biſhop of Exeter: for he was ſo before. ——And Edward Hall (6), as well as moſt of our Hiſtorians, are not accurate in ſaying, that in this embaſſy a ſeven years truce was concluded between England and Scotland; for, it was only a prolongation of the

(1) They are in Corpus-Chriſti-College Library.

(2) Hiſt. & Antiq. ubi ſupra.

(3) Lord Verulam's Life of Henry VII. under the year 1485.

(4) Catalogue, ubi ſupra.

(5) Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. II. p. 228.

(6) In Henry VII. fol. 11.

concluded a Treaty with him, on the 28th of November; wherein the Truce between England and Scotland was prolonged to the 1ſt of September 1489 (*o*). He alſo was employed in an embaſſy to the King of France, about the beginning of the year 1491, with Thomas Earl of Ormond, and the Prior of Chriſt's-Church in Canterbury; and returned to England in November following (*p*). February 8. 1491-2, he was tranſlated from Exeter to the Biſhoprick of Bath and Wells, vacant by the death of Robert Stillington, and had reſtitution of the Temporalities May 4. 1492 (*q*) From this See he was removed to that of Durham, of which the Temporalities were reſtored to him Dec. 8. 1494 (*r*). He made great improvements at his palace in this city; walled round his park near the ſame; and repaired Hertlepole-caſtle (*s*). In the year 1494, he was at the head of an embaſſy to James IV. King of Scotland; but could not, with all his addreſs, end ſome differences ſubſiſting between the two nations about the fiſhery of the river Eſk (*t*). In 1497, the caſtle of Norham belonging to his See, being beſieged by the king of Scotland [*D*], was relieved by the Engliſh under the command of Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey (*u*). And the Biſhop being ſhortly after ſent Embaſſador to Scotland, ſigned a ſeven years truce between that kingdom and England on the 30th of Sept. 1497 (*w*): About which time, overtures were made for a marriage between James IV. king of Scotland, and Margaret King Henry's eldeſt daughter; which the latter had deſigned ever ſince the year 1495 (*x*). The propoſal being well received, Biſhop Fox was ſent into Scotland to negotiate that affair, but it was not fully concluded till January 24. 1501-2 (*y*). In the mean time, the Univerſity of Cambridge, out of a due ſenſe of the Biſhop's great authority and intereſt, choſe him their Chancellor in 1500, which honourable office he bore till 1502 (*z*). Upon the death of Dr Thomas Langton Biſhop of Wincheſter, he was removed to that See, whereof the Temporalities were reſtored to him October 17. 1500 (*a*). Here he ſpent the reſt of his life in great affluence and proſperity. For ſuch was his favour with the King, that no one could ever do ſo much with him; and no man there was upon whoſe counſel he ſo much relied (*b*) [*E*]. Being not only a grave counſellor for war and peace, but alſo a good ſurveyor of works, and a good maſter of ceremonies, and any thing that was fit for the active part belonging to the ſervice of the Court or State of a great King; he had, upon that account, the ordering of the nuptial-ceremony of Prince Arthur with the Lady Catherine, which was performed on the 14th of November 1501, with great and true magnificence (*c*). One of our Biſhop's Chaplains, was the famous Thomas Wolſey, whom he afterwards introduced to Court; that he might be a check to the overgrown intereſt of the Earl of Surrey (*d*). About the beginning of Auguſt 1507, the Biſhop was choſen Maſter of Penbroke-hall in Cambridge, which place he kept till May 1519 (*e*). In 1507, and part of 1508, he was employed at Calais, with other Commiſſioners, to negotiate a treaty of marriage between Mary the King's third daughter and Charles Archduke of Auſtria, afterwards the moſt renowned Emperor Charles V (*f*). Thus was Biſhop Fox generally employed in matters of the greateſt importance; and thus did he continue to the laſt in the higheſt degree of favour with King Henry VII, who appointed him in his Will one of his Executors, and particularly recommended him to his Son and ſucceſſor King Henry VIII (*g*). But the Biſhop's Credit greatly declined at Court, and his excellent abilities and talent for buſineſs were ſlighted by the young luxurious Prince, (who minded nothing but pleaſures and diverſions,) chiefly through the artifices of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey and Lord Treaſurer. This nobleman having been the Biſhop's rival in the late King's favour, continued to be ſo ſtill in his ſon's, endeavouring to win the affection of his new maſter by a blind compliance to his will. In order therefore to undermine and ſupplant ſo dangerous an adverſary, the Biſhop introduced Thomas Wolſey to Court, as hath been already obſerved, who ſoon engroſſed the King's favour (*h*). When the affair of King Henry's marriage with the Princeſs Katherine, widow of his brother Prince Arthur, was debated in council, Biſhop Fox adviſed the conſummation of that marriage, contrary to the opinion of Archbiſhop Warham (*i*). Being

(*o*) Rymer, as above, Vol. XII. p. 329. Ed. Hall, in Hen. VII. fol. xi. a.

(*p*) Rymer, Vol. XII. p. 435.

(*q*) Rymer, ibid. p. 476. And J. Le Neve's Faſti, p. 33.

(*r*) Rymer, ibid. p. 566. And J. Le Neve, p. 347.

(*s*) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. p. 228.

(*t*) Rymer, ubi ſupra, p. 551, 554.

(*u*) Lord Verulam, under the year 1497.

(*w*) Rymer, Vol. XII. p. 673.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 721.

(*y*) Ibid. p. 722, 765, 787. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. p. 228. And Rapin, ubi ſupra, p. 677, 685.

(*z*) J. Le Neve's Faſti, p. 390.

(*a*) Rymer, ubi ſupra, p. 767.

(*b*) Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 245.

(*c*) Lord Verulam, under the year 1501. Or in Complete Hiſt. of Eng. edit. 1706. Vol. I. p. 628.

(*d*) M. Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 309, 313.

(*e*) Godwin de Præſulibus, ex edit. clar. Gul. Richardſon, fol. Cant. 1743. p. 235. Note (*r*).

(*f*) Lord Verulam, under the years 1507 and 1508. See Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XIII.

(*g*) Fulman's MSS.

(*h*) Rapin's Hiſt. Vol. I. fol. p. 704.

(*i*) M. Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 307. And Lord Herbert in the reign of K. Hen. VIII. near the beginning.

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the truce, which was to expire July 3. 1488, till Sept. 1. 1489, as appears from Rymer's Fœdera.——— Mr Rapin obſerves (7), after my Lord Verulam (8), that 'Henry loved to employ Eccleſiaſtics, becauſe 'he had always Church-preferments ready for their 'reward. But he took care to promote them by de'grees from ſmaller to more conſiderable Sees. There'in he found his own profit; for by tranſlating Biſhops 'from one See to another, he made the more vacan'cies, and conſequently the firſt-fruits which accrued 'to the King, were greatly multiplied.'

[*D*] *In* 1497, *the caſtle of Norham belonging to his See, being beſieged by the King of Scotland.*] The Biſhop, aware of this Scottiſh invaſion, had cauſed that caſtle to be ſtrongly fortified, and furniſhed with all kind of munition: and had mann'd it, likewiſe, with a very great number of tall ſoldiers, more than for the proportion of the caſtle; reckoning rather upon a ſharp aſſault, than a long ſiege. And for the country likewiſe, he had cauſed the people to withdraw their cattle and goods into faſt places, that were not of eaſy approach; and ſent poſt to the Earl of Surrey (who was not far off in Yorkſhire) to come in diligence to his ſuccour. Whereupon King James retired into Scotland; and the Earl purſuing him, took the caſtle of Aton, then reckoned one of the ſtrongeſt places between Berwick and Edenburgh (9).

[*E*] *And no man there was upon whoſe counſel he ſo much relied.*] But, what Biſhop Godwin adds in the ſame place, ſeems to be a miſtake. His words are theſe. 'Amongſt other honors done unto him, it was 'not the leaſt, that he [King Henry VII.] made him '*Godfather* unto his ſecond ſonne, that was afterward 'King Henry the VIII (10).' For Fr. Sandford, Eſq; (whoſe authority is the beſt upon this point, ſeeing he had his information from the College of Heralds,) relates (11), that the Prince's two godfathers, were John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and Peter Courtney, Biſhop of Wincheſter: but indeed he was *baptized* by Dr Richard Fox, then Biſhop of Exeter, which might occaſion the miſtake.

(7) Hiſt. of Eng. Vol. I. edit. 1732. fol. p. 652.

(8) Ubi ſupra.

(9) Lord Verulam, under the year 1497.

(10) Catal. p. 246.

(11) Geneal. Hiſt. of the Kings of Eng. edit. 1707. p. 479.

Being appointed by Margaret Counteſs of Richmond one of the Executors of her Will, and alſo one of the Superviſors of the ſame [F], he fully perform'd his part, in founding and compleating the ſettlement of St John's-college in Cambridge (k). In March 1509-10, he was ſent embaſſador to France, jointly with the Earl of Surrey, and the Biſhop of Durham, and on the 23d of the ſame month concluded a new Treaty of alliance with King Lewis XII (l). About the ſame time, a ſharp diſpute aroſe between him and William Warham Archbiſhop of Canterbury, concerning the extent of the juriſdiction of the Prerogative Court, and its claiming the probate of Wills when the Teſtators had ***bona notabilia*** in divers Dioceſes. The diſpute at length grew ſo high, that an Appeal was made to the Pope. But it being referred back to the King, he determined it amicably in 1513 (*m*) [*G*]. This ſummer, he attended the King in his Expedition into France, with a large retinue, and was at the taking of Terouenne (*n*). Alſo the 15th of October following, jointly with Thomas Grey Marquis of Dorſet, he concluded a new Treaty with the Emperor Maximilian againſt France (*o*). In 1515, being no longer able to bear the repeated mortifications he received from Cardinal Wolſey, a creature of his own making, he withdrew in diſcontent to his own Dioceſe (*p*) [*H*]: But it is not known when he reſigned the Privy-ſeal. The reſt of his days he ſpent wholly in works of Charity and Munificence. Particularly, about this time, he was employed in the noble and generous Foundation of Corpus-Chriſti-College in Oxford [*I*]. which hath produced ſeveral learned and eminent men in every profeſſion. In 1522 he founded a free ſchool at Taunton in Somerſetſhire, where he had a fine manor as Biſhop of Wincheſter, and built a convenient houſe for the maſter. The like he alſo did at Grantham near his native place [*K*]. At Wincheſter, he covered the Choir of the Cathedral, the preſbytery and iſles adjoining, with a good vault; and new glazed all the windows of that part of the Church. He likewiſe built a handſome wall round the preſbytery, on the top of which he placed, in leaden coffins, the bones of ſuch Princes and Prelates, as had been buried in divers parts of the Church (*q*): but they were moſtly deſtroyed during our unhappy civil wars. He had the misfortune of being blind for about ten years before his deceaſe: However he attended the Parliament in 1523 (*r*). Cardinal Wolſey meanly taking advantage of his infirmities, would fain have perſuaded him to reſign his Biſhoprick to him, and to be content with a penſion; but the

(*k*) Fulman's MSS.

(*l*) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XIII. p. 270, &c.

(*m*) M. Parker, ut ſupra, p. 307, 308, 309.

(*n*) Hall's Chr. in Hen. VIII. fol. 26. And Fulman's MSS.

(*o*) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XIII. p. 379. See Rapin's Hiſt. Vol. I. p. 723.

(*p*) Lord Herbert, in Compleat Hiſt. of Eng. edit. 1706. Vol. II. p. 24.

(*q*) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. ubi ſupra. Godwin's Cat. p. 246.

(*r*) Godwin, ibid. And Fulman's MSS.

[*F*] *Being appointed by Margaret Counteſs of Richmond one of the executors of her will, and alſo one of the ſuperviſors of the ſame.*] This lady made her will June 6. 1508 (12), and died June 29. 1509. The executors of her will, were, Richard [Fox] Biſhop of Wincheſter, John [Fiſher] Biſhop of Rocheſter, Charles Somerſet Lord Herbert, Thomas Lovel, Henry Marney, John St John, Knights; and Henry Hornby, and Hugh Aſhton, clerks. And Biſhop Fox, and Dr Hornby, were alſo ſuperviſors of the ſame, with liberty to alter, add, and diminiſh ſuch articles, 'as in their 'ſadneſs and good diſcretions they thought moſt con'venient and according to her will.' The Charter of this noble foundation was given April 9. 1511 (13).

(12) MS. note of the late Mr Strype.

(13) T. Baker's Preface to Biſhop Fiſher's funeral Sermon of the Lady Margaret, &c. Lond. 1708. p. 31, 32, 50.

[G] *But it being referred back to the King, he determined it amicably in* 1513.] Biſhop Fox was ſeconded in this diſpute by the Biſhops of London, Lincoln, and Exeter. And what they inſiſted upon, was, that no ſum under *ten* pounds ſhould be accounted *bona notabilia*: that deſperate debts ſhould not be taken in, to make up that ſum: and, that the oaths of executors and adminiſtrators ſhould be ſufficient, without the Archbiſhop's appointing other perſons to value the goods of the deceaſed. All which the King determined againſt the Archbiſhop, in favour of the appellant Biſhops: tho' Warham pretended, that *bona notabilia* to the amount of forty ſhillings were ſufficient to found his prerogative. The King alſo decreed againſt him, that none but chattels or moveables were within his juriſdiction; and that he had no authority to intermeddle with real eſtates (14).

(14) M. Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 307, 308.

[*H*] *He withdrew in diſcontent to his own Dioceſe.*] As did alſo Archbiſhop Warham to his, about the ſame time. Before their departure, they beſought the King, that he would not ſuffer any ſervant to be greater than his maſter; alluding to John xiii. 16. Henry knowing that they meant this of the Cardinal, made anſwer, that he would diligently ſee, that every ſervant ſhould obey, and not command (15).

(15) Holinſhed's Chron. ed. 1587. p. 839.

[*I*] *Particularly about this time, he was employed in the noble and generous Foundation of Corpus Chriſti-College in Oxford.*] His deſign at firſt, was, to erect in Oxford a College or Seminary for eight Monks, members of St Swithin's Priory in Wincheſter, and profeſſed of the ſame, with a few ſecular ſcholars: for which he obtained a licence in Mortmain, dated March 12. 1512-13. But he altered his deſign, chiefly, as 'tis ſaid, through the perſuaſions of Hugh Oldham, Biſhop of Exeter; who thus repreſented to him, 'What, my Lord, ſhall we build houſes, and provide 'livelihoods for a company of buſſing Monks, whoſe 'end and fall we ourſelves may live to ſee? No, no, 'it is more meet a great deal, that we ſhould have 'care to provide for the increaſe of learning, and for 'ſuch as by their learning ſhall do good in the Church 'and Commonwealth.' To this Biſhop Fox readily yielded, accepting of Biſhop Oldham's kind aſſiſtance, who contributed no leſs than 6000 marks towards the building of this college (16). Having therefore purchaſed three tenements, called Corner hall, Nevills-inne, and Nunhall, with ſome parcels of land adjoining; and having obtained a new licence in Mortmain, dated November 26. 1516; he went on with his new foundation, the charter of which bore date the firſt of March following. He dedicated it to the honour of God Almighty, of the moſt ſacred Body of Chriſt, [*Corporis Chriſti*] of the bleſſed Virgin Mary, of St Peter, and St Paul; and of St Andrew, St Birinus, St Cuthbert, and St Swithin, the tutelar patrons of the Cathedral Churches of Exeter, Bath and Wells, Durham, and Wincheſter: directing, that it ſhould be named Corpus-Chriſti-College. In the Statutes, dated 1517, he ordained, that it ſhould conſiſt of a Preſident, twenty Fellows, twenty Scholars, two Chaplains, two Clerks, and two Choriſters. And he endowed it with poſſeſſions, lands, &c. to the yearly value of 401 *l.* 8 *s.* 11 *d.* Biſhop Hugh Oldham abovementioned enlarged its revenues, beſides what he contributed towards the building. And its moſt conſiderable benefactors ſince have been, *William Froſt* of Yavington in Hampſhire, who gave the manor of Maplederwell; *John Claymond*, and *Robert Morwent*, the two firſt Preſidents; Richard Pate, Eſq; Sir George, St Paul, Bart. Dr Reynolds, Dr Thomas Turner, &c (17).

(16) J. Hooker, alias Vowell, in Holinſhed's Chr. edit. 1587. p. 839, 840. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. L. II. p. 231.

(17) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. ubi ſupra, &c. p. 229, 230.

[*K*] *The like he alſo did at Grantham near his native place.*] He deſigned at firſt to have built this in a little grove, at Ropeſley, near the houſe wherein he was born: but conſidering, that it would be much more uſeful in a town than in ſo obſcure a village, he built it for that reaſon at Grantham (18).

(18) Wood, ibid. p. 229.

[*L*] *But*

the good old Biſhop ſtoutly rejected his inſinuations (*s*) [*L*]. He died Septemb. 14. 1528 (*t*), in a very advanced age; and was buried on the South ſide of the high Altar in Wincheſter-cathedral, in a Chapel of his own building (*u*). In his will he left ſeveral legacies to the Church and See of Wincheſter, and many others; which Wolſey, who ſeized upon his effects by his Legatine authority, refuſed to pay (*w*). Biſhop Fox appears by his picture [*M*] to have been a man of a ſtrong and robuſt conſtitution. His great wiſdom and abilities were approved and eſteemed by one of the wiſeſt Princes of his age. And of his Charity he hath left laſting monuments. Beſides which, he maintained ſeveral poor ſcholars at the Univerſity, before he founded his College; and is ſaid to have been a generous Patron of learned men (*x*). Yet I do not find that he ever publiſhed any thing: But a letter of his is printed in Mr Strype's Memorials (*y*), and in the Collections, at the end of Dr Fiddes's Life of Cardinal Wolſey (*z*) [*N*].

(*s*) M. Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 313.

(*t*) Obitu. Cant.

(*u*) Will. de Chambre, in Anglia Sacr. Vol. I. p. 779.

(*w*) M. Parker, ut ſupra, p. 314.

(*x*) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. p. 229.

(*y*) Vol. I. p. 46, &c. And Appendix, No. X.

(*z*) P. 105, 106. from the Cotton Libr. Fauſtina, C. 7.

[*L*] *But the good old Biſhop ſtoutly rejected his inſinuations.*] He bid the meſſenger, that came from Wolſey with this propoſal. tell his maſter; 'That 'tho', by reaſon of his blindneſs, he was not able to 'diſtinguiſh white from black, yet he could diſcern 'between true and falſe, right and wrong: and plainly 'enough ſaw, without eyes, the malice of that un'grateful man, which he did not ſee before. That 'it behoved the Cardinal to take care, not to be ſo 'blinded with ambition, as not to foreſee his own 'end. He needed not trouble himſelf with the Bi'ſhoprick of Wincheſter, but rather ſhould mind the 'King's affairs (19).'

(19) M. Parker, ut ſupra, p. 313.

[*M*] *Biſhop Fox appears by his picture, &c.*] Which is ſet up in the hall of Corpus-Chriſti-College, being painted on board. There is a very fine print, taken from it, in Dr Fiddes's life of Cardinal Wolſey.

[*N*] *A letter of his is printed in Mr Strype's Memorials, and in the Collections at the end of Dr Fiddes's Life of Cardinal Wolſey.*] The ſubject of that letter, is the Cardinal's intended general viſitation and reformation of the Engliſh Clergy. Our author expreſſes great joy at it; and ſays, he wiſhed as ardently to ſee that day, as Symeon did the ſight of the Meſſiah: that, for three years paſt, all his ſtudies, labours, thoughts, and cares, had been almoſt bent that way within his own particular juriſdiction, &c. *Ingentem atque mirificam, Pater ampliſſime, ex proximis veſtris ad me literis cepi conſolationem atque voluptatem, quod ex eis intellexi D. V. R. univerſi cleri reformationem ſecum inſtituiſſe, & ad eam inchoandam atque aggrediendam, diem brevi futuram præfiniiſſe & præſcripſiſſe; eum namque profecto diem jam diu, non minus quam Symeon ille Evangelicus expectatum Meſſiam, votis omnibus videre expetivi. Et ex quo illas D. V. R. literas legi, reformationem ampliorem & multo exactiorem univerſæ Anglorum Eccleſiaſticæ Hierarchiæ mihi videor tantum non ſentire & palpare, quam ego hac hominum ætate vel faciundam vel ineundam divinare potui, nedum ſperare. Conatus ſum enim facere, quod mearum erat partium, in ditione hac mea peculiari & exigua, quod V. Præſt. Dominatio inſtituit in utraque hujus regni Provincia, & hoc fere perpetuum triennium illi uni negotio diligenter incubui; omniaque mea ſtudia, labores, vigilias, ſudores in ea fere una collocavi, &c.*

C

FOX (John), the famous Martyrologiſt, was born at Boſton in the county of Lincoln, in the year 1517 (*a*). His father dying when he was very young, and his mother marrying again, he came under the tutelage of a father-in-law, with whom he dwelt till the age of ſixteen, when he went to the Univerſity of Oxford, where he was entered of Braſen-Noſe College, under the care of Mr John Hawarden, Fellow of that College, and was Chamber-fellow with the famous Dr Nowell, afterwards Dean of St Paul's. May the ſeventeenth 1538, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*b*). His great parts and learning ſoon diſtinguiſhed him, inſomuch that he was choſen Fellow of Magdalen College, and proceeded Maſter of Arts in 1543, which was the higheſt degree he attained in the Univerſity (*d*). He diſcovered, in his younger years, a genius for poetry, and wrote ſeveral Latin comedies [*A*], but the ſubjects were choſen from the Scriptures; and in theſe, his firſt eſſays, he gave an earneſt of his ſtrong and natural bent to the ſtudy of Divinity, to which he ſoon betook himſelf with rather more fervency than circumſpection, diſcovering himſelf in favour of the Reformation then in hand, before he was known to thoſe who maintained and ſupported the cauſe, or had power to protect the maintainers of it; and hence began his troubles. In order to make himſelf a ſufficient judge of the controverſies which then divided the Church, his firſt care was to ſearch diligently into the antient and modern hiſtory of the Church; to learn it's beginning, by what arts it flouriſhed, and by what errors it began to decline; to conſider the cauſes of thoſe controverſies and diſſentions which had ariſen in the Church, and to weigh attentively of what moment and conſequence they were to Religion. To this end he applied himſelf with ſuch zeal and induſtry, that before he attained to thirty years of age, he had read over all that either the Greek or Latin Fathers had left in their writings, the Schoolmen in their diſputations, the Councils in their acts, or the Conſiſtories in their decrees; and alſo acquir'd a competent ſkill in the Hebrew language (*e*). But from this ſtrict and ſevere application, by night as well as by day, from

his

(*a*) Life of J. Fox, written by his ſon, and prefixed to the *Acts and Monuments*, edit. 1641. Baleus. Script. illuſt. Cent. 9. cap. 92. p. 763. edit. Baſil. 1557.

(*b*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 230. edit. 1721.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Vita J. Foxii, ut ſupra.

[*A*] *Wrote ſeveral Latin comedies*] Our author's ſon tells us, that theſe comedies, which were taken from ſubjects in ſacred hiſtory, were then extant, and written in an elegant ſtyle. We have a comedy of his, intitled, *de Chriſto Triumphante*, printed at London 1551; and at Baſil in 1556, in 8vo. Mr Wood aſſerts (1), that it was written at Baſil in the houſe of Operinus the Printer, but this muſt be a miſtake, becauſe Mr Fox did not go to Baſil till the reign of Queen Mary, who did not come to the Crown till 1553. This play was tranſlated into Engliſh by Richard Day, ſon of John Day the famous Printer in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and publiſhed with this title, *Chriſt Jeſus triumphant, wherein is deſcribed the glorious triumph and conqueſt of Chriſt over ſin, death, and the law, &c.* London, 1579; and in 1607, in 8vo. It was again publiſhed in 1672, at London in 8vo. and dedicated to all ſchoolmaſters, in order that it might be admitted into their reſpective ſchools, for the peculiar elegance of its ſtyle, by T. C. M. A. of Sidney-College in Cambridge.

(1) Athen. Ox. ut ſupra.

[*B*] Con-

Being appointed by Margaret Counteſs of Richmond one of the Executors of her Will, and alſo one of the Superviſors of the ſame [*F*], he fully perform'd his part, in founding and compleating the ſettlement of St John's-college in Cambridge (*k*). In March 1509-10, he was ſent embaſſador to France, jointly with the Earl of Surrey, and the Biſhop of Durham, and on the 23d of the ſame month concluded a new Treaty of alliance with King Lewis XII (*l*). About the ſame time, a ſharp diſpute aroſe between him and William Warham Archbiſhop of Canterbury, concerning the extent of the juriſdiction of the Prerogative Court, and its claiming the probate of Wills when the Teſtators had ***bona notabilia*** in divers Dioceſes. The diſpute at length grew ſo high, that an Appeal was made to the Pope. But it being referred back to the King, he determined it amicably in 1513 (*m*) [*G*]. This ſummer, he attended the King in his Expedition into France, with a large retinue, and was at the taking of Terouenne (*n*). Alſo the 15th of October following, jointly with Thomas Grey Marquis of Dorſet, he concluded a new Treaty with the Emperor Maximilian againſt France (*o*). In 1515, being no longer able to bear the repeated mortifications he received from Cardinal Wolſey, a creature of his own making, he withdrew in diſcontent to his own Dioceſe (*p*) [*H*]: But it is not known when he reſigned the Privy-ſeal. The reſt of his days he ſpent wholly in works of Charity and Munificence. Particularly, about this time, he was employed in the noble and generous Foundation of Corpus-Chriſti-College in Oxford [*I*]. which hath produced ſeveral learned and eminent men in every profeſſion. In 1522 he founded a free ſchool at Taunton in Somerſetſhire, where he had a fine manor as Biſhop of Wincheſter, and built a convenient houſe for the maſter. The like he alſo did at Grantham near his native place [*K*]. At Wincheſter, he covered the Choir of the Cathedral, the preſbytery and iſles adjoining, with a good vault; and new glazed all the windows of that part of the Church. He likewiſe built a handſome wall round the preſbytery, on the top of which he placed, in leaden coffins, the bones of ſuch Princes and Prelates, as had been buried in divers parts of the Church (*q*): but they were moſtly deſtroyed during our unhappy civil wars. He had the misfortune of being blind for about ten years before his deceaſe: However he attended the Parliament in 1523 (*r*). Cardinal Wolſey meanly taking advantage of his infirmities, would fain have perſuaded him to reſign his Biſhoprick to him, and to be content with a penſion; but

the

(*k*) Fulman's MSS.

(*l*) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XIII. p. 270, &c.

(*m*) M. Parker, ut ſupra, p. 307, 308, 309.

(*n*) Hall's Chr. in Hen. VIII. fol. 26. And Fulman's MSS.

(*o*) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XIII. p. 379. See Rapin's Hiſt. Vol. I. p. 723.

(*p*) Lord Herbert, in Compleat Hiſt. of Eng. edit. 1706. Vol. II. p. 24.

(*q*) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. ubi ſupra. Godwin's Cat. p. 246.

(*r*) Godwin, ibid. And Fulman's MSS.

[*F*] *Being appointed by Margaret Counteſs of Richmond one of the executors of her will, and alſo one of the ſuperviſors of the ſame.*] This lady made her will June 6. 1508 (12), and died June 29. 1509. The executors of her will, were, Richard [Fox] Biſhop of Wincheſter, John [Fiſher] Biſhop of Rocheſter, Charles Somerſet Lord Herbert, Thomas Lovel, Henry Marney, John St John, Knights; and Henry Hornby, and Hugh Aſhton, clerks. And Biſhop Fox, and Dr Hornby, were alſo ſuperviſors of the ſame, with liberty to alter, add, and diminiſh ſuch articles, 'as in their 'ſadneſs and good diſcretions they thought moſt con'venient and according to her will.' The Charter of this noble foundation was given April 9. 1511 (13).

[*G*] *But it being referred back to the King, he determined it amicably in* 1513.] Biſhop Fox was ſeconded in this diſpute by the Biſhops of London, Lincoln, and Exeter. And what they inſiſted upon, was, that no ſum under *ten* pounds ſhould be accounted ***bona notabilia***: that deſperate debts ſhould not be taken in, to make up that ſum: and, that the oaths of executors and adminiſtrators ſhould be ſufficient, without the Archbiſhop's appointing other perſons to value the goods of the deceaſed. All which the King determined againſt the Archbiſhop, in favour of the appellant Biſhops: tho' Warham pretended, that ***bona notabilia*** to the amount of forty ſhillings were ſufficient to found his prerogative. The King alſo decreed againſt him, that none but chattels or moveables were within his juriſdiction; and that he had no authority to intermeddle with real eſtates (14).

[*H*] *He withdrew in diſcontent to his own Dioceſe.*] As did alſo Archbiſhop Warham to his, about the ſame time. Before their departure, they beſought the King, that he would not ſuffer any ſervant to be greater than his maſter; alluding to John xiii. 16. Henry knowing that they meant this of the Cardinal, made anſwer, that he would diligently ſee, that every ſervant ſhould obey, and not command (15).

[*I*] *Particularly about this time, he was employed in the noble and generous Foundation of Corpus Chriſti-College in Oxford.*] His deſign at firſt, was, to erect in Oxford a College or Seminary for eight Monks, members of St Swithin's Priory in Wincheſter, and profeſſed of the ſame, with a few ſecular ſcholars: for which he obtained a licence in Mortmain, dated March 12. 1512-13. But he altered his deſign, chiefly, as 'tis ſaid, through the perſuaſions of Hugh Oldham, Biſhop of Exeter; who thus repreſented to him, 'What, my Lord, ſhall we build houſes, and provide 'livelihoods for a company of buſſing Monks, whoſe 'end and fall we ourſelves may live to ſee? No, no, 'it is more meet a great deal, that we ſhould have 'care to provide for the increaſe of learning, and for 'ſuch as by their learning ſhall do good in the Church 'and Commonwealth.' To this Biſhop Fox readily yielded, accepting of Biſhop Oldham's kind aſſiſtance, who contributed no leſs than 6000 marks towards the building of this college (16). Having therefore purchaſed three tenements, called Corner hall, Nevillsinne, and Nunhall, with ſome parcels of land adjoining; and having obtained a new licence in Mortmain, dated November 26. 1516; he went on with his new foundation, the charter of which bore date the firſt of March following. He dedicated it to the honour of God Almighty, of the moſt ſacred Body of Chriſt, [*Corporis Chriſti*] of the bleſſed Virgin Mary, of St Peter, and St Paul; and of St Andrew, St Birinus, St Cuthbert, and St Swithin, the tutelar patrons of the Cathedral Churches of Exeter, Bath and Wells, Durham, and Wincheſter: directing, that it ſhould be named Corpus-Chriſti-College. In the Statutes, dated 1517, he ordained, that it ſhould conſiſt of a Preſident, twenty Fellows, twenty Scholars, two Chaplains, two Clerks, and two Choriſters. And he endowed it with poſſeſſions, lands, &c. to the yearly value of 401 *l.* 8 *s.* 11 *d.* Biſhop Hugh Oldham abovementioned enlarged its revenues, beſides what he contributed towards the building. And its moſt conſiderable benefactors ſince have been, ***William Froſt*** of Yavington in Hampſhire, who gave the manor of Maplederwell; *John Claymond*, and *Robert Morwent*, the two firſt Preſidents; Richard Pate, Eſq; Sir George, St Paul, Bart. Dr Reynolds, Dr Thomas Turner, &c (17).

[*K*] *The like he alſo did at Grantham near his native place.*] He deſigned at firſt to have built this in a little grove, at Ropeſley, near the houſe wherein he was born: but conſidering, that it would be much more uſeful in a town than in ſo obſcure a village, he built it for that reaſon at Grantham (18).

[*L*] *But*

(12) MS. note of the late Mr Strype.

(13) T. Baker's Preface to Biſhop Fiſher's funeral Sermon of the Lady Margaret, &c. Lond. 1708. p. 31, 32, 50.

(14) M. Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 307, 308.

(15) Holinſhed's Chron. ed. 1587. p. 839.

(16) J. Hooker, alias Vowell, in Holinſhed's Chr. edit. 1587. p. 839, 840. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. L. II. p. 231.

(17) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. ubi ſupra, &c. p. 229, 230.

(18) Wood, ibid. p. 229.

the good old Biſhop ſtoutly rejected his inſinuations (*s*) [*L*]. He died Septemb. 14. 1528 (*t*), in a very advanced age; and was buried on the South ſide of the high Altar in Wincheſter-cathedral, in a Chapel of his own building (*u*). In his will he left ſeveral legacies to the Church and See of Wincheſter, and many others; which Wolſey, who ſeized upon his effects by his Legatine authority, refuſed to pay (*w*). Biſhop Fox appears by his picture [*M*] to have been a man of a ſtrong and robuſt conſtitution. His great wiſdom and abilities were approved and eſteemed by one of the wiſeſt Princes of his age. And of his Charity he hath left laſting monuments. Beſides which, he maintained ſeveral poor ſcholars at the Univerſity, before he founded his College; and is ſaid to have been a generous Patron of learned men (*x*). Yet I do not find that he ever publiſhed any thing: But a letter of his is printed in Mr Strype's Memorials (*y*), and in the Collections, at the end of Dr Fiddes's Life of Cardinal Wolſey (*z*) [*N*].

(*s*) M. Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 313.

(*t*) Obitu. Cant.

(*u*) Will. de Chambre, in Anglia Sacr. Vol. I. p. 779.

(*w*) M. Parker, ut ſupra, p. 314.

(*x*) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. p. 229.

(*y*) Vol. I. p. 46, &c. And Appendix, No. X.

(*z*) P. 105, 106. from the Cotton Libr. Fauſtina, C. 7.

[*L*] *But the good old Biſhop ſtoutly rejected his inſinuations.*] He bid the meſſenger, that came from Wolſey with this propoſal. tell his maſter; 'That tho', by reaſon of his blindneſs, he was not able to diſtinguiſh white from black, yet he could diſcern between true and falſe, right and wrong: and plainly enough ſaw, without eyes, the malice of that ungrateful man, which he did not ſee before. That it behoved the Cardinal to take care, not to be ſo blinded with ambition, as not to foreſee his own end. He needed not trouble himſelf with the Biſhoprick of Wincheſter, but rather ſhould mind the King's affairs (19).'

(19) M. Parker, ut ſupra, p. 313.

[*M*] *Biſhop Fox appears by his picture, &c.*] Which is ſet up in the hall of Corpus-Chriſti-College, being painted on board. There is a very fine print, taken from it, in Dr Fiddes's life of Cardinal Wolſey.

[*N*] *A letter of his is printed in Mr Strype's Memorials, and in the Collections at the end of Dr Fiddes's Life of Cardinal Wolſey.*] The ſubject of that letter, is the Cardinal's intended general viſitation and reformation of the Engliſh Clergy. Our author expreſſes great joy at it; and ſays, he wiſhed as ardently to ſee that day, as Symeon did the ſight of the Meſſiah: that, for three years paſt, all his ſtudies, labours, thoughts, and cares, had been almoſt bent that way within his own particular juriſdiction, &c. *Ingentem atque mirificam, Pater ampliſſime, ex proximis veſtris ad me literis cepi conſolationem atque voluptatem, quod ex eis intellexi D. V. R. univerſi cleri reformationem ſecum inſtituiſſe, & ad eam inchoandam atque aggrediendam, diem brevi futuram præfiniiſſe & præſcripſiſſe; eum namque profecto diem jam diu, non minus quam Symeon ille Evangelicus expectatum Meſſiam, votis omnibus videre expetivi. Et ex quo illas D. V. R. literas legi, reformationem ampliorem & multo exactiorem univerſæ Anglorum Eccleſiaſticæ Hierarchiæ mihi videor tantum non ſentire & palpare, quam ego hac hominum ætate vel faciundam vel ineundam divinare potui, nedum ſperare. Conatus ſum enim facere, quod mearum erat partium, in ditione hac mea peculiari & exigua, quod V. Præſt. Dominatio inſtituit in utraque hujus regni Provincia, & hoc fere perpetuum triennium illi uni negotio diligenter incubui; omniaque mea ſtudia, labores, vigilias, ſudores in ea fere una collocavi, &c.*

C

FOX (JOHN), the famous Martyrologiſt, was born at Boſton in the county of Lincoln, in the year 1517 (*a*). His father dying when he was very young, and his mother marrying again, he came under the tutelage of a father-in-law, with whom he dwelt till the age of ſixteen, when he went to the Univerſity of Oxford, where he was entered of Braſen-Noſe College, under the care of Mr John Hawarden, Fellow of that College, and was Chamber-fellow with the famous Dr Nowell, afterwards Dean of St Paul's. May the ſeventeenth 1538, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*b*). His great parts and learning ſoon diſtinguiſhed him, inſomuch that he was choſen Fellow of Magdalen College, and proceeded Maſter of Arts in 1543, which was the higheſt degree he attained in the Univerſity (*d*). He diſcovered, in his younger years, a genius for poetry, and wrote ſeveral Latin comedies [*A*], but the ſubjects were choſen from the Scriptures; and in theſe, his firſt eſſays, he gave an earneſt of his ſtrong and natural bent to the ſtudy of Divinity, to which he ſoon betook himſelf with rather more fervency than circumſpection, diſcovering himſelf in favour of the Reformation then in hand, before he was known to thoſe who maintained and ſupported the cauſe, or had power to protect the maintainers of it; and hence began his troubles. In order to make himſelf a ſufficient judge of the controverſies which then divided the Church, his firſt care was to ſearch diligently into the antient and modern hiſtory of the Church; to learn it's beginning, by what arts it flouriſhed, and by what errors it began to decline; to conſider the cauſes of thoſe controverſies and diſſentions which had ariſen in the Church, and to weigh attentively of what moment and conſequence they were to Religion. To this end he applied himſelf with ſuch zeal and induſtry, that before he attained to thirty years of age, he had read over all that either the Greek or Latin Fathers had left in their writings, the Schoolmen in their diſputations, the Councils in their acts, or the Conſiſtories in their decrees; and alſo acquir'd a competent ſkill in the Hebrew language (*e*). But from this ſtrict and ſevere application, by night as well as by day, from his

(*a*) Life of J. Fox, written by his ſon, and prefixed to the *Acts and Monuments*, edit. 1641. BALEUS. Script. illuſt. Cent. 9. cap. 92. p. 763. edit. Baſil. 1557.

(*b*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 230. edit. 1721.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Vita J. Foxii, ut ſupra.

[*A*] *Wrote ſeveral Latin comedies*] Our author's ſon tells us, that theſe comedies, which were taken from ſubjects in ſacred hiſtory, were then extant, and written in an elegant ſtyle. We have a comedy of his, intitled, *de Chriſto Triumphante*, printed at London 1551; and at Baſil in 1556, in 8vo. Mr Wood aſſerts (1), that it was written at Baſil in the houſe of Operinus the Printer, but this muſt be a miſtake, becauſe Mr Fox did not go to Baſil till the reign of Queen Mary, who did not come to the Crown till 1553. This play was tranſlated into Engliſh by Richard Day, ſon of John Day the famous Printer in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and publiſhed with this title, *Chriſt Jeſus triumphant, wherein is deſcribed the glorious triumph and conqueſt of Chriſt over ſin, death, and the law, &c.* London, 1579; and in 1607, in 8vo. It was again publiſhed in 1672, at London in 8vo. and dedicated to all ſchoolmaſters, in order that it might be admitted into their reſpective ſchools, for the peculiar elegance of its ſtyle, by T. C. M. A. of Sidney-College in Cambridge.

(1) Athen. Ox. ut ſupra.

his forſaking his friends, for the moſt ſolitary retirement; the great and viſible diſtractions of his mind; and, above all, his abſenting himſelf from the public worſhip of the Church, of which before he had been a moſt conſtant frequenter, aroſe the firſt ſuſpicions of his alienated affections from the Church, and in which his enemies were ſoon confirmed, upon a more narrow inſpection into his conduct, which was too open not to expoſe him to the ſnares which were laid for his ruin; and having been accuſed of hereſy, he was, by the judgment of the College, condemned as an heretick, and expelled the Houſe; and was thought to have been favourably dealt with, that he eſcaped with his life [*B*]. This miſfortune, however, was the heavier upon Mr Fox, as it loſt him the favour and good offices of his friends, who were afraid to countenance or protect one condemned for a capital offence; and his father-in-law took a handle from hence, to with-hold Mr Fox's own father's eſtate from him, thinking that he who ſtood in danger of the Law himſelf, would with difficulty find relief from it. Being thus forſaken by his friends, he was reduced to great diſtreſs, when he was taken into the houſe of Sir Thomas Lucy, of Warwickſhire, to be tutor to his children. Here he married a citizen's daughter of Coventry, and continued in Sir Thomas's family till his pupils were grown up, after which, with ſome difficulty, he procured entertainment from his father-in-law, and his wife's father at Coventry; from whence he removed to London a few years before King Henry's death, where, having no employment nor preferment, he was again driven to great neceſſities and diſtreſs, from which he was ſeaſonably relieved, in a remarkable manner, as we ſhall relate in the note [*C*], and was ſoon after taken into the Ducheſs of Richmond's family, to be tutor to her nephew the Earl of Surrey's children, who, upon the commitment of the Earl and his father the Duke of Norfolk to the Tower, were committed to the care of the Ducheſs of Richmond to be educated. In this family Mr Fox lived, at Ryegate in Surrey, during the latter part of King Henry's reign, the five years reign of King Edward the Sixth, and part of Queen Mary's reign, being at this time protected by one of his pupils then Duke of Norfolk, and is ſaid to have been the firſt perſon who preached the Goſpel at Ryegate (*f*). Anthony Wood alſo ſays, he was reſtored to his fellowſhip in Magdalen College, under Edward the Sixth (*g*). But Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, who hated him, and fearing leaſt the heir of one of the nobleſt families in the kingdom, ſhould, as might naturally be expected, tread in the ſteps of his tutor, by him greatly reſpected and honoured, ſought by many ſnares and ſtratagems to work his ruin; inſomuch, that Mr Fox, very much againſt the Duke's inclination (*h*), was obliged to quit his native country, and ſeek ſhelter abroad. Accordingly, the Duke having cauſed every thing neceſſary to be prepared for his tutor's voyage, he ſet ſail from Ipſwich-haven, taking his wife along with him, who was then big with child, and ſome other perſons who went abroad on the ſame account. But a ſtorm ariſing, they were obliged the next day to put back to port, where, having with much difficulty arrived, Mr Fox found that Biſhop Gardiner had iſſued out a warrant for apprehending him, and cauſed the moſt diligent ſearch to be made after him; upon which, having prevailed upon the Maſter of the ſhip to put to ſea again, to the great peril of their lives, they arrived ſafe in two days at Newport-haven, from whence Mr Fox and his company travelled to Antwerp and Franckfort, and thence to Baſil in Germany, where great numbers of Engliſh ſubjects reſorted in thoſe times of perſecution [*D*]. This city was

(*f*) Wood, ut ſupra.

(*g*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. 2. p. 195.

(*h*) Vita J. Foxii, ut ſupra.

[*B*] *Condemned as an Heretick, and expelled the Houſe.*] Anthony Wood ſays (2), he reſigned his fellowſhip in 1545, merely, as it was thought, to prevent expulſion; and the ſame writer in his Hiſtory and Antiquities of Oxford (3), ſays that he was in a manner obliged to reſign his fellowſhip. But Mr Fox's own ſon informs us (4), that our author being ſuſpected of hereſy, and upon examination, not concealing his ſentiments, was condemned as an heretick, and actually expelled the College; and his enemies affirmed that he was favourably dealt with by that ſentence, and that he might have been queſtioned for his life, if they had not deſigned to have uſed clemency towards him.

(2) p. 231.

(3) Lib. 2. p. 195.

(4) In Vita Foxii.

[*C*] *Was relieved in a remarkable manner.*] As he was ſitting one day in St Paul's Church, almoſt ſpent with long faſting, his countenance wan and pale, and his eyes hollow, there came to him one whom he never remembered to have ſeen before, who ſitting down by him, accoſted him very familiarly, and put into his hands an untold ſum of money, bidding him be of good chear, and to be careful of himſelf, and uſe all means to prolong his life; and that within a few days, new hopes were at hand, and more certain means of ſubſiſtence. Mr Fox uſed all his endeavours to find out the perſon, by whoſe bounty he was ſo ſeaſonably relieved from extreme neceſſity, but in vain; however the prediction was fulfilled, for within three days afterwards Mr Fox was taken into the ſervice of the Ducheſs of Richmond (5).

(5) Vita J. Foxii.

[*D*] *He travelled to Baſil in Germany, &c.*] We have followed his ſon, the Hiſtorian of his life, in this account, who muſt certainly be ſuppoſed to have been beſt informed in all particulars of his father's life. *Anthony Wood* however differs in his account of Mr Fox's travels; he ſays, that he went over to Baſil in King Henry the Eighth's time, when he was about thirty years old, and became a laborious writer, at the houſe of one Operinus a Printer there. After King Henry's death, he returned to Magdalen-College, and after a ſhort ſtay there went again to his charge at Rygate, and remained there till after Queen Mary came to the Crown, when he again left England, and as Dr Heylyn ſays, was at Franckfort, and appeared in the ſchiſm among the Engliſh there; for we find his name among thoſe of the Engliſh Proteſtants who took refuge in that city, in the tract entitled, *The troubles of Franckfort*, printed in 1575; was againſt the Church of England as ſettled in the reign of Edward the Sixth, and took part with Knox and Whittingham (6). Afterwards he retired to his old landlord at Baſil, where he continued a ſevere drudge at writing, till Queen Elizabeth was ſettled in the throne, when he again returned to England. The former part of this account however contradicts itſelf, for if Mr Fox was born in 1517, and firſt went abroad at thirty years of age, that muſt have been in 1547, which was in King Edward's reign; whereas Mr Wood ſays, he went abroad in King Henry's time. It ſeems much more probable, as we have before ſhewn, that he did not leave England till Queen Mary's reign, according to his ſon's account.

(6) See Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. 8. §. 3. p. 32.

[*E*] *Tho'*

was at that time one of the moſt famous in Europe for Printing, and moſt of thoſe who retired thither got their ſubſiſtence by reviſing and correcting the preſs; and to this employment Mr Fox betook himſelf, and it was here he laid the firſt plan of his *Acts and Monuments of the Church*. Upon the death of Queen Mary, which (according to the teſtimony of Dr Elmare, afterwards Biſhop of London) Mr Fox in a ſermon foretold the day before it happened; and, as ſoon as he found the Proteſtant religion likely to be eſtabliſhed, he ventured to return to his native country, where he ſtill found a faithful and ſerviceable friend in his quondam pupil, the Duke of Norfolk, and was entertained by him at his Manor-place called *Chriſt-Church*, in London, as long as his Grace lived, and at his death he ſettled a penſion upon him, which his ſon the Earl of Suffolk confirmed to him (*i*). Mr Secretary Cecil alſo obtained for him of the Queen, the rectory or prebendſhip of Shipton, in the church of Saliſbury, tho' Mr Fox himſelf would have declined accepting it; and tho' he had many great and powerful friends, as Sir Francis Walſingham, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Thomas Greſham, Sir Drue Drury, the Biſhops Grindal, Pilkington, Elmare, &c. who would have raiſed him to very conſiderable preferments; yet he declined them, being, as *Anthony Wood* ſays, always averſe to ſubſcribe to the Canons, tho' tendered to him by Archbiſhop Parker, and to ſome part of the ceremonies of the Church [*E*]. But tho' he was a Nonconformiſt, he was a moderate one, and diſapproved of the heats of the rigid Puritans [*F*]. In 1564, he ſent a Latin panegyric to the Queen, upon her indulgence to ſome noncomplying Divines, and ſuffering them to hold dignities in the Church [*G*]. In July 1575, he wrote a Latin Letter to the Queen, to diſſuade her Majeſty from putting to death two Anabaptiſts who had been condemned to be burnt [*H*].

He

(*i*) Vita Foxii.

[*E*] *Tho' tender'd to him by Archbiſhop Parker*]. Dr Fuller tells us (7), that the Archbiſhop ſummoned him to ſubſcribe, 'that the general reputation of his 'piety might give the greater countenance to Conformity.' That the old man produced the New Teſtament in Greek, *to this*, ſays he, *will I ſubſcribe*. And when a ſubſcription to the Canons was required of him, he refuſed it, ſaying, *I have nothing in the Church ſave a Prebend at Saliſbury, and much good may it do you, if you will take it away from me*. However he continued in his place till his death, ſuch reſpect, as Dr Fuller obſerves, did the Biſhops, moſt of them formerly his fellow-exiles, bear to his age, parts, and labours.

(7) Church Hiſt. Book ix. p. 76.

[*F*] *And diſapproved of the heats of the rigid Puritans*.] Dr Fuller obſerves (8), that tho' Mr Fox *came not up in all particulars to cleave the pin of Conformity (as refuſing to ſubſcribe) yet he utterly diſtaſted the factious people of that age*. The Hiſtorian then gives us a Latin letter written by our author to a Biſhop, upon occaſion of his ſon Samuel's being expelled by the Puritan party from his fellowſhip of Magdalen-College in Oxford, after his return from his travels abroad, upon the groundleſs imputation of his having turned Papiſt. In this letter he ſays, 'I confeſs it 'has always been my great care, if I could not be 'ſerviceable to many perſons, yet not knowingly to 'injure any one, at leaſt of all thoſe of *Magdalen-College*. I cannot therefore but the more wonder 'at the turbulent genius which inſpires thoſe *factious* '*Puritans*, ſo that violating the laws of gratitude, 'deſpiſing my letters and prayers, diſregarding the 'interceſſion of the Preſident himſelf, without any 'previous admonition, or aſſigning any cauſe, they 'have exerciſed ſo great tyranny againſt me and my 'ſon; were I one, who, like them, would be *violently* '*outragious* againſt Biſhops and Archbiſhops, or join 'myſelf with them, that is, would become *mad*, as 'they are, I had not met with this ſevere treatment; 'now becauſe, quite different from them, I have 'choſen the ſide of *modeſty* and publick tranquillity, 'hence the hatred they have a long time conceived 'againſt me, is at laſt grown to this degree of bitterneſs. As this is the caſe, I do not ſo much aſk 'you what you will do on my account, as what is to 'be thought of for your ſakes; you who are Prelates 'of the Church, again and again conſider. As to 'myſelf, tho' the taking away the fellowſhip from my 'ſon, is a great affliction to me; yet becauſe this is 'only a private concern, I bear it with more moderation; I am much more concerned upon the account of the Church, which is publick. I perceive 'a certain race of men riſing up, who if they ſhould 'increaſe and gather ſtrength in this kingdom, I am 'ſorry to ſay what diſturbance I foreſee muſt follow 'from it. Your prudence is not ignorant how much 'the Chriſtian Religion ſuffered formerly by the diſſimulation and hypocriſy of the Monks. At preſent in theſe men I know not what new ſort of 'Monks ſeems to revive; ſo much more pernicious 'than the former, as with more ſubtle artifices of 'deceiving, under pretence of perfection, like Stage-'players who only act a part, they conceal a more 'dangerous poiſon: who while they require every 'thing to be formed according to their own *ſtrict diſcipline*, and conſcience, will not deſiſt till they have 'brought all things into Jewiſh bondage.' Upon this letter, Dr Fuller (9) bids us remark the *violence of rigid Nonconformiſts*. 'We may perceive, ſays he, by 'this letter how powerful the party of Nonconformiſts was grown at that time, and to what violences 'and extravagancies, ſome went in their practices, 'inſomuch that Dr Humphreys, then Preſident of *Magdalen*, and Mr Fox himſelf (both which ſcrupled 'ſubſcription in ſome particulars) were deſerted by 'them as lukewarm, and remiſs in the cauſe.' Mr Fox's ſon however was at laſt reſtored to his fellowſhip by the Queen's mandate.

(8) Book ix. p. 106.

(9) P. 107.

[*G*] *In* 1564, *he ſent a Latin panegyric to the Queen, upon her indulgence of ſome Divines, &c.*] In the beginning of this addreſs, he mentions her Majeſty's retrieving the kingdom from the laſt degree of miſery and declenſion; that ſhe had reformed religion and the ſtatute book, corrected idleneſs, ſuppreſſed robberies, and made the country orthodox and quiet. That ſhe had recovered the mint to its old ſtandard; and that the manners of her ſubjects were no leſs refined and brightned than the coin. That theſe ſtate regulations, tho' very valuable in their kind, came ſhort of the bleſſings in religion. That now truth was no longer perſecuted, conſcience had its juſt liberty, and ſuperſtition gave way to the goſpel. 'And of 'this, ſays he, we have a remarkable inſtance in your 'Majeſty's anſwer to the petition of ſome divines concerning the *eccleſiaſtical habit*. What ſatisfaction 'this gracious indulgence gave the univerſal Church, 'what an advantage after-ages would receive by it; 'and what an immortal honour would deſcend upon 'her memory, is ſcarcely to be imagined.' From hence he proceeds to commend her for her encouragement of learning, and the expectations of favour which ſhe had given to the Univerſity of Cambridge. In the cloſe he acquaints her Majeſty that he deſigned to write her hiſtory, and had prepared ſome materials for that purpoſe; but that theſe would be imperfect without further information from her Majeſty; and after all, he thought her own genius nobly furniſhed to deſcribe her reign, and that no body could do her juſtice better than herſelf (10).

(10) Collier's Ch. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 501.

[*H*] *He wrote a Latin letter to the Queen to diſſuade her Majeſty from putting to death two Anabaptiſts, who had been condemned to be burnt*.] Fuller,

Foxii, MS.

who

He was remarkable for his piety and great zeal for Religion, his charity, humility, and intenſe application to the duties of his function. He died on the eighteenth of April 1587, in the ſeventieth year of his age, greatly lamented, and was buried in the chancel of the church of St Giles's Cripplegate, where a monument was erected to his memory on the ſouth wall, and an inſcription on it. It is ſaid Mr Fox had the vicarage of St Giles's; but, as Mr Wood ſays (if he had it at all), he kept it but a little while in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign. In the note is an account of our author's writings [*I*]. He left two

who tranſcribed this letter from the original, has publiſhed it in his *Church Hiſtory* (11); Mr Collier obſerves (12), that it is written in *a very handſome Chriſtian ſtrain.* In this letter, Mr Fox declares, that with regard to thoſe fanatical ſects, he does not think they ought to be countenanced in a ſtate, but chaſtiſed in a proper manner. But that to puniſh with the flames, the bodies of thoſe who err rather from blindneſs than obſtinacy of will, is cruel, and more ſuitable to the example of the Romiſh Church, than the mildneſs of the goſpel. He declares he does not write thus out of an indulgence to error, but as he is a man, out of regard to the lives of men, that they may have an opportunity of repenting of their errors; and entreats her Majeſty therefore to ſpare the lives of theſe wretches, or at leaſt to change the ſhocking manner of their puniſhment; to baniſh them, or commit them to perpetual impriſonment; or ſtigmatize, or even hang them; at leaſt not to revive the Smithfield fires, which thro' her Majeſty's care had been ſo long extinguiſhed. If this could not be granted, at leaſt to allow them a month or two, in order that endeavours might be uſed to reclaim them from their errors, and thereby to prevent the deſtruction of their ſouls as well as bodies. But Fuller tells us, that tho' the Queen conſtantly called Mr Fox her *father*, yet ſhe gave him a flat denial as to the ſaving of their lives, if after a month's reprieve, and conference with Divines, they would not recant their errors; and they continuing ſtill inflexible, were accordingly burnt in Smithfield.

[*I*] *In the note is an account of our author's writings.*] Beſides thoſe already mentioned, he wrote, *Syllogiſticon admonitio ad Parliamentum. De lapſis per errorem in Eccleſiam reſtituendis. A Latin tranſlation of the controverſy between Archbiſhop Cranmer, and Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, about the Euchariſt.* This our author did at Baſil, and there was only a part of it printed. *De cenſura, ſeu excommunicatione Eccleſiaſtica, interpellatio ad Archiepiſcopum Cantuarienſem.* London 1551. in 8vo. *A Sermon preached at St Paul's Croſs, on Good-Friday, upon the ſubject of Chriſt's Crucifixion,* printed by John Day, at London, 1570, in 4to. It was dedicated, 'to all 'ſuch as labour and be heavy laden in conſcience, to 'be read for their ſpiritual comfort.' The text is, 2 Cor. v. 20, 21. and the Sermon is divided into two parts, to which are ſubjoined, *a prayer made for the Church, and all the States there*; and a *poſtſcript to the Papiſts.* Mr Wood mentions (13) an edition of this Sermon at London, 1609. in 8vo. and a Latin tranſlation of it intitled, *De Chriſto crucifixo: concio in Die Paraſcev. in 2 Cor. cap.* v. *verſ.* 20, 21. *London* 1571, in 4to. Mr Strype, who does not appear to have ever ſeen the edition of this Sermon in 1570, is miſtaken in ſaying (14) that it was preached in 1578, and printed in 1585, unleſs reprinted in that year. His argument that it was preached about 1578, is drawn from a paſſage in the prayer, wherein Mr Fox ſays, that *the Queen had doubled the years of her ſiſter and brother*; but theſe very words are alſo to be found in the prayer publiſhed in the edition of the Sermon in 1570. *Tables of Grammar*; London 1552. Wood tells us (15) that theſe *Tables* were ſubſcribed in print by eight Lords of the Privy-Council; but that they were ſoon laid aſide, as being far more too ſhort, than King Henry VIIIth's Grammar was too long. *Articuli ſive Aphoriſmi aliquot Joh. Wiclevi. Sparſim aut ex variis illius opuſculis excerpti per adverſarios papicolas, ac concilio Conſtantienſi exhibiti. Collectanea quædam ex Reginaldi Pecocki Epiſcopi Ciceſtrienſis opuſculis exuſtis conſervata, & ex antiquo pſegmate tranſcripta. Opiſtographia ad Oxonienſes.* Theſe three laſt are printed with his *Commentarii rerum in Eccleſia geſtarum*; at Straſburgh, 1554, in 8vo. *Locorum communium Logicalium tituli & Ordinationes* 150, *ad ſeriem prædicamentorum decem deſcripti*, &c. Baſil 1557, in 4to. *Probationes & reſolutiones de re & materia Sacramenti Euchariſtici.* This was printed at London about the year 1563. *De Oliva Evangelica; concio in Baptiſmo Judæi habita, Londini* 1. *Apr. cum narratione capitis* XI. *D. Pauli ad Romanos.* London 1578. tranſlated into Engliſh by James Bell. To this Latin Sermon is ſubjoined our author's comedy, *De Chriſto triumphante*, before mentioned. *Concerning man's election to ſalvation.* London 1581, in 8vo. *Certain notes of election, added to Beza his treatiſe of Predeſtination.* London 1581, in 8vo. *De Chriſto gratis juſtificante, contra Jeſuitas.* London 1583, in 8vo. *Diſputatio contra Jeſuitas & eorum argumenta quibus inhærentem juſtitiam ex Ariſtotele confirmant.* Rupell 1585, in 8vo. *Eicaſmi ſeu meditationes in Apocal. S. Johannis Apoſtoli & Evangeliſtæ.* London 1587, fol. Genev. 1596. in 8vo. *Papa confutatus: vel ſacra & apoſtolica eccleſia papam confutans.* This was tranſlated into Engliſh by James Bell, and printed at London in 4to. *Brief exhortation, fruitful and meet to be read in the time of God's viſitation, where miniſters do lack, or otherwiſe cannot be preſent to comfort them.* London in 8vo. He alſo tranſlated from Latin into Engliſh, 1. *A Sermon of* John Oecolampadius *to young men and maidens.* London in 12mo. 2. *An inſtruction of Chriſtian Faith, how to lay upon the promiſe of God, and not to doubt of our ſalvation.* Or otherwiſe thus; *neceſſary inſtructions of faith and hope for Chriſtians to hold faſt, and not to doubt*, &c. London 1579, ſecond edition in 8vo. written by Urbanus Regius. He alſo finiſhed *An anſwer apologetical to* Hierome Oſorius *his ſlanderous invective*; which had been begun in Latin by Walter Haddon, LL.D. London 1577, and 1581, in 4to. and he publiſhed *the four Evangeliſts in the old Saxon Tongue, with the Engliſh thereunto adjoined.* London 1571, in 4to. Bale mentions ſeveral other writings of his, but Mr Wood ſays ſome of them were never printed; we ſhall therefore proceed to give ſome account of the principal and greateſt of our author's works, his *Acts and Monuments of the Church*, commonly called, Fox's *Book of Martyrs.* We have before obſerved that the author firſt applied himſelf to write this Hiſtory of the Church, whilſt he was at Baſil, but he reſerved the greateſt part of it againſt his return into his own country, that he might have the authority and teſtimony of more witneſſes. It appears by the author's own notes, that this moſt laborious work was eleven years in hand; and in this, as well as in ſome others of his labours, Mr Fox was greatly aſſiſted by that pious prelate Dr Grindal, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who beſides his conſtant counſel and advice in the courſe of the work, ſupplied him with materials, which he digeſted and methodized himſelf; for whilſt Dr Grindal was abroad, he had eſtabliſhed a correſpondence in England for this purpoſe, by which means accounts of moſt of the acts and ſufferings of the perſecuted in Queen Mary's reign, came to his hands (16); and it was owing to Dr Grindal's ſtrict and tender regard to truth, that the Martyrology was ſo long in hand, for he rejected all common reports and relations that were brought over, till more ſatisfactory evidence could be procured; and hence he adviſed Mr Fox at firſt only to print ſeparately the acts of ſome particular men, of whom any ſure and authentic memoirs came to hand, till materials for a more compleat hiſtory of the Martyrs and their perſecutions and ſufferings could be procured. In purſuance of this advice Mr Fox publiſhed at Baſil, diverſe hiſtories of the Engliſh Biſhops and Divines, in ſingle pieces, ſoon after their reſpective ſufferings and martyrdoms. He had alſo publiſhed at Straſburgh, in 1554, in octavo, *Commentarii rerum in Eccleſia geſtarum*,

(11) B. ix. p. 104, 105.

(12) Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 549.

(13) Col. 232.

(14) Annals of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 550.

(15) Vol. I. Col. 135.

(16) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Grindal, p. 17, & ſeq.

two ſons, Samuel and Thomas. Samuel the eldeſt ſon was born in the city of Norwich, December the thirty-firſt 1560 (*k*), and in 1576 became Demi of Magdalen College, and afterwards

tarum, maximarumque per totam Europam perſecutionum a Wiclevi temporibus ad hanc uſque ætatem deſcript. in one book; to which he added five more books, all printed together at Baſil, in 1559. in folio. It was alſo by the advice of Dr Grindal, that the *Martyrology* was printed both in Latin and Engliſh, for the more general uſe, the author having began it in Latin. It was publiſhed at London 1563, in one thick volume in folio, with this title, *Actes and Monuments of theſe latter perillous days touching matters of the Churche, wherein are comprehended and deſcribed the great perſecutions and horrible troubles that have been wrought and practiſed by the Romiſh Prelates, ſpeciallye in this Realme of England and Scotland, from the yeare of our Lorde a thouſand unto the time now preſent, &c. gathered and collected accordynge to the true copies and wrytinges certificatorie, as well of the parties themſelves that ſuffered, as alſo out of the Biſhops regiſters, which were the doers thereof* By John Fox. *Imprinted at London by John Day, dwelling over Alderſgate beneth St Martin's, Anno* 1563, *the* 20*th of March. Cum gratia & privilegia regiæ Majeſtatis.* Mr Fox preſented a copy of this edition to Magdalen-College, Oxford, and at the ſame time wrote a Latin letter to Dr Lawrence Humphreys, printed by Mr Thomas Hearne in his appendix, N°. 5. to his *Preface to Adami de Domerſham Hiſt. de Rebus Geſtis Glaſtonenſibus*, Oxon. 1727, in 8vo. 2 Vols. There was a fourth edition at London 1583, in two volumes in folio, and it was reprinted in 1632, in three volumes folio. The ninth edition was printed at London in three volumes in folio, with copper cuts, the former Editions having only wooden ones. Mr Wood obſerves (17), that the undertakers of this edition had in a manner obtained a promiſe from King Charles II to revive the order made in Queen Elizabeth's time, of placing it in the common halls of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Archdeacons, Heads of Colleges, &c. according to the Canons of Dr Matthew Parker, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in 1571. Mr Strype tells us (18), that when this book was firſt publiſhed, our author was thought, 'to have done very exquiſite ſervice to the Proteſtant cauſe, in ſhewing, from abundance of antient books, regiſters, records, and choice manuſcripts, the encroachments of Popes, Papalins, and the ſtout oppoſitions that were made by learned and good men, in all ages and countries againſt them; and eſpecially under King Henry the VIIIth, and Queen Mary here in England; preſerving to us the memories of thoſe holy men and women, thoſe Biſhops and Divines, together with their hiſtories, acts, ſufferings, and their conſtant deaths, willingly undergone for the ſake of Chriſt and his goſpel, and for refuſing to comply with Popiſh doctrines and ſuperſtitions.' Archbiſhop Whitgift (19) ſtiles Mr Fox *that worthy man*, and tells Mr Cartwright the Puritan, that he had read over his *Acts and Monuments* from the one end to the other; and declares that Mr Fox hath *very diligently and faithfully laboured in this matter*, (of Archbiſhops and Metropolitans) *and ſearched out the truth of it as learnedly as I knowe any man to have done*. Camden likewiſe gives him and his work this character (20); *Ex eruditorum numero obiit* Johannes Foxus *Oxonienſis, qui Eccleſiaſticum Angliæ Hiſtoriam ſive Martyrologiam indefeſſo veritatis ſtudio, primum latine, poſtea anglice auctius, magna cum laude contexuit*. The Papiſts were very angry at the publication of this hiſtory; in which their lyes and cruelty were ſo fully expoſed; and accordingly did all they could to blaſt the credit both of that and its author. They called it *Fox's golden Legend*; and repreſented it an huge fardel of notorious lyes and falſehoods (21). In 1603, above forty years after the publication of Mr Fox's book, father Robert Parſons publiſhed, under the name of N. D. that is, of Nicholas Doleman, *A Treatiſe of the three converſions from Paganiſm to the Chriſtian Religion*, in three volumes in 8vo. the principal deſign of which is to expoſe Mr Fox's Church Hiſtory. In this performance he charges Mr Fox with falſities and impoſtures, manifeſt foolery and lying, with having a wicked ſpirit, being guilty of tergiverſation, uſing impertinent arguments, ſhewing a contempt of antiquity, &c. of wilful corruptions and falſifications of authors, particularly of Venerable Bede. He tells us Mr Fox endeavoured to corrupt the acts of old Martyrs, nay, that he diſcredited his own Martyrs, and pretends to have found no leſs than 120 lyes in leſs than three leaves of his book (*) Mr Collier, who takes all opportunities of depretiating Mr Fox's character, and undervaluing his work, accuſes him of diſingenuity and ill nature, and ſays he ought to be read with caution. That a vein of ſatire and coarſe language runs thro' his Martyrology (22), and inſtances in his calling (23) the Biſhop of Wincheſter an inſenſible aſs, and ſaying he had no feeling of God's Spirit, in the matter of Juſtification Mr Fox does certainly ſometimes fail in decency and temper; but this was no more than was common to the zealous promoters of the Reformation, who it muſt be confeſſed were ſometimes hurried on by their zeal to lengths by no means defenſible Mr Wood ſays Mr Fox was a ſevere Calviniſt, and ſhewed himſelf a very bitter enemy in his writings, againſt the Roman Catholicks, exceeding as ſome conceive the rules of charity. He obſerves (24), that as our author 'hath taken a great deal of pains in his work, and ſhewed ſometimes much judgment in it; ſo hath he committed many errors therein, by truſting to the relations of poor ſimple people, and in making ſuch Martyrs as were living after the firſt edition of his book came forth, tho' afterwards by him excuſed and omitted.' He charges Mr Fox likewiſe (25) with committing a moſt egregious falſity in reporting, that one Grimwood of Higham in Suffolk, died in a miſerable manner for ſwearing and bearing falſe witneſs againſt one John Cooper a Carpenter of Watſam in the ſame county, for which he loſt his life The account which Fox gives of his death, is this. 'When he was in labour ſtacking up a goſſe of corn, having his health, and fearing no peril, ſuddenly his bowels fell out of his body, and immediately moſt miſerably he died' Now Wood relates, that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth one Prit became Parſon of the pariſh where the ſaid Grimwood dwelt, and preaching againſt perjury, not being acquainted with his Pariſhioners, cited the ſaid ſtory of Fox; and it happening that Grimwood being then alive and in the church, he brought an action upon the caſe againſt the Parſon. But Judge Anderſon, who ſat at the Aſſizes in the connty of Suffolk, adjudged it not maintainable, becauſe it was not ſpoken maliciouſly. Mr Wood refers to the *abridgement of many caſes and reſolutions of the Common Law*, written by Judge *Henry Rolles*, p. 87. Sect. 7. tit. *action ſur caſe*. But Mr Strype has ſhewn (26), that Mr Fox has not had juſtice done him in this paſſage, ſince there was one Grimwood who died in the manner above mentioned, though Mr Fox was miſled in inſerting this ſtory in his Martyrology, becauſe the ſaid John Cooper was not tried for his religion, but for ſpeaking rebellious words againſt the Queen. But there are many other facts, in the relation of which, Mr Fox is not to be depended upon; particularly in his account of the death of the perſecuting Biſhop Gardiner. He tells us (27), as he ſays from credible intelligence, that the Biſhop refuſed to go to dinner on the day Ridley and Latimer were burnt, till his ſervants who were poſted on the road for that purpoſe had brought him word that the faggotts were kindled about them; that this barbarous reſolution occaſioned the dinner to be kept back till four o' clock, and that the old Duke of Norfolk, who that day dined with the Biſhop, was uneaſy at ſtaying ſo long. That when Gardiner heard the two Biſhops were burning, he was tranſported with the news, and went immediately to dinner, but was ſeized at table, carried to his bed where he lay a fortnight, and died. To diſprove this tragical ſtory, it may be ſufficient to obſerve that Gardiner appeared twice in the Houſe of Lords, after he is reported to have been ſeized with this mortal diſtemper; and the old Duke of Norfolk had been dead above a year, when Fox makes him at dinner at the Biſhop of Wincheſter's

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(*k*) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, Book iii. cap. 16. p. 255.

(17) Athen. Ox. Vol. I. p. 232.

(18) Annals of the Reformat. p. 238.

(19) Defence of the Anſwer to the Admonition, p. 333.

(20) Annales Elizabeth p. 558. edit. 8vo.

(21) Preface, p. 14. to the Life of John Wickliffe, D.D. by John Lewis, A.M. Miniſter of Margate, 8vo. edit. Lond. 1723.

(*) See the Treatiſe of three Converſions of Eng. by H. Parſons; alſo his *Relation of a Trial held in France about Religion*, printed 1604. p. 59, 60.

(22) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 45, 233.

(23) Fox. Vol. II. p. 5, and 6.

(24) Col. 232.

(25) Col. 691, 692.

(26) Annals of the Reformat. Vol. I. cap. 21. Ann. 1561.

(27) P. 527.

afterwards Fellow, and Maſter of Arts. In 1586 he had a leaſe of the manor annexed to the prebend of Shipton, ſettled on him by his father [K]. He was ſteward to Sir Thomas Heneage, Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen; and in 1589 married Mrs Anne Leveſon, in the houſe of Sir Moyle Finch, of Eaſtwell in Kent (l). In 1610, he wrote the Life of his father, prefix'd to the *Acts and Monuments of the Church* (m). Thomas Fox, the younger ſon of our author, was educated at King's College Cambridge, and became afterwards an eminent Phyſician at London, and Fellow of the College of Phyſicians (n). His daughter Anne, who was his heir, married Sir Richard Willis, of Ditton in Eſſex, Bart. ſome time Colonel-General of the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, and Rutland, and Governor of the town and caſtle of Newark.

(l) Strype, ibid.

(m) Wood's Ath. Ox. col. 233.

(n) Strype, p. 254.

cheſter's, for he died at Framingham caſtle, September 1554, and was ſucceeded by his grandſon, who could not then be an *old Duke*, as the ſtory ſays. As to Gardiner he died of the gout, as Godwin relates, and not of a ſuppreſſion of urine as Fox would have it (28). Mr Fox, as Mr Collier alſo obſerves, is particularly ſevere upon the memory of the famous Cardinal Wolſey, and in many places of his Martyrology laſhes him and loads him with cenſure, ſometimes wrongfully, and diſingenuouſly. He gives a remarkable inſtance (29) of an exaggeration of Mr Fox, in the account he gives of the charge exhibited againſt the Cardinal by the Privy-Council, in the fourth article of which, Wolſey is accuſed of preſumption in ſpeaking and writing in this manner, *The King and I would you ſhould do thus*; and, *the King and I do give you our thanks*, &c (30). This to be ſure was an high preſumption in the Cardinal, but Mr Fox has ſwelled it much higher, by making him ſet himſelf before the King, and ſpeak in the language of *Ego & rex meus*, as Fox reports he did (31). The ſame author (32) alſo gives us, among others, a very remarkable inſtance of Mr Fox's intemperate zeal, which hurried him almoſt to a degree of prophaneneſs. When it was thought that Queen Mary was with child, there were prayers printed and diſperſed about the kingdom, for her Majeſty's happy delivery, &c. which Fox has taken the freedom to ridicule (33), and to rally the people's devotion upon this occaſion, with this extraordinary and odd ſentence in his margin; *cry up louder you Prieſts, peradventure your God is aſleep*; as if (as Mr Collier juſtly obſerves,) their devotions had been directed to *Baal* or *Aſhteroth*; as if the Papiſts had worſhipped one God, and the Proteſtants another. 'I can't perceive (ſays Mr Collier) that the Martyrologiſt had any right to Elijah's ſarcaſm; his zeal was without doubt too much imbittered; he was plainly ridden by his paſſion, and puſhed, by diſaffection, towards prophaneneſs.' Mr Strype (34) remarks that the eſteem of our author grew low among ſome even of the Clergy; and it is intimated by Dr Walker (35), that 'the Diſſenters pay a known and particular regard to Mr Fox's *Acts and Monuments*;' which paſſage is animadverted upon by the Reverend Mr John Lewis (36), who obſerves, that 'as to private ſtories, Mr Fox and his friends uſed the utmoſt diligence and care, that no falſehood might be obtruded on the reader, and were very ready to correct any miſtakes that might happen.'

[K] *In 1586, he had a leaſe of the manor annexed to the Prebend of Shipton ſettled on him by his father.*] Mr Strype tells us (37), that this was done upon Mr Samuel Fox's return home from his travels, which was about the end of June, as appears from a journal of his; but Dr Piers, Biſhop of Sarum, a Court Prelate, had begg'd it of the Queen to collate it, and accordingly had the grant of it. Upon this, Mr Fox applied himſelf in his father's name to Archbiſhop Whitgift, declaring his caſe, who immediately gave him a letter dated July the 14th, to the Biſhop of Sarum, and the Biſhop readily granted his requeſt, 'out of a due ſenſe, (ſays Mr Strype) of a man that had ſo well deſerved of the Church for his vaſt written labours of the Hiſtory of the Church, and the perſecutions of the true profeſſors of it. Nay, more than his requeſt, for he promiſed to ſettle an exhibition upon father Fox's ſecond ſon, whoſe name was *Thomas*, bred up in King's-College, Cambridge; and when he was capable of it, of a Prebend in his Church of Sarum. For to this tenour did the Biſhop's anſwer to the Archbiſhop run, dated the ſame day with the Archbiſhop's to him. This was the judgment and venerable eſteem the Archbiſhop and Churchmen in thoſe days, had of that reverend and learned confeſſor and his labours.' H

(28) Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of Reformat. Part 2. p. 320. compared with Fox. Heylin's Hiſt. Ref. Q. Mary, p. 39. Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 586.

(29) Collier, Vol. II. p. 43.

(30) Coke's Inſtitutes, part 4. fol. 89. Cotton Library. Julius I. fol. 24.

(31) Fox, Vol. II. p. 255.

(32) Collier, Vol. II. p. 375.

(33) Fox, Vol. III. p. 116.

(34) Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, Book iii. cap. 16. p. 255.

(35) Attempt towards recovering an account of the numbers and ſufferings of the Clergy of the Church of Eng. Preface, p. 20. edit. Lond. 1714. folio.

(36) Preface, p. 14. to his Life of John Wickliffe, D.D.

(37) Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift.

FREIND (John), a learned Philoſopher, an excellent Phyſician, and a moſt elegant Writer in the XVIIIth Century. His father was Rector of Croton, in Northamptonſhire, a man of great learning, piety, and integrity; and extreamly careful in the education of his ſons (a). Of theſe, John was born in 1675, and, together with his brother Robert, put under the care of the celebrated Dr Richard Buſby, then Maſter of Weſtminſter-School; under whom both brothers diſtinguiſhed themſelves, as well by the quickneſs of their parts, as the ſteadineſs of their application. From thence, John was elected into Chriſt's-Church College in Oxford, in 1690, where he had again the ſignal advantage of being under the eye of the famous Dr Aldrich, who, for his exemplary vigilance, true zeal for learning, and well conducted generoſity, was univerſally admired and applauded while living, whoſe memory will be ever revered in that ſeat of the Muſes, where he made it the buſineſs of his life to promote uſeful and polite literature (b), and whoſe praiſes ought always to accompany thoſe of the great men formed under his care. In conſequence of that warm ſpirit of emulation which then prevailed in Chriſt-Church, as well as the natural inclination of our young ſcholar, he applied himſelf with the greateſt vigour to ſtudy the writings of the moſt celebrated Poets, Orators, and Hiſtorians, among the Antients; by which he acquired an early facility in writing elegant Latin, in Verſe as well as Proſe, and a perfect knowledge of the Greek language, of which he gave ſome publick ſpecimens, which were generally and juſtly admired (c) [A]. He was not however diverted, either by the pleaſure

(a) Johan. Wigan, Præfatio ad opera medica, J. Freind.

(b) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1055.

(c) Act. Eruditor. Lipſien. Menſ. Septemb. 1696. p. 439.

[A] *Which were generally and juſtly admired.*] It may be affirmed without the leaſt flattery, or even complaiſance towards the memory of this learned perſon, that even in the earlieſt part of his life he gave unqueſtionable teſtimonies of thoſe two admirable qualities, which when conjoined never fail of producing great men in every profeſſion, genius, and application. We have obſerved in the text, that it was impoſſible for one endowed with ſuch ſignal advantages, not to receive all imaginable encouragement in that ſeminary of pleaſure that accompanies this kind of reading, or the reputation he had acquired by his proficiency therein, from the deſign which he had formed of purſuing ſeverer ſtudies; and accordingly began with great diligence to cultivate thoſe ſciences, without the knowledge of which it is impoſſible to become abſolutely maſter of Phyſick (*d*). His firſt care was to digeſt thoroughly the true and rational principles of Natural Philoſophy, Chymiſtry, and Anatomy; and to theſe he added a ſufficient acquaintance with the Mathematicks, reading afterwards the beſt phyſical authors antient and modern, examining, weighing, and comparing what they ſaid, and labouring to gain a true judgment of their excellencies and defects, from the dictates of ſound reaſon and the unbiaſſed light of experiments. How well this method ſucceeded, and how ſoon he became a great maſter in this truly noble and uſeful ſcience, appeared from a letter of his, dated from Oxford July the twenty-ſixth 1699, to Sir Hans, then Dr Sloane, which was very ſoon after publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (*e*) [*B*]. In this firſt exerciſe of his pen, on the proper buſineſs of his

(*d*) Vid. Præfat. ad opera medica, J. Freind.

(*e*) No. 256. for Sept. 1699.

of learning, where Dr Aldrich preſided. Under his auſpice, Mr Freind undertook, together with another young gentleman of great parts and riſing reputation, to publiſh a Latin tranſlation, with ſeveral neceſſary helps, of two Greek orations (1), one of Æſchines and the other of Demoſthenes, which were at that time generally well received, and have been ſince reprinted. The title of this book runs thus.

(1) J. Wigan. Præfatio ad opera medica, J. Freind.

Æſchinis contra Cteſiphontem, & Demoſthenis de corona orationes, interpretationem Latinam, & locum difficiliorum explicationum adjecerunt. P. Foulkes & J. Freind, *Ædis Chriſti Alumni. Oxoniæ*, 1696. 8vo. It. *Oxoniæ* 1715. *in* 8vo.

About the ſame time, being then in the twenty firſt year of his age, he was prevailed upon to reviſe that edition of Ovid's Metamorphoſes, which had been prepared in France for the uſe of the Dauphin, which was then re-printed at Oxford (2) with the following title.

(2) Niceron, Memoires des Hommes illuſtres, Tom. XXV. p. 257.

Ovidii Metamorphoſeon libri xv. *cum interpretatione* Danielis Criſpini *in uſum Delphini*, *à* Joan. Freind *recenſiti*. *Oxoniæ* 1696. *in* 8vo.

To theſe proofs of his diligence and learning, let us alſo add one of his genius excited by a very melancholy occaſion, that of the death of his Royal Highneſs, William Duke of Glouceſter, which happened July the thirtieth 1700, at Windſor, in the eleventh year of his age. It was upon this ſubject, that Mr Freind addreſſed a Latin Ode to Dr Edward Hannes (3) an excellent Phyſician, and one who was alſo diſtinguiſhed by his poetic writings in the ſame language. The concluſion of this Ode, which has been always regarded as an admirable performance, as well in point of ſentiment as elegance, cannot but be acceptable to the reader at the ſame time, that it juſtifies what is aſſerted in the text. After expatiating on the high hopes that were entertained of this promiſing young Prince, he returns to the ſad ſubject of his loſs in theſe ſtanzas.

(3) Muſarum Anglicanarum Analecta. Vol. III. p. 27.

Depinge aduſti ſanguinis impetu
Venas micantes: mox celeri caput
Volutat orbe, mox voraci
Pectora depopulatur igne.
Febrilis ardor; ſuetaque lucidùm
Fulgere quondam lumina, pondere
Devicta torpeſcunt inerti.
Ah! quid agis ſtudioſa chari
Cohors *Gloverni?* quò Tibi ſpiritus
Receſſit, ægro militiæ Ducæ?
Ut dextra friget! ut recurvo
Scuta tholo galeæque pendent!
Pendent capilli, fœmineus decor,
Vulſæque compto vertice tæniæ:
Nymphæque, jam primum moleſta
Semianimi Dominæ caterva,
Vanis miniſtrant officiis opem:
Hæc Te requirit, ſpeſque ſuas Tibi
Commendat ultro, certa, ſiquid
Herba potens valeat, ſalutis.
Tu quicquid Hortus vel Chymicus labor
Promit, ſalubri ſuppeditas manu;
Sed impotentem ſpernit artem
Non Medico ſuperanda Febris.
Quin mox *Glovernum* pectine Leſbio
Addes recentem ſideribus Deum;
Vitaque donabis perenni
Invidiam faciente *Parcis*.

[*B*] *Which was very ſoon after publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions.*] This letter contains the hiſtory of a very remarkable Hydrocephalus, or watry head, and is more preciſe, and at the ſame time more perſpicuous, than almoſt any thing of the ſame kind extant in other authors (4). The external dimenſions of this head before it was opened, were from the eye brows over the crown to the nape twenty three inches, the circumference from the nape round the *Oſſa Bregmatis* twenty ſix, but round the *Os Frontis* twenty four; from ear to ear over the crown nineteen, from the eye brows to the chin four, from one extremity of the eye brows to the other, four and a half from the chin to the coronal ſuture, ſeven and a half, the circumference from the chin round the crown thirty, from one extremity of the ear backwards to the other; round the noſe twelve, and round the nape ſix and a half, from temple to temple over the forehead eleven; the circumference of the head round the *Os Frontis* and *Occipitis* twenty nine; the circumference of the neck nine and two thirds, the length of the neck two, the length of the body thirty three, the circumference of the *Thorax* eighteen, the length of the foot four and a half, from the end of the middle finger to the *acromion* twelve and a half, the circumference of the arm five, of the calf five and a half, and of the thigh eight inches. After the integuments were removed, the top of the *Cranium* appeared ſoft and membranous, the extent of the membrane from one temple to the other was eight inches, between the *parietal* bones three and a half, from the *Os Frontis* to the *Os Occipitis* twelve; in the middle, juſt upon the crown, lay a bone in ſome places a little cartilaginous five inches long and one broad, joined to the membranes on every ſide of the ſame thickneſs, with the reſt of the upper part of the *Cranium* that was bony, which was extremely thin every where, and the *Laminæ* lay ſo cloſe, that in many places no *Diploe* could be diſcerned, the membrane was as thin as the *Pericranium*, which yet was eaſily divided from it, none of the ſutures were entirely cloſed, thoſe of the upper jaw were very looſe in the *temporal* and *lambdoidal* ſutures, there was a vaſt number of the *Triquetra wormiana*, all which had ſo many diſtinct ſutures: upon piercing the *Dura Mater*, a great quantity of water guſhed out which lay in the ventricles of the brain, as well as between the *Dura Mater*, and the *Pia*; the liquor was thin, pale, and inſipid, of which there was taken out five quarts; the *Dura Mater* was firm and entire, of its uſual thickneſs, and it ſtuck very cloſe to the bony as well as membranous parts of the *Cranium*; all its proceſſes and ſinus's were ſingular, the fourth ſinus ſomewhat larger than ordinary, a very large vein of the *Dura Mater* entered the longitudinal ſinus directly forwards towards the *Criſta Galli*, contrary to the courſe of the blood.

(4) No. 256, Sept. 1699.

The *Pia Mater* was very much diſtended, and ſeemed to be ſtretched as much as it could bear, it lay ſmooth and equal upon the ſurface of the brain, there being neither any circumvolutions in the brain for it to go between, nor any partition to the *Corpus calloſum*, tho' there was a large *Falx* in the *Dura Mater*; the lateral venticles were very thin, their upper part towards his profeſſion, he ſhewed the ſame exactneſs, regard to method, and modeſty in expreſſing his own ſentiments, which were ſo conſpicuous in his ſucceeding Treatiſes. He was very careful in reſtraining that eagerneſs which is naturally incident to young men, and without ſuffering himſelf to be led away by the commendations of his friends, continued his aſſiduity in his ſtudy and practice, from whence he would rarely ſuffer himſelf to be drawn aſide by the deſire of adding to that fame which conſtantly attended his writings. However, in the ſpring of 1701, he wrote to the ſame worthy perſon a Latin letter, concerning ſome extraordinary caſes of perſons afflicted with convulſions in Oxfordſhire (*f*), which, at that time, made a very great noiſe, and might very probably have been magnified into ſomething ſupernatural, if our author had not taken great pains to ſet them in a true light [*C*]. He was already known and conſidered in the Faculty, when he began to meditate

(*f*) No. 270. for March and April 1701.

wards the *Cerebellum* was quite waſted, ſo that nothing was left to cover the cavity in that place but the *Pia Mater*, this was ſo thin that in bending down the head to empty the water it broke, and hindered the knowing exactly how much water the lateral ventricles contained, but by their cavity which was very large, one might gueſs they held at leaſt a pint each. The third and fourth ventricles had a little water in them, but were ſcarcely larger than uſual, as *Steno* obſerved in his *Hydrocephalus* calf; the brain had all its parts plain and entire, tho' its ſubſtance in moſt places was but very thin and looſe about the *Corpora ſtriata, thalami nervorum opticorum*, it was tolerably thick and firm enough, tho' nothing to what it is in a natural ſtate; the *Cerebrum* and *Cerebellum*, when laid out in their proper poſition, were eleven inches long; the *Cerebrum* croſs the lateral ventricles was nine inches broad; after all the water was taken out, both of them weighed one pound and a half.

The *Corpora ſtriata*, and *thalami nervorum opticorum*, were very ſmall in all their dimenſions, on the inſide towards the ventricles they were wrinkled, and lay in folds like thoſe in the inner coat of the ſtomach; in the *Corpora ſtriata*, there were no *Striæ* diſcernible, the *Plexus Choroides* was very ſmall, the *Glandula Pinealis* was ſomewhat larger, but leſs compact than ordinary; the *Nates* were very red and large two inches long, one broad, and one thick, the *Teſtes* were not diſtinguiſhed from them by any protuberance, they ſeemed rather to be a production, into which the *Nates* leſſened by degrees like a ſugar loaf. The *Cerebellum* was very firm every where, and did not much exceed its natural bulk, the medullary trunk, which ſends out thoſe little branches like trees, was thicker and harder than uſual, the branches were not ſo much diſpoſed like thoſe of a tree, but went rather in ſingle oblique lines, like ſo many rays from a point; the nerves were all regular and plain, only the olfactory were very ſmall, the optic nerves did not join before they entred the orbits; the *Rete mirabile* was very large, and ſo was Dr *Ridley*'s circular ſinus, on the right ſide were two carotidateries, the intercoſtal nerve lying between them, and they entered the ſcull at the ſame hole; the trunk of the vertebral where thoſe arteries unite was extremely large and full of blood, the veins were neither larger nor more in number than uſual; Mr Freind could eaſily diſcern three or four lymphatics upon the brain over the lateral ventricles, but they were too ſmall to be traced: whether this great effuſion of water was cauſed by an obſtruction in the capillary arteries, which might make the finer part of the Serum ouze thro' their coats, or by a rupture in the lymphatics Mr Freind could not determine. The mother of the child brought it to *Oxford* for a ſhew, the account ſhe gave of it was, that ſhe had been three weeks in travail, and that at laſt ſhe was obliged to have the vagina ript for its paſſage, the child was two years and ſix weeks old, it could ſpeak a little, it could neither walk nor hold up its head, it was always merry, never ſubject to drowſineſs, pain in the head, want of appetite or indigeſtion; its ſight was ſomewhat dim, and its ſmelling but indifferent; it never had any illneſs only two or three days before it died, it was very much troubled with the gripes, and upon opening the Abdomen, the guts were found extremely ſwelled with wind, every thing elſe in both the lower cavities was in its natural ſtate. By comparing thoſe two *Hydrocephali* which *Tulpius* gives an account of, with this, we may ſee how different each of them is from it; his firſt was a boy five years old, the ſcull no larger than a man's, and contained only five pints of water, the brain had loſt all its ſhape and moſt of its ſubſtance, the relicks of which ſtuck to the ſcull; and all he ſays of the ſecond is, that it had a quart of water in one of the lateral ventricles.

[C] *To ſet them in a true light.*] We ſhall give the reader the ſubſtance of this (5), as of the former paper, the rather, becauſe we do not meet with either of them in the collection of our author's phyſical works. At *Blackthorn* in *Oxfordſhire*, five little girls were ſeized with frequent fits of *barking* like dogs, together with violent motions of the head, no convulſions were obſerved in their faces, only frequent diſtortions and oſcillations of the mouth, their pulſe was like that of perſons in health, but that towards the end of the fit it was ſomewhat weaker, the noiſe as it ſeemed to the Doctor did not reſemble the barking of dogs ſo much as their *howling*, only that the returns were more frequent with alternate ſobbings. The youngeſt of the girls was but ſix, and the eldeſt fifteen years of age. At intervals they had their reaſon and ſenſes entire, but it was not long ere one of them renewing her yelling would affect the reſt. At length their ſpirits being exhauſted, they would fall down like epileptics upon a couch, laid in the middle of the room to receive them, for ſome time they would lie quietly and decently, but upon a new irritation, or orgaſm of the ſpirits, they would beat their breaſts and other parts and diſcommode each other. July the twelfth 1700, Dr Friend viſited another family at *Blackthorn*, where a boy and three girls had been ſeized with convulſions ten weeks before without any apparent preceding cauſe, at firſt one of the girls was affected, and the firſt fit laſted for two hours, and the reſt, as the mother informed him, were ſo ſtruck with their ſiſter's diſorder, that in a few days they were alſo ſeized therewith. At his arrival they were all before the doors upwards of half an hour at play very briſk and unconcerned, and their complexion laudable from this diſorder, was produced no other bad effect than a little weakneſs and languor, their pulſe was in every reſpect regular. At length the eldeſt girl about fourteen years of age was ſeized as uſual, the only ſymptoms of its approach was a ſwelling of the ſtomach, which riſing gradually like a ball up the throat, ſet the muſcles of the larynx and head upon their wonted convulſions, this riſing was a certain and conſtant forerunner of the paroxyſm, and if they endeavoured to ſtop it, it broke out with the greater violence and continued the longer: the noiſe they made, which was inceſſant and diſagreeable, did not ſo much reſemble the *barking* or *howling* of dogs as had been given out as an uncouth kind of ſinging, conſiſting of *three* notes or tones repeated *twice* over, and ſucceeded by deep ſighs, which ended in a plain note that was much ſtronger and ſharper than any of the reſt. No words can deſcribe this ſong. At intervals ſhe varied her note, but when her ſpirits began to fail her motions and bawling increaſed, till being at length almoſt choaked, ſhe would expreſs a note or two and repreſs a little the ſhaking of her head, by this means recovering ſtrength ſhe would renew the ſame ditty, which was always accompanied with an alternate nodding of the head backwards and forwards, the muſcles of the neck were very tenſe and inflated, all the other parts of the body were free of convulſions. All the time of the paroxyſm ſhe had her ſenſes entire, and would ſit or walk as ſhe pleaſed, but could not utter one word, her complexion did not change, her eyes were immoveable as if dead, ſhe had no diſtortion but in

(5) No. 270, March and April 1701.

tate a work truly worthy of his own genius and learning; and of thoſe free, rational, and inconteſtible principles on which it was founded. He obſerved, that Sanctorius, Borelli, and Baglivi in Italy; and Pitcairne and Keil, here at home, had introduced a new and more certain method of enquiring after phyſical truths, than had been known to moſt of the writers in the preceding age *(g)*. He therefore reſolved to apply this way of reaſoning, in order to ſet a certain ſubject of great importance, of daily uſe, and general concern about which the learned had been always divided, in ſuch a light as might put an end to diſputes, and open the eyes of mankind to a natural unperplexed theory, from whence, of conſequence, an effectual and ſatisfactory practice might be deduced. This he accompliſhed in his EMMENOLOGIA (*h*), which he gave to the publick when he was about twenty-eight years old; and tho' at firſt it met with ſome very conſiderable oppoſition, through the reverence that many entertained for old tho' unintelligible ſyſtems, and the prejudices with which others beheld the diſcoveries made by their contemporaries, as if their ſagacity and induſtry rather outraged than obliged ſuch as were of the ſame profeſſion; yet all candid and competent judges acknowledged it to be an excellent performance; in reſpect to which, it was hard to affirm whether the beauty of the ſtile, the elegant diſpoſition of the parts, or that wonderful ſuccinctneſs which detracted nothing from it's perſpicuity, ought to be more admired than the happy concurrence of learning and penetration, which enabled him ſo effectually to reconcile the judicious obſervations of the Antients, with thoſe diſcoveries in Anatomy which are indiſputably due to the Moderns. In ſhort, his plainneſs in ſtating the principal points in queſtion, his eaſy and ſatisfactory ſolutions, his wonderful application of all previous, concomitant, and ſucceeding circumſtances, to that ſimple principle, which, he ſuggeſts, quickly gained that acquieſcence in his doctrine (*i*) which it deſerved. Some years after a ſecond edition of this treatiſe appeared, which is likewiſe to be found in the general collection of his medical works [*D*]. In the ſucceeding year 1704, he was appointed

(g) See his own Prefaces to the Treatiſes hereafter mentioned.

(*h*) Lond. 1703. 8vo.

(*i*) Boerhaave Inſtitut. §. 659, 667.

in her mouth, which by reaſon of the contraction of the muſcles, was quite a *Spaſmus cynicus*; during the paroxyſm you could ſcarce feel a pulſe, and thus ſhe continued upwards of half an hour, tho' the brother and ſiſters ſtood by, yet they were not ſeized with the *Spaſmus* as uſual: they ſlept pretty well in the night, provided they were inclined to it when they lay down, but if not, they were ſeized with the paroxyſm till morning, at the ſame intervals, as in the day time; the girls of the other family were troubled with this diſorder about the beginning of the year, at which time their mouth was diſtorted and ſwelled, and a little after that theſe juſt mentioned had convulſions, the others were ſeized with epileptic fits, and a total deprivation of ſenſe; they would ſometimes, as if they were poſſeſſed beat upon their breaſts, and at other times run about, &c. but there was nothing of this the firſt three months, only the ſymptoms the Doctor has already deſcribed. The uncommon appearance, or long continuance of theſe ſymptoms, does not hinder concluding that this is a natural diſorder, for this *Spaſmus* agrees with all other convulſions, as ariſing from the irregular motions of the animal ſpirits within the nerves, variouſly contracting the muſcles according to the diſpoſition of the orgaſm; ſo that in this caſe nature does nothing but what is uſual in other kinds of convulſions, uſing the ſame organical motions here, as in the Chorea S. Viti, or in hyſteric diſorders, where the patient is at one time ſeized with laughing, at another with howling, and at another time beats upon the breaſt, all which is occaſioned by the various and involuntary motions of the muſcles; ſeeing therefore the muſcles of the larynx, head, hands, and feet, are equally diſpoſed to convulſions, whatever ſeems to be ſtrange and uncommon in theſe girls, is owing not ſo much to the nature of the ſymptoms as to the part affected.

[*D*] *Of his medical works.*] We will firſt give the title of this valuable performance at large, then a ſhort view of its contents; and laſtly ſome hiſtorical remarks of the fate with which it has been attended. The title in the original runs thus.

EMMENOLOGIA, *in quâ Fluxus muliebris menſtrui Phænomena, periodi, vitia, cum medendi methodo, ad rationes mechanicas exiguntur. Authore* Johanne Friend, M. B. *Æd. Chriſti Alumno.* Lond. 1703. 8vo.

This treatiſe was tranſlated into Engliſh by Dr *Thomas Dale*, who dedicated it to the late Dr *James Douglas*.

Our author takes notice in his preface, that there are very few ſubjects on which Phyſicians had written more, or with leſs ſatisfaction to their readers than this, which he had undertaken to explain; the cauſe which he aſſigns for this, is their having recourſe to dark, abſtruſe, and unintelligible principles, neglecting thoſe that were plain and eaſy, as if their being more obvious made them leſs valuable. He acknowledges, that in his performance he has followed the principles and the example of the learned Bellini; and that one of the principal points he had in view, in compoſing this work, was the opening a clear road to the relief of one half of the human ſpecies, ſince almoſt all the diſeaſes incident to the ſex, either ariſe from, or are connected with, the ſubject of his book. As to the final cauſe of the *catamenia*, he agrees with *Galen*, and that it is to provide for the health of the mother and to provide nutriment for the embryo; with the ſame learned perſon he agrees with reſpect to the efficient cauſe and rejecting the influence of the moon, the operation of the Archeus, and the doctrine of ferments, as equally repugnant to truth and reaſon, he adheres to that of a Plethora. He proceeds next to explain this, to ſhew how and whence it ariſes, and why it is peculiar to the ſex. He demonſtrates the truth of this opinion from the ſtructure of the parts, and then goes on to ſhew, from mechanical principles, how this is effected; he then anſwers the objections that have been made to this doctrine; after this he proceeds to the periods, and gives a plain ſolution of thoſe difficulties that from other methods are inexplicable. The way being thus cleared, he enters on an explanation of the phænomena, then conſiders whatever is known to promote or to retard the menſes. He next points out the ſymptoms which ariſe from a ſuppreſſion, and eſtabliſhes the proper method of cure. In like manner he deſcribes the ſymptoms attending an immoderate flux, and the moſt effectual means of removing them, illuſtrating all that he delivers with the moſt exact and inſtructive hiſtories or caſes. He concludes with a diſcourſe on the virtue and operation of the uſual remedies, and from a retroſpective view of the whole makes it evident, that his theory is founded in truth and the operations of nature, and is not the fruit of a happy invention, and the power of explaining in a plauſible manner principles that have no foundation but in the mind of the contriver. Such is the deſign and diſtribution of this excellent work.

Soon after the publication of this treatiſe, our author's opinion that the Menſes are occaſioned by a Plethora, was attacked by Dr Thomas Snellen, or Snellenus a Dutch Chymiſt (6), who aſcribes that purgation to a ferment. He wrote with much warmth, or rather rudeneſs, and, as the ingenious author of the hiſtorical preface to Dr Freind's Medical Works, obſerves, uſed rather the language of Billinſgate, than the Schools, in his performance. In 1712, Peter Freſart

(6) Theoriæ Mechanicæ Phyſico-Medicæ delineatio, in qua damnoſa ejus præcepta ad rationis et experientiæ lancem revocantur ac practice emendatur. Lugd Batav. 1705. in 8vo.

pointed to read chymical lectures in the Univerſity, which he performed with great applauſe, the novelty and perſpicuity of his lectures, attracting and giving the higheſt ſatisfaction to a numerous audience (k). In 1705, he attended the famous Earl of Peterborough in his Spaniſh expedition, and was the companion of his fatigues, in which, as Phyſician to the army, he had no ſmall ſhare for very near two years together; and, in his return home through Italy, he made a tour to Rome, as well for the ſake of ſeeing the celebrated antiquities of that famous city, as for the pleaſure of viſiting and converſing with Baglivi and Lanciſi, men whom their ſkill in phyſick, and their excellent writings, had juſtly merited reſpect and renown (l). On his coming back to England, he found the character of his illuſtrious patron very rudely treated; and, out of a ſpirit of juſtice and gratitude,

ſart, a Phyſician of Liege, publiſhed an Emmenologia, in which he rejects our author's notion, as well as that of a ferment, and aſſerts the cauſe of the Menſes to be *Sal evectum purgaminis uterini in vaſis collecti*, which, as the author before mentioned rightly remarks, is in reality ſaying nothing, and therefore it is impoſſible that there ſhould be any thing ſaid in anſwer to it. Since Dr Friend's death, Dr Thomas Simſon, Chandos Profeſſor of Phyſick and Anatomy in the Univerſity of St Andrew's, in his *Syſtem of the* womb: *with a particular account of the* Menſes *independent of a* Plethora; *to which are ſubjoined a few obſervations relating to* cold *and its effects upon the body*, printed at London 1730. in 8vo. has declared againſt the doctrine of a Plethora, and aſſigns another cauſe of it. Monſieur Tellier the younger, Phyſician at Peronne, in his *Reflections Critiques ſur l'Emmenologia de Mr* Freind, printed at Paris 1730, recommends our author's treatiſe on account of its perſpicuity, ſtrength of argument, and the uſeful obſervations contained in it, and owns that the Plethora contributes not a little to this purgation; but differs with Dr Friend among other points, in this, that the latter ſuppoſes the flux to be occaſioned by the rupture of the capillary veſſels, whereas Monſieur Tellier affirms it to be performed by the influx of the blood into the lymphatic veſſels, or as Helvetius calls them the lymphatic arteries. But Dr Wigan obſerves, that tho' Dr Friend often ſpeaks of the rupture of the veſſels, yet we are not to imagine that he meant a preternatural or violent breaking of them, ſince he expreſsly ſays, ‘that the orifices of the veſſels open upon the impulſe of the blood.’ *Per impulſum ſanguinis, eorum orificia diſſilere*; conſidered in this light, Dr Wigan does not perceive any great difference between the theories of our author and Monſieur Tellier. He acknowledges that Freſart, Simſon, and Tellier, have raiſed ſome difficulties againſt Dr Freind's doctrine, which deſerve to be ſolved, and that the Doctor might be miſtaken in ſome points of leſs importance, and advanced ſome things in this treatiſe not altogether conſiſtent with what he wrote afterwards in his riper years; and he aſſures us, that the Doctor deſigned in the ſecond edition publiſhed at London, to have corrected ſome things, added others, and anſwered ſome objections, but was prevented by buſineſs from executing that deſign. But Dr Wigan thinks that none of the objections are of ſuch weight, but that the ſubſtance of his doctrine of a Plethora ſtill ſtands firm.

In 1735, there was publiſhed an academical exercitation upon Dr Friend's Emmenologia, under the following title, *Exercitatio Academica ad* Emmenologiam Freindianam: *quâ fundamenti loco ſuppoſitæ quædam Doctrinæ modeſte examinantur. Præſide* Jo. Friderico Herelio, *Medicinæ Doctore & Phyſico* Reipublicæ Norinbergenſis, *deſignato placidæ Eruditorum diſcuſſioni A. D. Martii* CIↃ. IↃCC XXXV. *ſubjicienda, reſpondente* Jo. Philippo Zellmano Hertzbergæ Hannoverano: Halæ Magdeburgicæ in 4to. p. 26. Dr Herelius in his preface obſerves, that tho' a great many foreigners as well as Engliſh extol Dr Freind's book, as a compleat work, and adhere to his doctrine, yet that when he ſtudied phyſic under Dr John Henry Schulze, he perceived many reaſons which weakened the authority of that book, and ſhewed its inſufficiency both in theory and practice. Theſe reflections were confirmed by Monſieur Tellier's treatiſe abovementioned, upon which Dr Herelius tranſlated it into Latin, and wrote notes upon it, and deſigned to publiſh his tranſlation with an appendix, containing further animadverſions upon Dr Freind's Emmenologia, but was prevented for the preſent from executing this deſign by his travels. However he committed the Exercitation abovementioned to Dr Schulze in order to be publiſhed, which was accordingly done.

It contains five *Theſes* which the author amply explains and illuſtrates, and which are as follow. I. Freindi *Syſtema non ſuppeditat ullam rationem, cur fluxus menſtruus ſit periodicus, & non perpetuus.* II. Freindius *nihil agit, quando ſolis humanis fæminis purgationes uterinas vindicatum it, ideoque uteri ſitum perpendicularem in mulieribus, in quadrupedibus horizontalem urget.* III. Freindius *Plethorâ ſuâ quam a* Galeno *adoptat, rem minimè expedit, nec alii expedient, quam diu nihil aliud niſi Plethoræ imminuendæ viam interpretantur menſtruæ evacuationis negotium.* IV. Freindius *nullam rationem indicavit, cur ſuppoſitâ Plethora vim potius in vaſa capillaria, uſque ad diſruptionem eorum, edat, quam majores truncos, quos tamen prius debet ingredi, antequam ad capillares perveniat.* V. Freindius *contendit, quod in gravidis menſtrua ceſſent, quia ſanguis alendo fætui inſumitur. Id ſi verum eſt, concipi non poteſt, cur fæmina paupercula, laborioſa, & non plethorica, non diutius uterum gerat, aut minores fætus excludat, quam fæmina ſanguine ad modulum* Freindianæ *Hypotheſeos abundans, tantamque abundantiam ſuo fætui impendens.*

It is viſible enough from the heads of theſe diſcourſes, that Dr Herelius had either read our author's diſcourſe with little attention, or had the miſfortune not to comprehend his meaning. For with reſpect to the firſt, the account which Dr Freind has given of a Plethora, the conſequences of it in a human body, and the different ſtructure of the parts in women, very clearly explains, not only why they are ſubject to this flux, but alſo why they are not always ſubject to it. The ſecond aſſertion is a bare begging of the queſtion, and if he had been well acquainted with Natural Hiſtory, he would have known that there are ſome exceptions to that general rule, which very plainly prove the reaſon aſſigned by Dr Freind to have very great weight. What he affirms in the third place, will not affect the candid reader's judgment in any degree, when he is informed that the beſt Phyſicians and Anatomiſts are now of a contrary opinion. His fourth objection proceeds from a miſtake of Dr Freind's meaning, who plainly enough declares that he did not intend a preternatural breaking or ſeparation of the veſſels, but their yielding to an impinging force, in conſequence of their natural ſtructure, which is the plain ſolution of his doubt. The laſt is the leaſt founded objection of them all, ſince there is nothing more commonly known, than that the nutriment depends as much on the quality as the quantity of the aliment; and therefore there is no reaſon in the world, why ſtrong women ſhould go longer with their children, much leſs that their offſpring ſhould be weaker than the children of thoſe who have a more delicate conſtitution. But after all theſe objections, all this oppoſition, and not a little ill uſage, if the reader will conſult the learned Boerhaave (7), he will find the truth of Cicero's maxim, that the credit of opinion laſts but for a day, whereas truth rightly ſtated makes its paſſage in time, and remains eſtabliſhed for ever. This has been the caſe of our author's doctrine which is now generally received, and received upon the arguments which he advanced, tho' we often find them mentioned without the leaſt notice taken of him; ſo certain it is, that both envy and gratitude are ſhort lived, in compariſon of truth and experience.

(k) Vid. Præfat. ad opera medica, J. Freind.

(l) Niceron, Memoires des hommes illuſtres, Tom. XII. p. 351.

(7) Inſtitut. §. 569 — 667.

gratitude, he drew his pen in the defence of that brave man, whoſe actions he is truly ſaid to have vindicated, with the ſame ſpirit and fire with which they were performed (*m*). It is no wonder therefore, that the Doctor's book met with the ſame fate that the Earl's conduct had done; and, that as the ſurprizing ſucceſſes of the latter were attributed to a happy temerity, ſo the detail given by the former, was, in ſpite of all the evidence he produced, conſidered as abſolutely incredible, even by thoſe who confeſſed that nothing could be written with more ſprightly eloquence, or a more plauſible appearance of truth (*n*). As time has now worn out all prejudices and prepoſſeſſions, ſo we may have leave to ſay, without giving much offence to any party, that the Doctor's hiſtory, however ſhort, may be eſteemed as correct and as perfect a piece, as any thing that ever appeared of the kind; and no doubt, had it been written in favour of any of their Generals, and publiſhed in a neighbouring country, it would have been extolled to the ſkies, compared to the moſt finiſhed writings of the Antients, and treated as a work that deſerved to be univerſally read, and as univerſally admired (*o*). But with us, things of this kind are run down by a party-ſpirit when they are new, and buried in oblivion when they are old; while, at the ſame time, we do all the juſtice imaginable to the writings of foreigners, whether new or old; which is indeed as reaſonable as the other practice is abſurd. What truth there is in theſe reflections, and what merit in that work of our author which occaſioned them, we ſhall take occaſion to explain in the notes [*E*]. It is now time to return to the hiſtorical thread of our article.

He

(*m*) See an Inſtance in note [*E*].

(*n*) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 370.

(*o*) See the numerous Catalogues of French Memoirs, in *le Long*, *Bibliotheque hiſtorique de la France*; and in *Abbé Freſnoy's Method pour etudier l'Hiſtoire*.

[*E*] *To explain in the notes.*] The title of our author's work at large, runs in the following words.

An Account of the Earl of PETERBOROW's *Conduct in* SPAIN, *chiefly ſince the raiſing the Siege of* Barcelona, 1706; *to which is added, The Campaign of* Valencia. *With original Papers.* Lond. 1707, 8vo.

He dedicated this book to his patron *Charles Mordaunt*, Earl of Peterborough and Monmouth; and it is generally reported, that he gave the ſtrongeſt teſtimony a man could do, of his being fully informed, and thoroughly perſwaded, of the facts that are contained in the whole ſeries of his relation (8). The character we have given it in the text, requires that ſomething farther ſhould be ſaid of it here. There are ſome places that ſeem fated to be always famous, and one would think that Saguntum was of the number; the ſiege of that place, in early times, has been deſcribed by maſterly pens; we will leave to the reader's own judgment this account of the ſurprizal of it by the Earl of Peterborough, which fell from the pen of Dr Freind (9).

‘The Duke of Arcos, who commanded for the Duke of Anjou (as Philip the Fifth was then ſtiled by the Allies), kept the main of his army to the right of Valencia, towards a place called Torrente; but ſent Brigadier Mahoni, with a detachment of horſe, to ſecure the ſtrongeſt paſs in the country, over a river which was juſt under the walls of Molviedro, the antient Saguntum ſo famous in the Roman Hiſtory. This place, which is about four leagues diſtant from Valencia, my Lord muſt paſs, for no other way was practicable. All the officers were of opinion, that his Lordſhip muſt come to a full ſtop here, having no artillery, no miners, no preparations to take a walled town; where, beſides numerous inhabitants, all armed and zealous for the Duke of Anjou, there was a very good General officer, and near eight hundred men, near half of them being Mahoni's regiment of Iriſh dragoons. What made our circumſtances the more deſperate in appearance, this place was for us moſt unfortunately ſituated, becauſe, after paſſing the river, there was a plain of two leagues to a Carthuſian convent, where the enemy, to all advantage, might make uſe of their horſe, which were excellent, and double in number to ours. The Earl of Peterborough gave the officers hopes, that what he could not do by force, he did not fear but to compaſs by art; and told them, that if he could but prevail to get Mahoni to come out to ſpeak with him, he was almoſt confident of getting immediate poſſeſſion of the town, and the opportunity of paſſing the plains without oppoſition.

‘Molviedro lies about a league from the ſea, the greateſt part of the town upon a flat, except the ſide riſing towards the caſtle, which ſtands on a high hill. On the right runs a long ridge of mountains; but, a little above cannon-ſhot from the place, there is, towards the country, a little round hill diſtinct by itſelf: our troops came towards the town by a great deſcent, and the way towards the paſs was behind the round riſing ground, turning ſhort on the left to the river. The place of the interview intended by his Lordſhip, was on the ſide of this little riſing ground next Molviedro, behind which my Lord had ſtolen ſome of his troops towards the paſs, and brought them within view of the town; the reſt were at the ſame time marching on purpoſe to make a ſhew, and, coming down the hills, the ſoldiers edging, as it were, the country people on that ſide where they could be ſeen. The few field-pieces we had were diſpoſed to the like advantage, and every thing was ſet in a ſort of perſpective to the place of the interview.

‘The ſcene being thus prepared, the Earl of Peterborough ſent an officer and trumpet into the town to Mahoni, to let him know that it ſhould not be his fault if the country was expoſed to unneceſſary hardſhips and ruin, it being the intereſt of both ſides to prevent it, ſince each had a chance to be maſter of it: that beſides, he ſhould be glad to have an interview with a countryman of ſo good a reputation; that ſuch a conference could have no ill conſequence, and might perhaps have ſome good effects; and that he was ready to meet him, with ten or twelve horſe, in any convenient place betwixt his troops and the town. My Lord had the more hopes of ſucceeding in this project, ſince, that beſides in theſe conferences, every body preſumes to make his own advantage; he thought it might be reaſonable enough, that Mahoni ſhould be glad of a capitulation, and an opportunity to join his horſe with thoſe of the Duke of Arcos, in order to prevent our paſſing the plains towards the Carthuſian convent.

‘The Condé de las Torres, the beſt officer in Spain, but by many thought no enemy to the Houſe of Auſtria, was luckily recalled, upon pretended faults found in his conduct, in relation to the ſiege of St Mattheo; ſo that the Earl of Peterborough met an advantage he well improved, a General juſt come to an army, a man of great quality, but no ſoldier of ſervice. Mahoni returned an officer with this compliment, that he would immediately wait upon the Earl of Peterborough, upon his Lordſhip's parole for his ſecurity, being deſirous to ſhew him any proper reſpect, and to concert meaſures with him, that might prevent any diſorders but thoſe which were inevitable in war. This gentleman being related to the late Counteſs of Peterborough, of the Thomond family, was the more inclined to pay any civility to his Lordſhip. He came, with ſome of the principal officers of the Spaniſh forces, to the place where his Lordſhip received him, as the moſt proper to make an advantageous ſhew of his ſtrength; and, after he was entertained upon a ſubject which had no effect, my Lord's ſecond deſign was more ſucceſsful.

‘It was not improper for my Lord to offer the moſt preſſing motives, to incline him to take part with King Charles the Third, and to ſupport them with the greateſt offers; which were refuſed upon the principles of honour, and the impoſſibility of leaving a ſervice to which he was engaged, for any advantages. But, as all paſt with great compliments, the

‘Earl

(8) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 370.

(9) An account of the Earl of Peterborough's conduct in Spain, chiefly ſince the raiſing the ſiege of Barcelona, 1706; to which is added, the campaign of Valencia. Lond. 1707, 8vo. p. 254.

He was created Doctor of Phyſick by diploma, July the twelfth 1707 (p); his reputation every day increaſing, in proportion as the true ſenſe and real merit of his writings became better known. In 1709, he publiſhed his Chemical Lectures, read at Oxford five years before; in which he rendered the ſame ſervice to that ſcience, that he had before done to Phyſick,

(p) Taken from the College Regiſter.

‘Earl of Peterborough, to ſhew how ſenſible he was of his confidence in coming to him, told him, that he was willing to return his marks of eſteem, with what he conceived he would be well pleaſed with, and which might prevent likewiſe ſome unavoidable cruelties very much againſt his inclination. The Spaniards, ſaid he, have uſed ſuch ſeverities and cruelties at Villa Real, as will oblige me to retaliate. I am willing to ſpare a town that is under your protection: I know you cannot pretend to defend it with the horſe you have, which will be ſo much more uſeful in another place, if joined with the Duke of Arcos, to obſtruct my paſſing the plains of Valencia. I am confident you will ſoon quit Molviedro, which I can as little prevent as you can hinder me from taking the town. The inhabitants then muſt be expoſed to the utmoſt miſeries; and I can no otherwiſe prevent it, but by being tied by a capitulation, which I am willing to give you, if I had the pretence of the immediate ſurrender of the place this very night. Some caſes are ſo apparent, that I need not diſſemble: I know you will immediately ſend to the Duke of Arcos, to march to the Carthuſian convent, and meet him there with the body of horſe under your command. My Lord, with a pretended frankneſs, offered him, if he pleaſed, to let him ſee his troops, and the artillery which he had; and, beſides, told him, what he could bring from the ſea.

‘Mahoni ſeemed almoſt to confeſs, that his part was to ſtrengthen the Duke of Arcos with his horſe; and laughing, ſaid to my Lord, I may ſay ſo to your Lordſhip, who is ſenſible of it, but cannot prevent it. The Brigadier, however, ſeemed to be very well pleaſed with my Lord's openneſs, and told his Lordſhip, that he would go back into the town, and ſend an anſwer in half an hour. The capitulation was agreed upon, and the anſwer came by the chief of the Spaniſh officers, with whom my Lord had occaſion to talk, and to feel his pulſe; but finding no probability of prevailing on him to change ſides, he contrived all he could, and not without ſucceſs, to give him jealouſies of Mahoni.

‘Mahoni, who of his ſide managed this matter with a great deal of dexterity, and very much like an officer (had his advices been followed) in his capitulation, had agreed not to quit the place till about one at night; neither was the Earl of Peterborough to paſs the river till that hour. This was to get time for the Duke of Arcos, to have made the march to the plains; and the Brigadier allowed himſelf the time before day-break, to have gained the ſame poſt. But the Earl of Peterborough ſo increaſed the jealouſy betwixt the Spaniſh officers and Mahoni, that the latter was forced to ſend to my Lord, to let him know that his Lordſhip was obliged, in honour to the moſt ſincere and punctual compliance with his capitulation; and confeſſed to him, that he was in danger from the Spaniſh troops, even for his perſon, if there were not the greateſt aſſurances and evidences given of the performance of his word.

‘I am ſatisfied nothing would have engaged the Earl of Peterborough to the leaſt breach of faith, nor could any conſideration have juſtified his Lordſhip in going over the paſs of the river till the appointed time, the enemy upon agreement having withdrawn their dragoons which defended the intrenchments on the other ſide. But my Lord having over-heard the neighing of horſes in the night, took it for granted that ſome part of the troops had evacuated the town; and that if the noiſe of firing was heard, it might cauſe a jealouſy that they were attacked, and ſo produce the deſired effects of his plot upon the Duke of Arcos, if any of the Spaniſh officers ſhould arrive in the enemy's camp perſuaded of an ill deſign in Mahoni.

‘Upon this, my Lord ordered a party of men a little up the river, with directions to make diſcharges that might reſemble an engagement of ſmall parties. Mahoni ſent immediately to my Lord, to let him know that whatever umbrage was given, he depended upon his word, and would never believe there could be of his ſide any foul play. Mahoni was ſo preſſed, that many of his officers ſollicited his immediate march; but his aim was not to move till one o'clock, to give time to the Duke of Arcos; and the point my Lord was labouring, was to improve the ſuſpicions and jealouſies of the Spaniards. He thought the meſſage from Mahoni gave him a good occaſion, and therefore ſent back an officer with this ſeeming compliment, which ſucceeded to his wiſh, and entirely accompliſhed what he aimed at. My Lord begged of Mahoni to conſent, that, for his ſecurity from any accident, he might order a regiment of dragoons to paſs the river, and wait the hour appointed under the walls of the town; that his own officers might accompany them, and ſend them to the proper place, his Lordſhip having ordered two thirds of the officers to come into the town, and put themſelves into his hands as hoſtages, for the exact and honourable performance of all articles.

‘Upon the march of theſe troops towards the town, moſt of the Spaniſh officers, with the detachments they commanded, marched ſeparately towards the Duke of Arcos; and ſome left their men, to give their General an account of what had paſt. My Lord, as his officers conceived, had two inſuperable difficulties; the one, to get poſſeſſion of Molviedro, and ſecure the paſs on the river; the other, to paſs the two leagues of the plains, which were betwixt Molviedro and Valencia, before ſo good and ſo ſtrong a body of horſe. My Lord was in hopes, if he ſucceeded in one, to compaſs the other; and to that end, as ſoon as he found the treaty in a fair way, he choſe two Iriſh dragoons out of Zinzendorf's regiment, which he well inſtructed, and well paid, and ſent immediately as deſerters to the Duke of Arcos. He promiſed to make them officers if they ſucceeded, which was punctually made good to one, who had well deſerved it, the other dying ſoon after his return. They were to diſcover to the Duke of Arcos, that, being hid under the rocks of the hill where they were drinking a glaſs of wine, they had heard all the diſcourſe betwixt the Earl and Mahoni; that they ſaw five thouſand piſtoles delivered; and that Mahoni was to be a Major-General upon the Engliſh and Spaniſh eſtabliſhment, and to command a body of ten thouſand Iriſh Catholicks, which were raiſing for the ſervice of King Charles. They agreed with the Duke of Arcos, to have no reward, if he were not ſoon made ſenſible of the truth of what they ſaid by Mahoni himſelf, ſince they were perſwaded that he would quickly ſend, to engage the Duke of Arcos to march immediately, with the whole army, towards the Carthuſian convent, under pretence of joining with his horſe, in order to prevent the Earl of Peterborough from paſſing the plains of Molviedro; but that whereas this march muſt be made in the night, all matters were ſo agreed and contrived betwixt the Earl and Mahoni, and the troops ſo placed, that he muſt fall into the ambuſhes deſigned, and run great hazards of an entire defeat.

‘It fell out, that ſoon after theſe ſpies had given this account to the Duke of Arcos, Mahoni's Aid de Camp arrived, with propoſals exactly to the ſame purpoſe; the Spaniſh General, whoſe ſuſpicions were confirmed, by the jealouſies the Earl of Peterborough had raiſed in ſeveral of the Spaniſh officers that were come from Molviedro to him, inſtead of complying with the immediate march propoſed by Mahoni, removed his camp quite the contrary way. Mahoni, with his horſe, expected the whole army at the Carthuſian convent, till the approach of the Earl of Peterborough made him retire to the Duke of Arcos's camp; as ſoon as he arrived, he was ſecured by that General, and ſent to Madrid. I muſt add here, that when Mahoni came to tell his ſtory at Court, he was made a Major-General, and the Duke of Arcos was recalled.’

Phyſick, by reducing it from fictitious and fabulous, to rational and real principles (*q*). This ſmall work of his, for ſmall it is in bulk, however weighty in it's contents, gave as much ſatisfaction to all judicious readers, as the ſame lectures, when read, did to the learned audience which attended them. They were ſo much the more agreeable, to the lovers of undiſguiſed truth, and of knowledge capable of being reduced to practice, as hardly any thing of the ſame nature had appeared; ſo that this ſcience was left in the worſt hands, and, from their ill management, had contracted ſtains that could be no other way wiped out, but by ſhewing that they were not in the art, but in the abuſe of it (*r*). In fine, his lectures were clear, and yet very conciſe, plain, and perſpicuous, tho' deduced from mathematical principles, and in which many curious and inſtructive diſquiſitions were made, of a philoſophical nature, without the leaſt perplexity or confuſion. It was no wonder, therefore, that a performance ſo much wanted, and of ſuch general uſe, ſhould meet with general eſteem [*F*]. But as theſe chymical lectures were written, read, and publiſhed in Latin; ſo when they came to the view of the learned Philoſophers in Germany, the novelty of the doctrine they contained alarmed ſuch as were zealous for the old principles, and of that learning which was built upon them, and of which they looked upon themſelves as in full poſſeſſion. The authors therefore of a celebrated Literary Journal, prefixed, to their account of this treatiſe, a cenſure of it (*s*), in which they were pleaſed to treat the principles of the Newtonian Philoſophy as figments, and the method of arguing made uſe of in the lectures as abſurd; becauſe, in their opinion, it had a tendency to introduce again occult qualities in Philoſophy. To this unfair and unfounded charge, an anſwer was given by Dr Freind, which was publiſhed in Latin in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (*t*), and afterwards tranſlated into Engliſh [*G*]. In 1712, he attended his Grace the Duke of Ormond into

(*q*) See this explained in note [*F*].

(*r*) Vid. Præfat. ad Prælect. chemic.

(*s*) Opera med. J. Freind, p. 41.

(*t*) No. 331. for the Months of July, Aug. Sept. 1711.

[*F*] *Should meet with general eſteem.*] We will firſt give the title of this book at large.

Prælectiones Chymicæ: in quibus omnes fere operationes chymicæ ad vera principia & ipſius naturæ leges rediguntur; *Anno* 1704, *Oxonii in* Muſæo Aſhmoleano *habitæ*. *A* Johanne Freind, M. D. *Æd. Chriſt. Alumn.* Lond. 1709. 8vo. That is, *Chymical Lectures, in which almoſt all the operations of Chymiſtry are reduced to their true principles, and the laws of nature. Read in the* Muſeum *at* Oxford, 1704.

Theſe lectures are dedicated to Sir Iſaac Newton, and are nine in number, beſides three tables. In the firſt lecture, after having obſerved the great defect of all chymical writers, in the theory of Chymiſtry, he proceeds to take notice, that no perſon had contributed more to the improvement of this art, than Mr Boyle, who did not ſo much lay new foundations of it, as deſtroy the old ones; and tho' he left ſufficient materials from whence to deduce a true explication of things, yet his explications themſelves are very defective. As to the way of deducing the operations in Chymiſtry, from the true mechanical principles, this he aſcribes to Dr John Keil, as its firſt diſcoverer. Our author's deſign is, from theſe principles, to diſcourſe ſomewhat largely upon ſuch things, as tend moſt to the illuſtration of the nature of Chymiſtry, and to explain, as clearly as he can, its principal operations. This method he thought by far the moſt proper to be uſed, becauſe it is the moſt natural and ſimple; and alſo, becauſe he found by experience, that the common confuſed courſes were of ſuch little advantage, as not to leave the leaſt tolerable idea of Chymiſtry, upon the minds of thoſe who hear them. Upon this account, he proceeds in the following method. Firſt, to explain all the operations in their natural order, and to ſhew by what law of mechaniſm they are produced, and to what uſes and purpoſes they are principally ſubſervient. Secondly, to ſhew all the ways in which they either are, or may be performed. Thirdly, to record all the experiments relating to this ſubject, under their proper heads, and to reduce them to the general theory. It is impoſſible to enter into a cloſer analyſis of this work, our author having written ſo conciſely, that it is ſimply impoſſible to give his meaning, or any thing like it, in fewer words. We may be well aſſured, that to write perſpicuouſly, and to bring all he was to deliver on ſuch a variety of ſubjects, in which almoſt every thing he had to ſay was entirely new, muſt have coſt him a great deal of pains, which, however, he willingly underwent for the information of mankind, by the ſubverſion of the antient errors, and opening a new road to truth.

[*G*] *Tranſlated into Engliſh.*] We find it added by way of appendix, to the ſecond edition of our author's book, in Latin, and to the Engliſh tranſlation of it. A ſhort extract will be acceptable to the reader, as it will be ſufficient to give him a juſt notion, both of the cenſure and the reply.

The publiſhers of the *Leipſick* Tranſactions, ſays the Doctor, without making any objection to the experiments themſelves, or ſhewing any falſe reaſonings in the manner of explaining them, attack ſome of the principles, upon which the explication is founded, and this they do before they give any account of the treatiſe itſelf, with a deſign to raiſe a prejudice againſt it: a method ſurely very new, and very unfair, in theſe retailers of learning, who pretend only to give a naked and impartial relation of what is contained in books, and to leave the readers at liberty to judge for themſelves. The grounds upon which I proceeded, in my Theory of Chymiſtry, were the principles and method of reaſoning introduced by the incomparable Sir *Iſaac Newton*, whoſe concluſions in Philoſophy are as demonſtrative, as his diſcoveries are ſurpriſing. And ſince the editors ſeem to have no true notion of his method, which is the only one by which natural knowledge can be advanced, I will here endeavour to explain it to them; I ſhall ſhew that it is to this we owe the late great improvements in Philoſophy; that the objections they produce againſt it, ariſe from their wrong apprehenſions of it, that the ſame objections are of much more force, againſt their own principles, than thoſe of Sir *Iſaac Newton*; and if, from what I have to offer upon theſe points, the reader be convinced, that the principles upon which my lectures are founded, are ſufficiently juſtified and confirmed, I hope he will the eaſier be inclined to believe that they are rightly applied, which the editors, by their ſilence in this point, ſeem to confeſs.

It has been the conſtant method of the *Carteſians*, and of thoſe too, for the moſt part, who call themſelves mechanical Philoſophers, to aſſume an hypotheſis, or figment, which has no foundation any where, but in the imagination only; and then, in general terms, to tell us how every thing in nature may be produced, according to that hypotheſis, without being able to give a clear and ſatisfactory account of one ſingle appearance. Nothing of this kind can be charged upon Sir *Iſaac Newton*, he aſſumes nothing but obſervations and experiments, which are evident to the ſenſe of all mankind; and from thence he deduces demonſtrative concluſions, and then again, by the aſſiſtance of theſe concluſions, he explains the cauſes of many phænomena in nature. Thus it is evident, by undoubted obſervations, that the planets move in ellipſes round the ſun, and deſcribe areas always proportional to the times; and that the ſatellites do the ſame, in reſpect of their primary planets: from this he clearly demonſtrates, that all the planets have into Flanders as his Phyſician (*u*), and remained abroad the beſt part of a year. He had been a little before his departure admitted a Member of the Royal Society (*w*), which afforded him the honour and the happineſs of converſing with Sir Iſaac Newton, Dr Halley, Dr Keil, and ſeveral other eminent perſons, whoſe great knowledge, and wonderful diſcoveries, reflected glory on their country. To them alſo Dr Freind was ſo much the more agreeable, as the learning he drew from books, had been cultivated and improved, after the

(*u*) Account of the Campaign in Flanders. 1712.

(*w*) Præfat. ad opera medica, J. Freind.

have a tendency towards the ſun, and the ſatellites towards the planets, which they attend, that this tendency decreaſes in a duplicate proportion of their diſtance; that moreover, there is an univerſal tendency of matter to matter, and that the tendency of the moon towards the earth, is the very ſame with the force of gravity, and is the cauſe of the flux and reflux of the ſea. This tendency, or attraction, ſome indeed may, if they pleaſe, term an *occult quality*, and I believe it will always remain ſo, for I cannot find that the greateſt Philoſopher among the editors will undertake to ſhew how it may be produced mechanically.

But then, however occult it be, as to its cauſe, it cannot be called what their principles are own'd to be, an hypotheſis or figment; ſince the exiſtence of it is as undeniably proved, as that of the ſun, or the planets. If then there be ſuch a principle, which demonſtrably belongs to matter, what reaſon can there be why we may not make uſe of it in Philoſophy? and ſhew how it is the real and adequate cauſe of a great many effects which we daily obſerve. So likewiſe, by the moſt evident experiments and obſervations, Sir *Iſaac Newton* has found the different refrangibility of the rays of light, and by that means has diſcovered ſuch wonderful properties of light and colours, that all the attempts which have been made, in this part of Optics before, are trifling, in compariſon of his performance.

The true way certainly of proceeding in theſe philoſophical enquiries, is, firſt to find out, by many and undoubted experiments, the properties of bodies, and then, without any farther ſearch into the cauſe of ſuch properties, which perhaps are inſearchable, to explain the particular phenomena which depend upon them. By this method Archimedes diſcovered the principles of Mechanics, and the laws of Hydroſtatics, without determining the cauſe of gravity and fluidity. He aſſumes ſuch facts as are evident to obſervation and ſenſe, and from thence he demonſtrates the principles of thoſe ſciences. So likewiſe, *Galilæo*, tho' he knew no hypotheſis which explained the cauſe of gravity, did, notwithſtanding, find out the laws of acceleration in heavy bodies, the motion of projectils, and the doctrine of pendulums: and, in a word, laid a foundation for all the diſcoveries which have been made in natural knowledge ſince his time. Have not the Mathematicians made great advancements in the ſcience of Optics, by aſſuming two principles of reflection and refraction, which are evident to experience, tho' the real cauſe of theſe two principles, is ſtill unknown to moſt of them? According to the principles of our philoſophical editors, all theſe great and noble diſcoveries muſt be rejected, becauſe they are founded upon ſuch properties of bodies as have unknown cauſes, and cannot be explained without admitting occult qualities, which confound the principles of true Philoſophy, and reduce it to its antient chaos.

Wolfius, in his *Aerometria*, has aſſumed for a principle, the gravity of the air; and from thence has deduced the reaſon of many phænomena in nature, but he has no where given us a mechanical account of the cauſe of this gravity; and, I believe, never any hypotheſis has been yet produced to explain it, but what *Wolfius* himſelf could eaſily demonſtrate to be falſe. Will the editors object to him, that he has introduced an occult quality into Natural Philoſophy. Indeed, Sir *Iſaac Newton* has gone farther towards explaining the cauſe of gravity, which we feel and obſerve, than any one beſides, for he has ſhewn that it ariſes from the principle of attraction, which all matter has to matter. Such a principle of attraction they are pleaſed to call a figment, but how any thing ſhould be a figment which really exiſts, is paſt comprehenſion. Sir *Iſaac Newton* has undeniably proved one ſpecies of attraction to be diffuſed through the whole planetary ſyſtems, and I have not heard that any objections of the leaſt weight have been raiſed againſt his demonſtrations.

I have more experiments to prove the exiſtence of this other kind of attraction, which decreaſes in a greater proportion than the ſquares of the diſtance, and that it exerts itſelf vigorouſly in the minute particles of matter, than *Wolfius* has to prove the gravity of the air. Why then muſt we reckon the principles upon which the reaſoning is founded, more a figment in one caſe than in the other? We find by obſervation that the particles of light which flow from the ſun, the fixed ſtars, or even our terreſtrial fires, are all equally attracted towards the edges of ſolid bodies, and whereever there is action, there muſt be re-action, and therefore it may be concluded that this principle is really exiſtent, and equally diffuſed through all the matter of the univerſe. And tho' it may be inherent equally in all matter, yet Mr Keil has demonſtrated, that it muſt of neceſſity produce the moſt ſenſible effects in the ſmalleſt bodies.

But they ſay, if we once allow ſuch a liberty of feigning, others will invent other occult qualities, and ſo, by degrees, we ſhall return to the old refuge for ignorance: as if there be an attractive force or ſympathy, why not likewiſe an antipathy, or an antiperiſtaſis, and qualities emitted by way of ſpecies: we may likewiſe allow of the attractive funicles of Linus, and the variation of extenſion in the ſame manner. If there be an attractive force? 'Tis clear and demonſtrable that there is ſuch a force. This is not an hypotheſis invented to ſolve other phænomena, but is itſelf a phænomenon in nature, and therefore tho' theſe editors may think they have urged the defenders of it to an abſurdity, yet the foregoing argument, in which they ſeem to place ſo much confidence, has really no more in it than this: If we allow of one principle, which by undoubted experience we are ſure exiſts in nature, therefore we ought upon the ſame account, to admit of others which do not exiſt: for inſtance, if we allow of gravity, which by experience we find to be in all bodies, tho' we know not the reaſon of it, therefore we muſt acquieſce in all the fictions and fancies of Philoſophers, of which we have no experience, and for which no reaſon can be aſſigned. If this be a mathematical way of reaſoning, I muſt confeſs we had better return to any old refuge of ignorance, than allow of ſuch a liberty of arguing.

But the great objection againſt the principle of attraction is, that there can be no mechanical reaſon given for it. Muſt we then allow of nothing, but what we can give a reaſon for? have ever any of them yet given a true and mechanical account of the elaſticity of the air? which however, is acknowledged by all Philoſophers, and ſeveral phænomena are owned to be rationally ſolved by it. We don't deny but a clock maker may underſtand the mechaniſm of a clock or watch, tho' he knows nothing of the nature of gravity, or elaſticity, which are the principles that ſet all the wheels in motion: and for the ſame reaſon, why may not he be allowed to know the mechanical operations of nature, who has diſcovered the ſpring which actuates all the bodies in the univerſe, and preſerves them in their orders and motions, and can give an account how it mechanically produces each particular phænomena, tho' at the ſame time he is intirely ignorant as to the cauſe of that firſt ſpring, upon which they all depend? however, if the editors have a mind to attempt explaining this principle of attraction mechanically, they have their full liberty: Sir *Iſaac Newton*, I dare ſay, will willingly reſign to them the glory of the diſcovery, and be ſatisfied if he eſcapes their cenſure for not undertaking the ſolution of ſuch an intricate problem.

the manner of the Antients, by travelling through various countries, and converſing with the learned of different nations. He had now viſited Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Flanders, and heightened the lights which his great genius and extenſive learning enabled him to receive from experience, by a ſtrict attention to the havock made by wounds and diſeaſes in fleets and camps (x). He reſided moſtly after his return at London, and gave himſelf up wholly to the cares of his profeſſion. In this if he ſucceeded, it was wholly owing to his merit, for he was incapable of uſing any of the little arts that paſſed for wiſdom with men of meaner minds; he had neither an obſequious complaiſance for patients of high quality, nor could he readily diſpenſe with all the received opinions amongſt thoſe of the ſame Faculty (y). But theſe, and ſome other wants, were ſupplied by true knowledge, great integrity, and happy ſucceſs, which triumphed over all obſtacles, and carried him to the very ſummit of medical practice. He paſſed through his firſt examination July the third 1713, was admitted a candidate on the thirtieth of September following, and April the ninth 1716, was elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Phyſicians (z). He publiſhed the ſame year the firſt and third books of HIPPOCRATES *de morbis popularibus*, to which he added a commentary upon fevers, divided into nine ſhort diſſertations (a), which he dedicated to Dr Richard Frewen, of Oxford, a perſon of excellent character, with whom he had lived long in the moſt entire friendſhip. This was ſtill a more important work than any which had fallen from his pen, and as he was deſirous of eſtabliſhing, for the true principles of Phyſick, thoſe that having been diſcovered by the ſagacity of the Antients, were confirmed by the experiments of the Moderns, he thought a more proper method could not be taken than this, of prefixing the moſt valuable parts of the Epidemics of Hippocrates before his own diſcourſes, that it might inconteſtibly appear that he had not only ſound ſenſe and right reaſon, but alſo the higheſt authority on his ſide (b). Few books have met with better reception than this did, from all who were competent judges of the ſubject; and indeed it had all the merit of his former pieces, with this additional advantage, that it contained a greater variety of matter [*H*]. It is no improbable conjecture, that the loud and general applauſe

(x) This is Dr Wigan's remark.

(y) Vid. Epiſt. ad D. R. Mead. de purgantibus in ſecunda Variolarum confluentium Febre, adhibendis.

(z) From the College Regiſter.

(a) Lond. 1716. 4to.

(b) Vid. Commentar. 1. *de ratione ſcribendi, quam in* Epidemiorum *libris tenuit* Hippocrates.

[*H*] *A greater variety of matter.*] The title of this learned and curious book, in which our author ſhewed an equal reverence for the Antients, and juſt reſpect for the diſcoveries of the Moderns, runs thus.

HIPPOCRATIS *de morbis popularibus liber primus & tertius* Græco Latinus. *His accommodavit novem de Febribus Commentarios*, Johannes Freind, *M. Doctor, Coll. Med. Londinenſis. Londini* 1717. 4to. That is, *The firſt and third books of* Hippocrates *of* Epidemick Diſeaſes *in* Greek *and* Latin. *To which are added nine Commentaries upon* Fevers *accommodated to* his Doctrine, *by Dr* John Freind. Theſe Commentaries were tranſlated by Dr *Thomas Dale* into Engliſh, after the death of their author.

We find a copious and curious dedication prefixed to this work, as has been obſerved in the text, addreſſed to the author's old and intimate friend, Dr Frewen, dated December the firſt, 1716. In this our author obſerves, that the antient Phyſicians were not only ſkilled in their profeſſion, but likewiſe in all other parts of learning, and diſtinguiſhed for the elegance of their ſtile. They applied themſelves to give an exact account of diſeaſes, and their different ſymptoms, and explained them with the utmoſt perſpicuity and accuracy. Among the Latin Phyſicians, he particularly extols Celſus as an admirable writer, as well as an excellent Phyſician, and obſerves that Cœlius Aurelianus would deſerve a place amongſt the principal phyſical writers, if his ſtyle had been leſs barbarous. Amongſt the Greek writers he commends Alexander Trallianus, who expreſſes himſelf politely enough, except with regard to ſome few words. We find ſome things in him which ſavour of the Empiric, and of one full of ſuperſtition, he is alſo too diffuſe upon the remedies, but he gives a very clear and exact account of diſeaſes. Dr Freind ſeems to doubt, whether Galen is to be ranked among the Phyſicians, who have explained the nature of diſeaſes, ſince this does not appear to be his deſign in any one of his books, tho' he was himſelf an excellent Phyſician, and delivers the notions of his predeceſſors, and eſpecially of Hippocrates, with great ſubtilty and elegance. Our author recommends Aretæus, and then proceeds to the character of Hippocrates, whom he ſtiles the moſt compleat Phyſician of all Antiquity, and is ſurprized that ſeveral Moderns neglect the ſtudy of him, as if he was of little conſequence, and prefer ſeveral writers to him. He remarks, that thoſe who abandon the Antients, do not underſtand the ſubjects of which they treat, or expreſs themſelves in a very bad manner, and that the reaſon why we have ſo few good writers among the vaſt number who have written of diſeaſes in the two laſt centuries, is, that they never read the Antients, but formed their ſtyle merely upon the Moderns; and not content with writing ill, have added to the explication of diſtempers, ſo many vain chimeras of Philoſophy, that they ſeem rather to have compoſed fables than hiſtories of diſeaſes; for being infatuated with their own hypotheſes, they lay down not only uſeleſs, but even falſe and pernicious rules for the cure of them. Dr Freind does not pretend to deprive the Moderns of the honour due to them, he owns that they have cultivated anatomy, and inriched it with a great many new diſcoveries, and explained the virtues of medicines with great diligence and accuracy. But perhaps, ſays he, the uſe which anatomy may be of in phyſic, has not yet been ſufficiently ſhewn. And with regard to medicines it may be affirmed, that they frequently perplex the Phyſician, and that the needleſs multitude of them is a great obſtacle to the cure of diſeaſes.

In the preface our author informs us, that all the editions of Hippocrates's works are full of errors. That of Aldus Manucius is very defective, but Frobenius's is more correct. Jerom Mercurialis has followed the latter ſo implicitly, that he has ſometimes copied even the faults. Though Foeſius's edition is not exempt from miſtakes, it is more correct. Charterius's is the moſt erroneous. There is but one manuſcript in England of Hippocrates *de morbis popularibus*, which was of great advantage to Dr Freind, who, in order to publiſh the text as correct as poſſible, conſulted all the editions, without adhering to any one in particular. After the preface, follows Hippocrates's treatiſe in Greek, with Foeſius's Latin verſion at the bottom of the page.

In the *firſt* of his commentaries, our author diſcourſes of the manner of writing which Hippocrates purſued in his books of epidemick diſeaſes. He gives us two reaſons for the pains he took in publiſhing theſe pieces; the firſt is, that only theſe two books are held to be genuine, and that in them we find all that this great man delivered concerning fevers. For the better underſtanding of which, our author enters very learnedly and cloſely into his method of writing and recording, that the reader may the more eaſily apprehend the meaning of his obſervations, and have the clearer idea of the matters of fact which he ſets down. In his *ſecond* diſcourſe, he conſiders the uſe of bleeding, and more eſpecially the ſafety, expedience, and even neceſſity, of opening the jugulars, where the brain is affected; at the cloſe, he mentions the opening the temporal artery, applauſe with which this learned treatiſe was received, had an unhappy effect; either on the head or heart of another Phyſician, who ſet himſelf immediately an unpleaſing, or at leaſt an unſucceſsful taſk (*c*), that of deſtroying with the publick the credit which ſome new points in practice, recommended by our ingenious author, had gained, purely from that force of reaſoning with which they were ſupported. To this extraordinary piece, in which great bitterneſs of heart appeared, with no ſmall acrimony of ſtile, it is ſaid our author oppoſed a very ludicrous anſwer (*d*), in which the vivacity of his wit, was ſhewn to be not at all inferior to the extent of his learning, and the ſolidity of his underſtanding. His rival ſhewed ſome inclination to fight him with the ſame weapons, but his vinegar was not near ſo ſtrong as his gall; ſo that it was quickly diſcerned that all the lovers of raillery were on the ſide of Dr Freind, and were extremely diverted with the controverſy, of which, had it been managed in a ſerious light, they would not have ventured to aſſume the character of judges [*I*]. Upon this the ſcene changed, the Doctor's adverſaries cried out, that they had been laughed at, but not refuted; that the ſubject was very ſerious and important, and therefore called for a ſober and judicious, not a humourous or whimſical reply. Upon this Dr Quincy took them at their words (*e*), and very learnedly and modeſtly, as well as plainly and judiciouſly, anſwered all the little cavils that had been raiſed againſt Dr Freind's Commentaries. Yet even this did not do; thoſe who called ſo loudly for argument, found it not at all grateful to their palates, and therefore choſe to put an end to the controverſy, by a flat piece of irony, which could be only ſcorned and deſpiſed [*K*]. Our author ſupported that ſentiment of his, which had occaſioned ſo warm an altercation, in

(*c*) See this explained in note [*I*].

(*d*) Letter from Dr Eyfielde mentioned at the bottom of the page.

(*e*) In his *Examination of* Dr Woodward's *State of Phyſick*, &c. 1719. 8vo.

which he commends; but at the ſame time adds, that he is unwilling to dwell upon it, ſince it is very unlikely that our countrymen will ever be reconciled to this kind of practice. The utility of ſweating is the ſubject of the *third* commentary, which is very ſhort. In the *fourth*, he treats of vomiting, which he adviſes at the beginning, and the uſe of which he diſſuades at the approach of the criſis in fevers, and more eſpecially in the ſmall-pox when at the height, unleſs where there is evident danger of ſuffocation. In the *fifth*, he treats of a purulent ſpitting, of a pleuriſy likewiſe and peripneumony. What he ſays concerning an abceſs, an ulcer of the colon, and the bladder, compoſes the *ſixth* commentary, in which there is a very ſingular and accurate hiſtory, of a curious caſe that fell under our author's inſpection. The *ſeventh* commentary, which is larger than all the other ſix taken together, relates to purging, what effect it may have in the putrid fever which attends upon the confluent ſmall pox, and in an eriſypelas of the head; in this there are inſerted, with the conſent of the perſons who wrote them, a letter from Dr *Richard Frewen*, dated Chriſt-Church Oxon, July the twentieth 1710; another from Dr *H. Levett*, dated June the tenth 1710; another from Dr *Saluſbury Cade*, dated September the eighth 1716; another curious, critical, and circumſtantial letter from Dr *Richard Mead*, dated September the firſt 1716; as alſo a letter from Dr *Freind*, to the ſame gentleman, dated November the twenty-ſixth 1716, and in this there is a very exact hiſtory of a caſe in which they were conſulted together. At the cloſe of this commentary, there is added a very clear and learned account of the inteſtinal diſcharge. What he ſays concerning a profluvium of urine takes up the *eighth* diſcourſe; and the *ninth* relates to thoſe veſicatories into which cantharides enter, and concludes with the author's aſſuring the candid reader, he will find by experience, that tho' many kinds of fevers generally yield to evacuations, without making uſe of any other remedy; yet there are ſcarce any, which, if they are become any thing vehement, can be extinguiſhed by any medicine whatever, if this method of evacuating be ſet aſide.

[*I*] *The character of judges*] The hiſtory of this diſpute, which was carried very high, would take up much more room, than, in a work of this nature, can be allowed; we muſt therefore be content to report the titles of the principal pieces publiſhed during this controverſy, with a few remarks. It was begun by a book written by Dr John Woodward, Profeſſor of Phyſick in Greſham College, and eminent in his profeſſion. The title of which ran thus:

The State of Phyſick and of Diſeaſes: With an Enquiry into the Cauſes of the late Increaſe of them, but more particularly of the Small-Pox: With ſome Conſiderations upon the new Practice of purging in that Diſeaſe: To the whole is premiſed, *An Idea of the Nature and Mechaniſm of Man, of the Diſorders to which it is obnoxious, and of the method of rectifying them.* Lond. 1718, 8*vo.*

Dr Woodward tells us in his preface, that this book, together with remarks upon ſome of the other heads treated of by Dr Freind in his Commentaries, were drawn up in the winter of the year 1716, ſoon after theſe Commentaries came out; and in the ſecond ſection he writes thus (10). 'In every thing that Dr 'Freind hath hitherto publiſhed, and particularly the 'preſent Commentaries, he hath advanced ſeveral hy'potheſes, ſome of which are rightly ſupported, and 'and the reſt all ſo ingenious, that I cannot but be 'pleaſed with them. But then I can ſee no reaſon to 'debar myſelf of the ſame pleaſure, from thoſe of 'Dr Willis, Dr Sydenham, Dr Morton, and other Phy'ſicians, to whoſe hypotheſes Dr Freind is ſo very a'verſe, he having not, excluſive of others, the ſole 'privilege of entertaining the world in this way.'

(10) Woodward's State of Phyſick, p. 54.

To this, Dr Freind oppoſed a ludicrous anſwer, under the title of *A Letter to the learned Dr Woodward, by Dr Byfield.* Lond. 1719, 8*vo.* It was purely calculated to expoſe Dr Woodward, and his manner of writing. About the ſame time, there was likewiſe publiſhed another pamphlet againſt Dr Woodward, intituled, *A Letter from the facetious Dr* ANDREW TRIPE, *at Bath, to his loving Brother the profound* GRESHAMITE, *ſhewing that the* SCRIBENDI CACOETHES *is a Diſtemper ariſing from the redundancy of* BILIOSE SALTS, *and not to be eradicated but by a diurnal Courſe of Oils and Vomits. With an Appendix concerning the Application of* SOCRATES *his Clyſter, and the uſe of clean Linnen, in Controverſy.* Lond. 1719, in 8*vo.* pages 48. In anſwer to this, and the Letter by Dr Byfielde, there was publiſhed, *The two Sofia's: Or, the true Dr* BYFIELDE *at the Rainbow Coffee-Houſe, to the Pretender in* JERMYN STREET; *in anſwer to a* LETTER *wrote by him, aſſiſted by his two Aſſociates. With a Preface relating to the late famous exploits of the facetious Dr* ANDREW TRIPE. *As alſo an Account of the new Creed of theſe Phyſicians, deſigned as an Appendix to the* RELIGIO MEDICI. Lond. 1719, in 8*vo.* pages 58. In this Pamphlet, Dr Freind is every where repreſented as the author of the *Letter from Dr* BYFIELDE, and ſeverely reflected upon; and his *Account of the Earl of Peterborough's Conduct in Spain*, is particularly cenſured. Another bitter invective, which appeared on the ſame ſide, bore the following title:

A Letter to the fatal Triumvirate, in Anſwer to that pretended to be written by Dr BYFIELDE; *in which, ſufficient Reaſons are aſſigned, why Dr* WOODWARD *ſhould take no Notice of it.* Lond. 1719, 8*vo.* There were alſo ſeveral ſmaller pieces inſerted in the publick papers, and periodical productions of thoſe times, of which it is not requiſite that we ſhould take any further notice.

[*K*] *Only ſcorned and deſpiſed.*] At length, after much time and paper ſpent, in the management of this in a letter addreſſed to the learned Dr Richard Mead, and dated September the twentieth 1719 (*f*); in the beginning and at the cloſe of which, if we diſcover ſomething of heat, or cannot avoid perceiving an unuſual quickneſs and acidity in the ſtile, we ought, not only to excuſe it, on the ſcore of the many admirable things which that moſt learned epiſtle contains; but we muſt likewiſe acknowledge, that ſome amends is made us by that honeſt zeal which our author expreſſes for the dignity of his profeſſion, the ſincerity and tenderneſs of his friendſhip for that worthy perſon to whom his letter is addreſſed, and, if one may be allowed to avow it, that elegant ſpirit of invective by which his reſentment is conveyed in all the energy and force of the Roman language. This letter had it's effect, and every body that took any ſhare in matters of this kind, could not avoid being pleaſed to find the hiſtory of ſo capital a diſeaſe as the ſmall-pox, deduced, with ſo much accuracy and ſuccinctneſs, from the very earlieſt accounts that authors give of it; ſo many ſlips of the learned, as well as vulgar miſtakes, convincingly rectified; and the ſubject, with all it's circumſtances,

(*f*) Lond. 1719. 4to. p. 147.

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this debate in ſo fantaſtick a way, there came out a ſhort treatiſe which had a graver aſpect; it was intituled,

An Appeal to common Senſe, or a ſober Vindication of Dr WOODWARD'*s State of Phyſick, by a Divine of the Church of England.* Lond. 1719, 8*vo.*

The apparent deſign of this ſhort diſcourſe, was to ſhew how very inconſiſtent the language hitherto uſed in this diſpute was, not only with regard to the perſons concerned therein, but alſo to the importance of the ſubject, as a thing in which mankind was deeply intereſted, and had a juſt right to expect it ſhould be no longer conſidered as a jeſt. Upon this, the very learned and ingenious Dr Quincy immediately took up the challenge, and very ſoon after publiſhed

An Examination of Dr WOODWARD'*s State of Phyſick.* Lond. 1720.

In that treatiſe, Dr Woodward had advanced the following hypotheſis. 'That the beginnings of all things, good or bad to the body (bating exterior accidents) are in the ſtomach, in which more or leſs of a bilious juice is ordinarily reſident, containing ſalts of a very different nature. Theſe ſalts are the inſtruments of digeſtion, and, while they retain their natural ſtate, are in a proper quantity, and regular motion, the body is in health; but when they become too redundant or vitiated, they are the cauſes of all diſtempers. Therefore the ſpeedieſt, as well as the moſt effectual, method of removing all bodily diſorders, is to cleanſe the ſtomach by emetic medicines. And as this generally holds good in other caſes, ſo particularly in the ſecond fever of the confluent ſmall-pox, in which purging is very dangerous.' In anſwer to this, Dr Quincy aſſerts, 'That ſeveral diſeaſes have not their origin in the ſtomach; that the natural reſidence of the bile is not there, but, being ſeparated by the liver, is emptied out into the bowels, a conſiderable diſtance below the further orifice of the ſtomach, and never aſcends thither but by convulſive and preternatural means; that conſequently the diſorders attributed to the bilious matter in the ſtomach, and the method of removing them by vomits, muſt be groundleſs (*).' And then he proceeds to vindicate the practice of purging in the ſecond fever of the confluent ſmall-pox, in the following manner; he inſinuates, that Dr Woodward diſguiſes, under the name of *purging in the ſmall-pox*, the practice recommended, and adds, 'Thoſe Phyſicians have adviſed that evacuation only in ſome particular circumſtances of this diſtemper; that is, chiefly in ſuch caſes of the confluent kind, where the whole load of humours cannot be thrown off by the ſurface and glands about the mouth, but ſtopping, when the puſtules grow hard, returns back into the blood, and raiſes a ſecondary fever, which proves often fatal; and their reaſons for thus doing, they have communicated to one another in the Latin language, as a point in practice of great importance. But Dr Woodward, in Engliſh, has harangued the populace, and endeavoured to frighten people with a belief that their general practiſe, in this diſtemper, is by purging; and, from inſtances of it's impropriety in ſome caſes, takes occaſion to be very compaſſionate for his country, to weep over the Weekly Bills, and inveigh as bitterly againſt purges, as a crafty Enthuſiaſt would againſt the Scarlet Whore, by this means proſtituting the honour of the profeſſion, and marking out thoſe of greateſt eminence therein to publick reſentment. He traduces theſe gentlemen alſo by a deluſory name, for purging, in the common acceptation in Engliſh, has a very different idea from thoſe terms of the learned, whence it is tranſlated. Solliciting the diſcharge of an over-load of bad humours by ſtool, which the conſtitution is not of itſelf able to ſtruggle with, is amongſt them expreſſed in terms which may bear the Engliſh word purging in a reſtrained ſenſe, but in the moſt inlarged acceptation of it, and as Dr Woodward uſes it, it is not true of their writing or practice. After all, ſo far as theſe Phyſicians adviſe purging in the ſmall-pox, it is alſo practiſed, by common conſent, in many other caſes of fevers; that is, wherever nature makes an imperfect criſis, and the efforts of the conſtitution are not able to bring the peccant matter to a head, or throw it off the principal parts, and wherever ſuch matter threatens miſchief to ſome noble part. Theſe happen frequently in inflammatory fevers; and evacuation often by ſtool is promoted both to eaſe the conſtitution of the over-load, and draw off the humours that would be otherwiſe troubleſome; and this aſſiſtance, in ſome particular caſes of the ſmall-pox, ſeems ſo conſonant to nature and reaſon, that an omiſſion of it can ariſe only from an unacquaintance with the true procedure of the diſtemper.' Dr Quincy alſo gives the following anſwer, to the paſſage cited from Dr Woodward in the foregoing note (11). 'Every one who has read Dr Freind, will find it very difficult to underſtand what is meant by hypotheſes. That gentleman has advanced many propoſitions, which he has fully proved; but for hypotheſes, in the common acceptation, he diſclaims them, and is an utter enemy to them. But yet, in this ſenſe, Dr Woodward muſt uſe the word; becauſe he ſays, juſt after, But then I can ſee no reaſon to debar myſelf of the ſame pleaſure from thoſe of Dr Willis, &c. Yet, here again, we are in a contradiction, for Willis's works are profeſſedly an hypotheſis, being founded upon ſuppoſitious principles, ſuch as ſulphur, ſalt, &c. And Dr Morton accounted for diſeaſes, and their cures, from a ſuppoſition of their ſeat being in the animal ſpirits. But then Dr Sydenham went upon no hypotheſis, but utterly declaimed all ſuch deluſory conceits, and drew no concluſions except from facts and experience.' The whole of this work was conducted in ſuch a manner as to convince by reaſoning, and to give no other offence than what muſt neceſſarily attend every endeavour to refute opinions, warmly, and even angrily, eſpouſed. At the ſame time, it gave a fair occaſion to wipe out the remembrance of thoſe miſtakes, by a conduct of another nature, and by a defence worthy the importance of the ſubject, and of the characters of thoſe who were embarked in this affair. But inſtead of a ſerious anſwer to this book, there was publiſhed ſoon after, *An Account of Dr Quincy's Examination of Dr Woodward's State of Phyſick and Diſeaſes, in a Letter to the Free-thinker*; which conſiſted, in a great meaſure, of invectives againſt the author and his performance, without entering into the ſubject. This occaſioned Dr Quincy to print a ſecond edition of his examination; to which was ſubjoined, *A Letter to Dr. Woodward*, wherein he complains of the ill treatment he received in that pamphlet, for having complied with the invitation of bringing the matters in diſpute to the teſt of truth and argument. And thus at length ended this controverſy.

(*) Quincy's Examination of Woodward's State of Phyſick, p. 73 — 75.

(11) Ibid. p. 2.

ſtances, ſet in ſo very clear a light [*L*]. The connecting ſeveral points relating to the ſame ſubject, has carried us a little out of the direct path of Chronology, into which it is but reaſonable we ſhould return. March the ſeventh 1717, he read the Gulſtonian lecture in the

[*L*] *In ſo very clear a light.*] This was written in the heat of that diſpute, and before ſeveral treatiſes mentioned in the former note, but it ſeemed to be the cleareſt, as well as the moſt natural, method to carry on the hiſtory of the paper war in that quarter without interruption, and this finiſhed, to give an account of his epiſtle, the title of which runs thus.

Johannis Freind, M. D. De Purgantibus, in ſecunda Variolarum confluentium febre, adhibendis Epiſtola. Lond. 1719. 4to. That is, *Concerning purging in the ſecond fever of the confluent ſmall pox, in an Epiſtle to Dr* Richard Mead.

This letter is dated, London, September the twentieth 1719, our author begins with lamenting the hard ſtate of thoſe Phyſicians, who have no other way of enlarging their practice, or raiſing their reputation, but by a diligent application to the ſtudy of the profeſſion. He ſpeaks of the little arts, the low complacencies, the mean cunning of ſome men, who by conſtantly purſuing the beaten road, falling in with popular prejudices, and vainly pretending to follow nature, tho' they are not able to penetrate much leſs to explain her operations, endeavour to ſupport themſelves, and to decry others who labour with unwearied pains to tread in the footſteps of their judicious predeceſſors, and, if poſſible, add a farther degree of perfection to the healing art themſelves. He then enters into the reaſon of that practice, in which he had concurred with the worthy and learned perſon to whom he wrote, which from his experience he had recommended, and which he was deſirous of ſeeing farther explained, and ſupported by a work which this gentleman had then in hand, and which having lately appeared fully juſtifies the character given it ſo long ago, by ſo good a judge. He afterwards delivers ten caſes, which, in point of accuracy, perſpicuity, and coming clearly up to the point they were brought to prove, are in every reſpect ſatisfactory. He enters afterwards into a very curious, but conciſe hiſtory of the diſeaſe, and of the method in which it had been treated in all its ſtages, by the ableſt of the Faculty in different countries and ages, to ſhew how little foundation there was for ſtiling this a new practice, he comes then to the apprehenſions which ſome had endeavoured to raiſe upon this manner of treating the diſeaſe, as if a temporary relief ought not to be ſought by running the hazard of future evils, which he fully ſhews to be without either meaning or foundation. His words are very worthy the reader's obſervation (12). 'For to ſay ſomething, continues he, of that danger which ſome dread, as being the certain conſequence of this method of cure, they ſeem to me not to underſtand, either what that diſtemper can bear, or in what manner this medicine ought to be applied. But do they know any one to have been killed or carried off by purging? Perhaps they may: for my part I do not: nay, not one whom it did not recover, unleſs in a caſe which in the judgment of every one was plainly deſperate. Farther I can affirm, which may perhaps ſeem ſtrange, that not one of thoſe who could not be ſaved by this kind of remedy, ever died of a looſeneſs, and that no one ever ſunk under the operation of the purge: but that thoſe very perſons, who tho' catharticks were given them, however died, almoſt always found ſome relief from them for a time. And this, indeed, is agreeable to reaſon; for nature at this time labours under the too great weight of the diſtemper, and has no occaſion for an additional load from the inteſtines: by what medicine then can ſhe be more expeditiouſly relieved, than that whereby this load of fæces is diſcharged? But neither yet, becauſe a ſpontaneous flux of the belly has proved deſtructive, which does not however very often happen, is the opening of the body to be ſcrupled at this time of the diſtemper, for whatever agreement there may ſeem to be betwixt them they differ very widely, for one of theſe caſes ſhews plainly, that the ſtrength is diſſolved; in the other caſe, what hinders, if the other inclinations agree, our trying thoſe purges which are ſuited to the ſtrength, upon this account likewiſe, is there the leſs danger from this evacuation, in that we can moderate it at our pleaſure, either by giving the moſt gentle remedies, or in a moderate quantity, or at the longer intervals. Beſides, at this time of the ſmall pox the belly having been ſo long ſhut up, and immoderately charged with fæces, is not ſo readily looſened, as to occaſion any fear of too great a flux. Therefore it is in our own power, either to hold in or let go the reins, we may try this experiment of purging without any danger in the moſt gentle manner, we may, if it avails any thing, repeat it at times, ſo that we may proceed gradually as far as we deſire. Wherefore, ſince this kind of remedy is not only free from hurt, but greatly advantageous to the patient, I admire at the dulneſs of ſome men who, being prejudiced, are entirely averſe to it, or at leaſt they adminiſter it ſo timorouſly and cooly, that they are not willing to try it till the health is even irrecoverable. As if it were better to wait for the danger than prevent it: as if he would not more eaſily ſurmount the danger of this diſtemper, who is thus relieved on the ninth or tenth day, than by deferring this medicine till the thirteenth or fifteenth, when the diſtemper is become already inveterate.' He goes on to enquire to what cauſes theſe people themſelves attribute theſe jealouſies and terrors, and demonſtrates them to be vain from thoſe cauſes, having no foundation, but in their imagination. They dread that nature ſhould be diſturbed in her courſe, or defeated in her endeavour, to throw out the morbific matter; he ſhews that in this caſe nature makes ineffectual efforts, and without the aſſiſtance of art can only ſtruggle againſt death, till the ſtrength of the patient is exhauſted. They are afraid of ſinking the ſpirits by purging; he affirms, that this does not happen, but that the body being relieved by the removing an oppreſſive load, is quickly freed from many alarming ſymptoms. They take it for granted, that the tumification in the hands muſt be abated by the purging, he gives many inſtances of the direct contrary. In reference to the abuſe of a true principle, that Phyſicians ought to ſtudy nature, and the occaſion taken from them, to reflect upon learning, as if a Phyſician deſerted nature by applying himſelf to books, he ſays with much warmth, but at the ſame time with much good ſenſe (13). 'I muſt confeſs the conſtant cant of thoſe trifling, and as they imagine themſelves philoſophiſing, fellows, has often times raiſed my indignation, and often times alſo my laughter, when they tell us we muſt always attend nature, and proceed in that path which nature's ſelf points out to us: as if no body knew this, but perſons entirely unſkilled in all the arts and ſciences: as if they were leſs capable of this, who are aſſiſted by the writings of the Antients, and have made ſome progreſs in learning. What elſe have thoſe ingenious and learned men done, thoſe great reſtorers of phyſick among the Greeks and Arabians, what end did they propoſe to themſelves in their ſtudies, than to underſtand only how to follow nature; to follow her however in ſuch a manner, as that they might guide and direct her by art, whenever there was occaſion? Can we receive therefore no advantage from their lucubrations? Can we find no aſſiſtance in our endeavours towards relieving the afflicted from their experience, hiſtories, and inſtitutions? Becauſe, forſooth, it is the part of an honeſt Phyſician to obſerve only what is indicated by nature. In truth, thoſe very perſons who entertain theſe ſentiments, truſting too much to their own natural ſagacity, will not eaſily underſtand what is meant by the word Nature, neither will they underſtand what ſhe indicates, nor what of help ſhe ſtands in need, or laſtly by what means ſhe may be aſſiſted.' To this epiſtle are added two letters, the firſt from Dr Sedgewick Harriſon, dated All Soul's College Oxon, September the tenth, 1719, containing five caſes; the other from Dr Bate, dated Aſhford, September the nineteenth, 1719, containing ſix caſes.

(12) Oper. med. Johan. Freind, p. 303.

(13) Ibid. p. 346.

the College of Phyſicians; he was choſen one of the Cenſors September the thirtieth 1718, in which honourable poſt he continued two years. On the twenty-fifth of March following, he gave the ſum of fifty pounds towards repairing the College. October the eighteenth 1720, he pronounced the anniverſary oration before that learned body, which was publiſhed, and, as might be well expected, highly applauded (*g*). He takes occaſion therein, to beſtow juſt praiſes on the great men who had adorned the Faculty, by their learning and labours, in this kingdom; and as there was no ſubject more agreeable to his temper and inclination, as he had a great facility of compoſing, and withal a very ſtrong judgment, ſo we need not wonder that this oration is a peculiar proof of the felicity of his genius, and of his excelling in thoſe qualities for which he has ſo juſtly, and ſo highly, commended the famous Linacre (*h*). In 1722, he was elected a Burgeſs to Parliament for Launceſton, in the county of Cornwall; and acting in his ſtation as a Senator, with that warmth and freedom which was natural to him, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſome quick ſpeeches againſt ſuch meaſures as he diſapproved (*i*). As thoſe were very critical times, and a matter of great importance was upon the carpet, in which Dr Freind thought himſelf obliged to take ſome ſhare; it drew upon him ſo much ſuſpicion, or ſo much reſentment, that, the Habeas Corpus Act being at that time ſuſpended, a warrant was iſſued againſt him for high-treaſon, and, after the Houſe of Commons had been made acquainted therewith, he was on the fifteenth of March 1722-3 committed to the Tower (*k*), where he continued priſoner till the twenty-firſt of June following, when he was firſt admitted to bail, and afterwards diſcharged from his recognizance (*l*). This affair made a great deal of noiſe at the time it happened, and was then very little underſtood; which is the reaſon that what ſome publick writers have delivered concerning it, is at once obſcure, and not much to the purpoſe [*M*]. The leiſure afforded him by this confinement, being not at all diſturbed

(*g*) Theſe dates from the Regiſter.

(*h*) Opera med. Johan. Freind, p. 366.

(*i*) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts. Vol. II. p. 737.

(*k*) Hiſtorical Regiſter, Vol. VIII. p. 259.

(*l*) See the note [*M*].

Immediately after the publication of this Latin epiſtle, came abroad a burleſque piece under the following title.

Dr Freind's Epiſtle to Dr Mead, rendered faithfully into Engliſh, divided into proper chapters, with notes learned and unlearned. Lond. 1719. 8vo.

The deſign of this ingenious piece was by a ridiculous tranſlation of a few of the firſt paragraphs in Dr Freind's letter, and the heightening this coarſe humour with ſome notes of the ſame kind, to raiſe a laugh amongſt thoſe who were incompetent judges of the point in diſpute, of which it is requiſite to give the reader an inſtance, that it may appear we have no intention to deceive him. At the beginning of his epiſtle, Dr Freind writes thus, as we have literally tranſlated his expreſſions (14).

(14) Ibid. p. 303.

'In this therefore, as well as in the buſiheſs of 'Painting or Sculpture, if any has a deſire to excel, 'it is neceſſary that he ſhould have an underſtanding 'framed as it were and accommodated to the art he 'would purſue, for no man by mere dint of ſtudy can 'ever become a Phyſician, unleſs he is in ſome ſort 'born thereto. For in this art there are many things 'obſcure and hidden, many complicated and ſubtile, 'which cannot by any precepts be taught or fully 'delivered by any explanation; ſo that, tho' much 'may be learned from the writings of Phyſicians, 'from whence that he may the better draw them, it 'is requiſite that they ſhould be thoroughly known to 'a Phyſician, yet much more muſt after all be left to 'his judgment and penetration. Neither is this in 'any thing more evident, than in the being able to 'diſtinguiſh amidſt the variety of pulſes, for thoſe 'who are well acquainted with this happy effect of 'the touch, are very ſenſible that it is not to be acquired by the leſſons of maſters, but from daily 'practice and their own proper ſagacity; inſomuch, 'that in the affair of phyſic, more eſpecially, the benefit is found of a natural quickneſs of apprehenſion, 'and the felicity of forming readily a true and ſound 'judgment of things.' The remarks upon theſe obſervations of Dr Freind, in the piece before mentioned, are in the following words (15).

(15) Dr F's Epiſtle to Dr M. rendered into Engliſh.

'This is the moſt extraordinary diſcovery the Doctor ever made, that *no man can be a Phyſician, unleſs he be born one*, or as he more elegantly phraſes 'it, *as it were, and in ſome manner, born one.* This 'ſoftening *quodammodo* inſtead of mitigating the nonſenſe inflames it, and turns his poor attempt at a 'meaning into ridicule. Pray, after *what manner*, '*which way*, or *how*, muſt *he be born a Phyſician*, or '*as it were one?* Muſt he come into the world with '*receipts* in his hand, or muſt the *name* like the *Beaſts* 'in the *Revelations* be written on his forehead? But 'I know what deceived the Doctor, having heard of '*Poeta naſcitur non fit*, and knowing himſelf to have 'as indiſputable a right as *Sancha Panca* to the miſapplication of all *Proverbs* and quaint *Sayings*, he 'he changes the word *Poeta* for *Medicus*, and makes 'the proverb his own. There may be ſomething in 'the aſſertion, when it refers to *works of fancy and* '*imagination*, as *Poetry and Painting*, but I hope '*Phyſic* is not in that number, nor any *Phyſician* proud 'of the title, but as it ſtands in oppoſition to the *unborn Doctor*, unleſs the great F——— who is the 'moſt *fanciful* of his brethren, writes treatiſes of *Poetry* inſtead of *Phyſic*, and *paints* when he ſhould *preſcribe*. The ſecret is now out, a *Phyſician* muſt be 'born a *Pulſe-feeler*, having a nicer ſenſibility in *extremis partibus*, than a *Tanner* or a *Tinker*. After 'the ſame reaſon, long and ſmall *fingers* denote a man 'born a *Muſician*, or a *Man Midwife*, an erect countenance makes an *Aſtronomer*, and a down-caſt look 'a *Botaniſt*. Te, vir clariſſime, hiſce oculis ſæpius 'vidi, & dum lineamenta tua, cum figuris *Baptiſtæ Portæ* contuli, nunquam Te alium, quam *Saltatorem natum judicavi*, adeoque Te *tuis* verbis, *proprio Magiſterio relicto*, in *Medicæ Artis Munera* inſiluiſſe *credo*.' Such were the arguments made uſe of to refute the learning, reaſoning, and facts, advanced by Dr Freind!

[*M*] *And not much to the purpoſe.*] In the cloſe of the year 1722, a diſcovery was made of that deſign, which has been ſince ſtiled the Biſhop of Rocheſter's plot, upon this there was a bill brought into the Houſe of Lords, 'to impower his Majeſty to ſecure 'and detain ſuch perſons as his Majeſty ſhall ſuſpect, 'are conſpiring againſt his perſon and government;' by which the benefit of the Habeas Corpus act was taken away for a whole year, which before had never been ſuſpended, for above ſix months; after it had paſſed the Lords, it was brought down to the Commons, on the fifteenth of October read the firſt time, the ſame day a ſecond, a third time the next, and ſoon after received the Royal Aſſent. In regard to what happened to Dr Freind, we find the following account given which we tranſcribe without altering a letter (16).

(16) Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, Vol. VI. p. 301, 302, 303.

'March the eleventh, 1722-3. Mr Yonge ſtood 'up and took notice how deeply Dr Francis Atterbury Biſhop of Rocheſter had been concerned in this 'deteſtable conſpiracy, aggravating his crime from 'his holy function and high ſtation in the Church of 'England, a Church ever conſpicuous for its loyalty, 'from the ſolemn oaths he had on ſo many occaſions 'taken to the government, and by which he had abjured the Pretender, when at the ſame time he was 'traiterouſly conſpiring to bring him in, upon the ruin diſturbed by any uneaſy thoughts or apprehenſions, was, in ſome meaſure, employed in writing a ſecond epiſtle to Dr Mead, on the ſubject of the ſmall-pox, in which the ſtrength of thought, the freedom of ſtile, and the accuracy of the ſeveral caſes ſet down, moſt evidently demonſtrates, that he never had a greater command of his parts, or exerciſed his judgment in his profeſſion more happily, than at this time (*m*); ſo that however his health and his affairs might ſuffer by his confinement, his reputation increaſed, and the Republick of Letters was the better for it [*N*]. Here alſo he laid the plan of his laſt and moſt elaborate

(*m*) J. Wigan. Præfat. ad Oper. med. Johan. Freind.

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of his country, and of all that was dear and valuable to us as free men and chriſtians: concluding, that as he was a diſgrace to his order, and diſhonour to the Church, ſo he might apply to him on this occaſion theſe words, of the firſt of Acts verſe the twentieth, *Let his habitation be deſolate, and let no man dwell therein: and his Biſhoprick let another take.*' And therefore he moved ‘that it appears to this houſe, that Francis Lord Biſhop of Rocheſter was principally concerned, in forming, directing, and carrying on the ſaid wicked and deteſtable conſpiracy for invading theſe kingdoms with a ſuperior foreign force, and for raiſing inſurrections, and a rebellion at home, in order to ſubvert our preſent happy eſtabliſhment in Church and State, by placing a Popiſh Pretender upon the throne.' Mr Yonge was ſeconded by Sir John Cope, but they were anſwered by Sir William Wyndham, who ſaid, ‘He ſaw no cauſe to proceed againſt the Biſhop in ſo ſevere a manner, there being little, or indeed no evidence, beſides conjectures and hearſays.' He was back'd by Mr Bromley, Mr Shippen, Mr Hutcheſon, Mr Hungerford, Colonel Strangeways, Mr Lutwyche, and Dr Freind. They were replied to by Sir Joſeph Jekyll, Mr R. Walpole, Mr Pelham, Mr Talbot, Mr John Smith, and Mr William Pulteney; and a motion being made, and the queſtion being put, that the Houſe do now adjourn, it paſſed in the negative by two hundred eighty five voices, againſt one hundred and fifty two; after which the queſtion being put upon Mr Yonge's motion, the ſame was carried without dividing. Then a motion was made, and the queſtion put, that a bill be brought in *To inflict certain pains and penalties on Francis Lord Biſhop of Rocheſter*, which after ſome debate was alſo carried without any diviſion. March thirteenth, Mr Robert Walpole acquainted the Houſe, ‘that he had received his Majeſty's commands to acquaint the Houſe, that his Majeſty having had juſt reaſon to apprehend Dr John Freind, a Member of this Houſe, for High-Treaſon, had cauſed him to be apprehended, and deſired the conſent of the Houſe to his being committed and detained for High-Treaſon, according to an Act of this preſent Seſſion, intituled An Act for impowering his Majeſty to ſecure and detain ſuch perſons as his Majeſty ſhall ſuſpect are conſpiring againſt his perſon and government. Upon which he moved, that an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to give order for committing and detaining Dr John Freind, purſuant to the Act of this Seſſion of Parliament for that purpoſe.' This motion was ſeconded and backed by ſeveral members: but Mr Shippen, and Mr Bromley oppoſed it, ſaying, ‘they could not ſee any reaſon for that Houſe giving leave for detaining any Member, unleſs the ſpecies of Treaſon was declared, and that the information was upon oath.' Sir Joſeph Jekyll, and Mr Robert Walpole replied, ‘that by the late Act for ſuſpending the Habeas Corpus Act, the King was impowered to take up any perſon he had reaſon to ſuſpect, that therefore the Government was not obliged to ſay, whether the information was upon oath or not.' But Mr Walpole added, ‘He did not doubt, but Dr Freind was charged upon oath, and privately declared to ſeveral Members, that they had poſitive proof of his being guilty of the blackeſt and baſeſt Treaſon.' Mr Shippen then ſuggeſting, ‘That Dr Freind's having ſpoke ſo warmly two days before in Mr Kelly's, and the Biſhop of Rocheſter's behalf was, in his opinion, the reaſon of his being taken up the next day himſelf, and that at that rate there was an end of the liberty of ſpeech, which every Member of that Houſe had a right to' Mr R. Walpole with a great deal of warmth replied, ‘He wondered any gentleman could think any Miniſtry capable of ſo baſe a thing, as to take up any gentleman for what he ſaid in that Houſe without any other cauſe, when they knew themſelves to be accountable as well as others for their actions,' adding, ‘That they who made ſuch inſinuations, might more eaſily be proved to be Jacobites, than they could make out ſuch an allegation againſt the Miniſtry;' Mr Pulteney ſpoke on the ſame ſide, and in relation to Dr Freind's ſpeaking in Kelly's behalf, ‘obſerved, that it was uſual in all conſpiracies, for one traitor to endeavour to excuſe another.' Mr Shippen animadverted ſeverely upon this reflection, ſaying, ‘It was not to be endured to have a Member of that Houſe called a traitor, before he was convicted as ſuch.' But Mr Pulteney having explained himſelf, that matter ended, and then the motion for an addreſs was carried without dividing.

We have obſerved in the text, that on the twenty-firſt of June following he was admitted to bail, his ſureties being Dr Mead, Dr Hulſe, Dr Levett, and Dr Hale. On the firſt day of Michaelmas term following he appeared at the King's-Bench Bar, and November 28, 1723, being the laſt day of Michaelmas term, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk; Charles Boyle, Earl of Orrery; William North, Lord North and Grey; Dennis Kelly, Eſq; John Freind, Eſq; M. D. and Thomas Cockran, Eſq; who had been priſoners in the Tower, and were admitted to bail, appeared on their recognizances, and were diſcharged (17).

(17) Hiſtor. Regiſter in the Diary.

[*N*] *Was the better for it.*] The title of this ſhort work at large, runs thus.

Joannis Freind ad Ricardum Mead, M. D. de quibuſdam Variolarum generibus Epiſtola. That is, *An Epiſtle to Dr* Richard Mead, *concerning ſome particular kind of the* ſmall pox. This letter is dated March the thirtieth, 1723, and begins thus (18). ‘Enjoying, Sir, unexpectedly, abundance of leiſure, and my mind being even in this confinement not over ſollicitous, I thought I could not better employ my vacant hours, than in cultivating my former ſtudies, and adding a few obſervations to what I have already writ, concerning acute diſeaſes. And indeed, I the more willingly undertake it, ſince I learn from that elegant book concerning the ſmall pox, which Helvetius has lately preſented us with, that that learned author has either trod in our ſteps in his method of cure, or at leaſt ſet out in the ſame road with us. I read that work over, I cannot ſay whether with greater eagerneſs or pleaſure. So diligently has this learned and experienced practitioner traced out the various and greatly diſſimilar kinds of the ſmall pox, ſo wiſely delivered the whole method of cure, that he alone has happily ſupplied many things, which have hitherto been wanting in the generality of authors. But neither has this gentleman explained every thing ſo fully, but that this Province ſeems by a certain fatality to be reſerved for you, Sir, namely that you ſhould one day give us a full and compleat account of the nature and difference of the ſeveral kinds of the ſmall pox, a work which I know you have long ſince undertaken.' There are two things remarkable in this paragraph, the firſt is, that in ſo ſhort a time, ſo judicious, and ſo eminent a Phyſician as Helvetius, ſhould embrace the practice recommended by Dr Freind, or ſhould think proper to declare publickly on its behalf, if he had embraced it before, for in either caſe his book is deciſive againſt the calumnies of thoſe who had attacked our author and his friends. If concurrence in opinion amongſt the moſt diſtinguiſhed in any profeſſion of different nations, is not ſufficient to eſtabliſh the reaſonableneſs of any point in which they concur, there is no ſuch thing as authority, neither can there be any criterion whatever of notions agreeing with, or being contrary to, good ſenſe. It is true, indeed, that a wiſe man may be

(18) Freind. Oper. med. p. 357.

elaborate work, his celebrated History of Physick, from the time of Galen to the cloſe of the XVIth century; the firſt part of which was publiſhed in 1725, and the ſecond in the year following (*n*). In reſpect both to uſe and elegance, it may be juſtly ſtiled a great and maſterly performance, worthy of the reputation of it's author, and capable of rendering ſingular ſervice to young Phyſicians, nothing comparable to it, either in point of judgment or accuracy, having been before publiſhed in any language. Theſe were the ſentiments of ſome of the ableſt men in the Faculty, at the time it came abroad; and the work having always kept up it's credit, and being ſtill in as much eſteem as ever, ſhews that their opinion was not ill founded [*O*]. There were, however, certain circumſtances that

(*n*) In two Volumes in 8vo. in Engliſh.

be in the wrong; but that a falſe or abſurd poſition ſhould, by a dint of argument, be impoſed upon men of the greateſt credit for wiſdom, capacity, and learning, where there is no connection of intereſt, and not the leaſt viſible motive to warp them from the love of fame and truth, is not to be comprehended. The ſecond remarkable particular, is the zeal with which he recommends that learned perſon's treatiſe to whom he writes, which has ſince appeared, tho' at a great diſtance of time, and does the ſame credit to our author's judgment, as his language here and elſewhere, to the ſincerity of his friendſhip. He hated flattery as much as he deſpiſed calumny, but he had a peculiar pleaſure in praiſing merit, and never miſſed any occaſion of paying a juſt tribute of applauſe where it was due. The laſt paragraph of his epiſtle is as remarkable as the firſt, the whole of it demonſtrates the ſoundneſs of his head, and theſe paſſages are peculiar proofs of the uprightneſs of his heart (19). 'Dear Sir, ſays 'he in the concluſion, farewel, and of this be aſſured 'that where ever I am, fortune will never have it in 'her power to efface that remembrance of your friend'ſhip which gratitude will ever oblige me to pre'ſerve.'

(19) Ibid. p.362.

[*O*] *Was not ill founded.*] The title of this very learned and uſeful treatiſe at large, runs thus.

The Hiſtory *of* Phyſic *from the time of* Galen *to the beginning of the* ſixteenth Century, *chiefly with regard to* Practice: *in a diſcourſe written to Dr* Mead *by* J. Freind, M. D. *London* 1725. 8vo. *The ſecond vol.* 1726. 8vo.

Our author divides his Hiſtory of Phyſic into three parts, of which the *firſt* contains the *Greek* Phyſicians after Galen, the *ſecond* relates to the *Arabian* Phyſicians, and the *third* takes in the *Moderns*. To give a long account of a book at once remarkable and valuable for its brevity would be abſurd, and yet it is abſolutely neceſſary that we ſhould give the reader ſome notion of the contents of its three parts, and of the advantage ariſing to the ſtudy of medicine, from the indefatigable pains he has taken in this reſpect. In the *firſt* part then, he ſettles very exactly the time in which Oribaſius, Aëtius, Alexander, and Paulus, flouriſhed, which was a point ſo much the more neceſſary, as great miſtakes have been made about them, ſo that in reality nothing had been written, even with reſpect to their hiſtory, that could be depended upon, 'till it became the ſubject of our author's pen. It is acknowledged, that the chief merit of theſe authors lay in their compiling, what had been written before their time by others, and more eſpecially by Galen; yet there are ſome things in them new as well as ſome antient fragments preſerved in their collections, which are not to be met with any where elſe. He inſiſts particularly upon what they have preſerved relating to Surgery. He ſhews that ſome things which are commonly regarded as modern diſcoveries or inventions, were actually known to them; as for inſtance, the ſalival glands, the uſe of iſſues, ſetons, cauteries, and of acupuncture in caſe of dropſies. He then proceeds, to ſuch of the *Greek* Phyſicians as lived after theſe. He inſiſts upon the deſcription of the plague, by Procopius and Evagrius; and concludes from the accuracy of the former, that he muſt have been a Phyſician. He maintains, that the art of diſtilling liquors was actually known to the Greeks. He deſcribes from theſe writers two very ſtrange diſtempers that were not very rare in thoſe days, and which in ours however are never mentioned; the firſt a kind of worms, and the other a ſort of melancholy madneſs, when men wandered in deſolate places, and howled like wolves. He commends ſome remedies that were then in uſe, and which are ſince in a great meaſure fallen into oblivion, ſuch as ſcarification, and on ſome occaſions opening an artery, with a multitude of other uſeful obſervations and remarks, ſo much the more valuable as they are delivered with great ſimplicity and ſuccinctneſs; ſo that at the very ſame time they do juſtice to the learning and abilities of the Antients, they are the moſt pregnant proofs of his own induſtry in collecting, and that happy facility with which he has diſpoſed them in proper order.

In the *ſecond* part he renders the ſame juſtice to the *Arabians*, he mentions ſuch diſeaſes as are no where to be found but in their writings, and likewiſe ſuch as were by them firſt deſcribed. He enters largely into the hiſtory of chirurgical operations. He ſhews that ſome uſeful inſtruments were invented, deſcribed, and even depicted by Albucaſis, concerning whoſe writings he had made very particular enquiries. As the ſmall pox firſt appeared amongſt the Arabians, ſo the very beſt deſcription of the different ſorts of that diſtemper, and of the methods of cure before the time of our Sydenham was written by Rhaſes. Of the truth of this, even the Engliſh reader may now be a judge, ſince a tranſlation of that curious piece has been publiſhed in our own language (*). By theſe writers there are not only many things preſerved, that were contained in the books of the Greek Phyſicians now loſt, but they have added alſo of their own invention, many gentle and moderate purges, taught the advantages of moderate Phlebotomy, made us acquainted with Chymiſtry, and with ſeveral uſeful compoſitions that have long had a place, and are not like to be very ſoon diſcarded from our beſt Diſpenſatories.

(*) By way of Appendix to Dr Mead's book upon that ſubject.

In the *third* part we have the Hiſtory of Phyſic, as practiſed and improved by the Moderns; he not only mentions, but deſcribes the ſchools of Salernum, Naples, Montpellier, and Bononia. The Hiſtory of Chymiſtry more eſpecially in this kingdom, from the time of the celebrated Roger Bacon, who was perfectly ſkilled in this, and all other parts of uſeful learning, is clearly and conciſely laid down. He gives us a view of that dreadful plague, which raged about the middle of the fourteenth Century, which is ſucceeded by the deſcription of the ſweating ſickneſs, which was peculiar to the Engliſh nation, and of which there were five returns. He enters into a ſhort, but ſatiſfactory, hiſtory of the venereal diſeaſe, which is thought to have taken its riſe from our firſt correſpondence with the Weſt Indies, about the end of the fifteenth Century, as the ſcurvy is believed to be produced about the ſame time, or a little earlier, from the inconveniences attending the long voyages by the Cape of Good Hope to the Eaſt. Neither is our author at all forgetful of his own country, but furniſhes us with excellent memoirs of ſuch phyſical writers as flouriſhed here, more eſpecially of the famous Linacre who lived under Henry the Seventh, and Henry the Eighth, who founded two Lectures of Phyſic at Oxford, and one at Cambridge, and who procured the original charter for incorporating the Royal College of Phyſicians, with the hiſtory of which foundation, and a very juſt encomium thereon he finiſhes his work. We may even from this ſhort and imperfect ſketch of the out lines of his performance, diſcern the great utility and real value of ſuch a hiſtory, which, tho' very ſuccinct, muſt have coſt him incredible labour, and could never have been drawn up in ſo eaſy, ſo elegant, and ſo natural a manner, but by a perſon of his great ſagacity and extenſive learning. We need not wonder therefore, that it was quickly tranſlated into French, and received in that language with as great, if not greater, applauſe than it met with here at home. The Latin tranſlation publiſhed with the reſt of his medical works that attended the publication of this judicious and learned treatiſe, which raiſed the prejudices of ſome againſt it, more eſpecially in a neighbouring country, where it was thought that our author had dealt a little too ſeverely with Mr Daniel le Clerc (*o*), and that this uſage might juſtify repriſals, in which there was a pretty ſtrong mixture of invective, as the reader will be informed, more at large, at the bottom of the page [*P*]. This attack from abroad,

(*o*) See this point explained in the note [*P*].

works, has contributed to make it ſtill more generally known, and is ſo much the more valuable as it contains ſome additional corrections and explanations taken from his own notes upon the Engliſh original. We may the more boldly advance this, ſince within two years after the publication of our author's medical works at London, there came out a new edition at Paris (20), that in the title page was affirmed to be more accurate than correct; which could not have happened, if the demand for his writings had not been very great in conſequence of his credit as a Phyſician, being thoroughly eſtabliſhed in all parts of Europe, and of this ſome farther inſtances will neceſſarily occur in the ſucceeding note.

(20) Johannis Freind. Opera omnia medica, editio altera. Londinenſi multo correctior & accuratior. 1735. 4to.

[*P*] *At the bottom of the page.*] We have obſerved in the foregoing note, that our author's Hiſtory of Phyſic had not been long publiſhed in Engliſh, before it was tranſlated into French, and this tranſlation had no ſooner ſeen the light, than the book was attacked in Holland by a famous journaliſt, who gave his cenſure the following title (21).

(21) Biblioth. ancienne & moderne, Tom. XXVII. p. 388.

Réponſe à ce qu' a écrit Mr Freind *concernant diverſes fautes, qu'il prétend avoir trouvées dans un petit ouvrage de Mr* le Clerc, *intitulé* Eſſai d'un Plan, &c. *That is*, ‘An anſwer to what Mr Freind has written concerning ſeveral faults that he pretends to have found in a little work of Mr *le Clerc*'s, &c.’

Theſe animadverſions were written in defence of Dr Daniel le Clerc, the three former parts of whoſe Hiſtory of Phyſic Dr Freind had highly extolled, but had ſpoken ſomewhat ſlightly of the ſupplement to that work publiſhed in the new edition of 1723, and repreſented it as not only a very imperfect and ſuperficial performance, but in many particulars inaccurate and erroneous. The author of the Memoir in the Bibliotheque obſerves, that it will be no difficult matter to ſhew that Dr Freind had not a juſt idea of the piece which he ſo raſhly condemns, but that he is miſtaken in ſeveral points. For firſt he did not underſtand what Dr le Clerc's meaning was by theſe words, *Eſſay d'un Plan pour ſervir à la Continuation de l'Hiſtoire de la Medicine*, which Dr Freind thought to be the ſame, as if Dr le Clerc had ſaid, that that Plan was a Continuation or a Sequel of the Hiſtory of Phyſic, whereas the author only meant it as a plan or rough draught, which might be of uſe to ſuch as would undertake to bring that hiſtory down to the time which he has mentioned. The author of the Memoir proceeds then to vindicate Dr le Clerc from the particular exceptions of Dr Freind, and concludes with obſerving, that as the plan of the former contains but ſix or ſeven ſheets, if it were true, that there are as many errors in it as the latter pretends, one might juſtly conclude, as Dr Freind has done, that it is a very imperfect, ſuperficial, inaccurate, and erroneous performance. ‘But I think, *ſays the writer*, that I have ſufficiently demonſtrated that nothing could be charged on Dr le Clerc with leſs reaſon, not to ſay more lightly, ſince, if there are faults they are few and inconſiderable. However, ſuch as they are, if Dr Freind had contented himſelf with ſetting him right, he was at liberty to do it, but to endeavour, as he has done, to find errors where there are none, it is what one ſhould not have expected, and what has occaſioned this anſwer.’

It is a point of juſtice certainly due to the memory of Dr Freind, to examine what is here charged impartially, as in juſtice to the publick we could not omit the charge. Dr Daniel le Clerc, brother to the celebrated Mr John le Clerc, wrote, as has been ſaid, a Hiſtory of Phyſic, which was juſtly admired and applauded. This Hiſtory reached no lower than the time of Galen, but upon publiſhing a new edition in 1723, there was a little piece added to it, which in the title page of that new edition is ſtiled, *un Plan pour ſervir à la Continuation de cette Hiſtoire dépuis la fin du Siecle* II. *juſques au milieu du* XVII. That is, *a* Plan *which may ſerve as a* Continuation *of that Hiſtory, from the end of the* ſecond *age to the middle of the* ſeventeenth. It was after the peruſal of this, that Dr Freind finding himſelf much diſappointed, and having a ſtrong idea in his mind of the uſefulneſs of a proper continuation of ſo good a book, determined to employ the leiſure he had in the Tower, for there it appears that he conceived the whole, and executed a part of his deſign in writing ſuch a hiſtory in compoſing ſuch a work. When he had taken this reſolution, it was neceſſary for him to expreſs it, more eſpecially as he wrote to a particular friend, the preſent Dr Mead (22), and this he does in the following manner.

(22) Hiſt. of Phyſick, Part I. p. 1.

‘Sir, you will forgive me, that I was a little impatient to ſee a new edition of Mr le Clerc's Hiſtory of Phyſic, for you know very well what a great opinion I have always had of the learning and judgment which he has ſhewn in the three parts already publiſhed. In them he brought down the Hiſtory to the end of Galen's time, and having ſearched into his works, and into thoſe of all the writers, who preceded him for above ſix hundred years, he put together his memoirs, not only with indefatigable induſtry, but with exquiſite ſkill. We find there very amply and clearly repreſented all the philoſophy, the theory, and practice of the antient Phyſicians; ſo that there is ſcarce a notion, a diſtemper, a medicine, or even the name of an author to be met with among them, of which he has not given a full and exact account.

‘In this edition we have a plan containing fifty ſix pages, which he deſigns ſhould ſerve for a continuation of the Hiſtory down to the middle of the ſixteenth, the title by miſtake ſays the ſeventeenth Century, a ſpace of twelve hundred years, and too large to be well explained, in ſo ſhort a ſketch, tho' he had not filled half of it, with relating all the obſcure jargon and nonſenſe of that illiterate Enthuſiaſt Paracelſus.

‘You deſire that I would ſend you my thoughts of this piece, I muſt own I wiſh I could give it the ſame character which the former very juſtly deſerved. But it ſeems to me not only a very imperfect and ſuperficial performance, but in many particulars inaccurate and erroneous. I ſhall, in compliance with your commands, make a few curſory remarks touching the Hiſtory of Phyſic within this period, but as I have not the opportunity of having much recourſe to books, tho' indeed at preſent I have leiſure enough, you muſt not expect any thing which is either correct or perfect, and muſt be ſatiſfied only with ſome looſe obſervations, ſuch as my memory chiefly can at preſent furniſh me with, and which a ſhort review of ſome of theſe authors can ſuggeſt.’

The reader ſees clearly that our author could not write without mentioning Dr le Clerc, and he ſees alſo how he has treated him. What is ſaid in the French Memoir of not underſtanding the title of Le Clerc's ſupplemental piece is weak enough; for if our author did not underſtand it, it muſt have been becauſe it is not to be underſtood, for, *an* Eſſay, *of a* Plan, *of a* Supplement; cannot be made ſenſe in any language. That Dr Freind did not conſider it as a *Supplement* is plain, for if he had he would not have wrote another, neither did he conceive it a *Plan*, for then he would have followed it, but he tells us plainly what he took it for, and which is not a little ſtrange, Mr John le Clerc confeſſes in his Memoir, that it was preciſely what he calls it, *an imperfect and ſuperficial performance*. Imperfect, as it does not come up to what it promiſes; and ſuperficial, as it is not collected from original authors. We ſhall in the next note mention Dr Baillie's defence of our author, and therefore here we will confine ourſelves to matters which he has not mentioned; in the firſt place it is obſervable, that the Memoir writer confeſſes that he never ſaw our abroad, on the character of Dr Freind, met with ſome countenance here from thoſe who were piqued againſt him before, and who were in hopes, that, with the aſſiſtance of theſe auxiliaries from the Continent, they might be able to run him down; but, as in former combats, ſo in this, they were ſoon made ſenſible of their want of ſtrength (*p*). It was defended in a pamphlet by Dr John Baillie (*q*), againſt the united forces both of the Engliſh and French criticks; and the publick ſeemed to be perfectly ſatisfied with what was therein advanced, and with the contents of the author's book, which, with it's title, very plainly proved that ſome who cenſured it miſapprehended his deſign, or at leaſt wrote in ſuch a manner as that he might be ſenſible they had other cauſes of reſentment, than thoſe that were avowed in the preſent quarrel [Q]. That ſeverity which Dr Freind had met with, from thoſe who differed,

(*p*) The pamphlet war did not riſe near ſo high as before.

(*q*) A Defence of Dr Freind his Hiſt. of Phyſick. 1733, 8vo. ſecond edition.

our author's *original work*, but took the matter of his charge from the *Tranſlation*, which is the leſs excuſable, ſince he well underſtood Engliſh, and it might be ſhewn that our author made uſe of *milder* terms than his tranſlator. In the next place he ſtates the matter a little unfairly, in not taking notice that Dr Freind juſtifies and commends le Clerc's obſervations in many places, tho' he differs from him in others, which plainly ſhews he had an eſteem for that gentlemen, tho' in reſpect to the ſtudy of Phyſic, he could not commend an imperfect and ſuperficial work. Beſides, there are various objections made by our author to Dr le Clerc's Hiſtory, which are paſſed by in the *Memoir* without any notice at all; we may add to this, that ſometimes diſingenuity, and even falſehood, are called in to ſupport one Doctor and to refute the other. This fact requires an inſtance; that inſtance ſhall be given; Dr Freind ſays, that *the celebrated* Fallopius *lived later than* le Clerc *has placed him, becauſe he publiſhed his Lectures in* 1555 (23). The *Memoir* writer complains he does not underſtand this, for that Gabriel Fallopius died in 1562 (24). It is very true he did ſo, but the point is where Dr le Clerc placed him? He ſays poſitively that he was born in 1490, and the common complaint of all writers that mention him is, that he was cut off in the flower of his age, that is, when he wanted a year of forty. How then does his reading Lectures in 1555 agree with this date, or how was it poſſible that he ſhould read thoſe Lectures, if he died ſo young? The truth is, he was born in 1523 (25), that is, thirty three years after the time aſſigned by Dr le Clerc. What pretence therefore for calling either the meaning or the truth of Dr Freind's aſſertion in queſtion? The proper buſineſs of a Journaliſt, is to acquaint the world with the contents and characters of new works, but the author of this Journal, inſtead of inſerting an extract of a new and valuable book, inſerts a *Memoir* againſt it, which was treating his readers very indifferently, as well as the Engliſh Phyſician very unfairly (26). Father Niceron (27) who was a very impartial judge, decides this matter very clearly. '*John le Clerc*, ſays he, complained of the diſobliging manner in which he has ſpoken of the *Plan*, which his brother *Daniel le Clerc* had given for the *Continuation* of his *Hiſtory* of *Phyſic*. *Freind* propoſed himſelf to give ſuch a *Continuation* which he has very learnedly executed' No exceptions can be taken to this judgment, Father Niceron had ſeen the books, and heard the parties, with neither of whom he had any connection.

[Q] *In the preſent quarrel*] The title of the piece which we have mentioned in the text, and which is indeed a full anſwer to all that is ſaid in the French Memoir, in the firſt edition runs at full length thus.

A Letter to Dr ——— *in anſwer to a tract in the* Bibliotheque Ancienne & Moderne, *relating to ſome paſſages in* Dr Freind'*s Hiſtory of Phyſic.* Lond. 1728. 8vo.

Mr Baillie obſerves, that one would imagine upon viewing the number of pages in the piece abovementioned, Dr Freind had certainly been guilty of a great many miſtakes, and that Mr le Clerc had been very groſsly miſrepreſented. Yet upon looking into this critic, ſays he, we find nothing like this, and that, however vigorous in general he appears in Mr le Clerc's defence, he nevertheleſs acknowledges moſt of the errors alledged againſt him, and this not faintly, but in full as ſtrong expreſſions as the Doctor himſelf uſes. To give one inſtance of his manner of treating his antagoniſt, 'The Memoir writer, ſays he, goes on with his uſual evaſions in the diſpute concerning the perſon who firſt introduced Chymiſtry into Phyſic. Mr le Clerc had affirmed in his Plan, that Avicenna was the perſon. The Doctor is of opinion if this practice be, as perhaps it may be derived, from the Arabians, the honour of the invention ought rather to be reſtored to Rhaſes, becauſe he wrote firſt, and firſt mentioned medicines made by a chymical proceſs. This the anſwerer cannot avoid owning, and acknowledges that the oil of Bricks in Rhaſes is a chymical medicine, and propoſed by him as a cure in many diſtempers. This he confeſſes Mr le Clerc overlooked, when he ſaid there was no mention of any chymical remedy in the writers of Phyſic, who lived before Avicenna. One would think that after ſaying ſo much, there was no way left of evading the force of Dr Freind's arguments. For the Doctor ſays nothing more upon this head againſt the plan, than this defender of it: but obſerve his uſual way of chicane; he goes on and ſays, that altho' Mr le Clerc be miſtaken in this article, it does not from thence follow that the honour of the invention of chymical medicines belongs to Rhaſes. I fancy you could not have gueſſed at his reaſon, had you not ſeen the piece itſelf, what tho' this Arabian writer does not pretend he invented or firſt diſcovered the manner of preparing the medicines he treats of? Is that any thing to the purpoſe? The diſpute was not, who invented or who did not. The ſingle queſtion is, who is the firſt Arabick author who mentions a chymical medicine? Is there any one before Rhaſes? If not, who knows but he did introduce it firſt, and perhaps invent it, at leaſt it is a ſufficient proof that Avicenna did neither. This inſtance amongſt others may give you the reaſon, why I called this critic's piece the *pretended defence* of Mr le Clerc's Plan. For almoſt in every place he gives up Mr le Clerc, and ſeems fully ſatisfied if he can only cavil at the Doctor.' At the cloſe of his pamphlet he tells us, that 'the defender of Dr le Clerc ſet out with the mighty appearance of running down every thing which was objected againſt the Plan, and yet in the iſſue yields up every thing. This certainly muſt appear a very burleſque defence to the greateſt favourers of the Supplement. For what can be more ridiculous than to pretend he would defend an author, and yet in almoſt every inſtance to own he is in the wrong? To be convinced that he does this, you need do no more than caſt your eye back on the three principal points in diſpute. Does he not acknowledge Mr le Clerc's error in the ages of Oribaſius, Aetius, Alexander, and Paulus? And notwithſtanding his ſophiſtical ſubterfuges, doth he deny that ſome of the Greeks mention Rhubarb contrary to Mr le Clerc's aſſertion? Nay, doth he not in expreſs terms own it? After the ſame manner, doth he not confeſs that Rhaſes firſt introduced Chymiſtry into Phyſic? And as to the age of Fallopius, he ſays Mr le Clerc is deceived in it.' This gentleman however, acknowledges a miſtake in Dr Freind in the ſpelling of Aetius with Æ inſtead of an *a* and an *e* ſeparate, every one knows it is 'Αέτιος in the Greek, and yet very commonly it is writ with an Æ in Latin, as you may ſee in ſeveral books. So the iſland Aeria is very often writ Æria, though no doubt it is the 'Αερία of Stephanus. He believes the Doctor likewiſe to be miſtaken, when he ſays that Dr le Clerc ſuppoſes the *Vena Medinenſis*, the ſame as another diſtemper deſcribed by the Arabians, and called the *Affectio Bovina*; and I dare ſay, continues he, 'the Doctor, upon conſidering the paſſage in the Supplement again, will own that theſe two diſeaſes

(23) Hiſt. of Phyſick, Vol. II. p. 376.

(24) Bibliotheque ancienne & moderne, Tom. XXVII. p. 447.

(25) P. Niceron Memoires des hommes illuſtres, Tom. IV. p. 396.

(26) Other Journaliſts ſhewed a like prejudice againſt the Doctor's book, but their criticiſms did not affect it.

(27) Memoires des hommes illuſtres, Tom. XXXV. p. 263.

differed, or ſuppoſed they differed, with him in political principles, was amply recompenced, ſoon after he obtained his liberty, by the favour he met with at the Court of the King now on the throne, then Prince of Wales, who entruſted him with the care of ſome of his Royal Family when indiſpoſed, and who under it happily recovered (r). Upon his Majeſty's acceſſion, he became Phyſician to the late Queen, who honoured him with her confidence and eſteem (s), which naturally increaſed the circle of his practice, that was of large extent before. How equal ſoever his talents might be to that prodigious weight of buſineſs which was thrown upon his ſhoulders, it quickly appeared that his conſtitution could by no means bear ſo great a fatigue; he ſtruggled againſt it as much as he was able, he concealed his weakneſs, he was ſilent as to the decay of his ſtrength; in ſhort, he preferred his duty to his ſafety, and to the preſervation of the health of others ſacrificed his own

(r) John. Wigan. Præfat. ad oper. med. J. F.

(s) See the Monumental Inſcription.

‘are there plainly diſtinguiſhed. So far is true, and the Doctor's expreſſions are no doubt too general in this caſe, and, what I believe he is not very often guilty of, a little unguarded. But what he intended, I ſuppoſe, was chiefly this, to ſhew that even the *Affectio Bovina*, deſcribed at large by the Arabians, and in a ſeparate article, was not a diſtemper unknown, as Mr le Clerc aſſerts, to the Greeks. For Aetius, as the Doctor remarks, mentions the little *Dracunculi* as well as the great, which latter the Arabians call the *Vena Medinenſis*. And what Aven Zoar, Alſaharavius, and Albucaſis, ſay of the former, amounts to nothing more than what Aetius had in general and in ſhort ſaid before, that the worms in this caſe were little.’ Theſe conceſſions ſhew the candour and ingenuity of Dr Baillie, and they ſhew at the ſame time how little foundation there was for the clamour raiſed againſt our author, as if he had endeavoured to raiſe his own reputation by depreſſing that of Dr Daniel le Clerc; whereas he commends him highly and frequently, and corrects him only where it was requiſite, and that too in a manner which ought not to have given any offence, more eſpecially when it is conſidered, that the far greater part of his corrections are in the juſtification of writers long ſince deceaſed, and for whoſe memories Dr Freind thought himſelf obliged to ſhew a due concern.

We have now done with this litttle treatiſe, conſidered in the light of a defence, at leaſt in regard to the French memoir; but there is a paſſage at the beginning of this performance, which, for the reader's ſatiſfaction, it is neceſſary ſhould be explained. That paſſage runs thus.

‘Tho' the juſtneſs and truth of all Dr Freind's writings are ſufficient to bear them out, yet there are many who have an appetite for nothing but anſwers and replys, and who entirely form their judgment of the author from his antagoniſt. Theſe men very often read the anſwer, without ever having looked into the original, and as confidently determine, as if they had, with the utmoſt care and exactneſs, read it over and over. Were it not for this unaccountable and diſingenuous turn in ſome readers, and a ſtrange negligence and inadvertency in others, who, out of indolence or incapacity, ſeldom uſe their own judgment, but muſt have every thing minutely pointed out to them. I ſay, were it not for theſe two things, I muſt confeſs the following remarks would be entirely uſeleſs. For a careful reader, with but an ordinary underſtanding, by peruſing the hiſtory, and annotator's criticiſms, would quickly ſee the juſtneſs of the former's obſervations, and the fallacy of thoſe in the latter. Yet I make no doubt, as inconſiderable a writer as this annotator is, his having attacked an author of reputation, will be reaſon ſufficient to *tranſlate* him into *Engliſh*, with a *prolix preface*, containing probably a *tedious repetition* of the critic's errors; for none but an author of a very low ſize would undertake ſuch a work. And if ſuch a notable performance ſhould come out, we ſhall find it, I dare ſay, writ with ſo much wit, learning, and in ſo good language; with ſo much perſpicuity, modeſty, and manners, that it will not be at all difficult to gueſs at it's author, however *his name* ſhould happen to be *inverted*.’

The firſt part of this paragraph explains very properly the cauſes which render theſe literary eclairciſſments ſo neceſſary, or at leaſt ſo acceptable. Let us proceed then to ſhew what is the true ſenſe, and genuine meaning, of theſe obſcure inſinuations. Immediately after our author's book appeared, it was attacked with the utmoſt indignation, unallay'd with the ſmalleſt regard to temper or decency, in a piece which bore the following title.

Obſervations on Dr Freind's *Hiſtory of Phyſick, ſhewing ſome falſe Repreſentations of antient and modern Phyſicians; by* C. W. M. D. *Fellow of the Royal College of Phyſicians in* Edinburgh. London 1726, 8*vo*.

The very firſt paragraph will ſufficiently ſupport what has been before hinted, as to the heat of this author's reſentment, abundantly diſcovered in the acrimony of his ſtile. ‘Dr Freind's principal ſcheme in writing his Hiſtory of Phyſick, ſays he, was to repreſent himſelf firſt, and after him Dr Mead, as the only Phyſicians at this time, in London eſpecially. As for Hiſtory, that is made ſubſervient to the mentioned deſign; and indeed that part of the performance is very imperfect and ſuperficial, he ſeeming now to corrupt the hiſtory of phyſick, and to abuſe men by a corrupted hiſtory. Did I propoſe to examine the book, it might be made very manifeſt, that he was little acquainted with his authors, and leſs in what they excelled. His great unhappineſs is moſt commonly to propoſe their errors, or their weakeſt performances, to our imitation; ſo that the miſtake ſhould not be great, if I affirmed that his end ſeems to be a banter on the antient as well as our own Phyſicians. All theſe his talents, will ſufficiently appear in the following examination of that part of the book which at preſent falls under our conſideration.’ He proceeds afterwards to refute what Dr Freind had advanced, that the antient Phyſicians never had a *noſtrum*, or a ſecret medicine, and that a *noſtrum* is the peculiar and diſtinguiſhed mark of a *Quack*; and affirms, that Phyſicians of every ſect, both rational and empirics, had their *noſtrums*, and that from antient times down to this day; and, among the moderns, he particularly inſtances in Dr *Cockburn*, a moſt rational Phyſician, ſays he, who has always vindicated this antient practice, and has an *Arcanum*. The author defends likewiſe, Dr *Cockburn*'s book concerning the *gonorrhœa*, and his tables of doſes, in oppoſition to what Dr Freind had urged from *Avenzoar*, that it is vain and uſeleſs (28), ‘to pretend to find out the proportionable quantity and quality of any purge, ſo as to ſquare it exactly to the conſtitution of the patient, and the nature of the humours to be diſcharged; and calculate it ſo as not to be even a hair under or over, ſince ſuch ſpeculations contribute very little to form a judgment about any right method of cure.’ Within a very ſhort time after the publication of Dr Baillie's pamphlet, there came abroad another ſhrewd piece, under the following title.

An Anſwer to what Dr Freind *has written in his* Hiſtory *of* Phyſick, *concerning ſeveral miſtakes which he pretends to have found in a ſhort work of Dr* le Clerc, *intituled, An* Eſſay of a Plan, &c. *tranſlated from the* Eighth *Article of the* Bibliotheque ancienne & moderne. Vol. XXVII. Part ii. *By Mr* le Clerc. *To which is added, a* Preface *by* W. Cockburn, M. D.

Upon the whole it is manifeſt, that what Dr Baillie had in view, was to intimate to the publick, that the ſending this tranſlation into the world, was the mere effects of perſonal reſentment; and that W. C. M. D. was the ſame perſon with C. W. *Fellow of the Royal College of Phyſicians at* Edinburgh; which is likewiſe agreeable to what we have hinted in the text of this article.

(28) Hiſtory of Phyſick, Vol. II. p. 77.

own (t). His health having been for ſome time on the decline, a fever at length enſued, which preſently affected his head; and tho' in this, as well as in former illneſſes, he had all the aſſiſtance that the Faculty could give, yet even that aſſiſtance proved vain; and the power of medicine being far inferior to the violence of the diſeaſe, he expired July the ſixth 1728, in the fifty-ſecond year of his age (u). Their Majeſties expreſſed the greateſt concern on the news of his illneſs, and appeared very much affected with that of his death. The penſion ſettled upon his widow, ſufficiently declared how large a ſhare this worthy perſon had in the Royal eſteem (w). He was buried in the church of Hitcham in Buckinghamſhire, near which he had a ſeat; but there is a cenotaph erected, with a ſuitable inſcription to his memory, in Weſtminſter-Abbey (x) [R], a mark of filial piety in his only ſon, but of little conſequence to his fame, which his writings have rendered extenſive and immortal. Dr Wigan publiſhed his Latin works, and added to them his Hiſtory of Phyſick, tranſlated into the ſame language, with an excellent hiſtorical preface, and a grateful commemoration of his obligations to the deceaſed (y). To theſe, his medical works, a moſt elegant dedication is prefixed, to his Royal Patroneſs the late Queen, by his brother Dr Robert Freind (z); and if, after all theſe glorious monuments, this article ſhould be eſteemed

(t) Johan. Wigan. Præfat. ad oper. med. J. F.

(u) See the Inſcription.

(w) Johan. Wigan. Præfat. ad oper. med. J. F.

(x) See the note.

(y) Johan. Wigan. in Præfat. prope finem.

(z) Niceron ſuggeſts the Dedication was written by Dr Wigan.

[R] *To his memory in Weſtminſter-Abbey.*] How little neceſſary ſoever a cenotaph, with an inſcription, might be for preſerving the memory of an author whoſe reputation extended ſo far, and was eſtabliſhed ſo well; yet it muſt be allowed, that this was no improper, or unſeaſonable, teſtimony of reſpect to this excellent perſon. He had himſelf rendered the like kind office to more than one of his freinds. The inſcription on the monument erected to the memory of the famous Mr *John Phillips*, by the Lord Chancellor *Harcourt*, was penned by our author. That copious and elegant character of the Right Reverend Dr *Thomas Sprat*, Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and his ſon the *Archdeacon*, appear, from what is ſaid at the foot of the tomb-ſtone, to have fallen from the pen of Dr Freind, who was peculiarly happy in this kind of compoſitions. It may however be with truth affirmed, that the following lines are not at all inferior to his own, and conſequently deſerve to be remembered. They are conceived in the following terms,

Johannes Freind, M. D.
Archiater
Sereniſſimæ Reginæ Carolinæ.
Cujus perſpicaci judicio cum ſe approbâſſet,
Quantâ prius apud omnes Medicinæ famâ,
Tantâ apud Regiam Familiam gratiâ floruit.
Ingenio erat benevolo & admodum liberali,
Societatis & convictuum amans,
Amicitiarum
(Etiam cum ſuo alicubi periculo)
Tenaciſſimus.
Nemo beneficia
Aut in alios alacrius contulit,
Aut in ſe collata libentius meminit.
Juvenis adhuc ſcriptis cœpit inclareſcere,
Et aſſiduo tum Latini tum Patrii ſermonis uſu,
Orationem perpolivit.
Quam vero in umbraculo coluerat facundiam,
Eam in ſolem atq; aciem Senator protulit.
Humanioribus literis domi peregreq; operam dedit;
Omnes autem ut decuit nervos intendit,
Sua in arte ut eſſet verſatiſſimus.
Quo ſucceſſu orbis Britannici
Cives & Proceres,
Quam multiplici ſcientiâ viri omnium gentium eruditi,
Quam indefeſſo ſtudio atq; induſtriâ
Id quidem non ſine lacrymis amici loquentur.
Miri quiddam fuit,
Continua occupatione,
Inter tot circuitiones
Scribendo etiam vacare poſſet:
Quod tanto oneri diutius ſuſtinendo impar eſſet,
Nihil miri.
Obiit ſiquidem, vigente adhuc ætate,
Annum agens quinquageſimum ſecundum,
Anno Æræ Chriſti 1728. 26 Julii.

Into ENGLISH it has been thus tranſlated.

John Freind, Doctor of Phyſic.
Firſt Phyſician
To the moſt ſerene Queen Caroline.
Whom when once her penetrating judgment had approved,
His univerſal reputation in Phyſic,
Was but equal to the favour expreſſed to him by the Royal Family.
His diſpoſition was benevolent and highly liberal,
Towards his acquaintance affectionate,
Of his Friendſhips
(Even when attended with danger to himſelf)
Moſt tenacious.
None in reſpect to obligations
Was on others more ready to confer,
Or if received with a willing gratitude to remember.
While a very youth diſtinguiſhed by his writings.
And from his aſſiduous diligence as well in Latin as in his mother tongue,
His ſtile was perfectly polite.
That eloquence which he cultivated in retirement,
He had the courage as a Senator to diſplay.
The Belles Lettres at home and abroad claimed his attention,
But, as was fit, his whole abilities were bent,
To render him moſt expert in his profeſſion.
With how great ſucceſs the whole Engliſh world
Of every rank,
With what various knowledge the learned in every nation,
With what indefatigable ſtudy and induſtry
His friends not without tears ſhall declare.
Some wonder it may create,
That continually occupied,
And having ſo many avocations
He ſhould yet find time to write;
That to ſuſtain ſuch burthen he ſhould at length be unequal
Is not to be wondered at all.
He died therefore, in the flower of his age,
When only in his fifty ſecond year,
July 26. *A. D.* 1728.

But we muſt not imagine, that the praiſes of this great Phyſician were barely confined to his tombſtone; on the contrary, the celebrated Dr Keil acknowledging, that, at his perſwaſion, the piece he publiſhed was ſent to the preſs, makes him a compliment that can ſcarce be exceeded, and might poſſibly be regarded as a mere compliment, if the character of that worthy man did not ſet his ſincerity above ſuſpicion; his words are theſe, 'Eo editionem ſuadente, quem omnes & ſcribendi & docendi, Magiſtrum noſtræ Gentis ſi non aliarum omnium, maximum libenter agnoſcunt (29).' Theſe high

(29) Medicina Statica Britannica.

eſteemed no diſgrace to the memory of ſo great a man, it will add very highly to the pleaſure received in peruſing his incomparable writings, in order to compoſe it.

high praiſes were beſtowed upon him in his life-time, from whence perhaps ſome objection might be made; but the force of that will be wholly taken away, when it is conſidered that the very ingenious and learned Dr Edward Wilmot, ſome years after his deceaſe, ſpoke of him in the higheſt terms of commendation and reſpect, repreſenting him as a deep Philoſopher, a learned Phyſician, an elegant Writer, and an ornament to Society; as being very honeſt and very humane, ever deſirous of doing good, and communicating knowledge to the utmoſt extent of his power; and a zealous defender of the rights of that learned Body before whom he ſpoke. The reader ſhall have his own words, as well as the ſenſe of them, becauſe a tranſlation could not be made, without manifeſt injury to the beauty of the expreſſion (30). 'Tanta de uno aliquo viro prædicari, magnum quidem eſt; majus autem, quod de tali viro prædicantur, qui nihil ſuum eſſe duxit, quod aliis beneficio eſſe poſſit. Si quid eximii, ſi quid reconditi habuit, (quid autem utriuſq; non habuit?) non ſolitariâ famâ contentus, in apertum liberè protulit. Scivit egregiè? ut alii itidem ſcirent, operam ſedulo dabat. Medicinæ peritus fuit? ut alii etiam eſſent, ſtudio flagrabat. Gloriam attigit? ſi aliorum accenderet, lucro apponebat, alienæ inſerviens, ſuæ profuſus. Secundum divini Senis effatum, ideo artem ſuam quamplurimum amans, quia hominum amantiſſimus. In malam rem abire jubebat, qui neſcio quod Arcanum ſuperbè venditabant; ſi non haberent falſos; ſi celarent invidos; utroque nomine aut neglectui aut odio habendos. Id nimirum patriæ, id ſuo & artis commodo inſerviturum eſſe putabat, ſi alios ſui ſimiles inveniret, vel, quoad poſſet, faceret; & ut eſſent, omnia ſua cum illis communicabat, præceptis inſtituebat, exemplo præibat. Imperitiam Medico non opprobrio ſolum, ſed crimini vertere ſolabat; & mortuo nihil intereſſe, ſeu ignorantiâ ſeu fraude periret, benevole dictitabat. —— Cum legendis, condendis libris incumberet, & quotidianis muneris ſui officiis occuparetur, nec ſuæ, nec alienæ mille curæ circa caput ſalientes, impedimento erant, quo minus Rempublicam capeſſeret: auſpicato die Regni ſenatum intravit Vir ad omnia natus, & ſedem ſuam dignitate implevit, eloquentiâ ornavit. Medicinam proſperè fecerat, ſcriptis illuſtraverat, famâ auxerat; deerat in laudis cumulum, ut periclitanti opem ferret, in diſcrimen adductam eriperet. Nec in morâ res fuit; hanc etiam merenai partem oblatam avide arripuit, fortiter explevit: Collegii hujus jura, avita, ſanctiſſima, Regum dona, erant qui in jus vocabant, imminutum ibant. Accurrit, dixit, propugnavit; literarum fautor, artium patronus. Argumentis, auctoritate, gratiâ, ſuâ & artis felicitate, omnes in unam ſententiam diſcedentes habuit, & privilegia noſtra, non tantum ſarta tecta ſervavit, ſed confirmata, ampliata reddidit. Stetit reipublicæ noſtræ fortuna, illabata, integra, ſplendida, præſtigiatorum opprobrium; quod oppugnata fuerat, illuſtrior; quod inſidiis petita, munitior; quod à malevolis odia habita, bonis omnibus charior.' We have already, moved by his merit, and conducted by his reputation, carried this article to an extraordinary length, which is ſufficient to excuſe our not adding the teſtimonies of foreign writers; but, that we may not be entirely defective in this point, let us obſerve, that his writings were admired, and the notions he advanced applauded, by the greateſt men in the Profeſſion throughout Europe; ſuch as Hoffman, in Germany; Helvetius, and Hecquet, in France; and Boerhaave, in Holland (31); which abundantly demonſtrates his abilities in his profeſſion, and frees us from any apprehenſion that the praiſes given him by his countrymen and contemporaries, were tinctured with the zeal of their perſonal friendſhips. This indeed, might be in them excuſable, but not in us; for we do not cite authors as elegant panegyriſts, but for their exquiſite judgments, which, in this caſe, being corroborated by ſuch diſintereſted, as well as ſuch capable witneſſes, we may be ſatisfied, that, in theſe endeavours to do juſtice to his memory, whoſe writings have been ſo uſeful to his profeſſion, ſo honourable to his country, and ſo beneficial to mankind, we have done our duty as well as gratified our inclinations.' E

(30) *Oratio Anniverſaria in Theatro Collegii Regalis Medicorum Londinenſium*, ex Harvæi *inſtituto habita* 18 *Octobris* 1735. p. 19, &c.

(31) J. Wigan. Præfat. ad opera medica Johannis Freind.

FROBISER, FROBISHER, FROBUSHER, or FORBISHER

(Sir MARTIN) [*A*], a moſt excellent navigator, and ſea-officer in the XVIth century, was born near Doncaſter in Yorkſhire (*a*). Who were his parents, or in what year he was born, is not mentioned any where. But being brought up in his youth to Navigation, either through his own or his friends choice, he became one of the moſt eminent Sailors in his time: and was the firſt Engliſhman that attempted to find out a *North-Weſt paſſage to China*. For, having a thorough knowledge of the ſphere, and being extremely well ſkilled in his profeſſion, he judged, from his own experience, and many years obſervations both by ſea and land, that a Voyage that way was not only poſſible, but alſo moſt eaſily practicable. Having therefore well laid his deſign, he reſolved to go and put it himſelf in execution; But wanting ſhips and other neceſſaries for that purpoſe, which he could not procure at his ſole charge, he conſulted a long time with his private friends how to have his wants ſupplied. He made alſo many offers to ſeveral Engliſh merchants, even for a courſe of *Fifteen* years; but meeting at laſt with no ſufficient encouragement from them [*B*], he applied to Queen Elizabeth's Court, which, under her royal influence, promoted to the utmoſt the Trade and Navigation of England. And ſo, through the favour and countenance of her wiſe Miniſters, particularly of Ambroſe Dudley Earl of Warwick, he engaged a ſufficient number of Adventurers in the affair; and, by degrees, with no ſmall expence and pains, collected ſuch ſums of money as enabled him to fit himſelf out for his voyage. The ſhips he provided, were only three; namely, two ſmall Barks of about twenty-five tuns a-piece; named the Gabriel, and the Michael: the one commanded by himſelf, the other by Capt. Matthew Kinerſley; and a pinnace of ten tuns burthen (*b*). June 8, 1576, they ſailed from Deptford [*C*], and, bending their courſe Northward, came,

(*a*) Stow's Annales, edit. 1631. p. 809.

(*b*) Hakluyt's Collect. of Voyages, &c. Vol. III. p. 29, 57, 58. Purchas Pilgrim. Vol. V. p. 811.

[*A*] *FROBISHER, &c.*] Thus variouſly is his name written, by ſuch of our own, or other authors, as mention him. But we are aſſured, that he uſed to ſubſcribe his letters, (of which ſeveral are extant in the Harleian Library of MSS.) by the name of *Frobiſer*.

[*B*] *But meeting at laſt with no ſufficient encouragement from them.*] The words of our author, George Beſt, as in Hakluyt (1), are, 'that hardly he was hearkened unto of the merchants, which never regard virtue, without ſure, certain, and preſent gains.' Too ſevere a reflexion!

[*C*] *June* 8. 1576, *they ſailed from Deptford.*] How much they were countenanced and encouraged by

(1) Ubi ſupra, p. 58.

came, the 24th of the ſame month, within ſight of Fara, or Faire-iſle, one of the iſlands of Shetland. Thence they caſt about to the Weſtward, in 59 degrees of latitude; and the 11th of July, being in 61 degrees, diſcovered Freeſeland bearing Weſt-North-Weſt, which ſtood high, and was all covered with ſnow [D]. Making towards it, they could not land, by reaſon of the ice, and depth of water, which, near the ſhore, was above 150 fathoms: The eaſt point of this iſland the Captain named *Queen Elizabeth's Foreland*. On the 28th of the ſaid month, in 62 degrees of latitude, they had ſight of *Meta Incognita* (c), being part of New Groenland; towards which advancing, they endeavoured to find out a harbour, and to land, but could not for the reaſons juſt now mentioned (d). Auguſt the 10th he went on a deſart iſland, three miles from the continent; but ſtay'd there only a few hours. The next day, in latitude 63 degrees 8 minutes, he entered into a Streight, which he called, and that hath ever ſince borne the name of, *Forbiſher's Streight*; and went as far as 60 leagues in it. On the 12th, ſailing to Gabriel's-iſland, they came to a Sound, which they named *Prior's-Sound*, and anchored in a ſandy bay there. The 15th they ſailed to *Prior's-bay*: the 17th to *Thomas Williams*'s iſland: and the 18th came to an anchor under *Burcher*'s iſland; where they went on ſhore, and had ſome communication with the natives [E]: but he was ſo unfortunate as to have five of his men, and a boat, taken by thoſe barbarians. Having endeavoured in vain to recover them, he ſet again ſail for England on the 26th of Auguſt; came within ſight of Freeſeland the 1ſt of September; and, notwithſtanding a terrible ſtorm on the 7th of the ſame month, he arrived ſafe at Harwich October the 2d (e). He took poſſeſſion of the country in the Queen of England's name; and, in token of ſuch poſſeſſion, ordered his men to bring him whatever they could firſt find. One, among the reſt, brought a piece of black ſtone, much like a ſea-coal, but very weighty. Having, at his return, diſtributed fragments of it among his friends, one of the adventurer's wives threw a fragment into the fire; which being taken out again, and quenched in vinegar, gliſtered like gold; and being tried by ſome refiners in London, was found to contain a rich quantity of that metal (f). From this Eſſay, the Nation dreaming of nothing but mountains of gold, great numbers earneſtly preſſed, and ſoon fitted out, Capt. Frobiſher to undertake a *Second* Voyage the very next Spring. The Queen lent him a ſhip of the royal navy, named the Aid, of 200 tun; and he had beſides two ſmall barks, of about 30 tuns a-piece: one named The Gabriel, and the other The Michael. His whole complement, of gentlemen, ſoldiers, and ſailors, was about 140 [F], furniſhed with victuals, and all other neceſſaries for half a year (g). May 26, 1577, they fell down to Graveſend [G], and two days after came to Harwich, where Capt. Forbiſher went on board; having been to take his leave of the Queen, who was then at the Earl of Warwick's ſeat in Eſſex. The Privy-Council having ſent him orders, not to take in more men than the number appointed him, he diſcharged ſeveral to their great grief: And ſetting ſail May 31, arrived in St Magnus Sound at the Orkney-iſlands June 7. After having taken there a few neceſſaries, they proceeded, June 8, on their voyage; and kept their

courſe

(c) Which they wrongly ſuppoſed to be Labrador. Hakluyt, ibid. p. 30.

(d) Ibid. and p. 58.

(e) Hakluyt, ibid. p. 31, 51.

(f) Ibid. p. 60.

(g) Ibid. p. 32, 60.

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by their good miſtreſs Queen Elizabeth, appears by this paſſage, out of the account of their voyage. '*We* 'bare down by the Court [then at Greenwich] where 'we ſhotte off our ordinance, and made the beſt ſhew 'we coulde. Her Majeſtie beholding the ſame, commended it, and bade us farewell, with ſhaking her 'hand at us out of the window. Afterward ſhee ſent 'a gentleman aboord of us, who declared that her 'Majeſtie had good liking of our doings, and thanked 'us for it, and alſo willed our Captaine to come the 'next day to the Court to take his leave of her. The 'ſame day towards night, Mr Secretarie Woolly came 'aboorde of us, and declared to the company, that 'her Majeſtie had appointed him to give them charge 'to be obedient, and diligent to their Captaine, and 'governours in all things, and wiſhed us happie ſucceſſe (2).'

[D] *And was all covered with ſnow.*] George Beſt, who writ an account of this voyage, affirms, that Captain Frobiſher, 'not far from hence, loſt 'company of his ſmall pinnace; which he ſuppoſed, 'in a great ſtorm, to be ſwallowed up by the ſea, 'but loſt in it only four men. Alſo that the other 'bark, named the Michael, conveyed themſelves 'away privately from him, and returned home, with 'a ſtrong report that he was caſt away.' Notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, and tho' his maſt was ſprung, and his top-maſt blown over-board with extream foul weather, he continued his courſe (3).—— But the other relation of the ſame voyage, written by Chriſtopher Hall, Maſter of the Gabriel, mentions no ſuch thing (4).

[E] *And had ſome communication with the natives.*] They were like the Tartars, or Samoeids, with long black hair, broad faces, flat noſes, and tawny: the garments both of men and women were made of ſeal-ſkins, and did not differ in faſhion. But the women were marked in the face with blue ſtreaks, down the cheeks, and round the eyes. Their boats were made of ſeals-ſkins, with a keel of wood within the ſkins; flat at bottom, and ſharp at both ends (5) They appeared, by ſeveral circumſtances, to be a diſperſed and wandring nation, living in hords and troops, without any certain place of abode (6).

[F] *His whole complement of gentlemen, ſoldiers, and ſailors was about* 140] Thoſe on board the Aid, officers and gentlemen were, Martin Frobiſher, General of the whole company for her Majeſty; George Beſt, Lieutenant; Richard Philpot, Enſign; Francis Forder, Corporal of the Shot; Chriſtopher Hall, Maſter; Charles Jackman, Mate; Andrew Dier, Pilot; Richard Cox, Maſter-gunner. Together with theſe gentlemen, Henry Carew, Edmund Stafford, John Lee, M. Harvie, Matthew and Robert Kinerſley, Abraham Lins, Francis Brakenbury, William Armſhow.——The chief on board the Gabriel; Captain Edward Fenton, a gentleman of the Earl of Warwick's; William Tanfield, Gent; William Smyth, Maſter.——On board the Michael; Captain Gilbert Yorke, a gentleman of the Lord Admiral's; Thomas Chamberlaine, Gent; James Beare, Maſter (7).

[G] *May* 26. 1577, *they fell down to Graveſend.*] And there performed an act of religion, not ſo frequent as it ought to be among men of their profeſſion, expoſed to ſo many perils; of which be pleaſed to take an account in the words of their journal. 'On Munday morning the 27th of May, aboord the Ayde 'we received all the Communion by the Miniſter of 'Graveſend, and prepared us as good Chriſtians towards God, and reſolute men for all fortunes (8).'

[H] *With-*

(2) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 29.

(3) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 58. See alſo Holinſhed's Chron. edit. 1587. p. 1262.

(4) Hakluyt, as above, p. 30.

(5) Hakluyt, ibid. p. 31, 59, 93.

(6) Ibid. p. 67.

(7) Hakluyt, p. 32, 60, 61.

(8) Hakluyt, p. 61.

courſe Weſt-North-Weſt, for the ſpace of 26 days, without ſight of any land [*H*]. At length, on the 4th of July being in the latitude of 60 degrees and a half, they diſcovered Freeſeland; along the coaſt of which they found iſlands of ice of incredible bigneſs [*I*]. Not having been able ſafely to land in this place, they proceeded for *Forbiſher*'s Streights, and, on the 17th of the ſaid month, made the North-Foreland in them, otherwiſe named Hall's iſland (*b*); as alſo a ſmaller iſle of the ſame name, where they had, in their laſt voyage, found the ore, but could not get now a piece ſo big as a wallnut However, they met with good quantity of it in other adjacent iſlands. On the 19th they went upon Hall's greater iſland, to diſcover the country, and the nature of the inhabitants; with ſome of whom they traffick'd [*K*], and took one of them, neither in a very juſt nor handſome manner: And upon a Hill here, they erected a Column of Stones, which they called Mount Warwick. The 21ſt they diſcovered a Bay into which they anchored, and named it *Jackman's Sound*, from the Maſter's mate, who firſt lik'd the place. Upon a ſmall iſland within it, called *Smith's iſland* (from one of that name who firſt ſet up his forge there), they found mines, both of ſilver and gold; but not ſufficient, it ſeems, to merit their attention [*L*]. As they went along theſe ſtreights, they landed on both ſides, namely July 23d on the South ſide [*M*], and the 26th on the North ſide, without meeting any thing very remarkable. One of the Bays they anchored in, was named by them *Beare's Sound*, from James Beare Maſter of the Michael; and an iſland in it, *Leiceſter's iſle*, in honour of Robert Dudley Earl of Leiceſter. Another bay received the appellation of *Yorke's Sound*, from Gilbert Yorke Captain of the Michael; under whoſe conduct, a party landing in an iſland there, had a bloody conflict with ſome of the natives, five or ſix of which they killed, and brought away a woman with her child [*N*]. Further up, they named

(*b*) He was maſter of the Gabriel, in the former voyage. Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 63.

[*H*] *Without ſight of any land.*] But they met great drifts of wood, and whole bodies of trees: which were either blown off the cliffs of the neareſt lands, by violent ſtorms; or rooted up, and carried by floods into the ſea. They imagined, that they were brought from ſome part of the Newfound-land, with the current that ſetteth from the Weſt to the Eaſt (9).

[*I*] *Along the coaſt of which they found iſlands of ice of incredible bigneſs.*] Some were ſeventy or eighty fathoms under water, beſides the part that ſtood above water; and more than half a mile in circuit. Upon taſting the ice of which they conſiſted, it was found quite freſh without brackiſhneſs. From whence they concluded, that thoſe iſlands were bred, in the ſounds or bays adjoining, either from melted ſnow, or freſh rivers, and driven with the wind and tide along the coaſts. For, as to their proceeding from the ſuppoſed *Mare Glaciale*, or frozen ſea; that they looked upon as abſurd (10).

[*K*] *With ſome of whom they trafficked*] Their manner of trafficking was thus: two on each ſide met, without weapons, at a good diſtance from the reſt of their company. And then laying down upon the ground what they could or choſe to part withal, they retired a little. If the ſavages liked what the others had ſet down, they took it, leaving their own goods in exchange: but if they did not like what was put down, they took up again their own wares, and marched away (11).

[*L*] *But not ſufficient, it ſeems, to merit their attention.*] Upon another iſland near, they found a Sea-Unicorn dead, about twelve foot long, and of a proportionable bigneſs; having a horn two yards long growing out of its ſnout, which they brought home, and is ſtill kept at Windſor (12).

[*M*] *Namely, July 23, on the South ſide.*] What they did there, I ſhall relate in their own words. 'Our General commanding a trumpet to ſound a call 'for every man to repair to the enſign, he declared 'to the whole company [being about ſeventy in num'ber] how much the cauſe imported for the ſervice 'of her Majeſtie, our countrey, our credits, and the 'ſafetie of our own lives; and therefore required 'every man to be conformable to order, and to be 'directed by thoſe he ſhould aſſigne. And he ap'pointed for leaders, Captaine Fenton, Captaine 'Yorke, and his Lieutenant George Beſte: which 'done, we caſt ourſelves into a ring, and all togither 'upon our knees, gave God humble thanks for that 'it had pleaſed him of his great goodneſs to preſerve 'us from ſuch imminent dangers, beſeeching likewiſe 'the aſſiſtance of his holy ſpirite, ſo to deliver us in 'ſafetie into our countrey, whereby the light and 'truth of theſe ſecrets being knowen, it might re'dound to the more honour of his holy name, and 'conſequently to the advancement of our Common'wealth. And ſo, in as good ſort as the place ſuf'fered, we marched towards the tops of the moun'taines, which were no leſſe painfull in climbing then 'dangerous in deſcending, by reaſon of their ſteep'neſſe and yce. And having paſſed about five miles, 'by ſuch unwieldy wayes, we returned unto our ſhips 'without ſight of any people, or likelihood of habi'tation (13).'

[*N*] *Five of which they killed, and brought away a woman with her child.*] It is manifeſt from our people's own account, that they were the aggreſſors, and attacked the poor ſavages in their boats: a ſtrange way of endeavouring to civilize thoſe people! It might be ſaid, by way of excuſe, that it was done as a kind of retaliation for their taking the five Engliſh, the year before: but this excuſe cannot hold good, unleſs it had been quite certain, that the perſons thus attacked were the very ſame that had taken thoſe five priſoners.——The woman they took, was encumbred with a child, which prevented her eſcape. And, in ſhooting at her, they wounded the child in one arm; to cure which the Engliſh chirurgeon applied ſalves. But the mother, not acquainted with ſuch kind of ſurgery, plucked off the plaiſter; and by continual licking of the wound with her tongue, healed the child's arm (14).——Having now a woman for the man they had taken before, they brought them together; and extreme was their ſurpriſe, and ſtrange their geſtures and behaviour, at their firſt meeting. They ſtared a while at each other, without ſpeaking a word; tho' great and viſible was the change in their colour and countenance all the while. At laſt, the woman ſuddenly turned away, and fell a ſinging as if ſhe had minded ſomething elſe, ſeeming to diſdain or not regard the man. But being brought together again, the man broke ſilence firſt, and with a ſtern and ſtayed countenanced began a long ſtory, which the woman attentively liſtened to, without interrupting him. Afterwards being grown better acquainted by converſing together, they ſeemed not to be eaſy without each other's company. But tho' ſhe would do all kind and friendly offices for him, as a good houſewife yet they never knew one another as man and wife; [having undoubtedly left ſome behind, in that relation to each other, when they were taken] And ſo extremely ſtrict and remarkable was their baſhfulneſs and modeſty, that they could not bear to appear naked in each other's preſence, or any one's elſe: and their continence very much ſurpaſſed that of multitudes of Chriſtians, and others ſo in name, who pretend to more politeneſs and knowledge, but really have much leſs virtue and morality, than thoſe honeſt heathens (15).

(9) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 33, 61.

(10) Ibid. p. 62.

(11) Ibid. p. 63.

(12) Ibid. p. 65. And Supplement at the end of Sir John Narborough's, &c. Voyages, p. 190.

(13) Hakluyt, p. 65.

(14) Ibid. p. 68.

(15) Ibid. p. 69.

[*O*] *And*

named another bay, with an iſland, *Anne Counteſs of Warwick's Sound, and Iſland.* And this was the furtheſt place they went, this year, within thoſe Streights [O]; being only about 30 leagues (i). For, the Captain's commiſſion directed him, in this voyage, only to ſearch for ore, and to leave the further diſcovery of the North-Weſt paſſage till another time (k). Having therefore, in the iſland laſt mentioned, found a good quantity of ore, he took a lading of it; intending, the firſt opportunity, to return home. But, before that, he would fain have recovered the five men he loſt the foregoing year; for which purpoſe he landed in ſeveral adjacent places [P], and uſed all poſſible and imaginable means, tho' ſtill in vain (l). So, deſpairing of ever ſeeing them again, they ſet ſail on the 23d of Auguſt; and, tho' very much toſſed and ſeparated by ſtorms, all ſafely arrived in England, about the end of September, the Aid at Milford-haven, the Gabriel at Briſtol, and the Michael at Yarmouth. In this voyage they loſt only two men; the Maſter of the Gabriel, who was waſhed over-board; and one who died at ſea, being ill when he went out (m). Capt. Frobiſher was moſt graciouſly received by the Queen, whoſe ſingular pleaſure and glory it was, to extend the Engliſh name and trade to the furtheſt parts of the habitable world. And, as the gold ore he brought had an appearance and ſhew of great riches and profit; and the hopes of a North-Weſt paſſage to China were greatly increaſed by this ſecond voyage, the Queen appointed Commiſſioners to make trial of the ore, and examine thoroughly into the whole affair. Alſo the new-diſcovered country not being known by any particular name, her Majeſty named it *Meta Incognita* (n). The Commiſſioners, after ſufficient proof of the ore, and examination of every circumſtance, reported, How great was the value of the undertaking; and the expediency of further carrying on the diſcovery of the North-Weſt paſſage. Whereupon ſuitable preparations were made, with all poſſible diſpatch. And, becauſe the mines newly found out were ſufficient to anſwer all Adventurers charges, it was thought neceſſary to ſend a ſelect number of ſoldiers, and other proper perſons, to ſecure the places already diſcovered, to make further diſcoveries in the inland parts, and to ſearch again for the paſſage to Cathay. As they were to be left behind, a ſtrong Fort of timber was framed to be ſet up at their landing, in order to protect them from the injuries of the weather, and defend them againſt all attacks of the natives. The adventurers which willingly offered, and were appointed, to ſtay in that cold and deſart country all the year round, were 100 in number; whereof 40 were mariners for the uſe of the ſhips, 30 miners to dig the ore, and 30 ſoldiers to guard the whole company, in which laſt number were included the gentlemen, refiners, bakers, carpenters, and other uſeful perſons. Their leaders were Capt. Edward Fenton, Lieutenant-general to Admiral Frobiſher, Capt Beſt, and Capt Philpot. To each of theſe Captains was aſſigned one ſhip; as well for the better ſearching of the coaſt and country; as to bring them back again to England, if they ſhould be driven by neceſſity, or diſappointed of a fleet's coming the next year. Beſides theſe three ſhips, twelve others were fitted out for this voyage [Q], which were to return in the end of the Summer, with a lading of gold ore (o). They aſſembled at Harwich the 27th of May, from whence they departed the 31ſt of the ſame month, and ſailing Weſtward through the Engliſh channel, arrived, June 6, at Cape Clear in Ireland. Then they bent their courſe Northward [R], and in fourteen days came within ſight of Weſt Freeſeland, where the General went on ſhore, and taking poſſeſſion of the country in the Queen of England's name, named it *Weſt England*; and one high cliff therein, *Charing-Croſs*. June the 23d they made for Forbiſher's-ſtreights, and on the

(i) Hakluyt, p. 66.

(k) Ibid. p. 70.

(l) Ibid. p. 69, 70, 71.

(m) Ibid. p. 39, 73.

(n) i.e. An unknown mark, or boundary.

(o) Ibid. p. 74.

[O] *And this was the furtheſt place they went this year, within thoſe ſtreights.*] They obſerved, among other things, that in the narroweſt parts, they were nine leagues broad at the leaſt (16).

[P] *For which purpoſe he landed in ſeveral adjacent places.*] Upon the main land over againſt the Counteſs's iſland, they obſerved with aſtoniſhment the caves or winter-habitations of the natives. They were two fathoms under ground, round like an oven, and had a communication with each other. That the water falling from the hills above might not annoy them, there were proper trenches made deep under them, to carry off the water. And generally they were ſeated at the foot of a hill, in order to be ſecured from the piercing cold winds; for which reaſon alſo, the door or entrance into them was always towards the South. From the ground upward they were built with whales bones, for want of timber, which bending one over another, were handſomly compacted together at the top; and covered with ſeals ſkins, inſtead of tiles that are unknown in that country. Each of theſe houſes conſiſted only of one room, and half of the floor was raiſed with broad ſtones a foot higher than the reſt; upon which ſtrewing moſs, the poor inhabitants laid themſelves down to reſt (17).

[Q] *Beſides theſe three ſhips, twelve others were fitted out for this voyage.*] The names of all the ſhips, and of their Captains, were, the Aid, being the Admiral-ſhip, in which was the General Capt. Frobiſher; the Thomas Allen, Vice-Admiral, Capt. Yorke; the Judith, Lieutenant-general, Capt. Fenton; the Anne Francis, Capt. Beſt; the Hopewell, Capt. Carew; the Beare, Capt. Philpot; the Thomas of Ipſwich, Capt. Tanfield; the Emmanuel of Exeter, Capt. Courtney; the Francis of Fowey, Capt. Moyles; the Moone, Capt. Upcot; the Emmanuel of Bridgwater, Capt. Newton; the Solomon [or Salamander] of Weymouth, Capt. Randal; the Bark Dennis, Capt. Kendal; the Gabriel, Capt. Harvey; the Michael, Capt. Kinerſley (18).

[R] *Then they bent their courſe northward.*] As they were ſailing towards the Northweſt parts from Ireland, they met with a great current from the Southweſt, which carried them one point to the Northeaſtward of their courſe. And it ſeemed to continue towards Norway, and other North-eaſt parts of the world; which made them believe it to be the ſame, the Portugueſe had obſerved at the Cape of Good Hope. That, in their opinion, being obſtructed in its weſtern courſe by the narrowneſs of the ſtreights of Magellan, ran along into the Bay of Mexico, where alſo meeting another obſtruction from the land, it was forced to ſtrike back towards the North-eaſt (19).

[S] *Which*

(16) Ibid. p. 69.

(17) Ibid. p. 66.

(18) Ibid. p. 75.

(19) Ibid. p. 76.

the 2d of July came within the mouth of them; but being obſtructed by the ice (which ſunk the Bark Dennis) [S], and driven out to ſea by a violent ſtorm, they were ſo unfortunate as not to hit the entrance into them again. For, inſtead thereof, being deceived by a ſwift current from the North-Eaſt, which had dragged them many miles more South-Weſtward than was thought poſſible, and remaining twenty days in a continual fog, they ran above ſixty leagues into Streights hitherto unknown [T], before they were ſenſible of their miſtake. However, coming back again, the Admiral made for the real Streights that bore his name; and, on the 23d of July, at a place within them called *Hatton's headland*, found ſeven ſhips of his fleet, by which he was heartily welcomed. At length, on the 31ſt of the ſame month, after many difficulties, he recovered his long deſired port, and came to anchor in the Counteſs of Warwick's ſound (*p*). But the ſeaſon of the year was ſo far advanced, that he could not pretend to undertake any new diſcoveries during this voyage; and part of the wooden Fort being loſt, a Council which was called, did not think it adviſeable to leave thoſe perſons behind, that were carried on purpoſe to winter in that deſolate country [U]. So all that remained to do, was to get as much ore as they poſſibly could; which they did in great quantities, particularly out of a new place, named by them the Counteſs of Suſſex's mine (*q*). Whilſt the ſhips were loading, General Forbiſher having an extreme deſire of making ſome further Diſcovery, went higher up the Streights in a pinnace; and found, that by Beare's ſound and Hall's iſland the land was not firm, as he imagined, but all broken iſlands, in form of an Archipelago. At the ſame time, the maſons were employed in building a houſe of lime and ſtone upon the Counteſs of Warwick's iſland; by way of trial, to ſee what effect the froſt and ſnow would have upon it againſt the next Seaſon, or whether the natives would take it to pieces. And to allure them to civility againſt other times of their coming, they left in the houſe, bells, knives, looking-glaſſes, pictures of men and women in lead, whiſtles, and ſuch other toys as they knew them to be delighted with. They made alſo an oven in the houſe, and left bread baked, for them to ſee and taſte. The timber of their intended fort, they buried; and ſowed peaſe, corn, and other grain, to try what the ſoil would produce againſt their coming again. On the laſt day of Auguſt, and the day following, the whole fleet ſet ſail from the Counteſs of Warwick's Sound; and, after a ſtormy and very dangerous paſſage, arrived ſafely in England, about the beginning of October. The Emmanuel of Bridgewater being left behind the reſt, in great danger of never getting out of the ice, was forced to ſeek a way Northward, beyond Beare's ſound, through an unknown channel full of rocks, into the North-Sea, upon the back of Frobiſher's Streights [W]. And, in her paſſage home, to the South-Eaſt of Freeſeland, diſcovered a great Iſland in the latitude of 57 degrees and a half, which was never found before; along the coaſt of which they ſailed for three days, the land ſeeming to be fruitful, full of woods, and a champain country. In all this voyage, there died not above forty perſons in the whole fleet: a ſmall number, conſidering the extreme hardſhips and the variety of fortunes they underwent (*r*)! We can find no account, how Capt. Forbiſher employed himſelf from this time till the year 1585, when he commanded the Aid, in Sir Francis Drake's Expedition to the Weſt-Indies; which was attended with the glorious ſucceſs of taking and ſacking St Domingo in Hiſpaniola, Carthagena on the continent, and Santa Juſtina in Florida, three towns of great importance (*s*) [X]. In 1588, he bravely exerted himſelf in the defence

(*p*) Ibid. p. 84.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 90.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 91, 92, 93.

(*s*) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, in Collection of Voyages, printed for Churchill. edit. 1745. Vol. III. p. 155.

[S] *Which ſunk the Bark Dennis.*] All the men were ſaved; but part of the timber-frame of the Fort, which was in this ſhip, ſunk with it, and was irrecoverably loſt (20).

[T] *They ran above ſixty leagues into Streights hitherto unknown.*] Theſe were the Streights between the Iſle Deſolation, and another Iſle ſouth of the ſame. Such as ſailed furtheſt into them, met with the outlet or paſſage leading into Forbiſher's Streights. And ſome had ſight of a ſuppoſed continent on their left hand, but could make no part of it exactly; except certain iſlands in the entrance thereof. That whole track of land ſeemed to be more fruitful, and better ſtored with deer, foxes, hares, and all kind of fowl, than any part they had yet diſcovered, and more populous (21).

[U] *That were carried on purpoſe to winter in that deſolate country.*] The chief reaſons againſt their ſtaying, were theſe. Upon peruſing the bills of lading, it was found, that only the Eaſt and South ſides of the Fort were arrived, and thoſe not entire; for many pieces had been uſed by ſome of the ſhips when they were diſtreſſed by the ice, and broken or loſt. Then, there was not a ſufficient quantity of drink and fuel for the number of perſons that were to be left. And upon enquiring of the Carpenters and Maſons, what time it would take up to erect a houſe only for ſixty men; they replied, eight or nine weeks, if there were timber ſufficient. Whereas now there were but ſix and twenty days in all, they could ſtay in that miſerable cold country. For theſe reaſons, the deſign was abſolutely laid aſide, at leaſt for this year (22).

[W] *Upon the back of Forbiſher's Streights.*] The General himſelf had gone into this paſſage with his pinnace; and ſome of his company diſcovered therein (as they affirmed) a large foreland; from whence they imagined here was a great probability of the wideſt paſſage towards the South-Sea (23). But time has ſhewn that they were miſtaken ——For a further account of the attempts made ſince to diſcover the North-weſt paſſage, ſee what was publiſhed upon that ſubject by Arthur Dobbs, Eſq; Capt. C. Middleton, in 1743. and 1744. and Capt. Ellis, in 1746, and 1747.

[X] *Three towns of great importance.*] This fleet, (as Sir William Monſon obſerves,) was the greateſt of any nation but the Spaniards, that had been ever ſeen in thoſe ſeas from the firſt diſcovery of them (24); and if it had been as well conſidered of before their going from home, as it was happily performed by the valour of the undertakers, it had more annoyed the King of Spain than all other actions that enſued during the time of the war.—For had we kept and defended thoſe places, when in our poſſeſſion, and provided to have been relieved and ſuccoured out of England, we had diverted the war from this part of Europe;——and with more eaſe incroached upon the reſt of the Indies, than the King of Spain could have aided or ſuccoured them (25).

(20) Hakluyt, p. 78.

(21) Ibid. p. 81.

(22) Ibid. p. 86.

(23) Ibid. p. 93.

(24) It conſiſted of twenty five ſail.

(25) Monſon's Tracts, p. 155.

[Y] Of

fence of his country againſt the Spaniſh Armada; commanding then the Triumph, one of the three largeſt ſhips in that ſervice, and which had on board the greateſt number of men of any in the whole Engliſh fleet (*t*). On the 26th of July, he received the honour of Knighthood, from the hand of the Lord High-Admiral, at ſea, on board his own ſhip the Ark, amongſt four others of the gallanteſt officers (*u*); for a reward, and encouragement, of their moſt diſtinguiſhed and unparallel'd valour (*w*). And when, after this ſignal victory, Queen Elizabeth thought it neceſſary to keep a fleet on the Spaniſh coaſt, as well to hinder the freſh preparations King Philip might make againſt her, as to intercept his flota's from America, Sir Martin was employed in that ſervice; particularly in 1590, when he commanded a ſquadron, as Sir John Hawkins did another: But tho' they alarmed the coaſts of Spain, and ranged as far as Tercera (*x*), they had not ſo good ſucceſs in making of prizes; as in 1592, when two ſhips of good value were taken by Sir Martin, and a rich carack by another part of his ſquadron (*y*). In 1594, he was ſent with four men of war (*z*) to the aſſiſtance of Henry IV, King of France, againſt a body of the Leaguers and Spaniards then in poſſeſſion of part of Bretagne, which had fortified themſelves very ſtrongly at Croyzon near Breſt. But in an aſſault upon that fort, on the 7th of November, Sir Martin unfortunately was wounded with a ball in the hip, or ſide, of which he died [*Y*] ſoon after he had ſafely brought back the fleet to Plymouth (*a*); and was buried in that town (*b*). Some accuſe him, of having been harſh and violent (*c*); but he is univerſally allowed, to have been a man of great and undaunted courage, and inferior to none of his age in Experience and Conduct, or the reputation of a brave Commander (*d*).

(*t*) It was a ſhip of 500 tuns, and had on board 1100 men. Liſt of the Engliſh fleet, in the Deſcription of the Tapeſtry, as below.

(*u*) The Lord Thomas Howard, Edmund Lord Sheffield, Roger Townſend, and John Hawkins.

(*w*) Deſcription by P. M. of the Tapeſtry Hangings in the Houſe of Lords, engraved by J. Pine. 1738. fol. p. 9, 13, 16.

(*x*) Linſchoten's Voyages, ch. 99.

(*y*) Monſon's Tracts, p. 162, 164.

(*z*) Stow ſays ten, which is more probable. Ubi ſupra.

(*a*) The memorable ſervice of Sir John Norice, at Breſt, in Britaine, by Tho. Churchyard. Lond. 1602, 4to. p. 135—141. And Monſon's Tracts, p. 166.

(*b*) Stow's Annales, p. 809.

(*c*) Stow, ibid.

(*d*) Churchyard, ubi ſupra, p. 141. And Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1594.

[*Y*] *Of which he died*] The wound was not in itſelf mortal, but became ſo through the negligence of his chirurgeon; who only extracted the bullet, without duly ſearching the wound, and taking out the wadding that was driven in, which cauſed the wound to feſter (26). There is a good painting of him in the Picture-gallery at Oxford. C

(26) Stow, ubi ſupra.

FULLER (THOMAS), an eminent Divine and Hiſtorian in the reigns of King Charles the Firſt and Second; was the ſon of the Rev. Mr *Thomas Fuller*, Miniſter of St Peter's, in the town of Alwincle, or Oldwincle (*a*), near Oundel in Northamptonſhire; who being preſented to that benefice by William Cecil, Earl of Exeter, as may be gathered from our author's account in the ſame place, did, by the painful diſcharge of his paſtoral office, and peaceful evaſion of thoſe diſputes and controverſies, ſo frequent in his time between the Puritans and Papiſts, acquit himſelf there with general ſatisfaction; and was in good eſteem among the moſt eminent *Literati* in thoſe parts, particularly Sir Robert Cotton; who once told him, he had met with a true *Plantagenet* at plough (*). In that town (which is ſome five miles diſtant from) and not in Oundel, as David Lloyd miſtakes (*b*), his ſaid ſon, Thomas, was born in the year 1608 (*c*). His mother was ſiſter to Dr John Davenant, afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury; as from his own, and other writings, may be gathered [*A*]: and that town was many years reckoned moſt notable for being the birth-place of this *Hiſtorian*; as it was afterwards, for giving his firſt breath alſo to Mr Dryden, the famous Poet. His pregnant parts were ſo ripened, under his father's tuition, for the Univerſity, when he was not above twelve years of age, that he was then ſent, in 1620, to Queen's College in Cambridge (*d*), where his father had been, it ſeems, himſelf educated; and here, under the care and government of his uncle Dr Davenant, then Maſter of that College, and ſoon after Biſhop, as aforeſaid, he made ſuch extraordinary progreſs in his learning, that he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1624, and that of Maſter in 1628 (*e*), with general approbation, and at ſuch an unuſual age, that it is obſerved the like early commencement had not been within memory. About the end of thoſe *firſt eight years* education, which he received in this Univerſity, at that College (*f*) there became a Fellowſhip vacant, for which he ſtood candidate; and he had a double proſpect of ſucceeding, by merit as well as intereſt, beſides the inclinations of the whole Houſe; but

all

(*a*) See Dr Fuller's Piſgah Sight of Paleſtine, fol. in the Epiſt. Dedic. of lib. 5, to John Lord Burghley, p. 140. Alſo, his mixt Contemplations in better times, 8vo. 1660. Part ii. p. 64.

(*) Fuller's Church Hiſt. fol. 170.

(*b*) In his Memoirs of the Lives, &c. of the Nobles & others, who ſuffered for their Allegiance, from 1637 to 1660, &c. fol. 1668. p. 523.

(*c*) Computed from the Inſcription engraven by D. Loggan, round his Effigies, before his Worthies; and other Evidences hereafter occurring.

(*d*) The Life of that Rev. Divine, and learned Hiſtorian, Dr Thomas Fuller, edit. Lond. Printed for J. W. &c. 8vo. 1661. p. 3.

(*e*) The Univerſity Regiſter.

(*f*) See Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, fol. 82.

[*A*] *As from his own writings and others may be gathered*] Sir Anthony Welden informs us, that, among the Eccleſiaſtics in King James his reign, 'ſome 'worthy men were preferred *gratis*, to blow up the 'fame of Buckingham, and his party; as Dr Townſon, who paid nothing in fine or penſion; and after 'him, Davenant in the ſame Biſhoprick; yet, that, 'theſe were but as muſic before every hound (1).' Whereupon our author Dr Fuller makes this reflexion: 'Tho' both theſe perſons here praiſed, were my godfathers, and uncles; the one marrying the *ſiſter* of, 'the other being *brother* to, my *mother*: yet it does 'not tempt me to accept his praiſes, upon ſuch invidious terms; knowing, thoſe Biſhops, if alive, 'would condemn ſuch uncharitable commendations, 'which are, if not founded on, accompanied with, 'the diſgrace of others of their order:' and tho' he grants that, 'corruption was too common in this kind; 'yet were there, beſides them, many worthy Biſhops 'raiſed by their deſerts, without any ſimoniacal compliances (2).' Now, to that notice which our author here takes of his ſaid uncles, if we join what Anthony Wood ſays of them, 'that the former, Dr Robert Townſon, dying 15 May 1621, left fifteen 'children by his wife Margaret; and that the latter, 'Dr John Davenant, who died 20 of April 1641, 'was enjoined by King James not to take a wife (3),' we may conclude that, the ſaid Margaret, whom the former married, was ſiſter to Mrs Fuller our author's mother; and that the latter, who probably never was married, was Mrs Fuller's own brother, and conſequently that the maiden name of both the ſiſters was Davenant. Of his ſaid uncle Davenant, he has more than once ſpoken elſewhere (4).

(1) Sir A. Welden's Court and Character of K. James, p. 129, 130.

(2) Worthies of England, in Cambridgſhire p. 154.

(3) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 157.

(4) Church Hiſt. Book xi. fol. 176. And his Worthies of England, in London, fol. 207, &c.

[*B*] *The*

all their hopes were fruſtrated by the College ſtatutes, which, prohibiting the admittance of two Fellows from the ſaid county of Northampton, he relinquiſhed his pretenſions thereto, tho' he knew that a diſpenſation could have been procured for him; ſo unwilling to obtain that preferment was he, by ſetting others ſuch a precedent of irregularity (g). Thereupon, thro' the invitation of ſome learned friends, he tranſplanted himſelf in, or a little later than, the year laſt mentioned, to *Sidney College* in the ſame Univerſity (*). Here he was pupil under Dr Samuel Ward, Maſter thereof, and Margaret Profeſſor for above twenty-years (h). His private ſtudies, at this time, were chiefly *Divine Poetry*; and the firſt ſpecimen of it, that we find in print, was about three years after publiſhed [B]. In that College he had not been long ſettled, before he was choſen Miniſter of St *Bennet*'s pariſh, in the town of Cambridge; in which church he offered the firſt fruits of his paſtoral office; and here, by the moſt ſublime Divinity, in the moſt raviſhing elegancies, ſays my author, he attracted the audience of the Univerſity (i), and became a very popular preacher, at thoſe years when others are ſcarce publickly known. Being now arrived to the age of twenty-three (k), his extraordinary qualifications tendered him the Prebendſhip, in Saliſbury Cathedral, of *Netherbury in Eccleſia*, to which he was collated upon the deceaſe of Dr John Rawlinſon, on the 18th of June 1631 (l), and at the ſame time a Fellowſhip in *Sidney* College; whereupon he retired from the Univerſity, and betook himſelf to his prieſtly function, being thereunto ordained by Biſhop Davenant. And that Prebend was a commodious ſtep to another preferment more profitable, in the ſame dioceſe; being ſoon after inducted to the Rectory of *Broad-Winſor*, in Dorſetſhire; of which he mentions himſelf to have been once Miniſter (m), and, upon his advancement to this Benefice, he ſeems to date, in one place, the diſcontinuance of his living at Cambridge, about 1634 (n). After he had here exerciſed for ſome time his miniſterial charge, he was perſuaded by ſome friends to dignify his deſert, with the degrees which his time and ſtanding in the Univerſity allowed him. Accordingly, he returned to Cambridge, was gladly received, took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity in 1635 (o); and this commencement, thro' the extenſion of

(g) The Life of Dr Fuller, as before, p. 4.

(*) Idem, p. 5.

(h) His Worthies of Eng. in Durham, fol. 298. And Hiſt. of Cambridge, fol. 168.

(i) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 5.

(k) Ibid.

(l) A. Wood's Athen. Oxon. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 556. Alſo the Hiſt. and Antiq. of the Cathed. Church of Saliſbury, &c. edit. 8vo. 1719. p. 332.

(m) Worthies of Eng. in Dorſetſhire, fol. 278.

(n) Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 167.

(o) Univerſity Regiſter.

[B] *The firſt ſpecimen of his* DIVINE POETRY *in print, was about three years after publiſhed.*] The firſt performance of our author that has appeared to us in print, being a *Divine Poem*, very rare to be met with, and having had no deſcription given of it, the following account may not be unacceptable to the curious. It is entituled, DAVID'*s Hainous Sin, Heartie Repentance, and Heavie Puniſhment*. By THOMAS FULLER, Maſter of Arts, of *Sidney* College in *Cambridge*. London, printed by T. Coates, &c in a thin 8vo. 1631. 'Tis dedicated in verſe, To the Honourable Mr *William* and Mr *Chriſtopher Montagu*, ſons of the Right Honourable *Edward* Lord *Montagu* of *Boughton*. The whole three parts, conſiſt of 144 ſtanzas, of ſeven lines each; four *alternate*, and a *triplet* in baſe. A critical reader of poetry might find matters of remark in it; either to commend in ſome agreeable deſcriptions, natural ſimilies, and inſtructive reflections; or to cenſure in ſome few parts of the ſtyle, which were faſhionable elegancies in thoſe times: but in the whole, promiſing that, had he perſevered in the ſtudy and culture of poetry, his genius might have advanced him to ſome conſiderable rank among thoſe contemporaries, who were then favourites of the Muſes. His good ſenſe and ingenuity at that age, is diſtinguiſhable enough; his verſification is more compact or limited, and uſually flows with ſmoother cadence, than that of ſome riper wits of great name in thoſe days. Among other obſervable parts, the very propoſition and invocation are very comprehenſive, ſolemn, and regular: the perſuaſions of *David* by the *Spirit*, and the *Fleſh*; with the deſcription of *Uriah*'s drunkenneſs are very natural: the obſequious offer of the Elements to deſtroy *David* upon his tranſgreſſion, and after his reſtitution, to relieve and cheriſh him, are ſomewhat *Pictureſque*, and touching upon *Spenſer*'s imagry in miniature: his compariſon of thoſe variable *Elements* upon this occaſion, to temporiſing *Courtiers*, who will fawn upon a Miniſter, when he is reſtored to favour, as faſt as they flouted him in diſgrace, looks to have ſomething in it perfectly alive; and ſo does that figure, wherein we may imagine that we ſee *Abſolom* cringing, with ſupple neck and knees about the Court, to gather up what alms and fragments he could of popular favour and intereſt, by ſeizing upon one man's *hand*, to ſteal away his *heart*; and ſucking out the *ſoul* of another with deceitful *kiſſes*; enquiring the *name* of this, the *buſineſs* of that, and the *country* of t'other, to ſerve them all! proſtituting his promiſes, and enſlaving himſelf, to errant ſlaves: in whom alſo we have a further glimpſe of pride itſelf, groveling to be exalted to grandure, and exerciſing all the abject ſpirit of the moſt beggarly *poor*, to *worm* itſelf into *riches*: Or as our author words it,

Proud men are baſe, to compaſs their deſire;
They loweſt crouch, that higheſt do aſpire.

But this is a picture not near ſo agreeable as that of plain-dealing *Nathan*, in his ſtate of moderation; the knowing and communicative, the kind and compaſſionate *Nathan*; who being ſkilled in lancing a feſter'd ſoul, in ſearching and tenting the ſore, and ſtanching a bleeding-hearted ſinner; would heal his wounds with the ſovereign balſam of counſel, or bind up the disjointed members of his troubled mind. He was neither oppreſſed with that plenty which made him envied; nor diſtreſſed with that penury which made him deſpiſed: his purſuits were circumſcribed to his poſſeſſions; and as he was in no needful want, he thought wanton need moſt deſpicable; or that want in ſufficiency was the true mother of contempt: ſo, as his deſires were planted within the moſt temperate ſituation of command, they produced the ſweeteſt fruits of content: for, as our Poet ſays,

High hills are parch'd with heat, or hid with ſnow,
And humble dales, ſoon drown'd, that lie too low;
Whilſt happy grain, on hanging hills doth grow.

Deſcriptions more flowery might be hither tranſplanted; ſuch as are ſo gently ſtrewed over *David*'s child in death, and others; but as his gravity in this poem prevails above the natural gaiety of his genius, we have choſen in this *hiſtorical* work, to inſtance thoſe few particulars, which are rather in the edifying and *profitable*, than to hunt after ſuch as may run into a more pleaſing and *poetical* vein. At the cloſe of this performance, our author having ſubſided into the characters of Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and King *Charles* I. and lamented the loſs of the Duke of *Brunſwick*, with the diſcords then in *Europe*, thro' the wars in the *Netherlands*, *Denmark*, &c. he very properly and piouſly concludes, that thoſe grievances may be bewailed by mankind, but till they are redreſſed by Providence, they are more befitting his *prayers* than his *pen*.

[C] *His*

of a liberal diſpoſition, agreeable to that of his literary affluence, coſt him ſevenſcore pounds (*p*). It ſeems, according to his own reckoning, that he did not account himſelf totally removed, or departed from *Sidney* College, before 1636; becauſe he alſo gratefully acknowledges this to have been his mother, for his *eight laſt years* in this univerſity (*q*). After his return into Dorſetſhire, and during his receſs in that Rectory, he applied himſelf to compleat ſome other of the books he had begun at Cambridge: And there, about the year 1638, or not long before, he was married to a virtuous young gentlewoman; it being when the nation was alarmed with the news of the tumults then begun in Scotland (*r*). By her he had one ſon, named *John*, who was brought up a Student at the ſame Univerſity and College in which his father had been: And ſhe was delivered of him, much about the time that her huſband brought forth his Hiſtory of *the Holy War*, which is dated in the latter end of 1639, tho' not publiſhed, it ſeems, till the next year [C]; ſoon after which, and but a ſhort time before the eruption of the civil wars, ſhe died (*s*). Then, for the greater convenience of enjoying more readily, and in larger choice or variety, the works and converſation of the learned, he removed to London, where his conſpicuous talents in the pulpit were ſoon admired by the diſtinguiſhing part of his auditory; being cry'd up for one of the moſt excellent preachers of his age (*t*), but more eſpecially in the Inns of Court. However, he was ſoon after drawn to ſettle a little nearer the Royal Court, and choſen Lecturer of the *Savoy* in the Strand, by the Maſter and Brotherhood thereof, at the intreaty of ſome principal pariſhioners. Here he gave ſuch general ſatisfaction, became ſo famous, and was thronged with ſuch diſtant congregations, that thoſe of his own cure were in a manner excommunicated from their own church, if they came not early enough to fill it, which, without conforming to his own habitual temperance, they could ſeldom do: tho' he had an audience without, and another within the pale, the windows and ſextonry were ſo crowded, as if bees had ſwarmed to his mellifluous diſcourſe (*u*). On the thirteenth of April 1640, a Parliament was called, and then alſo a Convocation began at Weſtminſter, in King Henry the Seventh's chapel, having licence granted to make new *Canons* for the better government of the Church. Of this Convocation our author was a Member;

(*p*) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 11.

(*q*) In his Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, fol. 155.

(*r*) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 13.

(*s*) Idem, p. 41.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 14.

(*u*) Idem, p. 15.

[C] *His Hiſtory of the* HOLY WAR, *dated in* 1639, *&c.*] It is dated at the end of his epiſtle dedicatory, from his Rectory at Broad Winſor on the ſixth of March that year: and as no other date appears in the graved frontiſpiece, it is mentioned as printed that year in ſome catalogues; but was not, it ſeems, before the next. It was well received by the publick, and has paſſed at leaſt three editions; the laſt is entituled as the former likely are—*The Hiſtory of the Holy War: by Thomas Fuller*, B. D. Prebendary of *Sarum* late of *Sidney* College, *Cambridge*, printed there by Roger Daniel, &c. the third edition, fol. 1647: to which is alſo prefixed the ſaid graved frontiſpiece, containing the portraits of Godfrey of Bulloign, and of Saladin, in ſmall ovals at top; and underneath a view of all ages, ſexes, and degrees of people, flocking to the ſaid wars, &c. with an explanation in the page before the ſame, in verſe by J. C. The Hiſtory is divided into five books, has a map before it of Paleſtine, and three tables at the end; the one chronological, another of authors cited, and the third of contents. The beginning of this war is reckoned to have been about the year 1096, and the end about 1291 (5). The author's ingenious dedication of this hiſtory is, To Edward Lord Montagu of Boughton, and John Lord Powlet of Hinton St George: to whom he recommends, 'If they fear to hurt their hands 'with thorny ſchool-queſtions, the turning over of '*Hiſtory*, as a velvet ſtudy and recreation-work. 'What a pity is it, ſays he, to ſee a proper gentleman have ſuch a crick in his neck, that he cannot 'look backward! yet no better is he, who cannot ſee 'behind him, the actions which long ſince were performed. Hiſtory maketh the young man old, without either wrinkles or gray hairs; privileging him 'with the experience of age, without either the infirmities or inconveniences thereof: yea, it not only 'makes things paſt, preſent; but enables one to make 'a rational conjecture of things to come. For the 'world affordeth no *new accidents*, but in the ſame 'ſenſe, wherein we call it a *new moon*; which is the 'old one in another ſhape; and yet no other than 'what hath been formerly, &c.' Then, leaſt ſome critick ſhould condemn him for an ill huſband, in laviſhing two noble patrons upon one book; whereas one of them might have ſerved to patronize many volumes, he ſays, 'He did it in the weak expreſſion 'of his thankfulneſs to them; being deeply endebted 'to them both; and thought it diſhoneſty to pay all 'to one creditor, and none to another; therefore 'conceived it better to ſhare his eſtate jointly between 'them, as far as it would extend: and ſecondly, conſidering the weakneſs of his work, now being to 'walk abroad in the world, *I thought it muſt be led 'by both arms, and needed a double ſupporter, &c.*' In his ſhort preface to the reader, he challenges nothing to himſelf but the compoſition; and as for his vouchers, 'If every where, ſays he, I have not charged 'the margin with the authors names, it is either becauſe the ſtory is author for itſelf, I mean generally received; or to avoid the often citing of the 'ſame place. Where I could not go abroad myſelf, 'there I have taken air at the window, and have 'cited authors on others citations; yet ſo, that the 'ſtream may direct to the fountain.' There are many encomiums beſtowed upon our Hiſtorian, his wit, and his ſtyle, in the ten poems prefixed to this work; written by Robert Gomerſall, Vicar of Thorncombe, in Devon Robert Tyrling, James Duport, B. D. of Trinity College; J. Booth, B. D. of Chriſt-College, Cambridge; H. Atkins, H. Hutton, M. A. of Jeſus College; H. Vintener, Thomas Jackſon, William Johnſon, of Queen's College; and Clement Bretton, of Sidney College. Out of theſe, a ſhort ſketch of ſome ſentiments may ſhew the character for which he was chiefly diſtinguiſhable to them. One ſays his vein is ſo rich, that Taſſo could not invent ſo well as Fuller could relate (6). A ſecond, that barbariſm is more vanquiſhed by his wit, than ever it was by Godfrey's ſword (7). A third, that Jeruſalem need not envy Troy, ſince ſhe has found one to write her battles in proſe, as elegantly as Homer did thoſe of the other in verſe (8). A fourth, that as a viper was once enſhrined in the amber tears of Phaeton; ſo here, Mahomet ſhall find a tomb in his language, ſo rare and tranſparent, as will endure, when the faint loadſtone lets his own of iron fall (9). And a fifth compares the weaving of his ſtories to figures wrought in tapeſtry, and ſo enriched with embroidery, that flames, wounds, and bloodſhed, objects in their nature moſt irkſom and dreadful, are rendered agreeable by his art: the moſt horrid ſlaughters wrapped in his arras language, give more delight than diſtaſte, and that which was moſt painful in the rencounter, is quite qualified by what we meet with ſo pleaſing in the relation (10): beſides many other high commendations, which to be more particular in, by citing the verſes themſelves, might here take up too much room.

[*D*] *Or*

(5) Hiſt. of the Holy War, edit. 1647. p. 21. and 228.

(6) Robert Gomerſal.

(7) J. Booth.

(8) H. Hutton.

(9) H. Vintener.

(10) W. Johnſon.

Member; and, when the Parliament was diſſolved, on the fiſth of May following, the Convocation was commiſſioned to continue ſtill, by the title of a Synod, to complete the ſaid new Canons, which, on the laſt of June following, were printed, with the royal aſſent; tho' our author ſays, he was one, who, in the ſelect committee, privately diſſented in paſſing many particulars therein; and has publickly preſerved the ſeveral exceptions which were, and probably ſome of them by himſelf, then made to them. But thoſe Canons being inſufficiently confirmed, only by royal authority, enough notice was taken thereof in the *Long Parliament*, which in November following enſued; all which he has himſelf amply recorded (*w*). But now the diviſions between the King and Parliament being grown ſo great, that he had left his Court at London, on the tenth of January 1641 (*x*), to gather ſuch ſtrength in the countries as might oblige their Repreſentatives to obedience, rather than comply with what he and his adviſers thought unprincely conceſſions, our author, in other pulpits as well as his own, very loyally enforced the doctrine of allegiance; and ſo particularly in the *Inauguration Sermon*, he preached at Weſtminſter-Abbey, on the twenty-ſeventh of March 1642, upon that text, ſo directly perſuading the duties of ſubmiſſion, *Yea, let him take all, ſo my Lord the King return in peace*, his Majeſty then being at York, that it gave great diſguſt to thoſe who were in the oppoſition againſt him, and brought the preacher himſelf into great danger. He ſoon found that he was to expect nothing leſs than to be ſilenced and ejected, as others had been; yet deſiſted not from proceeding in the ſame courſe, till he either was, or thought himſelf unſettled, by what he ſays in the preface to his *Holy State*, which was that year printed [*D*]. And it appears more plainly the next year; when an oath, but not the *Covenant*, as ſome authors have miſtaken (*y*), was obtruded upon him; which he took not without ſuch exceptions in regard to himſelf, that the Parliament, unſatisfied therewith, and requiring him to take it in a more abſolute manner, he retired to the Court at Oxford ſome months before the Covenant was urged. Yet were there various reports relating to his ſteadineſs in refuſing even this oath. The writer of his life ſays he conveyed himſelf to the King at Oxford in April 1643, to avoid the impoſition, and preſerve his conſcience clear of it (*z*); and another, with the confidence that is uſually hardened by malice or error, ſays that he ſaw him take the Covenant before he went thither, more than once; but as our author has both cleared himſelf, and rectified our underſtanding in this matter, it is but juſtice on all ſides to give each of them a hearing [*E*]. When he arrived at Oxford, he was both joyfully received and honourably

[*D*] *Or thought himſelf unſettled, by what he ſays in the preface to his Holy State, &c.*] That is pretty viſible, from more than one part of this preface; wherein it appears, that this book was compoſed before he left Broad Winſor in Dorſetſhire, or at leaſt before the eruption of the wars; it having been committed a twelve month before to the preſs: and his characters therein are, as he ſays, conformed to the then ſtanding laws of the realm; which, as the King and State had now thought fit to alter, he expects his reader would make his alterations accordingly. And after having prayed that God would diſcloud theſe gloomy days, he ſays, 'Which if I may be ſo happy 'as to ſee, it will encourage me to count it a freedom to ſerve two apprenticeſhips, God ſpinning out the thick thread of my life ſo long, in writing the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* from Chriſt's time to our days; *if I ſhall, from remoter parts be ſo planted*, as to enjoy the benefit of walking and ſtanding libraries; without which advantages, the beſt vigilancy doth but vainly dream to undertake ſuch a taſk. Mean time, I will ſtop the leekage of my ſoul; and what heretofore hath run out in writing, ſhall hereafter, God willing, be employed in conſtant preaching; *in what place ſoever God's providence and friends good will ſhall fix me* (11).' And it elſewhere appears, that he was now or very ſoon after debarred of the profits of his Prebendſhip of Saliſbury, by the time he is mentioned to have continued ſo at the Reſtoration (12). However in the title page of this *Holy State*, it is ſaid to be written by Thomas Fuller, B. D. and Prebendary of Saliſbury. It was printed at Cambridge, fol. 1642. and the ſecond edition, by R. D. for J. Williams, &c. fol 1648. The whole contained in five books; whereof *the Profane State*, printed alſo by Roger Daniel, is the laſt. This work is a collection of *Characters*, moral *Eſſays*, and *Lives*; antient, foreign and domeſtic; ſo interſperſed, as often to hold ſome analogy with the characters or eſſays which precede them. They are much enamelled with the figures or flowers of wit, and have much engaged the regard of rhetorical readers (13). But the lives are not in number equal to the eſſays; there being between ſeventy and eighty of the characters and eſſays, and not above thirty lives; among which thoſe of our own country, are, *Edward* the *Black Prince*, Sir *John Markham*, Lord Chief Juſtice; Cardinal *Wolſey*; Biſhop *Ridley*, *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*; Lady *Jane Gray*; Dr *Nicholas Metcalf*; Sir *Francis Drake*; Lord *Burghley*; Mr *William Perkins*, and Dr *William Whitaker*; Queen *Elizabeth*, and Mr *William Camden*. The antients and foreigners are, *Abraham*, *Eleazar*, *Haman*, St *Auguſtine*, *Monica*, Lady *Paula*, *Hildigardis*, *Paracelſus*, *Scaliger*, and *Guſtavus* King of *Sweden*; and in *the profane ſtate* there are, *Jehu*, the Witch of *Endor*, *Andronicus*, *Joan* Queen of *Naples*, *Joan* of *Arc*, *Cæſar Borgia*, and the Duke of *Alva*: with copper prints, engraved by W. Marſhal, &c. before moſt of them. Between the publication of theſe two editions of the Holy and Profane State, came out our author's *Andronicus*: or *the Unfortunate Politician* by itſelf, in 12mo. 1646. reprinted 1649, &c. And 'tis the ſame we preſume above mentioned, which appears in the laſt edition of the *Profane State*, cap. 18, from fol. 448, to 502.

[*E*] *But juſtice on all ſides, to give them each a hearing.*] We do not find that our author ever looked with a malignant aſpect on any of the planetary ſchemes of Will. Lilly the famous Aſtrologer, Almanac maker, Prophet, Fortune-teller, and Conjurer; or that ever he charged any of his unaccompliſhed predictions with being retrograde, or in oppoſition to truth: we hear not that he any ways concerned himſelf with ſetting *Aries* and *Taurus* together by the ears (14); that he ever denied him to be even Lord of the Aſcendant in his own Horroſcopes, or any how promoted the leaſt ejectment of him from the twelve houſes (15): Yet has this Mr Lilly, in a certain libel, endeavoured to ſtigmatiſe him, in theſe words— 'I would be very 'ſorry to belie the dead, as Mr Fuller hath Paracelſus; 'who delivers him unto poſterity for a drunkard (16), 'though thoſe who lived with him, the Biſhop of Saltzburg, knew no ſuch thing of him, but report him 'virtuous. But that Mr Fuller may know, he hath 'wantonly abuſed his oratory, I let the ages to come 'know thus much of himſelf, *viz.* That he took 'the Covenant twice for the Parliament, before my 'face in the Savoy Church; invited others to it; 'yet,

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(*w*) See Fuller's Church Hiſtory, cent. 17. Book 11. p. 167 to 171, and p. 180.

(*x*) Iter Carolinum, &c. 4to. 1660. p. 1. And Sir George Wharton's Geſta Britannorum, 8vo. 1662. p. 16.

(*y*) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 18.

(*z*) Idem, p. 22, 23.

(11) The Holy State, in Pref.

(12) Life of Dr T. Fuller, p. 50.

(13) Beſides other Extracts from this Book which we have ſeen, there is a MS. Collection of choice Sentences in Dr Fuller's Holy War, &c. preſerved in the Aſhmolean Library at Oxford; Vol. 783.

(14) Vide, ΨΕΥΔΟ-ΑΣΤΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ: The Spurious Prognoſticator unmaſk'd: Being an Examen of the Errors, Fallacies, Falſhoods, and Flatteries, in Mr W. Lilly's Merlin, 1659. By G. J. (i. e. John Gadbury,) 4to. 1660.

(15) M. Stevenſon's Norfolk Drollery, 8vo. 1673. in his poetical Obſervations on Lilly's Almanack, p. 30.

(16) Fuller's Holy State, in the Life of Paracelſus, edit. 1648. p. 52.

honourably diſtinguiſhed there. The King having heard of his extraordinary abilities in the pulpit, was deſirous of hearing them from it. But, as the original cauſe of his leaving London,

‘ yet, apoſtate-like, ran within few days to Oxford, and there whined to his companions, and proteſted the Counteſs of R——— made him take it’—— Here he turns one of our author's cudgels againſt himſelf, in behalf of Paracelſus; and quotes this precept of Fuller's, as if it were againſt his own practice; *Let not thy jeſts, like mummy, be made of dead men's fleſh; abuſe not any that are departed; for to wrong their memories, is to rob their ghoſts of their winding ſheets* (17): ‘ And yet, ſays he, this man muſt call Paracelſus a Quackſalver, and gave him, beſides, other Billinſgate language (18).’ As for Paracelſus, ſince our author has ſaid nothing of him, for which he does not fairly produce his vouchers and compurgators, ſuch as Thomas Eraſtus, Beroaldus, and thoſe who had the beſt opportunities of knowing his character; Paracelſus ſeems not ſo much defamed or belied, if we may retort ſuch an expreſſion above, by Fuller, as Fuller is by Lilly; and that he made no mummy of Paracelſus when he was dead, whatever the wits of thoſe times might make of Lilly while alive: but if, on the credit of others, he had, it little became ſuch a ſcribbler to charge him with having belied one man, who, thro' the impoſtures of his pretended arts, made it his conſtant practice to belie and deceive the whole nation. Then as for Fuller's taking the *Covenant*, the author who beſt knew his ſtory, and ſeems leſs biaſſed by his affection, than Lilly by his acrimony, therefore moſt worthy of credit, has repreſented his conduct with relation thereto as follows. ‘ Several falſe rumours and cavils there are about his carriage and opinion touching that ſacrilegious thing, by perſons who were diſtanced as far from the knowledge of thoſe paſſages, as fortunately from being concerned and engaged within the reach of that ſnare. 'Twas not only eaſy, but prudential, for other eccleſiaſtical perſons to quit their livings, who were out of the gripe and clutches of thoſe ravenous reformiſts, in order to keep their conſciences inviolable; but it was difficulty enough of itſelf for the Doctor to eſcape, and get out of that place, where the next preferment would have been a dungeon. Some velitations, and tranſient diſcourſes, he made about that frequent and thumb'd ſubject of the reformation, the rather to ſuſpend the buſy cenſures of the Parliament and their party; wherein, though he *ſeemed to comply*, *but as far* as the rule and example would allow, and indulge the miſapprehenſion of thoſe men; yet theſe his *charitable diſguiſes* could not obſcure him from the ſevere animadverſions of ſeveral miniſters eminent in thoſe *reforming times*; particularly Mr *Saltmarſh*. The conteſt between them is ſo known in print, that it will be needleſs to trouble the reader with it here: only thus much by digreſſion, in honour of this venerable Doctor; Mr *Saltmarſh* being long ſince dead; he hath, in his book of the *Worthies of England*, given him a moſt honourable mention, and aſſigned him the place of his birth, education, and burial; regiſtring him for an ornament of them all; ſo reſplendent and durable was the Doctor's charity, &c. But to return to our ſubject; in the beginning of the year 1643, the ſaid covenant was generally preſſed; and a very great perſecution ſoon after followed it. The Doctor was ſettled in the love and affection of his own pariſh, beſides other obligations to his numerous followers; ſo that the covenant then tendered, might ſeem like the bright ſide of that cloud, promiſing ſerenity and proſperity to him, as was inſinuated to the Doctor by many great Parliamentarians, which ſhowred down, after a little remoteneſs ſuch a black horrible tempeſt upon the Clergy; nay, the Church, and three kingdoms. But the good Doctor, *could not bow down his knee* to that *Baal Berith*; *nor*, for any *worldly conſiderations* (enough whereof invited him to fall down and worſhip; men of his great parts being infinitely acceptable to them) *lend* ſo much as *an ear* to their ſerpentine charms of religion and reformation. Since therefore, he could not continue with his *Cure* without his *Conſcience*, and every day threatned the impoſition of that *illegal oath*, he reſolved to betake himſelf to God's providence, and to put himſelf directly under it; waving all indirect means and advantages whatſoever towards his ſecurity. In order thereunto, in April 1643, he deſerted the city of *London*, and privately conveyed himſelf to *Oxford*, to the no leſs ſudden amazement of the faction here, who yet upon recollection quickly found their miſtake, than to the unexpected content and joy of the loyal party there; who had every day, Job's meſſengers of the plundering, ruin, and impriſonments of orthodox Divines (19).’ Thus diſtinctly is his evaſion of, or eſcape from, this oath aſſerted by that author. But Fuller himſelf has beſt diſcovered the ground of Lilly's miſreport, and even more clearly than his Biographer, diſtinguiſhed how the ſaid covenant could not be taken by him, as well as what other oath he did take, and in what manner. For having mentioned that Scottiſh Covenant, as he calls it, being born beyond the Tweed, and projected, as a band for the ſtreighter union of the Engliſh and Scotch among themſelves, and of both, to the Parliament (20); having there alſo ſhewn very expreſsly, that it was firſt taken by the Houſe of Commons and the Aſſembly of Divines, on Sept. 25, 1643; and firſt ordered to be printed two days after: that divers Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, Officers, &c. met alſo at St Margaret's Weſtminſter, and took it; and that it was commanded to be taken the Sunday following, October the firſt, in all Churches and Chapels of London, within the *lines of communication*, and throughout the kingdom, in a convenient time appointed, according to the tenor thereof; he then recites at large the ſaid covenant (21); not heeding whether there be exactly 666 words in the body of it (22): ſo proceeds to deliver many ſolid exceptions to the *preface*; the *ſix articles*, whereof it is conſtituted, and the *concluſion*. Then he goes on thus— ‘ So much concerning the Covenant; which ſome three months after began to be rigorouſly and generally urged. Nor have I ought elſe to obſerve thereof, ſave to add in my own defence, that *I never ſaw* the ſame, except at diſtance, as hung up in Churches; nor ever had any occaſion to *read*, or *hear* it read, till *this day* (23), in writing my hiſtory; whatever hath been *reported*, and *printed* to the contrary, of my *taking* thereof in *London*; who went away from the *Savoy* to the King's quarters, *long before* any mention thereof in England. True it is, there was an oath, which never exceeded the *line of communication*; meeting with ſo much oppoſition, that it expired in the infancy thereof, about the time when the plot was diſcovered; for which Mr Tomkins and Mr Chaloner ſuffered (24). This was *tendered* to me and *taken* by me, in the veſtry of the *Savoy* Church; but firſt proteſting ſome limitations thereof, as to myſelf. This *not ſatisfying*, was complained of by ſome perſons preſent, to the Parliament; where it was ordained, that the next Lord's Day I ſhould take the ſame oath in *terminis terminantibus*, in the face of the Church; which not agreeing with my conſcience, I withdrew myſelf into the King's parts, which I hope, I may no leſs ſafely, than I do freely confeſs; becauſe puniſhed for the ſame with the loſs of my livelihood, and ſince, I ſuppoſe, pardoned in the *Act* of *Oblivion* (25).’

As for the controverſy between our author and Mr John Saltmarſh, it was occaſioned by the Sermon of *Reformation*, which Fuller had preached at the Savoy (26); againſt which, Mr Saltmarſh publiſhed ſome animadverſions, wherein he charged him with ſeveral points of Popery (27); and Fuller defended the arguments he had delivered upon that occaſion, in the tract he thereupon ſet forth, under the title of *truth maintained*, wherein he challenged Saltmarſh to a reply, but he appeared in the liſts no more; giving his reaſon afterwards for it, that he would not *ſhoot* his *arrows* againſt a *dead* mark; being informed that Fuller was dead at Exeter (28). Upon which our author obſerves, that he himſelf has no cauſe to be angry with fame, for ſuch a favourable falſhood;

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(17) Holy State; in the Chapter of Jeſting, p. 146.

(18) See W. Lilly's Hiſt. of K. James and K. Charles I. 8vo. 1651, and 1725, in the Preface.

(19) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 18—22.

(20) Fuller's Church Hiſt. lib. xi. cent. 17. fol. 200.

(21) Idem, p. 201.

(22) Revelat. xiii, 19.

(23) July 1, 1654.

(24) They were executed on July 5, 1643.

(25) Church Hiſt. as above, p. 206, 207.

(26) His Sermon at the Savoy, on Hebr. 9. and 10. With a Defence of ſome Poſitions in the ſame, 4to. 1643.

(27) Saltmarſhe's Piece againſt Fuller, is dedicated to the Moſt Sacred Aſſembly of Divines.

(28) J. Saltmarſh, in the beginning of his book againſt Tho. Gataker.

London, after the ſermon he preached upon the new-moulding Church-Reformation, appears to have been, for the cenſure it gained him of being too *hot a Royaliſt*; it is now no leſs apparent, that, for preaching before the King and Court, at St *Mary*'s in *Oxford*, he was cenſured for being one *too lukewarm* (*a*); which being the reverſe of flattery on both ſides, can only be accounted for, from that inflexible principle of moderation in himſelf, which he would have ſincerely inculcated in either party, as the only means of reconciling both; that each, abating their high expectations of condeſcenſion in the other, both might be brought to a happy accommodation; in which, if he could have prevailed, the beneficial effects muſt have exceeded all eſtimate; and it had been difficult to determine, what reward could have been made him equivalent to ſuch a national remedy, in that violent calenture under which the nation now laboured. But his reflection on his own narrative of the Convocation aforeſaid, may be applicable here; that, *He is generally accounted an impartial arbitrator, who diſpleaſes both ſides* (*b*). It ſeems to have been at this time that he was, as he mentions himſelf, tho' no member yet an inhabitant of Lincoln college in this Univerſity; that he was alſo then deprived of all his ſubſiſtence, or means of livelihood, and now, or not long after, rifled and plundered of his books, manuſcripts, &c. But, tho' he expreſsly denies that his loſſes were owing to his expences, or the dearneſs of the place or proviſions; yet there is a noted oppoſer of him, as of many others, who has, by the groſſeſt diſtortion of his ſenſe, and moſt uncharitable inſult under his ſufferings, endeavoured to make an affirmation of his denial [*F*]; and tho' he could plainly underſtand,

(*a*) The Life of Dr Fuller. p. 23.

(*b*) His Church Hiſt. p. 167. as before.

‘ May I make this true uſe, ſays he, of that falſe re‘port, to *die daily*: ſee how Providence has croſſed ‘ it; the dead reported man is ſtill living; the then ‘ living man, dead; and ſeeing I ſurvive to go over ‘ his grave, I will tread the more gently on the mold ‘ thereof; uſing that civility on him, which I re‘ceived from him.’ Indeed he has further ſpoken, with that ſuperior candor and generoſity of him, which he was wont to do of the few antagoniſts he had, in the ſame place, where he has preſerved him among his learned and eminent men; and where, after informing us, that he was born in Yorkſhire, bred at Magdalen College in Cambridge, and much befriended by Sir John Hotham the elder, he gives him the character of having had a fine and active fancy, of being no contemptible Poet, and a good Preacher; but that of a zealous obſerver, he became a violent oppoſer of Biſhops and ceremonies; which our author very charitably wiſhes, imputed to the information of his judgment and conſcience (29). It may be taken alſo as a beauty in his own character, that he was not too ſtrict or over curious in remembring the place and time of this adverſary's death, tho' the cauſe and manner of it were too publickly known to be omitted; for Mr Saltmarſh being at times intellectually diſordered (30), it took him in the head latterly, after a fever, that he had commiſſions from the Lord, to deliver to the Parliament Army then at Windſor, whereof he was one of the Chaplains; and after that fit of ſickneſs, telling his wife he had been in a trance, ſeen a viſion, and received meſſages to the ſaid army, he ſtroled thither in a very erratic, if not diſtracted, manner; and did ſo much further inflame his brains, by riding to and fro among them in his ſhirt, pronouncing the menaces of the Lord, with his revelations, counſels, and rebukes, to the General Sir Thomas Fairfax, Lieutenant-General Cromwell, and other officers, in many extatic ſpeeches, and prophetic raptures, that, when he returned home, five days afterwards, to his houſe near Ilford in Eſſex, his ſpirits ſeem to have been quite exhauſted. He told his wife, that he had then done his work, finiſhed his errand, and muſt go to his father; ſo, in two days more, being taken ſpeechleſs, he quietly breathed his laſt, on the eleventh of December 1647, and not three years after, as our author has miſconjectured (31). The ſhort abſtract we have here given of his latter end, is from the account which the officers of the army aforeſaid ſuffered to be publiſhed of it (32); but thoſe who will not think it an infirmity bordering too near upon his own, either in others to be more particular, or in themſelves to be further acquainted with his inſignificant and brain-ſick extravagancies, or crazy conduct in this melancholy condition, may repair to that account itſelf, or a more copious extract of it, than we have here from that pamphlet given, leſs difficult to be conſulted (33). Among the books and tracts he had publiſhed, tho' they are now little read or known, the titles of about twenty are remembered in the author laſt quoted, and ſome of them elſewhere (34): in ſeveral parts whereof, he appears to have been of the *Antinomian* perſuaſion; alſo that, beſides Dr Fuller and Mr Gataker, he had made himſelf an adverſary to Dr John Baſtwick, Thomas Edwards, the author of *Gangræna*; and John Ley, one of the Aſſembly of Divines, &c. The very titles of ſome of thoſe pieces ſeem to have ſome tincture, or glimpſes of enthuſiaſm, if not frenzy in them.

[*F*] *A noted oppoſer, &c. who has endeavoured to make an affirmation of his denial.*] This noted oppoſer was Dr Heylin, in his Animadverſions upon our author's *Church Hiſtory*; both which books we ſhall hereafter more particularly ſpeak of. Our author being willing to intimate how he was totally ruined in the beginning of the civil wars, while he fled for protection to the royal party at Oxford, has gently dropt a reflection upon that melancholy event, where ſpeaking of the foundation of *Lincoln College* in Oxford, he informs us, he was in thoſe troubleſome times, tho' no member of, a dweller in it; and adds, ‘ I will not com‘plain of the dearneſs of this *Univerſity*, where ſe‘venteen weeks coſt me more than ſeventeen years in ‘ *Cambridge*, even all that I had; but I ſhall pray ‘ that the Students therein, be never after diſturbed ‘ upon the like occaſion (35).’ Now tho' Heylin ſuffered then himſelf, and there, attending alſo the royal party in the like manner, we ſhall ſee how he could magnify that expreſſion, without the uſe of glaſſes, which then indeed could do his eyes no ſervice; or if they could, none are ſo blind, as thoſe who will not ſee: for tho' Fuller has expreſsly diſtinguiſhed that he had no objection to make againſt any extravagant exactions for his diet, or other accommodations, therefore would not complain of any dearneſs there, yet, ſays Heylin, ‘ The ordinary and unwary reader might collect from ‘ hence, that Oxford was a chargeable place, and that ‘ all commodities there are exceeding dear, but that ‘ our author lets him know, it was upon ſome occa‘ſion of diſturbance: by which it ſeems, our author ‘ doth relate to the time of the war, when men from ‘ all parts did repair to Oxford, not as a Univerſity, ‘ but a place of ſafety, and the ſeat Royal of the ‘ King; at which time notwithſtanding, all provi‘ſions were ſo plentiful, and at ſuch cheap rates, as ‘ no man had reaſon to complain of the dearneſs of ‘ them. No better argument of the fertility of the ‘ ſoil, and the richneſs of the country in which Ox‘ford ſtandeth, than that the markets were not raiſed ‘ on the acceſſion of ſuch infinite multitudes as re‘ſorted to it at that time, and on that occaſion.’ Here conſcious that he had wilfully perverted our author's ſenſe long enough into a *wrong meaning*, and conſidering that Fuller would be thought ſenſible of the cheapneſs of the place then, as well as himſelf, he goes on to let us underſtand, how unneceſſary his own miſconſtruction was, by ſhewing again how rea-

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(29) Fuller's Worthies in Yorkſhire, fol. 212.

(30) Mr Saltmarſh his Free Grace, &c. being an Experiment of Jeſus Chriſt upon one who hath been in the Bondage of a troubled Spirit at times, for twelve Years, till now, &c. 12mo. 1645.

(31) Worthies of Eng. in Yorkſhire as before.

(32) See Wonderful Predictions declared in a Meſſage, as from the Lord, to his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the Council of his Army; by John Saltmarſh, Preacher of the Goſpel; with his Speeches, and Manner of his Death. 4to. 1648. one Sheet.

(33) Athenæ Oxon. Vol. II. col. 288.

(34) In Will. London's Catalogue of the moſt vendible books, 4to. 1658. And the laſt Oxford Catalogue, fol. 1738.

(35) His Church Hiſt. cent. xv. lib. 4. p. 168.

ſtand, from our author's expreſſion, that he was ſequeſterd by the parliamentary power; yet, as we ſee he has moſt prepoſterouſly upbraided him with being a Royaliſt, tho' he was an exceeding one himſelf, and moſt ambitious, in his writings, of being ſo accounted. Thus, deprived of all, and having no church to preach in, our author turned his thoughts towards the camp; for, at this tumultous juncture, having no conveniency to explain, or vindicate, thoſe tenets or ſchemes of compoſure and reconciliation, by the *preſs* or *pulpit* (c), againſt which ſome eccleſiaſtical and invidious competitors for court-favour had diligently inſinuated their miſconſtructions; he reſolved to recover the opinion of his ſtedfaſt adherance to the Royal cauſe, by openly trying his fortune, more diſtantly, under the Royal army. Therefore, being well recommended to Sir Ralph Hopton, now, after his *late victory* obtained at Stratton in Cornwall, May the ſixteenth 1643 (d), created Lord Hopton of Stratton, at Oxford, he was admitted by him, in the quality of his Chaplain; and he has gratefully exemplified the patent of his patron's creation, which is dated the fourth of September following (e). This attendance muſt have been moſt agreeable, being moſt fortunate to him; as that Lord's ſteady attachment to the King's intereſt was ſo well known, that it reinſtated the credit of Fuller's *loyalty*; and yet his Lordſhip's inclinations to an amicable and honourable cloſure of the war, were ſo correſpondent with thoſe of his Chaplain, that they no leſs confirmed *his judgment*; which juſtly reflecting a double honour upon both, gained *him alſo a victory* (f) over that attempt aforeſaid, by his circumventing enemies. And now attending his Lord, wherever the ſoldiers under him lay in camp, his Chaplain conſtantly exerciſed his duty, in exhorting them to theirs; and where, in their progreſs, they lay quartered in towns and cities, he always found ſome intervals for his beloved ſtudies, in gathering materials, eſpecially for his WORTHIES *of* ENGLAND.

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(c) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 24.

(d) Fuller's Worthies in Cornwall, p. 212.

(e) Idem, ibid.

(f) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 25.

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dily he could take his *right meaning*. 'Our author therefore, ſays he, muſt be thought to relate to ſomewhat elſe than is here expreſſed; and poſſibly may be, that his being at *Oxford* at that time, brought him within the compaſs of *delinquency*, and conſequently of *ſequeſtration*.' But mind with what politeneſs and humanity he concludes upon this miſfortune of a fellow-ſufferer in thoſe calamitous times. 'And were it ſo, ſays he, (that he was ſequeſtred) he hath no reaſon to complain of the *Univerſity*, or the *dearneſs* of it; but rather of himſelf, for coming to a place ſo *chargeable*, and *deſtructive* to him. He might have *tarried* where he *was*, for I never heard that he was *ſent for*, and then this great complaint againſt the dearneſs of that Univerſity would have found no place (36).' Many ſuch bitter draughts of his gall ſhould we ſwallow, if we were to run thro' this, and many others of his controverſial writings; in which, he ſurely did not always ſufficiently reflect, that if the Clergy were to make a practice of thus treating their own cloth, it would ſoon be no wonder that the laity, of whom they are the inſtructors, ſhould, in their treatment of them, follow their own example. That our author was of a contrary ſpirit, might appear in many inſtances of his anſwer to the Doctor; but in this place, let us rather obſerve, with what temper he could expreſs that moſt ſevere loſs, and more valuable to him than all his other poſſeſſions, in theſe unhappy times of anarchy and lawleſs ſpoil, his *library* of books and manuſcripts. In one place, for that loſs invaded his memory more than once, having ingeniouſly introduced it with a ſtory out of *Plutarch*'s morals, of one *Nicias* an antient Philoſopher, who being robbed of his ſhoes, wiſhed, *they might fit his feet who took them away:* which may ſeem a charitable wiſh, but was a revengeful one; for being himſelf club-footed, he thereby wiſhed the thief a cripple, rather than that they might prevent his being made one, by going barefoot. This ſtory he no leſs ingeniouſly applies thus, 'Whoſoever hath plundered me of my *books* and *papers*, I freely forgive him, and deſire that he *may fully underſtand, and make good uſe thereof*; wiſhing him more *joy* of them, than he hath *right* to them. Nor is there any *ſnake* under my *herbs*; nor have I, as *Nicias*, any reſervation, or latent *ſenſe* to myſelf; but from my heart do deſire, that to all purpoſes and intents, my books may be beneficial unto him. Only requeſting him, that one paſſage in his, lately my, bible, namely *Eph.* iv. 28. may be taken into his ſerious conſideration (37).' But it ſeems he did not loſe all his books, as he alſo elſewhere informs us in theſe words, to one of his patrons: 'Beſides deſire, to ſhelter myſelf under your patronage, gratitude obligeth me to tender my ſervice to your Honour. For all my books, being my *nether* and *upper milſtone*, and ſuch by the *Levitical* Law, might not be taken to pledge, becauſe a man's life (38), without which, I had been rendered unable to *grind* any *griſt*, for the good of myſelf or others, had been taken from me in theſe civil wars, had not a letter from your Lady mother preſerved the greateſt part thereof. Good reaſon therefore, that the firſt handful of my *fineſt meal* ſhould be preſented in thankfulneſs to your family (39).' And elſewhere we learn, that he had afterwards a conſiderable reparation made of this loſs; for which, to another of his patrons, he makes this grateful acknowledgment. 'I am ſadly ſenſible, what the loſs of a library, eſpecially of manuſcripts, is to a miniſter, whoſe books have paſſed ſuch hands, which made riddance of many, but havock of more. Was it not cruelty to torture a library, by maiming and mangling the authors therein, neither *leaving* nor *taking* them intire? Would they had *took leſs*, that ſo what they *left*, might have been uſeful to me; or *left leſs*, that ſo what they *took*, might have been uſeful to others. Whereas now, miſchievous *ignorance* did a *prejudice* to me, without a *profit* to itſelf, or any body elſe. But would to God all my fellow brethren, who, with me, *bemoan* the loſs of their books, with me, might alſo *rejoice* for the recovery thereof, though not the ſame numerical volumes. Thanks be to your Honour, who have beſtowed upon me, the *Treaſure* of a *Lord Treaſurer*; what remained of your father's library. Your father, who was the greateſt honourer and diſgracer of ſtudents bred in learning: honourer, giving due reſpect to all men of merit; diſgracer, who by his meer natural parts and experience, acquired that perfection of invention, expreſſion, and judgment, to which, thoſe who make learning their ſole ſtudy do never arrive. It was a gift I confeſs, better proportioned to your dignity than my deſerts; too great, not for your Honour to beſtow, but for me to receive. And thus hath God by your bounty equivalently reſtored unto me, what the *locuſts* and the *palmer worm*, &c. have devoured; ſo that now, I envy not the Pope's *Vatican*, for the numerouſneſs of books, and variety of editions therein; enough for *uſe*, being as good, as ſtore for *ſtate*, or ſuperfluity for *magnificence*. However, hereafter, I ſhall behold myſelf under no other notion, than as your Lordſhip's *Library-keeper*; and conceive it my duty, not only to ſee your books dry'd and rubbed, to rout thoſe moths which would quarter therein, but alſo to peruſe, ſtudy, and digeſt them; ſo that I may preſent your Honour with ſome choice collections out of the ſame, as this enſuing hiſtory is for the main extracted thence; on which account, I humbly crave your acceptance thereof; whereby, you ſhall engage my daily prayers for your happineſs, and the happineſs of your moſt noble conſort, &c. (40).'

[G] *How*

(36) Dr Heylin's Examen Hiſtoricum, &c. in his Animadverſions on the Church Hiſt. of Britain, p. 72.

(37) Fuller's good Thoughts in worſe times. edit. 12mo. 1652. p. 60. See alſo his good Thoughts in bad Times, printed the ſame Year, p. 78. of his comfort in ſharing the Calamities of his Country.

(38) Deut. xxiv. 5.

(39) Fuller's Piſgah-Sight of Paleſtine, in his Dedication to Henry Lord Beauchamp, Son of William Marquis of Hertford, before lib. 2. fol. 50.

(40) Fuller's Church Hiſt. in the Dedication to Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middleſex, before lib. 5. containing the Reign of K. Hen. VIII.

How aſſiduous he was in his reſearches, and how extenſive in his correſpondence for that purpoſe, may appear in his Memorialiſt [G]. After the battle of *Cheriton Down*, on March the twenty-ninth 1644, the Lord Hopton drew on his army to *Baſing-Houſe*, the Marquis of Worceſter's in Hampſhire, and left his Chaplain in that ſtrong garriſon, intending to conſult the King, at Oxford, before he took up his quarters; when Sir William Waller, having taken in Wincheſter, beſieged the Doctor's ſanctuary; but ſo little terrified was he with the cannon from the aſſailants leaguer, that it made him ſo vigilantly animate the defendants to ſuch continual and effectual ſallies, as conſtrained Sir William to raiſe the ſiege on the (g) ſeventeenth of November following, with the loſs of more than a thouſand men (h): However, this moſt noble ſeat in that county, ſome months after Fuller had left it, was taken by ſtorm, with the Marquis in it, and razed to the ground. After the war, which had made a lamentable ravage through the three kingdoms, was drawing to a concluſion, and part of the loyal army driven into Cornwall, under the Lord Hopton; his Chaplain, having received a diſmiſſion of his beloved patron, took timely refuge at Exeter, where he reſumed his ſtudies, and conſtantly preached with great ſatisfaction to thoſe loyal citizens. Here, the Queen having been delivered at Bedford Houſe, of her laſt iſſue the Princeſs, called after her own name Henrietta Maria, in June the year laſt mentioned, who was ſoon after her brother's reſtoration married to Philip of France Duke of Orleans, our author was made Chaplain to the Infant Lady (i), and, as the writer of his life alſo obſerves, the King ſoon after gave him a patent for his preſentation to the living of Dorcheſter in Dorſetſhire, valued at four hundred pounds *per annum*. But, as this would obſtruct his deſign of ſettling in London, for the more convenient attainment of hiſtorical intelligence, he modeſtly declined that gracious offer, and continued waiting on the young Princeſs during the ſiege of that city, in the latter end of 1645; when, as he tells us, it was for a while ſo wonderfully relieved with ſuch prodigious flocks of larks [H]. His converſation was here, no leſs than wherever elſe he was, much ſought and admired by the moſt noble and ingenious perſons of all ranks [I], ſeveral of whom made him advantageous

(g) Sir George Wharton's Geſta Britannorum, p. 18.

(h) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 29, 30.

(i) Idem, p. 33. And Fuller's Worthies, in Exeter; fol. 271. Further of this Ducheſs of Orleans, ſee the Counteſs de la Fayette's Fatal Gallantry; or the Secret Hiſt. of Henrietta, Princeſs of England: Tranſlated by Mrs Anne Floyd, and dedicated to John Laws, Eſq; 8vo. 1722. Wherein it is ſuggeſted, that ſhe was poiſoned at St Cloud, on the 30th of June 1670, in a Glaſs of Succory Water, p. 127, 141.

[G] *How aſſiduous he was in his reſearches, and extenſive in his correſpondence for that purpoſe, may appear in his Memorialiſt.*] This author informs us, that, 'While he was in progreſs with the King's army, his buſineſs and ſtudy then was a kind of errantry; having propoſed to himſelf a more exact collection of the *Worthies* General of *England*; in which others had waded before, but he reſolved to go through. In what place ſoever therefore he came, of remark eſpecially, he ſpent moſt of his time in views and reſearches of their antiquities, and Church Monuments; inſinuating himſelf into the acquaintance, which frequently ended in a laſting friendſhip, of the learned'ſt and graveſt perſons reſiding within the place, thereby to inform himſelf fully of thoſe things he thought worthy the commendation of his labours. It is an incredible thing to think what a numerous correſpondence the Doctor maintained, and enjoyed by this means. Nor did the good Doctor ever refuſe to light his candle, in inveſtigating truth, from the meaneſt perſons diſcovery. He would endure contentedly, an hour, or more impertinence, from any aged Church-officer, or other ſuperannuated people, for the gleaning of two lines to his purpoſe. And tho' his ſpirit was quick and nimble, and all the faculties of his mind, ready and anſwerable to that activity of diſpatch, yet in theſe inqueſts, he would ſtay and attend thoſe circular rambles, till they came to a point; ſo reſolute was he bent to the ſifting out of abſtruſe antiquity. Nor did he ever diſmiſs ſuch adjutators or helpers, as he pleaſed to ſtile them, without giving them money and chearful thanks beſides (41).'

[H] *Wonderfully relieved with ſuch prodigious flocks of larks.*] This memorable relief by the vaſt numbers of thoſe birds, being himſelf a witneſs of, he has recorded in theſe words.— 'When the city of Exeter was beſieged by the Parliament forces, ſo that only the ſouth ſide thereof towards the ſea was open to it, incredible numbers of larks were found in that open quarter, for multitude, like quails in the wilderneſs; tho', bleſſed be God, unlike them, in the cauſe and effect; as not deſired with man's deſtruction, nor ſent with God's anger; as appeared by their ſafe digeſtion into wholeſome nouriſhment. Hereof, I was an eye, and mouth-witneſs. I will ſave my credit in not conjecturing any number; knowing that herein, though I ſhould ſtoop beneath the truth, I ſhould mount above belief. They were as fat as plentiful; ſo that being ſold for two pence a dozen, and under, the poor, who could have no cheaper, and the rich, no better meat, uſed to make pottage of them, boyling them down therein. Several natural cauſes were aſſigned hereof: 1. That theſe fowl frighted with much ſhooting on the land, retreated to the ſea ſide for their refuge. 2. That it is familiar with them in cold winters as that was, to ſhelter themſelves in the moſt ſouthern parts. 3. That ſome ſorts of ſeed were ſown in thoſe parts, which invited them thither for their own repaſt: however, the cauſe of cauſes was the Divine Providence; thereby providing a feaſt for many poor people, who otherwiſe had been pinched for proviſion (42).'

[I] *His converſation was much ſought and admired by the moſt noble perſons, and ingenious of all ranks.*] While he reſided here, as well as in other places, his temper and humour, his learning and wit, were ſo conſpicuous and captivating to the wiſe and grave, the learned and judicious, as well as thoſe who were more jocoſe and mercurial themſelves, that old Doctor Vilvain of that city, was pleaſantly rallied by the Governor of Exeter, for inviting him ſo often, or detaining him ſo long, from the ſociety of others; as a cornholder that hoardeth up the grain to enhance the market, and make a dearth in the neighbourhood (43). But it ſeems, that Doctor had ſome uncommon manuſcripts in his library, with a *Muſæum* of natural curioſities beſides; and being of a generous diſpoſition, as his benefactions in that town may teſtify, notwithſtanding his ſufferings in thoſe deſtructive times; as alſo of courteous comportment and communicative converſation, they were mutually agreeable to each other. It was in that *Muſæum* belike, that our author ſaw ſuch a rarity, as ſerved him to illuſtrate a reflection, he afterwards made, upon the aſſertion in one of the Oxford Antiquaries (44), that there were, or had been above two hundred halls in that Univerſity: for thereupon he obſerves, that, 'ſuch halls, like flowers, which grow double, muſt either one croud into another, or elſe be inconſiderably ſmall; like thoſe three hundred ſixty five children which Margaret Counteſs of Henneberg brought forth at a birth in Holland; one ſkull whereof, ſays he, I have ſeen, no bigger than a bead, or a bean;' ſo, in the margin adds, 'It was derived for ſome hundred of years by ſucceſſion, through authentic Phyſicians, to Dr *Vilvain* of Exeter, the preſent owner thereof; and avouched, by the ſkilful in anatomy, the true head of an infant once born into the world (45):' As it might

(41) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 27.

(42) Worthies of England, in Exeter, p. 273.

(43) Extract of Sir John Berkeley's Letter to the Doctor, among the Remains of Henry Earl of Clarendon's MS. Collections, ſome time after the Death of the late Earl, at Somerſet-Houſe.

(44) Brian Twyne, Apolog. Antiq. Acad. Oxon.

(45) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, fol. 28.

geous overtures to engroſs him to themſelves, which he refuſed. Here he compoſed a little book, of pious applications and reflections upon familiar objects, examples, and events; ſo ingeniouſly, as made devotion delightful to the Princeſs, when ſhe was old enough to read and underſtand it. He dedicated it to the Lady who preferred him into the ſervice of her Highneſs, and calls it the firſt fruits of Exeter preſs, preſented to her [*K*]. At laſt the garriſon

might more probably be, than together with ſo many brothers and ſiſters. However the Doctor himſelf has in his book of Epigrams, one upon this incredible ſwarm of children, which that Belgic Counteſs is ſaid to have brought forth at one birth, upon the imprecation of a beggar woman (46) who was reviled by her, as a common proſtitute for having many herſelf. But our author was tempted with greater proſpects of advantage by perſons of higher rank, to engage him more conſtantly to themſelves. For while he lay here, the Biſhop of Briſtol, Dr Thomas Weſtfield, it ſeems, made him fair invitations to live with him; but he declined them, being cautious of ſuch a family favour: and John Digby, Earl of Briſtol, was ſo charmed with his company, while he was here Chaplain to the Princeſs, that he alſo tendered him a noble competency, both now, and after the ſiege of Exeter, if he would go over and reſide with him in France; proteſting that, while he was maſter of a *loaf*, our author ſhould have *half* of it (47): but he valued his liberty above the whole loaf. He ſeems to have conſidered the cloſe attachment to dignity in a domeſtic Retainer, but as a crippling kindneſs; and however it might for a while promiſe an air of equality, or permit the appearance of a companion, that it was a ſituation which would prove improſperous by its contiguity, and inſenſibly breed a ſubordination, that would grow contemptible by its conſtancy; more eſpecially, as the greateſt ſervices therein, ſooneſt beget the moſt envious circumventions; or ſo dwindle and degenerate into unthankful duty, that the Dependent will find it thought a reward too great, to have been the witneſs only of little foibles; that he muſt live by no direction of his own, and have no diſpoſitions that are unguided by his principal; till he who at firſt was a freeman himſelf, gradually becomes a ſlave, to the paſſions or humours, the vices or vanities, the profits or pleaſures, the avarice or ambition, of another; and often in the end, a victim to the treachery of undermining competitors. But tho' he accepted not ſuch courteſy, he has ſpoken much to the honour of thoſe who offered it (48). In ſhort, he was ſo engaging, and had ſuch a fruitful faculty of begetting wit in others, when he exerted it himſelf, that he made his aſſociates pleaſed with their own converſation as well as his: his blaze kindled ſparks in them, till they admired at their own brightneſs; and when any melancholy hours were to be *filled* up with *merriment*, it was ſaid, in the vein he could ſometimes deſcend to, that the *Doctor* made every one *Fuller*. An author before quoted informs us, 'He was ſo good company, 'that happy the perſon who could enjoy him, either 'Citizen, Gentleman, or Nobleman; the Earl of '*Carliſle*, and *George* Lord *Berkeley* eſpecially; he 'removing up and down, out of an equanimous civi'lity to his many worthy friends; ſo to diſpenſe his 'much deſired company among them, that no one 'might monopolize him to the envy of others (49).' For that Lord Berkeley's noble friendſhip to him, he has ſundry times repeated his gratitude with great zeal and affection; where he calls him, the Paramount *Mæcenas* of his ſtudies (*): and in another place, 'one, 'who hath been ſo ſignally bountiful in promoting 'theſe, and all other my weak endeavours, that I 'deſerve to be dumb, if ever I forget to return him 'publick thanks for them (50).' But to enumerate all the patrons or promoters of his works, and recite his ſhining characters of, and liberal acknowledgments to them, might make an article longer than this of his life.

[*K*] *The firſt fruits of Exeter preſs preſented to her.*] Several little books of this kind were publiſhed by our author; ſome whereof have paſt divers editions. They are partly compoſed upon the plan of a learned and ingenious prelate's moſt celebrated writings (51): but ſeveral others have been ſince written, more directly upon our author's plan. As that, by Theophilus Wodenote, a ſequeſter'd divine, ſometime of King's-College in Cambridge (52). Another was publiſhed by Dr William Spurſtow Miniſter of Hackney (53), and afterwards there was another volume ſet forth, by an author more famous for his many publications in natural and experimental Philoſophy (54). Whatever there might be in this laſt author's performance, that could tempt a late ludicrous wit to give his ſerious manner of writing another air (55), we forbear now to enquire; but have been ſo far from meeting with any reflection upon our author, for the pieces in this kind which he ſet forth, that we find they rather gained him the character of a moſt penetrating and flexanimous genius; which teſtified a comprehenſive memory to recollect, and judgment to prefer, the moſt proper and agreeable incidents in poetry, hiſtory, or any other ſcience, as well as divinity; and then a moſt ſurpriſing faculty of alluſion, to apply them ſo pertinently and ſo eloquently, by inference or deduction to any preſent purpoſe or occaſion: whereby he has drawn the moſt delightful and ſalutary precepts out of the moſt ordinary and diſregarded, as well as the moſt extraordinary and obſervable examples; inſomuch that no books of thoſe times, in this manner of writing were more read than his, or more often reprinted. The firſt tract which he brought to light of this nature, if we are not miſled by ſome catalogues in its title and date, was called, *Good Thoughts*, 12mo. 1637. The next he publiſhed was this above referred to, while at Exeter, as is there ſaid, and entituled, *Good Thoughts in bad times, &c.* printed there, it ſeems in 12mo 1645, for we have not ſeen that edition; but the next we have, which was the fruit of a London preſs, printed for Andrew Crook, &c. in 12mo. 1646. And he publiſhed *Good Thoughts in worſe times*, that year or the next in 12mo. 1647 (†). They were reprinted in 1649, and 1650. At leaſt theſe two parts were again printed together, under the title of, *Good Thoughts in bad times*: together with, *Good Thoughts in worſe times*; conſiſting of *Perſonal Meditations, Scripture Obſervations, Hiſtorical Applications, Mixt Contemplations: Meditations on the Times, Meditations on all kind of Prayers*, and *Occaſional Meditations*. By *Thomas Fuller*, B. D. both parts printed for J. Williams, &c. 12mo. 1652. He afterwards publiſhed a different work entituled, *Mixt Contemplations in theſe times*, as one author ſays in folio (56); who mentions no date to this, or any other of his works; and this if not printed in octavo, we never ſaw; but his *Mixt Contemplations in better times*, printed in 8vo. 1660. and dedicated from Syon College, to the Lady Monck we have ſeen. As for his *Good Thoughts in bad times*; which contain the firſt four heads of thoſe ſpecified in the two parts before mentioned to have been printed together; this firſt part containing an hundred meditations, is addreſſed by him in a polite dedication, to his patroneſs, the Lady Dalkieth, Governeſs to the Princeſs, as alſo her godmother, who was the planter of him in her ſervice. We have ſeen an account or deſcription of a collection of moral and divine contemplations, written ſeemingly in a woman's hand, by either the ſaid Princeſs Henrietta Maria, as it was ſaid, or for her uſe (57), having on its blue Turkey leather cover, the two firſt letters of her name in a cypher, ſurrounded with palm branches, and crowned with a coronet, in which there are ſeveral of the curious thoughts in this book, among others tranſcribed. As that pleaſant ſtory of the ſimple American, who hid or buried under a ſtone the letter his Spaniſh maſter had ſent by him, to a friend with a baſket of figs, while he eat ſome of them, becauſe a former letter had revealed his former thievery; thinking, while he was out of its ſight, he ſhould now be free from its detection; which is ingeniouſly applied by our author, to the conſcience in man, which however ſtifled and ſuppreſſed, while we are committing tranſgreſſions, will at laſt both upbraid us with, and puniſh us for them (58). Another is, that application he makes of the Shepherds on thoſe Welſh mountains

(46) See Dr Robt. Vilvain's Enchiridium Epigrammatum, Latino Anglicum, &c. 8vo. 1654, in the additional Eſſays. p. 166.

(47) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 524, 579, &c.

(48) Fuller's Worthies in Cambr. fol. 154. Alſo in Warwickſhire, fol. 124, &c.

(49) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 524.

(*) Church Hiſt. fol. 142. See alſo his Dedicat. of lib. IX. to the Hon. George Berkeley.

(50) Worthies in Glouceſterſhire, fol. 366.

(51) See Biſhop Hall's Contemplations, in two or three Volumes 8vo. 1612, 1613, &c.

(52) His Hermes Theologus: Or, New Diſcants upon Old Records, 12mo. 1649.

(53) Dr Spurſtow's Spiritual Chymiſt: Or, Six Decades of Divine Meditations, 8vo. 1666, 1668.

(54) Mr Boyle's Occaſional Reflexions on ſeveral Subjects, 8vo. 1665.

(55) See Dr Swift's Meditations on a Broomſtick: According to the ſtile and manner of the Hon. Robert Boyle's *Meditations*.

(†) We may alſo read of Fuller's Better Thoughts in worſe times, in W. London's Catalogue of Books, &c. 4to. 1658.

(56) The Life of Dr Fuller, in the Catalogue of his Works at the End.

(57) Among the MS. Collections of the late Mr T. Coxeter.

(58) Fuller's good Thoughts in bad times, among the Hiſtorical Applications, No. 13.

garriſon there, for want of ſuccours, was forced to ſurrender, but upon ſuch ſavourable conditions, to the Parliament army, under Sir Thomas Fairfax, on the thirteenth of April 1646 (*k*), that Fuller was permitted by him to depart without any loſs or interruption to London. Here he met but cold reception among his former pariſhioners; Mr Bond, heretofore a preacher at Exeter, was Maſter of the Savoy; and ſo many other changes he ſaw, that the pariſh was ſcarcely to be found in itſelf. However, it was not long before he was choſen Lecturer at St Clements-Lane, near Lombard-ſtreet; and ſhortly after removed to St Bride's church in Fleet-ſtreet. In the title-page of a ſermon which he publiſhed in 1647, he ſtiles himſelf late Lecturer in Lombard-ſtreet; and in his dedication thereof to Sir *John Danvers*, it appears he was now ſilenced [*L*]. He publiſhed ſeveral other pieces in theſe two laſt years, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. But it ſeems to have been before the latter end of the next year, when King Charles was put to death, that he was received as Chaplain to James Hay Earl of Carliſle (*), and preſented by his Lordſhip, ſoon after, to the Rectory of Waltham-Abbey in Eſſex; becauſe in that year 1648, and in 1649, he was, not only at London, but at Waltham, employing ſome engravers, to adorn, with ſculptures, his copious Proſpect or View of the Holy Land, as from Mount *Piſgah*, therefore called and known by the name of his Pisgah-Sight of *Paleſtine* (*l*), which he publiſhed in 1650 [*M*]. But as for his Worthies of England, the death of the King,

(*k*) Sir George Wharton, as before, p. 23. And Memorials of Engliſh Affairs; by Bulſtr. Whitlock, Eſq; edit. fol. 1732. p. 200.

(*) See in Fuller's Dedication of the fourth Book, in his Church Hiſtory, to this Earl of Carliſle, ſome remarkable particulars of his Lordſhip's anceſtors.

(*l*) See the Map therein of the Tribe of Gad, by W. Marſhall, 1648. fol. 72. And the Map of the Tribe of Benjamin, by Robt. Vaughan, apud Waltham, 1649. fol. 238.

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tains, ſo high and ſuch little ways aſunder, that the men can talk together, but muſt walk ſome miles before they can meet together, to the diviſions between the King and Parliament (59). Another is, his meditations on the riſings and fallings in Saliſbury plain (60); and beſides two or three more, there is one we ſhall here recite, as a ſpecimen of our author's talent in this kind of writing, as follows: 'I have ſometimes conſidered, in what a troubleſome caſe is that Chamberlaine in an Inn, who being but one, is to give attendance to many gueſts. For, ſuppoſe them all in one chamber; yet, if one ſhall command him to come to the window, and the other to the table, another to the bed, another to the chimney, another to go up ſtairs, and another to go down; and all in the ſame inſtant; how would he be diſtracted to pleaſe them all? And yet, ſuch is the ſad condition of my ſoul by nature, not only a ſervant but a ſlave to ſin! Pride calls me to the window; gluttony to the table; wantonneſs to the bed; lazineſs to the chimney; ambition commands me to go up ſtairs, and covetouſneſs to come down. Vices I ſee are as well contrary to themſelves as to virtue. Free me, Lord, from this diſtracted caſe; fetch me from being ſin's ſervant to be thine, whoſe ſervice is perfect freedom; for thou art one and ever the ſame, and always enjoins commands agreeable to themſelves, thy glory, and my good (61).'

[*L*] *In his dedication to Sir John Danvers, it appears that he was now ſilenced*] This is entituled, *A Sermon of aſſurance, fourteen years ago preached in Cambridge, ſince in other places: now, by the importunity of his friends, expoſed to publick view.* 4to. 1647. In his *dedication* to Sir John Danvers, he ſays that, 'It had been the pleaſure of the preſent authority to make me mute; forbidding me till further order, the exerciſe of my publick preaching.' And in the *Preface* he tells his readers that, 'if he was finally interdicted his calling, he might beſpeak their pity to bemoan his ſtate; but lying as yet, in the marſhes between hope and fear, I am, ſays he, no fit ſubject to be condoled for, or congratulated with: yet it is, I truſt, no piece of Popery to maintain, that the prayers of others may be beneficial and available for a perſon in my purgatory condition.' And a little further, 'However matters ſhall ſucceed, it is no ſmall comfort to my conſcience, that in reſpect to my miniſterial function, I do not die, *felo de ſe*; not ſtabbing my profeſſion by mine own lazineſs, who hitherto have, and hereafter ſhall improve my utmoſt endeavours, by any lawful means to procure my reſtitution.' And tho' ſome might perſuade him to hold a private congregation, and carry the pulpit to his lodgings; yet he refrains from giving any offence, in hopes of being brought back to his pulpit. Of that Sir John Danvers, to whom he dedicates this ſermon, who was of a noble family, and had been a Royaliſt, tho' now an Oliverian, and next year one of the King's Judges, but died before the Reſtoration, we have met with the following paſſage, relating both to him and our author, in a little book that gives us ſome account of Sir John's life; the writer whereof, ſays that, tho' he lived ſome years in his diſloyalty without repentance, 'Yet drawing near the time of his death, I have, ſays the ſaid writer, cauſe to believe that he repented of the wickedneſs of his life; for that, then, Mr Thomas, now Dr Fuller, was converſant in his family, and preached ſeveral times at Sir John Danvers his deſire, in Chelſea Church; where, I am ſure, all that frequented that congregation, will ſay, he was inſtructed to repent of his miſguided and wicked conſultations, in having to do with the murder of that juſt man, the King (62).'

[*M*] *His Piſgah Sight of Paleſtine, he publiſhed in* 1650.] The title is, *A Piſgah Sight of Paleſtine, and the confines thereof; with the Hiſtory of the Old and New Teſtament acted thereon. By T. Fuller*, B. D. 'Tis an handſome folio, embelliſhed with a frontiſpiece deſigned by Francis Cleyn, with many other copper plates, and divided into five books. The dedication, to Eſme Stuart Earl of March and Darneley, &c. is dated from Waltham-Abbey, 7th July 1650, and after the preface, in which he excuſes his delay of the *Church Hiſtory*, and renews our hopes of receiving it, follow ſome verſes in Greek, by John Ridley. Then we have a table of the arms in ſculpture of ſeveral encouragers of this work, graved by J. Goddard; and after that, a map of Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, dedicated to John Lord Cranfield, Sir William Paſton, and Robert Condel, Eſq; The *firſt* book contains the general deſcription of Judea in fifteen chapters; with a map of old Canaan, inſcribed to Edward Bendloes, Eſq; The *ſecond* book, is dedicated to Henry Lord Beauchamp, as we before mentioned. Then follow the hiſtories of the Twelve Tribes, &c. in as many chapters, with a map before each, containing alſo, in a little compartment, a ſhort Latin inſcription, in proſe or verſe, to ſome patron, with his arms over it: the firſt, which is the map of Reuben, is inſcribed to Sir Paul Pindar; the next of Gad, to Sir Hugh Windham, Bart. and ſo on: that of Benjamin to James Earl of Carliſle; and that of Judah, to another ſpecial patron, William Lord Maynard, &c. of whom, he elſewhere gratefully ſpeaks (63). The *third* book, dedicated to John Lord Roſs, Son of John Earl of Rutland, gives us a deſcription of the city of Jeruſalem in thirteen chapters, with a plan of it in ſculpture, inſcribed to the Honourable Edward Montagu, Eſq; alſo an account of Solomon's Temple in ſeven chapters, and his Courts, with the utenſils of the Temple in twelve chapters; and prints of them inſcribed to other promoters of the work. We have next a deſcription and hiſtory of Zerobabel's Temple in twelve chapters, and a plate inſcribed alſo of that, like the reſt. The *fourth* book is dedicated to Francis Lord Ruſſel, ſon of William Earl of Bedford, and dated from Waltham-Abbey, July 16, 1650. Here we have a map and deſcription of Mount Libanus, with the adjacent country, inſcribed to Simeon Bonnel, Merchant of London, a great encourager of his works. Alſo of Median, and other eaſtern confines of Paleſtine, with the like proſpect and account of the wilderneſs of

(59) Idem, No. 3.

(60) Ibid. among the mixt Contemplations, No. 22.

(61) Fuller's good Thoughts in bad times, among the mixt Contemplations, No. 8.

(62) See J. Bates his Lives of the Regicides, 12mo. 1661. p. 134.

(63) Where he ſays, 'William Lord Maynard hath been ſo noble an Encourager of my Studies, that my hand deſerves to wither, when my heart paſſeth him by without a Prayer for his good ſucceſs.' Worthies, in Eſſex, fol. 347.

King, did now, for a while, quite ſtagnate and diſhearten his continuance of that Work, as if the proceedings of the Parliament had proved a contradiction to the title of it: *For what ſhall I write,* ſaid he, *of the* Worthies of England, *when this horrid act will bring ſuch an infamy upon the whole nation, as will ever cloud and darken all its* former, *and ſuppreſs its* future, *riſing glories* (*m*). Therefore he was buſy till the year laſt mentioned, in getting out that book and others; and the next year, he rather employed himſelf in publiſhing ſome particular lives, in a volume, of religious Reformers, Martyrs, Confeſſors, Biſhops, Doctors, and other learned Divines, foreign and domeſtick, than in augmenting his ſaid book of Engliſh Worthies in general; and to this collection he gave the title of ABEL REDEVIVUS, which he publiſhed at London, in quarto, 1651 [*N*]. In the two or three following years, he printed alſo ſeveral ſermons and tracts upon eccleſiaſtical ſubjects. And now having lived above twelve years a widower, and being recommended to an advantageous match by his noble friends, he married one of the ſiſters of the Lord Viſcount *Baltinglaſs* (*n*), in or not long before the year 1654. The next year ſhe brought him forth a ſon, who, with the other before mentioned, ſurvived their father. In 1655, notwithſtanding Cromwell's prohibition of all perſons from performing any miniſterial ſervice, or teaching any ſchool, who had been adherents to the late King, he continued preaching, and exerting his charitable diſpoſition towards thoſe Miniſters who were ejected; whom he not only relieved with what he could ſpare out of his own ſlender eſtate, but procured many contributions for them of his auditories. Nor was his charity confined to the Clergy, but, among the Laity whom he likewiſe befriended, one Captain of the royal army, who was

(*m*) The Life of Dr Fuller, p. 39.

(*n*) Idem, p. 42.

of Paran, through which the children of Iſrael travelled forty years: likewiſe a draught of the tabernacle, inſcribed to James Bovey, Merchant of London, and a map of Egypt, with hiſtorical obſervations, founded upon the authorities of the holy writings, and thoſe of travellers, topographers, &c. as the other parts are. We have next a deſcription of the Jewiſh habits in eight chapters, with a table of them engraved (*), and inſcribed to his friend Mat. Gilly, Eſq; alſo a print of the Jewiſh Pantheon, or Idols, with an inſcription to Dr Hamey as we mentioned before, and philological obſervations upon them, partly, as he acknowledges, from the labours of Mr Selden (64). The *fifth* book is dedicated to John Lord Burghley, ſon of John Earl of Exeter; and contains his anſwers to objections, concerning this treatiſe, and the repreſentation of the Tribes, &c. in the maps aforeſaid, in twenty two chapters. In one of them, to an objection, that the faces of the men who bear the great bunch of grapes (65), are ſet the wrong way: for being to go ſouth-eaſt, to *Kadeſh-barnea*, they look full weſt, to the *Mediterranean* ſea, he anſwers: 'You put me in mind of a 'man, who being ſent for, to paſs his verdict on a 'picture, how like it was, to the perſon whom it was 'to reſemble, fell a finding fault with the frame thereof, not the Limner's, but the Joyner's work; that 'the ſame was not handſomely faſhioned. Inſtead of 'giving your judgment on the map, how truly it is 'drawn to repreſent the Tribe, you cavil at the hiſtory-properties therein; the art of the Graver, not 'the Geographer. Yet know, Sir, when I checkt 'the Graver, *Robert Vaughan*, for the ſame, he anſwered me, that it was proper for the *Spies*, like '*Watermen*, and *Rope-makers*, to *look one way, and 'row another* (66).' After theſe anſwers, there are ſix chapters more. 1. Of Ezekiel's viſionary land of Canaan. 2. An account of the Ten Tribes ſince their Captivity, &c. 3. Of the Jews repoſſeſſing their native country. 4. Of the general calling of the Jews. 5. The preſent obſtructions of their calling. 6. How Chriſtians ſhould behave in order to the Jews converſion.—Then follows a ſculpture of ſacred fragments, dedicated to John and Edward Ruſſel, youngeſt ſons of Francis late Earl of Bedford: and the whole cloſes with an elaborate table or index, of all the places; as cities, towns, mountains, vallies, rivers, &c. mentioned in this hiſtory of Paleſtine out of the Scriptures, in their proper Hebrew names, alſo their ſignifications in Engliſh, parallel'd with many Engliſh towns, &c. as ſynonymas, and the texts referred to, in which thoſe places are mentioned; as alſo their longitudes and latitudes: laſtly, the book, page, and paragraph, in this hiſtory, where ſuch places are treated of, or mentioned; and all in diſtinct columns. If we may depend upon the judgment of ſome writers who have given our author's character, this *Piſgah Sight* is the moſt exact of all his writings (67).

(*) By J. Fuller; no relation of our author's, we preſume; but might be a ſon, or other kinſman, of Iſaac Fuller, the Hiſtory-Painter, if not himſelf.

(64) De Diis Syris.

(65) In the Map of Dan, book the 2d, before cap. 10. p. 202.

(66) Lib. 5. cap. 12. p. 163.

(67) D. Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 523. Alſo an Hiſtorical Dictionary of England and Wales, 8vo. 1692.

[*N*] *His Abel Redevivus he publiſhed at London in Quarto* 1651.] The title of it is, *Abel Redevivus: Or the Dead yet ſpeaking. The lives and deaths of the modern Divines; written by ſeveral able and learned men, whoſe names ye ſhall find in the epiſtle to the reader; and now digeſted into one volume, for the benefit and ſatisfaction of all thoſe that deſire to be acquainted with the paths of piety and virtue.* Printed by Thomas Brudnell, &c. Lond *Quarto* 1651 The epiſtle written by our author, is ſubſcribed from Waltham-Abbey. There are about one hundred and twelve lives, foreign and domeſtic in this volume, whereof thirty eight are Engliſh, except two or three Scots; beginning with Berengarius and Wicliffe, and ending with Robert Bolton and W Wheatley. About forty three of the lives are embelliſhed with little copper prints of their heads before them, and in the prefatory epiſtle, our author, after having briefly touched upon the honours, uſes, and benefits of BIOGRAPHY, proceeds to diſtinguiſh the compilers of this collection, in theſe words— 'As for the makers thereof, they 'are many. Some done by Doctor Featly, now at 'reſt with God: viz. the lives of Jewel, Reynolds, 'Abbot, and divers others: ſome by that reverend 'and learned Divine, Mr Gataker: viz. the lives of 'Peter Martyr, Bale, Whitgift, Ridley, Whitaker, 'Parker, and others: Doctor Willet's life, by Doctor 'Smith, his ſon in law. Eraſmus his life, by the 'Reverend Biſhop of Kilmore (68): the life of Biſhop 'Andrews, by the judicious and induſtrious, my worthy friend, Maſter Iſaackſon: and my meanneſs wrote 'all the lives of Beringarius, Hus, Hierom of Prague, 'Archbiſhop Cranmer, Maſter Fox, Perkins, Junius, '&c. ſave, the moſt part of the poetry at the end of 'every life was done by Maſter Quarles, father and 'ſon, ſufficiently known for their abilities therein. 'The reſt, the Stationer got tranſcribed out of Mr 'Holland, and other authors (69).' Before a little book of the *Daily Devotions* of Dr John Colet, Dean of St Paul's, and Founder of the Grammar School there, we ſee, a ſhort account of that Dean's life written by our author, T. Fuller; but it is a different work from that in this collection, and not near ſo long (70). It may be obſerved in this collection of lives, that the plan our author followed in compoſing his ſhare of it, is that which was then, among the moſt judicious writers in uſe; too modeſt to be juſtly charged with oſtentation: for the other compilers, who were alſo learned and ingenious men, have as little diſplayed the directions they had in chronology, or thoſe their readers might covet to their authorities, as himſelf; except one of them, who has bravely embroidered his margins, with above fourſcore references to the old Philoſophers, Fathers, Poets, &c. in the life of a *modern Divine*, within the compaſs of ſix leaves, and not five quotations in the whole that are directly perſonal, or do hiſtorically concern his ſubject (71).

[*O*] *It*

(68) Dr William Bedell, as we ſuppoſe.

(69) Fuller's Epiſtle to Abel Redevivus, p. 7.

(70) Page 97.

(71) See Dr Smith's Life of Dr Andrew Willet, in Abel Redevivus, p. 565.

was quite deſtitute, he wholly maintained, with lodging, diet, and ten pounds a year for other neceſſaries, till he died *(o)* In that year, his Hiſtory of the UNIVERSITY *of* CAMBRIDGE, and his Hiſtory of WALTHAM-ABBEY, were printed; and they are uſually annexed, as an appendix, to his volume intituled, *The Church-Hiſtory of* GREAT BRITAIN, which, after many interruptions, he brought out in a large folio, printed the ſame year, and then publiſhed, ſome few copies, it ſeems, with the date thereof in the title page; and the reſt with another title, dated the next year 1656, &c. and having then chambers in Sion College, London, for the benefit of the library there, he from thence publiſhed the ſaid volume *(p)*. The reader will think it no news to hear that it did not pleaſe every body. It was commended by ſeveral, and cenſured by ſome [*O*]. About this time he was

(o) The Life of Dr Fuller, p. 44, 45.

***(p)* His Church Hiſt. in the Preface.**

[*O*] *It was commended by ſeveral, and cenſured by ſome.*] This book, for which our author has been ſo variouſly characterized, bears the title of, *The Church-Hiſtory of Great-Britain, from the Birth of Chriſt, until the year* 1648. *endeavoured by Thomas Fuller. London,* printed for *John Williams, &c.* fol 1656. It is divided into eleven books, whereof the ſixth is the hiſtory of Abbies; alſo into ſeventeen centuries, and moſt of them after the earlier times into ſeveral ſections; with a dedication before each, to ſome noble or eminent friend who was an encourager of his works, with their arms often printed from wooden cuts, in the initial letters; which particular publications of, and acknowledgments to his patrons, ſubſcribers, &c. begot him ſome particular envy, as the hiſtory itſelf did, ſome cenſure, for his moderation to all parties therein; without a great regard to which, by the moſt diſcreet conduct, he muſt in the latter part of this hiſtory, have brought himſelf when it was publiſhed into inextricable danger. Indeed he brought this hiſtory down too far within his own time, contrary to a good rule of his own (*): but he could no longer reſiſt the importunity of his friends, who had ſo long expected it, at this time, when truth could not be done right with ſafety, nor wrong with honour, to bring it out, as appears by the firſt words of his preface; which inform us, that an ingenious gentleman ſome months before it appeared, in jeſt-earneſt, adviſed him to make haſte with his *Hiſtory* of the *Church* of *England*, for fear, ſaid he, leaſt the *Church* of *England* be *ended* before the *Hiſtory* of it. It muſt be provoking enough in envious minds, to ſee the noble Duke of Richmond in the very firſt dedication of this book (72), had ſuch a ſingular regard to our author's judgment in the expoſition of the Scriptures, that his Grace would give him ſome favourite text to compoſe a ſermon upon; and the zealots of a party could deduce enough matter of reproach from his ſaying that, ‘ The three firſt books were chiefly written in the reign of the late King, as appears by the paſſages then proper for the government; and the other nine, ſince Monarchy was turned into a State (73).’ As for the gentleman aforeſaid, who haſtened the publication, we have learnt it was Edward Waterhouſe, Eſq; the author of ſome learned books, which were well received; in one whereof, ſpeaking of our Church-Hiſtorian he calls him, ‘ Ingenious Dr Fuller; who will be more valued in after ages as moſt are, than in their own (74).’ Another contemporary writer, in a tract publiſhed before the laſt quoted, having occaſion to conſult that part of this Church Hiſtory, treating of the foundation which was firſt begun at Chelſea, for a College of Controverſial Divinity againſt the Papiſts, but is now an Hoſpital for diſabled and ſuperannuated ſoldiers, has theſe words— ‘ But yet further, for the eſtabliſhing your judgments, and the attracting of your affections, let us produce the venerable relation and judgment of one, who may be well called a Chryſoſtom; that is, Doctor Fuller, &c (75):’ and further again, in another part of the ſame treatiſe; ‘ Let us hereupon ſtill hear, and heed what Doctor Fuller ſays; and he is ever moſt worthy to be heard, &c (76).’ But ſomewhat earlier ſtill, there was another author of thoſe times, Mr Thomas Forde; a man of good genius, who was eſteemed no inconſiderable Poet and Orator; a volume of whoſe writings in proſe and verſe, has been elſewhere ſpoken of among our dramatic writers (77); in one part of which book, there is a very reſpectful letter, in commendation of this hiſtory, addreſſed, tho' by the initial letters of his name only, yet evidently, as may appear by the ſubſtance thereof, as follows,

‘ TO *Mr* THOMAS FULLER.

‘ SIR,

‘ HAVING lately, not without pleaſure and profit read your *Church-Hiſtory*; by which you have not only indebted our Church in *particular*, but the whole commonwealth of learning in *general*; my memory continually upbraided me with ingratitude, till I found out this way to convey my reſentments. For though our *returns* of thanks ought to be large and univerſal as your merit, yet your goodneſs, I hope, will not refuſe the ſingle gratitude of private perſons. In that number, though the laſt, and the leaſt, I am bold to tender my mite. A taſk indeed better befitting a more equal pen, ſince none is able to do it but your own. But I know your *modeſty* is as great as your *merit*, the higheſt worths being always accompanied with the loweſt humility. May your name ever *live*, who have raiſed ſo many to *life*, and reſcued their *memories* from the tyranny of *oblivion*. Among many others, I am particularly obliged to your courteſy, in the remembrance of that good man Mr *Udal*, to whom, by kindred, I am ſomething related. One, of whom we have this tradition, that he was the firſt man King *James* aſked for when he came into *England*, and being anſwered, that he was dead, the King, whoſe judgment was an exact ſtandard of learning and learned men, replied, *By my ſal, then the greateſt ſcholar in Europe's dead.* And certainly, by his own party, if they may be admitted for competent judges, it is not yet reſolved, whether his learning or his zeal were greateſt; and they think, they juſtly boaſt him a *Confeſſor*, if not a *Martyr*, for that cauſe which ſince hath paid thoſe ſcores with intereſt Now, though I am not *heir* to his *opinions*, yet a ſmall *affinity* to his *perſon*, makes me embrace the opportunity of proffering you that intelligence you complain to want, the rather, becauſe perhaps, no man can now do it but myſelf; and I have *a relation of all his trials, cenſures, and ſentence,* written by *himſelf*, which I doubt not may give you a ſatisfactory account in what you deſire. If you pleaſe to command it, I ſhall be ambitious to ſerve *you* and the *truth* therewith. But I could wiſh you would review that paſſage in the 31 *Sect. after the execution of* Udal, *&c* (78), for he died at the *White Lyon*, juſt as his pardon was procured, and was buried at St *George*'s *Southwark*. And ſo I leave him to his reſt, wiſhing his good *name* and *doctrines* may ſurvive his *diſcipline*. Sir, you have not only engaged *learning*, but *religion*, to perpetuate your *labours*. *Fame* is much in arrears to your *deſert*, and therefore cannot in juſtice, but continue that veneration in *length* to your memory, which it yet wants in *breadth*. Thoſe *religious houſes*, erected by a better devotion than that which deſtroyed them, are more beholding to *your pen*, than to their *founders*, or *materials*; you having made them a taſk for the remembrance and admiration of future ages, ſo long as *time* ſhall hold a ſcythe, or *fame* a trumpet. I would ſay more, if the univerſal applauſe of all knowing men had not ſaved me a labour; and to pay you in ſome of your own coin, it is no *flattery* to *affirm*, what *envy* cannot *deny*. Did I not foreſee that the relation would ſwell my diſcourſe beyond the limits of a letter, or the length of your patience,

(*) But ſee alſo his arguments for writing the Hiſt. of our own times, in his Dedicat. to Robt. Lord Bruce, before the tenth book of his Church Hiſt.

(72) To his ſon Eſme Stuart, Duke of Richmond.

(73) In the Pref. to his Church Hiſt.

(74) A ſhort Narrative of the late dreadful fire in London, by Edward Waterhouſe, Eſq; 8vo. 1667. p. 89.

(75) John Darley's Glory of Chelſea College revived: 4to. 1662. p. 17.

(76) Idem, p. 27.

(77) Langbain's Account of the Dramatic Poets, p. 222.

(78) Church Hiſt. lib. IX. ſect. viii. but that this was only a little ſlip, or inadvertency, may be ſeen in ſect. or paragr. 4. where he ſays that Udal died peaceably in his bed.

was invited to another living in Eſſex, which, for ſome reſpects to the patron, he undertook, and piouſly continued his labours there till his ſettlement at London (q). He ſeems to have had two great deliverances from death while he was in this county; for where he is ſpeaking of the ſaffron in it, which grows ſo plentifully about the town of Walden, he calls it an admirable cordial; adding, that, ‘ under God, I owe my life, when ſick of ‘ the ſmall-pox, to the efficacy thereof;’ and Dr Baldwin Hamey, afterwards knighted, ſeems to have been his Phyſician in this illneſs (r). The other deliverance we have alſo in his own words, where he ſays, ‘ It is queſtionable, whether the making of *gunpowder* be ‘ more profitable or more dangerous, the *mills* in my pariſh having been *five* times blown up ‘ within *ſeven* years; but bleſſed be God without the loſs of any one man's life (s).’ Before he left Eſſex he made, as we are told, his laſt Will; which, after his death, was repoſited in the Prerogative-office of Canterbury, at Doctor's-Commons in London; where, with others made by ſome of the ſame name, it is to be ſeen (t). But now another noble patron, George Lord Berkeley, having made him his Chaplain, he took his leave of that county, to the great reluntance of his pariſhioners, and was preſented by his Lordſhip to the living of Cranford in Middleſex, where he was no leſs generally beloved and reſpected, than at his other living he had been (u). Ever ſince the *Church Hiſtory* aforeſaid was publiſhed, Dr Heylin had been hatching his *Animadverſions* upon it and ſome others, which he printed in 1659. This invidious taſk, as he owns it himſelf to have been (w), diverted our author from his other ſtudies to return an *anſwer* to it, which he publiſhed with no leſs ſpeed than ſucceſs within the ſame year; of both which we ſhall ſay ſomething more in a note apart [P]: And when Dr Heylin's own Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, only of the Reformation,

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‘ patience, I ſhould aſſume the liberty to inform you, that my neighbourhood to the place, acquaints me with ſome *reliques* of *religious houſes*, at and near *Malden*, bearing ſtill the name of an *Abbey*, a *Friery*, and a *Nunnery*. And if we may judge of *Hercules* by his foot, of the whole piece by the remnant, and of *them* by their *remains*, I ſhould ſuppoſe them not behind many in *England*. As yet, I know little of them, but their *ruins*; but if you vote it convenient, I ſhall endeavour to improve my preſent ignorance into a diſcovery of them. I ſuppoſe it will be no hard taſk; I am ſure it ſhall not, when in relation to your command. I muſt now take pity of your *patience*, which had not run this hazard of abuſe, did I not know I have to do with ſo great a candour, from which I can expect no leſs than *pardon*. And in that preſumption, I crave your leave to be, as I ſubſcribe myſelf,

‘ SIR,

‘ Your moſt aſſured Servant,

‘ THOMAS FORDE (79).’

Theſe, and other commendations of our author, that might be aſſembled, were paid him for this elaborate and ingenious performance, ſome after, as well as others before, the more ſevere examinations and cenſures of it were made, which will appear in the next note Annexed to this Church Hiſtory, is his *Hiſtory of Cambridge*, from the Conqueſt to 1643, in 172 pages, with a dedication to Baniſter, ſon of William Lord Maynard, and a map inſcribed to Baptiſt Camden, Lord Noel: alſo the *Hiſtory of Waltham-Abbey* in Eſſex, founded by King Harold, in 22 pages, dedicated to his patron James Earl of Carliſle; with a plate at the end, before the index, of the *Seals* of *Arms*, of all the *Mitred Abbeys* in England. Both which hiſtories were printed, as we above obſerved in 1655, and the latter of them has lately been recompiled by another pen (80).

[P] *Of both which we ſhall ſay ſomething more in a note apart.*] We have ſeen in the letter, recited in the laſt note, a little miſtake of our author's, in a generous and genteel manner rectified by Mr *Forde*. We have alſo met with ſome agreeable converſation, which is ſaid to have paſſed between our author and his ever-chearful and friendly acquaintance, Mr *Iſaac Walton*, upon the general character of this *Church-Hiſtory*, when it firſt came abroad. For *Walton*, taking occaſion, upon reading ſomething in it, relating to one of the lives, he was collecting materials for writing, I think, that of Mr Richard Hooker, to viſit him with other company; and our author knowing how intimate he was with ſeveral of the Biſhops and antient Clergy, firſt aſked him what he thought of the Hiſtory himſelf, and was then curious to know, what reception it had met with among them: *Walton* anſwered, that he thought it ſhould be acceptable to all tempers, becauſe there were *ſhades* in it for the warm, and *ſunſhine* for thoſe of a cold conſtitution; that with *youthful readers*, the facetious parts would be profitable, to make the ſerious more palatable; while ſome reverend *old readers* might fancy themſelves, in his Hiſtory of the Church, as in a flower-garden, or one full of ever-greens: and why not, ſaid Fuller, the *Church Hiſtory* ſo decked, as well as the *Church* itſelf, at a moſt *Holy Seaſon*; or the *Tabernacle* of old, at the *Feaſt of Boughs?* That was, but *for a ſeaſon*, ſaid *Walton*; in your *Feaſt of Boughs*, they may conceive, we are ſo overſhadowed throughout, that the parſon is more ſeen than his congregation, and this, ſometimes inviſible to its own acquaintance; who may wander in the ſearch, till they are loſt in the labyrinth: oh, ſaid Fuller, the very *Children* of our *Iſrael* may find their way out of this *wilderneſs*: true, returned *Walton*; as indeed they have here ſuch a *Moſes* to conduct them (81). Theſe were Laymen; how ſome of the Clergy have treated this hiſtory, we are now to relate; and particularly the author of animadverſions on it. This was Dr Peter Heylin, a man whoſe learning had been well *employed*, if it could have reduced his unhappy temper; which obſtructing his own preferment, moved his diſcontented ſpirit to oppoſe that of others; and lifting his hand againſt every body, raiſed theirs againſt him. This Doctor having written the Hiſtory of our *Champion of England* (82), took a pique, it ſeems, partly from the ſlight grounds of our author's making a little parallel of Perſeus and Andromeda, with St George and the King of Lybia's daughter (83); and taking ſome further diſtaſte, that himſelf was leſs mentioned, or with leſs homage than he expected, in ſome other parts of his writings, eſpecially for his reflection on the Doctor's reflecting ſtory on the antiquity of the Univerſity of Cambridge (84), kept feeding his rancour upon this Church Hiſtory till it broke out, however he would have us believe it a taſk impoſed upon him, in theſe *Animadverſions* (85), before which he has written an *Introduction*, and given therein, the anatomy of the ſaid Hiſtory; diſſecting it into many parts, and then reading lectures upon the unſoundneſs of all: beginning, I. At the title; of the *Church Hiſtory* from *Chriſt*; by which, expecting an allowance of a Chriſtian Church in *Britain*, in the time of Chriſt; he betrays his diſappointment, in our author's refuting the popiſh pretenſions of St Peter's planting the goſpel here, or any other of the Apoſtles, &c. ſo early from Rome; and ſo, *Mother-Church* in that age, is defeated of the duty of a *daughter!* II. *Church-Hiſtory* of *Britain*, is mighty exceptionable with him; becauſe there is little ſaid of the Churches mation, appeared, it gave leſs ſatisfaction, and was by others no leſs *animadverted* on. They had no further controverſy after the ſaid anſwer, but were both thereupon, as we have

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(q) The Life of Dr Fuller, p. 46.

(r) Fuller's Worthies, in Eſſex, p. 317. See alſo his Latin Inſcription on the Copper-Plate of Jewiſh Idols, to Dr Hamey, in his Piſgah-Sight, &c. lib. 4. p. 120. Alſo his Latin Dedicat. to him in his Church Hiſt. fol. 138.

(s) His Worthies in Eſſex, p. 319.

(t) Dr Tho. Fuller's Will is in the Regiſt. entit. Laud, Qur. 48. Geo. Fuller's, 1651. in Regiſt. Gray, Qr. 4. And Robert Fuller's 1661, in Reg. Lady Judith May, Qr. 134.

(u) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 45, &c.

(w) Dr Heylin's general Pref. to his Examen Hiſtoricum.

(79) See Fæneſtra in Pectore: Or, a Century of familiar Letters. By Tho. Forde, 8vo. 1660. p. 135. Joined to his Virtus Redeviva: Or, Panegyric on K. Charles I, &c. 8vo. 1661.

(80) J Farmer's Hiſt. of Waltham-Abbey, 8vo. 1735.

(81) In a Medley of diverting Sayings, Stories, Characters, &c. in Verſe and Proſe, written in Quarto, about the Year 1686, (as it is atteſted in another hand) by Charles Cotton, Eſq; ſome time in the Library of the Earl of Hallifax.

(82) Heylin's Hiſtory of St George, 4to. 1631, &c.

(83) In the Piſgah-Sight, fol. 210.

(84) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, fol. 77, 78.

(85) Printed in his Examen Hiſtoricum: Or, a Diſcovery and Examination of the Miſtakes, Falſities, and Defects, in ſome Modern Hiſtories: Occaſioned by the Partiality and Inadvertencies of their ſeveral Authors. In two Parts. Lond. 8vo. 1659.

of Scotland and Ireland. III. 'Tis not properly called a *Church-Hiſtory*, becauſe 'tis an aggregation of *heterogeneous* bodies. There is too much variety; and, a *Church Rhapſody*, or *Fuller's Miſcellanies*, had been a fitter title: ſo picks us out theſe impertinent parts; IV. Such as, *Title pages* a dozen; *Dedications* as many; and about threeſcore more, to other patrons, before the ſubdivided ſections. This number of *Patrons* was an intolerable felicity, eſpecially as our author has, more than once, let us into his good huſbandry, of raiſing a *Nurſery* of them (*). V. His *Heraldry*, *Blazon* of *Arms*, *Deſcents* of *Noble Families*, *Rolls* of *Battle-Abbey*, *Arms* and *Names* of the Conqueror's *Knights* billeted with the Monks of *Ely*: catalogue of *Adventurers* with *Richard* I. to *Paleſtine*; which he thinks might have better ſerved his Hiſtory of the *Holy Wars*; but being alſo what would engage the young Nobility and Gentry, for whom he ſo much deſigned this book, is very diſpleaſing. VI. Then alſo, his *Epitaphs*, and *Tranſlations* of other pieces of *Poetry*, ſprinkled up and down, as another attraction of his younger readers to the graver parts, and for the enlivening or illuſtration of his characters, are wholly diſallowed; becauſe, among the other antient Hiſtorians, he ſays, Plutarch and Suetonius yield him no example; and therefore it looks rather like a *Church Romance*. VII. His raking into *Popiſh Legends* was unneceſſary; that is, he ſhould not have expoſed ſo much, and armed his readers ſo well againſt the eccleſiaſtical impoſtures and miracles therein, deviſed to promote the admiration and bigotry of the people, and augment the profits of the Monks and Prieſts. VIII. Above all, ſays the Doctor, recommend me to his *merry tales*, and ſcraps of *trencher jeſts*, frequently interlaced in all parts of the Hiſtory; which, extracted into a book by themſelves (*), might be ſerved up, he thinks, for a ſecond courſe to the *banquet of jeſts*; or *wits, fits, and fancies*; or the old *hundred merry tales*. But would one think his own ſeverity could fall into the ſame levities he cenſures, in theſe *animadverſions*? Yes, when they will gratify his ſpleen; tho' it be with a *trencher-jeſt*, out of any common jeſt-book in Grub-Street; as where, being inflamed at a ſtory our author recites of a Lady, who told Archbiſhop Laud of her going over betimes to *Rome*, becauſe, *ſhe perceived his Lordſhip and many others haſtning thither, and ſhe did not love to go in a crowd* (†); he thereupon returns a ſtory of another Lady; at whoſe table *one Mr Fuller* was a welcome, tho' frequent gueſt; and being offered by her the wing of a *Woodcock*, he was ſo very importunate to know, how ſhe could tell a woodcock from a woodhen, that the Lady at laſt anſwered, *a Woodcock was* fuller *headed*, fuller *breaſted*, fuller *thigh'd*; and, in a word, every way, *Fuller* (86); ſo hard it is to *halt* before a *cripple*! But this is not the only time the Doctor went aſtray, in the path he had given ſuch expectations he could direct others. For our author might have retorted this jeſt, in a ſtory *of one Dr Heylin*, who travelling not far from home to Oxford, was earneſtly intreated by the man who was with him, to lead the way thro' the foreſt of Whichwood; but the Doctor loſt his way, and wanted a leader himſelf. *Strange!* ſaid the fellow, *that you, who made a book of the whole world* (†), *can't find your way out of this wood* (87). But he has not done with our author yet; for the next objection is, IX. His manifold excurſions about the *Antiquity of Cambridge*; in which tho' this *animadverter* pretends to forbare awakening a uſeleſs controverſy, that had ſo long lain aſleep, yet he refers his reader to his *animadverſions*, for what he could oppoſe our author therein; but might poſſibly have teſtified more diſcretion, in recommending to both Univerſities, ſuch a friendly and laudable emulation in their ſtudies, as ſhould make it more difficult to determine, which of them were of greater ſervice and honour to their country, by their inſtructions of mankind, than which of them is of greater antiquity. X. That there is too little of the *Church* and too much of the *State Hiſtory* in his book; which, tho' ſufficiently implied in other articles before, yet muſt more diſtinctly appear, to increaſe the reckoning. For our author has not, it ſeems, frequently enough to pleaſe this candid and humane critic, diſplayed the calling of national and provincial *Synods*, and made their influence, or authority, ſufficiently glaring and aſcendant over the *civil power*; he wanted more ſuch notable *Convocations*, as threw about their firebrands of *Sequeſtration*, *Deprivation*, *Suſpenſion*, *Excommunication*, and other *Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures*, without any confirmation of *Acts* of *Parliament*. More of the Heterodoxies and Superſtitions of the Church of *Rome*; and the whole *Reformation* ſettled upon the Doctrine of the Apoſtles: More of the *Aſſaults* and *Batteries* of the *Puritan* faction; and juſtification of *Rites* and *Ceremonies*. X. He diſcerns a continual vein of *Puritaniſm* running thro' the book; which thro' the facetiouſneſs of his ſtile, may work upon unwary readers. As if he allowed the ſword to be put into the common peoples hands, when the *reforming* humour ſhall grow ſtrong enough: that the opinions of Wicliffe and Calvin are too much favoured; the Hierarchy of Biſhops too coldly pleaded for; Nonconformiſts followed with *Plaudites*; Fathers of the Church often ſent off in ſilence. But makes a heavy clutter about the Ceremonies, and that diſpute of the Communion-Table ſtanding Altar-wiſe; alſo of a chapel built north and ſouth; tho' King James could ſay, *it was no matter how the chapel ſtood, ſo the heart was right*; and another unconſecrated; with more, about hoods, gowns, caſſocks, ſurplices, and ſuch like. And laſt of all, our critic chews over what we mentioned before, from the preface of this Church Hiſtory; in which our author diſtinguiſhes what part was written in the reign of the King, and what ſince Monarchy was turned to a State; by which, as 'tis conſtrued, he only meant to temper it to the palate of the preſent Government, whatever it was, &c. Theſe are the general heads of objection in the Doctor's *Introduction*. Then he attempts to make them good by above three hundred particulars, in the *Animadverſions* themſelves. To theſe is annexed *An Appendix, containing the Apology of* Dr John Coſin's, *Dean of* Peterborough: *in anſwer to ſome paſſages in the* Church Hiſtory *of* Britain, *in which he finds himſelf concerned.* This letter, in anſwer to our author's charge (88), in relation to Dr Coſin's impriſonment of Mr Smart a Prebendary of Durham, for his ſermon againſt certain ſuperſtitious innovations, imputed to the Doctor; for which ſuffering the Parliament had voted Mr Smart damages, is dated from Paris, April 6th 1658; and therein, the Doctor thinks, that he inſerted that paſſage upon the falſe reports and informations of others, who were loth to let an old malicious accuſation die, as it might have done, if he had not kept it ſtill alive, and recorded it to poſterity. But it appears alſo therein, that our author wrote him a letter of apology for publiſhing the ſaid miſinformation, which the Dean ſhould have had printed here with his own letter; eſpecially ſince our author therein offered to make him amends, in the next book he publiſhed; which he has very ingenuouſly done (89). As for Heylin's *Animadverſions*, tho' 'tis allowed they contain many uſeful remarks, and corrections of ſeveral involuntary miſtakes in this Church Hiſtory, as to ſome circumſtances of time, diſtinction of families, forms and ceremonies, &c. and might have been proper, in ſome reaſonable degree, to amend the errors therein; yet they appear nothing ſo enormous as in his repreſentations; being thereby ſo much aggravated and magnified. For if the Doctor does not frequently explain a truth into what is erroneous, he often will, an inſignificant error into one that is material, where an unprejudiced reader would conceive none at all; or diſcern no fault in the hiſtory, till it is made one in the animadverſion. Even the reflexions of others upon the Hierarchy, he turns upon the Hiſtorian, tho' he mentions, but to refute them, only that this eternal caveller may add ſome further ſuperfluous refutation of his own; and many times wilfully miſconſtrues his apparent meaning. But the great burden of his cavils, is the allowance of any miſmanagements in the Monarchical Goverment, and ſpeaking with any candour or lenity of ſome who were afterwards favoured

(*) See in his Church Hiſtory, lib. 4. ſect. 2. his Dedication to Sir Gerard Napier, Bart. in Apol. for many Patrons: And in ſeveral Dedications, in his Piſgah-Sight, how expedient it was for him, to have Infant Patrons.

(*) And ſo many of them have been, to the ſale of ſeveral books, particularly one, intituled Fragmenta Aulica, or Court and State Jeſts, &c. By T. S. The ſecond edit. 12mo. 1663, &c.

(†) See his Church Hiſt. Book XI. fol. 217.

(86) Animadverſions on the Church Hiſt. &c. p. 260.

(†) Heylin's Coſmography.

(87) Miſcellanea: Or, a choice Collection of wiſe and ingenious Sayings, &c. By G. M. 8vo. 1694. p 70.

(88) Church Hiſt. book XI. fol. 173.

(89) Worthies of Eng. in Durham, p. 295.
And yet it ſeems Dr Coſin was then ſpirited up, to ſome more ſevere oppoſition of our author; by thoſe words in Chancellor Hyde's Letter to Dr Barwick, from Bruſſels, June 27, 1659. 'Pray tell 'me, whither my 'Lord of Ely 'doth not think 'that my very 'good friend Dr 'Coſin, hath 'proceeded further than he 'needed to have 'done, upon any 'Provocation Mr 'Fuller could 'have given 'him.' Vide Parentalia: Or, Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens: By Chriſtopher Wren, jun. Eſq; fol. 1750. p. 54.

have obſerved, well reconciled, eſpecially when the Doctor's turbulent and acrimonious ſpirit was calmed and moderated by ſome of the many antagoniſts he had raiſed againſt himſelf;

voured under the adminiſtration of the commonwealth; which could not be avoided at the unlucky juncture when his hiſtory was publiſhed, without his inevitable ruin, as was before obſerved. If that inceſſant wrangler may not be flatly accuſed with Popiſh tenets, in the diſcipline he beſtows on this hiſtory; yet what our author has related on another occaſion, may be here applied; that, as that Driver at the Olympic games of old was held the conqueror, who could run his chariot-wheels moſt near the mark, and yet not touch the mark, to hamper himſelf or impede his carreer: So that Divine was reckoned the hero of Laud's party, who could border, or drive up neareſt the Papiſts, and not intangle himſelf in the charge of Popery; which yet Dr Heylin had not the dexterity to keep himſelf clear of, as may be read, when his own *Hiſtory of the Reformation* appeared (90), in the *Animadverſions* that were made upon that; the author, or authors whereof, having informed him therein, from many inſtances, that, 'we 'ſhould rather judge you to be the pupil of Dr Harding, whom you would be thought to oppoſe; than of 'Biſhop Jewel, whom you ſeem to reverence, &c. (91).' But others ſince, have treated it no better than as a libel upon the Princes, Prelates, and all, who, ſo much at their own peril, purged our Church of its corruptions, and eſtabliſhed the ſaid Reformation. It may be ſeen in Biſhop Burnet, how he ſeems to have been ſet on by the Church of Rome, in thoſe violent prejudices he has exerted againſt this of England, without the ſupport of any authorities for the ſame (92). And alſo in Biſhop Barlow, beſides others of great knowledge and credit, who might be named, how juſtly, for repreſenting our ſaid Reformers as a pack of Fanatics, he is reproached with being guilty of ſcandalous injuries, both to Truth and the Church (93). The ſame year that Heylin publiſhed thoſe *animadverſions* upon our author's hiſtory, Fuller ſet forth his reply to them, intituled, *The Appeal of injured Innocence to the learned and impartial Reader, in anſwer to ſome Animadverſions of Dr Heylin's on his Church Hiſtory*. Printed in a thin folio 1659, being, as one author terms it, 'a very modeſt, but 'moſt rational and polite defence, to the aforeſaid 'exceptions againſt that elaborate piece (94).' Some have ſpoken of it, as if, he was not only to be pardoned but praiſed, for tripping in his ſteps, who could make ſuch graceful recovery of them. And others have obſerved, that the errors in his *hiſtory* are ſo ingeniouſly excuſed or confeſſed in his *appeal*, that he is even pleaſing to his readers in thoſe faults for which he has ſo wittily apologized (95). But his unquiet antagoniſt, to a book of his diſputations with ſeveral other perſons, publiſhed the ſame year (96), has added in the *Appendix, An Exchange of Letters between Mr Thomas Fuller of Waltham, and Dr Peter Heylin of Abington*, with an *examination* alſo of ſome paſſages in the ſaid *appeal*. In this *appendix*, Dr Heylin allows that Mr Fuller's *appeal* is a well-ſtudied *anſwer*, compoſed with ingenuity and judgment (97). And that he does not ſtand wilfully in any error whereof he finds conviction, however traverſing ſome points; which the Doctor thinks might have been with more honour to truth, declined. It appears here alſo, that our author, when his *appeal* was publiſhed, ſent it to the Doctor; likewiſe ſuch a letter with it, as very much mollified his cenſor's harſh opinions, and promoted their ſucceeding reconciliation. It alſo probably conduced to the abridgement of his *reply* to ſo long an *anſwer*; tho' the motives which the Doctor here publiſhes thereto, are, that three parts in five of the *appeal* are the words of the *animadverſions*; that, in the two other parts, our author confeſſes miſtakes, and promiſes corrections in the next edition of his hiſtory; and that other traverſes or evaſions in the *appellant*, are tantamount to acknowledgments, not to be qualified with the name of ſatisfactory *anſwers*; and therefore, he thinks no ſpecial *replication* neceſſary to them (98). But it is manifeſt, that letter before mentioned, and perhaps others which our author ſent him, did allay his indignation; wherein he aſſures the Doctor, that, 'he was cordial to the 'cauſe of the Engliſh Church, and that his hoary hairs 'would go down with ſorrow for her ſufferings;' becauſe the Doctor ſays thereof, that, 'It tended eſpecially to the begetting ſuch a friendly correſpondence 'betwixt us, as might conduce to the eſtabliſhment of 'a future peace:' And ſo it did, after our author had been more explicit in ſome ſerious conferences with him at Abington. For the writer, who well knew the concluſion of theſe altercations between them, aſſerts that the diſpute in relation to this Church Hiſtory was ſoon ended; 'for the oil our author had beſtowed upon 'that labour, being poured into the freſh wound of 'this quarrel, did ſo aſſuage the heat of their conteſt, 'that it was ſoon healed into a perfect amicable cloſure, and mutual endearment (99).' And what expectations the Papiſts had from this controverſy, if they had no hand in it, for that more hands than Dr Heylin's contributed to thoſe *animadverſions* is evident enough (100), may alſo appear in another part of his Biographer aforeſaid, where he informs us, that, 'It 'much rejoiced the Roman party, when this miſunderſtanding happened between Dr Heylin and himſelf, 'about his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, tho' they caught no 'fiſh in thoſe troubled waters; while they toſſed their '*proud billows forward and backward*, the Proteſtant cauſe was ſafely anchored and moored between 'them (101).' And thus his orthodox principles, as a true ſon of the Church of England, were no more called in queſtion.

As to thoſe more obvious qualities in our author, which inclined him ſo much to illuminate the obſcure, and enliven the languid parts of this Hiſtory, as might render them more engaging to the generality of his readers; it has been objected, that he was too witty, too lepid, and indulgent therein of his own fancy and conceits; which, tho' often very ingeniouſly applied, it is thought he would have much reſtrained, if he had ſubmitted to the advice of his good and worthy friend, as he ſtiles him (102), Mr William Somner, the Antiquary of Canterbury (103), and not lightned ſome weighty matters ſo frequently with jeſts and tales; however, he might deſign only to enlighten them, or think them diſperſed in his materials, like ſome allay in metals, which may temper and diſpoſe even gold itſelf, to be more binding and work the better. But that objection alſo, it ſeems, has ſince been accumulated upon him, with too much violence and exceſs. For ſome late Examiners of his works, in a few remarks left upon them, as well as other writers on ſerious ſubjects, would be for reducing this cenſure to its juſt bounds or degrees; and therefore obſerve, that much of his manner was the mode of the reign wherein he laid the foundation of his ſtudies, and not to be particularly charged upon any new obtruſion of his; further obſerving, that much of what has been diſparaged with the ſlighting title of jeſts and tales, are indeed apophthegms, and parallel events; ſo intended by the author, and ſo received and revived by unprejudiced readers, as inſtructive and corroborating ornaments; like what may be ſeen in many ſolemn diſcourſes of great antiquity, being an imitation of the Philology therein. They have thought alſo, that an author may make even Church hiſtory in ſome parts diverting, without making a diverſion of the Church; and therefore, that he may redicule ſome monſtrous and miſchievous impoſitions on it, without making it ridiculous; as we daily behold in Civil, and even Eccleſiaſtical life, the moſt ſerious and ſober negociations carried on by men of volatile and humorous diſpoſitions, who may ſurely ſometimes ſmile, or even laugh over their buſineſs, and not laugh at it; there being great difference between a man's ſhewing a little jocularity now and then, in the faithful diſcharge of a truſt he has taken upon him, and betraying it into contempt, by making jokes of the truſt itſelf. Therefore it has been queſtioned, when an author, who has the uncommon talents to render himſelf moſt pleaſing and agreeable, ſhall, by an uncommon induſtry to exert them, render himſelf leaſt ſo, whether there is not a ſiniſter and ungrateful reception made of his labours? And whether any faults or failings, in the government either of Church or State, may not be ſometimes corrected, with as much ſucceſs, and more humanity, in a good humour, than a ſour and moroſe one?

(90) With the Title of, Eccleſia Reſtaurata: Or, the Hiſt. of the Reformat. of the Church of Eng. &c. fol. 1661, &c.

(91) Plus Ultra: Or, England's Reformat. needed to be reformed: Being an Examinat. of Dr Heylin's Hiſt. of the Reformat. of the Church of Eng. &c. By H. N. O. J. &c. Lond. 4to. 1661. p. 48.

(92) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. fol. Vol. I. 1679, 1681. in the Preface.

(93) Biſhop Barlow's Remains, 8vo. 1693. p. 185.

(94) The Life of Dr Fuller, p. 47.

(95) Lloyd's Memoirs, &c. p. 524.

(96) Heylin's Certamen Epiſtolare: Or, the Letter Combat, managed between Dr P. Heylin, and Mr R. Baxter, Dr N. Bernard of Grays-Inn, Mr J. Harrington, &c. 8vo. 1659.

(97) Idem. p. 312.

(98) Ibid. p. 388, 389.

(99) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 47.

(100) In Dr John Coſins his Letter to Dr Heylin, from Paris, at the end of his Animadverſions, &c. p. 285.

(101) The Life of Dr Fuller, p. 85.

(102) In his Hiſt. of Abbeys, &c.

(103) See the Life of Mr Somner, by Mr White Kennet (after Biſhop of Peterborough), printed with Mr Somner's Treatiſe of Roman Ports and Forts in Kent. edit. 8vo. 1693. p. 114.

himſelf; when he found his own Hiſtory more cenſurable for giving countenance to the Popiſh cauſe, than he could cenſure Fuller's for it's candour to the Preſbyterians, and he ſaw

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one? But if, in a copious work, wherein there muſt be a great diverſity or diſparity of actors, their actions and arguments, which muſt ſometimes appear ridiculous even to one another, all confirmation of the good, or chaſtiſement of the bad, by the illuſtration of any ſimilar ſtory, or witty ſaying, muſt be rejected, as altogether unſeaſonable, in reſpect to the grave title of it, what will become of the graveſt Hiſtorians, Philoſophers, and Fathers of old; who in the ſame manner derided the impoſtures in the Pagan, as our modern Divines have done in the Popiſh, and other Chriſtian ſyſtems of worſhip; or the Prophets and Apoſtles themſelves, who have ſo agreeably embelliſhed and enforced their doctrines, with fables and parables? And if theſe illuſtrations are eſtabliſhed by ſuch unerring authorities, in the moſt inſpired and divine, the moſt ſublime and *ſpiritual* writings, ſure they may be ſafely practiſed in thoſe that are of *temporal*, or human concern and inſtitution If then, ſay they, notwithſtanding ſuch great examples, ſome men can ſtill be ſo *ſaturnine*, as to reliſh nothing *mercurial*; no facetious or other delectable repreſentation, naturally ariſing, in the miſcellaneous occurrence of hiſtorical matter; if *wit* and *humour* are ſuch diſaſters, bleſſed are the dolts and dizzards! Or, as Falſtaff phraſes it; If *ſack* and *ſugar* be a *ſin, the Lord help the wicked!* But if our Hiſtorian has treated us too plentifully therewith, and, like a prodigal ſon, been ſo laviſh of his treaſure, as to be ungenerouſly reduced to huſks, with thoſe who prefer them to pearls, his motives for ſuch liberty are yet thought to be miſinterpreted; and this argument is not relinquiſhed without ſome indications, as we ſhall ſee, at the grounds and ſources of thoſe rigorous and aggravated conſtructions, which have been made of the uſe of wit and humour, in ſuch parts of a grave and ſerious work, which give birth to them; or any ſuch hiſtory, as contains matters no leſs prophane than ſacred in it; eſpecially in reſpect to our author, and what has been written on him, by a late *hiſtorical critic*; who may yet have wronged more characters without wit, than Fuller did with it; or traduced them undeſervedly in earneſt, more than ever he did by a deſerved jeſt; and with that *gravity* he required in our Hiſtorian, may have done him, and many others, more injuſtice than if he had reprehended them with *levity*; as where he charges him with not having taken care enough of his *ſtile*; when, as it is obſerved, there is no writing in his ſtile, without being more careful and delicate than we generally think it needful now to be: He adds, that if a pretty *ſtory* comes in our author's way, affording *ſcope of clinch and droll*, off it goes, with all the *gaity of the ſtage*; and that the moſt ſerious parts of his hiſtory, are ſo interlaced with *pun* and *quibble*, as if he deſigned to *ridicule the annals of our Church* into a *fable* or *romance*; of which, if proper diſtinction has not been made above, it may, by reading the hiſtory itſelf. As for puns, quibbles, and clinches, which are but the *ſhadows* of *Wit*, 'tis no wonder they are at preſent ſo much out of requeſt, as to be almoſt out of ſight, ſince the *ſubſtance* itſelf is ſo little ſeen, in the many volumes that are daily publiſhed; but they were not always in ſuch low ebb of eſteem as they are now; for ſome of the graveſt Antients ſo loved the goddeſs, that they would embrace the very clouds which appeared in her ſhape; and they were favourably enough thought of even in Fuller's time, or elſe ſuch as may occur in him, would not have eſcaped the cenſure, much leſs engaged the imitation, even of his captious opponents. Indeed that critick alſo adds, that if this Church Hiſtory could be refined, it would be of good uſe; *ſince there are in it ſome things of moment, hardly to be had elſewhere, which may often illuſtrate dark paſſages in more ſerious writers*, &c. (104). Theſe things of moment, are ſeveral letters, records, inſtruments of Church and State, and other authentic evidences unprinted in other hiſtories, thro' the friendly communications of Sir Thomas Cotton, Sir Simonds d'Ewes, Sir Simon Archer, and other treaſurers of antiquities. He has alſo erected, as ſo many beautiful ſtatues, abundance of *characters* of eminent men throughout this hiſtory; many of them latterly, drawn from the life, and alſo ſcarcely elſewhere to be ſeen; out of ſuch circumſtances therein, which occurred from his own obſervations, or the intelligence of friends, as would yield the moſt remarkable connections or contraſts, &c. and he could beſt animate or adorn, with alluſions or reflections, political, moral, and divine. Which embelliſhment is always deſirable, unleſs where the chippings are more valuable than the little jewels that are reduced and ſhaped out of them, or many ſubſtantial matters of fact have been dropt, or excluded, for ſome more capable of ſuch decorations; which indeed, in ſome hiſtories, may be a little like filling of houſes with ſo much carving and painting, as to leave them unfurniſhed with neceſſary utenſils for every ordinary occaſion. If his gay ſparkling tales are ſuch eye-ſores, they may be overlooked by his gloomy or tender-ſighted readers; and as for the arrows of his jeſts, they are uſually ſo fledged with the feathers of his ingenuity, that, by a well-tempered and countervailing moderation, they break the force of their own flight, and defeat the danger of the points they are tipp'd with: ſo that we may ſmile more at the innocent effects of his wit, than frown at any rankling wounds that are made by it. But ſuch is the hard fate of an author, eſpecially if he happen to be a man of uncommon abilities, and ſo prone are his readers to calumny, thro' the conceit, or pretence of a ſuperior taſte or diſtinction, that if there be but one exceptionable quality in him, it ſhall be ever uppermoſt, and fix ſuch a diſreliſh as many excellencies cannot qualify. Had he violated the decorum required by good manners and morals; had he profaned, or defiled his pen, with the impiety, or ribaldry of low, licentious, and abandoned writers, he might not have been treated with greater ſeverity, tho' he had then deſerved it. However, ſince ſome varieties he deſigned in the entertainment of his readers, agreed not with the weak or dainty appetites of all, ſome reaſons for it have been aſſigned, as the grounds and ſources of that diſtaſte, in the remarks here extracted; from whence we further collect, that this mixture of wit in hiſtory, was thought to treat irreverently that of the Church, however decently, conciſely, and pertinently, interwoven or adapted; becauſe it might be apt to make it too familiarly read, ſo be hurtful to that awe and veneration which muſt be kept up therein; as nothing but ſincerity and ſanctity ſhould be thought to have any footing there: But his frequent application of the divine texts of ſcripture, ſo wittily, how adaptly or reſpectfully ſoever alſo, in it, to human or ſecular affairs, might be as reproveable, for the ſame reaſon as his pleaſant ſtories or ſayings; ſince the very tranſlation of thoſe ſcriptures into our own tongue, was once even ſentenced to the flames, as what might alſo bring the religion itſelf they contain, into a familiarity too great with the vulgar. Then his rhetorical ſtile, his quaint conformities, contradiſtinctions, and other elaborate niceties of an elegant and ſententious diction; thoſe who have the capacity, either want the forms and rules, or will not ſpare the time and pains to imitate; therefore ſuch precedents muſt be rejected, as may tend to exact or revive an obſolete and troubleſome compliance. Beſides, bright and witty authors on any ſubject, muſt be diſcountenanced by dull and heavy ones, as riches and honours are by thoſe in a poor and abject condition; who, to ſuggeſt in themſelves more excellent properties, will rail at what they cannot reach: For if ſuch inconvenient examples were to predominate; if florid and pithy writings were to prevail, or wit and eloquence become in vogue, it would make a dearth at the preſs; the majority of voices would be ſilenced by a few, and the generality of authors, being out of the faſhion, might as well be out of the world. But, after all, it is not expected to eſtabliſh a common practice of writing books, by any recommendation of ſuch patterns, in theſe apologetical remarks, as our Hiſtorian has left us. For the author of them pronounces him more liable to robbery than rivalry; and, which is worſe, many who have made him firſt ſtand and deliver, have afterwards abuſed him and defaced his credit, to prevent their own detection: ſo that there is no great danger of his corrupting thoſe readily to an ill taſte of imitation, who are humbly reſtrained from aſcending higher than repetition,

(104) Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library. 8vo. 1697. Part II. p. 92, &c.

ſaw his efforts ſo ineffectual to weaken our author's intereſt after the Reſtoration, that Fuller then grew in greater favour at Court, than ever he had been before. It was his noble patron aforeſaid it ſeems (*x*), the Lord Berkeley, who, at that grand revolution, took Fuller over with him to the Hague (*y*), that King Charles the Second might alſo hear his ſingular excellencies in the pulpit, and his grateful ſalutations, upon the prevailing reſolution of his ſubjects to receive and obey him in his own kingdoms; but the croud and hurry being too great there, he had ſoon after better opportunities of expreſſing his cordial and dutiful ſatisfaction upon that topic at Whitehall (*z*); and, among the many loyal congratulations which were made to his Majeſty upon his joyful and magnificent entry, our author revived his acquaintance with the Muſes, to addreſs him poetically alſo upon that occaſion (*a*). He was, a ſhort while before, re-admitted to his Lecture in the Savoy, and now reſtored to his Prebend of Saliſbury, after being twenty-years, as the writer of his life ſays, deprived of it's profits. He was choſen Chaplain in Extraordinary to his Majeſty, created Doctor of Divinity by the King's letters of recommendation to the Univerſity of Cambridge, dated Auguſt the Second 1660 (*b*); and ſo well grounded was his expectation of higher advancement, that, had he lived about a twelvemonth longer, 'twas thought he would have been made, upon the tranſlation of Dr Gauden from Exeter to Worceſter, or his death ſoon after, Biſhop of one of thoſe Sees (*c*), thro' the Berkeleys intereſt with the Queen-Mother, and Princeſs Henrietta, ſoon after Ducheſs of Orleans, at their late being in England. Now being commodiouſly enabled to proſecute his ſtudies, he cloſely applied himſelf to ſet a finiſhing hand to his WORTHIES of ENGLAND [Q]. This work was the

(*x*) David Lloyd's Memoirs, &c. fol. 524.

(*y*) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 104.

(*z*) Lloyd's Memoirs, &c. as before.

(*a*) See Fuller's Panegyric upon the Reſtoration of King Charles, in his Worthies of England, in Worceſterſhire, p. 182.

(*b*) Biſhop Kennet's Regiſt. and Chron. Eccleſ. and Civil, &c. edit. fol. 1728; p. 220.

(*c*) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 53. And J. F's Church revived, &c. 12mo. 1663. p. 9.

petition, unleſs the art was as perfectly attained of making, by bidding writers *go and be witty*, as the *Alchemiſt* implied his was, who bid his believer *go forth and be rich*.

Thus we have given the ſenſe and ſubſtance of ſome Reaſons which were drawn up for the toleration of wit in due proportion, and in the proper parts of ſerious ſubjects, with reſpect to our author; and found, among ſome critical papers, of a late gentleman who had a hand in the original *Spectator* (105), with others he alſo wrote of a political nature, in oppoſition to the late Earl of Orford. And tho' we have likewiſe ſeen ſome notes which a late Prelate (106) left, in the margins of Biſhop Nicholſon's *Hiſtorical Library*, correcting ſome errors therein; yet they diſtinguiſh his to be a different hand from that which wrote theſe *Remarks* on our Hiſtorian; and we have been informed (107), they were moſt probably written by the author of a treatiſe publiſhed entirely in favour of this ſubject (108), as an addition he might deſign to incorporate in the next impreſſion of it; in which treatiſe, the ſaid author has quoted a Divine, named Mr Gilbert Rule, who ſays, he knows of *none that blame the excellent writings of Mr Fuller, for the pleaſantry in them*; and has given us, throughout the ſaid tract, abundance of authorities and examples, of writing in the ſame manner; eſpecially out of Eccleſiaſtical authors, in all ages, and of all ranks and perſuaſions.

[Q] *To ſet a finiſhing hand to his Worthies of England.*] This work, which was part of it printed before the author died, ſeems not, in the lives or characters in ſome of the counties, eſpecially of Wales, ſo finiſhed as it would probably have been, if he had lived to ſee it compleatly publiſhed. It is intituled, *The* HISTORY *of the* WORTHIES *of* ENGLAND: *Endeavoured by* THOMAS FULLER, D. D. folio. 1662. With a ſculpture of his effigies prefixed, engraved by David Loggan, having this inſcription round it, *Thomas Fuller*, S. T. D. *Ætat.* 53. 1661; this motto at top, *Methodus Mater Memoriæ*; and theſe verſes at bottom,

The Graver here, hath well thy *face* deſign'd,
But no hand, FULLER, can expreſs thy *mind*;
For that, a *reſurrection* gives to thoſe,
Whom ſilent *monuments* did long encloſe.

Being a poſthumous publication, it is dedicated to King Charles the Second, by the author's ſon, Mr John Fuller, a young Divine of Cambridge. In the ſaid editor's preface, we are aſſured that the unprinted counties were faithfully ſet forth from the author's copy, without any additions; and that the volume was printed for expedition at ſeveral preſſes, which may account for the ſeveral errors in the numbers of the pages, and thereby, the want of an index or two to the whole, which might have directed to the *local commodities* and *perſonal characters* therein: However, there has lately been publiſhed an index of the perſonal part, ſometimes to be met with at the end of ſuch copies as have been new bound to receive it. This book, tho' never wholly reprinted, has been partly revived in epitomies of the whole (109), or dividedly, in a work, geographical, hiſtorical, and political, whereof the ſecond part is abſtracted from theſe lives (110). The ſubject matter of the book, is diſtributed under the ſeveral counties of England and Wales; each diviſion beginning firſt, with the commodities, products, and other particulars moſt eminent and remarkable in each county; whether waters, minerals, plants, animals, manufactures, buildings, battles, proverbs, &c. then the worthies born or reſiding therein, marſhalled under their reſpective ranks or profeſſions; the whole contents of each county, ending with tables of the gentry that were therein in the reign of King Henry the Sixth; and a liſt of the Sheriffs, for ſeveral Kings reigns, down to King James or King Charles the Firſt, with their arms deſcribed, and places of abode. Prefixed to the whole, is a copious introduction, in near twenty ſheets, divided into many chapters; diſtinctly treating of this grand and comprehenſive plan, the matter, order, and ſtile, &c. ſhewing how methodical and uniform he has been throughout; alſo apologizing for any defects that may have eſcaped his pen, and anſwering many objections which might be made to any part thereof: But as the heads of thoſe preliminary diſcourſes will beſt explain the contents of the book, and diſplay as well the variety, as the grandeur of the undertaking; and as a recital of them will give the moſt ready command of the whole ſcheme, to thoſe who would only be informed, or reminded thereof; or ſuch as may be inclined to revive the author in a more correct edition; give us a continuation, or any other improvement of his model; the ſaid heads are therefore here offered to their conſideration, as follow.

Chapter the Iſt, contains the general *deſign*; wherein, as learned *Camden*, and painful *Speed*, with others, have deſcribed the *rooms* in that convenient *ſtructure*, to which he compares this nation: So he intends to deſcribe the *furniture* of them, in the moſt ſignal *products* and *perſons* of diſtinction, adorning the ſame; to theſe five ends, 1. *To gain ſome glory to God.* 2. *To preſerve the memory of the dead.* 3. *To preſent examples to the living.* 4. *To entertain the reader with delight.* And laſtly, *To procure ſome honeſt profit to himſelf.* II. Of the national commodities; as the manufactures, wonders, buildings, local proverbs, medicinal herbs, waters, &c. III. The firſt quaternion of perſons; Princes, Saints, Martyrs, and Confeſſors. IV. Of Popes, Cardinals, and Prelates, before the Reformation. V. Since the Reformation. VI. Of our ſtateſmen; as Chancellors, Treaſurers, Secretaries of State, Admirals, and Deputies of Ireland. VII. Capital Judges, and

(105) Euſtace Budgell, Eſq;

(106) Dr Francis Atterbury, Biſhop of Rocheſter.

(107) By the late Mr Peter Des Maizeaux.

(108) A Diſcourſe concerning Ridicule and Irony in writing, &c. 8vo. 1729.

(109) England's Worthies, in Church and State, &c. 8vo. 1684.

(110) An Hiſtor. Dictionary of Eng. and Wales, &c. 8vo. 1692.

the main channel of his thoughts, but, through the whole courſe of their current, they branched out into little ſtreams or rivulets. The ſaid intermediate publications were moſtly

and Writers of the Common Law. VIII. Soldiers and Seamen, with the neceſſity of encouraging our Fiſhery. IX. Of Writers on the Canon and Civil Law; Phyſick, Chemiſtry, and Surgery, &c. X. Other Writers; in Divinity, Philology, and Philoſophy; Hiſtory, Muſic, and Poetry; alſo on Popery, &c. with a complaint of the number of needleſs books. XI. Of benefactors to the publick, with a recommendation of choice charities; under the heads of churches, free-ſchools, colleges, and almſhouſes; with a diſtinction of benefactors ſince, from thoſe before the Reformation. XII. Of memorable perſons, or ſuch as were extraordinary for ſtature, ſtrength, age, fertility, &c. XIII. Lord-Mayors of London. XIV. Catalogues of the gentry under Henry the Sixth; why inſerted. XV. Of the Sheriffs. XVI. Of the Sheriffs arms. XVII. Obſervations on ſurnames, being often altered, and variouſly written. XVIII. Of modern battles. XIX. Of the ſhires, and why the worthies are digeſted under them. XX. Of the ſurnames of Clergymen, and that their ſons have been as ſucceſsful as others; with his expedient, where ſeveral places claim the birth of one perſon. XXI. Other general rules and diſtinctions, for the author and reader's eaſe: As, his uſe of the word *ampliendum*, expreſſing a want of fuller intelligence: And his uſe of S. N. ſignifying *ſecond nativity*; that is, when a Worthy whoſe native country is not known, he is hiſtorized under that which was his place of reſidence; And by the abbreviation R E M. which implies *removeable*, upon better information: Alſo his rule for ranking under ſome one head, perſons who have a claim to ſeveral. XXII. The precedency of ſeveral profeſſions adjuſted. XXIII. Of the authorities from whence the work is derived. XXIV. Concerning his double diviſion of the Engliſh, according to their nation and profeſſion. XXV. General exceptions againſt the ſtile and matter of the author prevented; by his propoſitions of, and anſwers to them, being twenty-four in number. XXVI. An apology for the involuntary omiſſions in this book.——The whole volume wants but few of a thouſand pages, and ſeems to have been not quite finiſhed at the end.

Tho' our author was very diligent, as hath been atteſted in a note before (111), in collecting his materials for this work; yet when ſeveral parts of it were written, he had the diſadvantage of being unſettled, remote from proper libraries, and intelligent converſation, being as it were a travelling writer, and forced to leave blank ſpaces, eſpecially for *Dates*; wherein he has ſometimes modeſtly left his reader rather uninformed than miſinformed; and ſometimes again filled them up conjecturally, and without any ſuppoſed need of nice recollection, as he deſigned to be more exact upon better opportunities of examination; in ſeveral whereof he was prevented by death. But tho' he looked upon dates as ſo many little ſparkling gems in hiſtory, that would reflect the cleareſt and moſt ſudden light, a great way's off, he ſtill found or thought them very ſlippery ware, liable, by the ſmalleſt and moſt imperceptible variations, to lead us greatly aſtray from truth; and ſpeaks of *Chronology* in one of his books, as of a little ſurly animal, that was apt to bite the fingers of thoſe who handled it with greater familiarity than was abſolutely neceſſary; yet he knew, there was no giving any ſatisfactory intelligence without it, eſpecially in the writing of lives. But indeed, an accurate regard to the directions thereof, was little in uſe with any writers in this particular branch of hiſtory at thoſe times; as, among many others, may be obſerved, to go no further, in the author of his own life, whoſe deficiencies we have here been at much trouble to ſupply; one inſtance only whereof we ſhall now repeat, having touched upon it before, in that author, which is, that tho' he gives us the titles of almoſt all Fuller's books, and their ſizes, he has not given us the date of one. But it was a general or faſhionable neglect, eſpecially in the more polite and ornate writers, as if they thought that arithmetical figures would look like ſo many ſcars in the ſleek face of their rhetorical phraſe. But what our author, in apology for himſelf, has ingeniouſly obſerved further on this topic, we refer to his own words, in one or two of the chapters, whereof we have before given the heads (112). As to the hiſtorical particulars of theſe lives, no man could pretend to be very circumſtantial, in a work that propoſed to revive the famous men in a whole nation; ſuch an undertaking can, or ſhould give but a general and compendious view of them. Suppoſe here are eighteen or twenty hundred eminent perſons characteriſed, much after the manner of thoſe in his Church Hiſtory; to have given a general ſatisfaction in all parts of the lives, actions, and works, of one or two only in every hundred, might have required more eyes, hands, and years, than nature allowed this author, and perhaps more abilities, knowledge, or information, than could be juſtly pretended to, by any of his ungrateful cavellers. Then for the errors that muſt unavoidably occur, in the revival of ſuch multitudes in all ages, our author's own apology, as it will be equally needful to any other compiler of a numerous collection of lives, is here produced from his own words, upon ſome objections made to Mr Fox the Martyrologiſt, as follow. 'It is impoſſible for an author of a *voluminous* book, 'conſiſting of ſeveral *perſons* and *circumſtances*, reader, in pleading for Maſter *Fox*, I plead for myſelf, 'to have ſuch *ubiquitary intelligence*, as to apply the 'ſame infallibly to every particular (113).' But there is no winning the favour of thoſe who think they have a licence for detraction, and may ſpoil an author with impunity, when he is incapable of ſelf-defence, both of his reputation and his labours. Thus we may ſee ſome very raſh cenſurers, ſuperficially read, who have often pronounced their *anathemas* upon many other Hiſtorians, from the titles only of their writings, and ſometimes without having ever ſeen ſo much as them, treating him alſo, like thoſe who cannot be content with ſheering the inoffenſive prey that is free-yielding of his wool, but they muſt butcher him too: for ſurely, few have been ſo much pillaged, who have been ſo much diſparag'd; he has been reproached for his ingenuity, by thoſe who have no wit; and robb'd of his knowledge, by thoſe who have no gratitude. Biſhop Nicholſon, who was too cenſorious, as we have ſeen, upon his laſt hiſtory, will alſo run the hazard of recrimination upon this. Our author begun his Worthies of England when he was Chaplain to the Lord Hopton, and it was his chief ſtudy, or moſtly under his conſideration by intervals, for near ſeventeen years, as it may be from this account computed; but the Biſhop ſays it was *huddled up in haſte*. Our author mentions, as we have quoted in this note, five reaſons for publiſhing this book; but as if he had nothing more than a mercenary motive therein, the Biſhop has ſunk four of them, and quoting but the laſt induced you to believe, it was only for the *procurement of ſome moderate profit to the author*: and yet not quoted this honeſtly. The Biſhop ſays, it *corrects many miſtakes* in his *Church Hiſtory*; but our author was acquainted with few miſtakes, till a little time before he died, and then had little leiſure or room to correct many, when the greateſt part of his Worthies was printed off. The Biſhop ſays, that *Fuller's chief author is Bale*, for the lives of his eminent writers; and he muſt have been his alſo, if he had wrote in Fuller's time, of the writers Bale has given account of, when Leland was not publiſhed; unleſs he would rather have followed Bale's Popiſh Plagiary; but a great part of the writers in Fuller, lived and wrote ſince Bale, therefore he had many other authorities for his writers, as may be ſufficiently ſeen in his work. And whether our author has given more *miſhapen ſcraps, or lies*, as they are called (114), of his *Heroes*, than the Biſhop of his *Hiſtorians*, thoſe may beſt judge who have read the one and the other; but if the Biſhop would have undertaken to reform or rectify both, it might have been more acceptable, as well as more diſcreet, than to revile an author ſo extravagantly, as to vilify himſelf. In ſhort, notwithſtanding theſe haſty and immoderate aſperſions, the characters or memorials here aſſembled, of ſo many great men, will always make the book neceſſary to be conſulted; eſpecially, as there are preſerved therein, abundance of lives, ly occaſional, or offered from time to time, as ſo many little whets, or ſtays, to the keen appetites of his curious readers; while his larger, and more ſplendid entertainments for them, were getting ready. And thoſe ſhorter refreſhments were ſo numerous, that, collected together, they only, without his more plentiful proviſions, would appear a conſiderable

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(111) Vide note [G].

(112) In Fuller's Worthies, cap. 21. p. 58. and cap. 24. p. 77.

(113) Idem, in Berkſhire, fol. 92.

(114) Nicholſon's Hiſtor. Library, edit. fol. 1736. p. 6.

lives, then firſt or newly written, and no where elſe to be had; which have been of good ſervice to many grave writers of ſubſtantial credit, even in Hiſtory, Antiquities, and Heraldry; who, wanting neither the judgment nor juſtice in themſelves, which they might covet in their own readers, knew how to make proper uſes of his work, and acknowledgments for what they drew from it, without turning executioners upon every trivial overſight, or expreſſing any grievance at his humour, or his wit. But ſince his character has been ſo much degraded by ſome, it will be but equitable, to ſhew that it has been no leſs exalted by others; and as he has beſtowed a grateful remembrance upon many Poets, we have met with a retribution that has been attempted by one; in a *Panegyric* upon *Biography* in general, and this *Biographer* in particular. It was freely communicated from the author's original, in the poſſeſſion of a late Nobleman, who was a ſignal Patron to ſome of the greateſt Poets, and other ingenious men in his time: and ſince it has never been publiſhed; ſince it is entirely ſuitable in *this*, as it may be partly ſerviceable in any other *Collection of illuſtrious men*; or may in ſome part be no leſs applicable to any other *Compiler*, than to every *Peruſer* of ſuch collections, we ſhall here preſent it as follows, faithfully in its own language, without any apology for its length.

To
The READER
and WRITER
of
LIVES:
Written in FULLER's WORTHIES.

HERE, from FAME's *Wardrobe*, you may dreſs to pleaſe,
In *Suits* adorn'd, and ſhap'd to all degrees:
Each genius hence, may graceful *Habits* take;
No mind ſo warp'd, ſome mould won't ſtraighter make.
Patterns that beſt become you, ſtill prefer,
Without ſome wearing, they to ruin wear;
Some patterns yet, like tarniſh'd lace, are worn,
And now diſguiſe, what once they did adorn:
Then be not, ſervilely a ſlave to thoſe;
Reform their *Faſhions*, but refrain their *Cloaths*.
BY the beſt chemic ſkill, their gifts combin'd,
May ſo concocted be, and ſo refin'd;
May, through your works, ſo undiſtinguiſh'd wreathe,
As *Incenſe* rich, from Holy *Altars* breathe;
Till, ſo the blended Aromatics riſe,
In grateful gales, to greet the deities,
That we perceive no *Franckincenſe* exhale,
No *Caſſia* here, or *Storax* there prevail;
Nor this, can *Myrrh*, that, *Ambergriſe* can call;
But one ſtrong, curling odour, ſpires from all:
So when, ſuch *Sweets*, you from theſe *Flow'rs* have hiv'd,
From each they differ, as from all deriv'd.
CHUSE then with prudence, in your choice proceed,
Till thoſe you follow, you're improv'd to lead.
The object equal to the human mind,
And moſt inſtructive, muſt be human-kind.
Read manly books then, books of men, and ſo,
That you proceed to *do* the beſt you *know*.
Peruſe ſuch lives, or parts, as you can live;
It is the practice muſt perfection give.
Souls, in which ſamples great, no ſemblance breed,
Like cold and hungry *Soils*, but rot the ſeed:
Or like weak ſtomachs, with ſtrong food oppreſs'd,
By that ne'er nouriſh'd, which they ne'er digeſt.
For, as your meals ſhould ſuit, to thrive aright,
Your conſtitution, and your appetite;
So your examples ſhou'd proportion'd be,
Both to your power, and your capacity.
SOME ſeek their minds with marvels to repleat,
And taſte no objects they ſhou'd emulate:
Of things incredible, experience ſaith,
The feebleſt judgments have the firmeſt faith:
Such, in *admiring*, ſtill thoſe hours deſtroy,
They in *excelling*, only ſhould employ.
SOME think, diſtemper'd times leſs heal'd may be,
By wiſe mens woes, than fools felicity:
Think not, that fortitude grows more unſound,
By vice's balſam, than by virtue's wound:
That without deeds, words hold no laſting height,
Unbodied feathers wanting nerves for flight:
While airy ſounds ſoon loſe their empty name,
Surviving record is ſubſtantial fame.
To boundleſs forms, ſome, crude collections breed,
And write a life, wou'd waſte a life to read!
With griping hands, ſome ſhrink up life's ſhort ſpan,
And to a mite, epitomize a man!
Others add ſtreams, to rivers ſwoln too high,
While drowned paſtures unrecover'd lie;
Prop thoſe, who boaſt ſuperfluous aids to ſtand,
While crowds deſerted, moſt their aid demand!
The aim's more lofty, th' art, in more eſteem,
To ſave the ſinking, than ſink thoſe who ſwim.
Thus, upon others lives, their own are loſt,
Or leaſt devoted, where deſerved moſt.
But worſe, deſert in others, there is known,
Where none from others, or themſelves, is ſhown;
Whoſe mem'ry of the GOOD, the LEARN'D, the BRAVE,
Shou'd be their monument, and is their grave.
BUT victories o'er *Death*, muſt be renown'd;
Triumphs like thoſe, muſt thro' fame's clarion ſound:
His victors ſhou'd her richeſt trophies wear,
To fame who reſcue, what the fates won't ſpare.
Garlands ſhall crown their works, that cannot fade;
The lights they lend, with luſtre be repaid.
Who nobleſt do, moſt nobly muſt deſerve;
Great, who perform, but greater who preſerve:
If virtue moſt directs, which moſt dilates,
The draught excels, that moſt communicates;
Such copy ſpread, thus durably to all,
Begets more virtue, than th' original:
'Tis an original; its own outvy'd;
Where life leſs copied is, than multiply'd;
And they are deathleſs made, who long ſince dy'd.
Thus, when a Heroe is compar'd to you,
Th' Hiſtorian is the Heroe of the two;
The BRAVE, LEARN'D, GOOD, more efficacious grown,
In your immortal lives, than in their own.
YOUR merit is, who labour'd hath ſo much,
Such to revive, to be reviv'd as ſuch:
Our ſhame is, in your WORTHIES to be read,
Till one at leaſt, each to their number add:
Till we, your Worthies reading, ſuch ſhall turn,
As ſacred Reliques ſanctify the Urn:
Till they, thro' you, dart influential worth,
As Stars, tho' fixt in Heav'n, ſhine down on Earth.
PHOEBUS, the fire of your reſplendent wit,
Who blinds all brightneſs, muſt to your's ſubmit:
HE, only in th' Horizon, gilds our day,
YOU here, tho' ſet, your glory ſtill diſplay.

[R] We

ſiderable feaſt. Of theſe leſſer tracts, now difficult to recover, we ſhall here only preſerve the titles [*R*]; and proceed to obſerve, that, having been at Saliſbury to ſettle his revenue, as Prebend of that Deanery, in his return about the tenth of Auguſt 1661, he brought home an aguiſh diſorder, which turned to a malignant fever, whereof Dr Matthew Nicholas, Dean of St Paul's, after his return about the ſame time from the ſame place, died but two days before him *(d)*. On Sunday the twelfth of that month he was taken with a dizzineſs in his head; upon which his eldeſt ſon, John, adviſed him to lie down, urging how dangerous ſuch ſymptoms were; but he would go to Church, becauſe he had promiſed a relation to preach his wedding ſermon, declaring that *he had often gone up into the pulpit ſick, but always came down well (e)*; and ſaid to his audience, *I will preach this ſermon, though it be my laſt*. In the middle of it he faultered, and after it, was ſo weak that he was led down the pulpit-ſtairs, carried in a *ſedan* to his lodgings in *Covent-Garden*, and put to bed. When Dr Walter Charlton, the Phyſician, came, he ſoon found him in a raging fever; which diſtemper he long before conſidered, and often diſcribed in his writings; but always ſuſpiciouſly, if not prophetically, as what might be moſt fatal to, or was moſt feared by, him *(f)*, and which was then ſo rife, and unuſually violent, that it was called the *new diſeaſe*. Though he loſt twenty ounces of blood, the paroxyſms continued, and ſet the Phyſician's ſkill at defiance. It ſeized upon his intellects; but, in all his words, he would moſt frequently call out for, *the pen and ink*, ——— and, *he would write it out*. ——— On Wedneſday the diſeaſe, like a flame which has nearly burnt up the ſpirits that fed it, abated, as his ſtrength decayed. At laſt, his enfeebled ſenſes were a while reſtored, but wholly alienated from all worldly thoughts; and the next morning, being the ſixteenth of that month, the light of his life went gently out, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. A while after his death, an effuſion of blood burſt forth at his temples, which was thought to have been ſettled there by his ſedate and intenſe application to his ſtudies. The ſolemnity of his funeral was performed by the direction, and at the expence, of his noble friend the Lord Berkeley; and he was moſt reverendly attended, by at leaſt two hundred of the Clergy, to his grave; where his corps was depoſited, in the chancel of Cranford church *(g)*. Dr Thomas Hardy, the Dean of Rocheſter, preached his funeral ſermon, in which he pathetically deplored ſo great a loſs; to which learned diſcourſe, we are further referred for his juſt commendation, when it had paſſed the preſs, as was then ſoon expected and deſired; but we cannot find that it was ever printed. His Biographer, whom we have here been ſo much obliged to follow, has alſo given a copious character of him (*), an extract from which, of the moſt obſervable particulars, is hereunder added [*S*], as in this work it

[*R*] *We ſhall here only preſerve the titles.*] Theſe detached pieces, hitherto in this article unſpoken of, are ſo many, that he might paſs for a very induſtrious author, if he had never publiſhed the much larger quantity of his works which we have before mentioned; as may be ſeen by the following titles of them.

I. *Joſeph's party-coloured coat, and Sermons on the Corinths*; which we take to be the ſame with *A Comment on part of the eleventh chapter of the firſt Epiſtle of the Corinths*; with *other Tracts*, by *T. Fuller*, B. D. and Prebendary of *Sarum*, 4to. 1640. The ſecond edition enlarged, Cambridge 1648. II. *Sermon on the Revelations*, ii. 5. 4to. 1646. III. *The Times anatomized*, by T. F. 12mo. 1647. From thoſe initial letters, we conceive, it has been ranged, with other books that were written by our author, under his name, in ſome catalogues: but as the writer of his life has left it out of his liſt, and A. Wood ſays, there was a little thing printed in 12mo. under the name of Thomas Forde, perhaps the ſame with him of that name beforementioned, entituled, *The Anatomy of the Times*, tho' Wood had never ſeen it (†), we think it moſt likely that the ſaid Forde was the author. IV. *Sermon on the 2d of Peter*, i. 10. 4to. 1647. V. *The Cauſe and Cure of a wounded Conſcience*. 8vo. 1647, 1649. VI. Sermons on Matthew, upon Temptations (or his Comment on the 11 firſt verſes of the 4th chapter of St Matthew) 8vo. 1652. VII. *The Infants Advocate*; of *Circumciſion* and *Baptiſm*, on *Jewiſh Chriſtian* Children. 8vo. 1653. VIII. *The Tripple Reconciler*: ſtating the controverſies, whether, 1. *Miniſters* have a power of *excluding* Communicants. 2. Whether *unordained* perſons may *preach*. 3. Whether the *Lord's Prayer* ought not to be uſed by *Chriſtians*. 8vo. 1654. IX. *A Faſt Sermon preached on* Innocents *Day*, 4to.— X. *Sermon of Life and Death*, 8vo.—— XI. *A Comment on* Ruth, with *two Sermons*, 8vo. 1654. XII. *Three Sermons*, London, 8vo. 1655. XIII. *Four Sermons*, and *notes* upon *Jonah*. 8vo. 1656. XIV. *The beſt name on earth*, with *other Sermons*; and a copper print, in a 4to ſize, doubled in before it, of *Thomas Fuller*, B. D. and Hiſtorian; having paper, pen and ink beſide him, 8vo. 1657. XV. *The ſpeech of birds, alſo of flowers, partly moral, partly myſtical*. 8vo. 1660. XVI. A *Latin Tract* on the *Church* in a MS. left imperfect; mentioned in the catalogue at the end of his life. XVII. *The Library of Britiſh Hiſtorians* MS —— This is referred to by our author himſelf, in the beginning of his *Church Hiſtory* (115): But as it was never printed, we take it to be a work only then intended ſeparate, and that he afterwards incorporated thoſe Hiſtorians among his *Worthies*. XVIII. *T. Fuller's Triana*: or *Threefold Romanza*, of *Mariana*, *Paduana*, and *Sabina*: 12mo. 1662. This, if written by our author, is a poſthumous publication, which we have ſeveral times met with aſcribed to him in ſome catalogues, but never ſaw the book (‖). XIX. Several *Letters to his Friends* at Cambridge, and other places; which, as he had ſo many patrons, and ſo many occaſions of intelligence, from his correſpondents in relation to their own knowledge, or the particulars in many books concerning the eminent and learned perſons, he ſo much enquired after, muſt have been ſo numerous, that a good volume might doubtleſs have been collected out of them, eſpecially if the *anſwers* he received, had been added thereunto.

[*S*] *An extract from his character is hereunto added.*] This we muſt chiefly gather from the author of his life; who beginning with his perſon, informs us what a convenient habitation, learning and virtue had choſen (116); in which nothing could be complained of but that they were tenants for ſo ſhort a term. He was of a ſtature rather tall, or exceeding the middle ſize, and of a becoming bigneſs, not inclined to corpulency; exactly ſtrait, and proportionable, of a florid or ſanguine complexion; his hair ſhort, light coloured, and naturally curling; in his gait ſomewhat ſtately or majeſtical; in his garb the leſs careful externally, as he was ſo curious in that of his mind. As he had ſuch an honourable and numerous acquaintance, he was no ways undiſciplined in the arts and forms of courtly

(d) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 54. And J. Le Neve's Faſti Eccleſ. Anglic. fol. 1716. p. 185.

(e) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 55, &c.

(f) See Fuller's good Thoughts in bad times, edit. 12mo. 1652. p. 2. and p. 84, &c. Alſo the Life of Dr Fuller, p. 20.

(g) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 63.

(*) Idem, from p. 65, to 106.

(†) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 577.

(115) Lib. I. cent. 6. fol. 42.

(‖) Bibliotheca Smithiana: 4to. 1682. p. 218, &c.

(116) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 65.

it may be expected. Mr James Heath, who wrote a Chronicle of the Civil Wars, alſo publiſhed *an Elegy upon Dr Thomas Fuller, that moſt incomparable Writer*, &c. and it was printed on a ſheet, in broad-ſide, the ſame year he died (*b*). But here to conclude; as our author beſtowed ſo much time and pains in illuſtrating ſo many lives and characters of others; thus much, at leaſt, we hope cannot be here thought redundant, by candid and grateful readers, in commemoration of himſelf.

(*b*) Athen. Oxon. Tom. II. col. 337.

courtly civility, but they were circumſcribed by his ſincerity, to an eaſy and ſuccinct compaſs. He was a walking library, but ſometimes required turning over to attain the contents; and when he was unbent from his ſtudies, no man could better promote civilized and well-tempered mirth. In diet, he was very temperate, eſpecially as to liquor, which greatly contributed to his little need of ſleep, and his great ſhare of health, till his firſt ſickneſs, and his laſt. All his recreation was intellectual; even riding he little indulged, but on his neceſſary occaſions. He was a kind huſband to both his wives, a tender parent to both his children, ſparing no coſt in the education of them, and ſerviceable to his neighbours; who found it the greateſt prudence to rely on his advice. He never indulged his correction or ſeverity ſo much, as on the offspring of his brain; and tho' he might not entirely clear all the cockle from his corn, any more than his adverſaries from theirs, yet they have plough'd with his heifers, and been beholden to the direction of his authorities for many exceptions they made againſt him. He had a memory ſo vaſtly comprehenſive (117), that he is deſervedly known for the firſt inventor of that noble art (*), whereof he left no rules behind him, but many extraordinary proofs; as, after a walk from Temple-Bar to the furtheſt conduit in Cheapſide, his repeating all the ſigns on both ſides of the way, orderly without miſſing or miſplacing one; and ſo he would do by the words of different languages to any number; to the great aſtoniſhment of his hearers. Yet he would ſay, as we are told by David Lloyd, that the *art* of *memory* was apt to corrupt the *nature* of it. Which may be, as others have explained, that ſome men, thro' an inſatiable monopoly of knowledge, ſo much truſt to the numerous notifications of what they would not forget, till they loſe all recollection of what they preſerved, and cannot *remember* what is become of their *memorandums*. But what was moſt ſtrange and rare, was his way of writing; ſomewhat like that of the Chineſe, from the top to the bottom of the page. He would write next the margin, the firſt words that ſhould make every line, down to the foot of the paper; then beginning at the head again, would ſo perfectly fill up every one of the lines, as, without ſpaces, interlineations or contractions, would ſo connect the ends and beginnings, that the ſenſe would appear as complete, and as much to his mind, he would ſay, as if he had writ it after the ordinary manner, in a continued ſeries (118); which ſeems to denote a great command of the language, and is ſomewhat like the practice that has been among ſome Poets, eſpecially in France, who would ſet one another taſks of difficult rhymes, as incoherent as they could in ſenſe, to be filled up with words, that would make them complete verſes. Our author, ſpeaking of a leidger-book collected by Robert Fuller, the laſt Abbot of Waltham, gives a character of him as a happy penman, for his fair and faſt writing therein; and adds, that others of his ſurname were no leſs defective in thoſe qualities (119). The treaſury of this happy memory, with his great reading, ready faculties of invention, diſtinction, application, and graceful elocution, completed him for the pulpit: and even upon very obſcure texts of Scripture, of which ſome noble friends would deſire his explanation, he would, only upon two hours warning, acquit himſelf with great applauſe. 'Twas ſufficiently known how well grounded he was in the Proteſtant Religion, againſt the innovations of the Preſbytery, and the ſchiſm of Independency; but his zeal againſt theſe, was allay'd with greater compaſſion, than towards the Papiſts; diſtinguiſhing between the ſeducers and the ſeduced. He avoided polemical controverſies with one and the other, as endleſs or needleſs; and looked upon the new invented arguments againſt Epiſcopacy, but as inſects of a day. While the Clergy were widening the diviſions by their warm debates, he both preached and practiſed moderation; growing, in the promotion thereof, more diligent, as the dawning Reſtoration grew more viſible; when he moſt plainly ſaw, how neceſſary the condeſcenſion of all parties would be, to remove all cauſe or remembrance of their former contentions, and combine in the eſtabliſhment of a general concord (†). As he choſe not to ſtruggle thro' or make his way foremoſt in the crowd at Court; had he lived till the tide of ſolicitations was abated, 'tis not doubted but his advancement in the Church would have been no leſs eminent than his merits; eſpecially ſince he had ſo many noble and honourable friends; who, thro' their affection to his virtuous and agreeable qualities, would have been as liberal of their intereſt in the preferment of his perſon, as they had been of their contributions, in the publication of his works.

(117) His Life, p. 76.

(*) Doubtleſs much owing to the methodizing genius he was ſo happily bleſſed with, having ſaid himſelf, according to the Latin motto, before quoted, on his Picture, that *Method is the Mother of Memory*: See his Worthies in Cambridgeſhire, fol. 161.

(118) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 77.

(119) Hiſt. of Waltham-Abbey fol. 7.

(†) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 88, &c.

G.

GALE (Theophilus), a very pious Divine, as well as a very learned and elegant writer, among the Nonconformiſts, in the XVIIth century (*a*). He was deſcended from a very good family in the Weſt of England; and his father was Dr Theophilus Gale, Prebendary of Exeter, and Vicar of King's-Teignton in Devonſhire (*b*), where this ſon of his was born ſome time in 1628 (*c*). He received the rudiments of polite learning in his father's vicaridge-houſe, which having cultivated in a neighbouring grammar-ſchool, he was, when about nineteen, ſent to the Univerſity of Oxford, where he became a Commoner of Magdalen college ſome time in 1647, that is, after the ſurrender of that place, as one of the King's garriſons, to the forces of the Parliament (*d*). He was much diſtinguiſhed, ſoon after his coming thither, by Dr John Wilkinſon, who was then Preſident. In 1648, he was appointed a Demy of that college, by the Parliament Viſitors (*e*). In 1649, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, December the ſeventeenth, and had this character from the Commiſſioners (*f*) before mentioned, that he was *Vir provectioris ætatis, & uberioris Spei Juvenis*, ſomewhat advanced in age (as to the uſual time of taking that degree), and a youth of pregnant hopes. In 1650, he was choſen Fellow of his College, when many of his ſeniors were ſet by (*g*). He was no leſs countenanced by Dr Goodwin, than by the former Preſident (*h*); and having, June the eighteenth 1652, compleated his degree of Maſter of Arts, he became an eminent Tutor, and a diſtinguiſhed Preacher (*i*). Among other pupils under his care at that time, was Mr Ezechiel Hopkins, afterwards Lord Biſhop of Rhaphoe in the kingdom of Ireland, and one of the moſt pathetick preachers of that age; who was but five years younger than Mr Gale his tutor (*k*). In 1657, he went to Wincheſter, and became there a ſtated preacher, where, as well for his exemplary life and converſation, as for his excellent ſermons, he was generally eſteemed and admired (*l*). Upon the Reſtoration of King Charles the Second, not being able to conform to the terms preſcribed by law, he was excluded from the publick exerciſe of his function, and loſt likewiſe his Fellowſhip (*m*). In this ſituation of his affairs, he was taken into the family of Philip Lord Wharton, who put his two ſons, Thomas, afterwards the famous Marquis of Wharton, father of the late Duke, and Godwin, under his care; with whom he travelled in the month of September 1662, and reſided with them for ſome time at Caen in Normandy, then a celebrated ſeminary for learning, under the direction of ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Profeſſors of the Reformed Religion in France (*n*). This excurſion into foreign parts was of very great ſervice to Mr Gale, as well in the enlarging his mind and affording him an opportunity of acquiring the French language, as in procuring him the acquaintance of the famous Mr Bochart, and other great men who then reſided there; and, by a communication of ſtudies, improving thoſe extraordinary talents nature had beſtowed (*o*). In 1665, he returned with his pupils into England; and being now releaſed from that employment, he became an aſſiſtant to Mr John Rowe, his countryman (*p*), who had then a private congregation in Holborn. Some time after this, his papers, which were his greateſt treaſure, and which, at his going over to France, he confided to the care of a friend in London, narrowly, but luckily, eſcaped (*q*) that dreadful fire which will be ever remembered, for the devaſtation it made in this metropolis [*A*]. As Mr Gale had now ſome leiſure, he reſolved to proſecute a great

(*a*) Wood, Calamy, Prince, &c.

(*b*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 349.

(*c*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 97.

(*d*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 603.

(*e*) Proceedings at Oxford, p. 197. Faſt. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 69.

(*f*) Regiſtr. Convocat. T. p. 23.

(*g*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 97.

(*h*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 608.

(*i*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 97. Faſti Oxon. col. 99.

(*k*) From a MS. Memoir.

(*l*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 97.

(*m*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 608.

(*n*) Kennet's Hiſtor. Regiſt. p. 782.

(*o*) From a MS. Memoir.

(*p*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 597.

(*q*) See the particulars in note [*B*].

[*A*] ***For the devaſtation it made in this metropolis.***] It is to be regretted, that we have not a more diſtinct account of this accident. Upon Mr Gale's coming from France, he carried his pupils to the Seat of the Lord Wharton their father, and in his return from thence to London in the beginning of September 1666, he was ſtruck with the dreadful ſight of the city in flames (1). His concern for his friend, as well as the effects which he had depoſited with him, naturally prompted him to enquire of almoſt all he met, whether ſuch a ſtreet, naming the place where his friend lived, was in danger; to which they very uniformly anſwered, that

(1) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 65.

great work, which he had for many years in his mind; for compleating of which he had made vaſt collections, and on the principal points of which he had conſulted the moſt learned amongſt his friends. The care he had of his reputation, as well as the vaſt extent of his plan, and the great pains it required to digeſt his large ſtock of materials into a clear and conciſe method, took up a great deal of time, and obliged him to add ſeveral things to his original draught (*r*), that it might the more effectually anſwer the important ends himſelf propoſed, and the high expectations of thoſe he had occaſionally conſulted about it [*B*]. At length, when it was entirely finiſhed, he grew apprehenſive that the bulk of it

that it was wholly burnt to the ground. This was very bitter news at the firſt hearing, and he could not help regretting the loſs of ſo many years reading, and the large collections which had coſt him ſo much time and pains, and which he had little ſpirit left to think of going through a ſecond time. By degrees, however, he quieted his thoughts, and as his learning, his paſſions, and his deſires, were always ſubſervient to his religion, he did not diſquiet himſelf in vain, but ſubmitted patiently to an evil, which he thought paſt remedy. It was not long before he met with his friend, and having received from him a detail of this dreadful calamity, with this alleviating circumſtance, however, that by timely and vigorous precautions he had happily ſaved a good part of his effects, Mr Gale could not help interjecting this ſhort queſtion, *and what is become of my deſk?* ‘Why truly, replied his ‘friend, that is ſaved too, and by a very ſingular accident. It ſtood in my compting houſe, the contents ‘of which being thrown into a cart, I thought there ‘was ſtill ſomething wanting to make up a load, and ‘in that inſtant caſting my eyes upon your deſk, in it ‘went among the reſt, and you may have it returned ‘when you pleaſe.’ This, as it may be imagined, filled the mind of Mr Gale with joy, and as it was a very acceptable thing to him, ſo it was no inconſiderable benefit to the learned world, for if that deſk had periſhed, *the Court of the Gentiles* had never appeared.

[*B*] *He had occaſionally conſulted about it.*] It was about the time he began his ſtudies at Oxford, that our author obſerving what Grotius had remarked in his excellent book of the truth of the Chriſtian Religion, began to be perſuaded that it might be made appear, ‘the wiſeſt and moſt eſteemed of the Pagan ‘Philoſophers, borrowed the moſt rational of their ‘ſentiments, and were indebted for their moſt ſublime ‘contemplations, as well natural and moral, as divine, ‘from the Scriptures; ſo that how different ſoever ‘they might be in their appearance, not only their ‘Theology, but their Philoſophy, and Philology were ‘derived from the ſacred oracles.’ The more he conſidered and reflected upon this propoſition, it ſeemed to him of ſo much the more importance, and his conviction was the ſtronger when he manifeſtly perceived that the moſt able and judicious critics in all ages had expreſſed their approbation of this opinion. As for inſtance, Joſephus in his book againſt Appion; Origen in his defence of Chriſtianity againſt Celſus; that learned Chriſtian Father, Clement of Alexandria, in the firſt book of his Miſcellanies; Euſebius, in his Evangelical Preparation; Tertullian, in many of his writings; Auguſtin, in his book of the city of God; John the Grammarian, in his treatiſe of the creation of the world. Steuchus Eugubinus, Ludovicus Vives, with other learned Papiſts of the former age; as alſo Julius and Joſeph Scaliger, Serranus, Voſſius, Sandford, Heinſius, Bochart, Selden, Jackſon, Hammond, Uſher, Preſton, Owen, Stillingfleet, with others among the Proteſtants. He thought that ſo many great men could not be deceived, and he was fully ſatisfied, that if, upon a cloſe and ſtrict examination, this propoſition could be made out to the ſatisfaction of reaſonable and learned men, it would be attended with many very high advantages to the Chriſtian Religion. Upon this principle he undertook ſo arduous and ſo painful a work, which however he went through chearfully for the courſe of twelve or fourteen years, being continually ſtimulated from the hopes he entertained of its good effects, which were chiefly theſe. Firſt, he thought that this would greatly confirm the authority and demonſtrate the perfection of the ſacred Scriptures, in which he was not led by his own ſentiment only, but by the example of ſeveral modern Divines, and particularly of the moſt learned Stillingfleet. His ſecond motive muſt be expreſſed in his own words (2), becauſe they ſhew the reaſon upon which the title of his book is founded. ‘Another great end I have in this diſ‘courſe, is to demonſtrate what great marks of divine ‘favour and rich tokens of his Grace, Chriſt the Me‘diator has been pleaſed to vouchſafe to his poor af‘flicted Church. And indeed is it not a great mark ‘of honour that his poor infant Church, ſo much de‘ſpiſed and perſecuted by the Gentile world, ſhould ‘be not only the ſeat of his own preſence and wor‘ſhip, but alſo as the moon to reflect ſome broken ‘rays, or imperfect traditions of that glorious light ‘ſhe received from the ſun of righteouſneſs to the ‘Pagan world, which lay wrapt up in midnight darkneſs? ‘What, that the proud Sophiſts of Greece, eſteemed ‘the eye of the world for human wiſdom, ſhould be ‘fain to come and light their candles at this ſacred ‘fire, which was lodged in the Jewiſh Church! That ‘the poor Temple of Jeruſalem ſhould have a COURT ‘for the GENTILES, to which they muſt be all be‘holding for their choiceſt wiſdom, how great an ho‘nour is this for Mount Zion the Church of God!’ His third motive was to exterminate a falſe notion, that the rational divinity, and ſound morality ſcattered through the writings of Pagan Philoſophers, were deductions made by the pure light of nature; whereas in truth, they are at beſt but broken traditions derived from the ſacred Scriptures, and the Doctrines of the Jewiſh Church. The fourth great view that he had, was to diſabuſe the minds of many young ſtudents prepoſſeſſed with groſs, yea in ſome degree blaſphemous, ideas and notions touching God, his names, attributes, nature, operations, &c. ſuckt in together with thoſe poiſonous infuſions they derived from ethnic Poets and Mythologiſts. The ſad experience hereof made many of the primitive Chriſtians, as well learned as others, greatly decry and declame againſt the reading of Pagan books, ſpecially Poets (3). ‘Yea, Plato him‘ſelf, ſays he, in his diſcourſe of Mimetic Poeſie, is ‘very invective againſt it, demonſtrating how the ‘minds of young ſtudents, by reading ſuch romantic ‘or fabulous ſtories of the gods, and things divine, ‘are firſt abuſed with falſe images, and then adulte‘rated and corrupted with falſe principles which draw ‘on corrupt practices. Wherefore, in the idea of his ‘commonwealth, he gives order that ſuch mimetic ‘or fable-coining Poets be baniſhed, tho’ with reſpect, ‘from his commonwealth. For the preventing or ‘removing of ſuch corruptions, I have endeavoured ‘to decipher or unriddle the whole Pagan ϑεογονία, ‘or the genealogie of the Pagan Gods; as alſo ‘other parts of hiſtory, Mythology touching the firſt ‘chaos, the golden age, the ſeveral floods under ‘Deucalion, &c. the Giants war, with other pieces of ‘Mythology, and Pagan Theology, ſo common among ‘the antient Poets and Hiſtoriographers. Hereby we ‘ſhall come to underſtand the original ideas of thoſe ‘monſtrous fables, as alſo diſabuſe our minds from ‘thoſe falſe images of things divine and human, which ‘are ſo pleaſing to corrupt nature, and too often ‘prove a foundation of atheiſm. If thou ſhalt, reader, ‘continues our author, farther inquire into the mo‘tives and reaſons which have induced me to ſuffer ‘this diſcourſe to come under public view, then be ‘pleaſed to take notice, that I am not ſo much mine ‘own flatterer, as not to be ſenſible of many imperfec‘tions, both as to matter and form, which may ren‘der it unfit for any curious eye or palate. Indeed, ‘I have neither time nor capacity, no, nor yet a will, ‘to poliſh and flouriſh it, ſo as to render it acceptable ‘to every curious critic. I have always affected, with ‘that great maſter of wiſdom, Padre Paulo, the Vene‘tian,

(*r*) From his Advertiſement prefixed.

(2) Advertiſement prefix'd to the 1ſt Part of the *Court of the Gentiles*.

(3) From the ſame Advertiſement.

it might prejudice it with ſome; that many might eſteem ſome portions, tho' they might diſapprove others; and that it would be prudent to ſee how it might be reliſhed, before the whole was committed to the preſs; which determined him to publiſh it in parts. After this wiſe reſolution, the preſs being then ſubject to reſtraint, he applied himſelf, as a member of the Univerſity, to Dr John Fell, then Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, for his licence, who, as he was a zealous friend to the Church of England, was alſo a true patron and encourager of learning, and therefore granted, with much readineſs, that mark of his approbation of the work (s). Thus all obſtacles being now removed, the firſt part of THE COURT OF THE GENTILES appeared, and was received with great applauſe (t). In proceſs of time, encouraged by this candour and kind treatment, the author adventured to publiſh likewiſe the three following parts, of that truly learned work [C]. The love of privacy, the deſire he had to purſue his ſtudies, and the conveniency of inſtructing a few young perſons under his own roof, of which none was more capable, induced him to make choice of Newington for his retreat (u), where he was often viſited by perſons of diſtinction, and ſome not of his own communion, who were deſirous, by their reſpect for him, to teſtify their eſteem for unaffected piety and extenſive learning. Upon the demiſe of Mr Thomas Tregoſſe, a zealous Nonconformiſt miniſter, but a very loyal, peaceable, and worthy perſon, it was reſolved to put ſome little remains of his to the

(s) His Imprimatur bears date Feb. 1, 1668.

(t) See the Account of the time of their publication in note [C].

(u) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 349.

‘ tian, to ſuit my form to my matter, as nature does, and not my matter to my form, as the ſchools are wont to do. This with other moving conſiderations, detained me ſome while from publiſhing this diſcourſe, which was, in the firſt draught thereof, intended for the private inſtruction of ſome perſons of noble condition committed to my tuition: But that which prevailed upon me to let it paſs a more common view and cenſure, beſides my general ends above ſpecified, is the perſuaſion of ſeveral judicious, learned, and pious friends, who conceive it may be ſome way uſeful at leaſt, for the inſtructing of young ſtudents, which is a main conſideration I had in mine eye, when I firſt undertook the compoſition thereof.’

[C] *Of that truly learned work.*] In this note we ſhall give the reader an account of the different times in which the ſeveral parts of this very learned performance came abroad. The Title of which was,

The COURT *of the* GENTILES; *or, a Diſcourſe touching the Original of human Literature, both* PHILOLOGIE *and* PHILOSOPHY, *from the* SCRIPTURES *and* JEWISH *Church, in order to a Demonſtration of,*

I. *The* Perfection *of* GOD's *Word and Church Light.*

II. *The* Imperfection *of* Nature's Light, *and miſchief of* Vain Philoſophy.

III. *The right uſe of* human Learning, *and eſpecially* ſound Philoſophy.

Part the firſt, Of *Philology*, was printed Oxon. 1669, and there again, 1672, in 4to. The ſecond part, which is of *Philoſophy*, was printed Oxon. 1671, and at London, 1676, in 4to. Of theſe two parts, there is a laudable account in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (4). The third part, of the *vanity of Pagan Philoſophy*, was printed Lond. 1677; and the fourth part, of *Reformed Philoſophy*, was printed there the ſame year, both in 4to. Theſe four parts, ſays *Wood*, ſhew the author to have been well read in, and converſant with, the writings of the Fathers, the old Philoſophers, and thoſe that have given any account of them or their works. As alſo to have been a good Metaphyſician and School Divine. But to give the reader a clearer idea of this large and learned work, it may not be amiſs to ſpeak particularly of the aim and intention of each of theſe parts.

In the *firſt* he endeavours to prove, that all languages have their origin and riſe from the Hebrew, inſtancing particularly in the Oriental tongues, as the Phœnician, Copthic, Chaldaic, Syriac, Arabic, Perſian, Samaritan, and Ethiopic; and then in the European, eſpecially the Greek, Latin, the old Gallic, and Britannic. To which he adds a deduction, importing, that the Pagan Theology, Phyſic, Politics, Poeſie, Hiſtory, Rhetoric, are traduced from ſacred names, perſons, rites, and records, and ſhewing withal, how the Jewiſh traditions came to be corrupted and miſtaken by Pagans.

In the *ſecond* part, he maketh it his buſineſs to evince, that Philoſophy alſo hath it's original from the Jewiſh Church; beginning to ſhew this of the Barbaric Philoſophy, under which he comprehends the Egyptian, Phœnician, Chaldean, Perſian, Indian, Ethiopic, Scythian, and Britannic; and thence, proceeding to the Grecian, and chiefly to the Ionic and Italic, or Pythagorean, where he ſhews great reading and learning, whilſt he deduceth this doctrine of Judaic origin, from the teſtimonies of Heathen, Jewiſh, and Chriſtian, both ancient and modern, authors, paſſing through all the particular ſects of Philoſophers, with great ſollicitation and induſtry; and promiſing at the end of this work, that he is willing to undertake another treatiſe, to ſhew both the miſchief of vain, and the uſefulneſs of ſound, Philoſophy, to Chriſtian religion.

In the *third*, the vanity of Pagan Philoſophy is demonſtrated from it's cauſes, parts, proprieties, and effects; namely, Pagan idolatry, Judaic apoſtacy, Gnoſtic infuſions, errors among the Greek Fathers, ſpecially Origen, Arianiſme, Pelagianiſme, and the whole ſyſtem of Papiſme, or Antichriſtianiſme, diſtributed into three parts, Myſtic, Scholaſtic, and Canonic Theology.

In the *fourth* part he treats of Reformed Philoſophy, wherein Plato's moral and metaphyſic, or prime Philoſophy, is reduced to an uſeful form and method. He divides this, which is larger than any of the former parts, into three books, diſcourſing in the firſt, of *Moral Philoſophy*, in the ſecond, of *Metaphyſics*, and in the third, of *Divine Predetermination*. This laſt ſeems to have been a diſtinct piece, and to have been publiſhed after the fourth part of the *Court* of the *Gentiles*, to which it ſerves as an appendix, having a diſtinct preface and table of contents, which is not the method purſued through the reſt of the work. The judicious Morhoff (5) gives a very advantageous character of our author and his work, and acknowledges, that, with much patience and application, as well as with great parts and learning, he had run through the whole circle of Jewiſh, Chriſtian, and Hebrew learning; and with great diligence, and no leſs candour, had digeſted whatever was worth reading and conſideration, in an accurate and perſpicuous manner. We may plainly perceive in thoſe parts of Biſhop Huet's famous work, which relate to the ſame ſubject, that he was not unacquainted with Mr Gale's performance, or with another piece of his, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. Indeed, the author beforementioned aſſures us, that there was a Latin tranſlation of the Court of the Gentiles, before the ſecond edition of the original appeared in England, by which the reputation of the author was ſpread into all parts of Europe, but more eſpecially in Germany, where his labours met with great applauſe. Here at home the learned uſhered in both the editions of the firſt parts, according to the mode of that time, with Latin and Engliſh poems, of theſe the Engliſh pindaric before the firſt part, contains ſome fine ſtrophes. Before the ſecond part, there is a long Latin poem, ſubſcribed Thomas Gilbert, and a ſhorter by Owen Price, M. A. a long Pindaric poem, probably by the ſame perſon, who wrote that prefixed to the firſt part, and a ſhorter complement in heroics, both without any name ſubſcribed.

(4) Vol. VI. No. lxxiv. p. 2231.

(5) Polyhiſtor. II. 1. 1. 8. III. 5. 1. 2.

the preſs; and the better to preſerve his memory, it was wiſhed that ſome particulars of his life ſhould be prefixed (*w*). Our author undertook and performed it with ſpirit and eloquence, for it was a ſubject very well ſuited to his temper, and he was perfectly ſatisfied as to the veracity of the facts which he reported, and which were very much enlivened by the manner in which he ſet them forth; and yet he ſo carefully concealed his being the author, that we do not find it mentioned in any catalogue of his writings (*x*) [*D*]. In the diſcharge of his miniſtry, and the improvement of his faculties, he ſpent his years in ſolitude and quiet; and yet in a way highly uſeful to his contemporaries, and to poſterity (*y*). He compoſed, amongſt other uſeful and learned treatiſes, a compendious view of the antient Philoſophy in general (*z*), with an immediate regard to the ſervice of his pupils, but in ſuch a manner as that it might be very advantageous to the publick; and therefore, at the requeſt of ſeveral eminent and worthy perſons, he printed it in Latin, which is one reaſon perhaps why it is leſs known than ſo judicious a treatiſe deſerves [*E*]. We mention theſe

(*w*) From a MS. Memoir.

(*x*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 98.

(*y*) See the notes [*E*], [*F*], [*G*].

(*z*) Morhoff, Polyhiſtor. II. 1. 5. 8.

[*D*] *In any catalogue of his writings.*] The title of this book, which is properly our author's, for the letters and other papers, are only annexed to it, bore this title.

The Life *and* Death *of* Thomas Tregoſſe, *late Miniſter of the* Goſpel, *at* Milar *and* Mabe *in* Cornwall, *with his Character.* Lond. 1671, 8vo.

This Mr Thomas Tregoſſe was of an ancient and worthy family, ſeated at St Ives in Cornwall, and educated in Exeter college at Oxford; he was a zealous nonconformiſt miniſter, and ſuffered for preaching privately very much. Amongſt his other misfortunes he was once ſent to the Marſhal of Bodmyn, to be kept in cuſtody as a dangerous and ſeditious perſon, of which King Charles II, being informed, and being alſo acquainted, that notwithſtanding what was ſet forth in his commitment, he was ſo far from meddling with ſtate affairs, that he did not ſo much as touch the controverſies between the Church and the Diſſenters, in any of his ſermons; but, on the contrary, exhorted his hearers to live peaceably, and to manifeſt their faith by their works; his Majeſty directed a ſpecial order to the Marſhal to ſet him at liberty. Yet this did not hinder his being fined and impriſoned afterwards; and much notice was taken of misfortunes that befel thoſe who were inſtrumental in his troubles; and it was currently reported, that he had propheſied the death of one of his great perſecutors. Mr Gale mentions this matter, but not in ſuch terms as will juſtify that report; for he tells us (6), 'that after Mr Tregoſſe had been committed by Mr Robinſon, to Lanceſton Jail for three Months, and had been four days returned home, Mr Robinſon, who was indefatigable, gave out, that he would ſpeedily ſend him back again to the place from whence he came. In order whereto, providing to ride to market, to procure another juſtice to join with him in a warrant, for a ſecond conviction of Mr Tregoſſe, for a conventicler, and to proſecute ſome others; whilſt he was at a tenement of his, his own bull, which was never known to hurt any before, followed him in a field with much fury, and gave him deadly wounds, whereof he ſhortly died.' This ſhews that Mr Gale was very cautious in his expreſſions; and tho' he might be of opinion himſelf, as indeed it is clear enough he was, that there was ſomewhat providential in this caſe, yet he would not take upon him to declare it a judgment, as many had before, and ſome very deliberately, have ſince done.

(6) Life and Death of Mr Thomas Tregoſſe, p. 16, 17.

[*E*] *Than ſo judicious a treatiſe deſerves.*] The title of this book runs thus:

Philoſophia Generalis *in duas partes diſterminata, una de Ortu & Progreſſu* Philoſophiæ, *&c. Altera,* 1. *De Minorum Gentium Philoſophiâ* 2. *De* 9 *Habitibus intellectualibus.* 3. *De Philoſophiæ Objecto.* London 1676, 8vo. That is, *A General View of the Riſe and Progreſs of Philoſophy; to which are added, ſome particular Treatiſes.*

In this book, which is very learned, and where, in a very narrow compaſs, the ſentiments of the Ancients may be found, upon almoſt every ſubject of importance, the chief deſign of the author is the very ſame with that, in his Court of the Gentiles, only here he writes more conciſely, and fitter for the peruſal of ſuch, as were engaged in a regular courſe of ſtudy, to whoſe uſe it was eſpecially deſigned. What is ſaid in the text, of it's being leſs known from it's being written in Latin, relates to our own iſland only, where this piece of Mr Gale's is in a great meaſure neglected, while a great many books, that might be named, that have been picked out of it, are in great eſteem. It is quite otherwiſe abroad, where it is the beſt known of any of his works, much read, and highly commended. Morhoff particularly gives it a very good character, and repreſents it as highly uſeful in affording a conſiderate perſon the ſenſe of antiquity at a ſingle view, upon any point whatever. It muſt not however be diſſembled, that in one thing he paſſes a cenſure upon our author, but with great decency and moderation (7). He ſays, that when learned men have addicted themſelves to any particular hypotheſis, they bend every ſubject that way, from which failing he thinks our author not entirely free, in his endeavouring to deduce all the arts of Philoſophy and fabulous Divinity of the ancient Pagans, from the law and doctrine of the Jews. His poſition, generally ſpeaking, is, without doubt, true enough; for we may very eaſily perceive, that the friends of an hypotheſis, and much more the author of one, will bend things any way, rather than ſuffer the repugnancy of them to their own ſentiments from becoming apparent. In this caſe, however, it is to be conſidered, that ſome very learned men have been in a direct oppoſite way of thinking, and have laboured to prove, that the Pagan notions were ſo far from being borrowed from the Jewiſh Church, that there was a viſible conformity between the rites and ceremonies of the Moſaic Inſtitution, and the religious cuſtoms of certain idolatrous nations, and more eſpecially the Egyptians. Now we can hardly believe, that perſons ſo oppoſite in their judgments, ſhould agree in a falſhood; and if this be right reaſoning, then there muſt be certainly a ſtrong likeneſs between the facts in the Jewiſh Hiſtory, and the fables in the Heathen Mythology; and granting this, we cannot certainly be at a loſs to diſtinguiſh the original from the copy. There is in the Sacred Writings, a majeſtic ſimplicity that has been admired, even by the Heathens themſelves; there was a certain childiſhneſs in the Ethnick Theology, which the wiſer Pagans deſpiſed. We have no reaſon then to doubt of the foundation, or to ſuſpect that our learned author, and all who went before him in his opinion, were miſtaken, or that the French Prelate Huet, or our moſt learned Biſhop Cumberland, were miſled by their authorities; notwithſtanding which, we are at liberty to doubt, and we may preſume, that this is all that the judicious Morhoff means, whether in every particular theſe authors have been right in their conjectures; for it is one thing to lay down, and prove the truth of a general propoſition, and quite another, to make a long train of deductions with equal truth and certainty. The greateſt maſter in figures may miſtake in a particular calculation, but it would be very unfair to infer from thence, the falſity of the rule by which he wrought. Theſe reflections relate equally to this treatiſe of Philoſophy, and to the Court of the Gentiles, and are intended purely for the reader's ſatisfaction, and to do juſtice to the ſkill and diligence of our learned and worthy author; not to repreſent him as infallible, or incapable of making miſtakes, upon ſubjects ſo perplexed and embarraſſed as thoſe were, and ever will be, which he undertook to handle. His deſign in both books was good, and he purſued it with indefatigable labour, which is more than ſufficient to juſtify the little pains we have taken

(7) Polyhiſtor, II. 1. 1. 8.

works of his particularly, becauſe in thoſe days they gained him univerſal eſteem; but his other performances deſerve alſo to be remembered, as breathing the ſame ſpirit of kindneſs and charity, tho' ſome of them written on leſs ſtriking ſubjects; and therefore the reader will find an exact catalogue of them in the notes (*a*), with ſome neceſſary remarks [*F*]. Upon the death of Mr John Rowe, to whom, as we have ſaid, he was for many years aſſiſtant, October the twelfth 1677, he, together with Mr Samuel Lee, was choſen Paſtor of his congregation (*b*). He continued, as long as his ſtrength would permit, to labour for the ſervice of the Church of CHRIST, and in promoting, as it's ſupport, ſound literature. A very ſhort ſpace before his death, he publiſhed propoſals for printing by ſubſcription a very large and uſeful work, which he had long under his hands, and which was very far advanced (*c*). This, with ſome pieces he left behind him, ſerved to prove how well he had ſpent his time, and how great a loſs the world had, in ſo learned, ſo ingenious, ſo communicative, ſo indefatigable, and, in all reſpects, ſo pious and worthy a perſon [G]. He breathed his laſt, either at the cloſe of the month of February, or in the beginning of the month of March 1678, when he was in his fiftieth year (*d*). He was decently interred in the burying-ground near Bunhill-Fields, and his death univerſally regretted (*e*). He was a man whoſe learning made him admired and eſteemed, by all who were judges of it; his piety was ſo evident and unaffected, his courſe of life ſo innocent and uniform, that his example went as far as his ſermons; he was ſtedfaſt in his opinions, and warm in the defence of them; but had charity for thoſe who differed from him, whom he would labour to convince, but not to compel; he was as much an enemy to ſedition as to perſecution; and the known averſion he had to the former, defended him from the latter, when many of his brethren were expoſed. In a word, he maintained to the laſt the character which he had early acquired, of having, in a very high degree, thoſe qualities that moſt adorn a Miniſter of CHRIST, which ſecured him the love and veneration of men ſincere and devout of all parties (*f*). His concern for learning and piety, reached beyond the times in which he lived; not in his writings only, but in the manner in which he diſpoſed of the temporal goods, which either came to him by deſcent, or were the product of his œconomy in managing his ſmall income. He beſtowed all his eſtate, real and perſonal, on young ſtudents of his own principles, and appointed truſtees to manage it for their ſupport (*g*). All his well choſen library he gave towards promoting uſeful learning in New England, where, at that time, ſuch a numerous collection was a publick benefit. Out of this, he excepted only ſuch books of Philoſophy as might be judged more proper for young ſtudents here; and thus having ſpent his whole life in doing good, he provided at his death that there might be a continuance of perſons of the ſame frame of mind, and of like qualifications with himſelf, or at leaſt he did towards ſuch a proviſion all that was in his power.

(*a*) See the Catalogues in Wood and Prince.

(*b*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 59.

(*c*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 608. Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 97.

(*d*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 350.

(*e*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 608.

(*f*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II, p. 59.

(*g*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 350.

to ſet his character, and that of his writings, in their true light; and ſo far as in our power lies, to revive the credit of both, as is certainly our duty.

[*F*] *With ſome neceſſary remarks.*] In this note, we are to give the reader an account of ſuch other pieces, as fell from the pen of Mr Theophilus Gale, which we ſhall do as exactly as we can; tho' it is not impoſſible, that ſome may have eſcaped us, but if there be any, ſuch it is moſt likely, that they are prefaces to other mens works; or, it may be, that ſome of the treatiſes he left behind him, have been publiſhed without any mention of the author. The treatiſes known to be his are theſe:

The true Idea *of* Janſeniſm, *both* Hiſtorick *and* Dogmatick, Lond. 1669, 8vo. The large Preface to it was written by Dr John Owen.

Theophily; *or, A Diſcourſe of the* Saint's *Amity with* GOD *in* CHRIST, *&c.* Lond. 1671, 8vo.

The Anatomy *of* Infidelity; *or, an Explication of the Nature, Cauſes, Aggravations, and Puniſhment of Unbelief.* Lond. 1672, 8vo.

A Diſcourſe of CHRIST's coming, *and the Influence which the Expectation thereof*, &c. Lond. 1673, 8vo.

Idea Theologiæ *tam contemplativæ quam activæ, ad formam S. Scripturæ delineata.* Lond. 1673, 12mo. That is, *An* Idea *of* Theology, *contemplative as well as active, according to the* Holy Scriptures.

Wherein the Love of the World is inconſiſtent with the Love of God. *A* Sermon *on the* 1 *Epiſt. of* John, *chap.* ii. *ver.* 15. Lond. 1674. And in the Supplement to the *Morning Exerciſe* at *Cripplegate*.

A Summary *of the* two Covenants. This is ſet before a book by him publiſhed, intituled, *A Diſcourſe of the Two Covenants*, &c. Lond. 1678. fol. Written by *William Strong*, ſome time Preacher in the Abbey Church at Weſtminſter.

There is another book uſually put into the catalogues of his works, which bears this title.

Ars Sciendi; *ſive Logica novo Methodo diſpoſita, & novis præceptis aucta*, Lond. 1682, 8vo. This is John Clauberg's Logic, and *Ars Cogitandi*, called the Janſeniſts Logic, digeſted into one volume, with ſome alterations and enlargements; but we are aſſured by Dr Calamy (8), that this was unjuſtly aſcribed to Mr Theophilus Gale.

[*G*] *So pious and worthy a perſon.*] The title of this work, of which he gave a large account in his printed propoſals for publiſhing it, ran thus:

Lexicon Græci Teſtamenti Etymologicum Synonymum ſive Gloſſarium & Homonymum.

This Lexicon of the Greek Teſtament was finiſhed as far as the letter Iota; and the moſt conſiderable words were alſo placed under the other letters. It would have made when printed, a large folio volume, and have been much more compleat in every reſpect, than any thing of the kind yet extant, the author intending that it ſhould ſerve for a Concordance as well as a Lexicon, and with that view, had taken great pains in ſettling the different ſenſes of the ſame word, ſhewing whence they aroſe, and how they might be with certainty diſtinguiſhed. It was a great loſs to the world, that he did not live to compleat it; and ſtill a greater, that we have not ſo much as the titles of the other manuſcripts which he left behind him. It is very remarkable, that in Anthony Wood's account of Mr Gale, there is not the leaſt abatement or reſtriction in his commendations; and it is no leſs remarkable, that the Reverend Mr Echard (9), joining his accounts of Dr Thomas Manton, and Mr Theophilus Gale, ſays, the latter ſeemed to have more learning and leſs faction than the former; he adds, that he ſhewed himſelf to be a man of vaſt reading and induſtry, an exact Philologiſt and Philoſopher, as his Court of the Gentiles, and other learned works, ſufficiently teſtify; and that in the midſt of his great deſigns, he was ſnatched away in the prime of his years. Theſe teſtimonies do as much honour to thoſe who gave, as to the memory of him to whom they are given.

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(8) Life of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 97.

(9) Hiſt. of Eng. p. 936.

GALE (Thomas), a moſt excellent ſcholar in the laſt century, was born at Scruton in Yorkſhire, in the year 1635, or 1636 [*A*], and educated in Weſtminſter-ſchool. Thence he was elected a ſcholar of Trinity-college Cambridge, of which he became Fellow (*a*). He took the Degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1658, that of Maſter in 1662; and accumulated the Degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity in 1675 (*b*). At the opening of the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford, July 12, 1669, he was incorporated Maſter of Arts in that Univerſity (*c*). Among other branches of learning, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf moſt particularly by his curious, critical, and exact knowledge of the Greek tongue; of which he was Regius Profeſſor at Cambridge: And he publiſhed new and accurate editions of ſeveral ancient writers in that language; whereof an account is given below. In 1672, he was choſen Head-maſter of St Paul's-School in London, in the room of Mr Samuel Cromleholme; and had the Honour of being employed by that city, to write the elegant inſcriptions on the Monument, erected in memory of the dreadful conflagration in 1666; for which he was preſented with a piece of plate (*d*). June 7, 1676, he was collated to a Prebend in the Cathedral church of St Paul's (*e*). He was alſo a Fellow of the Royal Society, to which he gave a Roman urn with its aſhes. About the year 1697, he preſented the new Library at Trinity-college in Cambridge, with a great number of curious Arabic manuſcripts (*f*). This moſt learned and induſtrious perſon, tho' encumbered with the care of ſo large a ſchool, found means to publiſh new Editions of ſeveral ancient valuable Greek authors: Namely, A collection of the Mythologiſts, and other writers of moral and natural Philoſophy [*B*]: A collection of authors on the Poetical Hiſtory [*C*]: The ſelect Rhetors, or Orators [*D*]: Jamblichus of Myſteries [*E*]: An Edition of the Greek Pſalter, from the Alexandrine MS. [*F*]: and Herodotus [*G*]. He alſo reviſed Cicero's Works, printed in 1684 [*H*]; and publiſhed two volumes in folio of our antient Engliſh Hiſtorians [*I*]. After having continued about twenty-five years Head-Maſter of St Paul's-ſchool,

(*a*) S. Knight's Life of J. Colet, Lond. 1724. 8vo. p. 382.

(*b*) From the UniverſityRegiſt.

(*c*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. II. ed. 1721. col. 177.

(*d*) Knight, ibid. And Supplement to Jer. Collier's Diction. Vol. III. amongſt the *Addenda*, at the end.

(*e*) Newcourt's Repertor. Vol. I. p. 144.

(*f*) Collier, ibid.

[*A*] *Was born at Scruton in Yorkſhire, in the year* 1635, *or* 1636.] We learn from his Epitaph, that he died April 8. 1702. in the 68th year of his age. And as it doth not appear how far he was then advanced into his 68th year, he might therefore be born either in the year 1635, or in the beginning of 1636.

[*B*] *A collection of the Mythologiſts, &c.*] The title of which volume is, *Opuſcula Mythologica, Ethica, & Phyſica, Græce & Latine.* Containing. ‘ 1. *Palæphatus de Incredibilibus Hiſtoriis. Cum variis lectionibus. Ejuſdem duo Fragmenta, ex Chronico Alexandrino, ſcil. De inventione purpuræ: & de primo ferri inventore; Mat. Radero interprete.* 2. *Heracliti de incredibilibus. Leone Allatio interprete.* 3. *Anonymi, longe Heraclito recentioris, de incredibilibus, eodem interp.* 4. *Phurnuti* [*vel Cornuti*] *Commentarius de Natura Deorum. Interprete Conr. Clauſero.* With our learned Doctor's notes, and various readings. 5. *Salluſtius Philoſophus de Diis & Mundo. Interprete Leone Allatio.* At the end are the learned editor's notes. 6. *Ocellus Lucanus Philoſophus de Univerſi natura, interprete Ludovico Nogarola Comite Veronenſi. Ejuſdem Nogarolæ Annotationes, & Epiſtola de viris illuſtribus Italis qui Græce ſcripſerunt.* Editio nova emendatior, &c. 7. *Platonis Timæus Locrus de Anima Mundi, i. e. Natura.* 8. *Demophili, Democratis, & Secundi Veterum Philoſophorum Sententiæ Morales a Luca Holſtenio editæ. Editio ſecunda accuratior.* 9. *Joannis Pediaſimi deſiderium, de muliere mala & bona.* 10. *Sexti Pythagorei Sententiæ e Græco in Latinum a Ruffino verſæ, & Xyſto Romanæ Eccleſiæ Epiſcopo falſo attributæ.* 11. *Theophraſti Notationes Morum* [*vel Characteres Ethici*] *Iſ. Caſaubono interprete. Editio nova correctior.* 12. *Pythagoreorum Fragmenta partim apud Stobæum, partim alibi reperta.* Among them, are two letters of Pythagoras. 13. *Heliodori Lariſſæi Capita Opticorum. Ex bibliotheca Fr. Lindenbrogi* ’ Cantabrigiæ. 1671. 8vo. reprinted at Amſterdam. 1688. 8vo. with great improvements.

[C] *A collection of Authors on the Poetical Hiſtory.*] *Hiſtoriæ Poeticæ Antiqui Scriptores.* Pariſ. 1675. 8vo. viz. *Apollodorus Athenienſis, Conon Grammaticus, Ptolemæus Hepheſt. filius, Parthenius, & Anton. Liberalis.*

[*D*] *The ſelect Rhetors, or Orators.*] *Rhetores ſelecti:* viz. 1. *Demetrius Phalereus de Elocutione.* Editio emendatior. 2. *Tiberius Rhetor de Schematibus apud Demoſthenem.* 3. *Anonymus Sophiſta de Rhetorica.* Theſe two, firſt publiſhed by our learned author, with a Latin verſion. 4. *Severi Sophiſtæ Alexandrini Ethopoeiæ.* Publiſhed before by Fred. Morel and Leo Allatius, but more correctly by Dr Gale, with a new tranſlation. Oxon. 1676. 8vo.

[*E*] *Jamblichus of Myſteries.*] Under this title, *Jamblichus Chalcidenſis de Myſteriis. Epiſtola Porphyrii de eodem argumento. Græcè & Latinè ex verſione Thomæ Gale.* Oxon. 1678. fol.

[*F*] *An edition of the Greek Pſalter, &c.*] The title of this edition, was, *Pſalterium juxta exemplar Alexandrinum*, Editio nova Græcè & Latinè. Oxon. 1678. 8vo.

[*G*] *Herodotus.*] This neat and accurate edition of that moſt valuable ancient Hiſtorian was publiſhed at London, in 1679. fol. And, conſidering how ſeverely Gronovius's edition hath been animadverted upon, and very groſs errors diſcovered in it by the beſt of criticks (1), Dr Gale's edition of Herodotus muſt, upon many accounts, ſtill paſs for the beſt.

[*H*] *He alſo reviſed Cicero's works, &c.*] This edition was printed at London in 1681, and 1684. 2 vols. folio (2).

[*I*] *And publiſhed two volumes in folio of our ancient Engliſh Hiſtorians.*] Theſe two volumes are a continuation of another collection of the like kind, publiſhed by, or under the direction of, the moſt learned and worthy John Fell, Biſhop of Oxford; with the title of, *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum veterum Tom.* I. *Quorum Ingulfus nunc primum integer, cæteri nunc primum prodeunt.* Oxon. 1684. fol.——— Of the two volumes publiſhed by Dr Gale, the firſt was, at Oxon 1687. fol. and intituled, *Hiſtoriæ Anglicanæ Scriptores Quinque, ex vetuſtis Codicibus nunc primum in lucem editi.* Which volume contains. I. *Annales de Margan*; The Annals of Margan-Abbey in Glamorganſhire; that is, once belonging to that Monaſtery, and written there: Reaching from the year 1066, to 1232. II *Chronicon Thomæ Wikes, aliter Chronicon Saliſburienſis Monaſterii.* i. e. The Chronicle of Thomas Wikes, a famous Monk of Oſeney-Abbey in the 13th century. It begins at the year 1066, and extends to the year 1304. But from the year 1289, it was continued by another hand. III. *Annales Waverleienſes*; i. e. The Annals of Waverley-Abbey in Surrey, from 1066. to the year 1291. [N. B. Every conſiderable Abbey in this kingdom, uſed to keep a Chronicle of what happened moſt memorable every year.] IV. *Itinerarium Regis Anglorum Richardi, & aliorum in terram Hieroſolymorum. Auctore Gaufrido Viniſauf.* i. e. The expedition of King Richard I. and others into the Holy Land: by Geffrey Viniſauf. To which is ſubjoined an account of the taking of Damieta. V. *Chronica Walteri Hemingford, Canonici de Giſſeburne, de Geſtis Regum Angliæ.*

(1) See Kuſter's Examen Criticum Editionis Herodoti Gronovianæ: in J. Le Clerc's Biblioth. Ancienne & Moderne, Tom. V. p. 383, &c. And Acta Eruditorum Lipſi: an. 1716. p. 201, 337, 417, &c.

(2) See Dr Knight's Life of J. Colet, as above, p. 476.

ſchool, he was, as a juſt reward for his merit and pains, promoted to the Deanery of York, into which he was admitted Sept. 16, 1697 *(g)*. Here he kept an hoſpitable table, and was particularly remarkable for his care and good government, and the repairing and beautifying the fabric of the Cathedral *(h)*; beſides an eſpecial ſervice he did to his Deanery [*K*]. But, after having enjoyed that Dignity little more than four years and a half, this worthy perſon, to the univerſal loſs of learning, died at York April 8, 1702, in the 68th year of his age *(i)*. He was buried in the Cathedral there, with an Inſcription on his Grave-ſtone, as below [*L*]. As to his Character; he was a learned Divine, a great Hiſtorian and Antiquary, and one of the beſt Grecians of his age. He was not only known and eſteemed at home, but alſo by the moſt learned of his contemporaries abroad; and kept a particular correſpondence with Father Mabillon, Monſieur Baluze, Peter Allix, James Cappel, Sebaſtian

(g) Survey of the Cathed. of York, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. p. 70.

(h) Collier's Diction. ut ſupra.

(i) Br. Willis, ubi ſupra.

gliæ. Ab anno Domini. 1066. *ad annum* 1300. i. e. The Chronicle of Walter Hemingford, Canon of Giſeburne [in Yorkſhire] from the year 1066, to 1300. But the learned editor hath publiſhed it here only as far as the year 1273, reſerving the reſt for another volume of our Engliſh Hiſtorians, beginning at King Edward I. which he intended to oblige the world with, but never did. It was publiſhed entire by T. Hearne in 1731, in 2 vols. 8vo.

The ſecond volume of our Engliſh Hiſtorians publiſhed by Dr Gale, was intituled, *Hiſtoriæ Britannicæ, Saxonicæ, Anglo-Danicæ, Scriptores* XV. *Ex vetuſtis Codd. MSS. editi opera Thomæ Gale Th. Pr.* Oxon. 1691. fol. This volume comprehends. I. *Gildæ ſapientis de Excidio Britanniæ liber querulus. Ex antiquiſſimo MS. Cod. Cantabrigienſi* i. e. An Hiſtory, and a Letter, concerning the deſtruction of Britain by the Saxons; written by Gildas, a Monk of Banchor in the 6th century. II. *Vita S. Wilfridi Epiſcopi Eboracenſis. Auctore Eddio Stephano* i. e. The life of St Wilfrid *the third* Archbiſhop of York, [who died in 711.] written by Eddius, or Heddius, ſurnamed Stephen, that flouriſhed about the year 720. III. *Hiſtoria Britonum, auctore Nennio.* i. e. The Hiſtory of the Britons, by Nennius; a Monk of Banchor, who flouriſhed in the beginning of the 7th century. With notes at the end. IV. *Annales Joan. Aſſerii.* i. e. The Annals of J. Aſſer, Biſhop of Sherbourn, who died anno 909. Theſe Annals begin at Julius Cæſar, and end at the year 904. V. *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higdeni Monachi Ceſtrenſis.* i. e. The Polychronicon of Ralph Higden Monk of Cheſter: divided into ſix books. It begins at the earlieſt times, and was brought down by the author to the year 1343: but Dr Gale has publiſhed it here only as far as the year 1066, and hath retrenched from it every thing that did not relate to the Engliſh Hiſtory. VI. *Willielmus Malmeſburienſis de Antiquitate Glaſtonienſis Eccleſiæ.* i e. William [Somerſet, Monk] of Malmeſbury, of the Antiquity of Glaſton-bury-church. VII. *Wil. Malmeſburienſis Liber V. de Pontificibus.* i. e. The ſame William's fifth book of the Engliſh Biſhops: being the life of *Aldelm*, firſt Biſhop of Sherborn (3); and a ſupplement to his IV. books *De Pontificibus*, publiſhed by Sir Henry Savile, with the reſt of that author's hiſtorical works. He had promiſed this life, at the beginning of his account of the Biſhops of Sherborn. VIII. *Hiſtoria Rameſienſis, ſive Liber de Fundatione & Benefactoribus Coenobii Rameſienſis.* i. e. The Hiſtory of the foundation of Rameſey-monaſtery, in Huntingdonſhire; and of the benefactors to the ſame. IX. and X. *Hiſtoria Eccleſiæ Elienſis. Lib.* II. i. e. The Hiſtory of the Church, or Monaſtery of Ely, in two books. XI. *Chronica Joannis Wallingford.* i. e. The Chronicle of John Wallingford, twenty firſt Abbot of St Albans. It begins at the year of Chriſt 449, and ends at 1035. XII. *Hiſtoria Compendioſa de Regibus Britonum, auctore Radulpho de Diceto.* i e. A compendious [and indeed an imperfect] Hiſtory of the Britiſh Kings, from [the pretended] Brutus to Cadwalader, anno Ch. 689. By Ralph de Diceto, Dean of St Paul's in the 13th century. XIII. *De Partitione Provinciæ in Schiras, & Epiſcopatus, & Regna.* i. e. Of the Diviſion of England into Shires, Biſhopricks, and Kingdoms. By an author unknown. He reckons 32 counties in England; excluſive of Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, Cumberland, Cornwal, and Wales; and two Archbiſhopricks, and twenty Biſhopricks. XIV. *Joannis Fordun Scoti-Chronicon, ſive Scotorum Hiſtoria.* i. e. The Hiſtory of the Scots, by John Fordun, Chaplain of the Church of Aberdeen. [Publiſhed in a more compleat manner by Thomas Hearne. Oxon. 1722. 5 vols. 8vo] XV. *De Pontificibus & Sanctis Eccleſiæ Eboracenſis Poema, auctore Flacco Alcwino.* i. e. A poetical account of the Archbiſhops and Saints of the Church of York, by Flaccus Alcwinus, or Albinus (4). To this collection the learned editor hath added an Appendix, of what ſeveral ancient authors have written concerning Britain: namely, 1. The 2d and 3d chapters of the viiith book of Ptolemy's Geography, in Greek and Latin. 2. Extracts, from Antoninus's Itinerary; the *Notitia Dignitatum Imperii Romani*; & *Geograph. Anonymus Ravennas.* 3. The number of hides in ſeveral counties ſouth of the Humber. 4. An abſtract of Doomeſday-book, which he intitles, *Conſuetudines & Jura Anglicana, ex libro cenſuali, dicto Doomeſday.* 5. The ancient names of the people, places, &c. in Britain; from Camden, in alphabetical order. 6. Chap. 16. of book iv. of Pliny's Natural Hiſtory, relating to Britain. 7. Genealogies of the ſeveral Saxon Kings in this iſland; from the *Textus Roffenſis*, and Alured of Beverley. Interſperſed with learned notes, and emendations. This very particular account of the contents of theſe two volumes I thought neceſſary to give, for the ſake of all lovers of Engliſh Hiſtory, to whom ſuch notices are very uſeful, and ſave them a great deal of time.

Our learned author left alſo ſeveral pieces in manuſcript, namely, 1. *Jamblichus de vita Pythagoræ.* 2. *Origenis Philocalia, variis MSS. collecta, emendata, & nova verſione donata.* 3. *Antonini Itinerarium.* This laſt was publiſhed by his learned ſon Roger Gale, Eſq; under this title, *Antonini Iter Britannicum, commentariis illuſtratum Thomæ Gale S. T. P. nuper Decani Eboracenſis. Opus poſthumum reviſit, auxit, edidit R. G. Acceſſit Anonymi Ravennatis Britanniæ Chorographia cum Autographo Regis Galliæ MS. & Codice Vaticano collata. Adjiciuntur conjecturæ plurimæ, cum nominibus locorum Anglicis, quotquot iis aſſignari potuerint.* Lond. 1709. 4to. But this is the moſt exceptionable of Dr Gale's works: for, out of an affectation of ſaying ſomething new, he hath diſplaced moſt of the ancient ſtations, without ſufficient authority; and hath indulged himſelf a great deal too much in fancy and conjectures.——There were likewiſe publiſhed in 1704, 'Sermons preached 'upon ſeveral holy days obſerved in the Church of 'England, by Thomas Gale Dean of York.' Lond. 8vo.

[*K*] *Beſides an eſpecial ſervice he did to his Deanery.*] It was this: at his admiſſion to his Deanery, finding the Dean's title to be a Canon-Reſidentiary called in queſtion; in order to put it out of all diſpute, he generouſly procured letters patent, in 1699, to fix it to himſelf, and ſucceſſors (5).

[*L*] *With an inſcription on his grave-ſtone*] Being as follows. *Æ. M. S.* Thomæ Gale *S. T. P. Decani* Ebor. *Viri, ſi quis alius, ob multifariam eruditionem, apud ſuos exteroſq; celeberrimi. Quale nomen ſibi conquiſivit, apud* Cantabrigienſes, *Collegium SS.* Trinitatis, & *Græcæ Linguæ Profeſſoris Regii cathedra; apud* Londinates, *Viri literatiſſimi, in Rempublicam, & Patriæ commodum, ex Gymnaſio Paulino emiſſi; apud* Eboracenſes, *hujus res Eccleſiæ heu! vix quinquennio, at dum per mortem licuit ſedulo & fideliter, adminiſtrata; & ubicunque agebat donata luce, veneranda Linguæ Græcæ, & Hiſtoriæ* Anglicanæ *monumenta, marmore loquaciora, perenniora, teſtantur. Ob. Apr.* viii. A. S. H. MDCCII. *Ætat. ſuæ.* LXVIII (6).

[*M*] *And*

(3) See above, in the article ALDHELM.

(4) See above, in the article ALCUINUS.

(5) Br. Willis, ubi ſupra.

(6) Ibid, p. 71, 72.

baſtian Feſchi, John Rudolf, Wetſtein of Baſil, Henry Wetſtein of Amſterdam, J. G. Grævius, Louis Picques, and eſpecially the renowned Peter Huet biſhop of Avranches (*k*), who had a ſingular reſpect for him, and gave him the higheſt commendations poſſible [*M*]. He had a noble Library of choice and valuable books, and a curious collection of many eſteemed Manuſcripts; which he left to his eldeſt ſon the learned Roger Gale, Eſq; late one of the Commiſſioners of the Exciſe, Treaſurer of the Royal Society, and Vice-Preſident of the Antiquarian Society, London, who hath publiſhed ſeveral valuable works [*N*]. His younger ſon, is the ingenious Samuel Gale, Eſq; Treaſurer of the Antiquarian Society. He alſo left a daughter.

(*k*) Collier's Dict. ibid. And Knight, ubi ſupra.

[*M*] *And gave him the higheſt commendations poſſible.*] In theſe words, *Quem utraque dote, & Modeſtiæ & Doctrinæ,——omnibus hominibus, quos quidem noverim, anteferendum puto* (7). i. e. who I think exceeds all men that ever I knew, both for modeſty and learning.

(7) Commentar. de rebus ad eum pertinentibus, l. v. p. 315. edit. Amſt. 1717.

[*N*] *Who hath publiſhed ſeveral valuable works.*] Namely, 1. *Regiſtrum Honoris de Richmond.* i. e. A Regiſter of the Lands, Manors, and Towns belonging to the Honor of Richmond in Yorkſhire. Lond. 1722. fol. Printed from the original ſurvey, taken in Henry the IVth's reign, and preſerved in the Cottonian Library. 2. *An Eſſay towards the Recovery of the Courſes of the four great Roman ways* in Britain. And a letter to Thomas Hearne occaſioned by that Eſſay, &c. Printed in the ſixth volume of Leland's Itinerary. 3. A diſcourſe in the Philoſophical Tranſactions N°. 357. p. 823. occaſioned by a Roman inſcription found at Lancheſter in 1715.

His brother *Samuel* hath alſo publiſhed, *The Hiſtory and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Wincheſter*, begun by Henry Earl of Clarendon, and continued to the year, 1715. Lond. 1715. 8vo. C

GALE (Dr John), a learned Divine, an eminent Preacher, and the moſt applauded Champion of the Engliſh Anabaptiſts (as they are called) in the XVIIIth century. He was born May the twenty-ſixth 1680, at London, his father being a worthy and well eſteemed citizen, one who had great natural abilities, and a very high reputation for integrity (*a*). The natural gravity, and unuſual compoſure, of his ſon's temper thro' the courſe of his childhood, induced him to ſpare no pains or expence in his education, as having an early view to thoſe labours for the inſtruction of mankind, which were to be the principal buſineſs of his riper years (*b*). He correſponded preciſely with his father's intentions thro' his primary ſtudies, which were his ſole occupation, as well at thoſe hours when his ſchool-fellows were employed in amuſements ſuitable to their age, as when, according to the ordinary courſe of education, a ſtrict attention was expected from him (*c*). By this indefatigable purſuit of learning, he ſoon outſtripp'd thoſe of his ſtanding, and qualified himſelf for more important inquiries than thoſe which relate to grammar and languages. The good old man, deſirous of giving all imaginable advantages to ſo great a genius, and ſo uncommon an application to literature, ſent him over to Leyden, in order to finiſh perfectly what he had ſo happily begun (*d*). He was there engaged in the moſt ſerious enquiries; when at the age of ſeventeen, he received the unexpected, as well as unwelcome, news of his mother's death, whom he had many other reaſons to regret beſides thoſe of tenderneſs and affection ſpringing from ſo near a relation (*e*). He well expreſſed the motives to his own conſtancy, in a letter of conſolation he wrote his afflicted father on that melancholy occaſion. Yet he was well apprized, that this breach in the family would make his return to England neceſſary, earlier than otherwiſe it would have been, which made him very induſtrious in improving all the time which he ſtill had to ſtay; and in this he was not only ſo diligent, but ſo ſucceſsful, that, in the ſpace of two years, a ſhort time indeed for ſo great a work! he conquered all the difficulties of his favourite ſtudy, and, with univerſal applauſe, received, when little more than nineteen years old, the academical degrees of Maſter of Arts, and Doctor in Philoſophy (*f*) [*A*]. In attaining theſe honours, at a time of life when moſt others begin only to aſpire to them, he not only raiſed his own reputation very high, but reflected glory on his country; the rather becauſe at his coming to that ſeat of the Muſes, he was completely maſter of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, which, beſides being unuſual in a youth of ſixteen, muſt have greatly facilitated his other ſtudies (*g*), and contributed thereby to ſo ſurprizing a progreſs as that before mentioned.

Surprizing

(*a*) Account of the Life of Dr John Gale, which is prefixed to the firſt of the four Volumes of his Sermons, p. 3.

(*b*) Funeral Sermon on Dr John Gale, by Joſ. Borroughs.

(*c*) Life of Dr Gale, p. 4.

(*d*) Borroughs's funeral ſermon, p. 25.

(*e*) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 4.

(*f*) Bibliotheque Choiſie, Tom. XVIII. p. 392.

(*g*) Oratio Burcheri de Volder de novis et antiquis, p. 40.

[*A*] *Of Maſter of Arts and Doctor in Philoſophy.*] To be ſatisfied that there is no exaggeration in what we have advanced in the text, the reader need only caſt an eye on what his Profeſſor teſtified to his father upon this ſubject, and which is much ſtronger than any thing in our account, and yet conſidering the reputation of the perſon ſubſcribing it, no doubt need be conceived of its veracity. 'It has happened to no 'body ſays he, that I know of, to gain ſuch a know'ledge of things, which are to be traced out by na'tural reaſon within the ſpace of fifteen months and 'no more, which is all the time your ſon has applied 'himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of Philoſophy, and that 'before the expiration of the nineteenth year of his 'age, as to be judged worthy to be adorned with the 'higheſt honours in a ſolemn ceremony. God grant 'he may go on in the ſame pace he has begun, and 'continue the ſame aſſiduity and diligence to the end, 'that ſo he may become a moſt fit inſtrument to ad'vance the glory of the name of the Lord, the fur'thering his own ſalvation, and the publick good of 'his neighbours.'

Sign'd

Wolferdus Senguerdius.

Upon this occaſion when he publiſhed his Theſis, *De ente ejuſque conceptu*, dedicated to his father and his two uncles, Sir John and Sir Joſeph Wolf, the fa-

Surprizing, one has a right to call it, ſince it appeared ſuch even in the eyes of the beſt judges, as is manifeſted not only from the pieces preſerved in the former note, but from the moſt eloquent oration pronounced by the learned Volder, expreſsly upon this occaſion, July the third 1699, and publiſhed after his death by the celebrated Profeſſor Boerhaave (*b*), of which a few periods will be found at the bottom of the page [*B*]. After he left the Univerſity of Leyden, he made a tour to Amſterdam, which afforded him ſeveral opportunities of viſiting the famous Mr John le Clerc, with whom he then fix'd a correſpondence, and of whoſe character we find him, in his writings, a very zealous as well as very able defender (*i*). Upon his return to his native country, he purſued, with the ſame vivacity and diligence as at School or the Univerſity, the acquiſition of all uſeful knowledge in regard to the concerns of this life, and with ſtill more attention and vigilance that ſacred ſcience which affords the means of obtaining a ſure title to a better. With a view to this, he perfected his ſkill in the oriental languages; and, having carefully ſought all the previous helps neceſſary to the thorough underſtanding of them, began, with moſt ſerious application, to ſtudy aſſiduouſly the ſacred Scriptures in their originals, and to conſider what lights might be obtained towards reaching their true ſenſe, not only from commentaries, but antient verſions (*k*). When he had been in England, or at leaſt from that ſeat of

(*b*) Bibliotheque Choiſie, Tom. XVIII. p. 390.

(*i*) See this Point explained in Note [*D*].

(*k*) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 8, 9.

mous Adrian Reland (1) ſubjoined a noble teſtimony of his worth, in a Latin panegyric which ends thus, alluding to the Carteſians whom he had always oppoſed.

Vince tuos hoſtes, & murus aheneus eſto,
  Ut referat laudes Anglica terra tuas.
Summè ens perfectum cœptis magis annuat iſtis,
  Ut ſæcli noſtri lucida ſtella fores.

O'ercome thy foes, and riſe ſupremely great,
That bearing thee, thy country may elate.
So theſe beginnings the great Being bleſs,
That thee their ſtar, the preſent age confeſs,
Nor ſhall poſterity conclude thee leſs.

[*B*] *At the bottom of the page.*] It will certainly be ſome entertainment to the reader, and can ſcarce be conſidered as a digreſſion from our ſubject, if in this note we give ſome account of Mr de Volder, whoſe harangue does our author ſo much honour; he was Profeſſor of Philoſophy and Mathematics in the Univerſity of Leyden, and had therefore the faireſt opportunity of knowing Mr Gale thoroughly, which adds not a little credit to what he ſays. This learned man was brought up, and in his youth embraced the ſect of the *Mennonites*, or *Minniſts*, or as they are with greater propriety called *Baptiſts*, but before he entred upon the functions of his Profeſſorſhip, he became a member of the reformed Church in Holland. He was a zealous Carteſian, and had high notions as a Republican, which being maliciouſly repreſented to King William then Prince of Orange, he ſuperſeded his own nomination of this gentleman to be Rector of the Univerſity, the very night before it was to have taken place. But in 1697, which was eleven years afterwards, his Majeſty of his own accord conferred upon him that honour (2). In 1699, he preſided in that publick Act, in which our young Student had his degrees conferred upon him, and in his oration he ſhews how unreaſonable it is to oppoſe notions, merely upon account of their novelty, and from thence he takes occaſion to make it appear, that it is highly imprudent for Princes or States to interfere at all about ſpeculative opinions, by encouraging one ſide or depreſſing the other; he remarks, that truth and falſehood are not at all ſubject to authority, and that where a Government leaves an entire freedom to Theologians and Philoſophers in their debates, it is impoſſible it ſhould be hurt by them; whereas by a contrary conduct, factions are excited that frequently become dangerous, whereas when there is no ſuch interpoſition, how loud or how warm ſoever thoſe diſputes may be for a time, *truth* is ſure to prevail at laſt. This is the general ſcope of his diſcourſe, and from the facts before related, the reader will ſee the true motive to it. The whole oration in Latin is very judiciouſly prefixed to the poſthumous works of our author, and very well deſerves reading, but for what more particularly concerns him, who is the ſubject of our diſcourſe, it follows tranſlated with the form of creation, (which is curious) as ſpoken in Latin (3). ' If that be new, ſaid ' he, which has not been done for many years, which no ' one of the Profeſſors in this Univerſity hath ſeen in ' his time, then 'tis new to declare a Doctor of Phi-' loſophy from this place, tho' if you conſider the ce-' remonies with which this ſolemnity is performed it ' appears antient. But I wiſh the noble and very lau-' dable deſign of this candidate in proſecuting his ſtu-' dies was a thing cuſtomary, who after he had ap-' plied his mind to them, thought it his buſineſs, not ' according to the new, but very bad, method to reſt ' ſatisfied with a ſlight and ſuperficial knowledge of ' the liberal arts, but to look into their inmoſt re-' ceſſes, and to acquaint himſelf with what lay moſt ' concealed in thoſe of them which he converſed with. ' Wherefore in the firſt place, with great labour he ' gained the knowledge of the tongues, that he might ' afterward with more eaſe and advantage apply him-' ſelf to the ſciences themſelves. For this purpoſe he ' not only carefully ſtudied the Latin Tongue, but ' what in this age is very rare and unuſual the Greek ' and Hebrew. I ſay nothing of the Latin in which ' he has often ſpoke publickly at London, that famous ' city, for you have heard with what elegance, pro-' priety, and force of perſuaſion, he commended the ' ſtudy of wiſdom. But I can by no means omit to ' obſerve, that he ſo applied himſelf to the Greek ' Language, as not only to underſtand it, but be able ' to declaim in it publickly. To theſe he added like-' wiſe the Hebrew, thinking the knowledge of the ' Greek inſufficient without this, and that he muſt ' depend upon the credit of others for the interpre-' tation of the ſacred writings. Furniſhed with theſe ' helps he entered upon the ſtudy of Philoſophy be-' ing induced to it partly by the pleaſure which ariſes ' from enquiries into things obſcure, and partly by ' the advantage which thoſe ſtudies afford both in life ' and other ſciences, and partly likewiſe as thinking ' it the beſt method to cultivate his mind, and diſpoſe ' it more readily and clearly to diſtinguiſh truth from ' falſehood in every ſubject. And before he had pur-' ſued theſe ſtudies full two years, ſee, I beſeech you, ' what penetration of mind, joined with incredible ' diligence, is capable of performing, he was willing ' to give ſome publick proof of his proficiency in ' them. Nor has he failed in the attempt, for both ' in his private and publick examinations he diſco-' vered ſo acute a genius, and ſuch knowledge of ' things natural, divine, and moral, that, agreeable to ' his great merit, the higheſt honours in Philoſophy ' have been decreed to be conferred on him in a ſo-' lemn manner, and according to antient cuſtom.' *Having ſaid this he added.* ' Quare quod felix fau-' ſtumque ſit tibi, tuiſque honorificum, ex auctoritate ' ampliſſimi Senatus Academici ego te *Johannem* ' *Gale*, Londinenſem Anglum L. A. M. & *Philoſo-' phiæ Doctorem* creo, dico, renuncio: do tibi facul-' tatem Cathedram hanc Doctoralem conſcendendi, & ' ex ea Philoſophiam docendi: confero denique in te ' omnia privilegia, immunitates, quæ L. A. M. & ' Philoſophiæ Doctoribus vel legibus vel moribus de-' bentur.' It was rude therefore in his antagoniſt to uſe ſo coarſe a phraſe as being *dubb'd* a Doctor (4).

(1) Life of Dr John Gale, prefixed to his Sermons, p. 5.

(2) Bibliotheque Choiſie, Tom. XVIII. p. 346—401.

(3) Burcheri de Volder Philoſophi Oratio de Novis et Antiquis, habita, cum virum doctiſſimum Johannem Gale, Lond. Britan. voce Senatus Academici Lugdufio Batavi more majorum pronunciaret A. L. M. et Doctorem Philoſophiæ, tertio Julii. 1699, p. 39.

(4) Wall's Defence of the Hiſt. of Infant Baptiſm.

[*C*] *Than*

of learning, about four years, he was offered by the Univerſity of Leyden (willing to preſerve an intereſt in him) the degree of Doctor in Divinity (*l*), provided he would give his aſſent to the articles eſtabliſhed by the Synod of Dort. But this, tho' highly ſenſible of the honour, he very prudently refuſing, preſerved the freedom of his judgment, tho' at the expence of a title (*m*). It is certain, that, in conferring this degree, the Dutch Univerſity would have loſt no credit, ſince of his age there were few in Europe deſerved it better. For, by this time, he had not only gone through, in the laborious way of a critical examination, both the Old Teſtament and the New, with the moſt celebrated commentaries on both, as well antient as modern; but the moſt eminent amongſt the Fathers, with equal diligence and impartiality, by which he acquired (as his learned writings ſhewed) a thorough acquaintance with, and due regard for, without imbibing an implicit faith in, or a dangerous reliance on, the authority of antiquity (*n*). All this time, his worth was in a great meaſure hid; and there were but a very few, and thoſe of his moſt intimate acquaintance, that knew the real merit of this excellent young man. It was not, however, many years before an occaſion offered which called his very high qualifications into a much more conſpicuous point of view. The Reverend Mr Wall, Vicar of Shoreham in Kent, wrote a celebrated treatiſe, which he intituled, The *Hiſtory* of *Infant Baptiſm*; and for this he not only received, long after, the honour of a Doctor's degree from the Univerſity of Oxford, but alſo the thanks of the Convocation then aſſembled (*o*). A friend of Dr Gale's, a member of the Church of England, and very zealous for the doctrines of the Church, conſidering the reputation of this book, wrote the Doctor a warm letter thereupon, as if it had been abſolutely impoſſible to read the arguments contained therein, without being convinced (*p*). It fell out, however, otherwiſe with Dr Gale; he was not only proof againſt both book and letter, but reſolved to anſwer them, purely to ſatisfy his correſpondent, that reaſon and learning might appear in defence of that cauſe which he thought ſo utterly overthrown by this performance (*q*). Theſe letters, though written in 1705 and 1706, were not publiſhed till 1711, and then at the very earneſt deſire of ſome perſons of diſtinguiſhed abilities, who thought it an injury to the publick that they ſhould remain longer in obſcurity (*r*). Thus, by their own merit, they came abroad into the world, and made their author generally known and reſpected in a very ſhort ſpace (*s*), even by thoſe who did not embrace his ſentiments. Indeed there was ſo much good ſenſe, learning, and moderation, in his diſcourſes, that it was impoſſible they could meet with any other than a favourable reception [C]. But, amongſt the beſt judges of thoſe who were in

(*l*) Ibid.

(*m*) Agreeable to his declarations on other occaſions.

(*n*) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 8, 9.

(*o*) Proceedings in the Convocation, 1705, faithfully repreſented, p. 35.

(*p*) See Advertiſement prefix'd to Dr Gale's Reflections, &c.

(*q*) So Dr Gale himſelf ſays in his firſt Letter.

(*r*) See this explained in note [C].

(*s*) Dr Kinch's funeral Sermon upon Dr John Gale, p. 26.

[C] *Than a favourable reception.*] The beſt way of making the value of this work known within the narrow compaſs of a note, will be by entring into a ſuccinct analyſis of his learned performance, in which he has ſhewn himſelf equally converſant with books and men, and with polite literature as well as eccleſiaſtical writers. In the *firſt* letter, he obſerves that Mr Wall's hiſtory is not ſo formidable as is pretended, tho' the beſt defence of Infant-Baptiſm which he had ſeen, and that for thoſe reaſons on which Mr Wall himſelf recommends it in his preface. He then tells us, that Mr Wall is not much to be depended on, and that his real aim and deſign, was only to eſtabliſh the Baptiſm of Infants, and that he takes all occaſions to blacken the Anti-Pædobaptiſts, diſguiſing his deſigns with pretences to moderation. That Mr Wall endeavours to poſſeſs his readers with an opinion of his penetration, by ſeveral needleſs digreſſions, and to gain reputation by quarrelling with ſeveral of the greateſt men for learning, &c. as particularly Archbiſhop Tillotſon, Biſhop Burnet, Rigaltius, Gregory Nazianzen, both father and ſon; St Chryſoſtom, Monſieur le Clerc, and Grotius. That he has not acted the part of a faithful Hiſtorian towards the Anti-Pædobaptiſts, but ſeveral times, on no ground at all, takes for granted ſome things, merely becauſe they favour his deſign, and charges the Anti-Pædobaptiſts with whatever he had heard any one among them to have believed or ſaid. In the *ſecond* Letter, Dr Gale endeavours to juſtify his brethren from the charge of ſchiſm; and obſerves, that in order to an union it would be requiſite (5), and 'I think, ſays he, none can except againſt it, 'that ſome fit perſons were choſe on both ſides, to 'examine the Scriptures impartially; and the Fathers 'of the three firſt centuries, who followed their great 'maſter through ſufferings, and whoſe writings are 'undoubtedly by far the beſt commentary on the ſacred books; and, with theſe helps, to collect from 'the Word of God, the true doctrine and diſcipline 'of the primitive Catholic Church. And to what 'ſhould be thus ſincerely deduced, every one ſhould 'reſolve to conform, without reſerve. And, I doubt 'not, if an union were endeavoured on this expedient, it would be accompliſhed much more eaſily 'than is imagined.' In the *third* letter our author remarks, that the diſpute between the Engliſh Pædobaptiſts, and Anti-Pædobaptiſts, may be caſt under two heads, one relating to the mode of baptiſm, whether it is to be adminiſtred only by dipping, and the other, who are the true ſubjects of it, whether adult perſons alone, or infants alſo. He tells us, that ſo far as the ſcriptures are clear, the practice of the Anti-Pædobaptiſts is allowed to be agreeable therewith; and that therefore if they err, they are, however, on the ſafer ſide. He obſerves, that the Greek word for *baptize*, always ſignifies to *dip* only into any manner of a thing, but is more commonly uſed for dipping into liquids, which obſervation he confirms from ſeveral paſſages of ancient writers. In the *fourth* letter he remarks, that the critics conſtantly affirm the proper and genuine ſenſe of βαπτιζω, to be *immergo*; that Mr Wall is conſcious, notwithſtanding his pretence that the opinions of learned men are againſt him; and that whereas that writer appeals to the ſcriptures for the ſenſe of the word, it is evidently never uſed there in his ſenſe, but the contrary. In the *fifth* letter he obſerves, that though it is very unreaſonable to appeal to the Scriptures only, for the ſenſe of a word; yet it is clear from them the Greek word muſt always ſignify to *dip*; that if the word were otherwiſe ever ſo ambiguous, yet, as it relates to baptiſm, it is ſufficiently determined, only and neceſſarily to mean to *dip*, by the doctrine and practice of St John, amongſt the apoſtles, and of the ſucceeding Church for many centuries, which urged a trine immerſion. He affirms likewiſe, that the ancient Church of the three firſt centuries did not practice affuſion; that all who baptized in the times of the apoſtles, were baptized by immerſion; that clinical affuſions do not appear to have been introduced, till about two hundred and fifty years after Chriſt, at which time their validity was much doubted; and that all allow immerſion to have been inſiſted on anciently, as the only regular way in all common caſes. In the *ſixth* letter, he proceeds to the other chief

(5) Reflections on Wall's Hiſt. of Infant Baptiſm, p. 86, 87.

in the ſame opinion with the Divine who wrote the book he anſwered, ſome thought themſelves obliged to teſtify their eſteem for his candour and abilities, while others went a little further,

chief article in diſpute, between the Anti-Pædobaptiſts and their antagoniſts, relating to the perſons who are the true ſubjects of baptiſm, whether adult perſons alone, or infants alſo. He obſerves, that Mr Wall's attempt, though the beſt in it's kind, falls very ſhort of anſwering the deſign of it; and that this writer allows it cannot be made appear from Scripture that infants are to be baptized, and therefore recurs to theſe as the only expedients. 1. To the practice of the Jewiſh Church. 2. To the practice of the antient Chriſtians. Dr Gale remarks upon this, that from Mr Wall's conceſſion, that it cannot be proved from Scripture, it unavoidably follows, that it is no inſtitution of Chriſt, and that to ſuppoſe it may be included in ſome of the more general expreſſions, is only to beg the point in diſpute; and that unleſs Mr Wall can ſhew that Infant-Baptiſm is ſo much as mentioned in Scripture, the Anti-Pædobaptiſts will not believe it inſtituted there. He obſerves likewiſe, that the Baptiſm of Infants is unlawful, if Chriſt has not inſtituted it, that true Proteſtants ſhould adhere to the Scripture as the only infallible guide in all religious controverſies, and that the ſilence of the Scripture is a good argument againſt Infant-Baptiſm. In the *ſeventh* letter, he ſhews from Matt. xxviii. 19. that the Scripture does not leave Infant-Baptiſm ſo undetermined as ſome would pretend, and that the commiſſion neceſſarily obliges to teach all whom it intends ſhould be baptized, and that therefore infants cannot be included in that commiſſion, and he aſſerts that the verb *μαθητεύειν* is conſtantly uſed to ſignify nothing leſs than to *teach*. In the *eighth* letter, he remarks that the ſubſtantive *μαθητης* is only ſaid of ſuch as are at leaſt capable of being *taught*, and that the moſt judicious have always agreed, that the word in the commiſſion particularly ſignifies to teach and inſtruct; and that this appears evidently to be the true ſenſe of the place from the authority of the Scriptures themſelves, from the practice of the Apoſtles, and from parallel places. The ſum of the Doctor's reaſoning on this head is this, that the commiſſion obliges to *teach* all that are to be *baptized*, and therefore that the Scriptures are not ſo ſilent concerning the baptizing of Infants as the Pædobaptiſts would perſuade us, ſo that if Mr Wall ſhould prove the Jews and Chriſtians did baptize their children, the Anti-Pædobaptiſts have ſtill reaſon enough not to admit the practice. In the *ninth* letter, he obſerves that Mr Wall's aſſertions, *that the* Jews *did initiate their* Proſelytes, *and their infants by* Baptiſm, *and that the* Apoſtles *and* Primitive Church *baptized the* Infants *of believing parents*, are *miſtakes*, and that the arguments brought to prove theſe two points are no better. Dr Gale examines firſt Mr Wall's pretences from the Jews in this and the following letter, in which he endeavours to ſhew, from many conſiderations, that the arguments of the Pædobaptiſts do not make it appear to have been the cuſtom of the Jews in our Saviour's time to baptize Proſelytes and their children, and urges ſeveral arguments to evince the contrary. He remarks likewiſe, that even ſuppoſing the fact could be demonſtrated, it is no rule in the adminiſtration of a Chriſtian Sacrament, as being only the tradition of their elders, and not grounded on Scripture or derived from Moſes. In the *eleventh* letter, Dr Gale proceeds to the other kind of evidence produced by Mr Wall, viz. the authority of the Primitive Fathers, which the Doctor obſerves ought to be valued more than Monſieur Daillé and ſome others ſuppoſe (6). 'It is an ill return, ſays he, for the great leſſons and examples of piety they have given us, and for their having been ſo inſtrumental in tranſmitting to us the knowledge of our moſt holy religion. And there is yet a greater evil attends this method, for all the abuſes and affronts put upon the Fathers of the firſt centuries, do in the end reflect on Chriſtianity itſelf which thoſe great men have handed down, and which therefore muſt needs be in ſome degree of but doubtful authority, if it depends upon ſufficient teſtimony. It would not be difficult to defend the writings of the Fathers from the reproaches caſt on them by theſe men, and by Daillé, their oracle, notwithſtanding he has taken ſuch pains in the matter, and puſhed it with all the vigour he could. But it is a nice ſubject, and much too copious to be treated here at large. I ſhall therefore only ſay, that in many caſes the rejecting the authority of the Fathers is a very wild extreme, which men are driven to, only becauſe they have nothing better to ſay for themſelves, and cannot brook to ſee their opinions contradicted in their writings. That the Fathers of the firſt Churches were honeſt faithful men, and every way capable to acquaint us with the true poſture of affairs in their own Churches and times, and therefore are to be depended on, as far as they relate facts within their proper cogniſance, muſt be allowed on all hands, and I don't ſee how their greateſt enemies can have the face to deny this.' The Doctor then obſerves, that Mr Wall's argument from the Fathers turns upon a ſuppoſition which cannot eaſily be granted him, viz. *That the* Primitive Church *believed and practiſed nothing but what they had received from the* Apoſtles *themſelves*. But Dr Gale tells us, that without any reflection on the honour and fidelity of the Fathers, their teſtimonies cannot ſupport Infant Baptiſm, tho' they ſhould afford Mr Wall ever ſo many and full citations, 'for if the Fathers only prove Fact in the Church and not Right, and the Church was not wholly pure from innovations, how does this prove the Baptiſm of Infants was no innovation, but an inſtitution of Chriſt? And yet this is the thing our author ſhould have done, tho' he takes no notice of it. It is irkſome to remember the inſtances of human frailty which even the moſt antient Church was liable to. They were men ſubject to like paſſions with us, and therefore no wonder they were ſometimes in the wrong, and their zeal for God's honour was not always according to knowledge, which, tho' it might keep them from loſing the chief thing our Lord had commanded, might however expoſe them to the inconveniency of ſuperadding ſeveral things he never authorized. The Apoſtles undoubtedly kept cloſe to his directions in all things without deviation, either in defect or exceſs, for they had the immediate aſſiſtance in a moſt extraordinary manner of the Spirit of God (7).' But that the Chriſtians of the very next age made ſeveral additions, Tertullian confeſſes in his book *de Corona*. And Euſebius from Hegeſippus (8) notes, 'that the Church continued all the Apoſtles times a pure virgin and undefiled.———But when thoſe holy men were dead——— then errors began to ariſe thro' the miſtakes of other teachers.' Dr Gale then proceeds to diſcuſs the grand queſtion, *whether it can be proved from any of the* authentic pieces *of the* Primitive Fathers, *that the* Church *uſed* Infant-Baptiſm *in thoſe early times?* He conſiders in this and the *twelfth* and *thirteenth* letters, ſuch paſſages as are produced by Mr Wall. He remarks in the *thirteenth*, that in St Cyprian's time, Infant-Baptiſm was practiſed in Africa; and infers from thence, it probably took its riſe there, together with Infant-Communion; that the Africans were generally men of weak underſtandings, that the Greek Church probably had not yet admitted the error, that the practice of Infant-Baptiſm began, as all innovations do, with only ſome little variations in opinion, and then paſſed to as little deviations in practice, and ſo by very ſhort ſteps at length attained, unobſerved, the great reputation it has now indeed for a long time enjoyed; that this was occaſioned in ſome meaſure by a zeal which was not always according to knowledge, and that the earlieſt Pædobaptiſts admitted children to the Lord's Supper on the ſame principles as to Baptiſm. His own words upon this ſubject highly deſerve the reader's notice (9), 'for thus, ſays he, in a caſe moſt exactly parallel, the ſame perſons who introduced the baptizing of infants, were equally for admitting them, immediately after that, to the other Sacrament likewiſe, and that upon juſt ſuch another miſtake of our Saviour's words too, for as they inferred the neceſſity of Baptiſm from John iii. 5. ſo they did alſo that of the Euchariſt from John vi. 53.

'Thus

(6) Ibid, p. 395, 396.

(7) Rigaltius in Cyprian. Epiſt. 64. p. 2796.

(8) Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iii. c. 32.

(9) Reflections on Wall's Hiſt. of Infant-Baptiſm, p. 546.

further, and confeſſed they were moved by his arguments, and that they had never received ſo much ſatisfaction before as to this point, tho' they had been long converſant even in the moſt arduous diſputes in Divinity, and the writings of the very ableſt maſters in controverſy (*t*). Such, again, as did not eſteem it neceſſary to make any declaration as to the point in queſtion, ſhewed equal regard for his learning and modeſty (*u*), for that ſtrength and dignity which appeared in his manner of reaſoning, and that ſpirit of candour and decency, which ſo happily diſtinguiſhed his writings (*w*). Above all, they ſet an high value upon his charity, and that inclination he diſcovered that things ſhould be calmly examined by the infallible ſtandard of the Holy Scriptures, taking their true ſenſe from the commentaries of genuine antiquity, in order to a thorough reconciliation of all ſincere Chriſtians upon a ſtable baſis (*x*) [*D*]. In the management of this diſpute, he took a proper opportunity to vindicate his friend Mr John le Clerc, from ſome imputations thrown on him by Mr Wall, or rather which he had taken upon truſt from others. One ſees in this, how much our author adhered to his own rule, that ſincerity was a thing never to be diſpenſed with. He had converſed with Mr le Clerc, but could have hardly ſtudied under him as his pupil; for after he quitted Leyden, he applied himſelf to the celebrated Limborch, one of the moſt learned and moderate of their Divines, and the ſcholar then in greateſt eſteem amongſt the Dutch (*y*). Yet, for the ſake of this acquaintance, and a perſuaſion that the attack on le Clerc was ill founded, and calculated to do him hurt here, he very generouſly engaged in his behalf, and very fully refuted whatever in his heat his opponent had charged upon him as impious, as well as heretical. This was certainly due to truth and friendſhip, but, without all queſtion, many would not have been ſo ready to diſcharge the debt. The point too as to which this defence is made, was not a little difficult; and, in ſpeaking to it, the Doctor's own notions would neceſſarily appear: He was no way moved by this conſideration, but has very fairly and juſtly ſtated the imputation, or rather inſinuation, which he overturns from that learned man's writings [*E*]; and then ſpeaks as frankly

(*t*) See the Quotations from Dr Whitby and Mr Whiſton, in note [*C*].

(*u*) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 10, 11.

(*w*) Borroughs's Funeral Sermon, p. 26.

(*x*) Reflections on Mr Wall's Hiſt. of Infant-Baptiſm, p. 12.

(*y*) Memoirs des Hommes illuſtres, par P. Niceron, Tom. XI.

'Thus St Auſtin from theſe very texts at the ſame time argues for baptizing and communicating infants. And this cuſtom of communicating infants accompanied the baptizing them, even from the firſt riſe of Pædobaptiſm for ſeveral hundred years together, as in the Greek Church it does to this day, all which is ſo true and manifeſt as to be pretty generally acknowledged. Dr Taylor (10) ſomewhat largely proves it, and frequently ſays, the one is altogether as well grounded as the other, and indeed earneſtly pleads for the continuance of both.'

[*D*] *Of all ſincere Chriſtians upon a ſtable baſis.*] There is ſomething ſo attractive in a modeſt and learned ſearch after truth, through the obſcureſt paths of antiquity, that ſuch as take different roads in that ſearch, naturally wiſh each other well, and ſpeak kindly of their common labours. Thus the learned Dr Wotton, though he writes expreſly againſt our author, in relation to the Jewiſh Talmud (11), ſays thus much of him. 'He ſeems to be well acquainted with thoſe books, and is a writer ſo well verſed in the arts of perſuaſion; and his way of writing is generally ſo very winning, that when I had undertaken to treat of the true authority of this moſt ancient text of Jewiſh traditions to us Chriſtians, I ſhould have been wanting to my ſubject, if I had not taken notice of what he had ſaid upon theſe matters.' The famous Dr Whitby (12), who made no ſcruple of thinking freely, and of ſpeaking as freely what he thought, ſays, that Dr Gale's very learned letters prove it to be doubtful and uncertain, whether that practice did conſtantly obtain. Mr Whiſton (13), in a little treatiſe of his, very fairly acknowledges that the firſt light he received in reference to the primitive mode of baptizing, was from Dr Gale's obſervations upon the paſſage of Iræneus, which laid the foundation of what he wrote upon that ſubject. This account he has very much enlarged in a late work of his, in which he ſays (14), 'this moſt important diſcovery I ſoon communicated to the world in this paper, which both Biſhop Hoadley and Dr Clarke greatly approved, but ſtill went on in the ordinary practice notwithſtanding. I ſent this paper alſo by an intimate friend, Mr Haines, to Sir Iſaac Newton, and deſired to know his opinion: The anſwer returned was this, that they both had diſcovered the ſame before: Nay, I afterward found, that Sir Iſaac Newton was ſo hearty for the Baptiſts, as well as for the Euſebians, or Arians, that he ſome times ſuſpected theſe two were the two witneſſes in the Revelations.' In ſeveral other places of that work, where Mr Whiſton takes occaſion to mention our author, he never fails to do it with the higheſt marks of eſteem and reſpect, and makes no ſcruple of pronouncing him *the moſt learned* amongſt the Baptiſts, though it will fully appear from the ſucceeding note, that Dr Gale was not at all of the ſame ſentiments with him, in reſpect to ſome very material points; and therefore, this character of his, is the more to be admired, as it is the leſs to be ſuſpected. Sir Peter King, ſucceſſively Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, High Chancellor of Great Britain, and Lord King of Ockham, had a very high opinion of Dr Gale, who was alſo honoured with the friendſhip of Dr Hoadley, in his time Biſhop of Saliſbury, and now of Wincheſter, and of Dr Samuel Bradford, late Biſhop of Rocheſter, who declared in writing his eſteem of our author, on account of his good underſtanding, great learning, candour, and largeneſs of mind (15). Theſe were truly ſuch qualities as merited general eſteem, and ought to preſerve univerſal reſpect to his memory, as in his life-time they attracted from wiſe and good men of all denominations, a ſincere regard and veneration for his abilities, and the uſe he made of them, in labouring to promote the fundamental principles of the Goſpel, and that ſpirit of extenſive charity, which is the peculiar ornament of the Chriſtian religion.

[*E*] *From that learned man's writings.*] It is in his firſt letter upon Dr Wall's Hiſtory of Infant-Baptiſm, that he inſerts this vindication of Mr le Clerc, which he thought the more neceſſary, becauſe his opponent was not the only learned man who had attacked, and as, the Doctor conceived, miſrepreſented this gentleman's opinions, which therefore he thought requiſite to ſet in a true light. 'You may obſerve (16), ſays he to his correſpondent, he, that is Dr Wall, is very angry with Mr Le Clerc, chiefly on theſe two accounts: Becauſe he endeavours, with ſo foul a mouth, to vilify the Fathers and their writings; and the other is, his ſuſpected Heterodoxy concerning the Bleſſed Trinity, and particularly the Deity of Chriſt. This is the common objection of all Mr Le Clerc's enemies, for which they moſt bitterly exclaim againſt him, though very unjuſtly, and oftentimes, in very bad language too. But it ought to be conſidered, whether a different ſentiment, or ſuſpending the judgment in ſo abſtruſe a point, is a ſufficient warrant to diſpenſe with the rules of charity and forbearance, which the great incarnate God ſo repeatedly enjoins, and has made the diſcriminating badge of his diſciples. 'Tis dreadfully ſevere to damn men, becauſe they can't find out the Almighty to

(10) Worthy Communicant, ii. §. 2.

(11) Miſcellaneous Diſcourſes, Vol. I. ch. viii.

(12) Diſſertat. de S.Scripturæ Interpretatione, Præfat. §. 5.

(13) Infant Baptiſm improved.

(14) Whiſton's Memoirs of his own Life, p. 205, 206.

(15) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 10, 11.

(16) Reflections on Mr Wall's Hiſt. of Infant-Baptiſm, p. 32, 33.

frankly his own ſenſe of things, the very mention of which, by a very little addreſs, might have been wholly left out of this diſpute (z). He was little more than twenty-ſeven years of age when he finiſhed this work, which ſhewed not only ſtrong parts and great judgment, but alſo moſt extenſive reading. Yet the reputation acquired thereby, did not haſten him in his deſign of publick and ſtated preaching, which he would not undertake till himſelf judged every obſtacle removed, and that he was in all reſpects qualified to diſcharge his truſt duly, and with ſucceſs (a). Upwards of ſeven years elapſed before this happened, and he who had merited and received a Doctor's degree at nineteen, declined a like degree in Divinity at twenty-three; and, before he attained the age of thirty, acquired the moſt eſtabliſhed character for learning and a ſound underſtanding, would not adventure on the great charge of conſtantly exhorting and inſtructing from the pulpit, till he was in the thirty-fifth year of his age (b). He was then choſen one of the miniſters of the Baptiſt's congregation, in Paul's-alley near Barbican (c); and his ſermons being chiefly calculated to promote the amendment of his hearers lives, and to preſs on Chriſtians the great duty of living up to their profeſſion, he was deſervedly attended to and admired by perſons of all perſuaſions, which occaſioned a prodigious reſort to hear him as often as he entered the pulpit (d) [F]. He was Chairman of a ſociety for promoting primitive Chriſtianity,

(z) Reflections on Mr Wall's Hiſt. of Infant-Baptiſm, p. 31.

(a) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 11.

(b) Borroughs's Funeral Sermon, p. 27.

(c) Plain Dealer, Vol. I. No. 52.

(d) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 18.

'perfection; for who then can be ſaved? But thanks be to God, the ſcriptures give us better hopes, and at the ſame time aſſure us, their condition is much the more dangerous, who ſo freely preſume to judge their brethren: *For thou art inexcuſable, O man,* ſays St Paul, Rom. xi. 1. *whoſoever thou art that judgeſt.* Beſides ſuch men, in effect, do nothing leſs than oppoſe themſelves to the merciful deſigns of our great Redeemer, and ſtrive to fruſtrate his kind endeavour, to make us like himſelf, while he would teach us thoſe admirable virtues of meekneſs, love, and good will, &c. And though he has been pleaſed to take ſo much more care to fix us right in the practice of theſe things, than in the ſpeculations which diſturb us; yet, an exact conformity in theſe weighty matters, which our Lord himſelf lays ſo much ſtreſs on, as ſpotleſs converſation, a pious life in all godlineſs and honeſty, are not protection powerful enough to ſecure men from the inſults of theſe furioſo's, as if they thought all moral virtues were nothing, without being right in the notion of the Trinity; and that this one ſpeculation might compenſate for the want of all other good qualities; and I believe, Sir, you may have obſerved with me, that many of theſe fiery zealots are none of the exacteſt men in their lives. But God grant, they may, in time, conſider that moſt charitable warning, our gracious Lord has given them, of their danger beforehand, aſſuring them, *Not every one that ſays unto him Lord! Lord!* and in words only acknowledges his mighty power and attributes, *ſhall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven; but he only that does the will of his Father which is in Heaven.* But what conſiderably aggravates the crime in the preſent caſe is, that the charge is utterly falſe; and 'tis ſtrange, perſons that pretend to juſtice and honour, ſhould exclaim againſt Mr Le Clerc, on ſuch ſlender grounds, who muſt be acknowledged a man of great piety and learning. For the ſubſtance of all they urge, with any manner of probability, is, that his interpretations of ſeveral portions of ſcripture, deſtroy the fine gloſſes others have built upon them; and that he has gone about to ſhew, that the Fathers did not altogether underſtand this myſtery in the preſent orthodox ſenſe. Hence ſome angry men proceed to accuſe him of Socinianiſm; ſome, for they are not agreed of Arianiſm, and others again of Photinianiſm; but they all join to reproach him, though for no reaſon, as I can diſcover, but his refuſing to ſtrain any text, which he believes in his conſcience is not to the purpoſe, as men of no mean figure have done. A method which he rightly thinks only ſerves to expoſe the cauſe they pretend to vindicate. By the way, Sir, I would not be thought to juſtify all his expoſitions, ſome of them I receive, and thank him for, but not all; and I know Mr Le Clerc will not be offended at my diſſenting. The queſtion is not whether his interpretations are juſt or not, he thinks they are, and has a right therefore to propoſe them, without being ſtunned with ſuch hideous outcries of Socinianiſm, &c. eſpecially, ſince in ſeveral parts of his works he has cleared himſelf to the ſatisfaction of any impartial readers.' He then proceeds to cite ſuch paſſages, as render it very evident that Mr Le Clerc acknowledged the Divinity of Chriſt, as plainly and expreſsly taught in the Holy Scriptures, but was unwilling to make an article of faith, of any human explanation of that myſtery, which our Lord had left to exerciſe our faith, and not our reaſon.

[F] *As often as he entered the pulpit.*] The great figure this learned perſon made in his life-time, in quality of a teacher of divine truths, and the general eſteem the diſcourſes he left behind him, and which have been ſince publiſhed, are in, at this day, render it abſolutely neceſſary, that we ſhould ſet his character in this reſpect, in a clear and full light. One who had an intimate acquaintance with him for fourteen years, treats this ſubject of his preaching in the following terms (17). 'Thus mature in knowledge, and prepared for his Maſter's ſervice, he began ſtatedly to preach about the thirty-fifth year of his age, poſſeſſed of a heart glowing with humanity, and diſpoſed to ſacrifice every private view to that moſt glorious one, of promoting the eternal intereſt of mankind. This pleaſing work he purſued with unwearied diligence and integrity, preaching the word, as the Apoſtle directs, in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon, reproving, rebuking, and exhorting, with all long ſuffering and doctrine, reſolving firmly to regard no man in the diſcharge of his duty. He ſtood too much in awe of his great Maſter, to fear or know any man, or to be ſwayed by any worldly conſiderations. He believed firmly that he muſt render an account of his conduct at the day of Judgment, and wiſely reſolved to act as that he might do it with rejoicing. He was equally qualified, both to teach and perſuade. His ſtile was eaſy and natural, his expreſſions ſtrong and lively, his reaſonings clear and convincing. He had almoſt an irreſiſtible power over the paſſions which he uſed, agreeably to reaſon, and to the nature and importance of the ſubject. Who would not love God, when what may be known of the Supreme Being was deſcribed by him? When he maintained and vindicated human freedom, fate and neceſſity ſeemed to vaniſh before him. How gloomy does he make the vale of death appear, and how glorious the reſurrection from that ſtate of darkneſs, and the re-uniting for ever the immortal ſpirit, to the unchangeable body! how awful does he draw the laſt tribunal, when the Son of God, arrayed with the glory of his Father, ſhall come to render to every man, according to his works.' Dr John Kinch, who was alſo well acquainted with him, gives us the following pathetic account of his labours (18). 'But what rendered him moſt valuable was, that his mind was well ſtored with heavenly gifts and graces, ſo that as a ſcribe, well inſtructed in the law, he brought forth of his treaſures, things new and old. Furniſhed to every good work, he was prevailed on to engage in the Miniſtry, in the diſcharge of which office, he ſtudied to ſhew himſelf approved to God, a workman that needed not to be aſhamed, rightly dividing the word of truth, and giving to all a portion in due ſeaſon. In his preaching, though he highly

(17) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 11, 12.

(18) Funeral Sermon, p. 26.

ſtianity, from July the third 1715, to the tenth of February following. This ſociety met weekly at Mr Whiſton's houſe in Croſs-ſtreet Hatton-Garden, in order ſeriouſly and amicably to conſider and examine the moſt antient writers of the Chriſtian Church, to determine which of the pieces attributed to them were, and which were not genuine, that from thence the doctrines and diſcipline of the Church, in the ages next to the Apoſtles, might be clearly and certainly underſtood and embraced (e). This, as we have already ſeen, was entirely, was exactly, conformable to the Doctor's views, who was not paſſionate againſt any Church, or obſtinate in any opinions; but ſincerely deſirous of being, in faith and practice, a true Chriſtian, without regard to any other diſtinction. It is alſo acknowledged by Mr Whiſton, that none of that aſſembly ſhewed a more ſteady, warm, and conſcientious diſpoſition, in this reſpect, than he did; or diſcovered more willingneſs to contribute to the utmoſt of his power, to extinguiſh all diſputes amongſt Chriſtians (f) [G]. He remained however, at all times, firm to his firſt principles of religious liberty, which he conceived eſſentially neceſſary to the peace of the Church; and therefore, in the year 1719, when a great Synod was held amongſt the diſſenting Divines, in order to pacify the diſputes raiſed amongſt the people in their ſentiments at Exeter, he was one of the ſeventy-three who ſubſcribed an advice not to impoſe unſcriptural ſubſcriptions, whereas ſixty-nine ſubſcribed a contrary letter on that ſubject. This ſhews he was uniform in his judgment, and of the ſame opinion in an aſſembly of his friends, as in a controverſy againſt one who oppoſed that Chriſtian ſyſtem which he had embraced. At the perſuaſion alſo of Mr Whiſton, he had, in that gentleman's houſe, a conference with his former antagoniſt Dr Wall, which ended as ſuch conferences generally do, without any ſignal or deciſive ſucceſs (g). Indeed Mr Whiſton is very clear, that the advantage was altogether on the ſide of Dr Gale; but having

‘deſerved the praiſe and commendation of his hearers, yet what he ſought, was their profit and advantage. It was pleaſing and agreeable to a polite and ingenious audience, which uſually attended him, and at the ſame time plain and eaſy to perſons of a meaner capacity; ſo that in his diſcourſes, there was inſtruction for the ignorant, and entertainment for the moſt learned and judicious. His deportment in the pulpit was eaſy, yet attended with a ſeriouſneſs and gravity, becoming the ſolemnity of the work in which he was engaged. His method was exact, his ſtile elegant, but unaffected, his reaſoning clear and ſtrong, and his arguments juſt and nervous, which, by his happy managing them, conſtantly diſcovered freſh beauties to his hearers. His voice was clear and melodious, which at once charmed the ear, raiſed and fired the imagination, and could not eaſily fail to gain the affections, and engage a reaſonable mind, not wholly ſunk in ſin, and bound down with vicious habits, to receive the truth in love. He did not ſhun to declare, as far as he could, the whole counſel of God; nor was he afraid to oppoſe thoſe ſentiments he apprehended to be erroneous: though the zeal he ſometimes uſed upon thoſe occaſions, might perhaps induce ſome, unreaſonably fond of their own opinions, to treat his labours with diſreſpect. However, it is apparent from the whole of his conduct, that the earneſtneſs he has at any time ſhown, in contending for what he eſteemed the truth, did not ariſe from the diſaffection of his mind to the perſon of any man, but from the love he bore to ſouls, from his great deſire to reclaim thoſe whom he thought miſtaken, and prevent, to the utmoſt of his power, others from running into the like ſentiments. He ſtrictly adhered to the Scriptures, as the perfect and only rule of his faith and practice, and was a zealous aſſerter and patron of univerſal liberty, where it tended not to licentiouſneſs; a warm oppoſer of all human impoſitions, in matters of religion, and uſed earneſtly to preſs all Chriſtians to ſtand faſt in that liberty, wherewith Chriſt had made them free. He entertained a ſincere and hearty reſpect for all good men, and paid a great regard to his Maſter's new commandment to his diſciples, to love one another. The different apprehenſions between him and other Chriſtians, did not in the leaſt alienate his affections from them. He truly loved all who bore the image of the bleſſed Jeſus. He valued all his fellow-travellers, though they did not walk juſt in his path.’ To theſe teſtimonies, it may not be improper to join that of Mr Joſeph Borroughs (19), ſpeaking to the congregation of Dr Gale, to whom he appealed for the truth of all he ſaid. ‘Of his happy talent in the Miniſtry, when once he was brought ſtatedly to it, you all are witneſſes. Concerning which, I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more particularly by and by. In the mean time, the conſideration that a perſon ſo well furniſhed, was content to ſtruggle with ſo many difficulties as he did, when he might have enjoyed eaſe and plenty; that for the ſake of what he believed to be the truth, and commands of Chriſt, he choſe to miniſter in an unfaſhionable and deſpiſed way, when he might have had both applauſe and riches, in turning his thoughts to ſome other courſes; and that he perſiſted in this choice to the laſt, obliges me to obſerve, that herein he did, like the Apoſtle, fight the good fight, and finiſh his courſe, and keep his fidelity. He imitated him likewiſe, in his zeal, as well as in his integrity and conſtancy. But though he would be very earneſt in defending his own opinion, yet he was far from bearing ill-will to any, for the ſake of their differing from him; and of very large and generous principles, as to the extent of Chriſtian Communion, with regard to any matters merely ſpeculative; and in his converſation in general, he ſhewed a good and agreeable temper.’

[G] *To extinguiſh all diſputes amongſt Chriſtians.*] We have before ſhewn, that our author declared himſelf a lover of peace, and one that was by no means inclined to increaſe thoſe heats, or widen thoſe diviſions, which had been already ſo fatal to Chriſtianity. It was with this view, and in hopes of finding a rule for interpreting Scripture, of greater authority, and more conſiſtent, than private opinion, that induced him to become a member of the ſociety at Mr Whiſton's, which conſiſted of men of very different perſuaſions, united by no other ties, than thoſe of being ſerious and ſincere in their enquiries after truth, as will fully appear, from the firſt and third articles of the rules (20) laid down for the conduct of that ſociety, conceived in the following words. I. That the main, proper, and direct deſign of theſe ſocieties, and their meetings, be the calm, ſerious, and impartial diſcovery of true religion, and genuine Chriſtianity, both as to faith, practice, government, worſhip, and diſcipline, as they were at firſt ſettled by the Apoſtles from Chriſt himſelf; and the conſequent recommendation of it to, and the re-eſtabliſhment of it in, the ſeveral Churches in Chriſtendom, with the propagation of the ſame throughout the world, and in proper and direct oppoſition to all party notions, human determinations, and modern controverſies, among the ſeveral contending bodies.———III. To admit and invite good Chriſtians of all perſuaſions and denominations to theſe ſocieties, to avoid all unhandſome reflections upon any of their perſons and opinions, and to treat them all with that reſpect, tenderneſs, love, and affection, that are due to fellow-members, however different in their ſentiments about leſſer matters.

[H] As

(e) Mr Whiſton's Memoirs of Dr Samuel Clarke, p. 96.

(f) His Memoirs of his own Life, p. 475.

(g) Id. ibid. p. 461.

(19) Funeral Sermon, p. 27.

(20) Whiſton's Memoirs of his own Life.

having himſelf embraced his opinion, perhaps his judgment in this caſe may admit of ſome exception. It is out of all doubt that reverend perſon was far enough from thinking ſo, ſince ſome years afterwards he wrote a reply to Dr Gale's anſwer, which, as we have already hinted, procured him a Doctor's degree from Oxford, which ſhews they conſidered his undertaking as no eaſy taſk (*b*). Notwithſtanding this, Dr Gale was not either ſilenced or diſcouraged, but reſolved to write a rejoinder; yet this, as well as many other important deſigns, were defeated by his death. All that we know concerning it, is from a paſſage in a letter to his father upon the ſubject, in which he does not ſeem to have much doubt of making his party as good againſt the defence, as he had done againſt the hiſtory (*i*) [*H*]. This

[*H*] *As he had done againſt the Hiſtory.*] The deſign of Dr Wall's *defence of his Hiſtory of Infant Baptiſm*, was, in general, to refute whatever had been ſaid againſt it by Dr Gale and others. His motives to it himſelf informs us were theſe (21). 'The book, ſays he, that is, the Hiſtory of Infant-Baptiſm having had more ſaid and publiſhed by ſome for, and by ſome againſt it, than I could have expected, theſe latter who have wrote againſt it, and eſpecially Mr Gale's large book of *Reflections*, ſo he calls them, he might have entitled them *reproaches*, have made it needful, in the opinion of ſome worthy men to whom I owe a deference, for me, even in this my weak and ſuperannuated ſtate, to write ſomething in vindication, partly of the cauſe, and partly of myſelf, ſome people having it ſeems raiſed a report or ſuſpicion, as if I myſelf had altered my opinion about the duty or the antient practice of baptizing infants.' After diſpatching what he has to ſay againſt the reſt of his antagoniſts, in about the ninth part of his book, he enters upon what he has to ſay of our author, in the following manner (22). 'Thoſe that I have hitherto been ſpeaking to have concerned themſelves with my book but briefly and occaſionally. But Mr Gale in 1711, wrote profeſſedly againſt it. And tho' the greateſt part of his book be either of perſonal matters, ſome about my life, temper, actions, &c. not relating to the cauſe; and ſome about my way of writing, when it is too long or too ſhort, or too cenſorious, or catching at here and there a paſſage of my book, which he thought might be repreſented ſo as to put me out of favour with the Anti-Pædobaptiſts, as are his two firſt chapters which he calls my character, or elſe on another ſubject, viz. not the age or time of receiving Baptiſm, but the way of adminiſtring it, with which I had meddled very little, as are his three next, yet he gave to the whole the title of Reflections on my book. And tho' he goes no farther in any methodical way of anſwering than to the introduction, and five firſt chapters of my book, not nigh one tenth part of it, which anſwer begins at his ninth chapter, and he has but thirteen in all, yet it has gone among the men of his party as an anſwer to it. He deals not much with argument which the others have chiefly aimed at, but writes in a way of declaiming and flouriſh, and much addicted to reproaching, taking a pride in ſhewing how eaſily, and how naturally he can expreſs a contempt of his adverſary, or of any reaſon or argument. He writes in a ſtile indeed ſufficiently fluent, and with a good ſtock of philological learning, but does not keep very cloſe to the rules of candour, modeſty, or truth; but delights in vaunting, inſulting, ſlighting, and laying odious and falſe imputations, not on me only, but on the Clergy of England in general, and indeed our whole Church, as that was a time in which ſome people found their advantage by raiſing ſuch ſlanders. His talent in Rhetoric, which is not inconſiderable, he uſes to falſe colouring, and gaining his point, as he calls it, by wreſted repreſentations of things and paſſages. Of his impertinencies, to name but one ſort of them, an unparallel'd inſtance is his picking up ſtories of things ſaid or done by me before he was born, and naming the people, whoſe names one would never have thought to have ſeen in print, nothing, thanks be to God, of which one need be aſhamed. But it is a great ſhame to ſee ſuch impertinent ſtuff brought into a controverſy of religion. Of his untruths, I would before-hand inſtance in one flagrant and manifeſt one, which, as I ſhall ſhew, he has affirmed above twenty times over; his ſaying that I have in my books yielded, and owned that there is no Scripture proof for Infant-Baptiſm, tho' near half his book be ſpent in refuting, as well as he can, thoſe proofs which I brought from Scripture. The province which I had undertaken, was the hiſtory of the times near following, but I did not altogether omit thoſe of Scripture. If I had followed my own inclinations, or the advice of ſome of my friends in drawing up an anſwer to him, I ſhould have made it ſhorter by half than it is, and taken notice only of thoſe few reflections of his, that ſeemed to be of moment to the main point. The tyranny of cuſtom obliges me not only to take more pains than I needed, but the dry work of following him κατὰ πόδας, and anſwering to many things that are impertinent to the cauſe, or of ſmall weight in it: but alſo when I have done it to make an excuſe to any judicious reader why I did it. Such an one will pardon me, if he conſider, that ſome captious and litigious men would otherwiſe have been apt to ſay, that I had paſſed over the material objection. To ſpare the time of thoſe who are choice of it, tho' I had not liberty to ſpare my own, I muſt advertiſe them, that there is hardly any thing in Mr Gale's firſt ſix chapters, or in my anſwer to them that is very material to the point of Infant-Baptiſm. And it will be no great loſs to ſtep over them. A vein of boaſting and magnifying his own performance runs through all his book. With that he continues his work, and with that he ends, and contrary to Horace's rule, who ſays of a vaunting prefacer, *Quid dignum tanto foret hic promiſſor hiatu?* With that he begins. For in an advertiſement prefixed to his book, having taken notice that ſeveral great and worthy men whom he names too, had given a favourable character of my book, he ſays, that he publiſhed theſe his Reflections, to inform the publick, &c.——*and to let thoſe learned gentlemen know, that they had been too haſty in their judgments, and that this hiſtory is not by far what they take it to be.* Is not this youth a likely man, think you, to be able to inform their judgment of any conſiderable thing? I ſet down this as a ſpecimen of the arrogance you are to expect all through the book. In the ſame advertiſement, he ſays, that theſe Reflections, tho' publiſhed in 1711, were written in 1705, and 1706. Suppoſe that. But when he ſaw in 1707, my ſecond edition with ſome alterations, ſhould he not have left out his needleſs remarks on thoſe places of my firſt edition, which I myſelf had altered in the ſecond? He there adds, that he had hoped that a more learned advocate would have been engaged. If Mr Stennet were once deſired or pitched on to anſwer my book, and it was devolved upon this man, it was an unhappy change both for the Anti-Pædobaptiſts and for me. For if he had anſwered at all, he would have ſaid more to the purpoſe, would have uſed a more rational, modeſt, and candid way of ſeeking the truth, and I ſhould have had far more Chriſtian treatment.' In another place, he acquaints us with particularity relating to the Doctor's book, which at once contains both compliment and ſatire (23). 'I will make one obſervation, a better natured one tending to the commendation of him, and of the Anti-Pædobaptiſts of them for their generoſity and being pleaſed, and of him for his abundant juſtice. It is to be noted, that this chapter was publiſhed a good while before the reſt, as a ſpecimen of what the book ſhould be. They ſeemed very well pleaſed, and much taken with it, and encouraged him to go forward. Which was an inſtance of very good nature, ſince it is ſo little to the purpoſe, that if one were to expoſe him among

(*b*) Borroughs's Funeral Sermon, p. 26.

(*i*) Dr Kinch's Funeral Sermon, p. 25.

(21) Defence of the Hiſt. of Infant-Baptiſm, p. 2.

(22) Ibid. p. 53.

(23) Ibid. p. 100, 101.

This, as we juſt now hinted, was not the only great deſign of which he had formed the plan before he quitted this life, and of which the publick was deprived by the lo[illegible] ſo valuable and ſo induſtrious a perſon. He had thoughts of contributing to the ſtudy of the oriental languages, by offering ſome means for facilitating the ſpeedy acquiſition of them; which he knew would have a very great effect in rendering the Scriptures, as well of the New as of the Old Teſtament, thoroughly underſtood, which, without this help, is impoſſible, and is one great ſource of thoſe miſtakes which do ſo much diſcredit to Revealed Religion. Another great and uſeful labour he had propoſed to himſelf, if Providence had lengthened his days, was a tranſlation into Engliſh of the Septuagint, according to the accurate edition publiſhed by Dr Grabe, at Oxford. But what ſeems moſt to have occupied his thoughts, to have been in the faireſt train of execution, and for the loſs of which, in all appearance, the Chriſtian world has moſt cauſe to be concerned, was the ſcheme he had framed of a compleat *Expoſition* of the whole *New Teſtament* from the pulpit, which, whoever impartially reflects on his critical knowledge of the Greek tongue, his ſoundneſs in the fundamental articles of religion, his great ſagacity in judging, his known candour in ſpeaking, and his moderation towards ſuch as differed from him in opinion, muſt allow it to have been a loſs indeed! It is hard to ſay, whether this loſs is ſoftened or irritated, by the plan he left behind him of this important work; but this, as is highly fit, ſhall be left entirely to the reader's judgment, by inſerting that very curious and accurate, though plain and conciſe, piece, in the notes [*I*]. We muſt add to theſe another treatiſe of great expectation,

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‘ among judicious men, one would deſire them to read ‘ this chapter. But he is to be commended for doing ‘ them more than juſtice, and making the goods to be ‘ delivered better than the ſample. For the following ‘ chapters are really ſomething more to the purpoſe, ‘ and of a better ſtrain.’ Yet many diſintereſted perſons who have read our author's book, think there is not a ſtronger chapter in it, and that the firſt part of it particularly contains as much as can poſſibly be ſaid in favour of his opinion. As Dr Wall is very angry with him for being rude in many places in his book, yet in the following paſſage he cenſures him for being civil (24). ‘ He labours, ſays he, to defend ‘ the late Biſhop of Saliſbury's notion, that by *the* ‘ *Kingdom of God* in that text, is meant not *Heaven*, ‘ but the *Church* on *Earth*, and by ſome flattering ‘ elogiums of his Lordſhip's, *unaſwerable arguings*, ‘ &c. ſeems to have aimed at *currying favour*. And ‘ whereas, I had ſaid that all the Antients underſtand ‘ it in this place of the Kingdom of Glory; he ſays, ‘ yet it may not be the true ſenſe if they do. For ‘ the Antients were fallible, &c. It ſeems he could find ‘ no unaſwerable arguments among them, for they ‘ were all dead and had *no places to give*.’ It does not appear that this inſinuation had the leaſt foundation, from the conduct of the perſon to whom it is applied; and the truth of the matter is, that Dr Gale's civility in one place (25), was intended to atone for his cenſure in another; for tho' he does acknowledge that the Biſhop had very well proved, that this expreſſion, generally ſpeaking, refers to the *Kingdom* of *Chriſt*, and not to the *Kingdom* of *Glory*; yet he denies his Lordſhip's concluſion, from the paſſage which he had cited, and maintains, that tho' it does rarely ſignify the *Kingdom* of *Glory*, yet there it muſt be ſo underſtood. If this be currying of favour, it is a ſtrange way of doing it. We come now to the paſſage of our author's letter mentioned in the text, which was conceived in theſe words. ‘ Dr Wall has written a de‘ fence of his Hiſtory of Infant-Baptiſm, in which he ‘ has treated me very roughly, and has endeavoured ‘ to enrage the Clergy, as well as our own people, ‘ againſt me, beſides which there appears not to be ‘ much in his book, however I am preparing an an‘ ſwer, which, &c.’ After all, as they were men, we do no injuſtice to theſe learned perſons in ſaying they had both their failings, or to ſpeak with greater propriety, both had the ſame failing, that of warmth, and ſuffering themſelves to be too much heated in the courſe of the diſpute. But when a proper allowance is made for this, it may be truly ſaid, and indeed tho' in their heat they ſometimes unſay it, yet in ſeveral places they ſay it of each other, that Dr Wall's Hiſtory of Infant-Baptiſm is by much the beſt vindication of the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church that ever appeared; as, on the other hand, Dr Gale's reflections upon that work is the beſt defence of the Baptiſts that was ever publiſhed, and this, tho' it be no more than the truth, is ſaying a great deal for both, ſince the ſubject had been handled by very great men before.

[*I*] *Tho' plain and conciſe piece in the notes.*] Amongſt Dr Gale's papers after his deceaſe, there was found his introduction to this practical expoſition, and therein we have the plan of it ſo clearly, and ſo circumſtantially laid down, that we may from thence form a juſt notion of the nature and importance of his deſign, and of how great value the work itſelf would have been had he lived to finiſh it. This ſhort preface runs thus (26).

‘ I am now about to begin an Expoſition of the New ‘ Teſtament, and deſign, if God in his boundleſs good‘ neſs ſhall give me life and ability, to go thro' the ‘ whole, with as much brevity as the nature of the ‘ thing will conveniently admit. To engage your ‘ moſt diligent attention, and to help your memory, ‘ and thereby render theſe lectures the more uſeful, I ‘ think it may be very proper at preſent to give you ‘ a ſhort model of my deſign, and the method I in‘ tend to take in the proſecution of it. Now my ‘ chief view is not to engage you in any particular ‘ ſet of opinions, or to enſlave your minds to any ‘ man's private interpretation of the Scripture, by ‘ dreſſing them to advantage, and concealing or miſ‘ repreſenting what is ſaid by others; this indeed is ‘ commonly thought warrantable enough, but truth ‘ needs no ſuch artifices, but diſdains to trick men ‘ unwarily into the belief or knowledge of it. Be‘ ſides, ſince we are too ſenſibly convinced, how liable ‘ we are all to error and miſtake, we by this artificial ‘ way deprive ourſelves of the aſſiſtance of other men ‘ for the diſcovery of the truth, and when we are in ‘ an error ourſelves, do all we can to cover others ‘ with the ſame darkneſs, and if our endeavours were ‘ ſucceſsful, we ſhould effectually deprive them of any ‘ poſſibility of being better informed. I am very ſen‘ ſible what poor ſhort-ſighted creatures we are, and ‘ therefore will endeavour not to eſpouſe any parti‘ cular opinion or interpretation, or urge any with ‘ that warmth, which may any way contribute to ‘ blind or obſcure my own mind, or deceive you. ‘ But my whole aim ſhall be to lay before you the ‘ moſt ſacred and awful rule of our faith and practice, ‘ without any partial diſguiſes; and to the utmoſt of ‘ my power aſſiſt you in opening your minds to re‘ ceive and own thoſe great truths, which are able to ‘ make you wiſe unto ſalvation; that you may, upon ‘ a mature and due conſideration of things, judge for ‘ yourſelves with all that juſt liberty and true free‘ dom of thought which ſo well becomes all men, and ‘ is the indiſpenſible duty of every Chriſtian, and upon ‘ which, 'tis the peculiar glory of the Chriſtian reli‘ gion to have ſpread itſelf thro' the whole world. ‘ To build your faith on the ſenſe and authority of ‘ great men, is giving up your ſouls intirely to them, ‘ and to believe in them and not in Chriſt, as pee‘ viſhly and haſtily to paſs judgment or take up an ‘ opinion without hearing, and diligently weighing ‘ what

(24) Ibid. p.238.

(25) Reflections on Mr Wall's Hiſt. of Infant-Baptiſm, p. 410, 411, 433.

(26) Printed from his own Papers in the Life of Dr John Gale.

pectation, which was an Hiſtory of the Notion of Original Sin, in which he hoped to have ex[illegible]ned many deep truths, and to have driven out of the boſoms of reaſonable men, ſeveral rooted and yet dangerous errors (*k*). About the beginning of December 1721, he was attacked by a ſlow languid fever (*l*), of which he died, after an illneſs of about three weeks, on the of the ſame month. He bore his laſt ſickneſs with great conſtancy and patience, expreſſed the utmoſt reſignation to the Divine Will, and, in his laſt moments, teſtified an entire confidence in that almighty and all-wiſe Being in whoſe hands are the iſſues of life and death, and whoſe mercy is over all his works (*m*). He may be ſaid to have died in the flower of his age, being in his forty-ſecond year; and in ſome meaſure unexpectedly, as being of a ſtrong and healthy conſtitution. In his perſon he was rather taller than the common ſize, of an open pleaſant countenance, and of eaſy and affable behaviour. Serious, without any tincture of moroſeneſs; chearful without levity, having a moſt perfect command over his paſſions, inſomuch that one who knew him intimately for many years, aſſures us he never once ſaw him diſcompoſed (*n*); extremely humble, tho' in ſuch high reputation for learning; and particularly careful of giving offence to ſuch as were in low circumſtances, as being ſenſible that nothing makes the mind of man ſo tender as poverty, and that nothing wounds ſo deep as the very ſuſpicion of contempt. As to his character in other reſpects, it may, in a great meaſure, be collected from what has been already ſaid; and, if this ſhall appear deficient, the reader may receive ample ſatisfaction from thoſe pieces that ſhall be preſently mentioned, and in ſome meaſure from the extracts at the bottom of the page [*K*]. He was, as is apparent from a variety of evidence, as uni-

verſally

what others ſay, is ſetting up a very dangerous ignorant idol in your own minds, and paying divine honour and worſhip to the vain deluſion. Beſides, 'tis the higheſt affront and indignity that can be put upon God and Chriſt, to deal ſo careleſly and diſreſpectfully with thoſe holy books, as if we would boldly deſpiſe and trample upon all the ſacred doctrines which the Son of God himſelf came down from heaven to teach us, and that purely for our good. Since then the extremes on both ſides are ſo very dangerous, it highly concerns every private Chriſtian to proceed in affairs of ſuch great moment with the utmoſt caution and calmneſs of mind, with great ſincerity and impartiality, for the Scripture contains ſuch things as are undoubtedly to every one of you matters of the laſt concern. On your conſcientious obedience to this rule your eternal welfare depends, and by this you ſhall be judged. To give you what help I can in this very important buſineſs, I intend to take this as the moſt proper method for your aſſiſtance and inſtruction. I will take in order entire portions of Scripture, which comprehend a full and compleat ſenſe. This I would, if it were proper, read to you in the original language, but that not being convenient, I ſhall read the common verſion and conſider it carefully, comparing it with the parallel places where the ſame thing is handled, the ſame words or phraſes uſed, or any thing which may give light, and ſhall conſult alſo the ſeveral opinions of learned men, with the reaſons on which they build and compare the antient verſions in the learned languages, together with the interpretations of the firſt Chriſtians, and ſuch remarks from the antient Hiſtorians, and ſuch accounts of the Jewiſh and Greek Antiquities, as may give us any light at this diſtance from the time and place wherein the Scriptures were at firſt written. After having thus examined every thing which may ſeem to need examination, from the whole I will endeavour to give a very impartial and unbiaſſed tranſlation and paraphraſe, and herein draw out and make ſome rules and maxims for the conduct of life, in order to faſten all upon your minds, and leave it to your ſerious and diligent conſideration. Before I do this, I ſhall in general prove the truth of the Chriſtian rule. This comprehends, firſt that the books were written by thoſe whoſe names they bear, and ſuch as could not but know, whether what they writ was true or not; ſecondly, they could not deſign to impoſe upon us. And I will ſettle the authority of each book juſt before I enter upon the expoſition of it. It may perhaps be objected by ſome, that in the courſe of theſe lectures there muſt be ſeveral things ſaid not fit for common auditories; but ſince it is neceſſary to render the Scriptures intelligible to all, whatever is neceſſary to this end muſt not be omitted upon this pretence, that theſe things are unfit for common auditories, i. e. not to be eaſily underſtood by common auditories, becauſe people do ſo rarely, if at all, hear them talked of. By treating theſe moſt difficult matters frequently, they will become familiar to all, all things even the moſt neceſſary are ſtrange and diſtaſteful, and hard to underſtand at firſt. In the ſchools men are made acquainted with the moſt difficult matters, by being frequently entertained with them, and having them repeated over and over again. And this is deſtroying and cutting up by the very roots, hereſy and ſchiſm, atheiſm, irreligion and profaneneſs, and all error and miſtake, as far as it can be hoped for in this imperfect ſtate of men; for 'tis reſerved for the life to come to be perfect, when all error and miſtake ſhall be done away for ever.'

[*K*] *At the bottom of the page.*] The author of that ſhort account of his life prefixed to the Sermons publiſhed after his deceaſe, among other remarkable paſſages has theſe (27). 'The grand principle which he endeavoured to root the deepeſt, and cultivate with the greateſt care, in his own mind, as well as in the minds of his hearers, was that of ſincerity, upon which he thought our happineſs or miſery in a future ſtate will depend. He therefore conſidered that this would be of the higheſt importance, when many of the acquirements we here gain one above another will fade and wither away, which made him very humble, notwithſtanding his great abilities. This alſo diſpoſed him to judge charitably of thoſe who differed from his ſentiments, and to be very diligent in his enquiries after truth. His embracing the doctrine of the Trinity was one effect of this, for he did not run into this belief from any prejudices of education or biaſs put upon his mind, in his youth having been early introduced into the converſation of thoſe who examined the ſeveral doctrines of the Chriſtian Revelation with the utmoſt freedom, amongſt whom were ſome foreigners as well as others of the firſt rank for learning and abilities.' Dr Kinch, in his diſcourſe (28), ſets ſome other parts of his character in a very graceful light. 'He was bleſſed, ſays he, with extraordinary natural abilities, a hail ſtrong conſtitution, a ſmooth ready wit, a bright and lively fancy, a piercing thought, a quick invention, a ſtrong memory, and a good and ſolid judgment. Theſe excellent qualifications were very much heightened and improved by the advantages he received from an ingenuous and liberal education, in which he made ſo great a progreſs, as rendered him truly valuable to all perſons of real worth and learning, who were ſo happy as to have any knowledge of or acquaintance with him.—He had an even and compoſed temper, which diſcovered itſelf in the conſtant ſerenity of his countenance. The different turns of his affairs ſeemed to make little or no impreſſion upon his mind, for he, with the great

'Apoſtle

(*k*) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 20.

(*l*) Croſby's Hiſt. of the Engliſh Baptiſts, Vol. IV. p. 370.

(*m*) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 21. Croſby's Hiſt. of the Eng. Baptiſts, Vol. IV. p. 370.

(*n*) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 19.

(27) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 12, 19.

(28) Funeral Sermon, p. 23, 28, 29, 30.

verſally regretted as any man of his character and abilities ever was, or could be, notwithſtanding the heats and party prejudices which prevailed in thoſe days (*o*). His funeral ſermon was preached at Barbican, to his own congregation, by Mr Joſeph Burroughs, December the fourteenth (*p*); and on the ſunday following, December the thirty-firſt, by John Kinch, Doctor of Laws (*q*); elegant and pathetick diſcourſes both. But his praiſes were not only in the mouths of his brethren, I mean thoſe of his own communion; but others alſo who were acquainted with his merit, his learning, and his zeal for the fundamental truths of the Chriſtian religion, took alſo a ſhare in the ſorrow for his death, and willingly contributed their part in confeſſing and applauding his virtues (*r*). It is very certain that thoſe who have ſaid ſuch high things of his attention to the great duties of his calling, his contempt of the vanities of this life, and his exalted confidence in the ſupreme Being, have not gone to any exceſs, or expreſſed his diligence, humility, or patience, with any excuſable degree of latitude, but have ſtrictly adhered to truth. Thoſe were his ſentiments in the vigour of his health, nor did they ceaſe to be his ſentiments on his bed of ſickneſs. While he was able, he preached to his congregation from the pulpit; when he was no longer able, he preached to them from his death-bed. He taught them in words how to live with hope, he taught them by his example to die in comfort. Theſe things, which might otherwiſe, in an age ſo cenſorious and incredulous, meet with doubts and ſuſpicions, are put beyond all queſtion by his ſermons printed ſince his deceaſe, and which fully ſhew what he was. As theſe poſthumous works make the greater part of what he has left behind him to poſterity, we reſerved the mention of his writings till we could ſpeak of them at once, and preſent their titles all together to the reader's view [*L*]. In them the juſtification of all that has been ſaid of his parts, or his piety, will be found; and there

‘ Apoſtle St Paul, had learned in whatever ſtate he
‘ was therewith to be content. He knew both how
‘ to be abaſed, and how to abound every where, and
‘ in all things was he inſtructed, both to be full, and
‘ to be hungry, both to abound, and to ſuffer need.
‘ He was truly pious, but without any thing of oſten-
‘ tation, exerciſing himſelf herein to have a conſci-
‘ ence void of offence toward God, and toward man.
‘ He adorned the profeſſion he made of the Chriſtian
‘ Doctrine by a holy and exemplary life, which was
‘ a convincing proof that he firmly believed religion
‘ to be of the greateſt importance, and that he was
‘ in earneſt when he endeavoured to perſuade others
‘ to live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly in this pre-
‘ ſent world. He was a perſon of great integrity,
‘ and preferred the peace of his own mind in the an-
‘ ſwer of a good conſcience to all other conſiderations.
‘ His thoughts were ſo fully employed about affairs
‘ of the higheſt conſequence, that he neglected ſeveral
‘ opportunities of advancing his temporal intereſts.
‘ He was ſo intent upon his great Maſter's buſineſs, and
‘ was ſo warmly engaged in the purſuit of the durable
‘ riches of the eternal world, that theſe fading trea-
‘ ſures paſſed his notice. He was a kind friend, and
‘ made it his buſineſs to inſtruct and inform, to ad-
‘ viſe, and, on proper occaſions, to reprove thoſe with
‘ whom he converſed; which moſt difficult office of
‘ friendſhip he ſo well managed, that none could be
‘ offended with him. And being always delighted in
‘ doing good, he was ever as ready to perform any
‘ friendly office even for the meaneſt diſciple of Chriſt
‘ Jeſus, as for thoſe whoſe circumſtances being more
‘ exalted, are from thence generally deemed to have
‘ a more commanding influence. He abounded greatly
‘ in thoſe fruits of the Spirit mentioned by the Apo-
‘ ſtle, Gal v. 22, 23. love, joy, peace, long ſuffer-
‘ ing, gentleneſs, goodneſs, faith, meekneſs, and tem-
‘ perance. But that virtue wherein he peculiarly ex-
‘ celled, was his great humility. Notwithſtanding his
‘ valuable and uncommon abilities, both natural and
‘ acquired; he always appeared humble and modeſt,
‘ mild and courteous; and was ſo far from having a
‘ vain and proud conceit of his own endowments, that
‘ he knew how, without the affected vanity of leſſen-
‘ ing his own qualifications, to eſteem others better
‘ than himſelf. He bore his laſt ſickneſs with great
‘ patience and reſignation to the will of God. When
‘ a little before his diſſolution, his mournful conſort,
‘ with weeping eyes and wringing hands, expected the
‘ dreadful ſeparation, *Truſt in the all-ſufficient one*,
‘ ſays the good man, *who can if he thinks fit raiſe me*
‘ *up*. He ſeemed to depart with the greateſt com-
‘ poſure and ſerenity of mind, making good that ob-
‘ ſervation of the Pſalmiſt, that the end of the per-
‘ fect and upright man is peace, and indeed what
‘ ſhould diſcompoſe him? For he well knew in whom
‘ he had believed.' Mr Borroughs obſerves alſo of
his departed friend (29), ‘ That his extenſive know-
‘ ledge, and the ſweetneſs of his addreſs, gave him an
‘ eaſy acceſs to men of the greateſt figure and worth,
‘ by converſing with whom, his own abilities were
‘ very much improved, and this advantage he con-
‘ ſtantly purſued. The large acquaintance he had
‘ with the Claſſic authors in both languages, and the
‘ progreſs he made in mathematical ſtudies, and in
‘ the moſt valuable parts of Philoſophy, were accom-
‘ panied with a good degree of ſkill in the oriental
‘ tongues. But tho' he took a large compaſs, 'tis
‘ evident that he turned the whole courſe of his ſtu-
‘ dies to the work of the Miniſtry, to prepare for
‘ which, he ſpent a very conſiderable part of his time
‘ in the ſtudy of the Scriptures themſelves in their
‘ originals, and in comparing them with the verſions
‘ of various languages, particularly the more antient,
‘ whereby he became a great maſter in the knowledge
‘ of the Scriptures, and capable of diſcourſing to ad-
‘ vantage upon any point which immediately related
‘ to them. Beſides this, he employed himſelf with
‘ much diligence in conſulting the antient commenta-
‘ tors upon the Bible, and in reading and digeſting
‘ the primitive writers of the Chriſtian Church, for
‘ whoſe interpretations of Scripture he ſhewed a more
‘ than ordinary value. And here I think it deſerves
‘ to be mentioned, to his ſpecial honour, that he en-
‘ tered into a voluntary ſociety erected on purpoſe to
‘ enquire into the *primitive doctrines* and practices of
‘ the Chriſtian Church, and compare them with the
‘ books of the Old and New Teſtament, at a time
‘ when ſuch a thing could not be done without ſuf-
‘ fering much reproach for it; and that he continued
‘ diligently ſeveral years to ſearch into the antient
‘ books for this purpoſe, and by diſcourſe with others
‘ to make them familiar to him, the effect whereof
‘ might have been very beneficial to the publick, if
‘ it had pleaſed God to prolong his life.'

[*L*] *All together to the reader's view.*] We have already ſpoken largely of our author's principal work, publiſhed in his life-time; we have likewiſe ſpoken of thoſe that he intended to have compoſed, if Providence had beſtowed upon him a longer ſtay in this life; all therefore that is intended in this note, is, for the ſake of perſpicuity, to ſet down the titles of ſuch of his works as are extant, and to give from the laſt, a ſhort ſpecimen of thoſe excellencies that we have applauded in the text.

I. *Reflections on Mr* Wall'*s Hiſtory of* Infant-Baptiſm, *in ſeveral Letters to a Friend.* Lond. 1711, 8vo.

II. *A* Thankſgiving Sermon, *preached November the fifth*, 1713. Lond. 1713, 8vo.

III. *Ser-*

(*o*) Plain-Dealer, Vol. I. No. 52.

(*p*) Lond. 1722, printed for E. Bell in Cornhill, 8vo.

(*q*) Lond. 1722, for Aaron Ward, Little Britain, 8vo.

(*r*) See the Plain-Dealer, No. 52.

(29) Funeral Sermon, p. 26.

there is no queſtion they will preſerve his reputation, and their own, as long as there ſhall be any taſte for ſtrong, and yet clear, reaſoning; maſculine unaffected eloquence flowing

from

III. *Sermons preached upon ſeveral Subjects, by the late Reverend and Learned Dr* John Gale; *to which is prefixed, an Account of his Life, in four* Vols. Lond. 1726, 8vo. the ſecond edit.

The firſt edition, was publiſhed very ſoon after the death of the author, and met with ſuch a reception as might be expected, from the reputation he had acquired while living. In theſe four volumes, there are ſeventy-eight diſcourſes, excluſive of that preached on the fifth of November, which is reprinted (30). It may be very truly ſaid, that though the eloquence of the pulpit be in itſelf a very diſtinct thing, from the various kinds of eloquence, by arriving at perfection, in which ſome men make themſelves the guides and leaders of others; yet even this eloquence of the pulpit, is capable of many ſubdiviſions; and we ſhall find, upon a ſtrict enquiry, that few have been diſtinguiſhed preachers, without having ſomething very peculiar in their manner. We cannot either illuſtrate this obſervation, or bring this article better to a cloſe, than by giving an inſtance from Dr Gale's Diſcourſes (31).

In diſcourſing upon theſe words, *Follow peace with all men, and holineſs, without which no man ſhall ſee the* Lord. Having firſt ſtated the nature of this command, and deſcribed that habit of mind which Chriſtians are directed to acquire, he proceeds to ſhew the advantageous conſequences, that muſt be the natural, and therefore neceſſary, reſult of ſuch an acquiſition. ‘This noble, generous, peaceable, and holy diſpoſition of mind, ſays he, as it is every man's duty, and highly acceptable in the ſight of the great God, and ſupreme Governor of the world; ſo is it likewiſe of unſpeakable advantage to mankind, and abſolutely neceſſary to their well being, in every ſtate and condition, whether here or hereafter. To confine ourſelves at preſent, to a proſpect of this life only, we know men can't ſubſiſt without ſociety, there is ſuch a mutual dependance upon one another, ſo ſtrongly planted and rooted in our very natures, that no art or violence can pluck it up; beſides, our internal diſpoſitions, and ſtrong inclinations to converſe, and which ſhine out ſo clearly, that ſome of the ancient Philoſophers have thought fit to define man, by calling him a ſociable creature, believing nothing in man to be ſo eſſential and diſtinguiſhing as this: we are likewiſe, as to our external condition, viſibly placed, by the wiſe Author of all things, very much in one another's power; and though men were to condemn themſelves to the moſt unnatural and uncomfortable ſtate, and betake them to deſarts, and ſolitary mountains and foreſts, there to lead a ſavage life, in the moſt obſcure retirement, they could not remove themſelves out of one another's reach; for even theſe places would be open to their rude incurſions, and inevitably haunted by wilder and more ſavage monſters, than they are at preſent. The only remedy for all the numberleſs evils, and inconceivable miſeries, into which an independent ſtate, in every particular man, would certainly plunge us, is this of ſociety, which nature itſelf, that is, the finger of God, has pointed out to us; and yet, without theſe virtues of peace and holineſs, ſociety, inſtead of a good, will be the worſt condition rational creatures can be in; families, cities, and commonwealths, will be only ſo many ſwarms of ſcorpions, tygers, and all manner of venomous and rapacious creatures, pent up together in a narrow compaſs, and inceſſantly ſpending their utmoſt rage and fury upon one another; for no creature is more fierce and unruly than man, or expoſed to more failings, which diſturb and overturn ſociety, when he throws off all reſtraint. Our own experience, as well as the hiſtory of all paſt times, ſhews us, that moſt ſavage man exerciſes all his cruelties, not like the gentler beaſts of the foreſt, upon thoſe chiefly of a different kind, but even more eſpecially upon mankind itſelf; and beſides the ſtings of hunger, and other natural appetites, which it ſeems are not enough abuſed to the worſt purpoſes, they have created to themſelves other more powerful, at leaſt more frequent and miſchievous, incentives to violence and oppreſſion, and the vileſt acts of injuſtice and impiety. Thus they have raiſed in themſelves, an endleſs burning thirſt after things ſuperfluous, which muſt be continually gratified, no matter how; they have planted in their very hearts, the moſt pernicious of all evils, the curſed ſins of ambition, pride, and avarice, which lead captive virtue in adamantine chains of ſlavery, while they ravage the world. Outrageous malice, fierce reſentment of petty injuries, and implacable revenge, do almoſt ſeem the natural product of a human mind; theſe are ſome of the inexhauſtible ſprings, whence pour forth thoſe deep foul rivers of ſin and wickedneſs, which ſpread themſelves over the whole earth, and pollute all the ſeveral degrees and ſtations of life. Hence ariſe quarrels, envy, hatred, rancour, enmities, diſcord, confuſion, and endleſs diſorders. Hence ſpring all kinds of violence, injuſtice, oppreſſion, and fraud; hence come robberies, horrid murthers, and cruel devaſtations, by fire and ſword, together with all manner of direful calamities; and, in fine, hence proceed the mighty armies of impiety, vice, and profaneneſs, which make a conſtant and too ſucceſsful war upon religion and virtue, eſtabliſhing infidelity and impurity, irreligion and debauchery, atheiſm and immorality, and all manner of licentiouſneſs, and numberleſs abominations, which utterly ſubvert and deſtroy all ſociety from amongſt men, and bury the diſtinctions of good and bad, right and wrong, in one common dreadful ruin: for by theſe, private perſons break to pieces all the bonds and ties of duty, friendſhip, and relation; and by theſe, ſupreme governors, and men of great influence, whoſe ſphere of action is large, and widely extended over the commoner ſort, when they throw off the reſtraints of reaſon and law, ſpread ruin and deſolation throughout the world. Thus then you ſee, as it were in miniature, a repreſentation of man's uncultivated nature, which may well be likened to a deep wide ſea, which theſe unnatural paſſions ſoon blow up into a dreadful ſtorm, and render very turbulent and boiſterous, and hardly to be confined within any bounds; but of what amazing force and efficacy then, muſt thoſe divine virtues be, which can remedy all theſe mighty evils; which can ſubdue, manage, and tame the wild ſavage nature, and make it mild and calm; which can curb and reſtrain all the unruly paſſions, and confine them within the bounds of right and good, juſt and honourable? Nothing can be more amiable or beneficial to mankind; and here, no doubt, you'll fix your thoughts upon that peace and holineſs, which the great Lover and Benefactor of mankind ſo earneſtly recommends to us, not for his own advantage, but for our good; for theſe moſt powerfully expel all noxious humours, and naturally tend to ſettle an everlaſting ſerenity, quiet, and uninterrupted happineſs among men: And notwithſtanding the corruptions of our natural appetites, or any unnatural propenſions and diſpoſitions, we may have contracted theſe great virtues, having once gained admiſſion into our hearts, and a full power there, will render us pure and holy, as that bright flame which warms the breaſts of ſaints, gentle as innocence, and kind and peaceable as love. For a truly peaceable diſpoſition of mind, will conſtantly exert itſelf in all manner of generous and wonderful acts of goodneſs to all mankind; 'twill teach us to put on a calm, modeſt, and friendly behaviour towards every one, and is always bent upon that beneficial work, of promoting the growth of publick and private peace and concord; and accordingly, is in all caſes forward, and ſtrongly inclined, to put the moſt candid and favourable interpretations upon mens words and actions, and not quick-ſighted to ſee their failings, and forward to blow them through the world, or lightly to play with another's reputation and good name; for a generous and good man, would ſooner ceaſe to breathe, than one contagious peſtilential breath ſhould eſcape him, to blaſt his neighbour's fame. The true diſciples of the Lord Jeſus, whoſe diſtinguiſhing cha-

‘racter

(30) It is the 16th Diſcourſe in the 4th Volume.

(31) Gale's Sermons, Vol. IV. p. 414.

from the juſt diſtribution of the parts of a diſcourſe, and not a pomp of choſen words, and ſounding epithets; or men retain any ſenſe of thoſe intereſting and important truths, which he has ſo repreſented as to be ſure of their making an impreſſion on the heart, by their filling the whole meaſure of the underſtanding.

'racter it is, *to follow peace with all men, and holineſs*, poſſeſs a mind ſeaſoned with the divine arts 'of peace, and works of purity; and therefore, inſtead of improving occaſions of quarrelling, by returning ill language, or hard words, or by reſenting 'the reflections and affronts, put on them by violent, angry, or abuſive men, they rather ſtrive to 'moderate matters; and by a winning and engaging 'ſweetneſs of temper, and *ſoft anſwers to turn away wrath*, Prov. xv. 1. when *grievous words* would ſtir 'up *anger*, and blow up a ſpark into a raging flame, 'afterwards it may be hardly ever to be quenched.' E

GARDINER (STEPHEN), an able Lawyer, a learned Divine, and ſhrewd Stateſman; Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Chancellor of England, in the XVIth Century (*a*). Few have riſen higher by mere dint of abilities, few ſuffered greater changes of fortune, few have been more magnified or commended, few more invidiouſly and outrageouſly treated, than this famous Prelate, in his life-time and ſince his deceaſe; yet, for any tolerable account of him there is none. We find no article of him in any collection of this kind, very little amongſt the compilers of hiſtorical memoirs, and, tho' there is more in our literary and other biographical Hiſtorians, it is ſo intermixed with other matter, or ſo viſibly tinctured with party reſentment, that it is almoſt impoſſible to know what to think, or whom to truſt. In this caſe, the collecting his memoirs with caution, care, and candour, and reporting them fairly to poſterity, is a work of equal labour and difficulty; but what then? It is neceſſary, uſeful, conducive to the bringing much truth to light, and expoſing many errors which have been ſo often, and elegantly, repeated by thoſe who took them to be truths, that we may reaſonably hope a kind and favourable reading of what particulars are here digeſted concerning this great man's life, which are as copious, as exact, and as free from bias of any kind as we were able to make them. It is alſo to be hoped, that they will be peruſed with the ſame equal ſpirit, and that the reader will bring an inclination to be informed how things really happened, what were, and what were not, the actions of this famous man, who had many failings, and ſome vices; but, withal, had fine parts, general knowledge, and abilities every way equal to the poſts he gradually filled, and even to thoſe high employments to which he at length attained [*A*]. At the very entrance

(*a*) Bale, Pits, Fuller, Godwin, Tanner.

[*A*] *To which he at length attained.*] Such as have not had experience of the incertainties, inconſiſtencies, and contradictions, that perpetually occur in moſt of the books relating to Engliſh Hiſtory, will very probably wonder at theſe complaints, and look upon it as a thing ſtrange, that the perſonal hiſtory of one who roſe to ſuch high dignities, both in Church and State, ſhould be a thing ſo very obſcure and perplexed, as we have repreſented it. The only method of making this plain, would be producing to the reader's view, the genuine cauſes of this darkneſs and embarraſſment; but, as that would require a volume inſtead of a note, it ſhall, in this place, ſuffice to ſet down briefly, only a few of theſe cauſes, and ſuch as have a direct relation to the article before us. The authors of our Chronicles and Annals, very frequently, either in the courſe of their hiſtories, when they ſpeak of remarkable perſons, or at the cloſe, perhaps, of a Prince's reign, when they come to ſpeak of the ſcholars, ſtateſmen, and ſoldiers, that flouriſhed in his time, give ſhort characters of ſuch great men, from what occurs to their memory; but theſe conciſe repreſentations, rather heighten than ſatisfy our curioſity, and excite in us a deſire, to know where we may meet with more, inſtead of giving us content in the particulars we would be glad to learn. Some again, from an inclination to render their narratives more pleaſing, draw their pictures a little fuller, and give not barely the out lines, but add alſo ſomething of ſtrength and colour to the piece, which is attended with various inconveniencies, not foreſeen by the author. For the ſame period of time falling under the conſideration of ſome other writer of a different genius and ſentiments, he gives the picture of the ſame perſon oppoſite, it may be, in ſeveral, if not in all reſpects; and then we want new lights, to inform us which, or whether either, of theſe pictures were taken from the life. Thoſe who have attempted to exhibit the lives and characters of ſuch as have filled certain high offices, either through the want of proper materials, or negligence in collecting them, have rather given us catalogues, and thoſe too very imperfect. Biſhop Godwin, for inſtance, in this very article, has hardly two right dates in the whole. Such as out of a love to learning, have undertaken the hiſtory of our eminent writers, content themſelves, commonly, with a few general ſtrokes in relation to their characters, and theſe rather taken from common fame, than from a cloſe examination of their works. Beſides, partiality and prejudice have had ſo great a dominion over the two principal authors in this way, with reſpect to our nation, that we learn from them, rather their own opinions, than the hiſtories of thoſe of whom they write. According to Bale (1), this Biſhop of Wincheſter was a devil incarnate; but then, according to Pits (2), he was a very angel of light. It is the ſame thing with reſpect to Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians, or ſuch as have written tracts relative to eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. John Fox (3) aſſerts, that this prelate was of a moſt fierce and ſanguinary diſpoſition; and the principal author of all the cruelties, in the reign of Queen Mary. Father Perſons (4), on the other hand, aſſures us, that ſuch as will ſpeak truth, muſt acknowledge Biſhop Gardiner to have been not only of a mild, but of a moſt compaſſionate nature; and that it was chiefly owing to him, the principal Proteſtants in that reign eſcaped. The remedies that are to be applied in this caſe, in order to free ourſelves from miſtakes, and to make the way open for truth, is to proceed methodically, and to ſhew his progreſs in preferment, the ſeveral employments through which he went, and the manner in which he diſcharged them. It is from facts, that we muſt collect his real character, and not from the panegyricks written by his creatures, or the invectives penned by his enemies. We muſt conſider the temper of the times in which he lived, the nature of the affairs which went through his hands, the circumſtances attending his actions, the means by which he roſe, the cauſes of his fall, the manner of his recovery, and the meaſures he afterwards purſued. We muſt be content to compare what is advanced by different

(1) Script. Brit. p. 685.

(2) De illuſtr. Angl. Script. p. 748.

(3) In his Martyrology throughout.

(4) Warn Word, p. 34.

trance of our labours, we meet with nothing but doubts and incertainties. Moſt authors of his age tell us he was born of obſcure parents at Bury St Edmund, in the county of Suffolk (b). As to the place, indeed, there is no diſpute at all; but for the obſcurity of his parentage, if we may truſt to ſome very good authorities, it aroſe from hence, that he was the illegitimate ſon of a prelate nobly deſcended and royally allied, who took pains to conceal that ſo much diſcrediting circumſtance to himſelf, by beſtowing his concubine on one of his meaner ſervants, whoſe name, being born in wedlock, this infant bore (c). Fuller, who is not always an enemy to ſecret hiſtory, rejects this ſtory, as invidious and ill contrived (d); but many, as like to be well informed, and not at all more credulous, admit the truth of it; and Sir William Dugdale (e), whoſe knowledge in ſuch points can hardly be diſputed, ſets it down as a fact. We cannot, indeed, go quite ſo far; but laying all circumſtances together, there appears to be the greateſt probability that this was really the caſe, as the reader will ſee in the notes [B]. As to the year of his birth, that has been hitherto as great a ſecret as his deſcent; and very likely the deſign of concealing the one, might occaſion ſo profound a ſilence in reſpect to the other; however, from an original picture of his ſtill preſerved, we have good grounds to conclude that it ought to be fixed to 1483 (f). We know nothing of his education, or the manner in which he paſſed his youth, till he was ſent to the Univerſity of Cambridge, where he ſtudied in Trinity-Hall with great diligence and ſucceſs. He was diſtinguiſhed there by his quick parts, his correct pen, his elegance in writing and ſpeaking Latin, and for his extraordinary ſkill in Greek, which procured him very high compliments, as to his acquiſitions in literature, when he was in no condition to reward flatterers (g). In proceſs of time he applied himſelf entirely to the Civil and Canon Law, for which that learned foundation was very famous [C]. The reputation he attained at

(b) Bal. Script. 685. Pits, p. 748.

(c) Σκελετὸς Cantabrigienſis, a Rich. Parkero, conſcript. p. 26.

(d) Worthies, Suffolk, p. 60.

(e) Baronage, Vol. II. p. 231.

(f) Painted by Hans Holbein.

(g) Leland. Encom. illuſtr. viror. p. 48, 49.

rent authors, in order to diſcover not only the truth of ſome things, and the falſhood of others, but the probability or improbability of ſuch tranſactions, as at this diſtance of time cannot be reduced to any abſolute certainty. It is not of much importance to us, whether our diſcoveries heighten or depreſs the characters of ſeveral writers; but it is of very great importance to know the truth, and to have a juſt notion how the great buſineſſes he managed were brought about, and whether he was at the bottom, a weak and wicked man, or a politician of great art and addreſs; and who, like other politicians, ſometimes purſued the intereſts of his country, for which, upon what motives ſoever he did it, it is fit he ſhould be commended, and ſometimes croſſed them to purſue his own, when he ought to be cenſured, how plauſible ſoever his excuſes might be. Theſe are the true principles upon which this kind of writing ought to reſt, that thoſe who move in the ſuperior ſpheres of life, may be always ſenſible, that whatever their preſent fate may be, they will have juſtice done them by poſterity; and that their memories will not be either tarniſhed by the groundleſs calumnies which envy excited, or preſerve any of that falſe luſtre, their mercenary flatterers, while living, were encouraged to beſtow.

[B] *As the reader will ſee in the notes.*] The plain fact, in reſpect to his birth, was this. He is ſaid to have been the ſon of Dr Lionel Woodvill, Widvill, or as he wrote his own name, Wydviſle, Dean of Exeter, and Biſhop of Saliſbury, brother to Elizabeth, Queen Conſort to Edward the Fourth, who died in 1484 (5). Dr Fuller (6) objects to this, that Saliſbury is at a great diſtance from Bury, where Gardiner was born, which is, in reality, no objection at all, for, ſince that prelate was ſo cautious as to oblige his miſtreſs to marry an inferior ſervant of his, whoſe name was Gardiner, the better to conceal this ſhameful tranſaction, he might therefore be well ſuppoſed to have been as careful in ſending her far enough off to lie in. Another objection he makes, has ſomewhat more weight, he thinks Biſhop Woodvill muſt have had this ſon in his youth; and if ſo, the age of Gardiner, at his death, would not agree with the ſtory. But thoſe who relate it, ſay that he was born while his father was Biſhop of Saliſbury; and he did not hold that dignity above two years, which takes away the force of this objection. In the ſatirical writings againſt him and Bonner (7), it was objected to them, that it was not ſtrange they were againſt the marriage of prieſts, ſince they were both born in adultery. Now Bonner was the baſtard of one Savage, a clergyman, who was himſelf the baſtard of Sir John Savage, Knight of the Garter. Bonner's was preciſely the ſame caſe with Gardiner's, for his mother was married before he was born, to the perſon whoſe name he bore; and it is very remarkable, that both of them, till they were Biſhops, declined uſing their ſurnames, the one being called Dr Stephens, and the other Dr Edmonds. But Gardiner ſeems to have been better reconciled to his name afterwards, ſince he aſſumed the arms of the Gardiners of Glemsford in Suffolk (8), with a diſtinction of a border; and afterwards, either through the miſtake of the painter, or by his own direction, they were impaled with the arms of the See of Wincheſter, without any ſuch diſtinction. Biſhop Burnet plainly proves, that this ſtory was believed in our Prelate's life-time, for he tells us, that he had ſeen a letter written by Sir Edward Hobby, to one of the exiles abroad, for religion, immediately upon Gardiner's death, in which it was ſaid, that he was a man of higher deſcent, than he was commonly reputed; and in the margin of the letter it was noted, that he was Nephew to a Queen of England (9); but though this might be true, and though he was, by this means, ſecond couſin by the King's mother to Henry the Eighth, Biſhop Burnet's conjecture is not at all probable, that this might be the cauſe he was ſo ſuddenly advanced to the Biſhoprick of Wincheſter; for as the reader will ſee, there was another cauſe, which is aſſigned by Gardiner himſelf; neither is it at all likely, that the King knew this piece of ſecret hiſtory, or would take any notice of it if he did. Had it been otherwiſe, amongſt the many private papers relating to that reign (for whence it's publick hiſtory is beſt collected) which, in proceſs of time, have come to light, ſomething of that kind would have appeared.

[C] *For which that learned foundation was very famous.*] Amongſt other poems of the famous Antiquary, John Leland, there is one addreſſed to Stephen Gardiner, when he wore no higher title; and in the cloſe of which, he foretels him, that his brow would be honoured with a mitre. In this poem he compliments him on his great progreſs in polite literature, on his fine taſte, and juſt reſpect for the Ancients; and the deſire he had ſhewn of promoting the ſtudy of their valuable writings in the univerſity (10). His own writings ſhew how much he had ſtudied Cicero; and the critics of thoſe times reproached him with affectation in that reſpect. As to ſeverer ſtudies, he is allowed to have excelled in the Civil and Canon Law; and in reſpect to the latter, he was ſo able, that Biſhop Burnet tells us, King Henry, as eager as he was for promoting his divorce, would not ſuffer the proceedings to be begun before the two Cardinals, till the return of Dr Gardiner from Rome, ſo much he relied upon his judgment and abilities. Both that Biſhop, and the Reverend Mr Jeremy Collier, who ſeldom thought the ſame way of men or things, agree that he was but moderately ſkilled in Divinity; and therefore, it is reaſonable to acquieſce in their deciſion. But then it is

to

(5) Godwin. de Præſul. p. 236.

(6) Worthies, Suffolk, p. 60.

(7) Burnet's Reformat. Vol. II. p. 320.

(8) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III.

(9) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 320.

(10) Encom. illuſt. viror. p. 48, 49.

at Cambridge, ſoon opened him a paſſage into the favour and confidence of ſeveral of the greateſt men of that age. Firſt, as ſome report he was taken under the protection of that generous and potent Peer Thomas Duke of Norfolk (*b*), and afterwards received into the family of the ſtill more potent Cardinal Wolſey, in quality of his Secretary (*i*). But whatever hopes he might entertain of riſing at Court, he had ſtill academical honours in view, and in 1520 received the degree of Doctor of Civil Law (*k*), and was the year following made Doctor of Canon Law alſo; but whereas the learned Biſhop Tanner, not without authority, makes him Maſter or Guardian of Trinity-Hall the ſame year (*l*), there ſeems to be good reaſon to ſuppoſe he did not attain that preferment till ſome years after. There is no queſtion, that, as the Cardinal of York's Secretary, he had a good proviſion made for him; but this muſt have been by way of penſion or ſalary, for preferment, ſo far as we find as yet, he had none. In 1525, he was, by an accident, admitted at once into the King's preſence and favour (*m*) [*D*], to the great ſatisfaction of the powerful Cardinal, his Maſter

(*b*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 451.

(*i*) Polyd. Verg. Hiſt. Angl. lib. xxvii. p. 84.

(*k*) Regiſt. Acad. Cantab.

(*l*) Biblioth. Britannico-Hibernica, p. 308.

(*m*) Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.

to be conſidered, that they ground their ſentiments upon his book of *true Obedience*, which they confeſs he wrote to pleaſe his Sovereign, and againſt his own ſentiments. It is no great wonder, therefore, that his arguments are not very ſtrong, and that he does not reaſon ſo cloſely and convincingly as he might have done; but notwithſtanding this, whoever reads that book with attention and impartiality, will not be able to deny, that he has overturned the Pope's Supremacy effectually; and though it is not penned, at leaſt the greater part of it, with that heat and vehemence, viſible in the writings of Proteſtant Divines, yet there is enough in it to ſhew learned men, that he had thoroughly conſidered the point, and was able to have ſaid much more if he had been ſo inclined. All this learning he muſt have brought with him from the univerſity, for from the time that he firſt came into buſineſs, to his being committed to the Tower, he was continually employed in matters of ſuch high importance, that it was impoſſible he ſhould have much leiſure for ſtudy. That his parts and learning indeed were very extraordinary, muſt be confeſſed; but if what one of his greateſt enemies ſaid of him was true, we muſt have ſtill an higher idea of them, ſince there is nothing harder, than for a man of a diſagreeable, and even forbidding aſpect, to make his way in a Court, and inſinuate himſelf into the good graces of all ſorts of people, which it is confeſſed he did. But we will tranſcribe the paſſage, which is very curious, and the book from which it is taken very ſcarce, for the reader's ſatisfaction (11). 'Albeit, this Doctor be now but too 'late thoroughly known, yet it ſhall be requiſite, that 'our poſterity know what he was; and, by his de'ſcription, ſee how nature hath ſhaped the outward 'parts, to declare what was within. This Doctor 'hath a ſwart colour, hanging look, frowning brows, 'eyes an inch within his head, a noſe hooked like a 'buzzard, noſtrils like a horſe, ever ſnuffing into the 'wind, a ſparrow mouth, great paws, like the devil's 'talons, on his feet, like a gripe, two inches longer 'than the natural toes, and ſo tied to with ſinews, 'that he cannot abide to be touched, nor ſcarce ſuffer 'them to touch the ſtones. And nature having thus 'ſhaped the form of an old monſter, it gave him 'a vengeable wit, which at Cambridge, by labour and 'diligence, he had made a great deal worſe, and 'brought up many in that faculty.' The author who wrote this, and whom we ſhall be obliged to quote hereafter, was Dr Ponet, advanced to the Biſhoprick of Wincheſter, upon the deprivation of Gardiner, in the reign of King Edward the Sixth; and at the time he wrote this book, an exile in Germany, where he died. In his treatiſe, he gives Gardiner, who was then Chancellor of England, the title of *Doctor* of *Practices*, and beſtows the name of *Maſter* of *Practices* upon the Lord Paget, whom he makes to have been Gardiner's *pupil*; he was indeed bred up in his houſe, and owed his firſt riſe to Biſhop Gardiner's favour; and to ſhew how great wits will differ in opinion, John Leland complimented Paget upon this very circumſtance, calling Gardiner's family the ſchool of the Muſes. At the time he directed theſe verſes to him, he was Sir William Paget, and Secretary of State to Henry VIII; and their author thought it would not create either diſcredit or diſpleaſure to him, to ſhew how much he, and Wriotheſley, then his Fellow-Secretary, and afterwards Chancellor, were obliged to that Prelate for his countenance, and for their own preferment. The lines are very remarkable, and worth reading (12).

(11) Treatiſe of political Power.

(12) Encom. illuſt. viror. p. 100, 101.

Ecce petis vivos fontes, Grantana fluenta,
  Nectareoque rigas labra liquore tua.
Aſt ego præceſſi: nec ſigniter ipſe ſecutus
  Viciſti ſortis munera parva meæ.
Tu Gardineri petiiſti tecta diſerti
  Eloquii ſedem, Pieriique chori.
Sors vel ad obſtreperos me duxit iniqua ſophiſtas,
  Tale quidem potui non ego ferre jugum.
Suffugio quodam ſed honeſto Gallica regna
  Inviſi, ſchola qua Parrhiſiana viget.
Quo magnis & tu properâſti paſſibus, ardens
  Linguarum nitida cognitione frui.
Confecta tandem cauſſa feliciter omni,
  Tu patriam repetis civis amicus humum.
Gardinerum etiam recolis de more patronum:
  Uritiſlegi & nomina chara tibi.
Per quos cœpiſti commendatiſſimus eſſe
  Henrico Regi, nobilibuſque viris.
Scriba Palatinas coluiſti hinc ſedulus ædes,
  Exercens calamos dexteritate nova.

[*D*] *Into the King's preſence and favour.*] There is nothing more entertaining, as well as more uſeful and ſatisfactory, than to be thoroughly and certainly informed, of the firſt ſteps by which thoſe who have made a figure in the world, have riſen to greatneſs. That of Gardiner, as of many others, was owing purely to accident, to ſpeak according to the common ſenſe of mankind. In the year 1525, his maſter Wolſey thought fit to change ſides; and from being moſt violently attached to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, became as warm a friend to the French King, Francis the Firſt, then a priſoner in Spain. Humanity and compaſſion, one would think, muſt have been the motives to this change; and they might be ſo, but a very grave Italian Hiſtorian, has ſuggeſted cauſes of another kind (13). He ſays, that before the battle of Pavia, in which the French King was made priſoner, the Emperor uſed to write to Wolſey, with his own hand, and ſubſcribe *your ſon and couſin* CHARLES; but after that victory, the letters to Wolſey, like thoſe to other perſons, were written by his ſecretary, till the Cardinal taught him to reſume his old manner of writing. It was the penning this leſſon for his Imperial Majeſty, that brought Gardiner to the knowledge, or at leaſt introduced him to the favour of Henry the Eighth; the Cardinal had projected a treaty, which was to change the face of affairs in Europe, as indeed it did; and the King coming to his houſe at More-Park, in Hertfordſhire, found Gardiner, then the Cardinal's Secretary, buſy in framing that alliance. Few Princes underſtood buſineſs, or could tranſact it better, than Henry; and therefore, it is no wonder that from ſuch a ſpecimen, he ſhould make a true judgment of Dr Gardiner's abilities. He liked his performance extremely, his converſation better, and that fertility he had in the invention of expedients, beſt of all (14). He did not diſguiſe his ſentiments from Wolſey, there was no need of it, the Cardinal was truly great in this particular, that he feared no man's parts,

(13) Guicchard. Hiſt. lib. XIX.

(14) Lloyd's Worthies, p. 451.

Maſter at this ſeaſon; whatever it might be in proceſs of time, when, as the Politicians remarked, the Cardinal ſunk in the ſame proportion as this ſervant of his roſe. At this juncture, the King's affairs at Rome were but in an untoward ſituation, the Roman Pontiff, Clement VII, having addreſs enough to feed the King's Agents with fair promiſes, according to the ſtanding maxim of that Court; but, in effect, making no progreſs at all towards the King's point, which was the obtaining a divorce from his Queen Katherine of Arragon. His Majeſty therefore reſolved to ſend ſome perſon thither, in whom he could entirely confide, and of whoſe abilities and attachment he had a like opinion (*n*). After much conſideration, he fixed upon our Doctor, now become Maſter of Trinity-Hall, and, as Biſhop Burnet remarks, eſteemed at that time the beſt Civil Laywer in England (*o*); to whom he joined Edward Fox, Provoſt of King's College in Cambridge. At the time of his departure, in February 1528, there is nothing clearer, or more certain, than that he had the moſt entire confidence repoſed in him, both by the King and his Miniſter, who hoped all things from his diligence and dexterity [*E*]; and who, if there be any credit due either to their verbal or written declarations, were equally ſincere and in earneſt in this matter. In their journey towards Italy they executed a commiſſion at the Court of Paris, where, by warm and vigorous repreſentations of what their Maſter had done, and might do, for King Francis, they obtained that Monarch's letter to the Pope, in as ſtrong terms as could be deſired, in ſupport of King Henry's demands. When they came to Orvieto, where the Pope then was, Dr Gardiner uſed very free language with his Holineſs, ſhewed him the danger he was in of loſing the King by playing a double game, and how much injury he would do the Cardinal if he failed his expectations. By theſe meaſures all was obtained which his inſtructions required, and a new commiſſion directed to the Cardinals Wolſey and Compegius was iſſued (*p*). In the courſe of this long embaſſy, the Pope, whoſe mind was continually perplexed, and to whom the Imperial, French, and Engliſh Miniſters allowed no quiet, fell dangerouſly ill, the diſorders of his affections operating upon the humours of his body; and this, as might be expected, gave a new turn to the intrigues of Rome. Dr Gardiner had as large a ſhare in theſe as any Miniſter, for he laboured the cauſe of the Cardinal of York, in caſe the Pope's death made way for a new election (*q*). He had the French King's letters alſo to ſupport this deſign; for by ſollicitting the Popedom, he thought to make Wolſey more than amends for the Archbiſhoprick of Toledo, which was once tendered him by the Emperor; it may be with the ſame ſincerity, or, in other words, with none at all. Yet ſo much was Wolſey ſet upon having, at leaſt for a time, the title of Pope, that, having intelligence the King's agents, and his own,

(*n*) See note [*E*].

(*o*) Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 52.

(*p*) Hollinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 907.

(*q*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 64.

parts, but was proud of bringing to the royal notice, able and active men; and even under his misfortunes, as will be hereafter ſhewn, he had no reaſon to repent that the new miniſters, Cromwell and Gardiner, were taken out of his houſe, becauſe, in their higheſt proſperity, they did not forget that they had been once his domeſticks. This treaty, (which was the foundation of Gardiner's fortunes) or at leaſt the ſubſtance of it, may be found in that great work of the noble Hiſtorian (15), who has done ſo much honour to the reign of Henry the Eighth, and placed that important period of time, in a much better point of light, than almoſt any other, relating to the affairs of this kingdom. It was from this time, that Dr Gardiner was admitted into the ſecret of affairs, and equally employed and truſted by the King and his Miniſter, tho' we have no particular account of the matters, which exerciſed his care, till he came to be employed in the troubleſome buſineſs of the King's divorce, which was about three years afterwards. All we know is, that he and his friend Dr Fox, were the perſons upon whom the Cardinal chiefly relied, for directing his fine buildings, and for laying the plan of thoſe magnificent foundations, which, however they might excite the envy of the times in which he lived, have very juſtly recommended his memory to poſterity.

(15) Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.

[*E*] *From his diligence and dexterity.*] Our Hiſtorians, are moſt of them dark, and divided in their ſentiments, as to the ſincerity of Cardinal Wolſey, in the buſineſs of the divorce. Yet this may be obſerved, that thoſe who were beſt informed, and took moſt pains to look into original papers, are very clear, with reſpect to the Cardinal's real intention, to carry that point for the King, as the only one that could preſerve his power, and ſecure him againſt all his enemies. Dr Ponet however, who made no ſcruple of laying every thing to Gardiner's charge, that might render him odious, tells us plainly, that, in order to his own advancement, he betrayed the Cardinal in this embaſſy, and puſhed, with the greateſt vigour, what his maſter wiſhed might be ſpun out, in order to gain time. But let us hear what the induſtrious and impartial Mr John Strype ſays upon this ſubject, from better authorities than any of our Hiſtorians, except Fox, had ever ſeen, which will effectually clear up this affair (16). 'Gardiner, ſays he, the Cardinal's Secretary, and Fox, the King's ſervant, Provoſt of King's College Cambridge, were diſpatched to the Pope to effect this, in February 1527, according to the computation of the Church of England. Of whom, Gardiner was the chief, having been admitted into the King's and Cardinal's Cabinet Council for this affair, and ſtiled in the Cardinal's credential letters to the Pope, *Primary Secretary of the moſt ſecret Counſels*. He was grown into extraordinary requeſt with the Cardinal, in ſo much, that in his ſaid letters, he called Gardiner *the* half *of* himſelf, *than whom none was* dearer *to him*. He writ, that he ſhould unlock his breaſt to the Pope; and that in hearing *him* ſpeak, he might think he heard the *Cardinal himſelf*. The particulars of this embaſſy, of which I have the very minutes, in divers letters ſent to the King and Cardinal, I will give ſome account of, eſpecially of ſuch things, as the Lord Herbert, or the Right Reverend Author of the Hiſtory of the Reformation, have made no mention of, or but briefly and imperfectly.' He proceeds then to ſhew from theſe papers, that when the Pope intimated to Dr Gardiner, that he underſtood this proceeding was not managed with Cardinal Wolſey's conſent; and that he had likewiſe heard ſome ſtrange things of the Lady intended for the King's bed; the Doctor thereupon, in the name, and by the authority of the Cardinal, who had been acquainted with this before he left England, demonſtrated to him the falſity of thoſe ſuggeſtions, and what the Cardinal's real ſentiments were in both points (17); and that the reader may have no doubts, as to the relator's capacity in ſtating theſe matters, he has printed ſeveral letters from the originals, which very fully juſtify all that is ſaid of them; and ſhew the Cardinal was, hitherto at leaſt, diſpoſed to ſerve his maſter as far as he could.

(16) Strype's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 89.

(17) So in the Ambaſſador's Diſpatches.

[*F*] *Were*

own, had procured for him the ſuffrages of one third part of the Cardinals, orders were ſent them immediately, to cauſe thoſe Cardinals to withdraw to a place of ſafety, in caſe the Conclave appeared more inclined to any other, and there to declare him Pope, aſſuring them they ſhould be moſt vigorouſly ſuſtained by King Henry and his allies. No doubt the pains taken in this buſineſs muſt have been highly pleaſing to the Cardinal, though, after all, the deſign came to nothing; for when Wolſey had ſhewn his utmoſt ſtrength, and procured from the King very liberal marks of eſteem for the Cardinals of his faction, Clement VII. recovered, and things once more returned to their old ſtate (*r*). All imaginable care was taken to have the new commiſſion penned to the King's mind, which, not without much difficulty, was obtained; and then it was to be carried from Orvieto to Rome, to paſs through the neceſſary forms requiſite to render it authentick. This being alſo an affair of nicety, and the diſpoſing Cardinal Campegio to make a tour to England with a good will, requiring ſome extraordinary management, Dr Gardiner took it upon himſelf, after having procured whatever was requiſite for his negotiation, and put every thing neceſſary to ſet this in a proper light at home into the hands of his colleague (*s*). Upon this, Provoſt Fox was ſent home with a full account of their negotiation, with which the King, the Cardinal, and Mrs Anne Bullen, were equally pleaſed, and unanimouſly joined in applauding the induſtry, intrepidity, and ingenuity, of this new Miniſter, as is inconteſtably proved from the authentick minutes of this negociation, which are, or at leaſt very lately were, ſtill preſerved and in being [*F*]. The King, indeed, had the beſt reaſon to be ſatisfied, ſince Dr Gardiner dealt clearly with him, and ſhewed him plainly there was nothing to be obtained by ſolliciting at Rome; that the Pope might probably be induced to approve any thing the King could perſuade the Legates to do, but, without queſtion, would never be prevailed on, by hopes or fears, to do any thing himſelf, which, in his judgment, was the final iſſue of all this trouble and ſollicitation (*t*). Biſhop Burnet is offended with Gardiner for deſiring the King not to ſhew this epiſtle to the Cardinal (*u*), which, however, might be very conſiſtent with his attachment and regard for his old maſter, ſince, from this caution, it appears he had no ſettled private correſpondence with the King; for then it would have been needleſs, and ſome of the contents, as he was to ſit in judgment in the cauſe, were exceedingly improper for him to have ſeen. The reader will find at the bottom of the page the greateſt part of this letter, which ſhews not barely a ſtrong capacity and a true political genius, but alſo how politely and how correctly he wrote, and that too in language very little antiquated even at this day [*G*]. When the

King

(*r*) Theſe Paſſages are from Gardiner's Inſtructions and other Diſpatches.

(*s*) From his Diſpatches.

(*t*) See his Letter to the King.

(*u*) Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 321.

[*F*] *Were lately preſerved, and in being.*] We learn from the ſame author, and from the ſame authorities, that Fox was moſt joyfully received upon his return, which was in the beginning of the month of May 1529; it was evening when he came to Court, when he was directed to go to Mrs Anne's, that is, Anne Boleyn's chamber, where he firſt made a recital to her, of ſuch points as were fitteſt for that Lady's ear; ſoon after the King came thither, and the Lady being withdrawn, he delivered his Majeſty the letters he had brought, and run into a large and particular detail of the ſeveral ſteps they had taken; all of which he entirely approved and highly admired. After ſome time, he ſent for Mrs Anne back again, and directed ſome paſſages to be repeated in her preſence; then Fox went to the Cardinal, who was no leſs pleaſed with every thing he heard, and particularly with the accounts given him, of Dr Gardiner's juſtifying his colleges to the Pope's ſatisfaction, and making his Holineſs ſenſible, that the revenues of the monaſteries granted for their endowment, were fairly applied. Altogether, made ſuch an impreſſion on the Cardinal's mind, that ſpeaking of Gardiner, he cried out, *O ineſtimable treaſure, and jewel of this realm!* which exclamation, he deſired Fox to remark, and to inſert in his letter (18). As for Mrs Anne Boleyn, ſhe thought herſelf under ſuch obligations to this able negotiator, that even before Fox's coming, ſhe wrote him the following letter (19), which is not amongſt the papers collected by Strype.

(18) Extracted from Dr Fox's long Letter.

(19) Copied from the Original in the Paper Office.

'Mr Stephens, I thank you for my letter, wherein I perceive the willing and faithful mind that you have to do me pleaſure, not doubting, but as much as is poſſible for man's wit to imagine, you will do; I pray God to ſend you well to ſpeed in all your matters, ſo that you would put me to the ſtudy how to reward your high ſervice. I do truſt in God, you ſhall not repent it; and that the end of this journey ſhall be more pleaſant to me, than your firſt, for that was but a rejoicing hope, which ceaſing, the lack of it does put me to the more pain, and they that are partakers with me, as you do know; and therefore I do truſt, that this hard beginning ſhall have the better ending.

'Mr Stephens, I ſend you here cramp rings, for you and Mr Gregory, and Mr Peter, praying you to diſtribute them as you think beſt. And have me recommended heartily to them both, as ſhe that, you may aſſure them, will be glad to do them any pleaſure which ſhall lie in my power. And thus I make an end, praying God ſend you good health.

'Written at Greenwich, the 4th day of April.'

The firſt part of this letter ſeems to refer to the journey made by Dr Gardiner, from the Pope's court at Orvieto to Rome, in order to quicken the departure of Cardinal Campegio. It is indeed very difficult to ſettle the dates of many letters, written about that time, becauſe ſometimes they have only the month, without either day or year; but more frequently the day and month without the year, which can only be recovered from circumſtances.

[*G*] *Even at this day.*] It has been very juſtly obſerved, that the ſureſt method of making a right judgment, as to the capacity of public miniſters, is to conſider their diſpatches; and it is for this reaſon chiefly, that the collections of letters, written by famous men, are ſo highly and ſo deſervedly valued. It is impoſſible for a man with a confuſed head, or of ſuperficial parts, to write clearly and cloſely; theſe are qualities not to be acquired even by a long habit of buſineſs, but are the pure effects of ſuperior talents. There is another remark, that may and ought to be made, upon this curious and important letter of Dr Gardiner's, which is, that ſolid learning enables a man to form a ſtile, very different from that of the age in which he lives; and if the ingenious reader will be pleaſed to compare the following epiſtle, not only with thoſe written about the ſame time, of which numbers are preſerved, by Fox, Hollinſhed, Stow, Fuller, Burnet, Collier, and Strype, but with ſuch as are in the Cabala, and even in later collections, he will find it is written with peculiar elegance and eaſe, and has nothing of that ſtiffneſs or pedantry, which is viſible in many of thoſe compoſitions. It is no exception to this, that

Gardiner

King had conſidered this advice ſufficiently, and ſaw how well it coreſponded with events, he recalled Dr Gardiner from Rome, in order to make uſe of him in the management of his

Gardiner makes uſe therein of ſeveral Latin expreſſions, becauſe of their apparent propriety; and that he was writing to a Prince, not only well verſed in that language, but who valued himſelf upon his learning. It may be alſo obſerved, that he ſhews a hearty and generous concern for Mr Gregory, in which there could be nothing of artifice or colluſion, ſince it is very evident, from the contents of this letter, that he could not have communicated it; as it is likewiſe plain, that, by recommending this gentleman's affairs, when he is abſolutely ſilent as to his own, he meant to render him the greateſt, and moſt effectual ſervice, in his power, which is a ſtrain of friendſhip rare amongſt Politicians (20).

‘ Pleaſeth it your Majeſty to underſtand, that beſides all other means uſed to the Pope's Holineſs, for attaining and atchieving your Highneſs's purpoſe and intent, ſuch as in our common letters to my Lord Legate's Grace, and my ſeveral letters to the ſame, be contained at length. I have alſo a-part ſhewed unto the Pope's Holineſs, that which your Highneſs ſhewed me in your gallery at Hampton-Court, concerning the ſollicitation of the Princes of Almayn, and ſuch other matter, as ſhould and ought to fear the Pope's ſaid Holineſs, adding alſo, thoſe reaſons which might induce the ſame to adhere expreſsly to your Highneſs, and the French King; and ſo to take the more courage, to accompliſh your Highneſs deſires, uſing all ways poſſible, to enforce him to do ſomewhat, being a man of ſuch nature, as he never reſolveth any thing, but by ſome violent affection compelled thereunto. And conſidering we can ſpeed no better at his hands, it agreeth with that, your Majeſty, of your high wiſdom before perpended, that his Holineſs would do nothing which might offend the Emperor, unleſs he firſt determined himſelf to adhere to your Highneſs, and the French King, and ſo to declare himſelf, containing himſelf no longer in neutrality, which he will not do: nor, the ſtate of the affairs here conſidered, it were for his weal ſo to do, unleſs the Leagues otherwiſe proceeded, than they yet do; or that his Holineſs would determine himſelf to leave theſe parts, and eſtabliſh his See in ſome other place, for as much as here being, he is daily in danger of the Imperial's, like as we have ſignified by our other letters.

‘ His Holineſs is in great perplexity, and agony of mind, nor can tell what to do; he ſeemeth in words, faſhion, and manner of ſpeaking, as though he would do ſomewhat for your Highneſs, and yet, when it cometh to the point, nothing he doth: I dare not ſay certainly, whether it be for fear, or want of good-will, for I were loth to make a lie of him, or to your Highneſs, my Prince, Sovereign, Lord, and Maſter. Finally, I perceive this by the Pope, and all other here, that ſo your Highneſs cauſe were determined there by my Lords Legates, they would be glad thereof; and as I think, if the Emperor would make any ſuit againſt that which ſhall be done there, they would ſerve him as they now do your Highneſs, and ſo drive off the time; for they ſeem to be ſo minded, as in this cauſe they would *ſuffer much*, but *do* very *little*.

‘ Wherefore, if my Lord Campegius will ſet a-part all other reſpects, and frankly promiſe your Highneſs to give ſentence for you, then muſt be your Highneſs remedy ſhort and expedite; nor ſhall there want wit by another means, to meet with ſuch delays, as this falſe counterfeit breve hath cauſed. For with theſe men here, your Highneſs ſhall, by no ſuit profit, which thing I write unto your Highneſs, as of my moſt bounden duty I ought to do, there ſhall every day riſe new devices, and none take effect, but long delays and waſted time; wherefore, doing what I can yet to get the beſt, although we be fully anſwered therein, I ſhall do what I can to get the commiſſion amplified as much as may be, and at the leaſt, to extend to the reprobation of the brief if I can, for I dare promiſe nothing to your Majeſty at this man's hands; and that which ſhall be obtained, if any be obtained, ſhall be, according to your Highneſs pleaſure, ſent by Mr Bryan.

‘ And whereas your Highneſs, in your gracious letters directed to me, and my colleagues, marvelleth that I have not, e're this, advertiſed the ſame, of ſuch Bulls as your Majeſty willed me to impetrate here; I thought verily, that for as much as the ſame be, to be impetrate at the Pope's hand; and that we ſignified unto your Majeſty, by our letters of the Pope's great ſickneſs; and how we could not have acceſs unto the ſame, that it had been ſuperfluous for me in my letters, to make any mention of the ſaid Bulls, ſignifying unto your Highneſs now, that having thoſe matters, as it becometh me to have in good remembrance, I have not yet broken with the Pope's Holineſs in them, nor thought good to interrupt the proſecution of your Highneſs matter, with the purſuit of thoſe, ſaving that I ſpake a word to the Pope's Holineſs, *de Eccleſiis Cathedralibus*; and his Holineſs ſaid, nothing could be done, till the Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor be recovered.

‘ In other things I ſpeak not, for our audience with the Pope's Holineſs hath been ſo ſcarce, that we thought it little enough to ſpend the ſame in your Highneſs principal matter. And to advertiſe your Highneſs what Counſel is here conducted, for the defence of your Majeſty's cauſe, the ſame ſhall underſtand, that this court, as it hath ſuffered in all other things, ſo it is alſo much appeyred in learned men; and of them that be, we dare not truſt every one, *ne Cauſa Majeſtatis veſtræ illis denudata*, they ſhould, *prodere illam Adverſariis*, wherefore, counſelling as yet only with two, the one called Dominus Michael, the other Dominus Sigiſmundus; we perceived nothing to be ſollicited openly on the other ſide; and that there, as yet, hath been no need to diſpute openly, have communicated your Highneſs matter to no more. And as for that article, *Quod Papa non poſſit diſpenſare*, the Pope himſelf will hear no diſputations in it; and ſo he might retain your Highneſs good mind, he ſeemeth not to care for himſelf, whether your Highneſs cauſe be decided by that article or no, ſo he did it not; but ſurely it appeareth, as a man may gather, by his faſhion and manner, that he hath made his account no further to meddle in your Highneſs matter, neither with your Majeſty, nor againſt the ſame, but follow, that ſhall be done by his Legates there.

‘ Wherefore, if my Lord Campegius would promiſe your Majeſty to give ſentence frankly and apertly, having *propitium Judice*, I would truſt, being there, with ſuch conſultations, as I ſhould bring from hence, to ſay ſomewhat to this breve there, *Apud illos & iſta eſt ſacra anchora Majeſtatis veſtræ*; for from hence ſhall come nothing but delays, deſiring your Highneſs not to ſhew this to my Lord Campegius, nor my Lord's Grace.

‘ Mr Gregory ſendeth preſently unto your Highneſs, the promiſe made by the Pope's Holineſs, concerning your Highneſs cauſe, at ſuch time as I went to Venice, for his cauſe, which promiſe in the firſt three words, viz. Cum nos juſtitiam ejus cauſæ perpendentes, &c. doth make as much, and more, for the maintenance of that, ſhall be done in your Highneſs cauſe; then if the commiſſion decretal, being in Cardinal Campegius's hands, ſhould be ſhewed, and this your Highneſs, at your liberty, to ſhew to whom of your Council, it ſhall pleaſe your Grace, thinking, in my poor opinion, that it were not the beſt, therefore, to move the Pope in that matter again, in this adverſe time. I moſt humbly deſire your Majeſty, that I may be a ſuitor to the ſame, for the ſaid Mr Gregory, ſo as by your gracious commandment, payment may be made there, to his factors, of ſuch diets as your Highneſs alloweth him; for omitting to ſpeak of his true, faithful, and diligent ſervice, which I have heretofore, and do now perceive in him here, I aſſure your Highneſs, he liveth here ſumptuouſly and chargeably to your Highneſs honour; and in this great ſcarcity, muſt needs

‘ be

(20) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. amongſt the Records joined to Vol. II. p. 297.

his cauſe before the Legantine Court. Upon his return he had the Archdeaconry of Norfolk beſtowed on him by Biſhop Nyx, of Norwich, for whom he had obtained ſome favours from the Pope. He was inſtalled March the firſt 1529 (w), and this, ſo far as appears, was his firſt preferment in the Church; but in the State his growth was quicker, for the King having conſtant need of his ſervice, and not eſteeming it proper to uſe it while he belonged to another, took him from his old Maſter Cardinal Wolſey, and declared him Secretary of State (x). In this ſituation he was conſidered as having a large ſhare in the management of all affairs, and was particularly adviſed with by the King, when Cardinal Campegio declared that the cauſe was avoked to Rome, and that himſelf and his colleague could proceed no further (y). An accident furniſhed the King with the means of extricating himſelf out of the many difficulties into which this behaviour of the Pope's had thrown him, for which he was indebted to the ſhrewd advice given by Dr (afterwards Archbiſhop) Cranmer (z), as he was indebted for that to Dr Gardiner, who introduced him [H]; and by this, and this only, contributed to his old patron's ruin. As ſoon as the King ſaw a way open for the concluſion of his buſineſs, without the aſſiſtance of the Cardinal, he delayed no longer making himſelf ſenſible of his diſpleaſure. Whence it aroſe, is variouſly and inconſiſtently related by our Hiſtorians; but, without recurring to deep and incertain motives, we may be ſatisfied with this, that when Henry ſaw his Miniſter had either concurred with the Court of Rome in duping him, or was in reality duped moſt ungratefully and egregiouſly by that Court himſelf, he determined to truſt him no longer, but to make him

(w) Regiſt. Norwich.

(x) Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.

(y) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 71.

(z) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 4.

'be driven to extremity, unleſs your Highneſs be a 'gracious Lord unto him in that behalf.'

This letter is dated the twenty-firſt of April, which muſt have been in the year 1529; but before it came to the King's hands, he had written a long diſpatch to Gardiner, which is ſtill preſerved. The orders for his return to England, were communicated to him, and to Sir Francis Bryan, in a long diſpatch by Cardinal Wolſey, who tells the former, what has been hinted in the text, that his preſence was abſolutely neceſſary at home, the King being unwilling to commence his ſuit before the two Cardinal Legates, without having his advice; and therefore, there is reaſon to believe, that he left Italy ſome time in the month of May, or it may be in the latter end of April (21). He was ſucceeded by Dr Bennet, who was alſo a creature of the Cardinal's, and who was particularly charged to ſpare no pains, in moving the compaſſion of the Pope, by ſhewing him plainly, that the welfare or ruin of the Cardinal of York, depended upon the ſucceſs, or want of ſucceſs, in the King's ſuit for a divorce (22).

[H] *Who introduced him.*] There are ſome writers, who aſcribe the introduction of Cranmer to the King's knowledge, to Fox entirely; and whoever was inclined to flatter Gardiner's memory, would ſuffer this to paſs; for certainly, the manner in which he introduced him, was very unworthy; Biſhop Burnet, after John Fox and others, relates it thus (23). 'Dr Cranmer, being forced 'to fly out of Cambridge, from a plague that was 'there, and having the ſons of one Mr Creſſy, of 'Waltham-Croſs, committed to his charge, he went, 'with his pupils, to their father's houſe at Waltham. 'There he was, when the King returned from his 'progreſs, who took Waltham in his way, and lay a 'night there. The harbingers having appointed Gardiner and Fox, the King's Secretary and Almoner, 'to lie at Mr Creſſy's houſe, it ſo happened, that 'Cranmer was with them at ſupper. The whole diſcourſe of England being then about the divorce, theſe 'two courtiers, knowing Cranmer's learning and ſolid 'judgment, entertained him with it, and deſired to 'hear his opinion concerning it. He modeſtly declined it, but told them, that he judged it would be 'a ſhorter and ſafer way, once to clear it well, if the 'marriage was unlawful in itſelf, by virtue of any 'divine precept: for if that were proved, then it was 'certain that the Pope's diſpenſation could be of no 'force, to make that lawful, which God had declared 'to be unlawful. Therefore, he thought that, inſtead of a long fruitleſs negotiation at Rome, it were 'better to conſult all the learned men, and the univerſities of Chriſtendom; for if they once declared 'it in the King's favour, then the Pope muſt needs 'give judgment, or otherwiſe, the Bull, being of itſelf null and void, the marriage would be found 'ſinful, notwithſtanding the Pope's diſpenſation. This 'ſeemed a very good motion, which they reſolved to 'offer to the King; ſo next night, when he came to 'Greenwich, they propoſed it to him, but with this 'difference, that Gardiner had a mind to make it paſs 'for their own contrivance, but Fox, who was of a 'more ingenuous nature, told the King from whom 'they had it. He was much affected with it, ſo ſoon 'as he heard it, and ſaid, had he known it ſooner, 'it would have ſaved him a vaſt expence, and much 'trouble, and would needs have Cranmer ſent for to 'Court, ſaying, in his coarſe way of ſpeaking, *That* '*he had the ſow by the right ear.* So he was ſent for 'to Court, and being brought before the King, he 'carried himſelf ſo, that the King conceived an high 'opinion of his judgment and candour, which he preſerved to his death, and ſtill payed a reſpect to 'him, beyond all the other churchmen that were 'about him; and though he made more uſe of Gardiner in his buſineſs, whom he found a man of great 'dexterity and cunning, yet he never had any reſpect 'for him. But for Cranmer, though the King knew 'that in many things he differed from him, yet for 'all his being ſo impatient of contradiction, he always 'reverenced him.'

This laſt obſervation of the Biſhop's, is, perhaps, a little too refined, ſince it was impoſſible to know what were the real ſentiments of King Henry, farther than they are diſcovered to us by facts; and theſe ſpeak pretty equally in favour of Cranmer and Gardiner. They were both countenanced, employed, and preferred, and both were ſometimes checked and frowned upon by their maſter; he had this in his temper, which no body better underſtood than Gardiner, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. They were both guilty of inexcuſable compliances, to preſerve their credit with that haughty and haſty Prince, which Cranmer did to the laſt; and how Gardiner came to loſe it we ſhall enquire. At preſent, it may be convenient to give ſome account of what is aſſerted in the text, that the bringing Cranmer to the King, proved Wolſey's ruin, as to which, it muſt be confeſſed, that our hiſtories are ſilent, but it appears thus. All the world expected his diſgrace, upon the avocation of the King's ſuit to Rome, which, however, did not happen; and Biſhop Burnet very well obſerves, that the Cardinal himſelf began to be cured of his apprehenſions, when he ſaw that the King's countenance was not altered towards him; and that thoſe who were moſt familiar with that Monarch, preſerved their reſpect to him. But when, to uſe the King's coarſe expreſſion, he had once *got the ſow by the right ear*, he no longer temporized with the Cardinal, but ordered his Attorney-General, Chriſtopher Hales, to file an information againſt him in Michaelmas-term; ſent for the Great Seal, and ordered him to retire to his houſe at Aſher, which belonged to his Biſhoprick of Wincheſter. It is therefore plain, from a compariſon of dates, and of facts, that the King's receiving and embracing Cranmer's counſels, was the true ſource of the Cardinal's diſgrace, the King being then perſuaded, that he had no farther need of him.

(21) By comparing his Letters from Rome, with the matters he tranſacted at his return.

(22) Extracts of his Letters may be found in Strype.

(23) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 79, 80.

[I] A

him in ſome meaſure the victim that might ſatiate popular reſentment, and ſtifle thoſe clamours raiſed amongſt his ſubjects in different parts of the kingdom (*a*). This tempeſt broke with ſuch fury on the head of this devoted Miniſter, that his miſery became as much the ſubject of amazement, as his proſperity had ever been. In this diſtreſs he had recourſe to his old ſervant the Secretary, and, though ſome have inſinuated the contrary, he met with as ſincere returns of gratitude and friendſhip, as he could deſire or expect [*I*]. The year

(a) Hollinſhed, Stowe, Baker.

[*I*] *As he could deſire or expect.*] There is a great deal to be met with in ſecret hiſtory, in relation to the fall of Cardinal Wolſey, as well as of the ſtrange calamities into which he fell; and his misfortunes are, by many, attributed to the reſentment of Mrs Anne Boleyn, which, however, there is ſome cauſe to doubt. Great Miniſters have always bitter enemies, who earneſtly wiſh, and would willingly work, their deſtruction; but it does not follow from thence, that they accompliſh what they have wiſhed and worked for, even when it falls out; for it may and often does happen, from other ſecret cauſes, in reſpect to which, they have no power, and of which, ſometimes, they have not the leaſt knowledge. It has been ſhewn, in the former note, that the King thought he had no farther need of this Miniſter; and whoever looks cloſely into the hiſtory of Henry the Eighth, will perceive that it was his ruling maxim, to promote men whom he might uſe, to protect them while he could uſe, and to give them up when they were of no further uſe. He was not entirely ſatisfied, that the deſtruction of Wolſey's perſon could promote his deſigns, and therefore he ſpared him; and as he ſaw further, that the fall of his Miniſter, would be conſidered as a point of importance in other kingdoms, as well as his own; he was willing to ſee how far the Cardinal's intereſt reached, and whether the Court of Rome, for which he had done ſo much, might not be inclined to do ſomething for him; and this induced the King to take ſo much care of his life, when, through the agitation of his ſpirits, he fell into a dangerous illneſs at Aſher (24).

(24) He ſent his own Phyſician, Dr Putts, to attend him, and by him ſent kind meſſages and preſents.

It is very rare in ſuch caſes, for Miniſters to find friends, more eſpecially amongſt thoſe, who, in point of fortune, depend upon the maſter with whom they are in diſgrace. Thomas Cromwell, then Secretary to the Cardinal, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by adhering ſteadily to his maſter, and ſolliciting ſtoutly for him at Court; in reſpect to this, all our hiſtories agree, and commend him for it, as he deſerved. But they do not tell us, to whom he applied himſelf at Court, though at that time, he was not of a rank to have any admittance to the King, though his conduct, in this reſpect, recommended him afterwards to his favour, as a man of abilities, ſpirit, and fidelity. Dr Gardiner was then Secretary of State, in the King's Council, and one of his moſt active Miniſters. To ſay nothing of his having been bred and raiſed by Cardinal Wolſey, the then ſtate of affairs, and the ſituation of that once great man, were points that muſt have fallen under his notice; and whoever had an inclination to look into his hiſtory, muſt neceſſarily be curious to know how he acted in ſo delicate a conjucture; and whether ambition, and ſelf-intereſt, ſo much took up his heart, as to leave no room for gratitude or pity. It might have been ſurmiſed, that conſidering his former condition, and his ſtation at this time, that he was the perſon to whom Cromwell had recourſe, in favour of his unfortunate maſter, that he ſollicited his ſuits, and procured him thoſe gleams of royal clemency and compaſſion, that broke through all the obſcurity of his misfortunes, to a degree, that revived the envy and the malice of his enemies. But the ſilence of our greateſt Hiſtorians, and the character commonly given to Stephen Gardiner, would have prevented any conjecture of this kind, from gaining the leaſt degree of belief. However, the indefatigable Strype (25), who had no talent for inventing or interpolating hiſtory, and who very honeſtly communicated to the public all he knew, has effectually ſettled this matter; and the reader will be pleaſed to ſee a part of his evidence in his own words, founded not upon obſcure hints, or upon memoirs of incertain authority; but upon Cardinal Wolſey's own letters; and facts, that will admit no diſpute.

(25) Memorials, Vol. I. p. 114.

‘ In the mean time, he employed thoſe few friends he had, to intercede with the King, and to make as good a concluſion of his troubles as they could. He had two that ſtuck cloſe to him, viz. the aforeſaid Thomas Cromwell, and Dr Stephen Gardiner, Secretary of State. This latter he plied with his letters, the bearer whereof was Cromwell, whom he called *his truſty friend.* After he had got free of the articles drawn up againſt him in Parliament, by the means of Cromwell, the King appointed, to come to ſome concluſion of the Cardinal's buſineſs, and to determine what was to be done concerning him. This Secretary Gardiner ſignified to him in writing, and likewiſe the time when he ſuppoſed it might be, namely, within a week, or thereabouts: and likewiſe told him, that he would not fail to write to him the particulars. The Cardinal impatient to know the iſſue, and not thinking the Secretary ſwift enough in his information, above a week being now paſt, could take no reſt till he heard from him the ſum of what had paſt concerning him. And therefore in a letter ſent by Cromwell, moſt earneſtly begs the Secretary in much meanneſs of ſpirit, *As he tendered his poor life, and at the reverence of God, and that holy time, he would ſend him his letter, appealing alſo to his pity, knowing in what an agony he was, and that he would not only deſerve towards God, but bind him thereby to be his continual beadſman.* And ſo ended from Aſher. *Written*, thoſe are his words, *with his rude hand and ſorrowful heart.* Subſcribing himſelf *T.* Car^{lis} *Ebor. miſerrimus*, The moſt miſerable Thomas, Cardinal of York. This was written in Chriſtmas holidays.

‘ Soon after Cromwell returned from the Secretary with this meſſage to the Cardinal. *That the King moved with pity of the* Cardinal, *and commiſerating his lamentable condition, preſt with extreme poverty as well as ſickneſs of body and mind, had committed the ending of his troubles to the* Secretary, *and* ſome others *of the* Privy Council, *and that to be done with all the haſte that might be. And that he ſhould have a pardon drawn up in the moſt full and ample form, that his own Counſel could deviſe.* Upon this meſſage he ſoon diſpatched a letter to the Secretary, importing, that this favourable order of the King, he was more ſenſible of and thankful for, *becauſe it proceeded from himſelf, out of a gracious remembrance of him: for which he accounted himſelf moſt bounden, to ſerve and pray for the preſervation of his moſt royal Majeſty: thanking God, that he, the* Secretary, *had occaſion given him to be a ſollicitor and ſetter forth of ſuch things, as ſhould conſerve his end. That in the making and compounding whereof, his aſſured truſt was, that he would ſhew the love and affection which he bore towards him.* He earneſtly intreated him, to whom he, the Cardinal, had been an old lover and friend, that *he would ſo declare himſelf in the managing of his buſineſs, that the world might perceive that by his good means, the* King *was the better good Lord unto him; and that now coming newly in a manner into the world, there might ſuch reſpect be had unto his degree, old age, and long ſervice, as might be to the King's honour, and the* Secretary's *praiſe; which would*, as he ſaid, *undoubtedly follow, if he obtained his benevolence towards him. And men would perceive, that it was by his wiſdom and dexterity, that he was relieved and holpen in his calamity. At the reverence therefore of God, he prayed him that was his refuge, to ſet to his hand, that he might come to a laudable end and repoſe. And that he would ſee that he might be furniſhed after ſuch a ſort, that he might end his ſhort time and life to the honour of* Chriſt's Church *and his* Prince. *Promiſing withal to requite his kindneſs in ſuch a manner, as he ſhould have cauſe to think his pains to be well employed. And ſo referring him to his truſty friend* Cromwell, *to whom he deſired him to give firm credence, he concluded,* at *Aſher with the trembling hand and heavy heart, of his aſſured lover*

and

year enſuing opened with the moſt important ſervice, at leaſt as his Maſter conceived it, that had been as yet rendered him by Dr Gardiner, and which nevertheleſs does more honour to his abilities than his virtue; and this was to manage the Univerſity of Cambridge, ſo as to procure their declaration in the King's cauſe, after Dr Cranmer's book ſhould appear in ſupport of it (*b*). This, in conjunction with Dr Fox, he accompliſhed, tho' not without much artifice and addreſs, as his own letter ſhews [*K*], which ſufficiently demonſtrates that men, and even great bodies of men, have been much the ſame in all ages.

After

‘ *and beadſman.*——Soon after, viz. February the twelfth, the King ſealed his pardon, and three days after reſtored him the Archbiſhoprick of York, and ſent him money, upwards of ſix thouſands pounds, beſides plate, and furniture for his houſe and chapel. Which favours pretty well recovered the Cardinal, while he remained ſtill at Aſher, and by the King's leave removed thence to Richmond.

‘ But his enemies now thought him too near the Court: ſo they prevailed to get him removed to his Dioceſe of York. In the month of September Anno 1530, he came to Cawood-caſtle near York, ſo the Lord Herbert (26); but before he came hither, I find him in the months of July and Auguſt at Southwell (27), a manor of the Archbiſhop's, where he made ſome ſtay. Here the Cardinal recommended unto the Secretary, one who had the title of Provoſt of Beverley, the Governor of a religious houſe, ſituated in his Dioceſe. His ſtate, it ſeems, was in ſome hazard. Whereupon the Cardinal eſpouſing his cauſe, and probably to make himſelf popular upon his firſt coming into his Dioceſe, deſired the Secretary that he would uſe his intereſt for him to the King, and bring him into his preſence. This the Secretary did accordingly, receiving the Provoſt as coming from the Cardinal, humanely and lovingly, and introducing him into the King's Highneſs preſence. Whom the King received, and ſhewed him, *that he was his good and gracious* Lord, *and admitted and accepted him as his* Orator *and* Scholar. For this the Cardinal from Southwell thanks him much, intreating him to continue his good favour towards the ſaid Provoſt, and to take him into his patronage and protection. The Cardinal now found a great change in his revenues and incomes, which were ſinking very low, in compariſon of what they had been. So that he laboured under want. This made him write in the month of July to his friend the Secretary, to take the opportunity to excite the King to ſome liberality towards him. *That he would remember the poor ſtate and condition he ſtood in, and to be a means to the* King's Highneſs *for his relief; whereby he would not only as* he ſaid, *deſerve thanks of* God, *but alſo declare to his perpetual laud and praiſe, that he being in authority, had not forgotten his old maſter and friend.*’ This is all the language of thoſe times and of thoſe letters, much more to the ſame purpoſe the reader may find in the ſame place; but this being enough to our point, we ſhall not detain him any longer.

[*K*] *As his own letter ſhews.*] We are told by the Lord Herbert of Cherbury (28), who had read this letter, and had a very juſt notion of the buſineſs, and of the means by which it was carried, what the reaſons were, that occaſioned the King more trouble in obtaining the declarations of his own Univerſities in his favour, than of many others in foreign parts, and more eſpecially of the difficulties that were met with at Cambridge. He ſays, that there were two parties in the Univerſity, that united together in oppoſing the King's deſire; that is, thoſe who were really againſt the divorce, as a thing they apprehended to be unjuſt; and thoſe, who, independent of that motive, were zealous for the Popiſh religion, and diſliked whatever had a tendency to promote the Reformation, or, as it was ſtiled in thoſe times, the new opinions. The reaſon that the latter party were ſo much alarmed, was, becauſe they ſaw thoſe they oppoſed, with Cranmer at their head, eager for this declaration; and the ſtrength theſe united parties had in the Univerſity, being well known to Cranmer, we need not at all wonder, that the King was ſo uneaſy about it; or that he conſidered the ſervice in procuring it, even in the manner it was procured, as a thing of the greateſt conſequence. Let us now come to the letter (29), which will ſhew, that the King had intruſted his concerns in the hands of very capable agents.

February 1530, *from* Cambridge.

To the King's Highneſs.

‘ PLeaſeth it your Highneſs to be advertiſed, that arriving here at Cambridge upon Saturday laſt paſt at noon, that ſame night and Sunday in the morning, we deviſed with the Vice-Chancellor, and ſuch other as favoureth your Grace's cauſe, how, and in what ſort to compaſs and obtain your Grace's purpoſe and intent, wherein we aſſure your Grace, we found much towardneſs, good-will, and diligence in the Vice-Chancellor, and Dr Edmunds; being as ſtudious to ſerve your Grace as we could wiſh or deſire: nevertheleſs, there was not ſo much care, labour, ſtudy, and diligence employed on our party by them, ourſelf, and other, for attaining your Grace's purpoſe, but there was as much done by others, for the let and impeachment of the ſame; and as we aſſembled, they aſſembled; as we made friends, they made friends, to let that nothing ſhould paſs as in the Univerſity's name, wherein the firſt day they were ſuperiors; for they had put in the ears of them, by whoſe voices ſuch things do paſs *multas fabulas*, too tedious to write unto your Grace.

‘ Upon Sunday at afternoon were aſſembled, after the manner of the Univerſity, all the Doctors, Bachelors of Divinity, and Maſters of Art, being in number almoſt two hundred: in that *congregation* we delivered your Grace's letters, which were read openly by the Vice-Chancellor. And for anſwer to be made unto them firſt, the Vice-Chancellor calling apart the Doctors, aſked their advice and opinion; whereunto they anſwered ſeverally as their affections led them, & *res erat in multa confuſione*.

‘ *Tandem* they were content Anſwer ſhould be made to the queſtions by indifferent men: but then they came to exceptions againſt the Abbot of St *Benet*'s, who ſeemed to come for that purpoſe; and likewiſe againſt Dr Reppes and Dr Crome, and alſo generally againſt all ſuch as had allowed Dr Cranmer's book; inaſmuch as they had already declared their opinion; we ſaid thereunto, that by that reaſon they might except againſt all; for it was lightly, that in a queſtion ſo notable as this is, every man learned hath ſaid to his friend, as he thinketh in it for the time, but we ought not to judge of any man, that he ſetteth more to defend that which he hath once ſaid, than truth afterward known. Finally; The Vice-Chancellor, becauſe the day was much ſpent in thoſe altercations, commanding every man to reſort to his ſeat apart, as the manner is in thoſe aſſemblies, willed every man's mind to be known ſecretly, whether they would be content with ſuch an order, as he had conceived for anſwer, to be made by the Univerſity to your Grace's letters, wherunto that night they would in no wiſe agree. And foraſmuch as it was then dark night, the Vice-Chancellor continued the *congregation* till the next day at one of the clock; at which time the Vice-Chancellor proponed a *grace*, after the form herein incloſed, and it was firſt denied: when it was aſked again, it was even on both parties, to be denied or granted; and at the laſt, by labour of friends, to cauſe ſome to depart the houſe, which were againſt it, it was obtained in ſuch form, as the ſchedule herein encloſed purporteth, wherein be two points which we would have left out; but conſidering, by putting in of them, we allured many, and that indeed they ſhall not hurt the determination for your Grace's part, we were finally content therewith.

‘ The one point is that where it was firſt, that *quicquid major pars*, of them that be named, *decreverit*, ſhould be taken for the determination of the Univerſity. Now it referred, *ad duas partes*, wherein we ſuppoſe ſhall be no difficulty. The other point is, that your Grace's queſtion ſhall be openly diſputed,

‘ which

(*b*) Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 5, 6.

(26) In his Life of Henry VIII.

(27) There is a diſtinct account of all the ſtages in his journey, in Holinſhed, Vol. II. p. 914.

(28) Life of Henry VIII.

(29) Cotton, Vitel. B. 13.

After this great exploit, as it was then thought, his aſcent in the Church was marvellouſly quickened. In the ſpring of the year 1531, he was inſtalled Archdeacon of Leiceſter (c), reſigning that of Norfolk, which he held before; and, towards the cloſe of the month of September enſuing, he alſo reſigned that in favour of his coadjutor Dr Edward Fox, who became afterwards Biſhop of Hereford (d). In the month of October he was incorporated at the Univerſity of Oxford (e), and November the twenty-ſeventh 1531, he was conſecrated Biſhop of Wincheſter (f), contrary to what many writers aſſert, that he was not promoted to this See till about three years after (g). On the fifth of December following, the temporalities were reſtored (h), which is a ſufficient proof that the former is the right date. Dr Gardiner, it ſeems, was not appriſed of the King's intentions, who would ſometimes rate him ſoundly, and at the inſtant he beſtowed it put him in mind of it. *I have*, ſaid he, *often ſquar'd with you*, Gardiner (a word he uſed for thoſe kind of rebukes), *but I love you never the worſe, as the Biſhoprick I give will convince you* (i). He ſat with Dr Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, when that prelate pronounced the ſentence of divorce againſt Queen Katherine, or rather declared her marriage with the King null and void, May the twenty-third 1533 (k). The ſame year he was ſent over to Marſeilles, that he might have an eye to the interview between the French King and the Pope, from whence his maſter ſuſpected ſome detriment might ſpring; and there he intimated the appeal of Henry VIII. to a General Council, in caſe the Pope ſhould pretend to proceed in his cauſe (l); and he did the like on the behalf of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who made a particular application to him for that purpoſe [L]. Upon his return to England, he was

(c) Tanner. Biblioth. Britanico-Hibernica, p. 308.

(d) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 158.

(e) Faſt. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 50.

(f) MS. Lowth e *Regiſt. Cantuar.*

(g) Godwin, Wharton, Tanner.

(h) Rymer. Fœder. Tom. xiv. p. 429.

(i) In his own letter to the Duke of Somerſet.

(k) Burnet's Reformat. Vol. I. p. 131.

(l) Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.

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which we think to be very honourable; and it is agreed amongſt us, that in that diſputation, ſhall anſwer the Abbot of St Benet's, Dr Reppes, and I, Mr Fox, to all ſuch as will object any thing, or reaſon againſt the concluſion to be ſuſtained for your Grace's part. And becauſe Mr Doctor Clyſs hath ſaid, that he hath ſomewhat to ſay concerning the Canon Law, I, your Secretary, ſhall be adjoined unto them for anſwer to be made therein.

‘ In the ſchedule, which we ſend unto your Grace herewith, containing the names of thoſe who ſhall determine your Grace's queſtion, all marked with the letter (A), be already of your Grace's opinion, by which we truſt, and with other good means, to induce and obtain a great part of the reſt. Thus we beſeech Almighty God to preſerve your moſt noble and royal eſtate.

Your Highneſs's

Moſt humble ſubjects and ſervants,

STEPHEN GARDINER,
EDWARD FOX.

The Grace purpoſed and obtained, Feb. 1530.

Placet vobis ut

A Vicecancellarius.

Doctores,

A Salcot, *The Abbot of* St Benet's,
Watſon,
A Repps,
Tomſon,
Venetus, *de iſto bene ſperatur,*
A Edmunds,
Downes,
A Crome,
A Wygan,
A Boſton.

Magiſtri in Theologia,

Middelton,
A Heynes,
Mylſent, *de iſto bene ſperatur,*
A Shaxton,
A Latimer,
A Simon,
Longford, *de iſto bene ſperatur,*
Thyxtel,
Nicols,
Hutton,
A Skip,
A Goodrich,
A Heth,
Hadway, *de iſto bene ſperatur,*
Dey,
Bayne,
A.A Duo Procuratores,

Habeant plenam facultatem & authoritatem, nomine totius Univerſitatis, reſpondendi Literis Regiæ Majeſtatis in hac Congregatione lectis, ac nomine totius Univerſitatis definiendi & determinandi quæſtionem in dictis literis propoſitam: Ita quod quicquid duæ partes eorum preſentium inter ſe decreverint, ſuper quæſtione propoſita in iiſdem habeatur, & reputetur pro Reſponſione, Definitione & Determinatione totius Univerſitatis, & quod liceat Vicecancellario, Procuratoribus & Scrutatoribus, literis ſuper dictarum duarum partium definitione & determinatione concipienda ſigillum commune Univerſitatis apponere, ſic quod diſputetur quæſtio publice & antea legatur coram Univerſitate abſque ulteriori gratia deſuper petenda aut obtinenda.

Your Highneſs may perceive, by the notes, that we be already ſure of as many *as be* requiſite, *wanting only* three; *and we have good hope of* four, *of which* four *if we get* two, *and obtain of another* to be abſent, *it is ſufficient for our purpoſe.*

[L] *To him for that purpoſe.*] We have this paſſage, together with the Archbiſhop's letter, from an unexceptionable author, who, having mentioned this interview, proceeds thus (30), ‘ Gardiner, Biſhop of Winton, about this time, and upon this occaſion, was ſent Ambaſſador to the French King, and Bonner ſoon after followed him to Marſeilles, where Gardiner, at the interview between the French King and the Pope, now was. For the King, and the Council, apprehended ſome miſchief to be hatching againſt the kingdom by the Pope, who was now inciting the Emperor, and other Princes, to make war upon us. And indeed he had vaunted, as the Lord Herbert declares, that he would ſet all Chriſtendom againſt the King. And the Emperor, in diſcourſe, had averred, that, by the means of Scotland, he would avenge his aunt's quarrel. The Archbiſhop, in this juncture, had ſecret intimation of a deſire to excommunicate him, and interdict his Church. Whereupon, as the King, by Bonner, November the ſeventh, had made his appeal from the Pope to the next General Council, lawfully called, ſo by the King and Council's advice the Archbiſhop ſoon after did the ſame: ſending his appeal with his proxy, under his ſeal, to Bonner, deſiring him, together with Gardiner, to conſult together, and to intimate his appeal in the beſt manner they could think expedient for him. And this letter he wrote by the King's own commandment. It was not the hand of the Archbiſhop, nor of his Secretary. So I ſuppoſe it was drawn up by ſome of his own lawyers, and is as followeth.

In my right hearty manner I commend me to you. So it is, as you know right well, I ſtand in dread, leaſt our Holy Father, the Pope, do intend to make ſome manner of prejudicial proceſs againſt me and my Church. And therefore, having probable conjectures thereof, I have appealed from his Holineſs to the General Council, accordingly as his Highneſs, and his Council, have adviſed me

(30) Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 22.

was called upon, as other Biſhops were, not only to acknowledge and yield obedience to the King as Supreme Head of the Church, but to defend it; which he did, and this defence, or court ſermon, he publiſhed; and this is that celebrated piece of his, intituled, *Of true Obedience*. His pen was made uſe of upon other occaſions, and never declined vindicating the King's proceedings in the buſineſs of the divorce, the ſubſequent marriage, or throwing off the dominion of the See of Rome, which writings of his then acquired him the higheſt reputation (*m*). In the next year 1535, he had ſome diſpute with Archbiſhop Cranmer, on account of his viſiting his dioceſe; upon which occaſion there appeared a good deal of heat on both ſides (*n*). When he went over again to France, to reſume his embaſſy, he had the ill luck to differ with another Archbiſhop of Canterbury, as he afterwards became, Dr Reginald Pole, then Dean of Exeter, whom, as King Henry's bittereſt enemy, he prevailed on the French King to remove out of his dominions, whence thoſe diſtaſtes grew which afterwards became publick (*o*). While he was thus employed, Cromwell demanded his opinion about a religious league with the Princes of Germany; which, on that bottom, he diſſuaded, and adviſed making an alliance grounded on political motives, and ſtrengthened by ſubſidies, which he thought would laſt longer, and anſwer the King's ends better (*p*). In 1538, he was ſent Ambaſſador, with Sir Henry Knevit, to the German Diet, where he is allowed to have acquitted himſelf well in regard to his commiſſion; but either fell into ſome ſuſpicion, or was in danger of having ſomething faſtened on him, in reſpect to his ſecret correſpondence with the Pope, which at that juncture might have been his ruin (*q*) [*M*]. His being ſo often, and ſo much, abſent from the Court, as it gave him a great knowledge of foreign affairs, ſo it kept him from having any hand in ſeveral tranſactions which did no great honour to that reign, ſuch as the divorce and death of Queen Anne Bolleyn, the proſecution of Sir Thomas More, and bringing Biſhop Fiſher to the block. It is however aſſerted, that tho' he was clear of theſe, yet he inſtigated other ſeverities, and was the principal author of all the cruelties committed upon Hereticks, as they were then called; which, being a matter of great conſequence, the reader may expect ſhould be more clearly diſcuſſed. The only way of doing this, will be to conſider a few of thoſe ſanguinary proceedings, in which he is ſaid to have had the chief hand; for this will ſhew us what credit is due to the general ſuggeſtion, that perſecution was the great object of his counſels. Amongſt theſe, the firſt that occurs is the caſe of Lambert (*r*), who was burnt for denying the Real Preſence in the Sacrament, and which is commonly attributed to the virulent ſpirit of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and with what reaſon the reader will diſcover in the notes [*N*]. The ſtatute, commonly called the Six Articles, and which it muſt

(*m*) Tanner. Biblioth. Britanico-Hibernica, p. 308.

(*n*) Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 33.

(*o*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 275.

(*p*) As appears from his own letter, preſerved by Collier.

(*q*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 274.

(*r*) Bale, Fox, Burnet.

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me to do. Which my appeal, and procuracie, under my ſeal, I do ſend unto you, herewith deſiring you right-heartily to have me commended to my Lord of Wincheſter, and, with his advice and counſel, to intimate the ſaid provocation, after the beſt manner that his Lordſhip and you ſhall think moſt expedient for me. I am the bolder thus to write unto you, becauſe the King's Highneſs commandeth me thus to do, as you ſhall, I truſt further, perceive by his Grace's letter: nothing doubting in your goodneſs, but, at this mine own deſire, you will be contented to take this pains, though his Highneſs ſhall percaſe forget to write unto you therein. Which your pains and kindneſs, if it ſhall lie in me in time to come to recompence, I wol not forget it with God's grace. Who preſerve you, as well as myſelf. From Lambeth the twenty-ſeventh day of November.

THOMAS *Cantuar.*

[*M*] *Might have been his ruin.*] We have this ſtory thus told by Mr Strype (31). ‘ About the year
‘ 1538, a Diet was held at Ratiſbone, whither King
‘ Henry ſent Biſhop Gardiner and Sir Henry Knevit,
‘ his joint Ambaſſadors: where alſo was Contarini, a
‘ Legate from the Pope. This Legate brought letters
‘ from the Pope to Wincheſter, and, going away ſud-
‘ denly, deſired an Italian Merchant, named Lodovico,
‘ to go to Wincheſter, and to haſten his anſwer to the
‘ Pope's pacquet, for that the carrier was ready to de-
‘ part in a day or two. This Lodovico ſoon after
‘ meeting one Wolf, Steward to Sir Henry Knevit,
‘ prayed him that he would tell the Engliſh Ambaſſa-
‘ dor what the Legate deſired. Wolf told him there
‘ were two Ambaſſadors, and aſked him which. He
‘ ſaid he knew not that: but he ſaid it was a Biſhop,
‘ whom he ſtiled Reverendiſſimo. This, Wolf diſco-
‘ vered to Mr Chaloner, Sir Henry Knevit's Secretary.
‘ And him Wolf carried to Lodovico, that there might
‘ be another witneſs beſides himſelf; and then pumped
‘ him ſo in Chaloner's company, that he again ſpake
‘ of it. This whole matter was fully related by theſe
‘ two perſons to Knevit. And he ſent ſecret notice of
‘ it to the King. The King thought fit, at that time,
‘ to put it up, and ſent word to Knevit and the Biſhop,
‘ who had words together about this, that they ſhould
‘ both unite and mind his buſineſs.’

This was Sir Henry Knevit's explanation of the matter; but the Biſhop of Wincheſter gave it quite another turn, he ſaid that there was poiſon in his diſh, which he explained by ſuggeſting that Lodovico was ſuborned to ſet this ſtory on foot, of which he complained to the Emperor, and the man was impriſoned. All our Hiſtories of Henry VIII, forbid us to believe that he would wink at a miniſter's betraying him; it is much more probable, that he underſtood the thing thoroughly, and adviſed his miniſters wiſely to make uſe of the keenneſs of their wits in the diſcharge of their duty, and not to the prejudice of each other. But tho' this tale was harmleſs in one reign, it proved hurtful in another; one who owed his bread and being to the Biſhop, and who came to the knowledge of it by being his Secretary, gave it in evidence when the Protector firſt picked, and thoſe who came after maintained, a quarrel with the Biſhop of Wincheſter, in the time of Edward VI (32); and this has very unaccountably helped it to credit ever ſince, tho' ſurely ſuſpicions ſlighted by King Henry deſerve none; had there been any thing in it, he would not have been afterwards employed in affairs of the greateſt importance, both foreign and domeſtick.

[*N*] *In the notes.*] It is allowed on all hands, that the caſe of this unfortunate perſon, was, in all reſpects, the moſt extraordinary that happened throughout this reign, in which there were ſo many, and ſuch ſtrange, proſecutions. Let us hear the account that Biſhop Burnet gives of it (33). ‘ One John Nicholſon, alias
‘ Lambert, was then queſtioned by the Archbiſhop of
‘ Canterbury. He had been Miniſter of the Engliſh
‘ company at Antwerp, where, being acquainted with
‘ Tindal and Frith, he improved that knowledge of
‘ Religion which was firſt infuſed in him by Bilney:
‘ but Chancellor More ordered the Merchants to diſ-
‘ miſs

(31) Memorials, Vol. III. p. 274.

(32) In the evidence at what is called the Biſhop's Trial when deprived.

(33) Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 252.

muſt be owned was the law on which many were put to death, is attributed to his contrivance, and ſaid to have been paſſed by his influence, having been warmly oppoſed, both by the Archbiſhop, and the Vicegerent Cromwell (*s*); but thoſe who alledge he had no credit with the King, and was little beloved by the people, cannot expect an implicite faith to attend ſuch an aſſertion. That he was principally concerned in drawing it, and that he was very earneſt in promoting it in the Houſe of Lords, in conjunction with the Duke of Norfolk, and other Lords Spiritual and Temporal, thoſe muſt have but little knowledge in Engliſh Hiſtory who will attempt to deny. It was not long after this, that Robert Barnes (*t*) fell under perſecution, and, in the iſſue, was condemned to be burnt; who, becauſe

‘ miſs him; ſo he came over to England, and was taken by ſome of Archbiſhop Warham's officers, and many articles were objected to him. But Warham died ſoon after, and the change of Councils that followed, occaſioned his liberty. So he kept a ſchool at London, and hearing Dr Taylor afterwards preach of the preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, he came to him upon it, and offered his reaſons why he could not believe the doctrine he had preached: which he put in writing, digeſting them into ten arguments. Taylor ſhewed this to Dr Barnes, who, as he was bred among the Lutherans, ſo had not only brought over their opinions, but their temper with him: he thought that nothing would more obſtruct the progreſs of the Reformation, than the venting that doctrine in England. Therefore Taylor and he carried the paper to Cranmer, who was at that time alſo of Luther's opinion, which he had drunk in from his friend Oſiander. Latimer was of the ſame belief. So Lambert was brought before them, and they ſtudied to make him retract his paper: but all was in vain, for Lambert, by a fatal reſolution, appealed to the King. This Gardiner laid hold on, and perſuaded the King to proceed ſolemnly and ſeverely in it. The King was ſoon prevailed with, and both intereſt and vanity concurred to make him improve this opportunity for ſhewing his zeal and learning. So letters were written to many of the Nobility and Biſhops to come and ſee this trial, in which the King intended to ſit in perſon, and to manage ſome part of the argument. In November, on the day that was prefixed, there was a great appearance in Weſtminſter-Hall, of the Biſhops and Clergy, the Nobility, Judges, and the King's Council, with an incredible number of ſpectators. The King's guards were all in white, and ſo was the cloth of ſtate.’

All this is taken upon the credit of Fox, who likewiſe informs us, that, as Lambert had advanced ten (34) arguments in defence of his opinion, the King reſolved that theſe ſhould be anſwered by ten Biſhops, appointing Cranmer to ſolve the firſt of Lambert's objections, which was, *The impoſſibility of* Chriſt's body *being in two places*; and Fox makes it a great crime in the Biſhop of Wincheſter, that he interpoſed to aſſiſt Cranmer in the debate; however, the King himſelf had the greateſt ſhare in the triumph, for he ſo affrighted the poor man with the ſternneſs of his looks, and the roughneſs of his language, that, at length, wearied out with the debate, he ſaid, *he would ſubmit himſelf to the King's clemency*; upon which Henry ordered the Lord Cromwell, as his Vicegerent, to read the ſentence by which this tragedy was ended, Lambert being appointed to die on the ninth of October 1538. Fox ſays, that, in the morning before he ſuffered, he was carried to the Lord Cromwell's houſe, who moſt humbly aſked him forgiveneſs.

Another writer, no way inclined to favour Popery or Biſhop Gardiner, gives quite another turn to this whole affair, for he repreſents it thus (35). ‘ John Lambert, alias Nicholſon, bred in Cambridge, had lately been much perſecuted by Archbiſhop Warham, about ſome opinions he held againſt the corporal preſence in the Sacrament. And now being fallen into freſh troubles on the ſame account, to make the quicker work (following the precedent of St Paul appealing to Cæſar) he appeals to the King. Who having lately taken upon him the title of the *Supreme Head* of the *Church* of *England*, would ſhew that *head* had a *tongue* could ſpeak in matters of Divinity. In Whitehall the place and day is appointed where an *Act Royal* was kept, the King himſelf being the *Apponent* and Lambert the *Anſwerer*; and where his Highneſs was worſted or wearied, Archbiſhop Cranmer ſupplied his place, arguing, tho' civilly, ſhrewdly againſt the truth and his own private judgment. Was not this worſe than keeping the cloaths of thoſe who killed St Stephen, ſeeing this Archbiſhop did actually caſt ſtones at this Martyr, in the arguments he urged againſt him? Nor will it excuſe Cranmer's cowardice and diſſimulation, to accuſe Gardiner's craft and cruelty, who privily put the Archbiſhop on this odious act; ſuch Chriſtian courage being juſtly expected from a perſon of his parts and place, as not to be acted by another contrary to his own conſcience. I ſee not, therefore, what can be ſaid in Cranmer's behalf; ſave only, that I verily hope, and ſtedfaſtly believe, that he craved God's pardon for this particular offence, and obtained the ſame on his unfeigned repentance. And becauſe that mens faults are commonly ſeen in the glaſs of their puniſhment, it is obſervable, that as Lambert now was burnt for denying the corporal preſence, ſo Cranmer now, his opponent, was afterwards condemned, and died at Oxford for maintaining the ſame opinion; which valour, if ſooner ſhewn, his conſcience had probably been more clear within him, and his credit without him, to all poſterity.’

Here the charge, with reſpect to Gardiner, is entirely changed; for he is accuſed not of giving ill counſel to the King, but of making a tool of the Archbiſhop; quite contrary to the relation of Fox, and very unlikely to be true, ſince they were not friends. But this imputation is nothing in compariſon of the load laid upon the Archbiſhop, and this too without any cauſe; for, as Mr Strype has very clearly ſhewn in the life of that prelate (36), he ſincerely believed the real preſence at that time, and did not change his opinion till about the cloſe of King Henry's reign, or a little after.

It would take up too much room to produce Strype's account of this matter, who has preſerved the original argument of the Biſhop of Chicheſter againſt Lambert; from whence it appears, that Fox is miſtaken in many particulars, for inſtead of *ten* there were but *eight* arguments advanced by Lambert, and of theſe the firſt was anſwered by the King, ſo that there were but ſeven left to the Biſhops. Upon the whole we may ſee, that Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians, of all others, are to be read with great caution, as being too much addicted to ſuffer their own conjectures to ſupply the want of materials, and this ſometimes at the expence of the higheſt characters; as of Cranmer's, by Fuller, for want of conſidering duly the progreſs made by that great prelate, in detaching himſelf by reaſoning and reading, from the errors in which he was bred. Yet, in the main, Dr Fuller ſeems to be in the right as to the true motive of this tranſaction, which was the King's vain affectation of diſplaying his authority as *Supreme Head* of the *Church*, to which Cromwell, Cranmer, Gardiner, perhaps all, more or leſs unwillingly, were obliged to bow. At leaſt it is apparent, that the Biſhop of Wincheſter had no hand in the ſeizing, or examining, this man; on the contrary, he was brought before Cranmer, and, by his *appeal* from him to the King as Supreme Head of the Church, he made that method of proceeding neceſſary; the adviſing of which, Biſhop Burnet, from Fox, imputes to Gardiner, whoſe guilt, in this buſineſs, ſeems to have been no greater than that of the reſt; and yet leaves it great enough too, ſince it was extremely hard to proceed in a matter of ſuch exceeding difficulty, with ſuch celerity and ſeverity, in thoſe more eſpecially who contended themſelves for the right of a free inquiry, which this method was plainly calculated to deſtroy.

(*s*) Fuller, Burnet, Collier.

(*t*) See his article in Bayle.

(34) Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. p. 396.

(35) Fuller's Church Hiſt. p. 229.

(36) Memoirs of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 255.

[O] Of

becauſe he ſhewed particular ſpleen againſt Biſhop Gardiner, and was firſt committed to priſon for want of reſpect to him in a ſermon, he is ſurmiſed to have been the author of all his ſufferings, and the perſon by whoſe power that unfortunate Friar was at length brought to the ſtake, which is mentioned as a ſecond inſtance of his good will to perſecution [O]. There is no doubt, that, in the courſe of this reign, the Biſhop of Wincheſter muſt have done many things againſt his inclination, and ſeveral againſt his conſcience. He was obliged to take a ſhare in the divorce of Anne of Cleves, which was none of the moſt honourable; and he was likewiſe obliged to bear a part in that of Queen Katherine Howard, which, conſidering his attachment to that moſt noble family, could be no very pleaſing employment (*u*). But in theſe, and other compliances, he had many companions, and the excuſes made for them by ſome great pens, may ſerve for him; or the reader will paſs ſentence as he pleaſes, ſince we have no intention to diſguiſe faults, but to diſcloſe truths. Upon the death of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Eſſex, he was elected Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge 1540, which preferment was very acceptable to him (*w*). He ſtill preſerved his Maſterſhip of Trinity-Hall; and it was well he did preſerve it, ſince, in

(*u*) Strype, Fuller, Burnet.

(*w*) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 119.

[O] *Of his good will to perſecution.*] There was certainly a very ſtrange ſpirit prevailing at this time among all ranks of people, and this was a bitterneſs againſt each other, in reſpect to religious opinions, which led them to be buſy in perſecuting others, at the very time that themſelves were flying in the face of thoſe doctrines which had the ſanction of the law on their ſide. In this ſtate of things, it was impoſſible for thoſe who held high ſtations in the Church, to avoid odium, becauſe the very people who complained of perſecution, when they felt it, complained as loudly of indulgence, whenever it was extended to others. Theſe are plain and natural obſervations founded on facts, and which nothing can more fully prove, than the ſtory now before us. 'This Barnes, ſays my author, had formerly been in trouble, upon the ſcore of his preaching and opinion. During Wolſey's Miniſtry, he had reflected in a ſermon at Cambridge, upon the Cardinal's port and equipage (37). The Cardinal told him, this ſtate and magnificence could not well be diſpenſed with by a perſon in his ſtation; that it was neceſſary to ſupport his character, and the reputation of the government. Barnes not reaching this reaſon, was unwilling to retract his invective: but Gardiner, the Cardinal's Secretary, and Fox, afterwards Biſhop of Wincheſter, being his friends, prevailed with him to give ſatisfaction, and abjure ſome opinions charged upon him. He was afterwards, in 1536, delated upon other articles, and in danger of being burnt; but counterfeiting himſelf lunatick, got off into Germany. Here he made an acquaintance with Luther, Melancthon, and other Divines. He was likewiſe known to the Duke of Saxony, and the King of Denmark. Fox, Biſhop of Hereford, Ambaſſador at Smalcald, ſent him into England, where he was kindly entertained by Cromwell. By his intereſt, the correſpondence with the Germans was in ſome meaſure kept up He was firſt employed in the buſineſs of the King's marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleve. But this Lady's perſon proving unacceptable, was, it may be, one occaſion of Barnes's diſgrace. But other accidents concurred to Barnes's misfortune. This year, 1540, in Lent, Biſhop Bonner appointed him, Gerrard, and Jerom, to preach at St Paul's Croſs; this it ſeems, was done as a mark of reſpect, and to oblige Cromwell; but Gardiner ſent Bonner word, he intended himſelf to preach at St Paul's Croſs on ſunday. In his Sermon, he ſpent ſome ſtrokes of ſatire againſt the new teaching: complained that the Devil had taught ſome people to throw off confeſſion, faſting, and other inſtances of diſcipline and penance. About three weeks after, Barnes took the ſame text, but ſpent his diſcourſe in maintaining the oppoſite doctrine. Beſides this, he gave himſelf the liberty of making ſome bold indiſcreet reflections upon Gardiner's perſon. He played upon his name, and brought a jingling compariſon or two, which were ſhort both in ſenſe and breeding. Gerrard and Jerom preached much the ſame doctrine, but without falling foul upon any perſon. Jerom had been charged with preaching againſt the magiſtracy, but he explained himſelf to a very defenſible and honeſt meaning. He affirmed, That if the laws of Princes, are conſiſtent with thoſe of God Almighty, we are bound to obey them; but in caſe the Prince is wicked, and commands a contradiction to Revealed Religion, when this happens, we are to ſubmit and ſuffer, and not apply to the expedient of reſiſtance. To return to Barnes: though Gardiner ſeemed to bear the affront with great temper and neglect, his friends thought it neceſſary to ſollicit for reparation. To this purpoſe they complained to the King of Barnes's intemperate language; how ill he had uſed Gardiner, who was both a great Prelate and a Privy-Counſellor. Fox reports one circumſtance otherwiſe, and ſaith, Gardiner complained to the King himſelf. But let this be as it will, Barnes was reprimanded for his miſbehaviour, and ordered to aſk the Biſhop of Wincheſter's pardon. They were likewiſe to argue the point of Juſtification. Upon this article, Barnes had maintained, *That though God requires us to forgive our neighbour, as a condition of forgiveneſs from him, yet God muſt forgive us firſt, before we forgive our neighbour; for elſe, it would be ſinful to forgive our neighbour:* For St Paul tells us, *Whatſoever is not of faith, is ſin.* By this foreign and uncatholick conſtruction of the text, it appears, Dr Barnes was none of the greateſt Divines. The next day, Gardiner and Barnes had another conference: at the concluſion, the latter made his ſubmiſſion, aſked the Biſhop's pardon, and deſired to be under his inſtructions. The Biſhop very frankly paſſed over the former affront, entertained Barnes as his companion, and offered him a penſion of forty pounds a year. Barnes accordingly went to the Biſhop's houſe: but hearing the people talk to his diſadvantage, and diſcourſing with ſome men of learning, he grew weary of this cloſe correſpondence, and diſengaged with the Biſhop. The King was diſpleaſed with Barnes's management; and ordered him, Gerrard, and Jerom, to renounce their opinions. They promiſed ſatisfaction, and made their recantation But this, it ſeems, was but a force upon their judgment; for they retracted their recantation in the pulpit Upon this, they were ſent to the Tower, and attainted of hereſy in Parliament. On the thirtieth of July, they were brought to Smithfield, with three others of a different perſwaſion, Abel, Fetherſtone, and Powel. Theſe were attainted for owning the Pope's Supremacy, and denying the King's. One of each was put upon a hurdle; the Papiſts were hanged, drawn, and quartered, and the other three burnt. This was an odd ſpectacle, and looked like fanciful ſeverity. Inſomuch, that a Frenchman who was there, being ſurpriſed at the conduct of the Government, told his friend in Latin, *They had a ſtrange way of managing in England; for thoſe who were for the* Pope, *are* hanged, *and thoſe* againſt *him* burnt.' At his death, this Barnes behaved with great courage and conſtancy, forgave the world in general, and the Biſhop of Wincheſter in particular, if he had any hand in his death; which implying a doubt in him at that time, and in thoſe circumſtances, it will not be eaſy to find any evidence to render this matter certain to us; and therefore a famous writer (38), than whom none was more a friend to liberty, or leſs inclined to palliate perſecution, after reading the proceedings againſt Barnes, which his friends took care to ſend into Germany, lays no blame upon Biſhop Gardiner at all.

(37) Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 182.

(38) Bayle, in his article of BARNES (ROBERT).

in the next reign, this in moſt peoples opinion preſerved the foundation. As he was elected Chancellor of the Univerſity without influence, he was very aſſiduous in his office, that he might conciliate the affections of it's members, and did all he could to aſſiſt them with his intereſt at Court, which, when he had done any great ſervice, was very good. Certain it is, that whatever power or preferments his compliances obtained under this Monarch were dearly purchaſed, ſince they were held in continual hazard, and imbittered with violent ſtorms of royal reſentment; which, though, as this Prelate himſelf ſays, he knew how to ſuſtain without ſinking, muſt neverthleſs be exceedingly diſtaſteful [P]. In ſome conjunctures too we are ſatisfied they filled him with many apprehenſions, and, tho' he might be dextrous in ſometimes ſhifting off the King's ill humours, yet at others, how great or how alert ſoever his ſpirit might be, he was forced to bear ſlights with patience, and even ſubmit to very

[P] *Be exceedingly diſtaſteful.*] Though Cromwell and Gardiner had been both bred in the ſame family, and both derived their preferment from the diſplay of their abilities in Cardinal Wolſey's ſervice; yet when Cromwell, though he came later into the King's favour, gained the aſcendant, they could never agree together, which will be the leſs ſtrange, when we conſider, that they acted upon very different maxims; Cromwell being deſirous to place his ſafety and proſperity in being always of the ſame ſide with the King, in which, perhaps, he followed his old maſter; but Gardiner, taught by the example of that maſter, thought it better to lean upon the law than the King; by which, if he did not make his court ſo well, yet certainly he carried his point better. Amongſt other diſputes they had, the Biſhop has left us one, in a letter of his to the Duke of Somerſet, which is worth the knowing, and it cannot be better told than in his own words (39). 'The Lord Cromwell had once put in the King's, our late Sovereign Lord's head, to take upon him to have his will and pleaſure regarded for a law; for that he ſaid was to be a very King; and thereupon I was called for at Hampton-Court; and as the Lord Cromwell was very ſtout, come on my Lord of Wincheſter (quoth he), for that conceit he had, whatſoever he talked with me, he knew ever as much as I, Greek or Latin, and all. Anſwer the King here, quoth he, but ſpeak plainly and directly, and ſhrink not, man: Is not that (quoth he) that pleaſeth the King, a law? have ye not the Civil Law therein? (quoth he) *Quod principi placuit*, and ſo forth, (quoth he) I have ſomewhat forgotten it now: I ſtood ſtill, and wondered in my mind, to what concluſion this ſhould tend; the King ſaw me muſing, and with earneſt gentleneſs, ſaid, Anſwer him whether it be ſo or no? I would not anſwer my Lord Cromwell, but delivered myſelf to the King, and told him, I had read indeed of Kings that had their will always received for a law; but I told him the form of his reign, to make the laws his will, was more ſure and quiet, and by this form of government ye be eſtabliſhed, quoth I, and it is agreeable with the nature of your people: if ye begin a new manner of policy, how it will frame no man can tell; and how this frameth ye can tell, and would never adviſe your Grace to leave a certain, for an uncertain. The King turned his back, and left the matter after, till the Lord Cromwell turned the cat in the pan afore company, when he was angry with me, and charged me, as though I had played his part.' Some other particulars there are in the ſame reign, curious in themſelves, and the more ſo, as coming from him, a perſon of great ſagacity, and who made no vulgar obſervations. As they are in reality part of his perſonal hiſtory, and written with his own pen, we will be bold to inſert them, ſpeaking to the ſame great perſon he ſays in his letter. 'Whether the King may command againſt the Common Law, or an Act of Parliament, there is never a Judge, or other man in the realm, ought to know more by experience of that the Lawyers have ſaid, than I. Firſt, my Lord Cardinal had obtained his Legacy, by our late Sovereign Lord's requeſt at Rome; yet being, it was againſt the laws of the realm, the Judges cenſured the offence of premunire, which matter I bore away, and take it for a law of the realm, becauſe the Lawyers ſaid ſo, but my reaſon digeſted it not. The Lawyers, for the confirmation of their doings, brought in a caſe of my Lord Typtoft, an Earl he was, and learned in Civil Laws, who being Chancellor, becauſe in execution of the King's Commiſſion, he offended the laws of the realm, he ſuffered on Tower-Hill; they brought in the examples of many Judges that had fines ſet on their heads in like caſes, for tranſgreſſion of the Laws, by the King's commandment, and this I learned in this caſe. Since that time being of the Council, when many proclamations were deviſed againſt the carriers out of corn; when it came to puniſhing the offenders, the Judges would anſwer, it might not be by the Laws, becauſe the Act of Parliament gave liberty, wheat being under a price: whereupon at the laſt, followed the Act of Proclamations, in the paſſing whereof were many large words. When the Biſhop of Exeter and his Chancellor, were by one body brought into a premunire; I reaſoned with the Lord Audley, then Chancellor, ſo far as he bad me hold my peace, for fear of entring a premunire myſelf: but I concluded, that although I muſt take it as of their authority that it is Common Law, yet I could not ſee how a man authoriſed by the King, as ſince the King's Majeſty hath taken upon him the Supremacy, every Biſhop is, that man could fall in a premunire. I reaſoned once in the Parliament-Houſe, where was free ſpeech without danger, and there the Lord Audley, Chancellor, then to ſatisfy me, becauſe I was in ſome ſecret eſtimation as he knew, though art a good fellow, Biſhop, quoth he, look the Act of the Supremacy, and there the King's doings be reſtrained to ſpiritual juriſdiction; and in another Act, no Spiritual Law ſhall have place contrary to a Common Law, or an Act of Parliament. And if this were not (quoth he) the Biſhops would enter in with the King, and by means of his ſupremacy, order the Law as you liſted; but we will provide (quoth he) that the premunire ſhall never go off your heads. This I bore away there, and held my peace.' But as there was little fair weather abroad in thoſe days, the courtiers were not always ſure of avoiding foul by their keeping at home. The Biſhop himſelf tells us, that the King could be very angry, and would then talk very loud, very probably too his language was but coarſe, ſince many ſamples there are of that ſort in his hiſtory; this had a great effect upon thoſe that were about him, and kept them ever in a ſtate of deep humility, in which, without doubt, Gardiner differed but very little from the reſt; but the King letting him into the ſecret, that he could look ſour and talk rough without meaning much harm, he ever after bore thoſe ſallies with much leſs anxiety. The thing happened thus, the Earl of Wiltſhire and Dr Gardiner had been joined in ſome affair of conſequence, which had not been managed ſo as to give the King ſatisfaction, upon which he treated Gardiner, in the preſence of the Earl, with ſuch a ſtorm of words as quite confounded him; but before they parted, the King took him into his chamber, and told him, that he was indeed very angry, yet not particularly with him, though he had uſed him ſo, becauſe he could not take quite ſo much liberty with the Earl. Biſhop Gardiner thenceforward could ſtand a royal rattling pretty well, or, to uſe his own words to the Duke of Somerſet, *He folded it up in the matter, and bore it patiently.* The King had another practice, which he called *whetting*, and this in effect was ſcolding with pen and ink; the Biſhop ſays, that when ſome of the courtiers ſaw letters to him in this ſtile, they looked upon him as undone, while himſelf was under no ſuch apprehenſions, knowing the King to be a wiſe Prince, and who, after thus venting his anger, would remember paſt ſervices, and be more ready to do an old ſervant a good than an ill turn, after giving him ſuch correction.

(39) Extracted from the Letters of the Biſhop of Wincheſter to the Protector Somerſet, publiſhed by John Fox, in his *Acts* and *Monuments*.

[Q] To

very diſagreeable ſupplications and expreſſions of deep humility, and great ſenſe of his own failings, directly contrary to the conviction of his own conſcience and underſtanding [Q]. In the time of King Henry, theſe were indiſpenſable conditions of miniſterial greatneſs; nor was there any ſuch thing as enjoying court favours, without being expoſed alſo to threats and frowns. Biſhop Gardiner felt theſe, as Cranmer and others did alternately, living now in the ſunſhine, and by and by in the ſhade, or rather under a cloud. But, in the latter end of the King's life, the proſpect grew darker than ever. In 1544, if we may rely on the credit of John Fox (x), who aſſures us he had what he relates from one Morrice, who was Secretary to Archbiſhop Cranmer, this Prelate had a very narrow eſcape from the greateſt danger to which he was ever expoſed in his whole life. He had a Secretary, and a relation, one German Gardiner, who is ſaid to have been much in his favour, and who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his conferences with John Frith the martyr, an account of which he publiſhed. This young Clergyman being ſuſpected in the matter of the King's ſupremacy, a proſecution was commenced againſt him, and, his obſtinacy being great, he was executed as a traitor March the ſeventh 1544. The enemies of the Biſhop, and, as Fox ſays, the Duke of Suffolk particularly, ſuggeſted to the King, that it was very likely, notwithſtanding all he had written, that he was of his Secretary's opinion, and that, if he was once in the Tower, matter enough might be found againſt him; on which his Majeſty conſented to ſend him thither. But the Biſhop, having intelligence of this, went immediately to the King, ſubmitted with the utmoſt humility, confeſſed whatever his Majeſty charged him with, and, to the no ſmall diſappointment of his enemies, by complying with the King's humour, and ſhewing the deepeſt concern for his real or pretended failings, obtained his full pardon. Yet, after this, we may

(x) Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. p. 646.

[Q] *To the conviction of his own conſcience and underſtanding.*] As long as this article may ſeem, our great care has been to make it as ſhort as it was poſſible, conſiſtent with perſpicuity, truth, and ſuch authorities as are requiſite to ſupport the facts mentioned therein; without which it muſt be confeſſed, that there is very little credit due to the hiſtories and memoirs of theſe times, which bear on all ſides ſuch viſible marks of partiality and prejudice, that nothing is to be depended upon, where there is not a degree of evidence produced proportionable to the importance of what is aſſerted. Mr Strype (40), who has preſerved the following letter, thinks it was written about the year 1535, and he gives us this account of the occaſion of it. The King, it ſeems, was deſirous that the Clergy of all ranks ſhould acknowledge, that all the powers they had were derived from him, as the ſupreme head of the Chriſtian Church in his dominions. Againſt this doctrine ſomebody had written a book, with which the King was offended; and, as the Biſhop of Wincheſter had both preached and written much to his ſatisfaction, in the ſupport of his ſupremacy, he ſent him this book, with orders to anſwer it. But, upon the peruſal of it, this Biſhop, whom we find often repreſented as one ſo complaiſant that the King could require nothing from him which he was not ready to perform, not only declined writing ſuch an anſwer as was expected, but profeſſed himſelf of the ſame opinion with the author of that book. It is no wonder at all, that, to a Monarch of Henry's diſpoſition, this diſappointment ſhould appear in a very bad light, or that he ſhould teſtify his diſlike in very ſtrong terms. This it ſeems he did, and ſent the Biſhop of Wincheſter word of it by his Almoner Dr Fox, as Strype conceives. The Biſhop knowing his Maſter's temper well, and not caring to meet the tempeſt of his anger by a perſonal apology, thought fit to write him the following letter, which is produced to ſhew the real ſentiments of the man, and that he was not always ſo ſervile, or ſo willing, an inſtrument of the King's will, as we find him ſometimes repreſented. In ſtating this fact without the letter, we muſt have left the reader in much incertainty; but now having that before him, he may judge for himſelf, and form a true deciſion of the fitneſs, or unfitneſs, of this Prelate's behaviour upon ſo important an occaſion.

(40) Memorials, Vol. I. p. 215.

Cotton Library, Cleopatra. E. 6.

'My duty remembered to your Majeſty, with all lowly humility and reverend honour. For as much as letted by diſeaſe of body, I cannot perſonally repair to your Highneſs preſence, having heard, of your Grace's Almoner, to my great diſcomfort, what opinion your Highneſs hath conceived of me. I am compelled, by theſe letters, to repreſent me unto the ſame, lamenting and wailing my chance and fortune, to have loſt, beſide my deſerts, as much reputation in your Grace's heart, as your Highneſs, without my merit, hath conferred unto me, in eſtimation of the world. And if I comforted not myſelf with remembrance of your Grace's goodneſs, with whom Veritas ſemper vincit, & ſortis tæderet & vitæ. I know in myſelf, and can never forget your Grace's benefits, your Highneſs notable affection toward me. I know my duty and bond to your Highneſs. How much I deſire to declare, in outward deeds, mine inward knowledge, God knoweth, and I truſt your Highneſs ſhall know. But, in the mean time, for want thereof, thus I ſuffer, and know no remedy but your Highneſs goodneſs, to expend what I have done, what I ſhould have done, and what I may do; and not to be miſcontent, though, in correcting the anſwer made, I believed, ſo great a number of learned men affirming it ſo preciſely to be true, that was in the anſwer alledged concerning God's law. Eſpecially, conſidering your Highneſs book againſt Luther, in mine underſtanding, moſt plainly approveth it. The book written in your Grace's cauſe, and tranſlated into Engliſh, ſeemeth to allow it. And the Council of Conſtance, condemning the articles of Wycklif, manifeſtly decreeth it. The contrary whereof if your Grace can now prove, yet I, not learned in Divinity, ne knowing any part of your Grace's proves, am, I truſt, without cauſe of blame in that behalf. When I know that I know not, I ſhall then ſpeak thereafter. It were pity we lived, if ſo little expreſſing our love to God in our deeds, we ſhould abuſe his name and authority to your Highneſs diſpleaſure, of whom we have received ſo many benefits. On the other part, if it be God's authority to us allotted, tho' we cannot uſe it condignely, yet we cannot give it away. And it is no leſs danger to receive than to give, as your Highneſs, of your high wiſdom, can conſider. I am, for my part, as I am bound, moſt deſirous not only to do what may be done to your Highneſs contentation, but alſo appliable to learn the truth what ought to be done. Truſting your Majeſty will finally take in good part, that I think that true for which I have ſo good grounds and authorities, until I hear ſtronger grounds and reaſons to the contrary. I ſhall moſt gladly confer with any of your Grace's Council in this matter. And, in the mean time, daily pray to God for knowlege of his truth, and preſervation of your Majeſty in much felicity; alway moſt ready and deſirous, to do as becometh

'Your moſt humble Subject,

'Moſt bounden Chaplain,

'And daily Bedeman,

'Stephen Winton.'

[R] As

may ſuppoſe, provoked by ſuch uſage, for, as Fox ſtates it, one cannot avoid ſeeing it was a deſign to deſtroy him at any rate, he thought of refining upon this invention, and of turning their own artillery upon his adverſaries. In ſhort, he is ſaid to have dipped very deep in a plot againſt Archbiſhop Cranmer, which was diſcovered and diſſipated by the King, who left all his enemies to his mercy, and, amongſt the reſt, the Biſhop of Wincheſter; but he forgave them (*y*). After this, the King opening himſelf to Biſhop Gardiner, upon ſome ſuſpicions he entertained of his laſt Queen Katherine Parre, as inclined to Hereſy, he ſo far improved theſe jealouſies as to prepare a paper of articles againſt her, which the King ſigned, and it was agreed to ſend her to the Tower; but Chancellor Wriothiſly, who was entruſted with this paper, dropped it out of his boſom, and it was immediately carried to the Princeſs. She ſo wrought upon the King's affections, as to diſpel his ſuſpicions; and this brought ſevere reproaches upon the Chancellor, and the King's reſentment againſt the Biſhop grew ſo ſtrong that he would never ſee his face afterwards (*z*). One has, however, ſome reaſon to wonder, that when John Bale wrote his article of Queen Katherine Parre, in which he celebrates her learning, piety, and zeal for true religion, at the time all parties were living, and when any thing againſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter would have been well received, he ſhould ſay nothing of this iniquitous contrivance (*a*). Nor is it leſs ſtrange, that, when matter was ſought much farther back to charge him with, this ſhould not be remembered in the proceedings at his deprivation under the ſucceeding reign. We need not wonder, if, ſtanding in this light with the King, when drawing towards his latter end, he left him out of his will, and did not appoint him one of the Counſellors to Prince Edward, as he once intended. Sanders alledges another reaſon for this, which was, that Gardiner, taking ſome favourable opportunity, perſwaded the King to reſtore the ſupremacy to the Pope, either by a ſolemn declaration in Parliament, if there was time to call one; or by an authentick act of his own, if there was not; which would ſufficiently manifeſt his intention. In this reſpect, the King, as he tells the ſtory, ſoon after changed his mind; and thence proceeded his enmity to Gardiner (*b*). But all is pure fiction, for Biſhop Gardiner himſelf, in a ſermon before King Philip and Queen Mary, mentions ſome ſuch thoughts in the King during the Northern rebellion; and, had there been a grain of truth in it, no doubt would have mentioned his inclination at this time. Beſides, there actually was a Parliament then in being, which was diſſolved by his death. Some other reaſons were aſſigned for the King's excluding him in his teſtament, which will be mentioned at the bottom of the page [*R*]. Whatever uſage he might meet with at any time from his maſter, he ſhewed, upon all occaſions, very high reſpect for his memory, and ever ſpoke and wrote of him with much deference; and tho' Fox treats him very coarſely on that head, yet others have thought there was in it as much of prudence as of gratitude. Upon the acceſſion of King Edward VI, Archbiſhop Cranmer, being earneſt in

(*y*) Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 124.

(*z*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 345.

(*a*) Bale Script. edit. 1548, 4to. fol. 238.

(*b*) Schiſmat. Anglican. p. 209.

[*R*] *At the bottom of the page.*] All that is ſaid of the Biſhop of Wincheſter's contriving to thruſt Queen Katherine into the Tower, is taken from John Fox; nor are there any diſtinct marks, by which the time when this happened can be certainly known. At the time when the King went to France, in his laſt expedition, the Biſhop of Wincheſter was intended to be one of his executors (41); but, after that, when the King's will came to be drawn afreſh, he was left out without the privity, as it ſeems, of any of the Council. Sir Anthony Brown, it is ſaid, twice moved the King to put his name again into his teſtament, but without effect; and the King ſaid, *if he was one, he would trouble them all, and they would never be able to rule him*; it is alſo reported, that, when the King ſaw him once with ſome of the Privy-Counſellors, he ſhewed his diſlike, and aſked What he did there? He was anſwered, that the Biſhop came to inform him of a benevolence granted by the Clergy; upon which the King called him immediately to deliver his meſſage, and, having received it, went away. Yet, for all this, the Biſhop himſelf, in one of his letters to the Protector, puts him in mind of a commiſſion in which he was named, amongſt others, in the very laſt year of the King's life; ſo that whatever the King's diſtaſte was, it muſt have been ſudden; and there is nothing ſo probable, as that his acquaintance with, and attachment to, the Norfolk family, might be the cauſe. The King knew this very well, and, having determined to reduce the power and authority of that family, as well as to take off the heads of it, it was a very eaſy and a very natural conſequence of that reſolution, to remove the Biſhop of Wincheſter from being one of his executors, whom he knew to have great obligations, and a very warm friendſhip, for the Duke of Norfolk and his ſon. Biſhop Burnet (42), after diſcuſſing this point, gives us to underſtand, that this ſecond will laboured under a ſtrong imputation of forgery, grounded upon this circumſtance; that though it was prepared by the King's direction, yet he delayed ſigning it ſo long, that, at length, he became unable, and then his ſtamp was put to it by the direction of ſome about him, when the King was either dying or dead. It is very certain, that, in Queen Elizabeth's time, Mr Maitland, Secretary to Mary Queen of Scots, ſuggeſted this on the behalf of his miſtreſs, as a thing poſitively teſtified by Lord Paget, and deſired that ſome perſons of great quality, who were then living, might be examined to this point (43). This was conſidered, in thoſe days, as a matter of great conſequence; for if it could have been fully proved, the will muſt have been regarded as invalid; becauſe, upon the teſtimony of one Clark, that he put the ſtamp to the inſtrument which regarded the Duke of Norfolk's attainder, that was in full Parliament declared to be void; and the ſtatute that gave the King power to limit the ſucceſſion by his will, declared expreſsly the form in which ſuch a will ſhould be executed. But however theſe affairs ſtood, they were kept as impenetrable ſecrets upon the King's demiſe, the will being then taken not only for a legal and authentick piece, but as the very foundation of the new government. All theſe facts came out afterwards by degrees, and in conſequence of a great variety of accidents. Paget deſerting his old maſter Wincheſter, attached himſelf to the Protector Somerſet, and was examined as a witneſs againſt the Biſhop, afterwards falling under the Duke of Northumberland's diſpleaſure, for having had ſo large a ſhare in the confidence of the Protector (44); he was very ſeverely treated, and, tho' this ſeemed to be afterwards paſſed over, yet when Queen Mary came to the throne, he laid open every thing that had been done during the former reign, and this tranſaction about the will amongſt the reſt.

(41) Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. p. 647.

(42) Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 349.

(43) The original Letter was in the hands of the famous John Evelyn, Eſq;

(44) See the Biſhop's Trial in Fox.

in carrying on the great work of Reformation, to which he found the Protector Somerſet well inclined, laboured all he could to gain the Biſhop of Wincheſter to a concurrence, or at leaſt to an acquieſcence (*c*). But this wary Prelate thought, or ſeemed to think, that, by making too much haſte, all might be ſpoiled; and oppoſed his ſentiments at leaſt; to thoſe of the Protector, and all his Council. He ſuggeſted, that the ruling maxim in a minority was to keep things quiet, and alledged this could never be done if any ſignal alterations were attempted in Church or State. On this principle he diſſuaded the war with Scotland, as a meaſure neceſſarily attended with much hazard and a vaſt expence (*d*). The Protector received his advice civilly, and wrote anſwers to his letters, ſtill remaining, with much decency and moderation. But, notwithſtanding this, things went on according to the plan laid down by the Archbiſhop, who formed a deſign of having a royal viſitation by commiſſioners, who might ſee the condition of every dioceſe, encourage the progreſs of reformed religion, remove and diſcredit ſuperſtition, and one in each liſt of theſe Commiſſioners, being a Clergyman, was directed to preach ſound doctrine (*e*). The wiſdom of the Archbiſhop, in framing this ſcheme, was certainly great; and yet Wincheſter no ſooner had intelligence of it, than he ſet up objections. In the firſt place, he doubted it's legality, as it was to countenance innovations; in the next, he thought it imprudent, as it would diſturb the order of government in Church and State; and laſtly, he thought it impolitick, as all things muſt be done in the King's name, and by his authority as Supreme Head of the Church, at a time when he, being a child, could know nothing of theſe things; and his uncle the Protector, being at the head of an army and abſent, could know very little more of them; ſo that in the opinion even of the meaneſt people, this would weaken that great prerogative which King Henry had aſſumed, and on the due uſe of which all reformation muſt depend (*f*). Sir John Godſalve, one of the Viſitors (but not for the dioceſe of Wincheſter), having heard of the Biſhop's diſcourſes, and, having a very ſincere regard for him, wrote to him, deſiring him to be more diſcreet, and not run the manifeſt hazard of ruining himſelf and loſing his Biſhoprick. Biſhop Gardiner ſent him an anſwer highly commended by Biſhop Burnet, and which is inſerted in the notes to ſhew the temper of the man in theſe times, and how very able he was in caſting the faireſt colour imaginable on all his opinions and actions (*g*) [*S*]. In all probability, this anſwer of

(*c*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. at the entrance of the ſecond Vol.

(*d*) Taken from the Biſhop's letter, publiſhed by Fox.

(*e*) Strype's Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 146, 147, 148.

(*f*) Biſhop Gardiner's Letters in Fox's Acts and Monuments.

(*g*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 36.

[*S*] *On all his opinions and actions.*] It is very ſingular, that this, being a private letter, ſhould remain and be preſerved to our times. Biſhop Burnet ſays, that it has the moſt of a Chriſtian, and a Biſhop, in it, of any thing he had ſeen of Gardiner's; he adds too, very judiciouſly, that it has no leſs of a Patriot, and therefore he reſolved not to ſuppreſs it, tho' it was on the other ſide. But, from this letter, it cannot be ſhewn that the Biſhop of Wincheſter was on the other ſide, for there is nothing of Popery in this letter, or indeed in his whole oppoſition; what he had in his heart no man can ſay; but either he was ſincere in penning this epiſtle, or he was the moſt finiſhed diſſembler in the world (45). It is true he changed afterwards, and we ſhall conſider how far he changed when we come to that period of his life, from the teſtimony of writers who did not at all flatter him. But now to the letter, which runs thus.

(45) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 36.

'MR GODSALVE, after my right hearty commendations, with like thanks for the declaration of your good mind towards me (as you mean it), although it agreeth not with mine accompt, ſuch as I have had leiſure to make in this time of liberty, ſince the death of my late Sovereign Lord, whoſe ſoul Jeſu pardon. For this have I reckoned that I was called to this Biſhoprick, without the offence of God's law or the King's in attaining of it. I have kept my Biſhoprick theſe ſixteen years, accompliſhed this very day that I write theſe letters unto you, without offending God's law or the King's in the retaining of it, howſoever I have of frailty otherwiſe ſinned. Now if I may play the third part well, to depart from the Biſhoprick without the offence of God's law or the King's, I ſhall think the tragedy of my life well paſſed over, and, in this part, to be well handled, is all my care and ſtudy now how to finiſh this third act well; for ſo I offend not God's law nor the King's, I will no more care to ſee my Biſhoprick taken from me, than myſelf to be taken from the Biſhoprick.

'I am by nature already condemned to die, which ſentence no man can pardon, nor aſſure me of delay in the execution of it; and ſo ſee that of neceſſity I ſhall leave my Biſhoprick to the diſpoſition of the Crown, from whence I had it, my houſhold alſo to break up, and my bringing up youth to ceaſe, the remembrance whereof troubleth me nothing. I made in my houſe at London a pleaſant ſtudy that delighted me much, and yet I was glad to come into the country and leave it; and as I have left the uſe of ſomewhat, ſo can I leave the uſe of all to obtain more quiet; it is not loſs to change for the better.

'Honeſty and truth are more leef to me, than all the poſſeſſions of the realm; and in theſe two, to ſay and do frankly, as I muſt, I never forbare; yet, and in theſe two, honeſty and truth, I take ſuch pleaſure and comfort, as I will never leave them for no reſpect, for they will abide by a man, and ſo will nothing elſe. No man can take them away from me but myſelf, and if myſelf do them away from me, then myſelf do undo myſelf, and make myſelf worthy to loſe my Biſhoprick, whereat ſuch as gape might take more ſport than they are like to have at my hands.

'What other men have ſaid or done in the homilies I cannot tell, and what homilies or injunctions ſhall be brought hither I know not; ſuch as the printers have ſold abroad, I have read and conſidered, and am therefore the better inſtructed how to uſe myſelf to the Viſitors at their repair hither, to whom I will uſe no manner of proteſtation, but a plain allegation, as the matter ſerveth, and as honeſty and truth ſhall bind me to ſpeak; for I will never yield to do that ſhould not beſeem a Chriſtian. Biſhops ought never to loſe the inheritance of the King's laws, due to every Engliſhman, for want of petition. I will ſhew myſelf a true ſubject, humble and obedient; which repugneth not with the preſervation of my duty to God, and my right in the realm not to be enjoined againſt an Act of Parliament: which mine intent I have ſignified to the Council, with requeſt of redreſs in the matter; and not to compel me to ſuch an allegation, which, without I were a beaſt, I cannot petermit; and I were more than a beaſt, if, after I had ſignified to the Council truth and reaſon in words, I ſhould then ſeem in my deeds not to care for it.

'My Lord Protector, in one of ſuch letters as he wrote to me, willed me not to fear too much; and indeed I know him ſo well, and divers others of my Lords of the Council, that I cannot fear any hurt at their of the Biſhop's proved the cauſe of that Prelate's firſt impriſonment, which was in all reſpects extraordinary, and out of the common forms of juſtice (*b*). He was ſent for, when in London, to attend the Council, three weeks before the Viſitors came into his dioceſe; and becauſe he would not promiſe to receive the homilies, and pay obedience to whatever the King's Viſitors might require, the Council, notwithſtanding his cloſe reaſoning the point as to it's conſiſtency with law, and his earneſt entreaty to give him a little ſpace to conſider, committed him cloſe priſoner to the Fleet (*i*). He was there, as we ſee by his letters and petitions, very ſtrictly kept, and very indifferently uſed; which muſt have been by order, ſince John Fox has marked on the margin of one of his applications for redreſs, that the Warden of the Fleet was his friend (*k*). It is probable the Archbiſhop conſented to this, but it is impoſſible he ſhould contrive it; being a very deep, tho' a moſt unjuſtifiable, ſtroke of policy. The Biſhop held the viſitation, as directed by the inſtructions, illegal without an Act of Parliament; but, being confined, he could not hinder that viſitation going on; and, remaining cloſe in the Fleet during the whole ſeſſion (tho' a Lord of Parliament), he could give no oppoſition to thoſe bills, which were calculated to make the things lawful which he had objected to as illegal (*l*). When all this was done, he was diſcharged like a common malefactor, under colour of the King's general pardon, tho' never charged judicially with any offence (*m*). The very dates prove theſe facts; he was committed September the twenty-fifth, the Parliament aſſembled November the fourth, was prorogued December the twenty-fourth, and he was ſet at liberty before the cloſe of that year 1547. Beſides this, all that we have advanced is ſupported by unqueſtionable authorities (*n*) [*T*]. In the courſe of this impriſonment, it came out, that the famous ſtate

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(*b*) Fuller, Heylin, Burnet.

(*i*) Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. p. 3.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 9. on a Letter from Biſhop Gardiner to the Duke of Somerſet when Protector.

(*l*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 36.

(*m*) Strype's Memorials.

(*n*) Holinſhed, Stowe, Strype.

'their hands, in the allegation of God's law and the King's; and I will never defame them ſo much to be ſeen to fear it. And of what ſtrength an Act of Parliament is, the realm was taught in the caſe of her that we called Queen Anne; where all ſuch as ſpake againſt her in the Parliament-Houſe, altho' they did it by ſpecial commandment of the King, and ſpake that which was truth; yet they were fain to have a pardon, becauſe that ſpeaking was againſt an Act of Parliament. Did you never know, or hear tell, of any man, that for doing that the King, our late Sovereign Lord, willed, deviſed, and required, to be done; he that took pains, and was commanded to do it, was fain to ſue for his pardon; and ſuch other alſo as were doers in it; and I could tell who it were; ſure there hath been ſuch a caſe, and I have been preſent when it hath been reaſoned.

'That the doing againſt an Act of Parliament excuſeth not a man even from the caſe of treaſon, altho' a man did it by the King's commandment. You can tell this to your remembrance, when you think farther of it; and when it cometh to your remembrance, you will not be beſt content with yourſelf, I believe, to have adviſed me to venture the breach of an Act of Parliament, without ſurety of pardon, although the King command it; and were ſuch indeed as it were no matter to do it at all. And thus I anſwer the letters with worldly civil reaſons, and take your mind and zeal towards me to be as tender as may be; and yet you ſee, that the following of your advice might make me loſe my Biſhoprick by mine own act, which I am ſure you would I ſhould keep; and ſo would I, as might ſtand with my truth and honeſty, and none otherwiſe, as knoweth God, who ſend you heartily well to fare.'

[*T*] *Is ſupported by unqueſtionable authorities.*] There is not, to ſay the truth, but very few writers amongſt our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians that have taken upon them to juſtify theſe proceedings; but on the other hand, none of them go to the bottom, except Biſhop Burnet (46), who ſpeaks very clearly and candidly of this whole affair. 'On the twenty fifth of September, ſays he, the Council being informed that Gardiner had written to ſome of that board, and had ſpoken to others many things in prejudice and contempt of the King's viſitation, and that he intended to refuſe to ſet forth the homilies and injunctions, he was ſent for to the Council. Where being examined, he ſaid, he thought they were contrary to the word of God, and that his conſcience would not ſuffer him to obſerve them. He excepted to one of the Homilies, that it excluded charity from juſtifying men, as well as faith. This he ſaid was contrary to the book ſet out in the late King's time, which was afterwards confirmed in Parliament, in the year, 1542; he ſaid further, that he could never ſee one place of ſcripture, nor any ancient Doctor that favoured it. He alſo ſaid, Eraſmus's Paraphraſe was bad enough in Latin, but much worſe in Engliſh; for the tranſlator had oft, out of ignorance, and oft out of deſign, miſrendered him palpably, and was one that neither underſtood Latin nor Engliſh well. He offered to go to Oxford to diſpute about Juſtification with any they ſhould ſend him to, or to enter into conference with any that would undertake his inſtruction in town. But this did not ſatisfy the Council. So they preſſed him to declare what he intended to do, when the viſitors ſhould be with him. He ſaid, he did not know; he ſhould further ſtudy theſe points, for it would be three weeks before they could be with him, and he was ſure he would ſay no worſe than that he ſhould obey them, as far as could conſiſt with God's law and the King's. The Council urged him to promiſe that he would without any limitation, ſet forth the Homilies and the Injunctions, which he refuſing to do, was ſent to the Fleet. Some days after that, Cranmer went to ſee the Dean of St Paul's, having the Biſhops of Lincoln and Rocheſter, with Dr Cox, and ſome others with him. He ſent for Gardiner thither, and entred into diſcourſe with him about that paſſage in the Homily, excluding charity out of our juſtification, and urged thoſe places of St Paul, *That we are juſtified by* faith, *without the* works *of the* Law: He ſaid, his deſign in that paſſage, was only to draw men from truſting in any thing they did, and to teach them to truſt only to Chriſt. But Gardiner had a very different notion of Juſtification. For as he ſaid, infants were juſtified by Baptiſm, and penitents, by the Sacrament of Penance; and that the conditions of the juſtifying of thoſe of age, were charity as well as faith, as the three eſtates make a law all join together; for by this ſimile, he ſet it out in the report he writ of that diſcourſe to the Lord Protector, reckoning the King one of the three eſtates (a way of ſpeech very ſtrange, eſpecially in a Biſhop and a Lawyer). For Eraſmus, it was ſaid, that though there were faults in his Paraphraſe, as no book beſides the Scriptures, is without faults, yet it was beſt for that uſe they could find, and they did chooſe rather to ſet out what ſo learned a man had written, than to make a new one, which might give occaſion to more objections, and he was the moſt indifferent writer they knew. Afterwards Cranmer, knowing what was likely to work moſt on him, let fall ſome words as Gardiner writ to the Protector (47), of bringing him into the Privy Council, if he would concur in what they were carrying on. But that not having it's ordinary effect on him, he was carried back to the Fleet.'

He afterwards gives the remainder of the ſtory thus. 'But notwithſtanding all his letters, yet he continued a priſoner till the Parliament was over, and then by the ſtate book of religion, publiſhed by authority, under the title of *The Erudition of Chriſtian Man*, was compiled chiefly by Biſhop Gardiner (o). By comparing this with the religious ſyſtems in the reign of Edward VI, the difference may be ſeen between his notions and thoſe of Cranmer; and from hence we may diſcern the probability of his being in earneſt in his declarations, without ſuppoſing, as almoſt all writers do, miſled therein by the Papiſts themſelves, that in his heart he was a bigot to Popery. The Archbiſhop was once as well pleaſed with the book beforementioned as any body, and had recommended it as ſtrenuouſly; but now having changed his mind as to the real preſence, he was not unwilling the world ſhould know it's true author; and Gardiner, being touched with his inſinuations, replied very eagerly in defence of his book (p) [U]. Upon his obtaining his liberty, the Biſhop went down to his dioceſe, and there was ſo far from creating any trouble or diſturbance, that he was remarkably active and diligent in giving obedience, and ſeeing that it was given, to the laws concerning religion (q); but thoſe who had a diſlike to him, would not ſuffer him to be long at quiet. They were no ſooner informed of his returning to town, than they procured an order for him to come before the Council, where he was roughly treated, and then directed to keep his houſe till he gave ſatisfaction, which was to be done in a ſermon preached before the King and his Miniſters, in a publick audience; for the matter of which, he was directed as well what he ſhould not as what he ſhould ſay, by Sir William Cecil (r). On St Peter's day the Biſhop did accordingly preach, but was ſo far from giving ſatisfaction, that the very next day, June the thirtieth 1548, he was ſent to the Tower, and continued there a priſoner during all that reign (s). It was very near a year, notwithſtanding repeated applications, that he continued there, without having ſcarce any notice taken of him, his Chaplain having admittance but once when he was ill, and then reſtrained becauſe his life was not thought in danger (t). When the Protector was depoſed, or ſome ſmall time before, he had hopes given him of his releaſe, and from thoſe it is likely who could have done it if they had judged it proper (u). But finding himſelf deceived, he took the freedom of applying himſelf by letter to the Council, of which we have probably a true, tho' certainly a very unpoliſhed, account from honeſt John Stowe (w); who likewiſe tells us very plainly why he publiſhed it, which in effect was becauſe he ſaw that no body elſe would [W]. When the Duke of Somerſet, tho' removed

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(46) Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 36, 37.

(47) In his Letter printed in the 2d. Vol. of the Acts and Monuments, edit. 1641.

(o) See this point cleared in the notes [U] and [LL].

(p) Always inſiſting however that it had the ſanction of the King's authority.

(q) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 71.

(r) See the Biſhop's account of this matter at large in Fox.

(s) Stowe, Strype, Burnet.

(t) So ſtated by himſelf to the Council.

(u) See the article of DUDLEY (JOHN) Duke of Northumberland.

(w) Annals, p. 600.

'the Act of Pardon, he was ſet at liberty. This was much cenſured as an invaſion of liberty; and it was ſaid, thoſe at court durſt not ſuffer him to come to the houſe, leſt he had confounded them in all they did. And the explaining Juſtification with ſo much nicety in Homilies that were to be read to the people, was thought a needleſs ſubtilty. But the former abuſes of truſting to the acts of charity that men did, by which they fancied they bought Heaven, made Cranmer judge it neceſſary to expreſs the matter ſo nicely, though the expounding thoſe places of St Paul, was as many thought, rather according to the ſtrain of the Germans, than to the meaning of theſe epiſtles. And upon the whole matter, they knew Gardiner's haughty temper, and that it was neceſſary to mortifie him a little, though the pretence on which they did it, ſeemed too ſlight for ſuch ſeverities. But it is ordinary, when a thing is once reſolved on, to make uſe of the firſt occaſion that offers for effecting it.'

[U] *In defence of his book.*] While the Biſhop was under this confinement, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury ſometimes wrote to him, and, as Strype tells us, propoſed to him, employing a part of his time in writing Homilies, which he declined; but it was in one of theſe conferences, that the diſpute to which we refer, happened, the ſame author tells it in the following words (48).

(48) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 277.

'During his being here, which was not long, there paſt ſome letters between the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and him: He had urged to the Archbiſhop, the ſtate of religion in King Henry's days; from which, he and the Clergy and the Council, did begin ſo much to vary, Wincheſter reminded him of the King's book as he called it, eſtabliſhed by Parliament. But the Archbiſhop in his anſwer, told him, that he indeed called it ſo, and that the King was ſeduced; and that he the Archbiſhop knew by whom he was compaſſed in that book.

But Wincheſter ſharply replied to him. 'That the book was acknowledged by the Parliament as the King's book, and that the Archbiſhop himſelf, commanded it to be publiſhed in his dioceſe as the King's book. And that if he thought it not true, he ought to think his Grace would not, for all the Princes chriſtened in the world, have yielded unto. And he threatened the Archbiſhop, that if he made this matter more public, and charged the late King with being ſeduced, he would vindicate his maſter, as one of his old ſervants. And whereas the Archbiſhop had adviſed him to bethink himſelf of his preſent condition, lying now in priſon; Wincheſter replied to this with ſeemingly much ſatisfaction: how himſelf was arrived to that haven of quietneſs, without the loſs of any notable tackle, as the mariners ſay, which he ſaid, was a great matter as the winds had blown, and with a little flea biting, conveyed to an eaſy ſtate. He adviſed, that ſeeing King Henry died ſo ſo honourably and ſo much lamented, and was concluded to be received to God's mercy; the realm ſhould not be troubled during the King's minority, with matters of novelty, there being ſo many other things for the King's Counſellors to regard.'

[W] *That no body elſe would.*] Whoever will take the pains of examining our Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Hiſtories, will ſee how little care is taken to fix the dates relative to theſe tranſactions, which are only to be recovered from the original papers that are ſtill preſerved. By comparing them, the reader will perceive, that the Biſhop of Wincheſter never ſat in any one of King Edward's Parliaments; and notwithſtanding this flagrant injuſtice, we do not find ſo much as a ſingle word ſaid of it in the articles againſt the Protector Somerſet, tho' it was not only of more moment than many things alledged in them, but was alſo a fact which he could not poſſibly deny. It is indeed affirmed in the following account, and we have ſome notices of it elſewhere, that the Earl of Warwick, and ſome of the reſt of the cabal, gave Gardiner aſſurances of his liberty; but when they found themſelves able to act without him, they made no ſcruple of forgetting or breaking that promiſe, from a juſt foreſight, that he would give the ſame oppoſition to their meaſures he was inclined to have given to thoſe of the Duke.

But let us hear Stowe (49), who very ſeldom puts original papers into his Annals, and takes care, when he does, that they ſhall be equally curious and important, thus then he writes. 'Now when the Duke of Somerſet was firſt apprehended, Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, then being priſoner in the Tower (as before ye have heard) was borne in hand, he ſhould be ſet at liberty; in hope whereof, he prepared him new apparel for that purpoſe, thinking verily

(49) Annals, p. 600.

removed from his high office, found means to come again into power, and to be called to Council, this affair of Biſhop Gardiner was brought once more on the carpet, and the Duke and others, by virtue of an order of that Board, went to confer with him in the Tower June the ninth 1550 (*x*). It was propoſed that he ſhould make a ſubmiſſion for what was paſſed, ſhould teſtify his approbation of all that had been done in religion ſince he had been laid aſide, and that he ſhould promiſe obedience for the future. The two laſt points Wincheſter readily conſented to, and actually ſigned all that was expected from him; but refuſed his aſſent to the firſt, inſiſting upon his innocence. Much ſollicitation there was, with what intent one cannot ſay; at laſt the Biſhop, perceiving they roſe in their demands, told them roundly he would do nothing in a priſon; and that he did not ſeek either favour or pity, but juſtice (*y*). On the nineteenth of July he was brought to the Council, and being aſked whether he would ſubſcribe the laſt articles or not, he anſwered in the negative; and it was thereupon declared to him, that his Biſhoprick ſhould be ſequeſtred; and, if in three months he did not comply, they would go ſtill farther (*z*). Fuller confeſſes, in caſe he was innocent, he was in the right not to acknowledge himſelf guilty (*a*); and Heylin ſeems to think, thoſe who had now to do with him, would not have been ſatisfied let him have ſubſcribed what he would (*b*). Strype, out of reſpect to Cranmer, approves the whole proceeding, as Fox applauds it; but Biſhop Burnet, having undertaken to ſtate the matter impartially, does it accordingly, with that clearneſs which the evidence of the fact demands [*X*]. When the three months were fully expired, and the Biſhop remained in the ſame

(*x*) See King Edward's Journal, inſerted in the ſecond Vol. of Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat.

(*y*) See the Proceedings againſt him in Fox.

(*z*) Strype's Memorials.

(*a*) Church Hiſt. cent. XVI, p. 400.

(*b*) Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 99.

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verily to have come abroad within eight or ten days; but when he was forgotten, and nothing ſaid unto him by the ſpace of one month after, he thought it good to put the Lords in remembrance by his letters; wherein, after commendations had unto them, he wrote as followeth: I have continued here in this miſerable priſon now, one year, one quarter, and one month, this ſame day that I write theſe my letters, with want of air to relieve my body; want of books to relieve my mind; want of good company the only ſolace of this world; and finally, want of a juſt cauſe why I ſhould have come hither at all. More of this letter came not to my hands, but that the Lords took it in good part, and laughed very merrily thereat, ſaying, he had a pleaſant head; for reward whereof, they gave him leave to remain ſtill in priſon five or ſix weeks after, without ſaying, or ſending any word to him; which when he conſidered, then he wrote to them this letter following. After my due commendations to your good Lordſhips: Howſoever the time is ſtolen from you with the multitude of buſineſſes, and variety of matters wherewith ye be travelled; whereby ye rather want time, as I ſuppoſe, than be glutted with it; yet with me, being alone comfortleſſe in this miſerable priſon, the time paſſeth more ſenſibly; and as the grief groweth in length, ſo it bringeth more encombrie and travell with it. And being now the time of Parliament, whereof I am a member, in my degree called unto it by writ, and not cut from it by any fault, but only by power kept here; it is a double calamity to be detained in priſon by ſo intolerable wrong, and excluded from this aſſembly, ſo much againſt right. I have ſuffered the like in the late Lord Protector's time, againſt all reaſon, which God hath given you power now to reform; and among many other things, which in his time wrythed amiſſe, no one thing, as I ſuppoſe, was of worſe example, ne more prejudicial to the good order of the high Court of Parliament, which is the direction of all mens lives, lands, and goods in this realm, than to allow for a precedent, that any one man being member thereof, might, without cauſe, be excluded, and ſo letted to parlee there his mind in publick matters for the wealth of the realm, and ſuch other private cauſes as do occur. If the ſtrength of the Parliament be not impaired by wrong in one, becauſe right conſiſteth not in number, it ſhall be at the pleaſure of him that ruleth, to do the ſame in me, whereby others may take more harm than I, as experience hath ſhewed in ſuch examples. But I know it becometh me not to reaſon the ſtrength of that court, ne the order of it; the Lawyers of this realm know that, and to their knowledge I ſubmit my judgment, and take for good that they allow. But this I dare ſay, when religion is entreated in a general Council of Chriſtendome, if the rulers of the Council let any man's repaire thither, that hath right to be there; whatſoever is there concluded, is in the laws of the world abroad, taken of no force by excluding of one member wrongfully, that ſhould furniſh the body, which I write unto your Lordſhips for the good opinion I have of you, truſting that ye intend not to uphold or follow the late Lord Protector's doings, by wrong, but ſo faſhion your proceedings, as they may agree with juſtice at home, and ſeem agreeable to reaſon to others abroad, being ſo aſſured of mine innocency, that when your Lordſhips ſhall hear what can be ſaid againſt me and mine, anſwer thereunto, there ſhall appear cauſe why I ſhould have had praiſe, thanks, and commendations of the late Lord Protector (if truth, honeſty, and due obedience might look therefore) and no cauſe of trouble or diſpleaſure at all, ſo wrongfully have I been tormented in this priſon, ſo boldly dare I ſpeak to you of my cauſe, with ſuch an opinion and eſtimation of your wiſdomes, which I know and reverence, as I ought not, ne would not vainly hope to abuſe you with words, but upon certain confidence of your indifferencies; verily I truſt that ye will deem and take things in in ſuch ſort, as being plainly, and truly opened, ſhall appear unto you by matter indeed. In conſideration whereof, I renew my ſuit unto your Lordſhips, inſtantly requiring you, that I may be heard according to juſtice, and that, with ſuch ſpeed, as the delay of your audience give not occaſion to ſuch as be ignorant abroad of my matter, to think that your Lordſhips allowed, and approved the detaining of me here. Which without hearing my declaration, I truſt ye will not but have ſuch conſideration of me, as mine eſtate in the Common-Wealth; the paſſing my former life amongſt you, and other reſpects do require; wherein you ſhall bind me, and do agreeably to your honours and juſtice: the free courſe whereof you have honourably taken upon you to make open to the realm without reſpect, which is the only eſtabliſhment of all Common-Wealths; and therefore the zeal of him was allowed, that ſaid, *Fiat juſtitia & ruat mundus:* ſignifying, that by it, the world is kept from falling indeed, although it might ſeem otherwiſe in ſome reſpect, and ſome trouble to ariſe in doing it. And this I write, becauſe in the late Lord Protector's time, there was an inſinuation made unto me, as though I were kept here by policie; which, with the violation of juſtice, took never good effect, as I doubt not of your wiſdoms ye can and will conſider, and do therefore accordingly; for the effectual execution whereof, I ſhall not fail to pray Almighty God for the preſervation and increaſe of your honours. *From the Tower.*

' Thus much concerning theſe letters have I thought good to ſet down, for that I find not the ſame otherwiſe extant, in large diſcourſes of the ſaid Biſhop's writings.'

[*X*] *With that clearneſs which the evidence of the facts demands.*] Before we come to the account of this ſame ſentiments, a reſolution was taken to proceed judicially againſt him, in order to deprive him of the See of Wincheſter, and what other preferments he had under the authority of the King's commiſſion, in which the Archbiſhop preſided. Theſe Commiſſioners began their proceedings December the fifteenth, and ended them February the fourteenth following (c), having had in all two and twenty ſeſſions, when the grand affair was finiſhed, and the Biſhop deprived for irreverence to the King's authority; though but a few months before they had condemned the abuſe of that authority, by thoſe in whoſe hands it then was. It was added, that he was diſobedient to the King's orders and inſtructions in eccleſiaſtical affairs; tho' he twice ſubſcribed his approbation to all that was already done, and promiſed never to diſcloſe any future ſcruples he might have but to the Privy-Council. As a further aggravation of his offences, it was ſuggeſted that he refuſed to confeſs his faults, and

(c) Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 223, 224, 225.

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this matter given by Biſhop Burnet, whoſe authority in theſe points muſt be deciſive, as nothing could induce him to treat theſe ſubjects as he does, but a due reſpect for truth, which every hiſtorical writer ought to prefer to every other conſideration; it is neceſſary to obſerve, that he is entirely miſtaken as to the time of the King's ſending to the Biſhop, in which he ſuppoſes Fox to have erred, and all this from a notion, that, upon his ſubmiſſion, the Protector might have been prevailed with to ſet him at liberty; whereas, in truth, the offers that were made him, came from the Protector's enemies, who, it has been ſuggeſted, made very great uſe of the Biſhop of Wincheſter's head and hand, in bringing their deſign to bear; inſomuch that a certain author ſays (50), the original of the articles againſt him which he confeſſed, and upon which he was depoſed, or rather the draught of thoſe articles, was in Wincheſter's own hand-writing. But be that as it will, the King's own Journal very fully ſhews (51), that the firſt meſſage ſent from him to Gardiner, was June the ninth, 1550, when the Biſhop had been, within a few days, two years in priſon. Theſe points being premiſed, let us hear our right reverend author.

(50) Mr Strype aſſerts this from his own acquaintance with the hands of thoſe times.

(51) Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 150.

‘When the Book of Common-Prayer was ſet out, the Lord St John, and Secretary Petre, were ſent with it to him, to know of him, whether he would conform to it or not; and they gave him great hopes that if he would ſubmit, the Protector would ſue to the King for mercy to him. He anſwered, that he did not know himſelf guilty of any thing that needed mercy: ſo he deſired to be tried for what had been objected to him, according to law. For the book, he did not think that while he was a priſoner, he was bound to give his opinion about ſuch things; it might be thought he did it againſt his conſcience to obtain his liberty; but if he were out of priſon, he ſhould either obey it, or be liable to puniſhment according to law. Upon the Duke of Somerſet's fall, the Lord-Treaſurer, the Earl of Warwick, Sir William Herbert, and Secretary Petre, were ſent to him: Fox ſays this was on the ninth of July, but there muſt be an error in that; for Gardiner in his anſwer ſays, that upon the Duke of Somerſet's coming to the Tower, he looked to have been let out within two days, and had made his farewel feaſt; but when theſe were with him, a month, or thereabout, had paſſed, ſo it muſt have been in November the former year. They brought him a paper, to which they deſired he would ſet his hand. It contained, firſt a preface, which was an acknowledgement of former faults, for which he had been juſtly puniſhed: There were alſo divers articles contained in it, which were touching the King's ſupremacy, his power of appointing or diſpenſing with holidays and faſts; that the Book of Common-Prayer, ſet out by the King and Parliament, was a moſt chriſtian and godly book, to be allowed of by all Biſhops and Paſtors in England; and that he ſhould, both in ſermons and diſcourſes, commend it to be obſerved; that the King's power was compleat now, when under age, and that all owed obedience to him now, as much as if he were thirty or forty years old; that the ſix articles were juſtly abrogated, and that the King had full authority to correct and reform what was amiſs in the Church, both in England and Ireland. He only excepted to the preface, and offered to ſign all the articles, but would have had the preface left out. They bid him rather write on the margent his exceptions to it, ſo he writ, that he could not, with a good conſcience, agree to the preface, and with that exception, he ſet his hand to the whole paper. The Lords uſed him with great kindneſs, and gave him hope, that his troubles ſhould be quickly ended. Herbert and Petre came to him ſome time after that, but how ſoon is not ſo clear, and preſſed him to make the acknowledgement without exception; he refuſed it, and ſaid he would never defame himſelf; for when he had done it, he was not ſure, but it might be made uſe of againſt him as a confeſſion. Two or three days after that, Ridley was ſent to him, together with the other two, and they brought him new articles. In this paper, the acknowledgement was more general than in the former: It was ſaid here in the preface, that he had been ſuſpected of not approving the King's proceedings, and being appointed to preach, had not done it as he ought to have done, and ſo deſerved the King's diſpleaſure, for which he was ſorry: the articles related to the Pope's Supremacy, the ſuppreſſion of abbies and chantries, pilgrimages, maſſes, images; the adoring the Sacrament; the communion in both kinds; the aboliſhing the old books, and bringing in the new book of ſervice, and that for ordaining of Prieſts and Biſhops; the compleatneſs of the ſcripture, and the uſe of it in the vulgar tongue; the lawfulneſs of Clergymens marriage; and to Eraſmus's Paraphraſe, that it had been on good conſiderations ordered to be ſet up in Churches. He read all theſe, and ſaid, he deſired firſt to be diſcharged of his impriſonment, and then he would freely anſwer them all, ſo as to ſtand by it, and ſuffer if he did amiſs, but he would trouble himſelf with no more articles while he remained in priſon, ſince he deſired not to be delivered out of his troubles in the way of mercy, but of juſtice.

‘After that he was brought before the Council, and the Lords told him, that they ſate by a ſpecial commiſſion to judge him, and ſo required him to ſubſcribe the articles that had been ſent him. He prayed them earneſtly to put him to a trial for the grounds of his impriſonment, and when that was over, he would clearly anſwer them in all other things: but he did not think he could ſubſcribe all the articles after one ſort, ſome of them being about laws already made, which he could not qualifie; others of them being matters of learning, in which he might uſe more freedom: in concluſion, he deſired leave to take them with him, and he would conſider how to anſwer them. But they required him to ſubſcribe them all, without any qualification; which he refuſed to do. Upon this, the fruits of his Biſhoprick were ſequeſtred, and he was required to conform himſelf to their orders within three months, upon pain of deprivation; and the liberty he had of walking in ſome open galleries, when the Duke of Norfolk was not in them, was taken from him, and he was again ſhut up in his chamber.

‘All this was much cenſured, as being contrary to the liberties of Engliſhmen, and the forms of all legal proceedings. It was thought very hard to put a man in priſon upon a complaint againſt him, and without any further enquiry into it, after two years durance, to put articles to him. And they which ſpoke freely ſaid, it ſavoured too much of the Inquiſition. But the Canon Law not being rectified, and the King being in the Pope's room, there were ſome things gathered from the Canon Law, and the way of proceeding *ex officio*, which rather excuſed, than juſtified this hard meaſure he met with.’ The ſequel of this buſineſs ſhall be related in it's proper place.

and ſubmit himſelf to the King's mercy; tho' he alledged firſt his innocence, which entitled him to receive from the King's juſtice what it was ſuppoſed he ought to accept as his mercy; and next, that he was not ſure of this mercy if inclined to ſubmit, but had reaſon to fear this confeſſion might be made a ground for conviction, where he knew there was a defect of evidence. He complained that thoſe who committed him were to be his judges, and conſequently their own; that he was charged for diſobedience to ſome of them, who in this caſe were proſecutors as well as parties and judges; and that the whole was the contrivance of men who had been long his enemies, and who, after failing in many ſchemes, hoped to prevail in this, to his deſtruction (*d*). But as a particular detail of this matter would detain us too long, ſo ſome curious points, ſupported by unqueſtionable evidence, will be found at the bottom of the page [*Y*]. It is no wonder that the Romaniſts dwell ſo much on theſe proceedings, or that they are ſo ſlightly paſſed over by ſome of our own Hiſtorians, becauſe they are apparently indefenſible upon any conſtitutional principles, and can only be excuſed in the lump, by alledging that all was done to gratify a party; lay open the rich Biſhoprick of Wincheſter to be canton'd amongſt Clergy and Laity, ſo that Dr Ponet had only the title and two thouſand marks a year, inſtead of being poſſeſſed of the temporalities as his predeceſſors held them; and to keep an old man faſt in priſon, whom they knew not how to manage out. For this, if conſidered in any other light, was by no means reconcilable to law of any kind, much leſs to any notions of liberty; ſince in effect it was delivering up both Church and State into the hands of a few ambitious and avaricious men (*e*), who, when they had trampled on others, fell out amongſt themſelves about the ſpoil, and, by the natural conſequences of their irregular adminiſtration, made way for their own deſtruction in the iſſue; as at the very time it revived the cauſe of Popery, and the hopes of Papiſts [*Z*]. Biſhop Gardiner himſelf very prudently laid the

(*d*) See the Proceedings in his caſe.

(*e*) Sir John Hayward's Hiſt. of Edward VI.

[*Y*] *Will be found at the bottom of the page.*] It is very probable, that having once determined to deprived him of all his preferments for his contempt, they began to conſider what that contempt was, and framed an order about it, expreſſed in ſuch terms as they judged convenient, which was to paſs for the order upon which he was committed, and be made the foundation of all their ſubſequent proceedings. This is indeed a very ſtrange fact, and to which no credit could be given, if it was not reported by Biſhop Burnet, from the Council Book, where he diſcovered it by the orders being ſigned *Bedford*, amongſt other Counſellors; but that noble peer recollecting that he had not his title at the time the order was dated, ſtruck it out again, and ſubſcribed *J. Ruſſel*; we have from the ſame writer, a ſhort but very ſatisfactory account of the proceedings in that great cauſe, upon which though Collier makes ſome remarks, yet he does not treat the point ſo fairly or ſo fully as Biſhop Burnet, whoſe words are theſe.

'There was a commiſſion iſſued out (52) to the Archbiſhop, the Biſhops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, Secretary Petre, Judge Hales, Griffith and Leyſon, two Civilians, and Goodrick and Goſnold, two Maſters of Chancery, to proceed againſt Gardiner, for his contempt in the matters formerly objected to him. He put in a compurgation, by which he endeavoured to ſhew there was malice borne to him, and conſpiracies againſt him, as appeared by the buſineſs of Sir Henry Knevet, mentioned in the former part, and the leaving him out of the late King's will, which he ſaid was procured by his enemies. He complained of his long impriſonment without any trial, and that articles of one ſort after another were brought to him, ſo that it was plain, he was not detained for any crime, but to try if ſuch uſage could force him to do any thing that ſhould be impoſed on him. He declared, that what order ſoever were ſet out by the King's Council, he ſhould never ſpeak againſt it, but to the Council themſelves; and that though he could not give conſent to the changes before they were made, he was now well ſatisfied to obey them, but he would never make any acknowledgement of any fault. The things chiefly laid againſt him were, that, being required, he refuſed to preach concerning the King's power when he was under age; and that he had affronted preachers ſent by the King into his dioceſe, and had been negligent in obeying the King's injunctions, and continued after all ſo obſtinate, that he would not confeſs his fault, nor aſk the King mercy, His crimes were aggravated by this, that his timely aſſerting the King's power under age, might have been a great means for preventing the rebellion and effuſion of blood which had afterwards happened chiefly on that pretence, to which his obſtinacy had given no ſmall occaſion. Upon this, many witneſſes were examined, chiefly the Duke of Somerſet, the Earls of Wiltſhire and Bedford, who depoſed againſt him. But to this he anſwered, that he was not required to do it by any order of Council, but only in a private diſcourſe, to which he did not think himſelf bound to give obedience. Other witneſſes were alſo examined on the other particulars. But he appealed from the Delegates to the King in perſon. Yet his Judges on the (*) eighteenth of April, gave ſentence againſt him; by which, for his diſobedience and contempt, they deprived him of his Biſhoprick.'

(52) Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 165.

(*) It ſhould be the 14th of Feb.

It is to be obſerved, that Gardiner always inſiſted, that theſe proceedings in the King's minority, would produce ſuch diſturbances; that the King's ſupremacy had been ſworn to, but that the Council's ſupremacy was a new point, and this it was which he declined preaching to the people. But it was not deprivation alone that would content Gardiner's enemies, more eſpecially ſince by his proteſtation he ſhewed plainly that he did not deſpair of having this matter reviewed, and therefore they went farther, as Strype tells us (53), and on the next day the Council made the following order, which he tranſcribed from the book. 'For as much as it appeared he had at all times before the judges of his cauſe, uſed himſelf unreverently to the King's Majeſty, and ſlanderfully towards his Council, and eſpecially yeſterday, being the day of his judgment given againſt him, he called his Judges hereticks and ſacramentaries, they being there the King's Commiſſioners and of his Highneſs's Council; it was therefore ordered by the whole board, that he ſhould be removed from the lodging he hath now in the Tower, to a meaner lodging, and none to wait upon him but one by the Lieutenant's appointment, in ſuch ſort, as by the reſort of any man to him, he have not the liberty to ſend out to any man, or to hear from any man. And likewiſe that his books and papers be taken from him and ſeen; and that from henceforth, he have neither pen, ink, nor paper, to write his deteſtable purpoſes, but be ſequeſtred from all conferences, and from all means that may ſerve him to practiſe any way.' But in proceſs of time, very probably the rigour of this order might be diſpenſed with.

(53) Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 225.

[*Z*] *Revived the cauſe of Popery, and the hopes of Papiſts.*] This, though a matter little regarded by modern writers, is in reality a thing of great conſequence, in reſpect to the hiſtory of thoſe times. Contemporary writers on both ſides agree, that theſe proceedings of King Edward's Miniſters had this effect, and that thoſe who were bigotted Papiſts, ſhewed their joy the weight of the whole on the Delegates who deprived him, and, by proteſting and appealing to the King, ſhewed plainly that all the hopes of redreſs he had lay in the Crown, and muſt ſpring from the exerciſe of that ſupremacy to which they repreſented him as an enemy. He could not, however, avoid ſeeing, as he was a conſummate ſtateſman, that the Politicians made tools in this tranſaction of the Prelates, and were making large ſteps towards ſuch a depreſſion of the Church, as would make it entirely dependant on the Crown and it's Miniſters, with ſuch a ſhew of it's antient privileges as might enable thoſe who commanded it to have an uncontroulable power over the legiſlature, which, how plauſibly ſoever it may be defended by ſuch as have an intereſt in it at the time, will be ever eſteemed a dangerous thing by intelligent and impartial perſons. Our eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians have been moſt of them aware of this *(f)*, but unwilling to own it, becauſe they were afraid it might reflect on ſome of the great men amongſt our firſt Reformers; whereas in truth nothing can do them ſo much ſervice as ſetting this fact right, and ſhewing they were outwitted by perſons who pretended zeal for the Reformation, and yet had no religion, or were Papiſts in their hearts. It is no wonder that they were not politicians, much leſs is it criminal; on the contrary, their ſimplicity, in this reſpect, is their true and beſt excuſe. All the blame that can be juſtly laid upon them, is, that they ever ſuffered themſelves to be drawn into ſchemes, the bottom of which they could not underſtand, or foreſee the conſequences *(g)* [*AA*]. All the remaining part of this reign Biſhop Gardiner remained in the ſame

(f) Fuller, Heylin, Burnet, Strype, Collier.

(g) Remarks on the Hiſt. of the Reformat. p. 31.

joy and ſatisfaction at theſe proſecutions. They drove ſome of the ableſt and greateſt men out of the Church, as Gardiner, Tonſtall, and Day, who had ſhewn themſelves very well affected to ſome of the principal points of the Reformation; and who, if they had gone on complying as they would have done, would in time have both ſtrengthened themſelves and drawn in others (54). Gardiner particularly had declared himſelf on the point of Supremacy very fully; which they took the moſt effectual method to make him repent; he had acknowledged, that though men were married, they might continue Prieſts, though, for prudential reaſons, he thought that the marriages of Clergymen ſhould be diſcouraged, that they might live the better, and exerciſe greater hoſpitality out of their revenues. He was a ſtrenuous advocate for the real preſence in the ſacrament, yet diſclaimed Tranſubſtantiation, and was for the communion in both kinds. He wrote againſt treating images irreverently, but juſtified the taking them away upon due proof of their being abuſed. In reference to Juſtification, he declared himſelf clearly on his deathbed, but profeſſed it ought to be taught with caution to the people, to prevent their falling into fanaticiſm and running away with a notion, that if they believed in Chriſt, they might be ſaved, though they did not live like Chriſtians. Sir John Harrington (55) therefore had reaſon to ſay, that he was a *Catholick Proteſtant*, or a *proteſting Catholic*, that is, he had given ſuch proofs of his willingneſs to adhere unto and proceed in the Reformation; that if he had not been treated as he was, he might have been highly ſerviceable; whereas by theſe ſevere, and in ſome reſpects irregular, proceedings, King Edward's Miniſters actually provided inſtruments for Queen Mary, who otherwiſe might have found none, and furniſhed a colourable pretence for what was afterwards done againſt themſelves.

Another injury that the Proteſtant Religion received, was in the ſpoiling the Biſhopricks, which were thus rendered vacant, which was either done under colour of the King's authority, or by the perſons who accepted them; and this countenanced the clamours of the Papiſts, that all was done out of temporal views, and that men pretended a quarrel to the doctrines, that they might get at the lands of the Church. If there had been no cauſe given for theſe complaints, if the Biſhop of Wincheſter had been encouraged to proceed as he did immediately after he came out of the Fleet, in officiating as the law directed (56), and preaching the King's authority to remove what was amiſs in the ceremonies and diſcipline of the Church, and the great men had ſhewn themſelves as zealous Proteſtants in their lives, as they were in their profeſſions, without carving for themſelves eſtates out of what belonged to the Biſhops ſees, which had not been done in the time of Henry the Eighth, and which it was both unwiſe and unſafe to do in the time of a minority, all the troubles the nation ſuffered might have been avoided; the young King's uncles, and perhaps the young King himſelf, might have lived much longer; the unjuſt attempt to alter the ſucceſſion, the conſequences of which were ſo fatal to many noble and not a few innocent perſons, would never have been thought neceſſary (57); and the Reformation would have been ſo effectually eſtabliſhed, that even the eccleſiaſticks would have been againſt alterations.

[*AA*] *Or foreſee the conſequences.*] There is not any period in the Engliſh Hiſtory, where one who ſearches for truth, finds himſelf more at a loſs which road to take, than in the ſhort reign of Edward the Sixth; and the reaſon is, becauſe moſt of our Hiſtorians have written ſyſtematically, and have laboured to reduce all the characters they met with, into ſuch forms as might make them beſt ſuit with their reſpective plans. In ſome we find the Protector Somerſet repreſented as one of the wiſeſt, beſt, and mildeſt governors this nation ever had (58), and brought to an untimely end by the artifices of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, who is made one of the greateſt monſters that ever lived. In others, that Duke is repreſented as a weak man, whom Dudley governed till he had made him do ſo many exorbitant and unpopular things, as ſhewed him unfit to be truſted longer with the adminiſtration, and then took the government upon himſelf (59). The truth of the matter is, they were both ambitious men, and both laboured to ſupport their power by gratifying their dependants.

As for theſe dependants, whatever there might be of piety and true religion in ſome few of them, yet the major part were governed only by their intereſts, and would ſupport any man or any ſcheme by which theſe might be promoted. Somerſet began to make free with the Church, and by that means raiſed fortunes for himſelf and his family, in which he perſiſted, when he came a ſecond time into favour, and took up the thread of the Biſhop of Wincheſter's proſecution, juſt where he dropped it when depoſed from his Protectorate. In this he was ſupported by Northumberland and the reſt of the Council, who had views of the ſame kind, and they ſhewed great reſpect to Cranmer and the Divines he brought into the Church, becauſe they found them men eaſily over-reached, and who thought they did no wrong in obeying whatever directions came to them from the Crown. Some likewiſe were really of opinion, that large revenues and a conſiderable meaſure of temporal power, were hindrances to their miniſtry, and were therefore the leſs uneaſy in making ſuch conceſſions as they apprehended would beſt bind the great men to keep out Popery; but it is certain they had no jealouſy that many of theſe potent courtiers, and particularly thoſe of Northumberland's faction, were very far from having any hearty concern for that faith which they profeſſed; and conſequently preferred getting eſtates at the expence of the Church, to the making proviſions for the ſecurity of the Church, which they pretended to leave to the management of Cranmer and his friends, only that they might ſerve themſelves of him and them at particular conjunctures, without troubling themſelves much about futurity.

One

(54) This was once Archbiſhop Cranmer's opinion.

(55) Brief View of the State of the Church of Eng. p. 43.

(56) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 71.

(57) See Hayward, Godwin, Heylin's Accounts of this reign.

(58) See Holinſhed, Burnet, Strype.

(59) See Hayward's Edward VI.

ſame ſtate, that is, a cloſe priſoner in the Tower, and yet not ſo ſtrictly kept, at leaſt all the latter part of the time, as the order of Council ſeemed to require; for certain it is, that, in this ſpace, he not only wrote many controverſial pieces, but alſo compoſed variety of Latin poems, and tranſlated into verſe ſeveral beautiful paſſages in the books of Eccleſiaſtes, Wiſdom, Job, and other poetical parts of the Old Teſtament (*b*). He alſo kept up his ſpirits all that time, and was wont to ſay very confidently, as either believing it or deſiring to be thought to believe it, that he ſhould live to ſee another turn, and another Court in which he ſhould be as great as ever (*i*). On the death of King Edward no doubt he foreſaw that turn was near, notwithſtanding the new Court ſet up in his neighbourhood for that unfortunate Lady, Queen Jane. On the nineteenth of July 1553, Queen Mary was publickly proclaimed by that very Council which the day before owned the right of her competitor, and gave her the coarſe and injurious title of Baſtard of Henry VIII (*k*). On the third of Auguſt the Queen made her ſolemn entry into the Tower, when Biſhop Gardiner, in the name of himſelf and his fellow-priſoners, the Duke of Norfolk, the Ducheſs of Somerſet, the Lord Courtney, and others of high rank, made a congratulatory ſpeech to her Majeſty, who gave them all their liberties (*l*). On the eighth of the ſame month he performed, in the Queen's preſence, the obſequies for the late King Edward, whoſe body was buried at Weſtminſter, with the Engliſh ſervice, by Archbiſhop Cranmer, the funeral ſermon being preached by Biſhop Day (*m*). On the ninth, Biſhop Gardiner went to Wincheſter-Houſe, in Southwark, after a confinement of ſomewhat more than five years (*n*). On the twenty-third he was declared Chancellor of England, tho' his patent did not paſs till the twenty-firſt of September (*o*). On the firſt of October he had the honour of crowning the Queen (*p*), and on the fifth of the ſame month he opened the firſt Parliament in her reign (*q*). By this time he was in poſſeſſion again of his academical honours; for as at the beginning of his misfortunes the Univerſity of Cambridge elected in his place the Duke of Somerſet, and on his fall the Duke of Northumberland; ſo when he fell they rechoſe the Biſhop of Wincheſter for their Chancellor, and reſtored him alſo to his headſhip of Trinity-Hall, then poſſeſſed by Dr Mowſe (*r*). At this juncture, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, either thro' the Queen's eſteem for, and confidence in, him; or, as ſome ſuggeſt, tho' without any great evidence, thro' the recommendation of Charles V, was poſſeſſed of a larger compaſs of Civil and Eccleſiaſtical power, than any Engliſh Miniſter ever enjoyed, except Cardinal Wolſey; and in his management of this, in all it's various branches, tho' taken from ſo long an impriſonment, and labouring under the weight of ſo great an age as ſeventy, his bittereſt enemies muſt allow he gave indubitable marks of ſuperior talents (*s*). If contriving to accompliſh, and that in a ſhort time, things ſo great and difficult as to ſurpaſs

(*b*) Tanner. Biblioth. Britannico-Hibernica, p. 309.

(*i*) Lloyd's Worthies.

(*k*) Godwin's Annals, 1553.

(*l*) Stowe's Annals, p. 613.

(*m*) Hollinſhed, p. 1089.

(*n*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 20.

(*o*) Pat. 1. Mar. p. 8.

(*p*) Cooper's Chronicle, Part iii. p. 361.

(*q*) Godwin's Annals.

(*r*) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 132.

(*s*) Remarks on the Hiſt. of the Reformat. p. 39.

One cannot help looking with ſome ſurprize upon the conduct of Archbiſhop Cranmer in this buſineſs. Strype ſhews, from the Council Book, that he preſided, and was very active in the Biſhop of Wincheſter's deprivation, and for the trouble therein, received four hundred marks (60). He was particularly objected to by Wincheſter as his perſonal enemy, and both before and after, was engaged in a controverſy with him about the ſacrament. Biſhop Burnet, makes an apology for him, which deſerves to be conſidered. 'He was, ' ſays he, naturally a man of bowels and compaſſion, ' and did not love to drive things to extremities; he ' conſidered that men who had grown old in ſome errors, could not eaſily lay them down, and ſo were by ' degrees to be worn out of them. Only in the proceedings againſt Gardiner and Bonner, he was carried beyond his ordinary temper. But Gardiner he knew to ' be ſo inveterate a Papiſt, and ſo deep a diſſembler, ' that he was for throwing him out, not ſo much for the ' particulars objected to him, as upon the ill character ' he had of him. Bonner had alſo deceived him ſo ' formerly, and had been ſo cruel a perſecutor upon ' the ſtatute of the ſix articles, and was become ſo brutal and luxurious, that he judged it neceſſary to ' purge the Church of him. And the Sees of London ' and Wincheſter were of ſuch conſequence, that he ' was induced, for having theſe well ſupplied, to ' ſtretch a little in theſe proceedings againſt thoſe diſſembling Biſhops.'

If theſe were really the maxims upon which he acted, they were certainly very indifferent ones, whether conſidered in the light of Chriſtian prudence, or of civil policy. For to aſſume a power of judging of men's hearts, contrary to their declarations and ſubſcriptions, which were all that the law required; and to think that ſuch a conſtruction could juſtify a legal deprivation, is not very reconcilable to religious principles, and with reſpect to maxims of policy, ſuch proceedings were ſtill worſe, becauſe they eſtabliſhed the moſt dangerous precedents, and left every thing open to the will and pleaſure of ſuch as were inveſted with power, as thoſe who abetted this proſecution afterwards felt to their coſt. But the truth of the matter ſeems to be, that Archbiſhop Cranmer was not either a great lawyer, or a profound politician, which induced him to follow the ſentiments of others, of whoſe abilities he had a good opinion, to which perhaps, he might be the more inclined from the rectitude of his own intentions, and from a charitable apprehenſion, that other men were as upright as himſelf, in which, not in this inſtance only, but in many others, he was ſadly deceived.

For, in reality, he was the dupe of the Great in this buſineſs, and while he flattered himſelf that they aſſiſted him in his views for the Church, he was in fact doing theirs at the expence of the Church. The Duke of Somerſet had beſides the Admiral, another brother, Sir Henry Seymour, to whom he was deſirous ſome good eſtate might come; and therefore Dr Ponet, who was raiſed to the See of Wincheſter upon the deprivation of Gardiner, was hardly warm in it, before he conveyed to this Sir Henry Seymour the ſtately palace of Marwel, with the lordſhip and park belonging thereto, and alſo that of Twyford. There was another nobleman too, the Earl of Wiltſhire, afterwards Marquis of Wincheſter, who had a good ſtroke at the lands of this See, Biſhop Ponet conveying to him the palace, park, and manor of Waltham, with ſome good farms in the neighbourhood (61). But unluckily for theſe able politicians, Gardiner ſurvived, recovered his dignity, and recovered alſo to his See, theſe and other lands granted away during the time it was taken from him. This ſcheme was carried ſtill farther, upon depriving Dr Cuthbert Tonſtall, of the Biſhoprick of Durham, the Biſhoprick itſelf being diſſolved (62), with intent to raiſe a vaſt temporal eſtate to the great man who then ruled all, but this likewiſe proved abortive by the death of King Edward.

(60) Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 163.

(61) Heylin's Hiſt. of the Reformat. p. 101. Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 273. See alſo note [*MM*].

(62) Fuller, Burnet, Strype.

[*BB*] *Be*

paſs all mens expectations, be, as the world ſeems agreed they are, ſure ſigns of ſuperior talents [*BB*]. The Queen is ſaid, by moſt of our Hiſtorians, to have recommended three great points to the Biſhop of Wincheſter's care, with equal concern, all of which were attended with almoſt equal difficulties; the firſt was, the clearing the legitimacy of her birth, and annulling the divorce of her mother; tho' this was apparently baſtardizing her ſiſter, and preſumptive ſucceſſor. The next was, reſtoring the old religion, and reconciling the nation to Rome, in the ſame manner as before her father's deſertion. The third was, obtaining the conſent of Parliament to her marriage with Prince Philip; which was ſo unpopular, that the former Houſe of Commons prepared an addreſs to the Queen not to marry a foreigner (*t*). Amongſt all the ſecret and open obſtacles, which were not a few, that our Miniſter had to overcome in the proſecution of theſe meaſures, none probably gave him more trouble than getting over his own diſlike to every one of them. The procuring the divorce was the firſt ſervice he rendered the father; and now reverſing this divorce, and branding all who had been concerned in it, was the firſt ſervice required by the daughter. He

(*t*) See Strype and Burnet.

[*BB*] *Be ſure ſigns of ſuperior talents*] It may perhaps be truly ſaid, that Gardiner was the wiſeſt and moſt fortunate, as Cecil was the worthieſt and moſt ſteady, of Engliſh Miniſters. The greater part of Queen Mary's reign was full of uneaſineſs and misfortunes, but neither began till after the death of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, whoſe adminiſtration was a perfect triumph, which muſt not be underſtood over his enemies, for that would be falſe as well as fulſome flattery; but over all the obſtacles he met with, and never Miniſter met with greater. Auguſt the third, 1553, he was diſcharged from his impriſonment, and took his ſeat in the Queen's Council, where he was Prime-Miniſter from the time he entered it, though he was not declared Chancellor till about three weeks after, and had not his patent before the time mentioned in the text. He was a man of ſuch comprehenſive parts, that every thing was preſent to him; and, which is ſtill more extraordinary, whatever he did, was ſo done, that it looked as if he attended to nothing elſe.

He ſaw the kingdom in great confuſion, and the Queen ſurrounded by an army, but he loved not ſtanding forces, and beſides her coffers would not afford it; he diſbanded them therefore, and provided for the Queen's ſecurity by paper. He penned firſt a proclamation for quieting people's minds in reſpect to the diſputes in Church and State, forbidding the abuſive words Papiſt and Heretick, ſpeaking fair to both parties, and prohibiting any raſh acts of loyalty, by injuring thoſe who had been concerned in ſupporting Queen Jane. To prevent deſpair, and to give a high idea of the Queen's clemency, a pardon was granted to the Duke of Suffolk, who had perſwaded his daughter to take the title of Queen, after he had been four days in the Tower. The Biſhop of Wincheſter had a conference alſo with the Duke of Northumberland, who it is ſaid told him, he was deſirous of living, if it were in a mouſe-hole; to which the Biſhop replied, that inſtead of a mouſe-hole, he would be glad to ſpare him one of his palaces, but that he would do well to prepare for the worſt; it is reported that he interceded for him to the Queen, but ſhe was not inclined to ſpare him, and indeed it could not be expected (63).

(63) Burnet, Strype, Echard. Father Perſons's Warn-word, p. 43.

That the people might not be too much alarmed with the execution of that nobleman, and ſome of his followers, or conceive harſh ideas of the new reign, there iſſued about that time two proclamations, one for the regulation of the coin as far as it could be regulated, with a promiſe of what amendment ſhould follow in that reſpect; the other for remitting a tax granted to King Edward (64), and though in itſelf this was a very acceptable act of grace, yet it was ſenſibly hightened and improved by the manner of doing it; the Proclamation ſetting forth, that ſhe graciouſly conſidering the good wills, forwardneſs, and hearty diſpoſitions of her true loving ſubjects, always heretofore exhibited to the aid and ſuccour of the commonweal, with their proper ſubſtance and goods, when the ſervice, the neceſſity and honour of the realm had ſo required, as well in the times of her father and brother, but eſpecially ſince the time of her vocation to the crown, in the defence of her royal perſon, againſt the malicious force of the moſt arrant traytor Sir John Dudley, late Duke of Northumberland, and his complices: notwithſtanding it was well known to the multitude of her ſaid good ſubjects, how by the evil government of the realm in thoſe late years, eſpecially ſince the ſaid Duke had borne rule, the treaſure of the ſame was marvellouſly exhauſted; and ſhe now preſently charged with payment of notable great ſums, being the debts of her ſaid brother the King, partly due to divers of her ſervants and ſubjects, and partly to certain merchant ſtrangers and others; which for her own honour, and the honour of the realm, ſhe determined, by the help of God, truly to diſcharge, content, and pay in times convenient and reaſonable. That yet having a ſpecial mind to the weal of her ſubjects, and accounting their loving hearts and proſperity as her own weal, and the chiefeſt treaſure that ſhe deſired next the favour and grace of God; and having a full affiance in her ſaid ſubjects, that if the ſtate, the cauſe and honour of the realms ſhould ſo require, they would at all times hereafter, exhibit their ſemblable ſervice, though in the latter ſeſſion of the ſaid Parliament, holden in the time of the ſaid King Edward, towards the payment and diſcharge of the ſaid notable debts were granted, two diſmes and two fifteens, and one ſubſidy of four ſhillings in the pound, to be raiſed and levied of the manors, lands, and tenements; and two ſhillings eight-pence of the goods and chattles of her ſubjects, which grants were now due unto her by the ſame act, and would diſcharge one great piece of the ſaid debts. Her Majeſty of her mere grace and great clemency for the relief and ſuccour of her ſaid good ſubjects, had freely for her, her heirs and ſucceſſors, pardoned and remitted to them the ſaid ſubſidy of four ſhillings the pound, and two ſhillings eight pence the pound. Truſting her good ſubjects would have loving conſideration thereof, whom ſhe required heartily to bend themſelves wholly to ſerve God to his glory, with continual prayer for the honour and advancement of her grace and the common-weal. There is no doubt made, that theſe proclamations were drawn by the pen of Biſhop Gardiner, who by this means, in ſome meaſure, removed the jealouſies that had been conceived of Queen Mary, and eſtabliſhed, in the minds of the common people at leaſt, a firm hope, that, in matters of property, the Queen would be both punctual and juſt to her ſubjects, and gentle and moderate in her demands from them.

(64) Copied from the Proclamation.

The ſame prudent dexterity was viſible in the conduct of the firſt Seſſion of the firſt Parliament in that reign, in which there paſſed but one publick and two private bills, all three acts of grace (65). The firſt was for aboliſhing thoſe laws paſſed in the reign of Henry the Eighth, by which new treaſons were enacted, and under colour of which, as this law for repealing them recited, ſeveral perſons of high rank had been condemned and put to death for words, or for very ſlight and doubtful offences. Of the two private bills, one was for reſtoring in blood, Lord Edward Courtney, whom the Queen had created Earl of Devonſhire; and the other for reſtoring in like manner, the Lady Gertrude Courtney, widow of the Marquis of Exeter, executed in the reign of King Henry, and theſe matters diſpatched, both houſes were prorogued on the twenty-firſt of October, for a few days, that it might be ſaid in this firſt Seſſion of her firſt Parliament, the Queen had done all for, without demanding any thing from her people.

(65) Godwin, Burnet, Strype.

He had alſo aſſiſted, promoted, and defended, the King's ſupremacy, which made way for all that followed, as much or more than any in the kingdom, and had the reputation alſo of penning what was publiſhed in defence of that Prince's marriage with Anne Bolleyn, and all that happened thereupon, which was now to be condemned as null and illegal. Beſides, ſo far as we are guided by unqueſtionable authorities, this ſeems to have been going greater lengths than he intended; for hitherto he had not entered into correſpondence with the Pope, or done any thing in eccleſiaſtical affairs but in virtue of the Queen's ſupremacy, an authority more agreeable to his ſyſtem of Divinity than that of the Roman Pontiff; but in that particular the Queen was inflexible, and her paſſion as ſtrong to relinquiſh this title to the Pope, as her father's ambition was to take it from him (*u*). The Spaniſh match croſſed the mind of Wincheſter, as much as it did that of the nation; he foreſaw the many troubles would follow from it, and that the Queen would enjoy none of that felicity with which ſhe flattered herſelf in the proſpect. But he well knew what a temper ſhe inherited from her parents, and that ſhe would find miniſters enough to carry into execution all that ſhe propoſed; he knew of how great importance this was to the kingdom, and that the manner of doing theſe things was almoſt as material as the points themſelves, ſince, if any means could be found to mitigate their malignity, it muſt be by a proper regulation of the conditions attending them (*w*). Upon this conſideration therefore, joined to a ſenſe of his own danger from what was paſſed if a new revolution happened, he reſolved to remain where he was, and employ his utmoſt ſkill to render the meaſures of Queen Mary's reign as beneficial to herſelf, and as little burthenſome to her people, as in their nature they could be; tho' it is certain he was not able to prevent all the evil, or do all the good, he could wiſh (*x*). The Convocation being aſſembled, he procured ſuch queſtions to be moved there, as he judged conducive to the change he propoſed to make; yet went no farther than declaring the Real Preſence in the Sacrament, which made way for reviving the old ſervice on the twenty-firſt of December (*y*). In Parliament he went the ſame pace, repealing, by a ſingle law, nine acts paſſed in the reign of King Edward, all reſpecting religion; by which thoſe who were of that religion, countenanced by Henry VIII, became as ſafe as they could wiſh, and even the groſſeſt Papiſts were out of danger, yet not reſtored to power (*z*). The Queen's legitimacy was eſtabliſhed, the divorce declared null and void, the whole fault being thrown upon Archbiſhop Cranmer, againſt all truth and juſtice, ſince Gardiner had to the full as great a ſhare therein as he, tho' now Chancellor of England and Prime-Miniſter, while the other was attainted of high-treaſon, by a bill paſſed this ſeſſions; but to make that venerable Prelate ſome amends, upon an humble letter acknowledging his fault in the buſineſs of Queen Jane, he received a pardon (*a*). Theſe extraordinary changes were wrought rather by addreſs and fair ſpeeches, than by violence or corruption, though ſome of our writers ſay the contrary. As to force, the Queen, a few guards excepted, had none; and her caſe as to money was the ſame, tho' the Biſhop of Wincheſter was a frugal Miniſter (*b*). But what ſeems to put corruption out of the queſtion in this Parliament, is, that, after all, the members could not be brought to reliſh the Queen's marriage to Don Philip, and therefore, the Chancellor adviſed the diſſolving this Aſſembly before the cloſe of the year. And thus two of the three great points were accompliſhed [*CC*]. But much

(*u*) Fox, Fuller, Heylin.

(*w*) Collier, Strype, Burnet.

(*x*) Sanders, Perſons.

(*y*) Journal of the Convocation.

(*z*) Remarks on the Hiſt. of the Reformat. p. 47.

(*a*) Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer.

(*b*) Fuller, Heylin, Strype.

[*CC*] *And thus two of the three great points were accompliſhed.*] According to the character of Queen Mary, as it ſtands in Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory, we find zeal for religion was the ruling inclination of her mind; and that the firſt purpoſe after her acceſſion, was reſtoring the old worſhip, in which ſhe was ſure of being ſupported by many of the nobility, clergy, and gentry; and it is highly probable, that the Biſhop of Wincheſter ſhewed as much willingneſs thereto as any of the reſt. The queſtion however is, how far he meant to go, and whether his true deſign was to bring back the whole of Popery, or only to reduce things to the ſtate in which they were at the death of King Henry. If we truſt to what moſt authors have written, we muſt believe that the former was his great view, as well as that of his miſtreſs; but if we examine his actions, which is the ſureſt way of judging of a wiſe man's ſentiments, we ſhall ſee reaſon to conclude, that he aimed at the latter; it is acknowledged, that he diſliked the coming of Pole into England; it is certain that he procured nothing to be done, either in the Convocation or the Parliament, that went farther than his old maſter's regulations; and it is likewiſe owned, that when the Queen ſent Pole an account of the great things, which as ſhe apprehended had been carried for her in the ſecond ſeſſion of her firſt Parliament, he was far enough from ſeeing thoſe things in that light that ſhe did (66). He complained, that in the act for repealing her mother's divorce, there was no notice taken of the inſult offered to the See of Rome; nor in the other act, repealing the laws of King Edward, any proviſion made for returning again to the obedience of the See of Rome. May we not then doubt, whether Gardiner ever intended it?

Before this Parliament was called many things had been done, and the Queen had iſſued various commiſſions, as ſupreme head of the Church, and this title was alſo uſed in the writ for calling the Parliament, though afterwards laid aſide. It is alſo ſaid, that Biſhop Gardiner cauſed Pole's journey into England to be ſtopt, that he ſuggeſted receiving him with the title of the Pope's Legate, was hurrying on things too faſt, and that he procured from the Emperor Charles the Fifth, ſome intimations of the ſame kind, which diſpoſed Queen Mary to liſten altogether to his advice, inſtead of receiving Italian Counſels, againſt which ſhe had been cautioned by his Imperial Majeſty. Upon theſe motives, Pole became, and continued, his enemy, as long as they continued together in the world. It is however very true, that our Biſhop altered his conduct afterwards, that he received this Cardinal as the Pope's Legate, with the higheſt marks of honour, that he preached a famous ſermon at Paul's Croſs (67), upon the reconciling of the nation to the Pope; and if he was not the author, had at leaſt a great ſhare in that bloody perſecution which enſued againſt the Proteſtants. Againſt theſe accuſations there is no defending him, and yet ſome things may be ſaid in alleviation of his offences.

He made no great haſte in reſtoring Popery, or in calling Cardinal Pole as the Pope's Legate; he did not expreſs

(66) So he expreſſes himſelf in a Letter to the Queen, in which he warns her to beware of preferring motives of Policy to motives of Religion.

(67) Of which ſome account will be given.

much greater difficulties were to be ſurmounted before the third could be brought to bear. The marriage treaty was left entirely in the hands of Biſhop Gardiner, and it is allowed he managed it very dextrouſly. He made uſe of the great reluctance ſhewn by the laſt Parliament, to procure ſuch articles as might ſecure the nation againſt the ambition of Philip and his Spaniards; and foreſeeing expences might follow upon this match, notwithſtanding the hard bargain he had made, he procured, as is ſaid, half a million ſterling from the Emperor, to facilitate the approbation of a new Parliament. But while theſe preparations employed thoſe in the cabinet, ſuch as abhorred this match were contriving very formidable meaſures for it's diſappointment. Sir Thomas Wiat of Kent, and Sir Peter Carew of Cornwall, laid the plan of a deep and dangerous inſurrection, in which the unfortunate Duke of Suffolk had juſt ſhare enough to bring his own head, and, which was much more to be regretted, the heads of Lady Jane and her huſband Lord Guilford Dudley, to the block. The whole ſcheme miſcarried by the ill management, and, to ſay the truth, the want of honeſty in the Chiefs (c). Sir Peter Carew declared before the time fixed, and was eaſily ſubdued; this forced out Sir Thomas Wiat before he was ready. Yet he was very near carrying his point, and might have carried it if he had uſed leſs artifice; but he carried his declarations of duty to the Queen ſo high, that thoſe who were in the firſt digeſtion of his enterprize were afraid to join him; ſo that at length his forces were broken, and he ſurrendered. Sir George Harper betrayed the whole conſpiracy, and explained all the ſecret correſpondencies on which thoſe who embarked in it had depended (*d*). Sir Thomas alſo behaved meanly, and talked of diſcoveries to ſave his life. When he found that was impracticable, he recanted, and denied the truth of what he had ſaid. But, notwithſtanding this, ſome perſons of the higheſt rank ſuffered deeply, either by his perfidy or puſillanimity; and it is one of the heavieſt charges againſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter, that he gave credit, or ſeemed to give credit, to theſe informations (*e*) [*DD*]. All inſurrections,

expreſs any great violence in the beginning of his adminiſtration, and is ſaid to have teſtified ſome indignation againſt Bonner, for the pleaſure he took in purſuing hereticks We ſhall have occaſion hereafter to diſcuſs the point of his cruelty more at large, yet here it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that in the years 1553, 1554, when he was in the zenith of his power, here was not one burnt, and in the laſt year of his life, there were fewer burnt than in any year of that reign. That he did return to Popery again is not to be denied, but it ſeems to have been when he had no other choice to make, ſo that he took up with this, becauſe he could not get a better religion; for if there be any thing clear or certain with regard to his ſentiments in theſe matters, he thought the ceremonies and diſcipline of the Church ought to be under the direction of the State, and that Princes might wave their Supremacy if they thought fit, for the ſake of what was ſtiled unity in the Church.

That he had really no way to avoid doing what he did, will appear clearly from hence; that on the one ſide, he had the furious Papiſts, not his friends, who inſinuated that he was more a Stateſman than a Biſhop, and to be eſteemed rather as a Politician than a Prelate; while the Proteſtants, and more eſpecially the exiles, took every poſſible method to expoſe him, inventing many things to his prejudice, as for inſtance, at the beginning of the Queen's reign, that ſhe was with child by him (68), which however improbable, as he was above ſeventy, and ſhe near forty, made much diſturbance; and by the tranſlating the piece he had written for the King's ſupremacy, and other treatiſes, not at all conſiſtent with the cauſe of the Church and the Court of Rome. He was therefore, with ſome of his brethren, obliged to ſwim with that ſtream to which they had given ſtrength enough to carry them out of their depth. In this reſpect therefore he deſerved to be ſtiled a diſſembler, and the more ſo, becauſe upon his death-bed, when he had leaſt reaſon to diſſemble, he ſhewed his repentance of many things, and declared for Juſtification by Faith, againſt works as will be ſhewn hereafter.

[*DD*] *That he gave credit, or ſeemed to give credit, to theſe informations.*] There was, as there commonly is againſt all Prime-Miniſters, a very high ſpirit of reſentment againſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter; he was repreſented as the author of the Spaniſh match, as the betrayer of his Queen and country, and as one who had ſold his country to ſtrangers. Whereas in making the match, he ſubmitted to the Queen's will, who thought ſhe could not be ſafe, even upon the throne, without the protection of ſome potent foreign Prince. In ſettling the terms, there is no doubt at all, that this prelate ſet them ſo high as that Philip himſelf, as great a Politician as he was, found it impoſſible to pick a hole in them; and in reference to the treaſure, the nation was at that time much exhauſted; the Spaniards in purſuit of their projects, were ſcattering their money through all Europe; and as the Chancellor had been obliged to cry Philip up for a great, a rich, and a magnificent Prince, he thought it not amiſs that ſome of the money ſhould be ſcattered here, and that with his perſon, the Engliſh ſhould ſee a little of his treaſure. Thoſe that roſe under Sir Thomas Wiat, when they came into Southwark, rifled the Biſhop's ſtudy, tore all his books to pieces, ſo that in Wincheſter Cloſe, people might walk up to their knees in papers (69). This however was an open teſtimony of reſentment; but William Thomas, Eſq; who had been Clerk of the Council to King Edward, and a great favourite of his, is ſaid to have formed a deſign againſt this Prelate's life; however that was, he was convicted and executed, as having been one of the principal conſpirators (70). A little before Sir Thomas Wiat died, he was examined by Secretary Bourn, before the Earl of Devonſhire, in reſpect to what he had charged him with, in reference to his deſign; but at his death, he declared him innocent (71). There were ſome aſperſions alſo very falſely thrown upon the Lady Elizabeth, who came into a great deal of trouble, was ſent priſoner to the Tower, and examined by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who is reported to have been her great enemy, and to have let fall ſome ſtrange ſpeeches, which were thought to refer to her, ſuch as, *We may ſhake off the leaves, and lop the branches; but if we do not deſtroy the* root, *the* hope *of* Hereticks, *we do nothing*.

However, her innocence and her fortitude preſerved her, and after her ſiſter's marriage, King Philip is ſaid to have interpoſed on her behalf, in hopes, as ſome ſay, of marrying her after the deceaſe of her ſiſter; but as others with greater probability affirm, from a motive of policy; foreſeeing, that if ſhe was removed, the Crown, as things then ſtood, would deſcend to Mary Queen of Scots, who being married to the Dauphin of France, that muſt have proved a great check to the Spaniſh deſigns (72), and to the project of univerſal Monarchy which Philip had formed very early; yet theſe are but conjectures, and it is very remarkable, that Mr Camden, who no doubt had the beſt information, and could have no reaſon to conceal any thing he knew, refers the expreſſion about the root and branches, to Dr John Story (73), who was afterwards executed for High-Treaſon in Queen Elizabeth's reign; aſcribes her perſecution in it's greateſt violence, and when to ſecure her life, ſhe was forced to make profeſſion of the Popiſh religion, to Cardinal Pole, without ſo much as once mentioning the Biſhop of Wincheſter's name;

(c) Burnet, Collier, Echard.

(*d*) Stowe, Hollinſhed, Speed.

(*e*) Burnet, Collier, Strype.

(68) Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 318.

(69) Stowe's Annals, p. 619.

(70) Bale de Script. Part ii. p. 110. Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 175.

(71) Hollinſhed, Stowe, Speed.

(72) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 287. Godwin's Annals.

(73) Introduct. ad Annal. regn. Eliz.

inſurrections, when ſuppreſſed, are uſeful to thoſe againſt whom they are raiſed, more eſpecially when managed by men of parts and dexterity. None knew better how to procure, or to uſe, advantages, than the Biſhop of Wincheſter; and he ſo well managed mens hopes and fears, with every other help he had, that when the Queen's ſecond Parliament met, April the ſecond 1554, it very ſoon appeared he might prevail on them to give a ſanction to his meaſures, whatever they were. The terms of the Queen's marriage, as he ſettled them, met with very little oppoſition; and as for making ſevere laws againſt Hereticks, it is allowed the Biſhop had no other trouble than to reſtrain them, which in ſeveral inſtances he did. His own and the wiſer Biſhops zeal, not flaming near ſo high as that of this Houſe of Commons (*f*). In the whole of his conduct thro' this Parliament, over which he had as much influence as Miniſter ever had, there was nothing done that was either unworthy of his ſtation, or injurious to his country; on the contrary, foreſeeing that ſome who had acceſs to the Queen might make an ill uſe of her confidence, and engage her, by plauſible promiſes, to countenance things every way beneath her, and dangerous to her ſubjects, he procured this to be put out of her power, by a ſhort law drawn by his direction, as may be ſeen more at large in the notes [*EE*]. But when the great meaſures

(*f*) Godwin, Burnet, Heylin.

name; ſo that notwithſtanding what is ſaid in Holinſhed, and other writers; there is good reaſon to doubt whether this Prelate went any farther in theſe matters than his duty and the Queen's temper, who, as Camden very truly ſays, though a mild and benevolent Princeſs, bore her ſiſter no good will, might require. In this however it is hard to decide, as there might be a great deal, and not without authority, alledged on both ſides.

[*EE*] *As may be ſeen more at large in the notes.*] In the former part of his life, this Prelate, upon more occaſions than one, had taken upon him to expreſs a great zeal for the Laws, and a very warm concern for the conſtitution of his country. But it very often happens, that Patriots preferred forget their former profeſſions, endeavour to explain them away, or, it may be, retract them, and act in direct oppoſition to them. This was not the conduct of Gardiner, the beſt and moſt candid of our Hiſtorians being his judges. They very fairly admit, that he ſhewed himſelf through the whole courſe of his adminiſtration, a good Engliſhman (74), and one as careful to preſerve his country from becoming a province to foreigners, or his countrymen from being enſlaved by an undue extenſion of the prerogative, as any miniſter we ever had; it would be eaſy to prove all this by a train of numerous quotations, but as theſe would neceſſarily take up a great deal of room, and as this article has already ſwelled into a great extent, we will content ourſelves with producing two paſſages from a modern author (75), who has abridged within a narrow compaſs, what Biſhop Burnet, and other Eccleſiaſti al Hiſtorians have written at large, from our records and other authentic teſtimonies.

(74) Fuller, Burnet, Heylin.

(75) Echard's Hiſt. of Eng. p. 318, 320.

‘ In the managing of this treaty Gardiner had a principal ſhare, for he was the oracle of the Council Board, as having thirty years experience in affairs, and a great knowledge of the Courts of Chriſtendom and of the ſtate of England. In drawing the articles of the marriage he had a double deſign, one was to have them ſo framed, as they might eaſily paſs in Parliament; and the other was to exclude the Spaniards from having any ſhare in the government of England, which he deſigned to hold in his own hands. Accordingly it was agreed, that the government and gift of places, ſhould be entirely in Queen Mary; and though Prince Philip was to be called King, named in all writs, and his image put on the coin and ſeals, yet the Queen's hand alone was to give authority to every thing without his; no Spaniard was to be capable of any office; no change was to be made in the law, nor was the Queen to be required to go out of England againſt her will, nor might their iſſue go out of England, but by the conſent of the nobility. The Queen was to have a jointure of forty thouſand pounds a year out of Spain, and twenty thouſand pounds out of the Netherlands. If the Queen had a ſon, he was to inherit Burgundy and the Netherlands, as well as England; and if Philip's ſon died, he was to inherit all the Spaniſh Dominions. If the Queen had only daughters, they were to ſucceed to her crown, and have ſuch portions from Spain, as were uſually given to Kings daughters. Prince Philip was to have no ſhare in the government after her death, and the Queen might ſtill keep up the League with France, notwithſtanding this match.

‘ On the ſecond day of April, a new Parliament met, which was the ſecond in this reign, but the moſt conſiderable members were before corrupted by Gardiner (*), who gave them penſions, ſome two hundred, and others a hundred pounds a year for their voices. The firſt act that paſſed was declaratory, that all the prerogatives and limitations which by law belonged to the Kings of England were the ſame, whether the crown fell into the hands of a male or female. The real meaning of this was little known, ſome feared there was a pernicious deſign in it; and, that it being declared that ſhe had all the authority of any of her progenitors, it might be inferred that ſhe, by this, could pretend to a right of conqueſt, and like William the Conqueror, ſeize on the eſtates of the Engliſh. But it was ſo conceived, that the Queen was put under the ſame limitations, as well as acknowledged to have the ſame prerogatives with her predeceſſors.

(*) See note [*MM*].

‘ The ſecret of this Act was afterwards diſcovered: a projecting man, who had ſerved Cromwell, and had been deeply engaged in the Lady Jane's affair, and the late inſurrection, by making a timely application to the Emperor's Ambaſſador obtained his pardon; and for amends, he offered a project to the Ambaſſador, that the Queen ſhould declare, that ſhe ſucceeded to the crown by the Common Law, but was not bound by the Statute Law, which only obliged Kings, and not Queens, by which ſhe might pretend to be a conqueror and rule at pleaſure, and by that might reſtore both religion and the Abbey Lands without any reſtraint. This was brought to the Queen by the Ambaſſador, who begged of her to keep it very ſecret. She diſliked the paper, yet ſhe ſent for Gardiner, and charged him to give her his opinion of it ſincerely, as he would anſwer to God for it at the great day. He read it carefully, and told her, *it was a moſt pernicious contrivance, and begged of her not to hearken to ſuch platforms, which might be brought her by baſe ſycophants.* Upon that ſhe burnt the paper, and ordered the Ambaſſador to bring her no more of ſuch projects.

‘ This gave Gardiner ſenſible apprehenſions of the miſchiefs that Spaniſh counſels might bring upon the nation, and therefore he procured the forementioned Act to be made, by which the Queen was as much bound by the Statute Law as her predeceſſors. He alſo procured an Act to be paſſed, ratifying the articles of the marriage of the Queen, with very ſtrong clauſes for keeping the government entirely in the Queen's hands, ſo that Prince Philip might not take it upon him as Henry the Seventh had done, when he married the heireſs of the Houſe of York: for as that King ſet up a title in his own name, and kept the government in his own hands, ſo the Spaniards began now to derive a deſcent from John of Gaunt, father to Henry the Fourth, which cauſed Gardiner to be the more cautious in this matter; and it muſt be acknowledged, that the preſerving the nation out of the hands of the Spaniards, was almoſt only owing to his care and wiſdom (*). In this Parliament ſeveral

(*) This is Biſhop Burnet's obſervation.

meaſures aimed at were once adjuſted, the Chancellor ſuppoſing that what remained for accompliſhing the whole of the Queen's plan, might be compaſſed more effectually after the marriage, the Queen on the fifth of May came to the Parliament, and, having given her conſent to fifteen bills, diſſolved that Aſſembly (*g*). All obſtacles to the marriage being now removed, and the circumſtances of the Houſe of Auſtria making it neceſſary to haſten it, King Philip put to ſea, and arrived towards the cloſe of July at Southampton, eſcorted by a conſiderable fleet, which however was obliged to pay homage to that of England in the narrow ſeas; ſuch was the temper of thoſe times, and the vigour of that adminiſtration (*h*). He proceeded with a numerous train of nobility from Southampton to Wincheſter, where he was received, and ſplendidly entertained, by the Biſhop; on St James's day, the tutelary Saint of Spain, he was by that Prelate ſolemnly married to the Queen in the cathedral, the Emperor Charles V. reſigning to him the kingdom of the two Sicilies, and many nominal ſovereignties, upon the marriage (*i*). In his way to London the King took Windſor, where he was inſtalled Knight of the Garter, and made his entry into this capital on the eleventh of Auguſt 1554, with prodigious magnificence, and, like all new Princes, with univerſal acclamations (*k*). The Chancellor well knowing this fair weather would not continue long, reſolved to avail himſelf of it while it laſted, and therefore called a new Parliament about the middle of November the ſame year. A very little after the ſeſſion begun Cardinal Pole came into England, not much to the real good liking either of the King or Chancellor. But the Queen being ſet upon it, and the new Houſe of Commons having the ſame bigotted ſpirit with the old one, a ſolemn deputation was ſent to fetch him over, Lord Paget and Sir William Cecil being two of the Commiſſioners. His attainder, in the reign of the late King Henry VIII, was reverſed with as much facility as it was made, and with much the ſame conſideration (*l*). To prevent his falling into the ſame inconveniency that Wolſey had done, he had a licence, under the Queen's broad ſeal, to execute his functions as the Pope's Legate. When theſe advances had been gradually made, a ſupplication was preſented from both Houſes to the King and Queen, that the nation might be reconciled to the See of Rome; which being granted November 30, 1554, the requeſt of both Lords and Commons was ſignified, in the preſence of their Majeſties, to his Holineſs's Legate, by the Lord High-Chancellor the Biſhop of Wincheſter; when the Cardinal, after a long oration, ſolemnly abſolved them, and received the People of England once more into the boſom of the Catholick Church (*m*). By theſe gradations all things were brought back to their old ſituation; and the ſanguinary laws, for repreſſing what they called Hereſy, revived and carried into execution. Thus the Biſhop of Wincheſter paid the full price of his exaltation to the Miniſtry, and obtained, in ſpite of all difficulties, all that the Queen had deſired (*n*). But the joy enſuing on this was quickly troubled by the bloody perſecution ſet on foot in almoſt all parts of the kingdom (*o*), whether by the advice, and with the entire concurrence, of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, as many Hiſtorians affirm, it is but juſt ſhould be more largely diſcuſſed [*FF*] than the bounds of this

(*g*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III.

(*h*) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts.

(*i*) Godwin, Stowe, Speed.

(*k*) Godwin's Annals.

(*l*) Strype, Fuller, Burnet.

(*m*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II.

(*n*) Heylin, Fuller, Burnet.

(*o*) Fox's Acts and Monuments.

'ſeveral other bills were prepared againſt the Lollards, 'and for the ſix articles, but none of them paſſed, nor 'nothing material was enacted, beſides a confirmation of 'former attainders, and the reſtoration of the Biſhoprick of Durham. So the Parliament was diſſolved 'on the twenty fifth day of May.'

[*FF*] *It is but juſt, ſhould be more largely diſcuſſed.*] We have more than once touched this matter of the ſtrong imputations upon this Biſhop, for his cruelty to the Proteſtants, and promiſed to ſpeak of it more at large. It is fit this promiſe ſhould be executed, the rather, becauſe in moſt of our hiſtories, his character is repreſented as very odious in this reſpect. In the firſt place we ſhall obſerve, that there is a double charge againſt him, that he was the author of the Doctrine of Perſecution in Queen Mary's reign; and next, that he was active and zealous in carrying this doctrine into execution; with reſpect to the former it is very poſitively aſſerted, that when Pole adviſed the Queen to rely upon fair means for bringing men back to the Romiſh Church, to reform the lives of the Clergy, and to take other ſteps of the ſame mild nature; Biſhop Gardiner oppoſed this, and prevailed ſo far, as to bring the Queen to conſent, that the weapons of the Law, rather than the arguments of the Goſpel, ſhould be employed to reduce Hereticks to the Catholick Church. This, Biſhop Burnet having tranſcribed from others, adds, that *this advice proceeded from his own abject and ſervile ſpirit* (76).

With reſpect to particulars, he is charged to have condemned Dr Robert Farrar, Biſhop of St Davids, who was burnt with great cruelty in Wales; the like accuſation we find with reſpect to Dr John Hooper, Biſhop of Glouceſter, with this aggravating circumſtance, that it proceeded from private reſentment for what Hooper had done againſt him in the former reign. To him, is chiefly aſcribed the burning Father Latimer, once Biſhop of Worceſter, and Dr Nicholas Ridley, Biſhop of London; and he is farther ſaid to have been a perſecutor of Archbiſhop Cranmer, with a view of getting into his Archbiſhoprick; and that it was no better motive than this, which afterwards engaged him to protect and prolong that prelate's life, in order to defeat the views and expectations of Cardinal Pole, and thereby gain time for himſelf to equal him in one, to deprive him of another, and to ſupplant him in a third dignity, by procuring from Pope Paul the Fourth, a Cadinal's hat with the Legantine Power, and his nomination to the See of Canterbury, which would indeed have rendered him not equal only, but ſuperior to his maſter Wolſey. Beſides theſe, there are many lighter imputations, ſuch as his driving abroad the Ducheſs of Suffolk, and other Proteſtants of diſtinction, by his menaces, and threats; and his expreſſing the moſt violent reſentment againſt the exiles in general, though he well knew that they only fled to be out of the reach of his ſeverity.

After reporting fairly what has been aſſerted, in order to render the portrait of this great man as hideous and deformed as it is poſſible, we are obliged in juſtice to conſider what may be ſaid in extenuation, both of the general and particular charges, and in doing this, we ſhall content ourſelves with appealing to the common ſenſe and candour of the intelligent and attentive reader, and the authorities of Proteſtant writers; for as to the Papiſts, they exceed as much on the other hand, and beſtow upon him praiſes as little conſiſtent with truth, as the flaming invectives of ſome of his enemies, ſo that no man of an impartial diſpoſition, can ever prevail upon himſelf to give an implicit belief to either. It is ſtrange

(76) Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II, p. 299.

this narrative will allow. Certain it is, that, to this time, our Prelate had not diſcovered any thing of this diſpoſition. He is indeed reputed, by many of our Hiſtorians, a great diſſembler

ſtrange that the Biſhop of Wincheſter ſhould oppoſe the milder meaſures of Pole, when he came over veſted with legantine power, conſidering, that before he had this, that prelate himſelf was poſſeſſed of almoſt equal authority, which he exerciſed in quite another manner. We have obſerved in the text, that the Houſe of Commons in the ſecond Parliament of Queen Mary's reign, expreſſed a furious zeal for the old religion, and had actually prepared a bill for reviving the old Law of the ſix Articles, the paſſing which was prevented by the diſſolution of that Parliament when Gardiner was Prime-Miniſter (77). Of this law the Proteſtants in general were ſo much afraid, that John Fox, in the name of the exiles, penned an epiſtle in Latin to the Parliament, in which he told them they had a Queen, who, as ſhe was moſt noble, ſhe was ready to liſten to ſound and wholeſome counſel; and that they had a Chancellor too, who, as he was learned, ſo he was not of a rough nature, if uninfluenced by the counſels of others. His own words are very elegant and pathetick, *Porrò, habetis ad hoc* Reginam, *ut Nobiliſſimam, ita ad ſana & ſalubria quæque obſequacem Principem. Habetis &* Cancellarium, *ut doctrina præſtabilem, ita natura non improbum, ſiquorum abſint concilia.* He goes on to inſinuate, that as among animals there are ſome born to create trouble and miſchief to the reſt; ſo there wanted not of mankind, a race by nature turbulent and cruel, and formed to diſturb and deſtroy, by their intrigues, both Church and State. It was from them therefore that Fox and his aſſociates then dreaded thoſe miſchiefs that afterwards followed. But it is ſtrange logick to infer, that becauſe Biſhop Gardiner, by a haſty diſſolution of that Parliament, prevented that bill from paſſing, therefore he was the author of cruel counſels, and not the perſon, who by an Act of another Parliament, had the power of perſecuting put into his hands.

Before the proceedings of the Proteſtant Biſhops for religion, the Popiſh Prelates, who were to perſecute, went not to Weſtminſter, or Wincheſter Houſe, but to Lambeth (78), where they received their inſtructions, and all the bloody things that were afterwards done, were done by commiſſions from the perſon, who is ſaid to have given thoſe mild counſels; and it is acknowledged, even by Biſhop Burnet, who makes Gardiner the author of theſe cruelties, that he grew very ſoon weary of them, and refuſed to have any farther hand in them, reproaching Bonner for his butcher-like diſpoſition, in purſuing them as he did (79). Would it not have been natural in Bonner and his aſſociates to vindicate the Cardinal and themſelves, by recriminating; and if they had done ſo, is it poſſible that the world ſhould not have heard of it? beſides, in another proceeding, when the priſoner charged the Biſhops with miſleading the Queen, and drawing her againſt her will to theſe ſevere courſes, they very roundly aſſerted the contrary, and that themſelves were rather compelled by her (80).

Indeed whatever is ſaid from John Fox, of Gardiner's giving cruel advice, is in a good meaſure contradicted by what Strype delivers from the authority of records, and of the directions from Lambeth beforementioned, which it is neceſſary we ſhould produce for our own juſtification (81). 'In theſe inſtructions, there 'are ſeveral ſtrictures, that make it appear, Pole 'was not ſo gentle towards the Hereticks (as the profeſſors of the Goſpel were then ſtiled) as is reported, 'but rather the contrary, and that he went hand in 'hand with the bloody Biſhops of theſe days. For it is 'plain here, that he put the Biſhops upon proceeding 'with them according to the ſanguinary laws lately revived, and put in full force and virtue. What an 'invention was that of his, a kind of Inquiſition, by 'him ſet up, whereby, not a man might eſcape, that 'ſtood not well affected to Popery? I mean, his ordering books to be made and kept, wherein the names 'of all ſuch were to be written, that in every place 'and pariſh in England were reconciled; and ſo, whoſoever were not found in thoſe books, might be 'known to be no friends to the Pope, and ſo to be 'proceeded againſt. And indeed, after Pole's crafty 'and zealous management of this reconciliation, all 'that good opinion that men had before conceived of 'him vaniſhed, and they found themſelves much miſtaken in him, eſpecially ſeeing ſo many learned and 'pious Goſpel Biſhops and Miniſters impriſoned, and 'martyred under him, and by his commiſſion. Inſomuch, that now people ſpake of him, as bad as of 'the Pope himſelf, or the worſt of his Cardinals.'

We will now proceed to the particular charges. As to Dr Robert Farrar, the account given of him by Biſhop Godwin, who lived in thoſe times, and knew well what he wrote, is this (82). 'He was a man of a 'rigid temper and rough behaviour, which drew on 'him much trouble, even in King Edward's days, 'and was now perhaps his deſtruction: for having 'been preferred to that dignity by the Duke of Somerſet, after his death, this good and learned man, by 'the unhappy moroſeneſs of his manners, which even 'bordered upon arrogance, raiſed againſt himſelf accuſers. Two of theſe, who were Biſhops afterwards 'under Queen Elizabeth, eaſily prevailed with the 'faction againſt Somerſet, to get Farrar impriſoned. 'Thus being in cuſtody at Queen Mary's acceſſion to 'the throne, he was brought before the Biſhop of 'Wincheſter, and 'tis very probable, that by a little 'temper in his anſwers, and a diſcreet regard to the 'times, he might have ſaved himſelf, without wrong 'to his integrity, from the hands of bloody men, as 'ſeveral had done, who were not engaged in the 'cauſe of Lady Jane, nor had any other way affronted 'the patrons of Popery, whoſe flight was therefore 'connived at, or if they were taken, they were 'ſoon diſcharged again, at the interceſſion of their 'friends. But Farrar, ſway'd by his natural ſeverity, 'and ungoverned paſſion, gave ſuch bold and provoking 'anſwers to the Biſhops, that it is not to be admired it 'went ſo hard with him.' It is therefore his commitment only, that is to be attributed to the Biſhop of Wincheſter; for as to his trial, conviction, and the terrible cruelties afterwards exerciſed on him, they are to be placed to the account of Dr Morgan, Biſhop of St Davids; however, from the foregoing account, it appears, that Biſhop Godwin, thought with John Fox that Gardiner was not naturally ill tempered, and that a little civility, which certainly is not incompatible with Chriſtianity, might have opened a paſſage to this Prelate to eſcape the flames.

In reference to Biſhop Hooper, we are told by Strype (83), that he was extreamly hated by Gardiner, not only as an earneſt reformer of religion, but for having been one of the witneſſes againſt him in the time of King Edward. For this, it is ſaid, that he was exceedingly ill uſed in priſon. Biſhop Godwin gives another account of this matter; he ſays, that he had been very inſtrumental in procuring Bonner's deprivation (84), and adds, *which now probably proved his ruin*; it is very likely from hence, that Mr Strype put Gardiner for Bonner, and though he tells us afterwards, that he tranſcribed the circumſtances he mentions from a letter of Biſhop Hooper, in which he ſtiles Gardiner, God's *enemy and mine*; yet as that letter is not placed in his appendix, we have no opportunity of ſeeing whether Gardiner is there mentioned by name, or whether the perſon to whom that character is given, is not left to be diſcovered from circumſtances, which point us not to Gardiner, but to Bonner. It cannot however be denied, that the Biſhop of Wincheſter ſat in judgment upon this Prelate, in the church of St Mary Overs, near his own houſe, but then he ſat as a Commiſſioner, with twelve other Biſhops; and though Mr Strype does not inſiſt upon what was ſaid by any of the reſt, yet he admits that Wincheſter both offered a pardon, and laboured all he could to convince Hooper, that nothing dangerous to his conſcience, was expected from him; which propoſition he rejected with great diſdain, and the Biſhop of Wincheſter, as his commiſſion obliged him, pronounced ſentence.

In this, without doubt, he acted ſeverely, and againſt the ſentiments of humanity; but as things were circumſtanced, it is not eaſy to ſee how he could act otherwiſe, or how the blood of Biſhop Hooper, lay more at his door, than that of the other Biſhops, or the blood of

(77) Echard's Hiſt. of Eng. p. 320.

(78) Collier's Church Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 379.

(79) Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 304.

(80) See the Hiſt. of John Rogers's martyrdom in Fox's *Acts and Monuments*.

(81) Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 346, 347.

(82) Life of Queen Mary, p. 349, 350.

(83) Memorials, Vol. III. p. 179.

(84) Life of Queen Mary, p. 349.

diſſembler (p); but in this acted quite another part. In all publick tranſactions he profeſſed himſelf always of the ſame opinion with the Council, and did not aim at ſcreening himſelf from popular odium, by putting on a cloke of moderation. But, in all the trials, where, by virtue of Cardinal Pole's commiſſion, he was obliged to be, he was exceedingly aſſiduous to ſhew the priſoners, that, in the matter of the Real Preſence, which was moſt inſiſted on, they might eaſily ſave their lives, by complying with ſubſcriptions drawn in very general terms; till, by foul language, they convinced him that he had to do with men who were as little to be wheedled as frighted out of their principles (q). This ſurely proves that he was not deſirous of ſeverities, or perſecuted for the ſake of gratifying a cruel temper, or to revenge paſt injuries (r). And that ſuch Proteſtants as were of milder natures, and content to reſerve themſelves for better times, when driven to diſtreſs were well received by him, and not barely ſcreened but encouraged and protected, without offering any violence to their conſciences farther than locking them up, and committing the key to the cuſtody of their own diſcretions, I may very ſafely affirm is a point out of diſpute (s) [GG]. But now, after the coming of Cardinal Pole, it is not impoſſible that the

(p) See Fox's Acts and Monuments. And Fuller, Burnet, and Strype, from him.

(q) As in the caſes of Farrar, Hooper, and Latimer.

(r) Imputed to him by Fox and others.

(s) Strype's Life of Sir Thomas Smith.

of others put to death under colour of Hereſy, in the time of Henry the Eighth; at the doors of ſuch Biſhops, as afterwards changed their ſentiments, and became Martyrs for the ſame opinion that thoſe held, whom they formerly condemned. Theſe were diſmal and dreadful times, when a zeal, that was certainly not according to knowledge, prevailed ſtrongly in the minds of men, and induced them, under the colour of promoting the Goſpel, to act exactly in the ſame manner as the Jews did againſt thoſe who firſt preached it. It may however be inferred from hence, that being a vice of the times, it ought not, with peculiar vehemence, to be aſcribed to any particular man. Biſhop Gardiner, to be ſure, had his ſhare in theſe barbarous proceedings, yet he had but his ſhare, and ought not therefore to bear all the reproach.

Biſhop Burnet ſays, that by this time he was convinced, ſeverity would not do, and that refuſing to meddle any more with condemnations, he left them to Bonner (85), Yet it was ſome months after this, that Latimer and Ridley were burnt at Oxford; with which, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, is by the ſame writers, reported to be highly pleaſed, and to have been ſo eager to receive the news, that he delayed his dinner till the poſt came in (86); which how well founded a report it is, we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to enquire. In the mean time let it be obſerved, how the ſame writers vary this man's character, he had borne five years impriſonment in the reign of King Edward, beſides the loſs of his Biſhoprick and all his other preferments, rather than ſtoop to make a ſubmiſſion; and yet his adviſing theſe cruelties, is aſcribed to his ſervile and abject temper, apt to be wrought on by the ſame means. Then he becomes a brutal perſecutor, taking pleaſure in the miſeries and misfortunes, not only of his fellow creatures, but of ſome who had been his intimate acquaintance; yet the acts, or judicial proceedings, plainly prove, that he took all the pains in his power to perſwade thoſe who were tried before him to accept of pardon. At length, it is ſaid, he was thoroughly diſtaſted at perſecution, becauſe he ſaw it did not anſwer his end; but inſtead of drawing the people to, drove them from Popery; and yet we find him ſome months after, having a better ſtomach to the blood and ſlaughter of men, with whom he had lived before in intimacy, than to his dinner: this is not only to make him a bad man, but a beaſt, and thoſe who would be inclined to believe him ever ſo wicked, will find it hard to reconcile this to his weakneſs, or that again to the great things which he performed, or the character he had with ſome of the beſt and wiſeſt amongſt the Proteſtants.

(85) Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 304.

(86) Echard's Hiſt. of Eng. p. 323.

In reſpect to Cranmer, all that is ſaid of the Biſhop of Wincheſter's conduct towards him, is upon a ſuppoſition of the original author's ſagacity, in judging of that Prelate's thoughts, and penetrating into the ſecrets of his heart; for no-body has the confidence to ſay, that he owned he preſerved Cranmer's life to ſpite Pole, or to get poſſeſſion of his See, to which, by the way, Biſhops of Wincheſter rarely aſpire. Let us now hear a few things on the other ſide. Very ſoon after King Edward's death, a rumour prevailed, as if the Archbiſhop had changed his ſentiments (87); in anſwer to which, he drew up a kind of Manifeſto, which was publiſhed without his conſent, by the indiſcretion of his friends. Upon this, he was brought before the Council where Gardiner preſided, there he boldly owned the paper, ſaid, he meant to have enlarged and ſtrengthened it, and to have poſted it upon the gates of St Paul's. He was, notwithſtanding this, diſcharged, contrary to all men's expectations, but by the Biſhop of Wincheſter's advice; and if the Archbiſhop had followed the counſel of his friends he might then have withdrawn; we are farther aſſured, that Gardiner propoſed removing him from his dignity, and allowing him a penſion for his ſupport in a private ſtate of life. When he was attainted of High-Treaſon by Parliament, for the ſhare he had in Queen Jane's buſineſs, he had a pardon granted him. Such was the treatment of this great Prelate, while Gardiner had the ſole direction of affairs; and after this, when the ſupreme power in Eccleſiaſtical affairs was transferred to Cardinal Pole, he had ſtill authority enough to preſerve the Archbiſhop's life, and it is allowed that he did preſerve it, and there let the matter reſt.

(87) Strype's Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 304, 305.

As to the Ducheſs of Suffolk, what is related concerning her, runs thus (88). 'This lady being moſt 'zealous for the Reformation in the reign of King 'Edward the Sixth, Stephen Gardiner, after that he 'was reſtored to his Biſhoprick of Wincheſter, by 'Queen Mary, ſent for her huſband in the firſt year of 'her reign, and amongſt ſome queſtions touching his 'religion, aſked, *Whether the Lady, his wife, was 'now as ready to ſet up Maſs, as ſhe had been to pull it 'down, when in her progreſs, ſhe cauſed a dog in a 'rochet, to be carried, and called by his name?* whereupon, being advertiſed by his friends, that the Biſhop 'meant to call the Ducheſs, his wife, to an account of 'her Faith; and foreſeeing danger, he procured the 'Queen's licence to travel beyond ſea, under colour 'of ſuch debts as were due from the Emperor, 'to the late Duke of Suffolk, his Lady's former huſband. And having obtained it, paſſed the ſeas at 'Dover, in June the ſame year, leaving her behind, 'who in January following, went diguiſed from her 'houſe in Barbican, and paſſing to Leigh in Eſſex, 'privately took ſhipping, and after much danger met 'her huſband in the Duchy of Cleves.' If there was any thing harſh in what the Biſhop ſaid to Mr Bertie, it muſt conſiſt in putting him in mind of an action no ways ſuitable to that great Lady's quality. It is not pretended, that the Biſhop of Wincheſter, either impeded their retreat, or perſecuted them after they were abroad; it is true, that ſome injuries were afterwards offered them, which obliged them to fly, with ſome hazard to their lives, but this was after the Biſhop of Wincheſter was in his grave.

(88) Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 1143, 1144.

We are alſo told, that the Biſhop frighted the famous John Fox (89) out of England, at a time, when he was tutor to the Duke of Norfolk's grand-children; but as in this matter, all is aſcribed to Fox's own ſuſpicions, though it might be a reaſon why he did not eaſily forgive that Prelate, yet it ought not to reflect any ſtain upon his character. After all, what is here collected remains entirely under the cenſure of the reader, who in every caſe, without queſtion, will diſtinguiſh which are facts, and which are conjectures.

(89) See the Life of John Fox, written by his ſon, prefix'd to the 2d. Vol. of his *Acts and Monuments.*

[GG] *Is a point not to be diſputed.*] There was, without doubt, very great confuſion amongſt thoſe that had made a figure in the court of King Edward the Sixth, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury being deprived, and he nominated to that See (*t*), with the legantine authority in his hands, Gardiner might have leſs weight in eccleſiaſtical affairs, more eſpecially if, as ſome ſay, Queen Mary conſidered him rather as a Stateſman than a Prieſt, and looked on Pole as a Confeſſor for religion, and a Saint in morals (*u*). If this was at all the caſe, Biſhop Gardiner did wiſely not to contend with him ; for, beſides the privilege of his high birth, and his dignity, it was viſible enough that he would be ſupported by a great party amongſt the Clergy, and the hot men in the Houſe of Commons, who, by reſtoring the Pope's ſupremacy, and reviving the laws againſt Hereſy, had made that cauſe their own. At leaſt there is ſomething ſo probable in this, and it accounts ſo well

(*t*) Collier's Church Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 371.

(*u* Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 242.

Sixth, and who were ſincerely Proteſtants, when they ſaw Queen Mary fixed upon the throne, and how ſtrong her inclinations were to the Popiſh Religion. But however, there were ſome very eminent men, who by behaving with great moderation and decency, preſerved themſelves from trouble, without making ſhipwreck of their conſciences ; and of theſe, not a few ſtood indebted for their ſafety, and ſomething more, to the protection afforded them by the Biſhop of Wincheſter. Amongſt theſe was Sir William Cecil (90), afterwards the great Lord Burleigh, who had been twice Secretary of State, and of whom it was ſuggeſted, that he furniſhed the reaſons of policy ſet forth in his maſter's will, in favour of Queen Jane. Some troubles he met with, which were not very ſharp, but lived afterwards, not only in peace and honour, but might alſo have been Secretary again if he would have complied ; and tho' he declined this, becauſe of the condition, yet it was without incuring the Queen's diſpleaſure, or the loſs of Gardiner's friendſhip, with whom he went over to Calais, in the laſt year of that Prelate's life,, and remained upon perfect good terms with him to the laſt.

Sir Thomas Smith, who was alſo Secretary to King Edward, was, by the favour of Gardiner, permitted to live in a ſtate of learned privacy, which he affected, without any enquiry into his religious principles, and with a penſion of one hundred pounds a year, which in thoſe times was a conſiderable ſum, for his better ſupport (91), though he had a good eſtate of his own. Yet both Cecil and Smith had formerly oppoſed the Biſhop one at Court, and the other at the Univerſity, but without any thing of rudeneſs or aſperity ; which Gardiner was ſo far from remembring, that he treated them both with the utmoſt kindneſs and reſpect. We may add to theſe, the celebrated Mr Aſcham, another Secretary for the Latin tongue, continued in his office, as indeed he well deſerved, and his ſalary increaſed by this Prelate's favour, which he fully repaid, by thoſe grateful and elegant epiſtles to him, that are extant among his works, which do equal honour to both, and which will be read with pleaſure, as long as there continues any taſte for ſtile or ſentiment. But let us hear how honeſt Mr Strype repreſents this matter, with reſpect both to Smith and Aſcham, his words are theſe (92).

‘ This muſt be remembred to this Biſhop's commendation, among the many evil things that aſperſe and blacken his name to this day. Nor muſt the like favour, or a greater, be forgotten by him, ſhewn to ſuch another learned and grave Proteſtant, friend, and contemporary with Smith, I mean Roger Aſcham, which I muſt have leave to mention here. Whom the Biſhop of Wincheſter did not only ſpare, but called to Court, and preferred to be Secretary of the Latin tongue to Queen Mary. Whom for his learning in the languages, and incomparable faculty of a clean ſtile and beautiful writing, he greatly loved, and obliged with many benefits. And when Sir Francis Engfield, Maſter of the Wards and Liveries, a fierce Papiſt, had often cried out upon Aſcham to the Biſhop, as an Heretick, and fit to be rejected and puniſhed as ſuch ; he never would hearken to him, either to puniſh him, or remove him from his place. Thus lived two excellent Proteſtants, under the wings, as it were, of the ſworn enemy and deſtroyer of Proteſtants, Aſcham and Smith, to whom we now return again.’

The ſame plain ſpoken writer, in an account he gives us of the adventures of one Underhill, a gentleman of the Band of Penſioners, and a zealous Proteſtant, has the following paſſage, which happened when the Queen was going to be married (93). ‘ Then was there preparing, ſays he, to go with the Queen to Wincheſter : and all the books of the ordinaries were peruſed by the Biſhop of Wincheſter and the Earl of Arundel, two great Papiſts, to conſider of every man, And one would think Underhill ſhould have hardly eſcaped now. Sir Humphry Radcliff, Lieutenant of the Band, brought unto them the book of the Penſioners. Which when they overlooked, and came unto Underhill's name, *what doth he here*, ſaid the Earl of Arundel ? *I know no cauſe why he ſhould not be here*, ſaid Radcliffe, who alſo was ſecretly a favourer of the Goſpel. *He is an honeſt man, and hath ſerved from the beginning of the Band, and was as forward as any to ſerve the Queen, in the time of* Wyat's *rebellion. Let him paſs then*, ſaid the Biſhop. *Well*, ſaid the Earl, *you may do ſo, but I aſſure your* Lordſhip, *he is an arch-heretick*. Thus he paſſed the brunt.’

This is a ſtrange proof of our author's poſition, that Biſhop Gardiner was a *great*, that is, a *bigotted* Papiſt ; and the ingenious Dr Fuller, has no leſs ſtrange a proof of his being a moſt invenomed perſecutor ; perhaps the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee that too, thus then our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian writes (94).

‘ In the dioceſe of Wincheſter. conſiſting of Hantſhire and Surrey, I find no great impreſſion from Stephen Gardiner the Biſhop, and much marvel thereat. It may be, this Politician, who managed his malice with cunning, ſpared his own dioceſe, fox like, preying fartheſt from his own den ; indeed he would often ſtay behind the traverſe, and ſend Bonner upon the ſtage ; free enough of himſelf, without ſpurring, to do miſchief, to act what he had contrived. Yea, I may ſay of Gardiner, that he had an head, if not an hand, in the death of every eminent Proteſtant ; plotting, though not acting, their deſtruction. And being Lord Chancellor of England, he counted it his honour to flie at ſtout game indeed, contriving the death of the Lady Elizabeth, and uſing to ſay, that it was vain to ſtrike at the branches, whilſt the root of all Hereticks doth remain. And this good Lady was appointed for the ſlaughter, and brought to the ſhambles, when the ſeaſonable death of this butcher, ſaved the ſheep alive.

‘ However, as bloody as he was, for mine own part I have particular gratitude to pay to the memory of this Stephen Gardiner, and here I ſolemnly tender the ſame. It is on the account of Mrs Clarke, my great-grand-mother, by my mother's ſide, whoſe huſband rented Farnham-Caſtle, a place whither Biſhop Gardiner retired, in Surry, as belonging to his See. This Biſhop, ſenſible of the conſumptionous ſtate of his body, and finding phyſick out of the kitchen, more beneficial for him than that out of the Apothecaries ſhop, and ſpecial comfort from the cordials ſhe provided him, did not only himſelf connive at her hereſy, as he termed it, but alſo protected her, during his life, from the fury of others. Some will ſay, this his curteſie to her, was founded on kindneſs to himſelf. But however, I am ſo far from detaining thanks, from any deſerved on juſt cauſe, that I am ready to pay them, where they are but pretended due on any colour.’ Our Hiſtorian is certainly in the right, a good thing done (upon whatever motive) ought to be remembred ; men, can judge of men, only by their actions, as to their intentions, they belong to a higher tribunal, and conſequently not to us. If once we deſert this rule, the reader is at the mercy of the author, it is but ſuggeſting right motives for wrong deeds, and the malefactor becomes a hero, or giving foul colours to fair facts, and the hero is turned into a malefactor.

[*HH*] *De-*

(90) From Cecil's own Diary.

(91) Engliſh Baronettage, Vol. III. p. 338.

(92) Life of Sir Thomas Smith, p. 65.

(93) Memorials, Vol. III. p. 65.

(94) Church Hiſt. of Britain, cent. XVI. b. viii. p. 17.

well for the ſubſequent behaviour of the Chancellor, that it certainly deſerves to be impartially conſidered [*HH*]. Towards the cloſe of the year, it was ſtrongly reported, and indeed generally believed, that the Queen was with child, for which rejoicings were made, and prayers appointed for her ſafe delivery. The Chancellor made a right uſe of this wrong notion; he perſwaded her Majeſty to ſet ſeveral priſoners at liberty, that had been near a year in confinement, and for that purpoſe went in perſon to the Tower (*w*), January the eighteenth 1555, and diſcharged the Archbiſhop of York, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir James Crofts, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Sir Edward Warner, Sir George Harper, Sir William Saintlow, Sir Gawin Carew, Sir Andrews Dudley, William Gibs, Cuthbert Vaughan, *John Harrington, Eſqrs.* Mr Tremain, and others. One of theſe had a little before taken the liberty of expoſtulating with him very freely, notwithſtanding which he had (beyond his expectations perhaps) his liberty amongſt the reſt. His ſon has given us, an account of this adventure, ſome paſſages (*x*) relating to Biſhop Gardiner very well worth notice [*II*]. The

[*HH*] *Deſerves to be impartially conſidered*] There is nothing more manifeſt in this reign, than the great change of meaſures which followed, after the coming over of Cardinal Pole, and the nation's ſubmitting again to the Papal authority. It was upon this, that the perſecution began, in virtue of a law paſſed the ſame ſeſſion, with that for reverſing the Cardinal's attainder, and reſtoring the Pope's ſupremacy. Cardinal Pole has the credit of abſolving the Parliament, and the nation, as it were freely, and at the firſt word; but the truth is, that it was againſt his will. He was deſirous, that the kingdom ſhould remain under an interdict, till all who had received holy orders irregularly, or had otherwiſe offended the Church, ſhould be reconciled, which Gardiner over-ruled; and in conſequence of this, ſuch of the Clergy as complied, continued in their functions, without any new ordination; this does not very well agree, either with Pole's propoſing moderate meaſures, or Biſhop Gardiner's oppoſing them (95)

Whoever looks cloſely into the Hiſtory of that reign, and depends only upon facts, will find that the Biſhop of Wincheſter's authority, was very far from being uncontrouled after the coming of Cardinal Pole, and his having the Queen's ear, and of this he gave himſelf ſome intimations, and that too in publick. He obſerved at one of the trials, that returning to the obedience of the See of Rome, was almoſt the unanimous act of the Houſe of Commons, one member only oppoſing it, and that was Sir Ralph Bagnall, who publickly and plainly declared, that it was a thing to which he could never conſent (96). Biſhop Gardiner, by doing this, gave the Parliament the credit of thoſe proceedings, which were the natural conſequences of being reconciled to Rome, and which, in juſtice, ought to be aſcribed to that reconciliation. At Rogers's tryal, when the priſoner imputed his ſufferings to the advice the Biſhops had given the Queen, Biſhop Gardiner ſaid, as has been before obſerved, that the Queen went before him in thoſe counſels, appealing for the truth of this to all the reſt, who affirmed it likewiſe. Rogers ſaid, they might well vouch one for another (97), which was boldly and ſenſibly ſpoken. Yet from hence it appears, that the Chancellor had no inclination to paſs for the author of thoſe meaſures; and it is acknowledged, that he began to grow quickly weary of being the inſtrument of them, at the time, it is very probable, that the generality of the world aſcribed them to him; for we are told, that Philpot conceived ſome hopes of life, upon the demiſe of this Prelate (98), which occaſioned Bonner's ſaying, *What, now the Chancellor is dead, you think there will be no more burning, but you'll find the contrary*, which proved very true. Yet ſome ſay, that Bonner himſelf grew tired; however, the proſecutions went on to the very laſt week of the Queen and Cardinal's lives. Who then were the inſtigators?

King Philip took care to purge himſelf, and a Spaniſh Friar, who preached publickly before him, told the people, the Biſhops did not extract this doctrine of fire and faggot from the Goſpel. It is not eaſy to conceive upon what motive the Biſhops ſhould be general in their inclinations to theſe ſeverities, and in truth, many of them were not; thoſe that were, did it in compliance with the Court and the Queen, certainly ſhewed what ſhe miſunderſtood to be zeal for the Catholick Religion, and from which ſhe might have been diverted, as well as ſhe had been in the beginning of her reign, if thoſe who had her ear then, had been of the ſame ſentiments with the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who is allowed to have conducted all things in the firſt years of her government, when there were none of theſe ſeverities.

Beſides, Biſhop Burnet is very expreſs, that the Emperor was averſe to the Cardinal's coming, and hindered it as long as he could; he aſſigns the reaſon, for that he was afraid of precipitating things, and having recourſe to harſh meaſures, which were entirely againſt that Monarch's inclinations (99). While theſe ſuggeſtions had weight with the Queen, moderate meaſures were purſued; after the Cardinal came over, they were laid aſide, one would think this ſhould confirm the Emperor's opinion (100). But Pole made a great ſhew of moderation, affected to ſpeak with much tenderneſs and compaſſion, and never took any ſhare himſelf in this perſecution, except iſſuing the commiſſions, under which all thoſe ſeverities were acted. Let us then conſider what are the maxims of Italy in ſuch caſes; let us remember, that after Gardiner's death, at leaſt, none had ſo much influence with the Queen as he, and let us reflect, that in the Court of Inquiſition, that court which is the moſt dreadful, and therefore the moſt deteſted, the language is as merciful and mild, as the practice bloody and cruel. If we look into all theſe circumſtances attentively, and weigh them maturely, we ſhall find, that they afford a kind of evidence at leaſt as ſtrong as that of one writer's tranſcribing another, with reſpect to the Biſhop of Wincheſter's advice, without producing ſo much as one private paper, or publick record to prove it.

He complied with the Queen in compaſſing the reconciliation with Rome, that reconciliation produced a perſecution; in that light, he was the author of it, but perhaps in no other, and though at firſt ſight this may be conſidered as very favourably ſpoken of the Biſhop of Wincheſter's memory, yet it will be found, and ſo it ought to be underſtood, a very indifferent excuſe at bottom; he knew, from reaſon and experience, the ſpirit of that Church, and he ought, in pity to his countrymen, and in juſtice to his country, to have kept the Queen his miſtreſs from that ſtep, which put her into a road of ſtumbling, from whence it was impoſſible for her to recover.

[*II*] *Very well worth notice.*] The perſon hinted at in the text, is Sir John Harrington, of Kelſton, who wrote for the uſe of Henry Prince of Wales, a kind of ſupplement to Biſhop Godwin's Catalogue of Engliſh Biſhops, and gives us therein an account of Biſhop Gardiner's ſending his father to the Tower, for carrying a letter to Queen Elizabeth, and obliging that Princeſs to diſcharge his mother for being a Heretick; but notwithſtanding this, the reader will find he was no bitter enemy to that Prelate, but rather inclined to treat him, as a gentleman ſhould, with impartiality and candour. Thus he writes (*), after tranſcribing ſome of the hard things that had been ſaid of Gardiner, by the Martyrologiſt Fox and others.

'Yet that I ſpeak not at all in paſſion, I muſt con-
'feſs, I have heard ſome as partially praiſe his cle-
'mency and good conſcience, and namely, that he was
'cauſe of reſtoring many honourable houſes overthrown
'by King Henry the Eighth, and in King Edward's
'minority. The Duke of Norfolk, though Mr Fox
'ſaith, that Gardiner made him ſtay long for his din-
'ner one day, yet both he and thoſe deſcended of him,

(*w*) Stowe's Annals, p. 626.

(*x*) Harrington's Brief View of the ſtate of the Church of Eng. p. 43.

(95) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 401.

(96) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 204.

(97) See his Caſe in Fox's Acts and Monuments.

(98) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 328. Archdeacon Philpot's account of his own troubles in Fox's Acts and Monuments.

(99) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 259.

(100) Godwin's Annals.

(*) Brief View of the State of the Church of Eng. p. 46, 47, 48.

The three months next enſuing, Biſhop Gardiner was employed in carrying the laws lately revived againſt Hereticks into execution, and ſat often (to his eternal diſgrace), by virtue of a commiſſion from Cardinal Pole as the Pope's Legate, at Wincheſter-Houſe in Southwark, to examine ſuch as were brought before him (*y*). Yet we are told that he ſoon grew weary, and would proceed no farther; upon which this cruel and invidious taſk was put upon Bonner; neither was it long before he grew relax, till quickened by orders from the Council, and other meaſures (*z*). The Queen, or it may be the Chancellor, foreſeeing that ſooner or later the nation might be obliged to take part in the war between the Emperor and the French King if it continued, it was reſolved to ſend over Commiſſioners, of the higheſt rank, to a ſort of congreſs that was to be held at Calais, in order to mediate a peace (*a*). Cardinal Pole went over on behalf of the Pope; the Biſhop of Wincheſter, the Lord Arundel, and Lord Paget, on the Part of the Queen of England (*b*). They departed May the eighteenth 1555, and while they were employed in this negotiation the Pope died, and the Queen wrote moſt preſſing letters to her Commiſſioners, to engage the powers with whom they were treating to conſent that Cardinal Pole ſhould be raiſed to the Papal Dignity (*c*). But neither in this, or any thing elſe, could her Miniſters ſucceed; and therefore, after a fruitleſs ſtay of ſome weeks, at a great expence, returned upon the twenty-ſixth of June (*d*). During the Chancellor's abſence, the great ſeal was put into the hands of William Marquis of Wincheſter (*e*); and from the Council-books it appears, good uſe was made of it for ſtirring up the Perſecution; for quickening of which, writ after writ was iſſued, and letters directed to the Nobility and Gentry, as well as Clergy, exciting them to give their attendance, with their ſervants, at the burning of Hereticks (*f*); ſo that we ſee this cruel flame raged moſt when the Biſhop was abroad, and grew ſtill higher after his death. Upon his coming home he declared plainly he would have no farther hand in ſeverities, and therefore thoſe apprehended in his dioceſe were removed into that of London, and ſo put under the juriſdiction of Bonner (*g*), who in a ſhort time fell off again, and had freſh reprimands from the King and Queen for his relaxation and lenity. We may, from theſe inſtances, perceive that ſome made their court to the Queen by promoting thoſe cruel proceedings, and that they were neither preſſed, nor could be impeded, by the Biſhop of Wincheſter (*h*). In matters of government his influence was ſtill without diminution, and according to his advice a Parliament was ſummoned to meet in October (*i*); for it was one of his maxims, to have ſhort ſeſſions and frequent Parliaments. He had projected ſome additional ſecurity for Church and Abbey lands, which, by a well-timed ad-

dreſs

(*y*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 231.

(*z*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 311.

(*a*) Stowe's Annals, p. 626.

(*b*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 310.

(*c*) From the Queen's Letter on this occaſion.

(*d*) Cecil's Diary.

(*e*) Holinſhed's Chronicle. Vol. II. p. 1286.

(*f*) Strype, Burnet, Collier.

(*g*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 315.

(*h*) Remarks on the Hiſt. of the Reformat. p. 191.

(*i*) Godwin's Annals.

‘ were beholden to him, with the Houſe of Stanhope's,
‘ and the Lord Arundel of Warder; and I have heard
‘ old Sir Mathew Arundell ſay, that Bonner was more
‘ faulty than he, and that Gardiner would rate at him
‘ for it, and call him aſs, for uſing poor men ſo
‘ bloodily; and when I would maintain the contrary,
‘ he would ſay, that my father was worthy to have
‘ lain in priſon a year longer, for the ſaucy ſonnet he
‘ wrote to him from out of the Tower; which ſonnet,
‘ both becauſe it was written in defence of Queen Eli-
‘ zabeth, and becauſe, if I be not partial, it is no ill
‘ verſe for thoſe unrefined times, and toucheth the
‘ matter I enforce; I will here ſet down, pre-ſuppo-
‘ ſing, that in the eleven months before, he had ſent
‘ him many letters and petitions full of reaſon, that
‘ could not prevail for his liberty. The diſtreſſed pri-
‘ ſoner writeth this rime:’

I.

At laſt withdraw your cruelty,
  Or force the times to work your will;
It is too much extremity,
  To keep me pent in priſon ſtill.
Free from all fault, void of all cauſe,
Without all right againſt all laws.
  How can you doe more cruel ſpight,
  Than proffer wrong and promiſe right?
  Nor can accuſe nor will acquight.

II.

Eleven months paſt and longer ſpace,
  I have abid your diveliſh drifts;
While you have ſought both man and place,
  And ſet your ſnares with all your ſhifts;
The faultleſſe foot to wrap in wile,
With any guilt by any guile:
  And now you ſee that will not be,
  How can you thus for ſhame agree,
  To keep him bound you can ſet free?

III.

Your chance was once as mine is now,
  To keep this hold againſt your will;
And then you ſware you know well how,
  Though now you ſwearve, I know how ill.
But thus the world his courſe doth paſſe,
The Prieſt forgets a Clerk he was;
  And you that then cry'd juſtice ſtill,
  And now have juſtice at your will,
  Wreſt juſtice wrong againſt all ſkill.

IV.

But why doe I thus coldly plaine,
  As if it were my cauſe alone;
When cauſe doth each man ſo conſtraine,
  As England through hath cauſe to moane?
To ſee your bloody ſearch of ſuch,
Whom all the earth can no way touch,
  And better were that all your kind,
  Like hounds in Hell with ſhame were ſhrin'd,
  Then you had might unto your mind.

V.

But as the ſtone that ſtrikes the wall,
  Sometimes bounds back on th' hurler's head;
So your foul fetch, to your foul fall,
  May turn and noy the breaſt that bred.
And then ſuch meaſure as you gave,
Of right and juſtice look to have.
  If good or ill, if ſhort or long,
  If falſe or true, if right or wrong,
  And thus till then I end my ſong.

[*KK*] *But*

dreſs from the Convocation to the Cardinal, which he put into his hands himſelf, he had in ſome meaſure preſerved to all who poſſeſſed them; and this project was afterwards brought to bear by his friend Mr Secretary Petre (*k*). October the twenty-firſt 1555, he opened the ſeſſion with a judicious ſpeech, and was there again on the twenty-third, which was the laſt time of his appearing in that Aſſembly (*l*). Towards the cloſe of this month he fell ill, and continued to grow worſe and worſe to the thirteenth of November 1555, when he departed this life, about the age of ſeventy-two (*m*). As to the time of his deceaſe the diſpute is not great about it, but the manner of it is far from being ſettled [*KK*]. He

(*k*) Strype, Burnet, Collier.

(*l*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 320.

(*m*) From an original Letter of Mr Crych, to the Earl of Shrewſbury.

[*KK*] *But the manner of it is far from being ſettled.*] In thoſe times, ſuch was the eagerneſs and heat of moſt writers, that ſcarce any extraordinary perſon went to his grave without a prodigy. In that great Chronicle which goes under the name of Holinſhed (101), tho' in the latter editions there was much added by Abraham Fleming, we have the following paſſage inſerted from John Fox, and the reaſon that we take it from thence, is becauſe this Chronicle being chiefly conſulted by the abridgers of Engliſh Hiſtory, the ſubſtance of this paſſage has been often retailed to the world for an undoubted truth.

‘ During this ſeſſion of Parliament, Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter and Chancellor of England, died at his houſe called Wincheſter-Palace, beſide St Mary Overies in Southwark, the ninth day of November, whoſe corpſe was ſhortly after ſolemnly thence conveyed to his church of Wincheſter, and there buried. The manner of whoſe death why ſhould I bluſh to blaze as I find it by report. One Miſtreſs Monday, being the wife of one Maſter Monday, Secretary ſome time to the old Lord Thomas Duke of Norfolk, a preſent witneſs of this that is teſtified thus, openly reported in the houſe of a worſhipful citizen, bearing office in this city, in words and effect as followeth. The ſame day when as Biſhop Ridley and Maſter Latimer ſuffered at Oxford, being about the nineteenth day of October, there came to the houſe of Stephen Gardiner the old Duke of Norfolk, with the aforeſaid Monday, his Secretary above named, reporter hereof. The old aged Duke there waiting and tarrying for his dinner, the Biſhop being not yet diſpoſed to dine, deferred the time till three or four of the clock at afternoon. At length, about four of the clock, cometh his ſervant poſting in all poſſible ſpeed from Oxford, bringing intelligence to the Biſhop what he had heard and ſeen, of whom the ſaid Biſhop diligently enquiring the truth of the matter, and hearing by his man that fire moſt certainly was ſet unto them, cometh out rejoicing to the Duke. Now, ſaith he, let us go to dinner; whereupon they being ſet down, meat immediately was brought, and the Biſhop began merrily to eat: but what followed: The bloody tyrant had not eaten a few bits, but the ſudden ſtroke of God his terrible hand fell upon him, in ſuch ſort as immediately he was taken from the table, and ſo brought to his bed, where he continued the ſpace of fifteen days, in ſuch intolerable anguiſh and torments, that all that mean while, during thoſe fifteen days, he could not avoid, by ordure, or urine, or otherwiſe, any thing that he received; whereby his body being miſerably inflamed within, who had inflamed ſo many good martyrs before, was brought to a wretched end. And thereof, no doubt, as moſt like it is, came the thruſting out of his tongue, ſo ſwoln and black with the inflammation of his body. A ſpectacle worthy to be noted, and beholden, of all ſuch bloody burning perſecutors. But whatſoever he was, ſeeing he is now gone, I refer him to his Judge, to whom he ſhall ſtand or fall. As concerning his death, and manner thereof, I would they which were preſent thereat would teſtify to us what they ſaw. This we have all to think, that his death happened ſo opportunely, that England hath a mighty cauſe to give thanks to the Lord therefore; not ſo much for the great hurt he had done in times paſt, in perverting his Princeſs, in bringing in the ſix articles, in murthering God's Saints, in defacing Chriſt's ſincere religion, &c. as alſo, eſpecially, for that he had thought to have brought to paſs in murthering alſo our noble Queen that now is. For whatſoever danger it was of death that ſhe was in, it did no doubt proceed from that bloody Biſhop, who was the cauſe thereof. And if it be certain, which we have heard, that her Highneſs being in the Tower, a writ came down from certain of the Council for her execution, it is out of controverſy that wilie Wincheſter was the only Dedalus and framer of that engine. Who no doubt in that one day had brought this whole realm into woful ruin, had not the Lord's moſt gracious Council, thorough Maſter Bridges, then the Lieutenant, coming in haſte to the Queen, certified her of the matter, and prevented Achitophel's bloody devices. For the which thanks be to the ſame our Lord and Saviour, in the congregation of all Engliſh churches, amen.’

There are many exceptions to the truth of this account, which, in common juſtice to this Prelate's memory, ought to be mentioned. Mr Strype very juſtly obſerves, that both the time and place of his death are miſtaken; ſince he did not die on the ninth, but on the thirteenth of November, at two in the morning; neither did he die at Wincheſter-Houſe, but in Weſtminſter (102). Yet Mr Strype does not obſerve another miſtake, which is that of the day when Latimer and Ridley ſuffered at Oxford, which was not on the nineteenth of October, but on the ſixteenth; ſo that here is at leaſt a week gained towards making the judgment more probable. Then the ſuppreſſion of urine is expreſsly ſaid to have continued fifteen days; whereas, according to his manner of ſtating it, it muſt have laſted one and twenty at leaſt; and had the ſtory been true, and the dates rightly placed, it muſt have laſted twenty-ſeven.

This, however, is not all; the Biſhop of Wincheſter, as Chancellor, opened the new Parliament on the twenty-firſt of October, and was there again on the twenty-third, a week after the death of the two martys; at whoſe death it is not likely he ſhould rejoice, if what Heylin ſays be true, that he ſtudied to prevent it (103). One of the exiles abroad, who laboured to expoſe Gardiner all in his power, charges him with ſtraining his authority, in offering Latimer a pardon without the knowledge of the Queen or Council (104). But to come cloſer to the point, the old Duke of Norfolk, who waited ſo long for his dinner, as his Secretary reported, who waited with him, died in the month of September 1554, that is, thirteen months before this tranſaction happened (105). His death was a thing of great notoriety, the Queen and Court, out of reſpect to his memory, going into mourning. One would think that Fox might have known this as well as another, ſince he lived long in that Duke's family, and went abroad but a very little before his death.

In reference to the latter part of this account, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the honeſt and impartial Hiſtorian John Speed, who was furniſhed with the beſt materials from ſome of the moſt conſiderable perſons in this kingdom, aſcribes the ill uſage of the Princeſs Elizabeth, and the advice given to take her off, to the Lord Pagett (106); and aſſerts, that King Philip was ever after diffident of him, and thoſe of his party. A certain Popiſh writer does indeed pretend to let us into the ſecret of the affair; he ſays, that Sir Thomas Wiat's plan for an inſurrection, was ſent to the Lady Elizabeth in a bracelet; that this was diſcovered by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, but that he puſhed it no farther than to perſwade her to ſubmit herſelf to the Queen. But the ſilence of Camden, in the account he gives of her ſufferings before her acceſſion to the Crown, as to all theſe facts, leaves them not a little doubtful.

It muſt be acknowledged, that Fox is not the only author that has given the manner of his death the air of a judgment, for John Bale (107) goes even farther than he, affirming that he was informed by a letter wrote

(101) Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1130.

(102) Memorials, Vol. III. p. 270.

(103) Hiſt. of the Reformat. p. 227.

(104) New Book of ſpiritual Phyſick.

(105) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 200, 201. Echard's Hiſt. of Eng. p. 320.

(106) Chronicle, p. 828.

(107) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 281.

He died at the royal palace of Whitehall, about one in the morning; and about three the ſame morning, his body was carried over to Wincheſter-Houſe, from whence the funeral was performed (*n*). His death was a great loſs to the Queen his miſtreſs, who found no Miniſter that could manage her affairs ſo well, or keep her on ſo good terms with her Parliaments, from whom, during his adminiſtration, ſhe received nothing, but lived upon the ſettled ordinary revenue of the Crown, with ſome help it may be from the treaſure brought over by King Philip. But this courſe was ſpeedily altered, and from that hour diſſatiſfaction and complaints began (*o*). The Clergy had alſo a great loſs in him; they depended much on his wiſdom, and no leſs on his experience, but moſt of all on his caution and due regard for the law, by which they might be kept out of the reach of a premunire; nor did he deceive their expectations in this, taking care while he lived that Cardinal Pole ſhould do nothing within this realm, but by authority under the broad ſeal of England as well as that of St Peter (*p*). Thoſe who were affectionate to that government had a great loſs in him, for he kept things together; and, by ſteering ſteadily and keeping a good countenance, preſerved a degree of reſpect which can never be preſerved where there is a fluctuation of Councils. His pen alſo was of no ſmall uſe, ſince in polemical writings he was inferior to none of his contemporaries, and with one party (few have it with more) had a high reputation for learning from the many books he had penned, of which ſomething will be ſaid at the bottom of the page [*LL*]. The freedom taken in diſplaying this character

wrote out of England, ‘ that his diſeaſe was *hydrops acidus & prodigioſus ſcabies*, a ſharp dropſy and prodigious leproſy, taken, as was commonly reported, by drinking or whoredom. For he had indulged much to both thoſe vices in his life-time. In his ſickneſs he ſtunk like a jakes, his breath not to be endured, his body diſtended, his eyes diſtorted and turned inwards; during his illneſs he ſpake little but blaſphemy and filthineſs, and gave up the ghoſt with curſes in his mouth, in terrible and unexpreſſible torments, &c.’ He likewiſe adds, that he left thirty thouſand pounds in ready money behind him, beſides plate and rich furniture.

Dr Thomas Cooper, who was himſelf Biſhop of Wincheſter in Queen Elizabeth's time, and publiſhed his Chronicle within five years after Gardiner's death, ſets it down ſimply, and without any of theſe ſtrange circumſtances (108). He charges the death of Latimer and Ridley expreſsly upon Cardinal Pole; and tho' he gives a very particular account of the ill uſage of the Lady Elizabeth, yet he does not aſcribe it in the leaſt to Gardiner. Dr Francis Godwin, Biſhop of Hereford (109), aſſures us that he died of the Gout. Dr Fuller (110), as we have ſeen, aſcribes his end to a conſumption. In a book compiled by the direction of Archbiſhop Parker (111), he is alſo ſaid to have died of the gout or rheumatiſm; the lower parts of his body being mortified, ſmelt very offenſively. We are told by Biſhop Burnet (112), ‘ he had great remorſe for his former life; and Day, Biſhop of Chicheſter, coming to him, and comforting him with the aſſurance of juſtification through the blood of Chriſt, he anſwered him he might ſpeak of that to him, or others in his condition, but if he opened that gap again, and preached that to the people, then farewel all together. He often repeated thoſe words, *Erravi cum Petro, ſed non flevi cum Petro*; I have erred with Peter, but I have not wept with Peter.’

[*LL*] *At the bottom of the page*] It is, without doubt, a very difficult taſk to attempt giving the reader an account of the writings of this Prelate; ſome few of them indeed were publiſhed with his name, and concerning them there is no diſpute. Others are without any name, and yet there are good reaſons to induce us to believe they fell from his pen; and others again have the names of other men ſet before them, tho' they were in reality penned by this Biſhop. We will, however, handle the matter as well as we can, and give the reader as juſt and as correct a catalogue of his writings, as the beſt enquiry we could make has put in our power.

The firſt piece made publick by our author, was his treatiſe *De vera Obedientia*, i. e. Of true Obedience, *Lond.* 1534, 1535, *4to.* at *Hamburgh* in 1536, 8*vo.* with Biſhop Bonner's epiſtle prefixed, in which ſeveral ſtrong things are contained againſt the Pope's ſupremacy, and in ſupport of the King's divorce from Queen Katherine. We have before told the reader the nature of this work, which induced the author to ſpeak rather as an Orator than as a Logician; yet ſome of his arguments are not eaſily anſwered, tho' delivered with great plainneſs and moderation. He ſuggeſts, that the policy of the Church, in every kingdom, was partly ſpiritual and partly temporal; that, with reſpect to the former powers, they came from God; and for the latter, ſince they could not be executed without the conſent, ſo it is impoſſible they ſhould come but from the Civil magiſtrate. He urges, that Princes loſe their ſovereign dignity if they are not ſupreme in all cauſes over their ſubjects, and that therefore their ſupremacy makes a part of their ſovereignty; when therefore novelty is objected to this doctrine, he ſays it goes no farther than this, that a new term is employed in ſpeaking of an old right. He poſitively aſſerts, that St Peter's ſupremacy cannot be proved by Scripture; that the Biſhoprick of Jeruſalem was yielded by him, and the reſt of the Apoſtles, to St James, the brother of our Lord; and that if, on particular occaſions, St Peter acted as chief of the Apoſtles, it was owing to the deference they had for his extraordinary conduct and courage, which being perſonal qualities, could not convey any right to his ſucceſſors. In the cloſe he puts an objection againſt himſelf, it might be ſaid there was no agreement between his book and his practice; he had undertaken to preſs obedience, and failed notoriouſly in that branch of his duty. He had engaged his ſubjection to the Court of Rome, ſworn ſubmiſſion to the Pope and his ſucceſſors, and ſolemnly obliged himſelf to defend the privileges and juriſdiction of the Apoſtolick See. He received his epiſcopal character by the Pope's conſent, and was conſecrated by his mandate; and yet, after all theſe ties and aſſurances, he has ventured to write againſt his ſupremacy, and renounce him in the moſt publick manner. To take off the imputation of falſhood and perjury, he obſerves, that an engagement againſt *right* is by no means *binding*. For an oath was never intended a bond of iniquity, and a bar againſt repentance. He illuſtrates his caſe by a huſband's marrying a ſecond wife, living the former, whom after the beſt enquiry he concluded dead. Thus he continued undiſturbed in his ſecond marriage: and when his firſt wife returned from a foreign country, and challenged him for her huſband, he denied the relation. But after ſhe had made out her claim by legal proof, he lived with her again, and diſmiſſed the ſecond. This inſtance the Biſhop applies to his own caſe. He thought the Pope's authority unqueſtionable at firſt, and ſubmitted accordingly. But when truth appeared he found himſelf miſtaken, and therefore ought not to be charged with breach of faith for altering his meaſures. There were many other editions of this work, and a tranſlation into Engliſh, printed abroad in Queen Mary's time, by one Dr Turner, with a moſt vindictive preface before it; as alſo ſome additions, with intent to expoſe the Biſhop's inconſtancy, who had now ſubmitted again to the Pope.

Palinodia dicti libri; that is, *A Retraction of the foregoing Work*; when or where publiſhed we cannot ſay.

A ne-

(*n*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 229.

(*o*) Godwin, Heylin, Strype.

(*p*) Memorials, Vol. III.

(108) Chronicle, fol. 371.

(109) De Præſulibus Angliæ, p. 237.

(110) Church Hiſt. Cent. XVI. p. 17.

(111) Antiquit. Britan. Eccleſ. p. 511.

(112) Hiſt. of the Reformat. col. xi. p. 320.

character from the evidence of facts, and ſupporting what is advanced by the cleareſt authorities, might in ſome degree diſpenſe with our offering to ſum up at the cloſe what has been

A neceſſary Doctrine and Erudition for any Chriſtenman, *ſet furthe by the Kynges Majeſtie of* England, &c. *Lond. by* Thomas Barthelet, 1543; this, as we have ſaid before, was publiſhed with royal authority; and Mr Strype, in giving us the hiſtory of this piece, which was the ſyſtem of religion in King Henry's time, allows the Biſhop of Wincheſter but a very ſmall ſhare in it; yet, in King Edward's time, Archbiſhop Cranmer was for yielding him the whole merit of the work; and his report was ſo much credited, that John Bale put it into the catalogue of our author's writings, in which he has been followed by Biſhop Tanner; yet there is a paſſage in the declaration, concerning the life and actions of the Archbiſhop, written by his Secretary Mr Morris, ſtill preſerved in Bennet College Library at Cambridge (113); which is not very conſiſtent with this account, and which is reported here only to ſhew how very difficult a thing it is to come at certainty, with reſpect to matters of fact, even from thoſe who one would think muſt have been beſt acquainted with them.

(113) This Declaration is a very curious piece, and deſerves to be printed entire.

'At what time, ſays he, the book of articles of our religion was new penned. For even at that ſeaſon, the whole rabblement, which he took to be his friends, being Commiſſioners with him, forſook him, and his opinion and doctrine. And ſo leaving him poſt alone, revolted altogether on the part of Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter. As by name, Biſhop Hethe, Shaxton, Day, and all other of the meaner ſort. By whom theſe ſo named were chiefly advanced and preferred unto dignities. And yet this ſudden inverſion, notwithſtanding God gave him ſuch favour with his Prince, that book altogether paſt by his aſſertion againſt all their minds. More to be marvelled at, the time conſidered, than by any reaſon to compaſs how it ſhould come to paſs. For then would there have been laid thouſands of pounds to hundreds in London, that he ſhould, before that Synod had been ended, have been ſhut up in the Tower, beſide his friend the Lord Cromwell. Howbeit, the King's Majeſty having an aſſured and approved affiance, both of his deep knowledge in religion, and fidelity both to God and him, ſuſpected in that time other men in their judgments, not to walk uprightly nor ſincerely. For that ſome of them ſwerved from their former opinions in doctrine: and having great experience of the conſtancy of the Lord Cranmer, it drove him all along to join with the ſaid Lord Cranmer, in the confirmation of his opinion and doctrine againſt all the reſt, to their great admiration.' When the Biſhop of Wincheſter was in Germany, with the title of Ambaſſador from King Henry VIII, he had ſeveral conferences with the learned Bucer, upon different points, which afterwards occaſioned warm writings on both ſides, ſome of which were publiſhed, and others not.

In the year 1550, Archbiſhop Cranmer publiſhed a book intituled, 'A Defence of the true and Catholick Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt, with a Confutation of ſundry Errors concerning the ſame: grounded and eſtabliſhed upon God's holy Word, and approved by the Conſent of the moſt antient Doctors of the Church.' In this book he mentioned the Biſhop of Wincheſter by name, as one of the greateſt writers amongſt the Papiſts; with which this Prelate was ſo much offended, that he thought himſelf obliged to write an anſwer, as he did under this title, *An Explication and Aſſertion of the true* Catholick faith, *touching the moſt bleſſed Sacrament of the* altar, *with the Confutation of a book written againſt the ſame:* which was printed abroad in 1551, and the Biſhop of Wincheſter endeavoured to make the world believe, that his writing this book was one great cauſe, or rather the principal cauſe, of the ſevere proceedings againſt him; which, however, was peremptorily denied by the Archbiſhop, who not long after publiſhed another piece, under the following title, 'An Anſwer, by the Reverend Father in God Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, unto a crafty and ſophiſtical Cavillation, deviſed by *Stephen Gardiner*, Doctor of Law, late Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, againſt the true and godly Doctrine of the moſt holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt. Wherein is alſo, as Occaſion ſerveth, anſwered ſuch Places of the Book of Dr *Richard Smith*, as may ſeem any thing worthy the anſwering. Alſo a true Copy of the Book written, and in open Court delivered, by Dr *Stephen Gardiner*; not one Word added or diminiſhed, but faithfully in all points agreeing with the Original.' To this, Gardiner replied in Latin, under the feigned name of Marcus Antonius Conſtantius, a Divine of Lovain, giving his book the following title, *Confutatio cavillationum, quibus, ſacroſanctum Euchariſtiæ Sacramentum, ab impiis* Capernaitis *impeti ſolet.* Printed at Paris 1552. This piece he compoſed while a priſoner in the Tower, which is the reaſon of our affirming that the order for debarring him the uſe of pen, ink, and paper, muſt have been relaxed; and to this the Archbiſhop, during his own confinement, wrote a large and copious anſwer, which he did not live to finiſh.

Biſhop Gardiner managed this controverſy alſo againſt Peter Martyr, and others who eſpouſed Cranmer; and it was for theſe writings of his, that he was in thoſe days magnified by the Papiſts, as a moſt zealous Catholick; and diſliked and dreaded by thoſe of the Church of England, as a warm and irreconcileable enemy; whereas, in truth, he admitted the Communion to be given in both kinds, and, being allowed to put his own ſenſe upon the words, would have ſubſcribed to what was eſtabliſhed about the Sacrament. After the acceſſion of Queen Mary, finding himſelf attacked with the utmoſt violence and virulence by ſeveral of the exiles abroad, and particularly by Dr Turner (114), who wrote ſeveral treatiſes on purpoſe to expoſe and abuſe him; as Dr Poynet likewiſe did, who ſucceeded him in the title of Biſhop of Wincheſter, when he was deprived, to which he wrote replies, and is alſo ſaid to have corrected at leaſt, if he did not compoſe, Dr Martyn's book againſt the married Clergy.

(114) See his article in Bale and Tanner.

He likewiſe preached two very remarkable ſermons in that reign: the firſt, November the thirtieth 1554, at Paul's Croſs, to a very numerous audience, in which he placed the new opinions, as he called them, in a very bad light, attributing to them all the extravagant and unjuſt things that had been done under the reign of King Edward. In this ſermon he took ſhame to himſelf, and acknowledged that he had erred too as well as the reſt, with a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe. In the ſecond part of his ſermon he gave a high character of King Philip, whom he repreſented as a prudent, gentle, and temperate Prince, exhorting the people to behave well towards him, by which they might gain him, and all that he had brought with him; which ſome ſay alluded to his money that had been carried publickly to the Tower, in order to ingratiate him with the populace. Thus much is certainly true, that, by the marriage articles which Gardiner framed, that Prince was allowed to bring what riches he pleaſed into the kingdom, but was reſtrained from carrying out ſpecie, bullion, or jewels.

The Biſhop's ſecond ſermon was likewiſe preached at Paul's Croſs, on the ſecond of December following, on account of the nation's returning to communion with the See of Rome. His text was (*), *Knowing the time that it is now high time to awake out of ſleep*, &c. From theſe words, amongſt other things, he obſerved that when King Henry VIII. was preſſed with a rebellion in the North, he reſolved to return the Pope his Supremacy. But this reſolution came to nothing. *The hour was not yet come.* For had the matter gone forward under ſuch circumſtances of difficulty, ſome would have ſaid the King had been over awed into juſtice. After this, Gardiner and Knevet were ſent Embaſſadors to the Emperor, to requeſt his mediation for bringing the Pope and the King to a good underſtanding, and to ſmooth the way for renewing the former correſpondence between them: *But the time was not yet come:* For the juncture might have made the King's meaſures miſunderſtood, and interpreted his compliance to reaſons of State. In the beginning of King Edward's reign

(*) Rom. xiii. 11.

been in a great meaſure inſiſted on thro' the whole article. But the length of it (how abſurd ſoever that may ſeem) will not ſuffer ſuch an omiſſion, leaſt an unwary reader ſhould take his ſenſe from a part, and not from the whole; which on that account it is neceſſary, as well as expedient, ſhould be contracted into one point of view, and therefore in the notes, his conduct in different ſtations is clearly and candidly, tho' not copiouſly, ſtated [*MM*]. The

reign the buſineſs of reconciliation was moved, but neither was that *a proper time*: For the King being then a child, he could not have had a ſhare in the ſubmiſſion. In ſhort, he told them this was the time which Providence ſeemed to have reſerved for ſo great a bleſſing.

There are likewiſe extant, in the firſt edition of Fox's Acts and Monuments, ſeveral letters of the Biſhop of Wincheſter's to the Duke of Somerſet, Lord Protector, with the Duke's anſwers to ſome of them; as alſo other letters of his, to different perſons; we might add to theſe, ſeveral other little pieces; but to avoid prolixity, and in order to bring this long article to a ſpeedy cloſe, we will refer the curious reader to Biſhop Tanner's accurate catalogue, with this obſervation only, that whereas he mentions two penitent letters to Archbiſhop Cranmer, publiſhed by Strype, as if they were written by the Biſhop; that is plainly a miſtake, for they were written by *William Gardiner*, one of the Prebendaries of Canterbury, who, about the year 1543, was engaged in a baſe deſign of aſperſing the Archbiſhop, for which he ſeems to have been very penitent (115). It is not impoſſible that this man's name might occaſion other miſtakes, and prove the handle for objecting to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, his being ſo deeply concerned in the ſeveral plots formed about that time againſt the Archbiſhop.

(115) Tanneri Biblioth. Britannico-Hibernica, p. 309. Strype's Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, in the Appendix, p. 69, 70, 71.

The letters of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, to Sir Thomas Smith and Sir John Cheke, againſt the new pronunciation of the Greek language, are moſt of them extant; in which it was Roger Aſcham's opinion, that tho' theſe learned Knights ſhewed themſelves better criticks than our Prelate, yet his letters manifeſted a ſuperior genius, and were chiefly liable to cenſure, from his affecting to enter farther into a diſpute of this kind than was neceſſary for a perſon of his dignity. On the whole it may be truly affirmed, that if he had not entered into buſineſs ſo early, or had not been ſo much employed as he was in political affairs, he might have eſtabliſhed a great reputation for his knowledge in polite literature, which was certainly very extenſive; and ſo much a maſter he was of foreign affairs, that in the latter part of King Henry's reign they were compelled to conſult him, tho' unwilling to confide in him.

Under Queen Mary he ſhewed his great abilities in this ſcience ſo highly uſeful to Miniſters, by his maſterly conduct in the management of the Spaniſh match, and by his keeping the friends of King Philip, ſo long as he lived, from involving the Engliſh nation in a war with France, againſt which he had expreſsly provided in the laſt article of the marriage treaty. It is alſo believed, that notwithſtanding he could not prevail with Queen Mary to retain the title of *Supreme Head* of the *Church*, or prevent her ſubmitting to the See of Rome; yet he gave her ſuch notions of her own rights, and of the neceſſity of oppoſing Papal encroachments, as induced her, after his death, to act with ſo much ſpirit as ſhe did, when an attempt was made to ſend over a Legate who was unacceptable to her, merely becauſe her politicks happened not to be very conſiſtent with thoſe of the Court of Rome at that juncture; tho' in all probability, had he ſurvived, that quarrel would have been prevented, ſince it was owing to the Queen's deſerting his maxim, and embracing her huſband's foreign intereſts againſt her own.

[MM] *Clearly and candidly, though not copiouſly, ſtated.*] The only certain way of collecting men's characters, is from their actions; it is true, theſe are not always uniform, but neither is the mind of man, we muſt take them as we find them, and be content to follow the evidence they give, inſtead of ſuborning them to teſtify to the notions we have conceived. If we conſider Stephen Gardiner in this light, we muſt allow him great parts, ſince he raiſed himſelf, and that to the higheſt ſtations. We muſt alſo own, that he had many good qualities, not only becauſe it is impoſſible that he ſhould have roſe without them, but becauſe the proofs we have ſeen, are ſuch, as will not ſuffer it to be diſputed. He was learned himſelf, and a lover of learning and learned men; he was grateful to his maſter Wolſey in diſtreſs; to the memory of his royal maſter Henry VIII, when he was dead; to the Duke of Norfolk, when himſelf was exalted to power. He was of a generous and liberal diſpoſition, kept a good houſe, and brought up ſeveral young men, ſome of which, became afterwards Stateſmen, Peers, and Privy-Counſellors, Secretaries of State, and Chancellors. He had courage, which enabled him to ſtand againſt all his enemies, in the time of King Henry, and bore him up through a long courſe of miſery and misfortunes in the ſucceeding reign, neither did it forſake him in the laſt period of his life, ſince, in point of vigour, as well as prudence, his adminiſtration is as conſpicuous as any in our records, and the more ſo, ſince from the day of his death his miſtreſs's affairs went wrong, and the publick confuſion became ſo great, as to break that Princeſs's heart, the force and credit of the nation being long before broken.

He had great addreſs in conciliating the minds of men, which plainly appeared by that attachment which ſome of the greateſt Stateſmen in all reſpects, had to his perſonal advice for almoſt forty years together, as well as by his intereſt with foreign Princes, of which he availed himſelf upon all occaſions. But his greateſt virtue was publick ſpirit, which he ſhewed in maintaining the rights of his College, preſerving the revenues of his See, and, above all, in preventing the projects of Philip from taking place, circumſcribing the power of the Queen, when he found it might be dangerous to the conſtitution, and obliging Cardinal Pole, to accept a commiſſion under the Great Seal, for executing his Legantine Power, by which the Papal authority, when reſtored, was ſtill in a condition of reſtraint.

He had his vices, and his bad qualities too, for what man, what Miniſter, has them not? His envy appeared in his croſſing the deſigns of Cranmer, in the reign of King Henry, and if he really drew the articles againſt the Protector Somerſet, it is a proof that he was vindictive. He had certainly a great meaſure of pride, and his ambition was boundleſs, to which, if we add what moſt writers beſtow upon him plentifully, a refined diſſimulation, we ſhall perhaps have a tolerable notion of the dark, as well as the bright ſide of this character. As to his religion, he ſeems to have been more a Proteſtant than a Papiſt in his principles, but with a great regard to the authority of the Church, from whence aroſe his unwillingneſs to reform haſtily; he conſidered the maſs of the people as groſly ignorant, and therefore he thought that ſome allowances were to be made them, from an apprehenſion, that if they were ſuddenly taught to contemn what they had long revered, it might render it very difficult to make them revere any thing; Cranmer was honeſt and open, hated prieſtcraft and ſuperſtition; Gardiner was cloſe and circumſpect, afraid of novelties, and ſuſpicious that anarchy would enſue from affording a premature countenance to foreign opinions; this difference in their ſentiments, had, as might well be expected, a ſtrong influence on their fortunes, expoſed Cranmer to ſufferings, and Gardiner to miſrepreſentations.

To enter more thoroughly into his merit, let us conſider him in the Univerſity, the Church, and the Court, ſince in the different ſcenes of his life, he was in ſome meaſure ſupreme in all. He loved an academical life, had a true notion of it's advantages, and was very deſirous of promoting them to the utmoſt extent of his power. Dr Fuller, ſpeaking of Trinity-Hall (116), ranges the great men produced by that foundation, in four claſſes, Maſters, Benefactors, Writers, Biſhops, and we find Gardiner's name in every one of them. The Duke of Somerſet, when Protector, would have had him reſigned that houſe into the hands of the crown, giving

(116) Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 48.

The faſhion of thoſe times allowed more to exterior expreſſions of funeral ſorrow than ours, and by entertaining the eyes of the vulgar with a lugubrious ſpectacle (q) of a great man's laſt journey, impreſſed on their minds a greater degree of reverence than could be wrought by

(q) Stowe's Annals, p. 627.

giving out, that from his affection to the Civil Law, he was inclined to erect a College for promoting that ſtudy, and to endow it with the revenues of that foundation, and of Clare-Hall. 'Moſt politick Gardiner, ſays my author, not without cauſe, ſuſpecting ſome deſign or caſualty might ſurpriſe the interval between the diſſolution of the old, and the erection of this new foundation, civilly declined the motion, informing his Grace, that the way to advance the ſtudy of the Law, was by promoting the preſent profeſſors of that faculty (now ſo generally diſcouraged) and not by founding a new College for the future ſtudents thereof, ſeeing Trinity-Hall alone, could breed more Civilians than all England did prefer according to their deſerts.' This, as the ſame writer obſerves, coſt Gardiner his maſterſhip, but ſaved the foundation.

He was no leſs tender of the privileges of the Univerſity as Chancellor, than of the welfare of that Hall of which he was Maſter; this fully appears from Aſcham's letters to him, even when the Protector had ſupplanted him in that office, ſo much the Univerſity depended upon his friendſhip, when neceſſity obliged them to deprive him of his power (117). Upon the turn of the times, and his coming again into that office, he purged it thoroughly, turning out all the maſters except two, yet ſome kind things made amends for this, if there was any injuſtice in it, for Queen Mary made a conſiderable grant to Trinity-College, and the Chancellor, by the help of his Vice-Chancellor, and another famous inſtrument of his, Dr Andrew Perne, preſerved that ſeat of the Muſes from the flames of perſecution. Cardinal Pole, who ſucceeded Gardiner, and was Chancellor at once of both Univerſities, began his adminiſtration at Cambridge, by burning the dead bodies of Martin Bucer, and Paul Fagius, which had remained quiet in their graves during Gardiner's time, though Bucer was his old opponent; yet our Hiſtorians ſay, Gardiner was a furious perſecutor, and Pole a very moderate man, to which we ſhould have no exception, if he had burnt only dead bodies.

(117) Aſchami Epiſtolæ.

As Biſhop of Wincheſter, we find him always very conſiderable; he was able to do much in Convocation, and more in Parliament. Such as are diſpoſed to ſee with their own eyes, and not truſt to the reports of Hiſtorians, will find abundant proofs of this, by reſorting to the remains of the journals of both aſſemblies that are ſtill preſerved; and the further evidence of this is the extraordinary care that was taken to exclude him from both, during the whole reign of King Edward. In this thoſe who loved the Reformation concurred, as fearing his abilities, and the courtiers aſſiſted them therein, as being thoroughly acquainted with his reſolution. They knew that no See in England afforded richer plunder than Wincheſter; and they knew in that point, that no Biſhop in England was more inflexible than Gardiner, but being once heaved out, they made no doubt of cutting many pretty eſtates out of the lands of this Biſhoprick; and we have elſewhere ſhewn that in this they were not miſtaken; but as this is a point of very great conſequence, and as at the beginning of this article, we gave the reader Gardiner's picture drawn by the hands of his ſucceſſor, Biſhop Poynet; ſo here we will give a detail of Biſhop Poynet's adminiſtration, as Mr Strype (118) has drawn it from records, which will ſhew what thoſe apprehenſions were, that made Biſhop Gardiner ſo ſtiff in his oppoſition, and what conceſſions the great men in power exacted for the countenance they gave to the Reformation, to which we may in a great meaſure aſcribe the turn that happened upon the acceſſion of Queen Mary.

(118) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 272, 273, 274.

'In the month of May, 1551, when Ponet was made Biſhop of Wincheſter, after the deprivation of Gardiner, a great alienation was made of the lands and revenues antiently belonging to that Biſhoprick, according as it was required of the ſaid Ponet, when he firſt came to the See, or rather conditionally to his preferment thither. Then he paſſed away to the King, the manors of Marden, Twiford, Marwel, Waltham, &c. in the county of Southampton, and divers other lands, lordſhips, tenements, rents, &c. and, in effect, all the temporalities of that rich Biſhoprick. And to make all ſure, letters were diſpatched to the Dean and Chapter, to confirm the grant of the ſaid Biſhop, by their full conſent and ſeal of the Chapter, as in that caſe, by the order of the laws, is required and accuſtomed. Then did the King give to the Biſhop and his ſucceſſors, in conſideration of the ſaid Biſhop's ſurrender, a great many rectories, as that of Bremmer, and of the Chapel of Charford and Hale, and the rectory of Regborn, in the county of Southampton, and divers other lands, to the value of two thouſand marks, to be held in *liberam eleemoſynam*, and to take the profits from Michaelmas laſt. He granted him moreover, for ſome recompence for all this taken away, that his firſt fruits, which before were charged in the King's books, at three thouſand eight hundred eighty-five pounds, three ſhillings, three-pence half-penny farthing, ſhould be now reduced to two thouſand marks, and that for his tenths, from henceforth he ſhould be taxed at two hundred marks and no more, to be paid yearly; that he ſhould have ten years ſpace to pay his firſt fruits in; that bonds ſhould be taken for payment from the Biſhop only, without ſureties to be bound with him: and that all the bonds and writings for the firſt fruits of his former Biſhoprick, viz. of Rocheſter, ſhould be delivered him up, which the King forgave him. And for the putting all this into effect, a warrant was iſſued out to the Chancellor, Treaſurer, and Council, and to all others being officers of the court of Firſt Fruits and Tenths. The King alſo gave him a licence to enter into his Biſhoprick, and to take the profits thereof, without paying any thing therefore, notwithſtanding a ſtatute made in that behalf, in the twenty-ſixth of Henry the Eighth, the import whereof was, that no ſpiritual perſon ſhould enter upon his benefice before he had paid the firſt fruits, or given bond and ſecurity to pay them. A pardon alſo was granted him of all pains, penalties, and ſums of money that might be forfeited and due to the King, for entring into the Biſhoprick of Rocheſter, contrary to the ſaid ſtatute. The King ſoon gratified his ſervants with the lands and manors of this Biſhoprick, viz. To Sir John Gates, the manors of Sutton, Ropley, &c. in Southampton and Surry, of the yearly value of one hundred forty-five pounds, nineteen ſhillings, nine-pence half-penny. To Sir Philip Hoby, the manors of Marden, &c. in the county of Southampton, of the yearly value of eighty-ſeven pounds, eighteen ſhillings, ſeven-pence. To Sir Andrews Dudley, the manor of Witney, &c. of the yearly value of one-hundred eighty pounds, ſeven-pence half-penny farthing. To Sir Henry Seymour, lands to the yearly value of one-hundred eighty-ſix pounds, four-pence. To William Fitz-Williams, the manor of High Clere, &c. to the yearly value of eighty-four pounds, ſeventeen ſhillings, three-pence. To Henry Nevyle, the manor of Margrave, &c. to the yearly value of one-hundred fourteen pounds, eighteen ſhillings, ten-pence. Sir Thomas Wroth, had alſo an annuity of one-hundred pounds. And for the further confirmation of this alienation made by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, it was thought requiſite to have it allowed and conſented to by the Dean and Chapter under their ſeal. Whereupon, in Auguſt, a letter was ſent to Sir John Maſon, Knight, that he ſhould repair to Wincheſter, and to agree with the Biſhop to meet them there at a certain day, and to cauſe all the Canons, Prebendaries, and others whom it concerned, to aſſemble in the Chapter-Houſe, for confirming the ſaid lands before Michaelmas next, and to advertiſe the Council the next day, that order might be given to the King's learned Counſel to be there at the ſame time. And a letter was ſent to this Biſhop, in behalf of the City of Wincheſter, namely, to take order, that the city and citizens, and their ſucceſſors, might be freed from their ſuits and ſervices heretofore made to that court, called the Palm Court, and all other liberties he had to the ſame, clearly exonerated and

discharged

by words. As this is a point not altogether unworthy of obſervation, and as we rarely find ceremonies of this kind ſo clearly, ſo circumſtantially, and ſo methodically ſet down as theſe are, we judged it not altogether amiſs to give them a place in the notes, as a ſort of feature of that age, when there was more attention paid to Sight than to all the reſt of the Senſes, and more money beſtowed, and more diligence uſed, in ſetting out ſuch a ſolemnity, than without ſuch a detail as this could be eaſily imagined [*NN*]. Many intrigues were

' diſcharged by his ſufficient writing under his ſeal, and confirmed by the Chapter Seal according to his promiſe.'

We ſee that it was not either doctrine or ceremonies that produced Gardiner's deprivation, he would have conſented to the one, and complied with the other, though at the ſame time he profeſſed, that more alterations were made than he could approve; but ſpoiling his Biſhoprick was a thing to which he would never have yielded. He judged the Chriſtian Church with the ſupremacy placed in the crown, to be a neceſſary part of the Engliſh conſtitution, and for that reaſon was for preſerving it; and when he afterwards recovered this See, he made uſe of the law to recover it's revenues. But how right ſoever his conduct might be in this reſpect, his compliances were certainly wrong in the reign of Queen Mary, becauſe he acted contrary to his own knowledge. However he might ſolve to himſelf the reſtoring the Papal power, and reviving the ſanguinary laws, without which, it could not be ſupported; it is impoſſible to juſtify him, nor will any honeſt and ingenuous man attempt it; but that he acted in many things unwillingly, and under that neceſſity which he had brought upon himſelf and the nation, by complying with Queen Mary's bigotry, is apparent enough from his actions, which though they excuſe him in ſome inſtances from cruelty, yet that very excuſe demonſtrates, that he acted againſt his principles, in procuring that power for others, which was executed with ſuch unchriſtian rigour and ſeverity.

Some of our Hiſtorians urge in favour of Cardinal Pole, that he was under no neceſſity of putting Cranmer to death, in order to come at the Archbiſhoprick, ſince that was conferred upon him by the Pope (119), before the burning of his predeceſſor. If this was really ſo, then the ſuggeſtion that Biſhop Gardiner preſerved Cranmer's life out of ſpleen to Pole, and from private views, muſt be alſo ill-founded, and his preſervation of him as long as he lived, may be therefore referred to a better motive. But ſtill, his reconciling the Engliſh nation to the obedience of the See of Rome, which was plainly his act and deed, is as indefenſible as ever. Whatever compaſſion he might have as a man, he ſhewed little of the piety or prudence of a Chriſtian Biſhop in that action, the worſt without all doubt of his whole life, though not the worſt ſpoken of, even by Proteſtant Hiſtorians.

His behaviour as a Miniſter of State in the reign of Henry, is far from being unexceptionable. His ſolliciting the divorce from Queen Katherine, at home and abroad; his carrying Cranmer to the King, applauding his advice, and taking upon himſelf to carry it into execution at Cambridge, if done contrary to his ſenſe of things, as there is great probability it was, cannot be either defended or excuſed. His reverſing all this, by an Act of Parliament, and throwing the whole odium upon Cranmer; Biſhop Burnet ſays (120), ſhewed he had loſt all ſenſe of ſhame, and a man muſt want either conſcience or underſtanding, who does not think ſo. His adviſing Queen Mary to acts of lenity at her entrance on the government, was certainly very commendable. His ſolliciting her to reſtore what the crown had taken from ſeveral noble families, ſuch as Norfolk, Arundel, Stanhope, and Hungerford, and the proviſion for reſtoring in blood, the Earl of Devonſhire, and the ſon of the Duke of Somerſet, highly laudable; his excluding foreign influence from Engliſh Councils, and his preventing a Spaniſh Prince from being placed on the Engliſh throne, were eſſential ſervices to his country; his attention upon all occaſions to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, in preference to every thing, and particularly, both to royal and miniſterial power, is worthy of praiſe and of imitation.

It might be thought a ſtrange omiſſion, if we ſhould ſay nothing of the charge that was brought againſt him of corrupting Parliaments, as it is mentioned by ſeveral eminent Hiſtorians, but the aſſerting boldly, or tranſcribing a fact, often is no kind of evidence. We find nothing of it in the earlieſt Hiſtorians, who wrote in the ſucceeding reign; and there is nothing brought to juſtify it, excepting what has been ſaid of King Philip's bringing over a large ſum in ready money. As to the Parliament, particularly inſiſted upon, which is the ſecond of the Queen's reign, and as to which it is ſurmiſed, that he gave penſions to ſeveral of the members; there is a matter of fact that ſtrongly contradicts it, and it is this, that this Parliament did not continue full two months, meeting on the ſecond of April, and being diſſolved on the twenty fifth of May. Now it is natural to believe, that if this Miniſter's influence, which was indeed very great, had been built upon corruption, he would have continued that Parliament; for it is not the cuſtom of thoſe who give wages, to be content with ſuch ſhort ſervice, more eſpecially when a Parliament was again called the very ſame year. Beſides the Spaniſh money was not then arrived.

We may add to all this, that our Prelate had leſs occaſion to bribe, becauſe he aſked no ſupplies. It is uſual to wet the ſucker, before the hand is applied to the pump, but it would be a mere waſte of water, if there was no intention of pumping. The Miniſters who followed him in that reign, ſtood in need of that vile expedient, and practiſed it, but they ſteered by other maxims than Gardiner had done, and knew not the art of managing Parliaments, by beginning with Conſtitutional Bills, and thereby putting them in a good humour, or of being contented with a moderate ſhare of ſucceſs, and not puſhing too many government points at once, which were the principal arts he uſed.

In this reſpect he was perfectly happy, that he died before he found himſelf under the neceſſity of altering his conduct, or of forfeiting the reputation he had acquired by unwarrantable compliances. We are now at ſuch a diſtance from the time in which he lived, and are poſſeſſed of ſo many publick and private papers, that open to us the whole circle of his conduct, at the ſame time that all partiality or prejudice is, or ought to be, removed, that we may look on ourſelves as free, as well as competent judges of it. To this, if the pains taken in the preſent article, ſhall any way contribute, it will fully anſwer the only end for which they were taken, by recommending a critical examination of our Hiſtory, with an unbiaſſed regard to truth and the conſtitution.

[*NN*] *Could be eaſily imagined.*] In all probability, the reaſon of removing the Biſhop's corps ſo haſtily, was to have it in the proper place where theſe funeral honours might be paid, ſince at the Court, where he died, it would have been very improper. By five o'clock in the afternoon of the ſame day, his bowels were buried before the high-altar, in the pariſh church of St Mary Overy's; at ſix, the knell began, and a *Dirge* and *Maſs*, all the bells continuing to ring till ſeven at night. November the fourteenth, began the knell again; there was then a hearſe adorned with four branches of gilt candleſticks, two white branches, and three dozen of ſtaff torches. The choir was hung with black, and coats of arms and eſcutcheons, *Dirge* ſung that evening; the next day, Maſs of *Requiem* was ſung by Dr Bonner, Biſhop of London, many Prelates, Noblemen, Knights and Gentlemen being preſent; after which Dr White, Biſhop of Lincoln, aſcended the pulpit, and preached the Funeral Sermon, this over, they went to Wincheſter palace to dinner. The ſame day in the afternoon, was *Dirge* ſung in every pariſh in London, with a hearſe and ringing of bells, and the next day a Maſs of *Requiem* and prayers, according to the faſhion of thoſe times. On the twenty-firſt of the ſame month, about noon, began the knell, when the body was brought to the church of St Mary Over's, attended by all the Biſhops who were in town, and by a great number of the Clergy; the Biſhop of London performed the funeral Service, and wore his Mitre;

(119) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 391.

(120) Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 254.

were ſet on foot at Court, on this great Prelate's death, about filling his places, which occaſioned ſome delay in diſpoſing of them. The great ſeal was in the mean time put into the hands of Sir Nicholas Hare, Maſter of the Rolls, and on Newyear's-day following given to Dr Nicholas Heath, Archbiſhop of York (r). In the Chancellorſhip of Cambridge he was ſucceeded by Cardinal Pole (s), who had ſome inclinations to have held his Biſhoprick of Wincheſter too *in commendam*; but at length it was given to Dr White, Biſhop of Lincoln, the modeſt Cardinal contenting himſelf with a penſion of one thouſand pounds a year out of the revenue, for the ſupport of his dignity (t). As to the Maſterſhip of Trinity-Hall, Dr Mowſe, who took it as a good Proteſtant in King Edward's time, was now become ſo good a Catholick as to take it again in Queen Mary's time; and in the days of Elizabeth had a Prebend of York beſtowed upon him, being once more become a Proteſtant (u). As to the private eſtate of Biſhop Gardiner, he diſpoſed of it by will, of which his two old friends (w), Sir Anthony Brown, Viſcount Montacute, and Dr Thomas Thirlby, Biſhop of Ely, were the executors.

(r) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 321.

(s) Catalog. Cancell. Cantabrig.

(t) Godwin, de Præſul. Angliæ, p. 237.

(u) Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 400, 401.

(w) Godwin, de Præſul. Angliæ, p. 237.

Mitre; before the corps, went the King at Arms in his coat, and five banners of his arms, and four images wrought with gold and jewels. On the morrow were ſaid three Maſſes; one of the Trinity, one of our Lady, and one of *Requiem*; after which, the company repaired to dinner at Wincheſter Palace, and the body was depoſited in a vault, till it could be carried to Wincheſter. On the twenty-fourth of February following, were the obſequies of this Prelate celebrated after the following manner. In the afternoon, began the knell at St Mary Overies and ringing. After that began the *Dirge*. A pall of cloth of gold, and two white branches, and two dozen of ſtaff torches burning, and four great tapers. The Lord Montacute, the chief mourner, and the Lord Biſhop of Lincoln, Sir Robert Rocheſter, Comptroller, and divers other attendants in black, and many black gowns and coats. And the morrow, Maſs of *Requiem* and offering done, began the Sermon; and ſo Maſs being done, all repaired to a dinner at Lord Montacute's. At the gate, the corps was put into a chariot with four horſes all covered with black. Over the corps, an image reſembling the deceaſed, with his mitre on his head, with five gentlemen, bearing five banners of his arms. Then followed an hundred men in gowns and hoods. Then two Heralds in their coat-armour; Mr Garter and Rouge Croix. Then came men riding, carrying of torches burning, in number ſixty, about the corps all the way. Then came the mourners in gowns and coats, to the number of two-hundred, afore and behind; and ceaſing, and there they had a great torch given them. And ſo through every pariſh till they came to Wincheſter. And as many as came to meet them, had money given them. And a *Dirge* and Maſs at every lodging (121). All theſe needleſs ceremonies being over, the corps was interred according to the Biſhop's laſt will, as Biſhop Godwin tells us, on the north ſide of the high altar in the Cathedral, in a tomb anſwerable to that of Biſhop Fox, on the other ſide (122). Many poetical compoſitions, both in Latin and Engliſh, were publiſhed on the demiſe of this great Prelate; the moſt bitter invectives againſt him, may be found in Bale; who ſeems to have taken particular pleaſure in the abuſe of him; on the other hand, Mr John Morwen, who was fellow of Corpus-Chriſti College in Oxford, wrote an elegant Latin Poem in honour of his memory, in which there are many facts, as well as much panegyric. Sir John Harrington, whom we have before mentioned, deals very fairly by him and the publick, by preſerving a poem highly in his commendation; and that piece, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, reverſed into a moſt outrageous ſatire. It had been well, if authors on both ſides had confined their partiality and their prejudice, to poetical compoſitions only, and left hiſtory untainted with them, we ſhould then have been able to have made this article much ſhorter, as well as more ſatisfactory. E

(121) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 229, 230. — p. 285, 286.

(122) De Præſulibus Angliæ, p. 237.

GARTH (Sir Samuel), a genuine ſon of Apollo, as he was at once an excellent Poet, and a very learned as well as ſucceſsful Phyſician. He was deſcended from a good family in Yorkſhire, and after he had paſſed through his ſchool education, he was removed to Peter-Houſe in Cambridge, where he is ſaid to have continued till he was created Doctor of Phyſick, July the ſeventh 1691 (a). His firſt examination before the Royal College of Phyſicians, was on the twelfth of March 1691-2, and he was admitted Fellow June the twenty-ſixth 1692 (b). In 1696, he zealouſly encouraged the ſpeedy erecting the Diſpenſary, being an apartment in the College for the relief of the ſick poor, by giving them advice gratis, and diſpenſing medicines to them at low rates (c). This work of charity having expoſed him, and many other of the moſt eminent Phyſicians, to the envy and reſentment of ſeveral perſons of the ſame Faculty, as well as Apothecaries, he ridiculed them with peculiar ſpirit and vivacity, in his admirable poem called THE DISPENSARY, in ſix canto's; which, tho' it firſt ſtole into the world a little haſtily and incorrect, in the year 1699, yet bore in a few months three impreſſions, and was afterwards printed ſeveral times, with a dedication to Anthony Henly, Eſq; and commendatory verſes by Mr Charles Boyle, afterwards Earl of Orrery, Colonel Chriſtopher Codrington, Thomas Cheek, Eſq; and Colonel Henry Blount (d). This poem raiſed our author a very juſt, as well as prodigious, reputation (e) [A]. This poetical character, together with his great learning and

(a) Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 58.

(b) From the Regiſter of the College of Phyſicians.

(c) A ſhort Anſwer to a late Book intitu'ed *Tentamen Medicinale*, to which are added ſeveral Papers relating to the Riſe, Growth, and Uſefulneſs of Diſpenſaries.

(d) From the correct edit. in 1710. 8vo.

(e) Pack's Miſcelanies, p. 102.

[A] *As prodigious reputation.*] There are two things remarkable with reſpect to this admirable poem of our author's, the firſt, that it is in itſelf a moſt beautiful and elegant compoſition; the ſecond, that it was written to ſupport a moſt generous and charitable deſign. In order to make the reader perfectly maſter of the reaſons upon which that ſcheme was founded this poem was written to recommend: the judicious author in his preface, adviſes him to read a little piece, written by the directions, and publiſhed by the order, of the College of Phyſicians, then common, and in every body's hands, though now become very ſcarce and hard to be met with, which cannot therefore but be very acceptable to the reader, as without it, one of the beſt poems in our language, can be but very imperfectly underſtood. The title of this performance was,

A Short Account of the Proceedings *of the* College *of* Phyſicians, London, *in Relation to the* Sick, Poor, &c.

and ſkill in his profeſſion, his agreeable converſation, and unaffected good humour, procured him vaſt practice, and gained him the friendſhip and eſteem of moſt of the nobility and

Since it hath been the fate of many good undertakings, though in themſelves highly beneficial to the publick, to miſcarry and come to nothing, not ſo much by the *open oppoſition* of intereſted and deſigning perſons, as by their *private inſinuations* and *miſ-repreſentations*, whereby they prepoſſeſs the people to their own great hurt and damage; that the like miſfortune may not befal the charitable deſign now ſet on foot by the *College of Phyſicians*, LONDON, for the relief of the *poor ſick* in and about this great city and ſuburbs; we have thought it neceſſary to give a ſhort hiſtorical account of the riſe and progreſs of this matter, whereby we hope it will appear, that this undertaking, as it was ſeveral years ſince begun, before there were any differences or miſunderſtandings, either amongſt ourſelves, or with the Apothecaries, upon no other ground but the commiſeration of the deplorable condition of the poor ſick, eſpecially poor houſekeepers, not uſually taken care of by the pariſhes; ſo alſo, that the ſame hath been ever ſince carried on with the ſame honeſt intention: and we doubt not, but a work ſo advantageous to the ſick poor, and ſo honourable to this city, will in the ſame manner be ſhortly finiſhed, and brought to it's utmoſt perfection.

To omit therefore what has in former times been attempted of this nature by our predeceſſors, of whoſe early charity we have ſeveral inſtances recorded in our annals; the firſt ſtep we find tending directly to this purpoſe, is a vote of the College in their publick meeting, July the twenty-eighth, 1687, to this effect. 'It was this day appointed and ordained, by the unanimous vote of the college, that all the members thereof, whether Fellows, Candidates, or Licentiates of the ſaid college, ſhall give their advice gratis, to all their ſick neighbouring poor, when deſired, within the city of London, or ſeven miles round.'

This order being carried by ſeveral of the Members of the College to the Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen; they, Auguſt the twenty-third, 1687, did by Dr *Betts*, one of our Elects, return the College thanks, for this their charitable order, with this farther requeſt to the College, that they would explain themſelves, as to whom they meant by *poor*? which they did, by declaring, that all thoſe ſhould be eſteemed *poor*, that brought certificates under the hand of the Rector, Vicar, or Curate of the pariſh wherein they dwelt, of their being ſuch.

An account of this was by the reſpective Aldermen ſent to each ward. But partly by the induſtry of ſome perſons, with whoſe private gain it was not ſo conſiſtent, and eſpecially by reaſon of the high prices of medicines, above the purchaſe of poor houſe-keepers, it was for that time ſtifled. Which the College perceiving, and deſirous that ſo good an intention to ſo many poor people might not be fruſtrated, ſeveral methods for the removing this obſtruction, were propoſed at their general meetings, as the expending all the fines of the College, in providing phyſick for the poor, and the like: and at laſt they came to this reſolution, which was paſt into an order, Auguſt the thirteenth, 1688, viz.

'The College having conſidered, that the charitable vote, which formerly paſſed for preſcribing to the poor gratis, hath not had the effect intended, by reaſon of the great prices they are obliged to pay for their medicines, have this day unanimouſly voted, that the laboratory of the College be forthwith fitted up, for preparing medicines for the poor, and alſo the room adjoining for a repoſitory.' And the College further gave a power to thoſe members who would ſubſcribe to this charitable work, to chooſe a committee from among themſelves, who ſhould order what compoſitions and ſimples ſhould be kept at the College for the benefit of the poor, and manage the whole affair as they thought fit.

It was expected, that upon this order, the Apothecaries, (rather than the College, ſhould make medicines themſelves) would have ſo far concurred in this charitable work, as to have borne their part therein: and that as we had freely offered our pains to preſcribe for the poor for nothing, ſo they would have given them their pains alſo in furniſhing them with neceſſary medicines at the intrinſick value, or at leaſt, for ſome ſmall profit. But inſtead of that, ſeveral amongſt them ſet themſelves, by all the art and induſtry they were capable of, to fruſtrate the whole deſign; and finding no method ſo promiſing, as to ſtir up a party among ourſelves to oppoſe our proceedings, they fell to intriguing with ſeveral of our own members, who were too eaſily lured off to ſerve the Apothecaries intereſt, for their own private advantage. And from this cauſe, as we have too much reaſon to believe, have chiefly ſprung the unhappy differences that are ſtill fomented among us.

But notwithſtanding all the diſcouragements we met with from thoſe of our own members, who contrary to all the obligations of honour and conſcience, conſtantly diſcovered to our adverſaries, whatſoever paſſed in the College relating to this deſign, and expoſed to them, the names of ſuch as were promoters thereof, that they might be kept out, as far as in them lay, from all patients, where they ſhould be propoſed, and themſelves brought in; theſe, and ſeveral other difficulties, were, though after a conſiderable time intervening, at laſt broke through, and the College proceeded to enforce their former order, by another of the eighteenth of March, 1694, to this effect. 'Whereas in the year 1687, there was an order made, by the unanimous conſent of the College, obliging every member thereof to give his advice gratis, in their reſpective pariſhes in the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and ſuburbs thereof, to all poor ſick, as ſhould be recommended to them for ſuch, by the Rector, Vicar, or Curate of the ſaid pariſhes, by certificate under their hands, which ſaid order was preſented to the city: now we judge it neceſſary, that the ſaid order be again preſented to the Lord-Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and Common-Council, and do hereby again, require ſtrict obedience from all our members, to the aforeſaid order.' And a committee was then choſen by the College, to take care of the managing this matter to the beſt advantage of the deſigned charity, conſiſting of the Elects, Cenſors, and eight Fellows, whereof five to be a committee.

This order was accordingly preſented to the Lord-Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and Common-Council, June the eighteenth, 1695. Upon which, the Common-Council did nominate, appoint, and chooſe Sir *John Moor*, Sir *William Hedges*, and Sir *Joſeph Smart*, Aldermen; Mr *Darvile*, Mr *Ballow*, Mr *Eggleſtone*, Sir *Edmund Wiſeman*, Mr *Richer*, and Mr *Palfreman*, Commoners; whereof, any one of the ſaid Aldermen, and two of the ſaid Commoners to be a committee, to return the thanks of that court to the College of Phyſicians for ſuch their order, and with them, to conſult how to improve the advantage propoſed by the ſaid college, for the relief of the ſaid poor inhabitants.

July the twenty-fourth. The Committee of the city and College met, where the thanks of the Lord-Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and Common-Council, were returned to the College of Phyſicians, for their charitable order.

The Committee of the College, delivered in a liſt of the names of all their members, with the places where they lived, which was deſired by the city to be printed.

Then the committee of the city made ſeveral propoſals or queries, as firſt, who ſhould be recommended as fitting objects of this charity? ſecondly, who ſhould be the perſons that ſhould make up the Phyſicians preſcriptions in the ſeveral wards and pariſhes of the city? thirdly, who ſhould prize the medicines preſcribed by the Phyſicians bills?

After which, they, with the College Committee, paſſing over the firſt propoſal, which was ſufficiently anſwered by the College's order, proceeded to debate the ſecond and third, and came to this reſolution, that ſome Apothecaries ſhould be found out, who ſhould ſupply the poor with medicines, at ſuch rates as ſhould be adjudged reaſonable by the Phyſicians in or near the ſeveral pariſhes, which the committee of the city earneſtly recommended to the Phyſicians to take care of, and promiſed that they would do the ſame on their part.

Upon

and gentry, and indeed of all ranks, of both ſexes. Within the ſame period he gave a diſtinguiſhing inſtance of his profound knowledge in his profeſſion, his perfect acquaintance with Antiquity, and correct taſte in Roman eloquence, by a moſt admirable Latin oration, pronounced before the Faculty in Warwick-Lane, September the ſeventeenth 1697 (f), *to the great ſatisfaction of the* audience, *and his own* reputation, as the College Regiſter teſtifies. Pieces of this kind are often compoſed with peculiar attention to the phraſe, the turn of the periods in the ſpeaking, and their effect upon the ear; and tho' theſe advantages were by no means neglected in Dr Garth's performance, yet the ſentiment, the ſpirit, the ſtile, manifeſted all their beauty in print, and the applauſe with which it was received by it's hearers, was echoed by thoſe who peruſed it [*B*]. Upon the death of the famous Dryden,

Upon this, the Committee of the College, applied themſelves with great diligence to anſwer the ſaid deſire of the City committee; and after ſome time, found out ſeveral honeſt and charitable Apothecaries, who very chearfully and readily embraced the offer, and at the ſollicitation of the Phyſicians, entered into this following ſubſcription. *We whoſe names are here under written, are willing to furniſh the poor within our reſpective pariſhes, with medicines, at ſuch rates as the Committee of Phyſicians ſhall judge reaſonable, witneſs our hands.* Which ſubſcription we have now by us, but for the ſubſcribers ſakes, do not divulge their names.

When the Committee of the College had got a ſufficient number of Apothecaries to furniſh all the Wards of *London*, they acquainted the Committee of the City therewith, requeſting them at the ſame time, that they would, for their encouragement, endeavour to have an act paſſed in the Common-Council, to excuſe thoſe charitable Apothecaries from any troubleſome office.

Then the Committee of the City, did deſire the College Committee to get a farther addition to their former order, whereby the Churchwardens and Overſeers of the poor, or any of them, might, as well as the Miniſters, recommend, by certificate, fit objects of charity; as alſo, that all hired ſervants, and apprentices to handicraftmen, ſhould be reckoned as objects of charity, which the Committee of the College promiſed to endeavour.

Now the College thought they had ſurmounted all difficulties, and had attained their end: but the Apothecaries Company having got knowledge of our meeting with a Committee of the City, did not only draw up and preſent a paper to the Committee of the City, tending wholly to fruſtrate the charitable ends of our deſign, which was ſufficiently anſwered article by article, by the Committee of the College, (copies of both which are annexed to this piece) but alſo hearing that the Committee of Phyſicians had gotten Apothecaries enough to ſupply this charity, they were extreamly alarmed, and preſently called a Hall, wherein, partly by threatening to impoſe upon them the moſt troubleſome and expenſive offices of their company, and partly by charging them upon this compliance with the Phyſicians, with breach of their oaths to their company, they affrighted moſt of theſe Apothecaries from this undertaking, as if their oath obliged them not to do any thing charitably.

September the fourth, 1695. The College made ſuch addition to their order, as the City Committee had deſired. At which meeting, the College did likewiſe approve and confirm all that had been done by their Committee, giving them thanks for the care and trouble they had already taken, and deſiring them to proceed and perfect this charitable work, owning and declaring all that the Committee had done, to be the act of the College, and not the act of ſix or ſeven men, as ſome had induſtriouſly, though falſely, given out; and that the College would accordingly ſtand by their Committee in what they had done.

At the next meeting of the Committees, the addition by the College to their former order, deſired by the City Committee, was delivered to them, who were much pleaſed therewith. Then they proceeded to conſider who ſhould prize the medicines. And the College Committee was content, becauſe they would avoid every thing that might obſtruct this deſigned charity, that the Maſter and Wardens of the Apothecaries Company ſhould do it every year, and afterwards bring it to the Preſident and Cenſors of the College for their approbation, but even this was alſo oppoſed by the Apothecaries Company.

Thus it appearing, that the Apothecaries were reſolved to obſtruct this charity in every particular, the City Committee aſked the Phyſicians then preſent, whether their College would provide medicines for the poor at reaſonable rates, if the Apothecaries ſhould refuſe ſo to do? to which they anſwered, that they believed, rather than ſo charitable a deſign ſhould fail, the College would undertake it, and promiſed that they would propoſe it at their next publick College meeting.

Hereupon, the City Committee being fully ſatisfied with the Phyſicians anſwers to their propoſals, and with their ſincerity in tranſacting this whole affair with them, as alſo, that the methods offered by them, were the moſt proper for obtaining the end propoſed, drew up a report accordingly of the whole matter, which the Chairman, Sir *William Hedges*, offered to read at the next Common-Council; but ſome affair that required a quicker diſpatch intervening, it was put off for that time, and this happening at the latter end of the year, the Common-Council was not long after of courſe diſſolved, and another choſen, in which, ſeveral of the then Committee were left out, which probably was the cauſe that this report was never after called for.

The matter reſting thus, and the College being in expectation to hear from the City, they did nothing farther in it till December the twenty-ſecond, 1696, when a propoſition was made in the publick College, for a ſubſcription by the Fellows, Candidates, and Licentiates, for carrying on this charity; which being therein approved, about nine or ten only diſſenting, a ſubſcription to the effect following, was immediately made.

Whereas the ſeveral Orders of the College of Phyſicians, London, &c.

But this order being annexed to the preface to the Diſpenſary, it is unneceſſary to tranſcribe it here.

[*B*] *By thoſe who peruſed it.*] There is ſo great a difference between the harmony of Proſe and Verſe, and that turn of thought which makes a great Poet or an accompliſhed Orator, that it rarely happens the ſame genius inſpires both, at leaſt in an equal degree. Cicero, who was not heard by his contemporaries with greater applauſe than his works are now read with admiration, attempted Poetry without ſucceſs; and the ſame thing might be ſaid of others, if it were decent to name them after Tully. Yet it muſt be confeſſed, that ſome of our own Poets have written Proſe with equal ſkill and delicacy; as for inſtance, Dryden, Pope, and Garth. But it was the peculiar excellence of the latter, that not in his own language only, but in that of antient Rome, he delivered himſelf with equal eloquence and ſpirit. A ſhort inſtance of this, from the oration of which we are ſpeaking, ſhall ſuffice (1).

Plura dicerem ut artis Apollineæ laudibus nequaquam deeſſem, verum iſta omitto, ne multa hac occaſione non ita pridem audita recenſere videar. De medicorum itaque dignitate & titulis, qui certiores fieri velint Foeſium & alios conſulant. Sed in ea nos indicimus loca & tempora, quibus ipſa ægrotat medicina. Ars ſiquidem omnibus aliis utiliſſima, ſibi ſuiſque prodeſſe neſcit, dum plus Pſeudomedicis quam morbis laborat Anglia. Quot & quales ſint iſti, programmata parietibus affixa monent indies. Hic circumforaneus in plateis equo inſidens, dentes evellit; ille, domi certis horis fatuos expectat; Alter Matulus inſpicit, & ubi morbum non invenit, facit; Alter, turbâ in unum Funambuli ope convocatâ, venit, videt, in confertiſſimam catervam irruit, & horrendam edit ſtragem. Non autem telis vulnerat iſta Agyrtarum colluvies, ſed Theriacâ quædam magis pernicioſâ,

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(f) *Oratio laudatoria, in Ædibus Collegii Regalis Med. Lond.* 17° *Septembris, habita à* Sam. Garth. *Col. Reg. Med. Lond. Soc.* Lond. 1697. 4to. p. 16.

(1) *Oratio laudatoria,* &c.

Dryden, in May 1701, by a very ſtrange accident his burial came to depend on the piety of Dr Garth, who cauſed the body to be brought to the College of Phyſicians, propoſed and encouraged, by his generous example, a ſubſcription for defraying the expence of the funeral (*g*); and, after pronouncing over the corps, before it ſet out from Warwick-Lane, a ſuitable oration, attended the ſolemnity to Weſtminſter-Abbey, where at laſt the remains of that great Man were decently interred. For this moſt memorable act of tenderneſs and reſpect, thoſe who loved the perſon, or who honoured the parts of that excellent Poet, expreſſed much gratitude to Dr Garth. He was one of the moſt eminent members of a famous ſociety called the *Kit Kat Club*, which conſiſted of above thirty noblemen and gentlemen, diſtinguiſhed by their excellent parts, and their very zealous affection to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the Houſe of Hanover (*h*). October the third 1702, he was elected one of the Cenſors of the College of Phyſicians. In reſpect to his political principles, he was open and warm; and, which was ſtill more to be valued, he was ſteady and ſincere. In the time of Lord Godolphin's adminiſtration, no body was better received of his rank than Dr Garth, and no body ſeemed to have a higher opinion of the Miniſter's integrity and abilities, in which he had however the ſatisfaction of ſpeaking with the publick. But in 1710, when things began to wear another aſpect, and that noble perſon had an opportunity of diſtinguiſhing his own friends from thoſe of his power, it could not fail of giving him ſenſible pleaſure to find Dr Garth amongſt the firſt, and to receive the tribute of his MUSE on that ſituation of his affairs, which would have ſtruck a flatterer dumb (*i*). But there wanted not ſome to whom this remarkable teſtimony of gratitude was by no means pleaſing, and therefore the Doctor's lines were ſeverely criticized (*k*), in a certain paper engaged in the ſervice of the new Miniſtry; but inſtead of ſinking the credit either of the verſes or the Poet, they added to the reputation of both, by exciting the judicious Joſeph Addiſon, Eſq; to write in their defence (*l*) [*C*]. He was alſo in particular favour and eſteem with the Duke of Marlborough, whoſe diſgrace, and voluntary exile abroad, he lamented in a fine copy of verſes (*m*). In 1711, he wrote a dedication for an intended edition of Lucretius, addreſſed to his late Majeſty, then Elector of Brunſwick, which has been juſtly

(*g*) Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 59.

(*h*) Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 479.

(*i*) See this elegant Poem in note [*C*].

(*k*) Examiner, No. VI.

(*l*) Works, Vol. IV. p. 331.

(*m*) Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 402.

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cioſâ, non pyrio, ſed pulvere neſcio quo exotico certat, non globulis plumbeis, ſed pilulis æque lethalibus interficit. O genus hominum, ſi quod aliud ſceleratiſſimum! totam urbem invadunt iſti homicidæ, ſed an imperitiâ an impunitate majori incertum; pro pudore, audacia, pro ſagacitate inſcitia, pro integritate improbitas hodie, ut olim viget. Huic peſti ut occurreret Henricus octavus regum auguſtiſſimus, & ſanitati ſubditorum religiosè conſulens, collegium hoc quamplurimis immunitatibus ad rem medicam moderandum ſtabiliendamque donavit. Henrici ad exemplum Edvardus ſextus, Maria & Eliſabetha reginæ, Jacobi, Caroliqui duo, nullum officii genus ad emolumentum noſtrum ſpectans, omiſere: multa inſuper Mariæ & Arabellæ Stuartæ ex regio ſanguine oriundis debemus; Lumleio Baroni, ſummæ, eo tempore, authoritatis etiam multa; nec minora marchioni Dorceſtriæ, Collegii hujuſce regalis ſocio, viro etiam animi dotibus quam natalium ſplendore clariori. Neque nos fugiant ſocietatis noſtræ & alia ornamenta, Linacrus nemque Atkinſius, Readus, Meverellus, Foxus, Gulſtonus, Pagettus, Bidgodſius, Pamannus, precipuè vero Harvæus & Hamæus: ingenti virtute & doctrinâ fuere ambo, ſed indole paulum diverſâ: Harvæus benignitate clarus habebatur, morum ſimplicitate Hamæus: ille humanitate feſtivâ probatus fuit, huic auguſta gravitas dignitatem dedit; Alterius lenitas, alterius ſtabilitas celebratur.

Which has been tranſlated thus,

‘More I might ſay, as there is no want of materials, in commending Apollo's art; but I omit them, that I might not ſeem on this occaſion to affect delivering ſuch things as were not ſufficiently known before. Of the dignity and titles of Phyſicians, let thoſe who would know more conſult Foeſius and others. But at preſent, let us ſpeak of places and times in which medicine itſelf is ſick. This art, of all others the moſt uſeful, knows not how to help itſelf; while rather from mock Phyſicians, than diſeaſes, this country ſuffers. What, and what ſort of people they are, the rubrick'd walls at the corner of every ſtreet will inform you. Here an Operator, mounted on his pyed horſe, draws teeth in the ſtreets; another is ſo obliging, as to be at home at certain hours to receive fools; another pores in urinals, and if he finds no diſeaſe there, he makes it; another ſtill, draws together a crowd by the help of rope-dancing; he comes, he ſees, then ruſhes forth upon the multitude, and murders without mercy. Yet not with weapons do theſe ſwarms of mountebanks inflict wounds, but with ſome noſtrum more dangerous than any weapon; not with plain gun-powder, but with ſome ſtrange foreign duſt they charge their packets; not with leaden bullets, but with pills as mortal, they do their buſineſs. O race of men, of all others the moſt wicked! thro' the whole city theſe homicides ſpread their terror, whether with more ignorance or impunity it is hard to determine; inſtead of modeſty, impudence; inſtead of ſagacity, ſtupidity; inſtead of integrity, wickedneſs; now, as of old, flouriſhes. To check this plague, Henry VIII, a moſt auguſt Prince, and religiouſly tender of the health of his ſubjects, eſtabliſhed this College, and fortified it with many privileges, that it might regulate and preſerve the art of Phyſick. Moved by the example of Henry, Edward VI, the Queens Mary and Elizabeth, James, and both the Charles's, omitted nothing that might prove beneficial to the Faculty; much alſo we owe to Mary and Arabella Stuart, whoſe veins were enriched with royal blood; much to the Lord Lumley, in his time a perſon of great authority; nor leſs to the Marquis of Dorcheſter, himſelf a Fellow of this Royal College, and a man ſtill more diſtinguiſhed by the virtues of his mind than by the ſplendour of his birth. Neither are we to ſeek for many other ornaments in this our Society, ſuch as Linacre, Atkins, Read, Meverel, Fox, Gulſton, Pagett, Bidgod, Paman; but above all, Harvey and Hames, both of great virtue and learning, but of different diſpoſitions, Harvey diſtinguiſhed by benignity of mind, Hames by ſimplicity of manners; the former was endeared to all by his chearful humanity, the latter attracted reſpect by a becoming gravity; the one juſtly celebrated for his lenity, as the other for his firmneſs.’

The whole of the oration is equally beautiful, but more eſpecially the warm, pathetick, and ſublime panegyrick on King William, too copious to be tranſcribed, and too fine to be curtailed in an abſtract; in a word, tho' all the orations ſpoken before this learned body do honour to the learning of this nation, yet none, in point of ſentiment or of eloquence, ever exceeded this of which we are ſpeaking.

[*C*] *To write in their defence.*] In order to judge both of the Criticiſm and of the Defence, it will be requiſite firſt of all to read the Poem to which they refer, juſtly admired as one of the fineſt pieces of Latin written in our times. On the acceſſion of that Prince to the throne, he had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him by his Majeſty, with the Duke of Marlborough's ſword (*n*). He was likewiſe made Phyſician in Ordinary to the King, and Phyſician-General to the army. As his known ſervices procured him a great intereſt with thoſe in power, ſo his humanity and good nature inclined him to make uſe of that intereſt rather for the ſupport and encouragement of men of letters who had merit, than for the advancement of his own fortune, his views in that reſpect having been always very moderate. He lived with the Great in that degree of eſteem and independency, and with all that freedom which became a man poſſeſſed of ſuperior genius, and the

refer, more eſpecially as it is very ſhort, and as it may be very well ſuppoſed written ſuddenly, and at leaſt as much from the author's propenſity to Patriotiſm as Poetry.

To the Earl of Godolphin.

Whilſt weeping Europe *bends beneath her Ills,*
And where the ſword *deſtroys not* famine *kills.*
Our iſle *enjoys by your ſucceſsful care,*
The pomp *of* peace *amidſt the* woes *of* war.
So much the publick *to your* prudence *owes,*
You think no labours *long for our* repoſe.
Such conduct, *ſuch* integrity *are ſhown,*
There are no *coffers* empty *but your* own.
From mean dependence, merit *you* retrieve ;
Unaſk'd you offer, *and unſeen you* give.
Your favour, like the Nile, *increaſe beſtows* ;
And yet conceals the ſource *from whence it* flows.
So poiz'd your paſſions *are, we find no* frown
If funds *oppreſt not, and if* commerce *run,*
Taxes *diminiſh'd,* liberty *entire,*
Theſe are the grants *your ſervices* require.
Thus far the ſtate-machine *wants no* repair,
But moves in matchleſs order *by your* care.
Free from confuſion, ſettled and ſerene ;
And, like the univerſe, *by ſprings* unſeen.
But now ſome ſtar, ſiniſter *to our* prayers ;
Contrives new ſchemes, *and calls you from* affairs.
No anguiſh *in your* looks, *nor* cares *appear,*
But how to teach *th' unpractis'd* crew *to ſteer.*
Thus like ſome victim *no conſtraint you need,*
To expiate their offence *by whom you* bleed.
Ingratitude'*s a* weed *in ev'ry clime* ;
It thrives too faſt *at firſt, but* fades *in* time.
The God *of* day, *and your own* lot'*s the ſame* ;
The vapours *you have* rais'd, obſcure *your* flame.
But tho' you ſuffer, *and a while* retreat ;
Your globe *of* light *looks larger as you* ſet.

The criticiſm upon theſe verſes was publiſhed in a letter to the Examiner, for Thurſday September the ſeventh 1710 ; and the author of it obſerves (2), that there does not appear either Poetry, Grammar, or deſign, in the compoſition of this poem. ‘ The whole, ſays he, ſeems to be, as the ſixth edition of the *Diſpenſary* happily expreſſes it, *a ſtrong unlabour'd impotence of thought*. If we examine it by the new teſt of good Poetry, which the Doctor himſelf has eſtabliſhed *pleaſing at firſt bluſh*, has this piece the leaſt title even to that ? Or if we compare it with the only pattern, as he thinks, of juſt writing in this kind, Ovid, is there any thing in *De Triſtibus* ſo wild, ſo childiſh, ſo flat ? What can the ingenious Doctor mean ? Or at what time could he write theſe verſes ? Half of the poem is a panegyric on a Lord Treaſurer *in being*, and the reſt a compliment of condolance to an Earl that has *loſt* the *ſtaff*. In thirty lines his patron is a *river*, the *primum mobile*, a *pilot*, a *victim*, the *ſun*, *any thing*, and *nothing*. He beſtows increaſe, conceals his ſource, makes the machine move ; teaches to ſteer, expiates our offences, raiſes vapours, and looks larger as he ſets. Nor is the choice of his expreſſions leſs exquiſite than that of his ſimilies. For commerce to run, paſſions to be poiz'd, merit to be retrieved from dependance, and a machine to be ſerene, is perfectly new. The Doctor has a happy talent at invention, and has had the glory of enriching our language by his phraſes, as much as he has improved medicine by his bills.

But to be more particular :

And where th' ſword *deſtroys not* (ſays our Panegyriſt)
famine *kills.*

‘ I could wiſh the verſe would have allowed of the word *plague* or *peſtilence*, for I ſuppoſe that is what the author means. I have heard of the *plague* at Dantzick, but what part of Europe *famine* rages in I know not. Why won't *phyſick* ſtand here ? It is better ſenſe, runs as well. What the *pomp* of *peace* is, I as little comprehend as how it can be enjoyed amidſt the *woes* of *war*.

Such conduct, *ſuch* integrity *are ſhown* ;
There are no *coffers* empty *but your* own.

‘ Since there is little *poetry* in this couplet, I wiſh there were more *truth* in it. *Some* coffers I have heard were *empty* three weeks ago, and if they are not ſo *ſtill*, the nation is more obliged to the Doctor's *unpractiſed crew* than to the *experienced pilot*.

Unaſk'd you offer.

‘ A great diſcovery ! I always thought, till now, he that was *aſked* might be ſaid to *give*, but not properly to *offer*. The malicious part of the world, will, I doubt, be apt to obſerve, that this ſentence, as it ſtands here, is as true in fact as it is exact in language.

Your favour, like the Nile, *increaſe beſtows.*

‘ If the beauty of the ſimile is to be judged of by the frequent uſe which the Poets of all ages have made of it, ſcarce any can come in competition with the Doctor's river. The *Nile* on theſe occaſions, is as trite as the ſtories of *Icarus* and *Phaeton*. I remember I uſed it when I was about twelve in a *new-year's-gift* to my uncle, and was heartily aſhamed of it a *year* after. A ſchool-boy can no more miſs the *Nile*, than a *French* author when he dedicates to the *Grand Monarch* can live without the *ſun*, that other ſimile in which the Doctor rejoices.

——— *ſome* ſtar, ſiniſter *to our* prayers,
Contrives new ſchemes.

‘ *Alii legunt*, five ſtars which makes this paſſage intelligible. I have often heard Aſtrologers talk of a ſort of influence that ſtars have upon human affairs, but I know of no ſtars but thoſe in Mr *Bickerſtaff*'s conſtellation that ever contrived ſchemes, and thoſe too were erected under no very *benign aſpect*.

‘ My Lord's care, he tells us, is to teach the *unpractiſed crew* to *ſteer*. By crew we are to underſtand the Lords of the Treaſury. A very civil expreſſion ! But as to the ſenſe of it, what affinity is there between crew and ſteering. Is *ſteering* the buſineſs of the *whole* ſhip's *crew ?* This is a true image of the *whig* ſcheme, where every man is his *own pilot*.

‘ If we read the next two lines, we ſhall find theſe people have wounded him ; and yet, like the beſt natured victim imaginable, he needs no conſtraint to

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(*n*) Chronological Diary for A. D. 1714, 1715. p. 12.

(2) Examiner, No. VI.

the moſt valuable talents. He was not ſo haughty as to be above being obliged, and he had a fund of gratitude and good ſenſe, which induced as well as enabled him to oblige them in return.

‘ expiate their offences. All this is what the *French* call *gallimatias*, and what the Engliſh critics term *nonſenſe*. But what follows? *For whom you bleed.* Bleed? What is the Devil in the Doctor, to mention ſuch a word, and give ſo unlucky a *hint?* I hoped that this point had been ſo well guarded, that here could be no farther need of an *act* of *ſecurity*.

The God *of* day, *and your own* lot*'s the* ſame.

‘ A hundred pound for a genitive caſe, as old *Buſby* uſed to cry out upon ſuch an occaſion.

‘ But to go on from Grammar to decency. Of this happineſs of *Great Britain*, is any part aſcribed to the Queen? To this machine, which moves ſo like the univerſe, does the royal hand give any turn? Methinks he might at leaſt allow her Majeſty as much as his friends did in the coronation medal, *Vicem gerit illa*. But, as the Poet obſerves,

Ingratitude*'s a* weed *of ev'ry clime.*

‘ He will give me leave, in my own turn, to obſerve, that in Don *Sebaſtian* it is

Ingratitude*'s the* growth *of ev'ry* clime.

‘ What occaſion was there of *altering* a verſe he thought fit to *ſteal?* This is being a mere *Banditti* in Poetry, to *rob* and *murder* too. But who is to be charged with this ingratitude? The whole body of the *nation* did indeed wiſh the Treaſurer *out*, but it was her Majeſty only that could *diſplace* him. Such are the compliments which the *Crown* receives from this *anti-monarchical* academy. Excellent *Poets*! dutiful *Subjects*!

‘ I could give you many more obſervations upon the beauties of this ſublime panegyric, if I had my Longinus by me. It has been corrected, I find, twice or thrice already; and if the author corrects it once more, I am ſo well acquainted with his lucky performances that way, that I do not doubt but I ſhall be tempted to write to you again upon the ſame ſubject. He will not be like himſelf, if he does not ſhift his patron as well as his phraſes; and it will not ſurprize me at all, if the next edition the poem ſhould come out inſcribed to the late Treaſurer of Ireland.’

In the Medley, or Whig Examiner, publiſhed September 14, 1710 (3), this criticiſm was roundly replied to, with all the wit and ſpirit, and with all the critical ſkill and judgment, for which it's excellent author was ſo famous. ‘ The deſign, ſays he, of this work, is to cenſure the writings of others, and to give all perſons a re-hearing, who have ſuffered under any unjuſt ſentence of the Examiner. As that author has hitherto proceeded, his paper would have been more properly intituled the Executioner, at leaſt his examination is like that which is made by the rack and wheel. I have always admired a critic that has diſcovered the beauties of an author, and never knew one who made it his buſineſs to laſh the faults of other writers, that was not guilty of greater himſelf; as the hangman is generally a worſe malefactor, than the criminal that ſuffers by his hand. To prove what I ſay, there needs no more than to read the annotations which this author has made upon Dr Garth's poem, with the preface in the front, and a riddle at the end of them.’

Mr Addiſon concludes that paper with theſe words. ‘ Before I take my farewel of this ſubject, I ſhall adviſe the author for the future to ſpeak his meaning more plainly. I allow he has a happy talent at doggrel, when he writes upon a known ſubject; where he tells us in plain intelligible language, how Syriſca's ladle was loſt in one hole, and Han's Carvel's finger in another; he is very jocular and diverting; but when he wraps a lampoon in a riddle, he muſt conſider that his jeſt is loſt to every one but the few merry wags that are in the ſecret. This is making darker ſatires than ever Perſius did. After this curſory view of the Examiner's performance, let us conſider his remarks upon the Doctor's. This general piece of raillery, which he paſſes upon the Doctor's conſidering the Treaſurer in ſeveral different views, is, that which might fall upon any poem in *Waller*, or any other writer who has diverſity of thoughts and alluſions; and, tho' it may appear a pleaſant ridicule to an ignorant reader, is wholly groundleſs and unjuſt. I do likewiſe differ from the Examiner upon the phraſes of *paſſions being poiſed*, and of *the retrieving merit from dependence*, which are beautiful and poetical.

‘ It is the ſame cavilling ſpirit that finds fault with that expreſſion of the *pomp of peace*, *among woes of war*, as well as of offering unaſk'd. As for the *Nile*, how *Icarus* and *Phaeton* came to be joined with it, I cannot conceive! I muſt confeſs they have been formerly uſed to repreſent the fate of raſh ambitious men, and I cannot imagine why the author ſhould deprive us of thoſe particular ſimilies for the future. The next criticiſm upon the *ſtars*, ſeems introduced for no other reaſon but to mention Mr *Bickerſtaff*, whom the author every where endeavours to imitate and abuſe. But I ſhall refer the *Examiner*, to the *Frog*'s advice to her little one that was blowing itſelf up to the ſize of an *ox*.

——— *Non ſi te ruperis, inquit,*
Par eris ———

‘ The alluſion to a *victim* may be a gallimatia in French politics, but is an apt and noble alluſion to a true Engliſh ſpirit. And as for the Examiner's remarks on the word *bleed*, tho' a man would laugh to ſee impotent malice ſo little able to contain itſelf, one cannot but obſerve in them the temper of the *Banditti* whom he mentions in the ſame paper, who always *murder* where they *rob*. The laſt obſervation, is upon the line *ingratitude's a weed of ev'ry clime.* Here he is very much out of humour with the Doctor, for having called that the weed which Dryden only terms the growth of ev'ry clime. But, for God's ſake, why ſo much *tenderneſs* for *ingratitude?* But I ſhall ſay no more. We are now in an age wherein impudent aſſertions muſt paſs for arguments, and I do not queſtion but the ſame who has endeavoured here to prove that he who wrote the *Diſpenſary* was *no* Poet, will very ſuddenly undertake to ſhew that he who gained the battle of *Blenheim* was *no* General.’

It is not impoſſible that our author himſelf might have in view this criticiſm, and ſome other compliments of the like nature, when, at the cloſe of his preface to the tranſlation of Ovid's Metamorphoſes, he takes occaſion to deliver himſelf in a manner equally ſuitable to the caſe of that Roman Poet, and of his own. His words will bear reading, even after thoſe of Mr Addiſon's.

With all thoſe wond'rous talents, he (Ovid) was libell'd in his life-time, by the very men who had no other excellencies but as they were his imitators. Where he was allowed to have ſentiments ſuperior to all others, they charged him with theft; but how did he ſteal, no otherwiſe than like thoſe that ſteal beggars children, only to cloath them the better.

'Tis to be lamented that gentlemen ſtill continue this unfair behaviour, and treat one another every day with moſt injurious libels. The Muſes ſhould be ladies of a chaſte and fair behaviour; when they are otherwiſe they are Furies. 'Tis certain that Parnaſſus is at beſt but a barren mountain, and it's inhabitants contrive to make it more ſo, by their unneighbourly deportment; the authors are the only corporation that endeavour at the ruin of their own ſociety. Every day may convince them, how much a rich fool is reſpected above a poor wit. The only talents in eſteem at preſent, are thoſe of Exchange-Alley; one tally is worth a grove of Bays; and 'tis of much more conſequence to be well read in the tables of intereſt, and the riſe and fall of ſtocks, than in the revolutions of empires.

(3) No. I. Or ſee Addiſon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 331.

return. His poem intituled CLAREMONT (o), addreſſed to the preſent Duke of Newcaſtle, will ſurvive the noble ſtructure it celebrates, and remain a perpetual monument of it's author's learning, taſte, and great capacity as a Poet, ſince in that ſhort work there are innumerable beauties, and a vaſt variety of ſentiments eaſily and happily interwoven, the moſt lively ſtrokes of ſatire being intermixed with the moſt courtly panegyric, at the ſame time that there appears the true ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, which diſtinguiſhes the works of one born a Poet, from thoſe of a witty or learned man, that has arrived at no higher art than that of making verſes. His knowledge in Philoſophy, his correct taſte in Criticiſm, and his thorough acquaintance with Claſſical Literature, appear with all the advantages that can be derived from an exact but concealed method, an accurate tho' flowing ſtile, and a language pure, natural, and full of vivacity, in the preface that he prefixed to a tranſlation of Ovid's Metamorphoſes, which would have been ſufficient to have raiſed him an immortal reputation, if it had been the only product of his pen [D]. It has been attributed by ſome

[D] *The only product of his pen.*] It is generally allowed by the critics, that Ovid is the moſt learned of the Latin Poets, perhaps we might be juſtified in ſaying, that he is not exceeded in this by any of the authors in his own language, either in verſe or proſe ; but with all this learning, he has a moſt lively imagination, and writes with wonderful harmony and perſpicuity. Theſe ſingular and ſurpriſing excellencies joined perhaps to his tender inclinations, and that inimitable manner, in which he has deſcribed the ſofteſt paſſions, recommended him peculiarly to our author's ſtudy and regard. There was a great reſemblance in their humours, their manners, and their poetry, and perhaps, it was from a conſciouſneſs of this, that Sir Samuel intereſted himſelf ſo much on behalf of this Roman bard. He dedicated to the Lady Louiſa Lenos, afterwards Counteſs of Berkeley, an Engliſh tranſlation of his epiſtles ; he addreſſed likewiſe, his Art of Love, to the Earl of Burlington ; and now, after tranſlating a part, he prefixed a preface to the whole of his Metamorphoſes.

A preface, which may be conſidered as a model in it's kind, ſince it ſerves not only to give an idea of the work which follows it, and points out it's principal beauties ; but ſhews farther, the uſes of his poem, and how it may be read to moſt profit. If we regard it in this light, his preface is in reality, a ſhort but excellent commentary, which enables the reader to enter into the ſpirit and genius of his author, to underſtand his meaning, to apprehend the moral of his fables, and to feel the force of thoſe fine reflections which are every where ſcattered through his writings. In the very opening of that ſhort piece, he vindicates his author and himſelf, from an imputation that has fallen but too commonly upon Phyſicians and Poets. He obſerves, that Ovid had a diſcerning notion of the gravitation of bodies, and that there can be no arbitrary principle in mere matter ; it's parts cannot move, unleſs they be moved, and cannot do otherwiſe when preſt on by other parts in motion ; and therefore, ſays he, it is evident from the following lines, that Ovid ſtrictly adhered to the opinion of the moſt diſcerning Philoſophers, who taught, that all things were formed by a wiſe and intelligent mind :

> Juſſit, *& extendi campos ſubſidere valles,*
> *Fronde tegi ſylvas,*

It may be, he carries it a little too far, in ſaying, that *the* Fiat *of the* Hebrew law-giver, *is not more ſublime than the* Juſſit *of the* Latin Poet. After explaining his philoſophy with much learning and judgment, he comes next to conſider him in his poetical capacity ; and to ſhew how far he has been juſtly cenſured by the critics, and how much he has been frequently injured for want of being underſtood. He ſuggeſts, and he brings the author's own authority from another of his works to prove it, that this great performance never received his laſt hand, but went into the world, even in his own opinion, in ſome meaſure unfiniſhed ; but as he very juſtly remarks, the variety with which he feaſts his reader, ought certainly to compenſate for ſome trivial inaccuracies. ‘ Here, ſays he, are the hurries of ‘ battles for the heroe ; tender emotions of ſoul for the ‘ lover ; a ſearch and penetration into nature, for the ‘ Philoſopher ; fluency of numbers, and moſt expreſ‘ ſive figures for the Poet ; morals for the ſerious, and ‘ pleaſantries for admirers of points of wit.’ Where an author labours to pleaſe all, all ought in juſtice, to come with an inclination to be pleaſed. He compares this writer with Virgil, and though he confeſſes the compariſon very unequal, yet he ſhews, that tho' Ovid be moſtly, he is not always inferior. In reference to many ſubjects, his education and breeding enabled him to enter deeply into them, and with theſe advantages, his genius gave him a power of treating them with ſuch ſtrength, and yet with ſuch facility, as perhaps leave him without any rival.

Ovid deſerves as much praiſe for ſaying a great deal in a little, as cenſure for ſaying a little in a great deal. None of the claſſic Poets had the talent of expreſſing himſelf with more force and perſpicuity. Sir Samuel gives ſome inſtances of this, and goes on. Ovid never excels himſelf ſo much, as when he takes occaſion to touch upon the paſſion of love, all hearts are in a manner ſenſible of the ſame emotions, and like inſtruments tuned uniſons, if a ſtring of any of them be ſtruck, the reſt by conſent vibrate. The fable of Byblis, ſhews how touchingly the Poet argues in love affairs, as well as thoſe of Medea and Scylla.

The two laſt are left by their heroes, and their reflections are very natural and affecting. Ovid ſeemed here to have had Virgil's paſſion of Dido in his eye, but with this difference, the one had converſed much with ladies, and knew they loved to talk a great deal ; the other conſidered no leſs, what was natural for them to ſay, than what became them to ſay. Virgil has through the whole management of this rencounter, diſcovered a moſt finiſhed judgment. Æneas, like other men, likes for convenience, and leaves for greater. Dido, like other ladies, reſents the neglect, enumerates the obligations the lover is under ; upbraids him with ingratitude ; threatens him with revenge ; then by and by ſubmits, begs for compaſſion, and has recourſe to tears. Nor does the genius of Ovid more exert on the ſubject of love, than on all others.

In the contention of Ajax, Ulyſſes's elocution is moſt nervous and perſuading. Where he endeavours to diſſuade mankind (Book xv. of his Metamorphoſes) from indulging carnivorous appetites in his Pythagorean Philoſophy, how emphatical is his reaſoning. Through the whole texture of this work, Ovid diſcovers the higheſt humanity, and a moſt exceeding good nature. The virtuous in diſtreſs are always his concern, and his wit contrives to give them an immortality with himſelf. He ſeems to have taken the moſt pains in the firſt and ſecond book of the Metamorphoſes, though the thirteenth abounds with ſentiments moſt moving, and with calamitous ſentiments introduced with great art. The animated thoughts, and lively images of this poem are numerous. None ever painted more to the life than our author, though ſeveral groteſque figures are now and then ſeen in the ſame group. The moſt plentiful ſeaſon that gives birth to the fineſt flowers, produces alſo the rankeſt weeds. Ovid has ſhewn in one line the brighteſt fancy, ſometimes in the next, the pooreſt affectation.

Ovid was much too fond of trivial witticiſms, which are more to be wondred at, becauſe they were not the faſhion of that age, as puns and quibbles are of this. Virgil, as I remember, is not found trifling in this manner above once or twice. With regard to Ovid's diction, he obſerves, that a great many of his lines end with monaſyllables, and more indeed than ſeems conſiſtent

(o) Printed in the ſixth Vol. of Dryden's Miſcellanies.

ſome to a certain indolence of temper, but with more juſtice certainly may be referred to his prudent and ſound judgment, that he did not write more, but choſe rather to reſt his reputation upon a ſmall number of fine things, than to riſque it by undertaking many. Yet tho' all his works would ſcarce make a moderate volume, it may be truly affirmed that we find in them a greater variety of ſentiments than in almoſt any writer of his time *(p)*. His epigrams for the glaſſes of the Kit Kat Club, are bold, lively, and free, abounding with that vivacity which conſtitutes extempore wit; whereas the DISPENSARY and CLAREMONT, ſhew him to have poſſeſſed a cool and regular judgment, which enabled him to make a proper uſe of his warm imagination. His poems to the Earl of Godolphin, and the Duke of Marlborough, are ſerious and ſententious; and yet his epilogue to Cato, and many other lighter pieces, ſhew that he was a great maſter of humour. One circumſtance might very probably contribute to the real value of his works, as well as to his univerſal reputation; and that circumſtance was this, that his hand and his heart went always together. He became very early acquainted with ſome of the wiſeſt and wittieſt, as well as ſome of the ableſt and greateſt, men in the kingdom, to whom he ſteadily adhered in all their fortunes; which, as it did him deſervedly great honour, ſo it turned, in the end, as it uſually does, not a little to his advantage. But in juſtice to his memory it muſt be obſerved, that tho' he was zealous for and conſtant to his party, yet he was very far from having that narrow and malignant ſpirit which induces men to hate thoſe who differ from them in ſentiments. He was indeed, and his writings ſpeak it, as free from this pernicious quality as any man that ever lived; and he felt the juſt conſequences of it, ſince he was beloved, eſteemed, and admired, by the beſt men of all parties [*E*]. The truth is, that he had as many amiable

(p) His Writings have been lately publiſhed together by Meſſ. Tonſon, &c.

ſiſtent with the majeſty of heroic verſe. When lines, (continues he) are deſigned to be *ſermoni propriores*, this liberty may be allowable, but not ſo, when the the ſubject requires more ſonorous numbers. Virgil ſeems to endeavour to keep up his verſification to an harmonious dignity; and therefore, when fit words do not offer, with ſome eaſe he'll rather break off in an hemiſtich, than that the line ſhould be lazy and languid. He well knew how eſſential it was in poetry to flatter the ear, and at the ſame time was ſenſible, that this organ grows tired by a conſtant attention to the ſame harmony, and therefore he endeavoured now and then to relieve it by a cadence of pauſes, and a variation of meaſures.

Thoſe that are moſt converſant in claſſic poetry, muſt be ſenſible that Virgil has been much more ſollicitous than Ovid, to keep up his lines to an eaſy and muſical flow; but though the criticks charge the latter with breaking through proſody and grammar, and allowing himſelf too often the licence of græciſms. I take this cenſure to be only an arrogant pedantry in the grammarians, and groundleſs in itſelf; but though it were true, I dare be confident, it is full as juſt upon Virgil. Certainly no-body can imagine, but that theſe two celebrated authors underſtood their own tongue better than the ſcrupulous grammarians of after-ages, who are too dogmatical and ſelf-ſufficient, when they preſume to cenſure either of them for not attending ſtrictly enough to Syntax and the meaſure of verſe. The Latin tongue is a dead language, and none can decide with confidence on the harmony or diſſonance or the numbers of theſe lines, unleſs they were thoroughly acquainted with their pauſes and cadence. They may indeed pronounce with much more aſſurance on their diction, and diſtinguiſh where they have been negligent, and where not finiſhed. There are certainly many lines in Ovid, where he has been downright lazy, and where he might have avoided the appearance of being obviouſly ſo, by a very little application.

Ovid's allegories are either phyſical or natural, moral or hiſtorical. Of the firſt kind, is the fable of Apollo and Python: in the explanation of this, all the Mythologiſts agree, exhalations and miſts, being the conſtant effects of inundations are here diſſipated by the rays of the Sun. Of the ſecond kind, are Acteon torn to peices by his own pack of dogs; and Eriſichton ſtarved by the diſeaſe of hunger. Theſe two allegories ſeem to ſignify, that extravagance and luxury end in want. Of the third, is the ſtory of the rape of Europa. Hiſtory ſays, ſhe was daughter to Agenor, and carried by the Candians in a gally, bearing a bull in the ſtern, in order to be married to one of their Kings, named Jupiter. As to Ovid's being cenſured for being too free with the characters of his Gods, it muſt be conſidered, that what appeared an abſurdity in our Poet, is not ſo much his own fault, as that of the times before him.

The character of the Gods in the old heroick age, repreſented them unjuſt in their actions, mutable in their deſigns, partial in their favours, ignorant of events, ſcurrillous in their language; ſome of the ſuperior hierarchy, treating one another with injurious brutalities, and are often guilty of ſuch indecencies and miſbehaviour, as the loweſt of mortals would bluſh to own. The commentators may endeavour to hide ſome abſurdities in the Iliad, under the veil of allegories; but the reader, that conſiders the whole texture of that poem, will find that the author's meaning, and their interpretations, are often as unlike, as the imaginary heroes of his time are to the real ones of ours. Ovid was ſo far from paying a blind difference to the venerable name of his Greecian predeceſſor, in the character of his Gods; that when Jupiter puniſhes Andromeda for the crimes of her mother, he calls him *injuſtus Ammon* (Metamorph. Book iv.) and takes commonly an honourable care of the decorum of the Godhead, when their actions are conſiſtent with the divinity of their character. His allegories include ſome religious or inſtructive moral, wrapt up in a familiar perſpicuity, and the reader cannot fail of obſerving how many leſſons of morality Ovid has given us in the courſe of his fables. To conclude, the poem of the Metamorpoſes has been the ample magazine which has furniſhed the greateſt Poets of the following ages with fancy and alluſions; and the moſt celebrated Painters with ſubjects and deſigns.

[*E*] *By the beſt men of all parties.*] We find in the Diſpenſary, and indeed in all the writings of Sir Samuel Garth, a ſtrict regard paid to merit, and due praiſes given to men of very different parties; the following lines, to avoid numerous quotations, will ſufficiently prove the truth of what is here advanced.

In ſenſe *and* numbers *if you would excel,*
Read Wycherley, *conſider* Dryden *well:*
In one, *what* vig'rous turns *of* fancy *ſhine!*
In th' other, ſyrens *warble in each line.*
If Dorſet's *ſprightly muſe but touch the lyre,*
The Smiles *and* Graces *melt in ſoft deſire,*
And little loves confeſs their amorous fire.
The gentle Iſis *claims the ivy crown,*
To bind th' immortal brows of Addiſon:
As tuneful Congreve *tries his rural ſtrains,*
Pan *quits the woods, the liſt'ning* fawns *the plains,*
And Philomel *in notes like his complains.*
And Britain *ſince* (*) Pauſanias *was writ,*
Knows Spartan *virtue, and* Athenian *wit.*
When Stepney *paints the god-like acts of Kings;*
Or what Apollo *dictates,* Prior *ſings,*
The banks of Rhine, *a pleas'd attention ſhow,*
And ſilver Sequana *forgets to flow.*

(*) Written by a Nobleman; brought on the Stage by Capt. Southerne, who dedicated to Anthony Henly, Eſq;

We

amiable qualities to recommend him, as could be well found in one perſon. He was a general ſcholar, without the leaſt tincture of affectation or taint of pedantry. Humane in his profeſſion, and not more ready to viſit than to relieve the neceſſitous. His converſation was free and ſprightly, his wit flowing and agreeable, and always tempered by affability and good nature. He was cenſured for his love of pleaſure, and under ſome ſuſpicion in reſpect to his religious principles (*q*); with reſpect to the former, it would be eaſier to excuſe than to defend him; and in regard to the latter, ſome who knew him intimately have thought that he was injured; and indeed it is not eaſy to conceive, how a man bleſſed with ſo much good ſenſe, and ſo ſolid an underſtanding, ſhould err in matters of ſuch high importance, and which ſo nearly concerned his own peace. He died after a ſhort illneſs, which he bore with great patience, January the eighteenth 1718-19, and was buried on the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month, in the church of Harrow on the Hill, in the county of Middleſex, in a vault which he had cauſed to be built for him and his family (*r*), leaving behind him an only daughter, married to the Honourable Colonel William Boyle, a younger ſon of the Honourable Colonel Henry Boyle, who was brother to the late, and uncle to the preſent, Earl of Burlington (*s*).

(*q*) Reimanni, Hiſtor. univerſalis Atheiſmi, p. 463.

(*r*) Chronological Diary, A.D. 1719, p. 5.

(*s*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 259.

We have already ſeen how warmly Mr Addiſon defended our author's writings, when they were attacked merely upon a principal of party; and it would be no difficult thing to cite, many compliments to him, or on his writings, from ſome of the greateſt men his age produced; but what follows, will abundantly anſwer our intention.

Lord LANDSDOWNE, on Dr GARTH's illneſs.

MACHAON ſick! in every face we find,
His danger is the danger of mankind;
Whoſe art protecting, nature could expire,
But by a deluge, or the general fire.
More lives he ſaves, than periſh in our wars,
And faſter than a plague deſtroys repairs;
The bold carowſer and adventurous dame,
Nor fear the fever, nor refuſe the flame,
Safe in his ſkill from all reſtraint ſet free,
But conſcious ſhame, remorſe, or piety.
Sire of all arts, defend thy darling ſon,
Reſtore the *man*, whoſe life's ſo much *our own*,
On whom like *Adam* the whole worlds reclin'd,
And by preſerving GARTH, preſerve *mankind*.

The celebrated Mr Pope, in a letter to a friend, gives the following account of our author's death, his ſenſe of it, and his own opinion of the character he deſerved. 'The beſt natured of men, ſays he, Sir Samuel Garth, 'has left me in the trueſt concern for his loſs. His death 'was very heroical, and yet unaffected enough to have 'made a Saint or a Philoſopher famous. But ill tongues, 'and worſe hearts, have branded even his laſt moments, 'as wrongfully as they did his life with irreligion. You 'muſt have heard many tales on this ſubject; but if 'ever there was a good Chriſtian, without knowing 'himſelf to be ſo, it was Dr Garth (4).' This letter is dated Dec. 12, 1718; and his free and candid ſentiments of this great man, as they are infinitely better, ſo will they probably laſt much longer, than any monumental hiſtory. E

(4) Pope's Works, Vol. VI. p. 99.

GASCOIGNE (Sir WILLIAM), Knight, Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, in the reign of King Henry IV. was nobly deſcended, of a very antient and numerous family, which has been ſeated ſome hundred years in Yorkſhire; where, and in other parts, it appears to have flouriſhed in very honourable diſtinction, at leaſt from the Conqueſt. As the name is derived from Gaſcony in France; as it appears in the roll of *Battle-Abbey* (*a*), among thoſe who entred this Kingdom with William the Norman, and as one of his anceſtors, brought hither by King Henry II, was, in right of his wife Eleanor, Duke of Gaſcoin (*b*), it has been thought that the family was not fixed here, more early than in the former, as it might not be more illuſtriouſly ſo, before the latter of thoſe Kings; yet it's firſt entrance may not have been with the earlieſt of theſe, but it might be more antiently ſettled here, than in either of thoſe reigns; as many, out of families long inhabiting this iſland, who, wearied with Harold's Uſurpation, went over to join the Conqueror, and being entred in that roll, after their return, appear as then firſt entring the nation with him (*c*); and as other eminent progenitors have been traced thereof, up to the Saxon times, in ſome of the elaborate pedigrees, which have been preſerved therein; or who, at leaſt, were then, at the Conqueſt, of Saxon names and lineage; tho' the name of Gaſcoigne appears not annexed to them, becauſe ſurnames were not cuſtomary, or hereditary among us, till after the entrance of the ſaid William the Norman (*d*), and then it was common for local names, eſpecially of French derivation, to ſwallow up thoſe that were perſonal. The family thus deſcending through, or engrafted with, different nations, may help us to account for the different ways of ſpelling it's name. For tho' we have here, in the head or title of this article, preferred that orthography, or ſpelling thereof, which is now, and has long been, moſt eſtabliſhed and received, as we generally find it in our moſt antient law-books, and as his deſcendants retain it to this day; yet hath it been written, as ſome antiquaries of his own county have obſerved (*e*), from very authentic precedents, more variouſly than perhaps any other among us [*A*]. It has alſo been obſerved from his pedigree, that the christian

(*a*) Stowe's Annals, edit. fol. 1615, p. 106.

(*b*) Memoirs of the family of Gaſcoigne, communicated by a deſcendant thereof.

(*c*) Dr Fuller's Church Hiſt. fol. 153.

(*d*) Camden's Remains, edit. 4to. 1614, p. 110, &c.

(*e*) Mr Hopkinſon's Pedigrees of the Yorkſhire gentry, MS. and Mr Thoreſby's Antiq. of Leeds, more particularly cited in the next note.

[*A*] *His name has been more variouſly written than perhaps any other among us.*] Surnames are ſubject to mutation, according to the caprice, not only of ſtrangers, but their owners themſelves. Tho' many are for retrenching every redundant letter, and making names correſpondent, with the language of the times, to the moſt graceful, or converſible manner of ſtile or ſpeech, and ſo as they may be rendered moſt ſmooth, eaſy and familiar, to ſpeaking and writing, reading and remembrance: yet others will pride themſelves in retaining every mark of antiquity in their names, as the moſt conciſe cognizance, and genuine teſtimony in them, both of reverence and authority, how inelegant ſoever to the eye or ear, in themſelves; or upbraiding of novelty in others; and urge, they may be found upon conſideration, to be leſs diſguiſed in their obſolete orthography, than in any modern maſquerade. Beſides, ignorance as well as willfulneſs, is ſo much greater, in ſpelling the names of particular perſons erroneouſly, than the general words in a language, that it is no wonder the greateſt pſeudography is moſt often propagated therein; eſpecially of ſuch families as, having been eminently and fruitfully deſperſed through different countries, have had their names ſubject to the different impreſſions of their ſevechriſtian name of William has been preſerved from the Conqueſt ſo ſucceſſively in the heir or eldeſt ſon of the family, that the like in others is rarely to be met with; there being no fewer than fifteen *Williams*, of whom ſix or eight were Knights, in a lineal deſcent; that is, ſeven before this Sir William the Judge, who was the eighth lineal heir by whom that chriſtian name was borne; and it was preſerved alſo as regularly in his eldeſt deſcendents, for ſeven generations after him, as may be more particularly ſeen in the note ſubjoined [*B*].

The

ral dialects. From ſome of theſe, or ſuch like motives, many inſtances of ſuch diverſity or tranſpoſition, in ſpelling of names may be accounted for. Dr Thomas Teniſon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, has quoted five or ſix authors, who have differently written the name of Sir Gervas Elwis, tho' neither of them right (1): and Dr Fuller obſerves, in his *Diſcourſe upon the Alteration of Surnames*, that the name of Villiers, has been written, in their old evidences, fourteen ſeveral ways (2). Yet in a volume of the principal families in Yorkſhire, whereof divers tranſcripts having been made, it is well known among the gentry of that county (3), we have obſerved this name of Gaſcoigne is ſtill more variouſly ſpelt; and Mr Thoreſby has printed no leſs than nineteen variations thereof, as they have been diſtinguiſhed out of the old deeds and records, by thoſe who have laboured moſt extenſively in the pedigree of this family: and, as he has tranſmitted them, they ſtand thus (4). Gaſkin, Gauſcin, Gaſcoigne (5); Gaſcoygne, Gaſcoinge (6); Gaſcoyn (7), Gaſcun, Gaſken; Gaſkyn, Gaſkun, Gaſton (8); Gaſtone, Gaſtoyn (9); Gaſtoynge, Gaſquin, Gaſquyne; Gawſken, Vaſcon and Guaſcogn. But there are two or three different ſpellings more, that have been occaſionally uſed, as the true name, not wantonly ſtudied for the ſake of variety, and are not here, in that liſt mentioned: one whereof, may appear as ancient or authentic as moſt of them; and that is written, de Gaſquone; another is Gaſkoigne; as may hereafter more particularly occur. But theſe various readings are all now, chiefly reduced, either to Gaſcoigne, after the ſhorter ſound of the French; or Gaſcoyne, to ſmoothen the ſpelling, and keep the ſound of the dipthong open, after the broader manner of the Engliſh pronunciation; tho' in current ſpeech it is more briefly ſounded Gaſkin.

[*B*] *Fifteen Williams ſucceſſively, in a lineal deſcent, as may be ſeen in the note.*] Certain ſurnames have been moſt frequently preſerved, and devolved through divers families, as from other occaſions, ſo chiefly in memory of ſome eminent anceſtors who bore them; as that of Frederic, in the Tilneys; Everard, in the Digbys; Marmaduke, in the Conſtables, Wyvils, &c. or in reſpect to ſuch Princes or Potentates, who had conferred honours upon ſome branches thereof: and, as in regard to others, ſo to the Williams in particular. The name of *William* is of German original, and was uſed with us in the Saxon times; though it was not in ſuch vogue or requeſt, till the eſtabliſhment here of William the Conquerer. It is a compound word; and as *Helm* ſignifies *Defence*, in the German tongue, according to Martin Luther, and Kenhelm, defence of kindred (10), ſo *Willy*, *Villi* or *Billi*, with the Germans, like *Poly*, before ſeveral names among the Grecians, ſignifies *Many*; and conſequently *Wilhelm*, now mollified into *William*, *Much Defence*, or *Defence of Many*: though, as ſome Etymologiſts have derived the *Willow* tree from it's *Willingneſs* to grow (11), others have turned *William* into a *Willing Defender* (12). In ſeveral families, which had any dependance upon the Conqueror, and his line, eſpecially thoſe who had received grants of pardons, privileges, offices, lands, or ſeignories, his name was thus tranſmitted, and became ſo predominant, among thoſe of eminent rank, that, as our laſt cited Antiquary has recorded, upon a certain feſtival day, in the court of King Henry II, when Sir William Saint John, and Sir William Fitz-Hamon, two ſpecial officers, had commanded that none, *but of the name of William*, ſhould dine in the great chamber with them, they were accompanied with, *an hundred and twenty* Williams, *all Knights* (13). And as many of theſe, in grateful remembrance of thoſe Princes, who had conferred honours, promotions, or eſtates upon them, or their anceſtors, had their royal names engrafted on their own, to ſpread and ſurvive in themſelves and poſterity; ſo it is probable, from what may hereafter appear, that for ſuch like favours, the like commemoration was preſerved, with ſuch conſtant and ſingular gratitude, in this of the *Gaſcoignes*. Among other names derived from, or revived in memory of, our moſt famous Princes, that of Henry, but more eſpecially of Edward, has alſo been very numerous; inſomuch, that Dr Plot has taken notice of it as very obſervable (14), that there were nine Sir Edwards ſucceſſively in the Family of Littleton, of Pillaton Hall, but of this of the Gaſcoignes, as we ſaid before, there were no fewer than fifteen Williams, of whom ſix or eight were Knights, in a lineal deſcent; that is, ſeven before, and ſeven after the celebrated Sir William Gaſcoigne, the Chief Juſtice; tho' as ſome of our Antiquaries and Heralds have truly obſerved, there may be an inconvenience herein; and if a man ſhould be forced to prove his deſcent, this identity of names, would be apt to perplex or confound it, and make it hard to prove the donor and the donee in *formedon*, or diſtinguiſh the one from the other (15). The moſt copious pedigree we have in print, of this family, is that extracted by Mr Ralph Thoreſby, from a very extenſive one, which was lent him in the year 1696, by John Gaſcoigne, of Parlington, Eſq; the father of Sir Edward Gaſcoigne, Bart. of *Nova Scotia*. It is drawn out in fifteen large ſheets or ſkins of parchment, curiouſly illuminated, and atteſted by Sir Henry St George, Norroy. In this extract, Mr Thoreſby traces not the Gaſcoignes ſo high as Ailricus, a noble Saxon of this family, who was baniſhed by the Conqueror, and has omitted moſt of the females and younger branches (16): nevertheleſs his extract appears conſiderably copious, and begins, if not ſo high as the Conqueſt, but few degrees below it, as it contains a line of *ſeven deſcents* before the Judge; and all of them, as we obſerved, are named *William*. Of the *four* firſt, the wives are not mentioned. The *fifth*, was William Gaſcoigne of Harwood; who married Elizabeth, the heir of W. Bolton. The *ſixth*, is called *Sir William Gaſcoigne*, in one account (17), though not mentioned as a Knight in this pedigree; and he, by Manſild, or Matilda, if it ſhould be tranſlated Maud, daughter of John de Gawkethorp, had William Gaſcoigne of Gawthorp; who by Agnes his wife, had five ſons and two daughters; that is to ſay, 1. This *Sir William Gaſcoigne*, the Chief-Juſtice. 2. Nicholas. 3. Richard. 4. Thomas; and 5. John, a Clerk: the daughters were, Anne, married to Sir Robert Conſtable; and Elizabeth, to John Aſke of Olſtroppe. The Chief Juſtice was twice married; firſt, to Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Alexander Mowbray (18), of Kirtlington, Eſq; by whom he had one ſon, *Sir William Gaſcoigne*, as Walſingham calls him, of Gawthorp, a brave commander in the wars of France under King Henry V (19). who, by Jane, daughter and heir of Sir Henry Wyman, had *Sir William Gaſcoigne* of Gawthorp, High-Sheriff of Yorkſhire, 20 Henry VI; who by Margaret, daughter of Thomas Clarell, Eſq; and relict of John Fitz-Williams, had four ſons, and five daughters; the firſt whereof was, *Sir William Gaſcoigne*; another was named John, of Thorp on the Hill, who married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir William Swillington of Thorp, and was anceſtor to the Gaſcoignes of Thorp: that Sir William, by Joan, Daughter of John, the ſon of Sir Ralph Nevil, of Overſley in Warwickſhire, had *Sir William Gaſcoigne* of Gawthorp; to whom, at the death of the ſaid John, in 1482, when Sir William was aged thirty years, fell Overſley, Merſton-Boteler, with other Lordſhips or Manors, in the ſaid county of Warwick; which were ſold by the fourth deſcendent from this, who was Nevil's heir, to Thomas Lord Cromwell; by whoſe attainder they eſcheated to the Crown (20). That Sir William was created Knight of the Bath at the Queen's coronation in the third, not the firſt, of King Henry VII (21), Anno 1487; and marrying Margaret, Daughter of Henry Piercy, the third Earl of Northumberland, had by

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(1) See his *Baconiana*, 8vo. 1679, p. 9.

(2) Worthies of Eng. fol. 51.

(3) A Collection of the Pedigrees and Deſcents of ſeveral of the Gentry in the Weſt-Riding of the County of York: By Mr John Hopkinſon of Lofthouſe, near Leeds, MS. 4to. 1666. With Continuations and Additions, by Rich. Thornton and Ralph Thoreſby, Eſqrs. Further of the original author, ſee Mr Francis Drake's Antiq. of York, in the Preface.

(4) Thoreſby's Antiq. of Leedes, fol. 1715, p. 178.

(5) So moſt often in the records, reports, &c. and ſo as we remember written by Mr Rich. Gaſcoigne the Antiquary.

(6) So by Fuller in his account of the Judge, but in others of the family as we ſpell it.

(7) It was Gaſcoyne in the feneſtral inſcription at Harwood: ſo alſo in Clem. Maydeſtone: and ſo by one or more branches of the family, to this day.

(8) So in the old title of Dr Gaſcoigne's MS. Life of St Jerom.

(9) So in Hall's Chronicle, anno. 3. Rich. III. fol. 44.

(10) Camden's Remains, edit. 4to. 1614. p. 77.

(11) John Minſheu's Guide to Tongues, fol. 1627.

(12) Camden's Remains, p. 90.

(13) Idem, as he cites it from the authority of Robt. Montenſis, under the year 1173.

(14) Dr Robt. Plot's Nat. Hiſt. of Staffordſhire, fol. 1686, p. 271.

(15) Vide Sampſon Erdeſwick's Survey of Staffordſhire, &c. 8vo. 1717. And Camden's Remains, p. 49.

(16) Thoreſby's Antiq. of Leeds, fol. 176, 178.

(17) Memoirs of the Gaſcoigne family, MS. as above.

(18) So the printed Pedigree in Mr Thoreſby. And ſo in the Eng. Baronettage, edit. 8vo. 1741. Vol. IV, p. 336. He is called Roger Mowbray in the MS. Memoirs of the Gaſcoignes before mentioned, and ſaid alſo to have been a Chief Juſtice. But in Dugdale we find none of the name later than John Mowbray, a Juſtice of the Common Pleas, 1360. However it was thought, by this marriage, that Judge Gaſcoigne was related to Tho. Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, in an old Vol. of genealogical tables among the MSS. of the late Peter Le Neve, Eſq; Norroy.

(19) Tho. Walſingham, Hiſt. Angl. fol. 402. No. 40. E. Hall, &c.

(20) Dugdale's Antiq. of Warwickſhire, 2d. edit. fol. 1730. Vol. I. p. 557.

(21) Idem, Vol. II. p. 856.

The family was poſſeſſed of lands in various parts of that county, particularly in *Bingley*, *Sykeſted*, *Ottelay*, *Plumpton*, *Abbyrforth*, *Ledwodhouſe*, *Allerton by the water*, and other mannors

her Sir *William Gaſcoigne*, who was twice married; to Alice, daughter of Sir Richard Froynel, and after, to Margaret, daughter of Richard Lord Latimer; by both whom he had iſſue, and by the firſt, *Sir William Gaſcoigne* of Gawthorp (*), who was High-Sheriff of Yorkſhire, the eleventh of Henry VII: he married firſt, Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Fitz-Williams; and afterwards, Lady Lucy, daughter and heir of John, Marqueſs of Montacute: by the former Lady, he had *William Gaſcoigne*, Eſq; beſides two ſons, who died iſſueleſs, and three daughters. The ſaid William, by his wife Beatrice, daughter of Sir Richard Tempeſt, had four ſons, who died young, and Margaret his ſole heir; in whom this line terminated; ſhe married Thomas Wentworth, of Wentworth Woodhouſe in Yorkſhire, Eſq; in 1552 (22), and brought a great eſtate into that family. The ſaid Thomas, was Sheriff of Yorkſhire in the 24th of Eliz. and had by this wife, four daughters, and one ſon, who was Sir William, the father of Thomas, the firſt Earl of Strafford. Thus we have given the eldeſt deſcendents from the Chief Juſtice, by his firſt Wife. His ſecond, was Joan, daughter of Sir William Pickering, Knight, and relict of Sir Ralph Grayſtock, Baron of the Exchequer (23), by whom he had a ſon, James Gaſcoigne, of Cardington, in Bedfordſhire. Dr Fuller has mentioned and diſtinguiſhed, from good authority, a younger brother of Gawthorp Houſe, named William Gaſcoigne, who was, long after that James, ſettled at Cardington nigh Bedford, by marrying the inheritrix thereof. He was Sheriff of Bedford and Bucks, the 22 Henry VII, and again the 5th and 9th of Henry VIII. He was alſo knighted by this King, and Comptroller of the Houſhold to Cardinal Wolſey (24).

Nicholas Gaſcoigne of Laſingcroft, next brother to the Chief Juſtice, was, by his wife Mary, the daughter of Sir Hugh Cliderhow, father of ſeveral children; and anceſtor of others, who married into the families of Beckwith, Vavaſour, Ardington, Ingleby, &c. From him was deſcended John Gaſcoigne of Laſingcroft, who died in 1557; and left, among other children, John, his third ſon and heir, of whom hereafter; and George Gaſcoigne, Eſq; (25) firſt of Oldhirſt, who by Mary, daughter of John Stokeſley, was father of Sir Nicholas Gaſcoigne of Surry, who was knighted in 1603, and died in 1617; alſo of Richard Gaſcoign, Eſq; the celebrated Antiquary, and other children. This Richard was born at Sherfield, near Brentwood in Eſſex, Anno 1579, as he left it written in a note with his own hand, on the title page of a book which was part of his own library (26). He was educated at Cambridge, whether in St John's College, we are not ſure; but in that Univerſity he made others eminent for their learning beſides himſelf. He was famous among the Hiſtorians and Antiquaries, for his manuſcript Collections, before the year 1622; and as Sir Robert Cotton, St Low Kniveton, Mr W. Liſle, the Saxon Antiquary, of Wilbrougham in Cambridgeſhire, beſides others, imparted of their greateſt curioſities to him; ſo was he no leſs communicative of his own choice and invaluable collections, to ſeveral who were cultivating the like ſtudies with himſelf (27). Nor ſpared he to employ his intereſt, with ſuch of his friends, who could beſt forward their productions to the publick. Soon after Mr Dugdale was firſt brought to London by Sir Simon Archer, in 1638, and recommended by Sir Henry Spelman, to Mr Roger Dodſworth, Mr Gaſcoigne, who had great acquaintance with Sir Chriſtopher, afterwards the Lord Hatton, a noble encourager of theſe ſtudies, ſo effectually introduced Mr Dugdale to this worthy patron, that he was not only made welcome, with all expreſſions of kindneſs, but actnal readineſs to promote his labours (28); which turned greatly to the benefit and advancement thereof. Wherefore, Dugdale, afterwards recording ſome particulars we have before ſpoken of, relating to the deſcendents of Nicholas Gaſcoigne of Laſingcroft, brother, as we obſerved to the Chief Juſtice, and their alliance with the Wentworths, has gratefully added theſe words, 'Nor muſt I forget that, likewiſe from the 'ſame ſtock, is alſo ſprung my ſpecial friend, Richard 'Gaſcoigne, late of Branham Biggen, in the county of 'York, Eſq; a gentleman well worthy of the beſt re'ſpects from all lovers of antiquities; to whoſe good 'affections and abilities in thoſe ſtudies, his own fami'ly and ſeveral others of much eminency, allied there'to, are not a little obliged (29).' He was related, as we have ſaid above, to the Wentworth family, by the marriage into it of a female heir; and as ſhe enriched it with a large eſtate, ſo did he, with no ſmall portion of honour; by reviving, from his own extraordinary treaſury of antiquities, ſuch a numerous generation of the moſt eminent anceſtors therein. Some copy of this copious, painful, and accurate work, was made by Dr Johnſon, as appears among the voluminous collections he gathered for the *Antiquities of Yorkſhire* (30). For theſe, and other reſpects, Mr Gaſcoigne was much eſteemed in the Strafford family; as by Thomas, the firſt Earl, ſo alſo by his ſon William, after his death, Earl of Strafford, at Wentworth Woodhouſe. His picture was there preſerved, repreſenting him with a freſh healthy complexion, in his very old age, when his head was reverendly ſilver'd over with grey hairs. It is a half length, ſitting in a chair; attir'd in a white damaſk gown, flowered with black; and in his hand, an old parchment deed or charter, folded up, with a broad ſeal of yellow wax appendant: but if it could cover the poſthumous treatment of it's original's memory, as gracefully as it does it's length and breadth of the wainſcot, it would ſurely then be a moſt honourable ornament. Several printed books were alſo preſerved in the Library there, as hath been in ſome others, relating to the Hiſtory and Peerage of England, the Antiquities of the Counties, and Monumental Inſcriptions in the Churches, wherein any pedigrees or deſcents of noted families are mentioned; which were many of them laboriouſly corrected, and enlarged with marginal notes, and additional tables of Genealogy, written in the fine, fair, little hand, of the ſaid Richard Gaſcoigne. By which we may perceive, he ſpent much of his long life, eſpecially the latter part, in theſe Studies. What family he had, is but briefly mentioned. We find in the printed pedigree, that he was, or had been married, to the daughter of Mr Colles, or, as others ſeem to have corrected it, Collet (31): and there was an old gentleman of this name, in the reign of K. Charles I, who was chief Clerk, or Deputy Keeper of the Records, in the Tower of London, under Sir John Buroughs (32); but we know not that this was the father of his wife, nor what iſſue Mr Gaſcoigne had by her. Though he was often at the Univerſities, at York, and at London, ſearching the libraries, archives, and offices of record; or at the ſeats of his learned and honourable friends, augmenting his antique collections from their family records; as Mr Henry Ferrers of Baddeſley had alſo gathered part of his many volumes of Antiquities from the living, as well as the dead, yet his own dwelling, or proper abode, was at Bramham Biggin in Yorkſhire; where it is thought he died; and, as we compute, about the year 1658; having ſeen ſome books, with his writing and illuſtrations in them, ſo late, as within one or two years of that time (33); when he muſt have been aged near fourſcore. As for his vaſt magazine of moſt valuable and venerable antiquities, which once filled the rooms of a tall ſtone-tower, their duſty dormitory, or long unmoleſted aſylum, and what became of them; ſo many original charters, patents, deeds, and other evidences, ſome in the Saxon character; ſo many rolls of pedigrees, creations, ſucceſſions; court-rolls, and others of limned portraits, from old illuminated manuſcripts, feneſtral paintings, and monumental effigies, with their inſcriptions, arms, &c. beſides his infinite extracts, as well from ancient regiſters, ledgers, couchers, viſitations, obitals, wills, eſcheats, and all ſorts of other records, as from the painful reſearches of many other antiquaries, which enabled him, ſo expertly to make, as well all thoſe additions and improvements in the printed books of Heraldry, Genealogy, Topography, &c. aforeſaid, as to draw out the many volumes from them, in manuſcript, which he did, of our moſt eminent families, eſpecially in Yorkſhire, even throughout the

(*) Quære, Which Sir William Gaſcoigne of Yorkſhire relieved ſo many, with a rare medicine he had for the Eyes; in Dr William Bulleyn's Bulwark of Defence againſt Sickneſs, &c. fol. 1562. p. 47.

(22) Hiſtorical Collections relating to the Lineage, Actions, and Character of Tho. Earl of Strafford, MS.

(23) So the printed Pedigree; but Sir William Dugdale mentions Henry de Grayſtoke, made Baron of the Exchequer, Oct. 6, 1358. and no other of the name in his Chron. Series.

(24) Fuller's Worthies in Bedfordſhire, fol. 125.

(25) Quære, Whether this is a different perſon from that Geo. Gaſcoigne, Eſq; who was a Lawyer, Soldier, and eminent Poet, in Q. Elizabeth's reign; who lived and died, as A. Wood ſays, at Walthamſtow in Eſſex, in Octob. or Nov. 1578. And whether both are different from another of the name we meet with, in an old Tract intituled, A Remembrance of the well employ'd Life, and godly end, of Geo. Gaſcoigne, Eſq; who deceaſed at Stalmford in Lincolnſhire, Oct. 7, 1577. By Geo. Whetſtones, Gent. an eye-witneſs of his godly and charitable end in this world, 4to. then printed.

(26) Everard. Dygbeius, De Arte Natandi; Libri duo, 4to. 1587, &c.

(27) As may be ſeen among the MSS. of Mr Roger Dodſworth, at Oxford. Alſo thoſe of Dr Nathaniel Johnſon, &c.

(28) Memoirs of Sir William Dugdale's Life, before his Hiſt. of St Paul's Cathedral, edit. fol. 1716. p. 6, 7. Alſo A. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. in Faſti. fol. 9.

(29) Dugdale's Antiq. of Warwickſhire, 2d. edit. fol. 1730. Tom. II. p. 857.

(30) That Copy is intituled, A Tranſcript of a large Volume of the Pedigree of the moſt noble Family of Wentworth, of Wentworth Woodhouſe in Yorkſhire. Compoſed by Mr Richard Gaſcoign, a learned Antiquary. Catal. Libror. Manuſcriptor. Angliæ et Hiberniæ. fol. Oxon. 1697. Tom. II. fol. 102.

(31) The Baronettage of Eng. Vol. IV, p. 337.

(32) The Life of Sir William Dugdale, as before.

(33) Mr Gaſcoigne's elaborate Emendations and Enlargements of the Pedigrees, &c. in W. Burton's Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire, fol. 1622. preſerved in Jeſus College Cambridge, appear in almoſt every page. And in a fair Tranſcript which has been made in another copy of that book, it may be ſeen, p. 35, that they were written by Mr Gaſcoigne in the Year 1656. Many of theſe notes are alſo preſerved in Mr Dodſworth's MS Collections, at Oxford.

mannors (*f*); but their principal ſeat was at *Harwood*, till Sir William Gaſcoighe, grandfather to the Chief Juſtice, married Maude the daughter and heireſs of John de Gawthorp; from

the alphabet; each volume being diſtinguiſhed by a letter thereof: what became of all this ineſtimable treaſure, I ſay, except thoſe alphabetical volumes, more happily eſtranged; and by what innovating, intimidating, or other infatuating, and miſconceived motives, they met with a moſt undeſerved fate, from whence it was leaſt to be expected, being all, without diſtinction, wilfully ſacrificed to the no leſs undiſtinguiſhing flames, as it is elſewhere obſerved (34), about ſeventy years after the death of their learned and worthy collector, it might be more tedious than agreeable, in this place, more amply to relate. However, thus much may be ſaid, of what has been thought thereof, that, whatever ſimilitude may appear in the action, there was a great diſparity between the motives to that ſacrifice, and thoſe, whereby our famous Whittington (35) is ſaid to have teſtified his generous loyalty, and gratitude, for the honours he had received; when, in his coſtly *Fire of Spices*, far leſs precious, leſs profuſe, than that of thoſe *Antiquities!* further to brighten, and enrich the fragrant flame, he made a burnt-offering of thoſe manuſcript obligations, whereby his princely benefactor had engaged himſelf to reſtore the treaſures wherewith he had been intruſted (36). All we have more to obſerve here, of this learned Antiquary, is that, whether it was a different perſon, or not, of the ſame name and family, whoſe genealogy is preſerved in one of our publick libraries (37), we have not been yet certified. The third ſon and heir of John of Laſingcroft before mentioned, and uncle to this Richard was John Gaſcoigne of Parlington, Eſq; who by Maud, the daughter of William Arthington of Caſtley, Eſq; had beſides younger ſons John Gaſcoigne of Laſingcroft, Parlington, and Barnbow, the eldeſt; who was created Baronet of *Nova Scotia*, by King Charles I. And this Sir John Gaſcoigne, dying May 3, 1637, his eldeſt ſon, by his lady, Anne, Daughter of John Ingleby, Eſq; was Sir Thomas Gaſcoigne, Baronet, of Elmett in the *Weſt-Riding* of Yorkſhire; who, being above eighty-five years of age, very deaf, and ſuperannuated, in February 1679, was indicted at the King's-Bench-Bar Weſtminſter, for high-treaſon, upon the evidence of Robert Bolron, and one Mowbray, his ſervants; the former of whom, had been ſued on his bonds for debt to Sir Thomas, and ejected from his farm for default of rent; and the latter alſo diſcarded, and diſgraced, for defrauding his ſaid maſter of money: yet one or both pretended to have been, notwithſtanding, engaged by him in a conſpiracy, to deſtroy the King, for a large ſum of money, and bring in the Popiſh Religion (38). The Chief Juſtice Scroggs, left the Court, when he ſaw the malicious contrivance detecting, and the evidence againſt Sir Thomas likely to be invalidated: and though the other Judges would have biaſs'd the Jury, to find him guilty; yet, theſe, ſeeing how exceptionable the witneſſes againſt him were, and how improbable, that Sir Thomas ſhould ſhew ſo little favour to thoſe, at whoſe mercy it was pretended, he had truſted his life, now ſo much endanger'd by the ſpirit of revenge, and avarice in them, upon ſuch proſpects eſpecially as they had of reward, for their accuſation, the ſaid Jury brought him in *Not Guilty:* And 'tis remarked, as an inſtance in this tryal, of the new witneſſes of the plot, which were then riſing every day, that if a ſervant had cheated, or robbed his maſter, he would ward off the proſecution, by ſwearing him into the conſpiracy (39). But Hiſtory might accommodate us with more agreeable particulars, of ſome ſucceeding deſcendents in this line of the Gaſcoignes of Laſingcroft, Parlington, and Barnbow, were it to be continued down to Sir Edward Gaſcoigne, Baronet, beforementioned; whoſe benefactions to the Cathedral Church of York, are recorded by the hiſtorian of that city (40); or thoſe other gentlemen of merit and diſtinction, who are now living; among whom we ſhall only mention, John Gaſcoigne, Eſq; Rear-Admiral, the preſent chief of one branch of the family; to whom, and to another John Gaſcoyne of London, Eſq; who is related to the alderman of this city, of the ſame name, we here make our grateful acknowledgement, and return of thanks, for the favour of their communications, relating to this article of the Lord Chief Juſtice. The next line, of the Judge's ſecond brother, Richard Gaſcoigne of Hunſlet, Eſq; is but ſhort (41). He is diſtinguiſhed in the records, to have been Marſhal of the Exchequer, by the grant for life, of Thomas, Earl of Kent (42). Some of our old writers pretending to give us the names of his father and mother, have miſtaken both (43). He married, according to the pedigree, Anne, daughter and coheir of Henry Ellis, Eſq; and dying in 1422, left a ſon named Thomas, and two daughters, Alice and Elizabeth: the firſt was married to Sir Thomas Nevil, Knt. and the ſecond to Sir John Everingham. That Thomas was bred at Oriel College in Oxford, and became a learned Doctor of Divinity; famous both abroad and at home. In 1434, he was Vice-Chancellor, and in 1442, Chancellor of that Univerſity, which he reſign'd about three years after (44). He was the author of many books, all written in Latin it ſeems; at leaſt, the titles of them are all in that language. Some ancient copies of them are preſerved in many Libraries; but we meet with none that have been ever printed. The moſt conſiderable of them are, *An Epiſtle of the Proceedings at the Council of Florence*, in Trinity College Library at Cambridge; his *Narrative of the Decollation of Archbiſhop Scrope*, among the manuſcripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; his *Life of St Jerom*, in the Library at Magdalen College, in that Univerſity; his *Complaint againſt the Election of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in* 1443, among Bodley's MSS. and beſides three or four more, upon ſcripture arguments (45), his *Theological Dictionary*, in Lincoln College; the largeſt, moſt noted, and moſt cited of all his works. Among the additions to one of our old Hiſtorians, ſet forth by the late Mr Thomas Hearne, he has given us an extract, or collection in ſeveral pages, of ſuch particulars in this Dictionary, as are moſt enriched with hiſtorical intelligence (*). As for the author, there is a letter written to him by Wolfard Kober, in 1456, preſerved among the manuſcripts in Baliol College, Oxford; and, as appears in the pedigree, he died on the 13th of March 1457, but in other accounts, that he was flouriſhing three years later (46): And as for the Judge's two youngeſt brothers, Thomas and John, beforementioned, we have already ſaid as much of them, as we have met with. But, whereas there was one Sir Bernard Gaſcoigne, who has been looked for in this pedigree, and thought to have been inadvertently omitted, we ſhall, to prevent any further miſapprehenſion, here briefly ſhew, how likely it is, that he had no right of admittance therein. This Knight, having the reputation of being well acquainted with the German intereſt, and policies, was employed by King Charles II, in the quality of his envoy to the Imperial Court at Vienna, in order to negotiate a match, which was then propoſed between his Majeſty's brother, James, Duke of York, and the Archducheſs of Inſpruck. While Sir Bernard reſided there, in the Emperor's court, he wrote an hiſtorical and political diſcourſe upon the German Empire, which he then ſent over in a letter to King Charles; and it was, in the beginning of the late Queen Anne's reign, ſet forth in print (47). There were alſo publiſhed at the ſame time with it, among other ſtate papers, written by ſeveral other perſons, the epiſtolary correſpondence which was held by Henry Bennet, Lord Arlington, then Secretary of State, with Sir Bernard Gaſcoigne, on the occaſion of the ſaid match. They conſiſt of about thirty letters in number, and contain ſome reaſons and arguments to be uſed, or directions to be followed, in that negotiation, by the ſaid Sir Bernard Gaſcoigne (48). But the ingenious editor of theſe papers, in his prefatory diſcourſe prefixed to them, gives us to underſtand, that the ſaid *Deſcription of Germany*, was writ by no countryman of ours, and conſequently, as we preſume, unallied to the Engliſh family of Gaſcoignes before ſpoken of; for where he has given ſome character of it, in regard to the phraſe or diction in which it is written, he confeſſes that, ‘The ſtyle thereof is ſomewhat obſcure or harſh; which ought to be pardoned, ſays he, in a foreigner, as Sir Bernard Gaſcoigne was, being a *Florentine* by birth; but, adds he, the importance and faithfulneſs

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(*f*) Memoirs of the Gaſcoigne family, MS. as above.

(34) Catalogus Bibliothecæ Harleianæ, Vol. III. 8vo. 1744. p. 23.

(35) Who was Judge Gaſcoigne's contemporary, and died about 9 years after him.

(36) The Pedigree of the famous Sir Richard Whittington, thrice Lord-Mayor of London, among the MS. Collections of Rodney Fane, Eſq; late of Colcheſter in Eſſex. Some mention is alſo made of this Spice-Fire, in an old Hiſt. of Sir Rich. Whittington, printed 4to. in black letter, without date.

(37) See the Deſcent of Rich. Gaſcoigne, of Sutil-Hall in Yorkſhire, 1568, among the Heraldical MSS. in the Aſhmolean Library at Oxford. There are other Pedigrees of the Gaſcoignes, among Mr Dodſworth's Collections.

(38) See the Trial of Sir Tho. Gaſcoyne, Bart. for high-treaſon, in conſpiring the death of the King, the ſubverſion of the government, and alteration of religion, on Wedneſday Feb. 11, 1679, at the Bar of the King's-Bench, before the Right Hon. Sir William Scroggs, Lord Chief Juſtice, and the reſt of the Judges of that Court, fol. 1680. Reprinted in the State Trials the laſt edit. Vol. III.

(39) Mr Salmon's Abridgment of the State Trials, fol. 1738, p. 383.

(40) Mr Drake's Antiquities of York, fol. 519.

(41) See Thoreſby's Antiq. of Leeds, concerning Hunſlet, and this Rich Gaſcoigne, who bought it: And of it's ſucceeding Poſſeſſors, p. 175.

(42) Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. VIII. anno 1398, p. 44. De Officio Mareſcalli Angliæ Conceſſio.

(43) J. Pits, De Illuſtr. Brit. Scriptor. p. 651.

(44) John Le Neve's Faſti Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, fol. 1716, p. 442, 447. It is ſaid that Dr Gaſcoigne was alſo Chancellor of the Church of York afterwards, in 1452, in Mr Drake's Eboracum, p. 567, ſo that Dr W. Langton might ſucceed him. Vide Le Neve, as before, p. 318. And Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 22.

(45) Mentioned in Bale, Pits, &c.

(*) Vide Walt. de Hemingford, Hiſt. de Reb. Geſtis Edward. I, II, III, edente Tho. Hearnio. 2 Tom. 8vo. Oxon. 1731, p. 509.

(46) Bale, Pits, &c.

(47) Intituled, A Deſcription of Germany; it's Government, Manner of aſſembling *Diets*; Ceremony of electing and crowning the King of the Romans: With an Account of their preſent Imperial Majeſties Houſhold; together with the Genealogy of all the Imperial Princes of the Empire. By Sir Bernard Gaſcoign, ſent to King Charles II. in the Year 1672. 63 pages, 8vo.

(48) They are intituled, Letters from my Lord Arlington to Sir Bernard Gaſcoign, Reſident at the Imperial Court of Vienna: Wherein the whole Affair of the intended Marriage of the young Archducheſs of Inſpruck and the Duke of York, is laid open and diſcovered. Dated from Whitehall, in 1671 and 1672.

from which time this place became their chief ſeat of reſidence (g). That Sir William's ſon William, married Alice, the daughter and coheir of Nicholas Frank, Eſq; by whom he had this Sir *William Gaſcoigne*, the Chief Juſtice, their eldeſt born; beſides the ſons and daughters whom we have mentioned in the preceding note. At Gawthorp, in the ſaid pariſh of Harwood, between Leeds and Knarſborough, it is credibly atteſted that this Chief Juſtice was born (h), and, as it has been computed, in the middle of King Edward IIId's reign, about 1350, or not much later. He was afterwards a ſtudent of the Law in the Inner Temple, as our laſt quoted author informs us; but Sir William Dugdale has given us a ſculpture of his arms, from one of the windows in Grays Inn-Hall, importing him to have been a member of that Society (i). He grew ſo eminent in his profeſſion towards the latter end of King Richard II, that he was made one of the King's Serjeants in September 1398 (k). And how much eſteemed he was by his ſucceſſor, for his knowledge and fidelity in the tranſaction of the moſt intricate and important affairs, as well relating to his own rights as thoſe of the kingdom, may be inferred from ſeveral inſtances. For, on the eighth of October in the ſame year, he was nominated by King Richard, with others, in a commiſſion of Agency, procured by the ſaid Henry of Lancaſter, Duke of Hereford (l), ſoon after King of England, when he was going into baniſhment. Theſe letters patent, which were ſo granted to Duke Henry at his departure, whereby Gaſcoigne, and the Duke's other General Attorneys, were empowered to proſecute his cauſes, and ſue livery of any Inheritance, which, during his exile, might fall to him, as that of his father John of Ghent did, and whereby his homage was reſpited for a reaſonable fine, were, as one of our Hiſtorians has truly obſerved, revoked by King Richard (m), as it appears from the Parliament rolls on the eighteenth of March following, the ſaid grant being judged unlawful by his Parliament; and when Duke Henry, the next year, aſcended the throne, that revocation was judged unlawful by his Parliament, and made one of the articles for depoſing King Richard (n); ſo that the ſaid King's ineffectual endeavours to extinguiſh the Duke's greatneſs, did but augment it, to his own deſtruction; as the general Hiſtories have related. From the firſt year of this King Henry IV, who began his reign in September 1399, to the latter end of it, we meet with the abſtracts of Gaſcoigne's opinions, arguments, diſtinctions, and deciſions, as well before he was Chief Juſtice as after, very frequently recited, among thoſe of other ſages of the Law, in our old books of Reports (o), many whereof are diſtinguiſhed, and recommended, by the brief remarks of their learned editor, as very notable, or worthy of obſervation, and may give good lights into our old law caſes; eſpecially the more choice, nice, or intricate cauſes, then canvaſſed or agitated in our courts of juſtice; with the various opinions, abilities, and characters, of thoſe who preſided in them; and have been long ſo well eſteemed to yield many precedents of good authority, that ſome famous Judges, and others learned in the laws, have taken much pains, of ſummaries as they are, to render them ſtill more ſuccinct (p). And as ſome remarks, critical or hiſtorical, have been made, by one of our moſt induſtrious Antiquaries, upon the antient adminiſtrators of juſtice, whoſe ſentiments and judgments are recorded in theſe books, ſome character or diſtinction, according to the title of his performance, may be expected to appear, of Judge Gaſcoigne therein (q); but whether ſuch diſtinction or character is there preſerved, we have not now the opportunity of information. It appears from very good authority, that he was Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, ſo early at leaſt as the ſecond year of King Henry IV, or 1401; tho' there has been ſome little diſagreement upon that head [C]. And now, the nation being embroil'd with dangerous commotions,

(g) Idem. Of the manor and leet of Harwood caſtle, the antiquities there, the marble and alebaſter tombs for the Gaſcoignes, &c. in Harwood Church, and the venerable chapel at Gawthorp-hall, &c. See Thoreſby's Antiq. of Leeds, p. 135. And Biſhop Gibſon's Camden, in Yorkſhire.

(h) Dr Fuller's Worthies of Eng. in Yorkſhire, p. 199. 'From the information of Mr Rich. Gaſcoigne, deſcended from the Judge, an accompliſhed Antiquary in Record-Heraldry.'

(i) See Dugdale's Origines Juridiciales, edit. fol. 1671, p. 308.

(k) Idem, in Chronica Series, p. 55.

(l) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. VIII. p. 49. Pro Henrico de Lancaſter, Duce Herefordiæ, de Attornato.

(m) Sir John Haywarde's firſt part of the life and reign of King Henry IV, &c. 4to. 1599, p. 52.

(n) See Sir Rob. Cotton's Abridgment of the Records in the Tower of London, publiſhed by W. Prynne, Eſq; edit. fol. 1657, p. 375. tit. 87. and p. 387. tit. 30.

(o) See the Year Books, Part VI, throughout this reign.

(p) Sir Anthony Fitzherbert's Abridgment, &c. 2 Vols. fol. 1565. Sir Rob. Brook's Grand Abridgment, fol. 1573, &c.

(q) Sir W. Dugdale's Obſervations upon ſeveral perſons learned in the law, extracted from the Year-Books; among his MSS. in the Aſhmolean Library.

'faithfulneſs of the relation, will, I hope, make ſufficient compenſation for the deficiency of the language; and certainly cannot be unwelcome at this conjuncture, when England has ſo viſibly an intereſt in the affairs of Germany (49).' When the ſaid Sir Bernard Gaſcoign returned from his embaſſy into England, he took ſhipping at Dunkirk; and one of the paſſengers who came over with him, was Mrs Aphra Behn, the ingenious poeteſs. It is aſſerted by the writer of her life, that in the courſe of their voyage, they all ſaw a ſurpriſing *Phænomenon*, whether formed by any riſing exhalations, or deſcending vapours, ſhaped by the winds, and irradiated by refracted lights, is not explained; but it appeared, through Sir Bernard's teleſcopes, in a clear day, at a great diſtance, to be, or to reſemble, a fine, gay, floating fabrick, adorned with figures, feſtoons, &c. At firſt they ſuſpected ſome art in his glaſſes, till at laſt, as it approached, they could ſee it plainly without them; and the relater is ſo particular in the diſcription, as to aſſert, that it appeared to be, a four-ſquare floor, of various coloured marble; having rows of fluted and twiſted pillars aſcending, with Cupids on the top, circled with vines and flowers, and ſtreamers waving in the air. 'Tis added, of this ſtrange viſionary, if not romantic or poetical pageant; for fancy is an architect, that can build caſtles in the clouds, as well by ſea as land; that it floated almoſt near enough for them to ſtep out upon it; as if it would invite them to a ſafer landing, than they ſought by ſailing; or portended that the one ſhould be as dangerous and deceitful as the other: for ſoon after the calm which enſued, there aroſe ſuch a violent ſtorm, that they were all ſhipwreckt, but happily in ſight of the land; to which, by timely aſſiſtance, they all got ſafe (50).

[C] *There has been ſome little diſagreement upon that head.*] John Stow is manifeſtly miſtaken in ſuggeſting that this Chief Juſtice, appeared no ſooner on the King's Bench than the fixth year of King Henry the Fourth's reign (51). And Dr Fuller, in correction of him, has aſſerted, as from good authority, that Gaſcoigne was made Chief Juſtice of that Bench, on the firſt of November in the firſt year of that King (52), wherein he is alſo miſtaken; for it is manifeſt in the Parliament Rolls, that Sir Walter Clopton, was then Chief Juſtice of this Bench, from that remarkable incident of his taking the confeſſion of John Hall, who was concerned in that moſt wicked and formal murder of Thomas, Duke of Glouceſter, by ſmothering him between two feather beds, in the Prince's Inn, or Engliſh Priſon, as ſome call it, at Calais, according to the ſecret direction of King Richard (53). This confeſſion was taken, and the ſaid malefactor executed, on the the

(49) See Miſcellanea Aulica: or, A Collection of State Tracts, &c. collected by Tho. Brown, 8vo. 1702. See more of this Sir Bernard, in News from the New Exchange, &c. 4to. 1650 and 1731, p. 18. A Wood, in Faſti, Vol. II. p. 59. calls him 'A known friend to the Engliſh nation.'

(50) See the Life of Mrs Aphra Behn, prefixed to her Novels, &c. 8vo. the 6th edit. 1718.

(51) Stow's Annals, edit. fol. 1615. p. 342. col. 2, in the Margin.

(52) Fuller's Worthies in Yorkſhire, p. 199. Ex Origin. de ipſo anno, Bundello 2. Rot. 52.

(53) See Sir Rob. Cotton's Abridgment of the Records in the Tower of London, fol. 1657. among the Pleas of the Crown, anno 1. Hen. IV. p. 400, &c.

commotions, by the friends of the late King Richard, and other enemies of King Henry, we find among the records, that, in July 1403, together with Ralph Nevil Earl of Weſtmorland, this Judge Gaſcoigne, and others, are commiſſioned by the ſaid King, to iſſue their power and authority, for levying and aſſembling forces in the counties of York and Northumberland, of what ſtate, degree, or condition ſoever, againſt the inſurrection of Henry Percey Earl of Northumberland (*r*). In the fifth year of King Henry, which is one part in 1403 the other in 1404, when an erroneous judgment, which had been given againſt Roger Deyncourt, touching a mannor in Warwickſhire, was, upon examining the proceſs and record, reverſed by this Chief Juſtice; and he gave a tranſcript of it, under his own hand, to the Clerk of the Parliament; as alſo, a *ſcire facias* to the ſaid Roger, returnable in the next Parliament; we obſerve in the printed abſtract of this record, the Chief Juſtice is diſtinguiſhed by the title of Sir William Gaſcoigne (*), expreſſing him to have been at that time a Knight; tho' from ſome remarks of other writers, which we have mentioned in the note directed to in the next year of that King's reign, it ſhould ſeem that he was not knighted till then. On the 25th of April 1405, we find the ſaid Earl of Weſtmorland, William Gaſcoigne, and others, alſo appointed, by letters patent, with full power and authority, from King Henry, to treat with the rebellious abettors of the ſaid Earl of Northumberland; that they, paying their fines, might be received to mercy: and there was a proclamation iſſued by the King to the ſame purpoſe, at Pontefract, the next day (*s*). Soon after, in the ſame year, when Archbiſhop Scrope, with others, was taken in arms againſt the King, and his Majeſty would have had Judge Gaſcoigne pronounce ſentence of death directly upon him, he maintained the law ſo incorruptibly, with regard to the eccleſiaſtical privileges, which the Archbiſhop himſelf had charged the King with violating, and ſo inflexibly refuſed to paſs ſuch ſentence, in the illegal and irregular manner required, that he incurred the King's high diſpleaſure for that refuſal, tho' for his integrity he gained great applauſe [*D*]. But when the heads of that inſurrection were cut off,

the 28th of November, in the firſt year of that King. or 1399; and, on the third of October, in 1400, we find the ſaid Sir Walter Clopton, Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, called to Parliament (54); but after that, and he had ſat about twelve years on this bench, we hear no more of him; for, in one of the volumes of old *Reports* before referred to, it appears, under the *ſecond year* of King Henry IV, that Gaſcoigne was then Chief Juſtice, as it ſeems, of the King's Bench; and alſo that he ſat, or had ſet, ſometimes, in the Common Pleas; whether before Sir William Thyrning was advanced thereto, in the foregoing year, or during that Judge's extraordinary engagements in the renunciation and depoſition of King Richard, or upon any other ſpecial cauſes, does not appear (55): but in Sir William Dugdale's Tables of Juridical Succeſſion, it is aſſerted, againſt, or under, the year 1401, that William Gaſcoigne was conſtituted Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, on the 15th of November (56); which is near two months in the *third year* of King Henry: ſo that Judge Gaſcoigne is promoted to this ſeat, above a year too ſoon, in Doctor Fuller, and at leaſt three years too late, in John Stow.

[*D*] *Though for his integrity he gained great applauſe*] As the Earl of Northumberland at his inſurrection, exhibited articles againſt King Henry, before the battle of Shrewſbury (57): So now after it, Archbiſhop Scrope alſo iſſued his. They contain many heavy charges againſt him; as, of perjury, falſhood, oppreſſion, tyranny, uſurpation, ſo eſpecially, of cauſing King Richard, after fifteen days and nights periſhing with hunger, thirſt and cold, in Pomfret Caſtle, to be murdered; or as the Archbiſhop ſays, put at laſt, to a moſt vile death; hitherto altogether unknown in our kingdom (58), but, by the Grace of God, no longer to be concealed (59): ſo that, ſtarving ſeems to be but one part of his ſufferings, and the other, not to have been diſcloſed in Hiſtory: for as to the aſſaſſination of Sir Pierce Exon, it ſeems romantic, and but a copy of the motives which Archbiſhop Becket's aſſaſſins received from their Prince. Archbiſhop Scrope had a ſtronger power than the King, and might have overcome his army, if his own credulity in the treacherous pretenſions of his adverſary, had not betrayed him; being enſnared, or deluded by the Earl of Weſtmorland, to enter into a parley, and diſband his forces, from a feigned approbation of his articles (60), and ſeeming revolt to his party; then was the Archbiſhop arreſted by him, and taken priſoner at Shipton More (61); and the King, knowing that the Houſe of Lords had lately, in taking the Earl of Northumberland's caſe from the Judges under their cognizance, cleared his inſurrection of treaſon, on account of his ſubmiſſion (62), and judged it to be only a treſpaſs, puniſhable by fine and ranſom, did not care to bring this caſe of the Archbiſhop's before that Judicatory (63); but reſolving to have him put to death for high-treaſon, would, when the Archbiſhop was brought to his manor houſe at Biſhopſthorp, near York, before his Majeſty, have obliged Judge Gaſcoigne to pronounce ſentence accordingly upon him as a traytor; but this upright and memorable Judge (64), who was, by no proſpect of fear or favour, to be corrupted to any ſuch violation of the ſubjects rights, or infringement of their laws and liberties, as then eſtabliſhed; which ſuffered no religious perſon to be brought to a ſecular or lay-trial, unleſs he were a heretic, and firſt degraded by the Church, as the Archbiſhop had objected againſt the King, in the caſe of others (65), abſolutely refuſed to obey the royal command, and ſaid to his Majeſty, *Neither you, my Lord the King, nor any liege Subject of your's, in your name, can legally, according to the rights of the kingdom, adjudge any Biſhop to death* (66). Whereupon the King, highly incenſed againſt the Judge, commanded Sir William Fulthorp (or Fulford, as Stow and others call him), who might be learned in the Laws (67), but was no Judge, to pronounce ſentence againſt the Archbiſhop, which he did, that day, being the 8th of June in the year 1405, as aforeſaid, from a high throne, or ſtage, as ſome call it, erected in the Archbiſhop's palace, after the moſt abrupt and extrajudicial manner, without indictment, trial, defence, or any other ceremony; and the Archbiſhop's tragedy was compleated the ſame day, in a corn-field without the city walls; being there, according to the King's mandate, beheaded, with Thomas Mowbray Earl Marſhall, and others. As for the miracles which are ſaid to have enſued at the place where the Archbiſhop ſuffered, upon certain lays of barley, which ſprung up next ſeaſon ſo fruitfully, tho' they had been all cruſhed and trampled down by the ſpectators of his death; and the judgments which befel the King, in thoſe leprous diſeaſes which ſoon after broke out upon him, as 'tis ſaid to have been teſtified to maſter Thomas Gaſcoigne, Profeſſor of Divinity (68), who was the Judge's nephew; with other ſuch particulars; we leave them where they are to be found, among ſome who have aſſerted (69) and others who diſcredit them (70); and ſhall only here obſerve, that Judge Gaſcoigne's conſcience was highly celebrated, for his having no ſhare in the Archbiſhop's death; and his courage, for reſiſting ſo incorruptibly ſuch a temptation to violate the laws of his country. Clement Maydeſtone ſtiles

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(*r*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. VIII. p. 319. De Hominibus Defenſabilis Congregandis.

(*) Sir Rob. Cotton's Abridgment of the Records in the Tower of London, fol. 1657. anno. 5. Hen. IV. p. 429.

(*s*) Rymer, as before, p. 394.

(*t*) See the Loyal Martyr: or, the Life of the moſt Rev. Father in God Rich. Scroop, Archbiſhop of York, cruelly put to death by King Henry IV, for adhering to his rightful Sovereign. With the articles by him exhibited againſt the aforeſaid intruding King, 8vo. 1722.

(54) Sir William Dugdale's Summons of the nobility to the Parliaments, &c. fol. Lond. 1685. p. 360.

(55) The words in the Report are 'W. Gaſcoigne, 'audonques Chief 'Juſtice, fuit en 'le Place en le 'Common Banke: et dit,' &c. See in the Year-Books, Part VI. Les Reports del Caſes en Ley, que furent Argues en le temps de Hen. IV. et Hen. V. fol. 1679. anno 2. Hen. IV. p. 24.

(56) Dugdale's Chronica Series, as before, p. 54. Ex Pat. 2. Hen. IV. p. 1. M. 28.

(57) The Articles of the Piercies against the King, are extant in Hall's Chron. anno 3. Hen. IV.

(58) Speed quotes Judge Forteſcue's Aſſertion of the King's death alſo in theſe words.

(59) See Archbiſhop Scrope's Articles againſt the King, in Wharton's Anglia Sacra, Tom. II. p. 362 collated with the Contin. of Peter de Ickham's MS. Hiſt. in the Lambeth Library.

(60) Tho. Walſingham's Hiſt. Angl. fol. 375. Et Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 565.

(61) Memoirs of the Gaſcoignes, MS. as before.

(62) Cotton's Records, 5. Hen. IV. p. 426.

(63) Memoirs of the Gaſcoignes, &c.

(64) Mr Fra. Drake's Eboracum: or, Hiſt. and Antiq. of the City of York, fol. 1736, in the Life of Archbiſhop Scrope, p. 438.

(65) In his Articles; ſee the Life of Rich. Scrope, Archbiſhop of York, 8vo. 1722. p. 23.

(66) Clementis Maydeſtone Hiſtoria de Martyrio Ricardi Scrope Archiepiſcopi Eboracenſis: In Anglia Sacra, Tom. II. 1691. p. 370.

(67) Stow's Annals, fol. 333. Biſhop Godwin, in his Life of Archbiſhop Scrope; and Prince, in that of Sir William Fulford, erroneouſly engage Sir W. Gaſcoigne with him, in pronouncing this Sentence.

(68) Quære, If theſe Miracles, as they are called, are mentioned in the ſaid Dr Gaſcoigne's MS. Diſcourſe of the Archbiſhop's Decollation before ſpoken of.

(69) C. Maydeſtone, &c. as before.

(70) Edward Hall, &c.

off, it is evident that he ſoon recovered the King's favour; if now, the ſame year in which he loſt it, he received, as we ſee it aſſerted in the laſt note, the honour of knighthood from him. In April 1408, the Earl of Weſtmorland, Judge Gaſcoigne, and others, were further empowered by the King, who is expreſſed to be fully ſatisfied of their fidelity and circumſpection, to treat with, compound, and offer clemency or pardon to the adherents of the Earl of Northumberland; likewiſe to receive their fines, and pay them into the Exchequer: and this power for their ſaid treaty, is alſo dated from Pountfreyt Caſtle, on the 25th of April, in the year aforeſaid (*u*). Beſides the determination of particular cauſes in the Court of King's-Bench, which may be conſulted in the law books, as we before obſerved, many other publick affairs of the kingdom, of more general or national concern, we may diſcern the Chief Juſtice engaged in, to regulate or reform, according to the reſolutions and directions of the Parliament; tho' his name does not frequently occur, in ſuch abſtracts of their acts and ordinances as have appeared in print: and this may be obſerved from the beginning of Judge Gaſcoigne's adminiſtration of Juſtice in that Court. As where, upon a petition of the Commons, that the fees of all the Marſhals in every one of the King's Courts, and of the Warden of the Fleet, might be certainly, or expreſsly, ſettled and eſtabliſhed by authority; the King is ſaid to have appointed, that the Council, Chancellor, and Juſtices, ſhould take order therein (*w*). So alſo, where a judgment had formerly been given in the King's-Bench, in a cauſe between the late King Richard demandant, and Edmund Baſſet deforcient, for certain lands and tenements with-held from him in Somerſetſhire; and that judgment given againſt the ſaid Baſſet, was, for certain errors, revoked in the ſaid Court, now, in the reign of King Henry, with reſtitution granted of the premiſes; tho' no Judge of this Court is mentioned to have reverſed that judgment (*x*); it was late enough in this King's reign for Gaſcoigne to have then been the Chief Juſtice there, and to have granted the ſaid reſtitution. And, when certain Abbots, Priors, Knights, Eſquires, and other perſons of diſtinction, who had been wrongfully impeached, by a common perjured evidence in the King's-Bench, for ſundry heinous crimes, and ſuffered impriſonment; when the villainy was detected, that evidence condemned to death, and the guiltleſs priſoners diſcharged, by the King's writ; as 'tis expreſſed to be ſent to the Juſtices of the King's-Bench, it is here likewiſe manifeſt, that Chief Juſtice Gaſcoigne did then officiate in that ſeat (*y*), and might be principally implied, tho' no one Judge is named in the abſtract, or any thing elſe, whereby we might diſcover which of them was moſt inſtrumental in detecting ſuch extenſive injuſtice in the guilty on one ſide, and promoting ſuch a general deliverance of the innocent on the other; but the names of thoſe who were ſuch benefactors, in this ſignal relief, are thus paſſed over, and that of the malefactor, as may be ſeen, preſerved (z). As other inſtances might be given, in ſome ſucceeding years of that King's reign, how little we are able to diſtinguiſh what particular ſhare the Chief Juſtice had in theſe parliamentary references to a determination in his Court, from the ſhort and general form or manner of thoſe references; or the little we can find determined by him, in what appears among thoſe abſtracts under his own name, we ſhall give but one example more of a caſe, in which he is thus conjunctively referred to; and that was of great moment to many, as it concerned ſuch a comprehenſive reformation of practice in the Law. For the Attorneys being even then grown, by their multitude and male-practice, a publick grievance; an act was now made, in 1410 (*a*), not only for the reduction and limitation of them, to a certain number for every county, but alſo for their amendment and correction; as that they ſhould be ſworn every term, to deal faithfully and truly by their clients; and in breach thereof, ſhould be impriſoned for a twelvemonth, and make their ranſom according to the King's will: alſo, that the Prothonotaries and Filacers, upon conviction, ſhould endure double penalties: and it being further enacted, that the Juſtices of both Benches ſhould make this regulation, the Chief Juſtice Gaſcoigne muſt be again allowed his particular, if not a principal part in this general benefit and redreſs of the ſaid grievance thro' the whole kingdom. Upon this grant of that power to them, is endorſed, *Reſpectuatur per Dominos Principem, et Conſilium* (*b*): by which we may underſtand, that the King's eldeſt ſon, Henry Prince of Wales, was then Preſident of the Council. It ſeems the Clerks and Attorneys of both Benches, did afterwards pray for a revocation of this ſtatute, but the motion itſelf proved that the ſame was an act, notwithſtanding the *Reſpectuatur* thereon endorſed: however, the Judges of both Benches were appointed further to conſult thereupon, as well as more effectually to reform many other miſchievous corruptions and irregularities in their Courts (*c*). But there is another deciſion remitted to our Chief Juſtice, in this abſtract of the Parliament rolls, wherein he is expreſsly named; and that is, in the caſe of William Lord Roos of Hamalake, and his complaint againſt Sir Robert Thirwit, one of the Juſtices of the King's-Bench, in the latter end of November, or beginning of the next month, in 1411 (*d*), for withholding certain manors and

(*u*) Rymer's Fœdera, as above, p. 520.

(*w*) Cotton's Records, anno 2. Hen. IV, p. 409.

(*x*) Idem, p. 408.

(*y*) Ibid. anno 4. Hen. IV, p. 424.

(*z*) Idem, ibidem.

(*a*) Cotton's Records, anno 11. Hen. IV. p. 475. There were but 140 Lawyers and Attorneys in England, temp. Edward I. as appears in a Parliament Roll, anno 20 of his Reign; yet as Chancellor Forteſcue ſays, in little more than 100 years, they encreaſed to about 2000, but afterwards they were reckoned at 10000, and the Courts of Juſtice above 100, by Lord Coke, in Epil. to 4 Inſtit.

(*b* Cotton, as before.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 483.

(*d*) Idem, anno 13. Hen. IV. p. 479.

ſtiles the Judge at this time no more than Eſquire; which may agree very well with what another Hiſtorian obſerves of his receiving the honour of knighthood this year, the ſixth of King Henry IV (71), if we may allow the King's reſentment was but ſhort, or that he was ſo ſoon reconciled to him, for ſuch diſobedience of his unlawful injunction, as to correſpond with his conferring upon him, the ſame year, ſuch a mark of his favour.

(71) Fuller's Worthies, in Yorkſhire, as before.

[*E*] *Th*

and commons in the county of Lincoln; and for lying in wait, with five hundred men, to apprehend or ſeize the ſaid Lord. Sir Robert confeſſed his fault before the King, and offering to abide by the order of two Lords, the complainant's kindred, they made a long award; and further enjoined Sir Robert to make a great feaſt at Melton le Roos, in the ſaid county; that he ſhould prepare two fat oxen, twelve ſheep, two tuns of Gaſcoigne wine, with other proviſions; and then aſſemble thither, all ſuch Knights, Eſquires, and Yeomen, as were his accomplices in this riot; where they ſhould confeſs their miſbehaviour to the Lord Roos, crave his pardon, and make him an offer of five hundred marks in recompence; which the ſaid Lord Roos ſhould refuſe, but pardon them, and partake of their dinner, in token of his reconciliation: and it was referred by the arbitrators aforeſaid, to Sir William Gaſcoigne the Chief Juſtice, to determine the common right between them (e); but to which party he adjudged it, does not appear. It is thought to have been in the latter part of the King's reign, that his ſon, Prince Henry, indulged himſelf with ſome of his corrupt courtiers, in that interval of wild and diſorderly frolicks which ſeveral authors have taken notice of (f). In the courſe whereof, as the Chief Juſtice had before given an extraordinary teſtimony that no reſpect of dignity, however ſupream, in the King himſelf, could move him to an undue adminiſtration of the Law; ſo there occurred ſuch a memorable occaſion to exert the like reſolution againſt the obſtruction of it, in that famous incident of the Prince's being committed to priſon by our Chief Juſtice, now about the latter end of this reign [E], that no act of his, or any other Judge, has been more celebrated by Hiſtorians, Poets, and other eminent writers, to ſucceeding generations. The ſubſtance of the ſtory, as here briefly gathered from the moſt credible accounts, is, that a ſervant of Prince Henry's being arraigned before Judge Gaſcoigne, at Weſtminſter, for felony, and the Prince hearing of it, came into Court, commanded him to be unfettered, and offered to reſcue him; wherein being oppoſed, he ruſhed up to the Bench, with ſuch fury, that, as

(e) Cotton's Records, as laſt quoted.

(f) Stow, Speed, &c.

[E] *The Prince's being committed to priſon by the Chief Juſtice, now about the latter end of this reign.*] Tho' we find not the year in which this extraordinary incident occurred, yet we may gather from ſeveral circumſtances in our old Hiſtorians, that thoſe wild excurſions which Prince Henry gave into, with ſome of his diſſolute and flattering attendants, were more eſpecially made in the latter part of his father's life. For he was carefully educated, and governed at the Univerſity of Oxford, in his green or younger age; and when he came from thence, he was laudably engaged in ſpiriting up his father's armies with his preſence, to appeaſe the commotions in the kingdom, as at Shrewſbury and in Wales, even till the flight of Owen Glendour. We may alſo frequently ſee him ſummoned to the Parliament; and how ſome propoſitions were there made, that he ſhould be ſent with a commiſſion to abide in Wales in the year 1407 (72), for the more effectual ſuppreſſion there of the rebellion. We may ſee him likewiſe mentioned, in ſome years, as Preſident of the Council; as where, in May 1410, when two of the Counſellors were changed, the Speaker recommended Prince Henry, and his brothers the Lords Thomas, John, and Humphry, to advancement; for which the King thanked him, and promiſed ſatiſfaction at opportunity (73); and, as it is recorded elſewhere, under that year, the ſaid Lord Thomas was then created Duke of Clarence; the Lord John, Duke of Bedford; and Humphry, Duke of Glouceſter (74). Tho' others, from the records, affirm, that the ſaid Lord Thomas of Lancaſter was not created Duke of Clarence till two years after, and about eight months before his royal father's death (75). Again we may alſo find, that on the laſt of November 1411, the King is prayed, by the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, Thomas Chaucer, the ſon of Geffrey the Poet, in the name of the Commons, to give thanks to the Prince, and others appointed to be of the King's Council in the laſt Parliament, for well employing the treaſure therein granted (76). And yet there is interval or ſpace enough before the King's death, which was more than fifteen months after that, for ſuch a contempt to have been committed in the Court of King's Bench, as might occaſion the impriſonment of the Prince. For this aſſault of the Chief Juſtice, is agreed upon to have been done, when the Prince was well grown into the years of manhood, and beyond the controllment of any tutors (77). And it muſt have been alſo after he was Preſident of the Council, becauſe the Hiſtorians likewiſe agree that the King, upon the ſaid inſult of his Chief Juſtice, diſcarded the Prince of Wales from the Council-board, and took his brother Thomas, whom they call Duke of Clarence at that time, into his room, to the Prince's great reluctance, remorſe, and open reproach. If the Prince had been reformed any conſiderable time before the King died, there would have been no occaſion for him to be ſeen in that ſtrange kind of emblematical dreſs or diſguiſe at Court; breaking in, as it were, upon the King's retirement, ſo weak and crazed, or near his latter end, as he appears to have been; and in a blue ſilk gown, full of black eylet-holes, with the needles hanging, like ſo many trickling drops of penetential tears, from every one, by the ſilk that wrought them; and offering a dagger for the King to kill him, if he ſuſpected his duty or loyalty (78); in order to diſſipate the jealouſies which he thought had been infuſed into him, by thoſe traducers who might take advantage from his miſconduct towards others, to ſuggeſt that he would grow dangerous and diſloyal to his father. Beſides, if the Prince had, for a good while before the King's death, renounced his irregular and diſcreditable frolicks, he would alſo have diſcharged his looſe accomplices or aſſociates in them; but, it ſeems, he kept them company till he came to the throne; becauſe, not till then, is he ſaid to have ſummoned and diſmiſſed them; and if it were not ſo, the reflection would be very improper in Polidore, and all our other Hiſtorians who have followed him in it; where they ſay, This man was he, ſpeaking of the Prince, after he was King Henry V, who made it manifeſt how neceſſary and commendable it was, for honours, according to the proverb, to change mens manners (79). In the ſame ſenſe Chriſtopher Ocland, one of our Latin Poets; and ſo Shakeſpear alſo underſtood the Hiſtorians, where he ſays of the Prince,

> The breath no ſooner left his father's body,
> But that his wildneſs, mortify'd in him,
> Seem'd to die too (80).

And tho' he had in a former play made an anachroniſm in relation of this incident, or antidated the Prince's violent oppoſition of the Chief Juſtice on the Bench, where he ſpeaks as if it was before the ſuppreſſion of Archbiſhop Scrope's Inſurrection (81); yet afterwards, in the ſame play, more conformable to hiſtorical direction, he deſcribes the Prince to have been ſo much in the heighth of his irregularities, and ſo abſolutely unreclaimed from them, till after his father's death, that it is moſt likely, from the Poet's own repreſentation, this miſdemeanor of the Prince's was not long before it.

[F] *It*

(72) Cotton's Records, anno 8. Hen. IV. p. 452.

(73) Idem, anno 11. Hen. IV. p. 474.

(74) Hall's Chron. anno 11. Hen. IV. p. 30.

(75) Fra. Sandford's Genealogical Hiſt. edit. fol. 1707. p. 309.

(76) Cotton's Abridgment of the Records, anno 13. Hen. IV. p. 479.

(77) Speed, Sandford, &c.

(78) Tho. Otterborne, in Chron. Regum Angliæ, 8vo. 1732. et Tit. Livii Vit. Hen. V. 8vo. 1716. Alſo Stow's Annals and Speed's Hiſt. Baker's Chron. &c.

(79) Pol. Virgil, in Hiſt. Angl. Sub. Hen. V. Hall's Chron. Edw. Leigh's Obſervat. on the Kings of Eng. 8vo. 1661. p. 130, &c.

(80) Shakeſpear's Hen. V. Act. I. Scene I. Alſo, Chriſt. Ocland, in Anglorum Prælia, 8vo. 1582. Sub. Hen. V.

(81) Shakeſpear, in the 2d. Part of Hen. IV. Act. I.

as ſome ſay, it was expected he would, or, as others, that he did, ſtrike the Chief Juſtice; who, nothing diſturbed thereat, after ſome earneſt expoſtulation, upon ſuch interruption of the proceedings, and indignity, in that place, charged the Prince to go directly to the King's-Bench priſon, and there, to wait his father's pleaſure; but in ſuch venerable, ſuch coercive expreſſions; wherein the paternal authority of the King, was ſo inforced by the awful gravity of the Judge, that the Prince's calm ſubmiſſion to that diſgraceful puniſhment, was no leſs ſudden and ſurprizing, than the outrageous offence had been, which drew it upon him. And when that diſturbance, with this commitment, were, by ſome officious courtiers, ſo repreſented to the King, that it might foment his diſpleaſure, he diſcreetly defeated the ill-will of his informers; and, taking it in the right ſenſe, returned God moſt joyful thanks, that in this one example, *he had given him both a Judge who could miniſter, and a ſon who could obey juſtice (g).* 'Tis further affirmed, by many creditable writers of this ſtory, that for this, and other irreputable actions, the Prince was removed from the Council table, as Preſident thereof, and his brother, Thomas of Lancaſter, then, or not long after, Duke of Clarence, admitted in his place: tho' he was probably reſtored before the King's death, as we have ſeen ſome diſpoſitions to repentance and amendment in the foregoing note, and might find him giving other inſtances thereof, as well in the general Chronicles, as the particular Hiſtories, written at large, of his father's reign and his own. But as this was an event too extraordinary to eſcape the embelliſhment of our dramatic Poets, ſome of their audience have rather been inclined to think it a poetical invention, than built upon matter of fact; tho' it may be ſeen upon compariſon, that nothing appears in this ſtory upon the ſtage, except by the heigthning or colouring of the language, but what is founded upon the authority of our Hiſtorians, and other grave writers [*F*]. However, as both Poets

(g) Fuller's Worthies in Yorkſhire, as before. Biſhop Gibſon's Additions, in his Tranſlat. of Camden's Britannia. edit. Fol. 1722, Vol. II. p. 869, &c.

[*F*] *It may be ſeen upon compariſon, that nothing appears in this ſtory on the ſtage, &c. but what is founded upon the authority of our Hiſtorians, &c.*] There were two plays in which Judge Gaſcoigne was brought upon the ſtage by the Poets in Queen Elizabeth's reign, upon this occaſion of his committing the Prince to priſon. The firſt was *the play of King Henry* V (82), a different work from what we have now of Shakeſpear's under that name, and written ſome years before it; becauſe Richard Tarlton, the famous Comedian, who died in 1592, acted in it, not only his own part of the Clown, but alſo that of the Chief Juſtice; the player who was to have performed the ſame being abſent. In this play the Judge on the Bench was to receive a blow of Prince Henry, who was repreſented by one Knell, another drole Comedian of thoſe times; and when it was to be done, he ſtruck Chief Juſtice Tarlton ſuch a ſwinging box on the ear, as almoſt fell'd him to the ground, and ſet the whole houſe † in an uprore of merriment. When *Tarlton* the *Judge* went off, preſently after entered *Tarlton* the *Clown*; and, according to that liberty wherewith the players in thoſe days were indulged, of obtruding interrogatories of their own, in the midſt of their acting, he very ſimply, and unconcernedly, aſked the occaſion of all that laughter, like one who was an utter ſtranger to it. *O!* ſaid another of the actors, *had'ſt thou been here, thou had'ſt ſeen Prince* Henry *hit the* Judge *a terrible box on the ear. What, ſtrike a Judge!* quoth Tarlton. *Nothing leſs,* ſaid t'other. *Then,* reply'd he, *it muſt indeed be* terrible *to the* Judge, *ſince the very report ſo* terrifies me, *that methinks the blow remains ſo freſh ſtill on my cheek, that it burns again.* This, it ſeems, raiſed a greater acclamation in the houſe than there was before; and this was one example of that extempore wit or humour, for which Tarlton was ſo much admired and remembered many years after his death (83). The ſecond play in which our Chief Juſtice is introduced on the ſtage, was written by Shakeſpear (84); but he more judiciouſly therein, has ſunk the action of the Prince's ſtriking the Judge, as an indecorum too groſs and diſagreeable, into a narrative. Their ſpeeches are too long to be here tranſcribed intirely; therefore we ſhall only extract ſo much of them, as may be neceſſary to ſhew how nearly the Poet has followed the ſenſe of the Hiſtorians in matters of fact, and only rendered them more lively and emphatical, by a greater variety of argument and aggravation, eſpecially on the Judge's part, in juſtification of himſelf. For, as it was not conſiſtent with the integrity of his conduct, in the character of a Chief Juſtice, to betray that of a malefactor, by any abject apology or repentance; ſo the Poet has very properly made him declare, before he ſaw his new Sovereign, the late Prince of Wales, whom he had ſo indiſcriminately puniſhed as a common offender, that he would never beg a foreſtalled remiſſion of him, for the power and priviledge he had exerted in right to the honour and prerogative of his office on that occaſion. Accordingly, upon the firſt interview between them, after the ſaid Prince was King Henry V, and he began to expoſtulate a little upon that rough treatment, the Judge diſcourſed him ſo convincingly into a better underſtanding of the matter, that he perfectly turned the tide of his wild blood, reaſoned him into a ſelf-conviction, and into a full reconciliation both to that treatment, and himſelf who had inflicted it; where the Poet makes the Judge intimate, that his reſentment proceeded not from the offence committed againſt him, but his royal father in him; with whoſe authority he was inveſted, in the adminiſtration of the law; and while he was upon his publick duty, in the place of his Sovereign, ſerving his country; or, as the Poet's words are,

Ch. Juſt. Whilſt I was buſy for the commonwealth,
Your Highneſs pleaſed to forget my place;
The majeſty and power of law and juſtice;
The image of the King, whom I preſented;
And ſtruck me, in my very ſeat of juſtice:
Whereon, as an offender to your *father*,
I gave bold way to my authority,
And *did commit you.* If the deed were ill,
Be you contented, wearing now the garland,
To have a ſon ſet your decrees at nought;
To pluck down juſtice from your awful bench;
To trip the courſe of law, and blunt the ſword
That guards the peace and ſafety of your perſon:
Nay more! to ſpurn at your moſt royal image,
And mock your workings in a ſecond body.
Queſtion your royal thoughts, make the caſe your's;
Be now the father, and propoſe a ſon;
Hear your own dignity ſo much prophan'd;
See your moſt dreadful laws ſo looſely ſlighted;
Behold yourſelf, ſo by a ſon diſdain'd;
And then, imagine me taking your part,
And in your power ſoft ſilencing your ſon:
After this cold conſiderance, ſentence me;
And as you are a King, ſpeak in your ſtate,
What I have done that miſbecame my place,
My perſon, or my Liege's ſoveraignty?
King. You are right, Juſtice, and you weigh this well
And I do wiſh your honours may increaſe,
Till you do live to ſee a ſon of mine
Offend you, and obey you, as I did,

(82) Perhaps that intituled *Henry the Fifth, his Victories; containing the honourable Battle of Agincourt*, &c. reprinted 4to. 1617.

† Which then was in Biſhopſgate ſtreet, where the Queen's players often acted.

(83) See Tarlton's Jeſts. 4to. 1611. ſign. C. 2.

(84) Henry the Fourth, the ſecond Part: containing his death, and the coronation of Henry the Fifth. 4to. 1600. &c.

Poets and Hiſtorians have generally thought it ſufficient, in repreſenting the ſame, to diſtinguiſh Judge Gaſcoigne in it, under his title only of the Chief Juſtice, without thinking it

So ſhall I live to ſpeak my father's words;
Happy am I, that have a man ſo bold,
That dares do juſtice on my proper ſon:
And no leſs happy, having ſuch a ſon,
That would deliver up his greatneſs ſo,
Into the hands of Juſtice! You committed me;
For which I do commit, into your hand,
Th' unſtained ſword that you have uſ'd to bear;
With this remembrance; that you uſe the ſame,
With the like bold, juſt, and impartial ſpirit,
As you have done 'gainſt me. There, is my hand.—
You ſhall be as a father to my youth;
My voice ſhall ſound as you do prompt mine ear,
And I will ſtoop, and humble my intents,
To your well-practis'd, wiſe directions (85).

Thoſe who are curious to know how much, or what parts, of theſe ſpeeches are founded upon truth, may find, that the moſt material points or particulars in them, which, among the unread part of their auditories, often paſſed for poetical licence, were, long before this Poet's time, authorized, by good hiſtorical and other grave writers. One of them is Sir Thomas Eliot, a gentleman of good credit and diſtinction, not only for his ſervices to the government under King Henry VIII, but for the learning and virtuous principles he teſtified in many books, which he ſet forth for the benefit of the publick. This author, deſirous of preſenting the ſaid King with the mirror of ſuch an accompliſhed Miniſter, Ruler, or Governor as he wiſhed under him, has accordingly drawn a capital piece of ſuch a character; and in one of the chapters, to ſhew how requiſite the *virtue* of *Placability*, or a reconcilable diſpoſition, is in ſuch a perſon, has illuſtrated the ſame by an example of this incident, in it's full circumſtances, between the Prince and our Chief Juſtice; which, becauſe it has been very ſeldom, if ever, perfectly or exactly recited, without abridgment or alteration; and as his book is now grown, from it's great age, very ſcarce, we ſhall here revive it entirely, as follows, in the author's own words. ‘We lack not of this virtue, ſays he, domeſtical examples, I mean of our own Kings of England; but moſt ſpecially one, whych, in myne opinion, is to be compared with any, that ever was written of, in any region or country. (*) The moſt renowned Prince, Kynge Henry the fifte, late Kyng of Englande, durying the lyfe of his father, was noted to be fierſe, and of wanton courage. It hapned that one of his ſervauntes, whome he favoured well, was for felony by him committed, arreigned at the Kynge's-Benche; whereof the Prynce beyng advertiſed, and incenſed by light perſones aboute him, in furyouſe rage came haſtyly to the barre where his ſervant ſtode as a pryſoner, and commanded hym to be ungyved, and ſet at lybertee. Wherat al men were abaſhed, reſerved the Chief Juſtice; who humbly exhorted the Prince to be contented, that his ſervaunte moughte bee ordered accordyng to the auncient lawes of this realme; or yf he wolde have hym ſaved frome the rigour of the lawes, that he ſhould obtaine, if he mought, of the Kynge his father, his gracious pardon; whereby no lawe, or juſtice ſhulde be derogate. With which anſwere the Prince nothyng appeaſed, but rather more inflamed, endeavoured hymſelfe to take away his ſervant: The Judge, conſyderyng the perillous example and inconvenience that mought therby inſue, with a valiant ſpirit and courage, commaunded the Prince upon his allegeance, to leave the pryſoner and departe his way; with which common commandement the Prince, being ſet all in a fury, all chafed and in a terrible manner, cam up to the place of jugement, men thinking that he wold have ſlaine the Judge, or have done to hym ſome damage; but the Judge ſittyng ſtil without moving, declared the majeſtee of the Kingis place of judgment, and, with an aſſured and bold countenance, had to the Prince theſe wordes followyng. *Syr, Remembre your ſelfe; I kepe here the place of the King your Sovereigne Lorde and Father, to whom ye owe dowble obedience; wherefore eftſoones, in his name, I charge you deſyſte of your wylfulneſſe, and unlaufull enterpryſe, and from henſforthe gyve good example to thoſe, whych hereafter ſhall be your propre ſubjects. And now, for your contempte and diſobedience, go you to the* priſon *of the* Kynges-Bench, *wherunto I commytte you, and remayne ye there pryſoner, untill the pleaſure of the Kynge your father be further knowen.* With whyche wordes beyng abaſhed, and alſo wondryng at the marvailous gravitee of that worſhipfull Juſtice, the noble Prince, laiyng his weapon apart, doyng reverence, departed and went to the Kynges bench, as he was commanded. Wherat, his ſervantes diſdeigning, came and ſhewed to the Kyng all the holle affayre. Wherat he, a whyle ſtudienge; after, as a man all ravyſhed with gladnes, holding his eyes and handes up towards Heaven, abrayded with a lowde voyce: *O mercifull God! Howe much am I bounde to your infynite goodneſſe? ſpecially, for that ye have given me a Judge, who feareth not to miniſter juſtyce; and alſo a ſonne, who can ſuffer ſemblably, and obey juſtice* (86)!’ Here Sir Thomas remarks, how worthy of being preſerved in memory theſe three perſons were. Firſt, the Judge; who, tho' a ſubject, could ſo undauntedly execute juſtice on the heir apparent of the crown: ſecondly, a Prince; who, in the midſt of his paſſion, could be ſo ſuddenly ſtruck, by a grave reproof of his evil example, both with ſhame thereat, and ſubmiſſion to his reprover: laſtly, a King; who could ſo laudably rejoice, to hear of ſuch diſobedience in a ſon, by ſuch a ſubject corrected.

In this account it may be obſerved, that Sir Thomas Eliot does not mention the Chief Juſtice to have received any blow of the Prince, tho' Shakeſpear, in the play, does; in which particular he is ſupported by authors as ancient, tho' in others the Poet ſeems to have followed him. And notwithſtanding that one Hiſtorian thinks this account in Eliot reſts upon his credit only (87), as to the ſpeeches we ſuppoſe, of the Judge, and the King, yet he has not himſelf over-faithfully quoted the ſtory from him, becauſe he mentions alſo, as from his authority, the blow given; which as we may ſee above, is not to be found in this author, tho' that circumſtance is aſſerted by ſome of our Hiſtorians, who wrote as early as himſelf (88), expreſsly enough, to juſtify the recitation; and more particularly afterwards, by an Italian writer of our hiſtory (89). And though Judge Gaſcoigne is not named in the relation of this ſtory, either by theſe, or ſeveral other authors who mention it, (the effect of which ſilence, or omiſſion, we ſhall ſee in the next note) yet no body will doubt the ſubſtance of it, and matter of fact, or that he was the Judge by whom the Prince was ſo committed, who has but read or heard, how early, frequently, and unconteſtedly, the Lawyers and Judges themſelves, were wont to cite this very caſe, as a precedent, in other ſucceeding caſes of commitment. We ſhall here produce but one inſtance; and that, in the words of Crompton, a grave and learned Counſellor in Queen Elizabeth's reign, which are as follow. WHIDDEN *vouche un Caſe in Temps* GASCOIGNE, *Cheefe Juſtice* D'Englitierr, *que commit le* PRINCE *(que voile aver pris un Priſoner del Barre in* Banco Regis*) al priſon; que luy obey humblement, et ala auxi a ſon commandement; in que le* ROY *grandment rejoice, in ceo quil avoit* Juſtice *que oſaſt miniſter juſtice a ſon Fits le* Prince, *et que il avoit* Fits *que lui obey. Et* CATLIN *dit in cel caſe, que il ne uſont de monſtre in le Br̅e̅, pur que ils met pur home, mes ceo nous reſervom*^{9} *in n̅r̅e̅* Pectus, *car poit eſtr pur treaſon, ou grand conſpiracie* (90). That is to ſay; ‘Whidden cites a caſe, in the time of Gaſcoigne, Chief Juſtice of England, who committed the Prince to priſon, becauſe he would have taken a priſoner from the bar at the King's-Bench; and he very ſubmiſſively obeying him, went thither according to order: at which the King was highly rejoiced, in that he had a Judge who dar'd to miniſter juſtice upon his ſon the Prince, and that he had a ſon who obey'd him. And Catlin ſays, in this caſe, that they were not wont to ſpecify the cauſe of the commitment

(85) Shakeſpear's ſecond Part of Hen. IV. Act 5.

(*) Here the author's marginal note is, *A good Judge, a good Prince, a good King.*

(86) The Boke named *The Governour*, deviſed by Sir Thomas Elyot, Knt. Printed by Tho. Berthelet, 8vo. 1546. Boke II. Cap. 6. p. 102.

(87) In J. Speed's Hiſt. of Great Brit. edit. fol. 1623. p. 782.

(88) See Edw. Hall's Union of the Families of Lancaſter and York, &c. fol. 1548. p. 33. Alſo R. Grafton's Chron. at large, in Hen. V. &c.

(89) Sir Francis Biondi's Hiſt. of the Civil War of Eng. between the Houſes of York and Lancaſter, tranſlated by Hen. Earl of Monmouth, in Vol. I. fol. 1641, under the reign of Hen. V.

(90) *L'Authoritie et Juriſdiction des Courts de le Majeſtie de la Roygne: Novelment Collect et compoſe, per* R. Crompton, *del Milieu Temple, Eſq*; Lond. In Ædib. Caroli Yetſweirti Arm. &c. 4to. 1594, p. 79.

it needful to make any mention of his name, the conſequence of this inaccurate diſtinction, ſeems to have been an attempt to ſupply that omiſſion of his name by an erroneous ſubſtitute, which might transfer the ſhining character of an invincible defender of the laws, from one Chief Juſtice to another [G], without any ground to ſupport the uſurpation. Therefore

'ment in the Brief, or Habeas Corpus, but reſerved 'that in their own breaſt; becauſe it might be for 'treaſon, or ſome grand conſpiracy.' Here is a ſummary of the moſt material points of the ſtory, confirmed by the moſt credible authorities; thoſe of Sir John Whiddon, and Sir Robert Catlyn, two eminent Lawyers; the former a Judge, the latter Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, near two hundred years ago; and probably they were not the firſt who made a precedent of it, but if the old law books were to be ſufficiently inſpected, we might find others who had cited it before them. If after theſe teſtimonies there needed any further confirmation of this extraordinary event, we might alledge the ſolid evidence of that metallic memorial, which, not long after it occurr'd, was ſtruck in honour thereof; being a ſmall medal, not ſo broad as a guinea, repreſenting the Judge himſelf, ſitting by another on the Bench, and, with a writing in his hand, reading or ſpeaking to a perſon preſumed to be the Prince, among others in the Court before him; with this inſcription round the edge of it in the old Engliſh character; *Sir Wylliam de Gaſquone* (91). An impreſſion, or ſtamp of this medal, with printing-ink, as it is remembered by thoſe who have ſeen it, was made and preſerved in the margin of a large manuſcript volume, containing the pedigree of that noble family, whereunto the Gaſcoignes were by marriage allied, as is before mentioned, againſt the Rundle wherein the name of Sir William Gaſcoigne is written; which pedigree was partly deduced by Robert Glover, Somerſet-Herald, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and is alſo adorned with the arms of the ſeveral relative or collateral branches, blazon'd in their proper colours; as is uſual in the like accurate tables of conſanguinity, which have been drawn out in commemoration of the Gaſcoignes alſo, and other eminent families. But as this illuſtrious example, which has propagated ſuch a variety of encomiums, attracted ſome of our ancient Poets to flouriſh upon it, as we have ſeen towards the beginning of this note, in their theatrical entertainments: ſo does it continue ſtill to ſhine with ſuch equal luſtre and influence upon ſome Moderns, as hath induced them alſo to celebrate, in the Chief Juſtice, that ſalutary correction and reſtraint which was ſo ſignally, ſo happily, conducive to the Prince's glorious converſion, whereby he ſoon after became ſuch a renowned Conqueror in France, as in other efforts of their genius, ſo in the following *Epigram*; wherewith we ſhall conclude our remarks upon this part of our ſubject.

While upright *Rokeby* ſcorns the ſhining pelf,
And pays in gold, but eats in wood himſelf (†):
While dauntleſs *Gaſcoigne*, from the Judgment Seat,
To *Juſtice* dares make princely *Pow'r* ſubmit;
Dares tame by law, him who all laws cou'd break,
And to a *Heroe*, raiſe a *royal Rake*:
Whilſt we ſuch precedents can boaſt at *home*,
Keep thy *Fabricius*, and thy *Cato*, *Rome*.

[G] *Transfer the ſhining character of an invincible defender of the laws from one Chief Juſtice to another.*] It ſeems that in default of a name to this ſtory in Hiſtory, Sir John Hody was the Judge firſt propoſed to father the ſaid impriſonment of the Prince upon; but this choice being ſoon found ſo ignorantly made, in that the ſaid Chief Juſtice could not be met with in Hiſtory, upon the King's-Bench, till many years after that Prince's death (92), his title to the action was relinquiſhed. But how well the change was mended, in fathering it upon another who was Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, and how much more properly cognizable the caſe was in that Court, may be ſeen in Bracton, Staunford, Crompton, and other writers who diſtinguiſh the proper juriſdiction of our Courts. This other was Sir William Hankford, who was Sir John's countryman; for to a native of Devonſhire, ſome Antiquaries of that county were very fond of intituling the credit of this notable commitment. And one of them ſays accordingly, that this was the noble and famous Juſticiary that dared to do juſtice upon the King's ſon (93), who afterwards was the glory of the Engliſh nation, by the name of Henry V. And upon this authority, another writer, who undertook to revive the eminent men that were born in the ſaid county, has given us an abſtract of this ſtory under the life, and in the name of Sir William Hankford (94), much as it is to be found in John Speed, and other compilers of our general chronicles; tho' neither under the name of Hankford in this author, nor that of any other Chief Juſtice: And adds this reflection, upon the Prince's immediate obedience to the Judge's ſentence, out of Sir Richard Baker: *You would wonder to have ſeen how calm the Prince was in his own cauſe, who in the cauſe of his companion had been ſo violent* (95): As if this Hiſtorian had, by nominating the Judge, authorized him to attribute the ſaid commitment to his Worthy: whereas Baker, in his recital thereof, like moſt others, neither names Sir William Hankford, nor any other Chief Juſtice. But if he had conſulted John Stow, he might have perceived that this Hiſtorian underſtood the Judge, who ſo ordered the Prince to priſon, was Sir William Gaſcoign; tho' indeed he has not very exactly ſettled the whole time of his ſitting on the Bench (96), as we have before obſerved: nor would he have found any direction in this Hiſtorian, for ſending the Prince to the Fleet; but, according to the relation he follows of Sir Thomas Eliot, to the priſon of the King's-Bench (97).

Now the liberty that has been taken of transferring the ſtory of this commitment from one Judge to the other, ſeems to have been hence derived; that a name being ſo often wanted to an event ſo remarkable, and it was reſolved that one ſhould be ſupplied; as there was no chronological ſucceſſion of the Judges then extant, when Riſdon, or ſome other of his countrymen, firſt advanced this miſnomer, to afford any exact light or diſtinction therein: And as Hankford was a Judge firſt of one Bench, during the Prince's minority, and Chief Juſtice of the other all the time he was King, till after his death: As the time of Gaſcoigne's death was not then publickly known in Hiſtory: As Hankford might be thought a Judge of the King's-Bench, while Gaſcoigne was Chief Juſtice on it; or Hankford's ſucceſſion, in his place, might be computed ſooner than it was; he was preferred, as the moſt probable perſon to fix the ſtory upon.

But as this riot which the Prince made, was never pretended to be in the Court of Common-Pleas; whereof Hankford was one of the Judges indeed, but Sir William Thyrning Chief-Juſtice, while Gaſcoigne was ſo on the King's-Bench; as Hankford was never one of the Judges in the King's-Bench; much leſs while Gaſcoigne was Chief Juſtice there, and till he ſucceeded him: as Gaſcoigne did not die ſoon enough for the caſe to come before his ſaid ſucceſſor, in the King's Bench; therefore, if it was *Sir William Hankford*, who, after he was Chief Juſtice thereof, did commit the ſon of King Henry IV. to priſon, it muſt be after he was Henry the Vth, and King of England; which will not be eaſily allow'd. And as it is agreed on all hands, that the cauſe was brought before the King's-Bench, while that King Henry was Prince of Wales, it muſt conſequently be allowed to have been under the juriſdiction of *Sir William Gaſcoigne*. But there are greater improbabilities told under the name of Sir William Hankford, tho' not ſo much to his reputation; among which is, the cunning contrivance he is charged with, of bringing himſelf upon this account, to an untimely end (98). But it is more ſtrange, than, in all probability, true, that a grave, learned, and pious Judge, who had built a church upon his own eſtate at Annery in Devonſhire, ſhould, in his old age, turn ſuch a criminal, as to conſpire a robbery upon himſelf, even of his own life, and by the innocent hands of one of his own ſervants! deſigning it ſhould appear, a murder fore as the glory of that action ſeems to be ſufficiently reſcued, and reſtored, to it's right owner, from the miſguiding conceptions of ignorance, or the impotent endeavours of circumvention to ſupplant him therein, by thoſe authorities which have been here aſſembled, in the foregoing note; and as it might therefore be unneceſſary to appear any further ſollicitous in appropriating the ſame, we ſhall proceed to obſerve that Judge Gaſcoigne perſevered conſpicuouſly in the diſcharge of his duty, not only to the laſt ſeſſion in the Parliament-Houſe, and the laſt term in Weſtminſter-Hall, during the reign of Henry IV, but even beyond the demiſe of this King, to the beginning of his ſon and ſucceſſor Prince Henry, in the royal throne, as it is manifeſtly apparent in the records; notwithſtanding the evidence of thoſe Heralds and Antiquaries, who, tho' reſpectfully to be regarded in many other communications relating to him, and his family, have in the pedigrees thereof been ſomewhat deficient in fixing the date of his death; and tho' it may, in the latitude of a rhetorical ſtyle, be granted, that his ſitting on the Bench, ran parallel in a manner to the King's ſitting on the throne (*b*), yet hiſtorically, or ſtrictly ſpeaking, the meaſure of the King's reign is too long for his adminiſtration at the beginning, and too ſhort in the end. So that as all authors conſent to his departure out of this life on the 17th of December, I think we may ſafely take the liberty of prolonging it only a ſingle year beyond their computation; and inſtead of contracting it to the laſt or fourteenth of Henry IV, extend it to the firſt year of King Henry V, or 1413, unleſs we can think it allowable that he was ſummoned to attend the Parliament out of his grave [*H*]; as he will appear to have been, if he died the

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(91) The Britiſh Librarian, 8vo. 1738. p. 267.

(†) Sir Tho. de Rokeby, twice Lord Juſtice of Ireland, in 1351 and 1355, who ſo laudably laboured to ſuppreſs that damnable cuſtom (as tis called in the Statute, 12 Hen IV. Cap. 6.) of *Coigne* and *Livery*; ſaid, *He would eat out of wooden diſhes, but he would pay for his meat in gold and ſilver.* Vid. Annales Hibern. anno 1356. And Fuller's Worthies in Yorkſhire, p. 218. Camden ſeems to relate it of Sir T. Rokeby, in the time of Rich. III. See his Remains, edit. 1614, p. 283, in the Cap. of *Wiſe Sayings.*

(92) Sir John Hody was not conſtituted Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench till the 13th of April 1440, and then had 140 marks per ann. allowed for his more decent port, &c. as appears in Dugdale's Chron. Series; Alſo in Chronica Juridicialia, &c. 8vo. 1685. p. 127; So he is out of the queſtion.

(93) Tho. Riſdon's Survey, or Chronological Diſcription of Devonſhire; as quoted from the MS. in Prince's Worthies of Devon, fol. 362; and afterwards printed in 2 Vols. 8vo. 1713.

(94) John Prince's Worthies of Devon, fol. 1701. in the page laſt cited.

(95) Sir Rich. Baker's Chron. edit. fol. 1733, in Hen. IV. p. 163.

(96) J. Stow's Annals, or General Chronology of Eng. fol. 1615. p. 342. Col. 2. in the margin.

(97) We have been informed, that there is a lodging room in the King's-Bench priſon, which is called the Prince of Wales's chamber to this day.

(98) Vide Tho. Riſdon, as before in Annery.

(*b*) Fuller's Worthies in his Account of Judge Gaſcoigne, as before.

der committed, in ſuch manner by another, as to clear him of the crime, himſelf of ſuicide, and ſave his effects from confiſcation. For ſo, many Hiſtorians inform us, that, pretending to be enraged with his park-keeper, for ſuff'ring his deer to be ſtoln, he charged him that, the firſt perſon he met, at unſeaſonable hours, who wou'd not ſtand, and give account of himſelf, he ſhou'd ſhoot him; and that he wou'd indemnify, or diſcharge him. Accordingly, the keeper did meet with a man in the park, under an oak tree, one dark night, who wou'd not ſtand and declare what his buſineſs was; whereupon he ſhot him dead, and it proved to be his Maſter (99). One relator of this tragedy informs us, he has ſeen the ſtump of that tree, which is called, ſays he, *Hankford's Oak* to this day (100). And one motive to this deſperate deſtruction of himſelf, is pretended to have been, his having committed the Prince of Wales to priſon, and his dreadful apprehenſions from thence, that being King, he wou'd be revenged for the diſgrace (101); tho' he had preferred him, after Gaſcoigne's deceaſe, to be his repreſentative on the King's Bench; which fear, throwing him into inſuperable melancholy and deſpair, provoked him to this preferable courſe, of getting himſelf *murdered*, that he might not be put to *death*; which is ſo ridiculouſly incredible, that it needs no other confutation, than to obſerve that, on the ſixth of October 1423, he was confirmed Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench (102); which proves that he could neither be in any fear of revenge from King Henry V, who had then been above twelve months in his grave, nor ſo diſorder'd, with any ſuch melancholy, deſpair, or diſtraction of mind, as is pretended, when he was thought capable, to the very concluſion of his life, which happened in leſs than three months after, of diſcharging his office, and deciding cauſes upon the bench. And that date, by the way, may alſo ſerve to rectify another, in the inſcription as quoted from his monument (103); by which, thro' ſome error in the copy, or defect in one figure of the date, we are led to believe, he died a year ſooner than he did.

[*H*] *Unleſs we can think it reaſonable, that he was ſummon'd, to attend the Parliament, out of his grave.*] Though in the pedigrees we have ſeen of this family, both in manuſcript and print, Sir William Gaſcoigne is mentioned to have died on the 17th of December, 1412; and though it is believed that Dr Fuller, in his account of this Chief Juſtice (104), received direction to confine himſelf to the ſame date, from Mr Richard Gaſcoigne the Antiquary, becauſe he acknowledges that he was informed by him of the Judge's birth-place; and ſays, 'That date is fairly legible on his ſtately 'monument in Harwood church (105);' yet we think it will appear that there is a little miſcomputation therein, and that occaſioned, either through ſome error in the tranſcript from the tomb of Sir William Gaſcoigne, or ſome ſuch dimneſs of one, and the ſame laſt numerical figure upon it, as might cauſe the like miſtake in ſpace of time, with that which we obſerved before in the inſcription taken from Sir William Hankford's (106). For, it is credibly aſſerted, that Chief Juſtice Gaſcoigne gave his judgment upon a certain brief in Hillary-Term the fourteenth of Henry IV (107), or between the latter end of January, and the middle of February, the ſaid year beforementioned, 1412 (108), which may be near two months after the time of his death above quoted, as from his tomb. And the ſaid King Henry died on the 20th of March following, which is above three months after that date of Gaſcoigne's death, as it is ſaid to have been inſcribed on the tomb: yet we ſhall find him to have been, after that King's death, alive, and called to Parliament, in the firſt year of King Henry V. But if in reverence to monumental authority, it muſt not be granted that Gaſcoigne was living after the ſaid King Henry's coronation, which was the ninth of April 1413, we muſt reject that ſpeech as a forgery, which he is affirmed to have made the day after it, to thoſe who had been his diſſolute comrades, while he was Prince of Wales; whom he then ſummon'd before him to renounce and diſcharge them, after a formal manner. In this ſpeech the Chief Juſtice is expreſsly mentioned to be alive, as it is recorded by John Truſſell; who, in the preface of his hiſtory, having declared againſt making, or deviſing fictitious ſpeeches, for any of the eminent perſonages commemorated therein, we ſhou'd the more reaſonably give credit to it (109); and in the ſaid ſpeech, after this King had told thoſe his companions, It was ſufficient, that for many years together, he had faſhion'd himſelf according to their unruly diſpoſitions, not without reluctance; and wandered with them in a wilderneſs of riot and unthriftineſs; whereby he had made himſelf almoſt an alien to the hearts of his father and allies, and ſo diſparaged, or depreciated himſelf, that in the eyes of mankind, his preſence was grown vulgar and ſtale, and like the cuckow in June, heard but not regarded; he proceeds in brief to relate how, when one of them was convented before the Lord Chief Juſtice, he interpoſed, and ſtruck him on the face; and that he was by him deſervedly committed for the ſame: *for which act of juſtice, ſays he, I ſhall ever hold him worthy of the place, and my favour; and wiſh all my Judges to have the like undaunted courage, to puniſh offenders of what rank ſoever*, &c (110). But if through any little diſagreements in this ſpeech with the more ancient accounts already related, any readers ſhall except againſt it, as doubting the genuineneſs thereof, there is no need to contend for it; ſince we have authorities, which they will think unexceptionable, from the Records themſelves, to prove that our Chief Juſtice was living after the ſaid King came to the crown, and was then called, as we before ſaid, to the Parliament. For, in Sir William Dugdale, who has mentioned all the writs of ſummons directed to him, from the third of Henry IV, we may ſee the laſt of them, dated from Weſtminſter, the 22d of March, in the firſt year of this King

(99) Riſdon, as above. Alſo Tho. Weſtcote's Survey of Devonſhire, MS. Alſo Fox, Baker, Fuller's Worthies of Devon, &c.

(100) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 362.

(101) Riſdon, as before.

(102) Chronica Juridicialia, p. 121. from Dugdale's Chron. Series.

(103) In Fuller, Prince, &c.

(104) His Worthies, in Yorkſhire, as before.

(105) Idem.

(106) Sir W. Hankford, ſaid, in that Inſcription, to have died in 1422; but as we have computed, in 1423. Sir W. Gaſcoigne ſaid, in this Inſcription, to have died in 1412; but as we ſhall compute, in 1413.

(107) See the Year-Books, De Termino Hillarii, Anno 14. Hen. IV. p. 18.

(108) Or 1413; if our ancient Hiſtorians then began to draw the circle of their years at Chriſtmas time, as J. Speed aſſerts they did. See his Chron. edit. fol. 1623, p. 778. col. 2.

(109) His words are, in his Epiſtle to the Reader, that he has forborne to obtrude any thing of his own invention, *quia malui Aliena imprudenter dicere, quàm propria impudenter ingerere.*

(110) J. Truſſell's Continuation of Sam. Daniel's Collection of the Hiſt. of Eng. fol. 1641, p. 94.

the year before. There is no doubt but the ſolemnity of his funeral was magnificently proportionable, as well to his eminent dignity, his honourable family, plentiful fortune, and exalted fame, as to the ſepulchral honours wherewith his remains were diſtinguiſhed in Harwood church, the Place of his interment. Upon his ſtately monument are to be ſeen the effigies of himſelf at length; and, on his right hand, one of his wives by him. He is repreſented in his Judge's robes, with his hood on; a large purſe faſtened to his girdle on his left ſide, and a long dagger on the right (*i*) But the inſcription which was cut on a braſs fillet, and inlay'd about the verge of the tomb, having been torn away during the civil wars, we cannot aſſert what date, or further particulars it contained, otherwiſe than from a doubtful copy, ſaid to have been taken from the monument before the ſame was robbed thereof, and thoſe particulars were legible. Of this inſcription having formerly received ſome account, as alſo of ſome other antiquities relating to the family, from the late Rev. Mr Knight, Vicar of Harwood, and other correſpondents, our reader may not think them unworthy of preſervation in this place [*I*]; the rather becauſe, if the ſaid inſcription meets with

King Henry V, to meet in the Parliament that was to be there held, in the third week of Eaſter; and it did aſſemble accordingly, on the 15th of May in the ſaid year 1413 (111), when, there is no intimation of the leaſt doubt to the contrary, but Sir William Gaſcoigne was at this time preſent in it. But, being afterwards incapacitated by age or infirmities, to officiate in court, or attend in the next Seſſions of Parliament, ſummoned from Weſtminſter, on the firſt of December, to be held at Leiceſter, on the 29th of January following, in the ſecond year of the King (112), and ſo on, through his reign, to the third of Henry VI, the like writs are directed to Sir William Hankford, Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench; and Sir William Gaſcoigne is no more mentioned. Whence it is evident, that, as he is univocally allowed to have died on the 17th of December, it was in this firſt year of Henry V, or 1413, and not the laſt of Henry IV, as the Genealogiſts and Hiſtorians have in a ſingle year miſreckon'd. And tho' Sir William Hankford is ſummoned, by the nominal title of Chief Juſtice, in the writ directed to him, on the ſaid firſt of December, yet it is diſtinguiſhed that he was not ſo conſtituted, till the 29th of January following, which is computed to have been in the year of our Lord, 1414 (113). But though many authors in this particular point of Chronology, have thus ſhorten'd a little the line of this celebrated Chief Juſtice's life, we have met with one who has made ample amends, and ſpun it out to a length beyond all authority or belief; as may be ſeen in the enſuing note.

[*I*] *Our reader may not think them unworthy of preſervation in this place.*] The account we formerly received from the late Rev. Mr Knight, in a letter containing theſe antiquities relating to the Gaſcoigne family, may beſt appear in the words of the ſaid letter; which is as follows.

Harwood, *April* 20, 1742.

SIR,

‘HAVING been acquainted by Mr Green of Wakefield, who was lately at my houſe, that an account of the Lord Chief Juſtice Gaſcoigne's Monument in my church would be acceptable to you, if what I have here drawn up will afford you any ſatiſfaction, it will be highly pleaſing to me.

‘'Tis a misfortune there is no Inſcription now remaining on that monument; and the arms relating to the family, once viſible on the ſhields carved thereon, are now no longer ſo; having been only blazon'd in colours and not cut in *Baſſo-Relievo*. Yet it is obſervable, that ſome of the armorial lines, whereby eſcutcheons are divided, may be ſtill ſeen upon them, and particularly on one of thoſe at the eaſt end of the ſaid monument, where we can behold the too perpendicular lines drawn through the middle of the eſcutcheon, in form of a pale; which I am perſuaded once bore the arms of the family. Beſides the robes of a Judge, in which the effigies is apparell'd, is a very prevailing evidence that it was carved to repreſent this excellent Lord Chief Juſtice, as we find no other of his ſtation or dignity here interr'd.

‘And what may further ſtrengthen our belief therein is, that in the eaſt window of the iſle or chapel where the monument ſtands, are ſome remains of painting on the glaſs; among which are three figures kneeling; whereof, two repreſent women, on each ſide one, and the third, a man in the middle, and him I take to be the Lord Chief Juſtice Gaſcoigne; part of whoſe ſcarlet robe ſtill appears, though the greater part thereof is unfortunately defaced; which is confirmed, by an eſcutcheon of his arms, ſtill to be ſeen over his head; and I take the other two figures, which are pretty entire, to repreſent his two wives, as partly appears from the arms of Gaſcoigne, which are, *Argent, on a Pale Sable; a Demi Luce, Or*; and are impaled with their own, on each of their mantles; but more clearly from the eſcutcheons of their own arms, placed over their heads; which arms are, firſt, thoſe of the illuſtrious family of Mowbray, viz, *Gules; a Lion Rampant Argent, armed and langued Azure; a Bordure gobonated, Or, and Argent:* the other, thoſe of the ancient family of Pickering, viz. *Ermin; a Lion rampant Azure, crowned, Or; armed and langued Gules.* The arms of Mowbray are quarter'd with thoſe of Gaſcoigne, the latter diſtinct. Now that thoſe painted figures and arms repreſent and belong to the ſaid Chief Juſtice and his wives, is confirmed by the pedigree of the Gaſcoignes, printed in Mr Thoreſby's Antiquities of Leeds, to which I refer you for further ſatisfaction: and what is more, the original of the ſaid pedigree, which I have ſeen by the favour of Sir Edward Gaſcoigne, exhibits the painted figures abovementioned, by a copy thereof when entire; painted in ſuch a lively manner upon the parchment roll, as perfectly corroborates the obſervations I have drawn from the ruinous remains of the window, which is now in a worſe condition than it was when I firſt made theſe remarks, and conſequently lets in leſs light to our enquiries. But that I am not miſtaken in my account of thoſe figures and arms, the remainder of an inſcription at the bottom of the ſaid window, as it ſtood when I took it, will ſtill more evidently demonſtrate; which ſtands thus; **Orate pro Gulielmo Gaſcoyne, et Elisabetha, et Johanna Uxoribus ejuſdem.** I have ſupply'd, as you ſee, the chaſms which time had then made, and are now greater; yet I think, without any room to doubt ſuch ſupplement, as the name of his ſecond wife appears in the pedigree, to be Joan.

‘But whereas Mr Thoreſby dates the Chief Juſtices's death in 1412, it ſeems to be a miſtake, by what is mentioned in the ſpeech of King Henry V, to his licentious aſſociates, while he was Prince, as it is recorded in Truſſel's Continuation of Daniel's Hiſtory; in which ſpeech, this Chief Juſtice appears to be then living; and the ſame is confirmed by a copy of the inſcription, ſaid to have been preſerved, as it originally ſtood upon the monument; which I deſigned to have annexed to this account, had not Mr Green, who received it from me, been before-hand with me, in tranſmitting it to you, wherefore it is omitted. And though, as you obſerve, Dr Fuller affirms, that the date of the Judge's death, which he mentions, is fairly written on his tomb in Harwood church; yet it does not appear from thence that he had ſeen it; nor is it likely that it was legible when he wrote the latter part of his Worthies; becauſe moſt of the braſs margins which contained the monumental inſcrip-

(*i*) Extract of a Letter from Smart Lethieullier, Eſq; F.R.S. to Mr G. Vertue; from Alderſbooke, July 18, 1750.

(111) A perfect Copy of all the Summons of the Nobility to the great Councils and Parliaments of this realm, from 49 of Hen. III. until theſe preſent times; extracted from the Publick Records by Sir W. Dugdale, Knt. Garter, Principal King of Arms, fol. 1685. p. 389.

(112) Idem. De Parliamento tenendo apud Leiceſtriam, p. 390. 391, &c.

(113) Dugdale's Chron. Series. p. 56, ex Pat. 1. Hen. V. M. 33. And Chron. Juridicialia, p. 117.

with nothing to confirm the ſame, it may here carry with it ſufficient caution, or advertiſement, that others may not be miſguided by it. It is alſo obſerved, that the Arms of England are carved or painted at the foot of the Judge's tomb, with thoſe of France, *Semé Fleurs de Lis* (*k*); which Henry V. reduced to three of thoſe flowers, not long after he came to the crown, being the ſame number then worn by Charles VI. of France (*l*): and thus much is all we have here to obſerve of the ancient, valiant, and virtuous family, as Camden ſtiles it, of the Gaſcoignes.

tions in churches, were torn away, by the ſacrilegious plunderers in the grand rebellion; whereof there are viſible inſtances in other parts of my church. But the inſcription communicated to you, which I received of a curious gentleman in London, is probably more to be relied on, than that in the printed authority aforeſaid, becauſe it ſeems to have been tranſcribed from the tomb when it was entire; being preſerved in an old volume of *monumental draughts, and arms from the Windows of ſeveral remarkable churches in Yorkſhire*, as they might be ſtanding perhaps an hundred and fifty years ſince; from which volume, among the *MSS in the Herald's Office*, it was copied, and ſent me by the ſaid gentleman, Mr Smart Lethieullier of Bond-ſtreet.

‘ There is a monument under the arch in the ſouth wall of the chapel, where Judge Gaſcoigne's is, which, as I ſuppoſe, is his father, and mother's, from the numerous progeny repreſented in effigie on one ſide, and at the end thereof; which progeny agrees pretty well with that in the pedigree; only, in this, a part is probably left out, for want of room. I take the other monument under the oppoſite arch, on the ſide of the great chancel, to be that of his grand-father and grand-mother, who was the heireſs of Gawthorp.

‘ When I ſaw the pedigree aforeſaid at Sir Edward Gaſcoigne's, and ſome other antiquities, I received from him the impreſſion of an original *ancient ſeal*, belonging to that family. It exhibits a perſon ſetting, who is thought to be William the Conqueror, and delivering a deed, it ſeems, to a perſon kneeling before him, who is ſuppoſed to be one of the family of Gaſcoigne, and to receive thereby a grant of lands. Other two perſons are alſo repreſented kneeling by him, probably for the ſame purpoſe; and there ſeems to be the head of another ſtanding by the Conqueror, as one of his officers or attendants. The legend round the ſeal is Sir Willeme Gasqvone. Mr Richard Gaſcoigne has left ſome *obſervations on this ſeal*, in MS (which are in Sir Edward's hands) who writes his name as here ſet down, to the beſt of my remembrance. If theſe, or any other particulars I can furniſh you with, will anſwer your enquiries, it will be very agreeable to,

‘ SIR,

‘ Your moſt Obedient

‘ Humble Servant,

‘ R. KNIGHT (114).’

Here it may not be improper to remark, that the deed or patent, appearing, in this old family ſeal, to be given by W. the Conqueror, or one of his ſucceſſors, to an anceſtor of Judge Gaſcoigne, ſeems to be the ſame, which Mr Richard Gaſcoigne is repreſented in his picture beforementioned, to be holding in his hand, and doubtleſs he was poſſeſs'd of the old grant or patent ſo painted therein; which in all probability we ſhould find he has explained, or mentioned the contents of, in his ſaid *obſervations* upon that ſeal, were the curious obliged with an edition thereof from the preſs. Another account we have alſo received of this ſeal (115), with ſome further conſtructions of the images upon it; which, as they may be of uſe towards attaining the full knowledge or explanation thereof, we ſhall here alſo recite: ‘ There is ſtill preſerved in this family, the ſeal of the firſt William, the inſcription about it, in Gothic characters, and his name ſpelt in the Gaſcon manner, Sigillvm Willelmi de Gasquone. There is repreſented on it, a King, ſitting in a chair of ſtate, with another perſon by him, who ſeems to be a coaſſeſſor, and delivering a charter to a knight on his knees before him, agreeable to the cuſtom both of the Conqueror's and Henry IId's times: and perhaps the grant referred to by this device, when the eldeſt ſon of that King Henry was aſſociated with him in the royalty (116).’ As for the copy, ſaid in the letter above, to have been taken of the Inſcription on the Chief Juſtice's monument, from a MS in the Herald's Office wherein it was preſerved, before that braſs edging was ript off whereon it was inſcribed; and which, as Mr Knight has alſo above ſaid, was ſent by the late Mr William Green, an ingenious carver and ſtatuary ſome time of Wakefield (117), in a letter to the writer of this article; that letter, containing the ſaid inſcription, is alſo ſtill in being; and the ſubſtance in it, of what concerns this matter is, That in, or about the year 1736, Sir John Forteſcue Aland (118) being in Yorkſhire, took a journey of ſome miles, to ſee Judge Gaſcoigne's monument; but finding no epitaph on it, and Mr Knight the Vicar of Harwood diſtant from home, he returned unſatisfied of the intelligence he wanted; as it was thought he intended to publiſh ſomething concerning the ſaid Judge. But afterwards, by letters from London, he ſought and obtained of Mr Knight, ſuch an account of the antiquities in Harwood church, &c. relating to this family, as we have printed above: yet Sir John received not the ſaid inſcription, becauſe Mr Knight was not then poſſeſſed of it. And after Mr Lethieullier had oblig'd him with it, Mr Knight ſent him, at his requeſt, or in return of the favour, a caſt of Judge Gaſcoigne's face from the effigies on his monument, taken, or finiſhed off, by Mr Green, in plaiſter of Paris; and he gave Mr Green a copy of the Inſcription; which, as he ſent it to us, in a letter (119), dated a fortnight before that above was written by Mr Knight, we ſhall here exactly tranſcribe; after having firſt obſerved, that in one part of Mr Lethieullier's letter, above quoted in the text, it is ſaid to be the effigies of his ſecond Lady, Joan, daughter of Sir William Pickering, which lies at the right-hand of the Judge on his Monument, but in this inſcription, to be that of his firſt Lady, Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Mowbray: and yet we believe, the great difference in the chronological aſſertion of the Judge's death, no leſs than ſixteen years later than any other account, will be a greater difficulty to digeſt. But here it is, juſt as we received it. *Hic Jacet Willielmus Gaſcoine, nuper Capitalis Juſticiarꝰ de Banco Henrici nuper Regis Angliæ, et Elizabetha uxor ejus: Qui quidem Willielmus obiit Die Dominica*, 17^{o}. *Die Decembris*, A^{o}. D^{ni}. 1429 (120). Beſides the general exception to which this date, in the year of our Lord, is liable, by being ſo widely different from all authority or likelihood, the day of the week may alſo poſſibly, upon calculation, be found incoherent with the day of the month in the ſaid year; and thus much, if this date is ſuch an error as we take it to be, we thought here obſervable, to prevent the propagation thereof. G

(*k*) Mr Lethieullier's Letter, as above.

(*l*) Fr. Sandford, as before, fol. 277.

(114) He died at his Vicarage in Yorkſhire, in July 1747.

(115) In Memoirs of the Gaſcoignes MS. as before.

(116) Idem.

(117) But born in Lond. and was the author of ſome critical obſervations on the Monuments in Weſtminſter-Abbey; and alſo of Remarks upon ſome Churches, noble Seats, and other antique or noted Structures, in the North of Eng. never printed. He died at Lond. Sept. 24, 1747, aged 53.

(118) One of the Judges of the Court of King's-Bench, and late Lord Creden in Ireland; who died in December 1746.

(119) Mr Green's Letter concerning Judge Gaſcoigne's Monument, to the author of this article, dated from Wakefield, April 5, 1742.

(120) If any Reference to the Volume in the Herald's Office, from whence this Inſcription is ſaid to have been tranſcribed, had been ſent with it, we ſhould have here cited it, for the more eaſy examination thereof.

GASTRELL (FRANCIS), late Biſhop of Cheſter, a man of great learning, and an excellent preacher, was born at Slapton in Northamptonſhire, about the year 1662 (a). His education was at Weſtminſter-ſchool, under the famous Buſby; from whence he was elected Student of Chriſt-Church in Oxford. There he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in 1684; that of Maſter, April 20, 1687; and that of Bachelor of Divinity, June 23, 1694 (b). About the time he took this laſt degree, he was Preacher to the Honourable Society of Lincoln's-inn: and was ſo eminent and admired for his ſound, elegant, and uſeful manner of preaching, that he was appointed to preach in the year 1697, the Lecture founded by the Hon. Robert Boyle, Eſq; The eight Sermons he made upon that occaſion, were publiſhed by him in 1697, in one continued Diſcourſe [*A*], that the ſtrength of the proofs therein uſed might appear more plainly from their connexion (c). By way of continuation, or ſecond part, of the ſame moſt important ſubject, he publiſhed in 1699, another Diſcourſe, to which he gave the title of, ‘The Certainty of the Chriſtian Revelation, and the Neceſſity of Believing it, eſtabliſhed [*B*].’ On the 13th of July 1700, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (d): and, being Chaplain to the Houſe of Commons, was preſented by Queen Anne to a Canonry of Chriſt-Church in Oxford; to which he was inſtituted January 5, 1702-3, and inſtalled the 16th of the ſame month (e). He publiſhed, in 1702, ‘Some Conſiderations concerning the Trinity, and the way of managing that Controverſy [*C*].’ And afterwards put out another piece againſt Dr Samuel Clarke, upon that ſubject [*D*]. But his moſt conſiderable work, next to his Boyle's Lectures, was an excellent book, which he intituled, ‘The Chriſtian Inſtitutes, or the ſincere Word of God [*E*].’ He alſo publiſhed in 1707, a Sermon preached at the Anniverſary meeting

(a) Survey of the Cathedrals by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. p. 338. compared with Vol. II. p. 462.

(b) From the Univerſity-Regiſter.

(c) See the Dedication of that book.

(d) From the Univerſity-Regiſter.

(e) J. Le Neve's Faſti, p. 527. And Willis, as above, Vol. II. p. 462.

[*A*] *The eight Sermons he made upon that occaſion, were publiſhed by him in 1697, in one continued Diſcourſe.*] He intit'led it, ‘The Certainty and Neceſſity of Religion in general, or the firſt Grounds and Principles of Humane Duty eſtabliſh'd; In eight Sermons, preach'd at St Martin's in the Fields, at the Lecture for the year 1697, founded by the Honourable Robert Boyle, Eſq; 8vo.’

In the Preface he obſerves, That ‘in every age of the world we have any account of left us, the Wickedneſs of Mankind has much the largeſt ſhare in their Hiſtory; and if we believed the Complaints of the ſeveral Hiſtorians, who acquaint us with what paſſed in their days, we ſhould be diſpoſed to conclude, that thoſe particular times, we were reading of, were certainly a great deal worſe than any that went before, and that conſequently Vice having been always growing, and gathering ſtrength, as the world advanced in age, the preſent Generation of men muſt far exceed all their predeceſſors in wickedneſs: But though (ſays he) I have a very ill opinion of the age we now live in, I cannot look upon this reflection, as juſt and well grounded. The true occaſion, both of the Obſervation, and the Complaints grounded upon it, *he* takes to be that variety of Wickedneſs, whereby the ſeveral Ages and Countries of the world have been diſtinguiſhed from one another. For there have been as many different methods and faſhions of ſinning, among men, as forms of government; and as many changes and revolutions in vice as in Empire. Some periods of time have been remarkable for open Cruelty, Rapine, and Oppreſſion; others for Treachery, and private Revenge, and all the ſecret ways of deſtruction: Other ages there have been, when Luxury and Riot, and all manner of extravagant Luſt and Debauchery, were the publick reigning Vices: Sometimes Profaneneſs, and a publick Contempt of Religion have prevailed; at other times, Indifference, and a careleſs Neglect of all that is good; ſometimes Hypocriſy, and an open Pretence to piety and virtue, have been uſed for a cover to a cloſe and ſecret practice of all manner of vice; and at other times, men have had the Impudence to defend the worſt actions, by endeavouring to make them appear conſiſtent with religion. Theſe, and many more ſuch like differences, are obſervable in the Hiſtory of former times; but the peculiar diſtinguiſhing character of this Age is a publick denial of Religion, and all the obligations of it, with an endeavour to diſprove the Evidences brought for it, and to offer a more rational Scheme of Libertiniſm.’

In the firſt Lecture, he thus defines Religion. ‘By Religion in general, I mean all that Worſhip, Service, or Obedience, we, that call ourſelves *Men*, are to pay to *God*; or whatever we are, in any reſpect, *obliged* to, upon the proſpect of his favour, or under the penalty of his diſpleaſure, in *this*, or a *future ſtate*.’

And, a few pages lower, he gives the following Deſcription of the Supreme Being. ‘I conceive God to be *One Unchangeable* Being, of an *intelligent* nature, who *always neceſſarily exiſted* of himſelf, who knows every thing that can be known, who can do every thing that is poſſible to be done, who does every thing he wills, and nothing but what he wills himſelf, who enjoys an unalterable ſtate of the greateſt happineſs that can be enjoyed, who never wills or does any thing inconſiſtent with this ſtate, who makes *himſelf* the ultimate end of all he does, and next to that the good or happineſs of all ſuch beings as are capable of it; which, together with all other beings, and every thing that belongs to them, were from him, and depend upon him for their continuance; and laſtly who brings about whatever he wills or deſigns, by the fitteſt and moſt proper means.’

[*B*] *The certainty of the Chriſtian Revelation, and the Neceſſity of Believing it, eſtabliſhed.*] The reſt of the title, is, ‘In oppoſition to all the Cavils and Inſinuations of ſuch as pretend to allow Natural Religion, and reject the Goſpel.’ It is dedicated to the Lord Chief Juſtice Holt; to whom the ingenious Author pays very handſome compliments, and with a great deal of truth.

[*C*] *Some Conſiderations concerning the Trinity, and the way of managing that Controverſy.*] To the third Edition, which came out in 1707, is ſubjoined, A Vindication of it, in anſwer to Antony Collins's *Eſſay concerning the uſe of Reaſon*.

[*D*] *And afterwards put out another piece againſt Dr Samuel Clarke, upon that ſubject.*] This was intituled, ‘Remarks upon Dr Clarke's Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity, by the Author of Some Conſiderations concerning the Trinity, and the ways of managing that Controverſy.’ Lond. 1714, 8vo. Dr Clarke publiſhed an Anſwer to it, at the end of his *Reply to Mr Nelſon*; and obſerves, That the Objections in thoſe *Remarks*, were ſet forth to particular advantage, by the ſkill of a *very able and Learned Writer*; and propoſed with a *reaſonable and good ſpirit*.

[*E*] *The Chriſtian Inſtitutes, or the ſincere Word of God.*] The reſt of the title is, ‘Being a plain and impartial Account of the whole Faith and Duty of a Chriſtian. Collected out of the Writings of the Old and New Teſtament: Digeſted under proper heads, and delivered in the words of Scripture.’ It is dedicated, To the worſhipful the Maſters of the Bench, and the reſt of the Members of the honourable Society of Lincoln's-Inn. And was at firſt printed in Italic, without any references to the ſcriptures; which were added in the ſecond edition. In the meeting of the Charity-ſchools in London [*F*]. In 1711, he was Proctor in Convocation for the Chapter of Oxford; and made one of the Chaplains in ordinary to Queen Anne. Upon the tranſlation of Sir William Dawes to the Archbiſhoprick of York, Dr Gaſtrell being nominated Biſhop of Cheſter in his room, was conſecrated in Somerſet-houſe Chapel April 4, 1714, and allowed to keep his Canonry in commendam with that ſmall Biſhoprick (*f*). But being one of thoſe Prelates that were advanced during the four laſt years of Queen Anne, the Miniſtry of King George I. thought fit to frown upon him, without any ſufficient reaſon; which ſo much diſguſted him, that he oppoſed and proteſted againſt moſt of their meaſures (*g*). He ſhewed his zeal for the Univerſity of Oxford, in 1717, when it was attacked in the Houſe of Lords, upon account of the pretended riot on the Prince of Wales's birth-day (*h*). And when the Bill was depending, for inflicting pains and penalties, on his old friend and fellow-collegian Dr Francis Atterbury, Biſhop of Rocheſter, he ſpoke in his behalf [*G*]. In the year 1719, &c. he had (out of a tender regard for the Honour and Intereſt of the Univerſities) a conteſt with the Crown, about filling up the Wardenſhip of Mancheſter-college. For Samuel Peploe, Maſter of Arts of the Univerſity of Oxford, having obtained a grant of that Wardenſhip from King George I; and it being a neceſſary qualification, according to the foundation-charter of the ſaid college, that he ſhould be Bachelor of Divinity; inſtead of taking this degree regularly at Oxford [*H*], he procured a faculty for it from the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. But Dr Gaſtrell, who, as Biſhop of Cheſter, was to admit him; not thinking a Lambeth-degree to be a good and effectual qualification in law for any eccleſiaſtical dignity or benefice, refuſed to give him inſtitution, and publiſhed his Caſe [*I*]. However, the matter being referred

(*f*) Willis, ibid. And Le Neve, p. 342.

(*g*) See Hiſt. of the Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. III. p. 17, &c.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 47.

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the preface, he obſerves, that 'ſeveral Abſtracts, or Summaries of *Chriſtian Doctrine*, had been drawn up, for the benefit of ſuch as will not be at the pains to ſearch and ſtudy the Scriptures; ſuch as, by reaſon of their age, are not capable of reading them with judgment; and ſuch as, through ſome prejudice or evil diſpoſition of mind, may be apt to miſapply them.——But the great misfortune is, that theſe very books, which were intended to lead us more eaſily and certainly into the knowledge of Scripture, are moſt of them ſo framed, as to repreſent the Religion there delivered to us, in a falſe light.———The chief occaſion of which abuſe, is, the many Differences and Diviſions that have happened among Chriſtians, both with regard to their Faith, and to their Rules and Meaſures of ſerving God; which Differences, as they plainly roſe at firſt, from a greater deference that was paid, either to the *Traditions*, or *Writings of Men*, than to the *Word of God*; ſo have they been kept up ever ſince, by a greater care that hath been taken by the ſeveral ſects, to inſtruct their children in thoſe things which diſtinguiſh them from one another, than to teach them the common Doctrines and Duties of their moſt holy profeſſion: From whence it follows, that the books compoſed by them for that purpoſe, muſt needs give a very different, and the greateſt part of them, for that reaſon, a very falſe account, of the Chriſtian Religion.——Now, for the better removing any falſe opinions we may have received from thoſe different accounts which are given us of Scripture by other men, as well as preventing any wrong judgments we might be diſpoſed to make of the Word of God, when we read it ourſelves; I have often thought (ſays he) that it would be a work of great uſe, to collect out of the writings of the Old and New Teſtament, all the Doctrines and Precepts therein diſperſed; to lay them together in ſuch an order and method, as to give the Chriſtian reader a full and diſtinct view of his whole Faith and Duty at once; and by keeping all along the Language of Scripture, to leave no room for miſrepreſentation. This is what I have endeavour'd to do in the following Treatiſe, as being fully ſatisfied of the truth of what a great writer obſerves, (1) *That we cannot ſpeak of the things of God better than in the words of God.*'

[*F*] *A Sermon preached at the Anniverſary meeting of the Charity-Schools in London.*] It is intituled, 'The Religious Education of poor Children recommended, in a Sermon preach'd in the pariſh Church of St Sepulchres, June 5, 1707. Being Thurſday in Whitſon-week, at the Anniverſary meeting of the Gentlemen concerned in promoting the Charity-Schools lately erected in the Cities of London and Weſtminſter: And of the poor Children educated in the ſaid Schools, in number about three thouſand.' On Pſalm cxlvii. 12, 13.——In one part of it (2), he has this pretty alluſion, or compariſon.——'Theſe Schools are not like the Popiſh Monaſteries, and other places of religious retirement; thoſe *ſtanding Pools of Charity*, which, if they do not ſtink and grow corrupt, yet, being pent up within narrow bounds, carry no refreſhment or fruitfulneſs to other parts. Theſe are pure and wholſome Streams, which are always running, and diſperſing themſelves into different channels, and by that means, communicating their virtues to all the dry and barren parts of the land. The children that are here educated, will afterwards be diſtributed into many families, &c.'

He alſo publiſhed, without his name, *A moral Proof of a Future State.* And perhaps ſome other pieces, of that kind.

[*G*] *He ſpoke in his behalf.*] The ſubſtance of his ſpeech was. 'That extraordinary proceedings may be recurr'd to, upon extraordinary occaſions, and when they are evidently neceſſary for the preſervation of the State; but that this was very far from the preſent caſe, ſince the Conſpiracy, in which the Biſhop of Rocheſter was charged to have had a ſhare, had been diſcover'd and diſappointed long before (3).'

[*H*] *Inſtead of taking this degree regularly at Oxford.*] When Biſhop Gaſtrell firſt ſcrupled to admit the Archbiſhop's Degree for a qualification, he ſaid [to uſe his own words] to Mr Peploe; 'That, being in all reſpects qualified to take his Degree *regularly* in the Univerſity, he might proceed that way, without any fear of being denied; but, if he deſired any *Favour*, uſually indulged to other perſons, that I would endeavour to obtain it for him; and I did not doubt but the Univerſity would readily grant it.' Upon what views and motives [adds the Biſhop] Mr Peploe declined taking his Bachelor of Divinity's Degree in Oxford, when he had actually prepared the beſt part of the *Exerciſe* required in order to it, I cannot tell; but ſure I am that he might have done it without hurting the Archbiſhop's pretenſions (4).

[*I*] *And publiſhed his Caſe.*] Under this title, 'The Biſhop of Cheſter's Caſe, with relation to the Wardenſhip of Mancheſter. In which is ſhewn, That no other Degrees but ſuch as are taken in the Univerſity, can be deemed legal Qualifications for any eccleſiaſtical preferment in England.' Oxford 1721. fol. As this Book is now grown very ſcarce, the Reader will not be diſpleaſed with an extract of it. The learned Author then obſerves (5), That the Authority of Parliament, upon which the Archbiſhop grounds his pretended Right, is Statute 25 Hen. VIII. c. 21. But there being no mention of *Degrees* in that Act; nor any thing that, upon a careful peruſal of the Act, can lead any one to think of Degrees; the Power now

(1) Chillingworth, p. 152.

(2) P. 16.

(3) Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, as above, p. 353.

(4) Preface to the Biſhop of Cheſter's Caſe, p. 2.

(5) P. 3.

referred to the King's Bench, was decided in favour of Mr Peploe. Biſhop Gaſtrell did not long ſurvive this conqueſt over himſelf and the Univerſities; for he died at his Canon's lodgings in Chriſt-Church November 14, 1725, in the 62d. or 63d. year of his age: and was buried in the Cathedral there, without any monument (*i*). But he left a ſufficient monument of himſelf in his excellent writings. And his virtues are far from being yet forgotten. Beſides his other honourable employments, he was one of the Commiſſioners for building the fifty new Churches in London: and a member of the Society for propagating the goſpel in foreign parts (*k*). He was ſucceeded in the See of Cheſter, by Mr Peploe abovementioned.

(*i*) Willis, as above, Vol. II. p. 462.

(*k*) Hiſtorical Regiſter, an. 1725. in the Chronol. Diary, p. 47.

now challenged by the Archbiſhop, of conferring Degrees, muſt be couched under the *general Powers* there conveyed to him, which are ranked under theſe two heads, viz. 1. ‘All manner of licences, diſpenſations, faculties, &c. as heretofore hath been *uſed and accuſtomed to be had at the See of Rome,* —— or of any perſon by authority of the ſame.——— 2. All other licences, diſpenſations, &c. for all ſuch cauſes and matters as ſhall be *convenient* and *neceſſary* to be had, for the honour and ſurety of the King, and the wealth and profit of the realm.’ But Degrees, as he ſhews (6), were not *uſed and accuſtomed* to be had, for theſe kingdoms at the See of Rome; becauſe no body ever had a good, juſt, and reaſonable cauſe to have recourſe to Rome for them, there being always a ſtanding Power within this realm, from whence they might be obtained. And it was not likely that any perſons would be at an *exceſſive charge* to obtain Degrees from Rome, which they might take at a cheaper rate here at home; namely, in our *Univerſities.*——Moreover, in the ſame Statute of 25 Hen. VIII, it being enacted, ‘That there ſhall be two books made and drawn of one tenour, in which ſhall be contained the *Taxes* of all *cuſtomable* Diſpenſations, Faculties, and other writings, wont to be ſped at Rome:’ Therefore, from two entries, made in a Taxation-book, now remaining in the Faculty-office (7), ſome have inferred the Archbiſhop's right of conferring Degrees.——But our learned Author ſhews this Tax-book (now in the Faculty-office) to be of no manner of authority, or validity (8). For it is only a copy of an ancient paper-manuſcript, taken about the year 1680; And that *ancient paper* manuſcript, was not one of the *original Tax-books* directed to be made by the foreſaid ſtatute; as appears by this very material reaſon, among others, Becauſe it is not *ſigned* or *ſubſcribed* by any body; whereas the Act poſitively orders, that *every Leaf of thoſe Books* (which were enacted to be made and drawn of one tenour), *and both ſides of every leaf, ſhould be ſubſcribed by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor of England, the Lord Treaſurer, and the two Chief Juſtices of both Benches for the time being.* And ſuch ſubſcription was abſolutely neceſſary to render the ſaid books *authentick.*——Beſides, in that ancient MS. paper, the number of heads upon which Faculties were granted, are 225: whereas by an order of Council in 1576, they were reſtrained to 13. And conſequently it cannot be ſuppoſed, that a book where 225 ſeveral kinds of Faculties were taxed, ſhould be looked upon as an *authentick* ſtandard for granting Faculties, at a time when 13 only were judged grantable, which were no way diſtinguiſhed from the other in the *old* book (9). Therefore, our learned Author thinks, that the ſaid ancient paper manuſcript was only a looſe collection of various matters, taken out of ſeveral different books, relating both to the *ordinary* and *extraordinary* juriſdiction of the Court of Rome, put together, with a deſign to compoſe out of it ſuch a *Tax book* as the Act of Parliament directed to be made, and which he believes was *never made* (10).——In conſidering what the *Practice* hath been with relation to *Degrees* conferred by the Archbiſhop, ſince Statute 25 Hen. VIII; He obſerves, there are very few inſtances of ſuch Faculties granted before the Reſtauration (11). And concludes, that no ſuch *Cuſtom* of conferring Degrees can be pleaded, as will eſtabliſh the *Right* now claimed by the *Archbiſhop*; becauſe *Cuſtom* muſt be *certain, uniform, conſtant,* and *uninterrupted*; whereas the *Practice* in this caſe has been various, both as to *Form* and *Authority,* with a long intermiſſion of at leaſt 80 years, after a very conſiderable change made in the firſt ground and foundation of the pretence (12).——After having duly examined ſeveral Acts of Parliament, Canons of Councils, Records, Articles of Enquiry at Archbiſhops and Biſhops Viſitations, &c. he draws what may be called his general concluſion, That Degrees conferred by the Archbiſhops of Canterbury could never be reputed or taken to be any more than *bare Titles of Honour,* which were attended with no *legal* or *canonical Effect* whatſoever; and as they are conferred without *Inveſtiture,* ſo they give no right to any *habit* at all (13).

(6) P. 4.

(7) Creatio Doctorum in quacunque facultate, 4l. Creatio aliorum Graduatorum in quacunque facultate, 3l.

(8) P. 5.

(9) P. 35.

(10) P. 7.

(11) P. 8.

(12) P. 11.

(13) P. 12, 40.

The END *of the* THIRD VOLUME.

BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA.

VOLUME THE FOURTH.

Biographia Britannica:

OR, THE

LIVES

OF THE

Moſt eminent PERSONS

Who have flouriſhed in

GREAT BRITAIN

AND

IRELAND,

From the earlieſt Ages, down to the preſent Times:

Collected from the beſt Authorities, both Printed and Manuſcript,

And digeſted in the Manner of

Mr *BAYLE*'s Historical and Critical

DICTIONARY.

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MDCCLVII.

MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

THE LIVES OF THE Most Eminent PERSONS Who have flourished in GREAT-BRITAIN and IRELAND, From the earliest Ages, down to the present Times.

G.

GATACRE, or, as he wrote his name in the latter part of his life, GATAKER (THOMAS), a profound Scholar, an acute Critic, an able Commentator, a famous Preacher, and one of the Aſſembly of Divines in the XVIIth century. He was deſcended from a very ancient family in the county of Salop; but his father, being a younger brother, was intended for a learned profeſſion, and by ſome very ſingular accidents was determined to take Holy Orders, and in proceſs of time became domeſtic Chaplain to that potent nobleman Robert Dudley Earl of Leiceſter, and Rector of the pariſh of St Edmund the King in Lombard-ſtreet (*a*), where, by his zealous preaching, he merited the title of a man of quick parts, and ſincere attachment to the Proteſtant religion [*A*]. His mother's name was

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies, Shropſhire, p. 3.

[*A*] *To the Proteſtant Religion.*] As to the name of this family, it is certain that it has been written both ways, Gatacre and Gataker, but the laſt ſeems to have been the old manner of ſpelling it, agreeable to the name of the village in Shropſhire, from whence it was taken (1); and it was very probably, upon this account, that the learned man, whoſe article is before us, departed from his father's manner of ſpelling; and, inſtead of Gatacre, wrote himſelf Gataker. As to his father, we have, ſo far as it goes, a very fair account of him, from the pen of Dr Thomas Fuller, which, as it is very ſhort, and for it's ſubſtance, can ſcarce be reduced into a leſs compaſs, we will give it in his own words (2). ‘Thomas Gataker, youngeſt ſon of William Gataker, was a branch of an ancient family, ſo firmly ‘planted by divine providence, at Gatacre-Hall in ‘this county, that they have flouriſhed the owners ‘thereof, by an uninterrupted ſucceſſion from the ‘time of King Edward the Confeſſor. This Thomas ‘being deſigned a ſtudent for the Law, was brought up ‘in the Temple, where, in the reign of Queen Mary, ‘he was often preſent at the examination of perſecuted ‘people. Their hard uſage made him pity their per‘ſons, and admirable patience to approve their o‘pinions. This was no ſooner perceived by his pa‘rents, being of the old perſwaſion, but inſtantly they ‘ſent him over to Louvain in the Low Countries, to

(1) Villare Anglicanum.

(2) Fuller's Worthies, Shropſhire, p. 3.

was Margaret Pigott, deſcended from a very worthy family of that name, ſeated in Hertfordſhire (*b*). He was born in the parſonage-houſe of St Edmond the King in London, September 4, 1574, as he tells us himſelf (*c*) in his ſhort memoirs of his own life, written at the requeſt of a friend [*B*]. He received the firſt tincture of letters in his father's houſe, and gave very early marks of an uncommon genius, a moſt retentive memory, and ſurprizing application (*d*). He paſſed through the Grammar-ſchool by that time he was ſixteen, and in the year 1590 he was ſent to St John's college at Cambridge, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his indefatigable diligence, being one of thoſe ſtudents who conſtantly attended the Greek lecture read by the famous Mr John Bois in his bed (*e*); and, many years after, Mr Gataker ſhewed that worthy perſon the notes he had taken at thoſe lectures, and, when he had raiſed himſelf to a high character in the learned world, gratefully acknowledged the aſſiſtance he had received from that learned perſon, in acquiring an accurate knowledge of the Greek tongue, and the helps he had from Mr Edward Lively in the Hebrew (*f*), adding thereby, to the reputation acquired by their proper labours, the credit of having had ſo extraordinary a perſon for their pupil. He had not been long at college before he loſt his father (*g*); but the early hopes he had given of his future proficiency, procured him ſuch aſſiſtance from his friends as enabled him to proſecute his ſtudies, which he did with ſuch ſucceſs that he was choſen a ſcholar on that foundation, and in due time commenced Maſter of Arts with ſingular applauſe (*h*). His learning and piety was by this time ſo conſpicuous, notwithſtanding his reſerved temper and great modeſty, that he was choſen, by the truſtees appointed by the Counteſs of Suſſex foundreſs of Sidney college, a Fellow of that foundation before the college was finiſhed (*i*). This unuſual circumſtance gave occaſion to an offer made him, which he accepted, of reſiding at the houſe of William Ayloffe, Eſq; afterwards Sir William Ayloff, Bart. at Barkſted, or Braxted Magna, in the county of Eſſex, that worthy perſon deſiring to perfect himſelf in the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, which Mr Gataker undertook, as alſo to inſtruct his eldeſt ſon in polite literature (*). While he reſided in this family, he was deſired by Mrs Ayloffe, who was the daughter of John Sterne, of Melburne in Cambridgeſhire, Eſq; and a Lady of excellent ſenſe as well as unaffected piety, to read a chapter every morning in the Bible; which he very willingly did, expounding the ſenſe from the original languages with much perſpicuity, and, when he had ſo done, raiſing practical obſervations (*k*). It was in conſequence of this daily exerciſe, that, by the earneſt perſwaſion of ſeveral eminent perſons, he was at laſt prevailed upon to enter into Holy Orders (*l*) [*C*]. When Sidney College was compleated, and in a condition to

(*b*) Thomæ Gatakeri vita, propria manu ſcripta.

(*c*) Mr Dugard, of Sidney college.

(*d*) Life of Tho. Gataker, B. D.

(*e*) Narrative of the Life of Mr Gataker, annexed to his Funeral Sermon, by Simon Aſke, V. D. M. Lond. 1655, 4to.

(*f*) Cinnus, lib. I. c. 9. ii. 9.

(*g*) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 344.

(*h*) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

(*i*) See his Vindication of his Annotations on Jeremiah x. 2. p. 57.

(*) Thomæ Gatakeri vita.

(*k*) See his Diſcourſe Apologetical, &c. p. 98.

(*l*) Thomæ Gatakeri vita.

‘ win him to a compliance to the Popiſh religion; and, for his better encouragement, ſettled on him an eſtate of one hundred pounds per annum, old rent. All would not do. Whereupon his father recalled him home, and revoked his own grant to which his ſon did ſubmit, as unwilling to oppoſe the pleaſure of his parents, though no ſuch revocation could take effect, without his free conſent. He afterwards diverted his mind from the moſt profitable to the moſt neceſſary ſtudy from Law to Divinity; and finding friends to breed him in Oxford, he became the profitable Paſtor of St Edmond's in Lombard-ſtreet, London, where he died, Anno 1593.’

Another writer furniſhes us with thoſe dates (3), which in this account are omitted. ‘ Thomas Gatacre was Bachelor of Arts of Oxford, where he continued for ten or twelve years, and was afterwards of St Mary Magdalen college in Cambridge, where he continued for the ſpace of four years, or thereabouts. He was half a year in Louvain, at the beginning of Queen Mary's reign. He was ordained Deacon by the Biſhop of London, Auguſt the fourth, 1568, and Prieſt, by the ſame Biſhop, October the twenty-firſt following. He was admitted Vicar of Chriſt Church in 1576, which he reſigned in 1578.’ Some fortune, though but a ſmall one, he left behind him, but many friends, more eſpecially amongſt the great men of the Law, with whom he had been in the earlier part of his life a fellow-ſtudent, and who, on that account, were afterwards very ready to teſtify their reſpect for his memory, by affording countenance and expreſſing kindneſs for his ſon.

(3) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 344.

[*B*] *Written at the requeſt of a friend.*] It would afford great ſatisfaction to ſuch as expend their own lives in endeavouring to do juſtice to the memories of others, if they could be thus furniſhed with hints ever ſo ſhort, of the principal facts and dates, from the pens of thoſe whoſe virtues they celebrate; ſome perhaps relying upon the ſplendour of their fame or fortune, may conſider this as unneceeſſary, and yet Cardinal Wolſey, who wanted neither, might perhaps have entitled himſelf to a father, in a ſomewhat better ſtation than that of a Butcher (4); if inſtead of deſpiſing calumnies, he had condeſcended to refute them. Others conſider this as a piece of oſtentation, and ſo to avoid being thought vain, leave it not in the power of poſterity to do them juſtice.

(4) See Fiddes's Life of Wolſey.

This learned perſon had notions perfectly right in this particular, and has thereby ſaved us a great deal of trouble. His old friend and his ſon's tutor, Mr Richard Dugard, having quitted the Univerſity, and retired to a living of his in Lincolnſhire, where he ſpent his laſt years in piety and peace, formed a very laudable deſign of writing the lives of ſuch as had been fellows of Sidney College, a title he once enjoyed, and to which he was a conſiderable benefactor (5). Amongſt thoſe to whom he applied upon this occaſion, Mr Thomas Gataker was one, who gave him in a very narrow compaſs, a ſuccinct account of the principal events of his life, from his birth, to the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age, which ſhort memorial coming into the hands of his ſon, the Reverend Mr Charles Gataker, he communicated it to the world, when he publiſhed ſome additional books of Miſcellanies from his father's papers (6). Upon theſe memoirs, written in his own hand, was the following authentick certificate.

(5) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 154.

(6) Printed alſo amongſt his *Opera Critica*.

> *A me rogatus per literas vitam ſuam ità ſcripſit Mr Gataker, ut ego quæ viderentur, indè decerpta catalogo ſociorum Collegii* SIDNEJANI, *quem diu deſcribendum propoſui, inſererem.*
>
> RI. DUGARD.

[*C*] *To enter into Holy Orders.*] In the ſpace of a year, as our author himſelf informs us, he went through all the Prophets in the Old Teſtament, and all the Apoſtolick Epiſtles in the New (7). While he was thus employed, the very Reverend Dr John Sterne, ſuffragan Biſhop of Colcheſter, viſiting the miſtreſs of the family to whom he was nearly related, happened to be preſent at this exerciſe, when Mr Gataker was explaining the firſt chapter of St Paul's Epiſtle to the Epheſians. And the Doctor being ſatisfied with the performance, and admiring the endowments of Mr Gataker, exhorted him

(7) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

to receive thoſe who were to inhabit it, Mr Gataker, as his duty required, repaired thither, and commenced Tutor with great ſucceſs, and, amongſt others, Mr John Hoyle and Mr Thomas Pell, who became both of them afterwards Fellows of the college, were his pupils (*m*). While he was engaged in a collegiate life, he concurred with the Rev. Mr Abdias Aſhton, of St John's, and the Rev. Mr William Bedell, of Emanuel college, afterwards the famous Biſhop of Kilmore in Ireland, in a very pious and laudable deſign of preaching every Sunday in the adjacent country, where the people were in want of able Miniſters (*n*). Mr Gataker, in proſecution of this deſign, repaired every Sunday for ſix months to the ſeat of Sir Roger Burgoigne, and preached in the pariſh-church of Everton, a village ſeated on the confines of the counties of Cambridge, Bedford, and Huntingdon, the Vicar of which was commonly reported to be one hundred and thirty years old, but was certainly diſabled from performing his function, by age and infirmities (*o*). At the expiration of this time he was prevailed upon, by Mr Aſhton beforementioned, to reſide in the houſe of Sir William Cooke, near Charing-Croſs, as his Chaplain (*p*), Mr Gataker having, for certain reaſons, determined to leave the Univerſity and fix in London. He had not been long there, before his admirable talent in preaching gained him ſuch reputation, that it was propoſed to him to take ſome neceſſary ſteps in order to be choſen Preacher to the Honourable Society of Lincoln's-Inn; but to this, from his innate modeſty and diſtruſt of his own abilities, he was very little inclined, tho' he was ſure of the patronage of one of the firſt perſons in the Law, who had a great influence over that Society, and who was ſo far from thinking him unfit for the office from his backwardneſs, that he actually procured him to be choſen, without his taking any meaſures at all for that purpoſe (*q*) [*D*]. He held this honourable employment, tho' attended with but a very moderate ſalary, at firſt but forty, and at laſt not exceeding ſixty, pounds per annum, and punctually performed the duties of his function for ten years. In 1603 he went down to Cambridge to take his degree of Bachelor of Divinity; and it ſo fell out, that he preached at St Mary's on the very day that the news came of the death of Queen Elizabeth, when, by the direction of the Vice-Chancellor, he prayed for the preſent Supreme Governor, it being thought unſafe to name King James, till they received advice of his acceſſion by authority. About this time an alteration was made as to the hour of the lecture on the Lord's day at Lincoln's-Inn, occaſioned chiefly by Mr Gataker's taking notice in one of his ſermons, that it was as lawful for the huſbandman to follow his tillage, as for Counſellors

(*m*) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

(*n*) Thomæ Gatakeri vita.

(*o*) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

(*p*) See his Diſcourſe Apologetical, p. 15.

(*q*) Narrative the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

him inſtantly to take Holy Orders, whereby thoſe gifts might be authoriſed for publick uſe, and offered him his aſſiſtance in that buſineſs. But he well weighing the burthen of that calling, and modeſtly judging of his own abilities, thanked the doctor for his kind offer, but deferred the matter to further conſideration. Yet afterwards, by the advice of the Reverend Mr Henry Alvey, formerly his tutor, and the reiterated ſollicitations of Dr Sterne, he conſented to be ordained by that ſuffragan (8), and this ſeems to have been before his return to Cambridge in order to take poſſeſſion of his fellowſhip in Sidney College.

[*D*] *At all for that purpoſe*] It fell out by accident, that ſome of the members of this very learned ſociety, had been amongſt the number of his auditors (when he preached as his manner was occaſionally for any of his acquaintance) and being exceedingly pleaſed with his performance, could not help wiſhing for an opportunity to hear him oftener. Thoſe gentlemen offered him their aſſiſtance upon the vacancy, and alledged the facility of his introduction to that place, by the Lord Chief Juſtice Popham's intereſt, whom they knew to have had a great reſpect for Mr Gataker, as well as for his father, who had been his intimate friend and contemporary in the ſtudy of the Law (9). But our author, according to his uſual modeſty, declined the undertaking, and reſiſted the importunities even of his friend Mr Stock, till Dr Montague, maſter of Sidney College, repairing to London, and being acquainted with the deſign in hand, though he had it in his thoughts to invite Mr Gataker back to the College, that he might read an Hebrew Lecture, which had a ſalary annexed by the Lord Harrington, preſſed him with arguments and authority, encouraged him againſt his own diffidence, and gained him at laſt to conſent, that, without any ſuit made by him, the Lord Chief Juſtice Popham, ſhould recommend him to that Society (10). Thus he was choſen preacher of Lincoln's-Inn, towards the cloſe of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was much admired and careſſed there, when there were ſome perſons of the firſt character for integrity, as well as proficiency in the Laws, who were Benchers of that Houſe. He tells us himſelf, in the laſt year of his life, which ſhews at once the ſtrength of his memory and underſtanding, as well as the chearfulneſs of his temper, a very pleaſant paſſage upon this ſubject of his entertainment and converſation at Lincoln's-Inn. The truth is, ſays he, mine auditory there, or the generality of them, were not a people that affected change, either novelty or variety, but reſted well ſatisfied with my conſtant courſe and tenour of teaching, and very ſeldom therefore brought in any to preach in my room, in ſo much, I may truly ſay it, that ſcarce above twelve ſermons in all my ten years with them, were preached there by any beſide myſelf. Nor were they addicted to ſtray much abroad, one or two, taken much with Dr King, then Dean of Chriſt Church in Oxford, and parſon of St Andrew's in Holborn, uſed to repair thither to hear him, when they knew that he preached, and ſome few would now and then ſtep to Paul's Croſs. Among whom, that pleaſant gentleman Mr Thomas Hitchcock, though it were not frequent with him. Being miſſed one day at Chapel, by ſome of thoſe that uſed there to ſit near him; and coming late into the hall at dinner, and being thereupon demanded by one of them where he had been ſtraying abroad? I have been, quoth he, at Paul's Croſs. Thou wenteſt thither ſure to hear ſome news, ſaid the other. No truly, replied he, I went upon another occaſion, but I learned that indeed there, which I never heard of before, how the Aſs came by his long ears; for the preacher there, told us a ſtory out of a Jewiſh Rabbin, that Adam after he had named the creatures, called them one day again before him, to try whether they remembered the names that he had given them; and having by name, cited the Lion, the Lion drew near him, and the horſe likewiſe; but then calling to the Aſs in like manner, the Aſs having forgotten his name, like an Aſs, ſtood ſtill; whereupon Adam having beckoned to him with his hand, ſo ſoon as he came within his reach, caught him with both hands by the ears, and plucked him by them ſo ſhrewdly, that for his ſhort wit, he gave him a long pair of ears. Upon this ſtory told them, one of them told him he was well enough ſerved for his gadding abroad, he might have heard better and more uſeful matter, had he kept himſelf at home.

[*E*] *In*

(8) Diſcourſe Apologetical, p. 33.

(9) He was alſo ſupported by Mr Crew, afterwards Chief Juſtice.

(10) Thomæ Gatakeri vita. Diſcourſe Apologetical, p. 43.

lors to confer with their clients and give advice upon that day. This admonition was well received, and, inſtead of preaching at ſeven in the morning, as the practice had always been, he was deſired to preach at the uſual hour of morning ſervice. The Wedneſday's lecture was alſo transferred to Sunday in the afternoon; and this proviſion was made, that the ſpare hours in which the clients came to their Lawyer's chambers, ſhould be better employed. He was afterwards preſſed by ſome of the Society to take his Doctor's degree, which he declined becauſe he very well knew that he had not an income anſwerable to the dignity; and beſides the taking it was expenſive, and therefore he very wiſely choſe to remain undiſtinguiſhed, rather than debaſe the title or diſtreſs himſelf. He did not however leave Sir William Cook's family entirely, to whoſe Lady he was nearly related, but in the vacations went down to their ſeat in Northamptonſhire, and during his ſtay there preached conſtantly, ſometimes in their domeſtic chapel, and ſometimes in the pariſh church (*r*). In this he acted purely from the motive of Chriſtian piety, and without any view to worldly conſiderations, as very clearly appeared from an extraordinary circumſtance that does peculiar honour to his memory, and of which the reader will find ſome account in the notes [*E*]. His learned preaching in the chapel of that honourable Society, where he was fixed when in London, as it gave them much ſatisfaction, ſo it gained him no ſmall reputation, and might alſo have procured him conſiderable preferment. Sir Roger Owen would very willingly have fixed him in Shropſhire, and Sir William Sedley offered him a good living, of which he was patron, in the county of Kent, with which he might have kept what he already held. But that did not agree with his notion of things; for neither arguments could perſwade, nor examples induce him, to conceive that one man, at one time, could diſcharge his duty, having two cures of ſouls (*s*). He therefore choſe to remain where he was, and in the ſtate he was; his ſalary indeed was ſmall, but the employment honourable, and his condition ſafe. Beſides, it afforded him a great deal of leiſure to purſue his ſtudies, in which he was very aſſiduous, more eſpecially in that of the Holy Scriptures in their original languages, in the Fathers of the firſt ages in the Chriſtian Church, and of the beſt writers amongſt the Greeks and Romans (*t*). At length, in 1611, he was, not without ſome difficulty, prevailed upon to accept of the Rectory of Rotherhithe, or, as it is uſually pronounced, Redriff in Surry (*u*), a living of conſiderable value, with which he was much importuned to keep his former office; but that not being conſiſtent with his principles, he abſolutely declined [*F*]. After he entered into the poſſeſſion of

(*r*) Thomæ Gatakeri vita.

(*s*) See his Diſcourſe Apologetical, p. 38, 39.

(*t*) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

(*u*) Ibid.

[*E*] *In the Notes.*] There are few things in private and perſonal hiſtory, that ſtrike a well-diſpoſed mind, more than the deſcription of a kind of virtuous ſtruggles, or generous conteſts between ſouls above the vulgar level, who ſhall ſurpaſs the other in contemning thoſe ſordid advantages, to acquire which, is the ſole, or at leaſt, the ſupreme buſineſs of mankind. Such a relation we meet with in the Engliſh narrative of our author's life, wherein the fact of his continuing to officiate in Sir William Cook's family, as is mentioned in the text, being premiſed, it is then added (11): 'And this he did with an apoſtolical mind, not for filthy lucre, but freely making the Goſpel a burthen only to the diſpenſer. Yet ſuch was the devotion of that religious pair, that they alſo would not ſerve God without coſt; for they afterwards, in conſideration of thoſe pains freely taken, ſettled upon Mr Gataker, an annuity of twenty pounds per annum, which he indeed received for ſome few years; but after, for certain reaſons, remitted unto the heir of that family, forbearing to uſe the right he had, and forbidding his executor to claim any arrears of that annuity. This is mentioned, the rather, that the generous temper of his chriſtian ſoul aiming at the higheſt good of others, more than his own temporal advantage, and infinitely removed from ſordid acquiſition of gain, or the proſtitution of his ſacred function unto ſecular deſigns, may be oppoſed to ſtop the impudent clamour of ſome, whoſe conſciences being both gauled and cauterized, prompted them to calumniate him as guilty of covetouſneſs. But his own pen writ the beſt apology, as indeed, according to that of the Nazianzen; they that give him a juſt character and due commendation, had need to have alſo his eloquence.' It is worthy of obſervation, as it is another mark of his being as free from vanity, as from the love of money, that though he takes notice in his own Latin Memoirs, of every thing that looks like obligation from Sir William Cook and his Lady, yet there is not a ſyllable of this annuity, or of the motives that induced him to renounce it; nor is there any mention of it in his Apologetical Diſcourſe againſt the ſlanders of William Lilly.

(11) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

[*F*] *He abſolutely declined.*] He was conſtrained by a very rude attack upon his character, to acquaint the world in his life-time, with the means by which he obtained, and the motives inducing him to accept, this living, which were in a few words theſe (12). That rectory being void, a perſon of an infamous life uſed his utmoſt efforts to ſucceed in it, in order to which, he, before the incumbent's death, had made terms with the mother of ſome orphans, in whoſe hands the patronage was ſuppoſed to be; upon this, ſome of the religious inhabitants caſt their eyes upon Mr Gataker, to gain whom, they added to their ſollicitations, the mediation of his friend Mr Richard Stock. And when he had by many reaſons remonſtrated to him, that it was of importance to religion, that an unworthy perſon ſhould not intrude into the living; he was at laſt prevailed on to accept it. This being repreſented to Sir Henry Hobart, then Attorney-General, by Mr Randolph Crew, afterwards Lord Chief Juſtice. Sir Henry, who before favoured other pretenſions to gratify ſome tenants of his in the pariſh, readily embraced the motion concerning the ſettling of Mr Gataker there, and wrote a letter to the Biſhop for the removal of all obſtructions which lay in the way, or might hinder the acceptance of the preſentation of Mr Gataker, which ſigned with the hands of all the three brethren who had a right in that advocation, was tendered on his behalf. 'The report of his remove, was no welcome news to many of that ſociety of Lincoln's-Inn, who fain would retain him; ſome whereof offered an enlargement of his maintenance, for an argument to keep him; and others, repreſented the conſiſtence of both employments, by the help of an aſſiſtant. But he that made not his miniſtry in ἀφορμὴν τοῦ Βίου, a mere trade of his living here (as Gregory Nazianzen complained, ſome did in his time, and too many in our times do) nor would multiply burthens, when he deemed himſelf unfit for the leaſt, would not be wrought to a new reſolution.' The ſubſtance of this paſſage, is alſo to be met with in our author's Latin memoirs (13), only he adds, that he recommended to them circumſpection in the choice of his ſucceſſor.

(12) Diſcourſe Apologetical, p. 44. Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

(13) Thomæ Gatakeri vita.

[G] At

of this living, he applied himſelf to the diſcharge of his paſtoral function with indefatigable diligence, notwithſtanding an infirmity with which he had been troubled from his youth, and to which very probably his late and early ſtudies did not a little contribute, which was an almoſt perpetual head-ach (*w*): He had not before this time committed any of his learned labours to the preſs; and yet his fame was ſo great, that he ſeems to have held a regular correſpondence with that excellent perſon Dr Uſher, afterwards the moſt learned Primate of Ireland, from whom he received many letters, and to whom he wrote frequently (*x*). Some few of his epiſtles have been preſerved, and afford ſufficient teſtimonies of the nature and extent of his ſtudies, and of his care in the enquiring after, and preſerving, the unpubliſhed works of ſome of our ancient Divines; and of which letters, as they contain likewiſe very ſhining proofs of that modeſty and humility which are not always obſerved to accompany a profound ſkill in critical learning, ſome notice will be taken at the bottom of the page [*G*]. He was very careful in his pulpit, to preach not

(*w*) Thomæ Gatakeri vita.

(*x*) See thoſe Letters in the notes.

[*G*] *At the bottom of the page.*] Among the other excellent qualities of Dr Uſher, one was his induſtry in procuring, and his readineſs in making publick whatever remains of ancient authors came to his hand, and Mr Gataker having the like ſpirit, and having been applied to on this ſubject, by ſome of that great man's correſpondents, gave occaſion to the commerce between them. The firſt letter of Mr Gataker, is dated at Rotherhith, March the eighteenth, 1616 (14), in which he informs Dr Uſher, that he had in his hands, a manuſcript, containing among others, certain treatiſes which he could not then learn to have been printed, viz. *Gulielmus de Sancto Amore, de periculis noviſſimorum temporum*; as alſo divers things of Robert Groſthead, ſome time Biſhop of Lincoln, viz. An oration delivered in writing to the Pope at Lyons, whereof he found a piece recorded in *Catalogus Teſtium, Excerpta quædam ex ejuſdem Epiſtolis*; *Tractatus de oculo morali*; *de modo confitendi*; *& Sermones quidam.*

(14) Archbiſhop Uſher's Letters, publiſhed by Dr Rich. Parr, p. 37, 58.

'Some of theſe, ſays he, peradventure, if they be not abroad already, might not be unworthy to ſee the light, nor ſhould I be unwilling, if they ſhould be ſo eſteemed to bend my poor and weak endeavours that way. But of that oration to the Pope, certain lines, not many, are pared away in my copy, tho' ſo as the ſenſe of them may be gueſſed and gathered from the context; and in the other treatiſes, there are many faults that cannot eaſily or poſſibly, ſome of them without help of other copies, be amended. My deſire is to underſtand from you, whether at your being here in England, for I wot well how careful you were to make inquiry after ſuch monuments; you lighted upon any of theſe, and where, or in whoſe hands they were. There are beſides in this manuſcript, a commentary on Auguſtin de Civitate Dei, and a Poſtil on Eccleſiaſtes, with a treatiſe *de Modo prædicandi*, but theſe two imperfect, of nameleſs authors, beſides *Gulielm. Paris de Præbendis*; *& Malachiæ Minorith. de Veneno ſpirituali*; which two laſt I underſtand to have been publiſhed.'

In another letter to Dr Uſher, dated at Rotherhith, June the twenty fourth, 1617, he writes thus: 'I eſteem myſelf much beholden unto you, as for your former love, ſo for this your late kindneſs, in vouchſafing me ſo large a letter, with ſo full inſtructions concerning this buſineſs, that I was bold to break unto you, though the ſame, as by your information it appeareth, were wholly ſuperfluous. True it is, that though not fully purpoſed to do ought therein myſelf, willing rather to have offered mine endeavours and furtherance to ſome others. I ſuppoſed that thoſe two treatiſes, viz. that oration of the Biſhop's, and that of *Wilhelm* of *S. Amore*, might not be unworthy the publiſhing, had the one been perfect, and the other not yet publiſhed; for as for that of *Pariſienſis de Præbendis*, I had heard to be already abroad, and Geſner, in his Bibliotheca, hath *Tractatus* 2 *Argentin. impreſſ.* 1507, *de collatione & pluralitate Eccleſ. beneficiorum*, which may be ſeen the ſame one of them with this, as it is ſaid to be *gemmâ precioſior*, in that manuſcript you ſpeak of; ſo to be *auro pret.* in mine. But I perceive now by your inſtructions, that the one is out already, and the other perfect and fit for the preſs, in the hands of one better furniſhed and fitter for the performance of ſuch work than myſelf, whom I would therefore incite to ſend what he hath perfect abroad, than by his perfect copy, having pieced out mine imperfect one to take his labours out of his hand. I have heard, ſince I wrote to you by Mr Bill, that Sir Henry Savill is about to publiſh Biſhop Groſthead's epiſtles, out of a manuſcript remaining in Merton College Library. That treatiſe *de Oculo morali*, I lighted lately on in another manuſcript, bound together with Groſthead *in Decalog.* having this title before it. *Incipit Liber de Oculo morali, quem compoſuit Magiſter Petrus de Sapiere Lemovinenſis.* And I find it cited by *Petrus Reginaldeti*, a Friar, in his *Speculum finalis retributionis*, under the name of *Johannes de Pechamo*, as the author of it. Neither ſeemeth it, though written honeſtly, yea wittily and learnedly, as the wit and learning of thoſe times was, to be of the ſame frame and ſtrain for gravity, that the other works of that Biſhop are, which alſo maketh me ſuſpect thoſe ſermons that in my manuſcript go under his name, ſhould not be his, having lately at idle times run over ſome of them. If I meet with your countryman Malachy, at any time, I will not be unmindful of your requeſt. And if any good office may be performed by me for you here, either about the impreſſion of your learned and religious labours ſo eſteemed and deſired, not of myſelf alone, but of many others of greater judgment than myſelf, or in any other employment that my weak ability may extend itſelf unto, I ſhall be ready and glad upon any occaſion to do my beſt therein. I lighted lately upon an obſcure fellow, one Hieronymus Dungerſheim de Ochſenfart, who in anno 1514, publiſhed a confutation, dedicated to George, then Duke of Saxony, of the confeſſion of the Picards, which, whether it be the ſame with that which Gretſer, ſaith Luther, ſet out with his preface, I wot not. The title of it is, *Totius quaſi Scripturæ Apologia*, and the beginning of it. *In ſummi Dei maximo nomine & terribili, Amen. Nos Homines in terræ orbe quanquam ad ima ſubacti, &c.* And though it be not entirely inſerted by him in his anſwer, yet ſo much is picked out of it, and ſet down in their words, as may ſhew in divers main points, their diſſent from them, and conſent with us. But it is not likely that this author, though obſcure and not worthy the light, had eſcaped your curious eye. Geſner ſeemeth miſtaken in him, when he ſaith, *Hieronymus Dungerſhein, ſcripſit Apologiam ſacræ Scripturæ Beomorum*, for he wrote not it, but againſt it.' It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that notwithſtanding our author was diſcouraged, partly by his own modeſty, and partly by information, that the treatiſe which he had mentioned of that famous Biſhop of Lincoln, was fitted for the preſs by another and better hand; yet it did not then appear; but was long afterwards publiſhed by the indefatigable Mr Edward Brown (15), in a large work of his dedicated to Dr William Sancroft, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in which is contained, not only this oration of the Biſhop of Lincoln's, delivered by him in writing to the Pope, Innocent the Fourth, and ſeveral Cardinals at Lyons, in the year 1250, but alſo ſeveral other treatiſes penned by that pious and prudent prelate, upon points of the higheſt importance to religion; from whence it fully appears, that the corruptions of the Church of Rome, had long before the time of Luther, been both diſcerned and expoſed by ſome of the wiſeſt and moſt learned men in the Church, whoſe writings were carefully preſerved, and diligently read, notwithſtanding the prevalence of the Papal authority

(15) Faſciculum rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum; ſive ſcriptorum veterum qui Eccleſiæ Rom. Errores et Abuſus detegunt et damnant, neceſſitatemque *Reformationis* urgent. Tom. ii. p. 244.

not only ſound but ſuitable doctrine, ſuch as might edify any Chriſtian congregation ; but at the ſame time, be more particularly fit and applicable to thoſe before whom he preached (*y*). His deſire of diſcharging his duty in this reſpect led him, amongſt other ſubjects, to diſcourſe of one both curious and critical, which yet he brought home to common uſe. This was *the nature of* LOTS, about which much had been written, and more ſaid ; from whence, in the opinion of our judicious Gataker, ſome very great inconveniencies had proceeded, ſuch as that luſorious lots, or, in plainer Engliſh, all games of chance were abſolutely unlawful, which filled the breaſts of conſcientious people with unneceſſary ſcruples ; as, on the other hand, the notion that there was ſomething ſacred and ſupernatural in lots, drew people into a deceitful and dangerous relying upon them, in caſes not only improper but unlawful to have recourſe to them (*z*). He thought therefore, that going to the bottom of this matter, and enabling his congregation to have clear and diſtinct ideas of the nature,

(*y*) See his Dedication before his Diſcourſe of Lots, and his Vindication of that Treatiſe.

(*z*) This is particularly and learnedly treated in his laſt chapter.

thority ſtill maintained, and from ſiniſter views increaſed thoſe corruptions.

The collecting and publiſhing pieces of this nature, was at all times the beſt ſervice that could be rendered to the Proteſtant cauſe, though it could be only judged ſo by men of true learning, ſound underſtandings, and free ſentiments ; for to men of leſs knowledge, warmer tempers, and narrower notions ; the hunting after, recovering, and reviving the works of our ancient divines, is either looked upon as an ill grounded and ſuperſtitious fondneſs for antiquity ; or miſinterpreted, as proceeding from ſome ſecret inclinations, ſome latent regards for Popiſh doctrines ; and hence it has frequently happened, that the wiſeſt and moſt reſolute, becauſe moſt enquiring and beſt inſtructed Proteſtants, have been ſtigmatized by men much beneath them in parts and learning, as if they had a biaſs to thoſe opinions, in the ſifting of which, they took ſo much pains ; we may likewiſe refer to the ſame ſource, that indifference which is generally ſhewn for collections of this nature, which quickly ſink in their price, are commonly over-looked, and whatever noiſe they may make at firſt, are in a little time buried almoſt in as deep obſcurity as that from which they were drawn by their laborious publiſhers. Yet this detracts nothing from their real value in the ſentiments of ſerious and ſober minds, and as there will be always, even in the commonwealth of learning, a multitude of warm and haſty ſpirits, incapable of going through the fatigue of what they therefore decry as heavy and uſeleſs reading, yet there will be ever a few candid, curious, and circumſpect criticks, who will have a true ſenſe of the worth of ſuch collections ; and will not think their pains thrown away in ſearching through theſe ancient records, from which it is manifeſt, not only how the plain and pure doctrines of the Goſpel have been corrupted, but in what manner thoſe corruptions were diſtinguiſhed and rejected by wiſe and good men, even at the very time they were introduced ; by which the Popiſh plea of Univerſality is entirely and effectually overthrown, and the antiquity of the Proteſtant Religion, as it conſiſts in an oppoſition to the ſuper-induced and groundleſs doctrines of the Romiſh Church, is fully and fairly demonſtrated to ſuch as will go to the bottom of the diſpute, and not ſuffer themſelves to be borne down by bold pretences, or carried away by florid declamations.

It was the more neceſſary to inſiſt upon this point, becauſe theſe letters of Mr Gataker, ſhew, as indeed private letters will always ſhew, the true genius, and the real diſpoſition of the man, and will account for that hot and eager oppoſition his writings met with, when he ventured his opinions abroad from the preſs. For as he never wrote upon any ſubject which he had not fully ſtudied, and thoroughly examined what had been ſaid upon it by men of all ages and all parties ; ſo his penetrating ſkill in diſtinguiſhing, and his honeſt zeal in ſupporting, truth, laid him continually open to the clamours of thoſe who had nothing in view, but the maintenance of thoſe ſyſtems to which they were attached from their education, or the magnifying ſuch notions as were popular in thoſe times ; and by defending which, they were ſure to have a large herd of admirers, though their want of learning, and the weakneſs of their arguments, were ever ſo conſpicuous. But in theſe kind of diſputes, ſuch furious opponents were ſure to have the worſt ; and how conſiderable ſoever they might be, either in figure or number, they ſerved only to heighten the luſtre of his triumph. For, as the modeſty of his nature with-held him from printing any thing till he was forty five years of age ; ſo by that time his judgment was ſo confirmed, and his learning ſupported by an extraordinary and almoſt incredible memory, extended to ſuch a degree, that he conſtantly carried his point, and effectually baffled all the attempts made to invelope again in darkneſs and obſcurity, any ſubject that he had once propoſed to enlighten.

The great regularity of his life, his unblemiſhed character, and the general eſteem in which he was held by the greateſt and beſt men in the nation, fortified him ſufficiently againſt all thoſe low and little artifices, by which a writer, deficient in any of theſe reſpects, would certainly have ſuffered. But then he made no ill uſe of this, he had not the leaſt tincture either of ſpleen or arrogance in his nature ; and though it be true, that he gave no quarter to the arguments of his adverſaries, yet nothing could provoke him to ſtrike at their perſons. He always remembered that the prize contended for, was truth, and that for the ſake of obtaining it, the publick undertook to ſit as judges ; he was cautious therefore of letting fall any thing that was unbecoming of him to ſay, that of his antagoniſt was not fit to be ſaid, or that might be indecent or ungrateful for his readers to peruſe ; yet he was not ſo ſcrupulous as to forbear diſcloſing vulgar errors, through fear of giving the multitude offence, his modeſty might hinder his preferment, but it never obſtructed his duty, he underſtood perfectly well how eaſily the people may be wrought either to ſuperſtition or profaneneſs, and no man was more ſenſible than he, that true religion was as far diſtant from the one, as from the other ; he was well acquainted with the arts of hypocrites, and thought it as neceſſary to guard againſt them, as to avoid the allurements of open libertines. He underſtood that ſouls might be enſnared, as well as ſeduced, and that canting words, and a ſolemn ſhew of ſanctity, might enable preſuming, and ſometimes ſelf-intereſted, perſons, to bring a yoke very different from that of Chriſt, upon the necks of ſuch as liſtened to their diſcourſes, as oracles, and believe as the Jews do of their Rabbins, that their teachers expoſition of ſcripture, were as ſacred as the ſcriptures themſelves.

He thought it requiſite therefore upon certain occaſions, to declare himſelf in favour of Chriſtian Liberty, and to ſhew upon what looſe ground this ſpiritual tyranny ſtood, to vindicate the natural rights of reaſon in matters properly within it's cognizance, and to free ſuch as had really righteous intentions from thoſe vain terrors and unneceſſary apprehenſions with which ſuch as took a pleaſure in ruling their conſciences, alarmed and kept in awe their minds. In this, without doubt, he acted like a chriſtian Clergyman and prieſt of the Church of England, placing religion where it ought to be placed, in believing the truths delivered in the Goſpel, and in performing works worthy of ſuch a belief, not in ſtraining God's Commandments beyond their plain meaning, and introducing ſuch a ſtrictneſs, under colour of abundant ſanctity, as might bring men from thinking almoſt all things, to a perſwaſion that ſcarce any thing was lawful. We have a clear inſtance of this diſpoſition and conduct of his, in the very firſt work that he ſent abroad, a work univerſally conſidered at the time it appeared, and which (though more treatiſes than one, and in more than one language, have been taken out of it) very well deſerves to be read ſtill, of the occaſion of which, ſomething is ſaid in the text, and of it's nature and contents, we ſhall ſpeak more largely in the enſuing note.

[*H*] *As*

nature, uſe, and abuſe, of lots, might prove very beneficial, and therefore handled that matter, as his conſtant manner was, fully, freely, and fairly, without ſuſpecting however that this would oblige him to have recourſe to the preſs, and involve him in a long and troubleſome controverſy. Yet this unexpected effect it had, for ſome ſupercilious perſons immediately took occaſion from thence, to give out that he had defended dice and card-playing, with other falſe and groundleſs ſtories (*a*); which obliged him to publiſh his thoughts upon that ſubject in a ſmall treatiſe, in which it is hard to ſay whether the accuracy of the method, the concluſiveneſs of his reaſoning, or the prodigious learning diſplayed therein, deſerves moſt to be admired. This work of his he dedicated to Sir Henry Hobart, Bart. Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas; Peter Warburton, Eſq; and Humphrey Winch, Eſq; Juſtices in the ſame Court; Robert Houghton, Eſq; one of the Juſtices of the Court of King's-Bench; John Denham, Eſq; one of the Barons of the Exchequer; Randolph Crewe, Eſq; the King's Serjeant at Law; Thomas Harris, Eſq; Leonard Bawtree, Eſq; John More, Eſq; Charles Chibburn, Eſq; and Thomas Richardſon, Eſq; Serjeants at Law; Sir James Ley, his Majeſty's Attorney in the Court of Wards; and Thomas Spencer, Eſq; Cuſtos Brevium; together with all, and ſingular, the Benchers, Barriſters, and Students of Lincoln's-Inn, as a mark of his gratitude and reſpect for paſt favours, and to deſire their countenance and protection in reſpect to his preſent labours: This piece made a great noiſe in the world, and gained Mr Gataker, as indeed he deſerved, much reputation (*b*) [*H*]. In 1620, he made a ſhort excurſion, for a month in

(*a*) The Rev. Mr Balmford ſays in his Preface, *How will* gameſters *inſult the* ſcrupulous *now they have ſo learned a* Patron *of their* gaming?

(*b*) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 154.

[*H*] *As indeed he deſerved much reputation*] This diſſertation, though containing the ſubſtance of ſeveral ſermons, is digeſted, as the reader will hereafter ſee, into an exact and very regular form; and though there is a prodigious number of quotations from authors who wrote in different languages, and upon a variety of ſubjects, yet theſe are thrown entirely into the margins, ſo that the text is an even eaſy and perſpicuous Engliſh ſtile, very elegant for thoſe times, and perfectly plain and intelligible in theſe. The title of this treatiſe at large, runs thus:

Of the Nature and Uſe of L O T S, *a Treatiſe Hiſtorical and Theological, written by* Thomas Gataker, B. *of* D. *ſometime Preacher at* Lincoln's-Inn, *and now Paſtor of* Rotherhith, Lond. 1619, 4*to*.

This piece is dedicated to the Society of Lincoln's-Inn. In the preface to the judicious and ingenuous reader, he obſerves, that how backward he had ever heretofore been to publiſh ought by the preſs, they beſt know, ſays he, who having oft preſſed me thereunto, have never hitherto therein prevailed. 'Now a twofold neceſſity is impoſed upon me of doing ſomewhat 'in this kind, partly by the importunity of divers Chriſtian friends, religious and judicious, who having 'either heard, being partakers of my publick miniſtry, 'or heard of by the report of others, or upon requeſt 'ſeen ſome part of this weak work, have not ceaſed 'to ſollicit the further publiſhing of it, as alſo partly, 'and more eſpecially by the iniquity of ſome others, 'who being of a contrary judgment on ſome particulars 'therein diſputed, have been more forward than was 'fit by unchriſtian ſlanders, and uncharitable cenſures, 'to tax and traduce both me and it. From whoſe unjuſt and undeſerved aſperſions, no way ſeemed better 'and readier to clear either, than by offering to open 'view to all, what I had before delivered in an obſcure auditory (to ſpeak of) among but few. And 'this thou haſt here good reader for effect and ſubſtance, the ſame that was then and there delivered, 'inlarged only with ſuch matter of hiſtory and humanity, as was not fit to peſter the pulpit, or incumber 'that auditory withal. He then remarks, that if any 'ſhall ſurmiſe, that writings in this kind may occaſion 'too much liberty, a thing that little needeth in this 'over licentious age; he anſwers briefly, firſt, that it 'is unequal, that for the looſeneſs of ſome diſſolute, 'the conſciences of thoſe that be godly diſpoſed, ſhould 'be entangled and enſnared; and ſecondly, that whoſoever ſhall take no more liberty than by one is here 'given, ſhall beſure to keep within the bounds of piety 'and ſobriety, of equity, and of charity, than which I 'know not what can be more required. For no finiſter 'end I proteſt before God's face, and in his fear undertook I this taſk, neither have I averred or defended aught therein, but what I am verily perſuaded to 'be agreeable to God's word.'

The firſt chapter treats of what a Lot is, and of lottery in general; the ſecond, of chance or caſualty, and of caſual events; the third, of the ſeveral ſorts or kinds of lots; the fourth, of ordinary lots ſerious; the fifth, of the lawfulneſs of ſuch lots, with cautions to be obſerved in the uſe of them; the ſixth, of ordinary lots luſorious, and of the lawfulneſs of them; the ſeventh, contains an anſwer to the principal objections againſt luſorious lots; the eighth, an anſwer to the arguments uſed againſt them leſs principal; the ninth, treats of cautions to be obſerved in the uſe of them; the tenth, of extraordinary or divinitary lots; the eleventh, of the unlawfulneſs of ſuch lots; the twelfth, contains an admonition to avoid them, with an anſwer to ſome arguments produced in defence of them, and the concluſion of the whole.

The ſecond edition of this treatiſe, reviſed, corrected, and enlarged, was printed in 1627. As the work had then received it's author's laſt hand, and was become as perfect as he could make it, we will quote from thence, the latter part of a chapter, in which he has laid down as wiſe and as juſt rules for regulating the conduct of ſuch as now and then, without prejudice either to their temper or ſpiritual concerns, inclined to divert themſelves at play; and this we ſhall do for two reaſons, firſt, becauſe this citation will very fully explain the nature, conduct, and end of the whole work; and next, becauſe we conceive it will fully juſtify the great character we have given of it; to which we may add, (which is no inconſiderable motive) that this paſſage cannot fail, both of entertaining and inſtructing the reader (16). 'Theſe are the cautions, ſays he, 'that I have thought good to propound, for the limiting and rectifying of the uſe of theſe games, which 'cautions, I confeſs, the moſt of them, are ſuch as 'concern game in general; of which, as well as of 'more ſerious and ſad matters, either civil or ſacred, 'account alſo muſt be given unto God; and in that 'regard, are not ſo proper and peculiar to this particular kind of lot. Yet I ſuppoſed it not amiſs to 'point at them, and in ſome ſort alſo, to preſs them 'partly, that I might not be taxed and cenſured as a 'pleader for ſin, and ſuch abuſes as are common, as 'well in theſe games, as in other, by means whereof, 'thoſe that condemn all lots uſed in game ſimply, are 'wont to take occaſion to make them in general the 'more odious; and partly alſo, that no prophane perſon that abuſeth any of theſe, or other the like 'games, might be able to take any colour of advantage, by ought that hath been ſpoken of the lawfulneſs of the games themſelves, in themſelves ſimply 'conſidered, to juſtify his own abuſe of them, in miſpending his time, or waſting his eſtate at them, or 'otherwiſe, inconſiderately and irreligiouſly abuſing 'them, which it may be ſome would have done, had 'I been ſilent in this part, and propounded ſuch cautions only, as the nature of the lot itſelf might ſeem 'to require.' Yea, but ſome will ſay, had it not been much better to have paſſed over all this with ſilence, knowing your judgment in this point to be ſuch, as differeth from divers very reverend and religious? Or is it not in this caſe, as one ſome time ſaid of images,

(16) Of the Nature and Uſe of Lots, p. 309.

in the ſummer, to viſit the United and Spaniſh Netherlands, where he gave much ſatiſfaction to the Proteſtants, by preaching in the Engliſh Church at Middleburgh, and no ſmall

images, an eaſy matter, wholly to take away the uſe of them, than to keep them free from abuſe.

Hereunto I anſwer: '*Firſt*, theſe abuſes are common to all kind of game, they accompany other games as well as theſe, in thoſe that be evil minded and prophanely diſpoſed. And the like therefore in that regard, may be ſaid either of all other games, or of any other particular game at leaſt in ordinary uſe. *Secondly*, it is true indeed, that where the uſe and the abuſe of a thing are ſo enwrapped and entangled together, that they cannot be eaſily ſevered the one from the other, there the uſe of the thing itſelf, if it be unneceſſary otherwiſe, would wholly be abandoned. But in theſe games, the uſe and the abuſe, may, for the moſt part, ſome ſpecial diſpoſitions only excepted, by thoſe that deſire to walk in the fear of God eaſily be ſevered. For, as for thoſe that make no conſcience of their courſes, they will not be diſſwaded from them, though it be never ſo evidently diſcovered unto them, in what manner they abuſe them, and by their abuſe of them, make that evil and unlawful to themſelves, that otherwiſe were not ſuch in itſelf. And for thoſe that fear God, they may with eaſe as well rectify and ſanctify theſe luſorious lots to themſelves, as they may any other games of the like uſe, and as eaſily ſever them from ſuch abuſes as are commonly committed in them, as they may other diſports, as draughts and bowls, and the like, that are commonly uſed, and generally allowed. *Thirdly*, though many godly diſſent, yet I am ſure many, and I ſuppoſe more by many, both reverend and religious concur, and the truth is needful to be known, eſpecially concerning matters in common practice, that men may have whereby to inform themſelves aright. And laſtly, though the minds and judgments of others were not known, yet were not a truth to be concealed, becauſe ſome few godly have denied or oppoſed it, and none publickly, by writing, have contradicted them in it, eſpecially being a point very needful to be known.

'For myſelf, I was at firſt the rather induced to deliver my judgment in the point the more largely, having entered into this diſcourſe of lots in general, by purſuit of that ſcripture that then I dealt with, tho' far then from any purpoſe to publiſh ought of this argument, upon theſe conſiderations. *Firſt*, I conſidered that there is a fault as well in ſtraitning, as in widening of God's way, and the ſubtilty of Satan, as well in the one as in the other. For in the one he doth as a juggler, that by putting a pair of falſe ſpectacles on a man's noſe, maketh the bridge ſeem broader than indeed it is, that he is to go over, that ſo he may without fear ſtep aſide and fall in, and ſo he dealeth with the diſſolute. In the other, he doeth as a Magician, that ſheweth a man the bridge that he is to paſs, thorow a falſe glaſs of another kind, that repreſenteth it as narrow as the edge of a rapier, or the point of a needle, that ſo he may terrify him from attempting to go over it, and thus dealeth he with thoſe that be over timorous and full of ſcruple. And that it is not good therefore by poſſeſſion of men's minds with unneceſſary ſcruples, either to diſcourage thoſe that be coming on to ſome love and liking of the good ways of God, or to caſt thoſe that are already come on, into ſnares of men's knitting, tying them in ſtricter and ſtraiter bonds than God himſelf hath done, and making more things unlawful than the word of God hath made. Yea, that it is in truth a ſpice and a branch of ſuperſtition, as well for a man to ſuſpect that thoſe things diſpleaſe God, which indeed do not, as for a man to ſuppoſe that the creature can do that which indeed it cannot do.

'*Secondly*, I conſidered, that many, as I am verily perſwaded, truly fearing God and ſincerely religious, have uſed, and do commonly uſe, theſe games, and beſides, that many well affected are, and have been conſtrained in regard of ſcruple in this kind, to ſtrain themſelves to ſome inconveniencies by the refuſal of them, when by thoſe whom they have had dependance upon, or familiarity withal, they have been urged occaſionally thereunto. It ſeemed fit and needful therefore to be known what ground and warrant both the one had, and the other might have, for the uſe of them, which were I not upon due and diligent diſcuſſion, and that not of late only, undoubtedly perſwaded to be ſound and firm, far ſhould it have been from me ever to have opened my mouth in this argument.

'*Thirdly*, I conſidered the arguments and grounds whereupon theſe games are condemned, have made many ſtagger in the neceſſary uſe of ſerious civil lots, which by occaſion of bargains bought in common between them and others, they are enforced oft to uſe, but have doubted whether they might lawfully give conſent unto or no. That which was indeed the firſt occaſion of my ſearching and ſifting out more narrowly the nature of lots in general. And certain it is, admit we the principal arguments uſed againſt this kind of lots for good, and we utterly overthrow all kind of lots whatſoever.

'*Fourthly*, I conſidered the great offence and ſcandal that is taken by divers of contrary judgment againſt thoſe that uſe theſe games, tho' never ſo ſoberly and ſeaſonably as they ſuppoſe, on good ground, a means oft of much heart-burning and of breach of chriſtian affection, yea of peremptory, uncharitable, and unchriſtian cenſuring either other, ſuch being commonly our corruption, and the natural diſpoſition of the moſt that diverſity of judgment, eſpecially manifeſted by practice breedeth alienation of affection, though indeed it ought not ſo to do, conſidering therefore that theſe games can hardly be wholly removed, being ſo common, ſo general, ſo uſual with the moſt every where; I ſuppoſed it would not be unfit to aſſay, if by diſcovery of the ground of them, ſuch ſcandal and offence might be ſtayed, and chriſtian concord and amity in part procured and maintained between ſuch as were before diverſly minded in this matter; ſo many of them at leaſt as might hear and apprehend the force and weight of the former arguments, and be brought to ſee the invalidity and inſufficiency of their own grounds againſt them. Wherein, what I have done (mine endeavour hath been to do it) let the judicious and impartial whoſoever be judges.

'To draw to a concluſion, I could wiſh in this caſe, as the Apoſtle doth in ſome other caſes, *that every one were affected in this point as myſelf*, to wit, that albeit in judgment, they be rightly informed of the truth concerning the lawfulneſs of theſe games in themſelves; yet that in godly diſcretion, which I wiſh, yet without prejudice to any that uſe them as they ought, they would rather abandon them, and forbear the uſe of them, conſidering the too-common and ordinary abuſe of them, and that many, it may be, among whom they live, may remain unreſolved and unſatisfied concerning the lawfulneſs of them. But becauſe this is rather matter of wiſh than of hope, my ſecond ſuit ſhall be the ſame with that which the apoſtle maketh in the like caſe to either ſide: *let not him that* playeth *condemn him that* playeth not, *nor let him that* playeth not, *condemne him that* playeth. For why contemneſt thou thy brother, may I well ſay to the one, why condemneſt thou thy brother? may I as well ſay to the other. Why contemneſt thou thy brother, as too ſtrict and ſtrait laced, for forbearing of that thing which he maketh ſcruple and doubt of, and hath no neceſſity to do? and why on the other ſide condemneſt thou thy brother, as too diſſolute and looſe girt for the doing of that which he hath ſufficient ground and warrant for out of God's word? and to both ſides ſay I, and would to God I might with both ſides prevail, not for this alone, but for all other controverſies a foot among us at this preſent. Let us follow thoſe things that may further peace, and ſeek after the truth, either of us in love ready to yield with Apollos to any, be he never ſo mean, that being otherwiſe minded than we are, ſhall be able more thoroughly to inſtruct us in ought that we were not ſo fully informed of before.' In the laſt chapter of his work, he very fully, as well as very learnedly, explodes the uſe of divinatory lots, and all the ſuperſti-

tious

ſmall diſpleaſure to the Engliſh Catholics, as they ſtiled themſelves, in thoſe parts, the remains of ſuch as had fled thither in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards in conſequence of the ſtorm they brought upon themſelves, by the gun-powder-treaſon, ſoon after her ſucceſſor was ſeated on the Throne. The ſource of this uneaſineſs was the freedom and boldneſs with which he diſputed againſt the ableſt of their Prieſts, and tho' there might be reaſons why it was impoſſible he ſhould convert them, yet they could not help being confounded, which they and their followers reſented exceedingly. His mother therefore had cauſe to be apprehenſive of this ſhort tour, as knowing our author's zeal, and the provocation his works had already given to a party that have never been very famous for their moderation (*c*). At his return he applied himſelf with his former diligence to his beloved ſtudies, and the duties of his charge. His ſhort ſtay however in Holland, led him into a very high opinion of the people's zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, inſomuch that he became perſwaded we could never differ with them, even about national points, without injuring the Proteſtant intereſt, and having once imbibed this notion his temper made him very warm in it; a very ſtrong inſtance of which will be found in the notes (*d*) [*I*]. The conteſt raiſed by his Treatiſe on Lots ſtill ſubſiſted, and a very warm writer who had been miſled by common report into an opinion that he had been very ill uſed by our author, and that too in a public manner, tendered what he took to be a refutation of his doctrine, to thoſe who were then intruſted with the licenſing whatever paſſed the preſs. But his performance, being written with greater appearance of anger than argument, was ſtopped, this he conſidered as a new injury, of which he complained ſo loudly, that our author, who had nothing in view but truth, interpoſed, and opened a paſſage as well for his adverſary as for himſelf, being truly convinced that his character was in much more danger of ſuffering by private reports, which he could have no opportunity of refuting, than by any thing his adverſary could urge againſt him in print. How juſtly he thought in this particular, and how ably, as well as amply, he confuted the objections raiſed againſt his work, the reader will be in ſome meaſure informed

(*c*) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker, p. 5

(*d*) Archbiſhop Uſher's Letters, p. 76.

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tious methods of endeavouring to diſcover future events, which have been invented by wicked, believed and practiſed by weak people; concluding, that tho' extraordinary lots, that is, ſuch as the immediate interpoſition of God was expected in, might be in ſome caſes, and to ſome perſons lawful, yet now they are no longer lawful to any, and ought therefore to be diſuſed.

[*I*] *In the notes.*] There were very probably many letters written by our author to Dr Uſher between thoſe which the reader has already ſeen, and this that we are about to give him, which we may leſs wonder are loſt, than that this is preſerved, which might probably happen from his Lordſhip's being in a particular manner moved by it, for he was himſelf extreamly attentive to the general courſe of things, and might very probably concur with our author in his ſentiments, and deplore thoſe evils of which no man had a more clear foreſight. This letter is dated September twenty-ninth 1621, from Rotherhith, and runs thus (17).

‘My duty to your lordſhip remembred. This meſſenger ſo fitly offering himſelf unto me, albeit it were the ſabbath-even, and I caſt behind-hand in my ſtudies by abſence from home, yet I could not but in a line or two ſalute your Lordſhip, and thereby ſignify my continued and deſerved remembrance of you, and hearty deſire of your welfare. By this time I preſume your Lordſhip is ſettled in your weighty charge of overſight, wherein I beſeech the Lord in mercy to bleſs your labours and endeavours, to the glory of his own name and the good of his Church, never more in our times oppugned and oppoſed by mighty and malicious adverſaries both at home and abroad, never in foreign parts generally more diſtracted and diſtreſſed than at the preſent. Out of France daily news of murthers and maſſacres, cities and towns taken, and all ſorts put to the ſword. Nor are thoſe few that ſtand out yet likely to hold long againſt the power of ſo great a Prince, having no ſuccours from without. In the Palatinate likewiſe all is reported to go to ruin. Nor do the Hollanders ſit for ought I ſee any ſurer, the rather for that the coals that have been heretofore kindled againſt them about tranſportation of coin, and the fine impoſed for it, the quarrels of the Eaſt Indies, and the command of the narrow ſeas, the interrupting of the trade into Flanders, &c. are daily more and more blown up, and fire beginneth to break out, which I pray God do not burn up both them and us too. I doubt not, worthy Sir, but you ſee as well, yea much better I ſuppoſe, than myſelf and many others, as being able farther to pierce into the ſtate of the times, and the conſequents of theſe things, what need the forlorn flock of Chriſt hath of hearts and hands to help to repair her ruins, and to fence that part of the fold that as yet is not ſo openly broken in upon, againſt the incurſions of ſuch ravenous wolves, as having prevailed ſo freely againſt the other parts, will not in likelihood leave it alſo unaſſaulted; as alſo what need ſhe hath if ever of prayers and tears (her ancient principal armour) unto him who hath the hearts and hands of all men in his hand, and whoſe help (our only hope as things now ſtand) is oft-times then moſt preſent when all human helps and hopes do fail. But theſe lamentable occurrents carry me further than I had purpoſed when I put pen to paper. I ſhall be right glad to hear of your Lordſhip's health and welfare, which the Lord vouchſafe to continue, gladder to ſee the remainder of your former learned and laborious work abroad. The Lord bleſs and protect you: And thus ready to do your Lordſhip any ſervice I may in theſe parts, I reſt, &c.’ In producing this letter, and commending the honeſt zeal of it's author, we do not by any means intend to juſtify his ſentiments with reſpect to the politics they contain, in which how well ſoever he meant, it is more than probable he was in ſome points very much deceived. Thoſe who at that time oppoſed the meaſures of the Court, laboured to have it believed that it was an injury to the Proteſtant intereſt for us to differ with the Dutch, even as to points wherein our civil intereſts manifeſtly ſuffered, and repreſented every thing that was done in order either to ſupport our rights or repair our loſſes, as proceeding from Popiſh counſels, which had a very bad effect. The fines for exporting bullion were in conſequence of trials at law and convictions, tho' after all but one third of thoſe fines was levied; our Merchants and the Nation were great ſufferers by what paſſed in the Eaſt Indies; the invading our dominion in the Britiſh ſeas was prejudicial to the honour of the Crown; and the ſearching, rifling, and taking ſhips bound to Flanders was detrimental to our commerce. But when the ends for which theſe ſuggeſtions were thrown out, to miſlead well-meaning people, who were no politicians, were once brought about as they propoſed, thoſe who ſuggeſted them tacked about, took up the thread where they forced their

(17) Archbiſhop Uſher's Letters, p. 76.

informed at the bottom of the page *(e)* [*K*]. It was really a pity that ſo great and good a man as he, ſhould have been ſo often interrupted as he was, by the impertinent and yet bitter animadverſions of ſuch as envied the high reputation, that of courſe attended the repeated ſpecimens he gave of extenſive learning, accompanied with very uncommon modeſty, which inſtead of preventing, as in reaſon it ought to have done, perhaps excited their attacks. His zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, and his obſerving how much the Papiſts, more eſpecially amongſt weak people, preſſed the direct words of ſcripture, as containing in them the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation; he reſolved to ſhew, and that in the moſt convincing manner, how little reaſon they had to value themſelves upon this head, and having driven them from this, which was their ſtrongeſt poſt, he proſecuted his attack, and obliged them to quit every other *(f)*. This was a real and ſeaſonable ſervice to the Church, and which very deſervedly rendered him conſpicuous in the eyes of the moſt worthy perſons of thoſe times, who admired his fortitude in reſpect to points of importance, as much as his humility and willingneſs to ſubmit for peace-ſake in matters of leſs conſequence. In 1642, when the Parliament thought proper to call together the Weſtminſter Synod, otherwiſe ſtiled the Aſſembly of Divines, they were very careful to intermix with the warm Preſbyterians, many of another character, ſuch as Archbiſhop Uſher, Biſhop Weſtford, Biſhop Prideaux, Dr Holdſworth, Dr Hammond, Dr Wincop, Dr Sanderſon, and Dr Hacket, who would not attend as conceiving it no legal Convocation, the King having declared againſt it, but Biſhop Reynolds, Dr Featley, Dr Twiſt, Dr Arrowſmith, Dr Tuckney, Dr Lightfoot, and Mr Gataker, did at leaſt at firſt, and laboured to do all the good, and prevent all the ill that was in their power *(g)*. When the Covenant was propoſed to this ſynod, Mr Gataker and ſeveral others declared their judgments to be for Epiſcopacy, tho' at the ſame time they expreſſed their diſlike of the Lay Chancellor's Court in every dioceſe, and of whatever elſe they took to be the remains of Popery; and tho' they could not carry their point, yet they obtained a conſiderable qualification before they were brought to ſubſcribe. His endeavours here for promoting truth, and ſuppreſſing errors, were equally ſerious and ſincere, and his ſtudy of peace was ſo remarkable, that when his reaſon concerning Chriſt's obedience in order to our juſtification could not obtain the aſſent of the majority of that Aſſembly, by whom the queſtion was determined contrary to his ſenſe, his own law of unity impoſed upon him ſilence, and hindered him from publiſhing thoſe diſcourſes, which he had compoſed upon the ſubject *(h)*. While he was thus employed, he had an offer made him by the Earl of Mancheſter of the maſterſhip of Trinity College, which is looked upon as the moſt conſiderable preferment in the Univerſity of Cambridge *(i)*. This was probably upon the turning out of Dr Thomas Comber, Dean of Carliſle, who about ten years before, being Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity, had entertained their Majeſties King Charles the firſt, and his Queen Henrietta Maria in Trinity College, and had cauſed plays to be acted for their diverſion *(k)*. But Mr Gataker, whom no advantages could tempt to what might afterwards ſit heavy on his mind, refuſed it. This great preferment was thereupon beſtowed

Sovereign to let it fall, made the Act of Navigation to ſecure their own trade, inſiſted upon the right of the flag founded on the ſupreme dominion over the Britiſh ſeas, and compelled the Dutch to part with a large ſum of money in ſatisfaction of thoſe acts of oppreſſion which the Engliſh had ſuſtained in the Eaſt Indies, and with over-looking which (tho' themſelves compelled it) they had, and others copying them have reproached the two preceding reigns (18).

[*K*] *At the bottom of the page.*] The title of this Work at large runs thus.

A juſt defence of certain paſſages in a former treatiſe concerning the nature and uſe of LOTS, *againſt ſuch* exceptions *and* oppoſitions *as have been made thereunto by Mr* J B. *i. e.* John Balmford, *wherein the inſufficiency of his* Anſwers *given to the* Arguments *brought in defence of a* Luſorious Lot *is manifeſted, the imbecility of his* Arguments *produced againſt the ſame further diſcovered; and the point itſelf in controverſy more fully cleared; by* Thomas Gataker, B. *of* D. *and author of the former treatiſe.* Lond. 1623. 4to.

This treatiſe was in a manner extorted from him by the ſtrange behaviour of Mr Balmford and his friends, by whom a report was ſpread, that the Doctor, by whom Mr Gataker's book was licenſed, was ſenſible of the wrong done by him to Mr Balmford, and had declared that if the treatiſe on Lots were to be licenſed again he would not do it. This was to give ſome colour to Mr Balmford's writing againſt Mr Gataker, and to raiſe a rumour in the world, that the very Doctor who licenſed his book was ſorry for it, and perhaps Mr Gataker himſelf aſhamed of the cauſe he had undertaken to defend. In this ſhort work (in which however all Mr Balmford's arguments are included) our author vindicates his former ſentiments, and rejoins to the replies that his antagoniſt had made. The licenſer before referred to was the famous Dr Daniel Featly, at that time the archbiſhop's chaplain, who in a letter dated from Croydon, September the ſecond 1623, prefixed to this defence, gives the following judgment of it.

Sir, ‘ I have peruſed your anſwer to Mr B. his pamphlet againſt you, wherein you have ſo cleared the point in controverſy between you, that I much pity your opponent's hard lot to fall upon ſuch a ſubject and tenet concerning Lots, as afforded him ſo ſmall ſtore of objections againſt your opinion, that he was even conſtrained, according to the manner of ſome old Roman Orators noted by Quintilian, Cauſſarum vacua convitiis implere. Neither the matter in hand about which learned Proteſtants may differ in judgment without breach of charity, or prejudice to Chriſtian unity, nor your handling it dogmatically and ſcholaſtically without any gall at all, could occaſion ſuch heats. I cannot imagine therefore what ſhould ſo move him but the badneſs of his cauſe, and the weakneſs of his own arguments, which he ſeeth by your handling them to be like wire ſtrings ill nealed, which would not endure the leaſt ſtraining. For albeit I confeſs, that we are all apt to take too much hold of any point of liberty reached unto us out of God's word; and in particular I cannot but deplore, ſortem ſortis, the Lot of Lot itſelf which hath been, and is too much by the licentious, abuſed, and thereby in a ſort defamed, eſpecially in carding and dicing; yet God's truth
‘ muſt

(e) See particularly the Letter of the learned Dr Daniel Featly.

(f) The Title of this Work was, *Tranſubſtantiation declared by the Popiſh Writers to have no neceſſary Foundation in* GOD's *Word*, &c. London, 1624, 4to.

(g) Fuller's Church Hiſtory, Cent. XVII. p. 213.

(h) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker, p. 52. Strype's Memoirs relating to the Life of Dr John Lightfoot. Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of R. Baxter, Vol. i. p. 86.

(i) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker, p. 52.

(k) Fuller's Hiſtory of Cambridge, p. 166, 170. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part ii. p. 160.

(18) See the Engliſh Tranſlation of Selden's *Mare clauſum*, by Marchmont Needham, by order of the long Parliament, and his Appendix.

ſtowed on Dr Thomas Hill, then Fellow of Emanuel College. As for our author, content with his own preferment, and more ambitious of doing good to others than of exalting himſelf, he applied himſelf in thoſe turbulent times to his ancient ſtudies, which could give offence to no party, and which might entitle him to the gratitude and approbation of the learned world. It was with this view that he publiſhed his laborious and judicious diſcourſe on the name by which God made himſelf known to Moſes, and the people of Iſrael. In this performance he ſhewed himſelf a very great maſter of Hebrew; and it was ſo well reliſhed by all competent judges of ſo profound and ſo judicious a diſſertation, that it has been often reprinted ſince (*l*) [*L*]. His continual application to the ſtudy of the beſt Greek authors, his retentive memory, his piercing penetration, and accurate judgment, enabled him to look into the very principles and elements of that copious, elegant, and expreſſive language. At firſt ſight, this might ſeem beneath the attention of ſo great a man, but our author reſolved to vindicate his enquiries of this kind, and to ſhew how much and how far the thorough knowledge of Grammatical Learning tends to the improvement of Science. He was aware, that the ſingularities of his opinion might tend to weaken his reputation, if they were not clearly and fully made out. He knew that they did not ſpring either from a naked imagination, or an affectation of oppoſing common opinions; but in reality were the produce of much reading and reflection, and that they had, to him at leaſt, the appearance of certain tho' not vulgar truths. It was from thoſe motives therefore, that he ventured to publiſh a work which would ſcarce have been conſidered from any other hand, but which from its own merit, and the reſpect due to its learned author's ſkill, more eſpecially in Greek literature, has been very well received, and very much commended by able as well as candid judges (*m*) [*M*]. As intent as he was upon theſe deep and critical ſtudies, they hindered not the exact performance of his function, or his cloſe attendance in the Aſſembly of Divines, ſo long as he conceived it of any uſe. He yielded obedience alſo to the command laid upon him of writing annotations upon the Prophets, and performed it in ſuch a manner, that ſome have wiſhed to ſee his commentaries printed alone; yet in the midſt of theſe occupations, he never declined applications of any ſort, that he thought had a tendency to the public good.

(*l*) Vide Præfat. Hadr. Reland.

(*m*) See the learned Preface before his Opera Critica.

‘ muſt not be ſuppreſſed becauſe of man's errors, nei-
‘ ther is it a ſafe way to go about to cure an error in
‘ practice by another error in judgment, I mean to
‘ reform the abuſe in luſorie lots, by totally condemn-
‘ ing the uſe itſelf of them. Tho' a ſurgeon mean
‘ ever ſo well in letting his patient blood who need-
‘ eth it, yet if he ſtrike not the right vein, he had
‘ better have ſpared his pains. The ſin too regnant
‘ in ſports and games now a-daies is not in uſing the
‘ Lot, but in not obſerving thoſe rules and cautions
‘ in theſe and other recreations, which are judiciouſly
‘ and piouſly ſet down by you in your compleat trea-
‘ tiſe of Lots. Let thoſe cautions be obſerved, and
‘ ſet aſide the authority of ſome divines, whoſe perſons
‘ they have in admiration above others, what is there
‘ in the caſual falling of the dye or dealing of the
‘ cards, more than in the fall of a coyte, or lighting of
‘ an arrow nearer or further, or the turning of a bowl,
‘ to enſnare the conſcience? Art more ruleth the one,
‘ and nature the other, God's providence and con-
‘ currence being equal in either. For, to conclude
‘ that becauſe ſome lots have been conſecrated to an
‘ holy uſe ſometimes, therefore all Lots are ſacred, is
‘ a feeble kind of arguing. And to impoſe a ſpecial
‘ and immediate work of God's providence upon the
‘ caſual event of the Lot, more than upon other natu-
‘ ral accidents and deliberate actions of men, is a teme-
‘ rarious and groundleſs aſſertion. And furthermore,
‘ to charge all thoſe ſervants of God, who moderately
‘ uſe their Chriſtian liberty in theſe games, with ſo
‘ heinous a ſin as is the prophaning of a thing ſacred,
‘ or taking in vain God's deciding judgments, is an un-
‘ charitable cenſure. The Lord open the eyes of all
‘ that ſeek to ſerve him in ſincerity and ſingleneſs of
‘ heart, that neither by enlarging their Chriſtian li-
‘ berty they open a gap to licentiouſneſs, nor yet by
‘ too much reſtraining it lay a ſnare on weak con-
‘ ſciences. To deliver you my judgment and advice
‘ in a word, ſatis actum eſt, you have ſifted this point
‘ of Lots to the bran. Let me adviſe you hereafter,
‘ non reciprocare terram contentionis de ludis ſortiariis,
‘ but rather to employ your able pen againſt the ſor-
‘ cerers of Egypt now abounding in every place, and
‘ making advantage of the leaſt difference among us,
‘ who hold the like precious faith purged from the
‘ droſs of their ſuperſtition. This advice I know you
‘ will take in good part, as proceeding from, &c.'

About twelve years after this, he found himſelf under the neceſſity of publiſhing in Latin a Defence of his ſentiments, againſt two very learned men who had written upon the ſame ſubject, the title of that treatiſe runs thus:

Thomæ Gatakeri Londinatis ANTITHESIS *partim* Gulielmi Ameſii *partim* Giſberti Vœtii *de* SORTE *Theſibus repoſita*. Lond. 1637. 4to.

[*L*] *And which has been often reprinted ſince.*] The title of this very curious and, with reſpect to literature, inſtructive treatiſe, runs at large thus:

De nomine Tetragrammato *Diſſertatio, quâ vocis* JEHOVAH *apud noſtros receptæ uſus defenditur, & a quorundam cavillationibus iniquis pariter atque inanibus vindicatur*, Lond. 1645. 8vo. that is, *A* Diſſertation *on the* Tetragrammatick *or four lettered* name, *in which the uſe of the word* JEHOVAH (*which in Hebrew is written with four letters*) *as it is received amongſt us, is defended and vindicated, againſt certain unjuſt and groundleſs cavils.* This book was reprinted in 1652, it is likewiſe inſerted amongſt his *Opera Critica*, and found a place alſo amongſt the ten Diſcourſes upon this ſubject, collected and publiſhed by Hadrian Reland, of which the five firſt written by John Druſius, Sixtinus Amama, Lewis Capel, John Buxtorff, and James Alting, oppoſed the received uſage which is defended in the other five Diſſertations, the firſt written by Nicholas Fuller, the ſecond by our author, and the other three by John Leuſden.

[*M*] *As well as candid judges.*] The title of this learned critical treatiſe ran at large in the following words:

De Dipthongis *ſive* Bivocalibus *Diſſertatio Philologica, in qua Literarum quarundam ſonus germanus natura genuina figura nova & ſcriptura vetus veraque inveſtigatur.* Lond. 1646, 8vo. that is, *A Philological* Diſſertation *upon* Dipthongs, *or* double Vowels, *in which the true ſound, the genuine nature, the new form, and the old and true way of writing certain letters is diſcuſſed.* This piece is alſo printed amongſt his *Opera Critica*. The point aimed at in this diſcourſe, was to ſhew that in reality there are no dipthongs, and that it is impoſſible two vowels ſhould be ſo blended together as to enter into one ſyllable. We have obſerved in the text, that this was one of our author's ſingularities. Amongſt the notes upon a celebrated treatiſe (19), written to expoſe the defects of learned men, there

(19) De la Charlatanerie des Savans par Mr Menkin; avec des Remarques Critiques de differens Auteurs, 1721. 12mo. p. 132.

good. His moderation was the moſt diſtinguiſhing part of his character, but when he found that under colour of aſſerting liberty of conſcience, many were inclined to maintain dangerous and immoral notions, and that aſſuming the ſpecious pretence of expounding the ſcriptures freely, they ran into wild and extravagant doctrines, he thought it became him to oppoſe them, and he did it with great freedom and ſpirit. This could not fail of exciting him enemies amongſt ſuch as took great liberties, even with men of the faireſt characters, and were never at a loſs to aſcribe the moſt regular behaviour to mean and unworthy motives, according as occaſion required ; Mr Gataker bore this with ſilence and patience, or juſtified himſelf as he was well able to do, by ſtating and explaining his own conduct. He held his rectory of Rotherhith by a legal tenure, and exerciſed his Miniſtry in the ſame manner, which was ſo ſatisfactory to his own mind, that, tho' often ſollicited, he would never part with it for preferments of greater value. He was frugal in his manner of living, and by that means eaſy in his circumſtances, which induced ſome, tho' very unjuſtly, to repreſent him as a lover of money. He differed more than once with the very learned Dr Lightfoot, more eſpecially about the power of the Church, in their meetings at the Aſſembly, but tho' they were oppoſite in ſentiments, Lightfoot at that time being eſteemed an Eraſtian, and ſometimes debated warmly, yet they never loſt their tempers, or had any rancour againſt each other on account of theſe diſputes (*n*) ; at firſt, authority ſeemed to be on the ſide of our author, but it ſhifted by degrees, and came at length to be clearly with the oppoſite party. For the Parliament intended to uſe the ſynod at Weſtminſter as their inſtrument, and not to ſuffer them to aſſume any power of their own, and once this was carried ſo far, as that ſome mention was made of the hard word *premunire*, which made the better ſort of thoſe who compoſed it, and who had hitherto laboured to ſupport the dignity of the Aſſembly, leſs active in their conduct, and, in proceſs of time, leſs conſtant in their attendance (*o*). In this ſituation the defending the doctrines and diſcipline of the Church of Chriſt, in open and in private conferences, from the pulpit, and from the preſs, became more and more neceſſary, which induced Mr Gataker, tho' naturally inclined to privacy as well as quiet, to diſtinguiſh himſelf in both ways, in which he was countenanced and ſupported by ſuch of his old friends as were ſtill living, and of whom there were ſome in conſiderable employments, and many others who from their rank and figure in the world, preſerved him from the violence of the times, and maintained him in the poſſeſſion of his legal rights (*p*). It would be no difficult thing to enter into the particulars of many if not of moſt of the diſputes in which he was thus engaged, but as this would ſerve only to extend an article already of an extraordinary length, we ſhall content ourſelves with indicating the titles of the works publiſhed by him on different occaſions at the bottom of the page [*N*]. But as he advanced in

(*n*) See Strype's Memoirs relating to the Life of Dr John Lightfoot.

(*o*) Fuller's Church Hiſtory Cent. XVII. p. 214, 215.

(*p*) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

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there is one which relates to our author, which we ſhall both tranſcribe and tranſlate. 'The criticks, 'ſays this writer, have made it a queſtion whether 'the q ought neceſſarily to be followed by a u. Thomas Gataker was ſo ſtrongly perſuaded of the contrary, that he cauſed the Emperor Marcus Antoninus's Annotations to be printed at Cambridge in '1652, with the q ſingle throughout the book, as for 'example, *qi*, *qa*, *qod*, which could not but ſhock the 'the ſight of every reader ; but tho' we ſhould be 'content to paſs this by in Gataker, I do not think 'we ought to pardon the bookſellers of Holland, who 'have cauſed the ſame orthography to be obſerved 'throughout his whole *Opera Critica*, printed at 'Utrecht in 1698.' We will not enter into this controverſy, or pretend to ſay whether our author was right or wrong in his Orthography ; this however is certain, that how diſagreeable ſoever the words might be to the ſight, they were ſtill as legible one way as the other, from whence one would imagine, that the author of the critical note which we have before cited, was not very converſant with Gataker's works, ſince if he had, he might have found another ſingularity much more to his purpoſe, which is, our author's frequently writing v for u, which is not only diſagreeable to the eye, but difficult to be expreſſed by the tongue. A ſhort paſſage from one of his learned pieces will beſt explain his manner of writing, and his meaning (20).

(20) Gatakeri Opera Critica, p. 6.

Nam qod *Æolicarum literarum vis, qæ in villâ, qa cervum & ſervum dicunt, ſermonem duriorem facere* Fabio videtur. Hac ſaltem in parte diſſentientes prorſus habet, criticorum ſeculi noſtri par nobile, Juſtum Lipſium ac Joannem Voſſium, qi uterque huic literæ, ille *in dialogo de recta pronunciatione ling. Lat. c.* 12. *hic de arte grammaticâ, l.* 1. *c.* 1. *ſonum udum, natantem, mollicellum*, attribuunt. Prior ille etiam ſuam de ea diſſertationem his verbis clavdit : *Illud mearum avrium judicium non cælo ; ſvaviorem literam hac duplici natam non videri poſt literas natas.* Certè qi rebus qibuſqe nomina primitus imponebant, ſi cum Fabio ſenſiſſent, nevtiqam illi in vocabulo ſvavitatis indice, cujus tam in ſvavis avribuſqe ingratus ſonus exiſteret, literam eam iterato poſuiſſent.

Cæterum, qem litera huic pleriqe nunc durum dant ſonum, qidam etiam (& è noſtris, Oxonienſes plurimum) B Græco, contra omnem antiquitatem, prout Checus noſter jam olim palam fecit in diſceptatione eâ de re cum Gardinero habitâ ; neutrius eſt genuinus, ſed eſt Ⅎ Latini peculiaris. Perperam enim & hanc pronunciant noſtri, qaſi eſſet Græcorum Φ : cui Latini, qod reſpondeat, non habent ; ſicut nec Græci, qod F Latino. Aliud enim digamma Æolicum, (ſive Ferecti, ſive inverſi F ei figura) ſonabat ; idqe ipſum planè, qod W noſtrum, prout alibi demonſtravimus. Patet hoc ex eo, qod de Cicerone Fabius, l. 1. c. 4. refert ex *Oratione pro Fundano* ; ubi teſtem Græcum ridet, quod primam ejus nominis literam dicere non poſſet. *Phundanium*, ſc. proferebat, cum Fundanium (qod *Vundanium* noſtri pleriqe ſcriberent) debuiſſet. Is enim eſt planè F Romani ſonus, qo V conſonum efferunt pleriqe noſtrum, in *vitis*, vine, *vallis*, vale, *vitulina*, veale, &c. Huic avtem qod *horridum planè* Fabius, *nec humanum* dat *ſonum* ; & hic criticos non ignobiles habet diverſum ſentientes. Imò *convitium, non judicium, vere appellandum*, cenſet Lipſius. Sonum certè hujus *molliorem dilutioremqe*, qam qi eſt Græcorum Φ, cum Lipſio juxta (Priſciano etiam in partes advocato) cenſet, inculcatqe ſubinde Voſſius *art. l.* 1. *c.* 15. & 24. & 26. Accedit qod Terentianus præ F Latinâ *hirtam*, qaſi ab aſpiratione inſitâ aſperiorem illâ, pronunciat Græcorum Φ. Qam tamen inter *jucundiſſimas* illas, qibus *carere* ait *lingvam Latinam*, recenſere Fabium, nonnulli ſunt opinati.

[*N*] *At the bottom of the page.*] In compoſing this article, we have mentioned all the conſiderable works of in years, the inceſſant labours of his body and his brain brought on infirmities, which ſlackened his ſpeed, but did not wholly ſtop the progreſs of his ſtudies; for even under theſe, and when confined by the direction of his Phyſicians to his chamber, he was continually employed, if not in reading, at leaſt in meditating on what he had read, to which if he did not owe the ſtrength, yet we may with probability preſume he thereby preſerved his memory, which was equally retentive and correct to the laſt (*q*). But when, through the excellence of his conſtitution, his temperate manner of living, and the ſkill of thoſe worthy perſons of the Faculty, to whoſe care he committed himſelf, he recovered a moderate ſhare of health, he betook himſelf again to the functions of his Miniſtry, and getting too ſoon into the pulpit, where he ſpent himſelf ſo far, that he ſtrained a vein in his lungs, for which being then about ſeventy three years old he ſuffered an emiſſion of blood, by which, and by other means, he eſcaped that danger. But when he had recruited his health, he reſumed his preaching till a relapſe into that ſpitting of blood, for which he again permitted a vein to be opened, for revulſion, laid him under a neceſſity of forbearing the pulpit, tho' he never gave over the adminiſtration of the ſacraments, nor his uſual ſhort diſcourſes at funerals ſuitable to the occaſion (*r*). The chief part of his time was now ſpent in ſtudy, and in compoſing ſeveral learned Works. He publiſhed in 1648 his diſcourſe on the ſtyle of the New Teſtament, in which he oppoſed the ſentiment of Pſochenius, who maintained that there were no Hebraiſms in thoſe ſacred writings, and endeavoured to prove this as well by authorities as arguments; all which our author undertook to overthrow, which in the opinion of the beſt critics he moſt effectually did, and which was more than doing this, he ſo clearly and conciſely explained the true meaning of many texts in the Old, as well as the New Teſtament; corrected ſuch a variety of paſſages in ancient authors, and diſcovered ſuch a conſummate ſkill in the living as well as dead languages, as very juſtly gained him the character of one of the

(*q*) His Memory was in our Times conſidered as extraordinary.

(*r*) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

of our author in the text, have given the beſt account we could of the moſt important of them in the notes, and of ſome others relating chiefly to the diſputes of thoſe times, and are hardly now to be met with tho' ſought with the greateſt care, we will give ſome particulars here. Many of Mr Gataker's ſermons were printed, ſoon after they were preached, by themſelves; but as his reputation increaſed, theſe, or at leaſt moſt of them, were ſought out and brought into one volume, ſo that the titles of theſe ſermons thus collected being ſet down will anſwer the end, as well as if we were to conſider them as ſo many different pieces.

Theſe titles are, DAVID's *Inſtructor*; *The* Chriſtian Man's *Care*; *The Spiritual* Watch; *The* Gain *of* Godlineſs *with Self ſufficiency*; *The juſt Man's* Joy *with ſigns of Sincerity*; JACOB's *Thankfulneſs*; DAVID's *Remembrances*; NOAH's *Obedience*; *An Anniverſary Memorial of* England'*s Delivery in* 1588; *Sorrow for* Sion; GOD's *Parley with Princes, with an Appeal from them to* HIM; Eleazer's *Prayer*, a Marriage Sermon; *A* Good Wife GOD's *Gift*; *A* Wife *indeed*; *Marriage Duties*; Death'*s Advantage*; *The* Benefit *of a* good Name, *and a* good End; ABRAHAM's *Deceaſe, delivered at the Funeral of* Mr Richard Stock, *late paſtor of* All-Hallows, Bread-ſtreet, *dedicated to Sir* Heary Yelverton, *Knight*; Jeroboam's *Son's Deceaſe*; Chriſtian *Conſtancy crowned by* CHRIST.

It is not clear whether any, and if any, which of theſe was that ſermon which Sir James Leigh, who was afterwards Earl of Marlborough, and his lady, heard him preach upon his firſt coming from the univerſity. There is ſomething in the tale pleaſant enough, more eſpecially when we conſider it as told by himſelf; an argument certainly of a chearful diſpoſition ſpringing from a mind at eaſe, and told too in the very laſt year of his life, which as well from infirmities as age, he might well expect it to be (21). 'The truth is, ſays he, I was but young, and ſeemed younger than indeed I was. In regard whereof it might not altogether undeſervedly have been deemed of me, that I had flown out of the neſt before I was well fledged, and that it had been better for me, as David willed his embaſſadors returning from the Ammonites, to have ſtayed at Jericho among the ſons of the Prophets until my beard had been better grown. Nor may it be amiſs here to recreate my reader with a plain *Corydon*'s cenſure about that time paſt on me. Mr Leigh, afterwards Sir James Leigh, and Lord Treaſurer, was that year reader at Lincoln's-Inn, and having his family in town, both he and his wife heard me preach one Lord's-day at Martin's in the Fields. Whence after return from the ſermon, Mrs Leigh was pleaſed to aſk an old ſervant, with whom by reaſon of long continuance in the family they were wont to talk more familiarly, *How he liked the preacher?* who returned her this blunt anſwer, *That he was a pretty pert boy, but he made a reaſonable good ſermon*. Not many weeks after, Mr Leigh returning from Lincoln's-Inn, told his wife he would tell her ſome news; *That young man*, ſaid he, *whom you heard at St Martin's is choſen our* Lecturer *at* Lincoln's-Inn; which the old fellow ſtanding by when he heard, aſkt, *Whether the benchers would be taught by ſuch a boy as he*. Howbeit it pleaſed God ſo to diſpoſe of it, that I was courteouſly entertained by them, nor was my youth in contempt with them, but I received as much reſpect from them as I could deſire, yea, much more than I could expect.'

(21) Diſcourſe Apologetical, p. 34.

Beſides theſe, we have three other diſcourſes in quarto, intitled,

The Deceaſe of Lazarus; St Stephen's *laſt Will and Teſtament*; GOD's Eye *on* Iſrael.

A Short Catechiſm, Lond. 1624. 4to.

A Defence of Mr Bradſhaw *againſt* J. Canne, 4to.

Franciſci Gomari *Diſputationis Elencticæ de Juſtificationis materiâ & formâ Elenchus*, 1640. in 8vo.

Animadverſiones in T. Piſcatoris & L. Lucii *ſcripta adverſaria de cauſa meritoria Juſtificationis cum reſponſione ad L. Lucii vindicias*, 1641. in 12mo.

Mr Anthony Wotton'*s Defence*, 1641. in 8vo.

A true Relation of Paſſages between Mr Wotton *and* Mr Walker, 1642. in 4to.

An Anſwer to Mr G. Walker'*s Vindication*, 1642. 4to.

A Miſtake or Miſconſtruction removed, (whereby little difference is pretended to have been acknowledged between the Antinomians *and* Us) *and* Free Grace, *as it is held forth in* God'*s Word, as well by the Prophets in the* Old Teſtament, *as by the* Apoſtles *and* Chriſt *himſelf in the New, ſhewed to be other than is by the* Antinomian *Party in theſe times maintained. In way of anſwer to ſome paſſages in a* Treatiſe *of Mr* John Saltmarſh, *concerning that Subject; by* Thomas Gataker, *Batchelor of Divinity, and Paſtor of* Rotherhith, Lond. 1646. 4to.

This is written in anſwer to Mr Saltmarſh's *Free Grace, or the flowings of Chriſt's Blood freely to Sinners, being an Experiment of* Jeſus Chriſt *upon* one *who hath been in the Bondage of a troubled Spirit at times for twelve years, till now, &c.* Lond. 1645. in 12mo. Mr Gataker in his tract obſerved, 'that it ſeems a thing much to be feared, that this courſe, which, ſays he, I ſee ſome affect, and many people are the ableſt Philologiſts of that age (s) [*O*]. This, tho' in itſelf a very conſiderable work, was indeed no more than a ſpecimen of one much larger, which had been many years under his hands, to which he gave the title of CINNUS, and intended to have made his diſcourſe againſt Pſochenius no more than an appendix to it; but that treatiſe being perfect, and being in doubt whether he ſhould live to make the other as compleat as he intended it,

(s) See Witſius, Baillet, Niceron, &c.

' are much taken with, of extracting Divinity in a kind of chymical way, into quaint and curious, but groundleſs and uſeleſs, ſpeculations; and, as I may well ſay of them, even chimerical conceits; will, if it hold on, as much corrupt the ſimplicity of the goſpel, and the doctrine of faith, as ever the quirks and quillets of the old ſchoolmen did (22).'

(22) A Miſtake, or Miſconſtruction removed, p. 42.

Shadows without Subſtance, in the pretended new Lights, Lond. 1646. in 4to. in anſwer to Mr. Saltmarſh'*s Shadows flying away*, Lond. 1646. 4to.

Myſterious Clouds and Miſts, &c. Lond. 1646. in 8vo. in anſwer to Mr J. Sympſon.

[O] *Of one of the ableſt Philologiſts of that age.*] The work referred to in the text bears this title.

Thomæ Gatakeri Londinatis *de Novi Teſtamenti ſtylo Diſſertatio: qua viri doctiſſimi* Sebaſtiani Pſochenii *de Linguæ Græcæ Novi Teſtamenti puritate, in qua* Hebraiſmis *quæ vulgo finguntur quam plurimis larva detrahi dicitur diatribe ad examen revocatur; Scriptorumque qua ſacrorum qua profanorum loca aliquam multa obiter explicantur atque illuſtrantur. Cum indicibus neceſſariis.* Lond. 1648. 4to. that is, *A* Diſſertation *upon the* Style *of the* New Teſtament, *in which the* Treatiſe *of that learned Man* Sebaſtian Pſochenius *concerning the Purity of the* Greek Tongue, *as it is uſed in the* Sacred Writings, *and in which it is ſaid that moſt of thoſe* Hebraiſms, *as they are commonly reputed, are ſhewn not ſo to be, is thoroughly examined, and abundance of paſſages not only in* ſacred, *but alſo in* prophane *authors are explained and illuſtrated; with neceſſary indexes.*

Our author himſelf tells us in the firſt chapter of his Diſſertation, that meeting in a friend's well-furniſhed library with this treatiſe of Sebaſtian Pſochenius, a German Divine, which was publiſhed in 1629, he read it with great attention, for tho' ſmall in bulk, he found it very weighty in matter, and abundantly full of good literature. But notwithſtanding this, he found many of the author's ſentiments repugnant to his own, and in his judgment alſo not agreeable to the truth. He ſaw likewiſe, that many learned and great men were cenſured without cauſe, and ſometimes repreſented as ſpeaking a language very different from what he took to be their real ſentiments. Theſe obſervations induced him to examine a multitude of queſtions ſtarted in that treatiſe, or which naturally flow from thoſe that are therein treated, in reſpect to all which he ſhews a candour every way equal to his ſkill in criticiſm. He does not uſe harſh expreſſions, or hard names, but contents himſelf with diſcovering miſtakes, in ſhewing the grounds upon which he took them ſo to be. In following this method he opens a field of very curious and inſtructive learning, and ſhews ſuch a quickneſs of penetration, ſuch a ſoundneſs of judgment, and ſuch a compaſs of reading, as are truly admirable. He begins with refuting a principle that Pſochenius had aſſumed, viz. that the Greek, Latin, German, &c. are original tongues, whereas in Gataker's opinion it is very difficult to know what are original tongues, but with reſpect to the Latin he maintains that it is not ſo. He ſhews from the authority both of ancients and moderns, that it was underſtood to be a compound of ſeveral languages ſpoken by the Sabines, Oſcans, and other old inhabitants of Italy, but more eſpecially of Greek; and to demonſtrate this more effectually, he takes the five firſt lines of Virgil, one of the pureſt and moſt elegant of the Latin poets, and proves that there is hardly a ſingle word in them which is not derived from the Greek. Thus he ſaps the very foundation of Pſochenius's ſyſtem, by making it evident, that there can be no aſſurance of the purity of any language, in the ſenſe that he underſtands it.

In his fifth chapter he ſtates Pſochenius's three principal queſtions, firſt, whether the text of the New Teſtament be truly Greek, or not different from that uſed by prophane authors. Next, whether if Homer, Pindar, Plato, Demoſthenes, &c. were to riſe from the dead, they would be able to underſtand the New Teſtament? and laſtly, by what name the language of that book is to be called, whether Græcanick, Helleniſtick, or Græcian? Our author obſerves, that this laſt queſtion is a mere diſpute about words, about which there has been diſpute enough already, and with which he will have nothing to do. On the other two queſtions he ſpeaks his opinion plainly. When it is alledged in proof of the firſt, that the phraſes uſed by the writers of the New Teſtament, are likewiſe uſed by prophane authors, he denies that this is concluſive; for, ſays he, who that has any taſte of the purity of the Latin tongue, will allow that it is to be found in ſcholaſtic writings, notwithſtanding that the words, and even the phraſes in which Cicero, Salluſt, Livy, Terence, &c. wrote are here and there found in them? He adds farther, that thoſe who do not ſee that tho' the ſacred writers uſed the ſame words, and even the ſame phraſes that are to be found in profane authors in another manner than they do, and to convey a different ſenſe, muſt not only be ſaid to ſee indifferently and obſcurely, but that they willingly ſhut their eyes. He then produces many Latin words uſed by the ſacred writers, tho' written in Greek characters, or diſguiſed with Greek terminations. He alſo produces Hebrew and Syriac words to the ſame purpoſe, and from hence he concludes, that tho' Pſochenius could really ſhew, which however he undertakes to render manifeſt that he has not done, that the ſacred writers make uſe of a multitude of phraſes which are to be met with in the beſt prophane authors, yet this would not come up to what he has aſſerted, if the former have alſo uſed many words and phraſes which are not to be met with in authors who are allowed to write pure Greek.

As to the ſecond queſtion, he tells Pſochenius, that it can be granted or denied him only in part. But that notwithſtanding ſome places might in ſome meaſure be underſtood by thoſe great men he mentions, if it was poſſible for them to come from the dead, yet this would go but a little way in proving what he has aſſerted, becauſe tho' they might underſtand ſome part, yet other parts they could not underſtand. He puts a parallel caſe in reference to the writings of Apuleius, which, ſays he, if Cicero were to riſe from the dead, he might for the moſt part underſtand; but would any competent judge conclude from thence, that the Latin of Apuleius reſembles that of Tully, or of the age in which Tully wrote. But, ſays Pſochenius, Paul converſed with the Greeks of his time, and was he not underſtood by them, and if by them, why not by the Ancients? I could readily grant you that, ſays our author, and yet deny the conſequence that you would draw from it; for the Greek language in itſelf was much declined in the times of the Apoſtles, by the admiſſion of a multitude of exotic words and phraſes borrowed from the Italians, Sicilians, Cyrenians, and Carthaginians, partly from their being under the ſame government with them, and partly from their commercial intercourſe with thoſe nations. But after all, ſays he, if Demoſthenes could live again, it is moſt likely that he would find many obſtacles in reading Paul's writings, and would object to many of the words and phraſes that occur in them; he then quotes a long paſſage from Beza's Annotations on the Acts of the Apoſtles, wherein that learned Commentator ſhews the reaſons why the Apoſtles were not ſtudious in reſpect to their ſtile, but endeavoured rather to make themſelves underſtood by thoſe with whom they converſed, than to render their diſcourſes elegant from their pure and correct manner of ſpeaking.

In the ſame manner he proceeds through the reſt of his treatiſe, explaining, as they occur, a multitude of paſſages in ſacred and profane authors, correcting ſome and commending other critics who have gone before him in the ſame way, but with ſo much mildneſs and moderation, it, he judged it proper to detach that diſſertation, and to ſend it abroad as it was, that he might diſcover what reception this larger work might meet with, from the Republick of Letters; and finding this ſpecimen univerſally applauded, this determined him in the year 1651, to publiſh the two firſt books of his CINNUS, the whole of that performance being divided into ſix (t) [P]. His natural modeſty, as well as his chriſtian moderation, hindered him from making himſelf near ſo much conſidered, as from his great abilities, and numerous friends he otherwiſe might have been; yet notwithſtanding the mildneſs of his temper, and his averſion to whatever might render him the theme of publick diſcourſe, ſuch an unparallelled occaſion as that of the King's trial moved him to make a publick declaration of his ſentiments. He was accordingly the firſt of the forty-ſeven London Miniſters,

(t) See his Prefaces to both theſe Pieces.

moderation, with ſuch apparent candour and reſpect to truth above all things, that it is impoſſible for the reader not to perceive, that in oppoſing Pſochenius he has nothing leſs in view than to raiſe his reputation on the ruins of his whom he refutes. For we ought to remark, that it was very excuſable in our author to call ſuch a writer to a ſevere account, as had endeavoured to eſtabliſh a paradox at the expence of ſo many learned perſons characters who had maintained the contrary; and this probably with a view to manifeſt his own ſkill in arguing, and the acquaintance that he certainly had with the beſt and pureſt writers in the Greek language. Neither was our author alone in this oppoſition, for others ſet themſelves to overturn the ſame ſyſtem with far leſs ceremony in reſpect to its inventor. In the forty-fourth chapter, Mr Gataker gives us a recapitulation of the whole diſpute between him and Pſochenius, and obſerves that the true ſtate of the queſtion is, whether the ſtyle of the New Teſtament in Greek, is every where the ſame with that uſed by the ancient writers of thoſe times, when the language was in its greateſt purity? Or whether it is not ſuch as frequently admits of Hebraiſms and Syriaſms? Pſochenius affirms the former, and denies the latter, and, in order to maintain his point, produces about an hundred places, in which he aſſerts that the phraſes and modes of expreſſion which are accounted Hebraiſms or Syriaſms, are to be found among thoſe ancient writers.

But Mr Gataker, in anſwer to this, obſerves, I. That with regard to ſome of thoſe expreſſions which are propoſed as Hebraiſms, it is not certain from Pſochenius that any author had ever repreſented them as ſuch, ſince he names none, and it is by no means probable with relation to ſome of thoſe phraſes; nor if any writer ſhould ſay this expreſſes that Hebrew manner of ſpeaking, or This is taken from that of the Hebrews, does he therefore neceſſarily affirm it to be an Hebraiſm, any more than if a perſon ſhould ſay, This expreſſion of Virgil anſwers to that of Homer, or Horace borrowed this from Callimachus, would he therefore aſſert that Virgil or Horace adapted themſelves to the Greek idiom in thoſe places. II. That there are not a few expreſſions which Pſochenius does not prove to have been in uſe among the Antients, ſince he either cites writers only of the lower age, or miſtakes the ſenſe of thoſe antient ones whom he quotes, and often gives them an oppoſite meaning to the true one. III. That Pſochenius endeavoured to prove ſeveral expreſſions to have been uſed by the Ancients merely from the writings of the Poets, eſpecially the tragic writers, whereas the idioms of languages cannot juſtly be fixed from the expreſſions of Poets, eſpecially tragic authors, for otherwiſe many paſſages in Catullus, Horace, Silius, and Statius, would not be accounted Helleniſms when they really are ſo. If theſe paſſages be deducted from Pſochenius's hundred, they will make a conſiderable abatement of the number. IV. That with reſpect to ſome expreſſions which are ſometimes found among the ancient Greek writers, but are acknowledged to be very common with the Hebrews, why may not they be juſtly ſuppoſed to have been derived from the Hebrew manner of ſpeaking into other languages? Pſochenius indeed affirms, that it is not at all probable that Plato, Euripides, Lucian, &c. who were greatly averſe to the Jews, and their manners and cuſtoms, would abandon the elegance and propriety of their own language, and imitate the Hebrews in their ſtyle. But Mr Gataker thinks that there is no ſtrength in this reaſoning, ſince we may call upon Pſochenius to ſhew whence it appears that Plato and Euripides, to omit Lucian an Atheiſt, who ridicules all religion, were averſe to the Jews, and their manners and cuſtoms. With reſpect to Plato, the contrary is very evident from the teſtimony of not a few, and thoſe conſiderable writers. Beſides every perſon who is converſant in the books of the old Pagans, will ſee that they have borrowed many things from the Jewiſh writings, laws, rites, and inſtitutions. It is very abſurd therefore to ſuppoſe, that they could not or would not imitate any of their modes of ſpeaking when they ſtudiouſly followed their cuſtoms and inſtitutions in a variety of reſpects. But ſuppoſing, in order to gratify Pſochenius, that all the Greeks had a prodigious averſion to the Jews, it was never heard that men of learning, and deſirous of knowledge, ever conceived ſo great an hatred to any nation, as not to ſearch into the writings and monuments of it, and extract thence whatever they found for their own purpoſe.

But not to inſiſt upon theſe points, we may aſk whether the Greeks were always averſe to the Phœnicians and Syrians, and other nations bordering upon the Jews, as they are repreſented by Pſochenius to have been to the Jews? But by means of thoſe nations, tho' the Greeks had had no commerce with the Jews, ſeveral modes of ſpeaking might have been derived from the latter to the former, ſince it is well known to thoſe who are converſant in the Oriental tongues, that the languages of the nations above mentioned are clearly deſcended from the ancient Hebrew. What Pſochenius mentions of the abſurdity of ſuppoſing the Greeks to abandon the elegance and propriety of their own language, and imitate the Hebrew ſtyle, is of no weight, ſince it does not follow that thoſe people muſt violate the elegance of their mother tongue, who admit into it modes of expreſſion not common to it before, this being uſual among all nations in all ages. But granting to Pſochenius, that of all the expreſſions which he cites, there is not one peculiar to the Hebrews, or which he has not ſhewn to be familiar to the antient Greek writers; yet it would not follow from hence, that the ſtyle of the New Teſtament is every where the ſame with that of the Antients, or free intirely from Hebraiſms or Syriaſms. For if a perſon ſhould aſſert that Herodotus did not write in the Ionic dialect, nor Theocritus in the Doric, and to prove this ſhould produce an hundred or two hundred words from the writings of both, which are of the common dialect, would this be admitted as a ſolid argument, when ſix hundred or more words might be urged on the contrary ſide, which are remote from the common dialect, and intirely Ionic or Doric. Mr Gataker concludes with obſerving, that notwithſtanding all that Pſochenius has urged, he does not doubt but that near ſix hundred phraſes might be produced from the New Teſtament, and a much greater number from the Greek verſion of the Old Teſtament, the purity of which Pſochenius ſeems tacitly to maintain, in which there are plain characters of the Hebrew or Syriac tongues, and not the leaſt reſemblance of the antient Greek tongue, as far as has been hitherto diſcovered by men of the greateſt learning and diligence. The venerable Primate of Ireland (23), than whom there could not be a better judge, ſhewed his reſpect for our author and his performance, by ſending it with his own Annals as a preſent to Dr Arnold Boate, then at Paris. The judicious Marhoff ſpeaking of this treatiſe ſays (24), Pſochenio *ſeſe* Thomas Gatakerus *oppoſuit, magnum in omni re literaria nomen*.

[P] *Being divided into ſix.*] The title of this work, expreſſed in it's full extent, runs thus:

Thomæ

(23) Uſher's Letters, p. 559.

(24) Polyhiſt. literar. l. iv. 6, 19.

ſters, who ſubſcribed that Remonſtrance to the General and army, of which Mr Collier gives the ſubſtance, and which at the ſame time he honeſtly applauds. In it they put them in mind of their duty to the Parliament, and of the obligations themſelves and that Parliament were under to defend his Majeſty's perſon, and to maintain his juſt rights; they told him that the one could not be injured, or the other invaded, without manifeſt breach of many ſolemn oaths, and particularly of the Covenant, they taught them to diſtinguiſh between God's approbation and permiſſion; ſet in its true light, the folly of pretending to ſecret impulſes to vindicate the breaking God's written laws; they made it evident, that neceſſity was a falſe plea; and concluded with adviſing them to follow John the Baptiſt's rule, to do violence to no man, and made no ſcruple to tell them, that if they perſiſted in their deſign, their ſin would find them out (*u*). He ſaw with ſorrow all that happened afterwards, keeping himſelf as retired as he could, attentive only to his paſtoral function and his ſtudies, tho' as we obſerved he did not publiſh the two firſt books of his Miſcellanies till the year 1651. The ſame year he printed a ſmall piece upon infant baptiſm, which was very much admired (*w*). He was very knowing in that controverſy, and beſides this wrote ſeveral other Diſcourſes, in which he treated the main queſtions with great ſeriouſneſs and ſolidity, of which ſome farther notice will be taken in the notes [*Q*]. In 1652 he obliged the world with his moſt excellent edition of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus's Meditations, to which he prefixed a preliminary diſcourſe on the Philoſophy of the Stoics, which by the univerſal conſent of the ableſt critics at home and abroad, is allowed to be a moſt compleat and correct treatiſe, as well as a moſt uſeful compendium of rational morality (*x*). He added likewiſe an exact tranſlation together with a commentary. He had in ſome of his former works given ſome occaſional ſpecimens of his perfect acquaintance with the works of this Imperial Philoſopher, whoſe eſteem has been always as high with the learned as his ſtation was in the world, and therefore, when this came abroad much was expected from it, a circumſtance rarely favourable to books, and which yet proved remarkably ſo to this, as the reader may find from a concurrence of learned teſtimonies [*R*]. When it appeared that he was rather ſuſpected than countenanced by the State, there were ſome in his pariſh who took advantage of his ſituation

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(*u*) Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Vol. ii. p. 859, 860.

(*w*) Diſcourſe Apologetical, p. 61.

(*x*) Occaſioned by his Diſpute with Dr Ward.

Thomæ Gatakeri Londinatis Cinnus; *ſive* adverſaria miſcellanea *animadverſionum variarum libris ſex comprehenſa: quorum primores duo nunc primitius prodeunt reliquis deinceps* (Deo *favente*) *ſeorſim inſecuturis.* Lond. 1651. in 4to. That is, *A Collection of miſcellaneous remarks, the whole divided into* ſix *Books, of which* two *are at preſent publiſhed, and the reſt ſhall,* God *willing, follow in due time.* In his preface our author ſhews, that theſe collections came abroad in order to diſcharge his promiſe when he publiſhed his diſſertation on the ſtile of the New Teſtament; which promiſe he had complied with ſooner, if he had not been called upon to execute that part of the annotations on the Scriptures, aſſigned him by the committee of parliament, with other members of the Aſſembly of Weſtminſter, and by a dangerous eruption of blood, by which he was brought very low, and for a long time withheld from his ſtudies; the firſt book is divided into eleven, the ſecond into twenty chapters, for the moſt part independent of each other. The account we have given at large of his book againſt Pſochenius, renders it unneceſſary for us to inſiſt upon this performance, becauſe it is entirely of the ſame nature, except it's tending to no particular point, but diſcovering it's author's ſenſe on difficult paſſages in the Old and New Teſtaments, the primitive Fathers, modern Critics, and as his ſubjects occaſionally led him, illuſtrating a vaſt variety of obſcure or perplexed places in prophane authors, both Greek and Latin; neither are there wanting ſome obſervations on words and phraſes in our own language. This work was received abroad with the higheſt commendation; and Morhoff particularly applauds the author for his ſingular happineſs, in diſtinguiſhing the true ſenſe of the moſt difficult paſſages, and of making it appear to the learned writer, that what he defends is the true ſenſe, and this, in few words, without any oſtentation, or without inſulting any of thoſe whom he corrects; but, on the contrary, commonly aſcribing their miſtakes, ſometimes to a ſlip of memory, and at others, to the bad editions of the books they uſed. The remaining books of this collection were publiſhed after his deceaſe, by his ſon Mr Charles Gataker, under the following title:

Adverſaria Miſcellanea Poſthuma, in quibus ſacræ Scripturæ primo deinde aliorum Scriptorum locis multis Lux affunditur. Lond. 1659. fol.

[*Q*] *In the notes.*] We have already ſpoken ſo much in another article, that it will not be neceſſary to detain the reader longer here, than barely to give him the titles of the two Latin diſcourſes penned by our author, which in point of learning, reaſoning, and modeſty, are not at all inferior to any that have fallen from his pen.

De Baptiſmatis Infantilis vi & efficacia Diſceptatio privatim habita inter V. C. Dom. Samuelem Wardum, *theologiæ ſacræ* doctorem, *& in academia* Cantabrigienſi *Profeſſorem*, & Thomam Gatakerum. Lond. 1651. 8vo. *A* private Conference *concerning the Force and Efficacy of* Infant Baptiſm, *between* Dr Samuel Ward, *and* Thomas Gataker.

Stricturæ ad Epiſtolam Joannis Davenantii *de Baptiſmo Infantum.* Lond. 1654. in 8vo. *Remarks upon the Epiſtle of* John Davenant *concerning* Infant Baptiſm.

[*R*] *From a concurrence of learned teſtimonies.*] There is hardly any performance handed down to us from the Ancients, which has been ſo highly and ſo juſtly praiſed, as theſe meditations of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, ſtiled by way of excellence, and ſure without prejudice to his imperial dignity, the Philoſopher. If we may believe a very able writer, and a very judicious critic, this treatiſe of his is the utmoſt ſtretch of human underſtanding, and the nobleſt monument human wiſdom ever erected. But notwithſtanding this, few books have ſuffered more, indeed ſcarce any ſo much, by the injuries of time; ſo that the great credit it was in with the learned, could not be ſaid to proceed from a judgment formed upon the whole work, but from ſuch pieces of it as were in the beſt condition, and from the beauty and luſtre of which they very reaſonably concluded, that all was of a piece when it fell from his pen, and therefore deplored the many wounds it had received by a ſeries of unhappy accidents; they were far from aſcribing any of it's defects to it's great author, but did all imaginable juſtice to his learned labours, with whatever imperfections they came to their hands. It was publiſhed in Greek by Conrad Geſner, and a Latin tranſlation added by William Xylander, which had paſſed through ſeveral editions. Mr Gataker found both the text and the tranſlation exceedingly faulty, and ſpent near forty years in conſidering how the former might be amended, and a new tranſlation made, which might do juſtice to ſo exquiſite a piece. He tion, and no longer paid him their ſhare of the compoſition for the tythes of their houſes, which upon a law ſuit amicably conducted had been decreed him in the court of Exchequer,

He found prodigious difficulties in the progreſs of this undertaking, being able to meet with very few manuſcript copies, and receiving but very ſlender helps from thoſe learned perſons, whoſe aſſiſtance he ſollicited in the progreſs of his endeavours. He ſent indeed to the celebrated Salmaſius a liſt of his principal difficulties, who returned him an anſwer, which he very gratefully acknowledges, in which he commends his undertaking, but at the ſame time gives him a diſmal proſpect of the obſtacles he was to overcome, ſuch as innumerable corruptions, frequent chaſms, more frequent tranſpoſitions, and many other misfortunes, which he promiſed him his aid in removing; which however his frequent journies, and other accidents, prevented his performing. Mr Gataker, nevertheleſs went on, and with the few helps he had, his own ſagacity, and the compariſon of paſſages cited with the printed copies, at length brought his deſign to bear, and, to the great ſatisfaction of the learned world, publiſhed his admirable edition of this valuable work about two years before his death, under the following title.

MARCI ANTONINI *Imperatoris* de rebus ſuis *ſive* de iis quæ ad ſe pertinere cenſebat *Libri* xii. *cum Verſione* Latinâ *&* *Commentariis* Gatakeri, Cambridge 1652. in 4to. that is, *The Emperor* Marcus Antoninus *his twelve books of his* own Affairs, *or* of thoſe things which he underſtood to concern himſelf, *with a* Latin *Tranſlation and Commentaries.* This was printed again in 1697. with the addition of the Emperor's life, by Mr Dacier, together with ſome ſelect notes of the ſame author, by Dr George Stanhope, who dedicated it to the Lord Chancellor Somers; in which dedication there is a high character given of our author. The firſt thing that ſtrikes us in his edition, is his preliminary diſcourſe, in which the principles of the Stoicks are compared with the Peripateticks, with the old Academicks, and more eſpecially with the Epicurean Sect: the remaining writings likewiſe of the Stoick Philoſophers, Seneca, Epictetus, and particularly thoſe of our Emperor Marcus Antoninus, are briefly examined, and a ſuccinct account is given of the nature and deſign of the work. A piece which has been always conſidered as one of the moſt finiſhed in it's kind, written with great ſtrength and perſpicuity, full of excellent matter, collected with infinite diligence, in a word, ſmall in ſize, but very weighty in its contents. His account of the principal doctrines of the Stoicks is a proper and a ſufficient inſtance of this; take them as they have been tranſlated by Mr Collier. "Theſe Philoſophers, ſays our author, have admirable notions. They hold that God Almighty governs the univerſe, that his Providence is not only general, but particular, and reaches to perſons and things: that he preſides over human affairs; that he aſſiſts men not only in the greateſt concerns, in the exerciſes of virtue, but alſo ſupplies them with the conveniencies of life. And therefore that God ought to be worſhipped above all things, and applied to upon all occaſions, that we ſhould have him always in our thoughts, acknowledge his power, reſign to his wiſdom, and adore his goodneſs for all the ſatisfactions of our being. To ſubmit to his Providence without reſerve: to be pleaſed with his adminiſtration, and fully perſwaded that the ſcheme of the world could not have been mended, nor the ſubordination of things more ſuitably adjuſted, nor all events have been better timed for the common advantage: and therefore that 'tis the duty of all mankind to obey the ſignal, and follow the intimations of Heaven with all the alacrity imaginable: that the poſt aſſigned us by Providence muſt be maintained with reſolution, and that we ought to die a thouſand times over rather than deſert it. Theſe are the Stoicks principles concerning the Deity, and the regard due to him. Let us now examine how they ſtand affected towards mankind. And here their precepts are no leſs extraordinary than in the former caſe. For they declare plainly that we muſt love all mankind heartily, and, without a complement; that we muſt ſollicit their intereſt, bear with their infirmities, and do no manner of injury to any mortal: that a man ſhould not think himſelf born only for his private ſatisfaction, but exert his ſtrength for the publick advantage, and make his life as ſignificant to the world as 'tis poſſible: that the conſcience of a good action ſhould content him without the proſpect of fame or reward: that he ſhould never be tired with the exerciſe of good nature, but purſue one kindneſs ſo cloſely with another, that there may be no room for any inſignificant ſpaces of life to come between: that a man ought to look upon a generous action as a reward to itſelf, and that we oblige ourſelves by doing a good turn to another; and therefore that 'tis a piece of meanneſs to ramble abroad, and graſp at intereſt or applauſe. Farther: that the poliſhing our reaſon, and the governing our will, is the moſt noble employment, and that nothing ought to be preferred to the practice of honeſty. And laſtly, that a man ſhould ſtand immovably by his reaſon; that no clamour of appetite ſhould call him off; that no loſs of fortune, no menaces of death, no extremities of torture ſhould make him give way, or frighten him from a known duty. Theſe are ſome of the noble ſentences we meet with in the writings of the Stoicks. What ſtrains of piety, what inſtances of humanity, what flights of greatneſs are here!"

Our author afterwards obſerves, that Seneca, Epictetus, and the Emperor Antoninus, were the great pillars of the Stoick Philoſophy, judging however, that the firſt was far inferior to the two laſt, and amongſt other reaſons he gives theſe. "He is, ſays he, gay ſometimes when he ſhould be ſolemn, and flouriſhes when he ſhould ſtrike home. He makes a paſs with a pin, and rather pricks than pierces it. He gives you ſometimes a turn of fancy inſtead of ſolid proof; his notions are now and then ſo ſuperfine, that the leaſt reſiſtance turns the edge of them. They have generally a point, but no weight of body for execution. This may be looked on as an exceſs of clear dealing, but I am not the firſt that have taken this freedom with Seneca; ſeveral great men have paſſed the ſame judgment upon him long ſince. However, I deſire not to be underſtood as if I had a mind to detract from the worth, or diſcourage the reading of this philoſopher, who was really a perſon of an extraordinary genius, and has always had men of ſenſe and learning to admire him. My meaning is only to ſhew, that this Roman failed a little in the points of gravity and fortitude, ſo peculiar to the Stoicks: and that Epictetus, and Marcus Antoninus, out-did him both in their pens and their practice. Theſe two perſons, though in contrary ſtations, and in the remoteſt diſtance of circumſtances imaginable, the one being a poor ſlave, and the other the greateſt monarch in the univerſe: theſe two perſons, I ſay, have ſhewed the force of the Stoical Philoſophy, and how ſtrongly it operates under all diverſities of condition, and that not only by a comprehenſive body of refined morality in their writings, but alſo by an illuſtrious example every way agreeable to the nobleneſs of the precepts delivered." He goes on to compare the Emperor's morality with that of the Goſpel, that it's excellence might appear by bringing it to the higheſt teſt; and, laſtly, he ſhews how he came to undertake, and in what manner he has executed this performance; after the preliminary diſcourſe follow the teſtimonies in favour of the author, firſt from the Greeks, amongſt whom we find Suidas, Dion Caſſius, Herodian, Ariſtides, Philoſtratus, Galen, and many others; amongſt the Latins, Julius Capitolinus, Avidius Caſſius, Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, Tertullian, Oroſius, &c. Amongſt the moderns, Petrarch, Sebaſtian Munſter, John Bodin, Juſtus Lipſius, Iſaac Cauſabon, Claudius Salmaſius, and many others. We then come to the text corrected throughout in many places, reſtored, properly pointed and divided, various of the chaſms filled up, the various readings in the margin, with a perpetual commentary, in which dark paſſages are explained, and corrections accounted for, the author's ſenſe ſupported from other writers on the ſame ſubject, hiſtorical paſſages illuſtrated, ſuch as are alluded to only, produced and applied, with the parallel read-quer, and in ſatisfaction for which he conſented to accept of forty pounds a year; yet for all this he never attempted to diſquiet them, but bore patiently, not this only, but ſeveral other acts of injuſtice, notwithſtanding which he could not avoid the cenſure of evil tongues (*y*). In the evening of his days, when he earneſtly deſired that repoſe which his labours had ſo well deſerved, he found himſelf very warmly attacked by an active and angry adverſary infinitely beneath him in point of knowledge, but who had credit with ſome great men in the government, and who was looked upon as a perſon of tranſcendent abilities by the vulgar. This was the famous Aſtrologer William Lilly, who finding that our author had a very bad opinion of the art he profeſſed, and ſtill a worſe of himſelf, had the confidence to fall upon him in print (z), but met with the ſucceſs which he might eaſily have foreſeen. For Mr Gataker being fully poſſeſſed of all the ſacred and prophane learning relative to this ſubject, not only defended himſelf with great ſtrength of argument, but very clearly detected all the plauſible ſophiſms that could be urged in ſupport of this pretended ſcience (*a*) [*S*]. Yet notwithſtanding he convinced the judicious and impartial

(*y*) A Diſcourſe Apologetical, &c.

(z) In his Annus tenebroſus.

(*a*) See this point cleared in the Note.

ings throughout, ſo as to make this piece in ſeveral paſſages a comment upon itſelf, the author diſcovering his true meaning, where briefly expreſſed in one place by what he has ſaid more at large on the ſame topic in another. Upon the whole, it may be truly ſaid, and indeed has been ſaid, by the moſt able and judicious criticks, that this admirable piece came in quite another dreſs from our author's hand than it had appeared in before; and tho' it cannot be affirmed that all the wounds are healed, or that no ſcars appear, yet we may with juſtice avow, that the body looks fair and ſound, at leaſt in compariſon of what it was, and fully juſtifies the numerous commendations that have been beſtowed upon it. It was indeed the work of many years, but then he had frequent avocations; the duties of his function required much of his time; his infirmities hindered him not a little; but beſides all this, it was not barely the amending and explaining his author that required ſo much pains, but the fulfilling of his own deſign, which was to render the work of Antoninus, and his commentary upon it, a compleat body of the Stoick Philoſophy, or, in other words, a perfect ſyſtem of rational morality, ſublime in ſentiment, and yet not ſuperior to practice. *It is*, ſays the judicious Morhoff, (25) and after him the candid Father Niceron, (26), *a treaſury, in which will be found the juſt reflections, the wiſe obſervations, the noble maxims of all the great writers of antiquity, as well* Romans *as* Greeks, *repoſited in their proper places*. Not heaped together to ſhew the author's vaſt reading, but diſpoſed with ſo much prudence, that he ſeems to have inſerted nothing but what either the ſentiments or the expreſſions of his author ſuggeſted. Yet ſo far is he from aſſuming any merit either from his indefatigable diligence, or from that ſucceſs of which he could not but be a very competent judge; that, on the contrary, he modeſtly deſires his reader would not examine his performance with rigour, but conſider it as the work of an old man broken with age and ſickneſs, not altogether his own maſter, writing as his occaſions would permit, liable to miſtakes, ſenſible of overſights, and deſirous therefore of beſpeaking a mild and compaſſionate reception from ſuch as conſidering the difficulty of the taſk, and the accidents which diſabled him from coming up entirely to what he propoſed, would accept his good-will in excuſe of his defects, and allow ſomething for his endeavours, tho' attended with imperfections. All this he delivers with ſuch apparent truth, and with ſuch viſible ſincerity, that one cannot help ſtanding as much amazed at his humility, as at his perſeverance and good fortune, in bringing ſo acceptable a tribute to the Republic of Letters.

(25) Polyhiſt. literar. l. i. §. 1.

(26) Memoires pour ſervir a la Hiſtoire des Hommes illuſtres, Tom. viii. p. 85.

[S] *In ſupport of this pretended ſcience.*] The ground of this controverſy was our author's, Mr Gataker's, Annotations upon the ſecond verſe of the tenth chapter of the prophet Jeremiah, in which chapter the ſacred writer warns the Jews againſt two great ſins, to which they might be particularly tempted in the places of their captivity, liſtening to the predictions of Aſtrologers, and complying with the practice of idolaters: it was in handling the firſt of theſe that our author gave offence to William Lilly, who had been a great agent for a certain faction during the civil war, and thereby a fatal inſtrument of much miſchief to church and ſtate. Our author therefore apprehended it his duty to expoſe the vanity of predictions from the ſtars, and to ſhew ſuch as were truly Chriſtians, that it was not only folly and ignorance, but downright wickedneſs to rely upon them. His expoſition is in itſelf ſo curious, ſo full of ſolid ſenſe and ſound learning, and ſo effectually deſtroys the credit of that deluſive art, by which, in all ages, weak and wandering minds are apt to be miſled; that, as well for this this reaſon as to ſet the point under our conſideration in it's proper light, we will tranſcribe what he has delivered (27).

Thus ſaith the Lord, learn not the way of the Heathen.] Becauſe the Jewiſh people were a great party of them to go in captivity into Babylon, and other the regions adjacent, yea, many of them in likelihood were in captivity already, (ſee ver. 11. ch. xxiv. 1. and xxix. 1, 2.) God by the prophet endeavoureth to confirm and ſtrengthen them, the pious eſpecially among them, (for ſuch alſo there were of them, chap. xxiv. 5. Ezek. xi. 16.) againſt thoſe ſuperſtitions and vanities that were rife in thoſe parts, and they might be in danger, being exiles and captives in a ſtrange land, to be ſtrongly tempted unto: Heb *Learn not to the way*, where either the particle is ſuperfluous, omitted therefore Pſal. cvi. 35. chap. xii. 16. or elſe it may be rendered, *Accuſtom not yourſelves to the way of the Heathen*; and ſo ſome render it, *do not imitate them*, ſee chap. ix. 5. their *way*, that is, their ſuperſtitious courſes, Lev. xviii. 3. and xx. 23.

(27) In the ſecond Volume of the Aſſembly's Annotations, which cannot be more particularly cited as it is not paged.

And be not diſmayed at the ſigns of Heaven] The firſt head of ſuperſtitions, which he beginneth with, is Aſtrology, a ſtudy and practice ſo rife among them, in thoſe parts, Eſai xlvii. 13. that the profeſſors and practiſers of it not with them alone, Dan. ii. 2. and v. 7. but among other nations alſo are generally deſigned by the name of *Caldeans*, ſee Strabo, l. 17. Cicero of *Divination*, l. 2. Pliny, l. 6. c. 26. *Aſtrology*, I ſay, not that which we commonly term *Aſtronomy*, whereby the true nature and motion of the celeſtial bodies are by grounds of reaſon and rules of art, thence taking their riſe, enquired into and diſcovered; but that *judiciary aſtrology*, as it is uſually ſtiled, whereby men take upon them, from the poſtures and aſpects of them, to foretel the iſſue of human affairs, either publick or private, and what caſual events ſhall befal either perſons or people: a practice grown of late with us into great eſteem, being either countenanced or connived at by thoſe in authority with us, though having entered themſelves, and cauſed others with them to enter into a religious bond of a ſolemn oath and *Covenant*, to endeavour the *extirpation* of all thoſe things among us that are *contrary to ſound doctrine, and the power of godlineſs*, whereof this is none of the leaſt. For the original whereof (ſince it hath not, nor can be ſhewed to have any ground from the light of nature, or natural reaſon, we ſhall not need to go far to find it out) we have a blind but inſolent buzzard (I may well ſo term him) among us, one that profeſſeth himſelf no ſmall doctor in theſe impoſtures and dotages, (wherewith he hath bewitched not a few with us eſteeming his predictions as no other than divine oracles) and taketh upon him, by the ſtars, to ſteer the affairs of our ſtate, pretending *to read in the book of Heaven* all that he writes, who will ſufficiently inform us herein. Now this man to juſtify the warrantableneſs of this his practice telleth us, that *the good Angels of God in former ages, at firſt by perſonal conference acquainted the ſons of men with this learning of the ſtars; and thoſe holy men*, ſaith he, *ſo inſtructed, living many years, and*

in

impartial enquirers into the ſubject of the vanity of this deluſive doctrine; yet he could never ſilence his ſelf-conceited and obſtinate antagoniſt, who, to ſay the truth, had his bread

in purer airs, where they curiouſly obſerved the planets, and their motion, brought this art to ſome maturity, without the leaſt hint of ſuperſtition. But, *as the ſons of man fell from God in divine worſhip, ſo in flitting and ſhifting their habitations, they forgat the purer part of this art, and in ſome countries added ſuperſtitious conceptions.* The holy Angels then belike by this man's relation, did at firſt inform thoſe holy men, which they could not otherwiſe have known, of the nature of the planets, to wit that *Saturn* was a *melancholick malignant* planet, *Mars a choleric and litigious* one, *Mercury a thieviſh, Venus a laſcivious and wanton* one, and that they do accordingly affect and diſpoſe ſuch people or perſons, as are either bred under them, or whom they have ſpecial relation unto. For theſe and the like ridiculous fopperies and impious calumniations of thoſe glorious creatures, are with them as the popiſh purgatory with the Papiſts, the main grounds and principles of their whole art; which being taken away the whole fabrick and frame of their ſuperſtitious ſtructures will preſently fail and fall flat to the ground, as with thoſe other, all their maſſes, dirges, obites, pardons, and indulgences, if you deny them their purgatory, which becauſe they can produce no clear ſcripture for, they run with theſe men to their forged revelations. But whence theſe frivolous conceits, and irreligious ſurmiſes, concerning thoſe celeſtial bodies, (which if you queſtion you ſhake the ground of all their conjectural ſkill) and their original may well be conjectured from the very names the heathen impoſed upon them, being borrowed from their counterfeit deities, whom they deemed ſo qualified; aſſure ourſelves we may, that God's holy Angels never raiſed any ſuch foul aſperſions, and groundleſs defamations, upon thoſe pure and ſpotleſs creatures, far from and wholly uncapable of any tincture of ſuch vicious diſpoſitions. But all that this man relateth, we may if we pleaſe, and be ſo ſilly as ſo to do, take upon his credit, for he telleth us not what times thoſe were wherein it was thus, or who thoſe holy men were, unto whom the holy Angels at firſt revealed thoſe things, or out of what records he hath theſe relations concerning ſuch pretended revelations. And, as little reaſon have we to engage our faith to his antagoniſt, another fowl of the ſame feather, that flieth yet ſomewhat higher than he, and pretending *his predictions to be grounded on art and nature*, telleth us that we may not miſdoubt or queſtion his art, that *this art was deduced from God to Adam, to Seth, to Abraham*, for proof whereof he referreth us to a knight of note for his ſtudies in this kind, who in favour indeed of this art, which he was overmuch addicted to and beſotted with, affirmeth in part what he ſaith, but bringeth no better proof of it, than a tale out of Joſeph the Jew, who in his *Antiquities*, l. 1. c. 3. telleth us, that *thoſe of Seth's iſſue living long, and without diſturbance, gave themſelves to the ſtudy of heavenly things, and the conſtitution or adminiſtration of them; and becauſe Adam had foretold a twofold deſtruction of the world that ſhould come, the one by water, the other by fire, they left the ſum of what they had of that kind of learning obſerved, engraven on two pillars, of brick the one, of ſtone the other*; but neither is any word in the Jew, of this their *judicial aſtrology*, nor of any ſkill in this kind, or any other by God imparted unto Adam, which they yet father upon him, and the whole relation of the *two pillars* ſeems as true as that, which he addeth of the continuance of the latter of them in Syria unto his time. And indeed, if any ſons of Adam ever had any ſuch immediate communion, either with God himſelf, or his holy Angels, it muſt be thoſe antient patriarchs Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, and thoſe prophets of God among his people, unto whom God uſed ſometime immediately, ſometime by the miniſtry of Angels, to impart his mind concerning future events, as well publick as private; but no where in ſcripture read we, that God did this either by the natural courſe of the celeſtial ſigns, or as from thence to be obſerved, nor undoubtedly had any ſuch art, and ſkill been taught the godly ones among God's people, whether by God himſelf or his Angels, would they either have concealed it from them, or much leſs committed it unto Paynims and Pagans, and by ſuch have tranſmitted it unto poſterity, for from ſuch incorrupt times it crept in among Chriſtians, being yet ever among them liable to cenſure, nor was any in the ancient Church that had profeſſed ſuch arts, admitted into the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, unleſs that, firſt, they renounced thoſe damnable practices, and recanted ſuch their ſuperſtitious conceits. But men may eaſily gueſs what Angels they were, that acquainted men at firſt with theſe things, and ſet them on work to buſie their brains about ſuch matters, as neither light of nature nor grounds of reaſon were able to inform them of, but muſt have ſome revelation either divine, or angelical, or diabolical rather, for the finding of them out. So far are God himſelf and his prophets from taking notice hereof, as ſome ſuch heavenly diſcovery or giving any approbation thereunto, that God by them ſometime derideth it, Eſay xliv. 25, and xlvii. 13. and ſometime diſſwadeth and condemneth it as an heatheniſh practice, not befitting his people to heed, as here ſo elſe where Deut. xviii. 10, 14. From the prince of the air, therefore, it may juſtly, by this man's own grounds and grants, be deemed to have proceeded at firſt, by him taught the heathen, that were ruled and ſwayed by him, and from them together, with the worſhip of them in their idols, conveyed unto God's own people. For what of further obſervation he ſubjoyneth to omit, that thoſe ridiculous principles muſt firſt be made good, 'ere any obſervation can be grounded upon them; the like did the heathen magicians report of their charms, and other ſuperſtitious divinations by the flight of fowls, and from the bowels of beaſts, to wit, that obſervations had been made of them for many hundreds of years. See Pliny l. 28. c. 2. and this, and thoſe, may well go together one with the other, unto him that was the firſt founder of them the *father of lies*, John viii. 44.

And be not diſmayed at the ſigns of Heaven.] As if the event of things, or the iſſue of your affairs, depended upon them, which thoſe fond *ſtar gazers* bare people in hand, and took upon them thereby to determine and foretel what good or bad ſucceſs mens deſigns ſhould have, Eſay xlvii. 12, 13. Howbeit ſigns there are of two ſorts; firſt, natural and ordinary, the ſtars themſelves being ſet in the ſky to diſtinguiſh the times and ſeaſons of the year, to which may be added the conjunctions of them one with another, or oppoſitions of them one to another, whence the eclipſes of ſome of them at ſometime do proceed, and theſe are thoſe ſigns which coming in a conſtant courſe, and continued tenor (in regard whereof men ſkilful therein are able, either going backward to tell how it hath been with them for thouſands of years paſt, or looking forwards how it will be for as many, if the world itſelf ſhould ſo long continue): God would not have his people to be affected or affrighted with, as if in regard of them, or from them, any evil in the ſucceſs of their affairs could betide them; other *ſigns* there are extraordinary in dreadful apparitions, beſides the ordinary courſe of the creatures, by which the Lord doth ſometime give notice unto his people of his diſpleaſure, and warning of enſuing wrath, and theſe God doth not inhibit his people to be affected with, and taking of them unto heart. See Joel ii. 30, 31. Luke xxi. 11, 25.

For the heathen are diſmayed at them]. Or rather *though the heathen be diſmayed at them.* Though they be ſo ſilly or ſuperſtitious, as to be therewith thus affected; yet ought ye not ſo to be. So is the particle very frequently uſed in our verſions, alſo not ſeldom expreſſed, Gen. viii. 21. Joſh. xvii. 18. Pſal. xxiii. 4. Eſay xii. 1. Dan. ix. 9. Mic. vii. 8. Hab. iii. 17.

For the cuſtoms of the people are vain.] Heb. *The ſtatutes* or *ordinances of the people*, (that is thoſe courſes of this nature, which people of ſeveral countries herein concurring do, as if it were ſome ſacred or divine ordinance, very preciſely and ſuperſtitiouſly obſerve)

—vanity

bread in ſome meaſure at ſtake, and was therefore bound by the ſtrongeſt tie imaginable to defend that craft by which he lived (*b*). It is no wonder, therefore, that writing and publiſhing

—*vanity itſelf*, i. e. *are each of them exceeding vain*, as vain as *vanity itſelf*, and a matter therefore very ill beſeeming ſuch as profeſs themſelves to be God's people, as did the Jews then, and as Chriſtians at this day do, to be taken and carried away with ſuch frivolous and ridiculous fancies and fopperies.

Theſe annotations rouzed all the tribe of Aſtrologers againſt our learned author, from the higheſt to the loweſt. William Lilly, John Swan, and Sir Chriſtopher Heydon, conceived themſelves to be perſonally attacked, and therefore fell upon him without mercy, as if he had been guilty of ſome very great offence; and the more liberty was taken in this reſpect, becauſe it was well enough known, that thoſe in power would be pleaſed to ſee a divine of great credit with the people, and who had ſignified his diſapprobation of things that were then doing, humbled. Upon this our author wrote a diſcourſe in defence of himſelf, and of all that he had advanced againſt the illuminated tribe of ſtar gazers, under the following title.

A Vindication *of the* Annotations *on* Jeremiah *Chap.* X. ver 2. *againſt the ſcurrilous aſperſions of that grand impoſtor* Mr William Lilly; *as alſo againſt the various expoſitions of two of his advocates*, Mr John Swan, *and another by him cited but not named. Together with the annotations themſelves; wherein the pretended grounds of* judiciary aſtrology, and *the* ſcripture proofs *produced for it, are diſcuſſed and refuted. By the author of the* Annotations, Lond. 1653. in 4to. In this treatiſe he dealt very roundly with his opponents, and with that ſcience of which they profeſſed themſelves maſters; enforced all that he had ſaid againſt it, by ſolid arguments, and produced in ſupport of his own ſentiments, a numerous train of authorities, and amongſt others alledged this, that, having aſked the celebrated mathematician, Mr Henry Brigges (28) what his ſentiments were concerning Aſtrology, he anſwered readily, *that it was a ſyſtem of groundleſs conceits.* William Lilly perceiving the deep impreſſion theſe pieces made upon the wiſer ſort of people, grew ſtill more angry; and, therefore, in a diſcourſe upon a comet which appeared in 1652, and which he prefixed to his Aſtrological Predictions for 1654, he writes thus (29). 'My diſcourſe may the more freely be admitted public view, ſith no meaner a man then T. G. B. D. i. e. Thomas Gataker, Bachelor of Divinity, parſon, rector, or rather receiver of the tithes, profits, and all appurtenances of church duties of Redriff near London, (tho' my ſimple antagoniſt) ſith he, I ſay, in thoſe pitiful and illiterate annotations of his, upon Jer x. ver. 2. ſeems to warrant this inquiry, nay he doth poſitively affirm it lawful. Theſe are that old ſilenced or dumb miniſter's words, as himſelf renders them in his impudent pamphlet, writ againſt me, containing twenty-ſix ſheets of ſcolding, viz. Other ſigns there are extraordinary, thus maſter Gataker, formerly a ſtiff prelate preaching impudently for the liberties or ſports of the Sabbath, viz. cards, dice, &c afterwards in hope of Biſhops, Deans, or Chapter Lands, a pretended Preſbyterian, ſince its decay, the poor man is mute, and hath willingly ſilenced himſelf from preaching, and now like a child teaches, or is taught, a new mode of ſpelling to his proſelytes, and cants the art of lying and ſcolding to the wives of Billinſgate, himſelf being unmarried.' In his poſtcript to the ſame almanack he has more to the ſame purpoſe, and in this kind of ſcurrilous war, he wanted not ſome allies, as will appear from the title of our reverend author's reply to his ill uſage and ill language.

A Diſcourſe Apologetical, *wherein* Lilies *lewd and lowd lies in his* Merlin *or* Paſquil *for the year* 1654, *are clearly laid open; his ſhameful deſertion of his own cauſe is further diſcovered; his ſhameleſs ſlanders fully refuted, and his malicious and murtherous mind, inciting to a general* maſſacre *of* GOD's miniſters, *from his own pen evidently evinced; together with an advertiſement concerning* two *allegations produced in the cloſe of his* poſtſcript; *and a* poſtſcript *concerning an* epiſtle dedicatory *of one* J. Gadburie, *by* Thomas Gataker, B. D. *author of the* Annotations *on* Jer. x. ver. 2. *and of the vindication of them.* Lond. 1654. 4to (30).

In this treatiſe our author takes occaſion to ſpeak of the moſt conſiderable tranſactions of his life, relates at large, the manner in which he arrived at his ſeveral preferments, and very fully refutes all the malicious and idle reflections, that Lilly and his aſſociates had thrown upon him. Amongſt other particulars he mentions his ſentiments upon church-government, profeſſing that he was never an advocate for the power and ſplendour of the Prelacy, but that on the other hand he had ever inclined to a moderate epiſcopacy; that as for the ſake of doing good in his generation, he had ſubmitted to the Biſhops, ſo when they were taken away by what he eſteemed the ſupreme power, he had ſubmitted to that likewiſe, but never ſought any, nay, on the contrary, had refuſed preferment from both ſides. This muſt have been written but a very little while before his death, which gave great ſatisfaction to Lilly, and thoſe of his party; who as they had ſerved to run down the royaliſts in favour of the parliament, and the Church of England, to gratify the non-conformiſts; ſo now they were as ready to run down the parliament in behalf of Oliver Cromwell, and to aſperſe the Preſbyterians, who had honeſtly and couragiouſly oppoſed the King's murder to gratify the ſectaries.

Lilly in particular in the preface to his Aſtrological Predictions for the year 1655, inſiſts largely upon this ſubject, and in the poſtſcript ſpeaks thus of our author then lately deceaſed, for that poſtſcript is dated November the eleventh 1654. 'Our pen doth willingly paſs by ſome injurious ſpeeches delivered publickly in a ſermon, at Maſter Gataker's funeral, by a very unworthy aſhye mouth. We honoured Maſter GATAKER whilſt alive, accounted him a man of as much learning and reading as any, and endued with as much choler and ſpleen as any mortal man. We wiſh he had kept cloſe unto the text, when he commented on Jeremiah chap x. ver. 2. and not beſpattered ourſelf with very obſcene language, not befitting a man of gravity, eſpecially in a commentary upon a text of ſcripture, for which many learned Divines have much condemned his raſhneſs or illguided zeal. But he is dead, having left very few Divines of our Engliſh nation comparable, or equal in learning, unto himſelf, eſpecially in Hiſtory or the Hebrew tongue. We predicted his death as it fell out in Auguſt 1654, and we were ſo civil as to beſtow an epitaph upon him, viz. *Hoc in tumbo jacet preſbyter*, &c. ſeriouſly he miſtook our meaning in every particle of his forty ſheets of paper wrote againſt us.'

We will conclude this note, with ſhewing the diſingenuity and equivocation of Lilly's falſe prediction, and counterfeit moderation. At the cloſe of his obſervations on the month of Auguſt 1654, ſtands this line by itſelf, *Hoc in tumbo jacet preſbyter & nebulo*, that is in Engliſh, as coarſe as his Latin, *Here in his tomb lies a preſbyter and knave, or worthleſs fellow.* Now with what juſtice this line at the end of Auguſt can be ſtiled a prediction of the death of Mr Gataker, which happened on the twenty-ſeventh of July, is left to the reader to decide, It was a very great chance, if either ſome eminent man in that perſwaſion had not died, or the party itſelf received ſome mortification, to which this ſtroke might be applied; for it was an ordinary artifice of his, to throw out ſuch ambiguous oracles, and then to entitle them prophecies of ſuch events, as either reſembled, or by his ſophiſtry could be brought to reſemble, them. If inſtead of placing it at the bottom of his obſervations, he had ſet it at the top, it would have run againſt the very day in which Mr Gataker was interred, which had been a lucky hit indeed; but as it ſtood in his almanack, none but himſelf would have had the aſſurance to have called it a prediction After weeping like a crocodile over the aſhes of a good man, whom he had inſulted to his laſt breath, he moſt ſhamefully hides a falſhood under an *&c.* in hopes that his readers would forget what that *&c.* ſtood for. If Mr Gataker was a *knave*

(*b*) He was aſſiſted by Henry Carpenter, John Gadbury, &c.

(28) Vindication of the Annotations, p. 19.

(29) Merlini Anglici Ephemeris or Aſtrological predictions for 1654.

(30) This is the Treatiſe we have ſo often cited.

publiſhing ſo frequently as he did, he ſhould perſecute our author to the end of his days, or that happening to out-live him, he ſhould as he did inſult him in his grave contrary to all the rules either of religion or humanity (*c*). As for the pious and learned Mr Gataker, he continued to purſue the ſame uſeful and innocent courſe of life, till years, infirmities, and perpetual labours, wore him out. He was very willing to have reſigned his living of Rotherhith, if the perſon who had the right of preſentation would have fixed upon an able and learned Miniſter, which he preſſed for ſeveral years together, as being not more weak for ſuſtaining, than weary of bearing on his ſhoulders a burthen which, however envied, was to him very uneaſy, but with which however he was compelled to travel to the grave. He was ſeized with a fainting fit on Friday July the ſeventh 1654, as his hiſtorian relates (*d*), or rather on the ninth of that month as we are told by his ſon (*e*). It happened about day-break, and by ſpeedy and ſkilful aſſiſtance he was quickly brought to himſelf, but continued very weak and feeble, as well as ſenſible of his approaching end. Three days after he was ſeized with a fever, with which under theſe circumſtances, and at his time of life, he was very little able to ſtruggle; on the twenty-eighth he loſt the uſe of the lower part of his body, but retained his ſenſes clear and ſtrong to the very laſt: towards evening the next day his ſon prayed by him, in which prayers he alſo joined with great fervency, and being ſeized ſoon after with his laſt agony, expired in the eightieth year of his age (*f*). He was interred on the firſt of Auguſt following at his own church, and his funeral ſermon preached by his old and faithful friend Mr Simeon Aſhe, which diſcourſe was not long after publiſhed, with a narrative of Mr Gataker's life, and acts; at the cloſe of this there are ſeveral copies of verſes as well in Latin as in Engliſh, in honour of his memory (*g*). He would never ſuffer his picture to be taken, but the following is ſaid to be a juſt deſcription of his perſon. He was of a middle ſtature, a thin body, a lively countenance, and freſh complexion; of a temperate diet, a free and chearful converſation, addicted to ſtudy, but not ſecluding himſelf from uſeful company; of a quick apprehenſion, ſharp reaſon, ſolid judgment, and ſo extraordinary a memory, that tho' he uſed no common-place book, yet he had in readineſs whatever he had read, as his prodigious number of quotations ſhew. His houſe was a private ſeminary for divers young gentlemen of this nation, and many foreigners reſorted to him, and lodged at his houſe in order to receive from him advice in their ſtudies (*h*). His extenſive learning was admired by the great men abroad, as Salmaſius, and others, with whom he held a correſpondence; and at the bottom of the page we ſhall collect a few of the many teſtimonies in honour of this great man and his writings, which have fallen from the pens as well of foreign writers as of our own nation [*T*]. He was in the courſe of his long life four

(*c*) In the obſervations upon Auguſt 1654, and his Poſtſcript to his Ephemeris 1655.

(*d*) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

(*e*) In the Appendix to his Father's account of his own Life.

(*f*) Narrative and Appendix.

(*g*) By many eminent Perſons.

(*h*) Diſcourſe Apologetical, p. 50.

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knave or *a worthleſs perſon*, why this high character of him? But if he deſerved this character and a better, what did this man deſerve for fixing upon him ſuch an epitaph? In the beginning of this note the reader has Mr Gataker's detection of aſtrology, and in the cloſe of it we have detected the art of his adverſary.

[*T*] *From the pens as well of foreign writers as of our own nation*] As the courſe of our author's life and labours, was attended with many circumſtances, that recommended him to the eſteem and veneration of men of true learning and ſincere piety; ſo, as he well obſerved himſelf, there wanted not other circumſtances, that kept him from making ſo great a figure as he might have done in his life-time, and which it is poſſible may have alſo operated upon his memory. He was a man ſo moderate and conſcientious, that he could not go the length of any party, which was the true reaſon of his not accepting preferments. In the reigns of King James and King Charles, he diſliked the high notions that were regarded, as the maxims of the government by churchmen, which he rightly foreſaw would be fatal, not only to them but to the Church. This kept him at a diſtance from thoſe that were in higheſt authority, and tho' his patrons at Lincolns-Inn would have procured him a prebend at leaſt, yet he refuſed it; and when it appeared he was not to be gained, it was natural to hold him ſuſpected, in which ſtate he continued for many years. When he came to ſit in the Aſſembly of Divines, for which he never received any thing, he drew upon himſelf the diſlike at leaſt if not the hatred of ſuch as were zealous for the Hierarchy; but when he declared himſelf in that Aſſembly in favour of Epiſcopacy, and excepted againſt the ſolemn league and covenant, till the words were ſo altered, as to be underſtood to exclude only Eccleſiaſtical Courts, and what he and thoſe of his own opinion took to be exorbitant in the power of Biſhops, he loſt the affections of the other party, who were for deſtroying epiſcopacy root and branch His open declaration againſt the ſubſequent proceedings of thoſe who reſolved all power and authority, into that of the ſword, heightened the averſion of the dominant faction to his perſon, and expoſed him to that ill treatment he met with from their tools, who, as we have ſhewn in the laſt note, charged him with inconſtancy, changing ſides, and ſquaring his doctrines to the times; whereas in truth he was always conſiſtent in his principles, and inſtead of ſhifting from party to party, was never the inſtrument of any party, but lived contented upon a very ſmall proviſion, at moſt one hundred pounds per annum, and was reviled for keeping that.

Yet as we have ſaid he had the eſteem and veneration of the wiſe and moderate of all parties, grounded ſolely upon a true ſenſe of his merit. Mr Edward Leigh, his contemporary, and who was well acquainted with him, has given him this ſhort and juſt character (31). ' Thomas Gataker, of the Gatakers of Gataker ' in Shropſhire, a ſolid judicious and pious Divine, ' as his divers learned Latin and Engliſh treatiſes ſhew.' Dr Edmund Calamy gives the following account of thoſe which are ſtiled the Aſſembly's Annotations, and beſtows therein juſt praiſes upon our author, the whole paſſage is very curious and inſtructive, and therefore we will not curtail it (32). ' There is one work unjuſtly aſcribed to this Aſſembly, and that is the Annotations on the Bible which commonly bear their ' name. It is true, as is hinted in the preface before ' the ſaid notes, the ſame parliament that called the ' Aſſembly, employed the authors of thoſe annotations: for letters were directed to them by the ' chairmen of the committee for religion, urging their ' undertaking that work: and they were by order of ' that committee furniſhed with whatſoever books ' were needful. It is alſo true, that ſeveral of thoſe ' that were concerned in it, were members of the Aſſembly: and yet it was not undertaken by the direction, or with the conſent of the Aſſembly, nor ' were the major part members of the Aſſembly, nor ' did any deputed by the Aſſembly review the work ' when it was finiſhed: ſo that it cannor upon any ac-

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(31) Treatiſe of Religion and Learning, p. 205.

(32) Life of Baxter, p. 86.

four times married. Firſt to the widow of Mr William Cupper, who by her firſt huſband had two daughters, towards whom the affection of Mr Gataker in their tender years was ſo extraordinary, and his care of providing them ſuitable matches in their riper age ſo manifeſt, as well as his tenderneſs for their children, and whatever regarded the families, into which they married, that the generality of the world made no doubt of their being his own children; yet by this wife he had only one ſon, of whom ſhe died in childbed. He bore both his father's names, lived to man's eſtate, viſited moſt parts of the world, and returning home much improved in every reſpect, died in his father's houſe; his ſecond wife was the daughter of the Reverend Mr Charles Pinner, by whom he had a ſon Charles, whom we have already mentioned as attending his father in his laſt moments, and publiſhing ſome of his Poſthumous Works. Of this ſon his ſecond wife died in childbed, ſo that he was twice a widower in the ſpace of a few years, and having two young children of his own to bring up, brought up alſo thoſe daughters of his firſt wife with them, ſo that it was purely an act of chriſtian beneficence, and did not at all proceed from any influence their mother might have upon his mind: ſome years after the death of his ſecond he married his third wife, who was the ſiſter of Sir George and Sir John Farwel, by whom he had three children, a ſon and a daughter who died before him, and another daughter who ſurvived him. His fourth wife was the widow of a citizen, with whom he lived twenty-four years, and ſurvived her two years within a few days (*i*). The reader has now ſeen the beſt account we can give of his public and his private life; and as his modeſty reſtrained him not only from ſeeking, but from accepting, preferments, hindered him from ſo much as leaving his picture to poſterity, and living and dying kept him from every thing that had even the ſmalleſt appearance of oſtentation: ſo perhaps it was in compliance with his deſire that not ſo much as a tombſtone was erected where is body laid (*k*). But notwithſtanding this, a learned and ingenious foreigner, the celebrated Hermannus Witſius, has erected a moſt noble monument to his memory, by collecting into one volume, and publiſhing with great care and correctneſs, all his critical works, a monument far more laſting then either braſs or marble, for it will laſt as long as there is any ſenſe of true religion, or any regard to true taſte in literature [*U*], the

(*i*) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

(*k*) See an account of Perſons buried in Rotherhith Church, in the fifth Volume of Aubrey's Natural Hiſtory of Surrey.

‘count be ſaid to be theirs. However it was a good work in its ſeaſon, and I ſhall add the names of the true authors, as far as my beſt enquiry would help me to intelligence. Mr Lee, Sub-Dean of Cheſter, did the Pentateuch. Dr Gouge had the two books of Kings, and Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Eſther, for his province. Mr Meric Caſaubon did the Pſalms, Mr Francis Taylor the Proverbs, and Dr Reignolds Eccleſiaſtes; Mr Smalwood, who was recommended by Archbiſhop Uſher, did Solomon's Song. The learned Gataker did Iſaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations: and is in the opinion of many competent judges, exceeded by no commentator, antient or modern, on thoſe books. Ezekiel, Daniel, and the ſmall prophets, were in the firſt edition done by Mr Pemberton, and in the ſecond by Biſhop Richardſon. The notes on the four Evangeliſts are Mr Ley's, and thoſe on St Paul's Epiſtles, Dr Featley's, which latter are broken and imperfect, on the account of the author's dying, before he had reviſed or finiſhed them. There were alſo two other perſons concerned in this work, viz. Mr Downame and Mr Reading, who might probably have the other parts of ſcripture allotted them that are not here mentioned.’

Mr Archdeacon Echard, ſpeaking of our author's death, delivers himſelf thus (33). ‘Thomas Gataker, of an ancient family in Shropſhire, was educated in St John's College in Cambridge, and elected Fellow of Sidney College while it was building, where he became remarkable for his ſkill in the Greek and Hebrew tongues. He was afterwards rector of Rotherhith in Surry, and the moſt celebrated among the Aſſembly of Divines, being highly eſteemed by Salmaſius and other foreigners; and it is hard to ſay which is moſt remarkable, his exemplary piety, and charity, his polite literature, or his humility and modeſty in refuſing preferments.’

(33) Hiſt. of England, p. 713.

The celebrated Morhoff in his large and learned work, ſpeaks of almoſt all our author's writings, that appeared in Latin, with the praiſes they deſerve; but with that brevity, which the nature of his own deſign required. In reference to his edition of the Emperor Antoninus's Meditations, he delivers himſelf more largely than uſual in theſe words (34). ‘Opera illa, quam in Antoninum impendit Gatakerus, plane egregia eſt. Primum premiſit luculentam diſſertationem de diſciplina ſtoica, in qua eam confert cum peripatetica, & academica vetere, epicurea, &c. Variæ lectiones notentur in margine, paralleliſmus autorum, in Antonino occurrentium, ad minutias uſque eos oſtendit, lateri appoſitus. Denique commentarii uberrimi, aliorum philoſophorum ſententias græcas, latinas, Antonini effatis reſpondentes, magno cumulo congerunt ut librum hunc non immerito pandectas doctrinæ moralis ſtoicæ dicere poſſis.’ Axemius ſtiles him (35), *a writer of infinite learning and accurate judgment*. The celebrated Bayle mentions him with all the reſpect poſſible (36). Mr Colomies gives him the following character (37). ‘Of all the critics of this age who have employed their pens in illuſtrating polite learning, there are very few, if indeed there are any, who deſerve to be preferred to Thomas Gataker for diligence and accuracy, in explaining thoſe authors whoſe writings he has examined.’ Yet this curious and inquiſitive perſon, whoſe peculiar talent lay in diſcovering the excellence, or the errors of the books he peruſed, was very far from ſparing our critic; on the contrary, in looking over his works he mentions a few, and but a very few places, with which he was not entirely ſatisfied, and of theſe perhaps there is more than one, in reſpect to which ſevere judges might doubt whether his cenſures were well founded. Baillet has a chapter concerning his writings (38), in which he acknowledges his profound ſkill in the learned languages, his great accuracy and admirable ſagacity; but adds, that he was ſometimes ſo bold in his conjectures, that even his greateſt admirers durſt not adhere to his ſingular opinions. It is to be wiſhed that he had explained himſelf more clearly upon this ſubject, and had pointed out what theſe opinions were. Sir Thomas Pope Blount ſpeaking of him occaſionally, calls him vir κειλικτώατος (39).

(34) Polyhiſtor. Philoſoph. II. 1, 4, 4.

(35) Epiſt. ad Gædium, p. 112.

(36) Ouvres de Bayle, Tom. iii. p. 830.

(37) Cimel. Literar. c. XXIII. Mêlange hiſtorique, p. 72.

(38) Jugemens des Savans, Vol. ii. p. 279.

(39) Cenſura celebriorum Autorum, p. 119.

[*U*] *To true taſte in literature.*] The title of this collection at large runs thus:

THOMÆ GATAKERI opera critica *Diſſertatio de N. Inſtrumenti ſtylo. Cinnus ſive adverſaria miſcellanea. Adverſaria miſcellanea poſthuma.* Marci Antonini *Imperatoris de rebus ſuis Libri* XII *Commentario perpetuo explicati. Opuſcula varia. Omnia ſingulari cura recenſita, ab infinitis typotheta rummendis expurgata, multorum grætæ dictorum latina interpretatione illuſtrata, & locupletiſſimis accuratiſſimiſque indicibus ornata.* Trajecti *ad* Rhenum, 1698. fo. At the head of this collection ſtands a dedication, addreſſed to all who are inclined the panegyrick before it is conciſe, perſpicuous, and polite; affords us a true picture of the author, and does that juſtice to his candour, learning, and piety, that a long life ſpent in the exerciſe of virtue, and promoting uſeful knowledge ſo well deſerved.

inclined to cultivate the ſtudy of the ſacred ſcriptures, and ſound divinity, in which the learned Witſius begins with obſerving, that ſuch as collect and publiſh the labours of great and able men, render thereby greater ſervice to the commonwealth of letters, than by ſending abroad new, but leſs perfect productions of their own. He then mentions the pains he has taken to facilitate the ſtudies of youth, as his ſtation required, and declares he never had greater hopes of being uſeful in that reſpect, than by putting this book into the hands of the publick. He is perſwaded there will appear a very wide difference between his own writings and thoſe of Gataker, but their ſuperiority, continues he, can be to none better known, by none more readily acknowledged, than by himſelf. This, ſays he, is that Thomas Gataker, whoſe venerable name is ſo highly celebrated, that he muſt be a ſtranger in the commonwealth of learning, who is not acquainted with him, and a very ill judge of merit, who does not ſet a juſt value upon his exquiſite knowledge, and rare virtues; if I ſhould ſay that he has had few equals in this age, in his knowledge of the moſt abſtruſe antiquities, and more eſpecially in regard to Greek literature, I ſhould not be beſide the truth. In this and other commendations he profeſſes to ſpeak for himſelf, and in that reſpect declares for his own part, he knew none who had better underſtood, or had more religiouſly dedicated his labours, to make others perfectly underſtand the ſacred writings, than he; after this, he largely expatiates on the proper uſe he had made of his comprehenſive learning, and perfect acquaintance with profane authors, all which, as became him, he piouſly conſecrated to the explaining and illuſtrating the ſacred word of God. Such is the ſcope of his large and elegant diſcourſe, which the learned readers will no doubt be better pleaſed to ſee in his own words.

Quantum enim mea qualiacunque ſcripta a doctiſſimi iſtius viri operibus accurationis, elegantiæ diffuſiſſimæque eruditionis laude ſuperentur, & quanto ex hiſce major utilitas in lectoris commodum redundatura ſit, nemo me melius intelligit, nemo candidius teſtabitur. Is eſt GATAKERUS, eaque venerandi nominis iſtius celebritas, ut peregrinum in republica literaria eſſe neceſſe ſit qui eum ignorat, & iniquum meritorum æſtimatorem, qui tam præclaræ eruditioni rariſque virtutibus ſuum non ſtatuit pretium. Paucos eſſe ſi dixero qui in abſtruſioris antiquitatis, Græcanicæ præſertim, peritia paria hoc ſeculo præſtiterint, a vero fortaſſis oratio mea non abludet. At fuerint aliqui quibus ad ſecularis literaturæ ſtudia plus ab aliis occupationibus ſuis otii fuerit, quoſque idcirco in iſthac eruditionis parte noſtro huic anteponendos eſſe nonnulli arbitrentur. Ego uti eorum judicio pertinaciter obniti nolim; ita, mea quoque libertate uſus, ingenue profiteor, neminem me noſſe, qui literas ſuas ſanctius habuerit, eaſque veræ virtuti promovendæ, & divinis voluminibus illuſtrandis religioſus dicaverit. Ex omni hominum genere vix ulli mihi infeliciores iis eſſe videntur, qui, Græcæ Romanæque literaturæ elegantia capti; ſacrorum liborum ſimplicitatem faſtidiunt, quales & patrum, & noſtra hæc ætas aliquammultos tulit. Hi enim profanæ ſapientiæ faſtu inflati, non modo ſibimetipſis inutile efficiunt maximum illud divinæ benificentiæ munus, quo ſolo perennis ac duratura conciliatur felicitas; dum circa rerum inania inſanientes ea quæ ſolida ac ſtabilia ſunt temere neglectui habent: ſed & ingenti oppido injuria ſanctiſſima afficiunt oracula. Non eo ſolum nomine, quod ſalubrem illum animorum paſtum levibus poſtponant ſcitamentis; verum etiam quod dominatum ſibi quendam in ea ſoleant arrogare ſcripta, quorum Majeſtati omnem ſe ſapientiam obſequioſa fidei religione ſubmittere opportet. Hæc enim ad exotica illa examinare non verentur: atque ubi, cum rebus, tum verbis, totoque orationis contextu, plurimum ab illis diſcrepare deprehendunt, vix temperant ſibi, quin vel aliena interpretatione aliorſum flectant, vel ſtilum ita vertant ut delicatulos aures ſuas minus offendat. Hinc licentiam ſibi ſumunt nonnulla addendi, alia demendi, aliqua etiam tranſponendi ac transformandi, prout præjudiciis aliunde hauſtis, neque optimo conſilio in ſacra iſta illatis, conſentaneum eſſe videtur. Quarum rerum tam dira paſſim occurrant exempla, ut horrorem piis lectorum animis incutiant. Alia prorſus GATAKERO noſtro mens fuit: quippe qui unctione quæ a ſancto illo proficiſcitur largiter delibutus, & ab ipſo edoctus Deo, ſingulas ſacrarum literarum pericopas, ut totidem oracula, venerabundus exoſculabatur; ac de cæleſti earum origine firmiter perſuaſus, in omnibus ſapientiam Deo dignam cum incredibili animi voluptate deprehendebat. Sapientiam, in quam, ad quam ipſi cæleſtes ſtupent genii, dum in recondita illius myſteria introſpicere ſatagunt. Sapientiam, quam nemo principum hujus ſeculi cognovit; & ad quam omnis illorum imaginaria & fucata ſapientia GATAKERO noſtro ſordeſcebat, & pro ſtultitia reputabatur: niſi quatenus aliqua ſe reſiduæ lucis, in divinum hoc ſacrarium inferendæ, ſcintillatione commendat. In hoc ſacrario inveniebat, guſtabat, plenoque ore hauriebat, ſanctiſſimas illas delicias, quæ penitas afficiunt medullas, & quas terreſtres animæ nec cupiunt, nec capiunt, nec intelligunt. Quæ in animum admiſſæ mundanorum omnium amorum expectorant, cæleſtium rerum deſiderium acuunt, efficiuntque ut ea denuum vita eſſe videatur, quæ in ſacrarum meditatione literarum, veluti in Dei contubernio, tranſigitur. Ita factum eſt, ut ſecularium librorum lectio excurſas quidam, & animi majoribus intenti expatiatio GATAKERO fuerit; unde ad divina identidem regrediebatur. Neque regrediebatur, niſi opimis locupletates ſpoliis, in Auguſto hoc æternæ veritatis templo, Deo ac Virtuti dedicandis. Huic enim rei omne ejus ſtudium, omnis opera, omnis eruditio ſacra erat.

E

GAUDEN, or GAWDING (John) ſucceſſively biſhop of Exeter and Worceſter in the laſt century, was born, in the year 1605 (*a*), at Mayland in Eſſex, of which pariſh his Father was Vicar (*b*) [*A*]. His education in Grammar-learning was at St Edmund's-bury in Suffolk; from whence, at the age of ſixteen, being admitted a Student of St John's College in Cambridge, he made great proficiency in his ſtudies, and there took the degrees in Arts. About the year 1630, he removed to Wadham-College in Oxford, where he became tutor to Francis and William Ruſſel, ſons of Sir William Ruſſel of Chipenham in the county of Cambridge, Bart. (whoſe daughter he had newly married) and, after their departure, to other gentlemen, and perſons of quality. While he continued there he appeared to be a man of great parts, which he very much improved by an uncommon induſtry, ſpending moſt part of the day and night in his ſtudies (*c*). July 22, 1635, he took the degree of Batchelor in Divinity, as a member of Wadham College (*d*); and became Chaplain to Robert Earl of Warwick, Rector of Brightwell in Berkſhire, and Vicar of Chipenham aforeſaid (*e*). On the 8th of July 1641, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (*f*). As he was Chaplain in a family that were notoriouſly diſſatisfied at the Court's meaſures, he took the ſame bias from the firſt, and ran with the

(*a*) See the time of his Death, below.

(*b*) Newcourt, Repertor. Vol. II. p. 412.

(*c*) Wood, Athen. ed. 1721. Vol. II. col. 311.

(*d*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 262.

(*e*) Idem, Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. II. col. 2.

[*A*] *Of which pariſh his father was Vicar.*] His father, John Gawding, A. M. had inſtitution to that living December 13, 1598 (1).

(1) Newcourt, Repertor. Vol, II. p. 412.

[*B*] *And*

the common cant of the times, againſt pictures, images, and ſuperſtitious formalities, &c. [*B*], as is manifeſt from a ſermon of his, preached November 29, 1640. before the Houſe of Commons: which was ſo agreeable to them, that they made him a preſent of a large ſilver tankard (*g*) [*C*]. In 1641, he was preſented to the Rectory of Bocking in Eſſex. He had his firſt preſentation from the parliament; but not looking upon it as a ſafe hold for ſo great and reputable a benefice, which is called a Deanery, through the interceſſion of friends, he procured himſelf to be collated thereto by Archbiſhop Laud, the rightful patron, then in the Tower. At Bocking, he contracted a friendſhip with his neighbour Mr Edward Symonds, Rector of Raine; of which ſome uſe will be made by and by (*b*). Dr Gauden held his preferment after the breaking out of the civil wars, and forbore the uſe of the Common-Prayer; tho' we are told, it was continued longer in his Church than in any thereabouts (*i*). In 1643, he was choſen one of the Aſſembly of Divines, through the recommendation of Sir Dudly North, and Thomas Chichley Eſq; Knights for the county of Cambridge; but was ſhuffled out, as he ſays, by a ſecret committee, and an unknown ſleight of hand, becauſe he was for regulating, not rooting up, Epiſcopacy (*k*). We are alſo aſſured, that he took the Covenant (*l*): notwithſtanding he ſeems to deny it [*D*]; and publiſhed in 1643, certain doubts and ſcruples of conſcience about taking the ſolemn League and Covenant [*E*]. However, he openly continued in the Parliament's intereſt, till he found they went beyond their firſt pretenſions, and the expectations of himſelf and other good men. When he diſcovered that, he endeavoured to redeem his error, by bending to the contrary extreme (*m*): and, not only wrote a Proteſtation, and a juſt Invective againſt the murtherers of K. Charles I. [*F*], but alſo aſſiſted in publiſhing that King's Meditations, as will be ſhewn in the ſequel of this article. Still he enjoyed his preferment during the ſeveral periods of the Uſurpation, halting between the oppoſite parties; and being only a ſecret, or rather an ambiguous and falſe friend to the Royal cauſe. However for ſome time before the Reſtoration he muſt have been diſſatisfied with the various forms of Government ſet up in this kingdom; ſince, within that period, he compoſed a *folio* volume of 700 pages [*G*], (a work

(*g*) Dr Walker's True Account of the author of Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ. 1692. 4to. p. 6.

(*b*) Dr Hollingworth's Defence of Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ. Lond. 1692. 4to. p. 16.

(*i*) Dr Walker, ubi ſupra, p. 7.

(*k*) See his Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Suſpiria, p. 377. and his Anti-Baal-Berith, p. 89.

(*l*) Dr Walker, p. 7. and Bp Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. edit. 1724. p. 50.

(*m*) Dr Walker, ubi ſupra, p. 6.

[*B*] *And ran with the common cant of the times, againſt pictures, images, &c.*] This is evident from the following paſſage of the ſermon referred to above, among other inſtances. ' To ſet up *lying vanities*, ' pictures, and images, and to cry down praying and ' preaching, whereby thoſe toyles may be uſeful and ' neceſſary to the ignorant (becauſe untaught) people. ' *Is this to love the truth?* To ſuffer *Idolatry*, or ſuper- ' ſtitious formalities in ſerving God to get ground upon ' our opinions and practices. Is *this to love the truth?* ' (2) *Quæ quo nuäior eô venuſtior*; which *the leſſe it* ' *hath of painting*, the *more it hath of true lovelineſſe* ' *and native beauty*. Are not the lengthen and in- ' creaſe of ceremonious *ſhadowes*, a preſage and ſigne of ' the ſhortning of our *Day* and ſetting of our *Sunne*, ' or diminiſhing of our *light*.' (3) — However, he ſpeaks afterwards with due abhorrence of civil wars.

' That *we* in this Iland, (ſays he) are divided from ' all nations is our ſafety under God, and by the pro- ' vidence of our gracious Soveraigne: but to be *divided* ' *among ourſelves* will be *infallibly our ruine. Si colli-* ' *dimur, frangimur.*——*Civil warres* can neither me- ' rit nor expect *Laurells*, triumphs nor trophees: the ' memory and monuments of them are beſt, when ' buried in oblivion; *victory itſelfe is ſad*, and aſhamed ' of itſelfe; *weeping*, dejected, and bluſhing with its ' owne blood unnaturally and barbarouſly ſpilt; as hav- ' ing fought not ſo much againſt enemies as *humanity*; ' not ſo much conquering others, as waſting and de- ' ſtroying itſelfe.———O! then (adds he) let us all ' take up thoughts, reſolutions, &c for *peace:* away ' with all *bitterneſſe*, *ſtriſe*, *malice*, *jealouſies*, and all ' thoſe *diveliſh maximes* of ſevering the intereſts of the ' prince and the people as inconſiſtent; whereas right- ' ly conſidered they are, as the head with the body; ' united, both are ſafe and firme; ſevered, both inevi- ' tably ruine (4)."

[*C*] *That they made him a preſent of a large ſilver tankard*] With this honorary inſcription upon it, *Donum Honorarium Populi Anglicani in Parliamento congregati Johanni Gauden*, &c. which conſtantly went about his houſe (5).

[*D*] *Notwithſtanding he ſeems to deny it*] I ſay he only *ſeems* to deny it. For, inſtead of affirming plainly and poſitively that *he never took it*; which would have been the moſt eaſy and natural way, if it had been the truth; he uſes a thouſand words, to ſhew the unlawfulneſs of the Covenant, as being ' inconſiſtent with ' former oaths, the laws of the land, the preſervation ' of Epiſcopal government in its juſt rights and enjoy- ' ments, and thoſe duties of equity and charity, which ' every one owed to God or man;' and therefore that it was no way binding againſt thoſe prior obligations: or, that no ' man could be bound to any thing before, ' or after ſuch a Covenant, but what is juſt and honeſt ' (6).' Indeed he ' aſſures the world, in one place ' (7), that he never *took* any oaths, but thoſe *appointed* ' by law, no *proteſtation*, no *engagement*, no league, ' vow, or *negative oath*, and for this Covenant he of- ' fered freely to ſome principal authors of it, his many ' juſt ſcruples and objections againſt it, both as to its ' matter and authority.'—But the reader may obſerve, he doth not put the Covenant among the things which he never took; and quibbles greatly about that point. Conſidering, how ſtrictly every man above the age of eighteen, and every miniſter in particular (8), was enjoined to take the Covenant, and withal what conſiderable preferments Dr Gauden enjoyed, it is not credible that he ſhould eſcape taking it among the reſt. Eſpecially as it is affirmed by his intimate acquaintance, and fellow-chaplain at Lees, Dr Walker, that he took the ſaid Covenant.

[*E*] *Certain doubts and ſcruples, &c.*] The whole title of this treatiſe, was, *Certain ſcruples and doubts of conſcience about taking the ſolemn League and Covenant*, tendred to the *conſideration of Sir Laur Bromfield, and Zach Crofton*. Lond. 1643, and 1660. 4to.

[*F*] *And not only wrote a Proteſtation, and a juſt Invective againſt the murtherers of K. Charles* I.] The Proteſtation was intituled, ' The Religious and Loyal ' Proteſtation of John Gauden Doctor in Divinity, a- ' gainſt the preſent declared purpoſes and proceedings ' of the army and others about the trying and deſtroy- ' ing our ſovereign Lord the King. Sent to a colonel ' to be preſented to the Lord Fairfax and his general ' council of officers, the fifth of January 1648.' London 1648, 4to.——The juſt invective was written in 1648, but not publiſhed till 1662, as appears by the title, which was thus, ' A juſt Invective againſt thoſe ' of the army and their abbettors, who murthered K. ' Charles I. on the 30th of Jan. 1648, with ſome ' other poetic pieces in Latin, referring to thoſe tra- ' gical times, written 10 Febr. 1648.' Lond. 1662.

[*G*] *He compoſed a folio volume of* 700 *pages.*] It is intituled, Ἱερὰ Δάκρυα. *Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Suſpiria.* ' The tears, ſighs, complaints, and prayers ' of the Church of England: ſetting forth her former ' *conſtitution*, compared with her preſent condition; ' alſo the viſible *cauſes*, and probable *cures*, of her ' *diſtempers*. In IV. books.' Lond. 1659. fol.

(2) The text was Zech. viii. 19.

(3) Sermon, p. 31, 32.

(4) Ibid. p. 38, 39.

(5) Dr Walker, ubi ſupra, p. 6.

(6) See his Analyſis of the Covenant, and Anti-Baal-Berith.

(7) Anti-Baal-Berith. p. 275.

(8) See Ordinance of 2 February 1643-4. in Huſbands's Collections, and elſewhere.

(a work that could not coſt leſs than three years, or more), wherein he ſpeaks in as zealous a manner for the Church of England, and with as much bitterneſs againſt the ſectaries, as the moſt rigid Epiſcopalian. Thus, having had either better luck, or better foreſight, than the reſt of his complying brethren, he reconciled himſelf betimes to Monarchy and Epiſcopacy: and 'having lived, (as his own words are) to ſee that the joy of hypocrites, the proſperity of the wicked, and the triumph of violent men is but ſhort (*n*),' he heartily came into all the Court's meaſures at the Reſtoration. When, being a puſhing man, and making a great merit of having publiſhed, and, as ſome ſay, written, the Pourtraicture of K. Charles I. [*H*] he was made one of the King's Chaplains, and promoted to the Biſhopric

[*H*] *And making a great merit of having publiſhed, and as ſome ſay, written, the Pourtraicture of K. Charles* I] That is, the book intituled, 'Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ. The Pourtraicture of his ſacred Majeſtie in his ſolitudes and ſufferings.' Much hath been ſaid, and written, upon the queſtion, whether that book was compoſed by K. Charles I or by Dr Gauden.

Thoſe who maintain, that Dr Gauden was both the author and publiſher of Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, ground themſelves upon theſe authorities. I. Upon certain papers, found at one Mr Arthur North's, a merchant in London; among which there was a letter of Dr Gauden, then biſhop of Exeter, to the Lord Chancellor Hyde, dated 28 Decemb. 1661, and a petition to K. Charles II. wherein the biſhop declares, what hazards he had run of life and eſtate; and what great advantage had accrued to the Crown by his ſervice: adding theſe *ambiguous* words, that what he had done was *for the comforting and incouraging of the King's friends, expoſing his enemies, and converting,* &c. *that what was done like a King, ſhould have a King-like retribution,* &c.——In a letter to the Duke of York of the 17th Jan. 1661, he ſtrongly urges the great ſervice he had done, and importunately begs his Royal Highneſs to intercede for him with the King.——And the Lord Chancellor Hyde, in a letter to him dated 13 March 1661, has this paſſage, *the particular you mention, has indeed been imparted to me as a ſecret; I am ſorry I ever knew it, and when it ceaſes to be a ſecret, it will pleaſe none but Mr Milton.*

II. There was alſo among thoſe papers, a letter of Mrs Gauden to her Son John, after the biſhop's death; wherein ſhe called that book *the Jewel*; ſaid, *that her huſband hoped to make a fortune by it*; and that *ſhe had a letter of a very great man's, which would clear up* that he writ it.——She moreover left a long ſtory, or narrative, importing in ſubſtance, "that her huſband penned that book, in order to ſhew the world, that the King's parts and piety were not inferiour to Cromwell's. He gave it at firſt the title of *Suſpiria Regalia*; and his deſign was, to have it put forth, as by ſome perſon who had found the papers in his Majeſty's chambers at Holmeby, being by chance left or ſcattered there. When he had writ it, he ſhewed it to my Lord Capel, who did highly approve of it; and tho' he thought it would do very well to have it printed, yet he ſaid it was not fit to do ſo without his Majeſty's approbation. He ſent therefore a copy of it to the King, by the Marquis of Hertford, when he was going to the treaty in the iſle of Wight. At his Lordſhip's return, *Dr Gauden went to him, and he told the Doctor,* '*that his Majeſty having had ſome of thoſe eſſays read to him by Bp Duppa, did exceedingly approve of them,* and aſked whether they could not be put out in ſome other name (9). Biſhop Duppa reply'd, that the deſign was, the world ſhould take them to be his Majeſty's. Whereupon the King deſired time to conſider of it.' And that was all the account the Marquis could give of it, neither did he know what was become of the manuſcript. However Dr Gauden, in order to ſave his Majeſty's life, by endeavouring to move the hearts and affections of the people as much as might be towards him; immediately reſolved to print it with all ſpeed; having a copy of that which he ſent to the King. The inſtrument he employed to get it printed, was Mr Edward Symonds; and he got Mr Royſton to print it When it was about half-printed, a diſcovery was made of it, and all the ſheets then wrought off were deſtroyed. Notwithſtanding all this, Dr Gauden attempted the printing of it again, but could by no means get it finiſhed till ſome few days after his Majeſty was deſtroyed. When it came out, the people then in power were not only extremely diſpleaſed at it, but alſo infinitely ſollicitous to find out the author: and took the MS. which had been ſent to the King: whereupon, they appointed a committee to examine the buſineſs. Of which Dr Gauden having notice, he withdrew privately in the night from his own houſe to Sir John Wentworth's near Yarmouth, on purpoſe to convey himſelf beyond ſea (10). But Mr Symonds, who had been taken in a diſguiſe, dying before he came to his examination: and the committee not being able to find out any thing by any means whatever; the Doctor altered his reſolution of going out of England. After the Reſtoration, he expected a ſuitable reward for his endeavours to ſerve K. Charles I. and II in that book." But, whether in being the author, or publiſher of it, I am certain his words, as related above, are far from determining.——Theſe authorities were firſt produced by Edmund Ludlow (11), and J. Toland (12), perſons full of inveterate prejudices againſt the memory of K. Charles, and enemies to the very name of old Royaliſts.

III. The next authority is that of Dr Anthony Walker, once Rector of Fyfield in Eſſex; who affirmed in print, that Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ 'was written by Dr Gauden (except two chapters writ by Bp Duppa).' His reaſons for it were theſe; 1. 'Dr Gauden, ſome time before the whole was finiſhed, was pleaſed to acquaint him [A. Walker] with his deſign, and ſhewed him the heads of divers chapters, and ſome of the diſcourſes written of them; and, after ſome time ſpent in peruſal, aſkt his opinion concerning the ſame. 2. Being both together in London, they went to Dr Duppa biſhop of Saliſbury (whom Dr Gauden had acquainted with his deſign) to fetch what he had left with his Lordſhip to be peruſed, or to ſhew what he had further written. And, as they were returning, Dr Gauden told Dr Walker, that the biſhop had undertaken thoſe points, which are the 16th and 24th chapters in the printed book. 3. Dr Gauden delivered a copy of it to the Marquis of Hertford, when he went to the treaty at the iſle of Wight, and intreated his Lordſhip to deliver it to his Majeſty, if he could obtain a private opportunity, and to know his Majeſty's pleaſure concerning it. *But he never knew certainly whether the King ever ſaw it* (13). 4. The Duke of York knew that Dr Gauden had writ it; but he could not poſitively and certainly ſay, that K. Charles II. knew ſo much; for he was never pleaſed to take expreſs notice of it to Dr Gauden. 5. Mrs Gauden, Mr Gifford (who wrote the copy mentioned above in article the 3d), and Dr Walker believed it; and when they ſpake of that book, in Dr Gauden's preſence or abſence, they did it without the leaſt doubt of his having writ it. 6. Dr Gauden delivered to Dr Walker, with his own hand, the laſt part of the copy that was ſent up to be printed: and, after he had ſhewed it him, and ſealed it up, gave him ſtrict caution, with what warineſs to carry and deliver it. And, according to his direction he delivered it Saturday Dec. 23, 1648. And, a few days after the impreſſion was finiſhed, he received ſix books (14).'

As for the Earl of Angleſey's *Memorandum*, ſee it above, with obſervations upon it, under the article.

On the other hand, thoſe who affirm that K. Charles I. was the author of that book, alledge the following arguments to ſupport their opinion. I Part of that book, written with the King's own hand, was taken in his cabinet, among the reſt of his papers, at the fatal battle of Naſeby June 14, 1645. His Majeſty being more concerned at the loſs of thoſe

(*n*) Preface to his Anti-Baal-Berith, p. 1.

(9) This is directly contrary to Dr Ant. Walker's account.

(10) His publiſhing of that book, was ſufficient to expoſe him to Cromwell's cruelty and rage; whether he was the author of it, or no.

(11) In a pamphlet intituled, *Truth brought to Light*, &c. Lond. 1693, 4to. p. 35, &c.

(12) In his Amyntor, p. 107, &c. Neither of them ſaw Mr North's papers, but only had extracts of them.

(13) Compare this with Mrs Gauden's Narrative; which it contradicts.

(14) A true Account of the Author of Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ &c. by Anth. Walker, D. D. Lond. 1692, 4to p. 3, 4, 5, 6.

Biſhopric of Exeter, then vacant (*o*); to which he was elected November 3, 1660. confirmed the 17th and conſecrated the next day (*p*). Tho' that Biſhopric yielded him twenty

his private thoughts and meditations, than of his other papers which fell that day into the enemies hands; he employed his Chaplain Dr Gorge, who had attended him in that battle, to retrieve them out of Sir Thomas Fairfax's hands. Through Dr Gorge's, and Archbiſhop Uſher's interceſſion (15), Sir Thomas reſtored them again, at laſt, with great difficulty, and after a conſiderable time: and ſent them back to his Majeſty, at Hampton-Court, by Mr Robert Huntington, Major of Cromwell's own regiment. The Major having read them over, before he delivered them, found, they were the ſame for *matter* and *form* with thoſe Meditations in the printed book [Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ]. When he delivered them to the King, his Majeſty appeared very joyful, and ſaid, He eſteemed them more than all the jewels he had loſt in the cabinet (16). This account the Major gave at ſeveral times, and to ſeveral creditable perſons, who atteſted it; namely, Sir William Courtney, Richard Duke, Eſq; Mr Cave Beck, of Ipſwich, and under his own hand to Sir William Dugdale (17).——Agreeable to Major Huntington's teſtimony, is the account given in a book intituled *The Princely Pellican* (18), publiſhed in 1649. namely, That 'at Naſeby, thoſe divine Meditations 'were ſeiz'd by the enemy, with other papers of con'cern, being incloſed in a Cabinet reſerved for that 'purpoſe; and that by the benignity of the Conqueror, 'or divine Providence rather, it was recovered above 'all expectance, and returned to his Majeſty's hand; 'which infinitely cheared him.'

II. Dr Dillingham of Emmanuel-College Cambr. did wait upon King Charles after he was ſeized by the Army in 1647. and when his Majeſty was walking in the Garden, had by a ſpecial favour from thoſe about him, admittance into his bed-chamber, where he ſaw and read under the King's own hand, freſh writ, a whole chapter of the King's book (19).

III. Dr Gauden himſelf often affirm'd, That he was fully convinced, that the Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ was intirely the King's work (20).

IV. The Earl of Mancheſter, (when ſome Divines at his table queſtioned the King's being author of that book,) took occaſion expreſly to tell them, *that he ſaw the Book when taken at Naſeby, written with the King's own hand*, ſo far as it relates to that time; adding, that he knew the King's hand ſo well as he did his own (21).

V. Oliver Cromwell, making a viſit to the Lady Wenwood, and finding that book in her chamber, 'Madam, ſaid he, I ſee you have Charles Stuart's 'book in your keeping! Yes, my Lord, ſaid the La'dy, but do you believe he was the author of it? Yes 'moſt certainly, ſaid Cromwell, I know it his—he 'was a perfect hypocrite (22).'

VI. Unton Croke, a Colonel and creature of Cromwell's, and an inveterate enemy to the King and the Royaliſts, declared, that he had ſeen a copy of *Icon Baſilice* of the King's own writing, and that he never doubted him to be the Author (23).

VII. Dr Edward Hooker certified, 'That Mr Ed'ward Symonds conſulted him about printing the 'King's book (he being then corrector of a preſs) and 'told him, that his Majeſty was pleaſed to thank him 'for his *Vindication* &c. and to deliver him the copy 'of the *R. Icon*, written with his own hand, which 'he well knew, and that his Majeſty took it from un'der his blew watchet waſtcoat, when he gave it him, 'ſaying it was all the requital he could make him, and 'bid him uſe it to his beſt advantage (24).' And Mr Symonds declared, upon his death-bed, to Dr Bathurſt, that it was the King's own work (25).

VIII. Mr Symonds being intimately acquainted with Dr Gauden, by reaſon of the nearneſs of Rayne and Bocking, ſhewed and lent the MS. to the Doctor, who took a copy of it. As he was obliged to return it ſoon; therefore beſides what other time he imploy'd in it, he ſate up one whole night to tranſcribe it; as William Allen, who then attended upon him, hath teſtified (26) After Mr Symonds's death, Dr Gauden might perhaps pretend to be the author of that book, as there was not any man living that could detect the plagiariſm. And his ſmall concern in the printing it, gave ſome umbrage to the fraudulent pretence.——These are the moſt conſiſtent and probable Arguments, that have been uſed to prove, that K. Charles I. and not Dr Gauden, was the Author of Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ.

But, beſides theſe *external* evidences, there are *Internal* ones, taken from a ſtrict and cloſe examination of the Book itſelf; which plainly demonſtrate, that it was not Dr Gauden's compoſure. And that is the very great and viſible difference there is between the ſtyle of that book and of the Doctor's numerous writings. For, it is neither his diction, phraſeology, nor manner of expreſſion. Whatever he writ or publiſhed, is in a verboſe, looſe, and empty ſtyle, full of tautologies, affected bombaſt, and ſcraps of Latin (27). Whereas, in the judgment of Bp Burnet (28) and moſt others, 'There is, in the King's Book, a nobleneſs 'and juſtneſs of thought, with a greatneſs of ſtyle, 'that made it to be look'd on as the beſt writ book in 'the Engliſh language.——*And* this is certain, (adds 'he) that Gauden never writ any thing with that 'force, his other writings being ſuch, that no man 'from a Likeneſs of ſtyle would think him capable of 'writing ſo extraordinary a Book as that is.'

Moreover (which doth not ſeem to have been obſerved before) the *manner of Spelling* there, is not like that uſed by Dr Gauden in his voluminous works. For inſtance, moſt of the final *e*'s are left out in the Εἰκὼν: as in *ſom*, *ſens*, &c. Double *ee's*, are almoſt conſtantly uſed, as in *bee*, *mee*, &c. And, in words ending in *y*, the final *y*, is always turn'd into—*ie*; there being ſcarce any exception, unleſs in ſome monoſyllables, as *my*, *thy*, &c.——All which was not Dr Gauden's method, as appears by inſpection of his works.

Bp Kennett's judicious obſervations upon the point in hand, ſhall conclude this note. 'After much and 'long enquiry and conſideration, the Truth ſeems to 'lye between the two extreams as in many other caſes. 'It is highly probable, that K. Charles amidſt his ſo'litudes and ſufferings did write moſt of thoſe Eſſays 'and Meditations upon the particular occaſions, and 'ſoon after the ſpecial times to which they were adap'ted: And that ſuch Papers written by the King's 'own hand were committed to a loyal chaplain Mr 'Edward Symonds, Miniſter of Rayne in Eſſex, to 'convey them to the preſs with all privacy in London, 'or elſewhere But he being interrupted by ſequeſtra'tion, and under a neceſſity of flying and abſconding, 'delivered the Royal papers to his friend and neigh'bour Dr Gauden, who being a man of an enterpriſing 'genius and a very luxuriant fancy, and finding him'ſelf the more at liberty by the abſence of Mr 'Symonds, would not let them paſs without ſome'what of his own additions, and (as he thought) im'provements of them. Accordingly he enlarged the 'draught with ſome new heads, and prevailed with 'Biſhop Duppa to give him one chapter; and moſt 'likely of his own invention threw in moſt (if not all) 'of the ejaculations and devotions at the end of each 'ſubject (29), and ſet the title of his own deviſing. '——When he had thus dreſſed up the King's Papers, 'he thought it decent to ſend and ſhew them for his 'Majeſty's approbation. This he did by the Earl of 'Southampton going down to wait upon the King in 'his confinement in the iſle of Wight. Whether the 'King had time to reviſe the papers, and give his 'aſſent to the publiſhing of them (as ſome affirm) does 'not ſo well appear; but it ſeems probable, that Dr 'Gauden hearing nothing of the King's diſlike or 'reſtraint, and finding his violent death to be ſoon 'after the univerſal ſubject of wonder and lamentation, 'he got the impreſſion wrought off within a month af'ter the tragedy was acted, and the cry of the times 'ſoon made way for ſeveral editions. Having had ſo 'much of his hand in it, it was natural for his ambi'tion at the King's return to aſſume the honour of it, 'tho' his firſt pretenſions reached no farther than 'writing a part of it. However, upon this great ſhare 'of concern in it, he was very preſſing for preferment 'at

(*o*) By the death of Dr Ralph Brownrigg. He had ſucceeded that Biſhop in the office of Preacher at the Temple, in 1659.

(*p*) Reg. Juxon. But his own Regr. ſays he was conſecrated Dec. 2. J. Le Neve's Faſti, ed. 1716. p. 84.

(15) See the Life of King Charles I. by Dr Perinchief, i. e. Mr Fulman. ed. 1685. p. 59.

(16) Dr Hollingworth's Defence of K. Charles the Iſt's book, &c. Lond. 1692. 4to. Several evidences in the controverſy concerning the Author of Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, &c. by I. Young. Lond. 1703. 4to. p. 5.

(17) T. Wagſtaffe's Vindication of King Charles the Martyr, &c. edit. 1697. 4to. p. 34, 35, 36. and Defence of the Vindication, &c. ed. 1699. 4to. p. 70. T. Long's Examination of Dr Walker's Account, &c. Lond. 1703. 4to. p. 37, 38. Dr Hollingworth's Charact. of K. Charles I. p. 27. Dugdale's View of the Troubles, p. 380.

(18) p. 21.

(19) Hollingworth's Defence, ut ſupra. p. 22.

(20) Ibid. p. 19. and T. Long, as above, p. 4.

(21) Several evidences, &c. as above by J. Young. p. 6.

(22) Ibid. p. 7.

(23) Ibid. p. 8.

(24) Ibid. p. 19.

(25) Ibid. p. 17, 18. and Hollingworth's Defence, p. 11.

(26) Several evidences, &c. as above, p. 8, 17. and Wagſtaffe's Vindication, p. 32. and Defence, p. 63.

(27) See T. Long as above, p. 54, &c. Several evidences, &c. p. 10.

(28) Hiſtory of his own Time, edit. 1724. fol. p. 50.

(29) This is carrying the ſuppoſition too far, as is plain from what hath been obſerved a little before.

twenty thouſand pounds in fines, in a few months (q), yet he was not ſatisfied with that, but importuned his Majeſty to tranſlate him to the rich ſee of Wincheſter; alledging, that Exeter had a high rack but a low manger; and pleading his deſert and great ſervices (r). However, he was forced to ſit down contented with the Biſhopric of Worceſter, (and not a mean one neither;) to which he was elected May 23, 1662, and confirmed June 10 (s). But his diſappointment in Wincheſter ſtuck ſo cloſe to him, that the regret and vexation is thought to have thrown him into a violent fit of the ſtone and ſtrangury, which put an end to his life the 20th of September following, when he was aged but 57 (t). He was buried in the choir of Worceſter-cathedral; and over his grave was ſoon after erected a fair monument, containing his effigies to the middle in his epiſcopal habit, with an inſcription below (u). Having enjoyed his great preferments but a very little while; alſo the charge of his removing from Exeter to Worceſter having been conſiderable; and his widow being left with four ſons and a daughter; ſhe petitioned the King for the half year's profits of the laſt Biſhopric: and, in all probability, preſented at the ſame time the Narrative mentioned in note [*H*]. But her petition was rejected (*w*); which unqueſtionably moved her reſentment, and made her inſiſt upon her huſband's having had a greater ſhare in K. Charles the firſt's Meditations, than he really had: eſpecially as he was no longer in being to contradict her. As to Bp Gauden's character; Ant. Wood ſays (x), that he was ‘ eſteemed by all that knew him a very comely perſon, a man of vaſt parts, and one that had been ſtrangely improved by unwearied labour: and that he was much reſorted to for his moſt admirable and edifying way of preaching.’ But he is repreſented by others in a more unfavourable light, on account of his ambiguous and unſteady conduct both with regard to the Royaliſts and Preſbyterians: and more eſpecially, ſince the controverſy about his being the author of Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ was ſet on foot. For, he is deſcribed as an inconſtant, uncertain, ambiguous, and lukewarm perſon, and charged with vanity and folly (y): as a man of a very ambitious temper, covetous of preferment, haſty and impatient in the purſuit of it (z); and as the unhappy blemiſh and reproach of the ſacred order (a). It is certain, as Bp Kennet obſerves, that he was capable of under-work, and made himſelf a tool to the Court, by the moſt ſordid hopes of greater favour in it; for, in 1662, he drew up a Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience extending to Papiſts, of which a few copies were printed off, tho' preſently called in: and he was about the ſame time employed to draw up another Declaration of Indulgence to the Quakers, by an exemption from all oaths; though he little enjoyed the price of that ſervile compliance (b). The ſeveral pieces he publiſhed, beſides thoſe already mentioned in the body of this article, are ſet down in the note below [*I*].

(q) Several evidences, &c. by J. Y. as above, p. 26.

(r) See Truth brought to Light, by Ludlow, Lond. 1693. 4to. p. 36.

(s) J. Le Neve's Faſti, p. 300.

(t) Bp Kennett's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. p. 775. and Wood Athen. ut ſupra. col. 314, 315.

(u) Kennett and Wood, ibid. See alſo Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Browne Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. p. 651.

(w) Truth brought to Light, &c. by Ludlow. p. 39.

(x) Ath. Vol. II. col. 312.

(y) Zach. Crofton's Berith Anti-Baal, in the Preface.

(z) Wagſtaffe's Vindication, p. 26.

(a) Appendix to the Life of Dr J. Berwick.

(b) Regiſter, and Chronicle, &c. p. 775.

‘ at Court, and having obtained the ſee of Exeter, he urged this merit for a tranſlation to Wincheſter (30).’

[*I*] *The ſeveral pieces he publiſhed, beſides thoſe already mentioned,* &c.] They were as follows. I. Sermons. viz. Three Sermons preached upon ſeveral publick occaſions. The firſt before his Majeſtie. The ſecond before the Judges at Chelmsford. The third before the Univerſity of Oxford, July 11, 1641. being Act-Sunday. Lond. 1642. 4to. A Sermon preached at Felſted March 5, 1657. at the interment of Robert Rich, heir apparent to the Earldom of Warwick. Lond. 1658. 4to. One preached Dec. 17, 1659. in the Temple-Chapel, at the funeral of Dr Brounrig biſhop of Exeter. With an account of his Life. Lond. 1660. 8vo. One preached Feb. 28, 1659 in St Paul's Church London; before the Lord-Maior, General Monk, &c. Being a day of Thankſgiving for reſtoring the ſecluded Members, &c. Lond. 1660. 4to. One before the Houſe of Commons, at their ſolemn faſt before their firſt ſitting, April 30, 1660. Lond. 1660. 4to. &c.——II. *Hieraſpiſtes*: or, a Defence by way of Apology of the Miniſtry and Miniſters of the Church of England. Lond. 1653. 4to. III. The caſe of Miniſters maintenance by Tithes (as in England) plainly diſcuſſed in conſcience and prudence. Lond. 1653. 4to. IV. Chriſt at the wedding: or the priſtine ſanctity and ſolemnity of Chriſtian marriages. This Tract is called elſewhere (31), A Treatiſe of Chriſtian Marriages to be ſolemnly bleſſed by Miniſters. Lond 1654. 4to. V. A petitionary Remonſtrance preſented to O. P. (Oliver Protector) by John Gauden, D. D. a ſon, ſervant, and ſupplicant for the Church of England: in behalf of many thouſands his diſtreſſed Brethren (Miniſters of the Goſpel, and other good Scholars) who were deprived of all publick Employment. [viz. by his Declaration of Jan. 1, 1655.] Lond. 1659. 4to. VI. *Antiſacrilegus*: or, a Defenſative againſt the plauſibleneſs, or gilded poiſon of that nameleſs Paper (ſuppoſed to be the plot of Dr *Cornelius Burges* and his partners) which attempts the King's Majeſty by the offer of 500,000 l. to make good by an Act of Parliament to the purchaſers of Biſhops, &c. lands, their illegal bargain for ninety nine years. Lond. 1660 4to. VII. ΑΝΑΛΥΣΙΣ. The looſing of St Peter's Bands. Setting forth the true ſenſe and ſolution of the Covenant in point of Conſcience, ſo far as it relates to the Government of the Church by Epiſcopacy. Lond. 1660. 4to. VIII. Analyſis of the Covenant. Lond. 1660. 4to. IX. Anti-Baal-Berith: or the binding of the Covenant and all Covenanters to their good behaviour. By a juſt Vindication of Dr Gauden's Analyſis (that is, his reſolving of the Covenant to law and juſtice, to duty and conſcience, to reaſon and religion: Or his diſſolving it) againſt the Cacotomy of a nameleſs and ſhameleſs Libeller the worthy Hyperaſpiſtes of Dr Burges. Alſo againſt the pittyful cavils and objections of Mr Zach. Crofton, a rigid Preſbyter. With an Anſwer to that monſtrous paradox, of no ſacriledge no ſin, to alienate Church-lands, without and againſt all laws of God and man. Lond. 1661. 4to. X. Conſiderations touching the Liturgy of the Church of England in reference to his Majeſty's late Declaration; and in order to an happy union in Church and State. Lond. 1660. 4to. XI. Counſel delivered to forty-four Preſbyters and Deacons after they had been ordained by him, Jan. 13, 1660. folio. XII. Life of Mr Richard Hooker, prefixed to an edition of that great man's works by Dr Gauden, Lond. 1661. folio. But this Life is very full of faults (32). XIII. A pillar of gratitude, humbly dedicated to the glory of God, the honour of his Majeſty, &c. for reſtoring Epiſcopacy. Lond. 1662. folio. XIV. A Diſcourſe of artificial beauty in point of conſcience between two Ladies, Lond. 1662. 8vo. XV. Diſcourſe concerning public Oaths, and the lawfulneſs of ſwearing in judicial proceedings, in order to anſwer the ſcruples of the Quakers, Lond. 1649, and 1662. Latin and Engliſh. XVI. Prophecies concerning the return of Popery, Lond. 1663 4to XVII. The whole duty of a Communicant: being rules and directions for a worthy receiving the moſt holy ſacrament of the Lord's Supper, Lond. 1681. 12mo. (33).

(30) Regiſter, and Chronicle, &c. as above, p. 774, 775. and p. 642.

(31) Eccleſiæ Anglican. Suſpir. p. 711.

(32) See Mr Hooker's Life, by If. Walton.

(33) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra, col. 312—315. and from the Books themſelves.

GAY [John] an excellent poet, was born in the year 1688, at or near Barnſtaple (*a*) in Devonſhire, and educated at the free-ſchool there under a maſter (*b*) who was well qualified to give him a juſt taſte of claſſical learning. Being deſcended of an ancient family [*A*], whoſe eſtate was greatly impaired (*c*), his friends thought proper to place him in a way of improving his fortune by trade. In this deſign he was put apprentice to a Silk-mercer in London. But that ſtation not ſuiting his liberal ſpirit, he began to ſhew his diſguſt to a ſhop, almoſt from his firſt entrance therein, and giving little attendance, and leſs attention to the buſineſs, he procured a releaſe upon eaſy terms, and in a few years took a final leave of his maſter (*d*). Having thus honourably got free from an ill-brooked reſtraint, he followed the bent of his genius, and it was not long before he gave the Public ſome admirable proofs of the character for which he was formed by nature (*e*) [*B*]. Theſe firſt ſpecimens of his poetical talents, added to the ſweetneſs of his temper, and an almoſt unexampled ſimplicity of manners, immediately procured him the eſteem and affection of ſeveral of his brother Poets, and particularly endeared him to Mr Pope, who was of the ſame age with him. In the ſociety of ſuch friends he paſſed a few years cultivating his muſe in that kind of improvident indolence and independency (*f*), which only could make him perfectly happy. But his taſte of life being too elegant for his fortune, he gladly accepted an offer made to him in 1712, of living with the Ducheſs of Monmouth, as her ſecretary [*C*]. This ſituation ſet him at full leiſure to indulge his poetic vein (*g*), and a remarkable incident [*D*], the following year, furniſhed him with an opportunity of making it particularly ſerviceable to his friend Mr Pope. In this ſpirit he compoſed his *Shepherd's Week* [*E*],

and

[*A*] *Deſcended of an ancient family.*] Mr Riſdon (1) obſerves, that Gilbert le Gay, who gave name to the family, was ſettled at a place called Hampton-Gay, in Oxfordſhire, and that by a match with the daughter and heir of the family of Curtoyſe, or Curtis, he came into the poſſeſſion of the lordſhip of Goldworthy in Devonſhire, which was the ancient dwelling of the name of Gay for many deſcents.

[*B*] *Some proofs of the character for which he was formed by nature.*] The principal of theſe is his Rural Sports, a Georgic. The poem is addreſſed to Mr Pope, who, in a letter to Mr Cromwell, dated Dec. 7. 1711 (2), having acknowledged the favour, takes notice of a play that our author had then upon the ſtocks, alluding, doubtleſs, to his comedy called *The Wife of Bath*, which was acted in 1714 at the Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, but with no ſucceſs. It was then printed in 4to. He reviſed and altered it in 1729, when it was brought again upon the ſame ſtage, and met with the ſame bad reception. Dean Swift had no opinion of this ſecond attempt, tho' Mr Pope had. 'I had 'never (ſays the Dean to Mr Gay) (3) much hopes of your 'vamped play, although Mr Pope ſeemed to have, and 'although it were ever ſo good. But you ſhould have 'done like the parſons, and changed your text, I mean 'the title and the names of the perſons. After all it 'was an effect of idleneſs, for you are in the prime of 'life, when invention and judgment go together.'

[*C*] *Secretary to the Ducheſs of Monmouth.*] This place furniſhed ſome recruits which were very ſeaſonable. Mr Gay's purſe was an unerring barometer of his ſpirits, and when theſe ran low, (tho' talkativeneſs was far from being his foible) the continual dread of a ſervile dependance filled his mouth too full of complaints. The Dean, as his manner was, deals very plainly with him on this head. 'I never charged you, ſays he, (4) 'for not talking, but the dubious ſtate of your affairs 'in thoſe days, was too much the ſubject.' This may ſerve as a fit contraſt to the delicacy with which Mr Pope touches the ſame ſtring on the preſent occaſion. After many congratulations, he concludes his letter (5) thus: 'I ſhall ſee you this winter with much greater 'pleaſure than I could the laſt, and I hope ſo much 'of your time, as your attendance on the Ducheſs will 'allow you to ſpare to any friend, will not be thought 'loſt to one, who is as much ſo as any man. I muſt 'alſo put you in mind, tho' you are now ſecretary to 'this Lady, that you are ſecretary to nine other Ladies, and are to write ſometimes for them too. *He who 'is forced to live wholly upon thoſe Ladies favours, is 'indeed in as precarious a condition, as any He who does 'what Chaucer ſays for ſuſtenance*; but they are very 'agreeable companions, like other ladies, when a man 'only paſſes a night or ſo with them at his leiſure and 'away.'

[*D*] *A remarkable incident.*] It was an affront which had been lately put upon Mr Pope by his great rival in paſtoral poetry, Mr Phillips: of this we have the following account, in a letter of Mr Pope to Mr Craggs, dated June 8. 1714 (6). 'The queſtion 'you aſk in relation to Mr Addiſon and Phillips, I 'ſhall anſwer in a few words. Mr Phillips did expreſs 'himſelf with much indignation againſt me one evening at Button's coffee-houſe (as I was told), ſaying, 'that I was entered into a cabal with Dean Swift and 'others, to write againſt the Whig intereſt, and in 'particular to undermine his own reputation, and 'that of his friends Steele and Addiſon. But Mr Phillips never opened his lips to my face on this or any 'other like occaſion, tho' I was almoſt every night in 'the ſame room with him, nor ever offered me any indecorum.' He then proceeds to relate Mr Addiſon's and Lord Halifax's kindneſs to him in procuring ſubſcriptions to his tranſlation of Homer's Iliad, and goes on thus: 'However Phillips did all he could ſecretly 'to continue the report with the Hanover club, and 'kept in his hands the ſubſcriptions paid for me to him 'as ſecretary to that club.—*It is to this management of 'Phillips, that the world owes Mr Gay's Paſtorals.*'

[*E*] *Shepherd's Week.*] As there cannot be an inſtance given of greater friendſhip in an author, than is this undertaking by Mr Gay; ſo nothing could be ſweeter than the ſucceſs of it to Mr Pope; for although his Paſtorals were allowed to excell in the Arcadian ſtile, yet thoſe of his rival, formed upon Spencer's plan, had carried the prize; a true rural ſimplicity being generally eſteemed the proper characteriſtic of the paſtoral poem; but this rival had the mortification to ſee his garland blaſted, at the appearance of Mr Gay's piece, which being found ſtill more exquiſitely pure in that taſte, obtained far the loudeſt applauſe. Our author in the proem marks the defect of his predeceſſor, and in doing it gives a notable proof of his own perfection. 'Great marvel, ſays he, hath it 'been (and that not unworthily) to divers worthy wits, 'that in this our iſland of Britain, in all rare ſciences 'ſo greatly abounding, more eſpecially in all kinds of 'poeſy highly flouriſhing, no poet, tho' otherwiſe of 'notable cunning in roundelays, hath hit on the right 'ſimple eclogue after the true ancient guiſe of Theocritus, before this mine attempt.—Certes ſuch it behoveth a paſtoral to be, as nature in the country affordeth, and the manner alſo meetly copied from the 'ruſtical folk therein.' The following ſpecimen will ſhew how perfectly he has executed this plan. It is the conteſt among the lovers for the prize of beauty to their reſpective miſtreſſes.

Lobbin Clout.

'My Blouzalinda is the blitheſt laſs!
'Than primroſe ſweeter, or the clover graſs.

'Fair is the king-cup that in meadow blows,
'Fair is the daiſy that beſide her grows,

'Fair

(*a*) See Ayre's life of Pope Vol. II. p. 96.

(*b*) Mr William Rayner, who had been bred at Weſtminſter School, and taught in that method. General Dict. Article GAY.

(*c*) Our author himſelf declares, He never had been bleſt by Fortune's hand, Nor brightned plowſhares in paternal land. *Rural Sports.*

(*d*) See his life p. 3. printed in 1733, 8vo. and Ayre ubi ſupra. Theſe authorities are judged ſufficient for a fact not improbable in itſelf, is no diſcredit to our author, and has never, that we know of, been queſtioned.

(*e*) In his Epiſtle to Mr Methuen, we find him complaining in theſe terms. But now that wight in poverty muſt mourn, (Who was (O cruel ſtars!) a Poet born. *In the 2d Vol. of his Poems.*

(*f*) Dr Swift obſerves, that Providence never deſigned him to be above two and twenty by his thoughtleſneſs and cullibility. Letter 33 in Pope's Works Vol. 9. edit. 1742.

(*g*) His celebrated Poem *Trivia* was wrote about this time.

(1) In his Survey of Devonſhire, Vol. I. 8vo. p. 80.

(2) In the 8th Vol. of Pope's Works.

(3) In his letter dated March 19th 1729. Pope's Works, Vol. 9.

(4) In a letter of Nov. 19, 1732. Ibid. Vol.

(5) It is dated Dec. 24, 1712. Ibid. Vol. 8.

(6) Ibid. Vol. 7.

and printed it with a dedication to Lord Bolingbrooke (*b*), in 1714. The ſame year he reſigned his poſt to the Ducheſs, being appointed to attend the Earl of Clarendon in the like character on an embaſſy from Queen Anne to the Court of Hanover [*F*]. The Queen's death put an end to all his tow'ring hopes; however, upon his return home ſoon after, under the weight of that misfortune, he was received with the warmeſt welcome by his never-failing friend abovementioned, who adviſed him withal to puſh the advantage which his laſt employ had given him of being perſonally known to the new Sovereign and his Family [*G*]. Accordingly he took the opportunity of making his court to the Princeſs of Wales (*i*), [afterwards Queen Caroline] on the arrival of her Royal Highneſs in England ſhortly after (*k*). This compliment was well received, and our author's Farce intitled *The What d' ye call it*, being brought upon the ſtage [*H*] before the end of the ſeaſon, both their

(*b*) The Dean in 1722 calls this dedication Mr Gay's Original Sin againſt the Court. Pope's Works. Ibid. letter VI.

(*i*) See his Epiſtle to a Lady, occaſioned by the arrival of her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of Wales.

(*k*) She arrived with the two eldeſt Princeſſes, Oct. 13, 1714. and Mr Pope's advice, is dated Sept. 23.

‘ Fair is the gilliflow'r, of gardens ſweet,
‘ Fair is the marygold, for pottage meet;
‘ But Blouzalind's than gilliflow'r more fair,
‘ Than daiſy, marygold, or king-cup, rare.

Cuddy.

‘ My brown Buxoma is the feateſt maid
‘ That e'er at wake delightſome gambol play'd.
‘ Clean as young lambkins, or the gooſe's down,
‘ And like the gold-finch in her Sunday-gown;
‘ The witleſs lamb may ſport upon the plain,
‘ The friſking kid delight the gaping ſwain,
‘ The wanton calf may ſkip with many a bound,
‘ And my cur, Tray, play defteſt feats around;
‘ But neither lamb, nor kid, nor calf, nor Tray,
‘ Dance like Buxoma on the firſt of May.

Lobbin Clout.

‘ Sweet is my toil when Blouzalind is near,
‘ Of her bereft, 'tis winter all the year;
‘ With her, no ſultry ſummer's heat I know;
‘ In winter, when ſhe's nigh, with love I glow:
‘ Come, Blouzalinda, eaſe thy ſwain's deſire,
‘ My ſummer's ſhadow, and my winter's fire.

The following lines from Mr Phillips on the like conteſt, being ſet in this place, will bring the difference into full light.

‘ Mild as a lamb, and harmleſs as a dove,
‘ True as the turtle, is the maid I love;
‘ How we in ſecret love I ſhall not ſay;
‘ Divine her name, and I give up the day.

By this ſpecimen we ſee, that even in ſome places where this poet can't be charged with want of ſimplicity, though the character of the country is retained, yet it is evident, the true manner of the ruſtical folk therein is not *meetly* copied. In the former every thing is not only in character, but beautifully ſo. Thus Vandyke painted, ever copying nature with the moſt religious exactneſs, and ever ſhewing it beautiful. In the dedication, Mr Gay thus deſcribes his own dreſs at that time, when he was waiting for Court favours.

‘ I ſold my ſheep and lambkins too
‘ For ſilver loops and garment blue. &c.

Mr Pope took an opportunity of touching upon this vanity in a very humorous letter to the Dean (7), who had with equal humour offered him twenty guineas to turn Proteſtant. This the former propoſes to do upon a ſubſcription proportionable to that of the Dean, but with certain conditions, one of which is, that a ſufficient ſum be advanced to purchaſe (according to the practice of the Romiſh Church) the ſalvation of the ſouls of ſome of his friends, amongſt whom he reckons Mr Gay. ‘ There is one ——, ſays he, who will die within theſe few months, with one Jervas, who hath grievouſly offended in making the likeneſs of almoſt all things in Heaven above, and Earth below; and one Mr Gay, an unhappy youth, who writes Paſtorals during the time of divine ſervice, *whoſe caſe is the more deplorable, as he hath miſerably laviſhed away all that ſilver he ſhould have reſerved for his ſoul's health, in buttons and loops for his coat.*'

(7) dated Dec. 8, 1713, and inſerted in Lord Orrery's account of Swift. Letter V.

[*F*] *An embaſſy to the Court of Hanover.*] The occaſion of this embaſſy was, the demand that had been made by Baron Schutz, Envoy-extraordinary from the Elector of Hanover, of a writ for ſummoning the Electoral Prince his preſent Majeſty, to ſit in the Houſe of Lords as Duke of Cambridge (8).

(8) See more of this in the Earl of Halifax's Article.

[*G*] *Mr Pope received him with the warmeſt welcome, and adviſed him to puſh the advantage, &c.*] This letter is dated Sept. 23. 1714 (9), and begins thus: ‘ Dear Mr Gay, Welcome to your native ſoil, welcome to your friends, thrice welcome to me! whether returned in glory, bleſs'd with Court-intereſt, the love and familiarity of the Great, and filled with agreeable hopes, or melancholy with dejection, contemplative of the change of fortune, and doubtful for the future; whether returned a triumphant Whig, or deſponding Tory, equally all hail! equally beloved, and welcome to me.—I know you will be an honeſt man, and an inoffenſive one;—incapable of being ſo much of either party, as to be good for nothing. Therefore once more, whatever you are, or in whatſoever ſtate you are, all hail!' After apologizing for not having written to Mr Gay while abroad, on account of the taſk he had ſet himſelf in carrying on the tranſlation of Homer, which was now finiſhed, he continues in the ſame vein as before. ‘ Rejoice with me, O my friend, that my labour is over; come and make merry with me in much feaſting. We will feed among the lilies (10) (by the lilies, I mean the ladies). Are not the Roſalindaes of Britain, as charming as the Blouzalindaes of the Hague? Or, have the two great paſtoral poets of our nation renounced love at the ſame time? For Phillips, immortal Phillips! hath deſerted, yea, and in a ruſtic manner kicked his Roſalind.' Mr Pope writes this letter from Bath, whither giving his friend this hearty invitation, ‘ Talk not of expences, Homer ſhall ſupport his children.' He concludes thus: ‘ Pardon me if I add a word of advice in the poetical way. Write ſomething on the King, or Prince, or Princeſs. On whatſoever foot you may be with the Court, this can do no harm.'

(9) It is in the 8th Vol. of Mr Pope's Works.

(10) This may perhaps allude to the following lines in Phillips's Paſtorals.
Breathe ſoft, ye Winds, ye Waters, gently flow,
Shield her, ye trees, ye flowers around her grow.
Ye ſwains, I beg you paſs in ſilence by,
My Love in yonder vale aſleep does lie.
Compare theſe with Canticles. Ch. xi. 5.
In this view Mr Pope's tranſition is beautiful.

[*H*] *The What d' y' call it was brought upon the ſtage*] He called it a tragi-comi-paſtoral farce. It has been always eſteemed a maſter-piece of our author, and the tide of party, which ran extremely high at this time, threw out many curious remarks upon it to his no ſmall diverſion, as is ſeen in ſome letters to Mr Congreve. In one of which dated March 19. 1714-15 (11), he writes thus: ‘ The farce of the What d' ye call it has occaſioned many different ſpeculations in the town, ſome looking upon it as a meer jeſt upon the tragic poets, others as a ſatire upon the late war; Mr Cromwell hearing none of the words †, and ſeeing the action to be tragical, was much aſtoniſhed to find the audience laugh, and ſays the Prince and Princeſs muſt doubtleſs be under no ſmall amazement on the ſame account. Several Templers, and others of the more vociferous kind of critics, went with a reſolution to hiſs, and confeſſed they were forced to laugh ſo much, that they forgot the deſign they came with. The Court in general has in a very particular manner come into the jeſt, and the three firſt nights (notwithſtanding two of them were Court nights) were diſtinguiſhed by very full audiences of the firſt quality. The common people of the pit and gallery received it at firſt with great gravity and ſedateneſs, ſome few with tears; but after the third day they alſo took the hint, and have ever ſince been very loud in their claps. There are ſtill ſome ſober men, who cannot be of the general opinion; but the laughers are ſo much the majority, that one or two critics ſeem determined to undeceive the town at their proper coſt by writing grave diſſertations againſt it. To encourage them in this laudable deſign, it is reſolved, a preface ſhall be prefixed to the farce in vindication of the

(11) In Pope's Works, Vol. 8.

† By reaſon of his deafneſs.

their Royal Highneſſes honoured it with their preſence. The very kind reception, he met with from perſons of the firſt diſtinction at this time, filled him with the fond hopes of more ſubſtantial favours [*I*]; and the failure of theſe (*l*) made too deep an impreſſion upon his tender nature, which upon that account was but ill ſuited to the wavering ſtate of a ſlender fortune. To divert this melancholy, Mr Pulteney (*m*) took our author in company with him to Aix [*K*] in France in the year 1717, and the following year he was invited by Lord Harcourt to his ſeat in Oxfordſhire [*L*]. In 1720 he publiſhed his poems by

‘ nature and dignity of this new way of writing (12).’ Accordingly there came out ſoon after, *A compleat Key to the What d' ye call it*, which was written by one Griffin, a player, aſſiſted by Lewis Theobald. Upon this Mr Gay, in a letter to Mr Congreve, dated April ſeventh 1715 (13), makes the following remarks: ‘ There is a ſixpenny pamphlet lately publiſhed upon ‘ the tragedy of the *What d' ye call it*, wherein he ‘ with much judgment and learning, calls me a blockhead, and Mr. Pope a knave. His grand charge is ‘ againſt the Pilgrim's Progreſs (14), which, he ſays, is ‘ directly levelled at Cato's reading Plato. To back ‘ this cenſure, he goes on to tell you, that the pilgrim's ‘ being mentioned to be the eighth edition, makes the ‘ reflection evident, the tragedy of Cato having juſt ‘ eight times (as he quaintly expreſſes it) viſited the ‘ preſs. He has alſo endeavoured to ſhew, that every ‘ particular paſſage of the play leads to ſome fine part ‘ of that tragedy, which he ſays I have injudiciouſly and ‘ profoundly abuſed.’ *The What d' ye call it* (15) was alſo attacked by Mr (afterwards Judge) Burnet, in one of his papers called the Grumbler.

[*I*] *Filled him with the hopes of more ſubſtantial favours.*] It was in this flow of ſpirits, that the *Three hours after marriage* was brought upon the ſtage, and he bore the ill ſucceſs (16) of it very manfully, as is evident from the following letter (17). ‘ Dear Pope, too late ‘ I ſee and confeſs myſelf miſtaken in relation to the ‘ comedy; yet I do not think, had I followed your ‘ advice, and only introduced the mummy, that the ‘ abſence of the crocodile (18) had ſaved it. I cannot ‘ help laughing myſelf (though the vulgar do not conſider, that it was deſigned to look very ridiculous) to ‘ think, how the poor monſter and mummy were daſhed ‘ at their reception; and when the cry was loudeſt, ‘ that if the thing had been wrote by another, I ſhould ‘ have deemed the Town in ſome meaſure miſtaken: ‘ and, as to your apprehenſion that this may do us any ‘ future injury, do not think it. The Doctor has a ‘ more valuable name than can be hurt by any thing of ‘ this nature, and your's is doubly ſafe. I will (if any ‘ ſhame there be) take it all to myſelf, as indeed I ‘ ought, the motion being firſt mine, and never heartily ‘ approved of by you. As to what your early enemy ‘ ſaid at the Duke of Dorſet's, and Mr Pulteney's, you ‘ will live to prove him a falſe prophet, as you have ‘ already a liar, and a flatterer, and a poet in ſpight ‘ of nature. Whether I ſhall do ſo or no, you can ‘ beſt tell; for with the continuance of your dear ‘ friendſhip and aſſiſtance, never yet witheld from me, ‘ I dare promiſe as much.

‘ I beg of you not to ſuffer this or any thing elſe ‘ to hurt your health. As I have publickly ſaid, that ‘ I was aſſiſted by two friends (19), I ſhall ſtill continue ‘ in the ſame ſtory, profeſſing obſtinate ſilence about Dr ‘ Arbuthnot and yourſelf. I am going to-morrow to ‘ Hampton-court for a week notwithſtanding the badneſs of the weather; where, though I am to mix ‘ with Quality, I ſhall ſee nothing half ſo engaging as ‘ you, my dear friend. I am (not at all caſt down) ‘ your ſincere friend,

‘ JOHN GAY.

The ſatire of this play ſeems to be levelled at Dr Woodward in the character of Foſſile, which was admirably repreſented by the beſt comedian of that time in his ſtyle of acting Mr Johnſon, as was that of Mrs Foſſile by Mrs Oldfield (20); but no advantage in the acting was able to ſupport it. How greatly Mr Pope intereſted himſelf in it's reception, we are informed by Mr Cibber (21), who likewiſe tells us he had a fling at it in the character of Bays, when the Rehearſal was acted ſoon after. Thus upon the coming of the two Kings of Brentford from the clouds into the throne again, inſtead of what his part directed, he ſaid. *Now, Sir, this revolution I had ſome thoughts of introducing by a quite different contrivance; but my deſign taking air, ſome of your ſharp wits I found had made uſe of it before me; otherwiſe I intended to have ſtolen one of them in the ſhape of a mummy, and t'other in that of a crocodile.* This was ſo much reſented by Mr Pope, that, after the play, coming behind the ſcenes in an extraordinary agitation of ſpirits, he fell upon the actor in very foul language; and Mr Cibber's perſiſting in the ſame inſult ſeveral ſucceeding nights, is aſſigned by him for the firſt cauſe of Mr Pope's perſecuting him with his pen ever afterwards.

[*K*] *He was taken by Mr Pulteney to Aix.*] He had been entertained the year before with a viſit to his own country [Devonſhire] at the expence of the Earl of Burlington, and had repaid his Lordſhip with a humorous account of the journey (22). He made the ſame return for this ſucceeding favour of Mr Pulteney. This jaunting about with ſome decent appointments, was one of the ſweeteſt pleaſures of his life, and never failed of provoking his muſe. However, Dr Swift rallies the foible with his uſual kind ſeverity. ‘ I wiſh (ſays he to him in ‘ 1729) you had a little villakin in his [Pope's] neighbourhood; but you are yet too volatile, and any Lady ‘ with a coach and ſix horſes, would carry you to Japan.’ The ſame foible comes again croſs the Dean's mind in 1732, when he writes thus to his friend. ‘ I find by ‘ the whole caſt of your letter, that you are as giddy and ‘ as volatile as ever, juſt the reverſe of Mr Pope, who ‘ hath always loved a domeſtic life from his youth. I ‘ was going to wiſh you had ſome little place that you ‘ could call your own; but I profeſs I do not know you ‘ well enough to contrive any one ſyſtem of life that ‘ would pleaſe you. You pretend to preach up riding ‘ and walking to the Ducheſs; yet, from my knowledge ‘ of you after twenty years, you always joined a violent ‘ deſire of perpetually ſhifting places and company, with ‘ a rooted lazineſs, and an utter impatience of fatigue. ‘ A coach and ſix horſes is the utmoſt exerciſe you can ‘ bear, and this only when you can fill it with ſuch company as is beſt ſuited to your taſte (23).’

[*L*] *He went to Stanton-Harcourt, in Oxfordſhire*] Here an unfortunate accident again engaged his muſe jointly with Mr Pope; of this he ſent an account to Mr Elijah Fenton in a letter (24), ſoon after it had happened. ‘ The only news, ſays he, that you can expect to ‘ have from me here, is news from Heaven; for I am ‘ quite out of the world, and there is ſcarce any thing ‘ can reach me, except the noiſe of thunder.’ Upon that ſubject he proceeds (in contraſt to Horace) to acquaint his friend, that Blenheim ſtood untouched in the neighbourhood, while a cock of barley in the next field to them, was conſumed to aſhes. ‘ Would to God, continues he, that this heap of barley had been all that ‘ had periſhed! For, unhappily beneath this little ‘ ſhelter, ſat two much more conſtant lovers, than ever ‘ were found in romance under the ſhade of a beech-tree. John Hewet was a well-ſet man, of about five-and-twenty. Sarah Drew might be rather called ‘ comely than beautiful, and was about the ſame age. ‘ They had paſſed through the various labours of the ‘ year together with the greateſt ſatisfaction; if ſhe ‘ milked, it was his morning and evening care to bring ‘ the cows to her hand; it was but laſt fair, that he ‘ bought her a preſent of green ſilk for her ſtraw-hat, ‘ and the poſy on her ſilver ring was of his chuſing. ‘ Their love was the talk of the whole neighbourhood; ‘ for ſcandal never affirmed, that they had any other ‘ views, than the lawful poſſeſſion of each other in ‘ marriage. It was that very morning, that he had obtained the conſent of her parents, and it was but 'till ‘ the next week they were to wait to be happy. Perhaps in the intervals of their work, they were now

‘ talking

(*l*) The Princeſs of Wales was delivered of a young Prince, Nov. 20, 1717. And Mr Pope in a letter dated the 8th of that month gives him joy of this Prince, becauſe ſays he he is the only Prince from whom you have had no expectations and no diſappointment. See Pope's Works, Vol. 8.

(*m*) He was then out of favour at Court, having reſigned his place of Secretary at War the April before. Salmon's Chronol. Hiſtorian. in the Year 1717.

(12) This was executed with incomparable humour.

(13) Pope's Works, ubi ſupra

(14) This humour in the character of Timothy Peaſcod was imitated in a Poem called the Horn-book, publiſhed in 1733.

(15) Mr Gay publiſhed another Farce called the Mohocks, but it was never acted.

(16) Mr Cibber tells us, it was very ill received, if not condemned, the firſt night. Lives of the Poets, Vol. 4. edit. 1753.

(17) In Pope's Works, Vol. 8.

(18) In this play two Lovers of a Virtuoſo's wife to gain acceſs to her, got themſelves ſent to the huſband as two rarities in the forms of an Egyptian Mummy and a Crocodile.

(19) In a ſhort advertiſement prefixed to the play.

(20) It was acted at Drury-Lane in 1717.

(21) In his firſt letter to Mr Pope publiſhed in 1742.

(22) It is called A Journey to Exeter, in an Epiſtle to that Lord.

(23) Letter 49, and 57. in Pope's Works, Vol. 9. edit. 1742.

(24) It is dated Auguſt 3, 1718, and the lightning fell the laſt day of July. Ibid. Vol. 8.

by ſubſcription with good ſucceſs (*n*), but this was preſently damped by the misfortune he had of being involved in the general calamity which happened [*M*] that remarkable year. So that by degrees he fell into ſuch an utter deſpondency as, being attended with the cholic, brought his life in danger. In this unhappy condition he removed for the benefit of the air in 1722 to Hampſtead, where he received ſome very tender proofs of Mr Pope's affection [*N*]. Recovering from this diſorder, he finiſhed, in 1724, his tragedy called *the Captives*; which being honoured with a particular mark of favour from her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of Wales (*o*), he was further encouraged to write a ſet of fables [*O*] in verſe, for the uſe of the

Duke

‘ talking of their wedding-cloaths, and John was ſuiting ſeveral ſorts of poppies and field flowers to her complexion to chuſe her knot for the wedding-day. While they were thus buſied (it was on the laſt of July, between two and three in the afternoon) the clouds grew black, and ſuch a ſtorm of lightning and thunder enſued, that all the labourers made the beſt of their way to what ſhelter the trees and hedges afforded. Sarah was frightened, and fell down in a ſwoon on a heap of barley; John, who never ſeparated from her, ſat down by her, having raked together two or three heaps the better to ſecure her from the ſtorm. Immediately there was heard ſo loud a crack, as if Heaven had ſplit aſunder: every one was now ſollicitous for the ſafety of his neighbour, and called to one another throughout the field. No anſwer being returned to thoſe who called to our lovers, they ſtepped to the place where they lay; they perceived the barley all in a flame, and then 'ſpied this faithful pair, John with one arm about Sarah's neck, and the other held over her as to ſcreen her from the lightning. They were ſtruck dead, and ſtiffned in this tender poſture. Sarah's left eye-brow was ſinged, and there appeared a black ſpot on her breaſt: her lover was all over black, but not the leaſt ſigns of life were found in either. Attended by their melancholy companions, they were conveyed to the town, and the next day were interred in Stanton-Harcourt church-yard. My Lord Harcourt, at Mr Pope's and my requeſt, has cauſed a ſtone to be placed over them, upon condition that we furniſhed the epitaph, which is as follows:

When eaſtern lovers feed the fun'ral fire,
On the ſame pile the faithful pair expire.
Here pitying Heav'n that virtue mutual found,
And blaſted both, that it might neither wound.
Hearts ſo ſincere th' Almighty ſaw well pleas'd,
Sent his own light'ning, and the victims ſeiz'd.

It is thus our poet entertained his friends when he was properly himſelf, which ought to be remembered in reading the remark of a noble author (25), who, ſpeaking of Mr Gay's letters to Dr Swift, obſerves, ‘ they have nothing in them ſtriking, or commendatory, and his ſentiments only thoſe of an honeſt, good-natured man:' it will preſently appear that in that correſpondence we never ſee him but in an ill ſtate of health, and under ſome dejection of ſpirits; beſides, it is allowed he had an awful regard of the Dean as his father, it might have been ſaid, as his preceptor.

[*M*] *Involved in the calamity of that year.*] No body will be ſurprized that a perſon of Mr Gay's turn was caught in the alluring ſnare that was laid at this time by the projectors of the South-Sea ſcheme. He had the ill luck to be poſſeſſed of as much original ſtock as ſwelled to the imaginary value of about ten thouſand pounds. Upon which, Mr Pope and Mr Fenton, with others, not a little delighted with the proſpect of ſeeing their friend ſettled in an independent fortune, ſo indiſpenſibly neceſſary to ſupport his ſpirit in chearfulneſs, were very aſſiduous in urging him to ſell: he gave them an abſolute denial, and even treated the advice (as thouſands did at that time) with an air of diſdain. Then they endeavoured to prevail on him at leaſt to let as much ſtock go, as would raiſe wherewithal to purchaſe an annuity of one hundred pounds for his life; obſerving to him, that by this means he would be placed out of the reach of want, and be ſure *of a clean ſhirt and a ſhoulder of mutton every day* (26). It was further added, that this prudent ſtep was very conſiſtent with any higher views which might poſſibly ariſe, ſince the remainder was enough to give him ſtill a conſiderable hand in the play, of which he would alſo wait the event with much leſs anxiety after this neceſſary proviſion; but all this preaching, however ſound the doctrine, was given to the winds. Their friend was ſeized with the general new ſpirit of prophecy of much greater things than they ſimply talked of, and all this while lived ſuitably to that proſpect; nor was this ſpirit quenched, but in the general inundation that preſently broke the charm, and ſtripped poor Gay even of the ſmall pittance of his original ſtock. This original ſtock ſeems to be the thouſand pounds, about the diſpoſal of which we are told (27) our author had a conſultation with his friends, when Mr Lewis Lord Oxford's ſteward adviſed him to intruſt it to the funds, and live upon the intereſt; Dr Arbuthnot to intruſt it to providence, and live upon the principal; and Mr Pope was for purchaſing an annuity for life; *feciſtis probe*, ſays the author of this ſtory, *incertior ſum multo quam dudum* †. Dr Swift, who was alſo for his buying an annuity, having received no agreeable anſwer, in reply thereto tells him, *You are the moſt refractory, honeſt, good-natured man I ever knew* (28).

[*N*] *He received ſome tender proofs of Mr Pope's affection*] Mr Pope's mother lying very ill at this time hindered him from viſiting his friend in perſon, he therefore wrote to him in the following moſt affectionate terms: ‘ In the afflicting proſpect before me, I know nothing that can ſo much alleviate it, as the view now given me (heaven grant it may increaſe) of your recovery—May your health augment as faſt as I fear her's muſt decline; I believe that would be very faſt—May the life that is added to you be paſſed in good fortune and tranquillity, rather from your own giving to yourſelf, than from any expectations or truſt in others—May you and I live together without wiſhing more felicity or acquiſitions than friendſhip can give and receive, without obligations to greatneſs.

‘ *P. S.* As I told you in my laſt letter, I repeat it in this; do not think of writing to me. The Doctor, Mrs Howard, and Mrs Blount, give me daily accounts of you.'

In another letter he expreſſes himſelf thus: ‘ No words can tell you the great concern I feel for you; I aſſure you it was not, and is not leſſened, by the immediate apprehenſion I have now every day lain under of loſing my mother. Be aſſured no duty leſs than that ſhould have kept me one day from attending your condition. I would come and take a room by you at Hampſtead to be with you daily, were ſhe not ſtill in danger of death. I have conſtantly had particular accounts of you from the doctor, which have not ceaſed to alarm me. God preſerve your life, and reſtore your health. I really beg it for my own ſake, for I feel I love you more than I thought in health, though I always loved you a great deal.' He then made a propoſal to attend him to the ſouthern parts, as ſoon as he ſhould recover ſtrength enough for the journey; and concludes thus: ‘ Dear Gay, be as chearful as your ſufferings will permit: God is a better friend than a Court; even any honeſt man is better. I promiſe you my entire friendſhip in all events, heartily praying for your recovery.

‘ *P. S.* Do not write if you are ever ſo able; the doctor tells me all (29).'

[*O*] *Encouraged to write a ſet of fables*] Dean Swift, who informs us that our author was promiſed a reward for this piece, intimates likewiſe his opinion how that promiſe came to put on the face of an affront. ‘ It muſt be allowed, ſays the Dean (30), ſpeaking of the Beggar's Opera, this is not the firſt of Mr Gay's works wherein he hath been faulty with reſpect to courtiers and ſtateſmen; for to omit his other pieces,

‘ even

(*n*) See his Epiſtle to Mr Methuen, quoted above.

(*o*) Viz. that of hearing him read it to her in Manuſcript.

(25) Lord Orrery in his account of the Life and Writings of Dr Swift, Letter the XXth.

(26) That was the Expreſſion of Mr Fenton, from whom we had the account of this particular.

(27) By Mr Warburton in a note to Letter XXIXth in Vol. 9. of Pope's Works. edit. 1753.

† Well done; you have hung me more upon the tenters than before.

(28) Ibid.

(29) Theſe two Letters are in Vol. 8. of Pope's Works, without a date.

(30) The Intelligencer, No. III. p. 23. publiſhed in 1729.

Duke of Cumberland; theſe he publiſhed in 1726, with a ſuitable dedication to that Prince (p), who was then very young. Upon the acceſſion of his preſent Majeſty to the Crown the following year, in ſettling Queen Caroline's Houſhold, the Poſt of Gentleman-Uſher to the youngeſt Princeſs Louiſa, was marked out for Mr Gay; but he declined the offer as unworthy of him [*P*], and his famous Beggar's Opera [*Q*] appeared upon the ſtage early in the enſuing ſeaſon (*q*). The unparallelled ſucceſs of that piece induced him to carry on the plan in a ſecond part, which being excluded the theatre by the Lord Chamberlain [*R*], our author thought proper to print it by ſubſcription, and the

'even in his fables, publiſhed within two years paſt, and dedicated to the Duke of Cumberland, for which he was promiſed a reward, he hath been thought ſomewhat too bold upon courtiers.'

[*P*] *He declined the offer as unworthy of him.*] Our author gives an account of this matter to his laſt mentioned friend (31), intimating the excuſe he had made in a letter to her Majeſty, was his being too far advanced in life. 'So, continues he, now all my expectations are vaniſhed, and I have no proſpect but in depending wholly upon myſelf, and my own conduct. As I am uſed to diſappointments, I can bear them; but, as I can have no more hopes, I can no more be diſappointed; ſo that I am in a bleſſed condition (32). Theſe laſt words are an echo of thoſe which had been ſent him on this occaſion by Mr Pope, who writes thus: I have many years ago magnified in my own mind, and repeated to you a ninth Beatitude, added to the eight in Scripture, 'Bleſſed is he who expects nothing, for he ſhall never be diſappointed.'—He afterwards declares his approbation of the excuſe ſent by Lord Grantham to the Queen, and concludes in theſe remarkable terms: 'Dear Gay, adieu! I can add a plain uncourtly ſpeech, While you are no-body's ſervant, you may be any one's friend; and as ſuch I embrace you in all conditions of life. While I have a ſhilling, you ſhall have ſix-pence, nay, eight-pence, if I can contrive to live upon a groat (33).' The Dean, two years afterwards, revenged his cauſe in the following lines (34).'

Thus Gay the hare with many friends,
Twice ſeven long years at Court attends;
Who under tales conveying truth
To virtue form'd a princely youth;
Who paid his courtſhip with the crowd,
As far as modiſh pride allow'd;
Rejects a ſervile uſher's place,
And leaves St James's in diſgrace.

[*Q*] *His famous Beggar's Opera.*] This piece was received with greater applauſe than was ever known. Beſides being acted in London 63 days without interruption, and renewed the next ſeaſon with equal applauſe, it ſpread into all the great towns of England, was play'd in many places to the 30th and 40th time, at Bath and Briſtol 50, &c. It made its progreſs into Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, where it was performed 24 days ſucceſſively. The Ladies carried about with them the favourite ſongs of it in fans, and houſes were furniſhed with it in ſcreens. The fame of it was not confined to the author only. The perſon who acted Polly, 'till then obſcure, became all at once the favourite of the town: her pictures were engraved, and ſold in great numbers; her life written, books of letters and verſes to her publiſhed, and pamphlets made even of her ſayings and jeſts. Furthermore, it drove out of England (for that ſeaſon) the Italian Opera, which had carried all before it for ten years (35). Dr Swift attributes (36) this unprecedented, and almoſt incredible ſucceſs, to a peculiar merit in the performance, wherein what we call the point of humour is exactly hit; a point, he obſerves, 'which whoever can rightly touch, will never fail of pleaſing a great majority; and which in its perfection, is allowed to be much preferable to wit, if it be not rather the moſt uſeful and agreeable ſpecies of it.' The Dean likewiſe remarks, that in this piece the author '*hath by a turn of humour, entirely new placed vices of all kinds in the ſtrongeſt and moſt odious light, and thereby done eminent ſervice both to religion and morality.*' He then proceeds to vindicate this aſſertion, by examining the ſeveral particulars; after which, upon the whole, he concludes, that '*nothing but ſervile attachment to a party, affectation of ſingularity, lamentable dulneſs, miſtaken zeal, or ſtudied hypocriſy, can have the leaſt reaſonable objection againſt this excellent moral performance.*' This, it muſt be owned, was to the purpoſe, ſince the Beggar's Opera lay moſt expoſed on the ſide of morality, and was at that time warmly attacked from the pulpit (37). Another method to ruin its character on that account, was taken by Mr Colley Cibber, who introduced on the ſtage a rival piece drawn upon the ſame general plan, where none but virtuous characters were exhibited. But let the author himſelf tell us the fate of this attempt: 'After the vaſt ſucceſs, ſays he (38), of that new ſpecies of dramatic poetry, the Beggar's Opera, the year following I was ſo ſtupid as to attempt ſomething of the ſame kind upon a quite different foundation, that of recommending virtue and innocence, which I ignorantly thought might not have a leſs pretence to favour, than ſetting greatneſs and authority in a contemptible, and the moſt vulgar vice and wickedneſs in an amiable light. But behold how fondly I was miſtaken! *Love in a riddle*, for ſo my new-fangled performance was called, was as vilely damn'd and hooted at, as ſo vain a preſumption in the idle cauſe of virtue could deſerve.—Yet this, continues Mr Cibber, is not what I complain of I will allow my poetry to have been as much below the other, as taſte or criticiſm can ſink it. I will grant likewiſe, that the applauded author of the Beggar's Opera had in that piece more ſkilfully gratified the public taſte, than all the brighteſt authors that ever writ before him; and I have ſometimes thought, from the modeſty of his motto, *Nos hæc novimus eſſe nihil* (39), that he gave them that performance as a ſatire on the depravity of their judgment, (as Ben Johnſon of old was ſaid to have given his *Bartholomew-fair* in ridicule of the vulgar taſte which had diſliked his *Sejanus*), and by artfully ſeducing them to be the champions of the immoralities he deteſted, he ſhould be amply revenged on their former ſeverity and ignorance (40). This were indeed a triumph which the author of Cato might have envied. Cato, 'tis true, ſucceeded; but reached not by full forty days the progreſs and applauſes of the Beggar's Opera. Will it however, admit of a queſtion, Which of the two compoſitions a good writer would rather wiſh to have been the author of? Yet on the other ſide, muſt we not allow, that to have taken a whole nation, high and low, into a general applauſe, has ſhewn a power in poetry, which (though often attempted in the ſame kind) none but this one author could ever yet arrive at.' Thus did Mr Cibber ſtrain his voice againſt the Beggar's Opera in 1740, but all in vain. We have ſeen that deathleſs performance ſince flouriſh as before, and ſucceeding Pollies make their fortunes by it.

[*R*] *Excluded the ſtage by the Lord Chamberlain.*] The title of it is *Polly, or a ſecond part of the Beggar's Opera*. To conceive an idea of the ferment raiſed by this ſuppreſſion, we muſt compare what our author ſays, with what we are told by Mr Cibber. The firſt intimates (41) that it had been given him by ſome as a reaſon for the prohibition, that he had written many diſaffected libels, and ſeditious pamphlets; by others, that particularly in this piece he had been charged with writing immoralities; that it was filled with ſlander and calumny againſt ſome particular great perſons, and that Majeſty itſelf was endeavoured to be brought into ridicule and contempt. In anſwer to the firſt, he proteſts his innocence, and ſolemnly declares his loyalty; for the reſt, he appeals to the play, which he gives as the reaſon of printing it. Here we perceive how high the tide ran at Court. In the next place, Mr Cibber will tell us, what an uproar was raiſed in the town: 'Various, ſays he (42), were the ſpeculations upon this

'act

(*p*) This was againſt Mr Pope's advice. See Remark [*U*].

(*q*) Viz. in the beginning of November 1727.

(31) See Letter xxviii. in Pope's Works, Vol. 9. edit. Warb.

(32) The Dean in anſwer is very merry upon his excuſe to the Queen, and obſerves that Oliver Cromwell did not begin to appear till he was older, Letter xxix.

(33) This Letter is dated, Oct. 6, 1727. See Ibid. Vol. 8.

(34) See his Verſes to Dr Delany, occaſioned by his Epiſtle to his Excellency, John Lord Carteret.

(35) See Notes to verſe 326 of Pope's Dunciad, book III.

(36) In the Intelligencer, ubi ſupra.

(37) Particularly by the preſent Archbiſhop of Canterbury then preacher at Lincoln's Inn.

(38) In his Apology for his own Life, p. 142, 3, 8vo. edit. 1740.

(39) This inſtance of his modeſty is not forgotten by the author of the abovecited note to the Dunciad.

(40) In condemning ſome of his former plays.

(41) In the Preface to Polly.

(42) In his Apology, &c. p. 144. ubi ſupra.

the advantage he made of it that way, might well be deemed a ſufficient ballance for any ſuppoſed damage from the prohibition; eſpecially as he was taken immediately into the protection of the Duke and Ducheſs of Queenſberry, who made his caſe their own (*r*), and uſed him with an uncommon degree of kindneſs. But theſe extraordinary favours, beſides the heartening reflections which the new eclat of his poetical fame muſt needs inſpire, aſſiſted too with the diverſions that were affectionately ſuggeſted by Mr Pope [*S*], and the conſtant leſſons with equal affection inculcated by Dr Swift [*T*], all put together, were not able intirely to remove a certain painful ſenſe of his ill fortune at Court, *hærebat lateri lethalis arundo.* In a little time he relapſed into his old diſtemper the cholic (*s*), after which he lived, or rather languiſhed the remainder of his days under an incurable dejection of ſpirits [*U*], reſiding moſtly at Ameſbury, a ſeat of his noble Patron's, near Stone-henge upon Saliſbury-plain. In ſo ſweet a retirement he was not without ſome chearful intervals, which he ſtill enjoyed in the company of his muſe (*t*). In the winter ſeaſons he came with the family to London, and was at their houſe in Burlington-gardens, when he was ſuddenly ſeized with a violent inflammatory fever, which in three days put a period to his life [*W*], on the 4th of December, 1732. After a very decent funeral ſolemnity [*X*] his body was interred on the 23d of that month, in the ſouth croſs-iſle over againſt Chaucer's tomb in Weſtminſter-Abbey, where a handſome monument is erected to his memory by the juſt-mentioned illuſtrious perſons, with an inſcription by Mr Pope, to which we muſt refer for his character [*Y*]. He died inteſtate,

ſo

(*r*) They both quitted the Court on this occaſion.

(*s*) See a letter to him from Mr Pope, 23 Oct. 1730.

(*t*) Beſides reviſing the Wife of Bath, he compoſed ſome more Fables, which were added to a new edition printed ſoon after his death, as alſo the Opera of Achilles.

'act of power. Some thought that the author, others that the town was hardly dealt with; a third ſort, who perhaps had envied him the ſucceſs of his firſt part, affirmed when it was printed, that whatever the intention might be, the fact was in his favour; that he had been a greater gainer by ſubſcriptions to his copy, than he could have been by a bare theatrical repreſentation.' He then goes on to tell us, how greatly he ſuffered by this ferment. 'Soon after this prohibition, my performance was to come upon the ſtage, at a time when many people were out of humour at the late diſappointment, and ſeemed willing to lay hold of any pretence of making a reprizal. Great umbrage was taken that I was permitted to have the whole Town to myſelf, by this abſolute forbiddance of what they had more mind to have been entertained with. And ſome few days before my bawble was acted, I was informed, that a ſtrong party would be made againſt it. Accordingly *Love in a Riddle* was aſſaſſinated. Indeed it held up its head a ſecond day, and would have ſpoke for mercy, but was not ſuffered.—Not even the preſence of a royal Heir apparent could protect it'

[*S*] *The diverſions ſuggeſted by Mr Pope.*] Among others, he propoſed the royal hermitage (built by the Queen in Richmond Gardens) as a good occaſion for Mr Gay to try his muſe upon; urging, that it was expected from him by ſeveral of his friends. One ſhould not bear in mind, continues he, all one's life, any little indignity one receives from a Court. But all this dear friend's arguments availed nothing; he anſwers them all, and concludes, that he *knew* himſelf unworthy of Royal Patronage (43).

[*T*] *The leſſons of Dr Swift.*] Almoſt every letter the Dean wrote to him at that time had ſome inſtance of theſe pointed kindneſſes. Lord Orrery (44), in his remarks on theſe letters between Swift and Gay, having obſerved, that the latter loved the former to a degree of veneration, and that the friendſhip was returned with great ſincerity, concludes, that 'Swift writes to him [Gay] in the ſame ſtrain as he would have written to a ſon, and ſeems to diſtinguiſh him as the correſpondent to whom he had not the leaſt grain of reſerve.'

[*U*] *He languiſhed under an incurable dejection of ſpirits.*] The whole ſeries of the letters between him and his two (ſo often mentioned) friends, affords a melancholy proof of this truth. The following extract (45) will be ſufficient to produce for a ſample. 'Dear Mr Pope, My melancholy increaſes, and every hour threatens me with ſome return of my diſtemper; nay, I think I may rather ſay, I have it on me. Not the divine looks, the kind favours and expreſſions of the divine Ducheſs, who hereafter ſhall be in place of a Queen to me, nay ſhe ſhall be my Queen, nor the inexpreſſible goodneſs of the Duke, can in the leaſt chear me. The drawing-room no more receives light from theſe two ſtars. There is now (what Milton ſays is in Hell) darkneſs viſible.—O that I had never known what a Court was! Dear Pope, what a barren ſoil (to me ſo) have I been ſtriving to produce ſomething out of! Why did I not take your advice, before my writing fables for the Duke, not to write them, or rather to write them for ſome young Nobleman? It is my very hard fate, I muſt get nothing, write for them, or againſt them.'

[*W*] *Put a period to his life.*] He was attended by two phyſicians, beſides Dr Arbuthnot, who thought him irrecoverable from the beginning, and that it ended in a mortification of his bowels. The Doctor obſerves, it was the moſt precipitate caſe he ever knew. Hence it is that Mr Pope (46) calls it an unexpected death; it could be ſo to him only in that view (47), ſince Mr Gay had prepared him for it in ſeveral letters. After a Somerſetſhire journey, in the preceding ſummer, for his health, he writes (48), that he was little better for it, and began to fear the illneſs he had ſo long and ſo often complained of, inherent in his conſtitution; and concludes, that he had nothing for it but patience. In another letter he expreſſes himſelf in the following terms:—'I find myſelf in ſuch a ſtrange confuſion, and depreſſion of ſpirits, that I have not ſtrength even to make my will; though I perceive, by many warnings, I have no continuing city here. I begin to look upon myſelf as one already dead, and deſire my dear Mr Pope, whom I love as my own ſoul, if you ſurvive me, as you certainly will, if a ſtone ſhould mark the place of my grave, ſee theſe words put upon it.

> '*Life is a jeſt, and all things ſhew it:*
> '*I thought ſo once, but now I know it.*

'With what you may think proper. If any body ſhould aſk, how I could communicate this after death? Let it be known, it is not meant ſo, but my preſent ſentiments in life (49). What the bearer brings beſide this letter, ſhould I die without a will, which I am the likelier to do, as the law will ſettle my ſmall eſtate much as I ſhould myſelf, let it remain with you, as it has long done with me, a remembrance of a dead friend. But there is none like you, living or dead (50).'

[*X*] *After a very decent funeral ſolemnity.*] His body was brought by the company of Upholders from the Duke of Queenſberry's, to Exeter 'Change in the Strand; whence, after lying in very decent ſtate, it was drawn in a hearſe trimmed with plumes of black and white feathers, attended with three mourning coaches and ſix horſes to Weſtminſter-Abbey, at eight o'clock in the evening, on Dec. 23. The pall was ſupported by the Earl of Cheſterfield, Lord Viſcount Cornbury, the Hon. Mr Berkeley, General Dormer, Mr Gore, and Mr Pope; the ſervice being performed by the preſent Dean, Dr Wilcox, Biſhop of Rocheſter, the Choir attending (51).

[*Y*] *His character.*] It would be tedious to inſert an inſcription ſo well known. We ſhall only take notice, that the laſt line in the poetical part was written at firſt thus, *Striking their aching boſoms—here lies Gay*; but upon Dr Swift's admonition of the cacophony in the two participles, Mr Pope altered it as it now

ſtands

(43) Theſe two Letters are dated in 1732. See Pope's Works, Vol. 9.

(44) In his Account of the Life and Writings of Dr Swift, &c. Letter xx.

(45) From a letter in Pope's Works, as above.

(46) In a Letter to Swift the 62d, Vol. 9. of his Works, edit. 1742.

(47) It was far from being ſo to Dr Swift, as appears from his remarkable indorſement to the above Letter, viz. On my dear friend Mr Gay's death, received Dec. 15, but not read till the 20th by an impulſe foreboding ſome misfortune.

(48) In a Letter dated Oct. 7, 1732.

(49) In this light the objection againſt the double rhyme has leſs weight.

(50) See Pope's Works, Vol. 9.

(51) See Mr Gay's Life printed in 1733.

ſo that his fortune, which was not large (u), fell (as he deſired it ſhould) (w) to his two widow ſiſters (x). The week before his death he gave the play-houſe his opera called *Achilles*, which was acted ſoon after with applauſe [Z]. Since this there came out a comedy, ſaid to be written by him, called *the Diſtreſſed Wife*, the ſecond edition of which was printed in 1750; and very lately his name has appeared to a humourous piece with this title, *The Rehearſal at Goatham.*

(u) About 3000 l.

(w) See Remark [*U*].

(x) Katharine and Joanna, the firſt was the relict of Mr Baller, and the other of Mr Forteſcue. See the dedication to his Life in 1733, 8vo.

ſtands (52). His friend's moral character is here finely drawn, and perhaps he was the more ſollicitous to exert himſelf on that head, as it had been groſly miſrepreſented, particularly by Mr Jacob (53), which procured him a place in the Dunciad (54).

[Z] *Achilles was acted with applauſe.*] The profits of it were given to his ſiſters (55). It was very aſſiduouſly patroniz'd by the Duke of Queenſberry, who, Mr Pope obſerves, acted more than the part of a brother to our author. His papers fell party into Mr Pope's hands; who, for as much as did ſo, no doubt took care (as he promiſed Dr Swift) to ſuppreſs things unworthy of him; but he expreſſes his concern in regard to the reſt, which were at the diſcretion of the adminiſtrators, whoſe partiality he was afraid of (56). Upon the whole, his account does by no means leſſen the authenticity of thoſe few pieces mentioned above, which have been publiſhed in Mr Gay's name, ſince his death. P

(52) See Letter, 66 in Vol. 9. of Pope's Works edit. 1742.

(53) See Mr Gay's Life in his Lives of the Poets.

(54) In Book III. lines 149, 150, firſt edition.

(55) So ſays Mr Theoph. Cibber in the Life of Gay, Vol. 4. of the Poets Lives.

(56) See Letter 64, in Vol. 9. of his Works 1742, as alſo Letters 65, and 67.

GELLIBRAND [Henry] a very able Mathematician, a learned Writer, and Aſtronomy Profeſſor in Greſham College in the XVIIth century. He was the grandſon of John Gellibrand, who reſided, and who died at St Paul's-Cray in Kent, Nov. 25. 1588. and the ſon of Mr Henry Gellibrand ſome time Fellow of All-Souls College in Oxford, who marrying and ſettling at the place before mentioned, died there Auguſt 15, 1615 (*a*). This Henry of whom we are treating, was the eldeſt of his five ſons, and a native of the City of London, being born in the Pariſh of St Botolph Alderſgate, Nov. 17, 1597 (*b*). The ſame year that his father died, he was admitted a Commoner of Trinity College in Oxford, being then in his eighteenth year. He took his degree of Bachelor of Arts Nov. 25, 1619, at which time, as Wood tells us in his blunt manner, he was eſteemed to have no great matter in him (*c*); but happening to hear one of Sir Henry Savile's Mathematical Lectures, either by pure accident, or to ſave the ſconce of a groat if he had been abſent, he was ſo much taken with it, that he applied himſelf immediately to that noble ſcience (*d*). This tho' treated as a wonder by Anthony Wood, is no more than what fell out to Des Chales, Paſchal, and other eminent mathematicians. Our author purſued this ſtudy with ſo much vigour, that before he took his degree of Maſter of Arts, which was May 26, 1623, he was diſtinguiſhed, and eſteemed for his great knowledge therein, both in the Univerſity, and at London. To the firſt perhaps his making a dial, which yet remains on the eaſt ſide of the old quadrangle of Trinity College might contribute, and the latter in a great meaſure aroſe from his intimate acquaintance with the celebrated Mr Henry Briggs, and other able mathematicians, who flouriſhed at that time (*e*). He was, while Bachelor of Arts, curate of Chidringſtone in Kent, but it is probable reſigned it that he might purſue his mathematical ſtudies with the greater freedom. Upon the death of the ingenious Mr Edmund Gunter, December 10, 1620. Mr Briggs encouraged our young mathematician to become a candidate for his Profeſſorſhip at Greſham College (*f*). Upon this occaſion he had a certificate from the Rector of that pariſh, in which he had officiated as curate, and from others of the Clergy in Kent, in reſpect to his learning and piety; and another from the Preſident, Vice-Preſident, and Fellows of Trinity College in Oxford, which is conceived in very ſtrong terms, and acknowledges not only his aſſiduity in his ſtudies, but his great frankneſs in the communication of knowledge, as alſo his diſintereſtedneſs in contenting himſelf with his own little patrimony, that the purſuit of preferment might prove no detriment to his ſtudies. In all probability theſe papers had great weight ſince within a few days after, viz. January 2, 1626, he was elected Aſtronomy Profeſſor (*g*). He lived from that time as he had done before in a cloſe intimacy with Mr Henry Briggs, who took great pleaſure in communicating to him his mathematical notions and diſcoveries, and at the time of his deceaſe he recommended to Mr Gellibrand the perfecting and publiſhing a large book, which he did not live to finiſh (*h*). Some time after this, one William Beale, who was Mr Gellibrand's ſervant, publiſhed, with his maſter's knowledge and conſent, an Almanack for the year 1631, in which the ſaints names uſually put were omitted, and the names of other ſaints and martyrs mentioned in Mr Fox's book were placed in their room, for which Mr Gellibrand was brought into ſome trouble (*i*) [*A*]. This might very probably retard the publication of the BRITISH TRIGONOMETRY, which as he had undertaken to perfect at the requeſt of Mr Briggs, ſo there wanted not ſeveral other eminent perſons who preſſed him very much upon the ſame head to whom he gave full ſatisfaction, by cauſing that work when compleat to be printed in Holland in 1633, which was received with very great applauſe (*k*) [*B*]. The ſame year there came abroad at the end of Mr

(*a*) Wood's Lives of the Greſham Profeſſors, p. 336.

(*b*) Wood's Hiſt. & Antiquit. Oxoniæ, lib. II. p. 296.

(*c*) Faſt. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 212. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 612.

(*d*) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 81.

(*e*) College certificate, dated Jan. 26, 1630.

(*f*) Ward's Lives of the Greſham Profeſſors, p. 336.

(*g*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 612. Ward's Lives of G. Profeſſors, p. 82.

(*h*) See the Article BRIGGS [HEN this Dictionary. Certificate of the Preſident, and Fellows of Trinity College, dated Jan. 26, 1630.

(*i*) Canterbury's Doom, p. 142.

(*k*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. c. 612.

[*A*] *Was brought into ſome trouble.* The perſon chiefly offended with this almanack, was Dr William Laud, then Biſhop of London, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and by his means, it is ſaid, that Mr Gellibrand, and his ſervant Beale, were called into the High-Commiſſion Court; where however they eſcaped cenſure, by ſhewing that this was no innovation of theirs, but had been done before, and pleading alſo, that they had no ill intention. After Mr Gellibrand's death, this was made part of the accuſation againſt Archbiſhop Laud, and Major Thomas Gellibrand was produced before the Houſe of Peers as a witneſs upon this Prelate's proſecution (1).

[*B*] *Which was received with great applauſe.*] The title of this work at large runs thus: Trigonometria Britannica, *ſive*, De doctrina triangulorum: Libri duo Quorum

(1) Prynn's Canterbury's Doom, p. 513.

Mr Thomas James's account of his voyage, for the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage, and wintering in Hudſon's Bay a ſhort diſcourſe of our author's concerning the longitude, which at that ſeaſon was very much admired, and which notwithſtanding the great improvements that have been ſince made, may be very juſtly ſtiled a curious and a uſeful piece, even now (*l*) [*C*]. It is commonly believed that our author made the diſcovery of the variation of the Magnetic Needle, and this upon the credit of a very great man, who has poſitively affirmed it, but in this, without doubt there is an error as will be ſhewn more largely in another place (*m*). In reſpect to this, however, thus much is true, that Mr Gellibrand was extreamly well acquainted with, and wrote a very learned book upon the ſubject, which has been and ever will be eſteemed by competent judges [*D*]. He wrote

Quorum prior continet conſtructionem canonis ſinuum, tangentium, & ſecantium, una cum logarithmis ſinuum & tangentium ad gradus & graduum centeſimas, & ad minuta & ſecunda centeſimis reſpondentia: a clariſſimo doctiſſimo integerrimoque viro domino *Henrico Briggio*, Geometriæ in celeberrima academia Oxonienſi profeſſore Saviliano digniſſimo, paulo ante inopinatam ipſius è terris emigrationem compoſitus. Poſterior vero uſum ſive applicationem canonis in reſolutione triangulorum tam planorum, quam ſphaericorum, è geometricis fundamentis petita, calculo facillimo eximiiſque compendiis exhibet ab *Henrico Gellibrand* Aſtronomiæ in collegio Greſhamenſi apud Londinenſes profeſſore conſtructus. Goudae 1633. fol. that is, ‘Britiſh Trigonometry, or the Doctrine of Triangles, in two Books; the firſt of which contains the conſtruction of the canon of ſines, tangents, and ſecants, together with the logarithms of ſines and tangents, &c. by that famous, learned, and worthy man, Mr *Henry Briggs*, late Savilian Profeſſor of Geoemetry in the celebrated univerſity of Oxford, compoſed by him a little before his unexpected death. The latter ſhewing the uſe or application of the canon in the reſolution of plain and ſpherical triangles upon the principles of Geometry, and by a ſhort and eaſy method of calculation, by Henry Gellibrand, Profeſſor of Aſtronomy in Greſham College, London. Printed at Gouda, 1633. folio.’ Mr John Newton, in the year 1658, publiſhed a work of the like import, and under the ſame title; the firſt part of which, analogous to that of Mr Briggs, was his own; but the ſecond a tranſlation of our author's work into Engliſh (2).

[*C*] *A curious and a uſeful piece, even now.*] The title of this little piece is, *An* Appendix *concerning* Longitude, Lond. 1633. 4to, in three leaves. The beginning of this treatiſe is at once ſo weighty, and ſo perſpicuous, and repreſents ſome points of uſeful knowledge in ſo clear, and at the ſame time in ſo conciſe a manner, that the reader cannot but be pleaſed to peruſe it.

‘Latitude and longitude are two primary affections of the earth; by the help of theſe two doth the Geographer ſtrive to repreſent the parts of the earth, that they may keep ſymmetry and harmony with the whole. Latitude then is an arch of the meridian comprehended between the equator and a parallel; but longitude is an arch of the equator, intercepted by the prime meridian, and the meridian of a place, the difference of longitude being the difference of two meridians. The meaſure of the former is the meridian, the equator of this latter. For the exact ſettling of latitudes, we have many and abſolute helps; ſo that the error, if there any happen, ought to be imputed to the imperfect handling of the artiſt. But the longitude of a meridian, is that which hath, and ſtill wearieth the greateſt maſters of Geography. Nevertheleſs, hath not the wiſe Creator left man unfurniſhed of many excellent helps to attain his deſire: for beſides eclipſes, eſpecially of the moon (whoſe leiſure we muſt often wait, and perhaps go without, if the Heavens be not propitious to us) we have the concourſe of quick-paced inferior planets, with ſuperior ſlow ones, or their appulſes with ſome fixed ſtar of known place, or elſe ſome other artifice derived from their motions and poſitions. As for the magnetical needle, to argue a longitude from its variation, is altogether without ground; and though well-furniſhed ſeamen are able by their dead reckonings, as they term them, to determine the difference of meridians ſomewhat near, yet by reaſon of the unknown quantity of a degree in a given meaſure, which is the rule of the ſhip's way, varieties of adverſe winds, different ſets of tides, and other involved incumbrances, they come often wide of the mark they aim at. The beſt way yet known to the world, is that which is deduced from the celeſtial appearances, which being performed by judicious artiſts, may in a ſhort time rectify our geographical and hydrographical charts hitherto in moſt places foully diſtorted. It is my intent here to give an inſtance from two ſeveral obſervations drawn from the celeſtial bodies, by the author of this diſcourſe, in his diſcovery for the north-weſt at the bottom of the Bay, being his wintering-place, and called by the name of Charlton, which for judgment, circumſpection, and exactneſs, may compare with moſt: the firſt, from the eclipſe of the moon; the ſecond, from the moon's meridian of Heaven, or her coming to the plane of his meridian of Charlton.’ This eclipſe happened Oct. 9. 1631. and it ſo fell out, that Mr Gellibrand himſelf obſerved the eclipſe at the ſame time at Greſham College, from whence he determines the longitude of Charlton to be weſt from London 79 deg. 30 min. by the ſecond method he determined it to be one degree leſs, and to ſhew that this was no very conſiderable error, as things then ſtood, he gives an inſtance of much greater variations with reſpect to Rome and Nurembergh, and this from the obſervations of the beſt Aſtronomers Europe had produced. Regimontanus making this difference 36, Werner 32, Appian 34, Meſtlin and Origan 33, Stofler 18, Maginus 26, Schoner 12, Mercator and Hondius as much, Stadius 13, Janſonius 10, Longomontanus 16, Lanſperg 10, Kepler by two obſervations on two lunar eclipſes, but 4 minutes of time. The reader muſt obſerve, that every four minutes of time makes a whole degree in longitude; ſo that the difference between the firſt and laſt of theſe computations, is no leſs than eight whole degrees, which will afford a competent judge of theſe things, matter of great ſpeculation. Some and even great errors, without doubt, there muſt be in ſeveral of theſe operations; but that they did not wholly proceed from ſuch inaccuracies, there is good ground to ſuſpect. At the end of ſome copies of Captain James's voyage, there is another diſcourſe after this of Mr Gellibrand's, with this ſingular addreſs, *To the venerable* artiſts, *and younger* ſtudents *in* Divinity *in the famous univerſity of* Cambridge; ſubſcribed X. Z. but ſaid to be written by Mr W. W. Whoever was the author, it is a very curious piece, and may be reckoned among the firſt apologies in our language, for the free exerciſe of thought in Philoſophy, and on this account has been very properly reprinted in a late Collection of Voyages and Travels, to which we ſhall refer the reader for its contents (3).

[*D*] *And ever will be eſteemed by competent judges.*] The title of this curious and moſt conſidered of all Mr Gellibrand's works, runs thus: *A Diſcourſe* mathematical *on the* Variation *of the* magnetic Needle. *Together with the admirable diminution lately diſcovered.* London, 1635. 4to.

At the opening of his work, our author declares his chief intention to be the treating of the deflection of the needle from the terreſtrial meridian, together with that abſtruſe and admirable variation of the variation lately diſcovered to the world. The variation then, is the deflection of the magnetical meridian, from the terreſtrial, the horizon determining its quantity and quality. Theſe meridians ſometimes are coincident, and in ſuch caſes there can be no variation. Sometimes again, they are different; and then, that hemiſphere wherein either extremity of the needle lies, denominates its quality; for if it be the eaſtern hemiſphere, it

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(*l*) Appendix to Thomas James's Voyage for Diſcovery of the N. Weſt-Paſſage, &c. Lond. 1633. 4to.

(*m*) See the Article of GUNTER [EDMOND] in this Dictionary.

(2) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 632.

(3) Harris's Voyages, Lond. 1748. Vol. II. p. 435.

wrote beſides theſe ſeveral other treatiſes in his own profeſſion, which were publiſhed ſome before and ſome after his death; which added to the great reputation that he had before obtained, and raiſed very high expectations of what he might perform in the courſe of his ſtudies; and others of his labours, there are yet remaining in manuſcript, which are no way inferior either in merit or importance to thoſe which are publiſhed (*n*), and which taken together

(*n*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 613. Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 32, 83.

it is called eaſterly variation; if the weſtern, weſterly. And the horizon, ſuppoſed (as all great circles are) to be divided into 360 parts, and each part ſubdivided into centeſms, or milleſms, defines the quantity, as 10, 20, 30, &c. parts of variation He then remarks, that for the more diſtinct proceeding, and to give ſome ſatisfaction to thoſe who are not altogether mathematical, it will not be impertinent to the preſent purpoſe, to give ſome probable reaſon for this variation, or ſwerving of the needle from the meridians of moſt places. Take a vigorous magnet, convert it into a ſpherical body, and having found its poles, delineate the ſame with meridians, æquinoctials, and parallels, then take a fine ſewing needle, and applying it to the interſection of a meridian and the equinoctial, it will be found preciſely to point out the poles of the ſtone; and if the needle be moved towards either pole, according to its own direction, it will trace out a circle over the ſaid magnetic pole. But if this ſpherical magnet ſhall have a part of it excavated, as admit about the forty-fifth parallel, and forty-fifth meridian, or degree of longitude, the needle moved forwards from the aforeſaid interſection, as ſoon as it ſhall draw near to the limb of this excavation, will forthwith leave its former poſition, as lying in the plane of the prime meridian, and incline to the other ſolid ſide, not reſpecting at all the aforeſaid poles; and this deflection we call the variation of the needle. And the greater will this variation be, the nearer it approaches to the poles. For whereas before the excavation, each ſide being alike potent, the needle, like an upright and indifferent arbiter, inclined to neither part; after the excavation it will convert itſelf to the more ſolid ſide, rejecting the imperfect and defective, and ſo much the more powerfully, by how much the other ſide ſhall be found to have loſt more of its magnetic vigorous ſubſtance. The like will fall out if the needle be ſo placed as that it ſhall biſect the excavated part; for then it will accurately point out the true poles of the ſtone formerly found, but ſuddenly ſwerve from them after any little diſlocation, ſtrongly applying itſelf to the more ſolid one. As it is with this little, ſo likewiſe with the greater magnet of the earth, whoſe ſolid magnetic parts are great continents; the defective excavated, the deep and vaſt channel of the ſea. For if there were obſervations made in the mid-way between the eaſterly coaſt of China, and this weſtern of Europe, it is very probable there would be found no variation at all, the terreſtrial and magnetical meridians being congrual. But if we ſhall incline to either ſide, as admit to the weſtward, the needle will in like manner move itſelf to the eaſtern continent, as the more prevalent ſide, the channel of the ſea being a part deficient of the ſpherical body of the earth, and the needle finding no encouragement to apply itſelf thereto. And ſo likewiſe for the ocean, which palliates the imperfect parts of the earth; it is evident, that if the needle ſhall equally divide the marine diſtance between two continents, there will be found no variation, as having both the meridians united, the needle equally diſpoſing itſelf to either continent. But if we ſhall ſwerve from this mediety, it will preponderate with the next continent. Our author obſerves, that with reſpect to the variation of the needle, it was a maxim laid down by our learned countryman Dr Gilbert, *that in the ſame place the variation is always the ſame* This Mr Gellibrand adds, was an aſſertion, that for any thing he ever heard, had never been queſtioned; but notwithſtanding this, magnetical experiments ſhewed that the variation is accompanied with a variation. This he proves by obſervations made by Mr Burrows, at Limehouſe, near London, in 1580. who found the variation there to be 11 deg. 15 min. or near one point of the compaſs: whereas in 1622 Mr Gunter, Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Greſham College, found the variation in the ſame place to be but 6 deg. 13 min. and our author, in 1634. with ſome friends, had recourſe to Deptford, where Mr Gunter had before made the ſame obſervations with thoſe at Limehouſe, and found it not much to exceed 4 deg. It is evident enough from hence, that this variation of the variation was firſt obſerved at leaſt in England, by Mr Gunter; and from the beſt accounts we have hitherto had, was not obſerved ſo early any where elſe. At the cloſe of his treatiſe our author, who was very far from being a poſitive or an aſſuming man, proceeds thus (4). 'I will not here enter into a diſpute concerning the cauſe of this ſenſible diminution, whether it may be imputed to the magnet, or the earth, or both. It is not unknown to the world, how the greateſt maſters of Aſtronomy which this age hath afforded, for the more eaſy ſolving the apparent anomalar motions of the fixed and erratique celeſtial lights, and avoiding that ſupervacaneous furniture of the Ancients, do with all alacrity embrace that admirable Copernican hypotheſis of the diurnal, annual, and ſecular motions of the earth; inſomuch as conferring with that great aſtronomer D. Phil. Lanſberg, in Zealand, about aſtronomical matters, he did moſt ſeriouſly affirm unto me, he ſhould never be diſſuaded from that truth. This, which he was pleaſed to ſtile a truth, I ſhould readily receive as an hypotheſis, and ſo be eaſily led on to the conſideration of the imbecility of man's apprehenſion, as not able rightly to conceive of this admirable opifice of God, or frame of the world, without falling foul on ſo great an abſurdity. Yet ſure I am, it is a probable inducement to ſhake a wavering underſtanding. And, which adds ſomewhat more, I underſtand by Galilæus, a Florentine, and moſt acute and learned mathematician, that an Italian gentleman, of the family of the Marſilii, hath lately found the mutation of the terreſtrial meridians, and penned a treatiſe thereof, not yet publiſhed, which the ſaid Galilæus hath ſeen and read con ſtupore, not without amazement. His words are theſe: Surge di preſente una quinta novita, &c. which in Engliſh runs thus: Now there ariſeth a fifth novelty; from which we may argue the mobility of the terreſtrial globe, by the means of that which moſt ſubtilly the moſt illuſtrious gentleman, Sign. r Cæſar, of the moſt noble family of the Marſilii of Bologna, a Lyncean academic, alſo hath diſcovered, who in a moſt learned tract plainly ſheweth, how he hath obſerved a continual mutation, although very ſlow, in the meridian line; which diſcourſe, which with wonder I lately ſaw, I hope he will impart to all thoſe who are ſtudious of the wonders of nature. Surely if it be ſo, the due conſideration of the premiſes doth, as I conceive, lay open a fair way for the ſolving of that irregular motion imputed to the axis of the earth; I mean the alterable obliquity of the ecliptic, which to deny (as ſome yet do, not without great violence offered to the Antients) I ſhall hardly, without very ſtrong arguments, be perſuaded. I pretermit likewiſe, a ſuppoſition which might be made of the correſpondent motion of the pole of the magnet, with thoſe of ſome of the planets, and divers other conceits, which muſt be all left to future times to diſcover, this invention being but newly preſented to the world in its infancy.' It may perhaps afford the reader ſome ſatisfaction, if we add, that in 1657 there was no variation at all at London, and that in 1747. the variation being obſerved by the accurate Mr George Graham, at his houſe in Fleet-ſtreet, it was found 17 deg. 40 min. weſt (5). We will take the liberty of making a ſmall addition to theſe obſervations, which is, that there is a variation even in this ſecond variation, which is ſlower when it firſt recedes from its due direction, and quicker as the deflection increaſes. If any eſtabliſhed learned ſociety would direct very exact obſervations to be made of the magnetic variation every month for a courſe of years, and if two ſuch aſſemblies, in places at a conſiderable diſtance, would concur in obſerving punctually all lunar eclipſes, and would communicate the reſult of theſe obſervations conſtantly, we ſhould in a few years learn more of this matter, than hitherto we have done in above a century and a quarter.

(4) Diſcourſe Mathematical on the Variation, &c. p. 39.

(5) Philoſophical Tranſactions, 1749, 4to, p. 279.

[*E*] *Should*

together, fully ſhew that his diligence and application were equal to his ſagacity and penetration, and that he did great honour to the learned foundation to which he belonged; and fully anſwered the hopes that were entertained of him, when his friends at the Univerſity recommended him thither, as one that had a great genius for mathematical learning, and was willing that the world ſhould be the better for it [*E*]. His ſituation at the college, free converſe with the lovers of mathematical ſtudies, and diligent enquiries, gave him an opportunity of contributing much to the improvement of navigation, which probably would have owed more to him, had he lived longer. But he was taken off yet earlier in life than his predeceſſor Mr Gunter, for he died on the ninth of February 1636, in the fortieth year of his age, and was buried likewiſe in the church of St Peter the Poor, without any tomb or inſcription to his memory (*o*). Dr Hannibal Potter, formerly his tutor in Trinity College, and afterwards Preſident of it, preached his funeral ſermon, in which he commended his piety and worth (*p*). It will not be amiſs to add here concerning this learned man Dr Hannibal Potter, that he was ejected from his office of Preſident of Trinity-Hall by the parliament, in which he was ſucceeded firſt by Robert Harris Bachelor in Divinity, next by William Hawes Maſter of Arts, then by Dr Seth Ward ſucceſſively Biſhop of Exeter and Saliſbury, but ſurviving to 1660, he was reſtored to his juſt rights, and remained Preſident to his death, after which his corps was interred in the chapel belonging to that learned foundation (*q*). He had himſelf a mathematical diſpoſition, and his brother the Reverend Mr Francis Potter ſet up the dial on the north ſide of the old quadrangle by which he is ſtill remembered (*r*).

(*o*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. II. p. 296.

(*p*) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 83.

(*q*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. II. p. 295.

(*r*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 632.

[*E*] *Should be the better for it.*] The titles of ſuch works of our author as have been publiſhed ſhall follow.

A Preface to the Sciographia *of* John Wells, *of* Brembridge, *in* Hampſhire, Eſq; Lond. 1635. 8vo.

An Inſtitution trigonometrical, *explaining the doctrine of the dimenſions of* plain and ſpherical triangles, *after the moſt exact and compendious way, by tables of* ſines, tangents, ſecants, *and* logarithms; *with the application thereof to queſtions of Aſtronomy and Navigation.* Lond. 8vo. After the deceaſe of the author, this book, having been corrected and enlarged by William Leybourn, was re-printed at London in 1652. 8vo.

An Epitome *of* Navigation; to which were added,
Several neceſſary tables pertaining to Navigation: as, a triangular canon logarithmical, or a table of artificial ſines and tangents, &c. Two chiliads, or the logarithms of abſolute numbers, from an unite to 2000. An appendix concerning the uſe of the fore-ſtaff, quadrant, and nocturnal, in Navigation. Lond. 1674. 8vo.

Oratio in laudem Gaſſendi *aſtronomiæ habita in aula Aedis Chriſti Oxon.* that is, 'An Oration in praiſe of 'the Aſtronomy of Gaſſendus, ſpoken in the hall of 'Chriſt-Church in Oxford.' At what time this was ſpoken does not appear, but in all probability it was before he left the Univerſity.

Beſides theſe, he wrote alſo ſome other pieces, which have not yet ſeen the light; as

At the end of his *Trigonometria Britannica* he ſays, that he had by him *Integram eclipſium doctrinam*, or the doctrine of eclipſes, which he deſigned to have added to that treatiſe; but that the printer could not wait till he had reviſed and fitted it for the preſs.

'Aſtronomia lunaris *ſive* Diatriba in appulſum lunae 'ad lucidam Pleiadum per triangulorum ratiocinia è ta'bulis ac hypotheſibus *Ptolemaei*, *Alphonſi*, *Copernici*, '*Tychonis*, *Longomontani*, *& Lanſbergii*.' That is, Lunary Aſtronomy, or a diſcourſe upon the appulſe of the moon to the bright ſtar (which is the third) in the conſtellation of the Pleiades, according to the hypotheſes of the moſt eminent aſtronomers. In the beginning of this work, he mentions the day on which the obſervation was taken that gave riſe to this diſcourſe, which was Dec. 20. 1634. at St Paul's Cray, in Kent. This little piece, fairly written in his own hand, is now in the poſſeſſion of Sir Hans Sloane, Bart. A. Wood mentions likewiſe a treatiſe of *Building of ſhips*, left by him in MS. which after his death came into the hands of Edward Lord Conway. E

GILBERT [Sir HUMPHREY], a gentleman equally diſtinguiſhed by his great abilities, and heroic courage, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He deſcended from a very ancient and honourable family in the county of Devon, as the induſtrious and very learned collectors of that Shire unanimouſly agree (*a*) [*A*]. His father's name was Otho Gilbert of Greenway, Eſq; his mother Katherine daughter of Sir Philip Champernon of Modbury, in the ſame county, who afterwards married Walter Ralegh of Fardel, Eſq; and by him was mother to the famous Sir Walter Ralegh, who was no leſs allied to him by

(*a*) Collection of Arms, &c. of the ancient families in Devonſhire, by Sir J. Northcote, Bart. MS. Mr Weſtcot's Pedigrees of families in the County of Devon, MS. Sir William Pole's Deſcription of Devonſhire.

[*A*] *Unanimouſly agree.*] If we may rely upon the authority of Mr Thomas Weſtcot, who ſpent many years in ſearching into the deſcents of the moſt antient families in this county, we muſt believe that this houſe, of which we are now ſpeaking, was fixed here in the time of the Saxons; for his words are expreſs, *that* Gilbert *poſſeſſed lands in* Manaton, *in or near* Dartmoor, *in* Edward *the Confeſſor's days* (1). The moſt ſkilful genealogiſts however, have not been able to trace up this pedigree near ſo high; in excuſe of which however it is ſaid, that it was very differently ſpelt, which very much increaſes thoſe difficulties that commonly attend on ſuch enquiries (2). It is agreed, that Jilbert, Jerebert, and Giſlebert, are all the ſame name with Gilbert (3). The old family ſeat was at Greenway, near Brixam, ſtanding very pleaſantly on the eaſt ſide of the river Dart, upon a riſing ground about a mile from Dartmouth, and had a large quantity of lands with a Royalty belonging to it (4). Thomas Gilbert, of Greenway, had a ſon Jeffery, who marrying Joan, daughter and coheireſs of William Compton, of Compton, near Torbay, in the ſame county, brought that eſtate into the family, in the reign of King Edward II (5). From him deſcended Otis or Otho Gilbert, who in the 15th of Edward IV. was High-Sheriff of this county, and who was afterwards knighted (6). There were alſo many other eminent men of this family, which have intermarried with ſome of the moſt honourable houſes in the weſt of England; ſuch as Champernon, Croker, Hill, Chudleigh, Ager, Molineux, Pomeroy, &c. and have yielded matches to others; in particular to the noble family of the Granvils, from whom deſcended the Earls of Bath, and the preſent Earl of Granvile (7). They have married alſo divers daughters and heireſſes, as Compton, Champernon, Valetort (whereby they touch the Blood Royal) Reynward, Trenoch, Littleton, alias Weſtcot, Kelly, and others (8). We may therefore juſtly affirm, that this of which we are ſpeaking was ſcarce inferior to any gentleman's family in England (9).

(1) Weſtcot's Diſc. of Devonſhire in Manaton, MS. in Bibl. Harl.

(2) Fuller's Worthies, Devon. p. 260.

(3) Sir John Northcot's Collections of Arms, Seals, &c. MS.

(4) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 326.

(5) Sir William Pole's Deſcrip. of Devon. in Compton. MS.

(6) Ex Tranſcript. Evident. Dom. Barn. Granville. Fuller's Worthies, p. 270.

(7) Ex Evident. prædict.

(8) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 326.

(9) Weſtcot's View of Devonſhire, in Compton, MS.

by genius than by blood [*B*]. The gentleman of whom we are now writing is thought to have been born Anno Domini 1539, and, tho' a ſecond ſon, derived from his father, who had a good eſtate, and was a good oeconomiſt, a very conſiderable fortune. But it was principally to his mother's care, that he owed that excellent education, firſt at Eton, and next at Oxford, which enabled him to make the figure he did in the world, and to diſtinguiſh himſelf in an age ſo fruitful of great men (*b*). His genius naturally led him to the ſtudies of Coſmography, Navigation, and the art of war, which he improved by a diligent application, as well as by continual practice, for after a ſhort ſtay at Court, where he was introduced to the Queen's knowledge by his aunt (*c*), he expoſed himſelf early in the ſervice of his country, and acquired a great reputation from his actions, before any of his great projects reached the public ear (*d*) [*C*]. The firſt place in which notice was taken of his ripe judgment, as well as daring courage, was in the expedition to Newhaven Anno Dom. 1563, where he behaved with ſo much prudence, and his attempts were attended with ſo great ſucceſs, that tho' then but a young man he was much admired, and his prudence and modeſty raiſed high expectations in all who knew him (*e*). In ſeveral expeditions undertaken in thoſe troubleſome times he added to his fortune, as well as to his fame, and being at all times ready, both in diſcourſe and with his pen, to render a reaſon for his own conduct, and to apologize for others, he came to be very juſtly conſidered by ſome of the moſt eminent perſons in the court of Queen Elizabeth, as one capable of rendering his country great ſervice, particularly in Ireland, where men of true abilities, were at that juncture much wanted (*f*). Their conceptions concurring with Mr Gilbert's views, and with that ambition of making himſelf known by great atchievements, which was the ruling paſſion of his mind, he accepted the advantageous offers that were made him, and paſſing over into that iſland, arrived by merit at the honourable poſt of commander in chief and governor of the province of Munſter, where in Anno Dom. 1569, he performed great things with a handful of men, and became more dreaded by the Iriſh, than any Engliſhman employed in that ſervice (*g*) [*D*]. In an action at Kilkenny,

(*b*) See the dedication of Mr Hooker's diſcourſe of a Comet, addreſſed to Sir John Gilbert. Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh.

(*c*) Supply of Iriſh Chronicles, by Hooker, p. 132.

(*d*) Fuller's Worthies, in Devon. p 260. Supply of Iriſh Chronicles, by Hooker, p. 132.

(*e*) Stowe's Annals, p. 812.

(*f*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 626.

(*g*) Stowe's Annals, p. 812.

[*B*] *By genius than by blood.*] It is very remarkable that the lady mentioned in the text, Mrs Katherine Champernon, had by two huſbands five ſons all of whom were made Knights, in a reign when that honour was as ſparingly beſtowed, as it has been laviſhly conferred in others (10). As for Sir Carew and Sir Walter Raleigh, our author's half-brothers, they will be mentioned in another part of this Work, and therefore we ſhall ſpeak in this note of thoſe only that were of the whole blood. His elder brother, Sir John Gilbert, received that honour from Queen Elizabeth, in 1570 (11), and was Sheriff of Devonſhire four years, and afterwards (12) he is alſo ſaid to have been Cuſtos Rotulorum of the county, and a man of ſuch conſummate prudence, that ſcarce any thing in thoſe parts was done without conſulting him (13). He was likewiſe diſtinguiſhed for his charity and beneficence to the poor, which gained him univerſal reputation. He married the daughter of Sir Richard Chudleigh, of Aſhton, by whom he had no iſſue, and lies buried with her in the cathedral church of St Peter, in the city of Exeter (14). The younger brother of our hero was Sir Adrian Gilbert, who was alſo a perſon of great worth and learning. He it was that a litle after his brother, Sir Humphry Gilbert's death, took out a patent for a diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage; under which the famous John Davis was ſent to diſcover and actually did diſcover the ſtreights that bear his name (15). He alſo recovered the ſilver mines at Combe-Martin in Devonſhire, which were afterwards wrought with more credit than profit by Sir Bevois Bulmer (16). We might mention other marks of this gentleman's great learning and public ſpirit, but theſe are ſufficient for our purpoſe, and will abundantly account to the reader for that general ſupport which Sir Humphry Gilbert's projects met with, whether ſucceſsful or not, and even after his death; for not only his family, but his friends, ſupported his very laſt project, in which he periſhed (17); and whether they were gainers by it or not, this is very certain, that the nation has drawn a perpetual benefit ever ſince from the diſcoveries made by him, and proſecuted by thoſe who aſſiſted him.

[*C*] *Reached the public ear.*] His father, Mr Otho Gilbert, died when this ſon of his was very young, but had ſo great expectations from the extraordinary ſpirit and quickneſs which he diſcovered even while a child, that he made a good proviſion for him, and particularly deſired that the utmoſt care might be taken of his education. It is very ſingular, that though he was ſo much admired and diſtinguiſhed for his writings, there is no mention at all made of him by Anthony Wood. When he came from the univerſity, there was, it ſeems, an intention of ſending him to the inns of court, which was in that age (and a good cuſtom it was) the uſual method of finiſhing a gentleman's education; but his aunt, Mrs Katherine Aſhley, who waited upon Queen Elizabeth, was ſo extremely pleaſed with her nephew, and had ſo good an opinion of his parts, that inſtead of ſuffering him to be made acquainted with the Laws, ſhe would needs introduce him at Court; and there he was for ſome time not only in the Queen's ſervice, but in her favour, who would often confer with him in matters of learning, and in all probability about his favourite ſtudies of Coſmography and Navigation (18), which could not but be favourable to his fortunes in the ſucceeding part of his life, and entitle him to ſuch marks of his Sovereign's favour, as even his great merit would ſcarce have procured, if he not been ſo early brought into her majeſty's family. This produced in the breaſt of our hero ſo true an affection, and ſo warm a loyalty to his Sovereign, that there is ſcarce an action of his life that has eſcaped oblivion, which is not tinctured therewith. In 1571, when he ſerved in Parliament as Burgeſs for Plymouth, he drew upon himſelf very ill treatment from one Mr Wentworth, for the pains he took to moderate that licentiouſneſs of ſpeech, which he conceived might become as dangerous to the liberties of the ſubject, as offenſive to the Queen's prerogative (19). He was not however ſo much a courtier, as either to deſire to paſs his days in eaſe and pleaſure, or to dream of arriving at great things, but by patience and perſeverance in a road beſet with perils, as clearly appears by the choice he made of a device (20), as the cuſtom of thoſe times was, and which very probably he did when he was a young man, and juſt entering into the world, viz. *Mars* and *Mercury* joined by a *croſs*, with this motto, *Quid non? i. e.* What not? intimating, that almoſt any thing may be atchieved, if to ſtrength and wit there is added patience.

[*D*] *Than any Engliſhman employed in that ſervice.*] The reputation our young ſoldier had acquired under the command of Ambroſe Earl of Warwick, raiſed him ſo high in the general eſteem of the Court, that he ſeems to have gone to Ireland with no ordinary circumſtances of favour and confidence, as may be collected from the letters of Sir Henry Sidney, then Lord Deputy, both before and after his arrival (21); by whom he was immediately made a Captain upon that eſtabliſhment; a command of greater weight, and conſequently of more honour, than it is now: and he was farther,

(10) Riſdon, Fuller, Prince, &c.

(11) Sir William Pole's Deſcription of Devon. MS.

(12) Fuller's Worthies, Devon. p. 274.

(13) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 327.

(14) Izacke's remarkable Antiquities of Exeter.

(15) Hakluyt's Voyages, tom. III. p. 96, 98.

(16) Fuller's Worthies, Devon. p. 245. Prince's Introduction, p. 2, 3.

(17) See Sir George Peckham's treatiſe of Weſtern Planting.

(18) Hooker's Supply of Iriſh Chronicles, p. 132.

(19) D'Ewe's Journal of Parliaments, p. 175.

(20) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 328.

(21) Sydney's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 28, 36, 38.

Kilkenny, under the command of Sir Peter Carew, Captain Gilbert, and Captain Davels, with only ten private men, had the courage to begin the charge, by which they opened a path to a glorious victory, which ſtruck the Iriſh with amazement (h). His march directly to Limerick, and the conſternation which appeared in the people thereupon, induced the proud Earl of Glencar or Glencarty to offer his ſubmiſſion, and this being accepted, he and Mac Donnogh came to the governor, and acknowledged their offences upon their knees. Having thus reſtored the quiet of the province, his next care was to provide for its continuance, which with great ſpirit and vigilance he performed, putting proper garriſons into all the ſtrong places that were requiſite to keep the rebellious natives in awe, and proper magiſtrates into the towns, that ſtrict juſtice might be done to thoſe who remained in their duty (i). When he had ſettled all in the beſt order poſſible, he went to make a report of what he had done to the Lord Deputy Sir Henry Sydney, who to ſhew his approbation of his ſervices, conferred on him the honour of Knighthood at Drogheda on New-year's-day 1569-70, and ſoon after granted him licence to repair to England, where his private affairs at that time required his preſence (k). His ſucceſſor in his government was Sir John Perrot, who had the title given him of Lord Preſident of Munſter, and who in thoſe days was generally believed to be the Queen's natural brother. It was not long after his return to England, that he married a young lady, who was an heireſs, which added conſiderably to his fortune, but abated nothing of his public ſpirit, for in 1572 he ſailed with a ſquadron of nine ſhips to Flanders, with a reinforcement for Colonel Thomas Morgan, who at that time meditated the recovery of the port of Fluſhing (l). How long he continued there does not appear, but upon his return to England he ſeems to have reſumed his ſtudies with freſh vigour, and to have formed a deſign of adding to the glory of his Queen and Country by ſome generous and uſeful undertaking, worthy of that great reputation which he had already obtained, as well for extenſive learning as undaunted courage (m). The firſt public diſcovery he made, both of his mathematical knowledge, and of his patriot intentions, was in his diſcourſe to prove that there is a north-weſt paſſage to the Eaſt Indies, which was firſt printed in the year 1576, tho' in all probability it was written ſome time before (n). It is a very plain, methodical, and judicious piece [*E*], at the cloſe of which there is an account of another treatiſe of

(h) Supply of Iriſh Chronicles, by Hooker, p. 132.

(i) Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, part i. p. 335.

(k) Supply of Iriſh Chronicles, by Hooker, p. 132.

(l) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 264.

(m) Supply of Iriſh Chronicles, by Hooker, p. 132.

(n) This treatiſe is ſtill preſerved in Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 11.

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farther, by that noble perſon's intereſt, choſen a member of that Parliament, which ſat in 1568 (22). But, in order to give the reader a more diſtinct idea of theſe tranſactions, it will be requiſite to acquaint him with the nature of that rebellion, in the ſuppreſſion of which our hero was employed. Whilſt the Lord Deputy and the Parliament were endeavouring the proſperity and peace of Ireland, by enacting good and wholſome laws, others were as buſy to put all into diſorder and confuſion; for ſome of the looſer ſort of the Iriſh Lords were diſtaſted to that degree at the loſs of their Captainries, and Iriſh extortions, as alſo at the impoſt on wine, that they reſolved by force to procure the repeal of thoſe laws, or at leaſt prevent the execution of them, and ſo making religion their pretence, they confederated together (23). James Fitzmorris was the ringleader of all this miſchief; he added to the general grievances, the particular injuries done to his own family by the impriſonment of the Earl of Deſmond, and his brother, Sir John; and he inveigled the Earl of Glencarty, by telling him that the Queen was to be married to the Earl of Leiceſter, and that thereupon the Lord Deputy, who married that Earl's ſiſter, was to be King of Ireland; and when the Earl of Glencarty was once engaged, Mac Donnogh, and many more of the Cartyes, came in of courſe; and Fitzgerald, Seneſchal of Imokilly, was as forward in this rebellion as any of them; and although Sir Edmund Butler, who was Seneſchal to his brother, the Earl of Ormond, and conſequently hated all the family of Deſmond, and had formerly ſerved againſt James Fitzmorris, yet, becauſe he did not dare to appear before commiſſioners ſent by the Lord Deputy to Kilkenny, to examine and redreſs the grievous complaints made againſt him, and partly thro' zeal for the Catholic Cauſe, and fondneſs of the Iriſh uſurpations, he joined with the reſt of the rebels (24). The confederates being reſolved to make ſomething conſiderable for their own benefit of this rebellion, if it were poſſible, ſent the titular Biſhops of Caſhel and Emly, and the youngeſt brother of the Earl of Deſmond, as their Ambaſſadors to the Pope and the King of Spain, to implore aid and aſſiſtance to reſcue their religion and country from the tyranny and oppreſſion of Queen Elizabeth (25). It was for the ſuppreſſing this rebellion, that Mr Gilbert was raiſed to the rank of Colonel, which ſeems to have been in thoſe days a title of ſupreme command; for his forces conſiſted of 100 horſe, 400 regular foot, and a certain number of that kind of Iriſh militia diſtinguiſhed by the name of Kerns (26). When he was ſent over to the aſſiſtance of the Dutch he had the ſame title, and is reported to have been the firſt Engliſhman that bore it in that ſervice, where he was inſtrumental in ſettling the new diſcipline, as is evident from the following letter of Mr Camden's, to Sir Edward Cecil, afterwards Lord Viſcount Wimbleton (27). 'The propoſition you make is out of the reach of my profeſſion, and not of antiquity, but of late memory. By reaſon of Sir Robert Cotton's abſence, I can impart nothing from him as yet, and for my own obſervation, it is very ſlender. Only I remember, that after Captain Morgan in the year 1572, had firſt carried to Fluſhing 300 Engliſh, and had procured Sir Humphry Gilbert to bring over more, and to be Colonel of the Engliſh there, a new military diſcipline was ſhortly after brought in, and the new march, by ſome that had ſerved the Duke of Alva, and entertained eſpecially by the important inſtance of Sir Roger Williams, although ſtrong oppoſition was then made againſt it by Captain Pykeman, and after by Captain Read, antient leaders, and Sir William Pelham, who were ſcornfully termed by the contrary party, St George's ſouldados, and Sir John Smith, who had ſerved under the Conſtable Momorancy, twice in Hungary, at Penon de Velez, and Malta, yea, and under Dalva, encountered with his pen againſt the new diſcipline, and did write much, which was never publiſhed.' We may very well collect from hence, that if Sir Humphry Gilbert had been a man who had nothing in view but his own ſatisfaction and intereſt, in ſome eaſy, honourable, and beneficial employment, he had by this time raiſed himſelf to ſuch a height in the Queen's eſteem, to ſo great credit with her Miniſters, more eſpecially of the Leiceſtrian faction, and ſuch extenſive reputation amongſt perſons of diſtinction throughout the kingdom, that he might without difficulty have fixed himſelf where he pleaſed, ſince he that ſoars upon the wings of favour and merit, can hardly fail of reaching any height.

[*E*] *It is a very plain, methodical, and judicious piece.*] We may aſſert, without any danger of being thought to flatter the memory of this moſt worthy perſon,

(22) Hooker's Supply of Iriſh Chronicles, p. 132.

(23) Sydney's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 39.

(24) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, part i. p. 332, 333.

(25) Hooker's Supply of Iriſh Chronicles, p. 130.

(26) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, part i. p. 333.

(27) Camdeni & illuſtrium Virorum Epiſtolæ, p. 350, 351.

of Navigation, which he had then written, and intended alſo to publiſh, and which is now probably loſt. The deſign of this diſcourſe was in all likelyhood to ſtir up a ſpirit of diſcovery

ſon, that there is no treatiſe written in that age of ſpeculative and practical knowledge in our country, that has come down to us with more honour to it's author, in point of various and extenſive learning, ſoundneſs and ſagacity of judgment, or of clearneſs and candour in all that he has delivered; and therefore we may preſume it will be very agreeable to our ingenious and inquiſitive readers, if we give them an abſtract of this little work, that is not in every hand, and the rather, becauſe this is a ſubject as warmly debated, and of which as high hopes have been entertained in our days, as in his. The title equally plain and modeſt, runs at large thus (28):

(28) Hakluyt's Voyages, tom. III. p. 11.

A Diſcourſe written by Sir Humphry Gilbert, *Knt. to prove a paſſage by the* North-weſt *to* Cathaia *and the* Eaſt-Indies. The firſt thing worthy of obſervation in this curious and inſtructive piece, is the natural, perſpicuous, and accurate method in which it is written, being divided into *ten* chapters, each of which fully anſwers it's title, and comprehends all if not more than can be expected from it. In the *firſt* he undertakes to prove by authority, that America is an iſland, and conſequently, that there is a paſſage on the north ſide of it to Cathaia, China, and the Eaſt-Indies. In this he lays down all that is delivered by antient authors concerning the great iſland of Atlantis, compares the opinions of later writers, who have endeavoured to render thoſe accounts more intelligible, and who are all of them led from thence to conclude, that America is an iſland. He then proceeds to the maps and charts publiſhed by the beſt Geographers, from which the ſame thing appears; and foreſeeing that an objection might be made againſt this method of reaſoning, taken from the incertainty that there may be, whether theſe writers did not ſpeak more confidently than they ought to do of things with which they were but indifferently acquainted; he undertakes to make it manifeſt, that the paſſage by ſea to Muſcovy, which was eſteemed the great glory of their own times, was really known 700 years before. His own words upon this head will beſt content the reader, if he can bear (which ſure may be eaſily done) with his ſtyle, that is now a little antiquated. 'What moves, (ſays he) theſe learned men to affirm thus much, I know not, or to what end ſo many and ſundry travellers of both ages have allowed the ſame. But I conjecture, that they would never have ſo conſtantly affirmed, or notified their opinions therein to the world, if they had not had great good cauſe, and many probable reaſons, to have led them thereunto. Now, leaſt you ſhould make ſmall account of antient writers, or of their experiences which travelled long before our times, reckoning their authority amongſt fables of no importance, I have, for the better aſſurance of thoſe proofs, ſet down ſome part of a diſcourſe written in the Saxon tongue, and tranſlated into Engliſh by M. Nowel, ſervant to Sir William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, and Lord High-Treaſurer of England; wherein there is deſcribed a Navigation which one Ochther made in the time of King Alfred, King of Weſt Saxe, anno 871 the words of which diſcourſe were theſe: *He ſailed right north, having always the deſart land on the ſtarboard, and on the larboard the main ſea, continuing his courſe until he perceived that the coaſt bowed directly towards the eaſt, or elſe the ſea opened into the land, he could not tell how far, where he was compelled to ſtay until he had a weſtern wind, or ſomewhat upon the north; and ſailed thence directly eaſt along the coaſt, ſo far as he was able in four days, where he was again enforced to tarry until he had a north wind, becauſe the coaſt there bowed directly towards the ſouth, or at leaſt opened he knew not how far into the land; ſo that he ſailed thence along the coaſt continually full ſouth, ſo far as he could travel in the ſpace of five days; where he diſcovered a mighty river, which opened far into the land, and in the entry of this river he turned back again.* Whereby it appeareth, that he went the very ſame way that we now do yearly trade by St Nicholas into Muſcovy, which way no man in our age knew for certainty to be by ſea, until it was ſince diſcovered by our Engliſhmen in the reign of King Edward VI. but thought before that time, that Groenland had joined to Normoria, Byarmia, &c. and therefore was accounted a new diſcovery, being nothing ſo indeed, as by this diſcourſe of Ochther appeareth. Nevertheleſs, if any man ſhould have taken this voyage in hand by the encouragement of this only author, he ſhould have been thought but ſimple; conſidering, that this Navigation was written ſo many years paſt, in ſo barbarous a tongue, by one only obſcure author; and yet we in theſe our days find, by our own experiences, his former reports to be true. How much more then ought we to believe this paſſage to Cataia to be verified by the opinions of all the beſt both antique and modern Geographers, and plainly ſet out in the beſt and moſt allowed maps, charts, globes, coſmographical tables, and diſcourſes of this our age, and by the reſt not denied, but left as a matter doubtful?' The deſign of his *ſecond* chapter is to prove that there is ſuch a paſſage by reaſon and argument; as in the former chapter he had ſhewn himſelf an excellent Coſmographer, ſo in this, he makes it clearly appear, that he was a very knowing Seaman; all bodies of water growing ſhallower as they approach either to ſhore or ſource, he thinks, that the ſea growing ſtill deeper in this north-weſt courſe, argues a paſſage to ſome mighty ocean, rather than to any coaſt. If America had not been an iſland, he thinks, that the Tartars or the Japoneſe would have found ſome way into it, which was never alledged; or that ſome beaſts at leaſt would have found their way over mountains impaſſable to man; but our eldeſt travellers into Aſia, never heard there any thing of America; nor did the firſt conquerors of America find the leaſt reaſon to believe the inhabitants of that part of the world had any knowledge of Aſia; neither were any beaſts ſeen, that with any ſhadow of reaſon could be judged to come from thence. He proceeds next to the doctrine of tides and currents, concerning which he diſcourſes with great judgment and perſpicuity, ſupporting all along his arguments by facts, and concluding with this remarkable doctrine, which is the beſt hitherto laid down, in favour of ſuch a paſſage, viz. *That the current in the great* ocean *could not have been maintained to run continually one way from the beginning of the world unto this day, had there not been ſome thorough paſſage by the fact aforeſaid, and ſo by circular motion be brought again to maintain itſelf.* For the tides and courſes of the ſea are maintained by their interchangeable motions, as freſh rivers are by ſprings, by ebbing and flowing, by rarefaction and condenſation.

The ſcope of the *third* chapter is to eſtabliſh from facts, that part of this north-weſt paſſage has been already viſited by ſeveral eminent perſons, which affords a ſtrong probability that the reſt may be diſcovered. He obſerves, that Marco Polo affirms, he ſailed 500 miles north-eaſt from the continent of Aſia, and found the ſea all open; Franciſcus Vaſques de Coronado, ſays he, paſſing from Mexico by Cevola, through the country of Quivira, to Siera Nevada, found there a great ſea, where were certain ſhips laden with merchandize, carrying in their prows the pictures of certain birds, called Alcatrazi, part whereof were made of gold, and part of ſilver; who ſignified by ſigns, they were thirty days coming thither; which likewiſe proveth America by experience to be disjoined from Cataia on that part, by a great ſea, becauſe they could not come from any part of America, as natives thereof; for, that ſo far as is diſcovered, there hath not been found there any one ſhip of that country. He cites alſo John de Barros to prove this opinion is received in China, and Franciſco Lopez de Gomara, who poſitively aſſerts America to be an iſland, and ſhews how it lies in reſpect to Groenland. It is at the cloſe of this chapter that the paſſage occurs concerning Sebaſtian Cabot, of which we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to ſpeak at large.

In his *fourth* chapter he produces evidence in order to make it plain, that this paſſage has been actually ſailed thorough. He alledges firſt the authority of Gemma Friſius, who ſays, that there went from Europe three brethren through this ſtreight, from whence it took the name diſcovery in his countrymen, and to facilitate a deſign he had formed for planting unknown countries, as well as for the diſcovery of the north-weſt paſſage; for that he had ſtill

name of *Fretum trium fratrum*; he next quotes Pliny, who ſpeaks of certain Indians caſt upon the coaſt of Germany; he mentions another inſtance of the ſame kind, which happened anno Dom. 1160. and upon theſe grounds he aſſerts, they could come no other way than by this north-weſt paſſage.

In his *fifth* chapter he offers the reaſons upon which this poſition is founded. The paſſage, he thinks by the Cape of Good-Hope, muſt have been utterly impaſſable to an Indian veſſel. He alledges the ſame thing with reſpect to Africa. In caſe they had come by a ſouth-eaſt paſſage he ſhews, that they muſt have touched on other European countries, before they came to Germany. To have gone through the ſtreights of Magellan was too hard a taſk in his opinion for ſo ſlight a veſſel; and if any ſhould conclude, that theſe people did not come from India, but from Africa, or America, he refutes this by obſerving, that the inhabitants of both theſe parts of the globe never had, ſo far as we know, before the arrival of the Europeans, any ſhips in which they made uſe of ſails.

In his *ſixth* chapter he produces many arguments to render it more than probable, that either there is no north-eaſt paſſage, or if ſuch a paſſage there be, it can only be paſſable for a ſmall part of the year. What he has delivered upon this part of his ſubject, is not only very rational, and diſcuſſed throughout with the utmoſt ſagacity, but his obſervations have been many of them verified by the attempts that have been made ſince his time; ſo that to one who is well verſed in the nature of this diſpute, and is alſo well acquainted with the hiſtory of the endeavours uſed to diſcover it, cannot fail of entertaining a very high opinion of Sir Humphry Gilbert's ſtyle and penetration, from the weight and ſhrewdneſs of his remarks upon this topic.

The buſineſs of the *ſeventh* chapter is to enforce the point before laid down, that if thoſe Indians came not by any of the other paſſages but by the north-weſt, then this has been certainly paſſed, and there muſt be ſuch a paſſage open. His ſuggeſtions to facilitate the full perſwaſion of this, are ſo happily imagined, and ſo conciſely expreſſed, that it may not be amiſs to give ſome few of them in his own words. 'Firſt, the one half of the winds of the compaſs might bring them by the north-weſt, beating always between two ſheets, with which kind of ſailing the Indians are only acquainted, not having any uſe of a bow-line, or quarter-wind, without the which no ſhip can poſſibly come, either by the ſouth-eaſt, ſouth-weſt, or north-eaſt, having ſo many ſundry capes to double, whereunto are required ſuch change and ſhift of winds. And it ſeemeth likely, that they ſhould come by the north-weſt, becauſe the coaſt whereon they were driven lay eaſt from this our paſſage; and every wind doth naturally drive a ſhip to an oppoſite point from whence it bloweth, not being otherwiſe guided by art, which the Indians do utterly want; and therefore it ſeemeth that they came directly through this our fret, which they might do with one wind; for if they had come by the cape de Buona Speranca, then muſt they (as aforeſaid) have fallen upon the ſouth parts of America; and if by the fret of Magellan, then upon the coaſts of Afric, Spain, Portugal, France, Ireland, or England; and by the north-eaſt, then upon the coaſts of Cerenceſſi, Tartary, Lappia iſland, Terra de Labrador, &c. and upon theſe coaſts, as aforeſaid, they have never been found; ſo that by all likelihood they could never have come without ſhipwreck upon the coaſts of Germany, if they had firſt ſtricken upon the coaſts of ſo many countries, wanting both art and ſhipping to make orderly diſcovery, and altogether ignorant both in the art of navigation, and alſo of the rocks, flats, ſands, or havens, of thoſe parts of the world, which in moſt of theſe places are plentiful.' He then mentions other inſtances of perſons who had paſſed this ſtreight, and then concludes with a fact that fell within the compaſs of his own knowledge. 'There was, ſays he, one Salvaterra, a gentleman of Victoria, in Spain, that came by chance out of the Weſt-Indies into Ireland, anno 1568, who affirmed the north-weſt paſſage from us to Cataia conſtantly to be believed in America navigable; and further ſaid, in the preſence of Sir Henry Sydney (then Lord Deputy of Ireland) in my hearing, that a friar of Mexico, called Andrew Urdaneta, more than eight years before his then coming into Ireland, told him, that he came from Mer dul Sur into Germany through this north-weſt paſſage, and ſhewed Salvaterra at that time (being then with him in Mexico) a ſea-card, made by his own experience and travel in that voyage, wherein was plainly ſet down and deſcribed this north-weſt paſſage, agreeing in all points with Ortelius's map. And further this friar told the King of Portugal, as he returned by that country homeward, that there was (of certainty) ſuch a paſſage north-weſt from England, and that he meant to publiſh the ſame; which done, the King moſt earneſtly deſired him not in any wiſe to diſcloſe or make the paſſage known to any nation; for that, ſaid the King, if England had knowledge and experience thereof, it would greatly hinder both the King of Spain and me. This friar (as Salvaterra reported) was the greateſt diſcoverer by ſea that hath been in our age. Alſo Salvaterra being perſwaded of this paſſage by the friar Urdaneta, and by the common opinion of the Spaniards inhabiting America, offered moſt willingly to accompany me in this diſcovery, which it is like he would not have done if he had ſtood in doubt thereof.'

The *eighth* chapter contains the reaſons that were advanced by our author at the Council-table, in the preſence of her Majeſty and the Lords, to ſhew, that the arguments offered by Mr Anthony Jenkinſon, as to the probability of a north-eaſt paſſage, were not convincing. It ſeems, Mr Jenkinſon, who was a very great traveller, and to whom his countrymen are indebted for many uſeful informations, did not at all conteſt the probability of a north-weſt paſſage; but, from the general tradition amongſt the people in the northern parts of Ruſſia, concluded, that there was alſo a paſſage to the north-eaſt. The reaſons alledged by Mr Jenkinſon are certainly far enough from being concluſive, and the anſwers of Sir Humphry Gilbert overthrow them plainly; but then, theſe are very far from being the ſtrongeſt arguments that might be urged to prove there was ſuch a paſſage. One thing deſerves particular attention, that this was a matter diſcuſſed before the Privy-Council, and even in the preſence of Queen Elizabeth. In her reign, not only matters relating to the Crown, but ſuch affairs as had any relation to her ſubjects welfare, paſſed for concerns of State, and were treated accordingly.

The *ninth* chapter comprehends the motives upon which, ſuppoſing that there is a north-eaſt paſſage to the Indies, this by the north-weſt ſhould be preferred. He obſerves, that all circumſtances conſidered, the paſſage is ſhorter, the voyage far ſafer, and more wholſome, the return eaſy, the neceſſary winds (both going and coming) more certain, and above all, the power of maintaining ourſelves in poſſeſſion of the north-weſt paſſage, as long as we continue ſuperior to our neighbours in a naval force.

In the *tenth* chapter are laid down the advantages that would attend this diſcovery, ſuch as the putting it in our power to obtain larger quantities of the moſt valuable commodities of the Eaſt, and at leſs expence than any other nation, by which we might be enabled to ſell them cheaper; the carrying on this trade by the exchange of our own commodities, inſtead of ſending ſilver; the increaſing our manufactures at home, eſtabliſhing uſeful colonies abroad, augmenting our ſhipping, multiplying our ſeamen, and giving a new incitement to the induſtry of our people of all ranks. He afterwards mentions ſeveral circumſtances that may farther prove, as well the certainty as the facility of ſucceeding in this undertaking, concluding his whole diſcourſe in the following manner: 'Further, becauſe it ſufficeth not only to know that ſuch a thing there is, without ability to perform the ſame, I will at leiſure make you partaker of another ſimple diſcourſe of navigation, wherein I have not a little travelled to make myſelf as ſufficient to bring theſe things to effect, ſtill this among other public ſpirited and glorious projects in view, is plain from the letters patents granted to his brother Adrian Gilbert (*o*). For the preſent, however, he adhered to his deſign of planting, and with that view procured from the Queen, an ample patent, dated at Weſtminſter June 11, 1578, wherein he had full powers given him to undertake the diſcovery of the northern parts of America, and to inhabit and poſſeſs any lands, which at that time were unſettled by Chriſtian Princes, or their ſubjects (*p*). Immediately after procuring theſe letters patents, Sir Humphry applied himſelf to the getting aſſociates in ſo great an undertaking, wherein at firſt he ſeemed to be very ſucceſſful, his reputation for knowledge being very great, and his credit as a commander thoroughly eſtabliſhed; yet when the project came to be actually executed, many receded from their agreements, and others, even after the fleet was prepared, ſeparated themſelves, and choſe to run their own fortunes in their own way (*q*). Theſe diſappointments, however, did not hinder Sir Humphry from proſecuting his ſcheme, in which he was ſeconded by his brother Sir Walter Raleigh, and a few other friends of unſhaken reſolutions. With theſe he ſailed to Newfoundland, where he continued but a ſhort time, and being then compelled to return, he in his paſſage home met with ſome Spaniſh veſſels from whom he cleared himſelf but not without great difficulty. This ſeems to have been in the ſummer of 1579, but we have a very dark account of it, without either dates or circumſtances, further than thoſe which have been already given (*r*). Yet his miſcarriage in this his firſt undertaking, was far from diſcouraging him; for after his return he went on as chearfully as he had done before, in procuring freſh aſſiſtance for compleating what he had intended, and for promoting Chriſtian knowledge, by means of Engliſh ſettlements in undiſcovered lands. This conduct of his is ſufficient to ſhew not only the ſteadineſs of his courage, but the extent of his credit, ſince after ſuch a diſappointment, another commander would ſcarce have perſwaded any adventurers to join with him, which, however, was not by any means his caſe (*s*) [*F*]. At this time it is moſt probable he received from

(*o*) Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, by Mr Oldys, p. 22.

(*p*) This patent is extant in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 135.

(*q*) See Mr Haies account in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 145.

(*r*) Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, by Mr Oldys, p. 13.

(*s*) Sir George Peckham's Relation of Sir Humphry's Voyage, Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 165.

‘ fect, as I have been ready to offer myſelf therein. And therein I have deviſed to amend the errors of uſual ſea-cards, whoſe common fault is to make the degrees of longitude in every latitude of one like bigneſs; and have alſo deviſed therein a ſpherical inſtrument with a compaſs of variation, for the perfect knowing of the longitude; and a preciſe order to prick the ſea card, together with certain infallible rules for the ſhortening of any diſcovery, to know at the firſt entering of any fret, whether it lie open to the ocean more ways than one, how far ſoever the ſea ſtretcheth itſelf into the land. Deſiring you hereafter never to miſlike with me for the taking in hand of any laudable and honeſt enterprize: for, *if through* pleaſure *or* idleneſs *we purchaſe* ſhame, *the* pleaſure *vaniſheth*, *but the* ſhame *remaineth* for ever.’

The great credit of the author, and the high reputation which his treatiſe had obtained amongſt the beſt judges, was in all probability the reaſon that ſo great hopes were raiſed of the expedition by Capt. Martin Frobiſher, who ſailed the very ſame year this piece was publiſhed, in order to carry this deſign into execution, and make the actual diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage; and though that great man failed, yet ſo ſtrong an impreſſion was made by the facts and arguments alledged by Sir Humphry, that his brother afterwards formed a company under the Queen's letters patents (29), which was ſtiled *The Collegues of the Fellowſhip for the Diſcovery of the* NORTH-WEST *Paſſage*, in which Sir Walter Raleigh, and other perſons of diſtinction, were likewiſe concerned.

[*F*] *Was not by any means his caſe.*] In this note we ſhall endeavour to diſcuſs thoſe points relating to the life of our author, in reſpect to which, ſome who have gone before us are ſtrangely miſtaken. The Rev. Mr Prince, in his life of Sir Humphry Gilbert, aſſures us, that he was knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1577 (30); whereas we have ſhewn the reader, that he was really knighted by the Lord Deputy of Ireland near ſeven years before. It is true, that he cites a great authority for this (31), and is therefore the more excuſable, but that he is in an error notwithſtanding, may not only be proved by the teſtimony of Mr Hooker, who was well acquainted with Sir Humphry, ſat in Parliament with him at Dublin, wrote a hiſtory of things which paſſed under his own eye, ſingled out Captain Gilbert as his countryman and acquaintance, that he might furniſh the world with ſuch notices about him, as might otherwiſe be buried in oblivion, and dedicated his book to his brother Sir Walter Raleigh (32); but from an inconteſtable evidence, which is a letter of Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, to Sir Sir Francis Walſingham, in which he ſtiles him Sir Humphry Gilbert, in 1572 (33), as Camden alſo does (34), and other writers, who could not be miſtaken.

But there is another and a greater error in Prince's Life, for which he cites no authority, and for which indeed it is impoſſible that any authority ſhould be cited. The caſe is this; inſtead of two, he will needs have it, that Sir Humphry Gilbert made three expeditions for diſcovery, but gives us the dates of none, except the laſt. The firſt voyage, he ſays, was undertaken by himſelf, to his great charge and hazard, and was almoſt overthrown in the prime, by the failure of divers of the adventurers in their contracts and promiſes (35). If he had ſtopped here, it had been well, becauſe this is matter of fact; but, ſays he, though in this he failed in a great meaſure of his expectation, yet being of a noble diſpoſition he was not daunted, and ſo proceeded to a ſecond voyage, wherein he made great diſcoveries, and gave name to a certain fretum in the northern ſeas, called Gilbert's Streights, to this day. Now this voyage was not only unknown to that worthy regiſter of the great actions performed by our countrymen at ſea, Mr Hakluyt, but to Captain Edward Haies, who mentions very particularly his firſt attempt in that copious and accurate account which he gives us of his ſecond expedition, wherein he was Rear Admiral, in the Golden Hind, of which he was both captain and owner; it was alſo unknown to his intimate friend, Sir George Peckham, who contributed largely to his laſt expedition, and wrote an excellent book to vindicate his friend's memory, and in ſupport of his undertaking, immediately after his deceaſe. But what is ſtill ſtranger, and indeed not a little abſurd, Mr Prince, who makes both theſe expeditions the conſequences of his patent, as indeed they muſt have been, places them nevertheleſs before the year 1577, whereas the patent bears date on the 11th of June, 1578 (36). That there can be no miſtake in figures, is evident from that motive which preſſed him to his laſt undertaking, viz the fear that his patent would expire, as it muſt have done if he did not take poſſeſſion of ſome country within the ſpace of ſix years. Now that time would have been much more than elapſed, if he had made two fruitleſs expeditions under that patent before 1577, for he ſailed on his laſt adventure the very day that the ſixth year commenced from the date of his patent, viz. June the 11th, 1583.

But however, all this is very accurate, or at leaſt very pardonable, in compariſon of another writer, who though an Engliſhman born, was ſo little maſter of his mother-

(29) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 27.

(30) Worthies of Devonſhire, p. 327.

(31) Sir William Pole's Catalogue of Knight's made in the reign of Queen Eliz. in Devon.

(32) Hooker's Supply of Iriſh Chronicles, p. 132.

(33) Sir Dudley Diggs's compleat Embaſſador, p. 299.

(34) Camdeni & illuſtrium Virorum Epiſtolæ, p. 350, 351.

(35) Worthies of Devon. p. 327.

(36) See the Patent as before referred to in Hakluyt.

from that gracious princeſs Queen Elizabeth, as a mark of her peculiar favour an emblematical Jewel, being a ſmall anchor (*t*) of beaten gold, with a large pearl at the peak, which he wore ever after at his breaſt; ſo that he had the ſatisfaction of perceiving that his credit with the Queen was not weakened, either by diſtance or diſaſters, the ſenſe of which (ſuch was the loyalty of thoſe times) gave him the courage to affront any dangers, ſince he was now ſure of not being ſhipwrecked at home. One thing which accelerated this ſecond expedition of Sir Humphry's, was, that, tho' his patent was perpetual, yet there was a clauſe in it, by which it was declared void, in caſe no poſſeſſion was taken within the ſpace of ſix years. This term drawing to a cloſe, he in the ſpring of the year 1583 haſtened his friends in their preparations, ſo that by the firſt of June his little fleet was in readineſs to ſail. It conſiſted of five ſhips, 1. The Delight, of the burthen of one hundred and twenty tons, Admiral, in which went the General Sir Humphry Gilbert, and under him Captain William Winter. II. The bark Ralegh, a ſtout new ſhip of two hundred tons, Vice-Admiral, built, manned, and victualled, at the expence of Sir Walter, then Mr Ralegh, under the command of Mr Butler. III. The Golden Hind, of forty tons, Rear-Admiral, commanded by Captain Edward Hayes, who was alſo her owner. IV. The Swallow, of like burthen, commanded by Captain Maurice Brown. V. The Squirrel, of the burthen of ten tons, under the command of Captain William Andrews (*u*). They ſailed from Plymouth on the 11th of June, and on the 13th the bark Ralegh returned, the Captain, and moſt of thoſe on board her, falling ſick of a contagious diſtemper. On the 30th of the ſame month the reſt of the fleet had ſight of Newfoundland. On the third of Auguſt they landed, the General read his commiſſion, which was ſubmitted to by all the Engliſh veſſels upon the coaſt, and on the fifth he took poſſeſſion of the harbour of St John, in the name of the Queen of England, and granted as her patentee certain leaſes, unto ſuch as were willing to take them. At the ſame time a diſcovery was made of a very rich ſilver mine, by one Daniel, a Saxon (*w*), an able miner, brought by the General for that purpoſe. Sir Humphry now inclined to put to ſea again, in order to make the beſt uſe of his time in diſcovering as far as poſſible, and having ſent home the Swallow, with ſuch as were ſick or diſcouraged through the hardſhips they had already undergone, he left the harbour of St John's in 47° 40′ N. L. on the 20th of Auguſt, himſelf in the ſmall ſloop called the Squirrel, becauſe being light ſhe was the fitter for entering all creeks and harbours, Captain Brown in the Delight, and Captain Hayes in the Golden Hind (*x*). On the 27th they found themſelves in the latitude of 44°, and tho' the weather was fair, and in all appearance like to continue ſo, yet on the 29th of Auguſt in the evening a ſudden ſtorm aroſe wherein the Delight was loſt, twelve men only eſcaping in her boat (*y*). This was a fatal blow to Sir Humphry Gilbert, not only with reſpect to the value of the ſhip and the lives of the men, but alſo in regard to his future hopes, for in her he loſt his Saxon miner, and with him the ſilver ore, which had been dug in Newfoundland, and of which he was ſo confident as to tell ſome of his friends, that he doubted not to borrow

(*t*) Sir William Pole's deſcription of Devonſhire.

(*u*) Sir George Peckham's Relation of Sir Humphry's Voyage, Hakluyt Vol. III. p. 148.

(*w*) Mr Haies account of Sir Humphry's Voyage in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 154.

(*x*) Sir George Peckham's Relation of Sir Humphry's Voyage in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 166.

(*y*) Richard Clarke's account of the ſhipwreck of the Delight, in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 164.

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mother-tongue, that from a very plain quotation in one of our old chronicles, he took it into his head, that Sir Humphry Gilbert flouriſhed in the reign of Henry the VIIth; we will firſt produce the paſſage that occaſioned this blunder, and then the life itſelf, which is very ſhort. 'This year 1489 (but it ought to be 1497) 'ſays John Stowe (37), one Sebaſtian Gabato, the ſon 'of a Genoeſe, born in Briſtol, profeſſing himſelf to 'be expert in knowledge of the circuit of the world, 'and iſlands of the ſame, as by his charts and other 'reaſonable demonſtrations he ſhewed, cauſed the 'King to man and victual a ſhip at Briſtol to ſearch 'for an iſland which he knew to be repleniſhed with 'rich commodities; in the ſhip divers merchants of 'London adventured ſmall ſtocks, and in the company 'of this ſhip ſailed alſo out of Briſtol three or four 'ſmall ſhips fraught with ſleight and groſs wares, as 'courſe cloth, caps, laces, points, and ſuch other. 'Sir Humphry Gilbert, Knight, in his book intituled 'A Diſcovery for a new Paſſage to Catsia, writeth thus: 'Sebaſtian Gabato, by his perſonal experience and 'travel, hath ſet forth and deſcribed this paſſage in 'his charts, which are yet to be ſeen in the Queen's 'Majeſty's Privy-Gallery at Whitehall, who was ſent 'to make this diſcovery by King Henry the VIIth, 'and entered the ſame fret, affirming that he ſailed 'very far weſtward with a quarter of the north on the 'north ſide of Terra de Labrador, the 11th of June, 'until he came to the ſeptentrional latitude of 67 $\frac{1}{3}$ deg. 'and finding the ſeas ſtill open, ſaid that he might, 'and would have gone to Cataia, if the enmity of the 'maſter and mariners had not been'

The life written by Pits is conceived in the following terms. 'Humfredus Gilbertus (38) Anglus Equeſtris 'ordinis, vir Mathematicarum ſcientiarum peritiſſimus, 'navigationis valdè expertus, cujus chartæ totius mun'di, & aliæ particularium regionum dicuntur adhuc in 'magno precio haberi, & Londini in domo regia, quæ 'vulgo Alba Aula dicitur, ſervari. Hic Henrici ſep'timi Regis juſſu & expenſis varias navigationes ad in'veſtigandas terras novas ſuſcepit. Scripſit *Itineraria* '*multa, Libras plures. De Navigatione ad terram* 'Cataiam, *Librum unum.* Et chartas exquiſitas multas. 'Claruit Anno Domini 1500, dum in Anglia rerum 'potiretur Henricus hujus nominis ſeptimus.' That is, Humphry Gilbert, an Engliſh Knight, was a perſon thoroughly verſed in the mathematical ſciences, very ſkilful in navigation, whoſe maps of the whole world, and of many particular countries, are ſaid to be ſtill much eſteemed, and are yet preſerved in the Royal Palace at London, which is ſtiled Whitehall. This gentleman, by the command and at the expence of Henry the VIIth, undertook ſeveral expeditions for the diſcovery of new countries. He wrote accounts of many of his voyages in ſeveral books; of the navigation to the land of Cathaia, in one book; we have likewiſe ſeveral excellent charts of his drawing. He flouriſhed Anno Domini 1500, in the reign of Henry the VIIth.

This is an admirable feature of Dr Pits, and is a convincing proof of his knowledge and accuracy in writing lives; but as wonderful as this is, it is perhaps not leſs ſo, that this life ſhould be tranſcribed into the works of a learned prelate (39), not only without alteration, but without the leaſt notice taken of the error of Pits. The deſire of ſetting theſe matters right, and preventing poſterity from being miſled, while that is a thing practicable, induced us to ſtate theſe points ſo largely, that there might not remain ſo much as a ſhadow of doubt concerning them.

[G] *That*

(37) Chronicles, p. 480, 481.

(38) De illuſtribus Angliæ Scriptoribus, p. 866.

(39) Bibliotheca Britannica Hibernica, ſive de Scriptoribus, &c. p. 316.

borrow ten thouſand pounds of the Queen for his next voyage (*z*) [*G*]. On the ſecond of September he went on board the Golden Hind, in order to have his foot dreſſed, which by accident he had hurt in treading on a nail. He remained on board for that day, and thoſe who were in the veſſel, did all that in them lay, to perſwade him to make his voyage home in her, which he abſolutely refuſed to do, affirming, that he would never deſert his bark, in which, or his little crew, with whom, he had eſcaped ſo many dangers (*a*). A generous, but fatal reſolution; for the veſſel being too ſmall to reſiſt the ſwell of thoſe tempeſtuous ſeas, about midnight on the 9th of September was ſwallowed up and never ſeen more. In the evening, when they were in great danger, Sir Humphry was ſeen ſitting in the ſtern of the ſhip, with a book in his hand, and was often heard to ſay with a loud voice, *Courage, my lads! we are as near Heaven at ſea, as at land* (*b*). Thus he died like a chriſtian hero, full of hopes, as having the teſtimony of a good conſcience. Mr Edward Hayes, who accompanied Sir Humphry in his voyage, and who hath left us an account of it, affirms, that he was principally determined to his fatal reſolution of ſailing in the Squirrel, by a malicious report that had been ſpread of his being timorous at ſea. Upon which he very juſtly obſerves, that it was rather raſhneſs, than adviſed reſolution, to prefer the wind of a vain report to the weight of his own life. Other particulars he mentions, amongſt which there are ſome very worthy of the reader's knowledge (*c*) [*H*]. As to the perſon of this wiſe and brave man, it was ſuch as recommended him

(*z*) Mr Haies account as above.

(*a*) Sir George Peckham's Relation.

(*b*) Mr Haies account of this Voyage.

(*c*) See alſo Sir George Peckham's Relation.

[*G*] *That he doubted not to borrow ten thouſand pounds of the Queen for his next voyage.*] In order to give the reader the beſt ſatisfaction in our power upon this ſubject, which ſome time or other perhaps may be of uſe, we muſt have recourſe to that deſcription of Newfoundland, which was penned by Captain Edward Haies upon the ſpot, with great perſpicuity and accuracy, and with ſuch intrinſic marks of veracity, as cannot eſcape the notice of an intelligent reader. After deſcribing the produce of the ſea, lakes, and rivers, he goes on thus.

‘ (40) Upon the land beaſts of ſundry kinds, red deer, buffaloes, bears, ounces, or leopards, ſome greater, and ſome leſſer, wolves, foxes, which to the northward a little further, are black, whoſe fur is eſteemed in ſome countries of Europe very rich; otters, beavers, martins, and, in the opinion of moſt men that ſaw it, the General had brought unto him a ſable alive, which he ſent unto his brother Sir John Gilbert, Knight, of Devonſhire, but it was never delivered, as after I underſtood. We could not obſerve the hundredth part of creatures in thoſe uninhabited lands, but theſe mentioned may induce us to glory the magnificent God, who hath ſuperabundantly repleniſhed the earth with creatures, ſerving for the uſe of man, though man hath not uſed the fifth part of the ſame, which the more doth aggravate the fault and fooliſh ſloth in many of our nation, chuſing rather to live indirectly, and very miſerably to live and die within this realm, peſtered with inhabitants, than to adventure as becometh men to obtain an habitation in thoſe remote lands, in which nature very prodigally doth miniſter unto men's endeavours, and for art to work upon. For, beſides theſe already recounted, and infinite more, the mountains generally make ſhew of mineral: iron very common; lead, and ſomewhere copper; I will not aver of richer metals, albeit, by the circumſtances following, more than hope may be conceived thereof. For amongſt other charges given to enquire out the ſingularities of this country, the General was moſt curious in the ſearch of metals, commanding the mineral-man and refiner eſpecially to be diligent. The ſame was a Saxon born, honeſt, and religious, named Daniel; who after ſearch, brought at firſt ſome ſort of ore, ſeeming rather to be iron than other metal. The next time he found ore which with no ſmall ſhew of contentment he delivered unto the General, uſing proteſtation, that if ſilver were the thing that might ſatisfy the General and his followers, there it was, adviſing him to ſeek no further, the peril whereof he undertook upon his life (as dear unto him as the Crown of England unto her Majeſty, that I may uſe his own words) if it fell not out accordingly. Myſelf at this inſtant liker to die than to live, could not follow this confident opinion of our refiner to my own ſatiſfaction; but afterward demanding our General's opinion therein, and to have ſome part of the ore. He replied, Content yourſelf, I have ſeen enough, and were it but to ſatisfy my private humour, I would proceed no further. The promiſe unto my friends, and neceſſity to bring alſo the ſouth countries within compaſs of my patent near expired, as we have already done theſe north parts, do only perſwade me further. And touching the ore, I have ſent it aboard, whereof I would have no ſpeech to be made, ſo long as we remain within harbour, here being both Portugals, Biſcains, and Frenchmen not far off, from whom muſt be kept any bruit, or muttering of ſuch matter. When we are at ſea, proof ſhall be made; if it be to our deſire, we may return the ſooner hither again: whoſe anſwer I judged reaſonable, and contenting one well wherewith, I will conclude this narration and deſcription of Newfoundland.’ We ſhall in the ſucceeding note afford the reader further evidence of Sir Humphry Gilbert's being thoroughly perſwaded of the truth of this report of the Saxon miner. It muſt indeed be allowed, that Sir George Peckham does not inſiſt upon this point, which perhaps might ariſe from his not being thoroughly appriſed of it, ſince in the beginning of his treatiſe, he ſpeaks of Sir Humphry's death, as a thing not abſolutely certain; ſo that he muſt have publiſhed his book immediately after Captain Haies returned in the Golden Hind to England. However in this work of his we find a paſſage, that perhaps is not very far wide of the ſubject, and which at the ſame time will acquaint the reader with the cauſes why this worthy gentleman was not in every thing ſo explicit as might be expected (41).

‘ Beſides all this, ſays he, if credit may be given to the inhabitants of the ſame ſoil, a certain river doth thereunto adjoin, which leadeth to a place abounding with rich ſubſtance. I do not hereby mean the paſſage to the Moluccas, whereof before I made mention. And it is not to be omitted, how that about two years paſt, certain merchants of St Malo in France, did hire a ſhip out of the iſland of Jerſey, to the end that they would keep that trade ſecret from their countrymen; and they would admit no mariner, other than the ſhip-boy belonging to the ſaid ſhip, to go with them, which ſhip was about ſeventy ton. I do know the ſhip and the boy very well, and familiarly acquainted with the owner, which voyage proved very beneficial. To conclude, this which is already ſaid, may ſuffice any man of reaſonable diſpoſition, to ſerve for a taſte, until ſuch time as it ſhall pleaſe Almighty God, through our own induſtry, to ſend us better tidings. In the mean ſeaſon, if any man well affected to this journey ſhall ſtand in doubt of any matter of importance touching the ſame, he may ſatisfy himſelf with the judgment and liking of ſuch of good calling and credit, as are principal dealers herein; for it is not neceſſary in this treatiſe publickly to ſet forth the whole ſecrets of the voyage.’

[*H*] *Very worthy of the reader's knowledge.*] After having related at large the loſs of the Delight, which was ſtiled their Admiral, Captain Haies acquaints us, that this diſaſter ſunk the ſpirits of the men in both ſhips (42). ‘ Thoſe (ſays he) in the frigate were already

(40) Hakluyt's Voyages, tom. III. p. 153, 154.

(41) True report of the late diſcoveries, and poſſeſſion taken in the right of the Crown of England of the Newfoundlands, by that valiant, and worthy gentleman Sir Humphry Gilbert, Cap. V. towards the end.

(42) Capt. Haies Relation in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 157, 158, 159.

him to eſteem and veneration at firſt ſight; his ſtature was beyond the ordinary ſize, his complexion ſanguine, and his conſtitution very robuſt (d). The compaſs of his learning, and

(d) Supply of Iriſh Chronicles, by John Hooker, p. 132.

'ready pinched with ſpare allowance, and want of cloaths chiefly, whereupon they beſought the General to return for England before they all periſhed; and unto them of the Golden Hinde they made ſigns of their diſtreſs, pointing to their mouths, and to their cloaths, thin, and ragged; then immediately they alſo of the Golden Hinde grew to be of the ſame opinion and deſire to return home. The former reaſons having alſo moved the General to have compaſſion of his poor men, in whom he ſaw no want of goodwill, but of means fit to perform the action they came for, reſolved upon retiring, and calling the Captain and Maſter of the Hinde, he yielded them many reaſons inforcing this unexpected return; withal, proteſting himſelf greatly ſatisfied with that he had ſeen and knew already. Reiterating theſe words, *Be content, we have ſeen enough, and take no care of expence paſt; I will ſet you forth royally the next ſpring, if God ſends us ſafe home. Therefore I pray you let us no longer ſtrive here, where we fight againſt the elements.* Omitting circumſtance, how unwillingly the Captain and Maſter of the Hinde condeſcended to this motion, his own company can teſtify; yet comforted with the General's promiſes of a ſpeedy return at ſpring, and induced by other apparent reaſons, proving an impoſſibility to accompliſh the action at that time, it was concluded on all hands to retire.

'So upon Saturday in the afternoon, the 31ſt of Auguſt, we changed our courſe, and returned back for England; at which very inſtant, even in winding about, there paſſed along between us and towards the land, which we now forſook, a very lion, to our ſeeming, in ſhape, hair, and colour; not ſwimming after the manner of a beaſt, by moving of his feet, but rather ſliding upon the water with his whole body, excepting the legs, in ſight, neither yet diving under, and again riſing above the water, as the manner is of whales, dolphins, tunnies, porpoiſes, and all other fiſh; but confidently ſhewing himſelf above water without hiding, notwithſtanding we preſented ourſelves in open view and geſture to amaze him, as all creatures will be commonly at a ſudden gaze on ſight of man. Thus he paſſed along turning his head to and fro, yawning and gaping wide, with ugly demonſtration of long teeth, and glaring eyes; and to bid us a farewel (coming right againſt the Hinde) he ſent forth a horrible voice, roaring and bellowing as doth a lion, which ſpectacle we all beheld ſo far as we were able to diſcern the ſame, as men prone to wonder at every ſtrange thing, as this doubtleſs was, to ſee a lion in the ocean ſea, or fiſh in ſhape of a lion; what opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the General himſelf, I forbear to deliver, but he took it for bonum omen, rejoicing that he was to war againſt ſuch an enemy, if it were the devil.

'The wind was large for England at our return, but very high, and the ſea rough, inſomuch as the frigate wherein the General went was almoſt ſwallowed up. Monday in the afternoon we paſſed in the ſight of Cape Race, having made as much way in little more than two days and nights back again, as before we had done in eight days, from Cape Race unto the place where our ſhip periſhed; which hindrance thitherward, and ſpeed back again, is to be imputed unto the ſwift current, as well as to the winds, which we had more large in our return. This Monday the General came aboard the Hinde to have the ſurgeon of the Hinde to dreſs his foot, which he hurt by treading upon a nail; at which time we comforted each other with hope of hard ſucceſs to be all paſt, and of the good to come. So agreeing to carry our lights always by night, that we might keep together, he departed into his frigate, being by no means to be intreated to tarry in the Hinde, which had been more for his ſecurity. Immediately after followed a ſharp ſtorm, which we overpaſſed for that time, praiſed be God. The weather fair, the General came aboard the Hinde again to make merry together with the captain, maſter, and company, which was the laſt meeting, and continued there from morning until night; during which time there paſſed ſundry diſcourſes touching affairs paſt, and to come, lamenting greatly the loſs of his great ſhip, more of the men, but moſt of all, of his books and notes, and what elſe I know not, for which he was out of meaſure grieved, the ſame doubtleſs being ſome matter of more importance than his books, which I could not draw from him; yet by circumſtance, I gathered the ſame to be the ore which Daniel the Saxon had brought unto him in the Newfoundland. Whatſoever it was, the remembrance touched him ſo deep, as not to be able to contain himſelf he beat his boy in great rage even at the ſame time, ſo long after the miſcarrying of the great ſhip; becauſe, upon a fair day, when we were becalmed upon the coaſt of Newfoundland, near unto Cape Race, he ſent his boy aboard the Admiral to fetch certain things, amongſt which this being chief, was yet forgotten and left behind. After which time he could never conveniently ſend again aboard the great ſhip, much leſs he doubted her ruin ſo near at hand.

'Herein my opinion was better confirmed, diverſly and by ſundry conjectures, which maketh me have the greater hope of this rich mine; for whereas the General had never before good conceit of theſe north parts of the world, now his mind was wholly fixed upon the Newfoundland; and as before he refuſed not to grant aſſignments liberally to them that required the ſame into theſe north parts, now he became contrarily affected, refuſing to make any ſo large grants, eſpecially of St John's, which certain Engliſh merchants made ſuit for, offering to employ their money and travel upon the ſame; yet neither by their own ſuit, nor of others of his own company, whom he ſeemed willing to pleaſure, it could be obtained. Alſo laying down his determination in the ſpring following, for diſpoſing of his voyage then to be re-attempted, he aſſigned the captain and maſter of the Golden Hinde unto the ſouth diſcovery, and reſerved unto himſelf the north, affirming, that this voyage had won his heart from the ſouth, and that he was now become a northern man altogether. Laſt, being demanded what means he had at his arrival in England to compaſs the charges of ſo great preparation as he intended to make the next ſpring, having determined upon two fleets, one for the ſouth, another for the north. *Leave that to me*, he replied, *I will aſk a penny of no man; I will bring good tidings unto her Majeſty, who will be ſo gracious to lend me ten thouſand pounds; willing us therefore to be of good cheer, for he did thank God* (he ſaid) *with all his heart for that he had ſeen, the ſame being enough for us all, and that we needed not to ſeek any further*. And theſe laſt words he would often repeat with demonſtration of great fervency of mind, being himſelf very confident and ſettled in belief of ineſtimable good by this voyage, which the greater number of his followers nevertheleſs miſtruſted altogether, not being made partakers of thoſe ſecrets which the General kept unto himſelf; yet all of them that are living may be witneſſes of his words and proteſtations, which ſparingly I have delivered.

'Leaving the iſſue of this good hope unto God, who knoweth the truth only, and can at his good pleaſure bring the ſame to light, I will haſten to the end of this tragedy, which muſt be knit up in the perſon of our General. And as it was God's ordinance upon him, even ſo the vehement perſwaſion and intreaty of his friends, could nothing avail to divert him from a wilful reſolution of going through in his frigate, which was overcharged upon their decks with fights, nettings, and ſmall artillery, too cumberſome for ſo ſmall a boat, that was to paſs through the ocean ſea at that ſeaſon of the year, when by courſe we might expect much ſtorm of foul weather, whereof indeed we had enough. But when he was intreated by the captain, maſter, and other his well-wiſhers of the Hinde, not to venture in the frigate, and the ſtrength of his judgment made him remarkable for his prudence, when a very young man, tho' he was naturally of a warm and haſty temper. His love for his country, and his zeal for the Queen's ſervice led him into undertakings and expences beyond his fortune, which induced the famous Mr Camden to make the following remark upon his demiſe (e), ' about this time, ſays he, Sir Humphry Gilbert periſhed at ſea. A man of ' a bold and blyth temper, equally diſtinguiſhed for the arts of war and peace, he was ' loſt in his paſſage home, from that part of north America, upon which we have be- ' ſtowed the name of Newfoundland; and whither he ſailed but a little before, having ' ſold a part of his patrimony, upon the hopes of what might ariſe from a Colony, which ' he intended to erect there. But when he had publickly aſſerted the right of the Engliſh ' Crown to that country, firſt diſcovered by Sebaſtian Cabot for Henry the ſeventh, Anno ' Dom. 1497, and had made leaſes to ſeveral of his companions, he by ſhipwrecks, and ' the want of every neceſſary, was ſo diſtreſſed, that he was obliged to give over his ' deſign, having learned too late, what his example may teach others, that the difficulty ' of planting colonies, in diſtant parts of the world, at the expence of private men, is ' far beyond what he, and many more thro' a fond credulity, and to their own loſs, had ' perſwaded themſelves.' It is eaſy to conceive how many, and how great obſtacles were to be overcome in eſtabliſhing the doctrine of plantations; when ſo candid, ſo judicious, and ſo public ſpirited a man, as Camden really was, could think in this manner, and miſtake the glorious ſchemes of a patriot, for the mercenary views of a projector (f). It was to vindicate Sir Humphry Gilbert's character in this reſpect, to do juſtice to his virtues, and to offer that incenſe to his memory, which as a confeſſor and martyr for the good and glory of his country, ſo worthy, ſo learned, ſo pious a man deſerved, that this article was compoſed. For to ſpeak the truth, and no more than the truth, he and his brother Sir Walter Raleigh were the parents of our plantations (g), laid the foundation of the Engliſh trade, and conſequently of our power at ſea, points of ſuch high importance, that they can never be treated too copiouſly, or with too much emphaſis [I]. Beſides theſe titles to

(e) Annal. Eliz. p. 402. Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 328, 329.

(f) See the true Motives to theſe undertakings in Captain Haies *Relation*, and Sir George Peckham's treatiſe of *Weſtern Planting*.

(g) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 143. & ſeq. Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 626. Evelyn's Navigation, and Commerce, p. 77.

' this was his anſwer: *I will not forſake my little company going homeward, with whom I have paſſed ſo many ſtorms and perils.* And in very truth, he was ' urged to be ſo over-hard by hard reports given of ' him, that he was afraid of the ſea, albeit this was ' rather raſhneſs, than adviſed reſolution, to prefer the ' wind of a vain report to the weight of his own life. ' Seeing he would not bend to reaſon, he had proviſion ' out of the Hinde, ſuch as was wanting aboard his ' frigate, and ſo we committed him to God's protection, and ſet him aboard his pinnace, we being ' more than 300 leagues onward of our way home. ' By that time we had brought the iſlands of *Açores* ' ſouth of us, yet we then keeping much to the north, ' until we had got into the height and elevation of ' England, we met with very foul weather, and terrible ' ſeas, breaking ſhort and high, pyramid-wiſe. The ' reaſon whereof ſeemed to proceed either of hilly ' grounds, high and low within the ſea, as we ſee ' hills and dales upon the land, upon which the ſeas ' do mount and fall; or elſe the cauſe proceedeth of ' diverſity of winds ſhifting often in ſundry points, all ' which having power to move the great ocean, which ' again is not preſently ſettled, ſo many ſeas do encounter together, as there had been diverſity of ' winds. Howſoever it cometh to paſs, men which all ' their life-time had occupied the ſea, never ſaw more ' outrageous ſeas. We had alſo upon our main-yard ' an apparition of a little fire by night, which ſeamen ' do call Caſtor and Pollux; but we had only one ' which they make an evil ſign of more tempeſt; the ' ſame is uſual in ſtorms. Monday the ninth of September in the afternoon, the frigate was near caſt ' away, oppreſſed by waves, yet at that time recovered; and giving forth ſigns of joy, the General ' ſitting abaft with a book in his hand, cried out unto us ' in the Hinde, ſo oft as we did approach within hearing, *We are as near to Heaven by ſea, as by land.* ' Reiterating the ſame ſpeech, well beſeeming a ſoldier, ' reſolute in JESUS CHRIST, as I can teſtify he was, ' the ſame Monday night about 12 of the clock, or ' not after, the frigate being a-head of us in the Golden ' Hinde, ſuddenly her lights were out; whereof, as it ' were in a moment, we loſt the ſight; and withal, our ' watch cry'd, the General was caſt away; which was ' too true: for in that moment the frigate was devoured and ſwallowed up of the ſea. Yet ſtill we ' looked out all that night, and ever after, until we ' arrived upon the coaſt of England. Omitting no ' ſmall ſail at ſea unto which we gave not the tokens ' between us agreed upon, to have perfect knowledge ' of each other, if we ſhould at any time be ſeparated.'

[I] *Or with too much emphaſis*] It is aſſerted in the text, that Sir Humphry Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh were the parents of our plantations, and the great authors of our extenſive trade and naval power. It is fit that this ſhould be proved: with reſpect to Sir Humphry Gilbert, it was ſaid at the time, and univerſally admitted for a fact, that he was the firſt perſon who carried men out of this nation with an intent to ſettle; that with this view he took poſſeſſion for the Queen, and under her authority for himſelf, proclaimed her title, publiſhed laws, and granted lands It is true no people ſtaid at that time, but they ſettled there afterwards in virtue of his leaſes Sir Walter Raleigh was a joint-adventurer with him, and the very year that Sir Humphry Gilbert periſhed, took out a new patent for the ſame purpoſes, and of the like tenure with that of Sir Humphry; upon which he immediately proceeded, and ſent a colony at his own expence to ſettle upon the Continent, which gave a beginning to the reduction and improvement of that country, which was called Virginia (43). Having mentioned this, it will be proper to put the reader in mind, that he is not to underſtand this ſtrictly of the country now ſo called, but for almoſt all that we now poſſeſs upon the continent of North America, from the Carolina's to Nova Scotia (44). Some indeed are very poſitive, that this name was impoſed by Queen Elizabeth, in alluſion to herſelf, as a virgin Queen, and it may be ſo; but it is generally believed, that this title was in people's mouths ſome years before this royal nomination; and it is pretty evident, that the firſt fruitleſs attempt of Sir Humphry Gilbert was directed towards that country, which will qualify at leaſt, the inſcription upon the globe placed in, and the verſes under his picture, if it be his, which is left entirely to the reader's judgment. But that himſelf, his half-brother Sir Walter Raleigh, his brother of the whole blood Sir Adrian Gilbert, or his friend and aſſociate Sir George Peckham, were chiefly moved to theſe adventures, from the conſideration of private advantage, cannot be ſurmiſed. No; they had greater and far more noble views: they aimed at civilizing and converting the natives of thoſe countries, the promoting induſtry, virtue, and laudable ambition at home. In ſhort, they were patriots, patriots of the old rock, deſirous of meriting the love of their country by ſerving it. They were men of great and generous minds; and if they

(43) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 23.

(44) Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. I. p. 345.

to fame, from his ſword and from his pen, he was a great orator likewiſe, and merited much of his country, by his ſpeeches in the Iriſh and Engliſh houſe of commons (h), where he ſteadily ſupported the true intereſt of theſe nations, with an eloquence founded on his zeal for truth, and the ſervice of the public, ſupported by ſound reaſon, and adorned with learning, and that inexpreſſible beauty in diſcourſe, which is the effect of true genius, the greateſt gift of heaven, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed excellence, with which mortals are endowed. A word or two now of his private character. He was a man eſteemed in his country, beloved by his friends, and to whom thoſe who were not ſo, could object only a little too much warmth (i), and what they ſtiled a preſumption, which was, in truth, a generous enthuſiaſm, which little minds calumniate, becauſe they cannot comprehend (k). He married (as we obſerved) out of the court of his glorious miſtreſs, a lady of diſtinguiſhed birth and fortune, Ann the daughter of Sir Anthony Ager of Kent (l), by whom, Prince tells us, he had nine ſons (m). Hooker who knew him perſonally, and wrote immediately after his death, ſays, but five (n), and one daughter, in which they both agree. His eldeſt ſon, Sir John Gilbert, through the default of heirs-male, became the heir of the family, and was ſtiled of Greenway and Compton, in the County of Devon, Knight (o). He followed his father's example, and tho' he died in the flower of his age acquired the character of a gallant ſoldier, and a great officer (p), but left no iſſue, which was the caſe of all his brethren, except the youngeſt Raleigh Gilbert, Eſq; (q), who made a great figure at ſea, and had the happineſs to execute ſome part of that plan, which his father had the honour to contrive. He married the daughter of Mr Kelly, by whom he had Ager Gilbert, Eſq; (r), who eſpouſed the daughter of Edmund Walrond, Eſq; and by her had iſſue Humphry Gilbert, who parted with the ancient ſeat of Greenway, and fixed himſelf at Compton near Torbay. This was the gentleman to whom the Reverend Mr Prince owed many informations, and in whoſe houſe he ſaw an original picture of this his illuſtrious anceſtor, which he thus deſcribes. In one hand he held a General's ſtaff, while the other reſted upon a globe, with this word VIRGINIA written thereon, having the golden anchor with the pearl a-peak, hanging to his breaſt, at the bottom were theſe verſes, which tho' none of the ſmootheſt are yet ſenſible, and claim the reader's notice, on another account which we ſhall preſently mention (s).

Here may you ſee the portraict of his face,
Who for his country's honour oft did trace
Along the deep, and made a noble way
Unto thy growing fame, VIRGINIA.
The *picture* of his *mind*, if ye do crave it,
Look upon *Virtue's picture*, and ye have it.

A very intelligent and judicious writer has intimated, that poſſibly this might not be the picture of Sir Humphry Gilbert, but of his half-brother Sir Walter Raleigh (t), or one might be tempted to gueſs it was the pourtrait of his ſon Captain Raleigh Gilbert, who it is certain made a voyage to Virginia, A. D. 1607, on the behalf of his uncle Sir Walter, an account of which voyage was publiſhed after his return, and was very inſtrumental in ſpreading the fame, and procuring the ſettlement of that noble country (u). Upon mature deliberation, however, there is nothing improbable in following the common opinion, that this picture was painted for Sir Humphry Gilbert, ſince it might be done ſoon after the return of him, and his brother Sir Walter Raleigh from their voyage for a diſcovery in 1579, when it is ſuppoſed that he received that jewel from the Queen. This accounts for there being no mention of his expedition to Newfoundland, or his death (w). It may be objected that it would be a ſtrange piece of vanity, to have his picture with theſe verſes done in his life-time, and hung up in his own houſe; but to this we may eaſily reply, that this picture might be drawn by the direction of his brother Sir John Gilbert, and with the reſt of his effects come afterwards into the poſſeſſion of Sir Humphry's deſcendants as heirs by the collateral line (x). However this matter be, it is very certain, that this gentleman's life and death (y) was a continual commentary upon

(h) Hooker's Supply of Iriſh Chronicles, p. 133. D'Ewe's Journ. p. 189. Willis's Notitia Parliam. Vol. II. p. 295.

(i) Hakluyt's, Voyages, Vol. III. p. 160.

(k) Fuller's Worthies, Devon. p. 260.

(l) Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, part i. p. 336.

(m) Worthies of Devon. p. 329.

(n) Supply of Iriſh Chronicles, p. 133.

(o) Weſtcot's View of Devon. in Greenway, MS.

(p) Sir William Pole's Catalogue of the Knights in Devonſhire, temp. Jac. I.

(q) Engliſh Empire in America, Vol. I. p. 40.

(r) Survey of Devon. in Compton. MS.

(s) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 328, 329.

(t) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh.

(u) Purchas's Pilgrimage, p. 830. Engliſh Empire, in America, Vol. I. p. 40.

(w) Sir William Pole places this in A. D. 1577.

(x) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 329.

(y) Fuller's Worthies of Devon. p. 260.

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they formed projects, they were projects founded on the moſt glorious baſis, that of national utility. That in this they had likewiſe a regard to the welfare of their families, and had great hopes of enriching them, is true; and why not? They hazarded their perſons and their fortunes, and they had a juſt right to recompence; but as this recompence could never have been received, till thoſe benefits aroſe to the nation which they promiſed, this can take nothing from their fame, for the labourer is ever worthy of his hire; and he who expects a reward out of the riches he procures his country, ought not to be thought mercenary. But in purſuit of theſe glorious ends, Sir Humphry Gilbert, injured his fortune. What then? His ſcheme was far from being chimerical, and though fruitleſs to himſelf, it was fruitful to his country. In twenty years after his deceaſe, there were 250 ſhips from the weſt of England (45) annually employed in the Newfoundland fiſhery; theſe ſhips ſailed in March, and returned in September; they employed at leaſt 10,000 ſeamen, fiſhermen, and ſhoremen, who ſpent every winter at home what they got in their ſummer fiſhery, that is upwards of 100,000 l. excluſive of the perſons employed in England, in building and rigging their ſhips, and other neceſſary ſervices, and the profits of this trade, which were very conſiderable (46). Could an Engliſhman

(45) Diſcourſe upon trade, by Sir Joſiah Child, p. 227.

(46) View of the benefits reſulting from the poſſeſſion of Newfoundland.

upon his own generous maxim (z), *that he is not worthy to live at all, who for fear or danger of* death *ſhunneth his* country's ſervice, *or his* own honour ; *ſince* death *is inevitable, and the* fame *of* virtue *immortal.*

(z) At the cloſe of his Diſcourſe on the northweſt paſſage.

man live or die to better purpoſe? Can the misfortune of ſo great a man be denied a tear? Or is it poſſible to contemplate his virtues, without owning that they deſerve to be for ever remembered? Towards this, if the preſent article can at all contribute, it will do honour to the book; and we may hope, will contribute to propagate that ſpirit which diſtinguiſhed the age Sir Humphry Gilbert lived in, and which we ſincerely wiſh might diſtinguiſh this, in the eyes of our poſterity. E

GILBERT, or GILBERD [*A*] [William] a moſt learned Phyſician in the XVIth and beginning of the XVIIth century, and author of the book *De Magnete*, &c. [i. e. of the load-ſtone,] was born at Colcheſter in the year 1540 [*B*]. He was the eldeſt ſon of Hierome Gilberd, gent. [*C*], ſome time Recorder of that borough (*a*). Anth. Wood aſſerts (*b*), that 'he was educated in both our Univerſities, but whether 'in Oxon firſt or Cambridge, he could not juſtly tell:' The epitaph on his monument mentions only Cambridge. After having ſtudied ſome time there, but how long we have no certain account; he travelled into foreign countries, where probably he had the degree of Doctor of Phyſic conferred upon him (*c*); for he doth not appear to have taken it in either of our Univerſities. At his return to England, being juſtly famed for his learning, knowledge in Philoſophy, and admirable ſkill in Chemiſtry, he was choſen a member of the College of Phyſicians in London (*d*) [*D*]; and practiſed in that city for above thirty years with great applauſe and equal ſucceſs (*e*). In which time being grown in the higheſt reputation, he was ſent for to Court, and became chief Phyſician to Queen Elizabeth (*f*); who had ſo great a value for him, that ſhe allowed him an annual penſion to encourage him in his ſtudies (*g*). He was alſo chief Phyſician to K. James I. (*h*). In 1600 he publiſhed his book of the Load-ſtone, which being the firſt regular ſyſtem on that curious ſubject [*E*], and confirmed by many experiments, (a method not much uſed at

(*a*) Memoirs MS. penes me.

(*b*) Athenæ Oxon. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 321.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Wood, Ibid.

(*e*) From his epitaph.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Epitaph.

[*A*] *Gilbert*, or *Gilberd.*] The firſt, is the manner in which his name is written by all authors, who make mention of him or his writings. But the latter is uſed both in his own epitaph, and his father's; and in the Records of the town of Colcheſter: And therefore ſeems the trueſt.

[*B*] *Was born at Colcheſter in the year* 1540.] This I collect from his epitaph, in which he is ſaid to have been in the 63d year of his age, Novemb. 30. 1603, when he died.

[*C*] *The eldeſt ſon of Hierome Gilberd*, gent.] This gentleman was born at Clare in Suffolk; admitted a free burgeſs of Colcheſter in 1553 (1), and ſome time Recorder of that borough. He died in 1583, as appears by his epitaph, formerly on a braſs plate in the church of H. Trinity, Colcheſter, but now gone. 'Here 'lyeth the body of Iherome Gilberd, ſome time Recorder of this towne of Colcheſter, and Elizabeth his 'firſt wife, and Margaret his daughter; he died 23 of 'May 1583 (2).'

[*D*] *He was choſen a member of the College of Phyſicians in London.*] The author of the article *Gilbert* (Dr *William*), in the General Dictionary, is guilty at leaſt of an inaccuracy in the following paſſage: 'And 'at his return being famed for his learning, and his 'profound ſkill in Philoſophy and Chemiſtry, *and his 'book De Magnete*, he became Fellow of the College 'of Phyſicians at London, and Phyſician in ordinary 'to Queen Elizabeth.'——For it is hardly credible, that Dr Gilberd ſhould practiſe above 27 years in London, and be ſeveral years Phyſician to Queen Elizabeth, before he was admitted a member of the College of Phyſicians. And therefore he was unqueſtionably a member of it, long before he was *famed* for *his book De Magnete*; which was publiſhed only about three years before his deceaſe.

[*E*] *In* 1600 *he publiſhed his book of the Loadſtone*, &c.] The title of it was, *De Magnete, magneticiſque Corporibus, & de magno magnete Tellure, Phyſiologia nova.* Lond. 1600. fol. i. e. 'Of the Magnet (or 'Loadſtone) and magnetical bodies, and of that great 'Magnet, the Earth.' To which he added afterwards an Appendix of ſix or eight ſheets; but whether printed, we cannot find. This edition is ſcarce; but the book hath been re-printed abroad, particularly in Germany, with a preface by Wolfgang Lochman, M. D. 'In the firſt chapter, he gives an account of what had 'been written by the Ancients and Moderns concerning the Loadſtone; notes that its Verticity to 'the Poles was firſt obſerved about three or four 'hundred years ago; mentions, with due praiſe, the 'obſervations of our countrymen Thomas Harriot, 'Robert Hues, Edward Wright, and Abraham Kendal, on its properties; and the writings of William 'Borough, concerning the variation of the compaſs; 'of William Barlow, in his Supplement; and of 'Robert Norman, in his new attractives, who firſt 'found out the declination of the needle. In the ſecond chapter, he mentions the various names of the 'Loadſtone; and, among the reſt, that of Magnes, 'from Magneſia, a country of Macedon, abounding in 'iron: and obſerves, that Euripides the poet was the 'firſt who gave it the name of *Magnes.*——In the reſt 'of the book, he treats of the various phænomena and 'properties of this moſt curious and valuable mineral, 'the Loadſtone, under theſe four heads; 1. Its Attraction; 2. Its Direction to the Poles of the Earth, 'and the Earth's verticity and fixedneſs to certain 'points of the world; 3. Its Variation; 4. Its Declination: All which he illuſtrates by divers curious 'experiments, and diagrams. Theſe ſeveral properties he derives from the magnetical nature of the 'Earth, which he ſuppoſes to be a great Magnet.—— 'And ſhews the great uſe of the Declination of the 'Loadſtone in finding out the Latitude.' This book hath received its due praiſes from the moſt learned men. The great Lord Verulam ſtyles it, 'a painful 'and experimental work (3);' and mentions it in many other places with applauſe: As doth alſo Dr Hakewill, who ſays, Dr Gilbert 'hath written in Latine a 'large and learned Diſcourſe of the properties of this 'Stone (4).' Sir Kenelm Digby honours the author with the name of 'an admirable ſearcher into the nature of the Loadſtone (5).' The moſt learned Dr Iſ. Barrow takes alſo proper notice of him (6). But Dr Gilberd having, in the firſt chapt. of his Iſt Book, animadverted upon Joſeph Scaliger's opinion, [*Exercitat. in Cardanum*, 131.] that hypercritic, brings him under his laſh; ſaying, in his ſupercilious way, That he had ſhewed his learning more than the nature of the Loadſtone: And that he had performed nothing worthy of the expectation which he had raiſed.——*Gulielmus Gilbertus——ante triennium tres ampliſſimos commentarios de ea re* [de Magnete] *edidit, quibus magis mihi probavit doctrinam ſuam quam Magnetis naturam* (7).——*Quidam Anglus ante triennium libro de Magnete edito, nihil expectatione eâ, quam excitârat, protulit* (8).

[*F*] *But*

(1) Record book of Colcheſter, called the Oath-book, p. 215.

(2) R. Symonds's Collect. in the Heralds Off. Vol. I. fol. 437.

(3) Advancement of Learning, l. 2. c. 13.

(4) Apologie of the power and providence of God, &c. l. 3. c. 10. §. 4.

(5) Treatiſe of Bodies, c. 20.

(6) Opuſcula, p. 87.

(7) Joſ. Scaligeri Epiſt. l. 2. epiſt. 200. ed. Francof. 1628. 8vo.

(8) Ibid. l. 1. epiſt. 90.

at that time,) was well received in the world. But it ſeems to have met with a better reception abroad than at home [*F*]. And, to detract from him, A. Wood ſays (*i*), that twenty years before he publiſhed this book, Mr William Barlow had knowledge in the Magnet (*k*) [*G*]: Which might be true, for Dr Gilbert mentions him with due honour. But Dr Gilbert was the firſt who obliged the world with his experiments and obſervations on that ſubject, Dr Barlow's not being publiſhed till 1616 (*l*). And how far he might be indebted to the former, we have no certain account. Beſides his book *de Magnete*, Dr Gilbert writ another piece [*H*]: And was the inventor of two moſt ingenious and neceſſary inſtruments for ſea-men, to find out the Latitude of any place without the help of the ſun, moon, and ſtars [*I*]. He died, unmarried, November 30, 1603, aged 63 (*m*), and was buried in the chancel of the church of Holy Trinity in Colcheſter, where there is a handſome monument for him [*K*]. By his will, he gave all his books in his library, his globes, inſtruments, and cabinet of minerals to the College of Phyſicians, London. His picture is in the Schools-gallery at Oxford, which ſhews him to have been of ſtature, tall, and of a chearful countenance. He had four brothers, Ambroſe; William, a Proctor in the Arches; Hierom; and George (*n*).

(*i*) Athenæ, Vol. I. col. 495.

(*k*) See above the article BARLOW (WILLIAM).

(*l*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 495.

(*m*) From his epitaph.

(*n*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 321.

[*F*] *But it ſeems to have met with a better reception abroad than at home*] This is intimated in the following paſſage in his epitaph. *Librum de Magnete apud* Exteros *celebrem in rem nauticam compoſuit.* However, it met with due commendation from ſeveral learned men at home, as appears by the laſt note but one.

[*G*] *A. Wood ſays, that twenty years before he publiſhed this book, Mr William Barlow had knowledge in the Magnet.*] But there is great reaſon to queſtion the truth of this ſtory of Mr Wood's. For, according to him, Mr Barlow did not publiſh his *Magnetical Advertiſement* till the year 1616. And Edward Wright obſerves, in his encomiaſtic epiſtle to Dr Gilberd, that the Doctor had kept his Book *de Magnete* almoſt eighteen years by him, before publication. Mr Wright's words are, *Optimis igitur auſpiciis* [*doctiſſime D. D. Gilberte*] *in lucem prodeat Magnetica Philoſophia tua, non in nonum tantum annum (quod Horatius præcipit) ſed in alterum jam fere novennium preſſa, quam plurimis laboribus, ſtudiis, vigiliis, artificiis, ſumptibuſque tuis non modicis, per tot continuos annos e tenebris demum denſaque caligine otioſe exiliterque philoſophantium, infinitis artificioſè adhibitis experimentis eruta.* Παραινεσις ἐγκωμιαστικὴ, at the beginning of the Book.

[*H*] *Dr Gilbert writ another piece.*] It was publiſhed at Amſterdam 1651. 4to, from a MS. in the Library of Sir William Boſwell, Knt. under the title of *De mundo noſtro ſublunari Philoſophia nova.* i. e. Of our ſublunar world.

[*I*] *And was the inventor of two moſt ingenious and neceſſary inſtruments, &c.*] This invention of his was publiſhed by Thomas Blondeville, in a book intituled, 'Theoriques of the Planets, together with the making 'of two Inſtruments for Seamen to find out the Latitude without ſeeing of Sun, Moon, or Stars, invented 'by Dr Gilbert.' Lond. 1602. 4to.

[*K*] *Where there is a handſome monument for him.*] A print of it is to be ſeen in the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Colcheſter, by P. M. The Epitaph thereon is very unelegant, and hardly Latin, as appears by the beginning of it; which is thus. *Poſuervnt hunc Tumulum Ambroſius & Gulielmus Gilberd, in memoriam pietatis fraterne Gulielmo Gilberd ſeniori Armigero, & Medicinæ Doctori. Hic primævus Filius Hieronimi Gilberd Armigeri, Natus erat Villæ Colceſtriæ*, &c. The reſt is incorporated into the text of this Article. C

GLANVILL [JOSEPH] an eminent Divine, a general ſcholar, and a very polite writer in the XVIIth century. He was the ſon of a merchant at Plymouth, and was deſcended from an ancient and honourable family ſeated near Taviſtock in the county of Devon (*a*). We have no account preſerved either of the place or manner in which he received the firſt rudiments of a learned education, ſince if there had, it is highly probable they would have been communicated to one or other of thoſe learned Divines, who manifeſted an earneſt deſire of recommending his memory with honour to poſterity (*b*). It is however probable, that the quickneſs of his parts diſtinguiſhed him even in his tender years, ſince we find him entered of Exeter College in the Univerſity of Oxford, under the tuition of Mr Samuel Conant, April 19th, 1652 (*c*). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the ſame Univerſity October the 11th 1655 (*d*). In the midſt of the following ſummer, he thought proper to remove to Lincoln College, the Reverend Mr Paul Hood being then Rector of that learned foundation (*e*). June the 29th, 1658. he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*f*), and about that time was appointed chaplain to Francis Rous, Eſq; Provoſt of Eaton College, and one of thoſe, whom the Protector Oliver deſigned a member of his other houſe (*g*). But this patron of his dying very ſoon after, Mr Glanvill returned back to Lincoln College, where Mr Wood tells us he became a great admirer of Mr Richard Baxter, and a zealous perſon for a Commonwealth (*h*), the former is certainly true, but there ſeems to be ſome proof wanting of the latter, ſince immediately on the reſtitution of the government in Church and State, by the Reſtoration of King Charles the ſecond, Mr Glanvill ſhewed great readineſs in conforming, as other eminent and learned perſons, who had been educated in thoſe unhappy times, alſo did, without deſerving in the leaſt to be reproached for turning about, becauſe in all probability they followed the light of reaſon and their own conſciences (*i*) [*A*]. At leaſt

(*a*) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 351.

(*b*) Dr Horneck and Archdeacon Pleydell.

(*c*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 662.

(*d*) Faſt. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 107.

(*e*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 162.

(*f*) Faſt. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 122.

(*g*) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 565, 566.

(*h*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 662.

(*i*) Parker's Hiſtory of his own Times, p. 33.

[*A*] *They followed the light of reaſon and their own conſciences.*] It is really a point of juſtice due to the memory of this worthy perſon, to wipe off the ſtain of ſo ill-grounded and ſo ill-mannered a reflection as, *that after the* Reſtoration *he turned about, and became a* Latitudinarian (1). We ought to conſider that he came a boy of ſixteen to the univerſity, about four years after the King's murder, and the ſubverſion of the Conſtitution. His buſineſs there was not to give but to receive leſſons, and to make the moſt of that education that was then to be had in the univerſity. There could be nothing criminal in retiring from thence to live in the lodgings of Mr Francis Rous, then Provoſt of Eaton, who was himſelf a notorious time-ſerver, had been

(1) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 663.

leaſt thus much is certain, that tho' Mr Glanvill differed in opinion from many of his old friends, yet was he very far from falling out with them; on the contrary, he ſhewed them very great civilities, particularly to Mr Richard Baxter, in defence of whom he would have written, if Mr Baxter himſelf had not diſſuaded him that he might run no riſk of loſing preferment out of reſpect to him (*k*). As a proof of his ſincerity in this, and of his full confidence in the friendſhip of Mr Glanvill, he ſuffered him to ſee and peruſe a treatiſe of his own, in anſwer to what had been written againſt him by the Biſhop of Worceſter, which he ſhewed to no other perſon whatſoever (*l*). Another point of his conduct expoſed him alſo to the cenſure of Mr Wood; for notwithſtanding all the benefits he derived from that ſevere diſcipline, for which his college and tutor were famous, yet he regretted that he was not bred at Cambridge, becauſe there in his opinion he might have gained an earlier and more thorough knowledge of thoſe notions that were then current under the title of the New Philoſophy (*m*). To theſe ſentiments, however, he was ſo much addicted, and thought the promoting them of ſo great conſequence, that when he was but juſt entered the twenty-fifth year of his age, he ventured to write in defence of them, and publiſhed ſoon after this treatiſe to which his name was prefixed (*n*), in ſupport of a free enquiry, a philoſophy founded upon reaſon and experiment, and againſt the tyranny, which under the name and authority of Ariſtotle had been ſo long exerciſed in the ſchools [*B*].

This

(*k*) Kennet's Regiſter, p. 609.

(*l*) Life of Mr Richard Baxter.

(*m*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 662.

(*n*) Kennet's Regiſter, p. 402.

Speaker of that little Parliament which, with his aſſiſtance, ſurrendering their power to General Cromwell, afforded him the colour of aſſuming the ſupreme authority, which ſervice procured him this place and dignity; and indeed Oliver could not well do leſs than make that gentleman a Lord, who had made him a Prince (2). But what was this to Mr Glanvill? He had no ſhare whatever in theſe tranſactions; and before he had time to contemplate the character of his patron, he loſt him. At his return to Oxford it is acknowledged, that he ſhewed a ſtrong inclination for the new Philoſophy; that is, he knew and was willing to follow the light as ſoon as he ſaw it. Let us hear what Biſhop Sprat, who was in the ſame ſituation, ſays upon this ſubject, and whoſe apology muſt ſatisfy every rational and candid peruſer (3). 'I dare appeal, ſays he, to all unintereſted men who knew the temper of that place, and eſpecially to thoſe who were my own contemporaries there, of whom I can name very many, whom the happy Reſtoration of the kingdom's peace found as well inclined to ſerve their Prince and the Church, as if they had been bred up in the moſt proſperous condition of their country. This was undoubtedly ſo: nor indeed could it be otherwiſe; for ſuch ſpiritual frenzies which did then bear rule, can never ſtand long before a clear and a deep ſkill in nature. It is almoſt impoſſible that they who converſe much with the ſubtilty of things, ſhould be deluded by ſuch thick deceits. There is but one better charm in the world than real Philoſophy, to allay the impulſes of the falſe ſpirit, and that is the bleſſed preſence and aſſiſtance of the true.' To be ſatisfied as to the matter of fact, and that we may be ſure this eloquent writer does not impoſe upon us, let us remember, that at the ſame time with Joſeph Glanvill, A. M. Dr Simon Patrick, Dr Edward Stillingfleet, Dr John Tillotſon, Dr Samuel Parker, Dr Simon Ford, Dr John Worthington, Dr Edward Reynolds, Dr John Conant, Dr Edward Rainbow, Dr Richard Cumberland, and very many more, who had had their education and their benefices during the iniquity of the late times, had ſenſe and learning ſufficient to ſhake off their prejudices, and to rejoice in a reſtored and eſtabliſhed Church (4). Theſe are the aſſertions and the ſentiments of a very judicious hiſtorian, and learned prelate, and we have no room (notwithſtanding Wood's inſinuations) to doubt of their truth.

(2) Walker's Hiſtory of Independency.

(3) Hiſtory of the Royal Society, p. 54.

(4) Biſhop Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 931.

[*B*] *Had been ſo long exerciſed in the ſchools.*] The title of this book at large runs thus:

The Vanity *of* Dogmatizing; *or Confidence in opinions, manifeſted in a diſcourſe of the ſhortneſs and uncertainty of our knowledge, and its cauſes; with ſome reflections on* Peripateticiſm, *and an apology for* Philoſophy. *By* Joſ. Glanvill, M. A. Lond. 1661. in 12mo.

It is addreſſed to the Reverend Mr Joſeph Maynard, B. D. afterwards Doctor in Divinity, and Rector of Exeter College in Oxford. This dedication is dated from Cecil-Houſe in the Strand, March 1. 1660. Then follows a ſhort preface, and after that three copies of verſes to the ingenious author. In this treatiſe our author aſſigns ſeveral reaſons for the ſhortneſs of human knowledge. 1. That knowledge lies deep, and is therefore difficult. 2. Becauſe we can perceive nothing but by proportion to our ſenſes, from the impoſtures and deceits of our ſenſes, the fallacy of our imaginations, the precipitancy of our underſtandings, the intereſt which our affections have in our dijudications. He afterwards makes ſeveral reflections on the peripatetic Philoſophy, and obſerves that it is litigious, and hath no ſettled ſignification of words, that it gives no ſatisfactory account of the phænomena, and is unfit for new diſcoveries, and hath been the author of no one invention, that it is in many things impious and ſelf-contradictory. For proof of this he tells us, that Ariſtotle held that the Reſurrection is impoſſible, that God underſtands not all things, that the world was from eternity, that there is no ſubſtantial form, but moves ſome orb, that the firſt mover moves by an eternal immutable neceſſity, that if the world and motion were not from eternity, then God was idle. Of the Ariſtotelian contradictions, ſays he, Gaſſendus hath preſented us with a catalogue, of which theſe are but a few. Ariſtotle in one place ſaith, that the ſcintillation of the planets is not ſeen, becauſe of their propinquity, but that of the riſing and ſetting ſun is, becauſe of it's diſtance; and yet in another place he makes the ſun nearer us than they are. He aſſerts, that the elements are not eternal, and endeavours to prove it, and yet makes the world ſo, and the elements it's parts. In his meteors he ſays, that no dew is produced in the wind, and yet afterwards admits it under the ſouth, and none under the north. In one place he defines a vapour humid and cold, and in another humid and hot. He affirms the faculty of ſpeaking to be a ſenſe, and yet before he allowed but five. In one place, that nature doth all things beſt; and in another, that it makes more evil than good. And ſomewhere he contradicts himſelf within one line, ſaying, that an immoveable mover hath no principle of motion.

Mr Glanvill then proceeds to ſhew, that dogmatizing is the effect of ignorance, inhabits with untamed paſſions, and an ungoverned ſpirit, is a great diſturber in the world, is ill-mannered and immodeſt, holds men captive in error, betrays a narrowneſs of ſpirit. In the laſt chapter he gives us an apology for Philoſophy, and vindicates it from the imputation of irreligion; and aſſerts, that next after the divine word, it is one of the beſt friends to piety. Neither is it any more juſtly accountable for the impious irregularities of ſome that have paid an homage to it's ſhrine, than religion itſelf, for the ſinful extravagancies both opiniative and practical, of high pretenders to it. It is a vulgar conceit, that Philoſophy holds a confederacy with Atheiſm itſelf; but moſt injurious, for nothing can better antidote us againſt it: and they may as well ſay, that Phyſicians are only murderers. A *philoſophic Atheiſt* is as good ſenſe (that is as much nonſenſe) as a *divine one*. His matter was new and of importance, his manner very eaſy and florid, which gave his book a great courſe in the world.

[*C*] *Which*

This ſmall diſcourſe made him known in the literary world, and raiſed him alſo ſome conſiderable antagoniſts, againſt whom he defended himſelf with great ſpirit (*o*), which to ſay the truth was the more eaſy for him to do, ſince they did not take notice of the moſt exceptionable paſſages in his book, which however he was prudent enough to omit upon a reviſal [*C*]. About this time he entered into Holy Orders, and became not long after Rector of Wimbiſh in the county of Eſſex, which ſeems to have been his firſt eccleſiaſtical preferment (*p*). In the ſucceeding year however he met with better preferment, for Mr John Humfrey being ejected from the vicarage of Frome Selwood in Somerſetſhire, our author was preſented thereto by Sir James Thynne, in the beginning of November 1662 (*q*). He publiſhed the ſame year, but was ſo cautious as not to put his name to it, a very ingenious diſcourſe on the fundamental point of the ancient eaſtern philoſophy, from

(*o*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 351.

(*p*) Kennet's Regiſter, p. 529.

(*q*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. ii. p. 615.

[*C*] *Which however he was prudent enough to omit upon a reviſal.*] Amongſt theſe paſſages there is one which ſhall be produced here, not only as a thing curious and extraordinary, not to ſay extravagant, but becauſe it will give the reader a better conception of our author's diſpoſition and capacity, than the moſt laboured character could do. He had a quick and lively genius, a ready flow, but not a great command of words, and began with handling ſubjects which it required much experience, and a judgment more ſolid than could be expected in a man of his years to manage in a maſterly manner. Theſe were the ſentiments of Dr Beal, as appears in a letter of his to the honourable Mr Boyle, in which he commends and cenſures our author with equal candour (5).

But now to the paſſage (6). ‘That one man, ſays he, ſhould be able to bind the thoughts of another, and determine them to their particular objects, will be reckoned in the firſt rank of impoſſibles; yet by the power of advanced imagination, it may very probably be effected; and the ſtory abounds with inſtances. I'll trouble the reader but with one, and the hands from which I had it make me ſecure of the truth on't.

‘There was very lately a lad in the univerſity of Oxford, who being of very pregnant and ready parts, and yet wanting the encouragement of preferment, was by his poverty forced to leave his ſtudies there, and to caſt himſelf upon the wide world for a livelihood. Now his neceſſities growing daily on him, and wanting the help of friends to relieve him, he was at laſt forced to join himſelf to a company of vagabond gypſies, whom occaſionally he met with, and to follow their trade for a maintenance. Among theſe extravagant people, by the inſinuating ſubtilty of his carriage, he quickly got ſo much of their love and eſteem, as that they diſcovered to him their myſtery; in the practice of which, by the pregnancy of his wit and parts, he ſoon grew ſo good a proficient, as to be able to out-do his inſtructors. After he had been a pretty while well exerciſed in the trade, there chanced to ride by a couple of ſcholars who had formerly been of his acquaintance. The ſcholars had quickly ſpied out their old friend among the gypſies, and their amazement to ſee him among ſuch ſociety, had well nigh diſcovered him; but by a ſign, he prevented their owning him before that crew: and taking one of them aſide privately, deſired him with his friend to go to an inn not far diſtant thence, promiſing there to come to them. They accordingly went thither, and he follows: After their firſt ſalutations, his friends enquire how he came to lead ſo odd a life as that was, and to join himſelf with ſuch a cheating beggarly company. The ſcholar gypſy having given them an account of the neceſſity which drove him to that kind of life, told them, that the people he went with were not ſuch impoſtors as they were taken for, but that they had a traditional kind of learning among them, and could do wonders by the power of imagination, and that himſelf had learnt much of their art, and improved it further than themſelves could. And to evince the truth of what he told them, he ſaid, he would remove into another room, leaving them to diſcourſe together, and upon his return, tell them the ſum of what they had talked of; which accordingly he performed, giving them a full account of what had paſſed between them in his abſence. The ſcholars being amazed at ſo unexpected a diſcovery, earneſtly deſired him to unriddle the myſtery. In which he gave them ſatisfaction, by telling them, that what he did was by the power of imagination, his fancy binding theirs; and that himſelf had dictated to them the diſcourſe they held together while he was from them: That there were warrantable ways of heightening the imagination to that pitch as to bind another's; and that when he had compaſſed the whole ſecret, of ſome parts of which he ſaid he was yet ignorant, he intended to leave their company, and give the world an account of what he had learned.

‘Now that this ſtrange power of the imagination is no impoſſibility, the wonderful ſignatures of the fœtus cauſed by the imagination of the mother, is no contemptible item. The ſympathies of laughing and gaping together are reſolved into this principle; and I ſee not why the fancy of one man, may not determine the cogitation of another, rightly qualified, as eaſily as his bodily motion. This influence ſeems to be no more unreaſonable, than that of one ſtring of a lute upon another, when a ſtroke on it cauſeth a proportionable motion in the ſympathizing conſort, which is diſtant from it, and not ſenſibly touched. Now if this notion be ſtrictly verifiable, it will yield us a good account how angels inject thoughts into our minds, and know our cogitations; and here we may ſee the ſource of ſome kinds of faſcination. If we are prejudiced againſt the ſpeculation, becauſe we cannot conceive the manner of ſo ſtrange an operation, we ſhall indeed receive no help from the common Philoſophy; but yet the hypotheſis of a mundane ſoul, lately revived by that incomparable Platoniſt and Carteſian Dr H. More, will handſomely relieve us. Or, if any would rather have a mechanical account, I think it may probably be made out ſome ſuch way as follows. Imagination is inward ſenſe; to ſenſe is required a motion of certain filaments of the brain, and conſequently in imagination there is the like; they only differing in this, that the motion of the one proceeds immediately from external objects, but that of the other hath it's immediate riſe within us. Now then, when any part of the brain is ſtrongly agitated, that which is next, and moſt capable to receive the motive impreſs, muſt in like manner be moved. Now we cannot conceive any thing more capable of motion than the fluid matter that is interſperſed among all bodies, and contiguous to them. So then the agitated parts of the brain, begetting a motion in the proxime æther, it is propagated through the liquid medium, as we ſee the motion is which is cauſed by a ſtone thrown into the water. Now when the thus moved matter meets with any thing like that from which it received it's primary impreſs, it will proportionably move it, as it is in muſical ſtrings tuned uniſons. And thus the motion being conveyed from the brain of one man to the fancy of another, it is there received from the inſtrument of conveyance, the ſubtile matter and the ſame kind of ſtrings being moved and much what after the ſame manner as in the firſt imaginant; the ſoul is awakened to the ſame apprehenſions as were they that cauſed them. I pretend not to any exactneſs or infallibility in this account, foreſeeing many ſcruples that muſt be removed to make it perfect. It is only an hint of the poſſibility of mechanically ſolving the phænomenon, though very likely it may require many other circumſtances compleatly to make it out.’ Our author in proceſs of time came to think and write in a very different manner.

[*D*] *Or*

(5) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 488.

(6) Vanity of Dogmatizing, Chap. xx. p. 195, & ſeq.

from which moſt of their capital doctrines where deduced, and, which by many plauſible arguments he endeavoured to ſhew, was not contradictory to, or incompatible with, revealed religion (r) [D]. The foundation of the Royal Society for promoting thoſe ends, and encouraging thoſe enquiries, which had been the ſubject of our author's firſt treatiſe, encouraged him to reſume his labours in the ſame cauſe of free ſpeculation, upon which he publiſhed a work new at leaſt in title (s), tho' in reſpect to the matter not very different from his former diſcourſe, except that it was cloſer, more methodical, and free from thoſe conjectures and ſuſpicious narratives, which with ſenſible people had hurt the credit of the former. By this judicious management the new work was much better received, and obtained a very good character, amongſt ſuch as were deſirous of ſeeing the road to truth made as plain and laid as open as it was poſſible [E]. To this he added a defence of his former book againſt Mr White, a famous champion of the Church of Rome, and of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy (t), the whole being cloſed with a ſhort epiſtolary diſcourſe concerning Ariſtotle, one of the moſt ſolid and ſenſible performances that ever fell from our author's pen, and with which, tho' his antagoniſts were very angry, yet, except beſtowing hard names, they were utterly unable to return him any anſwer [F]. In juſtice to his zeal

(r) Kennet's Regiſter, p. 735.

(s) Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 665.

(t) See an account of this anſwer in the note.

[D] *Or incompatible with revealed religon.*] The title of this book is as follows:

Lux Orientalis: *or an* Enquiry *into the opinion of the* eaſtern Sages, *concerning the* pre-exiſtence *of* ſouls: *being a* Key *to unlock the grand* myſteries *of* Providence, *in relation to man*'s ſin *and* miſery Lond. 1662. in 12mo.

It is dedicated to Francis Willoughby, Eſq; a gentleman of great wiſdom and learning (7). In the preface he remarks, that his deſign in this book is only an innocent repreſentation of an ancient and probable opinion, which I conceive, ſays he, may contribute ſomewhat towards the clearing and vindicating the divine attributes, and ſo repreſenting the ever bleſſed Deity as a more fit object of love and adoration, than the opinions of the world make him.——For there is nothing more for the intereſt of religion, than that God be repreſented to his creatures as amiable and lovely, which cannot be better done than by clearing up his providence and dealing with the ſons of men, and diſcovering them to be full of equity, ſweetneſs, and benignity. In this treatiſe he propoſes the ſeveral opinions concerning the original of ſouls, and obſerves, that the daily creation of them is inconſiſtent with the divine attributes; that the traduction of them is impoſſible, and the reaſons for it weak and frivolous. He then exhorts his readers to look towards the ancient ſages, thoſe eaſtern ſophi, who have filled the world with the fame of their wiſdom, and then obſerves, that it was the opinion of the Indian Brachmans, the Perſian Magi, the Egyptian Gymnoſophiſts, the Jewiſh Rabbins, ſome of the Grecian Philoſophers, and Chriſtian Fathers, that the ſouls of men were created all at firſt, and at ſeveral times and occaſions, upon forfeiture of their better life and condition, dropped down into theſe terreſtrial bodies. This the learned among the Jews made a part of their Cabala, and pretend to have received it from their great law-giver, Moſes. Our author proceeds to remark, that the Scripture ſaith nothing againſt it; that it's ſilence is no prejudice to this doctrine, but rather an argument for it, as the caſe ſtands; that pre-exiſtence was the common opinion in our Saviour's time; that our forgetting the former ſtate was no argument to diſprove it; that the proof of the poſſibility of pre-exiſtence would be ſufficient, all other hypotheſes being abſurd and contradictory; but, that it is proved alſo by poſitive arguments; that an argument for it may be drawn from the conſideration of the divine goodneſs, which always doth what is beſt; that another argument may be drawn from the great variety of men's ſpeculative inclinations, and the diverſity of our genius's. He then ſhews what countenance it hath from the Old and New Teſtament, and afterwards ſtates a philoſophical hypotheſis of the ſoul's pre-exiſtence, ſo as to juſtify the commendations he had beſtowed on this fundamental point of oriental Theology.

[E] *And laia as open as it was poſſible.*] The title of this piece at large runs in theſe words:

Scepſis Scientifica: *or* Confeſs'd Ignorance *the way to* Science: *in an* Eſſay *on the* Vanity *of* dogmatizing, *and* confident opinion. Lond. 1665. 4to.

The imprimatur is dated Oct. 18. 1664. It is dedicated to the Royal Society in ſo copious a manner, that this diſcourſe takes up 28 pages. Henry Oldenberg, Eſq; in a letter of his to the Hon. Mr Boyle, dated Decemb. 10. the ſame year, acquaints him (8), 'that 'this work had been preſented by Lord Brereton to the 'Society, and the addreſs prefixed thereto read, 'in which dedication, ſays he, the author expreſſeth a 'very great reſpect to the ſaid Body, and their deſign, 'which I was very glad (and ſo were others) to find to 'be ſo well underſtood at laſt by ſome, though I fear 'the great expectation he raiſeth of their enterprize, 'may be of more prejudice than advantage to them, if 'they be not competently endowed with a revenue to 'carry on their undertakings.'

We have intimated in the text, and the fact is really ſo, that this is no more than his former book againſt dogmatizing reviewed and more cloſely digeſted, all ſuch paſſages (and particularly that reſpecting the Oxford ſcholar) being rejected, as might be attended with difficulty of proof; and perhaps when he was making this reviſal, it would have been as well to have thrown out the doctrine, as the example; which however with his reaſoning upon it, is ſtill retained. This book makes a better appearance, and is of a larger ſize, than his former treatiſe, which notwithſtanding is rather contracted than enlarged; for though our author has given it as his opinion, that he was more fortunate in his firſt thoughts than in his corrections, yet his practice does by no means agree with that aſſertion; ſince it is not eaſy to find a writer (at leaſt of his rank) who has reviewed his performances oftener, or altered them more, of which in the courſe of this article we ſhall give the reader abundant proofs.

[F] *They were utterly unable to return him any anſwer.*] The adverſary againſt whom our author was to vindicate his book, was already known to the learned world by ſeveral names, calling himſelf ſometimes Thomas Albius, ſometimes Thomas Anglus, and ſometimes Thomas Anglus ex Albiis, each of which appellations belongs to, and is the ſame with, Thomas White, ſecond ſon of Richard White, of Hutton in Eſſex, Eſq; by Mary his wife, daughter of Edmund Plowden, the great lawyer in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (9); which Thomas White having been always from his childhood a Catholic, became at length a ſecular prieſt, and a noted philoſopher, as his writings ſhew, ſays honeſt Anthony Wood who had a kindneſs for theſe ſort of people, tho' the chief merit of this gentleman was his being a great diſciple of Sir Kenelm Digby, and a ſteady advocate for the peripatetic Philoſophy. He wrote againſt our author in Latin, and gave his treatiſe the following fanciful title,

Sciri, *ſive*, Sceptices & Scepticorum *a Jure Diſputationis* Excluſio.

This induced Mr Glanvill to intitle his anſwer, that it might bear ſome ſimilitude to the diſcourſe it was intended to refute,

Scire tuum nihil eſt: *or the* Author's defence *of the* vanity of dogmatizing, *againſt the exceptions of the learned* Thomas Albius, *in his late* Sciri.

—— *No doubt but ye are the men, and wiſdom ſhall die with you.* Job.

In this anſwer our author ſets down the objections of his antagoniſt in his own words in Latin, and then his anſwers

(7) Wood's Faſt. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 139.

(8) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 328.

(9) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 665.

zeal as well as out of reſpect to his abilities, our author was choſen a Member of the Royal Society (*u*), a circumſtance, that as on the one hand it did him a great deal of honour, ſo on the other it expoſed him to a heavy load of envy from ſome, and kept up the reſentment of others, who could not think of quitting the beaten path, or bear to ſee thoſe principles ridiculed in their old age, to which they had paid ſo great deference in their youth. But however, the countenance given him by his friends, and the credit he had obtained by his writings, raiſed his courage ſo much, that he ventured in the ſucceeding year, which was 1666, to deliver his ſentiments upon another knotty point, about which the moſt judicious perſons were not then and perhaps never will be agreed (*w*). This was the ſubject of witchcraft [*G*], and proved the beginning of a controverſy, that laſted as long as his life, and was managed with great warmth, and abundance of plauſible arguments on both ſides. June 23d 1666, he was inducted into the Rectory of St Peter and St Paul at Bath (*x*), in which city he from that time fixed his reſidence, yet had not been long there before he found himſelf ſurrounded with new opponents, who undertook the defence of Ariſtotle (*y*), and the old philoſophy, and treated our author Glanvill with as much aſperity for having drawn his pen againſt them, as if the authority of that philoſopher had been ſacred (*z*), or that any ſyſtem of opinions ought to claim implicit reverence independent of their foundation in truth. Mr Glanvill however had a ſpirit that was not to be ſubdued by ſuch treatment, and therefore inſtead of receding in the leaſt from his former ſentiments, he ſupported them upon all occaſions with great firmneſs, and with that fluency of language, for which he was particularly diſtinguiſhed, a circumſtance of no weight at all with his adverſaries (*a*), who pretended that Reaſon ought to have greater reſpect paid it than Rhetoric; as, on the other hand, the friends of our author

(*u*) Sprat's Hiſtory of the Royal Society, p. 432.

(*w*) Conſiderations on Witchcraft.

(*x*) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 351.

(*y*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 665.

(*z*) Stubbe's Diſcourſe on Phlebotomy.

(*a*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 753.

anſwers in Engliſh, from which it appears, that whereas Mr White repreſented Mr Glanvill as a Sceptic, and wrote againſt him, though with many commendations of his abilities, as ſuch he is therein miſtaken, Mr Glanvill having no intention to maintain what are ſtrictly and properly ſtiled Sceptical Principles, but to oppoſe Confidence in Opinions; the truth and certainty of which cannot be proved as prejudicial to learning and knowledge.

In his *Letter to a* Friend, *concerning* Ariſtotle, which contains but 22 pages, he in a very clear and cloſe chain of reaſoning, juſtifies his oppoſition to the received authority of thoſe doctrines that have been long taught in the ſchools, under the ſanction of that Philoſopher's name. In reſpect to theſe he obſerves, that whatever fondneſs later ages may have expreſſed for him, the pious fathers of the firſt and pureſt ages of Chriſtianity ſhewed no ſuch veneration for Ariſtotle, but frequently reproved his notions with a keen and impartial ſeverity, of which he gives various inſtances. He next remarks, that Ariſtotle roſe into all this credit after his works came into the hands of the Arabians, and in an age when ignorance was epidemic. He then ſhews that it is very doubtful, whether the greateſt part of the pieces that paſs under the name of this philoſopher are his or not, which he diſcuſſes with much learning and candour. He mentions alſo that irreverence with which Ariſtotle treated all other philoſophers; ſo that in oppoſing him, he only follows his own example. He proceeds then to ſhew, that the Corpuſcularian and Atomical Philoſophy was prior in point of time to that of Ariſtotle; ſo that ſuch as eſpouſe it, ought to be eſteemed rather defenders, than deſpiſers of antiquity. He produces the authority of many ancient and eſteemed authors, to ſhew that the morals of Ariſtotle were none of the beſt; and laſtly he proves, that he borrowed almoſt all he wrote, and was not over ready to acknowledge from whom he borrowed; qualities that did not ſeem to warrant any exceſſive reſpect to him.

[*G*] *This was the ſubject of Witchcraft.*] The title of this book of his ſtood originally thus, though frequently altered in ſubſequent editions.

Some Philoſophical Conſiderations *touching the* Being *of* Witches, *and* Witchcraft. Lond. 1666 4to.

It was in the form of an epiſtle to Robert Hunt, Eſq; a Juſtice of the Peace, who had been very active in taking the examinations againſt ſeveral ſuppoſed witches; but the book being burnt in the great fire at London in the beginning of September the ſame year, it was re-printed there again in 1667. in the ſame ſize. Again, under the title of *A Blow at* modern Sadduciſm, *in ſome* Philoſophical Conſiderations *about* Witchcraft. Lond. 1668. 4to. To this book are ſubjoined *A* Relation *of the famed* Diſturbance *at the* Houſe *of Mr* Mumpeſſon, *and Reflections on* Drollery *and* Atheiſm. In 1668 he publiſhed *Palpable Evidence of* Spirits *and* Witchcraft, *in an account of the famed diſturbance by a* Drummer *in the houſe of Mr* Mumpeſſon. Lond. 1668. This is the ſame with the *Relation* abovementioned, only the title altered. *A Whip for the Droll* Fiddler *to the* Atheiſt, *being Reflections on* Drollery *and* Atheiſm. Lond. 1668. This is likewiſe moſtly the ſame with the *Reflections on Drollery*, &c. above-mentioned.

Saduciſmus Triumphatus, *or full and plain Evidence concerning* Witches *and* Apparitions, *in* two *parts*. Lond. 1681. in 8vo. and there again in 1682. with large additions, by Dr Henry More, the editor of both editions. The *firſt* part treats of the poſſibility, the *ſecond* of the real exiſtence of Witches, with a letter to Dr Henry More, upon the ſame ſubject. The firſt part conſiſts of his conſiderations touching the being of witchcraft, re-printed here the fifth time. The ſecond part contains an anſwer to part of *the Diſplay of ſuppoſed Witchcraft*, &c. by Mr John Webſter, *Practitioner in Phyſic and Chirurgery in the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire*, printed at London 1667, in folio, and Mr Glanvill's former relation of the famed diſturbance at the houſe of Mr Mumpeſſon, and a ſecond narrative of it enlarged with a collection of twenty-ſix modern relations. The author's imperfect preface to the ſecond part gives an account of the ſeveral editions of his former treatiſe of Witches, and relates the many motives which induced him to make thoſe large additions in that edition. The perſon who peruſed his papers after his death, digeſted his materials which were left ſomewhat imperfect, and ſupplied what was wanting by advertiſements through the whole work. The laſt advertiſement is the moſt conſiderable; and as an appendix to the firſt part, concerning the poſſibility of apparitions, &c. is added *An Account of the* nature *of a* Spirit, tranſlated out of the two laſt chapters of Dr More's *Enchiridion Metaphyſicum*. We ſhall have occaſion to mention the firſt of theſe pieces in another note; but it may not be amiſs before we cloſe this to obſerve, that in the laſt edition of it, it was dedicated to Charles Duke of Richmond and Lenox, and that dedication is dated from Bath June 8. 1668. At the time he was making his collection of relations, our author held a correſpondence with the great Mr Boyle, who gave him many very juſt cautions about his management of ſo tender a ſubject, and hinted to him, that the credit of Religion might ſuffer from weak arguments upon ſuch topicks (10). In his anſwers Mr Glanvill profeſſes himſelf much obliged for thoſe kind admonitions, and promiſes him to be exceeding careful in the choice of his relations.

(10) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 244, 628.

thor conceived, that if Reaſon had not been on his ſide, he could never have maintained his diſpute with ſo much viſible advantage, or thoſe who oppoſed him driven to take ſhelter in ſcurrilous language, and groundleſs aſperſions (*b*) [*H*]. But not relying upon theſe deciſions, which however ſatisfactory in regard to his behaviour in a perſonal diſpute, were of little or no force towards ſettling a point of ſuch high importance to the public; he reſolved once more to carry his cauſe before that tribunal, and to appeal on the behalf of truth and ſcience, to the candid judges of that age, and to poſterity (*c*), which he did in a ſmall but elegant treatiſe, that added highly and juſtly to his reputation, and which is ſtill very much eſteemed by the curious, being become ſo ſcarce as not to be met with in other hands (*d*) [*I*]. That applauſe which our author received from ſome of the moſt eminent

(*b*) Dr Horneck's Preface to his Remains.

(*c*) Plus Ultra, ch. 1.

(*d*) Britiſh Librarian, p. 116.

[*H*] *To take ſhelter in ſcurrilous language and groundleſs aſperſions.*] The reader will eaſily perceive, from what has been ſaid in the text, that our author's writing in defence of the new Philoſophy, engaged him in a kind of literary war, from the very time that his firſt book appeared, which he probably hoped might have received ſome check upon his retiring from the univerſity to Bath; but even there he found many opponents, who not being ſo well able to deal with him themſelves, contrived in the year 1667 (11) to carry him to the houſe of a brother Clergyman, the Rev. Mr Robert Croſs, Vicar of Great Chew, near Pensford in Somerſetſhire, who was a great admirer of Ariſtotle, and a violent defender of the peripatetic Philoſophy, as Mr Glanvill found to his coſt, who not having been previouſly informed of this intended altercation, was in ſome meaſure ſurprized, and did not anſwer with that quickneſs and facility which otherwiſe he would have done. Upon this Croſs, who ſaw his advantage, and was none of the moſt humane adverſaries, declaimed paſſionately againſt modern innovators, and maintained poſitively, that Ariſtotle alone had more advantages for acquiring knowledge than the Royal Society, or all the preſent age had, or could have, and that for this ſtrong reaſon, becauſe he had ſurveyed all Aſia. However, our author ſoon recovered himſelf, and in ſome future converſations, and by letters, ſtrove to make good that cauſe for which he was an advocate, and in ſupport more eſpecially of the Royal Society, and their proceedings, of which aſſembly knowing him to be a member, Mr Croſs had not only ſpoke with intemperate freedom, but with the utmoſt virulence and contempt. After this controverſy had been carried on for ſome time in this manner, by which our author was conſtrained to bend his thoughts, particularly to the compariſon between the old and new methods of philoſophiſing, the jejune dryneſs of the former, and the prolific vigour of the latter, he ſaw it would be no difficult buſineſs to draw up an entertaining and inſtructive account of modern improvements, and daily experience convinced him, that nothing could be more expedient or even neceſſary for the ſupport of his private character, vindicating the honour of the Royal Society, or affording proper information to the public.

(11) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 753.

[*I*] *As not to be met with in other hands.*] The title of this ſmall but valuable performance runs thus:

Plus Ultra: or *The Progreſs and Advancement of* Knowledge *ſince the days of* Ariſtotle. *In an account of ſome of the moſt remarkable* late Improvements *of practical uſeful Learning to encourage* philoſophical Endeavours. *Occaſioned by a Conference with one of the Notional Way.* By Joſeph Glanvill. Lond. 1668. in 12mo. The *Imprimatur* is dated May 2. 1668. After his dedication to William (Pierce) Biſhop of Bath and Wells, and his preface to the Clergy of that dioceſe, we come to the work itſelf, which in the running title is called Modern Improvements of uſeful Knowledge, and is divided into eighteen chapters, though the whole is written by way of letter to a friend. He remarks at the very entrance of his work, that the two principal ways of promoting knowledge, are firſt, by enlarging the hiſtory of things, and ſecondly, by improving intercourſe; and in theſe reſpects this age hath great advantages from the improvements of Mathematics, particularly of Arithmetic, Algebra and Geometry, Aſtronomy, Optics and Geography. He then obſerves, that uſeful knowledge is aſſiſted by the inſtruments lately invented, as the teleſcope, microſcope, thermometer, barometer, and air-pump, and by the modern improvements of Natural Hiſtory. That the later ages have great advantages for ſpreading and communicating knowledge, particularly by printing, the compaſs, and the Royal Society. Our author ſhews the reaſons of the inſtitution of that Society, and their deſigns, and gives an account of what Mr Boyle had then done for the promotion of uſeful knowledge, and what he had by him not then publiſhed, and points out the reaſons for the world to expect greater things of the Royal Society.

He next ſhews the abſurdity of making compariſon between the advantages which Ariſtotle had for knowledge, and thoſe of later ages; and concludes with certain obſervations about the cenſure of Atheiſm applied to philoſophical men, and an apology for the Royal Society, and other generous Philoſophers; and with regard to himſelf, he gives us the following account: In his firſt education he was continually inſtructed into a religious and faſt adherence to every thing which he was taught, and a dread of diſſenting in the leaſt article. This diſcipline he underwent in his younger days, and thought very ſtrangely of thoſe who believe any thing different from the opinions of their inſtructors But advancing in years, and coming to a freer exerciſe of his own mind, he began to make reflexions upon the vaſt diverſity and variety of apprehenſions and religions in the world. He conſidered, that they were all as confident in their way, as he was in that wherein he was inſtructed; and the greateſt part had nothing but their education for their inducement. He thought how eaſy we are in our firſt age, and that the children muſt believe; yet men, eſpecially thoſe bred in the way of ſtudy, muſt try. He conſidered what he ſhould firſt adviſe an Heathen or Mahometan to do, who had been brought up to idolatry and fables, and upon the conſultation with himſelf concluded, that it ſhould be to look about him, and to examine other religions, regarding his own with the ſame eye of indifferency and ſuſpenſion, as if he had never been born under that faith, which was a thing extrinſic and accidental, and therefore not fit to make an argument to engage a reaſonable belief; and when he had ſo thought, he turned the tables, and took the counſel himſelf. He therefore bent his chief ſtudies and endeavours to know the truth of the Chriſtian Faith; and after the foundations laid in the ſettling the grand article, the Being of a God, and the conſequent doctrines of a Natural Theology, he ſat down to enquire about the authority of the holy Scripture; not that he poſitively doubted or diſtruſted their veracity, but that he might have a firm bottom, and be able to give an account of his Faith and Hope. In his enquiry the firſt diſcourſes he met with on the ſubject did not at all ſatisfy, but ſeemed weak and greatly obnoxious. But in the progreſs of his ſearch, he lighted upon thoſe grounds which, I thank God, ſays he, quieted my mind, and gave me the moſt demonſtrative aſſurance that the nature of the thing could bear, of the truth and certainty of thoſe ſacred writings, which undoubtedly contain the fulleſt diſcoveries of the divine wiſdom and perfections, which I infinitely admire, and ſhall eternally adore that goodneſs that bleſſed the ſons of men with ſuch clear diſcoveries of his will. And though I perceive that the follies and ſuperſtitions of ſects, who have the holy oracles always in their mouths, and preſs them for the ſervice of their conceits, have prejudiced ſome of the pretenders to reaſon againſt them; yet this I ſee, that the wiſer, freer, better, and more reaſonable any man is, the greater ſtill is his veneration of thoſe holy records, and the reliſh of them increaſeth with our improvements in virtue and goodneſs. The very learned Morhoff cenſures this book, and in doing it ſays ſome very coarſe things of this nation, which however is the leſs wonderful eminent men, as well in point of knowledge as rank, from this excellent performance, raiſed the reſentment of his adverſaries to a very high degree, which they diſcovered in ſome railing and abuſive pieces (*e*), to which Mr Glanvill replied with great vehemence and ſpirit, but at the ſame time intermixed a little too much of that kind of language by which he had been provoked (*f*); which however had in ſome meaſure its effect, and might perhaps contribute to his being leſs diſturbed afterwards (*g*) [*K*]. His credit was now ſo thoroughly eſtabliſhed, that he was frequently called upon to preach before numerous aſſemblies, and on many ſolemn occaſions. Amongſt theſe one was at a viſitation of the dioceſe, and his diſcourſe at that time on the harmony between Religion and Reaſon was not only exactly ſuitable to the ſeaſon and the audience, but in itſelf ſo perfectly adapted to that weighty and delicate ſubject, as to meet with general approbation (*h*) [*L*]. He was

(*e*) See Stubbe's Letters to Mr Boyle.

(*f*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 562.

(*g*) See the Preface to his Eſſays.

(*h*) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 351.

wonderful when we conſider, that from his own words it appears he had never ſeen it, but took the character of it from Stubbe's anſwer, and Cauſabon's epiſtle, which led him to believe, that Mr Glanvill had ſpoken diſreſpectfully of all ages and all nations but his own; whereas nothing can be more remote from the ſcope and tendency of his book, which differs very little from thoſe of his former treatiſes that Morhoff had ſeen, read, and commended (12).

[*K*] *To his being leſs diſturbed afterwards*] In ſome chapters of the book mentioned in the preceding note, our author has treated the old Somerſetſhire Vicar with a degree of raillery, which however it might pleaſe the bulk of his readers, muſt naturally give him who was the ſubject of it much uneaſineſs. Mr Croſs thereupon ſet pen to paper, and wrote not ſo much a defence of his own ſentiments, as a reply to thoſe railleries; but the preſs being at that time under a licence, it was, upon peruſal, rejected by ſuch as had that power committed to them, both at Oxford and at London; and this, as our author ſays, for it's incomparable railing and impertinence. Mr Glanvill notwithſtanding, by his intereſt, procuring an account of the contents of it, ſent it in a private letter to Dr Ingelo; which letter afterwards coming into a friend's hands in London, was printed at London, and called the Chew Gazette; but there were not 100 copies of it, and thoſe all given into private hands. In this letter Mr Glanvill preſented a collection of ſome of the ſcurrilous names which Mr Croſs had called him, recited about ſixteen of his groſs falſhoods, diſcovered the contemptible impertinency of the book, and gave a ſpecimen of the learning which Mr Croſs ſhewed in ſchool-ſcraps, little ends of verſe, and children's phraſes, which are, ſays our author, all the reading he diſcovers. Theſe things are in brief repreſented in the Gazette, and much more largely in a Latin account of his performance, which I have ready by me. After this letter was abroad, Mr Croſs wrote ballads againſt our author, and engaged Mr Henry Stubbe, the Phyſician of Warwick, in his defence, who publiſhed a book intituled,

The Plus Ultra *reduced to a* Non-Plus: *or a* Specimen *of ſome* Animadverſions *upon the* Plus Ultra *of Mr* Joſeph Glanvill; *with divers enquiries made about ſeveral matters.* Lond. 1670. 4to.

This occaſioned our author to publiſh

A Prefatory Anſwer *to Mr* Henry Stubbe, *the* Doctor *of* Warwick. *Wherein the malignity of his temper, the hypocriſy of his pretences, the falſhood of his reports, and the impertinency of his arguings and quotations, in his animadverſions on* Plus Ultra, *are diſcovered.* By Joſ. Glanvill. Lond. 1671. 12mo. This piece is addreſſed to his much honoured friend Francis Godolphin, Eſq;

Upon this Mr Stubbe wrote *A Preface againſt* Ecebolius Glanvill, *Fellow of the Royal Society*, ſubjoined to his *Reply unto a* Letter *written to Mr* Henry Stubbe, *in defence of the* Hiſtory *of the* Royal Society. Oxford, 1671. 4to.

He fell upon him likewiſe in his *Epiſtolary Diſcourſe concerning* Phlebotomy, *in oppoſition to* George Thomſon, *Pſeudo-Chymiſt, a pretended* Diſciple *to the Lord* Verulam. Lond. 1671. 4to.

Mr Glanvill immediately publiſhed *A farther Diſcovery of Mr* Stubbe, *in a brief reply to the laſt pamphlet againſt* Joſeph Glanvill. Lond. 1671. 8vo. To this tract is ſubjoined *Ad Clerum Somerſetenſem Epiſtola* ΠΡΟΣΦΩΝΗΣΙΣ.

Dr Meric Cauſabon alſo made ſome reflections upon our author's *Plus Ultra*, in a *Letter* to *Peter du Moulin*, D. D &c. *concerning Natural and Experimental Philoſophy, and ſome books lately ſet out about it.* Cambridge, 1669. 4to.

In this letter Dr Cauſabon vindicates Ariſtotle from the imputations thrown upon him by Mr Glanvill, who he obſerves doth not want words to ſet out his matter to the beſt advantage; and remarks, that whereas a long inventory is given by our author of things lately diſcovered that were not known to the Antients, it would have been the part of an impartial man to have told us at the ſame time, that we have loſt ſome things, alſo known to the Antients, and what they are, which happily might deſerve as much reſpect, ſo much at leaſt, as not to be paſſed in ſilence. Many ſuch things, beſides what is collected by Pancirollus, in a treatiſe of that argument, have been obſerved by more than one, Phyſicians and others, all which I cannot call to mind ſuddenly. But after all theſe, and many other reflections of the ſame kind, Cauſabon, who was a man of great candour, and conſiderable knowledge, at the cloſe of his letter delivers himſelf thus: 'What I 'had to except againſt the book you brought me, 'I have told you; I muſt now thank you for it: for 'in very truth, his Divinity at the end, which is ſome'what myſtical, (I hope I do not underſtand it) and 'thoſe two particulars, his contempt of Ariſtotle, and 'his cenſuring all other learning beſides Experimental 'Philoſophy, and what tendeth to it, as uſeleſs and 'mere wrangling, and diſputing excepted; I have read 'the reſt, wherein he doth give us an exact account of 'late diſcoveries, with much pleaſure. For tho' I think 'many ages may paſs before the uſe of many of thoſe 'particulars are known, yet Ariſtotle hath taught me '(and he proves it excellently) that nothing can be in na'ture ſo mean, or ſo vile, but deſerves to be taken no'tice of, and will afford to an ingenious ſpeculative man 'matter of pleaſure and delight.' Mr Glanvill mentions this piece of Dr Cauſabon at the end of the preface to his Prefatory Anſwer to Mr Henry Stubbe, and tells us, that he had anſwered the ſtrictures of that reverend man in a particular diſcourſe, *which I think*, ſays he, *to publiſh next, when I reckon with Mr* Stubbe.

But notwithſtanding our author never publiſhed any thing upon this head; only ſome years afterwards he judged it expedient to give this account of his conduct, 'The learned Dr Meric Cauſabon writ reflections on this 'eſſay in a letter to Dr Peter du Moulin, who it 'ſeems had preſented it to him. They were printed 'in the year 1669, and my anſwers ſoon after ready: 'but conſidering that the Doctor allowed all that 'which was my main deſign, and only oppoſed his own 'miſtakes and ſuſpicions, I thought fit to ſuppreſs my 'reply, and was the rather ſilent, becauſe not willing 'to appear in a controverſy with a perſon of fame and 'learning, who had treated me with ſo much civility, 'and in a way ſo different from that of my other aſ'ſailants.'

[*L*] *To meet with general approbation.*] The title of this piece at large is conceived in the following terms:

ΛΟΓΟΥ ΘΡΗΡΚΕΙΑ,: or *a ſeaſonable* Recommendation *and* Defence *of* Reaſon *in the affairs of* Religion, *againſt* Infidelity, Scepticiſm, *and* Fanaticiſm *of all ſorts*. Lond. 1670. 4to. It is a diſcourſe on Rom. xii. the latter part of verſe 1. addreſſed *ad Clerum*:

Our

(12) Polyhiſtor. literar.

was encouraged from thence to print it thrice; at firſt without his name, afterwards added to a piece which he owned, and a third time in another form. His ſucceſs in this performance encouraged him to proceed ſomewhat farther in the ſame track, and as he found that there ſtill remained an unaccountable animoſity in the boſoms of ſome learned and good men, againſt the new methods propoſed for the advancement of uſeful knowledge, from

Our author begins with obſerving, that there is nothing which hath done ſo much miſchief to Chriſtianity, as the diſparagement of reaſon, under pretence of reſpect and favour to religion; ſince hereby the very foundations of the Chriſtian Faith have been undermined, and the world prepared for Atheiſm. Whereas, to repreſent the fair agreement that is between reaſon and religion, is the moſt ſeaſonable ſervice that can be done unto both; ſince hereby religion will be reſcued from the impious accuſation of it's being groundleſs and imaginary, and reaſon alſo defended againſt the unjuſt charge of thoſe that would make this beam of God prophane and irreligious. Our author's deſign is to ſhew, that religion is a reaſonable thing; in treating of which propoſition, he 1. States what he means by religion, and what by reaſon. 2. Demonſtrates their harmony and agreement. 3. Diſables the main objections which are alledged againſt the uſe of reaſon in the affairs of Faith. 4. Improves all by ſome inferences and advices.

With regard to the firſt particular he obſerves, that the name of religion ſignifies binding, and ſo imports duty, and all duty is compriſed under theſe two generals, worſhip and virtue. Worſhip comprehends all our duties to God; virtue all thoſe which relate to our neighbour, or ourſelves. Religion then primarily conſiſts in theſe. But duty cannot be performed without knowledge; and ſome principles there muſt be which muſt direct theſe practices; and thoſe which diſcover and direct them in thoſe actions of duty are called principles of reaſon. Theſe are of two ſorts; ſome are, 1. Fundamental and eſſential, others acceſſory and aſſiſting. Fundamental principles are ſuch as are ſuppoſed to the duties of religion, one or more, and ſuch as are abſolutely neceſſary to the performance of them reſpectively. Of this ſort our author mentions four. 1. That there is a God of infinite perfection. 2. That we are ſinners, and expoſed to his diſpleaſure. This is neceſſary to confeſſion of ſins and repentance; parts of worſhip. 3. That God is our maker, and the author of all our bleſſings. This is neceſſary to the duties of prayer, praiſe, and adoration. 4. That there is moral good and evil; without this there can be no charity, humility, juſtice, purity, or the reſt. The acceſſory and aſſiſting principles are, 1. That God will pardon us if we repent. 2. That he will aſſiſt us if we endeavour. 3. That he will accept of ſervices that are imperfect, if they are ſincere. 4. That he will reward or puniſh in another world, according to what we have done in this.

This Mr Glanvill eſteems to be the ſum of religion in general, and that Chriſtianity takes in all thoſe duties, and all the principles, advancing the duties to nobler meaſures, and encouraging them by new motives and aſſiſtances, and ſuperadding two other inſtances, Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper. And for the principles, it confirms thoſe of natural religion, and explains them further, and diſcovers ſome ſew new ones. And all theſe, ſays he, both of the former and latter ſort, are contained in the Creed. Here are all the fundamentals of religion, and the main aſſiſting principles alſo. And I call nothing elſe religion but plain duties, and theſe acknowledged principles, and though our Church requires our aſſent to more propoſitions, yet thoſe are only articles of communion, not doctrines abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation. And if we go beyond the Creed for the eſſentials of faith, who can tell where we ſhall ſtop? The ſum of religion primarily is duty, and duty is all that which God hath commanded to be done by his word or our reaſons, and we have the ſubſtance of theſe in the Commandments. Religion alſo, in a ſecondary ſenſe, conſiſts in ſome principles relating to the worſhip of God and of his Son, in the ways of devout and virtuous living, and theſe are compriſed in that ſummary of belief called the Apoſtles Creed. This I take to be religion; and this religion I ſhall prove to be reaſonable. But I cannot undertake for all the opinions ſome men are pleaſed to call orthodox; nor for all thoſe that by many private perſons, and ſome Churches, are counted eſſential articles of faith and ſalvation.

Our author then proceeds to fix the proper notion of reaſon, which is ſometimes taken for reaſon in the faculty, which is the underſtanding, and at other times for reaſon in the object, which conſiſts in thoſe principles and concluſions by which the underſtanding is informed. This latter is meant in the diſpute concerning the agreement or diſagreement of reaſon and religion. Having premiſed this, our author goes on to his ſecond point, to ſhew that religion is reaſonable; which implies two things, viz. That reaſon is a friend to religion, and that religion is ſo to reaſon. From theſe two reſults their correſpondence and agreement. Under the firſt branch he obſerves, that with regard to the principles of religion, which are called Faith, reaſon greatly befriends them. 1. By proving ſome of thoſe principles. 2. By defending all. Having ſhewn how ſerviceable reaſon is to religion, he next proves, that religion befriends reaſon; for which purpoſe he offers ſome teſtimonies of Scripture in which God himſelf, and Chriſt and his apoſtles, own and acknowledge reaſon. From this diſcourſe he draws the following inferences. 1. Reaſon is certain and infallible. 2. Reaſon is, in a ſenſe, the word of God. 3. The belief of our reaſon is an exerciſe of faith, and faith is an act of reaſon. 4. No principle of reaſon contradicts any article of faith. 5. When any thing is pretended from reaſon againſt any article of faith, we ought not to cut the knot by denying reaſon, but endeavour to untie it by anſwering the argument; and it is certain it may be fairly anſwered. 6. When any thing is offered us for an article of faith that ſeems to contradict reaſon, we ought to ſee that there be good cauſe to believe that this is divinely revealed, and in the ſenſe propounded. 7. There is nothing that God hath revealed to oblige our faith, but he hath given us reaſon to believe that he hath revealed it. 8. A man may hold an erroneous opinion from a miſtaken ſenſe of Scripture, and deny what is the truth of the propoſition, and what is the right meaning of the text, and yet not err in faith. 9. In ſearching after the ſenſe of Scripture, we ought to conſult the principles of reaſon as we do other Scriptures. 10. The eſſentials of religion are ſo plainly revealed, that no man can miſs them that hath not a mighty corrupt biaſs in his will and affections to infatuate and blind his underſtanding.

Theſe are ſome propoſitions, ſays Mr Glanvill, that follow from my diſcourſe, and from one another. The better they are conſidered, the more their force will be perceived; and I think they may ſerve for many very conſiderable purpoſes of religion, charity, and the peace of mankind. He then addreſſes himſelf to his brethren of the clergy in the following reflections. 1. To diſclaim reaſon as an enemy to religion, tends to the introduction of Atheiſm, Infidelity, and Scepticiſm, and hath already brought in a flood of theſe upon us. 2. The denial of reaſon in religion, hath been the principal engine that heretics and enthuſiaſts have uſed againſt the faith, and that which lays us open to infinite follies and impoſtures. 3 By the ſame way great advantage is given to the Church of Rome; againſt whom, if we argue from reaſon, it would not only be diſingenuous, but ridiculous, to diſclaim the authority of reaſon, if urged on her behalf againſt us. On the whole he concludes clearly, that without adhering to reaſon, and acknowledging it in a certain ſenſe for our great guide in matters of religion, there can be no ſecurity againſt the tyranny of eccleſiaſtical power; or which late experience had ſhewn to be a worſe tyranny, that of fanatic ſpirits, men carried away with the fervour of their imaginations, and who were in the right to deſpiſe and declaim againſt reaſon, which they could not either uſe in their own cauſe, or ſuffer to be urged in behalf of any other.

[*M*] *This*

from an apprehenſion that they might be dangerous to concerns of a higher nature, he determined, that as he had ſhewn the connexion between Reaſon and Religion, he would likewiſe explain the ſtrict correſpondence between Religion and the new Philoſophy (*i*). This he performed with equal ſuccinctneſs and perſpicuity, and merited thereby the thanks of the wiſeſt and beſt men in the nation, as well as the particular acknowledgments of the members of the Royal Society, in ſupport of whoſe laborious and laudable endeavours this treatiſe was chiefly written (*k*) [*M*]. He was in other reſpects far from being a lazy or uſeleſs member of that learned Society (*l*); but, on the contrary, contributed chearfully to the maintenance of that reputation, which from their vigorous efforts to promote a uſeful and practical knowledge of the works of nature and art, had ſo juſtly eſtabliſhed their reputation at home and abroad (*m*) [*N*]. In July 1672, he exchanged the vicarage of Frome

(*i*) Morhofii Polyhiſtor. II. 2, 9, 2.

(*k*) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 352.

(*l*) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 367.

(*m*) Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 28, 39, 49

[*M*] *This treatiſe was chiefly written.*] The title of this treatiſe at large runs thus:

Philosophia Pia: or, *A Diſcourſe of the religious temper and tendencies of the* Experimental Philoſophy *which is profeſſed by the* Royal Society. Lond. 1671. 8vo.

This ſuccinct but very ſolid performance he addreſſed to that very learned prelate Dr Seth Ward, then Biſhop of Saliſbury. In this treatiſe he undertakes to diſcuſs theſe four points. That God is to be praiſed for his works. That his works are to be ſtudied by thoſe that would praiſe him for them. That the ſtudy of nature and God's work is very ſerviceable to religion. That the miniſters and profeſſors of religion ought not to diſcourage, but promote, the knowledge of nature and the works of it's author. In diſcuſſing the firſt point he ſhews, that what is called the religion of nature, ariſes from the conſideration of the works of God, and conſiſts chiefly in paying him that homage which unbiaſſed reaſon will teach us is due to a Being of ſuch infinite wiſdom and goodneſs as is expreſſed in them. He farther ſhews, that in ſcripture God himſelf inſiſts upon his works as demonſtrations of his attributes; that holy men, inſpired by him, make theſe the topic of their hymns and praiſes, and that the ſabbath was ſet apart and hallowed for this very purpoſe, that men might have time to contemplate the works of God, and from thence be made ſenſible of their obligation to bleſs and fear him. As to the ſecond head, he remarks, that as this is our higheſt duty, ſo it claims our higheſt attention, that God is pleaſed with rational ſervice, and that it is impoſſible to praiſe him ſincerely, unleſs we do it ſenſibly, and from a thorough perſwaſion of the truth of thoſe praiſes we offer, which never can be had but from a ſteady and cloſe application to the ſtudy of his works. In reference to the third point, he clearly demonſtrates, that this ſtudy leads to the very perfection of religion, by obliging us to ſee and take notice of the Almighty in every thing that we behold or enjoy; and if, ſays he, this knowledge of nature be abuſed to different and contrary purpoſes, natural wiſdom is not in fault, but the perverſe will of him who turns this excellent inſtrument of religion upon itſelf. But that the knowledge of nature may be uſed to a nobler purpoſe, appears from the aſſiſtance that it affords againſt the capital enemies of religion, which are atheiſm, ſadduciſm, ſuperſtition, enthuſiaſm, and the humour of diſputing. He inſiſts at large upon each of theſe points, after which he paſſes to the fourth head, and upon that he remarks, that from what he has already proved, it is clear that the miniſters and profeſſors of religion ought to encourage what has a viſible tendency to ſupport it, and that it is a very great prejudice to ſuppoſe that they ſtray beyond the proper bounds of their function, whenever they bend their ſtudies towards Natural Philoſophy; whereas in truth it is a part, and a very valuable part, of Theology. He then anſwers two objections; the firſt grounded on St Paul's declaration, that he deſired to know nothing but Chriſt, and him crucified; he ſuggeſts that by nothing, muſt be underſtood in this place, nothing inconſiſtent with, or withdrawing the mind from, that important and neceſſary office; for otherwiſe, this would exclude all kind of ſcience, however innocent, however neceſſary; and taking in this diſtinction St Paul's declaration, does by no means extend to this point.

The ſecond objection is taken from the repeated cautions given by the ſame Apoſtle, againſt being led away by vain Philoſophy. To this he replies, that the caution is very juſt with reſpect to a notional, captious, and wrangling Philoſophy, which ſerves only to waſte time, to excite heats, and to draw mankind from the purſuit of truth; but has nothing to do with a prudent enquiry into the operations of nature, which muſt be attended with a conviction of the divine interpoſition in all things, ſince experiment is a kind of natural revelation, conducting thoſe who purſue it to the knowledge of truth and it's author; and therefore Natural Philoſophy is not that vain Philoſophy which the Apoſtle condemned. He adds, that by their progreſs in theſe ſtudies, men enlarge their faculties, purify their deſires, elevate their views, conceive humbly of themſelves, and reverently of him from whom they come, and in whoſe hands they are. His concluſion is thus; the ſtudy of God's works, joined with thoſe pious ſentiments they deſerve, is a kind of anticipation of Heaven; and next after the contemplations of his word, and the wonders of his mercy diſcovered in our redemption, it is one of the beſt and nobleſt employments, the moſt becoming a reaſonable creature, and ſuch a one as is taught by the moſt reaſonable and excellent religion in the world.

[*N*] *Their reputation at home and abroad.*] It frequently happens, that men of lively parts and happy abilities for writing, when materials are in their power, labour notwithſtanding under ſuch defects, in point of attention and application, as render it very unfit for ſuch long and ſerious enquiries, as are abſolutely requiſite towards promoting the views of an active ſociety, in procuring that kind of intelligence which can only increaſe the ſtock, or if I may be allowed the expreſſion, the capital of real merit. It is therefore very extraordinary to find in Mr Glanvill, the ſame ability and the ſame readineſs in one way as in the other; and it is certainly a piece of juſtice due to his memory, to ſet this in a clear and ſtrong light, and this the rather becauſe ſuch as have given us memoirs of him paſs it by, either from want of attention, or want of information. The proofs of what we have advanced lie in the Philoſophical Tranſactions of the Royal Society (13); from whence it appears, that he aſſiſted diligently in the execution of the moſt arduous ſervice on which he could be put by that learned body; that is, in anſwering clearly, cautiouſly, and circumſtantially, thoſe queries that were directed to him about the mines in Mendip-hills, and thoſe alſo that reſpect the Bath; from which, becauſe they are very curious, we will make an extract in his own words, for the information and entertainment of the reader.

(13) Philoſophical Tranſactions of the Royal Society, No. xlix.

The country round this city is very hilly and uneven, but the hills lie in no order; they are generally rocky and ſteep from ſouth-weſt and by-weſt to north-and-by-north; the whole tract of the country, within five and ſeven miles, abounds with coal-mines, more or leſs. But there are no other conſiderable mines that I can hear of nearer than Mendip, which is ten miles hence, excepting ſome of lead, at Berry in Glouceſterſhire, which lies upon the north of this place about four or five miles diſtant.

The hills for the moſt part afford a free-ſtone, and on the north-weſt of Lanſdown, which has that ſituation to the town, and is juſt above it, the ſtones digged there are a ſort of hard ſtone, commonly called a lyas, blue and white, poliſhable.

The town and baths are of very great antiquity. Beſides what I find in very ancient chronicles to that purpoſe, one of our great antiquaries (Mr P.) aſſerts, that theſe baths were 800 years before Chriſt; which if ſo would

Frome for the rectory of Streat, with the chapel of Walton annexed, in Somerſetſhire, with Mr Richard Jenkins, M. A. (*n*). About the ſame time he was appointed one of the Chaplains in ordinary to King Charles the IId. (*o*). A perſon of honour and great fame, and for whoſe learning and univerſal accompliſhments our author profeſſes a high and juſt veneration, having preſſed him to reviſe and re-publiſh his diſcourſe on the uſefulneſs of Philoſophy, in the ſupport of true Religion, he took from thence an occaſion to review ſeveral other pieces of his, and together with one new diſcourſe, publiſhed them altogether in a volume, under the modeſt title of Eſſays; though in reality they might have been entituled his

would give occaſion to enquire, how conſiſtent with it that hypotheſis concerning the cauſe of the heat of theſe waters would be, which makes it to be the fermentation of minerals *in fieri*; and whether it be likely that the minerals through which theſe waters paſs, ſhould be in that ſtate of imperfection ſo many hundred years; and that the whole diſpoſed matter in thoſe places ſhould not be perfectly concreted in ſo great a tract of time. You doubtleſs know the other conjecture, which ſuppoſeth the cauſe of this heat to be, that two ſtreams having run through and imbibed certain ſorts of different minerals, meet at laſt, after they have been deeply impregnated, and mingle their liquors, from which commixture ariſes a great fermentation that cauſes heat; like as we ſee it is in vitriol and tartar, which, though ſeparately they are not hot, yet when mingled, beget an intenſe heat and ebullition between them. This ſeems to me a probable cauſe of the laſtingneſs of the heat of of theſe waters. But it is not my buſineſs to offer hypotheſes; therefore, craving pardon for this digreſſion, I proceed in my account.

It is affirmed here, that the town for the moſt part is built upon a quagmire, though the places all about it very firm ground. Some workmen that have been employed in digging, have found a mine ten feet deep without the north gate, the higheſt place of the town at ſeven. The earth between is a kind of rubbiſh, ſometimes they find pitching a man's length underground, and paſſages for the water to paſs; ſeven or or eight feet down they have met with oyſter ſhells.

The town and country circumjacent generally abound with cold ſprings; and in ſome places the hot and cold ariſe very near each other: in one place within two yards, and in others within eight or nine of the main baths.

The guides of the croſs bath inform me, that when there is a great weſt wind abroad, ſtanding by the ſprings they feel a cold air ariſing from beneath; if the wind be at eaſt, and the morning cloſe, with a little miſling rain, the croſs bath is ſo hot as ſcarce to be endured, when the King's and hot baths are colder than uſual. In other winds, let the weather be how it will, this bath is temperate. The ſprings that bubble moſt are coldeſt. The croſs bath fills in ſixteen hours, both in winter and ſummer, without any difference from heat or cold, floods or drought. That of the King's in twelve or fourteen. A man may better (ordinarily) endure four hours bathing in the croſs bath, than 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in the others. In the Queen's bath, which hath no ſprings of it's own, but comes all out of the King's, they have found under a flat ſtone, which upon occaſion was taken up, a tunnel and a yielding mud in and under it, into which they thruſt a pike, but could feel no bottom. In the King's bath there is a ſpring ſo hot that it is ſcarce ſufferable, ſo that they are fain to turn much of it away for fear of inflaming the bath. The hotteſt ſpring will not harden an egg.

The bath water does not paſs through the body like other mineral waters, but if you put in ſalt it purgeth preſently. Upon ſettlement it affords a black mud, uſeful in aches, applied by way of cataplaſm, to ſome more ſucceſsful than the very waters. The like it depoſits upon diſtillation, and no other. Nor hath any more been diſcovered, upon all the chymical examinations that have come to our knowledge. One Dr Aſtendorff found that the colour of the ſalt drawn from the King's and hot bath was yellow; that which was extracted from the croſs bath white. This Doctor concluded, that the croſs bath had more of allum and nitre than the hotter baths, which abound more with ſulphur. And yet that bath looſens ſhrunk ſinews, by which it ſhould ſeem it abounds not much with allum. It is harſher to the taſte than the other baths, and ſoaks the hands more. A man cannot drink half the quantity of ſtrong drinks in the bath that he can out of it; but if he hath drank before to exceſs, it allays much, and is a great refreſhment to the body. The bath provoketh urine.

The bath guides live to a very great age, ſometimes to near 100 years, ordinarily, if they are temperate, to 70. There are two at this time above 80, a man and his wife. In the croſs bath the guides have obſerved a certain black fly with ſcaled wings in the form of a lady cow, but ſomewhat bigger. They ſay it ſhoots quick in the water, and ſometimes bites. It lives under the water, and is never found but in very hot weather: they ſuppoſe it comes up with the ſprings; it is not to be ſeen elſewhere. I had one of thoſe inſects ſent me laſt year, which I preſerved 'till I came to London, intending to have given it you, but I know not how I loſt it there.

The croſs bath eats out ſilver exceedingly; and I am told, that a ſhilling, in a week's time, hath been ſo eaten by it, that it might be wound about one's finger. The baths agree (as the vulgar ſpeaks) with braſs, but not with iron; for they will eat out a ring of this metal in ſeven years, when braſs rings ſeem to receive no prejudice at all from it.

When women have waſhed their hair with the mixture of beaten eggs and oatmeal, this will poiſon the bath ſo as to beget a moſt noiſome ſmell, caſting a ſea-green on the water, which otherwiſe is very pure and limpid; this will taint the very walls, and there is no cleanſing of it but by drawing the bath.

In ſummer the baths purge up a green ſcum on the top, but in winter never; but then leave a yellow on the walls. The walls that keep in the hot ſprings are very deep ſet and large; 10 feet thick and 14 deep from the level of the ſtreet. The cement of the wall is tallow, clay, lime, and beaten bricks. In the year 1659 the hot bath (a bath particularly ſo called, of equal heat with the King's bath) was much impaired by the breaking out of a ſpring, which the workmen at laſt found again and reſtored. In digging they came to a firm foundation of factitious matter, which had holes in it like a pumice-ſtone, through which the water played, ſo that 'tis like the ſprings are brought together by art; which probably was the necromancy the people of ancient times believed and reported to have contrived and made theſe baths; as in a very ancient manuſcript chronicle I find theſe words, *When* Lud Hidibras *was dead*, Bladud, *his ſon, a great Nygromancer, (ſo it is there writ) was made King, and he made the wonder of the hot bath by his Nygromancy, and he reigned* 21 *years, and after he died, and lies at the new* Troy. And in another old chronicle it is ſaid, that King Bladud ſent to Athens for Necromancers to effect this great buſineſs, who it is like were no other than cunning artificers, well ſkilled in architecture and mechanics. It hath been obſerved, that leaves like thoſe of olives come ſometimes out of the pump of the hot bath.

What our author barely hints, as to the artificial conſtruction of theſe baths by the Britiſh King Bladud, who is reported to have reigned here before the coming of Cæſar; and that not by the help of Magic, but of an art far ſuperior, that of genuine Philoſophy, which, as Lord Bacon long ago obſerved, can only enable man to know and to command nature, may poſſibly deſerve the reader's attention; and perhaps it will not diſpleaſe him, if we refer to a very ancient poetical fragment, which the ingenious Mr Selden has preſerved from oblivion, and which (under the appearance of ſimple credulity) may very poſſibly conceal a greater ſecret than has been hitherto ſuſpected by moſt of it's peruſers (14).

(*n*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 663.

(*o*) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 351.

(14) Commentary on Drayton's Poly-Olbion, under the Title of Illuſtrations on the third Song.

his Philoſophical Works (p), for theſe treatiſes ought to be regarded as his laſt and moſt mature conſiderations on the ſeveral uſeful and important ſubjects, which in the courſe of fifteen years had employed his thoughts, and exerciſed his pen (q); and therefore of theſe, as is very requiſite, we ſhall give a diſtinct and comprehenſive account at the bottom of the page [O]. In the ſame year that this treatiſe came abroad, which was 1676, he loſt his old antagoniſt Dr Henry Stubbe; who coming to attend ſome of his patients at Bath, and going from thence on a viſit to Briſtol, had the miſfortune in his return, to fall from his horſe into a ſhallow river, where he was drowned; and his corps being afterwards interred in the great church at Bath, near the tomb of Biſhop Mountague, Mr Glanvill did honour to his memory in a funeral ſermon which he preached upon that occaſion (r). June 22. 1678, our author was inſtalled Prebendary of Worceſter, in the room of Mr Henry Greiſly (s), then lately deceaſed, which it is ſaid was procured by the intereſt of his patron and his wife's relation, the Marquis of Worceſter (t); but might as probably proceed from the kindneſs of that pious and worthy prelate, Dr James Fleetwood, then Biſhop of this dioceſe (u). This conjecture is the more reaſonable, ſince a little before he attained this which was his laſt preferment, he had publiſhed a diſcourſe concerning preaching, which was generally well received, and underſtood to be equally ſeaſonable and uſeful in diſſwading young gentlemen from that immethodical and enthuſiaſtical manner of haranguing, which had been the vice of the preceding times, and that affectation of wit and fine ſpeaking, which began to be faſhionable in thoſe times; inſtead of which, he recommended a plain and practical purſuit of the moral duties recommended in the Sacred Writings, as the true eloquence

(p) See the Preface to thoſe Eſſays.

(q) From 1661 to 1676.

(r) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 568.

(s) Willis's Hiſt. of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 669.

(t) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 351.

(u) Godwin de Præſul.

[O] *At the bottom of the page.*] The title at large, if we may ſo ſpeak of a very ſhort one, runs thus: Essays *on ſeveral important ſubjects in* Philoſophy *and* Religion. *By* Joſeph Glanvill, *Chaplain in ordinary to his Majeſty, and Fellow of the* Royal Society. Lond. 1676 4to.

To this work is prefixed a very polite dedication to Henry Marquis and Earl of Worceſter, in which he acknowledges his own obligations fairly, and at the ſame time applauds his patron highly for his generoſity, loyalty, hoſpitality, perfect œconomy of his houſhold, and ſincere regard for piety and religion, virtues ſtrange in other places, but which ſeem to have been, and what is yet more ſingular, are ſtill hereditary in the illuſtrious houſe of Beaufort. There follows next a ſhort preface, in which the author's reaſons for writing are aſſigned, and ſome ſhort account given of each eſſay. There are *ſeven* in all, the titles of which, for the reaſons that are aſſigned in the text, we will ſet down with a very conciſe view of their contents. I. *Againſt* Confidence *in* Philoſophy, *and matters of* Speculation. p. 33. The reaſon of putting the pages is to ſhew the ſize of each diſcourſe; for though they are digeſted into a volume, yet they are ſo printed as that they might have been publiſhed ſeparate. This firſt eſſay comprehends the ſubſtance of his Vanity of Dogmatizing, and of his Scepcis Scientifica, but diſpoſed into a better method, the ſtrain of reaſoning cloſer, the language more correct, and, in ſhort, the whole diſcourſe very much improved, and at the ſame time not a little curtailed. II. *Of* Scepticiſm *and* Certainty, *in a ſhort* Reply *to the learned Mr* Thomas White. p. 31. This is digeſted into the form of a letter to a friend, which not only comprehends whatever is inſtructive or material in the Defence which he publiſhed againſt Mr White's Sciri, but alſo a great deal of new matter brought into a narrow compaſs, which ſerves to illuſtrate the ſubject, and to ſatiſfy without cloying the judicious and inquiſitive peruſer. III. *Modern Improvements,* or *uſeful Knowledge.* p. 56. This comprehends the ſubſtance of his *Plus Ultra,* freed from thoſe digreſſions and altercations which were of very little conſequence to the public, and the exciſion plainly prove the ſincerity of the author in the declaration made by him in the preface, that he engaged in quarrels very unwillingly, and quitted them as ſoon as he could. As it ſtands in this collection, there are very few pieces in our language that can enter into competition with it, with reſpect either to the pleaſure that it gives in the peruſal, or the improvement that may be drawn from it upon reflection. IV. *The* Uſefulneſs *of* real Philoſophy *to* Religion. p. 43. This takes in the ſubſtance of the treatiſe which he entitled *Philoſophia Pia,* which he was commanded by one of his patrons to reprint, and which put him upon reviſing his other pieces. V. *The* Agreement *of* Reaſon *and* Religion. p. 28. As to this, the author ſpeaks thus in his preface: It contains the ſubſtance of many thoughts and anxieties about that important matter in a little compaſs. My chief care was to ſtate and repreſent the whole affair clearly, which I think I have done. The ſubject hath been written on by divers ſince, who ſome of them have perplexed the matter again; others have added no one thought. They have written a great deal, I wiſh I could ſay to purpoſe. I know this freedom is capable of a wrong interpretation, but I am urged to it by a little vexation, that the pretenders to ſuch a ſubject ſhould afford me no advantage for the improving my conceptions on it. VI. *Againſt* Modern Sadduciſm *in the matter of* Witches *and* Apparitions. p. 61. Though this is the longeſt of all his performances, yet it is reduced as well as the reſt, in compariſon of the ſize in which it before appeared. It is alſo very conſiderably improved, inſomuch that even thoſe who differ widely from our author's opinion, cannot help owning, that he has ſet it in the faireſt light poſſible, and done as much towards throwing light upon ſo obſcure, ſo embarraſſed, and ſo diſagreeable a ſubject, as could well be expected, and even more. However, when it had again paſſed his pen, and was uſhered into the world, though ſtill under his name, yet with all the helps that could be given it by his friend Mr Henry More, the famous Bayle could not help expreſſing his regret, that men of ſo great parts ſhould employ their time, and beſtow ſuch incredible pains, upon a topic that could never procure any tolerable returns of approbation or applauſe. VII. *Antifanatic* Theology *and Free* Philoſophy. p. 58. This piece is entirely new, and is a kind of ſupplement to the philoſophical romance of the celebrated Lord Bacon. In it our author takes occaſion to cenſure, and even to expoſe the follies, abſurdities, and outrages, that followed from the prevailing ſpirit of Fanaticiſm during the Uſurpation. He has indeed painted them with great freedom, and with a boldneſs which ſhews him to have been very able in that kind of writing. He ſays, that the only good proceeding from this heterogenous mixture of miſchiefs, was that ſalutary fermentation by which the minds of mankind were freed from their former prejudices, and wonderfully diſpoſed to receive that admirable ſettlement in Church and State once more, that had been ſo wantonly deſtroyed. This deſerves the more conſideration, as our author was a very ſincere, and even a zealous Proteſtant, tho' not at all inclined to ſeverity and perſecution. He had felt the inconveniencies of Enthuſiaſm, and he was very apprehenſive of thoſe evils that naturally fill up the train of ſuperſtition. In this diſcourſe he warns the reader againſt both, and points out to him the only remedy, which in his judgment is the adhering firmly to a Church equally rational in her doctrines, and moderate in her diſcipline.

quence of the pulpit (*w*) [*P*]. He was himſelf a great preacher in this way, as appeared from many of his diſcourſes printed in his life-time, with other pathetical and eloquent exhortations to a religious and virtuous life (*x*), as well as other pieces that were made public after his deceaſe, of which ſomewhat ſhall be ſaid in the notes (*y*) [Q]. His laſt work, which hardly came from the preſs while he was yet living, expreſſed his ſincere and even zealous affection for the Proteſtant Religion, without any view to preferment, or temporal intereſts; ſince it is thought he would have been queſtioned if he had lived for that treatiſe, which without queſtion aroſe from the overflowings of his heart, and his pious concern for that Church, to the ſervice of which he had ſo long dedicated his labours. This performance however added much to his reputation, and made his loſs ſo much the more regretted (*z*) [*R*]. He was attacked in the autumn of the year 1680 by a fever, into which

[*P*] *As the true eloquence of the pulpit.*] The title of this little piece is conceived in the following terms:

An Eſſay *concerning* Preaching; *written for the direction of a* young Divine, *and uſeful alſo for the* People, *in order to profitable hearing.* Lond 1678. in 12mo. Our author's name is not prefixed to it. The imprimatur is dated Dec. 6. 1677.

This eſſay is addreſſed to Mr Charles Fountain. Mr Glanvill tells us, that he purpoſely kept himſelf from reading any other writers on this ſubject, that he might freely without biaſs give his own apprehenſions; but that ſince the papers were written and tranſcribed, he had looked over two or three of the chief of thoſe diſcourſes, and was exceedingly encouraged, by finding that his conceptions as to the main are not only conſiſtent but very agreeable with theirs. At the end of this eſſay, is a letter to a Member of Parliament concerning the ſtate of miniſters in corporations and great towns. With this eſſay is likewiſe printed *a ſeaſonable* Defence *of* Preaching, *and the* plain way *of it*. Written by way of dialogue.

[Q] *Somewhat ſhall be ſaid in the notes.*] We are here to mention the titles of our author's ſmaller works, which conſiſted of

Several ſermons, as *A* Faſt *ſermon on King* Charles *the* Firſt's *Martyrdom*, on Rom. xii. 2. Lond. 1667. Catholic Charity *recommended, in a* ſermon *before the Lord Mayor of* London, on 1 Pet part 1. part of the 22d verſe, in order to the abating the animoſities among Chriſtians that have been occaſioned by differences in religion. Lond. 1669. in 4to. *An earneſt* Invitation *to the* Lord's Supper. Lond. 1673, 1674, 1677, in 12mo. *Seaſonable* Reflections *and* Diſcourſes, *in order to the conviction and cure of the* ſcoffing Infidelity *of a degenerate age*. Lond. 1676. 8vo. This conſiſts of four ſermons, viz. 1 *The* Sin *and* Danger *of* ſcoffing *at* Religion, on 2 Pet. iii. 3. 2. *The* Church's Contempts *from* profane *and* fanatic enemies, on Pſalm cxxiii. 3, 4. 3. Moral Evidence *of a* Life *to come*, on Matt. xxii. 32. 4. *The* Serious Conſiderations *of a future* Judgment, on Acts xvii. 31. He likewiſe publiſhed two diſcourſes, viz. *A* Diſcourſe *of* Truth, *by Dr* George Ruſt, *Biſhop of* Dromore *in* Ireland. And *The* Way *to* Happineſs *and* Salvation. Lond. 1677. 12mo. Theſe diſcourſes were printed in 1683 in 8vo. with this title, Two choice and uſeful Treatiſes; the one *Lux Orientalis*, &c. the other a *Diſcourſe* of *Truth*. By the late Rev. Dr George Ruſt, Lord Biſhop of Dromore in Ireland, with annotations on them by Dr Henry More. Theſe annotations are full as large as the diſcourſes themſelves. The title to the latter annotations on Dr Ruſt's diſcourſe runs thus: Annotations on the *Diſcourſe* of *Truth*; in which is inſerted by way of digreſſion, a brief Return to Mr Baxter's Reply, which he calls *A* Placid Collation *with the learned Dr* Henry More, *occaſioned by the Doctor*'s Anſwer *to a* Letter *of the learned* Pſythophoriſt. *Whereunto is annexed a devotional* Hymn, *tranſlated for the uſe of the ſiecere* Lovers *of* true Piety. Dr Ruſt's diſcourſe of Truth was afterwards printed in his Remains, collected and publiſhed by Henry Hallywell. Lond. 1686. 4to. Letters *to the Ducheſs of* Newcaſtle *A* Letter *to the Earl of* Briſtol; *with another to a* Friend, *of the* Uſefulneſs *of the* univerſal Character, *with the way of learning it*. This was never printed (15). Some *Diſcourſes, Sermons*, and *Remains*. Lond. 1681. 4to. with our author's picture before them. Theſe ſermons, which were in number eleven, were moſt of them printed before ſeparately. Dr Anthony Horneck was the editor of this collection, and placed before it a character of the author, the more to be depended upon becauſe he knew him intimately, and therefore could not be deceived, and becauſe he himſelf was a man of primitive integrity, and conſequently one who would not deceive others. Of this the reader will hear more in it's proper place; at preſent let us intreat him to conſider how many uſeful works this learned and worthy man publiſhed in leſs than twenty years, all devoted to the nobleſt purpoſes, ſuch as extending the faculties of the mind, right directions to the motions of the heart, and then he will ceaſe to wonder, that he triumphed over all oppoſition, even that which is laſt overcome by the learned, envy; and was as univerſally beloved, as for his generous public ſpirit and unbounded benevolence he deſerved.

[*R*] *So much the more regretted.*] The title of this ſmall treatiſe runs thus:

The zealous and impartial Proteſtant: *ſhewing ſome great but leſs heeded dangers of* Popery, &c. *in a letter to a* Member *of* Parliament. Lond. 1681. 4to.

There was a great warmth in this gentleman's writings when he was a young man, and we need not wonder that he retained it to the laſt, ſince he died before he was an old one. This was not however either an over-bearing fondneſs for his own opinions, or a bitter ill-natured furious zeal againſt thoſe with whom he differed; but the pure effects of his ſincerity, and that frame of temper which was natural to him. We muſt not interpret it here or in any of his other performances as the effects of reſentment, but rather as a proof of his being in earneſt. It is not eaſy to offer to the reader's conſideration a ſtronger argument of this, than obſerving, that he provoked equally both of the contending factions, ſtiled in his writings Fanatics and Papiſts. If he had been at all afraid of abuſe, he would certainly have avoided the one, if he had conſtantly attended to his intereſt, he would not have ventured upon the other; and if he had ſtudied his own eaſe, he would have declined both. But being as he really was a man of a free ſpirit, he firſt of all applied himſelf with indefatigable care to the ſearch of truth, and having found it, he became a bold and conſtant advocate for it upon all occaſions, and againſt all it's enemies. It was this diſpoſition that induced him to preach very pathetically, againſt what he took to be the reigning errors of the times, which were on one ſide an inclination to miſtake private opinions ſupported by conſtitutional fervour, for a kind of divine inſpiration, and conſequently placing religion too much in ſpeculative notions, without a due reſpect either to moral duties or to Chriſtian charity. On the other hand, a proneneſs to ſuperſtition, a willingneſs to prefer authority to reaſon, and an abſurd deference for the traditions of men, how irreconcileable ſoever to the word of God. Whatever calmer people might find of imprudence in this conduct, there was certainly nothing in it either mean or unworthy of a clergyman of the Church of England; and though it might ſometimes expoſe him to hard treatment from his adverſaries, yet without queſtion it recommended him to the regard and eſteem of well meaning and honeſt men. He ſuffered while living not a little from the reproaches of thoſe who thought he had deſerted them, becauſe he was bred amongſt them, and if he had not ceaſed to live at the very time he did, he would have run an eminent hazard of being perſecuted by the oppoſite party. Yet, as it generally happens in ſuch caſes, his memory was far from being injured from theſe remarkable indications of a mind equally

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(*w*) See Dr Horneck's Preface to his Remains.

(*x*) See an account of them in Note [Q].

(*y*) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 353.

(*z*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 667.

(15) Thoresby's Antiquities of Leeds, p. 535.

which, notwithſtanding all the care of his Phyſicians, he relapſed, and breathed his laſt in his own houſe at Bath, October the 4th, in the ſame year, about the age of forty-four. He was buried in his own pariſh-church on the 9th of that month, when the Rev. Mr Joſeph Pleydell, Archdeacon of Chicheſter, preached his funeral ſermon, which was afterwards publiſhed, and which, with Dr Anthony Horneck's character, did juſt honour to the memory of ſo good a man [S]. But as a farther teſtimony of the care of his family, and that in a place where he had lived ſo many years, and had preached with ſo much ſucceſs, there might be ſome monument dedicated to his memory, a decent tablet was erected, with a modeſt inſcription thereon, in the Abbey church [T]. He had two wives; the name of the firſt was Mrs Mary Stocker, and the ſecond, whom he left a widow, Mrs Selwin; but it does not appear that he had any children by either. He was ſucceeded in his Rectory of Bath by William Clement, of Chriſt-Church; in his Prebend of the cathedral church of Worceſter by Ralph Battel, A. M. of Peter-houſe in Cambridge; and in his Rectory of Streat with Walton by Charles Thirlby, Archdeacon of Wells.

GODDARD,

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equally incapable of fear or of diſſimulation, and thoſe who had formerly treated him with a degree of rudeneſs, through a haſty ſuſpicion, that a removal from them was advancing ſo much nearer Popery, willingly acknowledged their miſtake, and approved his honeſt deſign in this treatiſe (16) to forewarn ſuch as were leſs attentive to the danger they were in from the artificial practices of the enemies to our conſtitution in Church and State; ſo that by this ſmall piece he ſeemed to have ſet a ſeal upon his religious principles, and to have ſhewn himſelf in every reſpect a conſiſtent member of the Church of England.

(16) See Mr Richard Baxter's ſecond Part of a true Defence of a mere Nonconformiſt, &c. Lond. 1680. 4to.

[S] *To the memory of ſo good a man.*] The worthy preacher of his funeral ſermon thus took his leave of the audience upon that mournful occaſion: I had once thought to have given you his character, but I am not aſhamed to tell you I found myſelf not able to do it worthy of him And calling to mind a ſaying of one of the Roman Hiſtorians, I ſoon deſiſted from any farther attempt of it; who when he was reckoning up ſome of the great men of that age, Virgil and Ovid, Livy and Salluſt, and going to commend them, ſtops and concludes thus: 'Men of eminency, as their admiration is great, ſo is their cenſure full of difficulty.' Dr Horneck's character of our author is pretty long; we will therefore borrow from it only a few ſentences. 'The author of theſe diſcourſes (Mr Glanvill) as his wit lay out of the common road, ſo this genuine offspring of his fertile brain ſoars above the common level of eccleſiaſtical orations. Death ſeemed to envy the vaſt parts of ſo great a man, and in the aſcent of his age ſnatched him away, when the learned world expected ſome of his greateſt attempts and enterprizes. As he valued no notions that were mean and trivial, ſo thoſe he hath ſent abroad ſavour of more than ordinary genius. His ſoul ſeemed to be ſpun of a finer thread than thoſe of other mortals, and things looked with another face when they paſſed through the quicker fire of his laboratory. Some curious artiſts, though their work is materially the ſame with that of meaner artificers, yet the ſhape they give it, and the neatneſs of the fabrick, makes it ſeem a thing compoſed of different ingredients. Even the moſt obvious truths coming from our author received a greater luſtre, and that meat which familiarity made in a manner nauſeous to ſome nicer palates, when dreſſed with his ſauce, became more poignant, and conſequently more acceptable. His diſcourſes from the pulpit, as they were very ſolid, ſo they were (which is the grace and life of them) pathetic, and by his zeal and fervour one might gueſs how big his deſire unto God for Iſrael was that they might be ſaved. Though he met with diſappointments ſometimes, yet he remembered he was a Chriſtian, and as he was not without his croſſes, ſo he carried himſelf under them like a true philoſopher. His mind ſeemed to be ſerene when things went moſt contrary to his wiſhes; and whatever ſtorm the inconſtancy and fickleneſs of ſublunary objects threw upon him within, ſtill he felt a calm beyond that of Socrates, when the ungrateful Athenians ſent him the fatal draught to drink his death and ruin.' We might add many other teſtimonies to theſe, but it may be ſufficient to ſay, that able and worthy men of all Churches commended while they differed from him, which as it is a ſure ſo it is a very ſingular teſtimony of his extraordinary merit. Amongſt theſe the moſt eminent were the learned Mr White, a member of the Church of Rome; the celebrated Nonconformiſt, Mr Richard Baxter; the famous Peter Bayle; and Dr Meric Cauſabon, of our own Church.

[T] *With a modeſt inſcription thereon in the Abbey church.*] He lies buried in the north iſle, and on a large blue ſtone the following memorial is engraven, as we have procured it to be very exactly copied by a perſon on whoſe fidelity we can depend, who was at Bath in the ſummer of 1752.

Adverte Viator!
Deponuntur hic Exuviæ Joſephi
Glanvile, nuper Carolo 2do à Sacris; Wigornienſis
Eccleſiæ Prebendarii; Regali
Societatis Socii, & Civitatis hujus
Rectoris.

Qui poſt 42 inſumptos Annos,
in Studio & Contemplatione,
Verbi & Operum Dei, bis
recidiva fatigatus febre ad Æternam
Requiem aſpiravit
4 die Nov. 1680.

Uxor ejus ſecunda Margarita (e Selwinorum Proſapia)
Mœrens poſuit.

In Engliſh thus:

Turn thy Eyes hither, Paſſenger!
Here are depoſited the Remains
of Joſeph Glanvill, late Chaplain to Charles the ſecond,
of Worceſter Cathedral Prebendary,
of the Royal Society a Member,
and of this City Rector.

Who, after twenty-four Years,
conſumed in the Study and Contemplation
of the Word, and of the Works of God,
worn out by his Relapſe into a fever,
aſpired to everlaſting reſt
Nov. 4th, 1680.

His ſecond Wife Margaret, ſprung from the Selwyns
(of Glouceſterſhire)
Placed with Grief this Stone.

As this inſcription is to be found not in one but in ſeveral books, we ſhould not have given it a place here, but with a view to correct a ſtrange miſtake that has hitherto eſcaped without notice. This is the tranſpoſition of the figures 42 for 24. That this muſt be ſo appears from hence, that Mr Glanvill at the time of his deceaſe was but forty-four, as appears not only from Wood's account (17), but from a circumſtance mentioned in the dedication of the firſt book he publiſhed, as well as from the time at which he took his degrees; but more clearly ſtill from the conſideration of the date when rectified, which points to the year 1666, when he became Rector of the Abbey church at Bath; a circumſtance that puts the correction beyond all doubt, by rendering the inſcription clear and conſiſtent.

(17) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 662.

GODDARD [Dr Jonathan], a learned writer, an excellent Chemiſt, and a celebrated Phyſician, in the XVIIth century. He was the ſon of Henry Goddard, a rich ſhip-builder at Deptford; but was himſelf a native of Greenwich, in the ſame county of Kent, and born there about the year 1617 (*a*). We are not told where he received the firſt rudiments of learning; but it is certain, that in the year 1632, being then fifteen years of age, he was admitted a commoner of Magdalen-Hall in Oxford (*b*); where he continued until he was of ſtanding for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and then travelled for his improvement in the knowledge of Phyſic (*c*). After his return, having taken the degree of Bachelor in that faculty at Chriſt-College in Cambridge, upon the 7th of November 1640, he promiſed to obey the laws and ſtatutes of the College of Phyſicians London (*d*). Upon the twentieth of January 1642, he proceeded Doctor of Phyſic at Catherine-Hall in Cambridge, being then a practitioner in London (*e*), and December the twenty-ſecond following he was admitted a candidate of the College of Phyſicians, and afterwards elected a Fellow on the fourth of November 1646, and appointed to read the Anatomy Lecture March the fourth the enſuing year (*f*) [*A*]. He had then lodgings in Wood-ſtreet where Dr Wilkins, Dr Ent, Dr Gliſſon, Dr Wallis, Mr Foſter, with other learned and inquiſitive perſons ſometimes met to improve and cultivate the New Philoſophy, ſeveral of which company removed to Oxford where they purſued the ſame deſign (*g*). He was afterwards Phyſician to General Cromwell, and attended him firſt into Ireland and then into Scotland (*h*). On the ninth of December 1651, he was appointed Warden of Merton College in Oxford, by the parliament, upon the reſignation of Sir Nathaniel Brent (*i*), and January the fourteenth the ſame year, was incorporated Doctor of Phyſic in that univerſity (*k*). The year following Cromwell, who was then in Scotland, being Chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford, did by an inſtrument, bearing date October the ſixteenth, conſtitute him, together with Dr Owen, Dean of Chriſt-Church-College, Dr Wilkins, Warden of Wadham, Dr Goodwin, Preſident of Magdalen, and his own brother-in-law Mr Peter French, Prebendary of Chriſt-Church, or any three or more, of them to act as his Delegates in all matters relating to grants or diſpenſations that required his aſſent (*l*). And in 1653, Dr Goddard was choſen ſingly to repreſent the univerſity in parliament, and alſo one of the Council of State (*m*) [*B*]. Upon the ſeventh of November 1655, he was elected Profeſſor of Phyſic in Greſham-College in the room of Dr Winſton then lately deceaſed (*n*). He continued in his headſhip of Merton-College, till the reſtoration of King Charles the ſecond in 1660, when he was removed by a letter from His Majeſty, bearing date July the third; who claiming the right of nomination during the

vacancy

[*A*] *The enſuing year.*] At this ſeaſon, by a happy conjunction of men of the greateſt abilities, the art of medicine began to be freed from thoſe falſe and fallacious notions with which it had been hitherto encumbered (1). It was quickly diſcerned, as ſoon as this reformation came to be attempted, that the beſt foundation which could be laid for the ſuperſtructure of extenſive knowledge and ſucceſsful practice was the thorough knowledge of Anatomy. That this might be rendered more clear and certain, the great improvements made a few years before ſet in a true light, and their conſequences rendered more apparent, were the great ends propoſed in Dr Goddard's lectures. As he undertook them with great chearfulneſs, ſo he performed them with equal alacrity and accuracy, diſcourſing in a rational and perſpicuous manner on the wonders of the human frame, and explaining to his auditors, with an eaſy and unaffected eloquence, the wiſdom of the ſupreme Being in the diſpoſition of the various parts of the body of man, ſuitable to the purpoſes for which he was created, and after which it is in vain to enquire by any other method than that of Diſſection (2). It was from theſe lectures that his great reputation took it's riſe, and therefore he carefully preſerved and fitted them for the preſs, as the indefatigable Anthony Wood informs us; and yet the public has not been hitherto ſo happy as to receive them from the preſs, though it is highly probable, that if he had not been taken away by a ſudden death, he would either have publiſhed them himſelf, or directed the publication of them after his deceaſe (3); for his learning was not more extenſive than his zeal for the ſervice of ſociety, and as his own knowledge was grounded upon reaſon and experiment, ſo he was always ready to communicate thoſe lights to others, which he would have wiſhed to have received himſelf; and to put poſterity into poſſeſſion of thoſe advantages which were derived to him from a natural ſagacity, aſſiſted by an indefatigable application.

[*B*] *And alſo one of the Council of State.*] In the zenith of his fortunes Dr Goddard ſhewed himſelf a true patron of learning, and omitted no opportunity of doing kind offices to thoſe who ſtood in need of them, of rewarding ſuch as were conſpicuous for their merit, or of paying all poſſible reſpect to thoſe who were at that time the ornaments of the univerſity for eloquence or ſcience, and this without any diſtinction of party, having none of that narrowneſs of mind which was the common failing of the great men of thoſe times (4). This it was that engaged Mr Edmund Dickenſon, who was afterwards Phyſician to King Charles the ſecond, to dedicate to him that book, which was the ground-work of his reputation, in which he paid him very high compliments, and in very elegant Latin (5). He was alſo one of thoſe four eminent perſons to whom Dr John Wallis dedicated a celebrated work of his (6); but amongſt all the addreſſes of this ſort, was that of Mr Seth Ward, afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury, and one of the greateſt men of that age. 'You, Sir, ſays he, excel in every kind of literature, profoundly verſed in Phyſic, and in Natural Hiſtory, in what relates to Chemiſtry the moſt diſtinguiſhed in the College of Phyſicians, accurately ſkilled in all the learned tongues; beſides all this, diſtinguiſhed and moſt ſucceſsful in the practice of Phyſic; deſervedly conſpicuous in the management of public affairs with the utmoſt prudence, and the higheſt reputation for integrity. In the Mathematical Sciences alſo you have exerciſed your talents with the greateſt approbation, and long ago, the firſt, as far as my knowledge reaches, of the Engliſh nation, you contrived and wrought moſt excellent teleſcopes.' He then proceeds to his moral character, and commends him for his generous diſpoſition, his candour, affability, and benevolence to all good and learned men. Let us add, before we put an end to this note, that he was the firſt patron of honeſt Anthony Wood, who dedicated to him his brother's ſermons, which he publiſhed in 1655, and ſent it him to London bound in blue Turkey leather, with gilt leaves, as he has carefully ſet it down in the hiſtory of his own life, where, as Warden of Merton College, he always mentions Dr Goddard with marks of kindneſs and reſpect (7).

[C] *As*

(*a*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. c. 537.

(*b*) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 270.

(*c*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 537.

(*d*) Regiſtr. Col. Medic. Lond.

(*e*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 537.

(*f*) Regiſtr. Col. Medic. Lond.

(*g*) Dr Wallis's Account of his own Life, prefixed to Langtoff's Chronicle, Vol. I. p. clxii.

(*h*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 537.

(*i*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. II. p. 86.

(*k*) Faſt. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 97.

(*l*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. II. p. 439. Faſt. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 98.

(*m*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 537.

(*n*) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 270.

(1) See Dr Goodall's Hiſtorial Preface to his account of the Royal College of Phyſicians.

(2) Regiſt. Col. Medic. London.

(3) Wood's Athen. Oxon.' Vol. ii. col. 538.

(4) See Wood's Dedication.

(5) Delphi Phœnicizantes, A. D. 1655. See the Article of DICKENSON [Edmund].

(6) Matheſis Univerſalis, A. D. 1656.

(7) Life of Anthony à Wood, publiſhed by Thomas Hearne.

vacancy of the ſee of Canterbury, appointed Dr Edward Reynolds, his Chaplain, and ſoon after Biſhop of Norwich, to be Warden of that college as ſucceſſor to Sir Nathaniel Brent, no notice being taken of Dr Goddard (o). After this he ſettled himſelf at Greſham-College, and was continued a Fellow of the College of Phyſicians by their new charter in 1663 (p), and being likewiſe nominated one of the firſt Council of the Royal Society in their charter the ſame year (q), he became very zealous and ſerviceable in promoting the deſign of that inſtitution. For being an accurate and experienced Chemiſt, he employed his elaboratory at the college, in trying, from time to time, many curious experiments for the uſe of the Society, as well as for making his own medicines (r) [C]. He was not barely an able and ſucceſsful Phyſician, but alſo a very conſcientious man in his practice, and exceedingly jealous of the honour of his profeſſion, which induced him to write two treatiſes upon a ſubject that muſt have been otherwiſe diſagreeable to him, and which, notwithſtanding, he handled with ſo much critical caution, and with ſuch an air of decency and dignity, as put it out of the power even of thoſe who were ready enough to find fault, to fix any cenſure upon them (s) [D]. Upon that diſmal deſtruction, which the greateſt

(o) Kennet's Regiſter, p. 197.

(p) Goodall's Royal Coll. of Phyſicians, p. 70.

(q) Bp Sprat's Hiſtory of the Royal Society, p. 137.

(r) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 538.

(s) Stubbe's Campanella revived, p. 21.

[C] *As well as for making his own medicines.*] His reputation for Chemiſtry had riſen ſo high, that Anthony Wood ſeems to inſinuate, the Royal Society, at it's firſt inſtitution, was not a little obliged to him for the experiments made for their ſervice in his elaboratory at Greſham-College; or in his own rough expreſſion, when any curious experiment was to be done, they made him their drudge 'till they could obtain to the bottom of it. He did not however always labour for nothing, if it be true, which is very confidently affirmed, that he ſold the ſecret of making the Guttæ Anglicanæ, or Engliſh Drops, to King Charles the ſecond for 5000 l. of which precious receipt this is ſaid to be a true copy (8):

'Take five pounds of human cranium of a perſon hanged, or dead of ſome violent death, two pounds of dried vipers, two pounds of hartſhorn, and two of ivory, mince the whole ſmall, put it in two or three retorts, and diſtil it in a reverberatory furnace, with the ſame precautions as are ordinarily uſed in diſtilling hartſhorn and vipers to extract their volatile ſalt. When the veſſels or receivers are cold, unlute them and ſhake them well, in order to looſen the volatile ſalt from the ſides of the veſſels. Pour the whole into a large glaſs cucurbite, and filtrate it through a brown paper, in order to ſeparate the oil, which is here uſeleſs: put the filtrated liquor in a glaſs retort, with a ſand heat, and fit a glaſs thereto as a recipient; take care all things be well luted, and make a cohobation of the ſaid matters at three times; but by the way, add all the ſalt before ſeparated from the receivers, and after the ſaid three cohobations, unlute the retorts and pour the whole into a matraſs with a long neck, to which fit a ſuitable capital and receiver, lute all the joinings on each with a wet bladder, and ſet the veſſel in a ſand heat, by this means the volatile ſalt will be ſublimed and ſtick to the capital and upper part of the matraſs. Continue the fire 'till ſpirit enough hath roſe to fix and diſſolve the ſalt which aroſe firſt, then take all the fire out of the furnace, that the diſtillation may proceed no further, which is a circumſtance of the laſt importance, without which the medicine would be weakened by too much phlegm. As to the doſe of this remedy, they begin with ſeven or eight drops, increaſing by degrees to forty or fifty on preſſing occaſions, as in apoplexies, lethargies, weakneſſes, &c.' The real compoſition of the Guttæ however is ſomewhat controverted. Dr Liſter aſſures us, that he had the ſecret communicated to him by King Charles the ſecond, and that it is no other than the volatile ſpirit of raw ſilk rectified with oil of cinnamon, or other eſſential oil. The ſame author aſſures us, he had found by experience that the Guttæ Anglicanæ, were not in any reſpect preferable to the common volatile ſpirits of hartſhorn and ſal ammoniac, except that the ſmell is more ſupportable (9). It will not always however be found expedient, to take the ſentiments of one great man of the ſame faculty in prejudice to the preſcription of another; and whoever conſiders what the honourable and learned Mr Boyle has written upon ſubjects of the ſame nature (10), will be inclined to think, that if there be any thing due to authority, it is at leaſt equal on the ſide of Dr Goddard. Let us alſo add, that theſe drops were not calculated for the relief of perſons in ſlow and chronical caſes, but in violent and acute diſtempers, when if their operation had not been certain and apparent, it is not eaſy to conceive how they could have gained their author any credit; and if they were, why it ſhould be taken from him.

(8) From a large collection of curious Receipts in ſeveral languages, MS.

(9) See the article LISTER [MARTIN], in this work.

(10) Boyle's Works, Vol. IV. p. 306, 316.

[D] *To fix any cenſure upon them.*] The title of the firſt of theſe two diſcourſes was,

A Diſcourſe *concerning* Phyſic, *and the many* abuſes *thereof by the* Apothecaries. Lond. 1668. 8vo (11).

(11) Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. xli. p. 836.

Our author obſerves, that at the time of writing this treatiſe, the greateſt part of the Apothecaries were far from being poſſeſſed of that degree of knowledge, requiſite to fit them for the due execution of their own employment, notwithſtanding which they were very deſirous of invading that of the Phyſician, and of preſcribing as well as compounding medicines; an evil upon which he expatiates very largely, and ſhews with what prejudicial conſequences it is attended with regard to the art of Phyſic, the progreſs of which it retards, the credit of Phyſicians, which ſuffers often for other men's faults; and the patients themſelves, who while they ſeek to avoid expence, are brought into a condition that lays them under a neceſſity of parting with much more money than might have purchaſed health at firſt. The remedy he propoſes, as only capable of removing all theſe miſchiefs, is that Phyſicians make their own medicines. This he obſerves would in the firſt place make all cures more ſpeedy and more cheap, at the ſame time, that it would remove all fear of having bad medicines employed from a motive of gain, with reſpect to which, ſays he, no man having the intereſt would then have the power, nor any having the power could have the intereſt, to prepare medicines unfaithfully. In the next place he clearly demonſtrates, that this would be highly beneficial to the Phyſician, as it would bring to his ſight and knowledge many particulars that muſt otherwiſe eſcape them; he goes even ſo far as to tell them, that without having recourſe to this, or ſome method very like it, the art of Phyſic muſt remain where it is, as wanting the neceſſary power to proceed further. In ſupport of this he ſays, that Phyſicians in former ages were well acquainted with moſt things which they diſpenſed, mixed them with their own hands, and very carefully obſerved their effects, otherwiſe there had been no ſuch art as that of Phyſic; and from thence he infers, that the ſureſt and moſt certain way of extending this art, is to reſume this manner of proceeding. The peruſal of books, in his judgment, is very far from being ſufficient to give a Phyſician any true notion of the qualities, virtues, or doſes of the Materia Medica, becauſe theſe are taken upon truſt, and it is never reaſonable to depend upon other men's eyes and underſtanding, where we may employ our own. Laſtly, he inſiſts upon it, that it is the duty of a Phyſician, ſince without taking this precaution he can never be thoroughly ſatisfied that he has done, or rather that all has been done for his patient it was in his power to do, which if he cannot be, he acts a part unbecoming his profeſſion, below the behaviour of his predeceſſors, and unworthy of a liberal education. He ſuggeſts, that for want of this method, many excellent and efficacious medicines are kept as ſecrets, becauſe the inventors and owners of them are afraid of riſking their own reputations, by putting their receipts into the hands of men who have no other view than to get money, and who may therefore be tempted to prepare greateſt part of the city of London ſuſtained, in 1666, he quitted Greſham-College, as the other profeſſors did, in order to leave a place ſo convenient, as that is, by its ſituation to be applied to the uſe of the city, and for the management of public affairs (t). He proſecuted however, a very great variety of learned labours, with indefatigable diligence, and alſo wrought for the Royal Society, for which he had a tender affection, as having known it in embryo, as well as a high eſteem on account of that ſpirit of promoting uſeful knowledge which influenced all their proceedings, in ſupport of which he communicated to them a very ſhort diſcourſe on the art of making wine (u), which, how far it has been juſtified by future experiments will appear in the notes [*E*]. He likewiſe afforded them

(t) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 271.

(u) Bp Sprat's Hiſtory of the R. S. p. 193.

pare them in the manner by which they may get moſt money. Throughout the whole treatiſe there are interſperſed a great variety of phyſical and philoſophical remarks, and other curioſities, which will ever render it a very valuable performance in the opinion of candid and competent judges. It was alſo allowed at the time that the author's temper and moderation were as conſpicuous therein as his learning and abilities. His ſecond treatiſe upon the ſame ſubject bears the following title:

A Diſcourſe *ſetting forth the* unhappy condition *of the* Practice *of* Phyſic *in* London. Lond. 1669. 4to.

[*E*] *Will appear in the notes.*] When the eloquent Hiſtorian of the Royal Society undertook that important work, there is no doubt that his greateſt care was employed about thoſe ſpecimens which he produced of the Society's proceedings; and amongſt theſe we may ſafely affirm, there is none of greater importance than the following ſuccinct paper, which for it's manner, as well as matter, may be eſteemed a maſter-piece (12) in it's kind, and which bears this title:

(12) Hiſtory of the Royal Society, p. 193.

A Propoſal *for making* Wine, *by Dr* Goddard.

'It is recommended to the care of ſome ſkilful planters in Barbadoes, to try whether good wine may not be made out of the juice of ſugar-canes. That which may induce them to believe this work to be poſſible is this obſervation, that the juice of wine, when it is dried, does always granulate into ſugar, as appears in raiſins, or dried grapes; and alſo that in thoſe veſſels wherein acute or unfermented wine is put, the ſides are wont to be covered over with a cruſt of ſugar. Hence it may be gathered, that there is ſo great a likeneſs of the liquor of the cane to that of the vine, that it may probably be brought to ſerve for the ſame uſes. If this attempt ſhall ſucceed, the advantages of it will be very conſiderable; for the Engliſh being the chief maſters of the ſugar trade, and that falling very much in it's price of late years, while all other outlandiſh productions are riſen in their value, it would be a great benefit to this kingdom, as well as to our weſtern plantations, if part of our ſugar, which is now in a manner a mere drug, might be turned into wine, which is a foreign commodity, and grows every day dearer; eſpecially ſeeing this might be done by only bruiſing and preſſing the canes, which would be a far leſs labour and charge, than the way by which ſugar is now made.'

Upon this the learned Dr Shaw has made a very full practical commentary, which ſome time or other will in all probability produce the deſired effect, and put us in poſſeſſion of thoſe liquors by art, which have not been beſtowed upon us by nature. His words are theſe (13):

(13) Chemical Lectures, p. 119.

Thoſe who have never been in wine countries, or otherwiſe made themſelves acquainted with the nature and common preparation of wines, proceed in their judgment of them according to report, popular notions, and the immediate information of the ſenſes. Thus for inſtance, Red Port wines, to pleaſe the common palate, muſt be bright, deep-coloured, rough, rich, and racy, two or three years old, &c. and when this or any other notion comes once to be eſtabliſhed as the criterion of wine, the cooper is thence directed how to hit the general taſte, and make a ſaleable commodity. Upon the ſame foundation, Philoſophical Chemiſtry inſtructs us to imitate the wine-coopers, and from almoſt any ſweet and tart vegetable juice to make ſaleable wines, even Sacks, Mountains, Sherries, or Ports, all which, by the way, are uſually mixed liquors, though the baſis of them all is the juice of the grape. This juice of the grape being chemically examined and conſidered, proves to be no more than a large proportion of real ſugar diſſolved in water, with the addition only of a certain flavour in the juice of the grape according the vine. Whence we lay it down as an axiom, and the reſult of a careful enquiry, that a ſaccharine ſubſtance is the baſis of wines. For ſugar is not peculiar to the ſugar-cane, but obtainable alſo from grapes; and accordingly we often find large grains thereof in dried raiſins, particularly thoſe of Malaga, that have laid for ſome time, and ſweat together, whereby they run into candy, a ſaccharine efflo reſcence, and actual grains of ſugar. So again, it is cuſtomary in France to evaporate the juice of the grape 'till it becomes coagulable in the cold, and in this ſtate to uſe it as a moiſt ſugar, under the name of Reſiné. And the ſame thing is to be underſtood as practicable in malt, or wort, and the ſweet juices of all vegetables that afford a wine by fermentation. Hence therefore we may derive a ſet of rules for boiling down, or otherwiſe procuring, the eſſential matter of wines in a ſmall bulk, and preſerving it ſound and ſerviceable for many years, in order to the making of all kinds of wines, vinegars, and brandies, even in countries where no vines grow. And this diſcovery alſo affords great light into the true nature and uſes of vinous and acetous fermentation. To illuſtrate and confirm this diſcovery by an example upon the footing of the preſent experiment, Take 2 C ½ of double refined ſugar; put it into a pipe or wine-veſſel of two hogſheads; fill the veſſel within four gallons of the top, with pure ſpring water; ſet it in a warm place or wine-vault; add three or four pounds of freſh ale yeaſt, or rather of new wine yeaſt, and the liquor in a few months time will ferment into a ſound, colourleſs, and flavourleſs wine, and remain ſuſceptible of any colour at pleaſure, ſo as with the ſtain called turnſol, to be made of the true claret colour, and with a little eſſential vegetable oil of any particular flavour required. And this is delivered as an experiment that ſucceds to great perfection, ſo as to ſhew a rational and practicable method of producing wines in the ſugar colonies, or elſewhere, that ſhall rival thoſe of France, Italy, or Spain; and if the nature of fermentation be well underſtood, the proceſs may be greatly ſhortened in point of time, and other advantages.

When Dr Goddard's propoſal is read by itſelf, it ſeems to be no more than a philoſophic conjecture, the certainty of which one may be eaſily led to doubt, ſince many things appear plauſible in theory, that will by no means ſucceed when attempts are made to carry them into practice; but when we adjoin Dr Peter Shaw's experiment, the caſe is put beyond all doubt, and the only ground of ſurprize that remains is this, that ſo little uſe ſhould be made of ſo important a diſcovery. Perhaps one reaſon may be, that both papers have been ſeldom read together, which was the principal reaſon for inſerting them here; and to this let us be permitted to add a remark or two more. In theſe warm climates grapes have not hitherto been brought to any perfection, with reſpect to making wine, yet they grow there naturally, their cluſters being very large, and finely flavoured for eating; whence one might be tempted to conceive, that by the help of Chemiſtry, an eſſential oil might be extracted, that would give an high, rich, and grateful flavour to the ſugar wine. It is very poſſible, that a few trials of this ſort, under the direction of a ſkilful perſon, might lead to an unexpected and unhoped for degree of perfection; ſince it is a matter of the utmoſt notoriety, that Madeira wine and other liquors are very highly improved, by being barely carried into that climate. Add to all this, that what Dr Goddard propoſed is founded in political as well them many other and moſt uſeful communications, ſome of which are printed in their Tranſactions, and many more are preſerved in their Regiſters, which ſerve as monuments of his extenſive and various learning (*w*), juſtifying the high commendation given him by ſome of the greateſt perſons living at that time, and whoſe writings, as well as his own, will ever do honour to that age and this nation [*F*]. As ſoon as things were in ſome meaſure ſettled, and the public tranquillity reſtored, he returned to his lodgings and his ſtudies at Greſham College, where he continued to the time of his death, which was very ſudden and unexpected (*x*). He uſed to meet a ſelect number of his learned friends at a place in Bloomſbury, where they diſcourſed of philoſophic ſubjects, and in his return from thence on the evening of the twenty-fourth of March 1674, he was ſeized with an apoplectick fit in Cheapſide near the corner of Woodſtreet, and dropped down dead (*y*). He left behind him a very well choſen library of books finely bound, which he intended to have made a preſent to the Royal Society, as an addition to the Arundel library, but dying without a will his intention was defeated, and they fell to his heir at Law, who was his nephew by his ſiſter, at that time a ſcholar in Caius College in Cambridge (*z*), his body lies buried in St Helen's church, on the north ſide of the chancel near the rails of the communion table without any monument.

(*w*) See their titles in the Notes.

(*x*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 538.

(*y*) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 271.

(*z*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 538.

well as philoſophical reaſon; for, by this means we might gain what is now a foreign commodity, and run very little riſk of being rivalled by the French, who would hardly ſuffer their colonies to interfere with one of the principal branches of their domeſtic commerce.

[*F*] *Will ever do honour to that age, and this nation.*] Beſides the two treatiſes already mentioned, and his anatomical lecture, which has never been publiſhed, our author wrote many other pieces upon different ſubjects, ſome of which were printed in his life-time, ſome after his deceaſe, and ſome are ſtill preſerved in the regiſters of the Royal Society, and have not been hitherto printed.

Of thoſe printed in his life-time, excluſive of what have been already mentioned, there were but two.

I. *Some Obſervations concerning the* Texture *and* ſimilar Parts *of the* Body *of a* Tree; *which may alſo hold in ſhrubs, and other woody plants* (14).

The ſubſtance of this diſcourſe has been publiſhed by one of the ableſt and moſt ingenious writers in our language, with this juſt encomium upon our author (15). 'What I am about to add, ſays he, concerning the 'texture and ſimilar parts of the body of trees, which may 'alſo hold in ſhrubs, and other ligneous plants, is both 'a curious and rational account of their anatomization, 'and worthy of the ſagacious enquiry of that incomparably learned perſon, Dr Goddard, as I find it entered amongſt other of thoſe precious collections of 'this illuſtrious Society.'

II. Experiments *of a Stone called* Oculus mundi.

This is a very rare, and, conſidered in that light, a precious ſtone, of which we find but very little ſaid, even by very accurate writers of Natural Hiſtory. It is an opake ſtone, in colour reſembling marble, or rather ivory, and when put into common water, becomes in no very long time tranſparent and full of luſtre, but when taken out, it very quickly recovers its former appearance. The great Mr Boyle thinks this may be accounted for by ſaying (16), that the water entering the crooked pores of the ſtone, rectifies them for the time, and ſo renders them pervious to the rays of light; and, in confirmation of his ſentiment, he appeals to theſe experiments of our author, whom he calls a learned member of the Royal Society; which manifeſtly proves, that the ſtone when thoroughly wiped, is nevertheleſs found by a nice balance to weigh more when it is taken out of the water, than when it was put in.

The following pieces were publiſhed after his death.

Obſervations of a Cameleon (17).

Experiments of refining Gold *with* Antimony (18).

Arcana Goddardiana. Theſe are ſome receipts publiſhed at the end of the ſecond edition of the *Pharmacopœia Bateana.* Lond. 1691.

Experiments *of weighing* Glaſs-canes, *with the* Cylinders *of* Quickſilver *in them, according to the* Torricellian *Experiment.*

Theſe were read before the Royal Society, Aug. 6. 1662, and entered in their regiſters, and with other accounts of the ſame kind, afterwards printed in Dr Wallis's *Mechanica* (19).

The following are entered in the regiſters of the Royal Society, but have not been printed.

A brief experimental Account of the Production *of ſome* Colours, *by a mixture of ſeveral liquors, either having little or no colour, or being of different colours from thoſe produced* (20).

An Experiment of Exhalation *raiſed from* Water, *and returning to* Water *again* (21).

About that time he likewiſe made ſome other experiments, relating to water, which may be ſeen in p. 93 and 97 of the ſame volume.

An Experiment of a Glaſs Tube *and* Quickſilver (22).

By this experiment was ſhewn the preſſure of the air, by the adheſion of the finger to the orifice of that part of the tube from which the air had been expelled by the quickſilver.

A diſcourſe upon Eggs, *containing* ten *ſigns whereby to diſtinguiſh* new Eggs *from thoſe which are* ſtale (23).

An Experiment to ſhew that Spirit *of* Wine *in a veſſel* exhauſted of air, *becomes* lighter (24).

Obſervations upon the Experiments *of ſeveral* liquors *in a* tube *of about* thirty-ſix *foot in length, erected* perpendicularly, *in order to ſhew their* comparative weight (25).

De mercurio Quaeſtiones tres, *a* Johanne Baptiſti Signi, *medico* Florentino, *per* Joh. Bapt. Gorniani, *coram reg. ſocietate propoſitae: Cum reſponſionibus medicorum* Londinenſium *quorundam ex eadem ſocietate* (26).

This was brought in by Dr Goddard, and read June 10. 1669.

An Experiment to ſhew whether the Muſcles *of an* Animal *in their* action, *are bigger or leſs in their* total *ſum of dimenſions* (27).

By this experiment it appeared, that the dimenſions of a muſcle are leſs in it's contraction than relaxation.

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(14) Regiſters of the Royal Society, Vol. I. p. 5.

(15) Evelyn's Silva, Lond. 1670. fol. p. 159.

(16) Boyle's Works, Vol. II. p. 85. Vol. IV. p. 222. Vol. V. p. 95.

(17) Philoſophical Tranſactions No. CXXXVII. p. 930.

(18) Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. CXXXVIII. p. 935.

(19) Vol. I. p. 185.

(20) Vol. I. p. 3.

(21) Vol. II. p. 63.

(22) Vol. II. p. 225.

(23) Vol. III. p. 8.

(24) Vol. III. p. 18.

(25) Vol. III. p. 60.

(26) Vol. IV. p. 65.

(27) Vol. IV. p. 95.

GODWYNE, GODWINE, GODWIN, or GOODWIN Earl of Kent, and alſo Earl, or Duke of the Weſt Saxons.

One of the greateſt captains, and one of the ableſt ſtateſmen, of whom any notice remains in our hiſtories before what is ſtiled the Norman Conqueſt (*a*). His actions are repreſented in various and contradictory lights, by different writers, ſo that hitherto, whatever memoirs have been collected concerning him, are ſo dark, ſo embarraſſed, and ſo inconſiſtent, that it is very difficult, if not impoſſible, to frame any juſt notion of his conduct and character, which nevertheleſs appears to be highly neceſſary, towards underſtanding the true ſources of that great revolution, which

(*a*) See Caxton, Cooper's Chronicle, Holinſhed, Speed, Daniel, Milton, Baker, Rapin, &c.

which happened in England, within a few years after his demiſe [*A*]. He was deſcended from an ancient noble Saxon family, and inherited a great eſtate from his anceſtors, and it is probable, he was Earl of Kent, before Knute or Canutus, the firſt of our Daniſh Kings, came to the throne, which the beſt authorities we have place in A. D. 1017 (*b*). In the third year of that prince's reign, his affairs making it neceſſary for him to return into his hereditary dominions, which were attacked by the Vandals or Swedes, he ſailed thither with a very numerous fleet, and a potent army, compoſed of Engliſh as well as Danes (*c*). The former were commanded in chief by Earl Godwin, and when they came into the field, and were encamped not far from the enemy, advice was brought to the King early one morning, that the Engliſh had left their quarters, and were either fled or had deſerted. Knute upon this advanced towards the enemy's camp, and ſaw with ſurprize, that it was abandoned, and none left in it but dead or wounded men (*d*). But he was quickly informed that Earl Godwin, taking the advantage of a dark night, had entered it ſuddenly, and tho' far inferior in ſtrength had routed the Vandals, and was then in purſuit of them. This gave him a very high opinion of Earl Godwin, and created ſuch an affection in him for the Engliſh nation, that he treated them ever after with the ſame kindneſs and cordiality that he did the Danes (*e*). On his return to England the next year, he rewarded Earl Godwin with very large grants, but it does not appear from any of our writers, whether it was before or after this expedition that he married the King's daughter (*f*); but tho' moſt of our ancient chronicles maintain the contrary, there are very ſtrong reaſons, which prove he had no other wife than this daughter of the King's, whom it is more than probable he married at the very entrance of his reign, when by ſuch alliances he ſought at leaſt to ſtrengthen his own intereſt, and to blend in proceſs of time the two nations (*g*) [*B*]. The King went twice or thrice at leaſt after this

(*b*) Chronicum Saxonicum.

(*c*) Chronicon Johannis Bromton Abbatis Jornalenſis, col. 908. Chron. Saxon.

(*d*) Math. Weſtm. Annal. Hen. Huntingdon. Hiſt. lib. VI.

(*e*) Chron. Johan. Bromton.

(*f*) Hen. de Knyghton Canonicus Leyceſtrencis de eventibus Angliæ, col. 2333.

(*g*) Sax. Grammat. Adam Bremens, Polydor Virgil.

[*A*] *Which happened in England within a few years after his demiſe.*] The principal and eſſential point in all Hiſtory is truth; for without that, whatever there may be of elegance in the compoſition, or of weight and ſagacity in reflections, or whatever value it may have in any other reſpects, ſuch a work is not Hiſtory. A man of great talents, and one who is maſter of a fine ſtyle, may out of a few facts placed in bad order, and told in a very rough manner, frame not only a pleaſant and paſſable, but a very plauſible relation; which, if his materials in general be deſtroyed, will be received with poſterity for true Hiſtory. Or if a man who is a little more ſcrupulous, and has likewiſe a greater degree of diligence, ſhall aſſemble a large heap of materials, and reſolve to bring them all in, ranged in the beſt order he is able, though inconſiſtent and contradictory, his labours may alſo find acceptance with many, though it is impoſſible they ſhould ſatisfy the inquiſitive and well-judging few. Inſtances of both kinds may be found in the general hiſtories of moſt nations in Europe, but more eſpecially in our own; which, for this reaſon, in theſe early periods particularly, has been juſtly cenſured as incertain, dark, and perplexed (1). To avoid abſolutely theſe objections in the form of a General Hiſtory, muſt be a work of very great difficulty, or rather, to ſpeak freely and impartially, altogether impracticable. Our ingenious, judicious, and laborious Antiquary, Mr William Lambard, ſaw this, and therefore long ago fell into our method; that is, he framed an alphabetical catalogue of the principal articles in our Old Hiſtory eſpecially, and ranged under each head what he could collect concerning it out of ancient writers, with his own remarks, out of which he propoſed to draw ſeveral regular and correct pieces, in which things ſhould be repreſented methodically, and as near the truth as it was poſſible (2). Since his time we have, through the commendable induſtry of many great men, ſuch as Sir Henry Savile, Mr Camden, Sir Roger Twyſden, Mr Selden, Biſhop Fell, Dr Gale, Mr Hearne, and many others, recovered a multitude of ancient writers relating to Engliſh Hiſtory. But if this has added to the quantity of materials, it has added no leſs to that perplexity which was before ſo great and ſo formidable a bar, to the reducing the tranſactions of our anceſtors into a tolerable degree of order and certainty. The only way to come at this, is not barely to conſider what is ſaid by a multitude of writers of the ſame perſons and things, but to weigh the authorities of theſe writers, to conſider the reſpective advantages and diſadvantages under which they wrote, the viſible ſpirit and deſign of their writings, their ſeveral capacities for the taſks they reſpectively undertook; and, in ſhort, whatever elſe may contribute to diſtinguiſh where they deſerved credit, and where they ought to be rejected. If this can poſſibly be done, the likelieſt method of doing it is to take up ſingle threads, and to purſue them with as ſtrict an eye as may be, 'till we have freed them from beginning to end, as far as we are able, from all embarraſſments, and ſo as to produce them even and ſtrait to the contemplation and cenſure of proper judges. This is what, by way of inſtance, we have done with regard to Earl Godwin, the ſeries of whoſe actions deſerves to be traced with as much accuracy as any character whatever of like antiquity. The way in which we have traced it, is to place in the text the facts that are preſerved by authors of the greateſt credit, and who lived neareſt his own time, who conſequently had the beſt opportunities of knowing what they wrote, and who were the leaſt likely to deceive themſelves, or attempt to deceive others. In the notes we have occaſionally given an account of the authorities upon which we relied, of the facts which we have rejected, and the motives which led us to reject them, and have alſo added circumſtances that are diſcovered from the compariſon of facts, and which tend to eſtabliſh the credit and certainty of this great man's Hiſtory, as we have delivered it.

[*B*] *And to blend in proceſs of time the two nations.*] There is nothing ſaid in the Saxon chronicle concerning the marriage of Earl Godwin, ſo that all that can be collected on this head is from writers of far leſs antiquity, which is the true reaſon of it's appearing ſo incertain and obſcure. Some ſay, that he married the ſiſter, others the daughter, of King Knute, but none of our writers mention the name of this lady (3). However, they are pleaſed to tell us, that ſhe was a very wicked woman, and that ſhe cauſed the handſomeſt children, but more eſpecially girls, that could be met with in England, to be ſtolen, and ſent over into Denmark, where ſhe ſold them, and accumulated thereby immenſe riches (4). They add, that ſhe was killed by a thunder-bolt, and that Godwin had had only one ſon by her, who, while a child, riding an unruly horſe, given him by the King, his grandfather, or uncle, into the river Thames, was there thrown into the water and drowned (5). After which Earl Godwin married another wife, of whoſe family there is not a ſyllable any where ſaid, and by her had ſix or ſeven ſons, and one daughter. But Polydor Virgil, following the lights given him by ſome of our ancient Hiſtorians, which are now loſt, and agreeing with foreign writers that are ſtill remaining, ſets this matter in a very clear and conſiſtent light; ſo much the more to be conſidered, as for for want of this key the whole ſtory of Godwin and his family, their great influence and unbounded authority, is very intricate, if not unintelligible; but this once known,

(1) See the learned Mr Bolton's diſcourſes upon the Engliſh Hiſtory, printed at the end of Trivet's Annals. Milton's Introduction to the Hiſtory of England; and Biſhop Nicholſon's Account of the Hiſtorians within this period.

(2) Alphabetical deſcription of the chief places in England and Wales, London 4to 1730.

(3) Willielmus Malmeſburienſis de Geſtis Regum Anglorum, lib. ii. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I.

(4) Willielm. Malmeſburienſis.

(5) Hen. Knyghton.

this into Denmark, but whether Earl Godwin attended him or not, or whether he accompanied him to Rome, or in his expedition into Scotland after his return from thence, does not appear (*b*). It is moſt likely that he did not, but that the King left him in England, as one upon whom he could ſafely rely, and who in his abſence was able to keep the kingdom in peace. We aſſert this the rather, becauſe of the vaſt power he had, at the time of this monarch's death; which he muſt have attained gradually, as other great men died, or fell into the King's diſpleaſure, while he remained firm in his favour, and may be preſumed to have preſerved himſelf, partly by his ſervices, but chiefly by his alliance (*i*). On the demiſe of this monarch, Anno Domini 1036, there was an aſſembly held of all the great men in the kingdom, to determine whom they ſhould raiſe to the throne; in which Earl Leofric, and moſt of the governors of the countries north of the river Thames, and the ſeamen of London, were for Harold ſirnamed Harefoot, the ſon of Elgiva the daughter of Ælfem, Earl of Hampſhire, by the deceaſed King, for, as to the ſtory of his being a ſuppoſititious child, and the ſon of a Shoemaker impoſed upon the King by that lady, it is very improbable, from this circumſtance of his having ſo ſtrong a party amongſt the nobility, and his being at the ſame time ſo acceptable to the people (*k*). However this was vehemently oppoſed by Earl Godwin, and the Weſt-Saxon lords, who, tho' they could not prevail to ſet him aſide, yet they obtained in favour of the Queen Dowager Emma or Ymma, who had been the wife of Ethelred, as well as of Knute, that ſhe ſhould continue to reſide at Wincheſter, with the domeſticks of the King her ſon, and ſhould enjoy all the country of the Weſt-Saxons, that was under the government of Godwin (*l*). In this year moſt writers place the murther of Alfred, the eldeſt ſon of Queen Emma by King Ethelred, but of this there is not a word in the Saxon Chronicle, nor was it inſerted in any chronicle till after the Conqueſt, as is evident from what William of Malmeſbury ſays, that he took it upon common fame and would not warrant the truth of it (*m*). It is alſo plain that the murther of this prince was originally aſcribed to his mother; but after the Normans came in, the monks were ſo complaiſant as to diſcharge her of this heavy load, and lay it wholly upon the ſhoulders of Earl Godwin (*n*) [*C*]. The next year Queen Emma was baniſhed, and retired for

ſhelter

(*b*) Chron. Saxon.

(*i*) Eadmeri Monachi Cantuarienſis Hiſtoriæ novorum ſive ſui ſæculi; Simeonis Dunelmenſis Hiſtoria.

(*k*) Chron. Saxon. Florent. Wigorn. Aluredi Beverlacenſis Annales. Abbreviationes Chroniorum Autore Radulfo de Diceto.

(*l*) Chron. Saxon. Sim. Dunelmenſ. Thomæ Sprotti Chronica, p. 71. col. 2.

(*m*) De geſtis Regum Anglorum, lib. II. Alured. Bever. Sim. Dunelm. col. 179. Chron. Johan. Bromton, col. 935.

(*n*) Annal. Winton.

known, becomes as plain and probable as can be. Canutus then upon the death of Edmund Ironſide, becoming King both of the Danes and Engliſh, ſought to enlarge his intereſt, and to ſecure his family, by intermixing the two nations, as is ſaid in the text; upon which he married himſelf an Engliſh lady, the daughter of the Earl or Duke of Hampſhire, and gave his daughter in marriage to Earl Godwin, whoſe name was Thira (6), which the Engliſh altered into Githa, and thus ſhe was ſiſter to King Knute, that is to Hardecnute, or Canutus the ſecond (7). The reaſon why the monks after the Conqueſt were ſo extremely deſirous to confuſe and hide this matter, was to prevent poſterity from ſeeing what the nature of that title was by which Harold claimed the Crown; for if they had owned him to be the grandſon of Knute, or Canutus the Great, it might have been thought at leaſt as good as that of William the Norman, who was not deſcended either from the Saxon or the Daniſh Line (8). That Godwin married a Daniſh princeſs, was a thing too notorious to be denied, and that he had iſſue by her, might have been preſerved by tradition; but theſe being removed out of the way by the thunder-bolt and the ſkittiſh horſe, Harold, and the reſt of his children, were attributed to another wife (9). But as there is a fatality that attends liars, ſo we have an ancient abbey chronicle which betrays all this, and that by endeavouring to ſupport it. We have therein a moſt horrid picture drawn of Swayn Earl of Shropſhire (10), who is ſaid to have been one of the proudeſt and haughtieſt perſons of his time, fancying himſelf to be deſcended from Swayn King of Denmark; nor would he be perſwaded out of this, tho' his father, Earl Godwin, and his mother, Lady Githa, came and aſſured him, that he was their own child, and not of any ſuch lineage as he pretended. This ſilly tale is plainly grounded upon a tradition, that Earl Swayn, of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, valued himſelf very much upon his being the great-grandſon of the Daniſh monarch of the ſame name, who made no inconſiderable figure in that conqueſt, which was afterwards finiſhed and compleated by his ſon Knute.

[*C*] *And lay it wholly upon the ſhoulders of Earl Godwin.*] We have in another place obſerved, that the Saxon Chronicle is ſilent on this head, and, which is ſtill more extraordinary, takes no notice at all of this Alfred, ſuppoſed to be the elder brother of Edward the Confeſſor. Eadmerus, another Hiſtorian, who lived near theſe times, is as ſilent, and it is very improbable, that if he had ever heard or believed this ſtory, would have ſtiled Godwin, as he does, a magnanimous Earl (11). Walter of Hemingford, a man of judgment and veracity, in his introduction to his Hiſtory (12), ſpeaks largely of Godwin, but without the leaſt hint of this tranſaction. It is however true, that in the annals of Wincheſter, though this fact is not related at large, yet it is more than once mentioned, with inſinuations that Queen Emma and Earl Godwin were equally involved in it; but all this is to make way for the ſtory of Queen Emma's penance (13). Yet in that ſtory Robert Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in his ſpeech to the Biſhops, who are ſaid to have favoured the Queen, charges her, and her only, without any mention of Earl Godwin. His words are theſe: 'How can you have the confidence (ſpeaking to the 'Biſhops) to take upon you the defence of that beaſt, 'rather than woman, who hath ſo much detracted 'from the King, her ſon, and yet calls her paramour 'the Anointed of the Lord: ſhe offers herſelf to purge 'the Biſhop, but who ſhall purge her, who conſented to 'the death of her ſon Alfred, and prepared poiſon for 'his brother Edward? But if ſhe deſires to be acquitted, let her walk blindfold and barefoot over nine red-'hot ploughſhares, four for herſelf, and five for the Bi-'ſhops; and if ſhe eſcapes, let her be reputed inno-'cent.' We ſee then, that according to this chronicle, the Queen and the Earl were both ſuſpected; but from the Archbiſhop's ſpeech, one would ſuppoſe the fault lay chiefly in her. Take the whole fact therefore together, and the Queen muſt be acquitted, in virtue of her purgation; but take that as it ought to be taken, for a fable invented by the monks, and to which no regard was paid by the beſt ancient Hiſtorians, and the whole buſineſs falls to the ground (14). This will appear ſtill the more clearly from the ſubject of the following note, which will ſet the true character of Godwin in a proper light, and ſhew that if he had great power and influence at this time, he uſed it well and wiſely; for ſurely he who ſet up Edward, might have ſet up his own ſon as eaſily, if he had been ſo ambitious as he is repreſented; or if he had apprehended any difficulty therein, might have dealt with Edward as he is ſaid to have done with his brother Alfred; but as he did neither, we ought in common juſtice to conclude, that his memory was much injured from a ſuperſtitious regard

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(6) Anglicæ Hiſtor. lib. VIII.

(7) Lelandi Collectanea, tom. I. p. 759.

(8) Churchill's Divi Britannici, p. 185.

(9) Will. Malmeſburienſis.

(10) Regiſtrum Wigorniæ in Biblioth. Cottoniana. Monaſticon Anglicanum, Vol. I. p. 133.

(11) Monachi Cantuarienſis Hiſtoriæ novorum, ſive ſæculi, p. 4.

(12) Chronica Walteri Hemingford de geſtis Regum Angliæ, lib. I. cap. I.

(13) Annal. Winton.

(14) Chron. Saxon. Eadmeri Hiſtoriæ. Will. Malmeſburienſis.

ſhelter to Baldwin Earl of Flanders, who gave her a retreat in the city of Bruges. But why ſhe went thither, rather than to her own country of Normandy, unleſs it was becauſe of the cloſe alliance between this Earl and our Earl Godwin, is not eaſy to diſcover (*o*). What ſhare Earl Godwin had in this monarch's adminiſtration, is not to be diſcovered from our moſt authentic hiſtory, but if there be any truth in what ſome writers ſuggeſt, that he was ever obliged to leave England (*p*), after the death of King Knute, this is moſt likely to be the time, neither is it improbable, that he might attend the Queen-Dowager, and return with her and her ſon (*q*). For Harold dying at Oxford on the 17th of March 1039, Hardecnute came with a great fleet to Sandwich a week before Midſummer, and was there received as King, both by the Engliſh and Danes, for which as the Saxon Annals ſay, they were but ill rewarded (*r*). But as to his cauſing his brother's body to be taken up and thrown into the Thames, and his proſecution of Earl Godwin, for his cruelty towards his brother (*s*), thoſe Annals are entirely ſilent, and it may be with good reaſon, of which the reader will meet with ſome proofs in the notes [*D*]. The next year his brother Edward came over from Normandy, and ſeems to have remained at court till the death of the King, which happened on the eighth of June 1041, at Lambeth at a wedding (*t*), thro' drunkenneſs, as ſome writers ſay; and, as others ſuggeſt, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon (*u*). However it happened a great confuſion enſued, for tho' but half a Dane himſelf, yet having been educated and reigning in that country, during the life of his brother Harold, he was entirely addicted to their cuſtoms, had a great confidence in them, and levied exorbitant ſums upon his Engliſh ſubjects for their profit (*w*). This incenſed the nation to ſuch a degree, that they unanimouſly declared they would exclude the whole line of Knute, and never ſuffer any Dane to bear the regal title in this kingdom. They alſo expelled the Danes wherever they were ſettled, and obliged them to return home, reſolving to convert the day of the King's death into an anniverſary feſtival, for the extinction of the Daniſh tyranny in England (*x*). In this perilous ſituation of things, Edward the ſon of King Ethelred and Queen Emma, neither of whom were at all beloved by the people, was under great anxiety and terror (*y*). He was naturally of a timorous diſpoſition, and, according to the beſt accounts we have, ſo little ambitious, or at leaſt had ſo little hope of ſucceeding his brother, that the care of his own ſafety occupied all his thoughts. It was with this view, that with the greateſt teſtimonies of fear and diſtreſs, he applied himſelf to Earl Godwin, as the only perſon who could protect him, and procure him a ſafe paſſage into Normandy, which was all he deſired (*z*). Upon his propoſing this to that Earl, who received him with all imaginable marks of kindneſs and tenderneſs, he told him, it was a notion unworthy of his blood and birth, that he was the ſon of a King, and of a Queen, that he was arrived at a mature age, was of a mild and peaceable diſpoſition, very capable, if he would apply his thoughts to the adminiſtration of public affairs, of repairing the miſchiefs the nation had ſo long ſuffered; and that at all events, it was infinitely more glorious for him to live a King in his own, than a wretched and miſerable exile in a foreign country (*a*). By theſe and other diſcourſes of this ſort, Edward was prevailed upon not to act himſelf, but to ſuffer Godwin to act as he thought proper, who in a meeting of the nobility, held at Gillingham, by the diſplay of that eloquence for which he was ſo famous, and thro' the influence he had upon the minds of the nobility, procured Edward to be choſen, which choice was afterwards confirmed at London, where he was declared King (*b*). As there was a great ſcarcity of proviſions that year, and a prodigious mortality amongſt the cattle, the ceremony of

(*o*) Chron. Saxon. Henrici Huntindonienſis Hiſtoria lib. VI. Willielm. Malmeſburienſis de Geſtis Regum Anglorum, lib. II.

(*p*) Chron. Saxon. Johan. Bromton, Florent. Wigorn.

(*q*) Johan. Bromton. Rogeri de Hoveden. Annal.

(*r*) Chron. Saxon. Willielm. Malmeſburienſis. Rogeri de Hoveden.

(*s*) Math. Weſtm. Annal. Sim. Dunelm. Hen. Knyghton.

(*t*) Chron. Saxon. Sim. Dunelm. Willielm. Malmeſburienſis. Rogeri de Hoveden.

(*u*) Johan. Bromton. H. Huntingdon.

(*w*) Chron. Saxon.

(*x*) Johanni Roſſi Hiſtoria regum Angliæ.

(*y*) Annal. Winton. in Biblioth. Cottoniana, ſub effigie Domitiani, A. 13.

(*z*) Will. Malmeſburienſis.

(*a*) Chron. Antiq. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana ſub effigie Othonis, D. 7.

(*b*) Ailredus Abbas Rievallis de vita & miraculis Edwardi Confeſſoris. Will. Malmeſburienſis.

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to the fame of Edward the Confeſſor, one of the weakeſt, none of the mildeſt of our monarchs, and whoſe beſt title to the throne aroſe from the affection of Earl Godwin to the Saxon Line.

[*D*] *With ſome proofs in the notes.*] If Queen Emma ſuffered under her ſon, Edward the Confeſſor, for being an accomplice at leaſt in the murther of his brother; Earl Godwin, if we will believe Simeon of Durham, and other writers, had been both purged and puniſhed for it before (15). King Hardecnute, ſay they, was no ſooner ſeated on the throne, than Alfric, Archbiſhop of York, charged Earl Godwin and Biſhop Living with having conſpired the death of Prince Alfred; upon which charge the Biſhop was convicted, and removed from his Biſhoprick, but reſtored ſome time after for a ſum of money. Earl Godwin had ſhared the ſame fate if he had not pacified the King by a preſent of a moſt magnificent galley, which had a ſtern gelt with gold, manned by eighty choſen ſoldiers, having gold bracelets on their arms, weighing ſixteen ounces each, and the reſt of their arms ſuitable. But all this would not have done, if the Earl had not taken his oath, that what he did, he did by the expreſs command of King Harold; ſo that he was the inſtrument only, and not the contriver, of this tragedy. This King might indeed very readily credit him almoſt without an oath, if we could believe it true, that he was one of thoſe, who by this King's order had dug up his brother's body, and after cutting off the head, had thrown it into the Thames (16). But farther ſtill, if there was the leaſt truth in this, Queen Emma muſt have been abſolutely innocent; and after this open enquiry and trial, Edward the Confeſſor could not be at all in the dark about the death of his brother; for which notwithſtanding, he is not only ſaid to have put his mother to her purgation, but even after her death to have brought Earl Godwin to a new trial for this fact, and that in a ſolemn manner, before his Peers; which ſo great a man as Mr Selden believed to be true (17), and cites it as the original of ſuch kind of proceedings in Parliament. But how ſtrange after all this muſt it appear, that there is not a word of theſe three trials, any more than of the murther of Alfred, in the Saxon Annals, in the Hiſtory of Eadmerus, or in any other author of equal credit. The judicious reader therefore will not wonder, that we conſider them all in the ſame light, as the inventions of later times, and ſubject, like all invented hiſtories, to ſuch variations and abſurdities, as plainly ſhew them to ſuch as will be at the pains to compare and conſider them, to be but mere inventions, which ought to have been long ago exploded from our Hiſtories.

(15) Simeonis Dumelmenſis Hiſtoria. Lelandi Collectanea, tom. I. p. 759.

(16) Johan. Bromton, col. 936. Hen. Knyghton, col. 2326. Math. Weſtm. Annal.

(17) Titles of Honour, p. 525.

[*E*] At

of the Coronation was put off to the next ſpring, when the King was inaugurated with great ſolemnity at Wincheſter upon Eaſter-Day, which happened that year upon the eleventh of April (*c*). What we have ſaid is taken chiefly from Malmeſbury, a very diligent, and, for the times in which he lived, a very learned Hiſtorian. But ſurely if any credit be due to our ancient Abbey chronicles, that of Wincheſter (*d*) claims it as to this fact, and therefore the reader will find the account of this tranſaction literally tranſlated from thence at the bottom of the page [*E*]. Upon this occaſion Archbiſhop Eadſig preached the firſt Coronation ſermon of which we have any remembrance preſerved, and therein very freely told both the King and the people their duty (*e*). The ſame year, that is A. D. 1042, the King reunited to his Domain, the lands which his mother Queen Emma had held, and took from her all the treaſures ſhe had amaſſed, becauſe he thought ſhe had treated him unkindly while under his misfortunes (*f*). In ſome ancient chronicles this

(*c*) Chron. Saxon. Alured. Beverlacenſis, p. 59. Sim. Dunelm. col. 179.

(*d*) Annal. Winton. ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Chron. Saxon.

(*f*) Annal. Winton. Chron. Saxon. Rogeri de Hoveden.

[*E*] *At the bottom of the page.*] We hope in this note to ſatisfy the reader, in as great a degree as the nature of this attempt will admit, that we have truth on our ſide, and that in vindicating the character of Earl Godwin, againſt the current of our common hiſtories, we have done what it became us to do, in ſupport of truth, in regard to the memory of the dead, and in juſtice to poſterity. We have ſuggeſted, that our ancient abbey chronicles were altered and interpolated after the Conqueſt, and that amongſt many other reaſons which might be mentioned, the Saxon chronicle deſerves the utmoſt reſpect, becauſe it has viſibly ſuffered leſs in this reſpect than almoſt any other (18) We promiſed the reader in this note to prove from the ancient chronicle of the church of Wincheſter, that Edward the Confeſſor was raiſed to the throne purely by the favour and aſſiſtance of Earl Godwin; we ſhall prove this, and make good the obſervations before-mentioned at the ſame time. There is, or at leaſt there was, in the Cotton Library, an ancient copy of the annals (19) before-mentioned, ending in the year 1086, and from thence we will literally tranſlate this curious paſſage: ‘The King being dead, (Hardecnute) the care of the kingdom, with the conſent of the Queen and the council of the Nobles, was committed to Earl Godwin, 'till a perſon worthy of that dignity ſhould be elected King. Edward, the ſon of Emma, being at that time in a woful condition, three Dukes of Normandy, his relations, two Richards and a Robert being dead, had no friend in that country, William, the ſon of Robert, a youth, being at that time with the King of France. Having no reaſon to hope ſo much as a ſpark of pity from his mother in this deſperate ſtate, thought it ſafer to ſupplicate an open enemy, than to apply to a pretended friend; leaving therefore Normandy, and ſailing into England, when he had landed at Southampton, avoiding his mother, who was then at Wincheſter, he went directly to Godwin, at London, a man ſuppoſed to be no friend to him, and to have been the murderer of his brother. There one morning very early getting into his bed-chamber, he proſtrated himſelf upon the ground, with his arms ſtretched out in the very form of a croſs before Godwin, who was but juſt awake. To whom Godwin ſaid, Who, and what wretch art thou, and what would thou have? Stand up, that I may ſee thee To this anſwered Edward, I am indeed a poor ſervant of thine, who, without any fault of my own, have been an exile even from my youth; ſave, I beſeech thee, my life; and then burſt out into a violent flood of tears. Godwin, extremely moved with the tears and miſery of this ſupplicant, promiſed him, with an oath, that he ſhould be ſafe. Riſe, riſe, (ſaid he) and doubt not of ſecurity; by the face of St Luke, thou ſhalt not die: be not afraid to truſt me with thy ſecret, whoever thou art. To this he replied, I am Edward, the youngeſt ſon of Ethelred; let me, I beſeech thee, find favour in thy ſight. For thy own good, returned Godwin, haſt thou come to me, and what I have ſworn ſhall not be in vain. I will be to thee a father, and thou ſhalt be to me a ſon. Only ſwear to me, by God and thy own ſoul, that thou wilt take my daughter to wife, and ſuffer me to remain the firſt man in the kingdom, and I will give to thee the realm of England. He having ſworn, Godwin kiſſed him, and commanded him to go before him to Wincheſter, and not to make himſelf known to any man, nor even to his mother. Edward therefore came in a mean habit to Wincheſter, and eat ſometimes in his mother's Court, ſometimes in the houſe of the Biſhop, but unknown, while in the mean time he diligently endeavoured to find out their ſentiments. In the mean time Godwin ſummoned all the Nobility to attend the Queen at Wincheſter, in order to proceed to the choice of a King; and there accordingly they met in the epiſcopal church. Godwin ſat on the Queen's left hand, becauſe the Archbiſhop ſat on the right, having Edward at his feet, with his hood over his face. After having explained his intentions in a long ſpeech, he put his hand upon the head of Edward, the Queen knowing nothing of the myſtery, lifted him up, and ſhewing him to all the aſſembly, who were extremely ſurprized, Behold, ſaid he, your King. This is Edward, the Son of this Queen Emma, and of Ethelred, King of the Engliſh nation. Him I elect for King, and to him I firſt do homage. After ſome diſputes the election was conſented to, though it diſpleaſed many; but at that time there were none who durſt openly oppoſe Godwin.’

This, though it might ſuffice for our purpoſe at preſent, ſhall not be all that we will quote from this chronicle, for what follows may very probably be as entertaining to the reader, as ſhewing what the general ſenſe of men was in thoſe times. ‘Edward, ſon of Ethelred, King of England, thus elected, was crowned alſo at Wincheſter. He took to wife Weditha, but both of them preſerved their virginity. He honoured Godwin above all men; as for his mother, he neither reverenced nor deſpiſed her in public. Many there were who had befriended him in exile, that came to him from Normandy; amongſt theſe was one Robert, whom in proceſs of time he made firſt Biſhop of London, and afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Edward had his mind ſo tainted by the invidious ſuggeſtions of this Archbiſhop, that he grew at length to ſuch bitterneſs, as to expel Earl Godwin, who had made him King, and whoſe daughter he had married, from his councils; and having deſpoiled him and his family of their honours, beſtowed them among their enemies. He took from Queen Emma, his mother, all that ſhe poſſeſſed, and cauſed her to be confined in the abbey of Werewell, where he allowed her a very ſcanty ſubſiſtence. Alwine, Biſhop of Wincheſter, who was ſaid to be familiar with his mother, he ſtripped of his patrimonial eſtate, and forbid him, upon pain of death, to ſet his foot without the city of Wincheſter.’ This, if it be true, or if it comes any thing near the truth, ſhews what great obligations Edward, ſurnamed the Confeſſor, lay under to Earl Godwin, and there is no doubt that paſſages of the like kind were found in other chronicles of thoſe days; in which, though they have tolerably eſcaped later revolutions, they are now wanting, and in many of them things are inſerted that are utterly inconſiſtent with them; yet they appear to have had ſuch weight with William of Malmeſbury (20), that it is plain he took the ſubſtance of them into his book; but this was purely the effects of his own diligence and good ſenſe; for other Hiſtorians of that time adopted the common notions out of reſpect for the Normans; for it was out of compliment to them that theſe alterations were made; and if the Saxon chronicle, and this of Wincheſter, had not eſcaped, William of Malmſbury's account would have run the hazard of being thought of his own invention.

(18) See the learned Biſhop Gibſon's excellent preface, prefixed to his edition of that Chronicle.

(19) Sub effigie Domitiani, A. 13.

(20) De Geſtis Regum Anglorum, lib. II.

this is ſaid to have been done by the advice of Earl Godwin, and Biſhop Living, tho' in ſucceeding times a long ſtory was told of the Queen's being ſuſpected of too much familiarity with Alwin then Biſhop of Wincheſter; and that the Earl charged both her and him with being the authors of prince Alfred's death, and the Queen with an attempt to poiſon Edward himſelf, upon which having paſſed the trial of the Ordeal, ſhe in memory of the nine burning plough-ſhares, over which ſhe went blindfold unhurt, gave nine manors to the church of Wincheſter, and was thereupon reſtored to the King's favour (*g*). But of all this, not a word in the Saxon Annals, in the hiſtory of Eadmerus, or in William of Malmeſbury. As for thoſe who penned the annals probably they never heard of it, and for the other two writers, they had more ſenſe and regard to veracity, than to ſet it down if they did. A. D. 1043, Archbiſhop Eadſig being very infirm, intreated the King that he might reſign his ſee to Siward Abbot of Abington, which, at the inſtance of Earl Godwin, he was permitted to do; and it is ſaid in the annals (*h*), that this affair was tranſacted with much ſecrecy, becauſe the Archbiſhop apprehended, if his intention was publickly known, ſome perſon of leſs probity and learning would by dint of intereſt or of money (theſe are the very words in the chronicle) have thruſt himſelf into the See. The ſame year the King married Egitha, which ſome have ſoftened into Editha, the daughter of Earl Godwin, a lady not only of great beauty and piety, but of conſiderable learning alſo, and a great encourager of it in others, as Ingulphus of his own knowlege and experience, as having participated of her bounty, acknowledges (*i*). But the King, either out of ſecret hatred to her father, as ſome ſay (*k*), or from an unreaſonable and unwarrantable zeal for chaſtity, as others aſſert, never lived with her as a wife (*l*), tho' nothing of this appears in the Annals, and Malmeſbury, who mentions both cauſes as we do doubtfully, very roundly declares afterwards, that he will not anſwer for the fact (*m*). In 1045, Earl Swayn, one of Godwin's ſons, left the kingdom, and retired to Flanders, on account, as we are told, of his violating the chaſtity of an Abbeſs (*n*). The next year, the King being at Sandwich, with a great fleet to repel the Daniſh pirates that waſted the coaſt, Earl Swayn came thither to him, and had prevailed upon the King to reſtore him to his honours and eſtate; but that his own brother Harold, and his couſin Beorn, hindered it, aſſuring the King that he was unworthy of his mercy, upon which he had four days time given him to retire (*o*). He not long after met with his father and his couſin Beorn at ſea, and having got the latter on board his ſhip, carried him away to the iſland of Axmouth and there murthered him, of which his relations at London having notice, and of the church where he was interred, they removed his corps to Wincheſter, and buried it there by that of his uncle King Knute (*p*). In 1047 there was a great council held at London, and ſoon after the King pardoned Earl Swayn (*q*). This year died Archbiſhop Eadſig, who upon the demiſe of Siward had reſumed his See, to which upon this vacancy the King promoted Robert, who was a Norman, and who was ſuſpected, as Malmeſbury obſerves, to have infuſed into the King's boſom, a jealouſy and hatred of Earl Godwin, which quickly broke out with great fury upon the following occaſion (*r*). Euſtace Earl of Boloigne, who had married the King's ſiſter, came over to make him a viſit, and in his return paſſing from Canterbury to Dover, he ſent ſome of his retinue, when he was within a mile of the place, to take up quarters for him, in which behaving themſelves very rudely, and one of them attempting to thruſt himſelf into a houſe without the owner's leave, wounded him, upon which the townſman killed him in his own defence. This ſo provoked Earl Euſtace, that he broke into the man's houſe, and not ſatisfied with killing him would have puniſhed others, which excited a great tumult, wherein more than twenty of the townſmen were killed, and nineteen of his own people (*s*). Upon this, with the few that were left, he fled to the King, and told him a lamentable ſtory, laying all the fault on the town's people, to which the King too readily yielding belief, diſpatched his orders to Earl Godwin not to hear, but to puniſh the people of Dover. The Earl, who as the Annals ſay, thought it hard to be made the deſtroyer of thoſe who were under his protection, delayed going, and inſinuated to the King that it would be right to hear both ſides (*t*). About this time the Welſh having invaded Herefordſhire, which was within the limits of Earl Swayn's government, plundered the country and built a fort there; the King ſummoned the nobility to Glouceſter, but Earl Godwin and his ſons, who thought that force was beſt repelled by force, had aſſembled a great army, and were upon the point of attacking the Welſh, when they were ſummoned to attend the King at this council; for the Welſhmen had applied to Edward, and made him believe that they were not the aggreſſors in this buſineſs, but that Earl Godwin and his aſſociates had aſſembled theſe forces for bad purpoſes (*u*). The King having with him Earl Siward, Earl Leofric, and moſt of the nobility in the northern parts of his kingdom about him, endeavoured to induce them to act againſt Earl Godwin, and thoſe of his party. The Earl and his ſons having notice of this, remained firm, notwithſtanding, tho' ſuch as were with them thought it a grievous thing, as the Saxon Annals ſay, to act againſt their prince (*w*); but Malmeſbury with great probability affirms, that Earl Godwin gave poſitive orders to his army not to act offenſively, but to repel force by force, in caſe they were attacked. However, if more moderate counſels had not interfered, a civil war had certainly enſued. The nobility about the King having prevailed up-

(*g*) Annal. Winton. Thomæ Rudborn. Hiſt. Winton. Rogeri de Hoveden.

(*h*) Chron. Saxon.

(*i*) Chron. Saxon. Ingulphi Hiſtoria. Will. Malmeſburienſis.

(*k*) Ailredus Rievallis.

(*l*) Will. Malmeſburienſis. Sim. Dunelm.

(*m*) De Geſtis Regum Anglorum, lib. II.

(*n*) Chron. Saxon. Rogeri de Hoveden Annal.

(*o*) Chron. Saxon. Hen. Huntindon. Rogeri de Hoveden.

(*p*) Chron. Saxon. Will. Malmeſburienſis.

(*q*) Chron. Saxon. Hen. Huntindon.

(*r*) De geſtis Regum Anglorum, lib. II. Chron. Saxon. Annal Winton.

(*s*) Chron. Saxon. Rogeri Hoveden.

(*t*) Chron. Saxon. Math. Weſtm. Annal. Hen. Knyghton.

(*u*) Chron. Saxon. Will. Malmeſburienſis.

(*w*) Chron. Saxon.

on him, to let matters reſt as they were, and to ſummon a great council at London in the beginning of September, both parties ſeparated without coming to blows (x). At the meeting of the great council, where the Lords both of the Southern and Northern Provinces were preſent, Earl Swayn was declared an outlaw, and Earl Godwin and Earl Harold were cited to appear and give an account of their proceedings (y). The two Earls declared themſelves ready to come, provided they had hoſtages given them for their ſecurity. This was refuſed, and they were again ſummoned to appear, with no more than twelve in their company, and as they declined this they had five days given them to quit the kingdom (z). Earl Godwin and Earl Swayn went immediately to Flanders, to Earl Baldwin, and Harold retired into Ireland (a). As ſoon as the King knew they were gone, he cauſed his Queen to be ſeized, and having taken from her her lands, and whatever money ſhe had; he ſent her to the nunnery of Werewell, where ſhe was committed to the cuſtody of his ſiſter, tho' it does not appear that this unhappy princeſs was charged with any offence, but was puniſhed for the fault, or rather for the King's ſuſpicion, of her father (b) [F]. The King likewiſe to ſhew his reſentment ſtill more, gave the county of Earl Swayn, to Earl Odda; and that of Harold, to Earl Elfgar the ſon of Earl Leofric (c). In 1052, died Queen Emma on the ſixth of May (d), and the King ordered a fleet to aſſemble at Sandwich, under the command of Earl Rolfe and Earl Odda; however Earl Godwin came with a ſquadron from Flanders, to a point of land near Rumney in Kent, of which the Earls having notice they ſailed after him (e). But he having early intelligence of their motions, retired to Penſey in Suſſex, and from thence returned to Flanders; but the King's fleet, thro' the fault of thoſe who commanded it, diſperſed, and the ſeamen returned home (f). Earl Godwin having notice of this, put to ſea again as ſoon as poſſible, and being joined at the Iſle of Wight by his ſon Harold, with nine ſhips from Ireland, they ſailed along the coaſt of Suſſex, and took out of every port what ſhips there were in it, and having done the like on the coaſt of Kent, they came to the Buoy in the Nore, and ſo directly up the river (g). The King had moſt of the nobility about him, and a conſiderable force; Earl Godwin however, and thoſe of his party, ſent a very ſubmiſſive meſſage to the King, deſiring to be reſtored to their honours and eſtates, of which they had been unjuſtly deprived (h). To this the King ſhewed himſelf ſo much averſe, that the Earl had much difficulty to hinder thoſe of his party from committing hoſtilities (i). At length, by the interpoſition of Biſhop Stigand, and other prudent men, a negotiation was ſet on foot, hoſtages given, and a peace concluded (k). Upon this the Norman Archbiſhop Robert, with moſt of his party, withdrew, being reſolved to paſs over into France, and in their way committed many outrages and murthers (l). In a ſhort time after a great council was called at London, purſuant to the treaty, at which moſt of the nobility were preſent, and there, upon a full hearing, Earl Godwin and his ſons were acquitted, reſtored to the King's favour, and to all the honours and preferments they had formerly enjoyed (m) [G]. The Queen

[F] *For the King's ſuſpicion of her father.*] The uſage that Edward gave this lady, joined perhaps to the ſtrange reaſon which Malmeſbury ſays he aſſigned for it, that ſhe alone ſhould not enjoy peace and plenty, when her father and all the reſt of her family were plunged into difficulties and diſtreſs, has countenanced the opinion, that the King married this lady purely to ſatisfy the ambition of her father. But it may not be amiſs to conſider, that if this had really been the caſe, the King would certainly have married her ſooner; whereas from the Saxon chronicle it appears that he did not marry her 'till the third year of his reign (21), which argues no ſuch haſte on her father's ſide. It may be alſo, that ſhe was not marriageable before, notwithſtanding what is ſaid of Prince Alfred's falling a victim ſix years before to the contempt he ſhewed the father, in rejecting his only daughter. By the way, let us reflect a little on the inconſiſtencies into which theſe writers fall, by endeavouring to vent their ſpleen againſt this family, without regard not only to the truth of Hiſtory, and the genuine ſtate of things, but even to their own relations. For, Where was the great inequality of this match? or, Why ſhould this young Prince refuſe it?

He was an adventurer only, and had no good title to the Crown, but for want of a better; that is, becauſe Edward, the father of Edgar Atheling, the ſon of Edmund Ironſide, and this prince's own nephew, was not within the reach of the Engliſh. What hurt therefore would it have done him, or his title, to have married the grand daughter of Canutus the Great? or, Why might not this determine Edward to have Egitha for a Queen, though not for a wife? Certain it is, that his behaviour towards her at all times was none of the beſt; which, joined to her own eaſy and affable behaviour, the envy of Courts, and the malice of the Normans, drew upon her calumnies, to which poſſibly the ears of her weak huſband were not always ſhut. But Malmeſbury, who mentions theſe, tells us alſo, that when ſhe died, pretty late in the reign of King William, ſhe fully cleared herſelf by a ſolemn declaration on her death-bed, that ſhe had never given any cauſe for theſe ſuſpicions (22). It was, to ſay the truth, no very high commendation of Edward the Confeſſor, that though he was awed by his counſellors, and governed by his flatterers, yet he was a very tyrant to his wife, and his mother, whom he committed both to the ſame place, after treating them both in the ſame manner; that is, in the words of the old Annaliſt, after ſtripping them to the laſt farthing (23). And as to his Queen, allowing her only one maid, as the Saxon chronicle affirms, it may be the ill uſage of the Queen-Conſort contributed to break the heart of the Queen-Mother; for it is certain, if any thing in theſe times can be ſo, that ſhe died before the Queen was reſtored to her meek huſband's favour. By the way, if we yield entire credit to the chronicle of Wincheſter, this will be the more probable; for in that we have ſeen Earl Godwin was ſo far from accuſing Queen Emma, that he was diſgraced with her; and it may be, that upon his reconciliation the marriage took place. At all events the King's conduct in this particular was univerſally condemned; and no wonder, ſince he ſhewed himſelf thereby to be no better a man as a King, than as a huſband.

[G] *They had formerly enjoyed.*] The learned Lawyer and great Antiquary mentioned in the text, is the famous Mr Selden; he, ſpeaking of the juriſdiction exerciſed in the great Council, or Witenagemote, tells us, that it conſiſted either in a deliberative power, which

(x) De geſtis Regum Anglorum, lib. II. Sim Dunelm. Math. Weſtm. Annal.

(y) Chron. Saxon.

(z) Hen. Knyghton.

(a) Marian. Scota. Chron. Saxon.

(b) Rog. Hoveden. Hen. Huntindon. Math. Weſtm. Annal.

(c) Chron. Saxon. Will. Malmeſburienſis.

(d) Annal. Winton. Sim. Dunelm. Rog. Hoveden.

(e) Chron. Saxon. Rog. Hoveden.

(f) Hen. Huntindon. Will. Malmeſburienſis.

(g) Chron. Saxon. Sim. Dunelm.

(h) Rog. Hoveden. Hen. Huntindon.

(i) Chron. Saxon.

(k) Will. Malmeſburienſis. Sim. Dunelm.

(l) Chron. Saxon. Rog. Hoveden. Will. Malmeſburienſis.

(m) Chron. Saxon. Eadmeri Hiſt.

(21) Chron. Saxon.

(22) De Geſtis Regum Anglorum, lib. II.

(23) Annal. Winton.

Queen was likewiſe ſent for back to Court, and had reſtitution made of whatever had been taken from her. Robert was deprived of the Archbiſhoprick, in which he was ſucceeded

which concerned their aſſenting to new laws, and adviſing in matters of ſtate, or in a judicial, which was of giving judgments upon ſuits or complaints in the ſame court (24). He gives inſtances of all theſe; and in ſpeaking to the laſt, the caſe of criminal proceedings, ſays he, is that againſt Earl Godwin. He having had a trial before the Lords, under King Hardecnute, *(coram proceribus regni licet falſo ſe purgarat,* ſaith Bromton) touching the death of Alfred, ſon to King Ethelred, and brother to him that was afterwards Edward the Confeſſor, had fled out of England, and that as it ſeems upon ſome judgment of baniſhment, or at leaſt of an oulawry given againſt him, and that alſo in a Witenagemote, or Parliament. And upon his return, with hope of Edward the Confeſſor's favour, he ſollicited the Lords to intercede for him with the King. In the time of his return the Witenagemote or Parliament ſat at London.

He then proceeds to give the words of the Hiſtorian in Latin, which in Engliſh are to this effect (25): That the King having ſummoned a great council, as ſoon as he there beheld Earl Godwin, immediately accuſed him before them all of having betrayed and murthered his brother, Prince Alfred, in theſe words: ‘ Thou traytor, Godwin, I accuſe thee of the death ‘ of Alfred, my brother, whom thou haſt traiterouſly ‘ murthered; and for the proof of this, I refer myſelf ‘ to the judgment of *curiæ veſtræ, i. e.* your court.’ Then the King proceeded thus: ‘ You, moſt noble ‘ Lords, the Earls and Barons of the kingdom, you, ‘ who are my liegemen, being here aſſembled, have ‘ heard my appeal, as alſo the anſwer of Earl Godwin. ‘ I will, that you now give a right ſentence between ‘ us in this my appeal, and afford due juſtice therein.’ Then the Earls and Barons, having maturely debated this matter among themſelves, ſome were for giving judgment for the King, but others differed from them, ſaying, that Earl Godwin had never been obliged to the King by either homage, ſervice, or fealty, and therefore could be no traytor to him; and beſides, that he had not killed the Prince with his own hands. But others replied, that no Earl, Baron, nor any other ſubject of the King, could by law wage battle againſt him in his appeal, but ought upon the whole matter to ſubmit himſelf to the King's mercy, and offer him reaſonable amends. Then Leofric, Earl of Cheſter, who was an upright and ſincere man, both with reſpect to God, and the world, ſpoke thus: ‘ Earl Godwin, ‘ who next to the King, is indeed a perſon of the beſt ‘ quality in England, cannot deny, but that by his counſels ‘ Alfred, the King's brother, was killed; and therefore ‘ my opinion is, that both himſelf, and his ſons, and ‘ twelve of us Earls, that are his friends and kinſmen, ‘ ſhould appear humbly before the King, each of us ‘ carrying as much gold and ſilver as he can hold in ‘ his arms, and offering it to him, moſt humbly ſupplicate for his pardon; and then the King ſhould remit to the Earl all rancour and anger whatſoever a‘ gainſt him; and having received his homage and ‘ fealty, peaceably reſtore to him all his lands.’ To this the aſſembly agreed; and thoſe that were appointed, loading themſelves with treaſure after the manner aforeſaid, went unto the King, ſhewing him the order and manner of their judgment, which he being unwilling to contradict, complied with, and ſo ratified whatever they had before decreed. ‘ The circumſtances, ſays ‘ Mr Selden, that belong to this caſe, are variouſly ‘ expreſſed in the publiſhed ſtories of William of ‘ Malmeſbury, Huntingdon, Hoveden, Florentius, and ‘ others. But it ſeems by Florentius, that this was in ‘ the Conſilium, as he calls it, or Witenagemote, held ‘ in 1052, or the ninth year of the Confeſſor: for ‘ then, he ſays, was the Earl reconciled to the King's ‘ favour in that court, though neither he, nor any ‘ other, relate this proceeding as Bromton doth.’

But, as Mr Tyrrel very well obſerves (26), it is ſurprizing that Mr Selden did not ſee, that if there had been any truth in this ſtory, it muſt have happened at leaſt ten years before; for the year to which he fixes was not, as he ſuppoſes, the ninth, but the twelfth year of Edward's reign; and if this tranſaction could ever have happened, it muſt have happened in the ſecond. Indeed the author who reports it acknowledges he did not believe it, for he ſaw that it was big with abſurdities and contradictions. Yet in the main, and for the purpoſe for which he brings it, Mr Selden is certainly right; for there was a great council in the year 1052, in which Earl Godwin might be ſaid, with great propriety, to be tried by his Peers. We will give the reader a much better authority than that which we have ſubverted, and this is the Saxon chronicle, which relates the whole matter thus (27): ‘ A great Council, ‘ (the Saxon words are *Mycel Gemote)* without London, ‘ was then ſummoned, (that is, in ſome place near ‘ London) and there all the Earls and other Noblemen ‘ met in this Council; in which aſſembly Earl Godwin ‘ made his defence, and purged himſelf there before ‘ Edward the King, his Lord, ſhewing himſelf to be ‘ entirely free from the crime that had been objected ‘ to him, to his ſon Harold, and to all the reſt of his ‘ ſons. The King thereupon received the ſaid Earl ‘ and all the reſt of his ſons into full friendſhip, ‘ and reſtored him to his whole county, and whatever ‘ he before poſſeſſed, as he likewiſe did to all who ‘ were with him. The King likewiſe reſtored to his ‘ Lady, that is, to the Queen, whatever ſhe formerly ‘ poſſeſſed. There alſo, by unanimous conſent, Ro‘ bert, the Archbiſhop, and all the Frenchmen, were ‘ outlawed, becauſe that they were the principal inſtru‘ ments of the enmity that had ariſen between the ‘ King and Earl Godwin; and Biſhop Stigand was pro‘ moted to the Archbiſhoprick of Canterbury.’ As there can be nothing clearer or plainer than this, ſo the reader cannot but acknowledge, that it comes up as fully to Mr Selden's propoſition, in regard to the juriſdiction of theſe great Councils, as what he is pleaſed to call the record preſerved by the Hiſtorian whom he cites; in which there are not only ſeveral words in the original which were not in uſe in the Saxon times, and which conſequently prove, that it cannot be the tranſcript of any record, but alſo various circumſtances that ſhew it was written long after the time, from popular rumours only, and full of contradictions. For if it happened as the chronicle expreſsly ſays, it did happen early in the Confeſſor's reign, then the King muſt have afterwards married the daughter of a man who ſtood in a manner ſelf-convicted of his brother's murther, who fled for it, and who with the aſſiſtance of his friends, had commuted his crime for a ſum of money.

But if, with Mr Selden, we place this record in 1052, we muſt then admit, that the King, with all this in his heart, and with a full perſwaſion that Earl Godwin was both a murtherer and a traytor, had married his daughter, and intruſted him with the conduct of all his affairs, and which is ſtill worſe, after a confeſſion of theſe crimes, received him again into his favour. But there is an expreſſion in what Mr Selden calls a record, which is equally irreconcilable to both dates; for Earl Leofric is made to ſay, that after the King, Earl Godwin was the moſt conſiderable man in the realm. Now this was impoſſible if he was an outlaw, and had been ſo for years, as muſt have been the caſe in 1042; neither was it true ten years after, for even then he had been driven out of his country, and was ſuing to be reſtored. One obſervation more, and we will conclude. The crime imputed to the Earl, and of which he cleared himſelf before this Council, could not be the murther of the King's brother; for in that Harold, and the reſt of his ſons, were never ſaid to have any concern; indeed how ſhould they, when the eldeſt could not have been more than twenty, and ſome of them might have been in their cradles. Upon the whole, the Saxon chronicle ſhews, that the King, miſled by his affection for his brother-in-law, had commanded Godwin Earl of Kent to puniſh the people of Dover unjuſtly, that through the inſinuations of his foreign favourites, he had reſented his not complying with theſe orders, as an act of treaſon; that for this he had driven him and his whole family into exile without a hearing; that theſe points being made out in a great Council, who were

(24) Titles of Honour, p. 525.

(25) Johan. Bromton, col. 936, 937, 938.

(26) General Hiſtory of Britain, Vol. I. p. 84.

(27) Chron. Saxon.

ceeded by Stigand, and with moſt of the Normans were baniſhed the kingdom, for having been the great inſtruments in the late troubles (*n*). But Earl Godwin did not live long to enjoy this return of proſperity, for on the fifteenth of April 1053, he departed this life, and was buried in the old monaſtery at Wincheſter (*o*) [*H*] His widow lady Githa, who

(*n*) Chron. Saxon. Walteri Hemingford. Sim. Dunelm.

(*o*) Annal. Winton. Chron. Saxon. Allured Bever.

were the proper judges between the King and his Nobles, Earl Godwin, and all his family, were reſtored to their juſt rights, and the foreign favourites baniſhed. But theſe foreigners becoming afterwards maſters of this kingdom, and having an intereſt in corrupting this period of our hiſtory, did as much in that reſpect as they could, and out of their maſs of fictions and falſhood, by the aſſiſtance of the Saxon chronicle, the only authentic authority yet remaining, we have once more recovered the truth.

[*H*] *And was buried in the old monaſtery at Wincheſter*] All men, however great and potent, muſt leave the felicities of this world, and account for the uſe they made of them in the next. But if in his life-time the fortune of Earl Godwin was envied, and his actions traduced after his deceaſe, his death hath furniſhed ſtill more matter, though the commoneſt of all accidents that befel him, than the reſt. It may afford the reader ſome entertainment, as well as information, to ſee how the ſtories told upon this head have been gradually augmented, to a degree beyond all power of belief. In the Saxon chronicle, and in that of Wincheſter, the fact is ſet down as in the text, that is, the Earl's death, the time of it, and the place where he was buried. In the chronicles of Durham (28) we read, that the King keeping his Eaſter week at Wincheſter, Earl Godwin being as uſual at the King's table in the holidays, was ſuddenly ſtruck with ſo violent a diſeaſe, that he fell from his ſeat. Upon this his three ſons, the Earls Harold, Toſty, and Gyrth, took him up, and carried him into the King's chamber, hoping that in a little time he would come out of his fit; but he growing worſe and worſe, died upon the fifth day after, which was the fifteenth of April. Another Hiſtorian tells us (29), that Godwin, the King's father-in-law, ſitting with him at table, addreſſed him in theſe words: 'It has been often told 'thee, O King, though falſely, that I have conſpired 'againſt thee; but if the God of Heaven be true and 'juſt, let not this morſel of bread paſs through me, if 'I ever ſo much as thought of working thy deſtruction.' But God, true and juſt, heard the voice of this traytor, ſo that ſtrangled with that bit of bread, he went to taſte the pains of death eternal. William of Malmeſbury (30) has a different ſtory; he ſays, that ſome diſcoure aroſe concerning the King's brother Alfred, upon which Earl Godwin ſaid, 'As often, O King, as this 'ſubject is mentioned, I ſee plainly with what countenance you look upon me; but let not God ſuffer this 'morſel to be ſwallowed by me, if I had any know'ledge of the contrivances to his prejudice, or to 'your's.' Having ſaid this, and put the bit of bread he had in his hand into his mouth, he was inſtantly choaked with it

But the profeſſed Hiſtorian of Edward the Confeſſor intending to add the laſt hand to this fine tale, after having told us what a wicked wretch this Godwin was, and how he had thruſt out all the King's Norman friends and favourites, was thus by his own confeſſion puniſhed by the hand of God (31). Upon a certain feaſt day, when Godwin, with other Nobles, was at the King's table, it happened while they were at dinner, that the cup-bearer made a falſe ſtep through haſte, but as he tripped with one foot, he recovered himſelf immediately on the other, without ſlipping down. Of this many of thoſe who were preſent took notice, ſaying, that one foot came in luckily to the aſſiſtance of the other; upon which the Earl, to throw in his jeſt amongſt the reſt, added, 'So brother ſhould aſſiſt bro'ther, when either ſtands in need.' The King turning towards him replied, 'So might my brother have 'helped me, if Godwin had not interpoſed.' Upon this the Earl was much caſt down, and with a countenance full of ſorrow he ſaid, 'I know, O King, that in 'your own mind you ſtill look upon me as the author 'of his death, and that you ſtill yield credit to thoſe 'who have ſtiled me a traytor to him and to thee; 'but God, who knows the ſecrets of all hearts, ſhall 'judge, and ſo let this morſel which I hold in my 'hand paſs through my throat without doing me hurt, 'as he knows that neither guilt of treaſon towards 'thee, or knowledge of thy brother's death, reſts in 'me.' Having ſaid this, and put the piece into his mouth, he ſwallowed it half down; but then he tried in vain to get it farther, and ſtruggling next to force it up, it ſtuck faſt; the courſe of the ſprings of life being ſtopped, his eyes turned, and his arms became ſtiff. The King ſeeing his miſerable death, and fully perſwaded in himſelf that it was the effect of divine judgment, he ſaid to thoſe who ſtood by, 'Drag out this 'dog.' His ſons upon this came, and taking him from under the table, laid him on a bed, where in a very little time the traytor breathed his laſt.

Though the abbot of Reveſby did his beſt to illuſtrate this ſtory, yet being rather a florid than an accurate writer, there are ſome unlucky eſcapes; for, either this Confeſſor had no conſcience, or he would not have expected that his elder brother would have ſerved him, ſeated on a throne. He would have been cautious alſo of behaving in ſuch a manner to the father of his Queen; and, his meek ſpirit conſidered, he never would have called him dog in his laſt minutes, and preſently after put it in the power of his ſons to revenge the indignity. The worſt of all is, the abbot has not told us where this happened; and therefore ſome who wrote after him have laid the ſcene at Wincheſter, while others have transferred it to Windſor (32). One of our antiquaries ſays, that Wulſtan Biſhop of Worceſter curſed the bread (33); another writer ſays, that before the Earl ſwallowed it, the King bleſſed it (34). One no doubt is as true as the other; but we muſt not ſuppoſe, that all monks were ſo blind or ſo bad as to believe this tale, for Eadmerus of Canterbury, and Walter of Hemmingford, are both ſilent. After an interval of ages comes Polydor Virgil, and to ſhew the quickneſs of Italian wit, adds a very conſiderable circumſtance that ſlipped the abbot of Reveſby's invention (35). He ſays, yet indeed it had been ſaid before him, though not in conjunction with the abbot's ſtory, that it was Harold, who being the King's cup-bearer, ſtumbled, and occaſioned all this miſchief. But it is time to leave theſe ſimple falſhoods to the reader's contempt, and not purſue them any farther, though that might be eaſily done, as they are falſhoods as much unworthy of criticiſm as of credit. But we cannot conclude this note without producing a very authentic teſtimony in ſupport of the truth that we aſſert, and in diſproof of all this long legend of lies. We ſtand indebted for this to the honeſt and diligent John Stowe, whoſe care and induſtry in collecting the materials of our hiſtory could be only equalled by his integrity. He had in his cuſtody a manuſcript life of Edward the Confeſſor, which after the Saxon Chronicle, was perhaps the moſt authentic piece of hiſtory that eſcaped the general wreck of all that regarded the Saxon conſtitution. Out of this curious work he has extracted the following paſſages in relation to this great man's death, and the impreſſion it made upon the Engliſh nation; which therefore we ſhall tranſcribe in his own words: 'Duke Godwin and his ſons being reconciled 'to the King, and the country being quiet, in the 'ſecond year after died the ſaid duke, of happy me'mory, whoſe death was the ſorrow of the people; 'him their father; him the nouriſher of them and the 'kingdom; with continual weeping they bewailed. 'He was buried with worthy honour in the old mo'naſtery of Wincheſter, giving to the ſame church 'gifts, ornaments, and rents of lands. Harold ſuc'ceeded in his dukedom, which was a great com'fort to the whole Engliſh nation; for in virtue both 'of body and mind he excelled all people, as another 'Judas Macchabeus, and was a friend to his country, 'diligently ſupplying his father's place, and walking 'in his ſteps; that is to ſay, in patience, mercy, and 'affability, to well-willers; but to diſquiet perſons, 'thieves, and robbers, with a lion's countenance, he

(28) Simeonis Dunelmenſis Hiſtoria, col. 187.

(29) Abbreviationes Chronicorum Autore Radulfo de Diceto, col. 476.

(30) De Geſtis Regum Anglorum, lib. II.

(31) Ailredus Abbas Rievallis de vitæ & miraculis Edwardi Confeſſoris, col. 394, 395.

(32) Math. Weſtm. Annal. Johan. Bromton, col. 949. Hen. Knyghton, col. 2336. Will. Malmeſburienſis Chronicon Godſtovianum, p. 81. Lelandi Collectanea, tom. I. p. 760.

(33) Lambard's Dictionary of England, p. 415.

(34) Hen. Huntingdon.

(35) Anglicæ Hiſtor. lib. VIII.

who had great poſſeſſions gave, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, very liberally to ſeveral churches, that they might pray for his ſoul's health, and particularly to that of Wincheſter, the manors of Bleodan and Craukumb, with ornaments of different kinds (*p*). He was ſeized at the time of his deceaſe of an immenſe eſtate in different counties, of which we are able to give no account with any tolerable degree of accuracy, but from a moſt authentic record it appears (*q*), that amongſt others he held theſe Leleburne, Fereburne, Seleſburne, Boltone, Herbretreton, Brunſell, Coteham, Hore, Hancheſt, Fulcheſtan, Romenel, Eſtefort, Oiſtreham, and Boltune in Kent. Dodimere, Iver, Erbentone, Hiham, Wilendone, Radetone, Wineltone, Toringes, Leſtone, Bercheham, Silleton, Lorentone, Trovorde, Tocherſt, Stodeham, Botendone, Seleham, Tadeham, Borne, Gontone, Eſtone, Icemore, Clepinges, Beneſtede, Hentone, Laneſwic, Rotingedene, Briſtelmeſtune, Berchinges, Fochinges, Saleſcome, Herſt, Pluntune, Bercham, Bedling, Wilſtaneſtune, Congeltune, Apleſham, Ordinges, Dentune, How, Eſſingetune, Walſingtune, and Etune in Suſſex; and Stantune in Herefordſhire, Witley in Surry, Sudbertune, Wallope, Alwartone, Funtley, Hallege, Ceptune, Seneorde, Hamledune, Bockeland, Copenore, and Sudtune in Hampſhire. Out of his poſſeſſions he gave in his lifetime to the cathedral of Canterbury, the towns and lordſhips of Stiſtede and Cogſhall in Eſſex; as alſo Chich, which he received from the gift of King Canute (*r*), tho' ſome have not ſcrupled amongſt other crimes to charge him with injuſtice done to the Church. In reſpect to his widow and his poſterity, we ſhall give a ſuccinct account of them at the bottom of the page [*I*]. The modern hiſtorians have treated his character as indifferently as the Monkiſh

(*p*) Annal. Winton.

(*q*) Domeſd. Kanc.

(*r*) W. Thorn. col. 2224.

'threatened his juſt ſeverity.' Thus much addeth he out of the ancient monument intituled Vita Edwardi (36).

[*I*] *At the bottom of the page.*] We have already proved clearly, that the lady Githa was the ſame perſon with her whom Polydor Virgil calls Thira, the daughter of Knute, and the ſiſter of Hardecnute (37). It appears that ſhe had conſiderable eſtates in different counties, from the ſurvey taken in the time of the Conqueror, viz. Hertinges, Tractone, Meredone, Mundreham, Weſtmeſtan, and Odemanſcote, in Suſſex, Cerdenord, in Berks, Otringtone, in Devon, as alſo of Edeſtoche and Stoches, in the county of Bucks (38). She obtained from the Conquerer the body of her ſon King Harold, and cauſed it to be interred at Waltham-Abbey. After this ſhe was one of thoſe perſons of great quality whom the Conqueror blocked up at Exeter, from whence however ſhe had the good luck to make her eſcape, and retiring into France, carried with her great riches (39). By this lady he had ſix, ſome writers ſay ſeven, ſons, and one daughter; of theſe it is moſt probable, that Swegen, or Swægn, as the Saxons called him, Suane, or Swane, according to our manner of writing, was the eldeſt. He was Earl of the counties of Oxford, Glouceſter, Hereford, Somerſet, Berks, and as ſome ſay of Salop alſo (40). That he was Earl of one or more of them ſo early as 1045, is out of doubt (41); and a very indifferent character we have of him in all our hiſtories. His firſt exploit was ſeducing Egiva abbeſs of Leominſter, whom he kept as his wife for a year, and becauſe the King and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury would not allow him to make her ſo, he quitted the realm (42). In 1046 he returned, and endeavoured to obtain his pardon; at which time he murthered his couſin, Earl Beorn, of which we have a large account in the Saxon Chronicle; ſo that there is no foundation for ſaying that work was penned by a monk, partial to Godwin and his family (43). He was however afterwards pardoned, and reſtored to his honours, but fell into diſgrace again at the ſame time with his father, and for his ſake (44). Malmeſbury ſays he was a man of a perverſe diſpoſition, diſloyal to the King, and one who tarniſhed the honour of his illuſtrious family by turning pyrate (45), which in thoſe times was no great diſgrace. After his laſt baniſhment he went barefoot to Jeruſalem, and died in his return, ſome ſay of a cold, and others in battle (46). He was married, tho' we know not well to whom, and left iſſue a ſon, Hæcun (47), of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. Harold, the ſecond ſon, deſerves more than a note, and therefore we ſhall ſay nothing of him here. The third was Wlnoth, or Walnoth, of whom we have very little to ſay; he ſome way or other fell into the hands of the Normans, with his nephew Hæcun, and after the Conqueſt was brought over hither, and died a priſoner at Saliſbury (49). The fourth ſon, though ſome make him the ſecond, was Toſti, who A. D. 1056 was made Earl of Northumberland by King Edward, as ſome ſay, becauſe Waltheof, the ſon of Earl Siward, was a child (49); but the Saxon Chronicle informs us, that he was made Earl of the Eaſt Angles the year before, when Earl Elfgar was baniſhed (50). He was a bold reſolute man, as appears by his uſage of Pope Nicholas the ſecond; for accompanying Aldred, who was elected Archbiſhop of York, to Rome, his Holineſs refuſed him the pall, and in his return he was robbed; upon which Earl Toſti told the Pope, that if he did not make the Biſhop amends, he would ſtop it out of the revenues he received from England, where he muſt not expect that his cenſures ſhould do much execution, when they could not terrify thieves at his own door; upon which the Pontiff granted Aldred the pall, and all that he deſired (51). He was with his brother Harold in the expedition againſt the Welſh, and behaved very bravely (52). A. D. 1064 the people of Northumberland expelled Toſti, and murthered all who acted under his authority, and elected Morker, the ſon of Elfgar, for their Earl; upon which King Edward ſent Harold to pacify them, which he did without reſtoring his brother; upon which Toſti fled into Flanders, where he had married Judith, the daughter of Earl Baldwin (53). He returned again in 1066 with a ſtrong ſquadron and a good army, but was beat by Earl Eadwin, and forced to retire; but having joined Harold King of Norway, who had a fleet of 300 ſail, and a vaſt army, they defeated Earl Morker and Earl Eadwin, but ſoon after were beat by King Harold at Stamford-bridge, and both of them ſlain (54). He was the founder of the monaſtery of Tinmouth, and had large eſtates in different counties, but it does not appear he had any iſſue. The fifth was Gyrth, who was ſo highly in King Edward's favour, that we find him ſubſcribing a charter as an Earl ſo early as 1044 (55); when he muſt have been a very young man he likewiſe ſubſcribed other charters, but there is yet extant an original Saxon charter directed to him, which, becauſe it is very ſhort, and very curious, we will tranſcribe in Engliſh (56). 'Edward, King, 'greeteth Wlſy, Biſhop, and Gyrth, Earl, and all my 'Nobles in Oxfordſhire. And I tell you, that I have 'given to Chriſt and St Peter into Weſtminſter 'that ſmall village wherein I was born, by name 'Githſhepe, and one Hyche at Merſce, ſcot-free and 'rent-free, with all the things which belong thereunto 'in wood and field, in meadows and waters, with 'church, and with the immunities of the church, as 'fully, and as largely, and as free, as it ſtood in mine 'own hand, as alſo as my mother Imme, upon my 'right of primogeniture, for my maintenance gave it 'me entire, and bequeathed it to the family.' He is ſaid to have been a young man of knowledge and virtue far above his years (57), and behaving himſelf very bravely, was killed with his brother at the fatal battle of Haſtings

(36) Annales; or a General Chronicle of England, p. 97.

(37) Hiſtoria Anglicæ, lib. VIII.

(38) Doomeſd.

(39) Odoric Vital. p. 513.

(40) Chron. Sax. Regiſt. Wigorn.

(41) Chron. Saxon.

(42) Johan. Bromton.

(43) Chron. Saxon.

(44) Sim. Dunelm. col. 186.

(45) De Geſtis Regum Anglorum, lib. II.

(46) Hen. Knyghton. Sim. Dunelm.

(47) Rogeri de Hoveden, p. 257.

(48) Will. Malmeſburienſis. Rog. Hoveden.

(49) Hen. Huntingdon, fol. 210. Ingulph, fol. 510.

(50) Chron. Saxon.

(51) Hen. Knyghton, col. 2336. n. 30 and 40. Johan. Bromton, col. 952. n. 20.

(52) Hen. Huntingdon, fol. 210.

(53) Will. Malmeſburienſis. fol. 46. Hen. Huntingd. fol. 210.

(54) Rog. Hoveden. fol. 257.

(55) Monaſt. Anglicanum, Vol. II. p. 90.

(56) MS. num. 24. James in Muſæo Bib. Bod. p. 54.

(57) Hen. Huntingdon.

Monkiſh writers, upon whom they relied, and finding different relations of his behaviour, and wide chaſms in his hiſtory, they reconciled the former, and filled up the latter, according to their own notions of things, as the reader will be thoroughly ſatisfied, if he takes the trouble to conſult and compare them (s). One thing very remarkable with regard to this hiſtory is, that not only the moſt authentick chronicle we have, reports none of the crimes that are commonly charged upon this nobleman; but the moſt judicious hiſtorians, in their order of ſucceſſion, have likewiſe paſſed them over in ſilence, and are content to tranſmit him to poſterity, as a bold, eloquent, factious perſon, who during the reign of a very weak prince managed all things at his will, which in ſome meaſure may be true (t). As for the crowd of tranſcribers, who followed one another implicitly, except what they added from the mouth of common fame, or to make their court to their reſpective patrons, they have indeed treated him very ill; and from theſe the Norman writers and the Normanized hiſtorians, from whom came our chronicles in verſe, who when the ſtudy of our antiquities came to be revived were too much reſpected, with regard to what they delivered, as to theſe early times, have uſed him much worſe (u). From them the Engliſh hiſtorians in the two laſt centuries took very freely, and upon their faith, and upon a ſuppoſition, that it was to little purpoſe to aim at coming at truth in theſe times of confuſion, is the true ſource of that inconſiſtency which appears in all the accounts hitherto publiſhed of this great Earl. Sir William Dugdale (w) and Mr Tyrrel (x) indeed have ſhewn more judgment and greater impartiality than any of the reſt. Yet both of them ſeem to think him guilty of the murther of Alfred, and what ſeems to juſtify them therein, are the imputations of the ſame kind in the Annals of Wincheſter (y). But to this we may oppoſe not only the ſilence of the Saxon Chronicle, but the apparent and irreconcileable contradictions viſible in all the accounts of this matter, as hath been largely ſhewn, both in this and in a former article, from whence the certainty of that fact is unqueſtionably deſtroyed. If we may be indulged a conjecture, it ſhould ſeem moſt probable if this prince was really killed at all, that he came over with his brother, at the inſtance of Queen Emma in the laſt year of the reign of Hardecnute, and was then treacherouſly deſtroyed, upon which his brother Edward fled in great fear to Normandy (z), from whence he came again when the ſupreme authority was committed to Earl Godwin, upon Hardecnute's death, which however it is very hard to conceive, he would have done, if he had looked upon Earl Godwin, as concerned in that fact; and as to the Annals of Wincheſter, it is not difficult to perceive that they have undergone ſome interpolation, ſince there ſtill remains a paſſage in them in regard to Queen Emma's courſe of life, during the reign of her favourite ſon Hardecnute, which is not very conſiſtent with the tale of her purgation. When therefore that was to be put in, whatever tended to fix the death of Alfred upon her was to be put out, and this ſeems to have thrown it upon Godwin. But as Queen Emma's diſgrace was prior to the King's marriage with that Earl's daughter, it is very improbable that he was then loaded with this charge; and as to what is ſaid in thoſe Annals of the Norman Archbiſhop ſtirring up the King againſt both the Queen and the Earl, it ſeems to be confounding facts that happened at very different times; for when Queen Emma fell into diſgrace, he was not either Biſhop or Archbiſhop, tho' he might be the author of it nevertheleſs, as he certainly was of the King's enmity to Earl Godwin, notwithſtanding the obligations he had to him, and as we have ſeen was depoſed and baniſhed for it, by judgment of his Peers. We will cloſe this long article with two obſervations; the firſt is, that if the remark made by ſeveral of our hiſtorians be true, that tho' Edward the Confeſſor was not either a wiſe or a brave prince, yet he was generally ſucceſsful, it ought in a great meaſure to be aſcribed to the abilities of Earl Godwin and his ſons, by whom all the ſucceſſes in his reign were obtained. The ſecond, that the public ruin of the Engliſh nation, and of the Engliſh conſtitution, by the Norman invaſion, was the conſequence of the diviſions in and deſtruction of this family; ſo that if ever there was a great man, who flouriſhed in this country, whoſe character and conduct deſerved to be examined with care and candour, this is he.

(s) See Milton, Daniel, Sir William Temple, &c.

(t) Eadmeri Hiſtoriæ. Rog. Hoveden. Walteri Hemingford.

(u) Robert of Glouceſter, publiſhed by Thomas Hearne, p. 326, 341, 342. Lanquet's Chronicle as publiſhed by Biſhop Cooper, fo. 196. Peter Langtoft's Chronicle, Hearne's edition, p. 55.

(w) Baronage of England, Vol. I. p. 15.

(x) General Hiſtory of Britain, Vol. I. b. VI. p. 84.

(y) Monaſticon Anglicanum, Vol. I. p. 33.

(z) Lanquet's Chronicle, publiſhed by Cooper, fol. 195.

Haſtings (58); as was alſo Earl Leofwine, the ſixth ſon; both of theſe had very large eſtates, but it does not appear that they were married, or had children. Elſgare, the ſeventh ſon, is ſaid to have been a monk at Rheims in France (59). As for Egitha, conſort of the Confeſſor, we have ſaid much of her already, to which we ſhall add, that the old life of that King before-mentioned was dedicated to her, that ſhe had a competent allowance from the Conqueror (60), and dying on the 18th of December 1074, was buried near her huſband (61). E

(58) Chron. Saxon.

(59) Ord. Vit. p. 502.

(60) Will. Malmeſburienſis.

(61) Lelandi Collectanea, tom. I. p. 598.

GODWIN [Thomas], a learned Divine, an excellent Preacher, and Biſhop of Bath and Wells, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was a native of the pleaſant town of Ockingham in the county of Berks (a), but we know nothing of his parents, who very probably were but in low circumſtances. He received the firſt tincture of letters in the free ſchool of that place (b), and the pregnancy of his parts, recommended him to Dr Richard Layton Archdeacon of Bucks, and rector of Brington in the county of Northampton, a zealous Reformer, and one of the viſitors of monaſteries, who kept him ſome time in his houſe (c), and about the year 1538, ſent him to the Univerſity of Oxford, where

(a) Godwini, de Præſulib. Angliæ Comment. Lond. 1616. 4to p. 444.

(b) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 709.

(c) Godwin's Catal. of Engliſh Biſhops, p. 385.

where he was entered of Magdalen College (*d*). His patron becoming the year after Dean of York, exhibited to him as long as he lived, and other friends, raiſed by his own merit, ſupplied his loſs in that great man (*e*). In 1544, he became Probationer, and the next year Bachelor of Arts, and Fellow of his college (*f*). His zeal for the Reformation drew upon him ſome ill will, which with a proſpect of bad times, made him very gladly embrace the rectorſhip of Brackley ſchool in Northamptonſhire, which was in the gift of his college, and having quitted his fellowſhip, he retired thither in 1549 (*g*); while he preſided in this ſchool, he took to wife Iſabella the daughter of Nicholas Pureſoy of Shalſton in the county of Bucks, Eſq; and what time he could ſpare from his ſchool, he ſpent in the ſtudy of Divinity and Phyſic, making great proficiency in both (*h*). In 1555, he took his degree of Bachelor of Phyſick, by the practice of which faculty he maintained his family during the reign of Queen Mary, when he ſeems to have quitted his ſchool on account of the perſecution he met with from Dr Bonner, Biſhop of London (*i*). In the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, he received Holy Orders from the hands of Dr Nicholas Bullyngham, Biſhop of London, to whom he became chaplain; and by his favour had often the honour to preach before the Queen; who was ſo well pleaſed with the gravity of his perſon, and his plain and pathetic oratory, that, for eighteen years together, he was conſtantly one of her Lent Preachers (*k*). But notwithſtanding this brought him into public notice, and high reputation, it was ſome years before he had any preferment; at length on the removal of Thomas Sampſon, Bachelor of Divinity, who was deprived for Non-Conformity by the definitive ſentence of Archbiſhop Parker, he in the month of June 1565, was promoted to the Deanery of Chriſt-Church Oxford (*l*), and in the month of December in the ſame year, he had the prebend of Milton Eccleſia beſtowed upon him, by his kind patron Biſhop Bullyngham, on the death of Richard Mawde Maſter of Arts (*m*). In the ſpring of the ſucceeding year, he was promoted to the Deanery of Canterbury, on the demiſe of that famous ſtateſman Dr Nicholas Wotton, who was the firſt Dean of that church, and at the ſame time Dean of York (*n*). In the Autumn he attended Queen Elizabeth in her pompous viſit to the univerſity of Oxford, at which time he took his degree of Doctor in Divinity with ſingular applauſe [*A*]. During the time he enjoyed this deanery, the houſe at Canterbury was much damaged by fire, and that at Charthan in great want of repair; ſo that the Chapter threatened him with a ſuit for dilapidation, which he prevented by rebuilding the deanery (*o*). After he had remained eighteen years at Canterbury, within which ſpace he exchanged his prebend of Milton-Eccleſia for that of Leighton-Boſard, on the deprivation of Gabriel White (*p*); he was promoted to the ſee of Bath and Wells, when it had been three years vacant, by the death of Dr Gilbert Barkley; and was ſucceeded in his deanery by Dr Richard Rogers, ſuffragan Biſhop of Dover (*q*). He was confirmed Biſhop and Paſtor of the church of St Andrew's, Wells, September the 11th, in the pariſh of St Mary le Bow, London, and and was conſecrated on Sunday September the thirteenth, 1584, by the Archbiſhop, at Lambeth, the Biſhops of London and Rocheſter aſſiſting (*r*). This laſt promotion, whether proceeding from the Queen's affection, or from the good Archbiſhop's great regard for him, was far from being conducive to his honour, in point of public character, or to his happineſs, in reſpect to private life. There was, at the time he was raiſed to the epiſcopal dignity, a very high diſtaſte among the courtiers againſt the Clergy and the Church, but more eſpecially againſt the Biſhops; not ſo much from any difference in point of doctrine, though that was likewiſe pretended, as on account of their revenues, of which they were eager to ſpoil them, and were not at all at a loſs for plauſible pretences to cover their unjuſt proceedings (*s*). Our Prelate felt this very early, and it found him in a condition which

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[*A*] *With ſingular applauſe.*] We have ſeveral ſhort, and one very full account of this viſit of the Queen's; from whence it appears, that ſhe ſet out from Woodſtock for Oxford on Saturday the firſt of Auguſt, and remained in that city till the Friday following, being attended by the Dean of Toledo, then Ambaſſador from his Catholic Majeſty; the Marquis of Northampton; the Earls of Warwick, Suſſex, Huntingdon, Rutland, Oxford, and Ormond; the Biſhops of Saliſbury and Rocheſter, Lord Howard of Effingham, then Lord Chamberlain; Windſor, Stafford, Strange, Sheffield, Montjoy, Henry Seymour, Gray, and Paget (1) On every day the Queen was entertained with academical exerciſes of different kinds; in which the wits of the ableſt men in that age, and perhaps there have been few abler in any, were ſtretched to the utmoſt, to merit the applauſe of ſo illuſtrious an audience; but more eſpecially after the Queen, of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, and Sir William Cecil, Chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge. On Thurſday the Queen was preſent at a divinity-act, in which Dr Lawrence Humphries was defendant; and the Doctors, Godwin, Weſtphaling, Overton, Calfehill, and Peirce, were opponents. Dr Jewel, Biſhop of Saliſbury, acted as moderator. At the concluſion, the Queen herſelf made a ſpeech, at the earneſt requeſt of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, the Earl of Leiceſter, Chancellor of this univerſity, and Sir William Cecil, which muſt have been extempore, ſince, in the ſeveral relations which are ſtill preſerved of this tranſaction, the copies of this ſpeech differ widely in point of expreſſion, though ſcarce at all in ſubſtance (2). The next day, in the afternoon, ſhe left Oxford, being accompanied by the heads of the univerſity to Shotover-Hill, where the public orator, Mr Roger Marbec, made a ſhort ſpeech; which ended, the Queen gave him her hand to kiſs, turning her eyes towards the city, ſhe ſaid, *Vale Academia inclyta, valete ſubditi fidiſſimi, valete ſcholares chariſſimi, Deumque ſtudiis veſtris propitium habeatis*; *Valete! Valete!* Farewel illuſtrious univerſity, farewel moſt faithful ſubjects, farewel moſt dear ſcholars, may Providence be ever propitious to your ſtudies; farewel! farewel! The large account we have of this royal viſit, was written for the ſatisfaction of William Lord Brooke, Baron of Cobham, and Sir William Petre, both Privy-Counſellors to her Majeſty.

[*B*] *In*

(*d*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 709.

(*e*) Godwin's Catalogue of Engliſh Biſhops, p. 385.

(*f*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 709.

(*g*) Godwin's Catalogue of Engliſh Biſhops, p. 385.

(*h*) Faſti Oxonienſis, Vol. I. col. 83.

(*i*) Godwin's Catalogue of Engliſh Biſhops, p. 385.

(*k*) Sir J. Harrington's Brief View, &c. p. 3.

(*l*) Hiſtoria & Antiquitates, Oxon. lib. II. col. 254, 255.

(*m*) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. III. p. 221.

(*n*) Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury. p. 297.

(*o*) Harris's Hiſtory of Kent, p. 585.

(*p*) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals.

(*q*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 686.

(*r*) Regiſtr. Whitgift.

(*s*) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, book iv. chap. 25.

(1) Joannis Berebloci Commentarii de rebus geſtis Oxoniæ ibidem commorante Elizabetha Regina.

(2) Hiſtoria & Antiquitates Univerſitatis Oxonienſis, lib. I. p. 287.

which made him feel it very ſenſibly. He was drawing towards ſeventy, ſubject to ſeveral infirmities, and ſo broken with the gout that he was ſcarce able to ſtand. To govern his family, that he might bend the whole of his abilities to the diſcharge of his duty, he married a ſecond wife, who was the widow of a trader of London, of years very ſuitable to his own; for which, notwithſtanding, he was ſtrangely miſrepreſented to the Queen, ſo that he entirely loſt her favour; and was abandoned to the fury of his perſecutors, who ſought, by all the methods they could contrive, either to fright or to weary him, into granting a long leaſe of one of the beſt manors belonging to his ſee (*t*). What the iſſue was, as well as what the circumſtances were, of this unequal contention, between favourites in the fulneſs of power, and a poor old Prelate, decayed in credit, and declining in health, the reader may learn from the pen of a perſon of diſtinction, who was an eye-witneſs of the whole, and an actor in ſome part of the buſineſs (*u*) [*B*]. This unlucky and troubleſome diſpute, with it's conſequences, contributed not a little to deject his mind; and thereby augmented the ſtrength of his diſeaſe, and the feebleneſs of his body (*w*). In the ſummer of 1587, Dr Whitgift, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, viſited his dioceſe (*x*). The two ſucceeding years his health became more and more impaired, till at length, being attacked

by

(*t*) Godwin de Præſulibus Angliæ, Cantab, 1743. fol. p. 389.

(*u*) Sir John Harrington's Brief View, p. 3.

(*w*) Godwini de Epiſcop. Bathon. & Wellen. p. 98, 99.

(*x*) Regiſtr. Whitgift.

[*B*] *In ſome part of the buſineſs.*] We find ſome mention made of this affair by Fuller (3) and other writers, particularly Wood (4), who, except naming the great favourite, who was Sir Walter Raleigh, has nothing but what he collected and contracted from the original account, which is ſo well worth the reader's peruſal, and ſo ſingular in it's kind, it would be doing him an injury not to inſert it (5). ‘ He came to the place, ſays Sir John, as well qualified for a Biſhop as might be, unreprovable, without ſimony, given to good hoſpitality, quiet, kind, affable, a widower, and in the Queen's good opinion. Non minor eſt virtus quam quærere parta tueri. There is not leſs ability ſhewn in keeping than in acquiring. If he had held on as clear as he entered, I ſhould have highly extolled him: but ſee his misfortune that firſt loſt him the Queen's favour, and after forced him to another miſchief. Being aged and diſeaſed, and lame of the gout, he married (as ſome thought for opinion of wealth) a widow of London. A chief favourite of that time, whom I am ſorry to have occaſion to name again in this kind, had laboured to get the manor of Banwell from this Biſhopric; and diſdaining the repulſe, now hearing this intempeſtive marriage, took advantage thereof, cauſed it to be told the Queen, knowing how much ſhe miſliked ſuch matches, and inſtantly purſued the Biſhop with letters and mandates for the manor of Banwell for one hundred years. The good Biſhop, not expecting ſuch a ſudden tempeſt, was greatly perplext; yet a while he held out, and endured many ſharp meſſages from the Queen, of which myſelf carried him one, delivered me by my Lord of Leiceſter, who ſeemed to favour the Biſhop, and diſlike the Knight for moleſting him; but they were ſoon agreed, like Pilot and Herod to condemn Chriſt. Never was harmleſs man ſo traduced to his ſovereign: it was ſaid that he had married a girl of twenty years old, with a great portion; that he had conveyed half the biſhopric to her; that becauſe he had the gout he could not ſtand to his marriage; with ſuch ſcoffs, to make him ridiculous to the vulgar, and render him odious to the Queen. The good Earl of Bedford happening to be preſent when theſe tales were told, and knowing the Londoner's widow the Biſhop had married, ſaid merrily to the Queen after his dry manner, *Madam, I know not how much the woman is above twenty, but I know a ſon of her's is but little under forty.* But this rather marred than mended the matter. One ſaid, *Majus peccatum habet*, He hath therefore the greater ſin. Another told of three ſorts of marriage; of God's making, as when Adam and Eve, two young folks, were coupled; of man's making, when one is old and the other young, as Joſeph's marriage; and of the Devil's making, when two old folkes marry, not for comfort, but for covetouſneſs, and ſuch they ſaid was this. The concluſion to the premiſes was this, that to pacify his perſecutors, and to ſave Banwell, he was fain to part with Wilſcombe for ninety-nine years, (I would it had been one hundred) and ſo purchaſed his peace. Thus the biſhopric, as well as the Biſhop, were puniſhed; who wiſhed in his heart he had never taken this preferment, to foile himſelf in his decrepid age with that ſtain that all his life he had abhorred; and to be made an inſtrument of another man's ſacrilege, and uſed like a leaden conduit-pipe to convey waters to others, and drink nothing but the dregs, and droſs, and ruſt itſelf. Wherefore right honeſtly and modeſtly, and no leſs learnedly, writes his own ſon of him, in the fore-named treatiſe. *O! illum fœlicem, ſi fœlix manere maluiſſet, quam regiminis eccleſiaſtici laboris, tum ſuſcipere, cum laboribus impar, fractus ſenio, neceſſum illi fuerit aliorum uti auxilio*, &c. (6) *i. e* O happy he, if he would rather have remained happy (where he then was) than to undergo the labours of eccleſiaſtical government, when he grew unable to travel, broken with age, conſtrained to uſe the help of others, who, though their duty required their care of ſo good natured an old man, yet they proving, as moſt do, negligent of others good, and too greedy of their own, overthrew both. For my part, though I loved him well, and ſome of his actions, yet in this caſe, I can make no other apology for him, nor uſe no other plea in his defence, but ſuch as unable debtors do, that when they are ſued upon juſt occaſions, plead per minas; or rather to liken him to an huſbandman, that dwelling near a Judge that was a great builder, and coming one day, among divers other neighbours, with carriages, ſome of ſtone, ſome tin: the ſteward, as the manner of the country was, provided two tables for their dinners; for thoſe that came upon requeſt, powdered beef, and perhaps veniſon; for thoſe that came for hire, poor john and apple-pies; and having invited them to ſit down in his Lordſhip's name, telling them, one board was for them that came in love, the other for thoſe that came for money: this huſbandman and his hind ſat not down at either; the which the ſteward imputing to ſimplicity, repeated his former words again, praying them to ſit down accordingly; but he anſwered, for there is craft in the clouted ſhoe, he ſaw no table for him, for he came neither for love nor money, but for very fear: and even ſo I dare anſwer for this Biſhop; he neither gave Wilſcombe for love, nor ſold it for money, but lett it for fear. How ſtrangely he was intrapped in the unfit marriage: I know not if it may be called a marriage, *Non Hymenæus adeſt illi, non gratia lecto.* Himſelf proteſted to me, with tears in his eyes, he took her but for a guide to his houſe, and for the reſt (they were his own words) he lived with her as Joſeph did with our Lady. Setting this one diſgrace of his aſide, he was a man very well eſteemed in the country, beloved of all men for his great hoſpitality; of the better ſort. for his kind entertainment, and pleaſant diſcourſe, at his table; his reading had been much, his judgment and doctrine ſound, his government mild and not violent, his mind charitable; and therefore I *would* not, but when he loſt this life, he won Heaven; according to his word, win God, win all. This I ſay truly of him, which his ſon was not ſo fit to ſay, for fear perhaps of the fooliſh ſaying, yet wiſe enough if it be well underſtood, *Nemo laudat patrem, niſi improbus filius, i. e.* none ſo loud about a father's worth as a worthleſs ſon.’

(3) Fuller's Worthies, Berks. p. 92.

(4) Athenæ Oxonienſis, Vol. I. col. 709.

(5) Brief View of the ſtate of the Church of England, p. 3.

(6) See the Note [B] in the next Article.

by an ague, which became at laſt an obſtinate quartan, he was adviſed by his Phyſicians to try whether his native air in Windſor-Foreſt might not contribute to his recovery; and coming with this intention to Ockingham, he there breathed his laſt, November the ninth, 1590, in the ſeventy-third year of his age (y). His corps lies interred in the pariſh church (z), on the ſouth ſide of the chancel; and againſt the eaſt wall, on a black marble table, enchaſed in white, there is a modeſt and elegant inſcription for the preſervation of his memory, penned and erected by his ſon, of whom in the next article [C].

(y) Fuller's Worthies, Berks, p. 92. Godwini de Præſulibus Angliæ. Hiſt. & Antiquit. Oxonienſis.

(z) Rawlinſon's Additions to Aſhmole's Berkſhire, Vol. I. p. xxxi. Godwini de Præſulibus Angliæ, Lond. 1616. 4to p. 444. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 687.

[C] *Erected by his ſon, &c*] Dr Francis Godwin ſpeaks very decently of this act of duty, which he ſays was performed, in a manner rather ſuited to the circumſtances of him who dedicated, than the merit of his memory to whom it was dedicated (7). The inſcription, which deſerves reading, is printed correctly only in one book of great price (8); and there, without a tranſlation, which we hope will render what follows acceptable here.

(7) Godwin's Catalogue of Engliſh Biſhops, p. 385.

(8) De Præſulibus Angliæ, Cantab. 1743. fol. p. 390.

M. S.
Parentis chariſſimi
Patris verè reverendi
Thomæ Godwyni,
Sacræ Theologiæ Doctoris,
Ædis Chriſti Oxon. primum,
ac deinde Cantuarien. Decani,
Bathon. demum ac Wellen. Epiſcopi,
qui hoc in oppido natus;
hic etiam (dum valetudinis recuperandæ gratia (9) &c.
medicorum ſententia huc ſecedit) quartana febre
confectus.
Mortalitatem exuit Novemb. 19. 1590.
conſ. ſuæ anno ſeptimo,
& hic jacet expectans adventum magni Dei.
P.
F. Franc. Godwyn Exon Subdecanus.

Sacred to the Memory
Of the moſt beloved Parent,
The truly reverend Father,
Thomas Godwyn,
Doctor of Divinity,
Of Chriſt Church in Oxford firſt,
Of Canterbury afterwards, Dean,
Laſtly Biſhop of Bath and Wells,
Who born in this town.
Here alſo (whether in hopes of recovery,
And by direction of Phyſicians he retired) broken by a
Quartan,
He quitted this mortal ſtate, Nov. 19. 1590.
From his conſecration the ſeventh year,
And lies here, expecting the coming of the great GOD.
This (monument) hath placed
His ſon Francis Godwyn, Subdean of Exeter.

(9) Ockingham is celebrated for it's excellent air and pleaſant ſituation.

E

GODWIN [Francis], ſon to the former, an able Divine, an extenſive Scholar, a candid Hiſtorian, an elegant Writer in the Latin tongue, and ſucceſſively Biſhop of Landaff and Hereford, in the beginning of the XVIIth century. He was born at Havington, in Orlington hundred, in Northamptonſhire; he calls it Havington (a), when writing in Engliſh; but in his Latin book, the letter being reverſed, we read Hannington, which is copied by Wood (b) and all ſubſequent writers, though there is really no ſuch place in that county (c). His father had at this time, 1561, no proviſion made for him; but as his affairs quickly changed for the better, he cauſed this ſon of his to be very carefully educated; nor was this diligence employed in vain, ſince the admirable capacity of his ſon Francis, diſcovered itſelf ſo early, and with ſuch luſtre, that in his ſixteenth year he was ſent to the univerſity of Oxford (d), and in 1578 he was elected ſcholar of Chriſt-Church (e). He ſtudied there with great reputation, and took his degree of Bachelor of Arts, January the thirteenth 1580, being of the ſame ſtanding with the famous Henry Cuffe, already mentioned in this work (f). March 16th, 1583, he was admitted to the degree of Maſter of Arts (g), and was at that time accounted one of the moſt ingenious perſons, as well as aſſiduous ſtudents, in the univerſity. He gave a very ſignal inſtance of the elevation, as well as elegance of his genius, in a little treatiſe he wrote about this time, on a very curious and ſublime ſubject; and as he ſhewed the brilliancy of his wit, and the acuteneſs of his underſtanding, in the compoſition of this treatiſe, ſo he diſcovered a degree of prudence ſcarce to be expected in ſo young a man, in confiding this book only to a few particular friends, and not ſuffering it to go abroad into the world; which if he had done, it would, in all probability, rather have injured than raiſed his reputation (b) [A]. About this time alſo, he wrote another little work, in a manner no leſs

(a) Godwin's Catalogue of Engliſh Biſhops, Lond. 1615. 4to. p. 534.

(b) Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſis, Vol. I. col. 581.

(c) Villare Anglicanum collected by order of Sir Henry Spelman.

(d) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 581.

(e) Godwini, de Præſulibus Comment. p. 642.

(f) Faſti Oxonienſis, Vol. I. col. 120.

(g) Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſis, Vol. I. col. 581.

(b) Fuller's Worthies, North. 284.

[A] *Than raiſed his reputation.*] There are but few inſtances in the Hiſtory of Literature, where the imagination and judgment keep equal pace, and very few works in which a vigorous fancy appears, that the underſtanding is able to keep in exact diſcipline, ſo as never to be carried away by it. It is the extreme rarity of theſe works that gives them their high value. Don Quixote was a moral romance, in that reſpect eaſily comprehended, and univerſally applauded. Our author's was a philoſophical fiction; and the important truths he had in view ſo elevated, that very few had the leaſt conception of them; in ſo much, that thoſe who have admired the book were rather pleaſed with the vivacity of the fable, than ſenſible of the ſolidity of the ſubject; which is the true reaſon, that at this day it is ſo little regarded, and the moſt convincing mark of it's author's foreſight, and true apprehenſion of mankind, who hid this candle under a buſhel ſo long as he lived. It was printed about five years after his death by E. M. of Chriſt-Church (1), and appeared under this title:

The Man *in the* Moon; *or a* Diſcourſe *of a* Voyage *thither*. *By* Domingo Gonſales. Lond. 1638, and 1657. 8vo.

The editor in his preface tells us, ‘That this piece is ‘an eſſay of fancy, where invention is ſhewed with ‘judgment, and it was not the author's intention, ‘ſays he, to diſcourſe thee into a belief of each particular circumſtance. It is fit thou allow him a liberty ‘of conceit, where thou takeſt to thyſelf a liberty of ‘judgment.

(1) Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſis, Vol. I. col. 582.

leſs ingenious, and on a ſubject ſtill more obſcure; which he likewiſe ſuppreſſed at this juncture, though he ſuffered it to be publiſhed towards the cloſe of his life, as will be obſerved in it's proper place. We have no diſtinct account of the time when he received Holy Orders, but in all probability it was as early as might be, for, on the 11th of June, 1587, he was collated to the ſubdeanery of Exeter, being then a Canon in the cathedral church of Wells (*i*). In 1590, he went with his old friend, the learned Camden, into Wales, in ſearch of antiquities (*k*); and he was ſcarce returned from thence before his father died (*l*). It is impoſſible to affirm, at this diſtance of time, when he conceived the plan of that great work which gave riſe to his fortune, as well as his reputation; but there is nothing improbable in ſuppoſing that it was either at or before this time, and that this journey might have ſome relation to it; at leaſt it is certain, that within four years after, he executed a very conſiderable article of it (*m*); for which he had the beſt materials, and in a manner very

(*i*) Le Neve's Faſti Eccleſiæ Anglic. p. 100.

(*k*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 481.

(*l*) Godwini de Præſulibus Angliæ, p. 445.

(*m*) See this verified in Note [B].

‘ judgment. In ſubſtance thou haſt here a new diſcovery of a new world, which perchance may find little better entertainment in thy opinion than that of Columbus, at firſt in the eſteem of all men. Yet his then but poor eſpial of America, betrayed unto knowledge ſo much as hath ſince increaſed into a vaſt plantation, and the then unknown, to be now of as large extent as all the other known world. That there ſhould be antipodes, was once thought as great a paradox, as now that the moon ſhould be habitable. But the knowledge of this may ſeem more proper for this our diſcovering age, in which our Galilæus's can by advantage of their teleſcopes gaze the ſun into ſpots, and deſcry mountains in the moon. But this and more in the enſuing diſcourſe I leave to thy candid cenſure, and the faithful relation of the little eye-witneſs, our great diſcoverer.’ Whoever this E. M. was, and it is a wonder that Anthony Wood did not let us into the ſecret, he was certainly a perſon of quick penetration, or received the key of this little work from it's author. It was tranſlated into French, and publiſhed under the following title (2):

L' Homme dans la Lune: *ou le Voyage Chimerique fait au Monde de la* Lune, *découvert, par* Dominique Gonzales, *Avanturier Eſpagnol. A La* Haye, 1651, *in 12mo.*

(2) P. Niceron Memoires pour l'Hiſtoire des Hommes illuſt. tom. xxii. p. 166.

The ſhadow of this performance is, that Domingo Gonſales, a bold whimſical enterprizing Spaniard, after having run through a variety of adventures, being ſhipwrecked with a negro ſervant on an uninhabited iſland, diſcovered by the fertility of his invention, a variety of curious and uſeful ſecrets, which gradually led him to attempt a paſſage through the air in a machine ſupported by ganza's, or a kind of wild geeſe, and that after various experiments, he was at length borne away by theſe flying courſers from the top of the pike of Teneriff to the moon. The ſenſe is, that if ever diſcoveries ſhall be made of ſuch a paſſage, it is moſt likely that the profundity of the Spaniſh genius will reach it, and poſſibly their romantic ſpirit lead them to the attempt. But whatever becomes of the fable, which is ſo pleaſantly managed, and ſo well ſuſtained, that it has amuſed the bulk of readers without looking farther; the judicious peruſer will plainly perceive, that our author has hinted a multitude of philoſophic truths little underſtood in thoſe times, and perhaps no where more clearly, elegantly, or ſatisfactorily repreſented, than in this treatiſe He not only gives his reader to underſtand, that this earth is a planet in reſpect to the ſun, and a moon to the moon, but he ſhews likewiſe the effects this would have on a ſpectator placed between our earth and the moon; he diſcourſes truly and correctly of gravity and attraction; ſhews the reaſon why the latter muſt be weaker in the moon, and what may very poſſibly be it's effects; deſcants upon the length of lunar days and nights, and from thence gives a plauſible account why the inhabitants of that world ſtand in need of a larger moon than we. He conjectures, that ſince we ſee but one ſide of the moon, becauſe her rotation on her own axis, and her revolution about the earth is performed exactly in the ſame time, that there is ſome extraordinardinary proviſion for light on the other ſide, with a multitude of ſingularities of the like nature. Mr Wood and ſeveral others have thought, that Biſhop Wilkins borrowed from our author; but much of this does not appear, though it is true he wrote two treatiſes on part of the ſubjects included in this, the one entitled, *A Diſcovery of a* New World: *or a Diſcourſe tending to prove that it is probable there may be another habitable* World *in the* Moon; and the other, *A Diſcourſe concerning a* New Planet, *which is our* Earth. At the cloſe of the firſt he gives us his thoughts of this performance (3), with which we ſhall conclude this long note. ‘ Having thus finiſhed (ſays Biſhop Wilkins) this diſcourſe, I chanced upon a late fancy under the feigned name of Domingo Gonſales, written by a late reverend and learned Biſhop. In which there is delivered a pleaſant and well contrived fancy concerning a voyage to this other world. He ſuppoſeth that there is a natural and uſual paſſage for many creatures betwixt our earth and this planet. Thus he ſays, thoſe great multitudes of locuſts, wherewith divers countries have been deſtroyed, do proceed from thence. And if we peruſe the authors who treat of them, we ſhall find that many times they fly in numberleſs troops, or ſwarms; and for ſundry days together, before they fall, are ſeen over thoſe places in great high clouds, ſuch as coming nearer are of extenſion enough to obſcure the day, and hinder the light of the ſun. From which, together with divers other ſuch relations, he concludes, that it is not altogether improbable they ſhould proceed from the moon. Thus likewiſe he ſuppoſeth the ſwallows, cuckows, nightingales, with divers other fowl which are with us only half a year, to fly up thither when they go from us. Amongſt which kind there is a wild ſwan in the Eaſt Indies, which at certain ſeaſons of the year do conſtantly take their flight thither. Now this bird being of a great ſtrength, able to continue for a long flight, as alſo going uſually in flocks, like our wild geeſe, he ſuppoſeth that many of them together might be taught to carry the weight of a man, eſpecially if an engine were ſo contrived, as he thinks it might, that each of them ſhould bear an equal ſhare in the burthen. So that by this means it is eaſily conceivable, how once every year a man might finiſh ſuch a voyage, going along with theſe birds at the beginning of winter, and again returning with them at the ſpring. And here, one that had a ſtrong fancy were better able to ſet forth the great benefit and pleaſure to be had by ſuch a journey. And that whether you conſider the ſtrangeneſs of the perſons, language, art, policy, religion of thoſe inhabitants, together with the new traffick that might be brought thence. In brief, do but conſider the pleaſure and profit of thoſe later diſcoveries in America, and we muſt needs conclude this to be inconceivably beyond it.’ Biſhop Wilkins's two treatiſes are very ſeriouſly and ſolidly written, and with much labour and learning, diſcuſſing thoroughly ſome, but not all the points that had been illuſtrated by our prelate, whoſe tract excluſive of Don Gonſales's adventures, which are only the vehicle of his inſtructions, does not comprehend more lines than there are pages in the other two diſcourſes. It is not at all wonderful, that at the time he wrote this treatiſe he was unwilling to publiſh it, neither is it ſtrange that for half a century after his deceaſe, the whimſy of this work ſhould be more regarded than it's wiſdom; but that ſince the publication and univerſal reception of the new Philoſophy, this admirable piece ſhould remain ſtill neglected, is not eaſily to be explained; and for this reaſon we have taken ſome pains to revive the credit of this ſingular performance, by ſetting it in a true point of light.

(3) Diſcovery of a New World, p. 185, 186, 187.

very different from that in which his whole work was at firſt publiſhed, a circumſtance very little atttended to by thoſe who have hitherto given us his memoirs, and which therefore we look upon ourſelves obliged to explain and illuſtrate [*B*]. On the thirtieth of January, 1595, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (*n*), being then Rector of Samford-Orcais in Somerſetſhire, Prebendary of St Decuman in the church of Wells, Reſidentiary there, Rector of Biſhop's Lidiard, by the reſignation of the vicarage of Weſton in Zoyland, all in the ſame county; and Subdean of Exeter. He was eſteemed by the beſt judges a very able Preacher, and is commended by a very judicious Critic for honeſty and boldneſs in this character, when a very young man; in which, upon ſifting the matter cloſely, he loſt nothing either in point of ſafety or reputation; on the contrary, he came to be conſidered at the Court, and elſewhere, as a man of ſenſe and ſpirit, and one who had a true notion of the importance of his function (*o*) [*C*]. He never publiſhed, however, but one Latin ſermon, on the third verſe of the fifth chapter of St Luke. After much meditation, he ſent abroad his Catalogue of the Biſhops of England, a work, though ſhort and imperfect in itſelf, and which no man knew better than he did, yet admirable, conſidering the time in which it was wrote, the age of it's author, who was then ſcarce forty, and the prodigious difficulties that attended the collecting materials in thoſe times (*p*), of which a ſtronger argument cannot well be offered, than the ſlender improvements that have

(*n*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 581. Faſt. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 150.

(*o*) Sir John Harrington's Brief View of the ſtate of the Church of England.

(*p*) Hiſt. & Antiquitates Oxonienſis, p. 262.

[*B*] *To explain and illuſtrate.*] There is a very fair manuſcript preſerved in the library of Trinity College at Cambridge, of our author's own hand writing, conſiſting of 100 pages, with a very neat index at the end, which bears this title, *Hunc Catalogum, conſcripſit Francis Godwyn, Eccleſiæ Wellenſis Canonicus, Anno Domini* 1595. *Anno Reg. Eliz.* 38. A Duw, a digon. *that is*, Francis Godwyn, Canon of the Church of Wells, wrote this Catalogue, in the year 1595, and 38th of Q. Elizabeth. Win GOD, win all. This muſt be underſtood of the beginning of the year, ſince at the end we have this date, Dec. 15. 1594. It is larger, more elegant, and in ſome things more accurate, than the article of the Biſhops of this ſee of Bath and Wells, even in the laſt edition of his elaborate work. We owe the publication of it to the indefatigable Thomas Hearne (4), who ſtood himſelf indebted for it to his worthy friend and patron Beaupre Bell, Eſq; a great lover, as well as an excellent judge, of all things relating to Britiſh Antiquities. Some years before, Mr Hearne had publiſhed a part of it, and with it the following extract of a letter from the late learned Mr Thomas Baker, of St John's, in the ſame univerſity (5). 'This account of Gul. de Marchia being ſent me from Mr Bell, from a MS at Trin. Coll. of Francis Godwin, then Canon of Wells, ann. 1595, with an intimation of conveying it to you; I ſend it, but leave it entirely to you to make what uſe of it you pleaſe, if it be of any. The MS is a very fair one, and certainly wrote by Fr. Godwin, being his firſt eſſay. How he came to alter ſo much in this, and ſeveral other of the Biſhops of Bath and Wells, I cannot ſay. The catalogue contains only the Biſhops of Bath and Wells.' The plaineſt and moſt probable account of this matter ſeems to be this, that our author compoſed his whole work originally in Latin, but was prevailed upon by his friends to make an eſſay of the reception it would meet with by giving the ſubſtance of it in Engliſh. That he made no ſecret of this Hiſtory of Bath and Wells, and conſequently made no alterations from clandeſtine motives, appears from hence, that he actually communicated it to Sir John Harrington, who cites from it what he ſays of the father, Dr Thomas Godwin, which paſſage is not now to be found either in ſubſtance in the Engliſh, or in the ſame, or words to the like purpoſe, in his Latin work, as it now appears. But as Sir John has not cited the whole paſſage that is wanting in the printed work, and as it contains an apology for his not giving a longer character, and inſiſting more largely in commendation of ſo good a parent, becauſe he ſays, he had rather the world in general ſhould enquire, why he did not render him juſt praiſes, than that a few malevolent evil-ſpeaking perſons ſhould demand, why he did praiſe him, we will inſert the whole paſſage; whence the reader will ſee, that though extremely juſt and natural within four years after his death, it became leſs ſo at the diſtance of fourteen, and was therefore entirely omitted (6). 'O! illum felicem, ſi felix maluiſſet manere, quam regimines eccleſiaſtici labores, tum ſuſcipere, cum laboribus impar, fractus ſenio, invalidus corpore, neceſſum illi fuerit aliorum uti auxilio. Qui quanquam ii delecti fuerint, qui omnium maxime debuerint optimi ſenis famæ & ſaluti proſpicere: tamen (quod evinere ſolet) tanquam in re aliena negligentiores facti, de ſua tantum ſolliciti, utranque perdiderunt. Hic vero expectare quis jure poſſit, ut quantos olim labores extant laverit in propaganda veritate evangelica, quam ſtudioſe pietatem ſociaſque virtutes coluerit, gregem denique, ſibi commiſſum, quam ſollicite cuſto dierit ſaltem paucis commemorarem. Sed cum præclara virtus præconem aut encomiaſtam nuſquam deſideret; & modeſtiæ meæ magis congruum, & ad gloriam illius propagandam commodius exiſtimo, ab aliis poſthac laudes ejus decantari, quibus fidem derogare non poſſit ſanguinis propinquitas, ac interim, quæri potius a ceteris mortalibus, cur non laudaverim, quam à calumniatoribus paucis & malevolis, cur laudaverim.'

[*C*] *Of the importance of his function.*] In thoſe days, when the generality of people manifeſted a great zeal for religion, it ſometimes fell out, as in theſe, that their actions and ordinary courſe of life did not ſeem to expreſs any lively ſenſe of religion at all. In caſes of this ſort ſome of the Clergy, and amongſt theſe Mr Godwin, thought it his duty to reprehend ſuch vices as were moſt glaring and moſt common in the preſence of thoſe who were moſt addicted or expoſed to the ſtrongeſt temptations to them. Thus he ſuited his ſermon to his auditors, not to tickle their ears with the condemnation of thoſe vices from which they were moſt exempt, and the applauſe of thoſe virtues for which they were moſt diſtinguiſhed; but by an honeſt and free repreſentation of thoſe ill qualities, with which they either were or might be infected; neither made he any diſtinction in conditions, but made his court to the great, if he made it at all, by ſhewing them they were but men, and often ſinful men, of whoſe ſouls therefore the ſame care was to be taken as of the meaneſt of the people (7). 'Before his going to Exeter, ſays Sir John Harrington, I had ſome acquaintance with him, and have heard him preach more than once at our aſſizes, and elſewhere; his manner was to be ſharp againſt the vices moſt abounding in that time, ſacrilege, ſimony, contempt of God in his miniſters, and want of charity. Amongſt other of his ſermons, preaching once of Dives and Lazarus, he ſaid, *that though the* Scriptures *had not expreſſed plainly who* Dives *was, yet by his cloaths and face, he might be bold to affirm, he was at the leaſt a* Juſtice *of* Peace, *and perhaps of* Oyer *and* Terminer *too.* This ſpeech was ſo ill taken by ſome guilty conſciences, that a great matter was inforced to be made of it, that it was a dangerous and ſeditious ſpeech; and why, forſooth? Becauſe it was a dear year. But ſee how a man's enemies ſometimes do him as much good as his friends, their fond accuſation, and his diſcreet juſtification, made him both better known and more reſpected by them that were able to do him moſt good.' No perſonal or malevolent ſarcaſm, but a juſt intimation, that no ſuperiority of rank cancels the ties of humanity, or the obligations of charity.

[*D*] To

(4) At the end of Johan. de Wethamſtede Chronicon, p. 635.

(5) Joan. de Trokelowe, Annales Edward II. p. 381.

(6) Franciſci Godwini, Catalogus Epiſcoporum Bathon. & Wellenſium, p. 98, 99.

(7) Brief View of the State of the Church of England, p. 166, 167.

have been made ſince. This Catalogue, conciſe as it was, met with ſuch general approbation, that Queen Elizabeth beſtowed upon him immediately the biſhopric of Landaff, which had not been above two months vacant (q), and to which he was conſecrated, November the ſecond, 1601: the reward was royal, but conſiſted rather in title than in ſubſtance; for this biſhopric, now ſmall, was then ſo ſmall, that it did not produce more than one hundred and fifty pounds a year (r); and therefore, as well in regard to him, as for the ſake of the ſervice which he had lately rendered to the commonwealth of letters, and the Church [D], he had liberty to keep one of his dignities, which ſeems to

(q) Fuller's Church Hiſtory, Cent. XVII. book x. p. 2.

(r) Godwin's catalogue of Engliſh Biſhops, p. 534.

[D] *To the commonwealth of letters and the Church.*] The digeſting into a regular chronological order the ſucceſſion of prelates in the reſpective dioceſes within this kingdom, as ſimple and plain a ſcheme as it may now appear, was never attempted before the time of Dr Godwin; no wonder therefore that his eſſays were faulty, or that he reviſed and corrected them ſo many times. His coming abroad at firſt was the greateſt difficulty, and on this perhaps he had never ventured, if the rank and power of his patron and the Queen's favour had not encouraged him. The title is as follows:

A Catalogue *of the* Biſhops *of* England *ſince the firſt planting of the* Chriſtian Religion *in this Iſland; together with a brief* Hiſtory *of their* Lives *and* memorable Actions, *ſo near as can be gathered out of* Antiquity. *By* F. G. *Sub-Dean of* Exeter. Lond. 1601. in 4to.

It is dedicated to the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Sackvyll, Baron of Buckhurſt, Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, Lord High Treaſurer of England, and Chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford, to whom he was chaplain. In his preface Dr Godwin tells us, 'that his delight in the ſtudy of Hiſtory and Antiquities, had been ſomewhat greater than was needful for a man who had dedicated himſelf and his labours unto the ſervice of God's Church in the Miniſtry, which fault he had long before in ſome ſort reformed, by reſtraining himſelf within the compaſs of ſuch antiquities as ſeemed to concern only eccleſiaſtical cauſes or perſons. That his collections, with regard to matters eccleſiaſtical, could add nothing unto Mr Fox's large and painful work; but, that in the other kind, relating to eccleſiaſtical perſons, what many years reading and obſervation could yield unto him, he had ſeven or eight years before comprized into a volume, which with ſome additions he was now induced to publiſh. The principal reaſon, ſays he, that moved me thereunto is in effect, that which Tacitus ſaith every Hiſtoriographer ſhould propoſe unto himſelf, Ne virtutes ſileantur, utque pravis dictis factiſque ex poſterate & infamiâ metus ſit.' In the latter of theſe, the faults of thoſe men of whom I am to write, I need not greatly to pain myſelf; for it is not to be denied, that the moſt part of the Chroniclers and Hiſtoriographers of our age have been hard enough, at leaſt upon the Prelates and Clergy of former times, every where, like Cham's diſcovering the nakedneſs of theſe fathers, but ſeldom or never endeavouring with Sem to hide the ſame, much leſs affording unto them any honourable mention, never ſo well deſerved. This kind of dealing, though happily intended to good purpoſes, might not expect that ſucceſs and bleſſing at God's hand, that the plain and ſincere truth is wont to find. Theſe men impugning ſomewhat too furiouſly the ſuperſtition and errors which the Clergy of former times in a great meaſure through ignorance did teach and defend, whilſt the rather to diſcredit their doctrine they depraved their perſons, it hath pleaſed God that this uncharitable courſe ſhould ſort to ſome other effect than was intended, and that ſuch as without his great mercy was like to have cauſed an inconvenience of little leſs importance, I will not ſay greater, than that which our late Reformation had redreſſed. For in the vulgar ſort, which diſtinguiſh not ſo eaſily between perſons and things, it bred a conceit not only that the men were wicked, and ſo their doctrine corrupt, although I know the conſequence to be weak, but alſo their functions and callings to be utterly unlawful and antichriſtian; which opinion once received in the minds of the multitude, gave occaſion of divers plots, coloured with the plauſible ſhew of reformation, but indeed principally aiming at the goods and revenues of the Church, the temporal rewards of learning, which being once taken away, what confuſion is like to follow we may eaſily ſee by the effects it bringeth forth elſewhere. Thoſe countries that heretofore have yielded great plenty of able work-folks for the Lord's vineyard, now that brood is ſpent which attained learning the rewards yet ſtanding whole, they hardly can ſhew a man able to ſet pen to paper in defence of the truth. Yea even amongſt us, although the godly and excellent care of her Majeſty hath preſerved the ſtate of this our Church, in ſuch ſort as I think no other reformed Church of Chriſtendom any thing near comparable unto it, yet the example of others, the known greedineſs of ſo many ſacrilegious cormorants as await daily the deſtruction of the ſame, and the doubt leaſt it will decay, for that we cannot hope for the like piety in all ſucceeding princes, it ſo far forth diſcourageth men from the ſtudy of Divinity, as the beſt wits daily refuſe the univerſities, or Divinity at the leaſt, which in ſome other countries is accounted the ſureſt way to advancement, and rather betake themſelves to any other kind of life. Hereof it cometh to paſs, that every age bringeth forth leſs plenty of learned men than other amongſt us. He alſo remarks, which is particularly worth the reader's attention, that he is not to expect any copious diſcourſe of the lives and actions of the Biſhops of his own time, or near it, ſince he had purpoſely avoided to ſet down any thing of them, but what either he found written by others, or elſe remaineth to be ſeen in public record. And that he hath taken this courſe becauſe he judged it neither ſeemly to praiſe, nor ſafe to reprehend (how juſtly ſoever) thoſe men, who either by themſelves, their near friends, or poſterity then living, might ſeem either to have allured him to flatter, or deterred him from diſcloſing that truth which otherwiſe he would have uttered. Neither did he think it needful to ſay much of them, who being either preſent in action, or freſh in memory, were ſufficiently known. And whereas he has paſſed over in ſilence two ſees, he was obliged to it by want of ſome neceſſary inſtructions, which by reaſon of the diſtance of his dwelling from them, he had not means to attain, although he had endeavoured it. He therefore deſired all men who were able to yield him help for the ſupplying of whatſoever might ſeem wanting either in thoſe ſees, or any other.

It was by way of ſupplement to this edition, that Sir John Harrington wrote the ſhort treatiſe that has been ſo often mentioned, for the uſe of Prince Henry, ſon to King James, with whom he was in great favour. It riſes higher in many places than the cloſe of our author's book, but goes no lower than the year 1608. It was not intended for public view, otherwiſe in all probability the author would not have expreſſed himſelf ſo freely; but of this more in it's proper place, that is, in the article of the author, who well deſerves one; but it may not be amiſs to preſent the reader here with his character of our author, and his books. 'Of this Biſhop (ſays he) I may ſpeak ſparingly, or rather ſpare all ſpeech, conſidering that every leaf of his worthy work is a ſufficient teſtimony of his virtuous mind, indefatigable induſtry, and infinite reading; for even as we ſee commonly thoſe gentlemen that are well deſcended, and better bred, are moſt careful to preſerve the true memory and pedigree of their anceſtors, which the baſe and ignorant, becauſe they could not conſerve, will ſeem to condemn. So this worthy Biſhop, collecting ſo diligently, and relating ſo faithfully, the ſucceſſion and lives of ſo many of our Chriſtian moſt reverend Biſhops in former ages, doth prove himſelf more by ſpiritual than carnal birth, to come of thoſe anceſtors of whom it was long before propheſied by the princely Prophet, Inſtead of thy fathers, thou ſhalt have children whom thou ſhalt make Princes in all places.'

to have been his ſubdeanery of Exeter (*s*); and alſo to take the rectory of Kingſton-Seymour, in the dioceſe of Bath and Wells (*t*); which whatever favours they may be in appearance, yet without them the biſhopric had been none. He ſucceeded Dr William Morgan, who was tranſlated to St Aſaph, and to whoſe pious care he always profeſſed himſelf obliged, for having made the biſhopric what it was, and for having opened a path for him to make it better (*u*). While he continued in this ſee, which was ſixteen years, he employed his leiſure hours in the improvement of his Catalogue, and in making collections relative to our Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (*w*). In 1615, he publiſhed another edition of his Catalogue, with conſiderable additions, and more conſiderable alterations, which he dedicated to King James. But by ſome very unlucky accident, this new Catalogue was moſt wretchedly and erroneouſly printed, through the author's being at a great diſtance from the preſs; and therefore, to gratify the deſire of the Public, and to comply with the advice of his learned friends, he reſolved to publiſh it the next year, as he originally intended, in Latin; which he accordingly did, with the King's Licence; and in this alſo he made conſiderable alterations, but with great propriety, as he was ſenſible, that though his two Engliſh Catalogues could only benefit his own countrymen, this would be read and examined throughout Europe (*x*). He alſo ſent abroad in the ſame year, and in the ſame language, from the collections before-mentioned, the annals of thoſe three Engliſh reigns preceding that in which he was born, digeſted into ſo clear and conciſe a method, as recommended it equally to the lovers of hiſtory (*y*), and to ſuch as had a true reliſh of the beauties of an elegant Latin ſtile (*z*), in which he certainly fell ſhort of none of his contemporaries; in which he has been imitated by few, and exceeded by none [*E*]. In conſideration of theſe learned labours, King James tranſlated him

(*s*) See Le Neve's Faſti Eccl. Anglic.

(*t*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 582.

(*u*) De Præſul. Angl. Comment. p. 443.

(*w*) Sir John Harrington's Brief View, p. 165.

(*x*) De Præſulibus Angliæ Comment. in Præfat.

(*y*) Hiſtor. & Antiquit. Oxonienſis, lib. ii. p. 262.

(*z*) Nicholſon's Hiſt. Library, p. 85.

The title of the ſecond edition of his book in Engliſh ran thus: *A* Catalogue *of the Biſhops of* England *ſince the firſt planting of* Chriſtian *Religion in this Iſland. Together with a brief* Hiſtory *of their* Lives *and memorable* Actions, *ſo near as can be gathered out of* Antiquity. *Whereunto is prefixed, A* Diſcourſe *concerning the firſt* Converſion *of our* Britain *unto* Chriſtian Religion. *By* Francis Godwin, *now Biſhop of* Llandaff. London: Printed for Thomas Adams. 1615.

In this the two biſhoprics formerly omitted were ſupplied, many things added in the courſe of the work, and at the end there is a diſcourſe concerning ſuch Engliſhmen, as had either been, or in our hiſtories were reputed Cardinals of the Church of Rome; and this for two reaſons, firſt, becauſe theſe perſons were in themſelves eminent and memorable in many reſpects; and next, becauſe Ciaconius had publiſhed a very florid but falſe account of them, which our author held it his duty to refute. The Latin work, incomparably more perfect in every reſpect, is thus entitled,

De Præſulibus Angliæ *Commentarius: Omnium Epiſcoporum, necnon & Cardinalium ejuſdem gentis, nomina, tempora, Seriem, atque actiones maximè memorabiles ab ultima antiquitate repetita complexus. Per Franciſcum Godwinum, Epiſcopum Landavenſem.* Londini *ex Offi*cina Nortoniana *apud Joannem Billium.* 1616. 4to.

This as well as the laſt Engliſh edition is dedicated to King James, and indeed except ſome ſmall alterations, the dedications are pretty much the ſame; the preface however is longer, and very different from that prefixed to the foregoing edition. In it he gives an account of the riſe and progreſs of his undertaking; he ſays, that more than twenty years before he began to make a Catalogue of Engliſh Biſhops, intending nothing more than that title expreſſed; but by degrees, according to the Latin proverb, his Jug was become a Jar. The firſt edition he ſays his friends wrought or rather wrung from him in Engliſh; the latter he greatly enlarged, but that it was ſo ill printed he could ſcarce own it. This accident induced him to recollect and to reflect on the advice given him long before by many of his learned friends, which was to put his work into Latin, which he accordingly did. At the cloſe he promiſes, in caſe proper materials were furniſhed him by thoſe who had it in their power, to ſend abroad like Catalogues of the Biſhops in Scotland and Ireland. This edition is elegantly, though not very correctly printed.

[*E*] *In which he has been imitated by few, and exceeded by none.*] We will ſpeak of this work and of it's different editions in this place, that we may keep within bounds as much as poſſible. The title of it runs thus:

Rerum Anglicarum Henrico viii. *Edvardo* vi. & *Maria regnantibus Annales.* Lond. 1616. in fol. ib. 1628. and 1630. in 4to and fol.

The Biſhop in his preface obſerves, that he had undertaken this work when he was paſſed fifty years of age, with a view to excite others of greater abilities to write the Hiſtory of thoſe reigns, and to ſatisfy the deſires of foreigners; who not without cauſe complain, that thoſe times, than which for 1000 years there have not been any more memorable, with regard to remarkable revolutions, were not deſcribed by any perſon except in a ſlight manner, and as if the writer had not intended any ſuch thing. He in this excepts Polydor Virgil, who was not only ignorant of our language and conſtitution, but alſo wrote the firſt of theſe reigns, which was the only one he wrote, partially, in abuſe both of K. Henry and Cardinal Wolſey, that he might make his court to Queen Mary; notwithſtanding which the methodical elegance of his hiſtory gained it that credit which truth only deſerved, and was another juſt reaſon for his taking up the pen. He tells us therefore he had written in ſuch a way, that though many things proper to an Hiſtorian might be wanting in him, yet he is confident his endeavour would find acceptance with many. Other writers may have here (as it were) a ſtorehouſe, from whence they may ſupply themſelves with ſome materials which help to raiſe an everlaſting monument. Foreigners likewiſe, ignorant of the Engliſh tongue, may have ſome knowledge of thoſe times, 'till ſome other ſhould ariſe, who ſhall compile an Hiſtory of our nation, worthy the majeſty of the Britiſh name. He aſſures us, that he has in this work been ſo obſervant of impartiality, ſincerity, and truth, that he feared nothing ſo much as a domeſtic anger for not being pious enough, becauſe he would not be over pious. Many contend, that a good Prince ſhould be μὴ πονερὸς, ἀλλ' ἡμιπονερὸς.

This he thinks no man will affirm of an Hiſtorian, though ſome ſeem to be of that opinion; ſo that he will be thought to fail of his duty either to God or his country, who in writing Hiſtory will not be at leaſt ἡμιπονερὸς, who by affirming uncertainties as known truths, ſhall not yield much to his affections, if they be but joined with the love of religion and his country. But how much do they injure truth, ſays our author, who from lies and falſhood deſire help to ſupport her? But we have no need of them; and if we had, yet it would not do us much ſervice to rely on ſuch weak advantages, ſince one pious lye detected, proves more hurtful than a thouſand others, although ſo artfully contrived as to eſcape diſcovery, can prove profitable. For an example of this we need ſeek no farther than the Papiſts, whoſe feigned miracles, impoſtures, and legends, have made even him from Landaff to Hereford (*a*), where he ſucceeded Dr Robert Bennet; and through the care of that reverend prelate, and his predeceſſor, Dr Herbert Weſtphaling, he found the houſes at Hereford and at Whitborne in excellent condition, which he gratefully acknowledged, and did juſtice to their memories, in that reſpect, to poſterity (*b*). He was conſecrated, November 28th, 1617, being then in his fifty-ſixth year (*c*). There, in as great a degree as the duties of his function and ſome bodily infirmities would permit, he proſecuted his ſtudies, but very prudently aimed rather at perfecting the works he had already publiſhed, than to inveſtigate new ſubjects. Accordingly, in 1621, he publiſhed an Appendix to his Latin Commentaries, on the ſucceſſion of Engliſh Biſhops, in that language, and in them ſpeaks very highly, of Archbiſhop Abbot, of Canterbury, and Dr Williams, Biſhop of Lincoln, and afterwards Archbiſhop of York (*d*). But his complements to them, though very well turned, are mighty conciſe. In reſpect to Dr King, Biſhop of London, then lately deceaſed, he vindicates, with great ſtrength of argument, and with becoming vehemence, the character of that good man, from the infamous calumny of dying a Papiſt; which defence takes up more room than he affords to three or four Prelates that were then living (*e*). By this he put his ſeal to that undertaking, and left it in the beſt condition it was in his power to leave it to ſucceeding times. Yet, however honeſt our author's intentions, whatever candour he expreſſed in the execution of them, they have been, as what has there been, ſo well deſigned, or ſo well put together, that has not been expoſed to cenſure [*F*]. It is a ſhade that always attends the light of Fame, more eſpecially

(*a*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 731.

(*b*) Godwini, Append. ad Comment. de Præſulibus Angliæ, p. 11.

(*c*) Regiſtr. Abbot, fol. 186.

(*d*) Append. ad Comment. de Præſulibus Angliæ, p. 1, 6.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 2, 3, 4.

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even what is true ſuſpected. Wherefore I am well content, that truth, which in ſpite of all oppoſition will at length be every where victorious, ſhall prevail with me. I have done to my power. Politely, eloquently, politicly, I could not write. Truly, and *fide Atticâ*, I could. If I have done amiſs in any point, it is not out of malice, but error. Degory Whear tells us, that theſe annals are written *non magis ſuccinctâ, quam laudabili brevitate* (8), which Dr Nicholſon obſerves to be our author's *juſt character, and that he was a perfect maſter of the Latin tongue* (9). We might cite in farther ſupport of this, ſeveral foreign teſtimonies, which we decline, becauſe theſe ought to weigh little either for or againſt an Engliſh Hiſtorian, who is entitled by the law of reaſon to what would be granted him by the law of the land, an equal trial in which his countrymen are to be his judges. A reverend prelate has taken his Life of Queen Mary into his collection of Engliſh Hiſtory, and certainly it would have been no diſcredit to it, if the annals of the other two reigns had been added alſo; for our Hiſtorians are in nothing ſo defective as in method, and even thoſe who are the moſt careful in reſpect to facts, are but too apt to be negligent in point of dates. Theſe annals, when publiſhed for the third time in Latin, were likewiſe rendered into Engliſh, and that in ſuch a manner as made them in ſome meaſure a new work; and this too, if not of our author's writing, yet in ſome degree of his dictating, and ſent into the world with his allowance. They came out under the following title,

'Annales of England: containing the Reigns of Henry the VIIIth, Edward the VIth, and Queen Mary. Written in Latin by the Right Honourable and Right Reverend Father in God Francis Lord Biſhop of Hereford. Thus engliſhed, corrected, and enlarged, with the Author's Conſent, by Morgan Godwyn.' In the preface to the tranſlation his ſon tells us, that he hopes the reader will not object againſt the omiſſion of ſome things in them, the knowledge whereof is to our natives ſo innate, that now to inſert them, were as bad as to farce with tautologies, and make this little volume nauſeous. Yet hath it loſt nothing of it's bulk, whatſoever it hath of it's ſplendor, thoſe defalcations being here and there in the courſe of this Hiſtory ſupplied with not unneceſſary additions, whereto the author's approbation and conſent was not wanting. Theſe Engliſh Annals have alſo been deſervedly admired.

[*F*] *That has not been expoſed to cenſure.*] In his life-time he was harſhly treated in private by a perſon of great worth and learning, whom one could ſcarce have thought capable of uſing ſuch courſe language towards a prelate of our author's rank and learning, and this on the account only of a very ſmall hiſtorical miſtake. It occurs indeed in a private letter, viz. from Sir Henry Savil, to Mr Camden, dated Feb. 26. 1617 (10); but inſtead of excuſing this heightens the offence; becauſe it was attacking and leſſening the character of a man of letters in ſuch a way, as he had it not in his power to defend himſelf. It runs thus: 'Sir, I find in the Biſhop of Hereford's book of Biſhops, a babble of one William Sever, Biſhop of Dureſme, ſon (as he ſaith) of a ſievemaker, Warden of Merton College, and Provoſt of Eton, made Biſhop of Carliſle 1496, and tranſlated to Durham (*ut videtur*) 1502, and died anno 1505. True it is, that Henry Sever was firſt Provoſt, and ſo named in the Act of Parliament, of Eton Foundation; and the ſame man was afterwards Warden of Merton College, where he had his breeding, as kinſman to our founder, and as our Regiſter ſays, penè alter fundator. He lies buried in that church, as Warden there, and never Biſhop, as I remember, though he had twelve or fourteen eccleſiaſtical promotions, as by a pardon in Edward the fourth's time, to the college, I find him ſtiled. Beſides, the times cannot agree: Eton College was founded in 1440, ſo that to 1505 he muſt live ſixty-five years afterwards, to the latter end of Henry the ſeventh; whereas, in Merton College, we had two or three wardens in the mean time, Gigur and Fitz-James. I pray you adviſe with Mr Linſey, the Biſhop of Durham's chaplain, with you, what he findeth in Hiſtoriâ Dunelmenſi, touching that man, and at your leiſure let me underſtand from you.'

All that our Prelate had ſaid was this, that William Sever, according to common report, was a native of Shinkley, the ſon of a poor man, who made ſieves for his bread, and, in the Engliſh of thoſe times, was ſtiled *a Sieveyer*; and his ſon having no other, took the name of his father's trade for a ſurname (11). This, it ſeems, Sir Henry took for a great affront; but being fully ſatisfied, by Mr Camden's means, that there was no connection between William Sever, Biſhop of Durham, and his predeceſſor Henry Sever, Warden of Merton, and Provoſt of Eaton, he came into pretty good temper again, and could mention the Biſhop of Landaff (though he was then tranſlated to Hereford, and this as great a miſtake as that which he had cenſured) with ſome degree of patience (12). The Oxford Antiquary, according to his uſual cuſtom, ſpeaks of him what he thought, good and ill, in that blunt language which was peculiar to him (13). 'He was, ſays he, a good man, a grave Divine, ſkilful Mathematician, excellent Philoſopher, pure Latiniſt, and incomparable Hiſtorian, being no leſs critical in Hiſtories than the learned Selden. A perſon alſo he was, ſo celebrated by many in his time, whether at home or beyond the ſeas, that his memory cannot otherwiſe but be precious in ſucceeding ages, for his indefatigable pains and travel, in collecting the ſucceſſion of all the Biſhops of England and Wales, ſince the firſt planting of the Goſpel among the Chriſtians; not pretermitting ſuch of the Britiſh Church, or any that have been remembered by the care and diligence of preceding writers, or had been kept in memory

(8) Relationes Hyemales, Oxon. 1637, p. 144.

(9) Hiſtorical Library, p. 85.

(10) Camdeni Epiſtolæ. p. 219.

(11) Catalogue of Engliſh Biſhops, p. 666.

(12) Camdeni Epiſtolæ, p. 224.

(13) Athenæ Oxonienſis, Vol. I. col. 582.

eſpecially in the literary world. Our Prelate knew it well; but, like a wiſe and great man, regarded it leaſt; for, out of his zeal to truth, and public utility, he was ever ready to combat envy, and juſtify ſcience, however miſreprepreſented or miſunderſtood (*f*).

This

‘ in any old monument or record. But as he hath, in thoſe his infinite labours, endeavoured, out of a puritannical pique, to bring a ſcandal on the antient Catholic Biſhops; and to advance the credit of thoſe that were married ſince the Reformation, he being one of that number, for the credit of the Proteſtant cauſe: ſo comes one afterwards, by name William Prynne, a crop-eared and ſtigmatized Preſbyterian, the moſt inveterate enemy to the Biſhops that ever appeared in our horizon; who thence, from his labours, takes all advantages, whether truth or not truth, to raiſe arguments againſt, or bring a ſcandal upon, the prelatical function. Take heed therefore of being partial, leſt others light candles from your torch, and thereby, in the end, you lend a helping hand for the cutting your own throat.’ The full and proper anſwer to this is to be found in the Biſhop's preface to the firſt edition of his Catalogue (14). Mr Prynne could find nothing there which was of the Biſhop's invention; and as he was very well acquainted with the original authors, from whence our author took all his facts, he might, and no doubt he would, have had recourſe to them, if this Prelate had never wrote at all. But we come now to a writer, who has ſaved us ſome trouble, by collecting and abridging the ſcandal thrown upon the Biſhop and his work by other pens (15). ‘ Francis Godwin was moſt fortunate in his Commentary, as he calls it, on this ſubject, being himſelf advanced to the epiſcopal order, for the good ſervices that Queen Elizabeth thought he had done the Church by that book. It was twice publiſhed in Engliſh, equally full of the author's and printer's miſtakes. The faults of the latter edition, eſpecially, were ſo very groſs, that they put him upon the ſpeedy diſpatch of another in Latin, which came out the next year. The ſtyle of this is very neat and clean; and he ſeems to have taken more pains in poliſhing it, than in gathering together all the materials of his hiſtory. He quotes no authorities, expecting, belike, that poſterity ſhould acquieſce in his, ſingly, without enquiring any farther. He is particularly ungrateful to the author of the *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, from whom he has borrowed (by the great) his account of the ſee of Canterbury, varying only the phraſe, and ſometimes for the worſe. The like carriage he is guilty of, towards Bale, Camden, and others: but what is moſt eſpecially notorious, is, his tranſcribing out of Joſeline and Maſon, what he pretends to have had immediately from the Archives and Regiſtraries, from the year 1559 to his own time. He is alſo frequently guilty of chronological miſtakes, a too confident reliance on the authorities of counterfeit Charters, in Ingulfus and others, an uncertain calculation of years, beginning ſome at Michaelmas, and others at Chriſtmas, &c. as his authors blindly led him: And laſtly, a contenting himſelf with falſe and imperfect catalogues of the Prelates, in almoſt every dioceſe. Theſe are the failures wherewith he ſtands charged by Mr Wharton, who modeſtly aſſures us, that a better progreſs had been made in theſe matters, by himſelf, within the compaſs of eighteen months, than by this Biſhop in twenty years. Our Oxford Antiquary further complains, that he puritannically vilified Popiſh Biſhops, with a deſign thereby to advance the credit of thoſe ſince the Reformation: whereby he had given unlucky advantages to William Prynne, the profeſſed enemy of epiſcopacy, who made ill uſe of his book. I will not ſay that either of theſe cenſurers are miſtaken: but I muſt obſerve to the reader, that each of them intended to have furniſhed us with a view of this part of our eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, of his own drawing; and therefore, like all new builders, they muſt be allowed to ſpy more faults in the old fabrick than others can.’ Inſidious praiſe is of all others the fouleſt kind of railing, and yet in this ſome writers take great delight. Henry Wharton and Anthony Wood were not of this kind; they often cenſured wrong, but they always thought themſelves in the right. Here three authors are introduced, two abuſing the third; and he who introduces them, ſneering at all three, and darting at them through each other's ſides. Hereafter it may be, Providence will indulge us an opportunity of ſaying ſomething for the other two, at preſent it is our duty to defend Biſhop Godwin, not becauſe we have written his life, but becauſe he is injured. As to the charge of his borrowing, and not citing, the fact is falſe, as the reader, upon conſulting the Biſhop's book, will ſee with his own eyes. A ſingle and a ſhort quotation, will, in a great meaſure, prove this, and demonſtrate that our author was not either negligent in conſulting the beſt authors, or diſpoſed to conceal the helps he received from them. Speaking of the firſt Chriſtian King in this iſland, he ſays (16), ‘ It is time for me now to ſay ſomewhat of a certain epiſtle, written, as we find delivered by Eleutherius, Biſhop of Rome, unto King Lucius. The copy of which epiſtle was firſt found, for ought I can diſcern, in an old Chronicle, entituled Brutus, amongſt certain laws or ſtatutes of the Saxons. The occaſion thereof was, that Lucius, ſome time after his converſion, (but whether before or after his baptiſm appeareth not) made requeſt unto Eleutherius to ſend him ſome kind of abſtract of the Roman Laws, whereby he might eſtabliſh a ſettled order of government in his dominions. Now whereas the Druids, they were the judges of all matters both ſpiritual and temporal, the aboliſhing of them made an alteration in politic matters, as well as eccleſiaſtical, or concerning religion. So that the cauſe of reformation in both kinds being one and the ſelf ſame, I ſee no reaſon why we ſhould not think that the remedy of both was likewiſe ſought at once. And true it is, that the author of the book, called Antiquitates Britannicæ, affirmeth, how that Elvan and Medwin made the foreſaid motion for the Roman laws, at their being with Eleutherius before the baptiſm of Lucius, and then received anſwer. So doth Mr Fox: and the reverend father, of happy memory, Biſhop Jewell, ſeemeth to be of the ſame opinion. Yet, becauſe the authors of our great Chronicle, Holinſhed and the reſt, deliver, not only that this motion was made after the baptiſm of Lucius; but alſo, ſetting down preciſely the particular time, do ſay it was in the third year after his converſion. I will not take upon me to pronounce either one way or other, but leave it unto the reader's judgment and diſcretion to determine.’ In his firſt Catalogue of the Biſhops of Bath and Wells, he quotes plentifully; perhaps, when he came to print, he was deterred, by heaps of miſtakes, from loading his margins; however, for ſuch a work as he intended, he cites abundance of authorities, Bale, fifty times at leaſt. At the head of the article of Norwich, it is ſaid, *collected for the moſt part out of Mr* Alexander Nevill, *his* Norwicus, *by* R. T. At the head of that of Exeter, we read, *this Diſcourſe following is taken for the moſt part* verbatim, *out of Maſter* John Hooker'*s Catalogue of the Biſhops of* Exeter. This has not much the air of arrogating the merit of other men's labours to himſelf. That he took from moderns what he would have underſtood to be tranſcribed from ancient authors, is a ſuſpicion without proof, and, we are pretty ſure, is without foundation; for his writings manifeſt, that he had read thoſe ancient authors, and therefore he might uſe them as well at firſt as at ſecond hand (17). That he did not cite Mr Camden is true, but that the modeſty of this great man induced him to deſire his friends not to cite him is as true; ſo that now the wonder ceaſes, without bringing any charge of ingratitude on the memory of Biſhop Godwin (18). That he might be miſtaken as to ancient charters ſhall be granted, as well as that he might not be infallible in reſpect to dates; but then it muſt be alſo granted, that ſome who were very learned men miſtook before him, and that many who thought themſelves ſo have been miſtaken ſince. The new edition of this work, elegantly and accurately printed, has removed theſe (with regard to him) unavoidable defects, entirely.

[G] *Has*

(*f*) See his Prefaces in Latin and Engliſh.

(14) See that paſſage in note [D].

(15) Nicholſon's Hiſtorical Library, p. 123, 124.

(16) Catalogue of Engliſh Biſhops, p. 29, 30.

(17) See a clear teſtimony of this in the letter to Camden in note [H].

(18) Camdeni Epiſtolæ, p. 219.

This induced him to communicate to King James that ſecret, of which he wrote a diſcourſe at the univerſity; and thereby ſatisfied the King, that it was a fact, and not a fiction (g). In 1628, he publiſhed the ſecond edition of his Annals, which was much more correctly printed than the former; and this, without any of the high-flown complements which were the vice of that age, from which, however, few writers were freer than himſelf, he dedicated to King Charles (h). The year following, he publiſhed that diſcourſe, written in his youth, on a very myſterious ſubject; and with deſign, in ſo obſcure a ſtyle, that though many have gueſſed at it, yet his riddle, to this day, has never met with a clear ſolution (i) [G]. In 1630, he publiſhed a third edition of his Annals, which ſhews how kind

(g) Hiſt. & Antiquitates Oxon. lib. ii. p. 272.

(h) Printed by the King's Printers.

(i) See Dr Thomas Smith's Letters.

[G] *Has never met with a clear ſolution*]. This ſmall piece, which conſiſted but of two ſheets, and which is now ſo extremely ſcarce, that it is to be found only in the cloſets of the curious, was publiſhed under the following ſuccinct title.

Nuncius Inanimatus. Utopia, 1629. 8vo. i. e. *The Inanimate Courier.* The deſign of it was to point out ſeveral methods of conveying intelligence, ſecretly, ſpeedily, and ſafely; a matter frequently of great importance to private men, and ſometimes of much more conſequence to perſons in public office. In the firſt place, he gives an account of ſuch inventions as were practiſed by the Ancients, the memory of which is come down to poſterity; and then he aſſerts, that one who is a proficient in the art which he profeſſes, may tell whatever he pleaſes to another perſon at a diſtance, who is alike ſkilful, if he be within a quarter of a mile, though beſieged, or lying hid, or, perchance, detained in any place which is not directly known to him that ſends the tidings, and, if known, yet not acceſſible. 'Let nobody come near him, ſays he (19), ſecure the body in a priſon, let the hands be bound, hood-wink the face, but be not troubleſome any other way, and he ſhall underſtand the words of his abſent friends, if this liberty be not taken away from him, that he may be able to do thoſe things which are wont ſometimes to be done by freemen, or may do them without fear or danger. I ſay, moreover, that if the place be known where a friend reſides, to whom our meſſage ſhould be brought, and if both enjoy a full liberty, the cauſes being before agreed upon which conduce to the diſpoſition of the means, any thing may be told ſuch a friend, without any meſſenger going between each, or any living creature, though he be a hundred, nay, perchance, a thouſand, miles off, and that in a ſhort ſpace of time, perchance an hour, or, it may be, ſomewhat leſs. Theſe things, ſome whiſperingly ſay, are ſtrange and wonderful, but they are not ſo ſoon to be believed. But what doth ſeem ſo wonderful and incredible? you have yet but this only in the genus and ſpecies; behold an individual is preſented to thy eyes which thou wilt leſs believe. Tell unto this my nuncio at London, in as few words as may be, what you deſire may be told to me dwelling at Briſtol, Wells, or, if you will, rather at Exeter, for I do not much regard the length of the way, ſo it is but paſſable; I ſay, tell him at London, and that juſt about noon, any one whole verſe of the ſacred Scriptures I will ſee that he ſhall perform our commands in the deſigned place (mark what I ſay) before the high noon of the ſame day. Do not raſhly pronounce this propoſal impoſſible, for the courſe of the ſun makes the noon later by ſome minutes at Briſtol than at London. This it is that you wonder at, that this meſſenger ſhould exceed the heavenly motion thereof in ſwiftneſs. This he will do, will do it, I ſay, if there be need, or elſe I am the vaineſt perſon of all that know how either to ſpeak or write. What, ſpeak I of towers or cities that are beſieged? Our inanimate nuncio, not fearing any thing, will paſs through whole troops of enemies A trench digged almoſt as low as Hell, or a wall, though higher than thoſe of Babylon, ſhall not hinder his journey, but he will faithfully perform the meſſage, ſo it be in as conciſe terms as may be, of him that ſent him, though beſieged; or whether he would have it told to him that is beſieged, and that with ſuch incredible ſwiftneſs, if he be to be found within five or ſeven miles, though I doubt not but it may be done effectually within twenty miles.' It is evident from what our author ſays, that he had two, and thoſe very oppoſite, deſigns in writing this treatiſe; the firſt was, to extol the advantages reſulting from his ſecret; and the ſecond, to avoid, in the doing this, letting ſlip any ſuch expreſſion as ſhould abſolutely reveal it. It ſhould ſeem, that nothing by his art could be done but by agreement ſettled between the parties who enter into this correſpondence; in the firſt caſe, firing guns, ringing bells, ſounding a trumpet, &c might probably be intended; in the ſecond, diſpoſing of candles, torches, or beacons, which ſignals being repeated at proper diſtances, would certainly perform all he promiſes; and in the third, bombs, granadoes, or rockets, might do the buſineſs, or, in ſome caſes, ſmokes. Theſe explanations will, perhaps, appear more clearly, by reading the following paragraph from our author, wherein he ſeems willing to be a little more explicit. 'You have here three promiſes of this my nuncio preſented to your conſideration, perchance it will be worth our while to ſhew how they differ among themſelves, for perſpicuity's ſake. In the firſt, I ſet forth the ſubtlety of deceiving, in the ſecond, the ſwiftneſs of it's paſſage, in the third, it's unconquered power and ſtrength in penetrating all things. That in the firſt place will eaſily be performed without any coſt or labour of any one, ſave him that ſends; but it hath this inconvenience, that it's frequent uſe will not free us from ſuſpicion. That in the ſecond place is very often effected without any help from others, and in ſome places almoſt without any charge; but, for the moſt part, it will do little or nothing without preparation, and that ſuch, that for each mile it will coſt five pounds, more or leſs, if it be deſigned for perpetual uſe; and nothing can be done without the countenance and authority of the magiſtrate, who can eaſily, if he pleaſe, hinder our nuncio's journey. As concerning the third, truly it requireth no great charge, but it muſt be obſerved, that he that doth act be ſettled in a place without danger, where he may reſiſt his enemies force until he hath perfected his work; and here we muſt not deny, that the condition of him that ſends in, is worſe than that of him that ſends out.' It may be, the reader will be inclined to think a little contemptibly of the methods here inſinuated, from an apprehenſion that they are things obvious enough, and the knowledge perhaps that they are things frequently practiſed. To this it may be anſwered, that all things are obvious when they are once explained; but, 'till it was explained, Columbus's egg was as much a wonder as his voyage to the new world. That theſe things were not known then is certain; that they have been ſince brought into frequent uſe, proves nothing more than that our author's judgment was as ſtrong as his imagination was vigorous, which, we muſt repeat it, are circumſtances rarely united. But it may be ſaid, why promiſe new lights, and exhibit only dark clouds? Why ſpend ſo much time to ſhew the value of a ſecret without diſcloſing it? or why entertain the world with a long chain of riddles and hard ſayings? The anſwer to this is not difficult; our author did not intend his ſecrets for the uſe of the vulgar, he wrote to men of ſuperior underſtandings, knowing that by a compariſon of circumſtances they would certainly attain his true meaning; and he wrote for perſons of ſuperior rank, who were in a ſituation to apply his diſcoveries for public benefit. At the time he wrote he had many things to apprehend, of which modern writers ſtand not at all in fear, which was another motive to his being reſerved, and that his aim was not tinctured either with vanity or ſelf-intereſt is evident, from his puſhing this matter no farther than he did. His own words will convince the reader of the truth of what has been ſaid, 'He that ſhall rightly underſtand (and by exam-

(19) Nuncius inanimatus, §. xix.

'ples

kind a reception they met with; ſince, though penned in Latin, and no tranſlation till at this time, they were thrice printed in fourteen years. At this juncture alſo appeared a Latin paper of his, reſpecting the value of Roman money, which ſhewed how perfect a maſter he was of claſſical learning, and how correct a taſte he had in moſt kinds of literature (*k*) [*H*]. In the latter part of his life, he fell into a low and languiſhing diſeaſe, which

(*k*) Hakewell's Apology for Divine Providence, Lond. 1630, folio.

‘ples they are more clear than the ſun in it's meridian ſplendour) how ſounds of this nature are reported to a place far diſtant, will never queſtion the verity hereof. And here, leſt any one ſhould timorouſly ſuſpect theſe things to be effected by unlawful and condemned arts, in the preſence of that God, who is both the greateſt and beſt, I proteſt and openly denounce, that this diſcipline contains in it nothing that is unlawful or contrary to the laws either of God or man; and that many things are done by the help of arithmetic, geometry, and muſic; the reſt, if not by uſual yet by lawful means, and that at a very ſmall coſt, I had almoſt ſaid none at all, for certainly many things may be performed in this kind without the leaſt expence or loſs that can be imagined. And ſeeing that it is ſo, I leave it to the judgment of thoſe that are judicious, to conſider how much and how far theſe our inventions may be profitable to the Commonwealth for the future. If they are defective let them die, and, like an untimely birth, let them not ſee the light, or, if they chance to ſee the light, let them not enjoy it ever ſo little, but forthwith vaniſh into nothing. Yet I my ſelf think the uſe of this art to be very great, as well in times of peace as war, and I thought it my duty to beſtow ſome pains in the delivery thereof, which I will not do ſo willingly, leſt that when it ſhall be made known to many, we cannot uſe or practiſe theſe things in their due time.’

About eighteen years after, this treatiſe was printed, and, about fourteen after our author's death, there came abroad an Engliſh tranſlation which bore this title.

Nuncius Inanimatus, or, *The Myſterious Meſſenger, unlocking the Secrets of Mens Hearts, by* F. G. B. *of* H. It was near fifty years a ſecret who made this tranſlation, but at length it came out; for the learned Dr Thomas Smith, in a letter to Mr Hearne, dated Auguſt 16, 1705 (20), hath theſe words, ‘Of what authority the little note you mention concerning Biſhop Godwin's ſpeaking brazen head is, I know not. I am ſatisfied, that his Nuncius Inanimatus, which I tranſlated into Engliſh almoſt fifty years ſince, at the requeſt of the bookſeller who printed it, was deſigned only in the way of wit and fancy for an amuſement.’ In another letter, dated the thirteenth of September following, he carries the thing ſtill farther. ‘I have not had by me, ſays he, I believe theſe forty years, the Engliſh tranſlation of Biſhop Godwin's *Nuncius Inanimatus*, which I wholly neglected and threw by as a trivial and puerile ſort of exerciſe; and I fear that both it and the Latin original are irretrievable.’ It is plain the Biſhop's ſecret remains ſtill a ſecret, for the Doctor, who made a very good tranſlation of a book he did not underſtand. A Divine, who was our author's contemporary, and ſecond to none either in point of learning or ſagacity, has given a very different account of this treatiſe (21), and theſe are his words. ‘Among the rare inventions, ſays he, which this preſent age hath afforded, Nuncius Inanimatus may juſtly challenge a place; and it were to be wiſhed, that being an experiment of ſo great conſequence, greater notice were taken of it by the higher powers than hitherto hath been.’ Biſhop Wilkins was ſomewhat indebted to our author for what he has delivered to the world on ſimilar ſubjects (22); perhaps it will not be diſpleaſing to ſee in plain terms a ſecret of this nature, known to neither of theſe Prelates, free from all diſguiſe, and which never yet appeared in our language.

(20) Thom. Hearn. Præfat. ad Thom. Otterbourne, p. 83.

(21) Apology for Divine Providence, in the advertiſement at the cloſe.

(22) Natural Magic, &c.

The Inks of Secrecy.

Take of good litharge half an ounce, pick it clean, and powder it very carefully, then diſſolve it in two ounces of ſpring water; with this ink write your true meaning. Take two or three corks, burn them carefully as long as they will flame, then quench them with a little brandy. This being reduced to a fine powder, mix with gum water, and then you have a ſecond ink, in which write over the former what you would have thought your meaning. Your friend, to whom this ſhall be addreſſed, muſt take one ounce of orpiment, finely powdered and ſifted, with two ounces of quick lime, being put into a wine pint of water, and well ſhaken, let him apply this ſoftly with a ſponge, upon which the covering letters will vaniſh, and the ſecret ſenſe of the epiſtle will appear. A little practice will make this eaſy.

[*H*] *In moſt kinds of literature.*] This Diſſertation upon the Roman Sesterce and Talent, as our author penned it in Latin, is preſerved at the end of his learned friend Dr Hakewell's very valuable work; he obſerves, that (23) *unus ſeſtertius, ſive nummus*, in the maſculine gender, ſignifies a piece of money worth about *two pence*, or, more exactly, *ten* of them made *nineteen pence*. A thouſand ſeſterces made a *ſeſtertium* in the neuter gender. In regard to the talent, he remarks, that the Ancients made uſe of many, ſuch as, the Attic, Euboic, Æginian, Hebraic, and Babyloniſh, and that when the word occurs alone, it is always to be underſtood of the Attic talent, the worth of which he fixes at *one hundred and ninety pounds* ſterling. This is one inſtance, and we will produce another of his willingneſs to oblige his friends, by communicating to them whatever he judged worthy of their notice, or uſeful to any particular branch of ſtudy in which they were engaged. The judicious Camden, at leaſt ſeven years after the publiſhing his Latin Hiſtory of Engliſh Biſhops, in which he is ſuppoſed to have been wanting in reſpect to him, ſpeaking of the great antiquity of Kaer Lheion, or Caerleon, in Monmouthſhire, delivers himſelf, in regard to our Prelate, thus (24). ‘In confirmation of this, I have taken care to add ſome antient inſcriptions, lately dug up there, and communicated to me by the Right Reverend Father in God, Francis Godwin, Lord Biſhop of Landaff, a lover of venerable antiquity, and all other good literature.’ In the year 1602, ſome labourers digging in a meadow adjoining, found, on a chequered pavement, a ſtatue of a perſon, in a ſhort truſſed habit, with a quiver and arrows, the head, hands, and feet broken off; and alſo the fragment of an altar, with an inſcription of fair large characters about three inches long, erected by Haterianus, lieutenant-general of Auguſtus, and Proprætor of the province of Cilicia. Theſe inſcriptions, which are preſerved in Camden, are in the garden walls of Moinſcourt, then the houſe of the Biſhop of Landaff, and which became afterwards the ſeat of Thomas Liſter, Eſq; (25). He alſo furniſhed ſuch informations as he thought acceptable to Dr Holland, who tranſlated the Britannia with the approbation of Camden, inſomuch, that ſome have accounted the Engliſh to be almoſt as much his as the Latin; in the deſcription of Monmouthſhire (26), we find this teſtimony of gratitude to our Prelate. ‘Adjoining to port Skeweth (ſays he) is Sudbroke, the church whereof, called Trinity Chapel, ſtandeth ſo near the ſea, that the vicinity of ſo tyrannous a neighbour hath ſpoiled it of half the church yard, as it hath done alſo of an old fortification lying thereby, which was compaſſed with a triple ditch and three rampiers as high as an ordinary houſe, caſt in form of a bow, the ſtring whereof is the ſea-cliff. That this was a Roman work, the Britain bricks and Roman coins there found are moſt certain arguments, among which, the Reverend Father in God, Francis, Biſhop of Landaff, (by whoſe information I write this) imparted unto me, of his kindneſs, one of the greateſt pieces that ever I ſaw, coined of Corinthian copper, by the city of Elaia, in the leſſer Aſia, to the honour of the Emperor Severus, with this Greek inſcription, ΑΥΓ. Λ. CΕΠΤΙ. CΕΒΗΡΟC. ΠΕΡ. that is, the Emperor Cæſar Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax. And, on the reverſe, an horſeman, with a trophee erected before him, but the letters not legible, ſave under him, ΕΛΑΙΩΝ, that is, of the Elaians, which kind of great pieces the Italians call Medaglioni, and were extraordinary

(23) Apology for Divine Providence, London 1630. fol.

(24) Britannia, Lond. 1607. fol. Tit. Silures.

(25) Additions to Camden as publiſhed in Engliſh by the late Biſhop of London.

(26) Britannia, tranſlated by Dr Philemon Holland.

which he bore with invincible patience, and which brought him gradually to his end, towards the cloſe of the month of April, 1633, when he wanted about a year of his father's age (*l*). His corps was interred in the chancel of his church, at Whitborne, which, with the manor, belongs to the Biſhops of Hereford, and lies about fourteen miles from that city (*m*). He was, as thoſe who lived in his times, and neareſt them, confeſs, and as his writings inconteſtably prove, an admirable writer, and a general ſcholar (*n*). His ſtile in Latin has been highly commended, and never cenſured. In Engliſh, he wrote with great perſpicuity and elegance, always equal to his ſubject, without any of thoſe high-flown metaphors, ſtrained compariſons, or prepoſterous affectations of wit, which disfigure many of the books publiſhed in his time. His learning was ſolid, and ſo was his judgment; yet there was nothing affected in the one, or overbearing in the other; on the contrary, his modeſty is every where conſpicuous, and he is equally tender in cenſure and in panegyrick. Yet his zeal for the Proteſtant religion, as profeſſed by the Church of England, appears every where with a decent warmth; which, as it procured him many enemies amongſt the Puritans and Papiſts, ought to endear his memory to all who have a juſt ſenſe of our religion, and a proper reſpect for that cauſe which he maintained (*o*). As to his private life, though it has received ſome ſevere ſtrictures from a modern pen, on account of the preferments he beſtowed on his children (*p*); yet one of thoſe children has ſufficiently vindicated his character, in the account of it which he gave to Anthony Wood, importing that 'he was eſteemed a good preacher, and a ſtrict liver; but ſo much employed in his ſtudies, and matters of religion, that he was, as it were, a ſtranger to the world, and the things thereof (*q*).' Such a man, how honeſt, how upright ſoever, might be impoſed upon, but not ſeduced. There is however no proof of the former, and it would be very uncharitable to take it for granted, againſt a prelate otherwiſe ſo eminent in every reſpect. If, in the vindication of this good Biſhop's fame, we have expreſſed ſome degree of warmth, let not the reader be diſpleaſed. It would be ſurely unkind to refuſe juſtice to his memory who has preſerved the memories of many, or to ſee unmoved a Prelate, whoſe life was devoted to the reſcuing other men's reputations from oblivion, now when death has rendered him incapable of defending it, unfairly injured in his own. He married, when a young man, the daughter of Dr John Woolton, Biſhop of Exeter (*r*), by whom he had many children; but we can ſpeak with any tolerable degree of certainty of four only, three ſons and a daughter. Thomas Godwin, Vicar of Newland, Rector of Whitborne, Prebendary of Landaff, Prebendary of Bullingham in the cathedral church of Hereford, Chancellor of that dioceſe, and Doctor of Divinity. He died in 1644 (*s*). Morgan Godwin, Bachelor of Arts, of Chriſt-Church, Bachelor of the Civil Law, of Pembroke College, Maſter of the free ſchool at Newland in Glouceſterſhire, Prebendary of Warham, in the cathedral church of Hereford, and Archdeacon of Salop, in the ſame dioceſe; to both which he was collated by his father in 1631 (*t*); and was alſo Doctor of Laws of the univerſity of Dublin, as appears by a petition of his relict to the corporation, for the relief of Miniſter's Widows: he died in 1645, being turned out of every thing during the rebellion, and leaving a widow and five children in ſuch diſtreſſed circumſtaces, that ſhe was conſtrained to apply for that charity, and received it (*u*). Charles Godwin, who was beneficed at Monmouth (*w*). The Biſhop's daughter was married to Dr John Hughes (*x*), Rector of Kingſland, Prebendary of Landaff, Prebendary alſo of Junkabarrow, in the cathedral of Hereford, and archdeacon of Hereford; he died, and was buried in his church at Kingſland, in the year 1648, being then near ſeventy years of age (*y*). Dr Godwin was ſucceeded in his Biſhoprick by Dr William Juxon, Dean of Worceſter; who, before his conſecration, was removed to London. The biſhopric was then beſtowed on Dr Godfrey Goodman, Biſhop of Glouceſter, but he being a ſcrupulous man, and unwilling to take a ſecond biſhopric, waved it; ſo that at length,

(*l*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 583. Hiſtor. & Antiquitates Oxon. lib. ii. p. 273.

(*m*) Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 525.

(*n*) See Camden, Weever, Fuller, Wood, Antiquities of Hereford.

(*o*) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 228, &c.

(*p*) Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 525.

(*q*) Athenæ Oxonienſis, Vol. I. col. 582.

(*r*) Catalogue of Engliſh Biſhops, p. 414.

(*s*) Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 445, 460.

(*t*) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 35. Wood's Athen. Oxonienſis, Vol. I. col. 582.

(*u*) Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 555.

(*w*) Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſis, Vol. I. col. 582.

(*x*) Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 552. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 583.

(*y*) Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 552.

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traordinary coins, not for common uſe, but coined by the emperors, either to be diſtributed by the way of largeſs in triumphs, or to be ſent for tokens to men well deſerving; or elſe by free cities, to the glory and memory of good princes.' We will conclude with a letter from our Prelate to the learned Camden, which will ſhew his candour, his diligence, his communicative diſpoſition, with that warmth of affection and flow of ſincerity which muſt have rendered him amiable while living, and ought to endear his memory to poſterity (27). 'I ſend you here encloſed the copy of an old charter, which myſelf long ſince writ out of the autographum, remaining in the archives of the church of Wells. It ſeemeth to me that you have not hitherto lighted upon it, and I perſwade myſelf that Leland's conceit of naming Wells Theodorodunum had his grounds here. For as Theodoric, by corruption of ſpeech, became Tidder, ſo he might happily think Tiddington to be derived of Theodorici dunum. This name of Theodoricus putteth me in mind of Theodoricus, rex and martyr, that lieth entombed here in our church of Marthern, and gave unto the place the name of Merthir Tendric, that is, the martyrdom of Tendric. His tomb, partly ruinated, I have repaired, and added a memorial or epitaph, the copy whereof I ſend you alſo encloſed. My author for what I have there ſet down, is our book of Landaff, called St Taylor's Book, which I perceive you have not ſeen. It is a very venerable antiquity, and, if ever I come to London again, I will bring it with me, that you may peruſe it if you pleaſe. The church of Exeter hath divers charters of Saxon kings, which methinks it were good you did ſee. If ever you travel that way you ſhall do well to make means for a ſight of them; otherwiſe, I do not think but by the means of my friends, I could in time get them copied for you. If you adviſe me ſo to do I will do my endeavour. You ſee how eaſily I take any occaſion to talk with you, nay rather to you I ſhould ſay. For how often I provoke you to talk to me in

'that

(27) Camdeni Epiſtolæ, p. 109.

length, Dr Auguſtine Lindſell, Biſhop of Peterborough, was tranſlated thither, and confirmed March the 24th, 1633, who was found dead in his ſtudy, November 6, 1634, being a perſon of diſtinguiſhed character for learning and piety (z).

(z) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 583. Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 525, 526.

‘ that your incomparable work no man knoweth that ‘ ſeeth not how much time I ſpend in reading again ‘ and again of the ſame. For it and many other undeſerved kindneſſes I reſt much beholden unto you, ‘ which I wiſh I may one day have means but in part ‘ to requite. In the mean time, with my heartieſt ſalutation, I make an end, committing you to God. ‘ Marthern, May 27, 1608.’

Your very aſſured,
Fr. Landavens.

In all old evidences, not above 300 years, I find it called Marthern, but before that Marthir Tenderic.

E

GOWER [John], or as ſome think with probability enough Sir John, an eminent Engliſh poet, in the XIVth Century, and contemporary with the famous Chaucer. We are told, by the indefatigable Leland, that according to the information he had received, he was of the ancient family of the Gowers of Stitenham, in Yorkſhire (*a*), which Bale repeating (*b*), and after him Pits (*c*), and Fuller (*d*), make him poſitively aſſert, tho' in his own opinion doubtful, and perhaps all circumſtances conſidered, notwithſtanding its being now generally received falſe, or at leaſt improbable [*A*]. But it is very certain that of whatever family he was, he came into the world with great advantages, and had a liberal and extenſive education, tho' we are in the dark as to the places in which he received it. The only thing that can be affirmed of him with certainty, is, that he applied his great abilities both natural and acquired, to the ſtudy of the municipal laws of this kingdom, according to the laudable cuſtom of thoſe times, when gentlemen finiſhed their education in the Inns of Court (*e*). He was a member of the honourable Society of the Inner Temple, and there it was Chaucer found him very eminent and much conſidered in his profeſſion (*f*), and there that ſtrict friendſhip grew between them, which has been ſo much celebrated by other writers, and of which they left ſuch ample teſtimonies themſelves [*B*].

He

(*a*) Leland. Commentar. de Script. Britan. cap. 493, p. 414.

(*b*) Bal. Scriptor. Bryt. Cent. VII. n. 23. p. 524.

(*c*) Pitſ. de illuſtr. Angliæ Scriptoribus, n. 731, p. 575.

(*d*) Fuller's Worthies, Yorkſhire, p. 207.

(*e*) Leland's Commentar. de Scrip. Britan. cap. 493. p. 415.

(*f*) Leland. Bal. Pits.

[*A*] *Falſe, or at leaſt improbable.*] The words of Leland are, ‘ deſcended originally, as I have been told, ‘ from the family ſeated at Stitenham in the county of ‘ York ;’ ex Stitenhamo villa Eboracenſis provinciæ, ut ego accepi originem ducens (1). Fuller gives this paſſage in theſe words, John Gower was born, ſaith Leland, at Stitenham, (in the North Riding in Bulmore Wapentake) of a knightly family (2). Leland does indeed ſay, that he was himſelf a Knight, but nothing of the family ; yet Fuller is not to blame, ſince he wrote not from Leland's work, but from Bale's tranſcript. But we have more concerning our author in another work of Leland. In one place he ſays (3), ‘ The houſe of Gower the Poëte, ſum tyme chief Juge ‘ of the commune place, yet remaynith at Stitenham ‘ yn Yorkſhir, and diverſe of them ſyns have beene ‘ Knightes. There be other of the Gowers thereaboute, men of veri meane landes. There be alſo of ‘ the Gowers men of meane landes in Richemontſhire. ‘ There is alſo a gentilman of landes cawllid Gower ‘ in Wiceſtreſhire.’ According to this account, we ought to entitle him, Sir John Gower, Knight, Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas : yet in another place Leland has this memorandum (4). ‘ Mr Ferrares told ‘ me, that Gower the Juge could not be the man that ‘ write the bookes yn Engliſch For he ſaid that ‘ Gower the Juge was about Edward the ſecundes ‘ tyme.’ We have ſought with ſome care for this Judge Gower, but have not been able to meet with any thing relating to him, either in the reign beforementioned, or any other. It is however highly probable there was a Judge of this name, and not at all improbable that our Poet was the ſame man. That he was not of the family of Stitenham, which is that of the preſent Earl Gower, may be inferred from the wide difference between their arms: thoſe of the Gowers of Stitenham are (5) barry of eight argent and gules over all a croſs flory ſable. Creſt, on a wreath a wolf paſſant argent, collar'd and chained or. But the arms of our poet were (6), argent, a cheveron, azure, the leopard's heads thereon, or, their tongues, gules, two angels ſupporters, and on the creſt a talbot. Weever, a moſt indefatigable man, and perfectly well acquainted with our author's works, aſſerts that he was of a Kentiſh family (7). Yet, in the title-page of the firſt printed edition of the only work of his extant, he is ſaid to be a native (8) of Wales. Leland alſo mentions branches of this family ſettled in many other places (9).

[*B*] *And of which they left ſuch ample teſtimonies themſelves.*] There was a great likeneſs in their tempers, and though Gower was the elder man, yet probably there was not any conſiderable difference between their ages. There is another circumſtance not mentioned by any author, that might very likely contribute to endear them to each other, and that was, their being of the ſame party. Chaucer had addicted himſelf to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter, one of the uncles of King Richard ; and our author, Gower, adhered as ſteadily to Thomas of Woodſtock, Duke of Glouceſter, another of his uncles ; and ſo warm he was in his attachment, that he not only celebrates him often in his poem, hiſtorically and allegorically, but likewiſe directed that his badge, or cognizance of the ſwan, to be annexed to that collar which was the enſign of his dignity, whatever it was, which appeared on the ſtatue placed on his tomb, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter (10). Beſides, John Gower was as much offended with, and cenſured as freely, the vices of the clergy, as Chaucer had done ; and therefore no wonder that they were ſo very intimate, that they conferred together about their works, and that ſometimes they argued warmly with each other without anger, and rallied without pique, of which Leland ſpeaks with ſo much pleaſure, and obſerves, that the only real diſpute between them was, which ſhould honour the other moſt. At the cloſe of his admirable poem of Troilus and Creſſide, Chaucer has theſe words (11),

O moral Gower, this boke I directe
  To the, and to the philoſophicall Strode,
To vouchſafe there nede is for to correcte
  Of your benignities and zelis gode.

In the language of our days, thus,

O moral Gower! this little book I ſend
  To thee, and to the philoſophic Stroud,
Perfect what's right, what's wrong in it amend,
  As friends to me, and furtherers of good.

Gower, on the other hand, in the laſt work he publiſhed, introduces Venus ſpeaking to him, thus (12).

—— Grete well Chaucer, whan ye mete,
As my diſciple and my poete,
For in the flours of his youth,
In ſondrie wiſe, as he well couth

Of

(1) Leland Commentar. de Scriptoribus Britannicis, cap. 493, p. 414.

(2) Fuller's Worthies of England, Yorkſhire, p. 207.

(3) Leland's Itinerary, Vol. VI. fol. 15.

(4) Id. ibid. fol. 61.

(5) Collin's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 244.

(6) Aſhmole's Theatrum Chemicum, p. 486.

(7) Weever's Ancient Funeral Monuments. p. 270.

(8) T. Barthelette's Edition of the Confeſſio Amantis, A. D. 1532. Fol. ſee alſo the Article CAXTON, Note [O].

(9) Leland's Itinerary, Vol. VI. fol. 15.

(10) Anſtis's Regiſter of the Order of the Garter, Vol. I. p. 116.

(11) Chaucer's Works, by Urry, p. 333.

(12) T. Barthelette's edition of the Confeſſio Amantis, A. D. 1532. fol. 190.

He was ſingularly learned, whether we reſpect words or things, and had a great genius for poetry, in which he ſought to accommodate the ſevereſt ſentiments to the ſweeteſt language. He tried this (according to the notions of thoſe times) with ſucceſs, in the French tongue. This led him to attempt imitating Ovid with more pains than profit (*g*), (ſays Leland) which has been excuſed at the expence of the age in which he lived, as being at leaſt half barbarous in the ſentiments of the critics; but perhaps it would be more juſt to conſider, how little the matter ſuited with the manner, and that thoſe works of Ovid, in which he ſhews himſelf moſt learned and wiſe, are not the moſt eſteemed. This however had a good effect, for it induced him to try what could be done in his own language, in which he acquitted himſelf harmoniouſly and happily. All theſe three pieces which make the bulk of his works have a connection with, and a dependance on, each other, ſo as to appear manifeſtly efforts of the ſame genius. But theſe writings did not at all interrupt, much leſs take from the reputation of his graver ſtudies (*h*). On the contrary they heightened his character extremely, and with good reaſon, as they not only ſhewed he had eſcaped the infection of thoſe luxurious times, but had alſo the courage and virtue to attempt ſtemming the tide of corruption, by taking the only method left, of inſtilling principles of morality and good ſenſe, in the garb of pleaſant tales. This accounts likewiſe for his perſiſting in this ſtile of writing, as knowing this alone in that wild and wanton age could procure him a hearing, which it did, and he was eſteemed for his knowledge and integrity, even by thoſe who had no great inclination to imitate either, which however has been the cauſe, that all theſe pieces, either in print or manuſcript, have been preſerved to our days (*i*) [*C*]. He was known to and admired by King

(*g*) Commentar. de Script. Britan. cap. 493, p. 41.

(*h*) Leland, Bale, Pits, Holinſhed, Stowe, &c.

(*i*) Chiefly in the Cotton and Bodleian Libraries.

Of detees, and of ſonges glade,
The which he for my ſake made,
The londe fulfilled is over all;
Whereof to him in ſpeciall
Above all other I am moſt holde.
For thy nowe in his daies olde
Thou ſhalt hym tell this meſſage,
That he upon his later age,
To ſette an ende of all his werke,
As he whiche is myn owne clerke,
Do make his *teſtament of Love*,
As thou haſt done thy ſhrifte above,
So that my courte it may recorde.

The ſenſe in modern Engliſh.

Greet Chaucer when you him next ſee,
My pupil and my poet he,
Who in his youth fit age for ſong,
Of tales and ditties ſweet a throng,
Made for my ſake, and with his lays
Through all this iſland ſpread my praiſe,
For which, as merit ſtill ſhould riſe,
Him beyond other bards I prize.
But now his ſilver locks appear,
To him from me this meſſage bear;
That as my own eſpecial clerk,
Of Genius th' expiring ſpark,
Shall breathe his *teſtament of love*;
As thou haſt done thy † ſhrift above.

† The Engliſh of *Confeſſio Amantis*. See the Article CHAUCER.

[*C*] *Have been preſerved to our days.*] The firſt of theſe works, intitled *Speculum Meditantis*, of which there are two copies in the Bodleian Library, is written in French, in ten books (13). The title at large runs thus,

(13) NE. F. 8, 9. Fairfax, 3.

I. 'Un traitteé, ſelonc les auctours, pour enſampler 'les amants marietz, au fin qils la foy de lour ſeints 'eſpouſailles, pourront per fine loyalte guarder, & al 'honeur de Dieu ſalvement tener.' Pr. *Le creature de tout creature*. Which has been rendered, A treatiſe, exhorting, by examples drawn from many authors, married perſons joined through love, to keep the faith of their holy eſpouſals with ſteady loyalty, and to the honour of God to hold themſelves chaſte. Beginning, *The creature of all creatures*. It does not appear that either Bale or Pits had ever ſeen this piece, and John Stowe, who had a fair manuſcript of that treatiſe of which we are next to ſpeak, had never ſeen this (14).

(14) Annals, p. 326.

II. *Vox Clamantis*, in Latin verſe, comprized in ſeven books. There is a copy likewiſe of this in the Bodleian Library, and more than one in that of All Souls College (15); it is alſo much more frequent in private hands This is a kind of chronicle or hiſtory of the inſurrection of the commons, in the reign of Richard II. The reader perhaps will be pleaſed to ſee a ſpecimen of this work, but he muſt excuſe us from a tranſlation, which would be very difficult if not impoſſible. It is the poet's viſion, in the eleventh chapter of the firſt book.

(15) MS. Bodl. Laud. F. 24. Digby. vii. 138. in Coll. Omn. Animarum, 26.

Watte vocat, cui Thomæ venit neque Symme retardat,
Betteque Gibbe ſimul Hykke venire jubent.
Colle furit, quem Gibbe juvat nocumenta parantes,
Cum quibus ad dampnum Wille coire vovet.
Grigge rapit, dum Dawe ſtrepit, comes eſt quibus Hobbe
Lorkin & in medio non minor eſſe putat.
Hudde ferit quos Judde terit, dum Tebbe juvatur
Jakke domos que viros vellit & enſe necat,
Hogge ſuam pompam vibrat, dum ſe putat omni
Majorem Rege nobilitatem fore.
Balle propheta docet quem ſpiritus ante malignus
Edocuitque ſua tunc fuit alta ſchola.
Talia, que plures furias per nomina novi,
Que fuerant alia pauca recordor ego.
Sepius exclamant monſtrorum vocibus altis,
Atque modis variis dant variare tonos.
Quidam ſternutant Aſynorum more ferino;
Mugitus quidam perſonuere boum.
Quidam porcorum grunnitus horridiores
Emittuntque, ſuo murmure terra tremit.
Frendet aper ſpumans magnos facit atque tumultus,
Et queritat verres auget & ipſe ſonos.
Latratuſque ferus urbis compreſſerat auras
Dum Canum diſcors vox furibunda volat.
Vulpis egens ululat, lupus & verſutus in altum
Conclamat, que ſuos convocat ipſe pares.
Nec minus in ſonitu concuſſit garrulus anſer
Aures, que ſubito foſſa dolore pavent.
Rombuant vaſpe ſonus eſt horrendus eorum,
Nullus et examen dinumerare poteſt.
Conclamant pariter hirſuti more leonis,
Omne que fit peius quod fuit ante malum.
Ecce rudis clangor, ſonus altus fedaque rixa,
Vox ita terribilis non fuit ulla prius.
Murmure ſaxa ſonant, ſonitumque reverberat aër,
Reſponſumque ſoni vendicat Eccho ſibi.
Inde fragore gravis ſtrepitus loca propria terret,
Quo timet eventum quiſquis adire malum.

King Richard, at whoſe requeſt he wrote the laſt of his principal works, this appears from the prologue, wherein he relates the occaſion, but in the firſt printed copies it was altered, and inſcribed to Henry of Lancaſter. One would imagine this was done by ſome other hand, and to accommodate things to the times, when the houſe of Lancaſter was in quiet poſſeſſion of the Throne; but however, it is at leaſt as probable, that he might alter his own book, after the coming in of Henry IV. to whom beyond queſtion he was very highly devoted. The author of the life of Chaucer (*k*), and the plain ſpoken Thomas Hearne (*l*), blame him exceedingly for his conduct in this reſpect, and for his attacking the character of his old maſter Richard, very ſeverely, on purpoſe to court the party of the houſe of Lancaſter, when they became triumphant [*D*]. But it may be, and indeed is, more

(*k*) Prefixed to the worthy Mr Urry's excellent edition of his Work.

(*l*) Hiſtoria vitæ & regni Ric. II. in Præfat. p. xiv, xv.

Terruerat magnas nimio pre turbine gentes
  Graculus a cuius nomine terra tremit.
Rumor it, & proceres ſermonibus occupat omnes
  Conſilium ſapiens nec ſapientis erat.
Caſus inauditus ſtupefactas ponderat aures
  Et venit ad ſenſus dures ab aure pavor:
Attemptant medicare ſed immedicabile dampnum
  Abſque manu medici curaque ceſſit ibi.

In the Cotton Library there is a very correct manuſcript of this work, with the title at large (16), viz. *Johannis Gouer Chronica, quæ Vox* Clamantis *dicitur, ſive Poema de* Inſurrectione Ruſticorum *contra ingenuos & nobiles, tempore Regis* Richardi II. *& de Cauſis ex quibus talia contingunt Enormia: libris ſeptem.* That is, 'The Chronicle of John Gower, commonly called '*Vox Clamantis*, the voice of one crying in the wilderneſs; or, a Poem on the inſurrection of the clowns 'againſt the gentry and nobility, in the time of King 'Richard II. and of the cauſes that gave riſe to thoſe 'enormous actions.' But there is yet a fairer and more beautiful manuſcript at Oxford, with an epiſtle in Latin verſe prefixed, which is thus addreſſed (17), 'Hanc 'epiſtolam ſubſcriptam corde devoto, miſit ſenex & caecus *Johannes Gower*, reverendiſſimo in Chriſto patri 'ac domino ſuo principio *D. Thomæ Arundell* Cantuar. 'Archiepiſcopo, &c. Pr. *Succeſſor* Thomæ, Thomas '*humilem tibi do me.*' It clearly appears from hence, that this was no dedication of the original work, but of a kind of ſecond edition, when he joined to it ſome other hiſtorical pieces, and being written, as himſelf ſays, when he was old and blind, might very probably be one of the laſt things he ever penned, or rather dictated.

(16) Tiberius, A. iv. 1.

(17) MS. Oxon. in Coll. Omn. Animarum, 26.

III. CONFESSIO AMANTIS, in eight books in Engliſh verſe. This was printed at Weſtminſter by Caxton, 1493 *. The ſecond edition bears the following title, *Jo. Gower de* Confeſſione Amantis. *Imprinted at* London *in Fleet Street, by* Thomas Barthelette, *Printer to the King's Grace*, Ann. 1532, *cum privilegio.* Again, Anno Domini 1544. and a third time, Anno Domini 1554. It is in the title page of the firſt edition printed by Barthelette, that Gower is ſaid to be a native of Wales. There is likewiſe a dedication prefixed to Henry VIII. in which are many things ſaid to the honour of Gower; but we have no room to repeat them here, though a paragraph or two will appear in another place (18). This performance is a kind of poetical ſyſtem of Morality, interſperſed with weighty ſentences, excellent maxims, and ſhrewd ſayings; but far the greateſt part compoſed of pleaſant ſtories happily introduced, as inſtances or examples in ſupport of the virtuous doctrine delivered. The ſeventh book contains an abridgment of Ariſtotle's Philoſophy, from whence he takes occaſion to give the King a great deal of good advice, and that upon very delicate ſubjects, with much dignity and freedom.

* See a curious account of this edition in the Article CAXTON [WILLIAM] Note [O].

(18) See Note [K].

[*D*] *When they became triumphant.*] The firſt who fell upon our author was a reverend Prelate, whoſe inclination to a coarſe kind of raillery, might have been ſhewn almoſt any where with greater propriety than in the work (19) from which the following quotation is taken. 'Richard the ſecond's good ſucceſs in Ireland 'was ſo far outbalanced by the other (more unlucky) 'adventures of his reign, that I have not heard of any 'who have thought it worth their while to write his 'life, except only a poor Knight of John Pits creation. That author ſays, that one Sir John Gower, a 'Yorkſhire Knight, and contemporary with the famous 'Chaucer, died in the year 1402, leaving behind him 'a deal of monuments of his learning, and, amongſt 'the reſt, a Latin chronicle of King Richard II. 'There was indeed one Mr John Gower, a noted Poet, who lived about the time he mentions. This 'witty perſon took the liberty that has always been 'allowed to men of his profeſſion, to make free with 'his prince; and Mr Stowe, or his continuer Howes, 'has done him the honour to tranſlate the elegy he 'made on this king's untimely death.' It is not eaſy to diſcover what is this great critic's meaning, but aſſuredly no great fame will reſult to him from theſe remarks. He might have been informed, that, in the Cotton Library, there were two manuſcripts of another hiſtory of this reign, written by a monk of Eveſham; and, indeed, notwithſtanding what he aſſerts here, he mentions them tho' but very ſlightly in the ſame article. But, as this hiſtory is very ſhort, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of it preſently, and it will then appear to be a conſiderable work. That our author was a *poor Knight* of Pits creation is not true, ſince Leland expreſsly affirms, and ſome other writers alſo, that he was a Knight; and his rebuilding part of the church of St Mary Overs, ſhews that he was not poor. His cenſure, as to the liberties taken by poets, might have been well enough applied, if Gower had been famous for ſatire and invective; but when it is known that he was a great and grave lawyer as well as a poet, and that in the latter character he had eſtabliſhed it as his ſurname, the *moral Gower*, it becomes abſurd and ridiculous. As to his verſes on the death of King Richard, the reader ſhall have them before we part, and judge for himſelf. The author of the life of Chaucer, ſpeaking of Gower, ſays, 'that he was a man of ſingular learning and great 'piety, but much given to change with the turns of 'ſtate.' This had been liable to no exception; but afterwards, commending Chaucer for not trampling upon his maſter's memory, and baſely flattering the new king, he adds (20), 'As moſt of his contemporaries did, and 'particularly Gower, who, notwithſtanding the obligations he had to Richard II. yet when old, blind, and 'paſt any hopes of honour or advantage, unleſs the view 'of keeping what he enjoyed, baſely inſulted the memory of his murthered maſter, and as ignominiouſly 'flattered his murtherer.' He has a note to explain this, in which one would have thought theſe obligations had been brought to light; but they amount to no more than the King's calling him into his barge, and requeſting him to write a book, which he accordingly performed, and therein laid before him very honeſtly the luxury that prevailed in his court, the irreligious lives of his clergy, the danger of liſtening to flatterers, the wickedneſs of corrupt judges, and the uncertainty of human glory and happineſs, even in the moſt exalted ſtates. Mr Hearne, in his preface to the life of King Richard by the monk of Eveſham, acquaints the reader, that the reaſon why he did not annex what our author, Gower, had written concerning this king, was owing to the account he had received of his having treated this monarch's memory ill, and having ſpoke with equal freedom of the clergy; and for theſe cauſes he is for leaving his writings in laſting obſcurity, as not deſerving a better fate. But, at the ſame time, he does all imaginable juſtice to his character as a polite writer, allows him to have been, after Chaucer, the beſt poet of his time, and applauds the noble ſentiments that diſtinguiſh his writings. But it may be, he would have altered his ſentiments with reſpect to ſtifling his writings, if he had either come to London to peruſe them, or had cauſed them to be tranſcribed

(19) Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 81.

(20) Life of Chaucer prefix'd to Urry's edition of that Poet's Works.

more like to be the truth, that our author was ever averſe to King Richard's adminiſtration, in conſequence of his ſteady attachment to Thomas of Woodſtock Duke of Glouceſter, whoſe cruel murder at Calais, he has lamented in a very affecting manner (*m*). It is undoubtedly a very atrocious breach of the laws of honour and charity, as well as of hiſtory, to inſult the memory of the vanquiſhed, or to give implicit credit to whatever has been charged upon them, to juſtify their ill-uſage. But, on the other hand, it is ridiculous to eſpouſe parties in ancient hiſtory, and to fancy we have a right to condemn to perpetual oblivion, the writings of ſuch hiſtorians, as have repreſented things in a light different from that, in which we would incline to place them. This humour is contrary to that zeal for truth, which is the characteriſtic of an honeſt hiſtorian, who thinks himſelf obliged to publiſh fairly what has come to his hands, on every ſide, without declaring for any. After the depoſition of Richard, and the acceſſion of Henry IV. our author added ſeveral hiſtorical peices to his Vox Clamantis, which are thoſe that have given offence, and drawn upon him heavy imputations, tho' it does not at all appear, he uſed the character of that unfortunate monarch, worſe than other writers have done (*n*) [*E*]. He compoſed alſo many other pieces, which are mentioned by Bale and Pits, and

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tranſcribed for his uſe ; he would then have ſeen that much perſonal hiſtory might be extracted from them, ſuch as of Simon Sudbury, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was murthered in the inſurrection of the clowns ; Thomas Plantagenet, Duke of Glouceſter ; Humfrey, Earl of Buckingham, and others. Yet in another place (21) we ſhall ſee he publiſhed pieces which juſtify what J. Gower has written.

[*E*] *Worſe than other writers have done.*] Theſe that are to be mentioned in this note are ſeveral ſmall hiſtorical pieces, of which copies are extant in ſeveral libraries (22). *Chronicon* Ricardi *ſecundi, lib.* III. 'Opus humanum eſt inquirere.' This is in effect no more than marginal notes upon, or principal heads of, the enſuing piece (23). *Chronica tripartita de depoſitione R.* Richardi II. & *Coronatione R.* Henrici IV. *tribus partibus* ; that is, a Chronicle of the depoſition of King Richard II. and the coronation of King Henry IV. in three parts. 'Iſta tripartita ſequitur quæ 'mente petita., 'Pr. l. Tolle caput mundi C. ter & 'ſeq.' He aſſerts in this chronicle (24), that the king being informed that the noblemen who had taken up arms for his reſtoration had been ſubdued and put to death, took it ſo much to heart that he refuſed all nouriſhment, and died of voluntary famine in the caſtle of Pontefract, which is contrary to what is aſſerted by moſt of our hiſtorians, ſome of whom report that his table was ſerved in a royal manner, but that he was reſtrained from eating or drinking any part of what was ſet thereon. Others, that he was murthered by Sir Peter of Exeter, accompanied by eight ruffians, againſt whom he gallantly defended himſelf, and ſlew ſome of the aſſaſſins. We find our author's account of this unhappy monarch's death expreſly confirmed by Thomas Otterbourne, a Franciſcan or grey friar (25), who flouriſhed in his time. 'Richard, the depoſed 'king of England, ſays he, being kept cloſe priſoner 'in the caſtle of Pontefract, when he heard of the 'misfortune of his brother John Holland, and the reſt 'of his friends, fell into ſo deep a melancholy that 'he reſolved to deſtroy himſelf by abſtinence ; and 'in this he perſiſted ſo long, that the orifice of his ſtomach cloſed in ſuch a manner, that when overcome by the intreaties of thoſe about him, he at 'length attempted to take nouriſhment, it proved too 'late ; ſo that, being unable to eat, and nature gradually decaying, he breathed his laſt on St Valentine's day.' John Rous, the antiquary of Warwick, who flouriſhed in the next age, tells us (26), that the hapleſs King Richard was hurried about from one priſon to another, 'till at length, ſays he, it is reported, he died of hunger at Pontefract. Tunc rex Ricardus amotus eſt de carcere in carcerem. Tandem apud Pontem fractum in carcere pro fame obiit ut dicitur. This is a full juſtification of our author, and, at the ſame time, a proof that there is not ſuch a deficiency of materials for writing the ſtory of this reign, as ſome have repreſented. In this chronicle alſo thoſe verſes occur which Stowe has in part tranſlated. They are in truth but very poor ones, but this is principally owing to the vice of the age, which had ſtamped a credit upon theſe tinkling trifles, and our Gower was not the only ſenſible man, that for this reaſon was content to comply with the vulgar taſte.

Cronica Richardi qui ſceptra tulit Leopardi
Ut patet eſt dicta, populo ſed non benedicta
Ut ſpeculum mundi quo lux nequit ulla refundi,
Sic vacuus tranſit, ſibi nil niſi culpa remanſit,
Unde ſuperbus erat, modo ſi preconia querat.
Ejus honor ſordet, laus culpat, gloria mordet :
Hoc concernentes caveant que ſunt ſapientes ;
Nam male viventes Dens odit in orbe regentes :
Eſt qui peccator non eſſe poteſt dominator,
Ricardo teſte finis probat hoc manifeſte :
Poſt ſua demerita periit ſua pompa ſapita
  Qualis erat vita cronica ſtabit ita.

Which has been thus tranſlated.

The reign of Richard, who the ſceptre bore,
Of England's monarchs, not as heretofore
With ſpotleſs honour, for though crowds proclaim
His deeds, yet from thoſe deeds reſult no fame.
He's gone, and of his greatneſs all we find,
The mem'ry of his faults is left behind,
His honour ſoil'd, his praiſe to cenſure turn'd,
And all his claim to royal glory ſcorn'd.
Be this a warning unto thoſe who rule,
If wiſe, they 'll learn in Providence's ſchool,
Thoſe who live ill, Heav'n meant not to command,
Or ſpread their vile examples through the land.
The fate of Richard, hapleſs hopeleſs youth,
Proves, but too plainly, this important truth.
Like to his life a doom he juſtly ſhares,
And what that life this chronicle declares.

De Rege Henrico IV. *lib.* I. (27). 'Rex cœli Deus '& Dominus qui tempora ſolus.' *Ad eundem, lib.* I. 'O recolende bone pie rex Henrice patrone.' *Carmen de pacis commendatione in laudem Henr.* IV. (28). Nobilis ac digne rex Henrice. *In Engliſh*, O noble worthy King Henry the fearth. This is printed in Chaucer's works (29), and the three firſt ſtanza's are ſo clear in themſelves, the language with ſo little difficulty to be underſtood, the ſenſe ſo ſtrong and ſo ſignificative of his ſkill in both profeſſions of lawyer and of poet, that we may with reaſon intreat the reader's attention, in order to eſtabliſh from them the reputation of John Gower.

I.

O noble worthie King Henrie the ferth,
  In whom the gladde fortune is befall
The peple to governe here upon yerth,
  God hath The choſen in comfort of us all,
  The worſhip of this land which was doun fal,
    Now ſtant upright through grace of thy godeneſſe,
    Which every man is hold for to bleſſe.

II.

(*m*) Vox Clamantis, & Chron. Tripartita, in Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius, A. 4.

(*n*) Vide Th. Walſingham, Th. Otterbourne, Johan. Roſs, &c.

(21) See the next Note.

(22) MSS. in Biblioth. Cotton. Otho. D. i. 4.

(23) MS. in Bib. Cotton. Tiberius, A. iv. Otho. D. i. 4.

(24) Lelandi Collectanea, Vol. iii. p. 367.

(25) Chronica Regum Angliæ, p. 228, 229.

(26) J. Roſſi, Hiſtoria Regum Angliæ, p. 206.

(27) Bibl. Cotton. Otho. D. i. 4.

(28) Ibid. Tiberius. A. iv. 4.

(29) In Urry's edition, p. 540.

and ſome likewiſe, that neither of thoſe inquiſitive writers have ſeen, and which are ſtill remaining, ſome in publick, and ſome in private libraries. Theſe ſhew him to have been a perſon of great integrity and true piety. One who placed religion in actions not in ceremonies, and who laboured to convince mankind, that virtuous deeds were not more ſuitable to honour than to intereſt. It muſt be acknowledged, that his thoughts are now more to be valued than his expreſſion; but, as Leland well obſerves, even his expreſſion is equal, if not ſuperior, to any of thoſe who attempted Latin poeſy in his time (o), and if in ſucceeding ages he and they have been far excelled, yet this could ſcarce have happened if theſe writers had not preſerved a taſte, tho' a bad one, for Latin poetry. Yet in point of learning he had few equals, ſince if we conſider the authors quoted or alluded to by him, and the ſcience, which tho' ſometimes with impropriety lies ſcattered thro' his treatiſe, we ſhall be obliged to confeſs, the harſh epithets beſtowed on this age are rather rude than juſt. True it is, that in point of faſhion they are now uſeleſs, but this abates nothing of their intrinſick value, and tho' they may not be fit to ſtand with modern compoſitions, thro' their want of elegance, yet they deſerve to be ſtill kept and viſited, ſometimes as monuments of the progreſs of good ſenſe thro' former ages, and evidence that in ſeaſons of the moſt diſſolute luxury (as thoſe in which he flouriſhed undoubtedly were) there wanted not a remnant of honeſt and ſtout men, who durſt oppoſe a debauched nobility, a voluptuous clergy, complying judges, and a corrupted people. In this point of view perhaps they were not uſeleſs examples to ſucceeding times (p) [F].

He

II.

The moſt high God of his Juſtice alone
The right whiche longith to thy regalie
Declarid hath to ſtande in thy perſone,
And more then God maie no man juſtifie,
Thy title is knowe upon thyne anceſtrie,
The land'is folk hath eke thy right affirmed,
So ſtant thy reigne, of God and man confirmed.

III.

There is no man maie ſaie in othirwiſe,
That God hymſelf ne hath the right declared,
Whereof the lande is bounde to thy ſervice,
Whiche for defaute of helpe hath long yeared,
But now there is no mann'is herte ſpared,
To love and ſerve, and worchin thy pleſaunce,
And all this is through God'is purveiaunce.

At the cloſe of this poem, according to the cuſtom of Gower, who ſeldom wrote in Engliſh without recapitulating his thoughts in Latin, we find the following remarkable lines, in which he ſeems to take his leave of the Muſes and of the world.

Explicit carmen, de Pacis Commendatione, quod, ad laudem & memoriam ſereniſſimi principis domini regis Henrici quarti, ſuus humilis orator Johannes Gower compoſuit.

Electus Chriſti pie Rex Henrici fuiſti,
Qui bene veniſti, cum propria regna petiſti,
Tu mala viciſtique bonis bona reſtituiſti,
Et populo triſti nova gaudia contribuiſti.
Et mihi ſpes lata, quod adhuc per te renovata
Succedunt fata priſca probitate beata,
Eſt tibi nam grata gratia ſponte data.
Henrici quarti primus regni fuit annus,
Quo mihi defecit viſus ad acta mea.
Omnia tempus habent, finem natura miniſtrat,
Quem virtute ſua frangere nemo poteſt.
Ultra poſſe nihil, quamvis mihi velle remanſit,
Amplius ut ſcribam non mihi poſſe manet.
Dum potui ſcripſi, ſed nunc quia curva ſenectus
Turbavit ſenſus, ſcripta relinquo ſcholis.
Scribat, qui veniet poſt me, diſcretior alter,
Ammodo namque manus & mea penna ſilent,
Hoc tamen in finem verborum quæſo meorum
Proſpera quod ſtatuat regna futura Deus.
Explicit.

In Engliſh thus.

Here ends the Poem of the Commendation of Peace, which his humble Orator John Gower, compoſed; in honor and to preſerve the fame of his ſerene Soveraign Lord King Henry IV.

Choſen of Chriſt, thou pious King wer't known,
And wellcome met, when claiming of thy own;
The Bad ſubdued, the Good to rights reſtor'd,
To the ſad realm, you ſpringing joys afford.
To me, great prince, thy hand benign and kind,
Return'd whate'er my better day aſſign'd;
Let me record this act with chearful lay,
And the great good, with grateful thanks repay.

Henry the fourth's firſt year, I loſt my ſight,
Condemn'd to ſuffer life, devoid of light.

All things in time ſubmit, and nature draws
What force attempts in vain, beneath her laws.
More I cannot, what tho' my will ſupplies,
My ebbing ſtrength all future pow'r denies.
While that remain'd I wrote, now old and weak,
What wiſdom dictates let young ſcholars ſpeak.
Let him who follows, be ſublimer ſtill,
My works are finiſh'd, here I drop my quil.
My parting words, may heavenly goodneſs laſt,
And times enſuing much excel the paſt.

[F] *They were not uſeleſs examples to ſucceeding times.*] The moſt effectual way to demonſtrate the truth of what is aſſerted in the text, is to give the reader one of his tales, and to render it more legible, at leaſt if not more entertaining, to throw it into modern language. In order however to comprehend its full force, we muſt conſider to whom it was directed, and for whoſe uſe it was written. Richard the ſecond was a young prince, not more amiable in his perſon, which was the moſt handſome ever graced the Engliſh throne, than in the qualities of his mind. He was in himſelf gentle, generous, and good, and yet a worſe reign than his does not deform the Engliſh ſtory. This was owing to the pliancy of his nature, if he had ruled himſelf he had ruled well; but being ruled by others, or rather ſuffering them to rule in his name, he paid the forfeit of their faults, and loſt his crown and life for want of having fortitude enough to reſiſt his favourites. To this prince, in this ſituation, John Gower, amongſt many others of the like nature, addreſſes this ſtory (30).

In

(o) Commentar. de Script. Britan. cap. 493. Bal. & Pits, ubi ſupra.

(p) De Confeſſione Amantis.

(30) Confeſſio Amantis, lib. VII. fol. CXLV.

He wrote alſo many other little diſcourſes on religious and moral ſubjects, which poſſibly, if drawn out of the duſt and cobwebs, with which they are oppreſſed, might pay us with ſome

In a Cronike it telleth thus,
The Kynge of Rome Lucius,
Within his chambre upon a night,
The ſtewarde of his hous a Knight,
Forthwith his Chamberleine alſo,
To councelle had both two,
And ſtoden by thy chymnee,
To gather ſpekende all thre.
And hapneth that the Kynges foole
Sat by the fire upon a ſtole,
As he that with his bable plaide,
But yet he herde all that thei ſaide,
And thereof toke thei no hede.
The Kynge hem axeth what to rede,
Of ſuche matere as cam to mouth
And thei him tolde, as thei couth, &c.

In modern language thus.

In Rome when LUCIUS bore the ſway,
It happ'd, ſo ancient ſtories ſay,
One evening 'ere he went to bed,
To eaſe of all his cares his head,
He call'd his ſteward, a doughty Knight,
That he might counſel what was right.
With 's Chamberlain, a lord of parts,
Deep ſkill'd in all the courtly arts;
And by the chimney as they ſtood,
They freely talk'd as they thought good.
Before the fire upon a ſtool,
Cloſe by them ſat the monarch's fool.
And as he with his bauble play'd,
He heard right well what 'ere they ſaid.
The King his various doubts propoſ'd,
And they at will their thoughts diſclos'd.

When many queſtions thus had paſt,
The King demanded at the laſt,
What with his people was his fame,
And if rever'd or ſcorn'd his name?
Bid them the truth to him declare,
And tell him all things as they were.
On their allegiance—without awe
Or dread that they might anger draw.
Since 'twas his will as tongues will walk,
To know the common peoples talk.

The ſteward in anſwer told the King,
(As palace nightingales ſtill ſing)
That far and wide, as he could hear,
His majeſty to all was dear.
That all his actions were admired,
And his long reign by all deſired;
In this that high and low agreed,
Hoping that Heaven had ſo decreed.
Thus ſpoke the ſteward, and all he ſpoke
Was flat'ry dreſs'd in falſehood's cloak.

Next turning to his Chamberlain,
The King required in language plain;
That he would tell him all he knew,
Nor heed th' event ſo it was true.

His Chamberlain a ſubtile man,
Who could both truth and int'reſt ſcan.
Perceiving by the monarch's brow,
He really meant the truth to know.
Firſt bowing low——My liege, ſaid he,
Your ſubjects high and low agree,
That if your Council were but true,
And you things fairly from them knew;
In ev'ry point thus underſtood,
You would be gracious, great, and good.
For well they know your princely nature,
Heav'n never form'd a better creature!

A gleam of truth he thus reveal'd,
Behind a cloud of words conceal'd.
Hinted at what he would not name,
And on the Council laid the blame.

The fool who heard what both had told,
And in the cauſe of Truth more bold.
Or elſe, which ſurely was the caſe,
Prompted thereto by heav'nly grace,
Firſt ſigh'd as he his lungs had torn,
Then laugh'd the courtiers both to ſcorn.

Sir King, ſaid he, if ſo it was,
As this wiſe lord has put the caſe,
Be ſure your Council have done right,
To pleaſe is always their delight.
From them if ill advice be had,
It is becauſe the King is bad.
Take not on truſt——if you would find,
The truth——go look it in your mind.

The monarch paus'd, amaz'd to hear
Language ſo foreign to his ear;
Began to weigh the golden rule,
And took the counſel of his fool.
Conſcience ſtood ready at his call,
And as he aſk'd——It anſwered all.
He quickly felt the good of this,
Diſcern'd what 'ere h'd done amiſs.
He ſaw nor ſtarted at the ſight,
Reſolving ſoon to ſet things right.
And thus by Providence inſpired,
The FOOL wrought what the KING deſired.

The weak, the wanton, and the wild,
Were from the monarch's court exil'd.
The grave, the gen'rous, and the good,
Before the King in office ſtood.
By them adviſ'd he thought no ill,
He did no wrong, yet did his will.

Bad laws were preſently amended,
Wiſely the public wealth expended.
All injuries were clean redreſſed,
The people were no more oppreſſed.
For where a King is good and wiſe,
None dare to give him bad advice.
His meaſures too ſo deeply plann'd,
Are executed out of hand.
His people bleſs their prince's name,
And foreign realms repeat his fame.

But if the common people cry,
And their proud monarch aſk not why?
Or told refuſes to redreſs,
And make unnumber'd burthens leſs.

ſome diſcoveries of an hiſtorical nature, for he knew the force of example, and commonly illuſtrated his precepts by having recourſe to antient or modern hiſtory. At all events they would add to thoſe wiſe, and weighty inſtructions, that abound in his other treatiſes, and gained him ſuch high reverence in his own, and in the age ſucceeding his own, and which has ſecured them, tho' unprinted, againſt the teeth of time, and thoſe viciſſitudes, to which letters, as well as every other thing in this country has been liable. But 'till they are enſured againſt oblivion by the preſs, let us do our duty to his memory, and to poſterity, by ſecuring their titles, and indicating where the pieces themſelves remain [*G*]. He was much reſpected, and a very conſiderable man in his profeſſion, but whether a Judge or no, is not now to be determined. He lived to a great age, and in the firſt year of Henry IV. loſt his eye-ſight, which, as the reader has already ſeen, he lamented very pathetically, which induced Leland to quote thoſe verſes in the ſhort memoirs he has left us of his life (*q*). His circumſtances were eaſy, or rather affluent, which enabled him, as his pious charity induced him to undertake, and Providence allowed him to finiſh, the rebuilding at his own expence, and with contributions which his influence procured, the church of the convent of St Mary Overie, which had lain for many years in ruins, to which with a great part of Southwark, it was reduced by a fire, in the beginning of the XIIIth Century (*r*). On this account when full of years, and covered with glory he breathed his laſt, A. D. 1402 (*s*), his remains were enterred here under a ſumptuous tomb, inriched with various ornaments, as we have mentioned at the bottom of the page [*H*].

Married

Or careleſs ſeeks in ſports and play,
To paſs the jocund hours away.
Tho' hunger, penury, and toil,
Afflict his ſubjects all the while,
Their fate at length becomes his own,
As from examples may be ſhewn.

[*G*] *And indicating where the pieces themſelves remain.*] Theſe pieces of our author are of different ſizes, ſome very ſhort, none of any conſiderable length; ſo that if any votary to learning in that univerſity, where moſt of them are to be found, would cauſe them to be tranſcribed, collated, and printed, the lovers of Engliſh hiſtory, and Engliſh literature, would be under great obligations to him. In the mean time their titles are theſe.

De peſte vitiorum, lib. I. (31). ' Non excuſatur qui verum non fateatur.'

Tractatus de lucis ſcrutinio quam vitiorum tenebræ ſuffocarunt, lib. I. (32). ' Heu quia per crebras humus eſt vitiata tenebras.'

De Conjugii dignitate, lib. I (33). ' Qualiter creator omnium rerum Deus.'

De Regimine principum, lib. I. (34). ' O Deus immenſe ſub quo dominatur.'

Epigrammata quædam, lib. I. (35). ' Alta petens aquila volat alitque.'

De amoris varietate, lib. I. (36). ' Eſt amor in gloria pax bellica lis pretioſæ.'

Carmina diverſa, lib. I. (37).

De Remediis contra vitia ſui temporis (38). A. 20. Ric II.

Contra dæmonis aſtutiam in cauſa Lollardiæ (39). ' Quod patet limen inſtanti tempore crimen.'

Contra mentis ſævitiam in cauſa ſuperbiæ (40). ' Deficit in verbo ſenſus.'

Contra carnis laſciviam in cauſa concupiſcentiæ (41). ' O ſexus fragilis ex quo.'

Contra mundi fallaciam in cauſa perjurii & avaritiæ (42). ' Sunt duo cognati.'

A balade morale of gode counſeyle (43). ' Paſſe forthe thou pilgryme, and bridel wele thy beeſte.'

Some ſhort poems of his are printed amongſt thoſe of Chaucer, and there were many more annexed to the firſt edition of his book De Confeſſione Amantis. Some have added to theſe treatiſes, one upon the philoſophers ſtone, which however, is not a diſtinct work, but is taken out of the fourth book of his printed volume, and transferred by Mr Aſhmole into his collection (44), under the title of ' John Gower ' *concerning the philoſophers ſtone*,' and with great propriety, for of all the old poets, that have handled this ſingular ſubject, he has expreſſed himſelf with the greateſt perſpicuity. He diſcourſes largely and learnedly on the Hermetic Science, ſhews what its principles are, how much they have been miſtaken, to what vile abuſes they have given riſe; and in the end concludes, that, notwithſtanding all theſe frauds, the art is in itſelf true. In his fifth book he treats the expedition of the Argonauts, in ſearch of the golden fleece, in the ſtile of the Hermetic Philoſophy; and indeed it is wonderful, how he could reduce ſuch a multitude of various ſubjects into a work of that nature, and in ſo narrow a compaſs; we pretend not to juſtify the method he has uſed, and yet that method ſhews ſingular ingenuity; but we muſt take the liberty to aſſert, that after the famous Friar Bacon, Chaucer and Gower were men of the moſt extenſive learning of any, whoſe writings have eſcaped the wreck of time, and have come down ſafe to our hands.

[*H*] *As the bottom of the page*]. We have ſeveral accounts of this monument. Stowe (45) in deſcribing it ſays, that the image of ſtone lying upon it, repreſents him with long auborne hair, reaching to his ſhoulders, and curling up, a ſmall forked beard, and on his head a chaplet of roſes red, four in number, an habit of purple (Mr Speght an older writer ſays greeniſh) damaſk, reaching down to his feet, a collar of SS gold about his neck, under his head the likeneſs of three books which he compiled, *Speculum Meditantis* in French, *Vox Clamantis* in Latin; the third, *Confeſſio Amantis* in Engliſh. Stowe is perſwaded he was no Knight, from the circumſtance of the collar, which convinced Leland, that he was one. Fuller is very angry with thoſe who have conſidered him as the firſt of our crowned poets; ' Bale, ſays he, makes him ' *equitem auratum, & poetam laureatum*, proving both ' from his ornaments, on his monumental ſtatue in ' St Mary Overies Southwark. Yet he appeareth ' there neither laureated, nor hederated poet; except ' the leaves of the Bayes and Ivey be withered to nothing, ſince the erection of the tomb; but only ' roſated, having a chaplet of four roſes about his ' head.' But it will appear that this is really the caſe, and that the bays have been withered. We will preſent the reader with two accounts of this monument when freſher than it is at preſent, the firſt from the preface to his printed book, ' John Gower prepared ' for his bones a reſting place in the monaſterie of ' St Marie Overes, where ſomewhat after the olde ' facion he lieth right ſumptuouſely buried, with a garlande on his head, in token, that he in his life daies ' flouriſhed freſhely in literature and ſcience. And ' the ſame monumente in remembrance of hym erected, ' is on the north ſide of the foreſaide churche, in the ' chapell of St John, where he hath of his owne foundacion a maſſe daily ſonge. And moreover he hath ' an obite yearly done for hym, within the ſame ' churche on fridaie, after the feaſte of the bleſſed Pope ' Saynte Gregorie. Beſide on the wall where he lieth, ' there be painted three virgins with crownes on their ' heades, one of the which is written Charitie, and ' ſhe holdeth this diviſe in hir honde.

En

(*q*) Lelandi Commentarii, p. 415.

(*r*) Matth. Paris Hiſt. Angl. p. 233.

(*s*) Leland. Bal. Pitſeus.

(31) Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius, A. iv. 5.
Bibl. Bodleian. MS. NE. F. 8, 9.
Fairfax. 3.
Bal. & Pits.

(32) Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius, A. iv. 6.
MS. Coll. Omn. Anim.
Biblioth. Bodleian. Fairfax. 3.
Bal. & Pits, ubi ſupra.

(33) MS. in Coll. Omn. Animarum in French.
Bal. & Pits, ubi ſupra.

(34) MS. in Coll. Omn. Animarum.
Bal. & Pits, ubi ſupra.

(35) Bal. & Pits.

(36) MS. Bibl. Cotton. Tib. A. iv.
Bibl. Bodl. NE. F. 8, 9.
Laud. F. 24.
Fairfax. 3.
Bal. & Pits.

(37) Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius. A. iv. 14.
Bal. & Pits.

(38) Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius. A. iv. 5.
Bibl. Bodl. Fairfax. 3.

(39) Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius, A. iv. 6.
Bibl. Bodl. NE. F. 8, 9.
Laud. F. 24.

(40) Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius, A. iv. 8.
Bibl. Bodl. Fairfax. 3.

(41) Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius A. iv. 3.
Bibl. Bodl. Fairfax. 3.

(42) Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius, A. iv. 9.
Bibl. Bodl. NE. F. 8, 9.
Laud. F. 24.

(43) Tanner, Bibliotheca, p. 336.

(44) Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum, p. 368.

(45) Annals. p. 326.

Married he certainly was, ſince his wife's body lies there likewiſe, under a monument much lower than his (*t*); but what poſterity he had, or whether he was, as a very ingenious and indefatigable writer reports, the grandfather of John Gower, Sword-Bearer to the unfortunate Edward Prince of Wales, ſon to the yet more unfortunate Henry VI. and who with his maſter loſt his life after the deciſive battle of Tewkſbury (*u*) cannot be clearly aſcertained. But if in a matter ſo doubtful as this, and about which the greateſt maſters in our Antiquities have differed, it be free to aim at obtaining ſome new light, we could alſo offer ſome conjectures [*I*]. His great merit was introducing the Muſes into this

(*t*) Lelandi Collectanea, Tom. I. p. 505.

(*u*) See the Authors cited in the Note [K.]

En toy qui es fitz de Dieu le pere
Saune ſoit que giſt ſouz ceſt piere.

Thro' thee, of God the only Son,
Be ſaved, who reſts beneath this ſtone.

The ſeconde is written Mercie, which holdeth in hir hande this diviſe.

O bone Jeſu fait ta mercie!
Al alme dont le corps giſt icy.

O Jeſus kind thy mercy ſhew!
To the ſoul of him, who reſts below.

The third of them is written Pitee, whiche holdeth in hir hande this diviſe followynge.

Pur ta pite Jeſu regarde!
Et met ceſt alme in ſaune garde.

For pities ſake ſweet Jeſus keep!
The ſoul of him, who here doth ſleep.

'And thereby hongeth à table, wherein appereth, 'that whoſoever praith for the ſoule of John Gower, 'he ſhall ſo oft, as he ſo doth, have a M. and D. 'daies of pardon.' The other authority is that of Leland, who expreſsly affirms, that his head was crowned with a wreath of ivy interſperſed with roſes, and with a chain about his neck, as a mark of the honour of Knighthood. But the reader will doubtleſs be pleaſed to ſee Leland's own words (46). 'Joannes 'Gower ſepultos eſt apud canonicos marianos in ripa 'Tameſis, in cujus effigiei capite corona eſt ex hedera 'roſis diſtincta, in collo cateno equeſtris ordinis inditium. 'Sub capite tres libri inſtar pulvinariorum cum his in'ſcriptionibus.' 'Speculum meditantis. Vox cla'mantis: Confeſſio amantis,' 'Vixit tempore Ricardi 2, '& Henrici quarti, cui libros ſuos dedicavit. Tem'pore Joannis cœnobium S. Mariæ conflagravit, quod 'poſt multos annos cura & induſtria, partim etiam 'ſumptibus ſuis reſtauravit. Nam ante illius tempora 'quamvis canonici veteres ſedes retinebant, ſquallebat 'tamen ſemiruta eccleſia.

'Uxor Goueri ibidem ſepulta.'

(46) Lelandi Collectanea, Vol. III. p. 48.

His Epitaph (47).

Armigeri ſcutum nihil a modo fert ſibi tutum,
Reddidit immolutum morti generale tributum,
Spiritus exutum ſe gaudeat eſſe ſolutum,
Et ubi virtutum regnum ſine labe ſtatutum.

(47) Aſhmole's Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum, p. 486.

Which has been thus tranſlated.

His ſhield henceforth is uſeleſs grown,
  To pay death's tribute ſlain;
His ſoul's with joyous freedom flown,
  Where ſpotleſs ſpirits reign.

In the time of John Stowe the inſcriptions were waſhed out and illegible, the image alſo defaced by cutting off the noſe, and ſtriking off it's hands; but in later times it has been repaired, and a new inſcription placed, of which we take notice, that it may not miſlead poſterity, which is very often the caſe in ſuch monuments, that inſcription runs thus (48):

(48) Maitland's Hiſtory of Londdon, &c. Edit. 1739. p. 797.

Hic jacet Joannes Gower armiger, Anglorum poeta
celeberrimus ac
Huic ſacro Edificio Benefactor inſignis temporibus
Ed. 3, & Rich. 2.

[*I*] *We could alſo offer ſome conjectures.*] We have already ſhewn, from the compariſon of the arms of the two families, that it is very improbable he ſhould be deſcended from the Gowers of Stitenham (49), and we have alſo mentioned an authority as old, and Caxton is yet older than that of Leland, that he was a native of Wales (50), we are inclined to think this is the truth. If proof be demanded we cannot pretend to alledge any, but we propoſe it only as a conjecture, and we can ſay ſomething to render it probable. There is a part of Glamorganſhire called Gower or Gowerland, of ſo great extent, that it is divided into eaſt Gowerland and weſt Gowerland; from whence the noble family of Herbert, when Earls of Huntingdon, derived the title of Barons Gower; and this title by the marriage of Elizabeth the ſole daughter of William Earl of Huntingdon, and Lord Herbert of Gower, came to Sir Charles Somerſet Knight of the Garter (51), and is borne at this day by his moſt noble deſcendant Noel Duke of Beaufort, who is Lord of Ragland, Chepſtow, and Gower (52). But the critics will ſay what is this to the purpoſe? how does this prove that there was a family of Gower in Wales, or that it flouriſhed there in the time of our poet? I will undertake the proof of both. Henry Gower Archdeacon of St David's, was advanced to that Biſhoprick in 1326 (53). He was in great credit with King Edward the third, Leland ſays that he was Chancellor of England, but that was a miſtake, it was his ſucceſſor Dr John Thoriſby (54). But however Biſhop Gower was a man of a great ſpirit and great family, he built the epiſcopal palace of St Davids, for his ſucceſſors (55), he beautified the caſtle of Swanzy, which is the chief town in eaſt Gowerland, for the ſake of his family, this being his paternal eſtate (56). This reverend prelate died in 1347, being the twenty-firſt of Edward the third, at which time our author muſt have been twenty-five years of age or more. We may from hence alſo gueſs, that our poet was bred at Oxford, and poſſibly at Merton-College, of which this prelate was a fellow; and ſo was the famous Ralph or Nicholas Strode, who was equally intimate with Chaucer and Gower. In regard to his rank and condition, it is moſt likely that he was in ſome ſignal manner attached to the ſervice of Thomas of Woodſtock, firſt Earl of Buckingham, and then Duke of Glouceſter (57), for the reaſon very judiciouſly aſſigned by the late learned Garter King at Arms, his wearing the badge of the Swan appendant to his collar (58). Gower himſelf affords the ſtrongeſt evidence, as to the modes of thoſe times, in diſtinguiſhing perſons of rank, and their followers, by theſe kind of cognizances; having in one part of his poem mentioned thoſe of moſt of the great Lords in his time (59). But either his rank muſt have been very conſiderable, to have juſtified his aſſuming ſuch a diſtinction; or he muſt have belonged to that great prince in the way of his profeſſion, which is the moſt probable. In reſpect to this it appears clearly, that not only the King and the Prince of Wales, when there was one, but alſo the princes of the blood, had their ſtanding counſel learned in the law, who were heard in parliament in caſe any bill was read there that might be detrimental to their intereſts (60). In the reign of Henry the ſixth, the Duke of York's counſel propoſed in parliament, his claim to the Crown, againſt the King then upon the Throne. We may therefore preſume that John Gower, who we know was

(49) See Note [A].

(50) Gower, de Confeſſione Amantis; in the title page of that edition printed by T. B. in A. D. 1532. Lond. fol. and in the firſt edition printed by W. Caxton.

(51) Brook's Catalogue. p. 112.

(52) Collin's Peerage, Vol. V. p. 14.

(53) Godwin de Præſul. p. 610.

(54) Leland. Collectan. Tom. i. p. 415.

(55) Godwin de Præſul. p. 611.

(56) Leland. Collectan. T. iii. p. 54.

(57) Bib. Cotton. Tiberius. A. 4. p. 153.

(58) Anſtis's Regiſter of the Garter, Vol. I. p. 116.

(59) Bibl. Cotton. Tiber. A. 4. p. 151.

(60) Cotton's Records. p. 149, 150, 177, 310, 665, 666.

this kingdom, for in order of time he was before Chaucer, though he alſo ſurvived him. It was from their joint endeavours, that there came to be ſuch a thing as Engliſh poetry, for notwithſtanding the diſtance of time, and the uncouthneſs of their language, the wit and genius of either ſufficiently vindicates his title as a poet (*w*). Indeed their ſucceſſors, Lidgate, Occleve, and the reſt, very fairly own it, and treat their memories with all due reſpect. Some have blamed them for introducing ſo many words from other languages, as if by this they had injured their own (*x*). But it may be this is not ſo certain as is commonly imagined. The long wars with France, in the days of Edward III. and the reſidence of ſome of the principal nobility in that kingdom, with their families for many years; the French King John's keeping his court here, with the number of Princes, and great Lords of his realm, who were either priſoners with, or reſorted hither to wait on him; the expedition of Edward the black Prince into Spain, the marriage of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter, and his brother the Duke of York, to the daughters of Don Pedro King of Caſtile (*y*), muſt have had a great effect on the court language; ſo that it appears at leaſt as reaſonable to ſuppoſe they complied with what was already become common, (for poets always write to be underſtood) as to believe that they brought in an inundation of new words, which muſt have rendered their writings dark and unintelligible, of which none that lived near their own times ever complained (*z*). It would be no difficult taſk to bring a crowd of witneſſes to eſtabliſh, by their teſtimonies, his right to the high reputation he poſſeſſes, but a few ſhall ſuffice [*K*]. It was a point of duty to render ſo

(*w*) See Camden, Blount, Winſtanly, &c.

(*x*) Skinner, Peacham.

(*y*) See all our Hiſtories of the Reign of Ed. III.

(*z*) See the Life of Chaucer prefix'd to Urry's edition.

was an eminent lawyer, and we alſo know was ſteadily attached to this prince, might be of his counſel; or, as we find that word ſometimes uſed, his chancellor, that is, the chief of his lawyers, and he who directed how juſtice was to be adminiſtred, and his prerogative maintained, in his honours lordſhips and manors. Weever (61) alſo has ſhewn us, that there was an ancient family of the Gowers in Kent, of which he thought our author to be; and whether that family ſprang from the Gowers of Wales, or from the Gowers of Yorkſhire, or from neither, is a queſtion we are not able to reſolve. All we pretend in this note is, to furniſh the inquiſitive and judicious reader with ſome hints for his farther reſearches, ſo that gradually theſe memoirs may be rendered compleat, which poſſibly they might have been before this time, if one writer had not been content to tranſcribe another, without looking into the author's own works, or the hiſtories of thoſe times. In reſpect to the gold collar of SS about his neck, John Stowe, though a very intelligent man (62), was too haſty in pronouncing him no knight; for though it be true, that men were raiſed to the rank of Eſquires, by the impoſition of collars of SS, yet theſe were of ſilver. The great Selden (63) is indeed of Stowe's opinion, but he gives a much better reaſon for it, alledging the two firſt words of his epitaph *armigeri ſcutum*. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that the true cauſe of this perplexity, is the want of proper diſtinctions, which did not become a faſhion 'till after the inſurrection of the clowns, when perſons of family and fortune began to add their titles to their firnames. By the way, the collar of SS, which became afterwards a mark of dignity, was originally the cognizance or badge of the houſe of Lancaſter; and was worn by ſuch as were deſirous of ſhewing their attachment to that houſe (64). Yet being in conjunction with a robe, it ſeems to imply that our author had ſome office under Henry the fourth, it may be in the nature of his attorney or ſollicitor, or it may be, as many have conjectured, that he was a Judge. As for John or James Gower, for he is called by both names, he was taken priſoner at the battle of Tewkſbury, which was fought May 4th 1471 (65). And there was this remarkable in his caſe, that with the Duke of Somerſet, and ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction, he had taken ſhelter in a church, into which, when King Edward IV. would have entered with his ſword drawn, a prieſt met him with the ſacrament, who would not let him proceed, till he had promiſed them their lives, notwithſtanding which, after remaining there from Saturday to Monday, they were taken out and beheaded. This ſeems to have been done in revenge of what had paſſed about ten years before, ſince in the charge (66), upon which Henry VI. his Queen, Edward Prince of Wales, &c. were attainted, one article, viz. the eighteenth, is, that they cauſed William Lord Bonville, and Sir Thomas Kuriell, Knights of the Garter, and William Gower, ſtandard-bearer to Richard Duke of York, to be beheaded againſt law, and conſequently murthered. We ſee from hence that there were ſeveral families of the Gowers, and that they took different ſides in theſe miſerable times. It is however clear, that John or James Gower, ſlain at Tewkſbury, was of the Stitenham family, and from him there is a clear deſcent; but of what family William Gower was, does not appear.

(61) Funeral Monuments, p. 270.

(62) Stowe's Annals, p. 326.

(63) Titles of Honour, p. 692.

(64) Anſtis's Regiſter of Garter, Vol. I. p. 118.

(65) Stowe's Annals, p. 424. Speed's Hiſtory, p. 684.

(66) Cotton's Records, p. 670.

[*K*] *But a few ſhall ſuffice.*] As we reſerved this note for the commendations beſtowed upon our author, by ſeveral perſons of ſkill in our language and learning, we have purpoſely omitted ſome points, which the reader will find cleared up here. We will begin with Thomas Barthelette, a man of parts and learning, who upon reprinting our author's works, and dedicating them to King Henry VIII. addreſſes him thus, ‘ Plutarch writeth, when Alexander had diſcomfite Darius the kynge of Perſe, amonge other jewels of the ſaide kynges, there was found a curious littel cheſte of great value, which the noble King Alexander beholding ſaide, this ſame ſhall ſerve for Homere, whiche is noted for the greate love and favour that Alexander had unto lernyng: but this I think verily that his love and favour thereto, was not ſo great as your gracis, whiche cauſed me, moſte victorious, and moſte redoubted ſoveraigne Lorde, after I had printed this warke to deuiſe with myſelf, whether I might be ſo bolde to preſente your Highneſſe with one of them, and ſo in your graces name put them forth. Your moſte high and moſte princely majeſtee abaſhed and cleane diſcouraged me ſo to do, both becauſe the preſent (as concernynge the value) was farr to ſimple (as me thought), and becauſe it was none otherwiſe my acte, but as I toke ſome payne to print it more correctly than it was before. And though I ſhulde ſaie it was not muche greatter peine to that excellent clerke, the moral Johan Gower, to compile the ſame noble warke, than it was to me to print it, no man will believe it without conferringe both the printes, the olde and myn together.——————

I very well knowe that both the nobles and commons of this your noble royalme, ſhall the ſooner accepte this boke, the gladlier rede it, and be the more diligent to marke and beare away the morall doctrines of the ſame, when they ſhall ſee it come forthe under your graces name, whom thei with all their very hertes ſo truly love and drede; whom they knowe ſo excellently well lerned, whom they ever fynde ſo good, ſo juſte, and ſo gracious a prince. And who ſo ever in redynge of this warke doth conſider it well, ſhall fynde, that it is plentifully ſtuffed, and fourniſhed with manifolde eloquent reaſons, ſharpe and quicke argumentes, and examples of great aucthoritie, perſwadynge unto vertue, not only taken out of the poets, oratours, hiſtorie writers, and philoſophers, but alſo out of the holy ſcripture. There is to my dome no man, but that he maie by readinge of this warke get righte great knowledge, as well for the under-

‘ ſtandynge

ſo much juſtice to John Gower, whoſe memory has been too much neglected by ſome, and too haſtily injured by others, on whoſe credit more ſtreſs has been ſometimes laid, than upon a calm and cloſe review they will be found to deſerve. And it is from a conſciouſneſs of this, that we have not ſpared either induſtry or labour, to ſet, as we hope we have done, this article in a proper light.

'ſtandynge of many and divers auctours, whoſe reaſons, ſayenges, and hiſtories, are tranſlated in to this warke, as for the pleintie of Engliſhe words and vulgars, beſide the furtherance of the life to vertue.' The ingenious (67) Mr Puttenham writes thus of the parents of our Engliſh poetry. 'I will not reach above the time of King Edward the third and Richard the ſecond, for any that wrote in Engliſh metre, becauſe, before their times by reaſon of the late Norman Conqueſt, which had brought into this realm, much alteration, both of our langage and lawes, and therewithall a certain martial barbarouſnes, whereby the ſtudy of all good learning was ſo much decayed, as long time after, no man or very few intended to write in any laudable ſcience; ſo as beyond that time, there is little or nothing worth commendation to be founde written in this arte. And thoſe of the firſt age were Chaucer and Gower, both of them as I ſuppoſe, Knightes. After whom followed John Lidgate, the Monke of Bury, and that nameleſs, who wrote the Satyre, called Piers Plowman.' The learned and judicious Sir Philip Sydney (68) concurs alſo in theſe ſentiments. 'In the Italian language, ſays he, the firſt that made it to aſpire to be a Treaſure Houſe of Science, were the poets Dante, Boccace, and Petrarch. So in our Engliſh, were Gower and Chaucer, after whom, encouraged and delighted with their excellent foregoing, others have followed to beautifie our mother tongue, as well in the ſame kind, as other arts.' We ſhall next quote Mr Henry Peacham a very ingenious gentleman, and in whoſe works there are many things entertaining, and ſome inſtructive; but for what he ſays of our author the reader finds it here only to ſhew him how eaſily he might be miſled. 'Gower (69) being very gracious with King Henrie the fourth in his time, carried the name of the only poet; but his verſes to ſay truth were poor and plaine, yet full of good and grave moralitie, but while he affected altogether the French phraſe and words, made himſelf too obſcure to his reader, beſide his invention cometh far ſhort of the promiſe of his titles. He publiſhed only that I know of three books, which at St Mary Overies in Southwark, upon his monument lately repaired by ſome good benefactor, lie under his head; which are, Vox Clamantis, Speculum Meditantis, and Confeſſio Amantis. He was a Knight, as alſo was Chaucer.' There is ſtill preſerved in the Cotton Library, a catalogue of our ancient Hiſtorians, made by the inquiſitive and very judicious Mr John Jocelyn (70): whoſe critical ſkill and wonderful exactneſs in matters of that nature are generally known; he mentions his two hiſtories of King Richard, and calls him expreſsly a Knight; which ſhews that he was not biaſſed, either by the aſſertion of Caxton or the notions of others, who contend eagerly that he was but an Eſquire. In all the diſcourſes that regard our legal, our hiſtorical, and our literary antiquities, we are ſure to find ſome mention more or leſs of this eminent perſon; and therefore it would have been a diſcredit to an undertaking like this, to have given the reader a tranſcript only of thoſe meagre accounts, which Bale, Pits, and Fuller, have borrowed from Leland, who if he had been ſo happy as to have enjoyed his ſenſes, would undoubtedly have publiſhed his Commentaries in a much more ample and accurate manner than we have them at preſent; though even as they now ſtand, they are an invaluable treaſure, and with his other pieces eternal monuments of their author's fine genius, indefatigable labour, and true public ſpirit; ſo that any little ſlips in him, like ſpots in the ſun, are viſible only to the curious, and are no ſenſible diminution of his ſplendour.

E

(67) The Art of Engliſh Poeſie, p. 48.

(68) Defence of Poeſie, p. 492.

(69) The Compleat Gentleman, p. 94, 95.

(70) Nero, C. III. 47. fol. 191. 6.

GRANT or GRAUNT, the ſurname of a very antient and potent family in Scotland. It is commonly believed, that the original name was Groot, and that they came from Denmark or Norway; and it is ſaid, that an old manuſcript hiſtory of that country, by Vanbaſſan, ſtill extant in the Advocates library, gives countenance to this opinion (*a*); which is farther ſupported from a point of fact, that this name has long flouriſhed in that kingdom; as a proof of which it is urged, that there are two antient churches, at a ſmall diſtance from Chriſtiana, bearing the name of Grant ſoyn, *i. e.* the pariſhes of Grant (*b*). If ſo, it is moſt probable that theſe were erected by ſuch of the family as remained in that kingdom, ſince the Grants are ſuppoſed to have come over into Scotland in the very beginning of the fifth century, upon the following occaſion. The Romans, under the command of Maximus, having defeated the Scots, and killed their King Eugenius, or Ewen, and compelled the princes of the blood and nobility to take ſhelter where they could, in the weſtern iſlands, Ireland, and in Denmark, began ſoon after to oppreſs the Picts, in whoſe behalf they engaged in this war, and by whoſe aſſiſtance they had almoſt extirpated the Scots (*c*). This ſo provoked the Picts, who now found they had been fighting to eſtabliſh a power capable of depriving them of liberty, that they reſolved to be reconciled to their old foes, to preſerve themſelves from being enſlaved by their falſe friends (*d*). With this view they encouraged the broken remains of the Scots to invite Fergus, the lineal deſcendant of their old monarchs, who had gained a great reputation by his military exploits abroad, to vindicate the rights of his native country againſt the Romans, in which they promiſed to aſſiſt him. On this invitation, Fergus having collected as many of the exiled Scots as he could, and ſome Iriſh, carried over with him alſo ſome Daniſh and Norweigian gentlemen, who, out of affection to his perſon, were content to follow his fortunes (*e*). He was ſeated on the throne anno Domini 404, and with him it is ſaid came over the anceſtor of the Grants, whoſe poſterity have ever ſince flouriſhed in the North of Scotland (*f*). It is a very difficult, or, to ſpeak the truth, an impracticable taſk, to trace things of this kind ſo high, with any tolerable degree of certainty; but it is a thing out of diſpute, that a very antient family they are, and have all the authentic marks of being old Chiefs. The head of this houſe bears in a field, Gules, three antique crowns, Or, alluding, as is ſuppoſed, to thoſe of the nation from whom they ſprung (*g*). His creſt a burning hill proper, with two ſavages for ſupporters, with this motto, STAND SURE. Another mark of their antiquity, is their having what the old

(*a*) Niſbet's Heraldry, Vol. I. p. 427.

(*b*) M.S. Memoirs of the family of Grant.

(*c*) Zoſim. lib. IV. p. 74. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. IV.

(*d*) Gild. de Excid. Britan. Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. I. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. V.

(*e*) Memoirs of the family of Grant.

(*f*) Leſl. in Vit. Ferguſ. ii.

(*g*) Niſbet's Heraldry, Vol. I. p. 427.

French writers call *Cri de guerre*, or Cry of war, which was *Graig ellachie*. Theſe cries, in this country at leaſt, were taken from the places at which the clan aſſembled in time of war; for which purpoſe, perſons were appointed by the Chief, who carried a wooden croſs burnt at the ends, called from thence *a fiery croſs*, through all the diſtrict, inhabited by their dependants, who immediately, upon ſeeing that croſs and hearing that cry, repaired to the poſt aſſigned. The antient record, ſo famous under the title of Ragman-roll, which contains the ſubmiſſions of the nobility and gentry of the beſt families in Scotland to King Edward the Firſt, in 1292 (*h*), as it was then and long after glorious to England, contributes now in ſome meaſure to the honour of Scotland, as it affords the cleareſt and moſt authentic proofs of the antiquity of their families; inſomuch, that it has been deſervedly explained by a long and learned commentary of one of their moſt able Antiquaries (*i*). Amongſt thoſe of whom the ſubſcriptions are preſerved in that roll, we find Robert de Grant, who was probably the chief of his clan at this time. When King Edward thought fit, in order to eſtabliſh his power more effectually in that kingdom, to impriſon a multitude of the moſt conſiderable men, whom in 1297 he ſet at liberty upon bail, we find one John Grant among theſe, which are evidences more than ſufficient to ſhew, that there was more than one conſiderable family of this name (*k*) in theſe early times, for ſo in reſpect to ours they may well be called; which at the ſame time adds to the probability of the foregoing accounts, ſince, in thoſe days, families did not ſtart up ſuddenly into wealth and power, but acquired both property and reſpect by very ſlow degrees. In one of our antient hiſtorians, we find two of this family, John Graunt and Alan Graunt, mentioned as knights, and leaders of renown in that army, which the Scots raiſed for the relief of Berwick, beſieged by King Edward the Third, and Edward Baliol, anno Domini 1333 (*l*). In much later times, we find ſuch confirmations of charters, as very clearly prove the rank and power of the family, to which it muſt have arrived gradually, and by a progreſſive accumulation of land, in a long courſe of years; ſince, though we find them often in the field, and intruſted with public offices, yet we meet with none of them mentioned as royal favourites, as great officers of State, or deriving large gifts from the Crown. Amongſt the Earl of Haddington's collections (*m*), there is a confirmation of his barony to John Grant of Freuchie, by King James the Fourth, the reddendum of which ſhews, that he was then a powerful chief, ſince he is required to furniſh a well-ſupported lance, which is explained to be three ſufficient horſemen for every diſtrict of a certain ſize, within his ſaid barony, when the King ſhould make war without his realm, and to aſſemble all the defenſible perſons inhabiting within the bounds of his barony, when ſo required to do, by the royal mandate of that prince, or his ſucceſſors, for the convocation of their lieges within the realm. Their marriages is another and perhaps a ſtronger proof, than any yet offered, both of their antiquity and rank; for, about the year 1095, Urſula Grant was married to Duncan the Second, king of Scotland (*n*). In 1165, Izabella Grant was married to Bancho Stuart of Lochabar. In 1335 (*o*), Patrick Grant, of Grant, married Bigla Cummine, ſole daughter of Lord Glencherruick, the only remaining nobleman of that great name, in which there had flouriſhed no fewer than fourteen diſtinct noble families but two generations before (*p*). In 1555, Sir John Grant married the lady Margery Stuart, daughter to the Earl of Athol (*q*). In 1587, Sir John Grant of Grant was married to the Lady Lilias Murray, daughter of the Earl of Tullibarden (*r*), from whom his Grace, the preſent Duke of Athol, now Lord Privy-Seal of the kingdom of Scotland, is deſcended. Theſe are at once the moſt concluſive evidences that can be had of the antiquity of any family, becauſe, in thoſe early times, unequal marriages were very uncommon, and taken in conjunction with other evidences, ſtrengthens them extremely; to which we may add the very ſituation of the country where this clan is ſeated, which correſponds ſo well with the facts before laid down, that one can ſee no juſt reaſon to ſuſpect them; and in all enquiries of this ſort, the beſt judges will allow, that evidences drawn from records and charters are infinitely preferable to private memoirs, ſubſiſting only in the hands of the families to which they belong, ſince ſuch, unleſs ſupported by teſtimonies of this kind, are frequently uncertain and always ſuſpected. But where poſſeſſions from time immemorial, honourable offices, charters of confirmation, marriage-ſettlements, and ſtate-records, concur, with an uninterrupted claim to a deſcent of a more antient date than moſt of our hiſtories, they add, if not certainty, at leaſt probability, to tradition. It is very certain, that a family of this ſurname, Grant or Graunt, was alſo ſeated very early in England; and therefore Sir George Mackenzie (*s*), who was an indefatigable enquirer into, and a very competent judge of, theſe matters, was inclined to think the family in Scotland came from them, which, however, we cannot hold probable, for reaſons that will appear hereafter. In 1229, we find Richard de Wetherſhed, the ſucceſſor of the famous Stephen Langton, in the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury (*t*); but it is very certain that his true name was Grant, and, as there are ſome particulars very ſingular in his hiſtory, we ſhall take notice of them at the bottom of the page [*A*]. In all probability this

Archbiſhop

(*h*) Prynne's Hiſtory, p. 649.

(*i*) Printed at the cloſe of Niſbet's Heraldry.

(*k*) Rymeri Fœder. Angl. Tom. II. p. 769, &c.

(*l*) Walteri Hemingford Chronicon. Edward. III. p. 276.

(*m*) See theſe Collections, p. 581.

(*n*) M.S. Hiſtory of the family of Grant.

(*o*) Ibid.

(*p*) Ibid.

(*q*) Charta penes Grant. Regiſters of Parliament, 1565.

(*r*) Charta in publicis Archivis.

(*s*) As we find him cited in Niſbet's Heraldry, Vol. I. p. 427.

(*t*) Godwin de Præſulibus, p. 89, Cambridge 1743, folio.

[*A*] *At the bottom of the page.*] In the Lives of the Archbiſhops of Canterbury, publiſhed by the learned Henry Wharton, we find nothing more ſaid of this prelate than what follows(1): 'Richardus cognomento magnus,

(1) Stephani Birchingtoni Vitæ Archiepiſcoporum Cantuar. p. 10.

Archbiſhop was a North-country and it is likely a Yorkſhire man, if not a native of the city of York, of which one of his name was Bailiff or Sheriff the ſucceeding year; nor was he the firſt of that family who had born that office (*u*). We likewiſe find them benefactors to the abbey of St Mary (*w*), but how long this family continued, or when it extinguiſhed, in thoſe parts, we cannot determine. In the fifteenth century, there flouriſhed one Thomas Grant, an eminent divine, who was Rector of St Margaret Lothbury, in the city of London, and one of the Prebendaries of St Paul's (*x*). In the ſucceeding century, we find the learned Dr Edward Grant maſter of Weſtminſter-School (*y*), whom we have had occaſion to mention already, but of whom it is but juſt that we ſhould ſay ſomething more in this place. He was eſteemed one of the beſt claſſic ſcholars of his time,

(*u*) Drake's Hiſtory and Antiquities of the city of York, p. 183, 359.

(*w*) See the Charters relating to that abbey in the Appendix to Drake's Hiſtory before cited, p. 619.

(*x*) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 100, 401.

(*y*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 310.

‘nus, qui prius fuit Cancellarius Lincolnienſis, ſucceſſit & ſedit annis II. Vacavit eccleſia annis II, paſtore deſolata.’ Archbiſhop Parker (2) alſo has preſerved the ſame name, and ſtiles him *Richardus Magnus*, though he enters at large into the hiſtory of his primacy. Ralph Higden (3) calls him Richard de Wetherſhed, the great Dean of London, who from thence received the ſurname of *Richardus Magnus*; but, in our antient Chronicles, his name appears plainly to be *Richardus de Graunt* (4). Archbiſhop Langton died July 9, 1228, at his manor of Slindon in Suſſex (5). Within a few days after, the Monks of Canterbury, with the King's licence, proceeded to the election of a ſucceſſor, when they made choice of Walter de Hempſham (6), or rather de Eveſham (7), one of their own body, whom the King however, upon the ſuggeſtion of ſeveral prelates, did by no means approve. Walter, however, ſet out immediately for Rome, in hopes of obliging his maſter, by the papal authority, to admit him to the poſſeſſion of the temporalities of the ſee (8). King Henry the Third thereupon ſent the Biſhops of Coventry and Rocheſter (not of Cheſter, as in Godwin), to repreſent to Pope Gregory the Ninth, that this man was altogether unfit for the office, being a perſon of little learning, and ſcandalous in point of morals, having had ſeveral baſtards by a nun, being the ſon of a man hanged for theft, and who had deſerved that puniſhment himſelf for his adherence to the rebels. All this, however, had ſignified little, if the two prelates had not availed themſelves of an argument much more concluſive in the court of Rome. Pope Gregory was then embarked in an open war againſt the Emperor Frederick; and the Embaſſadors promiſed him a tenth, not on the benefices of the clergy only, but on the eſtates of the laity alſo, to be levied in all the King their maſter's dominions (9). This had it's effect; the election at Canterbury was examined by a congregation of Cardinals, declared to be upon full proof utterly null, and the right of naming to the ſtill vacant ſee devolved upon the Pope. In conſequence of this, at the ſuggeſtion of the King, his Holineſs appointed Richard de Graunt, Chancellor of Lincoln; who, as our hiſtorians tell us, was a perſon of great gravity, learning, prudence, eloquence, and probity, a ſtout maintainer of the rights of his ſee, and in his perſon tall, and of a very graceful preſence (10). He was conſecrated by Henry Biſhop of Rocheſter at Canterbury, in the preſence of the King and many of the nobility, June 10, 1229, being Trinity-Sunday (11). He did not govern the ſee long or in much quiet, for the raiſing the tenth beforementioned occaſioned great diſturbances. He held, however, a ſynod at Weſtminſter, in which ſome excellent canons were made; the wiſdom and equity of which, as his ſucceſſor, Archbiſhop Parker, tells us, ſhewed the mild diſpoſition of the man (12). Yet, upon ſome wrong done, as he conceived, to the ſee of Canterbury, by Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, he complained to the King, and finding no redreſs at his hands, he had recourſe, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, to eccleſiaſtical cenſures; and having excommunicated all who had any hand in this affair, the King excepted, he withdrew out of the kingdom and went to Rome. He was preſently followed thither by Roger de Cantelupe, or, as Matthew Paris writes, de Cantilu, the King's embaſſador. The complaints ſuggeſted by the prelate to his Holineſs were, that the whole buſineſs of his kingdom Henry tranſacted by the advice of Hubert Earl of Kent, and other noblemen of like inclinations. That this Earl Hubert had married a ſecond wife, who was very nearly related to his firſt, and had deſpoiled the ſee of Canterbury of it's lands, of which he was ſtill in poſſeſſion. That many of the Biſhops, his ſuffragans, neglecting their paſtoral duty, ſat in the King's Exchequer, hearing lay cauſes, and giving judgment in matters of blood; that many of the inferior clergy held more than one living, with a cure of ſouls annexed; and being miſled by the behaviour of their prelates, intermeddled, like them, with things foreign to their profeſſion, and applied a great part of their time to the management of ſecular affairs. He therefore deſired that the Pope would interpoſe his authority, in ſupport of the diſcipline of the Church, the general amendment of manners, and the removal of thoſe grievances. The King's embaſſador, according to his inſtructions, ſuggeſted much in mitigation, and ſome things in juſtification, of the King's meaſures, and of his miniſter, Earl Hubert, which he inforced in the beſt manner he was able. But the eloquence of the Archbiſhop, his ſagacity and prudent behaviour, made ſuch an impreſſion on the Pope and the Cardinals, that he obtained all he deſired; upon which he ſet out on his return home (13). But the joy of this victory was of very ſhort continuance; he fell ſick on the third day of his journey, at a place called St Gemma, and taking up his lodging in a houſe of Minor Canons, deceaſed there Auguſt 3, 1231, and was interred in the church belonging to the monaſtery (14). It is reported by a grave author, but the reader is not obliged on that account to believe it, that ſoon after he was interred, ſome thieves broke into the vault where his body was laid, and took it up, with an intent to deſpoil him of his ring, his mitre, and other pontifical ornaments; but they ſtuck ſo faſt to his body, that finding all their endeavours in vain, they in a great fright abandoned their ſacrilegious intent (15). We have an article of this prelate, under the name of *Richardus Magnus*, alſo in Pits, who tells us, that he was a very learned writer, and gives us the titles of his Canons in the Council of Weſtminſter (16): but we meet with nothing relating to him either in Leland or Bale; and when, in the poſthumous work of the learned and accurate Biſhop Tanner, we have a reference to the Canons made in his Council of Weſtminſter (17), there ſeems to be a miſtake; for thoſe Canons were not made by him, but by his predeceſſor Richard the Firſt, in the year 1131, and in the reign of Henry the Second (18). The books written by our author, and remembered by Pits, are theſe,

De Fide & Legibus, Lib. I. *Of Faith and Laws.* One book.

De Sacramentis, Lib. I. *Of Sacraments.* One book.

De Univerſo Corporali & Spirituali, Lib. I. *Of the Corporal and Spiritual World.* One book.

After having ſaid ſo much of this great prelate, it may not be amiſs to caution the reader, that this *Richardus Magnus*, or *de Wetherſhed*, is not to be confounded with *Richard Wetherſett*, alias *Grantebrigenſis*, who is mentioned by Leland, Bale, and Pits (19), and who flouriſhed about twenty years later than our Archbiſhop. We have taken this opportunity of reſtoring this prelate to his own name, and of giving a ſuccinct abridgment of his life from original writers, all of whom we have carefully conſulted and collated; and perhaps it would be no unacceptable preſent to the learned world, if any laborious and accurate writer would give us in Engliſh a compleat hiſtory of the lives and acts of the Archbiſhops of Canterbury, from thoſe antient and original authors already extant, which would throw new lights on ſeveral parts of our civil as well as eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, which ſeem at preſent very dark and deficient.

(2) De antiquitate Britannicæ Eccleſiæ, p. 246.

(3) Polychron. A. D. 1230.

(4) Chronica de Mailroſs int. rerum Anglican. ſcriptor. veter. Tom. I. p. 200. Chronicon Thomæ Wikes, int. Hiſtoriæ Anglican. Scriptor. Thom. Gale, Tom. II. p. 40. Annales Waverleienſes, ibid. p. 193.

(5) Parkeri de Antiquitate Britannicæ Eccleſiæ, p. 245.

(6) Matth. Paris Hiſt. Angl. p. 350.

(7) Chron. T. Wikes, p. 40.

(8) Matth. Paris Hiſt. Angl. p. 350.

(9) Parker, Godwin, &c.

(10) Matth Paris Hiſt. Angl. p. 355.

(11) Chron. T. Wikes & Nic. Triveti Annales, p. 183.

(12) De Antiquitate Britannicæ Eccleſiæ, p. 246.

(13) Matth. Paris Hiſt. Angl. p. 368.

(14) Chron. T. Wikes, p. 41. Annales Waverlienſes, p. 193. Dies Obituales Archiepiſcorum Cantuarienſium, apud Wharton, Tom. I. p. 57.

(15) Matth. Paris Hiſt. Angl. p. 370.

(16) De Illuſtribus Angliæ Scriptoribus, p. 307.

(17) Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, p. 626.

(18) Concil. M. Britan. & Hib. Vol. I. p. 474, & ſeq.

(19) Jo. Lelandi Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis, p. 272. Balæus de Scriptoribus, p. 436. Pits de illuſtribus Angliæ Scriptoribus, p. 307.

time, which, if we conſider how many great men flouriſhed in them, will appear no very ordinary character. He was a good Latin Poet, and excellently ſkilled in Greek; to facilitate the learning of which moſt uſeful language, he compoſed a very copious Grammar, which was afterwards contracted by his ſucceſſor, the famous Mr William Camden (z). This Dr Grant was not only diſtinguiſhed by his perfect knowledge of the learned languages, and by the happineſs of his method in teaching them, but alſo by his generous and diſintereſted diſpoſition, which diſcovered itſelf clearly, in his zeal for preſerving the fame, and providing for the orphan family, of the celebrated Roger Aſcham, whoſe letters he publiſhed; and, in his pathetic dedication to Queen Elizabeth, ſo effectually recommended his pupil, Giles Aſcham, to her protection, by letting the world know how much, though a Queen, ſhe ſtood obliged to his father, that he procured for him, if not a happy eſtabliſhment, at leaſt a comfortable ſubſiſtence, which, without this gentleman's help, neither his father's merits or his own would have obtained (a). The poems of Dr Grant, for ſo he wrote his own name, prefixed to ſeveral excellent pieces publiſhed in thoſe times, ſhew how much more ready he was to beſtow than to acquire praiſe, and, in truth, his modeſty in this particular was very commendable. He made way, by his reſignation in 1592, for Camden's ſucceſſion to his chair in Weſtminſter-School (b); and having been long a Canon, became at length Subdean of that collegiate church. He deceaſed Auguſt 4, 1601 (c), and not in September or October, as Anthony Wood has placed it (d), and was interred in that church: we find alſo another of the ſame name interred in the cloiſters of this abbey, in 1587, a child of five years old, and it is not improbable, the ſon of this Dr Edward Grant: the monumental inſcription being long ago worn out, the reader perhaps will not be diſpleaſed, as it is very elegant, to find it recovered and preſerved in the notes (e) [B]. We have not been able to diſcover in what part of England the family was ſettled from which theſe Grants deſcended; but we know that there was a family of this name in Hampſhire (f), from whom ſprung that famous citizen of London, John Grant, who, as we have ſhewn, has immortalized his memory by his excellent diſcourſe on the Bills of Mortality. But for all this, it ſeems to us more probable, that the Engliſh family derived it's origin from that in Scotland, unleſs we ſhould ſuppoſe, that the Engliſh as well as the Scots Grants came from Denmark or Norway, and with others of their countrymen ſettled in Cumberland, Northumberland, Yorkſhire, and other northern counties, and from thence ſpread into the heart of the kingdom. At all events, however, we cannot help rejecting Sir George Mackenzie's notion, that the Grants of Scotland derive themſelves from thoſe of England. If this had been ſo, we ſhould certainly have found them in the ſouthern or weſtern counties of Scotland, and not in the north. Beſides, they appear to have been a very potent clan before the time of the Conqueſt, when, according to ſome, the family of le Graunt came over to England (g), and moſt evidently before they flouriſhed at York. All circumſtances concur, in ſhewing, that from the time they came into that part of the iſland, they continued, like other great families, ſeated for the moſt part in the ſame country, and branching out into different houſes, bearing however all the ſame arms, with proper marks of diſtinction, and all acknowledging the Grants of Freuchie, or, as they are now ſtyled, the Grants of Grant, for their chief (h). On the other hand, we do not find any of the Engliſh Grants, though a very numerous name, who formed a permanent eſtabliſhment any where; nor are we able to trace them in ſuch a manner as to decide the queſtion, whether they deſcended from that old family, originally ſettled in the North of England, or from ſome branch of the Grants of Scotland, who removed occaſionally into the South after the Union of the two Crowns.

[B] *In the notes.*] We know not where this monument was placed, farther than that it was in the cloiſters; and the inſcription, as copied by Camden, ran thus:

Hic jacet Edwardus Grantus, belliſſimus infans,
Dulce decus matris, deliciæque patris.
Quem mors æthercam citiùs tranſcripſit in vrbem
Eſſet vt Angelicus, deliciæque Deo.
Ille quidem fælix: nam paucos vixit vt annos
Sollicitæ vitæ, ſic mala pauca tulit.

In *Engliſh* thus.

Here, reader, lies interr'd a lovely boy,
His mother's deareſt pride, his father's joy.
Whom early ſnatch'd to the æthereal quire,
With kindred Angels now he tunes his lyre.
Happy in this, as little life he knew;
Of life's inherent ills he felt but few.

Beneath were theſe lines.

Thy ſweet deſire to praiſe thy God,
Thy tender love to parents *dear*;
Thy nature mild to every one,
Remains alive, though corpſe lie here.

VIVIT POST FUNERA VIRTUS.

Virtue unhurt by Death ſurvives the grave.

Obiit Januarii 2, 1587, ætatis ſuæ 5.

He died January 2, 1587, *at* five *years of age.*

That we may not appear to have beſtowed this ſon upon Dr Edward Grant without any foundation, it may not be amiſs to cloſe this note, with obſerving, that he had a ſon, Gabriel Grant, who in the year 1602, was preſented by Peter Tuke, Eſq; to the rectory of Layer Marney, in the archdeaconry of Colcheſter, in the dioceſe of London and county of Eſſex (20). He became afterwards, by the preſentation of the Dean and Chapter of Weſtminſter, Rector of St Leonard's Foſter lane (21), in 1604; and January 20, 1612, was ſeated in the tenth ſtall, as Prebendary of the Collegiate Church of Weſtminſter (22). We might have mentioned many more of this name, of whom ſome memorials are preſerved, more eſpecially in the work (23) from which theſe are taken; but that we look upon what we have done already as ſufficient for our purpoſe. E

(z) Lond. 1597 8vo. reprinted about 100 times ſince.

(a) See the article of ASCHAM [ROGER] in this Dictionary. See alſo Camden's Verſes to the memory of Aſcham.

(b) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 311.

(c) Reges, Reginæ, Nobiles, & alii, in eccleſia collegiata B. Petri Weſtmonaſterii ſepulti, p. 77.

(d) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 311.

(e) See the Hiſtories of Weſtminſter-Abbey.

(f) Wood's Athen. Oxon, Vol. I. col. 311.

(g) See the Catalogues of thoſe who came with the Conqueror, in Stowe and Holinſhed.

(h) Niſbet's Heraldry, Vol. I. p. 427.

(20) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. II. p. 379.

(21) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 394.

(22) Ibid. p. 928.

(23) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 676, 401, 806. Vol. II. p. 48, 389, 591, 609.

GRANT [Sir Francis], an eminent Lawyer and Judge in North-Britain, ſtiled, according to the cuſtom of that country, from the name of his eſtate, Lord Cullen. He was of a younger branch of the Grants, though a lineal deſcendant from Sir John Grant of Grant, by the Lady Margery, or Margaret Stuart, daughter to the Earl of Athol, which family of Grant have very conſpicuouſly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in ſupport of the Proteſtant Religion, and the principles of the Revolution [*A*]. This Francis, who is to be the ſubject of the preſent article, was born about the year 1660, and laid the foundation of his literary accompliſhments in the univerſity of Aberdeen; but being intended for the profeſſion of the Law, he was ſent to perfect his ſtudies at Leyden, under the celebrated Profeſſor Voet, who taught there with great reputation. Under him he made ſo great a proficiency, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſo ſingular and ſteady an application, that many years after his return to his native country, the Profeſſor mentioned him to his pupils as one who had done honour to the univerſity, and whoſe example, in point of attention and diligence, it would become them to follow. On his coming back to Scotland, he paſſed through the tryals requiſite to his being admitted Advocate, with ſuch ſingular ſucceſs, as to attract the particular notice of Sir George Mackenzie, the then King's Advocate, one of the moſt knowing and ingenious men, as well as one of the ableſt and moſt eminent Lawyers of that age. This is the more remarkable, ſince Mr Grant's principles, which he never diſſembled, did not correſpond at all with the maxims and meaſures of the Court at that time; but as his merit was very conſpicuous, Sir George, who was a man of the greateſt candour, gave him upon all occaſions diſtinguiſhed marks of kindneſs and eſteem. At the time of the Revolution, being twenty-eight years of age, and having made the conſtitutional points of law his peculiar ſtudy, he made a very great figure when the Convention of Eſtates met, in order to canvaſs matters of the higheſt importance; ſuch as, whether the throne was full or vacant, and if vacant, how it was to be filled. Some of the old Lawyers, in purſuance of the principles they had long eſpouſed, argued warmly againſt thoſe upon which the Revolution had taken place in England, and particularly inſiſted on the inability of the Convention of Eſtates to make any diſpoſition of the Crown. Mr Francis Grant oppoſed theſe notions with great ſtrength and ſpirit, and publiſhed about that time a treatiſe, in which he undertook, from the principles of law, to prove, that a King might forfeit his Crown for himſelf and his deſcendants; and that in ſuch a caſe, the States had a power to diſpoſe of it, and to eſtabliſh and limit a legal ſucceſſion, concluding with the warmeſt recommendations of William Prince of Orange to the regal dignity. This work was generally read, and was believed to have had a conſiderable influence on the public reſolutions. It was certainly a very bold ſtep, and one that clearly manifeſted Mr Grant's integrity and zeal for the conſtitution, in ſupport of which, it was plain, he was determined to riſk every thing; for after ſuch an explicit declaration of his ſentiments, there was no poſſibility for him to retreat. It muſt appear not a little extraordinary, but ſo the fact really was, that this conduct recommended him to both parties in the way of his profeſſion. Thoſe who differed from him in opinion admired his courage, and were deſirous of making uſe of his abilities; as, on the other hand, thoſe who were friends to the Revolution were alſo ſo to him, which brought him into great buſineſs, and procured him, by ſpecial commiſſions, frequent employment from the Crown. His character was firmly

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[*A*] *And the principles of the Revolution.*] At the the time of that great event, Lodovic Grant, of Grant, Eſq; was the chief of the family. He was entirely for that meaſure, he levied a regiment of foot, which was raiſed, cloathed, and maintained at his expence, 'till put upon the eſtabliſhment by King William in 1689, who by his commiſſion appointed Colonel Lodovic Grant to command it. According to the reſolutions of the Scotch Parliament, the great expences which this gentleman had been at, were to have been repaid him; but except the honour of this reſolution, which ſhewed the ſenſe the legiſlature had of his ſervice, he never received any indemnification. His ſon Alexander Grant, Eſq; who inherited his father's principles as well as his eſtate, commanded a regiment of foot at the time of the Union, and ſerved with great reputation in Flanders, under the command of the glorious Duke of Marlborough; and in conſequence of thoſe ſervices, was promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General and Governor of Sheerneſs. Upon the breaking out of the rebellion in 1715, he accompanied his Grace John Duke of Argyle as a volunteer, who, as a proof of his high regard for, and great confidence in the Brigadier, appointed him to command in the caſtle of Edinburgh, upon the the preſervation of which ſo much at that juncture depended. Brigadier Grant, while thus employed, diſpatched his brother, then Captain, now Major Grant, northward, with orders to raiſe his clan; which, though the attempt as things were then circumſtanced was equally difficult and dangerous, he very effectually performed; and having with eight hundred men inveſted the town of Inverneſs, he was quickly joined by the Earl of Sutherland, and the late worthy Lord Preſident, then Mr Duncan Forbes of Culloden; by which eminent ſervice at ſo critical a conjuncture, a great body of highlanders were hindered from continuing their march to Perth, and the counties of Bamff, Nairn, Murray, and part of the ſhire of Inverneſs protected from all levies of men and impoſitions of money. The Brigadier however did not long ſurvive, to reap the fruits of his ſingular zeal for the government, otherwiſe in all probability he might have riſen to the higheſt ranks in the Britiſh army. He was member in the Scots Parliament for the ſhire of Elgin, when the Union took place, and was one of the forty-five members deputed from them to ſit in the firſt Parliament of Great-Britain. In the ſecond Parliament in 1708, he was choſen for the Shire of Inverneſs; in the third, fourth and fifth Parliaments for the ſhire of Elgin; and at the time of his deceaſe, was Lord-Lieutenant of the counties of Bamff and Inverneſs. He was ſucceeded by his brother Sir James Grant, who in the ſixth and ſeventh Parliaments of Great-Britain, ſerved for the ſhire of Inverneſs. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Sir Lodovic, who is the preſent head of the family, who eſpouſed the Lady Margaret Ogilvy, daughter to the right honourable the Earl of Finlater and Seafield, and was very active in ſuppreſſing the rebellion of 1745, and is at preſent member for the county of Elgin.

firmly eſtabliſhed on the pillars of application and integrity. He was indefatigable in the management of buſineſs; but at the ſame time that he ſpared no pains, he would uſe no craft. He had ſo high an idea of the dignity of his profeſſion, that he held it equally criminal to neglect any honeſt means of coming at juſtice, or to make uſe of any arts to elude it. It might have been expected, that circumſtances which brought him early into full buſineſs, ſhould either have promoted him quickly to the firſt offices in the law, or at leaſt have enabled him to make a large eſtate; but they did neither. His temper was naturally calm and ſedate; he hated buſtle and intrigue; and beſides, Sir James Stuart was Lord-Advocate all the time he was at the bar; and Sir Hugh Dalrymple, ſon to the famous Viſcount Stair, Lord Preſident, while he was on the bench; and their merit and ſervices too great for him to entertain ſo much as a thought of ſupplanting either. In reſpect to fortune, though he was modeſt and frugal, and had a large practice, yet he was far from being avaricious. His private charities were very conſiderable, and grew in the ſame proportion with his profits. He was beſides very ſcrupulous in many points; he would not ſuffer a juſt cauſe to be loſt through a client's want of money. He was ſuch an enemy to oppreſſion, that he never denied his aſſiſtance to ſuch as laboured under it; and with reſpect to clergymen of all profeſſions, his conſcience obliged him to ſerve them without a fee. He ſaw their wrongs required aſſiſtance, and he knew their circumſtances would not admit of expence. His additions therefore to his paternal eſtate were much inferior to what might have been expected, and a large acceſſion of character, was the principal produce of that activity and diligence, by which he was diſtinguiſhed at the bar. This was ſo clear and beyond exception, that her late Majeſty Queen Anne, unexpectedly, as well as without application, created him in 1705 a Baronet, her ſenſe of his ſervices being ſufficiently expreſſed in the preamble to his patent. About a year after, her Majeſty was pleaſed to appoint him one of the Judges, or, as they are ſtiled in Scotland, one of the Senators of the College of Juſtice [*B*]. His juſt title to this preferment was known to every body but himſelf, yet his high notions of the virtues and abilities requiſite in that ſtation made

him

[*B*] *One of the ſenators of the College of Juſtice.*] Our intention in this note, is to give as clear and ſuccinct an account of this ſupreme Court of Juſtice in North-Britain, and the Judges who ſit therein, as the nature of this article requires, and the bounds preſcribed will allow. Anciently, cauſes were heard in the laſt reſort, by a committee of Parliament compoſed of an incertain number, who were ſtiled Lords of Seſſion; afterwards this power devolved to the council, but Anno Dom. 1537, King James the Fifth, inſtituted a College of Juſtice, after the model of the Parliament of Paris, which was compoſed of a preſident and fourteen ordinary members, but the Chancellor might preſide there if he pleaſed, and then the preſident ſat with the reſt. This ſupreme court has been ſince commonly called the Court of Seſſion, the members inſtead of Senators of the College of Juſtice, are ſtiled, after their predeceſſors, Lords of Council and Seſſion, and their Preſident, Lord Preſident; nine Lords make a quorum, but the King by the original erection might name three or four Peers of Parliament, who are ſtiled extraordinary Lords of Seſſion, but they make no part of the quorum, are not bound to attend, receive no ſalary; but when they are preſent, ſit and hear cauſes, and vote with the other Lords. By an act paſſed in the tenth of the late King, the crown departed from this prerogative, and after the demiſe of the extraordinary Lords then living, their places were not to be filled up. The juriſdiction and privileges of this court, were ſecured by the articles of Union, ſubject to an appeal from their deciſions to the Houſe of Peers. The Lords of Seſſion hold their office for life, or quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint. On a vacancy in the College of Juſtice, the King is to preſent a perſon duly qualified, that is one who has ſerved five years as Advocate or Clerk of Seſſion, or ten years as a writer to the Signet. Upon this, he is allowed to ſit with the Lord-ordinary while cauſes are heard before him, and he reports two or three points to the Lords in the Inner houſe; he muſt alſo report a cauſe upon a hearing in their preſence in the Inner-houſe, and give his opinion on every point. If the Lords are ſatisfied, they admit him to the office upon his taking the oaths. But if the Lords are of opinion that the perſon ſo named is not duly qualified, they are to tranſmit an account of the whole matter to his Majeſty; and if under his ſign manual, the King ſhall ſignify that it is his pleaſure the perſon ſhall notwithſtanding be received, they admit and receive him accordingly; but if the King nominates another perſon, they are to proceed to examine him as before. One of the Lords ſits in the outer Parliament-houſe, to hear all cauſes in the order they are ſet down in the books of inrollment. If the parties ſubmit to his deciſion, his decree is final, if not it is interlocutory, and either of the parties may appeal to the Lords who ſit together in the Inner-houſe, and who upon hearing the cauſe, affirm, reverſe, or alter the decree made in the Outer-houſe. Each Lord ſits in his turn a week at a time in the Outer-houſe, and is during that week ſtiled the Lord Ordinary; if the cauſes cannot be finiſhed in the week, the ſame Lord continues to ſit from nine to ten in the Outer-houſe every day, till the cauſes begun in his week are ended. The Lord Preſident and all the other Lords, ſit in the Inner houſe every day in the week, except Sunday and Monday, during the time of Seſſions, which for the winter begin the firſt of November, and end the laſt of February, with an intermiſſion not exceeding ten days in time of Chriſtmas; and begin the firſt of June, and end the laſt of July for the ſummer ſeſſions. As to the extent of the juriſdiction of the court, all cauſes civil, that are not peculiar to other courts, may be brought before them in the firſt inſtance, provided the ſum in queſtion be above twelve pounds ſterling, and cauſes commenced in other courts, may in certain caſes be removed to and reviewed in the court of ſeſſion; and in ſome caſes, the Lords may review upon freſh matter ariſing even their own decrees. This court is both of law and equity, and may, where the Lords ſee juſt cauſe, exerciſe the ſame powers in a great meaſure that are exerciſed in England by the court of Chancery. Beſides this mixt juriſdiction, which they ſtile Officium ordinarium, this court hath alſo an extraordinary coercive power, which they call Officium nobile, which is exerted occaſionally and diſcretionally. An inſtance will explain this to every reader's capacity. When it was reſolved to levy the malt tax effectually, all the brewers in Edinburgh took a ſudden reſolution in one day to deſiſt from the exerciſe of their trade; upon this the Court of Seſſion interpoſed, and made an order, that every brewer ſhould give ſecurity to continue his buſineſs, to prevent any inconvenience happening to the public, on pain of impriſonment. This had it's effect, and the Lords received the thanks of the government. This ſhews clearly how great a truſt is repoſed in a Lord of Seſſion; what extenſive abilities, and what great attention are requiſite to the due diſcharge of the office; and therefore we need not at all wonder, that men of exact probity are ſometimes ſcrupulous of taking ſo great a burthen upon their ſhoulders.

[C] *That*

him endeavour to decline it, and he accepted it at laſt with great reluctance. He was from this time ſtiled Sir Francis Grant, Lord Cullen, and the ſame good qualities that recommended him to this employment were very conſpicuous in the diſcharge of it. He thought himſelf accountable to God and man for his conduct in that high office; and his deep ſenſe of his duty, at the ſame time that it kept him ſtrictly to it, encouraged and ſupported him in the performance. The pleadings in Scotland are carried on chiefly in writing, which renders them ſometimes very prolix, ſo as to take up much of a Judge's time, and to exerciſe alike his parts and his patience in going through and making himſelf maſter of them. In this the diligence and the dexterity of Lord Cullen were equally conſpicuous, he went through every thing that came into his hands carefully, and ſifted it thoroughly, ſo that the Lawyers at the bar never found themſelves too ſtrong for the bench, but on the contrary, were told many things by his Lordſhip, which either had eſcaped their notice, or which the intereſt of their client had engaged them to conceal. As his attention to the pleadings guided him to the real merits of the cauſe, ſo when he was once maſter of theſe, his ſecond care was diſpatch. He knew that in judicature the next fault to denying was delaying juſtice, by which families are always injured, and too often ruined; whenever therefore he had provided againſt being miſtaken, he was deſirous of bringing the matter to a ſhort deciſion; and as he was very ſollicitous about the former, ſo the parties themſelves helped him not a little as to the latter. Whenever he ſat as Lord Ordinary, the paper of Cauſes was remarkably full; for his reputation being equally eſtabliſhed for knowledge and integrity, there were none who had a good opinion of their own pretenſions but were deſirous of bringing them before him, and not many who did not ſit down ſatisfied with his deciſion. This prevailed more eſpecially, after it was found that few of his ſentences were reverſed, and when they were, it was commonly owing to himſelf; for if upon mature reflection, or upon new reaſons offered at the rehearing, he ſaw any juſt ground for altering his judgment, he made no ſcruple of declaring it, being perſwaded that it was more manly as well as more juſt to follow truth than to ſupport opinion; and his conduct in this reſpect had a right effect, for inſtead of leſſening it raiſed his reputation. His experience, though it quickened his penetration, did not leſſen his diligence in the leaſt. How certain ſoever he might be of the truth of his own ſentiments, he took great care to have all the aſſiſtance that was to be received from books, and never failed to fortify his arguments and to ſupport his reaſonings by the beſt authorities. His collegues were ſo well aware and ſo much approved of this, that they very ſeldom decided any knotty caſe that came before them in his abſence, but rather choſe to adjourn it. We ſhall hear, ſaid they, not only our brother Cullen's own opinion, but that of all the great Lawyers upon this point. His labours in this reſpect, though he propoſed no other end in them than the promoting of juſtice, were attended with univerſal applauſe, and procured him a character, to which he had the faireſt title, of being one of the ableſt and deepeſt Lawyers of his time. He would not however, with all this great ſtock of knowledge, experience, and probity, truſt himſelf in matters of blood, or venture to decide in criminal caſes on the lives of his fellow-creatures, which was the reaſon, that, though often ſollicited, he could never be prevailed upon to accept of a ſeat in the Juſticiary Court; for though in this part of the iſland, the ſame Judges hear civil and criminal cauſes in virtue of different commiſſions, yet it is otherwiſe in North-Britain, where criminal cauſes are heard in a different court by a certain number of Lords, ſelected for that purpoſe out of the body of the Judges, and who have an additional ſalary for that purpoſe. He was ſo true a lover of learning, and was ſo much addicted to his ſtudies, that notwithſtanding the multiplicity of his buſineſs while at the bar, and his great attention to his charge when a Judge, he nevertheleſs found time to write various treatiſes on very different and important ſubjects. Some political, which were remarkably well timed, and highly ſerviceable to the government; others of a more extenſive nature, ſuch as his eſſays on Law, Religion, and Education, which were dedicated to his preſent Majeſty when Prince of Wales, by whoſe command his then Secretary, Mr Molyneux, wrote him a letter of thanks, in which were many gracious expreſſions, as well in relation to the piece as to it's author. He compoſed, beſides theſe, many diſcourſes on literary ſubjects, for the exerciſe of his own thoughts, and for the better diſcovery of truth, which went no farther than his own cloſet, and from a principle of modeſty were not communicated even to his moſt intimate friends. He had a very high opinion of Lord Viſcount Stair's Inſtitutionof the Law Scotland, and often importuned that noble perſon's ſon, the Lord Preſident Dalrymple, to publiſh a new edition of this valuable work, which that great man declined, and preſſed the ſame taſk upon him, towards which however he made no farther advances, than ſome notes in his own copy of the book, and a few occaſional collections. This deſign has been ſince executed by a gentleman who married one of Lord Cullen's daughters, in a manner that does honour to himſelf and to his country [C]. In his private character he was

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[C] *That does honour to himſelf and to his country.*] The Viſcount of Stair's Inſtitute of the Law of Scotland was publiſhed in 1693, and was received as it deſerved with general approbation. But ſince that time, the law has undergone many alterations, and received great improvements, and therefore another ſyſtem of a like kind was very much wanted. This great work was undertaken by Andrew M'Douall, Eſq; a gentleman perfectly acquainted with the principles of the Scotch law, and who had practiſed many years at the was as amiable as reſpectable in his public. There were certain circumſtances that determined him to part with an eſtate that was left him by his father; and it being foreſeen that he would employ the produce of it and the money he had acquired by his profeſſion in a new purchaſe, there were many decayed families who ſollicited him to take their lands upon his own terms, relying entirely on that equity which they conceived to be the rule of his actions. It appeared that their opinion of him was perfectly well grounded; for being at length prevailed upon to lay out his money on the eſtate of an unfortunate family, who had a debt upon it of more than it was worth, he firſt put their affairs into order, and by claſſing the different demands, and compromiſing a variety of claims, ſecured ſome thouſand pounds to the heirs without prejudice to any, and of which they had never been poſſeſſed but from his interpoſition and vigilance on their behalf; ſo far was he from making any advantage either of their neceſſities, or his own ſkill in his profeſſion. A circumſtance juſtly mentioned to his honour, and which is an equal proof of his candour, generoſity, and compaſſion. His piety was ſincere and unaffected, and his love for the Church of Scotland was ſhewn, in his recommending moderation and charity to the clergy as well as laity, and engaging the former to inſiſt upon moral duties as the cleareſt and moſt convincing proof of mens acting from religious principles, and his practice through his whole life was the ſtrongeſt argument of his being thoroughly perſwaded of thoſe truths, which from his love to mankind he laboured to inculcate. He was charitable without oſtentation, diſintereſted in his friendſhips, and beneficent to all who had any thing to do with him. He was not only ſtrictly juſt, but ſo free from any ſpecies of avarice, that his lady, who was a woman of great prudence and diſcretion, finding him more intent on the buſineſs committed to him by others than on his own, took the care of placing out his money upon herſelf; and to prevent his poſtponing, as he was apt to do, ſuch kind of affairs when ſecurities offered, ſhe cauſed the circumſtances of them to be ſtated in the form of caſes, and ſo procured his opinion upon his own concerns as if they had been thoſe of a client. Theſe little circumſtances are mentioned as more expreſſive of his temper, than actions of another kind could be; becauſe in matters of importance, men either act from habit, or from motives that the world cannot penetrate; but in things of a trivial nature are leſs upon their guard, ſhew their true diſpoſition, and ſtand confeſſed for what they are. He paſſed a long life in eaſe and honour. His ſincerity and ſteady attachment to his principles recommended him to all parties, even to thoſe who differed from him moſt; and his charity and moderation converted this reſpect into affection, ſo that not many of his rank had more friends, and perhaps none could boaſt of having fewer enemies. His death was as calm and placid as his life. His laſt illneſs continued but three days, without any violent or painful ſymptoms; notwithſtanding which, the learned Phyſicians who attended him clearly diſcerned and timely admoniſhed him that his diſſolution was at hand. He received this meſſage not only calmly but chearfully. He declared that he had followed the dictates of his conſcience, and that he was not afraid of death. He took a tender farewel of his children and friends, recommended to them earneſtly a ſteady and conſtant attachment to the faith and duty of Chriſtians, and aſſured them that true religion was the only thing that could bring a man peace at the laſt. He expired ſoon after, quietly and without any agony, March 16, 1726, in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age. He left behind him three ſons and five daughters; his eldeſt ſon, Archibald Grant, Eſq; ſerved in his father's life-time for the ſhire of Aberdeen, and becoming by his demiſe Sir Archibald Grant, Baronet, ſerved again for the ſame county in 1727; his ſecond ſon, William Grant, Eſq; followed his father's profeſſion, was for ſeveral years Lord-Advocate for Scotland, and is at preſent one of the Lords of Seſſion, by the title of Lord Preſton Grange; Mr Francis Grant, the third ſon, is a Merchant; three of the daughters are married to gentlemen of fortune, and the two youngeſt are ſtill unmarried. Mr Alexander Niſbet gives us the following account of the arms born by this honourable perſon, in his Syſtem of Heraldry. Sir Francis Grant of Cullen, Bart. one of the Senators of the College of Juſtice, carries Gules, three antique crowns, Or, as deſcended from Grant of That-Ilk, within a border, ermine, in quality of a Judge, ſupported with two Angels proper: creſt, a book expanded. Motto, on an eſcroll above, *Suum cuique*, and on a compartment below, *Jehovah-jireh*, as by a ſpecial warrant under his Majeſty's hand, the 17th day of May, 1720.

the bar as an advocate, with great reputation; when he undertook this neceſſary and laborious taſk, he had no intention of giving it to the public in his life-time, but was at length prevailed upon by William Grant, Eſq; then Lord Advocate of Scotland, to alter his intention, and accordingly the firſt volume was publiſhed in 1751, and is dedicated to his Grace the Duke of Argyle, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Lord Juſtice-General, and one of the extraordinary Lords of Seſſion, but without the author's name, which however could not be long concealed, and is therefore prefixed to the ſecond volume, which was publiſhed the year following, and dedicated to the Earl of Hardwicke, Lord High-Chancellor of Great-Britain; the third and laſt volume was publiſhed in 1753, and is dedicated to William Grant, Eſq; his Majeſty's Advocate for Scotland, to whoſe friendly advice, it is therein ſaid, if the public ſhall be profited by this work, they are indebted for the publication of it in the life-time of the author. The title of this work at large, runs thus:

An Inſtitute of the Laws of Scotland in Civil Rights; with Obſervations upon the Agreement or Diverſity between them and the Laws of England, in four books, after the general method of the Viſcount of Stair's Inſtitutions. With an Appendix, Table of Contents, and two Indexes.

This great performance, ſo much wanted in and ſo very uſeful to the whole united kingdom, has been ſo generally well received, and found to be ſo accurately and ſo judiciouſly performed, that the learned author has been very deſervedly promoted to be one of the Senators of the College of Juſtice.

From Memoirs ſupplied by the Family.

GRANVILLE (*a*), or **GREENVIL** [Denis] Dean of Durham in the laſt century, was a younger ſon of the loyal and valiant Sir Bevil Granville, of Kilkhampton in Cornwall, Kt. [*A*] and brother to John the firſt Earl of Bath of that family. He was born in the year 1639 (*b*), and, after a ſuitable education, admitted, September 22, 1657. a Fellow-commoner of Exeter-college in Oxford (*c*). On the 28th of September 1660. he was created Maſter of Arts (*d*); and, ſoon after, marrying Anne youngeſt daughter of Dr John Coſin Biſhop of Durham (*e*), he was collated by his Lordſhip, September 16, 1662. to the Archdeaconry of Durham; and to the firſt Prebend in the cathedral church of Durham, which he exchanged for the ſecond, April 16, 1668 (*f*). He had alſo, of his gift, the Rectories of Eaſington (*g*), and Elwick, in the foreſaid dioceſe (*h*); and in the room of the latter, the great living of Sedgefield, one of the moſt conſiderable country-pariſhes in England (*i*). But he took a very regular and exemplary care of them, in the due diſcharge of all miniſterial functions, as appears by the directions he gave to his Curates, printed among his works (*k*). On the 20th of December 1670, he was created, at Oxford, Doctor in Divinity; being then Chaplain in ordinary to his Majeſty, as he had been for ſeveral years before (*l*). And, December the 14th 1684, was inſtalled Dean of Durham, in the room of Dr John Sudbury, deceaſed (*m*). Thus poſſeſſed of theſe great preferments, he might have long enjoy'd them with much profit and honour to himſelf and friends; and have continued to be an ornament to his function, and a general benefit to the world. But ſome abſurd notions he had entertained, of the unlimited extent of the Prerogative, together with his ſtrict adherence to the doctrines of Paſſive Obedience and Non-reſiſtance [*B*], involved him into inextricable difficulties (*n*). For, poſſeſſed with the indiſpenſableneſs of their obligation, upon the Prince of Orange's coming to reſcue this nation from the dangerous attempts made upon our Religion and Liberties, the Dean oppoſed the meaſures taken for our common ſafety, to the utmoſt of his power: by preaching, delivering charges to the clergy, ſending up an Addreſs to King James, and ſubſcribing a ſum of money for his ſervice (*o*). And, when all his endeavours proved ineffectual, he was ſo entangled with the abſurd doctrines juſt now mentioned, that, rather than ſubmit to King William, he choſe to loſe his great preferments, and go into a voluntary exile [*C*]. For, quitting Durham the

(*a*) So he writ his name, and ſometimes *Grenville*. See his Works.

(*b*) As appears by the date, round a print of him, prefix'd to his works.

(*c*) Wood, Ath. ed. 1721. Vol. II. col. 959.

(*d*) Idem Faſti, col. 131.

(*e*) See above, the article COSIN [John].

(*f*) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, &c. by Brown Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. p. 260, 264, 265.

(*g*) The Rectory of Eaſington is annex'd to the Archdeaconry of Durham.

h) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) See his works.

(*k*) P. 45, &c.

(*l*) Wood, Faſti, ut ſupra, col. 185.

(*m*) Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 256.

(*n*) See his Letter to the Earl of Bath, p. 14, 15.

(*o*) See his works, as mentioned below.

[*A*] *Was a younger ſon of the loyal and valiant Sir Bevil Granville, of Kilkhampton in Cornwall, Kt.*] See an account of this family, under the article *Greenville* (Sir Richard).

[*B*] *But ſome abſurd notions he had entertained, of the unlimited extent of the Prerogative, together with his ſtrict adherence to the doctrines of Paſſive Obedience and Non-reſiſtance, involved him*, &c] Theſe notions and doctrines he moſt ſtrenuouſly avowed, not only in his conduct and actions, but alſo in his ſeveral writings, Thus, in the Preface to his Farewel viſitation ſpeech (1), he declares, that he 'never wanted reſolution, all 'along to oppoſe the *Subjects incroaching on the Prerogative* of their King, as heartily as he had withſtood 'the Dutch their invading of the Land.' And, in his Letter to his brother the Earl of Bath (2), he lays it down, as 'the Eſſential Duties of ſubjection and allegiance to the Soveraign, That Subjects are upon noe 'conſideration whatſoever, neither of religion, liberty, 'nor life, to *reſiſt*, or *deſert*, their lawfull Soveraigne, 'though hee were no better than ſuch an one as St Paul 'lived under, when he writ the Epiſtle to the Romans, 'not only a heathen, but a cruell perſecutour, a Nero, a Caligula, or a Diocleſian.—Moreover (3), that 'we ought not, upon any pretence whatſoever, to 'take up arms againſt a lawful King, nor aſſiſt, aid, 'or abet thoſe who doe, no not ſo much as to wiſh ill 'to the Lord's Anointed in the very bottome of our 'hearts.—And to be as faithfull to a Roman-Catholick, as a Proteſtant, Prince, and as true to him in 'adverſity, as in proſperity (4).' According to theſe miſtaken principles was his practice. For he not only adhered to K. James II. in every inſtance, 'even in 'the moſt *unintelligible* of all his acts of mercy, (to 'uſe his own words) namely, the including the Fanaticks in his Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience (5); But alſo, 'having done, as he ſays himſelf (6) all that 'lay in his power, in all his capacities, by his moſt 'vigorous endeavours, towards the ſupport of the 'Crowne and the Church of England; and ſeeing 'himſelfe abſolutely uncapable to act further for his 'Majeſtie as he had done, and to diſcharge his 'conſcience,—he reſolved to preſerve his Innocency 'by flight, ſince he could not doe it by ſitting ſtill and 'ſtaying in Durham (if he ſhould eſcape the jaole 'which he had little reaſon to hope) after an honeſt 'loyal activity:—And therefore bethought himſelfe 'of flying away ſecretly to the King [James II] to 'owne his cauſe, when he could not otherwiſe ſerve 'him.'

[*C*] *He choſe to loſe his great preferments, and go into a voluntary exile.*] As there does not appear in his conduct and actions, (as far as recorded)any ſufficient cauſe for this his *ſudden and private departure*, we muſt endeavour, if poſſible, to find out a ſatisfactory reaſon for it, in thoſe ſeveral pieces he publiſhed afterwards in France, during his exile. In one place (7), he calls it his '*Eſcape*:' and ſays, he was '*driven* from his 'ſtation by the impetuoſity of that dreadful ſtorm, 'which fell on and overthrew our Church and State.' —He 'maintained his poſte (as he goes on to relate) 'notwithſtanding mighty diſcouragements, 'till it was 'not poſſible for him any longer to ſtrive againſt that 'torrent, which had hurried all matters, in the Nation, into great diſorder and confuſion. When I 'ſaw, adds he, there was no poſſible means left for 'me, but to ſink, by endeavouring to oppoſe what 'was irreſiſtable; or ſwimme down the ſtream (which 'no argument nor example of the age could, I thank 'God, prevaile with me to do) I was under a neceſſity 'to turne aſide, and withdraw my ſelfe, beholding matters a while at a diſtance, rather than in my own 'ſtation and place of acting; ſince I carried about 'with me an unalterable loyall heart, which would 'not ſuffer me to runn (as moſt did) with the multitude; 'and on the other ſide wanted both ſtrength of mine 'own, and the aſſiſtance of others, effectually to oppoſe that unruly and many-headed monſter. But 'did not reſolve to leave the kingdome,——till I had 'a powerfull example, which a dutifull ſubject ought 'to be proud to follow, and a Precedent which may 'ſet me above the cenſures of any perſon in the three 'kingdomes. When my Soveraine was forc'd from 'his own pallace, nay driven out of the Realme, it 'was time for thoſe who were firmly reſolv'd to adhere to, and ſuffer with Him, to yeild to that force 'and neceſſity, which a mighty Potentate, by complying with, proclaim'd to be invincible. Having 'then the honour to be one of that number (and glorying that I am ſo) it would have been a prepoſterous 'courſe

(1) P. 1.

(2) P. 2.

(3) Sermons, p. 27.

(4) Preface to thoſe Sermons, p. 3.

(5) Farewel Viſitation ſpeech, p. 16.

(6) Letter to the Earl of Bath, p. 9.

(7) Letter to the Biſhop of Durham, p. 1.

the 11th of December 1688, he arrived, the 19th of March following, at Honfleur in France [*D*]. His reſidence for ſome time was at Rouen in Normandy (*p*), and then at Corbeil in the iſle of France, from whence the Granville-family originally ſprang (*q*). In February 1689-90, he took a hazardous journey into England, whereby he got a ſmall ſupply of money, to ſubſiſt a while abroad; though with much trouble and danger, occaſioned by an impertinent poſt-maſter, who diſcovered him at Canterbury (*r*). His brother the Earl of Bath endeavoured for ſome time to ſecure his revenues (*s*); but as no conſiderations whatever could induce him to ſwear allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, he was at length deprived of all his preferments February 1, 1690-91 (*t*). He not only refuſed to ſwear himſelf, but likewiſe did all that lay in his power to deter, or rather to terrify, others from taking the oaths to their Majeſties [*E*]. Having no proſpect,

‘course for me (who never play'd my game ſo as to ſave my ſtake) to have ſtay'd at home, or in England, when I was no longer capable to ſerve Him, in thoſe offices wherein I was plac'd; and while I had no other proſpect, but that of a *priſon*, without doing what was impoſſible for me to do, I mean bow down to Baal, or in plain Engliſh, ſubmit to an Uſurper.' ——Elſewhere, he ſays (8), ‘that he did not *runn away*,————when he ſaw the Wolfe *coming*, but after he ſaw him *come*, and with open mouth ready to devoure, and had Himſelfe in ſome ſort *taſted his Fierceneſs* (9).'

[*D*] *For quitting Durham*, &c.] The particular account of his adventures, in this eſcape, may not be unacceptable to the reader in his own words; which is thus. ‘—On the 11th of Dec. at midnight, by the helpe of two faithfull ſervants, which I did dare truſt, I got my horſes prepared, and was conducted by one of them that night to Hexham, where I procured an honeſt guide to Carliſle the neareſt of the King's garriſons, and the moſt conſiderable place which then held out for the King.——I had no ſooner got to Carliſle (where I was very kindly received by Mr Howard the governor, &c.) but the very day after, being Saturday, the poſt brought in the diſmall newes, of the defeat of ſome of his Majeſties troopes at Reading, and others deſerting in ſuch ſort, that hee was forced to withdraw out of the Kingdome, together with ſome intimations to the Governour, that it was to no purpoſe for him to hold out the place, but that hee being a Roman Catholick, it would be moſt prudent, and not diſpleaſing to his Majeſty, for him to retire, and leave the governmenr to the old governour, Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave,—[which he immediately did]. This direfull cataſtrophe, which did both aſtoniſh and afflict mee, to ſee our Soveraigne,—treated with ſo much brutality, betrayed by thoſe hee thought his beſt freinds, deſerted by his neareſt relations, forbidden his own palace, and forced out of his kingdome, did immediately, without much conſideration incline mee to leave it alſo, to maneſeſt my juſt indignation againſt rebellion and treachery:——and I did reſolve accordingly to haſten into France to ſhare with my Soveraigne in his misfortunes. In order whereunto (after I had viſited the Biſhop of Carliſle at Roſe-caſtle,—and depoſited with his Lordſhip ſome ſolemn aſſurances of living and dying in the right Church-of England-Religion) I departed from Carliſle Dec. the 19 towards Scotland, with a ſingle ſervant, a Scotch man, whom I had newly entertained, to conduct me to Edinburgh, hoping at Leith, or ſome other ſeaport on that coaſt to procure ſhipping for France. But reſting a day or two at Alliſon Banke, on the borders, to confer with an honeſt loyall Gentleman, who had ingaged there to meet mee, I fell into the hands of the rabble, who then with fury raged up and downe, on the firing of the beacons thereabouts very raſhly and indiſcreetly, by ſome credulous and temporiſing Juſtices, who gave credit to the falſe and malitious reports, of the landing of Iriſh Papiſts, burning of towns, and maſſacring of people wherever they came. Theſe villaines headed by one Palmer a notorious rogue and murderer, who had but lately eſcaped the gallowes, ſeized on mee for a Popiſh Preiſt and Jeſuite on Dec 21. about eleven at night, and pulled me out of my bed, rifling my pockets, and my chamber, carrying away my horſes, (two geldings worth 40 l.) and my portmantue, and mounting mee on a little jade not worth 40 s. Thus diſgracefully conducting mee to a poor alehouſe on the Engliſh ſide, three miles off, where they ſearch'd my portmantue, and plunder'd mee of a bag of money, and ſome ſmall pieces of plate, with other things; leaving mee afterwards in the hands of the watch, and a Conſtable to lead mee away on foot, in a ſevere cold froſty night, with a heavy riding coate, and great bootes (ill accoutrements for walking) to march to Carliſle, to bee examined before one Capt. Bub, and other officers then in the garniſon, and by whom they did hope to have been rewarded (as they afterwards declared) for their good ſervice to the country in ſecuring (as they ſtiled mee) a fugitive and dangerous perſon. But being well known in the city, and travelling with the Governour Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave's paſſe, they miſſed of their expectation and received a rebuke, whiles I had my horſes, and the greateſt part of my money reſtored mee, and was ſet at liberty, either to ſtay or depart the towne.———Tho' I was now, a ſecond time, at liberty to goe where I pleaſed, and promiſed a paſſe if I would goe home to Durham, I did thinke it moſt prudent, to continue a while in that city, to remove the ſuſpicion of my intended flight out of England, and accordingly lived unconcernedly there for 14 or 15 dayes, conſtantly attending God's publick ſervice, and preaching in the cathedrall on Chriſtmas-day, whereby I convinced people, I hope, that I was no Popiſh preiſt nor Jeſuite. After this the countrey being more quiet, and no watches kept, ——I left Carliſle, and ventured back towards Durham as far as Hexam, but with noe intention to goe home, deſigning, after I had ſhifted off a guide, and ſome ſervants who were ſent with letters to mee, to ſtrike out of the roade by Berwick towards Scotland; which I did, without any other conſiderable impediment, and on the 26th of Jan. arrived ſafe at Edinburgh; endeavouring, as ſoon as I could, to get admittance into the caſtle, and wait on the Duke of Gordon; to whom I communicated my deſigne of going to the King, and by whom I was informed of a veſſel then in the roade ready to depart for France. Which opportunity I made uſe of, and was, after many tempeſts and a tedious voyage by reaſon of contrary winds, at laſt ſafely landed at Honfleur, on the 19th day of March N. S. the very day after his Majeſties (10) departure from Breſt for Ireland; which miſſing of the King was a great diſappointment and mortification to mee.'——He obſerves afterwards, that after having reſted a whole week in that place, he departed on the 25th for Rouen; where he was very civilly entertained for ſome years by Mr Thomas Hacket, an Engliſh merchant (11).

[*E*] *But likewiſe did all that lay in his power to deter, or rather to terrify, others from taking the oaths to their Majeſties.*] Namely, by repreſenting the Revolution as a *Rebellion* and *Uſurpation*. ‘Yea ſuch a Rebellion and Uſurpation (ſays he) that no good Chriſtian could (hee was ſatisfied in his conſcience) joyne in the firſt, or uphold the latter; and conſequently that no body could receive the communion, without injury to his ſoule, in the uſe of thoſe prayers, which pray'd for the maintaining of both; ſince hee that received the bleſſed Supper of the Lord, in the office of any Church, ſet his ſeale to all the corruptions that were crept into that Church, and did, in a higher manner, profane God's ſacred name, by uſing that holy ordinance to ſo impious an end (as to

‘beg

(*p*) Till about the year 1693. See his print.

(*q*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 479. and Britiſh Compendium, Part II. of Vol. I. ed. 1735. p. 213, &c.

(*r*) Obſervations, at the end of his Directions to his Curates, p. 52.

(*s*) P.S. to his Letter to the Earl of Bath, p. 26, 27.

(*t*) J. Le Neve's Faſti, ed. 1716, p. 351.

(8) Ibid. p. 14.

(9) Letter to the Vice-Dean, &c. p. 14.

(10) He meant K. James II.

(11) Letter to the Earl of Bath, p. 9—12.

pect, after the late King James's defeat in Ireland, of recovering his benefices; he repaired to the abdicated monarch's Court at St Germain: where though he had reaſon to expect an uncommonly kind reception, yet, becauſe he was a Proteſtant, he was ſoon obliged to retire, not only from Court [*F*], but alſo from the town of St Germain (*u*). 'Tis ſaid, that upon the death of Dr Lamplugh, he had the empty title of Archbiſhop of York, conferred upon him by King James (*w*): though others deny it, for *many very ſtrong reaſons* which they do not mention (*x*). In 1695, he came *incognito* to England, where he found no encouragement to make any ſtay (*y*). Having, for ſome years, enjoyed but an indifferent ſtate of health (*z*), he died at his lodgings in Paris [*G*] April the 8th 1703, aged 64; and was buried at the lower end of the church-yard of the Holy Innocents, in that city (*a*). While he reſided in England, he publiſhed a few ſmall pieces [*H*], as he did a collection of Tracts, after his exile in France [*I*]. We ſhall reflect, in the note, upon ſome unreaſonable Doctrines [*K*], which he earneſtly inculcates in that collection. His nephew George Granville, Lord Lanſdown, draws his character to great advantage,

'beg of God, by virtue of his Saviour's body and blood, the deſtruction of his lawful Prince) than hee that barely ſwears allegiance to an Uſurper. Which yet, by the way, [adds he] whoever does, (let him underſtand) doth, in a manner, abjure his lawfull Sovereign.' And this he lays down as a caſe of conſcience, that he then ventured publickly to decide. ———A few lines after, 'hee makes no doubt, but that the *Churches* in England muſt become *empty*, and the Altars thin;——for people can never heartily pray for their lawfull Prince, ſo long as they can reconcile themſelves to the Devotions, which are ſolemnly in God's houſe, even at the very Communion-table, and in reception of the holy myſteries, offered up to heaven for the proſperity of his enemies, and depoſer. Whereto all ſay Amen, in the very act of communicating.———Which, to be done by people, that pretend to retaine in their hearts love for their baniſht King, he conceived no better than a mere gally-moffry of Religion. And that if this be not halting betwixt God and Baal, he knew not what was (12).'——In all which ſtrong expreſſions, his deſign was, to raiſe doubts and ſcruples in the conſciences of moſt perſons that had taken the oaths to King James, and deter them from ſwearing allegiance to King William; or, at leaſt, to keep them from Church, and the Communion.

[*F*] *Becauſe he was a Proteſtant, he was ſoon obliged to retire from Court*] The author of *A View of the Court of St Germain*, informs us of this particular (13), in the following words. 'The firſt conſiderable ſtep they [the Proteſtant party at that court] made, was to deſire a Chappel from King James, for the exerciſe of their worſhip according to the Church of England, and propos'd Dr Granvile, as a fit perſon to be their Chaplain; they urged the great incouragement, ſuch a Toleration would give to his adherents in England, and what ſatisfaction it would be to ſuch Proteſtants as followed him: but tho' common policy, and his circumſtances, made every body believe that this requeſt would be eaſily granted, yet it was poſitively denied, and Dr *Granvile* obliged not only to retire from Court, but alſo from the town of St Germain, to avoid the daily inſults of the Prieſts, and the dreaded conſequences of the jealouſies with which they poſſeſſ't King James's Court againſt him.'

[*G*] *He died at his lodgings in Paris.*] He was taken ill of a fever at Corbeil the 2d of April 1703; came to his lodgings at Paris upon the *foſſée* St Victor, on the 4th; and died there the 8th at ſix in the morning (14).

[*H*] *While he reſided in England, he publiſhed a few ſmall pieces.*] Namely, two Sermons, 1. 'The compleat Conformiſt: or, ſeaſonable Advice concerning ſtrict Conformity, and frequent celebration of the holy Communion.' Preached Jan. 7, 1682, in the Cathedral Church of Durham. Lond. 1684. 4to. 2. 'Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of Durham, upon the revival of the ancient laudable practice of that and ſome other cathedrals, in having Sermons on Wedneſdays and Fridays during Advent and Lent.' Preached Dec. 2, 1685. Lond. 1686. 4to. 3. He alſo publiſhed, 'Counſel and Directions divine and moral: In plain and familiar Letters of Advice to a young Gentleman his nephew, ſoon after his admiſſion into a College in Oxon.' Lond. 1685, 8vo. That nephew of his, was, Thomas a younger ſon of Sir Thomas Higgons Knt. by Bridget his ſecond wife, ſiſter of Dean Granville; and a Student in Magdalen-College, Oxon (15).

[*I*] *As he did a Collection of Tracts, after his exile in France.*] They were printed at Rouen, partly in 1689, and partly in 1691, 4to under this title, 'The reſigned, and reſolved Chriſtian; and faithfull, and undaunted Loyaliſt: In two plaine farewell ſermons, and a loyal farewell-viſitation-ſpeech. Both delivered amidſt the lamentable confuſions occaſioned by the late Foreign Invaſion and Home-Defection of his Majeſties ſubjects in England. Whereunto are added certaine Letters to his Relations and Friends in England, ſhewing the reaſons and manner of his withdrawing out of the kingdom. 1. A letter to his brother the Earl of Bathe. 2. A letter to his Biſhop the Biſhop of Durham. 3. A letter to his brethren the Prebendaries. 4. A letter to the Clergy of his Archdeaconry. 5. A letter to his Curates at Ealington and Sedgefield.' With Directions to them, &c. This Book is very incorrect, as being compoſed by a Printer who did not underſtand Engliſh; and is now grown *very ſcarce*. At the beginning, there is a curious print of the Doctor, engraved by the famous Edelink.

[*K*] *We ſhall reflect——upon ſome unreaſonable Doctrines, which he earneſtly inculcates in that collection*] Such is, in particular, his over ſtrain'd notion of unlimited Obedience to Princes. For he lays it down as a plain and poſitive Duty, That 'ſubjects are bound to obey lawfull Princes whatever bee their Opinion or *Practices*,——and that no Power upon earth could abſolve him from his ſworn Obedience (16). In conſequence of which, he profeſſes an immoveable adherence to the cauſe and intereſt of the Father of his country, [as he called the King] and an innate abhorrence of diſputing, conteſting, or rudely capitulating with his Prince, even then when he commanded things very contrary to his own ſentiments, which he did judge not only *inexpedient*, but *prejudiciall* to the flouriſhing condition of our Church (17).' Nay, he further declares, that 'no feares, or jealouſies of *Religion*, *Liberties*, or *Lawes*, did ever tempt him (he bleſſed God) to any undue courſes of Reſiſtance, Oppoſition, or ſo much as unſeemly capitulation, with God's Vicegerent to preſerve them. Tho' he loved them all ſoe well and dearely, that he could be contented to die for them in any place, or manner, unleſſe it were with a ſword in his hand lifted up againſt his Prince (18).'———In one place, he ſpeaks in the harſheſt terms of the Dutch. 'Our incens'd God, ſays he, may deſigne to teach us ſubmiſſion and ſubjection by ſo ſevere a method, as to make us, (who have been yet one of the freeſt and moſt happy Nations of Europe) *Truckle* to an upſtart Commonwealth, to an Antimonarchical generation, who by their continual ſhelt'ring, encouraging, and aſſiſting of Traytors, proclame their enmity to the very name of King; and that they would not leave (if they could have their will) one crown'd head in Chriſtendom (19).'

[*L*] *The*

(*u*) A View of the Court of St Germain, from the year 1690 to 1695, Lond. 1696, 4to, p. 5.

(*w*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*x*) See his article in the *General Dictionary*.

(*y*) Wood, ut ſupra.

(*z*) See his Letter to the Earl of Bath, p. 12.

(*a*) See his article in the General Dictionary; and Br. Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 256.

(12) Obſervations on the Directions to his Curates, p. 55, 56.

(13) P. 5. as above.

(14) See General Dictionary, as above.

(15) Wood Ath. ut ſupra.

(16) Letter to the Earl of Bath, p. 18, 19.

(17) Ibid. p. 15.

(18) Ibid. p. 17.

(19) Viſitation ſpeech, p. 23.

(b) Letter to a nephew of his, who was going into holy orders.

advantage, in the following words (*b*); ‘ Sanctity ſate ſo eaſy, ſo unaffected, and ſo graceful upon him, that in him we beheld the very beauty of holineſs. He was as chearful, as familiar, as condeſcending in his converſation, as he was ſtrict, regular, and exemplary in his piety; as well-bred and accompliſhed as a courtier, and as reverend and venerable as an Apoſtle. He was indeed Apoſtolical in every thing, for he abandoned all to follow his Lord and Maſter.’ This latter part of his conduct, *The loſing all*; which, in ſome mens opinion, was neither an argument of his wiſdom nor prudence, ſhall be conſidered in the Note [*L*]. And from this great Man's example, (to conclude his article), we may learn the great danger and miſchief of propagating abſurd and unreaſonable Doctrines. Since there will always be found ſome perſons or other, that will embrace and ſtiffly defend them, though never ſo much to their own, or others, prejudice: all not being equally endowed with the ſame penetrating genius, or not having a yielding conſcience alike.

[*L*] *The loſing all; which, in ſome mens opinion, was neither an argument of his wiſdom nor prudence, ſhall be conſidered in the Note.*] His conduct in this point, appears, of courſe, an act not only of deplorable Folly (to uſe his own words) (20) but alſo of extreme Madneſs; namely, to loſe ‘ ſome of the beſt preferments in their kind (21), even the beſt Deanery, the beſt Archdeaconry, and one of beſt livings in England (22). But what extenuates his fault or error, is his ſolemn declaration, That what he did, he perform'd in the integrity of his heart, and innocency of his hands (23). That he choſe to leave and ſacrifice all his revenues to the mercy of his cenſurers, rather than betray his Conſcience; and ſubmit to what he thought an Uſurpation (24); his Conſcience not permitting him to ſwallow any new diſpenſatory oaths, or diſtinctions (25). And that the doctrine of Non-reſiſtance, which many had always, till of late, been fond of, ſet forth at large in our Church Homilies, did juſtify his behaviour (26). Therefore he was fully ſatisfied, that the following of his maſter, to whom he had ſworn allegiance, even with the loſs of his whole revenues; was the moſt honeſt, the beſt, and wiſeſt action of his whole life. And he exulted in it, as a felicity, which did not only wonderfully ſupport, but ſometimes almoſt tranſported him (27). C

(20) Preface to his Viſitation-ſpeech.

(21) Letter to his Curates, p. 40.

(22) Letter to the Vice-Dean, &c. p. 17.

(23) PS. to letter to the Earl of Bath, p. 26.

(24) Dedication letter to his Curates, p. 40. and to the Vice-Dean, &c. p. 13.

(25) Letter to the Biſhop, p. 5.

(26) Letter to the Vice-Dean, p. 15. and to his Curates, p. 37.

(27) Letter to the Earl of Bath, p. 23.

GRAUNT [John], a Citizen of London, a perſon of great ſagacity and penetration, and a very ſenſible and ingenious writer. He was the ſon of Mr Henry Graunt, who kept the Seven Stars in Birchin Lane, in the Pariſh of St Michael Cornhill, where he was born April 24, 1620 (*a*). He was bred up in all the ſtrictneſs of thoſe times, and when he arrived at a proper age was put apprentice to a Haberdaſher of ſmall wares, which trade he afterwards followed though he was free of the Drapers Company (*b*). He came early into buſineſs, and acquired by his candid behaviour, ſingular integrity, and uncommon moderation, ſo great a character and ſo extenſive an intereſt, that though he was but thirty years of age he was able to procure for his friend Dr Petty the chair of Muſick Profeſſor in Greſham College; which was then vacant by the reſignation of Dr Richard Knight (*c*). His remarkable abilities, and his no leſs remarkable probity, recommended him ſo much to the eſteem of his fellow-citizens, that after paſſing through the ward offices he came to be elected a Common-Council-Man, and as he was of a very mild and friendly diſpoſition, he was often choſen an arbitrator for compoſing differences amongſt neighbours and preventing law-ſuits; in which, by the ſtrength of his natural good ſenſe, and that diſtinguiſhing faculty, which enabled him to diſcern truth wherever he ſought it, and furniſhed him alſo with a facility of making it clear to others, he did great ſervice and acquired an univerſal reputation (*d*). It is not certain at what time he began to collect and conſider the bills of mortality, but it is very clear from his own account of the matter, that he employed ſeveral years, and was at great pains and ſome expence in drawing together his materials, before he had any thoughts of publiſhing the diſcoveries he made by the help of thoſe papers, which he very judiciouſly conceived were capable of giving great lights into many and thoſe very important ſubjects (*e*). What he chiefly aimed at in theſe ſpeculations, was to introduce not only a new manner, but new principles of reaſoning; which being eſtabliſhed upon matters of fact, might have a more certain baſis, and being ſubjected to the rules of calculation carry with them the light of evidence in reſpect to matters, as to which the opinion of mankind had hitherto been guided entirely by conjecture. This was a new as well as noble deſign, and executed with as much ſpirit as there appeared ſagacity in forming it. His obſervations were firſt publiſhed in the ſpring of the year 1662, and were preceded by a very modeſt dedication to John Lord Roberts of Truro then Lord Privy-Seal. They were received as they deſerved with equal admiration and applauſe, and went through five editions in leſs than fifteen years [*A*]. The points

(a) Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſes, Vol. I. col. 311. See his own preface to his obſervations, &c.

(b) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 311.

(c) Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham College, p. 219.

(d) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 311.

(e) See his Preface to his Obſervations on the Bills.

[*A*] *And went through five editions in leſs than fifteen years.*] We ſhould not have troubled the reader with the diſtinct detail of theſe five editions in this note, if we did not apprehend that the conſideration of their titles, and of ſome other circumſtances, would not a little contribute, to clear the hiſtory of this eminent and worthy perſon. The title therefore of this work, at it's original publication, was, *Natural and Political Obſervations made upon the Bills of Mortality*, &c. Lond. 1661, 4to. The Dedication to Lord Roberts is dated January 25. The title of the ſecond edition ran thus, *Natural and Political Obſervations mentioned in the following Index, and made upon the Bills of Mortality, by* John Graunt, *Citizen of London. With reference to the Government, Religion, Trade, Growth, Air, Diſeaſes, and the ſeveral Changes of the ſaid City.* The Second Edition. To which his Dedication to Sir Robert Moray was prefixed; this was alſo in quarto, and printed in 1662. The third edition was in 1665, in virtue of an order of the Council of the Royal Society, points handled in this work were treated in ſo perſpicuous and ſatisfactory a manner, and had ſo viſible a tendency to eſtabliſh ſome of the great truths of Revealed Religion, upon the teſtimonies of ſenſe and reaſon, that thoſe who thought freely, and were deſirous that men might have their enquiries anſwered rather than checked, were extremely well pleaſed. His obſervations upon Polygamy were judged to be particularly ſtrong and concluſive, and indeed the more what he has advanced on that head is conſidered, the more the acuteneſs of his wit, and the ſolidity of his judgment, muſt be acknowledged by every ingenuous reader (*f*) [*B*]. In the concluſion of his work, he has very clearly and conciſely pointed out

(*f*) Nieuwentyt's Religious Philoſopher, Vol. I. p. 317. Happy Future State of England, p. 249.

ciety, dated June 20 the ſame year. This was in octavo, and the author is ſtiled in the title page Captain John Graunt, and Fellow of the Royal Society. This was publiſhed in the plague year; and, in the Appendix, the author ſays, that unleſs the weekly bills roſe to above eight thouſand four hundred in one week, the mortality would not be greater than in the plague of 1625 (1); but the weekly bill did never riſe to that number, though it came very near it; for, September 19, it amounted to eight thouſand two hundred ninety ſeven, and continued to ſink gradually ever after (2). The fourth edition was likewiſe in octavo, and the author is therein ſtiled Major John Graunt. The fifth edition, in octavo likewiſe, was in 1676, after the author's death, and publiſhed by the care of Sir William Petty; and it is from his ſpeaking of this edition as his own (3), that ſome have raſhly concluded the book to be ſo; but as the reader will ſee, in a ſubſequent note, Sir William had no ſuch meaning.

[*B*] *Muſt be acknowledged by every ingenuous reader.*] After having eſtabliſhed the matter of fact, that there are actually more males born than females, in a certain proportion, he proceeds thus (4). It may be concluded from hence, that the Chriſtian Religion, prohibiting polygamy, is more agreeable to the law of nature, that is, the law of God, than the Mahometan, and others that allow it; for one man, his having many women, or wives by law, ſignifies nothing, unleſs there were many women to one man in nature alſo.

The obvious objection hereunto is, that one horſe, bull, or ram, having each of them many females, do promote increaſe. To which I anſwer, that although perhaps there be naturally, even of theſe ſpecies, more males than females, yet artificially, that is, by making geldings, oxen, and weathers, there are fewer. From whence it will follow, that when by experience it is found how many ewes (ſuppoſe twenty) one ram will ſerve, we may know what proportion of male lambs to caſtrate or geld, viz. nineteen, or thereabouts; for if you emaſculate fewer, viz. but ten, you ſhall, by promiſcuous copulation of each of theſe ten with two females, hinder the increaſe ſo far as the admittance of two males will do it; but if you caſtrate none at all, it is highly probable that every of the twenty males copulating with every of the twenty females, there will be little or no conception in any of them all.

And this I take to be the trueſt reaſon why foxes, wolves, and other vermin, animals that are not gelt, increaſe not faſter than ſheep; when as ſo many thouſand of theſe are daily butchered, and very few of the other die otherwiſe than of themſelves.

We have hitherto ſaid, That there are more males than females; we ſay next, that the one exceed the other by about a thirteenth part. So that, although more men die violent deaths than women, that is, more are ſlain in wars, killed by miſchance, drowned at ſea, and die by the hand of juſtice; moreover, more men go to colonies and travel into foreign parts than women; and laſtly, more remain unmarried than of women, as fellows of colleges and apprentices above eighteen; yet the ſaid thirteenth part difference bringeth the buſineſs but to ſuch a paſs, that every woman may have a huſband without the allowance of polygamy.

Moreover, although a man be prolific full forty years, and a woman but five and twenty, which makes the males to be as five hundred and ſixty, to three hundred twenty five females, yet the cauſes above named, and the later marriage of the men, reduce all to an equality.

It appearing that there were fourteen men to thirteen women, and that they die in the ſame proportion alſo, yet I have heard Phyſicians ſay that they have two women patients to one man; which aſſertion ſeems very likely, for that women are ſick of breedings, &c.

Now from this it ſhould follow, that more women ſhould die than men, if the number of burials anſwered in proportion to that of ſickneſſes; but this muſt be ſalved, either by alledging that the Phyſicians cure thoſe ſickneſſes, ſo as few more die than if none were ſick, or elſe that men being more intemperate than women, die as much by reaſon of their vices, as women do by the infirmity of their ſex, and conſequently more males being born than females, more alſo die.

In the year 1642 many males went out of London into the wars then beginning, inſomuch, as I expected in the ſucceeding year 1643 to have found the burials of females to have exceeded thoſe of males, but no alteration appeared; foraſmuch, as I ſuppoſe, trading continuing the ſame in London, all thoſe who loſt their apprentices had others out of the country; and if any left their trades and ſhops, that others forthwith ſucceeded them; for if employment for hands remained the ſame, no doubt but the number of them could not long continue in diſproportion.

Another pregnant argument to the ſame purpoſe, which hath already been touched on, is, That although in the very year of the plague, the chriſtenings decreaſed, by the dying and flying of teeming women; yet the very next year after they increaſed ſomewhat, but the ſecond after to as full a number as in the ſecond year before the ſaid plague; for I ſay again, if there be encouragement for an hundred in London, that is, a way how an hundred may live better than in the country, and if there be void houſing there to receive them, the evacuating a fourth or third part of them muſt ſoon be ſupplied out of the country; ſo as the great plague doth not leſſen the inhabitants of the city but of the country, who in a ſhort time remove themſelves from thence hither, ſo long, until the city, for want of receipt and encouragement, regurgitates and ſends them back.

From the difference between males and females, we ſee the reaſon of making eunuchs in thoſe places where polygamy is allowed, the latter being uſeleſs as to multiplication without the former, as was ſaid before in caſe of ſheep and other animals, uſually gelt in theſe countries.

By conſequence, this practice of caſtration ſerves as well to promote increaſe, as to meliorate the fleſh of thoſe beaſts that ſuffer it. For that operation is equally practiſed upon horſes, which are creatures not uſed for food, as upon thoſe that are.

In Popiſh countries, where polygamy is forbidden, if a greater number of males oblige themſelves to cælibacy than the natural overplus or difference between them and females amounts unto, then multiplication is hindred; for if there be eight men to ten women, all of which eight men are married to eight of the ten women, then the other two bear no children, as either admitting no man at all, or elſe admitting men, as whores, that is, more than one, which commonly procreates no more than if none at all had been uſed: or elſe ſuch unlawful copulations beget conceptions, but to fruſtrate them by procured abortions or ſecret murthers, all which returns to the ſame reckoning. Now if the ſame proportion of women oblige themſelves to a ſingle life likewiſe, then ſuch obligation makes no change in this matter of increaſe.

From what hath been ſaid, appears the reaſon why the law is, and ought to be, ſo ſtrict againſt fornications and adulteries; for if there were univerſal liberty, the increaſe of mankind would be but like that of foxes at beſt.

Now, foraſmuch as princes are not only powerful but rich, according to the number of their people (hands being

(1) See Mr Oldenberg's letter to R. Boyle, Eſq; Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 613.

(2) See the Bill for the Plague year in our author's book.

(3) An Eſſay concerning the multiplication of mankind, by Sir W. P. p. 13.

(4) Major Graunt's Obſervations, fifth edition, p. 65—71.

out the principal heads; which in the courſe of his obſervation are inveſtigated, and he farther ſhews to what great and weighty ſubjects they may be applied, ſo as to raiſe a new and accurate theory of policy, which in the hands of able and judicious ſtateſmen, that is, ſuch as are not only capable of making right deductions, but are alſo from a juſt and generous principle of public ſpirit, inclined to carry them into execution, may turn to very great account, and enable them to render the government they adminiſter powerful, and the people who live under it happy. But he modeſtly declined proſecuting ſuch enquiries in their full extent, as ſeeming to be above the reach and out of the road of a private man *(g)* [*C*]. It is very probable he might have another reaſon, which was leaving theſe things

(g) Obſervations on the Bills of Mortality, p. 96.

being the father, as lands are the mother and womb of wealth) it is no wonder why ſtates, by encouraging marriage, and hindering licentiouſneſs, advance their own intereſt, as well as preſerve the laws of God from contempt and violation.

It is a bleſſing to mankind, that by this overplus of males there is this natural bar to polygamy, for, in ſuch a ſtate, women could not live in that parity and equality of expence with their huſbands, as now and here they do.

The reaſon whereof is not that the huſband cannot maintain as ſplendidly three as one, for he might, having three wives, live himſelf upon a quarter of his income, that is, in a parity with all three, as well as having but one, live in the ſame parity at half with her alone: but rather, becauſe that to keep them all quiet with each other and himſelf, he muſt keep them all in greater awe and leſs ſplendour, which power he having, he will probably uſe it to keep them all as low as he pleaſes, and at no more coſt than makes for his own pleaſure, the pooreſt ſubjects (ſuch as this plurality of wives muſt be) being moſt eaſily governed.

We ſhould not have given the reader this long ſpecimen of our author's method of reaſoning, had it not been that we have ſome obſervations on what he has delivered, that having never been publiſhed, may perhaps afford him ſome inſtruction, or, at leaſt, entertainment. ‘ There never was any apprehenſion more groundleſs, than that Experimental Philoſophy ſhould prove detrimental to Revealed Religion. Experiments are enquiries made by human reaſon into the works of God; and the knowledge collected from thence, is in reality a kind of Revelation. To ſuppoſe therefore that any diſcoveries of this kind ſhould contradict what has been delivered by inſpired writers, is to ſuppoſe a repugnance between the words and works of God, which is impoſſible. Take Mr Graunt's demonſtration as to the proportion between males and females, and compare it with the following paſſage from the Goſpel.’ *And the* Phariſees *came to* Jeſus *and aſked him, Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife? tempting him. And he anſwered and ſaid unto them, What did* Moſes *command you? And they ſaid,* Moſes *ſuffered to write a bill of divorcement, and put her away. And* Jeſus *anſwered and ſaid unto them, For the hardneſs of your heart he wrote you this precept. But from the* beginning *of the* creation God *made them* male *and* female. *For this cauſe ſhall a man leave his father and mother, and cleave to his wife; and they twain ſhall be one fleſh, ſo then they are no more twain but one fleſh. What therefore* God *hath joined together, let not man put aſunder* (5). The bleſſed author of this diſcourſe aſſumes a law of nature for the ground of his doctrine, Mr Graunt's obſervations have demonſtrated that this law ſubſiſts in nature. We may ſay the ſame thing with regard to Chriſt's doctrine of a particular Providence, becauſe, from the ſame obſervations it clearly appears, that thoſe events which are vulgarly conſidered as the moſt in the power of chance, are governed by certain rules, yet not ſtrictly and invariably, but within the limits properly aſſigned, ſo as to prove at once the infinite wiſdom and freedom of will in the Divine Being. The ingenious Dr Arbuthnot has puſhed this thought of Mr Graunt's to the utmoſt, and demonſtrated a particular Providence to every man who knows that two and two makes four. He has given an accurate table of the number of males and females chriſtened yearly in London from 1629 to 1710, that is, for eighty-two years (6). Upon this he makes theſe four obſervations. 1. That at London, in theſe eighty-two following years, the number of males has exceeded that of females every year. 2. That the difference thereof has always lain between two terms not far from one another. So that, 3. There were always more males born than one half of the children amounted to in one year. And 4. That the number of the males never exceeded that of the females ſo far, that almoſt all the children ſhould be males. He then computes what the chance is that ſuch a proportion ſhould be preſerved eighty-two times together, and that it makes a number of twenty-five figures following each other, the five firſt of which are 48357, to one, that it ſhould not happen, and conſequently this is the odds that this world is governed by Providence and not by chance. Now in caſe it is ſo many againſt one that this ſhould not happen in London eighty two years together, let any one experienced in calculations conſider how great a number there will be againſt one, that the ſame thing don't happen throughout the whole world, and ſo often in eighty-two years following, and then let him judge whether it can be believed that chance has any place here: for that this has really happened many ages together, and in all places of the world, may be maintained with great probability, becauſe that, in all times and in all places, the men are expoſed to more dangers than the women, and nevertheleſs there will be found in all countries men for women and women for men, of equal age and condition (7).

[*C*] *As ſeeming to be above the reach and out of the road of a private man.*] In this concluſion, our author draws together in a few lines the ſubſtance of his whole book, by which he ſhews what a prodigious ſtructure he has raiſed upon materials common to the obſervation of all men, but upon which none had ever attempted to build before; and, not content with this, he points out to his reader, to how many and how different great works theſe materials may ſtill be applied (8). ‘ It may be now aſked, ſays he, To what purpoſe tends all this laborious buſtling and groping? To know, 1. The number of people? 2. How many males and females? 3. How many married and ſingle? 4. How many teeming women? 5. How many of every ſeptenary or decad of years in age? 6. How many fighting men? 7. How much London is, and by what ſteps it hath, increaſed? 8. In what time the houſing is repleniſhed after a plague? 9. What proportion die of each general and particular caſualties? 10. What years are fruitful and mortal, and in what ſpaces and intervals they follow each other? 11. In what proportion men neglect the orders of the Church, and ſects have increaſed? 12. The diſproportion of pariſhes? 13. Why the burials in London exceed the chriſtenings, when the contrary is viſible in the country? To this I might anſwer in general, by ſaying, that thoſe who cannot apprehend the reaſon of theſe enquiries, are unfit to trouble themſelves to aſk them. I might anſwer, by aſking, Why ſo many have ſpent their times and eſtates about the art of making gold? which, if it were much known, would only exalt ſilver into the place which gold now poſſeſſeth; and if it were known but to ſome one perſon, the ſame ſingle adeptus could not, nay durſt not, enjoy it, but muſt be either a priſoner to ſome prince, and ſlave to ſome voluptuary, or elſe ſkulk obſcurely up and down for his privacy and concealment. I might anſwer, That there is much pleaſure in deducing ſo many abſtruſe and unexpected inferences out of theſe poor deſpiſed bills of mortality, and in building upon that ground which hath lain waſte theſe eighty years. And there is pleaſure in doing ſomething new, though never ſo little, without peſtering the world with voluminous tranſcriptions. But I anſwer more ſeriouſly, by complaining, that whereas the art of governing, and the true politics,

(5) Mark. cap. x. 2—9. Matth. cap. v. 32, and xix. 9.

(6) Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 328. p. 136.

(7) Nieuwentyt's Religious Philoſopher, Vol. I. p. 317.

(8) Graunt's Obſervations, p. 95.

things to the care and induſtry of a friend, whom he thought every way equal to ſo great a taſk. In ſhort, there is nothing plainer, than that our author's obſervations on the bills of mortality were the elements of the famous Sir William Petty's Political Arithmetic (*b*). It is not unknown to us, that ſome writers have affirmed, he received ſome aſſiſtance from that ingenious perſon in compoſing thoſe obſervations, which poſſibly may be true (*i*). But, that he was ſo aſſiſted as not to have been able to proceed without his help, we hold to be a great miſtake, and a very unkind reflection upon his memory; which may be proved by many arguments [*D*]. At the time of publiſhing this work, he was

‘tics, is how to preſerve the ſubject in peace and plenty; that men ſtudy only that part of it which teacheth how to ſupplant and over-reach one another, and how, not by fair out running, but by tripping up each other's heels, to win the prize. Now the foundation or elements of this honeſt harmleſs policy, is to underſtand the land, and the hands of the territory to be governed, according to all their intrinſic and accidental differences: as for example; It were good to know the true geometrical content, figure, and ſituation, of all the lands of a kingdom, eſpecially according to it's moſt natural, permanent, and conſpicuous bounds. It were good to know how much hay an acre of every ſort of meadow will bear, how many cattle the ſame weight of each ſort of hay will feed and fatten, what quantity of grain and other commodities the ſame acre will bear, in one, three, or ſeven years, communibus annis, unto what uſe each ſoil is moſt proper. All which particulars I call the intrinſic value: for there is alſo another value merely accidental, or extrinſic, conſiſting of the cauſes why a parcel of land lying near a good market may be worth double to another parcel, though both of the ſame intrinſic goodneſs, which anſwers the queries, why lands in the North of England are worth but fixteen years purchaſe, and thoſe of the Weſt above eight and twenty. It is no leſs neceſſary to know how many people there be of each ſex, ſtate, age, religion, trade, rank, or degree, &c. by the knowledge whereof, trade and government may be made more certain and regular, for if men knew the people as aforeſaid, they might know the conſumption they would make, ſo as trade might not be hoped for where it is impoſſible. As for inſtance, I have heard much complaint, that trade is not ſet in ſome of the ſouth weſtern and north weſtern parts of Ireland, there being ſo many excellent harbours for that purpoſe; whereas, in ſeveral of thoſe places, I have alſo heard, there are few other inhabitants but ſuch as live ex ſponte creatis, and are unfit ſubjects for trade, as neither employing others, nor working themſelves. Moreover, if all theſe things were clearly and truly known, which I have but gueſſed at, it would appear how ſmall a part of the people work upon neceſſary labours and callings: viz. how many women and children do juſt nothing, only learning to ſpend what others get; how many are mere voluptuaries, and, as it were, mere gameſters by trade; how many live by puzzling poor people with unintelligible notions in Divinity and Philoſophy; how many, by perſwading credulous, delicate, and litigious perſons, that their bodies or eſtates are out of tune, and in danger; how many by fighting as ſoldiers, how many by miniſtries of vice and ſin, how many by trades of mere pleaſure or ornaments, and how many in ways of lazy attendance, &c. upon others: and, on the other ſide, how few are employed in raiſing and working neceſſary food and covering; and, of the ſpeculative men, how few do ſtudy nature and things! The more ingenious not advancing much further than to write and ſpeak wittily about theſe matters. I conclude, that a clear knowledge of all theſe particulars, and many more, whereat I have ſhot but at rovers, is neceſſary, in order to good, certain, and eaſy government, and even to balance parties and factions both in Church and State. But whether the knowledge thereof be neceſſary to many, or fit for others than the ſovereign and his miniſters, I leave to conſideration.’

[*D*] *Which may be proved by many arguments.*] In the attributing theſe obſervations on the bills of mortality to Sir William Petty, the authorities of two authors concur, which we have not been accuſtomed to cite together. The firſt is Mr Anthony Wood, who, ſpeaking of Mr Graunt's book, ſays (9), It was done upon certain hints and advice of Sir William Petty. Again, ſpeaking of Sir William Petty's Obſervations upon the Dublin bills, which were not publiſhed 'till 1683, adds, He had long before aſſiſted, or put into a way, John Graunt, in his writing of his Obſervations (10), &c. Biſhop Burnet is more explicit; he ſays, there was one Graunt, a Papiſt, under whoſe name Sir William Petty publiſhed his obſervations on the bills of mortality (11). Neither of theſe writers tell us whence they had their informations, nor are they very conſiſtent. If we believe Wood, Sir William Petty aſſiſted Graunt, but if we yield any credit to the prelate, then Graunt did not ſo much as aſſiſt Sir William Petty, any farther than lending his name, and why Sir William ſhould borrow it does not appear. If we conſider this fact, there are various circumſtances that render it very improbable that Sir William Petty gave Mr Graunt any aſſiſtance, and much leſs that it was his book. In the firſt place, Mr Graunt was the elder man by about three years, which is of ſome weight, if we conſider that the collecting the materials for this work, reducing them into tables, and putting them together, required a great deal of time, and that all this was done when both were very young men. In the next place, Mr Graunt was a native and citizen of London, had lived there all his life, and therefore had reaſon, opportunity, and ſome kind of call, to undertake ſuch a kind of performance, which Dr Petty, for ſo he was called, being not knighted 'till after this book was publiſhed, never had. Thirdly, though the fame and credit of Sir William Petty came, in proceſs of time, greatly to ſurpaſs that of Graunt, yet this was not the caſe when the work in queſtion was compoſed, and therefore no ground for the ſuggeſtion, that Dr Petty ſhould take ſuch a liberty with Graunt. Fourthly, this is ſo much the more unlikely, as Sir William Petty owed his fame to his abilities, and his fortune to his fame; ſo that he could have no temptation to employ his great abilities, merely to transfer that fame to another man. Laſtly, whoever looks into the occurrences of Sir William Petty's life (12), will find, that at the juncture Mr Graunt compoſed this book, his friend was in the leaſt condition to help him, for he was employed in ſurveying Ireland, in raiſing a vaſt fortune, and in defending that fortune, when raiſed, againſt attacks of ſeveral kinds, as well in as out of the parliaments of both kingdoms. After ſhewing the inſinuation to be improbable, by argument, we will next ſhew that the fact is falſe, from authorities, and theſe authorities, ſuch as could ſcarce be expected, will not be denied, and cannot be refuted. In the firſt place we have Major Graunt's own teſtimony. In his dedication to Lord Roberts, he ſays, ‘Having (I know not by what accident) engaged my thoughts upon the bills of mortality, and ſo far ſucceeded therein, as to have reduced ſeveral great confuſed volumes into a few perſpicuous tables, and abridged ſuch obſervations as naturally flowed from them, into a few ſuccinct paragraphs; without any long ſeries of multiloquious deductions, I have preſumed to ſacrifice theſe my ſmall, but firſt publiſhed, papers unto your Lordſhip, as unto whoſe benign acceptance of ſome other of my papers, even the birth of theſe is due, hoping, if I may without vanity ſay it, they may be of as much uſe to perſons in your Lordſhip's place, as they are of little or none to me; which is no more than the faireſt diamonds are to the journeyman jeweller that works them, or the poor labourer that firſt digged them from the earth.’ In his dedication to Sir Robert Moray, there is much to the ſame purpoſe, in expreſſions as ſtrong as words could make them. In his preface, he tells us how he came

(*b*) See the paragraphs cited from that author's Diſcourſe on the Dublin Bills in the notes.

(*i*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 810. Burnet's Hiſtory, of his own times, Vol. I. p. 231.

(9) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 311.

(10) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 810.

(11) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 231.

(12) See the Life of PETTY [Sir WILLIAM] in this work.

was a Captain of the Trained-Bands, which is the reaſon that we find them generally ſtiled Captain Graunt's Obſervations, and became afterwards a Major; which command it is probable he reſigned, when he quitted buſineſs. His book raiſed him ſo high in the eſteem of King Charles the ſecond, that he was pleaſed to recommend him particularly as a fit perſon to be choſen a member of the Royal Society at its firſt inſtitution; and the learned and eloquent author of the hiſtory of that Society informs us, that in his election it was ſo far from being a prejudice that he was a ſhopkeeper of London, that his Majeſty gave it in particular charge, if they found any more ſuch tradeſmen they ſhould be ſure to admit them all (*k*). After he left off buſineſs, he was admitted, as a truſtee for Sir William Backhouſe, into the management of the New River Company (*l*), which, with the unlucky circumſtance of his being perverted to Popery, gave occaſion to the groundleſs calumny, ſpread by more than one author, of his having ſome hand in the fire of London (*m*), which the reader will find fully refuted at the bottom of the page [*E*]. He continued his application

(*k*) Sprat's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, p. 67.

(*l*) Maitland's Hiſtory of London, p. 291.

(*m*) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 833. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 231.

came to take up the deſign, the manner in which he proſecuted it, the difficulties he met with, the methods he uſed to overcome them, and the apprehenſions he had of ſubmitting to the view of the public what had been the buſineſs of his private meditations. After all this, to ſuppoſe he was not the author of his book, is to ſuppoſe him the greateſt liar, and the moſt diſingenuous man, upon earth, though his character was quite the contrary. The next authority is that of the King, who recommended him, as the author of this book, to be elected a member of the Royal Society. Then of the Society itſelf, who not only elected him, but ordered the treatiſe in queſtion to be printed as his book by their own printer (13). We may add that of the prelate, who reports theſe facts as the hiſtorian of the Society, and of their ſecretary, in a private letter to Mr Boyle (14). Laſtly, we have Sir William Petty's own teſtimony, in at leaſt forty places, that it was Graunt's book, and that it was not his. In 1681, Sir William Petty publiſhed his obſervations on the Dublin bills of mortality, and the very firſt words of this little piece are entirely ſufficient for our pupoſe (15). 'The 'obſervations upon the London bills of mortality have 'been a new light to the world, and the like obſerva'tions upon thoſe of Dublin, may ſerve as ſnuffers, to 'make the ſame candle burn clearer. The London 'obſervations flowed from bills regularly kept for near 'one hundred years, but theſe are ſqueezed out of ſix 'ſtraggling London bills, out of fifteen Dublin bills, 'and from a note of the families and hearths in each 'pariſh in Dublin, which are all digeſted into the fol'lowing tables, conſiſting of three parts, marked A. 'B. C. being indeed the A. B. C. of public œconomy, 'and even of that policy which tends to peace and 'plenty.' We may ſafely conclude, from what he ſays of both works, and the different circumſtances under which they were compoſed, that he who made the ſnuffers did not make the candle. In his five eſſays in political arithmetic, dedicated to the King, he uſes theſe expreſſions, *the London bills appear in* Graunt's *book to have been always ſince the year* 1636 *as they now are —As to the number of heads in each family I ſtick to* Graunt's *obſervations* —Graunt *affirmeth upon obſervation, that three died in eighty-eight per annum.*— Graunt *has ſhewn that but one in twenty die per annum of young children under ten years old.—It was proved by* Graunt *that one fifth part of the people died of the plague.* But becauſe he has ſometimes referred to the edition of Graunt's book in 1676 as his own, an opinion grew, that he was either the author of the book, or had much aſſiſted the author; and it is to prevent this opinion from being, upon very uncertain authorities, eſtabliſhed with poſterity as a fact, that we have moſt willingly taken ſo much pains, in juſtice to the memory of this worthy man, and to the public

[*E*] *At the bottom of the page.*] The firſt time this ſtrange charge appeared, ſeems to have been in Mr Archdeacon Echard's Hiſtory (16), where it is thus related. 'As to the Papiſts contributing to this fire, I 'have been told by an eminent prelate, that Dr 'Graunt, one of that religion, was ſtrongly ſuſpected, 'who, having a ſhare in the water houſe by Iſlington, 'contrived, as is believed, to ſtop up the pipes the 'night before the fire broke out; ſo that it was many 'hours before that any water could be got after the 'uſual manner in the city. After all examinations, 'there was but one man tried for being the incendiary, 'who, confeſſing the fact, was executed for it. This 'was Robert Hubert a French Hugonot, of Rohan in 'Normandy, a perſon falſely ſaid to be a Papiſt, but 'really a ſort of a lunatic, who by mere accident was 'brought into England juſt before the breaking out of 'the fire, but not landed 'till two days after, as after'wards appeared by the evidence of Laurence Peterſon, 'the maſter of the ſhip, who had him on board.' Biſhop Burnet explains and ſets this ſtory (17) in a much ſtronger light. 'The moſt extraordinary paſſage, ſays 'he, though it is but a preſumption, was told me by 'Dr Lloyd and the Counteſs of Clarendon. The lat'ter had a great eſtate in the new river that is brought 'from Ware to London, which is brought together at 'Iſlington, where there is a great room full of pipes 'that convey it through all the ſtreets of London. 'The conſtant order of that matter was to ſet all the 'pipes a running on Saturday night, that ſo the ciſterns 'might be all full by Sunday morning, there being a 'more than ordinary conſumption of water on that 'day. There was one Graunt, a Papiſt, under whoſe 'name Sir William Petty publiſhed his obſervations on 'the bills of mortality. He had ſome time before ap'plied himſelf to Lloyd, who had great credit with 'the Counteſs of Clarendon, and ſaid he could raiſe 'that eſtate conſiderably if ſhe would make him a tru'ſtee for her. His ſchemes were probable: and he 'was made one of the board that governed that mat'ter: and by that he had a right to come as oft as he 'pleaſed to view their works at Iſlington. He went 'thither the Saturday before the fire broke out, and 'called for the key of the place where the heads of the 'pipes were, and turned all the cocks that were then 'open, and ſtopt the water, and went away, and car'ried the keys with him. So when the fire broke out 'next morning, they opened the pipes in the ſtreets to 'find water, but there was none. And ſome hours 'were loſt in ſending to Iſlington, where the door was 'to be broke open, and the cocks turned. And it 'was long before the water got to London Graunt 'indeed denied that he had turned the cocks. But 'the officer of the works affirmed that he had, accord'ing to order, ſet them all a running, and that no 'perſon had got the keys from him beſides Graunt, 'who confeſſed he had carried away the keys, but 'pretended he did it without deſign.' Almoſt as ſoon as this prelate's work appeared, it was aſſerted by a perſon who made ſome remarks upon it, that he was credibly informed, Graunt, at the time of the fire, was not in the management of the New River company (18). Bnt a very ingenious and inquiſitive writer, who to the indefatigable induſtry of Strype adds the honeſt impartiality of Stowe, has treated this matter largely and fairly, the reader, without doubt, will peruſe his account with pleaſure (19). 'In order to in'form myſelf in reſpect to Biſhop Burnet's relation, 'regarding Dr Lloyd, the Counteſs of Clarendon, and 'Mr Graunt, I applied to the governor and compa'ny of the New River, who generouſly ordered Mr Jaſ'per Bull, their clerk, and Mr Henry Mill, their engi'neer, to let me have ſuch accounts belonging to the 'company as were proper to be publiſhed. Whereupon I 'had recourſe to their minute book, wherein I found, 'that at a general court of the ſaid company, held at 'Mr Clifton's in Covent-Garden, (I ſuppoſe a tavern, be'cauſe the company's courts were long before and after 'kept at ſuch houſes) on the 25th of September, anno '1666

(13) See this order prefixed to Graunt's Obſervations.

(14) Sprat's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, p. 67. Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 335.

(15) Obſervations upon Dublin Bills, p. 1.

(16) Hiſtory of England, p. 833.

(17) Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 231.

(18) Remarks upon Burnet, p. 50.

(19) Maitland's Hiſtory of London, p. 291.

cation to his ſtudies, and made ſome conſiderable additions to his obſervations but two years before his death, which happened on the 18th of April 1674 (*n*), when he was within a week of fifty-four years of age; on the 22d of the ſame month his body was interred in the pariſh church of St Dunſtan in Fleetſtreet, when ſome of the moſt eminent and ingenious perſons of that time, and amongſt them his old friend Sir William Petty, with tears paid their laſt devoirs to his memory (*o*). He is ſaid to have left behind him a diſcourſe upon the advance of exciſe, and ſome papers on religion, which have never been publiſhed (*p*). It is highly to his honour, and ought ever to be remembred, that immediately after the publication of his book, Lewis the Fourteenth, or his miniſters, provided by a law for the moſt exact regiſter of births and burials that is any where in Europe (*q*), and that not only Sir William Petty, but Sir Peter Pett, Mr Daniel King, Dr Davenant, and in a word all that tribe of writers, took his obſervations for their Accidence; and whatever their merit may be, derived it from him; to whom, as advocates for the dead, it is but juſt that we reſtore it.

‘ 1666, at which court John Graunt, Eſq; was firſt admitted a member of the ſaid New River company, in the room of Alexander Broom, deceaſed, in truſt for one of the ſhares belonging to Sir William Backhouſe, Knight; who dying in the year 1669, Dame Flower Backhouſe (I ſuppoſe his relict) became poſſeſſed of nine of his ſhares; and, on the twelfth of November in the ſame year, ſhe appointed the ſaid Mr Graunt as one of her truſtees in the ſaid company: whereby it is manifeſt, that the above recited relation which the Biſhop had of Dr Lloyd and the Counteſs of Clarendon, has not the leaſt foundation. For by what has been ſaid, it is evident that Mr Graunt was not admitted into the government of the New River company, 'till twenty-three days after the breaking out of the fire of London, and then put in truſt by the abovenamed Sir William Backhouſe, whoſe relict, daughter, relation, or nameſake, the abovementioned Dame Flower Backhouſe, was ſome time after married to Henry Lord Cornbury, eldeſt ſon to the Earl of Clarendon, and who by right of his ſaid lady was firſt admitted a member of the ſaid company, on the tenth of November, in the year 1670, and afterward as Earl of Clarendon, on the ninth of November 1676, being the firſt of that family that ever was concerned in the New River company.’ There are ſome few points farther, worth remarking; firſt, it is not very certain that at the time of the fire Mr Graunt was a Papiſt, ſince the additions to his book in 1665 ſpeak him otherwiſe. The Parliament met on the 18th of September 1666, and on the very day that Mr Graunt was admitted a member of the New River company, they appointed a committee to enquire into the cauſes of the fire (20). The report made by Sir Robert Brook, chairman of that committee, contains abundance of extraordinary relations, but not one word of the cocks being ſtopped, or any ſuſpicions of Mr Graunt. Beſides, if he had thruſt himſelf into this affair, as the two Biſhops ſuggeſt, and had been queſtioned about it, it would have been highly imprudent in him, and much more ſo in the company, to admit him to their board. It is very plain from hence, that the ſtory was not invented 'till ſome conſiderable time after the fire when Mr Graunt was known to be a Papiſt; and this accounts for ſeveral other miſtakes, ſuch as the Counteſs's ſaying he was her truſtee, which did not happen 'till three years after the fire. For this Dame Flower Backhouſe was the daughter and ſole heir of William Backhouſe, of Swallowfield, in the county of Berks, Eſq; firſt married to Sir William Backhouſe, Bart. and after his deceaſe to Henry Lord Cornbury. Theſe ſhares in the New River company deſcended to this lady from Sir John Backhouſe, Alderman of London, who was concerned with Sir Hugh Middleton in the original undertaking (21). E

GREAVES [JOHN] an eminent Mathematician and Antiquary, was born in 1602, at Colemore near Alresford in Hampſhire; and educated there under his father John Greaves Rector of the place, and a celebrated ſchool-maſter (*a*). At the age of fifteen he removed to Baliol College (*b*) in Oxford, and applying cloſely to the academical ſtudies commenced A. B. July 6, 1621. Three years after which, ſtanding candidate for a fellowſhip of Merton College, he was the firſt of five who were elected. June 25 1628 proceeded A. M. (*c*). At which time the extraordinary proficiency he had made not only in the languages and critical learning but alſo in the Mathematicks, brought him into an intimate acquaintance with ſeveral of the moſt eminent ſcholars (*d*) in the univerſity, particularly with Mr Peter Turner then ſenior fellow of his college, and Geometry Profeſſor at Greſham, who reſigning this latter place was ſucceeded therein by our author [*A*] Feb. 22,

[*A*] *He ſucceeded Mr Turner at Greſham.*] Dr Ward, who (1) intimates his opinion that Mr *Turner*'s friendſhip was particularly ſerviceable to our author in this election, gives us the following teſtimonial, recommending him from Oxford.

‘ *Whereas Mr John Greaves, Maſter of Arts, and Fellow of Merton College in Oxford, hath deſired letters teſtimonial concerning his ſufficiency in the Mathematics: We whoſe names are under-written, having knowledge of him, ſome by daily converſation, others by conference with him, or by the report of credible perſons and competent judges of his ſufficiency in theſe arts, do teſtify, that he is a man very ſufficiently qualified for the reading of a lecture in that faculty. In witneſs whereof we have put our hands to theſe preſents.*

Nat. Brent, Warden.
Pet. Turner.
Will. Boſwell.

‘ *Being deſirous that a worthy ſcholar may ſucceed my late learned colleague Mr* Henry Briggs *in the* profeſſion of Geometry, *I do moſt ſincerely give this teſtimony unto Mr* John Greaves, *Maſter of Arts, and Fellow of Merton College, that he hath for ſome years been a frequent and diligent auditor at the public lecture of myſelf and colleague; and hath by many private conferences given me occaſion to take notice of his ſingular ſkill in the Mathematics, eſpecially in the Geometry of Euclid and other antient authors; and that he is well furniſhed with all thoſe qualities, which our honourable and judicious founder,* Sir Henry Savill, *doth require in his Profeſſor of that art.*

‘ Ita ex animo teſtor *Johannes Bainbridge*,
‘ Med. *Doctor, & Aſtronomiæ Profeſſor Savilianus.*

There being no date to either of theſe papers, Dr Ward tells us, that *the profeſſion of Geometry*, mentioned in this laſt, muſt refer to Greſham College, and not to Oxford;

(*n*) See his appendix to the fourth edition of his Obſervations.

(*o*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 311.

(*p*) Idem, ibid.

(*q*) Happy Future State of England, p. 249.

(20) A true and faithful account of the ſeveral informations exhibited to the Honourable Committee, appointed by the Parliament to enquire into the late dreadful burning of the city of London, printed 1667 without the publiſher's name.

(21) Dugdale's Baronage of England, Vol. II. p. 479. Aſhmole's Antiquities of Berkſhire, Vol. II. p. 375.

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 156.

(*b*) Balliofergus; or a commentary upon the foundation, &c. of Baliol College, Oxford 1660.

(*c*) Wood ubi ſupra & faſti, Vol. I. col. 218, 240. The reaſon of his deferring this degree ſo long is not certainly known, perhaps it might be occaſioned by ſome private ſtatute of that College.

(*d*) As Dr Henry Briggs, Dr John Bainbridge, and others. Smith in vita Joh. Grævii inter vitas illuſtrium virorum, p. 5. edit. 1707, 4to.

(1) Under the Article of GREAVES [JOHN] in his lives of the Greſham Profeſſors, p. 36.

22, 1630, with this he ſtill held his fellowſhip at Merton. But his ambition prompting him to excel, it was not long before he reſolved to travel abroad for further improvement. Upon that plan we find him viſiting Leyden, Paris, and Rome in 1635 [*B*]. During this tour he was invited upon very advantageous terms to live with the Earl of Arundel (*e*) then in Italy, and to go with his lordſhip into Greece; but being diſappointed in ſome of his principal views in theſe travels [*C*], he formed other deſigns which determined his choice to return to England. He arrived the year following, and immediately ſet himſelf to make all poſſible preparations for a journey to Egypt [*D*]. And acquainting Archbiſhop Laud (to whom he had ſome time before been recommended by Mr Turner) with his deſign of viſiting the eaſt countries, he was generouſly encouraged in it by his Grace, from whom he received a general diſcretionary commiſſion to purchaſe for him Arabic and other manuſcripts, and likewiſe ſuch coins and medals as he could procure. The Archbiſhop gave him alſo a letter of recommendation to Sir Peter Wyche, the Engliſh embaſſador at Conſtantinople (*f*). And in his way to that city he embarked in the river Thames for Leghorn about the beginning of June 1637, being accompanied by his particular friend Mr Pococke, whom he had earneſtly ſollicited to this voyage [*E*]. After a ſhort

Oxford; where, ſays he, Mr Greaves never applied for the Geometry profeſſorſhip. In a matter of ſo little moment, this remark would have paſſed without any further examination, was not the whole tenor of Dr Bainbridge's teſtimonial ſo ſtrikingly incompatible, as it is, with any ſuppoſition of not referring to the Savilian profeſſorſhip. Indeed, as Mr Turner was then a candidate for this place, and eſpouſed by Archbiſhop Laud, it is not likely that he ſhould be oppoſed therein by Mr Greaves, who was not then known to the Archbiſhop; not friendſhip ſo much as common ſenſe muſt forbid an attempt which could promiſe no ſucceſs: but that he ſhould wiſh for the Oxford rather than the Greſham lecture, can hardly be doubted, when the difference in the value of each is conſidered (2). It is alſo as plain as words can make it, that Dr Bainbridge wiſhed the ſame thing, and gave him this teſtimonial to make the beſt uſe he could of it; and, as it contained a ſtrong atteſtation of Mr Greaves's merit, the reaſon of his applying it at Greſham is evident, without the help of Dr Ward's very forced conſtruction. With regard to his further merit in Mathematics, particularly in Aſtronomy, at this time, Dr Smith aſſures us (3), that he had then not only read over the writings of *Copernicus*, *Regiomontanus*, *Purbach*, *Tycho Brahe*, and *Kepler*, with other celebrated Aſtronomers of that and the preceding age, but that he had made the ancient Greek, Arabian, and Perſian authors in that ſcience familiar to him; having before, as he ſays, gained an accurate ſkill in the oriental languages, *accurata linguarum orientalium cognitione prius acquiſita*. How theſe words are to be underſtood will appear preſently.

[*B*] *We find him in Holland, &c. in* 1635.] Tho' it is not abſolutely certain what year he firſt went abroad, yet Mr Wood is probably, and Dr Smith is certainly, miſtaken in aſſigning the date of it (4). We have no traces of his being out of England 'till 1635, and that he was at Paris that year, appears from a letter of Monſieur Hardy to him, dated September 1, 1641 (5), where that gentleman mentions his acquaintance with Mr Greaves in that city ſix years before. Moreover, we find him at Leyden in Holland, attending the lectures of Golius the famous Arabic Profeſſor there (6), and contracting a friendſhip with him (7), which muſt have been in this tour, ſince his paſſage both to and from the Eaſt was performed by ſea, and he never went abroad afterwards.

[*C*] *Diſappointed in that tour.*] Notwithſtanding Dr Smith, as we have already obſerved, tells us, that our author *had before this time attained an accurate ſkill in the Perſian language*; yet it ſeems one of the views, wherein he failed in making this tour, was to get further inſtructions upon that article. Mr Hardy, in the letter already cited, writes thus to him, *Ante annos ſex cognovi te ſtudioſiſſimum linguæ Perſicæ. Eſt in hac civitate Perſa Spahani natus, egregie in ſua lingua eruditus: ſi tantiſper iſthuc proficiſci poſſes, facile expleres ardentem illam cupidinem diſcendæ linguæ Perſicæ, quam in te admirabar* (8). Another deſign, in which he met alſo with a diſappointment, was the procuring of certain books in ancient learning. Of this he complains in a letter to Dr Pococke, wrote upon the ſubject of their intended voyage into the Eaſt. ‘I think, ſays he, this courſe ſhould be taken, to carry good ſtore of printed Greek and Arabic, &c. books to Conſtantinople and other places, which might be changed for other books. I had thought the Grecians had ſupplied themſelves out of Italy, but, ſince my being there, I have obſerved that they could find none to buy. So deſtitute is Italy of all good books. You can better inform me whether this courſe may be advantageous or not, though the Maronites in Rome, when I mentioned it to them, did much approve of it (9).’

[*D*] *He made preparations for his journey to Egypt.*] His primary deſign in this journey being to meaſure the pyramids with all poſſible exactneſs, and withal to make ſuch other improvements in Aſtronomy and Geography, as opportunities offered, by taking the altitudes and diſtances of the ſtars, the latitudes of cities, obſerving eclipſes, &c. He furniſhed himſelf with inſtruments of all ſorts proper for thoſe purpoſes. This was done at his own expence, the city of London, to which he applied, refuſing to contribute towards the purchaſe (10). Afterwards, when his money fell ſhort, he was generouſly ſupplied by his brothers, *who*, as he obſerves (11), *had ſtrained their own occaſions, to enable him, in deſpite of the City, to go on with his deſigns.* Amongſt which, that of purchaſing curious books being, as is remarked in the text, a principal one, in this view he bought ſeveral books before his departure, in order to exchange them for others in the Eaſt, as he had intimated to Dr Pococke in the letter cited in the laſt remark. Beſides the aſſiſtance of his brothers, Dr Smith thought he had ſome help from Archbiſhop Laud (12), and Mr Wood ſeems to ſuggeſt the ſame thing, when he tells us, his Grace ſent our author to travel into the eaſtern parts of the world, to obtain books of the languages for him (13).

[*E*] *He had earneſtly ſollicited Mr Pococke's company.*] To this purpoſe he made the following kind and generous offer, in the letter cited in remark [*C*], where he writes thus to that friend. ‘I ſhall deſire your favour in ſending up to me, by my brother Thomas, Ulugbeg's Aſtronomical Tables, of which I purpoſe to make this uſe. The next weeke I will ſhew them to my Lord's Grace, and highly commend your care in procuring of thoſe tables, being the moſt accurate that ever were extant; then will I diſcover my intention of having them printed, and dedicated to his Grace. But becauſe I preſume that there are many things which in theſe parts cannot perfectly be underſtood, I ſhall therefore acquaint my Lord with my deſires of taking a journey into thoſe countries, for the more emendate edition of them; afterwards by degrees fall downe upon the buiſines of the conſulſhip (14); and how honourable a thing it would be, if you were ſent out a ſecond time, as Golius in the Low Countries was by the States, after he had beene once there before. If my Lord ſhall be pleaſed to reſent and compaſſe the buſineſſe, I ſhall like it well; if not, I ſhall procure three hundred pounds for you and myſelfe beſides getting a diſpenſation for the allowances of our places in our abſence; and, by God's bleſſing, in three years diſpatch the whole journey. It ſhall goe hard, but I will too get ſome citizen in as a benefactour to ‘the

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(*e*) Mr Petty, in his lordſhip's name, profered him 200 l. per Ann. beſides ſuch fortunes as that lord could heap upon him. Life of Dr Pococke prefixed to his Theological Works, p. 4. Lond. 1740. fol.

(*f*) Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 7. and Wood's Ath. Ox. col. 157.

(2) He was alſo remarkably fond of this Univerſity, and had but little liking to the City, where the political principles were very different from his own.

(3) In Vita. J. Gravii inter vitas quorundum illuſtrium viror. &c. p. 5.

(4) The firſt fixes it in 1633. Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 157, and the other in 1636. Vita Grav. p. 7.

(5) It is printed in our author's Miſcellaneous Works, Vol. II. p. 446. Publiſhed by Dr Birch in two Vols 8vo. 1737. To this Dr Ward where laſt cited, p. 137. has added another and clearer proof from a Latin letter among the MSS. of Sir Rich. Ellis, Bart. which mentions our author's being at Venice in January 1635. And the words of a letter from himſelf to Dr Pococke, cited in remark [C], at the end, intimate his having been at Rome in this tour.

(6) This Profeſſor in the preface to his Arabic Lexicon, printed 1654. has theſe words relating to Mr Greaves, *Auditor quondam meus.*

(7) Our author in a letter wrote after his return from the Eaſt to Golius, calls it *vetus amicitia.*

(8) Mr Greaves begun his Elementa Linguæ Perſicæ, at Paris, at Mr Hardy's ſollicitation. See the preface to that book.

(9) Ward's Life of our author, p. 137, 138.

(10) Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 7. Who intimates that the argument made uſe of, by our author to the magiſtrates of London, was, that he ſhould have a particular view to the honour and advantage of the city, in this undertaking. Among his inſtruments (of which what is obſerved in remark [K], ſhews he had a large ſtock) were a braſs quadrant of 7 foot radius, an azimuth compaſs to take the variation of the needle of one foot rad. and a croſs ſtaff of ten foot rad. accurately divided into 10,000 parts, which he made uſe of in meaſuring the pyramids. Pyramedogr. p. 96. and in the preface. Obſervations in his travels, p. 508, and 478. and letter to Mr Hardy, Miſcel. Works, p. 44, 45.

(11) In a letter from Conſtantinople dated Aug. 2, 1838. printed in Gen. Dict. under our author's article.

(12) In the place laſt cited.

(13) Ath. Ox. ubi ſupra.

(14) Mr Petty had adviſed our author to go, by the Archbiſhop's means, Conſul to Aleppo, and procure leave of the grand Signor, to have a conſular power at Alexandria, as often as he ſhould go thither. Life of Dr Pocock prefix'd to his Theolog. Works, by Dr Twells, p. 10. Lond. 1740. fol. where the whole letter is printed.

a ſhort ſtay in Italy [*F*], he arrived at Conſtantinople before Michaelmas. Here again the hopes our author had fed himſelf with, of learning the Arabic tongue more perfectly, were intirely fruſtrated for want of ſufficient maſters (*g*); but he ſucceeded much better in the buſineſs of procuring manuſcripts [*G*], which he purſued with indefatigable diligence, ſometimes even at the peril of his life [*H*]. In the farther ſearch after thoſe uſeful curioſities

(*g*) See his letter to Claud. Hardy, in the Miſcellaneous Works, of our author, by Dr Birch, Vol. II. p. 442. Lond. 1737, 8vo. 2 Vols.

'the deſigne; if not, three hundred pounds of mine, 'whereof I give you the halfe, together with the re'turne of our ſtipends, will in a plentyfull manner, if 'I be not deceived, in Turky manteine us.'

[*F*] *He made but a ſhort ſtay in Italy*] Dr Smith, who fixes our author's arrival at Conſtantinople about April 1638, making him to ſtop in his way thither half a year in Italy; ſeeing upon that miſtake there was time enough for it, ſuppoſes him not only to have gone to Rome, but to have made a great part of his collections of the antiquities in and about that city at this time; and this miſtake is continued and confirmed, from the ſame authority, viz. that of our author's Note Book, by Dr Birch (15). 'which ſhews, ſays he, 'that Mr Greaves not only wrote down the inſcriptions, 'but likewiſe meaſured the pillars and other monuments 'there, and took a draught of them, particularly of 'Ceſtus's pyramid and the Pantheon.' It is likewiſe affirmed, that at this time he viewed the catacombs, and examined all the principal cabinets and muſæums in that city. That he now became acquainted with Lucas Holſtenius, keeper of the Vatican library, Athanaſius Kircher, and Gaſpar Bertius, a celebrated Aſtronomer, who informed him that he had found, by repeated obſervations, with a large inſtrument of Clavius, the altitude of the pole at Rome to be 41° 46′. That from Rome he went to Padua, where he was introduced to the acquaintance of Francis Urſati, John Rhodius, and Andrew Moretti, Profeſſors there. That going thence to Florence, he ſtaid there ſome weeks, after which he returned to Leghorn. So palpable an error did not eſcape the diligence of Dr Ward (16), who ſhews, that the time aſſigned by Dr Smith (17) for our author's ſtay at Conſtantinople, viz. from April to September, is contradicted by Mr Greaves himſelf (18) in a letter to Monſieur Hardy, after he came home, where he has this expreſſion, *primum annum Conſtantinopoli egi*. As to the viſits ſaid to be made by our author at this time to Rome, and the other cities of Italy, Dr Ward apprehends, that was done in his former travels; he even ſeems to doubt p. 142. our author's viſiting Rome at this time, but, in a letter to Dr Pococke, written before they ſet out, Mr Greaves mentions his deſign to ſtop in Italy and go to Rome, in order to diſcharge ſome employments left unperfected in his former tour. *Life of Pococke*, p. 15. He alſo very juſtly turns the evidence of the note book againſt the advocate who produces it; remarking, that all the obſervations in Italy, which are ſet down in that book with any dates to them, appear to be made after our author's return from the Eaſt. The firſt of theſe, as he remarks, being dated at Leghorn June 20. others at Florence and Siena in Auguſt; and others again at Rome in October following, where he likewiſe copied ſeveral ancient inſcriptions. To theſe proofs it may be added, that our author himſelf expreſsly affirms upon another occaſion, that he was at Conſtantinople in 1637 as well as in the ſubſequent year (19); and that in the year 1639, he went on purpoſe to Italy to view the other antiquities of the Romans, ſo eſpecially thoſe of weights and meaſures; and we find him accordingly meaſuring ſeveral of the moſt remarkable pillars and monuments at and about Rome, and particularly the Pantheon, at that time (20); ſuggeſting alſo, that he had not done thoſe things before, for want of proper inſtruments, of which he was now provided. Upon the whole, ſince there appears great confuſion in Dr Smith's account of the dates of the ſeveral removes in this eaſtern progreſs, which have not been hitherto well adjuſted; it will not be amiſs to take this opportunity of ſettling them as exactly as the data found in our author's writings will allow. Firſt then, in a letter to Monſieur Hardy, dated June 18, 1641, he ſays (21), it was then four years ſince he ſet out upon this journey that after a year's ſtay at Conſtantinople, he went thence to Alexandria, where he ſpent ſix months. He wrote a letter from Conſtantinople in December 1637; and in another of Auguſt 2, 1638, he writes, that he ſhould that month go for Egypt (22). In his way from Conſtantinople, he took the altitude of the pole at Rhodes, September 11. and ſtaying there ſix days, arrived in eight more at Alexandria (23). A remark made in his travels concerning the Jewiſh paſſover, ſhews he was at Alexandria April 9, 1639 (24). In a letter to Dr Pococke, dated June 14, he writes, that he had been two months in paſſing from Alexandria to Leghorn; and, in another letter, dated March 8. following, he acquaints that friend, that being then provided of a ſhip, he was ready to embark for England (25). Laſtly, He obſerved the variation of the needle at Leghorn, March 14. (26). By comparing theſe particulars, and what is mentioned in the preſent remark concerning his ſtay at Rome in his paſſage to the Eaſt, it may be collected, that he left England about the beginning of June, 1637. That he arrived at Conſtantinople the September following. That leaving that city in September the enſuing year, he came to Alexandria about the 22d of the ſame month 1638, and departing thence about the middle of April 1639, came to Leghorn about the middle of June. That after a ſtay of about nine months in Italy, he ſet ſail for England, where he landed in the end of May, or beginning of June 1640 (27). The diligence here ſhewn (which might otherwiſe be juſtly cenſured) will be found of uſe, not only in removing the perplexities of former accounts, but chiefly as our author's writings will, with the help of this clue, be read with leſſer heſitation.

(15) In our author's Life, prefixed to the Miſcellan. Works, p. 6.

(16) Ubi ſupra, in his Lives, &c.

(17) Vit. Grav. p. 10, 11.

(18) See his Miſcell. Works, Vol. II. p. 442.

(19) See his Obſervations on his Travels, Vol. II. p. 505, & ſeq.

(20) Diſcourſe of the Roman foot, p. 207. & ſeq. in Miſcellan. Vol. I.

(21) Miſcellan. &c. p. 442.

(22) Ibid. p. 437. and Life of Pococke, by Twells, p. 15.

(23) Philoſophic. Experiments and Obſervations, by W. Derham, p. 300, and Miſcellanies, &c. p. 443. edit. 1726. 8vo.

(24) Miſcell. &c. p. 509.

(25) Ward, ubi ſupra, p. 142.

(26) Derham's Exper. and Obſ. ubi ſupra.

(27) Dr Smith ſays æſtate anni 1640. Vita Grav. p. 14.

[*G*] *He ſucceeded better in procuring manuſcripts.*] In the letter of Auguſt 2, 1638, cited above, he writes thus. 'I preſume, in Arabic books, my Lord hath 'received a remonſtrance of my care by thoſe which 'the companies have ſent. It is true, many more ve'ry choice ones might be procured, with inquiring and 'watching after opportunities, if they would give the 'price. Some few of thoſe which they thought to be 'overvalued, I have purchaſed at exceſſive rates. You 'may expect to ſee moſt of the Greek Mathematicians, 'tranſlated into Arabic, brought home. Amongſt 'others, I have procured *Ptolemy's Almageſt*, the faireſt book that I have ever ſeen, ſtolen by a Spahy (as 'I am informed) out of the King's library in the Se'raglio. Whereby you ſee there is a poſſibility of hav'ing alſo thoſe Greek and Latin authors, (which I 'mentioned in my former letters to be buried in the 'Seraglio) (28) if the ** were handſomly followed by 'an Embaſſador.' Mr Greaves alſo, after his return home, tells his friend Monſieur Hardy, that, upon his diſappointment in learning the Arabic at Conſtantinople, he applied himſelf diligently to ſearch for manuſcripts, in which he had ſucceeded very well. For, ſays he, beſides ſeveral Arabic, Perſian, and Turkiſh books, in almoſt all the ſciences, and Lexicons of good note in thoſe three tongues, I bought almoſt all the ancient Greek Mathematicians, tranſlated into Arabic ſome ages ago, together with the works chiefly of the moſt famous modern Aſtronomers of India and Arabia (29).

(28) He had been aſſured by ſome of the Greeks, that the library, which belonged formerly to the Chriſtian Emperors, was ſtill preſerved in the Sultan's palace. Smith, Vita J. Grævii, p. 10. where he queſtions the truth of Mr Greaves's information, charges the Greeks with being much given to lying; and obſerves that during his ſtay there, after the utmoſt diligence and inquiries, he could never diſcover the leaſt grounds for ſuch a belief.

(29) See Miſcel. &c. p. 443.

[*H*] *To the danger of his life.*] Upon the death of the Patriarch (30), mentioned in the text, his ſucceſſor (named Bereas) had cited the Dutch Embaſſador before the Divan, and charged him with having received from the Church 200,000 crowns, in the time of former diſſentions, beſides ſtore of manuſcripts belonging to the Patriarch; upon which our author obſerves, that he might have fallen into the ſame danger himſelf, if he had not prevented the ſtorm by the mediation of ſome Greeks of his acquaintance. For, having procured, out of a blind and ignorant monaſtery, which depended upon the Patriarch, fourteen good manuſcripts of the Fathers, he was forced privately to reſtore the books and loſe his money, to avoid a worſe inconvenience (31).

(30) Of which ſee a particular account in Dr Pococke's Article.

(31) See his letter of Aug. 2, 1638, ubi ſupra.

[*I*] *The*

ties he purpoſed to go to mount Athos in Macedonia, having obtained the aſſurance of a particular recommendation to the monks there from Cyril Lucar then patriarch of Conſtantinople; but all the great expectations he had raiſed from this undertaking [*I*], being ſuddenly quaſhed by the untimely death of that prelate, he took the opportunity which offered ſoon after [*K*] of paſſing in company with the annual Turkiſh fleet to Alexandria in Egypt, where (having firſt touched (*b*) at Rhodes) he arrived before the end of September 1638. This was the boundary of his intended progreſs, and as the country afforded a large field for his curious and inquiſitive genius, ſo he omitted no opportunity (as has been well obſerved (*i*)) of remarking whatever the heavens, earth, or ſubterraneous parts, offered him, that ſeemed any ways uſeful and worthy of obſervation. But the grand purpoſe of coming hither being to take an exact and accurate ſurvey of the Pyramids, (of which ſo much had been ſaid and ſo little ſettled by ancient or modern authors at that time) he went twice from Alexandria to Grand Cairo, and thence to the deſerts (*k*) where they ſtand, ſo that he amply gratified his curioſity upon that much deſired ſubject [*L*]. After which having found himſelf greatly deceived in his expectations of purchaſing

(*b*) He ſtaid here ſix days, and made ſome aſtronomical obſervations with a ſmall aſtrolabe, not daring to uſe a larger inſtrument for fear of raiſing a ſuſpicion in the Turks; from hence he arrived in eight days at Alexandria, Dr Ward by miſtake ſays in ſix. See our author's letter to Monſ. Hardy, ubi ſupra, and Ward's Lives, p. 141.

(*i*) By Dr Ward, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Viz. once ſoon after his arrival, and again juſt before his departure. See his Obſervations in Egypt, printed in his Miſcellanies, Vol. II. p. 507. & ſeq.

[*I*] *The death of the Patriarch quaſhed the expectations he had raiſed from a viſit to mount Athos.*] Upon this mountain there are ſeveral monaſteries *, ſettled there long before the deſtruction of the Grecian empire by the Turks; and, having eſcaped the general ravage at that time, it continued in the poſſeſſion of the monks, who call it ἅγιον ὄρος, the ſacred mountain. Notwithſtanding what had been ſaid of the extreme ignorance of the monks, by Father Belon (32), who affirmed that they had indeed ſome Divinity books; but none of Poetry, Hiſtory, or Philoſophy. Yet it was well known to Archbiſhop Uſher (33), that there were ſeveral valuable Greek manuſcripts preſerved there; and the place being under the juriſdiction of the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, that prelate had promiſed to give Mr Greaves liberty of entering into all the libraries of that place, in order to collect a catalogue of ſuch books, as either were not printed, or elſe, by the help of ſome there, might have been more correctly ſet out. Theſe, by diſpenſing with the anathema's which former Patriarchs had laid upon all Greek libraries to preſerve the books from the Latins, were deſigned to be preſented by the Patriarch to Archbiſhop Laud, for the better proſecution of his Grace's honourable deſigns in the edition of Greek authors *. Dr Smith had a deſign afterwards to viſit this mountain, but was alſo prevented (34). However, about the beginning of the preſent century, Dr John Comnenus, a Phyſician of Walachia, was there a conſiderable time, and publiſhed a particular deſcription of the monaſteries in the vulgar Greek. A Latin tranſlation of this piece by Father Montfaucon was printed at the end of his *Paleographia Græca*, wherein it appears, that the monks then were not ſo ignorant as Father Belon had repreſented them to be in his times. For he tells us, ſome of them were employed in copying books, and others in binding them; and of their libraries, he ſays, ‘there were a great number of ancient manuſcripts, full of all wiſdom, divine knowledge, and ſublime thoughts, books of Divinity, and many in every other ſcience, never yet publiſhed, and to many unknown.’ The truth of this laſt remark is atteſted by Mr Montfaucon, who ſays he had then [in 1708] (35) never ſeen one book that was written at Mount Athos. But he did not continue long in that ignorance; for, in 1715, he met with no leſs than two hundred in the *Bibliotheca Coiſliniana* brought from this mount, conſiſting of various kinds of literature, Divinity, Philoſophy, Mathematics, Hiſtory, and Philology; ſome of them of a conſiderable age. He found likewiſe that many of them had been written there (36). About 26 years ago a parcel of Greek manuſcripts were brought from thence into England, and purchaſed by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury [Dr Wake], the Univerſity of Oxford, Dr Bentley, and Dr Mead; and another parcel ſome time after was bought by the Archbiſhop and Dr Mead. A perſon was alſo abroad in 1740, upon the ſame deſign of purchaſing more. Since which, the very learned Phyſician Dr Aſkew, about four years ago, brought ſeveral curious manuſcripts from thence, and other parts of Greece.

* In the gallery over the ſchools at Oxford, there are two ſurveys of the monaſtery, τοῦ παντοκράτορος in this mountain, taken in 1726, and preſented in perſon to that Univerſity by Doſitheus, Archimandrite of that monaſtery.

(32) In his treatiſe intitled Les Obſervations de pluſieurs ſingularités & choſes memorables, trouvées en Grece &c. Liv. 1. c. 35, en Anvers 1555, 8vo. he ſays they could neither write nor read.

(33) See Dr Pococke's Article.

* See Greaves's letter laſt quoted.

(34) Vita J. Græv. p. 11.

(35) His Paleographia Græca, fol. was publiſhed that year.

(36) Vide præfat. ad Catalog. Librorum *in iſta Bibliotheca*; a library containing upwards of 400 books, near half of them brought from Mount Athos.

[*K*] *He ſet out ſoon after.*] Before his departure, he gave an inſtance of his attention to aſtronomical improvements. Having found that there would be a large viſible eclipſe of the moon in December following, he furniſhed proper perſons, with convenient inſtruments for obſerving it at Conſtantinople, Bagdad, Smyrna, and Alexandria; and he gave them inſtructions alſo how they ſhould obſerve it *. ‘I preſume, ſays he, it will be punctually and carefully done at Bagdad, ſince the Phyſician to the King's favourite, a Chriſtian, hath undertaken the buſineſs, who hopes to get reputation, by doing it in the ſight of the Grand Signior, and of his army. I doubt not, continues he, it will be as carefully obſerved in England, and could wiſh, (as by my letters I earneſtly deſired) that at the ſame time obſervations might be made at the Azores (37).

* Dr Halley obſerves, that a greater ſervice could not be done to the ſcience of Aſtronomy than by taking the phaſes of the Moon's Eclipſes, at Bagdat, Aleppo, and Alexandria, whereby to determine their longitudes, ſince in and near thoſe places were made all the obſervations, whereby the middle motions of the ſun and moon are limited, Miſcel. Curioſ. &c. Vol. III. paper 6th edit. 1727.

(37) See his letter from Conſtantinople, ubi ſupra.

[*L*] *He amply gratified his curioſity upon the Pyramids.*] Our author always expreſſes himſelf upon this ſubject, in terms which teſtify the greateſt ſatisfaction, particularly with reſpect to the chamber in the inſide of the firſt pyramid *, where ſtands as he calls it the monument of Cheops. Theſe proportions of the chamber, and thoſe of the hollow part of the tomb, were taken by him with as much exactneſs as it was poſſible to do; ‘which, ſays he (38), I did ſo much the more diligently, as judging this to be the fitteſt place for the fixing of meaſures for poſterity; a thing which hath been much deſired by learned men, but the manner how it might be exactly done has been thought of by none. I am of opinion, that, as this pyramid has ſtood three thouſand years almoſt, and is no whit decayed within, ſo it may continue many thouſand years longer: and therefore, that after-times, meaſuring theſe places by me aſſigned, may hereby not only find out the juſt dimenſions of the Engliſh foot, but alſo the feet of ſeveral nations in theſe times, which in my travels abroad I have taken from the originals, and have compared them at home with the Engliſh ſtandard. Had ſome of the antient Mathematicians thought of this way, theſe times would not have been ſo much perplexed, in diſcovering the meaſures of the Hebrews, Babylonians, Egyptians, Greeks, and other nations.’ In the ſame vein he writes to his friend Monſieur Hardy, in Latin, taking notice, that he had taken a more curious ſurvey of the pyramids, than had been then done by any, either antient or modern, traveller. He proceeds thus, ‘*Interiorem cameram & nonnulla ſecretiora adyta temporis injuria nondum corrupta, nec unquam, ſi recte judico, corrumpenda, menſuris Anglicis diligenter menſus ſum, adeo exacte ut e viginti mille partibus in quas viginti pedes lineis tranſverſis ſive potius diagoniis diviſi, ne unam quidem vel deeſſe vel ſupereſſe exiſtimem. Quod ideo tanto accuratius præſtiti, ut ex iſta comparatione omnium gentium menſuræ, quæ hodie ſunt aut olim fuerunt, e duraturo aliquo monumento poſteris ſignari poſſint, quod quidem ſi à Mathematicis olim præſtitum fuiſſet, ſelectis aliquibus idoneis locis temporum injuriæ non obnoxiis, minus hodie incerti eſſemus in antiquorum menſuris inveſtigandis* (39).’ Theſe extracts are taken at length for the ſake of the following remarks. Firſt, Mr Wood (40) tells us, that while our author was in the largeſt pyramid, he made a meaſure of the foot obſerved by *all* nations, in one of the rooms, with his name, John Gravius, under it, which, ſays he, hath been noted by ſeveral travellers. But he gives us none of their

* There is no entrance into the other two.

(38) In a note to p. 126 of the of the Pyramidographia, edit. 1737, 8vo.

(39) Miſcellaneous Works, ubi ſupra, p. 444, 445.

(40) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 157.

purchaſing books [*M*], he determined to return home. In that deſign he embarked at Alexandria in the middle of April 1639 for Leghorn, where he arrived in two months; intending to make the tour of Italy a ſecond time [*N*], in order to examine more accurately

their names, and the turn of the whole period manifeſtly betrays a fondneſs for the marvellous, more than a juſt concern for the truth, which becomes ſtill much more doubtful, when we ſee no mention made of it any where by Mr Greaves, and eſpecially in the places here cited, where (if it was fact) the ſubject would naturally and almoſt unavoidably have led him to take ſome notice of it. But if there be ſome room to ſuſpect that more is aſcribed to our author than was really performed by him, in this particular, we have at leaſt equal reaſon to think his character has been more injured, by aſcribing leſs merit to his performance than it actually deſerves, in another particular, and that of much greater importance. Every body knows the exactneſs of his meaſurements have been called in queſtion more than once by ſubſequent travellers (41). Monſieur Thevenot ſtands at the head, and is followed by ſeveral others, in aſſigning 682 French feet for the baſe of each ſide of the largeſt pyramid, which, being equal to 728 feet Engliſh, exceeds the account given by Mr Greaves, who makes the length of each baſe to amount only to 693 ſuch feet. So conſiderable a difference as this, of 35 feet, has been endeavoured to be reconciled from an obſervation of Mr Vanſleb (42), that the north ſide, or the ſide from north to ſouth, is longer than that which ſtretches from eaſt to weſt. But all other authors agree with Mr Greaves, in aſſerting the baſe of the pyramid to be an exact ſquare; and the length of each ſide found by him, is greatly confirmed by a curious remark of Sir Iſaac Newton, who, from the pyramids of Egypt accurately meaſured (they are his words) by Mr John Greaves, collects the length of the ancient cubit of Memphis in this manner. ‘ The ſide of the firſt pyramid was 693 Engliſh feet. It is very probable, that at firſt, the meaſure of it was determined by ſome round number of Egyptian cubits. Ibn Abd Alhokm, quoted by Mr Greaves (43), tells us, that the meaſure of each ſide was 100 royal cubits of the ancient times: but it is probable, that the Egyptians learned from the orgyiæ of the Greeks, their meaſure of four cubits of Memphis, and gave it the name of the royal cubit. Thus the ſide of the pyramid will be 400 ſimple cubits, or 4 auroræ; and the cubit of Memphis will be equal to $1\frac{732}{1000}$ of the Engliſh foot. That the pyramid was built by the cubit of this magnitude, appears from ſeveral dimenſions of it. The ſquare paſſage leading into it, of poliſhed marble, was in breadth and height $3\frac{463}{1000}$ of the Engliſh foot, that is, two of the abovementioned cubits of Memphis; and of the ſame breadth and height were the four other galleries. In the middle of the pyramid was a chamber, moſt exquiſitely formed, of poliſhed marble, containing the monument of the king. The length of this chamber was $34\frac{38}{100}$ Engliſh feet, and the breadth, $17\frac{19}{100}$; that is, it was 20 cubits long, and 10 cubits broad, the cubit being ſuppoſed to be $1\frac{719}{1000}$ of the Engliſh foot. The difference between this meaſure and the former, is $\frac{125}{10000}$, or one eightieth of a foot, that is, about one ſeventh of an inch; an error of no importance, if we conſider the much greater irregularities obſerved by Mr Greaves, in the beſt buildings of the Romans. The roof of this chamber conſiſted of nine oblong and parallel ſtones; the ſeven middle ones of which were of the ſame breadth, but the two outermoſt were leſs by half in breadth than the reſt, and the breadth of them all together was equal to the length of the chamber, or to 20 cubits; ſo that the length of the middle ſtones was two cubits and a half. The marble gallery, which led into this chamber, was 6 feet and 87 of 100 parts of a foot, that is, 4 cubits of the chamber in breadth. In the middle of this gallery was a way of poliſhed marble, $3\frac{435}{1000}$ feet, that is, two cubits broad; and on both ſides the way were two banks, like benches, of poliſhed marble likewiſe $1\frac{717}{1000}$ feet broad, and $1\frac{717}{1000}$ feet deep, that is, in breadth and depth one cubit. Who will therefore imagine, that ſo many dimenſions, not at all depending upon each other, ſhould correſpond by mere chance with the length of the cubit aſſigned by us.’ He proceeds to ſhew from other meaſurements of Mr Greaves, that the diviſion of the cubit into ſix palms, correſponds in like manner with this length of the cubit, that is, of it's being equal to $1\frac{732}{1000}$ * Engliſh feet, 400 of which cubits will be eaſily found by multiplication to be equal to 693 ſuch feet, the ſide of the firſt pyramid (as has been ſaid) according to Mr Greaves. Sir Iſaac continues to give other ſpecimens of this cubit from other dimenſions of our author in ſeveral parts of the pyramid, and upon the whole concludes, that in his opinion, the pyramid was built throughout after the meaſure of the ſame cubit (44). Dr Shaw, in his Travels into Barbary, &c. p. 414, obſerving the differences among authors concerning the dimenſions of the baſe of this pyramid, thinks they might be occaſioned, partly becauſe none of it's ſides are exactly upon a level, and particularly becauſe the weſt and north ſides have been encroached upon by ſuch drifts of ſand, as the Eteſian winds from time to time have brought with them †, which makes it difficult to find a true horizontal baſe. This may perhaps furniſh us with the reaſon why our Profeſſor took the length of the baſe on the north ſide, by obſervation, with his croſs ſtaff, and not with a line; which is one of the objections made to the *Pyramidographia*, by the anonymous author of the Reflections inſerted in the ſecond Volume of Greaves's Miſcellanies, by Dr Birch. However, it cannot be denied, that his account of the menſuration would have been more ſatisfactory, if, as that ingenious objector obſerves, it had been more fully expreſſed.

[*M*] *Deceived in the buſineſs of buying books.*] He complains of this to Dr Pococke (45), aſſuring him there were very few to be purchaſed either at Alexandria or Cairo, and thoſe too old and worm eaten. In other reſpects he expreſſed much pleaſure and ſatisfaction from his journey; except that in his firſt return from Cairo, with ſome other Engliſh and French men, they were robbed by the Arabs, but his loſs was not great. He held a conſtant correſpondence with this learned friend (46), who it ſeems had the ſame hopes of his meeting with books in Egypt as he had himſelf, before he left Conſtantinople. And in another letter from Leghorn to him, having mentioned how agreeably he had ſpent his time in Italy on that account, he writes thus. ‘ You expected, I perceive, that I ſhould have found the ſame advantages in Egypt; but I can aſſure you, that for books I ſaw few, and for learned men, none.’ After which, he proceeds in theſe terms. ‘ Wherefore I muſt deſire you to ſupply that defect, by procuring ſuch books as I formerly mentioned, or ſuch others as you ſhall think moſt fitting. Thoſe which you name I like well, and I ſhall deſire you to make a further inquiry after the choiceſt in Perſian, as well as in Arabic (47).’ This is not the firſt time we find our author expreſſing his fondneſs for the Perſian language, to which perhaps he was more inclined, as he could not hope to rival Mr Pococke in the Arabic.

[*N*] *To make the tour of Italy a ſecond time.*] After he had paſſed nine months there, he ſent his laſt mentioned friend word, that he did not repent much of his ſtay, having had an opportunity of peruſing moſt of the beſt libraries in Italy, and of being acquainted with their moſt learned men, having ſpent moſt of his time in Florence, Rome, and Naples (48); and Dr Smith (49) tells us, that from Leghorn he proceeded to Florence, where he was received with particular marks of eſteem by the Great Duke (50). Here he contracted an intimacy with Robert Dudley (51), who was generally ſtiled in Italy, Duke of Northumberland. This title was conferred upon him by Ferdinand II. Emperor of Germany, after he had failed of proving the legitimacy of his birth in England (52). Mr Greaves had frequent converſations with him upon learning, and was informed by him, that, after a careful obſervation performed according to Tycho Brahe's method, he found the elevation of the pole at Florence, to be 43° 46′. *From Florence*, ſays Dr Smith, *Mr Greaves went to Rome, in order to repeat the obſervations he had* rately into the true ſtate of the ancient Roman weights and meaſures, now that he was furniſhed with proper inſtruments for that purpoſe made by the beſt hands *. And he happened to ſtay here much longer, than he firſt thought, in waiting for a ſhip to his mind, having put on a reſolution to make his paſſage to England by ſea. At length embarking in *the Golden Fleece* (*l*) about the end of March, he came to London before midſummer 1640 (*m*); with a rich cargo conſiſting of a curious collection of Arabic, Perſic, and Greek MSS, together with a great number of gems, coins, and other valuable antiquities (*n*). Upon his arrival he found ſuch a ſituation of public affairs as was very diſagreeable to him. His loyalty to the King, and his gratitude to Archbiſhop Laud, were duties which he eſteemed indiſpenſible, and in the enſuing troubles he choſe to ſuffer (as he did to the great detriment of his private affairs) rather than violate them. After a ſhort ſtay at Greſham College he went to Oxford, and immediately ſet about digeſting his papers, in order to make his travels uſeful to the world. In the purſuit of this deſign he was aſſiſted by Archbiſhop Uſher (*o*). He had received many favours of that learned prelate, and he now gladly embraced the opportunity of making ſome return by drawing a map of the leſſer Aſia (*p*), at the requeſt of his Grace, who was then writing his diſſertation of that country which was printed in 1641. Archbiſhop Laud having the ſame year preſented a ſecond collection * of medals to the Univerſity, Mr Greaves having the care of † the whole, undertook to place them in a proper order, and executed it intirely to the ſatiſfaction of his patron [*O*]. Amidſt ſuch employments as theſe, he was much pleaſed with his ſituation, and being as much diſpleaſed with the City, he gave himſelf little or no concern about his Greſham lecture; and was removed from it November 15, 1643 [*P*], but he had the day before been choſen Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy, in the room of Dr Bainbridge (*q*), having obtained a royal diſpenſation to continue his fellowſhip at Merton College. Theſe changes produced no alteration in his fixt purpoſe with regard to his papers, and we find he had made a conſiderable progreſs in it the following year [*Q*]. In

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(41) See an account of theſe meaſures in the Univerſal Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 186, 187, and 192. In the Memoires of the French Academy for 1702, 1708. In LeBrun's voyages cap. 36. And Rollin's Hiſt. of the ancient Carthaginians, all cited by Dr Birch ubi ſupra.

(42) In *The Preſent State of Egypt*. But this author ſeems to delight in paradoxes; See an inſtance in Dr Shaw's Travels, p. 250.

(43) In Pyramidogr. p. 112. edit. 1737, 8vo.

* or accurately $1\frac{7325}{10000}$.

(44) A Diſſertation upon the Sacred Cubit, &c. p. 408, & ſeq. in Mr Greaves's Miſcellanies, Vol. II.

† Mr Vanſleb who viſited them in 1672, tells us he carried a line proper for the purpoſe, but could not apply it for this reaſon. *Preſent ſtate of Egypt*, p. 85. Engliſh edit. 1678, 8vo. This author is of opinion that the pyramids were hewn out of the rock, and only covered with ſtones, which probably gave occaſion to Mr Hooke's conjecture of the ſame kind in his diſcourſe of Earthquakes, and the opinion is partly confirmed by Dr Shaw.

(45) In a letter quoted by Dr Ward, ubi ſupra, p. 141, 142.

(46) See his article.

(47) Ward, ubi ſupra.

(48) Ibid.

(49) Vit. J. Gr. p. 13.

(50) Ferdinand II. He had inſcribed a Latin Poem to him written at Alexandria, and probably ſent from thence. It is printed in Miſcellan. Vol. II. p. 533. He had ſent it to Conſtantinople, to be reviſed by Dr Pococke, informing him that one of his views therein was to procure admiſſion into the Medicean library, which he had found, when he was at Florence before, to be denied to ſtrangers. Pococke's Life, ubi ſupra.

(51) There is ſome account of this perſon in Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 126, 127.

(52) In the time of K. James I. with whom on account of his ſon-in-law the Count Palatine, the Emperor was then at variance.

* See his Diſcourſe of the Roman foot, p. 207, edit. 1737, 8vo. He copied alſo ſeveral inſcriptions at Rome, which with the reſt are depoſited in the Savilian library.

(*l*) That was the ſhip's name. See his letter to Dr Pococke in Ward, p. 142.

(*m*) See Remark [F].

(*n*) Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 9, 10. Among his coins was one of gold of Alexander the Great, highly valued by him. See Obſerv. on his Travels.

(*o*) Several of his works were undertaken by the direction of his Grace, as appears by the dedications and other parts of them.

(*p*) Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 32.

* The firſt collection was preſented by him in 1636. See his letter to the Univerſity, in Hiſt. Cancellariat. Gul. Laud. Arch. Cant. edit. 1700, fol.

† Doctiſſimo. Johanni Gravio nummophylacii cuſtodiam permiſit [Laud] are the words of Mr Wiſe in the preface, p. 8, to his treatiſe, intituled *Nummorum Antiquorum in Scriniis Bodleianis Catalogus*, Oxon. 1750, fol.

(*q*) The Doctor died Nov. 3, before. Wood Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 34.

made there before, and to make new ones, and deſigned to have ſtaid there ſeveral months; but the deſire of returning to his own country induced him to ſhorten his ſtay there, upon which he went to Leghorn, and took ſhip for England. This laſt paſſage is a clear inſtance of the truth of what is before advanced, concerning the confuſion of the Doctor's [Smith] account of this Eaſtern journey.

[*O*] *Executed it to the ſatiſfaction of his patron.*] This appears from the following letter ſent by the Archbiſhop in anſwer to one from our author, acquainting his Grace with the method he propoſed, if it ſhould be approved of. 'Sir, Your kind letter of November '15 came not to my hands 'till the beginning of this 'week, elſe you had certainly received my anſwer, 'and thanks for your kindneſs, ſooner.

'I ſee you have taken a great deal of care about the 'coins I ſent to the Univerſity. And I hope as you 'have ſeen the laſt I ſent, with others, placed in the 'ſeveral cells reſpectively; ſo you have alſo ſeen their 'names written into the book *, that both may be 'perfect and agree together.

'For the placing of them, I leave that wholly to 'the Univerſity, whoſe they now are; yet I muſt needs 'approve of the way of placing them which you have 'thought on, nor can there be any objection againſt 'it, but that which you have made about the manu'ſcript. Commend my love to Dr Turner and Mr Po'cocke; and when you have weighed all circumſtances, 'whatſoever you ſhall pitch upon ſhall ſerve and pleaſe 'me. So to God's bleſſing I leave you,

Tower, Your unfortunate poor friend
June 13. 1641.
W. Cant. (53).

[*P*] *He was ejected from his Greſham lecture,*] On account of his long abſence, and neglecting to read; and Mr Ralph Button was choſen in his place. This was the beginning of our author's ſufferings as a royaliſt. Notwithſtanding the above pretence alledged for ejecting him, he ſaw too plainly it was a party affair, and calling it a ſequeſtration, fed himſelf for ſome time with the hopes of being reſtored. 'I ſhould be glad to ſee you '(ſays he to his friend Dr Scarborough) (54) in my place 'at Greſham College, if I could once get off my ſe'queſtration. He that is in the place doth no way 'deſerve it.' The character here given of Mr Button ſeems to be very juſt, no evidences of his merit in Geometry are produced by Dr Ward (55), in a caſe where the honour of his foundation was concerned, which is the more obſervable, as he ſuppreſſes a material circumſtance in this affair, whereby the honour of the King, as well as of Mr Greaves, is injured. Mr Greaves, ſays he *, *being removed from his Greſham profeſſorſhip, on account of his long abſence, and the neglect of his lecture, Mr Ralph Button was choſen in his place. But he procured a royal diſpenſation for continuing his fellowſhip at Merton College, which otherwiſe he muſt have quitted in ſix months, after he was choſen Savilian Profeſſor according to the ſtatutes of thoſe profeſſorſhips.* By this repreſentation the unwary reader is led into a belief, that this diſpenſation was had purely in reſentment to the Greſham electors, for removing him thence. But a much worthier reaſon, and that grounded upon a fact undeniably true (56), is given by Mr Wood, viz. becauſe the ſtipend belonging to his Savilian profeſſorſhip was extremely leſſened during the civil wars. In ſuppreſſing Dr Smith's [in vit. Grav. p. 15.] as well as Mr Wood's authority for this circumſtance, Dr Ward has given no expreſs authority at all for the diſpenſation itſelf, unmindful of the hiſtorian's rule againſt all party or private views. *Ut ne quid falſi dicere audeat, ſic ne quid veri non audeat.* Much more excuſable is the ſlip which is made by that gentleman, as alſo by Dr Birch, in following Mr Wood, when he tells us (*Ath. Ox. Vol.* II. *col.* 157,) that our author ſucceeded Dr Bainbridge in Linacre's ſuperiour Phyſic Lecture, notwithſtanding we are twice told in the ſame work, (Vol. I. col. 21, and Vol. II. col. 669) that the Doctor's ſucceſſor in that lecture, was Dr Edward Greaves our author's brother. But the regiſter of Merton College is deciſive, of which the following is an extract. Ad. an. 1643. *In ſuperiorem Linacrianam lecturam vacantem ob mortem —D. Bainbridge, M. D. & Acad. Oxon. Aſtron. Prof. qui paulo ante e vivis exceſſerat, electus eſt Doctor Greaves e collegio Omnium Animarum.* The extract whence this is copied may be ſeen in Dr Bainbridge's Life, p. 6. note (*a*), in the ſame Volume with that of our author by Dr Tho. Smith. However ſuch an overſight in a matter of no great importance, is remarked with all due reſpect for two gentlemen, to whom we are ſo much obliged for materials in this memoir.

[*Q*] *The next year he had made a ſuitable progreſs in it.*] Something of what he had then done is ſeen in a letter to Archbiſhop Uſher (57), wherein he writes that he ſhould be glad to hear his Grace had received either from the Vatican Library, or that of the Eſcurial in Spain, a tranſcript of Ptolemy, or rather Hipparchus ϖερὶ τοῦ μεγέθους ἐνιαυσίου. 'So much the rather, 'ſays he, becauſe in peruſing ſome of my Arabian and 'Perſian MSS. I have found ſome obſervations which 'may conduce to the clearing of that argument,' he proceeds

* This book he had ſent with the firſt collection; it contains his Grace's method of placing them, and is now in the Bodleian Library inter MSS. Laud. K. 97.

(53) See Curious Diſcourſes by Tho. Hearne, p. 298. Oxon. 1720, 8vo.

(54) Afterwards Sir Charles Scarborough, an eminent Mathematician, as well as Phyſician to K. Ch. II. Miſcell. p. 395.

(55) In his Life of Mr Button, ubi ſupra, p. 153, & ſeq.

* In the life of J. Greaves, p. 143.

(56) See Remark [Y].

(57) Dated Sep. 19, 1644. in Archbiſhop's Uſher's Life by Parr, p. 509, 510. Lond. 1686. fol.

In 1645, at the inſtance of ſome perſons of figure and fortune, he drew up a method * of introducing by degrees the New or Gregorian Stile [*R*]; and his propoſal would probably have been put into execution, being approved by the King and council, had the ſtate of the times permitted it*. In 1646 he publiſhed his *Pyramidographia* (*r*), or *A Deſcription of the pyramids in Egypt* [*S*], which was followed the next year by his *Diſcourſe of the Roman foot*

proceeds to acquaint his Grace, that he had not then leiſure to ſend him thoſe, which were made by the Indians at Kôbah, and Kandahar, or thoſe others which were made by the Perſians before Yezdegerd's time, and by Yezdegerd, and long after him in Almamon's time, as he found them mentioned by Alhaſhamy an Arabian author. But thoſe of the Chateans, and of Naſſir Eddin, and of Aly Kôſgy, being, as later, ſo exacter, than the former, he ſent them, as follows. The true ſolary year according to the Chateans is 365 $\frac{2436}{10000}$ days, according to Naſſir Eddin 365 days $14^{\prime}$ $32^{\prime\prime}$ $30^{\prime\prime\prime}$. According to Haly Kôſgy, who obſerved in the 841ſt year of the Hegira, almoſt 200 years after Naſſir Eddin, 365 days $14^{\prime}$ $33^{\prime\prime}$ $32^{\prime\prime\prime}$, whereas Ptolemy, ſays he, is much more, 365 days $14^{\prime}$ $48^{\prime\prime}$. He goes on thus. ‘I have finiſhed thoſe lemmata of Archimedes (58), which the Arabians call *nachawdân*. If I be not deceived ſuch as wiſh well to the Mathematics, will think my pains well beſtowed; as indeed it was no ſmall labour to correct the diagrams, and the letters (which were too often perverted in the manuſcript), and ſometimes to ſupply what was defective in the demonſtration itſelf.’ He then informs his Grace, that according to his advice he had made a Perſian Lexicon, out of ſuch words as he could meet with in the Evangeliſts, and in the Pſalms, and in two or three Arabian and Perſian Nomenclators. So that he had a ſtock of above 600 words in that language, which he ſuppoſed to be as many as were in the Arabic dictionary of Raphelengius *. Upon that occaſion he expreſſes a greater deſire than ever to go to Leyden, and peruſe their oriental manuſcripts, procured by the expence of the States, to which long ago he had been prompted by his Grace. ‘But yet, ſays he, conſidering my lecture in Oxford (though as yet it cannot be read (59)) it will not be fit for me to go without ſpecial leave from our honourable Chancellor, and two or three more of the lords of his Majeſty's privy council. I ſhall therefore deſire your Grace to procure this favour for me in writing, with this caution, that my abſence for a while may be no prejudice to me at home, eſpecially ſince my journey is for the improvement of learning, and *for the publiſhing of ſome of thoſe books, which I long ſince have finiſhed*’ He takes notice then, that he ſhould there have an opportunity of printing his Grace's Map, and of perfecting and publiſhing that diſcourſe of Dr Bainbrigg's concerning the Periodus Sothiaca *; ‘And I hope, concludes he, your Grace will think of ſomething elſe, in which I may be ſerviceable to you, and uſeful to the commonwealth of letters. Your Grace cannot ſufficiently command him, whom by your many favours, you have ever made your Grace's moſt obliged ſervant (60).’

[*R*] *A method of introducing the New or Gregorian Stile of the year.*] His propoſal was to omit the intercalary day of the leap year for forty years. The ſame method had been propoſed to Pope Gregory, and rejected by him, out of ambition, as Mr Greaves obſerves, to have the honour of doing it at once, and thereby of calling that year 1582 *Annus Gregorianus*; which our author did not doubt might be juſtly ſtiled *Annus Confuſionis*; as the Ancients called that year in which Julius Cæſar corrected the kalendar by a ſubtraction of days after the ſame manner. But we have lately ſeen this method happily carried into execution without any ill conſequence at all; concerning which more will be ſeen in the article of Dr John Wallis.

[*S*] *Pyramidographia.*] Preſently after it came out ſome animadverſions were written upon it, as appears by a very good mathematician, who, among other overſights, takes notice of a very material one in the meaſure of the height of the firſt pyramid; which was given to be 481 feet. This was corrected afterwards by our author, and the true number 499 $\frac{262}{1000}$ feet aſſigned, in the letter above cited to Sir Charles Scarborough. But this animadverter, who took the pains to make the calculation juſtly and candidly, obſerves that the overſight in the book, was not in the calculation, (as the paper enough ſhewed) but in the tranſcription (61). However a late animadverter not being able (as appears) to make the calculation himſelf, and knowing nothing of what had paſſed upon it, proves very mathematically the number 481 to be juſt (62).

The ingenious gentleman firſt mentioned, likewiſe obſerves, that the aſpect of the ſides of this pyramid, with regard to the four cardinal points, had been paſſed over too haſtily by our author, and the ſame remark was afterwards made by Dr Hooke (63), who in regard to the inquiry, whether the axis of the earth varies its poſition, writes thus, that it had been very deſirable, if from ſome monuments or records in antiquity ſomewhat could have been diſcovered of certainty and exactneſs (concerning their poſition), that by comparing that or them, with accurate obſervations now made, or to be made, ſomewhat of certainty of information could have been procured. ‘Upon this account, continues he, I peruſed Mr Greaves's deſcription of the great pyramid in Egypt, *that being fabled to have been built for* an aſtronomical obſervation, as Mr Greaves alſo takes notice. I peruſed his book, I ſay, hoping I ſhould have found, among many other curious obſervations he there gives us concerning them, ſome obſervations perfectly made, to find whether it ſtands eaſt, weſt, north, and ſouth, or whether it varies from that reſpect of its ſides, to any other part, or quarter of the world; as likewiſe how much and which way they now ſtand. But to my wonder, he being Aſtronomical Profeſſor, I do not find that he had any regard at all to the ſame, but ſeems to be wholly taken up with one inquiry, which was about the meaſure or bigneſs of the whole, and its parts; and the other matters mentioned are only by the bye and accidental. I find indeed that he mentions the ſouth and north ſides thereof, but not as if he had taken any notice, whether they were exactly facing the ſouth or north, which he might eaſily have done.’ This being probably ſeen and conſidered by Mr de Chazelles he, to ſatisfy the inquiry, took accurate obſervations in 1694, and found that the four ſides were expoſed exactly to the four quarters of the world. Now ſays Mr Fontanelle (64), as this accurate ſituation was in all probability deſignedly choſen by thoſe, who raiſed that maſs of ſtones above three thouſand years ago, it follows that during this long ſpace of time, there has been no alteration in the heavens in that reſpect, or, what amounts to the ſame, in the poles of the earth, or in the meridians.

After all, our author's words upon this ſubject clearly ſhew that he had obſerved this matter very accurately, for in deſcribing the external face of the pyramid, having as Mr Hooke remarks, mentioned the north ſide and its eaſt angle, as alſo the ſouth ſide, p. 92, and 102, in the groſs. He proceeds to the inſide, in the deſcription of which he was very accurate in every particular, and not leſs ſo in this. For inſtance, in deſcribing the monument of Cheops, his words are, the poſition of it is thus: *It ſtands exactly in the meridian north and ſouth*, and ſtands as it were equidiſtant from all ſides of the chamber except the eaſt, from whence it is doubly remoter than from the weſt, p. 132. Thus we ſee the words are very expreſs, with regard to the exact poſition of the tomb on the inſide, and the exactneſs expreſſed there, neceſſarily implies that the poſition of the outſide was obſerved with the like accuracy, whence the great aſtronomical queſtion might have been fully anſwered thereby. Inſomuch that it may be well aſked at this time of day, what could occaſion theſe complaints of our author's culpable negligence in this matter, when at leaſt to an attentive reader there ſeems to have been no ſufficient grounds for them. To account for this conduct, it muſt be obſerved that in 1632, Galileo publiſhing his *Dialogues of the ſyſtem of the world* relates, that one Signr Cæſar, an Italian, had lately

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* Greaves's Miſcellanies, Vol. II.

(*r*) It was printed in French, in Thevenet's *Relations de divers voyages*, and Dr Smith had a deſign of turning it into Latin, and the Roman foot, with his life. Vit. Gravii, p. 22. This laſt was publiſhed, but neither of the two former.

(58) They were publiſhed by Samuel Foſter in his Miſcellanies, or Mathematical Lucubrations, Lond. 1659. fol. See an account of the contents of theſe lemmata in Mr Maclaurin's Article.

* Recommended by Erpenius tho' very defective. Vid. *Conſilium Erpenii de Stud. Arab. feliciter inſtituendo.* Pariſ. 1620. 8vo, prope finem.

(59) By reaſon of the civil wars.

* This is a period of 1460 years, and took its beginning from the time that Sirius roſe heliacally, the firſt day of the Egyptian month Thoth. This Star being obſerved to riſe ſix hours later every year, or one day in 4 years, that is, one year in 1460.

(60) He never performed this deſign of going to Leyden, tho' he had it long in his mind, as appears by a letter to Dr Pococke, cited by Ward, p. 145. from the MS. letters of our author, 42 of which are in the Savilian library.

(61) Miſcellan. Works of our author, ubi ſupra, p. 402.

(62) See Miſcellaneous Obſervations upon authors, &c. Vol. I. p. 120. Lond. 1731. 8vo.

(63) In his Diſcourſe of Earthquakes, printed in his Poſthumous Works, p. 355. Lond. 1705. fol.

(64) In the Eloge of Mr de Chazelles in his Hiſtoire de renouellement de l'Academie royale des Sciences, en 1699. &c. Tom. II. p. 57, 58. Amſterd. 1720.

foot and Denarius [T]. By ſuch works as theſe was our author ſpreading his own fame, and with it that alſo of his country in the republic of letters, when ſeveral accuſations were brought againſt him [U] in order to deprive him of his preferments. And tho' he weathered

lately obſerved a conſtant though ſlow mutation in the meridians of the earth. This piece of Galilæo being ſeen by Mr Gellibrand, that gentleman took particular notice of the remark therein, concerning the change of the meridians, in a treatiſe intitled *A Diſcourſe mathematical on the variation of the magnetic needle*, publiſhed in 1635, when he was our author's colleague as Aſtronomy Profeſſor at Greſham. So extraordinary a phænomenon muſt needs raiſe the curioſity of the aſtronomers, and as Mr Greaves was particularly well ſkilled in that ſcience, and declares alſo that one deſign in this voyage to the Eaſt undertaken in 1637, was to make improvements in Aſtronomy, it muſt be owned, that his animadverters had ſome room for their cenſure. Indeed otherwiſe it might have been imputed to the known peeviſh temper of Mr Hooke, and to the reſentment of the anonymous author firſt mentioned, as with regard to him is done by Dr Smith, who informs us, in our author's life, p. 13, that Mr Greaves had refuſed him his intereſt for procuring a place, which he ſollicited in vain. However his remarks in general ſhew him to be a perſon both of good learning and judgment in theſe matters. Which was alſo tacitly at leaſt acknowledged by our author, who upon ſight of his objections applied himſelf with the utmoſt care to the reviſal of his book. Yet we do not find him thereby convinced that there was ſufficient reaſon for making any alteration in the particular now under conſideration. Mr Hooke has remarked what he ſuppoſes another defect in the Pyramidographia, which is that the exact latitude of the pyramids is omitted. But he does not tell us what uſe might be made thereof, and probably Mr Greaves might upon that account not think of it, and the rather as he intirely condemns the opinion that theſe ſtructures were raiſed with any view to Aſtronomy. Indeed what was the firſt deſign of their founders is not yet agreed. Nay Dr Shaw juſtly obſerves, there is hardly any ſubject about which both ancient and modern authors have differed more in their accounts than in this of the pyramids. That gentleman, who is the laſt writer that has given us obſervations upon them, differs from the common opinion of their being deſigned for ſepulchres of the Egyptian kings, as Mr Greaves thought; and imagines they were rather ſacred edifices built for religious worſhip, and dedicated to the ſun, the form of them being emblematical of fire (65). As to which, Mr Greaves alſo from the ſame emblematical form infers, that they were intended by the builders to repreſent ſome of their gods, p. 86. and that they were uſed for religious purpoſes; and particularly ſuppoſes the cells, which are cut in the rock on the north and weſt ſide of the ſecond pyramid, to be deſigned for the lodgings of the prieſts, p. 141, 142. Indeed the Doctor imagines, the ſquare cheſt of granate marble in the center of the great pyramid, to be intended for keeping the images of their deites, or for the ſacred veſtments or utenſils, or for a ciſtern to hold holy water, and not for the tomb of Cheops, as our author maintains. However the Doctor allows, that Cheops and other kings might be buried in the precincts of the pyramids, this being no more than what was practiſed in other temples; and only contends that their principal uſe and deſign was to be objects of worſhip and devotion (66). So that upon the whole he agrees with our author as to their double uſe, differing only in the nicety, which of the two was principally in the founders intention.

[T] *His diſcourſe of the Roman foot and Denarius.*] The diſtinguiſhed merit of this performance has been felt by all ſubſequent writers upon the ſubject. Dr Edw. Bernard, treating *De menſuris & ponderibus Antiquorum*, highly extols it, and ſays in his MS. lectures (67) it is *Aureus, imo ſupra aurum omne & metallorum lucem pretioſus, luculentus*. Bp Cumberland in his *Eſſay towards the recovery of the Jewiſh meaſures and weights, comprehending their monies*, obſerves (68), that our author, in his book of the Roman foot, hath given us the Egyptian derah, or cubit, accurately adjuſted to the 1000th part of our Engliſh ſtandard, tho' he did not ſee indeed what uſe Mr Greaves intended to make of it. He proceeds to take notice that the Jewiſh cubit had not been ſtated by our author, only that in the dedication he intimates it to be inveſtigable by the help of the Roman foot, how he thence could have deduced it, ſays the Biſhop, I know not, but heartily wiſh that Mr Greaves had lived to finiſh the work he intended, about the meaſures and weights of the Ancients. Dr George Hooper, Biſhop of Bath and Wells, in his *Inquiry into the ſtate of the ancient meaſures, &c.* ſtiles him an accurate author, and ſpeaks of the known ſkill and accuracy of that obſerver, and taking notice of an intention of Mr Greaves to proſecute the ſubject of the Dirhems and Deinars of the Arabians, beſides what he had done in his diſcourſe of the Roman foot, he concludes thus, '*it is great pity, for many reaſons, that* '*the accurate judgment and exquiſite learning, with* '*which he was furniſhed, met with thoſe unhappy times,* '*in which an honeſt man was not only diſcouraged, but* '*diſabled from the proſecution of ſuch ſtudies* (69).' Dr John Arbuthnot (70) reckons Mr Greaves a claſſical author on the ſubject of the Roman weights and meaſures. And Dr Ward frequently mentioned in theſe notes, in a ſmall piece intitled *De Aſſe & partibus ejus commentarius* (71), ſpeaks very highly in praiſe of the Diſcourſe of our author. Laſtly, Sir Iſaac Newton having referred to Mr Greaves, as eſpecially to be conſulted on the Roman and Greek cubits (72), makes the following uſe of the Egyptian derah as ſettled by Mr Greaves, which deſerves the more attention, ſince Biſhop Cumberland could not ſee what uſe Mr Greaves intended to make of it. That incomparable author having found the ancient cubit of Memphis (as is already mentioned) to be $1\frac{719}{1000}$ of the Engliſh foot, and ſeeing the Egyptian cubit uſed in the time of Mr Greaves to be $1\frac{824}{1000}$, proceeds thus: 'This cubit approaches nearer to the ancient cubit of Memphis, than to the leſſer cubits of the Greeks, Romans, and Arabians, who reigned in Egypt, and therefore it ſeems to be derived from that of Memphis: but it is greater than that. And what wonder is it, that a meaſure ſhould be ſomewhat increaſed in the ſpace of above 3000 years. The meaſures of feet and cubits now, far exceed the proportion of human members, and yet Mr Greaves ſhews, from the Egyptian monuments, that the human ſtature was the ſame above 3000 years ago, as it is now. The meaſures therefore are increaſed, the reaſons of which may be aſſigned. The inſtruments which uſed to be preſerved as ſtandards of meaſures, by contracting ruſt are increaſed. Iron beaten by the hammer may inſenſibly relax in a long ſpace of time. Artificers likewiſe, in making inſtruments choſe to err in the exceſs of the materials, and when by filing they attain any meaſure, which they think ſufficient, they ſtop, knowing that they can ſoon correct that little exceſs by filing, if their maſters ſhould complain of it, but that they cannot remedy a defect. Let us ſuppoſe therefore, that all meaſures have increaſed by degrees, eſpecially in the firſt ages, when leſs care was taken of them; and the cubit of Memphis about the time of the Roman empire will be a mean between the ancient and the modern cubit, but will approach nearer to the modern. The ancient cubit was $1\frac{719}{1000}$ of the Engliſh foot, and the modern is $1\frac{824}{1000}$ of the Engliſh foot. The mean therefore between them will be about $1\frac{78}{100}$ or $1\frac{79}{100}$ of a foot. Now 10000 of ſuch mean or middle cubits make, as they ought, about 30 Attic ſtadia (73).' To conclude; this peice of our author is dedicated to Mr Selden in the following addreſs, 'To his 'truly noble and learned friend John Selden, Eſq; Bur'geſs of the Univerſity of Oxford, in the honourable 'Houſe of Commons.' This gentleman was very ſerviceable to Mr Greaves in the proſecution againſt him by that houſe, at whoſe bar his cauſe was heard this year, as is ſeen in the next remark.

[U] *Several accuſations were brought againſt him.*] We have already related the beginning of his troubles, occaſioned by the unhappy ſtate of the times, in being ejected from his lecture at Greſham, upon ſucceeding

(65) Travels and Obſervations, &c. p. 411.

(66) Ibid. p. 418, 419, 420.

(67) Smith, Vita J. Gr. p. 37.

(68) P. 7. Lond. 1686, 8vo.

(69) Part i. p. 24, and part ii. p. 45, ed't. 1721, 8vo. and part iii. p. 90. and 115.

(70) Tables of ancient coins, weights, and meaſures, &c. p. 15. Lond. 1737, 4to.

(71) Publiſhed in Ainſworth's *Monumenta vetuſtatis Kempiana*, &c.

(72) In a note to p. 1. of his Diſſertation, &c. ubi ſupra.

(73) Ibid. p. 417, 418.

weathered this firſt ſtorm, yet his reſpite was but ſhort; however he made uſe of that time in publiſhing the following peice, *Johannis Bainbrigii Canicularia* [*W*], to which he added *Demonſtratio ortus Syrii heliaci pro parallelo Inferioris Ægypti*, and alſo *Inſigniorum aliquot ſtellarum longitudines & latitudines ex aſtronomicis obſervationibus Ulug Beigi Tamerlanis magni nepotis. Oxoniæ* 1648, 8vo. A freſh charge was dreſſed up againſt him that year by the parliamentary viſitors [*X*], to which he thought proper to put in no anſwer, and thereby incurred the loſs of his profeſſorſhip, being ejected (*t*) the 9th of October; and he was obliged to quit both his fellowſhip in Merton College, and likewiſe the univerſity on the 9th of November following (*u*). The King's death was a great ſhock to him (*w*); but as he had the happineſs of being endued with an excellent firmneſs of mind, he bore up againſt his own injuries with admirable fortitude, and having provided a very worthy perſon to ſucceed him [*Y*] in the profeſſorſhip, he retired to London, where he married, and

(*t*) At this time his cheſt was broke open by the ſoldiers, and his papers and MSS. taken away, part of which were loſt, and the reſt recovered by the intereſt of Mr Selden. Smith, p. 33.

(*u*) Wood's Hiſt. and Antiq. of Oxford, lib. II. p. 42.

(*w*) He laments it to Dr Pococke in the moſt mournful terms. O my good friend, ſays he, my good friend, never was there ſorrow like our ſorrow.— Excuſe me now, if I am not able to write to you, and to anſwer your queſtions. O Lord God, avert this great ſin, and thy judgmen's from this nation. See more of this letter in Pococke's Life, by Twells, who obſerves, that the many blots and blurs in it, plainly ſhew it to be written in tears.

ceeding Dr Bainbridge in the Savilian profeſſorſhip at Oxford. His executorſhip to that Doctor, or his widow, ſoon brought him into freſh troubles, and he was ſo much involved in law-ſuits on that account, as to be hindered thereby from going to Leyden a ſecond time as he deſigned (74); to this effect writing to Dr Pococke. October 28, 1646 'My journey, ſays he, ſtill holds, tho' retarded by my loſſes, and by Sir N. (75), who hath 'put me to play an after-game with the three brothers 'by giving them the adminiſtration. And why; be'cauſe Mrs Bainbridge died inteſtate, ſo that I have 'ſaved the eſtate to very good purpoſe (76);' how much he ſuffered by this law-ſuit further appears in part, from the following atteſtation, though made on another occaſion *, of his brother Mr Thomas Greaves. 'I Thomas Greaves do likewiſe teſtify, and will be 'ready to depoſe, that the ſaid Mr John Greaves left 'Oxford, and lived privately in the country, of pur'poſe to avoid the delivering up of ſuch bonds, and 'other things of Mrs Bainbridge, deceaſed, which 'were in his cuſtody as executor, unto the commiſſio'ners at Oxford (77);' theſe commiſſioners of the parliament, it ſeems, ſent ſeveral charges againſt him to the committee of the Houſe of Commons, by whom our author however, probably by the intereſt of Mr Selden, who was one of that committee, was cleared. As appears from a letter to his friend, and fellow-ſufferer Mr Pococke, dated March the 25th 1647, 'I thank 'God I am thus far proceeded in my troubles, that 'by the committee of Lords and Commons, I am pro'nounced innocent, to the ſhame of my accuſers if 'they had any. And now I am attending upon the 'court of Aldermen, and the committee at Cambden 'houſe for reſtitution;' and in another letter to the ſame gentleman, dated May 17, 1648, he expreſſes himſelf in theſe terms. 'I am now going into Kent 'to my good friend Mr Marſham, not far from Ro'cheſter, who hath been very importunate, admitting 'of no excuſe, that I muſt make his houſe and library, 'who hath a fair one, mine own. It will be this 'fortnight e'er I return, and it may be ſhall after'wards live with him, if I ſee at my coming to Ox'ford the ſame confuſion which I hear, and which is 'likely in probability to continue (78).

[*W*] *Bainbridge's Canicularia*, &c.] The Canicularia is a treatiſe concerning the natural year of the Egyptians, ſo called becauſe it commenced from the heliacal riſing of Sirius, or the Dog-ſtar, firſt diſcovered according to Proclus, (*in his commentaries upon Timæus*, lib. i.) from the flat top of the great pyramid, or near that place; and from this year was alſo derived their *Periodus Sothiaca*, called therefore *annus magnus κυνικὸς*, conſiſting of 1460 ſidereal years; in which period their *Thoth vagum & fixam*, came to have the ſame beginning. Dr Bainbridge had began to make ſome collections from the Greek and Latin authors, with remarks upon the ſuppoſed unhealthineſs and unluckineſs of the Dog-days; to theſe many more were added by Mr Greaves, who alſo gave a demonſtration of the heliacal riſing of Sirius, for the parallel of Lower Egypt, which was left untouched by the author, notwithſtanding the whole piece was built upon that phænomenon; the work was firſt undertaken by Dr Bainbridge, at the requeſt of Archbiſhop Uſher, and completed alſo at his inſtance by Mr Greaves, and he dedicated it to Dr (afterwards Sir George) Ent, and Preſident alſo of the College of Phyſicians, with whom (as is here intimated) he commenced an acquaintance at Padua; and this Gentleman gave many proofs of his ſincere friendſhip both to our author and Dr Pococke in theſe times, when they ſtood moſt in need of it.

[*X*] *Ejected by the parliamentary viſitors.*] The articles exhibited againſt him were, 1. *That he betrayed the College, in diſcovering to the King's agents four hundred pounds in the treaſury, which thereupon was taken away for the King's uſe.* 2. *That contrary to his oath he conveyed away a conſiderable part of the College goods without the conſent of the company, and thereby gratified courtiers with them in other houſes.* 3. *That he feaſted the Queen's confeſſors, and ſent diverſe preſents to them, among which was a holy throne; and that he was more familiar with them than any true Proteſtants uſed to be.* 4. *That he was the occaſion of ejecting Sir Nathaniel Brent from his Wardenſhip, for adhering to the Parliament, and bringing in Dr Harvey* (79) *into his place.* 5. *That he was the occaſion why Mr Edward Corbet and Mr Ralph Button were turned out of their reſpective offices and chambers in the College, becauſe they abode in the Parliament's quarters.* 6. *That he gave leave to Father Phillips, the Queen's Confeſſor, and Wyat* (80), *one of her Chaplains, to come into the College library to ſtudy there; and that he put Mr John French, a Fellow, out of his chamber in Merton College, and put them into it*, &c. Our author refuſed to anſwer theſe articles, which occaſioned his ejectment (81). There is ſtill extant the following atteſtation of his brother, abovementioned, relating to this affair. 'I Thomas 'Greaves do teſtify, and it will be depoſed, that Mr 'John Greaves, Fellow of Merton College, when the 'plate of the ſaid College was demanded by the 'King, kept himſelf private in his chamber for many 'days, that he might not be preſent, nor give his 'conſent; neither did hee go abroad, till hee had 'heard that the plate was already delivered.' Mr John Greaves, in a note upon this obſerves, that he had kept his chamber three weeks together at that time, under pretence of taking phyſic (82). However, it will be hardly doubted, that he tacitly gave his conſent thereto; and the article relating to Dr Harvey ſeems not to be groundleſs, for that he had a quarrel with Sir N. Brent, appears from what is ſaid in remark [*U*], and his friendſhip for Dr Harvey * is ſeen in the poſtſcript of a letter above cited to Archbiſhop Uſher, which is dated September 19, 1644, where he writes thus: 'If I may ſerve Dr Hervey, I 'ſhall be moſt ready, either here or at Leyden to do 'it.' Sir Nathaniel Brent was ejected in 1645, and Dr Hervey appointed to ſucceed him, but the former was reſtored the year following.

[*Y*] *Having provided a proper perſon to ſucceed him.*] Dr Walter Pope informs us, that conſidering the violent carriage of the Viſitors, Mr Greaves ſaw it would be of no ſervice to him to make any defence; and that finding it was impoſſible for him to keep his ground †, he made it his buſineſs to procure an able and worthy perſon to ſucceed him. For which purpoſe he went to London, and among others adviſed with Dr Scarborough about it, *who had then very great practice and lived magnificently, his table being always acceſſible to all learned men, and particularly to the diſtreſſed Royaliſts, and above all to ſcholars ejected out of either of the Univerſities for adhering to the King's cauſe.* After mature conſultation it was agreed upon, by a general conſent, that no perſon was ſo proper and fit for that employment as Mr S[illegible] Ward. Mr Greaves, who had heard much of Mr

(74) See Remark [Q].

(75) Sir Nathaniel Brent.

(76) See the MSS. letters of our author to Mr Pococke, ubi ſupra.

* Mentioned in remark [X].

(77) Ibid.

(78) Ibid.

(79) The Phyſician who diſcovered the circulation of the blood.

(80) Veat a Frenchman.

(81) Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 157.

(82) MS. papers of our author in the Savilian Library.

* Dr Birch has given a remarkable conference upon a phyſical ſubject between our author and this eminent Phyſician. See a note at the end of Pyramidogr. in Miſcell. Vol. I.

† After the decree of the Viſitors, he ſeems to have tried his intereſt in the Committee, where it hung in ſuſpence for ſome months. For in a letter to Dr Pococke, dated Aug. 1649, he complains, as of a freſh grievance, that the Committee had [illegible] him out of his Lecture. Life of Dr Pococke, p. 21.

and living upon his patrimony, went on as before in employing the preſs. In this reſolution he publiſhed *Binæ tabulæ geographicæ, una Naſſir Eddini Perſæ, altera Ulug Beigi Tatari, commentariis ex Abulſeda aliiſque Arabum Geographis illuſtratæ*, Lond. 1648. 4to (*x*). As alſo *Elementa Linguæ Perſicæ*, Lond. 1649 4to, to which he ſubjoined *Anonymus Perſa de ſiglis Arabum & Perſarum aſtronomicis*, Lond. 1648, 4to [Z]. At the ſame time he was engaged in preparing a Turkiſh dictionary (*y*). In 1650 came out in 4to his *Epochæ celebriores, aſtronomicis, hiſtoricis, chronologis, Chataiorum, Syrogræcorum, Arabum, Perſarum, Choraſmiorum uſitatæ, ex traditione Ulug Beigi, Arabice & Latine, cum commentariis* * [*AA*]. As alſo the ſame year

(*x*) Theſe he reprinted in 1652. See an account of them in Remark [C C.]

* This is dedicated to the Rep. of Venice, to whom he addreſſed a compliment in elegant Latin verſe.

(*y*) Birch's Life of our author, p. 34. It was in concert with Mr Will. Seaman, author of a Turkiſh grammar; but this dictionary was never finiſhed. See more of this in Dr Pococke's Article.

Ward, though he had no acquaintance with him, readily agreed, and undertook to find out Mr Ward, and make him the profer. In that deſign he returned to Oxford, whither Mr Ward knowing nothing of what had been concerted in his behalf, happened to come ſoon after, either to conſult ſome books in the public library, or to viſit his friends and acquaintance, as he frequently uſed to do (83). Entring the Bear Inn, he luckily meets Mr Greaves coming out, who, finding this was the man he wanted, immediately ſaluted him expreſſing his great joy at this fortunate rencounter, after which, taking him aſide, he imparted his buſineſs in the deſign of having him for his ſucceſſor, urging him with great importunity thereto: 'I remember, continues this author, I heard the Biſhop ſay, that among other arguments Mr Greaves 'told him, if you refuſe it, they will give it to 'ſome cobler of their party, who never heard of the 'name of Euclid, or the mathematicks, and yet will 'greedily ſnap at it for the ſalary's ſake.' This unexpected addreſs threw Mr Ward's modeſty into ſome confuſion at firſt. But after a while, returning many thanks for ſo extraordinary a favour, he objected the difficulty of effecting it, alledging that he had no room to expect he ſhould be ſuffered to enjoy a public Profeſſor's place quietly in Oxford, when it was notoriouſly known, that he was turned out of Cambridge for refuſing the Covenant; Mr Greaves replied, that he and his friends had conſidered that obſtacle, and found out a way to remove it; and it was effectually removed a little while after by means of Sir John Trevor, who though of the Parliament party, was a great lover of learning, and very obliging to ſeveral ſcholars, who had been turned out of the two Univerſities; and by his intereſt Mr Ward obtained the Profeſſor's chair, and kept his ſeat therein without taking the Covenant or Engagement. Being thus ſettled in the Profeſſor's chair, *he procured for Mr Greaves the full arrears of his ſalary, amounting to five hundred pounds; for part, if not all the land allotted to pay the Savilian Profeſſors lies in Kent, which county was in the power of the Parliament, who withheld the money* (84).

[Z] *Elementa Linguæ Perſicæ*, &c] The firſt of theſe pieces is dedicated to Mr Selden, being firſt drawn up at his requeſt, and approved by him; Dr Smith tells us, [p. 16.] it was written before our author's travels (into the Eaſt), and the ſame is intimated in the dedication, but could not then be printed for want of types. The tract ſubjoined is addreſſed to his friend Monſieur Hardy, to whom he gives his motive for publiſhing it, viz. that though many perſons had written of the Siglæ of the Jews, which occur every where among the Rabbins, yet no account had been publiſhed by any author of thoſe uſed by the Perſians and Arabians, eſpecially in their aſtronomical tables; that having met at Conſtantinople with this anonymous Perſian writer, who explains that ſubject with great clearneſs and accuracy, he thought it not unfit to be joined to his *Elementa Linguæ Perſicæ*, which he had begun at Paris at the inſtance of Monſieur Hardy.

[*AA*] *Epochæ celebriores*, &c] Theſe epochæ are of ſingular ſervice in correcting a vaſt number of errors in our books of chronology, and for the better underſtanding of them they are reduced by our author to the Julian period, and the vulgar Dionyſian æra of Chriſt; he has likewiſe added a praxis of the tables, with proper lemmata and examples. But the commentaries mentioned in the title were not printed with the book, though they are again referred to at the end of it *. Yet Dr Smith after a very diligent enquiry was never able to find them (85). With regard to the piece annexed *Choraſmiæ,—deſcriptio ex tabulis Abulſedæ*. In the preface having taken notice how much the tables of Abulfeda had been wiſhed for by the learned, and mentioned Ramuſius as the firſt who cited them, and ſhewed the uſe of them; he proceeds in obſerving, that many paſſages in them relating to Aſia had been corrected by Caſtaldus an eminent Geographer, who had undertaken the deſcription of that part of the world, and upon whoſe authority the tables are frequently mentioned by Ortelius in his *Theſaurus Geographicus* Speaking of the method of theſe tables he writes, that the firſt meridian was drawn through the Fortunate Iſlands by Ptolomy and his followers, the Greeks and Latins, and that the ancient Arabians followed the Greeks in that point: But that Abulfeda, with ſome others, computed the longitude from the meridian paſſing the extreme promontory which runs out into the Atlantic Ocean. Hence, continues he, the reaſon is plain why in ſome of the aſtronomical tables, and geographical charts of the Arabians, Alexandria in Egypt is placed in 51° longitude, in others in 61°; the former computing from the ſhore of the Atlantic Ocean, the latter from the Fortunate Iſlands. But the Indian Geographers and Aſtronomers have a quite different method of computing the longitude, drawing the firſt meridian in the Eaſt through Concador, whereas the Greeks and Latins, as alſo the Perſians, Arabians, and others, fix it in the Weſt, which appears from an inſtitution of aſtronomy wrote by Ali Koſhgi, an eminent Perſian aſtronomer. In fixing the climates, Abulfeda takes a very different method from the common one; beſides the ſeven climates of the ancient Greeks, followed herein by the Arabians and Perſians as being real, and κατὰ θέσιν, depending on the length of the days, he aſſigns twenty eight others καθ' ὑπόθεσιν, diſtinguiſhing in his tables between *clima verum* and *clima cognitum*; by this latter he means any country or kingdom, which contains ſeveral provinces or tracts of land, as Syria, al Erak, and other countries: ſometimes *clima cognitum* is part of one true climate, ſometimes of two; as Syria is partly in the third, and partly in the fourth climate; ſometimes *clima cognitum* contains part of ſeven climates, as it is reported of China, the longitude of which is ſaid to exceed the latitude. The reaſon why Abulfeda reckons Arabia, or as he calls it, the peninſula of Arabia, the firſt climate was, on account of the temple of God, and Mahomet's ſepulchre ſeated there. In proceeding, Mr Greaves explains Abulfeda's method in meaſuring the diſtances of places in theſe maps. He tells us, that he had collated theſe tables with five MSS. one of which belonged to Erpenius, and was tranſcribed from a MS. in the library of the Elector of Palatine; another, which was the very MS. from which Erpenius's copy was taken, and removed to the Vatican library; two others, in Mr Edward Pococke's library, and the fifth bought by himſelf at Conſtantinople; by the help of theſe a great number of errors in each of the tables are corrected, but not the leaſt alteration made without the authority of the major part of the MSS. except the caſe evidently required it. Mr Greaves calls this work *Majoris operis ſpecimen*, and then taking notice of the ſeveral attempts formerly made for preparing an intire edition of that author (86), he ſays, *Quod itaque à tantis viris ſuſceptum & à doctis hodie fere omnibus efflagitatum tandem, favente Deo optimo maximo, in hoc nunquam ſatis deploranda patriæ meæ calamitate, in maximo fortunarum naufragio, ſummaque animi inquietudine conſummatum eſt*. From this paſſage Dr Smith concludes, that our author had wrote and prepared for the preſs, what he calls *Verſio integra tabularum geographicarum Abulſedæ*, though he

(83) He reſided at Tame Park in that county, the Seat of Lord Wenman, who had invited him to his houſe. See his article.

(84) Dr Pope's Life of Seth Ward Biſhop of Saliſbury, p. 18, 19, 20, 21. Lond. 1697, 8vo.

* Having taken notice of the *emboliſmus*, or Leap year, of the Arabians, and how it differs from the Chriſtian, both which he had marked with a *lineola*, he concludes thus: *De emboliſmo Perſuo & Gelatæo vide ſis commentarios noſtros in Ulug Beigium.*

(85) Ubi ſupra, p. [illegible] Yet he thought it was probable they were written.

(86) Viz. by Erpenius and Schickard. After Mr Greaves the ſame was attempted by S. Clerk, and W. Guiſe at Oxford, and as is ſaid by Mr Thevenot in France, and again at Oxford by Mr Gagnier in 1723; but they were all prevented by death or ſome other accident from executing their deſign. Smith. p. 31. Renaudot's Præf. to his Accounts of India and China, p. 12, 13, and Gagnier's Præf. ad Abulfed. de vit. &c. Mohammed. p. x.

year the following peice. *Choraſmia & Mawaralnahra hoc eſt regionum extra fluvium Oxum deſcriptio ex tabulis Abulfædæ Iſmaelis principis Hamah*, 4to. And another in Engliſh intituled *A deſcription of the grand Seignior's Seraglio or Turkiſh Emperour's court*, 8vo *. In 1652 he publiſhed a piece with this title, *Aſtronomica quædam ex traditione Shah Cholgii Perſæ, una cum hypotheſibus Planetarum: item excerpta quædam ex Alfergani elementis aſtronomicis, & Ali Kuſtigii de terræ magnitudine & ſphærarum cæleſtium a terra diſtantiis cum interpretatione Latina* [B B] 4to. To this he added the *Binæ Tabulæ geographicæ, &c.* [C C] above mentioned.

* Our author did not know that this piece of Mr R. Withers had been printed before in Purchas's Pilgrims, part ii. lib. 9. c. 15.

he had neither ſeen it nor knew where it was But that Mr Greaves had ſome years before collated ſeveral copies of Abulfeda with that view, appears from a letter to Mr Pococke, dated October 28, 1646, which begins thus, 'I humbly thank you for theſe happy ſolutions, and conjectures of your's, concerning my doubts in Abulfeda, moſt of which I find to agree with Erpenius's copy, and therefore I have ſince taken ſo much pains as to compare your's and Erpenius's manuſcripts, and have writ the variæ lectiones into your's, with black lead:' and having told the manner in which he had done it, ſo as not to hurt but improve the manuſcript, he proceeds thus, 'I deſire you, with your own, to take my Abulfeda, as a ſmall gift, if theſe times ſhould hinder me from perfecting what I have deſigned. Though to ſpeak the truth, thoſe maps which ſhall be made out of Abulfeda, will not be ſo exact as I did expect, as I have found by comparing ſome of them with our modern and beſt charts In his deſcription of the Red Sea, which was not far from him, he is moſt groſsly miſtaken; What may we then think of places remoter? however, there may be good uſe of the book for the Arabian writers *. I have alſo compared Ptolemy's Geography, of Bertius's edition, with a fair Greek manuſcript of your friend's, whereby I ſpeak it confidently, two thouſand errors may be corrected in the Greek edition; and I now find that to be true, which Holſtenius long ſince told me, that Bertius had done nothing worthy of commendations in that fair and coſtly edition of Ptolemy; whereas I find Mercator's conjectures often very happily to agree with the manuſcript.' In this preface Mr Greaves confounds Abulfeda, the author of the Geography, with another perſon of the ſame name, concerning which miſtake ſee Dr Pococke's article.

* Mr Renaudot obſerves, that Abulfeda's geography is of little or no uſe, in ſettling the geography of the eaſtern countries, by reaſon of the uncertainty, he leaves poſition of places in amidſt a great number of different accounts. But Mr Gagnier remarks, that, by comparing theſe various accounts with modern obſervations, the true ſituation of places wou'd be better adjuſted. See the laſt cited pieces of theſe two authors.

[BB] *Aſtronomica quædam ex traditione Shah Cholgii Perſæ, &c*] In the preface our author gives a ſhort hiſtory of the riſe and progreſs of Aſtronomy among the Arabians, by which we find, that very near 400 years before the publication of this book, Gerardus Cremonenſis, a perſon excellently ſkilled in the Arabic language, though not ſo well verſed in aſtronomy, publiſhed theories of the planets. His errors, which had been univerſally received and adopted by the ignorant profeſſors of the Sciences, were refuted firſt by Regiomontanus (87); whoſe maſter, George Purback (88), an eminent Aſtronomer, having a little before wrote his book *de Theoriis Planetarum*, had therein facilitated the reading of Ptolemy, and the ancient Aſtronomers (*a*). And he is the firſt, after the reſtoration of learning in Europe, who wrote a ſhort introduction into the more abſtruſe parts of the Science. After him there appeared ſeveral Elements of the Science, and Commentaries upon Ptolemy; of whom the moſt eminent are Eraſmus Rheinbold, and Michael Mæſtlin; this laſt being frequently recommended by Tycho Brahe. Theſe authors having made uſe of a great number of barbarous terms, unknown to the Latin language, which had grown into the writings of Aſtronomers from the publication of the Caſtilian tables, Mr Greaves thought it would be no unacceptable preſent to the Republic of Letters to trace theſe exotic words to their original; in that deſign he fixed upon this ſhort tract taken from the Commentaries of Mahmud Shah Cholgi. The words here explained are Juzahar, Zenith, Nadir, Buth, with a prodigious variety of others, either taken from the Arabians, or formed in imitation of them (89). And as all the books of Science, eſpecially Phyſic and Mathematics, came to Europe out of the Arabian ſchools, from the time of Al Mammon, by whoſe direction the Greek writers were firſt tranſlated into Arabic at Babylon; ſo by this piece of Shah Cholgi, the reader will find, that the celeſtial hypotheſes of the Perſians and Arabians are exactly conformable to thoſe of Ptolemy, and have them ſuccinctly and clearly explained and adapted to the motions of the planets, from the accurate obſervations of Naſſir Eddin in the city of Maraga. Beſides, the ſtudious in the Oriental tongues muſt be pleaſed to ſee a book publiſhed in the genuine Perſian language; ſince what had been before publiſhed in that tongue were full of barbariſms and improprieties (90). This Shah Cholgi flouriſhed in the year 866 of the Hegira, and 1461 of the Chriſtian æra, when he compoſed his Commentaries, (of which the preſent tract is a part) dedicated by Naſſir Eddin to Ilechan Tatar: and though it is not known whether he wrote any thing elſe, yet Mr Greaves obſerves, that theſe alone are ſufficient to correct a great many errors in aſtronomy; and to confute diverſe aſſertions in chronology received upon the authority of Joſeph Scaliger; and to explain a variety of things in the Arabian writers, eſpecially the Mathematicians. In the dedication to John Marſham, Eſq; (afterwards Sir John Marſham) Mr Greaves remarks, that it was at his ſollicitations that Mr Marſham was prevailed with to publiſh his Diatriba Chronologica, printed at London, 1649, 4to.

(87) He was born June 6, 1436, and died July 6, 1476, Gaſſend. in ejus vita, p. 67, 92. Pariſ. 1654, 4to.

(88) He was born May 30, 1423, and died April 7, 1461. ibid. in ejus vita, p. 58, 74.

(89) This was afterwards made uſe of by Dr Wallis in his hiſtory of Algebra.

(90) Particularly the Pentateuch by Tawuſh the Jew, and Xavier's Hiſtoria Chriſti & Petri, publiſhed by Ludovicus de Dieu, at Leyden in 1639.

[CC] *Binæ tabulæ, &c.*] Naſſir Eddin, the author of the firſt of theſe tables, flouriſhed about the 660 year of the Hegira, and was an eminent Perſian Mathematician and Aſtronomer, greatly commended by Gregory Abu'l Faragius. Hiſtorians relate, that preſenting a book he had wrote to Moſtaaſem, the laſt Kalif of Babylon, who treated it with contempt, he was ſo exaſperated, that he went to Holac Chân, prince of the Tartars, and perſwaded him to make war upon Moſtaaſem, whoſe army was defeated and himſelf with his four ſons ſlain by Holac Chân after the taking of Babylon. By this event, the empire and name of the Abbaſſidæ, which had flouriſhed about 500 years in Aſia, were entirely extinguiſhed. It is probable, that Naſſir Eddin was advanced to great honours by Holac, and had a conſiderable ſhare in his friendſhip; and under his patronage formed the Aſtronomical tables which he ſtiled the Ilechan Tables, from Ilechan king of the Tartars [or Tatars], by the aſſiſtance of the beſt mathematicians in the city of Maraga. Mahmud Shah Cholgi prefers theſe tables to all others, and Mr Greaves remarks, that if they had been known to the Europeans in the preceding ages, thoſe monſtrous hypotheſes of an eighth heaven, long before introduced by Thebet Ebn Corah, would have been exploded. Mr Greaves therefore extracted this table out of his collection, which he thought would be of great uſe in illuſtrating the Geography of the remoteſt parts of Aſia, moſt of which Naſſir Eddin had ſeen, and travelled over, and given an accurate account of the reſt from the writings of the Indians and Arabians *. Ulug Beig, king of Parthia and India, and grandſon of Timurlan the Great, was the author of the other tables. Reſiding at Samarkand his metropolis, he exerciſed himſelf in the ſtudy of Mathematics and Aſtronomy; and having ſent from all parts for Aſtronomers, (the principal of whom were Giyath Eddin Iamſhud, and Ali Kuſhgi, author of a celebrated book in the elements of Arithmetic and Aſtronomy) and furniſhed them with inſtruments, he obſerved,

* Mr Greaves mentions ſeveral eminent Arabian Geographers beſides Abulfeda, and the authors (which are about 30) cited by him. See the Article PRIDEAUX [HUMPHREY]

(*a*) This was done long before by Ptolemy himſelf in his old age (not to mention a great number of Arabian and Perſian writers after him, as Albattani, Alferran, Coſta Ebn Luka, Naſſir Eddin, and Kuſhgi). For Ptolemy having finiſhed his Μεγάλη Σύνταξις, ſubjoined to it his treatiſe, περὶ ὑποθέσεων πλανωμένων, of the hypotheſis of the planets, with a view either to refreſh his own memory, or to aſſiſt youth. But this piece continued in obſcurity, ſcarce known to the Greeks, much leſs to the Latins, till Dr John Bainbridge publiſhed it with *Proclus's Sphæra*, at London, 1620, 4to.

mentioned. He had prepared ſeveral other works for the preſs[*D D*], and was meditating more [*EE*] at this time. But theſe and many other valuable pieces, which might have been expected from him, the public has loſt by his death, which happened October 8, (*z*) 1652. His body was interred in the church of St Bennet Sherehog in London (*a a*). He had made his will the year before, wherein, bequeathing his eſtate to his wife for her life (*b b*), he left his cabinet of coins to Sir John Marſham (*c c*) author of the Canon Chronicus, and appointed the eldeſt of his three younger brothers Dr Nicolas Greaves [*FF*] his executor, who

(*z*) Smith's Obituary in Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. lib. xiv. p. 25.

(*a a*) Wood's Ath. Ox. col. 58.

(*b b*) Smith's Vita Grav. p. 34.

(*c c*) See our author's life prefixed to Miſcellanies, p. 58.

ſerved, in company with them, the phænomena of the heavens with the utmoſt accuracy, and from thence formed his tables (which are famed over the whole Eaſt) in the year 841 of the Hegira, and 1437 of the Chriſtian æra. Among theſe, according to the cuſtom of Aſtronomers, is ranked the Geographical Table here publiſhed by Mr Greaves; who tells us, that he was informed by ſome Turkiſh Aſtronomers of no mean parts and ſkill at Conſtantinople, upon remarking the agreement between the obſervations of Tycho Brahe and thoſe of Ulug Beig, that the latter, beſides his other moſt exact inſtruments, had procured a quadrant, the radius of which in length equalled the height of the dome of St Sophia: this account the Turks had from Perſians of credit. Mr Greaves leaves the reader to believe as much of this ſtory as he pleaſes; but obſerves, that very large inſtruments were abſolutely neceſſary to take the height of the Pole, ſo accurately as he had done at Samarkand, (where Ulug Beig reigned, according to Emir Cond, above forty years) for he makes it to be 39°. 37′. 23″. from whence we may conclude his great accuracy in the reſt of his obſervations. Notwithſtanding this, a manuſcript of our author, entitled Chorographical Maps, from the Tables of Naſſir Eddin, Abulfeda, and Ulug Beig, coming after his death into the hands of Dr Smith (91), that gentleman did not think proper to print it, by reaſon he found the maps not ſo correct as ſome which had been made in later times. The Commentaries mentioned in the title of Binæ Tabulæ, &c. were never printed, and Dr Ward thinks they were never written, from a paſſage in one of our author's letters to Mr Pococke, where he ſays, 'The book I ſend you ſhould 'have been with you long ſince, but by reaſon of my 'many diverſions and law-ſuits, I have not as yet di'ſtributed the copies, nor added the Commentary I 'intended.' Though there is no date to this letter, yet, by the mention of his law-ſuits, Dr Ward ſuppoſes theſe two Geographical Tables muſt be meant, which were firſt printed at the time he was in theſe troubles (92).

[*D D*] *Prepared ſeveral other works for the preſs.*] Several of theſe have been ſince printed. As (1) In the Philoſophical Tranſactions. *The manner of hatching chickens at Cairo.* No 137. *An Account of ſome experiments for trying the force of great guns made at Woolwich*, March 18, 1651. No 173. *An Account of the latitude of Conſtantinople and Rhodes.* No 178. Afterwards reprinted in Mr Ray's Collection of Travels, 1693. Fol. (2) *Binarum Tabularum Verſio à Georgio Chryſococca ex manuſcriptis Perſicis græce facta, quarum altera longitudines & latitudines ſtellarum inſignium 25, altera inſignium oppidorum, continebat.* Theſe tables were publiſhed by Iſmael Bullialdus, in an Appendix to his *Aſtronomia Philolaica*, which Mr Greaves had collated with his copy, and the latter of them has been reprinted in Dr Hudſon's third Volume of Collections, intitled *Geographiæ veteris Scriptores Græci minores.* Oxon. 1712. 8vo. (3) *Deſcriptio Peninſulæ Arabiæ ex Abulfeda* (93), *cum deſcriptione maris Perſici & Rubri; Arabice & Latine* (4) *Ptolemæi Arabia.* Theſe two laſt were likewiſe publiſhed by Dr Hudſon in the ſame Volume with the *Tabulæ Chryſococcæ* (94).

The following are not yet printed. (1) *Tabulæ integræ longitudinis & latitudinis ſtellarum fixarum juxta Ulug Beigi obſervationes.* Mr Greaves carefully collated five Perſian MSS of theſe tables, after which he tranſlated them into Latin, and depoſited the copy with Archbiſhop Uſher. But this not being known to Mr Thomas Hyde, of Queen's College in Oxford, he made a new verſion, and publiſhed it with the original and a learned Commentary at Oxford, 1665, in 4to. (2) *A geographical account of the mountains in the country near the Arabians, from Abulfeda.* Engliſh. (3) Of the Tatars, or inhabitants of Mogol (95), with a ſhort deſcription of the chief regions in Perſia. (4) *Elementa omnium ſcientiarum præſertim mathematicarum.* This book, written with his own hand, was given to Dr Dudley Loftus of Ireland, by Dr Nicholas Greaves, our author's brother, and afterwards came into the hands of Dr Thomas Smith (96), by whom it was left among his other manuſcripts to Mr Hearne, and is now in the Bodleian library at Oxford. It is a ſmall piece, about the ſize of an ordinary pamphlet, in 8vo. It was bound by order of Mr Hearne, being before a collection of looſe papers which our author carried about in his pocket, by way of Adverſaria. It conſiſts of 41 heads, which are as follow. *Obſervations relating to Chronology and Aſtronomy, particularly an account of the epochæ uſed by ſeveral nations. Ars gnomonica Ars militaris Agriculture*, a blank page with only the title. *Ars navigationis. Juriſprudentia. Concerning law. Medicina. Chymica. Curious extracts out of oriental authors, relating chiefly to mathematical ſubjects, as particularly chronological tables out of Naſſir Eddin. An Account of ſome of the moſt eminent Philoſophers, from Ebn Chalicâu and other Manuſcripts. Eclipſes of the ſun and moon at Oxford, Rome, Marana in the Weſt Indies, Conſtantinople, and many other places Collections out of the Geographia Nubienſis; de magnitudine terræ, the opinion of ſeveral oriental writers on that ſubject; Tabulæ aſtronomicæ Perſicæ; de calculo aſtronomico. Algebra. De philoſophia, ſive de artibus & ſcientiis in genere. Grammatica Rhetorica. Hiſtoria. Logica. Phyſica. Metaphyſica. Arithmetica. Geometria. Aſtronomia. Optica. Aſtrologia. Trigonometria. Chronological and Aſtronomical Obſervations, collected out of oriental and other authors. Tables of the longitude and latitude of places ex Ulug-Bego & Keplero. Geographia*, a blank page with only the title. *Muſica*, a blank page. *Metrica. Geodæſia. Altimetrica. Mechanica*, a blank page. *Trigonometrical caſes. Tables of ſigns and tangents. De militia Romana. Architectura militaris. Architectura. Pictura*, a blank page. *Sculptura*, a blank page. *De Divinatione. Theologia. Philoſophia moralis. Chronological and Aſtronomical Collections.* (5) *Quæſtiones Abdallæ Ebn Salan Judæi cum Mohammedis reſponſis, à Johanne Gravio ex Arabica lingua in Latinam traductæ & notis illuſtratæ.* Dr Ward tells us (97) this is a curious manuſcript in Arabic and Latin, then [1740] in the poſſeſſion of Sir Richard Ellys, Bart. and that it contains certain queſtions taken out of the Jewiſh Law by Ebn Salan, and propoſed to Mohammed, which being anſwered by him, this Rabbi is there ſaid to have become one of his principal followers.

[*E E*] *Was meditating others.*] Among theſe was an account of the magnitude of the earth according to the Arabians, as alſo their weights and meaſures; and a deſcription of the Egyptian ſepulchres, with an account of their hieroglyphics and other antiquities, of which he had a large quantity of various ſorts. There is likewiſe in the Savilian Muſæum a ſmall MS. book containing aſtronomical, geographical, and other miſcellaneous obſervations made at Conſtantinople, Rhodes, Alexandria, and other places in the Eaſt, chiefly in 1638, and a printed Almanack for 1637 filled with MS. obſervations in aſtronomy, and other remarks of various kinds made in Italy after his return from the Eaſt in 1639. Several extracts from theſe have been printed by Dr Ward, and more by Dr Birch in the Miſcellaneous Works, &c. In the 1ſt Vol. of which he has given us the Pyramidographia, with a great many additions and alterations from a copy corrected by the author, and the diſcourſe of the Roman foot and denarius.

[*FF*] *His brother Dr Nicolas Greaves.*] This gentleman was firſt a Commoner at St Mary's Hall in Oxford, and being choſen Fellow of All Souls College in 1627, became Senior Proctor of the Univerſity in 1640. He

(91) Vita Johan. Græv. p. 31.

(92) Lives of the Greſham Profeſſors, p. 147.

(93) Taken from Texeira the Spaniard, who borrowed many things from Emir Cond, the Perſian. From this edition Mr la Roque made his French tranſlation of the ſame deſcription of Arabia ſubjoined to D'Arvieux's Journey to Paleſtine, printed at Paris 1717, 8vo.

(94) To theſe are to be added *Lemmata Archimedes* mentioned in remark [Q] which were firſt inſerted in an edition of Archimedes's Works in 1675, 4to. by Dr Barrow. In 1700 there came out a piece intituled, The Origin and Antiquity of our Engliſh weights and meaſures, &c. By Mr John Greaves, Aſtronomy Profeſſor at Oxford; and a ſecond edition was publiſhed in 1745, 12mo. But this tract was not wrote by our author, as preſently appears upon looking into it.

(95) He deſigned to have printed it, but was prevented by his death.

(96) Dr Smith calls this book Synopſis & Compendium ἐγκυκλοπαιδείας. Vita. J. G. p. 31.

(97) Ubi ſupra, p. 150.

who by will bequeathed our author's aſtronomical inſtruments to the Savilian library at Oxford, where they are repoſited (*dd*) together with ſeveral of his papers (*ee*). His loſs was much lamented by his friends [*G G*], he ſeems to be a man of great reſolution, and the whole tenor of his life ſhews him a zealous Royaliſt, and ſteady in his friendſhips, tho' as he declares of [*H H*] himſelf not at all inclined to contention; he was highly eſteemed by ſeveral learned men abroad, with whom he correſponded, as William Schickard, James Golius, Cladius Hardy, Francis Junius, Peter Scavenius, and Chriſtian Ravius; and at home, beſides Archbiſhop Laud, he had an intimate friendſhip with Archbiſhop Uſher, Mr Selden, Dr Gerard Langbaine, Dr William Harvey, Sir John Marſham, Dr Edward Pococke, Dr Charles Scarborough, Dr George Ent, and other great men (*ff*).

(*dd*) Catalogus librorum manuſcriptorum Angl. & Hibern. in unum collect. part i. p. 302. Oxon. 1697, fol.

(*ee*) A great many of theſe papers were ſold by his executor's widow to a bookſeller, and loſt or diſperſed. Smith, p. 34.

(*ff*) See his letter, and other parts of his works, paſſim.

He proceeded, B. D. Nov. 1, 1642, and being created Doctor on the 6th of June the year following, was afterwards preferred to the Deanery of Dromore in Ireland (98). The two other brothers were men of conſiderable learning. Of theſe, Thomas the elder was born at Colmore, and having his firſt education at Charter-Houſe School, was admitted March 27, 1627, ſcholar of Corpus Chriſti College in Oxford, and taking his degrees in Arts, became fellow of the college in 1636. He proceeded, B D. in 1641, and had the rectory of Dunſby in Lincolnſhire, beſides a living near London before the Reſtoration: after which he was created D. D. in 1661, and became rector of Bennyfield, in Northamptonſhire, and in 1666 a Prebendary of Peterborough, but this laſt was the only preferment he was poſſeſſed of at his death, which happened in 1676, at an eſtate he had purchaſed at Weldon in Northamptonſhire, having retired thither upon his reſignation of Bennyfield ſome time before (99); upon his grave ſtone in the chancel of Weldon church (where he was interred) is the following inſcription: *Thomas Gravius, S. Th. D. Eccleſiæ Petroburg. Prebend. Vir ſummæ pietatis & eruditionis; In Philoſophicis paucis ſecundus; In Philologicis peritiſſimis par; In linguis orientalibus pleriſque major, quarum Perſicam notis in appendice ad Biblia Polyglotta doctiſſime illuſtravit* (100). *Arabicam publice in Academia Oxon. profeſſus eſt* (101), *digniſſimus etiam qui & Theologiam in eodem loco profiteretur; Poeta inſuper & Orator inſignis; atque in Mathematicis profunde doctus. Reipublicæ Literariæ & Eccleſiæ Chriſtianæ flebilis obiit Maij 22, ann.* 1676. *æt. ſuæ* 65. Beſides the pieces mentioned in the margin, he had once ſome thoughts of publiſhing a treatiſe againſt Mahometiſm, as appears from a letter he wrote to his friend Mr Baxter (102), whoſe zeal and piety he therein greatly commends.

Edward the youngeſt of the four brothers was born at Croydon in Surrey. Elected Fellow of All Souls College in 1634, proceeded Doctor of Phyſic July 8, 1641, became ſuperiour reader (as obſerved in remark [P]) of Lynacre's lecture in that faculty at Merton College, Nov. 14, 1643, in the room of Dr Bainbridge; and together with Dr Walter Charleton, was appointed travelling phyſician to King Charles I. (103). Upon the decline of his Majeſty's affairs, he went to London and practiſed there, going occaſionally in the ſeaſons to Bath, to the library of which Abbey church he was a benefactor (104). Octob. 11, 1657, he was choſen Fellow of the College of Phyſicians (105), and after the Reſtoration became Phyſician in Ordinany to K. Charles II. who created him a Baronet (106). He ſpoke the Harveyan ſpeech on the 25th of July 1661 (107). He died at his houſe in Covent-Garden Nov. 11, 1680, and was buried in that pariſh church (108).

[*G G*] *He was much lamented by his friends.*] Dr Gerard Langbaine in a letter to Mr Selden, Oct. 22, 1652, writes thus: 'for Mr John Greaves, I was ſeized of the ſad news of his death. I have in him loſt a friend, and learning a great ſupport. What he had of his own as author, I hope his brothers or ſome knowing friend will be careful to preſerve. You know he was owner of ſome Arabic books, which I believe are not to be found in Europe again. Unleſs you think fit to buy them yourſelf, I would willingly put in for this Univerſity. We ſhall be able to compaſs ſome of them, and I hope in time, by means of Mr Pococke and ſuch of his ſcholars here as are ingenious and ſtudious, to make uſe of them. And methinks 'tis a diſgrace to our nation that ſuch commodities ſhould paſs from hence to France, or Sweden, or the Low Countries (109).'

[*H H*] *He declares of himſelf.*] In a letter to Mr Pococke dated March 6, 1650. 'There is no man, ſays he, deſires more to be quiet than myſelf, and to promote learning and honeſt purpoſes. But I know not how it is my fortune to find enemies where I have leaſt deſerved, and friends where I could no way have merited (110).'

P

(98) Smith, and Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 669.

(99) This was occaſioned by ſome uneaſineſs among his pariſhioners, on account of his bad utterance in the pulpit, owing to an impediment in his ſpeech. Wood, Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 556.

(100) Theſe are (1) *Obſervationes quædam in Perſicam Pentateuchi verſionem. Bib. Polyglot.* Vol. VI. p. 48. (2) *Annotationes quædam in Perſicam interpretationem Evangeliorum*, ibid. p. 56. theſe laſt are tranſlated into Latin, by Mr Samuel Clarke.

(101) In 1637 he was appointed Deputy Arabic Profeſſor to Dr Pococke. [See his article.] He printed his ſpeech on this occaſion with the following title. De linguæ Arabicæ utilitate & præſtantia. Oratio Oxoniæ habita Julii 19 1637. Ox. 1639, 4to. See a letter from Abr. Wheelocke Arabic Profeſſor at Cambridge to him, in the life of John Greaves, by Birch, ubi ſupra.

(102) Ibid.

(103) Hearne's pref. to Langtofte's Chron. p. 86. At this time he publiſhed Morbus Epidemicus, or the new diſeaſe, Oxon. 1643, 4to. This was the camp diſeaſe, which then raged in that city.

(104) See Hiſtory and Antiquities of the Abbey church of Bath, p. 200. Lond. 1723, 8vo.

(105) Birch. From that College-regiſter.

(106) See Guillim's Heraldry, p. 210. edit. 1724.

(107) It was printed Londini 1667, 4to. Dr Smith calls it *elegantiſſima oratio*.

(108) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(109) Birch, ibid. p. 50, 51.

(110) Ward, p. 146, from the MS. letters of our author,

GREENVIL, GRENVIL, GRENEVILL, GREINVIL, GROYNVILLE, GREENFIELD, GRENEFELDT, GRAINVILLE, GRAYNVILLE, GRANEVIL, or, as now commonly written, Granville or Greenville, in Latin Grandiſvilla, one of the moſt ancient and noble families in this iſland (*a*). It is a point ſettled on the higheſt authorities, that this is a branch of the ancient ducal houſe of Normandy, and enjoyed very high titles before they came over hither with the Conqueror, to whom Richard de Greenville, the founder of this illuſtrious line, was nearly related (*b*) [*A*]. This Richard de Greenvil attended his brother Robert Fitzhamon,

(*a*) Carew's Survey of Cornwall, p. 62. Riſdon's Survey of Devon. p. 90, 91. Camden. Britan. Tit. Danmonii.

(*b*) Bill. ſig. Car. ii. A. 12.

[*A*] *Was nearly related*] There is nothing of this kind more certain, or more clearly ſupported by authorities of hiſtory and of record, than that this family came in with William, ſurnamed the Conqueror, and received from him large eſtates in the county of Devon (1). As to the deſcent of Richardus de Grana Villa, or Ricardus de Grenvile (2), for thus the name is written in the oldeſt pieces we have met with from the Norman houſe, it ſtands thus. Rollo, the Norman, was inveſted with the Duchy of Normandy by Charles the Simple, who then wore the Crown of France, from whom, at the ſame time, he received his daughter Giſela, or, as our hiſtorians commonly call her, Giletta, as his conſort (3). She was, however, properly ſpeaking, no more than a wife of honour; and whereas the current of hiſtorians ſay, that Rollo had no iſſue by her, but that after her deceaſe he married a ſecond wife; the true ſtate of the matter is this, that he never conſummated the marriage with the king of France's daughter, who ſurvived him, but by another lady, Popa, daughter to the count de Baieux, whom he had taken many years before in a predatory expedition, he had a ſon Guillaume Longue-epé, that is, William with the long ſword, his ſucceſſor, and a daughter Girlotta, who eſpouſed the duke of Guyenne, or Acquitaine (4). William ſucceeded his father, anno dom. 912. He was in all reſpects one of the moſt accompliſhed and virtuous princes of his time, which, however, did not hinder his being moſt infamouſly aſſaſſinated by the count of Flanders, anno dom. 943 (5). He eſpouſed the daughter of Herbert, count of Vermandois, and by her had Richard, ſurnamed the Hardy, who though he ſucceeded to the Duchy a child, yet he governed long, and with great reputation.

(1) Camdeni Britan. Tit. Danmonii. Riſdon's Survey of Devon. p. 90, 91. Winning of Glamorgan, by Sir Edw. Stradling. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 321. Fuller's Worthies in Cornwall.

(2) Ex Tranſcript. evident. D. Barn. Granville.

(3) Guliel. Gemiticenſis de Ducibus Norman. lib. ii. cap. xvii. Thom. Walſingham Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 417.

(4) Dud. Hiſt. Norman. Oder. Vital. Norm. Hiſt. Ypodig. Neuſtriæ, p. 416. Gulielm. Gemiticenſ. lib. ii.

(5) Dud. Hiſtor. Norman. Gulielm. Gemiticenſ. lib. iii. cap. xii. Ypodig. Neuſtriæ.

Fitzhamon, earl of Glouceſter, in his famous expedition into Wales (*c*), which makes ſo ſhining a figure in the hiſtories of thoſe times (*d*), and by which he entitled himſelf to a very honourable reward amongſt the reſt of the gallant knights, who were embarked in that enterprize (*e*) [*B*]. But it does not appear that himſelf or his deſcendants ever ſettled in theſe parts.

(*c*) Powell's Hiſt. of Cambria, p. 125, 131. Camd. Britan. Tit. Silures. ex Regiſtr. Abbat. de Nethe.

(*d*) MS. antiq. intitul. The Wynyng of Glammorgan. Camden. Brit. Tit. Silures. Powell's Hiſt. of Cambria, p. 124.

(*e*) Regiſtr. Abbat. de Nethe penes Dom. R. Stradling. Monaſt. Angl. Tom. i. p. 161. Camden. Brit. Tit. Silures.

reputation. He married firſt Emma, daughter to Hugh le Grand, count of Paris, and father to Hugh Capet, by whom he had no iſſue; but by a Daniſh lady of great quality, whoſe name was Gunnora, whom he firſt kept as a concubine, and afterwards married, he had three ſons, Richard, who ſucceeded him; Robert Archbiſhop of Roan, and Maliger, or, as it is commonly pronounced, Mauger, count of Corboile (6). He had alſo three daughters, of whom the youngeſt was Emma, ſurnamed the Flower of Normandy, married to Ethelred, and Canute, both Kings of England, mother, by the latter, to Harold, ſurnamed Harefoot; and by the former, of Edward the Confeſſor, who were alſo both kings of England (7). This Mauger, earl of Corboile, had a ſon, whoſe name was Hamon, who was ſlain in battle in the reign of his couſin Robert II. duke of Normandy. His ſon was alſo called Hamon, ſurnamed le Dentu, in Latin Dentatus, who married the ſiſter of the emperor Otho, and by her had three ſons, Robert, Richard, and Hamon, who all attended the Conqueror in his expedition into England, were preſent with him at the battle of Haſtings (8); and marching with him afterwards into the Weſt, to the ſiege of Exeter, Richard had beſtowed upon him lands of conſiderable value, particularly the lordſhips of Biddeford in Devonſhire, and of Kilkhampton in Cornwall (9). Thus far all is as clear as in a matter of this antiquity can poſſibly be expected. But as to what is reported of Hamon Dentatus being lord of Granville, in Normandy, it is, with me at leaſt, of no ſuch eaſy digeſtion; that there is ſuch a town in Normandy is, indeed, very certain, but that it belonged to Hamon le Dentu, and that from thence his ſecond ſon was ſtiled Richard de Granville; I ſhall readily acknowledge, when it can be proved that there was ſuch a place in thoſe times, or for two or three hundred years after; but till that can be done, I ſhall look upon this French ſurname as a piece of affectation, that might have endangered the credit of this genealogy, if it had not been otherwiſe ſo well ſupported both by hiſtory and record. If he had really brought the ſurname of Granville out of Normandy, we ſhould without queſtion, have found his name in the old chronicles, where there is a very long liſt (10); or in the roll of Battle-Abbey (11), or in that other ancient roll, purporting the names of thoſe who came over with duke William (12); but as we do not find it there, it is much more reaſonable to believe, that he aſſumed that ſurname in England, more eſpecially if for this any probable account can be given. As to it's occurring in the liſt publiſhed by Holinſhed (13), it proves little, ſince it is plainly interpolated, and ſeveral names added that were not, or could be, in the roll of Battle-Abbey, and this amongſt the reſt.

[*B*] *Who were embarked in that enterprize*] The hiſtory of the conqueſt of Glamorgan is a piece of hiſtory extremely well preſerved by the care of Sir Edward Stradling, as ſome ſay, or as others affirm, Sir Edward Maunſel, who collected it from very authentic evidences; and therefore though the language be ſomewhat obſelete, we preſume to give it in the author's words (14). 'In the year of our Lord 1091, and in the 4th yeare of the reign of King William Rufus, one Jeſtyn, the ſon of Gungant, being lord of the ſaid lordſhip of Glamorgan, Rees ap Theodoc Prince of South Wales, that is, of Caermarthyneſhire and Caerdiganſhire, made war upon him. Whereupon the ſaid Jeſtyn underſtanding himſelf unable to withſtand the ſaid Rees, without ſome aid otherwiſe, ſent one Eneon, a gentleman of his to England, to one Robertus Fitzhamon, a worthy man, and Knight of the Privy Chamber with the ſaid King, to retain him for his ſuccour. The which Robert being deſirous to exerciſe himſelf in the feats of war, agreed ſoon with him thereto, for a ſalary to him granted for the ſame. Whereupon the ſaid Robert Fitzhamon retained to his ſervice, for the ſaid journey, twelve knights, and a competent number of ſoldiers, and went into Wales, and joining there with the power of the ſaid Jeſtyn, fought with the ſaid Rees ap Tewdor, and killed him, and one Conan his ſon. After which victory the ſaid Robert Fitzhamon minding to return home again with his company, demanded his ſalary to him due of the ſaid Jeſtyn, according to the covenants and promiſes agreed upon between him and the aforeſaid Eneon, on the behalf of the ſaid Jeſtyn his maſter. The which to perform in all points, the ſaid Jeſtyn denied, and thereupon they fell out, ſo that it came to be tried by battle. And for ſo much as the ſaid Eneon ſaw his maſter go from divers articles and promiſes, that he had willed him to conclude with the ſaid Robert Fitzhamon on his behalf, he forſook his maſter, and took part, he and his friends, with the ſaid Robert Fitzhamon. In the which conflict the ſaid Jeſtyn, with a great number of his men were ſlain, whereby the ſaid Robert Fitzhamon wan the peaceable poſſeſſion of the whole lordſhip of Glamorgan, with the members of the which he gave certain caſtles and manors in reward of ſervice to the ſaid twelve knights, and to other his gentlemen. (1) William de Londres, alias London. (2) Richardus de Grana Villa, alias Greenfeeld. (3) Paganus de Turbervile. (4) Robertus de S Quintino, alias S. Quintine. (5) Richardus de Syward. (6) Gilbertus de Humfrevile. (7) Rogerus de Berkrolles. (8) Reginaldus de Sully. (9) Peter le Soore. (10) Johannes le Fleming. (11) Oliverus de S. John, a younger brother of the Lord S. John of Baſing. (12) William le Eſterling, whoſe anceſtors came out of Dantzic to England with the Danes, and is now by ſhortneſs of ſpeech called Stradling.' Thus far the old hiſtory. In this diviſion the caſtle and lordſhip of Neth was given to this Sir Richard, ſtiled from this time Sir Richard de Grenevile, and never, as I can from any good authority find, ſo ſtiled before. In order to account for this we muſt obſerve, that in the Britiſh times this town was called Nedh, as the river likewiſe was, upon which it ſtands, implying muddy, turbid, or diſturbed, which is a true deſcription of the water (15). Under the Romans it became ſo conſiderable a place, that it is mentioned by Antoninus, who calls it Nidum (16). It is now called Neath, approaching nearly to it's old Britiſh name. At the time of this conqueſt, though not what it had been, it was ſtill very conſiderable, and the village of Lantwit, or St Iltuts, which joins to it, ſhews foundations of many buildings, and the viſible remains of ſeveral ſtreets (17). Hence it was denominated in the Latin of thoſe times Grandiſvilla, as we gather from Leland, which is not Great Town, but Old Town, and what corroborates this is, that in the neighbourhood of it there is Nova Villa, or New Town (18). Neath, though it has not recovered it's ancient ſplendor, is, however. a place of note at this day, has a good bridge, a flouriſhing trade, a good market, and is governed by a Portreve (19). Now that this is the true ſtate of the matter, and that we need not take a fruitleſs journey to Normandy to look for Granville, before the little town of that name, that is ſtill ſtanding, was built, which the beſt French writers ſay was in 1440 (20), will appear from hence, there was really ſuch a name as this, and at this time, but it belonged to another family, thus Leland, citing Henry Huntingdon, relates the death of the earl of Eſſex thus (21), 'Gaufredus de Magna Villa, Conſul Eſtſexe, à quodam pedite valiſſus vulneratus eſt ſagitta, unde non longe poſt obiit.' In another place, ſpeaking of the very ſame perſon, he ſays (22), 'King Stephane's men toke Geffray Grauntville, that had many caſtelles in keping to the uſe of Mawde Emperes.' Yet the common name of this family was Mandeville; but before ſurnames were thoroughly

(6) Dud. Gulielm. Gemiticenſ. Thom. Walſingham.

(7) Wil. Malmeſbur. de geſt. Reg. Anglorum, lib. ii.

(8) Fragment. Hiſtor. Gulielm. Conqueſt. Gulielm. Malmeſbur. lib. iii. Monaſt. Anglic. Vol. I. p. 161.

(9) See the Charter to Bydefordu, note [C].

(10) Lelandi Collectanea, Vol. I. p. 213, 221, —224. Les Chroniques de Normandie.

(11) See the Roll in Stowe's Annals, p. 105.

(12) Cognomina Conquiſitorum Angliæ, &c.

(13) Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 3.

(14) The Winning of Glamorgan communicated to Dr Powell and printed in his Hiſt. of Cambria.

(15) Baxteri Gloſſar. Antiquit. Britan. p. 183.

(16) Iter. XII.

(17) Camden. Britan. Tit. Silures.

(18) Spelman's Villare Anglican. Broome's Travels, p. 27.

(19) Martin's Dictionary under the word *Neath*.

(20) Du Moutier, Neuſtria Pia.

(21) Leland. Collectan. Vol. I. p. 205. Roger Hoveden, fol. 280, a.

(22) Lelandi Collectanea, Vol. I. p. 765.

parts. On the contrary, it ſeems highly probable, that, by the advice of his wife Conſtance, he gave a great part of the lands which he had purchaſed with his ſword to the founding of a religious houſe, which remained one of the faireſt in Wales to the time of the diſſolution *(f)* [*C*]. He continued to reſide in the weſt of England, where he had large poſſeſſions in the counties of Cornwall and Devon, 'till, according to the turn of military devotion, which prevailed in thoſe times, he took the croſs when he was very old, but expired before he could carry into execution his deſign of going to Jeruſalem, in the year 1147 *(g)*. It is not abſolutely certain, whether Conſtance, beforementioned, or Iſabel, the ſecond wife of Richard de Greenvil, was the daughter of Walter Gifford, earl of Longueville in Normandy, and of Buckingham in England; but by which ever of thoſe ladies was the daughter of that great peer, who, from a grant of the Conqueror, held no leſs then forty-eight manors: he had a younger ſon, Gerard de Greenvil *(h)*, and perhaps another,

(f) Leland's Itenerary, Vol. V. fol. 12. Tanner's Notitia Monaſtica, p. 714. Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 379. Stevens's Supplement to Dugdale's Monaſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 38. Dugdale's and Speed's Catalogue.

(g) Monaſt. Anglican. Vol. I. p. 477.

(h) Stemmat. antiq. prehon. Famil. de Greenvil.

thoroughly ſettled, we find them often mentioned by the name of Grauntville, over which, in ſome of Leland's manuſcripts, we find Mandeville written (23); but from this circumſtance, perſons but indifferently acquainted with our antiquities might very eaſily confound both perſons and names. Indeed, Mr Camden in this inſtance may be ſuppoſed to have led others aſtray, for he mentions Greenfeld as a corruption of Grenevile, and alſo ſpeaks of it as derived from ſome place in Normandy (24); and yet when he reckons the places in that duchy which gave ſurnames, he takes no notice of Granville.

[C] *To the time of the diſſolution.*] The deſign of Sir Richard de Grenevile was to grant to the abbot and convent of Savigny, near Lyons in France, tho' I rather think in Normandy, the means of erecting an abbey here, of a certain order, which ſubſiſted before the Conqueſt, ſtiled Fratres Griſei, who became not long after white Monks of the Ciſtercian Order (25). He began to build this abbey, which was on the weſt ſide of the river, a little below the town, and dedicated it to the Holy Trinity, in 1129, and the next year placed twelve monks therein, and then compleated his intended grant, as the original charter ſheweth. In the ancient manuſcript, which we have mentioned more than once, theſe particulars are very conciſely recorded, in terms very worthy of notice, as well for the matter they contain, as for the manner of ſpelling the proper name; which is a clear proof that they had no notion it was of French original (26). 'Sir Richard Greenefeeld before, and to whom the 'lordſhip of Neth was given in reward, was lord 'of the caſtel and manour of Bydyford in Devon'ſhire, at the time he came into Wales with the ſaid 'Robert Fitzhamon, and founded an abbaie of white 'monkes in Neth, and gave the whole lordſhip to 'the maintenance of the ſame, and then return'ed backe againe to Bydyford; whereas the iſſue 'male of his body doth yet remaine, and enjoyeth 'the ſame.' Robert Fitzhamon, after the conqueſt of Glamorganſhire, was advanced to the earldom of Glouceſter by William Rufus, and dying without iſſue male, Henry gave his daughter Mabel to Robert, his natural ſon, who had the earldom of Glouceſter in her right, and by her he had William, who ſucceeded him in the title (27). This counteſs Mabel, with William earl of Glouceſter her ſon, confirmed to the church of the Holy Trinity and Virgin Mary of Nethe, whatever Richard de Granville and Conſtance his wife had granted (28), in wood and ſoil, between the four waters of Nethe, Tawy, Clend and Pulcannan; and the land between Clend and the brook, which runs near the croſs of Conſtance, the wife of the ſaid Richard de Granville, to the head of the ſaid brook, caſtle and chapel of Nethe, with the tenths of procuration, and of all perſons belonging to the ſaid caſtle, viz. of French, Engliſh, and Welſhmen, and half of the fiſh of Nethe Caſtle. Likewiſe Clend Mill, with all the meadow from the mill to New Town ditch, and thence to Nethe water. Alſo whatever Richard the Conſtable, viz. Richard de Granvil had in Eiſe Town. Saving the cuſtoms of the Earl i. e. of Glouceſter out of the foreſt, and a knight's fee in Eiſe, which Richard the Conſtable held in Devonſhire, and Bideford, Killentun, and the town of Litcham. This charter of confirmation is a ſtrong preſumptive proof of the affinity between the families, and to this we may add further, that the arms borne by William earl of Glouceſter, in right of his mother, the daughter of Robert Fitzhamon, are the ſame with thoſe borne by Richard de Grenevile, the grandſon of Sir Richard, as we find them affixed to a very remarkable charter, with which we ſhall conclude this note (29). 'Know, &c. That I Richard, ſon of 'Richard de Grenevile, have granted to all thoſe who 'hold, or ſhall hold a burgage in the town of Bydeford, to the eaſt and weſt of Torith water, all the 'liberties of Briſtol, ſo far as are in my power, to 'them, their heirs, and aſſigns for ever, viz. That 'each perſon holding a meſſuage, garden, and ſix 'acres out of my demeſnes, ſhall pay for the ſame 'twelve pence. But whoſoever ſhall hold a meſſuage 'and garden only, ſhall pay ſix-pence on Michaelmas 'day to me, or my bailiff, at Bydeford. Save only 'the tax on the land. And if any one fall under the 'cenſure of my court, he ſhall be acquitted for ſix'pence, if it be the third time. Moreover he grants 'to the ſaid burgeſſes common of paſture for their 'cattle, throughout his whole lordſhip, on the weſt 'ſide of Torith water, where they had commoning in 'the time of Richard his father. And whoſoever 'ſhall diſpoſe of, or ſell his burgeſs, ſhall pay as a re'lief, twelve pence and no more. Alſo further grants 'to the ſaid burgeſſes ſuit to his court, on Tueſday 'every month, where attachments and pleas ſhall be 'tried, as by cuſtom belonging to the Lord. And 'that every one be free of toll in all markets, and 'fairs, and all dues for ſtallage throughout all his 'lands, towns, and waters. And that every one of 'the ſaid burgeſſes ſhall be obliged to come to the 'court on Tueſday, unleſs truly proved, that he be 'beyond the ſeas, or on a pilgrimage, or employed 'in buying of goods out of the country. That the 'burgeſſes ſhall have liberty to chooſe a town Provoſt 'out of themſelves, who ſhall receive yearly the fines 'and tolls of the town, paying yearly to the Lord 'ten ſhillings, and the toll of the market on Mon'day. In conſideration of which grant, the bur'geſſes paid four marks, witneſſes Sir Richard Coffin, 'and Sir Richard Spekcott, knights; Peter de Haleſ'byri, Richard Suellard, Walrand Dune, Orbert de 'Lucy, Richard de Rokemator, and others. To 'which is appendant a round ſeal, containing theſe 'arms, in an oblong ſhield, viz. three Organ Reſts.' The authority of this charter might be ſupported from one of our moſt reſpectable records (30); and it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that in proportion as this family grew in affluence and honour, this their lordſhip enjoyed the fruits of it. The old Saxon name, as they commonly do, points out the ſituation of the town, for anciently it was wrote By-the-Ford, becauſe there the river was fordable, though the tide riſes at leaſt two miles higher; but experience ſhewing this ford to be both precarious and dangerous, ſeveral attempts were made to build a bridge, which failed either for want of ſufficient ſkill, or a ſuitable ſupport (31): at length under the auſpice of Sir Theobald Grenevile it was undertaken and perfected, and a good land eſtate ſettled to keep it in repair. This is in all reſpects one of the fineſt and moſt beautiful bridges in the kingdom, and of inexpreſſible benefit to the town (32); for which the influence of this family likewiſe procured a weekly market, and three annual fairs, circumſtances that ſufficiently account for that high and general reſpect paid them in all the old collections, relating either to the counties of Cornwall, or

(23) Id. ibid. p. 766.

(24) Remains, Lond. 1605. 4to. p. 95, 96.

(25) Monaſt. Anglican. Vol. I. p. 719. Lelandi Collectanea, p. 45. Tanner's Notitia Monaſtica, p. 714.

(26) Winning of Glamorgan, by Sir Edward Stradling.

(27) Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, p. 431.

(28) Ex Regiſtro Abbatiæ de Nethe.

(29) Ex Tranſcript. Evident. D. Barnard. Granvile.

(30) Lib. rub. in Schacar. Devon.

(31) Riſdon's Survey of Devon. p. 90, 91.

(32) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 322.

another, Robert de Greenvil, who ſettled in that county, and enjoyed plentiful fortunes from the benevolence of their grandfather (*i*). It is a circumſtance very uncommon, that both families ſhould flouriſh, for upwards of ſix hundred years, in great affluence and honour, allying themſelves to the beſt houſes in the weſt, and in the middle of England; arriving at thoſe dignities which are the reward of conſpicuous merit rather than of favour, ſuch as being intruſted with the cuſtody of their reſpective counties in quality of Sheriff, or being returned to ſerve in parliament (*k*). In the beginning of the thirteenth century, indeed, William de Greenfield, who was of the Devonſhire family, was Archbiſhop of York, and High Chancellor of England, a man diſtinguiſhed for eloquence, probity, and learning, and in great credit with King Edward I. (*l*). He was plundered by Pope Clement V. of between nine and ten thouſand marks, before he could get his election confirmed (*m*); and, to his immortal honour, being preſent in the council of Vienne, he vigorouſly and ſteadily oppoſed the oppreſſion of the knights templars, which had been concerted between the Pope and the French King (*n*). This generous ſpirit, together with an indefatigable zeal for the ſervice of the public, without any mixture of ſelf intereſted views, appeared very conſpicuouſly in many excellent perſons of this diſtinguiſhed line, and at length, for as high an evidence as was ever given of loyalty or patriotiſm, advanced them to the peerage (*o*). It is true the elder line is ſince extinguiſhed, and yet without prejudice to the honour of this illuſtrious name, which for this reaſon his late majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to raiſe into a title of honour, in favour of Grace lady Carteret, ſurviving daughter of John Earl of Bath, whom he created counteſs of Granville (*p*); which title derives additional luſtre from its preſent poſſeſſor, at this time Preſident of his Majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council (*q*). The other branch of the family has been likewiſe in the preſent reign, raiſed to the like degree of honour, in the perſon of the right honourable Heſter Greenville counteſs Temple (*r*).

(*i*) Seager's Baronag. Anglican. Monaſt. Angl. Vol. III. p. 3. Inquiſitiones Temp. Henr. III. Edward. I.

(*k*) Fuller's Worthies, Cornwall, Bucks, Devonſhire. Willis's Notit. Parl. Vol. II. p. 65, 85, 87. Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 321.

(*l*) Roberti de Grayſtanes, Hiſtoria Dunelmenſis, cap. xxi. P. 33. E. i. p. 1. Godwin. de Præſulib. Angl. p. 685.

(*m*) P. 34. E. 1. Leland. Collect. Vol. I. p. 326. Godwin. de Præſulibus Angliæ, p. 685.

(*n*) Monaſt. Angl. Vol. II. p. 564. Hiſtor. de Templ. ordin. deſtructione, p. 195. Godwin. de Præſul. Angl. ubi ſupra.

(*o*) See the Preamble to the Patent of John, firſt Earl of Bath.

(*p*) Pat. 1. Georg. I.

(*q*) June 17, 1751.

(*r*) October 13, 23 Geo. II.

or Devon; both, as Fuller (33) expreſſes it, contending for the honour of having produced a family ſo fruitful of worthy examples in private life, and which in the moſt critical ſeaſons, never wanted a member capable of rendering the public ſervice. E

(33) Worthies of England, Cornwall, p. 210.

GREENVILE, or GREENVILL [Sir RICHARD], a gallant officer a fortunate diſcoverer, and Vice-Admiral of the Engliſh fleet in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was the ſon of Sir Roger Greenvile, knight, one of the Eſquires of the body to King Henry the eighth; by Thomaſine, daughter of Thomas Cole, of Shute, Eſquire (*a*); and it is probable was born in the weſt of England about the year 1540, though according to ſome writers he was born four years later (*b*); which, for reaſons, we ſhall ſubmit to the reader's conſideration, ſeems to be a miſtake [*A*]. He had the misfortune to loſe his father by a ſudden and untimely death while a child (*c*) [*B*]. His mother being

(*a*) From a Genealogical Remembrance of the noble family of Grenevil Earls of Bath.

(*b*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. VI. p. 77.

(*c*) Stowe's Annals, p. 589.

[*A*] *Seems to be a miſtake.*] We are told that at the demiſe of old Sir Richard Greenvile, his grandſon Richard was but five years old; and the death of Sir Richard Greenvile is fixed to March the 18th, in the fourth year of Edward the VIth, that is, 1549 (1), which will place the birth of our Sir Richard Greenvile in 1544. We ſhall however ſee in the next note, that his father, Sir Roger Greenvile, died July the 20th, 1545 (2), when, according to this computation, his ſon might be ſomewhat more than a year old, ſo that no exception would ariſe if he had been his only ſon; but beſides Sir Richard Greenvile, Sir Roger had by Thomaſine his wife, two younger ſons, Sir Charles Greenvile, and John Greenvile, Eſquire; though we are told that both of them died without iſſue (3). But if the eldeſt ſon was only a year and ſome few months old when his father loſt his life, when were the other two ſons born? ſuch difficulties as theſe are common enough in tracing deſcents in ancient families, and cannot often be ſo eaſily removed as in the preſent caſe; when if we ſuppoſe that he was five years old, not at the time of his grand-father but of his father's death, it will bring all right, and make the whole of Sir Richard Greenvile's hiſtory very conſiſtent, which otherwiſe will ſcarce be found practicable.

[*B*] *And untimely death while a child.*] In the ſummer of 1545, which was the thirty-ſeventh of the reign of King Henry VIIIth, that monarch was in perſon at Portſmouth, in order to ſee his fleet put to ſea, which was immediately to engage that of France, then hovering upon the coaſt (4). On the twentieth of July he dined on board the Mary Roſe, which was one of the faireſt, and fineſt ſhips in the navy. In the afternoon, after the King was gone aſhore, the wind coming fair they weighed anchor, but through negligence their lower tier of heavy canon being left unbreached, and the ports open, the water entered ſo faſt as the ſhip heaved when they tacked about that ſhe ſunk at once, and though it was a fine clear ſummer's day, yet Sir George Carew, who commanded her, Sir Roger Greenvile, many other perſons of diſtinction, in all to the number of four hundred, were miſerably drowned in the port; and though all imaginable pains was taken to aſſiſt them, not above forty perſons of the whole crew eſcaped (5). On the eighth of March following, old Sir Richard Greenvile made his laſt will and teſtament, by which he bequeaths to Dame Maud his wife, who was the ſecond daughter of John Bevil, of Gwarnock in the county of Cornwall, Eſq; during the term of ſeventy years, if ſhe ſo long live, his manſion and lands called Bucklond, otherwiſe Bucklond Greynfield, in as ample manner as he had by letters-patents dated the 26th of May, in the thirty-third of Henry VIIIth, and after her deceaſe to Richard Greenvile, ſon of Roger Greenvile, his ſon and heir apparent, deceaſed, and his heirs male, remainder to Degory Greenvile, Eſq; his brother, remainder to John Greenvile his other brother (6). His other manors, &c. viz. his manſion place in the town of Bedyford, and all the reſidue of his town and borough of Bedyford, &c. in the county of Devon; his manſion place of Stow, together with all gardens, orchards, and ponds there, with Stow park in the county of Cornwall, his town and borough of Kylkhampton, and his manſion of Woodford in the ſame county, together with all his other lands, &c. in Devonſhire and Cornwall, he leaves to Richard his grandſon, and his heirs male; remainder to his brother John Greenfield, Eſq; and his heirs male; remainder

(1) Collins's Supplement to the Peerage, Vol. I. p. 77.

(2) Carew's Survey of Cornwall, fol. 62.

(3) Collins's Supplement to the Peerage, Vol. I. p. 77.

(4) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 325. Stowe's Annals, p. 589. Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 969.

(5) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 325. b. Hawkins's Obſervations in his voyage to the South-Sea, p. 5, 6. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 221.

(6) E. Regiſt. vocat. COODE, qu. 26. in Cur. Prærogat. Cantuar.

being a widow, married Thomas Arundel, of Leigh, Eſq; (*d*); ſo that in all probability the education of him and his brothers, was under the inſpection of their grandfather Sir Richard Greenvile, Knight, an old gentleman of great honour and high reputation, but who ended his days likewiſe in an unfortunate manner March 15, 1549, leaving the greateſt part of his large eſtate to his grandſon Richard (*e*) [C]. We have no diſtinct account after this, of the place or manner of his breeding, which, however, we have not the leaſt cauſe to doubt, was in every reſpect ſuitable to his family and fortune, both being as fair as any gentleman could boaſt in the weſt of England (*f*). He was naturally of an active, enterprizing, and martial genius, which induced him as ſoon as he was his own maſter to procure a licence from Queen Elizabeth, in the eighth year of her reign, to go with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction into the ſervice of the Emperor againſt the Turks (*g*). But that not contented with giving high proofs of his courage as a ſoldier in Hungary, he adventured his perſon likewiſe by ſea, and had the honour to ſhare the glory of that celebrated victory obtained over the Infidels at Lepanto, by the combined Chriſtian Fleet, under the command of Don John of Auſtria, as ſome have reported is improbable. He continued during the reſt of that war abroad, and with an high reputation juſtly ſpringing from his glorious actions he returned to England (*h*) [*D*]. His warmth was ſo

(*d*) Seagers's Baronage, MS.

(*e*) E Regiſtr. vocat. COODE, qu. 26 in Cur. Prærog. Cantuar.

(*f*) Carew's Survey of Cornwall, fol. 118. b.

(*g*) Camden. Annal. p. 122.

(*h*) Carew's Survey of Cornwal', fol. 62.

remainder to his other brother Degory Greenvile, Eſq; and his heirs male; remainder to his right heirs. He bequeaths to his daughter Mary, three hundred marks for her portion (ſhe was afterwards married to John Gifford, of Brightley, Eſq;); to his ſon-in-law Sir Richard Legh and Margaret his wife, one hundred marks; to his ſon-in-law Robert Whettal, Eſq; and Jane his wife, one hundred marks; to his brother-in-law John Drake, and Anne his wife, his ſiſter, the ſum of twenty marks. The reſt of his will ſhews him to be a perſon of ſound judgment, and a great maſter of occonomy. His executors were Dame Maud, his wife; his brother-in-law, Edmund Speccot, Eſq; John Beauchamp his brother-in-law; John Kellygrew, and John Bevil, Eſquires (7). He made a codicil thereto, dated at Stow in Cornwall, the third of January, in the third of Edward VIth; alſo another the tenth of March, the fourth of Edward VIth; and another the fifteenth of March following, which was but three days before his death, on the eighteenth of March, and Maud his lady ſurvived him but a ſhort time, dying on the twenty-ſixth of April, the fourth of Edward VIth (8)

[C] *To his grandſon Richard.*] We have in a former note given an account of the time of old Sir Richard Greenvile's death, here we will ſay ſomething of the cauſe of it, the rather becauſe it has eſcaped the notice of ſuch as have formerly undertaken to diſplay either the fortunes or misfortunes of this ancient family. Amongſt thoſe diſturbances which were raiſed by the Commons about incloſures, in the reign of Edward VIth, the county of Cornwall, where the better ſort of inhabitants are much inclined to that manner of improving, was not without it's ſhare (9); and this it was that proved fatal to Sir Richard, after having eſcaped the dangers of foreign wars, and done eminent ſervice to his country in the capacity of a civil magiſtrate. The worthy and well read Antiquary of Cornwall ſhall deliver the reader this tale (10); ſince for any thing we know, he is the only author that has preſerved it, ſpeaking of Trematon Caſtle, which was formerly a pleaſure houſe of the Dukes of Cornwall; he proceeds thus, 'At the laſt Corniſh commotion Sir 'Richard Greenvile the elder, did, with his lady and 'followers, put themſelves into this caſtle, and there 'for a while endured the rebels ſiege, encamped in 'three places againſt it, who wanting great ordnance 'could have wrought the beſieged ſmall ſcathe, had 'his friends or enemies kept faith and promiſe: but 'ſome of thoſe within ſlipping by night over the walls, 'with their bodies after their hearts, and thoſe without mingling humble intreatings with rude menaces, 'he was hereby won to iſſue forth at a poſtern gate 'for parley. The while a part of thoſe rake-hells, 'not knowing what honeſty and far leſs how much 'the word of a ſoldier imported, ſtepped between him 'and home, laid hold on his aged unweildy body, 'and threatened to leave it lifeleſſe, if the incloſed 'did not leave their reſiſtance. So proſecuting their 'firſt treachery againſt their Prince, with ſuitable actions towards his ſubjects, they ſeized on the caſtle, 'and exerciſed the uttermoſt of their barbarous cruelty, 'death excepted, on the ſurprized priſoners. The '*ſeely gentlewomen, without regard of ſex or 'ſhame, were ſtripped from their apparel, to their 'very ſmocks, and ſome of their fingers broken to 'pluck away their rings, and Sir Richard himſelf 'made an exchange from Trematon Caſtle to that of 'Launceſton, with the gayle to boot.' It was the vexation, hardſhips, and fatigue, which this aged couple went through from the madneſs of this inſolent rabble, that brought them both ſoon after to their end.

[*D*] *He returned to England.*] We are informed by Camden, that in the year 1566, ſeveral gallant ſpirits of the young Engliſh gentry deſired the Queen's leave to go into Hungary, in order to aſſiſt the Chriſtians againſt the Infidels, by whom they were at that time more grievouſly preſſed, and with greater danger and ruin than had ever threatened Chriſtendom before (11). Maximilian the Second was at that time Emperor of Germany; and Solyman the Magnificent, one of the braveſt and moſt fortunate princes of the line of Ottoman, then occupied the Turkiſh throne. The latter, out of pure ambition, though he was then much weakened by age and infirmities, entered into a war againſt the former, in which, preſuming on the great ſuperiority of his forces, he flattered himſelf with the hopes of reducing all Hungary, making himſelf maſter of Vienna, and ruining entirely the German branch of the Houſe of Auſtria. Theſe dangerous and deſtructive deſigns juſtly alarmed the European powers in general, and thoſe that were moſt likely to ſuffer from the effects of this irruption in particular (12). The Duke of Savoy therefore, and the Grand Duke of Tuſcany ſent conſiderable bodies of men at their own expence; Alphonſo, Duke of Ferrara, marched in perſon into Germany, at the head of a ſmall body of choſen troops, with ſome volunteers of great courage and quality, and many officers of great experience. From Mantua, Genoa, and Lucca, his Imperial Majeſty drew conſiderable ſums, in the nature of free gifts; and the Knights of Malta aſſiſted him with men and money too; and out of France, the Grand Prior of the Houſe of Guiſe went to teſtify his zeal for the Chriſtian Cauſe, attended by many young gentlemen of the firſt families in that kingdom. We need not wonder therefore that Queen Elizabeth ſhould be diſpoſed to permit ſome of her ſubjects alſo to make a campaign or two in the imperial ſervice, upon ſo extraordinary an occaſion. Amongſt theſe young heroes (13), was John Smith, Eſq; afterwards Sir John Smith, couſin-german to king Edward VIth, being the ſon of his mother's ſiſter; Henry Champernown, Philip Butſhid, Richard Greenvile, William Gorges, Thomas Cotton, Eſqrs, and others. Theſe went into Hungary in 1566, and remained there till the enſuing year; when upon the death of Solyman the Magnificent, a negotiation was ſet on foot between the Emperor Maximilian and Sultan Solyman the Second, which ended in a peace (14). As to our Richard Greenvile, it appears from a private family tranſaction that he actually returned to England in the year 1568 (15); and as he engaged the very ſame year

(7) Ibid.

(8) Collins's Supplement to the Peerage, Vol. I. p. 77.

(9) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 345.

(10) Carew's Survey of Cornwall, fol. iii. b. 112.

* i. e. Silly, for innocent and defenceleſs.

(11) Knolles's Hiſtory of the Turks, p. 820, 821. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 122.

(12) Hiſtoire de l'Empire Othoman, par S. A. S. Demetr. Cantimir, lib. iii. c. iv. §. 53.

(13) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 122.

(14) Itenerario di Marco Antonio Pagifetta, cap. v.

(15) E Collect. Joh. Anſtis Ar.

ſo far from being exhauſted by the fatigues he had undergone, or his appetite to fame ſatiſfied by what he had acquired, that within a very little time after his reviſiting his native country, he reſolved to embark his perſon and fortune, in that part of the public ſervice, which demanded the attention of all the ſtirring ſpirits of that time, the reduction of Ireland (*i*). In this he behaved himſelf ſo much to the ſatiſfaction of Sir Henry Sidney, who then adminiſtred the affairs of that iſland, that we find him conſtituted by the Queen, in the eleventh year of her reign, ſheriff of Cork, during her royal pleaſure (*k*) [*E*]. Upon his return to England he was, together with William Mohun, Eſq; elected to repreſent the county of Cornwall, in that parliament which was ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter, April 2, 1571 (*l*); he was alſo High-Sheriff of the ſame county in the eighteenth of that reign, though his name is miſtaken by Fuller (*m*), or rather, in all probability, by his printer, and was again elected with Sir William Mohun, to ſerve as Knight for that ſhire in the parliament which was ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter, November 23, 1584 (*n*), in which he was a very active member. At what time he received the honour of knighthood is not very clear, for according to a learned Antiquary, he was returned Knight of the Shire by the name of Richard Greenvile, Eſq; (*o*), and yet the firſt time we find him mentioned in the Journals, he is ſtiled Sir Richard Greenfield (*p*), for ſo it ſeems they wrote his name, and therefore it is probable he was knighted a little before the parliament ſat. At this juncture he was very deeply engaged with his friend and kinſman Sir Walter Ralegh, in his project for planting; and was one of the committee in the Houſe of Commons to whom the bill was referred for confirming the patent which Sir Walter had obtained from the Queen for making diſcoveries, which paſſed the houſe in a few days, and then Sir Richard applied himſelf to the buſineſs of the expedition, of which he was to have the command in chief, with the title of General, as was the cuſtom of thoſe times (*q*). The fleet, or rather ſquadron, which he commanded conſiſted but of ſeven ſmall ſhips, of which the Tyger was the ſtrongeſt, and the largeſt, and of the burthen of about one hundred and twenty ton; the Roebuck, a flyboat of near the ſame ſize; the Lyon, of one hundred tons; the Elizabeth, of fifty tons; the Dorothy, a ſmall bark; and two little pinnaces; there went, however, with this ſmall force ſeveral gentlemen of good family and fortune, ſuch as Mr Ralph Lane, afterwards knighted, and a very conſiderable perſon; Mr Thomas Cavendiſh, who afterwards diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his voyage round the world; Mr John Arundel, Mr Raymund, Mr Stukley, Mr Bremige, Mr Vincent, and Mr John Clark, with ſeveral others (*r*): they ſailed from Plymouth, April 9, 1595, and on the twelfth of May came to an anchor in the bay of Moſquito, in the iſland of St John de Porto Rico, where they landed, built a fort, and ſet up a new pinnace which they launched on the twenty third, and this in ſpite of the Spaniards; and before the end of the month they took two ſhips that were tolerable good prizes. On the firſt of June they anchored before the town of Izabella, on the north ſide of Hiſpaniola, where the Spaniſh governor invited them on ſhore, promiſing them a fair and honourable reception, which invitation being accepted, the General landed on the fifth, and was very kindly received, and every thing was managed during the whole interview, with the greateſt decency, ſplendor, and honour imaginable, and mutual preſents being exchanged, and all kind of refreſhments freely furniſhed, they ſailed on the ſeventh for the coaſt of Florida (*s*) [*F*]. On the twentieth of June they

(*i*) Sidney's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 32.

(*k*) E Collect. Johan. Anſtis, Ar.

(*l*) Willis's Not. Parl. Vol. II. p. 12.

(*m*) Worthies, Cornwall, p. 209.

(*n*) Willis. Not. Parl. Vol. II. p. 12.

(*o*) Ibid.

(*p*) D'Ewes's Journals of the Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth, p. 333.

(*q*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 251.

(*r*) Hiſtory of the planting of Virginia, p. 39.

(*s*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 252.

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year in the reduction of the Iriſh rebels, it is evident from thence, and from the other facts mentioned in the text, that he could not be preſent in the battle of Lepanto, which was fought October 7, 1571 (16), and for which rejoicings were made over all Europe, and particularly in this kingdom, in virtue of the Queen's letter to the Biſhop of London, for a ſolemn thankſgiving, dated from Greenwich November 8, 1571, and another letter from the Privy Council, by the Queen's command, to the Lord-Mayor of London for the ſame purpoſe (17).

[*E*] *During her royal pleaſure.*] We have elſewhere given an account of the ſituation of affairs in Ireland at this juncture, when ſome of the old Iriſh nobility were framing the rude draught of that formidable rebellion, that afterwards broke out in this kingdom, for the ſupport of which they had already held a kind of council, or parliament, in which it was reſolved to demand aſſiſtance from the king of Spain, and two Popiſh prelates were ſent as their agents to ſollicit this countenance and protection of a foreign power againſt their natural ſovereign. At the ſame time no pains were ſpared to excite a ſpirit of ſedition and diſloyalty amongſt the native Iriſh of all ranks, which, as Sir Henry Sidney acknowledges, muſt have produced a general inſurrection, if it had not been for the vigilant and prudent behaviour of her Majeſty's Engliſh officers; amongſt whom he particularly mentions Sir Warham St Leger, and Captain Greenvile (18). It was, without doubt, to put it in his power to do more effectual ſervice in this reſpect, that the Queen honoured the latter with this patent; and it is at the ſame time no leſs apparent, that with great expence of money, and with no ſmall hazard of his perſon, our young hero laboured all he could to merit the notice and favour of his royal miſtreſs. In this glorious courſe he had not a few competitors, for it was then grown into a cuſtom for ſuch young gentlemen as had large eſtates to ſerve the Queen at their own coſt, and to entertain young gentlemen whoſe purſes were not ſo full, and who were either allied to them by blood, or attached by affection, till they had ſome opportunity of eſtabliſhing them; from which ſeveral families, more eſpecially in the Weſt, derived in proceſs of time both honours and eſtates, and the public innumerable benefits; amongſt which it was none of the leaſt, that thoſe ſtirring and enterprizing ſpirits which might otherwiſe have been diſpoſed to have raiſed diſturbances in the State, were diverted to ſuch undertakings as contributed to it's ſupport, and enabled the Government to perform great things without levying large ſums upon the people, at leaſt in the way of ordinary taxes (19). A policy peculiar to this reign, and which, though it has been admired, will ſcarce be imitated in any other.

[*F*] *They ſailed on the ſeventh for the coaſt of Florida.*] The reader will perceive from the ſuccinct account of this expedition given in the text, that as yet, notwithſtanding

(16) Knolles's Hiſtory of the Turks, p. 885.

(17) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 505, 506.

(18) Sidney's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 39.

(19) Bohun's Character of Q. Elizabeth.

they fell in with the coaſt of Florida; where they were to leave a colony of one hundred men, under the direction of Mr Ralph Lane, who was the firſt Engliſhman that had the title of Governor in that country, and having taken all the neceſſary precautions for this purpoſe, and ſettled every thing to the ſatisfaction of thoſe who were to remain behind, Sir Richard Greenvile, on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, weighed anchor in the Tyger, and ſet ſail for England (*t*), extremely well pleaſed with this new found country, and fully reſolved to return thither, as he promiſed the people, the enſuing year (*u*). In his paſſage home he chaced a Spaniſh ſhip of the burthen of three hundred tons, which he found it impoſſible to take any other way than by boarding, and this in the judgment of his own people impracticable, as by ſome untoward accident they had not at that time any boat (*w*). The General, however, carried away by his eager courage, cauſed ſomething like a boat to be clapped up with the boards of broken cheſts, in which he went in perſon, with as many men as it would hold, and boarded the Spaniſh ſhip, which he had no ſooner done, than the half wrought vehicle which carried them fell to pieces, and ſunk at the ſhip's ſide (*x*). In this veſſel thus taken, the General, on the tenth of September, found himſelf ſeparated from the Tyger, nor did he ſee her again during the whole voyage, that veſſel coming to an anchor at Falmouth on the ſixth of October (*y*); whereas Sir Richard Greenvile did not arrive in his prize, at Plymouth, till the eighteenth of the ſame month, where he was met and welcomed on ſhore by a great concourſe of people, who came to congratulate his good fortune, and by ſome of his friends and relations, who had a nearer concern in his welfare (*z*). It is ſaid in the journal of his voyage, that this Spaniſh prize was richly laden, but without any inſinuation of it's value, or other circumſtance that might be noted of ſuch prodigious worth, as was afterwards, it may be, without any juſt grounds or truth, not only privately ſuggeſted, but publickly affirmed (*a*) [*G*]. In a ſhort time after his return, Sir Richard, who had this new colony extremely at heart, engaged himſelf to make another voyage thither at the proper ſeaſon, and finding it impracticable to have all things ready ſo ſoon as he expected, prevailed upon his couſin Ralegh to ſend away a ſhip with proviſions, that the promiſe he had made might be at leaſt virtually performed, which might hinder the colony from being diſtreſſed or diſperſed (*b*). Such a veſſel was accordingly ſent, and within fourteen days after her arrival in Virginia, Sir Richard Greenvile himſelf came thither, with his ſmall ſquadron of three ſail, ſo punctual he was in the performance of his promiſe, and ſo zealous for the preſervation of thoſe whom he ſuppoſed depended upon it (*c*). All this care, however, was in vain, for neither the advice ſhip nor Sir Richard's ſquadron could ſee any ſigns, or hear any news of the colony left the year before; who, at their own requeſt, had been taken on board his ſquadron by Sir Francis Drake, who touched there in his return from the Weſt-Indies to England, and this but a few days before the advice ſhip arrived (*d*). Sir Richard Greenvile having no intelligence of this, travelled himſelf up into the country to make what enquiries he could; and being ſtill thoroughly perſuaded

(*t*) H. Holland Herwolog. Angl. p. 85.

(*u*) Admiranda Narratio de commodis & incolarum ritibus Virginiæ, &c Frankfurt. 1590.

(*w*) Hakluyt's Voyages, p. 253.

(*x*) Oldys's Life of Sir W. Ralegh, p. 28.

(*y*) Hakluyt's Voyages, p. 253.

(*z*) Oldys's Life of Sir W. Ralegh, p. 28.

(*a*) Stukeley's Petition and Information.

(*b*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 265.

(*c*) Oldys's Life of Sir W. Ralegh, p. 30.

(*d*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 265.

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notwithſtanding all their ſkill in Geography and Navigation, the very beſt Engliſh ſeamen, by a perverſe adherence to cuſtom, followed the old track, and went round by the Weſtward and Caribbee Iſlands, in order to reach the coaſt of Florida, by which they went clearly a thouſand leagues out of their due courſe, and expoſed themſelves beſides to many unneceſſary dangers, as well as their men to much more labour and fatigue than the voyage required (20). At firſt ſight this may ſeem a trivial, or at leaſt no very weighty obſervation, but whoever conſiders it cloſely will find, that it was chiefly owing to this prepoſterous conduct, that all the attempts made by Sir Walter Ralegh for ſettling a colony in North America met with no better ſucceſs. For if the proper track in ſailing had been known, theſe voyages would not have been either ſo tedious or ſo full of hazard; ſupplies might have been ſpeedily and ſecurely ſent, and returns much ſooner made, ſo that moſt of thoſe objections would have been thoroughly removed, which for a time rendered it very doubtful whether the ſcheme of fixing colonies on the North Coaſt of America, which has been, and ſtill is, of inexpreſſible benefit to this nation, ſhould proceed or not. At length Capt. Bartholomew Goſnold, in 1602, venturing to make uſe of his underſtanding and maritime ſkill, made a ſucceſsful voyage without running ſo far to the South (21); and this old error once corrected, the true, that is, the ſhorteſt and ſafeſt courſe was very quickly found, and has been ever ſince in conſtant uſe.

(20) Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. I. p. 352, 353.

(21) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1647.

[G] *But publickly affirmed*] This paſſage occurs in that defence which Sir Lewis Stukeley publiſhed for himſelf, when he had incurred univerſal odium, by betraying Sir Walter Ralegh. He was under a neceſſity of picking up and printing all the pieces of ſecret hiſtory that he could poſſibly collect, to the prejudice of that famous man (22). Amongſt other charges one is, that notwithſtanding all the obligations he was under, not from duty only but gratitude, yet he had ſlandered and inſulted the memory of his deceaſed miſtreſs Queen Elizabeth. 'One day, ſays he, myſelf 'upbraiding him with the notorious, extreme injury 'he did my father, in deceiving him of a great adventure which my ſaid father had in the Tyger, 'when he went to the Weſt-Indies with my uncle Sir 'Richard Greenvile, which was, by his own confeſſion, worth fifty thouſand pounds, which came all 'to his hands; my father's portion, at the leaſt, being ten thouſand pounds, that he might lawfully 'claim. He anſwered, that the Queen, however 'ſhe ſeemed a great good miſtreſs unto him in the 'eyes of the world, yet was ſo unjuſt and tyrannous 'unto him, that ſhe laid the envy as well of this as of 'many other her oppreſſions upon him, and that ſhe 'took all the pearl in a cabinet unto herſelf, without 'ever giving him ſo much as one pearl.' This we find referred by the ingenious author of the life of Sir Walter Ralegh, to the prize taken by Sir Richard Greenvile in his return (23). But as he judiciouſly obſerves, it is very ſtrange that a prize of ſuch great value ſhould not be better known, or that Sir Richard Greenvile ſhould never make any complaint of the injuſtice done to him. After all, it is very likely that this prize might be very rich, and that ſome cabinet, or other curioſity, might be taken for or preſented to the Queen, upon which malice and covetouſneſs might afterwards ground this ſtory, which was never brought to the publick view 'till the death of Sir Walter Ralegh, as well as Sir Richard Greenvile.

(22) The humble Petition and Information of Sir Lewis Stukeley, Knt. &c. 1618, 4to.

(23) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, p. 29.

[*H*] *Which*

ſuaded of the great advantages that muſt ariſe to this kingdom from the poſſeſſion of ſuch a country, left, after mature deliberation, and with their own conſent, fifteen of his men (*e*), in the iſland of Roanoak, that at leaſt the title of the Crown and the Proprietor might be preſerved (*f*). He furniſhed them plentifully with all ſorts of proviſions for two years; and having thus done all that it was poſſible for him in ſuch circumſtances to do, returned again to England (*g*). But, as in his outward-bound paſſage he made ſeveral prizes, ſo in his return home he landed on the Azores, plundered ſeveral villages, and picked up afterwards ſome prizes, ſo that though the end of this expedition was defeated, yet through his prudence it was ſo ordered as to bear, in a great meaſure, it's own expence (*b*). We have not ſo much as one date in the relation that is ſtill preſerved of this voyage, however, it appears clearly from thence, that he muſt have returned towards the cloſe of the year 1586 (*i*). The ſummer next enſuing he ſpent in providing, under the patent, and at the expence of Sir Walter Ralegh, another ſquadron for reinforcing the colony at Virginia; but from theſe occupations he was called by his Sovereign to cares of a higher nature, which regarded the preſervation of her perſon, the ſupport of her government, and the protection of her ſubjects (*k*). The Queen had received repeated intelligence of the deſign of the Spaniards to invade England, and that with the whole force of their monarchy, which obliged her to provide for her defence; and as this was a caſe of a very extraordinary nature, ſo ſhe thought it expedient to refer the conſideration of the matter and manner to a ſtanding council of war, compoſed of nine members, of which Sir Richard was one (*l*), and the other eight were the Lord Grey, who had been lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and was then lord-lieutenant of the county of Bucks; Sir Francis Knowles, treaſurer of the houſhold, and knight of the Garter (*m*); Sir Thomas Leighton, governor of the iſland of Guernſey (*n*); Sir Walter Ralegh, lieutenant-general in Cornwall; Sir John Norris, lord preſident of Munſter; Sir Richard Bingham, once preſident of Connaught; Sir Roger Williams, an excellent officer; and Ralph Lane, Eſq; late governor of Virginia (*o*). Theſe wiſe and experienced perſons came to a reſolution on the points referred to them, and pointed out what to them appeared the cleareſt method of providing againſt any danger from the enemy, whatever method they might take, wherever they might bend their force, or what attempts ſoever might be made to favour them by the malecontents in England, which diſpoſition of theirs has been generally approved (*p*) [*H*]. In order to the due execution of meaſures concerted in this council (*q*), moſt of it's members were, as the danger approached nearer, ſent where it was thought they might contribute moſt to Her Majeſty's ſervice (*r*); and upon the ſame principle Sir Richard Greenvile received the Queen's commands not to leave the county of Cornwall (*s*), which put it out of his power to make a third voyage to Virginia (*t*); and very poſſibly this might have an untoward influence upon the expedition, which it is certain proved unſucceſsful, the ſhips returning without ever viſiting the coaſt of Florida (*u*). This command was in all probability the reaſon that we find no particular account of his behaviour on that memorable occaſion, as otherwiſe, from the activity of his temper, and conſtant deſire to ſignalize his courage, more eſpecially againſt the enemies of his country, might have been expected. In the year 1591, the Queen's miniſtry being informed that the rich fleet, which had remained in the Indies all the year before, through the dread of falling into the hands of Sir John Hawkins and Sir Martin Frobiſher, muſt of neceſſity return home; it was reſolved that a ſtrong ſquadron ſhould be ſent to intercept them at the Weſtern Iſlands (*w*). This fleet conſiſted of ſeven ſail of Her Majeſty's ſhips, viz. the Defiance, of five hundred tons, and two hundred and fifty men, in which was the Admiral Lord Thomas Howard, ſon to the Duke of Norfolk; the Revenge, Sir Richard Greenvile, Vice-Admiral; the Nonpareil, of five hundred tons, and two hundred and fifty men, commanded by Sir Edward Denny; the Bonaventure, of ſix hundred tons, and two hundred and fifty men, under Captain Croſs;

[*H*] *Which diſpoſition of theirs has been generally approved*] The deciſion of this famous council of war is dated November 27, 1587, and has been publiſhed with Sir William Monſon's remarks thereupon, which are very pertinent and ſolid (24). The only reaſon for making this note, is to put the reader in mind of the great wiſdom of the adminiſtration in that reign, ſhewn in referring every thing to the conſideration of proper judges, and expecting from them a report of the meaſures fit to be taken, and the reaſons upon which they were grounded. This was the principal cauſe why almoſt every political ſtep during that long reign was attended, in whole or in part, with the conſequences that were expected from it; and ſuch was the virtue of thoſe times, that when an officer was appointed, as the caſe once was, with Sir Henry Palmer, for the command of an expedition, for which he conceived himſelf not the beſt qualified, he judged it no diſcredit to acknowledge this, and to deſire to be excuſed. It ſeems the gentleman before-mentioned had an eſtabliſhed character for his courage and conduct as a ſea-officer, and therefore was aſſigned to command a ſquadron in 1583, upon the coaſt of Spain (25). Upon this he humbly repreſented to the council, that he had ſerved chiefly in the narrow ſeas, and doubted of his own capacity for the charge to which he was appointed, and therefore was in duty bound to intreat their Honours to make choice of ſome other perſon, who was better acquainted, and had more experience in thoſe ſeas, that Her Majeſty might be the better ſerved, and their Lordſhips derive more honour from their recommendation. This was well accepted, and did not turn in the leaſt to Sir Henry's prejudice, who commanded Her Majeſty's ſhip the Antelope, in the memorable ſea-fight of 1588 (26), and did therein excellent ſervice, as well as in ſeveral ſubſequent expeditions.

(24) Naval Tracts, p. 222.

(25) Sir Richard Hawkins's Obſervations, p. 8.

(26) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 171, 195.

(*e*) Some ſay fifty Perſons.

(*f*) Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. I. p. 350.

(*g*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 265.

(*b*) Ibid. ad calc.

(*i*) See the relation in Hakluyt.

(*k*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 565.

(*l*) Oldys's Life of Sir W. Ralegh, p. 39.

(*m*) Anceſtor to the Earls of Banbury.

(*n*) In ſome copies written by miſtake, Laken.

(*o*) Afterwards knighted.

(*p*) Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 222.

(*q*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 565.

(*r*) Stowe, Holinſhed, and Speed.

(*s*) Carew's Survey of Cornwall.

(*t*) Hiſt. of Virginia by Col. Beverly, p. 9.

(*u*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 253.

(*w*) Camden. Annal. p. 637. Carew's Survey of Cornwall, fol. 62.

Croſs; the Lyon, of five hundred tons, and two hundred and fifty men, commanded by Captain George Fenner; the Foreſight, of three hundred ton, and one hundred and ſixty men, Captain Thomas Vavaſor; the Crane, of two hundred tons, and one hundred men, Captain Duffield; the bark Ralegh, Captain Thynne; and ſome ſmall veſſels and tenders (x). His Catholic Majeſty, who never wanted intelligence, had ſo early an account of this ſquadron, and of their force, that he ſent orders into the Indies for the galleons to return very late in the year, and at the ſame time ordered a prodigious armament in his own ports. Theſe meaſures were the utmoſt efforts of that refined policy for which he was ſo famous; for he judged that the galleons ſtaying ſo long the Engliſh fleet would be obliged to return home for want of proviſions; ſhewing plainly thereby, that he had rather riſk his ſubjects ſhips and ſilver in that perilous ſeaſon, than run the hazard of a naval engagement if that could be prevented; but if this project failed, as it did through the care taken in ſending ſtore-ſhips from London, then his ſecond muſt take effect, for by this delay he had time enough to provide a fleet of ten times the force of the Engliſh, which was to meet and eſcort the galleons (y). On the laſt day of Auguſt, in the afternoon, Captain Middleton, who had kept the Spaniſh Armada company three days, the better to diſcover their force, gave intelligence of it to the Engliſh Admiral, who was riding at anchor under the iſland of Flores, and before his meſſage was well heard the fleet was in ſight. The Engliſh were in a very indifferent ſituation, having a great part of their reſpective crews on ſhore, ſome getting ballaſt, others filling water, and not a few employed in collecting freſh proviſions and fruits; the ſhips alſo were ſeveral of them light for want of ballaſt, all things in diſorder, and, which was the moſt afflicting circumſtance, near half their men diſabled by the ſcurvy and other diſeaſes. The Admiral, however, conſidering the danger and the diſproportion, weighed immediately and put to ſea, as the reſt of his ſquadron did following his example (z). The Revenge weighed laſt, Sir Richard Greenvile ſtaying to recover the men who were on ſhore, and would otherwiſe have been loſt, having no leſs than ninety ſick on board. The Admiral, and the reſt with difficulty, recovered the wind, which Sir Richard Greenvile not being able to do, his maſter and ſome others adviſed him to cut his main-ſail and caſt about, truſting to the ſailing of his ſhip, becauſe the Seville ſquadron was already on his weather bow. Sir Richard peremptorily refuſed to fly from the enemy, telling them, *That he would much rather die than leave ſuch a mark of diſhonour on himſelf, his country, and the Queen's ſhip*, putting them in hopes that he would pierce through the two ſquadrons, and force thoſe of Seville to give him way. But the Spaniſh Admiral, called the St Philip, being in the wind, and bearing down upon him, becalmed the Revenge in ſuch a manner that ſhe could neither make way nor feel her helm, and being in this ſituation the ſhips that were under his lee luffed up in order to lay him on board (a). The St Philip boarded firſt, and preſently after four other ſhips, two on the larboard, and two on the ſtarboard, however, the reception which the Spaniſh Admiral had from the lower tier of the guns of the Revenge, laden with croſs-bar ſhot, was ſo little liked that ſhe preſently fell off, and the reſt continuing longer were no better treated. Some time after the fight began, the George Noble, of London, a ſmall victualler, fell under the lee of the Revenge, and aſked Sir Richard Greenvile what he would command him, to which, with his uſual greatneſs of mind, he anſwered, *Save yourſelf, and leave me to my fate* (b). From the time the fight began, which was about three in the afternoon, to the break of day the next morning, Sir Richard Greenvile repulſed the enemy fifteen times, notwithſtanding that, they continually ſhifted their veſſels, and boarded with freſh men. He was himſelf wounded in the beginning of the action, but continued upon deck till about eleven at night, when receiving a ſhot in the body he was carried down to be dreſſed, which while his ſurgeon was doing Sir Richard received a dangerous wound in the head, and the poor man was killed by his ſide (c). By this time the Engliſh began to want powder, all their ſmall arms were broke, forty of their beſt men, which were but one hundred and three at the beginning, killed, and almoſt every one of the reſt wounded, their maſts beat overboard, tackle cut to pieces, and nothing but a hulk left, unable to move one way or other, but as the ſea directed, with the enemy in a ring round them (d). In this ſituation Sir Richard Greenvile invited the ſhip's crew to yield themſelves to the mercy of God, rather than of the Spaniards, and not to tarniſh the high reputation they had acquired by ſeeking to preſerve their lives for a few hours, or a few days at moſt, to which the Maſter-Gunner, and many of the ſeamen aſſented, and the former, who was a moſt reſolute man, ſhewed himſelf ready to execute the General's orders, which were to ſplit and ſink the ſhip (e). But the Captain and Maſter, who were of another opinion, interpoſed, they alledged that there were ſeveral gallant men whoſe wounds were not mortal, and whoſe lives were not to be thrown away; that they had already done enough to ſecure their honour; that it was now time to conſult their ſafety, and that as to the loſs of Her Majeſty's ſhip it ought not to enter into the queſtion, ſince ſhe had ſix foot water in the hold, three ſhot between wind and water, the leaks made by which were ſo poorly ſtopped that they would certainly open with the working of the ſea, and the ſhip ſink (f). While the Captain thus argued the caſe with Sir Richard, who was not at all moved

(x) Sir W. Ralegh's True Report in Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. part ii. p. 169.

(y) Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 178.

(z) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 637.

(a) Sir W. Ralegh's True Report, &c. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 638.

(b) Sir W. Ralegh's True Report.

(c) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 638.

(d) Sir Walter Ralegh's True Report.

(e) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 638.

(f) Sir Walter Ralegh's True Report.

moved by this reaſoning, the Maſter went on board the Spaniſh Admiral, Don Alphonſo Baçan, who immediately offered, finding none of his own fleet inclined to board the Revenge any more for fear of being blown up, that all their lives ſhould be ſpared, the whole ſhip's company ſent home to England, and no ranſom expected but from ſuch as were men in circumſtances (*g*). When the Maſter brought this news on board the Revenge, moſt of the men who had ſided with Sir Richard and the Maſter-Gunner drew back, and were eaſily perſuaded to accept thoſe conditions, but the Maſter-Gunner would have thrown himſelf upon his ſword, if thoſe who were near him had not ſeized and locked him into his cabin (*h*). Don Alphonſo Baçan, as ſoon as the ſhip was in his power ſent to remove Sir Richard out of a place that reſembled a ſhip leſs than a ſlaughter-houſe, which when it was mentioned to the General he ſaid, they might do with his body what they pleaſed, for that he eſteemed it not. As they carried him out of the ſhip he ſwooned, but coming to himſelf again, deſired the company to pray for him (*i*). On board the Spaniſh veſſel, into which he was carried, Sir Richard Greenvile was very kindly treated, but did not ſurvive beyond the third day, and the laſt words he ſpoke were in the Spaniſh language, and to this effect (*k*), *Here dye I*, Richard Greenvile, *with a joyful and quiet mind, for that I have ended my life as a true ſoldier ought to do, fighting for his Country, Queen, Religion, and Honour; my ſoul willingly departing from this body, leaving behind the laſting fame of having behaved as every valiant ſoldier is in duty bound to do.* This behaviour gained him love and admiration amongſt his enemies, ſo that his death was ſincerely lamented, even amongſt thoſe by whom it was inflicted (*l*). Yet had the Spaniards no great cauſe to rejoice in their victory, which coſt them very dear, for the Admiral of the fly-boats, and the Aſcenſion of Seville ſunk by the ſide of the Revenge, a third veſſel returning to the road of St Michael to refit ſunk there, and a fourth was voluntarily run on ſhore by the crew in order to ſave themſelves (*m*). Beſides, in their ſeveral attacks, the Spaniards loſt at leaſt a thouſand men; and if their loſs had been leſs, yet conſidering there was fifty three ſail of ſhips, moſt of them larger than this of the Queen's, and in them at leaſt ten thouſand ſoldiers and mariners, the honour could not be very great that accrued from ſuch a conqueſt (*n*). But the conſequences were ſtill more fatal than the action itſelf, and the Revenge was more unfortunate to them than ever ſhe proved to us (*o*) [*I*]. Thus fell the gallant Sir Richard Greenvile in the ſupport of

(*g*) See the note [K].

(*h*) Sir W. Ralegh's True Report.

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 638.

(*l*) Linſchotten's Voyages, ch. xcix.

(*m*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 175.

(*n*) Sir W. Ralegh's True Report.

(*o*) Hakluyt, Linſchotten, Monſon.

[*I*] *Than ever ſhe proved to us.*] In Sir Walter Ralegh's accurate and elegant account, there is a brief relation of the loſs which the Spaniards afterwards ſuſtained by ſtorms (27); but being written not only while the thing was freſh, but before there was any certainty of the truth of the evidence upon which it was founded, we will decline that, and give the reader part of a narrative, by an unexceptionable writer, who was an eye-witneſs of what he relates, and gives us many circumſtances not to be found elſewhere (28). 'The Spaniſh Navy ſtayed at the iſland of Corvo, till the laſt of September, to aſſemble the reſt of the fleet together, which in the end were to the number of one hundred and forty ſail of ſhips, partly coming from India, and partly of the army, and being altogether ready to ſail to Tercera in good company, there ſuddenly roſe ſo hard and cruel a ſtorm, that thoſe of the iſlands did affirm, that in man's memory there was never any ſuch ſeen or heard of before, for it ſeemed the ſea would have ſwallowed up the iſlands, the water mounting higher than the cliffs, which are ſo high, that it amazeth a man to behold them, but the ſea reached above them, and living fiſhes were thrown upon the land. This ſtorm continued not only a day or two with one wind, but ſeven or eight days continually, the wind turning round about in all places of the compaſs, at the leaſt twice or thrice during that time, and all alike, with a continual ſtorm and tempeſt, moſt terrible to behold, even to us that were on ſhore, much more then to ſuch as were at ſea; ſo that only on the coaſts and cliffs of the iſland of Tercera, there were above twelve ſhips caſt away, and not only upon the one ſide, but round about it in every corner, whereby nothing elſe was heard but complaining, crying, lamenting, and telling here is a ſhip broken in pieces againſt the cliffs, and there another, and all the men drowned; ſo that for the ſpace of twenty days after the ſtorm, they did nothing elſe but fiſh for dead men, that continually came driving on the ſhore. Among the reſt was the Engliſh ſhip called the Revenge, that was caſt away upon a cliffe near to the iſland of Tercera, where it brake in an hundred pieces, and ſunk to the ground, having in her ſeventy men, Galegos, Biſcains, and others, with ſome of the captive Engliſhmen, whereof but one was ſaved, that got up upon the cliffs alive, and had his body and head all wounded, and he being on ſhore brought us the news, deſiring to be ſhriven, and thereupon preſently died. The Revenge had in her divers fair braſs pieces, that were all ſunk in the ſea, which they of the iſland were in good hope to weigh up again the next ſummer.——On the other iſlands the loſs was no leſs than in Tercera, for on the iſland of St George there were two ſhips caſt away; on the iſland of Pico two ſhips; on the iſland of Gratioſa three ſhips: and beſides thoſe there came every where round about divers pieces of broken ſhips, and other things fleeting towards the iſlands, wherewith the ſea was all covered, moſt pitiful to behold. On the iſland of St Michael there were four ſhips caſt away; and between Tercera and St Michael three more were ſunk, which were ſeen and heard to cry out, whereof not one man was ſaved. The reſt put into the ſea without maſts, all torn and rent; ſo that of the whole fleet and Armado, being one hundred and forty ſhips in all, there were but thirty-two or thirty-three arrived in Spain and Portugal; yea, and thoſe few with ſo great miſery, pain, and labour, that not two of them arrived there together, but this day one, and to-morrow another, next day the third, and ſo one after the other, to the number aforeſaid. All the reſt were caſt away upon the iſlands, and overwhelmed in the ſea, whereby may be conſidered what great loſs and hindrance they received at that time; for by many mens judgments it was eſteemed to be much more than was loſt by their army that came for England; and it may well be thought and preſumed, that it was no other but a juſt plague purpoſely ſent by God upon the Spaniards, and that it might truly be ſaid, the taking of the Revenge, was juſtly revenged upon them, and not by the might or force of man, but by the Power of God, as ſome of them openly ſaid in the iſle of Tercera; that they believed verily God would conſume them, and that he took part with the Lutherans and Hereticks, ſaying further, that

(27) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. part ii. p. 169.

(28) Linſcotten's Voyages, to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, ch. xcix.

of his country's cauſe, and in defence of the Engliſh Flag; for which, in the opinion of moſt, his memory merits immortal praiſe: yet others conſider him as a martyr to his own obſtinacy, and one who ſacrificed the Queen's ſhip and ſubjects to that fantaſtic appearance of honour which ſo often miſleads heroes (p) [K]. But, however, that queſtion

'that ſo ſoon as they had thrown the dead body of the Vice-admiral Sir Richard Greenvile overboard, they verily thought that as he had a deviliſh Faith and Religion, and therefore the Devils loved him, ſo he preſently ſunk unto the bottom of the ſea, and down into Hell, where he raiſed up all the devils to the revenge of his death, and that they brought ſo great ſtorms and torments upon the Spaniards, becauſe they only maintained the Catholic and Romiſh Religion. Such, and the like blaſphemies againſt God they ceaſed not openly to utter, without being reproved of any man therein, nor for their falſe opinions, but the moſt part of them rather ſaid and affirmed, that of truth ſo it muſt needs be.' With great reaſon then might Sir Walter Ralegh ſay (29), ſpeaking of this loſs, 'A few days after the fight was ended, and the Engliſh priſoners diſperſed into the Spaniſh and India ſhips, there aroſe ſo great a ſtorm from the weſt and north weſt, that all the fleet was diſperſed, as well the Indian fleet, which were then come unto them, as the reſt of the Armada that attended their arrival, of which fourteen ſail, together with the Revenge, and in her two hundred Spaniards, were caſt away upon the iſle of St Michael. So it pleaſed them to honour the burial of that renowned ſhip the Revenge, not ſuffering her to periſh alone, for the great honour ſhe atchieved in her life-time.' To the ſame purpoſe Camden, though in another Language (30). 'Navis dedita, ſed alvo pluribus locis perforata, paulo poſt cum cc Hiſpanis, impoſitis aliiſque ſimul navigiis orta tempeſtate fluctibus abſorpta. Ut non ULTIO inulta hæc periiſſe videatur, & de una hac nave victoria multo ſanguine Hiſpanis ſtetiſſe.' One would imagine that men of ſuch good ſenſe, and authors of ſo high a reputation, muſt mean ſomething more than to play with words, or after ſuch a ſtory as this is, attempt to conſole the reader for the loſs of ſo great a man, by telling us, that the *Revenge* did not periſh *unrevenged*. If one might be allowed to reveal their meaning, it muſt ſurely have been this, that Sir Richard Greenvile did not throw away the Queen's ſhip, any more than his own life, but that forming a true notion of the duty of a man in his ſtation, upon ſuch an occaſion, he choſe to riſk all, rather than ſacrifice the glory of the Engliſh Flag, as well knowing, that if the worſt ſhould happen, and himſelf and ſhip ſhould be loſt, yet the queen and nation would be no loſers, the ſuperior loſs of the enemy conſidered; it would be too aſſuming to pronounce this reaſoning right, but there is nothing more evident, than that if war be allowed to be lawful, this muſt be rational, and in that ſenſe Sir Richard Greenvile's conduct heroical, which will be further conſidered in the next note, where we ſhall likewiſe explain the probable cauſes why theſe great authors did not ſpeak out, and give at the time they wrote to this gallant ſeaman that tribute of praiſe which, if ever man did, he in a ſuperlative degree deſerved.

[K] *Which ſo often miſleads heroes*] Sir William Monſon, who was certainly a very able ſeaman, and a very gallant man, has, notwithſtanding, repreſented this whole affair very much to Sir Richard's diſadvantage; and, as it is our duty to conceal nothing from the reader, we will give him Sir William's whole account in his own words (31). 'The Earl of Cumberland, who then lay upon the coaſt of Spain, had intelligence of the Spaniards putting out to ſea, and gave notice thereof to the Lord Thomas, the very night before they arrived at Flores, where my Lord lay. The day after this intelligence, the Spaniſh fleet was diſcovered by my Lord Thomas, whom he knew by their number and greatneſs to be the ſhips of which he had warning, and by that means eſcaped the danger Sir Richard Greenvile, his Vice-Admiral, raſhly ran into. Upon view of the Spaniards, which were fifty-five ſail, the Lord Thomas, warily, and like a diſcreet general, weighed anchor, and made ſigns to the reſt of his fleet to do the like, with a purpoſe to get the wind of them; but Sir Richard Greenvile being a ſtubborn man, and imagining this fleet to come from the Indies, and not to be the armada of which they were informed, would by no means be perſwaded by his maſter or company to cut his cable to follow his Admiral; nay, ſo headſtrong and raſh he was, that he offered violence to thoſe that adviſed him ſo to do. But the old ſaying, that a wilful man is the cauſe of his own woe, could not be more truly verified than in him: for when the armada approached, and he beheld the greatneſs of their ſhips, he began to ſee and repent of his folly; and when it was too late would have freed himſelf of them, but in vain; for he was left a prey to the enemy, every ſhip ſtriving to be the firſt ſhould board him. This wilful raſhneſs of Sir Richard made the Spaniards triumph as much as if they had obtained a ſignal victory, it being the firſt ſhip that ever they took of her Majeſty's, and commended to them by ſome Engliſh fugitives to be the very beſt ſhe had. But their joy continued not long; for they enjoyed her but five days before ſhe was caſt away, with many Spaniards in her, upon the Tercera iſlands. Commonly one misfortune is accompanied with another: for the Indian fleet, which my Lord had waited for the whole ſummer, the day after this miſhap fell into the company of this Spaniſh armada, who, if they had ſtaid but one day longer, or the Indian fleet had come home but one day ſooner, we had poſſeſſed both them and many millions of treaſure which the ſea afterwards devoured: for, from the time they met with the armada, and before they could recover home, nigh an hundred of them ſuffered ſhipwreck, beſides the Aſcenſion of Seville, and the double fly boat, that were ſunk by the ſide of the Revenge. All which was occaſioned by their wintering in the Indies, and the late diſemboguing from thence: for the worm which that country is ſubject to weakens and conſumes their ſhips. Notwithſtanding this croſs and perverſe fortune which happened by means of Sir Richard Greenvile, the Lord Thomas would not be diſmayed or diſcouraged, but kept the ſea as long as he had victuals, and by ſuch ſhips as himſelf and the reſt of the fleet took, defrayed the better part of the charge of the whole action.' To the juſtice of theſe remarks there are ſome very obvious and unanſwerable objections. Sir William Monſon was a party in this matter, being Captain under the Earl of Cumberland in her Majeſty's ſhip the Garland, which, with a ſquadron, cruiſed on the coaſt of Spain, and pretended to no other ſervice but the ſending intelligence to Lord Thomas Howard (32). Sir William was no eyewitneſs, and therefore might be miſtaken as to facts; and laſtly, he was a creature of the Howard family, which might induce him to credit whatever might exalt the character of Lord Thomas (33). If we may credit Sir Walter Ralegh, who wrote his narrative likewiſe by way of apology for Lord Thomas Howard, this intelligence, inſtead of arriving a day, did not arrive an hour before the Spaniſh fleet. It is allowed both by Sir Walter and Mr Camden, that Sir Richard Greenvile did not ſtay out of obſtinacy, but becauſe many of the men were on ſhore, and if he weighed anchor laſt, it was his duty as Vice-Admiral. His offering violence to thoſe who would have cut the cable, is a miſtake for his refuſing to let them cut the mainſail; but there is a wide difference between cutting a cable to get to ſea on the approach of a ſuperior enemy, and tacking in ſight of them in order to fly: Sir Walter Ralegh does indeed ſay, that *this would have been the better courſe, and might have been juſtified in ſo great an impoſſibility of prevailing*. Yet this was but Sir Walter's opinion; nay perhaps he only gave it as his opinion. Sir Richard Greenvile thought otherwiſe; and ſo cautious was Sir Walter Ralegh, that to prevent the leaſt ſuſpicion of his reflecting upon our hero, he adds immediately to what he would have taken

(p) Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 178.

(29) See his True Report before cited, in Hakluyt's Collection.

(30) Annal. Eliz. p. 638.

(31) Naval Tracts, p. 178.

(32) Ibid. p. 179.

(33) Sir W. Ralegh's True Report, in Hackluyt.

ſtion may be decided, or whether it be decided at all, certain it is, that by his contemporaries he was loudly applauded, and that the fame of this action did not a little contribute to that high reſpect with which the Engliſh were every where treated abroad, and which produced them real advantages at home (*q*). This great and gallant perſon eſpouſed Mary, eldeſt daughter and coheir, to Sir John St Leger, of Aumery in the county of Devon, Knight, by Katherine his wife, daughter to George Lord Abergavenny, and was ſon and heir of Sir George St Leger, Knight, ſon and heir of Sir James St Leger, by Anne his wife, eldeſt daughter and coheir to Thomas Earl of Ormond, lineally deſcended from James Earl of Ormond and Eleanor his wife, daughter of Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of King Edward I. (*r*). Alſo the aforeſaid James St Leger, was the ſon and heir of Sir Thomas St Leger, by Anne his wife, ſiſter to King Edward IV. So that the deſcendants of this Sir Richard Greenvile by Mary his wife beforementioned, were very nobly allied, having iſſue by her three ſons, Bernard, John, and Roger, but the two laſt died without iſſue (*s*). Alſo five daughters, Mary married to Arthur Tremain, of Collacombe, Eſq; Catherine to Juſtinian Abbot, Eſq; Urſula, who died unmarried; Bridget, married to John Weeks, Prebendary of Briſtol; and Rebecca, who died unmarried (*t*).

(*q*) Grot. Annal. lib. i.

(*r*) Genealogical Remembrance of the Family of Greenvile.

(*s*) E Stemmate R. Greenvile.

(*t*) Collins's Supplement to the Peerage, Vol. I. p. 80.

taken for his opinion, this qualifying expreſſion, *Notwithſtanding, out of the greatneſs of his mind he could not be perſwaded.* Yet he frames a handſome apology for Lord Thomas Howard, every way worthy of him, and not unworthy of Sir Walter Ralegh. ‘ For the reſt of her Majeſty's ſhips, ſays he, that entered not ſo far into the fight as the Revenge, the reaſons and cauſes were theſe. There were of them but ſix in all, whereof two, but ſmall ſhips, the Revenge, engaged paſt recovery. The iſland of Flores was on the one ſide; fifty-three ſail of the Spaniſh, divided into ſquadrons, on the other; all as full filled with as many ſoldiers as they could contain. Almoſt the one half of our men ſick, and not able to ſerve, the ſhips grown foul, unromaged, and ſcarcely able to bear any ſail for want of ballaſt, having been ſix months at ſea before. If all the reſt had entered, all had been loſt, for the very hugeneſs of the Spaniſh fleet, if no other violence had been offered, would have cruſhed them before them into ſhivers. Of which the diſhonour and loſs to the Queen had been far greater than the ſpoil or harm that the enemy could any way have received. Notwithſtanding it is very true that the Lord Thomas would have entered between the ſquadrons, but the reſt would not condeſcend, and the maſter of his own ſhip offered to leap into the ſea, rather than to conduct that her Majeſty's ſhip and the reſt to be a prey to the enemy, where there was no hope nor poſſibility either of defence or victory. Which alſo in my opinion had ill ſorted or anſwered the diſcretion and truſt of a general, to commit himſelf and his charge to an aſſured deſtruction, without hope or likelihood of prevailing, thereby to diminiſh the ſtrength of her Majeſty's navy, and to enrich the pride and glory of the enemy. The Foreſight of the Queen's, commanded by M. Thomas Vavaſor, performed a very great fight, and ſtayed two hours as near the Revenge as the weather would permit him, not forſaking the fight 'till he was like to be encompaſſed by the ſquadrons, and with great difficulty cleared himſelf. The reſt gave divers volleys of ſhot, and entered as far as the place permitted, and their own neceſſities, to keep the weather gage of the enemy until they were parted by night.’ This, upon Sir Walter's authority, and indeed he could not have a better, Mr Camden has inſerted in his Annals (34), where it will remain a ſufficient juſtification for that noble perſon's not continuing the fight, without impeaching the character of Sir Richard Greenvile, who did. But let us hear the ſentiments of a worthy and experienced ſeaman, the ſon of an able and gallant Admiral, contemporary with all theſe great men, as well acquainted with facts, free from all connections, and who writ from a ſpirit of truth, and zeal for his country's good. Speaking of the obligation that all officers are under, of performing punctually their duty, with whatever peril the performance of it may be attended, he proceeds thus (35). ‘ In this point, at the Iſle of Flores, Sir Richard Greenvile got eternal honour and reputation, of great valour as well as of an experimented ſoldier, chooſing rather to ſacrifice his life, and to paſs all danger whatſoever, than to fail in his obligation, by gathering together thoſe which had remained aſhore in that place, though with the hazard of his ſhip and company. For we ought rather to embrace an honourable death, than to live with infamy and diſhonour, by failing in duty; and I account that he and his country obtained much credit on that occaſion: for one ſhip, and of the ſecond ſort, (rate) of Her Majeſty's ſuſtained the force of all the fleet of Spain, and gave them to underſtand that they are impregnable; for having bought dearly the boarding of her divers and ſundry times, and with many jointly, and with a continual fight of fourteen or ſixteen hours, at length leaving her without any maſt ſtanding, and like a log in the ſeas, ſhe made, notwithſtanding, a moſt honourable compoſition of life and liberty for above two hundred and ſixty men, as by the pay-book appeareth, which Her Majeſty of her free grace commanded in recompence of their ſervice to be given to every one his ſix months wages. All which may worthily be written in our chronicles in letters of gold, in memory for all poſterities, ſome to beware, and others by their example, in the like occaſions, to imitate the true valour of our nation in theſe Ages.’ To underſtand this paſſage, and to reconcile it with the other accounts, we muſt conſider that the capitulation was made for all borne upon the ſhip's books, though of theſe there remained not above one hundred and fifty, of which ninety were ſick in the hold, and the reſt wounded almoſt to a man, ſo that not many returned home to receive the Queen's bounty, which was chiefly valuable, as it was an apparent mark of her approbation. The ſame writer takes notice alſo of Captain Vavaſor, who ſhewed his love to Sir Richard beyond the meaſure of his duty; but let me not forget another gallant man, Capt. Jacob Whiddon, in the Pilgrim, who got through the Spaniſh fleet in the night, bore with the Revenge in the morning, *and though hunted like a hare amongſt many ravenous hounds, yet was ſo fortunate as to eſcape* (36). Theſe were all tributes of affection to Sir Richard Greenvile, flowing from the true ſpirit of Engliſh ſeamen, and which ſufficiently indicate their ſenſe of his behaviour. But if the word of a ſcholar, a patriot, and a ſtranger, will add weight, let it be known that the judicious Grotius obſerves (37), ‘ That the Greeks and Romans who of old ſupported all their glorious actions by naval victories, were at this time equalled in fortitude and in courage by the Engliſh.’ Our learned countryman, John Evelyn (38), having related this action in few words, crys out, *Than this, What have we more! What can be greater?* indeed, I think nothing that is recorded in any hiſtory, in any language. Yet this man is without a monument, and very little pains have been taken to do juſtice to his memory. May every virtuous reader pay it the juſt tribute of a tear, and may the Britiſh Flag never want, what it lately had (39), an officer of the ſame name and ſpirit to ſupport it's glory! E

(34) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 638, 639.

(35) The Obſervations of Sir Richard Hawkins, Knt. in his Voyage into the South-Seas, p. 10.

(36) Sir W. Raleigh's True Report, &c.

(37) Annal. de reb. Belgic. lib. i.

(38) Navigation and Commerce, their original, &c. p. 76.

(39) Capt. Thomas Greenvile of the Defiance, ſon to the preſent counteſs Temple killed in the ſervice of his country, May 3, 1747.

GREENVILE [Sir **Bevil**] the grandſon of the former, in whom united not only the names, and a great part of the fortunes, but the virtues alſo of two of the moſt ancient families in the Weſt of England [*A*]. He was born at the family ſeat of his father Bernard Greenvile, Eſq; in the year 1596, being the thirty-eighth of Queen Elizabeth (*a*). He diſcovered early marks of a pregnant genius, accompanied with a moſt ſweet and amiable temper, which rendered him univerſally beloved at Exeter College in Oxford, to which he was ſent while yet a boy, for the improvement of his ſtudies, where under the ſpecial inſpection of Dr John Prideaux, afterwards Biſhop of Worceſter, he laid the foundation of a ſolid and rational piety, and at the ſame time acquired a large ſtock of uſeful and general knowledge (*b*). February 17, 1613, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and ſoon after left the univerſity, and returned to his own houſe (*c*). His principal care was to maintain his own credit, and the dignity of his family, not by an oſtentatious magnificence, but by a prudent management of his own eſtate, a kind of paternal tenderneſs for his tenants, and a moſt courteous and reſpectful behaviour to all the gentlemen round him. To theſe engaging qualities, he added a ſtrict attention to whatever regarded the public ſervice, and by a multitude of experiments ſhewed, that it was both practicable and profitable to make uſe of coal inſtead of wood in melting of tin; and contrived likewiſe ſeveral methods to hinder the waſting of that metal in the blaſt, which having brought to perfection at his own private expence, he, from a principle of public ſpirit, communicated to his countrymen for their common advantage (*d*). By theſe manly and laudable means he conciliated to himſelf the eſteem and affection of perſons of all ranks, in conſequence of which he was returned with John Arundel, of Trerice, Eſq; Knight of the Shire for the County of Cornwall, in that parliament which was called in the eighteenth of James I.; and in the firſt ſeſſions of which the Lord Chancellor Bacon was cenſured, and which, after a ſecond ſeſſions was diſſolved, February 18, 1621 (*e*). He was alſo returned with William Coryton, Eſq; Knight for Cornwall, in that parliament called in the twenty-firſt of the ſame reign, and which was prorogued May 29, 1624 (*f*). In the three firſt parliaments of the ſucceeding reign he was returned with Richard Scot, Eſq; Burgeſs for Launceſton; and with Ambroſe Manaton, Eſq; to that parliament which was ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter on the 13th of April 1640, and diſſolved the 5th of May following (*g*). About this time he received the honour of knighthood; for in that unhappy aſſembly called the Long-Parliament, ſummoned to meet November the third, in the ſame year, we find Alexander Carew, Eſq; and Sir Bevil Greenvile, Knight, returned for Cornwall (*b*). He had in the year 1638, raiſed a troop at his own expence, with which he attended the King in his firſt northern expedition, by which he gave an early and convincing proof of his loyalty, in (*i*) which he was never backward upon any occaſion, though without making any pretences to court favour. He ſaw ſooner than moſt the bad deſigns that were forming, and apprehended very clearly the pernicious conſequences which muſt follow from them. In this ſituation he conducted himſelf with equal ſteadineſs and prudence. He adhered to what he took to be his duty to his King and Country, but he would not plunge himſelf into the depths of party. He did not take the famous Proteſtation, which many wiſe and worthy men did, being either awed by the fury of the populace, or deluded by the ſpecious pretences of falſe patriots; neither do we find his name in the liſt of Straffordians. His concealing his ſentiments was the pure effect of prudence, and not from any doubtfulneſs, or dread of offending the prevailing party; which manifeſtly appeared in the honeſt advice he gave his unfortunate fellow member Sir Alexander Carew, upon that memorable and melancholy occaſion of paſſing the Bill for the attainder of the earl of Strafford in the Houſe of Commons *. ‘Pray, Sir, ſaid this good man, ‘when it came to be put to the vote, let it never be ſaid that any member of our ‘country ſhould have a hand in this fatal buſineſs; and therefore pray ye give your ‘vote againſt the Bill.’ To whom Sir Alexander inſtantly replied, ‘If I were ſure to ‘be the next man that ſhould ſuffer upon the ſame ſcaffold, with the ſame axe, I ‘would give my conſent to the paſſing of it.’ When this afterwards fell out, and Sir Alexander

(*a*) Viſit. de Com. Devon. c. i. in Col. Arm.

(*b*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon.

(*c*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 194.

(*d*) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 469.

(*e*) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 13.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 25.

(*b*) Ruſhworth's Collections, part iii. Vol. I. p. 2.

(*i*) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 2, 3. Bill ſign. an. 13 Car. II.

* Dugdale's Short View of the late Troubles in England, p. 198.

[*A*] *In the Weſt of England.*] The Bovile's, or the Bevile's, were a very ancient family in Cornwall, who came in with the Conqueror (1). The chief of this family was ſeated at Gwarnock, and Richard Greenvile, Eſq; the great grand-father of Bernard Greenvile, Eſq; eſpouſed one of the daughters and coheireſſes of John Bevile, Eſq; the other being married to Mr Arundel of Trerice; and they had between them lands to the value of four hundred marks a year by theſe ladies, in the reign of Henry VIIIth, as we are more than once told by our learned Antiquary Leland (2). Bernard Greenvile, Eſq; married Elizabeth, daughter and coheireſs of Phillip Bevile, Eſq; of Brynne, third ſon to John Bevile, and niece and heireſs of Sir William Bevile of Killigarth (3), whoſe fortune, pretty well repaired by ſucceſſive marriages (4), paſſed moſt of it by this marriage into the family of the Greenvile's. The arms of this very ancient family are, argent, a bull paſſant, gules; armed and tripped, or (5). By this Lady Mr Greenvile had (6) Sir Bevil, of whom we are now ſpeaking; Sir Richard Greenvile, of whom in the next article; John Greenvile, who was afterwards of Lincoln's Inn; Roger, who was drowned in the ſervice of King Charles I. and one daughter, Gertrude, who became the wife of Chriſtopher Harris, Eſq; ſon and heir of Sir Chriſtopher Harris, Knight. Before we cloſe this note it may be proper to add, that if we may truſt ſome ancient writers, the father of this Gentleman was knighted as well as himſelf, and is often remembered by the name of Sir Bernard Greenvile (7).

(1) Carew's Survey of Cornwall, fol. 64. b.

(2) Itinerary, Vol. III. fol. 2.

(3) Viſitat. de Com. Devon. c. i. in Col. Armor.

(4) Carew's Survey of Cornwall, fol. 131.

(5) Leland's Itinerary, Vol. III. fol. 2. Carew's Survey of Cornwall, fol. 131.

(6) Viſitat. de Com. Devon. c. i. in Col. Armor.

(7) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. c. 137.

Alexander actually loſt his head upon the ſame ſcaffold, and by the ſame axe, it made a great impreſſion upon the minds of men, and many inferences have been drawn from it. We will venture to mention one that has not been drawn, and it is this; Sir Alexander Carew, who ſeemed ſo determined, altered his opinion afterwards, and ſuffered by thoſe whom he now ſerved; whereas Sir Bevil Greenvile perſiſted ſteadily in his ſentiments, without expreſſing any unneceſſary vehemence, for he thought it to no purpoſe to make ſuch a diſplay of his principles as might poſſibly hinder his being able to act up to them (*k*). He therefore left London as ſoon as he could do it with ſafety, and retiring into his own country, employed himſelf in opening the eyes of other honeſt gentlemen, to ſee that their welfare and happineſs depended on the preſervation of the Conſtitution in Church and State; for the ſupport of which therefore, he adviſed them, whenever it ſhould become neceſſary, to venture their lives and fortunes, as they could have no ſecurity for either, if the Conſtitution was deſtroyed (*l*). The Parliament, at the breaking out of the war, were almoſt every where the ſtrongeſt; and by the help of their committees ſeemed to be in full poſſeſſion of the Weſt, where they had Devonſhire entirely, and the better part of Cornwall, through the induſtry of Sir Alexander Carew, and Sir Richard Buller (*m*). The marquis of Hertford, whom the King had appointed his General in the Weſt, was able to do little in thoſe parts, and what his friends did was in ſo calm and legal a way, that their enemies did not ſuſpect them of any military talents. Sir Nicholas Slanning, indeed, was poſſeſſed of Pendennis Caſtle, and he was known to be an inflexible royaliſt, yet their ſtrength was thought ſo deſpicable, that the Earl of Bedford would not give himſelf the trouble of purſuing Sir Ralph Hopton with an hundred and fifty horſe, when they retired into Cornwall (*n*). In this ſtate of things Sir Bevil Greenvile declared himſelf, and without heſitation joined Sir Ralph with his friends, and conducted them to Truro, where they began to form into a conſiderable body. The leaders of the parliament party, upon this, called in their friends from Devonſhire, and aſſembling at Launceſton, that they might the better deal with their opponents when they had them in their power, preferred an indictment at the quarter ſeſſions againſt certain perſons who had appeared in arms in breach of the king's peace, and againſt his crown and dignity (*o*). Here Sir Bevil's good ſenſe and wiſe management were clearly diſcovered. When it was leaſt expected he appeared with Sir Ralph Hopton, who taking notice of the preſentment, produced to the gentlemen of the grand-jury the king's commiſſion to the Marquis of Hertford, and his lordſhip's commiſſion to himſelf, aſſuring them that he came only to protect them from the impoſition of taxes, and other illegal oppreſſions. The grand-jury voted an addreſs of thanks to the King for his royal care of them, preſented Sir Alex. Carew, and Sir Richard Buller, for a riot or rout at Launceſton, and directed the ſheriff to raiſe the Poſſe Comitatus to diſperſe them, and their adherents (*p*). This was the foundation of all that was afterwards done in ſupport of the King in that part of his dominions. This happened in the ſummer of 1642, and gave for the preſent a new turn to affairs, but it quickly appeared, that in order to ſupport themſelves, ſome other kind of force was neceſſary than that which could be raiſed by the ſheriff. As this could only be done by the intereſt, and at the expence of men of rank and fortune, Sir Bevil Greenvile, who, as the noble hiſtorian ſays, was the moſt beloved man in that country (*q*), Sir Nicholas Slanning, John Arundel, and John Trevanion, Eſquires, raiſed each of them a regiment, and with theſe forces they not only maintained themſelves, and made themſelves maſters of Saltaſh, in which there was a garriſon of two hundred Scots, and forced the earl of Stamford to retired to Taviſtock, whether they were followed by part of the ſmall Corniſh army, in which Sir Bevil Greenvile was with his regiment, and ſo very cloſe puſhed that they were at length glad to conclude a ceſſation of arms between the counties of Devon and Cornwall, for a limitted time, and this upon very reaſonable terms, and without any prejudice to the principles of either party (*r*). The Parliament ſhewing a great diſlike to all treaties of this kind, major-general Chudleigh, who was one of the activeſt perſons in their ſervice, brought as conſiderable a body of troops as he could well collect into the neighbourhood of Launceſton, the night before the ceſſation was to determine, of which Sir Ralph Hopton and Sir Bevil Greenvile having intelligence, they came into the town to encourage their friends, though they had but a very ſmall force; the next day as ſoon as it was light the Parliamentarians attacked the place, or rather the avenues to it, which were long and gallantly defended 'till ſuch time as the King's forces, collected from different parts of the county, arrived, which was late in the evening, and then the enemy retired (*s*). The earl of Stamford, whom the Parliament relied upon for maintaining their quarrel in theſe parts, aſſembled in the month of May, an army of between ſix and ſeven thouſand horſe and foot, with which he marched into the Hundred of Stratton, which lies in the north corner of Cornwall, and the only part of the County well affected to the Parliament, and from thence detached Sir George Chudleigh with twelve hundred horſe to ſuprize Bodmin, where the ſheriff and ſome of the principal gentlemen in the county were aſſembled (*t*). Sir Ralph Hopton and Sir Bevil Greenvile being informed of this, though they were much inferior in ſtrength, and knew the enemy had ſuch a contempt for them, that one part of Sir George Chudleigh's inſtructions

(*k*) Ruſhworth's Collections, part iii. Vol. I. p. 244, 248.

(*l*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 469. May's Hiſtory of the Parliament of England, lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 121.

(*m*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 128.

(*n*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 64.

(*o*) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 129.

(*p*) May's Hiſtory of the Parliament of England, lib. ii. cap. 6. Civil Wars of Great-Britain and Ireland, p. 75. Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 129.

(*q*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 45. May's Hiſtory of the Parliament. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 131.

(*r*) Sir William Dugdale's Short View of the Troubles, p. 186. May's Hiſtory of the Parliament, lib. ii. p. 112. Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 137.

(*s*) Memorable Occurrences in 1643.

(*t*) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory, Vol. III. p. 268.

ſtructions was, to prevent their retreat to Pendennis, that they might have no more trouble with them; reſolved to leave Launceſton, and to march directly to fight the Earl, though they likewiſe knew that he was intrenched with his forces in a plain on the top of a hill, near Stratton, of very difficult acceſs, with ſome artillery, plenty of ammunition, and abundance of proviſions, which were ſo ſcanty with them, that officers and men, who both fared alike, had but a biſcuit a day, for two days that preceeded the action (*u*). This happened on the 16th of May 1643, when with two thouſand four hundred foot, in four brigades, they marched up the hill, and after twelve hours obſtinate reſiſtance, totally defeated them; which was in all reſpects one of the greateſt actions, and one of the cleareſt victories gained in the courſe of theſe unhappy wars (*w*) [*B*]. The King, to perpetuate the memory of this victory, in September following, created Sir Ralph Hopton, Baron Hopton of Stratton (*x*). The Parliament a little before this, had reſolved to ſend Sir William Waller, their moſt ſucceſsful General, to cruſh all oppoſers in the Weſt; and upon the news of this defeat he was haſtened with all neceſſary ſupplies, and directed his march to Bath. On the other hand, the King ſent the marquis of Hertford, with Prince Maurice, the earl of Carnarvon, and other perſons of diſtinction, with ſeventeen hundred horſe, and a thouſand foot, to join the Corniſh troops, who advancing likewiſe on their ſide, the junction was quickly made at Chard in Somerſetſhire, on the borders of Devon (*y*). The Corniſh forces amounted to three thouſand foot, and eight hundred

(*u*) Mercurius Belgicus, p. 19.

(*w*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 45. May's Hiſtory of the Parliament, lib. iii. cap. iii. Dugdale's Short View of the Troubles in England, p. 186. Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 270.

(*x*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 469. May's Hiſtory of the Parliament, lib. iii. c. iii. p. 58. Ruſhworth's Collections, part iii. Vol. II. p. 271.

(*y*) Ruſhworth, May, Dugdale.

[*B*] *In the courſe of theſe unhappy wars.*] The whole of this action is very clearly and conciſely related by the noble hiſtorian (8): 'About five in the morning, ſays he, they, that is, the royal army diſpoſed themſelves to make the attack, having ſtood under arms all night. The firſt brigade was commanded by the Lord Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton, who undertook to aſſault the camp on the ſouth ſide: next them, on the left-hand, Sir John Berkeley and Sir Bevil Greenvile, were to force their way: Sir Nicholas Slanning and Colonel Trevannion, were to aſſault the north ſide, and on the left-hand, Colonel Thomas Baſſet, who was Major-General of their foot, and Colonel William Godolphin, were to advance with their party, each party having two pieces of cannon, to diſpoſe as they found neceſſary: Colonel John Digby commanding the horſe and dragoons, being about five hundred, ſtood upon a ſandy common, which had a way to the camp, to take any advantage he could of the enemy if they charged, otherwiſe to be firm as a reſerve. In this manner the fight begun, the King's forces preſſing with their utmoſt vigour thoſe four ways up the hill, and the enemy's as obſtinately defending their ground. The fight continued with very doubtful ſucceſs 'till towards three of the clock in the afternoon, when word was brought to the chief officers of the Corniſh, that their ammunition was ſpent to leſs than four barrels of powder, which, concealing the defect from the ſoldiers, they reſolved could be only ſupplied with courage, and therefore by meſſengers to one another they agreed to advance, with their full bodies, without making any more ſhot 'till they reached the top of the hill, and ſo might be upon even ground with the enemy; wherein the officers courage and reſolution was ſo well ſeconded by the ſoldier, that they begun to get ground in all places, and the enemy in wonder of the men, who out faced their ſhot with their ſwords to quit their poſt. Major-General Chudleigh, who ordered the battle, failed in no part of a ſoldier, and when he ſaw his men recoil from leſs numbers, and the enemy in all places gaining the hill upon him, himſelf advanced with a good ſtand of pikes upon that party which was led by Sir John Berkeley and Sir Bevil Greenvile, and charged them ſo ſmartly, that he put them into diſorder, Sir Bevil Greenvile in the ſhock being borne to the ground, but quickly relieved by his companion, they ſo reinforced the charge, that having killed moſt of the aſſailants and diſperſed the reſt, they took the major general priſoner, after he had behaved himſelf with as much courage as a man could do. Then the enemy gave ground apace, inſomuch as the four parties growing nearer and nearer as they aſcended the hill, between three and four of the clock they all met together upon plain ground, at the top of the hill, where they embraced with unſpeakable joy, each congratulating the other's ſucceſs, and all acknowleging the wonderful bleſſing of God; and being there poſſeſſed of ſome of the enemy's cannon, they turned them upon the camp, and advanced together to perfect the victory. But the enemy no ſooner underſtood the loſs of their major-general, but their hearts failed them, and being ſo reſolutely preſſed, and their ground loſt, upon the ſecurity and advantage whereof they wholly depended, ſome of them threw down their arms, and others fled, diſperſing themſelves, and every man ſhifting for himſelf: the conquerors, as ſoon as they had gained the camp and diſperſed the enemy, and after public prayers upon the place, and a ſolemn thankſgiving to Almighty God for their deliverance and victory, ſent a ſmall party of horſe to purſue the enemy for a mile or two, not thinking fit to purſue farther, or with their whole body of horſe, leſt Sir George ſhould return from Bodmin with his ſtrong body of horſe and dragoons, and find them in diſorder; but contenting themſelves with the victory they had obtained upon the place, which in ſubſtance as well as circumſtance, was as ſignal a one as hath happened to either party, ſince the unhappy diſtraction; for on the king's party were not loſt in all above fourſcore men, whereof few were officers, and none above the degree of a captain; and though many more were hurt, not above ten men died afterwards of their wounds. On the parliament ſide, notwithſtanding their advantage of ground, and that the other were the aſſailants, above three hundred were ſlain on the place, and ſeventeen hundred taken priſoners, with their major-general, and above thirty other officers. They took likewiſe all their baggage and tents, all their cannon, being thirteen pieces of excellent braſs ordnance and a braſs mortar-piece, all their ammunition, being ſeventy barrels of powder, and all other ſorts of ammunition proportionable, and a very great magazine of biſcuit, and other excellent proviſions of victuals, which was as ſeaſonable a bleſſing as the victory, to thoſe who for three or four days before had ſuffered great want of food as well as ſleep, and were equally tired with duty and hunger.' In the accounts publiſhed by the Parliament, the defeat is aſcribed to the treachery of their major-general, who is ſaid to have changed ſides in the action, and to have charged thoſe he quitted (9). But this ſeems to be clearly confuted by his remaining priſoner ſome time after the action, which is not reconcileable to his quitting the rebels, and even charging after he had quitted them. It is however true, that both himſelf and his father, ſtung by theſe imputations, quitted the Parliament's ſervice and reconciled themſelves to the King. which was conſidered as an unpardonable crime in them (10); notwithſtanding the Earl of Stamford, when he ſurrendered Exeter to Prince Maurice, ſtipulated amongſt other things, that his highneſs ſhould procure his Majeſty's free pardon to his lordſhip and all his adherents (11); which is a demonſtration, that even in his lordſhip's opinion, a pardon was a very good thing when it could be obtained.

[C] *And*

(8) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 269.

(9) Ruſhworth's Collections, part iii. Vol. II. p. 272. May's Hiſtory of the Parliament, p. 58, 59.

(10) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 473.

(11) Ruſhworth's Collections, part iii. Vol. II. p. 273.

dred horſe and dragoons; but if they had not been commanded by men of admirable temper, and wonderful virtues, this coalition had been fatal; for though the troops of the Marquis were far inferior to them in number and in diſcipline, yet they were ſo furniſhed with Generals of every denomination, that theſe great men who had done ſo much and hazarded their all in the King's cauſe, found themſelves reduced to the rank of private colonels, which they bore, notwithſtanding, not only with patience, but without murmuring; which appeared ſo extraordinary in the eyes of the Marquis and Prince Maurice, that they took every opportunity of ſhewing them ſuch reſpect, as in ſome meaſure made amends for their loſs of command (*z*). Taunton, Bridgewater, and Dunſter-Caſtle were immediately reduced, and the army afterwards continued their march towards Wells, from whence they diſlodged the Parliament forces, who retired to Mendip-Hills. Even there they were attacked, and very roughly handled, by Prince Maurice, Sir John Berkeley, and Sir Ralph Hopton, who had conceived a very contemptible opinion of the Parliament horſe, and though they had the advantage of them here, found them much better troops than they expected (*a*). As for Sir William Waller, he continued at Bath amaſſing arms, ammunition, proviſion, and receiving continual ſupplies from London, and amongſt other troops, Sir Arthur Haſlerig's regiment of horſe with breaſt and back pieces. But for all this he kept his poſition, and though the Marquis and Prince advanced to Froome, and from thence to Brentford, yet he only ſuffered ſome horſe and dragoons to ſkirmiſh. At length the royaliſts advanced to Marsfield, five miles beyond Bath, that they might draw the enemy from the advantageous poſt in which they were, which they very probably might have done if they had acted with more temper (*b*). But the unreaſonable contempt they had of the enemy, and confidence they ſhould prevail in any ground, together with the ſtreights they endured for want of proviſions, and their want of ammunition, which was ſpent as much in the daily hedge ſkirmiſhes, and upon their guards being ſo near, as could have been in battle, would not admit of patience; for Sir William Waller, who was not to ſuffer that body to join with the King, no ſooner drew out his whole army to Lanſdowne, which looked towards Marsfield, but they ſuffered themſelves to be engaged upon great diſadvantage. It was upon the 5th of July 1643 (*c*), when Sir William Waller, as ſoon as it was light, poſſeſſed himſelf of that hill, and after he had, upon the brow of the hill over the high-way, raiſed breaſt-works with faggots and earth, and planted cannon there, he ſent a ſtrong party of horſe towards Marsfield, which quickly alarmed the other army, and was ſhortly driven back to their body. As great a mind as the King's forces had to cope with the enemy when they had drawn into battalia, and found the enemy fixed on the top of the hill, they reſolved not to attack them upon ſo great diſadvantage, and ſo retired again towards their old quarters; which Sir William Waller perceiving, ſent his whole body of horſe and dragoons down the hill to charge the rear and flank of the King's forces, which they did thoroughly; the regiment of cuiraſſiers ſo amazing the horſe they charged that they totally routed them, and ſtanding firm and unſhaken themſelves, gave ſo great terror to the King's horſe, who had never before turned from an enemy, that no example of their officers, who did their parts with invincible courage, could make them charge with the ſame confidence, and in the ſame manner they had uſually done. However, in the end, after Sir Nicholas Slanning with three hundred muſqueteers had fallen upon, and beaten their reſerve of dragoons, Prince Maurice and the earl of Carnarvon rallying their horſe, and winging them with the Corniſh muſqueteers, charged the enemies horſe again and totally routed them, and in the ſame manner received two bodies more, and routed and chaſed them to the hill, where they ſtood in a place almoſt inacceſſible. On the brow of the hill there were breaſt-works, on which were pretty bodies of ſmall ſhot, and ſome cannon. On either flank grew a pretty thick wood towards the declining of the hill, in which ſtrong parties of muſqueteers were placed. At the rear was a very fair plain, where the reſerves of horſe and foot ſtood ranged, yet the Corniſh foot were ſo far from being appalled at this diſadvantage, that they deſired to fall on, and cried out, that they might have leave to fetch thoſe cannon. In the end, order was given to attempt the hill with horſe and foot. Two ſtrong parties of muſqueteers were ſent into the woods, which flanked the enemy; and the horſe and other muſqueteers up the road-way, which were charged by the enemy's horſe and routed; then Sir Bevil Greenvile advanced with a party of horſe on his right-hand, that ground being beſt for them, and his muſqueteers on the left, himſelf leading up his pikes in the middle, and in the face of their cannon and ſmall ſhot from the breaſt-works, gained the brow of the hill, having ſuſtained two full charges of the enemy's horſe; but in the third charge his horſe failing, and giving ground, he received, after other wounds, a blow on the head with a pole-axe, with which he fell, and many of his officers about him [*C*]. Notwithſtanding, the muſqueteers fired ſo faſt

(*z*) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 270.

(*a*) Ruſhworth, May, Ludlow.

(*b*) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 282.

(*c*) Ruſhworth, Heath, May, Dugdale, Mercurius Belgicus.

[C] *And many of his officers about him.*] It is ſaid, that when his body was found, his major and captain-lieutenant were lying at his feet, with eight officers more of his corps; there were ſlain beſide, the honourable Mr Leake, ſon to the Lord Deincourt, afterwards Earl of Scarſdale, with a pair of the enemy's colours twiſted about his arm; Mr Barker, lieutenant-colonel Wall, major Lower, captain James, captain Cholwell, and Mr Baſtard (12). But notwithſtanding this the victory was clear, and was in many reſpects of very

(12) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 470. Heath's Chronicle, p. 46.

faſt upon the enemy's horſe that they quitted their ground; and the two wings who were ſent to clear the woods having done their work, and gained thoſe parts of the hill at the ſame time, beat off their enemy's foot and became poſſeſſed of the breaſt-works, and ſo made way for their whole body of horſe, foot, and cannon to aſcend the hill, which they quickly did, and planted themſelves on the ground they had won, the enemy retiring about demy culverin ſhot, behind a ſtone wall, upon the ſame level, and ſtanding in reaſonable good order. The King's horſe were ſo broken, that of two thouſand which were upon the field in the morning, there were not above ſix hundred on the top of the hill; the enemy were exceedingly ſcattered too, and had no mind to venture on plain ground with thoſe who had beaten them from the hill, ſo that exchanging only ſome ſhot from their ordnance, they looked one upon another 'till the night interpoſed. About twelve of the clock, it being very dark, the enemy made a ſhew of moving towards the ground they had loſt, but giving a ſmart volley of ſmall ſhot, and finding themſelves anſwered with the like, they made no more noiſe, which the Prince obſerving, he ſent a common ſoldier to hearken as near the place, where they were, as he could, who brought word that the enemy had left lighted matches in the wall behind which they had lain, and were drawn off the field, which was true; ſo that as ſoon as it was day the King's army found themſelves poſſeſſed entirely of the field, and the dead, and all other enſigns of victory. Sir William Waller being marched to Bath in ſo much diſorder and apprehenſion, that he left great ſtore of arms and ten barrels of powder behind him, which was a very ſeaſonable ſupply to the other ſide, who had ſpent in that day's ſervice no leſs than fourſcore barrels, and had not a ſafe proportion left. In this battle, on the King's part, there were more officers and gentlemen of quality ſlain than common men, and more hurt than ſlain. But, after all, the victory was clear, and no leſs clear, that it was purchaſed by the valour and conduct of the Corniſh troops, directed by the orders, and encouraged by the example of their gallant commander Sir Bevil Greenvile, who fell like a hero in the field of battle, after having put his enemy to flight *(d)*; and having already received the ſtrongeſt teſtimonies of his maſter's kind and grateful acceptance of his ſervices *(e)* [*D*]. His character, as a ſoldier, would be but ill underſtood if we ſhould be ſilent as to his care in rendering men better, as well as braver, from being under his command. Under him the Corniſh ſoldier was taught to pray as well as fight; and his forces were as much diſtinguiſhed by their piety as their valour. Fervent acts of devotion preceded every attack, ſolemn thankſgivings commemorated every advantage, even on the field of battle. Their conduct was exactly regular in every reſpect, for to Sir Bevil Greenvile it appeared equally abſurd and unjuſt, that troops raiſed to protect, ſhould injure property; and rather than avoid hardſhips by ſuch means, they choſe to bear them, as they frequently did, with moſt exemplary patience *(f)*. He likewiſe ſtood very high in the character of a patriot, and took ſo much pains to preſerve the communication and trade between the different parts of the county, even

(d) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 284. Dugdale's Short View of the Troubles in England, p. 186. May's Hiſtory of the Parliament, lib. iii. cap. iv. p. 77. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 70. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 323. Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 470. The Civil Wars of Great-Britain and Ireland, p. 93. Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 194. Memoirs of the Reign of King Charles the Iſt, p. 271. Heath's Chronicle, p. 46.

(e) See note [*D*].

(f) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 469.

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very great conſequence; for it leſſened the credit of Waller, the beſt eſteemed officer in the Parliament's ſervice; it opened a paſſage for the King's forces, and it prevented the enemy from ſending any detachments weſtward (13). But all theſe advantages were cancelled by the loſs of Sir Bevil Greenvile, whoſe authority and example could not be replaced or repaired. His ſuperior title to command, and his willingneſs to be commanded by any man for the public ſervice, prevented fewds, and kept every body from murmuring; his conſtant diſcourſes that they were not fighting either for fame or for fortune, but for the honour of the crown, the ſecurity of the ſubject, and to procure a happy and laſting peace, kept both officers and private men in a right temper of mind, and diſpoſed them to do or ſuffer any thing that was neceſſary for attaining thoſe valuable ends; whereas after his death, things gradually changed, narrower notions began to prevail, and this glorious ſpirit evaporated by degrees (14).

(13) Clarendon, Heath, Dugdale.

(14) Lloyd's Memoirs. The Civil Wars of Great-Britain and Ireland. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs.

[*D*] *Acceptance of his ſervices.*] The following letter is at preſent in the hands of the right honourable Charles earl of Egremont, his lineal deſcendant; for lady Jane Greenvile, eldeſt daughter to the earl of Bath, and grandaughter to Sir Bevil, eſpouſed Sir William Leveſon Gower; and by him, amongſt other children, had Catherine, who eſpouſed Sir Edward Wyndham, and by him became the mother of Sir William Wyndham, father of the earl of Egremont.

CHARLES R.

Truſty and well beloved, wee greet you well. We have ſeen your letter to Endymion Porter our ſervant, but your whole conduct of our affairs in the Weſt doth ſpeake your zeale to our ſervice and the public good in ſo full a meaſure, as we reſt abundantly ſatisfied with the teſtimony thereof. Your labours and your expences we are graciouſly ſenſible of, and our royal care hath been to pleaſe you in all that wee could. What hath fallen ſhort of our princely purpoſes and your expectations, wee know you will attribute to the great malignity of the rebellion wee had and have here to wreſtle withall. And wee know well, how effectual a diverſion of that miſchievous ſtrength you have made for us at your own great hazards. Wee aſſure you we have all tender ſence of the hazards you have endured, and the ſtate wherein you ſtand. Wee ſhall not faile to procure you what ſpeedy reliefe may be. In the mean ſpace wee ſend you our moſt hearty thanks for ſome encouragement and aſſurance on the word of a gracious prince, that God enabling us, wee ſhall ſo reflect on your faithful ſervices, as you and your's ſhall have cauſe to acknowledge our bounty and favour: and ſo wee bid you heartily farewell. Given at our court at Oxford, the 24th of March 1642-3.

On the cover in which this letter is incloſed, George Lord Lanſdowne has wrote,

'Original letter of King Charles the Iſt to Sir Bevil 'Greenvile, written upon ſarcenet, found in his pocket 'at the battle of Lanſdowne, July 5, 1643. Endorſed 'with his own hand (i. e. Sir Bevil Greenvile's) *Keep* '*this ſafe.*'

In the hand-writing of Sir William Wyndham, Bart.

'Given me by George Lord Lanſdowne, this 26th 'day of April 1734, to be preſerved in honour of his 'and my grandfather.' W. W.

even after this unfortunate war began, that the miſeries of it were in ſome meaſure prevented, or, at leaſt, abated, as long as he lived. He was the better enabled to do this, becauſe no man of his rank, or, indeed, of any rank in the county, underſtood it's intereſts in all it's different branches better; and by his correſpondence in France, and with the loyal, now noble family of Carteret, in Guernſey, he found means to be well ſupplied with ammunition; and having prevailed upon the gentlemen of the country to ſubmit to an equal tax, it was ſo carefully collected, and ſo honeſtly expended, that the troops of the county were tolerably maintained, and regularly paid (*g*). Theſe might paſs for endeavours at panegyric, or at leaſt for heightenings of the truth, if we were not able to produce clear authorities from his contemporaries, and which can be ſaid for very few, from writers on both ſides, that not only ſupport, but go higher than we have done, for the ſake of giving a juſt idea of ſo excellent a character to poſterity [*E*]. Sir Bevil eſpouſed

(*g*) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 275, 284.

[*E*] *Of ſo excellent a character to poſterity.*] In producing the atteſtations referred to in the text, we will begin with the noble hiſtorian's remark on the iſſue of the battle of Lanſdowne. 'That which would have 'clouded any victory, and made the loſs of others leſs 'ſpoken of, was the death of Sir Bevil Greenvile (15). 'He was indeed an excellent perſon, whoſe activity, 'intereſt, and reputation, was the foundation of what 'had been done in Cornwall, and his temper and af'fection ſo public, that no accident which happened 'could make any impreſſions in him; and his example 'kept others from taking any thing ill, or at leaſt ſeem'ing to do ſo. In a word, a brighter courage, and a 'gentler diſpoſition, were never married together, to 'make the moſt chearful and innocent converſation.' Whitlocke ſpeaks of him with great reſpect (16). 'Wal'ler, and his whole army, ſays he, was fought with by 'Greenvile and Slanning, at Lanſdowne, in the weſt; 'Greenvile did very gallant ſervice, and was ſlain there.' Sir Philip Warwick, a man of ſound judgment, great integrity, and not at all profuſe of his praiſes, ſpeaking of the battle of Lanſdowne, ſays (17), 'In this fight 'fell that excellent perſon Sir Bevil Greenvile, a man 'of great integrity, courage, and intereſt in his coun'try.' This is ſaying a great deal in few words; but towards the cloſe of his work, having occaſion to mention the great ſervices of Sir John Greenvile, afterwards earl of Bath, he adds (18), 'The father of this 'gentleman, though not bred a ſoldier, yet was ſo 'naturally adapted to it, and was ſo full of humanity, 'as well as clear courage, that having been well ac'quainted with him as a member in the Long Parlia'ment, I was heartily ſorry when, though ſo honour'ably and victorouſly, he fell at the rencounter of Lanſ'downe.' Theſe paſſages taken together, fully confirm all that is ſaid by Lord Clarendon. We find, indeed, in the Memoirs attributed to a great officer in the parliament's ſervice, ſomething that looks like a contradiction to what is advanced in the text in reſpect to the victory of Lanſdowne (19). 'The two armies, 'ſays he, engaged about Lanſdowne, where the ſuc'ceſs was doubtful a good while, but at laſt our's ob'tained the victory. The Corniſh men, commanded 'by Sir Bevil Greenvile, ſtood their ground till they 'came to puſh of pike, but were then routed, and Sir 'Bevil killed. The enemy retreated to the Devizes, 'and our's purſued them.' Another writer, though of very different ſentiments, gives nearly the ſame account (20): 'Again at Lanſdowne, ſays he, between 'Sir Ralph Hopton, and the Parliamentarians, under 'Sir William Waller, was fought a fierce battle, where'in the victory was not very clear on either ſide, ſaving 'that the Parliamentarians might ſeem to have the bet'ter, becauſe preſently after Sir William Waller fol'lowed Sir Ralph Hopton to Devizes in Wiltſhire, 'though to his coſt, for there he was overthrown.' Bnt to clear up the point as to the victory, we will not quote the noble hiſtorian, who has related it largely, but Sir Philip Warwick, who in very few words inſerts that parentheſis which ought to ſtand in both theſe accounts, ſhewing ſufficiently the unſtable condition of ſublunary affairs, and how quickly and how ſtrangely a victory may be loſt and won, and loſt again (21). 'A 'ſmall accident, ſays he, did great miſchief that day 'to the lord Hopton's party; for the greateſt part of 'his ammunition took fire, and he himſelf was much 'ſinged and defaced by it: ſo as, for want of powder, 'he was forced to march into the town of the Devizes, 'which Waller coming to underſtand, he took courage 'again, and came to beſiege Hopton there; and had 'not the King ſoon ſent the lords Wilmot and Carnarvon 'to relieve him, he had not been in a poſture to defend 'himſelf. But here the King's forces, at Roundway'down, bravely charging him, gave him an intire de'feat.' It is evident from hence, that the valour of Sir Bevil Greenvile, and his Corniſh foot, put the marquis of Hertford and Sir Ralph Hopton in poſſeſſion of the ground and of the victory; that the next morning the blowing up of the powder deprived them intirely of theſe advantages, and obliged them to retire to the Devizes, whither they were followed by Sir William Waller, and the face of affairs was changed again. Sir William Dugdale, one of the conciſeſt, but, at the ſame, one of the correcteſt writers of the hiſtory of theſe unhappy times (22), ſtates the matter truly in the feweſt words poſſible: 'At Lanſdowne, in Somerſetſhire, ſays he, 'the lord Hopton had the better of the rebels, though 'the valiant Sir Bevil Greenvile was there ſlain.' But in all theſe writers not a word occurs in the diminution of this great hero's character: mention him who will, friends or enemies, he is ever mentioned with applauſe. At Oxford, the members of the Univerſity, to ſhew their ſenſe of the kingdom's loſs, and their own, did him, and did themſelves, the higheſt honour in their power, by publiſhing a collection of poems, written to celebrate his memory. What intitled him to ſo ſingular a mark of reſpect, might well intitle him to a place in this work; and as theſe poems are now ſcarce to be met with, we will add two from this collection, which were then highly eſteemed, and which are very ſuitable to our purpoſe; the rather, becauſe though part of them be inſcribed on the monument erected on the ſpot where Sir Bevil Greenvile fell, by his illuſtrious deſcendant the late lord Lanſdowne, the letters are now ſo obliterated and decayed that they are ſcarce legible.

By Mr William Cartwright.

Not to be wrought by malice, gain, or pride,
To a compliance with the thriving ſide;
Not to take arms for love of change, or ſpite,
But only to maintain afflicted right;
Not to die vainly in purſuit of fame,
Perverſly ſeeking after voice and name:
Is to reſolve, fight, die, as martyrs do,
And thus did he, ſoldier and martyr too.
He might, like ſome reſerved men of ſtate,
Who look not to the cauſe, but to it's fate,
Have ſtood aloof, engaged on neither ſide,
Prepared at laſt to ſtrike in with the tide.
But well weighed reaſon told him, that when law
Either's renounced, or miſapplied, by th' awe
Of falſe-named patriots, that when the right
Of king and ſubject is ſuppreſſed by might:
When all religion either is refuſed,
As mere pretence, or merely as that uſed:
When thus the fury of ambition ſwells,
Who is not active, modeſtly rebels.
Whence, in a juſt eſteem to Church and Crown,
He offer'd all, and nothing thought his own.
This thruſt him into action whole and free,
Knowing no intereſt but loyalty;

Not

(15) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 284.

(16) Memorials, p. 70.

(17) Memoirs of the Reign of King Charles the Iſt, p. 271.

(18) Ibid. p. 431.

(19) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 62.

(20) Hobbes's Behemoth, p. 209.

(21) Memoirs of the Reign of King Charles the Iſt, p. 271.

(22) A Short View of the late Troubles in England, p. 186.

eſpouſed Grace, daughter to Sir George Smith of Exeter, knight (*b*), by whom he had four ſons and three daughters; Elizabeth, who became the wife of Peter Prideaux, Eſq; Bridget, who eſpouſed Sir Thomas Higgons, knight; and Jane, who married Colonel Richard Thornhill, and died ſo late as the year 1739. Of the ſons, Richard died young; John will be the ſubject of a future article; Bernard became the father of George Lord Lanſdowne, of whom hereafter; and of Dennis, who was Dean of Durham, and of whom we have already ſpoken.

Not loving arms as arms, or ſtrife for ſtrife,
Nor waſteful, nor yet ſparing of his life;
A great exacter of himſelf, and then,
By fair commands, no leſs of other men.
Courage and judgment had their equal part,
Counſel was added to a generous heart;
Affairs were juſtly timed, nor did he catch
At an affected fame of quick diſpatch;
Things were prepar'd, debated, and then done,
Not raſhly broke, or vainly overſpun;
Falſe periods no where by deſign were made,
As are by thoſe that make the war their trade:
The building ſtill was ſuited to the ground,
Whence every action iſſued full and round.
We know who blind their men with ſpecious lies,
With revelation, and with prophecies,
Who promiſe two things to obtain a third,
And are themſelves by the like motives ſtirr'd.
By no ſuch engine he his ſoldiers draws,
He knew no arts but courage and the cauſe:
With theſe he brought them on as well-trained men,
And with theſe two he brought them off again.
When now th' incenſed legions proudly came
Down like a torrent, without bank or dam:
When underſtood ſucceſs urged on their force,
That thunder muſt come down to ſtop their courſe,
Or Greenvile muſt ſtep in; then Greenvile ſtood,
And with himſelf oppos'd and check'd the flood:
Conqueſt or death was all his thoughts, ſo fire,
Either o'ercomes, or doth itſelf expire;
His courage work'd like flames, caſt heat about,
Here, there, on this, on that ſide none gave out;
Not any pike in that renowned ſtand,
But took new force from his inſpiring hand:
Soldier encourag'd ſoldier, man urg'd man,
And he urg'd all, ſo much example can;
Hurt upon hurt, wound upon wound did call,
He was the butt, the mark, the aim of all:
His ſoul flies while retir'd from cell to cell,
At laſt flew up from all, and then he fell.
But the devoted ſtand, enraged more
From that his fate, plied hotter than before,
And proud to fall with him, ſworn not to yield,
Each ſought an honoured grave, ſo gain'd the field.
Thus he being fallen, his action fought anew,
And the dead conquered, while the living ſlew.
This was not nature's courage, nor that thing
We valour call, which time and reaſon bring,
But a diviner fury, fierce and high,
Valour tranſported into extacy,
Which Angels, looking on us from above,
Uſe to convey into the ſouls they love.

By Dr Lluelin.

And with this conſtant principle poſſeſs'd,
He did alone expoſe his ſingle breaſt
Againſt an army's force, and bleeding lay,
The great reſtorer of th' declining day.
Thus ſlain, thy valiant anceſtor did lie,
When his one bark a navy did defy:
When now encompaſſed round, he victor ſtood,
And bath'd his pinnace in his conquering blood,
Till all his purple current dried and ſpent,
He fell, and left the waves his monument.
Where ſhall the next fam'd Greenvile's aſhes ſtand,
Thy grandſire fills the ſea, and thou the land.

E

GREENVILE [Sir Richard], Baronet, brother to Sir Bevil, and General of the Forces of King Charles I, in the Weſt. He was born in the year which commenced the XVIIth century; and after having received the firſt principles of education in his father's family, was ſent for a little time to Exeter College (*a*), where his brother then ſtudied. He derived from nature great faculties, for with lively parts and a quick penetration he had alſo a very ſolid judgment; which induced him not only to meditate attentively on all his undertakings, but to review them likewiſe with the ſame prudence and patience, and to commit to writing whatever he judged might be of ſervice to him, in the ſucceeding part of his life (*b*). His temper and genius led him to a military life, to qualify himſelf for which, he entered very early into the beſt ſchool in the world; paſſing in the eighteenth year of his age into the Low-Countries (*c*), where he carried arms amongſt the Engliſh forces, under the command of that accompliſhed hero, Horace Lord Vere, of Tilbury; and had the farther advantage of acting under the auſpice of the firſt Captain of that age, Maurice Prince of Orange. He went afterwards into Germany, where he ſerved in the war of the Palatinate (*d*), and having in a ſhort ſpace gained great knowledge in the profeſſion of arms, he returned into his native country, about the beginning of the reign of Charles I, upon a proſpect of being employed in that war, which was broke out with Spain. He commanded, accordingly, a company of foot in that body of land troops employed in the expedition againſt Cadiz, under the Lord Vicount Wimbledon (*e*). In this diſaſtrous enterprize he was a diligent obſerver, and was very far from having any ſhare in that remonſtrance made againſt the Commander in Chief. Captain Greenvile was, from the beginning, a lover of diſcipline, and could not endure to ſee men raiſed to command by their experience, run down by ſuch as having a preju-

dice

(*b*) Viſit. de Com. Devon. in Colleg. Arm. Not. c. 1.

(*a*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. p. 194.

(*b*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 473.

(*c*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 535.

(*d*) Sir Richard Greenvile's Defence againſt all aſperſions of malignant perſons.

(*e*) Frankland's Annals, p. 114. Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 196.

dice to their perſons, tortured their capacities to find objections to their conduct [*A*]. He loſt no reputation in this voyage, whatever his ſuperior officers might do, but returning home with the credit of having ſhewn both valour and ſkill in the diſcharge of his truſt, he had a company of foot given (*f*) him in the regiment of his old ſchool-fellow, in the Dutch wars, Sir John Burroughs, when the duke of Buckingham made his diſaſtrous expedition for the ſupport of Rochelle, and landed his forces in the iſland of Rhée. As it was a ſcheme of that favourite's, and he flattered himſelf would contribute to render him reſpected abroad, and popular at home, he was very careful in the choice of his officers, and took very great pains to give them all the marks of reſpect and encouragement in his power, to which we may attribute his conferring, as by his commiſſion he had authority to do, the honour of knighthood upon Captain Greenvile, Portſmouth, June 20, 1627, a week before they embarked for the iſle of Rhée. There too he maintained his credit unimpeached, and by ſucceſſive deaths came to the command of a regiment with general approbation, and as a ſoldier that well deſerved it (*g*). He likewiſe wrote memorials of this expedition, which are ſtill extant, and clearly demonſtrate that he was not ſo very a courtier as not to ſee the failings of the great, or ſo much bent upon expoſing them as to aggravate every thing to the utmoſt. His account is more modeſt, and in no reſpect whatever inferior to any of the relations of that unlucky attempt that have come to our hands [*B*]. His prudent behaviour in the courſe of this

(*f*) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 231.

(*g*) Sir Richard Greenvile's Defence, &c. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II.

[*A*] *To find objections to their conduct.*] This war with Spain was chiefly of the Duke of Buckingham's procuring, and ſeems to have proceeded more from his perſonal diſtaſte to Count Olivarez, than any ſolid or honourable motive. However, after the war was begun, it ought certainly to have been proſecuted, becauſe, though he acted from private pique, and at a time when it viſibly ſerved his own particular purpoſes, yet, without queſtion, the nation had been grievouſly injured by the Spaniards; and there were, therefore, ſufficient grounds for taking all the advantages our naval power and our alliance with the Dutch gave us, as well as the weakneſs of the enemy, and their firm perſuaſion that, whatever we might pretend, we ſhould not actually commit hoſtilities (1). Sir Edward Cecil, grandſon to the great Lord Burleigh, was the perſon made choice of for this command; an old ſoldier, it is true, but no ſeamen, and therefore not at all qualified for the ſupreme direction of ſuch an undertaking. The Earls of Eſſex and Denbigh were appointed his vice and rear-admirals; and, that he might be the fitter to command men of ſuch quality, he was created Baron of Putney, and Viſcount Wimbledon, and had likewiſe the military rank given him of Lord Marſhal (2). It was thought ſtrange, that though there wanted not many able ſeamen, ſuch as Sir Robert Manſel, Sir William Monſon, and others, yet none of them were intruſted but merely ſuch as were in the Duke's favour, which was both an unreaſonable and an impolitic thing. The force employed was very conſiderable, viz. eighty ſhips, Engliſh and Dutch, and ten good regiments; neither was it improbable, that if matters had been well concerted, and properly executed, this expedition might have turned to the benefit of the nation, and the honour of the King and his miniſtry. The Spaniſh Plate fleet was then returning home, with above a million on board, and, if they had gone to Tercera, they muſt infallibly have been maſters of it, and, by the deſtruction of fifty or ſixty galleons, had diſabled the maritime power of Spain for at leaſt a century. But the fleet did not ſail till October, and then they went upon no ſettled ſcheme, but all was left to the diſcretion of men who in reality were no fit judges of ſuch matters, and beſides were, in point of opinion, divided amongſt themſelves (3). The General ſailed from Plymouth the 7th of October, 1625; but when the fleet was got ſome leagues to ſea, their ſhips were ſeparated by a ſtorm, ſo that they were many days before they got together at their appointed rendezvous off Cape Vincent. On the 19th of October a council was held, wherein it was reſolved to attack Cadiz, which accordingly they did, on the 22d of that month. My Lord Eſſex ſtood into the bay, where he found ſeventeen good ſhips, riding under the town, and eight or ten gallies; theſe he bravely attacked, but, for want of proper orders and due aſſiſtance, the Spaniſh ſhips were ſuffered to retire to Port Real, whither the Lord Marſhal did not think fit to follow them. Then ſome thouſands of ſoldiers were landed, and the fort of Puntall was taken, after which they proceeded to make ſome attempts upon the town. The ſoldiers unfortunately becoming maſters of too much wine, got exceſſively drunk, and became ſo careleſs, that if the enemy had known, or been vigilant enough to have taken this advantage, few of them had returned home. The fright into which this put their officers, engaged them to reimbark their forces; and then it was concluded to cruize off Cape St Vincent for the Flota. There the men grew ſickly; and by the ſtrangeſt management that ever was heard of, that is, diſtributing the ſick, under pretence of taking better care of them, two in each ſhip, the whole fleet was infected, and that to ſuch a degree, as ſcarce left them hands enough to bring it home. This, however, they performed in the month of December, having done little hurt to the enemy, and acquired leſs honour to themſelves: all which was foreſeen, nay, and foretold too, before the fleet left England. On their return, a charge (4) was exhibited againſt the General by the Earl of Eſſex, and nine other officers of diſtinction. Lord Wimbledon juſtified himſelf, in a long anſwer (5) to the charge. The reader who ſhall compare theſe with Sir William Monſon's reflections on this lord's conduct, will diſcern that he is hardly and unjuſtly treated. Sir William arraigns him for calling councils, when he ſhould have been acting; the officers accuſe him for not calling councils, but acting of his own head. The truth ſeems to be, he had no notion of a ſea-command, and his officers no inclination to obey him. In this vindication it is ſuppoſed that Captain Greenvile had a ſhare, at leaſt it correſponds with his manner of writing.

(1) Frankland's Annals, p. 114. Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 196.

(2) Kennet's Compleat Hiſtory, Vol. III. p. 12. Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 195.

(3) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts.

(4) See the charge delivered by the Earl of Eſſex and nine other Colonels at the council table, againſt the Viſc. Wimbledon, &c.

(5) See the Anſwer of the Viſc. Wimbledon to the aforeſaid Charge.

[*B*] *That have come to our hands.*] This, like the Spaniſh war, was chiefly the effects of Buckingham's reſentment, aſcribed to different cauſes, into which this is no proper place to enquire; we ſhall, therefore, juſtify what is ſaid in the text, by producing a few curious paſſages from Sir Richard's Journal. The Engliſh forces were landed on the iſland of Rhée on Wedneſday the 11th of July, the operations of the next day our author relates in theſe words: 'July (6) the 12th, 'Monſieur Soubize went to Rochelle, to procure ſome 'aid from them; and Sir William Beecher was like'wiſe ſent by my Lord Duke to know their intentions, 'but they of the town would ſcarce admit them but by 'a poſtern-door, being jealous of the ſucceſs of our af'fairs. After four o'clock the ſame day, we began to 'unſhip our ſoldiers; but by that time we had landed 'ſome twelve hundred, or fifteen hundred of our men, 'with three or four drakes, the enemy, who lay un'diſcovered of us by the advantage of a bottom, 'charged us with two hundred horſe, and one thou'ſand foot. In their horſe-charge they ſhewed them'ſelves true Frenchmen, deſperately valiant, and put 'our men, being unranked, and ſcarce ſtepped on 'ſhore, to route, and drowned many of the rear; but 'at length, by the brave example of the colonels and 'general, they reaſſumed their courage, and in grati'tude laid above one hundred of their cavalry on the 'ground. The foot ſeeing the ill entertainment of 'their horſe, came on very unwillingly, their captains 'waving

(6) A true and exact Journal or Diary of the moſt material Paſſages happening at or after our landing at the iſle of Rhée, anno 1627.

this enterprize gained him the favour of that potent nobleman George Duke of Buckingham; and the good graces of ſo eminent a patron (b) recommended him to a lady, who was

(b) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 535.

'waving their hats to them, and were glad to quit us; for, after two or three vollies of ſhot and ſtones, finding our pikes too long before, they betook themſelves to flight, and left us maſters of the field; an honour dearly purchaſed, it being by the death of many of our braveſt commanders. That night we began to land our horſe, and make good the place by intrenchment, expecting another charge from the enemy that night; but they left us quietly to enjoy our victory, wherein, if they had been as provident as valiant, we had never prevailed; for if they had firſt charged us with their foot, to have received our firſt and hotteſt volley, and then flanked us with their horſe, they had ſcarce left us any for a ſecond defeat: but it happened otherwiſe, by a diſſention among themſelves, ariſing from this cauſe. Monſieur Thorax, governor of the iſland, had promiſed Baron St Andrew the honour of the firſt charge, which he after gave in command to his brother; whereat he being diſcontented, would not charge at all, nor ſuffer his troops to ſecond the vanguard. Yet we muſt not attribute our victory, or rather ſafety, wholly to this cauſe, but to the ſpecial favour of God, who, after our ſoldiers took themſelves for loſt, and ran away, gave them courage to reſiſt, and then beat the braveſt ſoldiers of all France, the regiment of Champagne, never before beaten, and to defeat their prime cavalry, conſiſting all of gentlemen of quality; a thing miraculous for infantry to do.' The following paſſage does not do much honour to the French commander, and is, at the ſame time, a proof that Buckingham was looked upon as the author of the war. 'July the 30th, there came one from the citadel, pretending he ran away, who profeſſed himſelf an engineer, and deſiring conference with my Lord Duke, he was ſuſpected, his unconfident countenance bewraying him, and being ſearched by Mr Aſhburnham's appointment, there was, as ſome ſay, a poiſoned dagger found about him, whereupon the torture being threatened to him, he confeſſed he was ſent by the governor to kill him, which he juſtified to the governor's brothers, and other gentlemen, which came to clear themſelves; for which cauſe my Lord Duke would not agree to have or give any quarter to them. All this while the battery played, but little harm on both ſides; and, notwithſtanding it was generally concluded by the colonels, and all the council of war, a thing impoſſible to take the fort but by famiſhing them, yet in all the time we had been in the town, we went not about to block them up by intrenchments, but took a more prepoſterous way, in raiſing batteries, before we made our approaches; a thing very chargeable and needleſs, for with the infinite company of ſhot that we made againſt the ſand-hill, we did nothing by the way of breach, but ſpent more powder and ſhot than half the revenues of the iſland was worth, and ſtill the paſſage was open for thoſe of the towns round about to carry what proviſion they would into the fort, and give intelligence of the affairs of our army, which the enemy's horſe continually did, foraging up and down the country.' He mentions frequently, with great concern, the Duke of Buckingham's indiſcreet behaviour, in holding conferences with the enemy, to which he would not either admit any of his principal officers, or report what paſſed in them, which naturally excited jealouſy and diſcontent. Sir Richard deplores the death of Sir John Burroughs, the loſs of whom, ſays he, was the loſs of all our hopes. He obſerves, that upon ſome ſlight hints given at one of thoſe fatal interviews the Duke had with the French officers, he diſpatched Mr Aſhburnham to Paris, on the 4th of September, who came back on the 17th, without having ſo much as ſeen the King, though in other reſpects treated with as much civility as his youth and rank could demand. This uſage had a ſtronger effect upon Buckingham than all the remonſtrances of his beſt friends, as appears from the latter part of our author's Journal, which is ſo full of curious and important facts, that the reader cannot but be well pleaſed to ſee them. 'September 26, there came a parley from the fort, but my Lord Duke would admit of none, in regard of the ill uſage his couſin Aſhburnham received at Paris, and ſent them an abſolute anſwer that he would hold no parley with them, unleſs it were touching the delivery of the fort. Preſently after the return of this meſſage, came the Lieutenant-Governor of the fort, Baron Monthault, with a trumpet, to treat of articles of yielding, and withal told my Lord Duke, if they received no ſuccours from the main that night, the morrow following they would render it up; which they were in a manner forced to do, by the mutiny of their ſoldiers. But our hopes were all defeated, by the coming of fifteen or ſixteen boats from the main, which brought them at the leaſt two months proviſion of victuals and munition, of which they ſtood in great need. For a fortnight's time before we had not a great ſhot from the fort, and our ſoldiers marched to their guards in open view of the fort, the trenches being full of water, without receiving any hurt by their ſmall ſhot for want of powder. And now, to add to our miſeries, our ſoldiers began to ſicken apace, having neither good lodgings but in the trenches, nor meat but which ſtunk, nor drink but water, all the proviſion of wine in the iſland being ſpent: yet the Rochellers would not be ſenſible of our wants, but for that ſmall proviſion they ſent they ſold it at a triple value of the worth. October 7, there landed ſeven boats at the little fort. For four or five days nothing was done, our ſoldiers died apace. On the 13th, there was great preparation for an aſſault, neither would my Lord Duke be diſſuaded but by foul weather, although all the Colonels ſubſcribed it under their hands to be a thing impoſſible, and alſo for our preſent departure, in as much as our army grew ſo weak, and we had certain intelligence of the landing of four thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe, the horſe being already embarked. Sir Henry Sprye uſed a ſoldier-like freedom of ſpeech, in ſhewing to my Lord the neceſſity of our departure, and that it would be honourable, having ſufficiently ſhewed our valour and reſolution, in remaining ſo long time in an enemy's country with ſuch an handful of men, and who never dared to meddle with us; and beſides, it would be no more diſhonourable for us, being ſo few in number, after four months ſiege to go away from a place unfeaſible, than it was for one of the greateſt ſoldiers in the world, Spinola, to riſe from Bergen-op-Zoom with thirty thouſand men. But he was anſwered with a court-like ſcorn, That he talked as if he had come from an alehouſe; and for the reſt of the Colonels, who were all of the ſame opinion, and durſt ſpeak their opinions, inſtead of hearkening unto them, by whom he ought to be governed, he abuſed them in words, inſomuch as many of them ſwore they would never come forth with a man who durſt not return. But my Lord Duke was ſwayed by ſome inſinuating ſycophants, and others, who told him it would be diſhonourable to go away, having two months victuals; but at length we were fain to leave our victuals and men behind us too, to run away far more diſhonourably. Then foul weather happening, that they could not fall upon the fort, Baron St Serin told my Lord Duke he was very glad of the weather, and told him freely a truth, the experience whereof we dearly bought, That we ſhould loſe our men to little purpoſe. On the 21ſt, by my Lord Duke's command, about ſix of the clock, we quitted our trenches, which the enemy preſently poſſeſſed, pulling down our courts of guard in our redoubts. The next day, contrary to the opinion of the Colonels, having ſo many men, we fell upon our own trenches, to beat the enemy out, who baſely ran away, faſter than we could follow. On the 23d there were twenty-five boats landed at the little fort with a thouſand men. The day before my Lord Duke gave St Serin leave to depart for the main. Nothing done for four or five days, our Colonels ſtill importuning my Lord Duke to depart: notwithſtanding, on the 27th, my Lord Duke gave order for falling on the fort, which we did, our men being more deſperate for fear of ſtarving, and went on bravely, but we quickly found (contrary to the relation of ſome was conſidered as one of the beſt matches in the Weſt. This put him in poſſeſſion of a good eſtate in the counties of Cornwall and Devon [*C*]. He loſt his patron ſoon after, but his credit was ſo well eſtabliſhed, and his character, as an officer, ſo well known, that he was raiſed to the degree of a Baronet, by the name of Sir Richard Greenvile of Kilkhampton in Cornwall, by letters patents dated April 9, 1630 (*i*). This flow of proſperity did not, however, continue long; in conſequence of his marriage he was unhappily engaged in a ſuit againſt Theophilus Earl of Suffolk, which being proſecuted with great earneſtneſs and acrimony on both ſides, ended in the compleat ruin of Sir Richard Greenvile for the preſent, by depriving him of his wife, ſtripping him both of her eſtate and his own, and confining him to the priſon of the Fleet, in the month of May 1632 (*k*). It is on all hands agreed, that there was ſomething ſo harſh and ſo ſevere in this uſage, that the fate of Sir Richard was univerſally regretted; perhaps, if it be more cloſely looked into, it will be found not to have been more cruel than it was unjuſt [*D*]. In this diſtreſs he laboured by every method that either himſelf, or thoſe concerned

‘ villains who ran away from the fort, that they had not four hundred fighting men) a reſiſtance fit for forty thouſand men, and we were ſcarce four thouſand. They killed above a hundred of our men with ſtones, and they might have done the like by our army, if they had come on without ever ſhooting ſmall ſhot: they blew up three mines, but did little hurt with them: in all were loſt and ſlain, four hundred foot and horſe: they took ſome thirty priſoners in traps, which they had made in their trenches. On the 28th, and alſo the night before, there landed five boats at the Point, yet my Lord Duke would not be perſuaded to be gone, but would have returned Sir Henry Sprye, with Sir Henry Peregrine Bertie, to La Flot again, which they refuſed to do. About three of the clock in the morning, Sir Edward Hawley and Serjeant Major Brett came, in the name of the council of war, to intreat him to march away, but he would not, being perſuaded by a ſeditious miniſter, who told him it was diſhonourable and inhuman to leave our ſick men and proviſion behind us. About eight of the clock, Sir William Cunningham's horſe came to my Lord Duke, and told him they heard great ſhooting in the main, or rather at the point, and ſaw the enemy marching to the town. Then my Lord, having talked with Soubize, commanded to march away, which we did, leaving our ſick behind us, whoſe throats were after cut, and inhumanly ſent us in a barque, which they thruſt from the ſhoar two or three days after, with great ſtore of proviſion, as well arms as victuals. We had not marched a muſket-ſhot out of the town, but we ſaw the enemy at the heels of us, ſome two hundred horſe, and two thouſand foot, and we were about three thouſand foot, and a hundred horſe. We made a ſtand, to ſee if they would give us battle, but they would not. On we went to La Lamard, a village, where we made another ſtand, thinking they would have charged us. Then we marched to Loys bridge, where we were to embark; and before two regiments had paſſed the bridge, being very narrow, they fell upon our horſe in the rear, and put them to route, and they routed the rear inſomuch that none of our foot could charge, ſo every one ran away, and the enemy had the execution of five whole regiments, which they put all to the ſword, except twenty officers and a hundred common ſoldiers taken priſoners, and thoſe that were drowned, which were many. The enemy had paſſed the bridge, but Sir Pierce Croſby, with ſome pikes, and Sir Thomas Fryar, with muſkets, made them retreat, after they had beaten us out of the work, which was made ſo ill it was not tenable.’ This Journal agrees very well with a relation publiſhed in Ruſhworth, and ſeems to juſtify the cenſure paſſed upon this expedition in four articles (7). In the firſt it was alledged, That the Duke was too ſlow in his march after his landing, by which the enemy had time to recover from their confuſion, and to ſupply themſelves with proviſions and neceſſaries. The ſecond objection was, That great want of ſkill, diligence, and care, was ſhewn in carrying on the ſiege, ſince otherwiſe, the ſuccours by which it was fruſtrated could never have been received. The third fault found, Was neglecting to take the fort in the meadow, which unaccountable omiſſion was in effect the ruin of the whole deſign. Laſtly it was alledged, That the retreat was not well concerted, the proper precautions being neglected, and was very indifferently executed, by which the army ſuffered much, and the nation more. The Duke threw the blame upon the Earl of Holland, who was to have brought him a powerful reinforcement, which however he found in Plymouth road at his return. The Earl of Holland again, diſcharged it all on the commiſſioners of the navy, the agent-victuallers, and the winds; but the voice of the people, which in truth was no other than the eccho of the officers who ſerved, and who at their return ſpoke what they ſaw and knew, laid it upon the Duke himſelf, who, though he wanted experience, thought himſelf ſuperior to advice, and ſeldom took any, but what in ſubſtance, and in reſpect to the perſons from whom it came, was very acceptable.

[*C*] *In the counties of Cornwall and Devon.*] It is of ſome conſequence to explain who this lady was, becauſe it ſerves to clear up ſeveral points in Sir Richard's perſonal hiſtory, which, as we ſhall ſee, is of no ſmall conſequence towards ſettling the credit of one of our beſt general hiſtories, with regard to ſuch as were unfortunate enough to ſtand but indifferently in the author's good graces. This is not ſaid with any view to leſſen the juſt reputation of Lord Clarendon's great work, which we have often ſupported, and always admired, but for the ſake of truth, which ought to be dearer to all who meddle with hiſtory, than the reputation of any writer whatever. But to return to the point: this lady was Mary, the ſole daughter and heireſs of Sir John Fitz, of Fitzford, a very worthy gentleman, and the laſt heir male of a very ancient family (8). She was firſt married to the honourable Alan Piercy, ſixth ſon to Henry Earl of Northumberland, by whom ſhe had no iſſue. After his deceaſe, ſhe eſpouſed the honourable Thomas D'Arcy, Eſq; ſon to the Lord Viſcount Colcheſter, who likewiſe died without iſſue. By her third huſband, who was the honourable Thomas Howard, fourth ſon to the great Earl of Suffolk, ſome time Lord High-Treaſurer of England, and brother to Theophilus Earl of Suffolk, and to the Lady Frances Howard, Counteſs of Eſſex, and afterwards of Somerſet, ſhe had two daughters, Elizabeth and Mary (9).

[*D*] *Than it was unjuſt.*] The Earl of Clarendon has entered more minutely into the perſonal and private hiſtory of this gentleman, than of almoſt any other of whom he ſpeaks, and it is neceſſary that the reader ſhould ſee the whole of it, as it ſtands in his own words (10). ‘ Major Greenvile, at the iſle of Rhée, inſinuated himſelf into the very good grace of the Duke of Buckingham, who was the General in that invaſion; and, after the unfortunate retreat from thence, was made colonel of a regiment, with general approbation, and as an officer that well deſerved it (11). His credit every day increaſed with the Duke, who out of the generoſity of his nature (as a moſt generous perſon he was) reſolved to raiſe his fortune; towards the beginning whereof, by his countenance and ſollicitation, he prevailed with a rich widow to marry him, who had been a lady of extraordinary beauty, which ſhe had not yet outlived; and, though ſhe had no great dower by her huſband, a younger brother of the Earl of Suffolk, yet ſhe inherited a fair fortune of her own near Plymouth, and was beſides very rich in a perſonal eſtate, and was looked

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(*i*) Sir William Dugdale's Catalogue of Baronets.

(*k*) Sir Richard Greenvile's Defence, &c.

(7) Collections, Vol. I. p. 463—465.

(8) Riſdon's Survey of Devonſhire, Vol. II. p. 275.

(9) Pedigree of the family.

(10) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 535, 536.

(11) See before in note [*B*].

cerned for him, could deviſe, to obtain juſtice and redreſs; but finding all that he and they could do was ineffectual, and thinking it hard to paſs the remainder of his days in

looked upon as the richeſt match of the Weſt. This lady, by the Duke's credit, Sir Richard Greenvile (for he was now made a Knight and Baronet) obtained, and was thereby poſſeſſed of a plentiful eſtate, upon the borders of his own country, where his own family had great credit and authority. The war being quickly at an end, and he deprived of his great patron, had nothing now to depend upon but the fortune of his wife, which, though ample enough to have ſupported the expence, a perſon of his quality ought to have made, was not large enough to ſatisfy his vanity and ambition, nor ſo great as he upon common reports had promiſed himſelf by her. By not being enough pleaſed with her fortune, he grew leſs pleaſed with his wife, who being a woman of a haughty and imperious nature, and of a wit ſuperior to his, quickly reſented the diſreſpect ſhe received from him, and in no degree ſtudied to make herſelf eaſy to him. After ſome years ſpent together in theſe domeſtic unſociable conteſtations, in which he poſſeſſed himſelf of all her eſtate, as the ſole maſter of it, without allowing her out of her own any competency for herſelf, and indulged to himſelf all thoſe licences in her own houſe, which to women are moſt grievous: ſhe found means to withdraw herſelf from him, and was with all kindneſs received into that family in which ſhe had been before married, and was always very much reſpected. Her abſence was not ingrateful to him, till the tenants refuſed to pay him any more rent, and he found himſelf on a ſudden deprived of her whole eſtate, which was all he had to live upon; for it appeared now, that ſhe had, before her marriage with him, ſettled her intire fortune ſo abſolutely upon the Earl of Suffolk, that the preſent right was in him, and he required the rents to be paid to him. This begot a ſuit in the Chancery, between Sir Richard Greenvile and the then Earl of Suffolk, before the Lord Coventry, who found the conveyances in law to be ſo firm, that he could not only not relieve Sir Richard Greenvile in equity, but that in juſtice he muſt decree the land to the Earl, which he did. This very ſenſible mortification tranſported him ſo much, that being a man who uſed to ſpeak very bitterly of thoſe he did not love, after all endeavours to have engaged the Earl in a perſonal conflict, he revenged himſelf upon him in ſuch opprobrious language, as the government and juſtice of that time would not permit to paſs unpuniſhed, and the Earl appealed for reparation to the court of Star-Chamber, where Sir Richard was decreed to pay three thouſand pounds for damages to him, and was likewiſe fined the ſum of three thouſand pounds to the King, who gave the fine likewiſe to the Earl; ſo that Sir Richard was committed to the priſon of the Fleet, in execution for the whole ſix thouſand pounds, which at that time was thought by all men to be a very ſevere and rigorous decree, and drew a general compaſſion towards the unhappy gentleman. After he had endured many years of ſtrict impriſonment, a little before the beginning of the late troubles, he made his eſcape out of the priſon, and tranſporting himſelf beyond the ſeas, remained there till the parliament was called that produced ſo many miſeries to the kingdom, and when he heard that many decrees which had been made in that time by the court of Star-Chamber, were repealed, and the perſons grieved abſolved from thoſe penalties, he likewiſe returned, and petitioned to have his cauſe heard, for which a committee was appointed, but, before it could be brought to any concluſion, the rebellion broke out in Ireland.'

Let us now hear what Sir Richard Greenvile himſelf ſays of all this matter, in a Vindication printed and publiſhed in Holland, which the noble author might, and very probably muſt, have ſeen, before he penned his Hiſtory (12). 'In the year 1628, I married the ſiſter-in-law of the Earl of Suffolk, in whoſe right I obtained againſt the Earl a decree in the court of Chancery, for his payment of a great ſum of money. He ſtood out all proceſs of law, in contempt to that decree, whereupon a commiſſion of rebellion was iſſued forth againſt him. Then he, finding that his divers practices, by reaſon of greatneſs, could not free him from the law, he got advice and aſſiſtance to procure great troubles unto me as an enemy, namely, by authority to command me to come from my houſe, two hundred miles from London, with a pourſuivant, to appear and attend the Council-Board. After many months diligent attendance, nothing was charged againſt me: but, in the mean time, ſome perſons were employed to urge me to accept of one thouſand pounds from the ſaid Earl, and to acquit him of many thouſands which he ſtood engaged to pay me. That not prevailing, then was his man Francis Taylor ſent as a pourſuivant to my houſe in Devon, with a warrant of the court of High Commiſſion, to bring my wife unto London, as his priſoner, upon the opportunity of a difference betwixt her and myſelf, and, after her arrival in London, the ſaid Earl procured her to come and live with him, in his own houſe, as ſhe did for a long time Then the Earl commenced a proceſs of law againſt me in the Star-Chamber, upon which there paſſed a ſentence againſt me of eight thouſand pounds, his ſaid man Francis Taylor having ſworn, That I had ſaid the Earl of Suffolk was a baſe lord, notwithſtanding the contrary was proved by four men preſent at the time when thoſe words were pretended to be ſpoken: nevertheleſs his friends in that court would not ſuffer any depoſition to be taken againſt the Earl, becauſe alledged to be recriminal. By the ſame ſentence was I detained priſoner in the Fleet above ſixteen months time, during which I laboured by all means deviſeable, but in vain; to obtain juſtice only. Beſides, to add thereunto, in a vacation out of term, beyond precedent, it was contrived with Pye, attorney of the Court of Wards, that my wife's eſtate was wholly ordered away out of my power, by authority of a leaſe made unto the Earls of Pembroke and Dorſet, to the King's uſe for eight years, on pretence that ſhe was then a ward to the King, as not having ſued forth her livery: which being done, nothing was found prevalent to revoke or remedy that act. And then more to diſable their enemy, by many proceſſes at law was I compelled to pay many great debts of my wife's, which were owing by her before ever I ſaw her, and notwithſtanding I could not receive one penny of her eſtate for any occaſion whatſoever. By means of which injuſtices and preſſures was I neceſſitated to ſell away mine own eſtate, and to impawn my goods, which by it were quite loſt. Thus finding neither juſtice nor law in England for me, but, on the contrary, that all paſſed for juſtice againſt me, on the 17th of October, 1633, I gave myſelf liberty, and conveyed myſelf from England into the Swedes ſervice in Germany.'

There is nothing clearer than that one of theſe two relations muſt be in a great meaſure miſtaken, ſince they are diametrically oppoſite; the great point is, to know which is the miſtaken caſe: and in order to ſatisfy the reader, and to decide a point of ſuch importance by proper authority, we find ourſelves obliged to cite the caſe as it is reported, which will do the buſineſs effectually, and ſtands thus (13).

'Inter Theophilum Dom. Suffolk, Quer. & Richardum Greenvile, Mil. & Bar. & Mariam Ux ejus Def. Lord-Keeper, Juſtice Hutton, Juſtice Whitlock, 26 Julii, 7 Car. I.

'The defendant, the Lady Greenvile, whilſt ſole, had a decree againſt the Earl of Suffolk, for ſix hundred pounds per annum, againſt which decree the Earl prayed to be relieved, in regard there was a verbal agreement between Sir Richard Greenvile and the ſaid lady before marriage, that ſhe ſhould have the ſole diſpoſal of the ſaid ſix hundred pounds per annum; that accordingly before the ſaid marriage, ſhe by deed aſſigned the benefit of that decree to one Cutford, and that afterwards ſhe and Cutford releaſed the ſame to the ſaid Earl; but not having the ſaid deeds to produce, and alledging that Sir Richard Greenvile had got and cancelled the ſame, which he denied,

(12) Sir Richard Greenvile's Defence againſt all aſperſions of malignant perſons.

(13) Reports of ſpecial caſes argued and decreed in the court of Chancery, publiſhed by William Nelſon, Eſq; p. 15.

in a priſon, he made his eſcape out of the Fleet, October 17, 1633 (l). At this time, and by this ſeries of misfortunes, which might be truly ſtiled inevitable, Sir Richard

Greenvile

'denied, it was ordered that he and Cutford ſhould be examined upon interrogatories to diſcover the ſaid deeds, or copies thereof; and accordingly they were examined: but the matter being not cleared by ſuch examination, or what were the contents of ſuch deeds, the court were all of opinion, That there was no ſufficient proof to bar Sir Richard Greenvile from the benefit of the ſaid decree, for that the arrears of the ſaid ſix hundred pounds per annum being in it's own nature a *thing in action*, and ſo to be merely recovered by the proceſs of this court, cannot in law be aſſigned over to another. So that if the aſſignment to Cutford had been proved, as it was not, it would have been a void aſſignment in law, and ought not to be ſupported in a court of equity, eſpecially where no conſideration appears to make it better in equity than it is at law.

'They were all of opinion, That the verbal agreement of Sir Richard Greenvile, in conſideration of the ſaid marriage, was to ſubvert both the grounds of law, and the right which was veſted in him by the intermarriage; and, therefore, if ſuch agreement is not ſettled by ſome legal aſſurances, to make it binding in law, it is not fit to be maintained in a court of equity, in order to give a feme covert ſuch a power as is now pretended.

''Tis true *things in action* are ſometimes turned over by a letter of attorney; but if it had been ſo in this caſe, yet preſently by the intermarriage, the letter of attorney had been revoked and determined, and all covenants, promiſes, and agreements, made by the *huſband* to his *wife* before marriage, relating to the diſpoſal of his eſtate, would be extinguiſhed by the marriage; and, therefore, if Cutford had an effectual letter of attorney executed to him, and the ſame could be produced, yet he could not in his own name ſeal ſuch a *releaſe* to the plaintiff as he had done; the contents whereof appearing only on his ſingle teſtimony, he ought not to be admitted as a witneſs, for he was a party intereſted, and might juſtly be ſuſpected of partiality, becauſe of former and continued differences between him and Sir Richard Greenvile: and, therefore, the court held it dangerous to admit the ſufficiency of a deed to be proved by the ſingle oath of ſuch a witneſs, eſpecially ſince the conſtruction of deeds was the proper office of the court of Chancery. But the fact relating to the executing ſuch deeds was proved by witneſſes: ſo the bill was diſmiſſed, and Sir Richard Greenvile had liberty to proſecute the ſaid decree againſt the plaintiff.'

There are viſibly many eſcapes, ſome trifling, others very material, in the Earl of Clarendon's relation: he makes him a Baronet before the marriage, whereas the date of his patent ſhews the contrary (14). He makes the ſuit between the Earl of Suffolk and Sir Richard Greenvile ariſe from a ſettlement of Lady Greenvile's fortune upon the Earl, and the decree in the Earl's favour: whereas it evidently appears that Sir Richard, in right of his wife, had a claim upon the Earl, which, by colluſion with that Lord, his Lady endeavoured to defeat; and it was for this purpoſe, after Sir Richard was in the Fleet, that the Earl brought his bill, when the Lord Keeper Coventry was ſo far from eſtabliſhing any thing in favour of his Lordſhip, that, as the reader ſees, he did ſtrict juſtice to Sir Richard under his misfortunes, whoſe account of the whole affair ſtands from the report altogether unimpeached. As to the proceeding in the Star Chamber, Lord Clarendon makes the fine two thouſand pounds leſs than it was, yet admits that the proceeding was very ſevere, and generally diſliked.

But to put this point paſt diſpute, as indeed every thing ſhould be put, that relates to ſo great and ſo eſtabliſhed an author as the Earl of Clarendon, we will alſo cite the very caſe as it ſtands recorded, that it may be ſeen we have not taken matters on truſt, or on the credit of Sir Richard's own narrative, or become parties in an affair which concerns us no farther than it concerns truth, which ought to be defended at the expence of any hiſtory. Thus ſtands the caſe (15): 'Hill. 7 Car. Attornat. Gener. verſus Greenvile, Bar. The defendant, upon conference with one Taylor, touching the Earl of Suffolk, did, in the preſence of two or three others, maliciouſly and diſgracefully ſay and affirm, That the ſaid Earl of Suffolk was a baſe lord, and had dealt baſely with him, and that he would make him repent it, and ſhortly after wiſhed Taylor to tell him ſo, and afterward told one Brabant what he ſaid to Taylor of the ſaid Earl, That he was a baſe ignoble lord, and had dealt baſely with him, and that he had wiſhed Taylor to tell him ſo; and for this he was committed to the Fleet, during his Majeſty's pleaſure, fined four thouſand pounds, to make an humble acknowlegment and ſubmiſſion to the ſaid Earl in this court, as this court ſhould direct, and pay him four thouſand pounds damages.'

On this occaſion the reader, perhaps, will not be diſpleaſed if we ſhew him a very ſingular and a very ſtriking inſtance of the bad effects of theſe kind of judgments in general, and of this in particular, as it will clearly demonſtrate the neceſſity of taking away a court, the power of which was ſo flagrantly abuſed. Sir David Foulis, and his eldeſt ſon Henry, had with ſome warmth oppoſed the commiſſion for compelling men to take the honour of knighthood, and in the courſe of that oppoſition had dropped ſome expreſſions reflecting upon Thomas Lord Viſcount Wentworth, then Lord Preſident of the North, for which they were brought into the Star-Chamber, and when the cauſe drew to a hearing, that noble peer, then become Lord Deputy of Ireland, writes to Lord Cottington, who was to be one of the judges, in the following words (16):

'This term my cauſe comes to an hearing with Foulis, I ſend over this ſervant purpoſely to attend it; I muſt wholly recommend myſelf to your care of me in this, which I take to concern me as much, and to have therein as much the better, as I ever had in any other cauſe all the days of my life, ſo I truſt a little help will ſerve the turn. The bearer hath a ſhort brief of the cauſe, which on my word you will find truth, for I have examined it myſelf. You will find that I ſuffer merely in this for doing the King's ſervice, and that in truth the arrow was ſhot at him, albeit they contented themſelves to call upon me by the way. That the ſentencing of this man ſettles the right of knighting buſineſs bravely for the crown, for in your ſentence you will certainly declare the undoubted right and prerogative the King hath therein by common-law, ſtatute law, and the undeniable practice of all times; and therefore I am a ſuitor by you to his Majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to recommend the cauſe to the lords, as well in his own right, as in the right of his abſent poor ſervant, and to wiſh them all to be there. You are like to begin the ſentence, and I will be bold to tell you my opinion thereon; you have been pleaſed ſometimes as I ſat by you, to aſk me my conceit upon the cauſe then before us, admit me now to do it upon my own cauſe, for by my troth I will do it as clearly as if it concerned me not. Firſt, I deſire you to remember how Greenfield was fined, for calling my Lord of Suffolk only baſe lord; how a jury gave three thouſand pounds damage to my Lord Say for the ſame words, and then ballance the ſlander moſt ignominiouſly and maliciouſly put upon me by Sir David and his ſon, and let not me be leſs valued than other men, when I conceive that I merit to be regarded more than they: for firſt, I ſuffer merely for my zeal in his Majeſty's ſervice, never having given him the leaſt perſonal offence in all my life. Secondly, I was then in the heat of his Majeſty's buſineſs, which might (by this means taking away my credit) have been deſtroyed. I was (albeit unworthy) in that place chief governor under his Majeſty, his Lieutenant and Preſident of his Council there, which makes this a direct mutiny, and ſtirring up a ſedition againſt the regal authority, as well as me. Thirdly, It is the moſt untrue, as well as the moſt malicious calumny that ever was ſet upon man, there not being ſo much as the leaſt ſhadow for any thing they charge me with, ſo as the former benefits they have received from the

'crown,

(l) Nelſon's Chancery Reports, p. 15. Star-Chamber Reports.

(14) Dugdale's Authentic Catalogue of Baronets, p. 101.

(15) Ruſhworth's Collections, part ii. Vol. II. in the Appendix, p. 43.

(16) Lord Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 145, 146. See alſo p. 189, 202.

Greenvile found himſelf a baniſhed man, and in a manner without hopes of returning again into his own country; for no greater crime, admitting all that is alledged againſt him, than, in the midſt of extreme provocation, letting fall an unguarded word (n). We have therefore no cauſe to wonder, that a judicature which paſſed ſuch heavy ſentences, on ſuch light offences, ſhould be thought ſuch a grievance as no free people could bear; and it was amongſt the very few advantages that the enſuing troubles procured to this nation that this intolerable court was taken away (o). In this exile Sir Richard proſecuted his endeavours to render himſelf a compleat maſter, in theory and practice, of the art of war; and according to his cuſtom, made large collections on the tranſactions in which he was embarked, and on the ſcenes of which he was a ſpectator; ſo that we need not wonder he attained, both at home and abroad, the character of a compleat officer, ſince parts, application, and experience, are the only means by which perfection is attained in any profeſſion (p). On the firſt news of the troubles in the North, and of the King's intention to march with an army againſt the Scots, Sir Richard Greenvile came over at all hazards, offered his ſervice to his Sovereign, which was well received; and at the head of a troop of horſe, compoſed of gentlemen of the beſt families in the two counties of Cornwall and Devon, and equipped in a manner ſuitable to their rank, he attended the King in 1639 (q). When the Long-Parliament was called, and enquiries began in reference to the heavy and ſevere cenſures paſſed by the Court of Star-Chamber, it is ſaid that Sir Richard Greenvile made his complaint, and to any indifferent perſon it will not ſeem ſtrange that he did. But while it was under conſideration the rebellion broke out in Ireland, and a reſolution was immediately taken to employ him there; and in January 1642, he had a commiſſion to raiſe a troop of horſe (r), and was appointed major of the earl of Leiceſter's own regiment, who was at that time appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; he ſerved in that country with great ſpirit and ſucceſs. But it is imputed to him, or, at leaſt, to the troops under his command, that they behaved towards the Iriſh with great cruelty (s): yet the truth ſeems to be, that the great provocations which had been received in the bloody maſſacres, previous to the war, and the faithleſs diſpoſition of thoſe people, induced the Engliſh officers, or at leaſt afforded a pretence to their ſoldiers, for acting with a ſeverity repugnant to their nature. This however is certain, that in the moſt authentic accounts of that bloody war, it appears that Sir Richard Greenvile behaved with equal courage and conduct; for not long after his arrival, he marched with two hundred horſe and one thouſand foot to raiſe the ſiege of Athlone (t), and to carry ſupplies to that garriſon; both which he effected, but in his return he was encountered by three thouſand four hundred foot and ſix troops of horſe, at Raconell, a place of great diſadvantage to him. Nevertheleſs he had the good fortune to defeat the rebels, with the ſlaughter of two hundred and fifty of their men, and to take General Preſton's eldeſt ſon, and ſome other priſoners. But that which rendered this victory the more valuable was an ancient prophecy, That whoever won the battle of Raconell, ſhould gain all Ireland; therefore this victory troubled and diſcouraged the ſuperſtitious Iriſh exceedingly: in conſequence of their fears they began to labour for a peace, or at leaſt for a ceſſation of arms, which at length they obtained. But before this was brought about, the very motion of it occaſioned diviſions in the Engliſh councils, which contributed very much, if they did not entirely occaſion the deſtruction of the King's affairs (u). The Queen's party, as they were called at Oxford, had a bias towards the rebels in Ireland, or as they affected to call them the Catholics,

(n) See the paragraphs from the Earl of Strafford's letter in note [D].

(o) See the preamble to the ſtatute 16 Car. I. cap. 1. by which that court is aboliſhed.

(p) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 473.

(q) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 200.

(r) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 537.

(s) See the Appendix to the Earl of Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 347, 348.

(t) Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, p. 109.

(u) Clarendon's Hiſtorical View of Affairs in Ireland, p. 23. Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, p. 133.

'crown, and the continued courteſies I had upon all 'occaſions afforded them, make them to ſtand, I dare 'ſay, the moſt inexcuſable men you ever ſat upon in 'judgment. Remember how Sir Arthur Savage was 'ſentenced in that cauſe of the Lord Falkland, yet 'there was private grudgings between them, that was 'but only adviſing to petition his Majeſty in a very 'foul cauſe, thereby to bring it to juſtice. and ſuch a 'ground for it as ſurely there was a bloody oppoſition 'in the buſineſs, if they could have light of the right 'way. This much worſe in Sir David's caſe, no endeavours to bring any thing into a way of juſtice, but 'libellouſly to take away my good name by open ſlandering me in a way without all form or pretence of 'juſtice, no crime at all committed, the rights of the 'crown only called for, and taken of the ſubject with 'good contentment to all but himſelf, and for the perſon equally conſiderable, the Preſident there being 'in effect the ſame thing the Deputy is here. Much 'more I could ſay if I were in the Star-Chamber, to 'ſpeak in ſuch a cauſe for my Lord Cottington: but 'I will conclude with this, that I proteſt to God, if 'it were in the perſon of another, I ſhould in a cauſe 'ſo foul, the proof ſo clear, fine the father and ſon, 'Sir David and Henry Foulis, in two thouſand pounds 'a piece to his Majeſty, and in two thouſand pounds 'a piece damages to myſelf, for their ſcandal; and 'they both to be ſent down to York, and there publickly at York aſſizes next, to acknowledge, in the 'face of the whole country, the right his Majeſty hath 'to that duty of knightings, as alſo the wrong he hath 'done me; humbly craving pardon of his Majeſty, 'and expreſſing his ſorrow ſo to have miſrepreſented 'his Majeſty's moſt gracious proceedings even in that 'courſe of compounding, where the law would have 'given him much more, as alſo for ſo falſely ſlandering and belying me, without a cauſe. For Sir Thomas Layton, he is a fool, led on by the noſe by the 'the two former, nor was I willing to do him any hurt, 'and ſo let him go for a coxcomb as he is, and when 'he comes home, tell his neighbours it was well for 'him he had leſs wit than his fellows.' The judgment given in this cauſe (17), (for the reader will expect to know it) went even beyond his lordſhip's inſtructions, Sir David Foulis was declared incapable of all the offices and places which he enjoyed, committed to the Fleet during the King's pleaſure, fined five thouſand pounds to the King, and three thouſand pounds to the Lord Wentworth, for the payment of which fines he was obliged to ſell part of his eſtate; his ſon Henry was committed cloſe priſoner to the Fleet during the King's pleaſure, and fined five hundred pounds: Sir Thomas Layton was diſmiſſed.

(17) Ruſhworth's Collections, Part II. Vol. II. in the Appendix, p. 65, 66.

tholics, from a notion that this would facilitate the ſending over a large body of regular well diſciplined troops, and thereby enable the King to put a ſhort end to the war (*w*). The Marquis of Ormond, Commander in chief of the forces in Ireland, was not averſe to this meaſure, on account of the many relations he had embarked in theſe troubles, and his paſſionate deſire to ſee that iſland reſtored to peace. On the other hand, there was a ſtrong party againſt a ceſſation, and that from different reaſons (*x*). Many of them without queſtion wiſhed well to the cauſe of the Parliament, and were very unwilling that any diverſion ſhould be created, by the ſending over troops to the King's aſſiſtance from Ireland (*y*). But there were others alſo very zealouſly affected to the royal intereſt, and who wiſhed for nothing more than an opportunity to ſupport it in England, that were notwithſtanding vehemently againſt any ceſſation in Ireland, becauſe they thought the Iriſh were not to be truſted; that it would ſerve only to prolong the war; that it would diſcredit his Majeſty's councils; that it would give freſh colour to the Parliament, to treat all who adhered to his Majeſty, as ſecretly inclined to the Papiſts; and that conſequently this ceſſation, inſtead of promoting, would render impracticable the ends for which it was made, and fruſtrate all hopes of peace, either in England or in Ireland (z). Such of the Royaliſts as were in theſe ſentiments, were thoſe who adhered to the Earl of Leiceſter, who though he never went in perſon to Ireland, had a great many friends there, and was believed to be an honeſt able man, and as well affected to the King as thoſe who made larger profeſſions of loyalty (*a*). Amongſt theſe was Sir Richard Greenvile, who made no ſcruple of profeſſing his diſlike to a ceſſation while it was in deliberation, or of proteſting againſt it when it was concluded; and as little ſcruple of coming over to ſerve the King in England when it was propoſed to him, fully perſuaded that he had done nothing in Ireland, but what was very conſiſtent with theſe principles (*b*). A conſiderable body of the forces that had ſerved in Ireland being embarked, part under the command of Sir Michael Ernley, landed in Wales; the reſt, among whom was Col. George Monk and Sir Richard Greenvile, came to Briſtol, where they met with a very unexpected reception; for Lord Hawley, who commanded there, produced an order ſigned by Lord Digby Secretary of State, to ſeize them as perſons of ſuſpected at leaſt, if not corrupt, principles; which was owing to the informations from Ireland, founded upon an averſion to all who had any attachment to the Earl of Leiceſter, though he was Lord Lieutenant of the King's appointing; till upon this extraordinary turn in affairs, that high office was conferred upon the Marquis of Ormond. Lord Hawley, who was related both to Col. Monk and Sir Richard Greenvile, behaved towards them as became a man of his quality; that is, he took their parole to go to Oxford, and ſo diſmiſſed them (*c*). Col. Monk went thither directly, but Sir Richard Greenvile thought it expedient to go a little about. He had conſiderable arrears due to him for his ſervice in Ireland, for which the Parliament were reſponſible; he did not care to make a bad figure at Oxford, and, whether well founded or not, his principle was, that he might lawfully deceive thoſe who endeavoured to corrupt him (*d*) [*E*]. His appplication at London

(*w*) Civil Wars in England and Ireland, p. 98, 99. Heath's Chronicle of the Civil War, p. 122.

(*x*) Clarendon's Hiſtorical View of Affairs in Ireland, p. 23, 24, 25.

(*y*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 453.

(z) See the Vindication of Sir Richard Greenvile. Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, p. 133, &c. Ruſhworth's Collections, P. III. Vol II. p. 555.

(*a*) See the Earl of Leiceſter's character in Clarendon's Hiſtory. Memoirs of the Sidney Family, prefixed to the Sidney Papers, p. 139, 140.

(*b*) Hiſtory of the Civil Wars in England and Ireland, p. 99.

(*c*) Vindication of Sir Richard Greenvile, &c.

(*d*) See Sir R. Greenvile's own letter in the note [*F*].

[*E*] *Who endeavoured to corrupt him.*] The late Lord Lanſdowne, grand-nephew to this gentleman, and who wrote a vindication of him and of his conduct, expreſſes himſelf thus upon this delicate tranſaction (18). ‘I will not pretend wholly to juſtify this laſt action, not being a friend to any thing that looks like deceit; all that can be ſaid for it is, that it was putting the old ſoldier upon a pack of knaves, and biting the biter.’ Mr Oldmixon, who wrote remarks upon his lordſhip's performance, was highly offended with this ludicrous expreſſion (19): ‘I have, ſays he, taken all due care to avoid giving offence in ſentiment or expreſſion, farther than the ſubject may itſelf offend; yet, as cautious as I have and ought to have been, I muſt confeſs I have not been without provocation ſometimes to ſpeak the whole of the truth, and in very intelligible terms, ſuch is the following paſſage, He put the old ſoldier on a pack of knaves. I will give a liſt of twenty of thoſe knaves, and leave it to the reader to compare the ſtile and the characters.

‘ Denzil Holles, Eſq; afterwards Lord Holles.
‘ John Crew, Eſq; afterwards Lord Crew.
‘ Arthur Anneſley, Eſq; afterwards Earl of Angleſey.
‘ Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftſbury.
‘ John Selden, Eſq;
‘ John Pym, Eſq; &c.

‘ It is no flattery to ſay there were not greater men in the Roman ſenate, when Rome was at the height of her liberty and glory, but they were Preſbyterians, and might therefore be plundered not only with impunity, but applauſe. The fact is this: Sir Richard Greenvile had received a conſiderable ſum of money of the Parliament, to raiſe forces for them, and, as ſoon as they were raiſed, deſerted with them to the King. One cannot think that the calling that money arrears will excuſe a breach of truſt and deſertion. Suppoſing the money was arrears, if, after he had deſerted their ſervice in Ireland, and forfeited theſe arrears by ſuch deſertion, the Parliament forgiving it, and paying him the money on condition he raiſed forces with it for their ſervice, the treachery and breach of truſt are the ſame as if there had been no arrears coming to him. Beſides, it is very much queſtioned whether Sir Richard Greenvile was in ſuch circumſtances as to ſerve without pay, ſo long that there was an arrear ſufficient to levy a regiment of horſe due to him. The Parliament ſo highly reſented this treacherous act, that the knight was not only hanged in effigy, but was excepted out of their general pardons.’ To this the noble apologiſt thought fit to reply in the following terms (20): ‘But what provoked you, it ſeems, was the expreſſion of a pack of knaves—which, by an extraordinary ſtrain of ſophiſtry, you would draw me in to mean twenty honourable perſons, of whom you give a liſt, whoſe memories are to be reſpected, and the more becauſe they lived to ſeparate themſelves from the *pack* of *knaves*, to be aſhamed of their company, and to make ample reparation for having kept it ſo long. This very ſeparation proves that there was a *pack* of *knaves*, whom theſe men of honour and true patriots diſowned and abandoned, as ſoon as they found them out. The malice of this reflection turns upon yourſelf, you have applied it where I never meant it: it never entered into my thoughts.’ It might have been urged in behalf of Sir Richard Greenvile, that having ſerved in the army of Ireland, and the King having committed the management

(18) A Vindication of Sir Richard Greenvile, General in the Weſt for King Charles the Firſt, from the miſrepreſentations of the Earl of Clarendon and the Rev. Mr Archdeacon Echard.

(19) Reflections Hiſtorical and Political, &c. p. 21.

(20) A Letter to the author of Reflections Hiſtorical and Political, p. 24, 25.

don was well received; his conduct in Ireland very fairly entitled him to his arrears; his proteſting againſt the ceſſation with the Iriſh was a ſtrong recommendation; his military ſkill having been bred in the ſame ſchool with Sir Thomas Fairfax and Sir William Waller, created a high opinion of him and his influence in Cornwall and Devonſhire, induced the Parliament to wiſh he might enter into their ſervice (*e*); he did not raiſe many difficulties, but having obtained a conſiderable ſum of money, the rank of a Major-General, and orders to raiſe a regiment (*f*), with power to name his own officers, he went about it with great alacrity, and compleated it in a very ſhort time. We find ſome ſtrictures in Clarendon (*g*), as to his affecting finery in his equipage, which we are told conſiſted of a coach and ſix, a waggon and ſix, and ſome led horſes; which, conſidering he was a general officer, and to command the horſe under Sir William Waller, was not ſo very extraordinary He appointed the rendezvous of his horſe at Bagſhot, to which place he directed his march with all his new equipage; and having there acquainted his officers (*h*) and ſoldiers with his intentions, they fell immediately into them, and filed off directly towards Reading. He went from thence to Oxford, where he was extremely well received, and with very good reaſon; ſince he immediately acquainted the King with a conſummate piece of treachery, by which in a few days he muſt have loſt the important garriſon of Baſing-Houſe (*i*), which by this intelligence was prevented. Immediately upon his withdrawing, he wrote a very full and free letter to William Lenthall, Eſq; the Speaker, in which he ſet forth ſuch reaſons as he thought might juſtify his conduct. But this ſerved only to add fuel to the flame, for the Parliament cauſed him inſtantly to be proclaimed a traitor, with all poſſible marks of infamy [*F*]. This was not the effects of a ſudden and warm fit of reſentment,

but

(*e*) Whitlocke's Memorials, Ruſhworth's Collections, Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion.

(*f*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 284.

(*g*) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 537.

(*h*) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 203.

(*i*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 537.

management of that war to the Parliament, he no way deſerted the King's ſervice in applying to them for his arrears, to which he had an undoubted title, and yet he could apply no where to obtain them but where he did. It might be ſuggeſted, that being in another iſland when the civil war broke out, and having beſides no great reaſon to be ſatisfied with the conduct of the King's miniſters towards him, upon his arrival in England, he might have inclined to know what were the Parliament's real intentions, and might poſſibly form his definitive judgment of things after he knew them. It might be ſurmiſed, that from his conferences with Sir William Waller, who was much more in their ſecrets than the Earl of Eſſex, he came to have ſuch an inſight into their views, as determined him to the part he acted; or it is not impoſſible that the communication of the treacherous deſign of ſurprizing Baſing Houſe, might have a ſudden and violent effect upon his notions. At all events, they ſurely had but little reaſon to complain of Sir Richard's conduct, who in this very inſtance had inveigled the brother of a moſt noble perſon to break through all the ties of religion, loyalty, and honour, to make his court to them. In the next note we ſhall ſee what the noble apologiſt has omitted, Sir Richard's defence of himſelf, which is much ſuperior to any thing that can be offered by another hand, however able or willing to defend him.

[*F*] *With all poſſible marks of infamy.*] According to the indiſtinct relations which we have elſewhere, it ſhould ſeem that Sir Richard Greenvile had taken a very large ſum of money from the Parliament, and from thence a doubt might ariſe, whether the view of making ſuddenly a conſiderable fortune, might not have been as ſtrong a motive as any other to his manner of acting; but when it is known that the whole of this vaſt ſum was never called more than ſix hundred pounds, it cannot ſure be taken in this light, more eſpecially when it is conſidered that out of this money he had raiſed a regiment of horſe, and, of conſequence, could have but very little left (21). We have before obſerved that this gentleman had accuſtomed himſelf to write; and the following piece upon ſo very delicate a point, may perhaps induce the candid reader to allow, that, like Cæſar, he has left it a queſtion hard to be decided, which weapon he managed beſt, the pen or the ſword (22).

(21) Compare what is ſaid by the Earl of Clarendon, with Ruſhworth, and Sir Richard Greenvile's own Vindication.

(22) Ruſhworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 385.

'To the honourable William Lenthall, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons at London, preſent theſe:

'SIR,

My employment in Ireland in his Majeſty's army, under the pay of the Parliament, and my faithful carriage in it againſt the rebels there, is ſufficiently known; and to ſay no more of it, ſince it concerns myſelf, I thank God I can look back upon thoſe actions with ſome comfort, and the more that I proſecuted with a ſincere affection, to the upholding the Proteſtant religion in that kingdom, ſo well as his Majeſty's juſt and undoubted right to that crown. The occaſion of my coming over is well known too; and truly it was with many ſad thoughts of the diſtractions and miſeries of my native country. And I aſſure you it was without the leaſt deſign of engaging myſelf; for I knew my allegiance to my ſovereign was a check to me to lift my hand againſt him; and the reverence I bare to the name of a Parliament, (which I find hath, and doth deceive many) thwarted any reſolution in offering my ſervice to his Majeſty, where I knew it was due. I contented myſelf to think I had ſerved both, without diſlike of either, and that therefore I might intend my own particular, and before I any way engaged myſelf (if I ſhould do ſo in the future) do it upon knowledge, and not report. Landing at Liverpool in Auguſt laſt, I found both there and at Warrington that great ſuſpicions were had of me, and alſo of my Lord Liſle, that we had brought over great ſtore of treaſure; and the itch was ſo great to plunder us thereof, and of our horſes, &c. that it was told me what we had was moſt uſeful for their good cauſe in hand; if we were friends it ſhould be but lent, if we were other, they muſt not let ſlip ſuch an advantage. And truly, though we had inſolencies offered us, yet Colonel John Booth, by his diſcretion and good uſage of us, kept them from committing thoſe barbarous injuries I found they were inclined unto. This wakened me, and I ſoon perceived, that, if this were the juſtice of thoſe pretenders to religion and reformation, the many complaints I had heard from many honeſt men were not without cauſe. In ſhort, from thence with great difficulty I was permitted to come up, with a ſtrict guard, to London, whence the ſource and ſpring of all our miſeries flows. There, Sir, to ſpeak plain Engliſh to you, I found religion was the cloak of rebellion; and it ſeemed not ſtrange to me, when I found there was ſo little left of the Proteſtant religion, as there were few of the learned and reverend divines that were wont to preach it. There I found the ſubject's liberty had a ſtrange guard for it, his conſcience being forced to ſubmit to many unlawful oaths (though it pleaſed God I eſcaped them all) his eſtate was liable, upon interpretation of a neceſſitous party, to be exacted from him; and the whole government there was but a neceſſity of oaths and money, for ſubjects to compound to keep part of their own. The privileges of Parliament I knew not many of them, and yet was it very viſible that the great privilege of this Parliament was to be none of the former. This ſome diſcreet and ſober friends, in divers particulars, made very clear to me. How the King's name was uſed againſt himſelf, was as odious to me as ridiculous. Sir, by this you will ſee I have lived ſome time amongſt you, in which, I muſt confeſs, I endeavoured to have diſpatched ſome of my own occaſions concern-

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but a deliberate and deciſive act, by which Sir Richard Greenvile was for ever precluded from any hopes of remiſſion or pardon, whatever turn affairs might take; and as we ſhall ſee hereafter, this ſpirit of rancour ſubſiſted on both ſides without any abatement during the continuance of the war. After ſome ſhort ſtay with the King, Sir Richard Greenvile went with a commiſſion to raiſe two regiments into his own country, where he offered to aſſiſt Col. John Digby, who was employed in blocking up Plymouth (*k*), where Lord Robartes commanded for the Parliament; but it is not at all probable, that he had no command there, though this is aſſerted by the Noble Hiſtorian, ſince he brought with him a gallant regiment to Oxford, and we may very reaſonably ſuppoſe that he carried them with him upon this ſervice. At the time he went into the Weſt, Col. Digby had orders to put him in poſſeſſion of his wife's eſtate, which had been already ſequeſtered on account of her adhering to the Parliament; and this, all circumſtances conſidered, was but an act of juſtice, conſidering how long he had been deprived of it by an extraordinary ſtretch of power. In conſequence of this, he fixed his reſidence at Greenvile-Houſe, near Taviſtock, where he put things into the beſt order he was able, and lived there with a magnificence ſuitable to his diſpoſition (*l*). Col. Digby being wounded in the eye, Sir Richard Greenvile was charged with the blockade, where he continued to command till the middle of July 1644, when Prince Maurice found it requiſite to re-call ſuch of his forces as lay before Plymouth, by which that place would have been effectually relieved, if Sir Richard Greenvile by his perſonal influence and great reputation, had not aſſembled a new force ſufficient to maintain that blockade. It was this that conſtrained the Earl of Eſſex to continue his march into the Weſt (*m*), under a firm perſuaſion that Plymouth once relieved, and Sir Richard Greenvile and his forces beaten, the King's formidable power in thoſe parts would be at an end. Accordingly he advanced towards Plymouth, and Sir Richard being in no condition to oppoſe him, drew off his ſmall garriſons from Mount Stamford, Plympton, and Saltaſh, and retired into Cornwall (*n*). This gave the Earl an opportunity of taking Greenvile-Houſe, which he did by ſtorm, though being a place of no great defence, thoſe within it had hung out a white flag; however, quarter was given to all, but ſome who were ſtiled Iriſh rebels, that is, ſome who had returned with Sir Richard out of Ireland. In the houſe were taken two ſmall pieces of cannon, a conſiderable quantity of arms, and the value of three thouſand pounds in money and plate, and one hundred (*o*) and fifty priſoners. A few days after he advanced to Newbridge, and after a very briſk diſpute, not without conſiderable loſs, forced Sir Richard Greenvile to retreat, and thereby opened a paſſage into Cornwall; which occaſioned ſuch a conſternation, that part of Sir Richard's forces quitted Launceſton, while he with ſuch as remained retired in a very ſoldierly manner to Truro (*p*). But affairs quickly changed their face, for on the 1ſt of Auguſt the King having joined the army of Prince Maurice, entered Cornwall after Eſſex, and conſtrained him to retire (*q*) to Leſtwithiel. His Majeſty advancing to Leſkard, ſent orders to Sir Richard

(*k* Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 42.

(*l*) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 538.

(*m*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 677. Heath's Chronicle, p. 58.

(*n*) Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 48. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 539.

(*o*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 690.

(*p*) Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 49.

(*q*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 58.

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ing my private fortune, but without it were obliging me in ſome command, which I conceive had an eye to your own ſervice, I found ſo little ſervice as any other man. At laſt, I conceived that this might be a deſign to have a hold and engagement upon me in a ſervice I was ſo ill ſatisfied in: therefore I withdrew myſelf to my becoming and lawful duty to his Majeſty, at whoſe feet I have now laid myſelf, from whence no fortune, terror, or cruelty, ſhall make me ſwerve. This, Sir, in ſatisfaction to you and the world; ſo I reſt, as I expect you ſhould term me,

Oxford, March 8, 1643.

Your malignant Servant,

Richard Greenvile.'

The two Houſes were ſo incenſed at his going to Oxford, and at his writing and publiſhing this letter to the Speaker, that they cauſed two gibbets to be erected, one in the Palace Yard, Weſtminſter, and the other overagainſt the Royal Exchange, where a proclamation was made by the Provoſt-Marſhal and trumpeters of Eſſex's army, in the words following, which were alſo fixed on each of the ſaid gibbets.

'Whereas Richard Greenvile hath of late preſented 'his ſervice unto the Parliament, and hath been entertained by the Parliament, as Colonel of a regiment 'of horſe: and whereas the ſaid Greenvile, contrary 'to his promiſe, engagement, and honour of a ſoldier, 'hath baſely, unworthily, and faithleſsly deſerted the 'ſaid ſervice, and feloniouſly carried away the money 'paid unto him in regard of the ſaid ſervice, Theſe are 'to proclaim the ſaid Richard Greenvile traitor, rogue, 'villain, and ſkellum, not only uncapable of military 'employment, but of all acquaintance and converſation with men of honeſty and honour: and this proclamation, in the mean time, to be nailed to the gallows, whilſt it ſhall pleaſe God to deliver the ſaid 'Greenvile into the hands of juſtice, that he himſelf 'may ſupply the room of this proclamation.

'Done this 15th of March, 1643.'

The threats of the Parliament in ſuch caſes, were not things to be lightly regarded; for, amongſt other cauſes of their ſucceſs in military affairs, the ſtrictneſs with which they proceeded againſt all whom they conſidered in the light of offenders, and more eſpecially for deſerting them, may be juſtly affirmed to be none of the leaſt. When Barnſtaple was taken, there was in it one Captain Howard, who had been formerly a lieutenant in the Parliament's ſervice, and who went to the King with nineteen horſe, who, on falling thus into their hands, was hanged by judgment of a court martial; upon which Prince Maurice cauſed one Captain Turpin to be hanged, who had been tried and condemned before the Judges Heath, Forſter, Bankes, and Serjeant Glanville, for high treaſon; upon which the Parliament ordered thoſe Judges themſelves to be impeached of high treaſon (23). This was before they publiſhed their famous ordinance for martial law, in virtue of which they condemned many, and, among the reſt, Sir Alexander Carew, Sir John Hotham, and his ſon Captain Hotham, and ſeveral other perſons. As Sir Richard had theſe inſtances before his eyes, ſo he felt likewiſe their ſeverity in the tendereſt part, for his ſon falling into their hands, was hanged in reality, as his father had been in effigy (24). We may from hence conceive, that, with reſpect to this gentleman, there were more reaſons to excuſe ſeverity than in thoſe who had leſs to fear, and will therefore ſerve to explain ſeveral ſubſequent paſſages both in the text and in the notes.

(23) Whitlocke, Ruſhworth, Heath, &c.

(24) Lord Lanſdowne's Works.

Richard Greenvile to draw his forces to Grampound, which he did, and from thence took poſt at Lanhethorock (*r*), and ſoon after made himſelf maſter of Weſterman-Caſtle, with a very ſtrong paſs, within half a mile of Leſtwithiel, ſo that the Earl of Eſſex was totally ſurrounded. His horſe, indeed, did break through by the careleſſneſs and drunkenneſs of Goring, but all the foot were made priſoners, by a capitulation ſigned by Major-General Skippon, and approved by Eſſex, and dated on the 1ſt of September (*s*). It is very remarkable, that the account publiſhed by the King, and the letter written by the Earl of Eſſex to Sir Philip Stapleton, concur in aſcribing to Sir Richard Greenvile's conduct this great defeat, which was by much the moſt ſevere ſtroke the Parliament received during the whole war, and that which gave them both occaſion and opportunity to lay their unfortunate General aſide, and to introduce what was called the new model. It has been ſuggeſted, that the Royaliſts did not make the moſt of their great advantage, and that the conſequences were by no means ſuitable to the clearneſs of their victory [*G*]. Sir Richard Greenvile, on the 2d of September, marched in purſuit of the enemy, and to recover Saltaſh, which he effected, and found therein eleven pieces of cannon, and then continued his march towards Plymouth. On the 11th of September the King, with his whole force, came

(*r*) Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 62. Ruſhworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 705. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 103, 104.

(*s*) Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 80.

[*G*] *And to the clearneſs of their victory.*] It is a matter of fact undeniable, that, except a very few, all about the King had an earneſt deſire to peace. To this the King himſelf was alſo inclined, as appears from his letter to the Earl of Eſſex; and yet for a meſſage which the Lord Wilmot, who had a great friendſhip for Eſſex, ſent him that he would be accountable for the ſincerity of that application, he was, though General of the horſe, arreſted, declared in effect a traitor, and his command immediately beſtowed upon Goring, which ſurprized and diſconcerted the whole army, who joined in an application in favour of Lord Wilmot, which ſoon afterward coſt his friend, the Lord Piercy, General of the Ordnance, his poſt (25). This proceeding had fatal effects at the time, and much more fatal conſequences; Lord Wilmot, though he was not the moſt regular man in his morals, yet he was a very cautious commander, which rendered him, generally ſpeaking, ſucceſsful in all his enterprizes, as his great care of the ſoldiers, and ſingular courteſy to every body, made him the moſt-reſpected and the beſt-beloved officer in the army. This did not hinder another addreſs being ſet on foot by the officers, to promote a peace, which in general they ſigned; and the King finding them unanimous, conſented that it ſhould be tranſmitted to the Earl of Eſſex. The ſecret of this buſineſs was, a deſire of rendering the Prince of Wales mediator between his father and the Parliament; in which it does not appear that Sir Richard Greenvile, at this time, at all concurred, though he entered into it in a few months after (26). This ſome warm writers have repreſented as a meaſure diſhonourable, if not diſaffected; but the truth ſeems to be, that theſe officers perceiving the King's nephews, Rupert and Maurice, intirely poſſeſſed of his confidence, and diſliking the violence of their meaſures, thought it the moſt effectual means to preſerve their country, the conſtitution, and the royal family, to introduce the Prince of Wales, to whom the Parliament could pretend no juſt cauſe of offence, in the high quality of a mediator, from whom they might receive ſuch aſſurances as might lead to a ſafe and ſolid peace. It may very well be doubted whether ſuch as attribute future miſcarriages to this diſpoſition in the army, have formed a right judgment, and there ſeems at leaſt an equal if not a greater probability, that theſe unfortunate events were occaſioned by the warm proceedings againſt Lord Wilmot, Lord Piercy, and their friends; for how peaceably ſoever the King's army was inclined, when they had found that all overtures were rejected, and that Eſſex would hearken to nothing, there is no doubt that they would have been as unanimous in the purſuit of their own ſafety, by taking vigorous meaſures; and if, inſtead of arreſting and removing Lord Wilmot, the King had openly expoſtulated with him and his friends, and ſhewn them that all farther applications of this ſort were not only uſeleſs, but dangerous and diſhonourable, there had been an end of them, and the army, under officers they eſteemed, would have acted with ſpirit and unanimity: whereas, by this high act of power at ſo critical a conjuncture, the minds of men were amazed and confounded, at the very inſtant when that alacrity which ſprings from union was moſt neceſſary (27). When the Parliament army under Eſſex was intirely ſurrounded, and might have been either totally defeated, or obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war, their horſe, under Sir William Balfour, was ſuffered to eſcape; and the Noble Hiſtorian ſays expreſsly, That if the meaſure had been well conducted, their foot might have eſcaped likewiſe, which was owing intirely to the diſſolute conduct of Goring, who had timely notice of their motion, but treated that notice with contempt, rather than interrupt his drunken debauch. This could never have been the caſe, if Wilmot had commanded the horſe, whoſe circumſpection upon ſuch occaſions the Noble Hiſtorian himſelf allows (28). This was the firſt, and a very great misfortune, not only as it leſſened the King's ſucceſs, and preſerved the Parliament's cavalry, but as it weakned his force: for the King's army, equally diſſatisfied with the bad conduct of the new General, with his looſe behaviour, and the ſcandalous licentiouſneſs of his troops, began to decreaſe daily; ſo that when the foot of Eſſex's army ſurrendered, they were very near as numerous as thoſe to whom they ſurrendered, and, in point of arms and cloathing, in much better condition. From this ſudden and ſtrange alteration in the King's circumſtances, as well as from his earneſt deſire to return to Oxford, nothing of conſequence was done in the Weſt: for the looking upon Plymouth, without reducing it, was doing, if poſſible, leſs than nothing; whereas if the King's army had been intire, as it might have been, both that garriſon and Portſmouth muſt have fallen, which, notwithſtanding the defeat of Marſton-Moor, which happened a little before, would have re-eſtabliſhed his affairs. But this was not all; when the King left the Weſt after his victory, he left it rather in a worſe condition than he found it: ſo that if Sir Richard Greenvile, by his complicated authority of Sheriff of Devon and General in Cornwall, had not aſſembled a force ſufficient to renew the blockade of Plymouth, both counties had been left open to the incurſions of that garriſon, and the relieving it, which was the principal point that Eſſex endeavoured, had been carried, notwithſtanding his defeat. For the preſent, therefore, the King plainly left the preſervation of the Weſt to the care of it's inhabitants, of which he gave the ſtrongeſt teſtimony, by a very warm and grateful declaration, in which he did equal juſtice to their conduct, their courage, and their loyalty (29); but then ſurely it had been prudent to have truſted the command with gentlemen of fortune and intereſt in thoſe parts, of whom there were many whoſe merit and capacity were equally out of diſpute. Inſtead of this, Goring, who had no intereſt, but, on the contrary, was dreaded and deteſted there, was ſpeedily ſent back, and put at the head of the troops, that he might be out of the way of Prince Rupert, who was willing to employ his all-powerful intereſt in doing for him all he could, provided it was at a diſtance. The reader may from hence eaſily form a judgment of Sir Richard Greenvile's ſituation, and of the reaſons which induced him not to be over ready in acting, either under or in conjunction with Lord Goring, but rather to take what precautions he could for the ſecurity of the country, for which he had, as became him, a very natural and a very laudable affection, and which was not only very conſiſtent with, but very eſſential to, the King's ſervice.

(25) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 273. Sir Richard Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 115.

(26) Sir Edward Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 273.

(27) Sir Richard Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 115.

(28) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 524.

(29) Lord Lanſdowne's Works.

came before that town, which he ſummoned (*t*), but without effect; and as the then ſtate of his affairs required, or at leaſt was thought to require, his return to Oxford, the care of blocking up that troubleſome garriſon was again committed to Sir Richard Greenvile, with ſo ſmall a force as five hundred foot and three hundred horſe; which inconſiderable body, by his care, vigilance, and intereſt, grew very ſoon ſo numerous as to be eſteemed an army. While this was doing, a part of the garriſon of Plymouth made an excurſion, which it was not in his power to hinder, as they embarked in a dark night, and landing in Cornwall, they made themſelves maſters of Saltaſh, Millbrooke, and the fort between thoſe two places. This, however, was an advantage which they did not long enjoy; for Sir Richard marching in perſon, with a detachment of his beſt troops, amounting to about ſeven hundred men, took Saltaſh by ſtorm, on the eighth of October, with great ſlaughter, and made a regiment of foot, a troop of horſe, and the remains of ſome other corps, priſoners; who, as they were taken without quarter, he intended to have hanged, yet not without informing the King, who ſent him expreſs orders to deſiſt from (*u*) that reſolution. It was about this time that a relation of his, one Mr Greenvile, fell into the hands of the Governor of Plymouth, to whom, by a meſſage, he offered either ranſom or exchange, but he was ſo far from gratifying him in this reſpect, that, under colour of a plot, he cauſed him to be immediately hanged up (*w*). When the Parliament condeſcended, after much ſollicitation, to ſend propoſitions of peace to the King at Oxford, by Mr William Pierpoint, Mr Denzil Hollis, Mr Whitlocke, and Lord Wenman, which brought on the treaty of Uxbridge, the Parliament excepted Sir Richard Greenvile by name, amongſt ſuch as were never to expect pardon, and with him were joined Sir Alexander Carew, Sir John Hotham, and his ſon Colonel Hotham, then in their hands, and deſtined to the ſame uſage Sir Richard would have met with, had he been in the ſame ſituation. It was the knowledge of this diſpoſition of theirs, that induced Lord Roberts to behave in the manner he did, and to ſhew as little mercy as manners in every tranſaction of the war, more eſpecially where it had even a diſtant relation perſonally to Sir Richard, for then it was all rudeneſs and rigour. This, and other ſeverities of the ſame kind, induced Sir Richard to practiſe ſomething of the like nature; and though, perhaps, this may not be ſufficient to juſtify his conduct, yet aſſuredly it ought, in ſome meaſure, to excuſe it; and it cannot but ſeem ſtrange, to an impartial reader, that the Noble Hiſtorian ſhould relate very particularly whatever acts of violence came to his knowledge of this gentleman, without taking notice of the provocations that, in the opinion of Sir Richard Greenvile, made them abſolutely neceſſary. How far he might be right or wrong in his ſentiments, we pretend not to determine; but the whole truth ought certainly to be ſpoken, when ſuch actions are related as have an apparent tendency to ſet the character of a man of ſuch diſtinction in ſo diſadvantageous a point of light. He has, indeed, at a great diſtance of time, found as noble an apologiſt, who with great wit and ſpirit has vindicated his memory, but, at the ſame time, has omitted ſome matters of fact that perhaps might have anſwered the purpoſe much better than can be done by the moſt plauſible arguments [*H*]. The King having a great ſenſe

(*t*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 712. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 103.

(*u*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. I'. p. 716. Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 105.

(*w*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 106. Ruſhworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 713.

[*H*] *Than can be done by the moſt plauſible arguments.*] It is a point of great ſingularity that we are to examine in this note; a point to which we are directed, and in which we are to be governed intirely by the love of truth. This point is a candid enquiry, how far the Noble Hiſtorian has done juſtice to one of the King's generals, who made a great figure in his ſervice, expoſed his life freely, and carried the certificate of his courage in a body covered with wounds. The Earl of Clarendon (30), as we have before obſerved, enters minutely into this gentleman's perſonal hiſtory, in which he is copied, as in moſt other things, by another hiſtorian (31); and, which is not a little ſingular, there is a third writer, diffident enough of this great man's authority upon all other occaſions, who follows him implicitly upon this, and, without the leaſt ſcruple as to the juſtice of the character, treats Sir Richard Greenvile as a perfect monſter (32).

There muſt have been ſome reaſon why the Noble Author took ſuch peculiar pains about this gentleman and his concerns; and what that reaſon was, the reader ſhall learn from his own words (33). ‘ This ſo large ‘ excurſion upon a private perſon may ſeem very extravagant, and to carry in it too much animoſity againſt the memory of a man who did ſome things well, ‘ and was not without ſome merit in the King's ſervice; ‘ but they who know the occurrences of the next year, ‘ which will be faithfully related, and conſider the ſeverity that he compelled the Prince to uſe towards ‘ him, of which he made a great noiſe afterwards in ‘ the world, and prevailed with ſome good men to believe that the proceeding againſt him was too rigorous, and that the council then about the Prince had ‘ ſome perſonal diſreſpect towards him, may reaſonably ‘ believe that this enlargement was in ſome degree neceſſary, that ſuch a man's original nature, manners, ‘ and diſpoſition ſhould be manifeſt and clearly underſtood.’

For the very reaſons here aſſigned, the Noble Hiſtorian ought to have been remarkably circumſpect in what he delivered of this gentleman, ſince he ſeems to profeſs that the chief cauſe of entering into his character, was to ſhew that he could ſeparate his private reſentments, and ſpeak calmly and candidly even of a perſon whom he had reaſon to conſider as his enemy; for if this had not been his deſign, his lordſhip had much better have left Sir Richard Greenvile, and his private character at leaſt, to be celebrated by ſome other pen. We will now proceed to ſome matters of fact. Speaking of the blockade of Plymouth, he ſays (34), ‘ The ‘ Earl of Eſſex had left the Lord Roberts governor in ‘ that town, a man of a ſour and ſurly nature, a great ‘ opiniatre, and one who muſt be overcome before he ‘ would believe that he could be ſo. The King finding no good could be done with him, and that the ‘ reducing the town would require ſome time, purſued ‘ his former reſolution, and marched away, having ‘ committed the blocking up of Plymouth to Sir Richard Greenvile, a man who had been bred a ſoldier, and of great expectation, but of greater promiſes, having with all manner of aſſurance undertaken to take the town by Chriſtmas, if ſuch conditions might be performed to him; all which were ‘ punctually complied with, whilſt he made his quarters as far as ever they had been formerly from the ‘ town, beginning his war firſt upon his wife, who had ‘ been

(30) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 535, 536.

(31) Archdeacon Echard, in his Hiſtory of England.

(32) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 239.

(33) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 539.

(34) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 534.

ſenſe of Sir Richard's ſervices, and being alſo perſuaded of his abilities to render him ſtill greater, from his ſuperior knowledge of that country, his great capacity, and the credit of his

‘ been long in poſſeſſion of her own fortune, by virtue of a decree in Chancery, many years before the troubles, and ſeizing upon all ſhe had, and then making himſelf maſter of all their eſtates who were in the ſervice of the Parliament, without doing any thing of importance upon the town; only upon the firſt meſſage between the Lord Roberts and him, there aroſe ſo mortal a miſunderſtanding, that there was never civility or quarter obſerved between them, but ſuch as were taken on either ſide were put to the ſword, or, which was worſe, to the halter.’

We have in the text ſhewn how this matter happened; but it will be proper to give the words of the noble vindicator, who, in examining this charge againſt his relation, delivers himſelf thus (35): ‘ If the Chancellor had been ſo good as to have explained the nature and occaſion of that meſſage, with all it's circumſtances, Sir Richard would have been fully acquitted of the conſequences. The fact was as follows:

‘ Sir Richard commanded at that time the blockade at Plymouth; the Lord Roberts was Governor; a man, ſays the hiſtorian, of a ſour ſurly nature, &c. It happened in ſome ſkirmiſh where priſoners were taken on both ſides, a young gentleman of about ſixteen years of age, near kinſman to Sir Richard, and of his own name, fell into the enemy's hand Sir Richard, by a civil meſſage, reclaimed him as his kinſman, offering any terms by ranſom or exchange: the governor ordered him in the inſtant to be hanged up at the gates of the town, in ſight of the meſſenger, without other reply.

‘ After an execution ſo cruel, ſo inhuman, and of ſo exaſperating a nature, what could follow but the utmoſt returns of vengeance?

‘ Theſe are caſes not to be found in Coke upon Littleton; the appeal muſt be to military judges.’

The author who wrote Reflections upon Lord Lanſdowne's Vindication, thinks it highly probable that this Mr Greenvile was above ſixteen years of age, that he was not taken priſoner in a ſally, or, if he was a priſoner, that he broke the law of arms, and acted like a ſpy, by which he loſt all title to ranſom; in virtue of which conjectures he pronounces, that all Sir Richard Greenvile's revenges were ſo many murthers. The noble vindicator, in his Reply, ſays, That he was told by them who knew him, that he was a young man: ſo that here is ſome degree of teſtimony againſt the reflector's notions.

Mr Whitlocke gives us this account of the matter (36): ‘ One Greenvile, a kinſman of Sir Richard Greenvile, was perſuaded into a plot to betray Plymouth to Sir Richard; but the plot was diſcovered, and Mr Greenvile executed.’ His being a kinſman of Sir Richard, and the word perſuaded, are not favourable by any means to the conjecture. We are elſewhere told what this plot was, viz. Mr Greenvile was accuſed of offering Colonel Serle three thouſand pounds for delivering up the place (37.)

The next charge againſt Sir Richard Greenvile, in the Noble Hiſtorian's words runs thus (38): ‘ One day he made a viſit from his houſe, which he called his own, to the Colonel (Digby) and dined with him, and the Colonel civilly ſent half a dozen troopers to wait on him home, leſt any of the garriſon, in their uſual excurſions, might meet with him. In his return home, he ſaw four or five fellows coming out of a neighbour wood, with burthens of wood upon their back, which they had ſtolen. He bid the troopers fetch thoſe fellows to him; and finding that they were ſoldiers of the garriſon, he made one of them hang all the reſt, which, to ſave his own life, he was contented to do; ſo ſtrong his appetite was to thoſe executions he had been accuſtomed to in Ireland, without any kind of commiſſion, or pretence of authority.’

Lord Lanſdowne recapitulates this ſtory thus (39): ‘ He himſelf (that is Sir Richard) ſurprizes ſome troopers in the very act of pillaging and plundering the country, and orders them upon the ſpot to be hanged; nay, he makes them hang one another. How could rogues be better employed?’ This may ſeem a little too ludricrous, and no ſuitable anſwer to the accuſation; but what follows from Ruſhworth may, perhaps, appear ſomewhat more to the purpoſe (40).

‘ On the 11th of July, 1644, Colonel O'Brian (brother to the Lord Inchiquin, and in the King's ſervice) ſent out a party of two hundred and forty horſe and foot, from Wareham to Dorcheſter, who faced the town ſeveral hours; but the inhabitants ſtood upon their guard, and ſent to the Parliament garriſons at Adderbury and Weymouth for relief; whereupon Colonel Sydenham, Major Sydenham, and other forces, haſtened thither, put them to flight, and purſued them almoſt to Wareham, ſlew twelve, and took ſixty horſes, and one hundred and ſixty priſoners; whereof eight being natural Iriſh, ſeven of them were immediately hanged, and the other ſpared for doing execution on his fellows.’

We will make no comments upon this, but proceed to a third and laſt inſtance of the Noble Hiſtorian's inclination to point out this gentleman's enormities; and his own Preface will ſhew, that he really had ſuch an inclination (41) ‘ There hath been, ſays he, too much ſaid already to diſcover the nature and the temper of this gentleman, if the current of this diſcourſe did not make it abſolutely neceſſary to mention many particulars with which the Prince was troubled almoſt in all places, and which exceedingly diſordered the whole buſineſs of Devon and Cornwall, and indeed thereby, the whole Weſt. There was one particular that made a great noiſe in the country: ſhortly after he was deputed to that charge before Plymouth, upon the hurt of Mr Digby, one Brabant, an attorney at law, who had heretofore ſollicited the great ſuit againſt Sir Richard in the Star-Chamber, on the behalf of his wife and the Earl of Suffolk, living in thoſe parts, and having always very honeſtly behaved himſelf towards the King's ſervice, knowing it ſeems the nature of the gentleman, reſolved not to venture himſelf within the precincts where he commanded, and, therefore, intended to go to ſome more ſecure quarter, but was taken in his journey, having a mountero on his head. Sir Richard Greenvile had laid wait to apprehend him, and he likewiſe had concealed his name; but being now brought before Sir Richard, was immediately, by his own direction, without any council of war, becauſe he ſaid he was diſguiſed, hanged as a ſpy; which ſeemed ſo ſtrange and incredible, that one of the council aſked him whether it was true? and he anſwered, very unconcernedly, Yes, he had hanged him, for he was a traitor, and againſt the King; and that he had taken a brother of his, whom he might have hanged too, but he had ſuffered him to be exchanged. He ſaid he knew the country talked that he hanged him for revenge, becauſe he had ſollicited a cauſe againſt him, but that was not the cauſe; though having played the knave with him, he ſaid ſmiling, he was well content to find a juſt occaſion to puniſh him.’

Lord Lanſdowne's anſwer is again too ludicrous, upon ſo very ſerious a ſubject (42) ‘ A ſpy, ſays he, is diſcovered diſguiſed in his quarters; he commanded him to be hanged; from whence may be concluded his diſreſpect to the profeſſors of the Law, the fellow being a country attorney; an honeſt man to be ſure by his profeſſion.’ All the evidence we have in this matter comes from one ſide, with this additional circumſtance, that it pretends to report at once all that was or could be ſaid on the other, and yet this is not very fairly done; for Brabant was not only concerned for the Earl of Suffolk and Lady Greenvile, againſt Sir Richard, in the great cauſe in the Star-Chamber, but he gave evidence likewiſe, and therefore it is probable that the grudge, if any, did not ariſe ſo much from ſolliciting, for that any man might have done, and ſome muſt have done, as from the ſwearing, which certainly was not neceſſary, and, if Sir Richard is to be believed, was not true. If we take his anſwer as the Noble Hiſtorian reports it, we muſt take it altogether, and then it will prove nothing, for Sir Richard clearly affirms, that he was hanged for being a ſpy; and if the ordinances of the

Parliament

(35) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 194, 195.

(36) Memorials of Engliſh Affairs, p. 106.

(37) Ruſhworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 713.

(38) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 538.

(39) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 205.

(40) Ruſhworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 686.

(41) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 668.

(42) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 205.

his family, made him Sheriff of the county of Devon, and granted him the eſtates of ſeveral perſons of great diſtinction, who were in arms againſt him, in ſequeſtration; which employment and grants enabled him to keep up a great body of troops, to pay them regularly, and to maintain a very ſtrict diſcipline, as it is on all hands allowed he did (*x*). But, at the ſame time, it excited againſt him a very ſtrong ſpirit of envy, and, which is very ſingular, his affecting great order, taking care of the eſtates committed to his charge, and keeping up a form of government, both civil and military, with much exactneſs, while nothing of the like nature appeared elſewhere, ſubjected him to reproach, and gave a colour of objecting to him as crimes, actions which he thought himſelf intitled, and even obliged to do, in diſcharge of his duty [*I*]. It was a great misfortune to the King's affairs,

(*x*) Coffin's Liſt of the Sheriffs of the County of Devon, p. 1.

Parliament upon that head had been rules to Sir Richard, as they might be, though he did not acknowledge their authority, his conduct might be juſtified. Mr Brabant was taken returning out of the King's quarters, in an unuſual dreſs, and denied his name; it was from thence inferred that he was carrying intelligence. The caſe was hard, but there were many hard caſes in thoſe times. Mr Daniel Kniveton (43), one of the King's ſworn meſſengers, charged with a meſſage to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, from his Majeſty, was hanged at the Royal Exchange of London, for delivering it. The noble vindicator reaſons very juſtly, when he ſays (44), ‘When an officer has to do with an enemy who ſcruples at no violence, who pillages and plunders, and hangs and draws and quarters, without quarter, what has he to do but to deal with him in his own way? If violence is practiſed on one ſide, and lenity allowed on the other, the multitude will deſert where they are ſureſt of ſafety.’ All that we have cited, and all that we have ſaid, is ſubmitted to the reader's judgment; and we beg leave only to add, that it is ſomething very ſingular, all circumſtances conſidered, that ſo many charges of ſeverity, oppreſſion, and cruelty, ſhould be brought againſt this gentleman by the Noble Hiſtorian, and not one of them occur in Whitlocke or in Ruſhworth.

(43) Ruſhworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 369.

(44) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 208.

[*I*] *And even obliged to do, in diſcharge of his duty*] The great and heavy charges againſt this gentleman are ſolely brought by the Earl of Clarendon; for as to what is ſaid by others, they are only tranſcribed from him. Let us hear then what he ſays (45): ‘Before the King left the country, he granted him the ſequeſtration of all the eſtate of the Earl of Bedford in Devonſhire, all the eſtate of Sir Francis Drake, by which he had Buckland Monachorum, which was his quarter whilſt he blocked up Plymouth and Warrington by Launceſton in Devon, and the Lord Roberts his eſtate in Cornwall; all which, and his wife's eſtate, he enjoyed by the ſequeſtration granted from his Majeſty, and of which he made a greater revenue than ever the owners did in time of peace. For beſides that he ſuffered no part of theſe eſtates to pay contribution, whereby the tenants very willingly paid their full rents; he kept very much ground about all the houſes in his own hands, which he ſtocked with ſuch cattle as he took from delinquents; for though he ſuffered not his ſoldiers to plunder, yet he was in truth himſelf the greateſt plunderer of this war; for whenever any perſon had diſobeyed or neglected any of his warrants, or when any man failed to appear at the Poſſe, which he ſummoned very frequently after he was Sheriff of Devon, and for no other end but the penalty of defaulters, he ſent preſently a party of horſe to apprehend their perſons, and to drive their grounds. If the perſons were taken, they were very well content to remit their ſtock, to redeem their perſons. For the better diſpoſing them thereto, he would now and then hang a conſtable, or ſome other fellow, for thoſe faults of which a hundred were as guilty; and if, out of the terror of this kind of juſtice, men hid themſelves from being apprehended, they durſt not ſend to require their ſtock, which was from thence quietly enjoyed: ſo that he had a greater ſtock of cattle of all ſorts upon his grounds, than any perſon whatſoever in the weſt of England. Beſides this, the ordering of delinquents eſtates in thoſe parts being before that time not well looked to, by virtue of theſe ſequeſtrations he ſeized upon all the ſtock upon the grounds, upon all the furniture in the ſeveral houſes, and compelled the tenants to pay to him all the rents due from the beginning of the rebellion. By theſe, and ſuch-like means, he had not only a vaſt ſtock, but received great ſums of money, and had as great ſtore of good houſhould-ſtuff as would furniſh well thoſe houſes he looked upon as his own. This was his own eſtate, upon which he ſaid he had maintained himſelf without any allowance from the King; which I am confident, beſides what he got by his contributions, which would always pay double the men he had, and were ſtrictly levied, and by his other arts and extortions of ſeveral kinds, was more and more worth in money to him, than his Majeſty beſtowed upon all his general commanders of armies, and upon all his officers of ſtate, ſince the beginning of the rebellion to that time.’

(45) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 673, 674.

There are many points in this charge, as the noble vindicator truly obſerves, that, upon the very face of them, are no crimes; many others that will appear in the ſame light, when truly repreſented, and moſt of the reſt either founded in ſuſpicion, or roundly affirmed, becauſe it is impoſſible they ſhould be diſproved. If the King granted his wife's eſtate by way of ſequeſtration, he certainly did him no more than bare juſtice, conſidering the hardſhips he had ſuffered, and the manner in which it was taken from him. As to the eſtates of delinquents, while in his hands by the King's grant, he might well enough call them his own, to diſtinguiſh them from the contributions levied upon the country. Beſides, the King might very well do this, as the Parliament did it in reſpect to all ſuch as continued in their duty to his Majeſty. It is a ſhrewd remark of the noble vindicator, That thoſe in arms againſt the King are upon all other occaſions very roundly called Rebels; whereas, in the preſent caſe, the Noble Hiſtorian makes uſe of the Parliament's own word, Delinquents. Thus far as to the eſtates he held in his hands; now as to the money raiſed by other means.

If we allow Sir Richard Greenvile to be the greateſt oppreſſor and greateſt plunderer of the whole war, we muſt alſo allow him, upon the ſame evidence, to have been the moſt wonderful oppreſſor, the moſt public-ſpirited plunderer, that ever exiſted; for in his character of oppreſſor, we are told the people paid very willingly, for he qualified the matter ſo prudently, that they found their account in it. He ſummoned the force of the county very often, becauſe, as their occaſions required, he very often ſuffered his men to return home, which, if he had not done, their families muſt have ſtarved. It is confeſſed, that from other Generals they continually deſerted, and yet thoſe Generals were very indulgent: but this ſtrict, this ſevere Sir Richard Greenvile, could draw together even theſe deſerters at his pleaſure, and keep them together likewiſe as long as he wanted them; from whence they were intitled Greenvile's reformades. What could be the reaſon of all this? When they were under the command of Sir Richard Greenvile they were regularly paid. One charge againſt him is, the inſolence of his anſwer when they would have left him his command, and taken away his contributions: he ſaid, He neither could nor would be at the head of an army who were not punctually paid. In conſequence of this, his ſoldiers never plundered; this his enemies allow, and ſay that he was beloved and reſpected by the country for that reaſon. But then, ſay they, he plundered enough for himſelf and them too.

We have ſeen that his houſe was taken by ſtorm, by the troops of the Earl of Eſſex, and we know what the ſum was they found in it, which certainly did not amount to a month's pay of his army; ſo that this muſt be eſteemed an indifferent proof. After his exile abroad, and of his own motive, he ſupplied the King's

garriſons

affairs, that he had withdrawn the Lord Hopton, to whom he had given the title of Field-Marſhal of the Weſt, and who was a perſon of calm courage, equally fit for the council and the field; and who, while he held the command there, had been always ſucceſsful: but it was a much greater overſight to make General Goring, now, by the creation of his father, Earl of Norwich, become Lord Goring, General of the horſe, at the expence of Lord Wilmot, who was not only deprived of his command, but obliged to leave the kingdom. All this, but more particularly the ſending back Lord Goring to command in the Weſt, was attributed to Prince Rupert, who, hating and fearing that Lord, reſolved to remove him from the King's perſon, and therefore ſent him into the Weſt, where, having no intereſt or alliances, he was from the beginning diſliked, and, for his diſſolute life, and the great licence he allowed his troops, in a very little time univerſally hated (*y*). This Lord was very deſirous of having Sir Richard Greenvile and his foot under his command, which Sir Richard, forſeeing they ſhould not agree, declined, at leaſt till Taunton ſhould be taken, which was a thing of conſequence, and in which he had embarked. The Noble Hiſtorian thinks he made no great haſte in the execution of that enterprize; and yet one would think he was pretty much in earneſt, ſince, in giving orders for the attack of Colonel Popham's houſe at Wellington, towards the middle of April, 1645, he expoſed himſelf ſo much, that he received a ſhot in the thigh, which at firſt was believed to be mortal, and by which he was for ſome time diſabled (*z*). Another circumſtance, very unfavourable to the King's affairs in the Weſt, was the ſending thither the Prince of Wales, who was too young to command himſelf, and aſſigning him a council who were far from being popular. Amongſt theſe, Sir Edward Hyde, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, had a great authority, which he exerted in controuling the advices of the King's Generals, who could never be brought to underſtand that the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Maſter of the Rolls were fit perſons to direct an army: Lord Goring made very high demands; Sir Richard Greenvile was alſo diſſatisfied; the council ſometimes played them againſt each other, in order to which, a commiſſion of Field-Marſhal was ſent to Sir Richard, who acted under it for a ſhort ſpace, but finding great inconveniences ariſe reſigned it (*a*). For this, and for ſome other actions of a like nature, he was ſent for before the council, who upbraided him with the King's favours, reprimanded him, and ordered him to retire to his houſe as a private man. He ſubmitted with great humility, and remained in that ſituation a fortnight, 'till they were obliged to employ him again, the troops refuſing to ſerve if he did not command them (*b*). New diſputes quickly aroſe, Sir Richard came in perſon to wait upon the Prince at Truro, where, he freely repreſented to him the ſituation of his affairs, and the neceſſity there was of providing for the ſafety of the Weſt, Lord Goring having deſerted his army, his brother-in-law, Lieutenant-General Porter, gone over to the enemy, and Lord Wentworth, who now commanded the horſe, terrible to the King's ſubjects, and contemned by the Parliament forces. One of the things he propoſed was to draw a line from Barnſtaple to the ſea, forty miles in extent, by which he thought all Cornwall and part of Devonſhire might be defended againſt any force that could be brought to attack them (*c*). This the Noble Hiſtorian looks upon as a mark of his being out of his ſenſes, and is equally diſpleaſed with another piece of advice which Sir Richard likewiſe gave the Prince of Wales, that his Highneſs ſhould ſend to the Parliament for a treaty, and ſhould offer, if he might enjoy the revenue of the duchy of Cornwall, and they would not advance to diſturb him in that county, that then he would not attempt any thing upon them, but that they ſhould enjoy the freedom of all their ports in Cornwall for trade, without any diſturbance by his Majeſty's ſhips (*d*). This was alſo rejected as unworthy of the Prince, becauſe undutiful to the King; but it is plain enough from both theſe overtures, that Sir Richard Greenvile thought the King's affairs deſperate, conſidering the hands in which they were, and thoſe of the Prince in the high road of becoming ſo too, which he was willing to prevent, and at the ſame time to provide for the ſecurity of the county, as believing probably, that if the Prince of Wales was left quietly in his own duchy of Cornwall, more open than any part of the kingdom to foreign aſſiſtance, he might quickly gather ſo great a ſtrength as to run no riſk of being diſpoſſeſſed, and in time become ſuch a check upon the Parliament, as might hinder them from attempting any thing againſt the King's perſon, whatever

(*y*) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 641, 643. Vindication of Sir Richard Greenvile, p. 210.

(*z*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 143.

(*a*) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 211, 214. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 672.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 677, 684.

(*c*) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 216.

(*d*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 704. Lord Lanſdowne's Works.

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garriſons out of what he had left, made a handſome preſent to the Duke of York, lived privately, and died poor. Was there ever ſuch a plunderer as this? he lived handſomely, while in command kept all things in good order, and formed ſchemes for preſerving Cornwall, and Devon, when all the reſt of the King's dominions were loſt. His projects were rejected and contemned, in conſequence of which Cornwall was loſt too. He was a man auſtere in his behaviour, maintained a ſevere diſcipline, judged without law, and puniſhed without mercy. He was therefore hated by his ſoldiers, who thought his being removed and confined, a deliverance. Not ſo neither. He was ſo much reſpected and beloved by them, that they would ſerve under nobody elſe! The very country-people too, whom he had oppreſſed and plundered without mercy, loſt all patience upon his ill uſage, and addreſſes came from every quarter to demand that he ſhould be reſtored to liberty and power! Many of the Prince's Council were diſpleaſed with his treatment; and many who were neareſt his Royal Highneſs's perſon had ſuch a regard for the Knight, that they were wanting in duty to the Prince! Is this intelligible? Is this conſiſtent? Be this as it will, the evidence is preciſely the ſame; the Noble Hiſtorian who brings the charge, and who adviſed his commitment, acknowledges, that theſe were it's effects. But we ſhall ſee much more of this in the next note.

whatever they might do with regard to his authority (*e*). But notwithſtanding the ill reception this advice met with, and the indifferent opinion Sir Richard had of the Prince's counſellors and commanders, he continued to ſerve 'till all things fell into confuſion by the want of conduct in others, and the Prince found it unſafe for him to remain at Taviſtock, which Sir Richard had foreſeen, and upon his Royal Highneſs's retreat to Launceſton, the care of the retreat, and the removing all that could be ſaved from Taviſtock, was committed to Sir Richard Greenvile. The Noble Hiſtorian informs us, that he performed this but very indifferently, which is highly probable; for the very next day, he repreſented, by letter to his Royal Highneſs, the impoſſibility of keeping that army together, or fighting with it in the condition it was then in; told him, that he had the night before ſent directions to Major-General Harris to guard ſuch a bridge, but that he returned him word that he would receive orders from none but General Digby; that General Digby ſaid, that he would receive orders from none but his Highneſs; that a party of the Lord Wentworth's horſe had the ſame night come into his quarters, where his troop of guards and his firelocks were; that neither ſubmitting to the command of the other, they had fallen foul, and two or three men had been killed; that they continued ſtill in the ſame place, drawn up one againſt another; that it was abſolutely neceſſary his Highneſs ſhould conſtitute one ſuperior officer, from whom all thoſe independent officers might receive orders, without which it would not be poſſible for that army to be kept together, or do ſervice; that, for his own part, he knew his ſeverity and diſcipline had rendered him ſo odious to the Lord Goring's horſe, that they would ſooner chooſe to ſerve the enemy, than receive orders from him, therefore he deſired his Highneſs to conſtitute the Earl of Brentford or the Lord Hopton to command in chief, and then he hoped ſome good might be done againſt the enemy (*f*). The Prince received this letter kindly, wrote Sir Richard Greenvile a letter of thanks, and, in the beginning of the year 1645, declared Lord Hopton General of the army, and appointed Lord Wentworth to command the horſe in chief, and Sir Richard Greenvile the foot; but Sir Richard deſired to be excuſed, alledging that he was become infirm, and that he could do more ſervice by drawing together ſuch as had quitted the army, and providing for the interior ſafety of the county (*g*). This was ſo ill taken, that, by the advice of his council, the Prince ſent for Sir Richard, and after a ſharp expoſtulation committed him priſoner, firſt to Launceſton, and then ſent him to the Mount, where his confinement laſted as long as thoſe that committed him had power to confine him (*h*) [*K*]. They were equally diſappointed in Lord Wentworth, who be-

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(*e*) Sir Richard Greenvile's Vindication.

(*f*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 724, 725, 726.

(*g*) Memoirs of Sir Richard Bulſtrode, p. 152. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion.

(*h*) Memoirs of Sir Richard Bulſtrode, p. 152, 153. Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 217—220.

[*K*] ***Had power to confine him.***] What is ſaid in the text, we have taken entirely from the Noble Hiſtorian; we will here, in his own words, give the Noble Vindicator's explanation (46). ‘He ſays, that the diſorders in the army daily increaſing, Sir Richard, at laſt fairly and honeſtly repreſents in a letter to the Prince, the impoſſibility of doing any thing with an army ſo diſtracted by different and contradictory orders: and recommends a more abſolute command to be given to ſome perſon whom all would obey, and names the Lord Hopton, who had formerly commanded with great glory and ſucceſs: he excepts againſt himſelf, upon the account of that ſeverity and diſcipline in which he always kept his men, which might make him diſagreeable to that part of the army which had been accuſtomed to ſuch licence as he never could overlook, &c.

‘This advice was readily taken, and he received thanks for it; but it was purſued in ſuch a manner as gave a finiſhing ſtroke to all hope, where alone any hope was left.

‘The Lord Hopton was immediately declared General; and Sir Richard, without adviſing with him how far it might be agreeable to his intentions, or hearing what in all probability he might have to offer in relation to himſelf, was at the ſame time declared one of the Lieutenant-Generals under him.

‘It could not be reaſonably imagined, that by propoſing to quit the chief command, his deſign could be to obey in an inferior poſt in the ſame army. But, ſays the Chancellor, this command was ſuperior to what he had before. Strange logic, that part ſhould be more than the whole! the Lieutenant greater than the Captain! But it was plain he had ſome underhand drift. Well, what was that drift? Why, to ſtay behind and provide for the ſecurity of Cornwall: was Cornwall not worth preſerving? O! but there was a diſcontented party there, and he would have put himſelf at the head of it. Stranger, and ſtranger ſtill. A diſcontented party, where all were known to be profeſſed Royaliſts! There was, indeed a ſtrong party diſcontented with the meaſures of the Council; but let no man flatter himſelf, be his power never ſo great, that it can ever be a doctrine received among Engliſhmen, That to be diſſatisfied with the Miniſter, implies diſaffection to the Prince. In ſhort, the Chancellor's real apprehenſion appears to have been, That if once he had quitted Cornwall, and Sir Richard had remained behind, he would have ſhut the door againſt his return: this was a perſonal fear, and therefore Sir Richard was to be pinned down to this peremptory command, or nothing, He was not to be truſted out of ſight.

‘Here it is, that the Lord Hopton is ſo highly magnified for a ſpeech he is ſaid to have made upon accepting this command.——That, whereas, it was become a cuſtom for others to excuſe their diſobedience, by pretences of honour; for his part, tho' he could not obey at this time without reſolving to loſe his honour, he was ready to obey, with the loſs of his honour.

‘This ſpeech was ſurely meant rather as a reproach to every body elſe, than an encomium upon this gallant Lord, and ſeems to be a mere hiſtorical flouriſh. If he had been commanded, like Sir Richard, to deſcend from the chief poſt, to obey in an inferior one; ſubmiſſion in that caſe, might very properly have been called obedience, with loſs of honour.———But, on the contrary, he was appointed to the ſupreme command, which, ſure, was an honour: if any hazard appeared in the execution, the more difficult the taſk the greater the glory. By military ſkill, under extreme diſadvantages, as much honour is to be gained as in compleat victories. No General, ſure, ever excuſed accepting a command, upon pretence of danger in the execution. In what then conſiſted this indubitable loſs of honour, for which the Noble, and the Reverend, Hiſtorian, ſo highly extol this implicit obedience? neither was there at that time any occaſion for ſuch a ſpeech, the caſe was far from being deſperate: it was ſoon made ſo, indeed, by the violence uſed to Sir Richard.

‘In

(46) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 217—222.

ing a very haughty man, it was thought he would reſign; but he kept his command, and behaved as indifferently in it as ever; ſo that ſoon after Lord Hopton's forces were routed, and all power of reſiſtance in the Weſt failed (*i*). It is a ſtrange account that the Noble Hiſtorian gives of the conſequences attending Sir Richard's misfortune. He has repreſented him as a man of ſuch haughtineſs as rendered him diſtaſteful to his ſuperiors, and impracticable with regard to his equals, at the ſame time that his ſeverity made him terrible to his inferiors, and his oppreſſions odious to all people. Yet, ſays he, notwithſtanding all this, he was no ſooner committed by the Prince, than even thoſe who had complained of him as much as any, expreſſed great trouble; and many officers of thoſe forces which he had commanded, in a tumultuous manner petitioned for his releaſe; and others took great pains to have the indiſpoſition of the people, and the ill accidents that followed, imputed to that proceeding againſt Sir Richard Greenvile, in which none were more forward than ſome of the Prince's own houſhold-ſervants, who were ſo tender of him that they forgot their duty to their maſter (*k*) [*L*]. In leſs than two months time after the commitment of

(*i*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 727, 730. The Civil Wars in England and Ireland, p. 178. Dugdale's Short View of the Troubles, p. 202.

(*k*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 729. Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 221, 222.

‘ In ſhort, Sir Richard perſiſting to excuſe himſelf from being thus commanded, is put under arreſt as the Lord Wilmot had been the year before, and committed, with all the public marks of indignation and diſgrace that could poſſibly be imagined, a cloſe priſoner in the common county goal at Launceſton, among pick-pockets and highwaymen, and in that condition remained till the fate of the Weſt was totally decided.

‘ I muſt not forget one circumſtance, when he was thus ignominiouſly put under arreſt.

‘ Colonel Roſcarrock, an officer of diſtinction, rode haſtily up to him, and whiſpered him not to ſubmit to ſo unjuſt a ſentence: he was ſure of the reſentment of the troops, they would ſtand by him, and follow wherever he would lead. He ſeverely reproved him, enjoining a ſtrict obedience to the commands of the Prince, to which, whatever might be his fate, he was reſolved to ſubmit in every thing that was conſiſtent with his honour: and in this he required all, who had any regard for him, to follow his example.

‘ This particular I had from Roſcarrock's own mouth, who lived to have a government conferred upon him in Ireland after the Reſtoration, and did not die till towards or after the Revolution.

‘ I think this ſpeech was full as good as that aſcribed to the Lord Hopton, and as far from any ſpirit of diſobedience: he not only obeyed with entire reſignation, but ſacrificed, at the ſame time, the two ſtrongeſt paſſions of human nature, ſelf preſervation and revenge.

‘ It was neceſſary for the Chancellor to find ſome public juſtifiable reaſon for ſo extraordinary a ſtep: a *ſi quis*, therefore a proclamation was publiſhed, inviting and encouraging all manner of perſons to appear and give evidence of their grievances, during this arbitrary general's command. If there had been any in reality, well grounded or ſupportable, it is natural to believe, complainants would not have been wanting againſt a man ſo diſgraced, that to accuſe him was making their court: now, or never, was the time for all the murther and plunder to come out. But, to the Chancellor's infinite ſurprize, not one mortal appeared.

‘ On the contrary, the whole country took offence, the very perſons who were ſaid to have clamoured ſo much againſt him, appeared to clamour as much for him; the ſoldiers murmured, the officers of the army went tumultuouſly in a body to demand his releaſe, all the members of the council itſelf, except the Chancellor's particular adherents, diſowned the advice, and almoſt all the Prince's own houſhold-ſervants, as the Chancellor ſtyles them, openly declared their diſlike.’

‘ This diſappointment was too ſenſible for the Chancellor to contain himſelf in the account he gives of it: *They were more tender of Sir Richard*, ſays he, *than of their duty to their maſter*. A cruel and unnatural reflection upon ſo many perſons of honour, who had devoted their lives and fortunes to the King, and could have no other intereſt but their maſter's! Such general exclamations from every quarter, could be founded upon no other motive, but a foreſight of the evil conſequences of ſo unjuſt and violent a proceeding: neither could there be a greater proof of the innocence and merit of the perſon thus ill treated, nor a fuller anſwer to all that the Chancellor has muſtered up to alledge againſt him, than ſo public, ſo voluntary, and ſo unanimous an appearance in his defence.

‘ This is confeſſed by the Chancellor: but then he cries out—*Who would have thought it?*’

There is nothing need, there is nothing can, be added to this Lord's clear and very curious account of the manner of Sir Richard Greenvile's quitting the command, and the conſequences it produced; he writes indeed with the warmth of a relation, but then he reaſons very concluſively, and from facts that have not been, or indeed ever can be, controverted.

[*L*] *That they forgot their duty to their maſter.*] We have hinted already more than once, but in this note we will clearly declare, our motives for ſetting forth the memoirs of this gentleman's whole life, in ſo copious, and, at the ſame time, in ſo critical a manner. They are no other, than an earneſt deſire to throw light on a very important and very controverted point of the hiſtory of theſe times. We have, in the former article, ſhewn that the Weſt of England, and more eſpecially Cornwall, were the parts of the King's dominions beſt affected to him, and where his intereſt was moſt entire; which has been very juſtly and very judiciouſly attributed, to the attachment of the middle as well as the lower ſort of people to the gentry of old families and large eſtates; and theſe being unanimouſly loyal, gave the King the great weight he had in thoſe parts (47). It is no wonder therefore, that immediately after thoſe dreadful times, it became a queſtion ſo much agitated, How the Weſt came to be loſt? It ſo fell out, that the Noble Hiſtorian found himſelf obliged to treat this matter very particularly, as being a thing in which he had an immediate concern, the rather, becauſe at the time it happened, there were a great number, and amongſt them ſome very wiſe and worthy perſons, who ſuggeſted the true ſource of the ſudden and ſad turn of the King's affairs in the Weſt, to be the wrong meaſures taken by thoſe in whom he principally confided; to his preferring ſoldiers of fortune, and who had no intereſts in the country, to thoſe gentlemen of birth and eſtates, who had ſerved him ſo faithfully and ſo ſucceſsfully in the beginning of the war; to the licentiouſneſs of the forces which they commanded, who behaved as if they had been in an enemy's country, and who, imitating the diſſolute behaviour of their generals, became very ſoon equally dreadful to their friends, and contemptible to their enemies; and above all, to the departing from the original ſcheme of ſending the Prince of Wales thither, as to his own duchy, where he ought to have been aſſiſted by a council who were perfectly acquainted with the country, and had a great influence in it, or who at leaſt would have heard and taken the advice of ſuch as were. The council the Prince had about him was in a great meaſure compoſed of able and worthy men; but it is alledged, that it differed from all other councils, in having it's reſolutions governed by the minority, through their ſuperior intereſt with the King, whoſe letters converted opinions, that would otherwiſe have been rejected, into orders that were not to be diſobeyed. The Earl of Berkſhire, who was the Prince's governor, and ought naturally to have been at the head of the council, was ſhut out of all ſecrets; and all who were in his ſentiments had the like fate. Theſe ſentiments were no other,

(47) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 217.

of Sir Richard, the Prince of Wales finding his power gone, and his perſon in danger, thought it high time to retire, as he did on the ſecond of March, from Pendennis caſtle to the iſlands of Scilly; and the very next day Sir Richard Greenvile embarked on board a veſſel for France, from whence he made a tour to Italy, and then returned to Flanders (*l*). We have no where any diſtinct account of the motives of Sir Richard's journey, only it may be preſumed that they were not altogether for amuſement or pleaſure. As for the Parliament, even the moſt moderate and beſt inclined amongſt them, who conſented to a treaty with the King in the iſle of Wight, ſtill preſerved ſo ſtrong a reſentment againſt him, that, in their propoſition, dated October 13, 1648. they inſerted Sir Richard Greenvile's name in the firſt branch of delinquents, who were to expect no pardon (*m*). In all probability this did not much ſurprize him, though it might quicken his endeavours to procure ſome means of returning with a competent force into Cornwall. His having ſerved ſo long abroad made him known to ſome of the moſt eminent perſons in almoſt every court in Europe; and as the tranſactions in England were at that time the principal topic of diſcourſe in all places, Sir Richard Greenvile was particularly welcome, as a perſon of all others the moſt capable of giving a clear and credible account of the whole tranſactions of the war, and of the real and ſecret motives of the diſmal conſequences that had followed it. Sir Richard improved this kind of correſpondence as much as poſſible for the King's ſervice, both by writings and diſcourſes; laboured the probability of King Charles the ſecond's being replaced on the throne of his anceſtors, with a ſmall ſhare of aſſiſtance from foreign Princes and States (*n*). Theſe repreſentations of his had ſo good an effect, that the King, who was now more able to judge for himſelf, and who was free from thoſe counſellors who had conceived perſonal prejudices againſt Sir Richard, and the nature of his affairs requiring alſo the advices of a man of a military genius, his Majeſty, from Jerſey where he then was, wrote to Sir Richard to meet him in France, as he accordingly did at Beauvais, where his Majeſty conferred with him in his way to Breda, where he was then going to meet the commiſſioners from Scotland; from which expedition however he was diſſwaded by Sir Richard Greenvile; but, in obedience to the King's orders, he remained in Bretagne, and for the moſt part at St Maloes, that he might be ready upon any occaſion to do what ſervice he was able (*o*). As a clear and convincing proof of his invariable loyalty, he not only ſent cloaths, money, and proviſions, to the garriſon in the Sorlinges, but provided in the like manner for the garriſon in Guernſey-Caſtle, and ſent a very ſeaſonable and handſome preſent to the Duke of York, whoſe affairs were in very great diſorder, and to whom it was highly acceptable [*M*]. After the total defeat of the King's army at Worceſter,

(*l*) Sir Richard Greenvile's Vindication. Lloyd's loyal Sufferers, p. 473.

(*m*) Sir Edward Walker's Account of the Treaty at Newport in the Iſle of Wight, p. 57.

(*n*) Lloyd's loyal Sufferers, p. 473.

(*o*) Sir Richard Greenvile's Vindication.

other, than that Lord Goring, who commanded in the Weſt, ſhould march with his troops into thoſe counties, where he had a real intereſt, and where, if his troops could have eſtabliſhed themſelves, they might have rendered the war burthenſome to the King's enemies, by living. as they ought to have done, at their expence; that Cornwall and the Weſt ſhould be defended by it's inhabitants, under generals choſen from amongſt themſelves; that all poſſible means ſhould have been taken to fortify the country, from it's ſituation very defenſible, and the entrance of the enemy diſputed at every paſs; that the ports ſhould be kept open for ſuch ſuccours as might be obtained from abroad, and that the Prince ſhould put his honour and his cauſe on maintaining his own duchy, to which he had a clear, hereditary, and indiſputable right. It is however alledged, that the Maſter of the Rolls, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and their dependants, were in very different ſentiments; and that they compelled the Prince, againſt his own opinion, and by the authority of his father, to act ſolely under their directions; that they aſſumed the power of Dutch deputies, were for controuling the opinions, and reconſidering the reſolutions of councils of war; that they were for new modelling every thing according to their own notions, without reſpecting the King's grants, or the manner in which things had been ſettled, while the war had been carried on proſperouſly with little aſſiſtance from the King's armies elſewhere; that upon the firſt checks, occaſioned ſolely by ill management, inſtead of altering their meaſures, they fell into deſpair; that they propoſed early the Prince's flight into France, concealed it from the Earl of Berkſhire, and executed it at laſt againſt his conſent; that the true ſecret of impriſoning Sir Richard Greenvile, was to prevent his making an attempt to preſerve Cornwall, which, to the very laſt, he thought practicable, and, if he had been at liberty, would either have performed it or periſhed. It is to refute theſe aſſertions, and to juſtify the Prince's conduct under his own and his friends direction, that the Noble Hiſtorian has laboured this book ſo much more than any other part of his work. This gives the true key to the bad character of Sir Richard Greenvile, the weak one of Colonel Wyndham, and the ſuggeſting that the Earl of Berkſhire had no character or intereſt at all. But in thoſe times it was alledged, that events did not juſtify the wiſdom of theſe councils, that ſome ſtrong places in Cornwall, that the iſlands of Scilly, of Guernſey, and of Jerſey, held out long; that if the Prince had been in Cornwall, and that dutchy preſerved, when the fleet returned to their duty, the parliament garriſons revolted in Wales, the bold inſurrection made in Eſſex, and the Scots, reflecting on their own diſhonour in parting with, had declared again for the King, affairs might once more have taken a new turn; and that after all, we ſhall find Sir Richard Greenvile and his friends were unalterable in their affections to the King and his family; and that ſuch of them as ſurvived, were very inſtrumental, at the hazard of their lives, having loſt their fortunes before, in bringing about the Reſtoration.

[*M*] *And to whom it was highly acceptable.*] This epiſtle will ſufficiently convince the reader, that notwithſtanding all the ill uſage he had met with, Sir Richard preſerved a ſincere affection for his country, a noble zeal for the cauſe in which he was embarked, and all poſſible reſpect for the Royal family, at the ſame time he made no difficulty of declaring whom he took for his capital enemy (48).

'May it pleaſe your Royal Highneſs,

'Hearing your Highneſs is under ſome ſtraits at 'Jerſey, ſince his Majeſty left you there, I have pre'ſumed, out of my great zeal for your Highneſs's ſer'vice, by the aſſiſtance of an honeſt loyal merchant 'here in St Malo's, Mr John Richards, to make your 'Highneſs a preſent of ſix hundred pounds; which I 'humbly preſent by the bearer Major Madren, a Cor'niſh gentleman, who was Major to my regiment, 'when I had the honour to be his Majeſty's General 'in the Weſt.

'He

(48) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 226, 227, 228, 229.

Worceſter, and his Majeſty's return into France, there were great intrigues at his court, tho' it was very far from being numerous; and thoſe who at that time were in the poſſeſſion of the Government in England, were likewiſe very deſirous of gaining at any price exact intelligence of what was doing there, and with whom the King held correſpondence in his own dominions (*p*). The deſire of knowing, and the power of rewarding, filled very naturally a neceſſitous court with falſe friends, who betrayed whatever they could learn; and the courtiers, eager and ambitious even of nominal places, endeavoured to ſerve their reſpective purpoſes, by imputing theſe perfidious practices, the conſequences of which were apparent, and therefore undeniable, one to another; ſo that if the King liſtened implicitly to any, he could not help hearing that all about his perſon were traytors (*q*). Amongſt the reſt, one Mr Robert Long, who had acted as Secretary of State, was removed from his office, and the ſeals given to Sir Edward Hyde; upon ſome ſuch ſuſpicions Colonel Wyndham, of whoſe integrity the King was ſure, and of whoſe capacity he had a good opinion, was diſappointed of the poſt of Secretary, which he expected; and many others of leſs quality were in the like ſituation, and being moved, partly by reſentment, partly by ambition, and not a little from envy, at ſeeing the King's confidence wholly engroſſed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, they began to place all miſcarriages to his account, alledging, that he held a cloſe correſpondence with Cromwell, and riſing by degrees, as is common in ſuch caſes, at length ſuggeſted, that he had privately made a tour to England, and had been actually ſeen in conference with him (*r*). Theſe ſtories coming to the ears of Sir Richard Greenvile, who thought himſelf hated, and conceived himſelf injured, by Sir Edward Hyde, in neither of which perhaps he was miſtaken; he thought it his duty to inform the King, as he did by letter in the month of Auguſt 1653, but affirmed nothing of his own knowledge, and deſired only, that for the King's honour, and the ſafety of ſuch as were daily hazarding their lives in his ſervice, the matter might be enquired into. This application, though at ſome diſtance of time, had it's effect; an enquiry was accordingly made, which produced a declaration in council, entirely in favour of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and as prejudicial as might be to his accuſers (*s*) [*N*]. The Chancellor of the Exchequer,

'He will farther acquaint your Highneſs, that I have likewiſe, out of my ſmall ſtock, ſent a relief of cloaths for the ſoldiers, and proviſions to Colonel Hodge Burges, at Guernſey caſtle, which will enable him to defend that place the longer againſt the rebels in the iſland.

'Theſe voluntary ſervices, I hope, will preſerve me in your Highneſs's good opinion, notwithſtanding I have ſo powerful an enemy as Sir Edward Hyde, to miſrepreſent my actions and loyalty to the King, to whoſe ſervice, and to your Royal Highneſs's I ſhall be always devoted with great ſincerity.

'Preſuming therefore upon my duty to your Highneſs, I muſt beſeech you to admit me to make an humble petition on behalf of a nephew, my godſon, now with me, ſecond ſon to my brother Sir Bevil Greenvile, who was ſlain at Lanſdowne; That your Highneſs would be pleaſed to receive him into your family and ſervice, near your perſon: his education has been, ſince he left his brother in Scilly, at an academy in Angers; and, I find his inclinations lead him to venture his life, and run his fortune in the immediate ſervice of your Highneſs. Wherefore, I will be anſwerable for him, and ſupport him, if your Highneſs will pleaſe to accept of his ſervice; beſeeching your Highneſs to believe me, with the utmoſt ſubmiſſion and duty,

'May it pleaſe your Royal Highneſs,

'Your Royal Highneſs's moſt obedient,

'and moſt dutiful ſervant,

'Richard Greenvile.'

The Duke's Anſwer.

'Sir Richard Greenvile,

'I have received from the hands of Major Madren, the ſix hundred pounds you have moſt ſeaſonably ſupplied me with in this place; the want of money having detained me here ever ſince the King went to Breda, but now, with this help, I will ſuddenly remove, and whereſoever I am, retain a memory of this, your particular ſervice to myſelf.

'What you have deſired of me concerning your nephew, now with you, when I am in a condition to increaſe my family, I will take into my ſervice upon your recommendation; but for the preſent, my condition will allow me no more near my perſon, but Harry Jermyn, and Charles Bercley. When I leave this place, you ſhall know where to addreſs to,

'Your affectionate friend,

'JAMES.

[*N*] *And as prejudicial as might be to his accuſers.*] The circumſtances expreſſed in the text, might very eaſily kindle diſtruſt, more eſpecially amongſt men, who, on account of events long before paſſed, heartily hated each other. But, beſides all this, there might be, and indeed, there certainly were, ſome correſpondences of Sir Edward Hyde, which might afford Sir Richard Greenvile, and perſons of his way of thinking, very ſtrong grounds of jealouſy (49). He had an intercourſe with ſome of the moſt zealous officers in the old army, with perſons who had the ſtricteſt connection with Cromwell, and even with the children of ſome of the King's judges. To the old Royaliſts, ſuch an intercourſe as this muſt have appeared in a very ſtrange light, and have inclined them to believe any, even the moſt improbable, ſtories, becauſe, whatever they were, they muſt appear leſs abſurd, than that ſuch perſons could ever ſeriouſly meditate the reſtoration of the King; and yet this was really the fact, and the Chancellor not culpable in the leaſt, any more than Sir Richard Greenvile, whoſe vindication it is proper the reader ſhould ſee in his own words, that the conduct of the King, the Council, Sir Richard Greenvile, and thoſe upon whoſe credit he had ventured to ſet on foot his accuſation, may appear in a true light, and the laſt ſcene of this great man's life be as fully and fairly repreſented as any of his preceding tranſactions. Thus then, Sir Richard's vindication runs (50):

'In April and May 1653, when I was in Paris, it was there commonly ſpoken, by divers perſons, how that Sir Edward Hyde was ſuſpected to have betrayed the King.

'Afterwards, elſewhere, having underſtood more probabilites of ſuch truths, I believed it my duty to advertiſe his Majeſty of what I had been informed thereof

'Auguſt 12, 1653, I writ of it to his Majeſty, for prevention of future miſchief, if to be doubted, as

(*p*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 563—569. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 288.

(*q*) See the Intelligence given by Bampfield, Manning, Willis, &c. in Thurloe's Correſpondence.

(*r*) Sir Richard Greenvile's Vindication.

(*s*) See the Order in the Note.

(49) Carte's Life of James Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 177.

(50) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 236—243.

Exchequer, who, though he might have faults, was undoubtedly a very able man, turned the edge of the King's declaration againſt Sir Richard Greenvile, by forbidding him his preſence,

‘ that it was reported Sir Edward Hyde had private conference with Cromwell in England, for intelligence.

‘ For anſwer thereto, the Marquis of Ormond, by letter of the 19th of September, 1653, did write to me——That his Majeſty required to know my grounds, for what I did alledge againſt Sir Edward Hyde; alſo, that I ſhould ſend him all writings concerning that affair, and likewiſe, the names of all my authors.

‘ In obedience, I wrote as followeth.

‘ That my duty was my only ground for what I writ concerning Sir Edward Hyde. As for my authors, Colonel Wyndham ſaid to myſelf at Boulogne, in June 1653, That Sir Edward Hyde had been in England, and that there he had private ſpeech with Cromwell; alſo, ſaid he, Mr Robert Long is now in Holland, he can, and will give more certain information of it's particulars: and that thereupon, I did by letter deſire Mr Long to certify the truth of that report.

‘ July 28, 1653, I received his anſwer, wherein he appeared to confirm what I writ, was ſaid of Sir Edward Hyde, by Colonel Wyndham: which letter I ſent, becauſe commanded, but greatly againſt my will.

‘ Since which Letter, Mr Robert Long ſent me another, containing thus——

‘ I will aſſure you, it will be verified, that the perſon named did poſitively, and conſtantly, affirm before two witneſſes; whereof one is on this ſide of the ſea, and the other in England, that that perſon brought Sir Edward Hyde to a conference with Cromwell, and deſcribed him ſo particularly, that it was evident he was known, and did as particularly deſcribe a perſon that was then with him.’

‘ And laſtly, concerning Sir Edward Hyde's penſion for intelligence, that it was ſo ſaid by divers perſons, ſo commonly, and in divers places, that I did not charge them to my memory, therefore could not poſſibly, at certainty, name many authors for it, but I did well remember Mr Campbell ſaid it ſundry times, in my hearing, at Paris: ſo alſo did the Biſhop of Derry ſpeak it to me at Fluſhing, July 1653.

‘ Having thus performed my duty as required, at laſt, for the reward of my conſtant known loyalty, the Marquis of Ormond did ſignify to me, by letters dated November 29, 1653, that it was his Majeſty's pleaſure to command, that I preſume not to come in his preſence, or court: that he finds my allegations againſt Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer, to be deficient to the ends they were offered, and are taken to be a defamatory libel.

‘ Since again, for farther vindication of Hyde, have been diſperſed many copies of a declaration, in writing, as authorized by his Majeſty, January 13, 1654, whereof divers copies have been diſperſed not only in France, but alſo in England, Holland, and elſewhere, and of the ſame here next enſuing is a copy.’

Tueſday the 13th of January, 1654.

Preſent,

The King's Majeſty,
The Queen's Majeſty,
The Duke of York,
The Duke of Glouceſter,
Prince Rupert,
Lord Keeper Sir Edward Herbert,
Lord Chamberlain Lord Piercy,
Lord Inchequin,
Marquis of Ormond, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland,
Lord Jermin,
Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer.

‘ Whereas, upon complaint made the 22d day of December laſt, by Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer, of certain diſcourſes ſpread abroad to his prejudice, as if he was under an accuſation of high treaſon: and upon his humble deſire that his Majeſty would examine the grounds of thoſe diſcourſes, his Majeſty, after other inquiries, cauſed a letter to be read, which had been written to himſelf, in Auguſt laſt paſt, by Sir Richard Greenvile; in which he informed his Majeſty, That Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer had made a ſtep into England before his laſt coming to Paris; and that he had there private conference with Cromwell, and that he had a penſion paid him a long time out of England for intelligence; for juſtifying which information, the ſaid Sir Richard being required by his Majeſty to ſend him the grounds thereof, had ſent a letter, written to him by Mr Robert Long, which was then likewiſe read: Upon which matter, after his Majeſty had examined other allegations, made by Sir Richard, which he found to be untrue, and ſome whereof his Majeſty himſelf knew to be falſe, his Majeſty had formerly declared his judgment to the ſaid Sir Richard, forbidding him to come into his preſence.——And moreover, his Majeſty examined Mr Peter Maſſonet at the board, the 12th of this inſtant, in regard, he had been mentioned as one of the authors of that report; and likewiſe cauſed a paper, written by the ſaid Mr Robert Long, dated January 13, in juſtification of what he had formerly written to Sir Richard Greenvile, to be read; which paper his Majeſty looks upon as a libel, derogatory from his own honour and juſtice, as well as full of malice againſt Mr Chancellor, and will hereafter take farther conſideration thereof. And upon the whole matter declares, that the accuſation and information againſt Mr Chancellor, is a groundleſs and a malicious calumny, and that he is well ſatiſfied of his conſtant integrity and fidelity in the ſervice of his father and himſelf: and moreover, that he will in due time farther examine this unworthy combination againſt him, when it ſhall be more in his power to puniſh the perſons who ſhall appear to be guilty of it. And, in the mean time, his Majeſty farther declares his former judgment, That the ſaid Richard Greenvile ſhall not preſume to come into his preſence.

‘ To conclude this declaration I only ſubſcribe—*O put not your truſt in princes, nor in any child of man, for there is no help in them.*

‘ Though theſe experiences have grieved me, yet they have of late done me good, for they mind me of my greateſt duty; and accordingly I will purſue it, to ſeek my peace with God and man, and to find me a quiet dying place in my native country, never again to touch with any worldly affairs.

‘ The premiſes being ſo ordered to public view, it is free for the world to judge whether or not I am guilty of a crime worthy of baniſhment, becauſe, as my conceived duty, I advertized the King how Hyde was ſuſpected, and reported to betray his Majeſty, and I named my authors and my advices received thereof.

‘ This being, why ſhould ſuch performance of duty be charged againſt me, as guilty of a combination againſt Hyde, whereof I proteſt myſelf not to be guilty in any particular; rather the contrary may be conceived, that Hyde is guilty of ſome combinations againſt me, in ſome relations not convenient here to be mentioned.

‘ If perſons, to perform their loyal duty, ſhall diſcover probabilities of treaſon, and be ruined for it, who then will trouble themſelves to do it, when as ſovereignty ſhall cenſure loyalty as a crime.

‘ I muſt confeſs truths. After ſight of his Majeſty's diſpleaſure, it gave me for ſome days a moſt hearty ſorrow and grief for myſelf, as having loſt that royal countenance which loyal duty made me love.

‘ Now alſo I'll confeſs, I am not leſs ſorry for the King's loſs of ſo faithful a ſervant, that has freely ſacrificed both his eſtate and life for him.

‘ Such he wants, and ſuch he will want, but that's not valued. Hyde muſt be conceived injured by common fame: he may not be taken guilty of any diſloyalty.

‘ But

preſence, and thereby ſecured himſelf for the future, againſt an opponent who had abilities and merit of every kind, and who, in this very tranſaction, was rather zealous and credulous than criminal; and there is reaſon to believe that the Chancellor himſelf thought ſo, ſince, in the account he has given us of this matter, in which it clearly appears, that except the Marquis of Ormond he had not a real friend in the council, he never ſo much as once mentions Sir Richard Greenviſe, being either content with the revenge he had taken, or conſcious that the part he had acted had nothing in it baſe or unworthy (*t*). Sir Richard Greenvile himſelf was ſo ſecure of this, that he ſoon after publiſhed an apology for his own conduct, together with the order, in Holland; in which he expreſſes himſelf, as the reader has ſeen, with great ſpirit, and as if he had been wholly indifferent as to the event. But though great minds may conceal, that does nothing towards preventing their feeling ſtrokes of this nature; Sir Richard, who had ſupported ſo many and ſo great misfortunes, ſunk under the weight of this; and being deprived of that cordial which had hitherto ſuſtained his ſpirits, the hopes of rendering ſervice to his exiled ſovereign, fell the victim of his undeſerved diſpleaſure, and, as the laſt teſtimony of his unſhaken loyalty, died of GRIEF (*u*). This is not ſaid ſlightly or from conjecture, but is a very certain and melancholy fact. As ſoon as he had written and publiſhed his Vindication, he ſhut himſelf up in a cloſe retirement, ſuffered his beard to grow, in teſtimony of his ſorrow, and very ſoon quitted that life which his misfortunes had rendered hateful; but when or where is not in our power to ſay: all we know of him farther is, that his remains lie interred in a church at Ghent, with this inſcription only upon a plain ſtone:

(*t*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 515—520.

(*u*) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 247.

Sir Richard Greenvile,
The King's General in the Weſt.

His Wife ſurvived him for many years, and came again into the poſſeſſion of her eſtate, about which ſhe embroiled herſelf once more in Chancery (*w*). He had by this lady only one daughter, who out-lived him, named Elizabeth, who became the wife of William Lennard, Eſq; (*x*), and was never the better for her mother's eſtate (*y*), but might be truly ſaid to inherit the ill fortune of her Father (*z*).

(*w*) Caſes in Chancery, p. 10.

(*x*) Segar's Baronage, MS.

(*y*) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, ubi ſupra.

(*z*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. V. p. 89.

‘ But Sir Richard Greenvile, for his preſuming loyalty, muſt be, by a public declaration, defamed as a Banditti, and his very loyalty underſtood a crime.

‘ Howſoever, ſeeing it muſt be ſo, let God be prayed to bleſs the King with faithful counſellors, and that none may be prevalent to be any way hurtful to him or to any of his relations.

‘ As for Sir Richard Greenvile, let him go with the reward of an old ſoldier of the King's; there is no preſent uſe for him, when there ſhall be, the council will think on't—if not too late, *Vale*.

‘ Sir Richard's part in this matter was unavoidable (51). No generoſity could have excuſed ſtifling informations of ſo dangerous a nature. Concealment was high-treaſon: he could do no leſs than communicate the advice; and he did it in the moſt private manner, in a letter to the King, which his Majeſty was at liberty either to ſtifle or examine, as in his own wiſdom he ſhould think fit: in this there could be no crime, in ſilence there would, eſpecially ſince thoſe informations, however improbable, were not taken from raſh and idle diſcourſes, but ſignified under the hands of perſons of note and character, who undertook for the proof. Neither was Sir Richard haſty or precipitate in producing his evidence, he ſecured his vouchers under hand and ſeal before he adventured to advertiſe his maſter. If there was any malicious combination, he poſitively denies any ſhare in it: yet ſuch was the Chancellor's grudge to him, and to him only, that he was the ſole perſon ſingled out to be puniſhed: the reſt were referred to another time, when his Majeſty might have more power of examining and puniſhing; and yet, when that time came, and theſe very original accuſers returned to the charge, reviving this very article in a parliamentary impeachment, Wyndham was liberally provided for, Mr Robert Long was made Sir Robert, and Auditor of the Exchequer, and Sir Richard, had he been alive, perhaps might have been a General again.'

(51) Vindication of Sir Richard Greenvile.

E

GREENVILE, [Sir JOHN] afterwards Earl of Bath; he was born at the houſe of his father, Sir Bevil Greenvile (*a*), in the year 1628. And after receiving the firſt elements of a liberal education in his own county, was, about the beginning of the troubles, removed to Oxford, and there entered a Gentleman-Commoner of Glouceſter-Hall (*b*), over which, the famous Degory Wheare at that time preſided (*c*). His ſtudies there were interrupted by the news of his father's immature, though glorious, death, at the battle of Lanſdowne; upon which, as the chief of his family, and the hopes of Cornwall, this young gentleman, though ſcarce fifteen, left the ſeat of the Muſes, to put himſelf at the head of his father's regiment (*d*); in which he very gallantly ſerved, 'till it was thought neceſſary to ſend him, with the remains of that regiment, into his own county, to recruit it; where his extenſive influence, and wiſdom ſuperior to his years, placed him in the command of a brigade, inferior to none on either ſide, conſiſting of five regiments of Corniſh infantry (*e*). In this ſtation he was, when, with the reſt of the officers of his Majeſty's forces, he ſubſcribed that famous letter to the Earl of Eſſex, from which the calmer and more candid part of both armies, entertained the ſtrongeſt hopes of peace (*f*) [*A*]. After the defeat of

(*a*) Lloyd's loyal Sufferers, p. 472.

(*b*) Wood's Athen. Oxonienſis, Vol. I. col. 154.

(*c*) Antiquitat. Oxonienſis, Part ii. p. 381.

(*d*) Lloyd's loyal Sufferers, p. 472.

(*e*) Bibl. Sign. 12. Car. II.

(*f*) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 118. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 519. Ruſhworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 692.

[*A*] *The ſtrongeſt hopes of peace.*] We have mentioned this letter in the former article, and, indeed, it is one of the papers of moſt conſequence, among the many that paſſed between both parties, in this lamentable war; the reader therefore will be pleaſed to peruſe, and conſider it, and weigh particularly the names of the officers, by whom it was ſubſcribed.

of the Earl of Eſſex, he attended his Majeſty in his return to Oxford, and behaving very bravely in the ſecond battle of Newbury, fought on the 27th of October, 1644, we find his name amongſt the heroes who were wounded in that engagement, by the title of Sir John Greenvile *(g)*. At the beginning of this action, Sir John was poſted on an eminence at Spine, with a body of infantry, a few pieces of cannon, and a ſmall retrenchment before him. The enemy advancing with a ſuperior force both of horſe and foot to charge him, General Goring attacked them with the King's cavalry to prevent it; but the Earl of Cleaveland being made priſoner in this charge, the Parliament's forces attacked thoſe under Sir John Greenvile with great ſpirit, and met with as obſtinate a reſiſtance; 'till Sir John, receiving a ſevere ſtroke with a ſword upon the head, his troops began to give way, when Sir

(g) Mercurius Aulicus. Sir Edward Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 115. Ruſhworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 721.

‘ My Lord,

‘ We having obtained his Majeſty's leave to ſend this to your Lordſhip, ſhall not repeat the many gracious meſſages, endeavours, and declarations which his Majeſty hath made, and have been ſo ſolemnly proteſted in the preſence of God and men, that we wonder how the moſt ſcrupulous can make any doubt of the real, and royal performance of them. But we muſt, before this approaching occaſion, tell your Lordſhip, that we bear arms for this end, only to defend his Majeſty's known rights, the laws of the kingdom (1), the liberty of the ſubject, the privilege of the Parliament, and the true Proteſtant Religion, againſt Popery, or Popiſh innovations. And this being the profeſſed cauſe of your Lordſhip's taking arms, we are confident, that, concurring in the ſame opinions and pretences, we ſhall not, by an unnatural war, weaken the main ſtrength of this kingdom, and advance the deſign of our common enemies, that long ſince have devoured us in their hopes. My Lord, the exigent of the time will not ſuffer us to make any laboured declarations of our intentions, but only this, That on the Faith of Subjects, the Honours and Reputation of Gentlemen and Soldiers, we will with our lives maintain that which his Majeſty ſhall publickly promiſe, in order to a bloodleſs peace. Nor ſhall it be in the power of any private perſon whatſoever to divert this reſolution of ours; and the ſame we expect from you. And now we muſt take leave to proteſt, That if this our profer be neglected, which we make neither in fear of your power, nor diſtruſt of our own; but only touched with the approaching miſeries of our nation, that what calamities ſhall oppreſs poſterity, ſhall lie heavy upon the ſouls and conſciences of thoſe that ſhall decline this overture, which we cannot hope ſo ſeaſonably to make again, if this conjuncture be let go. And therefore it is deſired, that your Lordſhip and ſix other perſons, may meet our General to-morrow, at ſuch an indifferent place as you ſhall think fit, attended with as many, or, if you ſhall find it any way inconvenient to come in perſon, that then your Lordſhip will appoint ſuch, or ſo many, to meet with the like number from hence, that may conſider of all means poſſible, to reconcile the unhappy differences and miſunderſtandings that have ſo long afflicted the kingdom; and for the ſecurity of your Lordſhip, and thoſe that ſhall come with, and be employed by, your Lordſhip, we do engage our Faith and Honour, and do expect the ſame from your Lordſhip; deſiring withal, your very ſpeedy anſwer, which muſt be a guide to our proceedings; concluding, that if this ſhall be refuſed, we ſhall hold ourſelves juſtified before God and man, whatſoever ſhall be the ſucceſs. So we reſt,

Your Lordſhip's humble ſervants,

From the army, the
8th of Auguſt 1644.

Maurice,
Brainford,
Tho. Wentworth,
Percy,
Cleveland,
Tho. Blagge,
Amys Pollard,

Ad. Scroop,
Herbert Lundesford,
Barth. Pell,
Hen. Shelley,
Tho. Pawlet,
Theod. Kyrton,
Anthony Brocket,

Ja. Hamilton,
Rich. Thornehill,
Jo. Topping,
Ja. Dundaſſe,
Giles Strangways,
R. Smith,
Nich. Samuel,
Lyndſey,
Northampton,
Jacob Aſteley,
Joſeph Bampfield,
Anthony Thelwell,
Jo. Owen,
Tho. Stradling,
Robert Howard,
Jo. Stocker,
Bar. Jenkes,
Hen. Miller,
Rich. Fielding,
Tho. Weſton,
Paul Smith,
Guy Mouldſworth,
Phi. Honywood,
Tho. Culpeper,
William Leak,
Jo. Lunther,
Jo. March,
Edw. Porter,
Geo. Armſtrong,
Rich. Nevil,
Tho. Pigott,
Jo. Brown,

Druery Leigh,
Arthur Slingeſby,
David Skringer,
Ja. Murray,
Cha. Compton,
Richard Cave,
Bernard Steward,
Bernard Aſteley,
Theo. Gilby,
William Leighton,
William Murrey,
Tho. Blackwall,
Tho. Bellingham,
Richard Page,
Cha. Fowlke,
James Carye,
Geo. Goring,
Ralph Hopton,
Joſeph Wagſtaffe,
Tho. Baſſet,
Char. Lloyd,
George Liſle,
William St Leger,
Ed. Nott,
Jo. Rideck,
Alex. Standiſh,
Jo. Stewart,
Jo. Gambling,
Jo. Greenvile,
Arthur Hemingham,
James Haſwell,
Will. Maxwell.

1) Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 59, 60, 61.

To ſo cool, and moderate a letter, the Earl of Eſſex returned the following ſhort and ſurly anſwer.

‘ My Lords,

‘ In the beginning of your letter, you expreſs by what authority you ſend it. I having no power by the Parliament (who have employed me) to treat, cannot give way to it without breach of truſt.

My Lords,

I am,

Your humble Servant,

Liſtithiel, Auguſt
10, 1644.

Eſſex.

For his Highneſs Prince Maurice,
and the Earl of Forth.

This letter is ſeverely cenſured by the Noble Hiſtorian (2), who ſeems to think the original deſign of the officers fell very little ſhort of treaſon; and in the ſame light it was conſidered by Sir Edward Walker (3), who wrote immediately under the King's eye. One would imagine theſe authors thought the King was at the head of an army fighting for pay, againſt a foreign enemy, and not of free-born Engliſhmen, contending for his Rights and their own Liberties, againſt their deluded countrymen. It was the lofty ſentiment of theſe gentlemen, as to the prerogative of the Crown, when guided by their councils, that gave the Parliament great encouragement, and ſunk the ſpirit of the King's true friends, who fought from principle, and had ſomething to loſe; and hence ſprung the notion of getting the Prince of Wales to act, which in the ſentiments of the ſame counſellors, approached nearer ſtill to treaſon.

(2) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 519.

(3) Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 59.

[*B*] *The*

Sir John Cansfield, with the Queen's regiment of horſe, happily interpoſed, checked the enemy's progreſs, and ſaved Sir John Greenvile from being taken; in which charge however, Sir John Cansfield had the misfortune to loſe his leg (*b*) by a cannon ſhot. In the ſpring of the following year, Prince Charles being then in his own duchy, and ſeeing how great an intereſt the family had, as well as admiring the prudence and ſpirit of this young ſoldier, declared him of his own accord one of his bed-chamber (*i*); which gave an occaſion, though the King confirmed his choice, to one of thoſe unfortunate letters to the Queen; which, being ſoon after taken at Naſeby, were, by the Parliament's order, decyphered and publiſhed, on purpoſe to ſhew to how great a degree the King was governed by her counſels (*k*) [*B*]. As for Sir John Greenvile, he continued to ſerve the young Prince with much zeal and fidelity, and with a diſintereſtedneſs that in all reſpects merited the favour ſhewn him, and wrought ſo ſtrong a confidence in him, that when his affairs in the Weſt began firſt to decline, which was not long after Sir John's being ſworn of his bed-chamber, he made choice of him, though ſo young a perſon, to go over to France, in order to know what aſſiſtance he might expect from thence, and whether, in caſe of neceſſity, it would be expedient for him to retire thither. At his return, he brought a letter from the Earl of Norwich, the King's Ambaſſador at that court, in which he very roundly declared, the Prince's coming thither would be his certain ruin, referring himſelf for his reaſons in ſupport of ſuch a declaration as this to the bearer, who, in vindication of this letter, communicated many paſſages of moment (*l*). We have theſe facts almoſt in theſe words in the work of the Noble Hiſtorian, but not a ſyllable of Sir John Greenvile; only we are told that this letter and meſſage was brought by one of the Prince's bed-chamber (*m*). In the beginning of the month of March following, the Prince, at the earneſt requeſt of thoſe who, in virtue, as they ſaid, of the King's authority, governed him, embarked for the iſles of Scilly, where he remained from the 4th of that month 'till the 16th of April, and then, by the ſame advice, retired to the iſland of Jerſey (*n*). Sir John Greenvile attended him all this time, and there happened a paſſage during the Prince's ſtay in Scilly, which, though very ſlightly touched by the Noble Writer, might, if it was in our power to give it, deſerve a clearer explanation. He ſays, that the Prince received by a trumpet a ſummons, rather than an invitation, from Sir Thomas Fairfax; adding immediately, 'It was well it came not to Pendennis, where it would have found a party among the Prince's ſervants (*o*).' It is very poſſible, this party amongſt the Prince's ſervants meant him as well as thoſe who were for hurrying him out of his father's dominions. Sir Thomas Fairfax is ſaid to have conceived ſome perſonal diſtaſte (*p*) to the King; but there is nothing more certain, than that he was no enemy to monarchy, and very freely hazarded his life and fortune afterwards for the ſervice of this Prince, when his affairs were in a much more deſperate condition (*q*): Who therefore can tell what his intentions might be now [*C*]? The Prince, after ſome ſtay at Jerſey, and freſh diſputes amongſt

(*b*) The Civil Wars in Great Britain and Ireland, p. 130. Sir Richard Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 118.

(*i*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 549.

(*k*) King's Letters to the Queen, No. xi.

(*l*) See the Earl of Clarendon's Account in the next quotation.

(*m*) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 685.

(*n*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Part iv. Vol. I. p. 104, 285. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. V. p. 2, 4. Heath's Chronicle, p. 96. Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 178.

(*o*) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. V. p. 3.

(*p*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II.

(*q*) M.S. Memoirs of Lord Fairfax, by Bp. Sprat.

[*B*] *The King was governed by her counſels.*] This letter is dated from Droitwich (4), Wedneſday, May the 14th; and ſo much of it as regards our purpoſe follows.

'Now, I muſt make a complaint to thee of my ſon 'Charles, which troubles me the more, that thou 'mayſt ſuſpect, I ſeek, by equivocating, to hide the 'breach of my word, which I hate above all things, 'eſpecially to thee. It is this, he hath ſent to deſire 'me, that Sir John Greenfield may be ſworn Gentle'man of his Bed-Chamber; but already ſo publickly 'engaged in it, that the refuſal would be a great diſ'grace, both to my ſon, and the young gentleman, 'to whom it is not fit to give a juſt diſtaſte, eſpe'cially now, conſidering his father's merits, his own'hopefulneſs, beſides the great power that family has 'in the Weſt: yet I have refuſed the admitting of 'him, until I ſhall hear from thee. Wherefore, I 'deſire thee, firſt, to chide my ſon for engaging him'ſelf without one of our conſents; then not to re'fuſe thy own conſent; and, laſtly, to believe, that 'directly, or indirectly, I never knew of this while 'yeſterday, at the delivery of my ſon's letter. So 'farewel ſweet-heart, and God ſend me good news 'from thee.'

It is but too apparent from this letter, that though the King had a judgment ſuperior to thoſe by whom he was ruled, yet in reality he had no will of his own, and was very little inclined his ſon ſhould have any either. When the reſolution was taken at Oxford to ſend the Prince into Cornwall, it was upon a ſuppoſition, that his preſence in a part of his father's dominions, which in ſome meaſure belonged to him, might be beneficial to both their concerns. It is very plain, that the Prince underſtood it ſo, and was very well inclined to have done what in him lay to that purpoſe. But the Juncto, in his council, all of them ſtrangers in that part of the world, and who had no natural intereſt in it, were extremely jealous of the native Corniſh (5), who, they ſaw, and, indeed, it was no wonder, as zealous to declare their love for their native country, as their loyalty for their natural Prince. If this had not been the caſe, the council would have prevented, by their interpoſition, the King's finding any thing amiſs, in his ſon's making a promotion, in his bed-chamber, founded as much in policy, and his true intereſt, as in affection and gratitude. In a time of perfect ſerenity, the King might, perhaps, have had reaſon for his complaint. But in this broken and diſtracted ſituation of things, when his ſubjects were every where in arms againſt him, and the Prince at a diſtance, to complain of the Prince, and to exculpate himſelf when, at the ſame time, he avers there was no fault, and to one, who could be no judge, though it ſeems ſhe always expected to decide, muſt appear very ſtrange, and leſſen the King's character extremely; with which view it was publiſhed by the Parliament, and the very publication of theſe letters ſufficiently ſhew, how little they meant to confide for the future in the King, whoſe forgiveneſs, if they had ever ſeriouſly deſired, they would not thus maliciouſly, needleſsly, and wantonly, have provoked.

(4) See this Letter in the Appendix to Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 271.

(5) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 224, 225.

[*C*] *What his intentions might be now.*] The war was now in a manner determined, at leaſt in the Weſt, where the King had the moſt friends, and, conſequently, the greateſt force; which was in a ſtrange manner divided, diſperſed, and deſtroyed by the diſputes between the Prince's council and the Generals, and their reciprocal miſunderſtandings amongſt themſelves; for they were as little united in their councils of State and of War, as with each other. It is a queſtion that has been amongſt his little court, came at length, contrary to the advice of his council, to a ſettled reſolution of going to France, which he accordingly executed; but found ſuch a reception in all reſpects, as, in the name of the Earl of Norwich, Sir John Greenvile had foretold him, and with which he was ſo diſguſted that he did not remain there long (*r*). About this time it ſeems that Sir John Greenvile returned into the iſles of Scilly; for, though upon the Prince of Wales's quitting theſe iſlands, and taking with him the beſt part of the officers who ſhould have defended them, their inhabitants ſubmitted to the Parliament, and received ſome ſmall garriſons; yet, as ſoon as their fleet retired, and the people had recovered from the conſternation they were in, they reſolved to deliver themſelves from their new maſters; and, as ſoon as they had done ſo, they ſent to make their ſubmiſſion to the Prince of Wales, and to deſire he would ſend ſome officer of experience, and well acquainted with their iſlands, to defend them, which they thought might be done in ſuch a manner as to prevent their feeling that puniſhment with which they were threatened by the Parliament (*s*). Upon this, Sir John Greenvile, with many officers who had ſerved under him, were ſent thither immediately, and eſtabliſhing himſelf in St Mary's, fortified as well as he could, and made the beſt diſpoſitions poſſible for the ſecurity and improvement of this laſt remnant of his maſter's ſovereignty. The revolt of part of the fleet from the Parliament to the Prince made theſe iſlands of ſtill greater conſequence; for Sir John taking all the advantages that their commodious ſituation would allow, ſometimes alarmed the coaſts of Cornwall, ſometimes thoſe of Devon, and ſometimes his frigates cruized on thoſe of Ireland (*t*). In theſe expeditions they gave terrible alarms, and took ſeveral officers of rank in the Parliament's ſervice, whom they kept priſoners, but treated them gently (*u*). Beſides all this, Sir John was daily increaſing his forces by the reſort of many officers and ſoldiers

(*r*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. V. p. 33.

(*s*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 284. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 396. Geſta Britannorum, by Sir G. Wharton.

(*t*) Whitlocke's Memorials.

(*u*) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 326.

been more than once aſked, and perhaps, the curious reader will think it a queſtion worth anſwering. Whether in ſuch a ſtate of things, any method might have been ſtruck out for preſerving the Conſtitution, and uniting once more the Parliament with the Monarchy, in which, without doubt, the eſſence of our government conſiſts? The moderate men in the King's army, who diſliked the dictates of Digby, the pompous eloquence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the peremptory orders of the princes Rupert and Maurice, had, as we have hinted before, and as we intend fully to explain here, caſt their eyes upon the Prince of Wales, and thought that under his auſpice a ſolid peace might be made (6). It has been inſinuated, that the worthieſt men on the ſide of the Parliament had likewiſe thought of the ſame expedient; and that Eſſex and Wilmot underſtood one another on this head; and that it was to prevent other people from being brought to underſtand it, that Wilmot was accuſed, and arreſted in the King's army by the intrigues of the miniſters, rather than any real umbrage taken by the King. As to the firſt point, that the calmer and more conſiderate officers on the King's ſide had this opinion, we have the fulleſt authority to prove (7). In reſpect to the Parliament, there are two things certain, the firſt, that the wiſe John Hampden, who meant to mend and not to murther the King, or the Monarchy, had ſet his heart on one poſt, which was, being governor to the Prince of Wales; a circumſtance, that fully proves he was no Republican, or inveterate enemy to the Royal family. The other is, that as darkly as the Noble Hiſtorian expreſſes it, the Parliament now, when he was in the iſles of Scilly, invited the Prince (8) to come to them. They ſaw what was working by the independent republican faction, and they foreſaw what would be the iſſue of it; and at the ſame time they could diſcern no method ſo likely to reſtore the reeling conſtitution, as placing at their head the undoubted heir of the Crown; and, as at this time they had the greater part of the army, their new, as well as their old General well diſpoſed to it, the thing might very probably have been done. But we muſt not expect to be credited on our own authority, or that of an anonymous author, but whoſe work contains ſome remarkable facts for all that (9). If the Noble Hiſtorian, who ſometimes records things of leſs moment, had preſerved, inſtead of ridiculing Sir Thomas Fairfax's meſſage, we might have been better able to judge of it; however, it is well it is not totally loſt. The celebrated Lord-Keeper Whitlocke, who probably had ſome concern in it, treats this buſineſs thus (10). 'March 17, 1645, The Houſe being informed that the Prince was in Scilly, and in ſome ſtraits for want of proviſions, they agreed that a letter ſhould be written to him, in a loving and tender way from both Houſes of Parliament, to invite him to come into the Parliament, and to reſide in ſuch place, and have ſuch attendants and counſellors about him as ſhould be approved by both Houſes.' We find in the ſame work, that this propoſition was puſhed as far as it would go, that the Lords (11) joined in it, that the ſtrongeſt aſſurances were given in reſpect to his liberty, and manner of living, and that at length Richmond was fixed upon for the place of his reſidence. To all this, the Prince, ſometimes by the advice, perhaps, of thoſe counſellors, the Noble Hiſtorian ſo much derided, gave very modeſt and moderate anſwers; which kept the negotiation alive, till the Prince was either perſuaded, or compelled to leave Jerſey, and go to France. Neither was the King inſenſible, or, perhaps, averſe to this, for when in his way to the Weſt, the whole county of Somerſet came to ſalute him near Ilcheſter, at the cloſe of a long and gracious ſpeech, in which he profeſſed, that he deſired nothing ſo much as peace, and to rule according to the laws of the land, he pointed to the Prince, and ſaid (12), If I live not to do it, I hope this young man, my ſon, your fellow ſoldier in this expedition will, to whom I ſhall particularly give it in charge. When he ſent his own meſſage to Eſſex for peace, he intended to have ſent a meſſenger alſo with inſtructions, and this meſſenger was Mr Harding, one of the Prince's bed-chamber, and his (13) inſtructions are yet extant. Add to all this, that in the laſt moſt diſmal ſcene of his life, when all other circumſtances of hope or comfort had forſook him, he had recourſe to this propoſition, to hear (14) which the High Court of Juſtice adjourned. It came, indeed, then too late, for the Parliament was purged, the army as much revolted from them as from the King, and Cromwell and his aſſociates maſters of all. But even then, Mr Downes, one of his judges, cried out, Have we (15) no bowels? and would have gone further, if he had been permitted. All theſe particulars taken together, moſt undoubtedly ſhew, that at this juncture, when the Prince was in the iſlands of Scilly, ſuch of his ſervants as thought he might have treated, were not to be looked upon as either wanting in their duty to the King, or deſtitute of common ſenſe. If after all another queſtion ſhould be aſked, Why, if affairs ſtood in this light, did not the Prince's council unanimouſly incline to treat? To this two things may be ſaid; Firſt, It is very extraordinary, the Noble Hiſtorian, who has recorded ſo many other things, has not thought proper to record theſe reaſons; the other, that the Parliament, though then deſirous of receiving the Prince, were determined never to have any thing to do with theſe miniſters, and had declared it.

(6) Sir Richard Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 102, 103. Walker, Warwick.

(7) Clarendon, Walker, Warwick, Bulſtrode, Echard.

(8) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. V. p. 2, 3.

(9) Hiſtory of King Charles II. by a Perſon of Quality, p. 6.

(10) Memorials, p. 197.

(11) Ibid. p. 199, 202, 205, 206, 209.

(12) Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 45. Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. II. Part iii. p. 690.

(13) Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 53.

(14) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. II. Part iv. p. 1422, 1423. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 373. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 280. Heath's Chronicle, p. 212, 213. Sir Thomas Herbert's Memoirs, p. 116.

(15) Heath's Chronicle, p. 467.

[*D*] *And*

ſoldiers who had ſerved in the late King's army, and by ſuch as had a mind to ſhare in the riches which their daily captures produced (*w*). Theſe circumſtances taken together, but more eſpecially the loud complaints of the city of London, in regard to the depredations to which their trade was expoſed, alarmed the Parliament ſo much, that they ſent a ſtrong ſquadron with a good body of land troops on board, commanded by two of the beſt officers in their ſervice, Sir George Ayſcue and General Blake, to reduce thoſe iſlands (*x*). This was in the beginning of May 1651, the King being then in Scotland, and the Dutch having a good fleet at ſea, of whom the Parliament then began to be jealous (*y*). This was not without reaſon, for the States had actually made propoſitions to Sir John Greenvile, which might have tempted a man of leſs honour, for they offered him one hundred thouſand pounds to put thoſe iſlands into their hands, to which, if he had conſented, Van Tromp was ready, with a ſquadron of twelve men of war, to have taken poſſeſſion of them: but Sir John, after making all the preparations neceſſary for a deſperate reſiſtance, entered into a treaty with General Blake; and having made him ſenſible, that, if he was driven to extremities, the reduction of thoſe iſlands would be very dearly purchaſed, he procured from him as good terms as he could reaſonably expect, which were ſigned on the 23d of May (*z*). In purſuance of theſe articles, the Parliament officers, amongſt whom were the Colonels, Axtel, Sadler, and Le Hunt, were ſet at liberty, the greateſt part of Sir John's forces tranſported, purſuant to thoſe articles, wherever they pleaſed to to go (*a*), and Sir John himſelf, with his principal officers, returned with Blake into England, in order to make his ſubmiſſion, and, without any compoſition, to live quietly upon his own eſtate (*b*). The Parliament, amazed at the large conceſſions they contained, at firſt ſhewed ſome diſſatisfaction with reſpect to theſe articles, and ſeemed little inclined to ratify them. But Blake on the one hand repreſenting his reaſons in a very ſtrong light, and declaring on the other, that if they were not ratified he would lay down his commiſſion, they reſolved that they ſhould be punctually executed, and ſo they were (*c*) [*D*]. As ſoon as he found himſelf in ſo eaſy a ſituation, Sir John thought it expedient to ſettle himſelf in the world, that he might make his intereſt in Cornwall and Devonſhire ſtill more conſiderable, and, at the ſame time, take off the apprehenſions which thoſe then in poſſeſſion of the government entertained of his principles and activity. Accordingly, in 1652 he eſpouſed Jane, the only ſurviving daughter of Sir Peter Wych, who, after reſiding twelve years as Ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, was made Comptroller of the Houſhold to Charles I. upon whom he made a very conſiderable ſettlement, in which he durſt not take the title of Knight, but ſtiles himſelf John Greenvile, ſon and heir of Sir Bevil Greenvile, late of Stowe in the county of Cornwall (*d*). The eaſineſs of his circumſtances, and this alteration in his family, did not in the leaſt abate his zeal for the King's ſervice. On the contrary, he was always one of the Commiſſioners appointed by King Charles for carrying on his affairs in England, and for concerting meaſures with his friends for the ſupport of his Majeſty and his brethren abroad, or for the bringing him home. He was not even diſcouraged when it became neceſſary for the King to grant a new commiſſion (*e*), on account of the treachery of one of thoſe, and him none of the leaſt capable, who had been named in the former. But Sir John, though a young man, in poſſeſſion of a good fortune, and entirely beloved in his country, conducted his correſpondence ſo warily, behaved ſo decently to all perſons in power, lived ſo unexceptionably in the country, that he met with little moleſtation, though he was ſometimes reſtrained, and remained always ſuſpected [*E*]. He had, beſides

(*w*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 284.

(*x*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 465, 467. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 326.

(*y*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 284, 288.

(*z*) See the original articles to Sir John Greenvile, in the library of the ſociety for promoting Chriſtian Knowledge, and propogating the Goſpel. Heath's Chronicle, p. 289. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 326. Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 256.

(*a*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 495. Heath's Chronicle, p. 289.

(*b*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 495.

(*c*) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 257. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 89, 90.

(*d*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 480.

(*e*) Baker's Chronicle, p. 640. Life of Dr Barwick, p. 185, 454. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 667—669.

[*D*] *And ſo they were.*] It is very clear that Sir John Greenvile, while he remained poſſeſſed of theſe iſlands, gave the world a very different notion of them, from what had ever been entertained before. A very knowing and candid writer ſays, that he made it evident, that the poſt he had taken was a key (16) that opened a paſſage to ſeveral nations. He had a great garriſon to ſubſiſt, and, as the iſlands afforded little for that purpoſe, he was forced to make uſe of his frigates; the captains of which, under various pretences, made free with the ſhips of all nations, and amongſt others, took twenty ſail of Dutch merchant-men, of which the States complained loudly to King Charles II. (17) who was then in Scotland; and, at the ſame time, ſent Admiral Van Tromp, with a compleat ſquadron, to procure ſatisfaction by force, or, which they rather affected, to obtain poſſeſſion of theſe iſlands for a ſum of money (18). Sir John made no farther uſe of this latter propoſal, than to draw from the Parliament better terms. Admiral Blake did not grant theſe 'till he had tried what could be done by force, for he debarked Captain Morris (19) with a conſiderable force, who attacked the two iſlands of Triſco and Briers with his beſt troops, which they carried indeed after a long diſpute. But Colonel Wogan, who defended them, ſold them ſo dear, that they did not care to purchaſe any thing more upon the ſame terms; and therefore, upon his retreat to St Mary's, where there were great magazines and tolerable fortifications, the Parliament Generals very wiſely changed their batteries, and propoſed honourable terms. Sir John Greenvile ſtipulated in the firſt place indemnity for all under his command, and next, a free paſſage for them wherever they had a mind to go. By theſe propoſitions he kept his people firm; and we ſhall be the leſs ſurprized, that even Blake was willing to be rid, almoſt at any rate, of ſuch troubleſome people, when we learn, that, at the time of Sir John's ſurrender, he had, under his command, three and twenty field-officers (20), ſixty captains, a proportionable number of ſubalterns, and that all the private men were veterans, who, under ſuch commanders, would not have been eaſily ſubdued, and who, if hard preſſed, might have called in the Dutch if they had pleaſed. This great affair, which Sir John managed with ſo much firmneſs, prudence, and addreſs, with two ſuch great men as Ayſcue and Blake at the head of a fleet of fifty ſail, did him ſo much the more honour, as he was at this time but in the twenty-third year of his age, a ſeaſon when conduct is not always ſhewn even where courage is not wanting.

[*E*] *Though he was ſometimes reſtrained and always ſuſpected.*] We have, in a former article, dwelt a little on the the natural ſagacity and prudence of this family, and of the wonderful ſteadineſs and calmneſs of this

(16) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 473.

(17) Heath's Chronicle, p. 284.

(18) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 256. Heath's Chronicle, p. 288.

(19) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 493.

(20) Heath's Chronicle, p. 289.

beſides that general plan concerted among the King's friends, ſome particular views of his own. He knew the cloſe connection that had ſubſiſted between Sir Bevil Greenvile and Sir Thomas Monk, the obligations, that General Monk, who now commanded in Scotland, had to Sir Richard Greenvile; and he foreſaw that there might be a time when his relation to that family might be of uſe. When he came to reſide at Kilkhampton, he found the parſonage as well as his eſtate under ſequeſtration, on account of the delinquency, that is the loyalty, of Mr Rouſe, the incumbent, into whoſe church the ſequeſtrator had thruſt his ſon. But, upon the death of Mr Rouſe, the living being vacant, Sir John exerted his right, and beſtowed it upon Mr Nicholas Monk, the General's brother, who, having married a widow, lived ſilently and peaceably at a ſmall living, about twelve miles from it. This living of Kilkhampton was worth three hundred pounds a year *(f)*; and, at the time Sir John beſtowed it, he gave Mr Monk to underſtand, that, if he ſhould afterwards have any occaſion for his ſervice with his brother, he ſhould depend upon him. Mr Monk thereupon made him, as a due teſtimony of gratitude, a clear promiſe, which, as ſoon as

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(f) See the Dedication prefixed to Dr Price's Myſtery and Method of the King's Reſtoration. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 90, 91. Gumble's Life of General Monk, p. 104.

this gentleman's father, Sir Bevil, in which Sir John reſembled him extremely; for, with great quickneſs of parts, and with much ſolidity of judgment, he had a degree of prudence, that, perhaps, did more in the management of thoſe dangerous and difficult things with which he was intruſted, than all his other great qualities together. He did not promote the King's intereſt, or rather endeavour to promote it, as ſome did, by feaſting, and having conſtantly about him a number of dependants, obſtreperouſly zealous for the cauſe; but, on the contrary, held a fair correſpondence with all his neighbours in general, and was particularly careful in cultivating an acquaintance and friendſhip with ſuch gentlemen of fortune and family, as, in the beginning of the troubles, had engaged on the ſide of the Parliament, and afterwards changed their ſentiments on ſeeing the unexpected and unnatural lengths to which things had been carried. But this modeſty and ſilence did not render him at all leſs ſteady or leſs uſeful in the King's ſervice, in promoting which, he was in the firſt commiſſion which his Majeſty granted for the management of his affairs in England, and which, for it's ſuppoſed impenetrable ſecrecy, was commonly ſtyled, *The Sealed Knot*. It was (21) compoſed of the Earl of Oxford, the Lord Bellaſis, Sir William Compton, Sir Richard Willis, Colonel John Ruſſel, and Sir John Greenvile. But, in October 1659, it was diſcovered, that Sir Richard Willis betrayed all to Secretary Thurloe (22). Upon this, Sir Edward Hyde wrote to all his correſpondents to give them notice of Sir Richard's behaviour; and the King, upon his return into the Low-Countries from the tour he had made to the frontiers of Spain, found it neceſſary to ſend over a new commiſſion (23), conceived in the following terms:

(21) Baker's Chronicle, p. 640. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 82. Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 258.

(22) Life of Dr Barwick, p. 185, 454. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 667—669. Heath's Chronicle, p. 448.

(23) Baker's Chronicle, p. 640.

‘ Charles, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To our right truſty and well beloved, Arthur Anneſley, Eſq; (afterwards Earl of Angleſey) John Mordaunt, (afterwards Lord Viſcount Mordaunt) Sir Thomas Peyton, Bart. Sir John Greenvile, Knight, and William Legg, Eſq; and to every of them greeting. We do, by theſe preſents, conſtitute and appoint you our commiſſioners, giving you or any one or more of you power to treat with any our ſubjects of our kingdom of England, and dominion of Wales, that are or have been in arms againſt us or our father of bleſſed memory, or that have contributed to the preſent rebellion in England (excepting ſuch as actually ſat in judgment for the taking away the life of our ſaid father, or pleaded, as counſel learned, againſt his life, or attended as miniſters to that odious pretended court, or laid hands on his perſon in the execution of that horrid murther), and to aſſure them in our name, That, if they ſhall forſake the preſent rebellion, and join heartily and effectually for the ſuppreſſing of the ſame, and for our reſtoration to the rights due to us by the laws of God and that of our kingdom; That then we will not only freely pardon their former oppoſing us and our dear father, and all other their crimes and offences in acting in, adhering to, or complying with, the ſaid rebellion; but that we will recompenſe and reward ſuch of them, as ſhall, by any remarkable ſervice, merit of us, either by reducing or rendering any town, fort, or garriſon of the rebels into our hands, or into the poſſeſſion and power of you, or of any other truſtee employed by us or you for our ſervice. And what you or any one or more of you, ſhall, by virtue of this our commiſſion in writing, under your hands, or the hands of any one or more of you, promiſe in our name, in this kind we ſhall ratify and confirm and perform Given at our court at Bruſſels, this 11th day of March 1659, in the eleventh year of our reign ’

In conſequence of this commiſſion, all who were named in it concurred in their endeavours, and left no path untried, no method uneſſayed, to reconcile to the King's cauſe ſuch as they thought any way capable of promoting it. In this they made a very great progreſs; for, as moſt of the ſenſible Lawyers were averſe to overturning every thing that reſembled the antient conſtitution in the State, ſo the learned and conſcientious Nonconformiſts were as little pleaſed with the deſtruction of the Church The nobility could not but ſee with regret, that they were confounded with the bulk of the people, and entitled to no farther reſpect than what reſulted from courteſy, and the remembrance of their former ſtation. Merchants and citizens, who had enriched themſelves by trade, were infinitely deſirous of ſeeing things ſettled, that they might be able to purchaſe lands with ſafety; and there wanted not ſome, even among thoſe who had been deepeſt in the worſt practices, who, forſeeing what afterwards happened, were deſirous, at any hazard, to make their peace in time, ſo as to enjoy quietly, and without queſtion, what they had acquired by ſo many former hazards. This confuſion of intereſts, the commiſſioners jointly and ſeparately managed with ſo much dexterity, that many of the moſt conſiderable perſons in the kingdom in point of intereſt and property, not a few of the officers in the army, and ſome even among the new courtiers, that is, thoſe who attached themſelves to the family of Cromwell, upon a ſuppoſition that the government might have continued in his family, overcoming all former prejudices, in a confidence that all paſt failings would be likewiſe forgotten, reconciled themſelves thoroughly, and engaged heartily to ſerve the King, and to reſtore him to his juſt rights. The remainder of the Long Parliament, who were at this time in poſſeſſion of the ſupreme authority, were far enough from being ignorant of what was paſſing; but, on the one hand, they conſidered the attachment of the army to them as an invincible ſecurity againſt all their enemies, and, on the other hand, they flattered themſelves, that they ſhould for ever fix this army, which however had turned them once out before, to their intereſts, aggrandize themſelves and their relations, and lay all their opponents in the dirt, by ſuffering theſe ſecret deſigns to ripen into act, then ſuppreſs them by the ſword, and laſtly, ſweep away the fortunes of all concerned, by an unrelenting act of forfeiture; and this, notwithſtanding the antient ties of blood or friendſhip, that might ſubſiſt between them and thoſe who were thus deſtined to deſtruction. Such were the perils to which Sir John Greenvile voluntarily expoſed himſelf, for otherwiſe, he might have ſat ſtill in the peaceable enjoyment of his paternal eſtate, and have been treated with all poſſible kindneſs by thoſe who would have indulged him in any thing, ſo he left them their authority.

[F] *Who*

an opportunity offered, he likewiſe very readily and punctually performed. There was nothing followed upon this immediately; but, when the general inſurrection was concerted, which was the laſt great plan for the King's reſtoration, upon which all his hopes depended, and in ſupport of which he determined to riſque his perſon, it was thought expedient to make ſome freſh overtures to General Monk, notwithſtanding he had obſerved a profound ſilence upon ſome former hints and invitations from the King; and in this deſign it was judged, that no one could ſo well ſerve his Majeſty as Sir John Greenvile, who was alſo very deeply embarked in the other affair [*F*]. Upon this, in the ſummer of 1659, the
King

[*F*] *Who was alſo very deeply embarked in the other affair.*] We have, in the former note, ſhewn in what manner the King's affairs were managed at home by his commiſſioners, with whom he concurred to the utmoſt of his power, and very frankly offered to hazard his own perſon and the perſons of his brothers, at any time and in any manner that ſhould appear to them neceſſary, for their encouragement. We have before obſerved, that this deſign had a very broad bottom; for the Royaliſts, or thoſe who had been in arms for the late King, and the friends of the old Parliament, looking with abhorrence upon this remnant; began to perceive now they were cool, and had leiſure to reflect, that their intereſts were the ſame, and their principles not ſo remote from each other as they had formerly imagined. But as they were thoroughly ſenſible that prejudices ſtill prevailed amongſt the middle ſort of people, they very prudently agreed that the riſing ſhould be begun by ſuch as had been always avowed friends to liberty, and never in arms for the late King, of whom there was enough in all the counties of England and Wales to make a formidable appearance (24). Sir George Booth was to raiſe Lancaſhire and Cheſhire. Sir Thomas Middleton Shropſhire and Flintſhire. Sir John Carter Denbighſhire. The Earl of Stamford Leiceſterſhire. The Lord Willoughby of Parham (who alſo advanced money to buy arms) Suffolk. Colonel Roſſiter Lincolnſhire. Colonel Popham Somerſetſhire and Wiltſhire, and to ſecure Briſtol and Taunton. Mr Edward Dunch and others Berkſhire. Major-General Maſſey, the Lord Herbert of Worceſter, and Mr How, Glouceſterſhire. Sir William Compton, Sir Thomas Leventhorp, and Mr Fanſhaw, Hartfordſhire. Mr Mordaunt, Sir Francis Vincent, and Sir Adam Brown, Surry. We might mention many more in almoſt every part of the kingdom; but that theſe are ſufficient to ſhew the nature of the deſign, and the manner in which it was managed, only one thing more is neceſſary, both in point of authority and for the ſake of perſpicuity, and that is the Declaration (25), which was to juſtify this riſing, and which was penned with great care and circumſpection, probably by the commiſſioners themſelves, ſo as to comprehend, and within a very narrow compaſs, the views of all the honeſt part of the nation; and therefore it follows.

(24) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 369.

(25) Baker's Chronicle, p. 649. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 672.

‘ Since it hath pleaſed Almighty God to ſuffer the ſpirit of diviſion to continue in this diſtracted nation, and to leave us without any ſettled foundation of religion, liberty, and property, the legiſlative power uſurped at pleaſure and contemned, the army, raiſed at firſt for our defence, abuſed, and miſled into unwarrantable actions, by the cunning and ambition of ſome of the ſuperior officers, no face of government appearing, either in any ſingle perſon, or a body of men in council lawfully conſtituted, to whom the grievances of the people may with any probability of ſucceſs be properly addreſſed. Therefore we being conſcious of our duty, and ſenſible of our own and the nation's ruin if theſe diſtractions continue, or iſſue in a more fixed oppreſſion, by ſome ſettlement, inconſiſtent with the laws, peace, and intereſt of theſe nations, have taken arms in defence of ourſelves, and all others who will partake with us in the vindication and maintenance of the freedom of Parliaments, againſt all violence whatſoever, of the known laws, liberty, and property, of the good people of this nation, who at preſent groan under illegal, arbitrary, and inſupportable taxes and payments, unknown to our anceſtors. This being our duty to God and to man, and our only deſign, we cannot deſpair of the bleſſing of him who gives victory, nor of the chearful concurrence of all good people, nor of the undeceived part of the army, whoſe arrears and increaſe of future pay, and advancement of high command, we ſhall by all means procure ſuffering no impoſition of force on any man's conſcience; and to this we doubt not but all honeſt Engliſhmen will ſay, Amen, Amen.

The day firſt fixed for this riſing was the firſt of July, but, from the number of perſons engaged in it, and their diſtance from each other, it became abſolutely neceſſary to delay it for a month; of which the King, who was very punctual on his part, and was come to the coaſt of France in diſguiſe (26), had notice. In this ſhort interval, a diſcovery was made from the indiſcretion of Lady Mary Howard, upon which, herſelf, Mr Byron, and Mr Harley, were committed to the Tower (27); but, as we obſerved in the former note, ſome of the principal perſons in the Committee of Safety, ſtood in no need of ſuch information. They had it earlier and from a much better hand, the King's diſcarded commiſſioner (28), in whom, though the King's friends no longer confided, yet they could not hinder his diſcloſing thoſe ſchemes with which he had been formerly truſted; ſo that his new friends were abundantly well acquainted with every thing that related to the general meaſure, though they might not know by name particular men. By the help of theſe informations, they took their precautions ſo well, that they diſſipated moſt of the intended riſings, which was very eaſy for them to do, excepting only that of Sir George Booth in Cheſhire, Sir Thomas Middleton in Denbighſhire, and Lord Byron at Nottingham, againſt whom marched Major-General Lambert, with three regiments of foot, three of horſe, and ſome troops of dragoons. Forces were likewiſe ſent for from Ireland, ſo that Sir George Booth was quickly overpowered (29). While Lambert was thus dealing with their opponents in the field, the Council of State having communicated their lights to the Parliament, they contrived how to deal with them as faſt as they fell into their hands. They ſummoned by proclamation the Earl of Litchfield, Mr Mordaunt, Major General Brown, Sir William Compton, Sir Thomas Leventhorpe, and Mr Fanſhaw, to ſurrender, which the three laſt did. The Earl of Stamford was taken in his own houſe in arms, and ſent to Leiceſter; the Lords Falkland and Delawar were committed to the Tower, as were alſo the Earl of Cheſterfield, the Lord Viſcount Falconbridge, the Lord Bellaſis, Lord Charles Howard, and Lord Caſtleton. The Earl of Oxford was committed to the cuſtody of a Serjeant at Arms (30). All this was with a view to fix their authority upon an immoveable baſis, and to deliver themſelves at once from all their enemies, by diſtributing, as near as poſſible, all the property in the kingdom amongſt their friends, or ſuch as by theſe gifts might be made ſo. They had no ſooner the news of Sir George Booth's being taken, than they voted Lambert one thouſand pounds to buy him a jewel (31), and reſolved to draw from Sir George Booth, if poſſible, the names of all who were embarked in his deſign, but his memory would not ſerve him for that (32). He acknowledged very frankly, that his deſign was to reſtore the King. It is much leſs wonderful that the remnant of a Parliament ſhould be ſo highly tranſported with their victory, than that their opponents in general ſhould concur in that ſentiment, and give up every thing for loſt. The Royaliſts retired into the moſt diſtant and leaſt frequented parts of the kingdom. Monk not only diſmiſſed his brother, but, as the reader will ſee in the text, began to think of laying down his command; or elſe thought it requiſite to make ſuch an offer, that he might from thence collect how far they ſuſpected or had proof of his being acquainted with Sir George Booth's deſign. The firmeſt men about the King be-

(26) Baker's Chronicle, p. 649, 650. Life of Dr Barwick, p. 206, 207.

(27) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 681, 683. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 369. Heath's Chronicle, p. 423, 424.

(28) Life of Dr Barwick, p. 185.

(29) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 683, 684. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 693.

(30) Heath's Chronicle, p. 425. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 370.

(31) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 683. Heath's Chronicle, p. 427. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 696.

(32) Heath's Chronicle, p. 426.

King wrote Sir John Greenvile a letter, intimating his hopes, and at the ſame time incloſed another to General Monk; but though both theſe were couched in unlimited terms, as the reader will ſee in the notes [*G*]; yet Sir John was, by private inſtructions, confined to the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds per annum, to be diſtributed among ſuch officers as the General ſhould find it requiſite to gain (*g*). There was at this time a very ſtrange concurrence of events; the great enterprize was on the point of breaking out, and indeed did break out under Sir George Booth (*h*). Colonel Jonathan Atkins, afterwards Sir Jonathan, and Governor of Barbadoes, had been ſent to Monk to acquaint him with the deſign, and to procure his concurrence (*i*). At this very juncture, Sir Hugh Pollard, Sir Thomas Stukely, and ſome other loyal gentlemen in the Weſt, had framed a deſign of ſending Mr Nicholas Monk to his brother, as the moſt likely perſon to gain him over to the King's intereſt; but in the firſt place it was held expedient that he ſhould go to London, where Sir John Greenvile then was, and receive his laſt inſtructions from him (*k*). Sir John had alſo the ſame views, and therefore inſtantly approved of the deſign, and communicated to him both the King's letters. He alſo deſired to embark Dr Clarges, whoſe ſiſter General Monk had married, and to whom Mr Nicholas Monk had communicated his intentions before he went to Sir John. He very honeſtly reported his commiſſion, which Dr Clarges very wiſely declined; he conſidered that Sir John Greenvile was a declared Cavalier, and that it would be very improper for him, who was the General's agent at London, to have any intercourſe with a gentleman of that character. He concurred however ſo far, as to preſs the Divine to execute the commiſſion he had undertaken; and becauſe all the ways to Scotland were obſtructed, he took care to provide a frigate for the tranſporting of Mr Nicholas Monk thither, and conveyed him ſafe on ſhipboard(*l*), fully inſtructed how to manage his negotiations with caution, and expreſly directed to communicate with none but the General, except Dr Samuel Barrow, Phyſician to the army, a very diſcreet gentleman, and Mr John Price his Chaplain; the firſt of which was ejected out of Trinity-College in Cambridge for his affection to his Majeſty, and the latter the ſon of a ſequeſtred miniſter, always educated in principles of loyalty, a good ſcholar, and an honeſt man; both recommended by Clarges to the General, at his firſt going into Scotland, to be near his perſon. The General received his brother kindly, and having made choice of a few perſons about him whom he could truſt, and united them together by a ſolemn oath of ſecrecy, he directed an expoſtulatory letter to be drawn up, addreſſed to the Parliament, which he propoſed ſhould have been ſigned by moſt of his officers, and, as far as can be collected, intended this as a prologue to an action of much greater conſequence. He changed his mind, however, ſuddenly, and reſolved to do nothing

(*g*) Price's Hiſtory and Method of the King's Reſtoration, p. 9.

(*h*) Baker's Chronicle, p. 649. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 672. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 369. Heath's Chronicle, p. 424.

(*i*) Price's Hiſtory and Method of the King's Reſtoration, p. 6.

(*k*) Baker's Chronicle, p. 650, 651.

(*l*) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 96.

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gan to deſpair; and Charles, ſeeing no hopes of his reſtitution, but from the reconciliation between France and Spain, ſet out for the Pyrenees (33) in order to promote it. In ſix or ſeven weeks however all things altered their face, the Parliament reſolved to abate the ſpirit of the army. The army ſhewed no diſpoſition to ſuffer it. On the 6th of October, the city, to promote a better underſtanding amongſt them, invited the Parliament, the council of ſtate, and the field officers, to dinner (34), at Grocer's-Hall. On the 12th of the ſame month the Parliament declared the commiſſions of Lambert and many other officers null, and the very next day the officers nulled that, by ſetting guards upon the Houſe of Commons (35). All this time Sir John Greenvile lived in his houſe in Covent-Garden, with more apparent tranquility than almoſt any man of his condition; and though he neglected nothing that was in his power to comfort and relieve the diſtreſſed, to furniſh ſafe retreats to thoſe whom their fears had driven to hide themſelves, and laboured to mollify the perſons in power with regard to thoſe who were in confinement; yet he found ſuch a variety of pretences for doing all this, independent of party, that he ſeemed to act rather like a generous good-natured man, and one who was above deſerting his friends in their diſtreſs, than as a warm Cavalier.

[*G*] *In the notes.*] The reader, on the peruſal of theſe letters, will very clearly diſcern how entirely the King truſted Sir John Greenvile, and how little hopes he had of General Monk, otherwiſe than through his influence (36).

To Sir John Greenvile.

SIR,

‘I am confident that George Monk can have no malice in his heart againſt me, nor hath he done any thing againſt me, which I cannot eaſily pardon; and it is in his power to do me ſo great ſervice that I cannot eaſily reward, but I will do all I can. And I do authorize you to treat with him, and not only to aſſure him of my kindneſs, but that I will very liberally reward him with ſuch an eſtate in land, and ſuch a title of honour, as himſelf ſhall deſire, if he will declare for me, and adhere to my intereſt. And whatſoever you ſhall promiſe to him on my behalf, or whatever he, or you by his advice, ſhall promiſe to any of his officers, or the army under his command, (which command he ſhall ſtill keep) I will make good and perform, on the word of a King.

Your affectionate Friend,

July 21, 1659.

Charles R.

That to the General was.

SIR,

‘I cannot think you wiſh me ill, for you have no reaſon ſo to do, and the good I expect from you will bring ſo great a benefit to your country, and to your ſelf, that I cannot think you will decline my intereſt. The perſon who gives, or ſends this to you hath authority to ſay ſo much from me; and if you once reſolve to take my intereſt to heart, I will leave the way and manner of declaring it entirely to your own judgment, and will comply with the advice which you ſhall give me. The reſt I refer to the perſon who conveys this to you, and it is in your power to make me as kind to you as you can deſire, and to have me always,

Your affectionate Friend,

July 21, 1659.

Charles R.

[*H*] *In*

(33) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 680.

(34) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 684.

(35) Heath's Chronicle, p. 428, 429. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 370, 371. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 684, 685.

(36) Baker's Chronicle, p. 651. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 93, 94.

thing 'till he ſaw what became of Sir George Booth's enterprize (m). As that gentleman was defeated on the firſt, and ſent priſoner to the Tower on the twenty-fourth, of Auguſt, Monk immediately cauſed his letter to be burnt unſigned, and finding the members, who were ſtiled the Parliament, began to diſplace ſeveral of his officers, and to new model his army, he grew ſo diſſatisfied, that he actually ſent a letter to this remnant (n) of a Parliament, to deſire he might have leave to lay down his command, and paſs the remainder of his days in quiet. He reprimanded his brother for having entered into a deſign of ſuch conſequence, adviſed him to mind the affairs of his profeſſion for the future, and went ſo far as to tell him, that if either he or his couſin Greenvile ſuffered this buſineſs to come to light, he would do his beſt to ruin them both (o). But before the Parliament could come to any reſolution upon his requeſt, they were turned out by Fleetwood and Lambert, ſo that the victory, which they believed would have fully eſtabliſhed their power, proved the ruin of it. The government, appointed by the army, was a kind of council compoſed of twenty-three perſons, with the Keeper Whitlocke at their head, to whom they gave the title of the Committee of Safety (p). This revolution was made on the 13th of October, and General Monk no ſooner received the news, than he declared immediately, notwithſtanding all that was paſt, for the remnant of the Parliament that had been turned out (q). In the mean time his brother returned into England by ſea, and giving no other anſwer to Sir John Greenvile than that he was under an oath of ſecrecy, he communicated this to the King, ſo that for the preſent all hopes from General Monk were laid aſide (r). General Fleetwood and Lieutenant-General Lambert both courted Monk, but the latter nevertheleſs marched againſt him with an army much ſuperior in force, and if he had proceeded with the ſame activity with which he began, in all probability he had carried his point. But if Lambert was ſtronger in men, Monk had the advantage in point of money, ſince he had about ſeventy thouſand pounds in bank; Lambert had very little, and no means to raiſe more, unleſs he would have done it by open force (s). While things were in this disjointed ſtate, and Lambert with the beſt part of his forces at Newcaſtle, the remnant of the Long Parliament made a bold puſh, took advantage of the ſoft temper of General Fleetwood, brought over the beſt part of the troops that were left about London, and on Chriſtmas day took poſſeſſion of their old ſeats again at Weſtminſter, the army in Ireland and fleet having alſo declared for them (t). This did not hinder General Monk from proceeding in his own way, and marching into England in ſupport of Lord Fairfax, who had raiſed the North in his favour; however, he ſent Major-General Morgan back into Scotland with a reaſonable force, that he might have ſomething behind him to truſt to (u). On the third of February, General Monk, at the head of his forces, entered London, and, as through the courſe of a long winter march, he had behaved with ſo much darkneſs and reſerve, that, except Lord Fairfax and one or two who were about him, nobody ever knew or gueſſed at his meaning; ſo, after he came to the Parliament, he balanced with ſo great circumſpection, that he was believed to be firm to one ſide today, and appeared quite another man to-morrow. By theſe dexterous ſhiftings, with thoſe who were continually contriving to ſhift him out of his power, he did what Cromwell, Fleetwood, or Lambert, could never do before; that is, he engaged, or rather he obliged, the remnant of the Long Parliament, firſt to admit the ſecluded members, then to put an end to their own ſeſſion, and to iſſue writs for a new Parliament (w), returnable April 25, 1660. He was then, as maſter of all, courted by all; the great leaders of the Parliament offered him Hampton-Court, and a great revenue, at length the ſupreme authority in what form and with what title he thought fit (x). The French Ambaſſador ſeconded this propoſal (y); for Cardinal Mazarin, who had made ſo good uſe of the firſt, was willing to beſpeak the friendſhip of this ſecond Cromwell upon any terms. Sir John Greenvile, who was likewiſe amongſt thoſe who kept a ſtrict eye upon the General and all his motions, reſolved to take the firſt opportunity of executing the commiſſion he had ſo long ago received from his maſter, and at the hazard of his life to draw the King out of that perplexity in which he then ſtood [H]. But this opportunity was not to be found, the

(m) Price's Hiſtory and Method of the King's Reſtoration, p. 23—26.

(n) Baker's Chronicle, p. 643.

(o) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 109, 110.

(p) Baker's Chronicle, p. 662. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 685.

(q) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 698. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 372. Heath's Chronicle, p. 430.

(r) Price's Hiſtory and Method of the Reſtoration, p. 41.

(s) Baker's Chronicle, p. 666. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 134.

(t) Price's Hiſtory and Method of the King's Reſtoration, p. 72. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 704, 706. Heath's Chronicle, p. 435. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 373. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 691.

(u) Baker's Chronicle, p. 667, 668. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 703. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 138, 139. Price's Hiſtory and Method of the King's Reſtoration, p. 60.

(w) Heath's Chronicle, p. 437, 438, 439. Gumble's Life of General Monk, p. 228, 263, 271. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 375, 376, 577. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 694, 696. Skinner's Motus Compoſit. p. 28, 36, 41.

(x) Price's Hiſtory and Method of the King's Reſtoration, p. 127, 128. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 251, 252. Baker's Chronicle, p. 693. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 716, 752. Gumble's Life of General Monk, p. 270. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 426.

(y) Baker's Chronicle, p. 695.

[H] *In which he then ſtood.*] In order to have a juſt and preciſe idea how this important tranſaction of the King's Reſtoration was brought about, and by whom; the beſt method that can be deviſed, is to conſider the letters of Sir Edward Hyde to Dr Barwick, written at the time, and which are happily preſerved. Theſe are authentic and unexceptionable evidences, for, beyond all doubt, the Chancellor was maſter of moſt of the King's intelligence. From thoſe letters, in the earlier part of the year, it is moſt apparent that at Bruſſels they only fatigued themſelves with gueſſes and conjectures, as to Monk's temper and diſpoſition, and comforted themſelves with the hopes that Colonel Cloberry, Mr Otway, and Major Redman, whom Dr Barwick had reconciled to the King, and who had all of them ſome intereſt with Monk, might work upon him. However, the reſerves of the General frequently wore out the Chancellor's patience, who was very deſirous to be at the bottom of his deſign, and a little piqued that none of his friends could aſſiſt him. In a very long letter, dated February 20, 1660, N. S. he tells Dr Barwick, 'that 'he conceives Mr Otway muſt be with him, and 'then, ſays he, you cannot be long kept in ſuſpence 'as to what Monk reſolves to do, and if Clarges hath 'the courage to ſhew him the King's letter, it muſt 'work upon him as much as if it had been written to 'himſelf.' In the ſame letter there is another paragraph, that the reader will certainly peruſe with pleaſure, as it affords us a true picture of the Chancellor's mind in that important criſis (37). 'I did hope that 'our laſt letters would have brought us ſome news of 'the city's reſentment, but I believe they will avoid 'all ſharp expoſtulations till they can make a clearer 'judgment

(37) Barwick's Life, p. 499, 500.

the General was aware of his deſign, and kept at ſuch a diſtance, that Sir John knew not how to act. At length he bethought himſelf of Mr Morrice, his neighbour in the country,

'judgment of Monk's reſolutions, of which methinks, by your's of the third, you ſeem ſtill to retain ſome hopes; and it is evident enough from his carriage, that he is willing all parties ſhould retain a fair hope of him. There is no doubt it is in his power, if he be once well reſolved to make himſelf ſo ſtrong, by a conjunction with honeſt and worthy men, that he need fear no oppoſition, but may bring all to paſs that he can reaſonably deſire, or others deſire from him; and he takes very ill meaſures of his own intereſt, if he doth not believe that it can be more advanced by his adhering to the King, and eminently promoting his right, than by any other courſe he can take; and, in truth, that no other advancement can be pleaſant or laſting to him. But if he ſhould prove ſo falſe and ſo fooliſh, as to give himſelf up to the imagination of a Republic; I hope the good ſpirit that already appears throughout the whole kingdom will be heightened with indignation and obſtinacy, to proteſt againſt a ſubmiſſion, and ſubjection to ſuch an extravagant and abſurd government as is now over them, and conſequently, will refuſe all payments of taxes and impoſitions, and fill Weſtminſter-Hall with proceſs, and complaints to the Judges for the oppreſſions they ſuffer againſt law. So that they may not be only without hope of a ſolid ſettlement, but may receive ſuch viſible oppoſition as may take away all their reputation with their neighbours, of their being like to ſettle: and then will be the time for thoſe Preſbyterian Pulpits, which would be thought to have any principles of allegiance, to diſcharge themſelves efficaciouſly.' In a letter dated, March 8, 1660, to the ſame perſon, the Chancellor expreſſes himſelf (38) thus. 'As Monk's proceeding hath been very myſterious throughout, ſo nothing is more wonderful than the ſecrecy of all that hath been tranſacted in Scotland; of all which intrigue the King knows no more than he does of his preſent intentions, nor hath any expreſs been diſpatched from Scotland to the King, to give him any account of what they demanded, or the other promiſed; therefore the King deſires you would uſe the beſt means you can to inform yourſelf of all the particulars. His Majeſty is abundantly pleaſed with the account you give him of your friend, upon whoſe affection he depends, as likewiſe upon his diſcretion, to proceed in that method, and pace, he finds moſt convenient; who can beſt judge of his nature, and how he is to be approached, and when it is ſeaſonable he will ſhew him the King's letter to him, and may aſſure him that he cannot be diſappointed in any expectation he ſhall entertain of the King's kindneſs.' At the cloſe of this letter, he adds. 'This hath been written theſe two days, and I meant not to have made any addition, but the expreſs is juſt now arrived with the great news, who likewiſe brings your letter of the 21ſt, which gives the King great hope that Monk is better diſpoſed and reſolved than he yet avows; however, the buſineſs is in a good way, and he will by degrees be brought to it, if he had not rather others ſhould have the glory of ſuch an action than himſelf: but, methinks, this calling another Parliament is the fartheſt way about, and, I believe, not eaſy to be practiſed.' On the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame month, he wrote another letter, though perhaps not to Dr Barwick, which was intercepted, and therein ſpeaks very favourably of Monk, adding, 'I hope he will quickly diſcern that it is time for him to declare his inclinations towards the King, in compliance with the ſenſe of the kingdom, which would have a great impreſſion upon many, and ſo would be of the greater merit in him.' This, if thoſe then in the Government, had been in any condition to have acted with vigour, might have been very fatal to the General, and it is not eaſy to ſee of what uſe it could have been of to the King; for if Monk was ſo well inclined, and yet found it neceſſary to conceal his inclinations, why ſhould Sir Edward Hyde, purely to expreſs his ſentiments, run the riſk of revealing them to thoſe, whoſe intereſt it was, not only to fruſtrate, but to puniſh the General for having ſuch inclinations? In another letter, dated April 2, N. S. Sir Edward writes to Dr Barwick (39) thus. 'The King is abundantly ſatisfied with the account you give of your friend *, and hath heard nothing that ſhould perſuade him that Monk hath withdrawn any of his confidence from him. But it is very true, one letter from a reaſonable good hand (which doth not ſuſpect that we know any thing of him) mentions him as a great ſtickler with the officers to promote that remonſtrance which the General quaſhed; and I find many others, eſpecially about Cheſter, who believe Redman to be an Anabaptiſt, and that brigade to be even ready to proteſt and engage againſt the preſent government. But nothing of thoſe diſcourſes make any impreſſions here, but his Majeſty promiſes himſelf great effects of both their ſervices. And truly, if we may believe what ſome ſober men of the city ſay of Monk himſelf, and ſome expreſſions of his to them, we may reaſonably believe, that he is not only without any malice or ſharpneſs towards the King, but even with very good purpoſes for his ſervice, of which I hope we ſhall ſhortly ſee the effects.' We will add to all this, a ſhort paſſage from the ſame Noble Writer's hiſtory, which will effectually convince the reader, that before Sir John Greenvile went over to the King, the Chancellor was a total ſtranger to General Monk's intention (40). 'This ſpeaking of the temper of thoſe who commanded the fleet, together with the many good ſymptoms in the ſtate, raiſed his Majeſty's hopes and expectation higher than ever, if it had not been an unpleaſant allay, that in ſo great an alteration and application of many, who had been eminently averſe from his Majeſty, of the General, who only could put an end all to his doubts, there was, *altum ſilentium*, no perſons truſted by his Majeſty could approach him, nor was any word known to fall from him that could encourage them to go to him, though they ſtill preſumed that he meant well. The General was weary, and perplexed with his unweildy burthen, yet knew not how to make it lighter by communication. He ſpent much time in conſultation with perſons of every intereſt, the King's party only excepted, with whom he held no conference, though he found in his every day's diſcourſes in the city, with thoſe who were thought to be Preſbyterians, and with other perſons of quality and conſideration, that the people did generally wiſh for the King, and that they did believe there could be no firm and ſettled peace in the nation that did not comprehend his intereſt, and compoſe the prejudice that was againſt his party. But then there muſt be ſtrict conditions to which he muſt be bound, which it ſhould not be in his Majeſty's power to break, and which might not only ſecure all who had borne arms againſt him, but ſuch who had purchaſed the lands of the Crown, or of Biſhops, or of delinquents; and nobody ſpoke more favourably than for the confirming all that had been offered by his father in the iſle of Wight. Whether by invitation, or upon his own deſire, he was preſent at Northumberland-Houſe, in a conference with that Earl, the Earl of Mancheſter, and other Lords, and likewiſe with Hollis, Sir William Waller, Lewis, and other eminent perſons, who had a truſt and confidence in each other, and who were looked upon as the heads and governors of the moderate Preſbyterian party; who moſt of them would have been contented, their own ſecurity being provided for, that the King ſhould be reſtored to his full rights, and the Church to it's poſſeſſions. In this conference the King's reſtoration was propoſed in direct terms, as abſolutely neceſſary to the peace of the kingdom, and for the ſatisfaction of the people; and the queſtion ſeemed only to be, upon what terms they ſhould admit him: ſome propoſing more moderate, others more ſevere conditions. In this whole debate the General inſiſted upon the moſt rigid propoſitions, which he preſſed in ſuch a manner that the Lords grew

'jealous,

(38) Barwick's Life, p. 258, 259.

(39) Ibid. p. 509, 510.

* Col. Cloberry.

(40) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 732, 733.

country, his intimate friend, and one of the truſtees in his father's will. This gentleman was one of the ſecluded members, and, upon his coming up to town to take his ſeat in Parliament, he had been kindly received by the General as an old friend, and admitted as far as any man into his confidence. To Mr Morrice therefore Sir John Greenvile addreſſed himſelf, and earneſtly deſired him to procure him a private audience from the General, that he might impart to him an affair of the utmoſt importance. Mr Morice having informed the General of this addreſs, he received it with much ſtrangeneſs, for they had little acquaintance with each other, though related, Sir John entering early into the world when the General was under confinement, and afterwards had been long abſent from his country. Therefore the General told Mr Morrice, except Sir John would ſend information by him of the nature of his buſineſs, he would not allow of any interview with him. Mr Morrice thereupon told him, He had already deſired to know that, but Sir John Greenvile refuſed it. The General, who was himſelf the cloſeſt man alive, liked very well of this reſervedneſs, and bid Mr Morrice acquaint him, That if he came the next day at nine at night to St James's, he would ſpeak with him. Accordingly, Sir John waited on him at the appointed time, which was on March the ſixteenth, the next night after the diſſolution of the Rump Parliament; and after he had requeſted pardon for the importunity of his viſit, he deſired his permiſſion to deliver a meſſage to him from the King. The General ſeemed ſurprized; but ſeeing there was only Mr Morrice in the room, and he at a good diſtance from them, he bid him ſay what he pleaſed. He then preſented a letter from the King, and told him, That his Majeſty had great confidence in his affections to him, and ſince he had ſo far complied with the deſires of all the ſober part of the kingdom, for the admiſſion of the ſecluded members, in order to a free Parliament, the conſequences thereof could not but give ſufficient evidence of his inclinations to his Majeſty's ſervice and reſtoration, which would naturally flow from his endeavours, in conjunction with their counſels. The General replied (z), 'That he had long lamented the miſerable diſtraction 'of his native country, and waited for a fit opportunity to contribute his aſſiſtance towards 'the redemption of it. And when Lambert and thoſe of his party had interrupted the 'Parliament, conſidering that the army had been in a great meaſure, by that Parliament, 'modelled, he ſuppoſed, by a declaration for their reſtitution, he might gain power into 'his hands for better purpoſes, and as the better to bring theſe purpoſes about, he had re'ſolved, if by his arms the Parliament ſhould be reſtored, together with thoſe few mem'bers who ſat at their interruption, to admit thoſe alſo who had been ſecluded, intending 'to that end, by degrees, to put his army into ſuch hands as would favour his intentions. 'That it was well known to all, how he was diſappointed in that deſign, and through what 'difficulties he had arrived to the ſtation he was then in; nor was he even at that time 'ſecure from great danger of diſappointment, if he ſhould not manage his affairs with 'more than ordinary ſecrecy. As to the King's Majeſty, he ſaid, nobody wiſhed him 'greater

(z) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 266, 267, 268—272. Price's Hiſtory and Method of the King's Reſtoration, p. 133—137. Baker's Chronicle, p. 695, 696. Gumble's Life of General Monk, p. 275, 276, 277. Life of Dr Barwick, p. 262.

'jealous, that he had ſuch an averſion from reſtoring 'the King, that it would not be ſafe for them then to 'proſecute that advice, and therefore it were beſt to 'acquieſce till the Parliament met, and that they 'could make ſome judgment of the temper of it. 'And the General, though he conſulted with thoſe 'of every faction with much freedom, yet was by 'many then thought to have moſt familiarity, and to 'converſe moſt freely, with Sir Arthur Haſlerig, who 'was irreconcileable to Monarchy, and looked upon 'as the chief of that Republican party, which de'ſired not to preſerve any face of government in the 'Church, or uniformity in the public exerciſe of Re'ligion. This made the Lords, and all others who 'were of different affections, very wary in their diſ'courſes with the General, and jealous of his incli'nations.' This conference with the Earl of Northumberland, reſts upon the credit of the Noble Hiſtorian entirely, for Dr Clarges, who kept an exact journal of all that paſſed in thoſe times, in which none was a deeper actor than himſelf, has not a word of it*. He does, indeed, ſay, that he went on the behalf of the General to a certain great Peer, whoſe name is not in the printed hiſtory, upon ſome propoſitions about admitting the Houſe of Lords to ſit before the diſſolution of the old Parliament; and it is not impoſſible this might be the very conference mentioned by the Earl of Clarendon. But, perhaps, the reader may be better ſatisfied with what the Earl of Northumberland himſelf ſays, who writing to his brother-in-law, the Earl of Leiceſter, the man in the world he loved beſt, and truſted moſt, has theſe words †. 'The meeting my Lord of Southampton, 'in purſuance of ſome overtures that have been made 'for a marriage between his daughter and my ſon, 'was the principal occaſion that brought me now to 'this town, where I find moſt people very buſy, or 'at leaſt ſeeming ſo, and the public affairs in a poſture 'that needs the advice of better heads than mine. 'All perſons here ſhew ſtrong inclinations to bring in 'the King, and re-eſtabliſh the government upon the 'old foundation. Some there are that would have 'him reſtored to all without any condition, only an 'act of oblivion, and general pardon to be granted; 'but the ſoberer people will, I believe, expect terms 'of more ſecurity for themſelves, and advantage for 'the nation; and unleſs a full ſatisfaction be given in 'ſuch points as ſhall be judged neceſſary to thoſe 'ends, it is thought the army will not be pleaſed. 'We are told that the force will be removed from 'the Lords houſe, and that the next repreſentative 'will not act without us; but until the way be clear 'for your Lordſhip to come amongſt us, and that we 'may be aſſiſted by your counſels, I ſhall have no 'good opinion of our buſineſs; nor, indeed, do I 'yet well underſtand by what warrant, or upon what 'account, we ſhould meet Lambert's eſcape out of 'the Tower doth a little ſtartle our governors. Co'lonel Salmon, Creede, and ſome other chief officers 'of that party it is ſaid, are lately gone privately 'from their uſual dwellings, and cannot be heard of, 'which increaſes the ſuſpicion of a deſign.' From this letter, dated April 13, 1660, we may judge of the Earl of Northumberland's ſentiments from his own words, and compare them with thoſe which are aſcribed to him by the Noble Hiſtorian. As to General Monk's conferences with Sir Arthur Haſlerig, the true deſign of them was, to keep him quiet, a matter of very great conſequence at that time, and which the General very happily effected, and which was of no ſmall conſequence to the King's peaceable reſtoration.

* Baker's Chronicle, p. 692.

† Sidney's Papers, Vol. II. p. 685, 686.

‘ greater felicity than himſelf, nor deſired his reſtoration with more paſſion ; but if it were ‘ not cautiouſly attempted, it would be out of his power to ſerve him in it, ſince, in ‘ counſels of ſo nice concernment, there would not be room for two errors. The people, ‘ he ſaid, had been long ſeduced by ſeditious informations, and the army had been in the ‘ hands of ſuch as had always been againſt his royal father, and many of them even againſt ‘ monarchy itſelf ; but that, nevertheleſs, he hoped, if they might find the ſame ſecurity ‘ under his Majeſty's government, as they had under the uſurpers of it, he ſhould not deſpair of their reduction to obedience. And to effect this, it was his humble advice, that ‘ his Majeſty ſhould prevent their fears, by declaring a free and general pardon to all ‘ his ſubjects, and engage himſelf to give it under the great ſeal to all that ſhould ſubmit ‘ to his authority, except ſuch as ſhould be exempted by the Parliament. And that he ‘ would conſent to any act or acts of parliament that ſhould be preſented to him for the ‘ ſettlement of public ſales, and diſpoſitions of lands, to officers, ſoldiers, and others, and ‘ the payment of the ſoldiers arrears. As alſo for toleration of liberty of conſcience to all ‘ his ſubjects, and that none ſhould be puniſhed for differences in matters of religion, who ‘ ſhould not diſturb the public peace.’ Sir John Greenvile aſked him what he would give in command for himſelf, and if he would write to his Majeſty, which he excuſed, ſaying, ‘ If his letter ſhould be intercepted before he had compleated the reforming of the army, ‘ it would be impoſſible for him to keep them in temper, or hinder the ſubverſion of all ‘ he had hitherto done, adding, that he ſought not his own advantage in his endeavours ‘ for the public benefit of his country, and that having with much hazard brought matters near to a fair iſſue, in purſuance of the general ſuffrage of the nation, he was unwilling by indiſcretion to venture a relapſe, but would chuſe to involve himſelf in the ſame ‘ condition with the generality of people, in expectation of what the next Parliament ‘ ſhould bring forth, to the happineſs of his Majeſty and all his dominions.’ Sir John Greenvile wrote the ſubſtance of this diſcourſe, and repeated it to the General, to be the better able to retain it in his memory, who, as ſoon as he had read the paper, tore it in pieces, and conjured him to acquaint no perſon whatſoever with their conference except the King himſelf, and to requeſt him alſo to conceal it. But above all, he intreated him to deſire his Majeſty from him to leave the King of Spain's dominions, and go to Breda, or ſome other place under the government of the United Provinces, for that he had certain advice he would be detained by the King of Spain's miniſter's, if he ſtayed in his dominions, and enjoined him not to return 'till he had ſeen his Majeſty out of Flanders. When Sir John took his leave the General ſaid, ‘ He was glad that this occaſion of preſenting his duty to ‘ the King was an effect of his diligence, whom he was glad to find ſo induſtrious in his ‘ maſter's ſervice, of which he had before ſome experience, when his brother Nicholas ‘ came from him into Scotland.’ Sir John promiſed to obſerve his inſtructions, and ſet out immediately for Dover, in order to take the firſt opportunity of paſſing over to Flanders ; and there it was that he met with the Lord Viſcount Mordaunt, who had prepared a veſſel with the ſame view of going to wait on his Majeſty, though diſpatched to the King by his other friends, and with notices of quite another nature ; neither did Sir John Greenvile (*a*) confer with his Lordſhip at all as to the nature of his buſineſs, though the contrary would ſeem more than probable from another account of this matter [*I*]. They landed at Oſtend

(*a*) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 276. Price's Hiſtory and Method of the King's Reſtoration, p. 143. Baker's Chronicle, p. 696.

[*I*] *From another account of this matter.*] The account we have of the tranſactions mentioned in the text, from the pen of the Noble Hiſtorian, is by much the moſt extraordinary in his whole book ; he begins his account thus (41). ‘ There was at this ‘ time, in much converſation and truſt with the General, a gentleman of Devonſhire, of a fair eſtate and ‘ reputation, one Mr William Morrice, a perſon of a ‘ retired life, which he ſpent in ſtudy, being learned ‘ and of good parts, and he had been always looked ‘ upon as a man far from any malice towards the King, ‘ if he had not good affections for him, which they ‘ who knew him beſt believed him to have in a good ‘ meaſure. This gentleman was allyed to the General, ‘ and entirely truſted by him in the management of his ‘ eſtate in that county, where, by the death of his elder brother without heirs male, he inherited a fair ‘ fortune. And Morrice being choſen to ſerve in the ‘ next enſuing parliament, had made haſte to London, ‘ the better to obſerve how things were like to go.’

(41) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 733.

The perſonal character of Mr William Morrice is extremely juſt, and the great fault in this paragraph lies in the chronology, which is in this hiſtory ſo looſely expreſſed, that it can only be collected from circumſtances. In the preſent caſe, it is plain that *at this time* refers to ſome ſpace after the election of members to the Convention Parliament, which is made the cauſe of Mr Morrice's going up to London ; but the truth is quite otherwiſe. This gentleman had been elected knight of the ſhire for Devon in 1645 (42), and though he never had ſat, was conſidered as one of the ſecluded members of the Long Parliament. The way he came up to town was this ; the Reverend Mr Nicholas Monk wrote to Dr Clarges to put his brother the General in mind of ſending for Mr Morrice, as a prudent perſon, and well diſpoſed for his Prince's ſervice and the good of his country, who might therefore be a proper aſſiſtant in his councils. Dr Clarges took this hint, prevailed upon his brother to follow it, and, in the anſwer he wrote to Mr Nicholas Monk, incloſed a letter from the General to Mr Morrice, deſiring him to come and take his ſeat in parliament, which he did (43) ; and this account we have from Dr, afterwards Sir Thomas Clarges himſelf, who either wrote or cauſed to be wrote the continuation of Baker's Chronicle for the firſt thirteen years of this reign, which is the moſt authentic account we have. The General ſoon found him ſo uſeful in the cabinet as well as the ſenate, that he reſolved to have the benefit of his abilities in the place where he was moſt pinched, and therefore made him a Colonel and Governor of Plymouth, which at once ſecured an important poſt, and gave him a ſeat in the council of officers.

(42) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 571.

(43) Baker's Chronicle, p. 690.

Let us now return to the Noble Hiſtorian (44).

‘ With him the General conſulted freely, touching ‘ all his perplexities and obſervations, how he found ‘ moſt men of quality and intereſt inclined to call in ‘ the King, but upon ſuch conditions as muſt be very ungrateful,

(44) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 734.

Oſtend on the 23d of March, and proceeded from thence to Bruſſels, where the King then was. Sir John, according to his inſtructions, remained there very private, contenting himſelf

'ungrateful, if poſſible to be received; and the London miniſters talked already ſo loudly of them, that the Covenant being new printed, and by order fixed up in all churches, they, in their ſermons, diſcourſed of the ſeveral obligations in it, that, without expoſing themſelves to the danger of naming the King, which yet they did not long forbear, every body underſtood they thought it neceſſary the people ſhould return to their allegiance.

'That which wrought moſt upon the General, was the choice which was begun to be made in all counties for members to ſerve in parliament, very many of them being known to be of ſingular affection to the King, and very few who did not heartily abhor the murther of his father, and deteſt the government that ſucceeded; ſo that it was reaſonably apprehended, that, when they ſhould once meet, there would be warmth among them that could not be reſtrained or controuled, and they might take the buſineſs ſo much into their own hands, as to leave no part to him to merit of the King, from whom he had yet deſerved nothing.

'Mr Morrice was not wanting to cultivate thoſe conceptions with his information of the affections of the Weſt, where the King's reſtoration was, he ſaid, ſo impatiently longed for, that they had made choice of few or no members to ſerve for Cornwall or Devonſhire, but ſuch who they were confident would contribute all they could to invite the King to return And when that ſubject was once upon the ſtage, they who concurred with moſt frankneſs would find moſt credit, and they who oppoſed it would be overborne with laſting reproach. When the General had reflected upon the whole matter, he reſolved to advance that deſign, and ſo conſulted with his friend how he might manage it in that manner before the parliament ſhould aſſemble, that what followed might be imputed to his counſels and contrivance.'

It is very evident, that the main deſign of this account is to transfer, in a great meaſure if not wholly, the merit of the Reſtoration from Monk to Morrice; but here again the want of chronology ſpoils all, as we ſhall preſently ſee. The arguments here advanced are very pretty and plauſible, but could never have fallen from the mouth of Mr Morrice, unleſs he had been a prophet. Thoſe who were upon the ſpot, very ſcrupulous and ſtrict obſervers of every thing that paſſed, and who at this time held a conſtant correſpondence with Sir Edward Hyde, were ſo far from believing the General was influenced (at leaſt in the Noble Hiſtorian's ſenſe) by the elections, that they aſcribe theſe elections going as they did to the General's influence ſolely. They affirm, he firſt prompted the Royaliſts to ſtand, notwithſtanding their being diſqualified, upon this principle, that a free parliament could be choſen only by leaving the people's affections without reſtrictions. He is alſo ſaid to have given private encouragement to many of the Royaliſts to ſtand at different places, and it is carried ſo far, as to affirm, that no Cavalier preſumed to ſtand any where, 'till he had firſt obtained the General's tacit approbation (45) Theſe circumſtances (if well founded, and this too may be proved) ſeem to ſhew a regular gradation in the General's conduct, which was grounded in a juſt apprehenſion of men and things, and calculated for what is the perfection of true policy, creating that opportunity, and preparing thoſe inſtruments he meant to uſe. Sir Philip Warwick, who not only lived in theſe times, but had ſome ſhare in theſe meaſures, and who had ſeen the account given of them by Dr Clarges, profeſſes that too little is aſcribed to Monk, and too much to his aſſiſtants, Clarges and Morrice, for that in reality, Monk was ſo far from being managed by any, that he managed them all (46), ſo that thoſe who were generally eſteemed his inſtructors were in fact but his inſtruments. Honeſt Anthony à Wood (47) tells us, in his rough way, which however is pretty near the truth, that the General employed Morrice as a kind of a ſtate blind to cajole the Preſbyterians

Once more let us hear the Noble Hiſtorian (48).

'There was then in the town a gentleman well known to be a ſervant of eminent truſt to the King, Sir John Greenvile, who, from the time of the ſurrender of Scilly, had enjoyed his eſtate, and ſometimes his liberty, though, under the jealouſy of a diſaffected perſon, often reſtrained. He had been privy to the ſending to the General into Scotland the clergyman his brother, and was converſant with thoſe who were moſt truſted by his Majeſty, and at this time were taken notice of to have all intimacy with Mr Mordaunt, who moſt immediately correſponded with Bruſſels. This gentleman was of a family to which the General was allied, and he had been obliged to his father, Sir Bevil Greenvile, who loſt his life at the battle of Lanſdowne for the King, and by his will had recommended his much impaired fortune, and his wife and children, to the care and counſels of his neighbour and friend Mr Morrice, who had executed the truſt with the utmoſt fidelity and friendſhip.'

There is nothing in this paragraph which is not exactly true; but notwithſtanding this, the whole meaning conveyed, for it is not expreſſed, is as remote from truth as can be imagined. This is a great ſingularity, and deſerves extraordinary attention Upon peruſing the paragraph, one immediately apprehends, that Mr Morrice, an old grave gentleman, intruſted with the care of Sir John Greenvile's perſon and fortune by his father, and knowing how well he had behaved in the King's ſervice, and that he was extremely intimate with Mr Mordaunt, to whoſe care the King's concerns were principally intruſted, believed he might be a very proper agent for the General as things now ſtood, and recommended him accordingly. Yet, whoever ſhould advance this might be confuted, by producing the Noble Hiſtorian's own words, which certainly do not ſay this, and yet as certainly mean it or mean nothing.

But to go on (49).

'The General was content that Sir John Greenvile ſhould be truſted in this great affair, and that Mr Morrice ſhould bring him ſecretly to him, in a private lodging he had in St James's. When he came to him, after he had ſolemnly conjured him to ſecrecy, upon the peril of his life, he told him, he meant to ſend him to the King, with whom he preſumed he had credit enough to be believed without any teſtimony, for he was reſolved not to write to the King, nor to give him any thing in writing, but wiſhed him to confer with Mr Morrice, and to take ſhort memorials in his own hand of thoſe particulars he ſhould offer to him in diſcourſe, which when he had done, he would himſelf confer with him again at an hour he ſhould appoint. And ſo he retired haſtily out of the room, as if he were jealous that other men would wonder at his abſence.

'That which Mr Morrice communicated to Greenvile was, after he had enlarged upon the perplexity the General was in, by the ſeveral humours and factions which prevailed, and that he durſt not truſt any officer of his own army, or any friend but himſelf with his own ſecret purpoſes; he adviſed that the King ſhould write a letter to the General, in which, after kind and gracious expreſſions, he ſhould deſire him to deliver the incloſed letter and declaration to the Parliament, the particular heads and materials for which letter and declaration Morrice diſcourſed to him, the end of which was, to ſatisfy all intereſts, and to comply with every man's humour, and indeed to ſuffer every man to enjoy what he would.'

Theſe two paragraphs ſpeak things out plain, and entirely ſtrip Sir John Greenvile of the merit of firſt inviting the General to an immediate correſpondence with the King, which is transferred to Mr Morrice; but the great buſineſs of the commiſſion too is taken from the General and tranſlated to the ſame gentleman, as having abilities more equal to the taſk. He ſeems here too to be endowed with the ſpirit of prophecy, for, not content with inſtructing the young man who was to carry the meſſage, he likewiſe takes upon him to direct what the King ſhould do, which, as his Majeſty really did it, it looks as if the prophecy had been fulfilled.

(45) Life of Dr John Barwick, p. 260, 261.

(46) Memoirs of the Reign of Charles the firſt, with a Continuation, p. 420.

(47) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 571.

(48) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 735.

(49) Ibid.

himſelf with giving notice to the King, by Lord Mordaunt, where he was, and in the mean time he digeſted again in writing what he had received from the General. The King went to

But let us now go on to the laſt paragraph of this narrative (50).

‘ After Sir John Greenvile had enough diſcourſed all particulars with him, and taken ſuch ſhort memorials for his memory as he thought neceſſary, within a day or two he was brought with the ſame warineſs, and in another place, to the General, to whom he read the ſhort notes he had taken, to which little was added; and the General ſaid, that if the King writ to that purpoſe, when he brought the letter to him, he would keep it in his hands 'till he found a fit time to deliver it, or ſhould think of another way to ſerve his Majeſty. Only he added another particular, as an advice abſolutely neceſſary for the King to conſent to, which was his Majeſty's preſent remove out of Flanders. He undertook to know that the Spaniards had no purpoſe to do any thing for him, and that all his friends were jealous that it would not be in his power to remove from thence, if he deferred it 'till they diſcovered that he was like to have no need of them. And therefore he deſired that his Majeſty would make haſte to Breda, and that for the public ſatisfaction, and that it might be evident he had left Flanders, whatſoever he ſhould ſend in writing ſhould bear date as from Breda, and he enjoined Sir John Greenvile not to return, 'till he had himſelf ſeen the King out of the dominions of Flanders. Thus inſtructed he left him, who taking Mr Mordaunt with him for the companion of his journey, ſet out for Flanders about the beginning of April 1660, and in a few days arrived ſafely at Bruſſels.'

At the time of all theſe tranſactions, the Noble Writer was abroad, and therefore could not have any perſonal knowledge of what he wrote. After his return, he might be deceived by thoſe who undertook to give him the beſt informations, and certainly was ſo. He had the weight of public affairs upon his ſhoulders, while at home, and after he was abroad in his ſecond exile, it may be, he had no opportunity of correcting his miſtakes, or it is poſſible he did not ſuſpect them. Be this as it will; there is nothing more evident, than that the whole of this narrative, in which no one authority is cited, is inconſiſtent with the beſt and the beſt informed contemporary writers; irreconcilable to facts and dates; incompatible with the King's declarations, under the broad ſeal, affixed by this Noble Writer himſelf; and incoherent in it's ſeveral parts. We are not the firſt who have aſſerted this (51), nor ſhall we find it any difficulty to prove it.

With regard to contemporary writers, we may inſiſt upon Dr Clarges (52) than whom no man could be better informed, and who committed the hiſtory of theſe things to writing, to prevent poſterity from being miſinformed. We may mention Dr Thomas Gumble (53), who was chaplain to General Monk, who, immediately upon the death of that great man, publiſhed the hiſtory of his actions, and addreſſed it to the King. We may add Dr John Price (54), another of the General's chaplains, who wrote the hiſtory of this intereſting period very circumſtantially, from his own knowledge, and from the relations of the Duke of Albermarle and the Earl of Bath, which, the former being dead, he dedicated to the latter. We may alſo add to theſe authorities the judicious work of Dr Thomas Skinner (55), who was Phyſician to the Duke of Albermarle, converſed much with him during the latter part of his life, and had very extraordinary helps in the writing of his hiſtory. To theſe we may ſubjoin two other unexceptionable hiſtorians, whether we conſider them in the light of knowledge or of probity, Sir Philip Warwick (56), and Dr Peter Barwick (57). They all agree that Sir John Greenvile addreſſed himſelf to Mr Morrice; that it was with ſome difficulty, and not 'till after he had refuſed to treat with Morrice, Sir John obtained a private audience of the General; that at this audience he produced the King's letters to himſelf and to the General; that the reaſon the General ſent him back without a letter, was becauſe the King could not refuſe credit to his own miniſter; and that this negotiation reſted entirely upon Sir John Greenvile.

It is inconſiſtent with facts and dates, which are very carefully marked in the text. Mr Morrice came up to town, in conſequence of the General's letter of invitation, in the latter end of February; he was made governor of Plymouth in the beginning of March; he introduced Sir John Greenvile to the General on the ſixteenth of the ſame month; he ſet out two or three days after; all which facts happened previous to the date the Noble Hiſtorian has fixed, by the words *at this time*, in the beginning of his relation, and before thoſe facts, which, according to him, were the motives of this whole tranſaction. He landed at Oſtend on the 23d of March, and had finiſhed his negotiation by the time the Noble Hiſtorian aſſigns for his departure out of England.

The narrative, as it is given in the text, is clearly ſupported by the King's warrant, which the reader will find in the next note, and by the preamble of the patent by which Sir John Greenvile was created Earl of Bath. The relation of the Noble Hiſtorian is inconſiſtent with itſelf; for if Mr Morrice had not come to London 'till after his election to the Convention-Parliament, he could ſcarce have arrived there before Sir John Greenvile's departure for Bruſſels; and if the General had been really wrought upon by the motives aſſigned in that narrative, all theſe momentous affairs muſt have been tranſacted in fewer hours than they took up days.

But there is ſomething more to be done before we cloſe this note.

It ſeems very ſtrange that Sir John Greenvile, who was in a joint-commiſſion to manage the King's affairs with Mr Mordaunt, now Lord Viſcount Mordaunt, than whom no man had more freely hazarded himſelf for the King's ſervice, ſhould go with him, without ſaying one word to him of his commiſſion. But this will be very eaſily accounted for, if we conſider two circumſtances; the firſt is, that their going together was not by deſign but by accident. Take the very words of an accurate hiſtorian *. ‘ Sir John Greenvile, in his journey towards Dover, very ſeaſonably found the Lord Mordaunt, who was then going over to the King, and had hired a veſſel to himſelf, in which he was very joyful to accommodate his old acquaintance Sir John Greenvile, and engage together in the King's ſervice; but in all their voyage to Oſtend they knew nothing of one another's buſineſs. When they came to Bruſſels, the Lord Mordaunt reſolved to go directly to the court, and Sir John Greenvile to his lodgings, deſiring his Lordſhip to acquaint the King that he was come to town, and where he lodged.'

The next circumſtance is, that as they met by chance, ſo Lord Mordaunt had his ſecret as well as Sir John Greenvile. If the reader conſiders the following paſſage, perhaps he may ſuſpect that both their ſecrets regarded the ſame perſon †.

‘ After ſome time, ſays Sir Philip Warwick, the great Lords, Warwick, Mancheſter, and Say, and ſome chief members, had private conferences with ſome perſons of the King's party, as Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Sir Geoffry Palmer, and myſelf, the unworthieſt. Not many weeks after, without the knowledge of the Lords, Mr Anneſley, (now Lord Privy-Seal) Sir Anthony-Aſhley Cooper, and Sir William Morrice, met with the ſame perſons from the General, to the end that the King might ſee their good intentions, through a medium which was not likely to deceive him. And though they did the ſame thing afterwards themſelves, by particular meſſengers, whom they ſent over to the King; yet they thought this a good means early to be rightly underſtood: and the General was ſo well ſatiſfied, that he confeſſed that there was not a meeting in town, but he had ſome intelligence of it, ſave of this, which aſſured him of their ſecrecy; and yet he knew not that the ſame perſons met at the ſame time with the Lords.' This paſſage will alſo ſerve to confirm and illuſtrate what is ſaid of the reception theſe propoſals met with from the King, in the text. In plain terms, thoſe who met Sir Philip Warwick in the name, and with the concurrence, of the General, procured

(50) Ibid.

(51) See Dr Webſter's Preface to the Life of General Monk.

(52) Baker's Chronicle, p. 695.

(53) Life of General Monk, p. 275.

(54) The Myſtery and Method of the King's Reſtoration, p. 133.

(55) Life of General Monk, p. 267.

(56) Memoirs of the Reign of Charles I, and the Continuation &c. p. 431.

(57) Vita Johannis Barwick, p. 181.

* Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 276.

† Memoirs of Affairs after the King's Murther, p. 428, 429.

him alone in his coach with the like privacy, and having received from him all that he had to ſay, his Majeſty then told him, it was neceſſary to acquaint the Marquis of Ormond, the Lord Chancellor Hyde, and Sir Edward Nicholas, with this important affair, as their advice and aſſiſtance was abſolutely and indiſpenſibly neceſſary, in framing the diſpatches and commiſſions which were fit for him to carry back (*b*). But the point chiefly preſſed by Sir John Greenvile, as that which General Monk had moſt at heart, was the King's immediate departure out of the Spaniſh territories; and, in the whole of theſe momentous tranſactions, there is no one circumſtance which ſhews the ſagacity of that great man ſo much as this; ſince, through the dilatorineſs of his miniſters, who would needs prepare their diſpatches there, though they might have drawn them in a ſafer place, when it came to be executed it was done with great precipitation, and the King had only a few hours to make his eſcape (*c*), the Spaniards having determined to impriſon him, 'till he had engaged to reſtore Dunkirk and the iſland of Jamaica. At this time his Majeſty only directed a commiſſion to be drawn up for General Monk, to command as Captain-General over all the forces of England, Scotland, and Ireland, which was ſigned by him, and put up with a private letter to him from his Majeſty, written with his own hand (*d*). There was alſo another letter directed 'To our truſty and well-beloved General Monk, to be by him 'communicated to the Preſident of the Council of State, and to the officers of the armies 'under his command,' with a copy of the King's Declaration incloſed; and becauſe the new and auſpicious Parliament (upon whoſe counſels the hopes both of the King and people did ſo much depend) were ſuddenly to meet, letters were drawn up, to be delivered at their aſſembly, by Sir John Greenvile, directed by the King, 'To our truſty and right 'well-beloved the Speaker of the Houſe of Lords;' and another 'To our truſty and 'well-beloved the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons;' in both which were alſo copies of his Majeſty's Declaration incloſed. There was alſo a letter directed 'To our truſty and 'well-beloved, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, of our city of London;' in the contents whereof the Lord Mordaunt (*e*), who was alſo to return with Sir John Greenvile, was mentioned; and another to General Monk and General Montague, to be by them communicated to the fleet. All theſe papers were dated as from Breda, on the 4th of April old ſtyle, and on the 14th according to the new; and this latter date being commonly mentioned, has occaſioned great perplexity and confuſion. In his conference with the King, Sir John peremptorily refuſed, as being expreſsly ſo commanded by the General, to mention any thing, or to permit any thing to be mentioned, of a reward for his ſervice; only he told his Majeſty, that in treating with the General he had made him an offer of one hundred thouſand pounds a year, and the poſt of Lord High Conſtable of England (*f*), of which he would not hear, and charged him to make no demands, and to receive nothing for him, with which, knowing the General's punctuality, he was reſolved to comply. The King however put into Sir John's packet an authentic teſtimony of his ſervice, and of his own ſenſe of it, which the reader will find in the notes [*K*].

While

(*b*) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 277.

(*c*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 738, 739, 740. Gumble's Life of General Monk, p. 277. See alſo Sir George Downing's Letter to Secretary Thurlor, in the Collection of State Papers, Vol. VII. p. 885.

(*d*) Baker's Chronicle, p. 702—708. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 378. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 280. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 434.

(*e*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 751.

(*f*) Price's Hiſtory and Method of the King's Reſtoration, p. 144. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 277.

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procured him and the reſt of the King's friends, to ſend a perſon whom they could truſt; and this was the Lord Mordaunt, with this general meſſage as the reſult of their conferences; but, at the ſame juncture, Mr Anneſley and Sir Anthony dealt ſecretly and ſeparately with the King, in the ſame manner the General did by Sir John Greenvile.

[*K*] *Will find in the notes.*] As at this time the Chancellor was upon the ſpot, and conſequently better qualified than any other writer, to relate what paſſed during Sir John Greenvile's ſtay at Bruſſels, it is leſs wonderful that he ſhould diſagree with thoſe who ſpeak but at at ſecond hand; and yet even that is ſuch authority, as we can but rarely meet with in hiſtory. Dr Price ſays (58), from the mouth of the Earl of Bath, who was then Sir John Greenvile, that the King, upon intimation of his being come to Bruſſels, went privately to his lodgings, and was alone with him, to whom he diſcovered his inſtructions from the General, and by whom he was believed, though he had no letter. The Noble Hiſtorian ſays (59), that Greenvile's and Mordaunt's being in Bruſſels was unknown, they attending his Majeſty only in the night at the Chancellor's lodging, concealing themſelves from being taken notice by any, and all along treats Mordaunt as if joined in commiſſion with Sir John Greenvile. Dr Skinner ſays, that on their arrival Lord Mordaunt went directly to court, and, as we have ſaid in the text, informed the King of Sir John Greenvile's arrival, and where he was, which produced a viſit to him from the King alone. At this interview, the ſame writer tells us, he entered into the relation of thoſe private inſtructions that he had received from the General; which, when his Majeſty had further conſidered and debated with Sir John Greenvile (60), 'they found it impoſſible to comply with General Monk's deſire, in managing this ſecret affair by themſelves alone, without admitting ſome 'others to a ſhare in their councils. And therefore 'his Majeſty reſolved, that the next day the Marquis 'of Ormond, the Lord Chancellor Hyde, and Sir Edward Nicholas, ſhould be acquainted with it, who 'accordingly attended his Majeſty privately, together 'with Sir John Greenvile, and received this news from 'General Monk with a kind of joyful aſtoniſhment.'

This was a very right reſolution in the King, and reconciles us to the Noble Hiſtorian's account, to whom very probably his Majeſty ſaid nothing of what he thought the General's too great caution. The Chancellor aſſumes to himſelf the adviſing the letters to the two houſes of parliament, which was a very prudent well-timed ſtep, and proved of infinite conſequence. The Noble Hiſtorian affirms, that Sir John Greenvile recommended Morrice to the ſeals; but he ſays nothing of the offers that had been made to Monk, and rejected by him, of the King's ſhewing an inclination to reward Sir John Greenvile, or of the following warrant (61), which was put up in Sir John's packet.

'Charles R.

'In conſideration of the many ſervices done us, by 'our right truſty and well-beloved ſervant, Sir John 'Greenvile (one of the gentlemen of our bed chamber), 'and his father, Sir Bevil Greenvile, who moſt honourably loſt his life at the battle of Lanſdowne, in 'the defence and ſervice of the crown againſt the rebels, after he had performed many other great and 'ſignal ſervices. But more eſpecially, in conſideration

of

(58) Myſtery and Method of the King's Reſtoration, p. 143.

(59) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 739.

(60) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 277.

(61) Price's Myſtery and Method of the King's Reſtoration, p. 157—160.

While Sir John was with the King, he received profeſſions of duty from ſome perſons of great weight in England, who informed him that they had been with General Monk, and took great merit to themſelves, from their having prevailed upon him to conſent to his Majeſty's return, on the terms that the King his father had conſented to in the iſle of Wight, to which they intreated him alſo to conſent, as it was impoſſible for them, notwithſtanding their great importunities, to obtain from the General, terms that were in any degree

‘the late moſt extraordinary ſervices, never to be forgotten by us or our poſterity, which the ſaid Sir John Greenvile hath lately rendered us in his perſon, in his ſecret, prudent, and moſt faithful tranſactions and negotiations, in concluding that moſt happy treaty which he had lately, by our ſpecial command and commiſſion, with our famous and renowned General Monk, and wherein HE ALONE, AND NO OTHER, was intruſted by us concerning the ſaid treaty, about thoſe moſt important affairs for our reſtoration, which he has moſt faithfully performed, with great prudence, care, ſecrecy, and advantage, for our ſervice, without any conditions impoſed upon us, beyond our expectation, and the commiſſion we gave him, whereof we doubt not, but by God's bleſſing, we ſhall ſee the effects of our ſaid happy reſtoration: we are graciouſly pleaſed to promiſe, upon the word of a King, that, as ſoon as we are arrived in England, and it ſhall pleaſe God to reſtore us to our crown of that kingdom, we will confer upon him, our ſaid truſty and well-beloved ſervant, Sir John Greenvile, the place and office of Groom of our Stole, and firſt Gentleman of our Bed-chamber (with all fees, penſions, and perquiſites, thereunto belonging) together with the title and dignity of an Earl of our kingdom of England: and the better to ſupport the ſaid title of honour, and to reward as we ought thoſe many great ſervices, and to recompence the loſſes and ſufferings of him and his family, we are further graciouſly pleaſed to promiſe, upon our ſaid royal word, to pay all the debts that he the ſaid Sir John Greenvile, or his father, have contracted in the late wars in our ſervice, or in our Royal father's, of bleſſed memory; and alſo to beſtow and ſettle, in good land in England, an eſtate of inheritance, to the value of at leaſt three thouſand pounds per annum, upon him the ſaid Sir John Greenvile and his heirs for ever, to remain as a perpetual acknowledgment for his ſaid ſervices, and as a teſtimony of our grace and favour towards him, and that antient and loyal family of the Greenviles, unto all poſterity. Given at our court at Bruſſels the 2d of April, in the twelfth year of our reign, 1660.

By His Majeſty's command,

Edw. Nicholas.’

It is impoſſible to doubt, after peruſing this paper, what the King's ſentiments were, or what he intended the world ſhould think of this negotiation, or the gentleman who managed it. One would imagine, that, at this juncture, Sir Edward Hyde thought preciſely as the King did, and believed that their direct intercourſe with General Monk was to be through Sir John Greenvile alone, and no other, ſince, before he knew whether Sir John was in England or not, he wrote him the following very remarkable letter (62), which is ſtill preſerved, and which, though of ſome length, the reader cannot but peruſe with pleaſure.

Sir EDWARD HYDE to Sir JOHN GREENVILE.

April the 23d, Breda 1660. N. S.

‘Sir,

‘The King hath received your's of the 18th from Oſtend, and you will eaſily believe he wiſhed you a quick and a ſafe paſſage, and is impatient to hear from you after you have ſpoken with the Gentleman. Since we came to Breda, every day hath brought us more expreſſes than you imagine from England, and truly ſome from conſiderable perſons of all parties, and all pretend to have great power and credit with the Gentleman, and great hope of diſpoſing him to ſerve the King; in order to which, many propoſitions are made, and from ſome, the very advices which are already followed, you will eaſily think the King returns thanks to all, and deſires them to uſe all their power to ſo good an end. Now, as the King reſolves to conceal nothing of moment from the Gentleman, upon whoſe affection he relies entirely, and that whatſoever he ſhall be informed of by his Majeſty, ſhall not be turned to the prejudice of any man; ſo I am directed to let you know of one particular embaſſy he hath received, which puts him into ſome wonder, and the Gentleman will better know what uſe to make of it than the King doth. There is a gentleman come from my Lady Carliſle, who went firſt to the Queen at Paris, and from thence hither, with inſtructions in writing, which the lady profeſſeth are the Gentleman's poſitive advice, derived to her by the Secretary Thompſon, who is the ſole confident between them. They contain the Gentleman's poſitive exceptions againſt the King's being in Flanders or in Holland, as unfit places for them to treat in, the firſt as an enemy's and a catholic country, the other as too much intereſted in trade, and ſo like to take advantage of the King's preſence; and thereupon his advice is pretended to be as poſitive that his Majeſty ſhould immediately go into France, as a place without all exception, as if it were Geneva for religion, and a country not at all affected to it's intereſt. You will imagine the King believes this not to be the Gentleman's opinion, yet he thinks it neceſſary he ſhould know it, that he may the better judge what deſign there may be in this, and whether, in truth, Mr Thompſon be like to have any hand in it. There is another thing in which the King doth as much deſire the Gentleman's advice. We have, ſince I ſaw you, received very frank overtures from Secretary Thurloe, with many great profeſſions of reſolving to ſerve the King, and not only in his own endeavours, but by the ſervice of his friends, who are eaſily enough gueſſed at. This comes through the hands of a perſon who will not deceive us, nor is eaſily to be deceived himſelf, except by ſuch bold diſſimulation of the other, which cannot at firſt be diſcovered. Yet it is enough ſuſpected by the King, there is ſomewhat of curioſity accompanies Thurloe's profeſſions, for he is very inquiſitive to know whether the King hath any confidence in the Gentleman, or hath approached him the right way, which he deſires to know, only that he may finiſh what is left undone, or be able the better to adviſe his Majeſty what he is to do therein.

‘The King returned ſuch anſwers as are fit, and deſires to ſee ſome effects of his good affection, and then he will find his ſervice more acceptable. Both theſe particulars the King thinks fit the Gentleman ſhould know, that his Majeſty may receive his advice, and to know what his opinion is of Thurloe, and and whether he be able, if he were willing, to contribute much to his Majeſty's ſervice; but this being of ſuch a nature, as being communicated, may be turned to the prejudice of perſons, to whom his Majeſty wiſheth no hurt, and may draw reproach upon himſelf and his councils; the King would not have you impart either of them to any perſon whatſoever, except the Gentleman himſelf and Mr Morrice, becauſe poſſibly you may not ſo conveniently at preſent be admitted to the Gentleman, and then no inconvenience can ariſe from it.

I am,

Sir,

Your moſt affectionate humble ſervant.’

Indorſed by William Morrice, Eſq; afterwards Sir William Morrice, and Secretary of State.
Lord Chancellor to Sir Jo. Greenvile *from* Breda.

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(62) In the poſſeſſion of Hugh Gregor, Eſq;

[L] To

degree better. The fact was ſo far true, that they had applied to the General, and propoſed bringing the King home in that manner, to which he was forced in appearance to aſſent, that they might not penetrate his real intentions. The King underſtood this very well, and therefore, when he communicated this affair to Sir John, he could not help ſaying, ‘ Theſe people little know on how good terms I ſtand with General Monk through ‘ your interpoſition (*g*).’ Sir John left the court on the firſt of April, went to Antwerp, where Lord Mordaunt (*h*) waited for him, and from thence to Oſtend, carrying with him the King's privy ſeal and ſignet, which the General was to deliver (*i*) to whom he thought fit. On his arrival, he privately attended the General at St James's, and delivered to him his Majeſty's letter, written with his own hand, together with his commiſſion of General over all the armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The General peruſed the letter, and kept it with him, but for the preſent he would not truſt his own cabinet with the commiſſion, which was therefore delivered back to Sir John Greenvile, who ſecured it in a private place in the floor of his bed-chamber, where he had been long uſed to lay up letters and commiſſions from the King, where alſo this lay 'till after the King's return, and was then delivered to the General (*k*). And for thoſe other letters, it was now reſolved, that Sir John Greenvile ſhould keep them privately 'till the opening of the Parliament, and then deliver them according to his inſtructions. The General at this time alſo deliberated with Sir John Greenvile about the diſpoſal of his Majeſty's ſeal and ſignet, where it was agreed, that in regard Mr Morrice was the only perſon that had been privy to this ſecret affair, and had ſo faithfully aſſiſted therein, they would recommend him to the truſt; which, ſo ſoon as the King returned, was accordingly done by the General, though at the ſame time he was offered ten thouſand pounds to procure the place for another. Whatever it might be afterwards, his promotion was at this juncture highly acceptable to the Chancellor, whoſe complaiſance and regard for Sir John Greenvile and Mr Morrice ran as high as they could wiſh, or at leaſt he expreſſed himſelf in ſuch terms as manifeſted his deſire to perſwade them of his reſpect and affection [*L*]. At this very time an incident fell out

(*g*) Price's Myſtery and Method of the King's Reſtoration, p. 142. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 282, 283.

(*h*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 741.

(*i*) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 283. Price's Hiſtory of the Reſtoration. p. 14; Gumble's Life of General Monk, p. 379.

(*k*) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 284.

[*L*] *To perſwade them of his reſpect and affection.*] It is not impoſſible but both the following letters might in effect come from the ſame hand, that is to ſay, the Chancellor might dictate the King's, as well as write his own letter; for moſt of King Charles's letters are remarkably ſhort, and are conceived in a quicker and more pointed ſtile; but be that as it will, theſe letters are inconteſtible proofs, that the King and the Chancellor were at this time thorougly convinced of the capacity of the new Secretary, of the ſtrict fidelity of Sir John Greenvile, and of the abilities and affections of them both towards the King's ſervice (63).

(63) In the poſſeſſion of Hugh Gregor, Eſq;

King CHARLES II. to William Morrice, Eſq;

‘ Mr Morrice, Breda, 20 May 1660, N. S.

‘ The laſt week Bernard Greenvile was even departing from me with my anſwer to your's of the 20th of the laſt month, when ſome meſſengers arrived with the news of the reception of my letters and declaration, found in the two Houſes, which made moſt that I had writ to you unneceſſary, and ſo I ſtopped his journey. I have ſince received your's of the 5th, and I muſt tell you, I find cauſe enough to rejoice in the very good opinion I have of you, and in the choice I have made of you for ſo near a truſt, which I am ſure you will diſcharge with full abilities, as well as fidelity to me. I ſhall hereafter write to you with that freedom as is due to ſuch a ſervant, and impart thoſe apprehenſions to you, which it may be you may find, upon further enquiry, to be very reaſonably grounded. That both Houſes are very well conſtituted of men, who deſire to reſtore the nation to a full peace and ſecurity, upon the right and ſafe foundation of the laws, I do not in the leaſt degree doubt; yet there is a little queſtion, that there are ſome perſons both within and without both Houſes, who deſire to keep up the memory of old jealouſies and animoſities, and to prevent ſuch an entire union as can only make us all happy. Next the bleſſing of God, nothing can ſo abſolutely diſappoint thoſe diſguiſes, as my preſence with you, which thoſe men will as much endeavour to haſten, being moſt aſſured (as I doubt not you are) that I have offered nothing in my Declaration or letters that I will not moſt punctually and exactly perform; but without doubt, for the ſpeedy and ſecure way of doing it, my preſence is moſt neceſſary, which would eaſily adjuſt all thoſe things both in matter and form which are liable to moſt objections. And therefore, I pray look upon thoſe who would delay my ſpeedy coming to you, as perſons who have other deſigns than they yet own I know the General cannot but obſerve, that my friends in the Houſe have complied with his deſires in all things, according to the command I gave them, and have thereupon departed from their own ſenſe, and reſtrained themſelves from purſuing that which they thought moſt for my ſervive. You muſt take care that I do not ſuffer for that temper and condeſcenſion in them, and that advantage be not taken from thence, either to delay the diſpatch of what is neceſſary, or to ſet on foot any unneceſſary and inconvenient demands, which muſt be inconvenient to me, and would leſſen that joy with which we ſhould meet each other, to receive thoſe great bleſſings which God Almighty is ready to pour upon us, if any indiſpoſition in the army makes it leſs fit for the General to appear; in preſſing that which is moſt deſirable, you may eaſily get it to be promoted by the Houſes, to which he and the army are obliged to ſubmit. Do all I pray that is neceſſary to be done, in order to the bringing me quickly to you; 'till when, truſt me, there are as many deſigns abroad as at home, to prevent and diſturb that good intelligence and agreement which can only make us happy, and diſappoint the many deſigns which are againſt the peace and honour of the nation. I know not what to ſay more 'till the committee arrive, who I hope will invite me ſpeedily to repair to you. Sir John Greenvile will, I am ſure, be abſent from you, and ſo I cannot communicate ſome things which are not ſo fit to write, and therefore I have intruſted Sir William Compton to impart ſome particulars of my doubts and apprehenſions to you. He is a perſon in whoſe diſcretion you may repoſe great confidence, as well as in his affection and fidelity to me, and can convey any thing you think neceſſary, and ſhall adviſe him to many of my friends, who will be very uſeful upon all occaſions. I will ſay no more, but that I long to ſee you, which I hope is at hand, and you will then find you have a full credit with

Your affectionate friend,

CHARLES R.’

Sir

out which had like to have thrown all things back again into confuſion. This was Lambert's eſcape out of the Tower, to whom many diſcontented officers ſoon repaired; and, if he could have gained time, there is no doubt he might have aſſembled a conſiderable army. But the General ſent Ingoldſby and Streater in purſuit of him, and was extremely well ſeconded by the council of State in his endeavours to reduce them, of which however he was ſo far from being confident, that he ſent for Sir John Greenvile, and told him, that if this inſurrection grew to any height, he was determined to publiſh the King's commiſſion, and put the Royaliſts in arms in all the three kingdoms (*l*). At the ſame time he wrote an anſwer to the King's private letter, the firſt he ever wrote his Majeſty, and ſent it by Bernard Greenvile, Sir John's younger brother, with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of duty and fidelity. However, Lambert was defeated, and brought back priſoner to the Tower (*m*), before the meeting of the Parliament. At their meeting, the Houſe of Lords choſe the Earl of Mancheſter for their Speaker, as the Commons did Sir Harbottle Grimſton; appointed their uſual committees, and ordered thanks to the General, with the moſt entire approbation of his ſervices (*n*); and then the Houſe of Lords adjourned to the firſt of May. In the time of this ſhort receſs, that is, on the 27th of April, Sir John Greenvile attending at the door of the council-chamber in Whitehall, deſired Colonel John Birch, who was one of the members, to let the General know he was there, and upon his coming to the door, he preſented to him the King's letter, which he was to communicate to the council of ſtate and officers of the army (*o*). His Excellency received it with great ſurprize, and ordered his guards to take care of the perſon who brought it, broke the ſeal, and then preſented it to the Preſident; notwithſtanding which, they had not the courage to read it, ordering that to be poſtponed 'till the Parliament met; yet they called in Sir John Greenvile, and aſked him from whom he had it. He anſwered, *The* King *my maſter delivered it with his own hand to me at* Breda. Upon this they reſolved to commit him, that he might be forth coming when the two Houſes met; on which the General told them, that though not much of his acquaintance, he was his relation, and he would be anſwerable for him. On the 1ſt of May Sir John attended the Houſe of Commons, and ſeeing the Lord Commiſſioner Tyrrel going in, he deſired him to acquaint the Speaker that he was entruſted with a letter to the Houſe from his moſt ſacred Majeſty. When the Commiſſioner came in, he found Arthur Anneſley, Eſq; the Preſident of the council of ſtate, relating what had paſſed there. As ſoon as he had ended, the Commiſſioner acquainted the Speaker with Sir John's meſſage, upon which a debate enſued. In the mean time, Sir John went to the Houſe of Lords, and having ſent for the Earl of Oxford out of the Houſe, deſired he would acquaint the Speaker that he attended with a letter from his Majeſty. The Lords, after a ſhort debate, reſolved to attend their Speaker to the door, where Sir John met and preſented him the King's letter, for which he had immediately the thanks of the Houſe (*p*). On his return to the Houſe of Commons, he was as well received there, and ſoon after they returned him their moſt ſolemn thanks; and, as a farther memorial of their ſenſe of his ſervice, ordered him five hundred pounds to buy a jewel (*q*), which ſum was carried to his lodgings the next day [*M*]. On the 10th of May, Sir John Greenvile, by direction from the General, went

(*l*) Price's Hiſtory of the Reſtoration, p. 149.

(*m*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 726, 727, 728. Heath's Chronicle, p. 441. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 377.

(*n*) Baker's Chronicle, p. 701. Heath's Chronicle, p. 442.

(*o*) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 287. Price's Hiſtory of the Reſtoration, p. 155, 156.

(*p*) Skinner's Hiſtory of General Monk, p. 301.

(*q*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 446. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 381. Baker's Chronicle,, p. 706.

Sir Edward Hyde to William Morrice, Eſq;

* 'SIR,

'I have enough underſtood from Sir John Greenvile
'how much I am beholden to you, and I beſeech you
'do not impute it to vanity in me, that I was always
'confident, that at ſome time or other, either by the
'repreſentation of ſome friend, or when I ſhould be
'fully known to you, I ſhould have a part in your
'friendſhip. I am afraid I may be now upon ſome
'diſadvantage, by the ſo good character the partiality
'of Sir J. Greenvile may have given me to you, which
'I may appear far ſhort of; and I ſhall be very well
'content that you think me not ſo good a man as he
'hath pleaſed to deliver me, ſo you think me not ſo
'ill a man as others have given me out to be. I hope
'ſhortly to wait on you, for the King expects and de-
'ſires you to come with my Lord General to meet
'him, for 'till then he will take no reſolution of im-
'portance, and I ſhall make myſelf as worthy of your
'friendſhip as I can. I have preſumed to write to his
'Excellency, which, if you think fit, I ſhould deſire
'you to preſent to him, as likewiſe the other letter to
'Mr Palmer, if the contents be agreeable to your
'opinion, which will always find a great ſubmiſſion
'from

Sir,

Hague, 27 May,
S. N. 1660.

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

Edw. Hyde.'

For my worthy friend Mr Morrice.

* In the poſſeſſion of Hugh Gregor, Eſq;

It would be eaſy to prove, from other authentic evidence, that, at this the moſt critical juncture of all, the reliance of the King was upon the General, Morrice, and Greenvile, and extended no farther; but that what has been already ſaid may ſeem ſufficient; only let it be obſerved, that the Lord Viſcount Mordaunt, who had been ſo much truſted, and hazarded his life ſo freely, had ſo clear a ſenſe of Sir John Greenvile's merit, that he could not help writing to the Marquis of Ormond, on the 7th of May, that they ſhould have a care of truſting Dr Clarges on that ſide of the water (64), but that they ſhould rather let things reſt 'till his worthy comrade came.

[*M*] *The next day.*] The thanks of the Houſe of Commons (65) appear in almoſt all our hiſtories, but curtailed and abridged; for which reaſon we have thought it requiſite to give them a place here, as belonging ſtrictly to the perſonal hiſtory of Sir John Greenvile. Sir Harbottle Grimſtone delivered them thus.

'Sir John Greenvile,

'I need not tell you with what grateful and thank-
'ful hearts the Commons, now aſſembled in Parlia-
'ment, have received his Majeſty's gracious letter;
'*res ipſa loquitur:* you yourſelf have been *auricularis*
'*& oculatus teſtis de rei veritate*; our bells and our
'bonfires have already begun the proclamation of his
'Majeſty's goodneſs and our joys: we have told the
'people, that our King, the glory of England, is
'coming home again, and they have reſounded it back
'again in our ears, that they are ready, and their
'hearts

(64) Carte's Collection of Letters, Vol. II. p. 336.

(65) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 381. Mercurius Publicus, 4to. No. 19.

went on board Admiral Montague's ſhip (*r*), to deſire that he would proceed with the navy to the coaſt of Holland, which he promiſed; and the next day Sir John proceeded thither on board the Speaker (*s*), now called the Mary Frigate, of which he brought the King advice on the 14th, and at the ſame time acquainted him with the earneſt deſires of his ſubjects of all ranks to enjoy his preſence. He accompanied his Majeſty, and was preſent at Canterbury when the General received the Order of the Garter, and Mr Morrice that of Knighthood, being at the ſame time declared one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State (*t*). The ſatisfaction he enjoyed in contemplating the proſperity of his prince and country, which he might very juſtly attribute to the bleſſing of Divine Providence upon his own dutiful endeavours, ſtood for ſome time in the place of a recompence for his many ſignal ſervices, which however he did not aſcribe to any defect either of kindneſs or of gratitude in his Royal Maſter, but to the ſlowneſs, or perhaps coldneſs, of the Earl of Clarendon, who had in a manner the ſole and ſupreme direction of affairs. At length, at the diſtance almoſt of a year, on the approach of his Majeſty's coronation when ſeveral Earls were to be created, he had the title of Earl of Bath conferred upon him, but with circumſtances that were not over pleaſing, ſince, notwithſtanding it was well known that General Monk, now become Duke of Albemarle, intereſted himſelf only as to him and Colonel Charles Howard, who had been highly ſerviceable in keeping the army ſteady in the moſt critical conjuncture, the Earl of Bath was the laſt but one in the liſt, and the Earl of Carliſle the laſt of all (*u*). However, this was in ſome meaſure qualified by other marks of royal favour, which did not ſo immediately depend upon the Miniſter [*N*]. He was one of the Lords who accompanied his Majeſty and the Duke of York to that grand entertainment, which was given them by the ſociety of the Inner Temple (*w*), Auguſt 15, 1661.

(*r*) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 144.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 146.

(*t*) Baker's Chronicle, p. 711. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 772.

(*u*) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 168,

(*w*) Dugdale's Origines Juridiciales, p. 157.

‘ hearts are open to receive him; both parliament and people have cried aloud to the King of Kings, Long live King Charles the Second. I am likewiſe to tell you, that the Houſe doth not think fit that you ſhould return to our Royal Sovereign, without ſome teſtimony of their reſpects to yourſelf; they have therefore ordered and appointed, that five hundred pounds ſhall be delivered unto you to buy a jewel, as a badge of that honour which is due to a perſon whom the King hath honoured to be the meſſenger of ſo gracious a meſſage; and I am commanded in the name of the houſe to return you their hearty thanks.’

Upon which the Noble Hiſtorian very juſtly exclaims in theſe words (66).

‘ So great and ſudden a change was this, that a ſervant of the King's, who for near ten years together had been in priſons, and under confinement, only for being the King's ſervant, and would but three months before have been put to have undergone a ſhameful death, if he had been known to have ſeen the King, ſhould be now rewarded for bringing a meſſage from him. From this time there was ſuch an emulation and impatience in lords, and commons, and city, and generally over the kingdom, who ſhould make the moſt lively expreſſions of their duty and of their joy, that a man could not but wonder where thoſe people dwelt who had done all the miſchief, and kept the King ſo many years from enjoying the comfort and ſupport of ſuch excellent ſubjects.’

As a proof of this we need only obſerve, that the city (67) received the King's letter with as high demonſtrations of joy, and beſtowed upon the Lord Viſcount Mordaunt and Sir John Greenvile, three hundred pounds to buy each of them a ring.

[*N*] *Upon the Miniſter.*] Sir John Greenvile, by letters patents (68), bearing date at Weſtminſter, April 20, in the 13th of King Charles the Second, was created Lord Greenvile of Kilkhampton and Byddeford, Viſcount Lanſdowne, and Earl of Bath, being at that time Firſt Lord of the Bed-Chamber, and Lord Warden of the Stannaries. At this juncture it being ſuggeſted (69), that he had by inheritance a real right to the titles of Earl of Carboil, and Lord of Thorigny and Granville in Normandy, he was ſix days after, by his ſaid Majeſty's declaration under his royal ſignet, allowed and permitted to enjoy, the name, ſtile, and dignity, of Earl of Carboil, Lord of Thorigny and Granville, in as full and ample manner as his anceſtors formerly uſed, before that dukedom was loſt to the crown of England. In the preamble of which warrant, his Majeſty uſes theſe words (70): ‘ Whereas it appears to us, that our right truſty, &c. John Earl of Bath, &c. is derived in a direct line as heir male to Robert Fitz-Hamon, Lord of Glouceſter and Glamorgan, in the reigns of King William the Conqueror, King William Rufus, and King Henry I. and who was the ſon and heir of Hamon Dentatus, Earl of Carboil, and Lord of Thorigny and Granville in Normandy, which titles they held before Normandy was loſt to the crown of England, whereby he juſtly claims his deſcent from the younger ſon of the Duke of Normandy, as we ourſelves do from the eldeſt, &c.’ Alſo in the ſame year (1661) (71), the King paſſed a warrant under the privy-ſeal, whereby he obliged himſelf, and recommended it to his ſucceſſors, that, in caſe of the failure of male iſſue to General Monk, the title of Duke of Albemarle ſhould deſcend to the ſaid Earl of Bath, and be continued in his family. And likewiſe, by another warrant (72), promiſed the earldom of Glamorgan, formerly enjoyed by Robert Fitz-Hamon, in caſe of failure of iſſue male of the Marquis of Worceſter by his lady then living, to be enjoyed by him and his heirs male, and in default of iſſue, to the heirs male of Sir Bevil Greenvile his father.

It is from hence we are to date the humour of changing the manner of ſpelling this name, of which the late Lord Lanſdowne was ſo remarkably fond, that he cenſures the Noble Hiſtorian on this head very unjuſtly (73), ‘ The Chancellor, ſays he, ſpells the family name *Greenvil*, wherein he has beeen followed by others, as an oracle in Heraldry as well as Hiſtory. If Camden had been conſulted, or any antient authentic record, it would have been found, that *A* and *E* ſingle have often varied in different ages, but never with a double *E*. All antient names have ſuffered the ſame change, eſpecially of the letter *A* into an *E* ſingle.’ To ſhew how little ſtrength there is in this criticiſm, we need only produce Dr Gumble (74), who was the Duke of Albemarle's chaplain, and perfectly well acquainted with this gentleman's family. He ſpeaks of him thus, ‘ Sir John Greenvile, couſin-german to the General, a moſt loyal and active inſtrument in his Majeſty's reſtoration, to whoſe conduct and prudence we are obliged by juſtice to attribute very much next the General.’ But perhaps Dr Price, another of the Duke of Albermale's chaplains, may appear of ſtill greater weight; he dedicates his book to this noble perſon in 1680, and the title of his Dedication runs thus (75): ‘ To the Right Honourable John Earl of Bath, Viſcount Greenvile of Lanſdowne, Baron Greenvile of Byddeford and Kilkhampton, Knight; Groom of the Stole, Firſt Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, Lord-Lieutenant of the counties of Devon and Cornwall, and one of the Lords of His Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-Council.’ To this we may add, that Dr Peter Barwick, in his Latin life of his brother, calls him always *Johannes Greenvillus*. It would be impertinent to multiply authorities upon a point of ſo little conſequence, and which thoſe already produced are ſufficient to determine.

(66) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 761.

(19) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 700.

(68) Bill. Sign. 12 Car. II.

(69) MS. Addit. to Baron. by Sir W. Dugdale.

(70) Ex Inform. præhon. Geo. Dom. Lanſdowne.

(71) Ibid.

(72) Ibid.

(73) Genuine Works in verſe and proſe of &c. Vol. II. p. 190.

(74) Life of General Monk, p. 104.

(75) The Myſtery and Method of his Majeſty's happy Reſtoration, laid open to public view,

1661. He likewiſe attended the King and Queen to Oxford, when they went to pay a viſit to that univerſity, and had the degree of Maſter of Arts conferred upon him (x) September 28, 1663. His Lordſhip was preſent at a meeting of the Privy-Council at Whitehall, February 22, 1664 (y); in which the King's declaration of his motives for granting letters of marque and reprizal againſt the Dutch, which was the prelude to the firſt war in that reign was made. At this juncture it was a very popular meaſure, countenanced by the approbation of both houſes of Parliament, and had ſo far the concurrence of the city of London, that they not only readily lent the King one hundred thouſand pounds for the neceſſary preparations for that war, but came with equal alacrity into a ſecond loan of the ſame ſort (z). However, the Lord High-Chancellor Clarendon was neither preſent at the council beforementioned, or took any ſhare in adviſing (a) or managing the war, which ending leſs proſperouſly than it began, and having been ever oppoſed by that great man, the King took the ſeals from him (b), and gave them to Sir Orlando Bridgeman. In the next ſeſſion of Parliament, which began October 10, 1667, the Commons impeached the Earl of Clarendon of treaſon, and deſired that he might be committed, which their Lordſhips refuſed, unleſs ſome particular treaſon was aſſigned (c). Upon this a conference followed, in which the Commons offered their reaſons; and upon the report, the queſtion being put to comply with the deſires of the Houſe of Commons, it was carried in the negative; upon which, twenty-ſeven peers entered their proteſts (d), amongſt whom was the Earl of Bath, in which it may well be doubted whether he liſtened ſo much to his reaſon as his reſentment. He was one of the Lords of the Committee for Trade, who ſigned, Auguſt 4, 1676, a very explicite report to the King, of the depredations committed upon his Majeſty's ſubjects by the French Privateers, conceived in very ſtrong terms, to which the King gave a ſatisfactory anſwer, and ordered the Lord Berkeley, then his Ambaſſador at the court of France (e), to demand immediate ſatisfaction. In 1678, his Lordſhip was one of the few peers who proteſted againſt the diſpoſſeſſing the Lord Viſcount Purbeck of his peerage, in which his Lordſhip ſhewed himſelf to be a true lover of juſtice, being perſwaded in himſelf, that the intereſt of the Duke of Buckingham had at leaſt as much weight in that buſineſs, as the arguments offered (f) in favour of the bill. In 1679, when the King, to calm the heats that had been created by the diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot, reſolved to conſtitute a new Privy-Council, conſiſting of thirty perſons, who, in point of quality and of character, might be as acceptable to his ſubjects as grateful to himſelf, we find the Earl of Bath of this number (g). There was no meaſure of the King's reign that gained him more reputation than this; and of the number of new members, none more unexceptionable than his Lordſhip, who, without incurring envy, enjoyed the King's favour; had been all his life a courtier without loſing character, and, except in the caſe of the Earl of Clarendon's proſecution, his patriotiſm appeared the pure reſult of principle. A very ſtrong inſtance of this was ſhewn in his being one of the thirty-one Lords *, who acquitted William Lord Viſcount Stafford of high-treaſon, December 7, 1680, notwithſtanding which he was convicted and ſuffered death. He was alſo one of the ſixteen Privy-Counſellors who ſubſcribed the King's ſolemn Declaration, entered in the council books, and dated March the third the ſame year, importing, that to prevent any diſputes relating to the ſucceſſion, his Majeſty affirmed, that he was never married, or gave any contract of marriage, to Mrs Walters, otherwiſe Barlow, or to any other woman whatever, except Queen Katharine his conſort, then living, which was a point at that time of the utmoſt conſequence to the public peace †. His Lordſhip maintained this character of being a ſteady friend to the crown and to his country, and in all the variety of changes that happened in that reign, retained his credit with the King, whom he always ſtyled his moſt gracious Maſter to the laſt. In a little time after King James II. was ſeated upon the throne, viz. April 19, 1685: his Lordſhip was removed from his office of Groom of the Stole (h), which was beſtowed upon the Earl of Peterborough. It is clear enough from hence, that his Lordſhip had not that degree of perſonal favour with this monarch that he had with his brother; and it is poſſible alſo, the King might be deſirous, in point of conveniency, of having in that office a Lord of his own religion. But however this might happen, or on whatever motive this alteration was made, the Earl of Bath, as it was very natural for him to do, thought himſelf ſlighted; and it may be conceived, that as King James reaped the benefit of the Reſtoration, and had ſucceeded to that throne in which he had ſo great a hand in ſeating his brother, he was bound to conſider that warrant which had been ſigned at Breda, and which gave him ſuch a title to that poſt, as could not be honourably ſuperſeded during his life-time. However, upon the Duke of Monmouth's landing at Lyme in Dorſetſhire, in the month of June 1685, the Earl of Bath raiſed a regiment (i) of foot for the King's ſervice, with the behaviour and diſcipline of which regiment, his Majeſty, on reviewing them at Hounſlow, was ſo well pleaſed, that as a public mark of his approbation, he conferred the honour of knighthood upon Captain Bevil Greenvile, at the head of the regiment. His Lordſhip had however very little to do with this monarch or his miniſters, he was very little conſulted, and leſs employed, having ſhewn upon all occaſions equal zeal for the Proteſtant religion, and the liberties of his country, though without any biaſs either to rebellious or republican principles. He had a very

(x) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 830.

(y) Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 272, 273. Heath's Chronicle, p. 532.

(z) Baker's Chronicle, p. 753.

(a) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 200.

(b) Baker's Chronicle, p. 756. Lord Arlington's Letters, Vol. II. p. 234, 235.

(c) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 255, 256.

(d) The Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords from the Reſtoration to the preſent time, Vol. I. p. 99. Lord Arlington's Letters, Vol. II. p. 271, 272.

(e) Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 339.

(f) The Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords from the Reſtoration to the preſent time, Vol. I. p. 208.

(g) Baker's Chronicle, p. 774, 775. Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 362.

* State Trials, Vol. III. p. 212. Memoirs of Sir John Rereſby, p. 107, 108, 111. Baker's Chronicle, p. 780.

† Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 366. Echard's Hiſtory, p. 988. Annals of the Univerſe, p. 404, 405.

(h) Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 439.

(i) Ibid. p. 451.

a very great hand in that amazing turn of affairs which happened in 1688, and was very little leſs concerned in the Revolution than in the Reſtoration, though ſome writers (*k*) have taken pains to leſſen his merit in reſpect to both. With a view to this it is ſaid, that when the Prince of Orange, with his fleet and forces aboard, by ſome accident or other paſſed Dartmouth and Torbay, the Earl of Bath would not undertake to admit him into the port of Plymouth, under pretence that he was managing the garriſon, and that as yet the point was not abſolutely in his power, which he did to gain time, and 'till he ſaw how things would go. The fact truly ſtated however is very different. His Lordſhip was at that time Lord-Lieutenant of the counties of Devon and Cornwall, and governor of the important port and royal citadel of Plymouth, built by King Charles II. and one of the beſt (if not the very beſt) fortifications in England, having upwards of two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon mounted (*l*). There was in the place thirteen companies of foot, moſt of them belonging to the Earl of Huntingdon's regiment, many of the officers, and moſt of the ſoldiers, being Papiſts (*m*). It was ſuppoſed that the Prince of Orange intended to ſteer for the North, ſo that the Earl of Bath could have no notice of his having any deſign upon Plymouth, 'till apprized of it by the approach of the Dutch fleet; and if he did make any ſuch anſwer as is before mentioned (though it is not eaſy to conceive how the queſtion could be propoſed or the anſwer made) it was certainly very proper, and moſt likely to be the truth. For on the night between the 10th and the 11th of November, he ſurprized the citadel of Plymouth, ſeizing the Earl of Huntingdon, and the officers upon whom he moſt depended; turned all, in whom he could not confide, out of the garriſon; and having declared for the Prince of Orange, and cauſed his Declarations to be proclaimed, and immediately admitted part of the Dutch fleet into the harbour, which the writers of thoſe times acknowledge to have been a point deciſive in favour of the Revolution (*n*). He alſo ſent his own regiment, under the command of his nephew Sir Bevil Greenvile, to ſecure the important iſland of Jerſey, where the King had a Popiſh governor, and a garriſon wholly devoted to him; ſo that the Earl, not without reaſon, ſuſpected a place of ſuch conſequence to the crown of England, might have been delivered to France, from which danger it was thus happily preſerved (*o*). His Lordſhip, in the diſputes that followed, was againſt the ſettling a regency, and voted for declaring the Prince and Princeſs of Orange King and Queen. He was ſoon after ſworn of the Privy-Council, and continued in his former offices (*p*). He was however as little and as ill received a courtier in this as in the former reign, but, in reſpect to national concerns, he ſupported and oppoſed according to his own notions of the public good. His regard for the conſtitution, abhorrence of thoſe ſevere and ſanguinary ſentences, which ſeemed calculated to render the law itſelf odious, and his earneſt deſire to take away arbitrary and abuſed power, wherever placed, induced his Lordſhip to contend earneſtly for the reverſing thoſe exorbitant judgments, believing, that what ought never to have paſſed at all, ſhould not laſt and remain on record for ever (*q*). His Lordſhip heard grievances inſiſted upon as the principal ground of the Revolution, and from thence concluded, that the redreſs of grievances, and a thorough amendment of the whole ſtructure of government, was the great end of the Revolution, which with great zeal and inflexible conſtancy he ſet about accompliſhing, without inquiring where it would render him acceptable, or whom it might diſoblige or offend. He was very aſſiduous, in 1689, in promoting a clauſe to be added to the bill of Rights, declaring all pardons, upon an impeachment of the Houſe of Commons, to be null and void, except with the conſent of both houſes of parliament, and though it was loſt in the Houſe of Peers by a great majority, he entered his proteſt (*r*). In 1690 he took the ſame ſtep in reſpect to a law which he thought might bear hard on the Earl of Torrington, who was then expoſed to a proſecution on the part of the crown, and at the ſame time to the general outcry, not of this only, but of a neigbouring nation, which the Earl of Bath conſidered as ſo many additional reaſons that ought to intitle his Lordſhip, in point of form as well as matter, to the ſtricteſt juſtice (*s*). In the year 1692, he found himſelf expoſed to the reſentment of King James, who, when he was ready with a potent army to invade the ſouthern part of this iſland, by his declaration, dated at St Germains (*t*) the 10th of April, excepted from his promiſe of general pardon, the Duke of Ormond, the Marquis of Wincheſter, the Earls of Sunderland, Bath, Denbigh, and Nottingham, the Lords, Newport, Delamere, Wiltſhire, Colcheſter, Cornbury, Dumblain, and Churchill, together with the Biſhops of London and St Aſaph, and many other perſons of diſtinction who were commoners. This did not hinder his Lordſhip from perſiſting in his former meaſures, and labouring, as much as in his power lay, in parliament, to examine ſeriouſly into the ſtate of the nation (*u*), and not to treat as ſenſeleſs and ſeditious what the courtiers ſtyled public clamour, 'till they were thoroughly ſatisfied they were not grievances brought to their ears by the cries of the people. In 1694, came on, before the Lord Keeper Somers, in the high court of Chancery, his great ſuit in regard to the ſucceſſion of Chriſtopher, late Duke of Albemarle, in which ſuit his Lordſhip prevailed, as he likewiſe did when it was brought by appeal before the Houſe of Lords (*w*) [*O*].

(*k*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 788.

(*l*) Supplement to Camden's Britannia. Brome's travels, p. 253.

(*m*) Expedition of his Highneſs the Prince of Orange, p. 19. Compleat Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. Echard's Hiſtory, p. 1125.

(*n*) The exact Diary of the Expedition, p. 65. The Hiſtory of the Deſertion, p. 83. Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, p. 338, 339.

(*o*) Falle's Hiſtory of the iſland of Jerſey, p. 125. Collins's Supplement to the Peerage, Vol. V. p. 117.

(*p*) Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, p. 339. Collins's Suplement, Vol. V. p. 117. Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 550.

(*q*) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 566. Journal of the Houſe of Lords.

(*r*) The Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. I. p. 396.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 405—407.

(*t*) The State of Europe for the year 1692, p. 178.

(*u*) The Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. I. p. 412, 413.

(*w*) Journal of the Houſe of Lords. Biſhop Stillingfleet's Diſcourſes, p. 149.

[*O*] *Before the Houſe of Lords.*] There are few caſes better known to the Lawyers than this, which was carried on with great warmth and obſtinacy on all ſides, created general expectation on account of many particular

In 1698 his Lordſhip was amongſt the number of ſixty-one peers, who divided againſt the bill for attainting Sir John Fenwick; and was alſo amongſt the forty-one Lords who proteſted, upon their paſſing that bill, by a majority of ſeven (x). In the very ſame ſeſſion, his Lordſhip gave a like public proof of his ſtrong deſire to ſee the Commons of England repreſented in parliament by men of landed eſtates, and conſequently the leaſt liable to biaſs of any kind, becauſe men of real property muſt always have the ſtrongeſt abhorrence (y) for public confuſions. His Lordſhip was of the number of thoſe who diſapproved the partition treaty (z), and were deſirous that ſome expedient ſhould be found to prevent

cular and intereſting circumſtances attending it, and received three determinations with as great ſolemnity as any thing of this kind ever did (76). We ſhall endeavour to ſtate the matter clearly and conciſely here. We have before mentioned how great regard and reſpect General George Monk, afterwards Duke of Albemarle, expreſſed for his relation and friend Sir John Greenvile, then become Earl of Bath; and we have likewiſe obſerved as a teſtimony of it, that he engaged King Charles II. to promiſe by a ſign manual, that in caſe his iſſue male ſhould extinguiſh, he would confer the dukedom upon the Earl of Bath or his poſterity, and likewiſe beſtow upon them the honour of Theobalds, which would then revert to the crown (77). This great teſtimony of affection and reſpect, induced the Earl of Bath to ſhew the utmoſt tenderneſs and concern for Chriſtopher, the only ſon and heir of Duke George, who in 1675, being then of full age, and capable of diſpoſing of his real eſtate, made a will, and ſettled a great part of it, on failure of his own iſſue, on the Earl of Bath. In the month of July, 1681, the ſame Duke made a deed, relative to this will in ſome reſpect, whereby the main of his eſtate, after the Duke and Ducheſs's death without iſſue, was ſettled upon the Earl of Bath, and ſome other parts on Sir Walter Clarges and Mr Bernard Greenvile (78). The reaſons aſſigned by his Grace for making this deed being, that his next heirs at law were deſcended from a regicide, and his great conſideration and regard for the perſons to whom he bequeathed it. In this deed there was a proviſo, that the Duke ſhould have power to revoke any uſes in the deed, and limit new ones; but this was to be done by a writing under his hand and ſeal, in the preſence of ſix witneſſes, of whom three were to be peers of the realm, and the tender of ſixpence to each truſtee mentioned in the deed (79). After all this, in the year 1687 the Duke made another will, and thereby gave ſome parcels of his lands to Mr Bernard Greenvile, Sir Walter Clarges, and others; made ſome larger proviſions for the Ducheſs during her life, but gave the bulk and reſidue of all his eſtate to Colonel Thomas Monk, and likewiſe made a petition in that will to the King, that he would be pleaſed to confer a title of honour upon him, and that he would create him Baron Monk of Potheridge (80), the antient ſeat of the family; whereas, in the former will of 1675, he had deſired the King to grant to the Earl of Bath, and the iſſue male of his body, the title of Duke of Albemarle, and that his eldeſt ſon might bear the title of Lord Monk.

But notwithſtanding all this, a little before his going Governor to Jamaica, he delivered to the Lord Bath the will of 1675, and the deed of 1681, incloſed in a paper under his ſeal; and directed Mr Crofts, though one of the witneſſes to the laſt will in 1687, to deliver the keys of all his evidences to the Earl, whom he likewiſe mentioned as the perſon to be applied to during his abſence, and as the perſon who was to be the heir of the beſt part of his eſtate, in caſe any thing (81) happened to him; and parted with his Lordſhip, not only without any ſigns of diſlike or quarrel, but with all teſtimonies of ſincere and cordial friendſhip, which were confirmed afterwards by letters from Jamaica; and during the Duke's ſtay there, all applications to court on his behalf were made by and through the Earl of Bath (82), in conſequence of expreſs directions from his Grace.

After the Duke's demiſe in Jamaica, in January 1688, ſeveral ſuits were commenced in Chancery. The Ducheſs of Albemarle, and after her intermarriage with Ralph Lord Montagu, that Lord in her right became plaintiffs againſt the Earl of Bath and others defendants; and in their bill, ſet forth the Duke of Albemarle's marriage-ſettlement, and his Will of 1687, made with great circumſpection by the Lord Chief Juſtice Pollexfen, executed in the preſence of three witneſſes; three copies engroſſed, one delivered into the hands of the Ducheſs of Newcaſtle, another to Colonel Thomas Monk, and a third carried by the Duke himſelf to Jamaica, where, without ſhewing or explaining the contents, he told Sir Hans Sloane, his Phyſician, that was his Will (83). In this bill the plaintiffs complain, that the Earl of Bath ſets up another will, and a deed, which, if ever executed by the Duke, they believed was obtained by ſurprize, and ought to be ſet aſide in equity; and, if it ſhould not be ſet aſide, they pray that the Ducheſs may have the lands limited to her by that deed, and the rent-charge of two thouſand pounds a year over the jointure ſettled upon the marriage, and confirmed by the will of 1675; and they farther pray, that the will of 1687 ſhould ſtand good as to the perſonal eſtate and legacies, and to be protected in the enjoyment of the perſonal eſtate and ſpecific legacies, diſcharged from the Duke's debts.

Another bill was brought by Chriſtopher Monk and Henry Monk, ſons of Colonel Thomas Monk, complaining of the Earl of Bath and others, ſetting up the will of 1675, and the deed of 1681, and praying that both will and deed may be ſet aſide, and that the plaintiffs might enjoy the benefits and eſtates given them by the will of 1687.

There was a third bill brought by the Earl of Bath, Mr Bernard Greenvile, and Sir Walter Clarges, in which they ſet forth the will of 1675, and the deed of 1681, and the continuance and conſtancy of the Duke's friendſhip and truſt to the time of his death, complaining of the Ducheſs and others, defendants, for ſetting up the will of 1687, praying that the perſonal eſtate might be applied to the payment of the Duke's debts, and that the real eſtate might be confirmed to the plaintiffs. Theſe cauſes were firſt heard before the Lords-Commiſſioners of the great Seal, the 8th of July 1691, when a decree was made, that the perſonal eſtate ſhould be accounted for, and applied to the payment of the late Duke's debts; and directed an iſſue at law to try the validity of the deed of 1681. According to this order, in Michaelmas term following, there was an ejectment tried at the King's-Bench bar, wherein the Ducheſs of Albemarle and Mr Chriſtopher Monk were the leſſors of the plaintiffs, and a verdict was then found for the defendants, which eſtabliſhed the deed at law; this was the firſt deciſion (84).

The parties then reſorting back to the court of Chancery for the deciſion of the points reſerved, the cauſes came to be finally heard on Thurſday December 12, 1693, before the Lord Keeper Somers, aſſiſted by the two Chief-Juſtices, Holt and Treby, and Mr Baron Powell. That day Baron Powell and the Lord Chief Juſtice Treby gave their opinions, and on the next day the Lord Chief Juſtice Holt and the Lord Keeper delivered theirs, all four concurring in their ſentiments, that the bills of the Earl of Montagu, the Ducheſs of Albemarle, and the Monks, ſo far as they reſpected the deed of 1681, ought to be diſmiſſed (85). There was an appeal from this decree to the Houſe of Lords, which came on to be heard the 27th of February following; where, after a full hearing, the decree was affirmed; and this was the final deciſion (86). But after all, the manor of Potheridge did not paſs by this deed, but in virtue of prior ſettlements deſcended to Thomas Pride and Elizabeth Pride, the ſon and daughter of Colonel Pride by Elizabeth Monk the daughter of Thomas Monk, elder brother to the Duke of Albemarle, from whom, all diſputes being amicably compromiſed, the Earl of Bath purchaſed it (87).

[P] *From*

(x) Compleat Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 729. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 181. Journal of the Houſe of Lords.

(y) Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. II. p. 466.

(z) Ibid. p. 26.

(76) See the Caſe of Bath and Montagu, at the end of the 2d part of Caſes argued in the High Court of Chancery, p. 112, 113.

(77) See the preceding note.

(78) See the Caſe of Bath and Montagu, p. 71.

(79) This proviſo was ſeen and approved by Sir William Jones.

(80) See the Caſe of Bath and Montagu, p. 71, 72.

(81) Ibid. p. 63.

(82) Ibid. p. 121, 124.

(83) Ibid. p. 93, 127.

(84) Ibid. p. 113.

(85) Ibid. p. 128.

(86) Journals of the Houſe of Lords. Diſcourſes of Dr Stillingfleet, Bp. of Worceſter, p. 149.

(87) Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, p. 340, 341.

prevent the maritime powers from being embarked in another war, before they had in ſome tolerable degree recovered their ſtrength after the former. His conduct, in regard to public affairs in general, was vigorous, from the natural warmth of his temper, and uniform to the very laſt hour of his life, being animated by a firm and ſteady attachment to the cauſe of liberty, in all caſes and againſt all opponents. This ſteadineſs and uniformity ſeemed to afford the ſtrongeſt evidence of his having acted conſtantly from principle, which however has not entirely ſecured his memory from cenſure [*P*]. His Lordſhip died

[*P*] *From cenſure.*] We have, in the courſe of this article, made it ſufficiently evident, that any diminution of this noble perſon's merit, in the conduct of the great tranſactions in which he was embarked, muſt proceed either from miſinformation or injuſtice; and we have alſo made it as clear, from facts, as any thing can be made, that he was ſcarce ever a boy; but from the age of fifteen conſidered as a man, knighted when about ſeventeen, and very early eſteemed for that which is commonly of the ſloweſt growth, though one of the higheſt of all human qualities, prudence. His family, his reputation, and his polite behaviour, recommended him to Prince Charles, but the King his father valued him for his diſcretion. It was this that determined the Earl of Norwich to truſt things with him, on which the fate of the royal family depended, before he was of age. At twenty-three he made that glorious defence in Scilly, and, in conſequence of it, that very advantageous treaty with the Admirals, Aſcue and Blake, which reſtored to him his eſtate and freedom, and ſecurity to all who followed him. He was but thirty-three, when, after having run through numberleſs perils, with much ſuſpicion and little hurt, he with great dexterity brought about the Reſtoration, which, if we will believe one who knew it beſt, King Charles the Second, was the work of him and none other. When the reader conſiders this character, drawn from facts, let him caſt his eye on the manner in which we find him introduced upon the ſtage, in the hiſtory of a right reverend author (88). ‘He (that is General Monk) took care to raiſe his kinſman Greenvile, who was made Earl of Bath, a man who thought of nothing but of getting and ſpending money.’ His nephew and apologiſt was a little warm upon this, and with reaſon (89). ‘Would one not naturally think, ſays he, this ſame Greenvile, as he calls him, was ſome pitiful ſcoundrel, raiſed from the dirt upon no other merit but being the General's couſin? A man or a wretch, 'tis the ſame thing, who thought of nothing but getting and ſpending money. Now this happens likewiſe to be directly the reverſe both in character and fact: but it was a random ſtroke, ſome laſh he deſerved for the hand he had in the Reſtoration, ſomething was to be ſaid, hit or miſs, true or falſe, it was to take it's chance, and poſterity was to believe it upon his word. Dr Burnet ſays it.’ We will treat this matter more calmly. The prelate muſt have written this part of his hiſtory from information, he might be miſinformed, and he really was ſo. This ſame Greenvile was not raiſed by his kinſman Monk. He had the warrant for his earldom before the King ſaw the General's face; but as for reaſons mentioned in the text, he was not actually created Earl of Bath 'till many months after the Reſtoration, Biſhop Burnet might be eaſily deceived in that particular; yet if he had conſulted Dr Price's book, he might have ſeen that warrant, and have learned from thence, that he did not riſe at his kinſman's requeſt, or at his own; but derived his title purely from his proper merit, and his maſter's gratitude. But ſtill this is not all. So far was Sir John Greenvile from being raiſed by his kinſman, that his kinſman was really raiſed by him. It was at firſt propoſed to create General Monk Earl of Eſſex, with a penſion of three thouſand pounds a year; of which the King being aſhamed, and the General refuſing to make any propoſal, it was left to Sir John Greenvile to ſettle the matter, who fixed the title of Albemarle, on account of the General's direct deſcent from Margaret, the eldeſt daughter of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick and Albemarle, with a very moderate grant to ſupport the dignity (90). That the Earl of Bath was not very rapacious, we may likewiſe collect from ſome inconteſtable facts. If he had been ſo, he would have taken the hundred thouſand pounds offered him for the iſles of Scilly by the Dutch. He accepted, for the greateſt ſervice a ſubject could render a prince, what the King was pleaſed to give or rather promiſe him; and it is highly probable he had only part of that, ſince, from his laſt will (91), it appears the King his maſter died much in his debt. If he did ſpend money, it was certainly his own, for we ſhall give ſuch inſtances of his juſtice, as will leave the reader under a moral certainty that he did not ſpend other people's. Let us now return to the Right Reverend Hiſtorian; ſpeaking of King Charles the Second's being reconciled to the Church of Rome at the time of his death, he ſays (92), ‘As ſoon as Huddleſton had prepared every thing that was neceſſary, the Duke whiſpered the King in the ear. Upon that the King ordered that all who were in the bed-chamber ſhould withdraw, except the Earls of Bath and Feverſham, and the door was double locked. The company was kept out half an hour, only Lord Feverſham opened the door once, and called for a glaſs of water.’ The Reverend Father's own account differs ſomewhat from this (93). ‘The King, ſays he, having private notice that Mr Huddleſton waited at the door, deſired to be in private; the Biſhops and Nobles withdrew, the Duke latching faſt the door; the Lords P. B. and F. were going out alſo, but the D. told them they might ſtay.’ It has been ſuppoſed, that the three initial letters ſhould be read, Peterborough, Bath, and Feverſham. It appears from Huddleſton's account, that the Earl of Bath would willingly have retired, and his ſtaying ought to be aſcribed to the Duke's command, and his office as Groom of the Stole. Some have applied to this noble perſon the following paſſage, which clearly contradicts the foregoing relations both of the Prieſt and Biſhop (94). ‘I heard a great peer relate, that King Charles was in a manner paſt his ſenſes when the Duke ſaid, *Brother, will you have the* Prieſt *come in*; and without any ſenſible anſwer given by the King, Father Huddleſton, who was ſet to wait at the chamber door, was called in, and did what he pleaſed in his way without the King's choice, or any open ſign of aſſent to it.’ If any thing of this ſort eſcaped him early, it might be a very good reaſon why King James would not have the Earl about his perſon. Yet the ſame Right Reverend Author tells us, his Lordſhip was very deep in the worſt meaſures of that reign (95). ‘At the ſame time, ſays he, a Parliament was ſummoned, and all arts were uſed to manage elections, ſo that the King ſhould have a Parliament to his mind. Complaints came up from all the parts of England, of the injuſtice and violence uſed in elections beyond what had ever been practiſed in former times. And this was ſo univerſal over the whole nation, that no corner of it was neglected. In the new charters that had been granted, the election of the members was taken out of the hands of the inhabitants, and reſtrained to the corporation men, all thoſe being left out who were not acceptable at Court. In ſome boroughs they could not find a number of men to be depended on, ſo the neighbouring gentlemen were made the corporation men; and in ſome of theſe, perſons of other counties, not ſo much as known in the borough, were named. This was practiſed in the moſt avowed manner in Cornwall by the Earl of Bath, who, to ſecure himſelf the Groom of the Stole's place, which he held all King Charles's time, put the officers of the guards names, in almoſt all the charters of that county, which ſending up forty-four members, they were for the moſt part ſo choſen, that the King was ſure of their votes on all occaſions.' In the firſt place, it may not be amiſs to inform the reader, that the King, as ſoon as he came to the throne, deſigned to exclude the Earl of Bath from being Groom of the Stole; in which poſt he did not ſeek to maintain

(88) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 98.

(89) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 254, 255.

(90) See the Preamble to the Patent of George Monk, Eſq; creating him Duke of Albemarle, dated 7 July 1660, in Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. lib. xiv. p. 1. Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 167.

(91) Collins's Supplement, Vol. V. p. 119.

(92) Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 607.

(93) A true Relation of the late King's death. To which are added, Copies of two papers, written by the late King Charles II. of bleſſed memory, found in his ſtrong box.

(94) Bp Kennet's compleat Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 418. in the notes.

(95) Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 625, 626.

died at his houſe in St James's (*a*), Auguſt 22, 1701, and was buried at Kilkhampton in Cornwall. He had iſſue, by his ſole conſort beforementioned, and who dying February 17, 1692, was buried in the Church of St Clement Danes, five ſons and eleven daughters. Of the latter, ſeven died while they were young: Lady Jane married William Gower, Eſq; and by him became the mother of Sir John Leveſon Gower, who was the firſt Lord Gower; Lady Katharine, married to Craven Peyton of the county of Lancaſter, Eſq; Warden of the Mint, who died without iſſue before him; Lady Grace, who married Sir George Carteret, raiſed to the degree of a Baron of this realm, by King Charles II. and Lady Henrietta Maria, for whom he had provided a fortune of ten thouſand pounds, but who died before him unmarried. Two of the ſons alſo died when they were young, and three ſurvived him, viz. Charles, who ſucceeded him in his honours, and yet did not live to ſee his funeral (*b*) [Q]. His youngeſt ſon, Bevil, died of the ſmall-pox (*c*), September 15,

(*a*) Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1701. p. 379.

(*b*) Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, p. 341.

(*c*) Collins's Supplement, Vol. V. p. 121.

himſelf by favour, but claimed it as his right. His claim was conſidered more than once by the Privy-Council, and was at laſt referred to Sir Robert Sawyer, the King's Attorney-General, who reported that the King might beſtow the office, but that the ſalary and perquiſites belonged to the Earl of Bath. Upon this King James ſaid, that was giving Peterborough, who was his own Groom of the Stole when Duke of York, the ſhell, and Bath the kernel (96). After theſe altercations, which certainly were not like to make the King love him better, the Earl of Bath was turned out on Sunday the 19th of April (97), the Parliament was not opened 'till the nineteenth of May. So that in this time the elections were made, and the reader will judge, whether, under ſuch circumſtances, the Earl of Bath was like to go violent lengths for the Court; and if he caſts his eyes upon the liſts of the county and boroughs of Cornwall in this Parliament, he muſt be ſatiſfied that they were never better repreſented. We have before obſerved, that his Lordſhip has been miſrepreſented in the affair of Plymouth at the Revolution. The Biſhop admits that he ſent his promiſe to the Prince of Orange by Admiral Ruſſel (though probably he meant Herbert); and though he diſputes the complying with it in the place before cited in the text, yet he afterwards clearly admits the fact (98). Another writer, who was alſo a lover of ſecret hiſtory, has been ſo kind to inform us, that ſoon after the Revolution, his Lordſhip applied himſelf to one who was in the higheſt favour with the new King, and deſired him to repreſent the claim he had to the royal ſeat of Theobalds; but it is ſaid (99) that favourite took this opportunity of begging it for himſelf; and from thence ariſes an inſinuation, that the Earl of Bath, by this diſappointment, was diſobliged. In reſpect to this fact we cannot affirm or deny any thing. But this we have a right to ſay, that if we take this noble peer's character from facts, we muſt conclude him a man of a very ſteady temper, and of very amiable and eſtimable qualities. He was the dutiful and zealous ſervant of Charles the Second, and yet durſt oppoſe his favourites and his miniſters. His loyalty to King James appeared on the Duke of Monmouth's invaſion. As to what followed, when the King purſued his own notions at the expence of the laws, he ſet an example fatal to himſelf. But that his Lordſhip really followed his ſentiments in that great turn, appears from the whole ſtrain of his conduct afterwards, by which he was expoſed to the reſentment of one King, at the ſame time he was not much in favour with the other. That he was a firm and faithful friend, appears from his behaviour towards the Duke of Albemarle's family. On the death of the old Duke, the King offered him his Garter, but he modeſtly declined accepting it, and deſired it might be given the young Duke (100), which was accordingly done. As Duke Chriſtopher left him a great part of his eſtates in 1681, ſo in 1684, the Earl, by his Will made with much caution, after the heirs male of his own family, ſubſtitutes the Duke and his, but without making the thing public, ſo that there is not the leaſt hint of it in the caſe. As a proof of his juſtice we may remark, that in a little time after the Reſtoration, he preſented the Reverend Mr Nicholas Monk and the Reverend Mr Price to the King, and made their ſervices known (101). We may add another inſtance in his family. His circumſtances once made it neceſſary for him to demand his lady's conſent to depart from her right to certain lands which were in her jointure, but things changing, ſo that he was not under the neceſſity of ſelling them, he voluntarily replaced them (102). He was an excellent father, a kind relation, and a generous maſter. He lived with a ſplendour ſuitable to his quality in town; he built a fine houſe (103), and ſhewed great hoſpitality in the country, where, through all the changes in his own fortune, and notwithſtanding all the alterations in the ſtate of public affairs, his influence was very extenſive through the whole courſe of his life, and his death generally and deſervedly regretted.

[Q] *And yet did not live to ſee his funeral.*] If this Noble Peer had deſcended from a line leſs fertile in heroes, his actions might well have entitled him to a ſeparate article, whereas here, from the nature of our work, we are obliged to confine the particulars that regard him to a note. His title during his father's lifetime was Viſcount Lanſdowne, and his turn to a military life being conſpicuous very early, his father conſented in 1683 to his making a campaign in Hungary againſt the Infidels; he was preſent in the month of September at the raiſing of the ſiege of Vienna, and attended the Duke of Lorrain when he gained the famous victory at Borkan, on the firſt of October, and alſo aſſiſted in the ſiege of Gran (104). On his return to England, King James appointed him Envoy Extraordinary (105) to the court of Spain, where he actually reſided when the Revolution happened. He returned through France, where he delivered back his letters credential to King James at St Germains. He was no ſooner at home, than he was called up by writ to the Houſe of Lords, by the title and with the precedency of his father's barony (106). In 1690 he did very remarkable ſervice, in defending the coaſts againſt the French, after the Earl of Torrington's miſfortune at ſea, with which Queen Mary, who was then left in the adminiſtration, was highly ſatisfied. In an addreſs which he preſented to her upon that occaſion, he takes the title of Charles Lord Viſcount Lanſdowne, Count of the Sacred Roman Empire (107), &c. This honour was conferred upon him by the Emperor Leopold, for his ſignal ſervices in the war of Hungary, by his charter bearing date at Lintz, Jan. 27, 1684, and was to deſcend to all his poſterity of both ſexes (108): his Lordſhip however voted in the Houſe of Lords as his father did, which gave credit to a report, that he ſtood upon indifferent terms with King William, occaſioned by a warm expreſſion of his Lordſhip's upon the following occaſion. He had applied for the arrears due to him as miniſter in Spain, and meeting with delays at the Treaſury board, he addreſſed himſelf to King William in perſon, and receiving an anſwer he did not expect, he replied with ſome warmth, *What, does it ſhock your Majeſty to do juſtice* (109)! We have obſerved in the text that he did not long ſurvive his father, and indeed the accident that brought him to his end was equally ſingular and unfortunate. He had a cuſtom of cleaning his piſtols himſelf before he went a journey, and deſigning to attend his father's remains into Cornwall, he was thus employed on the 4th of September, when the piſtol, the charge of which he was drawing, going ſuddenly off, ſhot him through the head, ſo that his corpſe, with that of his father, was carried down to Kilkhampton (110). On the 22d of May 1678, this Noble Lord was married at St Martin's in the Fields, to the Lady Martha Oſborne (111), fifth daughter of Thomas Earl of Danby, afterwards Duke of Leeds, by whom he had iſſue a daughter, who died an infant, which lady was buried in Weſtminſter Abbey, on the 26th of September 1689.

(96) Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, p. 337.

(97) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 439.

(98) Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 793.

(99) Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, p. 339, 340. Chauncy's Hiſtory and Antiquities of Hertfordſhire, p. 297.

(100) See the Caſe of Bath and Montagu, p. 120, 121.

(101) See the Dedication prefixed to Dr Price's Hiſtory of the Reſtoration.

(102) Collins's Supplement, Vol. V. p. 118.

(103) See the notes to Camden's Britannia, edit. 1695. p. 14.

(104) Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, p. 342. Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1701, p. 382.

(105) Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 439.

(106) Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, p. 343. The Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1701, p. 382.

(107) Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, p. 344, 345, 346.

(108) Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1701, p. 382. Collins's Supplement, Vol. V. p. 122.

(109) Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, p. 344.

(110) Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1701, p. 381, 382. Hiſtory of Illuſtrious men, p. 346, 347.

(111) Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1701, p. 382. Collins's Supplement, Vol. V. p. 124.

15, 1706. His ſecond ſon, John Greenvile, after having ſignalized himſelf by his great courage, both by land and ſea, particularly at the ſiege of Cork, in which he led on the grenadiers, roſe by his diſtinguiſhed merit to be a Colonel in the guards, Captain of a third rate man of war, and Governor of Deal, from all which he was removed, for vindicating the conduct of the Earl of Torrington. He was no leſs conſpicuous in his character as a ſenator, having the honour to ſit conſtantly in Parliament, from the firſt year of the reign of King James II. to the firſt of Queen Anne, and was a very able and eloquent ſpeaker, inſomuch, that on March 9, 1703, being then Knight of the Shire for the county of Cornwall, he was created Baron Greenvile of Potheridge *(e)*, and conſtituted Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall, Lord Warden of the Stannaries, during the minority of his nephew, and Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance. But about two years afterwards was removed, to make way for the Lord Rialton, and his father the Earl of Godolphin *(f)*, from the two former employments. He eſpouſed Rebecca, daughter of Sir Joſiah Child, and widow of Charles Marquis of Worceſter, by whom he had no iſſue; ſo that deceaſing December 3, 1707, the title of Lord Granville of Potheridge became extinct *(g)*, but his eſtate, which was very conſiderable, fell to his nephew William-Henry, Earl of Bath, who was alſo the laſt that bore that title, as the reader will ſee in the notes [*R*].

(e) Bill. Sign. 2. Annæ Regin.

(f) Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, p. 348. Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1707.

(g) Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, p. 349. Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1707, p. 514, 515. Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, p. 141.

1689. He married ſecondly the Lady Iſabella, daughter to Henry de Naſſau Lord of Auverquerque, Velt-Marſhal of the forces of the States-General, and ſiſter to Henry Earl of Grantham, by whom he had iſſue (112), his only ſon William-Henry Earl of Bath, of whom his mother died in childbed.

[*R*] *In the notes.*] This hopeful youth was born the thirtieth of January (113) 1691-2, and loſing both his father and grandfather in the tenth year of his age, the ſuperintendence of his education devolved on his grandmother, the old Lady Auverquerque (114), who ſo well executed that charge, that his Lordſhip even in his youth ſurpaſſed the hopes of his friends; and being excited by the martial ardour natural to his family, made two campaigns in the army of the high allies before he was twenty years of age. While he was thus employed, his couſin, the honourable George Granville, Eſq; then Secretary at War, wrote him the following letter, which, as it contains abundance of hiſtorical circumſtances relating to the family, may with great propriety be inſerted here.

To WILLIAM-HENRY, Earl of BATH, &c. at the camp in Flanders, September 4, 1710.

‘My dear Lord,

‘Whilſt you are purſuing honour in the Field in the earlieſt time of your life, after the example of your anceſtors, I am commanded by the Queen to let you know ſhe has declared you her Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Cornwall, the Earl of Rocheſter to act for you 'till you are of age (115).

‘You will do well to write your moſt humble thanks to her Majeſty, for ſo graciouſly remembering you, unſollicited, in your abſence: you ſhall likewiſe do the ſame to my Lord Rocheſter for accepting the trouble.

‘This, my dear Lord, is a preparative to bring you upon the ſtage, with ſome luſtre at your firſt appearance in the world. You are placed at the head of a body of gentry, entirely diſpoſed in affection to you and your family: you are born, poſſeſſed of all thoſe amiable qualities which cannot fail of fixing their hearts: you have no other example to follow, but to tread in the ſteps of your anceſtors: it is all that is hoped or deſired from you.

‘You are upon an uncommon foundation in that part of the world: your anceſtors, for at leaſt five hundred years, never made any alliance, male or female, out of the weſtern counties: thus there is hardly a gentleman either in Cornwall or Devon but has ſome of your blood, or you ſome of theirs. I remember the firſt time I accompanied your grandfather into the Weſt, upon holding his Parliament of Tinners, as Warden of the Stannaries, when there was the moſt numerous appearance of gentry of both counties that had ever been remembered together: I obſerved there was hardly any one but whom he called couſin, and I could not but obſerve at the ſame time how well they were pleaſed with it. Let this be a leſſon for you when it comes to your turn to appear amongſt them. Nothing is more obliging than to ſeem to retain the memory of kindred and alliance, though never ſo remote: and, by conſequence, nothing more diſobliging than a forgetfulneſs of them: which is always imputed to an affected diſdainful ſuperiority and pride.

‘There is another particular, in my opinion, of no ſmall conſequence to the ſupport of your intereſt, which I would recommend to your imitation; and that is, to make Stowe your principal reſidence. I have heard your grandfather ſay, if ever he lived to be poſſeſſed of New-Hall he would pull it down, that your father might have no temptation to withdraw from the antient ſeat of his family. From the Conqueſt to the Reſtoration, your anceſtors conſtantly reſided amongſt their countrymen, except when the public ſervice called upon them to ſacrifice their lives for it.

‘Stowe, in my grandfather's time, 'till the civil wars broke out, was a kind of academy for all the young men of family in the country: he provided himſelf with the beſt maſters of all kinds for education, and the children of his neighbours and friends ſhared the advantage with his own. Thus he in a manner became the father of his country, and not only engaged the affection of the preſent generation, but laid a foundation of friendſhip for poſterity, which is not worn out at this day.

‘Upon this foundation, my Lord, you inherit friends without the trouble of making them, and have only to preſerve them: an eaſy taſk for you, to whom nature has been ſo liberal of every quality neceſſary to attract affection, and gain the heart.

‘I muſt tell you, the generality of our countrymen have been always Royaliſts: you inherit too much loyal blood to like them the worſe. There is an old ſaying amongſt them, that a Godolphin was never known to want wit, a Trelawney courage, or a Greenvile loyalty: wit and courage are not to be miſtaken, and to give thoſe families their due, they ſtill keep up to their character: but it is the misfortune of loyalty not to be ſo clearly underſtood or defined. In a country ſubject to revolutions, what paſſes for loyalty to-day may be treaſon to-morrow; but I make great difference between real and nominal treaſon. In the quarrel of the houſes of York and Lancaſter, both ſides were proclaimed traytors as the other prevailed. Even under Cromwell's uſurpation, all who adhered to the King were proclaimed traytors, and ſuffered as ſuch: but this makes no alteration in the thing itſelf: it may be treaſon to call black black or white white: but black will be black and white will be white, in ſpite of all the legiſlators in the world.

‘There can be no doubt about allegiance unleſs princes become tyrants, and then they ceaſe to be Kings: they will no longer be reſpected as God's vicegerents, who violate the laws they were ſworn to protect. The preacher may tell us of paſſive obedience; that tyrants are to be patiently ſuffered as ſcourges, in the hands of a righteous God, to chaſtiſe a ſinful nation, and to be ſubmitted to like plagues, famines, and ſuch like judgments from above. Such doctrine, were it true, could only ſerve to miſlead

(112) Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, p. 347.

(113) Collins's Supplement, Vol. V. p. 124.

(114) Hiſtory of Europe for 1711, p. 539.

(115) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, Vol. Vol. II. p. 657.

lead ill-judging princes into a falſe ſecurity: men are not to be reaſoned out of their ſenſes: human nature and ſelf-preſervation will eternally arm againſt ſlavery and oppreſſion.

‘ It is therefore not to be ſuppoſed that even the weakeſt prince would run that hazard, unleſs ſeduced by advice, wickedly palliated by evil counſellors. Nero himſelf, under the influence of a good miniſtry, was the mildeſt, the moſt gracious, and beſt beloved of the Emperors. The moſt ſanguinary, the moſt profligate, and the moſt abhorred, under a bad one. A prince may be deceived or miſtaken in the choice of his favourites: but he has this advantage, he is ſure to hear of it from the voice of the public. If then he is deaf, he ſeems to take upon himſelf the blame and odium of thoſe actions which were chargeable before but upon his adviſers.

‘ Idle murmurs, groundleſs diſcontents, and pretended jealouſies and fears, the effect of private prejudice and reſentments, have been, and will ever be, under the wiſeſt adminiſtrations: we are peſtered with them even now, when we have a Queen, who is known to have nothing ſo much at heart as the contentment of her people: Theſe are tranſitory vapours, which ſcatter at the firſt appearance of light: the infection ſpreads no farther than a particular ſett of four ſplenetic enthuſiaſts in politics, not worth minding or correcting; univerſal diſcontent can never happen but from ſolid provocations.

‘ Many well meaning perſons, however abounding in zeal, have been often unwarily caught by popular pretences, and not undeceived ’till it was too late. Have a care, my dear couſin, of ſplitting upon that rock: there have been falſe patriots as well as falſe prophets.

‘ To fear God and honour the King, were injunctions ſo cloſely tacked together, that they ſeem to make but one and the ſame command: a man may as well pretend to be a good Chriſtian without fearing God, as a good ſubject without honouring the King

‘ *Deo, patriæ, amicis,* was your great-grandfather Sir Bevil’s motto: in three words he has added to his example a rule, which in following you can never err in any duty of life. The brighteſt courage and the gentleſt diſpoſition is part of the Lord Clarendon’s character of him: ſo much of him you have begun to ſhew us already, and the beſt wiſh I can make for you, is to reſemble him as much in all—but his untimely fate.

My Dear Lord,

I am for ever, &c.

George Granville.’

This excellent young nobleman, of whom ſuch extraordinary hopes were conceived both at home and abroad, was ſeized by the ſmall-pox in the ſucceeding year, and died May 17, 1711, in the twenty-firſt year of his age, unmarried. His remains were interred the twenty-third of the ſame month in Weſtminſter-Abbey (116). E

(116) Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, p. 347. Hiſtory of Europe for 1711, p. 539. Monumenta Anglicana, p. 228.

GREENVILE, or, as he wrote it himſelf, being the great patron of that orthography, GRANVILLE, [George] created by Queen Anne, Baron Lanſdowne of Biddeford in the county of Devon; an eloquent ſpeaker, an elegant writer, an admirable poet, and, in a word, one of the moſt accompliſhed noblemen this nation has produced (*a*). It is a misfortune that a perſon ſo able has not left us any memoirs of his own, who with ſo much candour and ſpirit has reſcued from calumny the characters of other great men. The materials for this article are for this reaſon, in proportion to the worth of it, very ſcanty; and all that we are able to do towards rendering juſtice to his memory, and gratifying in ſome meaſure the expectation of the reader, is to range them in the beſt manner we are able, and to borrow from his own excellent writings all the lights we can (*b*). He was the ſon of the honourable Mr Bernard Greenvile, or Granville, who, in regard to the merit of his illuſtrious father Sir Bevil, had, by a ſpecial warrant from King Charles the Second, the rank given him of an Earl’s younger ſon (*c*), and who added to the luſtre of his antient and noble family freſh ſplendour by his perſonal merit [*A*]. His ſon George was born about the year 1667, and is ſaid to have received a great

(*a*) Collins’s Supplement to the Peerage, Vol. V. p. 98.

(*b*) See the article of GRANVILLE [George], in Jacob’s Lives of the Poets; and the article LANSDOWNE in the General Dictionary.

(*c*) Lives of Illuſtrious Men, p. 349.

[*A*] *By his perſonal merit.*] This gentleman, Bernard Granville, Eſq; the father of our author, was, as we have already ſhewn, the ſon of Sir Bevil Granville, and brother to the Earl of Bath (1). He was born in the year 1631, and conſequently was not above twelve years old when his father was killed at Lanſdowne (2). He received his education in the country, and remained under the care of ſome of his father’s friends in Cornwall and Devon ’till he was about twenty years of age, and then ſecretly withdrew himſelf, that he might join his brother Sir John Greenvile in the iſlands of Scilly (3). He had there the benefit of the capitulation, and returning with his brother into the Weſt, was very active in the King’s ſervice, and eſcaped very narrowly with his life upon ſeveral occaſions (4). In the great tranſaction of the King’s Reſtoration, he was introduced by his brother to General Monk; and that great man gave a ſingular inſtance of his confidence in him, by intruſting him with his anſwer to the King’s letter at a very critical conjuncture (5). Our author ſays upon this ſubject (6), ‘ My father, Mr Bernard Granville, was the perſon entruſted by the General with his laſt diſpatches to the King to invite him home, and to acquaint him that every thing was ready for his reception.’ In point of time his Lordſhip is clearly miſtaken; for, as Dr Skinner truly obſerves, this was the boldeſt ſtroke in the General’s whole conduct (7). He wrote an anſwer to the King’s letter before Lambert was retaken, and conſequently, long before things were ſettled, and all matters in readineſs for the King’s reception. Indeed it appears by the King’s own letter to the General, that this with which Mr Bernard Granville was intruſted, bore date the 20th of April (8); whereas the King’s letters were not preſented to the two Houſes ’till the firſt of May. But this does not at all affect the credit of what his Lordſhip ſays farther (9), ‘ That when the General gave his father his final inſtructions, he acquainted him, that there were other meſſengers going over at the ſame time in the ſame ſhip, from Sir Anthony-Aſhly Cooper and others, directed to the Chancellor: that he ſhould take care not to be ſuſpected of any thing more than a common paſſenger, nor charged with any buſineſs: and above all, to uſe ſuch diligence as to get firſt to the King, that his Majeſty might not be ſurprized or perplexed by any uneaſy importunities or diſagreeable demands, but be prepared in what manner to receive and content them with general anſwers. My father accordingly arrived the firſt by two or three hours to the King, who was at ſupper Upon ſending in his name, his Majeſty immediately aroſe from the table, and came to him in another room: the King had no ſooner read the General’s letter, but he embraced the bearer, and told him, that never man was more welcome to him. He could now ſay *he was a* King *and not a* Doge.’ He was Gentleman of the Bed Chamber to the Duke of Glouceſter during the time of his exile; and after the Reſtoration, Gentleman of the Horſe, and one of the Grooms of the Bed-Chamber to King Charles the Second (10). He was choſe for Leſkard in Cornwall in the firſt Parliament after the King’s Reſtoration, called the Long Parliament (11), and ſerved for Launceſton and Saltaſh in all the Parliaments of that

reign

(1) Biographia Britannica, Vol. IV. p. 2297.

(2) E Stemmate antiq. & nob. Famil. de Greenvile.

(3) Lord Lanſdowne’s Works, Vol. II. p. 106.

(4) Collins’s Supplement to the Peerage, Vol. V. p. 96.

(5) Skinner’s Life of General Monk, p. 291.

(6) Lord Lanſdowne’s Works, Vol. II. p. 161.

(7) Skinner’s Life of General Monk, ubi ſupra.

(8) See the Appendix to Dr Barwick’s Life, p. 528.

(9) Lord Lanſdowne’s Works, Vol. II. p. 161.

(10) See the monumental Inſcription in Aubrey’s Surry.

(11) Willis’s Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 34.

a great part of his education in his infancy under the eye of Sir William Ellis, who was himſelf a man of letters, and of very quick parts *(d)*. Mr Granville quickly diſcovered the genius of his family, and being with his elder brother entered of Trinity-College in Cambridge, at a time when others have made very little progreſs in a grammar-ſchool, he was, before he reached the age of twelve, diſtinguiſhed, by addreſſing a very fine copy of verſes, of his own compoſition, to her Royal Highneſs Maria Beatrix d'Eſte, Ducheſs of York, who in 1679 viſited this univerſity *(e)*. He took his degree of Maſter of Arts there at thirteen, and left Cambridge ſoon after. On the acceſſion of King James the Second, he addreſſed three poems to that monarch in the firſt year of his reign, and in the eighteenth of his own age, all of them very finely written, particularly the laſt, which was looked upon as incomparable. Panegyric in proſe and in verſe was in faſhion in thoſe days; Lewis the Fourteenth had introduced and rewarded it in France, and from thence, with the other modes of that court, it ſpread over all Europe, and very early into England, where Waller, Dryden, and Otway, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this way; and therefore it was the more excuſable for ſo young an author as Mr Granville, prompted alike by inclination and ambition, to tread in the ſame path. His obedient genius enabled him to gratify his paſſion, and to reach, even in his firſt heat, thoſe who were ſo much practiſed to the race. He was from this time conſidered as a maſter of numbers; and we may truly ſay of him, what can ſcarce be ſaid of any other, that before he was a man he was a poet. There was, and there ſtill is, a degree of complaiſance that waits on the productions of young men of faſhion; but Mr Granville did not at all avail himſelf of this, his very firſt poems are among the number of his beſt, and he did not ſtand indebted for his reputation, to favour, faction, or common fame, but had it conferred upon him by the firſt and faireſt judges of the times, than whom perhaps few ages have produced better *(f)* [*B*]. The great eſteem in

reign (12), for Plymouth in the firſt of James the ſecond (13), and for Saltaſh, in the reign of King William, to the time of his death (14), in the 70th year of his age, on the 14th of June, 1701, and was buried at Lambeth in Surry, as was alſo his lady, who died on the 20th of September following (15); ſhe was ſole daughter and heir of Cuthbert Morley, of Normanby in Cleveland, in Yorkſhire, Eſq; by his wife, the Lady Katherine Leke, daughter to Francis Earl of Scarſdale, by whom he had iſſue three ſons, Bevil, George, and Bernard; and two daughters, Anne, married to Sir John Stanley, Bart. and Elizabeth (16).

[*B*] *Than whom perhaps few ages have produced better.*] If teſtimony were of any weight in proving an author to be a genius, we ſhould find no great difficulty to ſucceed in this particular; for if the names of the immortal Dryden (17), who was his friend; the celebrated Joſeph Addiſon, Eſq; (18) who was his intimate acquaintance; the famous Henry St John (19), afterwards Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke who lived with him in the greateſt intimacy; and the ingenious Mr Bevil Higgons (20), who was his relation, would ſuffice, it is ſecure; more eſpecially as they have all given it under their hands, and ſtaked their own credit with poſterity in ſupport of his. But where a man's writings are extant, it is to them we ought to appeal, and this will juſtify our producing his third poem to King James (21), Mr Waller's complement to him, and his own reply. They are all very ſhort, and full to the point, but perhaps it may not be amiſs to remark, that our author wrote in the dawn of that monarch's reign, and before it was overcaſt by any of thoſe offenſive acts in favour of Popery, which gave occaſion to it's being tranſmitted in ſo very different a light to ſucceeding times.

To the KING.

Heroes of old, by rapine, and by ſpoil,
In ſearch of fame, did all the world embroil;
Thus to their Gods each then ally'd his name,
This ſprang from Jove, and that from Titan came:
With equal valour, and the ſame ſucceſs,
Dread King, might'ſt thou the univerſe oppreſs;
But Chriſtian laws conſtrain thy martial pride,
Peace is thy choice, and piety thy guide;
By thy example Kings are taught to ſway,
Heroes to fight, and Saints may learn to pray.
  From Gods deſcended, and of race divine,
Neſtor in council, and Ulyſſes ſhine;
But in a day of battle, all would yield
To the fierce maſter of the ſeven-fold ſhield:
Their very Deities were grac'd no more,
Mars had the courage, Jove the thunder bore.
But all perfections meet in James alone,
And Britain's King is all the Gods in one.

To the author, on his foregoing verſes to the KING.
By Mr EDMUND WALLER.

An early plant, which ſuch a bloſſom bears,
And ſhows a genius, ſo beyond his years,
A judgment that could make ſo fair a choice,
So high a ſubject to employ his voice;
Still as it grows, how ſweetly will he ſing
The growing greatneſs of our matchleſs King.

Anſwer. To Mr WALLER.

When into Libya the young Grecian came,
To talk with Hammon, and conſult for fame;
When from the ſacred tripod where he ſtood,
The Prieſt inſpir'd, ſaluted him a God;
Scarce ſuch a joy that haughty victor knew,
Thus own'd by Heaven, as I, thus prais'd by you.
Who e'er their names can in thy numbers ſhow,
Have more than empire, and immortal grow;
Ages to come ſhall ſcorn the powers of old,
When in thy verſe of greater Gods they're told;
Our beauteous Queen, and Royal James's name,
For Jove and Juno ſhall be plac'd by Fame;
Thy Charles for Neptune, ſhall the Seas command,
And Sachariſſa ſhall for Venus ſtand:
Greece ſhall no longer boaſt, nor haughty Rome,
But think from Britain, all the Gods did come.

We cannot conclude this note, without confirming what has been ſaid in the text, by the authority of a profeſſed critic (22), who thought like a ſcholar, and wrote like a gentleman; his work was addreſſed to the Marquis of Granby, in 1709. 'Waller, ſays he, for 'the muſic of his numbers, the courtlineſs of his verſe, 'the eaſineſs and happineſs of his thoughts on a thouſand ſubjects, deſerves your Lordſhip's conſideration, 'more perhaps than any other, becauſe his manner and 'his ſubjects are more common to perſons of quality, 'and

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(*d*) Jacob's Lives and Characters of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets, Vol. II. p. 121.

(*e*) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. I. p. 5. Jacob, ibid.

(*f*) See the note [*B*].

(12) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 25, 80.

(13) Parliamentary Regiſter, p. 192.

(14) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 80.

(15) Aubrey's Hiſtory and Antiquities of Surry, Vol. V. p. 252.

(16) Collins's Supplement to the Peerage, Vol. V. p. 97.

(17) Original Poems and Tranſlations, by John Dryden, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 224.

(18) The Works of the Right Honourable Joſeph Addiſon, Eſq; edit. 1721. 4to. Vol. I. p. 142.

(19) See the Prologue to his Tragedy of Heroic Love.

(20) See the Prologue to the Jew of Venice, and the Epilogue to his Tragedy of Heroic love.

(21) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. I. p. 8, 9, 10.

(22) Felton on the Claſſics, p. 218.

in which he ſtood at this court, and the many perſonal marks of favour he received from their Majeſties, added to the turn of his education, and the natural generoſity of his temper, made Mr Granville paſſionately loyal in that ſeaſon of his life, when few, and he the leaſt of any, had learned to diſſemble (*g*). At the time of the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, he was with great difficulty reſtrained from taking arms; and at the Revolution he had a return of the ſame kind of political fever, in the firſt tranſports of which he wrote his father a letter, which without doubt the reader will be pleaſed to ſee (*h*) [*C*]. After

(*g*) Collins's Supplement to the Peerage, Vol. V. p. 97, 98.

(*h*) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 105.

' and the affairs of a court. Mr Granville, my Lord, ' hath rivalled him in his fineſt addreſs, and is as ' happy as he ever was in raiſing modern compliments ' upon ancient ſtory, and ſetting off the Britiſh valour, ' and the Engliſh beauty, with the old gods and god- ' deſſes.'——In the preface to a ſubſequent edition, he ſays on the ſame ſubject.——' If I had ſeen my Lord ' Lanſdowne's poems in one view, I might have formed ' a juſter idea of the greatneſs of his genius, and the ' delicacy of his wit. For when I wrote theſe ſheets, ' they lay diſperſed up and down in the Miſcellanies; ' but ſome kind hand hath aſſembled the ſcattered ſtars, ' and added another lyre to the conſtellations.'

[*C*] *The reader will be pleaſed to ſee.*] This ſingular and zealous letter has been often printed, but perhaps the following quotation from the impartial memoirs of a very worthy gentleman (23), wrote in the country, and at the very time preciſely, when this letter was written, will render it better underſtood: ' At this time, ' ſays he, Lord Thomas Howard was Lieutenant of the ' Weſt Riding, a rigid Papiſt, and now gone ambaſſador ' to Rome. He had left but three deputies behind him, ' two of which alſo were Papiſts, and but two of the ' three were now in the country, while moſt of the ' gentry of Yorkſhire were come to the city, expecting ' to meet with writs for the choice of members. I ' therefore preſſed the High-Sheriff to give notice to ' ſome gentlemen, while I convened others for the ' next day, when Sir Henry Gooderick began a diſ- ' courſe, which I ſeconded, to ſhew how little we were ' able to ſerve the King with the Militia, without a- ' nother Lord Lieutenant, under whom we might law- ' fully ſerve, meaning a Proteſtant, and at the ſame ' time we ſubſcribed a repreſentation of our caſe to his ' Majeſty. I was well aware, how very ungrateful ' this would be to him; but to obviate his diſpleaſure, ' I gave him private intelligence of the intention to ' prepare it, and begged of him to excuſe the concern ' I had therein, aſſuring him it was now abſolutely for ' his ſervice. In the midſt of this, comes down a ſpe- ' cial meſſenger to purge the corporation, to put out ' the former Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and to ap- ' point others, almoſt all Papiſts; but the commiſſion ' was ſo defective, and there were ſuch miſtakes in the ' execution of it, as fruſtrated the deſign. The next ' day I prevailed with the Lord Mayor to call a hall, ' upon which occaſion, I ſpoke to them a full half ' hour, and ſo convinced them of the evil arts which ' had been put in practice againſt me, and the great ' injuſtice done me, that they all ſeemed to be converts ' in my favour; and to add to what I had ſaid, I gave ' them up the keys, but made them own it as a cour- ' teſy, and promiſe to reſtore them to me again, when- ' ever I deſired it, for his Majeſty's ſervice. And now ' Lord Fairfax, a Roman Catholic, and Lord Lieute- ' tenant of the North-Riding, being at York, obſerved ' to me, it could be for no good end that the Lords ' Devonſhire and Danby, were come down to the ' country, though the former pretended he was only ' come to view his eſtate, and the latter to drink the ' waters at Knareſborough. They were both of them ' frequently engaged in converſation at Sir Henry ' Gooderick's; and the firſt of them came to York, ' where I paid all imaginable civilities to him, and re- ' ceived the ſame from him; the other I waited on at ' Sir Henry's, not once ſuſpecting that men of their ' high quality and great eſtate, could intend any thing ' prejudicial to the government, or dangerous to them- ' ſelves, and indeed their outward behaviour was very ' decent and innocent. Two days afterwards I had an ' expreſs from Lord Preſton, the new Secretary of ' State, Sunderland, who was turned Papiſt, and had ' been the author of great miſchief ſince he had been ' near the King, being laid aſide, to acquaint me, that ' his Majeſty had given a very kind reception to our ' repreſentation on the part of the country; and that ' in compliance therewith, he had named the Duke of ' Newcaſtle to be Lord Lieutenant of all Yorkſhire, ' and his Grace coming to town ſoon after, appointed ' his deputies and militia officers, both horſe and foot. ' The King began now, tho' fatally too late, to be ' ſenſible of his error, in carrying matters to ſo enor- ' mous a length, at the inſtigation of Popiſh counſels, ' and now reſtored ſeveral juſtices of the Peace in ' moſt counties, as alſo the old charters all England ' over; he now quits his hold of the Biſhop of Lon- ' don, does juſtice to Magdalen college, and begins ' again to court the Church of England.' We may now proceed to the letter, which from the peruſal of this paſſage, may be underſtood in the moſt minute particulars, and perhaps, taken together, they will afford the juſteſt picture of the ſtate of the North of England at that great criſis, a thing not to be met with in any of our hiſtories, and yet very capable of inſtructing us in points of very great importance, and in particular ſhewing us how that great turn came to be ſo eaſily made; for King James had really ſubverted his own government, before he was attacked from abroad, and by a ſtrange mutability of counſels, diſabled his friends from acting when he was attacked. Theſe are the moſt curious and moſt intereſting parts of hiſtory; and yet, not to be written with any tolerable degree of certainty, but from ſuch memoirs, and ſuch letters as theſe, where affection filled the heart, and truth guided the pen.

(23) Memoirs of Sir John Rereſby, p. 274—277.

Mar, near Doncaſter, Oct. 6, 1688.

(24) To the Honourable Mr BERNARD GRANVILLE,
at the Earl of Bathe's, St. James's.

(24) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 105.

' Sir,

' Your having no proſpect of obtaining a commiſſion ' for me, can no way alter or cool my deſire at this ' important juncture, to venture my life in ſome man- ' ner or other, for my King and my country.

' I cannot bear living under the reproach of lying ' obſcure and idle in a country retirement, when every ' man who has the leaſt ſenſe of honour, ſhould be ' preparing for the field.

' You may remember, Sir, with what reluctance I ' ſubmitted to your commands upon Monmouth's re- ' bellion, when no importunity could prevail with you ' to permit me to leave the academy. I was too young ' to be hazarded, but give me leave to ſay, it is glo- ' rious at any age to die for one's country, and the ' ſooner the nobler the ſacrifice.

' I am now older by three years. My uncle Bathe ' was not ſo old, when he was left among the ſlain at ' the battle of Newbury; nor you yourſelf, Sir, when ' you made your eſcape from your tutors, to join your ' brother at the defence of Scilly.

' The ſame cauſe is now come round about again: ' the King has been miſled. Let thoſe who have miſ- ' led him, be anſwerable for it: no body can deny but ' he is ſacred in his own perſon, and it is every honeſt ' man's duty to defend it.

' You are pleaſed to ſay, it is yet doubtful if the ' Hollanders are raſh enough to make ſuch an attempt: ' but be that as it will, I beg leave to inſiſt upon it, ' that I may be preſented to his Majeſty as one whoſe ' utmoſt ambition it is to devote his life to his ſervice, ' and my country's, after the example of all my an- ' ceſtors.

' The gentry aſſembled at York, to agree upon the ' choice of repreſentatives for the county, have prepared ' an addreſs to aſſure his Majeſty they are ready to ſacri- ' fice their lives and fortunes for him, upon this and all ' other occaſions; but at the ſame time they humbly ' beſeech him to give them ſuch magiſtrates, as may be agreeable

After things were ſettled, Mr Granville purſued his ſtudies, and gratified his taſte for poetry in the enjoyments of a private life. He was the younger ſon of a younger brother, and of courſe much reſtrained in point of fortune; and as matters were then ſituated with his family, had no reaſon to expect any favours from the adminiſtration (*i*). However, the hereditary prudence of his family, though it ſupplied not all deficiencies, yet covered all defects from public appearance; and his exact behaviour and correct œconomy prevented the world from diſcerning, that Providence, though indulgent in all other reſpects, had, to render that indulgence more beneficial, denied him riches ſuitable to the rank in which his birth had placed him. This was the more remarkable, becauſe, when he afterwards enjoyed an affluent income, that commendable œconomy was no more diſcerned, which had been the ornament of his youth; whereas, in moſt men, it is either an infirmity attending old age, or at leaſt a habit produced by experience. Being thus excluded from that circle of pleaſures in which young men are commonly immerſed, and, at the ſame time, debarred thoſe paſſages to fame, in which the martial diſpoſition of his family would have inclined him to tread, he ſtruck out amuſements of another kind, and though by a different road, reached the temple of Honour ſooner than moſt of his contemporaries (*k*). His dramatic pieces were of very different kinds, and written in very different manners; but they were all well received, and owed that reception to their intrinſic merit, as much as to the general eſteem and reſpect that all the polite world profeſſed for their author (*l*). They are, to ſay no more than truth, pieces that have often paſſed the preſs, without any diminution of that praiſe which they received upon the ſtage [*D*]. He was as true a judge of the powers

(*i*) Lives of Illuſtrious Men.

(*k*) See the Poem addreſſed to him by Mrs Elizabeth Higgons, in his own Works.

(*l*) Gildon's Supplement to Langbaine's Account of the Dramatic Poets.

‘ agreeable to the laws of the land, for at preſent there is no authority to which they can legally ſubmit.

‘ They have been beating for volunteers at York, and the towns adjacent, to ſupply the regiments at Hull, but no body will liſt.

‘ By what I can hear, every body wiſhes well to the King, but they would be glad his miniſters were hang'd.

‘ The winds continue ſo contrary, that no landing can be ſo ſoon as was apprehended, therefore I may hope, with your leave and aſſiſtance, to be in readineſs before any action can begin. I beſeech you, Sir, moſt humbly and moſt earneſtly to add this one act of indulgence more, to ſo many other teſtimonies which I have conſtantly received of your goodneſs, and be pleaſed to believe me always, with the utmoſt duty and ſubmiſſion,

‘ Sir,

‘ Your moſt dutiful ſon,

‘ and moſt obedient ſervant,

‘ GEO. GRANVILLE.’

[*D*] *Which they received upon the ſtage.*] We have three plays of his, of which it is neceſſary to ſpeak ſeparately, and very diſtinctly, becauſe there are ſeveral circumſtances that are fit to be known in relation to them, which yet are not mentioned in his works.

1. The SHE GALLANTS, a *Comedy*, acted at the *Theatre Royal* in *Little Lincoln's Inn Fields*, 1696.

In the advertiſement originally prefixed to this Play, it is ſaid to be the *Child* of a *Child*, and it is urged in the way of apology for it, *that it was written at an age, when ſome perſons are but beginning to ſpell.* At firſt it met with applauſe, but a rumour being induſtriouſly propagated, that it was calculated to turn ſome great characters into ridicule (25), a formidable party was raiſed againſt it; notwithſtanding which, it was ſeveral times played with ſucceſs. The author always aſſerted, that the alluſions beforementioned were downright miſrepreſentations, and indeed, ſuppoſing the Play to be wrote in 1682 or 1683, or even two or three years later, the author muſt have been a *Prophet*, as well as a *Poet*, to have aimed his ſatire as it was ſuppoſed to be directed. Beſides, its original intention was private amuſement, and it was an unforeſeen accident that brought it upon the ſtage: ſo that in this, as it often happens, the piece was guiltleſs, it was the innuendo that made the libel; and the apprehenſions of falſe friends, which brought certain characters upon the carpet, for which the Play and it's author ſuffered, though in reality neither was to blame. Many years after, he corrected and gave it a new title, and then it was called, ONCE a LOVER, and ALWAYS a LOVER, a *Comedy.* In the preface he obſerves, this is a *new building* upon an *old foundation*; and that taking it under examination ſo many years after it was written, he flatters himſelf to have made a *correct Comedy* of it. To juſtify this pains, he ſays, that he found it regular, the ſcene conſtant to one place, the time not exceeding the bounds preſcribed, and the action entire. He proceeds to point out the principal alterations that have been made, and concludes with the following remark (26). ‘ Whether this infant deſerved a *new coat*, or whether now he is provided with *one*, it may ſet him off *better*, is with all deference ſubmitted. An author flatters himſelf very ridiculouſly, if he can ſuppoſe it in his power to argue and reaſon the world into judging as he himſelf perhaps may do, of his own work.’ In praiſe of this performance we find it ſaid (27), that it ‘ has a great deal more wit than the ſtage is generally uſed to; dialogue equalled by few, and more juſt ſatirical obſervations than moſt of our modern comedies.’ Theſe, together with the commendations before given by the author, may be all true, but at the ſame time, it is as true, that there is ſcarce a ſingle ſcene, in which there are not expreſſions found, unworthy of him and of the Britiſh Stage; and for which, all the wit, humour, and vivacity with which they are mingled, cannot atone. Whatever is immodeſt is inexcuſable; we can never preſume that he has correction in his view, by whoſe writings the corruption of his audience is in any danger of being brought about; and if the true end of the ſtage be to expoſe and ridicule vice, it looks like defeating it, to introduce language and characters of the worſt ſort, in ſuch a manner as to make the moſt pleaſing impreſſions.

2. HEROIC LOVE, a *Tragedy*, acted at the Theatre Royal with great applauſe, 1696.

This was very juſtly eſteemed a capital performance, and as Mr Gildon (28) very truly ſays, it was an attempt to reſtore the antient manner of writing Tragedy at the expence of the modern. In it, Mr Granville obſerved the ſtricteſt rules of the antient drama; the action is ſingle, the ſcene is never varied, the time is the ſame with the repreſentation. All extravagance, all unneceſſary incidents are cut off; nothing can be more correct, or more free from what is called fuſtian, than the diction of this piece. It is founded upon the Iliad, and is wrote according to the laws of Ariſtotle: It has been very juſtly commended, and moſt certainly ſhews an accurate judgment, very capable of curbing even the moſt exalted genius. It is however, to ſpeak the truth, as is our duty, rather free from faults, than abounding with beauties, and entertains one at leaſt, as much in the cloſet, as it could do on the theatre. But notwithſtanding this, we muſt allow it great merit, as it ſhewed what might be done, without having recourſe to improbabilities or to rant. It is in this light

(25) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 123.

(26) See the Preface prefixed to this play, in Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. III, p. 1, 2.

(27) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 123.

(28) Supplement to Langbaine's Account of Dramatic Poets, p. 66.

powers of muſic as the harmony of numbers, and amongſt the ſmall number of poets, acquainted with the happy ſecret of combining both without injury to either. What he has written in proſe would have done him honour upon the ſubject as a critic; but what he has done in verſe does him ſtill more honour, as it ſhewed he was able to execute with ſpirit and vivacity, what his judgment taught him with the utmoſt correctneſs. The ſound, in reſpect to theſe compoſitions, was truly a comment upon the ſenſe, and one might have expected, that what he wrote in this ſtile, ſhould have carried the opera higher in Britain than even in Italy; but perhaps it has had contrary effect (*m*). His theory has been always acknowledged perſpicuous, noble, and juſt, but, like other great maſters, his practice upon trial has been found inimitable [*E*]. He was not one of thoſe fine eaſy writers

(*m*) See his Preface to the Britiſh Enchanters.

light that it muſt be conſidered, in order to juſtify the high praiſes given the author; and when conſidered in this light, it will effectually juſtify him, wrote as it is, with dignity and ſpirit, great beauty of ſentiment, and without any one of thoſe improprieties which have been objected to the Engliſh Tragedy; no diſtortion of hiſtory, no incredible fictions, no ſhedding of blood upon the ſtage, but all that decorum preſerved, which the ſtrict rules of criticiſm demand. It was introduced with all poſſible advantages (29); the Prologue was written by the Right Honourable Henry St John, Eſq; the Epilogue by Mr Bevil Higgons, and both are very fine pieces; but what did him the greateſt honour, were the numerous complements beſtowed upon his play after it appeared in print; and as great politicians ſometimes unite the moſt oppoſite intereſts, ſo our author drew the praiſes of parties, ſeldom heard in the commendation of the ſame thing, the ladies and the critics. But what muſt have given him the higheſt pleaſure, as it was the ſureſt proof of his ſucceſs, was the following incomparable poem of Mr John Dryden, which alone is ſufficient to fix his character with poſterity, and to ſecure his reputation as a poet, againſt all the attacks of ignorance or envy: a poem that does equal honour to him and to the author, and abounds with ſound ſenſe and concluſive argument, delivered with all the force of poetry, accompanied with all the harmony of numbers, and glowing with that diſintereſted friendſhip which great minds only feel, and which a great genius only could expreſs.

(29) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 123, 124.

(30) To Mr. Granville,

On his excellent Tragedy, called, Heroic Love.

Auſpicious Poet, wert thou not my friend,
How could I envy, what I muſt commend!
But ſince 'tis nature's law, in love and wit,
That youth ſhould reign, and with'ring age ſubmit,
With leſs regret, thoſe lawrels I reſign,
Which dying on my brows, revive on thine.
With better grace an antient chief may yield
The long contended honours of the field,
Than venture all his fortune at a caſt,
And fight like Hanibal, to loſe at laſt.
Young Princes obſtinate to win the prize,
Tho' yearly beaten, yearly yet they riſe:
Old monarchs tho' ſucceſsful, ſtill in doubt,
Catch at a peace; and wiſely turn devout.
Thine be the lawrel then; thy blooming age
Can beſt, if any can, ſupport the ſtage,
Which ſo declines, that ſhortly we may ſee
Players and plays reduc'd to ſecond infancy.
Sharp to the world, but thoughtleſs of renown,
They plot not on the ſtage, but on the town,
And in deſpair, their empty pit to fill,
Set up ſome foreign monſter in a bill;
Thus they jog on; ſtill tricking, never thriving;
And murd'ring plays, which they miſcall reviving.
Our ſenſe is nonſenſe, thro' their pipes convey'd;
Scarce can a Poet know the play he made;
'Tis ſo diſguiſed in death: nor thinks 'tis he
That ſuffers in the mangled Tragedy.
Thus *Itys* firſt was kill'd, and after dreſs'd
For his own Sire, the chief invited gueſt.
I ſay not this of thy ſucceſsful ſcenes;
Where thine was all the glory, theirs the gains:
With length of time, much judgment, and more toil,
Not ill they acted, what they could not ſpoil:
Their ſetting Sun * ſtill ſhoots a glimm'ring ray,
Like ancient *Rome*, majeſtic in decay:
And better gleanings their worn ſoil can boaſt,
Than the crab vintage of the neighb'ring coaſt †.
This difference; yet the judging world will ſee,
Thou copieſt *Homer*, and they copy thee.

(30) Original Poems and Tranſlations, by John Dryden, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 224.

* Mr Betterton's company in Lincoln's-Inn-fields.

† Drury-lane Playhouſe.

3. The Jew of Venice, altered from the Merchant of Venice, written by *Shakeſpear*, 1701.

The profits of this Play were deſigned for Mr Dryden, but upon his death given to his ſon (31). The Prologue was ſpoken by the ghoſts of Shakeſpear and Dryden, and was written by Mr Bevil Higgons. It was well received then, and much eſteemed ſince. The chief merit of it is, that much of the original author is retained, and the alterations chiefly conſiſt in ſhortening the ſcenes, and diſpatching the buſineſs of the play with more veracity. To comply with the humour of the time, the Maſque of Peleus and Thetis was introduced, of which ſomething will be ſaid in the next note. If the Jew of Venice be more fit for the ſtage, the Merchant of Venice will be moſt eſteemed in the cloſet. The ſcene is Italy, and we ſee the grave and the comic manners of the Italians finely preſerved. The ſentiments are truly noble and nervouſly expreſſed; the morality is equally ſtriking and pleaſing; the characters ſtrongly marked, and yet extremely natural; the whole piece abounding with ſenſible reflections, and thoſe very capable of being applied in the common conduct of life. On the whole, we may affirm of this Play, that ſuch as underſtand it beſt will admire it moſt; and that though it may be rendered more faſhionable, yet it can never be ſo altered as to be improved. This was our author's ſenſe of the thing, as well as ours, and therefore it is not cenſure, but complement, when we ſubmit to it.

(31) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. III. p. 1, 11.

[*E*] *Has been found inimitable.*] We have in the text hinted the difficulty of ſettling the Chronology of our author's writings. He compoſed moſt of his poetical pieces when he was a perfect child; he reviewed, heightened, and improved them, in the middle part of of his life; he reviſed, corrected, and gave them the laſt touches, when his judgment was moſt mature. His poetic compoſitions of this kind, are but two.

I. Peleus and Thetis, a Maſque, originally introduced in the Jew of Venice.

The whole of this exquiſite performance is ſet to muſic The argument is, that Peleus being in love with Thetis, by the aſſiſtance of Proteus, obtains her favour; but Jupiter, being alſo in love with the ſame immortal beauty, takes her from him, and condemns Peleus to ſuffer endleſs pains on mount Caucaſus. There he has an opportunity of conſulting Prometheus, ſkilled in Aſtrology; upon whoſe prophecy, that the ſon born of Thetis, ſhould prove greater than his father, Jupiter deſiſts from his pretenſions, and Peleus with his conſent eſpouſes Thetis. The reader will allow us to juſtify what has been advanced in the text, by a ſhort quotation towards the cloſe of the Maſque.

(32) Prometheus to Jupiter.

Son of Saturn, take advice,
 From one whom thy ſevere decree
Has furniſh'd leiſure to grow wiſe:
 Thou rul'ſt the Gods, but Fate rules thee.

(32) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 151, 152.

writers that compoſe a poem in a morning, but remarkably careful and curious about every thing he wrote; ſo that his verſes never appeared 'till they had undergone a ſevere examination; and even after they had received the ſanction of public applauſe, they were not ſafe from his caſtigation; he thought he had a right to trim and prune the products of his imagination as long and as often as he thought fit, and it is certain that he exerciſed this right through his whole life (*n*). Like Ovid and Tibullus, his muſe was employed in tranſmitting the charms of beauty, as far as they can be tranſmitted by thoſe of poetry, to ſucceeding times. He began where Waller ended; and as he had conferred immortality on

[The Prophecy]

Whoe'er th' immortal maid compreſſing,
Shall taſte joy, and reap the bleſſing;
Thus th' unerring ſtars adviſe:
From that auſpicious night, an heir ſhall riſe,
Paternal glories to efface,
The moſt illuſtrious of his race,
Tho' ſprang from him, who rules the ſkies.

Jupiter. [Apart.]

Shall then the ſon of Saturn be undone,
Like Saturn by an impious ſon?
Juſtly th' impartial fates conſpire,
Dooming that ſon to be the ſire,
Of ſuch another ſon.
Conſcious of ills that I have done,
My fears to prudence ſhall adviſe,
And guilt, that made me great, ſhall make me wiſe.
The fatal bleſſing I reſign;
Peleus, take the maid divine *,
Jove conſenting, ſhe is thine;
The fatal bleſſing I reſign †.

II. The BRITISH ENCHANTERS, or no MAGIC like LOVE: A *Dramatic Poem*, with Scenes, Machines, Muſic, and Decorations, &c.

Our author in a ſhort preface prefixed to this work, tells us (33), that, ‘of all public ſpectacles, that which ‘ſhould be called an Opera is calculated to give the ‘higheſt delight. There is hardly any art but what ‘is required to furniſh towards the entertainment, and ‘there is ſomething or other to be provided, that may ‘touch every ſenſe, and pleaſe every palate.’ He obſerves, that the French Opera is perfect in the decorations, the dancing, and magnificence; the Italian excels in the muſic and voices, but the drama falls ſhort in both. An Engliſh ſtomach, he ſays, requires ſomething ſolid and ſubſtantial, and will never riſe ſatisfied from a regale of ſweetmeats. We have, ſays he, ſeveral poems under the name of Dramatic Operas, by the beſt hands; but the ſubjects, for the moſt part, have been improperly choſen: Mr Addiſon's Roſamond, and Mr Congreve's Semele, are rather Maſques than Operas. At the cloſe of his preface, he gives the following account of his own performance, which may be alſo ſtiled the hiſtory of it. ‘The unities are religiouſly obſerved: the place is the ſame, varied only ‘into different proſpects, by the power of enchantment: all the incidents fall naturally within the very ‘time of repreſentation: The plot is one principal ‘action, and of that kind, which introduces variety of ‘turns and changes, all tending to the ſame point: ‘the ornaments and decorations are of a piece with it, ‘ſo that one could not well ſubſiſt without the other: ‘every act concludes with ſome unexpected revolution, ‘and in the end, vice is puniſhed, virtue rewarded, ‘and the moral is inſtructive. Rhyme, which I would ‘by no means admit into the dialogue of graver Tragedy, ſeems to me the moſt proper ſtyle for repreſentations of this heroic romantic kind, and beſt adapted to accompany muſic. The ſolemn language of a ‘haughty tyrant, will by no means become a paſſionate lover, and tender ſentiments require the ſofteſt ‘colouring. The theme muſt govern the ſtyle, every ‘thought, every character, every ſubject, of a different nature, muſt ſpeak a different language. An ‘humble lover's gentle addreſs to his miſtreſs, would ‘rumble ſtrangely in the Miltonic dialect; and the ſoft ‘harmony of Mr. Waller's numbers,’ would ill become ‘the mouths of Lucifer and Belzebub. The terrible ‘and the tender, muſt be ſet to different notes of muſic. ‘To conclude; this dramatic attempt, was the firſt ‘eſſay of a very infant muſe, rather as a taſk at ſuch ‘hours as were free from other exerciſes, than any way ‘meant for public entertainment: but Mr Betterton, ‘having had a caſual ſight of it many years after it was ‘written, begged it for the ſtage, where it found ſo favourable a reception, as to have an uninterrupted ‘run, of at leaſt forty days. The ſeparation of the ‘principal actors, which ſoon followed, and the introduction of the Italian Opera, put a ſtop to it's farther appearance. Had it been compoſed at a riper ‘time of life, the faults might have been fewer: However, upon reviſing it now at ſo great a diſtance of ‘time, with a cooler judgment than the firſt conceptions of youth will allow, I cannot abſolutely ſay, ‘*ſcripſiſſe pudet*.’ It remains, that we give a ſpecimen of his power in reſpect to numbers, which is the prerogative of our language, of the moſt extenſive influence, and which, notwithſtanding, is the leaſt underſtood. For this reaſon therefore, we will produce ſuch an inſtance; and if, for the ſhort time he is reading it, the reader will forget Mr Dryden's Ode upon St Cecilia's day, he will not be able to recollect a finer piece of Lyric Poetry in the Britiſh tongue.

(34) Ode to DISCORD.

A ſingle voice.

When Love's away, then Diſcord reigns,
The Furies he unchains,
Bids Æolus unbind
The northern wind
That fetter'd lays in caves:
And root up trees, and plow the plains,
Old Ocean frets and raves;
From their deep roots the rocks he tears,
Whole deluges lets fly,
That daſh againſt the ſky,
And ſeem to drown the ſtars.
Th' aſſaulted clouds return the ſhock,
Blue light'ning ſinge the waves,
And thunder rends the rock.

Then Jove uſurps his father's crown,
Inſtructing mortals to aſpire;
The father would deſtroy the ſon,
The ſon dethrones the ſire.
The Titans to regain their right,
Prepare to try a ſecond fight;
Briareus arms his hundred hands,
And marches forth the bold gigantic bands.

Pelion upon Oſſa thrown,
Steep Olympius they invade;
Gods and giants tumble down,
And Mars is foil'd by Encelade.

Horror, confuſion, dreadful ire,
Daggers, poiſon, ſword and fire,
To execute the deſtin'd wrath conſpire:
The Furies looſe their ſnaky rods,
And laſh both men and Gods.

The chorus, repeat the laſt ſtanza.

(*n*) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 125.

* Giving her to Peleus.

† Joins their hands.

(33) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. III. p. 159.

(34) Ibid. p. 192, 193.

on Lady Dorothea Sidney, under the name of Sachariſſa, ſo the Counteſs of Newbourg, who was Granville's Mira, will live as long as the Engliſh language (*o*). But as much as he excelled in the amorous, he excelled alſo in other kinds of poetry, and had the genius and learning as well as the ſpirit and the turn of Ovid, as appears clearly from one of the moſt beautiful pieces of poetical criticiſm that is any where extant (*p*) [*F*]. At the
acceſſion

(*o*) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. I. p. 63, 64.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 88.

[*F*] *That is any where extant.*] This performance is his Eſſay on Unnatural Flights in Poetry (35). The Earl of Mulgrave, afterwards ſucceſſively diſtinguiſhed by the titles of Normanby and Buckinghamſhire, had wrote an admirable piece, intitled, An Eſſay (36) on Poetry; the Earl of Roſcommon (37), had likewiſe written with the ſame title upon tranſlated verſe. Our author, to compleat the ſubject, wrote this third Eſſay, to ſhew that notwithſtanding all the notions of poetic liberty, whatever is abſurd, extravagant, or unnatural, can never be either ſublime or beautiful. He wrote likewiſe annotations to explain, to eſtabliſh, and to confirm his rules by examples. The following inſtances will give the reader an idea of his Poem (38).

(35) Ibid. p. 88.

(36) The Works of John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, Marquis of Normanby, and Duke of Buckingham, Vol. I. p. 127.

(37) Eſſay on tranſlated Verſe, by the Right Hon. the Earl of Roſcommon, Lond. 1680, 4to.

(38) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. I. p. 90, 91, 96, 97.

Thus poetry has ample ſpace to ſoar,
Nor needs forbidden regions to explore,
Such vaunts as his, who can with patience read,
Who thus deſcribes his hero ſlain and dead.
* ' Kill'd as he was, inſenſible of death,
' He ſtill fights on, and ſcorns to yield his breath.
The noiſy culverin, o'ercharg'd, lets fly,
And burſt unaiming in the rended ſky:
Such frantic flights are like a madman's dream,
And nature ſuffers in the wild extreme.
The captive canibal, weigh'd down with chains,
Yet braves his foes, reviles, provokes, diſdains,
Of nature fierce, untameable and proud,
He grins defiance, at the gaping crowd;
And ſpent at laſt, and ſpeechleſs as he lies,
With looks ſtill threat'ning, mocks their rage and dies:
This is the utmoſt ſtretch that nature can,
And all beyond is fulſom, falſe, and vain.

* Arioſto.

I needed not to have travelled ſo far for an extravagant flight, I remember one of Britiſh growth of the like nature.

See thoſe dead bodies, hence convey'd with care,
Life may perhaps return——with change of air.

But I chooſe rather to correct gently by foreign examples, hoping that ſuch as are conſcious of the like exceſſes, will take the hint, and ſecretly reprove themſelves: it may be poſſible for ſome tempers to maintain rage and indignation to the laſt gaſp, but the ſoul and body once parted, there muſt neceſſarily be a determination of action.

Quodcunque oſtendis mihi ſic incredulus odi.

I cannot forbear quoting on this occaſion, as an example for the preſent purpoſe, two noble lines of Jaſper Main's, in the collection of the Oxford verſes, printed in the year 1643, upon the death of my grandfather, Sir Bevil Granville, ſlain in the heat of action, at the battle of Lanſdowne. The Poet, after having deſcribed the fight, the ſoldiers animated by the example of their leader, and enraged at his death, thus concludes:

Thus he being ſlain, his *action* fought anew,
And the dead conquer'd, whilſt the living flew.

This is agreeable to truth, and within the compaſs of nature: it is thus only, that the dead can act.

(39) Beauty's the theme, ſome nymph divinely fair
Excites the muſe, let truth be even there.
As Painters flatter, ſo may Poets too,
But to reſemblance muſt be ever true:
† ' The day that ſhe was born, the Cyprian Queen,
' Had like t'have dy'd, thro' envy and thro' ſpleen;
' The Graces in a hurry left the ſkies,
' To have the honour to attend her eyes;
' And love deſpairing in her heart a place,
' Would needs take up his lodging in her face.'
Tho' wrote by great Corneille, ſuch lines as theſe.
Such civil nonſenſe ſure could never pleaſe;
Waller, the beſt of all th' inſpir'd train,
To melt the fair inſtructs the dying ſwain.

(39) Ibid. p. 91, 98, 99, 100.

† Corneille.

* Le jour qu'elle naquit, Venus bien qu' immortelle,
Penſa mourir de honte, en la voyant ſi belle,
Les Graces a l'envi deſcendirent des cieux
Pour avoir l'honeur d'acompagner ſes yeux,
Et l'amour qui ne pût entre dans ſon courage,
Voulut obſtinément loger ſur ſon viſage.

This is a lover's deſcription of his miſtreſs, by the great Corneille, civil to be ſure, and polite as any thing can be. Let any body turn over Waller, and he will ſee how much more naturally and delicately the Engliſh author treats the article of love, than the celebrated Frenchman. I would not, however, be thought by any derogatory quotation, to take from the merit of a writer, whoſe reputation is ſo univerſally and ſo juſtly eſtabliſhed in all nations; but I ſaid before, I rather chooſe, where any failings are to be found, to correct my own countrymen by foreign examples, than to provoke them by inſtances drawn from their own writings. Humanum eſt errare. I cannot forbear one quotation more from another celebrated French author. It is an epigram upon a monument for Francis the Firſt, king of France, by way of queſtion and anſwer, which in Engliſh is verbatim thus:

Under this marble, who lies buried here?
Francis the Great, a King beyond compare.
Why has ſo great a King ſo ſmall a ſtone?
Of that great King, here's but the heart alone:
Then of this conqueror, here lies but part,
No—here he lies all—for he was all heart.

The author was a Gaſcon, to whom I can properly oppoſe no body ſo well as a Welſhman: for which purpoſe, I am farther furniſhed from the forementioned collection of Oxford verſes, with an epigram, by Martin Lluellin, upon the ſame ſubject, which I remember to have heard often repeated to me, when I was a boy. Beſides, from whence can we draw better examples, than from the very ſeat and nurſery of the Muſes?

Thus ſlain, thy valiant anceſtor did lie,
When his one bark a navy did defy;
When now encompaſs'd round he victor ſtood,
And bath'd his pinnace in his conquering blood,
Till all the purple current dry'd and ſpent,
He fell and made the waves his monument:
Where ſhall the next fam'd Granville's aſhes ſtand?
Thy grandſire fills the ſea, and thine the land.

I cannot ſay the two laſt lines, in which conſiſts the ſting or point of the epigram, are ſtrictly conformable to the rule herein ſet down: the word aſhes, metaphorically, can ſignify nothing but fame, which is mere
ſound,

acceſſion of Queen Anne, he ſtood as fair in the general eſteem as any man of his age, which was about five and twenty. His father, who was juſt dead, had made ſome proviſion for him; and his uncle the Earl of Bath, who did not ſurvive him long, had alſo left Mr Granville a ſmall annuity, which, with the credit of his couſin, ſoon after created Lord Granville of Potheridge, engaged him to come into Parliament; and he was accordingly choſen for Fowey in the firſt Parliament of the Queen with John Hicks, Eſq; *(q)*. Soon after he publiſhed, in conjunction with ſeveral other patriots, one of the orations of Demoſthenes, in order to excite a proper ſpirit in the nation againſt France; for, as an eminent writer obſerves, the Tories were at this time looked upon as ſincerely inclined to vigorous meaſures *(r)*. This new ſpecimen of literature gained him many friends, at the ſame time that it added highly to his reputation, and is ſtill in very great eſteem [*G*]. His fortune received ſome improvement from an accident, in all other reſpects big with irreparable loſs, the death of his gallant brother Sir Bevil Granville, looked upon at that time as the riſing hopes of the family, who had given ſuch early proofs of magnanimity, as had diſarmed the rage of party, and, at the time of his deceaſe, was univerſally acknowledged to be a moſt deſerving officer, and a gentleman equally diſtinguiſhed by amiable and eſtimable qualities [*H*]. Mr Granville bore this blow of fortune with great ſteadineſs, and

(*q*) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 139.

(*r*) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 114—134. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 314.

ſound, and can fill no ſpace either of land or ſea: the Welſhman, however, muſt be allowed to have outdone the Gaſcon. The fallacy of the French eprigram appears at firſt ſight; but the Engliſh ſtrikes the fancy, ſuſpends and dazles the judgment, and may perhaps be allowed to paſs under the ſhelter of thoſe daring hyperboles, which, by preſenting an obvious meaning, make their way, according to Seneca, through incredible to true.

[G] *And is ſtill in very great eſteem.*] As few countries were ever bleſſed with more great men at one ſeaſon than this iſland at that time, we may obſerve, that in no period that can be aſſigned, there ever appeared a truer or a warmer ſpirit of liberty; it was to keep up this ſpirit, that ſome of our ableſt patriots thought it might be expedient to tranſlate ſome of the beſt orations of Demoſthenes, as containing the moſt perſwaſive arguments to animate the ſubjects of a free ſtate, to exert their utmoſt ſtrength in oppoſing the pernicious deſigns of an ambitious and overbearing neighbour; they thought it very fortunate, that as without any manifeſt abſurdity they might compare their own government to that of Athens; there was at the ſame time, ſo great and ſo apparent a likeneſs between the characters of Philip of Macedon, and Lewis the Fourteenth. We know not whether it was choice or accident, that determined our author to the ſecond Olynthian; but whatever determined him, we may very boldly ſay, that he has tranſlated it with equal fidelity and beauty, and, without either forcing the ſenſe, or ſtraining the ſpirit, has rendered it as applicable to the ſubject, which was the common object of all the tranſlators, as could be expected or even deſired. It has been ſaid, that ſome of them made too free with a French tranſlator, conſidering the author's eloquence was to be turned againſt a French prince; this certainly was not Mr Granville's caſe, and to ſhew how admirably he did his part, and at the ſame time to ſhew how the good ſenſe, and ſound reaſoning of one age, may ſquare with the circumſtances of another, though at a great diſtance, we will preſume to give a few paragraphs, and appeal to the reader's own judgment, whether the advice given in them, may not be read with edification even in our age (40). ‘What time ſo proper for action? what occaſion ſo happy? and when can you hope for ſuch another, if this be neglected? has not Philip, contrary to all treaties, inſulted you in Thrace? does he not at this inſtant ſtraiten and invade your confederates, whom you have ſolemnly ſworn to protect? is he not an implacable enemy? a faithleſs ally? the uſurper of provinces, to which he has no title or pretence? a ſtranger, a barbarian, a tyrant, and indeed what is he not? and yet, O ye mortal gods! when we ſhall have abandoned all things to this Philip; when by the indifference of ſome, by the treachery of others, we have as it were, added force and wings to his ambition, we ſhall yet make ourſelves a greater ſcorn to our enemies, by upbraiding and loading each other with the reproach. Each party, though equally guilty by their diviſions of the common calamity, will be imputing the miſcarriage to his neighbour; and though never ſo conſcious, every one will be excuſing himſelf, by laying the blame on another: as after the loſs of a battle, not a man that fled, but accuſes his companion, condemns his general, and ſeparately examined, no one takes ſhame to himſelf, each ſhifting the common diſgrace from one to another; but yet it is certain, that every indvidual man who gave ground, was equally acceſſary to the general defeat. The man who accuſes his companion, might have ſtood firm himſelf, had he pleaſed, and that which was a route, had then been a victory. Such is the pride and folly of parties overborn and ſway'd by perſonal prejudice; ſacrificing the public to private reſentment, and charging each other with miſcarriages for which they are every one equally accountable. A manager for one ſide propoſes, he is ſure to be oppoſed by a manager for the other, not gently and amicably, but with heat, malice, and unbecoming reflection; let a third more moderate ariſe, his opinion is not to be received, but as he is known to be engaged in a party. What good can be hoped from ſuch a confuſion of councils, directed only by prejudice or partiality, in defiance to ſenſe and right reaſon? if no advice that is given is to be received, but as it ſuits the humours of a party, or flatters the diſtempers of the times, it is not his fault who ſpeaks honeſtly, but yours who reſolve to be deaf to all arguments that diſpleaſe you. In debates for the public, we are not to ſeek what will pleaſe, but what will profit. If our wiſhes exceed what we have means to accompliſh, we muſt contract our wiſhes, and confine them to what is in our power. Let the Gods have your prayers, to grant what is out of your reach, nothing is impoſſible to them: but we, who have only human means to act by, muſt be governed by circumſtances, doing as well as we can, and truſting the reſt to Providence.' The reader upon the peruſal will certainly concur with us, in opinion, that he could not have choſen a fitter oration than this; one more applicable to the end propoſed, or which alluded more clearly to the ſtate of the times; ſo that the advice of Demoſthenes, though he lived ſo many ages before, and at ſuch a diſtance from us, is brought directly home; and from the ſimiliarity of the conjunctures, his exhortations as properly adapted to the people of Britain then, as they were to the citizens of Athens when delivered.

(40) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 121, 122, 123.

[H] *Equally diſtinguiſhed by amiable and eſtimable qualities.*] We have before, mentioned Sir Bevil Greenvile's receiving the honour of Knighthood from King James the Second, in the camp at Hounſlow, May 22, 1686, and his being afterwards ſent by his uncle the Earl of Bath, to the iſland of Jerſey. He was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Earl of Bath's regiment at the Revolution, became afterwards Colonel (41), and was at length promoted to the rank of Major-General, behaving upon all occaſions with equal ſteadineſs and courage; in the battle of Steenkirk, particularly, he ſignalized himſelf more than any officer in the army. This battle was fought on Sunday Auguſt 3d, 1692 (42), the army of the allies being commanded by King William, and that of the French, by the Marſhal Duke de Luxemburgh. The vanguard being oppreſſed by numbers,

(41) Lives of Illuſtrious Men, p. 350.

(42) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 644.

and continued to dedicate his more ſerious hours to the ſervice of his country, and to ſpend his moments of leiſure with the Muſes, whom he courted with dignity and freedom, and not with that eagerneſs and fondneſs which render men pedants even in poetry. He continued to ſerve in the Parliaments called in the fourth and ſeventh year of the ſame Queen's reign. In the enſuing Parliament, choſen in the ninth year of the Queen, he was elected for the borough of Helſton, and alſo Knight of the Shire for the county of Cornwall, for which he ſerved (*s*). On the great change which happened in the autumn of 1710, he came into employment with his friends; and on Michaelmas-day was declared Secretary at War in the room of the late Earl of Orford, then Robert Walpole, Eſq; (*t*). He continued in this office for ſome time, and diſcharged it with great capacity. Towards the cloſe of the next year, he eſpouſed the Lady Mary, daughter of Edward Villiers, Earl of Jerſey, at that time the widow of Thomas Thynne, Eſq; from whom ſhe enjoyed a conſiderable jointure, and by whom ſhe was the mother of the late Lord Viſcount Weymouth (*u*). On the thirty-firſt of December, 1711, he was, in conſideration of the great and eminent ſervices of his anceſtors, and his own conſpicuous merit, created a peer of Great-Britain, by the title of Lord Lanſdowne, Baron of Biddeford in the county of Devon (*w*). Amongſt the numerous creations at that time, there was none that gave greater ſatisfaction to one ſide, or leſs offence to the other, than this. His Lordſhip was apparently the next male in that noble family, in which two peerages had extinguiſhed almoſt together. His perſonal merit was univerſally allowed, and, with regard to his political ſentiments, even thoſe who thought him moſt miſtaken, allowed him to be open, candid, and uniform, expreſſing himſelf frankly upon all occaſions, and ſhewing rather more warmth when in oppoſition to power, than when his notions ſeemed to receive a favourable colour from faſhion. He ſtood always high in the favour of Queen Anne, and with great reaſon, having upon every occaſion teſtified the greateſt zeal for her government, and the moſt profound reſpect for her perſon. We need not wonder therefore, that, in the ſucceeding year, he was advanced to the poſt of Comptroller of the Houſhold, and, on the 18th of Auguſt, ſworn of her Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-Council (*x*). About that time twelve-month he became Treaſurer of the Houſhold (*y*), being ſucceeded in his former employment by Sir John Stonehouſe. His Lordſhip continued in this poſt during the remaining part of the Queen's reign, and 'till his Majeſty King George was pleaſed, on the 11th of October, 1714, to beſtow it upon the Earl of Cholmondeley (*z*). His connections with the tory miniſtry, and the generoſity of his diſpoſition, which would not allow him to deſert his friends in their diſtreſs, induced him to act with them at the beginning of the late reign, when we find his name amongſt thoſe Lords, who proteſted againſt the bill for attainting Henry Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke, and alſo againſt that for attainting James Duke of Ormond (*a*), unleſs they ſurrendered by a day certain. This ſteadineſs of his Lordſhip in the ſupport of his old friends, expoſed him, as he muſt foreſee it would, to many inconveniencies; for upon the inſurrections in Scotland and England, his Lordſhip, though he was one of thoſe who ſigned the proclamation (*b*) of the late King, upon the demiſe of her late Majeſty Queen Anne,

(*s*) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 75, 14.

(*t*) Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1710, p. 571. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, Vol. II. p. 659.

(*u*) Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1711, p. 574. Lives of Illuſtrious Men, p. 350.

(*w*) Hiſtory of Europe for 1711, p. 479.

(*x*) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, Vol. II. p. 721. Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1712, p. 132.

(*y*) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, Vol. II. p. 735.

(*z*) Hiſtorical Regiſter, Vol. II. p. 12.

(*a*) The Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. III. p. 17, 18.

(*b*) Hiſtorical Regiſter, Vol. I. p. 3.

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numbers, and Count Solmes neglecting to ſupport them, out of envy to the Engliſh, and diſtaſte to the Prince of Wirtembergh, who commanded, and having at laſt ſent horſe inſtead of foot, expreſsly contrary to the royal orders, to their relief, his Majeſty, who foreſaw the conſequences of this ill conduct, exerted himſelf with the utmoſt vigour to repair it, though by this time the foot were a mile diſtant from the troops that were engaged, and had already ſuffered ſeverely. However, the King made all poſſible diligence to get the infantry up, ordering a brigade to march to the wood, and forming a line of battle in the plain, with ſuch foot as could come up. The eagerneſs of the ſoldiers to follow and engage the enemy was ſuch, that they put themſelves into ſome diſorder, and took more time to form their battallions, than could now be ſpared; ſo that before they could reach the wood, the vanguard and infantry of the left wing being overpowered by thirty battallions of the enemy, who charged them continually one after another, and by a freſh body of dragoons, brought up by Boufflers, they were forced to retreat in great confuſion, and to leave the wood to the enemies poſſeſſion. The Engliſh Life-guards owed their preſervation to the Daniſh Foot-guards; and a regiment of Lunenburgh, commanded by the Baron of Pibreck, being in diſorder upon the ſkirt of the wood, and the Colonel himſelf dangerouſly wounded upon the place, Sir Bevil Granville, who commanded the Earl of Bath's regiment, marched up to his relief, receiving the enemies fire, before he ſuffered his battalion to diſcharge. By this method he lodged himſelf in the narrow way near the wood, ordered his ſerjeants to carry off Baron Pibreck, and maintained his poſt till he was commanded to leave it by the Prince of Naſſau. The King enraged at the diſappointment of the vanguard for want of timely relief, expreſſed his concern, by often repeating theſe words, Oh my poor Engliſh! how they are abandoned! nor would he admit Count Solmes to his royal preſence for many months after. But conſidering the attack was not to be renewed without endangering the loſs of the army, Luxemburgh being conſiderably reinforced by Boufflers, and beſides the night drawing on, his Majeſty commanded a retreat, which was performed with admirable order, and without any great diſturbance from the enemy, who never durſt engage the Engliſh in the rear. After the death of King William, in the year 1703, we find Sir Bevil Granville advanced to be governor of Barbadoes, with a fixed ſalary of two thouſand pounds a year (43). He was extremely welcome to the inhabitants at his firſt arrival, though he had not long been there before diſputes aroſe, which were gradually carried to a very great height, and in conjunction with the warmth of the climate, had ſuch an operation on his health, that he ſollicited his re-call; and having obtained it, went on board an infected ſhip, and died in his paſſage home, September 15th, 1706 (44), in the flower of his age, unmarried, and univerſally lamented. He ſerved in Parliament for the Borough of Fowey, in the County of Cornwall (45), in the reign of King James; under that of King William, he was elected for Leſtwithiel (46).

(43) The Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. II. p. 63.

(44) Lives of Illuſtrious Men, p. 350. Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, p. 121.

(45) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 139.

(46) The Parliamentary Regiſter, p. 137.

Anne, yet was ſeized as a ſuſpected perſon, September 26, 1715 (c), and committed priſoner to the Tower of London, where he continued a long time. At this unfortunate juncture, the well intended officiouſneſs of one of his ſervants, deprived the world of ſeveral excellent pieces that had fallen from his pen, by haſtily committing to the flames (d) ſome papers, of which he had obſerved his Lord to be particularly careful. The loſs was irreparable; for his Lordſhip being tender of the productions of his youth, ſuffered no copies to be taken, 'till, by repeated corrections and improvements, he had reconciled them to his maturer judgment. He was at length diſcharged from his tedious impriſonment (e), February 8, 1717, when all dangers were over. His Lordſhip's being ſet at liberty was highly ſatisfactory to the polite part of the world, as he was a diſtinguiſhed patron of letters, and ever cheriſhed in others, thoſe arts by which he had riſen himſelf into univerſal eſteem. We find him, in 1719, as vigorous as ever in the Houſe of Lords, as appears by his ſpeech (f) againſt repealing the act to prevent occaſional conformity, to which, in point of eloquence and ſpirit, there are very few harangues in our language that ought to be preferred. About three years afterwards, his Lordſhip, for the ſake of his health and for other reaſons, thought fit to go abroad, and continued out of the kingdom for ſeveral years (g). It was during this ſpace that the firſt volume of the Biſhop of Sarum's Hiſtory of his own Times was made public; and, as that work made a very great noiſe, it is no wonder that his Lordſhip peruſed it with attention; and finding the characters of the Duke of Albemarle and the Earl of Bath treated in a manner he thought they did not deſerve, his Lordſhip formed the deſign of doing them juſtice. This led him to look into the works of other Hiſtorians, more eſpecially thoſe of the Earl of Clarendon and Mr Archdeacon Echard; where, finding his great-uncle Sir Richard Greenvile more roughly treated, and his Lordſhip having in his hands memoirs capable of ſetting his conduct in a fairer point of light, he reſolved to follow the dictates of his duty and his inclination, by publiſhing his ſentiments upon theſe heads, and giving the world thoſe lights, which in reſpect to them they had long wanted (h). At his return to England in 1732, he made this work of his public, which was generally well received, as being written with great ſpirit, wonderful beauty of expreſſion, and, being full of new diſcoveries, gave the lovers of perſonal hiſtory infinite ſatisfaction. However, there wanted not ſome who thought themſelves obliged in honour to oppoſe his Lordſhip, for very particular reaſons: amongſt theſe, Mr Oldmixon (i) was the firſt; and though he was naturally of a very warm temper, embarked early in an oppoſite cauſe, and in ſome things had copied the authors his Lordſhip condemned; yet, upon this occaſion, he wrote with temper, made his Lordſhip great conceſſions, and contented himſelf with defending only a few points, and thoſe too not the moſt material in his Lordſhip's performance. The neareſt relation (k) of the deceaſed prelate looked upon himſelf as obliged to enter the liſts alſo with his Lordſhip; and though more might have been urged in his excuſe than for any other man in a caſe of this nature, if he had tranſgreſſed a little the rules of moderation, yet he really wants it not; his diſcourſe is written with great coolneſs and calmneſs, and, while he ſays every thing that it was in his power to ſay, and in the ſtrongeſt terms poſſible, there is nothing that has ſo much as an air of vehemence, much leſs of ill manners. Nay, this writer forbore making any attack, 'till his Lordſhip had anſwered his former antagoniſt, Mr Oldmixon, in a letter dated from Old-Windſor, Auguſt 22, 1732 (l), in which his Lordſhip made a full return of candour and civility. But in the ſpring of the ſucceeding year, his Lordſhip met with an opponent of a very different caſt, in Dr Colbatch (m), of Trinity-College Cambridge, who undertook to vindicate the memory of Mr Archdeacon Echard, in reference to his account of the marriage-treaty between Charles the Second and the Infanta of Portugal; and this he has done with great vigour and judgment, but at the ſame time with too much aſperity. He was a perſon perfectly well acquainted with the ſubject, as having reſided long in Portugal, and made the political affairs of that country his ſtudy. He was alſo a great maſter of argument, and thought himſelf at liberty to retort where it was in his power, any obſervation; to cenſure every eſcape in expreſſion; and to criticize his Lordſhip as an author, without paying too much regard to his quality. He had better fortune than either of his predeceſſors; he attacked the weakeſt part of his Lordſhip's book, and knowing the advantage he had, kept ſteadily to that ſingle point, without wandering into the other parts of the diſpute. His Lordſhip prudently declined an anſwer, and contented himſelf with having afforded the republic of letters an opportunity of ſeeing ſeveral points of Engliſh hiſtory thoroughly ſifted, and ſome new facts brought to light, which otherwiſe, in all probability, had been buried in oblivion [I]. His Lordſhip ſoon after took an opportunity of reviſing all his works,

(c) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 68.

(d) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 125.

(e) Hiſtorical Regiſter for the year 1717, Vol. II. p. 10.

(f) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. III. p. 188—195.

(g) See his Lordſhip's Preface to the firſt Volume of his Works.

(h) A Vindication of General Monk, Duke of Albemarle, from ſome calumnies of Dr Burnet, and ſome miſtakes of Dr Echard, in relation to the ſale of Dunkirk and the Portugal Match. A Vindication of Sir Richard Granville, General in the Weſt for King Charles I. from the miſrepreſentations of the Earl of Clarendon and the Rev. Mr Archdeacon Echard. Both theſe are printed in his Lordſhip's Works, Vol. II. p. 135, 185.

(i) Reflections Hiſtorical and Political, occaſioned by a Treatiſe lately publiſhed, intitled, A Vindication of General Monk and Sir Richard Granville, &c. To which are added, A Reply to that part of it which relates to Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, and New Proofs of the miſrepreſentation and partiality in the Earl of Clarendon's and Mr Echard's Hiſtories, extracted out of the ſaid Vindication, and Rapin's Hiſtory of England, 1732, 4to.

(k) Remarks upon the Right Honourable the Lord Lanſdowne's Letter to the author of the Reflections Hiſtorical and Political, &c. as far as relates to Biſhop Burnet, 1732, 4to.

(l) A Letter to the author of Reflections Hiſtorical and Political, occaſioned by a Treatiſe in Vindication of General Monk and Sir Richard Granville, &c. by the Right Honourable George Granville, Lord Lanſdowne, 1732, 4to.

(m) An Examination of the late Archdeacon Echard's account of the Marriage-Treaty between King Charles II. and Queen Katharine, Infanta of Portugal, addreſſed to the Right Honourable George Granville, Lord Lanſdowne; by Dr Colbatch of Trinity-College in Cambridge, 1733, 4to.

[I] *Which otherwiſe, in all probability, had been buried in oblivion*] We have in the two foregoing articles, made ſuch abundant uſe of his lordſhip's writings, as clearly proves the aſſertion in the text, to which, for the ſatisfaction of the reader, we will ſubjoin ſome farther inſtances in this note. In reference to the loyalty of the county of Cornwall, our author has produced a very remarkable letter from King Charles the Firſt, dated from his camp at Sudley-Caſtle (47), September 10th, 1643, of which he informs us, that there is a copy hung up in almoſt every church and chapel in the county. In reference to Sir Bevil Greenvile, he has furniſhed us with much; in regard to Sir Richard Greenvile, with a great deal more; but ſtill there

(47) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 276, 277, 278.

works, in order to a new edition, which might be worthy of them and of his Lordſhip, a circumſtance that does him great honour, and which has contributed not a little to preſerve

there are ſome things wanting that would give us much farther lights upon this ſubject. Whitlocke has preſerved a circumſtance we meet with no where elſe, and though but a rumour, and a falſe rumour too, is of ſome conſequence to that gentleman's character. After the defeat of Eſſex in Cornwall, it was reported and believed, that the King had created that gentleman (48) Baron of Leſtwithiel, an undeniable evidence, that common fame attributed to him the honour of that action. We know not what is become of that relation which Sir Richard is ſaid not only to have written, but to have (49) printed and publiſhed, of his own conduct in the Weſt; and we are alſo in the dark as to the death of his only ſon; all that his lordſhip knew was, that he ſuffered for his father's principle (50); all we have been able to diſcover farther, is the time of his death, which was (51) March 8th, 1657-8. Many things relating to the Reſtoration we have already had occaſion to mention, and ſeveral more belong to other articles, which therefore it would be improper to mention here. But there is a fact with regard to King Charles's Queen Katherine, and her capacity of bearing children, which through his lordſhip's means has been ſtated in a pretty ſtrong light, and which for that reaſon ought not to be overlooked. In reference to this, his lordſhip ſays (52), 'as to the incapacity in the Infanta of bearing children, it was never proved nor acknowledged: on the contrary, I have heard many ladies of equal quality to the Ducheſs of Guadaloupa, ſome of them my near relations, who had the honour to attend upon her Majeſty's perſon from her firſt coming into England to her dying day, affirm it to have been a falſe imputation, and that ſhe was twice declared to be with child, is an undeniable proof of it.' This point is very fully explained by the following commentary of Dr Colebatch (53). 'Whether matters of this ſort be capable of proof, is more than I know; it is not likely they'll be acknowledged by the perſons concerned. It was cauſe ſufficient for the Chancellor to take the alarm; and to warn his maſter of the danger, in caſe the thing was believed upon any probable preſumption. Mr Echard I'm ſure hath dealt fairly with his reader, by acquainting him with what hath been alledged on one ſide and t'other, which he had for the moſt part from myſelf. He ſays very truly, that this ſuppoſed incapacity could not be imputed to the Infanta's age or country. I have ſeen a woman near Liſbon, with a child of her own in her arms, who ſeemed to be near fifty years; and upon my taking notice of it, was told, that women there, if they marry ſooner than thoſe of other countries, which is commonly the caſe, ſooner ceaſe to bear children, and not otherwiſe. So that if there was any truth in the report concerning the incapacity of this princeſs, it muſt, as the Archdeacon obſerves, be upon account of ſome peculiar infirmities of body. But ſuch a report there certainly was, and that before the marriage was compleated. Mr John Pollexfen, a countryman of your Lordſhip's, was a perſon ſo eminent in divers reſpects, that in all likelihood he was well known to your Lordſhip, and if ſo, he may have acquainted you with what I have heard from him myſelf; namely, that when the Earl of Sandwich came with a fleet to conduct the Queen to England, this matter was the common ſubject of diſcourſe among our merchants at Liſbon, and that they, he, Mr Pollexfen, being one of the number, remonſtrated to his Lordſhip, that the King was not like to have iſſue by his marriage. Poſſibly the report may have been confirmed if not raiſed by the Ducheſs of Guadaloupa, whoſe brother, the Duke of Aveiro, went over from Portugal to Caſtile (and ſhe with him as I ſuppoſe), about the time when the marriage was agreed upon. I am ſure Sir Robert told me, that being at Madrid when the news came thither of our Queen's miſcarriage, he waited on that lady to acquaint her with it, which having done, he added, that there being now cauſe to expect a future pregnancy, he hoped it would be attended with a more happy ſucceſs. But the Ducheſs, who had been acquainted with the Queen *from her infancy and in the nurſery*, (they are Sir Robert Southwell's own words) ſhaking her head, gave him to underſtand, that ſhe looked upon ſuch hopes to be altogether groundleſs——I have, as I told Mr Echard, ſeveral times heard the ſame thing affirmed by one lady, who had the honour of being allied to your lordſhip's family, and was the only Proteſtant of her rank and ſex that attended the Queen at Liſbon; I mean the Lady Wyche, who declared, that to her knowledge, her Majeſty was in a childbearing condition 'till after King Charles's death. I doubt not but that each of theſe ladies, had ſome particular reaſon on which to ground their opinion, ſo that great deference is due to the teſtimony both of the one and of the other. But I do not ſee how any difference in their quality, ſhould affect the credibility of their evidence on either ſide.' In proof however of ſo much of the fact, as that this matter, which ought always to have been kept ſecret, was very early the topic of diſcourſe, and occaſioned ſome very ſtrange reports in Portugal, as well as in England; we ſhall cite a paſſage of Sir Robert Southwell's letters, the rather becauſe it will give us a hint of thoſe, by whom ſuch ſtories were propagated, no doubt, with the pious intention of deſtroying gradually the Engliſh intereſt in every court in Europe. This letter of Sir Robert's is directed to Lord Arlington, and is dated December 2d, 1667. 'I would not omit to tell your Lordſhip of one queſtion which the Queen aſked me, which was, whether the Queen of England was not divorced from his Majeſty, which ſhe ſaid ſhe had heard; as alſo that the Ducheſs was in like manner from his Royal Highneſs, and all the children declared illegitimate. Your Lordſhip may imagine in what confuſion I was, to hear her diſcourſe on this ſubject, and the induſtry I uſed to efface theſe impreſſions; adding, for one conviction, the ſtrictneſs of the commands I had now newly received, to ſollicit the reſidue of the portion. Unto which her Majeſty preſently applied the diſcourſe, pleading the poverty of the kingdom more ſenſibly than one who had talked of her departure from it. But as to the report aforeſaid, concerning the Queen our miſtreſs, it is hardly credible how hotly it was diſcourſed in this town about ten days ago; and even that her Majeſty was already embarked, and it is now in like manner flown all over the kingdom; and though I do believe that ſome wild letters have, from the Portugueſe in England, been writ hither to this effect, yet I am ſure the French have fomented it with all the vigour they could (54).' An eminent prelate, having (55) reported in his hiſtory, that the Ducheſs of Portſmouth had told Mr Henley of Hampſhire, that ſhe believed King Charles the Second was poiſoned; Lord Lanſdowne, who was at Paris, where the Ducheſs of Portſmouth was living, procured the queſtion to be aſked her, whether ſhe had ever ſaid ſo to Mr Henley or not; to which the Ducheſs anſwered, that ſhe did not remember her being ſo much as acquainted with Mr Henley, which his Lordſhip looks upon as a clear confutation; whereas others look upon it as a mere evaſion, and that if there had been no truth in it, her Grace would peremptorily have denied the fact, inſtead of reflecting upon the memory of the prelate, which ſhe did in very coarſe terms. However, in reſpect to the fact of the King's death, his Lordſhip gives us his own ſentiments in the following words (56). 'As to the poiſoning part of the ſtory, it was always my opinion, and not ill grounded neither, that the King haſtened his death by his own quackery. The laſt year of his life, he had been much troubled with a ſore leg, which he endeavoured to conceal, and truſted too much to his own drugs and medicines. On a ſudden the running ſtopt, and it was then he was ſeized with his apoplexy: a common caſe, fatal the moment thoſe ſort of ſores dry up. There being ſo natural a way of accounting for his death, to what purpoſe then all theſe forced ſpeculations from ſtrained circumſtances? no one but the next heir could have any intereſt in it, and he never was ſo much as accuſed or ſuſpected. The Biſhop himſelf generouſly acquits him.' This was his Lordſhip's ſentiment, and carries in it great probability.

(48) Memorials, p. 106.

(49) Wood's Faſti Oxonienſis, col. 194.

(50) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 204.

(51) Geſta Britannorum, p. 478.

(52) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 174, 175.

(53) Examination of the late Mr Archdeacon Echard's account of the Marriage-Treaty between King Charles II. and Queen Katharine, Infanta of Portugal, addreſſed to the Right Hon. George Granville, Lord Lanſdowne, p. 42, 43, 44.

(54) Letters of Sir Robert Southwell to the Duke of Ormond, &c. p. 352, 353.

(55) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 610.

(56) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 263.

ſerve that deference and reſpect to his memory, which his many great talents and amiable qualities always ſecured, while living, to his perſon. He choſe to increaſe the value of his writings, by examining and correcting, rather than by multiplying them; he was his own Critic, and performed that office with the ſteadineſs of a judge, and without being at all biaſſed by the natural tenderneſs of an author for his own productions. He choſe to be known to poſterity in his literary character, and very juſtly; having diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſo many different kinds of writing, both in verſe and proſe. His Lordſhip had the misfortune to ſurvive his younger as well as his elder brother; and perhaps there is nothing more affecting in his Lordſhip's character, than that veneration which he had for ſome, and that tenderneſs which he had for all his family. Of the former, the reader has already ſeen many inſtances, and ſome alſo of the latter. But there are two letters, one to his couſin, the laſt Earl of Bath, in reſpect to his conduct in private life, the other to his nephew, Mr Bevil Greenvile, on his entering into Holy Orders (*n*), which it would have been an injury to his memory not to place in the notes, and therefore there the reader ſhall find them [*K*].

The

(*n*) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. III. p. 184—187. Vol. II. p. 283—285.

lity. Yet his Grace of Buckinghamſhire, an older man, and who had better opportunities of knowing, ſeems to think otherwiſe. His words are theſe (57). 'I would not ſay any thing on ſo ſad a ſubject, if I did not think ſilence itſelf would in ſuch a caſe ſigfy too much; and therefore, as an impartial writer, I am obliged to obſerve, that the moſt knowing and moſt deſerving of all his phyſicians, did not only believe him poiſoned, but thought himſelf ſo too not long after, for having declared his opinion a little too boldly.' His Grace likewiſe does the ſame juſtice to his ſucceſſor. The Phyſician he mentions was Dr Short, a Papiſt, and the expreſſion he made uſe of was, that the King had not fair play for his life. A very honourable and judicious writer, has explained this in another ſenſe than that in which it has been commonly taken (58). 'It ſo fell out, that the very acceſs of the King's diſtemper was ſuch, as no poiſon or medicament in the world could produce or counterfeit, that is, an apoplectic or epileptic fit, chooſe you whether, for in one of thoſe the King was certainly at firſt taken. He cried out, and then falling back in his chair lay as one dead. The phyſician in waiting immediately blooded him, and the following regimen was as in apoplectic caſes, his Majeſty's being preſumed to be that, to get him to wake, and then to keep him from ſleeping. One Dr Stokeham, an eminent phyſician in Covent-Garden, declared to me, that the phyſician that blooded the King, utterly miſtook his caſe; for his fit was not an apoplexy, but epileptic, and then all they did was ex diametro wrong. For in that caſe, bleeding is little leſs than mortal, and the way is to let them doſe out the fit without diſturbance, and they will come to themſelves and be well; but the other courſe will ſooner make them mad than recover them.' Hence he infers, that the natural conſtruction of Dr Short's words was, that the methods uſed, did him more hurt than good; and if he had been alone, and nothing at all done to him, nature had had it's courſe, which the Doctor might probably mean by fair play. We will venture to add, that theſe are the beſt accounts that are to be had of this matter, and taking them together we may be pretty certain of the truth. It was not the firſt or the ſecond fit of the kind the King had had, and recovered from by being let alone; but the circumſtance of drying up his leg (59) might probably make it more violent, which the accident of his being improperly treated rendered mortal. The reader will excuſe this ſhort digreſſion to which we were induced, that we might the better explain the great uſe of ſuch hiſtorical memoirs as thoſe are, which Lord Lanſdowne has publiſhed.

(57) Duke of Buckingham's Works, Vol. II. p. 82.

(58) Examen, or an enquiry into the credit and veracity of a pretended Compleat Hiſtory, by the Hon. Roger North, Eſq; p. 648.

(59) Welwood's Memoirs, p. 142.

[*K*] *And therefore there the reader ſhall find them.*] The firſt of theſe letters is the ſequel of that which the reader has already ſeen in the former article; it is addreſſed to the young Earl of Bath, and it contains our author's ſentiments of the conduct fit for a nobleman diſtinguiſhed by birth, bleſſed with a large fortune, and honoured with a ſingular mark of the royal favour, to purſue in his own country, upon a ſuppoſition, that with theſe advantages there can be but one thing left for him to render himſelf truly popular, not by meanly courting vulgar applauſe, but by conſulting the true intereſt of his country, and thereby joining the people's love to the ſovereign's choice. There is a freedom, there is an honeſty, in this letter which renders it invaluable; and there are ſo many occaſions continually occurring, to which it may be applied, and it will be peruſed here by ſo many to whom it as properly belongs, as to the noble perſon to whom it was addreſſed, that it cannot fail of doing continual ſervice.

(60) To William-Henry, Earl of Bathe, &c. at the camp in Flanders, September 22d, 1710.

(60) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. III. p. 184—187.

'Every living creature, my dear lord, is entitled to offices of humanity: the diſtreſs even of an enemy ſhould reconcile us to him: if he thirſts give him drink; if he hungers give him food; overcome evil with good. It is with this diſpoſition I would have you enter into the exerciſe of that authority with which her Majeſty has honoured you over your countrymen. Let no body inſpire you with party prejudices and reſentments. Let it be your buſineſs to reconcile differences and heal diviſions, and to reſtore, if poſſible, harmony and good neighbourhood amongſt them. If then there ſhould be any left to wiſh you ill, make them aſhamed and confounded with your goodneſs and moderation: Not that I would ever adviſe you to ſacrifice one hair of the head of an old friend to your family, to gain fifty new ones; but if you can increaſe the number by courteſy and moderation, it may be worth the trial.

'Believe me, my dear lord, humanity and generoſity make the beſt foundation to build a character upon: a man may have birth, and riches, and power, wit, learning, courage, but without generoſity, it is impoſſible to be a great man: whatever the rich and powerful may think of themſelves; whatever value they may ſet upon their abundance and grandeur, they will find themſelves but the more hated, and deſpiſed for the ill uſe they make of it. You ſhould look upon yourſelves but as ſtewards and truſtees for the diſtreſſed: your over-abundance, is but a depoſit for the uſe and relief of the unhappy: you are anſwerable for all ſuperfluities miſ-ſpent: It is not to be ſuppoſed, that Providence would have made ſuch diſtinctions among men; ſuch un equal diſtributions, but that they might endear themſelves one to another by mutual helps and obligations. Gratitude is the ſureſt cement of love, friendſhip, and ſociety.

'There are indeed rules to be obſerved, and meaſures to be kept, in the diſtribution of favours: we know who have both the power and inclination to do, but for want of judgment in the direction they paſs only for good-natured fools, inſtead of generous benefactors.

'My Lord —— will grudge a guinea to an honeſt gentleman in diſtreſs, but readily give twenty to a common ſtrumpet; another ſhall refuſe to lend fifty pounds to his beſt friend, without ſufficient ſecurity, and the next moment ſet his whole fortune upon a card or a die: a chance, for which he can have no ſecurity. My Lord —— is to be ſeen every day at a toy-ſhop, ſquandering away his money in trinkets and baubles, and at the ſame time leaves his brothers and ſiſters without common neceſſaries.

'Generoſity does not conſiſt in a contempt of money, in throwing it away at random, without judgment or diſtinction, though that indeed is better than locking it up, for multitudes have the benefit of it: but in a right diſpoſition to proper objects in proportion

The gentleneſs of his nature, in liſtening to every application that was made to him in every ſtation of life; his willingneſs to oblige to the utmoſt of his power, and his condeſcenſion on ſome occaſions, which added luſtre to his good-nature, might be ſupported by various inſtances, if either neceſſity required, or the bounds of this article would permit (o). His candour in judging of the works of others (p), was the more extraordinary, conſidering the care he took of his own, for to them the ſeverity of his criticiſm was confined. But his generoſity in ſupporting, encouraging, and recommending men of genius, are qualities that muſt not be ſo ſlightly paſſed over. His friendſhip to Betterton and Dryden was always conſtant, and his expreſſions of it governed by their diſtreſs; for to them he gave the profits of his plays, which had never appeared upon the ſtage if their neceſſities had not required them (q). His affection and reſpect for Mr Wycherly, expreſſed in a letter, as is ſuppoſed, to Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke, ſhew his true ſenſe of merit in the ſtrongeſt and in the moſt agreeable light. His zeal in bringing the laſt great poet this country has produced with that credit on the public theatre, which is ſo neceſſary to give ſpirit and courage to a riſing genius, ought ever to be remembered with due praiſe [L]. The laſt years of his Lordſhip's life were ſpent in privacy and retirement. He

(o) See the Dedication to his Lordſhip, prefixed to the 2d Volume of Jacob's Lives of the Poets.

(p) See towards the cloſe of his Lordſhip's Eſſay on Unnatural Flights in Poetry.

(q) See his Lordſhip's Preface to the Britiſh Enchanters, and the Prologue to the Jew of Venice.

‘ tion to the merit, the circumſtances, the rank and condition of thoſe who ſtand in need of our ſervice.

‘ Princes are more expoſed than any others to the miſplacing their favours: merit is ever modeſt, and keeps it's diſtance. The forward and importunate, ſtand always neareſt in ſight, and are not to be put out of countenance, nor thruſt out of the way. I remember to have heard a ſaying of the late King James, that he never knew a modeſt man make his way in a court. David Floyd, whom you know, being then in waiting at his majeſty's elbow, reply'd bluntly, pray, Sir, whoſe fault's that? the king ſtood corrected and was ſilent.

‘ If princes could ſee with their own eyes, and hear with their own ears, what a happy ſituation it would be both for themſelves and their ſubjects: to reward merit, to redreſs the injured, to relieve the oppreſſed, to raiſe the modeſt, to humble the inſolent: what a godlike prerogative! were a right uſe made of it.

‘ How happy are you, my dear lord, who are born with ſuch generous inclinations, with judgment to direct them, and the means to indulge them: of all men moſt miſerable is he, who has the inclination without the means. To meet with a deſerving object of compaſſion, without having the power to give relief; of all the circumſtances in life, is the moſt diſagreeable: to have the power, is the greateſt pleaſure.

‘ Methinks I ſee you ready to cry out——Good couſin, why this diſcourſe to me? what occaſion have I for theſe lectures? none at all, my dear lord, I am only making my court to you, by letting you ſee I think as you do.

‘ But one word more, and I have done.

‘ In truſt, intimacy, and confidence, be as particular as you pleaſe: in humanity, charity, and benevolence, univerſal.

To my Nephew Mr Bevill Granville, *upon his entering into Holy Orders* (61).

(61) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 283, 284, 285.

‘ When I look upon the date of your laſt letter, I muſt own myſelf blameable for not having ſooner returned you my thanks for it.

‘ I approve very well of your reſolution of dedicating yourſelf to the ſervice of God: you could not chooſe a better maſter, provided you have ſo ſufficiently ſearched your heart, as to be perſuaded you can ſerve him well: in ſo doing, you may ſecure to yourſelf many bleſſings in this world, as well as a ſure expectation in the next.

‘ There is one thing which I perceive you have not yet thoroughly purged yourſelf from, which is flattery: you have beſtowed ſo much of that upon me in your letter, that I hope you have no more left, and that you meant it only to take your leave of ſuch flights of fancy, which, however well meant, oftner put a man out of countenance than oblige him.

‘ You are now become a ſearcher after truth: I ſhall hereafter take it more kindly, to be juſtly reproved by you, than to be undeſervedly complimented.

‘ I would not have you underſtand me, as if I recommended to you a ſour Preſbyterian ſeverity; that is yet more to be avoided. Advice, like phyſic, ſhould be ſo ſweetned and prepared, as to be made palatable, or nature may be apt to revolt againſt it. Be always ſincere, but at the ſame time always polite: be humble, without deſcending from your character; reprove and correct, without offending good manners: to be a cynic, is as bad as to be a ſycophant; you are not to lay aſide the gentleman with your ſword, nor to put on the gown to hide your birth and good breeding, but to adorn it.

‘ Such has been the malice of the world from the beginning, that pride, avarice, and ambition, have been charged upon the prieſthood in all ages, in all countries, and in all religions: what they are moſt obliged to combat againſt in their pulpits, they are moſt accuſed of encouraging in their conduct. It behoves you therefore to be more upon your guard in this, than in any other profeſſion. Let your example confirm your doctrine, and let no man ever have it in his power to reproach you with practiſing contrary to what you preach.

‘ You had an uncle, Dr Dennis Granville, Dean of Durham, whoſe memory I ſhall ever revere; make him your example. Sanctity ſat ſo eaſy, ſo unaffected, and ſo graceful upon him, that in him, we beheld the very beauty of holineſs: He was as chearful as familiar, and condeſcending in his converſation, as he was ſtrict, regular, and exemplary in his piety: as well bred and accompliſhed as a courtier; as reverend and venerable as an apoſtle: he was indeed, in every thing apoſtolical, for he abandoned all, to follow his Lord and Maſter.

‘ May you reſemble him! may he revive in you! may his ſpirit deſcend upon you, as Elijah's upon Eliſha! and may the great God of Heaven, in guiding, directing, and ſtrengthening your pious reſolutions, pour down his beſt and choiceſt bleſſings upon you.

‘ You ſhall ever find me, dear nephew, your moſt affectionate uncle, and ſincere friend, &c.'

LANSDOWNE.

Beſides the Reverend Mr Bevil Granville, to whom this Letter is addreſſed, Colonel Bernard Granville, his lordſhip's younger brother, who was alſo Lieutenant governor of Hull, had by his wife Mary, daughter of Sir Martin Weſtcomb, conſul at Cadiz, Bernard his ſon and heir, and two daughters, Mary and Anne (62).

(62) Collins's Supplement to the Peerage, Vol. V. p. 100.

[L] *Ought ever to be remembred with due praiſe.*] The length of this letter, prevents our tranſcribing it, but the latter part of it which reſpects Mr Pope, and which ſhews that this noble perſon was among the number of his firſt patrons, and who, together with Mr Wycherley, introduced him to this other Mæcenas, runs in the following terms (63). ‘ He ſhall bring with him, if you will, a young poet, newly inſpired in the neighbourhood of Cooper's Hill, whom he and Walſh have taken under their wing, his name is Pope, he is not above ſeventeen or eighteen years of age, and promiſes miracles: if he goes on as he has begun in the paſtoral way, as Virgil firſt tried his ſtrength, we may hope to ſee Engliſh poetry vie with the Roman, and this Swan of Windſor, ſing as ſweetly as the Mantuan.'

(63) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 113.

All the world knows in what terms Mr Pope addreſſed this great man in the opening of his Windſor Foreſt, and therefore it is unneceſſary to repeat them; but with

He had certainly talents enough to have raiſed him to the higheſt offices, and friends enough to have reconciled him to any party ; but the mortifications he had met with in the middle part of his life, checked his ambition, and he had ſeen enough of the world to deſpiſe it. Yet he was not ſoured to a degree of becoming ſplenetic or cynical enough, either to refuſe or to be ungrateful for royal favours. The late Queen having honoured him with her protection, the laſt verſes he wrote were to inſcribe two copies of his poems, one of which was preſented to her Majeſty, and the other to the Princeſs Royal, Anne, now Princeſs Dowager of Orange (r). His Lordſhip deceaſed at his houſe near Hanover-Square, January 30, 1735, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age (s). By his only wife, Lady Mary Villiers, who died a few days before him (t), he had no iſſue male, ſo that in him the title of Lanſdowne became extinct. He had, however, by her Ladyſhip, four daughters, viz. Anne ; Mary married on the 14th of March, 1729-30, to William Graham of Platten, near Drogheda in the kingdom of Ireland, who deceaſed (u) in the month of November, the ſame year with his Lordſhip ; Grace married the 29th of March, 1740, to Thomas Foley, jun. Eſq; ſon and heir of Thomas Foley, Eſq; Member of Parliament for Hereford ; and Elizabeth (w).

At length we have finiſhed our memoirs of this antient and noble family, upon whom, having dwelt more copiouſly than upon almoſt any other, it may not be improper to acquaint the public with the reaſons. In the firſt place, there are few families that have produced perſons more illuſtrious than this, and thoſe in very different kinds, ſeamen, ſoldiers, ſenators, ſtateſmen, and poets. In the next place, in treating their perſonal hiſtory, we have been obliged to ſtate and examine ſome very curious and intereſting facts in our civil hiſtory, which, to ſpeak the truth, is the greateſt ſervice that performances of this nature can render to the republic of letters. We may add to theſe two reaſons, that we were in poſſeſſion of many materials ; and though we will not pretend to ſay by any means, that we have erected a monument worthy of ſo many great men, yet ſure we have ſpent our time very ill, if we have not done ſomewhat towards contenting the reader. We ſaw that moſt of theſe materials had lain too long unuſed, and that, certain circumſtances conſidered, it might not be impoſſible they might continue in the ſame broken and diſtracted ſtate, at leaſt during our times, upon which we could not help reflecting with regret. Laſtly, the males of the eldeſt line being extinct, we thought it more immediately our duty, as in the caſe of the Dudley's, to interpoſe in time, and to uſe our utmoſt endeavours to ſave from oblivion all the circumſtances we could draw together, relative to this race of heroes : theſe which are our true and only motives, cannot but be thought ſufficient to prove, that what we have done in this reſpect, is perfectly conſiſtent with the nature and plan of our work ; and it would give us great pleaſure, if we could render the ſame juſtice to other noble families under the like circumſtances.

(r) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. III. p. 263, 264.

(s) London Magazine, Vol. IV. p. 99.

(t) Hiſtorical Regiſter, Vol. XX. p. 10.

(u) Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. V. p. 681.

(w) Collins's Supplement, Vol. V. p. 100.

with the private letter that accompanied that public inſcription, the world may not be ſo well acquainted ; and therefore, from its pertinence to our purpoſe, we muſt beg leave to bring it to their notice (64).

(64) The Works of Alexander Pope, Eſq; edit. 1737, Vol. VI. p. 57, 58.

To my Lord Lansdown.

Binfield, Jan. 10, 1712.

'I thank you for having given my Poem of Windſor 'Foreſt, it's greateſt ornament, that of bearing your 'name in the front of it. 'Tis one thing, when a 'perſon of true merit permits us to have the honour of 'drawing him as like as we can ; and another, when 'we make a fine thing at random, and perſuade the 'next vain creature we can find, that 'tis his own like'neſs, which is the caſe every day of my fellow-ſcrib'lers. Yet, my Lord, this honour has given me no 'more pride than your honours have given you, but it 'affords me a great deal of pleaſure, which is much 'better than a great deal of pride ; and it indeed 'would give me ſome pain, if I was not ſure of one 'advantage, that, whereas others are offended, if they 'had not more than juſtice done 'em ; you would be 'diſpleaſed if you had ſo much, therefore I may ſafely 'do you as much injury in my words, as you do your'ſelf in your own thoughts. I am ſo vain as to think 'I have ſhewn you a favour in ſparing your modeſty, 'and you cannot but make me ſome return for preju'dicing the truth to gratify you : this I beg may be 'the free correction of theſe verſes, which will have 'few beauties, but what may be made by your blots. 'I am in the circumſtance of an ordinary painter, 'drawing Sir Godfrey Kneller, who by a few touches 'of his own, could make the piece very valuable. I 'might then hope, that many years hence, the world 'might read in conjunction with your name, that of,

'Your Lordſhip's, &c.'

We will cloſe this note with a juſt ſtroke of cenſure on his Lordſhip and his writings, by his Grace the Duke of Buckinghamſhire and Normanby (65).

(65) Duke of Buckinghamſhire's Works, Vol. I. p. 191.

When Buckingham came, he ſcarce car'd to be ſeen,
Till Phœbus deſir'd his old friend to walk in ;
But a laureat Peer had never been known,
The Commoners claim'd that place as their own.

Yet if the kind God had been ne'er ſo inclin'd,
To break an old rule, yet he well knew his mind :
Who of ſuch preferment, would only make ſport ;
And laugh'd at all ſuitors, for places at Court.

Notwithſtanding this law, yet Lanſdown was nam'd,
But Apollo with kindneſs, his indolence blam'd ;
And ſaid he would chuſe him, but that he ſhould
fear
An employment of trouble he never could bear.

E

GREGORY [James] an eminent Mathematician, was born in 1639 (a), at Aberdeen in Scotland (b), where he likewiſe received his education. He made a good proficiency in the Latin tongue at ſchool, but being chiefly inclined to the mathematics, it was not long before the ſucceſs of his application to theſe ſciences diſcovered a genius ſuperior to moſt, and not much, if at all, unequal to the beſt of his time. This hap-

(a) He died in 1675, at the age of 36. See note (w).

(b) In the title page of his *Optica Promota*, and of his *Geometriæ pars univerſalis*, he ſtiles himſelf *Abredonenſis Scotus*.

pened to be in the interval between Des Cartes and Sir Iſaac Newton; when having the advantage of thoſe improvements that had been made by the former, he ſtruck a conſiderable part of that dawning light into the ſublimer geometry, or geometry of curves, which preceded the riſing of the latter. At the age of twenty-four years he acquired the diſtinguiſhing title of a firſt inventor, by his reflecting Teleſcope [*A*]; the conſtruction of which was publiſhed in 1663, in his treatiſe intituled, *Optica Promota* (*c*), *ſeu abdita radiorum reflexorum & refractorum myſteria geometrice enucleata; cui ſubnectitur Appendix ſubtiliſſimorum Aſtronomiæ problematôn reſolutionem exhibens* (*d*). Leaving Scotland in a year or two after this, he came to London, in order to get his inſtrument executed by ſome able hand; and the work was performed according to the deſcription given in the book, by the moſt ſkilful artiſt of that time (*e*). Notwithſtanding this it did not ſucceed [*B*]; and though our author imputed the miſcarriage chiefly to his own want of ſkill in the technical part (*f*), yet he declined the trouble of improving himſelf therein. Intent upon the ſtudy of ſpeculative Geometry, he had taken up a reſolution to make a tour to Italy, where mathematical learning chiefly flouriſhed at that time (*g*), and haſtening thither he ſeems to have fixed his reſidence at Padua, which Univerſity was then in high repute. Here purſuing a hint ſuggeſted by his own thoughts, he puſhed the method of exhauſtions into ſeveral new diſcoveries. The firſt of theſe was the invention of an infinitely converging (*b*) ſeries, for the areas of the circle and hyperbola [*C*], which he printed at Padua in 1667,

(*c*) At the 59th Prop.

(*d*) This piece is ranked with Dr Barrow's Optical Lectures, and the two authors quoted together, as the beſt writers upon the ſubject, by Dr Smith, in the 2d Vol. of his Optics, Remarks, p. 44. Lond. 1738, 4to.

(*e*) His name was Reive, he made better refractors than either Durni or Campani. Derham's Phil. Experim. p. 390.

(*f*) Phil. Tranſ. No. 83.

(*g*) Dominic, Caſſini, Riccioli, Ricci, Renaldini, Stephano de Angelis, Manfredi, Bullialdi, Borelli, to name no more, were all alive at this time.

(*b*) He was the firſt who gave ſuch ſeries that denomination. Vid. Epiſt. Wallifii ad Leibnitium, Apr. 6, 1697, in Commercio Epiſtol. Jo. Collins, &c. No. LXXV.

[*A*] *He acquired the diſtinguiſhing title of a firſt inventor by the reflecting teleſcope.*] His only competitor in this invention, Sir Iſaac Newton, tells us himſelf (1), That the firſt thought of ſuch a teleſcope was indeed ſuggeſted to him by his diſcovery of the different refrangibility of the rays of light, but not till 1666; and that when he reſumed this ſubject in 1668, he had Mr Gregory's book before him (2). In this book we find the particular remark which firſt put our author upon contriving his invention, was an inconvenience he foreſaw from an hyperbolic (3) object-glaſs, which if ſufficiently broad to receive light enough into a teleſcope that ſhall magnify very much, muſt, he obſerves, of conſequence be very thick, and that then the cleareſt glaſs would hinder too much of the light from being tranſmitted (4). As this teleſcope is made at preſent with ſeveral alterations and improvements, we ſhall have but a very imperfect idea of the original invention, without ſeeing a deſcription, which therefore it will be proper to inſert in the author's words. Having deſcribed two other ſorts, together with their defects, he proceeds thus: 'Tertium autem genus nulla habet incommoda & omnes priorum generum proprietates habere poteſt (5), &c. The third ſort (which, from it's value, we may very well call a golden one) has no inconveniences, and may have all the properties of the other ſorts, provided the lenſes and ſpecula be rightly diſpoſed, that is, if the laſt images, and the laſt but one, be produced by ſpecula, and the reſt by lenſes: we ſhall therefore here, for example, deſcribe a teleſcope of this moſt perfect kind. Let there be a parabolical concave ſpeculum moſt exquiſitely poliſhed, near (6) whoſe focus is placed a ſmall elliptic concave ſpeculum, having a common focus and common axis with the concave parabolic ſpeculum, and let it be fixed in that ſituation: now the ſaid focus of that elliptic ſpeculum muſt be very near to it's vertex, and the other focus of it muſt be very far from that in the common axis, produced beyond the parabolic ſpeculum; and through the vertex of the parabolic ſpeculum muſt be made a round hole, in which hole muſt be placed a tube, having the ſame axis with the ſpecula, and big enough to receive the rays of a viſible reflected from the elliptic concave ſpeculum, and let it be continued a very ſmall matter beyond the farther focus of that ſpeculum, and there let a lens of chryſtal convex, towards the ſpecula, with the convexity of a conoid, and the denſity of the chryſtalline (7) [of the eye] be fixed, whoſe exterior focus muſt be the ſame with (that juſt mentioned) the further focus of the elliptic concave ſpeculum, and muſt be plane towards the eye, and likewiſe have the ſame common axis as the ſpecula and the tube.' After the deſcription he concludes thus: 'This will be the way to make an excellent teleſcope for *preſbytæ*; for diſtant objects ſeen through the tube, will appear very diſtinctly magnified, very near in the ratio of the diſtances of the vertices from the common foci, and enlightened in the ſame manner as a viſible would be, when ſeen under ſuch an angle, provided the diameter of what produces the laſt image be big enough to ſuffer the uvea of the eye to be filled with the rays: and how that may be done, we have taught in the ſcholium of the 51ſt of this book.' By this deſcription it appears, that the rays from the object paſs on the outſide, or without the margin, of the leſſer ſpeculum to the concave face of the larger ſpeculum, which reflecting them to the leſſer, that returns them through a hole in the middle of the larger, to the eye-glaſs, placed behind the larger ſpeculum. But here the conſtruction is general, being built only upon theory, which was carried no farther than to the figures of the ſpecula and lens. The particular magnitudes and diſtances of each are left to be determined by trial, or experience; and what was done in that way will be ſeen in the following remark.

[*B*] *Being attempted by Mr Reive, it did not ſucceed.*] Our author, ſpeaking in his Optics of theſe inſtruments ſays, *De mechanica harum ſpeculorum & lentium ab aliis fruſtra tentata, ego in mechanicis minus verſatus nihil dico:* whence Sir Iſaac Newton inferred, that there had been trials made of theſe teleſcopes, but in vain; 'And, continues he, I am informed that about ſeven or eight years ſince (8), Mr Gregory himſelf, at London, cauſed one of ſix foot to be made by Mr Reive, which I take to have been according to the aforeſaid deſign deſcribed in his book, becauſe, though made by a ſkilful artiſt, yet it was without ſucceſs (9).' To this Mr Gregory anſwered (10), That as to the words cited (by Mr Newton) he ſpoke there only of the hyperbolic and elliptic glaſſes and ſpeculum, which were attempted in vain. 'As for my experiment, continues he, with Mr Rives (11), he could not poliſh the large concave [or object ſpeculum] upon the tool; and I not knowing any advantage of the catoptric teleſcope above the dioptric, ſave only the ſhortnes, and ſimilitude betwixt the circle and parabola (which is greater than that betwixt the circle and hyperbola), imagined that this great defect in the figure [being ſpherical] wold eaſilie counterbalance theſe two pettie advantages. Upon this account, and being about to go abroad, I thought it not worth the pains to truble myſelf anie further with it, ſo that the tube was never made; yet I made ſome trials, both with a little concave and convex ſpeculum, which wer but rude, ſeing I had but tranſient views of the object, being ſo poſſeſſed with the fancy of the defective figure, that I wold not be at the pains to fix everie thing in it's due diſtance.' Had not our author here given us his reaſons, it would have appeared a little ſurprizing, that for the ſake of his own invention, he did not make ſome trials himſelf to bring his metals to their deſired form, eſpecially when we conſider that ſome of the greateſt mathematicians at this time were employed in grinding glaſſes with their own hands *, in order to reduce them to true conoidical forms.

[*C*] *He found an infinitely converging ſeries, &c.*] This ſeries is thus conſtituted: he propoſes the terms of it to proceed by pairs, as A and B, C and D, E and F, &c. ſo that the difference betwixt A and B exceeds the

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(1) In Phil. Tranſ. No. 80.

(2) Ibid. No. 83.

(3) As was propoſed by Des Cartes.

(4) Optica Promota, prop. 59.

(5) Ibid. p. 93.

(6) His words are *in cujus foco.*

(7) In the original it is *denſitatis chryſtallinæ.*

(8) The letter whence this extract is taken, is dated May 4, 1672. Phil. Tranſ. No. 83.

(9) Sir Iſaac apprehended it had been made with very great diligence and curioſity. See No. VII. in the Appendix to Dr Gregory's Optics, edit. 1735.

(10) In a letter dated Sept. 26, the ſame year. See the ſaid Appendix No. IV.

(11) Mr Cox another famous glaſs-grinder at that time, aſſiſted in this trial. Ibid. p. 212.

* Mr Reives, the Optician abovementioned, was inſtructed in the manual operation by Sir Paul Niel, Sir Chriſtopher Wren, and Dr Goddard. Phil. Experim. by Derham, ubi ſupra.

1667, 4to, with the following title, *Vera circuli & hyperbolæ quadratura in propria ſua proportionis ſpecie inventa & demonſtrata à Jacobo Gregorio, Scoto*; but he took off only a few copies for the uſe of himſelf and his friends (*i*), apparently with a view of having their judgment in a matter intirely new, before he ſhould put it into the hands of the Public. Among others, he ſent one copy to Mr John Collins, who communicated it to the Royal Society (*k*), and having received the commendations of Lord Brounker and Dr Wallis [*D*], it came abroad in 1668 (*l*), with an anſwer to ſuch objections as either had been, or ſuch as he could conceive might be, made againſt it. This anſwer was inſerted in the preface to another piece annexed to the former, intituled, *Geometriæ pars univerſalis inſerviens quantitatum curvarum tranſmutationi & menſuræ.* Wherein he firſt of any one, exhibited a method for *the transformation of Curves* (*m*). Mr Collins read likewiſe an account of this treatiſe to the Royal Society [*E*] before it was publiſhed, and our

the difference between C and D; and after the ſame manner that C and D are formed by an analytical operation from A and B, ſo E and F are formed from C and D, and ſo on continually; by which means the difference continually leſſening, becomes leſs than any given quantity, and if the ſeries be continued in infinitum, quite vaniſhes, and the two terms become equal, either of which is the quantity ſought. He mentions alſo another form of converging ſeries, conſiſting of ſimple terms, to which the foregoing may be reduced. Thus: let A, B, C, D, E, &c. be ſuch a ſeries, and of ſuch a nature, that the third term C is compounded in the ſame manner from A and B, as D is from B and C, and ſo on. And let the difference of the antecedent A and B, be always greater than that of the immediately ſubſequent B and C, &c. This ſeries continually approximates as the former, and therefore if continued in infinit. *the laſt term is the quantity required.* To explain this a little more particularly, he ſhews, for inſtance, that any ſector of the circle, hyperbola, or ellipſe, is the termination of a converging ſeries, whoſe two firſt terms are A and B, whereof A is a triangle which as to the circle or ellipſe is inſcribed but as to the hyperbola is circumſcribed to the ſaid ſector, and B a trapezium, which contrariwiſe as to the circle or ellipſe is circumſcribed, but as to the hyperbola is inſcribed to the ſaid ſector; the two ſecond terms are $\sqrt{AB}$ and $\frac{AB}{A+\sqrt{AB}}$; the two third terms are in like manner derived from the two ſecond, as theſe are from the firſt, and ſo on infinitely. Hence it is evident, that Mr Gregory grounded his method upon that of Archimedes, wherein curves are conſidered as their inſcribed and circumſcribed polygons, whoſe difference decreaſes as their number of ſides is increaſed. The uſe of this remark will be ſeen in the ſequel, where ſomething more ſhall be ſaid concerning the nature of theſe ſeries and their approximations. It is ſufficient in this place to take notice of what the preſent occaſion particularly ſuggeſts, viz. the manifeſt incongruity of our author's expreſſion, in talking of the laſt or final term of an endleſs and infinite ſeries, and declaring the circle to be equal to the laſt inſcribed or circumſcribed polygon in ſuch a ſeries. However, it may be ſaid in his defence, that it is a negligence that ſeems not altogether unpardonable, in a point which no ways affects the truth or legality of his ſeries, wherein he pretends expreſly to nothing beyond an approximation as near as you pleaſe. We ſhall ſee in remark [*G*], that Sir Iſaac Newton, in ſpeaking of our author's method, did not ſcruple to uſe his words. In ſhort, it was a manner of expreſſion, which in his time had obtained a kind of eſtabliſhment by cuſtom, and which ſeems to have crept into the acceptance and even favour of the firſt modern improvers of the ſublime Geometry, by repreſenting them as having in ſome meaſure penetrated into infinity. But we have lately ſeen the bad conſequence of this foible, concerning which conſult the article of [MACLAURIN].

[*D*] *Having the commendations of Lord Brounker and Dr Wallis.*] In their account of it to the Royal Society (12), they obſerve that it was ingeniouſly and mathematically written, that it contained a new method analytical for giving the aggregate of an infinite or indefinite converging ſeries, from which ground a method was taught of ſquaring the circle, ellipſe, and hyperbola, by an infinite ſeries; and laſtly, that by the ſame method, from the hyperbola, the author had calculated both the logarithms of natural numbers, and the numbers from the logarithms; that he found the logarithms of all primitive numbers under 1000 by one multiplication, two diviſions, and one extraction of the ſquare root; but for greater prime numbers much more eaſily. Dr Halley long afterwards ſhewing a method of deducing the logarithms (without the help of the hyperbola) from Sir Iſaac Newton's binomial theorem (13), thought it requiſite to advertiſe the reader (they are his words) that there is a ſmall miſtake in this laſt part of our author's work, at prop. 48, where in giving the computation of Lord Neper's Log. of 10 to 25 places, he errs in the 18th figure, 'As I was aſſured, ſays the Doctor, upon my own examination of the number, for being deſirous to be ſatisfied how this difference aroſe, I took the no ſmall trouble of examining Mr Gregory's work, and at length found, that in the inſcribed polygon of 512 ſides, in the 18th figure, there was a 0 inſtead of a 9, which being rectified, and the ſubſequent work corrected therefrom, the reſult did agree to a unit with our number. And this, concludes he, I propoſe, not to cavil at an eaſy miſtake in managing of ſo vaſt numbers, eſpecially by a hand that has ſo well deſerved of the mathematical ſciences, but to ſhew the exact coincidence of two ſo very different methods of making logarithms, which might otherwiſe have been queſtioned.' The whole tenor of this remark by Dr Halley, ſhews the high eſteem which he had of the latter part of our author's piece now under conſideration, whence no one will doubt of it's real worth; and as to the former part, we are aſſured by Mr Collins (14), that the area of the hyperbola had not been given before by any man; and that gentleman therefore thought it of ſuch importance as to deſerve a particular explanation, which he accordingly gave of it, concluding with a remark of it's uſe in the buſineſs of gauging.

[*E*] *Mr Collins read an account of this treatiſe to the Royal Society.*] Beſides what is mentioned above, this account relates from the preface, that our author, obſerving the defects of algebra to be moſt manifeſt in the menſuration of curved quantities, propoſes in ſome meaſure to ſupply them, by the tranſmutation of curves, that is from ſome eſſential property of one figure, thereby to give a method of changing it into another figure equal thereto that hath known properties, and of that into another, and ſo forward, until at laſt you change it into ſome known quantity. And he modeſtly ſaith, That his own treatiſe hath ſo far purſued this method, that it refuſeth no particular figure yet conſidered by geometers.—That to divide an angle in any given ratio, or ſquare the circle organically, there is no way eaſier than by the common *linea quadratix*, the properties whereof are elegantly handled by *Leotand*, in *Cyclomathia*, Lugd. 1663, 4to.—That all things concerning logarithms, and the compoſition of ratio's, may be performed by help of a curve line, drawn through the tops of a rank of lines in continual proportion, ſtanding as perpendiculars, on a right line and at equal diſtances *, which, ſays he, ought not to be accounted *ageometrical*, becauſe not performed by the ſole aid of ruler and compaſs; as he ſuggeſts to be well obſerved by *Car. Renaldini*, in *Geometria ſua nova, dum tractat de novis illis lineis quæ Medicæas appellat:* and for the confirmation

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(*i*) Viz. 150. Phil. Tranſ. No. 33. and the article GREGORY [JAMES] in the General Dictionary, Rem. [*B*].

(*k*) From this copy it was deſigned to be reprinted here, and the impreſſion was begun; but ſoon after our author ſignifying in a letter to Mr Collins that it was reprinting at Venice, cauſed the deſign to be dropt. Phil. Tranſ. No. 35.

(*l*) The impreſſion contained 500 copies, printed (not at Venice as he had before ſignified, but) at Padua, with the privilege of the States of Venice. See the title page of the book, and Gen. Dict. ubi ſupra.

(*m*) In the xith Prop. of the book. Cardinal Cuſa, in the XVth century, publiſhed a treatiſe with this title, *De tranſmutationibus geometricis*, where he frequently ſpeaks *de transformatione curvarum*, but proceeds no farther than from the conſideration of polygons, to give ſome right-lined figures nearly equal to the circle. Inter Opera ejus, p. 951, & ſeq. Baſil, 1565, fol.

(12) Phil. Tranſ. No. 33. dated March 16, 1668.

(13) Ibid. No. 216.

(14) In the ſame paper with the account of Brounker and Wallis juſt cited.

* That is, by the logarithmic curve.

our author, probably at his motion, being about the ſame time choſen a member of that body (n), communicated ſoon after, an account of the diſpute that had then lately happened between Riccioli, ſupported by Manfredi, and Stephano de Angelis, about the motion of the earth [*F*]. Informing the Society, that notwithſtanding the great name and aſtronomical merit of Riccioli, yet his arguments againſt that motion were as little eſteemed in Italy as elſewhere. In the mean time a copy of the *vera circuli-quadratura* having fallen into the hands of Mr Huygens, that (o) gentleman, who had wrote upon this

confirmation of this, our author demonſtrates, that no cubic equation that is irreducible to a quadratic, can be reſolved by the ſole aid of ruler and compaſs, or the interſection of a circle and a right line.—From the preface this account proceeds to the argument of the book itſelf, obſerving that it contains theſe ſeveral heads, (1.) The menſuration of ſundry ſolids, with general methods to that purpoſe, concerning which the author ſaith, p. 123, *Totus namque Archimedis tractatus de ſphera & cylindro facile demonſtratur ex hujus* 3, *ad modum hujus* 46, *& aliquot ſequentium; liber de conoidibus & ſphæroidibus, & tota Lucæ Valerii doctrina ex hujus* 21. *Tota Guldini, Johan. de la Faille & Andr. Tacquetti doctrina ex hujus* 35, *& aliquot ſequentium.* And as a corollary to prop. 62, he cubeth or meaſures either of the ſegments of a parabolic conoid cut with a plain parallel to the axis, which may be applied to the gauging of a caſk part out (15). (2.) The menſuration or plaining of the ſurfaces of divers ſolids and ſpiral ſpaces, unknown to antiquity, and not treated of by any modern authors till of very late years, from whom the author differs in his method; particularly he finds a circle equal to the ſurface of a parabolical or hyperbolical conoid [ſpindle], reſembling a cup or bowl when the revolution is about either axis, prop 46, 49, and to that of a parabolical hour-glaſs, or ſolid, when the revolution is about a touch-line paſſing through the vertex, p. 52. To that of a long and broad [oblong and oblate] ſpheroid, p. 47, 48, and in prop. 67, he finds the ſurface of any ſegment of a cone. Laſtly, he ſhews in general, prop. 36, the ſurface of every round ſolid to be equal to a rectangle whoſe baſe is the circumference of the figure, by the rotation whereof the ſolid is begot; and the height to be equal to the circumference which the center of gravity of the perimeter of the figure deſcribes. (3.) He gives a method for ſtraitning of curved lines in the firſt ſix propoſitions, and in particular he finds a right line equal to a parabolic curve, p. 51. (4.) There are divers optic propoſitions towards the end of the book, concerning the imperfection of the eye and the confuſion of the ſight; the apparent magnitude of the ſun low and high; the tails of comets; what proportion the earth's illumination, by the moon at the full, bears to it's illumination by the ſun; and a like compariſon between the ſun and ſirius; that viſion by aid of a teleſcope or microſcope is not deceitful; and an obſervation of the likeneſs between the earth and the moon (16).

In the propoſition concerning the tails of comets, Mr Gregory maintains a comet to be a kind of humid body, emitting it's proper vapours, always wandering about the æther, and retaining almoſt the ſame ſituation in reſpect to the ſun; which is alſo the opinion of Hevelius (17), who thinks the tail produced much after the ſame manner, namely, that the thinneſt parts of the atmoſphere of a comet are rarefied by the force of the heat, and from the fore part and each ſide of the comet are driven towards the parts turned from the ſun. And then, according to our author's opinion, the half of the comet which is turned from the ſun, and never warmed or inlightened by it, has very groſs and very opaque vapours, which being continually ſupplied or fed with the vapour-like matter of the comet, and no way diſſolved, by reaſon of the weak and oblique light of the ſun, grow to an immenſe height, and every way reflect the ſun's rays, which are not ſtrong enough to expel the exhalations. This opinion of Mr Gregory agrees ſo far with that of Sir Iſaac Newton, that he believed the tail of a comet to be nothing elſe but a very thin vapour, which the heat or nucleus of the comet ſends out by reaſon of it's heat.

In the next propoſition concerning the diſtance of the fixed ſtars, Mr Gregory having rightly obſerved, That this diſtance could not be determined by obſervations made in different places of the earth's orbit, ſince the diameter of this orbit could not be found to bear any ſenſible proportion to that diſtance, he propoſes to meaſure it by an optical method, wherein he firſt ſhews how to find the ratio which the earth's illumination by the ſun bears to it's illumination by the moon or any of the planets, and likewiſe to it's illumination by any fixed ſtar of the firſt magnitude. Then chuſes a fixed ſtar of nearly the ſame brightneſs with ſome planet, when it is at the full, in which caſe the earth is equally illuminated by theſe two ſtars. Whence the mutual diſtances of the ſun, earth, and planet, at the time of the abovementioned obſervation, together with their magnitudes being known, the ratio of the illumination of the earth by the ſun and by the fixed ſtar becomes known. But the illumination of the earth by the ſun, to the illumination of the ſame by a fixed ſtar equal to the ſun and equally lucid, is well known, by the manner in which light is diffuſed, to be in the duplicate ratio of the fixed ſtar from the earth to the diſtance of the ſun from the ſame: wherefore the ratio between the diſtances of the fixed ſtar and the ſun from the earth is known, and conſequently the diſtance itſelf of a fixed ſtar from the earth is known. By this rule Mr Gregory propoſes, for inſtance, to find the diſtance of the fixed ſtar Sirius. But the ſuppoſition of the ſun's diſtance being known, and that likewiſe of it's being equal in magnitude to Sirius, upon which poſtulata the rule is founded, are both ſo uncertain, that this method was never in any eſteem by the learned in Aſtronomy, notwithſtanding it was, after our author, further improved in ſome meaſure by the celebrated Mr Huygens, in his *Coſmotheoros*.

[*F*] *An account of the diſpute—about the motion of the earth.*] This account was taken from the books printed on each ſide, and is in ſum as follows: Riccioli, in his *Almageſtum Novum*, pretended to have found out ſeveral new demonſtrative arguments againſt the motion of the earth; but theſe being all grounded upon ſome of the phænomena of gravity in falling bodies not rightly underſtood, were fully anſwered by his antagoniſt. To go over the particulars in a matter ſo well known at this time of day, might juſtly be thought tedious; we ſhall therefore only obſerve, that a great part of the debate was about the nature of the line deſcribed by a falling body [viz. from the tower of Bononia], a point not well underſtood by any of the diſputants. Mr Hooke, many years afterwards, endeavoured to ſhew (18) ſuch a line would not be a ſpiral, but an eccentrical elliptoid in caſe of no reſiſtance, and ſuppoſing reſiſtance an eccentric ellipti-ſpiral, which, after many revolutions, would reſt in the center at laſt. He likewiſe obſerved, that the fall of the body would not be directly eaſt (as was then generally thought) but to the ſouth-eaſt, and more to the ſouth than the eaſt. Upon this laſt particular it may not be amiſs to take notice of an experiment mentioned by Stephano de Angelis, in his Reply to Manfredi, which, he tells us, (as related to him by a Swede) had been made with all due circumſpection by Des Cartes, to prove the motion of the earth. The experiment was: he cauſed to be erected a cannon perpendicular to the horizon, which being 24 times diſcharged in that poſture, the ball fell 22 times towards the weſt, and only twice towards the eaſt.—It is intimated that Ricciolus called his arguments, againſt the earth's motion from the effects of gravity, *new* ones. In that appellation he alludes to another and a much better argument, which he had brought before, being grounded upon the obſervation that the fixed ſtars had no [ſenſible] parallax (19). This was thought ſo formidable an objection, that to ſatisfy it was one motive of Mr Flamſtead's undertaking to find whether theſe ſtars had any parallax or no. But the reader will ſee more of this matter elſewhere (20).

[*G*] *A*

(n) In the title to the account of the diſpute between Manfredi and Stephano de Angelis, he is ſtiled F. R. S.

(o) See his *Theoremata de Quadratura Hyperboles Ellipſis & Circuli, &c.* Leyden 1651. Alſo *De Circuli magnitudine inventa, &c.* Ibid. 1654, 4to.

(15) Which is called in practice the ullage of a caſk.

(16) Phil. Tranſ. No. 35. dated May 18, 1668. The titles of his ſeveral heads are, (1.) *De ſideram ſcintillatione & magnitudine apparente.* (2.) *Quod ſol ſit realiter & formaliter calidus.* (3.) *De ſolis humilis & ſublimis magnitudine apparente.* (4.) *De viſibilium pictura ſub tecto obſcuro.* (5.) *De cometarum caudis.* (6.) *De ſtellarum fixarum diſtantia.* (7.) *Quod viſio ope teleſcopii vel microſcopii non ſit fallax.* (8.) *Quod omne diviſibile ſit in infinitum diviſibile.* (9.) *De obſervatione ſimilitudinis inter terram & lunam.*

(17) See his Cometograph. p. 430.

(18) In a diſcourſe read to the Royal Society in December 1679. Life of Dr Hooke, p. 22, by R. Waller.

(19) Gregory's Aſtron. lib. iii. prop. 55. ſchol.

(20) In the article MOLYNEUX [SAMUEL].

this ſubject, though in a different way, with diſtinguiſhed perſpicuity, obſerving the perplexed and intricate nature of our author's invention, took notice of ſome imperfections in his book, whereby the legitimacy of his method in ſome things was called in queſtion, and the whole cenſured as uſeleſs and unfit for practice. This occaſioned a diſpute wherein Mr Gregory, thinking his reputation injured, did not ſpare warmly to reſent it, and at the ſame time explained and ſupplied what had been objected to as obſcure or deficient in his work *(p)* [G]. I do not find that his doctrine of the tranſmutation of curves

[G] *A diſpute aroſe about his quadrature of the circle, with Mr Huygens*] In this diſpute Mr Huygens conveying both his animadverſions, which were written in Latin, by the canal of the Journal des Sçavans (21), our author made uſe of the Philoſophical Tranſactions (22) to carry his two defences drawn up in the ſame language. In the firſt of theſe he acknowledges the juſtice of his antagoniſt's remark, in aſſerting the example in his 10th propoſition to be no converging ſeries; excuſing himſelf by alledging, that he had tried it only in the firſt and ſecond terms, without conſidering that the third coincided with the firſt; and having explained and defended the other things objected to, he concludes in theſe terms, *Gratias ago nobiliſſimo Hugenio quod meas examinare dignatus eſt hinc enim mihi data eſt occaſio illas* fuſius *explicandi & confirmandi Hugeniana methodus quadrandi circulum ſitne præſtantior mea, experientiæ relinquo judicandum: quod enim noſtra hyperbolæ quadrandi illi etiam innotuerat, de hoc nihil habeo quod dicam, niſi quod mihi gratuler inventa mea ipſo Hugenio non æſtimari indigna*. This was civil, and he ſeems to have entertained hopes of putting an end thereby to the controverſy. But Mr Huygens printing a Vindication of his Examen, occaſioned our author to ſend a Reply, wherein he further explains ſome things; and having complained of the ſeverity of Mr Huygens as unreaſonable, he concludes thus, *Ad reliqua ab Hugenio publicata cum a noſtro inſtituto ſint aliena nihil dico, niſi quod ipſa Hugenii dicta, non obſtante exactiſſima ſua, ut ait, materiæ hujus examinatione, a meæ appendiculæ* (23) *factis, ni fallor, longe ſuperentur*. Mr Oldenburg, then publiſher of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, introduced this Reply of our author with the following preamble. 'The firſt occaſion of the letters on this ſubject was given in the Journal des Sçavans of July the 2d, to which a civil return was made in No. 37 of theſe tracts, which have been judiciouſly animadverted on in another Journal des Sçavans of November 12, 1668. It was thought agreeable here to make public what Mr Gregory hath ſince imparted therein, out of a deſire expreſſed by him farther to elucidate that controverſy; which how ſatisfactory it is we leave the intelligent to judge, profeſſing that we are no farther concerned in this conteſt, than to let the ſagacious reader know the proceedings thereof, by referring him on one ſide to the French Journals, and to theſe papers on the other: which as it is intended to be done without any animoſity or offence, ſo we deſire the candid reader will pardon us for directing him thus much by this diſpute, from what elſe he might juſtly expect in theſe philoſophical occurrences.' A repreſentation ſo much in favour of his antagoniſt as is here given, did not fail to kindle Mr Gregory's reſentment, who having alſo been diſturbed farther on this head by Mr Oldenburg and others, unburthened himſelf to his friend Mr Collins, in a letter dated Jan. 6, 1670, where he writes thus: 'In April laſt I had an anſwer to Mr Oldenburg's queries from Mr Bruce, but being accidentally at Edinburgh at that time, and ſeeing the Philoſophical Tranſactions [No. 44.] of February laſt, I was altogether diſcouraged, by the lines prefixed to my anſwer to Mr Huygens, from entertaining any ſuch correſpondence. I have ſince received an anſwer to the ſame queries from one Mr Gordon, but am not ſo much a Chriſtian as to help thoſe who hurt me. I don't know, neither do I deſire to know, who calleth in that preface Huygenius's animadverſions of November the 12th, 1668, *judicious*; but I would earneſtly deſire that he would particularize (if he ben't an ignorant) in what my anſwer which is contradictory to Huygenius's animadverſions is faulty: for in geometrical matters, if any thing be judicious, it's contradictory muſt be nonſenſe. I don't know what need there was of any apology for inſerting my anſwer, but to compliment Huygenius, and violently, if it be poſſible, to bear down the truth. I imagine ſuch actions below the meaneſt member of the Royal Society: *however, I may have permiſſion to call to an account in print the penners of that preface.* I hope you will excuſe my freedom in this particular, which concerneth me ſo near.—I intreat you to advertiſe me upon what account my books are ſuppreſſed in Italy.' I don't find that Mr Gregory ever put this threat into execution; it is not impoſſible that the warmth of his zeal for his own ſeries might be much abated, by the letters he received at this time from Mr Collins (24), with an account and ſome ſpecimens alſo of thoſe of Sir Iſaac Newton, who therein it was ſeen had actually effected that which our author was with irreconcileable ſtiffneſs contending againſt Mr Huygens to be utterly impoſſible, that is, the ratio of the diameter of a circle to the circumference expreſſed in a ſeries of ſimple terms independent of each other, and intirely freed from the magic vinculum of ſurds, in which they had till then been indiſſolubly held (25). Upon the whole, it muſt not be diſſembled that Mr Gregory had not the better in this controverſy; his method indeed was true, but ſo involved and tedious, as not to be eaſily underſtood, and abſolutely irreducible to ordinary practice. Mr Leibnitz, who was far from being an enemy to his fame, having paſſed a handſome compliment to his memory in 1676, the year after his death, obſerves that the treatiſe now under conſideration was very deficient. *Vellem, inquit ille, Gregoriana omnia conſervari, fuit enim his certe ſtudiis premovendis aptiſſimus, cæterum ejus demonſtrationi editæ de impoſſibilitate quadraturæ abſolutæ circuli multa haud dubie deſunt* (26). Sir Iſaac Newton alſo, in his celebrated letter of the ſame year, hints the tediouſneſs of this method in reſpect of the calculus. His words are, *Quinetiam beneficio ejuſdem methodi* [*mei*] *poſſunt ſeries ad omnes figuras efformari Gregorianis ad circulum & hyperbolam editis affines, hoc eſt quarum ultimus terminus exhibebit quæſitam aream. Sed calculum hic* oneroſiorem *nolim lubens ſubire* (27). The truth is, complication, tediouſneſs, and intricacy, were faults complained of in all his ſeries. Dr Halley having aſſerted his juſt merit as the firſt inventor of a certain remarkable demonſtration obſerves, however, that it was performed not without a long train of conſequences and complications of proportions, whereby the evidence of the demonſtration is in a great meaſure loſt, and the reader wearied before he attains it (28). 'Tis true, he made ſeveral improvements in his method during this controverſy with Mr Huygens. In his firſt eſſay, the approximations, as is ſeen in remark [C], were made by a ſeries of right-lined to the quadrature of curve line planes: he now proceeded to the invention of ſome linear ones, for the rectification of curve lines, among which the following ſpecimen, extracted from his Second Anſwer to his antagoniſt, was ſent, as a proof how far he had then advanced his method, to Mr Leibnitz by Mr Collins, who takes notice that Mercator's Logarithmo-technia had been publiſhed before *. Put r for the radius of a circle, d for half the ſide of the inſcribed ſquare, and e for the difference between them. Then the ſemiperiphery will be equal to

$$\frac{4rr}{2d - \frac{e}{3} - \frac{e^2}{90d} - \frac{e^3}{756d^2} - \frac{23e^4}{113400d^3} - \frac{260e^5}{7484400d^4}}$$

&c. in infinit. Notwithſtanding the advantage hinted as above by Mr Collins, the intelligent reader, upon ſight hereof, will perceive that our author's ſeries, as he declares himſelf, ſtill deſerved the name of ſurds, that is, quantities held within a vinculum, from which he

(p) Our author's book, together with the papers on both ſides in this controverſy, were printed *inter Huygenii Opera varia*. Leyden 1724, 4to.

(21) For July and November 1668.

(22) No. 37 and 44, for July 1668, and Feb. 1669, reckoning the year to commence on the 1ſt of January, as is done by Mr Gregory below, in citing this laſt number.

(23) He means his tract, entitled *Appendicula ad veram circuli & hyperbolæ quadraturam*, in his *Exercitationes Geometricæ*, which were then printed, this letter being dated December 15, 1668.

(24) Commer. Epiſt. J. Collins, &c. No. XIV. to XX. incluſive.

(25) The chief part of this diſpute turned upon ſeveral miſtakes aſſerted by Huygens to be made by our author in his Demonſtration (as he called it) of the abſolute impoſſibility of the analytical quadrature of the circle; but at the ſame time his expreſſions ſhew that he thought it could not be reduced to an equation by infinite ſeries without ſurds. See more in the article Dr **WALLIS**.

(26) Commer. Epiſt. No. LIII.

(27) Ibid. No. LIX.

(28) The Analogy of the Meridian Line to a Scale of Logarithmic Tangents, &c.

* Com. Epiſt. No XXXVI. In the Treatiſe here mentioned was inſerted Lord Brounker's ſeries and a demonſtration of it.

curves met with any antagoniſt in his life-time; yet after his death, his right to this invention was twice invidiouſly attacked, but as often defended by Dr David Gregory, who has put the juſtice of his claim beyond all diſpute [*H*]. In this treatiſe he gave a general rule for the direct and inverſe method of Tangents, which ſtands upon the ſame principles with that of Fluxions, and differs not much from it in the manner of application (*q*) [*I*]. In April, this year, Lord Brounker having produced his *Series for ſquaring the hyperbola* (*r*), a demonſtration of it was ſoon after given by Mr Mercator in the *Logarithmo-technia*, whereupon our author, before the end of the year, publiſhing his *Exercitationes Geometricæ* [*K*], did therein improve and enlarge Mercator's diſcovery, and gave a geometrical demonſtration of it by means of ſumming up the ſecants of a circular arch. In this piece he likewiſe firſt of any one demonſtrated the meridian line to be analogous to a ſcale of logarithmick Tangents of the half complements of latitude [*L*], and

was not then able to extricate them. Inſomuch that there was no advancing a ſingle ſtep forward in the approximation without recurring back to the firſt term, and taking in the whole ſeries from the beginning. This, together with their ſlow convergency, chiefly occaſioned that tediouſneſs which we have ſeen objected to them, and which rendered them unfit for practice.

[*H*] *Dr David Gregory put the juſtice of his claim beyond all diſpute.*] In the Memoirs of the Royal Academy at Paris for the year 1693, the Abbot Gallois aſſerted, That Mr James Gregory (as well as Dr Barrow) ſtole this propoſition from Monſ. Roberval (29). Dr David Gregory thought this aſſertion ſufficiently refuted by obſerving, That his uncle had publiſhed his book at Padua in the year 1668, (and Dr Barrow his geometrical lectures in 1674) which though Mr Roberval muſt needs get a ſight of before he died in 1675, yet he never complained of any injury done him. This anſwer was publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 214. Ten years afterwards, the ſame calumny was revived by the abbot, in the ſaid Memoirs for the year 1703, wherein he maintained that the transformation of curves was invented by Roberval, and was known in Italy before the year 1668: for that Torricelli, who died in 1647, had teſtified in his letters, that it was communicated to Roberval; and, therefore, as it is intirely the ſame with his, it is very probable, ſays he, that Mr Gregory, when upon his travels in Italy, might learn it from the Italians; that, for the reſt, Mr Roberval lived a retired life, and loved his eaſe, and conſequently might either not know, or, if he did know it, not be diſpoſed to give himſelf the trouble of engaging in a controverſy. To this Dr Gregory replied (30), That there was no literary proof that Torricelli communicated this invention to the Italians; that it was not at all likely, that the letter pretended to be wrote by him to Roberval 60 years before, ſhould lie hid in Mr Roberval's treaſures all that time; that Mr Roberval was ſo far from living retiredly, and being unactive, that it was well known he conſtantly attended the aſſemblies of the Paris Academicians at the time when Mr Gregory's book was publiſhed, and was a very active member in thoſe meetings; conſequently it was not likely either that he ſhould have heard nothing of Mr Gregory's inventions, which were then celebrated in France, and particularly known to Mr Huygens, another member of the Royal Academy, who was this very year eagerly diſputing againſt (31) him; and if he did know it, his buſy temper would not have ſuffered him to conceal the injury. Upon the whole, from theſe circumſtances, added to the identity of the method aſcribed to Roberval, with that of Mr Gregory, this defender lets the world ſee where the charge of plagiariſm ought fairly to be laid. And it is obſervable, that this invention, and it's uſe for reducing the conic ſections to infinite ſeries by diviſion, ſeems evidently to be firſt hinted to Mr Leibnitz by a ſight of our author's performances (32); and the method being communicated to Sir Iſaac Newton, he declared that it was new to him, and more than he expected, after three ways of attaining his ſeries, which he had himſelf diſcovered *.

[*I*] *Stands upon the ſame principles with that of fluxions*, &c.] We do not mean that Mr Gregory conſidered geometrical lines as generated by continual motion, after the manner of fluxions, nor that he deduced his ſeries as Sir Iſaac did, from the extraction of roots, for it is certain he did not; on the contrary, his method is founded on the continual biſection of an arc, and his equations here are reduced into infinite ſeries, by the transformation of curves, but both methods are built, as to their demonſtrative force, upon the ſame principle with that of exhauſtions (33). And in the application it is evident, that Sir Iſaac in his analyſis, while he is inveſtigating any truth, makes uſe of the ſuppoſition of an infinitely little quantity, as is done by Mr Gregory (and the ſame liberty is likewiſe aſſumed by Dr Barrow); but Mr Gregory, in expreſſing this infinitely little quantity by the letter *o*, (34) came nearer than Dr Barrow did (who repreſented it by the letters *a* or *e*) to the way of notation in the method of fluxions, where the ſame letter *o* in the buſineſs of inveſtigation is uſed in the ſame ſenſe, and in the application too of this letter there is little difference between the two methods; for if inſtead of Mr Gregory's *a*, we put Sir Iſaac's *x*, we ſhall fall into the forms of the method of fluxions: and indeed as far as Mr Gregory's (and alſo of his rival Dr Barrow's) rule extends, his inverſe method of tangents is the ſame thing with Sir Iſaac's. The great difference lies in the different extent of the two methods in their application: for neither did Mr Gregory nor Dr Barrow ever know how to extend their methods beyond the bounds of firſt fluxions, nor were they able to apply it to ſuch algebraical expreſſions as were involved either in ſurds or fractions; whereas Sir Iſaac was far from being ſtopt within theſe limits.

[*K*] *Exercitationes Geometricæ.*] This book contains the following articles: (1.) *Appendicula ad veram circuli & hyperbolæ quadraturam.* (2.) *N. Mercatoris quadratura hyperbolæ geometrice demonſtrata.* (3.) *Analogia inter lineam meridianam planiſphærii nautici & tangentes artificiales geometrice demonſtrata, ſeu quod ſecantium naturalium additio efficiat tangentes artificiales.* (4.) *Item quod tangentium naturalium additio efficiat ſecantes artificiales.* (5.) *Quadratura conchoidis.* (6.) *Quadratura ciſſoidis.* (7.) *Methodus facilis & accurata componendi tangentes & ſecantes artificiales.*

[*L*] *Demonſtrated the analogy of the meridian line to a logarithmic ſcale*, &c.] Dr Halley obſerves (35), That 'the meridian line conſiſting of the ſum of the ſecants of latitude, though called Mercator's, was undoubtedly Wright's invention, as he has made it appear in his preface to his Diſcovery of certain errors in Navigation, &c. that it was diſcovered by chance, and appears to be firſt publiſhed by Henry Bond, as an addition to Norwood's Epitome of Navigation, about 100 years ſince; that *the meridian line was analagous to a ſcale of logarithmic tangents of the half compliments of the latitude*; that the difficulty of proving the truth of that propoſition ſeemed ſuch to Mercator, that he propoſed to wager a good ſum of money againſt whoſo ſhould fairly undertake it, that he ſhould not demonſtrate either that it was true or falſe; and that Mr Collins holding a correſpondence with the moſt eminent mathematicians of the age, did excite them to this enquiry: whereupon the firſt that demonſtrated it was the excellent Mr James Gregory, in his Exercitationes Geometricæ.' The Doctor likewiſe in another place (36), having by a method of his own found this ſeries,

$$\frac{2x}{z} + \frac{2x^3}{3z^3} + \frac{2x^5}{5z^5},$$

&c. and recommended it as converging very faſt, and therefore very proper for the practice of making the logarithms, obſerves that it was invented and demonſtrated in the hyperbolic ſpaces, analogons to the logarithms, by the excellent Mr James Gregory, in his Exercitationes Geometricæ.

[*M*] *Profeſſor*

(*q*) *Ab iiſdem innixa principiis* (Fluxionum methodo non multum abludebat, &c) are Dr John Keil's words. Com. Epiſtol. No. LXXXI.

(*r*) In Phil. Tranſ. No. 36.

(29) A very eminent mathematician, and one of the ſeven who conſtituted the firſt meeting of the Paris Academy, in June 1666. Du Hamel's *Regiæ Scientiarum Academiæ Hiſtoria*, &c. lib. 1. Long after his death a method for the transformation of curves exactly the ſame with Mr Gregory's was publiſhed under his name, in the Memoirs of that academy for 1692.

(30) In Phil. Tranſ. No. 308.

(31) See the preceding remark.

(32) Commer. Epiſt. No. LI.

* Ibid. No. LV.

(33) Viz. That thoſe quantities are to be deemed equal, which differ leſs than by any quantity that can be aſſigned.

(34) Probably borrowed from Mr Fermat, who had uſed it before. See his treatiſe De Max. im. & Minim. printed in a collection of Mathematical pieces at Paris, 1693. fol.

(35) Analogy of the Meridian Line, &c. printed in *Miſcellanea Curioſa*, Vol. II. London 1727. 2d edit. in 3 Vols 8vo.

(36) Phil. Tranſ. No. 216.

and he extended his method of infinite ſeries to the menſuration of ſome mechanical curves, as the Conchoid and Ciſſoid of the Ancients. In 1670 he was appointed Profeſſor of Mathematicks in the Univerſity of St Andrews in Scotland [*M*]. It was then a cuſtom, in that country, for people of all ranks to apply to theſe Profeſſors for the reſolution of any difficulties they met with in the Sciences; ſo that the buſineſs which this occaſioned, beſides the reading of public lectures twice a week, left our author but little time after this promotion, to purſue ſuch hints as were contained in his papers, towards further improvements. Yet that little time was not loſt, for Dr Barrow's Geometrical Lectures being publiſhed this year, Mr Gregory, on peruſing it, found out a general method of drawing Tangents to Curves geometrically, without any previous calculation, and drew it up in twelve propoſitions (*s*). The ſame year alſo having received ſeveral of Sir Iſaac Newton's Series from Mr Collins, he repaid the favour with ſeveral of the like kind diſcovered by himſelf (*t*). One of theſe being ſent among others, ſeveral years afterwards, to Mr Leibnitz, that eminent genius was ſo greatly pleaſed with it's elegancy, that he put it into an arithmetical dreſs, and then adopted it as an invention of his own [*N*]. But Mr Gregory was ſo fully convinced of the ſuperior excellency of Sir Iſaac Newton's method, by the ſpecimens he had received from Mr Collins, that in a great meaſure he dropt the purſuit, and never could be prevailed with afterwards to publiſh any thing in the way of infinite ſeries [O]. In 1672, he was involved

(*s*) Com. Epiſt. No. XVI.

(*t*) Ib. No. XX.

[*M*] *Profeſſor at St Andrews in* 1670.] This is collected from the following extract of a letter he wrote to Mr Collins, May 17, 1671, wherein he expreſſes himſelf thus: 'I am now much taken up, and have 'been ſo all this winter paſt, both with my public lec'tures, which I have twice a week, and in reſolving 'doubts, which ſome gentlemen and ſcholars propoſe 'to me. This I muſt comply with, nevertheleſs that 'I am often troubled with great impertinencies, all 'perſons here being ignorant of theſe things to admi'ration; ſo that I have but little time to ſpare in 'thoſe ſtudies my genius leads me to (37).'

(37) General Dictionary, ubi ſupra.

[*N*] *Mr Leibnitz gave it out for his own invention.*] Mr Gregory's is a general ſeries, exhibiting the length of the arc of a circle from the given tangent. Thus $a = t - \frac{t^3}{3r^2} + \frac{t^5}{5r^4} - \frac{t^7}{7r^6} + \frac{t^9}{9r^8}$, &c. where a = the arc, r the radius, and t the tangent. This Mr Leibnitz applies to one particular caſe, where a being put for an arc of 45°, the tangent becomes equal to the radius, or $t = r$, whence ſuppoſing (as uſual) $r = i$, Mr Gregory's general form goes into this, $a = 1 - \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{5} - \frac{1}{7} + \frac{1}{9}$, &c. and ſince 4 times the arc of 45° = the ſemicircumference, the area of the circle (= to the ſemicircumference x into the radius) will be equal to this laſt found ſeries taken four times. Now as the ſquare of the diameter (putting unity for the radices as here) is = 4, if both terms be divided by 4, their proportion will be as unity is to the laſt-found ſeries. *Unde*, to uſe Mr Leibnitz's own words, *poſito quadrato circumſcripto* 1, *erit circulus* $\frac{1}{1} - \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{5} - \frac{1}{7} + \frac{1}{9}$, &c. *quæ expreſſio haud dubie omnium poſſibilium ſimpliciſſima eſt, maximeque afficiens mentem* (38). It is true this was an eaſy ſtep to take from the ground of Mr Gregory's theorem, yet it muſt be allowed that Mr Leibnitz was the firſt that took it; and it is obſervable, that almoſt all the improvements that were made in the analyſis by infinite ſeries before Sir Iſaac Newton, grew by ſuch ſmall advances as this of Mr Leibnitz, where in viewing any particular invention, if we conſider what had been already done for the inventor's uſe, one is not ſo much ſurprized that it was made at the time, as that it was not made before. Nor would Mr Leibnitz have loſt the merit of this little improvement, had he not induſtriouſly concealed his prior knowledge of the improvement of his precurſor Mr Gregory, which was much greater; but this he diſſembled till the year 1716, when not long before his death he made a confeſſion of it to the counteſs of Kilmanſegg *. After all the rapturous extaſy into which Mr Leibnitz was tranſported at the firſt ſight of this ſeries, ſo beautiful in it's ſimplicity, yet Sir Iſaac Newton, whoſe ſuperior good ſenſe was never deluded by the mere ſhew of an outſide form, where there was very little or no real uſe, treats this ſame elegant ſeries, by reaſon of the ſlowneſs of it's convergency, with ſome degree even of contempt (39). Having ſhewn that it is no more than one particular inſtance of a general theorem found by him before Mr Gregory's invention of it, he proceeds to give other ſeries as examples of the ſame theorem, which, ſays he, perhaps you will not diſlike, becauſe they are not inferior to your's in the point of ſimplicity, and at the ſame time converge quicker, as $1 + \frac{1}{3} - \frac{1}{5} - \frac{1}{7} + \frac{1}{9} + \frac{1}{11} - \frac{1}{13} - \frac{1}{15}$, &c. *Sed ego, inquit, rem aliter æſtimo. Illud enim melius quod utilius eſt, & problema minore labore ſolvit. Sic quamvis hæc æquatio* $x^3 - x = 1$ *appareat ſimplicior hacce* $44 - 24\sqrt{\frac{21}{25}} - \sqrt{20} = \sqrt{20}$; *tamen in confeſſo eſt poſteriorem revera ſimpliciorem eſſe, propterea quod radicem ejus y geometra facilius eruit, & ob hanc rationem ſeries pro obtinendis arcubus circuli, vel (quod eodem recidit) pro obtinendis ſectoribus conicarum ſectionum, pro optimis habeo, quæ componuntur ex poteſtatibus ſinuum. Nam ſi quis vellet per ſimplex computam* (40) *hujus ſeriei* $1 + \frac{1}{3} - \frac{1}{5} - \frac{1}{7} + \frac{1}{9}$, *&c. colligeri longitudinem quadrantis ad viginti figurarum loca decimalia, opus eſſet* 5,000,000,000 *terminis ſeriei circiter, ad quorum calculum milleni anni requirerentur & res tardius obtineretur per tangentem* 45 *graduum* (41), *ſed adhibito ſinu recto* 45 *graduum quinquaginta quinque vel ſexaginta termini hujus ſeriei* $\sqrt{\frac{1}{2}} \times 1 + \frac{1}{12} + \frac{3}{160} + \frac{5}{896}$, *&c. ſufficerent, quorum computatio tribus, ut opinor, vel quatuor diebus abſolvi poſſet*. Upon the whole, ſo particular a regard for our author's performances, as is conſtantly ſhewn by Mr Leibnitz, is apt to ſuggeſt an apprehenſion that there was ſome particular cauſe for it. This is certain, that Mr Gregory, as we have already obſerved, in his firſt method ſuppoſes the chord of a curve to be biſected to infinity, ſo that after an infinite biſection the inſcribed polygon might be ſaid to coincide with it. And it is no injury I conceive to Mr Leibnitz, to ſuppoſe him particulary inclined to this method (which indeed is raiſed out of that of Archimedes) and fond of every notable production from it at this time, ſince he afterwards grounded his own differential method upon the ſame *poſtulatum*, viz. that the infinitely ſmall elements are right lines, or that a curve is a polygon of an infinite number of ſides.

(38) Commerc. Epiſt. No. LII.

* Recenſio libri qui inſcriptus eſt Commerc. Epiſt. p. 15. edit. 1722.

(39) Commerc. Epiſt. No. LX.

(40) That is, without any compendia made uſe of to ſhorten the work.

(41) Sir Iſaac reduces it to a ſeries which converges very ſwiftly, by ſome improvements of his own.

[O] *Could not be perſuaded to publiſh any thing in the way of infinite ſeries.*] In a letter to Mr Collins, Feb. 15, 167$\frac{0}{1}$ (42), our author writes thus: 'As to Mr 'Newton's general method, I am in ſome meaſure poſ'ſeſſed of it, I think, as well with regard to mechani'cal as geometrical curves; however, I thank you for 'the ſeriſes you ſent, pleaſe to accept theſe in return.' He then proceeds to give ſeveral ſeries for the circle, ellipſe,

(42) Com. Epiſt. No. XX.

volved in the univerſal aſtoniſhment that ſtruck the learned world upon the firſt news of Sir Iſaac Newton's diſcoveries in the nature of light; and though he was very ſenſible of the change made thereby in every branch of Optics, yet he readily yielded to the experimental

ellipſe, and hyperbola, and concludes thus: ‘Your kindneſs in moving me to publiſh my things is very obliging, as is alſo the promiſe of your aſſiſtance on that occaſion. But I ſhould be loth give ſo much trouble, neither have I any thoughts of publiſhing any thing, except my quadrature of the circle reviſed, with ſome trifling additions.’ Again, to the ſame purpoſe, Mr Collins, in a letter to Mr Strode, dated July 26, 1672 (43), having informed *that* gentleman that both Mr Newton and Mr Gregory had a deſign to publiſh ſome improvements in the method of infinite ſeries, ſays that Mr Gregory did not anticipate Mr Newton, the firſt inventor; and the ſame thing is repeated by Mr Collins, in another letter to Mr Oldenburg, dated April 15, 1675 (44), to be communicated to Mr Leibnitz. The ſame friend, in a letter alſo to Mr Oldenburg, dated June 14, 1676, after our author's deceaſe (45), intimates that the reaſon of his backwardneſs in this matter was his opinion of the ſuperior excellency of Sir Iſaac Newton's method in theſe terms: *Hujus* [*Newtoni*] *methodi ea eſt præſtantia ut cum tam late pateat, ad nullam hæreat difficultatem. Gregorium autem alioſque in ea fuiſſe opinione arbitror, ut quicquid uſpiam antea de hac re innotuit, quaſi dubia diluculi lux fuit ſi cum meridiana ſua claritate conferatur.* The ſame year Mr Collins, at the requeſt of ſeveral gentlemen of the French Academy, drew up an account, which he alſo ſent to Mr David Gregory, brother to Mr Gregory, of his inventions, extracted from the letters he had received from him (46). Among theſe there is one very extraordinary improvement mentioned in the method of ſeries, which though it had been much deſired by Mr Collins, and was promiſed by Mr Gregory, yet never ſaw the light. This was a way of finding the roots of affected equations by infinite ſeries. Upon that ſubject we have the following obſervations, in a letter of our author already cited, of February 15, 167$\frac{0}{1}$: ‘As to my method of finding the roots of all equations, one ſeries produces only one root, but there are an infinite number of ſeries for every root. Indeed there is ſome difficulty in beginning the ſeries right, and in diſtinguiſhing to what root it belongs; but of this matter you may perhaps hear further from me hereafter. You need not ſcruple to communicate any thing I ſend you, for I am little concerned whether they come out in mine or another's name.’ Again, in 1671, he writes thus: ‘As to the matter of equations, either in taking away what terms may be taken away, or reducing all equations, when it is poſſible, to pure equations, or finding their limits, or reducing all of them to infinite ſeries, I may entertain you [Mr Collins] with theſe things more at length afterwards. For your intelligence ſhewing me that ſo many perſons of vaſt learning were upon that ſubject, hath engaged me to look over my notes to theſe purpoſes, where I find great improvements can be made.—I reſolve, when the college riſeth, to apply myſelf ſeriouſly to the doctrine of equations.’ And that in ſome meaſure he executed this reſolution, appears from what he wrote the year after to the ſame correſpondent; for having ſent him a ſolution of the famous Keplerian problem by an infinite converging ſeries (47), which he obſerves might be much exacter for the uſes of Aſtronomy than any table of ſines, he goes on to acquaint him, that thoſe infinite ſeries have the ſame ſucceſs in equations which they have in other problems, only that becauſe in equations there are many indetermined quantities, the ſeries become exceedingly tedious, but abundantly ſimple, when theſe are determined. In 1675 Mr Collins informs Mr Leibnitz (48), that our author had with great pains prepared an infinite ſeries, to be applied in general to the reſpective powers of any affected equation whatſoever that ſhould be propoſed, ſo that the meaneſt algebraiſt, being furniſhed with this treaſure, may be able preſently to prepare any ſeries for the finding of any root of a propoſed equation, as ſoon as he knows on which ſide of the known limit the root will fall; but, ſays he, Mr Gregory has not communicated this method to us. Mr Collins alſo obſerves, that by this method, without the help of logarithms, you may raiſe any number to any power, even *per ſaltum*; and, on the other hand, from any given power, how much ſoever affected, you may find the root, or any medium aſſigned between it and unity. Not long after this letter to Mr Leibnitz, Sir Iſaac Newton likewiſe received one from Mr Collins upon the ſame point, intimating withal, that the publication of this method was deferred in reſpect to Sir Iſaac, as appears by his anſwer, wherein he aſſures Mr Collins, That for his part he had never applied the doctrine of infinite ſeries to extract the roots of affected equations in numbers, and therefore that Mr Gregory's method, though he knew nothing of it, yet could not interfere with his, or if it did, he could wiſh the public might not be hindered from enjoying a thing of ſo much value. We find alſo by Sir Iſaac's letter, that Dr Pell had intereſted himſelf in this affair (49). Is it not now a little ſurprizing, that after all this buſtle not the leaſt ſpecimen of any ſuch thing by Mr Gregory ſhould ever appear in public? Indeed Sir Iſaac Newton obſerves, in the letter abovementioned, That as far as he knew any thing of infinite ſeries, he accounted it of no great advantage for reſolving affected equations in numbers; and Mr Leibnitz mentions ſeveral difficulties which to him at leaſt appeared inſuperable in this project. Is it not then moſt probable, that either our author did not live long enough to compleat his deſign, or elſe left his papers ſo confuſed, and his thoughts ſo obſcurely expreſſed, that neither Mr Collins nor Dr Pell, nor any other of the guardians of his fame, were able to unravel them?

Since the writing of this remark, we have met with a paſſage in a treatiſe wrote by a perſon (50), as appears, very well affected to Mr Gregory's reputation, which confirms our conjecture. Sir Iſaac Newton, in his celebrated letter to Mr Oldenburg, of Oct. 4, 1676 (51), has the following paſſage. *Sub eo tempore* [1671] *Jacobus Gregorius ex unica quadam ſerie e meis quam D. Collinius ad eum tranſmiſerat, poſt multum conſiderationem* (*ut ad Collinium reſcripſit*) *pervenit ad eundem methodum, & tractatum de ea reliquit, quem ſperamus ab amicis ejus editam iri, ſiquidem pro ingenio, quo pollebat, non potuit non adjicere de ſuo nova multa, quæ rei mathematicæ intereſt, ut non pereant.* Here we have Sir Iſaac giving a very candid teſtimony (grounded upon a letter of Mr Collins) that our author had diſcovered a method of quadratures of the ſame ſort with his own, and had likewiſe wrote a treatiſe of it. But notwithſtanding this, as well as the other appearances already mentioned, yet it is more than probable that Mr Gregory left no ſuch treatiſe behind him. And, indeed, had there been any ſuch, no doubt it would have been publiſhed by his nephew Dr David Gregory, who ſucceeded to the poſſeſſion of his uncle's papers. But he declared that no ſuch method could be found in them (52). In the year 1736, theſe papers being then in the cuſtody of Dr David Gregory, Canon of Chriſt Church in Oxford, were peruſed by Mr Stewart and another Gentleman, with the hopes (as Mr Stewart ſays) of finding ſome ſuch treatiſe as that mentioned by Sir Iſaac Newton, but they could diſcover no ſuch thing among theſe papers, though they ſaw ſeveral curious ones upon particular ſubjects which are not in print. On the contrary, ſome letters they ſaw made it evident, that our author had not compiled any treatiſe containing the foundations of this general method a very ſhort time before his death. So that all that can be known about his method, can only be collected from his letters publiſhed in the Commerc. Epiſtolic. and the Short Hiſtory of his Mathematical Diſcoveries, compiled by Mr Collins above taken notice of. And hence Mr Stewart conjectures, that the principles of his method were few and ſimple, which he could eaſily retain in his mind, and apply as occaſion offered; and I am much miſtaken, continues he, if they have not been [were not] the ſame, or nearly the ſame, with thoſe of Sir Iſaac Newton's method. This he collects too from the letters already mentioned, and having cited ſeveral extracts from

(43) Ibid. No. XXIV.

(44) Ibid. No. XXXVII.

(45) Ibid. No. XLV.

(46) Ibid. No. XLVII.

(47) Probably not much different from that which is printed in Dr David Gregory's Aſtronomy, Vol. I. lib. iii. prop. 4. octavo edition; as alſo in his Exercitatio Geometrica, edit. 1684, 4to.

(48) Com. Epiſt. No. XXXVI.

(49) Gen. Dict. Vol. VII. p. 787.

(50) Mr John Stewart, Profeſſor of Mathematics at Aberdeen.

(51) Com. Epiſt. No. LVII.

(52) See the following article.

experimental evidence on which the truth of that theory is founded [*P*]. But at the ſame time, with reſpect to the reflecting Teleſcope, he diſputed with Sir Iſaac the force of his reaſons for conſtructing it in a different way from that of his own [*Q*]. In the courſe of this diſpute, our author deſcribed a reflecting glaſs-mirrour for burning, which was then approved by Sir Iſaac, and ſuch I am informed are at this time very commonly made [*R*]; and had he lived to Sir Iſaac's age, he might have ſeen his own teleſcope,

from them concludes upon the whole, that the method uſed by Mr Gregory after the year 1670, was in effect the ſame with that of Sir Iſaac Newton (53). In this concluſion Mr Stuart muſt be underſtood to mean nothing more, than that after Mr Gregory had ſeen ſome of Sir Iſaac's ſeries, he improved his own method thereby, ſo as to produce ſeveral of the ſame kind, that is, ſuch as conſiſted of ſimple rational terms ſeparated from each other; and it is only in this ſenſe that he is ſaid by Mr Collins * to have uſed Sir Iſaac's method after 1671.

[*P*] *He readily yielded to Sir Iſaac's theory of Light and Colours.*] In a letter to Mr Collins, dated Apr. 9, 1672, he writes thus: ‘ I am much obliged to you for thoſe excellent improvements of learning you advertiſe me of. I was exceedingly ſurprized with thoſe experiments of Mr Newton, they will cauſe great changes throughout all the body of Natural Philoſophy by all appearance if the matter of fact be true, which I have no ground to queſtion. I would gladly ſee what Mr Hooke ſays againſt the doctrine raiſed upon them (54).’ No doubt Mr Gregory embraced Sir Iſaac's theory the more readily, as by thoſe *diſcoveries* (they are our author's own words) [55] *he had made the catoptric teleſcopes preferable to the dioptric*; whereas before he was aware of no other advantage in the former, but that of their being ſhorter than the latter, and conſequently more handy and manageable (56).

[*Q*] *He diſputed the preference of his teleſcope againſt Sir Iſaac.*] Not long after Sir Iſaac had ſent his new teleſcope to the Royal Society, Mr Gregory having an account of it wrote his thoughts thereof in a letter (57) to Mr John Collins from Aberdeen, in theſe terms. ‘ It is like indeed that Mr Newton his teleſcope may have an advantage above that which I mention'd in my *Optica Promota*, becauſe the eye glaſſe is ſo near the plain mirroir, yet the obliquity of the mirroir hindreth ſomeqt; nevertheleſs my teleſcope hath one advantage alſo verie conſiderable; for the ſame concave mirroir, togither with the ſame plane convex eye glaſſe, may give the ſame object mirroir any deſired charge, &c. Your humble and obliged ſervant, J. Gregory.’ At the ſame time Mr Caſſegrain publiſhed a deſcription of a catadioptric teleſcope as his own invention (58), which he pretended had three advantages above Sir Iſaac's; alledging, (1.) That the mouth or aperture of the tube may be of any bigneſs, and conſequently you may have many more rays upon the concave ſpeculum than upon that of Mr Newton's. (2.) The reflection of the rays will be very natural, ſince it will be made upon the axis itſelf, and therefore more vivid. (3.) The viſion of it will be ſo much the more pleaſing, in that you ſhall not be incommoded by the great light, by reaſon of the bottom's hiding the whole face. In anſwer to this, Sir Iſaac ſhewed the diſadvantages of Mr Caſſegrain's conſtruction (which he obſerved was not unlike that (59) of Mr Gregory's) in theſe particulars: (1.) That there would be more light loſt by reflection from the convex ſpeculum than from the oval plane [in his own teleſcope], ſince light is moſt copiouſly when moſt obliquely reflected. (2.) That the convex would not reflect the rays ſo truly as the oval plane, unleſs it were of an hyperbolical figure, which is incomparably more difficult to form than a plane, and if truly formed, yet would only reflect thoſe rays truly which reſpect the axis. (3.) The errors of the ſaid convex would be much augmented by the too great diſtance, through which the rays reflected from it muſt paſs, before their arrival at the eye-glaſs; for which reaſon he had placed his eye-glaſs as near as poſſible to the oval plane, without obſtructing any uſeful light in it's paſſage to the object metal. (4.) The errors of the object metal would be more augmented by reflection from the convex than from the plane, becauſe of the inclination or deflexion of the convex on all ſides from the points, on which every ray ought to be incident. (5.) For theſe reaſons, an extraordinary exactneſs is requiſite in the figure of the little convex, which was much more difficult to give than in greater pieces of metal. (6.) Becauſe the errors at the perimeter of the concave object metal, cauſed by the ſphericalneſs of it's figure, are much augmented by the convex, it will not with diſtinctneſs bear ſo large an aperture, as in the other conſtructions. (7.) By reaſon that the little convex conduces very much to the magnifying virtue of the inſtrument, which the oval plane doth not, it will magnify much more in proportion to the ſphere, on which the great concave is ground, than in the other deſign, and ſo magnifying objects much more than it ought to do in proportion to it's aperture, it muſt repreſent them very obſcure and dark, and alſo confuſed, by reaſon of it's being overcharged; nor is there any convenient remedy for this, for if the little convex be made of a larger ſphere, that will cauſe a greater inconvenience by intercepting too many of the beſt rays; or if the charge of the eye-glaſs be made ſo much ſhallower as is neceſſary, the angle of viſion will thereby become ſo little, that it will be very difficult and troubleſome to find an object; and of that object, when found, there will be but a very ſmall part ſeen at once (60). After this Mr Gregory in a letter (61) to Mr Collins from St Andrews, Sept. 23, 1672, replied to Sir Iſaac's animadverſions upon Mr Caſſegrain's teleſcope, looking upon it as his own diſguiſed; and propoſes to uſe a plane ſpeculum, inſtead of his concave or Caſſegrain's convex, ‘ *and then ſays almoſt the whol diſadvantages evaniſhe, except onlie the third, and for that there is an advantage as conſiderable if not more, in that the diſtance between the two ſpecula groweth almoſt the one half leſs* (by which means his teleſcope would be ſtill ſhorter than Sir Iſaac's by almoſt a half) *and therefore the errors of the larger concave ar alſo diminiſhed upon the plane ſpeculum by one halfe.*’ Nevertheleſs he thinks a little concave or convex worth trying, becauſe different charges may be then given to the teleſcope with the ſame eye-glaſs, which he thinks impracticable in Sir Iſaac's. Sir Iſaac's anſwer to theſe objections was ſent to Mr Collins, which he communicated to Mr Gregory, who ſeems thereby convinced, that an oblique reflection is preferable to a direct one (62), but does not conceive how Sir Iſaac can alter the charge of his teleſcope without changing the eye-glaſs. Sir Iſaac in his next letter (63) gives an account of his manner of varying the charge in his teleſcope, by making uſe of a glaſs priſm with two convex ſurfaces and a flat one, inſtead of his ſmall plane mirrour. He alſo ſhews how the aperture of the eye-glaſs ought to be limited in Mr Gregory's teleſcope, and for his own he lays all the ſtreſs of magnifying upon the eye-glaſs. Mr Gregory in his laſt letter (64) to Mr Collins on this ſubject, commends Sir Iſaac's way of the varying the charge of his teleſcope, but thinks it liable to ſome errors, owing to the refraction of the rays at their entrance into and emerſion out of the convex ſurfaces of the little priſm. He thinks it not worth while to look on terreſtrial bodies with excellent teleſcopes, becauſe they magnify the particles of the atmoſphere as well as the object. But for celeſtial bodies he propoſes a thin plate with a ſmall hole in it to be placed in the focus of his eye-glaſs next to the eye, to intercept all the ſpurious rays (65); and concludes with aſſerting, that if it appears by trials that common microſcopes (that is, microſcopes with two or three glaſſes) can be brought to exceed all improvements of a ſingle lens, then it will follow from thence, that his teleſcope will exceed Sir Iſaac Newton's.

[*R*] *He invented a burning-glaſs.*] See his letter above-cited, of March 7, 1673, No. 6, where he writes thus: ‘ Mr Newton's diſcourſe of reflection puts me in mind of a notion I had of burning-glaſſes ſeveral years ago, which appears to me more uſefull than ſubtile. If there be a concave ſpeculum of glaſſe, the leaded convex ſurface having the ſame center with the concave (or, to ſpeak preciſelie, albeit perchance to litle more purpoſe) let the radius of the convexitie be *c*, the thickneſs of the glaſſe *in axis tranſitu f*, the radius of the convexitie equal to $\frac{9c^2+18cf+5f^2}{9c+5f}$, this ſpeculum ſal have the foci of both the ſurfaces in the

(53) Sir Iſaac Newton's two treatiſes of the Quadrature of Curves, and Analyſis by Equations of an infinite number of terms, p. 359. Lond. 1745, 4to.

* Com. Epiſt. No. XXXVI.

(54) General Dictionary, Vol. V. p. 525.

(55) See No. IV, in the Appendix to Gregory's Optics, ubi ſupra, p. 263.

(56) See remark [*B*].

(57) It is dated Aug. 6, 1672. See Appendix to Gregory's Optics ubi ſupra, No. III.

(58) In the Memoirs of the R. Academy at Paris, No. VIII. for the year 1672.

(59) This differed from Mr Gregory, only in having the leſſer ſpeculum convex inſtead of concave.

(60) Phil. Tranſ. No. 83.

(61) No. IV. in the Appendix above cited.

(62) In this letter, dated March 7, 1673, his words are, I am almoſt convinced that oblique reflection cauſeth more light than the direct, but I am not fully perſwaded that it is more regular. No. VI.

(63) No. VII.

(64) From St Andrews, May 13, 1673. Appendix, No. VIII.

(65) Without which, as it has appeared ſince in practice, this teleſcope would be of no uſe.

teleſcope, by the help of ſome improvements in regard to the workmanſhip taken from his competitor, brought to great perfection; inſomuch that it is at preſent generally preferred, and chiefly in uſe (*u*) [*S*]. But his life was cut ſhort in December 1675, at the age of thirty-ſix years (*w*). He died in his profeſſorſhip at St Andrews, which was all the preferment he ever obtained. For notwithſtanding the great talk of a deſign that was once taken up by the French Academicians to recommend him for a penſion to the Grand Monarch; yet the whole affair ended in a meer compliment, as it was underſtood by Mr Gregory himſelf, when the news reached his ears [*T*]. He ſeems, indeed,
not

(*u*) Particularly the ſmaller ſort for viewing land-objects.

(*w*) Communicated by Mr Short the celebrated Optician, who had it from Sir Robert Stewart, ſome time Profeſſor of Natural Philoſophy at Edinburgh.

‘ the ſame point, and not onlie that, but all the rays which are reflected betwixt the two ſurfaces ſal in their egreſſe come *quam proxime* to the common focus. The making of ſuch an ſpeculum requireth not much more airt than an ordinar plane glaſſe, ſeing great ſubtilitie is not neceſſar here: ſo that I believe they who make the plane miroir glaſſes, wold mak one of theſe three foot in diameter, for four or five L. ſt. or little more: for I have ſeen plane glaſſes almoſt of that bignes ſold even here for leſs money. Now ſeing (as Mr Newton obſerveth) that all reflecting metalls loſe more than $\frac{1}{3}$ of their rayes, this concave glaſs, even *cæteris paribus*, wold have an great advantage of a metall one; for certainlie an exactlie poliſhed thin miroir glaſſe of good tranſparent mater, after a few reflexions, doeth not loſe $\frac{1}{4}$ of the rayes, and upon other accounts this hath incomparable advantages, ſeing it is more portable, free from tarniſhing, and, above all, hardlie $\frac{1}{20}$ of the value. The great uſefulneſs of burning concaves, this being ſo obvious, and as yet (for ot I know) untouched by anie, makes me jealous, that there may be in the practiſe ſome fallacie. Ye may communicate this to intelligent perſons, and eſpecially to Mr Newton, aſſuring him that none hath a greater veneration for him, admiring more his great and ſubtile inventions than his and

Your Humble Servant,

J. Gregorie.

‘ If you pleaſe to let me hear with the firſt convenience what may be judged the reſult of this burning concave: for I am as much concerned to be undeceived, if ther be any inſuperable difficultie, as to be informed of an moſt ſurprizing ſucceſs. I have ſpoke of it to ſeverals here, but al wer as ignorant of it as myſelf, &c.

To this Mr [Sir Iſaac] Newton returned the following anſwer (66).

(66) Ibid. No. VII.

‘ The deſign of the burning ſpeculum appears to me very plauſible, and worthy of being put in practice. What artiſts may think of it I know not; but the greateſt difficulty in the practice that occurs to me is, to proportion the two ſurfaces ſo, that the force of both may be in the ſame point, according to the theory. But perhaps it is not neceſſary to be ſo curious; for it ſeems to me that the effect would ſcarce be ſenſibly leſs, if both ſides ſhould be ground to the concave and gage of the ſame tool.’

[*S*] *The Gregorian teleſcope is now chiefly in uſe.*] Notwithſtanding Mr Gregory (as we have ſaid) publiſhed his invention ſo long ago as 1663, and was followed by Sir Iſaac in leſs than ten years, yet both lay almoſt uſeleſs till the year 1719, when theſe Reflecting Teleſcopes were firſt brought to a uſeful degree of perfection by Mr Hadley, Vice-Preſident of the Royal Society, Sir Iſaac Newton's firſt, and Mr Gregory's ſoon after. The inſtruments he then made were about 5 feet 3 inches long. He preſented one of the firſt ſort to the Royal Society, with a deſcription both of the inſtrument and the apparatus for managing it, in 1723, (67) and of the other in 1726 (68). The great difficulty in Mr Gregory's form was the conoidical figures of his ſpecula and eye-glaſs, in every attempt to form and poliſh which there was found inſuperable difficulties. Wherefore, inſtead of theſe, Mr Hadley made uſe of ſpherical ſurfaces (as Sir Iſaac Newton had done) which by ſeveral experiments were found to anſwer the purpoſe in practice as well, he ſays, as the other; and, to prevent the object being coloured at the edge of the aperture, he introduced a double eye-glaſs (69), inſtead of the ſingle one propoſed by Mr Gregory; whoſe remark, concerning the advantage of his inſtrument for long-ſighted perſons, called *preſbytæ*, was improved alſo by Mr Hadley, who, by means of a ſkrew fixed to the arm of the little concave, to remove or bring it forward upon occaſion, fitted this Teleſcope not only for common eyes, but made the rays which enter the eye to converge a little for the *preſbytæ*, or diverge for the *myopes*, or ſhort-ſighted perſons. And he obſerves that theſe teleſcopes were eaſier to manage than thoſe of Sir Iſaac's form. After Mr Hadley, theſe teleſcopes were further improved by Mr Short, a very ingenious Optician then at Edinburgh, who about 20 years ago, inſtead of metal ſpecula, applied ſpherical glaſſes quickſilvered over on the convex ſide (70). His ſpeculums of this kind were made ſo true, as to give the image perfectly diſtinct (71). However, finding the light in theſe glaſs ſpeculums fainter than he expected, he applied himſelf to improve thoſe of metal, which he made of ſeveral focal diſtances, as of 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, and 15 inches. This laſt, by experiment, was found to magnify 60 times in diameter, and, by the time of the tranſits of the ſtars over the viſible area, to take in an angle of 19 min. at the naked eye; therefore the magnified angle of viſion was $60 \times 19' = 19^\circ$. But in this conſtruction of Mr Gregory's form, the angle of aberrition being two or three times greater than thoſe of Sir Iſaac Newton, would cauſe an intolerable degree of indiſtinctneſs, were it not diminiſhed by correcting the ſpherical figure of the larger ſpeculum, and inclining it towards a *parabola* (72); which Mr Short (now at London) takes conſtant care to do. Some uſeful tables for conſtructing Mr Gregory's teleſcope, are given both by Mr Hadley (73), and by Dr Smith (74), and theſe teleſcopes are now made in ſuch perfection, that one of five feet is equivalent to the beſt refracting ones of 123, ſo that nothing ſeems to be wanting, only the contrivance of ſuch a micrometer as can be uſefully applied to them. This we are told by Dr Deſaguliers ſome artiſts were endeavouring to do in 1735 (75). But no ſuch micrometer has been hitherto compleated, and the advantage of the preſent micrometer is ſo much greater in the Dioptric Teleſcope than in the reflecting ſort, that the former is ſtill uſed for aſtronomical obſervations. However, a micrometer applicable to the reflectors was invented by the late ingenious Mr G. Graham, ſome time before his death; and ſince that, another of a better contrivance has been very lately ſo well adapted to them by Mr Dollond of London, as even to give them the advantage of the refractors in this reſpect *. Several obſervations for a trial were made with both the mentioned inſtruments, by Mr Short and Dr Bevis, in 1753; an account of which may be ſeen in the Philoſophical Tranſactions for that year. And while I am writing this, Mr Dollond informs me, that this year 1755, he ſent one of his to Mr Bradley at Oxford, with inſtructions how to manage it, at the Profeſſor's requeſt, from whom he has lately received an account, that he found it to anſwer much better than Mr Dollond had out of modeſty promiſed; and that for inſtance, he had taken the diameter of the Sun's diſk with it to a ſecond. So that there ſeems to be ſome grounds to expect, that as to all the purpoſes of the micrometer, aſtronomical obſervations will be made more accurately with this improvent by the reflecting, than can now be done by the refracting teleſcope.

(67) Phil Tranſ. No. 376.

(68) Appendix to Gregory's Optics, p. 250, &. ſeq. & Plate iv. fig. 7.

(69) Either both *plano-convex*, or that next the eye rather a *meniſcus* or *concavo-convex*. Ibid. p. 253.

(70) As was firſt recommended by Sir Iſaac. See his Optics, p. 94.

(71) One of theſe of 15 inches focal diſtance was in the hands of the Duke of Argyle, with which it was eaſy to read in the Phil. Tranſ. at the diſtance of 230 feet.

(72) Sir Iſaac Newton alſo mentions this figure as the beſt if it could be obtained. Phil. Tranſ. No. 80.

(73) In the Appendix to Gregory's Optics, p. 253, 254, 288.

(74) In his Optics, Vol. II. Remarks, p. 105.

(75) Appendix to Gregory'sOptics, p. 255.

* Beſides being eaſier managed, they are made upon a larger ſcale, and may be uſed in all directions of the Teleſcope.

[*T*] *When the news reached his ears.*] The ſtory ſeems to be this, Mr Vernon, an Engliſh gentleman ſtudious in the mathematics, being at Paris in 1671, fell frequently into the company of the French Academicians. Among whom the converſation ſometimes turned upon the improvements lately made by Mr J. Gregory. In one of theſe interviews, ſome of the French gentlemen, knowing that their Monarch had then formed a deſign of granting honorary penſions to learned foreigners, propoſed to recommend our author to his Majeſty on that occaſion; and Mr Huygens being in company did not think proper directly to oppoſe it, though, he ſaid, he had reaſon to think himſelf diſobliged by Mr Gregory, on account of the controverſy then between them (76). Soon after ſeveral of thoſe members wrote about this affair to Mr Oldenburg, Secretary of the Royal Society at London, deſiring him to acquaint that Society with it, as alſo that their Monarch was diſpoſed to allow penſions to one or
two

(76) See remark [*H*].

not to be endued with an ambitious turn of mind, his temper being ſuch as diſpoſed him to enter with high delight into the little amuſing occurrences of a college life [*U*]. After his deceaſe his papers came into the hands of Dr David Gregory, who publiſhed the moſt material of them in a treatiſe mentioned in the following article.

two learned Engliſhmen whom they ſhould recommend. But as no anſwer was ever made to that propoſal, the Royal Society declining, for many reaſons (too obvious to mention) to concern themſelves about it, here that deſign dropped, and our Profeſſor's projected penſion dropped with it. In the mean time Mr Collins (as his manner was) with great pleaſure acquainted our author with what he had heard from Mr Vernon at Paris. But Mr Gregory (who had been abroad) ſaw more clearly into the full and true meaning of the French compliment, as appears by his very ſenſible and modeſt anſwer in theſe terms. 'I have not ſo much vanity, ſays he, as to perſuade myſelf that you are ſerious, having never heard any thing relating to that before. I have ſufficient experience of the uncertainty of things of that nature before now, which maketh me, ſince I came to Scotland, however mean and deſpicable my condition may be, to reſt contented; and ſatisfy myſelf with this, that I am at home in a ſettled condition by which I can live. I have known many learned men, far above me upon every account, with whom I would not change my condition (77).'

(77) General Dictionary, ubi ſupra.

[*U*] *Highly delighted with the little occurrences of a college life.*] In 1672, our author wrote a ſmall tract in octavo, entitled; *The great and new Art of weighing Vanity; or a Diſcovery of the Ignorance and Arrogance of the new Artiſt, in his Pſeudo-philoſophical writings. To which are annexed, ſome Tentamina de motu penduli & projectorum.* The book is publiſhed under the name of Patrick Mathers, Arch-Beadle of the Univerſity of St Andrews. In a letter to his friend Mr Collins, our Profeſſor gives an account of the particular occurrence which furniſhed his profeſſorial dignity with an occaſion of writing this arch piece of drollery. 'There is, ſays he, one Maſter Sinclair, that writ the *ars magna & nova*, a pitiful ignorant fellow, who has lately written horrid nonſenſe in hydroſtatics, and againſt Mr Boyle, for weighing water in water; and has in print abuſed Mr Sanders, a maſter in the Univerſity here, a perſon very knowing in the Mathematics, and who is reſolved to get the beadle of the Univerſity to write againſt him; and upon this account hath deſired me to write to you for *Stevinus's* mathematics, which I intreat you to ſend. We reſolve to make excellent ſport with him (78).' P

(78) Idem ibid.

GREGORY [DAVID], nephew of the preceding, had his birth June 24, 1661 * at the ſame place where he received the firſt rudiments of his learning, and was afterwards put to the college there, whence, in order to compleat his education, he was removed to Edinburgh, and applying cloſely to his ſtudies, was in a few years admitted to the degree of Maſter of Arts, or Doctor in Philoſophy (*a*). Being well fitted for mathematical ſtudies by the natural ſubtility of his genius (*b*), he ſoon became ſenſible of the advantage given him that way in his uncle's papers (*c*), and early made himſelf maſter of the improvements he found therein, in the method of infinite ſeries. Theſe he publiſhed with ſome additions of his own under the title of *Exercitatio Geometrica de dimenſione figurarum, ſive ſpecimen* methodi *generalis dimetiendi quaſvis figuras* [*A*], in 1684 at Edinburgh in 4to. not

* See the inſcription upon his monument below.

(*a*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 225.

(*b*) Dr Smith ſtiles him *Subtiliſſimi ingenii Mathematicus.* Vita Edw. Bernardi in vitis illuſtrium virorum, &c, p. 47. Lond, 1704, 8vo.

(*c*) Several of theſe had been communicated by Mr John Collins to our author's father Mr David Gregory. Com. Epiſt. No. XLVII.

[*A*] *Exercitatio geometrica de dimenſione curvarum &c.*] It would be but little ſatisfaction to the reader to be ſent for an account of this treatiſe to the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 163, ſince that paper, no leſs than the book itſelf, is ſo ſcarce as very rarely to be met with, and is omitted in all the abridgments, as not falling within the compaſs of their deſign. We ſhall therefore inſert the ſubſtance of that account: and the rather, becauſe it will be found of uſe towards clearing up a point controverted in the preceding article, of ſome importance to the character of Mr James Gregory. For having taken notice of his piece, printed at Padua in 1667, *de vera circuli et hyperbole quadratura*, and exhibited the particular conſtruction of the infinitely converging ſeries invented by him for thoſe quadratures, and having diſcourſed of ſome other things relating to the ſame, and to other ſuch like approximations. It proceeds in obſerving, 'that another method (different from the former) had been publiſhed the year following, (viz 1668) by Nic. Mercator in his *Logarithmotechnia* for ſquaring the hyperbola by an infinite ſeries, proved alſo and demonſtrated by James Gregory apogogically, or by a *deductio ad abſurdum* [the only kind of demonſtration of which ſuch quadratures are capable]: but that a general method for ſuch caſes was yet wanting. That about the beginning of the year 1670, he [James Gregory] underſtood from Mr Collins, that Mr Newton of Cambridge had before that time a general method of quadratures; whereof, as an inſtance, Collins ſent him an example of ſuch a ſeries, accommodated to a circular zone, *That* James Gregory *was in purſuit of a like method of infinite ſeries, but was prevented by death; and except ſome particular examples left nothing in his papers yet come into his* [David Gregory's] *hands, that might declare his method and way of finding ſuch examples.* That himſelf therefore, [David Gregory] doth in his treatiſe make it his buſineſs to explain a method, which may ſuit ſuch examples of his uncle aſſuming the *doctrine of indiviſibles, and the arithmetic of infinites*, as already known and received by Geometers as ſufficiently demonſtrated; and applies it to particular caſes in this manner. Suppoſe a ſtraight line, or the axis (called *X*) of a curve cut into parts infinitely ſmall, and the reſpects of each part *L*, (which he calls elementum) or ſmall part of the curve, which is to be meaſured, anſwer to each of theſe particles of *X*, or at leaſt ſomewhat ſo near the values of *L* that the difference may be neglected, as when a ſhort ſubteuſe or tangent is taken as coincident with a curve, he doth according to the doctrine of infinites collect the aggregate of all ſuch *L*'s, which aggregate is the magnitude ſought. Of this he gives divers examples in the parabola, hyperbola, ellipſe, ſpiral, cycloid, conchoid, ciſſoid, and ſome other curves, as to their areas or curve lines, or ſolids and curve ſurfaces made by the rotation of them, or otherwiſe derived from them, and propoſing diverſe expedients or preparative obſervations, by diviſion and extraction of roots in ſpecies, for reducing of implicated quantities when need requires into infinite ſeries, thereby rendering them capable of having the method of infinites applied to them; he concludes, with expreſſing his hopes and expectations, that Mr Newton's method to this purpoſe long ſince invented, but they not yet publiſhed, ſhortly may be made public.' From this account, the intelligent reader will eaſily perceive, that our author's method in this treatiſe is nothing elſe but that of Dr Wallis and Dr Barrow, extended to ſome more caſes than had been done before, by the help of his uncle's papers; and ſo much of Sir Iſaac Newton's method as was to be found among them. However, it is apparently on account of ſuch an improvement, that ſeveral years afterwards in a letter to Dr Wallis (1), he ſpeaks of the method in this tract as his own, in the following terms. *Methodus mea cujus ope ſeries deteguntur, quibus infinite numero curve et ſpatia iis contenta et rectis, nullius methodi hactenus cognite legibus ſubjecta menſurantur.* And hence an obſervation occurs, which ſeems not unſeaſonable in this place; that it was uſual among the Mathematicians in thoſe times, to give any method the title of general, for finding the dimenſions of all curves whatſoever, when there was laid down a rule in general terms for that purpoſe, comprehending all curves in an algebraical expreſſion, notwithſtanding any number of caſes whatſoever

(1) Dated July 21, 1692, inter Walliſii Opera, Vol. II. p. 351.

not long after he had been promoted to the mathematical chair in that univerſity (*d*). In the execution of this office he was the firſt who introduced the Newtonian Philoſophy into the ſchools (*e*) [*B*], and he read lectures with great applauſe 'till 1691; but after the breaking up of the college for the long vacation that year, he left Scotland and went to London (*f*); where he was introduced to Sir Iſaac Newton, then intent upon bringing his theory of the moon to a greater perfection (*g*). That great man according to his native modeſty and candour preſently conceived a good opinion of our author's ſkill in his profeſſion, and admitted him afterwards to ſome ſhare of his friendſhip. He likewiſe recommended him to Mr Flamſtead [*C*], who gave him all the aſſiſtance that lay in his power in the affair that had brought him to England. This was a view of the Savilian Profeſſorſhip of Aſtronomy at Oxford, in which preferment he ſucceeded Dr Edward Bernard, who reſigned it this year (*h*). Upon that occaſion he was firſt admitted of Baliol-College, and incorporated Maſter of Arts of that univerſity on the eighth of February, and was created Doctor of Phyſic the eighteenth of the ſame month (*i*), He had been choſen into the Royal Society ſoon after his arrival at London, and to ſhew that he was no unworthy member of that body, he ſent them *a ſolution of the geometrical enigma* [*D*] which they had

whatſoever might be produced, to which no practicable method of applying the rule for uſe was either taught or known. Laſtly, after a declaration ſo full and expreſs, as we ſee here of David Gregory, that his uncle did not live to diſcover Sir Iſaac Newton's method of infinite ſeries, nor any general method like it, and left nothing in his papers intimating what way he found ſome particular examples therein, it is a little ſurpriſing that Mr Stuart, if he had ſeen this declaration, ſhould entertain any hopes of finding ſuch a method among theſe papers; was it not rather a handſome pretence made uſe of, in order to procure a ſight of thoſe papers, in hopes of meeting, as he tells us he actually did meet, with ſome things which would be acceptable to the public (2). We find Dr David Gregory mentioning Sir Iſaac Newton's ſeries for ſquaring the circular zone, which was ſent to his uncle about the beginning of the year 1670; and it is remarkable, that it was then ſo much above every thing he comprehended in this way, that after having in vain endeavoured by comparing it with ſeveral of his own, and combining them together to diſcover the method of it, he concluded it to be no legitimate ſeries; till being aſſured of his miſtake by his friend Mr Collins, after almoſt a whole year's indefatigable pains ſpent therein, he diſcovered at laſt, that it might be deduced from one of his own upon the ſubject of the logarithms, wherein he had given a method of finding the number to a given logarithm, or of turning the root of any pure power into an infinite ſeries; and in the ſame manner, viz. by comparing and combining his own ſeries together, or elſe by deduction therefrom he diſcovered ſeveral more of Sir Iſaac's, as well as others like them (3), in which he daily became more ready by continual practice; and this ſeems to have been the utmoſt he ever actually attained in the progreſs towards diſcovering any univerſal method for thoſe ſeries. For to ſpeak ingenuouſly, he was not of a temper to conceal ſuch a diſcovery, as is evident from the haſte he was in to print his book, *De vera circuli & hyperbolæ quadratura*.

[*B*] *He firſt of any one introduced the Newtonian Philoſophy into the ſchools.*] This is aſſerted upon the authority of Mr William Whiſton, which in ſuch a point will not be controverted. That gentleman informs us (4), that after he had taken holy orders in 1693, returning to the college, he went on with his own ſtudies there, particularly the Mathematics and the Carteſian Philoſophy, which was alone in vogue at that time. ‘But, continues he, it was not long before I with immenſe pains, but no aſſiſtance, ſet myſelf with the utmoſt zeal to the ſtudy of *Sir Iſaac Newton*'s wonderful diſcoveries in his *Philoſophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica*, one or two of which lectures I had heard him read in the public ſchools, though I underſtood them not at all at that time. Being indeed greatly excited thereto by a paper of Dr Gregory's, when he was Profeſſor in Scotland, wherein he had given the moſt prodigious commendations to that work, as not only right in all things, but in a manner the effect of a plainly divine *genius*, and *had already cauſed ſeveral of his ſcholars to keep acts, as we call them, upon ſeveral branches of the Newtonian Philoſophy*; while we at Cambridge, poor wretches, were ignominiouſly ſtudying the fictitious hypotheſes of the Carteſian.’

[*C*] *Sir Iſaac conceived a good opinion of our author's ſkill, and recommended him to Mr Flamſtead.*] Among Mr Flamſtead's papers, there is a letter of Sir Iſaac to him, dated Auguſt 10, 1691, wherein having obſerved, that he had intended, together with ſome other friends, to have given Mr Flamſtead a viſit at Greenwich about a fortnight before, but upon enquiry found he was not there. He proceeds thus, ‘*The bearer hereof Mr Gregory, Mathematical Profeſſor of Edinburgh-college in Scotland, intended to have given you a viſit with us; you will find him a very ingenious perſon, a good mathematician worthy your acquaintance*:’ and afterwards expreſſing his deſire to have the obſervations which Mr Flamſtead ſhould make of Jupiter and Saturn, for four or five at leaſt of the enſuing years: he continues, ‘*but I had rather have them for the next twelve or fifteen years; if you and I live not long enough, Mr Gregory and Mr Halley are young men* (5).’

[*D*] *A ſolution of the geometrical enigma.*] This enigma was ſent from Italy by way of challenge, in the following terms: ‘Among the venerable monuments of ancient learned Greece, there is ſtill in being, and for ever will endure, a moſt auguſt temple dedicated to divine geometry of a circular ichnography, which is covered by a cupola perfectly hemiſpherical within; but in this, there are the equal areas of four windows diſpoſed about and above the baſe of the hemiſphere, of ſuch a configuration and of ſo much ingenuity, that theſe being taken away, the remaining curve ſuperficies of the cupola adorned with curious moſaic work, is capable of a true geometrical quadrature: now it is required, which is that quadrable part of the curved hemiſpherical ſuperficies, which is like a diſtended nautical ſail: and by what art or method the geometrical architect found it; and laſtly, what quadrable geometrical plane it is equal to?’ the problem was ſent from Florence, by a perſon who ſtiled himſelf *D. Pio Liſci puſſillo Geometra*, to *Mr Bridgman* at London, and by him to Dr *Wallis*, in a letter dated Auguſt 30, 1692. The doctor preſently found it to be nothing more than the quadrature of Hippocrates's Lunula, and ſent his ſolution to the Royal Society, who publiſhed the whole in their Tranſactions No. 196. But ſoon after there appeared an Italian treatiſe written by the propoſer of the enigma, on the formation and menſuration of all vaults and cupola's, dedicated to the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, wherein having converted his former problem into this, *upon the ſuperficies of a hemiſphere, to aſſign a portion equal to a given ſquare*, he gave an ingenious and ready conſtruction of it. This piece coming to the hands of our author, he conſidered the whole, and not only found that the Florentine ſail was equal to four figures of right ſines of the quadrantal arch, and that the periphery of the ſuperficies was equal alſo to the ſame, and that the parabolical Roman boat-like cupola, was equal to the Florentine veli-form one; but in general, that the conſideration of the figures of right ſines (the parts of which are eaſily turned into ſquares) was ſufficient to the demonſtration of all thoſe things, which were delivered concerning other ſolids wrought by the turning lathe, or perforated by a cylinder, and their ſuperficies mentioned in that treatiſe by the author, who now giving the two initial letters of his name V. V. Dr Gregory interprets theſe to ſignify Vincentio Viviani

(*d*) We have no account of the exact time when he obtained this place, but none of his lectures yet publiſhed were read before 1684, and he was then only 23 years of age.

(*e*) See Whiſton's Life by himſelf, Vol. I. p. 32. Lond. 1753.

(*f*) The college does not riſe 'till Midſummer, and he was at London in the latter end of July. See Remark [*B*].

(*g*) This appears from ſeveral letters wrote by Sir Iſaac about that time, for which ſee his article.

(*h*) See more of this matter in the article of Dr HALLEY.

(*i*) Wood's Faſti ubi ſupra, whoſe account being miſtaken by Dr Deſaguliers, he tells us our author was admitted to the rectory of Brightwell near Wallingford in Berkſhire this year. Preface to Dr Gregory's Elements of Catoptrics, &c. p. 3. Lond. 1735, 8vo.

(2) See remark [*O*] in the preceding article.

(3) See Com. Epiſt. No. XV, XVII, XVIII, XIX, and XX. Mr Leibnitz alſo about the ſame time ſeems to have copied this method of James Gregory's. Ibid. No. XXX, & Recenſio lib. &c. p. 13. edit. 1722.

(4) Memoirs of his life, p. 32. Vol. I. edit. 1753.

(5) This whole letter is inſerted under remark [*D*] of our author's article in the General Dictionary.

had received from Florence, and publiſhed in the Tranſactions for the year 1693 (k). Two years after that he printed his *Elements of Optics* at Oxford [E], and in 1697 he gave

viani *, the laſt diſciple of Galilæo and Mathematician to the Grand Duke of Tuſcany.

[E] *His Elements of Optics.*] The title is *Catoptricæ & Dioptricæ ſphæricæ Elementa*, Oxon. 1695, 8vo. In the preface he informs us, that theſe elements are the ſubſtance of ſome of his public lectures at Edinburgh eleven years before. In the book he conſiders theſe branches of optics, chiefly with a view to the conſtruction of teleſcopes, and particularly the two reflecting ones, that of his uncle James Gregory and Sir Iſaac Newton, giving the preference to the latter. He has brought his deſign into a ſmall compaſs, and the demonſtrations being very neat and eaſy, the book was in ſo much eſteem, that ſeveral geometrical demonſtrations as well as analytical calculations purpoſely omitted for the ſake of brevity, were ſupplied after his death in a ſecond edition publiſhed in 1705, 8vo, by Dr William Brown, Phyſician at Lynn-Regis in Norfolk (6), with the recommendation of William Jones, Eſq; and Dr Deſaguliers; and this laſt gentleman publiſhed a third edition in 1735, 8vo, with an appendix, containing an account of the Newtonian and Gregorian Teleſcopes, together with Mr Hadley's tables for conſtructing each of them; and likewiſe, ſeveral letters which paſſed between Sir Iſaac Newton and Mr Gregory, in defence of their reſpective conſtructions: upon reviewing a piece finiſhed with ſo much geometrical elegance, one cannot help being a little chagrined to find any of the rubbiſh of the old vanity of philoſophizing mingled in the foundation. Surely the dignity of the ſcience of Optics is ſufficiently preſerved in reſting the proof of a few ſimple properties of light wholly upon experiments, without ſuggeſting any further demonſtration of the cauſe of ſuch properties, from a ſuppoſed fitneſs in the nature of things, made apparent as is pretended by certain ill eſtabliſhed phyſical rules, and ill applied geometrical reaſoning. Thus for inſtance, *that from every lucid point in a medium, that is homogeneal, rays are diffuſed in right lines*, is aſſumed as a property of light, not only on account of it's being ſimple enough, and confirmed by experiments, but alſo becauſe ſuch lines are the *ſhorteſt*. The doctor expreſsly declares, that in laying down his *poſtulata* he followed *Kepler*. Let us ſee then how that remarkable optical writer introduces the ſame property in his celebrated treatiſe, intitled *Paralipomena ad Vitellionem*, which is particularly quoted more than once in the piece now under conſideration. The fourth propoſition of the firſt chap. is drawn up in the following terms. '*Lineæ ejaculationum lucis rectæ ſunt, dicuntur radii,*' which he expounds or demonſtrates thus, '*Nam diximus attelari a luce figuram ſphærici. Ejus vero geneſis vera geometrica conſiſtit in æqualitate intervallorum, per quæ punctum medium in ſuperficiem diditur. Ille vero ſunt rectæ lineæ, quod ſi curvis lex utereter nulla eſſet indidendo æqualitas, nihil igitur ſimile ſphærico. Idem etiam hoc modo probatur, ſeu potius declaratur: motus diverſi ſunt fines. Aut enim natura affectat unitatem partium, aut ſeparationem, utrumque fit per motum rectum compendioſiſſime. Namque quia quo brevius quæque diſtant hoc magis unita intelliguntur, & rectæ ſunt omnium linearum inter eadem puncta breviſſimæ, motum ergo qui unit res ut motum ponderum ad terram chalybis ad magnetem in linea recta fieri neceſſe eſt, alias non omnes partes ad eundem finem tenderent, ſed in medio itinere alicubi, quod erat uniendum alteri deflectet ab hac unionis affectatione. Eadem de contrario motu ſeparationis, qui in rebus naturalibus violentus dicitur, intelligenda ſunt. Nam ei etiam contrarius motus unitionis motui competit, rectus igitur, quia recto non niſi rectus contrarius.*' In Engliſh thus, 'Prop. *The lines in which light is ejaculated are right ones, called rays.* Demonſt. *We have ſhewn that the ſpherical figure is attracted by light. But the true geometrical geneſis of that, conſiſts in the equality of the intervals through which the middle point is propagated to the ſuperficies. And theſe intervals are right lines. For if the law obſerved curves, there would be no equality in the propagation. Therefore no figure is comparable to the ſpherical. The propoſition is alſo proved or rather expounded in this manner. The ends of motion are different. For nature affects either a conjunction or a ſeparation of parts, each of which is effected moſt compendiouſly by a ſtreight forward or rectilinear motion. For as things are obſerved to be ſo much more united* [i. e. *to be ſo much nearer together*] *as the diſtance between them is leſſer, and right lines are the ſhorteſt of all between the ſame points; hence it becomes neceſſary, that the uniting motion, as that of weights to the earth, of ſteel to the magnet, &c.* (7) *ſhould be made in a right line, otherwiſe all the parts would not tend to the ſame end; but that which was to be united to another, would ſomewhere in the mid-way deflect from this* [*inſtinctive*] *affectation of unity. The ſame reaſoning likewiſe holds in the contrary ſeparating motion, which in natural things is called violent. For to this there is adapted a ſuitable contrary motion to the uniting one, and conſequently a ſtreight forward motion, becauſe* [*by a known rule in logic*] *only ſtreight to ſtreight is contrary.*' This will be allowed, I ſuppoſe, to be perfectly in the ſublime way, but even this dwindles infinitely, when we read the paſſage here referred to concerning the proof of the ſpherical figure of light. 'Tis in the beginning of chap. I. intitled, *Lucis Origo*, and runs in the following terms. '*Primum omnium rerum natura Deum Conditorem, quantum quæque ſuæ eſſentiæ conditione potuit, repreſentare debuit. Nam cum conditor ſapientiſſimus omnia ſtuduerat quam optima ornatiſſima præſtantiſſimaque efficere, nihil ſe ipſo melius ornatiuſque nihil præſtantius reperit. Propterea cum corporeum mundum, agitaret animo formam ei deſtinavit ſibi ipſi quam ſimillimam. Hinc ortum totum quantitatum genus, & in eo curvi rectique diſcrimina, præſtantiſſimaque omnium figura, ſphærica ſuperficies. Nam in ea formanda luſit ſapientiſſimus Conditor adorandæ ſuæ Trinitatis imaginem. Hinc centri punctum eſt ſphærici quædam quaſi origo, ſuperficies puncti intimi imago & via ad id inveniendum, quæque infinito puncti egreſſu ex ſeipſo uſque ad quandam omnium egreſſuum æqualitatem gigni intelligitur, puncto ſe in hanc amplitudinem communicante, ſic ut punctum & ſuperficies denſitatis cum amplitudine commutata proportione, ſint æqualia: hinc eſt undique punctum inter & ſuperficiem abſolutiſſima æqualitas, arctiſſima unio, pulcherrima conſpiratio, connexus, relatio, proportio, commenſus. Cumque tria ſunt plane centrum ſuperficies & intervallum, ita tamen unum ſunt, ut nullum ne cogitatu quidem abeſſe poſſit quin totum deſtruatur.*— *Firſt of all, the nature of things ought to repreſent God their Maker, as much as every one is capable, by the condition of it's eſſence; for when the omniſcient architect had ſtudied to frame all things upon the very beſt, the moſt beautiful, and moſt excellent model, he found nothing better, nothing more beautiful, nothing more excellent than himſelf. Whereupon meditating the corporeal world in his mind, he decreed it a form moſt like to himſelf. Hence ſprung the origin of all kinds of quantity, and in them the diſcriminations of curve and right-lined forms, and particularly that which is the moſt excellent figure of all, the ſpherical ſuperficies. For in forming this figure, the all-wiſe builder alluded to the image of his own moſt adorable Trinity. Hence the central point is the fountain head as it were of the ſpherical form, the ſuperficies being the image of that inmoſt point, and the way to find it, is conceived to be generated by the infinite egreſſion of that point out of itſelf, even to a certain equality of all the egreſſions, that* [*central*] *point communicating* [*diffuſing*] *itſelf into this amplitude; in ſo much, that the centre and ſuperficies, by a commuted proportion of the denſity with the amplitude are equal. Where it comes to paſs, that between this point and the ſuperficies, there is every way the moſt abſolute equality, the cloſeſt union, the moſt beautiful conſpiration, connexion, relation, proportion, commenſuration. And as the center, ſuperficies, and interval between, are evidently three, yet are they ſo perfectly one, that none of them can be wanting ſeparated, or even in thought, without deſtroying the whole.*' Having thus profoundly demonſtrated that the world was made round after the image of the Triune-God; he ſlides with great eaſe and dexterity into the inference, that light muſt neceſſarily be caſt in the ſame mould; theſe are his words in Engliſh: '*This then being the image of the corporeal world, what wonder is it, that light, the moſt excellent thing in the world, is made after the ſame image? Wherefore the Sun is in the center of the world, and diffuſing* gave the firſt demonſtration of that curve, which is well known ſince by the name of the *catenaria*

(k) No. 207.

* This gentleman had before publiſhed a treatiſe *De Maximis, & Minimis*, which is ſeveral times referred to by our author in his Elements of Optics.

(6) The Doctor has alſo added an introduction, ſhewing the diſcoveries made by catoptrics and dioptrics, and an account of microſcopes and teleſcopes from Mr Huygens; together with ſome obſervations made in the former by himſelf, where among other things he tells us, he once ſaw one of the eels which ſwim in vinegar big with four young ones, which being put into a tub of water, it was in ſome hours delivered, and every one afterwards ſwam by itſelf. p. 77, 78.

(7) This rule is proved by Kircher (who alſo follows Kepler), becauſe the ſpider in forming his web which is circular makes it up of ſtreight threads. *Anacampticæ artis, pars ſecunda, Theorem* I. in a piece intitled *Ars Magna lucis & umbræ*, Vol. II. Rome 1646, fol.

‘ *this principle called light every where* in orbem *equally, all things conſequently which participate light imitate the Sun.*’ This he calls *the geometrical nature of light*, and from hence he demonſtrates ſeveral propoſitions from *Euclid*, *Alhazen*, and *Vitellio*, juſt in the ſame metaphyſical way as thoſe authors had done before him. Thus philoſophized that eminent mathematician. And though Dr Gregory ſeems * to have been very ſenſible both of the vanity and prophane inſolence of ſuch reſearches into the *nature* of light; yet beſides the inſtance already mentioned, we find him proceeding after the example of this maſter, in the idle attempt to eſtabliſh *it's properties* upon geometrical reaſoning as antecedent to experiments. In this ſpirit he concludes his introduction with the two following propoſitions which are aſſumed for axioms, becauſe they agree both with geometrical reaſoning and experiments. ‘ Axiom 1. *A ray of light* falling perpendicularly upon a reflecting ſurface, either proceeds directly forward, or is reflected back upon itſelf For ſince the direction of the ray to the inflecting ſurface, is of all that can be drawn from the radiant point either the *leaſt*, if the inflecting ſurface be a plane, or perhaps where this circumſtance is wanting the *greateſt*, and in both caſes a determinate and *only one* of it's kind, the ray will ſtill perſiſt in the ſame direction, either proceeding forward or returning backward. For there are innumerable right lines inclined to this *only one* in any given angle, no one of which can conſequently claim to itſelf the direction of the ray with greater juſtice than the reſt. Axiom 2d is, that every inflexion is made in a ſurface that is perpendicular to the inflecting ſurface For ſince this ſurface (called the plain of inflection) is either the *leaſt* or *greateſt* of all that can be produced through the radiant point to the inflecting ſurface, and conſequently an *only one*; the propoſition is demonſtrated in the ſame manner as the former.’ To refute this pretended demonſtration by a juſt one, would be to run trifling after our author, and in this point making him a greater compliment than he deſerves, ſince nothing can be more evident than that theſe abſtract geometrical conſiderations a *determinate* line, and *only one* of it's kind, either the *leaſt*, or the *greateſt*, that can be drawn, &c. have no manner of phyſical efficiency at all; and notwithſtanding theſe, a perpendicular ray might be either reflected or refracted in any other direction, or even be intirely abſorped and loſt in the ſeveral inflecting bodies. In ſhort, this viſionary art of demonſtrating the properties of light, is learned in the ſame ſchool with the juſt mentioned demonſtration of Kepler concerning it's nature; and as that repreſents the Almighty creating light in the geometrical form of a ſphere after his own image diſplayed in the Trinity, whence it is inferred to be geometrical in it's nature; ſo this ſuppoſes the ſame all-wiſe artiſt in giving to light ſome of it's properties, to have been determined by geometrical conſiderations, whence it is concluded to be likewiſe geometrical in it's properties; and thus the ſcholar's preſumption is a copy of the maſter's arrogance, though indeed but a faint one. For to ſpeak ingenuouſly, this argument à priori to prove the properties, beſides that it riſes not to ſuch a daring height, is rather inſinuated by our author, than openly avowed, as Kepler had done in demonſtrating the *figure* of light; and in the application, we find the Doctor ſometimes declaring no more in expreſs terms, than that the action of light, as diſcovered by experiments, is frequently reducible to the rules and reaſonings of geometry, or that ſome geometrical conſiderations are applicable thereto. A ſound and ſober ſenſe enough, and which comprehends all that is neceſſary to the plan of a mathematical treatiſe of optics. But he was plainly too much devoted to his maſter's manner, to confine himſelf always within theſe limits. For inſtance, under his firſt propoſition, that *from a plane ſurface, the angles of incidence and reflection are equal*, having in compliance to that manner demonſtrated (as he calls it) or rather expounded it geometrically, he could not forbear ſuperadding another ſpecimen of the argument *à priori*, as a farther proof of the propoſition. It is introduced in the form of a *ſcholium*, where he obſerves, that in laying down this law of reflexion, great reſpect is had to the *maximum* and *minimum*. For that by making the mentioned angles equal, the ſum of the incident and reflected rays becomes a *minimum*, that is leſs than the ſum of any others drawn from the ſame points, to any other point of the reflecting plane and *vice verſa*, or this is the ſhorteſt paſſage from the radiating to the radiated point For, ſays he, it is requiſite that it's courſe ſhould be the ſhorteſt of all, becauſe *nature ever acts by the moſt eaſy and expeditious methods* But, as he goes on, if the reflexion be from a curve ſurface, the aforementioned ſum of the rays (or perhaps their difference) is ſometimes a *maximum*. For mathematicians know how near the relation is between a *maximum* and a *minimum*, between the ſum and the difference, and how eaſy the tranſition is from one to the other. That is, whether the ray is found to take the ſhorteſt or the longeſt, or any middle courſe between them, ſtill nature therein ever acts by the moſt eaſy and expeditious method. What egregious trifling! but there was no other poſſible way of keeping up the ſemblance of an argument, *à priori*, to ſuit with the fact, ſince in reflexions from curve ſurfaces, the ray is frequently obſerved to paſs through ſeveral intermediate diſtances between the leaſt and the greateſt Yet ſo fond is he of the argument from this unmeaning law of nature, that in paſſing to dioptrics, he trifles with it at the entrance (8) exactly in the ſame manner, demonſtrating with the like waſte of geometry, that *nature acts in the eaſieſt and quickeſt way*, whether the rays paſs in proportion ſlower as the refracting media are denſer, which he then, after *Barrow* and *Fermat*, imagined they did contrary to Des Cartes's opinion; or faſter, as Sir Iſaac Newton diſcovered by experiments to be really the caſe. But ſuch a ridicule was the unavoidable conſequence of carrying geometry beyond it's proper ſubject Our author however is countenanced in taking up this maxim, chiefly upon the authority of Mr Leibnitz, who maintained the ſame in print a few years before theſe lectures were read at Edinburgh in 1684 (9), aſſerting that both the direct reflected and refracted motion of light, might thereby be accounted for to a degree of mathematical exactneſs. This is propoſed by him, firſt to be determined in plain ſurfaces, and then to be accommodated to concave and convex ones, by conſidering the planes that are tangents to thoſe ſurfaces. Hence in plain or ſimple optics, the direct ray proceeds from the point illuminating to the point illuminated, in the ſhorteſt direct way, (the ſame medium continuing all along) that is, in a ſtreight line. In catoptrics, the angle of incidence and reflection are equal In dioptrics, the ſines of the angles of incidence and refraction are to each other reſpectively, as the reſiſtance of the mediums. Here to find the radiated point the courſe muſt be taken ſuch, *that the way which the ray takes may be of all ways the eaſieſt*; but now in different mediums, the difficulties of the way or progreſs are in a ratio compounded of the length of the way, and of the reſiſtance of the medium. Whence by arguing mathematically, he finds the ſine of incidence in air, will be to the ſine of refraction in glaſs, as the aſſumed ratio of the reſiſtance in glaſs, to the reſiſtance in air. This is Mr Leibnitz's theory, who tells us further, that the catoptrical demonſtration, which he gives, was inſiſted on by *Ptolemy* and other Ancients, and is extant in *Heliodorus Lareſſæus*, and elſewhere. But had he proceeded the leaſt ſtep further than he did, to accommodate this principle to concave and convex ſurfaces, as he talked of doing at firſt, he might ſoon have perceived the inſufficiency of it, and that a ray takes ſeveral other courſes from one point to another beſides the ſhorteſt. As to the dioptrical demonſtration, where Leibnitz ſays the difficulty of the way which the ray makes, will as be the rectangle under the length of that way and an aſſumed ratio, his notions of difficulty and reſiſtance are not eaſy to be underſtood. In all known caſes, the motion of a body and the reſiſtance it ſuffers, do conſtantly decreaſe together, action and re-action being always equal, and therefore the difficulty of the way can ſcarce be rightly expreſſed by the rectangle under that way, and a conſtant reſiſtance; but be the difficulty and reſiſtance what you pleaſe, no doubt they muſt be nothing at all in vacuo, and therefore the eaſieſt way for a ray to paſs from a given point in any reſiſting medium into a vacuum, is to go in a perpendicular to the refracting ſurface, as being the ſhorteſt way through any difficulty or reſiſtance whatſoever; which being quite over at the reflecting ſurface, it may then take

any

* See the beginning of his Introduction.

(8) Prop XI, and Prob. annexed.

(9) In a tract publiſhed in the Lipſic Acts for 168[illegible], p 185, which is quoted with approbation by Mr Mollineux in his Dioptrics, p. 192. Lond. 1692, 4to.

catenaria [*F*], or the curve that is formed by a chain faſtened at each end. In conſidering that property of this curve whereby all the parts ſupport each other, he fell firſt of any one

any other courſe in vacuo, without any further difficulty; and, on the contrary, in returning back from the vacaum into the denſe medium, it muſt take the ſhorteſt courſe through the ſame perpendicular as before. And thus, when the ſun ſhines on the atmoſphere, all his rays would be refracted into lines tending to the earth's center, as being the ſhorteſt and eaſieſt way through the atmoſphere; and then we ſhould ſee the ſun exactly over our heads in all places and at all times. But what wonder is it, that ſtrange conſequences ſhould follow from an arbitrary hypotheſis. I ſhall only obſerve further (10), that all theſe theories for reſolving reflection and refraction of light before Sir Iſaac Newton's, do alſo ſuppoſe that it ſtrikes upon bodies, and is reſiſted by them, which yet has never been proved by any deductions from experience. On the contrary, it appears by Mr Molyneux's and Mr Bradley's obſervations upon the parallax of the fixed ſtars (11), that their rays are not at all impelled by the rapid motion of the earth's atmoſphere, nor by the object glaſs of the teleſcope through which they paſs; and by Sir Iſaac Newton's theory of refraction, which is grounded upon experience only, it appears, that light is ſo far from being reſiſted and retarded by refraction into any denſe medium, that it is ſwifter here than in vacuo, in the ratio of the ſine of incidence in vacuo to the ſine of refraction into the denſe medium, and vice verſa (12) We ſee Sir Iſaac was careful to take the rule obſerved by nature from experience, and from that alone, as the only method of diſcovering it; and we have been the more ſtudious to expoſe this idle way of attempting to reduce the properties of light from metaphyſical rules, *à priori*, (which we ſee retained by our author after Sir Iſaac Newton had ſhewn him a better, even upon this very ſubject *) becauſe it was indeed a long time the bane of all improvements in the ſcience that depended upon experimental inquiries And of this there is a remarkable inſtance in the treatiſe now under conſideration, where Dr Gregory ſpeaking of the fundamental theorem of dioptrics, that *the ſine of the angle of incidence is in a given proportion to the ſine of the refracted angle*, having obſerved that the invention of it by *Des Cartes*, was only a ſmall ſtep from that of *Snellius*, that *the ſecants of thoſe angles were in a given proportion*, ſubjoins the following remark 'Since we have happened to ſpeak of *ſecants*, it is 'worth the taking notice how near the inquiſitive 'Kepler was towards finding out this theorem, who at 'Prop. V. and VI Chap IV. *Paralipom ad Vitellionem*, lays down thoſe ſecants for the reſpective 'meaſure of refractions.' Thus the ſcholar always ſtudious to promote the honour of his maſter. But it is at leaſt equally worth notice, that Kepler was apparently averted from the diſcovery, by employing his eyes too much in looking after the cauſes, inſtead of conſidering and examining the facts and phænomena of refractions. In his fourth chapter here referred to, which is intitled, *De menſura refractionum*, notwithſtanding he ſets out with obſerving, that all our knowledge upon this ſubject proceeds from experience. Sect. I. yet he immediately applies himſelf to the cauſes of refractions, as the only proper method to ſettle their juſt meaſure. Sect II his words are, *Cauſa refractionum eſt denſitas & obliquitas incidentiæ junctim*. The denſity of the medium, and obliquity of the incidence, are jointly the cauſe of refractions. For, continues he, that denſity is one cauſe I have proved *à priori* in Prop. the 14th, Chap I. *Et quod incidentia concurret ad cauſam ſupra quoque. Prop.* 20. *Chap I à priori deducere ſum conatus*, and in Prop. 20. Chap I. I have likewiſe endeavoured to prove à priori, that incidence concurs to that cauſe This *lemma* being compleated, *that there are two, and only two, cauſes of refractions*: the buſineſs of apportioning to each cauſe it's due ſhare in producing the effect, becomes the ſubject of ſeveral propoſitions, of which the 6th is as follows: *Angulorum incidentiæ ſecantes concurrere ad menſuram refractionum qui conſtituuntur ad ſuperficiem in medio denſiori.—The ſecants of the angles of incidence concur to the meaſure of refractions made at the ſurface of a denſer medium*; that is, theſe ſecants are (not as our author repreſents the whole and adequate meaſure but) the meaſure, as he explains himſelf, of that part only which is owing to the ſuppoſed increaſe of the reſiſtance from the denſity in proportion to the increaſe of the obliquity of incidence; the other part, ariſing ſimply from the denſity being in proportion to the angles of refraction. Theſe are his words, *Si medium ipſum cauſa ſuæ denſitatis conſideraretur ſolitarie, anguli refractionum proportionales fierent angulis incidentiæ, ſed cum lux obliquius incidit major ſit reſiſtentia ab eodem medio quam in rectiori incidentiâ reſpectu ipſius etiam medii Duæ cauſæ refractionum ſolæ concurrunt, ergo altera cauſa eſt inclinationibus proportionalis, altera creſcit cum ſecantibus inclinationum*, Prop 2, 3. & corol. In ſhort, it was a meer miſtake that led Kepler to apply the ſecants for any part of the meaſure of refractions For having obſerved, after his maſter Tycho, that the angles of refraction increaſed faſter than they ſhould do, by the meer obliquity of incidence, eſpecially near the horizon in the atmoſphere *, if that was uniformly denſe, as he by miſtake ſuppoſed it to be, and his geometry teaching him that the ſecants of theſe angles increaſed in the like manner, he applied theſe ſecants to that part only of the increaſed refraction, which for want of conſidering and examining the ſtate of the atmoſphere he imagined to ariſe from the meer obliquity of incidence.—But if Dr Gregory has exceeded the bounds of ſtrict juſtice in favour of Kepler, he has fallen as much ſhort of thoſe bounds in the caſe of Des Cartes; whom he repreſents upon this occaſion in his dioptrics, aſſerting a flat contradiction to ſome other parts of his works. Cartes, ſays he, taking up the ſame theorem, that the ſine of the angle of incidence is in a given proportion to the ſine of the refracted, and (though in other caſes he affirms the propagation of light to be inſtantaneous) would have it in his dioptrics, that a ray of light is carried with a greater celerity, &c But in juſtice he ſhould have informed his readers, that this eminent philoſopher had provided a general ſalvo for any ſuch ſeeming inconſiſtency in the following remark *Haud difficulter credi poteſt actionem aut propenſionem ad motum, quam jam dixi pro lumine habendam iiſdem legibus cum ipſo motu obnoxiam eſſe* † It is not hard to conceive that the action or propenſion to motion, which I have ſaid is to be taken for light, ſhould be ſubjected to the ſame laws with motion itſelf.

[*F*] *He gave the firſt demonſtration of the* catenaria.] In order to a right notion of our author's merit in this point, it will be neceſſary to run over the following ſhort hiſtory concerning the firſt invention of the *catenaria* This curve was ſought after in Galileo's time, but nothing done in it till Mr James Bernoulli, of Baſil, had diſcovered the method of Mr Leibnitz's *analyſis, or calculus differentialis*. Soon after which, he applied by the mediation of his brother John Bernoulli (who had already entered pretty far into theſe matters) to Mr Leibnitz, requeſting him to conſider, whether by the ſame analyſis it was not poſſible to arrive at the ſolution of ſome problems which were difficult, and had been attempted by others without ſucceſs; and in particular the curve which a chain will form, ſuppoſing it flexible every where. [*This Galileo imagined to be the parabola, though they did not know that he had engaged in the enquiry.*] Mr Leibnitz accordingly, as he ſays himſelf, conſidered this point and executed it; but inſtead of publiſhing his ſolution, he encouraged Mr Bernoulli likewiſe to undertake it. His ſucceſs was undoubtedly the occaſion that the two brothers [Bernoullies] applied themſelves with great vigour to it, and that the younger John Bernoulli, (who was afterwards profeſſor of mathematics at Groninghen) had the honour of ſucceeding intirely in the diſcovery. In the mean time Mr Leibnitz obſerving to them, that to be able to gain this by means of what he had communicated of his analyſis, ſhewed an extraordinary ſagacity and application. The two brothers were very ambitious to diſtinguiſh themſelves upon the method of Mr Leibnitz, ſo that it was from this beginning upon the catenaria, that they found how to make a proper uſe of the *calculus differentialis*; after which they were capable of proceeding much farther. Thus far Mr Leibnitz (13). Two years after the publication of Dr Gregory's performance, ſome animadverſions were made upon it by Mr Bernoulli, who among other things aſſerted the firſt diſcovery of the catenaria to Mr Leibnitz and himſelf (14). Theſe were immediately anſwered by our author, who acknowledges the claim

(10) From Dr Smith's Optics, Vol. II. in the remarks, Art. 413.

(11) See Phil. Tranſ. No. 406.

(12) Principia Mathematica, lib. I. prop. 95.

* Ibid. & ſeq.

* His fourth and fifth propoſitions are, *Refractionum anguli creſcunt majoribus rationum incrementis, quam obliquitas incidentiæ. Et refractiones creſcunt circa horizontem præcipitatis incrementorum proportionibus.*

† Carteſ. Dioptr. p. 23. edit. 1649, 4to.

(13) In a letter to Mr Bernard, publiſhed in the Nouvelles de la republique des lettres, for November 1706. Art. iii.

(14) In the *Acta Eruditor. Leipſiæ*, for February 1699.

one upon the diſcovery, that this figure inverted is the form of a true and legitimate arch or *fornix*; whence he obſerves, that when arches of other forms are ſupported, it is becauſe in their thickneſs ſome *catenaria* is included (*l*). But his moſt celebrated performance appeared in 1702, intituled, *Aſtronomiæ Phyſicæ & Geometricæ Elementa* [G]. As this piece was

claim of thoſe gentlemen to the firſt ſolution of the problem; but ſince it was communicated by them without any demonſtration, he aſſerts his right of precedence in that part, which he declares is all the merit that he pretended to (15). Our author addreſſed this tract to Dr Aldrich, Dean of Chriſt Church in Oxford, and it was inſerted in the *Miſcellanea Curioſa* (16), as one of the nobleſt diſcoveries, that had been at that time preſented to the Royal Society.

[G] *Aſtronomiæ Phyſicæ & Geometricæ Elementa.*] The chief and the moſt uſeful part of his deſign in this treatiſe, is to explain Sir Iſaac Newton's geometry of the centripetal forces, as far as his diſcoveries in aſtronomy were built upon it, and to throw the aſtronomical part of the *Principia* into a new form, wherein the dryneſs of the geometrical part ſhould be relieved with hiſtorical accounts properly interſperſed concerning the ſtate of this ſcience before Sir Iſaac's time, both in that and the phyſical part (17). The uncouth abſurdity that is ſeen in the philoſophical opinions, not only of *Kepler* and *Carteſius*, who preceded that æra, but even of *Leibnitz*, *Bernoulli*, and others, the moſt celebrated for their knowledge in theſe matters, who were contemporary with Sir Iſaac, is very entertaining, at the ſame time that it ſerves to diſplay to great advantage, the ſuperior abilities of that firſt founder of the true ſyſtem of the heavens. It is by means likewiſe of theſe hiſtories which inform us of the actual advances that were made in this ſubject, previous to his diſcoveries, that we come to a juſt knowledge of his real merit. But our author ſeems to ſtretch the point a little too far, when in this view he attempts to trace the phyſical part of Sir Iſaac's aſtronomy up to the original of that ſcience, and thinks he has diſcovered, that the moſt ancient philoſophers knew that the celeſtial bodies gravitate towards each other, and are retained in their orbits by the force of gravity, nay that they were alſo apprized of the particular law or rule of that force. Thus, becauſe *Anaxagoras*, and his ſcholars *Achelaus* and *Euripides*, called the *ſun and ſtars fiery or red hot ſtones, or iron, or gold*, and ſuppoſed *the moon to be of an earthy ſubſtance*, while his maſter Anaximenes maintained *the ſtars to be of a fiery nature*, and that there are *certain terreſtrial bodies that are inviſible carried together about them* (18). Hence the Doctor would ſeem to infer, that they underſtood theſe to be ſo many ſyſtems like that of the ſolar, and each ſupported by gravity. And ſince *Anaximenes* received his notions from *Anaximander*, as this laſt did his from *Thales*, the founder of the Ionic philoſophy, he will have it that *Thales* himſelf ſpread this opinion of gravity among his ſect; whence, ſays he, it ſpread itſelf through the *Italic* philoſophy. And indeed the argument in favour of the Pythagoreans, brought to evince that they had ſome conception of the celeſtial bodies gravitating to each other, ſtands upon the ſame ground as the former, viz. That it was affirmed by thoſe philoſophers, that *every ſtar is a world in the infinite ætherial ſpace, wherein are contained earth, air, and æther* (19), and that *the moon was not only of a like nature with the earth, but inhabited as our earth is, though by animals of a larger ſize, and furniſhed with the ſame kind of plants, though much more beautiful than ours* (20). Now an impartial enquirer will be apt to aſk, where lies the hint in all theſe expreſſions of any mutual gravitation among theſe bodies. On the contrary, the wiſdom of theſe Ancients has not the leaſt appearance of being grounded upon any juſt reaſoning from analogy, as the Doctor's argument requires, but was the genuine growth of a narrow knowledge, which with regard to celeſtial matters ſuggeſted nothing better than a meer jumble of conceits, and theſe taken from what they found immediately before them on this earth where they were fixed, and where they ſaw no appearances of any ſuch mutual gravitation; notwithſtanding it be true enough what our author obſerves, that it is from this principle of gravity, that all bodies do actually gravitate mutually to each other, a conſequence which was not diſcovered till long after the original of aſtronomy. However the argument from *Lucretius*, it muſt be owned, carries a more promiſing countenance, and therefore deſerves to be particularly conſidered. The philoſopher's words cited by the Doctor, are:

> Suppoſe they all had bounds, ſuppoſe an end,
> Then bodies which by nature muſt deſcend,
> And from eternity purſu'd the race,
> Had long e'er this time reach'd the loweſt place (21).

This is one of his arguments to prove his doctrine, that nature is infinite and the only Deity, viz. from the abſurdity of a contrary ſuppoſition, that it ſhould be finite, ſince in that caſe as bodies naturally deſcend, the place or center to which their deſcent is directed, would be at ſome finite diſtance from them, and therefore by eternally deſcending, they muſt have reached that center long ago, and ſo the world, i. e. the ſyſtem of the world, would have been deſtroyed, which we ſee it is not. But now as nature is infinite, there can be no ſuch point or center for them to deſcend to, by which means they remain in their proper places The force of this reaſoning is, that in finite ſyſtems, where there is a center, bodies naturally deſcend; but nature being infinite and without a center, they do not naturally deſcend, that is, they have naturally no tendency to a center, or no principle of gravity from nature. Thus notwithſtanding Lucretius talks very well concerning the action of gravity upon earth (22), yet with regard to the mundane ſyſtem he denies both the action and the principle. And indeed to ſuppoſe him, as the Doctor does, aſſigning an adequate cauſe in the mutual gravitation of theſe bodies, for ſupporting his infinite worlds or ſyſtems, is making him a better reaſoner than his words imply. Having after this manner proved that the Ancients had a notion of the heavenly bodies gravitating to each other, he proceeds to ſhew with equal ſucceſs, that theſe ſame Ancients did not only think this was performed by the power of the whole matter in the terreſtrial globe attracting all things to itſelf, and not by virtue of any point, as a center in the earth to which heavy bodies tended; but likewiſe underſtood, that the gravity towards the whole earth, reſulted from the gravity toward each ſingle part of it. But here he has left the Ancients firſt mentioned, and deſcends as low as Plutarch, who undoubtedly was well acquainted with the Ptolemaic ſyſtem, and clearly intimates his opinion, that the other planets and the ſun alſo gravitate toward the earth (23); but ſtill has ſaid nothing in the places cited by our author, whence it can be fairly inferred that he had any ſuch thought as this of the mutual gravitation of the celeſtial bodies to each other, unleſs he meant by it no more than a tendency of all the reſt to the earth, as the center of the ſyſtem, whereby indeed they do conſequentially tend to each other, or to meet together by a tendency of all the reſt to one But our author goes yet a great way farther, and aſſerts that even the exact rule of this mutual gravitation, or the duplicate proportion in which the force of gravity decreaſes in receding from the ſun, was not unknown to Pythagoras. This he finds in the old ſtory told by Macrobius (24), who relates the manner in which that philoſopher found out the harmonic proportion of muſical ſtrings, viz. by obſerving the variety of ſounds acute and grave, made by a ſmith's hammers in proportion to their weights; whence having found, that the weights which generate tones in ſtrings of an equal thickneſs, are reciprocally as the ſquares of the lengths of thoſe of an equal tenſion, producing the ſame ſound in a muſical inſtrument; he afterwards applied this proportion to the heavens, and from thence learned the harmony of the ſpheres. And by comparing theſe weights with the weights of the planets, and the intervals of the tones produced by the weights with the intervals of the ſpheres; and laſtly, the lengths of the ſtrings with the diſtances of the planets from the center of their orbs; he underſtood, *as it were* (theſe are the Doctor's words) by the harmony of the heavens, that the gravity of the planets toward the ſun (according to whoſe meaſures the planets move) was reciprocally

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(*l*) Ibid. No 231. prop. ii. corol. 6. This property is tranſcribed from our author into the Builder's Dictionary, and taken notice of likewiſe by other writers upon Architecture, but I do not find that any regard is had to it in practice.

(15) Phil Tranſ. No. 259. for Dec. 1699.

(16) Vol. II. Lond. 1706. in 3 vols 8vo.

(17) There is an account of it in Phil. Tranſ. No. 283. It was publiſhed likewiſe in 4to. and tranſlated into Engliſh by Edmund Stone, F. R. S. The ſecond edition of which was printed in 1726 in 2 vols 8vo. with the addition of Dr Halley's Synopſis of the Aſtronomy of comets.

(18) Laërtius in Anax. & Democritus. Plato in Apolog. Socratis. Stobæus Eccl. Phyſ. c. 25. Plutarch. de placitis philoſoph. lib. ii. c. 13 & 20.

(19) Plutarch, c. 13.

(20) Ibid. [illegible] 30.

(21) Creech's Lucretius, lib. i. ver 986, & ſeq.

(22) Lib. i. ver. 415, and lib. ii. ver. 178, and ver. 228.

(23) In his tract *De facie in orbe lunæ*, the paſſages which are too long to be inſerted here may be ſeen in the Doctor's preface.

(24) In Somn. Scipicn. lib. ii. c. 1.

was wrote to explain and defend that part of Sir Iſaac Newton's Philoſophy, ſo our author's merit in the performance received it's moſt diſtinguiſhed luſtre from the particular atteſtation given to it by that incomparable perſon, who communicated to him his Theory of the moon (*m*), after he had improved it into ſo great an exactneſs, as thereby to correct Mr Flamſtead's beſt obſervations (*n*). The following year our Savilian Profeſſor publiſhed at Oxford an edition in folio of Euclid's works in Greek and Latin [*H*]. The undertaking had been begun by his predeceſſor Dr Bernard (*o*), as the beſt ſpecimen that could be given of that noble deſign he had formed of printing the works of all the antient Mathematicians. And in purſuit of the ſame deſign our author engaged not long after with his colleague Dr Halley to publiſh Apollonius's Conics, but was prevented from compleating his ſhare of the work (*p*) by his death, which happened on the tenth of October 1710, being then retired to Maidenhead in Berkſhire in the pariſh of Bray, where his body was probably interred, being not carried to Oxford. But a handſome marble monument with an inſcription (*q*) [*I*] is erected to his memory in St Mary's church there. He was ſucceeded in

cally as the ſquares of their diſtance from the ſun. Thus argues our Profeſſor, whereas the utmoſt that can fairly be inferred from this application by Pythagoras, of the muſical to the ſolar ſyſtem is, that he fancied the reſpective weights of the planets independently, to be proportional to the weights which produce harmonic ſounds, but without once thinking of any gravitation of the planets towards the ſun. 'Tis true indeed, that if *Pythagoras* really held what is ſince called the Copernican ſyſtem (25), he muſt believe that the planets in their motion *reſpected* the ſun; but there is no good reaſon to think he ever went ſo far as to imagine that this *reſpect* was cauſed by gravity. Our author himſelf has ſhewn in the firſt book of his treatiſe (26), that a different cauſe from that of gravity was aſſigned for the production of the harmonical meaſures by *Des Cartes*. It avails nothing to ſay, that Des Cartes's vortices are by no means a cauſe adequate to the effect, ſince neither is it pretended that Pythagoras demonſtrated gravity to be ſuch a cauſe: any aſſertion of that kind muſt needs be very far from our author's thoughts, whoſe chief view in theſe hiſtories (and in that of Pythagoras among the reſt) is to ſhew, that no-body was able to effect that before Sir Iſaac Newton. 'Tis true the decreaſe of the force of gravity in proportion to the increaſe of the diſtance, is a neceſſary conſequence of the harmonic meaſures in the planets, and ſeems, at this time of day at leaſt, not very difficult to conjecture, nay was actually ſuppoſed long before Sir Iſaac Newton's time. But yet as Pythagoras never, that we know, expreſsly made the conjecture, ſo neither is there any likelihood, that he ever thought of the conſequence. Even *Kepler* (who firſt founded the harmonic meaſures of Pythagoras upon aſtronomical obſervations) explains the ſeſquialterate proportions from other principles than that of the duplicate ratio of gravity (27). Nay, if we may believe our author, he was ſo far from attributing this to the action of gravity, by which the planets tend towards the ſun, that he ſuppoſes there is a natural *ſluggiſhneſs* in the planets to *all* motion, which inclines them by reaſon of their matter to continue where they are (28). In reality, all this which makes up the main of our author's preface muſt not be looked on as a philoſophical eſſay, but as a popular diſcourſe, and in that light it would appear well enough, had it not been prefixed to a treatiſe ſtrictly mathematical. However, ſo much muſt be ſaid in his favour, that in aſcribing ſuch a degree of knowledge in the law and direction of that force, which ſupports the Philolaic ſyſtem to the firſt founders of it, he is preceded by Galileo (29), who aſſerts ſomething like it of *Plato* from ſome paſſages in his *Timeus*, and another in *Diogenes Laërtius* (30) in Platone, which are to this effect. *Theſe* [the celeſtial bodies] *at firſt were moved in a confuſed and irregular manner, but when they were duly adjuſted and rightly ſettled, then the world was eſtabliſhed by God in juſt order and proportion.* Again, *he gave it a motion altogether agreeable to it's nature as a body (that is a direct one).* And a little farther, *therefore he afterwards made it continue it's courſe in a circle.* Here indeed we find the divine philoſopher aſſerting that the mundane ſyſtem was eſtabliſhed at firſt upon ſuch motions direct and circular, as were agreeable to the nature of the great bodies which compoſe it. But to what particular principles in that nature theſe motions are agreeable, there is not I apprehend the leaſt intimation; nor can Plato, I am perſuaded, be diſcerned herein to point at gravity, for inſtance, as the immediate cauſe of the circular courſe by any other light, than that which ſprings intirely from the diſcerner's fond prepoſſeſſions.

[*H*] *He publiſhed an edition of Euclid's works.*] This edition contains the following pieces. (1.) *Elementorum libri* xv. (2.) *Data cum præfatione Marini.* (3.) *Introductio Harmonica.* (4.) *Sectio Canonis.* (5.) *Phænomena.* (6.) *Optica.* (7.) *Catoptrica.* (8.) *De diviſionibus Liber.* (9.) *De levi et ponderoſo, fragmentum.* In the preface, after a ſhort ſummary of Euclid's life, ſuch as could be extracted from the Ancients, who as he obſerves ſeem by the little they have ſaid of him, to have thought it needleſs, if not ridiculous, to give a particular account of a man whom every body knew. The Doctor proceeds to inform his reader, that, agreeable to his plan of the life, he has inſerted into this collection every thing that had been aſcribed by any conſiderable mathematician to that author. He has here alſo given a particular deſcription of each, notwithſtanding he was very ſenſible that ſome of the pieces are ſpurious; concerning which he has given us his opinion, among others condemning the Catoptrics eſpecially as a mean performance, not at all ſuitable to Euclid's character (31). He had in another place before (32), taken notice of one egregious miſtake therein (33). Kepler had alſo animadverted (34) upon part of the ſame miſtake contained in theor. 16. as well as the 17th and 18th, which is alſo inſerted from him by our author, though without naming him in cor. 2. prop. 2. as follows: In a plain ſpeculum, the image of any radiant point is ſeen in that place where the reflected ray, which paſſes through the center of the eye, meets with the perpendicular let fall from the radiant point upon the ſpeculum; whence, though every part of the ſpeculum, except that which reflects the ray be covered or taken away, the image would nevertheleſs be viſible; and if that point of the ſpeculum be covered, though all the reſt be open, the image will not be ſeen. Kepler obſerves farther, that the axiom, upon which Euclid builds the contrary doctrine, that the image is ſeen in the perpendicular from it to the ſpeculum is true enough, but falſely applied, through a perſuaſion of the real aſcent of the image along that perpendicular, which, ſays he, differs not much from the *ſpecies intentionales* of Ariſtotle. And Dr Smith remarking another miſtake in the ſame piece, makes the following animadverſions upon the whole, 'conſidering, ſays he, 'that catoptrics were known and cultivated by the Ancients long before dioptrics; 'tis ſurprizing they could 'not account for burning by reflexion from a concave 'metal. Euclid in catoptric. prop. ult. ſays, the center of a catoptric concave metal is the burning point, 'becauſe all the rays which paſs through that point 'are returned directly back (and the ſame is ſaid by 'Vitellio, lib. 9. prop. 37). But as the ſun's diameter 'is ſo ſmall, theſe rays are but very few, and the conſequence would be, that a very broad ſpeculum would 'burn no better than a very narrow one, which is contrary to experience. It is found, continues he, from 'this and many other blunders in that book, that 'Euclid the geometer was not the author of it, and alſo that the Ancients made very groſs experiments (35).'

[*I*] *A monument with an inſcription.*] The inſcription is in theſe terms:

P. M.
DAVIDIS GREGORII M. D.
Qui
Aberdenia natus Jun. 24. 1661.

(*m*) He has likewiſe interſperſed ſeveral ingenious inventions by Dr Halley, who in his turn commends our author's explication of Sir Iſaac's method to conſtruct the orbit of a comet by three accurate obſervations. *Synopſis of the Aſtronomy of comets, verſus finem.*

(*n*) Schol. to prop. xxix. lib. iv.

(*o*) See his article in this work, Vol. II. p. 754.

(*p*) Our author's ſhare was to prepare the four firſt books for the preſs, the materials of which were among his predeceſſor's manuſcripts. Ibid. rem. [*P*], coll. 2 No XV. See alſo more of this undertaking in Dr Halley's article.

(*q*) In this monument, if I miſtake not, the ſculptor has executed Shakeſpeare's hint in two figures, repreſenting Patience ſmiling at Grief.

(25) A late writer obſerves, that it is more than probable that Pythagoras was not the inventor of the ſyſtem which goes under his name, but that it grew up by degrees afterwards among his followers. Coſtard's Letters to M. Folkes, Eſq; concerning the riſe and progreſs of Aſtronomy, p. 120, & ſeq. Lond. 1746, 8vo.

(26) Prop. 71 to 75 incluſive.

(27) Ibid. prop. 67. lib. i.

(28) Idem ibid. prop. 66.

(29) In his Coſmical Syſtem.

(30) Theſe are inſerted into our author's preface.

(31) There is an account of this book in Phil. Tranſ. No 289.

(32) In his Elements of Catoptrics, prop. 7.

(33) In Theor. 17 and 18.

(34) Paral. ad Vitell. cap. iii. part 2.

(35) Remarks, art. 93, at the end of Vol. II. of Smith's Optics.

in the Savilian profeſſorſhip by Mr John Caſwell, A. M. of Hart-Hall (r) now Hertford-College in Oxford. He left a widow and ſeveral children; and his eldeſt ſon David Gregory, D. D. was firſt a ſtudent, and is now a Canon of Chriſt-church, and was appointed Regius Profeſſor of Modern Hiſtory in that univerſity at the inſtitution thereof by King George I. Beſides the Commentary upon Sir Iſaac Newton's *Principia* mentioned below (s), our author left a Treatiſe upon Fluxions; another of Trigonometry both plane and ſpherical; and a third upon Mechanics and Hydroſtatics. He publiſhed in his life-time ſeveral papers in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, the chief of which are taken notice of above; the ſubjects of the reſt may be ſeen in remark [K]. Since his death there has been publiſhed in an Abridgment of the ſame Tranſactions (t) a ſmall tract, intitled, *E prælectionibus de motu a Davide Gregorio in academia Edinburgenſi Matheſews Profeſſore dictatis, An. Dom* 1686. And in 1745 Mr Colin Maclaurin, a ſucceſſor of our author in the mathematical chair at Edinburgh, publiſhed another piece of his in 8vo, with the title of *A Treatiſe of Practical Geometry in three parts, tranſlated from the Latin with additions* [L]; the ſecond edition of which, printed alſo at Edinburgh, came out in 1751, 8vo.

(r) Ayliffe's Catalogue of the Savilian Profeſſors, in his State of the univerſity of Oxford.

(s) In remark [K].

(t) Vol. VI. by Martyn and Eames in the chapter of Mechanics.

In Academia Edinburgenſi
Matheſeos Prælector Publicus
Deinde Oxonii
Aſtronomiæ Profeſſor Savilianus
Obit Oct. 10. A. D 1710
Ætatem Illi heu brevem Natura conceſſit
Sibi Ipſe longam prorogavit
Scriptor Illuſtris.
Deſideratiſſimo Viro
ELIZABETHA UXOR.
M. P.

We choſe to inſert the whole (which is ſhort) as a pattern worthy of imitation, where full juſtice is done to all the diſtinguiſhed merit of the deceaſed, without any of that fulſome flattery which ſo often diſgraces theſe monumental inſcriptions.

[K] *An account of the reſt.*] Theſe are, (1.) *A ſcheme of the phaſes with his obſervations on the ſun's eclipſe, Sept.* 13, 1699. No. 256. (2.) *Some improvements relating to the quadrature of the parts of Hippocrates's Chius's Lunula, in a letter to Dr Wallis*, No. 259. *for December* 1699. (3) *A paper de* ORBITA CASSINIANA, No. 293, *for Sept. and Oct.* 1704. This was a very eccentric elliptical curve that had been aſſigned by that celebrated aſtronomer, in his treatiſe on *the origin and progreſs of aſtronomy*, for the orbit which a planet deſcribes about the ſun placed in one focus, ſo that the angles at the other focus are proportional to the times. The invention was ingenious, and thereby Caſſini intended to ſupport the common opinion at that time after Copernicus againſt Kepler, that there was a point within the orbits of the planets, round which they deſcribed equal angles in equal times. Our author had conſidered this Caſſinian curve in his *Elements of Aſtronomy* (36), and ſhewn after Mercator (37) ſeveral reaſons why it could not be retained in that ſcience, as it neither agrees to the obſervations of the heavens, becauſe of the brevity of it's ſhorter axis, nor do phyſical reaſons correſpond, ſince for the deſcription of this, a centripetal force toward the ſun is required, greatly deviating from that which nature makes uſe of. But now having conſidered the ſubject ſtill farther, he found that this curve muſt neceſſarily be thrown out of aſtronomy for another moſt irrefragable reaſon, viz. it's abſolute impoſſibility. 'It being impoſſible, ſays he, 'that any ſpecies of this figure can be deſcribed by a 'planet, ſo that the angles at the other focus where 'the ſun is not, may be proportional to the times. 'For thus the area deſcribed by the radius that carries 'the planet, would not be proportional to the time. 'For it is not true, that increaſing the angle of one 'focus by equal increments, the increments of the area 'made at the other, at the ſame time, will alſo be 'equal, as I thought not long ago;' and to demonſtrate the truth of this diſcovery, is the buſineſs of the paper here mentioned.

(36) Lib. iii. prop. 8.

(37) Phil. Tranſ. No. 59.

[L] *A Treatiſe of Practical Geometry*, &c] In the preface, dated at the College of Edinburgh May 1, 1745, Mr Colin Maclaurin tells us, that this treatiſe was compoſed in Latin about ſixty years before by our author, then profeſſor of mathematics at Edinburgh, where it has been conſtantly taught ſince that time, immediately after Euclid's elements and the plain trigonometry, as proper for exerciſing the ſtudents in the application of geometry to practice. He obſerves alſo, that ſeveral additions had been made to the treatiſe to render it more uſeful at this time. Some of theſe additions are expreſsly ſaid to be taken from a manuſcript of Sir Robert Stewart, Profeſſor of Natural Philoſophy in the ſame college (38); the reſt are probably made by Mr Maclaurin. One of theſe laſt is inſerted at Prop. 7. Part II. where our author having proved the proportion of the ſquare of the circle, to that of the diameter, to be nearly as 14 to 11, adds the following words: *If greater exactneſs be required, you may proceed to any degree of accuracy, for the ſquare of the diameter is to the inſcribed circle, as* 1 *to* $1 - \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{5} - \frac{1}{7} + \frac{1}{9} - \frac{1}{11} + \frac{1}{13}$, *&c. in infinitum.* Now this ſeries was firſt diſcovered by his uncle James, as is mentioned in his article (39), where we have particularly ſhewn from Sir Iſaac Newton, the exceeding ſlowneſs of it's convergency, which rendering it of no uſe in practice, we have alſo inſerted another ſeries produced from it, by ſome improvements of Sir Iſaac, which converges very quick. To the ſame purpoſe is the following remark to this paragraph of our author, which then had not fallen under our obſervation. '*This ſeries*, ſays the re'marker, *will be of no ſervice for computing the circle 'accurately without ſome further artifice, becauſe it 'converges at too ſlow a rate.*' Upon the whole it is ſomewhat ſurprizing, that our author's knowledge in the nature of infinite ſeries ſhould be ſo very imperfect, as this inſtance gives room to ſuſpect it was, at the time of his reading theſe lectures in the college at at Edinburgh, and after he had publiſhed his *Exercitatio Geometrica*. But his knowledge in this branch of analytics, it ſeems, was never thought to be very great by ſome good judges. Mr Cotes, for inſtance, about the time of his writing the preface to the ſecond edition of Sir Iſaac Newton's *Principia*, ſpeaks ſlightly of our author's abilities upon this point in a letter to Mr Collins, where mentioning his own differential method of interpolation (40), he writes thus, Dr Gregory, in Lib. V. Prop. XXV. of his Aſtronomy, refers his reader to a book of Gabriel Mouton, De obſervationibus diametrorum ſolis & lunæ apparentium (41). Though I do not much rely upon the Doctor's recommendation, yet, &c. To conclude, we learn from Mr Flamſtead, that our author's countrymen gave out, that he had found a great many errors in Sir Iſaac's *Principia* (42). If ſo, it may help us to gueſs what kind of a commentary that is, which was found among the Doctor's papers after his death.

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(38) For inſtance the greateſt part of the table in p. 5, and all intirely from p. 54 to 67.

(39) In remark [O].

(40) Printed at the end of his *Harmonia menſurarum*, publiſhed by Dr Smith in 1722, 4to.

(41) See the whole letter in Gen. Dict. Vol. IV. p. 444.

(42) See notes upon a letter from Dr Wallis, ibid. Vol. X. p. 100.

GRESHAM, the ſurname of an antient, worthy, and opulent family, derived, as that moſt learned Antiquary Sir Henry Spelman tells us, from a town ſo called in the hundred of North-Erpingham, or Orpingham, in the county of Norfolk (a), from whence many eminent and honourable perſons have deſcended (b) [A]. John Greſham of Greſham flouriſhed under

(a) Poſthumous Works, p. 152.

(b) Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. III. p. 113.

[A] *From whence many eminent and honourable perſons have deſcended*] In the introduction to a very curious and accurate pedigree of the Greſhams, in the poſſeſſion of the late Sir Marmaduke, and now in that of under the reigns of Edward the Third and Richard the Second (*c*). His ſon James Greſham ſettled at Holt in the ſame county, about four miles from Greſham, and was Lord of the Manor of Eaſt-Beckham (*d*). He married Margaret, the daughter of William Billingford, of Blackford, Eſq; by whom he had a ſon named John, who reſided at Holt (*e*), and married Alice, the daughter of Alexander Blyth of Stratton, Eſq; with whom he had a large fortune, by the demiſe of her three brothers, who all died without iſſue (*f*). By this lady he had four ſons; William, who ſucceeded to the family eſtate at Holt, and who was the laſt of the Greſhams who made it the place of his reſidence (*g*) [*B*]; Thomas, who entered into Holy Orders, and became Rector of South-Reppes in Norfolk, Prebendary in the Church of Winton, and Chancellor of Lichfield (*h*), to whom, if to any of this family, a certain very extraordinary ſtory is thought to refer (*i*) [*C*]. Of the younger ſons, Richard and John, we ſhall ſpeak more particularly in the following articles.

(*c*) Pedigree of the family, in the hands of Sir Charles Greſham, Bart.

(*d*) Le Neve's M.S. Vol. II. p. 297.

(*e*) Pedigree of the family.

(*f*) Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. III. p. 114.

(*g*) Stowe's Survey of London, Vol I. B. i. p. 260.

(*h*) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals.

(*i*) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 1.

of Sir Charles Greſham, the preſent Baronet; we are told that this family was at once ſeized in Norfolk of thirty-five manors; in Suffolk of five; in Cambridgeſhire of one; in Kent of three; in Suſſex of two; in Surry of nine; in Middleſex of two; in Somerſet of of two, in Derbyſhire of three; in Yorkſhire of nine; and of twelve granges, and ſeveral other *villatae*, and conſiderable poſſeſſions in the ſame county, and of three manors in the Biſhopric of Durham, as appears by ſeveral letters-patents, fines, deeds enrolled, inquiſitions *poſt mortem*, wills and private evidences now in the hands of ſome of that family. And out of which family, within the compaſs of an hundred and fifty years laſt paſt, there has been one Baronet, nine Knight Bachelors, whereof one knighted in the field; one Baronet's wife, and nine Knight's wives of the name and family of Greſham, and have iſſued from them in that time, two Viſcounts, ſeven Baronets, twenty-four Knights, two Counteſſes, five Baronet's wives, and twenty-two Knight's wives (1). Particulars honourable in themſelves, and uſeful alſo in the circumſtance of preſerving the memory of them.

[*B*] *Who made it the place of his reſidence*] This gentleman, who was ſtiled William Greſham of Holt, in the county of Norfolk, Eſq; married Ellen, the widow of one Mr Copeland, and the daughter of Richard Bodley, by whom he had iſſue two daughters, both named Alice, one of whom married Mr March, and the other Mr Middleton (2). Their father ſold this eſtate to his younger brother Sir John Greſham, founder of the family at Titſey, as we ſhall ſee hereafter; and the year after he had parted with his eſtate, viz. 1547, William Greſham departed this life (3). But notwithſtanding this, ſome branches of the Greſham family ſtill remain in Norfolk.

[*C*] *Is thought to refer.*] This very ſtrange ſtory we have from that famous traveller George Sandys, Eſq; and therefore it is juſt the reader ſhould ſee it in that light in which he thought proper to place it, ſpeaking of Strombolo and other iſlands in the Mediterranean, in which there are burning mountains, he proceeds thus: ‘These places (ſays he) and ſuch like, are commonly affirmed by the Roman Catholics to be the jaws of Hell, and that within, the damned ſouls are tormented. It was told me at Naples by a countryman of ours, and an old penſioner of the Pope's, who was a youth in the days of King Henry, that it was then generally bruited throughout England, that Mr Greſham, a merchant, ſetting ſail from Palermo (where there then dwelt one Anthonio called the Rich, who at one time had two kingdoms mortgaged unto him by the King of Spain) being croſſed by contrary winds, was conſtrained to anchor under the lee of this iſland. Now about mid-day, when for certain hours it accuſtomedly forbeareth to flame, he aſcended the mountain with eight of the ſailors, and approaching as near the vent as they durſt, amongſt other noiſes they heard a voice cry aloud, *Diſpatch, Diſpatch, the rich Anthonio is a coming*. Terrified herewith they deſcended, and anon the mountain again evaporated fire. But from ſo diſmal a place they made all the haſte that they could, when the winds ſtill thwarting their courſe, and deſiring much to know more of this matter, they returned to Palermo, and forthwith enquiring of Anthonio, it was told them that he was dead; and computing the time, did find it to agree with the very inſtant that the voice was heard by them. Greſham reported this at his return to the King, and the mariners being called before him, confirmed by oath the narration. In Greſham himſelf, as this gentleman ſaid (for I no otherwiſe report it) it wrought ſo deep an impreſſion, that he gave over traffic, diſtributing his goods a part to his kinsfolks, and the reſt to good uſes, retaining only a competency for himſelf, and ſo ſpent the reſt of his life in a ſolitary devotion (4).’ The learned hiſtorian of this family, who has likewiſe copied this relation, aſſigns his reaſon in theſe words. ‘It is not ſaid that this Mr Greſham went into Orders, but only that he retired from ſecular affairs. However as the ſtory ſuits with the time of Thomas Greſham, who died in the year 1558, for that reaſon I have placed it here (5).’ We have ſaid in the text, that if this ſtory related to any of this family, it muſt be to him. But it is more probable that the tale, ſuch as it is, was rather fathered upon John Greſham, merchant of London (6), who reſided long in thoſe parts, and in whoſe favour King Henry wrote a letter to John, King of Portugal, dated from his court at Waltham, October the 15th, 1531, deſiring that juſtice might be done to him againſt one Diego Perez, a ſubject of his Majeſty of Portugal. Some ſtories of the like kind have been propagated with great boldneſs of Mount Hecla in Iceland, and an appeal made to the inhabitants for the truth of them, which it might be well preſumed by thoſe who made it, would never reach their ears; but unluckily it did, and offended them ſo much, as to produce a natural and general hiſtory of this country, written under the direction of it's Biſhop, in which the lye is in direct terms given to all theſe reports, only it is admitted that the waves of the ſea impelled by boiſterous winds, creep through the caverns at the bottom of this mountain, with a hollow murmuring noiſe, that a fanciful mind might miſtake for mourning (7). E

(1) From the pedigree of the family.

(2) Viſitation of Norfolk, M.S. in Caius-College, Cambridge.

(3) From the Pedigree of the family.

(4) Sandys's Travels, b. iv. p. 194. Clarke's Mirror, chap. xxxiii. Wanley's Hiſtory of the little World, b. vi. chap. xix.

(5) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 2.

(6) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 96.

(7) Brevis Commentarius de Iſlandia, per Angrimum Ionum, ſect. vii.

GRESHAM [Sir RICHARD], an eminent Merchant, a great promoter of trade, and a worthy member of the city of London (*a*). He was the third ſon, as we have already ſhewn, of John Greſham of Holt, in the county of Norfolk, Eſq; by Alice, the daughter of Alexander Blyth, of Stratton, Eſq; (*b*). It does not appear at what time he was born; but his father being deſirous that he ſhould have an opportunity of enriching himſelf by his own induſtry, placed him as an apprentice with Mr John Middleton, Merchant of London, in the reign of King Henry the Seventh (*c*); and the firſt date that occurs with regard to his tranſactions, is that of his being admitted to the freedom of his company, which was in 1507 (*d*). He married, not long after he was ſettled in buſineſs, Audrey, the daughter of William Lynne, of Southwick in Northamptonſhire, Eſq; who lived with him to the twenty-eighth of December, 1522; and at her deceaſe was interred in the church of St Lawrence Jewry (*e*): after which he married one Mrs Taverſon, a widow, whoſe maiden-name was Worpſall, with whom he ſpent the remainder of his life (*f*). He was very fortunate in the management of his commerce abroad, by which he acquired great wealth, and purchaſed conſiderable eſtates in land in different counties. He was

(*a*) Stowe, Holinſhed, Grafton.

(*b*) Pedigree of the family.

(*c*) Le Neve's M.SS. Vol. II. p. 297.

(*d*) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 2.

(*e*) Stowe's Survey of London, b. iii. p. 46.

(*f*) Pedigree of the family.

was alſo Agent for King Henry the Eighth in foreign parts, chiefly for the management of money-affairs, during his wars abroad, which engaged him to viſit Antwerp and other places; and in this office he gained ſo high a reputation for abilities and integrity, that he was continued in that employment through this whole reign, and ſo long as he lived under that of Edward the Sixth (*g*). His favour at court, and his credit in the city, kept an equal pace, ſo that in 1531, being choſen Sheriff of London (*h*), he received the ſame year the honour of knightood from King Henry the Eighth (*i*) He ſignalized himſelf while in office by an application to Sir Thomas Audeley, then Lord Privy-Seal, for procuring two grants; one for the general benefit of commerce, in which he happily ſucceeded, and the other for the particular honour and emolument of the city of London, which as he wiſely contrived, ſo his ſon Sir Thomas nobly atchieved (*k*). The firſt reſpected the liberty of banking, then granted by patent, which he repreſented to his Lordſhip as a great hardſhip and inconveniency, ſhewing at the ſame time how neceſſary it was, that all Merchants, foreigners as well as ſubjects, ſhould be allowed to exerciſe exchanges and re-changes, without any reſtraint for the benefit of trade, and as the moſt effectual means for the preventing the exportation of ſpecie out of the kingdom; and this he requeſted might be done by the King's iſſuing his royal proclamation for that purpoſe, and this it appears was attained (*l*) [*A*]. While he was yet in this office, James Bainham, Eſq; of the Temple, was, through the ſpirit of perſecution which reigned in that time, delivered into his cuſtody, and committed to Newgate, and was afterwards carried to Smithfield and burnt as a Heretic, April 30, 1532 (*m*). The hoſpital of St Thomas of Acon, or Acars, being ſurrendered into the King's hands, October 21, 1538, it was, by the means of Sir Richard Greſham, purchaſed by his company, and has been ſince known by the name of Mercers Chapel in Cheapſide (*n*). In 1537 he executed the high office of Lord-Mayor of London with great ſpirit and dignity (*o*); and ſhewed upon that occaſion, as far as any prudent man could think it proper to ſhew in ſuch perilous times, his favourable ſentiments for the Proteſtant Religion, and his ſteady concern for the intereſts of the city he governed, by demanding of the King certain religious foundations, which
about

(*g*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 265.

(*h*) Grafton's brief Chron. fol. 129. b.

(*i*) Pedigree of the family.

(*k*) See the article of GRESHAM [Sir THOMAS].

(*l*) Grafton's Chronicle, fol. 129. b.

(*m*) Fox's Acts and Monuments, edit. 1610. p. 939.

(*n*) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 200.

(*o*) Grafton's brief Chronicle, fol. 143. b.

[*A*] *And this it appears was attained*] They are much miſtaken, who believe that in ancient times there was no care taken by the government of foreign trade, or that it was in thoſe days either precarious or inſignificant (1). On the contrary, it was the great object of our King's and of our Parliament's conſideration. They went for a long ſeries of time upon this maxim, *that* Commerce *could not be beneficial to a country, unleſs it was carried on* uniformly *and under proper* regulations (2). Upon this principle the notion of a ſtaple was founded, at what time is not eaſily aſſigned, but certainly before the reign of Henry the Third, ſince from his time down to Henry the Seventh, we meet with a multitude of laws on this ſubject (3). This word ſtaple was applied to the principal commodities of this iſland, ſuch as wool, leather, lead, tin, cloths, butter, cheeſe, &c. The ports from whence theſe commodities might by law be tranſported, viz. London, Hull, Boſton, Briſtol, Southampton, Newcaſtle, &c. were ſtiled ſtaple ports, the laws made for the direction of trade, by thoſe who managed it, were called Staple Laws, and the principal magiſtrates of this ſociety were the Mayor and Conſtable of the Staple; this was then reputed, inſtead of a reſtraint upon trade; the only method for preſerving it's freedom, ſince all the King's ſubjects that would bring their goods to the ſtaple, and conform themſelves to the laws and ordinances thereof, might be admitted merchants. At theſe ſtaples the King's cuſtoms were duly collected and paid into the Exchequer twice a year. By the Mayor and Conſtable of the Staple, the rate of exchange was ſettled according to certain tables poſted up at Dover and elſewhere, that no frauds might be committed by ſuffering either our commodities or our money from paſſing into foreign countries for leſs than their real value. In thoſe days there was no ſuch thing as bankers. It was King Edward the Third, who may be juſtly ſtiled our Engliſh Juſtinian, ſettled theſe points by various good laws, and cauſed thoſe tables to be ſet up, declaring the true value of the ſeveral ſpecies of coin in all countries, the inhabitants of which, had any dealings with his ſubjects (4). In his time there was not only a mint in the Tower of London, but in ſeveral other places, as at Canterbury, Kingſton upon Hull, Newcaſtle, Briſtol, and Exeter. The King had alſo his exchanger, who had his deputies in the ſeveral ports, and theſe made whatever remittances were neceſſary, value for value, with a very ſmall allowance; and when any want of money was perceived in the kingdom, orders were ſent to the Mayor of the Staple to procure a certain proportion of the value of goods exported to be paid in Bullion, which was afterwards ſent to the neareſt mint (5). In proceſs of time things took another courſe, and the Lombards coming over and ſettling in that ſtreet which ſtill bears their name, drew moſt of this buſineſs into their hands, but managed it in ſuch a manner, as turned very little to the account of the Engliſh merchant; and therefore, after various acts of parliament made in the reign of Henry the Seventh, to remedy theſe miſchiefs, but with very ſmall effect, this new method was fallen upon in the reign of his ſon, to confine the buſineſs of banking to thoſe who ſhould be empowered by the King's Patent (6). This, inſtead of curing the old, brought in new evils, of which Sir Richard Greſham complained to the Lord Privy-Seal, putting him in mind that Bartholomew-fair was near at hand, when by taking off this reſtraint, a great many cloths and kerſey's might be ſold that would be otherwiſe left in the makers warehouſes (7). He farther obſerves, that the factors were about to proceed to Bourdeaux, and to purchaſe wines, and that if things remained as they were, in all probability they would take gold with them, which might be prevented, by iſſuing ſuch a proclamation as he deſired; he adds upon this head, that what he wrote was purely to diſcharge his conſcience out of duty to the King, and for the benefit of his ſubjects, by promoting the exportation of our commodities, laying it down as a maxim, that merchants can no more be without their exchanges and re-changes, than ſhips in the ſea without water. He then paſſes to the houſe for merchants to meet in, which it was intended ſhould be built in Lombard-ſtreet, the expence of which he calculates at two thouſand pounds, and deſires the King's letters may be addreſſed to Sir George Moneux, to diſpoſe him to ſell certain houſes upon the ground of which this building might be erected; and for the money, he thought he could collect one thouſand pounds before he was out of his office. In a poſtſcript to this letter, which is dated July 5th, (1531) he tells this great miniſter that he had received his letter, by which he underſtood it to be the King's deſire, that the Monaſtery of Walſingham ſhould be diſſolved, and aſſures his Lordſhip, that he had wrote to the Prior to further that deſign; he adds a requeſt, that he might be permitted to purchaſe from the Crown certain lands which had been part of the Biſhopric of Norwich, at the rate of twenty years purchaſe, provided the ſum of one thouſand pounds, advanced to the Duke of Buckingham by order of Cardinal Wolſey, on the King's account, were taken in part, and ſome of theſe lands were granted him about twelve years afterwards, as the reader will be informed in the text (8).

(1) Miſſelden's Circle of Commerce. Malyne's Lex Mercatoria. Hakluyt's Voyages.

(2) Malyne's Maintenance of Free Trade, A. D. 1622, 8vo.

(3) Madox's Hiſtory of the Exchequer, p. 532.

(4) Stat. 27. Edward III.

(5) Malynes's Lex Mercatoria, P. III. chap. i.

(6) The Maintainance of Free Trade, p. 95.

(7) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, Appendix, No I.

(8) Batisford in Com. Suffolk.

[*B*] *In*

about that time were diſſolved, not for himſelf or his family, but for the reception of lame and diſeaſed perſons, that were burthenſome to this corporation, as the reader may ſee more at large, the nature of the ſubject requiring it, in the notes [*B*]. The ſame year he had a grant from the Heralds Office to him and his poſterity for additions to his arms, which grant has been ſince publiſhed (*p*). In 1541, Sir Richard and Sir John Greſham, Knights, were put into the commiſſion for hereſies done in the city and dioceſe of London, in virtue of that ſanguinary law, ſo well known to poſterity by the title of *the Six Articles* (*q*). His favour with his maſter was ſo great, his ſervices ſo many and acceptable, and his intereſt ſo conſiderable, that he obtained ſeveral grants of abbies and abbey-lands to a very large amount. In the thirty-ſecond year of that King, he had the ſite of the famous abbey of Fountains, or *de Fontibus*, in Yorkſhire, formerly belonging to Monks of the Ciſtertian order (*r*); in the thirty-fifth, of the hoſpital of Carbroke in the county of Norfolk, to himſelf and Sir Richard Southwell; and the ſame year he had the hoſpital or præceptory of Batisford in the county of Suffolk, granted to himſelf alone (*s*). In the thirty-ſeventh of the ſame King, he had, in conjunction with Richard Billingford, a grant of the houſe of the White-Friers, between the weſt gate and the ſide of the river Tyne in Newcaſtle; as alſo the religious houſe of Walknol near Pandon-Gate in the ſame town (*t*); and in the thirty-eighth year of the ſame monarch's reign, the priory of Benedictine Monks at Hoxne or Hoxon in the county of Suffolk (*u*). His ordinary place of reſidence was at Bethnal-Green near London, where dying on the 21ſt of February, 1548, his corpſe was removed to the church of St Lawrence Jewry, and there ſome years afterwards a tomb with an inſcription was erected to his memory (*w*), which remained ſtanding 'till the Fire of London in 1666, when that church was conſumed. He left iſſue by his firſt wife, as the pedigree of the family bears, two ſons and two daughters; but the monumental inſcription, if faithfully copied ſays, three ſons and one daughter (*x*). A very judicious author prefers the pedigree, and we yield willingly to his judgment in that reſpect (*y*). His ſons then were Sir John Greſham, of whom ſome particulars are preſerved at the

(*p*) Miſcellanies, hiſtorical and philological, p. 175.

(*q*) Fox's Acts and Monuments, p. 1096.

(*r*) Tanner's Notitia Monaſtica, p. 653. Monaſt. Anglican. Tom. I. p. 733.

(*s*) Tanner's Notitia Monaſtica, p. 522, 350.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 397, 398.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 563.

(*w*) Stowe's Survey of London, book III. chap. iii. p. 46.

(*x*) In this inſcription the names are William and Margaret.

(*y*) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 3.

[*B*] *In the notes*] It is very remarkable that this letter is not directed either to the Chancellor or the Lord Privy-Seal, who at this time had great power in matters of this nature, but to the King himſelf, which is a clear proof of the great intereſt he had with that monarch, to whom otherwiſe he would not have addreſſed it. His hearty zeal for the public ſervice, which he ſollicits with as much earneſtneſs as he could poſſibly have done any ſuit of his own, and his good ſenſe in urging the moſt proper arguments for obtaining his purpoſe, render this letter one of the moſt remarkable pieces extant, with reſpect to his perſonal hiſtory, thus it runs (9):

'Moſt redoubted puiſſant and noble prince, my moſt dread beloved and natural ſovereign lord, I your poor humble and obedient ſervant, conſidering and ever more and more perceiving by your virtuous beginnings and charitable proceedings in all your cauſes, your perſon and Majeſty Royal, to be the elected and choſen veſſel of God: by whom not alone the very and true word of God is and ſhall be ſet forth, and according to the truth and verity of the ſame; but alſo to be he whom God hath conſtituted and ordained to redreſs and reform all crimes, offences, and enormities, being repugnant to his doctrine, or to the detriment of the commonwealth, and hurt of the poor people being your natural ſubjects; and further to foreſee and vigilantly to provide for the charitable reformation of the ſame, which thing hath, and yet doth encourage me; and alſo my bounden duty obligeth me in ſpecial, being moſt unworthy your Lieutenant and Maior of your City Royal of London, to inform and advertiſe your moſt gracious Highneſs, of one thing in ſpecial, for the aid and comfort of the poor, ſick, blind, aged, and impotent perſons, being not able to help themſelves, nor having no place certain where they may be refreſhed or lodged at, till they be holpen and cured of their diſeaſes and ſickneſſes.

'So it is moſt gracious Lord, that near and within the city of London, be three hoſpitals or ſpittals, commonly called St Mary Spittal, St Bartilmew's Spittal, and St Thomas's Spittal, and the new Abby of Tower Hill; founded of good devotion by auncient faders, and endowed with great poſſeſſions and rents, only for the relief, comfort, and helping of the poor and impotent people, not being able to help themſelves, and not to the maintenance of Chanons, Prieſts and Monks to live in pleaſure, nothing regarding the miſerable people lying in every ſtreet, offending every clean perſon paſſing by the way, with their filthy and naſty ſavours.

'Wherefore may it pleaſe your merciful goodneſs, enclined to pity and compaſſion for the relief of Chriſt's very images, created to his own ſimilitude; to order by your high authority as ſupreme head of this Church of England, or otherwiſe by your ſage diſcretion, that your Maior of the City of London, and his brethren the Aldermen for the time being, ſhall and may for henceforth have the order, diſpoſition, rule, and governance, both of all the lands, tenements, and revenues appertaining and belonging to the ſaid hoſpitals and every of them, and of the miniſters which be, or ſhall be within every of them. And then your Grace ſhall plainly perceive, that where now a ſmall number of Chanons, Prieſts, and Monks, be found for their own profit only, and not for the common utility of the realm, a great number of poor, needy, ſickly, and indigent perſons ſhall be refreſhed, maintained, and comforted, and alſo healed and cured of their infirmities frankly and freely, by Phyſicians, Surgeons, and Potecaries: which ſhall have ſtipend and ſalary only for that purpoſe. So that all impotent perſons not hable to labour, ſhall be relieved; and all ſturdy beggars not willing to labour, ſhall be puniſhed.

'For the which doing, your Grace ſhall not alonely merit highly towards God, but ſhew yourſelf to be more charitable to the poor, than your noble progenitor King Edgar, founder of ſo many Monaſteries, or King Henry III. renewer of Weſtminſter, or King Edward III. founder of the new Abby, or King Henry V. founder of Shene; but alſo ſhall have the name of Conſervator, Protector, and Defender of the poor people, with their continual prayer for your health, wealth, and proſperity, long to endure.'

Your humble and moſt obedient ſervant,

RYCHARD GRESHAM.

What reception this letter met with, we are no where informed, but from it's conſequences we may gather, that it made a great impreſſion upon the King's mind, ſince towards the end of his life, he ſhewed a deſire that theſe hoſpitals ſhould be put into the hands of the city; which in the reign of his ſon, with reſpect to three of them, it may be not without the interpoſition of Sir Thomas Greſham, was actually brought about upon eaſy terms, which ought to be remembered to the honour of him, who firſt formed the project of preſerving them for that good purpoſe which they have ſince anſwered (10).

(9) Bibl. Cot. Cleopatra, E. 4.

(10) Stowe, Strype, Maitland.

the bottom of the page [C]; Sir Thomas Greſham, of whom in a ſubſequent article; and the daughters, Margaret married to Sir John Thynne of Longleate, from whom the noble family of Weymouth are deſcended (z); and Elizabeth, who died unmarried the ſame year with her father (a). As for his widow, Dame Iſabella Greſham, ſhe deceaſed in the year 1565 (b).

(z) Collins's Peerage, Vol. III. p. 317.

(a) Le Neve's M.SS. Vol. II. p. 297.

(b) Pedigree of the family.

[C] *At the bottom of the page.*] We find in the pedigree of the family, but few particulars relating to this gentleman, which is the reaſon that we have choſen to digeſt theſe in a note. He was born in the year 1518, and brought up to buſineſs under his father (11). He was knighted by the Duke of Somerſet, Lord Protector, September the 28th, 1547, upon the memorable victory gained over the Scots in Muſſelburgh-field (12), and admitted a member of the Mercers company in 1550 (13). In the reign of Queen Mary, he is thought to have complied with the times, of which this is reported as an inſtance, that in 1556, twenty-two perſons being ſent out of Eſſex to London, in the month December, in compliance with the proclamation againſt heretics, in order to their examination before Dr Edmund Bonner, then Biſhop of London; the populace as they paſſed through the ſtreets ſhewed ſuch evident tokens of compaſſion, or as the prelate underſtood of approbation, that he ſent Sir John, who happened to be with him, to complain of this terrible inſult to the then Lord-Mayor and Sheriffs, with which, whatever his private opinion might be, it was certainly prudent in him to comply. The matter in truth was no more than this, that numbers who abhorred perſecution and had a charitable tenderneſs for perſons of good fame and credit, expoſed to ſuch ill uſage for obeying the dictates of their conſcience, went out of town to meet the poor ſufferers, and to comfort them, which being a circumſtance very few choſe to communicate, and there being alſo many of this diſpoſition, their attendance ſwelled in ſuch a manner, that by the time they entered London, their train was grown to a thouſand men, which Biſhop Bonner thought ſhould have been prevented by the vigilance of the city magiſtrates (14). A certain hiſtorian adds the title of alderman, to that of Sir John Greſham (15), which if it had been ſo, would have rendered him a very improper meſſenger; but the truth is, that Sir John Greſham, Knight and Alderman, had been about two months dead, and therefore this muſt have been his nephew (16). He married Frances, the daughter and heir of Sir Henry Thwaites, of Lownd in Yorkſhire, who ſurvived him twenty years. By her he had his only daughter Elizabeth, who married Sir Henry Neville (17), Knight, gentleman of the bed-chamber to King Edward VI. who made him very large grants of Church lands, which were reſumed by Queen Mary, and reſtored to him by Queen Elizabeth; by the daughter of Sir John Greſham, he had a ſon Henry, whoſe lineal deſcendants are ſtill in poſſeſſion of their anceſtor's eſtates in Berkſhire. Dame Elizabeth Neville, died November the 6th, 1573, and her mother, Dame Frances Greſham, in October 1580. E

(11) Pedigree of the family.

(12) Le Neve's M.SS. Vol. II. p. 291.

(13) Pedigree of the family.

(14) Fox's Acts and Monuments, p. 1863.

(15) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of England, p. 266.

(16) See his monumental inſcription, and Stowe, Holinſ. Strype.

(17) Morgan's Sphere of Gentry, lib. II. c. vi. p. 57.

GRESHAM [Sir JOHN], a very eminent Merchant, a beneficent patron to learning, and a moſt worthy magiſtrate in the city of London. He was the youngeſt ſon of John Greſham of Holt, in the county of Norfolk, Eſq; beforementioned, and ſucceeded his brother Richard as an apprentice to Mr John Middleton (a). He was admitted a member of the worſhipful company of Mercers in 1517, and by his great induſtry in trade acquired a very large fortune (b). This ſingular ſucceſs put it into his power to purchaſe ſeveral fair eſtates in the county of Norfolk, as alſo the manor of Titſey in the county of Surry, which had been granted by King Henry the Eighth to Sir John Bourchier, Knight of the Garter, and Lord Berners, who dying without heirs male, his daughter Catherine married Edward Knyvet, Eſq; from whom it was purchaſed by Mr Greſham (c). In 1537, his elder brother Sir Richard Greſham being then Lord-Mayor, he ſerved the honourable office of Sheriff of London, and was the ſame year knighted (d). He afterwards purchaſed from his eldeſt brother, William Greſham, Eſq; the capital meſſuage of Holt in the county of Norfolk, as appears by a deed, dated October 14, 1546 (e). In the ſucceeding year, Sir John Greſham himſelf was choſen Lord-Mayor of London (f). There had been an antient immemorial cuſtom, of cauſing what was called the marching watch to parade through the city at Midſummer, which, on account of ſeveral very expenſive muſters, made at the King's command ſome years before, had been forbidden in 1539 (g), and had ever ſince been laid aſide; but Sir John Greſham revived this pompous ſhew in his mayoralty, and appointed it both on the eve of St John the Baptiſt and on that of the Apoſtle St Peter, cauſing it to be executed both times with the utmoſt ſplendour (h). It was laid aſide again the very next year, and a ſtanding watch, for the ſecurity of the city, ſubſtituted in it's room. In the charter granted by King Philip and Queen Mary, for incorporating the Merchants concerned in the Ruſſia trade, and for eſtabliſhing and ſecuring their privileges, he is the firſt named to be of their Court of Aſſiſtants (i), which does him no ſmall honour, conſidering, that as this has been one of the moſt profitable, ſo it is alſo one of the beſt regulated companies ever erected in this nation. But though this may ſeem a mark of reſpect, yet he ſuffered in this reign a conſiderable loſs, by the reſuming of the manor of Weſterham in the county of Kent, which had been granted to him on the diſſolution of the abbey of Weſtminſter by King Henry the Eighth. It was however reſtored by Queen Elizabeth to his family (k). As he was a perſon of great generoſity and magnificence, he was alſo ſtrictly pious, and much diſpoſed to encourage uſeful learning. With this view he reſolved to convert the antient manſion houſe of his family into a free-ſchool, and endowed it with the manor of Holt Hales, and all it's members. By an indenture bearing date October the 16th, 1556, he ſettled the revenues and government of this ſchool upon the worſhipful company of Fiſhmongers in London, by whom it has been managed with ſingular integrity and reputation to this time, and is now in a very flouriſhing condition (l) [A]. This proviſion was very happily made, ſince he

(a) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 4.

(b) Baronetage of England, Vol. III. p. 12.

(c) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surry, Vol. III. p. 12.

(d) Grafton's Brief Chronicle, fol. 134.

(e) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 4.

(f) Grafton's Brief Chronicle, fol. 143.

(g) Stowe's Survey of London, b. i. p. 256.

(h) Maitland's Hiſtory of London, p. 152.

(i) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 269.

(k) Philpot's Vil. Cant. p. 339.

(l) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 4.

[A] *And is now in a very flouriſhing condition.*] It was not eaſy for this worthy perſon to deviſe a method more ſignificant of his love for learning, than by converting the ancient ſeat of his family into that of the Muſes, and ſettling for it's ſupport that eſtate, which for this purpoſe he acquired by purchaſe; an undertaking he died that day ſev'nnight on which this indenture was executed viz. on the twenty-third of October (*m*), of what in thoſe days was ſtiled a burning ague, which ſeems rather to have been a kind of malignant fever, which in the ſpace of ten months had carried off ſeven Aldermen, five of whom had been Mayors, and ſeems now to have been at it's greateſt height, ſince in this month there died likewiſe Sir John Champney, Alderman and Skinner, who was but juſt out of his mayoralty; Sir Henry Hobblethorn, Merchant-Taylor of London, who had been likewiſe Lord-Mayor; Sir John Oliff, Surgeon to King Henry the Eighth, who had been Sheriff of London, and would have been Mayor if he had lived 'till the next year, beſides many other perſons of diſtinction (*n*). At the time of his demiſe, we find this worthy perſon thus entitled, viz. Sir John Greſham, Knight, Mercer and Merchant of the ſtaple at Calais, Merchant-Adventurer, late Mayor and Alderman of London (*o*). He was interred with great funeral ſolemnity at the church of St Michael Baſſiſhaw, not only his houſe but the ſtreet being hung with black cloth. The funeral ſermon was preached by the famous Dr Nicholas Harpsfield, after which there was an extraordinary fiſh dinner, to which all who came were admitted (*p*). By his laſt will he left many charitable legacies, which are deſervedly remembred to his honour [*B*]. At the ſame time we mention this, it may not perhaps be thought trivial to obſerve, that it was in thoſe days thought not a little ſtrange, that two ſons of the ſame man ſhould be Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Mayors of London (*q*). This Sir John Greſham had two wives; the firſt was Mary, daughter of Thomas Ipſwell, Eſq; by whom he had five ſons and ſix daughters, viz. William Greſham of Titſey, Eſq; of whom and of whoſe poſterity ſomething more will be ſaid at the bottom of the page (*r*) [*C*]. John Greſham of Fulham in Middleſex and Mayfield in Suſſex, Eſq; Edmund Greſham of Thorp-Market in the county of Norfolk, Eſq; but as for the other two their names are not known. As for his daughters, Mary married Sir Thomas Roe, by whom ſhe became the mother of another Sir Thomas Roe; Helen, to William Udall of Hampſhire; Urſula, who became the wife of Thomas Leveſon, or Luſon, in Kent, Eſq; Cicely, to German Cyoll, a Spaniard;

(*m*) Pedigree of the family.

(*n*) Stowe's Survey of London, b. i. p. 263.

(*o*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 308.

(*p*) Willet's Synopſ. Papiſm. p. 1224.

(*q*) Stowe's Survey of London, b. i. p. 263.

(*r*) Pedigree of the family.

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taking ſo full of beneficence and piety, that it ſeems to have merited the peculiar protection of Providence. In this famous free-ſchool of Holt, proviſion is made for the inſtruction of thirty boys of that county in grammar learning, to be choſen by the aſſignees of the company (1). And by the appointment of the founder, the maſter was to have twenty pounds, and the uſher ten pounds a year ſalary. But that of the maſter has been ſince increaſed to thirty pounds a year. He has likewiſe a large and commodious houſe, with liberty to take as many other ſcholars or boarders as he pleaſes. There is alſo a writing maſter and an uſher, the former of whom has ten pounds, and the latter ſix pounds thirteen ſhillings and four-pence a year, both of them appointed by the upper maſter. And ſuch has been the generoſity of the governors, that in the year 1729, they purchaſed a library conſiſting of the beſt claſſic writers, with a handſome pair of large globes, to near the value of an hun- pounds, for the uſe of the ſchool. The preſent maſter is Mr John Holmes, who has recommended himſelf to the public by his Latin and Greek Grammars, and by ſeveral other uſeful and practical treatiſes, which not only do him honour, but thoſe alſo by whoſe choice he was fixed in that place which he ſo worthily fills, and in a manner ſo ſuitable to the donor's intention.

[*B*] *Which are deſervedly remembred to his honour.*] We have given a brief account in the text of this great man's burial, which ſeems to have been beyond the ſtandard of thoſe times, as we find it recorded by more than one author, but the deſcription by John Stowe, may perhaps ſeem not unworthy the reader's notice (2). 'He was buried with a ſtandard and a penon of arms, 'and a coat armour of damaſk, and four penons of 'arms, beſides an helmet, a target, and a ſword, 'mantles, and the creſt, a goodly hearſe of wax, and 'ten dozen of penſils, and twelve dozen of eſcutcheons. 'He gave an hundred black gowns of fine cloth unto 'poor men and women; he had four dozen of great 'ſtaff torches, and a dozen of great long torches; he 'gave moreover an hundred of fine black gowns, two 'unto the preſent Mayor, and the old Mayor, likewiſe 'other to Sir Rowland Hill, and to Sir Andrew Judd, 'and to the Chamberlain, to Mr Blackwell, to Mr 'Common-Hunt and his man; to the porter that be'longed to the Staple, and to all his farmers and his 'tenants. The church and the ſtreets were all hung 'with black, and arms in great ſtore, and on the mor'row three goodly maſſes were ſung; one of the 'Trinity, another of our Lady, and the third of Re'quiem.' In reſpect to his charitable legacies, he gave ten pounds to the poor of every ward in London, which are twenty-four in number; and to one hundred and twenty poor men and women, to each three yards of cloth for a gown, of eight or nine ſhillings a yard; to maids, marriages, and the hoſpitals in London, above two hundred pounds (3).

[*C*] *At the bottom of the page*] William Greſham of Titſey, in the county of Surry, Eſq; married Beatrix, daughter of Thomas Guybon, of Lynn in Norfolk, Eſq (4); by whom he had Sir William Greſham of Titſey, Knight, as alſo Sir Thomas Greſham of Titſey, who for want of iſſue male, became heir to his brother; he married Mary, widow of Mr Walſingham (5), and by her had iſſue three ſons, Sir John Greſham of Titſey, who died without iſſue; Sir Edward Greſham, and Thomas (6). Sir Edward Greſham, Knight, married Mary, daughter to Mr Clark, by whom he had a ſon Thomas, whom he diſinherited, and who left no male iſſue (7). Sir Edward's ſecond lady was Mary, widow of Mr Wright, by whom he had Marmaduke Greſham of Titſey, Eſq (8); who was advanced to the degree of a Baronet by Letters Patents under the Great-Seal, bearing date July 31, 1660, in the twelfth year of King Charles the Second (9); he married Alice, daughter of Dr Richard Corbet, Biſhop of Norwich, by whom he had ſix ſons and three daughters, all of whom, except thoſe hereafter mentioned, died without iſſue (10). His ſecond ſon, Sir Edward Greſham, Baronet, married Martha, daughter of Sir John Maynard, Knight, Serjeant at Law, of Gunnerſbury in the county of Middleſex, but dying without iſſue male, he was ſucceeded in his title and eſtate by his brother Sir Charles Greſham, Baronet, who married the daughter of Mr Godfrey, and had by her three ſons and five daughters (11). He died in the month of April, 1718, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. Sir Marmaduke Greſham, Baronet, his eldeſt ſon, married Anne, daughter of William Hoſkins, of Barrow-green near Godſtone, in the county of Surry, by whom he left two ſons and a daughter, dying at Bath, January 2d, 1741-2 (12). His eldeſt ſon Sir Charles Greſham is the preſent Baronet, and is poſſeſſed of the ſeats and eſtates of his anceſtors, at Lympſfield and Titſey in Surry, and near Weſterham in Kent. Before we cloſe this note, it will be proper to obſerve, that Charles, the fifth ſon of Sir Marmaduke Greſham, the firſt Baronet, who was bred in Trinity-College, Oxford, upon the reſignation of Mr King, was unanimouſly choſen Rhetoric Profeſſor in Greſham College, Auguſt 20th, 1686, being at that time a perſon in great reputation for his learning and abilities; upon the 30th of November, 1688, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal-Society, and in 1696, he married Mary, the daughter of Dr Godfrey, of Ongar in Eſſex, which obliged him to quit his profeſſorſhip, and in 1699, he withdrew himſelf from the Royal-Society (13). E

(1) Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors, p. 4. Mr Holmes's Dedications.

(2) Stowe's Survey, b. i. p. 258, 267.

(3) Willet's Synopſ. Papiſm. 1224.

(4) Aubrey's Antiq. of Surry, Vol. III. p. 13.

(5) Baronetage of England, Vol. III. p. 126.

(6) Pedigree of the family.

(7) Baronetage of England, Vol. III. p. 126.

(8) Philpot's Vill. Cant. p. 359.

(9) Julii 31. 12 Car. II. A. D. 1660.

(10) Baronetage of England, Vol. III. p. 126.

(11) Pedigree of the family.

(12) Baronetage of England, Vol. III. p. 126.

(13) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 331.

Spaniard; Elizabeth, to James Elliot; the name of the youngeſt is not mentioned (s). His ſecond wife was Katherine, the widow of Edward Dormer of Fulham, in the county of Middleſex, Eſq; and daughter to Mr Sampſon, who ſurvived him, and died in the year 1578 (t). Beſides the principal houſe of the Greſhams of Titſey, there ſprang two other families of conſiderable note from this Sir John Greſham, one in Surry, the other in Norfolk (u). His ſecond ſon, John Greſham, of Fulham in Middleſex and Mayfield in Suſſex, married Elizabeth, daughter and heireſs of Edward Dormer of Fulham, by whom he had two ſons who married, and one who died a bachelor. The eldeſt of theſe, Thomas Greſham of Fulham, had for his ſecond wife, Judith, the daughter of Sir William Garrard, by whom he left two ſons; John Greſham ſettled at Albury in Surry, and left no iſſue male (w); and James Greſham, who lived at Haſlemere in Surry, and was ſtiled from his great knowledge of the hiſtory of his country, by way of eminence, the Antiquary (x). We find his name in the liſt of thoſe who were to have been honoured with the order of the Royal Oak, after the Reſtoration, and he at that time had an eſtate of eight hundred pounds a year (y); he married Anne, daughter of Sir Robert More of Loſely in Surry, but left no male iſſue; he died in 1687 at the age of twenty-two (z), Edmund Greſham, the third Son of Sir John, ſettled at Thorp-Market in Norfolk, and having married Joan, the eldeſt daughter of Alderman Hind of London, had by her a ſon and three daughters, and died in 1586 (a). His only ſon was Sir Richard Greſham of Thorp-Market, who married Anne, daughter of Thomas Crofts of Saxmundham in the county of Suffolk, by whom he had a ſon and two daughters (b). Beſides this, there is a more antient family of the Greſhams in Norfolk, ſeated at Wilſingham-Parva, deſcended from William Greſham, Eſq; ſecond ſon of James Greſham of Holt, Eſq; who was the grandfather of Sir Richard Greſham, mentioned in the laſt article, and of Sir John Greſham, of whom we have been ſpeaking (c).

(s) Baronetage of England, Vol. II. p. 113.

(t) Pedigree of the family.

(u) Baronetage of England, Vol. III. p. 113.

(w) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surry, Vol. IV. p. 33.

(x) Pedigree of the family.

(y) Baronetage of England, Vol. IV. p. 337.

(z) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surry, Vol. IV. p. 33.

(a) Pedigree of the family.

(b) Account of antient families in Norfolk.

(c) Pedigree of the family.

GRESHAM [Sir Thomas], an eminent Merchant of London, Agent for King Edward VI. Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, in the Low-Countries, and a glorious benefactor to the public. He was the younger ſon of Sir Richard Greſham, Knight, Alderman, Sheriff, and Lord-Mayor of London, the nephew of Sir John Greſham laſt mentioned, and the younger brother of Sir John Greſham, Knight, who received that honour in Muſſelborough-Field. He was born at London in 1519 (a), and having attained the rudiments of learning under proper maſters, he was removed to Gonville-Hall in Cambridge, where he ſpent ſome years in his ſtudies (b); notwithſtanding which, he reſolved, as trade had been ſo fortunate in the hands of his family to embark therein; for which his father had made proviſion, by binding him apprentice to his uncle Sir John Greſham; in conſequence of which prudent meaſure he was admitted a member of the Mercers Company in 1543 (c). In a ſhort time after this he married his wife Anne, the widow of William Read, of Fulham in the county of Middleſex, Eſq; and the daughter of William Fernley, of Weſtcreting in the county of Suffolk (d). He ſeems to have lived at home, and to have purſued the buſineſs of a Merchant with great diligence during the life of his father, and had very probably a view of ſucceeding him in his employment of managing the King's money affairs at Antwerp, a matter of great conſequence, ſince the time of King Henry the Eighth, whoſe ambition had drawn him into great difficulties both at home and in foreign parts; for here he had been obliged to debaſe his coin, and had run there into great debts, which were heightened by exorbitant uſury as well as by a variety of artifices, which were familiar to the dealers in money in thoſe times (e). It appears, however, that Mr Greſham was diſappointed in his expectations; for, upon the demiſe of his father, Sir William Danſell was appointed the King's Agent at Antwerp, by thoſe who had the direction of public affairs in the minority of Edward the Sixth (f). But his management was ſuch, that the King finding himſelf under great difficulties ſent for him home, in order to enquire more ſtrictly into the nature and amount of his debts; but Sir William thinking Antwerp the ſafer place declined his return (g); and upon this, amongſt other Merchants, Mr Greſham was ſent for to Council, and his opinion aſked about the management of theſe affairs, which he delivered ſo freely and clearly, that a reſolution was immediately taken, without any ſuit of his, to ſend him thither; and he was accordingly ſent in the cloſe of the year 1551, according to our ſtyle as it then ſtood, or in the beginning of the ſucceeding year as we now write (h). He found this a very perplexed and troubleſome buſineſs, and attended with circumſtances equally oppreſſive and diſhonourable. The King owed very large ſums of money to different perſons, for which he not only gave his own ſecurity under the broad ſeal of England, but likewiſe joined that of the city of London; and after doing all this abroad, entered into recognizances to indemnify the city at home (i). The intereſt was very high, ſeldom under ten per cent, ſometimes twelve; beſides which, other great advantages were taken, by varying the exchange, to the great prejudice of the nation, and by conſtraining the King to take jewels or goods at their own prices, to his extreme detriment (k). All theſe obſtacles Mr Greſham had to ſtruggle with, beſides ſome oppoſition the propoſals he made met with from ſome of the Council at home, who it is probable did not clearly conceive his meaning (l). For he ſeems at firſt to have ſought the confidence and good opinion of the uſurers he had to deal with, by following the practice of his predeceſſors, and recommending their goods to a good market (m), at the ſame time that he offered a ſcheme to be ſecretly

managed

(a) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 6.

(b) Annales de Gonville & Caius.

(c) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 6.

(d) Pedigree of the family.

(e) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 325.

(f) Wheeler's Treatiſe of Commerce.

(g) Memorial of T. Greſham.

(h) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 324.

(i) King Edward VIth's Journal. Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 318.

(k) King Edward VIth's Journal.

(l) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 325. from Greſham's Letters.

(m) Idem ibid.

managed at home for diſcharging the King's debts, and bringing him out of them gradually, without feeling any of thoſe difficulties with which payments had been formerly embarraſſed, and this was by receiving twelve or thirteen-hundred pounds a week from the Exchequer, which Mr Greſham took up daily in bills at Antwerp in his own name, ſo that the remittances were made without ſinking the exchange; and thus in the ſpace of about two years, he diſcharged this monſtrous loan, raiſed the King's credit ſo high, that he might have borrowed whatever ſums he would, and at the ſame time rendered a very great ſervice to the nation (n) [*A*]. In the courſe of this negotiation, he had frequent occaſion to meddle with political affairs, as well as thoſe immediately committed to his charge, through the application of the Emperor's ſiſter, then Regent in the Low-Countries, as well as of the King his maſter, ſo that he made at leaſt forty journies to and from Court, during the remainder of that ſhort reign (o). It is certain that this ſervice of his was very acceptable to the young Monarch; who, as it appears from the moſt authentic memorials, thoſe under his own hand, looked at leaſt as carefully into theſe matters himſelf, as any of the Privy-Council, and in all probability was the beſt ſupport Mr Greſham had in bringing his wiſe project to bear (p). As a mark of his favour, about three weeks before his death, the King granted him one hundred pounds a year to him and his heirs for ever, promiſing him at the ſame time a more ſuitable reward, adding theſe remarkable words, *You ſhall know that you have ſerved a King* (q). He obtained beſides this in the courſe of that reign, the grant of a houſe of Grey-Friers, in the county of Carmarthen (r); and in the very laſt year of it, the reverſion of Weſtacre, a Priory of Black-Canons, in the county of Norfolk, after the demiſe of Mary, Ducheſs of Richmond, to whom King Henry VIII. had granted it, of the value of about three hundred pounds a year (s). But notwithſtanding his good ſervices, and the loſs of all his furniture coming by ſea from Antwerp, he was removed from his poſt of agent in that city for the Crown, without any reaſon aſſigned (t). Mr Greſham however was not of a diſpoſition to ſit ſtill and ſuffer without ſpeaking, on the contrary, he remonſtrated to the Queen roundly, what he had done for the Crown while worn by her brother, of which ſhe reaped all the advantage; he repreſented the loſſes he had ſuſtained, and hinted the hardſhip he laboured under in being ſhut out from her Royal preſence and favour, who had brought her brother out of his difficulties, while he ſaw ſome careſſed and preferred who had no ſmall hand in bringing him into them (u). At the ſame time he made a tender of his ſervice to the Queen, and deſired her favour with reſpect to a debt that was due to him of four hundred pounds from the Duke of Northumberland. This method though a little unuſal, had a good effect, and he was ſoon after reſtored again to his poſt, in which he remained during the reſt of her reign (w), and towards the cloſe of it was obliged to borrow money in a manner, and upon terms that muſt have been very diſagreeable to him, ſince he was obliged to give fourteen per cent. excluſive of brokerage, and at the ſame time a collateral ſecurity (x). The only favour that it appears he received during this reign, was the grant of an hoſpital at Maſſingham-Parva in Norfolk, which had been united to the priory of Weſtacre, which was in his hands before (y). Queen Elizabeth at her acceſſion found things at home and abroad in a very broken and diſtreſſed condition, which imputing rather to the circumſtances of the times, and the conſequences of her ſiſter's marriage, than to the want either of integrity or ability in her miniſters, ſhe retained as many as it was poſſible of them in her ſervice (z). Amongſt theſe was Mr Greſham, whom ſhe immediately employed in providing and buying up arms, beſtowed upon him the honour of knighthood, and engaged him

(n) Memorial of T. Greſham.

(o) King Edward's Journal. Strype's Memorials, and that of T. Greſham.

(p) Haynes's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 132. compared with the King's Journal.

(q) Memorial of T. Greſham.

(r) Tanner's Notitia Monaſt. p. 703.

(s) Idem ibid. p. 362.

(t) Memorial of T. Greſham.

(u) Aſſerted in the ſame Memorial.

(w) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 371, 486.

(x) Cotton's Diſcourſe of a foreign war, p. 56.

(y) Tanner's Notitia Monaſt. p. 362.

(z) Camden. Annal. p. 26. Stowe, Holinſhed, Speed, Strype, Burnet, &c.

[*A*] *Rendered a very great ſervice to the nation.*] We learn moſt of theſe particulars with great certainty from Mr Greſham's own memorial hereafter mentioned (1). In that he informs us, that at the time he was appointed agent, the King owed two hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds Flemiſh, that the exchange was ſunk ſo low as ſixteen ſhillings Flemiſh for a pound ſterling; that the intereſt was ten per cent. and the loſs by exchange a great deal more, beſides the additional impoſition of jewels and goods, which under ſuch circumſtances could not well be avoided. But by the method that Mr Greſham adviſed, and in conſequence of his advice, the Duke of Northumberland ordered to be purſued, and that twelve hundred and twenty pounds ſhould be paid to his aſſigns every week (2); the remittances were made with ſo much care and addreſs, that the exchange was raiſed to twenty, and even to two and twenty ſhillings, and at theſe rates the King's debts were diſcharged, by which one hundred thouſand pounds were ſaved to the nation. This wiſe practice of his was alſo felt in the price of commodities, by which he computes the nation could not profit leſs than four hundred thouſand pounds. Another advantage was, that the money which had been carried out, was brought back again. It raiſed the King's credit highly abroad, ſo that from being undervalued and treated with an air of diffidence and contempt, which the bankers at Antwerp would uſe even to their own ſovereign, he came to be reſpected in the higheſt degree, ſo that he might have borrowed what ſums he pleaſed. In the performance of theſe ſervices, Mr Greſham often ſtretched his own credit, and kept up the exchange at his proper riſk, by which he loſt two or three hundred pounds at a time more than once; and on a particular occaſion took up fifty thouſand pounds for the King's ſervice. If it had not been for this management, the debt might have been continued and growing, and would have ſwelled to fifteen hundred thouſand pounds by the time in which he made this repreſentation. But after all, it was the young King's ſcheme of retrenching in his expences, and taking various methods, ſuch as keeping the lead in his own hands, by Mr Greſham's advice; ſelling ſuperfluous church plate, putting penal laws in force, and commuting all felonies for money, &c. which arts were of Northumberland's deviſing, that enabled him to comply punctually with thoſe weekly payments, as this was the grand inſtrument for removing this incumbrance (3). One or two particulars more we muſt not omit, the merchants of the Hanſe or, as called here, of the Steel-yard, for ſome miſconduct, received a ſevere check, and this was ſo acceptable to the merchants of the Staple, that they lent King Edward forty thouſand pounds (4) at one time, which ſeems to have been Mr Greſham's firſt experiment of ſerving the crown in the way of voluntary loans by it's own ſubjects, and from the facility with which this was done, Mr Greſham entertained hopes of all that he afterwards accompliſhed (5).

(1) This Memorial, which on account of it's length is omitted here, the reader may find printed at large by Dr Ward in his Lives of the Greſham Profeſſors, p. 8.

(2) Haynes's Collection of State-Papers, &c. Vol. I. p. 132.

(3) See the King's Journal, and the ſecond volume of Strype's Memorials.

(4) King Edward VIth's Journal, October 3, 1552.

(5) See farther in note [*E*].

him to borrow a ſum of money for her at Antwerp, upon the ſecurity of the city of London, for obtaining of which, ſhe directed her letters to the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, and thereupon her Majeſty's requeſt was very readily granted (*a*). The conduct of Sir Thomas Greſham in this and in other points of the like nature, ſeems to have been ſo acceptable to the Queen his miſtreſs, who was an excellent judge of men's abilities, and knew how to employ them in the way moſt to her advantage; that it is probable ſhe advanced him about this time to the higheſt charge of which a perſon in his ſtation was capable, by conſtituting him her merchant (*b*). That he was ſo afterwards, is on all hands acknowledged (*c*), and that he became ſo early, appears extremely probable for ſeveral reaſons; it was about this time that he built his ſpacious and magnificent houſe in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, which is ſtill remaining, which as a judicious writer well obſerves, he muſt have been moved to erect, by his thinking it neceſſary to place himſelf in a ſituation moſt convenient and ſuitable to his character, which ſhews that he muſt have altered his condition, and have acquired a ſettlement at home (*d*). Accordingly in 1562, we find that Sir Thomas Smith, who was ſent into France to execute a commiſſion of great importance on the part of the Queen, had his credit upon him, which makes it highly likely that he was then the Queen's merchant (*e*). It is alſo certain that the care of borrowing money abroad, was committed to William Herle, as appears by his inſtructions dated Auguſt 16th, in the year laſt mentioned, upon the ſecurity of the city of London as before (*f*). In 1563, the Ducheſs of Parma then Regent for King Philip in the Low-Countries, under pretence of the plague which then raged in England, prohibited the bringing of Engliſh commodities to Antwerp, though the real cauſe of that ſtrange ſtep was an act of parliament paſſed a ſmall time before, for prohibiting pins, knives, hats, girdles, ribbons, and other ſmall manufactures, from being brought into this kingdom, our own people by the encouragement of ſome eminent Engliſh merchants, and amongſt them Sir Thomas Greſham, having lately ſet them up (*g*). But it being quickly found that the inhabitants of Antwerp ſuffered more by this prohibition than the ſubjects of England; a negotiation was ſet on foot the next year for reſtoring things to their former ſtate, in which, as Sir Thomas Greſham had no ſhare, it amounts to a full proof, that except in extraordinary caſes his agency in thoſe parts was at an end (*h*). In 1564, he loſt, to his great affliction his only ſon Richard Greſham, whoſe corps was interred in the church at St Helen's (*i*), and Sir Thomas, like a wiſe man, to alleviate the ſenſe of his private misfortune, elevated his thoughts beyond the narrow ſphere of a family, and reſolved to place his future ſatisfaction in things of a public nature. This in all probability induced him to revive that glorious deſign which firſt entered into the mind of Sir Richard Greſham his father, of building a Burſe or public edifice in which the merchants might aſſemble, without being expoſed to the injuries of wind and weather, as in Lombard-ſtreet where they had hitherto met (*k*). He therefore made his intentions known to the city, that if they would procure him a proper piece of ground at their charge, he would erect ſuch a ſtructure at his own expence (*l*), which offer was thankfully accepted and punctually performed [*B*]. Sir Thomas had ſcarce entered upon the execution of this grand

(*a*) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 11.

(*b*) See Holinſhed, Stowe, and Speed.

(*c*) Camden. Annal. p. 223.

(*d*) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 11.

(*e*) Strype's Life of Sir T. Smith.

(*f*) Cotton's Diſcourſe of a foreign war, p. 56.

(*g*) Wheeler's Treatiſe of Commerce, p. 39, 40.

(*h*) Camden, Stowe, Strype, &c.

(*i*) Stowe's Survey, edit. 1603. p. 174.

(*k*) Lambard's Dictionary, p. 174.

(*l*) Stowe's Survey, edit. 1720. b. ii. p. 135.

[*B*] *Which offer was thankfully accepted, and punctually performed.*] The beſt account we have of this matter is from John Stowe, and indeed we need not wiſh a better; for in matters relating to this capital, and which happened in his own time, none could be more diligent in obſerving, or more faithful in recording. His words are theſe (6): ‘In the year 1566, certain houſes upon Cornhill, and the like upon the back thereof in the ward of Broad-ſtreet, with three allies, the firſt called Swan-alley, opening into Cornhill; the ſecond called New-alley, paſſing through out of Cornhill into Broad-ſtreet ward, over againſt St Bartilmew-lane; the third called St Chriſtopher's-alley, opening into Broad-ſtreet ward, and into St Chriſtopher's pariſh, containing in all fourſcore houſeholds, were firſt purchaſed by the citizens of London, for more than three thouſand five hundred thirty-two pounds, and were ſold for four hundred ſeventy eight pounds, to ſuch perſons as ſhould take them down, and carry the ſtuff from thence; alſo the ground or plot was made plain at the charges of the city, and then poſſeſſion thereof was by certain aldermen in the name of the whole citizens, given to Sir Thomas Greſham, Knight, agent to the Queen's highneſs, thereupon to build a Burſe or place for merchants to aſſemble in at his own proper charges; and he, on the ſeventh of June, laying the firſt ſtone of the foundation, being brick, accompanied with ſome aldermen, every of them laid a piece of gold, which the workmen took up, and forthwith followed upon the ſame with ſuch diligence, that by the month of November in the year 1567, the ſame was covered with ſlate, and ſhortly after fully finiſhed. This noble building was a long ſquare with walks on every ſide, ſupported by pillars of marble, after the manner of the famous burſe at Antwerp, and not at all inferior to it in any reſpect, either of utility or magnificence; the upper part of this edifice was divided into ſhops, which were let out by Sir Thomas at a yearly rent. The ſize of theſe ſhops was ſeven feet and a half long, and five feet broad, which being ſo ſmall, it often happened that the ſame perſon rented more than one of them. And there were likewiſe at firſt, other ſhops fitted up in vaults below, but theſe being found very inconvenient by reaſon of their dampneſs and want of light, the vaults were ſoon let out to other uſes. The upper ſhops were in all one hundred and twenty, twenty-five on the eaſt ſide, and twenty-five on the weſt, on the ſouth ſide thirty-five and an half, and thirty-four and an half on the north, which when the others were laid aſide, paid one with another a rent of four pounds ten ſhillings a year upon leaſes of twenty-one years. The perſons placed in them by Sir Thomas, were of different trades, chiefly young men of ſmall fortunes but induſtrious, who by their diligence brought great buſineſs to their ſhops, and employed ſome thouſands of poor people in working our manufactures.’ Dr Ward has cauſed a very fine print of this ſtructure to be inſerted in his work, engraved from a draught made the very year it was finiſhed, on which was the following inſcription (7). *Porticum hanc* Londinenſem, *quam tanto artificio triennii ſpatio hic abſolutam vides, a fundamentis aere ſuo extruendam curavit*; Thomas Greſhamus *eques, ad Regiæ urbis ornamentum, et uſum publicum.* Anno 1566, *die* 7, *menſis* Junii. But this glorious ornament of the capital of the Britiſh empire, could not reſiſt the powerful flames of that dreadful conflagration in 1666, yet was ſpeedily rebuilt by the city and the Mercers company, with a magnificence worthy of their truſt, of the public uſe for which it was deſigned, and the place in which it ſtands. We are told, and that from good information,

(6) Stowe's Survey of London, edit. 1598. p. 150.

(7) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 12.

grand deſign, when the Queen's affairs called him abroad. For in the ſame year 1566, he was ſent over to Antwerp to take up money for her Majeſty, which he did, to the ſum of fourteen thouſand ſix hundred ſixty-ſeven pounds ſix ſhillings and eight pence Flemiſh, payable at Antwerp the twentieth of February following. And there was then prolonged from the 20th of Auguſt, the ſum of thirty-four thouſand three hundred eighty-five pounds thirteen ſhillings and four pence Flemiſh, due likewiſe from the Queen, and payable the twentieth of February. Theſe ſums amounted together to forty-nine thouſand and fifty-three pounds. And in December the ſame year, there was another debt of the Queen's prolonged, being the ſum of eight thouſand five hundred thirty-two pounds Flemiſh, for ſix months (*m*). This muſt have been a matter of neceſſity, and in a particular manner convenient to the Queen's ſervice, who wanted to make uſe of that money abroad; for otherwiſe Sir Thomas Greſham would hardly have been employed therein, ſince it was directly againſt his own principle, that it was more for the Queen's honour, and at the ſame time much more for her advantage, to borrow of her own ſubjects than of foreigners, and upon which principle he had actually procured a loan three years before (*n*). It is not however either impoſſible or improbable, that by ſtating and prolonging theſe debts in the manner before mentioned, he had in view the gaining time to ſettle ſome means for paying and diſcharging them, as a neceſſary foundation for the Queen's borrowing upon eaſy terms at home for the future (*o*). His great building in Cornhill, was proſecuted with ſuch diligence, that in the month of November 1567, it was covered with ſlate, and ſoon after was in a manner finiſhed (*p*). On the thirteenth of September 1568, Cardinal Chaſtillion, who retired out of France for the ſafety of his perſon, landed at Tower-wharf, where, by a ſecret order from the Queen, he was received by Sir Thomas Greſham, and conducted to his own houſe with the Biſhop of Arles, who came over in his company, and the next day the Cardinal in his ſhort cloak and rapier by his ſide, rode with Sir Thomas and other perſons of diſtinction to the French church, to ſhew his approbation of the Proteſtant Religion, from thence to the Burſe as it was then called in Cornhill, then to St Paul's church, and ſo back again to Sir Thomas Greſham's houſe in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet to dinner (*q*). On the 20th of the ſame month, the Cardinal was conducted with all poſſible marks of honour to Court, where he had an audience of the Queen, and was very graciouſly received, which induced him to remain in England as long as he lived (*r*) [*C*]. There appears to have been more than ordinary notice taken of this foreigner, and we are aſſured that he made a very grateful return; for in about

(*m*) Idem ibid. p. 286.

(*n*) Cotton's Diſcourſe of foreign wars, p. 56.

(*o*) Stowe's Survey, b. i. p. 286.

(*p*) Idem ibid. b. ii. p. 135.

(*q*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 177. Stowe's Annals, p. 662. Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 238.

(*r*) Stowe's Annals, p. 662. Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 239.

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formation, that the expence of this moſt ſuperb ſtructure, fell little, if at all, ſhort of four-ſcore thouſand pounds, which is a high and glorious inſtance of the wealth and ſpirit of the citizens of London.

[*C*] *As long as he lived.*] As we have been obliged to mention the coming over of this prelate, and ſome circumſtances of that honourable reception which he met with here, it may probably gratify the reader's curioſity to know who he was, why he came hither, and how he came to end his days by poiſon at Canterbury, a crime to which this country has been in a great meaſure an utter ſtranger (8). His name was Odet de Chatillon, a man of great quality by birth, and brother to Admiral Coligni, bred to the Church in his youth, and preferred by the influence of his family to the Biſhoprick of Beauvais and to a Cardinal's hat (9). He became notwithſtanding all this a Proteſtant, and was once very near loſing his life by a tumult of the people, on account of his celebrating the Communion in his own palace upon Eaſter-day, inſtead of being preſent at Maſs in his own cathedral as they expected (10). He was a man of a very high ſpirit, and being provoked by ſome aſperſions, as if he meant to trim between both parties, and to cloſe with that which happened to prevail, he laid aſide his robes, wore a ſecular dreſs, and took the title of Count de Beauvais, that all the world might ſee he was not aſhamed to own himſelf a Proteſtant (11). However it is reported, that being informed the Pope had excommunicated and deprived him of his dignity, he reſumed his Cardinal's habit, and was actually married in it to Elizabeth de Lore (12). Afterwards perceiving his party betrayed in France, and his life in danger, he retired to the coaſts of Normandy; and at length finding no other way to ſecure himſelf from his enemies, diſguiſed as a ſailor embarked for England (13). How he was received here, and what important ſervice he rendered the Queen, the reader has ſeen in the text (14); but it is alſo very certain, that he was highly zealous in promoting the marriage between Monſieur and her Majeſty (15), which was equally acceptable to the Proteſtants in France, and to the Papiſts in England; both being perſuaded they ſhould have found their advantage in it (16). We are told in a certain ſecret hiſtory, that upon this occaſion, and out of zeal for this match, the Cardinal let the Queen know, the Earl of Leiceſter gave out that ſhe was contracted to him, which leſſened her reputation abroad, and reſtrained the addreſſes of foreign princes, and to this his death is aſcribed (17). It happened at Canterbury, in 1570, as he was returning to France on the invitation of his brother the Admiral, then reconciled to the Court; and it does not appear that there was much ſuſpicion of poiſon at that time. But two years afterwards a domeſtic of his being executed at Rochelle for another offence, he voluntarily confeſſed that he had poiſoned his maſter, with circumſtances that put the matter out of doubt (18). If the reader ſhould ſuppoſe that the Queen was never in earneſt as to this match, and that her miniſtry were privy to this, and conſequently the Earl of Leiceſter, under no temptations to commit ſuch a crime upon that account, he may conſult the authorities referred to in the margin, which may incline him to ſuſpend his judgment in that particular (19). On the other hand, if it ſhould be ſuppoſed more reaſonable to believe the powerful enemies of the Cardinal in France, took this method to be rid of him; it is but doing juſtice to obſerve, that they had provided another method, which was that of the maſſacre at Paris, which followed immediately after, and in which his brother the Admiral was involved, as he probably would have been, if he had not died in England (20). Yet having entered thus far into this matter, we muſt alſo let the reader know, that amongſt the libels publiſhed and diſperſed by the partizans of the court of Spain, in the Low-Countries, there was one in which it was objected, that Queen Elizabeth's friendſhip was fatal to all who relied upon it, and the names of ten or twelve noble perſons are mentioned to prove this, and amongſt theſe Cardinal Chaſtillion (21). An anſwer was penned to this by an eminent Miniſter of State, which is yet preſerved, and therein it is aſſerted, that though the cardinal was poiſoned in England, yet it was by ſubornation and practice of ſome in France, as was confeſſed by the criminal when taken and executed at Rochelle; which it is not eaſy to conceive would have been alledged, if the man's confeſſion had not been a thing notorious (22). It muſt be admitted that this is far from being a clear account of the matter; but if it be a true one, it is all that we pretended to give, and the moſt inquiſitive reader perhaps will ſcarce be able to find a better (23).

[*D*] *Who*

(8) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 335.

(9) Maimbourg Hiſtoire du Calviniſme, p. 199.

(10) Thuan. Hiſt. ſui Temp. lib. xviii.

(11) Davila Hiſtoir. liv. iii.

(12) P. Daniel Hiſtoire de France, tom. viii. p. 493.

(13) Brantome dans l'Eloge de M. Tavannes.

(14) Camdeni Annal. Elizabethæ, p. 175, 176.

(15) Memoires de Mais ou de Coligni, p. 351.

(16) Camden, Stowe, Speed.

(17) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, edit. 1641, 12mo. p. 20.

(18) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 239.

(19) Camden. Annal. Elizabethæ, p. 147, 148, 149. Earl of Leiceſter's Letters to Sir Francis Walſingham.

(20) Memoires de la Reine Marguerite, liv. i.

(21) Written by a Jeſuit under a fictitious name.

(22) M.SS. Burghleian.

(23) Stowe, Strype, Camden.

about ſix weeks time after his arrival, a large ſhip of Biſcay, together with four pinnaces, which the Spaniards call Aſſabres, were chaſed into the harbour of Plymouth, where they received protection *(s)*. There was on board the large ſhip, a very conſiderable ſum in ready money, amounting to above two hundred thouſand piſtolettes, which as the money of the King of Spain, was demanded by his embaſſador Don Giraldo Deſpes, who being informed that it was brought on ſhore for ſecurity, became very uneaſy about it *(t)*; the Cardinal Chaſtillion in the mean time informed the Queen, that this money did not belong to his Catholic Majeſty, but was in truth the property of ſome Genoeſe merchants, from whom the King of Spain had taken it by force, and meant to ſend it to the Duke of Alva in the Low-Countries, where he was in great want of money. Secretary Cecil therefore being apprized by Sir Thomas Greſham, of the great benefit that would reſult to the Queen by cauſing this money to be coined, adviſed her Majeſty to take this bold ſtep, and to acquaint the Spaniſh miniſter, that ſhe would be anſwerable to thoſe whoſe money it really was, give them ſecurity for it, and a compenſation for the loan of it, or would reſtore it when it ſhould be made appear that it actually belonged to the King of Spain *(u)*. Proper ſecurity was accordingly given, the conſent of the Genoeſe obtained, and Sir Thomas Greſham, to countenance a ſtep which he took to be ſo much for the nation's ſervice, ſent to the Tower five ſacks of Spaniſh royals, to be coined for the Queen's uſe, each ſack weighing nine hundred ſeventy-two pounds eleven ounces *(w)*: this bold but very judicious proceeding was attended with very ſurprizing conſequences at home and abroad, for the Duke of Alva was no ſooner acquainted with it, than he cauſed the Engliſh merchants at Antwerp to be arreſted, and all their effects to be ſeized; to retaliate which, the Queen had recourſe to the ſame extremities here in reſpect to the Spaniards, notwithſtanding there wanted not ſome amongſt her miniſters, who under the ſpecious pretence of a due regard to equity and the laws of nations, were for reſtoring the money, and throwing the whole blame upon Sir William Cecil, who, very narrowly eſcaped *(x)* [*D*]. The then ſituation of affairs might well affect even ſo great and grave a miniſter as Cecil, in a very high degree; he knew that the publick demands would require a ſupply of money, beyond the produce of the Queen's ordinary revenue; he likewiſe knew that the aſſiſtance uſually procured from Antwerp, was no longer to be expected; and he was not the leſs diſturbed at theſe conſiderations, from his being thoroughly perſwaded, that if any ſiniſter accident fell out, it would be wholly aſcribed to his counſels *(y)*. Being under this dilemma he ſent for Sir Thomas Greſham, and communicated to him theſe difficulties which he laboured to remove, by ſhewing him, that if ſhe punctually adhered to her promiſes, the Queen's neceſſities might as eaſily and with much greater credit, be ſupplied at London by her own merchants, than at Antwerp by foreigners, who could have no view in any thing they did but their private advantage *(z)*. To this many objections were made by that wary miniſter, to which Sir Thomas Greſham gave at leaſt probable ſolutions, as appears from a very curious account of this conference, which is ſtill extant, and which will remain a laſting and unqueſtionable monument of this gentleman's wonderful abilities, and honeſt exertion of them for the ſervice of his country *(a)* [*E*]. But when he had carried his point with the

[*D*] *Who very narrowly eſcaped*] In another part of this work, we have repreſented this advice as proceeding entirely from Sir William Cecil, and expoſing him to more danger than almoſt any other ſtep in the courſe of his long adminiſtration; we mean not to contradict this fact here, but to explain it (24). The Queen took the advice of Secretary Cecil; Secretary Cecil might well take the advice in things that fell within the ſphere of his knowledge, of Sir Thomas Greſham. It is very probable that Cardinal Chaſtillon might acquaint his friend Sir Thomas, that this money did not belong to the King of Spain, but to the merchants of Genoa. This we ſay is very probable, but that he perſwaded ſome of the Genoeſe to conſent that it ſhould be coined, and that he ſent new Spaniſh money of his own to be coined likewiſe is very certain; but it is not quite ſo probable that he knew Secretary Cecil's reaſons for perſwading the Queen to ſtop that money, which were chiefly three, and becauſe they are not clearly ſet down elſewhere, we ſhall expreſs them here (25). In the firſt place, ſome of the greateſt perſons in England and of the Queen's council, ſuch as the Lord High-Treaſurer (Wincheſter), the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Northumberland, Arundel, and Leiſter, were inclined to ſecure their own greatneſs, by having an heir apparent to the Crown, as much in their intereſt as the reigning Queen, which induced them to think of procuring the Queen of Scot's right to be acknowledged, and to keep fair with the King of Spain, to whom moſt of theſe great men were under perſonal obligations, which was quite contrary to Cecil's ſcheme of politics, and to his miſtreſs's inclinations. The ſecond was, that the Duke of Alva, at this very time had his agents in England to ſurvey the coaſts, examine the harbours, and give him all other lights for facilitating an invaſion whenever it ſhould be neceſſary. Theſe two motives were ſufficient to determine the Secretary to detain this money, in order to diſappoint his deſigns; and the third reaſon which induced him to follow Greſham's advice was, the foreſight he had of what the conſequences muſt be of this ſtep when taken, amongſt which there was none more apparent than this, that it would put it out of the Queen's power to borrow any more money at Antwerp; which conſideration might have hindered this proceeding, notwithſtanding the two former reaſons, if the borrowing the ſilver and coining it, had not removed this objection, with all which no doubt he acquainted the Queen, who for that reaſon remained firm to him, and delivered him from thoſe who would otherwiſe have taken occaſion from hence to deſtroy him (26). We find that there never was any miniſter more diligent, more ſollicitous in his enquiries into the true intereſts of this nation, with reſpect to manufactures, foreign commerce, coin, exchanges, eſtabliſhing new companies, and other things of the like nature than Sir William Cecil, afterwards Baron of Burleigh, and in making himſelf maſter of theſe points, which he did to a great degree; there is no doubt, that he received a great part of his information from Sir Thomas Greſham, whoſe merit in this reſpect, as it was very great, ſo it ought to be known to poſterity, which is all that is here intended (27).

[*E*] *For the ſervice of his country*] The paſſage referred to in the text is ſomewhat long, and the language none of the beſt; but notwithſtanding this, it is clear, curious, and to the purpoſe. Beſides it is the beſt juſtification that we can offer for what is advanced in the foregoing note, and therefore we cannot but recommend it to the reader's ſerious peruſal (28). 'Secretary Cecil, ſays John Stowe, who then managed 'the

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(s) Wheeler's Treatiſe of Commerce, p. 41.

(t) Stowe's Annals, p. 662. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 176, 177.

(u) Stowe's Survey, b. i. p. 286. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 176. Wheeler's Treatiſe of Commerce, p. 41.

(w) Stowe's Survey, b. i. p. 287.

(x) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 176, 177. Stowe's Annals, p. 662. Wheeler's Treatiſe of Commerce, p. 41.

(y) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(z) Stowe's Survey, b. i. p. 286.

(a) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 15.

(24) See the article of CECIL [WILLIAM].

(25) Life of William Lord Burleigh, 4to. 1738. p. 47.

(26) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. I. p. 15.

(27) Strype. Stowe, Ward.

(28) Stowe's Survey of London, edit. 1720. b. i. p. 286.

the Secretary, and had procured leave to propoſe the intended loan to the Merchant-Adventurers, he found himſelf not a little deceived in the event. For they, inſtead of debating this matter with that ſeriouſneſs and ſecrecy a thing of ſuch conſequence required, referred it for their own ſecurity probably to a general aſſembly, and the buſineſs being agitated by the confuſion incident to a common-hall, was with little conſideration and leſs decency rejected. Sir Thomas Greſham immediately applied himſelf to the Secretary, and propoſed a means of getting over this difficulty, which was by procuring a letter from the Privy-Council to that potent Company of Merchants, repreſenting the matter to them, and the miſtake of which they had been guilty, both roundly and rationally, as the reader may ſee at the bottom of the page (*b*) [*F*]. This had it's effects, for ſeveral aldermen

‘ the Exchequer, feared that the merchants ſhould not have money enough to carry on the trade, as they would have had if all were open with Antwerp. And the Queen owing much money to the merchants and to her creditors abroad, ſhe intended out of the cuſtoms of cloth to have repaid them, which ſhe feared therefore would fall ſhort, the trade being removed to a new place. Theſe doubts the Secretary imparted to Sir Thomas Greſham; who knowing well the ſtate of trade and of the merchants, told the Secretary, that, in his opinion, he needed not to make any doubt of that ſeeming difficulty, viz. of the Queen's payment of her creditors, if ſhe ſaw her merchants well paid in London their firſt payment, which was half of her debt to them. For by that time the other money ſhould be payable here to her ſaid merchants, they ſhould have both plenty of money at Hamburgh and here. He aſſured him the goods that our merchants had ſhipped from Hamburgh hither, were well worth one hundred thouſand pounds and better. And the ſhipping that they made now hence with our commodities, was richly worth two hundred thouſand pounds and better. For that there would be above thirty thouſand pounds worth of cloths, the cuſtoms whereof would be worth to the Queen, at the leaſt ten thouſand pounds, which would diſcharge, he ſaid, that debt, if the Queen pleaſed. And whereas the Secretary's greateſt care was, that our merchants ſhould not have money enough for to buy up our commodities; Greſham told him, he needed not doubt of it, conſidering the great vent they had at Hamburgh already, and were like to have. Therefore he humbly beſeeched the Secretary, for the ſtay and advancing of the Queen's credit, that this ſmall payment agreed upon already at Hamburgh, might be paid, conſidering that he had written before to the ſaid creditors, that they ſhould have a payment made there now this Auguſt; which payment he ſaid, would not a little advance her Highneſs's honour and credit. And how much her Highneſs's credit had ſtood her in ſtead beyond the ſeas for ready money, it was now too tedious and long a matter to trouble him withal. But that if he were able to perſuade the Queen's Majeſty, and him the Secretary, he would have that matter above all other things cared for, aſſuring him that he did know for certain, the Duke d'Alva was more troubled with the Queen's great credit, and with the vent of her commodities at Hamburgh, than he was with any thing elſe, and quaked for fear, as Greſham expreſſed it. Which, as he ſaid, was one of the chiefeſt things that let and hindered, that the Duke could not come by the tenth penny that he then demanded for the ſale of all goods any kind of way in the Low-Countries, which Greſham believed would be his utter undoing. He adviſed therefore, that the Queen would in this time uſe no ſtrangers, but her own ſubjects, whereby he and all other Princes might ſee what a Prince of power ſhe was. And by this means there was no doubt but that her Highneſs ſhould cauſe the Duke of Alva to know himſelf, and to make that end with the Low-Countries, that her Majeſty would herſelf, what bruit ſoever was there ſpread abroad to the contrary. And ſeeing he was entered ſo far, as he proceeded with the Secretary concerning the Queen's credit beyond the ſeas, wherein he had travailed this twenty years; he added, that by experience, in uſing our own merchants, he found great honour accrued to the Prince, and alſo great profit to the merchants and to the whole realm, whatſoever ſome of the merchants ſaid to the contrary. For when our Prince ought her own mere merchants ſixty or eighty thouſand pounds, then they knew themſelves, and were daily ready to ſerve as good, cheap as ſtrangers did, which he would wiſh again in ſuch time of extremity to be uſed, for that he knew our merchants were able to do it, becauſe the debt is divided into many men's hands, and by no means can hinder them having intereſt.’ This homely detail of a private conference between the Queen's great miniſter and Sir Thomas Greſham, does equal credit to both their memories; it ſhews that the miniſter, though as able a man as any of that time, was very far from having a ſelf-ſufficient conceit of his own abilities, and as far from placing an implicit confidence in the perſon he conſulted. He knew he wanted information, and he knew where he might ſeek it, but he likewiſe knew that it was fit to ſift it; and which is ſtill more than all the reſt, after he had ſought and ſo ſifted, he could be ſteady in putting the counſel he had received and approved in execution (29). It ſhews that the merchant was far from being mercenary, or from ſeeking to add to his own wealth, without conſidering from whence that addition muſt come. He knew how to conſult his private intereſt upon proper occaſions, and he knew when the intereſt of the public ſo required, that it ought to give way. In fine, it ſhews that both the miniſter and the merchant acted in this great affair from a principle of public ſpirit, and whenever we diſcover this, we may admire and applaud, but we can never wonder at the great things which ſuch men do. Public ſpirit is the Philoſopher's-ſtone, in matters of ſtate, the ground upon which, if a political Archimedes will ſtand, he may move the world.

[*F*] *At the bottom of the page*] We have the account of this tranſaction alſo from the ſame authority, and that the reader may form a juſt notion of it, it is requiſite to give it likewiſe in his own words (30). ‘ But this refuſal the Queen's council reſented much, and cauſed the Secretary to ſend a letter to the merchants, importing how this offer of the Queen's was a matter of great grace and favour, not much uſed before this time by any Prince, and therefore in right to have been very thankfully received. That this practice of theirs looked as though they were utterly carelеſs of the Queen's honour, to make a hall matter of it: and undiſcreetly deviſed, contrary to all former uſage, to make an open queſtion in a common hall, with a peremptory refuſal by holding up of their hands, without firſt giving a probable cauſe of their ſo doing: a uſage unmeet for the Prince's cauſe: and the good offer of her Majeſty generally rejected, not only by the youth whom they the elders were commonly wont to blame to the Council for all diſorders in their aſſemblies, but by themſelves alſo the heads. The Council added, that they muſt not think that ſuch a dealing would be paſt over, as prechance as they had thought. But before they meant to diſcloſe the ſame to the Queen, they thought good to impart thus much unto them. Not that they cared for their payment of any money there (at Hamburgh) for her Majeſty; but that they (the Council) would firſt know how they could anſwer the ſame: and then they would proceed to ſuch remedy, as ſhould ſeem meet to them, and give them cauſe hereafter to to think that they could, and muſt, for her Majeſty, be anſwerable to all manner of perſons, according as they ſhould deſerve well or ill in the ſervice of her Majeſty and the realm Finally, that the matter was ſuch, that they could not overpaſs, without imparting to them, either to lay before them their great overſight, or to require for diminution of their conceit againſt them, ſome declaration of their doings to be otherwiſe than they appeared: where heretofore they had many times dutifully made payment of ſums of money for her Majeſty, on the other ſide of the ſeas: which had alſo been readily and juſtly repaid them. And ſo doing, they did but the duty of

(*b*) Stowe's Survey, b. i. p. 286.

(29) See the article of CECIL [WILLIAM].

(30) Stowe's Survey of London, edit. 1720, b. i. p. 287.

men and eminent merchants having duly weighed what was aſked, as well as what the conſequences might be of their refuſal, conſented in the months of November and December to lend her Majeſty ſeveral ſums of money, to the amount in the whole of ſixteen thouſand pounds for ſix months, at the rate of ſix per cent (c). For theſe ſums the Queen gave them reſpectively ſeparate bonds, and likewiſe accuſtomed bonds to diſcharge them of the ſtatute of uſury. When this term was expired, the money was continued for ſix months more, paying ſix per cent. again and brokerage, with which all parties were well ſatisfied (d). There is good reaſon to believe that the Queen did not meaſure the importance of this ſervice by the ſums borrowed, but by the facility of the method, and the conſequences with which it might be probably attended; and of this ſhe gave as clear and conſiſtent evidence as thoſe who had rendered her this ſervice could deſire (e). For on the twenty-third of January 1570, the Queen attended by her nobility came from Somerſet-houſe, and entering the city by Temple-Bar, paſſed through Fleet-ſtreet, Cheapſide, and ſo by the North ſide of the Burſe, to Sir Thomas Greſham's houſe, in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, where ſhe dined. After dinner her Majeſty returning through Cornhill, entered the Burſe on the South ſide, and after ſhe had viewed every part thereof above ground, eſpecially the pawn, which was richly furniſhed with all ſorts of the fineſt goods in the city, ſhe cauſed the ſame Burſe by a herald and trumpet to be proclaimed the Royal-Exchange, and ſo to be called from thenceforth and not otherwiſe (f). We uſe here the words of honeſt John Stowe, but Mr Camden has more elegantly expreſſed it in his Annals (g). The deſign of this was to ſhew, that the ſtructure Sir Thomas Greſham had erected, was to ſupply the place of the change at Antwerp, to be thence forward the centre of commerce, the ſeat of mercantile intercourſe, where all that had been formerly done by the Lombards, was to be tranſacted between our own ſubjects and ſtrangers, ſignifying that the trade of England was now able to go alone, to ſupport itſelf and ſupply the Crown, and that this noble edifice was therefore properly entitled, *Excambium Regium*, i. e. THE ROYAL-EXCHANGE (h). After this mark of favour to her merchant, ſhe in a few days gave the like token of her grateful approbation of her miniſter's ſervices, by creating Sir William Cecil, Baron of Burleigh, and expreſſing her reaſons in the preamble to his patent, which events we have learned from the judicious Camden, to conjoin as ſpringing from the ſame cauſe, the Queen's perſuaſion, that ſhe was now an independent Princeſs, and to expect her ſupport only from Divine-Providence and the loyal affections of her ſubjects (i). Theſe are the genuine honours of thoſe two great men, and if with reſpect to Sir Thomas Greſham, they have, to pleaſe vulgar fancies, received ſome ſtrokes of fabulous varniſh, which cannot be maintained by authentic hiſtory, it is very excuſable [G]. In 1572, the Queen being

‘ honeſt ſubjects. And yet were always both thanked and favoured for the ſame.’ There were indeed ſome circumſtances that did not a little exaggerate this conduct of theirs. They were ſo far from giving Sir Thomas Greſham a denial, that though they ſhifted and doubled a little, yet at length they ſeemed ſo well diſpoſed, that he communicated to them from the Queen, how ſhe intended by ſome previous payments to aſſiſt them in rendering her this ſervice. They had never acquainted Sir Thomas with thoſe difficulties they apprehended in the execution of this ſcheme, in order to their being removed, and that without making this experiment, they had preſumed to communicate a propoſal of this high nature to their whole body, from whom it ought to have been concealed, if it could not have been brought to bear. On the other hand, certain circumſtances might be alledged on their behalf; the method of managing this buſineſs was entirely new, and conſequently the leſs underſtood by them. They had but juſt opened a correſpondence at Hamburgh, and they were very apprehenſive of giving the inhabitants any diſtaſte or diſtruſt, and the ſtate of publick affairs had not been ſo dark ſince the opening of the Queen's reign; a foreign war being apprehended; a rebellion broke out in the North; and the Queen's miniſters at variance amongſt themſelves (31). We may from hence gather the reaſons why ſo ſmall a loan, after all this ſtir, was ſo kindly accepted; Sir Thomas Greſham knew that all beginnings are difficult, and that in the hands of able men, even great deſigns have little of difficulty in them, except in their beginnings.

[G] *It is very excuſable.*] There is a traditionary report, that the timber of which this fabric was built, was firſt framed and made in every reſpect fit to be ſet up, at Battisford, near Ipſwich in Suffolk; this is referred to in an hiſtorical Play, conſiſting of two parts, the former of which repreſents the troubles of the Princeſs Elizabeth, under the reign of her ſiſter Queen Mary; and the latter, the building of the Exchange, and the famous victory over the Spaniſh fleet in 1588, where Sir Thomas is introduced ſpeaking to the Sword-Bearer, in the following manner (32).

Tell them I wait here in the Mayor's Court;
Beneath, in the Sheriff's Court *my workmen wait,*
In number full an hundred; *my* frame *is ready,*
All only ſtay their pleaſure, *then out of hand,*
Up goes my work, *a* credit *to the* land.

This was well enough calculated to pleaſe a vulgar audience, and we may rely upon it was invented for that purpoſe. It would however be a very difficult if not impracticable taſk, to aſſign the exact time when it was firſt opened for the uſe of the merchants. There is indeed a very clear account in Stowe's Annals (33); but then the dates are ſtrangely inconſiſtent, he fixes the laying the firſt ſtone the ſeventh of June 1566, and ſays, it was opened in November the next year, retaining it's title of the Burſe till the Queen came thither the January following. But in the margin he places that January in the thirteenth of her reign, and in the year 1571, beginning the year with the firſt of that month. In another work of his, it is ſaid to have been ſlated only in 1567, and finiſhed ſooner. But the moſt probable and authentic account of the matter, is in the Latin inſcription on the draught before cited, where it is expreſsly aſſerted to have been three years in building, and conſequently it was not finiſhed till the ſummer of 1569, or it may be not till November in that year, and then putting 1569, for 1567, in Stowe's account of this matter in his Annals, and rectifying the laſt date in the text, by that in the margin, the whole will be very conſiſtent and probable. Yet there is reaſon to believe that the merchants met there before the ſhops and every thing in it was entirely finiſhed, ſince Sir Thomas Greſham carried Cardinal Chatillon thither in 1568. As to the change of it's name from the *Burſe* of *London* to the *Royal Exchange*, upon Queen Elizabeth's viſit to Sir Thomas Greſham, it is as well aſcertained as any hiſtorical fact can be (34). But in reſpect to Sir Thomas Greſham's drinking up a pearl of great price diſſolved in wine to the Queen's health at this feaſt, we may well regard it as another ſtroke of fanciful tradition, which is thus expreſſed in the play before mentioned.

(c) A liſt of the perſons who lent is preſerved in Stowe.

(d) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 15.

(e) Stowe's Annals, p. 668. Holinſhed's Chron. p. 1224.

(f) Stowe's Survey, b. ii. p. 135.

(g) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 223.

(h) Malyne's Lex Mercatoria, b. iii.

(i) Le Neve's M.SS. Vol. II. p. 286.

(31) Camden, Stowe, Strype.

(32) London, printed for Nat. Butler, 1623, 4to.

(33) Stowe's Annals, p. 668.

(34) Stowe, Holinſhed, Camden.

being determined to make a progreſs in the ſummer, judged it expedient not to leave the capital of her dominions and her ſeat of empire, without ſome extraordinary mark of her attention and concern, and therefore ſhe appointed a committee of nine moſt reſpectable perſons, of whom Sir Thomas Greſham was one, to confer and conſult with the ordinary magiſtrates at ſtated times; and of this her royal pleaſure (*k*), ſhe gave notice to Sir Lionel Ducket, then Lord-Mayor, in a letter worthy the reader's peruſal [*H*]. This method

(*k*) Stowe's Survey, b. v. p. 434, 435.

Here fifteen hundred *pound at one clap goes,*
Inſtead of ſugar, Greſham *drinks this* pearl,
Unto his Queen and Miſtreſs: pledge it Lords.

We have another circumſtance from a panegyric on this great man by one of his own profeſſors, relating to a great ſervice he did to the Proteſtant cauſe by a loan which he procured at Antwerp on his own credit, which at that time diſabled the Spaniards from proſecuting ſome great deſign, that muſt have been fatal to the Dutch, which is not to be collected from or reconciled to hiſtory. The author's words are theſe (35). *Cum ab* Hiſpanis *quodam anno graviter periclitantibus opitulari regina vellet grandique pecunia ad eam rem opus eſſet rationem excogitavit* Greſhamus, *qua levi diſpendio negotium conficeret: omnem nempe argentariam menſam quæ* Antverpiæ *erat ſuo nomine mutuatus* Hiſpanorum *nervos in eum annum incidit;* Belgis *vero reſpirandi tempus hoſtemque ſimul debilitandi præſtitit.* As there was no open war begun in his time, the only turn that can be given to this paſſage, is to ſuppoſe, that it has a reference to his procuring the ſtay of that vaſt maſs of ſilver which was to have been tranſported to Antwerp in 1569, and which, if the Duke of Alva had received, he would very probably have put it out of the power of the Dutch to have reſented their ill uſage, or to have defended their liberties (36). Another traditionary tale is very clearly refuted, ſo far as it regards Sir Thomas Greſham, by the hiſtorian of the Charter-houſe (37). 'It is now a well known truth, 'that Sir Francis Walſingham, upon notice that the 'King of Spain had written a letter to the Pope, with 'an account of the true deſign of his mighty preparations, and to beg his bleſſing upon it, got a copy of 'this letter out of the Pope's cabinet, by the help of a 'Prieſt his ſpy, and had thence the firſt certain intelligence of the deſigned Spaniſh Invaſion; and that 'thereupon, that conſummate ſtateſman prevented it 'for a whole year, by procuring our merchants to 'gather up the chief bills of the bank of Genoa, and 'to draw the money out of it, juſt as King Philip had 'ordered bills upon that bank to ſet his fleet out to ſea, 'which being through neceſſity proteſted, there was 'no remedy but patience, and to wait the arrival of 'his plate fleet from the Indies for the neceſſary ſupplies. And in the mean time England prepared for 'the reception of this invincible Armada, and attacked 'it on it's approach ſo vigorouſly, that it was ſoon put 'to flight and only ſome ſhattered remnants regained 'the coaſt of Spain. It is a current tradition, that Sir 'Thomas Greſham was the chief aſſiſtant in this mercantile affair: but it is moſt certainly a vulgar error, 'for Sir Thomas Greſham died in 1579; but if tradition will be allowed of any force, it is ſtrong at Charter-houſe that it was Mr Sutton, and there is this 'great probability to ſupport it, that he was at that 'time the chief and richeſt merchant in London.' But after all, perhaps the tradition at Charter-houſe, is no better founded than that with reſpect to Greſham. The ſtory is told by Dr Welwood (38), and Biſhop Burnet (39), and the latter is pleaſed to inform us, that it was judged too high a ſecret of ſtate to be truſted to Camden, though by the way there is great reaſon to believe that his Annals were in a great meaſure digeſted by the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, and the ſecret could not well be too high for him. The ſuppoſed ſource of this tradition is a hearſay from the great Earl of Cork, in which there muſt have been ſome miſtake. It is indeed a well known truth, that the Spaniſh expedition was deſigned a year before, and was prevented by the merchants of London, but in a very different manner. At their expence a ſtrong ſquadron, in thoſe days it might be called a great fleet, for it conſiſted of thirty ſail of ſtout ſhips, was fitted out under the command of Sir Francis Drake, who ſailing to the coaſt of Spain, burnt the ſtoreſhips that were provided for this expedition, as Sir William Monſon tells us of his own knowledge (40), and as we find it in Camden and other hiſtorians (41); which being a matter of fact out of all controverſy, can never be brought to conſiſt with this tradition of ſtopping the King of Spain's credit at Genoa.

(35) Oratio habita in Collegio Greſhamenſi à Rogero Meredith, ineunte anno 1673, cum juriſprudentiam eſſet prælecturus. Appendix to Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 74.

(36) Grotii Annal. Belgic. lib. ii.

(37) Bearcroft's Account of Thomas Sutton, Eſq; and of his foundation in Charter-houſe, p. 11.

(38) Memoirs of the moſt remarkable Tranſactions in England, p. 9, 10.

(39) Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 313.

(40) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, in the expedition of this year 1587.

(41) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 551. Stowe's Annals, p. 743.

[*H*] *In a letter worthy the reader's peruſal.*] This progreſs of the Queen's laſted from July, to the latter end of September, in which ſpace ſhe viſited the Lord Burleigh, the Lord-Keeper Bacon, the Earl of Leiceſter, and others of her nobility, which was the reaſon of her addreſſing this letter to the Lord-Mayor of London (44).

(42) Maitland's Hiſtory of London, p. 157.

To the LORD-MAYOR of London.

'Right truſty and well beloved, we greet you well. 'Although we doubt not but that by the authority you 'have as Lord-Mayor of our city of London, with the 'aſſiſtances and advices of your brethren of the ſame; 'you may, and will ſee our ſaid city well governed, 'and by our good and faithful ſubjects, ordered and 'continued in quietneſs as other your predeceſſors and 'yourſelf have commonly done; yet for the ſpecial 'care we have for our ſaid city, and weale of our good 'ſubjects, thinking it convenient for your own eaſe to 'have you aſſiſted by other perſons of great truſt, wiſdom, and experience, during this time of our progreſs 'and abſence in remote parts from thence; and eſpecially that no diſorder ſhould ariſe in the ſuburbs or 'other places adjoining to the city out of your juriſdiction, we have for that purpoſe made choice of the 'moſt Reverend Father in God, the Archbiſhop of 'Canterbury, the Biſhop of London, Lord Wentworth, Sir Anthony Cook, Sir Thomas Wroth, Sir 'Owen Hopton, Sir Thomas Greſham, Dr Wilſon, 'and Thomas Wilbraham, and have appointed that 'they, or ſome convenient number of them ſhall join 'with you, to deviſe by all good means, from time to 'time as occaſions may give cauſe, for quiet order to 'be continued in our ſaid city, and among our ſubjects, 'and to prevent and ſtay diſorders both there and in 'other parts near to the ſame, being out of your juriſdiction. For which purpoſe, and for the better underſtanding of our deſire and intention, we have cauſed 'our Privy-Council to confer with ſome of the aforenamed perſons, as you ſhall underſtand by them. 'Willing and requiring you (when you ſhall meet together, or ſome of them with you) for the better doing thereof, to agree upon ſome certain place and time 'once every week, or oftner, as caſes may require, 'and there to meet for the due execution of our good 'meaning and pleaſure.'

There was however at the bottom, ſomething more deſigned by this commiſſion, than barely to keep things in that order in which they were. All hiſtorians agree, that luxury prevailed at this time very ſtrongly throughout England, and the truth of this might be eaſily proved from the ſermons preached to reform it; from the plays written to expoſe it, and from the laws made to ſuppreſs it. But it ſeems all would not do, the Queen herſelf loved ſtate and magnificence; ſome great men about the court availing themſelves of this pretence, puſhed things to exceſs, bad examples being infectious; this diſpoſition ſpread gradually, and mixing itſelf with that variety of ill humours which then diſturbed the body politic, broke out frequently in acts detrimental to private peace and property, and ſometimes injurious to the public tranquillity. The Lord-Keeper Bacon, had taken a note of theſe things, and had ſilently conſulted with ſome very able men how they might be corrected with ſafety, the conſequence of which was, that as all reformation creates uneaſineſs and diſquiet, it would be the ſafeſt way to do what was to be done in the abſence of the Court (43). The time was now come when that reſolution was to be carried into action, and as it was foreſeen, that extraordinary prudence would be neceſſary to manage ſuch an affair with ſpirit and temper, her Majeſty was adviſed to appoint this ſtanding committee for the ſupport and aſſiſtance of the ordinary magiſtrates; and as this ſcheme was happy in it's

(43) Stowe's Survey of London, edit. 1720. b. v. p. 745.

method anſwered her expectations ſo well, that it was afterwards purſued upon every like occaſion. In 1573, the vigilance of the Queen's miniſtry, and the prudence and punctuality of the Queen's merchant, ſufficiently appeared in the diſcharge not only of her own bonds, but of the obligations of her father and her brother that were yet ſtanding out, to the univerſal joy of the citizens, as the learned Camden tells us (*l*); and thereby ſuch a baſis of credit eſtabliſhed, as laſted throughout her reign, and enabled her to triumph over the open force and ſecret fraud of all her enemies. The deſires of this excellent and fortunate perſon therefore were thoroughly ſatisfied with reſpect to the temporal bleſſings of wealth and fame, ſo that his thoughts were chiefly confined to the proſpect of futurity, and the means of rendering that uſeful to the public, which his want of legal iſſue gave no private family any claim to inherit. He had given a ſhining proof of his zeal for commerce in building the Royal-Exchange; he was deſirous of affording poſterity as illuſtrious a mark of his affection for learning, by converting his dwelling-houſe in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet into a college (*m*). He knew from his own experience, in how great a degree the lights of ſcience aſſiſt an enterprizing genius, and how difficult, nay impracticable, a thing it is to attempt the contrivance and execution of any extenſive deſign, without a reaſonable degree of theoretical as well as practical knowledge; and that the children of the citizens of London might not be deficient in this reſpect, be put to inconvenient expence to attain it, or compelled to ſeek theſe uſeful acquiſitions at too great a diſtance, he deviſed this new nurſery of the Muſes, and reſolved that the revenues ariſing from his firſt public foundation, ſhould go to the maintenance of the ſecond, and that the ſame truſtees ſhould have the care of both (*n*). While he had this deſign in view, he was addreſſed to by the Vice-Chancellor and Senate of the Univerſity of Cambridge, who by their public orator Mr Richard Bridgewater, wrote him an elegant Latin letter, to remind him of a promiſe made by him, as they had been informed, to give them five hundred pounds, either towards building a new college, or repairing one already built (*o*). This letter was dated the 14th of March 1574-5, and it is probable that Sir Thomas might formerly have intimated ſome ſuch intention, but afterwards changed his mind when he came to enlarge his deſign, of which it is likely they were ſoon ſatiſfied. For upon the 25th of the ſame month, that letter was followed by another, in which no mention is made of the five hundred pounds; but they acquaint him with another report that he had promiſed the Lady Burghley, both to found and endow a college for the profeſſion of the ſeven liberal ſciences. The only place as they obſerve proper for ſuch a deſign, was either London, Oxford, or Cambridge. They endeavour to diſſwade him from London, leſt it ſhould prove prejudicial to the two Univerſities (*p*). And they hope he will not make choice of Oxford, ſince he was himſelf bred at Cambridge, which might preſume upon a ſuperior regard from him on that account. At the ſame time they wrote another letter to the Lady Burghley, in which they earneſtly requeſt that ſhe will pleaſe to uſe her intereſt with him, to fix upon Cambridge for the place of his intended college (*q*). But theſe letters had not the deſired effect, for he perſiſted in his reſolution to ſettle it in his houſe at London. And accordingly by an indenture quadrupartite, dated the 24th of May 1575, revoking all former indentures, he made a diſpoſition of his ſeveral manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, with ſuch limitations and reſtrictions, particularly as to the Royal-Exchange and his manſion-houſe, as might beſt ſecure his views with regard to the uſes for which he deſigned them. This indenture was ſoon followed by two wills, one of his goods, and the other of his real eſtates. The former of theſe bears date July the fourth (*r*) enſuing, whereby he bequeathed to his wife, whom he makes his ſole executrix, all his goods, ready money, plate, jewels, chains of gold, with all his ſtock of ſheep and other cattaile within the realm of England, and ſeveral legacies to his relations and friends, and to all his ſervants, amounting in the whole to upwards of two thouſand pounds, beſides ſome ſmall annuities. The other will was dated the day following, by which he declared his laſt purpoſe and intention concerning all the eſtates mentioned and contained in the ſaid indenture, very fully expreſſed his mind with relation to his deſigned college, and made an handſome and generous proviſion for the poor (*s*) [*I*]. There is no doubt, that matters of ſuch vaſt importance,

(*l*) Annal. Eliz. p. 273.

(*m*) Fuller's Worthies, Norfolk.

(*n*) As appears from his laſt Will.

(*o*) Papers relating to Greſham College.

(*p*) See theſe letters printed and publiſhed at large in Dr Ward's Appendix to the Lives of Greſham Profeſſors.

(*q*) See that curious letter as before directed.

(*r*) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 19.

(*s*) Fuller's Worthies, Norfolk.

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it's contrivance, it was admirable in it's effects. Fleetwood, who was Recorder of London, a bold active and reſolute man, managed the judicial part with great ſpirit and vivacity; and there is an extract of a letter of his extant, written to one of the miniſtry with his accuſtomed freedom, in which he attributes the ſucceſs they had met with in ſearching all diſorders to the bottom, and treating them with a ſeaſonable ſeverity, to the Court's being at a diſtance. We have good reaſon to believe that what was now done, was very pleaſing to the Queen and her miniſters, by their ſteady adhering to this meaſure, as often as occaſion offered; and it is no ſmall honour to the memory of Sir Thomas Greſham, that in a buſineſs of ſuch conſequence, and where ſagacity was the only recommendation of ſuch as were to be truſted, he was conſtantly employed.

[*I*] *And made an handſome and generous proviſion for the poor.*] By this his laſt will and teſtament, he declares (44), that after the expiration of the particular uſes, eſtates, and intereſts for life, and in tail created by his deed, dated the 20th of May, in the ſeventeenth year of Queen Elizabeth, ſhall be determined; he grants the Royal-Exchange, with all it's appurtenances, one moiety thereof to the Lord-Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens of London; and the other moiety to the Warden and Commonalty of the Myſtery of Mercers in the ſaid City of London, for the term of fifty years. He farther directs, that when the ſaid moiety ſhall come into the hands and poſſeſſion of the Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens of London, they ſhall by half-yearly portions, at the feaſts of Lady-day and Michaelmas, pay the reſpective ſums of fifty-pounds per annum, to each learned and ſufficient lecturer in Divinity, Aſtronomy, Muſic, and Geometry; and they were farther to diſtribute the ſum of fifty-three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight-pence unto eight alms-folks, by them and their ſucceſſors, to be appointed to inhabit his eight alms-houſes in the pariſh of St Peter the Poor, that is to ſay, the

(44) This, with many other papers of importance, are to be found in Stowe's Appendix.

importance, and in which at the ſame time he had ſo deep an intereſt, muſt have occupied his mind in a great degree; and yet we find him in 1576, in the company of William Lord Burleigh, Mr Secretary Walſingham, Richard Martin, Eſquire, Maſter of the Mint, and ſeveral other perſons, ſome diſtinguiſhed by their high quality, all by their extenſive capacities and eminent integrity, in a ſtrict enquiry into the nature of foreign exchanges, under a royal commiſſion, from which they made many uſeful diſcoveries (t), though it is ſaid, that after all they came to no concluſion; the ſame year as a great Antiquary informs us, he procured another loan for his ſovereign from her ſubjects, which was probably intended for the relief and aſſiſtance of the Dutch (u). In the month of November this year, Antwerp was ſurprized and ruined by the Spaniards, who contrary to the law of nations, put the Engliſh houſe and merchants to ranſom, and effectually deſtroyed that great mart of Europe; ſo that if through the foreſight and vigilance of Sir Thomas Greſham, a method had not been deviſed for raiſing money upon any emergency, the ſack of this city might have been infinitely more prejudicial to this nation than it was (w). In the next year 1577, he finiſhed his beautiful ſeat and all the improvements he had thought fit to make in Oſterly Park near Brentford, which he meant for a place of retirement near town, to which he might withdraw as often as a day or two might be ſpared from public or private buſineſs. In building and adorning this agreeable villa, Sir Thomas diſplayed, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, a kind of mercantile magnificence (x). This edifice which was built of brick, large, convenient, and thoroughly finiſhed, ſtood in the midſt of a pleaſant park, marked out and impaled at his expence, well wooded and furniſhed with ſeveral curious fiſh ponds, and through which the little river Brent travelled gently to meet the Thames; and for grandeur, there was near the houſe a heronry, with various contrivances to allure thoſe kind of birds thither, and to keep them fixed to their habitation when they were there. Yet in the midſt of theſe ſcenes of ſplendour and amuſement, there was ſomething alſo of buſineſs; for beſides a corn, there was alſo a paper and an oyl mill upon this river, which being new manufactures, it is probable Sir Thomas was deſirous of having them under his own eye; and it may be, that out of the produce of theſe mills, a good part of theſe improvements might be defrayed (y). At all events it ſhewed the evenneſs of his temper, and that his prudence was not impaired by years, or corrupted by proſperity. There is a whimſical ſtory told of him, to ſhew with what facility and vigour he proſecuted any deſign to which he applied his mind. It is this, Queen Elizabeth having been once very magnificently entertained and lodged there by Sir Thomas, found fault with the court before it, as being too large, and ſaid it would appear better if divided with a wall in the middle. He took the hint, and to ſhew his complaiſance

(t) Malines's Maintenance of of Free Trade, and Lex Mercatoria.

(u) Cotton's Diſcourſe of foreign Trade, p. 58.

(w) Strada, Grotius, Stowe, &c.

(x) Norden, Speculum Brit. Mid. p. 35.

(y) MS. Remarks upon Norden.

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the ſum of ſix pounds thirteen ſhillings and four pence annually, to each of them quarterly; and alſo to the poor priſoners in Newgate, Ludgate, the King's Bench, the Marſhalſea, and the Compter in Wood-ſtreet, or whereſoever that Compter may be moved, the ſum of ten pounds to each of them by quarterly payments, ſo long as they ſhall hold and poſſeſs the ſaid moiety of the Royal-Exchange and it's appurtenances. He alſo charges the Warden and Commonalty of the Myſtery of Mercers and their ſucceſſors, to pay the ſum of one-hundred and fifty pounds half yearly, at the rate of fifty pounds per annum, to each of the three lecturers to be by them appointed to read in Law, Phyſic, and Rhetoric, in his ſaid dwelling-houſe; and farther, that they ſhall beſtow and expend one hundred pounds annually, in and about a feaſt or dinner for the whole company of the ſaid corporation, to be had and made in the Mercers-hall of the ſaid city of London, at every quarter day, the ſum of twenty-five pounds; and ſtill farther, the ſaid corporation ſtands charged to give and diſtribute to the poor perſons and priſoners in the hoſpitals of Chriſt Church, St Bartholomew's, Bethlehem, the hoſpital in Southwark, and the Poultry Compter, ten pounds annually to each, at four quarterly payments, for ſo long time as they ſhall hold and poſſeſs the moiety of the ſaid Royal-Exchange with it's appurtenances. He alſo deviſes to the Mayor and Commonalty of London and their ſucceſſors, the ſaid eight alms-houſes, empowering them to place in each of them one poor or impotent perſon; he alſo deviſes to the Lord-Mayor and Commonalty of London, and to the Wardens and Commonalty of the myſtery of Mercers, his manſion-houſe with the gardens, ſtables, and all and ſingular other the appurtenances in the pariſh of St Helen's and St Peter the Poor, upon truſt, to place therein the ſeven lecturers before mentioned, who are there to inhabit, ſtudy, and read the ſaid ſeveral lectures, and are to be unmarried when choſen, and are ſo to remain while they continue in poſſeſſion of the ſaid lecture. He recommends it to the city and to the corporation, to procure within the ſaid ſpace of fifty years, a licence from the Crown, to hold the premiſes deviſed to them by his will for ever, diſcharging the truſts repoſed in them. He further declares, that in conſideration of ſuch charges and wardſhip, livery and primier ſeizin, as at the time of his deceaſe ſhall happen to be due to the Queen's Majeſty, ſhall be paid and borne by Sir Henry Neville, Knight, or the heirs male by him begotten on Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Greſham, Knight, and while living heir apparent to Sir Thomas, he wills and diſpoſes to them, their executors or aſſigns, the manors of Mayghfield and Wadhurſt, with their appurtenances; but if his couſin Sir Henry Neville, or the heirs of him and Dame Elizabeth, ſhall not bear the charges beforementioned, then the premiſes ſhall remain as the reſidue thereafter limited; and this reſidue he wills and diſpoſes to his loving wife Dame Anne Greſham, and to her heirs and aſſigns for ever, to uſe and diſpoſe of the ſame at her pleaſure. The cloſe of this will is very remarkable, and is expreſſed in the following words. 'Requiring amongſt all other things, that all my debts, legacies, and other duties whatſoever by me due, given, limited, or bequeathed to any perſon, or with-hould from any perſon, ſhall be fully performed, ſatisfied, and paid and recompenced, as the caſe in law, right, equity, or conſcience ſhall require. In which behalf I do wholly put my truſt in her, and have no doubt but ſhe will accompliſh the ſame accordingly, and all other things as ſhall be requiſite or expedient for both our honeſty's fames and good reports in this tranſitory world, and to the profit of the common weale, and relief of the careful and true poor, according to the pleaſure and will of Almighty God, to whom be all honour and glory, for ever and ever, Amen. In witneſs whereof, I the ſaid Sir Thomas Greſham, have written this will all with myne own hand, and to each of the eight leaves have ſubſcribed my name, and to a labell fixed thereunto; all the eight leaves have ſet to my ſeal with the Graſhopper, the fifth day of July, in the ſeventeenth yere of the reign of our ſovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth, and in the year of our Lord God, Anno 1575.'

By me THOMAS GRESHAM.'

plaiſance to her Majeſty, immediately ſent for workmen from London, who in the night built up the wall with ſuch privacy and expedition, that the next morning the Queen to her great ſurprize, found the court divided in the manner ſhe had propoſed the day before (z). Whatever ſatisfaction Sir Thomas might take in this retreat, he made it nothing more, but continued to paſs ſo much of his time in the city, as was requiſite for the diſcharge of his buſineſs of every kind, amongſt which he reckoned the receiving and entertaining foreigners of diſtinction who came to viſit England, and to pay their reſpects to the Queen his miſtreſs, accordingly on the twenty-ſecond of January 1578, we find that when Prince John Caſimir, brother to the Elector Palatine, a Proteſtant Prince, who had done great ſervice in the Low-Countries, landed at the Tower at night, he was received by many of the moſt diſtinguiſhed nobility, the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and principal citizens, who conducted him by torch-light to the houſe of Sir Thomas Greſham, where he was received with the ſound of trumpets and other muſical inſtruments, commodiouſly lodged, and magnificently entertained (a). His highneſs did not remain in England long, but in that ſpace was elected Knight of the Order of the Garter, and had ſeveral and very rich preſents made him by the nobility; the Queen herſelf gave him two gold cups very richly wrought, of the value of three hundred pounds a piece; but as ſhe was naturally frugal, it was with ſome difficulty that Secretary Walſingham determined her to this act of generoſity (b). This proved one of the laſt public tranſactions of Sir Thomas's life, at leaſt of which any memorial remains, for on ſaturday November the 21ſt, 1579, coming between ſix and ſeven in the evening from the Exchange to his own houſe, he fell down ſuddenly in his kitchen, and being taken up was found ſpeechleſs, and ſoon after died (c). Thus was this eminent man removed in a manner unexpected, and at an age when he was capable of being further ſerviceable to his country for ſeveral years, for he was not ſixty one years old at his deceaſe. By his death many large eſtates in ſeveral counties of England, amounting at that time to the yearly value of two thouſand three hundred pounds and upwards, came to his Lady who ſurvived him. His obſequies were performed in a very ſolemn manner, being attended by an hundred poor men, and the like number of poor women, whom he had ordered to be cloathed in black gowns of five ſhillings and eight pence a yard, at his own expence (d). The charges of his funeral amounted to eight hundred pounds. His corps was depoſited in a vault at the North-eaſt corner of the church, which he had before provided for himſelf and family. Over the vault is a large and curious marble tomb; on the ſouth and weſt ſides of which are his own arms, argent a chevron, ermin between three mullets ſable pierced, and on the north and eaſt ſides they are impaled with thoſe of his lady, argent a bend or, on which are three bucks heads caboſſed. The tomb is fenced round with a ſtrong rail, and other ornamental iron work (e). The arms of Sir Thomas, together with thoſe of the city of London and Mercers company, are likewiſe painted in the glaſs of the eaſt window of the church above the tomb. There was no inſcription upon the tomb till the year 1736, when for the information of the inhabitants, the following words taken from the pariſh regiſter, were cut on the ſtone that covers it by order of the church-wardens. *Sir* Thomas Greſham, *Knight, was buried December the 15th 1579 (f).* His creſt was a Grasshopper, which he uſed for his ſeal, and was then placed on the four angles of the Royal-Exchange, as it is now upon the pinacle of the tower on the ſouth ſide (g). He had promiſed the inhabitants of St Helen's pariſh an handſome ſteeple to their church, in conſideration of the ground taken up by his tomb, but his ſudden death prevented the performance of that promiſe. By an inventory of the goods at his houſe in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, taken after his deceaſe, they are ſaid to have amounted to a thouſand one hundred twenty-ſeven pounds fifteen ſhillings and eight pence. He had alſo another houſe at Weſtacre in Norfolk, where the effects were valued at a thouſand ſix hundred fifty-five pounds and a ſhilling (h). But his chief ſeat ſeems to have been at Mayghfield in Suſſex, one room of which was called the Queen's chamber, and the goods and chattels belonging to it, were eſtimated at ſeven thouſand five hundred fifty-three pounds ten ſhillings and eight pence (i). This ſhews that his riches were great, but the reputation with which he acquired them greater, and the uſes to which they were applied, greateſt of all [K]. He appears from the ſtatues and pictures that

(z) Fuller's Worthies, Norfolk.

(a) Stowe, Strype, Speed, &c.

(b) Stowe's Annals. Strype's Annals.

(c) Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 1310. Stowe's Annals, p. 686. Ward's Lives of of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 26.

(d) Stowe's Annals, p. 686.

(e) Stowe's Survey, b. ii. p. 106.

(f) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 27.

(g) See the concluſion of his Will in note [I].

(h) Stowe's Survey, edit. 1598. p. 133.

(i) Sir Thomas Greſham's Journal, MS.

[K] *And the uſes to which they were applied greateſt of all.*] As very few perſons have been more favoured in this world by Providence, in the purſuit of that courſe of life to which he was called, than this worthy gentleman Sir Thomas Greſham, ſo very few have employed the good things of this life, either living or dying, in a manner more generally approved by his contemporaries, or applauded by poſterity, than he has done. If we trace him through the courſe of his life, we ſhall find him filling every ſtation decently, and not at all given either to under or over-act his part; content with what Providence allotted him; not eager in obtaining, yet punctual in performing the duties of any office that he obtained; active and vigilant in the ſervice of the Crown, but contriving at the ſame time how the nation might be ſerved likewiſe. A citizen without ambition; a patriot without ſpleen or private views; no lover of pomp, yet living with decent ſplendour; a grateful and generous maſter; a kind friend; a patron of learned men, as Mr Fox acknowledges, who knew it from experience (45). Hugh Goughe, in his dedication to him of the *Off-ſpring of the Houſe of* Ottoman, where he is very copious in his praiſes; and Richard Rowland's, more frequently called Verſtegan, in a book he likewiſe addreſſed to him called, *The Poſt of the World*. Theſe were men differing in their ſentiments, and very diſtant in their religions; yet all aſſiſted by, and all admirers of, Sir Thomas Greſham, who was bountiful to merit where-ever he found it. As Sir Thomas was a generous benefactor to the public in his life time, and more ſo at his death, ſo he managed his donations with ſuch diſcretion, as left no room for his relations to complain. It is very probable that his wife Dame Anne, brought him a large fortune; and this being in the early part of his life, might induce him to think, that he was bound to make a ſuitable return

(45) In the Latin Life prefixed to his Acts and Monuments.

that are ſtill preſerved of him, to have been a man of a ſweet and ſerene aſpect, and of a comely and graceful perſon (*k*); he was undoubtedly a man of learning, as well as perfectly acquainted with living languages, and that mixed and general knowledge which is of ſo great uſe in the right conduct of life. His abilities were early ripe, for we find him entered into active life, and not only embarked in buſineſs, but in negotiations of ſtate by that time he was turned of thirty; and after he was once employed by the Crown, which was purely the effects of his merit, he maintained himſelf in favour in times moſt difficult, and in Courts acting from very different views (*l*); in his manners he was ſo polite, that he was choſen to entertain thoſe foreigners of diſtinction, on whom the Court was deſirous that a ſtrong impreſſion ſhould be made in favour of the Engliſh nation. His merit as a merchant was very great, and he applied that ſkill and experience which he derived from his own extenſive concerns in commerce, to promote the welfare of the nation, for which his zeal was ſo great, that he was deſervedly eſteemed an eminent patriot, in an age when that beſt of characters was far from being rare (*m*). His praiſes might be carried farther and higher, and might be ſupported by the authorities of Camden, Evelyn, and other great men, if his actions did not render all helps of this ſort unneceſſary [*L*]. What deſerves to be particularly remembered is, that we have not received from any of the writers of his times, and they were times in which men wrote freely, that tends any way to his diſadvantage, except that in his youth he was of an amorous complexion, as appears from his having had a natural daughter by a woman at Bruges, whom he beſtowed honourably in marriage on Nathaniel Bacon, Eſq; ſecond ſon to the Lord-Keeper, to whom ſhe brought a fortune of two hundred and eighty pounds a year in lands, ſituated in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk (*n*). He married as we before obſerved, Anne, the widow of Mr Read of Fulham, who ſurvived him many years, and who not long after his death, having ſome diſputes with Sir Henry Nevile, who married her huſband's niece and heir at law, theſe were

(*k*) See his picture in Mercers Hall, and his ſtatue by Buſhnell.

(*l*) See ſeveral paſſages in King Edward's Journal, and his own Memorial in Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors.

(*m*) See Bacon's Felicity of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; her character by Bohun; and Naunton's Fragm. Regalia.

(*n*) See the particulars in Ward's Appendix to the Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, No. II.

turn to her; and beſides, it appears from the deed of ſettlement to which his will refers, that her conſent was neceſſary; the children of Sir Henry Nevile, who were his heirs at law, had likewiſe their ſhare. His only child Anne, married into the honourable family of the Bacon's, to which his wife was alſo allied by marriage; Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal, having married for his firſt wife, Miſtreſs Jane Fernely her youngeſt ſiſter (46), ſo that Nathaniel Bacon, Eſq; who married her huſband's daughter, was her nephew. This Mr Bacon, had by Mrs Anne Greſham, three daughters (47), who were his coheirs, all married to gentlemen of as great figure as any in the county of Norfolk, viz. Anne the eldeſt, to Sir Roger Townſhend of Raynham, and brought the Stiffkey eſtate into that family; the ſecond, Elizabeth, married Sir Thomas Knyvet of Aſhwellthorpe; and the youngeſt, Winifrede, Sir Robert Gawdy of Claxton.

[*L*] *Did not render all helps of this ſort unneceſſary.*] It may not however be amiſs for the reader's ſatisfaction, that what Sir Thomas did for his country, was in all times gratefully accepted, to produce ſome of the numerous tokens of reſpect paid to him both living and dead. The firſt ſhall be from Mr Goughe's dedication mentioned in the former note, who after telling him that many had been beneficent to England their native country. Some of a zealous mind, had beſtowed their ſage counſel and politic devices of the ſame. Others of a favourable affection, had given their labours to the procuring in readineſs, of ſuch neceſſary inſtruments as in time of peace might ceaſe our doubtful minds from careleſſneſs thereof; and in perilous ſeaſons of war, defend us from our daily imminent adverſaries. The reſt not being many in number, had of a godly and voluntary will, wholly applied their riches or money joined together, and laid out their treaſures to the erecting ſuch noble buildings, as might be for a public commodity unto the inhabitants of this worthy iſle of Britain; and then coming to apply this to the ſingle perſon of Sir Thomas Greſham, he proceeded. ‘ But alas! too few have been furniſhed ‘ in whom all theſe commendable qualities have ‘ reigned, both to be beneficial to their country by ſage ‘ counſel; procuring of ſafe-guard for protection of the ‘ ſame, and beſtowing of their ſubſtance to the building of ſuch famous and magnificent works as might ‘ ſerve for common utility unto all men. And by the ‘ diſcretion of thoſe men that be learned and wiſe, if ‘ ever any ſubject hath enjoyed them, they attribute it ‘ unto you. For who is he that is ignorant of the policies and travels which your worſhip hath uſed and ‘ ſuſtained, for to get ſafe-guard and requiſite furniture ‘ to the realm; beſides the infinite riches given to the ‘ building of that princely work, commonly called The ‘ Burſe, which already declareth, and in London is ‘ openly to be ſeen, what commodity generally it will ‘ bring to the citizens thereof? theſe noble exploits, as ‘ indeed they are not a little by all men praiſed, cannot be highly enough commended.’ He praiſed Sir Thomas alſo for his temper, courteſy, gentleneſs, friendſhip, and liberality towards all men; yea, and towards the unknown and ſtrangers; as divers had experienced. Raphael Hollinſhed (48), and John Stowe (49), have paid juſt honour to his memory; the great Sir Henry Spelman, mentions him as an honour to the county of Norfolk, in which his family was ſeated (50). The unknown author of a poem in Engliſh and Latin on the Fire of London, addreſſed to Sir James Langham (51), takes that melancholy occaſion to praiſe the ſtructure which Sir Thomas raiſed, and to applaud his public ſpirit.

In partem trahitur Regalis Burſa ruinæ,
Linguarum Babel, & Mundi Mercatus; utrumque;
Quotidie complexa Polum, quodque, inter utrumque
eſt:
Marmoreum Regni Chronicon; ſerieque vetuſta
Exhibuit nuper Proavos tibi (CAROLE) Reges.

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Septrigeros flammæ prædam; dum Regibus ipſis,
Unicus a grato ſtat Conditor Igne ſuperſtes.

The common wreck the Royal Change doth ſhare,
Babel of Tongues; the Univerſe's faire;
Where both poles daily meet, and what within
The ſpacious diſtance of the pole is ſeen:
The kingdom's marble chronicle. To thee
(Great Prince) it ſhew'd thy Royal pedigree,
For three times nine deſcents.

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Greſham the Kings ſurvives. The grateful flame
The founder ſpar'd, that would not ſpare the frame.

The late Lord Viſcount Cobham placed this great man in that temple of Britiſh Worthies, which is one of the nobleſt ornaments of his celebrated gardens at Stowe in Buckinghamſhire, with the following inſcription over his buſt.

Sir Thomas Greſham,
Who by the honourable profeſſion of a merchant,
Having enriched himſelf and his country,
For carrying on the commerce of the world,
Built the Royal Exchange.

(46) Baronetage of England, Vol. III.

(47) Pedigree of the Bacons of Norfolk.

(48) Chronicle, p. 1310.

(49) Annals, p. 686.

(50) Poſthumous Works, p. 152.

(51) Conflagratio Londinenſis poetice depicta, p. 22, 23.

were at length brought to a compromiſe, and an act of parliament paſſed in the year 1581, for eſtabliſhing that agreement and carrying it into execution (o). She afterwards endeavoured to procure another act of parliament to impower her and her heirs, to make leaſes from time to time of twenty-one years, of the ſhops in the Exchange, reſerving the fines; but the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, having fully anſwered the ſuggeſtions contained in her petition to the Privy Council, that project was diſappointed (p). However ſhe prevailed upon the tenants in the laſt year of her life to accept freſh leaſes, by which ſhe obtained fines to the amount of four thouſand pounds (q). She ſpent her winters moſtly in town, at the great houſe in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, and the ſummer months at Oſterley Park, where however all the great improvements fell ſpeedily to ruin (r). At length ſhe deceaſed there November 23, 1596, from whence her body was brought to London and buried in the church of St Helen, in the ſame vault with her huſband Sir Thomas, on the 14th of December following (s). As to the public benefactions of Sir Thomas Greſham, the Royal-Exchange and his manſion houſe, as on the deceaſe of his Lady, they immediately came into the hands of the two corporations; ſo, according to his deſire, they obtained a patent from the Crown, bearing date February the third in the year of our Lord, One thouſand ſix hundred and fourteen, to hold them for ever, upon the terms expreſſed in the will of the donor (t).

E

GREVILE [Fulke], Lord Brook, of Beauchamp's-Court in Warwickſhire, an eminent courtier in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Privy-Counſellor in that of King James and King Charles I. and an ingenious writer both in verſe and proſe; was deſcended of the antient and noble families of the Beauchamps of Powick, and the Willoughbys de Brook; whereof Mr Camden has recorded, that Brook-Houſe, which was ſituate upon the Avon in that county, and derived it's name from a rivulet or brook which runs into this river, had been the ſeat of John Pavely, Lord of Weſtbury, and afterwards gave the title of Baron to Robert Willoughby, deſcended from that family, when King Henry VII. advanced him to this honour (a); by which King he is reported to have been alſo made Steward of his Houſhold, and for ſome time High-Admiral of England (b). But this family ſoon expired; for he left but one ſon, named Robert Lord Brook, who had by his firſt wife a ſon, named Edward; and he dying in his father's life-time, left a daughter named Elizabeth, afterwards married to Fulke Grevile the elder, grandfather to this Lord Brooke of whom we are writing, as we find in thoſe Heraldical authors who were contemporary with him, and others who have written more particularly of the family (c). As for that Chriſtian name, we ſhall refer below to an explanation of it from Mr Camden in another of his works [A]. By that rich heireſs aforeſaid, alſo deſcended Beauchamp-Court to the ſaid Fulke the elder, which is ſituate upon the Arrow below Ouſely, and was ſo named from the Barons of Beauchamp before mentioned, from whom it devolved to that lady (d). The ſaid Sir Fulke the elder, had by her, Fulke Grevile, who was knighted in the ſeventh year of Queen Elizabeth, and Robert a younger ſon. This laſt Sir Fulke, in the twelfth of that Queen, was choſen into the commiſſion for preſerving the peace in Warwickſhire; alſo in the fourteenth of her reign; and again in the twenty-ſixth he was elected High-Sheriff of that county (e). He was in the beginning of the next reign very active in diſcovering and apprehending ſome of the powder-plotters, when they were in thoſe parts; he being then Deputy-Lieutenant of the ſaid ſhire (f). Camden ſays alſo, in the place laſt above cited, that he was no leſs eſteemed for the ſweetneſs of his temper than the dignity of his ſtation; and departing this life in the fourth of James I. aged ſeventy years, he left by Anne his wife, daughter of Ralph Nevile, Earl of Weſtmorland, this Fulke Grevile of whom we are here treating, and one daughter named Margaret, who was married to Sir Richard Verney, of Compton-Mordak in the county of Warwick, anceſtor to the preſent Lord Willoughby of Brook (g). As to a more diſtinct account of theſe anceſtors, or the lineage of the ſaid family down to this time, we have it alſo in an author, who being a native of the county wherein they flouriſhed, and having undertaken with great induſtry to preſerve the antiquities thereof, his authority may the better be depended on: therefore we ſhall here ſubjoin a ſhort extract of his genealogical deduction thereof, as what may not only confirm the aforeſaid account, but render the ſame more compleat [B].

[A] *From Mr Camden, in another of his works.*] 'Foulk or Fulke, ſays he, ſome derive from the 'German *vallg*, noble and gallant; but I, from *Folc*, 'the Engliſh-Saxon word for people; as though it 'were the ſame with publius of the Romans, and only 'tranſlated from publius, as beloved of the people and 'and commons (1).'

[B] *As what may not only confirm the aforeſaid account, but render the ſame more compleat.*] This extract we ſhall make from Sir William Dugdale, who has given us an ample pedigree of the Grevils, from the Beauchamps, for ſeveral deſcents, down to his own time; which has been continued by his late editor to the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, and by Mr Collins in his work before cited, to the preſent time: but as much of it as may here concern our purpoſe, is expreſſed (in the ſaid latter edition of Dugdale) (2) in theſe words.——' Sir Richard Beauchamp married, 'in the private chapel of the mannor-houſe at Alceſter, 'called Beauchamp's-Court, Elizabeth, daughter of 'Sir Humphrey Stafford, Knt. by whom he had iſſue, 'three daughters, his heireſſes, viz. Elizabeth, married 'to Sir Robert Willoughby, Lord Brook, whoſe father Sir Robert Willoughby, Knt. was firſt ſummoned 'to Parliament, by that title in the ſeventh of Henry 'VII. next, Anne, married to Richard Ligon, and 'Margaret, to William Rede; which laſt Sir Robert 'had, in her right, the manour of Alceſter in partition, and died ſeized thereof the tenth of November, in the thirteenth of Henry VIII. leaving Elizabeth, Anne, and Blanch, his grandchildren and next 'heirs, viz. daughters of Edward Willoughby his ſon, 'by

(o) Ibid. No. VI.

(p) Stowe's Survey, b. ii. p. 137.

(q) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 31.

(r) Norden's Specul. Britan. Mid. p. 37.

(s) Regiſter of St Helen's.

(t) See the Inrolment in Chancery.

(a) Camden's Britannia, in Wiltſhire.

(b) Idem. Alſo a Pedigree of the Greviles, in a volume of Engliſh Nobility, folio, MS. 1602. Among the MS. Collections of the late Knox Ward, Eſq; Clarencieux.

(c) Ibid. Alſo in the Genealogy, Life and Death of Robert Lord Brook, MS. written by Thomas Spencer, anno 1644, in the poſſeſſion of Francis Earl Brook.

(d) Camden, in Warwickſhire.

(e) Fuller's Worthies of England, in the liſt of Sheriffs in Warwickſhire.

(f) John Fox's Book of Martyrs. edit. 1684, Vol. III. in the Appendix. Alſo Sam. Clarke's Mercies Memorial, in the deliverance from the Powder-Plot, annexed to his England's Remembrancer, 12mo. 1657.

(g) Pedigree of the Greviles beforementioned. Alſo an hiſtorical and genealogical Account of the family of the Greviles, &c. by Arthur Collins, Eſq; 8vo. 1750, p. 28. printed likewiſe in his late Supplement to the Baronage.

(1) Camden's Remains concerning Britain, &c. edit. 4to. 1614. in the chapter of Names, p. 70.

(2) Sir W. Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickſhire, the ſecond edition, by Dr William Thomas, in 2 vols 1730. Vol. II. p. 766, &c.

This Fulke, afterwards Lord Brook, was born, as we are informed, in the year 1554 (*b*), and as it is ſuppoſed, at Beauchamp-Court aforeſaid. Being of the ſame age with, and couſin to, Sir Philip Sidney, they imbibed their juvenile education together at an eminent ſchool in Shrewſbury. There, Sidney appears to have been in 1566, by a letter full of prudent and paternal precepts, directed to him the ſaid year, in that town, by his father Sir Henry Sidney (*i*); whence we may conclude, that young Grevile was then his ſchoolfellow and aſſociate; and indeed no leſs may be gathered from his own words, where he ſays of Sir Philip, ‘ with whom I ſhall ever account it honour to have been brought up.’ And again, alluding to the earlineſs of his accompliſhments, he ſays, ‘ Of whoſe youth I will report no other wonder but this, that though I lived with him, and knew him from a child, yet I never knew him other than a man (*k*).’ From this ſchool Fulke Grevile was removed to the univerſity. He was it ſeems ſome time a Gentleman-Commoner at Oxford, but whether fellow collegiate with Sidney at Chriſt-Church there, does not plainly appear; and the Oxonian Antiquary allows him to have been more properly of Cambridge (*l*); where, at Trinity-College, he compleated his academical ſtudies. Not long after he left the univerſities, he added the knowledge of men to that of books by travel, and returned an accompliſhed gentleman; having not only adorned his mind with the moſt agreeable flowers of polite deportment and converſation that flouriſhed in the courts through which he paſſed, but attained alſo a competent familiarity with the modern languages, and ſome expertneſs in the martial exerciſes, by which the gallant cavaliers of thoſe times were uſed to ſignalize their courage and activity; inſomuch that, though he ſeems to have been early ‘ introduced into the Court, by his uncle Robert Grevile, a ſervant to Queen Elizabeth, where he was eſteemed a moſt ingenious perſon, and had in favour by all ſuch as were lovers of arts and ſciences (*m*);’ and though he was, through the affection of Sir Henry Sidney, Lord-Preſident of Wales, ſoon nominated to ſome beneficial preferments in that principality, yet he could not, for many years, decline attempting to engage himſelf in ſervices abroad both by ſea and land; as what would ſooner advance him to the Queen's favour at home, than ſtruggling for it by ſuch indirect and circumventing artifices, as are wont to be practiſed among competitors for the ſame at Court; 'till the Queen herſelf, conſidering his family, fortune, and perhaps the want of ſuch athletic or corporal robuſtneſs, as might equal his lively and vigorous inclinations to endure hardſhips and peril, diſcouraged ſuch excurſions in him, and thereby conſtrained thoſe with whom he would have been a coadventurer, alſo to evade or diſcountenance his aſſociation in ſuch dangerous enterprizes with them, as he has in his more mature or declining years informed us [*C*]. It ſeems to have been from one of thoſe excurſions, that he

(*b*) A. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 521.

(*i*) Letters and Memorials of State, by the Sidneyan family, in 2 vols folio, 1746, publiſhed by Arthur Collins, Eſq; Vol. I. p. 8.

(*k*) Sir Fulke Grevile's Life of the renowned Sir Philip Sidney, p. 2, 6.

(*l*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 521.

(*m*) Idem ibid.

‘ by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Richard Nevill Lord Latimer (3). Of which daughters, ſo in minority, Elizabeth the eldeſt, was committed to the tuition of Sir Edward Grevil of Milcote, Knt. who obtained her wardſhip, as our ſaid author was informed (4), with purpoſe to marry her to John his ſon and heir; but ſhe better affecting Fulke, the younger, (and having eſtate ſufficient for both him and herſelf *) became his wife; to whom ſhe brought the manour of Alceſter, with other lands: which Fulke much enlarged his manour houſe (5) at Beauchamp-Court, taking ſtone and timber from the then newly diſſolved priory at Alceſter for that purpoſe; as alſo his park, with part of the waſte belonging to this lordſhip, and bore the office of Sheriff for this county and Leiceſterſhire, in the thirty-fourth of Henry VIII, being then a Knight: ſo alſo in the firſt of Edward VI, and departed this life the tenth of November, Anno 1559 (6), leaving iſſue Fulke, his ſon and heir, and Robert a younger ſon; which Fulke was knighted in the ſeventh year of Queen Elizabeth (7), being then twenty-nine years of age. In the twelfth of Elizabeth, he was firſt in commiſſion of the peace for that ſhire, and departing this life anno 1606, left iſſue, by Anne his wife, daughter to Ralph Nevil, Earl of Weſtmorland, this Fulke his ſon and heir, &c.’ We ſhall here further add, of the firſt Robert Lord Brook, who was ſummoned to parliament by that title, in the ſeventh of Henry VII, as was obſerved, and is mentioned in the text to have been ſome time Admiral of England; that there is a letter extant, written by the ſaid King Henry to Sir Gilbert Talbot, which ſpeaks of this Lord Brook in that naval command. It is written upon the intelligence his Majeſty had received, that Perkin Warbeck and his wife were upon the ſea, with ſeven ſhips and a Britiſh prize expected to land, and make an invaſion in Cornwall: ‘ Whereupon, ſais the King to Sir Gilbert, we have ſent our right truſty counſeillour the Lord D'Aubeney, our Chamberlayn, by land, toward thoes parties, &c. for the ſubduying of him; and our right truſty Counſeillour the Lord Brooke, Steward of our houſehold by water, with our armee, on the ſee, now late retourned, to take the ſaid Perkyn, if he retourne agayn to the ſee; and we ſhall, in our owne perſone, if the caſe ſoo requir, goo ſo accompanyed thiderward, with our Lord's mercy, without delay, as we ſhal ſubdue the ſaid Perkyn, and all othre that wil take his part, if any ſuch be, &c. * ’ The ſaid Robert Lord Brooke, by his will, made the 19th of Auguſt, and proved the 25th of December 1502, appoints his burial in the church of that pariſh where he ſhall happen to die †: and there remains in the chapel of the borough of Callington in Cornwall, a raiſed altar monument, with his effigies thereon; having the Collar of the Order of the Garter, with the George appendant thereto ‡. Sir William Dugdale relates a remarkable ſtory at large of one of the family, named Lodovick Grevile, of Mulcote, Eſq; who contrived with a ſervant or two of his, to murder Mr Webb of Draycot in Oxfordſhire, his own tenant, who had been alſo his ſteward, that he might get all his riches. Thoſe ſervants having ſtrangled him, one of them went into his bed, and when the miniſter came, who was to make a will, the murderer in bed, with the curtains cloſe pinned about him, counterfeited a ſick and dying man, in voice, and other infirmities, till he had diſpoſed of the dead man's effects, ſeemingly in the deceaſed's own words and will, all to Mr Grevile. The murder and fraud being afterwards diſcovered, and Mr Grevile refuſing to plead, he was preſſed to death in the King's-Bench priſon, November 14, the thirty-firſt of Elizabeth; and his ſervant was hanged the ſame year 1589 ‖.

[C] *In his more mature, or declining years informed us*] His words upon this topic are as follow, ‘ When my youth, with favour of the Court, in ſome moderate proportion to my birth and breeding, in the activeneſs of that time, gave me opportunity of moſt buſineſs; then, did my yet undiſcouraged genius moſt affect to find, or make work for itſelf. And out of that freedom, having many times offered my fortune to the courſe of foreign employments, as the propereſt forges to faſhion a ſubject for the real ſervices of his ſovereign; I found the returns of thoſe miſplaced endeavours to prove, both a vain charge to myſelf, and an offenſive undertaking to that excellent governeſs,

(3) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. II. p. 88.

(4) Per Hen. Ferrers, Arm.

* The General, &c. of Robert Lord Brook, MS. before cited.

(5) Leland's Itinerary, Vol. IV. p. 168. See alſo more of the family in Vol. VI. p. 19, &c.

(6) Inſcrip. Tum. apud Alceſter.

(7) Liſt of Queen Elizabeth's Knights, by H. Ferrers, Eſq; MS. fol. in Bibl. Harleiana; & MS. in Offic. Armor. m. 18; & Eſc. 8 Eliz.

* Mr Anſtis's Regiſter of the Order of the Garter, in 2 vols fol. 1724, Vol. I. p. 215.

† Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 87.

‡ Anſtis, as before, Vol. II. p. 243.

‖ See Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. II. p. 710. and Stowe's Annals in that year.

he mentions alſo himſelf, his return out of Germany, and the political conferences he had at Delft with William of Naſſau, Prince of Orange [*D*]. As for the civil and domeſtic employments

neſs, over all her ſubjects duties and affections. For inſtance, how mild ſoever thoſe mixtures of favours and corrections were, in that princely lady, yet to ſhew that they fell heavy in croſſing a young man's ends, I will only chuſe and alledge a few out of many, ſome with leave, ſome without. Firſt, when thoſe two mighty armies of Don John's, and the Duke Caſimire's, were to meet in the Low-Countries; my horſes, with all other preparations, being ſhipped at Dover, with leave under her bill aſſigned; even then was I ſtaid by a princely mandate, the meſſenger Sir Edward Dier. Wherein, whatſoever I felt, yet I appeal to the judicious reader, whether there be any latitude left more than humble obedience, in theſe new caſes, between duty and ſelfneſs in a ſovereign's ſervice. After this, when Mr Secretary Walſingham was ſent embaſſador, to treat with thoſe two princes, in a buſineſs ſo much concerning chriſtian blood and chriſtian empires; then did the ſame irregular motion, which ſeldom reſts, but ſteals where it cannot tread, perſuade me, that whoſoever would venture to go without leave, was ſure never to be ſtaid. Upon which falſe axiome, truſting the reſt to chance, I went over with Mr Secretary unknown: but at my return, was forbidden her preſence for many months (8).' Hitherto might alſo be referred his engagement with Sir Philip Sidney, to accompany Sir Francis Drake in his laſt expedition but one to the Weſt-Indies (in 1585). But neither could they ſo cloſely keep their ſecret preparations for the ſame, from the knowledge of the State, nor Sir Francis ſo artfully diſguiſe from them, his unwillingneſs to lead them ſuch a remote and hazardous voyage, but that their whole project was fruſtrated; however he feaſted them with a great deal of outward pomp and complacency, the night they arrived at Plymouth; to which port they had travelled without ſuſpicion, becauſe, upon the rumour of Don Antonio's being on the ſeas for England, Sir Philip had put himſelf upon the employment of conducting that King to Court. Sir Philip's thoughts ſeem to have been too ſanguine and intenſe upon the enterprize, to diſcern the real inclinations of Sir Francis, through his looks or comportment; 'Yet I (ſays our author) that had the honor of being bred with him from his youth, ſo now, by his own choice, of all England, to be his loving and beloved Achates in this journey, obſerving the countenance of that gallant mariner, more exactly than Sir Philip's leiſure ſerved him to do; after we were laid in bed, acquainted him with my obſervation of the diſcountenance and depreſſion which appeared in Sir Francis; as if our coming were both beyond his expectation and deſire. Nevertheleſs that ingenuous ſpirit of Sir Philip's, though apt to give me credit, yet not apt to diſcredit others, made him ſuſpend his own, and labour to change and qualify my judgment; till within ſome few days after, finding neither the ſhips ready according to promiſe, nor poſſibly to be made ready in many days; and withal, obſerving ſome ſparks of falſe fire breaking out unawares from his yoke-fellow daily; it pleaſed him in the freedom of our friendſhip, to return me my own ſtock with intereſt. All this while Don Antonio lands not; the fleet ſeemed to us, like the weary paſſenger's inn, ſtill to go further from our deſires: letters came from the Court to haſten it away: it may be, the leaden feet and nimble thoughts of Sir Francis, wrought in the day, and unwrought in the night; while he watched an opportunity to diſcover us, without being diſcovered. For within a few days after, a poſt ſteals up to Court, upon whoſe arrival, an alarum is preſently taken; meſſengers ſent away to ſtay us, or, if we refuſed, to ſtay the whole fleet. Notwithſtanding this firſt Mercury, this errand being partly advertiſed to Sir Philip beforehand, was intercepted on the way; his letters taken from him, by two reſolute ſoldiers in mariner's apparel; brought inſtantly to Sir Philip, opened and read: the contents as welcome, as Bulls of Excommunication to the ſuperſtitious Romaniſt, when they enjoyn him either to forſake his right, or his Holy Mother Church; yet did he ſit this firſt proceſs without noiſe or anſwer. The next was a more imperial mandate, carefully conveyed and delivered to himſelf by a peer of this realm, carrying with it in the one hand, grace, in the other, thunder: the grace was, an offer of an inſtant employment under his uncle (the Earl of Leiceſter) then going General into the Low-Countries; againſt which although he would have gladly demurred, yet all was ſacrificed to the duty of obedience (9).' 'Again, when my Lord of Leiceſter was ſent General of her Majeſty's forces (the ſame year) into the Low-Countries, and had given me the command of an hundred horſe; then I, giving my humour over to good order, yet found, that neither the interceſſion of this grandee, ſeconded with my own humble ſute, and many other honourable friends of mine, could prevail againſt the conſtant courſe of this excellent Lady with her ſervants, ſo as I was forced to tarry behind; and for this importunity of mine, to change my courſe, and ſeem to prefer nothing before my ſervice about her: this Princeſs of government, as well as kingdoms, made me live in her court a ſpectacle of diſfavour too long as I conceived. Laſtly, the univerſal fame of a battle to be fought between the prime forces of Henry III. and the religious of Henry IV. then King of Navarre, lifting me yet once more above this humble earth of duty, made me reſolve to ſee the difference between kings preſent and abſent, in their martial expeditions; ſo that, without acquainting any creature, the Earl of Eſſex excepted, I ſhipped myſelf over; and at my retnrn, was kept from her preſence full ſix months, and then received after a ſtrange manner. For this abſolute Prince, to ſever ill example from grace, avers my going over to be a ſecret employment of her's; and all theſe other petty exiles, a making good of that cloud or figure, which ſhe was pleaſed to caſt over my abſence: protecting me to the world with the honour of her employment, rather than ſhe would, for example ſake, be forced either to puniſh me further, or too eaſily forgive a contempt, or neglect in a ſervant ſo near about her, as ſhe was pleaſed to conceive it. By which many warnings, I, finding the ſpecious fires of youth to prove far more ſcorching than glorious, called my ſecond thoughts to council, and in that map, clearly diſcerning action and honour to fly with more wings than one, and that it was ſufficient for the plant to grow where his ſovereign's hand had planted it; I found reaſon to contract my thoughts from thoſe larger, but wandering horizons of the world abroad, and bound my proſpect within the ſafe limits of duty, in ſuch home ſervices as were acceptable to my ſovereign (10).'

[*D*] *He mentions himſelf, his return out of Germany, and his political conferences with William Prince of Orange.*] The journey in which he had ſuch conferences with the Prince of Orange, ſeems to have been that he took with Sir Francis Walſingham beforementioned, which was in 1578; becauſe young Sidney, being perſonally known to this prince the preceding year (11), might better engage that recommendation of him by the ſaid prince here preſerved by our author, among other characters given by princes and ſtateſmen, of his ſaid worthy and renowned friend. His words are as follow: 'My firſt inſtance muſt come, ſays he, from that worthy Prince of Orange, William of Naſſau; with whom this young gentleman having long kept intelligence by word and letters, and in affairs of the higheſt nature, that then paſſed current upon the ſtages of England, France, Germany, Italy, the Low Countries, or Spain, it ſeems that this young gentleman had by his mutual freedom ſo imprinted the extraordinary merit of his young years into the large wiſdom and experience of that excellent prince, as I, paſſing out of Germany into England, and having the unexpected honor to find this prince in the town of Delfe, cannot think it unwelcome to deſcribe the clothes of this prince; his poſture of body and mind, familiarity and reſervedneſs, to the ingenious reader, that he may ſee with what divers characters princes pleaſe and govern cities, towns and people. His uppermoſt garment was a gown, yet ſuch, as I dare confidently affirm, a mean-born ſtudent in our Inns of Court would not have been well pleaſed to walk the ſtreets in. Unbuttoned his doublet was, and of like precious matter and form to the other. His waſte-coat, which ſhewed itſelf under it, not

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(8) Sir Fulke Grevile's Life of Sir Philip Sidney, from p. 167 to 169.

(9) Idem, from p. 82 to 89.

(10) Ibid. from p. 169 to 171.

(11) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 227.

employments appointed him by Sir Henry Sidney, the firſt account we meet with thereof is in one of Sir Henry's own letters to the Lords of the Council (n), containing ſome propoſitions for the reformation of diſorders in the marches of Wales, eſpecially for abridging the number of attorneys in the court that was held there; which reduced number he would have regulated under a principal officer or two, by patent from her Majeſty; and Mr Fulke Grevile, with his own Secretary, Mr Edmund Molyneux, he recommends for this purpoſe. His letter is dated the 12th of November, 1576. And ſix months after, being then in his government of Ireland, we find, in ſome inſtructions he ſent over to his ſervant, Edward Waterhouſe, Eſq; ſome explanation of the buſineſs thoſe officers were to ſuperintend,

‘ unlike the beſt ſort of thoſe woollen knit ones, which our ordinary watermen row us in. His company about him, the burgeſſes of that beer-brewing town; and he, ſo fellow-like, encompaſſed with them, as had I not known his face, no exterior ſign of degree or deſervedneſs could have diſcovered the inequality of his worth, or ſtate from that multitude. Notwithſtanding, I no ſooner came to his preſence, but it pleaſed him to take knowledge of me. And even upon that, as if it had been a ſignal to make change, his reſpect of a ſtranger, inſtantly begat reſpect to himſelf in all about him; an outward preſage of inward greatneſs, which, in a popular ſtate, I thought worth the obſerving: becauſe there, no pedigree but worth, could poſſibly make a man prince, and no prince, in a moment, at his own pleaſure. The buſineſſes which he then vouchſafed to impart with me, were, the dangerous fate which the Crown of England, States of Germany, and the Low-Countries did ſtand threatned with, under an ambitious and conquering Monarch's hand. The main inſtance, a ſhort deſcription of the Spaniards curious affecting to keep the Romans ways and ends in all their actions. On the other ſide, the clear ſymptoms of the hectick fever, univerſally then reigning among the princes of Chriſtendom; ordained as he thought, to behold this undermining diſeaſe without fear, till it ſhould prove dangerous, nay incurable to them. This active King of Spain, having put on a maſk of conſcience, to cover an inviſible conjunction between the temporal and ſpiritual ambitions of theſe two ſometimes creeping, ſometimes commanding Romiſh and Spaniſh conquerors. The particulars were many, both excellent and enlightning. As firſt, the fatal neutrality of France, jealous of the Spaniſh greatneſs, as already wronged and threatned by it; and yet their kings ſo full of pleaſures, and conſequently ſo eaſily ſatisfied with the compliments of words, treaties, or alliances; and ſince the fall of the Sorboniſts, their own exempted Church, ſo abſolutely poſſeſſed, and governed by the Jeſuits; as through the bewitching liberties and bondages of auricular confeſſion, they were rather wrought to reſt upon a vain ſecurity of reputed ſtrength, than really to hazard loſs, and help themſelves by diverſion or aſſailing. Again, on the Queen's part, by the way of queſtion, he ſuppoſed a little neglect in her princely mildneſs, while ſhe did ſuffer a Proteſtant party, raiſed by God, in that great kingdom of France, to be a ballance or counterpoiſe to that dangerous heptarchy of Spain, then ſcarce viſible, but ſince multiplied by an unreſiſtable greatneſs; I ſay for ſuffering this ſtrong and faithful party, through want of employment, to ſink into itſelf, and ſo unactively, like a meteor, to vaniſh or ſmother out in vain and idle apparitions. Withal, reverendly he demurred, whether it were an omiſſion in that excellent Lady's government or no, by a remiſs looking on, whilſt the Auſtrian aſpiring family framed occaſion to gain, by begging peace, or buying war from the Grand Signior, and both exceeding much to their own ends; in reſpect that, once in few years, this Emperor made himſelf General by it over all the forces of Chriſtendome, and thereby gained the fame of action, trained up his own inſtruments martially, and got credit with his fellow-bordering princes, through the common-council, or participation of fear. Beſides, that, in the concluſions of peace, he ever ſaved a maſs of riches, gathered by diets, contributions, devotions, and levies for common defence; which, out of the ill-accompting hand of war, became in his exchequer, treaſure to terrify even thoſe Chriſtian neighbours that did contribute to it. And the more eſpecially he inſiſted upon this, becauſe all thoſe crafty pageants of her enemies were diſguiſedly acted, even while her Majeſty had an agent of extraordinary diligence, worth, and credit, with that vaſt ſtate of Turkey, into whoſe abſolute and imperious ſpirit, without any other charge than infuſing the jealouſies of competition, theſe practiſes among thoſe Auſtrian uſurpers, might eaſily have been interrupted. Laſtly, it pleaſed him to queſtion yet a greater overſight in both theſe kingdoms, England and France: becauſe while their princes ſtood at gaze, as upon things far off, they ſtill gave way for the Popiſh and Spaniſh inviſible arts and counſels, to undermine the greatneſs and freedom both of ſecular and eccleſiaſtical princes: a mortal ſickneſs in that vaſt body of Germany, and by their inſenſible fall, a raiſing up of the Houſe of Auſtria many ſteps towards her long affected monarchy over the Weſt. The ground of which opinion was, as he thought, in reſpect that even the catholic princes and biſhops themſelves, had their eyes been well wakened, would never have endured any cloud or colour of religion to have changed their princely ſovereignties into ſuch a kind of low and chaplain tenure, as ſince they have ſleepily fallen into; but would rather have ſtirred them, with many hands, to bind this miter-ſuperſtition with the real cords of truth; and to that end perchance, have ſet Spain on work, with her new and ill-digeſted conqueſts; her dangerous enemy Feſs; her native Moors, and Jews, ſince craftily tranſported; and ſo probably have troubled the uſurpations both of the Pope and Spain, over that well-tempered, though over-zealous and ſuperſtitious region of Italy. Theſe and ſuch other particulars, as I had in charge, and did faithfully deliver from him to her Majeſty, are ſince performed or periſhed with time or occaſion. The laſt branch was, his free expreſſing of himſelf in the honour of Sir Philip Sidney, after this manner: that I would firſt commend his humble ſervice with thoſe forementioned ideas to the Queen; and after crave leave of her freely to open his knowledge and opinion of a fellow ſervant of his, that, as he heard, lived unimployed under her. With himſelf he began *ab ovo*, as having been of Charles the Vth's Privy-Council, before he was one and twenty years of age; and ſince as the world knew, either an actor, or at leaſt acquainted with the greateſt actions and affairs of Europe; and likewiſe with her greateſt men and miniſters of ſtate. In all which ſeries of time, multitude of things and perſons he proteſted unto me, and for her ſervice, that if he could judge, her Majeſty had one of the ripeſt and greateſt counſellors of ſtate in Sir Philip Sidney, that at this day lived in Europe; to the trial of which, he was pleaſed to leave his own credit engaged, until her Majeſty might pleaſe to employ this gentleman either among her friends or enemies. At my return into England, I performed all his other commandments: this that concerned Sir Philip, thinking to make the fine ſpun thread of friendſhip more firm between them, I acquainted Sir Philip with; not as queſtioning, but fully reſolving to do it. Unto which, he at firſt ſight oppoſing, diſcharged my faith impawned to the Prince of Orange for the delivery of it; as an act only intending his good, and ſo to be performed or diſpenſed with at his pleaſure; yet for my ſatisfaction, freely added theſe words: firſt, that the Queen had the life daily attending her; and if ſhe either did not, or would not value it ſo highly, the commendation of that worthy prince, could be no more at the beſt than a living picture of that life, and ſo of far leſs credit and eſtimation with her. His next reaſon was, becauſe Princes love not that foreign powers ſhould have extraordinary affection in their ſubjects; much leſs to be taught by them, how they ſhould place their own; as arguments either upbraiding ignorance, or lack of large rewarding goodneſs in them (12).’

(n) Letters, &c. of the Sidneys, Vol. I. p. 145.

(12) Sir Fulke Grevile's Life of Sir Philip Sidney, p. 22 to 33.

ſuperintend, which was the framing of all original bills, and making out all orders for proceſs of appearance. But Fulke Grevile being now ſo well ſped in the reverſions of two of the beſt offices in that court, the Lord Deputy Sidney therefore recommends his ſon Robert in his room, to be joined with Mr Molyneux; and theſe inſtructions bear date 12 May, 1577 (o). Mr Waterhouſe, in a letter of his to Sir Henry Sidney, dated the tenth of June following, mentioning his ſon Philip's return from his embaſſy in Germany, ſays, that none of his attendants were ſick in the journey, only Fulke Grevile had an ague in his return, at Rocheſter (p); by which, it ſeems, we ſhould rather underſtand that it was in Sidney's return, or that Grevile only met him at the ſea-port in Kent he landed at, to eſcort him, like other friends, to London, and was ſick in that journey, than that he bore him company all the way throughout his embaſſy. It muſt be ſo early, according to the neareſt computation we can make, as the year 1580, that he had his firſt office in the court of the marches in Wales, by the conteſts which about that time appear to have riſen againſt him, concerning the profits thereof; and his friend Sidney prevailed upon his father's Secretary, Mr Molyneux, not to oppoſe his couſin Grevile's title in any part, or conſtruction of his patents, by a letter he wrote to him on the tenth of April, 1581 (q), as may be ſeen by Mr Molyneux's anſwer to the ſame (r): and when Sir Francis Walſingham appeared as Grevile's friend in the diſpute, it laid all other oppoſition aſleep. The letter he wrote upon this occaſion we ſhall here under recite [E], and thereunto annex what we have further met with relating to that office, Clerk of the Signet to the Council in Wales, which is ſaid to have brought him in yearly above two thouſand pounds *, and his other offices in the ſaid court of the marches. He was not however ſo much embarraſſed with buſineſs, but that he could make a conſpicuous figure in the grand entertainments which were made at Court this year, when the embaſſadors and great numbers of the nobility of France came over, commiſſioners from Queen Katharine de Medicis, to treat about the marriage of Queen Elizabeth with the Duke of Anjou; and after having been nobly banquetted in a ſpacious edifice, built at Weſtminſter for the purpoſe, and ſplendidly

(o) Idem, pag. 187.

(p) Ibid. pag. 193.

(q) Idem, pag. 293.

(r) Ibid. p. 294.

* Mr Collins's Hiſtorical Account of the family of the Greviles, p. 31; and Thomas Spencer's general Life, &c. of Robert Lord Brook, MS. as before.

[E] *The letter he wrote upon this occaſion we ſhall here under recite.*]

Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Henry Sidney.

‘My verie good Lord,

‘Abowt the end of Februarie laſt, I writt to your Lordſhip, on the behalfe of my couſen Fulke Grievell, for the profitts of the office fallen unto him there in the marches, by Mr Dudley's death. At that tyme alſo, I writt to Mr Fox, frendly adviſing him to ſuffer my couſen quietly to enjoy the ſaid office, with all ſuch commodities as Mr Dudley had; which no doubt was ment unto him by her Majeſtie; and I thincke to bee caried away by ſufficient words of the patent. Howebeit, as I underſtand by your Lordſhip's lettre, and more plainly by Mr Fox himſelf, he intendeth to ſtand in law with my couſen, for the proffetts which Mr Dudley had, by the late encreaſe of fees in everie proceſſe paſſing the ſignet. Yf Mr Dudley, ſerving but a nobleman, could enjoy that encreaſe of fees, much more I hope my couſen ſhall, being her Majeſtie's ſervant, and a gentleman of whome ſhe maketh, as your Lordſhip doth knowe, ſome good accompt. I knowe your Lordſhip's good affection towards my couſen, and therefore doubt not but you have allreadie, and will further doe what you may with Mr Fox, to yeald to that is reaſon without law; which if hee will not, but that law muſt needs be commenced between them, ſurely it ſhall be proſequuted in ſuch effectual ſort, that Mr Fox in the end, will have ſmall cawſes to rejoice of the iſſue therof: whereas now, by yealding to that is required, hee may avoyd trouble, and purchaſe to him ſelf, not only the aſſurance of the good love of my ſelfe, but alſo of all other my couſen Greivill's friends, which are manie and of great callyng, and may ſtead Mr Fox, and his, in matters poſſible of greater importance than this thing nowe in queſtion is. Much to this effect I have nowe written to Mr Fox; in whome, if you ſhall find no preſent diſpoſition to yeald to my requeſt, then I wyſhe it would pleaſe your Lordſhip, to ſequeſter the profitts in controverſie between them, as in former letters was required, untill the cawſe be determined by lawe or otherwiſe. And thus, with my hartieſt commendations to your good Lordſhip, I take my leave: From the Court, the 11th of April, 1581.

‘Your Lordſhip's

‘Aſſured loving friend,

‘Fra: Walsyngham (13).’

This office here ſpoken of to be lately fallen to Mr Grevill, appears to be that of Clerk of the Signet; which as it is in the letter above intimated, and we are elſewhere informed he had granted him by patent from the Queen. The author who ſpeaks of it to the Queen herſelf, ſays, ‘That by vertue of this clerkſhip, or keeper of her Majeſtie's Signet, Mr Foulke Grevill, doth make out all proceſſes which go out of the ſaid court. The fees of the Signet are,—for every letter at the ſuit of the party, one ſhilling; for every placard, two ſhillings; for writing an exemplification, according to it's length, for ſealing it, ſix ſhillings and eight pence.’ It is remarked further, ‘that the fees, as well of this office, as in all others there, are far leſs than in others of her Majeſtie's courts; and yet the diſpatch there, is more ſpedie, and in all reſpects more eaſefull to the ſuitors (14).’ The ſame author, ſpeaking alſo a little before of the office of Secretary in that court, ‘whoſe duetie was to conceave, deviſe, and write ſuch letters, acts, or public proclamations, as either concern the quiet government of the ſubjects, within the lymitts of their authoritie, or the reſolutions of that board, upon cauſes of eſtate depending before them;’ adds, ‘that Mr Foulk Grevill is now by patent under the Great-Seale, her Majeſtie's Secretarie at the ſaid councell: that he had dyett for himſelf and his ſervant in the Queen's houſehold, and twenty marks fee per annum; which was to be deſalked by the Lord Preſident and Councell, if he neglected attendance (15). We are likewiſe here further informed, ‘That there is alſo granted to Mr Foulk Grevill, by another patent, the Clerkſhip of the Councill, to be executed by himſelf or his deputie. By vertue of this office, he hath the keeping of all recordes, the office and place of regiſter; the making of all copies, the entring of all orders, and the making of bonds and commiſſions. He, or his deputie, are tied to continual attendance; allowed diett for himſelf and one ſervant; and, for the better performance of his ſervice in this office, is allowed twelve clerks. The office is ſupplied by Thomas Therar, who for many years hath been deputie in the ſame; and for the better execution thereof, he hath divided his office into ſeveral parts, which being diſcharged by ſeveral perſons, are termed offices, after the name of the officer or clerk who ſerveth therein; as Scroop's office, Bradſhaw's office, &c.’ as their names then were (16).

[F] Some

(13) Letters, &c. of the Sidneys, Vol. I. fol. 293.

(14) The Preſent State of the Court of your Majeſty's Council, eſtabliſhed in the principality and marches of Wales, 4to. MS. p. 6. among the MSS. of the late Nat. Boothe, Eſq; of Gray's-Inn.

(15) Idem, p. 5.

(16) Ibid. p. 8.

ſplendidly furniſhed, they were further entertained, not to ſpeak of other courtly diverſions, with the martial exerciſes of tilts and tournaments, in the moſt magnificent and expenſive manner, by Philip Earl of Arundel, Frederick Lord Windſor, Philip Sidney, and Fulke Grevile, who were challengers of all comers (*s*); in which rencounters he behaved himſelf ſo gallantly, that he won the reputation of a moſt valiant Knight (*t*). Sir William Dugdale informs us, that he was conſtituted Secretary for the principality of South and North Wales, by letters patent, bearing date the twentieth of April, in the 25th of Elizabeth, or 1583; and that the ſaid office was granted to him for life, the 24th of July, 1 James I (*u*). When Sir Philip Sidney died of his wounds at Arnham, in October 1586, he bequeathed in his laſt will ‘ To his dear friends, Mr Edward Dier, and Fulke ‘ Grevile, all his books (*w*).’ In the beginning of 1588, he, among other perſons of honour and quality, was created Maſter of Arts at Oxford, which my author thinks was the higheſt degree conferred on him at that univerſity (*x*). And when Ambroſe Dudley Earl of Warwick, died in February, 1589, Fulke Grevile is mentioned to have been a mourner at his interment, on the 9th of April, 1590, in the chapel at Warwick (*y*). In December 1595, there appears to have been ſome complaint brought before the Lords of the council, againſt Mr Fulke Grevile, for certain abuſes in Kanck-Wood in Warwickſhire, and an information of fourteen thouſand pounds ſpoil, by good certificate of gentlemen dwelling thereabouts: The examination of this matter was left to the Lord Treaſurer and Sir John Forteſcue, but if it had gone hardly againſt him, it is probable we had heard more of it from the ſame pen that informs us thereof (*z*). In October 1597, he is reported to have received, with Egerton, Arthur Gorge, Vaveſor, and others, the honour of knighthood (*a*). In the beginning of March following, he made intereſt for the office of treaſurer of the wars (*b*); and he was about two years after, in the 41ſt of Elizabeth, according to Dugdale, as laſt quoted, made treaſurer of marine cauſes for life. When orders were given out to draw commiſſions for the great fleet that was ſet forth, in expectation of another invaſion by the Spaniards, in Auguſt 1599, it is reported, that Sir Fulke Grevile was to have one as Rear-Admiral (*c*). We hear no more of any ſuch charge that he was entruſted with in the navy, but what he ſomewhat humourouſly mentions himſelf upon the execution of his kinſman, the Earl of Eſſex; where he ſays, that ‘ Himſelf, while he remained about the Queen, was a kind of *remora*, ‘ ſtaying the violent courſe of that fatal ſhip, and but now was abruptly ſent away, to ‘ guard a figurative fleet, in danger of nothing but theſe *proſopopœia's* of inviſible ran‘ cour, and kept, as in a free priſon, at Rocheſter, 'till his head was off (*d*).’ In the 44th and laſt year of Queen Elizabeth, having bought up from private hands ſome claims upon the manor of Wedgnock, he obtained from the Queen a grant of the antient and ſpacious park thereunto belonging, for himſelf, his heirs, and aſſigns, in as ample manner as John Duke of Northumberland, or Ambroſe Earl of Warwick, had held it *. He was a Member of Parliament, alſo frequently of the committees, in ſeveral ſeſſions (*e*), being many times elected Knight of the ſhire with Sir Thomas Lucy: it is affirmed the county could not make a better choice, they being learned, wiſe, and honeſt †; and he is reckoned both a laſting and worthy favourite of the Queen's to the end of her reign, by authors who had the advantage of drawing their characters of him from the life, ſome particulars whereof we ſhall gather into the note below [*F*]. In 1603, he was made Knight of the Bath, at the coronation of King James I and not long after, or in the ſecond year of that King, according to my authors, had a grant made him of the ruinous caſtle of Warwick (*f*). ‘ He beſtowed ſo much coſt, at leaſt twenty thouſand pounds, in the ‘ repairs thereof, beautifying it with the moſt pleaſant gardens, plantations, and walks, ‘ and adorning it with rich furniture; that, conſidering it's ſituation, no place in that ‘ midland part of England does compare with it for ſtatelineſs and delight (*g*).’ Beſides other

[*F*] *Some particulars whereof we ſhall gather into the note below.*] A little ſpeech of his in the Houſe of Commons, the Lord Bacon has thought worthy of preſervation, among the collection of wiſe ſayings, which he publiſhed but a twelve month before he died; where he informs us that, ‘ Sir Fulke Grevill in par‘ liament, when the lower houſe in a great buſineſs of ‘ the Queen's, ſtood much upon precedents, ſaid to ‘ them, *Why ſhould you ſtand ſo much upon* precedents? ‘ *the times hereafter will be* good *or* bad: *if* good, *pre‘ cedents will do no harm*; *if* bad, *power will make a ‘ way where it finds none* (17).’ Another ſpeech of his, upon the idle ſtories that uſed to be fathered upon him at Court, the ſame author has, together with a laudable character of him, alſo remembred in theſe words, ‘ Sir Fulk Grevill had much, and private ac‘ ceſs to Queen Elizabeth, which he uſed honourably, ‘ and did many men good: yet he would ſay merrily ‘ of himſelf, *That he was like* Robin Goodfellow; *for ‘ when the maids ſpilt the milk-pans, or kept any racket, ‘ they would lay it upon* Robin: *ſo what tales the ladies ‘ about the Queen told her, or other bad offices that they ‘ did, they would put it upon him* (18).’ But Sir Robert Naunton has given a larger and more general character of him, as an eminent courtier of theſe times, where he muſters him among the favourites of that Queen, which is as follows: ‘ Sir Fulke Grevill, ſince ‘ Lord Brook, had no mean place in her favour nei‘ ther did he hold it for a ſhort term; for, if I be not ‘ deceived, he had the longeſt leaſe and the ſmootheſt ‘ time, without rub of any of her favourites He came ‘ to the court in his youth and prime, for that is the ‘ time or never. He was a brave gentleman, and ho‘ nourably deſcended from Willoughby Lord Brook, ‘ and admiral to Henry VII Neither illiterate, for ‘ he was, as he would often profeſs, a friend to Sir ‘ Philip Sidney; and there are of his now extant, ‘ ſome fragments of his poems, and of thoſe times, ‘ which do intereſt him in the Muſes; and which ſhow ‘ the Queen's election had ever a noble conduct, and it ‘ motions more of vertue and judgment than of fancy. ‘ I find that he neither ſought for, or obtained any great ‘ place or preferment in court, during all the time of ‘ his attendance; neither did he need it; for he came ‘ thither backed with a plentiful fortune; which, as ‘ himſelf was wont to ſay, was the better held together ‘ by a ſingle life, wherein he lived and died a conſtant ‘ courtier of the ladies (19).’

(*s*) Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, anno 1581.

(*t*) Winſtanley's Lives of the Engliſh Poets, p. 87.

(*u*) Antiquities of Warwickſhire, Vol. II. fol. 767.

(*w*) Sir Philip Sidney's laſt Will, in Mr Collins's Memoirs of the Lives and Actions of the Sidneys, prefixed to their Letters, &c. Vol. I. p. iii.

(*x*) Athen. Oxon. ut ſupra.

(*y*) Collins's Memoirs of the Sidneys, p. 39.

(*z*) In the Letters of the Sidneys, Vol. I. p. 376.

(*a*) Idem, Vol. II. p. 74.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 94.

(*c*) Idem, p. 113.

(*d*) His life of Sir P. Sidney, p. 180, 181.

* Mr Collins, in the family of the Greviles, p. 31.

(*e*) Sir Symonds Dewe's Journal of Parliaments, &c. fol. 1682.

† Mr Collins, as before, in the family of the Greviles, from T. Spencer's MS. Life of Robert Lord Brooke.

(*f*) Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra; and Mr Collins, as before.

(*g*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, as before.

(17) Lord Bacon's Apophthegmes, new and old, 12mo. 1625. p. 221.

(18) Idem. p. 257.

(19) Sir Robert Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia; or, obſervations on the late Queen Elizabeth's times and favourites, 4to. 1642, p. 30.

other grants from the crown, he had one alſo of the manor and lands of Knowle, in the ſaid county of Warwick; and he taſted the royal bounty, as yet, more in ſuch grants of land, than any offices in the State. Indeed he ſeems to have had more temptation to divert himſelf with his buildings and his books for ſome years at leaſt, in the former part of this reign, than to purſue his intereſt at court, where he met with diſcouragements from ſome perſons in power, perceived the meaſures of government and management of the ſtate quite altered, waining from the luſtre in which he had ſeen it ſhine, and found little hopes of being preferred to any thing conſiderable in the miniſtry; therefore he ſeems to have formed ſome ſchemes of retirement, that he might as much as poſſible live over again the glorious times he had been witneſs of in the late reign, by recalling the particulars thereof to his memory, and recording the ſame with his pen, which he propoſed to confirm with the moſt authentic vouchers in being: but how poſterity came to be deprived of his ſaid intended Life, or Hiſtory, of Queen Elizabeth, his own words may beſt declare [*G*]. When he found he could not have the uſe of thoſe papers which were neceſſary to compleat his work in the ſubſtantial manner that might be expected, he diſpoſed himſelf to reviſe the products of his juvenile ſtudies, and his poetical recreations with Sir Philip Sidney. Little of them appeared in print during his life-time, but ſince his death there have been three or four publications in his name, though it is not improbable, but he has mentioned himſelf all the pieces of his writing which he deſigned for the preſs: therefore we ſhall here ſubjoin an account of the writings which have been publickly aſcribed to him, and then what he ſays of thoſe which he intended ſhould be printed as his poſthumous works [*H*]. It was ſome time after the death of the Treaſurer Cecil, before we

[G] *How poſterity came to be deprived of his intended life of Queen Elizabeth, his own words may beſt declare.*] Sir Fulke Grevil, after having given us ſome ſhort memoirs, or a ſummary view in ſeveral inſtances, of the wiſe and political government of this renowned Queen, proceeds thus in apology, for not extending the ſame to it's due proportion. ‘Now if any man ſhall demand, why I did not rather leave unto the world a complete hiſtory of her life, than this ſhort memorial, in ſuch ſcattered and undigeſted minutes, let him receive this anſwer from a dead man, becauſe I am confident no fleſh breathing, by ſeeing what is done, ſhall have occaſion of aſking that queſtion whilſt I am living. Preſently after the death of my moſt gracious Queen and miſtreſs, the falſe ſpirits and apparitions of idle grief haunted me exceedingly, and made all things ſeem either greater or leſs than they were; ſo that the farther I went, the more diſcomfortable I found thoſe new revolutions of time, to my decayed and diſproportioned abilities; yet fearing to be curſed with the fig-tree, if I bore no fruit, I rouſed up my thoughts upon an ancient axiome of wiſe men; *ſi quicquid offendit, relinquimus citò; inerti otio torpebit vita*; and upon a ſecond review of the world, called to mind the many duties I owed to that matchleſs ſovereign of mine, with a reſolution to write her life in this manner. Firſt, ſeriouſly to have begun with the uniting of the red and white roſes, in the marriage of Henry VII. In the like manner, to have run over Henry the VIIIth's time, untill his ſeveral rents in the Church, with a purpoſe to have demurred more ſeriouſly upon the ſudden change, in his ſon Edward VI, from ſuperſtition, to the eſtabliſhment of God's ancient catholique and primitive Church. Thoſe cobwebs of reconverſion in Queen Mary's days, I had no intent to meddle with, but only, by pre-occupation to ſhew, that princes captived in nature, can ſeldom keep any thing free in their governments, but as ſoils manured to bring forth ill-weeds apace, muſt live to ſee ſchiſm ariſe in the Church, wearing out the real branches of immortal truth, to weave in the thin leaves of mortal ſuperſtition, and to behold in the ſtate, all their faireſt induſtries, ſpring and fade together, like fern-ſeed: Laſtly, I intended, with ſuch ſpirits as age had left me, to revive my ſelf in her memory, under whom I was bred. Now in this courſe, becauſe I knew, that as the liberality of kings did help to cover many errors; ſo truth in a ſtory, would make good many other defects in a writer, I adventured to move the Secretary *, that I might have his favour to peruſe all obſolete records of the council-cheſt, from thoſe times, down as near to theſe, as he, in his wiſdom ſhould think fit. He firſt, friendly required my end in it, which I as freely delivered him, as I have now done to you. Againſt her memory, he, of all men had no reaſon to keep a ſtrict hand, and where to beſtow a Queen Elizabeth's ſervant, with leſs diſadvantage to himſelf, it ſeems, readily appeared not; ſo that my abrupt motion took hold of his preſent counſell: for he liberally granted my requeſt, and appointed me that day three weeks to come for his warrant; which I did, and then found in ſhew, a more familiar and graceful aſpect than before; he deſcending to queſtion me, *why I would dream out my time, in writing a ſtory, being as like to riſe in this time, as any man he knew.* Then, in a more ſerious and friendly manner, examining me, how I could clearly deliver many things done in that time, which might perchance be conſtrued to the prejudice of this? I ſhortly made anſwer, that I conceived an hiſtorian was bound to tell nothing but the truth; but to tell all the truth, were both juſtly to wrong and offend, not only princes and ſtates, but to blemiſh and ſtir up againſt himſelf, the frailty and tenderneſs, not only of particular men, but of many families, with the ſpirit of an Athenian Timon; and therefore ſhewed myſelf ſo far from being diſcouraged with that objection, as I took upon me freely to adventure all my own goods in this ſhip, which was to be of my own building. Immediately this noble Secretary, as it ſeems moved, but not removed with thoſe ſelfneſſes of my opinion, ſeriouſly aſſured me that, upon ſecond thoughts, *he durſt not preſume to let the counſell-cheſt lie open to any man living, without his Majeſty's knowledge and approbation.* With this *ſuperſedeas*, I humbly took my leave, at the firſt ſight, aſſuring myſelf, this laſt project of his, would neceſſarily require, *ſheet after ſheet to be viewed*, which I had no confidence in my own powers to abide the hazard of (and herein it may pleaſe the reader to believe me the rather, by theſe pamphlets, which having ſlept out my own time, if they happen to be ſeen hereafter, ſhall at their own peril riſe upon the ſtage when I am not). Beſides, in the ſame propoſition I further ſay, that the many judgments which thoſe embrios of mine muſt probably have paſt through, would have brought forth ſuch a world of alterations, as in the end of the work itſelf, would have proved *a ſtory of other mens writing, with my name only put to it*; and ſo a worſhip of time, not a voluntary homage of duty (20).’

[H] *Shall here ſubjoin an account of the writings which have been publickly aſcribed to him, and then, what he has ſaid of thoſe he intended ſhould be printed as his poſthumous works.*] Moſt of our author's poetical works were publiſhed about five years after his death, but the name of any editor does not appear in that edition of them. The ſeveral pieces ſeem to be all genuine, or of his own compoſition; and, as may be ſeen before ſome of them, were licenſed to the preſs, by H. Herbert, in June 1632 (21). The firſt is, *A Treatiſe of Human Learning*, in 150 ſtanzas, of ſix lines each. 2. *An Inquiſition upon Fame and Honour*, in eighty-ſix ſtanzas. 3. *A Treatiſe of Wars*, in ſixty-eight ſtanzas. 4. *The Tragedy of Alabam.* 'Tis moſtly written in rhime, and is adorned with many moral ſentences, and political maxims. ‘It ſeems an imitation of the Ancients, we meet with him in any favour, or advancement conſiderable, in the Court or State. In the twelfth of King James, or 1614, he was by that King made Under-Treaſurer and Chancellor

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* Sir Robert Cecil.

(20) Sir Fulke Grevile's Life of Sir P. Sidney, from p. 236 to p. 241.

(21) They are entituled, Certain learned and elegant Works of the Right Hon. Fulke Lord Brooke, written in his youth, and familiar Exerciſe with Sir P. Sidney, Lond. printed by E. P. for W. Seyle, &c. fol. 1633.

‘cients, and the prologue is ſpoken by a ghoſt, one of the old Kings of Ormus, an iſland ſituate at the entrance of the Perſian gulph, where the ſcene of the drama lies. This ſpectre gives an account of each character, poſſibly in imitation of Euripides, who uſually introduced one of the chief actors, as the prologue, whoſe buſineſs was to explain all thoſe circumſtances which preceded the opening of the ſtage. The author has been ſo careful in obſerving the rules of Ariſtotle and Horace, (as to the number of interlocutors) that he has in no ſcene throughout, introduced above two ſpeakers, except in the chorus between each act, and even there, he obſerves all the rules laid down by the latter of thoſe maſters in the art of poetry, &c (22).’ 5. *The Tragedy of Muſtapha.* This alſo is built on the like ancient model with the former, as we ſhall ſee he never deſigned either to appear upon any modern ſtage. The author laſt quoted obſerves, that, ‘an imperfect copy of this play appeared in print, in quarto, Lond 1609; though he ſuppoſes without his Lordſhip's knowledge, ſince it may rather be ſtiled a fragment than a tragedy: but thoſe imperfections are mended in this folio edition (23).’ It was upon the occaſion of this ſurreptitious impreſſion, that a poet of thoſe times, in an epigram he wrote to the author upon this play, addreſſes the ſame, *To the immortal memory, and deſerved honour of the writer of the Tragedy of Muſtapha, as it is* written, *not* printed, *by Sir Fulk Grevill, Knt* (24). Yet Mr Edmund Bolton, though he had only ſeen this firſt edition, calls it, in his *Hypercritica*, the *Matchleſs Muſtapha*, and ſays of the author, in company of ſome others of note, that his poetry, eſpecially therein, is not to be eaſily mended †. At the end of this tragedy, in the chorus *ſacerdotum*, there are ſix lines which one of our moſt reverend prelates has quoted from this play into one of his ſermons, to anſwer the ſame, as the favourite argument of thoſe who murmur at the injunctions of religion, as if it attributed to Providence, ‘the ſetting of our nature and our duty at variance, or the giving us appetites one way and laws another; the force of which objection, ſays he, is very ſmartly expreſſed in thoſe celebrated verſes of a noble poet of our own, which are ſo frequently in the mouths of many, who are thought to bear no good will to religion:’ and perhaps 'tis the only example that has been drawn into ſuch a ſolemn diſcourſe from an Engliſh play, by one who was ſuch an eminent member of the Church. The lines are theſe:

Oh, weariſome condition of humanity,
Born under one law to another bound!
Vainly begot, and yet forbidden vanity!
Created ſick, commanded to be ſound!
If nature did not take delight in blood,
She would have made more eaſy ways to good (25).

But theſe two laſt lines do not immediately follow the former in the ſaid chorus of the play itſelf; and as for the thought, it has not only been embelliſhed by other poets of wit and judgment, beſides the Lord Brook, but no leſs admired in them, without any imputation of diſreſpect to the divine ordinances of Providence; and eſpecially in thoſe celebrated lines of the famous Italian, Battiſta Guarini, which are as follow:

Se'l peccar' è ſi dolce,
E'l non peccar ſi neceſſario; ò troppo
Imperfetta natura,
Che repugni à la legge;
'O troppo dura legge
Che la natura offendi *.

Edward Phillips, in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, and his follower William Winſtanley, in his *Lives of the Engliſh Poets*, have aſcribed another tragedy to our author, named *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, but erroneouſly; this play not being written, at leaſt printed, till many years after his death (26). 6. *Cælica*: containing 109 ſonnets of different meaſures, but moſtly on the topic of love. This is a name our author alſo uſes in his tragedy of Alaham, for the old king's daughter: but he has likewiſe the names of Cynthia, Myra, and Myraphill, in ſome others of theſe ſonnets. 7. *A Letter to an honourable Lady.* 'Tis a long one written in proſe, tho' unfiniſhed; adviſing, how to compoſe herſelf under the irregularities of her huſband, eſpecially under the affliction of having a rival: but it is full, according to his vein, of ſuch refined ſpeculations, that it is well, if ſhe every where could be able to underſtand him. 8. *A Letter of Travel.* This is alſo written in proſe, from his ſeat known by the name of Brook-Houſe, at Hackney, in 1609, to his couſin Grevil Verney, then in France; there is a MS. of it, in the library of Univerſity College in Oxford: it contains directions to him, for his conduct and management during his continuance abroad; and theſe are the contents of this volume: what we have more to obſerve in relation to ſome caſtrations of it, is reſerved for the laſt note we ſhall make upon this article. Several good precepts, maxims, and reflections, have been extracted from [illegible] plays and poems above-mentioned, in a late colle[illegible] of the beſt thoughts, &c. gathered out of our old [illegible] (27). Afterwards, in the beginning of the civi[illegible] there was an hiſtorical pamphlet publiſhed in our [illegible] name, diſcourſing of the Earl of Northampton's [illegible] ing to honour, the riſe of Carr Earl of Somer[illegible] breach between the Earl of Eſſex and Lady Fr[illegible] Howard his counteſs; her marriage with Carr; the Lord Treaſurer Cecil's death; the poiſoning of Sir Thomas Overbury; the death of Prince Henry; the releaſe of Sir Walter Raleigh from the Tower, and other occurrences from the year 1611, to 1616 (28): but neither the ſtyle nor ſentiments being agreeable to Sir Fulke Grevil's manner, and as he mentions not this treatiſe among his other writings, we meet with no confirmation of it's being written by him; and yet, as that period of time contains ſuch remarkable events in the reign of King James the Firſt, the tract has been lately thought worthy of another impreſſion (29). The next piece which appeared in public, with his name to it, was what the editor rather than himſelf ſeems to have entituled, *The Life of the renowned Sir Philip Sidney*; which we have, in this account of the author, been much beholden to, for ſeveral extracts relating to his Lordſhip. It is evidently a work of his own compoſing, though it lay above twenty years hoarded up in his friend's hands before it came abroad (30); and tho' it is expreſſed in the title page, to contain *Sir Philip's principal actions, councils, deſigns, and death, with the true intereſt of England, as it then ſtood, in relation to all foreign princes, and particularly for ſuppreſſing the power of Spain, as ſtated by him; together with a ſhort account of the maxims and policies uſed by Queen Elizabeth in her government*: yet his whole work has not anſwered the great ideas which the world had conceived of his worthy; finding it rather a characteriſtical draught of him, in which the author ſeems to have aimed more at thoſe delicate and courtly forms of addreſs he had been uſed to, in fine ſpun phraſes, and diſtant or general intimations, rather than to be explicite, or plainly particular as a Biographer ſhould be in ſolid matters of fact. But indeed he was in his declining years when he wrote it, from the faint and faded images that remained in his memory, without having any, or very little recourſe to books, or ſuch other memorials from whence he might have enriched his narrative with thoſe hiſtorical requiſites of time, place, and perſon, whereof it is ſo deficient. Hence Anthony Wood ſays, ‘It were to be wiſhed, that Sir Fulk Grevil's imperfect eſſay might be ſupplied (31):’ and Biſhop Nicholſon obſerves, that, ‘Sir Fulk has not given the ſtory of his intimate friend ſo accurately as we could wiſh, nor as the memory of that extraordinary perſon deſerves (32).’ But indeed, as he ſeems not to have deſigned a perfect life, however thoſe authors were miſled by the editor's title to believe he had, ſo much as a few ſketches, or outlines, for others to fill up; and in ſhort, as the whole treatiſe, conſiſting of eighteen chapters, whereof a third part does not concern Sir Philip Sidney, appears intended but as ſo many preliminary diſcourſes or parts of a general preface, that was to be only introductory to his poetical works, it may as ſuch paſs for a very proper, polite, and ingenious performance. There is a manuſcript copy of it in the library of Trinity-College in Cambridge,

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(22) Ger. Langbaine's Account of the Engliſh dramatic poets, 8vo. Oxon. 1691, p. 38.

(23) Idem, p. 39.

(24) John Davis's Scourge of Folly, printed in 8vo. about 1610, p. 195.

(†) Vid. Nic. Triveti Annalium Contin. Oxon. 8vo. 1722, p. 237.

(25) Archbiſhop Tillotſon's Sermons, 8vo. 2d edit. Vol. III. 1687, p. 406, &c. See alſo Sir Richard Steele's Reader and Lover, 2d edit. 8vo. 1718. p. 184, &c.

* Il Paſtor Fido, atto III. ſcen. iv.

(26) Langbaine, p. 40.

(27) In Mr Thomas Hayward's Britiſh Muſe, in 3 vols 12mo. 1738.

(28) It is intituled, The Five Years of King James I, or, the Condition of the State of England, and the relation it had to other provinces, written by Sir Fulke Grevile, late Lord Broooke, printed for R. W. 4to. 1643.

(29) In the Harleyan Miſcellany, 4to. Vol. VII.

(30) Printed for Henry Seyle, 12mo. 1652, and dedicated by the editor, P. B. to the Counteſs of Sunderland.

(31) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 226.

(32) Hiſt. Lib. folio, 1736, p. 247.

Chancellor of the Exchequer, alſo choſen one of the Privy-Council, and then or afterwards one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber (*b*). In his office of Chancellor, it is recorded

Cambridge, which either does not, or ſhould not monopolize the whole diſcouſe under the name of Sir Philip; whoſe life it was apparently entituled by the editor, as the moſt popular and vendible title he could give it. The laſt book which was ſet forth to the world in our author's name, called his *Remains*, conſiſts of ſome political and philoſophical poems, written much in the vein of others before ſpecified; and having himſelf, in the preceding work, partly mentioned them, we may therefore the leſs doubt their being of the ſame extraction. The Bookſeller, in his advertiſement informs us that, 'When Sir Fulk grew old, he reviſed the poems and treatiſes he had writ long before, and, at his death, committed them to his friend Mr Michael Malet, an aged gentleman, in whom he much confided; who intended what the author propoſed, to have had them printed all together; but by copies of ſome parts of them, which happened into other hands, ſome of them came firſt abroad; each of his works having had their fate, as they ſingly merit particular eſteem, ſo to come into the world at ſeveral times. He, to whom they were firſt delivered being dead, the truſt of theſe remaining pieces devolved on Sir J. M. who hath given me the licenſed copy of them: and that the reader may be more fully informed of the author and his writings, and how they are related to each other, we muſt refer to that wherein, beſides his friend Sir Philip Sidney's life, he gives account of his own, and what he hath written (33).' In theſe poetical Remains, the firſt poem is a Treatiſe of Monarchy, which is divided into fifteen ſections, and they were firſt deſigned, or ſome of them, as choruſes to his dramatic compoſitions: they are entituled as follow, Sect. I. Of the beginning of Monarchy. II. The Declination of Monarchy to violence. III. Of weak-minded Tyrants. IV. Cautions againſt theſe weak Extremities. V. Of ſtrong Tyrants. VI. Of the Church. VII. Of Laws. VIII. Of Nobility. IX. Of Commerce. X. Of Crown Revenue. XI. Of Peace. XII. Of War. XIII. The Excellency of Monarchy compared with Ariſtocracy. XIV. The Excellency of Monarchy compared with Democracy. XV. The Excellency of Monarchy compared with Ariſtocracy and Democracy together. The whole fifteen ſections make ſix hundred and ſixty-four ſtanzas of ſix lines. The other poem, or Treatiſe of Religion, conſiſts of an hundred and fourteen ſtanzas, and is not divided into ſections. As for the character of his writings in general, one poetical author has given them a great encomium, in an epigram he has compoſed on his Lordſhip's works, wherein he calls them food for ſtrong minds, while thoſe which are weaker, may find enough of that which is lighter, in other books; and ſays further, that great wits look upon his maſter-ſtrokes with reverence and admiration, though they are not grown into ſuch eſteem with novices, and thoſe of meaner capacity: that his works ſhall endure to poſterity, as reliques of his worth, like ſome rare ſtatue or buſto, the workmanſhip of ſome maſterly hand; whoſe excellences, a Michael Angelo, or a Barnini, had only the ſkill to diſcover, but marble-ſpoilers no taſte of †. Edward Phillips ſays, more eſpecially in regard to his poetry, 'That there is obſervable in all of it, a cloſe, myſterious, and ſententious way of writing, without much regard to elegancy of ſtyle, or ſmoothneſs of verſe (34).' But indeed he is often very elegant, both in proſe and verſe, and ſometimes alſo, very obſcure or abſtruſe in both; as a critic of the fair ſex has very truly obſerved; where ſhe ſays, 'Perhaps few men that dealt in poetry had more learning or real wiſdom than this nobleman; and yet his ſtyle is ſometimes ſo dark and myſterious, I mean it appears ſo to me, that one would imagine he choſe rather to conceal than illuſtrate his meaning: at other times again, his wit breaks out with an uncommon brightneſs, and ſhines, I had almoſt ſaid without an equal. 'Tis the ſame thing with his poetry; ſometimes ſo harſh and uncooth, as if he had no ear for muſic; at others, ſo ſmooth and harmonious, as if he was maſter of all it's powers (35).' Thus having given an account of the works that have been publiſhed as our author's, and what others have ſaid of them; we ſhall now recite what he has ſaid himſelf, of thoſe he intended for publication. This account of his ſaid political and dramatic poems, he introduces, after having informed us how he was diſcouraged from his engagements in foreign ſervices, as was before related, with his determination to take Sir Philip Sidney, in whom the exact image of quiet and action was ſo happily united, and is ſo ſeldom well divided in any, for his pattern: ſo that his compaſs, was one of his principal directions, for ſtealing ſome portions of time from his daily ſervices at home, and employing them in this kind of writing. Then he goes on in theſe words: 'Since my declining age, it is true, that I had for ſome years, more leiſure to diſcover their imperfections, than care or induſtry to amend them; finding in my ſelf, what all men complain of in the world, that it is more eaſy to find fault, excuſe, or tolerate, than to examine or reform. The works, as you ſee are tragedies, with ſome treatiſes annexed. The treatiſes, to ſpeak truly of them, were firſt intended to be, for every act a chorus; and though not borne out of the preſent matter acted, yet, being the largeſt ſubject I could then think upon, and no ſuch ſtrangers to the ſcope of the tragedies, but that a favourable reader might ſtill find ſome conſanguinity between them; I preferring this general ſcope of profit, before the ſelf-reputation of being an exact artizan in that poetical myſtery, conceived that a perſpective into vice, and the improſperities of it, would prove more acceptable to every good reader's ends, than any bare murmur of diſcontented ſpirits againſt their preſent government, or horrible periods of exorbitant paſſions among equals. Which with humble ſails, after I had once ventured upon this ſpreading ocean of images, my apprehenſive youth, for lack of a well-touched compaſs, did eaſily wander beyond proportion. And in my old age again, looking back on them with a father's eye; when I conſidered firſt, how poorly the inward natures of thoſe glorious names were expreſſed; then, how much eaſier it was to excuſe deformities, than to cure them, though I found reaſon to change their places, yet I could not find in my heart to beſtow coſt or care, in altering their light and limited apparel in verſe. From hence, to come particularly to that treatiſe intitled, *The Declination of Monarchy* *; let me beg leave of the favourable reader to beſtow a few lines more in the ſtory of this changling, than I have done in the reſt; and yet, to uſe no more ſerious authority, than the rule of Diogenes, which was, to hang the poſie where there is moſt need. The firſt birth of that phantaſme was divided into three parts, with intention of the author, to be diſpoſed among their fellows, into three divers acts of the tragedies. But, as I ſaid before, when upon a ſecond review, they, and the reſt, were all ordained to change their places, then did I, like an old and fond parent, unlike to get any more children, take pains, rather to cover the dandled deformities of theſe creatures, with a coat of many ſeams, than carefully to drive them away, as birds do their young ones. Yet again, when I had in my own caſe, well weighed the tenderneſs of that great ſubject, and conſequently the nice path I was to walk in, between two extremities; but eſpecially the danger, by treading aſide, to caſt ſcandal upon the ſacred foundations of monarchy, together with the fate of many metaphyſical Phormio's before me, who had loſt themſelves in teaching of kings and princes how to govern their people; then did this new proſpect dazzle my eyes, and ſuſpend my travel for a time. But the familiar ſelf-love, which is more or leſs born in every man, to live and die with him, preſently moved me to take this bear-whelp up again, and lick it. Wherein, I rouſing myſelf under the banner of this flattery, went about, as a fond mother, to put on richer garments, in hope to adorn them. But while clothes were in making, I perceived that coſt would but draw more curious eyes to obſerve deformities. So that from theſe checks, a new counſell aroſe in me, to take away all opinion of ſeriouſneſs from theſe perplexed pedigrees; and to this end, careleſly caſt them into that hypocritical figure *Ironia*, wherein men commonly, to keep above their works, ſeem to make toys of the utmoſt they can do. And yet again, in that confuſed miſt, when I beheld this grave ſubject,

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(*b*) Dugd. War. Vol. II. fol. 767.

(33) The Remains of Sir Fulke Grevile, Lord Brooke, being poems of Monarchy and Religion, never printed before; printed for Hen. Herringman, 8vo. 1670, in the preface.

† See Epigrams of all ſorts, &c. by Richard Flecknoe, 8vo. 1671, p. 10.

(34) E. Phillips's Theatrum Poetarum: or Compleat Collection of the Poets, 12mo. 1675.

(35) The Muſes Library, or a Series of Engliſh poetry, &c. by Mrs Elizabeth Cooper, 8vo. 1737, p. 216.

* Printed in his Remains as was before obſerved.

recorded that he had for his fee, forty marks, and twelve pounds ſeventeen ſhilling and ſixpence, livery out of the wardrobe; and that his fee, as Under-Treaſurer of England, was an hundred ſeventy-three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight-pence; and livery out of the wardrobe, four pounds ſix and eight-pence (*i*). In 1617 he obtained a ſpecial charter, confirming all ſuch liberties as had been granted to any of his anceſtors, in behalf of the town of Alceſter, upon a new rent of ten ſhillings per annum, then reſerved to the ſaid King, his heirs and ſucceſſors (*k*). And having merited much for his faithful ſervices in his employments, being alſo deſcended of the noble Nevils, Willoughbys, and Beauchamps, as it is expreſſed in his patent, he was by the ſame, bearing date the ninth of January, in the eighteenth year of King James's reign, or 1620, advanced to the dignity of a Baron of this realm, by the title of Lord Brook of Beauchamps-Court (*l*), with limitation of that honour, for lack of iſſue male of his own body, unto Robert Grevile, the ſon of Fulke, ſon of Robert, a younger ſon of the firſt Fulke; which Robert, educated at Cambridge, ſucceeded him in the title, &c. and was killed by one of the royal party at Lichfield, in the beginning of the civil wars, as may be elſewhere read (*m*). According to A. Wood's reckoning, it was in September, 1621, that the Lord Brook was made one of the gentlemen of the King's bedchamber (*n*); and that thereupon, reſigning his Chancellorſhip of the Exchequer, he was ſucceeded therein by Richard Weſton, afterwards Earl of Portland, and Lord-Treaſurer of England (*o*). He was alſo Counſellor of State to King Charles I, and, in the beginning of his reign, was the founder of an Hiſtory Lecture in the

ſubject, which ſhould draw reverence and attention to be over-ſpangled with lightneſs, I forced, in examples of the Roman gravity and greatneſs; the harſh ſeverity of the Lacedemonian government; the riches of the Athenian learning, wit and induſtry; and like a man that plays divers parts upon ſeveral hints, left all the indigeſted crudities, equally applied to kings or tyrants: whereas, in every clear judgment, the right line had been ſufficient enough to diſcover the crooked; if the image of it could have proved credible to men. Now for the ſeveral branches, or diſcourſes following; they are all members of one, and the ſame imperfect body; ſo as I let them take their fortunes, like eſſays, only to tempt and ſtir up ſome more free genius to faſhion the whole frame into finer mould for the world's uſe. The firſt limb of thoſe treatiſes, I mean that fabrick of a ſuperſtitious Church *, having by her maſterful ambition over emperors, kings, princes, free-ſtates and councels, with her conclave-deceits, ſtrengths, and unthankfulneſs, ſpread ſo far beyond my horizon, as I at once gave over her, and all her derivations to Gamaliel's infallible cenſure, leaving laws, nobility, war, peace †, and the reſt, as glorious trophies of our old Pope the ſin, to change, reform, or become deformed, according as vanity, that limitleſs mother of theſe idolatries ſhould either win of the truth, or the truth of them. Laſtly, concerning the tragedies themſelves, they were in their firſt creation, three; whereof Anthony and Cleopatra, according to their irregular paſſions, in forſaking empire to follow ſenſuality, were ſacrificed to the fire: the executioner, the author himſelf. Not that he conceived it to be a contemptible younger brother to the reſt; but leſt while he ſeemed to look over-much upward, he might ſtumble into the aſtronomer's pit; many members in that creature, by the opinion of thoſe few eyes that ſaw it, having ſome childiſh wantonneſs in them, apt enough to be conſtrued, or ſtrained to a perſonating of views in the preſent governors and government (36).’ Towards the latter end of the book, our author ſpeaks again of his burning this tragedy, upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, as follows. ‘Thus have I, by the reader's patience, given that Ægyptian and Roman Tragedy, a much more honourable ſepulture, than it could ever have deſerved, eſpecially in making their memories attend upon my ſovereign's herſe, without any other hope of being, than to wait upon her life and death, as their maker did; who hath ever ſince been dying, to all thoſe glories of life, which he formerly enjoyed, under the bleſſed, and bleſſing preſence of this unmatchable Queen and woman (37).’ Laſtly, in the concluding chapter of this treatiſe, he reſumes this ſubject of his dramatic compoſitions again, in theſe words. ‘Now, to return to the tragedies remaining, my purpoſe in them was, not with the Ancient, to exemplify the diſaſtrous miſeries of man's life, where order, laws, doctrine and authority, are unable to protect innocency from the exorbitant wickedneſs of power, and ſo out of that melancholy viſion, ſtir horror, or murmurs againſt Providence: nor yet with the Modern, to point out God's revenging aſpect upon every particular ſin, to the deſpair or confuſion of mortality; but rather to trace out the high ways of ambitious governours, and to ſhew in the practice, that the more audacity, advantage and good ſucceſs ſuch ſovereignties have, the more they haſten to their own deſolation and ruin. So that, to this abſtract end, finding all little inſtruments in diſcovery of great bodies to be ſeldom without errors, I preſumed, or it rather eſcaped me, to make my images beyond the ordinary ſtature of exceſs; wherein again, that women are predominant, is not for malice or ill talent to their ſex; but as poets figured the virtues to be women, all nations call them by feminine names; ſo have I diſcribed malice, craft, and ſuch-like vices in the perſons of ſhrews, to ſhew that many of them are of that nature, even as we are; I mean, ſtrong in weakneſs; and conſequently in theſe orbs of paſſion, the weaker ſex commonly the more predominant; yet as I have not made all women good, with Euripides, ſo have I not made them all evil with Sophocles, but mixed of ſuch ſorts, as we find both them and ourſelves. Again, for the arguments of theſe tragedies, they be not naked and caſual, like the Greek and Latin; nor, I confeſs, contrived with the variety, and unexpected encounters of the Italians, but nearer levelled to thoſe humours, counſels and practices, wherein I thought fitter to hold the attention of the reader, than in the ſtrangeneſs, or perplexedneſs of witty fictions; in which, the affections or imagination may perhaps find exerciſe and entertainment, but the memory and judgment no enrichment at all: beſides I conceived theſe delicate images, to be over-abundantly furniſhed in all languages already.———For my own part, I found my creeping genius more fixed upon the images of life, than the images of wit; and therefore choſe not to write to them, on whoſe foot the black oxe had not already trod, as the proverb is, but to thoſe only, that are weather-beaten in the ſea of this world; ſuch as having loſt the ſight of their gardens and groves, ſtudy to ſail on a right courſe, among rocks and quickſands; and in this ordaining and ordering matter and form together, for the uſe of life, *I have made thoſe tragedies no plays for the ſtage*; be it known, it was no part of my purpoſe to write for them, againſt whom ſo many good and great ſpirits have already written. But he that will behold theſe acts upon their true ſtage, wherein himſelf is an actor, even the ſtate he lives in, and for every part he may perchance find a player, and for every line, it may be an inſtance of life, beyond the author's intention or application; the vices of former ages being ſo like to theſe of this age, as it will be eaſy to find out ſome affinity or reſemblance between them; which whoſoever readeth with this apprehenſion, will not perchance think the ſcenes too large, at leaſt the matter not to be exceeded in account of words. Laſtly for the ſtyle, as it is rich or poor, according to the ſtate and ability of the writer, ſo the value of it ſhall be enhanced, or cried down, according to the grace and capacity of the reader; from which common fortune of books I look for no exemption (38).’

(*i*) A Catalogue of all the nobility of England; his Majeſty's Courts of Record, his Houſhold, Councils of the North, Wales, and the Marches; the Admiralty, Armoury, and the Mint; his Towns of War, Caſtles, &c. with his Houſes, Parks, Foreſts, &c. collected in the year 1616, folio, MS. in the library of the late Nat. Boothe, Eſq; of Gray's-Inn.

(*k*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. II, as laſt cited.

(*l*) Idem. Alſo Dugdale's Baronage of England, Tom. II. p. 442. b.

(*m*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, anno 1642. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 523. Alſo T. Spencer's Life, &c. of Robert Lord Brooke.

(*n*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 521.

(*o*) Idem. Alſo Camden's Annals of King James.

* Alſo printed in his Remains.

† Theſe likewiſe in his Remains.

(36) Sir Fulke Grevile's Life of Sir Philip Sidney, from p. 172 to 178.

(37) Idem, p. 235.

(38) Ibid. from p. 242 to 247.

the univerſity of Cambridge, with the allowance of an handſome ſalary to the Profeſſor thereof [*I*]. Indeed there are many inſtances of his favour and beneficence to learning and learned men; and many of them have not only amply celebrated his excellent ſenſe and ingenuity, but gratefully acknowledged his extraordinary liberality towards, and patronage of them, in the dedications of books and poems, and other literary honours they paid him [*K*]; which makes it the more ſurprizing, that the ſame nobleman, a man of ſuch

[*I*] *Was the founder of an hiſtorical lecture in the univerſity of Cambridge, with the allowance of an handſome ſalary to the Profeſſor thereof.*] Our author, for this foundation, Dr Fuller, mentions it under the year 1627, where he informs us that, 'Sir Fulk Grevil, Lord Brook, bred long ſince in Trinity-College, founded a place for an Hiſtory-Profeſſor in the Univerſity of Cambridge, allowing him an annual ſtipend of an hundred pounds. Iſaac Doriſlaus, Doctor of the Civil-Law, an Hollander, was firſt placed therein. Say not, this implyed want of worthy men in Cambridge for that faculty; it being but fit, that founders ſhould pleaſe their own fancy in the choice of the firſt Profeſſor. The Doctor was a Dutchman, very much anglized in language and behaviour. However, becauſe a foreigner, preferred to that place, his lectures were liſtened to with the more critical attention of Cambridge auditors. Incomparable Tacitus he choſe for his ſubject, and had not yet paſſed over thoſe firſt words,—*Urbem Romanam primò Reges habuere*, when ſome exception was taken at his comment thereon. How hard is it for liquors not to reſent of the veſſels they are poured through? for veſſels not to taſte of the earth they are made of? being bred in a popular air, his words were interpreted, by high monarchicall ears, as over praiſing a ſtate in diſgrace of a kingdom. Hereupon he was accuſed to the King, troubled at Court, and, after his ſubmiſſion, hardly reſtored to his place. This is that Doctor Doriſlaus, Cambridge Profeſſor of Hiſtory, in his life, who himſelf was made an hiſtory at his death; ſlain in Holland, when firſt employed ambaſſador from the Commonwealth, unto the States of the United Provinces (39).' Among the manuſcripts in the library of Gonvil and Caius-College, there is one entitled, *Articles touching the Intention, &c. of Sir Fulk Grevil in the Univerſity*; which we ſuppoſe may relate to his foundation therein aforeſaid.

[*K*] *Many have, not only celebrated his ſenſe and ingenuity, but acknowledged his patronage, in the literary honours they paid him.*] Here, not to enlarge upon what is mentioned of him in the dedication or epiſtle explanatory to Sir Philip Sidney, of that ſcarce and ſometime famous little book of dialogues written by Jordano Bruno, while, or but a ſhort time before he was at Oxford; one copy whereof was ſold in the auction of Mr Charles Bernard's library, at a Coffee-Houſe in Ave Mary-lane, in the year 1711, to Walter Clavel, Eſq; at the extravagant price of above twenty-eight pounds (40), as we may elſewhere more particularly relate; there being many of our own authors, who better knew, and have celebrated him in his moſt proper points of light; beſides John Davis of Hereford, in his epigrams before mentioned; ſuch as, Samuel Daniel; between whom and Sir Fulk Grevil, there paſſed an intercourſe of ſeveral letters, upon ſome improvements or reformation that had been propoſed to be made, in the maſques, interludes, or other dramatical entertainments at Court; which were in great requeſt in their time, eſpecially in the reign of King James I. they being much encouraged by Queen Anne, and the Ladies who attended upon her. Their ſentiments they alſo exchanged in writing, upon the topic of our Engliſh verſification, about the time that Daniel had his controverſy with Dr Campion thereupon, and Sir Fulk's judgment is often applauded, with his munificence to ſeveral practitioners therein (41). The ſaid Samuel Daniel, has alſo in his printed works, before his Muſophilus, containing a general defence of all learning, in a poetical dialogue between the ſaid Muſophilus and Philocoſmus, prefixed a dedication in verſe to him, ſo early as before he was knighted, it being addreſſed to Mr Fulk Grevil (42). And Biſhop Corbet has honourably remembered him, both for his improvements at Warwick-Caſtle, and hoſpitable entertainment of him there, among his poems, in that which is entitled *Iter Boreale*. But that character which is given of a poet, by the name of Brook, in a noted paſtoral writer of thoſe days, is not to be underſtood of this Lord Brook, who then was not known by this title, but of one Chriſtopher Brook, a Lawyer of the Inner-Temple, and a poet of that time in good eſteem, not only with this paſtoral poet (43), but other eminent wits who were contemporary with him (44). Some diſcourſes and tranſlations alſo in proſe, we have met with dedicated to him; one particularly of a tranſlation from the Spaniſh, of Diana of Montmayor, by Tho. Wilſon, Eſq; in 1596, which though firſt inſcribed to the Earl of Southampton, was afterwards dedicated to the Right Honourable Sir Fulk Grevyll, Knt. Privy Councellor to his Majeſty, and Chancellor of the Exchequer: 'tis a manuſcript, fairly written in quarto, bound in green velvet, and was among the manuſcripts of Baſil Earl of Denbeigh. But the authors of more ſerious and ſolid labours, he more zealouſly cheriſhed, and more ſubſtantially befriended. In 1597, by his aſſiduous ſupplications to Queen Elizabeth, he obtained the office of Clarencieux King of Arms for Mr Camden (45), who very gratefully acknowledges the benefit; where he informs us that, 'this Sir Fulk Grevil doth ſo entirely devote himſelf to the ſtudy of real vertue and honour, that the nobleneſs of his mind, far exceeds that of his birth; for whoſe extraordinary favours (adds he) though I muſt deſpair of making ſuitable returns, yet whether ſpeaking or ſilent, I muſt ever preſerve a grateful remembrance of them (46).' Six years after, Mr Camden inſcribed his edition of our old Latin hiſtorians to his ſaid noble patron; and at his death, left him a piece of plate in his will. In the latter end of that Queen's reign, it was by his cordial recommendations of the learned Dr John Overal, to her Majeſty, that ſhe conferred upon him the Denary of St Paul's (47). He was alſo the riſe and making of a relation, who was afterwards an eminent miniſter of ſtate; for, as Dr Fuller has obſerved, 'Sir John Coke, being related to Sir Fulk Grevil, Lord Brook, was preferred to be Secretary of the Navy; then Maſter of the Requeſts, and at laſt Secretary of State for twenty years together. A zealous Proteſtant, and did all good offices for the advancement of true religion: he died in 1644 *.' But for his happy infranchiſment of John Speed the hiſtoriographer, from a mechanic employment, and his commodious enablement of him to purſue the hiſtorical ſtudies to which he had ſuch an uncommon inclination, the hearty and unreſerved acknowledgment he has publickly made, deſerves to be written in letters of gold; where having mentioned in his deſcription of Warwickſhire, the extraordinary reparations which had been made of the decayed caſtle at Warwick, by Sir Fulk Grevil; he adds, '*Whoſe merits to me-wards, I do acknowledge, in ſetting this hand free from the daily employments of a manual trade, and giving it full liberty thus to expreſs the inclination of my mind; himſelf being the procurer of my preſent eſtate* (48).' The Lord Bacon had ſuch an opinion of his knowledge, judgment, and friendly regard to his fame and credit, that he ſubmitted his life of King Henry the VII. to his peruſal and animadverſions; and the reſpect and value which the Lord Brook expreſſed for the ſaid performance upon his return of it, is preſerved by the Lord Bacon's chaplain, in the ſhort account he has given us of him (49). In Eaſter-Term 1618, an information being exhibited by Sir Henry Yelverton, Attorney-General, in the Star-Chamber, againſt one Wraynham, for his libellous defamations of the ſaid Lord Chancellor Bacon; the Lord Brook, and other Lords of the Council there preſent, did all cenſure the ſaid unwarrantable accuſer, in ſupport of the noble character that was ſo injuriouſly treated; as by his, and their ſeveral ſpeeches may appear (50). And long after the ſaid Lord Chancellor's fall, even in the laſt year of his life, the brief, but brilliant character which was given by him of this peer, as has been before quoted, may ſufficiently prove the falſhood of that idle ſtory in a ſatirical hiſtorian, who reports that the Lord Brook's butler had orders to refuſe a meſſenger who came from the Lord Bacon (then retired to his chambers in Gray's-Inn) to beg for a bottle

(39) Dr Fuller's Hiſtory of the univerſity of Cambridge, fol. 1655, p. 165.

(40) Entitled, Spaccio de la Beſtia Trionfante; Propoſto da Giove, Effectuato dal conſeglo, Revelato da Mercurio, Recitato da Sophia, Udito da Saulino, Regiſtrato dal Nolano, &c. Stampato in Parigi, 12mo. 1584.

(41) A Miſcellany of Hiſtorical and Poetical Remarks, gathered in the reign of King James I. 4to. among the MSS. of the late Thomas Coxeter, Eſq;

(42) Samuel Daniel's Poetical Works, in 2 vols 12mo. 1718, Vol. II. p. 367.

(43) W. Browne, Eſq; in his Britannia's Paſtorals, Lib. ii. fol. 1616, Song II. p. 37.

(44) Dr Donne's Poems, edit. 8vo. 1669, p. 114, &c.

(45) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 481.

(46) Camden's Britannia, in Warwickſhire.

(47) Athen Oxon. Vol. I. col. 314.

* Fuller's Worthies, in Derbyſhire, fol. 233.

(48) J. Speed's Proſpect of the moſt famous parts of the world, fol. 1646, p. 53.

(49) Dr William Rawley's Life of the Lord Bacon, before his Works, folio, 1670.

(50) In a Vindication of the Lord Chancellor Bacon, from the aſperſion of injuſtice caſt upon him by Mr Wraynham, &c. (firſt publiſhed from the MS. by W. O.) printed for J. Peel in Pater-noſter-row, 8vo. 1725, p. 37, &c. See alſo Wrenham's Caſe in Popham's Reports, 2d edit. fol. 1682, p. 137.

ſuch parts as could both reliſh and cheriſh thoſe who were endowed with the beſt; a man alſo of ſuch affluence and intereſt, as to gain the eſteem and commendations of ſo many ingenious perſons abroad, ſo many humble ſervants without doors, for his friendly gratifications or preferment of them, ſhould at laſt fall a ſacrifice to the incenſed and violent hand of a diſcontented and mortal enemy at home, becauſe he had ſerved him faithfully for many years, without any ſuch reward or proſpect of proviſion, as would afford him a competent ſubſiſtance, if his Lordſhip ſhould die before him, as the moſt early and authentic accounts which have been publiſhed of this fatal event are commonly interpreted; which inform us, that his Lordſhip neglecting or delaying to reward one Mr Ralph Haywood, for that was his Chriſtian name, as it is remembered in one author (*p*), an antient ſervant, who had ſpent the greateſt part of his time in attendance upon him, and expoſtulating thereupon with his Lord, was ſo ſeverely reproved for the ſame, that the ſaid Haywood being then with him in his Lordſhip's bedchamber, at Brook-Houſe in Holborn, gave him a mortal ſtab in the back with a knife, on the firſt of September, 1628, and with the ſame knife ſtabbed himſelf, as in the laſt quoted author it is expreſſed. Another ſays, it was on the thirtieth of September the ſame year that his Lordſhip was ſtabbed (*q*); and another, not mentioning the day he received the wound, agrees with the generality, that it was on this day he died in that year, being then aged ſeventy-four years (*r*): and both of them imply, that the weapon wherewith the murder was committed, was a ſword, with which the aſſaſſin having withdrawn, and locked himſelf into another room, to compleat the bloody ſcene, murdered himſelf, making his own hand the executioner of juſtice, and death his choice, which ſhould have been his puniſhment (*s*). It has been credibly reported, that there remained no written memorial or tradition in this noble family of any other cauſe or reaſon for the ſaid Mr Haywood's extraordinary diſcontent, than what is above ſpecified; but of late ſome further particulars have appeared in print, relating to the confirmation or aggravation thereof. For the Lord Brook having ſettled the whole of his eſtate upon his couſin Robert Grevile aforeſaid, by his laſt will and teſtament, he executed the ſame on the eighteenth of February foregoing, which was witneſſed by ſeveral gentlemen then in his ſervice, among whom was this Haywood. And ſome months after, a codicil was added, wherein annuities were granted to thoſe gentlemen, but Haywood omitted; which made him reſent the neglect of him to ſuch a degree, as produced the warm expoſtulation between them, with the tragedy of both beforementioned. Before he died, his Lordſhip ordered another ſhort codicil to be added to his will, in which he left handſome legacies to the ſurgeons, and others who attended him on this occaſion *. A remark or two more upon this unfortunate cataſtrophe, we ſhall remit to the bottom of the page [*L*], and conclude with informing

(*p*) Mr Richard Smith's Obituary, in Fr. Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, fol. 1732, lib. xiv. p. 12.

(*q*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, as above.

(*r*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 522, in the Life of Lord Brook.

(*s*) Langbaine's Dramatic Poets, p. 40. in his account of Lord Brook.

* Mr Collins, in his account of the Greviles, as before, p. 32, 33.

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tle of his beer, when he could not reliſh that which was provided for the commons in the ſaid Inn (51). In ſhort, the Lord Brook apparently ſhowred his favours on learned and ingenious men, to the laſt of his life, more eſpecially to thoſe who had any elegant taſte of hiſtory and poetry; as may appear not only in his preferment of Dr Doriſlaus beforementioned, but his reception of Sir William D'Avenant, when a young man, into his family; with whoſe promiſing genius he was ſo much delighted, that he reſided under him as long as his lordſhip lived; and it is not improbable but he formed the plans of ſome of his firſt plays under his lordſhip's encouragement, they being publiſhed ſoon after his death (52).

[*L*] *A remark or two more upon this unfortunate cataſtrophe, we ſhall remit to the bottom of the page.*] And firſt, there ſeems ſome reaſon to ſuſpect that the knowledge of this murder, or the moſt prevailing motive to it, has been endeavoured to be concealed, or ſecreted from the public and poſterity. When the firſt collection of his lordſhip's poetical works was publiſhed in folio, as is before obſerved, ſo ſoon after his death as five years, it might reaſonably be expected that ſome dedication, account of the author's life, or preface, would have appeared before them, in which the ſaid murder, and the true motives to it, might be more accurately, and particularly related than we have ſince had them; and ſo perhaps they were; for we have frequently obſerved, in at leaſt ten or a dozen copies of that folio volume, and ſome of them printed on large paper, bound in Turkey leather, and moſt richly adorned with gold, and moſt freſhly, fairly, and choicely preſerved, that they are all imperfect, and deprived or mutilated of whatever introduction they had to them. For after the contents of the volume, which are printed on the back of the title page, we jump at once to number 23 at the top of the next page, where the firſt poem begins, and the ſignature D at the bottom of it; ſo that by both teſtimonies, there are twenty two pages manifeſtly wanting. And as no author, who has wrote of this nobleman or his writings, has hitherto taken any notice of, or made any remarks upon this deficiency, we muſt, till we have ſome better light to guide or help us to account for it, follow ſuch as occurs from the moſt rational probability, that there was ſome private diſcovery too expreſly mentioned for the peruſal of the public, therefore that his lordſhip's executors, relations, &c. obliged the publiſher to caſtrate ſuch prefatory diſcourſes, and ſuppreſs the ſame.

Another remark upon this occaſion, we gather from a manuſcript now before us, containing many arguments, reflexions, authorities and examples, upon the frequent deluſion of domeſtic dependancy; in which, many hopeful novices, of greater abilities than experience, induced by the baits of plenty, eaſe, and idleneſs; or the hopes of intereſt, recommendation, and advancement, have inſenſibly ſuffered a ſtate of freedom, to ſink and ſubſide into one of ſervility, and preferred a courſe of ſplendid poverty, to any of more liberal, laborious and profitable employment; ſo in lingering ſuſpence have worn away their youth, ſtrength, and faculties under ſuch great men, in their great houſes, like the lamps that were kept burning in the ancient vaults and ſepulchres, till they have ſmoaked and ſmoothered their brightneſs out in obſcurity, without benefit to mankind, or reputation to themſelves. Among many inſtances produced to verify this allegation, that of this Lord Brook, and his dependant Mr Haywood aforeſaid, is one, which the author introduces with the following reflections.——'Moſt wealthy and dignified men are more fond of external, than intrinſic grandeur, and of being generous before they are juſt. Many examples might be produced, of the humour which predominates in them, to exert themſelves moſt gratefully abroad, and with the utmoſt ingratitude at home; to be ever doing good to thoſe who pay them no ſervice, and none to ſuch as hourly ſerve them; to be moſt prodigal in public, and penurious in private. What makes the miſchief the more prevailing is, that to diſcover ſuch deficiency and diſproportion among domeſtics, to whom greater miſmanagements are expoſed, is therefore reckoned the more inſignificant. They are looked meanly on, becauſe often on, and ſo overlooked in matters of reward, becauſe ſo near and ſo conſtantly at hand, that they do that for them, at no time

(51) Arthur Wilſon's Life of King James I. fol. 1653, anno 1621.

(52) Athen. Oxon, Vol. II. col. 411, 413, &c.

forming our reader that, on the 27th of October following, his Lordſhip's obſequies were performed with great ſolemnity; his corps being wrapped in lead, and conveyed to Warwick, under the direction of Sir William Segar, Knight, Garter; Sir Henry St George, Knight, Richmond Herald; and Henry Chitting, Eſq; Cheſter-Herald. And there it was interred on the north ſide of the quire of St Mary's church, in his own vault, which had formerly been a Chapter-Houſe belonging thereto; over which a beautiful and ſtately monument of black and white marble had been erected by himſelf. Whereupon, according to his own appointment, was engraved an inſcription, commemorating his friendſhip with the great patron of the Muſes, as his greateſt honour, and moſt permanent epitaph *, in theſe words.

FULKE GREVILE,
Servant to Queen ELIZABETH,
Councellor to King JAMES,
And Friend to Sir PHILIP SIDNEY,
Trophæum Peccati (t).

time of their lives, which they think they have it in their power to do at any time. The continual ſight of them, dulls all notion of their ſenſe or ſervice; they are thought to have no diſcernment, therefore no reſentment; ſo the empty name, the very ſhadow of patronage, may go down towards domeſtics, the ſubſtance muſt be reſerved for ſtrangers, that it may make atonement without doors for the neglect of all honourable conſiderations within: thus things at a diſtance, are looked on moſt wiſhfully; things cloſe and familiar to them, they look above and deſpiſe. A man's plentifull poſſeſſions and pompous titles, may paſs in the eye of inexperience, for the capital attributes of a patron: but if his intereſt and inclinations are not proportionable, or his own generoſity to ſupport that character, he ſhall diſable you by long ſuſpenſe from finding it in another, and give you a ſting at laſt, how deſperately ſoever it may be returned, if you grow importunate to find the effects of that patronage in himſelf. Such diſregardful treatment of ſuperior attendants, has ſometimes proved very fatal to men of dignity and fortune; whereof we have, beſides what has been before exemplified, a pregnant proof in one of our nobility, Fulk Grevil, Lord Brook, who was Under-Treaſurer, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and of the Privy-Council to King James and King Charles I. A man of breeding, learning and abilities; liberal enough of his power and intereſt among diſtant acquaintance, to the commodious accommodation of many learned and ingenious men, but too parcemonious thereof towards the daily attendants within his own walls; who by neglecting as all authors term it, to gratify or make any ſuitable recompence to a gentleman who had withered away the greateſt part of his life unprofitably in his perſonal ſervice, and was ſoon likely to be deſtitute of all ſupport, as his lordſhip had not himſelf, by the courſe of nature, long to live, and being ſeverely reprimanded for reminding him thereof, or, not improbably, incenſed with more violent provocations, he drew his ſword upon his Lord, and killed him, then withdrawing into another room, with the ſame inſtrument deſtroyed himſelf. Yet authors have been ſo ſuperficial and indifferent in their relation of this deſperate murder, or have ſeemed in a manner, ſo to ſtifle and huſh it up, that thoſe who have moſt diſtinctly related the untimely end of this nobleman, by that attendant, have not dropped ſo much as a reflexion in compaſſion of the one, or abhorrence of the other. Upon the whole therefore, when we conſider how eaſily perſons foreign to the ſervice of this nobleman, were by his intereſt handſomely provided for, and that no proviſion was likely to be made for one who had ſo long and nearly ſerved him; we may from hence, as well as from the many other examples before recited, be inſtructed to believe, that all actions or expreſſions from a menial ſervant, or any in this domeſtic and ſtationary dependency, are regarded but as the water of a ſtanding pool; the owner, becauſe he ſees the ſurface every day, thinks he has alſo ſeen, and known, all that it contains, of what depth or capacity ſoever it be; and eſteems every drop flat, and inſipid, that comes from it: But the ſervices of any free extraneous perſon, how ſhallow ſoever, who does not lie under the conſtant eye and command of a maſter, is thought ever freſh and grateful, like the waters of a running ſtream. Hence it is that the moſt ſuperficial, and ordinary ſervice from an independent perſon, ſo frequently meets with great thanks and reward; from a ſervant, with neither: for the greateſt performances from ſuch, are ſwallowed up, in the thankleſs, bottomleſs gulph of duty. Theſe obſervations upon domeſtic patronage and dependency, may ſatiſfy thoſe, who are to be ſatisfied with any thing leſs fatal than their own experience; that the favours of great men, though they may ſtream forth from every ſide, like the rays from the ſtars which ſome of them wear: yet it is commonly in ſuch a manner, contrary to the repreſentations which are made of all ſuch reſplendent bodies, as if thoſe rays of favour were inverted, or darted ſtronger, and more diffuſive, as they extend towards the circumference, or furtheſt extreams of projection; but tapered away to the ſmalleſt and weakeſt points, neareſt the very center of their own light (53).'

G

GREW [NEHEMIAH], an excellent Philoſopher, and a Phyſician of good repute and conſiderable practice, in the laſt and part of this century, was born at Coventry, being the ſon of Obadiah Grew, D. D. [A] Vicar of St Michael's in that city (a). He was bred up by his father, (who had taken the Covenant) in the Puritan way; and ſtudied in one of the

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* See Dr John Collop's Poeſis Redeviva, &c. 8vo. 1656, in Epiſt. dedic.

(t) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 152. and Mr Collins as above.

(53) The Patron, or Portraiture of Patronage and Dependancy, &c. MS. 4to.

(a) Wood's Athen. ed. 1721. Vol. II. col. 837, 838.

[A] *Being the ſon of Obadiah Grew, D. D.*] This Obadiah Grew was born at Atherſton in the pariſh of Manceter in Warwickſhire, in November 1607; admitted a ſtudent of Balliol-College in 1624, where he took the degrees in arts; and was ordained, at 28 years of age, by Dr Robert Wright, Biſhop of Coventry and Lichfield. But, in the beginning of the civil wars, he ſided with the Preſbyterians, took the Covenant, and became miniſter of the great church of St Michael's in Coventry; where he behaved in a moſt pious, regular, and prudent manner, and diſcharged all the parts of a good, faithful, and diligent paſtor. In 1648, when Oliver Cromwell was at Coventry, in his march to London, Mr Grew took the opportunity to repreſent to him the wickedneſs of the deſign then more viſibly on foot, for taking off the king, and the ſad conſequences thereof, ſhould it take effect; earneſtly preſſing him, to uſe his endeavours to prevent it; and had his promiſe for it. And afterwards when the deſign was too apparent, he wrote a letter to him to the ſame purpoſe, and to mind him of his promiſe. In 1651, he accumulated the degrees in divinity at Oxford; and in 1654, was appointed one of the aſſiſtants to the commiſſioners for ejecting ſuch whom they then called ſcandalous, ignorant, and inſufficient miniſters, &c (1). Refuſing to conform in 1662, he was ejected from his preferment in purſuance of the Bartholomew-act (2). He died October 22, 1689, and was buried in the chancel of St Michael's church aforeſaid (3).

(1) Wood's Athen. ubi ſupra, & Faſti, Vol. II. col. 96.

(2) Dr Calamy's Continuation of the account of the Miniſters, &c. ejected, Vol. II. p. 850.

(3) Wood, Ath. ut ſupra; and Calamy's Account, &c. p. 736.

[B] For

the foreign Univerſities, where he took the degree of Doctor of Phyſic (*b*). For ſome time he reſided at Coventry [*B*]. But coming to London about the year 1672, he was, through the recommendation of the moſt learned and ingenious Dr Wilkins, Biſhop of Cheſter, choſen Fellow of the Royal-Society (*c*), to which he proved an ornament, and a very uſeful member. In April 1672, he was appointed Curator to that illuſtrious Society, for the Anatomy of Plants (*d*): and applying himſelf, with great induſtry and ſucceſs, to the ſtudy of that moſt agreeable part of nature, he publiſhed many curious pieces upon that ſubject [*C*], which were received with great approbation and eſteem, both at home and abroad; and ſeveral of them were tranſlated into other languages [*D*]. On the 30th of November 1677, he was choſen Secretary to the Royal Society, in the room of Mr Oldenburg, and publiſhed the Philoſophical Tranſactions from January 1677-8, to the end of February 1678-9, namely from N°. 137 to 142 incluſive (*e*). The 30th of September

(*b*) See General Dictionary.

(*c*) See the Epiſtle dedicatory to his Idea of a Phytological Hiſtory, Lond. 1673, 8vo.

(*d*) See Preface to his Anatomy of Plants, folio edit. Pref. p. 5.

(*e*) See Mr J. Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham College, p. 182.

[*B*] *For ſome time he reſided at Coventry.*] The dedication of the firſt book of his *Anatomy of Plants* to John [Wilkins] Lord Biſhop of Cheſter, is dated from Coventry, June 10, 1671.

[*C*] *He publiſhed many curious pieces upon that ſubject.*] Namely, 1. *The Anatomy of Vegetables begun.* London 1671, 8vo. 2. *Continuation of the Anatomy of Vegetables*, Lond. 1673, 8vo. 3. *An Idea of a Phytological Hiſtory propounded*, Lond. 1673, 8vo. 4. *The comparative Anatomy of the Trunks of Plants, with an account of their vegetation*, Lond. 1675, 8vo. ——In 1682, he printed all theſe pieces in one folio volume, with others of the ſame nature, at the requeſt of the Royal-Society; and with many additions and improvements. The general title of which volume is, ‘ The Anatomy of Plants, with an Idea of a Philoſophical Hiſtory of Plants, and ſeveral other lectures read before the Royal-Society.’ This *Idea*, &c. being the ſame as the firſt part of that which he had publiſhed before, under the title of, *An Idea of a Phytological Hiſtory*, is prefixed to the whole, as a proper introduction; but it is conſiderably augmented and improved. The reſt follows in four books, and in this order. ‘ I. The Anatomy of Plants, begun. With a general account of vegetation, grounded thereupon. Preſented in manuſcript to the Royal-Society, ſome time before the 11th of May 1671, and afterwards in print, December 7, of the ſame year. II. The Anatomy of Roots; proſecuted with the bare eye, and with the microſcope: preſented to the Royal-Society at ſeveral times, in the years 1672 and 1673. With an account of the vegetation of roots, grounded chiefly thereupon. III. The Anatomy of Trunks; proſecuted with the bare eye, and with the microſcope: with an account of their vegetation, grounded thereupon. The figures hereunto belonging, preſented to the Royal-Society in the years 1673 and 1674. IV. The Anatomy of Leaves, Flowers, Fruits, and Seeds; proſecuted with the bare eye, and with the microſcope. In four parts. That of leaves, read before the Royal-Society Oct. 26, 1676. That of flowers, read before the ſame, November 9, 1676. That of Fruits, read in the year 1677. And the figures of the ſeeds, preſented to the ſaid Society, in the ſame year.’ To which are ſubjoined ſeven lectures, read before the Royal Society. ‘ 1. A diſcourſe, read December 10, 1674. concerning the nature, cauſes, and power of mixture. 2. Experiments in conſort of the luctation ariſing from the affuſion of ſeveral menſtruums upon all ſorts of bodies, exhibited to the Royal-Society, April 13, and June 1, 1676. 3 An eſſay of the various proportions wherein the lixivial ſalt is found in plants. Read before the Royal-Society, March 1676. 4. A diſcourſe concerning the eſſential and marine ſalts of plants. Read before the Royal-Society, December 21, 1676. 5. A diſcourſe of the colours of plants. Read before the Royal-Society, May 3, 1677. 6. A diſcourſe of the diverſities and cauſes of taſtes chiefly in plants. Read before the Royal Society, March 25, 1675. 7. Experiments in conſort upon the ſolution of ſalts in water. Read before the Royal-Society, January 18, 1676-7.’ ——The four books of the Anatomy of Plants, are illuſtrated with eighty-three very curious folio copperplates, repreſenting the ſeeds, flowers, and many other parts of plants, trees, &c. as they appear to the naked eye, and when magnified by microſcopes: exhibiting a moſt ſurprizing, agreeable, and improving view of the wonderful variety of veſſels in each, for the conveyance and circulation of the air, ſap, and other nouriſhment neceſſary for their perfection and beauty. The author's judicious obſervations upon that intereſting ſubject, in his dedication to King Charles II, are well worth the reader's peruſal; being as follow.—— ‘ By *this* your Majeſty will find, that there are *Terræ Incognitæ* in Philoſophy, as well as Geography. And for ſo much, as lies here, it comes to paſs, I know not how, even in this inquiſitive age, that I am *the firſt, who have given a map of the country.* Your Majeſty will here ſee, that there are thoſe things within a plant, little leſs admirable than within an animal. That a plant, as well as an animal, is compoſed of ſeveral organical parts; ſome whereof may be called it's bowels. That every plant hath bowels of divers kinds, conteining divers kinds of liquors. That even a plant lives partly upon aer; for the reception whereof, it hath thoſe parts which are anſwerable to lungs. So that a plant is, as it were, an animal in quires; as an animal is a plant, or rather ſeveral plants bound up into one volume. Again, that all the ſaid organs, bowels, or other parts, are as artificially made; and for their place and number, as punctually ſet together; as all the mathematic lines of a flower or face. That the ſtaple of the ſtuff is ſo exquiſitely fine, that no ſilk-worm is able to draw any thing near ſo ſmall a thread. So that one who walks about with the meaneſt ſtick, holds a piece of nature's handicraft, which far ſurpaſſes the moſt elaborate woof or needle-work in the world. That by all theſe means, the aſcent of the ſap, the diſtribution of the aer, the confection of ſeveral ſorts of liquors, as lymphas, milks, oyls, balſames, with other parts of vegetation, are all contrived and brought about in a mechanical way. In ſum, your Majeſty will find, that we are come aſhore into a new world, whereof we ſee no end.'——The learned author tells us in the preface, that ‘ The firſt occaſion of directing his thoughts this way, was in the year 1664, upon reading ſome of the many and curious inventions of learned men, in the bodies of animals. For conſidering, that both of them came at firſt out of the ſame hand; and were therefore the contrivances of the ſame wiſdom: he thence fully aſſured himſelf, that it could not be a vain deſign; to ſeek it in both.'——Biſhop Wilkins, to whom the firſt part of it was dedicated, gives it it's juſt commendation, in the following words.——‘ You was very happy in the choice of this ſubject to write upon; one of the moſt noble and the moſt copious parts of philoſophy; and ſuch an one, as hath hitherto lain uncultivated. And you have been very ſucceſsful in your firſt attempt about it, in ſo many remarkable obſervations and diſcoveries, as you have made already. I could heartily wiſh, that you would ſtill apply yourſelf to this kind of enquiries. You will find that additionals will come in more copiouſly and eaſily. And it is not fit, that any ſhould, by his superſtructions, carry away the praiſe from him who was the firſt inventor, and who laid the foundations, wherein the greateſt difficulty doth conſiſt (4)'

(4) Preface to the Anatomy of Plants, folio edit.

[*D*] *And ſeveral of them were tranſlated into other languages.*] The firſt book of the Anatomy of Plants, a little after it came out, was elegantly and exactly tranſlated into French, by Monſieur le Vaſſeur, an ingenious gentleman at Paris. And the three firſt books of the ſame, were publiſhed in Latin by the collectors of the German Ephemerides; but their unſkilful tranſlator often fails of the grammatical ſenſe. The ſecond lecture of Mixture was alſo very well tranſlated into French by Monſieur Meſmin, a learned phyſician in Paris (5).

(5) See our author's Preface.

September 1680, he was admitted an honorary Fellow of the College of Phyſicians in London (*f*). He publiſhed in 1681, ‘ A catalogue and deſcription of the natural and ‘ artificial rarities belonging to the Royal-Society [*E*], and preſerved at Greſham-College. ‘ Whereunto is ſubjoined the comparative anatomy of ſtomachs and guts begun. ‘ Being ſeveral lectures read before the Royal-Society, in the year 1676.’ In 1695, he publiſhed alſo a treatiſe on the purging ſalts [*F*]: and ſome ſmall pieces of his appeared in the Philoſophical Tranſactions [*G*]. His laſt work was calculated, as indeed all his writings were, not only to promote the ends of real and ſolid learning, but alſo of true piety and religion. He intitled it, ‘ A Diſcourſe of the Univerſe, as it is the Creature ‘ and Kingdom of God [*H*]:’ and, having from his youth addicted himſelf to the contemplation of nature; he ſhewed in that book, that religion is ſo far from being inconſiſtent with philoſophy, that it is the higheſt point and perfection of it (*g*). One of his poſitions therein, namely, ‘ that there is a vital ſubſtance in nature, diſtinct from a ‘ body (*h*);’ hath been reflected upon by Mr Bayle (*i*); and vindicated by Mr John Le Clerc (*k*) [*I*]. Dr Grew's character is ſufficiently plain from all his works. For, they breathe a ſpirit of ſincere piety and goodneſs; and evidently ſhew, that he made that uſe of his knowledge and philoſophy, which all wiſe and good men ought to do; namely, to promote the glory of God, and the good of mankind, and to encourage and recommend virtue and true religion. He died ſuddenly at London, March 25, 1711 (*l*).

[*E*] *A catalogue and deſcription of the natural and artificial rarities belonging to the Royal-Society, &c.*] The whole title is, ‘ *Muſæum Regalis Societatis:* Or ‘ a Catalogue and Deſcription, &c.’ This book is dedicated to Daniel Colwall, Eſq; the founder of that *Muſæum*; who was alſo at the charge of engraving the plates. It is not a bare catalogue, but contains exact deſcriptions of moſt of the rarities, and is enriched with many learned and curious obſervations.

[*F*] *A treatiſe on the purging ſalts.*] This treatiſe is in Latin, and has this title. *Tractatus de ſalis cathartici amari in aquis Ebeſhamenſibus & hujuſmodi aliis contenti Naturâ & Uſu.* Lond. 1695, 12mo.

[*G*] *And ſome ſmall pieces of his appeared in the Philoſophical Tranſactions.*] Namely, ‘ Obſervations ‘ touching the nature of ſnow (6). Of the texture of ‘ ivory (7). Anſwer to a letter of Mr Lewenhoeck's ‘ to my Lord Brouncker, *De natis e ſemine maſculo* ‘ *animalibus*; and Dr Grew's opinion, *De vaſis in* ‘ *craſſa ſeminis materia obſervatis* (8).’ The deſcrip‘tion and uſe of the pores in the ſkin of the hands and ‘ feet (9). Account of a diſeaſed ſpleen (10). Ob‘ſervations on the *Tomineius*, or *Humming-bird* (11). ‘ A demonſtration of the number of acres in England ‘ (12).’ Which, according to his computation, is, forty-ſix millions and eighty thouſand.

[*H*] *A diſcourſe of the univerſe, as it the creature and kingdom of God*] The whole title is, *Coſmologia Sa*‘*cra:* or a diſcourſe of the univerſe as it is the crea‘ture and kingdom of God. Chiefly written to de‘monſtrate the truth and excellency of the Bible; ‘ which contains the laws of his kingdom in this lower ‘ world. In five books, Lond. 1701, fol.’ He obſerves in the preface, that ‘ having addicted himſelf to ‘ the contemplation of nature, from his youth upward: ‘ as he hop'd, he was in ſome meaſure qualified, for ‘ an eſſay of this kind; ſo he concluded, the applying ‘ of his ſmall talent hereunto, to be the beſt uſe, he ‘ ſhould ever be able to make of it.’ This excellent diſcourſe being divided into five books, as hath been already mentioned; the firſt book ‘ ſheweth, That ‘ God made the corporeal world: and what it is.’ And treats, in five chapters, ‘ Of God: Of the corporeal ‘ world: Of corporeal principles: Of compounded ‘ bodies: Of their uſe. Book II. Sheweth, that ‘ there is a vital world which God hath made: ‘ and what it is. Comprehending, in eight chapters, ‘ theſe ſeveral heads; of life: of ſenſe: of mind; ‘ and of phancy, or phantaſtic mind: of intellectual ‘ mind: of ſcience: of wiſdom: of virtue: of cele‘ſtial mind. In Book III. Is ſhewed, that God go‘verns the univerſe which he hath made; and in what ‘ manner. 'Tis divided into theſe ſix chapters; of ‘ the nature of God's government, or of Providence: ‘ of the ends of Providence; and firſt in this life: of ‘ Providence over public ſtates: of the celeſtial life: ‘ of the rules of Providence; and of the law of na‘ture: of poſitive law. Book IV. Sheweth, that the ‘ Bible, and firſt the Hebrew code, or old Teſtament, ‘ is God's poſitive law. This book is divided into ‘ eight chapters, comprehending theſe ſeveral points; ‘ of the integrity of the Hebrew code: of the truth ‘ and excellency of it, as they appear from foreign ‘ proof: as they appear from the writers hereof: as ‘ they appear from the contents of the hiſtory: and ‘ from the miracles related therein: and from the pro‘phecies: of the divine law; firſt of the law given to ‘ Adam and Noah: and then of the Moſaic law. In Book ‘ V. is ſhewed, That the New Teſtament is alſo God's ‘ poſitive law. And the ſix chapters this laſt book is di‘vided into, treat, of the integrity of the New Teſta‘ment: of the truth, and excellency of it; as they ap‘pear from the writers thereof: and from the contents ‘ of the New Teſtament, particularly the miracles: ‘ as alſo from the doctrine; eſpecially the articles of ‘ faith: of the laws of the goſpel; and of the pre‘cepts which equally concern all: of our Saviour's pro‘phecies.’——In the ſecond chapter of the fourth book, he very learnedly ſhews, the agreement of profane authors with the ſacred writings; both with regard to the matter, and the expreſſions. And in the next chapter, hath many curious obſervations about the authors of the books of the Old Teſtament, and their manner of writing: anſwering, at the ſame time, many of Spinoſa's cavils and objections againſt ſeveral paſſages in thoſe ſacred books. Likewiſe, in the eighth chapter of the ſame book, he gives a large account and deſcription of the Jewiſh tabernacle; a thing as he obſerves (13), hitherto wanting. Upon the whole, it were much to be wiſhed, that ſo uſeful and excellent a work, were read and peruſed with due and univerſal attention; and that it might have a ſuitable effect upon the minds and morals of mankind.

[*I*] *One of his poſitions therein, namely, that there is a vital ſubſtance—hath been reflected upon by Mr Bayle, and vindicated by Mr John Le Clerc.*] Mr Bayle, in the place above referred to, obſerves that, ‘ the Athe‘iſts are very much perplexed to account for the for‘mation of animals, which they aſcribed to a cauſe ‘ not conſcious of what it did, and yet that followed ‘ a regular plan, without knowing by what laws it ‘ went to work. But Dr Cudworth's plaſtic form, and ‘ Dr Grew's vital principle are exactly in the ſame caſe. ‘ For, if God could communicate ſuch a plaſtic power, ‘ it follows that it is not inconſiſtent with the nature of ‘ things that there be ſuch agents: they may therefore ‘ exiſt of themſelves, will the adverſary ſay; whence ‘ it would alſo follow, that the regularity we obſerve in ‘ the univerſe may be the effect of a blind cauſe, ‘ which was not conſcious of what it did.’ However Mr Bayle ſuppoſed, that theſe two learned gentlemen were not aware of the conſequence, which, according to him, followed from their ſyſtem.——Mr Le Clerc, anſwered to this, ‘ that the vital or plaſtic ‘ natures which theſe gentlemen admitted, cannot in ‘ the leaſt favour the Atheiſts, becauſe theſe natures are ‘ but inſtruments in the hands of God, and have no ‘ power or efficacy, but what they receive from him, ‘ who rules and directs all their actions: that they are ‘ but inſtrumental cauſes, produced and employed by ‘ the chief and firſt cauſe: and that it cannot be ſaid, ‘ that a palace has been built up without art, becauſe ‘ not only the hammers, rules, ſaws, &c. but even ‘ the arms of men which made uſe of theſe inſtruments, ‘ are deſtitute of knowledge. It is ſufficient that the ‘ mind of the builder directed all theſe things, and em‘ployed them according to his deſign. It is therefore ‘ plain, adds he, that the Atheiſts, who deny the be‘ing of an intelligent cauſe, cannot retort our two phi‘loſophers argument upon them.’

(*f*) Regiſter of the College of Phyſicians.

(*g*) See the Preface to that book.

(*h*) Coſmologia, p. 31, &c.

(*i*) Continuation des Penſées diverſes, § xxi. p. 21.

(*k*) Bibliotheque Choiſie, Tom. V. p. 283, &c.

(*l*) See General Dictionary.

(6) No. 92. p. 5193.

(7) No. 141. p. 1003.

(8) No. 142. p. 1040.

(9) No. 159. p. 566.

(10) No. 194. p. 543.

(11) No. 202. p. 815.

(12) No. 330. p. 266.

(13) In the Preface.

GREY [Lady JANE], otherwiſe ſtiled Lady JANE DUDLEY, but more commonly than either, Queen JANE, as having been proclaimed Queen of England upon the demiſe, and in purſuance of the appointment, of her couſin King Edward the Sixth (*a*). She was, as all our hiſtorians agree, moſt nobly deſcended. Her father, Henry Grey Marquis of Dorſet, derived himſelf in a direct line, from, Sir Thomas Grey, Knight of the Garter, Lord Harrington in right of his wife, and created Marquis of Dorſet by Edward the Fourth, who married his mother (*b*). Her mother, was Lady Frances Brandon, the eldeſt of the two ſurviving daughters of Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, by Mary Queen Dowager of France, youngeſt daughter of King Henry the Seventh; and ſiſter to King Henry the Eighth (*c*) [*A*]. This marriage proceeded from the great kindneſs which Henry

(*a*) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 3 8. b. Holinſhed, Stowe, Grafton, Speed, Fox, Heylin, Burnet, Strype, Collier.

(*b*) Mill's Catalogue of honour, p. 543.

(*c*) Brook's Catalogue of Nobility, p. 212.

[*A*] *And ſiſter to King Henry the Eighth.*] As this article is of great importance in reſpect to our hiſtory, many things relating thereto being obſcurely and imperfectly repreſented, even by our beſt writers, and the facts referring thereto ſo complicated, as to render it very difficult to underſtand the ſhort hints given us by our old hiſtorians and political authors in treatiſes about the ſucceſſion; we think it incumbent upon us, to uſe all the care and diligence imaginable, to ſet all theſe points in as true and clear lights as poſſible, and with this view we will begin with giving in this note, ſuch particulars in relation to Sir Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, as belong more particularly to this ſubject, that is, to the deſcent of the illuſtrious Lady of whom we are ſpeaking. He was the ſon of Sir Thomas Brandon, Knight of the Garter, and the grandſon of Sir William Brandon, who carried the ſtandard of Henry Earl of Richmond, at the battle of Boſworth, and in that ſervice was ſlain (1). This Sir Charles Brandon being extremely handſome in his perſon, and withal one of the ſtrongeſt and ſtouteſt men in the kingdom, was a great favourite with Arthur Prince of Wales, and of his brother Henry (2). Upon the acceſſion of that prince to the throne, he was made one of the Eſquires of his body, and Chamberlain of North-Wales; afterwards for his ſervices both by ſea and land againſt the French, he was on the 15th of May 1513, advanced to the dignity of Viſcount L'Iſle (3), though Biſhop Burnet erroneouſly aſſerts he was then created Duke of Suffolk (4), which however he was not till the thirteenth of February following (5). In the ſucceeding year he was preſent in France at the marriage of the Princeſs Mary, the King's younger ſiſter, with the French King Lewis the Twelfth (6). At this time the Duke of Suffolk, and Henry Marquis of Dorſet, acquired great reputation in the tournaments that were held on that occaſion, as aſſiſtants to Francis of Valois (7), who ſoon after was himſelf king by the demiſe of Lewis, whom an eminent French hiſtorian affirms, became a victim to his extravagant paſſion for his new Queen (8). That princeſs, who is ſaid to have had no diſlike to the Duke of Suffolk before her marriage, was no ſooner a widow, than ſhe wrote to her brother, to deſire his permiſſion to marry (9); and at the ſame time, as a reverend hiſtorian ſays, told the Duke of Suffolk, that if he did not gain her conſent in four days, he ſhould not be the man (10). But, as the ſame writer juſtly obſerves, this could not put him under any great difficulty, and therefore the marriage was quickly after celebrated, April the 15th 1515 (11), and by the interceſſion of the French King, Francis the Firſt, King Henry, who all along intended the match, was eaſily pacified (12). But here ariſes a queſtion, as to the ſtate this noble perſon was in at the time of his marriage? it is pretty certain that he had been twice married before, but it is not quite ſo clear to whom; one author ſays, his firſt wife was Anne, daughter to Sir Anthony Brown, Governor of Calais (13); another, that it was Margaret, the daughter and coheireſs of John Nevile Marquis Montague (14), and that the other lady was his ſecond wife. It is a difficult matter to know what Sir William Dugdale's opinion was, ſince he aſſerts Margaret to be the firſt wife in his hiſtorical account, and then produces an authentic pedigree of the family in which ſhe is made to be the ſecond (15), as in reality there is good reaſon to believe ſhe was, becauſe ſhe lived many years after his marriage with the Queen, being repudiated as the pedigree ſays, or as ſome writers report divorced (16). The ſame incertainty there is in reference to the children of this Duke, at the time of his marriage, ſome ſay he had one, others two, and while ſome affirm they were by the firſt wife, others as poſitively aſſert that he had no iſſue but by the ſecond (17). It is however tolerably clear from comparing the pedigrees of our ancient nobility, that at the time he married the Queen he had two daughters living, both by his firſt wife, but the eldeſt of them Anne, was born before marriage, however ſhe eſpouſed Edward Grey Lord Powis (18), and lived to the reign of Edward the Sixth, when ſhe ſold her title to certain lands that had been her father's, to Sir John Beaumont, Maſter of the Rolls, who as that young monarch tells us under his own hand, forged a deed of this Charles Duke of Suffolk, by which he aſſigned thoſe lands to Anne Baroneſs of Powis, to give the better colour to a decree which was to eſtabliſh his own poſſeſſion, and all this he is ſaid to have confeſſed under his hand (19). The ſecond daughter Mary, born after marriage, became the wife of William Lord Monteagle (20). As for his ſecond wife, who was the widow of Sir John Mortimer, ſhe became after he left her, the ſpouſe of one Robert Horne (21). Upon his third marriage with Mary Dowager of France, he procured a grant in general-tail, of all the lordſhips, manors, lands, and tenements, formerly belonging to Edmund de la Pole, late Earl of Suffolk (22), which Edmund had been beheaded in the Tower, April 30, 1513 (23), for reaſons of ſtate, rather than for any other crime, his elder brother John Earl of Lincoln, having been declared preſumptive heir of the Crown by Richard the Third (24). By this third wife, Charles Duke of Suffolk had iſſue, Henry Brandon, who in the ſeventeenth year of Henry the Eighth, was created at Bridewell Earl of Lincoln, being then as our heralds ſay, twelve years of age (25), in which it is probable there is ſome miſtake, ſince if it was true, he muſt have been born before the marriage of the Duke of Suffolk with his mother (26). He died not long after without iſſue (27). Beſides this ſon, there were two daughters of this marriage, Frances, who married Henry Marquis of Dorſet, as is ſaid in the text; and Eleanor, who became the wife of Henry Clifford Earl of Cumberland, by whom he had only one daughter, Margaret, the wife of Henry, and the mother of Ferdinando Earl of Derby (28). Here it may be proper to obſerve, that among the clandeſtine diſcourſes held in the reign of Queen Elizabeth about the ſucceſſion, there were ſome who preferred the title of this Lady Eleanor, then Counteſs Dowager of Cumberland, to that of the houſe of Suffolk, for which they pretended one reaſon, and kept in reſerve another (29). The diſcloſed reaſon was, that this lady ſtood one degree nearer to her common anceſtor Henry the Seventh, than Lady Katherine Grey (30); but the concealed motive which they held to be much ſtronger, was the Lady Eleanor's being born after the death of Lady Mortimer, ſo that by the help of a poſt contract, after the demiſe of that lady, they conceived that all colour of illegitimacy was taken away with reſpect to the Counteſs of Cumberland and her deſcendants (31). We have now nothing farther to add relating to this matter, except that from the time of her marriage, the King's ſiſter was ſtiled the Ducheſs Queen, and that ſhe departed this life June 23, 1533 (32), having ſeen the King her brother divorced from his firſt Queen Katherine; married to Anne Boleyn Marchioneſs of Pembroke, and that Queen big with child of her daughter Elizabeth; ſhe could not therefore frame any conjecture as to the ſucceſſion of the Crown, as the King had a daughter by one wife; a child begotten, but not born, of another; and his favourite, though baſtard ſon, Charles Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond and Somerſet, Earl of Nottingham, Lieutenant-General beyond Trent, Warden-General of the borders of Scotland, and Lord-High-Admiral of England was then living (33); and a noble hiſtorian gives us this reaſon for heaping ſo many honours upon a child, that the King conſidered as yet he had no lawful

(1) Pol. Virg. Angl. Hiſt. lib. xxv.

(2) Lord Herbert's Reign of Hen. VIII.

(3) Pat. 5. H. VIII. p. 1.

(4) Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 9.

(5) Pat. 5. H. VIII. p. 2. m. 3.

(6) P. Daniel Hiſtoire de France, Tom. VII. p. 331.

(7) Herbert's Reign of Henry VIII. p. 54.

(8) Thuan. Hiſt. lib. i.

(9) Herbert's Reign of Henry VIII. p. 54.

(10) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 9.

(11) Pol. Virg. Angl. Hiſt. lib. xxvii.

(12) Herbert's Reign of H. VIII. p. 54.

(13) Mill's Catalogue of Honour, p. 543.

(14) Brooke's Catalogue, p. 212.

(15) Baronage of England, Vol. II. p. 300.

(16) Ex Cartaphylacco D. Leigh.

(17) Mill's Catalogue of Honour, p. 543. Brooke's Catalogue, &c. p. 212. Vincent's Diſcovery, &c. p. 508.

(18) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 284. See alſo her own laſt Will. Noodes, qu. 9.

(19) Appendix to Burnet's ſecond Volume of the Reformation, p. 55.

(20) Baronagium Angl. 1596, MS.

(21) Brooke's Catalogue, p. 141. Baronagium Angl. 1596, MS.

(22) Pat. 6. H. VIII. p. 2.

(23) Pol. Virg. Angl. Hiſt. lib. xxvii.

(24) Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 747.

(25) Mill's Catalogue of Honour, p. 543. Brooke's Catalogue, p. 212.

(26) Herbert, Godwin, Burnet.

(27) Dugdale's Baronage. Vol. II. p. 300.

(28) Brooke's Catalogue, &c. p. 212.

(29) Dialogue touching the Succeſſion, P. II. chap. vi.

(30) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 113.

(31) Dialogue touching the Succeſſion, P. II. chap. vi.

(32) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 9.

(33) Rot. Pat. 17. H. VIII. p. 1. m. 1.

Henry the Eighth had for the Marquis of Dorſet, and his affection for his niece (*d*); but as in many other inſtances, ſo in this, that monarch's conduct was very irregular, ſince either to oblige the Marquis, or to gratify his own inclination, he took no notice of an obſtacle (*e*) that ought otherwiſe to have hindered this match [*B*]. The principal ſeat of the

lawful male iſſue (34), from whence it may be gathered, that he was not without thought of preferring this youth to any female iſſue (35).

Since this note was compoſed, and while the article was in the preſs, we been acquainted with the minutes of a ſpeech made in the thirteenth of Queen Elizabeth, on the ſucceſſion, in parliament, which ſtill remain in the Cotton Library, and as they clear up entirely the perplexed account of the Duke of Suffolk's ſeveral marriages and iſſues, we ſhall tranſcribe ſo much of that curious paper as regards this matter *. ‘As the next of blood, and the true and juſt heirs of our laws, the Crown ought to deſcend to the heirs of the French Queen, which be the daughters of the Lady Frances and the Lady Eleanor. And preſently to the Lady Katherine, being the eldeſt daughter to the eldeſt ſiſter the Lady Frances. Againſt theſe heirs of the French Queen is objected: ſay they, theſe cannot inherit. Why ſo? becauſe they were not lawfully born. For Charles Duke of Suffolk, had at that time when he married the French Queen, another wife living, that is the Lady Mortymer. To this I anſwer, that although it were true that the Lady Frances and the Lady Eleanor were not lawfully born (as it is not true as ye ſhall hear hereafter) yet it hurteth not the title of the heirs given by King Henry's will For it is appointed to the heirs of them not to themſelves, as the will plainly declareth. But verily this is a mere ſlander grown altogether on malice, and no accuſation made upon any juſt preſumption. For I beſeech you tell me, is it like, or can any reaſonable man think, if Duke Charles had had another wife living when he had married the French Queen, that King Henry would have conſented that his ſiſter ſhould have received ſo great an injury, that ſhe ſhould have been kept for a concubine? would the Council have ſuffered ſo great infamy, to have come to their maſter's ſtock? would the noblity of the realm, with ſo great triumph, have honoured ſo unlawful an act? would the common people, who many times are ready to ſpeak evil of well doing, have holden their tongue in ſo manifeſt adultery? Is it like, that in ſo long time as the French Queen and the Duke lived together as man and wife (that is all the days of the French Queen) that ſhe ſhould not have heard of it? was it poſſible, that among ſo many women that daily reſorted unto her (whoſe natures are to ſeek for all ſuch things, be they never ſo ſecret, and to communicate them to others) that none ſhould have told her? is it to be believed, that ſhe, contrary to the nature of all women, would have been content that another ſhould be partaker of that fleſh, that ſhe according to God's word took only to be her own? or can any man think that any woman can be content to live in mean degree when ſhe may be a Ducheſs, as the Lady Mortymer ſhould have been juſtly, if ſhe had been the Duke's wife? ſurely methinks there is no reaſon to make any man to think, how much leſs to report ſo? but ſuppoſe that the Duke had another wife living at what time he married the French Queen, yet for as much as he and ſhe were married openly, continued together all their lives as lawful man and wife, and nothing ſayd againſt them, and every man took them for man and wife: and that the ſaid Lady Frances, and the Lady Eleanor, were not during their lives taken to be baſtards. Now after their death, neither they nor their children may by the laws of this realm, be convented therefore. For the laws of this realm ſay thus, *Nec juſtum eſt aliquando mortuum facere baſtardum, qui toto tempore ſuo tenebatur pro legitimo*: as appeareth by judgment given at Weſtminſter 13 Ed. I. But for the declaration of the truth of this matter, and to pluck out of the heads of the people, their fond opinion and conſideration, and maintained of ſuch as paſs not ſo much of the truth as they deſire to ſatisfy their fond affections; ye ſhall underſtand that the Duke, being Sir Charles Brandon, living in the Court, being ſole and unmarried, made a contract of marriage with a gentlewoman called Anne Brown, and before any ſolemnization of marriage, not only had a daughter by her, which after was married to the Lord Powis, but alſo brake promiſe with her, and openly and ſolemnly married the Lady Mortymer. Which marriage the ſaid Mrs Anne Browne judicially accuſed to be unlawful, for that the ſaid Sir Charles Brandon, had made a pre-contract with her, and had carnally known her. Which being duly proved, ſentence of divorce between the ſaid Sir Charles and the Lady Mortymer was given. And he married ſolemnly the ſaid Mrs Anne Brown. At which marriage all the nobility was preſent, and did honour it. And after, had by her another daughter, which was married to the Lord Mounteagle. After this the ſaid Mrs Anne Brown continued with him all her life as his wife, and died his wife, without any impeachment of that marriage. After whoſe death, King Henry having the ſaid Charles Brandon in great favour, meant he ſhould for his better preferment have married the Lady Liſle, being a young madam and an inheritrix. Whereupon the ſaid Charles Brandon was created Viſcount Liſle: but that marriage, by reaſon of her youth, took no place. After this he was created Duke of Suffolk, and Lewis the French King died, and leaving the ſaid Lady Mary, King Henry the Seventh's daughter, a widow, the ſaid Duke Charles being ſent into France for her, with conſent of King Henry married her twice, firſt ſecretly in France, and after openly here in England, as before is declared, and then lived together quietly as man and wife all their lives. They were ſo accepted and taken of all perſons. No perſon impugned or gainſayed the ſaid marriage For there was no cauſe, and had iſſue between them, the ſaid Lady Frances and Lady Eleanor, againſt whom the ſaid Lady Powis their baſe ſiſter, in the time of King Edward VI. alledged baſtardy. But they were by the laws of the realm and the canon laws declared to be legitimate, and born in lawful matrimony. So that no man that hath underſtanding can ſay they be baſtards; and if they could, yet at this preſent (becauſe it was once adjudged for them, and alſo that they be both dead, and dyed taken as legitimate) he ought not to be heard by order of any law in the world, if he would object againſt them.’

[*B*] *To have hindered this match.*] This Henry Grey Marquis of Dorſet, Baron of Groby, was the ſon of Thomas Marquis of Dorſet, by Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Wotton, of Bocton in Kent, and the widow of William Medley, Eſq (36); Henry ſucceeded his father in his honours, in the year 1530 (37), and was eſteemed a man of great perſonal courage and much generoſity, to which we may add, that he wanted not ambition, though he was a reſerved man, loved to live in his own way, and was rather deſirous to keep up that magnificence for which our ancient nobility were ſo much diſtinguiſhed, in the place of his reſidence in the country, than to involve himſelf in the intrigues of a court (38). His father having a cloſe friendſhip with William Earl of Arundel, and being deſirous to unite the intereſts of their families as cloſely as poſſible, cauſed this Henry, afterwards Marquis of Dorſet, to eſpouſe the Lady Katherine Fitz-Alan, that Earl's eldeſt daughter, and gave Lady Katherine Grey, his own daughter, to Henry, afterwards Earl of Arundel, then heir apparent to his father (39). This conjunction, by which they were made doubly brothers-in-law, cauſed a great affection and friendſhip between theſe noblemen in their youth; but when Henry Marquis of Dorſet, had caſt his eyes upon the Lady Frances Brandon, and King Henry expreſſed no diſlike to the match, it produced very high reſentment in the Lord Maltravers, afterwards Earl of Arundel, who could could not bear to ſee his ſiſter excluded from her huſband's bed, to make way for another lady, though of the blood royal (40). His complaints, however juſt and well founded, were over-looked and ill-taken; yet by the mediation of friends, an annuity was ſettled upon Lady Katherine, which was duly paid during the Marquis's life, for this lady ſurvived him ſeveral years (41). But notwithſtanding this, and that the Earl was ſtill his brother-in-law by his own marriage; he reſented

(*d*) Diſcourſe touching the Succeſſion, P. II. c. vi.

(*e*) Brown's Vindication of the Queen of Scot's title.

(34) Herbert's Reign of Henry VIII. p. 178.

(35) See the Acts of Succeſſion.

* Biblioth. Cotton. Julius, F. 6.

(36) Brooke's Catalogue, &c. p. 8.

(37) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. I. p. 721.

(38) Hayward, Godwin, Heylin.

(39) Mill's Catalogue of Honour, p. 661.

(40) Dialogue touching the Succeſſion, P. II. chap. vi.

(41) Baronagium Angliæ, MS.

the Marquis of Dorſet, was the ſtately houſe of Broadgate in Leiceſterſhire, where it is generally believed, though there is no direct authority to prove it, that the Lady Jane was born, anno domini 1537 (*f*). In other lives, we uſually paſs over the tender years of thoſe of whom we ſpeak, or at leaſt touch them but ſlightly; it muſt however be otherwiſe in the preſent caſe, ſince the infancy of Lady Jane was truly remarkable. Nature (if the expreſſion may be allowed) crowded even that ſtate of her life with wonders, and beſtowed upon her ſo many virtues and graces, that her perſonal accompliſhments outſhone the luſtre of her rank, and made her moſt admired by thoſe who were leaſt affected by the gifts of fortune (*g*). We have no diſtinct account at what time ſhe gave the firſt indication of that aſtoniſhing pregnancy that afterwards appeared; but notwithſtanding this, we may without ſuſpicion of flattery or credulity affirm, that it muſt have been very early. She was certainly within a few months of the ſame age with King Edward; and ſuch as were intimately acquainted with human nature, and had likewiſe an opportunity of knowing him thoroughly, thought him a kind of miracle (*h*). Yet one of theſe, who knew him well and loved him better, very candidly acknowledges, that the Lady Jane was ſuperior to him, and this in every reſpect (*i*). She may be ſuppoſed to have been firſt taught feminine accompliſhments, which in thoſe days were of different kinds, and not ſo eaſily attained as at preſent, yet in theſe ſhe excelled. Her genius appeared in the works of her needle, then in the beautiful character which ſhe wrote, commended by all who had ſeen it; ſhe played admirably on various inſtruments of muſick, and accompanied them with a voice exquiſitely ſweet in itſelf, and aſſiſted by all the graces that art could beſtow (*k*). Her own language ſhe ſpoke and wrote with peculiar accuracy, the French, Italian, Latin, and Greek eſpecially, were as natural to her as her own, for ſhe not only underſtood them perfectly, but ſpoke and wrote them with the greateſt freedom, and this not in the opinion of ſuperficial judges (*l*), but of Mr Aſcham and Dr Aylmer, men who in point of veracity are as much above ſuſpicion, as in reſpect to their abilities they were incapable of being deceived: men who for their learning were the wonder of their own times and of ours, the former famous for Roman accuracy; the latter, one of the ſevereſt criticks in thoſe learned times (*m*). She was verſed likewiſe in Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic, and all this while a perfect child. Her parents, as we learn from her own teſtimony, as well as that of others, were both of them ſomewhat auſtere, ſo that notwithſtanding her high rank, ſhe was ſo far from ſuffering by indulgence, that the misfortunes of her tender age, flowed from the contrary extreme (*n*). The Marquis of Dorſet, her father, had himſelf a tincture of letters, and was a great patron of learned men. He had two chaplains, Harding and Aylmer, who were then zealous Proteſtants both, as the latter always continued, but the former became afterwards a Papiſt, and one of the ableſt writers on that ſide (*o*). Theſe great men, for they were truly ſuch, were the tutors and companions of Lady Jane in her infancy. Her tutors as they inſtructed, her companions as they converſed with her, for ſhe had a ſedateneſs of temper, a quickneſs of apprehenſion, and a ſolidity of judgment, that enabled her not only to become the miſtreſs of languages, but of ſciences; ſo that ſhe thought and ſpoke, and reaſoned upon ſubjects of the greateſt importance, in a manner that ſurprized even thoſe who from their own abilities (*p*) were not much inclined to eſteem what the reſt of the world would have thought very extraordinary. With theſe high endowments ſhe had ſo much mildneſs, humility, and modeſty, that ſhe ſet no value at all on theſe vaſt acquiſitions; but ſpoke of the love of learning, as the ſource of happineſs, and profeſſed that, when mortified and confounded by the undeſerved chidings of her parents, ſhe returned with double pleaſure to the leſſons of her tutors, and ſought in Demoſthenes and Plato, who were her favourite authors, that delight that was denied her in all the other ſcenes of life, in which ſhe mingled but little, and ſeldom with any ſatisfaction (*q*). In 1545, when the Lady Jane was in the ninth year of her age, died her grandfather, by the mother's ſide, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, in as abſolute poſſeſſion of his maſter's favour as he had ever been, though after the deceaſe of the Queen-Dowager of France, he had married a young wife [*C*]. The next year after, her great uncle King Henry the Eighth

(*f*) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 272.

(*g*) Aylmer, Aſcham, Fox, Chaloner.

(*h*) Cardan. de Genituris, lib. xii.

(*i*) Fox's Acts and Monuments.

(*k*) Chaloneri, Deploratio acerbæ necis, D. Janæ Grayæ, &c.

(*l*) Fox, Clarke, Poinet, &c.

(*m*) Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 4. See alſo the articles of AYLMER and ASCHAM.

(*n*) Aſchami Epiſt. p. 34.

(*o*) The Jewel of Joy, by Thomas Boon. Pitſ. de Script. Brit.

(*p*) Aſchami Epiſt. p. 34. Fox's Acts and Monuments. Clarke's Marrow of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, P. II. b. ii. p. 67, 68.

(*q*) Aſchami Epiſt. p. 34. Fox's Acts and Monuments.

(*r*) Eſch. 2. 38 H. VIII. No. 107. Lincoln.

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reſented this ill uſage from the Marquis, and could never be brought to diſſemble his diſlike of him, till he was created Duke of Suffolk, and Arundel committed to the Tower, for being embarked in the conſpiracy, as it was called, of the Duke of Somerſet (42). But that he diſſembled even then, and was not cordially reconciled to the Duke of Suffolk, or to the Duke of Northumberland, to whom he alſo bore ill-will, appears from his giving ſecret intelligence of King Edward's death to the Lady Mary, which prevented her falling into the hands of the two Dukes, and proved in the end their deſtruction, in every ſtep of which the Earl of Arundel, as he had been before a concealed, was afterwards an active inſtrument (43). This prior marriage of the Marquis of Dorſet, is that blemiſh mentioned in the text, and it is hardly poſſible to conceive a reaſon why the King acted as he did, unleſs it was to embroil the ſucceſſion with ſuch inextricable difficulties, as might render it moſt expedient for the parliament to leave the deciſion of it to his will (44), which project he ſeems to have formed very early in his reign, and to have kept it always in view, though the validity of that laſt act of his, which bore that title, has been juſtly queſtioned (45).

[*C*] *He had married a young wife.*] We have already ſhewn, that Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, became a widower by the death of the Ducheſs-Queen, in 1533, having no iſſue living by any of his wives but daughters, which very probably induced him to marry Katherine, ſole daughter and heireſs of William, Baron Willoughby of Ereſby (46), in hopes of male iſſue in which he was not miſtaken, for by her he had two ſons, Henry Earl of Lincoln, and Lord Charles Brandon, who ſurvived him (47). But beſides theſe children, and thoſe which have been already mentioned, he had two natural children, Sir Charles Brandon, who married Elizabeth, daughter and one of the heirs of Thomas Pigott of Rippon in Yorkſhire; and a daughter Frances, who eſpouſed Andrew Billeſby, of Billeſby in the county of Lincoln, Eſq; and by him had iſſue (48). This

(42) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 151, 152.

(43) Godwin's Annals, p. 271.

(44) See Herbert Heylin, and Burnet.

(45) King Henry's will was taken off the roll, as never duly executed, in the Reign of Queen Mary.

(46) Eſc. 26 H. VIII. n. 101.

(47) Vincent's Diſcovery of Errors in Brooke's Catalogue, p. 509.

(48) Baronagium Angl. MS.

Eighth departed this life, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Edward the Sixth (s), with whom her father the Marquis of Dorſet was in great favour, and herſelf alſo received many marks of his attention. Yet Lady Jane, ſtill remained for the moſt part in the country, for in Leiceſterſhire we find her in 1550, being the fourth year of that monarch's reign, and the fourteenth of her age (t). It was here that Mr Aſcham found her, when he had that conference with her, of which we have given an account elſewhere, and which made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon his mind, that he afterwards wrote her a long letter, penned with equal elegance and freedom; which demonſtrates how high an opinion he had of her underſtanding, independent of her learning, and in which he deſires ſhe will write him a Greek epiſtle, and wiſhes that ſhe would likewiſe write his friend Sturmius another, that what he had ſaid of her wherever he came, might be rendered credible by ſuch authentic evidence (u). On the 14th of July 1551, died Henry and Charles Brandon, Dukes of Suffolk, of the ſweating ſickneſs, at the Biſhop of Lincoln's palace of Bugden (w), which opened a paſſage for Henry Lord Marquis of Dorſet, to obtain by the favour of the Earl of Warwick, and without whom indeed nothing could be obtained, a patent for this new-fallen honour, and accordingly October 11, 1551, he was created Duke of Suffolk (x), and on the ſame day, the great Earl beforementioned was created Duke of Northumberland, with precedency to the Duke of Suffolk (y); the Earl of Wiltſhire, was likewiſe created Marquis of Wincheſter (z); Sir William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and Mr William Cecil, one of the Secretaries of State, knighted (a). By theſe honours and promotions, it was conceived that all former jealouſies were effaced from their minds, and a firm friendſhip eſtabliſhed amongſt them, for otherwiſe they had not much cauſe to love each other, ſince but a little before, the Duke of Suffolk had been obliged to reſign his wardenſhip of the Marches, which the King had beſtowed on the other duke; Sir William Herbert had been rather of the contrary faction, and Cecil had been impriſoned at the pulling down of the Lord Protector, but now all was forgiven and ſuppoſed to be forgot (b). On the ſeventh of November following, Sir Thomas Palmer diſcovered what was called the Duke of Somerſet's conſpiracy, in which ſeveral other noblemen were involved and ſent to priſon, particularly the Earl of Arundel, who, for reaſons that we have before mentioned, had an old grudge to the Duke of Suffolk, and was no friend to the Duke of Northumberland, and Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton, a very brave man, but a little high ſpirited, whom the two dukes had a mind to bend to their purpoſe (c). In the midſt of this confuſion, came the Queen-Dowager of Scotland from France, who was honourably received by King Edward, magnificently entertained, and amongſt other ladies of the blood royal, was complimented by the Lady Jane, who was now at Court and much in the king's favour (d). As ſoon as theſe ſolemnities were over, and this princeſs, who was mother to Mary Queen of Scots, ſet out on her journey, the trial of the Duke of Somerſet and his aſſociates was brought on. At this the two Dukes with the Earl of Pembroke aſſiſted, and the Marquis of Wincheſter, Lord-Treaſurer, preſided as Lord High-Steward (e). The ruin of this potent duke, left Northumberland, who really managed all, without rival and without oppoſition. By his favour the Earl of Arundel gained his liberty, as did alſo the Lord Grey, but upon hard terms, and a promiſe that they would be faithful and obedient for the time to come (f). In the next ſummer, the king with his court made a progreſs with a view to divert the mind of that young prince, to diſpel the diſcontents of the people, and to influence the choice of members for the enſuing parliament (g). At this juncture in all probability, Lady Jane went to pay her duty to the king's ſiſter, the Lady Mary, at New-Hall in Eſſex, where reproving the Lady Anne Wharton, for making a low curteſy to the Hoſt, ſome officious perſon carried it to the princeſs's ear, who it is ſaid retained it in her heart, and never loved Lady Jane afterwards (h). In January 1553, the king caught a great cold, which grew rather worſe than better, from the medicines that were given him; ſo that when the parliament met in March, they were forced to go from Weſtminſter to Whitehall to him, for otherwiſe his bad ſtate of health would have deprived them of his preſence. They ſat only that month, and having finiſhed a few important affairs that were brought before them, were diſſolved (i.) The Dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland were now as great as they could wiſh to be, and the only object of their wiſhes was to preſerve the high authority they had gained, towards which they had taken many ſteps already [D]. But in the midſt of this proſperity,

(s) Herbert, Godwin, Stowe, Holinſhed.

(t) Heylin, Burnet, Strype.

(u) Aſchami Epiſt. p. 34.

(w) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 300.

(x) Trin. Rec. 6 E. vi. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 720, 721.

(y) King Edward's Journal.

(z) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 497. Stowe's Annals, p. 605. Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 113. Hayward's Life of Edward VI. p. 154. Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 178.

(a) Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(b) Sir John Hayward's Life and Reign of Edward VI. Burnet, Strype, Collier.

(c) Godwin's Annals, p. 246. Dialogue touching the Succeſſion, P. II. c. vi.

(d) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 352. Stowe's Annals, p. 606. King Edward's Journal.

(e) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 179. King Edward's Journal.

(f) Heyward, Heylin, Strype.

(g) Cooper, Heylin, Burnet, Strype, Collier. King Edward's Journal.

(h) Fox's Acts and Monuments. Clarke's Marrow of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, P. II. b. ii. p. 98. Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 1100.

(i) Burnet, Collier, Strype.

This great Duke dying in the full poſſeſſion of his maſter's favour at Guildford, was removed from thence to the collegiate church of Windſor, and there buried at the King's expence, with great ſolemnity (49). We have ſhewn in the text, at what time his two ſons by his laſt wife died, which opened a way for advancing Henry Marquis of Dorſet, to the title of Suffolk, but it will be proper however to remark here, that his other children being but of the half blood, could not inherit any thing from thoſe two Dukes, and therefore in the ſecond of Queen Elizabeth, the deſcendants of Sir William Brandon his Grandfather, being found his next heirs, that great inheritance whereof he died ſeized in fee, came to be ſhared amongſt them, which were theſe, viz. Sir Henry Sydney, Knight, William Cavendiſh, Eſq; Thomas Glemham, Eſq; John Kerſey, and Francis Kerſey, his ſon by Margaret his wife deceaſed, as heir of the ſaid Margaret; Chriſtian Darnell, widow, Walter Aſcoughe, Eſq; and Henry Aſcoughe, his ſon by Elizabeth his wife, and John Trye, Gentleman, and Elizabeth his wife (50).

[D] *Towards which they had taken many ſteps already.*] In ſeveral other articles we have had occaſion to take ſome notice of the ſtate of the Engliſh Court at this juncture, and yet ſome points of great conſequence were left to be explained here. Such as can indulge themſelves in a liberty of believing, and which is more, of reporting, that the Duke of Northumberland poiſoned the King his maſter, contrived and executed that plot againſt himſelf, for which the Duke of Somerſet died,

(49) Lord Herbert's Reign of Henry VIII. p. 529.

(50) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 300.

rity, the King's health declining daily, ſeemed to threaten them with ſome ſudden and violent reverſe of fortune (k). For this the penetration and ſagacity of the Duke of Northumberland, ſuggeſted no other remedy than altering the ſucceſſion of the Crown, which however he did not think fit to propoſe before certain meaſures were taken for effectually ſecuring the ſafety of his own family, by matching into that to which he meant to transfer the Crown; and having a juſt foreſight of the great hazards to which they muſt be expoſed by ſo bold a meaſure, he contrived to fortify both houſes ſtill more, by other advantageous matches, which, conſidering his preſent high and flouriſhing condition, were eaſily brought about with thoſe who could not ſee ſo far into futurity as this great politician (l). His three eldeſt ſons, the Earl of Warwick, then Maſter of the Horſe, Lord Ambroſe, and Lord Robert, were already married, he therefore matched Lord Guilford Dudley his fourth ſon, who of them all, as a certain hiſtorian affirms, had leaſt in him of the father, with our Lady Jane, the Duke of Suffolk's eldeſt daughter (m). It was at the ſame time reſolved, that the Lord Herbert, eldeſt ſon to the Earl of Pembroke, ſhould eſpouſe her ſiſter Lady Catherine (n); and the ſon of Arthur, Lord Grey of Wilton, was contracted to Lady Mary Grey, the Duke's third daughter, and at that time a perfect child (o); the Duke of Northumberland's two daughters were married to Sir Henry Sydney, and the Lord Haſtings, ſon to the Earl of Huntingdon (p). On what day the two firſt marriages were celebrated does not any where appear, yet it is certain that it was in the latter end of May, to the King's great ſatisfaction (q), who though he was naturally ſparing was however very bountiful upon this occaſion, as may be ſeen at the bottom of the page [*E*].

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died, and bent or broke every thing that ſtood in his way, at his pleaſure, may account for all that paſſed in this critical ſituation of affairs without much trouble, but then they are not able to produce any proofs, which is a mode of writing juſtly diſliked at preſent (51). We may indeed agree thus far with them, that this great nobleman meant to eſtabliſh his fortune on the ſtrongeſt foundation poſſible, which was very natural, and his abilities being ſuperior to thoſe of other courtiers he ſucceeded, which is very natural likewiſe. But then if we can point out the means by which he ſucceeded, relying on none but inconteſtable facts, may we not be thought to come nearer the truth, than by recurring to ſuppoſitions that are deſtitute of any tolerable evidence. His firſt ſcheme of greatneſs, was from pulling down of the Duke of Somerſet when Protector, which he managed with great dexterity (52). His next was to reconcile himſelf to that Duke, and to make an alliance between their families; but when he found that notwithſtanding this alliance, the Duke either of himſelf, or through the perſwaſions of his Ducheſs, aimed at recovering his former poſt by his deſtruction; he ſaw plainly that they could not be any longer both ſafe, and being a far better politician turned the Duke's attempt upon himſelf, and ſacrificed him to his ambition (53). He next ſtruck in with the Duke of Suffolk, and finding him more manageable, projected the maintenance of their greatneſs, by gaining as many of the nobility as it was poſſible to their intereſt, and depriving of all power ſuch as he conceived to be irreconcileable (54). In this too he acted with great dexterity, and in all appearance with great ſucceſs, and not without ſome violence alſo, as appeared in the proſecution of Dr Tonſtall, Biſhop of Durham, the Lord Paget, and ſome others, for all which however he uſed colourable pretences; ſo that his policy ſeemed rather to conſiſt in improving occaſions as they fell out, than in ſuch deſperate contrivances as he is charged with; for if he had really foreſeen the King's death ſo long beforehand, as Heylin (55) and ſome other writers inſinuate, it is not eaſy to conceive why he delayed ſo long the marriage of his ſon with Lady Jane, or why he was ſo late in ſettling the ſucceſſion; for theſe things appear evidently to have been done in a hurry, and with a variety of circumſtances that have much more the appearance of neceſſity than foreſight. His procuring from the King ſuch large grants of the eſtates of the Piercy's, and of the lands belonging to the biſhoprick of Durham, are ſo far from being arguments of his taking meaſures to put the King out of the world, and to ſecure the Crown to his deſcendants, that they are rather evidences to the contrary; for they raiſed him many enemies, and expoſed him to the clamours of the people, which he would probably have avoided, if at this time he had had any ſuch hopes, ſince having his daughter-in-law a Queen, and his ſon perhaps a King, he might then have provided for the reſt of his family with much more decency and ſecurity (56). It is indeed highly probable, that he had earlier and better intelligence of the nature of the King's diſeaſe than others; and it ſeems to be owing to this intelligence that he had time to do what he did, in which however there was much precipitation, and ſome errors that afterwards coſt him dear, ſuch as not ſending for the King's ſiſters in time, confiding as he did in his old enemy the Earl of Arundel, and relying upon his late alliance with the houſe of Huntingdon, who notwithſtanding deſerted him (57). But with reſpect to the Duke of Suffolk and his numerous family, they all ſtuck cloſe to him, and as in their ſuperior fortunes they roſe, ſo they likewiſe fell together (58).

[*E*] *As may be ſeen at the bottom of the page.*] We have an account of the preparations made for theſe marriages in Strype, who, with a kind of religion if not ſuperſtition, collected every thing that bore the ſtamp of antiquity, ſuppoſing that all things how ſlight and indifferent ſoever they may ſeem, become ſome time or other uſeful, and ought therefore to be laid by; or at the worſt, will ſerve for the amuſement of ſuch as love to look back on paſt times, becauſe they take no pleaſure in what paſſes in their own. Let us now hear what he has collected out of the book of warrants, and the records of the wardrobe, in the time of King Edward (59). 'Anno Domini 1553. A little before 'this time (June) were great preparations making for 'the match, which was celebrated in May, of the 'Lady Jane with Guilford, Northumberland's ſon, 'and ſome other marriages that were to accompany 'that, as the Earl of Pembroke's eldeſt ſon with the 'Lady Katherine, the Duke of Suffolk's ſecond daughter, and the Earl of Huntingdon's eldeſt ſon, with 'the Duke of Northumberland's youngeſt daughter, 'and another of the ſaid Duke's near relations; Sir Andrew Dudley was likewiſe matched near the ſame time 'with Margaret Clifford, the Earl of Cumberland's 'daughter. And for the more ſolemnity and ſplendour 'of this day, the maſter of the wardrobe had divers 'warrants to deliver out of the King's wardrobe, much 'rich apparel and jewels. As to deliver to the Lady 'Frances Ducheſs of Suffolk, to the Ducheſs of Northumberland, to the Lady Marchioneſs of Northampton, to the Lady Jane, daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, 'and to the Lord Guilford Dudley, for wedding apparel (which were certain parcels of tiſſues and cloth 'of gold and ſilver, which had been the late Duke and 'Ducheſs of Somerſet's, forfeited to the King) and to 'the Lady Katherine, daughter to the ſaid Duke of 'Suffolk, and the Lord Herbert, for wedding apparel, 'and to the Lord Haſtings, and Lady Katherine, 'daughter to the Duke of Northumberland, for wedding apparel, certain parcels of ſtuffs and jewels. 'Dated from Greenwich, the 24th of April. A warrant alſo there came to the wardrobe, to deliver to 'the King's uſe, for the finiſhing certain chairs for his 'Majeſty, ſix yards of green velvet, and ſix yards of 'green ſattin: another, to deliver to the Lady Mary's 'Grace, his Majeſty's ſiſter, a table diamond with a 'pearl pendant at the ſame; and to the Ducheſs of 'Northumberland, one ſquare tablet of gold enamelled 'black with a clock, late parcel of the Ducheſs of

'Somerſet's

(k) Sir John Heyward's Life and Reign of Edward VI. Godwin's Annal. Churchill's Divi Britannici, p. 301, 302, 303.

(l) Three Converſions of England, Vol. I. p. 602.

(m) Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 150.

(n) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 259.

(o) Dialogue touching the Succeſſion, P. II. chap. vi.

(p) Heylin, Burnet, Strype.

(q) Cooper, Heyward, Stowe.

(51) Heyward, Heylin, Parſons, &c.

(52) Churchill's Divi Britannici, p. 301, 302.

(53) Fox, Cooper, Godwin, &c.

(54) England's three Converſions, Vol. I. p. 619, 620.

(55) Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 139.

(56) See his conduct in this reſpect in Heylin, Burnet, and Strype.

(57) Sanders, Parſons, Thuanus.

(58) Grafton, Holinſhed, Speed.

(59) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 425.

The populace, as is commonly the caſe in all countries, were very far from being pleaſed with the exorbitant greatneſs of the Duke of Northumberland, and yet they could not help admiring that beauty and innocence which appeared in Lord Guilford and his bride; but the pomp and ſplendour attending the celebration of their nuptials, was the laſt gleam of joy that ſhone in the palace of King Edward, who grew ſo weak in a few days after, that Northumberland thought it high time to carry his great project into execution, without which he ſaw clearly, that himſelf or his friends could not long continue great, or even ſafe (*r*). Upon theſe motives therefore he determined in the beginning of the month of June, to ſet on foot that ſcheme for which he had been by theſe ſteps preparing, and to conſtrain all upon whom he had any influence, either from love or fear, to do their utmoſt in their reſpective ſtations, to bring about and ſupport that diſpoſition he meant ſhould be made of the Crown (*s*). The firſt motion he knew muſt proceed from the young monarch, and he was unwilling to truſt any but himſelf with the firſt overtures in relation to ſo delicate a ſubject, and at the ſame time there were certain circumſtances that made it no eaſy or acceptable thing for him to break it to a Prince, who though ſo young, was ſo wiſe and worthy in all reſpects as Edward. But neceſſity preſſed him not only in reſpect to the deed, but alſo with regard to the time, of which he had now none to ſpare (*t*). To bring about this contrivance, he ſuggeſted how happy the nation had been under his government, and what a glorious Reformation had been carried on by him: that when ſuch a bleſſing was ſo far advanced, the next point was to ſecure it's continuance, that religion being conveyed to poſterity, in this condition of purity, the public happineſs would be perpetuated, and the beſt proviſion made for the honour of his memory: that if the Crown ſhould deſcend to the Lady Mary, both the civil and religious intereſt of the kingdom would be in great danger: for that it was well known, how ſtrongly that princeſs was inclined to the doctrine and pretenſions of the court of Rome: and in caſe ſhe ſhould marry with ſome powerful prince of that communion, the Engliſh conſtitution might probably be overthrown, and the country made a province to a foreign nation; that both his ſiſters were the iſſue of marriages cenſured and diſallowed in parliament; and beſides, the late King having them by ſeveral venters, they were only of the half blood, and by conſequence could neither be heirs to his highneſs, nor to each other. As for the young Queen of Scots, ſhe had rejected an alliance with his majeſty, engaged with the French, and therefore was no farther to be thought on (*u*). That the Lady Jane, who ſtood next upon the royal line, was a perſon of extraordinary qualities, that her zeal for the Reformation was unqueſtioned, that nothing could be more acceptable to the nation than the proſpect of ſuch a princeſs; that in this caſe, he was bound to ſet aſide all partialities of blood and nearneſs of relation, theſe were inferior conſiderations, and ought to be over-ruled by the public good. In order to corroborate this diſcourſe, the Duke of Northumberland took care to place thoſe about the King, who would make it their buſineſs to touch frequently upon this ſubject; to enlarge upon the accompliſhments of the Lady Jane, and deſcribe her with all imaginable advantages (*w*). The King's affections ſtanding for this diſpoſition of the Crown, he was gained at laſt to overlook his ſiſters, and break through his father's will (*x*). The next thing was to draw an inſtrument, and put the ſettlement in form of law. To this purpoſe, Sir Edward Montague, Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, received an order from the Privy-Council at Greenwich, to come thither the next day, and bring Sir John Baker, Chancellor of the Firſt-fruits and Tenths, Juſtice Bromley, the Attorney and Sollicitor-General along with him (*y*). This order was ſignified by the Lord-Treaſurer, the Duke of Northumberland, the Earls of Bedford, Shrewſbury, and Pembroke, the Lords Clinton and Darcy, Sir John Gate, Sir William Petre, Sir William Cecil, and Sir John Cheke. When Sir Edward Montague and the reſt came to Court, the King told them that his ſickneſs had given him occaſion to conſider the ſtate of the realm, the courſe of the ſucceſſion, and the conſequences likely to enſue. And here he repreſented the danger to religion and the laws, in caſe the Lady Mary ſhould ſucceed him. And therefore, to prevent a miſfortune of this nature, his pleaſure was, the Crown ſhould paſs to ſuch perſons, and under ſuch circumſtances, as were ſpecified in certain articles then laid before them:

(*r*) Godwin's Annals. Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 138. Churchill's Divi Britannici, p. 302. Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 423. Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 1083.

(*s*) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 178.

(*t*) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 358. b.

(*u*) Collier's Church Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 337.

(*w*) Life and Reign of Edward VI. by Sir John Hayward.

(*x*) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 358. b.

(*y*) See Sir Edward Montague's account in Fuller's Church Hiſtory, b. viii. p. 2.

'Somerſet's jewels. And laſtly, another warrant to 'Sir Andrew Dudley, to take for the Lady Margaret 'Clifford, daughter of the Earl of Cumberland, and 'to himſelf for their wedding apparel, ſundry ſilks and 'jewels. This laſt warrant bearing date June the 8th.' This paſſage though trivial in appearance, is notwithſtanding clear and ſufficient evidence of ſome points that contribute much to the giving us a right notion of this tranſaction. The contents of it ſhew plainly, that theſe marriages were much to the King's ſatisfaction, and that he meant to expreſs it, by having them celebrated in ſome meaſure at his expence, which with reſpect to Lady Jane, was ſo much the more reaſonable, as ſhe was his very near relation (60). It appears likewiſe from hence, that all was done in a hurry, and with a view to have things ready as ſoon as poſſible, for otherwiſe we cannot conceive that the ſpoils of the Duke of Somerſet's family would have been employed upon this occaſion. Neceſſity may excuſe this, but nothing elſe can. Laſtly, it renders it highly probable, that the deſign of altering the ſucceſſion had not eſcaped from the brain of Northumberland, how long ſoever it had lodged there at this time, for otherwiſe ſome notice would have been taken of it; for though there was enough done for his couſin Jane, yet there was much too little for the preſumptive heir to his Crown; beſides the complement paid to the Lady Mary, carries another appearance, and though this might be appearance only to others, yet the King would not have ſuffered it, if he had underſtood it in this light (61). He was not ſo young or ſo weak as to be impoſed upon groſsly, for what he did afterwards with reſpect to the ſucceſſion, was done ſenſibly and willingly; his underſtanding might be miſled, but he could never have been thus miſled, if he had not had a good underſtanding. This may ſeem ſtrange to ſome, but thoſe who are acquainted with courts, will know it to be truth.

(60) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 358, b.

(61) There is a letter extant of the Lady Mary acknowledging this mark of favour.

them: theſe articles they were to digeſt into method, and draw up an inſtrument to the beſt of their ſkill (z). The Chief-Juſtice and the reſt excepted againſt the order, and deſired to be excuſed: and when further preſſed, moved for time to conſult the ſtatutes and conſider the conſtitution; being afterwards required by a meſſage from the Lords, to go on with expedition, they made their report at the council-board, that having compared the articles with the ſtatutes of ſucceſſion, they found his Majeſty's command impracticable: that in caſe they ſhould draw up an inſtrument purſuant to their inſtructions, not only themſelves, but all their Lordſhips would be in danger of treaſon: that they thought it their duty to inform their Lordſhips how the laws ſtood: that they had not done any thing already, neither had they reſolution enough to run ſuch a riſque, and croſs ſo directly upon the conſtitution (a). The Duke of Northumberland was not in the council-chamber when this anſwer was returned, but being informed of it, he came immediately in. He was highly enraged at the diſappointment, called Sir Edward Montague traitor, ſaid he would fight in his ſhirt with any man in that quarrel, and menaced them to that degree, that Montague and Bromley were afraid he would have ſtruck them. When they appeared next at the board, the King reprimanded them for not diſpatching the inſtrument (b). The Chief-Juſtice told him it would ſignify nothing in law after the King's deceaſe, becauſe the ſucceſſion being ſettled by act of parliament, it could not be altered but by the ſame authority. In ſhort, the Chief-Juſtice Montague and the reſt, were at laſt over-awed, and drew a ſettlement of the Crown upon the Lady Jane. However they took the beſt precautions the caſe would admit to indemnify themſelves: for they only engaged upon the condition of being authorized under the broad ſeal, and having a general pardon when the inſtrument was finiſhed (c). And to give the conveyance a ſtronger colour of law, all the judges were ſent for, and being required to ſubſcribe the inſtrument, they all put their hands to it, except Sir James Hales, one of the Juſtices of the Common-Pleas (d). None of the Lords of the Council, as far as it appears, ſcrupled the ſigning this inſtrument, except the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. This prelate, though he approved the perſon, was not ſatisfied with the method, and therefore endeavoured to fruſtrate the project at it's firſt propoſal. He took the freedom to argue againſt it with the King, the Marquis of Northampton and the Lord Chamberlain Darcy being preſent. He deſired to ſpeak with the King alone, but that could not be granted. The Duke of Northumberland told him, he had miſbehaved himſelf already, in remonſtrating againſt the King's will. The Archbiſhop was not diſcouraged by this rebuke, but bore up againſt Northumberland at the council-board: he inſiſted on his being ſworn to perform the late King's will, and urged the entail of the Crown upon the two Princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth (e). To this the Council oppoſed the reſolution of the judges, and the opinions of others learned in the law, who affirmed, that notwithſtanding this entail the King being in poſſeſſion might diſpoſe of the Crown as he thought fit. This was more than the Archbiſhop could underſtand; but being little ſkilled in the common-law, he ſuffered himſelf to be overcome by the learned in that profeſſion, and more eſpecially the King's Attorney and Sollicitor, and yet in all probability he would not have ventured to ſign, if it had not been for the young King's perſwaſion (f). The concurrence in this meaſure, all things conſidered, was very extraordinary, and it is equally difficult to conceive how ſo many grave and cautious men could be drawn to embark themſelves ſo far as they did, and that after running ſuch a hazard, and knowing their own force, they ſhould notwithſtanding undo all that they had done, and this purely through fear and want of confidence in each other, while their ſtrength was entire, and they had ſuffered nothing either from accident or force (g). But revolutions are always ſudden in this country, and precautions are vain, when the peoples affections are once alienated [F]. This difficult affair once accompliſhed,

(z) Strype, Burnet, Collier.

(a) Sir Edward Montague's Account. Heyward, Heylin, Burnet.

(b) Affirmed by Sir Edward Montague in his Account.

(c) Heyward, Heylin, Burnet, Strype, Collier.

(d) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 358, b. Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 153. Strype's Memorials, Vol. II.

(e) Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 337. Strype's Memorials of Abp. Cranmer, p. 209. Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 224.

(f) Burnet, Strype, Collier. Foxii MSS.

(g) Churchill's Divi Britannici, p. 302, 303, 304. Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 85. The Reign of Queen Mary in Grafton's Chronicle, which was written by George Ferrers, Eſq;

[F] *When the peoples affections are once alienated.*] It is juſtly obſerved by as ſhrewd a political writer as any who ever meddled with the affairs of this kingdom, that nothing could be more artfully contrived than this ſcheme, conſidered in all it's branches. It was, to ſay the truth, the utmoſt effort of falſe politics, and one of the ſtrongeſt inſtances of the power of faction, that is to be found in our own hiſtory or in any other. The two Dukes, by a variety of alliances, had connected ſo many great perſons in point of intereſt to themſelves, had diſpoſed of all places and offices in ſuch a manner amongſt their friends, and under pretence of zeal for the Proteſtant religion, influenced the inferior clergy in ſuch a manner, that thoſe who diſliked the act, durſt not expreſs themſelves as freely as they deſired to do, or perſiſt in their behaviour, even to that degree which they expreſſed; ſo that what through hope, intereſt, and fear, a more extenſive influence was hardly ever ſeen (62). The inſtrument which the lawyers were afraid to draw, and which for all that was very well drawn, was, after the execution, ſubſcribed by thirty-three members of the Privy-Council, and amongſt theſe, by all the great officers of the Crown, of whom none but the Archbiſhop of Canterbury ſhewed any ſcruple; the Lord High Treaſurer, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord-Chamberlain, and the reſt not only ſubſcribed but promoted it, and took as large a ſhare both before and after (till they found themſelves in danger), and ſeemed as much in earneſt as the two Dukes themſelves could deſire or wiſh (63). This was going a great way, for beſides this capital inſtrument, there was another drawn likewiſe by the King's ſpecial order, of which the more notice ought to be taken, becauſe it is not mentioned by many of our hiſtorians. In this writing they engaged upon their oaths and honour, to adhere to and perform every article and branch contained in the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion; and that if any of them ſhould depart from this engagement, they ſhould look upon it as a ſcandalous infraction, and endeavour to puniſh the offender as a diſturber of the public repoſe. The perſons ſubſcribing are theſe (64). T. Cant. T. Ely. Wincheſter. Northumberland. J. Bedford. H. Suffolk. W. Northampt. F. Shrewſbury. F. Huntindon. Pembroke. E. Clinton. T. Darcy. G. Cobham. T. Cheyne. R. Riche. John Gate. William Petres. Johan. Cheek. W. Cecyll. Edward Mountague. John Bakere. Edward Gryffyn. John Lucas. John Goſnald. One would have thought, that meaſures thus taken, thus ſupported, muſt have ſubſiſted for ſome time, or at leaſt muſt have created ſome ſtruggle before

(62) Churchill's Divi Britannici, p. 302.

(63) Burnet, Strype, Godwin.

(64) Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 337, 338.

compliſhed, and the letters-patents having paſſed the ſeals before the cloſe of the month, the Dukes had nothing to do but to concert in the beſt manner they were able, the propereſt method for carry this new ſettlement into execution, and till that was done, to keep it as ſecret as they could (*b*). Northumberland indeed had formed a project, which if he could have executed would have made all things eaſy and ſecure. He directed letters to the Lady Mary in her brother's name, requiring her attendance at Greenwich, where the Court then was, and ſhe was within half a day's journey of that place when King Edward reſigned his ſoul to his Creator, July the ſixth, 1553 (*i*), of which ſhe had immediately notice given her by the Earl of Arundel, and thereby avoided the ſnare which had been laid with ſo much artifice (*k*). The Dukes, though they had been ſo long contriving, and ſo long expecting this event, were notwithſtanding in very great confuſion when it happened, and therefore concealed it for more than two days, that they might have time to gain the magiſtrates and citizens of London, and to procure the conſent of Lady Jane, who was ſo far from having any hand in this buſineſs, that as yet ſhe was unacquainted with the pains that had been taken to procure her the title of Queen, for as to the power ſhe never had it, and perhaps it was never meant ſhe ſhould (*l*). In the management of their affairs at this delicate conjuncture, the Lords, and thoſe who adhered to them, which as yet was every man in the adminiſtration, had as much ſucceſs as they could reaſonably expect, ſo that they flattered themſelves, the beginning of the new Queen's reign would not be attended with any conſiderable diſturbance (*m*) [*G*]. It does not appear that they ſuffered

(*b*) Sir John Heyward's Life and Reign of Edward VI. Cecil's MSS. Strype's Memorials, Vol. II.

(*i*) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 358, b. Stowe's Annals, p. 609. Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1084. Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 1. Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 154.

(*k*) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 233.

(*l*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 85. See the Speech of Arundel to the Lords at Baynard's Caſtle.

(*m*) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 358, b. Churchill's Divi Britannici, p. 304. G. Camden. præfat ad Annal. Eliz.

fore they had been over-turned. The two Dukes no doubt thought ſo themſelves, but they were diſappointed, and this notwithſtanding they had a conſiderable force at command; which is a leſſon worthy the conſideration of the graveſt politicians; as it ſhews that how broad, how ſtrong ſoever a faction may be, it loſes all it's power, as ſoon as the people comprehend it is but a faction.

[*G*] *With any conſiderable diſturbance*] The only method of underſtanding this curious but hitherto confuſed part of our hiſtory, is to refer every fact as far as it is practicable to the day on which it happened, and this at the ſame time that it will make the whole ſtory clearer, by throwing things into that natural order in which they fell out, ſo it will afford us an opportunity of diſcovering many falſehoods and inaccuracies that for want of this precaution have eſcaped ſome very diligent writers (65). All agree that the two Dukes, and thoſe who were moſt ſincerely attached to them, uſed the utmoſt caution in order to conceal the King's death, which had it been in their power, they would willingly have done for a fortnight; amongſt other reaſons it is ſaid, in hopes that the Lady Mary might fall into their hands. Of this there would be the more probability, if we could depend upon what a very bitter (66) but a very intelligent writer aſſures us, that Northumberland himſelf kept a ſecret correſpondence with her highneſs, and actually wrote her a letter on the 20th of June, the very day before King Edward's letters-patents paſſed, with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances poſſible of his duty and ſervice. The very next day after the King's death, the Lord High-Treaſurer Wincheſter, the Earl of Shrewſbury, and the Lord High-Admiral Clinton, went to the Tower (67), where they turned out Sir James Croft, who had the charge of that important fortreſs, and adminiſtred the oath of Conſtable to the Lord Admiral Clinton, who immediately gave the neceſſary directions for putting it in a ſtate of defence; for the reception of thoſe who were ſpeedily expected, all which was the more eaſy, ſince ſome (68) ſteps for this purpoſe had been previouſly taken before the death of King Edward. The Tower being thus ſecured, the next ſtep was to ſecure the City, and for this purpoſe, the Council, as it was very common in reſpect to affairs of moment, wrote their letters for Sir George Barnes, with ſix Aldermen, as many Merchant-Adventurers, and the ſame number of the Merchants of the Staple, to repair to the Court, which they accordingly did on Saturday the eighth of July; and being by the Council informed of the ſtate things were in, and of the diſpoſition the King by letters patents had made of the Crown; they were ſworn to Queen Jane and diſmiſſed, with directions to keep the King's death a ſecret (69). We may from hence perceive, that Mr Strype (70) muſt be miſtaken, when he aſſerts that Dr Ridley preached the next day at Paul's-Croſs, in maintenance of Queen Jane's title, who as yet was not proclaimed; and therefore when he ſays there were but two Paul's ſermons preached in this ſhort reign, and the latter by Mr Rogers, who preached only upon the goſpel of the day, it is highly probable that he exchanged the preachers, putting the firſt laſt, and the laſt firſt, as the ſubjects of their ſermons very plainly teſtify, as well as the concurring evidence of the beſt writers (71) of thoſe times, who fix the ſermon of Biſhop Ridley to the ſixteenth, and not to the ninth Indeed, what probability is there that the Council ſhould recommend ſecrecy to the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, and at the ſame time give or ſend inſtructions to Mr Rogers (72), who really preached on the ninth, or to Biſhop Ridley, as Strype would have it, to declare Queen Jane's title to the people. So far was this from being their purpoſe, that in their firſt letters to the embaſſadors at Bruſſels, which were diſpatched on the ſaturday (73), though they mention the King's death, yet they ſaid nothing of the ſucceſſion; but finding by the Lady Mary's letters the next day, that ſhe wasappriſed of it, and that it could not be kept a ſecret; they then wrote to Sir Philip Hoby, Sir Richard Morriſon, and the Biſhop of Norwich, and acquainted them with Queen Jane's acceſſion. At the ſame time they ſwore the guard and the head officers of the houſhold to Jane (74), and took the reſolution of proclaiming her the next day (75). It is very remarkable, that in purſuance of their engagement, the Council at this time ſtuck together, and acted in all outward appearance with the utmoſt harmony; and yet if they were in earneſt now, they could not, conſiſtent with the principles of conſcience or juſtice, diſlike any thing that paſſed afterwards, ſince that was only in maintenance of what was now done, which might indeed be more dangerous then, but not at all more illegal or unjuſt than now; the truth is, that ſeveral were unſatisfied and only wanted courage to declare themſelves; nay, in the opinion of Sir William Cecil (76), who was at this time Secretary of State, the major part of the Council were rather inclined to Queen Mary's title; ſo that he aſcribed it to ſome impropriety in the conduct of one Hungate, who was intruſted with her letters, than to the diſpoſition of the Council that it did not ſucceed. If this ſeems inconſiſtent with that ſtrong ſtile in which their anſwer to the Lady Mary is penned, the reader muſt conſider that this was the buſineſs of Sir John Cheke, who was very hearty; and when he had drawn it while Northumberland was preſent (77), none of the Council was ſtout enough to decline ſigning it. They apprehended that the face of authority and the ſtrength of the nation was with Jane and the two Dukes, and therefore with them they ſtaid till hearing of the forces that reſorted to Mary, they began to wiſh that they had ſtuck to their firſt notions in favour of her title. This is the plain and naked truth, not taken upon the authority of this or that author, or from a biaſs to, or prejudice againſt, either ſide of the queſtion, but drawn from facts that cannot admit of diſpute, and from the declarations not only of thoſe who lived in theſe times, but of ſome of the principal perſons of whoſe conduct we are ſpeaking, ſuch as Archbiſhop Cranmer, Sir William Cecil, Sir John Maſon, and others. By this ſpecimen the reader will find it no difficult matter to account for and form a right judgment of all that afterwards happened.

[*H*] *Is*

(65) Stowe's Annals, p. 609. Holinſhed, Speed.

(66) Leiceſter's Commonwealth,

(67) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 2. Heylin's Hiſt. Reform.

(68) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 424, 425.

(69) Stowe's Annals, p. 609.

(70) Memorials, Vol. III. p. 3.

(71) Stowe's Annals, p. 609. Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1087.

(72) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 3.

(73) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 234.

(74) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 2, 4, 5.

(75) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 235.

(76) Cecil's MSS.

(77) Biblioth. Cotton. Titus, b. ii.

ſuffered themſelves to be undeceived in any degree by the letters which they received from Mary, in which, though ſhe did not take the title of Queen, ſhe clearly aſſerted her right to the Crown, took notice of their concealing her brother's death, and of the practices into which they had ſince entered, but intimated that there was ſtill room for reconciliation; and that if they complied with their duty in proclaiming her Queen, ſhe could forgive and even forget what was paſt (*n*). In their anſwer, the Lords and others of the Privy-Council, for it was ſigned by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and twenty others, inſiſt upon the indubitable right, and their own unalterable fidelity to Queen Jane, to whom they perſwaded the Lady Mary to ſubmit (*o*). Theſe previous ſteps being taken, the Tower and the City of London ſecured, the Council quitted Greenwich, and came to London, and on Monday July the tenth in the forenoon, the two Dukes repaired to Durham-houſe, where the Lady Jane reſided with her huſband, as part of Northumberland's family (*p*). There the Duke of Suffolk with much ſolemnity explained to his daughter the diſpoſition the late King had made of his Crown by letters-patents, the clear ſenſe the Privy-Council had of her right, the conſent of the magiſtrates and citizens of London; and when he had made an end of ſpeaking, himſelf and Northumberland fell on their knees and paid their duty to her as Queen of England (*q*). The poor lady ſomewhat aſtoniſhed at their diſcourſe, but not at all affected by their reaſons, or in the leaſt elevated by ſuch unexpected honours, returned them an anſwer to this effect (*r*). 'That the laws of the kingdom and natural right ſtanding for the King's ſiſters, ſhe would beware of burthening her weak conſcience with a yoke which did belong to them; that ſhe underſtood the infamy of thoſe who had permitted the violation of right to gain a ſcepter; that it were to mock God and deride Juſtice, to ſcruple at the ſtealing of a ſhilling, and not at the uſurpation of a Crown. Beſides (ſaid ſhe) I am not ſo young nor ſo little read in the guiles of fortune, to ſuffer myſelf to be taken by them. If ſhe enrich any, it is but to make them the ſubject of her ſpoil; if ſhe raiſe others, it is but to pleaſure herſelf with their ruins; what ſhe adored but yeſterday, is to day her paſtime. And if I now permit her to adorn and crown me, I muſt to-morrow ſuffer her to cruſh and tear me in pieces. Nay, with what Crown doth ſhe preſent me? a Crown which hath been violently and ſhamefully wreſted from Katherine of Arragon, made more unfortunate by the puniſhment of Anne Boleyn, and others that wore it after her; and why then would you have me add my blood to theirs, and be the third victim from whom this fatal Crown may be raviſhed, with the head that wears it? but in caſe it ſhould not prove fatal unto me, and that all it's venom were conſumed, if fortune ſhould give me warranties of her conſtancy, ſhould I be well adviſed to take upon me theſe thorns which would dilacerate, though not kill me out-right; to burthen myſelf with a yoke which would not fail to torment me, though I were aſſured not to be ſtrangled with it? my liberty is better than the chain you profer me, with what precious ſtones ſoever it be adorned, or of what gold ſoever framed. I will not exchange my peace for honourable and precious jealouſies, for magnificent and glorious fetters. And if you love me ſincerely and in good earneſt, you will rather wiſh me a ſecure and quiet fortune though mean, than an exalted condition, expoſed to the wind, and followed by ſome diſmal fall.' But notwithſtanding the prudence, goodneſs, and eloquence of this ſpeech, ſhe was at length prevailed upon, by the exhortations of her father, the interceſſion of her mother, the artful perſwaſions of Northumberland, and above all, the earneſt deſires of her huſband, whom ſhe tenderly loved, to yield her aſſent to what had been and was to be done (*s*); and thus with a heavy heart ſhe ſuffered herſelf to be conveyed by water to the Tower, where ſhe entered with all the ſtate of a Queen, attended by the principal nobility, and, which is very extraordinary, her train ſupported by the Ducheſs of Suffolk her mother, in whom, if in any of this line, the right of ſucceſſion remained (*t*). About ſix o'clock in the afternoon ſhe was proclaimed with all due ſolemnities in the city, which proclamation we are aſſured Sir William Cecil declined drawing (*u*), and it was therefore penned by Sir John Throckmorton, with great ſkill and elegance, and becauſe it contains the ſubſtance of King Edward's letters-patents, and whatever elſe could caſt any colour of right upon the title of Queen Jane, and this in the moſt conciſe terms (*w*), is inſerted at the bottom of the page [*H*]. The concourſe of people, as is uſual on ſuch occaſions, was

(*n*) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 234. Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 157. Speed's Chronicle, p. 816.

(*o*) Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1085. Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 235. Speed's Chronicle, p. 816.

(*p*) Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 159. Burnet's Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 234.

(*q*) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 159. Burnet's Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 235.

(*r*) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 159. Burnet's Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 235. Clarke's Marrow of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, P. II. p. 58. Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 334.

(*s*) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 235. Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 159. Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 334.

(*t*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 2. Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 334.

(*u*) Cooper's Chronicle, P. iii. fol. 358. Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 2. Stowe's Annals, p. 610. Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 158. Life of William Lord Burleigh, p. 19.

(*w*) From an antient printed Copy. Life of William Lord Burleigh, p. 19.

[*H*] *Is inſerted at the bottom of the page.*] There is nothing does more honour to Northumberland's management in this affair, than the ſkill and ſpirit with which the papers were drawn, which came either to the eye of the public, or to the hands of particular perſons; and this is ſo much the more ſingular, as the Secretaries Cecil and Petre were not well diſpoſed, but as far as they were able declined acting, which he paſſed by at this time, as being deſirous to be aſſiſted on ſuch critical occaſions by any, rather than concealed enemies; and therefore when Sir John Cheke was not preſent, he frequently drew the letters, and more frequently the minutes himſelf. As for this proclamation Cecil put it upon the Attorney-General, but after all it was thus penned by Sir John Throckmorton.

'JANE, by the grace of God, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the Faith and of the Church of England, and alſo of Ireland, under Chriſt in earth the ſupreme head. To all our moſt loving, faithful, and obedient ſubjects, and to every of them greeting. Whereas our moſt dear couſin Edward the Sixth, late King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and in earth the ſupreme head under Chriſt of the Church of England and Ireland; by his letters-patents ſigned with his own hand, and ſealed with his great ſeal of England, bearing date the twenty-firſt day of June, in the ſeventh year of his reign, in the preſence of the moſt part of his nobles, his counſellors, judges, and divers other grave and ſage perſonages, for the profit and ſurety of the whole realm thereto aſſenting and ſubſcribing their names to the ſame; hath by the ſame his letters-patents recited, That for as much as the Imperial Crown of this realm, by an act made in the thirty-fifth year of the was very great, but they came rather out of curioſity, than to teſtify their concurrence or conſent; ſo that their acclamations were but faint, moſt being ſilent, ſome teſtifying their diſlike, and amongſt the crowd a vintner's boy had the boldneſs to vindicate Queen Mary's title, for which he was preſently committed (*x*). This day likewiſe Jane aſſuming the regal title, confirmed the Lords-Lieutenants throughout the kingdom, and wrote to the Marquis

(*x*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 2. Holinſhed, Vol. II. p. 1084. Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 236.

the reign of the late King of worthy memory, King Henry the Eighth, our progenitor and great uncle, was for lack of iſſue of the body of our ſaid late couſin King Edward the Sixth, by the ſame act limited and appointed to remain to the Lady Mary, by the name of the Lady Mary his eldeſt daughter, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten; and for default of ſuch iſſue, the remainder thereof to the Lady Elizabeth, by the name of the Lady Elizabeth his ſecond daughter, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, with ſuch conditions as ſhould be limited and appointed by the ſaid late King of worthy memory, King Henry the Eighth, our progenitor and great uncle, by his letters-patents under his great ſeal, or by his laſt will in writing ſigned with his hand. And for as much as the ſaid limitation of the Imperial Crown of this realm being limited as is aforeſaid to the ſaid Lady Mary and Lady Elizabeth, being illegitimate and not lawfully begotten, for that the marriage had between the ſaid late King, King Henry the Eighth, our progenitor and great uncle, and the Lady Katherine, mother to the ſaid Lady Mary; and alſo the marriage had between the ſaid late King, King Henry the Eighth, our progenitor and great uncle, and the Lady Anne, mother to the ſaid Lady Elizabeth, were clearly and lawfully undone by ſentences of divorces, according to the word of God and the Eccleſiaſtical Laws. And which ſaid ſeveral divorcements have been ſeverally ratified and confirmed by authority of parliament, and eſpecially in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, our ſaid progenitor and great uncle, remaining in force, ſtrength, and effect, whereby, as well the ſaid Lady Mary, as alſo the ſaid Lady Elizabeth, to all intents and purpoſes are, and have been clearly diſabled to aſk, claim, or challenge the ſaid Imperial Crown, or any other of the honours, caſtles, manors, lordſhips, lands, tenements, or other hereditaments, as heir or heirs, to our ſaid late couſin King Edward the Sixth, or as heir or heirs to any other perſon or perſons whoſoever, as well for the cauſe before rehearſed, as alſo for that the ſaid Lady Mary and Lady Elizabeth, were unto our ſaid late couſin, but of the half blood, and therefore by the ancient laws, ſtatutes, and cuſtoms of this realm, be not inheritable unto our ſaid late couſin, although they had been born in lawful matrimony, as indeed they were not, as by the ſaid ſentences of divorce and the ſaid ſtatute of the twenty-eighth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, our ſaid progenitor and great uncle, plainly appeareth. And for as much alſo as it is to be thought, or at the leaſt much to be doubted, that if the ſaid Lady Mary or Lady Elizabeth ſhould hereafter have and enjoy the ſaid Imperial Crown of this realm, and ſhould then happen to marry a ſtranger born out of this realm, that then the ſame ſtranger having the government and the Imperial Crown in his hands, would adhere and practiſe not only to bring this noble free realm into the tyranny and ſervitude of the Biſhop of Rome, but alſo to have the laws and cuſtoms of his or their own native country or countries, to be practiſed and put in uſe within this realm, rather than the laws, ſtatutes, and cuſtoms, here of long time uſed; whereupon the title of inheritance of all and ſingular the ſubjects of this realm, do depend to the peril of conſcience, and the utter ſubverſion of the common weal of this realm. Whereupon our ſaid late dear couſin, weighing and conſidering with himſelf what ways and means were moſt convenient to be had for the ſtay of the ſaid ſucceſſion in the ſaid Imperial Crown, if it ſhould pleaſe God to call our ſaid late couſin out of this tranſitory life, having no iſſue of his body, and calling to his rememberance, that we and the Lady Katherine and the Lady Mary, our ſiſters, being the daughters of the Lady Frances our natural mother, and then and yet wife to our natural and moſt loving father, Henry Duke of Suffolk, and the Lady Margaret, daughter of the Lady Eleanor, then deceaſed, ſiſter to the ſaid Lady Frances, and the late wife of our couſin Henry Earl of Cumberland, were very nigh of his Grace's blood of the part of his father's ſide, our ſaid progenitor and great uncle; and being naturally born here within the realm, and for the very good opinion our ſaid late couſin had of our and our ſaid ſiſters and couſin Margaret's good education, did therefore upon good deliberation and advice herein had and taken, by his ſaid letters patents declare, order, aſſign, limit, and appoint, that if it ſhould fortune himſelf our ſaid late couſin King Edward the Sixth to deceaſe, having no iſſue of his body lawfully begotten, that then the ſaid Imperial Crown of England and Ireland, and the confines of the ſame, and his title to the crown of the realm of France, and all and ſingular honours, caſtles, prerogatives, privileges, pre-eminences, authorities, juriſdictions, dominions, poſſeſſions, and hereditaments, to our ſaid late couſin King Edward the Sixth, or to the ſaid Imperial Crown belonging, or in any wiſe appertaining, ſhould for lack of ſuch iſſue of his body remain, come, and be unto the eldeſt ſon of the body of the ſaid Lady Frances lawfully begotten, being born into the world in his life-time, and to the heirs male of the body of the ſame eldeſt ſon lawfully begotten, and ſo from ſon to ſon, as he ſhould be of antienty in birth, of the body of the ſaid Lady Frances lawfully begotten, being born into the world in our ſaid late couſin's life-time, and to the heirs male of the body of every ſuch ſon lawfully begotten, and for default of ſuch ſon born into the world in his life-time, of the body of the ſaid Lady Frances lawfully begotten; and for lack of heirs male of every ſuch ſon lawfully begotten, that then the ſaid Imperial Crown, and all and ſingular other the premiſes ſhould remain, come, and be to us by the name of the Lady Jane, eldeſt daughter of the ſaid Lady Frances, and to the heirs male of our body lawfully begotten, and for lack of ſuch heir male of our body lawfully begotten, that then the ſaid Imperial Crown, and all other the premiſes, ſhould remain, come, and be to the ſaid Lady Katherine, our ſaid ſecond ſiſter, and to the heirs male of the body of the ſaid Lady Katherine lawfully begotten, with divers other remainders, as by the ſame letters-patents more plainly, and at large may, and doth appear. Sithens the making of which letters-patents, that is to ſay on thurſday, which was the ſixth day of this inſtant month of July, it hath pleaſed God to call to his infinite mercy, our ſaid moſt dear and intirely beloved couſin Edward the Sixth, whoſe ſoul God pardon; and for as much as he is now deceaſed, having no heirs of his body begotten, and that alſo there remain at this preſent time, no heirs lawfully begotten of the body of our ſaid progenitor and great uncle King Henry the Eighth; and for as much alſo as the ſaid Lady Frances our ſaid mother, had no iſſue male begotten of her body, and born into the world in the life-time of our ſaid couſin King Edward the Sixth, ſo as the ſaid Imperial Crown, or other the premiſes to the ſame belonging, or in any wiſe appertaining, now be, and remain to us in our actual and royal poſſeſſion, by authority of the ſaid letters-patents: we do therefore by theſe preſents ſignify unto all our moſt loving, faithful, and obedient ſubjects, that like as we for our part, ſhall by God's grace, ſhew ourſelves a moſt gracious and benign ſovereign Queen and Lady, to all our good ſubjects, in all their juſt and lawful ſuits and cauſes, and to the uttermoſt of our power, ſhall preſerve and maintain God's moſt holy word, chriſtian policy, and the good laws, cuſtoms, and liberties of theſe our realms and dominions; ſo we miſtruſt not but they and every of them will again for their parts, at all times, and in all caſes, ſhew themſelves unto us their natural liege Queen and Lady, moſt faithful, loving, and obedient ſubjects, according to their bounden duties and allegiances, whereby they ſhall pleaſe God, and do the thing that ſhall tend to their own preſervations and ſureties; willing and commanding all men of all eſtates, degrees, and conditions, to ſee our peace and

accord

Marquis of Northampton, who was Lord Lieutenant of Surry, Northamptonſhire, Bedfordſhire, and Bucks, to aſſiſt and defend her title (*y*). On tueſday the eleventh, Gilbert Pot, ſervant to Ninion Saunders a vintner, who was convicted of ſpeaking ſeditious words the day before, on the evidence of his maſter a gunner of the Tower; ſtood in the pillory to which his ears were nailed, and when his time of ſtanding was ended, they were cut off, a herald proclaiming his offence, and a trumpet ſounding all the time. An unſeaſonable act of ſeverity, which diſpleaſed rather than terrified the people (*z*), and which a ſubſequent accident made more remarkable, for his maſter, with one Owen, a gunſmith, coming from the Tower that evening, were drowned in ſhooting London-Bridge (*a*). On wedneſday the twelfth, a letter was written from Jane to the Emperor, notifying her acceſſion, which was committed to the care of Richard Shelly, who was likewiſe intruſted with the Council's letters to the ambaſſadors at Bruſſels, in which they ſtiled that princeſs our Sovereign Lady (*b*). This Princeſs and her Council however had their thoughts diverted from matters of form, to things of greater conſequence, by their receiving certain intelligence, that Mary was gone to Keninghall-Caſtle in Norfolk (*c*), attended by ſome of the nobility, and with ſuch a reſort of the commons, as plainly ſhewed ſhe wanted not thoſe who would ſupport her claim to the Crown, which ſhe had likewiſe ſhewn her own intention to maintain, by aſſuming the title of Queen (*d*). A ſquadron had been before ſent to cruize upon the coaſt of Suffolk and Norfolk, to prevent her eſcape to Flanders; but now the neceſſity of an army appeared, and the firſt reſolution was, that it ſhould be commanded by the Duke of Suffolk, who had a great ſtake in this buſineſs, and who wanted not either courage or any other abilities to qualify him for that office (*e*). But the Queen's tenderneſs over-ruled her judgment, and the Council falling eaſily into her opinion, conſented that Suffolk, with the title of guardian to the Queen's perſon, ſhould remain where he was, and that Northumberland, whoſe military talents they magnified, ſhould put himſelf at the head of the forces, which he ſeemed chearfully to accept, becauſe he ſaw that it could not poſſibly be refuſed (*f*). He then ſignified to the Council, that he would make ready his own power on the morrow after, not doubting but they would ſend theirs with him, or ſpeed them after him; that he muſt recommend the Queen unto their fidelity, of whoſe ſacred perſon he deſired them to be very tender, all which they promiſed him to do (*g*). And having thus ſettled theſe affairs, they made the Queen acquainted in Northumberland's preſence, with how great readineſs he had taken the danger of that action upon himſelf, to give her the contentment of enjoying her father's company, till the preſent ſtorm was over blown, who humbly thanked the Duke for ſo great a favour, and chearfully deſired him not to be wanting to the public and his perſonal ſafety (*h*). The ſame day arms and ammunition were ſent from the Tower, for the uſe of the troops that were quickly to be put in motion. On thurſday the thirteenth, after taking due care, ſo far as was in his power, for aſſembling troops ſufficient for the intended enterprize, which was reducing thoſe in arms againſt Queen Jane, and bringing Mary priſoner to the Tower (*i*); Northumberland went for the laſt time to Court, and having put the nobility and council in mind that Newmarket was the place of rendezvous, he delivered himſelf farther, to this effect (*k*). 'My Lords (ſaid he) I and theſe other noble perſonages, with the whole 'army that now goes forth, as well for the behalf of you and your's, as for the eſtabliſhing of the Queen's Highneſs, ſhall not only adventure our bodies and lives amongſt the 'bloody ſtrokes, and cruel aſſaults of our adverſaries in the open fields; but alſo we do leave 'the conſervation of ourſelves, children, and families, at home here with you, as together committed to your truſt and fidelity. Whom, if we thought you would, through 'malice, conſpiracy, or diſſention, leave us your friends in the briers, and betray us, we 'could as well ſundry ways foreſee and provide for our own ſafe-guards as any of you by 'betraying us can do for your's. But now upon the only truſt and faithfulneſs of your honours, whereof we think ourſelves moſt aſſured, we hazard our lives, which truſt and 'promiſe if you ſhall violate, hoping thereby of life and promotion, yet God ſhall not 'count you innocent of our bloods, neither acquit you of the ſacred holy oath of allegiance, made freely by you to this virtuous lady, the Queen's highneſs, who by your 'and our enticement, is rather of force placed therein, than by her own ſeeking and requeſt. 'Conſider alſo, that God's cauſe, which is the preferment of his word, and the fear of the 'return of Popery, hath been (as ye have heretofore always ſaid) the original cauſe whereupon ye (even at the firſt motion) granted your good wills and conſents thereunto, as 'by

(*y*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 2.

(*z*) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 158. Stowe's Annals, p. 610. Speed's Chronicle, p. 816.

(*a*) Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1084. Stowe's Annals, p. 610.

(*b*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 4.

(*c*) Stowe's Annals, p. 610. Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1084. Speed's Chronicle, p. 815.

(*d*) Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 161. Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 237.

(*e*) Stowe's Annal,, p. 611. Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1087. Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 159.

(*f*) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 237, 238. Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 334.

(*g*) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 160. Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 237, 238.

(*h*) Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1086. Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 160.

(*i*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 3. Stowe's Annals, p. 610.

(*k*) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 160. Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1086. Speed's Chronicle, p. 816.

'accord kept, and to be obedient to our laws, as they 'tender our favour, and will anſwer for the contrary 'at their extreme perils. In witneſs whereof, we have 'cauſed theſe our letters to be made patents. Witneſs 'ourſelf, at our Tower of London, the tenth day of 'July, in the firſt year of our reign.'

Anno Domini
M.D.LIII.

God Save the QUEEN.

Londini, in ædibus Ricardi Graftoni,
Reginæ a typographia excuſum.
Cum privilegio ad imprimendum
ſolum.

If Mr Strype (78), had ever ſeen a printed copy of this proclamation, or if the laſt line had been preſerved in that which Biſhop Burnet printed amongſt his records, he would not have been ſo angry, that Grafton, who likewiſe printed the proclamation of Queen Mary, was removed, and John Cawood appointed the Queen's printer in his room, or have attributed it as he does, to his being a Proteſtant, and having printed the Bible in Engliſh, ſince it is far more likely, that the cauſe of his being turned out of his employment and meeting with other hard uſage, was for his printing this proclamation. At leaſt this is ſo good a reaſon, that there is no need of looking for a better.

(78) Memorials, Vol. III. p. 13.

‘by your hand writing appeareth. And think not otherwiſe but that if you mean deceit, though not forthwith, yet hereafter God will revenge the ſame. I can ſay no more, but in this troubleſome time wiſh you to uſe conſtant hearts; abandoning all malice, envy, and private affections. Which ſaid, and having pauſed a little, he ſhut up his addreſs in theſe following words: I have not ſpoken to you, my Lords, in this ſort upon any miſtruſt that I have of your fidelities, of which always I have hitherto conceived a truſty confidence, but I have only put you in remembrance thereof, what chance of variance ſoever might grow amongſt you in my abſence. And this I pray you, that you would not wiſh me leſs good ſpeed in this journey, than you would have yourſelves.’ To which laſt words, one of them is reported to have thus replied: *My Lord, if you miſtruſt any of us in this matter, your Grace is much miſtaken in us. For which of us can waſh his hands clean of the preſent buſineſs; for if we ſhould ſhrink from you, as one that is culpable, which of us can excuſe himſelf as being guiltleſs* (*l*)? Little the more aſſured by this quick return he went to take his leave of the Queen, where he found his commiſſion ready ſealed, together with certain inſtructions ſubſcribed by all the Lords of the Council, in which his marches were laid out and limited from one day to another. This is generally ſuppoſed to have been by his own advice, but that he might have the authority of the Privy-Council to plead, for every motion he made (*m*). At his departure the Earl of Arundel, who had been betraying them all the time, and who meditated their deſtruction now, which he ſoon accompliſhed, came to the Duke, profeſſed his ſorrow that he was not appointed to go with him, in whoſe preſence he could find in his heart to ſpend his blood, and to lay his life down at his feet (*n*). Northumberland, accompanied by the Marquis of Northampton and the Lord Grey, went in his barge to Durham-Houſe, and from thence to Whitehall, where having muſtered his forces, and given the neceſſary orders for their march, he returned to Durham-Houſe for that night (*o*). On friday the 14th of July, he marched with two-thouſand horſe and ſix-thouſand foot through Shoreditch, accompanied by the Lord Grey of Wilton, and Sir John Gates his conſtant friend bringing up the rear (*p*). The Duke of Suffolk having the care of the Queen's perſon and of the Tower, found himſelf very fully employed, and in a very little time perceived what a miſtake had been made in ſending Northumberland into a country where he was univerſally hated, and leaving the direction of the council to him who was no politician (*q*). On ſaturday the fifteenth, thoſe intrigues began which deſtroyed that unanimity that in appearance at leaſt had ſubſiſted in Jane's little Court. Sir William Cecil ſeems to have been the perſon who firſt intimated a diſlike of the condition they were in, and he very quickly found that many were in his ſentiments. He had wiſely declined executing his office of Secretary, ſo that moſt of the papers of ſtate had been drawn by Sir John Cheke, which was certainly no diſadvantage to the cauſe; for as he was one of the moſt learned and polite, he was alſo one of the cleareſt and correcteſt writers of that time (*r*). The perſon applied to by Cecil, was the Lord-Treaſurer Wincheſter, whoſe maxim it was, that in ſtormy times, an oak was more expoſed than a willow, and this gave him ſuch a facility in bending, that we find him well rooted, and flouriſhing in every Court from the days of Henry, to the times of Elizabeth (*s*). Arundel was next tampered with, and he contented himſelf with ſaying, that he liked not that air; Paget and Petre were known to be in the ſame ſentiments; theſe cabals were indeed very ſecret, but it was not long before their effects appeared (*t*). On ſunday July the ſixteenth, Dr Nicholas Ridley, Biſhop of London, preached at Paul's-Croſs, where he very juſtly commended the virtues and abilities of Queen Jane, maintained her title by the beſt arguments he could deviſe, and inveighed againſt the claims of King Henry's daughters (*u*) [*I*]. In all this no doubt he acted with great ſincerity,

(*l*) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 160. Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1086. Speed's Chronicle, p. 816. Stowe's Annals, p. 611.

(*m*) Fuller's Holy State, p. 296. Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 160.

(*n*) Stowe's Annals, p. 610, 611. Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1086.

(*o*) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 161. Stowe's Annals, p. 610.

(*p*) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 238. Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 3. Fuller's Holy State, p. 296. Stowe's Annals, p. 611.

(*q*) Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 162.

(*r*) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 238. Life of Sir John Cheke.

(*s*) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 239.

(*t*) Roger Alford's Letter to Lord Burleigh, containing a recollection of his conduct in theſe times. Cott. Titus, b. ii.

(*u*) Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. III. p. 1087. Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 238. Vol. III. p. 409. in the appendix.

[*I*] *Againſt the claims of King Henry's daughters.*] It has been before ſhewn, that this ſermon muſt have been preached upon the ſixteenth of July, by directions from the Council, as it ſtands in Stowe and other old writers, and as it was underſtood to be by Biſhop Burnet (79); for though that prelate does not expreſsly ſay this, yet he ſays it in effect, ſince he tells us that it was preached on the very ſame day that Dr Sands preached upon the very ſame ſubject at Cambridge, and the time of preaching that ſermon was never liable to any doubt. But the beſt and moſt conciſe account of this we owe to Heylin (80), who ſpeaks thus: ‘On ſunday the ſixteenth of the month, Dr Nicholas Ridley, Biſhop of London, is ordered by the Lords of the Council to preach at St Paul's-Croſs, and in his ſermon to advance the title of Queen Jane, and ſhew the invalidity of the claim of the Lady Mary. Which he performed according to ſuch grounds of law and polity, as had been laid together in the Letters-Patents of King Edward, by the authority and conſent of all the Lords of the Council, the greateſt judges in the land, and almoſt all the peers of the kingdom. But then withal, he preſſed the incommodities and inconveniences which might ariſe by receiving Mary for their Queen, propheſying that which after came to paſs: namely, that ſhe would bring in a foreign power to reign over this nation, and that ſhe would ſubvert the true religion then eſtabliſhed by the laws of this realm. He alſo ſhewed, that at ſuch time as ſhe lived in his dioceſe, he had travelled much with her, to reduce her to the true religion, but that though otherwiſe, ſhe had uſed him with great civility, ſhe ſhewed herſelf ſo ſtiff and obſtinate, that there was no hope to be conceived, but that ſhe would diſturb and deſtroy all that which with ſuch great labour had been ſettled in the reign of her brother. For which ſermon he incurred ſo much diſpleaſure, that it could never be forgiven him when the reſt were pardoned, by whoſe encouragement and command he had undertaken it.’ But this remark is only that author's conjecture; for if we govern our notions of Queen Mary's temper by facts, we ſhall find that hereſy was with her a more heinous crime than treaſon, However this ought to be a warning to clergymen not to embark themſelves in ſchemes of policy, with which the goſpel has very little to do; and ſurely therefore it had been better if the Proteſtant cauſe had not mingled ſo much in this diſpute, by which it was made ſo obnoxious to Mary; ſo that it is no wonder if ſhe thought that all who were of her brother's religion, were againſt his ſiſter's ſucceeding him, to which this conduct of Biſhop Ridley might not a little contribute; ſo that after all, theſe kind of declarations ſhould be left to thoſe to whom they properly belong,

(79) Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 238.

(80) Hiſt. Reform. p. 162.

cerity, for he was a man of primitive piety and unſpotted integrity; notwithſtanding which, this ſermon is with great probability believed to have coſt him his life (*w*). That evening the Lord-Treaſurer went privately out of the Tower, which was no ſooner known to the Duke of Suffolk, than he cauſed the gates to be ſhut, though it was but ſeven of the clock; and about midnight, we are told, the Lord-Treaſurer was brought in again (*x*). On monday the ſeventeenth, the ſpirit of diſcord began to work powerfully, upon the Lord-Treaſurer Wincheſter's reporting that the people in general were for Mary; that many of the nobility who were at liberty had joined her; that the ſhips had revolted to her which were ſent to cruize on the coaſt of Norfolk, and that there was very little hopes of Northumberland's ſucceſs (*y*). All this was abundantly confirmed by letters from Northumberland himſelf, complaining that they had not ſent the powers they had promiſed to Newmarket; that this had diſcouraged his forces ſo, that they began to dwindle, and preſſing them for the ſake of religion, of the Queen, and of themſelves, to haſten their ſupplies (*z*). Theſe diſpatches were read and debated upon in council, but in private they were buſy in contriving how to get out of the Tower, in which they were already a kind of priſoners, and to which they were afraid of being ſent by another authority for what they were then doing againſt their will (*a*). On tueſday the eighteenth, Queen Jane by the advice of her council, wrote to Sir John St Lowe, and Sir Anthony Kingſton, to raiſe forces in Buckinghamſhire for her ſupport (*b*). Yet whatever they did of this kind, though with all the outward zeal and ſolemnity imaginable, was directly againſt their real ſentiments, and entirely owing to the ſtrictneſs and vigilance with which the forces under the command of the Duke of Suffolk kept the gates, ſo that their ſituation ſeemed equally deſperate with reſpect to the meaſures they were taking, and with regard to their deſired eſcape (*c*). On wedneſday July the nineteenth, the council was aſſembled in the morning, on account of letters received from Lord Rich, Lieutenant of the county of Eſſex, giving them notice that the Earl of Oxford with the forces under his command, had deſerted to the Lady Mary, upon which they wrote in the ſtrongeſt terms that could be deviſed, to keep him to his fidelity and to expreſs their own (*d*); and they had no ſooner ſigned this letter, than ſome of the ſhrewdeſt amongſt them, made it a handle for executing their deſign of getting out of the Tower (*e*) [*K*]. With this view they ſuggeſted the abſolute neceſſity they were under of complying without any longer delay, with their engagements to the Duke of Northumberland, and that it was impoſſible for them to do this, without going to levy and preſs men for the ſervice in perſon, and even marching with them, ſince it appeared how little truſt could be repoſed in ſome men's faith, inſtancing Sir Edward Haſtings, the Earl of Oxford, and others, who had carried the forces, raiſed by their orders for the ſervice of Queen Jane, to her competitor (*f*). The Duke of Suffolk, who was no deep politician, deceived by theſe appearances, and at the ſame time preſſed by neceſſity, gave way to this motion, and agreed, that all ſhould take the beſt meaſures they could for recruiting Northumberland's army, and for the ſupport of his daughter's ſervice, which moſt of theſe zealous people were about to deſert (*g*). As ſoon as they found themſelves at liberty, the Earls of Shrewſbury and Pembroke, with Sir Thomas Cheyne and Sir John Maſon, went immediately, under pretence of conferring with the French Ambaſſador, to Baynard's caſtle, a houſe in the city that belonged to the laſt of thoſe lords; and, in a very little time, the reſt of the council repaired thither likewiſe (*h*); where, as ſoon as they were ſet, the Earl of Arundel in a long and bitter ſpeech, for malice is ever copious, ripped up all the failings of Northumberland, laid every grievance, and every reputed grievance, during the late reign, at his door, and concluded, with adviſing the aſſembly to follow his example, which was, to lay all the guilt upon Dudley, to take all the merit of repentance to themſelves, by returning to their duty, and proclaiming Queen Mary without delay (*i*). The Earl of Pembroke ſpoke next; Heylin ſays he was an unlettered man (*k*); but how little ſoever he had read, certain it is that he could

(*w*) Strype's Memorials. Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 162.

(*x*) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1087. Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 164. Stowe's Annals, p. 611.

(*y*) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 239. Stowe, Speed.

(*z*) Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 345. Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 163.

(*a*) Godwin's Annals.

(*b*) See this letter in the Catalogue of Records, annexed to the third volume of Strype's Memorials.

(*c*) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 136.

(*d*) See the Council's letter in the note.

(*e*) Godwin's Annals.

(*f*) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 238. Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 162.

(*g*) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 238. Heylin.

(*h*) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 239. Stowe's Annals. p. 611.

(*i*) Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 343, 344.

(*k*) Hiſt. Reform. p. 163.

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belong, that is to the heralds and other inſtruments of ſtate, and not the paſtors or prelates of the Church.

[*K*] *Of getting out of the Tower.*] It is impoſſible to give the reader any notion of that ſtrange height to which diſſimulation was carried upon this occaſion, without producing the very letter which the Lords of the Council ſigned, the very morning of that day on which they proclaimed Queen Mary (81).

To the Lord Rich, Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Eſſex.

'After our right heartie commendations to your 'Lp. although the matter conteined in your letters of 'therle of Oxfords departing to the Lady Mari, be 'grevous unto us for divers reſpects, yet we muſt neades 'give your Lp. our hartie thankes for your redi ad'vertiſement thereof. Requiring your Lp. never'theleſs like a nobleman, to remain in that pro'miſe and ſteedfaſtnes to our ſovereign Lady Queen 'Jane's ſervice, as ye ſhall find us readi and firm with 'al our force to the ſame. Which neither with ho'nor nor with ſaftie, nor yet with duty we mai now 'forſaake. From the Toure of London, the xixth 'of Julie 1553.

'Your L. aſſured loving freends,

T. Cant.
T. Ely, Canc.
H. Suffolk.
Pembroke.
William Paget.
Wincheſter.
Arundel.
T. Darcy.
T. Cheyne.
W. Petre, S.
Jo. Bakere.
J. Bedford.
F. Shrewſbury.
Rychard Cotton.
Jo. Cheek.
Robert Bowes.

We may without believing the Duke of Suffolk ſo weak a man as ſome writers (82) repreſent him, eaſily apprehend he might be deceived by a meaſure like this; for ſuppoſing him to be, as all our hiſtorians (83) allow he was, a man of a plain, open, ſincere, but haſty temper; we may without difficulty conclude, that this letter laid all jealouſies in him aſleep, and left him without the leaſt ſuſpicion. Beſides, if he had not given them leave to go out, it would have been only the

(81) Taken from the appendix to Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 164.

(82) Stowe. Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 240. Sir John Heyward's Hiſt. of Edward VI.

(83) Fox's Acts and Monuments. Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 95.

could think, and having been a principal manager of thoſe councils which Arundel had ſet forth in ſuch a ſable dreſs, he conceived it neceſſary to do ſomething extraordinary; and therefore not only ſeconded Arundel's motion, but clapped his hand to his ſword, and avowed himſelf ready to fight in defence of Queen Mary's title, who had married his ſon but a month before to the ſiſter of Queen Jane (*l*). This propoſal was quickly cloſed with, and a meſſage thereupon diſpatched to the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen to be ready, and then the Lords and others proceeded from Baynard's-caſtle through St Paul's Church-yard, to the croſs in Cheapſide, where Sir Chriſtopher Barker, Knight of the Bath and Garter King at Arms, proclaimed Mary, the daughter of King Henry the Eighth and Queen Katharine, the undoubted Queen of England, France, and Ireland, with the loudeſt acclamations of a numberleſs multitude of people aſſembled on this occaſion (*m*). They went next to St Paul's church, and there ſung *Te Deum.* On their return to Baynard's-caſtle, the Earl of Arundel and Lord Paget, with thirty horſe, ſet out to carry this good news to Queen Mary, and ſome companies were detached to ſecure the Tower for the ſervice of the new Queen (*n*) [*L*]. The Duke of Suffolk did not wait for new inſtructions from the Council; the ſhouts of the people, flying from ſtreet to ſtreet, had reached the Tower before their meſſengers arrived; and the Duke having not either power or will to reſiſt went immediately to his daughter's apartment, and in the ſofteſt terms he could, acquainted her with the ſituation of their affairs, and that laying aſide the ſtate and dignity of a Queen, ſhe muſt again return to that of a private perſon (*o*). To which, with a ſerene and ſettled countenance, ſhe made this anſwer: *Sir, I better brook this meſſage than my former advancement to royalty: out of obedience to* you *and my* mother *I have grievouſly ſinned, and offered violence to myſelf. Now I do willingly, and as obeying the motions of my ſoul, relinquiſh the crown, and endeavour to ſalve thoſe faults committed by others, if at leaſt ſo great a fault can be ſalved, by a willing relinquiſhment and ingenuous acknowledgment of them* (*p*). Thus we are come to an end of the diary of that ſhort reign, which, from the time of it's continuance, is ſaid to have given birth to the common proverb of *a nine days wonder* (*q*). A reign in which the ſeeming ſovereign was always apprehenſive of ſeeing herſelf ſuddenly ſunk into the character of a guilty ſubject, and to find thoſe the walls of her priſon which ſerved for a ſhort ſpace to encloſe her court (*r*). A reign, upon which not to beſtow a ſhort reflection would argue an incapacity of writing it, and leave the reader room to think hardly of him who could pen ſuch a ſcene unmoved [*M*]. The Duke of Suffolk having depoſed

(*l*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 425. Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 344.

(*m*) Cooper' Chron. P. iii. fol. 359. Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 164. Clarke's Marrow of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, P. ii. p. 59. Stowe's Annals, p. 612. Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 239. Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 13. Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1087. Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 344. Speed's Chron. p. 817.

(*n*) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 239.

(*o*) Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 344.

(*p*) Clarke's Marrow of Eccl. Hiſt. P. ii. p. 59.

(*q*) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 165.

(*r*) Cooper, Fox, Stowe, &c.

the worſe for him, and the better for them, ſince the diſpute would nevertheleſs have been determined by Northumberland's proclaiming Queen Mary at Cambridge (84), which he did, before he received the news of the revolution at London. How this happened, and what really produced ſo ſudden and ſo ſurpriſing a turn, will appear in the next note.

[*L*] *For the ſervice of the new Queen.*] We ſhall here as ſuccinctly as poſſible repreſent the motions of Queen Mary, from the time of King Edward's death to that of her being proclaimed at London. It appears ſhe was informed of that event almoſt as early as it was poſſible, for on the day after the King's demiſe (85), ſhe quitted St Edmund's-Bury, under pretence of being afraid of the plague, one of her ſervants having died ſuddenly, and went directly to Keninghall in Norfolk (86), from whence on the eighth, ſhe wrote letters to Sir George Somerſet, Sir William Drury, Sir William Waldgrave, Knights, and Clement Higham, Eſquire, ſignifying unto them the King's death, and thereby her right to the Crown, requiring them to obey no commandment to be iſſued out upon any pretence or gloſs of the deceaſed King's authority, being bound now to be true liegemen unto her only. And laſtly, charging them in all haſte poſſible, to prepare and put themſelves in order to repair to her, where at their coming, they ſhould know farther of her pleaſure. On the ninth, ſhe wrote to the Council (87), and the ſame day to Sir Edward Haſtings (88), who was a warm Papiſt, in the ſame terms ſhe had uſed to Sir George Somerſet; in a few days ſhe was joined by the Earls of Bath and Suſſex (89), and other perſons of nobility and diſtinction. On the twelfth, ſhe ſent orders to the magiſtrates of Norwich to proclaim her Queen, which they refuſed, or rather were afraid to do, as having no certain intelligence of King Edward's death, but being the next day ſatisfied in that particular, they not only complied with her command, but ſent her a ſupply of men, ammunition, and proviſions (90). She removed notwithſtanding this to Framlingham Caſtle (91) in Suffolk, as ſtanding near the ſea, and being at the diſtance of fourſcore miles from London, by which her perſon was more ſecure, time gained for raiſing forces, and an opportunity procured of applying for foreign aſſiſtance, of which however ſhe quickly ſtood in no need, her army being augmented in a few days to thirteen thouſand men, and plentifully furniſhed with proviſions of all kinds (92). This was entirely owing to the general diſpoſition of the nation in her favour, and more eſpecially of the commons, who were in all places devoted to her ſervice, and abſolutely refuſed to act againſt her. What contributed not a little to her ſucceſs, was her promiſes with reſpect to the Proteſtant religion; thoſe who joined her at firſt from Suffolk and Norfolk, being for the moſt part zealous for the Reformation. Of theſe promiſes ſhe was afterwards not forgetful only, but declared her reſolution of breaking them (93), by cauſing Mr Dobbs, a gentleman of Suffolk, to be ſet in the pillory, only for reminding her of them. In proportion as her ſtrength increaſed, Northumberland's diminiſhed, and thoſe that were left about him ſhewed plainly, that they had not either hands or hearts to fight againſt her; nay, when in compliance with the general inclination he had proclaimed her at Cambridge, his very guards ſeized (94) upon his perſon, that he might juſtify them from the guilt of rebellion. Thus it is evident that the people made her Queen, from a perſwaſion of her right, and overturned without bloodſhed, that potent confederacy, which with ſo much art and addreſs had been framed, by thoſe who were at that time in authority, to defeat her ſucceſſion.

[*M*] *Who could pen ſuch a ſcene unmoved.*] There is a very ſingular circumſtance (95), which was preſerved amongſt John Fox's papers, from the information of the very perſon whom it concerned, that will ſerve to ſet the ſuddenneſs of this ſurprizing revolution, in a clearer light than almoſt any other thing that is to be met with. There was one Mr Edward Underhill, deſcended from a good family in Warwickſhire, who for his ſervices in the army, had been taken into the band of gentlemen-penſioners, in which he remained during the reign of Edward, and was now about Queen Jane. He had in his youth been what we call a man of pleaſure, but being converted to the reformed religion, became ſo ſincere and ſo zealous a Proteſtant, that thoſe of the band, who were leſs religious, nick-named him the hot Goſpeller. This gentleman was known to, and very well eſteemed by the Queen, and it fell out while he was upon duty at the Tower, his wife was brought to bed of a ſon. At the chriſtening of this child, which was fixed for the nineteenth of July, 1553, the Duke of Suffolk and the Earl of Pembroke were godfathers by proxy, Queen Jane was godmother, and

(84) Stowe, Holinſhed, Speed.

(85) Godwin's Annals.

(86) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 9.

(87) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 157.

(88) See the letter in the Catalogue of Records, annexed to the third volume of Strype's Memorials.

(89) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 237.

(90) Stowe's Annals, p. 610. Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 161.

(91) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol II. p. 1085.

(92) Stowe's Annals, p. 613.

(93) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. Strype's Memorials, Vol. III.

(94) Stowe's Annals.

(95) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 115.

depoſed his daughter, whom he had forced to aſcend the throne, went next to the Council, and ſubſcribed the inſtructions, that were ſent to the Duke of Northumberland, by Roſe Purſuivant at Arms, requiring him to diſband his forces and ſubmit to Queen Mary, if he meant they ſhould become humble ſuitors to their ſovereign for him and his, as well as for themſelves (*s*). In this however Northumberland prevented them; for finding how ſtrong the current ran in the country, he ſuſpected it's ſource to be at London, and had therefore proclaimed Queen Mary at Cambridge before the Purſuivant arrived (*t*). This did not hinder his being ſiezed ſoon after, and ſent to the Tower, where it muſt have added no ſmall weight to the Lady Jane's misfortunes, to ſee the father of her huſband, with all his family, and many of the nobility and gentry, brought priſoners (*u*), for having ſupported her claim to the crown; and this grief muſt have met with ſome acceſſion, from his being condemned ſoon after and brought to the block (*w*). With him died Sir Thomas Palmer and Sir John Gates (*x*), the former (*y*) ſuppoſed to have been his inſtrument in the ruin of the Protector Somerſet, which however he did not confeſs; and the latter (*z*) held his agent, in perſwading King Edward to alter the ſucceſſion, which the Duke denied, affirming him to have done it of his own acccord, and to have been thereby the cauſe of all this miſchief; with what degree of probability every man muſt judge for himſelf. On the 27th of July in ſome (*a*), or, as others ſay (*b*), on the 28th, ſhe had the mortification of ſeeing her own father the Duke of Suffolk in the ſame circumſtances with herſelf; but her mother the ducheſs not only remained exempt from all puniſhment, but had ſuch an intereſt with the Queen, as to procure the duke his liberty on the laſt day of that month (*c*). Lady Jane, and her huſband the Lord Guilford Dudley, remaining ſtill in confinement, were, on the third of November, 1553, carried from the Tower to Guildhall, and with Archbiſhop Cranmer and others arraigned and convicted of high-treaſon (*d*) before Judge Morgan, who pronounced on them ſentence of death, the remembrance of which afterwards affected him ſo far, that he died raving (*e*). From this time the unfortunate Lady Jane, and her no leſs unhappy huſband, lived in the very ſhadow of death, and yet not without ſome gleams of comfort. For in the month of December, the Marquis of Northampton, who in the ſame cauſe had fallen into the like circumſtances, was pardoned and diſcharged; and at the ſame time the ſtrictneſs of their confinement mitigated, by permiſſion granted to take the air in the Queen's garden (*f*), and other little indulgences, that would however have been ſo many acts of cruelty, if the Queen had then intended what ſhe afterwards thought fit to inflict. But this, by the conſent of our beſt hiſtorians (*g*), is allowed to be altogether improbable; and that there are good reaſons to believe the Queen would have ſpared Lady Jane, ſince ſhe had already pardoned her father who was much more guilty, and that ſhe would have extended her mercy to Lord Guilford Dudley as well as to his elder brothers. However, in the firſt parliament of her reign, an act was paſſed for eſtabliſhing the validity of ſuch private contracts, as were dated during Jane's nine days adminiſtration, with a proviſo, that all public acts, grants of lands, or the like, if any ſuch there were, ſhould be void. Another act likewiſe paſſed for confirming the attainders of Northumberland, Canterbury, and the reſt, who had been convicted of high treaſon, which perhaps was thought neceſſary, to confirm the opinion of the Judges, who had over-ruled their plea; that what they did was in obedience to the ſupreme authority then ſubſiſting (*h*): but whatever hopes Lady Jane and her huſband might entertain, whatever eaſe they might enjoy, were quickly taken away by an unhappy event, which it was impoſſible for them to foreſee, and in which it is not ſo much as pretended that either of them had the leaſt hand. There was a great ſpirit raiſed in the nation againſt the Queen's marriage with Philip of Spain; and upon this a general inſurrection (*i*) was concerted, which, if it had been executed with any degree of that prudence ſhewn in the planning of it, or rather if the Providence of God had not interpoſed, could ſcarce have failed of ſucceeding; Sir Thomas Wiat of Kent, a man of a great eſtate and a greater influence, managed thoſe who were afraid, under colour of this marriage, the kingdom would be delived up to a foreign prince and his partizans (*k*). Sir Peter Carew, in Cornwall, dealt with ſuch as were deſirous of ſeeing the Princeſs Elizabeth upon the throne, and in the arms of Courtney (*l*), whom the Queen had lately reſtored to the title of Devonſhire, and the Duke of Suffolk, to whom danger had in vain preached diſcretion, and who could not learn loyalty even from mercy, made uſe of that great intereſt which his large eſtates gave him, though he held them by the Queen's favour, to miſlead her ſubjects from their duty, and to take up arms againſt her perſon (*m*). What the real view of this deſign was even time has not diſcovered; but by raſhneſs, and miſintelligence of thoſe at the head of it, all miſcarried (*n*). The Duke of Suffolk, with his brothers Lord John and Lord Thomas Grey, were in arms, and with a body of three hundred

(*s*) Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 344. Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 187.

(*t*) Stowe's Annals, p. 612.

(*u*) Cooper's Chronicle, P. iii. fol 359. Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 15.

(*w*) Cooper's Chroncle, P. iii. fol. 360. Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 21, 22.

(*x*) Stowe's Annals, p. 615. Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 360.

(*y*) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 239, 240.

(*z*) Godwin's Annals.

(*a*) Stowe's Annals, p. 613. Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 16.

(*b*) Holinſhed, Speed.

(*c*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 16. Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 240.

(*d*) Cooper's Chronicle, P. iii. fol. 362. Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 257. Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1093.

(*e*) Clarke's Marrow of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, P. ii. p. 67. Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 272.

(*f*) Stowe's Annals, p. 614. Speed's Chronicle, p. 818.

(*g*) Holinſhed, Speed, Burnet.

(*h*) Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 199. Stowe's Annals, p. 614.

(*i*) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 284.

(*k*) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 203.

(*l*) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 284. Strype's Memorials, Vol. III.

(*m*) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1095. Cooper's Chron. fol. 362.

(*n*) Stowe, Heylin, Burnet.

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and as a ſtill higher mark of her favour, directed that the child ſhould be called Guilford after her huſband. The perſon ſent to repreſent the Queen, was Lady Throckmorton, the wife of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who at the time ſhe left the Tower, in order to be preſent at the ceremony, received the commands of the Queen, in a manner ſuitable to that rank, and carried them to Mr Underhill's. But on her return to the Tower, her amazement muſt have been great, to find the canopy of ſtate removed, with all other enſigns of royalty, out of which ſhe was quickly drawn, by an intimation from one of the new officers, that her Lady was a priſoner for high treaſon, and that ſhe was to attend her under the like circumſtances. This relation is not indeed of any great moment in itſelf, but, all things conſidered, the reader will perhaps be of opinion, that there is hardly any thing like it in hiſtory.

dred horſe preſented themſelves before the city of Coventry (*o*), in which they had a ſtrong party; but the Queen having ſent down the Earl of Huntingdon, he ſecured that place (*p*), and Suffolk finding his deſign abortive, and his people dropping away, retired, with as many as he could keep about him, to a houſe of his in Leiceſterſhire, where, having diſtributed what money he had to thoſe who were the companions of his fortune, he adviſed them to ſhift for themſelves, truſting to the promiſes of one Underwood his park-keeper, who undertook to conceal, and who is ſuſpected to have betrayed him to the Earl of Huntingdon (*q*), by whom himſelf and his brother Lord John being apprehended, were carried to Coventry, and, after ſome ſtay there, ſent to London under a guard, where they did not arrive 'till the tenth of February, and were then committed to the Tower (*r*), out of which the Duke never came but to his trial and to his death [*N*]. This weak and ill managed buſineſs gave the miniſters an opportunity of perſwading the Queen, that her ſafety could be no otherwiſe provided for, than by putting Lady Jane and her huſband to death; to which, a learned prelate aſſures us (*s*), the Queen was not wrought without much difficulty; and it is very remarkable, that Sanders (*t*) makes the very ſame obſervation, ſo that the truth of it can hardly be called in queſtion. The news of this fatal reſolution made no great impreſſion upon this excellent lady; the bitterneſs of death was paſſed, ſhe had expected it long, and was ſo well prepared to meet her fate, that ſhe was very little diſcompoſed. But the Queen's charity hurt her more than her juſtice. The day firſt fixed for her death was Friday February the ninth (*u*), and ſhe had in ſome meaſure taken leave of the world, by writing a letter to her unhappy father, who ſhe heard was more diſturbed with the thoughts of his being the author of her death, than with the apprehenſion of his own; which letter the reader will find in the notes [*O*]. In this ſerene frame of mind, Dr Feckenham, Abbot of Weſtminſter, came to her (*w*) from the Queen, who was very deſirous ſhe ſhould follow her father-in-law's example, and be reconciled to the Church of Rome. He was indeed a very fit inſtrument (if any had been fit) for this purpoſe; for he had an acute wit, a very plauſible manner of ſpeaking, and a great tenderneſs in his nature. Lady Jane received him with much civility, and behaved towards him with ſo much calmneſs and ſweetneſs of temper, that he could not help being overcome with her diſtreſs; ſo that either miſtaking or pretending to miſtake her meaning, he procured a reſpite of her execution 'till the twelfth (*x*). Yet he did not gain any thing upon her in regard

(o) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1095.

(p) Stowe's Annals, p. 622.

(q) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 362.

(r) Stowe's Annals, p. 622.

(s) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 272.

(t) De Schiſmate Anglicano, lib. ii. p. 290.

(u) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 166.

(w) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 271.

(x) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 166.

[*N*] ***But to his trial and to his death***] Our hiſtories give us but very dark and indifferent accounts of this inſurrection, which if we may credit one of our old chronicle writers (96), and his authority John Stowe, was purely to prevent the Queen's marriage with a foreign prince: the paſſage is very ſingular and worth reading. ‘ Upon ſaturday, being the 17th of February, the Duke of Suffolk was arraigned at Weſtminſter, and there condemned to die by his peers, the ‘ Earl of Arundel being that day chief judge. Where ‘ ſome have written, that he ſhould at his laſt going ‘ down into the country, make proclamation in his ‘ daughter's name, that is not ſo; for whereas he ‘ ſtood by in Leiceſter, when at his commandment the ‘ proclamation was there made againſt the Queen's ‘ marriage with the Prince of Spain, &c. Maſter Damport, then Mayor of that town, ſaid to him, My ‘ Lord, I truſt your Grace meaneth no hurt to the ‘ Queen's Majeſty. No, ſaith he, Maſter Mayor, laying his hand on his ſword, he that would her any ‘ hurt, I would this ſword were through his heart, for ‘ ſhe is the mercifulleſt Prince, as I have truly found ‘ her, that ever reigned, in whoſe defence I am, and ‘ will be ready to die at her feet.’ But to this we may oppoſe the authority of a very learned prelate (97), who likewiſe wrote a chronicle, lived himſelf in thoſe times, and publiſhed it within leſs than ſix years after the event. ‘ Henry Duke of Suffolk, ſays he, father to Lady Jane, ‘ lately proclaimed Queen, flying into Leiceſterſhire ‘ and Warwickſhire, with a ſmall company, in divers ‘ places as he went, again proclaimed his daughter, ‘ but the people did not greatly incline unto him.’ A very judicious and impartial foreigner (98), who had great opportunities of knowing our affairs at this juncture, not only affirms the ſame thing that Biſhop Cooper does, but acquaints us farther, that Queen Mary had an intention, as ſoon as Wyat's riſing in Kent was known, to put the Duke of Suffolk at the head of the troops that were ſent againſt him; to avoid which, being conſcious of his own engagements, and over perſwaded by his brother Lord Thomas Grey, he departed from his houſe at Sheen, on the 25th of January in the evening in order to raiſe the counties beforementioned. It is not however impoſſible that he might proclaim his daughter in his paſſage, and finding that not ſo well received as he expected, alter his language at Leiceſter; but this is barely a conjecture, and as ſuch ſubmitted to the reader's judgment.

(96) Holinſhed, Vol. II. p. 1100.

(97) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 362.

(98) Thuanus, Hiſt. lib. xiii.

[*O*] ***Which letter the reader will find in the notes.***] This letter (99) muſt in all probability have been written before Dr Feckenham procured her reprieve; for upon the firſt of February (100), publick proclamation was made, that the Duke and his company were diſperſed, and ſoon after that (101), himſelf and one of his brothers were taken and carried to Coventry, from whence Lady Jane might have at this time news of his great grief on her account. But it ſo fell out afterwards, that he was brought to the Tower two days before her execution (102), which as ſhe could not poſſibly foreſee, it is improbable ſhe ſhould delay her letter beyond the day firſt fixed for her death.

‘ FATHER, Although it pleaſeth God to haſten my ‘ death by you, by whom my life ſhould rather have ‘ been lengthened; yet can I ſo patiently take it, as ‘ I yield God more hearty thanks for ſhortening my ‘ woeful days, than if all the world had been given ‘ into my poſſeſſion with life lengthened to my will; ‘ and albeit, I am well aſſured of your impatient dolors, redoubled many ways, both in bewailing your ‘ own woe, and alſo as I hear, eſpecially my unfortunate ‘ eſtate: yet my dear father, if I may without offence ‘ rejoice in my miſhaps, methinks in this I may account myſelf bleſſed; that waſhing my hands with ‘ the innocency of my fact, my guiltleſs blood may cry ‘ before the Lord, mercy to the innocent: and yet, tho' ‘ I muſt needs acknowledge, that being conſtrained, and ‘ as you well know, continually aſſaied in taking the ‘ Crown upon me; I ſeemed to conſent, and therein ‘ grievouſly offended the Queen and her laws: and yet ‘ do I aſſuredly truſt, that this my offence towards ‘ God, is ſo much the leſs, in that being in ſo royal an ‘ eſtate as I was, my inforced honour never mixed with ‘ my innocent heart; and thus, good father, I have ‘ opened my ſtate to you, whoſe death at hand, although to you perhaps it may ſeem right woful, to me ‘ there is nothing that can be more welcome, than, from ‘ this vale of miſery, to aſpire to that heavenly throne ‘ of all joys and pleaſure with Chriſt our Saviour: In ‘ whoſe ſtedfaſt faith, if it be lawful for the daughter to ‘ write ſo to her father, the Lord that hitherto hath ‘ ſtrengthened you, ſo continue you, that at laſt we ‘ may meet in Heaven, with the Father, Son and ‘ Holy Ghoſt. Amen.

(99) Fox's Acts and Monuments.

(100) Stowe's Annals, p. 619.

(101) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1095.

(102) Stowe's Annals, p. 622.

[*P*] *But*

regard to the deſign upon which he was ſent; on the contrary, though ſhe heard him patiently, yet ſhe anſwered all his arguments with ſuch ſtrength, ſuch clearneſs, and ſuch a ſteadineſs of mind *(y)*, as ſhewed plainly that religion had been her principal care, and that the hopes of being happy in a future ſtate, from acting according to the dictates of her conſcience in this, had fortified her not only againſt the fears of death, but againſt all doubts or apprehenſions whatever [*P*]. On the Sunday evening, which was the laſt ſhe was to ſpend in this world, ſhe wrote a letter *(z)* in the Greek tongue, as ſome ſay on the blank leaves at the end of a Teſtament in the ſame language, which ſhe bequeathed as a legacy to her ſiſter the Lady Katherine; which piece of her's, if we had no other left, would be ſufficient to render her memory immortal, and therefore the ſubſtance of it in Engliſh is inſerted at the bottom of the page [*Q*]. The fatal morning being come, the

(y) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 271.

(z) See the note [*Q*].

[*P*] *But againſt all doubts or apprehenſions whatever.*] We have avoided loading theſe notes with more of this excellent perſon's writings than were abſolutely neceſſary, and for this reaſon only we have omitted her letter to Dr Harding, her father's chaplain, and one of her tutors, upon his renouncing the Proteſtant religion, and reconciling himſelf to the Church of Rome. He had himſelf about the time of King Edward's death, diſcovered a clear foreſight of all that followed, and exhorted his Proteſtant brethren to ſupport thoſe trials which they were about to undergo, with chriſtian patience and fortitude. This in all probability induced Lady Jane to write with ſo much vehemence and zeal, as to one who in her own opinion had quitted his faith through fear, and taken up a new profeſſion in order to eſcape danger. Dr Aylmer her tutor (103), and who had lived with Harding in the Marquis of Dorſet's family, publiſhed this letter in his exile, which affords us the cleareſt proof of it's being genuine.

(103) See Strype's Life of Bp Aylmer, p. 2.

But Feckenham could know nothing of this, otherwiſe in all appearance he would not have undertaken Lady Jane's converſion. He thought he ſhould have found her in great diſorder and confuſion, and that it would be no difficult matter to triumph over the feeble underſtanding of a dejected and heart-broken young woman, but he found it quite otherwiſe; notwithſtanding which, ſhe would have declined the diſpute, telling him ſhe had no time to ſpare, that controverſy might be fit for the living, but not for the dying, and that thererefore, the trueſt ſign of his having that compaſſion for her, of which he made ſuch ſtrong profeſſions, would be to leave her undiſturbed in making her peace with God. It was upon this, that he applied himſelf to the Queen for a ſhort reprieve, with which, when he acquainted this admirable woman, ſhe told him, *That he had entirely miſunderſtood her ſenſe of her ſituation, that far from deſiring her death might be delayed, ſhe expected and wiſhed for it as the period of her miſeries, and her entrance into eternal happineſs* (104).

(104) Fox's Acts and Monuments.

Yet ſhe could not then avoid entering into diſcourſe with him, more eſpecially when he deſired her to give him a brief account of her faith, that he might clearly underſtand it, and make a true report thereof to the world. Upon this they diſcuſſed the doctrine of the real preſence in the Sacrament, which Lady Jane denied in the ſenſe that Feckenham aſſerted, and that poſterity might not be impoſed upon by any fallacious account of this conference, ſhe drew up and ſubſcribed a clear and conciſe account of it, to which, if the reader has any curioſity, he may eaſily have recourſe (105). At length finding he could make no impreſſion, he took his leave of her, and ſaid, Madam, ‘ I am ſorry for ‘ you and your obſtinacy, and now I am aſſured you ‘ and I ſhall never meet again.’ ‘ It is moſt true, Sir, ‘ ſaid ſhe, we ſhall never meet again, except GOD ‘ turn your heart; for I ſtand undoubtedly aſſured, ‘ that unleſs you repent and turn to God, you are in a ‘ ſad and deſperate caſe: and I pray to GOD in the ‘ bowels of his mercy, to ſend you his holy ſpirit, for ‘ he hath given you his great gift of utterance, if it ‘ pleaſe him to open the eyes of your heart to his ‘ truth.’

(105) Phœnix, Vol. II. p. 28.

We muſt conceive that this was underſtood as it was ſpoken, as flowing from a religious zeal, and not from any diſtaſte of contradiction, or any diſlike to his perſon, ſince we find that Feckenham, far from deſerting, attended her to the very laſt, and that the Lady Jane ſhewed a very proper ſenſe of his attention and reſpect for her, in the ſight and hearing of all who were upon or near the ſcaffold (106). Before we cloſe this note, it may not be amiſs to ſay ſomething of the papers we have inſerted, and of thoſe to which we refer, that it may appear we have taken ſome pains to ſatisfy ourſelves, in order to the reader's ſatisfaction, that they are really her's. Firſt then with reſpect to her capacity there can be no doubt at all, Biſhop Aylmer was her tutor, Aſcham knew her intimately, Sir Thomas Chaloner, Dr Parkhurſt, John Fox, John Bale, were her contemporaries, and knew her likewiſe. Secondly, moſt of her papers are ſigned Jane Dudley, which in itſelf may be preſumed a preſervative againſt forgery. Thirdly, they were printed and publiſhed as the precious remains of that incomparable perſon, immediately after her death, and in every bodies hands (107). Fourthly, the titles of them are to be found in John Bale's great work (108), and the firſt line of the ſeveral pieces, which as he tells us, he finiſhed in 1558, within four years of her death, and almoſt as many years before, they were involved in John Fox's voluminous work. Laſtly, they have been printed verbatim from the original edition in a late collection of ancient tracts (109), which from the value of thoſe it contains, is now become not very common; taking therefore all this evidence together, there ſeems to be no colour left to doubt that theſe pious and extraordinary performances, are the very ſame that fell from the pen of that great and good woman, which intitled her to the univerſal compaſſion of thoſe with whom ſhe lived; and that ought to entitle her, as far as it is poſſible, to an immortal memory, towards which we have willingly beſtowed ſome diligence in the conſtruction of this little monument.

(106) Thuan. Hiſt. lib. xiii.

(107) An old quarto without date.

(108) De Script. Britan. cent. xii. in append. p. 109.

(109) The Phœnix, or, a revival of ſcarce and valuable pieces no where to be found but in the cloſets of the curious, Lond. 1708. 8vo. in two volumes. Vol. II. p. 37.

[*Q*] *At the bottom of the page.*] We ſhall in another note have occaſion to ſpeak more at large of this Lady Katherine Grey, ſiſter in merit and learning, as well as by blood, to Lady Jane, and her ſiſter likewiſe in misfortunes; which though they brought her not to die in the ſame manner, yet occaſioned her dying in the ſame place, in a way, which if leſs violent was more grievous, ſhe had therefore many years, in which ſhe might practiſe thoſe excellent leſſons, beſtowed upon her in this prophetic legacy (110).

(110) From an old printed copy of the pieces written by Lady Jane Grey.

‘ I have here ſent you, my dear ſiſter Katherine, a ‘ book, which although it be not outwardly trimmed ‘ with gold, or the curious embroidery of the artfulleſt ‘ needles, yet inwardly it is more worth than all the ‘ precious mines which the vaſt world can boaſt of. It ‘ is the book, my only beſt and beſt loved ſiſter, of the ‘ law of the Lord: It is the teſtament and laſt will ‘ which he bequeathed unto us wretches and wretched ‘ ſinners, which ſhall lead you to the path of eternal ‘ joy: and if you with a good mind read it, and with ‘ an earneſt deſire follow it, no doubt it ſhall bring ‘ you to an immortal and everlaſting life. It will teach ‘ you to live, and learn you to die: it ſhall win you ‘ more, and endow you with greater felicity than you ‘ ſhould have gained by the poſſeſſion of our woful father's lands; for as if God had proſpered him, you ‘ ſhould have inherited his honours and manors; ‘ ſo if you apply diligently this book, ſeeking to direct your life according to the rule of the ſame, you ‘ ſhall be an inheritor of ſuch riches, as neither the covetous ſhall withdraw from you, neither the thief ‘ ſhall ſteal, neither yet the moths corrupt. Deſire ‘ with David, my beſt ſiſter, to underſtand the law of ‘ the Lord your God; live ſtill to die, that you by ‘ death may purchaſe eternal life; and truſt not that ‘ the tenderneſs of your age ſhall lengthen your life; ‘ for unto God when he calleth, all hours, times, and ‘ ſeaſons are alike, and bleſſed are they whoſe lamps ‘ are furniſhed when he cometh, for as ſoon will the ‘ Lord be glorified in the young as in the old. My ‘ good ſiſter, once again more let me intreat thee to ‘ learn to die; deny the world, defy the devil, and ‘ deſpiſe the fleſh, and delight yourſelf only in the ‘ Lord the Lord Guilford earneſtly deſired the officers that he might take his laſt farewel of her (*a*). Which though they willingly permitted, yet upon notice ſhe adviſed the contrary, aſſuring him, that ſuch a meeting would rather add to his afflictions, than increaſe that quiet wherewith they had poſſeſſed their ſouls for the ſtroke of death; that he demanded a lenitive which would put fire into the wound, and that it was to be feared her preſence would rather weaken than ſtrengthen him; that he ought to take courage from his reaſon, and derive conſtancy from his own heart; that if his ſoul were not firm and ſettled, ſhe could not ſettle it by her eyes nor confirm it by her words; that he ſhould do well to remit this interview to the other world; that there indeed friendſhips were happy and unions indiſſolvable, and that theirs would be eternal if their ſouls carried nothing with them of terreſtrial, which might hinder them from rejoicing. All ſhe could do was to give him a farewel out of a window as he paſſed toward the place of his diſſolution, which he ſuffered on the ſcaffold on Tower-Hill with much Chriſtian meekneſs (*b*). His dead body being laid in a car and his head wrapped up in a linnen cloth, were carried to the chapel within the Tower, in the way to which, they were to paſs under the window of the Lady Jane; which ſad ſpectacle ſhe likewiſe beheld (*c*), but of her own accord, and not either by accident, or as ſome (*d*), without any colour of truth, have inſinuated, by deſign, and with a view to increaſe the weight of her afflictions [*R*]. About an hour after the death of her huſband, ſhe was led out by the Lieutenant to the ſcaffold (*e*) that was prepared upon the green over-againſt the White-Tower. It is ſaid that the court had once taken a reſolution (*f*) to have her beheaded on the ſame ſcaffold with her huſband; but conſidering how much they were both pitied, and how generally Lady Jane was beloved, it was determined, to prevent any commotions, that this execution ſhould be performed within the Tower. She was attended to and upon the ſcaffold by Feckenham (*g*), but ſhe was obſerved not to give much heed to his diſcourſes, keeping her eyes ſteadily fixed on a book of prayers which ſhe had in her hand, after ſome ſhort recollection ſhe ſaluted thoſe who were preſent with a countenance perfectly compoſed; then taking leave of Dr Feckenham, ſhe ſaid, *God will abundantly requite you, good Sir, for your humanity to me, though your diſcourſes gave me more uneaſineſs than all the terrors of my approaching death* (*h*). She next addreſſed herſelf to the ſpectators in a plain and ſhort ſpeech, which is inſerted in the notes [*S*].

Then

(*a*) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 167.

(*b*) Clarke's Marrow of Eccl. Hiſt. P. ii. p. 65. Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1099.

(*c*) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 167.

(*d*) Fox's Martyrs.

(*e*) Stowe's Annals, p. 622. Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 272.

(*f*) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 167. Strype's Memorials.

(*g*) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 167.

(*h*) Godwin's Annals.

‘ Lord; be penitent for your ſins, and yet deſpair not; be ſtrong in faith, yet preſume not; and deſire with St Paul, to be diſſolved and to be with Chriſt, with whom even in death there is life. Be like the good ſervant, and even at midnight be waking, leſt when death cometh and ſtealeth upon you like a thief in the night, you be with the ſervants of darkneſs found ſleeping; and leſt for lack of oil, you be found like the five fooliſh virgins, or like him that had not on the wedding garment, and then you be caſt into darkneſs, or baniſhed from the marriage. Rejoice in Chriſt, as I truſt you do, and ſeeing you have the name of a Chriſtian, as near as you can follow the ſteps, and be a true imitator of your maſter Chriſt Jeſus, and take up your croſs, lay your ſins on his back, and always embrace him. Now as touching my death; rejoice as I do, my deareſt ſiſter, that I ſhall be delivered of this corruption, and put on incorruption; for I am aſſured that I ſhall for loſing of a mortal life, win one that is immortal, joyful, and everlaſting, the which I pray God grant you in his moſt bleſſed hour, and ſend you his all-ſaving grace to live in his fear, and to die in the true Chriſtian faith. From which, in God's name, I exhort you, that you never ſwerve, neither for hope of life nor fear of death; for if you will deny his truth, to give length to a weary and corrupt breath, God himſelf will deny you, and by vengeance make ſhort what you by your ſoul's loſs would prolong; but if you will cleave to him, he will ſtretch forth your days to an uncircumſcribed comfort, and to his own glory. To the which glory God bring me now, and you hereafter, when it ſhall pleaſe him to call you. Farewell once again, my beloved ſiſter, and put your only truſt in God, who only muſt help you. Amen.’

Your loving ſiſter,

Jane Dudley.

[*R*] *And with a view to increaſe the weight of her afflictions*] The Lieutenant of the Tower at this time was Sir John Bridges (111), the anceſtor of the preſent moſt noble family of that name Dukes of Chandos, and who in the month of April following, was himſelf created a Baron (112) by that title, and the ſame to whom ſhe afterwards gave her prayer book upon the ſcaffold. He was with her in the apartment which ſhe had at Mr Partridge's, from the windows of which ſhe had the laſt ſight of her Lord living and dead. It was after this ſad ſight that ſhe wrote three ſhort ſentences in her table book (113), in Greek, Latin, and Engliſh, and this very book, upon Sir John's intreaty that ſhe would beſtow upon him ſome memorial, ſhe preſented him as an acknowledgment for the civility ſhe received from him. By this accident the world came to learn with what ſteadineſs, and at the ſame time with what tenderneſs ſhe looked upon thoſe dear remains. The ſenſe of the Greek ſentence was.

> If his ſlain body ſhall give teſtimony againſt me before men, his moſt bleſſed ſoul ſhall render an eternal proof of my innocence in the preſence of God.

The Latin was to this effect.

> The juſtice of men took away his body, but the divine mercy has preſerved his ſoul.

The Engliſh ran thus.

> If my fault deſerved puniſhment, my youth at leaſt, and my imprudence were worthy of excuſe, God and poſterity will ſhew me favour.

In the place of her confinement, theſe verſes were found as ſome ſay, written with a pin (114).

Non aliena putes homini quæ obtingere poſſunt:
Sors hodierna mihi, cras erat illi tibi.

Stand not ſecure, who ſtand in mortal ſtate,
What's mine to day, ſhall next day be thy fate.

Deo juvante nil nocet livor malus,
Et non juvante, nil juvat labor gravis.
Poſt tenebras, ſpero lucem.

If Heaven protect, Hell's malice cannot wound,
By Heaven deſerted, peace can ne'er be found.
Theſe ſhadows paſt, I hope for light.

[*S*] *Which is inſerted in the notes.*] This we find printed as her laſt ſpeech by more authors than one, but we publiſh from that little collection (115) of pieces before mentioned, which ſeems to be the moſt authentic.

The

(111) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1100.

(112) Stowe's Annals, p. 623.

(113) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 167.

(114) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1100.

(115) From an old printed copy of the papers written by Lady Jane Grey.

Then kneeling down ſhe ſaid the Miſerere in Engliſh, after which ſhe ſtood up, and gave her women, Mrs Elizabeth Tilney and Mrs Helen, her gloves (*i*) and her handkerchief; and to the Lieutenant of the Tower, whom Heylin (*k*) calls Sir John Gage, but Holinſhed (*l*) Bridges, her prayer-book. When ſhe untied her gown the executioner offered to aſſiſt her (*m*), but ſhe deſired him to let her alone; and turning to her women, they undreſſed, and gave her a handkerchief to bind about her eyes (*n*). The executioner kneeling, deſired her pardon; to which ſhe anſwered moſt willingly (*o*) He deſiring her to ſtand upon the ſtraw, which bringing her within ſight of the block, ſhe ſaid, *I pray diſpatch me quickly*; adding preſently after, *Will you take it off before I lay me down* (*p*); the executioner ſaid, *No Madam*: upon this, the handkerchief being bound cloſe over her eyes, ſhe began to feel for the block, to which ſhe was guided by one of the ſpectators; when ſhe felt it, ſhe ſtretched herſelf forward and ſaid, *Lord, into thy hands I commend my ſpirit*, and immediately, at one ſtroke, her head was divided from her body (*q*). Her fate was univerſally deplored, even by thoſe who were beſt affected to Queen Mary; and as ſhe is allowed to have been a princeſs of great piety, it muſt certainly have given her much diſquiet to begin her reign with ſuch an unuſual effuſion of blood; and, in the preſent caſe, of her near relation, one formerly honoured with her friendſhip and favour, who had indeed uſurped, but without deſiring or enjoying, the royal diadem, which ſhe aſſumed, by the conſtraint of an ambitious father and an imperious mother; and which, at the firſt motion, ſhe chearfully and willingly reſigned. This made her exceedingly lamented at home and abroad, the fame of her learning and virtue having reached over Europe, ſo as to excite many commendations, and ſome expreſs panegyrics in different nations and in different languages. But whereas, ſome of our own writers ſeem to doubt whether ſhe was with child or not at the time of her deceaſe, and foreigners have improved this into a direct aſſertion, that ſhe was five months gone, it ſeems to be improbable, ſince there were at that time ſo many buſy and inquiſitive people, that if the fact had been true it muſt have been known, and would have been perpetually repeated in thoſe pieces that were every day ſent abroad, in order to exaſperate the nation againſt the Queen and her miniſters. On the twenty-firſt of the ſame month, the father of Queen Jane, Henry Grey Duke of Suffolk (*r*), loſt his head upon Tower-hill: neither was the jealouſy excited by King Edward's appointment, and their nearneſs in blood to the royal line, ſo fully extinguiſhed by the blood of ſo many victims, but that it revived in the ſucceeding reign, and proved a new ſource of diſquiet to the ſad remains of this unhappy family [*T*]. We have treated this article the more largely, becauſe hitherto, excepting Heylin, none of our hiſtorians have repreſented the public and private life of this admirable perſon with any tolerable degree of diſtinctneſs; but have been content to hurry over her ſhort poſſeſſion of the crown, as if it had been an ordinary

The cloſe varies in words, but not from the ſenſe of what is ſet down in the text.

‘ My Lords, and you good chriſtian people which
‘ come to ſee me die; I am under a law, and by that
‘ law, as a never erring judge, I am condemned to die,
‘ not for any thing I have offended the Queen's Maje-
‘ ſty, for I will waſh my hands guiltleſs thereof, and
‘ deliver to my God, a ſoul as pure from ſuch treſpaſs,
‘ as innocence from injuſtice; but only for that I con-
‘ ſented to the thing I was forced unto, conſtraint mak-
‘ ing the law believe I did that which I never under-
‘ ſtood, notwithſtanding I have offended Almighty
‘ God, in that I have followed over much the luſt of
‘ mine own fleſh, and the pleaſures of this wretched
‘ world; neither have I lived according to the know-
‘ ledge that God hath given me, for which cauſe God
‘ hath appointed unto me this kind of death, and that
‘ moſt worthily according to my deſerts; howbeit I
‘ thank him heartily that he hath given me time to re-
‘ pent of my ſins here in this world, and to reconcile
‘ myſelf to my Redeemer, whom my former vanities
‘ had in a great meaſure diſpleaſed. Wherefore (my
‘ Lords, and all you good chriſtian people) I moſt
‘ earneſtly deſire you all to pray with me, and for me,
‘ whilſt I am yet alive, that God of his infinite good-
‘ neſs and mercy will forgive me my ſins, how num-
‘ berleſs and grievous ſoever againſt him: and I be-
‘ ſeech you all to bear me witneſs, that I here die a
‘ true chriſtian woman, profeſſing and avouching from
‘ my ſoul, that I truſt to be ſaved by the blood, paſ-
‘ ſion, and merits of Jeſus Chriſt my Saviour only, and
‘ by no other means, caſting far behind me all the
‘ works and merits of mine own actions, as things ſo
‘ far ſhort of the true duty I owe, that I quake to think
‘ how much they may ſtand up againſt me. And now
‘ I pray you all pray for me and with me.’ And at thoſe words ſhe repeated the Pſalm of Miſerere mei; which done ſhe ſaid, Lord, ſave my ſoul, which now I commend into thy hands. And ſo with all meekneſs of ſpirit and a ſaint-like patience, ſhe prepared herſelf to the block.

We find theſe Latin verſes written to her memory (116).

Regia ſtirps triſti cinxi diademate crines:
Regna ſed omnipotens hinc meliora dedit.

From Kings deſcended, crown'd on earth with care,
But now in Heaven, an olive-crown I wear.

It is impoſſible to cloſe this account of her better, or more truly, than by this diſtich written by John Fox (117).

Tu quibus iſta legis incertum eſt, lector, ocellis:
Ipſe quidem ſiccis ſcribere non potui.

How thine eyes feel, kind reader, know I not:
Mine were not dry, when I this ſtory wrot.

[*T*] *To the ſad remains of this unhappy family.*] We have ſhewn in the text how ſtrangely the Duke of Suffolk involved thoſe who ought to have been, and who without doubt were neareſt in blood, and deareſt to him in affection, in his laſt, as well as in his firſt miſfortunes. It is indeed ſaid, that his brother, Lord Thomas Grey, perſuaded him to concur with Wyat, and if this was proved, it is no great wonder that he felt the ſtroke of juſtice (118) as well as the Duke. However that be, certain it is, that he loſt his head on the 27th of April, being taken in Wales, whither he fled after their defeat in Leiceſterſhire. But Lord John Grey following the Duke rather out of fraternal love, than any principle of diſloyalty, was pardoned by the Queen, (119), and we find him often mentioned afterwards in the next reign, by the title of Lord John Grey of Pyrgo in Eſſex, but his ſon Sir Henry Grey, was again enobled by King James the Firſt, who created him Baron of Groby (120), in the county of Leiceſter, and his grandſon Henry, was raiſed to the title of Earl of Stamford, by Charles (121) the Firſt, which honours are now enjoyed by his deſcendant (122), with a very conſiderable

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(*i*) Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1110. Clarke's Marrow of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, P. ii. p. 66.

(*k*) Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 167.

(*l*) Chron. Vol. II. p. 1100.

(*m*) Clarke's Marrow of Eccl. Hiſt. P. ii. p. 66. Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1110.

(*n*) Clarke's Marrow of Eccl. Hiſt. P. ii. p. 66. Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 168.

(*o*) Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1100.

(*p*) Clarke's Marrow of Eccl. Hiſt. p. 67.

(*q*) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1100. Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 168.

(*r*) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 363. Burnet': Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 272.

(116) Clarke's Marrow of Eccl. Hiſt. P. ii. p. 69.

(117) Fox's Acts and Monuments.

(118) Stowe's Annals.

(119) Holinſhed's Chron. Strype's Annals.

(120) Pat. Jac. I. p. 14.

(121) Pat. 3 Car. I. p. 6.

(122) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 232.

ordinary inſurrection, and to ſpeak of her death in general terms of compaſſion, with an exaggeration of ſome and a ſuppreſſion of other circumſtances, ſo as to put it out of the power of the reader to form a juſt notion of the whole tranſaction, which we have laboured to deſcribe as accurately and with as much impartiality as poſſible.

conſiderable part of the old family eſtate of the Marquis's of Dorſet Frances Ducheſs of Suffolk ſurvived her huſband many years, ending a miſerable life as Camden (123) tells us, in 1563, after forgetting her greatneſs ſo far, to uſe the words of the ſame author, as to accept for her huſband, Adrian Stokes, a gentleman in low circumſtances (one of her domeſticks) which how much ſoever it might tend to her diſcredit, yet ſeemed to anſwer the view with which it was done, by contributing to her ſecurity. Her ſecond daughter, Katherine, being left by the huſband of her good fortune, who preſently after eſpouſed another Katherine (124), daughter to the Earl of Shrewſbury, lamented for ſome years the diſtreſſes of her family and her own. She was ever looked upon with jealouſy in the Court of Elizabeth, more eſpecially after it was diſcovered that the (125) Spaniards in 1559, had formed a deſign of ſtealing her away. About two years after this, ſhe privately married the Earl of Hertford's eldeſt ſon, by whom proving with child (126), the Queen treated this as an affair of ſtate, and committed both the parties. A ſuit was alſo commenced, and being brought before a court of delegates, where the Archbiſhop of Canterbury ſat as chief, a definitive ſentence (127) was pronounced, that their cohabitation was unlawful, and that for their incontinence, they both deſerved to be puniſhed; but notwithſtanding this, procuring acceſs to her in the Tower, ſhe became again with child, and brought him another ſon (128). Upon this he was charged in the Star-Chamber, with having ſeduced a virgin of the royal blood in the Queen's palace, with breaking priſon, and with abuſing her a ſecond time, and for theſe crimes he was fined five thouſand pounds, and condemned to nine years impriſonment (129). Lady Katherine remained in the Tower to the time of her deceaſe, January 26, 1567. But in a ſucceeding and leſs jealous reign, the validity of her marriage was brought to the deciſion of a jury, of which John Digby, Eſq; (130) was the foreman, and the reſt, gentlemen, who, upon the oath of the miniſter that married them, and other circumſtances, found it to be good; and from the iſſue of this lady, deſcended the late Duke of Somerſet, and the noble families of Northumberland and Egremont, by the female line deſcend; as for the third ſiſter, Lady Mary Grey, though contracted in her nonage to a perſon of equal quality (131), yet ſhe afterwards thought it more ſafe to follow her mother's example, than to hazard the like fate with her elder ſiſters, and therefore took to her bed (132) Martin Keyes, Eſq; Serjeant-Porter to Queen Elizabeth, and by this humble marriage, having no iſſue, ſhe died April 20, 1578 (133).

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(123) Annal. Eliz. p. 105.

(124) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 203.

(125) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 89.

(126) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Parker, p. 107.

(127) Life of Sir Thomas Smith, p. 123.

(128) Strype's Life of Parker, p. 119.

(129) Camdeni Annal. Eliz. p. 89.

(130) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 369.

(131) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 425.

(132) Stowe's Annals.

(133) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 548. Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 231.

GRIMSTON [Sir **Harbottle**], a famous Lawyer, and Maſter of the Rolls, in the laſt century, was deſcended from a very antient and good family [*A*], and born at Bradfield-Hall near Maningtree in Eſſex, about the year 1594 [*B*]. In what ſchool he received his education, or whether he was ever a member of one of our univerſities, unleſs it were Cambridge, I am not able to learn. However, he ſtudied the municipal laws of the land, at Lincoln's-Inn (*a*), with great induſtry and ſucceſs; and practiſed in that profeſſion with conſiderable applauſe and eſteem. In Auguſt, 1638, he was choſen Recorder of Colcheſter (*b*), and having purchaſed the houſe of the late diſſolved Crouched-Friers in that town, made it the place of his reſidence. And ſo great did his intereſt become there, that he was choſen one of the repreſentatives of the ſame, in the Parliament which met at Weſtminſter, April 13, 1640; and again in the Parliament which met November 3, the ſame year (*c*). He was then a diſguſted perſon, and one of thoſe anti-courtiers who were branded with the name of Puritans, as appears by ſome printed violent ſpeeches of

(*a*) As appears by ſeveral letters of his in my poſſeſſion.

(*b*) From his letters, M.S.

(*c*) Ruſhworth's Hiſt. Col. Vol. III. p. 1107. Liſt of the repreſentatives in the Hiſtory of Colcheſter.

[*A*] *Was deſcended from a very ancient and good family.*] The pedigree of this family is derived from Silveſter Grimſton, of Grimſton, who was Standard-bearer to William the Conqueror, at the battle of Haſtings; and afterwards did homage to that prince for Grimſton, Horton, and Tunſted; and other lands he held of the Lord Roos, as of his manor of Roos in Holderneſs in the county of York: [which Lord Roos, was Chamberlain of the houſhold to King William, and not our Silveſter, as the author of the Iriſh Compendium aſſerts] (1). The three immediate deſcendants of this Silveſter, were Daniel; Sir Thomas, Kt. who lived in King Stephen's time; and John. This laſt had iſſue William, living in 1231; who by ——— his wife, daughter and co-heir of Sir John Callam, of Callam, Knight, had two ſons, Alexander that died without iſſue; and Roger, his eldeſt ſon and heir: this Roger marrying —— daughter of Fulk Conſtable, of Fryſemarſh, had by her Gerard, that left no iſſue; and Walter, who by —— his wife, daughter and heir of Herbert Flinton, of Flinton in Holderneſs, had theſe three ſons, John, Dean of Rocheſter, and afterwards Abbot of Selby; Gerard, that died without iſſue; and William, whoſe wife was Armetruda, daughter of Roland Ryſonn, of Ryſonn in Holderneſs: by her he had three ſons, Thomas, living in 1410; who by Dionyſia his wife, daughter of Guzins Sutton, Baron of Sayre, and Lord of Sutton, had iſſue Robert, that had no children; and Thomas, whoſe poſterity remained ſettled at Grimſton in Yorkſhire.——The two other ſons of William Grimſton abovementioned, were, John, Dean of Rocheſter in the time of King Henry V. and VI. and ROBERT, who came and fixed himſelf at Ipſwich: by his wife ——— daughter of Antony Spilman of Suffolk, he had his only ſon and heir, Edward Grimſton, of Reſing-hall and Ipſwich in the ſame county, who married two wives, 1. Mary, daughter of William Drury, of Rougham in Suffolk, and 2. Philippa Lady Roos, daughter and heir of John Lord Tiptoft, and widow of Thomas Lord Roos. By this laſt lady he had no children; but by the firſt he had, John, who died without iſſue, Edward, born 24 March, 1451, Thomas, born 5 July, 1453, Anne, born 26 July, 1457, Elizabeth, born 17 November, 1458, Alice, born 15 February, 1459, Chriſtopher, born 3 July, 1456, and John, who became ſeated with his poſterity at Oxborough in Norfolk. Edward, laſt mentioned, married Margaret, daughter to Thomas Harvey Eſq; and had iſſue Edward; who marrying Anne, daughter of John Garniſh, of Kenton, Suffolk, had a ſon, named Edward, knighted afterwards; and ſome other children. This laſt Edward, was father of another Edward, ſeated at Bradfield in the county of Eſſex; and alſo of Edmund, Serjeant at Arms to King James I. Edward the eldeſt ſon and heir, died 15 Auguſt, 1610. By Joanna his wife, ſecond daughter and coheir of Thomas Riſby, of Lavenham in the county of Suffolk (by —— daughter and heir of —— Harbottle), he had iſſue, Mary the wife of Tho. Cornwallys, Eſq; Harbottle Grimſton, of Bradfield, Eſq; made a Knight, and one of the firſt 200 Baronets created by King James I; and Henry, alſo knighted Sir Harbottle married Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Ralph Coppinger, of Stoke in Kent; by which he had Edward, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Tho. Marſham, Eſq; but had no ſurviving iſſue; Sir Harbottle, concerning whom we are writing; Henry, and Elizabeth (2).

[*B*] *And born —— about the year* 1594.] He muſt have been born about that time; conſidering that he was aged 90, on the 31ſt of December 1683 when he died; as A. Wood informs us (3).

(1) Edit. 1735, p. 254.

(2) MS. Geneal. of T. Jekyll, Eſq; Iriſh Compend. ubi ſupra.

(3) Athenæ Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 15.

of his [*C*]. And he not only ſpoke, but acted alſo, with vehemence againſt the Court meaſures, as is manifeſt from ſome original letters of his, of which abſtracts are given in the note [*D*]; as alſo from this other inſtance, that he was in moſt of the committees for

[*C*] *As appears by ſome printed ſpeeches of his*] He was the firſt that ſtood up in the Houſe of Commons, April 16, 1640, after the reading of the petition from the county of Hertford againſt ſhip-money, projects, monopolies, ſtar-chamber, high-commiſſion-courts, and other grievances; and, in his ſpeech, has theſe words. ——‘ The Commonwealth hath been miſerably torn and maſſacred, and all property and liberty ſhaken, the Church diſtracted, the Goſpel and profeſſors of it perſecuted, and the whole nation over-run with ſwarms of projecting canker-worms and caterpillars, the worſt of all the Egyptian plagues: Then, as the caſe now ſtands with us, I conceive there are two points very conſiderable in it. The firſt is, what hath been done any way to impeach the liberties of the ſubjects, contrary to the petition of right? the ſecond is, who have been the authors and cauſes of it? the ſerious examination and diſcuſſion of theſe two queſtions, do highly concern his Majeſty in point of honour, and his ſubjects in point of intereſt. And all that I ſhall ſay to it, are but the words that Ezra uſed to King Artaxerxes.——Whoſoever hath not done the laws of God and the King, let judgment be ſpeedily executed upon him, whether it be unto baniſhment, or to confiſcation of goods, or to impriſonment.——His Majeſty yeſterday did graciouſly confirm unto us, our great and ancient liberties of freedom of ſpeech; and having his kingly word for it, I ſhall reſt as confidently upon it, as the greateſt ſecurity under heaven, whileſt I have the honour to have a place here, and I ſhall with all humility be bold to expreſs myſelf like a freeman (4).’———In the next parliament, November 9, 1640, when the nation's ſpirits were in general much embittered by the haſty diſſolution of the former, he ſpoke in a much ſeverer manner againſt the grievances then complained of, viz. The Speaker's refuſing to put the queſtion in the laſt parliament; adjourning the houſe without the conſent of the ſame; impriſoning ſome of the members, and ſearching their ſtudies and pockets, the new canons, and the oath, et cætera. Towards the concluſion, he breaks out thus. ‘ Mr Speaker, This is the age; this is the age, Mr Speaker, that hath produced and brought forth Achitophels, Hamans, Woolſies, Empſons and Dudleys, Treſilians, and Belknaps. Vipers and monſters of all ſorts (5).’——However he adds, ‘ I doubt not but when his Majeſty ſhall be truely informed of ſuch matters, as we are able to charge them withal, we ſhall have the ſame juſtice againſt theſe, which heretofore hath been againſt their predeceſſors, in whoſe wicked ſteps they have trodden’ And that ſhews, he retained a due reverence for the regal dignity.———The 18th of December following, he made a virulent ſpeech againſt Archbiſhop Laud, wherein he hath theſe furious words.———‘ We are now fallen upon the great man, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury; look upon him as he is in highneſs, and he is the ſtye of all peſtilential filth that hath infected the ſtate and government of this Commonwealth: look upon him in his dependances, and he is the man, the only man, that hath raiſed and advanced all thoſe, that together with himſelf have been the authors and cauſers of all our ruins, miſeries, and calamities we now groan under. Who is it but he only that hath brought the Earl of Strafford to all his great places and imployments; a fit ſpirit and inſtrument to act and execute all his wicked and bloody deſigns in theſe kingdoms? who is it but he only that brought in Secretary Windebank into this place of ſervice of truſt, the very broker and pander to the whore of Babylon? who is it, Mr Speaker, but he only that hath advanced all our Popiſh Biſhops. I ſhall name but ſome of them, Biſhop Manwaring, the Biſhop of Bath and Wells, [William Pierce] the Biſhop of Oxford, [John Bancroft] and Biſhop Wren, the leaſt of all theſe birds, but one of the moſt unclean ones.’ — And he concludes with adviſing, that the Archbiſhop ſhould be immediately accuſed of high-treaſon (6).—— He was much more moderate in his next ſpeech, Feb. 9, 1640-1, concerning Epiſcopacy, wherein is this paragraph;——‘ I muſt confeſs, when I look upon the Biſhops, or at leaſt upon ſome of them, and the way of their government, I wonder not at all at the multitude of petitioners, and petitions that have this parliament been preferred againſt them.——But it is neceſſary we ſhould diſtinguiſh between the perſons of the Biſhops, which are ſo obnoxious, and their functions and offices; for there is no more weight in the argument, that becauſe the Biſhops have done amiſs, therefore take away Epiſcopacy, than there is in it, becauſe the judges of the common-law are in fault, therefore take away judges, and take away the common-law (7).’

[*D*] *As is manifeſt from ſome original letters of his.*] The firſt to Mr Wade, Mayor of Colcheſter, is as follows.

‘ Mr Mayor,

‘ I received a letter the laſt weeke from Mr Alderman Cole, in your abſence when you were att Norwich, it came not to my hands 'till the Frydaie morninge, after I had diſpatched my letter to you with the intelligence of ſuch occurrencies, as happened that weeke heere in Parliament; thereuppon I thought fitt immediately to give ſome direccons in the buſines of Mrs Payne, to examine Mr Paine whether hee had ſent awaie into Ireland Sir John Sylyard's letter; if it were gone, then to knowe to whome it was directed; if otherwiſe, uppon the producinge of it, to open it, and to ſee whether their bee any thinge of danger in it: ſoe ſoone as I came to the Parliament-houſe I acquainted the Parliament with it, whereuppon they made an order for the ſearchinge of Mrs Paine's houſe, and to diſarme her, and to intercept all letters; I doubt not but Mr Cole hath imparted the buſines to you. And I ſhould have bene glad this weeke to have heard from you what hath beene done in it; I would likewiſe adviſe, that att the next quarter ſeſſions of the peace to be houlden for our borrough, that Mrs Paine, and ſoe many of her companie and ſervants who come not to church, that they ſhould bee indicted, and proclamacion made thereuppon accordinge to the ſtatute, that they maie bee convicted. As for newes, wee had letters out of Ireland uppon Saterdaie laſt, whereby wee are informed, that the rebells do everie day gather ſtrength and increaſe in number; that there is a total defeccion of nyne counties, and that they expect their approach to Dublyn very ſuddainely. Wee have already ſent over ſyfty thouſand pounds, and are borroweinge two hundred thouſand pounds more for that ſervice. The Lo. Leiuetenante is goeinge over with ten regiments, which are to be devided into three briggades. The firſt is to bee under the command of my Lo himſelf, the ſecond under his Leiutenante generall, and the third under Sir Symon Harcourt, who is to lie with his forces at Dublyn. The Chardge of a regiment for a yeare will come to threeſcore and ſix thouſand pownds att the leaſt, which beinge multiplied by tenn does come to a mighty ſome of money, which muſt goe out of our purſes; and tis thought that that will not doe it, for the rebells are very ſtronge, and have already gotten moſt of the greateſt townes of conſequence in Ireland, and where they meet with any oppoſicion from the Engliſh they cutt their throats, and where they ſubmitte, they ſtripp them and turne them out of all they have. Sir Symon Harcourt is now goeinge downe into Cheſheire with Sir William Brewerton, to beat upp drummes, and to raiſe men in thoſe parts beinge neereſt, and beinge moſt convenient to bee ſent over from thence. Wee have likewiſe ſent awaie inſtruccions to the Parliament of Scotland for the raiſinge of men in the north parte of that kingdome. A fleete is preparinge to guard and ſecure the Iriſh partes for feare they ſhould have releif from forraigne partes, It is heere confidently reported, that the Kinge will bee at Yorke uppon Thurſdaie next; and Sir Arthur Ingram tells mee that his Majeſtie is to lie att his houſe, which makes mee give the better credit to myne intelligence. Yeaſterdaie one Thomas Beale came to the Houſe of Commons, and informed that beinge under a bankes ſide, hee heard two men ſaie that they had, with two hundred more, taken an oath of ſecrecie att a lord's houſe who muſt not yett be named. The buſines they were to doe was this,

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(4) Ruſhworth, ubi ſupra, p. 1129. Nalſon's Collect. Vol. I. p. 319.

(5) Nalſon, ubi ſupra, p. 508, &c. Ruſhworth, p. 1349, 1353, 1354, 1356.

(6) Nalſon, ubi ſupra, p. 690.

(7) Nalſon, ubi ſupra, p. 771.

for the redreſs of grievances [*E*], and for bringing thoſe to juſtice who had rendered themſelves moſt obnoxious to the people (*d*). In 1642, he was made one of the Lieutenants of the county of Eſſex, in purſuance of the Parliament's ordinance for the militia (*e*); and in Auguſt the ſame year came down to his borough, and with Sir Thomas Barrington, the other repreſentative of it, publiſhed two orders againſt Sir John Lucas, proclaiming him guilty of high-treaſon, for intending to aſſiſt the King, &c. (*f*). But in proceſs of time, ſhocked at thoſe dangerous extremes which ſome were driving at, he appeared to be one of the worthy patriots who were for reforming the government, and not for totally ſubverting of it, like Cromwell, and other deteſtable tools of ambition. And therefore, from about the year 1644, though he continued in the Houſe of Commons, he concurred not with all the violent meaſures there taken (*g*), However, he ſo well maintained his reputation with all perſons of honeſty, candour, and moderation, that in September 1647, he was appointed one of the Parliament's Commiſſioners at the treaty of Newport in the iſle of Wight (*h*). There he behaved himſelf ſo handſomely to King

'uppon this daie they ſhould have come to the houſe, and quarteringe themſelves in ſeverall places about the paſſages from our houſe (being armed with ſwords and piſtalls) they ſhould have cutt all our throats; at laſt they diſcovered this man; whereuppon, one of them ſwearinge a great oath that they were diſcovered, ranne his ſword att him, and thought hee had killed him, but the hurt proves to bee very ſlight; this man is now under examination, and the Earle of Worceſter's houſe and other great recuſants have beene this daie ſearched, but the men diſcribed cannot bee mett withall, nor any thinge yet of juſt feare diſcovered: The Lord More hath given ſome of rebells in Ireland a defeate; with one thouſand men hee mett with five thouſand Iriſh, and killed about a thouſand of their men and made the reſt runne awaie; it is hoped that this loſſe will give them ſome diſcouragement. The Kinge of Portugall is in great diſtreſſe, and in great danger of looſinge his kingdome againe; I ſent the order for diſarminge of Mrs Paine, and intercepting of letters down to Mr Cole the laſt weeke, and my man delivered the letter to Mr Humberſton; and the Parliament havinge bene poſſeſſed with the buſines, I ſhall bee glad to knowe what hath beene done in it And ſoe with the remembrance of my kinde reſpects and love to yourſelf and the reſt of the Aldermen your brethren, I reſt

'Your aſſured lovinge friend,

Lyncolnes Inne,
9ber 17, 1641.

'HAR. GRIMSTON.'

Another letter of his, dated November 4, 1642, runs thus:

'MR MAYOR,

'I had intelligence yeaſterdaie, about 3 of the clock, that ſome horſes were come from Hamburgh, whereof 3 were at Maningtree, and the reſt ſtill on ſhipboard at Harwich; whereuppon imediately I ſent downe my warrant to ſtaie them at Maningtree, and likewiſe another warrant to the Mayor of Harwich and the Captaine of Langerfort, to ſeize upon thoſe horſes that are there on ſhippboard, with order to ſett riders of our owne uppon them, and to carrie them to the Parliament. Praie make ſtaie of thoſe horſes att Colcheſter, and ſoe ſoone as I heare from Harwich I will give your further direccions in this buſines; there came out a declaracion not longe ſince, diſcoveringe thus much, that horſes were providinge at Hamburgh and in Denmarke to be brought over hether to the kinge. That declaracion, together with thoſe inſtruccions which myſelf and the reſt of the Deputie-Leieuetenants of this county have received from both houſes of Parliament, givinge us authoritie to ſeaze uppon all horſes, money, and plate, which wee ſhall ſuſpect to bee intended to bee imploied againſt the kingdome.'

In another letter to the Mayor of the ſame town, dated the next day, he hath theſe words:

'I received yeaſternight late an order from the Parliament concerning the ſpeedinge away of our horſes for draggoones, whereof I have here incloſed ſent you a coppie. I doubt not but you knowe by this time the great ſtraightes wee are in; the kinge beinge now approached very neare to the cittie with a great army; and our army att a great diſtance, ſoe as I feare the Earle of Eſſex will not bee able to come in time enough to releive us; by this order you maie perceive wee are commanded to appoint receivers of the horſes, as for this parte of the country noe place ſoe fitt as Colcheſter—Therefore I muſt intreate you to take the care of this buſines.—I have made out warrants into all theſe partes to the conſtables for the callinge in of ſuch monies as are ſubſcribed for, as allſoe to return the names of ſuch as have not ſubſcribed, or not in a proportion anſwearable to their eſtates.'

Another letter of his to the ſame, dated November 16, 1642, is as follows:

'We have received letters from Mr Strickland, agent for the Parliament in the Low-Countries, that the queene is cominge over with many ſhipps, in which ſhee brings with her money, amunition, and 3000 old ſouldiers, and that her purpoſe is to land att Harwich; by his intelligence ſhee ſhould ſett out to ſea this day, but the winde is croſſe, which I hope will ſtaie her a while, untill wee bee a little better provided for her comeinge in our parts. I ſuppoſe the deſigne is to make Kent and Eſſex the ſeat of the warre, for the kinge is gone over the Thames at Kingſton, and tis thought hee will paſſe through Surrey into Kent. And if the kinge with his forces on the one ſide, and the queene with her forces on the other ſide, ſhall comand the Thames eaſtward, they will then bee able not onely to intercept all manner of releif of fewell or victuall which maie bee brought to the cittie that waie, but likewiſe overthrowe their trade, which evidently in a ſhort time wil bee their ruine and deſtruction. If the queene doe land there, Colcheſter is likely to bee the firſt towne they will fall upon'

In another letter of the 23d following, he has theſe words:

'Since my laſt letter wee have received advertiſements out of the Low-Countries, that the queene hath altered her reſolution of landing at Harwich; neverthéleſſe I thinke it very neceſſary you ſhould take into your conſiderations the fortifying of your towne, for it is poſſible that this is given out to make us the more ſecure.—You knowe the Parliament hath given 1500l. for the makinge your towne and the blockhouſe defenſible; if that will not doe it wee muſt ſtraine ourſelves, rather than hazzard the towne together with our lives and eſtates—As for the men you ſent upp with a fortnight's pay in hand, they ſay it was given them but to come upp, and they will have paie heere likewiſe for that time, or elſe they will not ſerve; and they wil bee comanded but by whome they liſt, and goe noe further than they pleaſe. They have moſt of them diſcharged themſelves.'

[*E*] *He was in moſt of the committees for the redreſs of grievances.*] Namely, in the year 1640, in the committee that examined the new canons (8); and in the committee appointed to conſider of the breach of privileges, in the two former parliaments (9). He was, in 1641, one of the committee to prepare the charge againſt the Earl of Strafford; and one of thoſe members of the Houſe of Commons, who were appointed to be preſent at the examination of witneſſes, preparatory to that Earl's tryal (10). In 1642, he was in the committee, named for vindicating the privileges of parliament, upon occaſion of the King's going to the Houſe of Commons to demand the five members: and in the committee for Iriſh affairs; in which laſt he made, January 5, 1641-2, an excellent ſpeech, at Guild-hall, concerning the power and privileges of parliament.

[*F*] *That*

(*d*) Nalſon, Vol. I. p. 679, 690. Vol. II. p. 7, 11, &c.

(*e*) Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 59.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 62. Mercurius Ruſticus, edit. 1646, p. 5.

(*g*) 'And continued rather than concurred with them,' as the Lord Clarendon expreſſes it. Hiſtory of the Rebellion, edit. 1731, 8vo. Vol. VI. p. 755.

(*h*) Ibid. Ruſhworth's Hiſt. Col. Vol. VII. p. 1263. Whitelock's Memorials, p. 334. Sir Edw. Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes.

(8) Nalſon, Vol. I. p. 679.

(9) Ibid. p. 690.

(10) Idem. Vol. II. p. 7, 11.

King Charles the Firſt, that his Majeſty was well ſatisfied with him; and after his return to parliament, he preſſed the acceptance of the King's conceſſions: on which account, and becauſe he was one of the commiſſioners for diſbanding the army, he was in the number of thoſe who were forcibly excluded the Houſe by a party of ſoldiers (*i*). After the cruel and violent death of King Charles the Firſt, he ſeems to have ſo much diſliked his own country, and the new form of government, that he quitted his recorderſhip of Colcheſter, and went and travelled beyond-ſea for a while [*F*]. How long he ſtaid abroad doth not appear; but, in 1656, he was elected one of the ſixteen repreſentatives for the county of Eſſex, in Oliver Cromwell's parliament, according to the new inſtrument of government. And not being approved by the Council, he joined in a moſt excellent remonſtrance with ſeveral other perſons of the greateſt worth and eſtates, thus diſapproved and ſet aſide (*k*). In February 1659-60, he was choſen one of the new Council of State [*G*]; in whom the executive power was lodged by the remains of the Long-Parliament that reſtored King Charles the Second (*l*). And a few months after, was alſo choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in the Healing Parliament, which met April 25, 1660 (*m*). May 11, following, he ſailed to Holland with Sir John Granville, in order to wait upon King Charles the Second at Breda (*n*). After the King's arrival in his dominions Sir Harbottle was much in his favour, and had the honour of entertaining him, on the 25th of June, at his houſe in Lincoln's-inn-fields (*o*). Upon preſenting the money-bills to his Majeſty, September 13, he made an elegant and loyal ſpeech, of which part is given in the note [*H*]. Having thus heartily concurred in the reſtoration and eſtabliſhment of King Charles the Second, he was rewarded, on the third of November, 1660, with the Maſterſhip of the Rolls (*p*); which honourable office he diſcharged for above three and twenty years (*q*) with great abilities and integrity (*r*). He was alſo appointed, in 1660, Chief-Steward of the Burgh of St Albans (*s*), and Recorder of Harwich (*t*); and from the Reſtoration to the time of his death, continued one of the repreſentatives in Parliament for the Burgh of Colcheſter (*u*). For ſeveral years he entertained Dr Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury, as his chaplain, or preacher at the Rolls (*w*), and greatly aſſiſted and encouraged him in his Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of England [*I*]. Sir Harbottle never obliged the world with any thing of his own, but he publiſhed the Reports of his father-in-law Sir George Croke, Knight [*K*]. He died December 31, 1683, aged about ninety (*x*); and was buried in the chancel of St Michael's church in St Albans [*L*]. He was twice married: His firſt lady was Mary, daughter of Sir George Croke juſt now mentioned, by whom he had iſſue, George, Samuel, Mary, and Elizabeth. George married Sarah, daughter and co-heir of Sir Edward Alſton of London, M. D. but died without iſſue. Whereupon the title and eſtate deſcended to Samuel the ſecond

(*i*) Clarendon, ibid. Whitelock, as above, p. 249, col. 1.

(*k*) Whitelock, as above, p. 572, 653.

(*l*) Phillips's Contin. of Sir R. Baker's Chron. p. 690. Bp. Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. edit. 1728, fol. p. 66.

(*m*) Phillips, ib. p. 701. Kennet, p. 123.

(*n*) Kennet, ibid. p. 146.

(*o*) The hiſtorical Antiquities of Hertfordſhire, by Sir Henry Chauncy, p. 374.

(*p*) Idem ibid. p. 307.

(*q*) Not 26 years, as Sir Henry Chauncy affirms, ubi ſupra, p. 465.

(*r*) Chauncy, ibid. p. 465.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 457.

(*t*) S. Taylor's Hiſtory of Harwich, edit. 1730. 4to. p. 218.

(*u*) Hiſtory of Colcheſter, in liſt of the repreſentatives.

(*w*) See above, the article BURNET [GILBERT].

(*x*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*F*] *That he quitted his recorderſhip of Colcheſter.*] Upon which occaſion, he writ the following letter, July 6, 1649, to the Mayor of that town.

'Soe long as I was in a capacitie of ſerveing the 'towne of Colcheſter, with a poſſibility of reſettling 'myſelf in the county, I was willing to retayne the 'place of Recorder there, *but a ſad hand of Providence* '*hath nowe otherwiſe diſpoſed of affayres*, and having 'loſt my deare yooke fellow, I knowe not howe to 'ſpend my tyme better, than in giveing my ſonne 'ſome education abroad, with whom I intend to travell, 'if I may have leave ſo to do, which I hope to obteyne, therefore out of conſcience, and the true love 'and affection which I beare to the towne, that their 'ſervice may not ſuffer by my abſence, I do hereby 'abſolutely make void the place by my ſurrender, deſiring you to enter it amongſt your records, and to 'give notice thereof to the free-burgiſſes, at a general 'hall, where according to your charter and conſtitutions, you may procede to the choice of another '(11).'

(11) Book of Aſſemblies of that town, July 16, 1649.

[*G*] *He was choſen one of the new Council of State*] This council conſiſted of thirty-one perſons, with General Monk at their head: moſt of them men of integrity, and well affected to kingly government, as J. Phillips affirms (12). Or, according to Dr Skinner (13), moſt of them for their character, and good inclinations towards the King's ſervice, were accounted of the very choice and flower of the Houſe of Commons.

(12) Ubi ſupra.

(13) Life of Gen. Monk, edit. 1724, 8vo. p. 246.

[*H*] *He made an elegant and loyal ſpeech, of which part is given in the note.*] It began thus, 'Sir, The 'royal favour and fatherly kindneſs unto your people, 'hath naturalized their affections to your perſon, and 'their obedience to your precepts. And as it is their 'duty, ſo it is their deſire to manifeſt the truth and 'reality thereof, by ſupporting and upholding that 'grandeur and ſplendor which is due to the majeſty of 'ſo meritorious a prince as yourſelf. And therefore 'they have reſolved *uno flatu* and *nemine contradicente*, 'to make up your Majeſty's conſtant and ordinary revenue, twelve hundred thouſand pounds *per annum*, '&c (14).'

(14) Kennet, ubi ſupra, &c. p. 254.

[*I*] *And greatly aſſiſted and encouraged him in his Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of England.*] This the Doctor thankfully acknowledges in the following words,——'I muſt acknowledge myſelf highly 'obliged by the favour and bounty of the honourable 'Maſter of the Rolls, Sir Harebottle Grimſtone, of 'whoſe worth and goodneſs to me I muſt make a large 'digreſſion, if I would undertake to ſay all that the 'ſubject will bear: the whole nation expreſſed their 'value of him, upon the moſt ſignal occaſion, when 'they made him their mouth and ſpeaker in that bleſſed aſſembly which called home their King, after 'which real evidence, all little commendations may be 'well forborn. The obligations he has laid on me are 'ſuch, that as the gratitude and ſervice of my whole 'life, is the only equal return I can make for them; 'ſo, as a ſmall tribute, I judge myſelf obliged to make 'my acknowledgements in this manner, for the leiſure 'I enjoy under his protection, and the ſupport I receive from him; and if this work does the world 'any ſervice, the beſt part of the thanks is due to him, 'that furniſhed me with particular opportunities of 'carrying it on (15).'

(15) Preface to Part I. of the Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 3.

[*K*] *But he publiſhed the reports of his father-in-law Sir George Croke, Knight.*] They were publiſhed under the title of, 'Reports and ſelect caſes of law, &c.' in three volumes folio: the firſt containing caſes and reports in the reign of Queen Elizabeth: the ſecond, in the reign of King James I. and the third, in the reign of King Charles I Lond. 1657, 1658, 1661. Sir George Croke was one of the juſtices of the King's Bench, and died 15 February, 1641-2 (16).

(16) Wood's Athenæ, as above, col. 15.

[*L*] *And was buried in the chancel of St Michael's church in St Albans*] And not in the church of Gorhambury, as Mr Wood ſays by a miſtake (17), there being no ſuch church. Gorhambury is a manor in the pariſh of St Michael's, famous for having been the reſidence of Sir Nicolas Bacon, Lord-Keeper, and of his ſon, Francis Lord Viſcount Verulam (18).

(17) Ubi ſupra, col. 15.

(18) Chauncy, ubi ſupra, p. 464.

ſecond ſon, who married, firſt, Elizabeth, daughter of Heneage Finch Earl of Nottingham; and ſecondly, Anne, daughter of John Tufton Earl of Thanet, and left a daughter by each of them, but no ſon. Of Sir Harbottle's two daughters, Mary was married to Sir Capel Luckyn of Meſſing-hall in Eſſex, and was grandmother to the preſent Lord Grimſton, whoſe father was adoptive heir to Sir Samuel Grimſton; and Elizabeth became the wife of Sir George Grubham-How, of Banvick in the county of Wilts, Bart. Sir Harbottle's ſecond lady was Anne, daughter of Sir Nathaniel Bacon of Culford hall in Suffolk, Knight, and relict of Sir Thomas Meautys, of Gorhambury near St Alban's, of whoſe heirs Sir Harbottle bought that manor and eſtate (*y*). Sir Henry Chauncy gives this character of him (*z*). He had a nimble fancy, a quick apprehenſion, a rare memory, an eloquent tongue, and a ſound judgment, which parts he held to the laſt: he was a perſon of free acceſs, ſociable in company, ſincere to his friend, hoſpitable in his houſe, charitable to the poor, and an excellent maſter to his ſervants.

(*y*) Chauncy, ubi ſupra, p. 465. T. Jekyll's Gen. MS. Iriſh Compendium, edit. 1735, p. 254.

(*z*) Pag. 465.

GRINDAL [EDMUND], a very learned and pious prelate of the XVIth century, and one of the firſt reformers of our religion under Queen Elizabeth, was born about the year 1519, in a little angle of the county of Cumberland, called Cowpland or Copland, at Henſingham in the pariſh of St Begh's. The hiſtorian of his life, the laborious Mr Strype, gives us no account of his family, which he ſays (*a*) he is unable to trace. Our prelate, after having gone through his grammar ſtudies, was ſent to the univerſity of Cambridge, where three colleges may boaſt of him; Magdalen college firſt entertained him, and gave him his earlieſt ſeaſoning; afterwards he became a member of Chriſt's college, probably with a view of ſome exhibition or other encouragement; and from thence removed to Pembroke-Hall, where he was choſen fellow in 1538, as ſoon as he was capable of a fellowſhip, being then Bachelor of Arts *. In 1540 he was choſen Junior-Treaſurer of the college, and next year commenced Maſter of Arts. In 1548 he was declared public Proctor of the univerſity, and next year became Preſident of Pembroke-College (*b*), and is often called in the acts of the univerſity, *Aſſiſtens Vicecancellarii in judiciis*, *i. e.* the Vicechancellor's aſſiſtant in matters judiciary. Being now Bachelor in Divinity, he was this ſame year, 1549, admitted Lady Margaret's public preacher in Cambridge, by the unanimous conſent of the Maſters and Preſidents of the univerſity (*c*); and when an extraordinary Act was commenced this year for the entertainment of King Edward's viſitors at Cambridge, Grindal was one of the four diſputants choſen out of the whole univerſity [*A*]; at which diſputation he acquitted himſelf with great honour and applauſe. Thus our divine made a very conſiderable figure in the univerſity before he began to be diſtinguiſhed in the Church, where his firſt appearance was in 1550, when he removed to London, being appointed by Ridley, then Biſhop of that ſee, to be his chaplain [*B*]; and the year following, Auguſt 24, was collated to the chantorſhip of St Paul's cathedral, by his patron Biſhop Ridley, who had before deſigned him the prebend of Cantrelles in the church of St Paul's, but was obſtructed by the Council [*C*]. The ſame year he was, through Ridley's means, made one of the King's chaplains [*D*]. In July 1552 a Prebend of Weſtminſter was conferred on him for life †, though he afterwards reſigned it to Biſhop Bonner. In November following he was nominated for a Biſhopric in the North,

but

(*a*) Pag. 3.

* Reg. Acad.

(*b*) MS. de Cuſt. Pembrochian. Faſti Eccl. Ang. p. 394. Le Neve's Lives of the Biſhops, &c. P. i. p. 30.

(*c*) Ex Regiſt. Acad.

† Reg. Weſt.

[*A*] *Grindal was one of the four diſputants ſelected out of the whole univerſity.*] The viſitors appointed by King Edward VI. were, Goodrich, Biſhop of Ely; Ridley, Biſhop of Rocheſter; Sir William Paget, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir John Cheke, Dr Mey, and Dr Wendy, all very learned men; and the queſtions to be diſputed were, 'Whether tranſubſtantiation could be 'proved by plain and manifeſt words of ſcripture; 'and, whether it might be collected and confirmed by 'the conſent of Fathers for theſe thouſand years paſt (1)' Grindal was one who aſſerted the negative, the other three diſputants being Pern, Gueſt, and Pilkington (2). The diſputation may be ſeen at large in Fox's Martyrology.

[*B*] *In 1550 he removed to London, being appointed Biſhop Ridley's chaplain.*] Soon after his removal, Martin Bucer, the King's Divinity-Profeſſor, having occaſion to write from Cambridge, upon certain buſineſs of the Biſhop, ſtiles our divine, *eximium eruditione & pietate, membrum Chriſti præcipuum, & collegam ſuum in ſanctiſſimo adminiſtrandi verbi Dei munere*; i. e. 'eminent for his learning and piety, a chief member 'of Chriſt, and his aſſociate in the moſt ſacred miniſtry 'of the word of God.' Such a character, from ſo great a man, does too much honour to our prelate, to be paſſed over in ſilence.

[*C*] *He deſigned him the prebend of Cantrelles, but was obſtructed by the Council.*] When the Biſhop, upon a vacancy of this prebendſhip, was going to collate his chaplain Grindal to it, one Thomas, clerk of the Council and a great favourite with King Edward, laboured with the King and Council to obtain it for himſelf; but the Biſhop not caring to beſtow it upon him, letters were written to the Biſhop by ſome of the Council, to ſtay his collation of the prebend; ſome of them having procured it to be ſettled for the furniſhing the King's ſtables. This extremely troubled the Biſhop, who thereupon applied to Cheke, Wroth, and Cecyl, at Court, to interpoſe with the King, that with the favour of the Council he might have leave to give this living to his 'well-deſerving chaplain, who was without preferment, and to whom he would grant it with 'all his heart, that ſo he might have him continually 'with him, and in his dioceſe to preach, adding, that 'he was known to be both of vertue, honeſty, diſ'cretion, wiſdom, and learning.' Mr Strype ſays, he cannot tell whether, after all this, Grindal enjoyed Cantrelles or not, but the Chantorſhip of St Paul's, which was of greater value, becoming vacant ſoon after, the Biſhop gave him that (3).

[*D*] *Was appointed one of the King's chaplains.*] In December 1551, a reſolution was taken by the King's Council, that his Majeſty ſhould retain ſix chaplains, whoſe employment was thus fixed. Two of them were always to be with the King in waiting; the other four to be ſent over the kingdom, eſpecially the remoter counties, to preach to the common people, and to inſtruct them in the principles of true religion, and obedience to their prince. Theſe ſix were afterwards reduced to four, and Grindal was one of theſe; the others being Dr Bill, Dr Harley, (afterwards Biſhop of Hereford) and Dr Pern. Their annual ſalaries were 40 l. each (4).

[*E*] *He*

(1) Mr Strype, who by miſtake quotes Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. for this paſſage, inſtead of his Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p. 127, thinks theſe laſt words ſhould rather be, For 1000 years after Chriſt.

(2) Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p. 127.

(3) Strype, p. 5, 6.

(4) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

but did not obtain it [*E*]; and a little before King Edward's death, a report went, that Ridley being to be tranſlated to the ſee of Durham, Grindal was to ſucceed him in London, being then but 33 years old. Upon the death of King Edward in 1553, he retired into Germany, to avoid the perſecution under Queen Mary, and ſettled at Straſburg, and applied himſelf with great diligence to learn the German language, in order that he might preach in the churches there. In 1554 he was engaged in the diſputes among the Engliſh at Franckfort, concerning a new model and form of worſhip, varying from the laſt corrected liturgy under King Edward the Sixth. He was alſo a moſt diligent collector of the writings and accounts of the ſufferers in England for the Proteſtant religion, and greatly aſſiſted Mr John Fox in compiling his Martyrology, both by his continual advice, and by ſupplying him with materials for it, moſt of which he drew up and methodized himſelf, ſo that Fox's work was only to tranſlate into Latin (*e*). Upon the death of Queen Mary, in 1558, he returned to England, and was employed in many weighty eccleſiaſtical affairs for the reformation of religion, under Queen Elizabeth. He was concerned in drawing up a form of prayer and public worſhip, which was to be preſented to the Queen's firſt Parliament; and was alſo one of the eight Proteſtant divines, choſen to enter the liſt againſt the Popiſh prelates, in a public diſputation, a more particular account of which is to be found in Strype's Annals of the Reformation (*f*). He was generally appointed to preach before the Queen, Privy-Council, &c. upon public occaſions; and was likewiſe one of her Majeſty's commiſſioners in the North for the royal viſitation, to require the oath of ſupremacy, to inſpect cathedrals and the manners of the clergy, to deſtroy the inſtruments of ſuperſtition and idolatry, &c. This viſitation alſo extended to the univerſities; and at that of Cambridge, Dr Young was removed from the Maſterſhip of Pembroke-hall for refuſing the oath of ſupremacy, and Grindal choſen in his room in 1559 *, though he at firſt declined it; but the college urged him ſo ſtrongly to accept it, that at laſt he yielded to their ſollicitations [*F*]. The ſame year he was nominated to the biſhopric of London, in the room of Biſhop Bonner depoſed; but labouring under ſome ſcruples with regard to the habits, and certain ceremonies required to be uſed by ſuch as were Biſhops, he conſulted Peter Martyr, then Profeſſor of Divinity at Zurich in Swiſſerland [*G*];

and

(*d*) Godwin's Catalogue of Biſhops, p. 178.

(*e*) See the Life of JOHN Fox in this work.

(*f*) Annals of the Reformation, chap. v. p. 88.

* Le Neve's Faſti, p. 424. P. i.

[*E*] *He was nominated for a biſhopric in the North, but did not obtain it.*] What this northern biſhopric was, to which Grindal was nominated, we are left to conjecture. It was concluded in the year 1552. by the King and his Council, that the biſhopric of Durham, then void by the deprivation of Tonſtal, ſhould be divided into two, and they had it under conſideration how to place fit and able perſons in them, as appears by King Edward's memorial, publiſhed by Mr Strype, in his life of Archbiſhop Cranmer (5). There is little doubt but that Grindal, being a north country man, was pitched upon for one of theſe biſhoprics: for the King's memorial, juſt mentioned, was writ by him in October, 1552, and in the next month Biſhop Ridley wrote a letter to Sir John Gate and Sir William Cecil, wherein he gives God thanks, 'for that it had pleaſed 'him to move the heart of the King's Majeſty to chuſe 'ſuch a man, of ſuch godly qualities as Grindal, unto 'ſuch a room;' and begs to have the collation of the prebend which would be vacant upon Grindal's remove. But all this came to nothing, 'there being then, ſays 'Mr Strype, a great topping courtier, that put an end 'to this pious purpoſe of ſupplying thoſe parts where 'ignorance and ſuperſtition moſt prevailed, with two 'Biſhops. For by his ſway he got the whole biſhopric 'diſſolved, and ſettled as a temporal eſtate upon him'ſelf (6).'

(5) Strype's Life of Abp Cranmer, lib. ii. c. 5.

(6) Strype, p. 8.

[*F*] *The college urged him ſo ſtrongly to accept it, that at laſt he yielded to their ſollicitations.*] The college now looked on Grindal, who was at this time Biſhop elect of London, as deſigned for the higheſt honours of the Church, and therefore, as well as in regard to his ſuperior merit, they were very deſirous of ſecuring him for their patron, and wrote him a moſt affectionate letter, upon the removal of their late maſter Dr Young, ſaying, 'The time was now come, that they had the 'liberty to chooſe him not only for their Maſter, but 'alſo their Patron and Defender. That the very day 'after Dr Young's deprivation, they haſtened, and, with 'one mind and vote, unanimouſly choſe him their 'Cuſtos: adding, that they hoped he would not refuſe 'that houſe which educated him, nor reject the higheſt 'place there, ſince there was a time when he had not 'refuſed the loweſt; nor yet forſake thoſe men who 'had preſerved his memory when he was abſent; and 'laſtly, they prayed him to embrace them who ſtrove 'together in loving him; and to receive them into his 'protection.' And when Grindal declined their offer, they wrote to the King's viſitors, to deſire them to 'exhort him by their influence and authority to accept 'it;' and alſo wrote again to him, to perſwade him, notwithſtanding his advancement to the biſhopric, to be their head, telling him they had had ſeveral Biſhops for their Maſters. He was prevailed on by this renewed entreaty, to accept the government of their college, which he held but a little time, his other weighty affairs in the Church hindring his reſidence there; and he ſeems to have reſigned in May 1562, if not before (7). The three next maſters who ſucceeded were all recommended by him, ſo great was the reſpect and eſteem the college bore him, and which they took every opportunity of teſtifying. In one of their letters to him, (and there are ſeveral preſerved in the college, expreſſing the love, honour, and high veneration they had for him) there is this paſſage; 'From the time you firſt purged us from the dregs of 'Popery, and took us under your care, we have had 'ample experience of your patronage and favour, and 'in you alone we have repoſed all our counſel and 'hope.'

(7) Strype, p. 310.

[*G*] *But labouring under ſome ſcruples with regard to the habits and certain ceremonies required to be uſed by Biſhops, he conſulted Peter Martyr.*] The Reformed in thoſe times thought, that in order to the compleat freeing the Church of Chriſt from the errors and corruptions of Rome, every uſage and cuſtom practiſed by that apoſtate and idolatrous Church ſhould be aboliſhed; that all the ceremonies and circumſtances of religious worſhip ſhould be entirely abrogated, and that the ſervice of God ſhould be moſt ſimple, ſtripped of all that ſhew, pomp, and appearance, that had been uſed before. This opinion, which the late Engliſh exiles had more particularly imbibed, gave riſe to Grindal's doubts, whether he might with a ſafe conſcience accept of a biſhopric, as he muſt ſubmit to many of theſe things if he did; therefore he communicated his doubts in a letter to Peter Martyr, in Auguſt 1559, which came to his hands in October following, deſiring his ſpeedy reſolution of them, that he might, according to the light which he ſhould give him, accept the epiſcopal office, or refuſe it. One of theſe doubts was conconcerning impropriations which were to be annexed to biſhoprics: for the Queen, chiefly to gratify ſome of her courtiers, now made exchanges with her Biſhops, by the authority of a late act of parliament, taking to herſelf their antient good manors and lordſhips, and making over to them in exchange, tythes and impropriations. This was extremely regretted by thoſe firſt Biſhops, who ſcrupled whether they ſhould comply in a point ſo injurious to the revenues of their reſpective

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fees,

and though he was nominated to the biſhopric in July, he did not abſolutely accept it 'till December, being conſecrated the 21ſt of that month, together with Cox Biſhop elect of Ely, Barlow of Chicheſter, and Scory of Hereford; and theſe four (together with Parker, preferred to the ſee of Canterbury) were the firſt made prelates in the reign of Queen Elizabeth [*H*]. In the year 1560, our Biſhop was made one of the Queen's eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners, appointed by the Parliament to inſpect into the manners of the clergy, and regulate all matters of the Church. He was alſo appointed by the Queen's ſpecial letters to be one of her commiſſioners for changing certain chapters uſed for leſſons, for others more edifying to the common people; and for the making a new calendar for the Book of Common-Prayer, for adorning of chancels, and preſcribing good orders for the collegiate churches. The ſame year he, in conjunction with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Biſhop of Ely, wrote a private letter to the Queen, to perſwade her to marry. He alſo, with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, this year reformed the kalendar, and ordered that the ten commandments in Engliſh ſhould be ſet upon the eaſt wall of every church throughout the kingdom, In the year 1561, our Biſhop united the pariſh church of St Mary Axe to St Andrew Underſhaft, upon the ſpecial petition of the pariſhioners of the former, who for ſeveral years had been without an incumbent, on account of the narrow revenue of the living (*g*). This year the Biſhop alſo held his primary viſitation of his dioceſe. In 1563,

(*g*) Strype's Life of Abp. Grindal, p. 53. The inſtrument for uniting the pariſh of St Mary Axe to St Andrew Underſhaft, may be ſeen at large in the appendix to the Repertorium Eccleſiaſticum, No. iii.

ſees, which muſt ſuffer conſiderably by theſe exchanges, and by which all hope would be cut off of reſtoring the tythes ſo long unjuſtly detained from the reſpective churches for the maintenance of the incumbents. Another point at which Grindal ſtuck, was wearing certain peculiar garments, whether *extra ſacra*, or *in ſacris*. Peter Martyr, in the beginning of November wrote him an anſwer. And firſt with regard to impropriations, he thought that Grindal had no occaſion to be ſollicitous; ſince it was a thing not in his power, whence, or how the Queen thought proper to provide a ſupport for her Biſhops and the pariſh miniſters. With reſpect to wearing a cap, whether round or ſquare, and a gown upon ordinary occaſions, when they were not employed about holy things, his judgment was, that they ſhould not diſpute more than was neceſſary about them, ſince ſuperſtition ſeemed not properly concerned in them. But as for the habits to be uſed in the miniſtry of holy things, ſince they carried an appearance of the maſs, and were mere remains of Popery, he obſerved that it was the opinion of Bullinger the chief miniſter of Zurich, that they were to be refrained from by Grindal, leſt by his example, a thing that was ſcandalous, ſhould be confirmed. But Martyr ſaid, that though he was always againſt the uſe of ſuch ornaments, yet he ſaw the preſent danger, leſt they ſhould be excluded the office of preaching; and that perhaps there might be ſome hopes, that as altars and images were already taken away, ſo thoſe appearances of the maſs might in time be likewiſe removed, if Mr Grindal and others, who had taken upon them epiſcopacy, would uſe their endeavours. But notwithſtanding, if it came not to good effect, yet if he ſhould decline the office, another might ſucceed in his place, who would not care to have thoſe relics rejected, but perhaps would rather defend, cheriſh, and maintain them. He was therefore, he ſaid, more backward to adviſe him to refuſe the biſhopric, than to refuſe the uſe of veſtments. But becauſe he ſaw that ſcandals of that kind were by all means to be avoided, he more eaſily had yielded to Bullinger's opinion abovementioned. But if altars and images had been continued and preſerved, then he plainly thought that Grindal ought not by any means to engage in the epiſcopal office. In general, he adviſed him to do nothing againſt his conſcience. He acknowledged that the queſtions he had ſent him, had difficulty in them; and therefore excuſed himſelf that he had not imparted his counſel ſooner, ſince it could not be eaſily given. He added, that when he was at Oxford, though he was a canon, he would never wear a ſurplice in the choir. He knew that his example was no juſt confirmation of Grindal, but that which moved him then, and ſtill did, might perhaps have ſome force with him, viz. that that was not to be done which might confirm the practice of what his conſcience did not approve. The ſame year, in October and November, Mr Grindal wrote other letters to Martyr, for his advice. One of his queſtions was, Whether, ſeeing he was not at liberty with regard to the veſtments, he ſhould accept of the epiſcopal function offered him, becauſe of the impoſition of the matters abovementioned? Martyr's anſwer came too late, for Grindal had accepted of the biſhopric before he received it: but Martyr's advice was agreeable to what Grindal had done, that he ſhould not decline it, becauſe of the great want of miniſters (8), for that it was greatly to be hoped, that if ſuch men as he ſat at the helm, many, if not all, of theſe things might be redreſſed. Grindal had alſo aſked his advice in other matters; firſt, as to the dealing with obnoxious papiſts, and whether popiſh prieſts ſhould be continued in their places, or admitted to livings. Martyr adviſed, that for peace ſake, all paſt ſhould be forgotten, but for the future nothing ſhould be admitted contrary to the preſent religion, and that ſuch as ſhould hereafter be preſented by patrons to the Biſhops for livings, ſhould not be by them inſtituted, unleſs they ſubſcribed to the religion eſtabliſhed. Secondly, whether the ſacramental bread ſhould be unleavened; that is, wafer. Martyr anſwered, the Churches abroad every where uſed it. Thirdly, about going the perambulation in the Rogation weeks, which ſeemed to have been derived from the perambulations or walkings of the heathens. Martyr anſwered, that if God only were prayed to therein, ſuperſtition would be avoided; but that endeavours ought to be uſed to explode ſuch cuſtoms as relicks of the Amorites, and both magiſtrates and people ought to be inſtructed againſt them. In purſuance of this advice, Grindal, the firſt Rogation ſeaſon after his conſecration, ordered that the miniſters ſhould make a perambulation only, not a proceſſion; that they ſhould ſuffer no banners, or other marks of ſuperſtition to be carried; that the miniſters ſhould go without ſurplices or lights, and uſe no drinkings, except the diſtance of the place required ſome neceſſary relief; and to uſe at convenient places, the form of prayers and thankſgivings appointed by the Queen's injunctions.

[*H*] *Theſe were the firſt made prelates in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.*] It ought to be remembred, that theſe five prelates had the honeſty and courage to prefer a petition to the Queen, for the granting ſeveral things of great uſe and benefit to the Church: as, to ſtop the exchanging of Biſhops lands for the great tythes and impropriations in the Crown, which the Parliament had empowered her to do, to the great detriment of the epiſcopal ſees, and diſabling the Biſhops from encouraging learning, and exerciſing that hoſpitality which was expected from them: and they offered her as an equivalent, 1000 marks a year during their lives. They alſo beſought her Majeſty, in behalf of ſmall biſhoprics, and of the inferior clergy, as may be ſeen more at large in the annals of the Reformation (9). The excellent letter itſelf may alſo be ſeen in the life of Archbiſhop Parker. The petition however had but little effect.

It muſt be obſerved, that an exchange of lands was in hand between the Queen and our Biſhop, even before his conſecration, but was not fully ſettled; and till this was done, he could not compound for his firſt fruits, the conſequence of which was, that it hindered him from exerciſing his epiſcopal function; to remedy which inconvenience, he was obliged to have the Queen's expreſs authority, which ſhe gave him by letter, to impower him to exerciſe his eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction.

(8) Ibid. p. 28, 29, 30.

(9) Annal. Reform. p. 98.

[*I*] *He*

1563, he, together with the Archbiſhop and ſome Civilians, was employed in preparing a book of ſtatutes for Chriſt-Church Oxford, which as yet had no fixed ſtatutes. This year he alſo greatly aſſiſted the Engliſh Merchants in their ſettlement at Embden in Eaſt-Frieze-land (*b*) [*I*]. The ſame year he wrote animadverſions upon Juſtus Velſius's *Chriſtiani Hominis Norma* [*K*]. April 15, 1564, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity at Cambridge; and the ſame year, by the Queen's peremptory command, he began to preſs the clergy to uniformity [*L*]. October 3, the ſame year, he preached at St Paul's at the celebration of the Emperor Ferdinand's funeral, and his ſermon was afterwards printed [*M*].

In

(*b*) Strype, p. 86, 87, 88, &c.

[*I*] *He aſſiſted the Engliſh merchants in their ſettlement at Embden in Eaſt-Frizeland.*] Our merchants ſettled at Antwerp, and other places in the dominions of Spain, being provoked with the repeated exactions and ill uſage of the Spaniards, thought of removing out of their territories, and fixed upon Embden as the moſt convenient place both for freedom of religion and of trade. To obtain which, they made the Biſhop their friend, they having been formerly ſerviceable to the exiles in Queen Mary's reign, and he chearfully eſpouſed their cauſe, was their mediator with the Queen, and treated with the agent appointed by the Counteſs and Earl of Eaſt-Frizeland; and, in ſhort, managed the affair ſo dextrouſly, that the merchants were ſoon ſettled at Embden.

[*K*] *He wrote animadverſions upon Juſtus Velſius's Chriſtiani Hominis Norma.*] This Velſius was of the Hague in Holland, a man of learning, but very enthuſiaſtical, and held ſome peculiar opinions, and had ſome followers and admirers. He drew up at London, a ſummary of his religion under this title: *Chriſtiani Hominis Norma, ad quam ſe explorare perpetuo quivis debet:* i. e. 'The rule of a Chriſtian man, according to 'which every one ought continually to try himſelf.' It was compoſed by way of queſtion and anſwer. The firſt queſtion was, *What is a Chriſtian?* the anſwer to which was, *one who by participation and grace is rendered, and to be rendered, that which Chriſt was, and is of himſelf, and by nature.* The next queſtion was, *What Chriſt was, and is of himſelf and by nature?* to which is anſwered, *God in man, and afterwards man God.* Velſius likewiſe affirmed in this piece, that *while the Word was made fleſh and dwelt in us, he brought down God from Heaven to us, joined and united him to our paſſible nature; and that by his glorious reſurrection the fleſh was made the Word, and dwelt in God, and lifted up man to God.* He ſpoke of a double regeneration, one of the internal man, and the other of the external; and aſſerted, that the one made Chriſtians *God in man*, in this world; and the other made them *Men-Gods*, in the world to come. Mr Strype has publiſhed this piece in the appendix, No. 8. to the firſt book of the life of Grindal. In March, Velſius wrote bold letters to Sir William Cecil the Secretary, and even to the Queen herſelf, ſending his *Norma* to them, which he had done alſo two months before to our Biſhop, who thought fit, upon the Secretary's advice, to write animadverſions upon that piece, extant in the paper office, and publiſhed from thence by Mr Strype, in the appendix No 9, to the firſt book of his life of our Biſhop. Velſius fancied himſelf endued with the ſpirit of prophecy, and that Chriſt dwelt in him. By this authority he took upon him to denounce judgments upon perſons and places, and particularly upon the Queen and the kingdom, in his letter to her, unleſs ſhe and her ſubjects received his doctrine. He ſolemnly by a writing excommunicated Peter Delane, miniſter of the Dutch congregation in London, and delivered him up to Satan, becauſe he would not allow of a challenge to a public diſputation, which Velſius made to one Nicholas, a preacher there. Velſius being cited before the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, Biſhop Grindal, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and the Dean of St Paul's, repreſented to him the erroneous doctrine of his *Norma*, which he obſtinately defending, they at laſt charged him in the Queen's name to depart the kingdom. This he complained of in very rude terms to the Queen, telling her, that he could not obey their order, pretending ſome miracle from God to confirm his doctrine (10).

[*L*] *He began to preſs the clergy to uniformity.*] An agreement and uniformity among the clergy in wearing the ſame habits, and uſing the ſame rites in divine ſervice, was hitherto neglected, eſpecially in London, where many of them rejected the orders of the book of Common-Prayer. The plague of late ſpreading itſelf in London and other places, the Biſhops could not take that cognizance, and exerciſe the diſcipline requiſite for this purpoſe. But towards the latter end of this year, by a peremptory order from the Queen to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, uniformity in the habits and ceremonies were required of the clergy; whereas many hitherto ſhe ſaid, had taken a liberty of varying from her injunctions in this regard. The Archbiſhop therefore having this order, immediately diſpatched his letters to our Biſhop, to ſignify the Queen's mind and reſolution to the reſt of the Biſhops of the province, and that they ſhould ſee the laws and ordinances already eſtabliſhed, ſet forth and complied with every where, and to ſend up thoſe of the clergy who were incompliant. The greateſt difficulty was to correct theſe neglects in London, where there were many who neither wore ſurplice, tippet, nor ſquare cap, and did not uſe the other ceremonies preſcribed in the book of Common-Prayer. This work was incumbent upon our Biſhop, who found great difficulty in redreſſing theſe matters among the city miniſters, after whoſe example the clergy in other parts of the nation would be apt to govern themſelves. So that throughout this and ſome other part of the next year, Biſhop Grindal frequently ſat in eccleſiaſtical commiſſion with the Archbiſhop and other commiſſioners, for the regulating the city clergy, and trying all gentle methods to bring them to conformity. In the beginning of this work, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury thought fit to excite and quicken our Biſhop now and then to ſet diligently upon reforming his London clergy, as he was otherwiſe ſlow in his proceedings againſt them. And by the Archdeacon's means, the Archbiſhop procured a ſpecial letter from the Queen to him, to look particularly after uniformity in thoſe under his charge in London; and he charged him, as he would anſwer it to God, to be diligent in puniſhing all recuſants, by cenſures eccleſiaſtical, ſince the Biſhops had power and authority by act of parliament to uſe them. Mr Strype ſays, the Biſhop went thus tenderly about this work, becauſe he knew the ſcarcity of miniſters at that time; and therefore uſed all gentleneſs and meekneſs with them. But afterwards obſerving the ignorance and obſtinacy of ſome, and the dangerous principles of others, ſtriking at the very eccleſiaſtical order itſelf, he proceeded with more reſolution, and reduced many to compliance; ſome were ſequeſtered, others ſuſpended, and even deprived; ſome, who were Papiſts, went beyond ſea, and ſome were afterwards put in priſon for their diſobedience. Mr Strype ſays (12), that the puritan party, becauſe our Biſhop was not forward to uſe theſe extremities, 'confided 'much in him, and gave out that my Lord of London 'was their own, and all that he did was upon a force, 'and unwillingly, as they flattered themſelves.' However, Biſhop Grindal was not wanting in his endeavours to bring over the Non-conformiſts to be ſatisfied with what was enjoined; and among other means, he publiſhed a letter of Henry Bullinger, the chief miniſter in Swiſſerland, addreſſed to him and two other Biſhops, viz Dr Horn of Wincheſter, and Dr Parkhurſt of Norwich, concerning the lawfulneſs of wearing the habits, but drawn up for the ſatisfaction of Samſon and Humfrey, two Oxford divines of great eminence, the former, Dean of Chriſt-Church, and the latter Preſident of Magdalen College. 'The letter was written 'with ſuch a clearneſs of reaſon, ſuch evidence from 'ſcripture, and in ſuch a fatherly compaſſionate ſtyle, 'that it had a very good effect upon many that before 'were ready to leave their miniſtry, but having read 'it were ſatisfied (13).'

[*M*] *He preached the Emperor Ferdinand's funeral ſermon at St Paul's.*] It was cuſtomary in thoſe days to celebrate the funerals of crowned heads, with as much ſolemnity as if their bodies were actually depoſited here. Thus at this of the Emperor's, the choir was hung with black, and adorned with eſcutcheons of his arms, of ſundry ſorts, and in it was erected an

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(10) Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 91, 92, 93, 94.

(12) P. 105.

(13) Ibid. p. 105.

In 1567 he convented ſome Separatiſts before him [*N*], and prohibited unlicenſed preachers. In 1568 he made a contribution for the perſecuted Proteſtants abroad, by way of benevolence, or collection from his clergy, for which he was threatened by ſome of them, diſaffected to this cauſe, with a premunire, for laying a charge upon the clergy without authority from the Queen. But this did not diſcourage him. In 1569 he procured the liberty of ſeveral Puritan Separatiſts who had been in priſon, for holding private aſſemblies, and uſing a form of prayer different from that allowed and enjoined by law; and yet theſe very men complained of the Biſhop this ſame year to the Privy Council, which occaſioned him to write a vindication of himſelf to the Council [*O*]. The laſt piece of ſervice our Biſhop did in his dioceſe, before his tranſlation to the ſee of York, was the reformation of the hoſpital of the Savoy, a charitable foundation for the relief and entertainment of poor travellers, which was almoſt brought to utter ruin by the abuſes and ill conduct of it's maſter, whom the Biſhop, having procured a commiſſion from the Queen to viſit the hoſpital, deprived. The ſame year, May 1, 1570, the Biſhop was tranſlated to the archbiſhopric of York [*P*]. One of his firſt ſervices to this ſee was, his recovering

hearſe richly garniſhed; the Queen, by proxy, was chief mourner, attended by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and many of the prime nobility. In the ſermon, our Biſhop ſet forth with much eloquence, the Emperor's quality, deſcent, and virtues; and is, as Mr Strype thinks, the only diſcourſe, except one, that was ever printed, and being very ſcarce, he has given part of it in his life of the Biſhop (14).

[*N*] *In 1567, he convented ſome Separatiſts before him.*] Mr Strype obſerves, that the refuſers of the orders of the Church, who by this time were commonly called Puritans, were now grown into two factions. The one was of a more quiet and peaceable demeanor, who indeed would not uſe the habits, nor ſubſcribe to the ceremonies enjoined, as kneeling at the Sacrament, the croſs in Baptiſm, the ring in Marriage; but held the Communion of the Church, and willingly and devoutly joined with the common prayers. But there was another ſort who diſliked the whole conſtitution of the Church lately reformed, charging it with many groſs remainders of Popery, and that it was ſtill full of corruptions not to be tolerated, and anti-chriſtian; and eſpecially the habits which the clergy were enjoined to uſe upon ordinary occaſions, and in their miniſtration. Theſe latter ſeparated themſelves into private aſſemblies, meeting together not in churches, but in private houſes, where they had miniſters of their own. At theſe meetings they rejecting wholly the book of Common-Prayer, uſed a book of prayers framed at Geneva for the congregation of Engliſh exiles lately ſojourning there. This book had been reviſed and allowed by Calvin and the reſt of the divines there, and indeed was for the moſt part taken out of the Geneva form. At theſe private congregations they had not only prayers and ſermons, but the Lord's Supper likewiſe ſometimes adminiſtred. This gave great offence to the Queen, who iſſued out her letters to the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners, which were ſubſcribed by the Privy-Council, and were to this effect; That they ſhould move theſe Non-conformiſts by gentle means to conformity, or elſe for their firſt puniſhment to loſe their freedom of the city, and afterwards to ſuffer what would follow. About an hundred of theſe Separatiſts having hired Plumber's-Hall, upon pretence of keeping a wedding there, but in reality for a religious meeting, on the 19th of June, they were diſturbed by the Sheriffs, and about fourteen or fifteen of the chief of them ſeized, and examined the next day before the Lord-Mayor, the Biſhop of London, and others of the Queen's commiſſioners. The Biſhop argued with them with great mildneſs, and endeavoured by arguments and reaſoning to convince them of their errors, but was treated by ſome of them with reproaches and rude language, inſomuch, ſays Mr Strype, 'That much notice was taken of it; and finding them ſo irreclaimable, it abated much of the favour which he was inclinable to ſhew them. Beza, the chief miniſter of Geneva, otherwiſe a great favourer of this ſort of men, liked not of their behaviour, and ſignified his diſallowance of it, in an epiſtle to this our Biſhop, wherein he commended his lenity and his patience. They were very ſevere upon him afterwards in their prints, by ſlandering of him in a moſt high manner; and therefore it is the leſs wonder, that this mild and patient man was ſome years after provoked, (obſerving alſo their unquiet diſpoſition) to expreſs himſelf ſomewhat ſeverely againſt them.' As we ſhall ſee in the next note.

[*O*] *He was complained of to the Privy-Council, which occaſioned him to write a vindication of himſelf.*] The ground of the Separatiſts complaint againſt the Biſhop was this. The Separatiſts who in the beginning of this year had the favour ſhewn them, to be ſet at liberty by that Biſhop, ſtill continued their former practices of having private aſſemblies, and performing religious offices in their own way, notwithſtanding the Biſhop's admonition to them at their diſmiſſion, and the threatnings of the Council read to them. Their chief teachers were Bonham and Crane, who at theſe meetings uſed to preach and expound the Scriptures, baptize, adminiſter the communion, marry, (according to the Geneva book, which they ſtiled *the moſt ſincere order*) and withal would inveigh very vehemently againſt the government and religious uſages of the Church of England. When theſe men had been ſet at liberty, through the Biſhop's interceſſion, they promiſed before the Biſhop's vicar-general, and Bonham gave it under his hand, that for the future they would neither preach, nor be preſent at any preaching, contrary to the laws of the land. After which, the Biſhop granted Bonham the liberty of preaching, which he abuſed, and married and baptized according to another form, and ſo did Crane alſo; wherefore Bonham was taken up again by the Biſhop's order, and Crane was forbid to preach any more in his dioceſe. Upon this, the Londoners of their party, who had alſo been under confinement in Bridewell and ſet at liberty, were very angry with the Biſhop, and had even the impudence to lodge a complaint againſt him to the Privy-Council, as though he had broke his word with them, as having allowed them to abſent themſelves from their pariſh churches, and tolerated their different ways and modes of divine ſervice, and given licence to Bonham and Crane to hold private lectures. The Council ſent this petition to the Biſhop, and alſo wrote him a letter, deſiring to know how he had proceeded with them, and what courſe, in his opinion, was fit to be uſed with them. The Biſhop was touched with the ungrateful behaviour of thoſe people, to whom he had ſhewed ſuch gentleneſs and mercy, and eſpecially when he ſaw that they had wrongfully repreſented his dealings with them; he therefore diſpatched an anſwer to the Council's letter, and ſhewed particularly what he had done in the affair, and withal gave his opinion, 'That all the heads of this unhappy faction ſhould be with all expedition ſeverely puniſhed, to the example of others, as people fanatical and incurable. Which puniſhment would breed the greater terror, if it proceeded from their Lordſhips. And becauſe all priſoners, for any colour of any religion, be it never ſo wicked, find great ſupport and comfort in London, it would not be amiſs that ſix of the moſt deſperate of them ſhould be ſent to the common goal of Cambridge, and ſix likewiſe to Oxford, and others of them to other goals near London (15).'

[*P*] *He was tranſlated to the archbiſhopric of York.*] By the original inſtrument in vellum, of the Dean and Chapter of York, it appears that the Queen's letters-patent to them, to permit them to chuſe a paſtor for their church, bore date at Windſor, April 1ſt, 1570, and they in their letters to the Queen, April 11, declare their election of Grindal for their and for the metropolitical church of York's Archbiſhop (16). This ſee had been vacant ever ſince June 1568, by the death of archbiſhop Young (17). The Lord Henry Howard, brother to the

(14) Ibid. p. 100, 101.

(15) Strype, p. 154, 155, 156.

(16) MS.

(17) Faſti, p. 311.

recovering by law a houſe at Batterſea in Surry, formerly belonging to the Archbiſhops of York, together with 80 acres of demeſne land; which houſe and lands were for the convenience of the Archbiſhops, when they came up to parliament or convocation, or other buſineſs at court *. The ſame year, 1570, the famous Thomas Cartwright having attacked the government of the Church, in his lectures at Cambridge, and thereby occaſioned great diſorders and diſturbances in the univerſity, our Archbiſhop wrote a letter to Secretary Cecil, that a ſtop might be put thereto, and Cartwright ſilenced. This letter Mr Strype has preſerved, and our Church hiſtorian, Mr Collier, has alſo given it at length, in order, as he ſays, to do juſtice to the Archbiſhop's memory, and clear him from all imputation of Puritaniſm (*i*). The year following, 1571, he began his metropolitan viſitation, and gave forth his own injunctions to the clergy and laity, conſiſting of 25 articles, in which he ſhewed a becoming zeal for the diſcipline and good government of the Church. This viſitation continued the next year, 1572, and then the Archbiſhop viſited the Dean and Chapter of York, and gave them alſo injunctions conſiſting of 19 articles. In 1573, he interceded for the clergy oppreſſed by concealments [*Q*]. In 1574 he held an eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, took an account of ſome Papiſts, and ſent a certificate up of the proceedings againſt them, who were only five in number; for by the great care and diligence of the good Archbiſhop, the number of Papiſts daily diminiſhed in his dioceſe, who a few years before were many and powerful. For one of his chief cares ever ſince the eccleſiaſtical power and conduct had been committed to him, was, to ſupply the churches under him with preachers, of which there was a great ſcarcity every where in his time, though the people then the moſt wanted them, when ſuperſtition and ignorance had, by popiſh policy, ſo much overſpread them. And it muſt be obſerved, to the honour of our Archbiſhop, that while he preſided in the ſee of York, he procured above forty learned preachers, and they Graduates, within leſs than ſix years, to be placed in that dioceſe, (a great number in theſe times) beſides thoſe he found there; 'the fruits of whoſe travails 'in preaching, as he told the Queen, ſhe was like to reap daily, by moſt aſſured daily 'obedience of her ſubjects in thoſe parts.' For his opinion firmly was, that by frequent preaching the word of God, two very good things would prevail among the people, viz. true religion towards God, and obedience and loyalty towards the prince. As a proof of the latter, he mentioned a remarkable inſtance which happened ſome time before in the Queen's reign; which was, that in 1569, when almoſt all the North had roſe and rebelled, the town of Hallifax, which had been better inſtructed than the reſt by good preaching, remained firm and loyal to her, and ſent forth 4000 men armed to quell the rebellion. Our Archbiſhop however was extremely careful in his choice of the miniſtry,

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the Duke of Norfolk, aſpired to it, and had made great intereſt to obtain it, but being popiſhly inclined, his endeavours proved vain, and Grindal was at length preferred to it, through the favour and intereſt of Secretary Cecyl, and with the approbation of Archbiſhop Parker, who was conſulted about it, and declared, 'That he liked well of his removal, for he 'reckoned him not reſolute and ſevere enough for the 'government of London; ſince many of the miniſters 'and people thereof, notwithſtanding all his pains, 'ſtill leaned much to their former prejudices againſt 'the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution.' But withal he told the Secretary, 'That my Lord of London would be 'very fit for York, who were *a heady and ſtout people*; 'witty, but yet able to be dealt with by good governance, as long as good laws could be executed, and 'men backed.' When the ſee of York firſt became vacant in 1568, Dr Matthew Hutton, Dean of York, ſenſible of the great need that province ſtood in of a fit and able paſtor, wrote a letter to Secretary Cecyl, ſhewing what qualifications he that was to be ſent among them ought to have, viz. 'That he ſhould be a 'teacher, becauſe the country was ignorant; a virtuous and godly man, becauſe the country was given 'to ſift ſuch a man's life: a ſtout and couragious man 'in God's cauſe, becauſe the country otherwiſe would 'abuſe him; and yet a ſober and diſcreet man, leſt 'too much rigour ſhould harden the hearts of ſome, 'who by fair means might be mollified, &c. and ſuch 'a biſhop likewiſe as was both learned himſelf, and 'alſo loved learning, that that rude and blind country 'might be furniſhed with learned preachers.' And all theſe excellent qualities he reckoned centred in Grindal, for, he adds, '*Such a man was the biſhop of London known to be*; and therefore he wiſhed that LONDON were tranſlated to YORK (18).' This agrees very well with the account our Archbiſhop gives of the ſtate of this people, at his firſt coming among them, in a letter to Secretary Cecyl; 'The greateſt part of 'our gentlemen, ſays he, as I am informed, are not 'well affected to godly religion, and that among the 'people there are many remanents of the old. They 'keep holy days and faſts abrogated. They offer 'money, eggs, &c, at the burial of their dead. They 'pray beads, &c ſo as this ſeems to be another Church, 'as it were, rather than a member of the reſt. And 'for the little experience I have of this people, methinks I ſee in them three evil qualities; which are 'great ignorance, much dulneſs to conceive better inſtruction, and great ſtiffneſs to return to their wonted 'errors. I will labour as much as I can, to cure every 'of theſe, committing the ſucceſs to God.'

[*Q*] *He interceded for the clergy oppreſſed by concealments*.] The Queen had by her letters patent, granted to her Gentlemen-Penſioners, the penalties incurred and forfeited by the clergy, under pretence of concealment of lands and rents given for ſuperſtitious uſes, belonging now by Act of Parliament to the Crown. Upon this they ſent deputies through the kingdom, who being indigent men uſed great extortion, and extremely oppreſſed the clergy. This occaſioned our Archbiſhop to make complaint thereof to the Lord-Treaſurer, who, though he approved not of the thing itſelf, yet the letters-patent being paſſed, wrote back to the Archbiſhop, that the Gentlemen-Penſioners might enjoy the penalties forfeited by the clergy, ſince it was ſo appointed by the Queen, and beſtowed upon them. The Archbiſhop then ſhewed his Lordſhip that he did not intend they ſhould be abridged of it, but that he found fault with their manner of proceeding, which was troubleſome, chargeable, and diſhonourable, ſince they ſummoned all the clergy, as well innocent as faulty, as others of good reputation, to appear before them as the Queen's commiſſioners, whereas they had no ſuch commiſſion; and that they compounded with the clergy for offences paſt and to come; which tended not to the reſtraint of abuſes, but was rather a means to increaſe them. And laſtly, that they were men noted formerly for evil dealing and bribery. He deſired therefore, that for the preventing of theſe troubles, the Gentlemen-Penſioners would ſend him down in articles, a form of proceeding to be obſerved by their deputies, by which the inconveniencies abovementioned might be avoided (19).

[*R*] *That*

* Strype, p. 175.

(*i*) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. of G. Brit. Vol. II. p. 525.

(18) Epiſtle dedicatory to the Life of Abp. Grindal, p. 3.

(19) Strype, p. 182, 183.

he allowed that none but men of ſome learning and abilities might might be admitted to the cure of ſouls [*R*]. For this purpoſe he provided, that all who came for inſtitution to livings ſhould be well examined firſt, and ſuch as were found unlearned he rejected, notwithſtanding their preſentations. We ſhall give an inſtance of this in the note [*S*], which may ſerve to ſhew how groſsly ignorant ſome of thoſe who pretended to ſerve God in his Church were in thoſe days. Upon the Death of Dr Matthew Parker in 1575, our prelate was advanced to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, in which he was confirmed February 15 (*k*) [*T*]. The ſame year a Convocation was held under him, in which, among other things for the advantage of the Church and State, ſome articles for the regulation of the clergy were agreed upon, entitled, ‘ Articles touching the admiſſion of apt and fit perſons to the Miniſtry, and the eſtabliſhing of good order in the Church ;’ which were publiſhed and printed by the Queen's authority (*l*), The next year he procured a new eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, which was very extenſive, as may be ſeen in Mr Strype's Appendix, No. VI. b. ii. He alſo ſet about reforming ſeveral abuſes and diſorders in his courts, regulated diſpenſations, inhibitions, &c. in which he was aſſiſted at his own deſire by the moſt learned lawyers and civilians of thoſe times. The ſame year he held a metropolitical viſitation ; and perceiving ſtill the ignorance and ſloth of the clergy, and the great need there was of more frequent preaching, for the inſtruction of the people in the grounds and truth of religion, upon his firſt coming to the ſee of Canterbury, he ſhewed himſelf more favourable to the exerciſe of propheſying than his predeceſſor had been, and not only attempted to regulate it, but to bring the Queen and Council to have a favourable opinion of it. Theſe exerciſes or propheſyings had been uſed before (but with ſome abuſes) in moſt dioceſes, and had the countenance of the reſpective Biſhops [*U*]. But the well-meaning

(*k*) Strype, p. 190, 193.

(*l*) See Mr Strype's Appendix, No. IV. to b. ii.

[*R*] *That none but men of ſome learning and abilities might be admitted to the cure of ſouls.*] Our Archbiſhop once made proteſtation of this to the Queen. ‘ That for his part, be it ſpoken without oſtentation, he was very careful in allowing ſuch perſons only, as were able and ſufficient to be preachers, both for their knowledge in the ſcriptures, and alſo for teſtimony of their good life and converſation ; and that he gave great charge to the reſt of the Biſhops of the province to do the like. That he admitted no man to that office, that profeſſed either *Papiſtry*, or *Puritaniſm* ; and that generally the graduates of the Univerſity, were only admitted to be preachers ; unleſs it were ſome few, that had excellent gifts of knowledge in the ſcriptures, joined with good utterance, and godly perſwaſion.’

[*S*] *We ſhall give an inſtance of this in the note.*] In May 1574, one William Ireland having been preſented to the rectory of Harthil, came to the Archbiſhop to be inſtituted, and was examined by his Grace's chaplain. In his preſentation were the words *veſtri humiles & obedientes*, which the chaplain requiring him to tranſlate, he expounded them, *your humbleneſs and obedience*. The chaplain then aſked him who brought up the people of Iſrael out of Egypt? he anſwered, *King Saul*. And being aſked, who was firſt circumciſed, he could not anſwer. Upon this the Archbiſhop rejected him, and one Hugh Caſſon was preſented to and obtained the benefice of Harthil, which he enjoyed fifty years (20).

[*T*] *In* 1575, *he was advanced to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury.*] Archbiſhop Parker died in Auguſt, and the Queen, after three months deliberation, who was fitteſt to ſucceed to that high ſtation, pitched upon Grindal, recommended by the Lord-Treaſurer, his patron. But this honour was not of our Archbiſhop's ſeeking ; on the contrary, he had many inward motions to decline it, being very diffident of his own abilities for ſo exalted a ſtation, but was ſwayed thereto by the fears of giving offence ; and when the Lord-Treaſurer adviſed him by letter of the Queen's intention to remove him to the ſee of Canterbury, the Archbiſhop did not anſwer his letter till after fifteen days conſideration, the Lord-Treaſurer's letter being dated 25th November, and the Archbiſhop's anſwer 10th December from Biſhopthorpe, in which he ſays, ‘ I underſtand by your Lordſhip's letter of the 25th of of November, what your Lordſhip thinketh of her Majeſties inclination for my remove. If her Majeſty ſhould ſo reſolve, (although I have had heretofore many conflicts with myſelf about that matter) yet I have in the end determined to yield unto the ordinary vocation, leaſt in reſiſting of the ſame, I might with Jonas offend God, occaſion a tempeſt, &c. Beſeeching God to aſſiſt me with his grace, if that weighty charge be laid upon me : to the ſuſtaining whereof I find great inſufficiency in myſelf.’ Grindal was ſucceeded in the archbiſhopric of York, as he had been before in the ſee of London, by Dr Edward Sandys, Biſhop of London ; and it is remarkable, that theſe two prelates both ſprung from the town of St Bees, lived together in the Univerſity, and were both fellow exiles in the time of perſecution. Our Archbiſhop, as a ſtanding memorial of his riſing in three removes, from a private ſtation, to the higheſt advancement in the Church, cauſed to be painted upon glaſs, four coats of arms ; and to be ſet up at Bekeſbourn, near Canterbury, where was formerly a palace of the archbiſhops of that dioceſe. The firſt was the coat of Grindal by itſelf: the ſecond, ſignificative of his firſt advance, was the coat of the ſee of London, impaled with Grindal. The third, that of York, and the fourth of Canterbury. And though that palace hath been now long demoliſhed, yet, as Mr Strype tells us, ‘ Theſe four panes of glaſs are yet preſerved in a gentleman's houſe in that pariſh, as ſome remembrance of this good man (21).’ We muſt not omit here, the compliments paid him by Pembroke-Hall, upon his promotion to the metropolitical ſee of Cantetbury, in a congratulatory addreſs, elegantly penned in Latin, wherein after thanking him for ſome late endowment of their college, from his foundation of the ſchool of St Bees, they take notice, ‘ How in the height of his honour he ſtill ſpake moſt affectionately of their college, and of the care he ſtill took of them and their concerns. And what could be more advantageous, more glorious, for Pembroke-Hall, than to be under the kind eye, not only of an excellently learned and ſingularly pious man, but of a Biſhop, an Archbiſhop, and, in one word, of GRINDAL. That never was there any nurtured in that univerſity, educated in their college, of greateſt fame in hiſtory for learning, to whoſe fidelity, virtue, and integrity, they would ſooner recommend themſelves, than his ; that in him, now Primate of all England, the Pembrochians gloried ; that divers Biſhops, as of Carliſle, Exon, Winton, Durham, London, York, formerly ſcholars of their college, were praiſe worthy for their notable learning and virtue ; but now at laſt, to their eternal honour, they had not only an Archbiſhop of Canterbury, a Metropolitan, a Primate, and the firſt prelate of the whole realm, but him adorned with all the ornaments of mind and fortune. They triumphed in ſuch a learned Mæcenas, and right noble patron : And conclude with their earneſt prayers for him, that God would long preſerve and protect his Grace, as well for their own private benefit, as for the common good of Church and State, &c.’ Mr Strype has printed the original Latin letter, in the appendix to his life of our Archbiſhop, No. 21. B. 2d.

[*U*] *He applied himſelf to encourage and regulate the exerciſes called propheſyings, which had been uſed in moſt dioceſes before, but with ſome abuſes.*] The method of theſe exerciſes was thus. The miniſters of a particular diviſion, at a ſet time met together in ſome church belonging to a market town, or other large town ; and there

(20) Strype, p. 188.

(21) Pag. 191.

meaning Archbiſhop could not ſucceed in his deſign, being checked in it very angrily by the Queen, who diſapproved of them becauſe they were practiſed by the Puritans, to confirm them in their diſlike of the eſtabliſhed religion; nor did ſhe like that the laity ſhould neglect their ſecular affairs by repairing to theſe meetings; which ſhe likewiſe thought might fill their heads with notions and opinions that might occaſion diſſenſions, and render them turbulent to the State. Add to this, that the Queen ſaw how apt they were to be abuſed; and there had been ſome diſorders at one of theſe conferences, the report of which had been brought and aggravated to the Queen, which ſo provoked her, that ſhe was reſolved to have them all put down; and the Archbiſhop being at Court, ſhe particularly declared herſelf offended at the number of preachers as well as at the exerciſes, and ordered him to redreſs both, urging that it was good for the Church to have few preachers, that three or four might ſuffice for a county, and that the reading of the Homilies to the people was ſufficient. In ſhort, ſhe required him to do theſe two things, viz. to abridge the number of preachers, and to put down the exerciſes. This was no ſmall affliction to the Archbiſhop, who thought ſhe encroached upon his office, to whom the higheſt truſt in the Church of England, next to herſelf, was committed; and therefore that ſhe was ſomewhat too peremptory in requiring this to be done, without adviſing at all with him in a matter ſo directly regarding religion: nor could he in conſcience comply with her commands, having quite different ſentiments of theſe exerciſes, believing they tended much to the improving the clergy, and the exciting them to the ſtudy of the ſcriptures, as well as to the edifying of the people. When he came home therefore, he reſolved to write his mind to the Queen at large, which he did with ſuch a noble ſpirit as became a virtuous man and an Engliſh prelate. We have inſerted the ſubſtance of this famous letter in the note [*W*]. But it was impoſſible to get Elizabeth over her prepoſſeſſions in matters of religion,

there each in their order explained, according to their ability, ſome particular portion of ſcripture allotted them before. And after they had all done, a moderator, who was one of the graveſt and beſt learned amongſt them, made his obſervations upon what the reſt had ſaid, and determined the true ſenſe of the place. All this was to be diſpatched within a ſet ſpace of time. At theſe aſſemblies there was commonly a great concourſe of people to hear and learn, which obliged the miniſters and curates to read authors, and conſult expoſitors and commentators, and to follow their ſtudies, that they might ſpeak to the purpoſe when they were to appear in public, and thus they conſiderably profited themſelves in the knowledge of the ſcriptures. But the exerciſes were attended with ſome inconveniencies, which occaſioned confuſion and diſturbances. For the laity as well as clergy being here allowed to ſpeak, they would ſometimes hold forth, and affect to ſhew their parts, and confute the clergy. Sometimes they would advance heterodox opinions; and ſome who had been ſilenced from preaching, or ſuſpended, or deprived for nonconformity, would intrude themſelves here, and take the liberty to declaim againſt the liturgy, and government of the Church. Sometimes their ſatire was played againſt the State. Sometimes they glanced upon perſons, and run out into particular invectives. The people alſo fell to arguing and diſputing much about religion, in ſhort, the exerciſes degenerated into factions, diviſions, and cenſurings, which brought them into ſome diſreputation. Our Archbiſhop believing theſe irregularities only accidental to the exerciſes laboured to redreſs them, being unwilling utterly to aboliſh a practice, the deſign of which he thought was ſerviceable for the improvement of the people and clergy, and therefore endeavoured to make it anſwer upon experiment, and bring the practice up to the plan. To this purpoſe he drew up a ſet of rules and orders for the better management of the exerciſes, and which would have effectually removed all occaſions of diſorder thereat. They are digeſted into articles or heads, and are extant in the Cotton Library, and alſo publiſhed by Mr Strype (22), and Mr Collier (23).

[*W*] *He wrote his mind to the Queen at large in a letter, the ſubſtance of which is in the note.*] The Archbiſhop takes notice, that the Queen's not being pleaſed to hear him out upon the argument at his laſt waiting upon her, was the occaſion of his addreſſing this way. He begins with a profeſſion, that nothing but neceſſity and conſcience ſhould make him incompliant. He believes her zeal and meaning were of the beſt, but good princes may be ſometimes miſtaken. He then expoſtulates with her about keeping in the Church but a few preachers, ſhewing her, 'That nothing was more plain in Scripture, than that the goſpel of Chriſt ſhould be plentifully preached, and that plenty of labourers ſhould be ſent into the Lord's harveſt.' Then he ſhews the great benefit of preaching, not only to religion, but to the State; and in anſwer to what the Queen had ſaid to him, that the reading of the Homilies to the people was ſufficient, he ſays, 'The Homilies have their uſe, but were nothing comparable to the office of preaching. That the preacher could apply his ſpeech according to the difference of times, places, and hearers, which could not be done in Homilies. That exhortations, reprehenſions, and perſwaſions, were uttered with more affection to the moving of the hearers in ſermons than in Homilies. That they were only deviſed in King Edward's time to ſupply the want of preachers, and were by his ſtatute not to be preferred, but to give place to ſermons, whenever they might be had. And laſtly, they were never thought in themſelves alone to contain ſufficient inſtruction for the Church of England.' With regard to the ſecond point, concerning learned exerciſes and conferences amongſt the miniſters, he ſaid, 'He had conferred with diverſe of his brethren the biſhops, by letters, who thought as he did, that it was a thing profitable to the Church, and therefore expedient to be continued. And he hoped, that her Majeſty would alſo think the ſame, when ſhe ſhould be informed of the manner and order thereof, and what authority they had from ſcripture; what uſe they were of, and what inconveniencies would follow if they ſhould be abſolutely taken away.' Then he proceeded to give her an account of theſe exerciſes; 'That both Samuel and Eliza practiſed them. That St Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. makes expreſs mention, that the like in effect was uſed in the primitive Church, and gives rules for the order of the ſame. That he calls them prophecies, and the ſpeakers, prophets; names odious in our days, becauſe not rightly underſtood; for St Paul, by prophecies, does not mean prediction of things, but the interpretation and expoſition of the ſcriptures; and therefore he attributes to thoſe he calls prophets, (in the ſame chapter) doctrine to edification, exhortation, and comfort.' Then he obſerves, that many biſhops, as of London, Wincheſter, Bath and Wells, Lichfield, Glouceſter, Lincoln, Chicheſter, Exeter, and St Davids, had ſignified by letter to him, the profit and advantage which had accrued by theſe exerciſes; particularly, 'That the miniſters of the Church became more ſkilful and ready in the ſcriptures, that it reſtrained them from idleneſs; and that ſome, ſuſpected in doctrine, were brought to open confeſſion of the truth. That ignorant miniſters were induced to ſtudy, if not for conſcience, yet for ſhame. That the opinion of the laymen concerning the ignorance of the clergy was removed. That nothing was ſo ſucceſsful in demoliſhing of popery. That where before there were not three able preachers, there were now thirty qualified to preach at St Paul's croſs, and forty or fifty beſides capable of inſtructing their own cures. That only men backward in religion, and contemners of religion, and therefore the Archbiſhop's letter availed nothing. She repeated her orders to him for ſuppreſſing the propheſyings, as he did his excellent remonſtrances to her for regulating and tolerating them; and the Queen finding that he was inflexible on that head, in May 1577 ſent her letters to the biſhops to do what the archbiſhop could not be perſwaded to do, viz. to forbid all Exerciſes and Propheſyings, and all preachers and teachers not lawfully called, of which there was no ſmall number. In June, the Archbiſhop ſtill refuſing any compliance, which the Queen and ſeveral of the lords in the ſtar-chamber had required of him, the ſaid lords, by virtue of their eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, confined him to his houſe, and ſequeſtred him from his juriſdiction for ſix months (m) [X]. Towards

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(22) Pag. 220.

(23) Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. b. ii. p. 553.

learning ſet themſelves againſt thoſe exerciſes. That the diſſolution of them would occaſion the adverſary to triumph. That abuſes might be reformed, and what was good be retained; and that he could not with a ſafe conſcience, and without the offence of the Majeſty of God, give his aſſent to the ſuppreſſing of theſe exerciſes, much leſs could he ſend out any injunction for the utter and univerſal ſubverſion of the ſame. And that if it were her Majeſty's pleaſure, for this or any other cauſe, to remove him out of this place, he would with all humility yield thereto, and render again to her Majeſty that which he received of her. That he conſidered with himſelf what an horrible thing it was to fall into the hands of the living God; and that he that acted againſt his conſcience, *edified to Hell*. And what ſhould he win if he gained (he would not ſay a biſhopric but) the whole world and loſt his own ſoul.' He then, like an archbiſhop and chief governor of the Church, took upon him to adviſe and warn her in two things, wherein ſhe ſeemed to have gone ſomewhat beyond the limits of her duty. The firſt was, 'That ſhe would refer all eccleſiaſtical matters which concerned religion, or the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church, unto the biſhops and divines of her realm, according to the examples of all godly Chriſtian emperors and princes in all ages. For that they were things to be judged, as an antient Father writ, in the Church or Synod, not in the palace. That when her Majeſty had queſtion of the laws of her realm, ſhe did not decide the ſame in her court, but ſent them to her judges to be determined. Likewiſe for doubts in matters of religion or diſcipline of the Church, the ordinary way was to refer the deciſion of the ſame to the biſhops, and other head miniſters of the Church.' And he quoted to her the words of St Ambroſe to an emperor, for this purpoſe, 'That in caſe of the faith, the biſhops were wont to judge of Chriſtian emperors, not emperors of the biſhops.' The other advice, which he prudently called by the name of a petition, was, 'That when ſhe dealt in matters of faith and religion, or that touched the Church of Chriſt, ſhe would not uſe to pronounce ſo reſolutely and peremptorily, *quaſi ex authoritate*, as ſhe might do in civil and external matters; but always remember that in God's cauſes, his will, and not the will of any earthly creature, is to take place. That it was the anti-chriſtian voice of the Pope, *ſic volo, ſic jubeo*, and that in God's matters, all princes ought to bow their ſceptres to the ſon of God.' He further exhorted her to remember, that ſhe was a mortal creature; and to look not only, as it was ſaid to Theodoſius, upon the purple and princely array wherewith ſhe was apparelled, but to conſider withal, what it was that was covered therewith. Was it not fleſh and blood? was it not duſt and aſhes? was it not a corruptible body, which muſt return to it's earth again, God knew how ſoon? 'Muſt you not, added he, appear alſo one day before the dreadful tribunal of the crucified Chriſt, to receive according as you have done in the body? although you are a mighty princeſs, yet remember that he that dwelleth in heaven is mightier. Take care you never once think of declining from God, leſt that be verified of you, which is written of *Joaſh*, who continued a prince of good and godly government for many years together; and afterwards *when he was ſtrengthned*, ſaith the text, *his heart was lifted up to his deſtruction*; and he neglected the Lord. You have done many things well, but except you perſevere to the end, you cannot be bleſſed. For if you turn away from God, then God will turn away his merciful countenance from you.' A reproof proceeding, probably, from an obſervation the Archbiſhop had made, of ſome lukewarmneſs into which the Queen of late had ſeemed to have ſunk. There is ſo much honeſty, freedom, and plainneſs in this declaration of his mind to the Queen, as does honour to his memory; he offers freely the reſignation of the higheſt and nobleſt preferment in the Church, and to be turned again into private life, rather than do any thing againſt conſcience, though the command of his ſovereign, which in all indifferent things bore, as it ought to do, a great ſway with him. Fuller has publiſhed this memorable letter (24), but very incorrectly and imperfectly; and is miſtaken in aſſigning the time when it was written, which he is confident to have been in 1580, whereas it appears to have been written four years before, in December 1576. Mr Strype however is not quite correct in his date of it, which is, 20th of December, whereas it muſt have been about the 8th, becauſe there is a letter wrote by the Archbiſhop to the Lord-Treaſurer, dated the 16th, wherein he ſays, 'I writt my opinion to her Majeſty *about eight days ago*, touching the two matters wherewith her Highneſs ſhewed herſelf offended at my laſt beying at Courte. My Lord of Leyceſter delivered my ſaid writing to her Majeſtie. I thank him therefore. But I cannot yet underſtande whether her Highneſs hath redde it or no; moche leſſe whether ſhe lyke or diſlyke of it. The writing was ſomewhat long, and could not be otherwiſe, if any prooffes ſhould be uſed.' This letter is taken from a manuſcript, which the author of this life has in his hands of Mr Strype's own hand writing, containing a great number of additions and alterations to his life of Archbiſhop Grindal. The next day the Lord-Treaſurer aſſured the Archbiſhop, that he would be careful of this cauſe of the Church. The Earl of Leiceſter alſo wrote to him the ſame day his opinion concerning the exerciſes, and ſeeming to object only againſt the lay-peoples being preſent at thoſe meetings, the Archbiſhop ſent an anſwer, which he incloſed together with the Earl's letter, in one to the Lord-Treaſurer, dated 17th December, as follows, 'I thank your Lordſhip that you are ſo careful in this cauſe of the Church. My Lord of Leyceſter writeth to me in forme as you ſee. I pray your Lordſhip return me his letter. I ſee no reaſon why the people ſhould be excluded, ſeeing St Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. giveth ſo great commendation to that which was uſed in the primitive Church, ſpecially for the benefit that growed thereby to the hearers. I have written thanks to my Lord of Leyceſter. I pray your Lordſhip let one of your ſervants deliver my letter, &c (25).' The Archbiſhop to give himſelf, or rather others, full ſatisfaction in the lawfulneſs, nay divine authority, of the exerciſe of propheſying, employed ſeveral of his chaplains or other divines to tranſcribe what diverſe Fathers, and other modern learned men, had writ concerning the interpretation of the Apoſtle in 1 Cor. xiv; as Chryſoſtom, Hom. 36. Greg. Nazianzen, Ambroſe, Lyra, Calvin, Peter Martyr, &c (26). All which tranſcripts Mr Strype, in this manuſcript, ſays he has in his hands.

[X] *The lords confined him to his houſe, and ſequeſtred him for ſix months.*] This was an extraordinary thing, ſays Mr Strype (27), to tye up the hands of an archbiſhop of Canterbury, who is the great mover under the prince in eccleſiaſtical matters, and the government of the Church; the archbiſhop being now alſo in the midſt of his viſitation (28). Cox, biſhop of Ely, was much troubled at this reſentment of the Queen againſt the Archbiſhop, and thought it had been better for him at this juncture to have complied with the Queen, for the ſtop of theſe exerciſes for the preſent; and that in convenient time good rules being made and enjoined for them, they might be renewed again, knowing how very uſeful they were for the improving of the clergy in knowledge (29). Of this diſgrace put upon the Archbiſhop, and of the injury religion ſeemed to ſuffer by it, Sir Robert Cotton hath theſe words. 'In thoſe days there was an emulation between the clergy and the laity; and a ſtrife whether of them ſhould

(m) Strype, ubi ſupra.

(24) Ch. Hiſt. b. ix. 123.

(25) MSS.

(26) Ibid.

(27) Pag 231.

(28) Ibid.

(29) MSS. ubi ſupra.

Towards the expiration whereof, in November following, the Lord-Treaſurer wrote the Archbiſhop a friendly letter, to acquaint him in what manner the ſtar-chamber would proceed further againſt him, and adviſed him to declare his approbation of the Queen's proceedings in ſuppreſſing the propheſyings; to own himſelf ſorry for his incompliance; to make a general acknowledgment of his fault, and beg the Queen's pardon. The Archbiſhop not conſcious of any crime, refuſed to betray his innocence, and give into ſo abſolute a ſubmiſſion; nor did he appear in perſon before the lords in the ſtar-chamber. However he ſent them a very dutiful though no mean letter, ſubmitting to their cenſure, but apologizing for his conduct, and deſiring they would intercede with the Queen for his liberty, and for the taking off his ſequeſtration, which he had ſuffered for ſix months patiently, and declaring his great trouble of mind at the Queen's diſpleaſure. But as he had not expreſly owned himſelf to be in the fault, neither this letter, nor a declaration of the inconveniencies and miſchiefs attending this ſequeſtration of the Archbiſhop, as they were drawn up by ſome learned civilian at that time, would procure him either his liberty or the exerciſe of his juriſdiction; and in January following there was even a talk of depriving him, but the deſign was laid aſide [*Y*]. In 1579 his confinement was either taken off, or elſe he had leave for his health ſake to retire to his houſe at Croydon, for we find him there then, conſecrating Dr John Wolton Biſhop of Exeter, Auguſt 2; and in 1580 he conſecrated Dr John Watſon, Biſhop of Wincheſter, at Croydon, alſo Dr Overton Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry; ſo that he exerciſed this part of his archiepiſcopal function, by commiſſion from the Queen, even under his ſequeſtration. The other affairs of his ſee during this interval were managed by two civilians appointed by the Queen and Council for that purpoſe (two of the Archbiſhop's nomination being ſet aſide), from whom iſſuedall licences to preach, &c. inſtitutions to benefices, commiſſions to viſitations, and the like; yet ſtill with deference to the Archbiſhop, and conſultation with him in what they did. But ſometimes upon letters ſent to him from the Queen or the lords of the Council, he acted in perſon, and iſſued out orders in his own name, was employed upon ſeveral occaſions during his ſequeſtration, and was, as much as may be, active and vigilant in the care of his dioceſe as occaſion offered. In 1580, when there was a violent earthquake, our Archbiſhop, after having iſſued out an order for prayers and humiliations, compoſed a prayer for families throughout his dioceſe, which was allowed of by the Council, who in a letter to him commended his great zeal, and required him to enjoin the obſervation of his new order of prayer in all other dioceſes (*n*). The ſame year the Council referred to the Archbiſhop the deciſion of a diſpute that happened in Merton college, Oxford, where he was viſitor (*o*); and ſoon afterwards he was employed by the Lord Treaſurer in a controverſy between the vice-chancellor and doctors of the town of Cambridge, and the maſters and heads of colleges (*p*). This year alſo the metropolitical viſitation, which had been begun by our Archbiſhop upon his firſt entrance into the ſee of Canterbury, but had been interrupted by his troubles and diſgrace, was renewed; but the commiſſion did not iſſue from the Archbiſhop, but from the civilians who officiated for him. The ſame year a Convocation met at St Paul's, at which, though our Archbiſhop did not appear, yet he had a principal ſhare in the tranſactions of it [*Z*]. Some of the members of this ſynod were

(*n*) Strype, p. 248.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 249.

(*p*) Pag. 250.

'ſhould ſhew themſelves moſt affectionate to the Goſpel. Miniſters haunted the houſes of the worthieſt men, where jeſuits now build their tabernacles; and poor country churches were frequented with the beſt of the ſhire The word of God was precious: prayer and preaching went hand in hand together: until Archbiſhop Grindal's diſgrace, Hatfield's (perhaps Hatton's) hard conceit of propheſying, brought the flowing of theſe good graces to a ſtill water (30).'

(30) Strype, p. 230, 231.

[*Y*] *There was a talk of depriving him, but this deſign was laid aſide.*] This deſign of depriving the Archbiſhop, ſays Mr Strype (31), was was very much reſented by the true Proteſtants, and they were highly concerned at it, urging how much it would prove the encouragement and joy of Papiſts. Sir Francis Knowles, treaſurer of the Queen's chamber, wrote to this purpoſe, to Secretary Wylſon. 'If her Majeſty will be ſafe, ſays he, ſhe muſt comfort the hearts of thoſe that be her moſt faithful ſubjects, even for conſcience ſake. But if the Archbiſhop of Canterbury ſhall be deprived, then up ſtarts the pride and practice of the Papiſts, and down declines the comfort and ſtrength of her Majeſty's ſafety: and then King Richard the Second's men will flock in court apace, and will ſhew themſelves in their colours. From the which company, the Lord bleſs her Majeſty: and the thinking thereof doth ſo abhorr me, that I am more fit to die in a private life, than to live a courtier, unleſs a preventing heart may enter into her Majeſty betimes.' Upon the whole, when it was conſidered that the deprivation of the Archbiſhop, eſpecially for a crime that did not merit it, would give ſo great diſguſt, it was determined to proceed more mildly, and that he ſhould only continue under his ſequeſtration (32).

(31) Pag. 238.

(32) Strype, p. 239.

[*Z*] *At which, though our Archbiſhop did not appear, he had a principal ſhare in the tranſactions of it*] Elmer, Biſhop of London preſided at this Synod, in the room of our Archbiſhop. Though Fuller (33) calls this a Silent Convocation, yet ſeveral weighty affairs were treated of, and laboured to be rectified; as concerning making of miniſters; concerning faculties, commutation of penance and excommunication, and a foundation was laid for ſome good regulations which afterwards took place. Our Archbiſhop, as Mr Strype believes (34), drew up a writing, ſhewing an expedient for keeping up the authority of the ſpiritual courts, againſt ſuch as contemned and diſobeyed them, whereby they incurred the crime of contumacy, commonly puniſhed by excommunication; in the room of which, he propoſed that this cenſure ſhould be wholly aboliſhed, but the conſequence of it, impriſonment after forty days, ſhould remain in force; and that inſtead of a writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, ſhould be a writ *de contemptore juriſdictionis eccleſiaſticæ capiendo*. This is a very good paper, and is preſerved by Mr Strype (35). The writer ſhews that this terrible Church-cenſure was to be uſed very ſparingly, as it was formerly. That in all crimes of the moſt heinous nature, excommunications might be pronounced by the Archbiſhops and biſhops in their own perſons, as was wont to be in the Primitive Church. The handling this weighty ſubject of excommunication, which had been ſo abuſed, was owing in a great meaſure to our archbiſhop, who earneſtly recommended the conſideration and reformation of it to this ſynod. He alſo laboured the reformation of

(33) Ch. Hiſt. b. ix. p. 135.

(34) Pag. 259.

(35) Appendix, No. XV. to b. ii.

were ſo ſtrongly affected with the diſgrace of the Archbiſhop's ſequeſtration, that out of a generous zeal for their metropolitan, they moved againſt entering upon any buſineſs, or ſo much as granting a ſubſidy, 'till the ſequeſtration was taken off, and the Archbiſhop reſtored. But the majority being fearful of offending the Queen, they came to an unanimous reſolution to draw up an humble addreſs to her, for the Archbiſhop's reſtitution. Though this petition was preſented to the Queen it proved ineffectual [*AA*]; nordoes it clearly appear at what preciſe time his ſequeſtration was taken off, though it ſeems moſt probable to have been in the year 1582; but it is certain the ſeverity uſed towards him was far from bringing him over, and the furtheſt advances he made, were only ſuch a ſubmiſſion as became a dutiful ſubject to his ſovereign [*BB*], though he does not ſeem ever after to have enjoyed much of the Queen's favour. In the year 1583, finding himſelf under great infirmities by the loſs of his ſight, which had failed him ſome time before, as alſo by the ſtone, ſtrangury, and colic [*CC*], he reſigned his archbiſhopric, and retired upon a penſion to Croydon [*DD*], where he died two months after, July 6, 1583 (*q*), aged

(*q*) Faſti Angl. Eccl. p. 8.

of another great and neceſſary part of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, that of penance for open ſins; and that it might not be performed merely as a matter of form, but produce a good effect, to bring the ſinner to amendment, and to ſerve as a ſeaſonable warning and example to all; our Archbiſhop did himſelf draw a form of penance to be for the future obſerved, and laid it before the Synod. The reader may ſee it in Mr Strype's Life of our archbiſhop (36)

(36) Pag. 261.

[*AA*] *The Convocation, at their firſt meeting, drew up an humble petition to the Queen in favour of the Archbiſhop*]. This was done in Latin by the elegant pen of Toby Matthew, Dean of Chriſt-church, in the name of the whole Synod; in this petition, they not only, as far as they dare, endeavour to leſſen his offence to the Queen in reſpect of his conſcience, but alſo ſet forth how well he deſerved of the Church, and 'how exceedingly grieved they were, that he ſhould, after ſo many years, fall into ſo great and ſo durable an offence of her Majeſty: that he was a man that did not often offend, and but once in his life ſeemed to have diſpleaſed her, and that not ſo much with a wilful mind as by a tender conſcience; of which, ſo great was the force, that eminent authors and the beſt men had writ, that whatſoever was done, (the conſcience reclaiming, or erring, or doubting) was done amiſs, and to be condemned as no little ſin. That the Archbiſhop had led a life free not only of all crime, but even from the ſuſpicion of a crime; preſerved his religion not only from all corruption of popery, but from ſchiſm, and had ſuffered perſecution for righteouſneſs ſake, having wandered abroad in other countries for the cauſe of the Goſpel. Therefore they moſt humbly and unanimouſly beſeeched her, not only to lift up the Archbiſhop, broken and feeble with grief, but to reſtore the Church to him and him to the Church, to her ſubjects, to his own brethren, to foreign nations, and, in a word, to all pious people,' &c. Fuller ſays (37), that this petition was preſented, but failed of ſucceſs. That ſuch an addreſs was preſented is not to be doubted, but that it was paſſed as an act of Convocation, is more than appears by the extracts from the journal. And the learned Dr Heylin, who peruſed the Convocation records at length, ſays he found no ſuch petition (38).

(37) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. b. ix. p. 120.

(38) Journal Convoc. fol. 144.

[*BB*] *The furtheſt advances he made, extended only to ſuch a ſubmiſſion as became a dutiful ſubject to his ſovereign.*] Mr Strype (39) tells us, that he has ſeen a ſubmiſſion made by the Archbiſhop without mention of the month or year, which being well taken of the Queen, he thinks might occaſion the taking off his ſuſpenſion. After this ſubmiſſion, the lords of the Council ſignified to him the reaſon of the Queen's diſpleaſure againſt him: upon which the Archbiſhop made this following further confeſſion and declaration. 'That being advertiſed of the cauſe of her Majeſty's offence, as was ſet down by the lords of the Council, and of her gracious inclination towards him upon his humble ſubmiſſion, doth confeſs, that he is moſt heartily ſorry that her Majeſty hath been offended with him, as a matter more grievous to him than any worldly calamity. And though he refuſed to execute her Majeſty's commandment by reaſon of ſcruple of conſcience, which moved him to think that the Exerciſes might have been in ſome points reformed, and ſo continued; and underſtanding that her Majeſty therein did uſe the advice and allowance of certain biſhops, his brethren, who by likelyhood certified, that they in their own dioceſes found the ſame more hurtful than profitable; in and for that he is perſwaded that ſhe had herein a ſincere and Godly meaning, to the quietneſs of her people; and that alſo her commandment was not againſt poſitive law or conſtitution of the realm; he cannot but think and ſpeak honourably and dutifully of her Majeſty's doings, as of a Godly prince, meaning well of the Church and her people in this her Majeſty's direction and commandment. And as he is moſt heartily ſorry that he hath incurred her Majeſty's grievous offence, for not obſerving that her commandment, ſo doth he moſt humbly and lowly beſeech her Highneſs, not to impute the ſame to any obſtinate intent, meaning to diſobey her Majeſty, but only that he was then moved in conſcience to be an humble ſuitor to her Majeſty, to be ſpared from being the ſpecial inſtrument in ſuppreſſing the ſaid exerciſes. And to the intent her Majeſty may think that he meant no diſobedience in any maintenance of them to continue contrary to her commandment, he doth pray her Majeſty to be truly informed how he himſelf did in his own biſhopric, and other peculiar juriſdictions ſuffer no ſuch exerciſes to be uſed after the time of her Majeſty's ſaid commandment.' This ſubmiſſion is as much an excuſe or apology for the Queen's conduct as for the Archbiſhop's, and is far from amounting to a confeſſion that he was in fault, only that he had no fixed purpoſe or intention of offending the Queen, and that he acted only according to the dictates of his own conſcience. Mr Strype places this tranſaction in the year 1582, becauſe there appears to have been a commiſſion iſſued out January 20 that year, in the Archbiſhop's own name, to viſit the city and dioceſe of Lichfield; and alſo an inhibition to the biſhop of Coventry, iſſued out likewiſe from the Archbiſhop himſelf Feb. 18; ſo that he muſt at this time have been reſtored to the exerciſe of his eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, and his ſequeſtration taken off; though Mr Strype (40) mentions alſo a commiſſion for the commiſſaryſhip of Canterbury, dated January 30, 1581, granted by the Archbiſhop himſelf in his own proper perſon; ſo that it cannot be certainly known when he was reſtored.

(39) P. 271.

(40) Pag. 268.

[*CC*] *As alſo by the ſtone, colic, and ſtrangury.*] The Archbiſhop had been long afflicted with theſe diſorders, as appears from a letter of his to the Lord-Treaſurer in 1547 (41); wherein he ſays, 'I am glad to underſtand by your chaplain, that your Lordſhip's health hath of late been better than afore; my fits of colic, ſtone, and ſtrangury, are very grievous when they come, but God ſendeth me ſome intervals, elſe they were intolerable.'

(41) M.SS. ut ſupra.

[*DD*] *He reſigned his archbiſhopric, and retired upon a penſion to Croydon.*] We are not exactly informed when this was done, nor indeed whether it was done at all. The biſhop had formerly deſired leave to reſign, which the Queen would not then grant; but, in conſideration of his infirmities, it was now thought reaſonable, and in January 1582, the Queen ſent Piers, biſhop of Sarum her almoner, to the Archbiſhop, to ſignify that it was her pleaſure that he might reſign, and have an honourable penſion for life: and ſhe ſoon after ſignified the ſame by the Lord Treaſurer, to whom the Archbiſhop ſent an anſwer, ſhewing the reaſons that had hindered him from again offering a reſignation after he had been refuſed, and that knowing her Majeſty's pleaſure, he would now very willingly reſign, but hoped that he might be permitted to continue in his place till Michaelmas, when the audit of the ſee was kept for the whole year, and that the Queen would grant him the aged 63. He was, at his own deſire, buried in the chancel of the church of Croydon; where a ſtone monument, with his effigies lying at length, is erected on the ſouth ſide of the communion table, againſt the wall [*E E*]. His common motto was, *Turris fortiſſima nomen Domini* (*r*). He lived and died unmarried. He had a brother named Robert, who with his wife and only ſon died in 1567, leaving four daughters, orphans; the ſecond of whom, Anne, married, againſt the Archbiſhop's conſent, William Dacres, ſon of Richard Dacres, Gent. (*s*), which William Dacres was in the rebellion in Cumberland in 1569. The archbiſhop had likewiſe ſeveral nieces by his ſiſter Elizabeth Woodhall. He does not ſeem to have amaſſed much wealth, which is the more admirable, conſidering the large revenues he poſſeſſed, and the length of time he enjoyed them in the three ſees of London, York, and Canterbury, and that all the time free from the incumbrance of a family. This, as Fuller obſerves, may perhaps be imputed erroneouſly to his prodigality, which more truly is to be aſcribed to his contempt of the world, unwilling to die *guilty of much wealth*. The little he had, as it was well gotten, was well beſtowed in pious uſes on the two univerſities, and the building and endowing a free-ſchool at St Begh's, his native place; of which, together with ſome charitable benefactions and legacies left by his will, we ſhall give an account in the note [*FF*]. We do not find that our Archbiſhop left

(*r*) Le Neve's Lives of the Biſhops, P. i. p. 45.

(*s*) Strype, p. 3.

the houſe at Croydon, with ſome land belonging to it, that he might retire to, ſhewing that in all reſignations of biſhops, there had been always one houſe at leaſt belonging to the ſee, aſſigned to the reſigner, for which he cited Matthew Paris. The Queen however would only allow the Archbiſhop till Lady-day to reſign his ſee; which drawing near, and his penſion, the proportioning of which lay very much in the appointment of the Lord-Treaſurer, not being yet ſettled, the Lord-Treaſurer, being then abſent from Court, ſent to put the Queen in mind, that the Archbiſhop was ready to reſign; that he yielded himſelf to her Majeſty's goodneſs to have ſome penſion during his ſhort life, which he (the Treaſurer) wiſhed to be great and honourable, although it ſhould be to the ſucceſſor burthenous for the preſent. But he that ſhould have it, muſt ſhape his garment with his cloth for the time. That he had ſeen into the value of the archbiſhop's poſſeſſions, and found them to be above 2780 l. per ann. according to the rate of the book of firſt-fruits; that he had alſo ſeen the particular books of the annual receipts, which grew ſomewhat, but not much above; and if the then archbiſhop might have ſeven or eight hundred pound a year penſion, he thought his ſucceſſor with good huſbandry might make the reſt to be 2000 l. according to which he might compound for his firſt-fruits, and for no more. The letter itſelf written by the Lord-Treaſurer, we find among his memorials (42). The Archbiſhop's reſignation however was not compleated at Lady-day, and in April 1583, being then in a bad ſtate of health, beſides the loſs of his ſight, and growing weary of his burthen, he again ſignified to the Lord-Treaſurer that he was ready to reſign, and tranſmitted a draught of his reſignation to this miniſter, which it is probable was but imperfect, neither ſigned nor ſealed, and only put into the Treaſurer's hands for his approbation: and in this condition we have it in the paper-office, without date, ſeal, or ſubſcription. And indeed it ſeems probable, as Mr Strype ſuppoſes (43), that the Queen was not yet provided with a ſucceſſor for the archbiſhop, Whitgift, biſhop of Worceſter, (according to Fuller, refuſing the Queen to accept of it) (44), reſolving not to enter upon that ſee while Grindal was alive (45). That the reſignation was not executed before the 8th of May following, appears from his will which bears date that day, and wherein he ſtiles himſelf *Archbiſhop of Canterbury, whole of mind and of perfect remembrance*, and in about two months after, he died; neither does it appear the reſignation was further preſſed during this interval; nor was the ſee filled till near a month after Grindal's deceaſe (46), by Whitgift, a divine who had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learning, and regard for the Church of England.

(42) M.SS. ut ſupra.

(43) Pag. 286.

(44) See Records, No. 90.

(45) Fuller, p. 163. b. viii.

(46) Reg. Whitgift. Strype's Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 111.

[*E E*] *His monument is errected on the ſouth ſide of the communion table, againſt the wall*] In one part of the monument are theſe verſes placed, as a character of him.

Grindallus *doctus, prudens, Gravitate verendus,*
Juſtus, munificus, ſub cruce fortis erat.
Poſt crucis ærumnas Chriſti gregis Anglia fecit
Signiferum, Chriſtus cælica regna dedit.

Beneath his effigies on one ſide are theſe verſes.

Præſulis eximii ter poſtquam eſt auctus honore,
Pervigilique greges rexit moderamine ſacro,
Confectum ſenio, duriſque laboribus, ecce
Tranſtulit in placidam mors exoptata quietem.

On the other ſide theſe.

Mortua marmoreo conduntur membra ſepulchro;
Sed mens ſancta viget, fama perennis erit.
Nam ſtudia et Muſæ, quas magnis cenſibus auxit,
Grindalli nomen tempus in omne ferent.

The epitaph or inſcription upon his monument is long, and being only hiſtorical, containing a recital of his charitable benefactions, which we ſhall give an account of in another place, we ſhall not inſert it here.

[*FF*] *He founded and endowed a freel ſchool at St Begh's, of which, together with ſome charitable benefactions, and legacies left by his will, we ſhall give an account in the note.*] The ſchool of St Begh's was incorporated by Queen Elizabeth, her letters-patent bearing date the 15th of June, in the 27th year of her reign, by the name of the *Wardens and governors of the poſſeſſions, revenues, and goods, of the free grammar-ſchool of* Edmund Grindal *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, in Kirkby Beacook, *alias* St Begh's, *in the county of* Cumberland. The pious founder drew up ſome excellent ſtatutes for the good government of the ſchool before his death, and gave 366 l. 13 s. 4 d. for building and furniſhing it, which was done by his executors, upon a piece of ground given by Thomas Chaloner, Eſq; (ſon of Sir Thomas Chaloner) who alſo gave forty loads of coals yearly out of his coal-mines at St Begh's, for the uſe of the ſchool, reſerving a right of placing two ſcholars there by the name of Chaloner's ſcholars. The Archbiſhop ſettled 30 l. per ann. upon the ſchool, viz. 20 l. to the ſchool-maſter; 3 l. 6 s. 8 d. to a poor ſcholar to be uſher there; and the remaining 6 l. 13 s. 4 d. to the repairs of the ſchool, and to be laid up for the purchaſe of revenues from time to time, for the maintenance of poor ſcholars in the Univerſities. Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, added a fair library to the ſchool, and a benefaction of 5 l. a year. Dr Lamplugh, archbiſhop of York, alſo gave 5 l. per ann. to it, but this is ſaid to be ſince withdrawn (47). The moſt remarkable of our Archbiſhop's other charitable benefactions and legacies, are theſe. In yearly revenues to Pembroke-hall in Cambridge, 22 l. viz to the reader of Greek, 2 l. for the maintenance of a fellow, 10 l. of two ſcholars, 6 l. 13 s. 4 d. the reſidue to the uſe of the college. The fellow and ſcholars to be choſen out of ſuch as have been brought up at St Begh's ſchool. This college had at ſeveral times experienced the Archbiſhop's good will and bounty to them. They had enjoyed the ſtipend of 40 s. a year for a Greek reader ever ſince the year 1568, and the inheritance of it was confirmed to them by the Archbiſhop's laſt will. It was about the ſame time that he obtained from a widow lady a perpetual ſcholarſhip for the college. In 1570, he obtained a licence for the college, to purchaſe lands in mortmain to the value of forty pounds. He likewiſe appointed, that out of the monies

(47) Strype, ut ſupra, p. 291, 292. Ex inform. Ralph Thoreſby Arm. & D. Guil. D. Epiſc. Carleol.

left much in print behind him. We have already mentioned the ſhare he had in the *Acts and Monuments of the Church*, publiſhed by J. Fox; we ſhall only add, that he wrote a *Dialogue between Cuſtom and Truth*, ſoon after his coming back into England, which is extant in Mr Fox's work (*t*) [*G G*]. It ought not to be forgot that our Archbiſhop, when he returned home from his exile, firſt brought the tamariſk into England, ſo uſeful in medicine againſt diſeaſes of the ſpleen (*u*). We ſhall conclude this article with the character of our prelate as given by Mr Strype, the faithful hiſtorian of his life, backed with the teſtimony of many learned hiſtorians, contemparaties of the Archbiſhop. Mr Strype obſerves (*w*), that it has been Archbiſhop Grindal's misfortune to be of later times deemed an ill governor of this Church; but in the time wherein he lived (when he was better known) his epiſcopal abilities and admirable endowments for ſpiritual government, as well as his ſingular learning, were much celebrated. In order therefore to revive the memory, and do right to the name of this holy Primate, Mr Strype (*x*) proceeds to make ſome obſervations upon his temper and qualifications, as a man, as a chriſtian, as a miniſter, a biſhop and chief paſtor of the Church of Chriſt in this kingdom. He always led, ſays he, an unblemiſhed and uſeful life, devoting himſelf to the ſervice of God and the advancement of pure religion, purged from all the dregs of Popiſh ſuperſtition, and for theſe ends ſaved by the good providence of God out of the Romiſh fires, wherein ſeveral of his companions periſhed under Queen Mary. He was a man of great firmneſs and reſolution, though of a mild and affable temper, and friendly diſpoſition; in his deportment courteous and engaging, not eaſily provoked, well ſpoken, and eaſy of acceſs, and that even in his elation, not at all affecting grandeur or ſtate, always obliging in his carriage, kind and grateful to his ſervants, and of a free and generous ſpirit. His fear of

God

(*t*) Acts and Monuments of the Church, p. 1263.

(*u*) Fuller, b. ix. p. 164. Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, p. 73.

(*w*) Epiſtle Dedicatory to Grindal's Life, p. 3.

(*x*) Pag. 295.

monies ariſing from the foundation of St Begh's ſchool, every eighth year for ever, ſome new fund ſhould be purchaſed for the maintaining of a ſcholar. And that this college, and that of Queen's in Oxford, ſhould alternately enjoy the benefit accruing from thence every eighth year. But Mr Strype ſays (48), that this has never been done but once, of which the college has complained. The Archbiſhop alſo left the college ſeveral books, ſome of which were Greek of the curious print of Henry Stephens. He alſo gave to the maſter's ſtudy, a curious Hebrew Bible, in ſeveral tomes in ſixteens, which formerly belonged to Thomas Watts, Archdeacon of Middleſex, and was preſerved in an oval box. He alſo gave them a ſtanding cup of above forty ounces, double gilt, which in honour of him they called, *Poculum Cantuarienſe*, i. e. The *Canterbury Cup*. This was a preſent from the Queen to the Archbiſhop the year after his promotion to the ſee of Canterbury. In yearly revenues to Queen's-college, Oxon, he gave 20 l. and 6 l. 13 s. 4 d. yearly for the maintenance of a fellow and two ſcholars, to be choſen out of St Begh's ſchool. He alſo gave them ſome books, a neſt of bowls, and 50 l. in money. To Magdalen-college, Cambridge, he gave 100 l. to purchaſe 5 l. a year for the maintenance of a ſcholar, to be choſen of ſuch as come from St Begh's ſchool. To Chriſt's-college, Cambridge, a ſtanding cup value 13 l. 6 s. 8 d. To the city of Canterbury, to ſet the poor to work, 100 l. To the poor of Lambeth and Croydon, 20 l. For the purchaſe of lands, or other profits, for the relief of the poor alms-houſes in Croydon, 50 l. For the repairs of the pariſh church there, 5 l. To the poor of St Begh's, 13 l. 6 s. 8 d. To the pariſh church of St Begh's, his communion cup and cover double gilt, and his beſt great Bible. To the Queen, a curious Greek Teſtament of Stephens's impreſſion. To his ſucceſſors ſeveral pictures and implements. To his old patron and friend the Lord-Treaſurer Burleigh, a ſtanding cup of fifty ounces, which the Queen had given him the laſt new year's day before he died. To Sir Francis Walſingham, a ſtanding cup of forty ounces. Beſides theſe, there are many other legacies to relations, friends, and ſervants, not material to inſert here, but the reader may ſee them in the will itſelf, No. 20, in Mr Strype's appendix (49). Thus did this good Archbiſhop die, poor in eſtate, but rich in good works. He had been very liberal in his benefactions to St Paul's church, having beſtowed on the repairs thereof, at ſeveral times, when he was biſhop of London, 1184 l. 18 s. 11 d. as his executors made appear when they were ſued for dilapidations, by Whitgift his ſucceſſor in the ſee of Canterbury. They alſo proved that he had expended upon London-Houſe, during his incumbency, 147 l. 2 s. 2 d. on Fulham-Houſe and the bridges, 356 l. 15 s. 7 d. and upon Hadham-houſe, 200 l. 10 s. 9 d. Thus it appears how freely the Archbiſhop beſtowed a ſhare of his revenues in repairing and keeping up the edifices belonging to the ſees over which he preſided, which he thought it no leſs his duty to do, than to preſerve their revenues. Yet would not this ſave his executors from being troubled for dilapidations, though they affirmed to the Lord-Treaſurer and Secretary Walſingham, the overſeers of the Archbiſhop's will, to whom they appealed, that in general he left his houſes in much better condition than he found them at his predeceſſor Parker's death.

(48) Pag. 310, 311.

(49) Pag. 103, 104, & ſeq.

[*G G*] *He wrote a dialogue between Cuſtom and Truth, extant in Mr Fox's Acts and Monuments of the Church.*] Mr Strype ſays (50), this piece is written in a clear method, and with much rational evidence, againſt the real, that is, the groſs and corporeal, preſence in the Sacrament. That Grindal was the author of it, Mr Strype is informed, from the manuſcript before cited, wrote by biſhop Wren, and preſerved in Pembroke-hall. Fox indeed has concealed the author's name, (forbid probably by him to diſcloſe it) and only ſays, 'That it 'was writ by a certain learned and reverend perſon of 'this realm, and who, under the perſons of Cuſtom and 'Verity, manifeſtly laid open before our eyes, and 'taught all men not to meaſure religion by cuſtom, 'but to try cuſtom by truth, and the word of God.' He has thought fit to place this diſcourſe next after a public diſputation upon the ſame argument, of the learned Peter Martyr at Oxon, and another by the other learned men before the King's viſitors at Cambridge, and the determination by biſhop Ridley, as a full and ſatisfactory diſpatch of the groſs papal tranſubſtantiation. Our author wrote this diſcourſe ſoon after his coming back into England, for the better ſervice of the Church, that was then to be purged of Popiſh doctrines and ſuperſtitions; as appears from this paſſage, wherein Cuſtom is brought in ſpeaking thus. 'Are 'you ſo great a ſtranger in theſe parts? hear you not 'how men do daily ſpeak againſt the ſacrament of the 'altar, denying it to be the real body of Chriſt?' Verity anſwers, 'In ſooth, I have been a great while abroad, and returned but of late into this country. 'Wherefore you muſt pardon me if my anſwers be to 'ſeek in ſuch queſtions. But you have been longer 'here, &c.' In this tract, after the author had excellently explained the ſenſe of thoſe words of Chriſt, *this is my body*, he proceeded to produce divers ſentences out of the antient biſhops and doctors of the Church to confirm his interpretation; becauſe Cuſtom had boaſted of doctors and old writers, and men inſpired with the Holy Ghoſt, that were againſt the doctrine of the Proteſtants; and that in theſe days the wiſeſt and beſt learned called them heretics; and at length in the concluſion of the diſcourſe he tells Cuſtom, 'That as ſhortly 'and in as few words as he could, he had declared unto 'him what Chriſt meant by thoſe words, *this is my* '*body*, what the Apoſtles thought thereof, and in what 'ſort they delivered them to their ſucceſſors; and in 'what ſenſe and meaning the holy Fathers and old 'writers, and the univerſal and catholic Church had 'always taken them.'

(50) Pag. 313.

[*H H*] *We*

God and ſincere love of religion, evidently appeared in his willingly foregoing of his own country, his eaſe, his preſidentſhip in Pembroke-hall, his good prebends in the churches of St Paul and Weſtminſter, and all his preferments and hopes; and living abroad in a ſtrange land, that he might preſerve his conſcience, and ſerve God in purity and truth. He was a great preacher in King Edward the Sixth's time, and one of the moſt eminent both at court and univerſity; and in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when the Proteſtant Religion was to be declared and inculcated to the people, he was one of the chief employed to that end, frequently in the pulpit at St Paul's, and before the Queen and nobility. He was a prelate of great moderation towards the Puritans, and it was perhaps owing to their intereſt in the cabinet, as well as to his own merits, that he was preferred. He is indeed generally thought to have held the reins too looſe in reſpect to this ſort of men, and is commonly blamed for his ſlackneſs in his government of the Church's affairs. But, as Mr Strype obſerves, this ſeems to be an unjuſt accuſation, by what it is evident he did towards them. He beſt knew what courſes were fitteſt to be uſed, who lived in thoſe times, and obſerved how things then ſtood in the State and Church; and if Grindal be condemned for gentle uſage, Whitgift, his ſucceſſor, is commended for the ſame by Sir George Paul, who writes thus: 'Happy ſure it was for that 'crazy ſtate of the Church, not to meet with too rough and boiſterous a Phyſician. 'For he preſerved it with conſerves and electuaries, and ſome gentle purges, which with 'ſtrong purges, in all likelihood, might have been much more in danger.' And again that author profeſſes, 'He could not ſufficiently expreſs that Archbiſhop's ſingular wiſdom 'and clemency, albeit ſome younger ſpirits were of opinion that he was much to blame in 'that kind, and imputed it unto his years and want of courage (y).' Which words may well enough be applied to our Archbiſhop, when his mildneſs is cenſured, eſpecially ſince that upon occaſion was joined with ſeverity too. Certainly his zeal and affection for the reformed Church ſhewed itſelf particularly, in his endeavouring to reclaim theſe Puritans and Preciſians, as they were called, who for ſome little ceremonies made a breach in Chriſtian Communion. Yet when all his mild perſwaſions and arguments proved ineffectual, when he ſaw that rigour was neceſſary, he thought himſelf bound, as a faithful and careful overſeer of the Church, to make uſe of the ſeverer methods warranted by the laws againſt them. There is nothing, as Mr Strype obſerves (z), that lies ſo heavy upon our Archbiſhop, as the matter of the exerciſes and his ſuſpenſion. 'This, ſays he, is the 'ſtumbling block and the rock of offence, whence many have ſurmized an inclination in 'him towards a diſcipline in this Church, different to what was eſtabliſhed.' In order therefore to vindicate our Archbiſhop from any ſeeming compliance with the innovators, or doing any thing, by his countenancing theſe exerciſes, to the prejudice of the religion eſtabliſhed, but rather to the general edification of clergy and people, we have thrown together ſome further remarks upon the uſe and practice of propheſying in the note [*H H*].

Our

(y) Strype's Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 82.

(z) Epiſtle Dedicatory, p. 3.

[*H H*] *We have thrown together ſome further remarks upon the uſe and practice of propheſying in the note.*] Whether the exerciſes were ſuppreſſed in the province of York, as well as that of Canterbury, or whether the Queen had a better opinion of them afterwards, upon ſome regulation made, is uncertain; but it is certain that not above a year or two after they were forbidden, in 1578, Archbiſhop Sandys in his metropolitical viſitation of his province of York, enjoined them to his clergy there; and even took a part in them himſelf, and as he ſays, did as much as the reſt (51). Whence it appears that theſe prophecies were ſtill countenanced and practiſed; and the biſhops thought them ſtill the beſt means to promote good preaching, and the increaſe of learning in the clergy. It was not above ſeven or eight years after our Archbiſhop's diſgrace, that King James of Scotland, publickly allowed and encouraged them in his kingdom, as excellently conducive to Chriſtian knowledge, without any ſuſpicion of the inconvenience of them, ſince his biſhops were concerned in the appointing and regulating them. The fifth article of his declaration runs thus (52): 'That his Majeſties intentioun was, to maintene the exerciſe of prophecy: for the incres and 'continuing of knawledge amongis the miniſtry. In 'the quhilk ane wiſe and grave man ſelectit by the 'biſhop, or commiſſioner, at the ſynodal aſſembly, ſall 'preſide; and rander ane compt of the adminiſtration 'of that bounds quhair the exerciſe is hald in. For the 'quhilk cauſe ſome reſpect of leving ſall be had unto 'him, quha ſuſtenis the burding.' From whence it may appear, in what eſteem and requeſt propheſying was in the neighbouring nation among thoſe of the epiſcopal perſwaſion; and that at the ſame time the King had diſcharged the Preſbyterian Church Government, and eſtabliſhed Epiſcopacy, he took particular care for the maintenance of this exerciſe, for the increaſe of knowledge in the clergy, according to the judgment and experience of our Archbiſhop in this kingdom. And further, it is obſervable, that for the more regular and quiet management of theſe propheſyings, the king trod in the Archbiſhop's ſteps, in appointing that there ſhould be ſome wiſe and grave perſon ſelected by the biſhop, or commiſſioner, to preſide within the reſpective bounds of the ſeveral exerciſes. Let us add the judgment of the learned Lord Bacon, in a diſcourſe to King James, then King of England (53): where he conſidered, 'Whether it were not requiſite to renew that good 'exerciſe which was practiſed in this Church ſome years, 'and afterwards put down by order indeed from the 'Church, in regard of ſome abuſes thereof, inconvenient for thoſe times; and yet againſt the advice and 'opinion of the *greateſt and graveſt prelate of the land*, '(as he worthily ſtiled our Archbiſhop) and was commonly called propheſying.' He then deſcribes the manner of it, and ſays, 'That in his opinion, it was 'the beſt way to frame and train up preachers, to 'handle the word of God as it ought to be handled, 'that had been practiſed. Orators have their declamations; Lawyers their moots; Logicians their ſophems; and every practice of ſcience hath an exerciſe of erudition and initiation, before it come to the 'life: only preaching, which is the worthieſt, and 'wherein it is moſt in danger to be amiſs, wanteth an 'introduction.' Mr Collier the hiſtorian ſays, 'He 'will not pretend to determine whether Grindal 'was right or not in pleading for the propheſying meetings, though it muſt be ſaid he has offered a great 'deal in defence of them; and 'tis moſt likely, could 'they have been kept within the compaſs of his regulation, they would have proved ſerviceable to the 'Church *.' We ſhall only add one circumſtance more upon this ſubject, to ſhew the high eſteem our Archbiſhop had even at that juncture, when he lay under his prince's frowns, and that it was not his favour to another Church's diſcipline, and diſlike of this, that was the cauſe of his diſgrace. When Barnes biſhop of Durham, had taken the liberty to ſpeak ſomewhat re-

flectingly

(51) Int. Epiſt. Edwin Archiep. Ebor. penes J. Strype.

(52) Declaration of the King's Intentioun and meaning towards the laſt Actis of Parliament, imprinted at Edinb. anno 1585.

(53) Conſiderat. of the Edificat. of the Ch. of Engl.

* Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. b. ii. p. 557.

Our Archbiſhop himſelf profeſſed, that the loſs of the Queen's favour was one of the greateſt afflictions of his life; and therefore his advancement to the chair of Canterbury may be reckoned among his chief misfortunes, ſince he was no ſooner ſeated in it than it brought upon him the Queen's frowns, who before mightily eſteemed and valued him for his great goodneſs and excellent abilities. Yet would he take no undue means for the averting this evil, being endued with that immutable conſtancy of mind, in perſiſting in what he thought his duty in the faithful diſcharge of his office; hence his plain but humble refuſal of the Queen's commands to put down the Exerciſes, may be juſtly eſteemed one of the nobleſt paſſages of his life. It proceeded not from any elation of mind on account of his high place and dignity; for ſuch external accidental things made no change in his temper and diſpoſition, which was ever at the ſame ſtay of meekneſs and gentleneſs; however he had been ſeverely charged by ſome with pride, covetouſneſs, perſecution, and the like, which are common imputations upon thoſe who fill ſuch exalted ſtations in the Church as he did. Thomas Sampſon the Puritan, his old acquaintance, and late Dean of Chriſt-church Oxford, took occaſion to tell him of theſe things at large in a letter. The good Archbiſhop returned him a very friendly and obliging anſwer, written (as he ſaid) *ſine fuco aut faſtu*, laying aſide all ſtate, and at large related to him what his own temper really was, and ſolemnly proteſted himſelf to be free and innocent of thoſe rude reports that went of him, and that he loved ſome godly brethren that wiſhed ſuch things reformed as were amiſs; inſomuch that Sampſon in another letter declared himſelf ſatisfied, and that he knew now what to ſay, when hereafter he ſhould hear any ſuch ſlanders ſtarted concerning him (*a*). In fine, the Engliſh nation generally held this Archbiſhop in great honour and eſteem; and ſo likewiſe did the Proteſtant ſtrangers and foreigners reſiding here, who choſe him, when he was biſhop of London, ſuperintendant of their church in Auſtin-friars London, and appealed to him in any differences ariſing among them about matters of religion. And as for the clergy of the land, what high eſteem and veneration they had for him, appears from the concern they took in his diſgrace, and their zealous endeavours to have him reſtored to the Church, by the petition of the Convocation to the Queen in 1580, as we have related above. To conclude, our Archbiſhop, ſays Mr Strype (*b*), in the diſcharge of his high function, lived and died unblameable, and was univerſally eſteemed and beloved. Fair and honourable are the characters our beſt hiſtorians, his contemporaries, give of him with one conſent. Their teſtimonies are too important to the eſtabliſhing his character, and rectifying the ſtrange miſapprehenſions that have been taken up of him, to be omitted here. We have therefore inſerted them in the note [*I I*], that,

(*a*) Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 300, 301.

(*b*) Pag. 304.

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flectingly upon the Archbiſhop, ſoon after his diſgrace, the Lord-Treaſurer Burghley wrote to him and charged him therewith. Barnes wrote an anſwer to the Lord-Treaſurer, in which it is obſervable, he does not charge the Archbiſhop with want of ſincerity towards the Church, nor condemns the exerciſes; only, like a courtier, and one who ſought for further favours from the throne, accuſed him of ‘ Wilfulneſs in contemning the regal power, and obſtinacy in not yielding to that which their Honours of the Star-Chamber had ſet down. And as for the Exerciſes, he confeſſed, that being well ordered, they were *De bene eſſe religionis*, yet they were not *de eſſe religionis ſinceræ*. And therefore not to be urged ſo as to contend with her Highneſs and her Council. He ſaid he had ſpoken of this only to two or three perſons, and that only in defence of her Majeſty when reports had been ſpread that the Archbiſhop had been cruelly dealt with, and had not deſerved ſuch treatment; and that the Lord Leiceſter and others ſhould further his troubles, which he ſaid he knew to be moſt falſe; and that he was therefore under a kind of neceſſity to aſſert the Archbiſhop's wilfulneſs and undutifulneſs to be the juſt occaſion thereof; and more than this he affirmed he had not done; nor, but that he was forced, he ſhould not have done or ſaid any thing of him at all.’ Mr Strype adds, ‘ That biſhop Barnes had no good will towards the Archbiſhop, who not long before had dealt againſt him for ſome defects, either in diſcharge of his epiſcopal function, or for his bribe-taking officers (54).’ As to what biſhop Barnes ſays concerning the report of the Earl of Leiceſter's incenſing the Queen againſt the Archbiſhop, Fuller affirms the ſame thing (55); that about the time of the Archbiſhop's writing his bold letter to the Queen about the exerciſes, the Earl of Leiceſter took occaſion to quarrel with the Archbiſhop, and would have gotten Lambeth houſe from him, and that this was really the reaſon of the Queen's diſpleaſure, the Earl having ſecretly exaſperated her Majeſty againſt him. But it appears that the Earl and Archbiſhop were then good friends, ſince the Archbiſhop made him deliverer of his letter to the Queen; and the Earl and he correſponded together in a friendly manner, as we have ſhewn before. However there was a conjecture, which was current ſince that time, that the Queen was provoked againſt our prelate by that Earl, who had taken offence at him for denying to give a favourable ſentence in behalf of one Dr Julio, the Earl's Phyſician, who had married another man's wife, having alſo one of his own, and was reſolutely proſecuted for the ſame by Grindal, when biſhop of London, notwithſtanding the Earl's interceſſion for him. This is alſo related by Camden (56); who ſeems, ſays Mr Strype, too lightly to have taken it up from the malicious author of Leiceſter's Common-wealth, who ſays, that ‘ This Archbiſhop's overthrow was principally wrought by this tyrant, for contrarying his will in ſo baſe a command (57).’

[*I I*] *We have inſerted the honourable teſtimonies of hiſtorians concerning our Archbiſhop in the note*] Archbiſhop Parker, in his book *De Antiq. Brittan. Eccleſ.* writes thus of him, *Vir ſpectatæ gravitatis & prudentiæ*, &c. ‘ He was a man of reſpected gravity and prudence; and who in that commiſſion of the Queen for eccleſiaſtical cauſes, underwent many labours both by day and night, not leſs diligently than ſucceſsfully; and whoſe ſeverity in a buſineſs of that great import was neceſſary, that ſuch as would not be drawn by gentleneſs and clemency to the ſervice of God and the laws, and ſtood obſtinately in their opinion, might more hardly be dealt with, and compelled by ſharper chaſtiſement.’ Camden in one place ſtiles him *an excellent divine* (58); and when he comes to relate his death (59), ſays, ‘ He was a religious and grave man, that flouriſhed in great grace with the Queen, until, by the cunning artifices of his adverſaries, he quite loſt her favour; as if he had leaned to conventicles of turbulent and hot-ſpirited miniſters, and their prophecies, as they called them; but in truth, becauſe he had condemned the unlawful marriage of one Julio, the Italian Phyſician, with another man's wife, while Leiceſter in vain oppoſed his proceedings therein.’ (See the latter part of the preceding note). Holinſhed obſerves (60), that ‘ This good man in his life-time was ſo ſtudious, that his books were his bride, and his ſtudy his bride-chamber; whereupon he ſpent both his eye ſight, his ſtrength, and his health, &c. of whom much might be ſpoken ‘ for

(54) Dedicat. p. 4, 5.

(55) Ch. Hiſt. p. 123.

(56) Hiſt. of Q. Elizabeth, p. 287, edit. 1675.

(57) Strype, p. 224.

(58) Camd. Eliz. p. 30. edit. 1675.

(59) Pag. 287.

(60) Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 1354. a.

that, as juſtice and religion require, right be done to the name and memory of this moſt venerable and apoſtolical Primate. This was the laudable motive, as Mr Strype acquaints us,

‘ for other's imitation; but this ſhall ſuffice, that as his learning and virtues were inſeparable companions, ſo the reward of both is the good name that he hath left behind him, as a monument perpetual.’ Stowe, another faithful hiſtorian and his contemporary, in mentioning the death of our Archbiſhop, ſpeaks of his numerous benefactions: ſo doth Godwin, in his Catalogue of biſhops. Mr Thomas Rogers, chaplain to Archbiſhop Bancroft, in the preface to his book, intitled, *The Faith, Doctrine, and Religion, profeſſed and protected in the realm*, printed in 1607, ſtiles Archbiſhop Grindal ‘ A zealous confeſſor and tried ſoldier, and right worthy prelate.’ And remarks that, ‘ His care was great to further the glory of God, but that through the envy and malice of his ill-willers, his power was but ſmall; his place high, but himſelf made low through ſome diſgrace brought upon him by his potent adverſaries, which he meekly and patiently endured.’ He remarks, that there were two inconveniences which our Archbiſhop's troubles and ſequeſtration occaſioned; the one, the flocking of Jeſuits into the kingdom; the other, the inſolence and boldneſs of the home faction, by which Mr Rogers means the Puritans. And laſtly, this hiſtorian ranks our prelate with the excellent archbiſhops, from Cranmer to Bancroft, all of famous and venerable memory. Sir John Harrington, who lived in and after the time of Queen Elizabeth, undertakes to give ſome ſtrictures of her biſhops, which, ſays Mr Strype, are commonly but light rumours of Court, and often idle and trifling; yet what he ſays of Archbiſhop Grindal points not to any miſgovernment of the Church: but whereas it was commonly ſaid that he was blind ſome years before his death, Sir John would make a myſtery of it, telling us that he was not blind, but that when the Queen enjoined him to keep his houſe, his friends gave out that he was blind, and that he kept at home the better to conceal his puniſhment which the Queen had laid upon him. ‘ This would have been very likely, ſays Mr Strype (61), had the report of his blindneſs happened at the time that the Queen had commanded his confinement, but he was not blind 'till five years after at leaſt. And that he was then blind, I have ſeen the ſubſcription of his name, that evidently ſhews it to have been written by a blind man. Some other paſſages he ventures to write of the Archbiſhop, ſo ſlight and improbable, that I ſhall not repeat them. But this author writes not one word of his remiſſneſs in government, or countenance towards ſuch as oppoſed the conſtitutions of the Church. Mr Fuller appears to have been the firſt who vented this notion concerning our prelate. His accounts ſeem to be rather hear-ſays, than built upon any good authority either of records or manuſcripts.’ He tells us (62), that Grindal was generally condemned for remiſſneſs, in parting with more from the ſee than ever his ſucceſſors thanked him for Mr Strype obſerves, that this is an hard charge, but ſpoken in general terms; and that if Fuller means exchanges with the Queen, Grindal, and all the reſt of the biſhops, were obliged to make theſe exchanges by an Act of Parliament which paſſed for that purpoſe in the beginning of her reign; but that he and two or three others of the firſt elects wrote a private letter to her Majeſty, and made a voluntary offer of a large yearly equivalent, to forbear making uſe of that power which the parliament had given her, as hath been ſhewn before. And that Grindal was not ſo eaſy to part with the revenues of his biſhopric this hiſtorian ſhew shimſelf, by relating how ſtrongly he oppoſed parting with the palace at Lambeth to the great favourite, which, he ſays himſelf, brought upon him the malice of the Leiceſtrian faction. Fuller likewiſe ſpeaks of ſome, ‘ Who ſtrained a parallel between Eli and Grindal, in reſpect of his being guilty of dangerous indulgence to offenders; and as a father of the Church, he was accuſed of too much conniving at the factious diſturbers thereof (63).’ Mr Strype, in vindication of our Archbiſhop, obſerves, ‘ That Fuller does not give one inſtance thereof; that he ſeems to note theſe things concerning the Archbiſhop, rather as reports and rumours taken up in his times, than as matters of undoubted truth. That after all, he places the Archbiſhop's remiſſneſs and neglect in requiring ſubſcription to the laſt year of his life but one; and attributes it to his age and impotency; though he adds, (to make what he had ſaid before conſiſtent) that in greater ſtrength, he did but weakly urge conformity: He ſhould not have forgot to mention the Archbiſhop's ſuſpenſion, whereby his hands were very much tied up from acting in his place and function; during which time, great liberty was taken by ſuch as were diſaffected to the Church and it's conſtitution.’ In the concluſion however, Fuller calls our Archbiſhop, a prelate moſt primitive in all his converſation; and an impartial corrector of mens vicious converſations, and that he undeſervedly fell under the Queen's diſpleaſure, through the malice of his enemies *. Dr Heylin, another of our modern hiſtorians, ſpeaking of thoſe Engliſh Proteſtants who in the beginning of the Reformation ſtood affected to the diſcipline of Geneva, writes (64), that they made uſe of Biſhop Grindal to bring about their purpoſe, by making him inſtrumental to the ſetting up of a church in London for the French Proteſtant refugees, to worſhip God according to the manner uſed in their own reformed churches at home; for, ‘ That he was known to have a great reſpect to the name of Calvin; and that in this church, they were not only to erect the Geneva diſcipline, but to ſet up a form of prayer that ſhould hold no conformity with the Engliſh liturgy; and that Calvin gave Grindal thanks for his favour in this tranſaction.’ Mr Strype obſerves, that Grindal, no doubt, had a great reſpect to the name of Calvin, as well as to thoſe of Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, Peter Martyr, Bullinger, Zanchy, and the reſt of the pious foreign reformers of religion, with whom he had contracted a friendſhip, and ſtill correſponded: but that the liberty now granted to foreigners, was no more than what had been a little before granted to Grindal and his fellow exiles, in the cities and places abroad, where they ſojourned. The letter, from whence Dr Heylin took the above account, and which is extant among Calvin's epiſtles, dated May 15th, 1560 (65), is only to return thanks to our Biſhop for his care of the poor French Proteſtants that had ſettled themſelves in London, by his obtaining for them a licence from the Queen of worſhiping God purely, (that is, without the ſuperſtitions of the Romiſh Church) and to deſire that they might have a faithful miniſter of their own to preach God's word, and perform other miniſterial offices among them, And it appears, that to this civil letter of Calvin, the Biſhop gave as reſpectful an anſwer, and withal deſired him to recommend ſome able and fit miniſter to that congregation. And not long afterwards Calvin ſent, by conſent, Nicholas Galaſius, a man of great piety and worth, to ſupply that place: and this was the beginning of the Walloon church, ſituated in Threadneedle-ſtreet, London, which hath continued ever ſince for the uſe of the French nation. ‘ And ſurely, ſays Mr Strype, Biſhop Grindal could do no leſs than this, ſince he was too grateful to forget the like reſpects ſhewn to him and many others of the Engliſh nation, that fled abroad in the laſt reign upon the ſame account of religion, as theſe godly French now did hither: and ſince he and they received the like freedom and favour in the ſeveral places in Germany and Switzerland, where they had but lately ſettled themſelves. And likewiſe that he might teſtify that chriſtian communion and brotherly concord which he bore to all the reformed churches.’ Our more modern hiſtorians, among whom the chief is Mr Collier, are very favourable to the character of our Archbiſhop. We have already ſhewn that Mr Collier clears him from all imputations of Puritaniſm. The ſame writer alſo obſerves, upon the Archbiſhop's articles at one of his metropolitical viſitations, ‘ That he was no negligent governor, nor a perſon of latitude and indifference for the ceremonies of the Church (66).’ And with regard to the Archbiſhop's behaviour in the matter of the Exerciſes, he writes, ‘ That Grindal was a prelate of more conſcience and courage, than to be dazzled with the luſtre of a court, to reſign againſt his judgment, and be over-ruled into inſignificancy. That his letter to the Queen was penned with a mixture of freedom and regard. That he writes with the ſpirit of a primitive biſhop, like a ſubject in the State, and a governor in the Church, and takes care neither to forget her Majeſty nor himſelf. His application is

(61) Pag. 306.

(62) Ch. Hiſt. b. ix. p. 130.

(63) B. ix. p. 163.

* Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(64) Hiſt. of the Reform. p. 305.

(65) Ep. Calv. 295.

(66) Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. b. [illegible] p. 553.

us, that produced the excellent life of him, which with great labour and induſtry he compiled, from authentic manuſcripts, records, papers of State, private letters, and regiſters. For (*c*), ‘ 'Tis humane, ſays he, to vindicate the reputations of the dead, who cannot ‘ ſpeak for themſelves. It is the part of a Chriſtian to do it for thoſe who have been ‘ confeſſors for religion, and lived and died conſtantly in the true faith of Chriſt. But it ‘ is the duty of a member of the Church of England, to preſerve the memory, fair and ‘ unſpotted, of one that had been advanced to the higheſt honour and truſt in it, and bore ‘ ſo great a part in the firſt reformation of it.’

(*c*) Dedication, p. 2.

‘ religiouſly brave, and has not the leaſt appearance of ‘ intereſt or fear. Beſides the piety of the addreſs, 'tis ‘ managed with great force and advantage. The advice is admirable and well directed ; nothing could ‘ be more ſerviceable to diſengage the Queen from the ‘ flattery of her court, and bring her off from lofty miſtakes her favourites ſeemed to have led her into ‘ (67).’ H

(67) Collier, ut ſupra, p. 554, 557.

GROVE [Henry], a very learned divine, was born at Taunton in the county of Somerſet, January 4, 1683, being the youngeſt of fourteen children, of whom he only and a ſiſter ſurvived their parents. He was deſcended, both by his father and mother, from families of conſiderable repute and antiquity, and which for ſeveral generations had been remarkable for ſtrict piety, ſincere goodneſs, and a ſteady attachment to religious liberty, and the rights of conſcience ; the Groves of Wiltſhire and the Rowes of Devon (*a*). His grandfather Grove was, ſoon after the Reſtoration, ejected from a good Living in Devonſhire for nonconformity, at that diſtinguiſhed period of Church-hiſtory, when ſo many hundreds of the miniſters of Chriſtianity gave a noble proof, that their religious profeſſion was not the reſult of ſecular policy, but of conſcience, by giving up the moſt conſiderable worldly intereſts to preſerve the peace and integrity of their minds. His father ſuffered much and chearfully in the ſame cauſe, for lay-nonconformity, under Charles and James the Second (*b*). The eminent piety of Mr Rowe, his grandfather by the mother's ſide, may be known from his life, long ſince publiſhed by the learned Mr Theophilus Gale. The character of Mr Grove's parents, with his grateful ſenſe of his obligations to their pious care and tenderneſs, will be beſt repreſented in his own words to Mr Ball (*c*), printed in the note [*A*]. His father, in particular, filled a life of eighty years honourably and uſefully, and died univerſally eſteemed and lamented, having been remarkable for uncommon prudence and temper, unſpotted integrity, a ſtrict yet chearful and amiable piety, and a generous charity. From ſuch parents as theſe, Mr Grove derived an excellent natural diſpoſition for religion, which diſcovered itſelf very ſoon : he was naturally very modeſt and benevolent, and had a ſtrong ſenſe of honour, which appeared in variety of inſtances in early life. His quickneſs of apprehenſion and love of literature were ſoon viſible, and carried him through the learning preparatory for the college much ſooner than is uſual ; and he was at fourteen, poſſeſſed of as large a ſtock of claſſical learning as is commonly thought a ſufficient preparation for the academy. The acquaintance he began with the claſſics at the grammar-ſchool was continued through life, and his reliſh for them increaſed, as his judgment and knowledge of mankind improved ; the Latin poets, philoſophers, and hiſtorians, and the Greek moraliſts, were his delightful companions [*B*].

Mr

(*a*) Preface to Mr Grove's Poſthumous Works, p. 7.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Letter to the Rev. Mr Ball, p. 19.

[*A*] *In his own words to Mr Ball, printed in the note.*] It runs thus : ‘ I thank you for the honourable mention you make of thoſe two perſons, ‘ whoſe memory will be ever precious to me. It is ‘ with pleaſure I recollect the example they gave of ‘ the reality and excellency of every chriſtian virtue in ‘ their own lives ; how far their parental inſtructions ‘ were from having any thing ſour, auſtere, and diſcouraging in them, and their government from being ‘ ſevere and rigid ; and that they finiſhed life with ‘ great decency, wholly taken in exerciſes becoming ‘ their age, and in preparation for that better world on ‘ which they were about to enter. I repeat my thanks, ‘ Sir, for your having given me an opportunity to offer this ſmall tribute of grateful acknowledgment to ‘ the memory of thoſe, to whom, under the ſupream ‘ author of my being, I am ſo much indebted.’

[*B*] *The Latin poets, philoſophers, and hiſtorians, and the Greek moraliſts, were his delightful companions.*] Among the Latin poets, Horace was a favourite, for the delicacy of his ſentiments and expreſſion, his knowledge of human life, and nice diſcernment of the decorum of characters, and the ridicule of vice, appearing peculiarly in his ſatires and epiſtles. He was much converſant with Cicero's philoſophical works, eſteeming his treatiſe of laws, to contain the ſolid principles on which the unalterable excellence and obligation of morality is founded ; his offices he thought a fine delineation of the beautiful form of virtue ; and his diſcourſes of the nature of the Gods, and the immortality of the ſoul, an unanſwerable demonſtration of the great neceſſity and advantage of the Chriſtian revelation againſt thoſe who would pretend, that when Chriſt appeared to enlighten and reform the world, he was not wanted, and that unaſſiſted reaſon was ſufficient for this end ; for the uncertainty in which Cicero, one of the greateſt genius's of paganiſm, was involved, and repreſents all their philoſophers as involved, with regard to one of the moſt important doctrines, of the exiſtence, perfection, and providence of God, and their own future exiſtence and ſtate, is an argument from fact which overturns all the ſpecious theories of modern deiſts ; and ſhowed too their great ingratitude, who, enlightened by the goſpel, and thus enabled to think more clearly and juſtly on theſe ſubjects, refuſe to own their obligations, and employed as an argument againſt Revelation, the light they really received from it. Among the Latin hiſtorians, Mr Grove chiefly admired Salluſt and Tacitus ; and among the Greek writers, he was greatly pleaſed with the eaſy and clear reaſonings and fine morality of Xenophon, and the ſublime of Plato ; the plain, but ſtrong reaſoning and virtue of Epictetus, and the unaffected nobleneſs of thought and ſubſtantial worth of the Emperor Antonine, charmed him through all the negligence of his method and expreſſion. Though Mr Grove wanted not a taſte for the real beauties of Homer, yet he would often declare himſelf tired with his everlaſting fightings and ſlaughters, and diſguſted with the barbarous manners of his heroes, and the follies and vices of his gods, and on this occaſion frequently quotes thoſe lines of Roſcommon :

For who, without a qualm, hath ever look'd
On holy garbage, tho' by Homer cook'd ?
Whoſe railing heroes, and whoſe wounded Gods
Make ſome ſuſpect he ſnores, as well as nods (1).

For

(1) Lord Roſcommon's Eſſay on tranſlated Verſe.

Mr Grove went through a courſe of academical learning under the Reverend Mr Matthew Warren of Taunton, who was for many years at the head of a flouriſhing academy. Here he read Locke and Le Clerc, and acquainted himſelf with the ſtrong reaſonings and excellent morality of Cumberland. Having gone through a courſe of philoſophy and divinity under Mr Warren, Mr Grove removed to London, and ſtudied ſome time under the Reverend Mr Thomas Rowe, to whom he was nearly related. At this time Mr Grove contracted an acquaintance and friendſhip with Dr Watts, which continued with great mutual eſteem 'till his death, though their judgments were different as to ſeveral points warmly controverted among divines. While he ſtudied under Mr Rowe, he contracted an intimacy with ſeveral other perſons of merit: Mr Rowe was a zealous Carteſian, which occaſioned Mr Grove's examining with a particular exactneſs the philoſophy of Deſcartes; and though he was not entirely ſatisfied with his metaphyſics, and yet leſs with his phyſics, he ſtill thought the learned world very much obliged to that great man: but it was only in the Newtonian philoſophy Mr Grove could find ſatisfaction as to the conſtitution and laws of the material world; and he thus expreſſes his high veneration of that incomparable man (*d*): 'How doth ſuch a genius as Sir Iſaac Newton, from amidſt the darkneſs that 'involves human underſtanding, break forth and appear like one of another ſpecies. 'The vaſt machine we inhabit lies open to him; he ſeems not unacquainted with the general laws that govern it: and while, with the tranſport of a philoſopher, he beholds 'and admires the glorious work, he is capable of paying at once a more devout and more 'rational homage to his Maker.' After ſpending about two years in London, Mr Grove returned into the country, and began preaching with great reputation. An exact judgment, a lively and beautiful imagination, a warmth of devotion, and a rational and amiable repreſentation of Chriſtianity, made his ſermons, delivered by a voice, which though not ſtrong, was ſweet and well governed, generally admired. There appears alſo, even in his firſt diſcourſes, a larger ſtock of well-digeſted learning than could be expected at the age of two and twenty. The ſpirit of amiable exalted devotion, which prevailed in his ſermons, early procured him the eſteem and friendſhip of Mrs Singer, afterwards Mrs Rowe; which ſhe expreſſed in a fine manner in an ode on Death, addreſſed to Mr Grove; and the friendſhip begun by this ſimilitude of taſte and temper was improved, and flouriſhed 'till Mrs Rowe's death. Soon after his beginning to preach he married, and at the age of twenty-three was, upon the death of Mr Warren, who had been long tutor of the academy at Taunton, choſen to ſucceed him, by the unanimous vote of a great number of miniſters aſſembled for that purpoſe; and he, with two others, continued the academy, which was then very full. This was an uncommon teſtimony to his early worth. The province firſt aſſigned him was Ethics and Pneumatology. His undertaking Ethics was of conſiderable advantage to himſelf as a preacher, as well as to the ſtudents who came under his care. His concern with the academy obliging him to a reſidence at Taunton, he preached for eighteen years to two ſmall congregations in the neighbourhood; and though his ſalary from both was leſs than twenty pounds a year, and he had a growing family, he went through it chearfully. At his firſt entering into the academy he compoſed ſyſtems of Ethics and Pneumatology, and was continually improving. His Ethics particularly was his favourite work, which he deſigned for public view, when he had given it all the perfection of which it was capable. Juſt before his death he had begun to tranſcribe it, and give it his laſt hand in order to a publication (*e*). As it is publiſhed in his poſthumous works, though not finiſhed in all it's parts, yet for the clearneſs and ſtrength with which he eſtabliſhes in it the principles of morality, the juſt and beautiful deſcriptions there given of the ſeveral virtues, and excellent directions for attaining them, and the noble repreſentation it contains of the ſupreme happineſs of man, it is well deſerving of the public view. From his ſyſtem of Pneumatology, was taken his *Eſſay on the Immateriality of the Soul*, and a great part of his *Diſcourſe on the Proofs from Reaſon of it's Immortality*; and ſince his death, the *Eſſay to demonſtrate the Being and Perfections of God*; and by theſe the public may judge of the other parts. In the year 1708, Mr Grove publiſhed his *Regulation of Diverſions*, which he drew up for the uſe of his pupils, with a view to take off their attention to pleaſures, and diſpoſe them to improve their time in purſuing cloſely and ſucceſsfully the pleaſures of knowledge and virtue. This his firſt offering to the public ſhews a ſolidity of judgment, and a knowledge of human nature much above his years; and the agreeable manner in which he gives his advice, is well fitted to engage the attention of that age of life, above all, bent on pleaſure, and averſe to harſh inſtruction. About this time, Dr Samuel Clarke publiſhed his excellent diſcourſe on the *Being and Attributes of God*. His proof from our neceſſary ideas of ſpace and duration not convincing Mr Grove, he wrote to the doctor for information and ſatiſfaction upon that head. This occaſioned their exchanging ſeveral letters on theſe abſtruſe ſubjects; and after ſome time, not being able to convince each other, the debate was dropped, with expreſſions of great mutual eſteem. The next offering of note which Mr Grove made the public, was ſeveral papers in the eighth volume of the Spectators, viz. No.

(*d*) Spectator, Vol. VIII. No. 635.

(*e*) Sermons and Tracts, in four volumes.

For beauty, variety and grandeur of deſcriptions, as well as true ſublime in ſentiments, he thought our countryman Milton greatly preferable; and though he allowed Homer the praiſe of a very great genius, he thought the Iliad would no more bear a compariſon with Paradiſe Loſt, than the pagan ſcheme of theology with the Chriſtian.

[C] *For*

No. 588, 601, 626, and 635. Their finding a place in that celebrated work is ſufficient proof of their worth. By theſe papers Mr Grove ſhewed himſelf well acquainted with the lovely and generous affections of the human ſoul, as well as it's ſurprizing dignity and large capacities for happineſs, which he has repreſented in a manner fit to inſpire his readers with a ſtrong concern to act a part anſwerably generous and noble. The laſt of theſe papers was re-publiſhed by the direction of the Right Reverend Dr Gibſon biſhop of London, in an excellent treatiſe, entitled, *The Evidences of the Chriſtian Religion*, by Joſeph Addiſon, Eſq; 12mo 1731 (f). In 1718, Mr Grove publiſhed his *Eſſay towards a Demonſtration of the Soul's Immateriality*. Mr Grove's continual application weakened a conſtitution naturally tender, ſubjected him to frequent head-aches, and ſcarce a ſpring paſſed without a fever. In the year 1718, a fever brought his life into extreme danger, but it pleaſed God to recover him; upon which occaſion he compoſed the noble ode ſince printed, and juſtly admired for the eaſy harmony of the numbers, and the exalted piety of the ſentiments. Amidſt his various engagements as a tutor and miniſter, Mr Grove did not neglect any of the virtues of a private Chriſtian, but was a moſt amiable example of all. Having been a good ſon, he naturally proceeded to be a good huſband, father, maſter, and friend. He had a large ſtock of natural benevolence, which cheriſhed and improved by Reaſon and Chriſtianity, led him to diſcharge every ſocial duty in the beſt manner; and he was an example of the character he ſo well deſcribes in the Spectator, No. 601. ‘ Perſons conſcious of their own integrity, ſatisfied with themſelves and with ‘ their condition, and full of confidence in a Supreme Being, and the hope of immortali- ‘ ty; ſurvey all about them with a flow of good-will. As trees that like their ſoil, they ‘ ſhoot out in expreſſions of kindneſs, and bend beneath their precious load to the hand of ‘ the gatherer.’ Though his family was growing, and his income as a tutor and a miniſter inſufficient to ſupport it without breaking in on his paternal eſtate, yet he knew not how to refuſe any call of charity, and was bountiful far beyond his fortune. And though his uncommon merit, and the reputation it had gained him, would have given him a fair proſpect of making his fortune in the Church, would he have conformed to the eſtabliſhment, yet he could never turn his thoughts that way: the further he carried his enquiries in religion, the greater reaſon he thought appeared to him for diſliking various doctrines and practices, which had the ſanction of the civil authority; and no worldly intereſt could ever tempt him to ſubſcribe articles, or uſe expreſſions or practices in religion, which he did not inwardly approve: he valued the peace and approbation of his own mind, an unreſtrained liberty to purſue truth, and profeſs and practiſe religion in (what he thought) it's genuine ſimplicity, before all the wealth and grandeur of life; at the ſame time thinking and ſpeaking with great candour and charity of thoſe who could reconcile their judgments to the public forms. The principles on which he founded his conſtant ſelf-enjoyment, and the rules he purſued to improve the goods of life, and brighten the darker occurrences of it, cannot be better repreſented, than he has done them in a letter to a particular friend; for a copy of which the reader cannot but think himſelf obliged (g) [C]. Though Mr Grove's great modeſty and love of retirement kept him pretty much out of the way of public notice, yet his uncommon worth would not ſuffer him to be concealed. When he preached occaſionally in ſome of the more conſiderable congregations, he did not fail of gaining numbers of admirers, and had ſeveral invitations to places of note, as Exeter, &c. which he declined, in a great meaſure through his ſtrong affection

(f) Preface to the Poſthumous Works, p. 29.

(g) Ibid.

[C] *For a copy of which, the reader cannot but think himſelf obliged.*] ‘ It will not, ſays he, be altogether ‘ out of character, if I write down a few reflections on ‘ the art of improving human life, ſo as to paſs it in ‘ peace and tranquillity, and make it yield the nobleſt ‘ pleaſures it is capable of affording us. The firſt rule, ‘ and in a manner comprehenſive of all the reſt, is al- ‘ ways to conſider human life in it's connection, as a ‘ ſtate of tryal, with an everlaſting exiſtence. How ‘ does this ſingle thought at once raiſe and ſink the ‘ value of every thing under the ſun? ſink it as part of ‘ our worldly portion; raiſe it as a means and oppor- ‘ tunity of promoting the glory of the great author of ‘ all good, and the happineſs, preſent and future, of ‘ our fellow creatures as well as our own? ——— In ‘ the next place, we are to lay down this for a certain ‘ maxim, and conſtantly attend to it, that our happi- ‘ neſs muſt ariſe from our own temper and actions, not ‘ immediately from any external circumſtances. Theſe, ‘ at beſt, are only conſiderable, as they ſupply a larger ‘ field to the exerciſe of our virtue, and more leiſure ‘ for the improvements and entertainments of the mind: ‘ whereas, the chief delights of a reaſonable being, ‘ muſt reſult from it's own operations, and reflections ‘ upon them as conſonant to it's nature, and the order ‘ it holds in the univerſe. How do I feel myſelf with- ‘ in? am I in my natural ſtate? do I put my faculties ‘ to their right uſe?———

‘ To require leſs from others, than is commonly ‘ done, in order to be pleaſed, and to be more ſtudious ‘ to pleaſe them, not from a meanneſs of ſpirit, not ‘ from artful views, but from an unaffected benevo- ‘ lence, is another rule of greater importance than is ‘ eaſily imagined; and more effectually reaches all that ‘ is aimed at by ſelf-love, without deſigning it. ——— ‘ To this add, that though we ſhould be impartial, yet ‘ not ſevere in the judgment we paſs, and the demands ‘ we make upon ourſelves; watchful againſt the infir- ‘ mities and errors too incident to human nature, but ‘ not ſuppoſing that we ſhall be entirely free from ‘ them, nor afflicting ourſelves beyond meaſure to find ‘ that we are not. Such an over-ſtrained ſeverity ‘ breaks the force of the mind, and hinders it's pro- ‘ greſs towards perfection.———In the choice of con- ‘ ditions, or making any ſteps in life, 'tis a dictate of ‘ wiſdom to prefer reality to appearance, and to follow ‘ Providence as our guide.———To be more indiffe- ‘ rent to life, and all things in it, which the leſs we ‘ value, the more we ſhall enjoy.———And laſtly, ‘ to conſider that the happineſs of the preſent ſtate ‘ conſiſts more in repoſe than pleaſure; and in thoſe ‘ pleaſures that are pure and calm (which are likewiſe ‘ the moſt laſting) rather than in thoſe which violently ‘ agitate the paſſions. Happy are we, when our plea- ‘ ſures flow from the regularity of our paſſions, an ‘ even courſe of piety and goodneſs, an humble confi- ‘ dence in the mercy of God, and from the hope of ‘ immortality! not to be contented without a perpetual ‘ ſucceſſion of other pleaſures beſides theſe, is the way ‘ never to know contentment.’

[D] *From*

affection to quiet, liberty, and independence; and from his deſire to purſue and enjoy, with the leaſt interruption poſſible, the pleaſures of truth, goodneſs, and devotion [D]. Mr Grove's averſion to engage in thoſe angry diſputes, which about the year 1719 unhappily divided the Diſſenters, was another reaſon that made him more fond of his retirement. His moderate conduct drew on him the cenſures and diſpleaſure of ſome, as if he were indifferent to the truths of the goſpel; but they could not prevail on him to alter it, or bring him to believe that the wrath of man could ever work the righteouſneſs of God; or that interpoſing the authority and deciſion of fallible man was a proper way of ending controverſies of faith, and eſtabliſhing divine truths. The reaſons for this moderate conduct he hath given more largely in his *Eſſay on the Terms of Chriſtian Communion* [E]. No one was better qualified to handle devotional diſputes than Mr Grove; his diſcourſe on ſecret prayer, publiſhed ſince in 1723, at the requeſt of ſeveral miniſters of note in London, is a proof how well he could treat ſuch ſubjects, with a warmth free from enthuſiaſm, and an exactneſs of judgment without coldneſs. He added to the ſecond edition two diſcourſes; one upon the rational grounds of prayer, and the other on the qualifications neceſſary to render it accepted; in which, by arguments brought down to common underſtandings, he eſtabliſhes the wiſdom and advantage of prayer, in a manner not to be overturned by the moſt ſubtile enemy to devotion. In the beginning of the year 1725 he loſt his partner in the academy, the Reverend Mr James, with whom he lived in perfect harmony, and to whoſe character he did juſtice, in a ſermon publiſhed on occaſion of his death. Mr Grove was now obliged to take the ſtudents in divinity under his direction. The duties of this poſt he diſcharged with the greateſt eaſe, having made all his other ſtudies center in this one great point, the eſtabliſhing and illuſtrating the principal truths and duties of religion; and giving in his preaching a pattern of the beſt manner of recommending theſe. He confined himſelf to no ſyſtem in divinity, directing his pupils to the beſt writers on natural and revealed religion; and an impartial examination of the chief controverſies therein. He likewiſe ſucceeded Mr James in his paſtoral charge at Fulwood near Taunton, and engaged his nephew to undertake the other parts of Mr James's work as a tutor. Mr Grove continued at Fulwood 'till his death. He had ſeveral invitations from London and other parts during this period, but nothing could prevail on him to quit his ſettlement. In 1728, he publiſhed, at the requeſt of an aſſembly of miniſters, the *Friendly Monitor*, in which he diſcovered the great delicacy of his moral diſcernment, and pointed out with great judgment ſome of the principal errors and imperfections in the conduct of Chriſtians, by which they leſſen both their own reputation and that of their religion. In the ſame year, in a ſermon preached and publiſhed on occaſion of the death of a young lady of great merit, he conſidered the fear of death as a natural paſſion, both with reſpect to the grounds of it, and the remedies againſt it. He treated the ſubject in ſo maſterly a manner, that a perſon of conſiderable rank in the learned world declared, that after reading it, he could have laid down and died with as much readineſs and ſatiſfaction as he had ever done any action of his life (b). In 1730 he publiſhed the *Evidence of our Saviour's Reſurrection conſidered*, with the improvement of this important doctrine. A late Lord Chief-Baron expreſſed

(b) Preface, p. 44.

[D] *From his deſire to enjoy the pleaſures of truth, goodneſs, and devotion.*] Mr Grove's temper and taſte of life was much like Cowley's; the ſpirit of whoſe eſſays he much admired, and would often repeat, with a peculiar emphaſis, thoſe lines of his:

The wiſe example of the heavenly lark,
Thy fellow-poet, Cowley, mark.
Above the clouds let thy proud muſic ſound,
Thy humble neſt build on the ground.

How much there is in ſuch a turn of mind, we may learn from ſome obſervations of one of the beſt judges of human excellence (2). 'I have been inclined to think, ſays he, that there are greater men who lie concealed among the ſpecies, than thoſe who come out and draw upon themſelves the eyes and admiration of mankind.———If we ſuppoſe there are ſpirits or angels, who look into the ways of men, how different are the notions which they entertain of us, from thoſe which we are apt to form of one another? we are dazzled with the ſplendor of titles, the oſtentation of learning, the noiſe of victories; they, on the contrary, ſee the philoſopher in the cottage, who poſſeſſes his ſoul in patience and thankfulneſs, under the preſſures of what little ſouls call poverty and diſtreſs. They do not look for great men at the head of armies, or among the pomp of a court; but often find them out in ſhades and ſolitudes, in the private walks and by-path's of life. The evenings walk of a wiſe man is more illuſtrious in their ſight, than the march of a General at the head of an hundred thouſand men. A contemplation of God's works; a voluntary act of juſtice to our own detriment; tears that are ſhed in ſilence for the miſery of others; a private deſire or reſentment broken or ſubdued; in ſhort, an unfeigned exerciſe of humility, or any other virtue; are ſuch actions as are glorious in their ſight, and denominate men great and reputable. The moſt famous among us are often looked upon with pity, with contempt, or with indignation; while thoſe who are moſt obſcure among their own ſpecies are regarded with love, with approbation, and eſteem.'

(2) Mr Addiſon, Spectator, Vol. VIII. No. 610.

[E] *The reaſons for this moderate conduct he has given, &c.*] Mr Grove has likewiſe in a ſermon of his, on the bleſſedneſs of the peace-maker, thus deſcribed his own temper and conduct. 'He is not for widening of differences, nor repreſenting the differences in opinion, or in other things, greater than really they are; would bring Chriſtians as near together as he can, and perſwade them to be of one heart at leaſt, if they cannot be of one mind; which in this ſtate of doubt and imperfection, is hardly to be expected. If his judgment were to be followed, all things ſhould continue in the Chriſtian Church as the head of it has left them, indifferent things in a ſtate of indifference; things diſputable, or of leſs importance, to be freely diſputed, and never impoſed. He always acts upon this principle, that liberty and charity, in religious diſputes, do at once moſt effectually ſecure the peace of the Church, and we may add, the genuine truths of the goſpel, and tend to the advancement of the power and practice of true godlineſs.'

expreſſed a high value for this performance, as having not only placed the arguments uſually urged, in a very advantageous light, but offered ſeveral thoughts entirely new, as well as of great ſtrength.—The ſame year he publiſhed *Some Thoughts concerning the Proof of a Future State from Reaſon*, in anſwer to the Reverend Mr Hallet, junior, who in his great zeal for the Chriſtian Revelation, and to make it appear abſolutely neceſſary, had endeavoured to weaken the arguments from reaſon for a future ſtate. Mr Hallet replied to this anſwer; and Mr Grove, though very averſe to controverſy, yet this being with him a favourite ſubject, and, as he apprehended, of the laſt importance, to vindicate the moral government of God, determined to review the debate; in which Mr Grove had, beſides the introduction, finiſhed one chapter of the *Weight of Tradition concerning a Future State*, in a manner to make it juſtly regretted that his other avocations firſt, and his death afterwards, prevented his compleating the deſign,. Clamours having been raiſed by divines, more zealous than judicious, againſt ſome paſſages in which Mr Grove had repreſented the uſefulneſs of reaſon in religion; to ſatisfy them if poſſible, that reaſon, of which they were ſo much afraid, was in reality the beſt friend to the goſpel, he publiſhed, in 1732, without his name, *Some Queries offered to the Conſideration of thoſe who think it an Injury to Religion to ſhew the Reaſonableneſs of it*; in which he has ſaid enough to ſatisfy thoſe who think coolly and impartially, and ſilence thoſe who will not. His diſcourſes on *Saving Faith*, on the *Reſurrection of Chriſt*, the *Lord's Supper*, and the *Perfection of the Chriſtian Religion*, not to name others, are a ſufficient proof, that a man may be a friend to Reaſon, yet worthily eſteem Chriſtianity, and be zealous for natural religion, without being indifferent to revealed. In the ſame year he printed a diſcourſe *Concerning the Nature and Deſign of the Lord's Supper*, and treated the ſubject with a plainneſs that makes it inſtructive to common underſtandings, and a judiciouſneſs which will make it approved by all thoſe who are deſirous to obſerve this inſtitution in it's original ſimplicity, and as a means of making them better; not as an imagined equivalent for the want of real holineſs, and an uniform obedience to the Goſpel. In the ſecond edition, he added ſome *Devotional Exerciſes relating to the Lord's Supper*, in which are as much warmth and light united, as are to be found together in any compoſitions of this kind. In 1734 Mr Grove publiſhed, without his name, *Wiſdom, the firſt Spring of Action in the Deity*; in which he endeavours to demonſtrate, that the moral perfections of the Deity, as well as moral virtue and goodneſs in man, are founded in the unalterable relations of things, and the eſſential fitneſs or unfitneſs of actions and diſpoſitions ariſing from hence. This treatiſe, the writer of Mr Grove's life is informed, has been pronounced by a prelate of the moſt diſtinguiſhed merit, and who, if named, would be allowed to be one of the beſt judges of writings of this kind, a maſterly performance, and inferior to none which this age has produced on this argument. And Mr Balguy, whoſe excellent writings on this ſubject muſt give great weight to his approbation, even where he differs from Mr Grove, ſays, the diſcourſe abounds in ſolid remarks and ſound reaſonings. In 1736, Mr Grove publiſhed a *Diſcourſe on Saving Faith*, in which he has not only with great clearneſs repreſented the ſcripture notion of it, and reſcued it from enthuſiaſtical or contradictory interpretations; but, which is entirely new, ſhewn the reaſons why the writers of the New Teſtament often ſpeak of Faith as a great part of religion, and ſometimes as in a manner the whole of it. This treatiſe has alſo had the honour of being particularly approved by the excellent prelate juſt mentioned. About this time Mr Grove met with an affliction, which gave him an opportunity of ſhewing the ſtrength of his Chriſtian patience and pious reſignation; this was no leſs than the death of his wife; from which time he ſeemed to apprehend his own was not far off; for he wrote on the ſermon he preached after her death, *O may I prepare to follow!* And in that ſermon he has ſeveral reflections which ſeemed deſigned to reconcile himſelf to the expectation of a ſpeedy departure out of the body, and his friends to their loſs in his death. And in a little more than a year after this, Providence called him to the tryal; for, having preached on ſunday February 19, 1737-8, and both in his prayers and ſermons had an uncommon flow of ſpirits, which he ſaid he could hardly govern, and which, attended with a pain in his head, made him apprehend an approaching fever; he was violently ſeized at night, and the fever increaſing, in ſpight of all means uſed to abate it, or bring it to an intermiſſion, he died the ninth day, February 27, about ſeven in the morning. This diſorder in a great degree affecting his head, unfitted him for thinking or ſpeaking much, yet left him the uſe of his reaſon 'till the day before he died, and in a capacity of concluding life as he had always lived, with a modeſt greatneſs, and a ſerene compoſure of mind. It is not eaſy to expreſs the concern which the apprehenſion of his death occaſioned in London amongſt his friends, as well as in the country. There was a great deal of beauty and juſtneſs in what one of his hearers ſaid after his death, ſpeaking of the general grief and concern his illneſs excited. ‘Our ſorrow for Mr Grove's ſickneſs was not like our concern for other friends when dying, whom we pity and lament; but a ſorrow ariſing as from the apprehenſion of the removal of one of the higher order of beings, who had condeſcended to live on earth for a while to teach us the way to Heaven, and was now about to return to his native place.’ And it may with ſtrict truth be ſaid, that few of his ſituation in life lived more entirely eſteemed and beloved, or died more regretted. His friends erected an handſome

monument

monument near his grave, on which is a latin inſcription, compoſed by the very learned Profeſſor of Rhetoric at Greſham-college, who obliges the public alſo with the Engliſh verſion of it; both which ſee in the note [*F*]. And the generous ſubſcription to his poſthumous works is a proof what rank he bore, not only in the eſteem of the principal gentlemen and miniſters in the diſſenting intereſt, but of ſome of the beſt judges of merit in the eſtabliſhed Church [*G*]. Mr Grove had thirteen children by his wife, five of whom ſurvived him; the death of ſeveral of them, on account of the ſenſibility of his temper, and the prevalency of the ſofter affections in his conſtitution, gave him opportunities for manifeſting great degrees of a pious reſignation to God. He deſcribes the working of his own heart on theſe occaſions, in the ſermon entitled, *The Mourning Parent*, in the firſt volume of his poſthumous works, which was compoſed upon the death of a very promiſing child. Beſides what may be learnt of Mr Grove's character from the preceding account, all who knew him will agree, that he had a judgment in an uncommon degree, quick and ſolid, together with what does not often attend it, an imagination ſtrong and beautiful,

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[*F*] *Both which ſee in the note F.*]

H. S. E.
HENRICUS GROVIUS
Optimorum parentum proles optima
Patrem enim ex antiqua Groviorum familia Wiltunenſi
Matrem ex Roviorum in agro Devonienſi haud minus vetuſta
Ortos pietate et Beneficentia inſignes habuit
Utrinſque Virtutum Filius Hæres
Bonarum Literarum Studiis tam ſedulo ſe applicuit
Ut anno Ætatis viceſimo tertio in frequenti Theologorum Coetu
Ad Juventutem liberalibus Diſciplinis inſtituendam
Omnium ſuffragiis Eligeretur
Ad quod munus animus etiam ingenuus morumque ſuavitas
Natura illum finxiſſe videbantur
Neque ſpem eventus fefellit
Annos enim amplius triginta haud minore ſua Laude
Quam bono publico in eo verſatus
Mentes juveniles omnigena pariter virtute
Ac optimis artibus excolere ſtudioſe laboravit
Paſtoris interim officio fungens
Pari Fedelitate Gregi ſuo invigilavit
Eaque quibus ſalus humana præcipue afficitur
Tam in Concionibus quam Scriptis inculcans
Nihil ad Gratiam aut partium ſtudio dicere ſuſtinuit
Simplex autem verique Studioſſimus
Pietatem in Deum in Homines Charitatem
Cupiditatem Moderationem et ſumma Religionis capita
Omnium approbationi commendavit
Ea ingenii Felicitate uſus eſt
Ut in quodcunque argumentum ſeſe convertit
Acute cogitare ſubtiliter diſtinguere graviter judicare
Senſaque animi facile exponere poſſet
Tam modeſte autem de ſe ſenſit
Ut nemini quod in alia eſſet ſententia Litem moveret
Sorte ſua licet modica contentus fuit
Aliorum rebus lautioribus haud invidens nec cupiens
Tot tantiſque Virtutibus ornatus
Omnibus ſibi notis Amatus vixit obiit deflectus
III. Cal. Martii Anno Domini MDCCXXXVII.
Ætatis ſuæ 55.

In Engliſh.

Here lieth
HENRY GROVE.
A worthy ſon of worthy parents
For his father deſcended from the antient family of the Groves in Wiltſhire
And his mother from the Rowes in Devonſhire. A family no leſs antient
And were both eminent for their piety and beneficence
The ſon who inherited their virtues
Applied himſelf ſo diligently to his ſtudies
That in the twenty-third year of his age he was unanimouſly choſen
By a large aſſembly of divines
To inſtruct youth in the liberal ſciences
For which province his ingenuous temper and ingaging behaviour
Seemed naturally to have formed him
Nor were their hopes diſappointed by the event
For being employed in that ſtation upwards of thirty years
With no leſs reputation to himſelf than the benefit of the public
He carefully endeavoured to cultivate the minds of his pupils
As well with every virtue as with the beſt arts
At the ſame time being ingaged in the paſtoral office
He watched over his flock with equal fidelity
And both in his ſermons and writings
Inculcating thoſe things which are of the greateſt concern to mankind
Advanced nothing from party views or affection
But with plainneſs and a zeal for truth
Recommended to every one's conſcience
Piety towards God charity towards men and ſelf-government
As the chief doctrines of religion
His mind was ſo happily framed
That to whatever ſubject he applied himſelf
He could think juſtly, diſtinguiſh clearly, judge ſolidly,
And expreſs his ſentiments with eaſe.
But he had ſo modeſt an opinion of himſelf
That he would contend with no one for differing from him
He was contented with his circumſtances though but moderate
Neither envying nor deſiring the greater affluence of others
Adorned with ſo many and great virtues
He was beloved while living and died lamented by all who knew him
On the 27th of February 1737
And the 55th of his age.

[*G*] *And the generous ſubſcription to his poſthumous works is a proof what rank he bore, &c.*] The poſthumous works of Mr Grove are extant in four volumes in octavo, publiſhed in 1740, from the author's manuſcript. They conſiſt of ſermons and tracts, and the life and character of the author, by Mr Thomas Amory; and the names of near ſeven hundred ſubſcribers of all ranks.

Beſides the ſeveral works of Mr Grove, mentioned in his life, he likewiſe publiſhed a great many ſermons upon ſeveral occaſions, and on variety of ſubjects, and ſome charges delivered by him upon particular occaſions; and alſo a volume of miſcellanies in proſe and verſe.

tiful, yet always under government. He was thus qualified not only to think clearly and juſtly, but to repreſent truth and virtue in a moſt engaging light, and to be a good judge in works of imagination and polite literature, as well as of reaſon and argument; and in theſe latter his genius improved by continual exerciſe and ſtudy, and preſerved uncorrupt by a prevailing love of truth and goodneſs, gave him a right to be ranked amongſt the moſt diſcerning. His moral ſenſe was delicate; his piety as modeſt and unaffected as it was warm and elevated: his benevolence was warm, active, and conſtant; and he was perfectly free from all artifice and diſſimulation. He could converſe with the great without meanneſs, with a reſpectful freedom and an eaſy complaiſance; was obliging in his behaviour to all, and enlivened converſation with a good-natured wit, and enriched it by a ſuperior knowledge of books and men. His taſte for the nobler pleaſures of knowledge, devotion, and goodneſs, made it very eaſy for him to obſerve the ſtricteſt rules of temperance with regard to bodily pleaſures, as his firm faith in the Divine Providence made it eaſy to deſpiſe the wealth and ſhew of the world. How much Mr Grove ſtudied the Scriptures, and how much he valued them, appears from the ſhare they have in his compoſitions. They make a part of his ſtyle, and are not quoted injudiciouſly, and merely by the ſound, but according to their genuine conſiſtent meaning; which he eſtimated by an agreement with the evident principles of natural religion, and the rules of a ſound criticiſm. He had taken great pains on ſome of the moſt difficult parts of Scripture, particularly the Epiſtles to the Romans and Epheſians; and his expoſitions on theſe, had he given them the laſt hand, would have well deſerved the public notice, containing many important obſervations, proper to ſet the Apoſtle's reaſoning throughout in a clear and conſiſtent light. His great knowledge of human nature and human life, qualified him to reach the heart with a peculiar efficacy, in all thoſe diſcourſes where there was room for thoſe ſubjects to enter; and there were few wherein ſomething of them might not properly appear. He made it the great aim of his preaching not to inſpire his hearers with a fondneſs for party notions, but with a love of God and of mankind; with a noble indifference to the intereſts and pleaſures of life. The diſtinguiſhing excellency which runs through his compoſures, is not merely the clearneſs of his thought and expreſſion, and the juſtneſs of his reaſoning; but his every where repreſenting religion in a rational and amiable view, and animating all with a warmth delivered from a ſublime devotion. As for popularity and ſtriking the paſſions, though few were better qualified for this than Mr Grove, yet he would never addreſs the paſſions 'till he had convinced the judgment, nor aim to raiſe the paſſions higher than the ſobereſt reaſon would approve. The contrary practice he thought very miſchievous in religion, leading men to place the main of it, not in ſubſtantial goodneſs, but in a ſudden heat raiſed they ſcarce knew how or why, and vaniſhing without any laſting beneficial effects on the temper or conduct. As a tutor, he was for free philoſophy, as well as for a Scripture Creed. As much as he admired Locke and Newton, he implicitly ſubmitted his underſtanding to neither, but was ſolely determined by the evidence they offered:

Nullius addictus jurare in verba magiſtri.

His great concern with his pupils, was to inſpire and cheriſh in them a prevailing love of truth, virtue, liberty, and genuine religion, without violent attachments or prejudices in favour of any party of Chriſtians; and his reputation on this account, as well as on account of his uncommon abilities, learning, and probity, was ſo great, that ſeveral gentlemen of the eſtabliſhment choſe to place their ſons under his care; and the many perſons of diſtinguiſhed merit in the learned profeſſions, but chiefly in divinity, who were formed under him, will be a laſting proof of his great abilities and fidelity as a tutor, and give the friends to knowledge and goodneſs reaſon to regret, that a man of ſuch eminent abilities, and ſo heartily engaged in ſerving the preſent, as well as the future immortal happineſs of mankind, was removed from among us in the midſt of his days and uſefulneſs (*i*).

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(*i*) Preface to his Poſthumous Works.

GUNTER [**Edmund**], an excellent Mathematician, a learned writer, and Profeſſor of Aſtronomy in Greſham-college in the ſeventeenth century. He was the ſon of a gentleman of good fortune in Hertfordſhire, and a native of that county, though deſcended from a family of ſome antiquity, ſeated at Gunter's-town in the county of Brecknock in South-Wales (*a*). He was born in 1581, and received the firſt part of his education at Weſtminſter-ſchool; from which royal foundation, when he was about the age of eighteen, he was elected to Chriſt-Church-college in Oxford (*b*). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in that univerſity, December 12, 1603 (*c*); as he did that of Maſter, July 2, 1606 (*d*). As he applied very early to the ſtudy of the mathematics, ſo about this time he invented and explained in Latin, thoſe curious and uſeful lines laid down by him upon that admirable inſtrument the SECTOR, which was about this time made according to his directions, though the large Engliſh deſcription thereof, in three books, was not compoſed

(*a*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 271.

(*b*) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 77.

(*c*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 165.

(*d*) Idem ibid. col. 174.

or publiſhed 'till many years after (*e*) [*A*]. He entered into Holy Orders, and took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, November 23, 1615 (*f*): but it is not true, tho' poſitively aſſerted by Mr Wood, that he was at this time Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Greſham-college, or that he became ſo upon the demiſe of the learned Edward Brerewood, who was the firſt perſon elected into that office (*g*); though Mr Wood's miſtake may well be excuſed, ſince this was aſſerted as a fact by a very grave and great man (*h*), through a ſlip of his memory, by whoſe authority the Oxford Antiquary might be eaſily miſled [*B*]. The real ſtate of the caſe was this, Mr Brerewood was ſucceeded in his Profeſſorſhip by Thomas Williams, Maſter of Arts of Chriſt-Church-college in Oxford, who was the ſon of John Williams of London, Mercer, formerly ſervant to Sir Thomas Greſham; and our author was elected into his place, March 6, 1619, two days after Mr Williams's reſignation (*i*). A few months after he was ſettled at Greſham-college, he gave the public an authentic teſtimony of the wiſe choice made by his electors, by ſending abroad his CANON TRIANGULORUM, which was the firſt book of it's kind, and which, if he had publiſhed nothing elſe, might alone have preſerved his memory to lateſt poſterity, as it was an admirable help to ſuch as were ſtudious in that ſcience, and as ſuch is gratefully commemorated and highly commended by ſeveral of the moſt eminent Mathematicians who were his contemporaries (*k*) [*C*]. But his acute and active genius led him

(*e*) Poſtſcript to Mr Gunter's Deſcription of the Sector.

(*f*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 271.

(*g*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 391, 508. Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 271.

(*h*) Oughtred's Apologetical Epiſtle to the Engliſh Gentry againſt Mr R. Delamain.

(*i*) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 76, 77.

(*k*) Burton's Anatomy of Melancholly, p. 265. Mr Henry Bond's Advertiſement at the cloſe of Norwood's Epitome of Navigation.

[*A*] *Till many years after.*] The reader will obſerve, that we do not in the text attribute abſolutely the invention of the Sector to Mr Gunter, becauſe there is reaſon to believe, that an inſtrument of that name, though different in it's conſtruction from his, had been in uſe before, as may appear from the following paſſage, in a work written by one of his ſucceſſors (1), upon his improving this very inſtrument of our author's. 'Amongſt the many writers, ſays he, that have been 'upon the Sector, Mr Gunter hath done beſt, the lines 'of his inſtrument being moſt in number, and of the 'moſt formal contrivance, and moſt largely commented upon.' The ſame may be likewiſe collected, and moſt of the facts delivered on this head, confirmed from Mr Gunter's concluſion to the reader, at the end of his treatiſe on the Sector, dated Greſham-college, May the firſt, 1623, and conceived in the following terms (2). 'It is well known to many of you, that 'this Sector was thus contrived, the moſt part of this 'book written in Latin, many copies tranſcribed and 'diſperſed, more than ſixteen years ſince. I am at the 'laſt contented to give way that it come forth in Engliſh. Not that I think it worthy either of my labour or the public view, but partly to ſatisfy their 'importunity, who not underſtanding the Latin, yet 'were at the charge to buy the inſtrument, and partly 'for my own eaſe: for as it is painful for others to 'tranſcribe my copy, ſo it is troubleſome for me to 'give ſatisfaction herein to all that deſire it. If I find 'this to give you content, it ſhall encourage me to do 'the like for my Croſſe-ſtaffe, and ſome other inſtruments. In the mean time bear with the Printer's 'faults, and ſo I reſt.' It is worthy of notice, that in ſpeaking of the inſtrument he deſcribed, he calls it *this ſector*, by which one may fairly ſuppoſe he meant to diſtinguiſh it from any thing of the like ſort. We have no certainty what became of his original Latin treatiſe, or whether it was ever printed. His Engliſh treatiſe bore this ſhort and modeſt title.

Deſcription of the Sector, *in* three *books*, Lond. 1624, 4to. It was afterwards joined to his deſcription of the Croſſe-ſtaffe; and after his deceaſe, the fourth edition of it was diligently corrected by Mr Henry Bond, and with the addition of the Sector altered, by Mr Samuel Foſter, publiſhed in 1661; and a fifth time, with the reſt of our author's works, by Mr William Leybourn, who has likewiſe made ſome alterations, and from theſe the Sectors now in uſe differ conſiderably. The French from it's uſes, inſtead of the Sector, call it the compaſs of proportion, and have ſeveral uſeful treatiſes upon it in their own language.

[*B*] *Might be eaſily miſled.*] The famous Mr William Oughtred, in a ſmall piece of his publiſhed ſeven years after our author's death, has this paſſage (33). 'In the ſpring, 1618, I being at London, went to ſee 'my honoured friend Maſter Henry Briggs at Greſham-college, who then brought me acquainted with Maſter Gunter, lately choſen aſtronomy reader there, 'and was at that time in Dr Brooks his chamber, with 'whom falling into ſpeech about his quadrant, I 'ſhewed him my horizontal inſtrument. He viewed it 'very heedfully, and queſtioned about the projecture 'and uſe thereof, often ſaying theſe words, *It is a very good one.* And not long after he delivered to Maſter Briggs, to be ſent to me, mine own inſtrument 'printed off from one cut in braſs, which afterwards I 'underſtood he preſented to the Right Honourable the 'Earl of Bridgewater. And in his book of the Sector, 'printed ſix years after, among other projections, ſetteth down this; herein ingenuous, that he did not 'challenge it to himſelf as our challenger doth, but 'not ingenuouſly enough acknowledging from whom 'he had it. But ſuch is the providence of God, I 'kept that very letter of Maſter Briggs, wherein he ſent 'me that print from Maſter Gunter, dated from Greſham-college, June 2d, 1618, and the poſtſcript, 'June 4th, and which came to my hands June the '10th. In which letter are theſe words, *Maſter* Gunter *doth here ſend you the print of a horizontal diall of his drawing after your inſtrument.* This very letter hath been left by me in the hands of Elias Allen, 'above theſe two years, to be ſeen of any one that 'will require it.' In reſpect to the time, it is very plain that Mr Oughtred might be right in his facts, though certainly wrong in the circumſtances of Mr Gunter's being then Aſtronomy-Profeſſor, into which he might be eaſily drawn by the company in which he found him, and his coming afterwards into that office. Mr Wood taking it therefore for certain, that he was Profeſſor in 1618, concluded from thence that he muſt have ſucceeded Mr Brerewood, whereas Mr Williams came in between them (4). In reſpect to the horizontal dial, this reverend perſon had certainly no reaſon to complain of Mr Gunter at all, who, if he had ever intended to have laid claim to that invention, would never have furniſhed two ſuch evidences againſt himſelf as the print and Mr Briggs's letter. The former ſent by him, and the latter written at his requeſt. What he delivers in his book of the Sector, is incidentally only, having before ſhewn how the ſame thing might be done another way; but in the ſame work he has ſpoken ſo plainly of other perſons from whom he borrowed, that it is very hard to imagine he had any ſiniſter view in not mentioning Mr Oughtred, who lived a very retired life, and affected ſuch a degree of privacy, that it is very probable Mr Gunter was unwilling to mention him for fear of offending him. Be that as it will, the beſt evidence that learned perſon had to produce againſt his adverſary, was this paſſage in Mr Gunter's book, and this letter from Mr Briggs, as he tacitly admits, by leaving it in the hands of his publiſher. It is indeed evident enough from all Mr Gunter's writings, that his principal aim was to be uſeful to the public, and that he was very far from being ambitious or jealous of reputation, a circumſtance that does him great honour, ſince a deſire to do good is a much more elevated virtue than the thirſt of fame, which however, ſo long as it is kept within due bounds, ought not to be eſteemed a vice.

[*C*] *Who were his contemporaries.*] The title of this book in the firſt edition runs thus:

Canon Triangulorum, ſive, *Tabulæ ſinuum artificialium ad radium* 10,0000000 [illegible] *ad ſcrupula prima quadrantis.* Lond. 1620, 8vo. This was dedicated to his moſt honoured Lord John Earl of Bridgewater, Viſcount Brackley, &c. but in the ſecond edition, the title runs thus:

(1) Foſter's Sector improved, p. 1.

(2) Gunter's Works, p. 152.

(3) Oughtred's Letter Apologetical, p. 21.

(4) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 391, 508.

him continually to freſh purſuits, in which his quick penetration and very great ſagacity gave him aſtoniſhing ſucceſs. For he it was, that in the very ſame year made that important diſcovery in magnetiſm, which has ſince exerciſed the underſtandings of ſome of the ableſt Philoſophers and Mathematicians in all nations, viz. *That the variation of the* magnetic needle *varies* (*l*); and though this, as we have in another place obſerved, has been aſcribed by Dr Wallis to Mr Gellibrand, as it alſo was by Dr Hook to Mr Foſter, yet it was really due to our author, as will be fully ſhewn in the notes [*D*]. He alſo invented that famous RULE *of* PROPORTION which ſtill bears his name, and which, not long after he made it public, was carried over to France by his friend Edmund Wingate, Eſq; who wrote a treatiſe to explain the uſes of it in French, as our author himſelf alſo did in Engliſh (*m*), with that plainneſs and perſpicuity which were his peculiar talents, and of which he ſeems to have had a juſt eſteem, as appears from the anſwer he made Mr Wingate, when preſſed by him to write upon it ſtill more fully; *it is not to be expected that the* rule *ſhould ſpeak* (*n*); intimating that ſomething was to be left to the diſcretion and induſtry of thoſe who uſed it. By the help of this admirable contrivance, ſuch things as before appeared ſo dark and abſtruſe, as to diſcourage people of ordinary capacities from attempting them, became ſo eaſy and practicable, as to invite even the common ſort to theſe ſtudies, which were of wonderful utility in the ordinary employments of life, and in perfecting mechanic arts; which was a thing of prodigious conſequence, and which was entirely owing

Canon Triangulorum, *or table of artificial Sines and Tangents to a Radius of* 10,0000000 parts *to each minute of the Quadrant. By* Edm. Gunter, *Profeſſor of Aſtronomy in* Greſham-college, Lond. 1624, 4to.

In this edition, the logarithms were continued from 1000 to 10000, and a rule given at the end for augmenting them to 100,000. How careful he was to avoid all ſuſpicion of aſſuming to himſelf the credit of other men's labours, and how modeſtly he ſpeaks of his own, appears from the following account of the uſe of his canon (5). ' This canon, ſays he, hath like ' uſe as the tables of right ſines and tangents ſet forth ' by others, but the practice ſomewhat more eaſy. For ' keeping to their rules and working by theſe tables, ' you may uſe addition inſtead of their multiplication, ' and ſubtraction inſtead of their diviſion: and ſo reſolve all ſpherical triangles without the help of ſecants ' or verſed ſines. The like may be done for the ſolution of right lined triangles, by the help of the logarithms of my old collegue and worthy friend Mr ' Henry Briggs (10000 whereof follow). For both ' proceed from the ſame ground, and ſo require the ' ſame manner of work, as I often ſhew in my public ' lectures in Greſham-college. Where I reſt a friend ' to all that are ſtudious of mathematical practice.' But his right to this improvement of logarithms in their application to ſpherical triangles, is largely and clearly aſſerted by Edmund Wingate, Eſq (6); by Mr Burton (7), by Mr Henry Bond, ſenior (8), who was himſelf an eminent mathematician, and never queſtioned by any.

To this work of his, Mr Gunter prefixed a large diſcourſe concerning the general uſe of the canon and table of logarithms, written with admirable plainneſs, and calculated, as all his other performances were, to leſſen the difficulties in learning, and to excite a ſpirit of induſtry in proſecuting mathematical knowledge, by demonſtrating it's extenſive utility, and by what ſhort and eaſy methods thoſe ſpeculations which had coſt him ſuch infinite pains and labour, might be rendered uſeful in the hands of others.

[*D*] *As will be fully ſhewn in the notes.*] The very learned Dr Wallis, in a letter to Sir Hans Sloane, dated Oxford, September the 30th, 1701, ſhews a very great zeal in vindicating Engliſh inventions and diſcoveries, and diſcourſing on that head, has the following paſſage (9). ' I think it is now agreed on all ' hands, that what we call the Variation of the Variation, is an Engliſh diſcovery of Mr Gellibrand, if I ' miſtake not, one of Sir Thomas Greſham's profeſſors ' at Greſham-college, about the year 1635.' In another letter directed to Captain Edmund Halley, dated Oxford, May 23d, 1702, he proſecutes this matter ſtill farther, ' The doctrine of the magnet, ſays he, ' hath been moſtly improved at Greſham-college, or ' by thoſe related thereunto, and there converſant for ' an age or two laſt paſt, as Blagrave, Gunter, Gellibrand, Gilbert, Norwood, Wright, Briggs, Foſter, ' &c. and of late by yourſelf. If I have miſtaken ' ſome names, or miſplaced them, or omitted others, ' you will be able to rectify it. I have given ſome ' intimation of it, but very imperfectly, in a letter of ' mine inſerted in the Tranſactions for the month of ' December 1701, where beſide divers literal faults, ' they have unhappily miſ-printed 1635, inſtead of ' 1625.' Dr Robert Hooke, in treating of this ſubject, in one diſcourſe of his, ſays (10), ' Later obſervations have found that this magnetical variation ' varies, though the parts of the earth do not ſeem at ' all to have altered their poſition; this was found by ' Mr Foſter and others, in the year 1635.' In a lecture read at Greſham-college, July the 7th, 1686, he treats this matter expreſsly and at large, and delivers himſelf thus (11). ' It was ſuppoſed, ſays he, that variations would be found always regular and the ſame, ' in the ſame place at all times, as proceeding from ' the greater attraction from the parts of the earth, ' which were prominent and elevated, and which were ' not likely to be altered by time, at leaſt, not enough ' to make a ſenſible variation of the variation. This ' was Dr Gilbert's, but in proceſs of time this was by ' Mr Gellibrand of this college and ſome others found ' to alter, and there was found a variation of the variation of the magnetic needle in the ſame place, and ' that not verified in one, but in thouſands of places. ' This overthrew all the former hypotheſes, and we are ' now to ſeek a new one; Mr Bond and Mr Philips, ' and ſome others, have been hammering at a new hypotheſis, wherein they make the magnetic virtue to ' be in the air, and ſo the magnetic poles to be moveable in circles round about the poles of the æquinoctial, and the magnetic axis of the earth, to have a ' conical motion about the axis of the diurnal revolution: which conical motion they ſuppoſe to be performed in a certain number of years; ſo that at ' length the polar points of the magnetic virtue, after ' they have revolved a periodick circle, return from ' the ſame point from which they did begin.' But as Mr Ward very candidly obſerves (12), if this diſcovery therefore was owing to one of Sir Thomas Greſham's profeſſors, and made ſo early as 1625, it muſt be attributed to Mr Gunter, and not to Mr Gellibrand, who did not come from Oxford to Greſham-college, till the latter end of the year following, upon Mr Gunter's death. The truth of the matter ſeems to be, that our author has a clear right to this diſcovery, for theſe reaſons: I. His experiment at Deptford, was in 1622, while Mr Gellibrand was at Oxford, and ſoon after he began to apply himſelf to the mathematicks, ſo that in point of time, it is the earlieſt of which we have any good account. II. The variation obſerved, was within two minutes of five degrees, which made it very remarkable, and removed all ſuſpicion of it's proceeding from any accident or error in obſervation, and therefore could not fail of exciting the attention of ſo able a mathematician. III. Mr Gellibrand himſelf acknowledges, that it was Mr Gunter's obſervation that induced him to make another at the ſame place, that is at Deptford, in 1634, and finding then a variation of above two degrees in twelve years, it put him upon writing his diſcourſe on that important ſubject.

[*E*] *Of*

(*l*) Gellibrand's Diſcourſe Mathematical on the Variation.

(*m*) The Croſſe-ſtaffe, lib. i. c. 6.

(*n*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 207.

(5) Prefixed to the table of Logarithms in Gunter's Works.

(6) Preface to the Conſtruction and Uſe of Logarithmical Tables.

(7) Anatomy of Melancholly, p. 285.

(8) Advertiſement at the cloſe of Norwood's Epitome of Navigation.

(9) Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. CCLXXVI. p. 1036.

(10) Ibid. No. CCLXXVIII.

(11) Hook's Poſthumous Works, p. 482, 483.

(12) Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 80. See Mr Petit's curious letter to Mr Oldenburgh in Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. XXVII. p. 530.

owing to the quickneſs of his invention, and to that wonderful facility he had of communicating his conceptions to others (o) [E]. Our author likewiſe drew the lines on the dials in Whitehall-garden, and wrote the deſcription and uſe of them by the direction of Prince Charles, in a ſmall tract which he afterwards printed by order of his Majeſty King James, in the year 1624 (p). The dials were placed, as he deſcribes them, on a ſtone, which, at the baſe, was a ſquare of ſomewhat more than four feet and an half, the height three feet and three quarters, and unwrought contained above eighty feet, or five ton of ſtone. Five dials were deſcribed on the upper part, one on each of the four corners, and a fifth in the middle, which was the chief of all, the great horizontal concave. Beſides the dials at the top, there were others on each of the ſides, eaſt, weſt, north, and ſouth. But for the ſeveral lines drawn upon theſe dials, and the uſes of them, I muſt refer to the book itſelf (q). There was, as he tells us, a ſtone of the ſame ſize and form, with the like planes and concaves, and dials on them, in that place before; but the lines on his dials were much different, excepting thoſe which ſhewed the hour of the day. This ſtone remained to our times, and was removed not many years ago; but the dials were in a great meaſure defaced by the drunken frolics of a nobleman in the reign of King Charles the Second (r), from whence our author's book, by the ſole aſſiſtance of which they may be at any time and in any place reſtored, is become ſo much the more valuable [F]. To him alſo we are indebted for the invention of a ſmall portable quadrant, and ſeveral other inſtruments, which were ſucceſſively made the ſubjects of his lectures at Greſham-college, and afterwards diſpoſed into treatiſes, and printed in his works (s) [G]. There is

(o) See the authors before cited, and all the Epitome's and other Treatiſes on Navigation.

(p) See this point explained in note [F].

(q) Deſcription and uſe of his Majeſty's Dials in Whitehall-garden, 4to.

(r) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 80.

(s) See Gunter's Works, 1662. 4to.

[E] *Of communicating his conceptions to others.*] When we ſpeak only of the *Line* of *Numbers*, it is commonly called *Gunter's Line*, and with very great propriety, ſince he firſt thought of this eaſy and excellent method of combining Arithmetic and Geometry, and this not in a matter of ſpeculation, but in a manner adapted to practice, and which very far tranſcended whatever had been done upon any mathematical rulers before; but when we ſpeak of *Gunter's Scale*, it takes in all the other lines laid down and fitted to the line of numbers, all which are admirably explained by our author himſelf, in that book of his which we ſhall preſently mention. His title to this invention, than which there hardly ever was one of ſo general uſe, is confeſſed by Mr Oughtred, in as clear terms as could be expected (13). 'With regard to the circles of proportion, he confeſſes that he had not ſo good a claim againſt all men, as for his horizontal inſtrument, tho' againſt Mr Delamain he had. The honour of the invention, ſays he, next to the Lord of Merchiſton, and our Maſter Briggs, belongeth (if I have not been wrongly informed) to Maſter Gunter, who expoſed their numbers upon a ſtreight line, which being once done, was there any ſuch maſtery to bring the ſame line about a circle? and what doth this new inſtrument (call it the circles of proportion, or call it the ring, or what other name you liſt) ought elſe, but only bowe and inflect Maſter Gunter's line or ruler.' This is candid and clear, and as his circles of proportion, ſo Brown's ſpiral, and all the tribe of ſliding rulers flow from hence. It is not intended by any thing here ſaid, to prejudice the inventions or improvements of other men, for that would be a barbarous and invidious taſk; but to ſhew the excellence of Mr Gunter's capacity, and to vindicate his title as the parent of inſtrumental arithmetic, and whatever depends upon it.

(13) Oughtred's Letter Apologetical, p. 22.

[F] *Is become ſo much the more valuable.*] The title of our author's book runs at large thus:

The deſcription and uſe of his Majeſty's Dials *in* Whitehall *Garden*, Lond. 1624, 4to.

In reſpect to theſe dials, however, there is a great miſtake in Dr Wallis's letter before cited, to Captain Halley (14). 'It was, ſays he, about the beginning of the reign of King Charles the Firſt, that Mr Gellibrand (if I have not been miſ informed) cauſed the great concave dial to be erected in the Privy Garden at Whitehall, (which I think is yet remaining) with great care to fix a true meridian line, and with a large magnetic needle, ſhewing it's variation from that meridian from time to time. I think it were not amiſs if exact obſervation were now made, whether the meridian be now juſt the ſame as it was then. For it is very poſſible that the pole of the earth may in time ſuffer ſome little variation, which may not readily be diſcerned, which may cauſe an alteration of the meridian line. And this, if ſo, will be more diſcernible nearer the pole than farther off. And tho' ſuch proviſion as was now ſayd, were made at Whitehall, for obſerving the needle's variation from the true North; and though no doubt notice have been given many times (there and elſewhere) what the variation hath been at ſuch times: yet I doubt no regiſter hath been kept of ſuch obſervations, whence we might form a ſcheme how ſuch variations do proceed from time to time.' We may very eaſily pardon this miſtake, though in juſtice to our author, we could not avoid taking notice of it, when we conſider the honeſt deſign of the doctor, which was to excite a deſire of preſerving the memory of paſt improvements as neceſſary helps towards increaſing the ſtock of true ſcience in times to come; his generous zeal for the honour of his country, founded upon the true baſis of the worthy deeds of it's inhabitants; and what not only atones for theſe ſmall imperfections, but ſhould teach us to admire him, he inforces his petitions, by obſerving that he was then eighty-ſix; that it was probably his laſt requeſt, and that he made it for the public and not for himſelf. But after all, there were once in the ſame place ſome other dials equally curious and extraordinary, made by one Francis Hall, alias Line, an Engliſh Jeſuit, erected on a ſtone pedeſtal in the year 1669. Theſe dials were placed in ſix ranks one above another, in form of a pyramid. But as the ſurface of them was all of glaſs and expoſed to the weather, they ſoon decayed for want of a cover. The contriver publiſhed a deſcription of them a few years after they were ſet up (15), at which time they were, as he complains, much damaged.

(14) Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. CCLXXVIII. p. 1107, 1108.

(15) An Explication of the Dial ſet up in the King's garden at London, anno 1669, in which very many ſorts of dials are contained, by which, beſides the hours of all kinds diverſly expreſſed, many things alſo belonging to Geography, Aſtrology, and Aſtronomy, are by the ſun's ſhadow made viſible to the eye; amongſt which very many dials, eſpecially the moſt curious, are new inventions, hitherto divulged by none: all theſe particulars are ſhortly yet clearly ſet forth for the common good, by the Reverend Father Francis Hall, otherwiſe Line, of the Society of Jeſus, Profeſſor of Mathematics. Printed at large by Guillam-Henry Street, in the year of our Lord 1673. Superiorum Permiſſu. 4to. p. 60.

[G] *And afterwards diſpoſed into treatiſes, and printed in his works.*] The ſhorteſt method of anſwering the intention of this note, is to give the reader the title at large of the only treatiſe of our author, which has not been hitherto mentioned.

The Croſſe-Staffe, *in three* books; *the* firſt, *containing it's deſcription and the uſe thereof in taking of* heights *and* diſtances; *the* ſecond, *contains the uſe of the* lines *thereon in the meaſuring of all manner of* ſuperficies *and* ſolids, *as board, glaſs, land, timber, ſtone, and gauging of veſſels, as alſo in the famous art of navigation*; *the* third, *contains the uſe of the* lines *of* numbers, *ſines and tangents in* dialling, *and an excellent and compendious treatiſe, fully teaching, and amply explaining, the grounds and reaſons thereof, from a projection of the* ſphere *in plano*. To which is added an appendix, *containing the deſcription and uſe of a ſmall* portable quadrant, *for the more eaſy finding the* hour *and* azimuth, *and other* ſolar *concluſions of more frequent uſe. By* Edmund Gunter, London, 1624, 4to.

All his works collected together were printed in quarto, carefully corrected by Mr Henry Bond, and the fourth edition of them appeared in 1662, with the addition of two new inventions, and tracts deſcribing them, by Samuel Foſter, as we have mentioned elſewhere; the fifth edition was publiſhed by William Leybourn, who was the printer of the former edition, and the editor and corrector of this, in which he inſerted, as he ſays, divers neceſſary things and matters through the whole work; but, as Mr Ward judiciouſly obſerves, it is no reaſon to doubt, conſidering the many great things he performed in ſo ſhort a time, that the public would have reaped ſtill greater advantages from the fertility of his genius, and that laudable diſpoſition to communicate his diſcoveries, if he had lived to an advanced age; but he was removed from his life and labours, December 10, 1626, in the forty-fifth year of his age, at his apartment in Greſham-college (t). He was buried in the pariſh of St Peter le Poor in Broadſtreet, without any monument or inſcription, as the judicious and accurate Mr Ward obſerves; the want of which, however, will be the leſs regretted, ſince the publication of his excellent work (u).

(t) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 271.

(u) Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 81.

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it is to be wiſhed he had ſo printed them, that they might have been diſtinguiſhed from what belongs to his author. This laſt edition was alſo printed at London in 1673, in quarto; for though we ſometimes meet with books which bear in their title the ſixth edition 1680, yet that title is all that is new in them, as the inquiſitive reader will eaſily perceive. E

◆

H.

H.

HACKET [John], Biſhop of Lichfield and Coventry in the XVIIth century, was born in the Strand near Exeter-houſe, within the pariſh of St Martin's in the fields and liberty of Weſtminſter, September 1, 1592 (*a*). His father Andrew Hacket, deſcended from an antient family of that name at Putferin in Scotland (*b*), was then a Senior Burgeſs of Weſtminſter, and afterwards of the Robes to Prince Henry [*A*]. When very young, he was admitted into Weſtminſter-ſchool, where he became known to Dr Lancelot Andrews, Dean of the collegiate church there; who, in the neceſſary abſence of the maſter, coming ſometimes into the ſchool to teach the boys, took notice of this young ſcholar for his great diligence, modeſty, pregnancy of parts, and ſtrong inclination to learning and virtue, which he afterwards conſtantly cheriſhed both at the ſchool and univerſity. In 1608, he was elected, with Mr George Herbert the pious poet, into Trinity-college in Cambridge [*B*]; where he was ſoon taken notice of, not only for his parts and learning, but alſo for his ſobriety and great integrity. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1612, and was choſen Fellow of his college as ſoon as capable according to the Statutes (*c*). In 1615 he commenced Maſter of Arts (*d*), and grew into ſuch credit, that he had many pupils, and of many of the beſt families in England One month in the long vacation, retiring with his pupil, afterwards Lord Byron, into Nottinghamſhire, he there compoſed a Latin comedy intituled Loyola, which was twice acted before King James the Firſt (*e*), and printed in 1648 (*f*). At his return to college, he applied himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of Divinity; and, in December 1618, received Holy Orders from Dr J. King Biſhop of London, who expreſſed a ſingular affection and kindneſs for him upon all occaſions: as did alſo Biſhop Andrews, from whom he oftentimes received preſents of money to buy books. But, above all others, he was taken notice of by Dr John Williams, Dean of Weſtminſter and Biſhop of Lincoln: for he being appointed Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal in 1621, choſe Mr Hacket for his chaplain, and ever loved and eſteemed him above the reſt of his chaplains. In 1623 he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity; and the ſame year was made chaplain in ordinary to King James the Firſt [*C*], and collated December 20 to the prebend of Aileſbury in Lincoln-cathedral

(*a*) Account of the Life and Death of Biſhop Hacket, prefixed to his Century of Sermons, by T. Plume, D. D. Lond. 1675. fol. p. 3.

(*b*) Ibid. A. Wood's Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 1147.

(*c*) Account, &c. by Plume, p. 5, 6 Wood ubi ſupra, col. 1148.

(*d*) From the Univerſity Regiſters. He was incorporated Maſter of Arts at Oxford, July 9, 1616. Wood's Faſti, Vol. I. col. 202.

(*e*) Account, &c. p 6.

(*f*) London, 8vo. Wood's Faſti, Vol. I. col. 202.

[*A*] *Was then a ſenior burgeſs of Weſtminſter, and afterwards of the Robes to Prince Henry.*] His father and mother were both true Proteſtants, and great lovers of the Church of England, conſtant repairers to the divine prayers and ſervice thereof; and would often bewail to their young ſon after the coming in of their countrymen with King James, the ſeed of Fanaticiſm then laid in the ſcandalous neglect of the publick liturgy, which all Q Elizabeth's time was exceedingly frequented, the people then reſorting as devoutly to prayers, as they would afterwards to hear any famous preacher about the town (1).

[*B*] *In* 1608, *he was elected, with Mr George Herbert the pious poet, into Trinity-college in Cambridge.*] When his father (though unacquainted) ſpoke in his behalf to Dr Nevil, Maſter of Trinity-college; the Doctor preſently bid him ſpare further ſpeaking to any one; 'For that boy ſhould go to Cambridge, or he 'would carry him upon his own back.' And his maſter, Mr Ireland, ſaid, at parting, to him and George Herbert, That he expected to have credit by them two at the Univerſity, or would never hope for it afterwards by any while he lived (2).

[*C*] *And chaplain in ordinary to K. James I.*] He preached in his courſe before his Majeſty; particularly once upon the *Gowries Conſpiracy*, for which a Thankſgiving was continued all that King's reign on Auguſt the 5th. And though ſome people have denied the treaſon, 'Yet (ſays Dr Plume) our good biſhop was 'aſſured, that the moſt religious Biſhop Andrews once 'fell down upon his knees before King James, and be'ſought his Majeſty to ſpare his cuſtomary pains upon 'that day, that he might not mock God unleſs the 'thing were true:' the King replied, 'Thoſe people 'were much to blame who would never believe a trea'ſon unleſs their Prince were actually murdered: but 'did aſſure him in the faith of a Chriſtian, and upon 'the word of a King, their treaſonable attempt againſt 'him was too true (3).'

(1) Account, &c. by Plume, as above, p. 3.

(2) Ibid. p. 5.

(3) Account, &c. as above, p. 8.

dral (g). The year following, upon the Lord-Keeper's recommendation, he was preſented to the rectory of St Andrew's Holbourn by his Majeſty, in whoſe diſpoſal that living was, by reaſon of the minority of Thomas Earl of Southampton. His patron procured him alſo, the ſame year, the rectory of Cheam in Surrey [D], fallen likewiſe into the King's gift by the promotion of Dr Senhouſe to the biſhopric of Carliſle. In 1625, he was named by the King himſelf to attend an embaſſador into Germany: yet, upon ſecond thoughts, he was diſſwaded from the journey, by reaſon, that being the author of the comedy of Loyola abovementioned, which ſeverely reflected upon the Jeſuits, he was told, he would never be able to go ſafe though in an embaſſador's train. In 1628 he commenced Doctor in Divinity. At his return to Holbourn his fame increaſed exceedingly; for, by indefatigable ſtudy, conſtant preaching, and wiſe government, he reduced that great pariſh to a perfect and regular conformity (h); and, by his charity and exemplary piety and converſation, endeared himſelf to all (i). In the year 1631, his patron Dr Williams, Biſhop of Lincoln, conſtituted him Archdeacon of Bedford, to which he was collated October 4 (k) [E]. His church of St Andrew's being very old and decayed, he undertook to rebuild it [F]; and, for that purpoſe, obtained very large ſubſcriptions from the nobility and gentry, and from many other of his well-affected pariſhioners. About the year 1639 he had got together many thouſand pounds, in ſtock and in ſubſcriptions; but, upon the breaking out of the civil wars, the Parliament ſeized them, as well as what had been gathered for the repair of St Paul's cathedral. In March 1641, he was one of the ſub-committee appointed by the Houſe of Lords, to conſult of what was amiſs and wanted correction in the Liturgy [G], in hopes by that means to diſpel the cloud then hanging over the Church. Whilſt the bill for taking away deans and chapters was depending in the Houſe of Commons, ſeveral members of that Houſe being friends to the Hierarchy, moved, that no man's freehold might be taken away in Parliament, without hearing them ſpeak for themſelves: whereupon, the whole committee abovementioned, deſired Dr Hacket forthwith to depart to his own houſe, and meet them again the next morning, prepared to ſpeak as the Advocate of the Church of England in the behalf of deans and chapters. Accordingly he made a ſpeech the day following [H], which had a very

[D] *His patron procured him alſo, the ſame year, the rectory of Cheam in Surrey.*] Telling him, that he intended him Holbourn for wealth, and Cheam for health. Theſe two livings, being within a ſmall diſtance of ten miles, he held till the troubles came, and though he was a great lover of reſidence, and would ſay non-reſidence was never to be excuſed, but when utility to the Church, or neceſſity to the perſon for his real health or fitting ſtate, required it: yet he would often diſpute the neceſſity of a country living for a London miniſter to retire to in hot ſummer-time, out of the ſepulchral air of a church-yard. At Holbourn he generally reſided till the end of Trinity-term, and then retired to Cheam for health and privacy till Michaelmas-term (4).

[E] *Dr Williams, biſhop of Lincoln, conſtituted him Archdeacon of Bedford, &c.*] In his charges to his clergy, he uſed to exhort them, to keep ſtrictly to the orders of the Church, to all regular conformity to the doctrine and diſcipline by law eſtabliſhed, without *under* or *over* doing; aſſerting in his opinion, that Puritaniſm lay on both ſides; whoſoever did more than the Church commanded, as well as leſs, were guilty of it. And that he only was a true ſon of the Church, that broke not the bounds of it either way (5).

[F] *He undertook to rebuild it.*] It muſt alſo be remembred, That in 1625, when there was a very great plague; upon complaint of the common-council-men of his pariſh, that they wanted room to bury their dead, he purchaſed for that end the new church-yard in Shoe-lane (6).

[G] *In May 1641, he was one of the ſub committee appointed by the Houſe of Lords, &c.*] That houſe ſettled (among many other committees) a committee for religion, conſiſting of ten Earls, ten Biſhops, and ten Barons: and, at the ſame time, appointed a ſub committee to prepare matters fit for their cognizance. The Biſhop of Lincoln was chairman in both, and was authorized to call together divers biſhops and other divines, to conſult about what was amiſs, and to ſettle peace. Of the ſub-committee, thoſe that appeared and conſulted together, were, beſides the chairman, Ja. Uſher Archbiſhop of Armagh, Tho Morton biſhop of Durham, Joſ. Hall then biſhop of Exeter; the Doctors, Sam. Ward, Joh. Prideaux, Wi. Twiſſe, Rob. Sanderſon, Dan. Featlye, Ralph Brounrigg, Ric. Holdſworth, Joh. Hacket, Corne Burges; Mr John White, Steph. Marſhall, Edm. Calamy, and Tho. Hill. The place of their meeting was the Jeruſalem-chamber, in the Dean of Weſtminſter's houſe. And the points they conſulted upon, were, innovations in doctrine, and diſcipline; concerning the Common-prayer-book; the regulation of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, &c. The committee condeſcended, to print the liturgick pſalms of the laſt tranſlation, to expunge all apocryphal leſſons, and alter ſome paſſages in the body of the Common-prayer-book, and certain other things, which divers of the Preſbyterian divines ſaid were ſatisfactory. And when a furious party ſtill preſſed at conferences for further abatement of conformity, and the laws eſtabliſhed, J. White told them, time would come when they would wiſh they had been content with what was offered. Theſe conſultations were held on ſix ſeveral days, till the middle of May, when the bringing in the bill into the Houſe of Commons for taking away deans and chapters, defeated all theſe pacific ſchemes (7).

[H] *Accordingly, he made a ſpeech the day following.*] Which was the 12th of May. This ſpeech is publiſhed at length in the biſhop's life, by Dr Plume, from a copy found among his papers. Dr Hacket began with obſerving, that, 'The unexpectedneſs to be thus employed was joined with another diſadvantage, namely, the not having heard upon what crimes or offences of the deans and chapters, ſo great a patrimony as they enjoyed was called in queſtion, that they might purge themſelves of ſuch imputations; but only reports flying abroad had arrived to their ears.' That cathedral and collegiate churches with their chapters, were accounted by ſome to be of no uſe or convenience.——In anſwer to which, he ſhews the great uſe and convenience of them, 1. In the daily ſervice of public prayer. 2. In conſtant preaching. 3. For the advancement and encouragement of learning; our principal grammar-ſchools being maintained by the charity of thoſe churches; and the preferments there, an encouragement, as well as a reward and maintenance to the greateſt men in the kingdom. 4. That the deans and chapters are the council of the biſhops, to aſſiſt him in his juriſdiction. 5. That the firſt monuments of piety built in this kingdom, were cathedral churches.——Then he offers the following additional arguments. That multitudes of officers have their maintenance, and no other livelihood but by them, ſome one cathedral church having three hundred perſons and more depending upon it. That the tenants had proſpered better by holding leaſes from deans and chapters, than farmers elſewhere under other incorporations. That the cities, eſpecially thoſe that were not maritime, are very poor in trade, but very much inriched very good effect upon the Houſe: ſo that, notwithſtanding Dr Corn. Burges's reply, it was put to the queſtion, and carried by a great majority, that the revenues of deans and chapters ſhould not be taken away. Yet not long after, in the ſame ſeſſion, after an unparliamentary manner, they put it to a ſecond vote; and without a ſecond hearing voted the contrary (*l*). The committee being thus at an end, private meetings were held at the Doctor's houſe by biſhops and other eminent clergy, who wrote letters to all divines in England of learning and reputation, to exhort them to ſtand faſt in the cauſe of the King and Church. They alſo deſired the opinion of the moſt celebrated foreign divines upon the points in debate, which they freely communicated (*m*). March 28, 1642, he was preſented by the King to a Prebend and Reſidentiary's place in the church of St Paul's London, vacant, and fallen into his Majeſty's diſpoſal by the promotion of Dr Thomas Winniff to the ſee of Lincoln (*n*). But the troubles coming on, he had no quiet enjoyment of it, nor of his rectory of St Andrew's [*I*]: and beſides, ſome of his pariſhioners there having articled againſt him at the Committee of Plunderers, his friend Mr Selden told him, it was in vain to make defences, and adviſed him to retire to Cheam, where he would endeavour to keep him quiet. But he could not be long ſo; for the Earl of Eſſex's army marching that way, took him priſoner along with them: and he rejecting great offers made him by the Earl and others, if he would turn to their ſide, they diſmiſſed him after a while. From that time he lay hid in his retirement at Cheam, where he conſtantly officiated [*K*], and did much good in the country, by keeping many gentlemen firm to the Proteſtant religion, who were much aſſaulted by lurking Romiſh Prieſts (*o*). In 1648-9, he attended, in his laſt moments, Henry Rich Earl of Holland, who was beheaded for attempting the relief of Colcheſter (*p*). At the reſtoration of King Charles the Second, Dr Hacket recovered all his preferments, and was offered the biſhopric of Glouceſter, which he refuſed: but he accepted ſhortly after of that of Lichfield and Coventry [*L*], and was conſecrated December 22, 1661 (*q*), upon the ſame day that he had forty-three years before received his firſt orders (*r*). The ſpring following he repaired to Lichfield; where finding the beautiful cathedral almoſt ruined to the ground [*M*], he ſet up, in eight years, a compleat church again, better than ever it was before, at the expence of twenty thouſand pounds, a thouſand pounds of which he had from the dean and chapter, and the reſt was of his own charge and procuring from benefactors. Being finiſhed, he dedicated it anew with proper ſolemnity on the 24th of December, 1669, and feaſted three companies for three days (*s*). He laid out alſo a thouſand pounds upon a prebendal houſe, which he was forced to live in (his palaces at Lichfield and Eccleſhall having been demoliſhed during the civil wars), and thought to procure an Act of Parliament for annexing it to the ſee, but did not (*t*). And likewiſe he added to Trinity-college in Cambridge a peculiar building called Biſhops-Hoſtel, which coſt him twelve hundred pounds; ordering, that the rents of the chambers ſhould be laid out in buying books for the college library (*u*). Beſides theſe great acts of munificence, he left ſeveral benefactions by will [*N*]. Having arrived to a good old age of ſeventy-eight years, one month, and twenty-ſeven days, he died at Lichfield, October 28, 1670, and was buried in his cathedral, under

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(g) Survey of the Cathedral of Lincoln, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 134.

(h) Account &c. p. 6—10.

(i) Ib. p. 13, 14.

(k) Ibid. Br. Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 125.

(4) Ibid. p. 8, 9.

(5) Account, &c. by Plume, p. 12.

(6) Ibid. p. 15.

(7) Ibid. p. 16, 17. T. Fuller's Church-Hiſtory, book xi. p. 174, 175.

(*l*) Plume, p. 16—25. T. Fuller's Church-Hiſtory, book xi. p. 174—179.

(*m*) Plume, p. 25, 26.

(*n*) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 181.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 26, 27, 28.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 27.

(*q*) Reg. Juxon. Bp. Kennet's Chronicle, edit. 1728. p. 587.

(*r*) Plume, p. 30.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 31, 34, 35.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 35.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 48.

riched partly by the hoſpitality of the clergy, partly by great numbers of the inhabitants being choſen to be the officers of thoſe churches, and partly by the frequent reſort unto them. That this kingdom affording better livelihood to moſt degrees and ranks than the neighbouring kingdoms do; it is but reaſonable, that the clergy ſhould have a better maintenance than in the neighbour reformed Churches. And, finally, That the clergy paid greater ſums to the Exchequer by firſt-fruits, tenths, and ſubſidies, according to the proportions enjoyed by them, than any other eſtates or corporations in the kingdom; beſides finding horſe and arms for the defence of the realm. He concludes with this epiphonema; Upon the ruins of the rewards of learning no ſtructure can be raiſed up but ignorance; and upon the chaos of ignorance no ſtructure can be built but profaneneſs and confuſion (8).——T. Fuller hath inſerted in his Church-hiſtory (9), the brief heads of this ſpeech, copied (with the Doctor's leave) out of his own papers.

[*I*] *Nor of his rectory of St Andrew's.*] One ſunday while he was reading the common-prayer in this church, a ſoldier of the Earl of Eſſex came, and clapped a piſtol to his breaſt, commanding him to read no further. The doctor ſmiled at his inſolency in that ſacred place, and not at all terrified, ſaid, he would do what became a divine, and he might do what became a ſoldier; ſo the tumult for that time was quieted, and the doctor permitted to proceed (10).

[*K*] *Where he conſtantly officiated*] He preached there every ſunday morning, expounded the Church Catechiſm every afternoon, read the common-prayer all ſundays and holidays, continued his wonted charity to all poor people, that reſorted to it upon the week days, in money, beſides other relief out of his kitchen, 'till the committee of Surrey enjoyned him to forbear the uſe of it by order of Parliament at any time, and his catechiſing out of it upon ſunday in the afternoon. Yet, after this order, he ever ſtill kept up the uſe of it in moſt parts, never omitting the Creed, Lord's-Prayer, and Ten Commandments, Confeſſion and Abſolution, and many other particular collects (11).

[*L*] *But he accepted of that of Litchfield and Coventry.*] After it had been kept vacant about a year, to try whether R. Baxter would conform, and take it (12).

[*M*] *Where finding the beautiful cathedral almoſt ruined to the ground.*] For the ſtone roof, the timber, lead, and iron, glaſs, ſtalls, organs, and utenſils of rich value, were all embezelled. Two thouſand great ſhot, and fifteen hundred granadoes, that had been diſcharged againſt it, had quite battered down the ſpire, and moſt of the fabrick. But the biſhop, the very next morning after his arrival, ſet his own coach-horſes on work, together with other teams, to carry away the rubbiſh; which being cleared, he procured the beſt workmen of all ſorts: and, in eight years, as is ſaid above, cauſed the whole roof from one end to the other to be all repaired with ſtone, 411 feet in length; to be all laid with good timber, given by K. Charles II; and all leaded throughly *. He alſo beautified the choir with comely ſtalls of exquiſite workmanſhip; and ſet up an excellent organ, which coſt above 600 l. He had even contracted for ſix large bells, but lived only to have the tenor hanged, the reſt being done by his executor (13).

[*N*] *He left ſeveral benefactions by will.*] Among the reſt, fifty pounds to Clare-hall; to St John's-college in Cambridge fifty pounds; and to the Univerſity-library, he bequeathed all his own books, which had coſt him about 1500 l (14).

[*O*] *Under*

(8) Account, &c. by Plume, p. 18—25.

(9) Book xi. p. 177, &c.

(10) Plume, as above, p. 26.

(11) Ibid.

(12) Wood's Ath. Vol. II. col. 1147.

* Plume, p. 31.

(13) Ibid. p. 52.

(14) Ibid. p. 49.

under a handſome tomb [*O*], erected by his eldeſt ſon Sir Andrew Hacket, a Maſter in Chancery (*w*). By his firſt wife, which died in 1637, he had ſeveral children, as he had alſo by his ſecond wife; and by both lived to ſee thirty-two children and grand-children (*x*). We ſhall give his character in the note [*P*]. He publiſhed only the comedy of Loyola abovementioned; and a ſermon preached before the King at White-hall, March 22, 1660, on Acts xv. 39. Lond. But after his deceaſe, ‘ A Century of ‘ his Sermons upon ſeveral remarkable ſubjects, was publiſhed by Thomas Plume, D. D.’ Lond. 1675, fol. And ‘ The Life of Archbiſhop Williams’, written by him, was printed at London in 1693, fol. of which an excellent and improved abridgment was publiſhed in 1700, 8vo. by Ambroſe Phillips. His ſtyle is but indifferent, very diffuſe and verboſe, and full of ſcraps of Latin and new-coined words. He intended to have written the Life of King James the Firſt, and for that purpoſe the Lord-Keeper Williams had given him Mr Camden's manuſcript notes or annals of that King's reign, [which therefore our author did not ſteal, as Mr Wood invidiouſly ſuggeſts (*y*)], but having loſt many of his books and papers upon his ſequeſtration at Holbourn, he was diſabled from going through that undertaking (*z*).

(*w*) Ibid. p. 54, 55. Wood's Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*x*) Plume, p. 10.

(*y*) Athen. Vol. I. col. 484.

(*z*) Plume, p. 10.

[*O*] *Under a handſome tomb.*] Of which there is a repreſentation at the end of his life, prefixed to his Century of ſermons. That part of the epitaph thereon which includes his character, is in the following words :

Primævæ pietatis
Et ſummæ eloquentiæ præſulem,
Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ & fidei orthodoxæ
Aſſertorem ſtrenuum,
Concionatorem etiam ad ultimum aſſiduum,
Et
Superſtitionis Babylonicæ tam maturum hoſtem,
Ut penè in cunis ſtraverit Loyolitas ;
Vitæ denique integritate, & innocentiâ,
Morum ſuavitate & candore,
Charitate erga pauperes eximiâ,
Et liberalitate erga ſuos inſignem typum, &c.

[*P*] *We ſhall give his character in the note.*] As to his perſon ; he was ſmall and ſlender of ſtature, in all parts clean and well ſhaped, of a very ſerene and comely countenance, lively eyes, with an uncommon alacrity and ſweetneſs of aſpect : his conſtitution was rather delicate than ſtrong, yet through temperance and cuſtom, grown patient of long ſitting and hard ſtudy. His voice was wonderfully ſweet and clear, and called by ſome the fineſt bell in the univerſity (15). In his behaviour, he was modeſt, humble, genteel, and civil ; and though naturally irritable, and ſubject to great irruptions of anger, yet he was exceeding placable, and ready to be appeaſed ; and too generous to be revengeful (16). He was extremely charitable ; and when made a biſhop, no man was leſs greedy of gain : for he deſired to hold nothing in commendam ; he renewed all his leaſes for years, and not for lives, and upon very moderate fines ; and ſpent a very conſiderable ſhare thereof upon the repairs of his cathedral. His bounty ſometimes extended to perſons of a differing religion, with whom he held no Chriſtian communion but in this one thing of giving, and never looking to receive again (17). His dreſs was always plain, not moroſe or careleſs, but never coſtly (18). He was very hoſpitable, chearful and pleaſant at table, and free, communicative, and improving in his converſation (19). When young, he had a moſt lively and acute wit, which rendered him acceptable to all companies, but ever tempered with wiſdom and learning, that rendered him more acceptable to the beſt ; and with it he had a prodigious and immortal memory, whereby he ever bore about him a conſtant chronicle of all occurrences, ſo that he was able to give a preſent account of whatſoever he had at any time read, heard, or ſeen (20). By a conſtant ſtudy he had ſearched into all kinds of learning, and particularly into Natural Hiſtory ; but could never make himſelf maſter of the eaſtern languages. And indeed he often bewailed, that many good wits of late years proſecuted the eaſtern learning ſo much, as to neglect the weſtern learning and diſcretion too. And Mr Selden and Biſhop Creighton both affirmed to him, that they often read ten pages for one line of ſenſe, and one word of moment, and did confeſs there was no learning like to what ſcholars may find in Greek authors, as Plato, Plutarch, &c (21). He had taken great pains in the ſtudy of Antiquity ; and in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory was inferior to very few : but in the hiſtory of our own Church, there was nothing whereof he was ignorant (22). In his younger time he had been much addicted to ſchool-learning, then much uſed in the univerſity ; but afterwards grew weary of it, and profeſſed he found more ſhadows and names than ſolid juice and ſubſtance in it ; and would much diſlike their horrid and barbarous terms more proper for incantation than divinity (23) He was an enemy to all ſeparation from the Church of England, of whatſoever faction or ſect ; and in all points a perfect Proteſtant according to the articles of the Church of England. But in the Predeſtinarian controverſy, he was of the ſame ſentiments as Biſhop Davenant and Dr Ward, under whom he was bred (24). He thought the increaſe of Popery ought to be ſtrictly watched, not only for the perniciousneſs of it's tenets, as being in his opinion idolatrous and favouring of rebellion, but likewiſe for the cruelty and ſanguinary minds of Papiſts themſelves ; for whereas Proteſtants expreſs a charitable reſpect towards the ſouls and bodies of Papiſts, abhorring all bloody perſecutions of them ; on the other ſide *deſignant nos oculis ad mortem* ; Papiſts ever bear bloody minds towards us, and want nothing but power and opportunity to make as many bonfires in England, as they had done formerly (25). He abounded not only with great learning, acute wit, excellent judgment and memory, but with an incomparable integrity, prudence, juſtice, piety, charity, conſtancy to God and to his friend in adverſity, and in his friendſhip was moſt induſtrious to fulfil it with good offices (26). His motto was, Serve God and be chearfull.

(15) Plume, ubi ſupra, p. 51.

(16) Ibid. p. 48.

(17) Ibid. p. 49.

(18) Ibid. p. 51.

(19) Ibid. p. 46.

(20) Ibid. p. 52.

(21) Ibid. p. 51.

(22) Ibid. p. 40.

(23) Ibid. p. 51.

(24) Ibid. p. 43.

(25) Ibid. p. 41, 42.

(26) Ibid. p. 52.

HADDON [WALTER], an excellent Orator and Poet, and a great reſtorer of the learned languages in England, in the XVIth century, was born of a knightly family in Buckinghamſhire, in the year 1516 (*a*) [*A*]. His education in Grammar-learning was at Eaton-ſchool, under Richard Cox, then maſter [*B*], afterwards Biſhop of Ely (*b*) ; by whom,

(*a*) J. Balei Scriptorum Brytanniæ Centuria IX. No. 87, p. 762. Fuller's Worthies in Buckinghamſhire, p. 121.

(*b*) See above, the article COX [RICHARD], and Wood Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 204. & Faſti, ibid. col. 78.

Haddoni Lucubrat. edit 1567, 4to. p. 17, 33, 35.

[*A*] *In the year* 1516.] This is manifeſt from his age at the time of his death ; as appears from his epitaph ſet down below. The Haddon family took their ſurname, either from Haddon in Derbyſhire, or Haddon in the counties of Northampton or Huntingdon : and were wont to write their name de Haddon. For we find John de Haddon, Prebendary of Welton-Beckhall, in the Church of Lincoln, from 1363 to 1372 (1).

[*B*] *His education in grammar-learning was at Eaton-ſchool, under Richard Cox, then maſter.*] This, Mr Strype poſitively affirms (2) : and it is quite plain from ſeveral paſſages in Dr Haddon's works ; where writing to Dr Cox, or ſpeaking of him, he calls him *præceptorem*

(1) Survey of the Cathedral of Lincoln, &c, by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 255.

(2) Life of Archbiſhop Parker, edit. 1711, fol. p. 366.

whom, very probably, he was not only grounded in polite literature, but alſo in the principles of the Proteſtant religion. In 1533, he was elected ſcholar (*c*), and ſoon after fellow, of King's-college in Cambridge; of which he became one of the greateſt ornaments, nay of the whole univerſity, in his time. For, being a moſt diligent and accurate reader of the beſt antient authors, particularly of Tully's works, he attained to a fine Ciceronian ſtyle [*C*], and was accounted one of the moſt elegant Latin writers among all his contemporaries (*d*). He ſtudied alſo the Civil Law (of which he took the degree of Doctor), and read public lectures in that faculty at Cambridge in 1547, and the two years following: which ſo endeared him to the univerſity, that upon a vacancy in the Profeſſor's chair, in 1550, they recommended him in the ſtrongeſt terms to King Edward the Sixth and his Council [*D*], as the propereſt perſon to fill that place (*e*). He was alſo for ſome time Profeſſor of Rhetoric, and Orator of the univerſity (*f*). During King Edward's reign, he was one of the brighteſt lights of the Reformation, in that noble ſeminary of learning wherein he was planted, and promoted it to the utmoſt of his power. Upon the deprivation of Biſhop Stephen Gardiner, he was conſtituted, in his room, Maſter of Trinity-hall, and ſerved the office of Vice-Chancellor in 1550 (*g*). Through the earneſt recommendation of the Court, though not qualified according to the ſtatutes, he was choſen, September 30, 1552, Preſident of Magdalen-college in Oxford; and incorporated, the ſecond of December following, Doctor of Laws in that univerſity. But he quitted his Preſident's place, October 30, 1553 (*h*), upon the death of King Edward the Sixth and acceſſion of Queen Mary, for fear of being expelled, or worſe uſed, at the time of Biſhop Gardiner's viſitation of the ſaid college. Some have ranked him among the Engliſh exiles in Queen Mary's days (*i*); but others have affirmed, with more probability, that he ſheltered himſelf in private during that reign (*k*) [*E*]. On the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth to the throne, he was ordered by the Privy-Council to repair to her Majeſty at Hatfield in Hertfordſhire (*l*); and ſoon after was conſtituted by her one of the Maſters of the Court of Requeſts (*m*) [*F*] His good friend and intimate acquaintance, Dr Matthew Parker Archbiſhop of Canterbury, made him alſo Judge of his Prerogative Court (*n*). In the royal viſitation of the univerſity of Cambridge, performed in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, he was one of her Majeſty's commiſſioners, as appears by the ſpeech he then made, which is printed among his works (*o*). But, in the years 1565 and 1566,

(*c*) Wood's Faſti, ibid.

(*d*) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 422; and Life of M. Parker, p. 366.

(*e*) Vide Aſchami Epiſt. edit. Oxon. 1703. p. 299, 300.

(*f*) Vide Haddoni Lucubrationes, p. 1, 59, 64. and Strype's Life of Cheke, p. 78.

(*g*) T. Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 127.

(*h*) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib ii. p. 191. & Faſti ut ſupra, col. 78.

(*i*) Strype's Life of M. Parker, as above, p. 366.

(*k*) Wood's Faſti, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. I. edit. 1725, p. 6.

(*m*) Wood's Faſti.

(*n*) Strype's Life of M. Parker, p. 365.

(*o*) Lucubrat. p. 134. See Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p. 135.

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præceptorem meum (3), my maſter; *& excellentiſſime & ornatiſſime præceptor:* and himſelf, *alumnus diſciplinæ tuæ* (4). *& ego tuus diſcipulus* (5), i e. his ſcholar.——As to his being educated at Eaton ſchool, he acknowledges it in theſe elegant words, which are the beginning of an oration he made to the Eaton ſcholars.——*Magnam locus admonitionis vim habet, ſuaviſſimi pueri. Nam hæc ipſa cernens, quondam mea, nunc veſtra ſtudiorum incunabula, communium memini veſtrarum literarum, & vos amo tenentes illum vitæ curſum, in quo vos ipſe ſum antegreſſus. Quales enim vos nunc eſtis tales nos olim pueri fuimus, & quales nos jam eſſe cernitis, tales vos dies viros efficiet* (6).

[*C*] *He attained to a fine Ciceronian ſtyle.*] So that his own words were applicable to him. *In omni vero dicendi ratione, nos & ſcribendi, Cicero expolit* (7), i. e. We learn from Cicero all the polite arts of ſpeaking and writing And he recommends to Henry Brandon Duke of Suffolk, the continual reading of Cicero, in words, that ſhew, he himſelf was not inſenſible of the praiſes beſtowed upon him on account of his Ciceronian ſtyle. *Si continua Ciceronis lectione confirmabitur unus aut alter annus, talem nobis Suffolcienſem afferet, qualis nunquam Haddonus fuit, quem multitudo aliquid eſſe credit, nimirum ipſa quoniam parum intelligit* (8).

[*D*] *They recommended him in the ſtrongeſt terms to K. Edward VI and his Council.*] For that purpoſe they made uſe of the elegant pen of Roger Aſcham (9), whoſe recommendation to the King was in theſe words: *Princeps prudentiſſimus Henricus octavus pater tuus, Illuſtriſſime Rex, maximam & ſibi laudem, ad ſempiternam nominis memoriam: & huic Academiæ ſpem, ad ſingularem Doctrinæ cultum excitavit: cujus divino beneficio factum eſt, ut omnium linguarum & optimarum ſcientiarum optimi profeſſores, ampliſſimis ab eo donati præmiis, in hac Academia conſtituerentur. Inter hæc patris tui immortalia monumenta, munus profitendi juris civilis nunc vacuum eſt. Cujus ſcientiæ præclaram doctrinam, tanto ingenio, eruditione, & aſſiduitate, frequentiſſimo hominum concurſu Gualterus Haddonus hoc triennium apud nos tradidit, ut nihil prius, univerſi nos una voce a Majeſtate tua contendamus, quam ut hoc docendi munus huic doctiſſimo viro conferatur. Et talem virum Majeſtati tuæ commendamus, cujus unius ingenio, & illuſtri doctrina, univerſa hæc Academia commendatior exiſtit.*——Part of the recommendation to the Privy-Council was as follows.——*Schola Juris Civilis nunc apud nos conticeſcit. Quæ cum hos aliquos præteritos annos, doctiſſima Gualteri Haddoni voce, ad illius immenſam laudem, ad Academiæ ſummam utilitatem, circumſonuit: lubentes quidem hoc tempore facimus, ut cujus divino ingenio, & ſingulari doctrina, univerſa hæc Academia mirifice illuſtrata eſt, is ipſe etiam, publica Academiæ voce, viciſſim ad hoc munus commendaretur. Quanquam non Haddoni cauſſam, ſed literarum cum præſentem ſalutem, tum poſteram ſpem agimus* ——The ſubſtance of which is, That K. Henry VIII to his immortal praiſe, and the ſingular benefit of learning, having founded profeſſorſhips for all languages, and the beſt ſciences, in the univerſity of Cambridge; and the profeſſorſhip of civil law being then vacant, they unanimouſly and earneſtly beſought his Majeſty, to confer that office upon the moſt learned Dr Walter Haddon; who had, for three years before, read lectures in that ſcience, with great ingenuity, learning, and applauſe; to his own honour, and the advantage of the univerſity, &c.

[*E*] *Some have ranked him among the Engliſh exiles in Queen Mary's days, &c.*] Particularly the induſtrious Mr Strype *; grounding himſelf upon this paſſage of John Bradford the martyr's letter to the univerſity of Cambridge, in 1555, a little before his martyrdom, viz. 'Call to mind the threatnings of God, now 'ſomething ſeen by thy children, Lever and others. Let 'the exile of Lever, Pilkington, Grindal, Haddon, 'Horne, Scory, Ponet, &c. ſomething admoniſh thee.' But it appears from the Diſcourſe of the troubles at Franckford (10), that it was James Haddon, the doctor's brother (11), who was one of the exiles abroad, during Queen Mary's cruel and perſecuting reign.

[*F*] *One of the Maſters of the Court of Requeſts*] The Court of Requeſts was a court of equity of the ſame nature with the Court of Chancery, but inferior to it; and inſtituted principally for the relief of ſuch petitioners, as in conſcionable caſes addreſſed themſelves by requeſt, or ſupplication, to the King or Queen. Of this court, the Lord Privy-Seal was chief judge, aſſiſted by the two Maſters of Requeſts. It began firſt about the 9th of Henry VII. and was taken away by ſtatute 16 and 17 Caroli I. c. 10. Some have called it the Poor Man's Court, becauſe there he was to have juſtice without paying any money: [No wonder therefore it was ſuppreſſed!] otherwiſe the Court of Conſcience (12).

(3) Haddoni Lucubrat. p. 17, 33, 35, 175, 183, 184, 189, 190, 193.

(4) Ibid. p. 185.

(5) Ibid. p. 191.

(6) Ibid. p. 141.

(7) Lucubrationes, p. 117.

(8) Ibid. p. 150.

(9) Epiſt. p. 299, 300.

* Life of M. Parker, p. 365, 366.

(10) Edit. 1575, 4to. p. 13, 16, 23.

(11) Vide Haddoni Lucubrationes inter Poemata, p. 100.

(12) See the Commonwealth of England, by Sir Tho. Smith, ed. 1635, 12mo. p. 234.

1566, he was engaged in affairs of a more public nature. For he was one of the three Engliſh Agents (*p*) ſent to Bruges, for reſtoring the commerce between England and the Netherlands upon the antient terms (*q*) [*G*]. Some authors affirm that he was employed in ſeveral embaſſies (*r*), which ſeems to be a miſtake; for he doth not appear to have been employed in any other but that juſt now mentioned. He died January 21, 1571-2, in the 56th year of his age, and was buried the 25th of the ſame month, in Chriſt's Church in London; where a fair monument was erected to his memory [*H*], which was deſtroyed with that church by the great fire in the year 1666 (*s*). An account of his writings is given below in the note [*I*]. Throughout every part of them, his piety appears equal to his learning and politeneſs. The famous Leland celebrates him in his poems (*t*), as does alſo Biſhop Parkhurſt (*u*).

[G] *For reſtoring commerce between England a*[illegible] *the Netherlands, upon the ancient terms*] The crue[illegible]es of the Duke of Alva, and the perſecutions of Cardinal Granvell, together with the fears of the Inquiſition, had cauſed the Engliſh, about this time, to remove the mart from the Netherlands to Embden. But Diego Guſman de Sylva, then embaſſador in England, a wiſe man, and zealous for the intereſt of his maſter, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to reconcile all differences. For, as Mr Camden rightly obſerves (13), 'He well knew, 'how great gainers the Flemings were by their trade 'with England, ſince Lodowic Malanus Earl of Flanders, about the year 1338, had allured the Engliſh, 'by the grant of very ample privileges, to ſettle the 'ſtaple of Engliſh wool at Bruges. From that time, 'the reſort was ſo general of people of all nations 'into Flanders, to buy the Engliſh cloth, and 'other Engliſh goods, and to diſpoſe of their own; 'that 'tis incredible, what an advance it made in the 'merchants, and retale trade, and how much it improved the fiſhery and ſhipping of the Netherlands. Inſomuch, that the Engliſh wool has proved 'to them a true Golden Fleece; to which the famous 'order of the Golden Fleece owes it's origin, and the 'Dukes of Burgundy their great riches.' The ſame learned author adds, that 'In this time, (as appeared 'by authentic accounts) the trade between England 'and the Netherlands amounted to above twelve millions of ducats of gold (14) per annum; and the Engliſh cloths yearly exported to Antwerp, (without 'reckoning the lead, tin, &c.) were valued at five 'millions of ducats of gold. D. Guſman therefore 'wrought ſo hard and ſo effectually, that the trade, 'which had been interrupted, was reſtored to it's 'former ſtate; and whatever ordinances had been 'made on both ſides to the contrary from Jan. 1. in 'the firſt year of Queen Elizabeth, were ſuſpended, 'till further orders from commiſſioners of both nations. 'But the year following (1565) when the Lord Viſcount Montacute, Nicolas Wotton, and Walter 'Haddon, deputies from England; Montigni, Aſſonville, and Joachim Giles, commiſſioners for the 'Flemings, came to treat upon thoſe points at Bruges, 'the troubles in the Netherlands put a ſtop to the conferences; after it had been agreed, that there ſhould 'be an open trade, 'till one prince denounced war againſt the other; and the merchants in that caſe to 'have forty days notice to diſpoſe of themſelves and 'their effects.'

[*H*] *Where a fair monument was erected to his memory.*] With this Epitaph, *S. Memoriæ. Gualtero Haddono, Equeſtri loco nato, Juriſconſulto. Oratori, Poetæ celeberrimo, Græcæ Latinæque eloquentiæ ſui temporis facilè principi; ſapientia & ſanctitate vitæ, in id evecto, ut Reginæ Elizabethæ a ſupplicum libellis Magiſter eſſet: Deſtinareturque majoribus, niſi fato immaturius ceſſiſſet. Interim in omni gradu viro longe eminentiſſimo, conjugi ſuo optimo meritiſſimoque, Anna Suttona, uxor ejus 2 flens, moerens, deſiderii ſui ſignum poſuit. Obiit anno Salut. hum.* 1572. *Ætatis* 56 (15). i. e. 'To the memory of Walter Haddon, born 'of a knightly family; a moſt famous lawyer, orator, 'and poet; and the greateſt maſter of the Greek and 'Latin eloquence in his time; raiſed by Queen Elizabeth, on account of his wiſdom and exemplary life, 'to the office of Maſter of Requeſts; and deſigned for 'higher employments had he not been ſnatched away 'by an untimely death, &c.'——His ſecond wife, Anne, daughter of Sir Henry Sutton, erected this monument, but the name of the firſt is not there mentioned; nor his iſſue. In one of his letters he mentions the death of his firſt wife, in 1566, in the moſt tender and affectionate words (16). Her name was Margaret, daughter of Sir John Clere of Ormeſby in Norfolk; by whom he had Clere Haddon his ſon and heir, born in 1553, who was afterwards drowned at Cambridge †.

[*I*] *An account of his writings is given below in the note.*] I. He, and Sir John Cheke, rendered into elegant Latin, and were partly concerned in drawing up, that uſeful code of eccleſiaſtical law, publiſhed, in 1571, by the learned John Foxe, under this title, *Reformatio Legum Eccleſiaſticarum*, 4to. As appears by this paſſage in the editor's preface. 'Summæ negotii præfuit *Tho. Cranmerus*, Archiepiſ. Cant. Orationis lumen '& ſplendorem addidit *Gualterus Haddonus*, vir diſertus, & in hac ipſa juris facultate non imperitus. 'Quin nec ſatis ſcio an *Joan Checi* viri ſingularis eidem 'negotio adjutrix fuerit manus (17).' 'Tis pity that ſo neceſſary a work was not confirmed by parliament; but the lovers of the glorious uncertainties in the law have always oppoſed it: becauſe, as Biſhop Burnet obſerves, 'It was found more for the greatneſs of the Prerogative, and the authority [and intereſt] of the civil 'courts, to keep that undetermined (18).' II. He publiſhed in 1563, a letter, or anſwer to an epiſtle directed to Queen Elizabeth, by Hierom Oſorio Biſhop of Silva in Portugal, and intituled *Admonitio ad Elizabetham Reginam Angliæ* (19). Wherein the Engliſh nation, and the reformation of the Church of England, were miſrepreſented, abuſed, and treated in a harſh and ſcurrilous manner. This anſwer of Dr Haddon is publiſhed among the reſt of his Lucubrations; and an abſtract of it is given in Engliſh, by the induſtrious Mr Strype, in his Annals of the Reformation (20). H. Oſorio's letter being tranſlated into French, and alſo into Engliſh, and printed at Lorain in 1565, under the title of *A Pearl for a Prince*; one Abra. Hartwell publiſhed, the ſame year, a tranſlation of Dr Haddon's anſwer, which he intitled *A ſight of the Portugal Pearl, in anſwer to the Epiſtle of Hierom Oſorius, entit. A Pearl for a Prince*. And Oſorio having replied to Dr Haddon, in three books, intitled, *In Gualterum Haddonum Elizabethæ reginæ Magiſtrum libellorum ſupplicum de vera Religione libri* III. Oliſſipone 1567, 4to. The Doctor began an anſwer; but, when he had gone about through half of it, being prevented by death, John Foxe compleated it, and publiſhed it in 1577, under this title, *Contra Hieron. Oſorium, ejuſque odioſas inſectationes pro Evangelicæ veritatis neceſſaria defenſione reſponſio apologetica*, 4to. tranſlated into Engliſh by James Bell, 1581, 4to (21). III. The other works of Dr Haddon, were collected by Tho. Hatcher of King's college Cambridge, and publiſhed in 1567, 4to. under this title, *G. Haddoni Legum Doctoris, S. Reginæ Elizabethæ à ſupplicum libellis, Lucubrationes paſſim collectæ, & editæ*. This collection contains ten Latin orations, and fourteen letters beſides that abovementioned to Oſorio: as alſo our learned author's poems; the chief of which are a paraphraſe upon the 5th, 6th, and 7th, chapters of St Matthew, and on the Epiſtle of St James; and the reſt moſtly upon religious ſubjects. For, to his honour, he was a pious and modeſt poet——A new edition of theſe poems, or another collection of Dr Haddon's is mentioned by Ant. Wood (22), printed at London, 1592, 8vo. But we have not been able to obtain a ſight of them at any rate.——Several original letters written by him, in Latin, are preſerved in the Harleyian Library of MSS.

(*p*) The others were, the Lord Viſcount Montacute and Nicholas Wotton.

(*q*) Camdeni Annales Elizabeth. ad annum 1564.

(*r*) Fuller's Worthies. Wood's Faſti, as above.

(*s*) Wood's Faſti, ubi ſupra, col. 78.

(*t*) Encomia, &c. edit. 1589, 4to. p. 102.

(*u*) Epigram. edit. 1573, 4to. p. 157.

(13) Annal. ad ann. 1564.

(14) XII milliones aureorum.

(15) Stowe's Survey of London, with Strype's additions, edit. 1720. Vol. I. book iii. p. 136.

(16) Lucubr. p. 341.

† Extract of Heraldical Collections from the library of the late Sir Henry St George, by W. O'dys, Eſq; 4to. p. 18.

(17) Prefat. p. ult. See Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Part I. p. 330. and Part III. p. 208. Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 303.

(18) Hiſt. Reform. Part I. as above.

(19) Vide H. Oſorii Opera, Tom. II.

(20) Vol. I. edit. 1725, p. 422, &c.

(21) Strype ibid. p. 431, &c. Wood's Faſti, ut ſupra, col. 75, 78.

(22) Faſti, ut ſupra, col. 78.

HAKLUYT [Richard], our moſt eminent and worthy Naval Hiſtorian in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was deſcended of an antient and genteel family at Eiton, or Yetton, in Herefordſhire; of which we may read, in the liſts of High-Sheriffs for the ſaid county, that ſeveral of this name were elected to that office, from the reign of King Edward the Second to King Henry the Eighth; and in the ſecond of Henry the Fourth, of Sir Leonard Hakluyt, whoſe ſeat or abode was then at Yetton in that county, and his arms, *Gules, three battle-axes, or* (*a*). We alſo meet with Thomas Hakeleuet, who was Chancellor of the dioceſe of Hereford in the latter part of King Edward the Third's reign, anno 1349 (*b*). But this Richard was born, as we take it, in or near London, about the year 1553. He had it ſeems three brothers; and two of them, beſides himſelf, were trained up in Weſtminſter ſchool, that fruitful nurſery, as he terms it, of literature (*c*). The eldeſt, named Thomas, was elected from thence to Trinity-college in Cambridge, anno 1567 (*d*). The next was this Richard; and he mentions himſelf to have been one of the Queen's ſcholars in that ſchool, from whence he removed to Oxford (*e*), as we ſhall ſoon obſerve. The third, named Oliver Hakluyt, was ſent to the ſame college in that univerſity, to which his ſaid brother was elected, but it was three years after him (*f*); and applying himſelf to the ſtudy of Phyſic, is celebrated for his practice in that faculty with reputation and ſucceſs (*g*). His laſt and youngeſt brother was Edmund Hakluyt, who was tutor ſome years to the Lord William, ſon and heir of the Lord Admiral Howard (*h*). While this Richard, the ſubject of our enſuing diſcourſe, was a youth at Weſtminſter, he was wont to viſit his couſin Richard Hackluyt of Eyton, Eſq; at his chambers in the Middle-Temple; but our author never ſtudied the municipal law there, as A. Wood miſtakes of him, inſtead of his ſaid couſin (*i*), who was well known and eſteemed of, as well by ſome pincipal miniſters of ſtate, as by ſeveral moſt noted perſons among the mercantile and maritime part of the kingdom, as a great encourager of Navigation, and the improvement of trade, arts, and manufactures [*A*]. The arms alſo of this Mr Hakluyt,

[*A*] *A great encourager of navigation, and the improvement of trade, arts, and manufactures.*] This Mr Richard Hakluyt the elder, of the Temple, had ſo great a knowledge in thoſe products of foreign countries, which would be of the greateſt advantage to the improvement of our trade; and was a man of that public ſpirit, ſo famous for encouraging the importation of all ſuch commodities, as other climates enjoyed in greater plenty or excellence; eſpecially ſuch uſeful vegetables as our ſoil would foſter, and ſupply our own wants in thoſe reſpects, that he was continually applied to, and ſollicited by our ſea-officers, merchants, and their agents, for his notes of direction and enquiry; which, as he moſt chearfully imparted, ſo he received many curious memorials from them, of whatever was obſervable in their ſaid voyages, and might be beneficial to thoſe ends. This may ſufficiently appear, in ſo much of the intercourſe that was held between him and ſome of his ſaid correſpondents, as hath been preſerved by our author his couſin, in ſeveral parts of his naval hiſtory: and as the heads or titles, with a few extracts from ſome of them, will teſtify the exemplary vigilance and aſſiduity of our predeceſſors, to import or naturalize, whatever would conduce to the emolument, or embelliſhment of their native country, and may awaken a like propenſity in the drowſy part of their poſterity, ſuch diſcourſes, notes of enquiry, and remembrance of vegetable importations, are therefore here mentioned and referred to in our author, as follow: I *A Diſcourſe of the Weſt-Indies; written at the requeſt of this Mr Hakluyt of the Temple, by Henry Hawkes, Merchant, Anno* 1572, *when he made his voyage to Nova Eſpanna; where, travelling for the ſpace of five years, he obſerved many notable things*; which are in the ſaid voyage recorded (1). II The ſaid *Mr Hakluyt's advice and notes to divers gentlemen of Sir Martin Frobiſer's company, in their North-Weſt diſcovery; in his third and laſt voyage to Meta Incognita*, 1578 (2). III *Mr Anthony Parkhuſt's letter to the ſaid Mr Hakluyt, reporting the true ſtate and commodities of Newfoundland, November* 13, 1578; in which there is a great encomium upon that Mr Hakluyt, for ſo zealouſly devoting himſelf to the public good, and acquiring the glorious character, not only of a friend, but a ſervant to his country (3). IV. *Mr Hakluyt's directions to Morgan Hubblethorn, Dier, ſent into Perſia*, 1579 (4) V *A letter from Henry Lane, Eſq; to the ſaid Mr Hakluyt, concerning the firſt embaſſy from the Ruſſian Emperor to Queen Elizabeth, at Otelands, in Auguſt* 1567. Where the ſaid Mr Lane, being in his office, obſerved that, after the Ruſſian ambaſſadors had repeated the long ſtiles and title of their maſter, they delivered their letters and preſents; which were, ſables for tippets, and lucerns, and other rare furs: 'For, 'at that time, ſays he, that princely ancient ornament 'of furs, was yet in uſe; and great pity but that it 'might be renewed, eſpecially in Court, and among 'magiſtrates, not only for reſtoring of an old worſhip-'ful art and company, but alſo becauſe they are for 'our climate, wholeſome, and better, with ſmall coſt 'to be preſerved, than thoſe new ſilks, ſhags and rags, 'wherewith a great part of the wealth of the land is 'haſtily conſumed (5).' From which obſervation it may in ſome meaſure be computed, when the general wear of furs went out of faſhion among perſons of diſtinction in that reign, as this letter was written ſoon after the year 1579. VI. *Mr Hakluyt's inſtructions to Arthur Pit, and Charles Jackman, in their voyage by ſea towards Cathay, ſet out by the Muſcovy Company, for their diſcovery of the North Eaſt Straights* 1580 (6) VII The *report of Mr Oliver Dawbeny to the ſaid Mr Hakluyt of the Temple, of Mr Hore's voyage to Newfoundland and Cape Briton*, in 1536: wherein is comprehended, alſo the report made to our author, Mr Hakluyt of Oxford, of ſome other incidents in the ſaid diſtreſsful voyage, as will be ſomewhat further related, from the only perſon living, who had been in it, named Mr Thomas Buts, ſon of Sir William Buts of Norfolk; the ſame learned Knight we take it, who having been a famous doctor of Phyſic of Cambridge, alſo phyſician to King Henry VIII, and one of the founders of the College of Phyſicians in London, died in 1545, and was buried in the church at Fulham near the ſaid city (7). VIII. *Mr Hakluyt's Remembrances of things to be endeavoured at Conſtantinople, and other places in Turkey; touching our clothing and dying, and the vent of our native commodities:* with other probable and judicious inſtructions for an Engliſh Factor at *Conſtantinople*, Anno 1582 (8). In his directions and advertiſements to the ſaid factor, having ſpoke of the colours that are uſed in dying, ſuch as anile, woad, ſumack, ſaffron, &c. and declared how neceſſary it is to have them growing, or plentiful and cheap, in England; having alſo ſhewn, how commodiouſly our country is ſeated for the art and manufacture of cloathing; what waters, earths, and drugs we have for that purpoſe, being only ſomewhat deficient in plenty of oil: he adds, 'The want whereof, if any man could deviſe 'to ſupply at the full, with any thing that might be-'come natural in this realm, he, whatſoever he were, 'that could bring it about, might deſerve immortal 'fame in this our commonwealth; and ſuch a device 'was offered to the parliament, and refuſed; becauſe 'they denied to endow him with a certain liberty, 'ſome others having obtained the ſame before, that 'practiſed to work that effect by radiſh-ſeed, which 'only made a trial of ſmall quantity, and that went no 'further, to make the oil in plenty: and now he that 'offered

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(*a*) T. Fuller's Worthies of England, in Herefordſhire, fol. 43, 44, &c. Others of the name and family are to be ſeen among the Members of Parliament in Will. Prynne, &c.

(*b*) Brown Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, 4to. Vol. I. 1742. p. 542.

(*c*) Ric. Hakluyt's Epiſt. Ded. to Sir Fra. Walſingham, of the firſt edit. of his Voyages in folio, 1589.

(*d*) Electio Diſcipulorum Weſtmonaſterienſium, ad utramque Academiam, &c. MS. fol. in Bibl. Harleian.

(*e*) Hakluyt's Epiſt. to Sir Fra. Walſingham, as before.

(*f*) Electio Diſcip. ut ſupra.

(*g*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 413.

(*h*) R. Hakluyt's Epiſt. Dedic. to Charles Howard Earl of Nottingham of his Voyages, Vol. I. folio, 1598.

(*i*) Athen. Oxon. in the article of Ric. Hakluyt, as before.

(1) Hakluyt's Voyages, the firſt edition, in one vol. folio, p. 545. and in the laſt edit. Vol. III. fol. 462.

(2) In the firſt folio edit. p. 636.

(3) In the laſt edit. Vol. III.

(4) In the firſt folio edition, p. 454.

(5) In the laſt edition of Hakluyt, Vol. I. fol. 374.

(6) In the firſt folio edit. p. 460.

(7) See his monumental inſcription in John Bowick's Antiquities of Middleſex, in two parts, folio, 1705. Alſo in Mr John Strype's Life of Sir John Cheke, &c. 8vo. 1705. p. 38.

(8) In the laſt edit. of Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. fol. 160, &c.

kluyt, as one of the moſt eminent members, and probably benefactors, of the ſociety in that Inn of Court, were painted in one of the windows of the hall belonging to the Middle-Temple, and correſpond with thoſe abovementioned in all but the blazonry; the field here being azure, and the axes gules, according to the ſculpture that was etched of them by the delicate and admired hand of that rare artiſt, Wenceſlaus Holler *(k)*. At his chambers, young Hakluyt was, in one of thoſe viſits, ſo highly entertained with certain books of Coſmography, and maps of the world, which lay upon the table, that his couſin ſeeing him curious, and taking uncommon delight therein, beſtowed ſome pains to inſtruct him, and explain thereby the diviſion of the earth; firſt, into three parts, after the antient diſtribution, and afterwards, according to the more modern and improved diſtinction, into more *(l)*. He then more particularly pointed out to him with a wand, all the known ſeas, rivers, gulphs, bays, ſtraights, capes, dukedoms, kingdoms, empires, and other territories of each part; and diſtinguiſhed what productions or commodities they yielded, and in what they were deficient. Hence he inferred, how, from the benefits of traffic, and the intercourſe of merchants, the wants of all nations are mutually ſupplied. Then he turned to the Scriptures, and ſhewed how ſolemnly, how ſublimely, the wonders of the Lord are expreſſed; and how his mercies, no leſs than his menacies are manifeſted in the Deep *(m)*. Theſe books of voyages, travels, and maps, together with the ſolemn words of the Scripture, and his couſin's judicious paraphraſe upon, or deductions from them, ſo captivated his

'offered this device, was a merchant, and is dead, and withal the device is dead with him (9).' He alſo ſpeaks of making oil of the ſeed of ſeſamum, as they did in Egypt (9); which is mentioned alſo by Pena and Lobell, beſides other Botaniſts, ancient and modern, to be a codded herb, full of oily ſeed. But the invention of a more excellent oil, drawn from the Beech maſt, of which our iſland would yield enough, however it might not be conſtantly, in ſuch great plently, as it does once in three years, to ſupply all our wants, eſpecially in our woollen manufacture, was not then known, it ſeems among us; though it was many years uſed in France, before the project was here ſo vigorouſly ſet on foot, under a patent granted by Queen Anne in October 1713, to the late Aaron Hill, Eſq. that, if it had not been for ſome miſmanagements, might have furniſhed our nation with a much better oil, and cheaper, than that which is drawn from Rape ſeed, and have ſaved vaſt ſums of money, which are deſperſed abroad for worſe oils to ſupply our clothiers, ſoap-boilers, &c (11). But to return, our author recommends, among his other things to be remembered, by the factor before-mentioned, his enquiry into the vent or conſumption they have in Turkey for their ſaffron; as in Tripoly, and ſome parts of Barbary, there is ſuch great uſe of it according to Leo and others, that though they have it in good plenty, they have not ſufficient for their purpoſe: and as there is no better than we have in England, we might, if it was more wanted, ſet our poor more to work, in Eſſex, Cambridgeſhire, and Herefordſhire, where the beſt of all England grows, ſays he, and the ſoil yields the wild ſafforn commonly (12). Then he goes on thus: 'It is reported at Saffron-Walden, that a pilgrim, propoſing to do good to his country, ſtole an head of ſaffron, and hid the ſame in his palmer's ſtaff, which he had made hollow before of purpoſe, and ſo he brought this root into this realm, with venture of his life; for if he had been taken, by the law of the country from whence it came, he had died for the fact (13) If the like love in this our age, were in our people that now become great travellers, much knowledge, and many trades, and many herbs and plants might be brought into this realm. that might do it good: and the Romans having that care, brought from all coaſts of the world into Italie, all arts and ſciences, and all kinds of beaſts and fowles, and all herbs, trees, buſhes and plants, that might yield profit or pleaſure to their country: and if this care had not been heretofore in our anceſtors, then had our life been ſavage now; for then we had not had wheat nor rie; peaſe nor beans; barley nor oats, pear nor apple; vine, nor many other other profitable and pleaſant plants; bull nor cow, ſheep nor ſwine, horſe nor mare, cock nor hen, nor a number of other things that we enjoy; without which our life were to be ſaid barbarous: For theſe things and a thouſand that we uſe more, the firſt inhabitors of this iſland found not here And in time of memory, things have been brought in, that were not here before: as the damaſk roſe, by Doctor Linaker, King Henry the Seventh's and King King Henry the Eight's phyſician (14); the turkycocks and hens, about fifty years paſt, the artichoke in time of King Henry VIII; and of late time was procured out of Italie, the muſk-roſe plant; the plum, called the Perdigwena, and two kinds more, by the Lord Cromwell, after his travell; and the abricot, by a French prieſt, one Wolfe, gardiner to King Henry the Eight: and now, within theſe four years, there have been brought into England, from Vienna in Auſtria, divers kinds of flowers called, Tulipas; and thoſe, and others procured thither, a little before, from Conſtantinople, by an excellent man, called M. Carolus Cluſius; and it is ſaid, that ſince we traded to Zante, the plant that bareth the coren, is alſo brought into this realm from thence; and although it bring not fruit to perfection, yet it may ſerve for pleaſure, and for ſome uſe; like as our vines do, which we cannot well ſpare, although the climate, ſo cold, will not permit us to have good wines of them: and many other things have been brought in, that have degenerated by reaſon of the cold climate; ſome other things brought in, have by negligence been loſt. The Archbiſhop of Canterburie, Edmund Grindall, after he returned out of Germany, brought into this realme, the plant of tameriſk from thence (15); and this plant he hath ſo increaſed, that there be here thouſands of them; and many people have received great health by this plant: and if, of things brought in, ſuch care were had, then could not the firſt labour be loſt. The ſeed of Tobacco hath been brought hither out of the Weſt-Indies; it groweth here, and with the herb, many have been eaſed of the reume, &c. Each one of a great number of things were worthy of a journey to be made into Spain, Italie, Barbarie, Egypt, Zante, Conſtantinople, the Weſt-Indies, and to divers other places, nearer, and further off than any of theſe; yet foraſmuch as the poor are not able, and for that, the rich, ſettled at home in quiet, will not, therefore we are to make ſute to ſuch as repair to foreign kingdoms for other buſineſſes, to have ſome care herein, and to ſet before their eyes the examples of theſe good men, and to endeavour to do for their parts the like, as their ſpecial buſineſs may permit the ſame. Thus giving you occaſion, by way of a little remembrance, to have a deſire to do your country good, you ſhall, if you have an inclination to ſuch good, do more good to the poor ready to ſtarve for relief, than ever any ſubject did in this realm, by building of alms-houſes, and by giving of lands and goods to the relief of the poor: thus may you help to drive idleneſs, the mother of moſt miſchiefs, out of this realme, and win you perpetual fame and the prayers of the poor, which is more worth than all the gold of Peru, and of all the Weſt Indies (16).' There are moreover, ſome other things written by, or to this Richard Hakluyt, Eſq; as that letter from Virginia, by Ralph Lane, Eſq; Sir Walter Raleigh's deputy, or governor there, directed to the ſaid Mr Hakluyt, and dated in 1585; which is alſo preſerved in our author's collections (17): and among Mr Selden's manuſcripts at Oxford, there is this Richard Hakluyt's diſcourſe of the places in the Eaſt-Indies, where ſundry ſorts of ſpices grow, with the prices of precious ſtones, which is not printed, I think, in his kinſman's naval collections.

(*k*) In Dugdale's Origines Juridiciales, folio, edit. 1671. p. 226.

(*l*) Hakluyt's Epiſt. to Sir F. Walſingham, as above.

(*m*) Pſalm cvii. ver. 23, &c.

(9) Idem, fol. 163.

(10) Leo Africanus, lib. 8.

(11) See an Account of the Riſe and Progreſs of the Beech Oil invention, and all the ſteps which have been taken in that affair, from the firſt diſcovery to the preſent time: alſo what is further deſigned in that undertaking, by Aaron Hill, Eſq; 8vo. 1715.

(12) Hakluyt's laſt edit. Vol. II. p. 164.

(13) Mr Camden obſerves, that Saffron was brought, in ſuch a pilgrimage, from the Holy Land, in the reign of King Edward III. See his Britannia, in Eſſex, &c.

(14) Probably when he returned from Rome, a little before his tranſlation of Proclus's Sphere into Latin, was there printed by Aldus in folio, 1499, and not the next year, as John Pitts miſtakes.

(15) Dr William Turner was the firſt, of our nation at leaſt, who diſcovered in Germany, and deſcribed in his Herbal the true tamariſk, as Dr Bulleyn haſt juſtly obſerved: but the ſaid Dr Grindal (afterwards Biſhop of London and Archbiſhop of Canterbury), at his return from exile there, firſt imported and propagated the ſaid medicinal plant, probably at Fulham, about the year 1560. See Camden, in his Annals of Q. Elizabeth, Dr Fuller, in his Worthies of England, &c.

(16) Hakluyt, Vol. II. p. 165.

(17) Idem, Vol. III. in the Virginian Diſcoveries.

his attention, and wrought ſuch deep impreſſions on his youthful apprehenſions, hitherto unpoſſeſſed with inferior engagements, that he thenceforth nouriſhed a conſtant reſolution, if ever he were preferred to the univerſity, where he might have ſufficient leiſure and conveniencies to enjoy his ſtudies, that he would proſecute before all others this kind of knowledge and literature, to which the ſweet and delightful taſte he now received had already raiſed in him ſo great an appetite. According to this reſolution, when he was not long after, in the year 1570, removed to Chriſt-church-college in Oxford (n), he beſtowed all his vacant hours, that were not employed in his uſual academical exerciſes, upon the cultivation of thoſe coſmographical ſtudies; and to that end, made himſelf ſuch a proficient in the languages antient and modern, that he read over whatever printed or written diſcourſes of voyages and diſcoveries, or naval enterprizes, and adventures of all kinds, which he found extant, either in Greek, Latin, Italian, Spaniſh, Portugueſe, French, or Engliſh; 'till he became ſo conſpicuous, that he was choſen to read public lectures upon theſe branches of ſcience, whereof he had made himſelf ſuch an able maſter; and was the firſt man among them who produced and diſtinguiſhed both the old imperfectly compoſed, and the new lately reformed maps, globes, ſpheres, and other inſtruments of this art, for demonſtration in the common ſchools, to the great inſtruction and general ſatisfaction of his auditory. In proceſs of time he became, through theſe uncommon acquirements, familiarly converſant with, and highly reſpected by, the principal ſea-commanders, the greateſt merchants, and moſt ſkilful mariners in our nation. And though it was but few years after, that he went to reſide a long time beyond-ſea, his fame made ſeveral voyages thither long before him. It is not unlikely, when the King of Spain's Coſmogropher, Abraham Ortelius, was in England, as the author of his life, before his *Theatrum orbis Terrarum* (o), acquaints us he was, in the year 1577 (p), but he became acquainted, among other learned men, with Mr Hakluyt; for after his return home, we find they correſponded together, and with other eminent foreigners, alſo of exalted fame for their improvements in Coſmography, he was likewiſe held in great eſteem, amongſt whom Gerard Mercator was not the leaſt conſiderable; one of whoſe friendly letters to him, upon an Engliſh undertaking to diſcover the north-eaſt paſſage, dated from Dueſburg in Clive, the 28th of July, 1580, our author has himſelf communicated to the public (q). Nor could he long behold the advancements in Coſmography which had been publiſhed by foreign authors; what that celebrated Venetian, Battiſta Ramuſio, or Francis Lopez de Gomara, and others, had ſet forth of the diſcoveries and improvements in navigation, which had been made by the voyagers of other countries; or what Mr Richard Eden and Richard Willes had exhibited, as patterns of imitation for our own (r); but he was ſoon fired with an emulation to improve upon them, and ſhew the world what gallant figures, more particularly ſome of our own brave and adventrous Argonauts would make in ſuch like hiſtorical repreſentations. At firſt indeed he laid open but a ſparing ſample of the treaſure that was to be produced, and gave us only an earneſt of his future communications. This appears in a ſmall *Collection of Voyages and Diſcoveries*, which he publiſhed two years after in 1582, and dedicated the ſame to the moſt laudable promoter of all ingenious and uſeful knowledge in that illuſtrious reign under which he flouriſhed, Mr Philip Sidney; but this Collection being afterwards ſwallowed up, like little ſtreams or rivers in the ocean of his larger naval collections, the ſaid firſt edition has been overlooked or undiſtinguiſhed, by thoſe who have attempted any catalogue of his publications in particular, or of travels and voyages in general. It appears in the ſaid epiſtle dedicatory, that his *Lecture of Navigation* beforementioned, was ſo well approved of by the renowned Sir Francis Drake, that he made ſome propoſals to continue and eſtabliſh it in Oxford [*B*], upon the proſpect which Mr Hakluyt ſoon after had of ſome engagement

(n) Electio Diſcip. & Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(o) Edit. folio, 1612.

(p) Abr. Ortelii Antwerpienſis Vita, Franciſco Swertio Authore, &c. ibid.

(q) Hakluyt, in the firſt folio edit. p. 483. and in the laſt edit. Vol. I. 1598, p. 443.

(r) See Eden and Willes's Hiſtory of Travayle in the Weſt and Eaſt Indies, and other countreys towards the fruitfull and ryche Moluccaes, &c. printed by R. Jugge, 4to. 1577.

[*B*] *Sir Francis Drake made ſome propoſals to eſtabliſh his lecture of navigation at Oxford*] This particular we remember to have read ſome years ſince, in the dedication aforeſaid, by our author, of the firſt collection of his voyages, abovementioned: and as by the abſtract we then took thereof appears, Sir Francis Drake did ſo well conceive the uſefulneſs of promoting naval knowledge in that manner, and was ſo well inclined to patronize, and be himſelf an encourager thereof, that he deſired Mr Hakluyt to find out a proper perſon to read or continue ſuch lecture at Oxford in his abſence; on whom he propoſed to ſettle a ſalary of twenty pounds a year, and to advance twenty pounds towards furniſhing him with books. Hakluyt did accordingly find a perſon willing and qualified to read ſuch lectures; but he inſiſted on forty pounds per annum, alledging that leſs would not do to maintain him; but Sir Francis, not propoſing that ſuch employment ſhould entirely engroſs his time, did not mean that he was to be intirely maintained by it: and ſo that matter dropped (18). Several years after, when Sir Francis Drake was dead, our author reſumed this topic; and ſo zealouſly recommended the foundation of ſuch a lecture in the city of London, to the Lord-Admiral Howard, that his hearty good will for the ſervice of his country has been much applauded by ſome judicious men. Mr Hakluyt's addreſs to the ſaid Lord-Admiral, upon conſidering his Lordſhip as the father and principal favourer of the Engliſh navigation, is expreſſed to him in theſe words: 'I truſt it ſhall not be impertinent, in paſſing by, to 'point at the means of breeding up of ſkillful ſeamen 'and mariners in this realm. Since your Lordſhip is 'not ignorant that ſhips are to little purpoſe, without 'ſkillful ſeamen; and ſince ſeamen are not bred up, 'to perfection of ſkill, in much leſs time, as it is ſaid, 'than in the time of two 'prentiſhips; and ſince no 'kind of men, of any profeſſion in the commonwealth, 'paſs their years in ſo great and continual hazard of 'life; and ſince of ſo many, ſo few grow to gray 'hairs, how needful is it, that by way of lectures and 'ſuch like inſtructions, theſe ought to have a better 'education than hitherto they have had, all wiſe 'men may eaſily judge. When I call to mind how 'many noble ſhips have been loſt, how many worthy perſons have been drenched in the ſea, and how 'greatly this realm hath been impov'riſhed by the loſs 'of great ordinance, and other rich commodities, 'through the ignorance of our ſeamen, I have 'greately *wiſhed there were a Lecture of Navigation read in this city* for the baniſhing of our former

(18) See Hakluyt's Dedication to Mr Phil. Sidney, of the firſt edition of his Voyages, in 4to. 1582.

ment abroad. But while he was at home, there could not be a more lively or emphatical teſtimony given, of his eagerneſs in the purſuit of all ſatisfactory authority or confirmation in theſe maritime adventures, than that he once about this time, as we compute, rode a journey of two hundred miles, purpoſely, or for no other end than, to acquaint himſelf with the true incidents and circumſtances of a certain perilous voyage which had been made to Newfoundland, in the twenty-eighth year of King Henry the Eighth, from the mouth of a worthy gentleman, in the firſt note of this article beforementioned, Thomas Butts, Eſq; who was then the only ſurviving adventurer therein (*s*); in which voyage, the ſaid company was driven to ſuch diſtreſs for want of food, that ſeveral of them were providentially preſerved from periſhing only out of a bird's-neſt, with the fiſhes of various kinds which were hourly brought in great plenty thither by an oſpray to her young (*t*); but that proviſion being too ſcanty to ſupply them all, or the greateſt part of two ſhips crew, they were driven to feed upon the weeds and roots of the earth, and at laſt, by the increaſing rage of hunger, upon one another; 'till thoſe wretched ſtarvelings who were left alive, among whom was the ſaid relator, emaciated to ſuch a ſkeleton, that his parents at his return did not know him, meeting with a French ſhip plentifully victualled, ſeized upon and returned in it to England; where, when King Henry heard the lamentable ſtory of their manifold ſufferings and extremities, inſtead of puniſhing his ſubjects for the capture complained of, he ordered a princely recompence to be made to the owners for the loſs and damages they had ſuſtained (*u*). In ſhort, the many ſingular proofs which Mr Hakluyt gave of his unwearied diligence, to compaſs and commemorate every extraordinary enterprize made by our countrymen or others, in any foreign nation, that would redound to the glory or advantage of his own, could not remain long concealed from the notice and approbation of the State; inſomuch that he received particular encouragements from Secretary Walſingham, by letters dated in the latter end of the year aforeſaid, to perſevere in

‘ mer groſs ignorance in marine cauſes, and for the encreaſe and general multiplying of the ſea-knowledge in this age, wherein God hath raiſed ſo general a deſire, in the youth of this realm, to diſcover all parts of the face of the earth, to this realm in former ages not known. And that it may appear that this is no vain fancy or device of mine, it may pleaſe your lordſhip to underſtand, that the late Emperor Charles V. conſidering the rawneſs of his ſeamen, and the manifold ſhipwrecks that they ſuſtained, in paſſing and repaſſing between Spain and the Weſt Indies, with high reach, and great foreſight, eſtabliſhed, not only a pilot-major, for the examination of ſuch as ſought to take charge of ſhips in that voyage, but alſo founded a notable lecture of the art of navigation, which is read to this day in the Contractation-houſe at Sevil: the readers of which lecture, have not only carefully taught and inſtructed the Spaniſh mariners by word of mouth, but alſo have publiſhed ſundry exact and worthy treatiſes concerning marine cauſes, for the direction and encouragement of poſterity. The learned works of three of which readers, namely Alonzo de Chavez, Hieronymo de Chavez, and Roderigo Zamorano, came long ago very happily to my hands, together with the ſtraight and ſevere examination of all ſuch maſters as deſire to take charge for the Weſt-Indies. Which, when I firſt read, and duely conſidered, it ſeemed to me ſo excellent and ſo exact a courſe, as I greatly wiſhed that I might be ſo happy as to ſee the like order eſtabliſhed here with us. This matter, as it ſeemeth, took no light impreſſion in the royal breaſt of that moſt renowned and victorious prince, King Henry VIII. of famous memory; who, for the encreaſe of knowledge in his ſeamen, with princely liberality, erected three ſeveral guilds, or brotherhoods; the one at Deptford, here upon the Thames; the other at Kingſton upon Hull; and the third at Newcaſtle upon Tine; which laſt was eſtabliſhed the twenty-eighth year of his reign. The chief motives which induced his princely wiſdom hereunto, himſelf expreſſeth in the manner following. Ut Magiſtri, Marinarii, Gubernatores, et alii Officiarii Navium, Juventutem ſuam in Exercitatione Gubernationis Navium tranſigentes, mutilati aut aliquo alio caſu in paupertatem collapſi, aliquod relevamen ad eorum ſuſtentationem habeant, quo non ſolùm illi reficiantur, verùmetiam alii juvenes moveantur et inſtigentur ad eandem artem exercendam, ratione cujus doctiores et aptiores fiant navibus et aliis vaſis noſtris, et aliorum quorumcùnque in mare gubernandis et manutenendis, tam Pacis quam Belli tempore, cum opus poſtulet. To deſcend a little lower; King Edward VI, that prince of peerleſs hope, with the advice of his ſage and prudent counſaile, before he entred into the North-Eaſtern diſcovery, advanced the worthy and excellent Sebaſtian Cabota, to be *Grand Pilot of England*; allowing him a moſt bountiful penſion of one hundred ſixty-ſix pounds, ſix ſhillings and eight-pence by the year, during his life, as appeareth in his letters-patents; which are to be ſeen in the third part of my work. And if God had granted him longer life, I doubt not, but as he dealt moſt royally in eſtabliſhing that office of Pilot-Major, which not long after to the great hindrance of this commonwealth, was miſerably turned to other private uſes, ſo his princely Majeſty would have ſhewed himſelf no niggard, in erecting, in imitation of Spain, the like profitable lecture of the art of navigation. And ſurely, when I conſider of the late memorable bounty of Sir Thomas Greſham, who, being but a merchant, hath founded ſo many chargeable lectures, and ſome of them alſo, which are mathematical, tending to the advancement of marine cauſes, I nothing doubted of your Lordſhip's forwardneſs, in ſettling and eſtabliſhing of this lecture; but rather, when your Lordſhip ſhall ſee the noble and rare effects thereof, you will be heartily ſorry, that all this while it hath not been erected. As therefore our ſkill in navigation hath hitherto been very much bettered and encreaſed under the Admiralty of your Lordſhip; ſo, if this one thing be added thereunto, together with ſevere and ſtraight diſcipline, I doubt not but with God's good bleſſing, it will ſhortly grow to the higheſt pitch and top of all perfection; which, whenſoever it ſhall come to paſs, I aſſure myſelf it will turn to the infinite wealth and honour of your country, to the proſperous diſcovery of many rich lands and territories of Heathens and Gentiles, as yet unknown; to the honeſt employment of many thouſands of our idle people, to the great comfort and rejoycing of our friends, and to the terror, daunting and confuſion of our foes, &c (19).' Among others who have expreſſed their good-liking to this public-ſpirited exhortation, the learned Dr Hakewill is not to be forgotten: who having recommended ſuch pains to be taken upon our author's works as they deſerve, to render them capable of being read in the moſt general manner, and intelligible to other nations no leſs than our own, proceeds alſo to revive and confirm the above recommendation to that nobleman, in the following words: —— ‘ For the better breeding, continuance, and increaſe of expert pilots among us, it would doubtleſs be a good and profitable work, according to Mr Hukluyt's honeſt mention, in his epiſtle dedicatory to the Lord-Admiral then being, if any who had the means, had likewiſe the mind to give allowance for the reading of a lecture of navigation in London, in imitation of the late Emperour Charles V (20)'. So proceeds to relate the benefits of that prince's foundation, and the learned lectures it produced, as beforementioned.

[C] *Such*

(*s*) This Mr Tho. Butts had not been long or but few years dead, when Mr Hakluyt publiſhed this Narrative of his ſaid Adventures, in the firſt folio edition of his Voyages, 1589, p. 517.

(*t*) Idem, p. 518.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 519. and in the laſt edition of his Voyages, Vol. III. folio, 1600, from p. 129 to 131.

(19) Hakluyt's Dedication to Charles Howard Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral, &c. before the firſt volume of his Voyages, folio, 1598.

(20) Dr George Hakewill's Apology, or Declaration of the Power of Providence, in the government of the world; the third edition, fol. 1635, p. 310.

in his ſaid commendable collections and communications, as well in juſtice and honour to their anceſtors and contemporaries, as for the example or inſtigation of their hopeful poſterity. He alſo gave him a commiſſion to confer with the mayor and merchants of Briſtol, upon the naval expedition they were undertaking for Newfoundland, and incitements to impart to them ſuch uſeful intelligence and advertiſements, as did much encourage the ſame, and they gratefully acknowledged to the ſaid Secretary, in the beginning of the next year, 1583, would be ſignally inſtructive and beneficial to them [C]. It appears to be ſo early as this year laſt mentioned, that Hakluyt had ſome tempting offers made him, to accompany that accompliſhed and adventrous knight Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in his ſaid laſt voyage to Newfoundland; becauſe the learned and ingenious Stephanus Parmenius of Buda, who compoſed an heroic poem in praiſe of ſuch naval expeditions, and our brave adventurers in them (w), upon his departure to that country; wrote alſo, when he arrived at St John's port there, a letter to Mr Hakluyt, in Auguſt the year aforeſaid, wherein he mentions his expectation that he would have followed them (x). But Providence had otherwiſe decreed it; for they loſt their lives in that voyage, while Hakluyt was elſewhere more ſafely engaged. For his excellent qualifications having recommended him to the patronage of Sir Edward Stafford, a deſcendant of that Duke of Buckingham, who fell a ſacrifice to the revenge of the puiſſant and over-bearing Cardinal Wolſey (y), Mr Hakluyt was received by him as his chaplain, or other principal attendant, when he went over, in the quality of her Majeſty's Ligier Ambaſſador, to France; whoſe inſtructions to negotiate with the Queen-Mother and the Duke of Alançon, we find were ſome time among the State Papers of Sir Francis Walſiugham (z). Here our author bore him company for ſome years, during the dangerous and expenſive reſidence of that careful and diſcreet miniſter at the French court, in the Queen of England's ſervice (a). And as we are informed that Mr Hakluyt, then Maſter of Arts and Profeſſor of Divinity, had obtained in the month of May 1585, the royal mandate for the next prebend that ſhould become vacant; which happened, it ſeems, by the death of Dr John Gough, who had long enjoyed the ſame (b), to be one in the firſt ſtall in the church of Briſtol; and it appearing that Hakluyt was poſſeſſed of it in 1586 (c), we compute that he was elected or preferred to the ſame while he was now at Paris. Here he found opportunity of renewing his beloved reſearches, and approving himſelf a ſingular pattern of induſtry, no leſs abroad than at home; for being acquainted with ſome eminent Mathematicians, Coſmographers, and other Literati, in his own ſphere of ſtudy, he enquired after every thing that had any relation to, or affinity with, our Engliſh diſcoveries; and prevailed with ſome men to ſearch their libraries for the ſame: at laſt, having met with a choice narrative in manuſcript, containing *The Notable Hiſtory of Florida*, which had been diſcovered about twenty years before, by Captain Loudonniere and other French adventurers, he procured the publication thereof, at his own expence this year laſt mentioned, in the language of that country, wherein they wrote it, by an able and ingenious Profeſſor of the Mathematics, named Martin Baſaniere (d); who has, in a dedication thereof to Sir Walter Ralegh, highly extolled his perſeverance and liberality upon the like enterprize, of his own late diſcovery, and conjunction to the Engliſh dominions, of the bordering country of Virginia. There are alſo ſome poetical encomiums prefixed to this book, in honour of Sir Walter Ralegh, and thoſe other diſcoverers, by Joannes Auratus, the French King's poet and interpreter; alſo by the ſaid Martin Baſaniere and Mr Hakluyt, as hath been partly before obſerved in another work (e), and may hereafter be more particularly in this. How grateful the publication of that hiſtory of Florida was to the ableſt miniſters of ſtate in France, and how warmly they expreſſed their reſentments the next year, when the impreſſion of it was well diſperſed

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[C] *Such uſeful intelligence at they acknowledged to the Secretary, would be ſignally beneficial to them.*] One of the letters beforementioned, which was written by the ſaid Secretary of State to our author, encouraging him in the ſtudy of Coſmography, and the furthering of new diſcoveries, is as follows:

Sir Francis Walsingham to
M. Richard Hakluyt of
Chriſt Church in Oxford.

'I underſtand, as well by a letter I long ſince 'received from the Mayor of Briſtol, as by conference 'with Sir George Pekham, that you have endeavoured 'and given much light for the diſcovery of the Weſtern 'partes, yet unknowen: as your ſtudie in theſe things 'is very commendable, ſo I thanke you much for the 'ſame; wiſhing you do continue your travell in theſe, 'and like matters, which are like to turne, not only to 'your owne good in private, but to the public benefite 'of this realme. And ſo I bid you farewell. From 'the Court, the 11 of March 1582.

'Your living friend,

'Francis Walsingham (21).'

There is another letter written by Sir Francis, dated the ſame day and year with that above, from the Court, alſo then at Richmond, to Mr Thomas Aldworth, Merchant, and Mayor of Briſtol; which he ſent thither, by Mr Hakluyt and Mr Thomas Steventon to him; wherein he commends the Mayor's good inclinations towards the Weſtern diſcovery, under Sir Humfrey Gilbert, then preparing for the ſame; and therein refers himſelf further to Mr Hakluyt and Steventon, recommending the Mayor to their conferences thereupon (22). And in Mr Aldworth's anſwer ſent to Sir Francis, in the latter end of the ſame month, next year, he acknowledges ſome good lights given by Mr Hakluyt to the merchants, who were leaſt acquainted with the country, the enterprize, and proſpects of advantage in the ſame, whereof they were ſo well ſatisfied by his repreſentations, that they readily ſubſcribed towards the expence thereof, upwards of a thouſand marks. Beſides which, they agreed to fit out a ſhip of threeſcore, and a bark of forty tuns, to be left in the country, under the government of the ſaid Secretary's ſon-in-law, Captain Chriſtopher Carliſle: ſo entreating his further direction by letters to the company, becauſe they meant to proceed on the voyage by the end of April next, he concludes from Briſtol, on the 27th of March 1583 (23).

[D] How

(w) De Navigatione Illuſtris & Magnanimi Equitis Aurati Humfridi Gilberti, &c, Carmen επιβατικὸν, Stephani Parmenii Budei. Dat. Prid. Cal. Aprilis, 1583. In Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 137.

(x) Epiſt. Steph. Parmenii, ornatiſſimo viro magiſtro Ric. Hakluyto, &c. dat. porto Sancti Joannis, 6 Aug. 1583. Ibid. p. 161.

(y) Pedigree of the Stafford family, MS. Alſo A. Wood, in Faſti, Vol. I. col. 99. and Sandford's Geneal. Hiſt. fol. 1707, p. 483.

(z) In Sir Francis Walſingham's Table-book, 8vo. MS. in the Harleyian Library.

(a) Hakluyt's Epiſt. to Sir Fra. Walſingham, as before.

(b) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XIV. p. 748.

(c) See J. Le Neve's Faſti Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, folio, 1716, p. 51. and Brown Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, 4to. Vol. I. 1742, p. 789.

(d) L'Hiſtoire Notable de la Floride, &c. deſcrits par le Capitaine Laudonniere, &c. Mis en Lumiere par M. Baſaniere, Gentilhomme François, Mathematicien, a Paris, 8vo. 1586.

(e) In the Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, p. 146. before his Hiſtory of the World, edit. folio, 1736.

(21) Hakluyt's third volume of Voyages, folio, 1600, p. 181.

(22) Idem. p. 182.

(23) Ibid.

diſperſed among them, that it was no ſooner brought to light, we refer to our author's own words [*D*]: and that his countrymen might want for no intelligence, directions, or admonitions, in the proſecution of their plantations and ſettlements in America, which the hiſtory of this diſcovery would afford, he forthwith tranſlated it into our own tongue. And this Engliſh tranſlation he made of that *Hiſtory of Florida*, is dedicated by himſelf alſo to Sir Walter Ralegh, in the beginning of May, 1587 [*E*]. But Hakluyt could not reſt here; for, ever deſirous of extending our knowledge into the American world, and exciting our ambition, like other Europeans, to avail ourſelves of it's undeflowered treaſures, and partake our ſhare of it, he publiſhed another hiſtory about the ſame time, when he tranſlated that of the French expedition to Florida, ſetting forth the diſcoveries, conqueſts, and ſettlements, which had been made in America by the active and adventrous Spaniards; that their example alſo might inflame us to emulation. For having with great care and diligence reviſed and corrected, he brought forth, the ſame year laſt mentioned, at Paris, a new edition of Peter Martyr's book, entitled, *De Orbe Novo* [*F*], illuſtrated with

[*D*] *How warmly the French miniſtry expreſſed their reſentments that it was no ſooner brought to light, we refer to our author's own words*] His own account of this acceptable publication is as follows.——‘In the year 1587, when I had cauſed the four voyages of Ribault, Loudonniere, and Gourges, to Florida, at my own charges to be printed at Paris; which by the malice of ſome, too much affected to the Spaniſh Faction, had been above twenty years ſuppreſſed; as ſoon as that book came to the review of the reverend and prudent councellor Monſieur Harlae, the Lord-Chief-Juſtice of France, and certain other of the wiſeſt judges; in great choler they aſked, Who had done ſuch intollerable wrong to the whole kingdom, as to have concealed that worthy work ſo long? proteſting further that, if their Kings and the State had thoroughly followed that action, France had been freed of their long civil wars, and the variable humours of all ſorts of people might have had very ample and manifold occaſions of good and honeſt employment abroad, in that large and fruitful continent of the Weſt-Indies (24).’

[*E*] *His tranſlation of that Hiſtory of Florida, is dedicated by himſelf to Sir Walter Ralegh, in the beginning of May,* 1587.] It appears that there have been two editions of Mr Hakluyt's tranſlation of this Hiſtory of Florida publiſhed by himſelf. The firſt, in a ſmaller ſize, was printed ſingly, in the ſame year it was tranſlated, as it ſeems, by an extract from it, of Mr, afterwards Sir John Hawkins his courteſy to the diſtreſſed Frenchmen upon that coaſt, which our author has quoted into the firſt folio edition of his voyages (25); and the ſecond impreſſion of that tranſlation, he reprinted in the laſt folio edition of them (26). It appears alſo in our tranſlator's dedication, *To the Right Honourable Sir Walter Ralegh*, &c. that the firſt edition of his ſaid tranſlation had a large alphabetical table annexed to the end of the work, which in the folio edition is omitted. And many other ſpecial points concerning the commodities of thoſe parts, he thinks needleſs to recount; becauſe, as he ſays, in the ſaid dedication, the ſame, with other things of chief importance, were lively drawn, at Sir Walter's no ſmall charges, in colours, by that ſkilful painter, James Morgues, or Le Moyne, ſome time living in the Black-Fryers, London; whom Admiral Chaſtillon had ſent with Loudonniere for that purpoſe This French Painter alſo recorded in writing, many ſingular deſcriptions of Florida, not mentioned in this hiſtory of that country, which he afterwards publiſhed, together with the portraitures (27). And after Le Moyne's death, Loudoniere's hiſtory of Florida was tranſlated alſo from the French, together with Le Moyne's narrative, or deſcriptions of the religious ceremonies, habits, and manners of the people, into Latin; likewiſe his drawings of the inhabitants in their ſaid habits, &c. from the life, were elegantly engraved on copper-plates, by Theodore de Bry, and all publiſhed by him, in one part of his coſtly collection of voyages; in the like manner as Sir Walter Ralegh's Diſcovery of Virginia is printed, and adorned, in the beginning of the ſame volume (28). In the reſpectful dedication aforeſaid of Mr Hakluyt to that great encourager, as well of his naval collections, as thoſe of De Bry, the gallant Sir Walter Ralegh; our author has not only very intelligently ſet forth his expenſive and aſſiduous proſecution of the Virginian diſcovery towards an happy eſtabliſhment, and pointed out ſuch uſeful precautions, as may be gathered from this of Florida, but alſo greatly commended him for permitting the fertility of thoſe regions to come to light, by his chriſtian and charitable endeavours. And indeed the generous zeal of that great man to enlighten our knowledge in the like diſcoveries, was ſuch, that he once purchaſed the narrative of a voyage made to the Red-Sea by Stephen Gama, the Portugal Viceroy of the Eaſt-Indies, written by Don John de Caſtro, which, as he ſays himſelf, he gave to Mr Hakluyt to publiſh (29); and, as we are informed by the publiſher of our author's remains, who has given us an abridgment of it, had coſt Sir Walter no leſs than threeſcore pounds, beſides the coſt he was alſo at, to a perſon of learning and leiſure, to make a tranſlation thereof, and the pains he was himſelf at, in correcting the phraſe, and making marginal notes upon it with his own hand (30). We obſerve that Mr Hakluyt's dedication aforeſaid to Sir Walter Ralegh, of Loudonniere's Hiſtory of Florida, is dated from London, the firſt of May, 1587, which, however right in the time, we think may import ſome miſtake in the place, and that it ſhould rather have been dated then, from Paris, or ſome other part of France, as may appear, no leſs by other circumſtances, than by the number of years which he mentions himſelf, as we ſhall ſee above in the text, to have continued there Another Hiſtory of Florida, we ſhall hereafter ſpeak of, which was alſo tranſlated by our indefatigable author, from the Portugueze, and publiſhed in the next reign.

[*F*] *He brought forth at Paris, a new edition of Peter Martyr's book,* De Orbe Novo.] This book is entitled, De Orbe Novo Petri Martyris Anglerii Mediolanenſis, *Protonotarii, et* Caroli *quinti ſenatoris, Decades Octo, diligenti temporum Obſervatione et utiliſſimis Annotationibus illuſtratæ, ſuóque nitori reſtitutæ. Labore et Induſtria* Richardi Hakluyti, Oxonienſis, Angli. *Additus eſt, in uſum Lectoris, accuratus totius Operis Index. Pariſ.* 8vo. 1587. There is prefixed, a copious dedication in Latin, as was ſaid, in about nine pages, to *The Illuſtrious and Magnanimous Sir Walter Ralegh*, &c. as he ſtiles him; wherein our editor has juſtly celebrated his memorable and much applauded enterprize upon Virginia; his ſettlement of colonies there; his liberal encouragement of navigators, officers, and ſurveyors thereof; ſuch as the learned Mr Thomas Harriot, and others; with many commendable exhortations, both from argument and example, to proceed in that, and ſuch like heroic undertakings, for the honour, advantage, and aggrandizement of his country; as may be more particularly read in the addreſs itſelf. This dedication is dated from Paris, on the 8th of the calends of March in the year aforeſaid. There is printed in this edition, beſides his brief marginal notes, to illuminate the text, or point out the chief heads of the hiſtory, and a commodious index of the contents, at the end, alſo a map at the beginning, from a copper ſculpture of New England and America, having the Engliſh poſſeſſions engraved, or marked thereupon. And the ſaid map is inſcribed to our author Mr Hakluyt, as an eminent promoter of ſuch coſmographical diſcoveries and plantations. This ſculpture is alſo dated from Paris, on the calends, or firſt of May, in the ſame year. And that this work might be rendered more generally exemplary to his countrymen, it was, through his recommendation, near twenty years after, in the next reign, when ſuch adventures, eſpecially to Virginia, were in ſome danger of ſtagnation, tranſlated into Engliſh. This tranſlation bears the title of, *The Hiſtorie of the Weſt-Indies: Containing the Actes and Adventures of the Spaniards,* which

(24) Mr Hakluyt's Dedication to Sir Robert Cecil, before his ſecond volume of Voyages, folio, 1599.

(25) See the Arrival, &c. of Mr Hawkins in Florida, in Hakluyt's Voyages, edit. folio, 1589. p. 543.

(26) Entituled, A Notable Hiſtorie, containing four voyages, made by certain French Captains into Florida, &c. tranſlated out of French into Engliſh, by Mr Richard Hakluyt. In his Voyages, Vol. III. folio, 1600. p. 301.

(27) Idem, in his Dedication to Sir Walter Ralegh.

(28) Vide Secunda Pars Americæ, apud Theodore de Bry, folio, 1591. being the next year, after the ſaid de Bry publiſhed his curious Engliſh edition in folio, at Franckford, of a brief and true Report of the new found land of Virginia, by T. Hariot; with the Manners and Cuſtoms of the People, tranſlated from the Latin by Mr Hakluyt, and the picts of their faſhions from the drawings of Mr John White: and others of the antient picts (which John Speed has copied in wooden prints) all dedicated by de Bry to Sir Walter Ralegh, in folio, 1590.

(29) See Sir Walter Ralegh's Hiſtory of the World, lib. II. cap. iii. ſect. 8. Alſo the Life of Sir Walter Ralegh prefixed thereto, in the edit. fol. 1736, p. 110.

(30) Purchas's Pilgrims, Part II. fol. 1122.

with marginal notes, a commodious index, a map of New-England and America, and a copious dedication, alſo to Sir Walter Ralegh. And the ſaid book, written by Peter Martyr, he afterwards cauſed likewiſe to be tranſlated into Engliſh. But this induſtrious revival, and liberal diſplay of the brave exploits of the Spaniards and other foreigners, in this new-found world, ſerved only, with many, to confirm that character wherewith the Engliſh nation had been aſperſed by ſome among them, of indolence and negligence, in ſuch like glorious and gainful acquiſitions; and that we, who had greater advantages than other nations for ſuch enterprizes, made the leaſt uſe of them. For not only in ſociety, but in his ſtudy among their books, he found us more durably branded therewith, as he ſays himſelf *(f)*; and that, as well in their compoſitions as their converſation, he found other countries marvelloufly extolled for their notable diſcoveries and atchievements by ſea, but the Engliſh of all others, for their ſluggiſh ſecurity, and continual neglect of the like attempts, eſpecially in ſo long and happy a time of peace, either ignominiouſly reported of [*G*], or exceedingly condemned; with whoſe ſingular opportunities, if ſome other

(f) In his Dedication to Sir Francis Walſingham, of the firſt folio edition of his Voyages, as before.

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which have conquered and peopled thoſe Countries; inriched with varietie of pleaſant Relation, of the Manners, Ceremonies, Lawes, Governments, and Warres of the Indians. Publiſhed in Latin by Mr Hakluyt, and tranſlated into Engliſh by M. Lok, Gent. London, printed for Andrew Hebb, &c (31). 'This work, ſays that tranſlator, of the Decades, written by Peter Martyr, a Millanoiſe, of Angleria, intituled *The Hiſtory of the Newe World*, containeth the firſt diſcovery of the Weſt-Indies, together with the ſubjection and conqueſt thereof. Wherein we are chiefly to conſider the induſtry and travails of the Spaniarde, their exceeding charge in furniſhing ſo many ſhips for this intended expedition; their continual ſupplies to further their attempts, and their active and undaunted ſpirits in executing matters of that quality and difficulty; and laſtly their conſtant reſolution of plantation: all which may be exemplary unto us, to perform the like in our Virginia; which being once thoroughly planted and inhabited with our people, may return as great benefit to our nation in another kind, as the Indies do unto the Spaniard. For although it yield not gold; yet is it a fruitful pleaſant country, repleniſhed with all good things, neceſſary for the life of man, if they be induſtrious who inhabit it. But we leave this to them who have authoritie and good purſes to further a matter of ſuch important conſequence, and return to our purpoſe. Beſides the firſt diſcoverie of this countrie of the Weſt-Indies, this hiſtory likewiſe declareth the conqueſt and ſubjection of the people, the manner how, and what myriades of millions of poor naked Indians were ſlaughtered and ſubdued through the conquering ſword, and the number of the Spaniards that attempted and performed the ſame. Wherein the chief men of note, and principal commanders have their particular names ſet down, and Chriſtopher Columbus, Fernando Cortes, Fern Magellanus, and the reſt, whom the author hath expreſsly mentioned, to their eternal commendation; and for the incitement and provocation of the living to the like honourable and high attempts. Here alſo are the people deſcribed, by their ſeveral nations, particular rites, ceremonies and cuſtoms; by their habit and attire, either in war or in peace; alſo by their religion, ſacrifices, and other demeanour and geſtures whatſoever: ſo that to read the particulars diſcourſed there at large, which I briefly mention here, will ſo allure the reader, that nothing may ſeem more pleaſing and delightful. For as in faſhions of apparell, and ordinary diet, we like extraordinary variety and change, though both tranſgreſs the rules of modeſtie and ſobrietie, yet either of theſe pleaſe the appetite and intemperate deſires: ſo doth varietie of hiſtorie yield more pleaſure and contentment; which, being a thing of more indifferency, and as ſtrong a motive in another kind, cannot but affect the ſenſes, and intellectual faculties with far greater delight. Hereunto he addeth the ſpecial diſcription of the ſeveral countries, with their particular ſituation, bounds, abutments, and quality of ſoil; together with their mountains, hills, rivers, meddows, paſtures, woods, foreſt, vallies, plains and champions, and what goodlie cities and fortified towns are there erected, with the matter and manner of their architecture and building, with all the ornament and elegancie thereof; their huge palaces, and houſes of pleaſure, far exceeding many princes courts; their orchards, gardens, and other incloſures, for wild beaſts and fowls of divers kinds, beautified with wonderful art and curioſity; their mightie lakes, whereof ſome are little inferior to the Euxine ſea, abounding with excellent fiſh, and whatſoever elſe the divine bountie might beſtow upon a bleſſed countrie, to enrich them with all earthly felicity. And laſtly, he largely diſcribeth what thoſe mountains, hills, vallies, and champions, rivers and lakes ingender, and bring forth; what minerals, as gold and ſilver, and what pearls and precious ſtones; what wild beaſts, prodigious and ſtrange; what fowl and fiſh; flies and worms of the earth, and other noyſome things are bred there; and of the nature and qualitie of all theſe. All which, this hiſtorian, moſt learnedly, in a more large and ample manner diſcribeth, than this ſhort narration can report; which, leaſt it exceed the juſt meaſure of due limits and bounds, I willingly perſuade the reader to have recourſe unto the author himſelf; from whence he ſhall receive a more perfect ſatisfaction touching particulars, than this generality doth include, &c (32).' About ſome five or ſix years after, there was another edition of this tranſlation publiſhed, with ſome variation in the title; wherein the author's name is mentioned, with other particulars, more expreſsly; and probably by the direction of Mr Hakluyt. This edition appears under the title of, *De Orbe Novo, or The Hiſtorie of the Weſt-Indies*, &c. *Compriſed in eight Decades; written by* Peter Martyr, *a* Millanoiſe *of* Angleria; *chief Secretary to the Emperour* Charles V. *and of his Privy Council: Whereof three have been formerlie tranſlated into Engliſh by* R. Eden; *whereunto the other five are newly added, by the induſtrie and painful Travaill of* M Lok, *Gent*. Lond. *Printed for* Tho. Adam, *Quarto*, 1612 Before this Engliſh edition is prefixed a dedication by the ſaid tranſlator Mr Lok, in Latin, to Sir Julius Cæſar, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and afterwards Maſter of the Rolls; wherein, he informs his ſaid patron, that this tranſlation was undertaken and performed, by the perſuaſion and encouragement of the accompliſhed Mr Richard Hakluyt, who had ſo well deſerved of the publick There was another impreſſion of this Engliſh tranſlation publiſhed in the beginning of King Charles the Firſt his reign, about the year 1628.

[G] *The Engliſh, of all others, for their ſluggiſh ſecurity*, &c. *ignominiouſly reported of*] Here Mr Hakluyt produces the authority upon which theſe reflexions are partly grounded, of a noted French writer; where ſpeaking in commendation of the Rhodians, who being iſlanders, like ourſelves, were excellent in navigation; he thereupon wonders much that the Engliſh made no greater figure than they had done, or were not more famed in naval exploits. This made that French author ſometimes inquiſitive, what it might be, that could hinder the Engliſh, who had wit, means, and courage enough, from riſing to great reputation among all chriſtian countries, and from making themſelves more conſiderable, or accounted of, upon the ſea; ſince that element is, and ſhould be more natural to them than other people; who ſhould ſubmit and be inferior to them, in the building, fitting out, and conduct of their navies; as he had oftentimes obſerved in many places among them: for this is the ſenſe of his own words, which are; '*Ce qui m'a fait autresfois rechercher les occaſions, qui empeſchent que les Anglois, qui ont d'eſprit, de moyens, et valeur aſſez, pour ſaquerir un grand honneur parmi tous les Chreſtiens, ne ſe font plus valoir ſur l'element, qui leur eſt, et doit eſtre plus naturel qu'à autres peuples; qui leur doivent ceder en la ſtructure, accommodement, et police de Na-*

(31) In 4to. without date.

(32) Mr Lok's Preface to his Tranſlation of Peter Martyr's Hiſt. of the Weſt Indies, 4to. no date.

other people, our neighbours, had been bleſſed, their proteſtations were frequent and vehement, that they would far otherwiſe have uſed them (g). Such like reflections made Hakluyt ſoon recollect, that while he was paying honour to the writings and actions of worthy men abroad, he might be charged himſelf with neglect, in forbearing longer to produce and exemplify that which was juſtly due to thoſe at home. Inſomuch, that after his abode now in France five years with Sir Edward Stafford, returning into England in company with the accompliſhed Lady Sheffield, ſiſter to the Lord Admiral Howard (h), in the latter end of 1588, that memorable year wherein his countrymen ſo bravely defeated one of the great enterprizes which the Spaniards themſelves accounted invincible, he grew impatient to ſet forth the naval hiſtory of England more expreſsly and extenſively than it had ever yet appeared. And ſo intenſe were his zeal and application herein, that however incompliable he found ſome contracted and tenacious tempers, he obtained the communications of many other perſons of the greateſt diſtinction and experience in maritime knowledge. And to give farther intereſt, countenance, and credit, to his ſaid laudable undertaking, Sir Walter Ralegh choſe him, among other gentlemen and merchants in the latter end of the year aforeſaid, one of the corporation of counſellors, aſſiſtants, and adventurers, to whom he aſſigned his patent for the proſecution of diſcoveries and plantations in America (i). And now he applied himſelf ſo cloſely to amaſs, tranſlate, and digeſt, all ſuch voyages, journals, narratives, patents, letters, inſtructions, &c. as any way concerned the Engliſh navigations, which he could procure either in print or manuſcript; that in the latter end of the next year, 1589, he publiſhed his ſaid collections in one folio volume [*H*], with a dedication before it to Sir Francis Walſingham, who was a principal patron

(g) Idem.

(h) Ib'd. Alſo his Dedication to the ſaid Lord Admiral, Charles Earl of Nottingham, before the firſt volume of his laſt edition of Voyages, &c. folio, 1598.

(i) See Sir Walter Ralegh's Aſſignment to divers gentlemen and merchants of London, for the inhabiting and planting of our people in Virginia; dat. 7 Mar. 31 Eliz. in Hakluyt's firſt folio edit. p. 815. And the Life of Sir W. Ralegh, folio, as before, p. 48, 49.

‘ *vires : comme j'ay veu en pluſieurs endroits parmi eux* (33).’ Thus Hakluyt, both hearing and reading the obloquy of our nation, but finding few of our own people inclined, or able to reply herein, and ſeeing none forward in recommending to the world, the induſtrious labours, and painful travels of our countrymen; that he might prevent the diſperſion of ſuch reproaches, he determined, upon his return from France, to undertake the burden of that work, wherein all others pretended either ignorance, lack of leiſure, or ſufficient argument: whereas, ſays he, to ſpeak truly, the huge toil, and ſmall profit, were the chief cauſes of their refuſal. He calls the work a burden, becauſe theſe voyages lay ſo diſperſed, and ſo hidden in the hands of huckſters, that he wonders at himſelf, to ſee how he was able to endure the delays, ſcruples, and backwardneſs of many, from whom he was to receive his originals (34). But paſſing over the difficulties and diſcouragements, which he at laſt ſurmounted, he proceeds, in confutation of ſuch reflections, to make it appear wherein our countrymen have been moſt ſignally worthy of praiſe, for their many notable and extraordinary adventures and expeditions, performed with the greateſt intrepidity, expertneſs, and ſucceſs, to the great increaſe of experience, profit and renown, in their voyages of diſcovery, traffic and alliance with many kingdoms and regions, moſt diſtant and divided. ‘It cannot be denied, ſays he, but as, in all former ages, they have been men full of activity, ſtirrers abroad, and ſearchers of the remote parts of the world; ſo in this moſt famous and peerleſs government of her moſt excellent Majeſty, her ſubjects, through the ſpecial aſſiſtance and bleſſing of God, in ſearching the moſt oppoſite corners and quarters of the world, and to ſpeak plainly, in compaſſing the vaſt globe of the earth, more than once, have excelled all the nations, and people of the earth. For which of the Kings of this land, before her Majeſty, had their banners ever ſeen in the Caſpian Sea? which of them hath ever dealt with the Emperor of Perſia, as her Majeſty hath done, and obtained for her merchants, large and loving priviledges? who ever ſaw, before this regimen, an Engliſh Leiger in the ſtately porch of the Grand Signor at Conſtantinople? whoever found Engliſh Conſuls and Agents at Tripolis in Syria, at Aleppo, at Babylon, at Balſara, and which is more, who ever heard of Engliſhmen at Goa, before now? what Engliſh ſhips did heretofore ever anchor in the mighty river of Plate? paſs and repaſs the unpaſſable, in former opinion, Straight of Magellan; range along the coaſt of Chili, Peru, and all the back ſide of Nova Hiſpania, further than any Chriſtian ever paſſed; travers the mighty breadth of the South Sea; land upon the Luzones, in deſpight of the enemy: enter into alliance, amitie, and traffic, with the Princes of the Moluccaes, and the Iſle of Java; double the famous cape of Bona Speranza; arrive at the Iſle of Santa Helena; and laſt of all, return home moſt richly laden with the commodities of China, as the ſubjects of this new flouriſhing monarchy hath done (35)?’ and in theſe ſhining courſes they continued to exert themſelves, till the end of that renowned reign; ſtill enlarging their honour and glory, by their naval exploits; whether in the diſcovery or inveſtigation of unknown countries, in the conqueſt of their enemies, or inlargement of commerce with their friends; as may moſt evidently appear in the voyages ſet forth by Maſter Hakluyt; wherefore a Dutch author, who in the former part of the next reign, had a juſt knowledge of their maritime merits, has in one of his nautical diſcourſes given them a character equal thereunto; where he delivers it for an unconteſted truth, That the Engliſh, at that time, ſurpaſſed all nations, even the Hollanders themſelves, for their induſtry and ſkill in navigation: *Hoc certum eſt*, ſays that author (36), *omnibus hodiè gentibus, navigandi, induſtria et peritia, ſuperiores eſſe Anglos; et poſt Anglos, Hollandos.*

[*H*] *In the latter end of the next year*, 1589, *he publiſhed his ſaid collections in one folio volume*, &c.] This work is intituled, *The Principall Navigations, Voyages, and Diſcoveries of the Engliſh Nation, made by Sea, or over Land, to the moſt and furtheſt diſtant Quarters of the Earth, at any time within the Compaſs of theſe Fifteen Hundred Years: Divided into three ſeveral Parts, according to the Poſitions of the Regions whereunto they were directed, &c. Imprinted at London by Geo. Biſhop and Ralph Newberrie, Deputies to Chr. Barker, Printer to the Queene's moſt excellent Majeſty.* Folio 1589 It is dedicated by the author, as we have before obſerved, To the Right Honourable Sir Francis Walſingham, Knight, Principal Secretary to her Majeſtie, Chancellor to the Duchie of Lancaſter, and one of her Majeſtie's moſt Honourable Privy-Councell, and dated from London, 17 November (in the year aforeſaid). After the dedication, from which we have receited ſome uſeful particulars, and in which it appears that the whole work had paſſed the cenſure and approbation of that learned phyſician, Dr James, according to the deſire and direction of Sir Francis, there is a very diſtinct and articulate preface, wherein we are made acquainted with the author's method, or diſpoſition, and digeſtion of the whole work, according to the diviſion propoſed in his title: ſhewing how he has marſhalled all our voyages of greateſt importance, 1. To the South, and Southern parts of the world. 2. The North and North-Eaſtern voyages. 3. And laſtly, The Weſtern navigations, which have been more latterly made, for the diſcovery and plantation of the New, and American World, &c. Under all which heads he inſtances ſome of our capital expeditions. Whereunto is added, the laſt renowned voyage round the globe of the earth, by Mr Thomas Cavendiſh; which being the more circumſtantial, renders the want of Sir Francis Drake's, in this edition, the leſs neceſſary; wherein though our author took extraordinary pains to correct, digeſt, and adapt it to his work, yet was he diſſuaded, contrary to his expectation, from inſerting the ſame, leſt it might anticipate the undertaking

(33) L'Admiral de France; par la Popeliniere, folio, 1573. p. 1, 2.

(34) Hakluyt's Dedication to Sir Francis Walſingham, of the firſt folio edit. of his Voyages, as before.

(35) Idem. See alſo Hakluyt's Preface to the firſt volume of his laſt edition, folio, 1598.

(36) Barth. Kekerman.

patron and promoter of the ſaid publication; from which epiſtle we have received ſome good intelligence and directions in this article relating to the author himſelf, as may be perceived in our frequent references thereto. In 1590, when the fifth voyage was undertaken to Virginia by three ſhips, under Governor White, for relief of the colony there; and Sir Walter Ralegh had, at the requeſt of Mr Hakluyt and the other aſſignees, ſent a licence from the Queen, for thoſe under the governor, with orders to proceed, notwithſtanding the embargo which was then laid upon all Engliſh ſhipping, and other private oppoſitions; the maſters and mariners under the governor, by excurſions after Spaniſh prizes, loſing their ſeaſon, returned, without ſeeing the planters, and not without ſome loſſes ſuſtained by ſtorms; as appears in the Governor's letter afterwards to Mr Hakluyt, dated the fourth of February, 1593 (*k*); but the greateſt loſs of all was, a Spaniſh Mexican prize, which the Little John, their Vice-Admiral, had rendered ſo leaky and diſabled, by great ſhot, about the Organes, that, ſinking before they could board, to clear it, they loſt fifteen pipes of ſilver, by the conqueſt they had too effectually made thereof; as appears in the Governor's journal of that voyage, printed alſo by our author with his letter aforeſaid (*l*). Though about this time, or the year 1594, as we compute, he entered into the ſtate of matrimony, it diverted not the continuation of his collections; the labour and

ing of another perſon, to draw the ſervices of that Knight into one volume.

From the ſaid preface, as it was never afterwards reprinted, we may the rather alſo here remember, that our author gratefully acknowledges from whoſe friendly intereſt, communications, and encouragement, this collection was chiefly compiled. For, as he accounted thoſe unworthy of future, who are unthankful for former favours, ſo, ſays he, 'I ſhould think it groſs ingratitude, to forget, and wilfull maliciouſneſs not to confeſs that man, whoſe only name doth carry with it ſufficient eſtimation and love, and that is, Maſter Edward Dier;' of whom he further ſays thus much, in few words; That, 'both myſelf, and my intentions herein, by his friendly means, have been made known to thoſe, who, in in ſundry particulars, have much ſteaded me: more eſpecially in my firſt part, Mr Richard Staper, Merchant of London, hath furniſhed me with divers things touching the trade of Turkie, and other places in the Eaſt. Maſter William Burrough, Clerk of her Majeſtie's Navy, and Maſter Anthony Jenkinſon, both gentlemen of great experience and obſervation in the north regions, have much pleaſured me in the ſecond part: in the third and laſt, beſides my own extream travaile, in the hiſtories of the Spaniards, my chief light hath been received from Sir John Hawkins, Sir Walter Ralegh, and my kinſman, Maſter Richard Hakluyt, of the Middle-Temple (37).'

And whereas, in this hiſtory, mention is often made of many beaſts, birds, fiſhes, ſerpents, plants, fruits, herbs, roots, apparel, armour, boats, and ſuch other rare and ſtrange curioſities, which wiſe men take great pleaſure to read of, but more to ſee, our author was ſingularly delighted in beholding them gathered together, at no ſmall coſt, and preſerved with no little diligence, in the excellent cabinets of his worſhipful and learned friends, Mr Richard Garth, one of the Clerks of the Petty-Bag, and Mr William Cope, Gentleman-Uſher to the Lord-Treaſurer Burghley.

As for geographical and hydrographical tables, he contented himſelf with inſerting into the work, one of the beſt general maps of the world only, till the publiſhing of a very large and moſt exact terreſtrial globe, collected and reformed according to the neweſt, moſt ſecret, and late diſcoveries, both Spaniſh, Portugal and Engliſh, compoſed by Mr Emmery Mollineux of Lambeth, a rare gentleman in his profeſſion; being therein, for divers years, ſupported, by the purſe and liberality of that worſhipful Merchant. Mr William Sanderſon: ſo wiſhing the reader's profit and pleaſure as great as his labour and pains had been, our author concludes the ſaid preface.

After that preface, from whence theſe extracts are produced, we have ſome poetical encomiums upon the author and his labours, in Greek, by Mr Hugh Broughton; in Italian, by Marc. Antonio Pigafetta, who was the ſon, or other relation, of that famous voyager ſo named, with Magellan round the world (38); and in Latin, by Mr Camden and Philip Jones. In the whole collection, the voyages, travels, journals, &c. are between ninety and one hundred; and the records, patents, privileges, letters, embaſſies, commiſſions, inſtructions, orders, rules, edicts, paſſports, notes of commodities, direction, enquiries, &c. are about one hundred and three-ſcore, contained in 825 pages. Beſides the dedication and preface beforementioned, there are alſo in this volume ſome few voyages, inſtruments, and other things, which, partly to avoid being too voluminous, were not revived in his next and more ample edition; particularly the Itinerary of Sir John Mandeville, the greateſt Aſian traveller that had been in Europe; which he dedicated to King Edward the Third, and of which we have here a more correct impreſſion in Latin than had hitherto been publiſhed (39); however ſome writers have ſpoken very diſpairingly of ever ſeeing a genuine and uncorrupted edition thereof, in any language, though we have many old manuſcripts of this author, at Oxford, Cambridge, and in other libraries. Some letters alſo in this volume, and that aſſignment of Sir Walter Ralegh above cited, are omitted in the next edition; and in that is likewiſe wanting, an accurate and uſeful index, wherewith this is ſupplied. But his rules of conduct in both, are more explicit, ſatisfactory, and hiſtorical, than in moſt other ſucceeding collections of voyages. He records the teſtimonies of his authors word for word, in whatever language written; refers to the pages of their books, and ſubjoins his own tranſlations, or the ſubſtance of their narratives, in Engliſh: has aſcribed each voyage to the adventurer who performed and the author who compiled it, that every man may anſwer for himſelf: has confined his collections to the navigations of our own nation, and annexes the evidence of ſtrangers to confirm or enlarge the Engliſh accounts of them; but for ſeveral adventures and tranſactions of his countrymen in foreign nations, he could only be beholden to the relations of foreigners, from whom, concerning ſeveral of our antient travellers, he received more intelligence, in ſome reſpects, than any of our own hiſtorians, except Bale, Fox, and Eden. He has left out little ſhort trading voyages to neighbouring and European ports; and alſo many of warfare and hoſtility; as that againſt the Spaniſh armada, and the Portugal expedition; thoſe of Sir Francis Drake upon the bay of Cadiz, and near the iſlands, upon the huge Eaſt Indian carrack, which firſt diſcharged Molucca ſpices on the Engliſh ſhores: ſuch as theſe were at preſent intermitted, as what being recent, might at any time hereafter be incorporated, but at preſent, beſides his preſcribed limits, and not of ſcope or extention enough to advance our experience in Coſmography and Traffic, or engage our curioſity in diſcoveries and plantations, the chief ſubject and drift of his preſent plan; but he afterwards enlarged and enriched it with thoſe particulars, in the next edition, as the invaſions of our enemies, and our repulſe of them, gave occaſion: for then, perceiving that ſuch examples, as would train his countrymen to the naval arts of domeſtic defence, might ſometimes concern us more nearly than thoſe which would make us rovers after diſtant and extraneous acquiſitions, he therefore very acceptably and inſtructively recorded all ſuch naval engagements of moment as intermediately occurred in his ſaid latter impreſſion; wherein it appears more to the honour and renown of the Engliſh nation, than in any other work, that we were then become more expert, formidable, and famous, by our warlike exploits at ſea, than any of our neighbours could, by the like heroic and victorious atchievements, boaſt to have rendered themſelves.

[I] Whereof

(*k*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 287.

(*l*) Idem, p. 29.

(37) Hakluyt's Dedication to Sir F. Walſingham, as above.

(38) Vide Viaggio Atorno il Mondo, fatta & deſcritto per M. Ant. Pigafetta, Vincentino. Caval. de Rhodi, in primo volume & terza editione Delle Navigationi & Viaggi raccolto gia da M. Gio. Batt. Ramuſio, &c. fol. Venet. 1563. p. 352, b. Alſo an Abſtract thereof in Eden and Willes's Hiſt. of Trav. &c. 4to. 1577. p. 432.

(39) There was an old Latin edit. before printed, intituled Joan. de Mandeville Itinerarium a Terra Angliæ, in partes Ieroſolymitanas, & ulteriores tranſmarinas, ab autore primum Gallice conſcriptum, anno 1355. & poſtea Latine verſum, 4to. in the time of King Henry VIII. Alſo an edition in Italian, 12mo. 1567, &c. And laſtly, one in old Engliſh, publiſhed from a MS. in the Cotton library, by Mr David Caſley, 8vo. 1725. in which may be ſeen ſome account of the author; alſo in Leland, Bale, and Pitts; Gerard Mercator, Abr. Ortelius, and J. Weever's Funeral Monuments.

and expence of many years, could not abate his vigorous endeavours ſtill to go on, not only in reſcuing our naval antiquities from the wreck of oblivion, and preſerving the memorable enterprizes of our modern navigators from the like hazard; but in ſuch manner, as to adjuſt the diſplaced and ſcattered limbs, as well of antient and late voyages by ſea as travels by land, and traffic of merchandize by both, into one regular body; reſtoring each divided and diſlocated member to it's natural order and ſymmetry; and, as he ſays himſelf, by the help of Geography and Chronology, which he calls the ſun and moon, or right and left eye of all hiſtory, referring each particular relation to it's due time and place (*m*). To accompliſh this arduous taſk, what reſtleſs nights and painful days he endured; how many long and chargeable journeys he travelled; how many famous libraries he ſearched; what variety of antient and modern writers peruſed; what a number of records, patents, privileges, letters, and other manuſcript vouchers, he tranſcribed and revived from their graves; what variety of acquaintance he contracted; what monies diſburſed; and yet what fair opportunities of private profit, preferment, and eaſe, he neglected, though his readers could hardly imagine, he daily found and felt, as he ſays himſelf, and ſome of his intimate acquaintance could ſufficiently teſtify (*n*): yet no bodily toil, perplexity of mind, or detriment to his ſubſtance, was inſuperable to him, or could diſcourage his indefatigable perſeverance: *The honour and benefit of this Commonwealth*, ſays he, *hath made all difficulties ſeem eaſy, all pains and induſtry pleaſant, all expences of light value and moment to me* (*o*). With this undiſcourageable ſpirit he went on, 'till his Collection of Engliſh Voyages laſt mentioned was augmented into three folio volumes; whereof he publiſhed the firſt in 1598, and the others in the two enſuing years ſucceſſively [*I*]. The

firſt

(*m*) Hakluyt's pref. to the laſt edit. of his Voyages, Vol. I.

(*n*) Idem.

(*o*) Ibid.

[*I*] *Whereof he publiſhed the firſt in* 1598, *and the others in the two enſuing years, &c.*] In this laſt edition of our author's collections, though the former part of the title is much like that of the foregoing edition, yet the contents or diſpoſition of the parts are different, being titled, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Diſcoveries, of the Engliſh Nation, made by ſea or over-land, to the remote and furtheſt diſtant quarters of the Earth, at any time within the compaſs of theſe* 1500 *years; divided into three volumes, &c. The firſt, containing the worthy Diſcoveries, &c. of the Engliſh towards the North and North-Eaſt, by ſea, &c. with many notable Teſtimonies of the antient foreign Trade, the warlike and other ſhipping of this Realm: alſo a brief Commentary of the true State of Iceland and the Northern Seas, with the memorable defeat of the Spaniſh Armada in* 1588, *and the victory at Cadiz,* 1596 *. *By* Richard Hakluyt *Maſter of Arts, ſometimes Student of Chriſt-Church in Oxford. Imprinted folio,* 1598, *in* 619 *pages.*

Herewith is uſually bound, *The ſecond volume of the principal Navigations, &c. of the Engliſh Nation, &c. to the South and South-Eaſt parts of the World, within the compaſs of theſe* 1600 *years: divided into two parts; the firſt, through and within the Straite of Gibraltar, to Algier, &c. almoſt to China the ſecond, without the Straite of Gibraltar, to the Iſlands of Azores, &c. By* R. Hakluyt, folio, 1599, in 312 pages, the firſt part; and 204 the laſt. Beſides dedications, preface, and tables of contents.

The third and laſt volume of the Voyages, &c. of the Engliſh Nation, and in ſome few places where they have not been of Strangers performed, within and before the time of theſe 100 *years, to all parts of the new found World of America, or the Weſt-Indies, from* 73 *degrees of northerly, to* 57 *of ſoutherly latitude, &c. together with the two renowned and proſperous Voyages of Sir Francis Drake and Mr Tho. Candiſh round the whole Earth, &c.* by R. Hakluyt, *&c.* and printed, as the others, by G. Biſhop, &c. folio, 1600, in 868 pages, beſides the dedication and tables.

The Poems to the author, before the laſt edition, are reprinted before the firſt volume of this, all but one copy, and a diſtich, writ by P. Jones, which are left out for two copies by Richard Mulcaſter, who was Maſter of Paul's ſchool. Some copies of the firſt volume appear dated alſo the next year after it was printed; not that the volume was then reprinted, but only the title page; in which all notice of the Cadiz voyage was left out, and the voyage itſelf, at the end of the volume, cancelled in moſt of the copies, which then remained unſold, leſt offence ſhould be given by ſuch an honourable memorial of the Earl of Eſſex's moſt proſperous expedition, at the time when he was fallen under the Queen's unpardonable diſpleaſure. But at laſt an uncaſtrated copy being found, in the library of Auditor Jett, as I remember, about the year 1723, this voyage was thence reprinted, and has made many imperfect copies complete. Moreover, in the dedication of the firſt volume to the Lord Admiral Howard, dated Lond. 7 Octob. 1598. our author acknowledges himſelf much bound to the Biſhop of Chicheſter (40), for procuring him the liberty of tranſcribing ſome curious manuſcripts out of the Lord Lumley's ſtately library (41); which, as Mercator and Ortelius informed him, they had many years inquired after in vain. He alſo mentions a little medicinal manuſcript which he deſigned to have printed, for the relief of thoſe diſtempers to which travellers are ſubject in hot countries (42); but declined it, upon the admonition he received from Dr W. Gilbert, that eminent Phyſician, who wrote ſo learnedly upon the loadſtone, how defectively the ſaid manuſcript was written. Each of the two laſt volumes, as we ſaid, are dedicated to Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary of State, Maſter of the Court of Wards, and one of her Majeſty's Privy-Council: the former, on the 24th of October, 1599; the latter, on the 1ſt of September, 1600; and we have before quoted as much as may be thought neceſſary in this article out of them. The whole three volumes contain the hiſtorical accounts and particular narratives of near two hundred and twenty voyages, beſides above three hundred and ſeventy patents, privileges, inſtructions, orders, letters, paſſports, inquiries, &c. of princes and their miniſters, admirals, officers, merchants, and others, of power or experience; which are a great credit to the collection, and, as more preferable, for the greater regard and authority they are of, than if prefaces or introductions had been prefixed to every voyage, by the hand of an editor, though it were ſuch a one as Ramuſio or Hakluyt himſelf: ſo may they ſerve as forms of precedent, in any ſuch enterprizes or engagements as ſhall be hereafter appointed, or undertaken: For this edition is built upon a very comprehenſive plan, and may, at all times, be no leſs ſerviceable many ways, than reputable to the nation; as it is a magazine, ſo richly ſtored with ſome of the moſt adventrous atchievements of our anceſtors, that were of the moſt national concern, atteſted by eye-witneſſes, as well as other moſt credible and authentic vouchers. Containing, not only ſuch examples as may animate their poſterity to diſpiſe all hazard and hardſhip, bloodſhed and death itſelf, for a knowledge of the uncultivated world, and the honour that may be reaped in it, to their own advantage, and the aggrandizement of their country: not only ſuch examples, as may ſhame the gallants, who make it their heigheſt breeding and accompliſhments to travel abroad, for ſuch faſhions and corruptions in foreign countries, as may poiſon them with prejudice againſt their own; not only ſuch mercantile voyages, as may be further improved to our enrichment by traffic, and the importation of beneficial productions; not only ſuch voyages of diſcovery and enlargement of the Britiſh dominions, with new poſſeſſions, by colonies and plantations upon ſtrange coaſts, unpoſſeſſed by Chriſtian people, as may be extended to the further civilizing of ſavage nations; but withal ſuch martial and heroic expeditions and exploits, as may, after thoſe great exemplers teach us to

keep

* For theſe two, though they ought to have been placed among the Southern Voyages, yet to ſatiſfy the importunity of friends, who impatiently deſired them, our author ſays, in his preface, that he ſomewhat ſtrained his propoſed method.

(40) Dr Anth. Watſon.

(41) There is an alphabetical Catalogue of the Ld. Lumley's reſerved Library, among Sir Hen. Puckering's MSS. in Trin. Coll. Camb.

(42) George Watſon's Cure of Hot Diſeaſes, incident to travellers in long ſouthern Voyages, dedicated to the Queen, in MS.

firſt volume is properly dedicated to the Lord Admiral Howard, and each of the laſt to Sir Robert Cecil, then Principal Secretary of State; from whom he acknowledges that he received

keep ourſelves able, in like manner, and ever watchful to uphold our naval ſtrength, ſkill and courage, by good œconomy, diſcipline and practice, ſo as to preſerve what we are already poſſeſſed of, from the treacherous encroachments of falſe, faithleſs, and ambitious neighbours. Such triumphant voyages here are, as may inſpire us to keep up the ſuperiority of Engliſh fleets, to reaſſume our ſovereignty of the Britiſh ſeas, or aſſert our priority of poſſeſſions by land; ſuch as may encourage us to encreaſe or ſecure our fiſheries and factories, and yield matter of intelligence and direction, eſpecially out of the rich treaſury of maritime records here repoſited, in many future embaſſies, for maintaining our ancient rights and privileges, in treaties of alliance, commerce, &c (43). Such alſo do here occur, which may give continual lights and hints of improvement in the ſciences of Aſtronomy, Coſmography, Hydrography, Navigation, and other parts of the Mathematics, no leſs than in the Natural Hiſtory of animals, plants, metals, minerals and drugs; uſeful in phyſic, painting, dying, beſides many other arts, manufactures and occupations of life: and laſt of all, though above all, ſuch as may no leſs conſtantly infuſe a grateful ſenſation of the Divine Providence, in ſo many wonderful deliverances, from ſtorms, ſhipwrecks, pyrates, ſlavery, famine, and other moſt imminent perils in peace, no leſs than war, and by land as well as ſea.

Though we would willingly give an inventory of the treaſures in this collection, as what might be here very acceptable, from the voyages of King Arthur, down to thoſe of Hawkins and Frobiſer, Gilbert and Grenvile, Drake and Ralegh, Davis and Cavendiſh, beſides the Earls of Nottingham, Eſſex, Cumberland, and the reſt of thoſe illuſtrious navigators, who in the reign of the moſt renowned Elizabeth, laid the foundation of our naval glory (44); yet when we conſider the number of our voyages and inſtruments herein preſerved, we cannot in this place, engroſs ſo much room, as the moſt ſuccinct recapitulation of them would require: and as the bare titles of theſe voyages, &c. in what years performed, to what places bound, with the adventurers names, and the authors by whom recorded, have been lately drawn forth to public view, in the moſt conciſe manner, with the moſt cordial deſire to recommend this valuable work to a new impreſſion, yet, as they take up above twenty pages in octavo, we muſt at preſent refer thoſe who cannot readily conſult the originals, to that draught in minature of them (45), and the obſervations thereunto annexed; while we here proceed to aſſemble a few of the diſperſed characters that have been occaſionally delivered both of this compiler and his collection: among which, ſuch as ſhould contain the moſt liberal acknowledgments to our author, might be expected to be found in Mr Purchas, who was moſt obliged, for the beſt, if not the greateſt part of thoſe four volumes, which he has named his Pilgrims, to the unpubliſhed remains of Mr Hakluyt. Some portions indeed of his gratitude we may find diſperſed in thoſe volumes, but not equal to the benefits he received, or the merits of his benefactor: as, where he refers to our author's painful performances, who hath ſo well deſerved of this iſland, and it's Neptunian heroes; and accounts ſome parts of his own narratives, but as ſummaries or indexes to Mr Hakluyt (46). Where he confeſſes that, to Hakluyt's labours, his own are ſo much indebted (47): and where he applauds him as a great, or happy diſcoverer of diſcoveries, according to his ingenious faculty of jingling, and ringing the changes, or otherwiſe playing now and then, with the ſame words; which kind of ſtile appeared of ſuch force and beauty to him, that he could not forbear flouriſhing out his very title with it, in the graved frontespiece of his ſaid work (48). And King James's head was ſo turned to, or with this ſort of rhetorick, and other like reading, which made him ſuch a proficient in theology, philoſophy, politics, poetry, pedantry and punning, as he was, that he read over a large volume of this writer's, adorned with ſuch flowers of ſcience, preliminary to thoſe of his pilgrims, no leſs than ſeven times; as the ſaid Mr Purchas has informed, as well his Majeſty's royal ſon and ſucceſſor, as the Archbiſhop, to whom he was chaplain (49); but neither the fondneſs of one King to his writings, nor a promiſe from the other, of a deanry, made any reparation of the ruinous expence he was at, in thoſe publications, which he did not long ſurvive. The truth is, his genius was thought too narrow or deſultory for his capacious and weighty undertaking, which tempted him, however ſeveral good narratives in his collection are left entire and unimpaired to uſe ſome of his materials in a waſteful manner, and to have drawn but inaccurate or ſuperficial accounts from them; not ſo much for any needful retrenchment of redundances, ſo often pretended in the mangling and multilating of good authors, as the reſtleſs deſire of novelties, varieties, and continuations. And as arguments are never wanting in ſuch ſchemes of monopoly, to contract and deminiſh the records of the greateſt actions performed by our moſt worthy anceſtors, that room may be left more ſpaciouſly to compliment thoſe of the moderns, which muſt be annexed to them: ſo Purchas has been ſufficiently imitated, and ſurpaſſed, in that point of gratitude, with relation to Hakluyt; in whom, more than a whole volume of the moſt renowned and memorable exploits by ſea, during the long reign of Queen Elizabeth, that are to be found in all our annals, we ſhall ſometimes behold, ſo dwarfiſhly ſhrunk up, into a meagre chapter; ſo enervated, emaſculated, and ſtripped of every thing intereſting, affecting, animating and remarkable (50), that moſt of theſe comprehenſive ſchemes from the earlieſt to the lateſt times, in ſuch contracted compaſs, ſkimming over the ſurface of generalities, and graſping wide but not deep, are apt to leave as little impreſſion of excitement, or emulation upon our minds, as ſo many almanacks. Dr Hakewill's project to enlarge the fame of our author, together with that of his country, was much more noble and eligible, than any that has attempted to leſſen both, by the diminution of his works; where having, not only obſerved, 'What excellent precepts have been given 'for the art of navigation, by Pedro de Medina (51), 'Baptiſta Ramuſio, and others; but how happily the 'art itſelf hath been practiſed, by the Portugals, Spaniards, Hollanders, and our own nation, whoſe 'voyages and diſcoveries, Maſter Hakluyt hath collected and reported, in three ſeveral volumes, &c. he 'adds, and it were to be wiſhed as well for the honour 'of the Engliſh name, as the benefit that might thereby redound to other nations, that his collections and 'relations, had been writtan in Latin, or that ſome 'learned pen would be pleaſed to turn them into that 'language (52).' And to the ſame purpoſe, he further wiſhes, that the commendable treatiſe of Mr Hues upon the celeſtial and terreſtrial globes, for the inſtruction of navigators in the principles of geometry and aſtronomy, were, for the better uſe of ſuch as are ignorant in the Latin tongue, alſo tranſlated into our language (53). Thus Dr Hakewill we ſee, near an hundred and twenty years ſince, recommended an edition of this collection, in Latin, which doubtleſs would be a moſt reputable work to us, among foreigners, at leaſt ſhew them as well how much we had been miſrepreſented, as how glorious we have been at ſea; and what glory will accrue to the preſent age, in ſhewing by compariſon what we are, our deſcendants may moſt freely and impartially judge. If a Latin edition were commendable, to acquaint foreigners with the ſpirit of our anceſtors, how much more would an Engliſh one be ſo, to revive, or preſerve that ſpirit, among ourſelves, and poſterity? We find the tranſlation of Hakluyt's voyages into French, ſo particularly deſired alſo by that nation, that M. Thevenot has accordingly taken pains to render ſome of them intelligible to his countrymen, in that language; together with ſome of the inſtructions, and other original records, which authorized or animated the ſame, as neceſſary motives, and appendages thereto (54); of ſuch conſiderable ſervice and importance, that nation eſteemed this collection: and ſhall foreigners think it worth their while to be at the labour and expence of tranſlating and printing an Engliſh author, whom Engliſhmen will not be at the pains, without the charge, as it may be done by ſubſcription, only to reprint! ſince the ſcarcity of the book was obſerved above threeſcore years ago (55), and the neglect of a new impreſſion complained of as then much wanting among us. Dr Fuller ſpeaking of Hakluyt's large collections of of voyages ſays, 'They were taken partly out of pri-

(43) See the American Library, 4to. 1713. in the Dedication by Dr White Kennet, after Biſhop of Peterborough.

(44) See the Naval Hiſtory of Tho. Lediard, Eſq; fol. 1735. in the Preface.

(45) In the Britiſh Librarian, 8vo. 1738. from p. 136 to 158.

(46) His Pilgrims, Part IV. 1625. p. 1187.

(47) His Pilgrimage, fol. 1626. p. 817.

(48) Hakluytus Poſthumus, or Purchas's Pilgrims; containing a Hiſtory of the World, in Sea Voyages, &c. wherein God's wonders, &c. with a world of the World's rarities, are, by a world of eye-witneſs authors, related to the World, &c. See the engraved title of Purchas's firſt volume, fol. 1624.

(49) See Purchas's Pilgrimage, the laſt edit. fol. 1626. in the Dedications to King Charles and Archbiſhop Abbot.

(50) See the moſt remarkable Tranſactions at Sea, &c. by Joſiah Burchet, Eſq; fol. 1720. &c.

(51) L'Art del Navigar. &c. Seville, 1545. tranſlated into French by Nicolas de Nicolai, Geographer to the French King, printed at Lyons, 4to. 1561. &c.

(52) Dr Geo. Hakewill's Apology, &c. edit. fol. 1635, as before, p. 310.

(53) Idem.

(54) Relations de divers Voyages curieux, qui n'ont point eſte publiees, ou qui ont eſte Traduites d'Hakluyt, &c. primiere partie, à Paris, fol. 1663.

(55) In the Character of Queen Eliſabeth, by Edmund Bohun, Eſq; 8vo. 1693. &c.

received ſome ſubſtantial teſtimony of favour, or, as he expreſſes it, whoſe earneſt deſires to do him good, lately broke out into moſt bountiful and acceptable effects (*p*); which might, from the fair proſpects thereof, incline him to the thoughts of purſuing, more particularly than he had hitherto done, his own perſonal intereſt; but could never, when he had attained, perhaps by the death of his elder brother, or the fortune of his wife, an eaſy competency, break his reſt, with aſpiring after rich benefices and high titles or dignities in the Church; never relinquiſh his brave naval adventurers, or withdraw his conſtancy in the commemoration of thoſe who had moſt hazardouſly put their truſt in the moſt inconſtant element; however, we may now read in the laſt of thoſe dedications to this Secretary, that, ‘ As he long ſince foreſaw, his profeſſion of Divinity, the care of his family, and other occaſions, might call and divert him from theſe kind of endeavours, he therefore had, for three years paſt, encouraged and furthered in theſe ſtudies of Coſmography, and foreign hiſtories, his honeſt, induſtrious, and learned friend, Mr John Pory; one of ſpeciall ſkill, and extraordinary hope, to perform great matters in the ſame, and beneficial to the commonwealth (*q*).’ The fruits of his ſaid encouragement and furtherance of Mr Pory was, that this gentleman having undertaken, at the inſtance or recommendation, and probably under the inſpection, of Mr Hakluyt, to give the public a tranſlation from the Spaniſh of John Leo's excellent Hiſtory of Africa, it was this year, 1600,

‘ vate letters, which never were, or without his care had not been, printed; partly out of ſmall treatiſes, printed and ſince irrecoverably loſt, had not his providence preſerved them. For ſome pamphlets are produced, which for their cheapneſs and ſmallneſs, men for the preſent neglect to buy, preſuming they may procure them at their pleaſure; which ſmall books, their firſt and laſt edition being paſt, like ſome ſpirits that appear but once, cannot afterwards with any price or pains be recovered: In a word, many of ſuch uſeful tracts of ſea adventures, which before were ſcattered as ſeveral ſhips, Mr Hakluyt hath imbodied into a fleet, divided into three ſquadrons, ſo many ſeveral volumes. A work of great honour to England; it being poſſible that many ports and iſlands in America, which being baſe and barren, bare only a bare name for the preſent, may prove rich places for the future; and then theſe voyages will be produced and pleaded, as good evidence of their belonging to England, as firſt diſcovered and denominated by Engliſhmen *.’ As for that anonymous writer, who had no true taſte of this collection, nor due information of many others, he undertakes to characterize; reported to have been one Mr Locke, but apparently not the underſtanding Locke; he has betrayed his want of knowledge in the very beginning of his criticiſm upon our author, where he ſpeaks of Hakluyt as the firſt Engliſhman who compiled any collection of travels; and his want of judgment is no leſs viſible, in making the warlike expeditions and naval victories which are preſerved by our author, ſo much to the honour and reputation of our country, a matter of objection; as if the art of war by ſea, was not moſt eſſentially requiſite to us who are ſurrounded by it. Then he cannot reliſh the charters, patents, commiſſions, privileges, treaties, letters, and inſtructions, which are the very foundation of all regular expeditions, from which their authority is derived, which ſhew the motives and reaſons of them, and diſtinguiſh all lawful proceedings of this kind from thoſe of pyrates and robbers: theſe he ſeems to think unneceſſary, though they will often be uſeful precedents, as was obſerved before, and Mr Thevenot thought ſome of them ſo curious as to tranſlate them into the French language. Then as to what he calls Pilgrimages, though ſome were made by pious perſons to Jeruſalem, which are very pertinent in a general collection of voyages and travels, for letting us into the knowledge of places, as well as the manners of the times; yet he confounds without any diſtinction, thoſe which were made by ſome religious orders of men to the Holy-Land, with the warlike expeditions undertaken by ſome of our greateſt Kings, Princes, Peers, and Knights of higheſt renown, to recover it from the hands of infidels. Yet in the whole, this author allows Hakluyt's collection to be ſcarce and valuable, for the good that is to be picked out of it; as he does alſo of Purchas his collection, though he has thrown in all that came to hand, and is full of his own notions, quibbling and playing upon words (56). On the other ſide, a later author, in his edition of another collection, has more adviſedly made a greater difference between theſe two collectors, and ſet them at a much greater diſtance in point of merit from one another: where he ſays, ‘ We have in our own language, as good and as bad collections as ever were made; one inſtance of each may ſuffice. Mr Hakluyt was an able, ingenious, diligent, accurate, and uſeful compiler; and his collections are as valuable as any thing in their kind; on the other hand, Purchas his Pilgrims are very voluminous, and for the moſt part a very trifling and inſignificant collection: his manner, for I cannot call it method, is irregular and confuſed; his judgment weak and pedantic; his remarks often ſilly and always little to the purpoſe This ſhews how much depends upon the care and ſkill of the collector; who on the one hand is to provide, what may entertain and pleaſe, and on the other, is to be careful, that knowledge and inſtruction be conveyed with pleaſure and amuſement (57).’ There was at laſt, about forteen years ſince, ſo much regard paid to Mr Hakluyt's collection, that a propoſal was then printed for giving us a new impreſſion of it, in one folio volume, of three hundred ſheets, as the manner then prevailed, by weekly publications. The ingenious editor in his account of this new intended edition, having given a deſerved character of the work, and it's compiler, ſets forth in what manner he propoſes to comprehend the ſame in the compaſs aforeſaid, by ſome little reformation of the ſtyle, in changing of obſolete, and diſcharging ſuperfluous words, without any alteration of the ſenſe, or curtailing the ſubſtance of the author. Alſo by omitting the diſcourſes, articles, &c. in Latin, and other languages, retaining the tranſlations after they have been compared with the originals. Alſo by dividing each of the three books into two; the firſt including the travels, voyages, and diſcoveries; and the ſecond, the naval expeditions and ſea fights, &c. with the ſeveral inſtruments relating to trade, maritime affairs, &c. and with no other alterations than the author would have made, had he been now alive, to publiſh himſelf a new edition; as it may be preſumed from the alterations he made in the laſt. To which ſome improvements were to be added, in notes from other and later authors; or obſervations to ſupply deficiences, rectify latitudes, and correct proper names, with an addition or ſupplement of Mr Hakluyt's poſthumous remains, from Purchas, which he gathered preparatory to another impreſſion. Likewiſe ſome account in the preface of the principal worthies, whoſe adventures and diſcoveries have enriched this excellent collection; as well as of the worthy collector himſelf. Hoping the publication would be the more ſeaſonable at that juncture, as it compriſes a branch ſo conſiderable of the Engliſh hiſtory, and might ſerve to revive ſuch a ſpirit of trade and induſtry, as prevailed among us formerly, or has of late poſſeſſed the nations of Europe, moſt remarkable hitherto for their ſloth and indolence (58). But the foundation being inſufficient to ſupport the expence, the publication gave way to others, and it was dropped: yet Hakluyt went on, to be pillaged, abridged, and reduced, as he had been; to be tranſpoſed and transformed, diſguiſed and deformed; ſo has been publiſhed and republiſhed, little or much of him, from one end to the other, in a confuſed, or indiſtinct conjunction with other collections; and no true genuine Hakluyt, or grateful acknowledgment to Hakluyt, after more than one hundred and fifty years, revived yet.

(*p*) Hakluyt's dedication to Sir Robert Cecil, before his third volume of Voyages, folio, 1600.

(*q*) Idem.

* Fuller's Worthies, under the article of Hakluyt, in Herefordſhire.

(56) See a Collection of Voyages and Travels, publiſhed by A. and J. Churchill, in 4 vols fol. 1704. and in 6 vols, 1732. in the introductory characters of moſt books of travels, p. 87.

(57) The new edition of Dr John Harris's Collection of Voyages, &c. in 2 vols fol. Vol. I. 1744. Introd. p. 2.

(58) See the Propoſals for reprinting by ſubſcription, the Navigations, &c. of the Engliſh Nation, by Ric. Hakluyt, M. A. &c. in one vol. folio, printed on a half ſheet, 1736.

1600, brought forth from the preſs [*K*]. But Hakluyt himſelf appeared not long behind him, with the tranſlation of another hiſtory, in 1601, written by A. Galvano in the Portugueſe tongue; containing a compendious relation of the moſt conſiderable diſcoveries that had been made in various parts of the univerſe, from the earlieſt to the later times [*L*]. And this ſpecimen, no leſs than many others of our author's induſtry, has yielded no ſcanty contributions to Mr Samuel Purchas's voluminous collections. About the year 1605, Doctor Richard Webſter, Prebend of the fourth ſtall at Weſtminſter, dying (*r*), he was ſucceeded therein by Mr Hakluyt; which, with the rectory of Wetheringſet in the county of Suffolk (*s*), is all the eccleſiaſtical promotion we can find he arrived at. And about this time, as we compute, the tranſlation of Peter Martyr's Hiſtory of the Weſt-Indies was undertaken, and firſt publiſhed by Mr Lok at the requeſt and encouragement of our author; and what is ſaid in the preface thereof before cited, might happily conduce to promote the grant of a patent by King James, for continuing or renewing the plantation of Virginia, dated April 10, 1606, wherein we find Richard Hakluyt, Clerk, named and choſen as one of the ſaid corporation (*t*). Certain it is, that beſides the reputation he acquired by his own publications of Naval Hiſtory, far ſuperior to any thing of the like kind that had ever appeared in this kingdom before; and his incitements of others, to tranſlate, and familiarize among us, the conqueſts and diſcoveries of foreign adventurers, with the advantages accrueing thereby; the ſpirit he alſo animated to the like national benefits, in thoſe of his countrymen who were engaged in the like enterprizes,

by

(*r*) Richard Newcourt's Hiſt. of the Dioceſe of London, &c. fol. Vol. I. p. 925.

(*s*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 413.

(*t*) Sam. Purchas's Pilgrims, Part IV. fol. 1625. p. 1683.

[*K*] *It was this year, 1600, brought forth from the preſs.*] This book is entituled, *A Geographical Hiſtorie of* Africa, *written in Arabick and Italian by* John Leo, *a More, born in Granada, and brought up in Barbarie, &c.* To which is prefixed, *A Map of Africa, with a general Deſcription of Africa and other Places, undeſcribed by Leo:* and there is added at the end, *A Relation of the great Princes, and the Religions in Africa: tranſlated and collected by* John Pory, *lately of Gonvill and Caius College in Cambridge.* Lond *Impenſ.* Geo. Biſhop, fol. 1600. The ſaid tranſlator, in his dedicatiation to Sir Robert Cecil, Principal Secretary to her Majeſtie, &c. deſires him to accept of this Geographical Hiſtory, as it pleaſed him, not long ſince, moſt favourably to take in good part thoſe commendable endeavours of his reverend friend Mr Richard Hakluyt; 'Who, ſays he, out of his mature judgment in 'theſe ſtudies, knowing the excellence of this ſtory, 'above all others in the ſame kind, was the only man 'that moved me to tranſlate it.' Dated at London, the forty-third coronation day of her Majeſty, 1600.

As for the author, John Leo, 'tis ſaid he was born at Granada in Spain; and when it was taken by King Ferdinand and Iſabella, in 1491, he removed to Africa, whence he was called Africanus, as may be ſomewhat implied from the application of his own fable, concerning the amphibious bird (59), to that occaſional conformity, neceſſary for the ſafety of all diſcreet travellers; where he profeſſes, that when he heard the Africans ill ſpoken of, he would affirm himſelf to be of Granada; and when the people of this country were diſcommended, he would declare himſelf an African; yet he ſays expreſly but a little before, according to this tranſlation (60), that he was born in Africa; or at leaſt, according to his own words in Ramuſio, that he was nurſed and educated there (61). However it appears, in the ſecond book of his hiſtory, that he was no older than ten years at the deſtruction of Azafi by the Portugueſe. We may ſee throughout, that he was well trained in the learning of that country, and in good manners, for which he was much eſteemed (62). And that he was well allied, may be gathered from his uncle's being ſent ſometimes upon embaſſies by the King of Fez (63); and being beloved by him for his accompliſhments, being a good orator and poet, as his nephew this author alſo was, who at ſixteen years of age, compoſed verſes upon the Prince of Tenueres, which ſo pleaſed him, that he gave him fifty ducats, beſides a good horſe, and ten ducats apiece to his ſervants (64). He copied the epitaphs in the temple of Sella, in the year of the Hegira 915, which was about our year 1506. Between this and the year 1512, he ſerved Mahomet King of Fez in his wars againſt the Portugueſe, at Arzella, and was ſent Ambaſſador from the ſaid King to Morocco, about that or the next year (65). And in his travels, was once near being drawn into the water by crocodiles, and twice in danger of being devoured by lions. He mentions alſo himſelf other books of his writing; as an *Arabian Grammar* (66), which has been commended by thoſe who have ſeen it: alſo a *Diſcourſe of the Mahometan Religion* (67), with a treatiſe of the Arabic Poetry (68), and the lives of the Arabian Philoſophers, which were printed by Hottinger at Zurich. His laſt voyage that we read of, was from Fez to Conſtantinople, and from thence to Egypt; but in his return, he was taken priſoner between Tunis and Tripoly, by ſome Italian corſairs, who carried him to Rome, and his Hiſtory of Africa with him, in which it appears he had been writing, 'till about or beyond the year 1520. They were both preſented by the patron who bought him, to Pope Leo X. who won him over to Chriſtianity, and he was baptized John Leo, after the Pope's name. While he was at Rome, he learnt the Italian tongue, and tranſlated this Hiſtory from his own Arabic copy into that language, in the year 1526; which, coming afterwards into the hands of Ramuſio, Secretary to the republic of Venice, he has given us a correct edition of it in the firſt volume of his Voyages, as above quoted; alſo a character, to the author's commendation, in his Epiſtle Dedicatory to his friend Fracaſtorius. This, with the approbations of our author Mr Hakluyt, who accounted that Hiſtory the beſt, moſt particular, and methodical of any, which was come to light of thoſe territories; and the teſtimonies alſo of Ortelius, before his maps of Africa and Barbary, with others by John Bodin, in his Method of Reading Hiſtory, cap. iv. as alſo by Ant. Poſſevinus de Hiſtoricis, cap. ii. ſect. 7. may be ſeen in this Engliſh tranſlation (69). See likewiſe Bernard Aderete, lib. iii. art. Hiſp. & Afric. cap. v. Nic. Antonio, Bibl. Hiſp. H. Hottinger, in Biblioth. Libertus Fromandus, Meteor. lib. v. cap. 2, 3. and Voſſius de Hiſtor. lib. iii. As Leo was the firſt author who has given any faithful and diſtinct account of thoſe parts of the world, from his own knowledge and obſervation, many have been his tranſlators into the European languages; and beſides Marmol, ſeveral others have been his plagiaries; but Wedmanſtadius is the only one who ſays he forſook Chriſtianity and returned to Mahometaniſm.

(59) Leo's Hiſt. of Africa, at the end of his firſt book.

(60) Idem, p. 42.

(61) Raccola delle Navigazione, &c. in primo volume & terza edit. fol. 1563. p. 11. b.

(62) Hiſt of Africa, lib. iv. p. 231.

(63) Idem, lib. ii. p. 92.

(64) Ibid. lib. ii. p. 96.

(65) Idem. lib. ii. p. 90.

(66) Lib. iii. p. 150.

(67) Lib. ii. p. 55, 74, &c.

(68) Lib. ii. p. 50.

(69) From p. 57 to 60.

[*L*] *Galvano's Hiſtory of Diſcoveries, &c. from the earlieſt to the later times.*] This work is known in Engliſh by the title of *The Diſcoveries of the World, from the firſt original to the year* 1555.: *written in the Portugal tongue, by* Antonio Galvano, *&c. corrected, much amended, and tranſlated into Engliſh, by* Richard Hakluyt, *Lond. quarto*, 1601. The author was Governor of Ternate, the chief iſland of the Molucca's; and his Hiſtory, for the authority, conciſeneſs, and regular ſeries of it, has been involved and ſwallowed up, as others that are copious and diſtinct have been contracted and cramped up in larger works. Particularly Mr Purchas, in that part of his Collections which he entitles *the Voyages of Spaniards and Portugueſe*, taken out of this treatiſe, ſays in a marginal note, 'That the 'ſaid author writ in Portugal, a ſummary of diſcoveries 'in chronological order, from the beginning of the 'world; and that he was tranſlated and publiſhed in a 'ſmall book in quarto by Mr Hakluyt.' Whereunto he adds, 'I have choſen theſe which follow out of his 'book; thoſe which are here omitted I have more fully 'delivered in other parts of this voluminous work (70).'

(70) Pilgrims, Part II. fol. 1625. p. 1671.

[*M*] *Which*

by his moſt intelligent and communicative converſation, gained the higheſt eſteem and honour to his name and memory, by mariners in general of all ranks, in the moſt diſtant nations, no leſs than his own, whereof there are ſeveral inſtances; and particularly, in thoſe northern diſcoveries that were made at the charge of the Muſcovy Merchants in 1608, under Captain W. Hudſon; when, among other places there denominated, on the continent of Greenland, which were formerly diſcovered, they diſtinguiſhed an eminent promontary, lying in eighty degrees northward, by the name of Hakluyt's Headland, which continues to be ſo called, ſays our author, to this day (u). And now he exhibited another laborious proof of his faithful affection to Virginia, and the inviolable attachment thereof to the crown of England, in his tranſlation from the Portugueſe, of an Hiſtory, which ſhews how highly that country ought to be prized; by another deſcription of Florida, contiguous to it, from the travels of Don Ferdinando de Soto, the Adelantado thereof; which tranſlation he publiſhed in the beginning of 1609 [M]. Two years after, in 1611, we find Edmund Hakluyt, the ſon of our author, entred a ſtudent of Trinity-college Cambridge (w). And in the ſame year, that the northern diſcoverers, under the company aforeſaid, in a voyage to Pechora in Ruſſia, denoted a full and flowing ſtream they arrived at, having it ſeems a pure and active current, by the name of Hakluyt's River (x); and three years after, anno 1614, it appears, that the banner and arms of the King of England were erected at Hakluyt's Headland abovementioned (y). All that we meet with more of our author is, that he paid his laſt debt to nature, probably at his apartments in the college at Weſtminſter, on the 23d of November, in 1616, and was buried in the church of that abbey, dedicated to St Peter, on the 26th of the ſame month; leaving to his ſon Edmund aforeſaid, whom he had by his wife Frances, his manour of Bridge-Place, and ſeveral houſes in Tothil-ſtreet Weſtminſter (z). Some authors inform us, that he left a fair eſtate to an unthrifty ſon, who embezzelled or ſquandered it away; yet was wont to boaſt, how much he had deceived the covetous uſurer who bought it, and had given him ſpick and ſpan new coin for the dirty old clods of his great-grandfather (a). Our author's literary treaſures, however, met with a fate ſomewhat more favourable, and much more than thoſe of the celebrated Ramuſio; one part of whoſe manuſcript remains, which might, to his Naval Hiſtory, have added a fourth volume, being burnt in the houſe of his Printer; but Hakluyt's remaining collections, whereof he left at leaſt as much as would have made another volume alſo to his three, falling into the hands of Mr Purchas, he has ſcattered them, or parts of them, about his four volumes, after his irregular and curtailed or contracted manner; and though in the whole not with due juſtice to the author, yet has he now and then dropped ſome ſhort but emphatical and deſerved praiſes of him, as was before obſerved; thereby concurring with thoſe writers of eſtabliſhed judgment, who have diſtinguiſhed, according to his deſerts, the ſurpaſſing knowledge and learning, diligence and fidelity, of this Naval Hiſtorian.

(u) Purchas, Part III. fol. 464, 714.

(w) Electio Diſcip. Weſtmonaſt. &c. ut ſupra.

(x) W. Gourdon's Relation of the Voyage to Pechora, &c. in Purchas, Part III. 1625. p. 531.

(y) Rob. Fotherby's Voyage of Diſcovery to Greenland, in Purchas, ibid. p. 723.

(z) Athen. Oxon. as before.

(a) T. Fuller's Worthies, in Herefordſhire, fol. 40. Alſo the Apophthegms of the Engliſh Nation, 4to. MS.

[M] *Which tranſlation he publiſhed in the beginning of* 1609.] 'Tis printed under the title of *Virginia richly valued, by the Deſcription of the maine Land of Florida, her next Neighbour; out of the four years continual Travell and Diſcoverie for above one thouſand miles Eaſt and Weſt, of Don Ferdinando de Soto, and ſix hundred able men in his companie. Wherein are truely obſerved the Riches and Fertilitie of thoſe parts, abounding with things neceſſarie, pleaſant, and profitable, for the life of Man: with the Natures and Diſpoſitions of the Inhabitants. Written by a Portugal Gentleman of Elvas, employed in all the Action, and tranſlated out of Portugueſe, by* Richard Hakluyt. *London, printed by* F. Kyngſton, *quarto*, 1609. It is dedicated from his lodgings in the college of Weſtminſter, 15 April the ſame year, To the Right Honourable the Right Worſhipful Counſellors and others, the chereful adventurers for the advancement of that Chriſtian and noble plantation of Virginia. And our author, after producing authorities for the richneſs of that country, which is contiguous to Virginia, ſays to them, 'What need I to ſtand upon foreign teſtimonies, ſince Maſter Thomas Heriot, a man of much judgment in theſe caſes, ſignified unto you all at your laſt ſolemn meeting, at the houſe of the Right Honourable the Earl of Exeter, how to the ſouthward of our old fort in Virginia, the Indians often informed him, that there was a great melting of red metal; reporting the manner in working the ſame. Beſides our own Indians lately have found either this or another rich mine of copper or gold, in a town called Ritanoe, near certain mountains lying weſt of Roanoac.' So he goes on to enumerate the other rich and uſeful commodities of that country, with the manners and diſpoſitions of the inhabitants: and concludes with exhorting them, that, by their wiſe inſtructions, all things in their intended ſettlement at Virginia, may be carried on to the beſt advantage, for the honour of God, and the enlargement of his Majeſty's dominions.

Upon the revival of our plantation in that country, which afterwards enſued, Michael Drayton the poet ſpeaks thus to and of our author, in his

ODE
To the
VIRGINIAN VOYAGE.

Thy Voyages attend,
Induſtrious Hakluyt;
Whoſe reading ſhall inflame
Men to ſeek fame,
And much commend,
To after times thy wit.

HALE [Sir Matthew], a man of great learning and integrity, and Lord Chief-Juſtice of the King's-Bench in the laſt century, was the only child of Robert Hale a Barriſter of Lincoln's-Inn [*A*], and born at Alderley in Glouceſterſhire November 1, 1609. Having loſt his mother before he was three years old, and his father before he was five, he was committed to the care of Antony Kingſcot, Eſq; a near kinſman of his; who being puritanically inclined (*a*), cauſed him to be educated in grammar-learning by Mr Staunton, Vicar of Wotton-under-Edge, a noted Puritan (*b*). In Michaelmas term 1626, he was admitted in Magdalen-hall in Oxford, and put under the tuition of Obadiah Sedgwick, a zealous man of the ſame party. He was an extraordinary proficient at ſchool, and for about three years at Oxford: but the ſtage-players coming thither, he became ſo much corrupted by ſeeing many plays, that he not only forſook his ſtudies, but alſo ran into many of the levities and extravagances of youth; ſtill preſerving however his purity, and a great probity of mind. Yet, being over-fond of rough and martial exerciſes, he was preparing to go along with his tutor Sedgwick, who was chaplain to the Lord Vere in the Low-Countries, with a reſolution of entering himſelf in the Prince of Orange's army. From this raſh deſign he was diverted, by being engaged in a law-ſuit with Sir William Whitmore, who laid claim to ſome part of his eſtate. For Serjeant Glanvill, who was recommended to him for his counſellor, obſerving in the young man a clear apprehenſion of things, a ſolid judgment, and a great fitneſs for the drudgery of the Law, took pains to perſwade him to forſake all thoughts of being a ſoldier, and to apply himſelf to the ſtudy of the Law. His perſwaſions were ſo effectual, that November 8, 1629, Mr Hale was admitted into Lincoln's-Inn, being juſt entered into the 21ſt year of his age. Deeply ſenſible of the great quantity and value of the time he had loſt, he reſolved to redeem it, by following his ſtudies with an incredible diligence: for he ſtudied for many years at the rate of ſixteen hours a day. At the ſame time, he threw aſide all fine cloaths, and betook himſelf to a plain faſhion [*B*], which he continued to uſe in many points to his dying day (*c*). Still he went on keeping too much company with ſome vain people, 'till he was frightned from it by an unhappy accident that befel one of his companions [*C*]. But thenceforward he forſook all his bad acquaintance, and divided himſelf between the duties of religion [*D*] and the ſtudies of his profeſſion (*d*). Not being ſatisfied with the law-books then publiſhed, and firmly reſolving to take things from the fountain-head, he was very diligent in ſearching records. And, with collections out of the books he read, mixed with his own learned obſervations, he made a moſt valuable common-place-book [*E*]. He was early taken notice of by a gentleman of the ſame inn with himſelf, William Noy, Eſq; the Attorney-General, who directed him in his ſtudies, and grew to have ſuch a friendſhip for him, that he came to be called young Noy (*e*). The great and learned Mr Selden alſo ſoon found him out; and though much ſuperior to him in years, took ſuch a liking to him, that he not only lived in great friendſhip with him, but alſo

left

(*a*) Life and Death of Sir Matthew Hale, by G. Burnet, D. D. Lond. 1682. 8vo. p. 1, &c.

(*b*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 573.

(*c*) Burnet, as above, p. 4—7.

(*d*) Idem, p. 7—10.

(*e*) Idem, p. 10—12.

[*A*] *Was the only child of Robert Hale, a Barriſter of Lincoln's-Inn*] His grandfather was Robert Hale, an eminent clothier of Wotton-under Edge in Glouceſterſhire, where he and his anceſtors had lived for many deſcents; and they gave ſeveral parcels of land for the uſe of the poor, which are enjoyed by them to this day. This Robert acquired an eſtate of ten thouſand pounds, which he divided almoſt equally amongſt his five ſons; beſides the portions he gave his daughters, from whom a numerous poſterity has ſprung.——His mother was Joan, daughter of Matthew Poyntz of Alderley, Eſq; deſcended from the noble family of the Poyntz's of Acton.——His father was a man of that ſtrictneſs of conſcience, that he gave over the practice of the Law, becauſe he could not underſtand the reaſon of giving colour in pleadings, which as he thought was to tell a lye; and that, with ſome other things commonly practiſed, ſeemed to him contrary to that exactneſs of truth and juſtice which became a Chriſtian, ſo that he withdrew himſelf from the Inns of Court to live on his eſtate in the country [A very uncommon inſtance, ſeldom practiſed ſince, and the like to which could hardly be found now-a-days!] As the care he had to ſave his ſoul, made him abandon a profeſſion in which he might have raiſed his family much higher, ſo his charity to his poor neighbours, made him not only deal his alms largely among them while he lived, but at his death he left (out of his ſmall eſtate which was 100l. a year) 20l. a year to the poor of Wotton, which his ſon confirmed to them with ſome addition, and with this regulation, that it ſhould be diſtributed among ſuch poor houſe-keepers, as did not receive alms of the pariſh; for to give it to thoſe, was only, as he uſed to ſay, to ſave ſo much money to the rich, who by law were bound to relieve the poor of the pariſh (1).

(1) Burnet, as above, p. 1, 2, 3.

[*B*] *And betook himſelf to a plain faſhion.*] 'Paſſing thus from the extream of vanity in his apparel, to that of neglecting himſelf too much, he was once taken, when there was a preſs for the King's ſervice, as a perſon fit for ſea-ſervice; for he was a ſtrong and well built man: but ſome that knew him coming by, and giving notice who he was, the preſs-gang let him go. This made him return to more decency in his clothes, but never to any ſuperfluity or vanity in them (2).'

(2) Burnet, as above, p. 12.

[*C*] *He was frightned from it by an unhappy accident that befel one of his companions*] The accident was this. 'Mr Hale with ſome other young ſtudents being invited out of town, one of the company called for ſo much wine, that, notwithſtanding all that Mr Hale could do to prevent it, he went on in his exceſs till he fell down as dead before them: ſo that all that were preſent were not a little affrighted at it, and did what they could to bring him to himſelf again. This did particularly affect Mr Hale, who thereupon went into another room, and ſhutting the door, fell on his knees, and prayed earneſtly to God, both for his friend, that he might be reſtored to life again; and that himſelf might be forgiven for giving countenance to ſo much exceſs: and he vowed to God, that he would never again keep company in that manner, nor drink a health while he lived. His friend recovered, and he moſt religiouſly obſerved his vow, 'till his dying day (3).'

(3) Burnet, p. 8, 9.

[*D*] *And divided himſelf between the duties of religion.*] 'He was ſo regular in the duties of religion, that for ſix and thirty years, he never once failed going to church on the Lord's-day.' Which is an obſervation he made himſelf (4).

(4) See Burnet, p. 10.

[*E*] *He made a moſt valuable common-place-book.*] It was done with great induſtry and judgment. Inſomuch, that an eminent Judge of the King's-Bench having borrowed it of him, (though he very unwillingly lent it, as thinking it too imperfect,) the judge, after having peruſed it, ſaid, that though it was compoſed by him ſo early, he did not think any lawyer in England could do it better, except he himſelf would again ſet about it (5).

(5) Idem, p. 14.

left him at his death one of his executors. It was this acquaintance that firſt ſet Mr Hale on a more enlarged purſuit of learning, which he had before confined to his own profeſſion. So that by his uncommon induſtry and good natural parts, he arrived at a conſiderable knowledge in the Civil Law, in Arithmetick, Algebra, and other mathematical ſciences, as well as in Phyſick, Anatomy, and Chirurgery. He was alſo very converſant in Experimental Philoſophy, and other branches of philoſophical learning; and in Antient Hiſtory and Chronology. Nor was he unacquainted with the antient Greek Philoſophers, but want of uſe wore out his knowledge of the Greek tongue; and though he never ſtudied Hebrew, yet by his frequent converſations with Selden, he underſtood the moſt curious things in the Rabinical learning. But, above all, he ſeemed to have made Divinity his chief ſtudy; to which he not only directed every thing elſe, but alſo arrived at that perfection in it, that thoſe who read what he wrote on thoſe ſubjects, will think they muſt have taken moſt of his time and thoughts (*f*) [*F*]. Some time before the civil wars he was called to the Bar (*g*), and began to make a figure in the world. But, upon their breaking out, obſerving how difficult it was to preſerve his integrity and to live ſecurely, he reſolved to follow theſe two maxims of Pomponius Atticus (*h*), whom he propoſed to himſelf as a pattern: namely, to engage in no faction, nor meddle in publick buſineſs; and, conſtantly to favour and relieve thoſe that were loweſt. Accordingly he avoided all publick employment, and the very talking of news; being ſtrictly careful, never to provoke any in particular, by cenſuring or reflecting on their actions. And he often relieved the Royaliſts in their neceſſities [*G*]. This ſo ingratiated him with them, that he came generally to be employed by them in his practice. He was one of the Counſel to the Earl of Strafford, Archbiſhop Laud, and King Charles himſelf (*i*): as alſo to the Duke of Hamilton (*k*), the Earl of Holland, the Lord Capel, and the Lord Craven (*l*) [*H*]. But being eſteemed a plain honeſt man, a perſon of great integrity and knowledge in the Law, he was entertained by both parties, the Preſbyterians as well as Loyaliſts. In 1643 he took the Covenant, and appeared ſeveral times with other lay perſons among the Aſſembly of Divines. He was then in great eſteem with the Parliament, and employed by them in ſeveral affairs, for his counſel, particularly in the reduction of the garriſon at Oxford; being, as a lawyer, added to the commiſſioners named by the Parliament to treat with thoſe appointed by the King. In that capacity he did good ſervice, by adviſing them, eſpecially the General, Fairfax, to preſerve that famous ſeat of learning from ruin. Afterwards, though the barbarous death of King Charles I. was a great grief to him, yet he took the oath called the Engagement. And, on the 20th of January 1651-2, was one of thoſe appointed to conſider of the Reformation of the Law (*m*) [*I*]. Oliver Cromwell, who affected

(*f*) Idem, p. 14—18.

(*g*) Wood, Ath. col. 574.

(*h*) Vide Cornelium Nepot. in vitâ P. Attici.

(*i*) Burnet, as above, p. 19, 20, 21. Memorials of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 422, &c.

(*k*) Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, by G. Burnet, D. D. Lond. 1676. fol. where Mr Hale's Plea for that Duke is printed.

(*l*) Life by Burnet, as above, p. 20, 21.

(*m*) See Mr Whitelock's Memorials, &c. edit. 1732. p. 520, 521.

[*F*] *Will think they muſt have taken moſt of his time and thoughts.*] 'It may ſeem almoſt incredible, as 'Dr Burnet obſerves (6), that one man, in no great 'compaſs of years, ſhould have acquired ſuch a variety of knowledge: and that in ſciences, which require much leiſure and application. But as his parts 'were quick, and his apprehenſion lively, his memory 'great, and his judgment ſtrong; ſo his induſtry was 'almoſt indefatigable. He roſe always betimes in the 'morning; was never idle; ſcarce ever held any diſcourſe about news, except with ſome few in whom 'he confided entirely. He entered into no correſpondence by letters, except about neceſſary buſineſs, or 'matters of learning, and ſpent very little time in eating or drinking; for as he never went to public 'feaſts, ſo he gave no entertainments but to the poor; 'for he followed our Saviour's direction (of feaſting 'none but theſe) literally: and in eating and drinking, 'he obſerved not only great plainneſs and moderation, 'but lived ſo philoſophically, that he always ended his 'meal with an appetite; ſo that he loſt little time at 'it, (that being the only portion which he grudged 'himſelf) and was diſpoſed to any exerciſe of his 'mind, to which he thought fit to apply himſelf immediately after he had dined. By theſe means he 'gained much time, that is otherwiſe unprofitably 'waſted. He had alſo an admirable equality in the 'temper of his mind, which diſpoſed him for whatever ſtudies he thought fit to turn himſelf to; and 'ſome very uneaſie things which he lay under for 'many years, did rather engage him to, than diſtract 'him from, his ſtudies.'

(6) Life, as above, p. 18, 19.

[*G*] *And he often relieved the Royaliſts in their neceſſities.*] 'This he did in a way no leſs prudent than charitable, conſidering the dangers of that time: for he often depoſited conſiderable ſums in the hands of a worthy gentleman of the King's party, who knew their neceſſities well, and was to diſtribute his charity according to his own diſcretion, without either letting them know from whence it came, or giving himſelf any account to whom he had given it (7).'

(7) Burnet, Life, as above, p. 21, 22.

[*H*] *And the Lord Craven.*] When he was counſel for this Lord, he pleaded with that force of argument, that the then Attorney-General, Edmund Prideaux, threatned him for appearing againſt the government: to whom he anſwered, He was 'pleading in defence of 'thoſe laws, which they declared they would maintain 'and preſerve, and he was doing his duty to his client, 'ſo that he was not to be daunted with threatnings '(8).'

(8) Idem, p. 2

[*I*] *Was one of thoſe appointed to conſider of the Reformation of the Law.*] The reſt of the committee, were, William Steel, Eſq; Recorder of London, Charles-George Cock, Eſq; Mr Manby, Mr Sadler, Col. Blount, Sir Henry Blount, Kt. Mr Berners, Major General Deſborough, Mr Moyer, Col. Tomlinſon, John Fountaine, Eſq; Alderman Fowke, Hugh Peters clerk, Major Packer, Sir William Roberts, Mr Meltwold, Mr Manſell, John Ruſhworth of Lincoln's-Inn, Mr Sparrow, and Sir Antony Aſhley Cooper, Bart. 'They were to take into conſideration what inconveniences there were in the law; how the miſchiefs which grew from delays, the chargeableneſs, and irregularities in the proceedings of the Law might be prevented, and the ſpeedieſt way to prevent the ſame. And to preſent their opinions to the committee of Parliament appointed for that purpoſe, and they or any ſeven of them had power to ſend for any perſons to confer with them in this buſineſs, and for records.' They met ſeveral times, and deſired the Judges in their ſeveral courts to return to them a liſt of their ſeveral officers, what fees they received, and what they did for the ſame. And none was more buſy than Hugh Peters, who underſtood little of the Law, and was very opinionative. On the 21ſt of February next enſuing, they paſſed the following reſolutions. 'If the defendant in a perſonal action, before pleading, tender 'ſatisfaction to the plaintiff with coſts of ſuit, and it 'appear afterwards at the trial to the jury ſufficient 'and not accepted of, the plaintiff to loſe his own and 'pay the other's coſt in the ſuit. That ſummons be 'the firſt proceſs in all perſonal actions, with the true 'date when ſued forth and executed upon oath, and 'returnable within fifteen days after the ſervice; the 'defendant to have a copy from the original, under 'ſeal, given or left at his houſe, and the cauſe of the 'ſuit fected the reputation of honouring and truſting perſons of eminent virtues, and wanted ſuch a man as Mr Hale to give countenance to his courts, never left importuning him, ’till he accepted of the place of one of the Juſtices of the Common-Bench, as it was then called. For which purpoſe he was by writ made Serjeant at Law, on the 25th of January 1653-4 (*n*). In that ſtation he acted with great integrity and ſuitable courage [*K*]. The ſame year he was elected one of the five Knights to repreſent the county of Glouceſter, in the Parliament which began at Weſtminſter, September 3, 1654 (*o*). He duly attended the Houſe, on purpoſe to obſtruct the mad and wicked projects then ſet on foot, by two parties, that had very different principles and ends (*p*) [*L*]. When the Protector died, he not only excuſed himſelf from accepting of the mourning that was ſent him, but alſo refuſed the new commiſſion offered him by Richard; alledging, ‘ He could act ‘ no longer under ſuch authority (*q*).’ He did not ſit in Oliver’s ſecond Parliament, in 1656; but, in Richard’s, which met January 27, 1658-9, he was one of the Burgeſſes for the univerſity of Oxford (*r*). And in the Healing Parliament, anno 1660, which recalled King Charles II. he was elected one of the Knights for the county of Glouceſter, through the Lord Berkeley’s intereſt, and without any charge to himſelf, though he had a competitor that had ſpent near a thouſand pounds; a great ſum to be employed that

way

(*n*) Life by Burnet, as above, p. 22, 23. Wood Ath. as above. The Perfect Politician; or Life of O. Cromwell, by J. S. Lond. 1660. 8vo. p. 355.

(*o*) Br. Willis’s Notitia Parliamentaria, edit. 1750. 8vo. Part ii. p. 261.

(*p*) Burnet, as above, p. 28, &c.

(*q*) Idem, p. 30.

(*r*) Willis, ut ſupra, p. 291.

‘ ſuit ſet down in the body of the writ; that upon default of appearing, a further proceſs be granted to ‘ arreſt the party, till he appear or give warrant. And ‘ in caſe of non appearance, the defendant’s lands and ‘ goods to be diſtrained to a certain value, ’till he appear or give warrant.’ The 23d of March, they preſented to the Committee of Parliament, the draughts of ſeveral acts: two of which were, For ‘ taking away common recoveries, and the unneceſſary charge ‘ of fines, and to paſs and charge lands intailed, as ‘ lands in fee ſimple. For aſcertaining arbitrary fines ‘ upon deſcent, and alienation of copyholds of inheritance (9).’ Very neceſſary laws to reſtrain the oppreſſions of Lords of Maners.

(9) Whitelock, as above, p. 520, 521, 523, 528. Wood Ath. as above, col. 574.

[*K*] *In that ſtation, he acted with great integrity and ſuitable courage.*] He had at firſt great ſcruples concerning the authority under which he was to act. And, after having gone two or three circuits, he refuſed to ſit any more on the crown ſide; that is, to judge criminals. He had indeed ſo carried himſelf in ſome tryals, that the powers then in being were not unwilling he ſhould withdraw from meddling farther in them; of which Dr Burnet gives the following inſtances (10). Not long after he was made a judge, when he went the circuit, a tryal was brought before him at Lincoln, concerning the murder of one of the townſmen, who had been of the King’s party, and was killed by a ſoldier of the garriſon there. He was in the fields with a fowling piece on his ſhoulder; which the ſoldier ſeeing, he came to him, and ſaid, it was contrary to an order which the Protector had made, *That none who had been of the King’s party ſhould carry arms*; and ſo he would have forced it from him. But as the other did not regard the order, ſo being ſtronger than the ſoldier, he threw him down, and having beat him, left him. The ſoldier went into the town, and told one of his fellow-ſoldiers how he had been uſed, and got him to go with him, and lye in wait for the man, that he might be revenged on him. They both watched his coming to town, and one of them went to him to demand his gun; which he refuſing, the ſoldier ſtruck at him; and as they were ſtruggling, the other came behind, and ran his ſword into his body; of which he preſently died. It was in the time of the aſſizes, ſo they were both tryed: againſt the one there was no evidence of forethought felony, ſo he was only found guilty of manſlaughter, and burnt on the hand; but the other was found guilty of murther: and though Col. Whaley, that commanded the garriſon, came into the court, and urged, *That the man was killed only for diſobeying the Protector’s order*, and *that the ſoldier was but doing his duty*; yet the Judge regarded both his reaſons and threatnings very little; and therefore he not only gave ſentence againſt him, but ordered the execution to be ſo ſuddenly done, that it might not be poſſible to procure a reprieve; which he believed would have been obtained, if there had been time enough granted for it. —— Another occaſion was given him, of ſhewing both his juſtice and courage, when he was in another circuit. He underſtood that the Protector had ordered a jury to be returned for a tryal, in which he was more than ordinarily concerned. Upon this information, he examined the ſheriff about it, who knew nothing of it, for he ſaid he referred all ſuch things to the under-ſheriff; and having next aſked the under-ſheriff concerning it, he found the jury had been returned by order from Cromwell; upon which he ſhewed the ſtatute, that all juries ought to be returned by the ſheriff, or his lawful officer: and this not being done according to law, he diſmiſſed the jury, and would not try the cauſe. Upon which the Protector was highly diſpleaſed with him, and at his return from the circuit, he told him in anger, *He was not fit to be a judge*; to which all the anſwer he made was, *That it was very true.* —— Another thing met him in the circuit, upon which he reſolved to have proceeded ſeverely. Some Anabaptiſtts had ruſhed into a church, and had diſturbed a congregation while they were receiving the ſacrament, not without ſome violence. At this he was highly offended, for he ſaid, *It was intolerable for men, who pretended ſo highly to liberty of conſcience, to go and diſturb others; eſpecially thoſe who had the incouragement of the law on their ſide* But theſe were ſo ſupported by ſome great magiſtrates and officers, that a ſtop was put to his proceedings; upon which he declared, he would meddle no more with the tryals on the Crown ſide. ——— When Penruddock’s tryal was brought on, there was a ſpecial meſſenger ſent to him, requiring him to aſſiſt at it. It was in vacation time, and he was at his country-houſe at Alderley: he plainly refuſed to go, and ſaid, *The four terms. and two circuits, were enough, and the little interval that was between, was little enough for their private affairs*; and ſo he excuſed himſelf. But, if he had been urged, he would not have been afraid of ſpeaking more plainly.’

(10) Life, p. 23, 25, &c.

[*L*] *On purpoſe to obſtruct the mad and wicked projects then ſet on foot by two parties, &c*] One of thoſe parties, who were down right brainſick Enthuſiaſts, were reſolved to pull down a ſtanding miniſtry, the law and property of England, and all the ancient rules of this government, and ſet up in their room an indigeſted Enthuſiaſtical Scheme, which they called the Kingdom of Chriſt, or of his ſaints; many of them being really in expectation, that one day or other Chriſt would come down, and ſit among them, and at leaſt they thought to begin the glorious thouſand years mentioned in the Revelation. ——— The others, taking advantage from the fears and apprehenſions all the ſober people of the nation were in, leſt they ſhould fall under the tyranny of that diſtracted ſort of people, (who, to all their other principles added great cruelty, which they had copied from thoſe at Munſter in the former age) intended to improve that opportunity to raiſe their own fortunes and families Amidſt theſe, Judge Hale ſteered a middle courſe; for, as he would engage for neither ſide, ſo he, with a great many more worthy men, came to parliaments, more out of a deſign to hinder miſchief, than to do much good; that is, to oppoſe the ill deſigns of both parties, the Enthuſiaſts as well as the Uſurpers. Among the other extravagant motions made in this parliament, one was, to deſtroy all the records in the Tower, and to ſettle the nation on a new foundation; ſo he took this province to himſelf, to ſhew the madneſs of this propoſition, the injuſtice of it, and the miſchiefs that would follow on it; and did it with ſuch clearneſs and ſtrength of reaſon, as not only ſatisfied all ſober perſons (for it may be ſuppoſed that was ſoon done) but ſtopt even the mouths of the frentick people themſelves (11).

(11) Burnet, Life, &c. p. 28, 29, 30.

[*M*] *Conſtituted*

way in thoſe days (*s*). In that parliament, he moved that a committee might be appointed to look into the propoſitions that had been made, and the conceſſions that had been offered by King Charles I. during the late war; that from thence ſuch propoſitions might be digeſted, as they ſhould think fit to be ſent over to the King at Breda (*t*). He was alſo very earneſt and inſtrumental in getting the act of indemnity paſſed (*u*). The 22d of June, his Majeſty recalled him, among others, by writ, to the degree of Serjeant at Law (*w*). And, upon ſettling the courts in Weſtminſter-hall, conſtituted him, November 7 the ſame year, Chief-Baron of the Exchequer (*x*) [*M*]. Some time after he was knighted (*y*) [*N*]. He continued eleven years in that place; and very much raiſed the reputation and practice of the Court, by his exact and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice [*O*], as alſo by his generoſity, vaſt diligence, and great exactneſs in tryals (*z*). According to his rule of favouring and relieving thoſe that were loweſt, he was now very charitable to the Nonconformiſts, and took great care to cover them as much as poſſible from the ſeverities of the law [*P*]. He thought many of them had merited highly in the buſineſs

(*s*) Burnet, p. 30, 31.

(*t*) Burnet Hiſt. of his own Time, edit. 1753. 8vo. Vol. I. p. 122.

(*u*) Idem, Life, as above, p. 32.

(*w*) Syderfyn's Reports, fol. p. 2.

(*x*) Dugdale Chron. Series.

(*y*) Burnet, Life, as above, p. 32, 33.

(*z*) Ibid.

[*M*] *Conſtituted him, November 7, the ſame year, Chief Baron of the Exchequer.*] When the Lord Chancellor Clarendon delivered him his commiſſion, he made a ſpeech to him according to cuſtom, wherein he expreſſed his great and juſt eſteem for him in the following words. 'That if the King could have found out an 'honeſter and fitter man for that employment, he 'would not have advanced him to it; and that he had 'therefore preferred him, becauſe he knew none that 'deſerved it ſo well (12).'

(12) Idem, p. 32.

[*N*] *Some time after he was knighted.*] It is an honour uſually conferred upon the Chief Judges; but Mr Hale deſired to avoid it: and therefore declined for a conſiderable time all opportunities of waiting on the King. Which the Lord Chancellor obſerving, he ſent for him upon buſineſs one day, when the King was at his houſe, and told his Majeſty, 'There was his 'modeſt Chief-Baron;' upon which he was unexpectedly knighted (13).

(13) Idem, p. 33.

[*O*] *By his exact and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice.*] Of which we have the following inſtances. 'He would never receive any private addreſſes or recommendations from the greateſt perſons, in any matter in which juſtice was concerned. One of the firſt Peers of England went once to his chamber, and told him, 'That having a ſuit in law to be tried before him, 'he was then to acquaint him with it, that he 'might the better underſtand it, when it ſhould come 'to be heard in court.' Upon which Sir Matthew interrupted him, and ſaid, 'He did not deal fairly to 'come to his chamber about ſuch affairs, for he never 'received any information of cauſes but in open court, 'where both parties were to be heard alike;' ſo he would not ſuffer him to go on. Whereupon his Grace (for he was a Duke) went away not a little diſſatisfied, and complained of it to the King, as a rudeneſs that was not to be endured. But his Majeſty bid him 'content himſelf that he was no worſe uſed,' and ſaid, 'He verily believed he would have uſed himſelf no 'better, if he had gone to ſollicite him in any of his 'own cauſes.' Another paſſage fell out in one of his circuits, which was ſomewhat cenſured as an affectation of unreaſonable ſtrictneſs; but it flowed from his exactneſs to the rules he had ſet himſelf. A gentleman had ſent him a buck for his table, that had a tryal at the aſſizes; ſo when he heard his name, he aſked, 'If 'he was not the ſame perſon that had ſent him veniſon?' and finding he was the ſame, he told him, 'He could not ſuffer the tryal to go on, till he had 'paid him for his buck:' to which the gentleman anſwered, 'That he never ſold his veniſon, and that he 'had done nothing to him, which he did not do to 'every judge that had gone that circuit,' which was confirmed by ſeveral gentlemen then preſent: but all would not do, for the Lord Chief Baron had learned from Solomon, That *a gift perverteth the ways of judgment*; and therefore he would not ſuffer the tryal to go on, till he had paid for the preſent; upon which the gentleman withdrew the record. And, at Saliſbury, the Dean and Chapter having, according to cuſtom, preſented him with ſix ſugar loaves in his circuit, he made his ſervants pay for the ſugar before he would try their cauſe (14).'

(14) Idem, p. 37, 38.

[*P*] *And took great care to cover them as much as poſſible from the ſeverities of the law.*] The honourable Roger North, Eſq; affirms, that he was even partial to them. His account of Sir Matthew, in his judicial capacity, is as follows (15).——'While Hales was 'Chief Baron of the Exchequer, by means of his great 'learning, even againſt his inclination, he did the 'crown more juſtice, in that court, than any others, 'in his place, had done with all their good will and leſs 'knowledge. But — his foible — was leaning towards the popular; yet, when he knew the law was for the King, (as well he might, being acquainted with all the records of the Court, to which men of the law are commonly ſtrangers) he failed not to judge accordingly. He was an upright judge, if taken within himſelf; and when he appeared, as he often did, and really was, partial, his inclination or prejudice, inſenſibly to himſelf, drew his judgment aſide. His bias lay ſtrangely for, and againſt, characters and denominations; and ſometimes the very habits of perſons. If one party was a courtier, and well dreſſed, and the other a ſort of puritan, with a black cap and plain cloaths, he inſenſibly thought the juſtice of the cauſe with the latter. If the diſſenting, or anti-court party was at the back of a cauſe, he was very ſeldom impartial; and the Loyaliſts had always a great diſadvantage before him.——It is ſaid he was once caught. A courtier, who had a cauſe to be tried before him, got one to go to him, as from the King, to ſpeak for favour to his adverſary, and ſo carried his point; for the Chief Juſtice could not think any perſon to be in the right, that came ſo unduly recommended.'———Mr North adds theſe further particulars concerning him.—'He became the cuſhion exceeding well: his manner of hearing patient, his directions pertinent, and his diſcourſes copious and, though he heſitated often, fluent. His ſtop, for a word, by the produce always paid for the delay; and, on ſome occaſions, he would utter ſentences heroic. One of the bankers, a courtier, by name Sir Robert Viner, when he was Lord-Mayor of London, delayed making a return to a mandamus, and the proſecutor moved for an attachment againſt him. The Recorder Howel appeared; and, to avert the rule for an attachment, alledged the greatneſs of his magiſtracy; and the diſorder that might happen in the city, if the Mayor were impriſoned. The Chief Juſtice put his thumbs in his girdle, as his way was, and, *Tell me of the Mayor of London*, ſaid he? *Tell me of the Mayor of Queenborough*: but ſtill this was againſt the Court. He put on the ſhew of much valour, as if the danger ſeemed to lie on that ſide, from whence either loſs of his place, (of which he really made no great account) or ſome more violent, or as they pretended, arbitrary infliction might fall upon him. Whereas, in truth, that ſide was ſafe, which he muſt needs know, and that all real danger, to a judge, was from the impetuous fury of a rabble, who have as little ſenſe and diſcretion as juſtice; and from the Houſe of Commons, who ſeldom want their wills, and, for the moſt part, with the power of the Crown, obtain them. Againſt theſe powers he was very fearful; and one bred, as he was, in the rebellious times, when the government, at beſt, was but rout and riot, either of rabble committees, or ſoldiers, may be allowed to have an idea of their tyranny, and conſequently ſtand in fear of ſuch brutiſh violence and injuſtice as they committed. But it is pleaſant to conſider that this man's not fearing the Court was accounted valour; that is by the populace, who never accounted his fear of themſelves to have been a mere timidity. Whatever his courage or fear was, it is moſt certain his vanity was exceſſive; which grew out of a ſelf-converſation, and being little abroad.'———Mr North adds moreover (16), That 'this great man was often a ſlave to prejudice, a ſubtiliſer, and an inventor of unheard of diſtinctions, and exerciſing

(15) Life of the Hon. Sir Francis North, Baron of Guilford, &c. Lond. 1742. 4to. p. 61, &c.

(16) Ibid. p. 64.

buſineſs of the King's Reſtoration, and at leaſt deſerved that the terms of Conformity ſhould not have been made ſtricter than they were before the war. But as he lamented the too rigorous proceedings againſt them, ſo he declared himſelf always of the ſide of the Church of England, and ſaid, Thoſe of the Separation were good men, but they had narrow ſouls, who would break the peace of the Church about ſuch inconſiderable matters as the points in difference were (*a*). After the Fire of London, he was one of the principal Judges that ſat in Clifford's-inn, to ſettle the differences between landlord and tenant; being the firſt that offered his ſervice to the city in that affair: wherein he behaved himſelf to the ſatisfaction of all parties concerned (*b*). In 1668, he earneſtly promoted the Comprehenſion then ſet on foot between the Church and the Nonconformiſts, and drew up the bill to be preſented to Parliament for that purpoſe (*c*). On the 18th of May 1671, he was promoted to the place of Lord Chief Juſtice of England, that is of the King's Bench, vacant by the death of Sir John Keeling. He behaved in that high ſtation with his uſual ſtrictneſs, regularity, and diligence [*Q*], and thereby drew moſt of the buſineſs of the other courts after him (*d*). But, about four years and a half after this advancement, he, who had hitherto enjoyed a firm and vigorous health, to which his great temperance and the equality of his mind did not a little conduce, was on a ſudden brought very low by an inflammation in his midriff: In two days time it broke his conſtitution to ſuch a degree, that he never recovered; for his illneſs turned to an aſthma, that terminated in a dropſy, which brought him to his end (*e*). Finding himſelf unable to diſcharge the duties of his function, he petitioned, about the beginning of the year 1675 6, for a writ of eaſe: but it being delayed, he ſurrendered his office into the Lord Chancellor's hands, the 21ſt of February 1675-6. He had now nothing to do but to prepare himſelf for his death, which happened the 25th of December following. On the 4th of January, he was interred in the church-yard of Alderley [*R*] among his anceſtors; and a plain monument, according to his direction, was ſoon after erected over his grave (*f*) [*S*]. The moſt material part of his character, as drawn up by Dr Burnet and others, is given below in the note [*T*]. He was

(*a*) Idem, p. 39, 40, 41.

(*b*) Idem, p. 33, 34.

(*c*) See the Life of R. Baxter.

(*d*) Burnet, Life, as above, p. 55, &c.

(*e*) Idem, p. 57.

(*f*) Idem, p. 70, 71.

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exerciſing criticiſms to get the better of known maxims of the law, and thereby to tranſmit great eſtates and intereſts from ſome perſons and families to others. This over-ruling temper of his did not ſo much take place in ſmall concerns, and in thoſe between common men; for there his juſtice ſhined moſt, and armed him with reputation that ſuſtained his authority to do as he pleaſed in greater. Whereby it ſeems that if he never had dealt in other but great cauſes, to hear and determine them, he might have been accounted the worſt judge that ever ſat.———Yet the generality, both gentle and ſimple, lawyers and laymen, did idolize him.——His voice was oracular, and his perſon little leſs than adored. This faſcination, as Mr North ſtyles it, proceeded [in his opinion,] from faction, and had, at the root, more of confederacy than judgment; for becauſe the Chief Juſtice was, in principle, averſe to Monarchy and the Court, they all, with one voice, exalted him, in order to have him lead the Law, and all the lawyers, that way; and left no room for juſt thoughts of him, which attributed enough of honour and commendation, but all that he ſaid was right, and whoever ſaid to the contrary was wrong.'———Mr North having delivered himſelf thus freely about Sir Matthew Hale, concludes his account of him with the following apology (17).———'I muſt not part without ſubjoining my ſolemn proteſtation, that nothing is here ſet down for any invidious purpoſes, but merely for the ſake of truth; firſt, in general, for all truth is profitable; and, ſecondly, in particular, for juſtice to the character I write of (18), againſt whom never any thing was urged ſo peremptorily as the authority of Hales; as if one muſt of neceſſity be in the wrong, becauſe another was preſumed to be in the right. Theſe two Chiefs were of different opinions in matters of private right, as well as touching the publick. And if one were a Solomon, Saint, and Oracle, what muſt the other be taken for? therefore I have underſtood it abſolutely neceſſary for me, as I have done, to ſhew Hales in a truer light than when the age did not allow ſuch freedom, but accounted it a delirium, or malignancy at leaſt, not to idolize him; and thereby to manifeſt that he had his frailties, defects, prejudices, and vanities, as well as excellencies; and that he was not a very touchſtone of law, probity, juſtice and publick ſpirit, as, in his own time, he was accounted: but that ſome, that did not agree with him, might have thoſe virtues as eminently, in the eye of a juſt obſerver. This is the only conſideration that moved me ſo freely to diſplay the matters aforegoing; wiſhing only that I had means, or ability, of doing it with more punctuality. I conclude with this obſervation; that it is a general error of the commnnity, learned and unlearned, when a man is truly great in ſome capacities, by the meaſure of them to magnify him in all others, wherein he may be a ſhallow pretender. But it is the office of a juſt writer of the characters of men, to give every one his due, and no more.'

(17) Ibid. p. 69.

(18) Viz. Sir Francis North, Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, and afterwards Lord Keeper.

[*Q*] *He behaved in that high ſtation with his uſual ſtrictneſs, regularity, &c.*] 'One thing was much obſerved and commended in him, viz. that when there was a great inequality in the ability and learning of the counſellors that were to plead one againſt another, he thought it became him, as the judge, to ſupply that: ſo he would enforce what the weaker counſel managed but indifferently, and not ſuffer the more learned to carry the buſineſs by the advantage they had over the others, in their quickneſs and ſkill in law, and readineſs in pleading, 'till all things were cleared, in which the merits and ſtrength of the ill defended cauſe lay. He was not ſatisfied barely to give his judgment in cauſes; but did, eſpecially in all intricate ones, give ſuch an account of the reaſons that prevailed with him; that the counſel did not only acquieſce in his authority, but were ſo convinced by his reaſons, that he brought them often to change their opinions; ſo that his giving of judgment was really a learned lecture upon that point of law. And even the parties intereſted were generally ſatisfied with the juſtice of his deciſions, even when they were made againſt themſelves (19).'

(19) Burnet, Life, &c. as above, p. 55, 56.

[*R*] *He was interred in the church-yard of Alderley.*] He did not much approve of burying in churches, and uſed to ſay, 'The churches were for the living, and the church-yards for the dead (20).'

(20) Ibid. p. 70.

[*S*] *And a plain monument, according to his direction, was ſoon after erected over his grave.*] The ſides are of black and white marble, and the top a plain black marble, with the following inſcription ordered by himſelf.

Hic inhumatur corpus
Matthei Hale, *Militis*;
Roberti Hale, *et* Joannæ,
Uxoris ejus, Filii unici.
Nati in hac Parochia de
Alderly, *primo die Novembris Anno Dom.* 1609.
Denati vero ibidem viceſimo
quinto die Decembris,
Anno Dom. 1676.
Ætatis ſuæ LXVII.

[*T*] *The moſt material part of his character, as drawn up by Dr Burnet and others, &c.*] 'His capacities, was author of ſeveral things, ſome of which were publiſhed by himſelf [U], and others after

cities, ſays Dr Burnet, were great, and much improved by conſtant ſtudy; which rendered his learning various. He roſe always early in the morning; loved to walk much abroad, not only for his health, but he thought it opened his mind, and enlarged his thoughts, to have the creation of God before his eyes. He had great vivacity in his fancy, as appears by his inclination to poetry, and his poetical performances; but he looked on eloquence and wit as things to be uſed very chaſtly and ſparingly. He was a devout Chriſtian, a ſincere Proteſtant, and a true ſon of the Church of England; moderate towards Diſſenters, and juſt even to thoſe from whom he differed moſt. He uſed conſtantly to worſhip God in his family, performing it always himſelf, if there was no clergyman preſent: he was alſo very regular in his private devotions. So far was he from covetouſneſs, that he did not make the profits he might have had by his practice: taking, in common caſes, only ten ſhillings for his fee. And he raiſed his eſtate, from *one hundred pounds a year not quite to nine hundred*; of which a very conſiderable part came from his ſhare of Mr Selden's effects, to whom he was an executor, and reſiduary legatee. In his practice; if he ſaw a cauſe was unjuſt, he, for a great while, would not meddle further in it, but give his advice that it was ſo: if the parties, after that, would go on, they were to ſeek another counſellor, for he would aſſiſt none in acts of injuſtice: if he found the cauſe doubtful or weak in point of law, he always adviſed his clients to agree their buſineſs. In his pleading, he abhorred thoſe too common faults of miſ-reciting evidences, quoting precedents or books falſly, or aſſerting things confidently; by which ignorant juries, or weak judges, are too often influenced. He pleaded with the ſame ſincerity that he uſed in the other parts of his life, and uſed to ſay, 'It was as great a diſhonour as a man was capable of, that for a little money he was to be hired to ſay or do otherwiſe than as he thought.' All this he aſcribed to the immeaſurable deſire of heaping up wealth. When he was a practitioner, differences were often referred to him, which he ſettled; but would accept of no reward for his pains, though offered by both parties together, after the agreement was made; for he ſaid, 'In thoſe caſes he was made a judge, and a judge ought to take no money.' *Feſtina lentè*, was his beloved motto, which he ordered to be ingraven on the head of his ſtaff; and was often heard to ſay, 'That he had obſerved many witty men run into great errors, becauſe they did not give themſelves time to think.' He laid aſide the tenth penny of all he got for the poor, and took great care to be well informed of proper objects for his charities; and, after he was a judge, many of the perquiſites of his place were ſent by him to the jayls, to diſcharge poor priſoners. He uſually invited his poor neighbours to dine with him, and made them ſit at table with himſelf: and if any of them were ſick, ſo that they could not come, he would ſend meat warm to them from his table. But as to common beggars, if they were able to work, he would employ them. He loved building much, wherein he conſulted uſefulneſs more than magnificence: for, in that, as well as his furniture and clothes, he avoided every thing that looked like pomp or vanity. He was a gentle landlord to all his tenants, and was ever ready, upon any reaſonable complaints, to make abatements; for he was merciful as well as righteous. After he was made a judge, he would needs pay more for every purchaſe he made than it was worth; of which he aſſigned this reaſon, 'That it became judges to pay more for what they bought than the true value; to the end, thoſe they dealt with, might not think they had any right to their favour, by having ſold ſuch things to them at an eaſy rate.' He was of a moſt tender and compaſſionate nature; and, at trials, behaved himſelf with that regard to the priſoners, which became both the gravity of a judge, and the pity that was due to men whoſe lives lay at ſtake. His mercifulneſs extended even to his beaſts, for when the horſes that he had kept long, grew old, he would not ſuffer them to be ſold, or much wrought, but ordered his men to turn them looſe on his grounds, and put them only to eaſy work (21). He was a great encourager of all young perſons, that he ſaw followed their books diligently, to whom he uſed to give directions concerning the method of their ſtudy, with a humanity and ſweetneſs, that wrought much on all that came near him: and, in a ſmiling pleaſant way, he would admoniſh them, if he ſaw any thing amiſs in them. He was very free and communicative in his diſcourſe, which he moſt commonly fixed on ſome good and uſeful ſubject, and loved for an hour or two at night, to be viſited by ſome of his friends (22).'——Mr North ſuggeſts (23), that thoſe friends were none but flatterers. For, ſays he, 'When he was off from the ſeat of juſtice, and at home, his converſation was with none but flatterers.'——'He was, adds Mr North (24), the moſt flatterable creature that ever was known; for there was a method of reſignation to him, and treating him with little meals, and private, with his pipe, at eaſe, which certainly captivated him. In ſhort, to give every one his due, there was in him the moſt of learning and wiſdom, joined with ignorance and folly, that ever was known to coincide in the character of any one man in the world.' But he doth Sir Matthew this juſtice, to teſtify of him, that his 'reputation for his great ability in the law, and rigorous juſtice will be very long lived in Weſtminſter-hall, and the Inns of Court and Chancery.'——And praiſes him, for 'his great learning in the hiſtory, law, and records of the Engliſh conſtitution:' ſtyles him, 'an upright judge;' and ſays, 'he was allowed on all hands to be the moſt profound lawyer of his time'——R. Baxter gives this character of him (25). 'He was an unwearied ſtudent, a prudent man, a ſolid philoſopher, a famous lawyer, the pillar and baſis of juſtice, (who would not have done an unjuſt act for any worldly price or motive) the ornament of his Majeſty's government, and honour of England; the higheſt faculty of the ſoul at Weſtminſter-hall, and pattern to all the reverend and honourable Judges, a godly ſerious practical Chriſtian, a lover of goodneſs and all good men; a great contemner of riches, pomp, and vanity of the world, a pattern of honeſt plainneſs and humility, &c.'——Dr Burnet concludes his character in theſe words: 'That he was one of the greateſt patterns this age has afforded, whether in his private deportment as a Chriſtian, or in his publick employments, either at the bar or on the bench.'

[U] *Some of which were publiſhed by himſelf.*] Namely, I. 'An Eſſay touching the Gravitation, or Non-Gravitation of Fluid Bodies, and the Reaſons thereof.' Lond. 1674, 8vo. II. '*Difficiles Nugæ*, or Obſervations touching the Torricellian Experiment, and the various ſolutions of the ſame, eſpecially touching the Weight and Elaſticity of the Air.' Lond. 1674, 8vo. Dr Henry More wrote ſome remarks upon this, ſo far as it might concern any paſſages in his *Enchiridion Metaphyſ.* III. 'Obſervations touching the Principles of natural Motion, and eſpecially touching Rarefaction and Condenſation, together with a Reply to certain Remarks touching the Gravitation of Fluids.' Lond. 1677, 8vo. IV. 'Contemplations Moral and Divine.' In two parts. The firſt printed at London in 1676, 8vo, and the ſecond part in 1677, 8vo. To the firſt were added, 'Directions touching keeping the Lord's day: And, Poems on Chriſtmas-day.' They were both reprinted together in 1679, 8vo. Theſe Contemplations came abroad without his knowledge, and contrary to his intention. V. An Engliſh tranſlation of 'The Life and Death of *Pomponius Atticus*, written by his contemporary and acquaintance *Cornelius Nepos*; together with Obſervations political and moral.' Lond 1677, 8vo. This tranſlation is ſaid to be badly done (26). VI. 'The primitive Origination of Mankind conſidered and explained according to the Light of Nature.' Lond. 1677, fol. VII. He alſo wrote the preface to, and publiſhed, the 'Abridgment of many Caſes and Reſolutions of the Common Law, alphabetically digeſted under ſeveral titles, &c.' By H. Rolle. Lond. 1668, fol. VIII. Likewiſe, he was partly the author of, 'London's Liberty: Or a learned Argument of Law and Reaſon,' An. 1650. Reprinted in 1682, fol. under this title, 'London's Liberties: Or, The Opinions of thoſe great Lawyers, Lord Ch. Juſtice Hale, Mr Juſtice Wild, and Mr Serjeant Maynard, about the Election of Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen and Common-Council of London, and concerning their Charter.'

(21) Burnet, Life, as above, p. 83—99.

(22) Ibid. p. 99, 100.

(23) Life of Lord Guilford, as above, p. 62.

(24) Ibid. p. 64.

(25) Additional Notes on the Life and Death of Sir Matth. Hale, Lond. 1682. 8vo. p. 43, 44. a ſmall pamphlet.

(26) See Life of Lord Guilford, as above, p. 63.

after his deceaſe [*W*]. By his Will, he bequeathed to the ſociety of Lincoln's-inn, his manuſcript books [*X*] of ineſtimable value, which he had been near forty years in gathering, with very great induſtry and expence. An account of his wives and family is given below in the note [*Y*].

[*W*] *And others after his deceaſe*] They were, 1. ' Pleas of the Crown: or a Methodical Summary of ' the Principal Matters relating to that Subject.' Lond. 1678 8vo. 2. ' Diſcourſe touching Proviſion for the ' Poor.' Lond. 1683. 12mo 3. ' A Treatiſe touching Sheriffs Accounts.' Lond. 1683 8vo To which is joined his ' Tryal of Witches at the Aſſizes held at ' Bury St Edmunds on the firſt of March, 1664.' His condemnation of thoſe poor crazy wretches, was the worſt and the moſt culpable action in his whole life (27). 4. His ' Judgment of the Nature of True Religion, the Cauſes of its Corruption, and the Churches ' Calamity by Mens Additions and Violences; with ' the deſired Cure,' Lond. 1684. 4to. Publiſhed by R. Baxter. 5. ' Several Tracts, as A Diſcourſe of ' Religion under three heads, &c His Treatiſe concerning Proviſion for the Poor, already mentioned: ' A Letter to his Children, adviſing them how to behave in their ſpeech: A Letter to one of his Sons, ' after his recovery from the ſmall-pox.' Lond. 1684. 8vo. 6. ' Diſcourſe of the Knowledge of God and of ' our Selves, firſt by the Light of Nature, ſecondly by ' the Sacred Scriptures.' To which is added, ' Brief ' Abſtract of the Chriſtian Religion: and conſiderations ' ſeaſonable at all times for the cleanſing of the Heart ' and Life.' Lond. 1688. 8vo 7. ' The Original ' Inſtitution, Power, and Juriſdiction, of Parliaments.' Lond. 1707. 8vo. 8. ' *Hiſtoria Placitorum Coronæ.* ' The Hiſtory of the Pleas of the Crown. Firſt publiſhed, in 1736, from his original manuſcript, and ' the ſeveral references to the Records examined by the ' Originals, with large notes, By Sollom Emlyn of ' Lincoln's-inn, Eſq; 2 vols fol.' The Houſe of Commons had made an order, 29 Novemb. 1680, that it ſhould then be printed; but it was never printed 'till now. The *Pleas of the Crown*, &c printed in 1678, 8vo. (as above) was only a plan of this work.

(27) See Dr Hutchinſon's Hiſtorical Eſſay concerning Witchcraft, Lond. 1718. 8vo. p. 109, &c.

He left ſeveral other pieces in manuſcript, as, ' Concerning the Secondary Origination of Mankind, fol. ' Concerning Religion, 5 vols fol.' and many others, of no great value: whereof an account may be ſeen at the end of his life by Dr Burnet (28)

(28) P. 113, &c.

[*X*] *By his Will he bequeathed to the ſociety of Lincoln's-inn his manuſcript books, &c*] They are of ineſtimable value; as being, Cloſe and Patent Rolls, and Charter-Rolls in the time of King John for the clergy: the principal matters in the Cloſe and Patent Rolls of Henry III. from the 9th to the 56th of his reign: Cloſe Rolls of King John: *Placita de tempore Reg. Johannis, Edw.* I. *Edw.* II. *Edw.* III. *Ric.* II. *Henr.* IV. *and* V. *Placita de Banco, Edw.* I. *ab anno* 1 *ad annum* 21: the Pleas in the Exchequer, ſtyled *Communia*, from 1 to 46 Edw. III. Cloſe Rolls of Edw. II. and III. Cloſe and Patent Rolls in the time of Edward III Leagues of the Kings, Edw I. II. and III. in many volumes. ' He deſired they ſhould be kept ſafe, ' and all together, bound in leather, and chained; ' not lent out or diſpoſed of: only, if any of his poſterity of that ſociety ſhould deſire to tranſcribe any ' book, and give good caution to reſtore it again in a ' prefixed time, they ſhould be lent to him, and but ' one volume at a time. They are, ſays he, a treaſure ' that are not fit for every man's view; nor is every ' man capable of making uſe of them (29).'

(29) Burnet in the ſame Life, p. 116, &c. See North, as above, p. 63.

[*Y*] *An account of his wives and family, &c*] He was twice married. His firſt wife was Anne, daughter of Sir Henry Moor of Faley in Berkſhire, by whom he had ten children: the four firſt dyed young, the other ſix lived to be all married; and he outlived them all except his eldeſt daughter and his youngeſt ſon. The name of his eldeſt ſon was Robert, to whoſe children he left his eſtate. Their poſterity is ſtill ſeated at Alderley. Sir Matthew, it, ſeems, was not very happy in his children (30).——His ſecond lady was Anne, daughter of Mr Joſeph Biſhop of Faley abovementioned. She was his own ſervant: and it was upon occaſion of his marriage with her, that he made uſe of this ludicrous ſaying, ' That there is no wiſdom below the ' girdle (31).

C

(30) North, as above, p. 63.

(31) Ibid.

HALES [JOHN], an excellent Divine and Critick (*a*) uſually diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *ever memorable* *; ſeems to have been deſcended from a family of ſome note [*A*] in Somerſetſhire, and was born in that county at the city of Bath in St James's pariſh anno 1584; where being put to ſchool, he made a progreſs in grammar learning ſo quick as to be judged fit for the univerſity at the age of thirteen, and in the beginning of the year 1597 being ſent to Oxford, became a ſcholar of Corpus-Chriſti-college, where he continued for ſome time; and taking his firſt degree in Arts, ſignalized himſelf prodigiouſly in all his academical exerciſes (*b*), and was much famed for his accurate ſkill in the Greek language. Such rare talents particularly engaged the attention of Sir Henry Savile then Warden of Merton, who always ſtudious to promote the honour and intereſt of his ſociety, took care to bring Mr Hales into it [*B*]; and in 1605 he was choſen fellow there, his merit having procured him the firſt place in the election (*c*). He had not been long in this ſtation, when the learned Warden reſolving to make uſe of his aſſiſtance in preparing St Chryſoſtom's works for the preſs, had the ſatisfaction to receive continually freſh proofs of his abilities (*d*). In the interim he was appointed Greek Lecturer in the college, and preferred in 1612 to the public lecture of that language in the univerſity (*e*), Upon the death of Sir Thomas Bodley founder of the Bodleian Library, January 28, 1613 (*f*), that univerſity determining to interr the corpſe in the moſt ſolemn manner, choſe Mr Hales to make the funeral oration which he ſpoke on the 29th of March (*g*), and on the 24th of May (*h*) following was admitted Fellow of Eton-college (*i*), being then in Holy Orders, and a few years after an eminent preacher according to the taſte of thoſe times [*C*]. In 1618

(*a*) Mr Wood calls him the beſt critic of the laſt age. Ath. Ox. Vol. I. col. 556.

* See the title page to his Golden Remains, and his Tracts likewiſe.

(*b*) There was never any who went beyond him either for diſputations or declamations. Idem, Vol. II. col. 199.

(*c*) Mr Wood in the place above cited informs us, that in this election Mr Hales ſhewed himſelf to be a perſon of learning above his age and ſtanding. He proceeded Maſter of Arts, probably not long afterwards.

(*d*) Id. ibid. and Heylin's Cyprianus Anglicus, lib. iv. p. 362.

(*e*) Wood ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Idem, in the article BODLEY [THOMAS], who it appears there was buried at the upper end of the choir in Merton-college-chapel.

(*g*) See the ſpeech, which was printed at Oxford that year, and again in Vitæ ſelectorum aliquot virorum, &c. by Dr W. Bates, in 1681. 4to.

(*h*) Or elſe the 4th. Compare Gen. Dict. Vol. V. p. 783. with Vol. VIII. p. 236. note [*B*]. Des Maizeaux is miſtaken in fixing the time of this fact after our author's return from Holland. See his account of the Life and Writings of Mr Hales, &c. p. 3. Lond. 1719. 8vo. col. 199.

(*i*) Probably by the intereſt of Sir H. Savile, and alſo of Sir Dudley Carlton. Ath. Ox. Vol. II.

[*A*] *Deſcended from a family of ſome note.*] This is collected from the account of it by Mr Wood, who obſerves (1) that our author was a younger ſon of John Hales (ſteward to the family of the Horners in Somerſetſhire) eldeſt ſon of Edward Hales of Highchurch in that county, ſon of John Hales of the ſame place, ſon of Richard Hales by his wife the daughter of Beauchamp.

(1) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 199.

[*B*] *Sir Henry Savile took care to bring him into Merton-college.*] The laſt cited author from whom we have this particular expreſſes it thus, ' The prodigious ' pregnancy of his parts being diſcovered by the hedge-' beaters of Sir Henry Savile, he was encouraged by ' them to ſtand for a fellowſhip in Merton college (2).' And another author intimating that Sir Henry was uſed to do the like in reſpect to all young men who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the univerſity by their merit, obſerves that the example can never be too much commended or imitated (3).

(2) Ibid.

[*C*] *In a few years became an eminent preacher.*] The firſt ſermon of the collection in his *Golden Remains*, edit. 1659. upon 2 Pet. iii. 16. upon wreſting hard places

(3) Des Maizeaux's account of the Life and Writings of our author, Lond. 1719. 8vo. p. 1.

1618 he accompanied Sir Dudley Carlton Embaſſadour to the Hague in quality of chaplain, by which means he procured admiſſion into the ſynod of Dort [*D*]; and though he was not properly a member (*k*), yet his letters to Sir Dudley giving an account of their proceedings, are penned with greater reſpect to that aſſembly, than thoſe written on the ſame occaſion by Mr Balcanqual Commiſſioner there for the Scottiſh Church [*E*]. Every body

places of Scripture, which 'tis ſaid was printed in 1617 at Oxford in 4to (4) ſeems inferior to none that we have of his in any point, and is freer than moſt of them from that affected archneſs of argument and quaintneſs of expreſſion and obſervation, which indeed was the vice of the times, and he was a compleat adept therein. It will not be amiſs to give one inſtance as a ſpecimen. We ſhall take it from his firſt ſermon of Duels preached at the Hague before the Embaſſador; wherein obſerving that the Scriptures every where inculcate gentleneſs, meekneſs, and peace, he proceeds thus, 'The Son of God, who is the wiſdom of the Father, and who for us men came down from heaven, firſt, and before all other virtues, commended this unto the world: for when he was born, the ſong of the Angels was, *Peace upon earth, and good will towards men*. All his doctrine was peace, his whole life was peaceable, and no man *heard his voice in the ſtreets*; his laſt legacy and bequeſt left unto his diſciples was the ſame; *Peace*, ſaith he, *I leave unto you, my Peace I give unto you*: as Chriſt ſo Chriſtians.' So far the piety and gravity of the preacher is truly admirable, the hearer muſt needs feel and acknowledge the force of his eloquence; but this it is that ſerves to make the contraſt in what follows ſo much the more conſpicuouſly odious, for thus he ſhuts up the argument. 'In the building of Solomon's temple there was no noiſe of any hammer, of any inſtrument of iron; ſo in the ſpiritual building and frame of a Chriſtian, there is no ſound of iron, no noiſe of any weapons, nothing but peace and gentleneſs (5).' Can this be read upon the ſubject of duels without ſuggeſting theſe two lines of Hudibras,

Ah me what perils do inviron,
The man that meddles with cold iron.

In reality, a ſolid and pious ſtrain of reaſoning, pointed with ſuch a quaint witticiſm at the end, is thereby metamorphoſed into a compleat piece of drollery. However this is no more than a ſingle ſtroke, and the only one that diſgraces that ſermon, and ſuch a one too as provokes indignation as much as laughter. But whoever has the curioſity to peruſe the firſt of the four ſermons [not in the Remains] publiſhed in 1673, will find himſelf held in a continued twitter throughout. It is abſolutely a maſter-piece in the art of text-ſplitting ſo much admired in thoſe days; and as our author was then probably young, being alſo, as he tells us himſelf, of a gay temper *, it will perhaps not be doing him any wrong to ſuppoſe, the review of ſuch a lucky production of his own genius could not fail of raiſing a ſmile in him. Somewhere in theſe ſermons, if I miſtake not, he tells a ſtory which naturally ſtarts up on this occaſion, of Zeuxis the famous Grecian painter, who having finiſhed the picture of an old woman exactly to his mind, was ſo extremely delighted in viewing the delicious piece, that he killed himſelf with laughing at it. After all, in juſtice to our author it muſt be allowed, that theſe diſcourſes abound with excellent uncommon turns of reaſoning and oratory, as well as curious hiſtorical reflections; and in that light are indeed *non vulgaris monetæ*, as is intimated by his friend Mr Farindon (6).

[*D*] *He procured admiſſion into the ſynod of Dort.*] This ſeems to have been his principal view in going to Holland with Sir Dudley, who, beſides his brother the Biſhop of Landaff firſt Engliſh Commiſſioner, recommended him to Bogerman Preſident of the Synod, and ſome others of the leading men there (7); by which means he got acquainted with their moſt ſecret deliberations, and being conſtantly preſent at their open ſeſſions, he was a witneſs to their public tranſactions, and gave an account of every thing in a ſeries of letters to the Embaſſador, from whoſe archives they were obtained, and thence inſerted in his *Golden Remains* †.

[*E*] *His letters are more reſpectful to the Synod than thoſe of Mr Balcanqual.*] This appears evidently upon the face of the letters; we ſhall give one inſtance as a ſpecimen. Mr Balcanqual, in a letter dated the 13th of February (it ſhould be January), 1618, writes in theſe terms. 'The confuſion here in handling of buſineſs is very great; they don't know how to put any thing to committees to agree of buſineſs, and then afterward to propound it to the Synod to be approved or diſapproved, which hath been the cuſtom obſerved in all Councils and Synods; but nothing is known 'till it be propounded in the Synod, and then there are almoſt as many ſeveral voices as heads; if your Lordſhip would give your advice to ſome of the Eſtates in this kind, it may be they would apprehend it, and we ſhould bring buſineſs to ſome iſſue. The Palatine divines and we (8) have met now three times, and we have agreed on the ſame propoſitions, and have reſolved to call one of every college of the foreign divines, and communicate the ſame with them, that ſo, if it be poſſible, all we ſtrangers may ſet up, and throw down the ſame concluſions. For the Provincials, for any thing I can ſee, they are ſo far ſet againſt the Remonſtrants, I wiſh not their perſons as well as their opinions, that I am afraid they will not like well of our moderation For the diſmiſſion of the Remonſtrants, ſince your Lordſhip is pleaſed to take notice of it, I hope I may without offence ſay, that it was certainly ſuch as did the Synod much wrong. On friday when they ſeemed to yield, then the *Exteri Theologi* could not be heard for the continuing them in the Synod. Nay the trick which was put upon them was a little too palpable: *For the Delegates* [*of the Eſtates General*] *had the decree of their diſmiſſion written before they came into the Synod.* Yet our voices were aſked, hoping it ſhould have been anſwerable to their decree; but finding it was otherwiſe, without ſo much as laying their heads together for conſultation, *they publiſhed a decree which they brought written with them into the Synod.* On Monday the late acts of the Remonſtrants incredible obſtinacy being read, the *Theologi Exteri* gave ſuffrages for their diſmiſſion; only one, to wit Steinius, gave a bitter ſentence, their [the foreigners] voices being aſked only, who are not above a third part of the Synod, they were called in and diſmiſſed with ſuch a powdering ſpeech, as I doubt not but your Lordſhip hath heard with grief enough. I proteſt I am much afflicted, when I think of it; for if the Remonſtrants ſhould write, that the Preſident pronounced a ſentence, which was not the ſentence of the Synod, they ſhould not lye. The civil lawyers and canoniſts of France, who write much about the formalities omitted in the Council of Trent, urge exceptions of leſs moment than theſe; ſo neither was there above *a third part of the voices aſked ex quibus ſententia ferri nequit*: neither was the ſentence conceived in writ, and approved by the Synod, and the bitter words in the ſentence were not the words of any of the ſuffrages, unleſs that ſome of them were ſpoken by one man only (9).' Thus Baleanqual, whoſe letter is followed by that of Mr Hales, dated January $\frac{5}{15}$, 1618, upon the ſame ſubject, viz. the diſmiſſion of the Remonſtrants, wherein he relates the ſimple matter of fact, without making any reflections thereon, except in the ſingle ſtep of omitting to take the votes of the Provincials, for which he offers, what was undoubtedly the true reaſon, by way of apology. 'When the foreigners had ſpoken, ſays he, it was thought ſufficient; neither did the Præſes proceed to aſk the judgment of the Provincials, *knowing belike before what it was*.' The ſame caution of ſticking barely to the matter of fact is obſerved by him in the next letter wrote the day following on the ſame ſubject (10): and he begins a third letter dated $\frac{12}{22}$ January, with the apology of the Synod, on account of the unbecoming heat ſhewn in that proceeding. Thus,

'Right Honourable and my very good Lord,

'The errours of public actions (if they be not very groſs) are with leſs inconvenience tolerated than amended. For the danger of alteration, of diſgracing or diſabling authority, makes that the fortune of ſuch proceedings

(*k*) This is evident from his letters, though the contrary is aſſerted by two authors cited by Mr Des Maizeaux, ubi ſupra, p. 82. in the notes.

(4) Mr Wood in Ath. Ox. Vol. II col. 125. firſt edition, but 'tis omitted in the ſecond edition of this work.

(5) Golden Remains, p. 70. edit. 1673.

* In his letter to Archbiſhop Laud. See below in remark [*L*].

(6) In his letter to Garthwait prefixed to the Golden Remains.

(7) See our author's letters to Sir Dudley, the firſt and third in the laſt cited piece.

† So we are informed in the preface to that Collection by Dr Pearſon.

(8) That is, the Engliſh Commiſſioners with himſelf. Balcanqual having, as appears from the beginning of this letter, lately obtained an appointment from K. James to be joined with them, to make up one *Collegium Theologorum Magnæ Britanniæ*.

(9) Golden Remains, p. 73, 74, edit. 1673. 4to.

(10) Ibid. from p. 74 to 79.

body knows the iſſue of that ſynod in general; but the reſult thereof to our author was, that he went thither a Calviniſt and returned home an Arminian. The convert of Epiſcopius [*F*] he grew fond of the Remonſtrants method of theologizing [*G*], and being naturally

‘proceedings admits no regreſs, but being once howſoever well or ill done, they muſt for ever after be upheld. The moſt partial ſpectator of our ſynodal acts cannot but confeſs, that in the late diſmiſſion of the Remonſtrants with ſo much choler and heat, there was a great overſight committed; and that whether we reſpect our common profeſſion of Chriſtianity, *quæ nil niſi juſtum ſuadet & lene*; or the quality of this people apt to mutine by reaſon of long liberty, and not having learnt to be imperiouſly commanded, in which argument the Clergy above all men ought not to have read their leſſon. The Synod therefore to whom it is not now *in integro* to look back, and rectifie what is amiſs without diſparagement, muſt now go forward, and leave events to God, and for the countenance of their action do the beſt they may. For this purpoſe have they lately, by deputies appointed for that end, made a declaration of all their proceedings unto the States General, from whom they have procured a decree in confirmation of them (11).’ This inſtance of our author's temper and judgment above that of his fellow correſpondent with the embaſſador, was afterwards as unavoidably ſo undeſignedly inſinuated by an eminent divine among the Remonſtrants in Holland (12), who to ſerve that cauſe, publiſhed among other letters fifteen of Mr Balcanqual's and ſeven of Mr Hales's in Latin, with the following account of them prefixed in the preface of his book. ‘Sed & non pauca hic quibus hiſtoriæ veritas explorari poteſt, monumenta comparent; & inter alia in epiſtolis Johannis Haleſii & Gualtheri Balcanqualli, plura in Synodo Dordracena ſecreto & poſt ſiparium geſta, ac hactenus orbi Chriſtiano incognita, diductis quaſi velis reteguntur, illa autem hic ea fide ac certitudine exhibentur, quæ omnem dubitandi anſam penitus excludunt.’ He then informs his reader what the ſtation of each of them was at the Synod, and proceeds to confirm the indiſputable authority of their ſeveral accounts by a circumſtance which he deſcribes in the following words, ‘Uterque res eodem quo ſcribebant die aut ſaltem hebdomade geſtas, quarum proinde recens erat memoria Legato narrat, & Balcanquallus *nonnunquam non ſine indignatione*.’

[*F*] *The diſciple of Epiſcopius.*] So Mr Farindon informs us. ‘You may pleaſe, ſays he to Mr Garthwait (13), to take notice, that in his younger days he was a Calviniſt, and even then when he was employed in that Synod [of Dort], and at the well preſſing of St John iii. 16 by Epiſcopius there *I bid John Calvin good night*, as he often told me.’ This account is confirmed by Mr Montague, one of the truſtees to our author's laſt will (14) To the ſame effect is the remark of Dr Walker (15) who relates that a friend of Mr Hales finding him one day reading *Calvin's Inſtitutions*, aſked him if *he was not paſſed that book?* to which he anſwered, *In my younger days I read it to inform myſelf, but now I read to reform him.* But however certain it be that he changed his opinion upon the points of the Predeſtinarian controverſy, yet it is not leſs certain that he eſteemed it to be no more than an opinion. For we find him in his ſermons declaring, with regard to that diſpute (in which he obſerves the Churches were then at variance), that the will of God and his manner of proceeding in Predeſtination is undiſcernable, and ſhall ſo remain until that day, wherein all knowledge ſhall be made perfect, and that each ſide in that diſpute had an equally favourable countenance of ſcripture, which indeed was herein ambiguous, and therefore that the beſt courſe would be, ‘To think that theſe things which with ſome ſhew of probability we deduce from ſcripture are at the beſt but *our opinions*, for that this peremptory manner of ſetting down our own concluſions under this high commanding form of neceſſary truths, is generally one of the greateſt cauſes which keeps the Churches this day ſo far aſunder; when as a gracious receiving of each other by mutual forbearance in this kind might peradventure bring them nearer together (16).’ This propoſal of a mutual toleration is ſtrenuouſly pleaded for in the ſpeech of Epiſcopius at the Synod of Dort, as the only method of ſettling theſe differences. It is indeed the main drift of that ſpeech, as appears from the abſtract thereof taken by our author, and printed in his *Golden Remains* (17).

[*G*] *He grew fond of the Remonſtrants method of theologizing.*] Beſides what is mentioned in the laſt remark, where we have ſeen him ſide with Epiſcopius againſt the then eſtabliſhed doctrine of the Engliſh Church, in reſpect to the prudential neceſſity of the article concerning Predeſtination (18). There is another point generally held to be of much greater importance, wherein he ſeems to follow the ſame maſter, at leaſt he embraces the ſame opinion with that leading divine among the Remonſtrants. I mean the neceſſity of believing the article of Chriſt's divinity (19). Here follows his doctrine concerning that point. It is in his famous tract of Schiſm, where ſpeaking of that ſpecies of it, which is occaſioned by variety of opinion, he expreſſes himſelf thus. ‘It hath been the common diſeaſe of Chriſtians from the beginning, not to content themſelves with that meaſure of faith, which God and ſcriptures have expreſly afforded us, but out of a vain deſire to know more than is revealed, they have attempted to diſcuſs things, of which we can have no light neither from reaſon nor revelation, neither have they reſted here; but upon pretence of Church-authority which is none, or tradition, which for the moſt part is but figment, they have peremptorily concluded, and confidently impoſed upon others, a neceſſity of entertaining concluſions of that nature, and to ſtrengthen themſelves have broken out into diviſions and factions, oppoſing man to man, ſynod to ſynod, till the peace of the Church vaniſhed, without all poſſibility of recall. Hence aroſe thoſe ancient and many ſeparations amongſt Chriſtians, occaſioned by Arrianiſm, Eutychianiſm, Neſtorianiſm, Photinianiſm, Sabellianiſm, and many more both ancient and in our time; all which indeed are but names of ſchiſm, howſoever in the common language of the Fathers, they were called Hereſies. For Hereſy is an act of the will, not of reaſon, and is indeed a lye, not a miſtake, elſe how could that known ſpeech of Auſtin go for true, *Errare poſſum, hereticus eſſe nolo.* Indeed Manicheeiſm, Valentinianiſm, Marcioniſm, Mahometaniſm, are truly and properly hereſies. For we know that the authors of them received them not, but minted them themſelves, and ſo knew that which they taught to be a lye. But can any man avouch that Arrius and Neſtorius, and others, that taught erroneouſly concerning the Trinity, or the perſon of our Saviour, did maliciouſly invent what they taught, and not rather fall upon it by error and miſtake? till that be done, and that upon good evidence, we will think no worſe of all parties than needs we muſt, and take theſe rents in the Church to be at the worſt but Schiſms upon matter of opinion (20).’ We have given the paſſage intire, as containing in itſelf a clear proof, needing no comment, of the truth of the aſſertion, that our author held the no neceſſity of believing the article of Chriſt's divinity. And that herein he followed his maſter Epiſcopius, ſeems probable in that he was of a contrary opinion before he went to Holland, as appears from a paſſage in his ſermon on 2 Pet. iii. 16. printed as we have already obſerved in 1617, where ſpeaking of the abuſe of ſcripture by too much ſubtility of wit, as the great fault of the Greek Church, he has the following words. ‘The Grecians, till barbariſm began to ſteal in upon them, were men of wonderous ſubtility of wit, and naturally over indulgent unto themſelves in this quality. Thoſe deep and ſubtile hereſies concerning the Trinity, the Divinity of Chriſt, and of the Holy Ghoſt, the union and diviſion of the divine ſubſtance and perſons, were all of them begotten in the heat of their wits, yea by the ſtrength of them were they conceived and born and brought to that growth, that if it had been poſſible for the gates of Hell to prevail againſt the Church, they would have prevailed this way; wherefore as God dealt with his own land, which being ſometimes the mirrour of the world for fertility and abundance of all things, now lies ſubject to many curſes, and eſpecially to that of barrenneſs; ſo at this day is it with Greece, where ſometimes was the flow and luxury of wit, now is there nothing but extreme barbariſm and ſtupidity.

(11) Ibid. p. 84, 85. Mr Hales 'tis true before he left Dort grew out of humour with the Synod, and cenſures one ſtep very freely; but this was only an order paſſed in a private ſeſſion. See his laſt letter dat. 7 Feb. 1619.

(12) Limborch in *Præſtantium ac Eruditorum Virorum Epiſtolæ Eccleſiaſticæ & Theologicæ*, &c. Edit. 2. Amſt. 1684. fol. as alſo the third edit. printed in 1704.

(13) In his letter above cited.

(14) See Gen. Dict. Vol. VIII. p. 236. note [*B*].

(15) Sufferings of the Clergy, Part ii. p. 95. col. 1. Lond. 1714. fol.

(16) Sermon on Rom. xiv. 1. Golden Remains, p. 49, 50.

(17) P. 44. & ſeq. Part 2.

(18) The reader will take notice that we are inquiring here barely into the fact, what might probably be the occaſional means of fixing our author in theſe ſentiments, without any intention to impeach the real merit of the ſentiments themſelves.

(19) See Biſhop Bull's treatiſe De neceſſitate credendi, quod Ieſus Chriſtus ſit verus Deus, contra Epiſcopium, 1694. 4to.

(20) Tract of Schiſm, p. 212, & ſeq. among his other tracts, Lond. 1677. 8vo.

turally of an open frank diſpoſition [*H*], he both talked and wrote in ſuch a ſtyle as brought him under ſome ſuſpicion of leaning a little to Socinianiſm [*I*]. But however that

ſtupidity.——God as it were purpoſely plaguing their miſerable poſterity with the extreme want of that, the abundance of which their fathers did ſo *wantonly* abuſe (21).’

[*H*] *Of a frank and open diſpoſition*] Dr Heylin tells us (32), that as he was a man of infinite reading, ſo had he not leſs ingenuity; being free of diſcourſe, and as communicative of his knowledge as the celeſtial bodies of their light and influences. Biſhop Pearſon likewiſe obſerves, that though no ſollicitations of his friends who often urged him to it, could prevail with him to write any thing for the public, yet that he cannot be accuſed for hiding his talent, *being ſo communicative, that his chamber was a church and his chair a pulpit* (23). We are informed too by Mr Farindon, ſpeaking of the letters written by him, that he had much trouble in that kind from ſeveral friends; and, continues he, I heard him ſpeak of that friend's letter you (24) mention pleaſantly, Mr ——, *He ſets up tops, and I muſt whip them for him.* Laſtly to the ſame purpoſe, Mr Wood tells us, that being highly eſteemed by learned men beyond and within the ſeas, he ſeldom failed to receive letters every week, wherein his judgment was deſired as to ſeveral parts of learning (25).

[*I*] *He wrote in ſuch a ſtyle as brought him under the ſuſpicion of leaning to Socinianiſm.*] As to the fact that he was ſuſpected of Socinianiſm it is even notorious and has been obſerved already by Des Maizeaux (26), (and after him by Dr Birch in the General Dictionary) (27) who has ſufficiently expoſed that part of the charge which made him the author of two books actually written by profeſſed Socinians. Theſe are (1.) *Brevis Diſquiſitio an & quomodo vulgo dicti Evangelici Pontificios ac nominatim Val. Magni de Acatholicorum credendi regula Judicium ſolide atque evidenter refutare queant. Eleutheropoli apud Godfridum Philalethium*, 1633, 12mo. (2) *Diſſertatio de Pace & Concordia Eccleſiæ* [*edita per Irenæum Philalethen*] *Eleutheropoli*, 1628, 12mo. The firſt of theſe pieces was written by Joachimus Stegmannus a Socinian Divine, and the other by Przipcovius a Poliſh Knight and an Unitarian, as appears from Sandius's *Bibliotheca Anti trinitariorum*, p. 123, 132, 133. Who obſerves that this letter had been aſcribed to *Epiſcopius*. So far is clear on the ſide of Mr Des Maizeaux, who goes on thus. ‘For the reſt it is not unlikely but what gave occaſion to attribute theſe books to Mr Hales, was the general principles they are grounded upon, viz. having no rule of faith but the ſcripture explained according to ſound reaſon, and allowing all Chriſtian communions an equal right to interpret the ſcripture to the beſt of their judgment, and to order their government and diſcipline accordingly; that theſe general principles, I ſay, were agreeable to Mr Hales's notions, as they are, it muſt be acknowledged, principles common to all Proteſtants, but explained and inſiſted upon with more freedom and in a particular manner by our author.’ This conjecture evidently points to Dr Heylin, who ſtands principal in the liſt of thoſe who have laid theſe books to our author's charge (28), and whoſe notions of Church power are aſſerted to be very different from thoſe of Mr Hales. Now though we ſhould allow all this to be true, yet it may be obſerved that the truth, as it ſtands in the paſſage juſt cited, is a little unfairly repreſented, though perhaps not deſignedly. For the charge of Socinianiſm might very well take it's riſe from the danger that was then particularly apprehended from the ſpreading of Socinian principles, ſince at ſuch a juncture (29), the ſingular freedom and particular manner uſed by our author, would be unavoidably watched with a more jealous eye, which in ſome things too might find matter to ſuſpect him inclining that way. In his tract concerning the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, having obſerved, that generally the reformed divines do falſly report that holy action, whether you regard the eſſence or uſe thereof, and given ſome inſtances of both reſpects, he proceeds thus. ‘Now all theſe miſtakes and errors have riſen upon ſome ungrounded and fond practices crept long ſince (God knows how) into the Church, and as yet not ſufficiently purged out. I will be bold to inform you what it is, which is πρῶτον ψεῦδος, the main fundamental fallacy whence all theſe abuſes have ſprung. There hath been a fancy of long ſubſiſtence in the Churches, that in the communion there is ſomething given beſides bread and wine, of which the numerality given men have not yet agreed: ſome ſay it is the body of God into which the bread is tranſubſtantiated, ſome ſay it is the ſame body with which the bread is conſubſtantiated: ſome, that the bread remaining what it was, there paſſes with it to the ſoul, the real body of God in a ſecret unknown manner. Some, that a further degree of faith is ſupplied us: others, that ſome degree of God's grace, whatever it be, is exhibited, which otherwiſe would be wanting. All which variety of conceits muſt needs fall out, as having no other ground but conjecture weakly founded. To ſettle you therefore in your judgment, both of the thing itſelf, and of the true uſe of it, I will commend to your conſideration theſe few propoſitions. Firſt, In the communion there is nothing given but bread and wine. Secondly, The bread and wine are ſigns indeed, but not of any thing there exhibited, but of ſomewhat given long ſince, even of Chriſt given for us upon the croſs ſixteen hundred years ago and more. Thirdly, Jeſus Chriſt is eaten at the communion table in no ſenſe, neither ſpiritually by virtue of any thing done there, nor really, neither metaphorically nor literally. Indeed that which is eaten (I mean the bread) is called Chriſt by a metaphor; but it is eaten truly and properly. Fourthly, The ſpiritual eating of Chriſt is common to all places as well as the Lord's table. Laſt of all, the uſes and ends of the Lord's ſupper can be no more than ſuch as are mentioned in the ſcriptures, and they are but two. Firſt, The commemoration of the death and paſſion of the Son of God ſpecified by himſelf at the inſtitution of the ceremony. Secondly, To teſtify our union with Chriſt and communion one with another; which end St Paul hath taught us. In theſe few concluſions the whole doctrine and uſe of the Lord's ſupper is fully ſet down, and whoſo leadeth you beyond this, doth but abuſe you. *Quicquid ultra quæritur non intelligitur* (30).’ He had before argued againſt the neceſſity of uſing any words of conſecration, or their having any force to that purpoſe, and maintaining that the action would be perfect without any, concludes his argument thus. ‘And in truth to ſpeak my opinion, I ſee no great harm could enſue, were they [the words of inſtitution] quite omitted. Certainly thus much good would follow, that ſome part (though not a little one) of the ſuperſtition that adheres to that action by reaſon of an ungrounded conceit of the neceſſity and force of the words in it, would forthwith pill off and fall away (31).’ Such as are acquainted with the controverſies on this ſubject, need not be told, that theſe tenets are maintained by the Socinians, in conſequence of their doctrine concerning the perſon and office of Chriſt, and the ordinary reader may find it particularly ſhewn in each article by Dr Waterland, who likewiſe expreſsly takes notice of our author's unorthodox opinion in one of them (32). He is treating of the ſanctifying grace conferred in the Euchariſt againſt the Socianians, and having anſwered other objections, he concludes thus. ‘Some perhaps may think it an objection to what has been pleaded, that grace is alſo promiſed ſometimes to prayer, ſometimes to faith, and ſometimes to hearing, and therefore is not peculiar to the ſacraments. For it has been ſuggeſted, that *the ſpiritual eating of Chriſt is COMMON to all places as well as to the Lord's table* (33). This I have touched upon before, and ſhall only add here, that we do not confine God's grace to the ſacraments, neither do we aſſert any peculiar grace as appropriate to them only, but what we aſſert is ſome peculiar degree of the ſame graces, or ſome peculiar certainty or conſtancy as to the effect, in the due uſe of thoſe means (34).’ To conclude, there ſeems to be no good grounds for the inſinuation that it was only our author's particularly free manner of handling the Popiſh controverſy, which occaſioned the cenſure of Socinianiſm, neither does Mr Des Maizeaux produce any inſtance to confirm it. A liberal freedom was apparently the natural turn of his genius, and he might be more eaſy in indulging it on thoſe occaſions, in the view of letting his ſmart antagoniſts ſee, that as he was a match at leaſt for them in ſubtlety of reaſoning, ſo he knew how to return their ſcorn with a ſuitable ſtile of contempt (35).

[*K*] *He*

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(21) Golden Remains, p. 7. 8.

(22) Cyprianus Anglicus, ubi ſupra.

(23) Preface to the Golden Remains.

(24) Mr Garthwait, to whom this is addreſſed in a letter referred to above.

(25) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 200.

(26) Account, &c. p. 4, & ſeq. in note [*B*].

(27) Vol. V. p. 703. in note [*E*].

(28) I mean with regard to Des Maizeaux's Account, &c. p. 26. note [*G*]. Dr Birch has added Dr Sam. Ward one of the Commiſſioners at Dort. See Uſher's Life, &c. by Parr, let. 181. p. 473. edit. Lond. 1686. fol. But theſe gentlemen mention only one of theſe books, intitled *Diſquiſitio brevis*, &c. The other called *Diſſertatio de Pace & Concordia Eccleſiæ*, is aſcribed to our author by Mr Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 202.

(29) About the year 1638, when Dr Heylin obſerves that Archbiſhop Laud was particularly buſied in ſuppreſſing Socinian books, as is likewiſe remarked by Des Maizeaux in another place, viz. in Account, p. 26. note [*G*]. And the Canons of 1640 are obſerved by Lord Clarendon to contain more expreſs declarations againſt Socinianiſm than are made by any other Church. Clarendon againſt Creſſy, p. 190, or thereabouts, Lond. 1674. 8vo.

(30) Tract on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper among his Tracts in 1677, 8vo. p. 58 to 62.

(31) Ibid. p. 47.

(32) Viz. the 4th. See his Review of the Doctrine of the Euchariſt, &c. chap. x. p. 423, 424. Lond. 1737. 8vo.

(33) Here he refers in the margin to Hales's Tract, p. 57.

(34) To confirm this he quotes the following words of Voſſius de Sacramentis, p. 251. *Verbum & Sacramenta in eo conveniunt, quod ambo gratiam regenerationis offerunt & exhibeant, ſed quod nonnunquam Sacramentis peculiariter adſcribi videtur, id inde eſt quod fides in Sacramentis hanc gratiam videat* clarius, *apprehendat* fortius, *teneat* certius.

(35) The like apology in reſpect to another of our author's Tracts, The power of the keys, is offered by Des Maizeaux himſelf. Account, p. 81.

that be, 'tis certain that he gave into the opinion of thoſe who were afterwards called Latitudinarians. His ſentiments in that reſpect were expreſſed very unreſervedly, in the ſmall tract which he wrote for the uſe of his friend Mr Chillingworth (*l*), about the year 1636, concerning Schiſm, &c. [*K*]; and being informed that Archbiſhop Laud was diſpleaſed with it, he drew up a vindication of himſelf, which he addreſſed in a letter to his Grace [*L*], who in 1638 ſent for him to Lambeth, and after a conference of ſeveral hours appears to

[*K*] *He gave into the opinion of the Latitudinarians, as appears by his tract of Schiſm.*] This has never been denied, and indeed is evident beyond all contradiction, from the following paſſages in that tract. ‘ Were liturgies and public forms of ſervice ſo framed, ſays he, as that they admitted not of particular and private fancies, but contained only ſuch things as in which all Chriſtians do agree, Schiſms on opinion were utterly vaniſhed. For conſider of all the liturgies that either are or ever have been, and remove from them whatſoever is ſcandalous to any party, and leave nothing but what all agree on, and the event ſhall be, that the public ſervice and honour of God ſhall no ways ſuffer: whereas to load our public forms with the private fancies upon which we differ, is the moſt ſovereign way to perpetuate ſchiſm unto the world's end. Prayer, confeſſion, thankſgiving, reading of ſcriptures, expoſition of ſcripture, adminiſtration of ſacraments in the plaineſt and ſimpleſt manner, were matter enough to furniſh out a ſufficient liturgy, tho' nothing either of private opinion or of Church pomp, of garments, of preſcribed geſtures, of imagery, of muſic, of matter concerning the dead, of many ſuperfluities which creep into the Churches under the name and order of decency, did interpoſe itſelf. For to charge churches and liturgies with things unneceſſary, was the firſt beginning of all ſuperſtition, and when ſcruples of conſcience began to be made or pretended, then ſchiſms began to break in. If the ſpiritual guides and fathers of the Church would be a little ſparing of incumbring churches with ſuperfluities, and not over rigid either in reviving obſolete cuſtoms, or impoſing new, there would be far leſs danger of ſchiſm or ſuperſtition; and all the inconvenience, likely to enſue, would be but this, they ſhould in ſo doing yield a little to the imbecillities of inferiours; a thing which St Paul would never have refuſed to do (36).’ After this ſpeaking of ſchiſm, occaſioned by epiſcopal ambition, and particularly the ſuperiority of biſhops in different ſees, he declares that it had been from time to time a great treſpaſſer againſt the Church's peace, and was now the final ruin of it. The Eaſt and the Weſt, through the fury of two prime biſhops, being irremediably ſeparated without all hope of reconcilement. ‘ And beſides, continues he, all this miſchief, it is founded in a vice contrary to all humility, without which no man ſhall ſee his Saviour: for they do but abuſe themſelves and others, that would perſuade us, that biſhops by Chriſt's inſtitution have any ſuperiority over other men further than of reverence; or that any biſhop is ſuperiour to another, further than poſitive order agreed upon amongſt Chriſtians hath preſcribed. For we have believed him that hath told us, *That in Jeſus Chriſt there is neither high nor low, and that in giving honour every man ſhould be ready to prefer another before himſelf*, which ſayings cut off all claim moſt certainly to ſuperiority by title of Chriſtianity, except men can think, that theſe things were ſpoken only to poor and private men. Nature and religion agree in this, that neither of them hath a hand in this heraldry of *ſecundum ſub & ſupra*, all this comes from compoſition and agreement of men among themſelves. Wherefore this abuſe of Chriſtianity to make it lacquey to ambition, is a vice for which I have no extraordinary name of ignominy, and an ordinary, I will not give it, leſt you ſhould take ſo tranſcendent a vice to be but trivial (37).’ Theſe paſſages are quoted by Dr Stillingfleet in his Irenicum (38), as ſerving his purpoſe in that treatiſe wrote plainly in the view of promoting the *Comprehenſion*, and to the Doctor we may add another gentleman who will not perhaps take it wrong to be ſtiled the *Aleſins noſtri temporis*, and who having declared his opinion in favour of moderation, proceeds thus. ‘ And now if men ſhould ſay I perſwade to indifferency, I muſt bear it as well as I can, I am not yet without remedy as they are; for patience will help me, and reaſon cannot cure them.’ The words are borrowed from a pious, ingenious, earned, charitable, and ſweet tempered Biſhop, who with a noble candour and generous openneſs, pleads the cauſe of liberty of propheſying, and who never was cenſured for it by any man worth the mentioning (39), though probably he was reviled by thoſe who called Tillotſon an Atheiſt. If theſe two excellent prelates, and Eraſmus, and Chillingworth, and John Hales, and Locke, and Epiſcopius, and Grotius,—had been contemporaries, and had met together freely to determine the important queſtion. *What makes a man a Chriſtian, and what profeſſion of faith ſhould be deemed ſufficient*, they would probably have agreed, notwithſtanding the diverſity of opinion they might all have had in ſome theological points (40). In reality it was the Latitudinarian (and not the pretended Socinian) principles advanced in this tract of ſchiſm, which occaſioned ſo much notice to be taken of it by the writers on each ſide in that controverſy. As is evident by the account of them in the Ath. Oxon. under our author's article, and more largely in Des Maizeaux's account of his life, &c.

[*L*] *He wrote an apologetical letter to Archbiſhop Laud.*] This remarkable letter was firſt printed in Dr Hare's *Difficulties and diſcouragements, &c.* 7th Edition 1716, 8vo. It contains our author's own ſentiments of the ſeveral paſſages cenſured in his tract, therefore being given only piece-meal by Mr Des Maizeaux, and in the General Dictionary we ſhall preſent the reader with an extract from it, in the order it lies, as follows. He begins thus, ‘ Whereas of late an abortive diſcourſe indited by me for the uſe of a private friend, hath without lawful paſs wandered abroad, and miſtaking it's way is arrived at your Grace's hands: I have taken the boldneſs to preſent myſelf before you in behalf of it, with this either apology or excuſe indifferently, being reſolved *in utramvis aleam*, to beg either your approbation or your pardon. Whatſoever there is in that ſchedule, which may ſeem apt to give offence, conſiſts either in phraſe and manner of expreſſion, or in the conceits and things themſelves there preſſed and inſiſted upon. For the firſt, whoſoever has the misfortune to read it, ſhall find in it for ſtile ſome things over-familiar and ſubruſtick, ſome things more ſour and ſatyrical. For theſe my apology is but this, that your Grace would be pleaſed to take into conſideration, firſt, what the liberty might entice me to. Secondly, I am by genius open and uncautelous, and therefore ſome pardon might be afforded to harmleſs freedom and gaiety of ſpirit, utterly devoid of all diſtemper and malignity. Thirdly, ſome part of the theme I was to touch upon, was (or at leaſt ſeemed to me) of ſo ſmall and inconſiderable a moment, and yet hath raiſed that noiſe and tumult in the Church, that I confeſs it drew from me that indignation which is there expreſſed. For all theſe things which I have above touched upon, my anſwer is, *incumbant in ſpongiam*, and I could heartily wiſh, (for in the caſe I am, I have nothing but good wiſhes to help me) that they into whoſe hands that paper is unluckily fallen, would favour me ſo much as to ſpunge them out.’ After this declaration he proceeds concerning the things diſcuſſed in that pamphlet, ‘ I humbly beg leave before I come to particulars, to ſpeak for myſelf thus much in general. If they be errors which I have there vented (as perchance they are) yet my will hath no part in them, and they are but the iſſues of unfortunate inquiry. Galen that great phyſician ſpeaks thus of himſelf, Εγὼ δ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως εὐθὺς, &c. I know not how, ſays that worthy perſon, even from my youth up in a wonderful manner, whether by divine inſpiration, or by fury and poſſeſſion, or however you may pleaſe to ſtyle it, I have much contemned the opinion of the many; but truth and knowledge I have above meaſure affected; verily perſuading myſelf, that a fairer, more divine fortune could never befall a man. Some title, ſome claim, I may juſtly lay to the words of this excellent perſon; for the purſuit of truth hath been my only care, ever ſince I firſt underſtood the meaning of the word. For this I have forſaken all

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(*l*) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 202.

(36) Tract of Schiſm, p. 215 to 218.

(37) Ibid. p. 224, 225.

(38) B. I. c. vi. And the doctor, as is uſual on ſuch occaſions to a brother militant in the ſame cauſe, prefaces them with the higheſt elogiums of our author, to whom indeed it happens they are juſtly due.

(39) Biſhop Taylor's Liberty of Propheſying is joyned in the ſame cenſure with that of Mr Hales's Tract of Schiſm, in a piece intitled Mr Hales's Tract of Schiſm, &c. examined and cenſured, Lond. 1678. 8vo. by Mr Tho. Long.

(40) Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Vol. I. in preface, p. 40, 41. Lond. 1751. 8vo.

to have been reconciled to him [*M*], telling him that he might have any preferment that he pleaſed, which was modeſtly declined by him; yet a Canonry of Windſor was preſſed upon him the next year in ſuch a manner, he thought himſelf obliged, though unwilling, to accept it [*N*], and was inſtalled June the 27th 1639 (*m*); however he enjoyed it only for two years 'till the beginning of the civil wars in 1642 (*n*). And the ſame year his tract of Schiſm was printed in one large ſheet in 4to. without his conſent, being thought to

‘ all hopes, all friends, all deſires, which might biaſs me, and hinder me from driving right at what I aimed. For this I have ſpent my money, my means, my youth, my age, and all I have; that I might remove from myſelf that cenſure of Tertullian *ſuo vitio quis quid ignorat*. If with all this coſt and pains, my purchaſe is but error; I may ſafely ſay to err hath coſt me more, than it hath many to find the truth; and truth itſelf ſhall give me this teſtimony at laſt, that if I have miſt of her, it is not my fault, but my misfortune. And howſoever I may have miſcaſt ſome parcels of my account, yet am I moſt certain that the ſum total is right, for it amounts to no more than that precept of the apoſtle. As far as it is poſſible have peace with all men; and ſurely there can be no great harm in the premiſes, where the concluſion is nothing elſe but peace.’ Theſe things being premiſed, he goes on. ‘ All that may ſeem to lie open to exception, is compriſed under two general heads: my carriage, 1. Towards antiquity, 2. Towards authority. He anſwers firſt thoſe who thought he had been too ſharp in cenſuring antiquity beyond that good reſpect which is due unto it (41). And as to authority, whereas in one point ſpeaking of Church authority. I bluntly added, [*which is none*]. I muſt acknowledge it was uncautiouſly ſpoken, and being taken in a generality is falſe, though as it refers to the occaſion, which there I fell upon, 'tis as I think I may ſafely ſay moſt true. By Church authority, I do not mean the juriſdiction of eccleſiaſtical perſons in Church cauſes or matter of fact, wherein the ſaid perſons in caſes of their cognizance have the ſame authority, as any other have to whom power of juriſdiction is committed. Their conſiſtories, their courts, their determinations ſtand upon as warrantable evidence, as the deciſions of other benches and courts do. But what I viſibly meant was the deciſion of eccleſiaſtical perſons in point of Church queſtions and diſputable opinions. I count in point of deciſion of theſe, if I ſay of the authority of the Church that it was none, I know no adverſary that I have, the Church of Rome only excepted; for this cannot be true, except we make the Church judge of controverſies; the contrary of which, we generally maintain againſt that Church. Now it plainly appears, that upon this occaſion I ſpake it; for beginning to ſpeak of ſchiſm ariſing by reaſon of ambiguous opinion, I brought in nakedly thoſe words, which gave occaſion of offence; which if I had ſpoken with due qualification, I had not erred at all. Again, whereas I did too plainly deliver myſelf *de origine dominii*, and denied it to be founded either in nature or religion; I am very well content to put off the deciſion of this point till Elias comes; ſince it is but a point of meer ſpeculation, which in common life and uſe hath no place at all. And whether dominion *in civilibus* or *in ſacris*, be κτισις &c. or comes in by divine right, it concerns them to look to, who have dominion committed to them: To others whoſe duty it is to obey (and myſelf above all who am beſt contented to live and die a poor and private man) it is a ſpeculation merely uſeleſs; ſave only, that what is commanded to private perſons by their ſuperiors, may be done with good conſcience.’ Laſtly, he vindicates himſelf againſt ſome perſons, who by reaſon of the paſſage cited in the preceding note, wherein he ſharply takes epiſcopal ambition, ſuſpected that in his heart he did ſecretly lodge a malignity againſt the epiſcopal order, and that under pretence of taxing the ancients, he ſecretly laſhed at the then preſent times; ſhewing that he had not given the leaſt pretence for ſuch an imputation: and concludes by rejoycing at the happy condition of Epiſcopacy in the Church of England, as it was then, and had been ſettled for well near one hundred years.

[*M*] *The Archbiſhop after a conference at Lambeth ſeems to have been reconciled to him.*] The beſt account we have of this much talked of conference, is that given by Dr Heylin (42), of which the ſubſtance is, That the Archbiſhop, intent to prevent the ſpreading of Socinianiſm, had directed the ſuppreſſing all books of that kind imported from abroad. That one of theſe called *Diſquiſitio Brevis*, was commonly aſcribed to Hales of Eton. That there paſſed alſo up and down a *Diſcourſe of Schiſm* in MS. levelled chiefly againſt the authority of the Church, which being diſperſed about this time [1638], gave the Archbiſhop occaſion to ſend for him to Lambeth, in hope to gain the man whoſe abilities he was well acquainted with. About nine o'clock in the morning, he came to know his Grace's pleaſure, who took him into his garden, giving orders not to be diſturbed upon any occaſion. There they continued in diſcourſe till the bell rang to prayers, and after prayers till dinner was ready, and after that too, till the coming in of the Lord Conway and ſome other perſons of honour, put a neceſſity upon ſome of his ſervants to give him notice how the time had paſſed away. So in they came high coloured, and almoſt panting for want of breath; enough to ſhew that there had been ſome heats between them not then fully cooled, ‘ I was chance, continues he, to be there that day (43), and I found Hales very glad to ſee me (44), as being himſelf a meer ſtranger there, and unknown to all. He told me afterwards, that he found the Archbiſhop (whom he knew before for a nimble diſputant) to be as well verſed in books as buſineſs, that he had been ferreted by him from one hole to another, till there was none left to afford him any further ſhelter, that he was now reſolved *to be orthodox, and declare himſelf a true ſon of the Church of England, both for doctrine and diſcipline*. That to this end he had obtained leave to call himſelf his Grace's chaplain, that naming him in his public prayers for his lord and patron, the greater notice might be taken of the alteration. Thus was Hales gained unto the Church, and gained a good preferment in it; promoted not long after by the Archbiſhop's commendation to a prebend at Windſor, and to hold the ſame by ſpecial diſpenſation with his place in Eton.’ Mr Des Maizeaux, thinking this too ſevere upon our author's memory, hath ſpent more than thirty pages (45), in labouring to invalidate it, which ſurely was altogether needleſs upon the plan of his piece, ſince Mr Hales's letter to the Archbiſhop, compared with the ſubſequent conduct of each, and the well known temper and principles of Dr Heylin, furniſh the beſt key for interpreting his narrative. We ſhall only obſerve in regard to Mr Hales's ſaying, *he was reſolved to be orthodox, and to declare himſelf a true ſon of the Church of England*; that in ſuch a ſpeech, according to the known language of thoſe times, the word orthodox was not oppoſed to the heretic, as Mr Des Maizeaux apprehended, but the puritan (46), and is explained in the following words, a *true* ſon of the Church, &c. which ſet forth a zealous and ſteady advocate thereof, the word *true* being oppoſed to *falſe*, in the ſenſe only of *lukewarm*. But ſuch miſtakes are pardonable in a foreigner, not acquainted with the critical hiſtory of our language.

[*N*] *He accepted the Canonſhip of Windſor unwillingly.*] We owe this particular to the General Dictionary (47), where it is related as follows. ‘ As to Mr Hales's being diſcontented (48), he was ſo far from it, that he would willingly have waved the Prebend of Windſor when it was ſent to him, knowing nothing of it by Archbiſhop Laud; and he would have refuſed it, but that it was preſented to him at a public dinner among many friends, who perſuaded him to the contrary. Archbiſhop Laud did alſo ſend for him, and told him he might have what preferment he pleaſed, and he anſwered, *If it pleaſe your Grace, I have what I deſire*.’ Mr Des Maizeaux (p. 18.) tells us, that our author aſſiſted the Archbiſhop in preparing the edition of his book againſt Fiſher the Jeſuit, which was printed this year, but no authority is produced to vouch the truth of this fact, only we are referred to compare A. C's objections in that work, with ſome pieces of Mr Hales.

[*O*] *He*

(*m*) He ſucceeded Dr James Rowlandſon, who died on the 9th of May. Ath. Ox. Vol. I. col. 670. and Mr Hales's patent bears date May 23. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 94. c. i.

(*n*) Gen. Dict. where laſt cited.

(41) No preacher makes frequenter or better uſe of the Fathers than our author does in his ſermons, and generally with that judgment and impartiality for which he was diſtinguiſhed. Yet in one of theſe he carries their authority ſo high, as to ſubſcribe to the truth of the miracle of the thundring legion. A degree of credulity which would not be thought very judicious at this time of day. Sermon on Duels in Golden Remains, p. 80, 81.

(42) In Cyprianus Anglicus, ad anno 1638.

(43) He was chaplain to the Archbiſhop.

(44) The doctor calls Mr Hales his dear friend in the Quinquarticular Hiſtory, Part I. chap. v. § 7 and 10.

(45) Viz. from p. 27 to p. 35 in note [*G*] againſt Dr Heylin the principal, and from 35 to 58 againſt his followers. I. Dr Sam Parker, in his Reproof to the Rehearſal tranſpoſed, Lond. 1673. 8vo. II. Tho. Long, in a piece mentioned already in remark [*K*]. III. Mr Wood, in the firſt edition of his Ath. Ox. Vol. I. col. 124. IV. Dr Walker, in Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. Lond. 1714. fol. Part II. p. 95. V. Mr Echard, in his Hiſtory of England, Lond. 1718. fol. Vol. II. p. 140.

(46) And he might have obſerved that this ſpeech of our author's was ſo underſtood by Mr Wood, Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 200.

(47) Vol. VII. p. 236, note [*B*].

(48) Mr Wood is hereby corrected, who in the article of our author, col. 202. relates this ſuppoſed diſcontent as one cauſe of Mr Hales's writing his Tract of Schiſm.

to favour the then prevailing party (*o*). About the time of the Archbiſhop's death, he retired from his lodgings in the college into a private chamber at Eton (*p*), where he remained for a quarter of a year unknown to any, and ſpent in that time only ſixpence a week, living only upon bread and beer; and as he had formerly faſted from tueſday night to thurſday night, ſo in that time of his retirement he abſtained from his bread and water; and when he heard that the Archbiſhop was murdered, he wiſhed that his own head had been taken off inſtead of his Grace's (*q*). He continued in his fellowſhip at Eton though refuſing the Covenant, nor complying in any thing with the times; but was ejected upon his refuſal to take the Engagement *, and Mr Penwarden put into his room, to whom he gave a remarkable proof of the ſteadineſs of his principles with regard to the public [*O*]; and to a gentleman of the Sedley family in Kent he gave another no leſs remarkable proof of the ſteadineſs of his temper with regard to a private and ſtudious life (*r*). In this reſolution he retired to the houſe of a gentlewoman near Eton about a year after his ejection (*s*), accepting of a ſmall ſalary with his diet to inſtruct her ſon (*t*); here he officiated as chaplain, performing the ſervice according to the liturgy of the Church of England; and Dr Henry King the ſuffering Biſhop of Chicheſter being at the ſame houſe (*u*) with ſeveral of his relations, they formed a kind of college there (*w*). But this retirement, which muſt in his preſent circumſtances needs have been very agreeable to him, he was not ſuffered to enjoy long (*x*); for upon a declaration by the State, prohibiting all perſons to harbour Malignants, i. e. Royaliſts, he left that family [*P*], notwithſtanding the lady aſſured him that ſhe would readily undergo all the danger which might enſue by entertaining him. His laſt retirement was to a lodging in Eton, at the houſe of a perſon (*y*) whoſe huſband had been his ſervant. Here he was entertained with great care and reſpect, but being now deſtitute of every other means of ſupporting himſelf, he ſold a great part of his valuable library to a Bookſeller in London (*z*) for 700 pounds (*a a*). However though his fortune was much broken by his ſufferings, yet the current ſtory of his being reduced to extreme neceſſity appears by his Will not to be well grounded [*Q*]. He was not long ſick, about a fortnight, and

[*O*] *He gave a proof of his ſteady loyalty.*] Some time after Mr Penwarden was put into his fellowſhip, he voluntarily offered to reſign the place to Mr Hales, who refuſed it, declaring that the Parliament having put him out, he was reſolved never to be put in again by them. Mr Des Maizeaux, who thought this account of Wood (49) too looſely worded, has explained it by ſuppoſing the refuſal was grounded upon the conſideration, that he could not be re-admitted without complying with ſuch things as he did not think lawful or proper for him to ſubmit to (50). That gentleman alſo further obſerves (51), that when the rebels had uſurped the ſupream authority, Mr Hales's loyalty to the King, and his zeal for the Church of England, made him part cheerfully with his fellowſhip and canonry. For this he quotes Mr Wood in the firſt edition of his Ath. Oxon. but the word *cheerfully* is not in the ſecond edition of that work, and though the circumſtance may perhaps not be improbable with reſpect to the canonry, yet as to his fellowſhip it is hardly conſiſtent, with his own words in his will, where he calls that ejectment *an unjuſt and cauſeleſs extruſion* (52). But Mr Des Maizeaux knew nothing of our author's will, and ſuppoſed likewiſe that he loſt his canonry and fellowſhip at the ſame time. The former of theſe was kept void till the Reſtoration, when it was filled, ſays Wood, by Anthony Hawles, D. D. ſometime of Queen's-college in Oxford.

[*P*] *He left that family upon a declaration againſt harbouring Malignants.*] It is ſaid that the ſame order which carried Mr Farindon from his preaching in London, removed Mr Hales from Lady Salter's, he affirming that he would be gone, leſt he ſhould miſchief his friends (53). This, if true, will ſerve to explain the account given of Mr Farindon, by the author of the Athen. Oxon. who tells us (54), that this friend of Mr Hales having been made Vicar of Bray in 1634, and ſoon after divinity reader in the King's chapel at Windſor, was turned out of the firſt place after the breaking out of the civil wars, and at length out of all. That thus reduced, he was invited by Sir John Robinſon kinſman to Archbiſhop Laud, and ſome pariſhioners of St Mary Magdalen Milk ſtreet London, to be paſtor there. That in 1647, he publiſhed ſome of the ſermons he had delivered to them, and that he died in his houſe at Milk ſtreet, September 1658.

[*Q*] *The ſtory of his being reduced, appears by his will not to be well grounded.*] The ſtory is this, that 'Mr Farindon coming one day to ſee Mr Hales a few 'months before his death, found him in his mean 'lodgings at Mrs Powney's houſe (55), but in a temper gravely cheerful, and well becoming an excellent 'Chriſtian in ſuch circumſtances, after a ſlight and very 'homely dinner, and ſome diſcourſe concerning the 'times, Mr Hales deſired Mr Farindon to walk out 'with him into the church-yard, where this great man's 'neceſſities preſſed him to tell his friend that he had 'been forced *to ſell his whole library*, ſave a few books 'which he had given away, and ſix or eight little 'books of devotion which lay in his chamber, and 'that for money he had no more than what he then 'ſhewed him, which was about ſeven or eight ſhillings, 'beſides, ſaid he, I doubt, I am indebted for my 'lodging. Mr Farindon it ſeems did not imagine 'that it had been ſo very mean with him, and was 'much ſurprized to hear it, and withal ſaid, I have at 'preſent money to command, and to-morrow will pay 'you fifty pounds in part of the many ſums I and my 'poor wife have received of you in our great neceſſities; 'and will pay you more ſuddenly as you ſhall want it. 'To which he anſwered, No, you don't owe me a penny; or if you do, I here forgive you, for you ſhall never 'pay me a penny; I know you and your's will have occaſion for much more than what you have lately gotten. 'But if you know any other friend that hath too full a 'purſe, and will ſpare ſome of it to me, I will not refuſe that; to which he added, when I die (which I 'hope is not far off, for I am weary of this uncharitable world) I deſire you to ſee me buried in that 'place of the church-yard, pointing to the place But 'why not in the church, ſays Mr Farindon, with the 'Provoſt [Sir H. Savile], Sir Henry Wotton, and the 'reſt of your friends and predeceſſors? becauſe, ſays 'he, I am neither the founder of it, nor have I been 'a benefactor to it, nor ſhall I ever now be able to be 'ſo; I am ſatisfied.' Dr Walker, who tells this ſtory, acquaints us likewiſe how he came by it. This diſcourſe, ſays he in a marginal note, between Mr Faringdon and Mr Hales, I had out of a looſe ſheet which was one of Mr Faringdon's papers retrieved by Mr Fulman of C. C. C. in order to have written the life of Mr Hales. It was communicated to me by the late Mr Archdeacon Davies of Saperton in Glouceſterſhire, among ſeveral other notices relating to my undertaking. Wood. Ath. Vol. II. p. 625 (56). In ſhort the ſtory is ſo circumſtantially told, and ſo well atteſted, that it could not have been diſcredited by any evidence leſs than that of Mr Hales's will. Something of the ſtory ſeems to have come to the ears of Andrew Marvel, which drew from him the following remark, *That it is not one of the leaſt ignominies of that age, that ſo eminent a perſon ſhould have been by the iniquity of the times reduced to thoſe neceſſities under which he lived* (57).

(*o*) See Wood where laſt cited, and Des Maizeaux, and Gen. Dict. in our author's article.

(*p*) Probably at Hannah Dickenſon's Houſe. See our author's Will in remark [*R*].

(*q*) Gen. Dict. ib.

* The Engagement was enacted in 1648 or 1649. It was an oath to be faithful to the Commonwealth of England as then eſtabliſhed, without a King or Houſe of Lords.

(*r*) He refuſed 100 pounds a year with his diet and ſervant, and a couple of horſes, which was offered him by that gentleman. Ath. Ox. ubi ſupra.

(*s*) He ſeems to have reſided at Dickenſon's houſe that year again.

(*t*) The lady's name was Salter (ſiſter as Mr Wood imagined to Dr Duppa Biſhop of Sarum). The ſalary was 50 pounds a year. Her ſon is called in our author's Will William Salter of Rich-Kings, Eſq;

(*u*) The Biſhop was there before Mr Hales's coming. Gen. Dict. Vol. VIII. p. 236.

(*w*) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. p. 94.

(*x*) This is collected from his laſt Will, where he ſays he had been at Hannah Dickenſon's houſe a long time ſince his extruſion from his college

(*y*) Hannah Dickenſon. Mr Wood ſays ſhe had formerly at her marriage received of Mr Hales's bounty. See his Will.

(*z*) His name was Cornelius Bee. Idem ibid. but Wood is miſtaken in ſuppoſing it was his whole library. See his Will.

(*aa*) Dr Walker, ubi ſupra, tells us, he ſhared this money with ſeveral deprived miniſters, ſcholars, and others; and the ſame is alſo intimated by Dr Pearſon in his preface to Golden Remains.

(49) Ibid. col. 200.

(50) Account of Mr Hales's Life and Writings, ubi ſupra, p. 61, 62. note [*K*].

(51) Ibid. in the text.

(52) See a copy of the Will in Rem. [*R*].

(53) Gen. Dict. Vol. VII. as laſt cited.

(54) Vol. II. p. 226. 2d edit.

(55) She was not then married to Powney, but Dickenſon's widow, as appears by the Will in the following remark. She married Simon Powney afterwards. Wood in our author's article.

(56) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, &c, p. 94.

(57) The Rehearſal tranſproſed, p. 175, 2d edit. 1672. 8vo.

and then not very ill; but diſcourſed with all his friends as freely as in his health 'till within half an hour before his death (*b b*), which happened on the 19th of May 1656, being aged 72 years; he dyed in his laſt mentioned lodging, and the day after was buried according to his own deſire [*R*] in Eton-college church-yard, where a monument was erected over his grave by Mr Peter Curwen (*c c*). As to our author's perſon, he had the marks of great ingenuity in his countenance, which was ſanguine, cheerful, and full of air; his ſtature little, his body well proportioned, and his motion quick and ſprightly (*d d*) He never married, and probably never had any inclination that way [*S*]. As to the reſt, all writers agree in giving the character of one of the greateſt as well as the beſt men of that or any other age (*e e*). And Biſhop Pearſon in particular gives the following elogium (*f f*) of him, wherein he declares, he ſhall ſpeak no more than his own long experience, intimate acquaintance, and high veneration grounded upon both, ſhall freely and ſincerely prompt him to. ‘ Mr Hales, ſays he, was a man I think of as great a ſharpneſs, quickneſs, and ſubtility of wit, as ever this or perhaps any nation bred: his induſtry did ſtrive if it were poſſible to equal the largeneſs of his capacity, whereby he became as great a maſter of polite, various, and univerſal learning [*T*], as ever yet converſed with books. Proportionate to his reading was his meditation, which furniſhed him with a judgment beyond the vulgar reach of man, built upon unordinary notions, raiſed out of ſtrange obſervations and comprehenſive thoughts within himſelf. So that he really was a moſt prodigious example of an acute and piercing wit, of a vaſt and illimited knowledge, of a ſevere and profound judgment. Although this may ſeem, as in itſelf it truly is, a grand

‘ Elogium;

[*R*] *He was buried in the church-yard according to his own requeſt.*] It was declared in his will, of which the following is a copy:

In Dei nomine Amen Maji decimo nono. A. D. 1656.

‘ *My ſoul having been long ſince bequeathed unto the mercies of God in Jeſus Chriſt my only Saviour; and my body naturally bequeathing itſelf to duſt and aſhes, out of which it was taken. I John Hales of Eton in the county of Bucks, Clerk, by this my laſt will and teſtament, do diſpoſe of the ſmall remainder of my poor broken eſtate, in manner and form following.*

Firſt, I give to my ſiſter Cicely Combes, five pounds. More, I give to my Siſter Bridget Gulliford, five pounds. More, I give to the poor of the town of Eton, to be diſtributed at the diſcretion of my executrix hereafter named, five pounds. More, I give to ſix perſons, to be appointed by my ſaid executrix to carry my body to the grave, three pounds, to be diſtributed among them by even portions. More, I give to Mr Tho. Manſfield of Windſor, Grocer, five pounds. More, I give to Mrs Mary Collins, wife to Mr John Collins of Eton, five pounds, to this end and purpoſe, that ſhe would be pleaſed to provide her a ring in what manner ſhe liſteth, to remain with her in memory of a poor deceaſed friend. All which monies here bequeſted, do at this preſent reſt intruſted in the hands of my ſingular good friends Mr William Smith and Mr Thomas Montague.

Moreover all my Greek and Latin books (except St Jerom's works, which I give to Mr Thomas Montague) I give to my moſt deſervedly beloved friend William Salter of Rich-Kings, Eſq; to whom I further give five pounds, to this end, that he would provide him a fair ſeal-ring of gold engraven with his arms and hatchments doubled and mantled, to preſerve the memory of a poor deceaſed friend. All my Engliſh books, together with the remainder of all monies, goods, and utenſils whatſoever, I give and bequeath to Mrs Hannah Dickinſon of Eton, widow and relict of John Dickinſon lately deceaſed. In whoſe houſe (for her's indeed it is, and not mine, as being bought with her money, howſoever for ſome reaſons I have ſuffered the public voice to entitle me to it) in whoſe houſe, I ſay, I have for a long time (eſpecially ſince my unjuſt and cauſeleſs extruſion from my college) been with great care and good reſpect entertained. And her the ſaid Hannah, I do by theſe preſents conſtitute and ordain my ſole executrix. And unto this my laſt will I make overſeers my very good friends Mr Thomas Montague and Mr William Smith of Eaton, and to each of them I give five pounds, humbly requeſting them to be aſſiſtance to my ſaid executrix with their beſt advice to help, if ſo be ſhe chance to find any trouble.

Now becauſe monies are many times not at command, but may require ſome time to take them up, I ordain, that in ſix months after my departure, ſhe ſee all theſe my bequeſts and legacies orderly and faithfully diſcharged.

As for my funeral, I ordain, that at the time of the next even-ſong after my departure (if conveniently it may be) in the church-yard of the town of Eton, (if I chance there to die) as near as may be to the body of my little godſon Jack Dickenſon *the elder; and this to be done in a plain and ſimple manner, without any ſermon, or ringing the bell, or calling the people together; without any unſeaſonable commeſſation or compotation, or other ſolemnity on ſuch occaſions uſual.*

And I ſtrictly command my executrix, that neither of her own head, neither at the importunity or authority of any other, neither upon any other pretence whatſoever, to take upon her to diſpenſe with this point of my will; for as in my life I have done the Church no ſervice, ſo will I not, that in my death the Church do me any honour.

The will was proved before Richard Alleſtree, D D. Provoſt of Eton, Ordinary of that exempt juriſdiction, on the 29th of March 1666.

[*S*] *He had no inclination to marry*] He intimates this diſlike to matrimony in a letter to Sir Dudley Carlton from Dort (58), where ſpeaking of the deliberations in that ſynod about ordering the manner of catechizing, he relates the practice of the ſeveral Proteſtant Churches, and concludes with the following remark. But doubtleſs the moſt effectual way of all the reſt to bring young perſons to learn their catechiſme, was that which was related by one of the Helvetian Deputies. For, he told us, *that in his country the manner was, that all young perſons, that meant to marry, were to repair, both he and ſhe, unto their miniſter, a little before they meant to marry, and by him to be examined how well they had conned their catechiſm. If they had not done it perfectly to his mind, he had power to defer their marriage, till they had better learnt their leſſons.* I was much addicted, continues he, to this courſe, when I heard it; and I thought, that doubtleſs it was a ſpeedy way to make all young perſons, *excepting myſelf and two or three more, that mean not overhaſtily to marry*, to be ſkilful in their catechiſm.

[*T*] *He was a great maſter of polite learning.*] Mr Wood informs us that he uſed to divert himſelf with writing verſes, and his talent that way appears from Sir John Suckling's ſeſſion of poets (59). And as he was an excellent critic, his company was much deſired by the greateſt wits of that time, Lord Falkland, Sir Will. Davenant, Ben. Johnſon, &c. and there is a letter in verſe among Sir John Suckling's works (60), which appears to be wrote from London, to our author at Eton or Windſor, inviting him, as the oracle of his friends, to come to town and enjoy their company. Mr Wood alſo tells us, that when the King and Court reſided at Windſor, he was much frequented by noblemen and courtiers, who were extremely delighted in his company, not for his profound learning, but for his polite diſcourſes, ſtories and poetry. In converſation he had one felicity which could not fail of making him their darling, that with all his knowledge, he was ſo modeſt, as to be patiently contented to hear the diſputes of perſons at table, and thoſe of ſmall abilities, without interpoſing or ſpeaking a word till deſired (61).

[*U*] *He*

(*b b*) Gen. Dict. Vol. VIII. p. 236. where it is obſerved that Mr Montague was then talking with him, and leaving him only for half an hour found him dead on his return.

(*c c*) Who was bred at Eton, and was a great admirer of our author. The inſcription, which is not ill done, may be ſeen in Wood ubi ſupra, col. 202, 203. only obſerving that the laſt word inſtead of *choro* ſhould be *conſortio*. Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, &c. p. 44. Lond. 1718. 8vo.

(*d d*) Ath. Ox. ubi ſupra.

(*e e*) In this character not only the advocates of his principles, who might be ſuſpected of partiality, but the oppoſers of them, concur. Ibid.

(*f f*) In his Preface to the Golden Remains.

(58) Golden Remains, 2d part, p. 11.

(59) In thoſe lines which begin thus, Hales ſat by himſelf, &c. Fragmenta aurea, &c. by Sir John Suckling, p. 14, 3d edit. 1658. 8vo. See alſo Rowe's Life of Shakeſpear.

(60) Ibid. p. 40, 41.

(61) Ath Ox. Vol. II. col. 200.

‘ Elogium; yet I cannot eſteem him leſs in any thing which belongs to a good man, ‘ than in thoſe intellectual perfections: and had he never underſtood a letter, he had ‘ other ornaments ſufficient to endear him. For he was of a nature (as we ordinarily ‘ ſpeak) ſo kind, ſo ſweet, ſo courting all mankind; of an affability ſo prompt, ſo ready ‘ to receive all conditions of men, that I conceive it near as eaſie a taſk for any one to be‘ come ſo knowing as ſo obliging. As a Chriſtian, none more ever acquainted with the ‘ nature of the Goſpel, becauſe none more ſtudious of the knowledge of it, or more curi‘ ous in the ſearch, which being ſtrengthened by thoſe great advantages beforementioned, ‘ could not prove otherwiſe than highly effectual. He took indeed to himſelf a liberty of ‘ judging, not of others, but for himſelf; and if ever any man might be allowed in theſe ‘ matters to judge, it was he, who had ſo long, ſo much, ſo advantageouſly conſidered; and ‘ which is more, never could be ſaid to have had the leaſt worldly deſign in any of his ‘ determinations. He was not only moſt truly and ſtrictly juſt in his ſecular tranſactions ‘ [*U*], moſt exemplary meek and humble, notwithſtanding his perfections, but beyond all ‘ example charitable, giving unto all, preſerving nothing but his books to continue his ‘ learning and himſelf: which when he had before digeſted he was forced at laſt to feed ‘ upon, at the ſame time the happieſt and moſt unfortunate *belluo* of books, the grand ex‘ ample of learning, and of the envy and contempt which followeth it.’ None of his pieces, except that upon Schiſm and one or two ſermons (*gg*), were publiſhed in his lifetime. We ſhall give the contents below of his poſthumous works [*W*].

[*U*] *He was ſtrictly juſt.*] Mr Wood obſerves the ſame, and in confirmation of it gives the following remarkable inſtance, That while he was Burſer of his college, when he had taken any bad money, he laid it aſide, and put good of his own in the room of it to pay others. Inſomuch that ſometimes he hath thrown into the river 20l. or 30l. at a time, all which he hath ſtood to at his own loſs, rather than others of the ſociety ſhould ſuffer any (62)

[*W*] *The contents of his poſthumous works.*] The firſt collection of theſe, intitled *Golden Remains of the ever memorable Mr* John Hales *of Eton college*, which was publiſhed in 1659. 4to. contains (1.) Nine Sermons. (2.) Mr Hales's and Mr Balcanqual's letters, thirty of the former and fifteen of the latter, ſent from Dort to Sir Dudley Carlton. To the whole is prefixed, beſides a letter of Mr Ant. Farindon intimating the genuineſs of theſe papers, a preface by Dr (afterwards Biſhop) Pearſon, containing a character of the author; to which is ſubjoined an advertiſment, ſignifying that the editor had ſome more of Mr Hales's ſermons and tractates in his hands, and inviting others who had any to communicate them to the Printer, F. Garthwait, upon promiſe, and any other engagement, that he will take care to ſee them printed, and ſet forth, by themſelves. In 1673 came out the ſecond edition in 4to. with this title, *Golden Remains, &c. with additions from the author's own copy, viz Sermons and Miſcellanies. Alſo Letters and Expreſſes concerning the Synod of Dort (not before printed) from an authentick hand.* The additions are firſt five Semons ſubjoined to the former. Theſe are followed by the *Miſcellanies*, which are (1) Mr Hales's *Confeſſion of the Trinity*. The following remark in the General Dictionary (63) ſeems to relate to this paper. ‘ Mr Montague (64) ſays that ‘ he [Mr Hales] gave an explication of his belief con‘ cerning the Trinity to Mr Salter (65), according to ‘ the doctrine of the Church of England.’ Upon what occaſion is not there mentioned; perhaps it might be drawn up for the ſatisfaction of his friends, on account of thoſe ſuſpicions already mentioned of his orthodoxy in that article. (2) *How we come to know the Scriptures to be the word of God.* Here he inſiſts only upon the external evidence waving the internal, as unfit to yield argument by way of diſpute, to ſtop the captious curioſities of wits diſpoſed to wrangle. (3.) *Concerning the Lawfulneſs of Marriages betwixt firſt couſins and couſin germans*, in a letter dated Sept. 8, 1630. It ſeems to be wrote at the requeſt of ſome friend who was a Civilian, he gives his opinion for the lawfulneſs of ſuch marriages. (4.) *The Method of reading Hiſtory.* At the end there is laid down an excellent method for common-placing in that ſtudy. (5.) *A Letter to an honourable Perſon concerning the Weapon-ſalve*, dated from Eton college 23 Novemb. 1630. The ſubject is the then new deviſed cure of wounds, by applying the ſalve to the weapon that did the miſchief. As this cure was ſuppoſed to be wrought by ſome particular concentricks or epycicles of ſimpathies and antipathies of eradiations or emanations of ſpirits, our author takes occaſion from thence to banter with his uſual pleaſantry the viſionary conceits of the Roſicruſians. Laſtly, in this edition to the former letters concerning the Synod of Dort, are ſubjoined ſix more to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, one from Sir Dudley Carlton and five from the Engliſh deputies, and a letter of the firſt of theſe, the Biſhop of Landaff, to Sir Dudley. It has been conjectured, that theſe additions were only ſuch papers as are ſaid to be in the hands of the former editor, and an advertiſement, &c. to Robert Pawlet, for whom this edition was printed, appears here again after Dr Pearſon's preface of the ſame purport with the former, inviting others to communicate. But the ſame year four other ſermons of our author were printed by themſelves, and by the ſame Printer Tho. Newcomb, but for another Bookſeller R. Marriot (66), with this title, *Sermons preached at Eton by* John Hales, *late Fellow of that college. The ſecond edition*, 1673. *4to* (67). In 1688 the third edition of the *Remains* was publiſhed, from the ſecond, without theſe four ſermons. In 1677 there appeared another collection in 8vo. intitled, *Several Tracts by the ever memorable Mr* John Hales *of Eton-college*, with the author's picture before it. There is no preface nor advertiſement, but it is handſomely and carefully printed, and contains, (1.) *A Tract concerning the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt.* He confines the commiſſion of this blaſphemy to thoſe who were eye-witneſſes of Chriſt's miracles. In which opinion he is followed by Dr Tillotſon, if I miſremember not, in a ſermon upon that ſubject. (2.) *A Tract concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.* To which ſhould be added, *and the queſtion, Whether the Church may err in Fundamentals.* Among the abuſes of this Sacrament, he reckons that of making it an arbitrator of civil buſineſſes, &c —‘ We teach, continues he, that ‘ it confirms our faith in Chriſt, whereas indeed the ‘ receiving of it is a ſign of faith confirmed, and men ‘ come to it, to teſtifie that they do believe, not to ‘ procure that they may believe. For if a man doubt ‘ of the truth of Chriſtianity, think you that his ‘ ſcruples would be removed upon receiving of the Sa‘ crament: I would it were ſo, we ſhould not have ſo ‘ many doubting Chriſtians, who yet receive the Sacra‘ ment oft enough.’ Surely the argument here is a little looſely worded, for as the doubter is deemed an *incompetens perſona*, unqualified for this Sacrament, and therefore cautioned not to receive (68). The proceſs from confirming our faith to the procuring it, ſeems in reality (to uſe a ſchool phraſe well known to our author) to be a meer *Ignoratio Elenchi.* Is it not moſt manifeſt, that the word confirming is applicable neither to the unbeliever nor the doubter, but underſtood of a wavering unſteady or ineffective faith. He proceeds in the ſame uncautious ſtile to cenſure the practice of the Church in *the Communion to the Sick*, intimating it to be uſed as a *viaticum morientium* (69). He concludes this tract with excuſing himſelf (by reaſon of the narrow bounds of a letter) for not producing the proofs of his doctrine. But theſe may be ſupplied from a late treatiſe upon that ſubject (70). In the ſecond part, falling upon fundamentals, he expoſes with his uſual gaiety as well as ſolidity, the merriment (as he calls it) newly ſtarted [by the Papiſts], of requiring a liſt of them. In this part it is obſervable that he expounds thoſe words, *The gates of hell ſhall never prevail againſt it* [the Church], to a ſenſe contrary to that which appears in his *Remains*, aſſerting

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(*gg*) Beſides the firſt already mentioned in remark [*C*], Mr Farindon ſeems to inſinuate, that the ſecond had alſo been printed, ſoon after it was preached, and Mr Wood, in the firſt edit. col. 125. of his Ath. Ox. ſays that the ſermon of Duels was alſo printed. But it is not mentioned in the ſecond edition of that work.

(62) Ibid.

(63) Vol. VIII. ubi ſupra, from a letter of Dr Nath. Ingelo to Richard Marriot, dated Oct. 29, without mentioning the year.

(64) One of the truſtees to his Will.

(65) Probably the ſame already mentioned of Rich-Kings, Eſq;

(66) If this be the ſame Richard Marriot mentioned in the Gen. Dict. in note 63, it will help us to the year about which Dr Ingelo's letter was written.

(67) Theſe are bound up with a copy of the Remains, 2d edit. now lying before me. Mr Des Maizeaux ſays, the ſecond edit. of the four ſermons was printed the ſame year in 8vo. by T. Newcomb, Bookſeller.

(68) See the Exhortation in the Communion Office.

(69) This paſſage was animadverted on by Dr Tho. Smith in his account of the Greek Church, p. 169. Lond. 1680. 8vo.

(70) See a Diſcourſe upon the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, Lond. 1736. 8vo. by Biſhop Hoadly, who therein follows the ſentiments of our author.

aſſerting here that they contain no promiſe of perſevering in the truth to the Viſible Church; as in a paſſage of one of his ſermons inſerted in remark [G] is intimated they do, but an aſſurance of final victory in the reſurrection againſt death and [Ἅδης] hell to the Inviſible Church, i. e. to ſuch as do perſevere in the truth. (3.) The third tract is *A Paraphraſe on St Matthew's Goſpel*, chap. xii. Here he likewiſe expounds the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt to the ſame ſenſe as in the firſt tract. (4) *A Tract concerning the Power of the Keys and auricular Confeſſion*, dated from his ſtudy the 8th day of March, 1637. In this piece he indulges the freedom and pleaſantry of his wit more than any where elſe. (5.) Is the *Tract concerning Schiſm and Schiſmaticks, where is briefly diſcovered the original cauſes of all Schiſm, never before printed by the original copy.* Theſe laſt words are added to ſhew, that all the former editions are ſpurious, as well that already mentioned of 1642, as the ſubſequent ones (71). They are indeed ſo very incorrect, and maimed and mangled, that the ſenſe of the author is often either perverted or rendered unintelligible. We ſhall give one inſtance of the former, which at the ſame time will be of uſe in illuſtrating that paſſage of our author's letter to Archbiſhop Laud, where he intimates that he had not forgotten to pay all good reſpect to antiquity in this tract. Having noted the Schiſm occaſioned by the diſputes about the time of keeping Eaſter, he makes the following remark upon it. 'By the way, ſays he, by this you may ſee the danger of our appeal to antiquity for reſolution in controverted points of faith, and how ſmall relief we are to expect from thence. For if the diſcretion of the chiefeſt guides and directors in the Church did in a point ſo trivial, ſo inconſiderable, ſo mainly fail them, as not to ſee the truth, wherein it is the greateſt marvail how they could avoid the ſight of it; can we, without the imputation of extream groſſneſs and folly, think ſo poor-ſpirited perſons competent judges of the queſtions now on foot betwixt the Churches. Pardon me, I know *not* what temptation drew that note from me.' Here the importance of the word *not* in the concluſion is notorious: and Mr Des Maizeaux (72) has marked a ſtrong ridicule, which one of the cenſurers of this tract ſuffered himſelf to be led into, by following a ſpurious edition of it, in this concluſion, where that important negative is unluckily omitted. (6.) After the Tract of Schiſm follows *Miſcellanies*, under theſe heads, (1) *How to know the Church.* (2.) *To the Deſcription of the Church.* (3.) *How Chriſt is the Head of the Church.* (4.) *Of Peter's Miniſterial Headſhip in the Church.* (5.) *Anſwer to the Biſhop of Rome's Practice of Supremacy.* Beſides theſe two volumes of Mr Hales's Poſthumous Works, there has ſince appeared two of his letters, one from Archbiſhop Laud, printed in 1716, mentioned in remark [L], and the other to Mr Oughtred the famous Mathematician, for which ſee his article. P

(71) Some one of theſe is generally inſerted into the copies of his Golden Remains.

(72) Towards the end of his account of our author's Life, &c. The ridicule lies in the animadverter's archly ſerving his own purpoſe in ſeveral notable conjectures concerning that particular temptation ſuppoſed to be here hinted by Mr Hales.

HALL [Joseph], ſucceſſively Biſhop of Exeter and Norwich, in the laſt Century. The account given of this learned Prelate by Mr Bayle, in his Dictionary, being very imperfect, we ſhall endeavour, in this article, to ſupply his omiſſions.—He was born July 1, 1574, in Briſtow-park, within the pariſh of Aſhby de la Zouch in Leiceſterſhire, of honeſt parentage. His father was an officer to Henry Earl of Huntingdon, then Preſident of the North, and under him had the government of that market-town, wherein ſtands the chief ſeat of that Earldom. His mother Winifride, of the family of the Bambridges, was a woman of uncommon piety (a). Having from his infancy been devoted by his parents to the miniſtry, he was for that purpoſe educated in the public ſchool of his native place: and, at the age of fifteen, was admitted into Emmanuel-college in Cambridge [A]; whereof he was choſen Scholar; and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1592 (b). About three years after, his ſcholarſhip being expiring, and the ſtatutes of the college, which allow but one perſon of a county to be Fellow, cutting off all hopes of his ſettling there; he intended to remove into the iſland of Guernſey, where a place was offered him. But the Earl of Huntingdon having prevailed upon Mr Hall's countryman and tutor, Mr Gilby, to reſign his fellowſhip [B], room was, by that means, made for Mr Hall, who was unanimouſly choſen Fellow. In 1596 he took the degree of Maſter of Arts: and thenceforth acquitted himſelf with good ſucceſs in the public diſputations, which he was often called to. He read alſo the Rhetoric Lecture in the Schools, for two years, with conſiderable applauſe. But, thinking it diverted him from his favourite ſtudy of Divinity, he gave it up to Dr Dod; and entering into Holy Orders, preached often, as occaſion offered, both in country villages, and before the univerſity (c). After having continued about ſix or ſeven years in the college (d), he was recommended, by the Maſter Dr Chaderton, to the Lord Chief Juſtice Popham, for the Maſterſhip of Tiverton-

(a) Some Specialties in the Life of Joſ. Hall, &c. written with his own hand. Prefixed to The Shaking of the Olive-tree, or his Remaining Works, Lond. 1660. 4to.

(b) Specialties, &c. p. 5. and from the Univerſity-Regiſters.

(c) Some Specialties, &c. p. 8—11. July 11, 1598, he was incorporated Maſter of Arts at Oxford. Wood Faſti, edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 155.

(d) Specialties, p. 10.

[A] *And at the age of fifteen was admitted into Emmanuel college in Cambridge.*] He tells us, that, inſtead of being ſent to the univerſity, he was very near being placed for education under the care of one Mr Pelſet, who was lately come from Cambridge, to be the publick preacher of Leiceſter. But his elder brother having occaſion to go to Cambridge, and waiting upon Mr Nath. Gilby, Fellow of Emmanuel-college; the latter, on 'hearing of the diverſion of the father's purpoſes from the univerſity, importunately diſſuaded from that new courſe, profeſſing to pity the loſs of ſo good hopes. The elder brother, moved with thoſe words, at his return home fell upon his knees to his father, and beſought him to alter ſo prejudicial a reſolution, and not ſuffer the young man's hopes to be drowned in a ſhallow country channel: but that he would revive his firſt purpoſes for Cambridge; adding in the zeal of his love, that if the chargeableneſs of that courſe were the hindrance, he would rather be pleaſed to ſell ſome part of that land which in courſe of nature he was to inherit, than to abridge his brother of that happy means to perfect his education.' A very uncommon inſtance of generoſity!—But after our author had been two years at the univerſity, he had like to have been called away from thence in an untimely and diſagreeable manner; of which be pleaſed to take the account in his own words. 'My two firſt years were neceſſarily chargeable, above the proportion of my father's power, whoſe not very large ciſtern was to feed many pipes beſides mine; [for he had twelve children] his wearineſs of expenſe was wrought upon by the counſel of ſome unwiſe friends, who perſwaded him to faſten me upon that ſchool as maſter, whereof I was lately a ſcholar. Now was I fetcht home with an heavy heart, and now this ſecond time had mine hopes been nipt in the bloſſom, had not God raiſed me up an unhoped benefactor, Mr Edmund Sleigh of Darby, out of no other relation to me, ſave that he married my aunt, pitying my too apparent dejectedneſs, he voluntarily urged, and ſolicited my father for my return to the univerſity, and offered freely to contribute the one half of my maintenance there, till I ſhould attain to the degree of Maſter of Arts; which he no leſs really and lovingly performed (1).'

[B] *But the Earl of Huntingdon having prevailed upon Mr Hall's countryman and tutor, Mr Gilby, to reſign his fellowſhip.*] By taking him for his domeſtic chaplain, and promiſing him preferment (2).

(1) Some Specialties, &c. as above, p. 4—8.

(2) See ibid. p. 9.

[C] With

Tiverton-ſchool in Devonſhire, then newly founded by Mr Blundel. He had accepted of it, and was but juſt come out from the Chief-Juſtice's, when he met a meſſenger in the ſtreet, who delivered him a letter from the Lady Drury of Suffolk; offering him the Rectory of Halſted near St Edmund's-bury, and very earneſtly deſiring him to accept of it, which he did, and relinquiſhed the ſchool (*e*). Being thus ſettled in that ſweet and civil country of Suffolk, as he expreſſes it (*f*), his firſt work was to rebuild his parſonage-houſe, which was extremely ruinous. Two years after, he married a daughter of Mr George Winniff of Bretenham, with whom he lived happily nine and forty years. In 1605 he accompanied Sir Edmund Bacon to the Spa, where he compoſed his ſecond Century of Meditations (*g*). He had an opportunity, in this journey, to inform himſelf with his own eyes of the ſtate and practices of the Romiſh Church; and, at Bruſſels entered into a conference with Coſter the Jeſuit. About a year and a half after, his patron Sir Robert Drury refuſing to reſtore to the Living of Halſted about ten pounds a year, which he unjuſtly detained, our author went to London to ſollicit him upon that point. And being invited by the Earl of Eſſex's tutor to preach before Prince Henry at Richmond, who much admired his Meditations; the Prince ſo well liked the two ſermons he preached before him, that he made him one of his chaplains (*h*). In the mean time, Sir Robert Drury, by his unjuſt detention abovenamed, refuſing to make his living a competent maintenance; though our author alledged to him, among other arguments, that he was forced to write books in order to be able to buy ſome; he reſolved therefore to embrace the firſt opportunity of removing from Halſted. While he was taken up with thoſe anxious thoughts, Edward Lord Denny, afterwards Earl of Norwich, gave him the Donative of Waltham-Holy-Croſs in Eſſex. And about the ſame time, which was in the year 1612, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity; having taken the degree of Bachelor in 1603 (*i*). Thus, as he ſays, he returned home, happy in a new maſter, and in a new patron, betwixt whom, he divided himſelf and his labours, with much comfort and no leſs acceptance (*k*). In the ſecond year of his monthly attendance on the Prince, when he came for his diſmiſſion, his Highneſs ordered him to ſtay longer; and, at laſt, when he allowed him to depart, offered him the honour of being continually reſident at Court, with promiſe of ſuitable preferments. But being loth to forſake his noble patron, who had placed much of his heart upon him, he waved that offer, and remained two and twenty years at Waltham, where he preached a long time thrice a week, as he had done before at Halſted. In the mean time, he was made Prebendary of the collegiate church of Wolverhampton, and was the chief inſtrument in recovering a conſiderable eſtate, detained from that church by a fraudulent conveyance (*l*). In 1616, July 12, he attended the embaſſy of James Hay, Viſcount Doncaſter, into France: During his abſence, the King conferred upon him the Deanery of Worceſter, which he had promiſed him before his departure (*m*); and he was preſented to the ſame December 9, 1616 (*n*). Before he could go to take poſſeſſion of it, namely, on the 14th of March 1616-17 (*o*), he attended his Majeſty into Scotland, as one of his chaplains. In 1618, he was ſent to the Synod of Dort, with other of our Engliſh divines [*C*]; but by that time he had ſtayed two months there, the unquietneſs of the nights, in thoſe garriſon towns, working upon the tender diſpoſition of his body, brought him to ſuch weakneſs through want of reſt, that he was obliged to return home. However, before his departure he preached a Latin ſermon before the Synod; which, by their Preſident and Aſſiſtants, took a ſolemn leave of him: and the Deputies of the States diſmiſſed him with an honourable retribution, and ſent after him a rich golden medal, having on it the portraiture of the Synod (*p*). He was not rigid in the five points controverted in that Synod, as appears by a treatiſe he writ ſoon after [*D*]. Having refuſed, in 1624, the biſhopric of Glouceſter, which was earneſtly offered him (*q*); he accepted, in 1627, of that of Exeter [*E*], to which he was conſecrated December

(*e*) Ibid. p. 11—14.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 14

(*g*) Ibid. p. 15—20.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 24, 25.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 24, 25. and from the Univerſity-Regiſters.

(*k*) Some Specialties, &c. p. 25.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 26—31.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 31, 32, 33. & Camdeni Annal. apparatus.

(*n*) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. p. 659.

(*o*) Camden, ibid.

(*p*) Some Specialties, &c. p. 34, 35.

(*q*) Upon the death of Miles Smith.

[*C*] *With other of our Engliſh divines.*] The reſt of the Engliſh divines ſent by K. James I. to the ſynod of Dort, were, Dr Geo. Carleton, then Biſhop of Landaff, and afterwards of Chicheſter; Dr John Davenant, Regius Profeſſor of Divinity in Cambridge, and Maſter of Queen's-college; Dr Samuel Ward, Maſter of Sidney-college; and Dr Thomas Goad, ſent in Dr Hall's room (3).

[*D*] *As appears by a treatiſe he writ ſoon after.*] It was printed amongſt his remaining works (4), under this title; '*Via media.* The way of Peace in the five buſy Articles commonly known by the name of Arminius; touching, 1. Predeſtination. 2. The extent of Chriſt's death. 3. Man's Free-will and corruption. 4. The manner of our converſion to God. 5. Perſeverance. Wherein is laid forth ſo fair an accommodation of the different opinions as may content both parts and procure happy accord.' And he gives this account of it (5); upon occaſion of 'Mr Montague's tart and vehement aſſertions, —— I wrote a little project of Pacification, wherein I deſired to rectify the judgment of men, concerning this miſapprehended controverſy; and becauſe Biſhop Overall went a midway betwixt the two opinions which he held extream, and muſt needs therefore ſomewhat differ from the commonly-received tenet in theſe points, I gathered out of B. Overall on the one ſide, and out of our Engliſh divines at Dort on the other, ſuch common propoſitions concerning theſe five buſy articles, as wherein both of them are fully agreed; all which being put together, ſeemed unto me to make up ſo ſufficient a body of accorded truth, that all other queſtions moved hereabouts, appeared merely ſuperfluous, and every moderate Chriſtian might find where to reſt himſelf, without hazard of contradiction: theſe I made bold by the hands of Dr Young, the worthy Dean of Wincheſter, to preſent to his excellent Majeſty.'—

[*E*] *He accepted, in* 1627, *of that of Exeter.*] He met, at his firſt coming to that dignity, with much vexation and uneaſineſs, as he relates himſelf (6). 'I entred, ſays he, upon that place, not without much prejudice and ſuſpicion on ſome hands; for ſome that ſate at the ſtern of the Church, had me in great jealouſie for too much favour of *Puritaniſme*; I ſoon had intelligence who were ſet over me for eſpialls; my ways were curiouſly obſerved. and ſcanned.—— *And* ſome perſons of note in the clergy —— finding me

(3) See Fuller's Church-Hiſtory, book x. p. 77, &c.

(4) P. 351, &c.

(5) Specialties, &c. p. 31.

(6) Specialties, p. 41.

December 23 (r), holding with it in commendam the rectory of St Breok in Cornwall (s). Though he was reckoned a favourer of Puritaniſm (t), yet he writ, at the beginning of the troubles in this kingdom, with great ſtrength and elegance in defence of Epiſcopacy [*F*]. The 15th of November 1641, he was tranſlated to the ſee of Norwich, vacant by the death of Dr Richard Montague (u). But, on the 30th of December following, having joined with the Archbiſhop of York, and eleven other Biſhops, in the Proteſtation [*G*] againſt the validity of all laws made during their forced abſence from Parliament (*w*); he was voted among the reſt to the Tower, and committed thither the 30th of January, in all the extremity of froſt, at eight o' clock in a dark evening. Shortly after, they were impeached by the Commons of high-treaſon; and, when they ſhould have made their defence, were told, that it being then late they ſhould have another day: but that day never came. At length, about June 1642, he was releaſed upon giving 5000 l. bail: whereupon he withdrew to Norwich (*x*). Here he was received with more reſpect than he could have expected in ſuch times, and frequently preached to numerous audiences; enjoying peace 'till the beginning of April, 1643. But then the ordinance for ſequeſtring notorious delinquents eſtates being paſſed, wherein he was included by name (*y*); all his rents were ſtopped, when he was in hopes of receiving the foregoing half year, for the maintenance of his family. And, a very few days after, ſome of the ſequeſtrators came to ſeize upon his

‘ me ever ready to encourage thoſe whom I found conſcionably forward, and painfull in their places, and ‘ willingly giving way to orthodox and peaceable lectures in ſeverall parts of my dioceſs, opened their ‘ mouths againſt me, both obliquely in the pulpit, and ‘ directly at the Court; complaining of my too much ‘ indulgence to perſons diſaffected, and my too much ‘ liberty of frequent lecturings within my charge. The ‘ billowes went ſo high, that I was three ſeverall times ‘ upon my knee to his Majeſty, to anſwer theſe great ‘ criminations, and what conteſtation I had with ſome ‘ great Lords concerning theſe particulars, it would be ‘ too long to report; only this, under how dark a ‘ cloud I was hereupon, I was ſo ſenſible, that I ‘ plainly told the Lord Archbiſhop of Canter. [Laud] ‘ that rather than I would be obnoxious to thoſe ſlanderous tongues of his miſinformers, I would caſt up ‘ my Rochet; I knew I went right wayes, and would ‘ not endure to live under undeſerved ſuſpicions '—

[*F*] *He writ, at the beginning of the troubles in this kingdom, with great ſtrength and elegance in defence of Epiſcopacy.*] His ſeveral pieces upon that ſubject, were, 1. ‘ Epiſcopacie by divine Right aſſerted.' Lond. 1640, 4to. This treatiſe was occaſioned, by G. Grahame, Biſhop of Orkney's, renouncing his epiſcopall function, openly, before the whole body of the aſſembly of the clergy at Edinburgh, and craving pardon for having accepted it, as if thereby he had committed ſome hainous offence (7). 2. He publiſhed, ‘ An humble Remonſtrance to the high Court of Parliament, ‘ by a dutifull Sonne of the Church.' Lond. 1640, 4to. in behalf of the Liturgy and Epiſcopacy.——— To this, Stephen Marſhall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurſtow jointly wrote an anſwer, under the name of *Smectymnvvs*, being the initial letters of their names; and under the title of, *An Anſwer to a Book entituled, An humble Remonſtrance. In which the originall of Liturgy, Epiſcopacy, is diſcuſſed; and Quæries propounded concerning both*, &c. Lond. 1641, 4to (8).———— Whereupon Biſhop Hall, wrote, 3. ‘ A Defence of ‘ the Humble Remonſtrance againſt the frivolous and ‘ falſe Exceptions of Smectymnvvs. Wherein the ‘ right of Leiturgie and Epiſcopacie is clearly vindicated from the vaine cavils, and challenges of the ‘ Anſwerers. Seconded (in way of appendance) with ‘ the judgement of the famous Divine of the Palatinate, ‘ Abrahamus Scultetus, late Profeſſor of Divinitie in ‘ the Univerſitie of Heidelberg: concerning the divine ‘ Right of Epiſcopacie, and the No-right of Lay-elderſhip.' Lond. 1641.——The ſame Smectymnvvs replying, in *A vindication of the Anſwer* to the *Humble Remonſtrance, from the unjuſt Imputations of Frivolouſneſſe and Falſehood: Wherein the Cauſe of the Liturgy and Epiſcopacy is further debated* Lond. 1641, 4to. Biſhop Hall concluded the diſpute with, 4 ‘ A ‘ Short Anſwer to the tedious Vindication of Smectymnvvs. By the author of the humble Remonſtrance.' Lond. 1641, 4to. Theſe ſeveral pieces of our learned author are written in a very handſome, lively, and witty manner; as his adverſaries diſtinguiſh themſelves by a peculiar *fierceneſs of ſpirit, and much aſperity in language* (9). In ſhort, they write with uncommon pertneſs and confidence, like perſons ſupported by the ſecular arm, and that could depend upon ſtronger and more irreſiſtable arguments, than thoſe upon paper.

[*G*] *Having joined with the Archbiſhop of York, and eleven other Biſhops in the Proteſtation*, &c.] This Proteſtation is printed in Ruſhworth's (10) and Nalſon's collections (11), and in the Lord Clarendon's (12) and Rapin's Hiſtories (13), and other places; therefore need not be inſerted here. But Biſhop Hall having mentioned ſome curious particulars relating thereto, it will be proper to lay them before the reader.———‘ Upon our reſolved forbearance, (ſays ‘ he) *from Parliament*, the Archbiſhop of York ‘ [Williams] ſent for us to his lodging at Weſtminſter, ‘ lays before us the perillous condition we were in, ‘ adviſes for remedy (except we meant utterly to abandon our right, and to deſert our ſtation in Parliament) ‘ to petition both his Majeſty and the Parliament; that ‘ ſince we were legally called by his Majeſties writ to ‘ give our attendance in Parliament, we might be ſecured in the performance of our duty and ſervice againſt thoſe dangers that threatned us; and withall ‘ to proteſt againſt any ſuch acts as ſhould be made ‘ during the time of our forced abſence, for which he ‘ aſſured us there were many precedents in former Parliaments, and which if we did not, we ſhould betray ‘ the truſt committed to us by his Majeſtie, and ſhamefully betray and abdicate the due right both of ourſelves and ſucceſſours. To this purpoſe, in our preſence he drew up the ſaid petition and *Proteſtation*, ‘ avowing it to be legall, juſt, and agreeable to all ‘ former proceedings, and being fair written ſent it to ‘ our ſeverall lodgings for our hands, which we accordingly ſubſcribed, intending yet to have had ſome further conſultation concerning the delivering and whole ‘ carriage of it. But e're we could ſuppoſe it to be in ‘ any hand but his own, the firſt newes we heard, was, ‘ that there were meſſengers addreſſed to fetch us in ‘ to the Parliament upon an accuſation of high treaſon. ‘ For, whereas this paper was to have been delivered, ‘ firſt to his Majeſties Secretary; and after peruſall by ‘ him to his Majeſtie, and after from his Majeſtie to ‘ the Parliament, and for that purpoſe to the Lord ‘ Keeper, the Lord Littleton, who was the Speaker of ‘ the Houſe of Peers; all theſe profeſſed not to have ‘ peruſed it at all, but the ſaid Lord Keeper willing ‘ enough to take this advantage of ingratiating himſelf ‘ with the Houſe of Commons and the faction, to ‘ which he knew himſelf ſufficiently obnoxious, finding ‘ what uſe might be made of it by prejudicate minds, ‘ reads the ſame openly in the Houſe of Lords: and ‘ when he found ſome of the faction apprehenſive ‘ enough of miſconſtruction, aggravates the matter as ‘ highly offenſive, and of dangerous conſequence; and ‘ thereupon not without much heat and vehemence, ‘ and with an ill preface, it is ſent down to the Houſe ‘ of Commons, where it was entertained hainouſly, ‘ Glynne with a full mouth crying it up for no leſs ‘ than high-treaſon; and ſome comparing, yea preferring it to the Powder-Plot.————Though, when ‘ it came to be debated, one of their oracles being demanded his judgment concerning the fact, profeſſed ‘ to them, they might with as good reaſon accuſe them ‘ of adultery (14).'

[*H*] *And*

(r) J. Le Neve's Faſti, &c. p. 84.

(s) Specialties, &c. p. 41.

(t) See his Specialties, p. 41.

(u) Le Neve, ut ſupra, p. 213. and Godwin de Præſul. edit. W. Richardſon, p. 444.

(w) See Ruſhworth, Vol. IV. p. 466. and all our Engliſh Hiſtorians.

(x) See Biſhop Hall's Hard Meaſure, at the end of his Specialties, p. 48 —56.

(y) See Collection of Ordinances, &c. printed for Ed. Huſband, Lond. 1646. fol. p. 13. and Scobell's Collection, p. 37.

(7) See the Epiſtle Dedicatorie.

(8) See above, Vol. II. p. 1102. under the article CALAMY [EDMUND].

(9) Ibid.

(10) Vol. IV. p. 466.

(11) Vol. II. p. 794.

(12) Edit. 1731. Vol. II. 8vo. p. 351.

(13) Edit. 1733. fol. p. 404.

(14) Hard Meaſure, p. 48, 49, 51.

his palace, and all his eſtate both real and perſonal [*H*]. Thus deprived of all ſupport, he applied to the committee at Norwich; which allowed him 400 l. a year, out of the biſhoprick's revenues. And yet this took no effect; for, before he could gather one quarter, there came down an order from the ſuperior committee for ſequeſtrations at London, under the hand of Serjeant Wild the chairman, and procured by Miles Corbet, forbidding any ſuch allowance: and telling the Norwich-committee, that neither they, not any other, had power to allow him any thing; but if his wife needed a maintenance, upon her application to the Committee of Lords and Commons, ſhe ſhould have a fifth part. Accordingly, upon her petition, though after long delays, it was granted her. But ſo confuſed and imperfect an account was brought in to the Sequeſtrators, by their Sollicitor and Collector (who had both his temporal and ſpiritual revenues in their hands) that the Biſhop could never come to know what a fifth part meant; and therefore, it ſeems, was obliged to take what they thought fit to give him (*z*). And, which was yet harder! whiles he received nothing, yet ſomething was required of him. For they were not aſhamed, after they had taken away and ſold all his goods and perſonal eſtate, to come to him for aſſeſſments and monthly payments for that eſtate which they had ſeized, and took diſtreſſes from him, upon his moſt juſt denial. Nay, they vehemently required him to find the arms uſually furniſhed by his predeceſſors, when they had left him nothing. And, upon many occaſions, offered him inſolent affronts and indignities (*a*) [*I*]. Still he remained in his palace, though with a poor retinue and maintenance: but at laſt he was forced to quit it at three weeks warning, (though his wife offered to pay rent for it out of her fifths) and might have lain in the ſtreet; ſuch was the inexorableneſs of his mercileſs enemies! had not a neighbour in the Cloſe voided his houſe, to make room for him and his family. This was his hard meaſure, as he writ it down May 29, 1647 (*b*). Shortly after, he retired to a little eſtate which he rented at Higham near Norwich; where, notwithſtanding the narrowneſs of his circumſtances, he diſtributed a weekly charity to a certain number of poor widows. In this retirement he ended his life September 8, 1656, in the 82d year of his age: and was buried in the church-yard of that pariſh, without any memorial (*c*). He is univerſally allowed to have been a man of incomparable piety, meekneſs, and modeſty, having a thorough knowledge of the world, and of great wit and learning (*d*). As to his writings (beſides thoſe already mentioned in this article, and by Mr Bayle) a ſhort account is given of them in the note [*K*].

(*z*) See his Hard Meaſure, p. 56—60.

(*a*) Ibid. p. 61, 62.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 64.

(*c*) Cl. W. Richardſon, edit. Godwini de Præſul. ut ſupra, p. 444. and Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. P. II. p. 56. In his Will he has this paſſage, 'I do not hold God's houſe a meet repoſitory for the dead bodies of the greateſt ſaints.'

(*d*) Walker, ibid. Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 397. Vir rerum uſu peritus, ingenio ſubtili & exercitato, eruditione multiplici inſtructus, nec interim minor erat modeſtiæ & indolis manſuetiſſimæ laus. W. Richardſon, p.

[*H*] *And all his eſtate both real and perſonal.*] He gives the following account of the hard uſage he met with upon that occaſion. The Sequeſtrators 'ſent 'certain men appointed by them, (whereof one had 'been burnt in the hand for the mark of his truth) to 'appraize all the goods that were in the houſe; which 'they accordingly executed with all diligent ſeverity, 'not leaving ſo much as a dozen of trenchers, or my 'childrens pictures, out of their curious inventory. 'Yea they would have appraized our very wearing 'clothes, had not *ſome of them* declared their opinion 'to the contrary. Theſe goods, both library and 'houſhold-ſtuff of all kinds, were appointed to be ex'poſed to publick ſale. But in the mean time Mrs 'Goodwin, a religious good gentlewoman, whom yet 'we had never known or ſeen, being moved with 'compaſſion, very kindly offered to lay down to the 'ſequeſtrators that whole ſum which the goods were 'valued at; and was pleaſed to leave them in our 'hands for our uſe, till we might be able to re-purchaſe 'them. As for the books, ſeveral ſtationers lookt on 'them, but were not forward to buy them; at laſt 'Mr Cook, a worthy divine of this dioceſs, gave bond 'to the ſequeſtrators, to pay to them the whole 'ſum whereat they were ſet, which was afterwards ſa'tisfied out of that poor pittance, that was allowed me 'for my maintenance (15).'

[*I*] *And upon many occaſions offered him inſolent affronts and indignities.*] He gives himſelf two inſtances of it, the firſt, that one morning, before his ſervants were up, there came to his gates a London trooper, attended with others, requiring entrance, and threatning if they were not admitted, to break open the gates. The pretence for their coming, was, to ſearch for arms and ammunition. And though the Biſhop told them, he had only two muſkets; yet not reſting upon his word, they ſearched round about the houſe, looked into the cheſts and trunks, and examined the veſſels in the cellar. Finding no other warlike furniture, they took away one of the Biſhop's two horſes, though he told them his age would not allow him to travel on foot.——At another time, the mob beſet his palace at a very unſeaſonable hour, for having ordained ſome perſons in his own chapel, and had the inſolence to demand his appearance before the Mayor (16).

[*K*] *As to his writings (beſides thoſe already mentioned in this article, and by Mr Bayle), &c.*] They make in all V. volumes in folio and 4to. The 1ſt. printed (or rather collected) together, in 1617, and again in 1624; contains '1. Meditations and Vowes, divine and morall: three centuries. 2. Heaven upon 'earth; or, of true Peace and Tranquillity of mind. '3. The Art of divine Meditation; with a Meditation 'of Death. 4. Holy Obſervations. 5. Some of 'David's Pſalmes, metaphraſed, in verſe. 6. Cha'racters of Vertues and Vices, in two Books. 7. 'Solomon's divine Arts, of Ethicks, Politicks, Oeco'nomicks; with an open and plaine Paraphraſe upon 'the Song of Songs. 8. Epiſtles, in ſix Decads. 9. 'Six Sermons. 10. A common Apologie of the 'Church of England, againſt the unjuſt challenges of 'the Browniſts; [viz. Smith and Robinſon] 11. A 'brief Summe of the Principles of Religion, by way of 'Catechiſme. 12. Contemplations upon the princi'pall Paſſages of the holy Storie, in eleven books: To which, in the edition of 1624, eight more books were added, making in all nineteen. In that edition alſo is inſerted, 'The Honour of the married Clergy 'maintained, &c.' And three new ſermons.——II. The ſecond volume of his works, is 'A plaine and 'familiar Explication (by way of Paraphraſe) of all 'the *hard Texts* of the whole Scripture of the Old and 'New Teſtament.' Lond. 1633, fol. in two columns. ——III. The third volume, printed in 1634, contains, 'Meditations on the New Teſtament; 13 'Sermons; Tracts againſt Popery; Meditations, '&c.——The IVth volume, publiſhed in 1660, after his deceaſe, in 4to, is intituled, 'The Shaking of the 'Olive-Tree. The remaining works of that incompa'rable Prelate Joſeph Hall, D. D. late Lord Biſhop 'of Norwich. With ſome Specialties of divine Pro'vidence in his life. Together with his Hard Mea'ſure. Written by himſelf.' This volume conſiſts chiefly of ſermons, letters, ſpeeches in Parliament, &c. V. The laſt volume contains, 'Divers Treatiſes written 'upon ſeveral occaſions. Now firſt collected into one 'volume, Lond. 1662, fol.—His moral works were reprinted at London in 1738, fol.——Beſides all the above pieces, he publiſhed in 1597, '*Virgidemiarum.* 'Satires in ſix books.' And calls himſelf, in the Prologue, the firſt Satyriſt in the Engliſh language.

I firſt adventure, follow me who liſt,
And be the ſecond Engliſh Satyriſt.

(15) Ibid. p. 57, 58.

(16) Hard Meaſure, p. 58, 61.

The three firſt books are called Toothleſs Satires, poetical, academical, moral. The three laſt biteing Satires. They were re-printed at Oxford in 1753, 8vo.

In his manner of writing, he has imitated Seneca, more than any of our other Engliſh authors; for which reaſon he is ſtyled the Chriſtian Seneca (17). But we do not find that he publiſhed any book under that title, as Mr Bayle ſeems to think (18), deceived undoubtedly by the tranſlators either of his Letters or Meditations; who ſo entituled them, on account of their reſemblance to Seneca's Morals.——N. B. The critical remark after note [C] in the General Dictionary, under this article, might have been ſpared; for inſtead of W. Di Revolted, it is in Mr Bayle's original French (19), *à W. D Revolté*, &c. Which is a literal tranſlation of Dr Hall's direction of his *Serious Diſſwaſive from Popery, To W. D. Revolted*, &c. namely from the Proteſtant Religion. So that there was no danger of any one's miſtaking *Revolted* for an Italian ſurname.

C

(17) Sir Henry Wotton, in his letter to Dr Collins.

(18) At the end of the article HALL [JOSEPH].

(19) Ibid. note [C] edit. 1720.

HALLEY [EDMUND], was born near London, October 29 (*a*), 1656, in the pariſh of St Leonard Shoreditch, at a place called Haggerſton, which then conſiſted of little more beſides a country houſe belonging to his father Edmund Halley, who was a Citizen and Soap-boiler in Wincheſter-ſtreet; and having acquired an opulent fortune in his buſineſs, reſolved to give this ſon, his only child, and a youth of the moſt promiſing genius, an education ſuitable to it. In this view he put him at a proper age to St Paul's-ſchool, under the care of that eminent maſter Dr Thomas Gale. Our author in a ſhort time outſtripped the reſt of the boys, and became captain of the ſchool at the age of fifteen (*b*). He not only excelled in every branch of claſſical learning, but was particularly taken notice of for the extraordinary advances he made at the ſame time in the Mathematicks. In ſo much, that he ſeems not only to have acquired almoſt a maſterly ſkill in both plain and ſpherical Trigonometry, but to be well acquainted with the ſcience of Navigation, and to have made a great progreſs in Aſtronomy before he was removed to Oxford [*A*]. Where he was entered a Commoner of Queen's-college in act-term 1673, being then in the 17th year of his age *. At the univerſity, having brought a curious apparatus of inſtruments (purchaſed by his father, who ſpared no expence to encourage his ſon's genius) (*c*), he continued eager in the purſuit of theſe ſtudies, applying himſelf with ſurprizing dexterity and ſkill as well to practical as geometrical Aſtronomy, and the ſucceſs of his induſtry was felt by the learned world in a ſhort time. For with reſpect to the latter, at 19 years of age he publiſhed a *Direct and Geometrical Method of finding the Aphelia and Eccentricity of the Planets* (*d*), the want of which 'till that time had been an opprobrium to Kepler's hypotheſis [*B*]. Nor did he leſs diſtinguiſh himſelf in the former part of Aſtronomy. Beſides

(*a*) In our author's Eloge in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy at Paris, in 1742, his birth is placed Nov. 8, 1656.

(*b*) Manuſcript Memoirs, communicated by our author's ſon-in-law Mr Price.

* Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 981.

(*c*) MS. Memoirs, &c. Among theſe were his tube and ſextant, the firſt 24 feet long, and the ſecond 2 feet diameter; he carried them to St Helena, to Dantzick, to Paris, and Rome; and after his marriage ſet them up at Iſlington, whence they became the chief inſtrument of his fame; and it is no wonder that he was particularly fond of them.

(*d*) Printed in Phil. Tranſ. No. 128.

[*A*] *A great progreſs in Aſtronomy before he was removed to Oxford*] Mr Wood (1) tells us, our author had at this time perfectly learned the uſe of the celeſtial globe, and could make a compleat dial; and we are informed by Mr Halley himſelf, that he obſerved the change of the variation of the magnetic needle at London in 1672 (2), that is a year before he left ſchool.

[*B*] *An opprobrium to Kepler's hypotheſis.*] Kepler having built his theory upon the ſure foundation of facts, as they appeared in the aſtronomical tables of Tycho, thought that ſufficient, leaving the geometrical proof of it to others. Mr Halley ſupplied this defect in a paper which was publiſhed in Phil. Tranſ. anno 1676, No. 128. with the following title, *Methodus directa & geometrica cujus ope inveſtigantur Aphelia, Eccentricitates, Proportioneſque Orbium Planetarum Primariorum, abſque ſuppoſita æqualitate anguli motus ad alterum ellipſeos focum, ab Aſtronomis hactenus uſurpata*, i. e. *A direct and geometrical method of inveſtigating the Aphelia, Eccentricities, and Proportions, of the Orbits of the Primary Planets, without ſuppoſing the equality of the angle of motion*: granting this equality, the propoſition had been demonſtrated by others, and particularly by Dr Seth Ward, in a piece intituled, *Aſtronomia geometrica, ubi methodus proponitur, qua planetarum primariorum aſtronomia, ſive elliptica, ſive circularis, poſſit geometrice abſolvi* (3), Lond. 1656, 8vo. Before Kepler's time there had been ſuppoſed what the aſtronomers call a center of middle motion, that is a point from whence the motion of the earth would be always ſeen in a mean between it's quick and ſlow progreſs in the ecliptic. Copernicus and many others, who maintained that opinion, thought it abſurd to ſuppoſe the earth carried in a circle (as they did) whoſe center was not the center of equal motion, ſeeing then the earth's motion muſt not only be in appearance but really unequal, and in ſome part of the periphery of it's orbit it would move faſter, and in others ſlower, contrary to their eſtabliſhed maxim of having all the motions perfectly uniform (4). But Kepler, when he had ſhewn from Tycho's obſervations, that Mars and the other planets were not carried round in circular but in elliptic orbits; and that the ſun was in one of the foci of theſe ellipſes; and that the planets in moving round him did ſo regulate their motions, that a line or ray drawn from the ſun to the planet, did ſweep an elliptic area or ſpace always proportionable to the time the planet moved, he thought it but reaſonable to ſuppoſe the earth in turning round the ſun ſhould obſerve the ſame law, and be carried likewiſe in an elliptic orbit. This theory anſwers exactly to all appearances in the phænomena, but it follows from it, that there are no centers of equal or middle motion, from which the planets can be ſeen to deſcribe angles proportional to the times. And therefore many aſtronomers ſtill adhering to the opinion that there were centers of equal motion, rejected Kepler's rule of the planetary motions, though they retained the elliptic form of their orbits, and becauſe in the axis of an ellipſis, there are two points equally diſtant from the center which are called the f[illegible], in one of which they with Kepler placed the ſun, the other, which is diſtant from the ſun the double of the eccentricity, they imagined to be the center of equal motion, and round it they ſuppoſed the planets to deſcribe angles proportionable to the times; which indeed in ellipſes that are not very eccentrical, ſuch as are deſcribed by moſt of the primary planets, is nearly true, as Kepler alſo acknowledges. This they liked the better, becauſe in the theory of Kepler, there was no direct or geometrical method to find out the true anamoly from the mean *, which was eaſily done by their own theory; and this indeed was evidently the reaſon, why Biſhop Ward contented himſelf with ſhewing a geometrical method of deſcribing the planetary orbits upon that theory, though he knew it was not ſtrictly true. So much of this ſubject, though a little dry, was thought clearly neceſſary to give the reader a right apprehenſion of the importance of author's problem (5), in confirming the true ſyſtem of the world, which though firſt diſcovered by Kepler, yet received it's firſt geometrical foundation from Mr Halley. And I cannot forbear remarking, that the firſt draught by which the demonſtration of the ſyſtem was completely perfected, and ſhewn from the laws of gravity neceſſarily to obtain in nature, happened to be executed by Mr Newton this ſame year 1676 (6). Mr Wood obſerves that our author's name will be for ever famous by the ſolution of this problem, and the writer of his eloge (7) at Paris, declares it to be 'A 'work, which might juſtly excite the envy of the moſt 'ſkilful aſtronomers of that time, and which put an end 'to a celebrated diſpute that had long ſubſiſted among 'them upon that ſubject †. Des Cartes, continues 'this writer, began his geometry with a problem, 'that had ſtopped the progreſs of the ancients, and the 'firſt

(1) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 981.

(2) Phil. Tranſ. No. 195. where it is inſerted into his table of thoſe variations.

(3) Mr Halley in drawing up his title had apparently his eye upon this of Seth Ward's treatiſe, as he alſo put an end to the diſpute between that author and Bullialdus; upon which ſee Gregory's Aſtronomy, book iii. where is inſerted this problem of Mr Halley, prop. 3.

(4) To ſuppoſe theſe motions otherwiſe was thought incongruous to the nature of thoſe intelligences, which, according to the philoſophical Creed of the Ancients, preſided over the planets, and directed their motions; and Epycicles were therefore invented to ſalve the apparent irregularities. *Eraſ. Oſwaldi in Purbachii theoremata Commentario*, p. 3. Baſil. 1556. folio.

* That is a problem of another nature, and much more intricate than this of our author. See the article KEIL [JOHN].

(5) Viz. In reſpect to Aſtronomy. What it's merit is in regard to Geometry, he has ſignified himſelf in the concluſion of his paper. *Oſtendi quomodo ex tribus locis heliocentricis planetæ, & diſtantiis a ſole obſervatis, deſcribi poſſit orbita iſtius planetæ, quod non niſi quinque talibus obſervationibus hactenus effectum videtur.*

(6) See his article.

(7) Mr Mairan.

† We have already mentioned that diſpute in note (3).

Beſides an eclipſe of the moon, June 27, 1675, obſerved at his father's houſe in Wincheſter-ſtreet (*e*), ſeveral obſervations made by him concerning a ſpot in the ſun, ſeen at Oxford in July and Auguſt 1676, were publiſhed, with others by Mr Flamſtead upon the ſame ſubject, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (*f*). By theſe the motion of the ſun round it's own axis, a phænomenon 'till then not well aſcertained (*g*), was fully and finally determined. The ſame year he likewiſe obſerved there, Auguſt 21, an occultation of Mars by the moon (*h*), which he made uſe of afterwards, with others, in ſettling the longitude of the Cape of Good Hope againſt the objections of the French Aſtronomers (*i*). During his ſtay at Oxford he alſo accurately obſerved the motions of Jupiter and Saturn, whereby he made ſeveral corrections in the beſt aſtronomical tables then extant of thoſe planets (*k*). About this time alſo, before his voyage to St Helena, he had diſcovered the method now well known of conſtructing eclipſes of the ſun, by which means the calculation of parallaxes in thoſe phænomena was ſuperſeded *. Neither yet was his induſtry confined within theſe limits. All the time from his firſt admiſſion he had been careful to make the proper obſervations for aſcertaining the true places of the fixed ſtars, and thereby correcting the errors of Tycho Brahe. His original view therein was to carry on the deſign of that firſt reſtorer of Aſtronomy, by compleating the catalogue of thoſe ſtars from his own obſervations; but upon further enquiry, finding this province taken up by Mr Hevelius and Mr Flamſtead, he dropped that purſuit, and immediately formed a reſolution of perfecting the whole ſcheme of the heavens, by the addition of the ſtars which lie ſo near the ſouth pole [*C*], that they could not be obſerved by thoſe Aſtronomers, as never riſing above the horizon either at Dantzick or Greenwich. Fired with the proſpect of making ſo diſtinguiſhed an improvement in his favourite ſcience, he left the univerſity before he had been there long enough to take any degree, and returning to his father, applied for his conſent to ſo remote a voyage, as was neceſſary for carrying his project into execution. Here he met with all the encouragement which ſo hopeful a ſon could either expect or wiſh from the affection of an indulgent parent (*l*) Whereupon he addreſſed himſelf to Sir Joſeph Williamſon (*m*) then Secretary of State, and to Sir Jonas Moor Surveyor of the Ordnance, both of them great promoters of theſe ſtudies, and the latter an able Mathematician. Theſe gentlemen highly applauding his purpoſe, mentioned it to King Charles the Second. His Majeſty was much pleaſed therewith, and without any delay gave him a letter of recommendation to the Eaſt-India-Company (*n*), who thereupon promiſed to ſupply him with all the accommodations and conveniencies that lay in their power, and to carry him to St Helena (*o*), which he pitched upon as a very proper ſituation (*p*) for his deſign. Accordingly he loſt no time, but embarked for that iſland in November 1676, and arriving there ſafely in three months, he ſtuck cloſe to his teleſcope, 'till he had entirely finiſhed the taſk he had ſet himſelf, and compleated his catalogue. This done he returned to England in November 1678. While he continued at St Helena, he made ſeveral other curious phyſical remarks (*q*) and aſtronomical obſervations, which were of uſe to him in promoting thoſe branches of literature, as ſhall be mentioned in their proper places. During

' firſt path ſtruck out by Mr Halley, conducted him at ' once to the moſt remote and abſtruſe parts of aſtro- ' nomy.' A compariſon betwixt Des Cartes, and Dr Halley, might be the natural reſult of that remarkable affinity of genius, which appears in the works of theſe two great maſters of philoſophy; a genius ſcarcely leſs diſtinguiſhed by the bold flights of it's imaginative faculties in ſtarting hypotheſes, that it is by the ſagacity and ſolidity of it's reaſoning powers in making uſeful improvements, and alike happy alſo in ſetting forth it's productions in the moſt engaging dreſs. That particular inſtance of this affinity, here remarked by Mr Mairan, is indiſputably well choſen for the purpoſe of an eloge; but if we ſhould allow the politeneſs of the Frenchman's compliment therein to the latter, it ought not, becauſe it cannot fairly, be denied, that the compliment is carried much higher on the ſide of the former, it is carried even beyond the truth. A cenſure which perhaps will not be thought too ſevere, when we ſee it ſupported by Mr Halley himſelf (8), who gives it for one reaſon of his taking pains to correct and publiſh the preface of *Pappus Alexandrinus* to the ſeventh book of his mathematical collections, that it might appear thereby how unjuſtly Des Cartes had accuſed the Ancients of ignorance, in boaſting himſelf to have been the firſt mortal who was able to conſtruct a *locus* to four right lines, which had been attempted by Euclid; ſince *Apollonius* had plainly enough ſhewn, that he had done it in the place where he ſays it is impoſſible to give that conſtruction compleat, without thoſe propoſitions found by himſelf, and inſerted in the third book of his Conicks; which, continues Mr Halley, is the ſame thing as to ſay, that by the help of thoſe propoſitions, it would have been eaſy and obvious for Euclid to have conſtructed the *locus*; and truly whoever compares that operoſe ſolution, perplexed with a monſtrous algebraical calculus, given by Des Cartes in the beginning of his geometry, with that wonderful concinnity in which the whole buſineſs is compleated geometrically, and without any calculus at all, in the 17th, 18th, and 19th *lemmata* to the firſt book of the *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philoſophy*, by the help of two propoſitions in the third book of the ſaid Conics, will never doubt, but *Apollonius* had performed more in this matter than Des Cartes thought he had. To this it may be added, that as to the problem *de ſectione determinata*, a full ſolution of which was given by Apollonius, the whole difficulty of deſcribing the *locus* lies in finding the fifth point. But from five given points, Pappus ſhews how to deſcribe the elliptic locus, lib. 8. prop. 13, 14, and by the ſame method, *mutatis mutandis*, without any greater difficulty is the locus hyperbolicus deſcribed through the ſame points.

[*C*] *To complete the catalogue of the fixed ſtars, adding thoſe near the ſouth pole.*] There were two accounts of theſe ſouthern ſtars than extant; one, wherein they were named by the Portugueze, and corrected by Peter Theodore, was inſerted in Kepler's catalogue of the fixed ſtars; the other was that upon Bleau's celeſtial globe laid down, as is generally reported, from the obſervations of one Frederic Houtman, a Dutchman (9). But both theſe were very imperfect and inaccurate, and this part of the celeſtial globe very ill deſcribed, being done chiefly from the rude obſervations of mariners, who had other thoughts in their view, than that of improving aſtronomy. Conſequently Mr Halley's catalogue of theſe ſtars was an entirely new acquiſition to the learned world, in what may not unaptly be called *Cœlum Auſtrale eo uſque incognitum*; and thence he acquired an indiſputable claim to the title which was not long after given him by Mr Flamſtead (10) of our Southern Tycho.

(*e*) No. 128.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) See ibid. No. 77 and 78.

(*h*) No. 129.

(*i*) Ibid. No. 185 and 361.

(*k*) MS. Memoirs. Theſe were made uſe of by him in correcting Mr Huygens's Theory of Saturn's fourth ſatellite, printed in Phil. Tranſ. No. 145. anno 1683.

* Preface to Flamſtead's Doctrine of the Sphere, 1681. 4to. He alſo publiſhed ſeveral years afterwards ſome uſeful remarks upon ſome allowances to be made in aſtronomical obſervations for the refraction of the air, without the trouble of trigonometrical calculations. Phil. Tranſ. No. 181.

(*l*) His father allowed him 300 l. per annum during his travels both to St Helena and afterwards to Italy. MS. Memoirs.

(*m*) The founder of the Mathematical ſchool at Rocheſter. See more of this affair in rem. [*G*].

(*n*) MS. Memoirs.

(*o*) Then in the poſſeſſion of that Company by a grant from the Crown.

(*p*) It lies in the latitude of 15° 55′ ſouth.

(*q*) Among others he found himſelf obliged to ſhorten his pendulum to make it keep the ſame time as in England. This being told ſeveral years after by Mr Hook to Sir Iſaac Newton, he declared it was the firſt notice he had of ſuch an experiment, and he made uſe of it to confirm his opinion of the oblate ſpheroidical figure of the earth. See a letter of Sir Iſaac to our author in General Dictionary, Vol. VII. p. 800. in notes. b.

(8) In præfat. ad Apollonium de ſectione rationis. An account of which ſee below.

(9) Greg. Aſtron. book ii. p. 229.

(10) In his preface to the Doctrine of the Sphere, in Sir Jonas Moor's Syſtem of the Mathematics, Lond. 1681. 4to.

ring the navigation, in his paſſage, he had frequently experienced a great inconvenience in an inſtrument well known to the ſeamen by the name of Davis's Quadrant, which then had only a ſhadow-vane to the leſſer arch. Wherefore immediately after his landing he added a glaſs to that vane [*D*], and then haſtened to prepare the beſt teſtimonial, he could give of his gratitude to his royal benefactor. Having delineated a planiſphere, wherein with the niceſt accuracy he laid down the exact places of all the ſtars near the ſouth pole, from his own obſervations, he preſented it with a ſhort deſcription to his Majeſty, who was greatly ſatisfied therewith [*E*], and gave him at his own requeſt a letter of *mandamus* to the univerſity of Oxford for the degree of Maſter of Arts [*F*]. This letter was dated November 18, and the ſame month he was alſo choſen Fellow of the Royal-Society; and he gave an ample confirmation of his juſt claim to thoſe honours in the three pieces mentioned below (*G*), which were publiſhed by him the following year †. Theſe works were

[*D*] *He added a glaſs to that vane.*] Mr Wood (11), to whom we owe this particular, obſerves very juſtly, that this was a very conſiderable improvement in that uſeful inſtrument. As the ſpot of light exhibited by the glaſs can be clearly ſeen at ſuch times when the ſhadow is ſo faint, that it's edge cannot be ſufficiently diſcerned. Mr Hadley's reflecting quadrant is ſtill a farther improvement in this article (12), and the friendly intercourſe which was obſerved between them, makes it more than probable that the invention was not perfected without the aſſiſtance of Dr Halley.

[*E*] *His Majeſty was greatly ſatisfied with it.*] This planiſphere diſcovered a remarkable inſtance of our author's addreſs. Among theſe ſtars there appeared the *Conſtellation of the Royal Oak*, with this deſcription. *Robur Carolinum in perpetuam ſub illius latebris ſervati Caroli ſecundi Magnæ Britanniæ Regis memoriam, in cælum merito tranſlatum.* Thus as the writer of his eloge obſerves (13), Mr Halley recorded his gratitude in thoſe ſkies, which the patronage and liberality of that prince enabled him to ſurvey.

[*F*] *A mandamus for the degree of Maſter of Arts.*] The recommendatory words of this letter were, That *His Majeſty has received a good account of his learning as to the mathematicks and aſtronomy, whereof he has gotten a good teſtimony by the obſervations he has made during his abode in the iſland of St Helena.* The degree was conferred at Oxford the third of December following (14). Mr Wood hereupon remarks, that our author made no return by this voyage but that of praiſe (15); and indeed we do not find that he was preſented either with a purſe or a place on this occaſion, but his heart was not ſet upon ſuch rewards *. He was abundantly ſatisfied with his degree, which conſidering that his admiſſion in the univerſity was little more than five years before, and that he had not taken his bachelor's degree, was no doubt a very diſtinguiſhing atteſtation of his extraordinary merit. Mr Wood alſo intimates, that this mandamus was particularly requeſted by Mr Halley (16), and if ſo, there is ſome room to imagine, that he had then the Savilian profeſſorſhip in his wiſh at leaſt, if not in his view at this time. We are told that Mr (afterwards Dr) Edw. Barnard, who then ſat in the Aſtronomical chair, though highly delighted therewith for a while, yet ſoon grew leſs fond, and in a few years became ſo weary of it, that he was even deſirous to reſign either to Mr Flamſtead or Mr Halley, who he ſaid had cultivated that ſcience with prodigious application and ſucceſs, and with the applauſe of all Europe (17). But whatever may be thought of this conjecture, 'tis evident our author had a filial affection for his *Alma mater*, returning to her arms preſently after his landing from St Helena, and making the honours ſhe could confer the chief view of his ambition. He was likewiſe particularly eſteemed by the other Savilian Profeſſor Dr Wallis, as appears from a letter he wrote while our author was at Dantzick, recommending him to Mr Hevelius, the firſt Aſtronomer of the age, not only on account of his merit in that ſcience, but alſo for the hearty ſincerity and ingenuity of his temper, the letter was in theſe terms.

Clariſſimo et Spectatiſſimo Viro
Domino Johanni Hevelio
Conſuli Dantiſcano
Johannes Wallis Geometriæ Profeſſor
Savilianus Oxonii. S.

'*Clariſſime Vir,*

'*Deſtinaveram ad te literas per Dominum Hallejum noſtrum ferendas; qui, ante ſex menſes credo, ad Te appulit, avidus tuorum apparatuum Spectator; ſuaque Tecum communicaturus obſervata. Sic autem accidit, ut Londino Ille prius diſceſſerit, quam ad Eum ferrentur meæ literæ, fuerimque ea ſpe deſtitutus. Non autem erat oblitus (ſpero) Te meo nomine quam humaniſſime & officioſe ſalutare; hoc utique hinc diſceſſurus in ſe ſuſcepit Quin gratus tibi fuerit acceſſus ejus non dubito; cum et Ipſe Vir ſit ingenuus, variaſque, Tibi impertiendas, habuit Obſervationes ſtellarum Europæis inconſpicuarum; ſoleaſque Tu ſumma cum humanitate advenas accipere. Num adhuc in Angliam redierit haud certus ſcio; Oxonii certe nondum eum vidiſſe contigit reducem. Fama interim hic accepimus Te alteram partem tuæ cæleſtis Machinæ abſolviſſe. Quo quidem gaudeo, atque ut curioſiſſimarum obſervationum Theſaurum amplexabor, rei Aſtronomicæ magno emolumento futurum, &c. Vale. Scribebam Oxonii, 8, Julii, S. V.* 1679 *.'

[G] *Three pieces mentioned below.*] Theſe are, (1.) *Catalogus ſtellarum Auſtralium, ſive ſupplementum catalogi Tychonici exhibens longitudines & latitudines ſtellarum fixarum, quæ prope polum antarcticum ſitæ in horizonte Urinaburgico Tychoni inconſpicæ fuere, accurato calculo ex diſtantiis ſupputatas, et ad annum* 1677 *completum correctas* (18), *cum ipſis obſervationibus in inſula* S. Helenæ *cujus latitudo eſt* 15°. 55′. *auſtr. et longitudo* 7° 00′ *ad occaſum a* Londino, *ſumma cura et ſextante ſatis magno* †, *de cælo depromptis. Opus ab Aſtronomicis hactenus deſideratum. Accedit Appendicula de rebus quibuſdam Aſtronomicis notatu non indignis.* Authore Edmundo Halleio, e Coll. Regin Oxon ‖. In the preface he notes, That from his ſaid obſervations it is clear, that all the aſtronomical tables till then extant, were defective in calculating the motions of the celeſtial bodies, that Saturn moves much more ſlowly and Jupiter more ſwiftly than is reckoned upon; that hereupon he began to go about to correct them, but preſently foreſaw, that it could never be well done without a more correct catalogue of the fixed ſtars, the performance whereof was already undertaken by other hands, that he choſe therefore to take upon himſelf the ſtating of the places of the fixed ſtars near the ſouth pole, and out of our horizon, which no one that he knew had with proper inſtruments before undertaken. What Frederick Houtman's inſtruments were, by whoſe obſervations in *Sumatra* Bleau pretended to correct his celeſtial globe, our author declares he knew not, but ſaith, that by comparing that globe with this his preſent catalogue, it appears he underſtood little of aſtronomy. That conſidering this, and being alſo approved and encouraged by divers perſons of much worth and honour, as the Lord Viſcount Brounker, Sir Joſeph Williamſon ‡, and Sir Jonas Moor, and others, and even by the King alſo, he thereupon furniſhed himſelf with proper inſtruments for the purpoſe, which he particularly mentions and deſcribes, that of theſe he made the moſt aſſiduous uſe he could in a place of ſo thick and cloudy a ſky as he found that of S Helena, contrary to the common report, that he had reſtored about 350 fixed ſtars which were omitted in *Catalogo Tychonico*, the places whereof, he preſumes, he had truly aſſigned with reſpect to the places of ſome of the fixed ſtars in Tycho's catalogue. That the obliquity of the ecliptic is ſuppoſed to be 23°. 30′. which he obſerves is moſt certainly too much; yet becauſe he deſigned not a correction of the whole ſphere, and becauſe it was not then known within half a minute how great the obliquity is, and that this his own catalogue may be eaſily reduced to any obliquity, he thought not fit to meddle with that. After the preface follows the obſervations themſelves, wherein, to his own, he has added an ancient catalogue out of Clairus's

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† According to the Bookſeller's ſtile, but in the ſame year 1678 in the common computation.

(11) Ubi ſupra.

(12) See a deſcription with a draught of it by the inventor, in Phil. Tranſ. No. 376.

(13) Ubi ſupra.

(14) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 210.

(15) Ath. Ox. ibid. col. 982.

* See his letter to Hevelius, wrote about this time from Oxford, in remark [*H*].

(16) His words are, that he procured letters from his Majeſty, &c.

(17) See his Life by Dr Smith at the end of Biſhop Huntingdon's Epiſtles, p. 45. Lond. 1704. 8vo.

* *Excerpta ex literis illuſtrium & clariſſimorum virorum ad nobiliſſimum ampliſſ. & conſultiſſ.* Dn. Johannem Hevelium Conſ. Gedanenſem perſcriptis, &c. *Studio ac opera* Johannis Erici Olhoffii, *Secretarii*, p. 189. Gedani, 1683. 4to.

(18) They were afterwards fitted to the year 1726, and inſerted in Flamſtead's *Hiſtoria Cæleſtis Britannica*, Vol. III.

† See note (*c*) above in the text.

‖ There is an account of this book in Phil. Tranſ. No 141. for Sept. Oct. and Nov. 1678. 'Tis none of the leaſt inſtances of our author's active induſtry that he publiſhed this book, procured a mandamus for his degree, went to Oxford and took it, reſolved to go to Dantzic, and wrote this letter to Hevelius, and was choſen F. R. S. all within the compaſs of a month after his landing from St Helena.

‡ This gentleman had been a conſiderable benefactor to Queen's-college in Oxford, of which Mr Halley was at this time a member. Ded. of Phil. Tranſ. Vol. IX. for the year 1674. which year Sir Joſeph took his degree of Doctor of Laws, being then Fellow of Queen's college, and lately made Secretary of State. Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 197.

were ſcarcely out of the preſs, when he was pitched upon by the Royal-Society [*H*] to go to Dantzick, for the ſatisfaction of Mr Hevelius, with regard to the diſpute betwixt him and Mr

Clairus's commentaries in *Sphæram Johannis de Sacro Boſco*, and that of *Bartſchius e tabulis Rudolphinis Kepleri*; that by comparing them with theſe his obſervations it might evidently appear, how much the ancient globes do almoſt every where differ from the heavens. From theſe obſervations, as he proceeds, he propoſeth ſome conjectures of the corruptibility, or at leaſt the mutability of the fixed ſtars ‡. Next to theſe are tables of the right aſcenſions of the ſouthern fixed ſtars and their diſtances from the pole, for the uſe of ſeamen. The *Appendicula* contains, (1.) *Mercurii tranſitus ſub ſolis diſco, Octob.* 28, *An.* 1677, *cum tentamine pro ſolis parallaxi*. Upon the ſubject of the ſun's parallax, he remarks in the preface, that were the place of Mercury's node once found, the ſaid parallax might be deduced from this his obſervation of Mercury §. (2.) *Modi quidam pene geometrici pro parallaxi Lunæ inveſtiganda*. Of theſe ways there are propoſed three, yet the beſt way of finding the lunar parallax would be, as he notes in his preface, by comparing the meridian altidude of the ſun obſerved at St Helena and in Europe at the ſame time. (3.) *Quædam Lunaris Theoriæ emendationem ſpectantia*. Under this article our author ſhews that the elliptical figure of the moon's orbit, is more curve in her quadratures with the ſun than it is in the ſyzigies. This had never been publiſhed by any one before. The Hiſtory of the Academy of Sciences in France tells us indeed, under the year 1698, that the ſame thing had been obſerved in 1668 by Mr Picard. In this tract likewiſe Mr Halley firſt of any one ſeparated from the other inequalities in the moon's motion, that particular one which ariſes from her increaſed and diminiſhed periodical time about the earth, by reaſon of the diminiſhed or decreaſed diſtance of the earth from the ſun, i. e. That which depends upon the earth's mean anamoly (19). All the annual equations or corrections for finding the moon's motion, were then neglected in the conſtruction of tables except this; and though this was obſerved by Tycho, Kepler, and Horrox, yet they confounded it with the other. Sir Iſaac Newton obſerves that Horrox was the firſt who advanced the theory of the moon's motion moving in an ellipſe about the earth placed in the lower focus *, and that our author improved the notion by putting the center of that ellipſe in an epicycle, whoſe center is uniformly revolved about the earth, and from the motion in this epicycle ariſes that inequality in the progreſs and regreſs of the apogee, and in the quantity of the eccentricity. Our author having obſerved in the preface, that aſtronomy is moſt of all defective with regard to the theory of the moon, in order to incite the lovers of the ſcience to ſupply that defect, remarks, that if ever the irregularities of the moon's motion were truly determined by celeſtial obſervations, and a true phyſical theory, and the places of the fixed ſtars rightly determined by the obſervations of Hevelius and Flamſtead, then a moſt exact method would be given to find the longitude. Agreeably to this remark we ſhall find him making the theory of that planet, the principal ſubject of his aſtronomical ſtudies hereafter, during the whole courſe of his life.

[*H*] *He was pitched upon by the Royal-Society to viſit Mr Hevelius*] That gentleman having employed himſelf in preparing a new catalogue of the fixed ſtars, obſerving that it would not be complete without the ſtars near the ſouth pole, applied to the Royal-Society, of which he was a member †, wiſhing that ſome ſkilful perſon of their body might be prevailed upon to execute that part of his deſign ‖ This motion being approved, and the obſervations completed, he wrote to Mr Flamſtead to procure them for him. That letter, as will appear preſently, is dated ſome months before our author's arrival from St Helena, but the catalogue of thoſe ſtars being printed ſoon after, a copy of it was ſent to the Conſul, with the following letter by Mr Halley.

Præclariſſimo Ampliſſimoque Viro
Johanni Hevelio Conſ. Gedanenſi
Aſtronomorum facile Principi. S. P.

Nudius tertius eſt, Vir Clariſſime, ex quo literas tuas $\frac{11}{21}$ *Auguſti datas mecum communicavit amicus meus Dominus Flamſtedius, ex quibus non ingratas Tibi futuras obſervationes meas ſtellarum prope polum antarcticum lucentium intellexi, catalogum meum paucos ante dies editum ad Te mitto, quem, ſi conceſſa fuiſſet commodà aliqua tranſmittendi opportunitas, citius in manus dediſſem veſtras, lætatus admodum hac occaſione tanti Viri amicitiam mihi conciliari poſſe. Honores a Te mibi deſignatos, labores meos quales quales tuorum monumentis adjungendo, gratiſſime habeo; vereor tamen, ne hæc cœpta mea juvenilia non accurata ſatis apud Judicem adeo oculatum videantur, nec digna, quæ exquiſito illi catalogo, quem de Te expectat orbis literatus, connectantur. Obſervationibus vero ineſt ſincera fides pro ratione inſtrumenti, ut & calculo iis ſuperſtructo, in quo ſuppoſui plerumque latitudines duarum Tychonicarum cum diſtantia obſervatas, namque meridianas altitudines cœlum plerumque nubilum nequaquam permiſit obſervatas. In catalogo meo ſuppono obliquitatem Tyconicham* 23°. 31′. 30″. *& præceſſionem æquinoctiorum, ſive longitudinem* 1 *Stellæ* ♉ 18°. 41′. *quanta fuit ineunte anno* 1678, *utraſque vero a Te paulo aliter ſtatutas non dubito; quocirca calculi laborem repetere non gravarer, ſi modo correctiora haberem fixarum, quibus uſus ſum, loca de catalogo Tuo deſumpta, ut potius Heveliani quam Tychonici Catalogi ſupplementum, opus meum inſcriberem. Qualia ſint noſtra obſervata, comparatione cum veſtris facta in quibuſdam ſtellis ab utroque noſtrum obſervatis, facile conſtabit, nec magnas inveniri differentias auſim ſpondere. Ipſe vero de ſe loquetur Catalogus, quo Tui Juris facto utere pro lubitu, ac ſi dignum recenſeas, quem lucubrationibus veſtris adjungas, me plurimis officii vinculis obſtrictum tenebis, Animumque Tui & Aſtronomiæ fervidum majori ardore accendes; hoc etenim pacto inter volumina tua nunquam moritura nomen meum oblivionis fato ereptum apud poſteros quantumvis ſeros legetur, nec majus hominibus (me ſaltem judice) contingit bonum, quam grata per cuncta ſecula memoria de bene geſtis in uſus publicos vel literarum parta. Dominus Flamſtedius, qui jam ad Te ſcribit, obſervationes eclipſeos Lunaris Octobris* $\frac{9}{19}$ *a Nobis feliciſſime habitas tranſmittere promiſit, itaque me ea de re excuſatum habeos velim. Brevi, Deo volente, Civitatem veſtram viſurus iter ſuſcipio, ut Virum apud Eruditos univerſos celeberrimum, quemque non ſine æmulationis quadam ſpecie veneror, oculis meis agnoſcam, utque inſtrumenta Tua modumque obſervandi expertus intelligam, utque de ulteriori Aſtronomiæ profectu Te conſulam. Juventuti vero noſtræ, quæ vix hodie vigeſimum ſecundum annum attingit, venia impetranda eſt, dum Reverentiam Veſtram majoribus curis occupatam ineptiis meis laceſſo. Vale, Vir Clariſſime, meque omnibus obſervantiæ ac obſequii vinculis Tibi devinctum ne dedigneris redamare*

Dabam Oxoniæ,
Novemb. 11, ſt. vet.
1678.

EDMUNDUM HALLEIUM †.

It appears by this letter, that Mr Halley had reſolved already upon making a viſit to Dantzick; accordingly he took ſhip for that city in May the enſuing year, carrying with him from the Royal Society, the following letter to Hevelius.

'Vir Clariſſime,

'Cum Vir admodum ingenioſus et eruditus Dominus 'Edmundus Halleius e ſocietate noſtra, inſigni prorſus 'erga ſtudium Aſtronomicum amore jampridem incaluerit, eoque accenſus longinquam navigationem in 'inſulam Sanctæ Helenæ ſuſceperit, ut ſtellarum Auſtralium, quæ ob ſuam polo antarctico vicinitatem, 'hactenus Aſtronomis noſtris inobſervatæ fuerunt, catalogum adornaret, Tychonico ceu Mantiſſo loco adjiciendum; (quod accurata obſervationum adminiſtratione egregie præſtitit, earumque longitudines et 'latitudines in tabulis digeſſit) jam ſecundam peregrinationem Aſtronomiæ duntaxat cauſa inſtituat, utque 'Te Patrem & Principem Aſtronomorum hujus ſeculi 'videre propius, et ſuper his rebus conſulere poſſit, 'Dantiſcum excurrere cogitet; Voluit idcirco Societas 'noſtra Virum tam eximie de Re Aſtronomica meritam, ſuis ad Te literis cohoneſtare; Etſi ſatis perſpectum habeat, quam Tu propenſo affectu in Eos ſis, 'qui divinam hanc ſcientiam colunt atque amant intimius: præcipue in Talem Virum, qui quantus in his 'ſtudiis futurus ſit, jam edito in publicum ſpecimine

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‡ This conjecture was occaſioned by his diſcovering, whilſt at St Helena, a lucid ſpot in the Centaur. He proſecuted this ſubject afterwards in Phil. Tranſ. No. 346 and 347, having in 1714 diſcovered a 6th new ſtar in the conſtellation of Hercules.

§ See remark [*BB*] and [*CC*].

(19) Dr David Gregory mentions it to the honour of his uncle Mr James Gregory, that he ſuſpected this inequality to belong to the moon in his Optica Promota. Schol. to prop. 86. See Gregory's Aſtronomy, book iv. prop. 29.

* See *Nova Lunæ Theoria* inter Horroxii opera poſthuma, edit. 1673. in 2 vols 4to. and Princ. Math. lib. iii. p. 35. ſchol. 2d edit. 1713. 4to. compared with a paſſage upon this ſubject in a letter of Sir Iſaac, dated Oct. 24, 1694. inſerted in remark [*E E*]. The reader will obſerve that the moon's orbit is only elliptical in reſpect to the ſun, and not a perfect ellipſe, that planet moving round the earth's annual orbit abſolutely in a line of the ſpiral kind, which is always concave toward the ſun.

† He was firſt invited into it by a letter of Oldenburg, dated Lond. 18 Feb. 1663. and having accepted the offer in an anſwer dated Jan. 4, 1664, he was elected April 30 enſuing, and the diploma was ſent to him with a letter from Oldenburg, dated May 11 following. *Excerpta ex literis—ad Hevelium, &c.* p. 77, 78, 88, 89, 90. ubi ſupra.

‖ *Annus Climactericus Jo. Hevelii*, p. 14. *Gedani*, 1685. folio.

† *Excerpta ex literis ad Hevelium*, p. 182, 183, 184, ubi ſupra.

Mr Hook, about the preference of plain or glaſs ſights in aſtroſcopical inſtruments. Mr Halley ſet out for that city on the 14th of May (*r*), 1679, and arriving there the 26th, immediately waited on the Conſul, and after ſome conference, agreed to enter upon the buſineſs of his viſit that ſame night [*I*]; on which, and every night afterwards (the ſky permitting) the two Aſtronomers made their obſervations together 'till the 18th of July, when our author taking leave, gave his opinion of the ſurprizing accuracy of the Conſul's obſervations, in a letter addreſſed to himſelf [*K*]. Returning home to his father, he

‘ ſatis oſtendit Scribebam Societatis juſſu ac nomine.
‘ Londini, Aprilis 3, ſt. vet. Anno 1679.

‘ Tuæ Claritatis
‘ Cultor aſſiduus
‘ Gulielmus Croun, M. D.
‘ Societ. Reg. Soc. (21).’

Let us now hear from the Conſul's own mouth, how acceptable our author's coming was to him. After mentioning the day of his arrival, he proceeds in theſe terms. ‘ *Cujus adventus mirifice mihi extitit gratus, non ſolum eam ob cauſam quod a præclariſſimo* Gulielmo Croun, M. D. Societ. Regiæ Socio, *nomine totius Ill. Societatis perquam mihi eſſet commendatus, tanquam Vir de Re Aſtronomica eximie meritus, ſed quod nunc tandem id obtinuiſſem, quod jampridem exoptaſſem, me nempe talem inviſiſſe rerum Aſtronomicarum bene gnarum, & probe exercitatum in obſervationibus, inſtrumento pinnacidiis teleſcopicis inſtructo expediendis, qui etiam ſecum ejus generis ſextantem apportaſſet.*’ He concludes the paragraph with teſtifying his ſatisfaction in having an eye-witneſs of the accuracy of his own obſervations made with plain ſights *. Mr Halley had likewiſe particularly recommended himſelf both in the preface to his catalogue of the ſouthern ſtars, where he had mentioned the Conſul's obſervations with reſpect, and in the letter which accompanied it, wherein he expreſſes his deſire to make this viſit in the view of his own improvement, as it would give him an opportunity of inſpecting both into the manner of obſerving made uſe of by the firſt aſtronomer in Europe, and likewiſe into the curious contrivance of his inſtruments. Concluding with an inſinuation, how honourable the employ would be to himſelf a youth, ſcarcely two and twenty years of age, while Mr Hevelius, as appears from his *Annus Climactericus* (22), was an obſerver of 49 years practice. How Mr Halley acquitted himſelf in this viſit, will be ſeen in the remark [*K*].

[*I*] *Entered upon the buſineſs that ſame night*] It is worth ſeeing how Mr Hevelius himſelf repreſents the matter. ‘ *Itaque quamprimum hic appuliſſet (Halleius) omni remota mora, me die ſcilicet 26 Maii viſitatum venit.—Ex primo autem colloquio inter nos inito ſatis ſuperque perſpiciebam ardorem illius ad res noſtras cæleſtes, ſummumque Ejus deſiderium Uraniam meam inviſendi, organaque noſtra contemplandi, manibuſque ſuis tractandi; Idcirco protinus eo ipſo die veſperi, cælo etiam annuente, ad ſpeculam meam illum deduxi. Simul ac adveniſſet, petiit ut haud gravarer ſextante meo orichalcico diſtantiam, et quidem Reguli et Spicæ obſervare, quippe inquiens ſe dubitare, me poſſe in minutis integris eandem ipſam quam forte olim dimenſus fuerim, in ſua præſentia determinare. Exoptaſſem quidem, fateor, Hoſpitem meum gratiſſimum Autumnali vel Brumali tempore adveniſſe, quo noctes obſcuriores ac plerumque defæcatiores ſunt, nec non Stellæ clarius multo in oculos incurrunt, quam hoc tempore æſtivo, Sole jam in ſexto gradu Geminorum exiſtente, atque ad ſolſtitium vergente, breviſſimis illis noctibus, longiſſimo et intenſiſſimo crepuſculo; accedebat, quod Luna ſplendente eaque fere plena obſervationes ſuſcipere deberem; adeo ut reſpectu mei vix commodum videretur obſervationum examina nudis oculis, pinnacidiiſque inſtituere; verum dixiſſes Clariſſimum Halleium ſtudio ſine dubio hoc tempore adveniſſe, quo poſſet inſtrumenta mea eo rigidius accuratiuſque examinare, vireſque noſtras explorare, atque ſic poſtea rebus bene ſuccedentibus concludere, ſi nobis liceret tempore æſtivo lucidiſſimis noctibus tum Luna affulgente et plena aliquid dignum præſtare, utique credendum, etiam obſcuriſſimis ſereniſſimiſque noctibus, Luna ſilente nos perficere quicquam poſſe.*’ He then proceeds to relate that the diſtance between theſe two ſtars Regulus and Spica †, was taken by three ſeveral obſervations by them both, and afterwards compared, at Mr Halley's requeſt, with the ſame diſtance as ſet down in the Machina Cæleſtis, Lib. IV. p. 171. from obſervations made by Mr Hevelius in 1653, 1661, 1665, and 1671. He concludes with teſtifying that the ſame diſtance was again obſerved on the 1ſt and 7th of June, for Mr Halley's further ſatisfaction, who was preſent when he made thoſe laſt obſervations (23). The Conſul alſo wrote a letter on Midſummer-day following, to Dr Grew, then Secretary to the R. S. wherein he expreſſes the greateſt ſatisfaction in Mr Halley's preſence (24).

[*K*] *He wrote a letter to Mr Hevelius.*] This is the letter.

Ampliſſimo ſpectatiſſimoque viro Johanni Hevelio, Conſuli Gedanenſi, Aſtronomo ſummo, S. P.

‘ *Nuperrime intellexi ex Dn Olaffio* * *Dominat. veſtram a me expectare, ut animi mei ſenſum de obſervationibus ac inſtrumentis veſtris ſcripto exponerem, quod quidem lubentiſſime faciam, cum jam ſatis abunde mihi conſtet de eorum uſu & certitudine. Fateor equidem me ſemper dubitaſſe, ex quo primum cæpi ſcientiam Aſtronomicam excolere, ne forte collimatio per nuda veſtra pinnacidia facta, incerta ſit aliquot minutis, atque non ſemel miratus ſum, quæ ratio diſſuaderet ab uſu teleſcopiorum ad iſtud negotium; interea tamen non auſus eram quidquam fidei veſtræ in dubium vocare, atque mecum ſemper conſervavi venerationem Aſtronomiæ veſtræ integram, ut cuivis patet ex præfatiuncula catalogi mei. Dum vero his dubiis perturbatus ſim, venit ad nos fama, jam editum fuiſſe librum, obſervationes omnes veſtras uno volumine complectentem, atque quidem tales quæ novum fixarum catalogum multo auctiorem & correctiorem concederent* ‡. *Ego lætatus admodum adeo magnifice auctam Uraniæ ſupellectilem, partim gratulabundus, partim etiam ſuſpicionibus meis ſubventurus huc me recepi. Quod vero tanto affectu, tanta benevolentia a dominatione veſtra receptus ſim; tanto candore & ſinceritate totus apparatus Aſtronomicus mihi commonſtratus ſit, atque quod toties mihi conceſſum ſit veſtris adeſſe obſervationibus, non inter minimas felicitates pono, ſed etiam abunde mihi gratulor de ſuſcepto meo itinere. Taceo inventa ingenioſiſſima iſta, quibus ingentia veſtra organa nullo fere negotio quaſi minimo digito dirigi poſſunt; quæ omnia in perpetuum Aſtronomorum commodum accuratiſſime, prout res fert, in priore parte machinæ veſtræ cæleſtis deſcribuntur* *. Me vero ultro teſtem offero, certitudinis vix credendæ inſtrumentorum, contra omnes qui inpoſterum * obſervationes veſtras in dubium vocare poſſint, quippe qui hiſce oculis vidi, non unam vel alteram, ſed etiam plures obſervationes ſtellarum fixarum ſextante magno orichalcico, a diverſis etiam obſervatoribus, quandoque etiam a me ipſo licet parum exercitato, peractas, ac amota regula repetitas, accuratiſſime atque fere incredibiliter inter ſe convenire, ac nunquam niſi temnenda minuti parte inter ſe diſcrepare; *quod an majori gaudio an admiratione exceperim neſcio. Namque ex intimo iſto affectu, quo ſcientiam ſideralem colo, nil gratius mihi obtingere potuit, quam quod certo conſtaret, tanto ac tam accurato penu locupletatam eſſe Aſtromoniam, nec quidquam magis mirum, quam quod adeo accuratus ſit. Hinc poſſunt examinari tabulæ jam conſtructæ, atque etiam novæ procudi, quas forſan non adeo facile eludet cælum, dummodo ſibi conſtans ſit, (de quo dubitare cogit motus Saturni nondum numerorum legibus adſtrictus)* (25), *neque ipſe gravabor, volente DEO, operam dare iſti negotio. Interea vero, Vir Honorande, favore veſtro cohoneſtare atque animos addere ne deſinas; nec pereat affectus veſter benevolus erga me immerito conceptus. Dum ego precibus fuſis DEUM Opt. Max. ſuppliciter, rogo ne unquam deficiant animi corporiſve vires, utque poſſis diu orbi literato prodeſſe, nec niſi ſerus ad cælum redeas. Sic vovet nominis veſtri cultor aſſiduus Edmundus Halleius.*’ *Dabam Gedani* Julii $\frac{8}{18}$, 1679 (26). Our author perceiving it impoſſible to perſwade an old practitioner into the uſe of any method except his own, very politely at

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(*r*) MS. Memoirs.

(21) Ibid. p. 185. Dr Croun's letter was read the ſame day it was dated before the R. Society, and a copy of it is preſerved in their letter-book, Vol. VIII. p. 73.

* Jo. Hevelii Annus Climactericus, ubi ſupra.

(22) In pref. p. 4. This was one reaſon of giving his book that title, 49 being, as he obſerves, a climacterical number. Beſides he reckons ſome other remarkable events which happened to him that year, as (1.) The finiſhing of the ſecond part of his *Machina Cæleſtis*. (2.) The ſending of Mr Halley by the R. Society. (3.) The loſs of all his inſtruments, which, together with his obſervatory, were totally deſtroyed by a fire on the 26th of Sept. this ſame year, occaſioned by the negligence or malice of a ſervant.

† The diſtance between theſe two ſtars had been long before particularly propoſed by him, to try the accuracy of his obſervations and inſtruments. See his letter to Mr Oldenburg, dated June 13, 1660, printed in An. Climac. p. 41, 42.

(23) Ibid. p. 15, 16.

(24) Ibid. p. 99.

* The ſame who publiſhed Excerpta ex literis ad Hevelium, &c. and was Secretary to the Conſul.

‡ Al. redderent. *Excerpta ex literis, &c.*

* Al. impoſterum, *ibid.*

(25) See note (*k*) above in text.

(26) *Annus Climactericus*, p. 101, 102. & *Excerpta ex literis ad Hevelium, &c.* p. 187, 188.

he continued there 'till the latter end of the enſuing year 1680; when he ſet out upon what is uſually called the Grand Tour. He was accompanied by the celebrated Mr Robert Nelſon (s), ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed for his piety. That gentleman had been his ſchool-fellow (t), and always retained a juſt eſteem of his merit. They croſſed the water in December to Calais; and in the mid-way, from thence to Paris, Mr Halley had firſt of any one a ſight of the remarkable comet, as it now appeared a ſecond time that year, and thence gave as it were a new æra to the aſtronomical world. It was at this time in it's aſcent or return from the ſun, he had the November before ſeen it in it's deſcent, and he now haſtened to compleat the gratification of his curioſity, in viewing this extraordinary, and at that time unaccountable (u), phænomenon, from the Royal Obſervatory of France [*L*]. That building had been finiſhed not a great many years before (*w*), and our author's deſign in this part of his tour was to ſettle a friendly correſpondence between the two royal Aſtronomers of Greenwich and Paris; and at the ſame to neglect no means, if any offered, of improving himſelf as he had done before with Mr Hevelius, ſo now with ſo

at parting made him as obliging a compliment as the nature of the caſe would in the moſt favourable ſenſe admit I offer myſelf, ſays he, [in the above words, marked *] voluntarily a witneſs of the ſcarcely credible certainty of your inſtruments, againſt any one who ſhall hereafter call the truth of your obſervations into queſtion; ſince I have ſeen with my own eyes not one or two, but ſeveral obſervations of the fixed ſtars made with your large braſs ſextant by different obſervers, and ſome of them by myſelf, which even when repeated did moſt accurately and almoſt incredibly agree, and never differed but in the trifling part of a minute. This letter (among others), together with the obſervations, was printed by M. Hevelius in 1685, and the book preſented to the Royal Society. Wherein Mr Halley finding his compliments cenſured by ſome as too high ſtrained, and obſerving the true ſtate of the obſervations unfairly repreſented, and the two foot ſextant which he took to Dantzic ſpoken of as a large inſtrument by M. Hevelius, thought it neceſſary to ſet the matter right, and at the ſame time not to be wanting in any part of the reſpect due to that Aſtronomer's acknowledged merit. A very candid account of the *Annus Climactericus* (27) was given to the Royal Society by Dr Wallis, which having diſpleaſed Mr Flamſtead, the doctor in his own defence ſent him a letter, where among other things he writes thus. 'As to Mr Halley, if you think (as you ſeem to intimate) that he hath been too laviſh in his commendations, you muſt needs think Mr Hook hath been ſo in his reprehenſions. Nor are the inſtruments and obſervations ſo contemptible even in your judgment, as he ſeems to repreſent them.—If Mr Halley think it convenient, as perhaps he may, to ſay any thing in defence or excuſe of his own inſtruments and obſervations, he may do it without diſparaging thoſe of Hevelius, which he has already ſo much commended, and I think he may beſt do it by way of anſwer to Mr Molyneux's letter. And for that reaſon I think it muſt be adviſable not to print that letter (though they of Ireland deſire it) 'till that of Mr Halley be ready to print with it. He may there ſay, without offence, what rectification for parallaxiſm is to be allowed; what obſervations were taken in his abſence, which therefore as he cannot atteſt ſo neither can he contradict, and I preſume they are none of thoſe at which Hevelius ſays he was preſent; and what quadrant, if any be, (for I do not perceive which you mean) is miſnamed a ſextant, with what elſe of like nature he thinks fit. And then I do not ſee, but that each may ſucceed in what way himſelf thinks beſt without offence to one another. For my own part, I am ſo little verſed in obſerving either way, that I do not pretend to judge of the point in queſtion, whether plain or teleſcopic ſights be every way the beſt. But this I think is undeniably evinced, that Hevelius with his inſtruments can diſtinguiſh by plain ſights, notwithſtanding what hath been ſaid to the contrary, to a ſmall part of a minute.' This letter is dated Feb. 12, $168\frac{5}{6}$, and upon the 20th another was written to Mr Flamſtead upon the ſame ſubject by Mr William Molyneux from Dublin, who alſo takes notice of that of our author, mentioned by Dr Wallis, as follows. 'I perceive the controverſy between Hevelius and our Engliſh Aſtronomers, will never be ended whilſt the old man lives, and indeed, if it be as you ſay, I think Hevelius much to blame, that he did not in the relation of the conteſt between Mr Halley's and his inſtrument, fairly declare the matter of fact. For, as you rightly obſerve, he calls Mr Halley's quadrant a ſextant, and ſpeaks of it, though but two foot radius, as of a very large inſtrument ‖, and this *gave occaſion to my error of thinking that inſtrument the ſame Mr Halley uſed at St Helena.* ——I underſtand Mr Halley is printing a letter againſt Hevelius's *Annus Climactericus*, but ſurely he cannot for ſhame contradict that large encomium he gives of Hevelius's inſtruments in his epiſtle in that book, neither can he poſſibly evade it, by giving that letter a different conſtruction; for it is very literal, and plainly to be underſtood. So how he will come off I know not. As ſoon as Mr Halley's letter comes out, if it be portable in a letter, I wiſh you would wrap it up, and ſend it to me. But above all Hevelius is to blame, that he mentions not the allowance of any thing for correction in Mr Halley's inſtrument. Indeed I admire at his diſingenuity in this particular. But yet I ſay, let it be how it will, if Hevelius takes diſtances and altitudes to five ſeconds, it is as much as can be expected from man, and if I am not forgetful, when I was with you at the Obſervatory, you ſhewed me that Hevelius and you differed only in *contemnenda minuti parte* (28).'

We ſhall cloſe this remark, with an extract of a letter from Dr John Fell, [in the Excerpta ‡, by miſtake called Jell] Dean of Chriſt-Church and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, to Hevelius, on receiving his Cometographia, preſented to the Univerſity. After many other high compliments as uſual on ſuch occaſions, the Dean concludes with a moſt extraordinary eloge upon his plain-ſighted inſtruments, in the following words: 'A bonis illis viris, apud quos teleſcopio ſeu perſpicillis uti, cæcutientis plane animi certiſſimum eſt indicium; quibus obſtinatio pro fide, inveteratus error pro conſtantia habetur, & omnis in ſcientia profectus hæreſis quædam audit, fruſtra expectaveris, ut ſtudia hæc tua ullatenus placeant: veritatis interim & literarum cultoribus alia longe futura eſt ſententia, cui ultro accedere, atque publico juxta et privato nomine calculum ſuum apponere, compendio geſtit

'Vir Illuſtriſſime

Oxonii, 12 Nov. 'Dignitatis meritique Veſtri
Anno 1668.

'Æſtimator Addictiſſimus,

'J. F.'

[*L*] *In viewing that phænomenon from the Royal Obſervatory of France.*] One part of our author's view in viſiting Mr Caſſini, was to inform himſelf more particularly in that aſtronomer's obſervations upon this comet at it's appearance in November before For this purpoſe he carried with him, both his own upon it, and thoſe made then by Mr Flamſtead, who likewiſe afterwards ſent him others made during his ſtay at Paris †. He found the aſtronomical apparatus here much inferior to that of Greenwich. The radius of the inſtrument for taking diſtances, being not half ſo large, and yet more difficult to manage. However our author aſſiſted Signor Caſſini in making ſeveral obſervations upon that comet, which were of great ſervice to Sir Iſaac Newton (29) in ſettling the path of it, and thereby laying the foundation of a new aſtronomy with regard to thoſe celeſtial bodies.

(s) MS. Memoirs.

(t) See Mr Halley's letter at the end of Brookſby's Life of Dodwell, Lond. 1715. 8vo.

(u) Sir Iſaac Newton for ſome time concluded it to be a different comet from that which appeared in November, there being then no apprehenſion, that theſe, like other planets, twiſted round the ſun.

(*w*) M. Caſſini firſt began to obſerve there in September 1671. *Du Hamel's Regiæ Scientiarum Academiæ Hiſtoria*, Pariſ. 1701. 2d edit. fol.

(27) Printed in Phil. Tranſ. No. 175. p. 1162.

‖ The paſſage of the *Annus Climact.* here referred to is in p. 30, 31. where Mr Halley's ſextant is called only a much larger inſtrument than a quadrant of a foo radius, then made uſe of by Hevelius in taking the meridian altitude of ſome fixed ſtars.

(28) See theſe two letters intire in the articles of Wallis and Molyneux in the General Dictionary.

‡ *Excerpta ex literis ad Hevelium*, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 123, 124. where p. 152 is a letter of De Chales, author of the *Curſus Mathematicus*, dated Paris, 14 Nov. 1675. ingenuouſly informing the Conſul on the other hand, that his admirer Bullialdus was there called a heretic in Aſtronomy for his warm adherence to plain-ſights.

† MS. Memoirs.

(29) See his article.

ſo great a maſter as Signor Caſſini. From Paris our author went with his fellow-traveller by the way of Lyons to Italy, where he ſpent a great part of the year 1681 *. But his affairs then calling him home, he left Mr Nelſon at Rome, and returning by land, he made ſome ſtay a ſecond time at Paris, being received with the greateſt reſpect by the moſt eminent perſonages there. He had not been long in England, when he changed his condition, and in 1682 married Mary daughter of Mr Tooke, Auditor of the Exchequer, a young lady equally amiable for the gracefulneſs of her perſon and the beauties of her mind, in whoſe ſociety he lived happy for fifty-five years. Upon his marriage, he took a houſe at Iſlington near London, where he immediately ſet up his tube and ſextant, the attendance on theſe being his darling employment (*x*). The following year, 1683, our author publiſhed his Theory of the variation of the magnetical compaſs [*M*], wherein he ſuppoſes that the whole globe of the earth is one great magnet, having four magnetical poles or points of attraction †, near each pole of the equator two, and that in thoſe parts of the world which lie near adjacent to any of theſe magnetical poles, the needle is governed thereby, the neareſt pole being always predominant over the moſt remote (*y*). By reaſon of the well known difficulty of the ſubject, this hypotheſis in it's firſt dreſs was well received both at home and abroad: however, upon a review, being found by himſelf liable to ſome unanſwerable objections, he offered ſeveral years after an amendment of his theory, not without venturing to advance a new and bold conjecture concerning the fabrick of the internal

* There is an account by him of ſome very conſiderable obſervations made at Ballaſore in India, ſerving to find the longitude of that place, &c. in Hook's Philoſophical Collections, No. 5. p. 124. anno 1681.

(*x*) MS. Memoirs.

† The force of the earth upon the magnet is not properly attractive but directive.

(*y*) Phil. Tranſ. No. 148.

[*M*] *The theory of the magnetical compaſs.*] The indiſpenſible neceſſity there is for every ſeaman to be thoroughly acquainted with this excellent theory, having made it vulgarly known, the inſerting it here might well be thought tedious, and the hiſtory of the variation from it's firſt diſcovery hath been already touched upon (30). We ſhall therefore employ the preſent remark, agreeably to one principal deſign of this work, in exhibiting a view of our author's ſituation, with reſpect to the enquiry in general, and intimate what were the particular motives which firſt turned his induſtry this way. To come at this, when Mr Halley's profound veneration for the Royal Society is conſidered, there needs no other clue, than the ſeveral papers of that ſociety which were publiſhed from time to time, to excite and encourage the undertaking. Thus in 1666, preſently after the reſolution was taken to print their moſt uſeful papers under the title of Philoſophical Tranſactions, there appeared No. 24, wherein the firſt piece contained directions to all maſters of ſhips, pilots, and others, to be diligent in obſerving the variation of the needle, ſhewing them ſeveral ways of doing it accurately both by ſea and land, from the inſtructions of Sir Rob. Moray and Mr Hook, wherein alſo the great uſefulneſs of making exact obſervations of this kind is taken notice of (31). Two years afterwards, in 1668, No. 40 preſented the variations of the magnetick needle, predicted for 50 years at London, by Mr Henry Bond, an eminent teacher of the mathematicks in London, with a table ſhewing the particular variation for each year, and ſo to be continued to the world's end, deduced from former obſervations of his own and others. In 1670, No. 58, there was inſerted a paper intitled, An Obſervation of Mr Adrian Azout, a French Philoſopher, made in Rome (where he now is) about the beginning of the year 1670, concerning the declination of the magnet: out of an Italian printed paper, extracted by the publiſher of the Tranſactions. This extract, whereby it appears that Mr Azout had not been able to aſcertain the variation exactly, for want of proper meridians, concludes in theſe terms. 'It were 'well to obſerve, whether the declination which hath 'been almoſt through all Europe eaſtward, be now 'every where weſtward, as alſo in America, where 'the declination was almoſt every where weſtward, be 'increaſed in proportion, and ſo of other parts of the 'world. Noting withall the year, (which is not at 'all minded by ſome who relate the obſervations with- 'out aſſigning the year) in regard it will be very uſeful 'to know the preſent declination, that it might be put 'into journals for navigation, and for the uſe of mag- 'netic quadrants.' In purſuance of this, orders were hereupon given by the R. S. that preciſe meridians be made in ſeveral places of England, for obſerving the preſent declination of the needle from time to time here in London, and in other parts of the kingdom, and that thoſe meridians that were made very exactly ſome time ago, be examined by a careful deſcribing of new ones, to ſee whether they ſtill hold true in regard of the ſuſpected alteration in nature (32). As to the manner of obſerving the variation, the curious are here referred to No. 24, already mentioned. Laſtly, to name no more, in 168$\frac{2}{3}$, No. 143, came out, *Epiſtola Invitatoria ad obſervationes magneticæ variationis communi ſtudio junctiſque laboribus inſtituendas. Dat. Altorfi Noricorum pridie Feſti Paſchalis* 1682. Dr Sturmius, Math. Prof. at Altorf, the author of this epiſtle, having mentioned the ſeveral ſteps by which the doctrine of the magnet had been advanced to it's then preſent ſtate, from the firſt diſcovery of it's verticity to the poles, by our countryman Roger Bacon, to that of the variation of the declination taken notice of within a few years before by Hevelius, Auzout, Petit, Volkanner, and others, concludes from theſe laſt, that the variations are regularly made. Whereupon he here invites the ingenious in all countries to give their joint aſſiſtance to bring the point to a certainty, from 'whence, ſays he, we may rea- 'ſonably expect among other particulars, great im- 'provements in theſe two, navigation and geometry.' By theſe means it came to paſs that many magnetical experiments were made, and the variations diligently obſerved by the navigators: and it was by the help of theſe, together with ſeveral of his own made in his voyage to and from St Helena, that our author formed his theory. We have already mentioned Mr Bond's attempt of the like kind in 1668; and after him Mr Hook alſo in 1673, propoſed to the Royal Society, another not much different, that the magnet hath it's peculiar poles diſtant 10 degrees from the poles of the earth, about which they move, ſo as to make a revolution in 370 years, whence, ſays he, the variation hath altered of late 10 or 11 minutes every year, and will probably continue to do ſo for ſome time, till it begins to grow ſlower and ſlower, and will at length be ſtationary, and retrograde, and in all probability may return (33). But it is obſervable, that both theſe attempts laboured under the ſame defect, the want of obſervations ſufficient to ground a reaſonable hypotheſis upon; and it is perhaps none of the leaſt commendations of Mr Halley's judgment, that prompt and eager as he was by nature to advance forward, we here find him waiting however till ſuch a number of facts could be obtained, as might provide a ſure foundation for the ſuppport of a probable theory; and that the facts might be better aſcertained, he made an improvement in the azimuth compaſs, to take the needle's declination more accurately than before (34). The ſucceſs was anſwerable; and the theory as it ſtands in it's laſt improvement, received ſo perfect a completion from the Spaniſh journals mentioned in the text, that one cannot help wiſhing our author's life had been extended a few years longer, that ſo he, who always made a diſintereſted honeſt fame the grand motive of his induſtry, and who particularly conſulted the honour of his own country in every undertaking, might have ſeen thoſe journals, and what Admiral Anſon ſays upon that occaſion, that 'he eſteems the obſervations therein, none of the 'leaſt advantages of his voyage, that they were, though 'in vain often publickly called for by Dr Halley, and 'to his immortal reputation, confirm as far as they ex- 'tend his wonderful hypotheſis, very nearly corre- 'ſponding in their quantities of the variation to the 'predictions he publiſhed above fifty years ſince, long 'before he was acquainted with any one obſervation 'made in thoſe ſeas *.'

[*N*] *He*

(30) In the articles GUNTER and GELLIBRAND.

(31) Theſe directions extended alſo to the inclinations of the inclinatory or dipping needle, of which ſee more in the article WHISTON [WILLIAM].

(32) That is a change in the meridians, and conſequently in the obliquity of the Ecliptic. See the next remark.

(33) Life of Dr Hook by R. Walter, p. 19.

(34) MS. Memoirs, ubi ſupra.

* Anſon's Voyage by Walter, in the introduction.

internal parts of the earth; the probability of which, though little reſpected for a great number of years, ſeems to be favoured by ſome late obſervations made on another occaſion both by the French and Engliſh in different parts of the world [*N*]. Whatever may prove

[*N*] *He ventured to advance a bold hypotheſis, &c. which has been favoured by ſeveral late obſervations.*] His opinion is, that within the outward ſurface of the earth, as a *ſhell*, there is contained a *nucleus* or inner globe, with a fluid medium between, which, having the ſame common center and axis of diurnal rotation, turns about with our earth each 24 hours; only this outer ſphere, having it's turbinating motion a ſmall matter either ſwifter or ſlower than the internal ball, and a very minute difference in length of time by many repetitions becoming ſenſible, the internal parts will by degrees recede from the external, and not keeping pace with one another, will appear gradually to move either eaſtwards or weſtwards, by the difference of their motions. Suppoſing therefore the external *ſhell* and internal *nucleus* to be both magnets, having their poles at different diſtances from the poles of diurnal rotation, he gives a reaſonable account of the four magnetical poles, which he preſumes are demonſtrated by the phænomena, as he does likewiſe of the needle's variations; to do which, ſo as to ſatisfy the whole ſtate of the fact comprehending the lateſt obſervations, had been till then unattempted. This hypotheſis, like ſome others ſtarted by him, has been generally thought too whimſical to merit any ſerious attention. But before paſſing ſentence, let us look at thoſe of his præcurſors on the ſame myſterious work of nature, and then perhaps we may be a little reconciled to it. The conjectures of Kircher, Gilbert, Des Cartes, are taken notice of by our author, and ſeverally ſhewn in this paper, to be inconſiſtent with the fact of the change in the variation. After thoſe, Mr Gellibrand referred to in the preceding remark note (30), having in 1635, propoſed an ingenious explication of Dr Gilbert's hypotheſis †, ſuppoſing the variation to be conſtant, ſtops there, as in the generally received opinion, without venturing any further. Nay, in contemplating the change of the variation (then indeed ſcarcely well aſcertained) he ſtands perfectly wonder ſtruck, as at ſome præternatural event hardly poſſible to happen according to the ordinary courſe of nature's workings, and in that ſituation of mind, he refers to a report of Galileo, concerning a change in the poſition of the earth's axis, ſaid then to be lately diſcovered by a gentleman of the Marſilian family in Italy. This though only a hearſay ſtory, delivered in general terms, without any circumſtances, is thought worth notice, as promiſing to throw ſome light into a ſubject, which mocked the efforts of the beſt philoſophical wits at that time; all whoſe conjectures about the cauſe of this wonderful phænomenon being, as Mr Gellibrand inſinuates, nothing better than ſo many fanciful conceits; ſuch for inſtance as that, which he gives for a ſample of the reſt, of aſcribing it (as he hints) according to the philoſophy then in vogue, to a ſympathy between the poles of the magnet and thoſe of ſome of the planets, whereby the motion of the former holds a correſpondence with the latter. The change in the poſition of the earth's axis mentioned by Galileo, had been advanced before by *Dominicus Maria*, of Ferrara, maſter to Copernicus, who collecting it by comparing the latitude of ſome places in Ptolemy's geography, with his own obſervations, ſeems therein to have found the cauſe of the needle's variation, but it is rejected by Dr Gilbert (35), on account of the uncorrectneſs of Ptolemy, who, as he remarks, took frequently his latitudes from Hipparchus, without obſerving himſelf. Yet this change called a libration in the earth's axis, was alſo aſſigned for the like change in the variation of the needle, by Hevelius in 1642 ‖. The truth is, the queſtion concerning the former change, though bandied in diſcourſe, was never till of late properly ſearched into. Dr Halley, whoſe eyes were every where, communicated ſome papers upon the ſubject to the Royal Society ‡, and recommended a method of determining it effectually, by procuring ſome good obſervations of the altitude of the pole at Aracca in Syria, that altitude having been taken, as he found, very accurately by Albatagni above 800 years before *. In 1670, the change in the variation of the needle being found to amount to 10° or more, Mr Azout, already mentioned, obſerves, that ſuch a difference cannot be attributed to the change of the pole of the earth, as ſome, ſays he, eſteemed perhaps before they knew it was ſo great; wherefore rejecting this as well as other cauſes that had been ſtarted as altogether inſufficient, he declares it to be very difficult to hit upon the true cauſe, but is inclined to believe, that it may depend upon the flux of a certain matter paſſing through the earth and the exterior part ſtreight along the axis. In ſupport of this opinion he alledges, that the change in the variation may be ſaid to proceed from the changes made in the ſaid flux, which, ſuppoſing the inequalities in the earth, and the alterations both artificial and natural † continually made therein, cannot but in progreſs of time change it's ſituation; he proceeds to illuſtrate this by an example taken from rivers, which although they be running ſtreight, cannot remain long without winding and changing their courſe, if it happen that the ground over which that ſtreight courſe tends, be unequal or of a different nature; ſo it is probable, that the changes in the earth may in time occaſion ſome bending in the current of the magnetic matter, and make it change it's bed and channel: whence it comes to paſs, that the needle changes it's direction, according as the current changes which directs it: and if you well conſider the variety of motions and directions ſeen in rivers with their cauſe, poſſibly a reaſon may be rendered of the many differences obſerved in the declination of the needle, e. g. why in ſome parts the needle varies much in a little time, why in others it is always turning without any ſtation, as ſome ſay they have obſerved it; why the greater alterations are met with in going in and out of iſlands, and many other things, which for brevity ſake, continues he, we paſs by, as we alſo omit to deduce from it divers particulars relating to navigation; he then proceeds to obſerve, that if what is thus ſuggeſted ſhould prove the true cauſe of the declination, then there would be no hopes of finding a regular hypotheſis, ſince it would depend upon cauſes that have no regularity at all in them, as moſt of the motions in nature are. Mr Azout concludes theſe conjectures with the following remark: That if there be a proportion between the force of the ſaid current and the earth, *that* may be able by changing it's bed to remove *this* from it's proper ſite, which would produce an alteration in the height of the pole as ſome think they have obſerved, if that may not be aſcribed to a defect in the obſervations, of which we may be rendered certain, when more exact ones ſhall have been made: and ſo, whereas others would impute the various declinations of the magnet to the change of the pole; on the contrary, the change of the pole ſhould be imputed to the declination of the magnet *. In 1673, Mr Bond undertook to ſhew the cauſe of the variation of the magnetical needle or compaſs, by the motion of two magnetical poles, as alſo how theſe poles are found, and what their diſtance is from the poles of the earth, what their annual motion is, and whence it proceeds. This famous teacher of navigation gave out alſo that he was able to find the longitude of any place in the world, by the help of a table which he had calculated to every five minutes, of the inclination of the inclinatory or dipping needle; both theſe propoſals were publiſhed at once in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 95, in the view of procuring a proper recompence for the diſcovery of them. But not meeting with encouragement then, we find a paper of the like import in No. 130. of the ſame Tranſactions, for the year 1676, where Mr Bond declares that his diſcovery was the reſult of no leſs than thirty-eight years ſtudy. However, the true reaſon of his diſappointment, no doubt, was a defect in that moſt eſſential point, the true ſtate of the fact, that is, a ſufficient number of obſervations accurately taken. This Mr Halley could not but ſee, and therefore we find he did not advance his hypotheſis till the true ſtate of the fact was a good deal better aſcertained, but ſtill it was very far from being fully known. He obſerves that the exact determination of ſeveral particulars in the magnetic ſyſtem, was reſerved for remote poſterity: all, continues he, that we can hope to do, is, to leave behind us obſervations that may be confided in, and to propoſe an hypotheſis, which after-ages may examine, amend, or refute. In the mean time he offers ſeveral arguments in favour of it. One of theſe is drawn from a propoſition of Sir Iſaac Newton, concerning the force of the moon in producing the tides, where the moon is

ſhewn

† His propoſal is to apply a needle to a terrella, firſt entire, and then exculped in ſome places like the face of the earth. See his Diſcourſe mathematical of the Variation, &c. Lond. 1635. 4to. p. 7. Something of the ſame kind was offered for a ſolution of the change in the Variation by Mr De la Hire, but being tried with a terrella of the R. S. did not ſucceed. Phil. Tranſ. No. 188. for the year 1687. It has been found ſince, that no good magnet has more than two poles. Phil. Tranſ. No. 430.

(35) De Magnete, lib. 6. cap. 2. Lond. 1600. fol.

‖ See Phil. Tranſ. No. 64.

‡ See particularly No. 190. for November 1687. where he obſerves that this was an old enquiry then lately revived by Dr Hook, in his eſſays upon the great mutations and cataſtrophes which in all appearance have happened to the ſurface of the earth.

* Ibid. No. 218.

† The firſt by excavations and ſuch like works, the other by corroſions of fire and water, &c. and by the generation of metals and ſtones, beſides various other changes we cannot think of, by reaſon of the little knowledge we have of the internal parts of the earth.

* Phil. Tranſ. No. 58.

prove at laſt to be the fate of a theory which preſumes to dive into the dark womb of our common parent, yet the phænomena of the variation of the needle upon which it is raiſed, being ſo many certain and undiſputed facts, our author ſpared no pains to poſſeſs himſelf of all the obſervations relating to it, he could poſſibly come at. To this end he procured an application to be made to King William the Third (z), who appointed him Commander of the *Paramour Pink*, Auguſt 19, 1698, with expreſs orders to ſeek by obſervations the diſcovery of the rule of the variation (aa). He ſet out on this attempt the 24th of November following, and proceeded ſo far as to croſs the Line; but his men growing ſickly and untractable, and his firſt Lieutenant mutinying, he returned home in the end of June 1699; and having got his Lieutenant tried and caſhiered, he took his departure a ſecond time in September following, having the ſame ſhip accompanied now with another of leſſer bulk, of which he alſo had the command. Thus equipped, he traverſed the vaſt Atlantic Ocean from one hemiſphere to the other, as far as the ice would permit him to go; and in his way back touched at St Helena, the coaſt of Brazil, cape Verd, Barbadoes, Madeiras, the Canaries, the coaſt of Barbary, and many other latitudes, arriving in England September 1700 [O]. Having thus furniſhed himſelf with a competent number of obſervations, he publiſhed a *General Chart* (bb), *ſhewing at one view the Variation of the Compaſs in all thoſe ſeas where the Engliſh Navigators were acquainted*. Hereby he firſt of any one laid a ſure foundation for the diſcovery of the law or rule whereby the ſaid variation changes all over the world. The phænomena ſo far all anſwered perfectly to his theory. They were verified afterwards by the concurrent obſervations reported by the French pilots (cc); and as the ſame law has been ſince confirmed by a ſeries of others for the ſpace of more than 150 years, found in the Spaniſh Journals, taken by (the then Commodore now) Lord Anſon (dd), in his paſſage through the ocean which divides Aſia and America, and which was, as Captain Halley obſerves, the great deſideratum 'till then wanting to compleat the truth of the theory, this invention muſt be eſteemed one of the moſt uſeful benefactions that mankind ever received from a fellow-creature. Having thrown what related to the ſubject of the magnetical variation into one veiw, we ſhall now return to the ſeries of our author's life, in which for a long courſe of time there ſcarce paſſed a year, wherein he did not either deviſe ſome uſeful invention, or make ſome new diſcovery and improvement in one or other of the arts and ſciences. The method of finding the longitude

ſhewn to be denſer than the earth in the proportion of 9 to 5. If ſo, ſays Mr Halley, why may we not reaſonably ſuppoſe the moon, being a ſmall body and a ſecondary planet, to be ſolid earth, water, ſtone, and this globe to conſiſt of the ſame materials, only fourninths thereof to be cavity within and between the internal ſpheres, which I would render not improbable. But in this argument our author very appoſitely overlooked another propoſition in the ſame book, where Sir Iſaac, in determining the figure of the earth, founds his calculus upon the ſuppoſition of an uniform denſity, which was never called into queſtion by thoſe who diſpute the figure he aſſigned to the earth (36). However this laſt diſpute has occaſioned ſeveral experiments to be made, as well by the vibrations of pendulums, as by meaſuring a degree of the earth in different parts of it's ſurface. And by theſe experiments, the earth is found indeed to be an oblate ſpheroid, as Sir Iſaac had concluded from his theory; but at the ſame time they give reaſon to think, that the variation of the denſity of it's internal parts is conſiderable; and to enable us to form ſome judgment of this, Mr Maclaurin has enquired mathematically, what proportion of the ſemidiameter of the equator and of the ſemi axis, as alſo of the gravitation at the pole to the gravitation at the equator would ariſe, not only when the denſity is ſuppoſed to increaſe or decreaſe gradually towards the center, but even when the earth is ſuppoſed to be hollow with a *nucleus* included, according to the ingenious hypotheſis (ſo he ſtyles it) advanced by Dr Halley. By this enquiry he found that the hypotheſis of a greater denſity towards the center, may account for a greater increaſe of gravitation from the equator to the poles, than that of an uniform denſity, but not for a greater increaſe of the degrees of the meridian; and the hypotheſis of a leſs denſity towards the center, may account for a greater increaſe of the degrees of the meridian, but not for a greater increaſe of the gravitation; ſuppoſing always (according to Sir Iſaac Newton) the columns of the earth to extend from the poles, and the equator to the center, and there to ſuſtain each other. This was likewiſe the reſult of his computations, when he ſuppoſed the denſity to increaſe or decreaſe continually from the ſurface of a ſpheroid to the center, ſo as to be uniform in the different parts of any one ſimilar and concentric elliptical ſuperficies, and in ſeveral other caſes. And here, continues he, there ſeems to be ſome foundation for propoſing it as a query, whether the internal conſtitution of the parts of the earth abovementioned, that was propoſed by Dr Halley, for reſolving ſome of the phænomena of the magnetic needle, will not be found to account in a probable manner for the increaſe of gravitation, and at the ſame time of the degrees of the meridian from the equator to the poles, as it has been determined by the beſt obſervations hitherto (37). We muſt not conclude this remark without taking notice, that Kepler in his phyſical aſtronomy accounting for the elliptical orbits of the planets, ſuppoſes each of them to conſiſt of an exterior cruſt, whoſe axis keeps a given poſition, namely *that* about which the planet is turned in it's diurnal motion, and a globe within, ſeparate and divided from this cruſt, and no ways yielding to it's diurnal motion, whoſe axis and right lines parallel thereto, may ſuſtain the places of the libratory fibres, according to the direction of which to the ſun, it's attractive power acts upon the planet with greater or leſſer force, and therefore while theſe libratory fibres keep the poſition neceſſary for that effect (by means of which the planets move not in circular, but in elliptical orbits) the exterior cruſt revolves by a diurnal motion peculiar to itſelf (38). That our author was no ſtranger to this hypotheſis, of the cauſe of the elliptical orbits of the planets, will ſcarcely be queſtioned, and we leave it to others to judge, whether he might not probably enough thence take the firſt hint of his own, concerning the variation of the needle; however that be, 'tis well known he was very fond of it (39), and ſeveral years afterwards applied it to account for the *aurora borealis*, by ſuppoſing the ſubtle luminous vapour contained between the *ſhell and the nucleus*, to iſſue at the poles of the earth, and produce all the appearances of that phænomenon (40).

[O] *He arrived in England in* 1700.] In ſpeaking of this voyage, he has been heard to ſay more than once, that tho' he croſſed the Line 4 times, and went directly as many times into the coldeſt climates of the South, yet he had the good fortune not to loſe a ſingle man of his company by ſickneſs, which, no doubt, muſt be owing in a great meaſure to the extraordinary care he took of them, and to that humanity, which was a diſtinguiſhing part of his character. However this happineſs was daſhed with the miſfortune of loſing a favourite boy, who by ſome unlucky accident was thrown over board and drowned, and the captain was ſo deeply affected with the loſs, that during his whole life afterwards he never mentioned it without tears (41).

[P] He

(z) See note (zz).

(aa) The reſt of his commiſſion runs thus; to call at his Majeſty's ſettlements in America, and make ſuch further obſervations as are neceſſary for the better laying down the longitude and latitude of thoſe places, and to attempt the diſcovery of what land lies to the ſouth of the weſtern ocean.

(bb) It was publiſhed in 1701, and fitted for the preceding year, which cloſed the XVIIth century.

(cc) Phil. Tranſ. No. 341.

(dd) See the Chart in his Voyage by Walter, Lond. 1743. 4to.

(36) See Mr Maupertuis's tract of the figure of the earth, book iii. cap 6. § 6. Alſo Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, for the year 1735. and Phil. Tranſ. No. 432.

(37) Maclaurin's method of Fluxions, Vol. II. art. 665, 666, 667. Edinb. 1742. in 2 vols 4to.

(38) An account of Kepler's hypotheſis may be ſeen in Gregory's Aſtronomy, book i. prop. 78. edit. 1726. 8vo.

(39) In his picture, now in the poſſeſſion of Mr Price, he is repreſented by his own direction holding in his hand a ſcroll, wherein it is ſuppoſed to be written.

(40) Phil. Tranſ. No. 363. for Novemb. 1719.

(41) MS. Memoirs.

longitude at ſea by the motion of the moon was an early thought of our author *; and he had no ſooner erected his teleſcope at Iſlington, but he reſolved to put it into execution [P]. He entered upon it early in the year 1683, and held on obſerving for the courſe of ſixteen months without any aſſiſtance, and yet without any interruption; ſo that within that time he had gotten near 200 ſeveral days obſervations, moſt of which he collated with the beſt theory of the moon then extant; and having placed the errors in an abacus, he perceived the irregularities to be ſo regular within the revolution of the Sarotic period *(ee)* [Q], that he could even predict the errors of the tables with a certainty not much inferior to the obſervations themſelves. But his ſanguine views were now ſuddenly cut ſhort by unforeſeen domeſtic occaſions *(ff)*, which obliged him to poſtpone all other conſiderations to the neceſſary defence of his patrimony [*R*]. It was not long before he commenced an acquaintance, though without any ſuch view, which proved of ſervice to him in that reſpect, for having in January 1684 turned his thoughts upon the ſubject of Kepler's ſeſquialterate proportion, he concluded from it that the centripetal force muſt decreaſe in proportion to the ſquares of the diſtances reciprocally; but finding himſelf unable to make it out in any geometrical way [*S*], he firſt applied to Mr Hook and Sir Chriſtopher

[*P*] *He reſolved to put it into execution.*] This was no trifling event or common enterprize. It was neceſſary for the purpoſe, that the true theory of the moon ſhould be aſcertained to a degree of exactneſs at that time unhoped for; ſince it was not only an intricate, but alſo a tedious ſubject, requiring to compleat it a continued ſeries of obſervations for a long period of time, which had never been attempted by any of his predeceſſors in aſtronomy. But all theſe difficulties and diſcouragements did not deter Mr Halley from undertaking the arduous taſk 'Tis true, Hevelius and Flamſtead had both of them this point among other *deſiderata* in their view, but their obſervations to that end were very ſparſe, being taken as their other deſigns gave them leiſure. We ſhall know what to think of the latter, when we ſee what our author ſays of them hereafter; and as to the former, though from the time of publiſhing his *Selenographia* in 1647, he had raiſed ſome expectations of applying himſelf particularly to this undertaking, yet nothing hitherto had come from him anſwerable to thoſe expectations, and his great age now cut off all hopes for the future. In a word, to ſay the truth, this theory had been always before our author's attempt eſteemed above the compaſs of one man's daring, and we find the ſame intimated by Dr Seth Ward, Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Oxford, in a place (42), where he particularly compliments Hevelius upon the ſubject, as follows. 'Quis tanto labore atque conſtantia opibus aut honoribus inhiavit unquam? quanto Tu Lunæ phænomenis multorum annorum ſpatio invigilaſti? Eo certe fine, ut opprobrium illud aſtronomicum tollas, ut proximam terris Sydus accurate factis obſervationibus, in hypotheſin certam atque naturæ rerum congruentem redigere homines poſſint. Atque hæc quidem res tam demum peragetur, cum librationis lunaris legibus perſpectis, centrique variatione intellecta, in uſum ducendæ erunt accuratiſſimæ obſervationes, quas præſtitiſti. Incumbis itaque non immerito in hanc rem, Vir Clariſſime, ut ex epiſtola ad J. B Riciolum (quam ad me tranſmittero dignatus es) ſatis innoteſcit. Atque habes in hoc negotio ex gente noſtra noſtraque academia comites præſtantiſſimos, adeo ut communi ſtudio et labore perfectam iri Selenographiam ſperemus, atque ad uſus omnes aſtronomicos accommodatam.' Dr Ward in proceeding declares, that himſelf was with-held, by this expectation of ſeeing the Selenography perfected, from meddling with the motions of the moon and her theory, and then concludes in theſe terms, which ſtrongly intimate the great difficulty of compaſſing that moſt deſirable work 'Utcunque Tu certe laude dignus es immortali, quod hominibus oſtenderis quid ſit agendum, et quali molimine res attentanda ſit, ut ad Syderis iſtius deſideratiſſimam ſcientiam perveniatur *.'

[Q] *The Sarotic period.*] This period, which as is well known, conſiſts of 223 lunations, or 18 years, wherein all the correſpondent new and full moons are ſuppoſed to return, having been long neglected by the Aſtronomers, was reſtored to it's ancient reputation by our author, who made it the ground-work of all his enquiries towards ſettling that part of the lunar theory. He happened from this year 1683, to ſurvive three of theſe periods, and made tables of the eclipſes that recurred between 1701 and 1718, from the beſt obſervations both of his own and others, by the help of which he was able to predict an eclipſe to half an hour without any trouble (43).

[*R*] *He was interrupted in this favourite purſuit by unforeſeen domeſtic occaſions.*] This unexpected ſtroke ſeems to have fallen upon him at the death of his father, who although poſſeſſed of an eſtate of a thouſand pounds a year in houſes before the fire of London, yet as he was a great ſufferer by that fire, ſo entring into an imprudent ſecond marriage, he became unable to renew the leaſes of his houſes, when the old ones expired, whence it came to paſs, that his fortune mouldring away by degrees, ſunk at laſt into a low ebb (44) The difficulties into which his ſon and heir muſt neceſſarily be brought on that occaſion, may well be thought ſufficient to produce the change in his ſtudies mentioned in the text. It may be further obſerved, that his family increaſing apace from this time, he never had leiſure ſufficient to proſecute ſteadily, nor even without great interruptions, this his favourite plan for compleating the moon's theory, till he was ſettled in the Royal Obſervatory at Greenwich. However, the attendance he gave at this time to that theory, diligent as it was, did not hinder him from conſidering other ſubjects as occaſion offered; for inſtance, beſides the obſervations concerning the longitude of Ballaſore, mentioned above, he publiſhed, (1.) *A correction of Mr Huygens's numbers in regard to the theory of the Satellite of Saturn*, in Phil. Tranſ. No 145, for March 168$\frac{2}{3}$. (2.) Dr Thomas Smith having in 1683, ſent to the Royal Society an extract from the manuſcript of Mr John Greaves, in the Savilian library at Oxford, containing aſtronomical and geographical obſervations made by him in Egypt *. This paper was read before that ſociety, December 19, 1683, and referred to the conſideration of Mr Halley, who made his report on the 9th of January following, and collected from it the latitude of Conſtantinople to be 41°. 7′. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. and that of Alexandria to be 31°. 4′. N. Theſe two remarks are evidently made by our author in the view of ſettling the great difficulty concerning the obliquity of the ecliptic; accordingly we find him taking notice elſewhere on that occaſion, that this latitude of Alexandria, taken with a ſufficient inſtrument by Mr Greaves, was but 6′. more than that given by Ptolemy and Eratoſthenes †. Mr Halley was alſo very deſirous to have good obſervations of the eclipſes of the moon at Alexandria, as well as thoſe at Bagdat and Aleppo, in order to aſcertain an opinion firſt ſtarted by him, that the moon accelerates her mean motion about the earth, which was countenanced and accounted for alſo by Sir Iſaac Newton ‖. (3.) Our author's theory of the tides at the bar of Tonquin ‡ in China, was publiſhed in Phil. Tranſ. No. 162, for Aug. 1684. The tides in that port are ſo extraordinary, ſo ſeemingly irregular, and ſo different from all others, that nobody before him had attempted to give any ſolution of them. Indeed to account for this phænomenon by the action of the moon, he confeſſeth was then a taſk too hard for his undertaking. Whence it is more ſurprizing to ſee, how eaſily that taſk was not long afterwards performed by Sir Iſaac Newton in the third book of his *Principia*. Laſtly, it ſeems to be about this time that our author had a diſpute with De L'Iſle, and the French Geographers, about the longitude of the Cape of Good-Hope, an account of which he afterwards publiſhed in Phil Tranſ. No. 189 §.

[*S*] *Not being able to make it out geometrically.*] Mr Halley's argument was in general the ſame of that of Sir Iſaac Newton, and in ſubſtance this, That all force reſpecting pher Wren, and meeting with no aſſiſtance from either of them, he went to Cambridge in Auguſt to Mr Newton, who ſupplied him fully with what he had ſo ardently ſought (*gg*). Seeing this, Mr Halley, always indefatigable in the ſervice of Aſtronomy, purſued the matter further. Having now found an immenſe treaſure of that learning, he could not reſt 'till he had prevailed upon the owner to enrich the public therewith, and to this interview the world is in ſome meaſure indebted for the *Principia Mathematica Philoſophiæ Naturalis* [*T*]. Before the concluſion of the following year 1685, Dr William Muſgrave Secretary to the Royal-Society declining to act (*b b*), our author was appointed Aſſiſtant-Secretary ;

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* See remark [*G*] at the end.

(ee) He calls it ſometimes the Plinian period, from the mention made of it in that author's Natural Hiſtory, lib. ii. cap. 13.

(ff) See the Appendix to the ſecond edition of Street's Caroline Tables, publiſhed by Mr Halley in 1710. 4to.

(42) The dedication of his Aſtronomia Geometrica to the Couſul. Oxon. 1655. 4to.

* Vid. epiſt. Walliſii, inter excerpta ex literis ad Hevel. ubi ſupra, p. 16.

(43) See more of this in rem. [*OO*] and [*XX*].

(44) MS. Memoirs.

* Vitæ quorundam eruditiſſ. & illuſtr. Virorum, a T. Smith, in præfatione, p. ix. & x.

§ Letters of the R. S. Vol. IX. p. 8, & ſeq.

† Phil. Tranſ. No. 190. prop. iii.

‖ Phil. Tranſ. No. 204. & Princip. Math. &c. lib. iii. prop. 42. 2d edition.

‡ The account of theſe tides had been lately brought to England by one of the factors of our Eaſt-India-Company.

§ He proſecuted this point further in No. 361. for the year 1718. where, he ſays, it was then about 35 years ſince he had this diſpute with the French.

ſpecting the ſun as it's center, and depending upon matter, muſt needs exert itſelf more vigorouſly in a ſmall ſphere, and weaker in a greater, in proportion as it is contracted or expanded ; and if ſo, ſeeing that ſurfaces of ſpheres as are the ſquares of the radii, this power at ſeveral diſtances will be as the ſquares of thoſe diſtances reciprocally, and then it's whole action upon each ſpherical ſurface, be it great or ſmall, will be always equal ; ſo that by this rule, the whole planetary ſyſtem would be ſupported (45). This was right enough, and ſufficient alſo for the purpoſe, had he been able to carry the calculation through all the phænomena as he deſigned and attempted ; but theſe in the purſuit preſently became ſo variouſly complicated, though from the uniform action of the ſingle power of gravitation, that he preſently found himſelf obliged to deſiſt.

[*T*] *The world is indebted to Mr Halley for Sir Iſaac Newton's Principia, &c.*] The following extracts from a letter of Sir Iſaac upon this occaſion to our author, and his anſwer thereto, contain ſeveral particulars relating to this matter, which though publiſhed in the General Dictionary (46), the reader may fairly expect to find here. The firſt is dated from Cambridge June 20, 1686, in the concluſion whereof, Sir Iſaac, mentioning a proof that had been ſent by Mr Halley, and his approbation of it, proceeds to inform him particularly of his deſign, viz. That the whole was to conſiſt of three books, the ſecond of which was finiſhed the preceding ſummer, being ſhort, and only wanted tranſcribing, and drawing the cuts fairly. That ſome propoſitions, he had thought on ſince, might as well be omitted. That the third book wanted the theory of comets. That the autumn before he had ſpent two months in calculations to no purpoſe, for want of a good method, which made him afterwards return to the firſt book, and enlarge it with divers propoſitions, ſome relating to comets, others to other things found out the preceding winter. That he now deſigned to ſuppreſs the third. ‘ *Philoſophy*, continues he, *is ſuch an impertinently litigious lady, that a man had as good be engaged in law ſuits, as have to do with her. I found it ſo formerly* (47), *and now I am no ſooner come near her again, but ſhe gives me warning. The two firſt books, without the third, will not ſo well bear the title of* Philoſophiæ naturalis principia mathematica, *and therefore I had altered it to this,* De Motu Corporum Libri duo. *But upon ſecond thoughts I retain the former title. 'Twill help the ſale of the book, which I ought not to diminiſh now 'tis your's. The* articles *are with the largeſt to be called by that name. If you pleaſe you may change the word to* Sections, *though it be not material. In the firſt page I ſtruck out the words,* uti poſthac docebitur, *as referring to the third book. Which is all at preſent from your affectionate friend and humble ſervant,*

‘ IS. NEWTON.’

To this our author returned the following anſwer from London, June 29, 1686.

Sir,

‘ I am heartily ſorry that in this matter, wherein all mankind ought to acknowledge their obligations to you, you ſhould meet with any thing that ſhould give you diſquiet, or that any diſguſt ſhould make you think of deſiſting in your pretenſions to a lady, whoſe favours you have ſo much reaſon to boaſt of. 'Tis not ſhe, but your rivals envying your happineſs, that endeavour to diſturb your quiet enjoyment ; which when you conſider, I hope you will ſee cauſe to alter your reſolution of ſuppreſſing your *third book*. There being nothing which you can have compiled therein, which the learned world will not be concerned to have concealed. Thoſe gentlemen of the ſociety to whom I have communicated it, are very much troubled at it, and that this unlucky buſineſs ſhould happen to give trouble, having a juſt ſentiment of the author thereof. According to your deſire in your former, I waited upon Sir Chriſtopher Wren, to enquire of him, if he had the firſt notion of the reciprocal duplicate proportion from Mr Hooke. His anſwer was, that he himſelf very many years ſince, had had his thoughts upon making out the planets motions by a compoſition of a deſcent towards the ſun and an impreſſed motion ; but that at length he gave over, not finding the means of doing it. Since which time Mr Hooke had frequently told him, that he had done it, and attempted to make it out to him, but that he never was ſatisfied that his demonſtrations were cogent. And this I know to be true, that in January 168$\frac{3}{4}$, I having from the conſideration of the ſeſquialterate proportion of Kepler, concluded that the centripetal force decreaſed in the proportion of the ſquares of the diſtances reciprocally, came on Wedneſday to town [from Iſlington] where I met with Sir Chriſtopher Wren and Mr Hooke, and falling in diſcourſe about it, Mr Hooke affirmed, that upon that principle all the laws of the celeſtial motions were to be demonſtrated, and that he himſelf had done it. I declared the ill ſucceſs of my attempts, and Sir Chriſtopher to encourage the enquiry ſaid, that he would give Mr Hook or me two months time to bring him a convincing demonſtration thereof, and beſides the honour, he of us that did it, ſhould have from him a preſent of a book of forty ſhillings. Mr Hooke then ſaid he had it, but that he would conceal it for ſome time, that others trying and failing, might know how to value it when he ſhould make it public. However I remember that Sir Chriſtopher was little ſatisfied that he could do it, and though Mr Hooke then promiſed to ſhew it him, I do not find that in that particular he has been ſo good as his word. The Auguſt following, when I did myſelf the honour to viſit you, I then learned the good news, that you had brought this demonſtration to perfection, and you were pleaſed to promiſe me a copy thereof, which I received with a great deal of ſatisfaction from Mr Paget [Mathematical Maſter of of Chriſt's Hoſpital] and thereupon took another journey to Cambridge, on purpoſe to confer with you about it, ſince which time it has been entered upon the regiſter books of the ſociety.’ He goes on to vindicate Sir Iſaac's right againſt the pretenſions of Mr Hooke, and ſays, the Royal Society were all of opinion that Sir Iſaac ought to be conſidered as the inventor. ‘ I am ſure, concludes he, the Society have a very great ſatisfaction in the honour you do them, by the dedication of ſo worthy a treatiſe. Sir, I muſt now again beg you not to let your reſentments run ſo high as to deprive us of your third book, wherein the application of your mathematical doctrine to the theory of comets, and ſeveral curious experiments, which, as I gueſs by what you write, ought to compoſe it, will undoubtedly render it acceptable to thoſe, who will call themſelves Philoſophers without mathematicks, which are much the greater number (48). Now you approve of the character and paper, I will puſh on the edition vigorouſly. I have ſome times had thoughts of having the cuts neatly done in wood, ſo as to ſtand in the page with the demonſtrations, it will be more convenient and not much more charge. If it pleaſe you to have it ſo, I will try how well it can be done ; otherwiſe I will have them in ſome-what a larger ſize than thoſe you have ſent up.

‘ I am, Sir,

‘ Your moſt affectionate humble ſervant,

‘ E. HALLEY.’

(*gg*) Sir Iſaac not finding readily his paper then, ſent the calculation ſhortly according to his promiſe to London by Mr Paget, Mathematical Maſter of Chriſt's hoſpital, and upon the peruſal of it Mr Halley made a ſecond journey to Cambridge. See Sir Iſaac Newton's article.

(*b b*) The place is reckoned com. an. 50l. a year ; Dr Muſgrave was then Secretary to the Philoſophical Society at Oxford, and Fellow of New-college. Phil. Tranſ. No. 158.

(45) See in Phil. Tranſ. No. 179. for Jan. and Feb. 1686. a paper intitled, *A Diſcourſe concerning Gravity and it's Properties*, written, as our author declares, preparatory to Sir Iſaac's *Principia*, which was then almoſt ready for the preſs.

(46) In the article of Sir Iſaac Newton.

(47) He means upon the ſubject of his Theory of Light and Colours.

(48) Sir Iſaac then intended to write it in a popular method. See his article.

Secretary; in which poſt the firſt paper that he publiſhed contained a tract of his own upon the ſubject of gunnery (*ii*), wherein he gave an improvement in that uſeful art [*U*]. This paper was preſently followed by another (*kk*), wherein our author firſt of any one diſcovered that eaſy method (ſince ſo well known) of meaſuring the elevation of very high mountains, ſteeples, and other eminences, by the barometer [*W*]. The ſame year ſaw a third tract by the ſame canal (*ll*), containing both the hiſtory and phyſical cauſe of the trade winds and monſoons [*X*], he likewiſe publiſhed a chart repreſenting their direction, wherever they are found to blow, through all parts of the globe known to the Engliſh mariners (*mm*). Sir Iſaac Newton's *Principia* being finiſhed the ſame year 1686, Mr Halley (who had the whole care of the impreſſion) (*nn*), by the direction of the Royal-Society preſented it to his Majeſty King James II. with a proper diſcourſe of his own [*Y*]. He alſo wrote an elegant copy of verſes in Latin, which are prefixed to that

[*U*] *An improvement in the art of gunnery.*] This improvement conſiſts in the ſolution of a problem concerning the beſt elevation of a mortar: it had exerciſed the wits of ſome of the firſt rate genii of thoſe times. The problem was this, *To hit an object above or below the horizontal line, with the greateſt certainty and leaſt impelling force.* This problem, though of the greateſt uſe in gunnery, was left untouched by Torricelli the firſt writer upon the ſubject. It had indeed been ſolved by Mr Anderſon in 1674 (49), but his ſolution required ſo large a calculus, that it put our author upon the ſearch if it might not be done more eaſily, and the reſult was, that in 1678, he found out the rule, and thence the geometrical conſtruction, delivered in this piece. 'Tis true, a large treatiſe was afterwards publiſhed, intitled, *L'Art de jetter les Bombes*, by Monſ. Blondel, wherein he gave a ſolution of this problem by Meſſieurs Buet, Romer, and De la Hire, but none of them being the ſame with our author's, or in his opinion more eaſy, and moſt of them more operoſe, and beſides his rule finding the tangent which generally determines the angle better than it's ſign, he ſays, '*He thought himſelf obliged to print it, for the uſe of all ſuch as deſire to be informed in the mathematical part of the art of gunnery.*' In 1696, reſuming this ſubject (50), he conſidered how to improve the practical part thereof, and found out a more compendious method for practice than before; whereby it became as eaſy to ſhoot with a mortar at any object on demand, as if it were on the level, there being no need in this new invention of any computation, but only ſimply laying the gun, ſo as to paſs in the middle line between the zenith and the object, giving it it's due charge. He intimates a method of laying a mortar in the required elevation (which may be of uſe in the want of inſtruments) by a piece of looking glaſs plate applied parallel to the muzzle, on which the engineer looking along a thread with a plummet, raiſes or depreſſes the piece, till the object appears on the ſame part of the ſpeculum where the plummet falls; but he obſerves, that this method depends upon the muzzle of the mortar being turned truly ſquare to the bore of the piece, and both that and the looking-glaſs muſt be a true plane, which they are not exact enough for this practice. However, as the thing is done very eaſily with inſtruments, all that remains is by good and valid experiments to be aſſured of the force of gun-powder, how to make and conſerve it equal, and to know the effect thereof in each piece, that is, how far differing charges will caſt the ſame ſhot out of it; this he thinks may moſt conveniently be engraved on the outſide thereof, and were this matter well aſcertained, it might be worth while to make all mortars of the like diameter, as near as may be alike in length of chaſe, weight, chamber, and all other circumſtances. This ſubject of gunnery has been lately re-conſidered by Mr Benjamin Robins, F. R. S. (51), and ſeveral improvements made therein, eſpecially in the article of the charges proper for each piece here recommended for further examination by our author.

[*W*] *A method of meaſuring the height of eminences by the barometer.*] This is done by obſerving the proportionable aſcent of the mercury. To this he added, an attempt to diſcover the true reaſon of the riſing and falling of the mercury upon change of the weather. His hypotheſis is founded upon the principal obſervations that had been then made upon this inſtrument; whence he concludes, that the riſe and fall of the mercury is chiefly owing to the variable winds which are found in the temperate zones, and whoſe great inconſtancy here in England, ſays he, is moſt notorious. From this ſingle principle, joined to the uncertain exhalation and precipitation of the vapours lodged in the air, which too in a great meaſure depends upon the former, he ſolves all the phænomena of that weather-gage (52). When Mr Halley went to St Helena, he carried one of theſe inſtruments, having a thermometer (as it has been ſince denominated) joined to it, and fitted for the ſea uſe by Mr Hook, along with him (53), and having found it very ſerviceable in that voyage, by giving early notice of all the bad weather he had, this engaged his attention the more to it; accordingly we find ſeveral papers in the Philoſophical Transactions, containing an account of the improvements which he made therein (54); for inſtance, in No. 197, he firſt gave the hint and propoſed the making thermometers of quickſilver, or the mercurial thermometer, which being brought into uſe long afterwards by Mr Farenheit, hath ſince gone by his name, Ph. Tr. No. 381. He alſo propoſed an improvement in Patrick's barometer for taking the height of places, ibid. No. 366. In the preface to which (as his manner was) he gives an hiſtorical account of all the improvements made in this inſtrument from Torricelli the firſt inventor, down to that time. We ſhall only add, that Mr Cotes of Cambridge, in his hydroſtatical, &c. lectures, conſtantly read Dr Halley's account of the riſe and fall of the mercury, &c. as what he perfectly approved, and it is inſerted in the appendix to Mr Cotes's Hydroſtatical and Pneumatical Lectures publiſhed by Dr Smith, the ſecond edition, 1747.

[*X*] *The phyſical cauſe of the trade winds and monſoons.*] Upon this ſubject our author obſerves, that as wind is nothing elſe but a ſtream or current of air, ſo where ſuch a current is fixed and permanent in it's courſe as in the trade winds, it muſt neceſſarily proceed from a permanent unintermitting cauſe. This he takes to be no other than the action of the ſun-beams upon the air and water as it paſſes every day over the oceans, which he finds to anſwer all the phænomena of the general trade winds; and he obſerves, that if the whole ſurface of the globe was ſea, theſe would undoubtedly blow all round the world as they are found to do in the Atlantic and Ethiopic oceans; but ſeeing that ſo great continents do interpoſe and break the continuity of the oceans, regard muſt be had to the nature of the ſoil, and the poſition of the high mountains, and theſe he ſuppoſes the two principal cauſes of the ſeveral variations of the winds from the former general rule. This he ſhews with reſpect to the Atlantic and Ethiopic ſea, as well as in the great South-Sea or Pacific Ocean. Two of the three branches into which he divides the univerſal ocean; but in the third branch, or Indian ſea, he allows there are ſome difficulties not well to be accounted for, as firſt, why the change of the monſoons from the north-weſt to the ſouth-eaſt (as the ſun is on the north or ſouth ſide of the equator) ſhould be any more in this ocean than in the ſame latitudes in the Ethiopic, where there is nothing more certain than a ſouth-eaſt wind all the year. He thinks it alſo very hard to conceive, why the limits of the trade winds ſhould be fixed about the 30th degree of latitude all round the globe, and that they ſhould ſo ſeldom tranſgreſs or fall ſhort of thoſe bounds, as likewiſe that in the Indian ſea, only the northern part ſhould be ſubject to the changeable monſoons, and in the ſouthern there be a conſtant ſouth-eaſt. Which particulars he recommends to future enquirers (55).

[*Y*] *Preſented the Principia to King James, II. with a diſcourſe of his own.*] In this diſcourſe, which he firſt read before the Royal Society, having given a general account of the aſtronomical part of that book, where

(*ii*) Ibid. No. 179.

(*kk*) Ibid. No. 181.

(*ll*) Ibid. No. 133.

(*mm*) For 240° of longitude and 30° of latitude; they are repreſented in the ſame chart with the variations of the compaſs. The north part of the Pacific Ocean, being known only to the Spaniards, is not included therein.

(*nn*) See the preface by Sir Iſaac, who on this occaſion calls our author *Virum in omni genere doctrinæ eruditiſſimum.*

(49) See his Treatiſe of the genuine uſe and effects of the gun, printed that year in 4to.

(50) Phil. Tranſ. No. 216.

(51) In a piece intituled, *A Propoſal for increaſing the ſtrength of the Navy, by changing all the guns, from the 18 pounders downwards, into others of equal weight, but of a greater bore*, Lond. 1742. 4to.

(52) In the Miſcellanea Curioſa, Vol. I.

(53) See Phil. Tranſ. No. 269.

(54) In No. 197, 229, &c. ſeen in one view in the Abridgment, Vol. II. p. 33, &c.

(55) The writer of his Eloge obſerves, that this Eſſay is the reſult of numberleſs obſervations and extenſive reading, as well as his Theory of the Variations, with which it ſhould always be joined.

that book.' This year likewiſe our author undertook to explain the cauſe of a natural phænomenon, which had 'till then baffled the reſearches of the ableſt Geographers. The Mediterranean ſea is obſerved not to ſwell in the leaſt, notwithſtanding there is no viſible diſcharge of the prodigious quantity of water, which runs into it from nine large rivers, beſides ſeveral ſmall ones, and from the conſtant ſetting in of the current at the mouth of the Streights (*oo*). His ſolution of this difficulty gave ſo much ſatisfaction to the Society, that he received their orders to proſecute theſe enquiries. He did ſo (*pp*) with the moſt ſurprizing diligence and ſagacity [*Z*]. But that employ was not enough to fill up the ſphere of

(*oo*) Phil. Tranſ. No. 189.

(*pp*) Ibid. No. 192.

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where in the eaſieſt language he ſhews the moſt ſtriking excellence of the great author's genius therein, to conſiſt in being able to deduce the vaſt ſyſtem of the world from the common principles of projectiles. He afterwards enters into a more particular explication of the theory of the tides contained in it. This was a ſubject upon which his own thoughts had been turned pretty much about this time ‡, and he introduces it with a polite addreſs to His Majeſty, to whom, as having (when D. of York) been High-Admiral, that ſubject, he obſerves, could not be unintereſſing. This paper was not publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, 'till many years afterwards, of which there is given the following account. 'It may perhaps ſeem ſtrange, that this paper being no other than a partial account of a book long ſince publiſhed, and whereof a fuller extract was given in No. 187, of theſe Tranſactions, ſhould again appear here; but the deſire of ſeveral honourable perſons, which could not be withſtood, hath obliged us to inſert it here, for the ſake of ſuch, who being leſs knowing in mathematical matters, and therefore not daring to adventure on the author himſelf, are notwithſtanding very curious to be informed of the cauſes of things, particularly of ſo general and extraordinary phænomena, as are thoſe of the tides. Now this paper having been drawn up for the late K. James's uſe (in whoſe reign the book was publiſhed) and having given good ſatisfaction to thoſe that got copies of it, it is hoped, the *Savans* of the higher form, will indulge us this liberty we take, to gratify their inferiors in point of ſcience, and not be offended that we here inſiſt more largely on Mr Newton's theory of the tides, which, how plain and eaſy ſoever, we find is very little underſtood by the common reader (56).' With regard to the fifty Latin verſes prefixed, Mr Mairan, who ſcruples not for this ſingle eſſay to dignify our author with the title of Poet, gives the following account of his poetical inſpiration. That while Mr Halley was employed in preparing Sir Iſaac Newton's *Principia* for the preſs, he found it impoſſible to be the inſtrument of exhibiting ſo many objects of aſtoniſhment and admiration, and to ſee them conſtantly paſſing in review before him, without catching the fire of ſublime enthuſiaſim, which broke out in fifty Latin verſes, in a deſcription of the wonders which he ſaw, 'Tycho Brahe, continues this writer, was inſpired with a like poetical impulſe at the ſight of the inſtrument with which *Copernicus* made his obſervations, and changed the face of the heavens. Tycho's verſes were engraven on the inſtrument which inſpired them, thoſe of Mr Halley prefixed to that immortal work which is their ſubject, being themſelves worthy to ſhare it's immortality.' Theſe lines are too well known to be inſerted here, and the Engliſh reader may find the tranſlation of them in his own language in verſe, in *Martin's General Monthly Magazine. Mathematical, &c.* No. 1, for Jan. 1755. But the occaſion ſuggeſts a curioſity of the like kind, with which we ſhall here oblige the reader. Mr Halley's verſes (as well as his diſcourſe) were no doubt preſented along with the *Principia* to K. James II. and the following Latin verſes written by his grandfather King James, I. were prefixed to Tycho's works, in 1610.

‡ See remark [*EE*].

(56) Phil. Tranſ. No. 226. for 1696-7. where it is intitled, *The True Theory of the Tides, extracted from the admired Treatiſe of Sir I. Newton.*

Jacobi Scotorum Regis, *
De
Generoſi viri Tychonis Brahe Dani
Aſtronomicis operibus,
Eulogium.

Æthereis bis quinque globis, queis machina mundi
Vertitur, ut celſo eſt cruſtatus fornice Olympus
Ignibus, et pictus fulgentibus undique lychni:
Pellucent vitreis domibus vaſtiſque planetæ
Orbibus, ut geminant curſus vi et ſponte rotati;
Ut miti aut torvo adſpectu longe ante futura
Præmonſtrant, regniſque Tonans quæ fata volutet
His tellure cupis, quæ vis, quis motus, et ordo,
Cernere, ſublimem deductumque æthera terræ;
Tychonis pandunt operæ, lege, diſce, videbis
Mira, domi mundum, invenies, cælumque libello.

Aliud.

Quam temere eſt auſus Phaëton, vel præſtat Apollo,
Qui regit ignivomos æthere anhelus equos,
Plus Tycho; cuncta aſtra regis; tibi cedit Apollo,
Charus et Uraniæ es hoſpes, alumnus, amor.

* This Eloge was compoſed in 1593, when his Majeſty granted a patent to Tycho's heirs for the ſole printing his works in Scotland for 30 years.

Mr Halley's verſes are evidently formed upon the ſame plan with the firſt copy of theſe royal ones, and as he frequently turned over the works of Tycho, he muſt often have ſeen them; whether he took thence the hint of his own plan or no, let the reader judge. But thus much we will venture to ſay, that whoever reads thoſe of Mr Halley with a juſt degree of admiration, will certainly read theſe of His Majeſty, not without an equally juſt degree of amazement.

[Z] *He proſecuted it with ſurprizing diligence and ſagacity.*] Having ſhewn, by the moſt accurate experiments, how that great increaſe of water was actually carried off in vapours raiſed by the action of the ſun and wind upon it's ſurface; he proceeded with the like ſucceſs to point out the true method uſed by nature, to return the ſaid vapours into the ſea. This circulation he ſuppoſes to be carried on by the winds driving theſe vapours to the mountains, where being collected they form ſprings, which uniting become rivulets or brooks, and many of theſe again meeting in the vallies, grow into large rivers, emptying themſelves at laſt into the ſea. Thus demonſtrating in the moſt beautiful manner, the way in which the equilibre of receipt and expence is continually preſerved in the univerſal ocean. Our author's account of the origin of ſprings, is too well known to allow our enlarging upon the ſubject ‖. And ſuch as (if there be any who) are not acquainted with it, will not take it amiſs to be referred to the original in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, where they will be no leſs pleaſed with the eaſineſs of the ſolution, than with the beauty of the deſcription. But we muſt not omit to take notice, that he aſſures us, this theory of ſprings is not a bare hypotheſis, but founded on experience; which, ſays he, 'it was my luck to gain in my abode at St Helena, where in the night-time on the tops of the hills about eight hundred yards above the ſea (57), there was ſo ſtrange a condenſation, or rather precipitation, of the vapours, that it was a great impediment to my celeſtial obſervations. For in the clear ſky the dew would fall ſo faſt, as to cover each half quarter of an hour, my glaſſes with little drops, ſo that I was neceſſitated to wipe them ſo often: and my paper on which I wrote my obſervations, would immediately be ſo wet with dew, that it would not bear ink. By which it may be ſuppoſed, how faſt the water gathers in the ridges of the higheſt mountains †.' In purſuing the ſubject of the riſe of vapours, he obſerves that vapours, raiſed by the ſun in ſtill weather, hang on the ſurface of the water cloathing it like a fleece; whence he takes occaſion to give an account of that odd phænomenon of ſeeing the cattle in the Iſle of Dogs from Greenwich at high water, when none of them are to be ſeen at low water. 'For, ſays he, the vaporous effluvia of the water, having a greater degree of refraction than common air, may ſuffice to bring down the beams to the eye, which, when the water is retired and the vapours ſubſided with it, paſs above; and conſequently the objects ſeen at one time, may be conceived to diſappear at the other (58).'

[*AA*] *The*

‖ It was borrowed, though without naming him, by *Carolo Fontana*, an Italian, in a treatiſe intitled *Utilliſſimo Trattato del Acque corrente, Capitolo*, V. *Romæ* 1696, fol.

(57) This meaſure was probably aſſigned by the rule he afterwards gave for ſuch things by the barometer, and was therefore known to him at St Helena.

† He alſo obſerved, that though the ſheep on this iſland are very fertile, ſo as commonly to have each two or three lambs yearly, yet they are very ſhort-lived, dying of the [dropſical] rot, which he took to be the effect of the great moiſture on the hills. Huſbandry and Trade improved, &c. by John Houghton, F. R. S. Paper xxxiv. Vol. I. in 4 vols 8vo. 2d edit. 1727.

(58) Phil. Tranſ. No. 212. This paper is intitled the Evaporation of Water in a cloſe room at Greſham.

of his activity. This induſtrious bee at the ſame time ranged into the fields of Speculative Geometry, where obſerving ſome imperfections in the methods laid down by others (*q q*), for conſtructing ſolid problems or equations of the third and fourth powers; for the better affecting the purpoſe, he furniſhed new rules, which were both more eaſy and more elegant than any of the former. Nor did this ſatisfy him, 'till he had proceeded to ſhew a new way of finding the number of roots in ſuch equations, as alſo the limits of them, and this too by the help of that particular curve line, the rectification of which being the firſt performance in that way, was firſt compleated by our countryman Mr Neil, and thence called the *Neilian Parabola* (*r r*) [*A A*]. The year after, being that of the Revolution, Mr Halley publiſhed the following ſheet in 8vo. *Ephemeris ad annum a Nativitate Domini* 1688, *& ad Longitudinem Urbis Londinenſis ex novis hypotheſibus exactiſſime ſupputata, & Reg. Soc. dicata* [*B B*]. Our author ſtill continued to give his labours to the world by the canal of the Philoſophical

(*q q*) Theſe were Harriot, Des Cartes, Schooten, and Baker, names of eminent note in the mathematical republic.

(*r r*) Phil. Tranſ. No. 188 and 190.

[*A A*] *The Neilian Parabola.*] It was in the ſame Tranſaction ‖ alſo that he firſt ſtarted the hint of aſcribing Noah's flood to the ſhock of a comet. Having read to the Society an account, which he had lately received of ſome obſervations made at Nuremberg, ſhewing that the latitude of that place had continued without any ſenſible alteration, for two hundred years then laſt paſt, he makes the following remark upon it. That from theſe obſervations it would follow, that if the inundations, which have actually happened, were produced by any regular motion of the poles of the earth, it would require a prodigious number of ages to effect thoſe changes; neither could ſuch inundations be fatal to the inhabitants, who might foreſee them, and provide for their ſafety. ‘ But, continues he, the holy ‘ ſcripture and pagan tradition do unanimouſly agree, ‘ that the laſt great deluge was brought to paſs in a ‘ few days without any previous notice; ſo that the account we have thereof, could not by this hypotheſis ‘ be made out, without the ſuppoſition of a great and ‘ ſudden alteration in the poles of the earth's diurnal ‘ revolution; for which, whether we ſhould have recourſe to the intelligent power, that firſt impreſſed this ‘ whirling motion on the ball, or *leave it to be performed naturally by the caſual ſhock of ſome tranſient* ‘ *body, ſuch as a comet, or the like*, whereby the former ‘ axis might be loſt, and a new revolution produced, ‘ differing both in time and poſition from the old, I ‘ will not undertake to diſpute.' However, he obſerves, ‘ that ſuch a ſuppoſition would always include ‘ a change in the length of the year, and the eccentricity of the earth's orbit, *for which*, ſays he, *we* ‘ *have no ſort of authority*.' Hence it appears, that at this time he did not incline to the opinion which aſſigned the chock of a comet for the cauſe of the Deluge, as not being agreeable to the account given thereof in the ſcripture. But having conſidered the ſubject further, he read another paper before the Society in December 1694 ‡, wherein favouring that opinion as neither impoſſible nor entirely improbable, he endeavours to reconcile it with the ſcripture in the following manner. ‘ The account, ſays he, we have of the univerſal ‘ deluge, is no where ſo expreſs as in the holy ſcriptures, and the exact circumſtances as to point of time ‘ ſhew, that ſome records had been kept thereof, more ‘ particularly than is wont in thoſe things derived ‘ from remote tradition, wherein the hiſtorical *minutiæ* ‘ are loſt by length of time.' He proceeds to obſerve, that the ſcripture account ſeems much too imperfect to be the reſult of a full revelation from the author of this dreadful execution upon mankind, who would have ſpoke more amply as to the manner thereof, had he thought fit to lay open the ſecrets of nature to the ſucceeding race of men; ‘ *and I doubt not*, continues he, ‘ *but to all, that conſider the* 17*th chapter of Geneſis* ‘ *impartially, it will paſs for the remains of a much* ‘ *fuller account of the Flood left by the patriarchs to their* ‘ *poſterity, and derived from the revelation to Noah and* ‘ *his ſons*.' To this cauſe he aſcribes the difficulties that are found in ſeveral particulars of that account; as in the conſtruction of the ark, the reception, and agreement of the animals therein, and the preſervation of it during that wind, in ſo immenſe and boundleſs an ocean, which was ſent to drive the waters away; ‘ *but* ‘ *it muſt alſo be allowed*, ſays he, *that length of time* ‘ *may have added, as well as taken away, many notable circumſtances, as in moſt other caſes of the ſtory of* ‘ *remote times and actions*.' And hence he infers, that the Deluge might be occaſioned by the near approach of a comet to the earth, notwithſtanding the ſilence of ſcripture in that particular. Upon the whole it is obſervable (which too is one principal reaſon of inſerting the preſent remark) that our author here all along very frankly intimates his opinion, that Moſes had the account he gives of the Deluge merely from tradition alone, however it might be matter of revelation to Noah and his ſons.

‖ No. 190. paper iii. for November 1687.

‡ It was not printed 'till the year 1724. in Phil. Tranſ. for that year.

[*B B*] *He publiſhed an Ephemeris for the year* 1688.] This is inſerted upon the authority of Mr Wood *. It is certain that our author, as Secretary to the Royal Society, was at this time the publiſher of the Philoſophical Tranſactions. The firſt of theſe Ephemerides came out in the year 1685 for 1686, of which there is an account in thoſe papers (59), to the following effect. ‘ That there being then great want of proper Ephemerides of any tolerable exactneſs, thoſe which had been done before having been complained of by Mr Flamſtead in his tables of the Eclipſes of Jupiter's Satellites ‡; therefore ſeveral gentlemen well ſkilled in theſe things had engaged in this undertaking, and had executed the preſent Ephemeris from tables of their own, which anſwer with great preciſeneſs to the celeſtial motions, except in the moon, whoſe motion, by reaſon of her manifold inequalities, not being yet reduced to the nicety of the planets, it was thought needleſs to do more, than to reduce her tychonic places in argol to our meridian, and compute the true altitudes. The account concludes with declaring, that the ſeveral perſons concerned propoſed a continuation of theſe Ephemerides for ſome years to come.' From this account it ſeems very probable that Mr Halley was one, if not the chief of theſe perſons. The deſign was carried on to the year of the Revolution, and then ſeems to have been dropt, but for what reaſon does not, as I know of, any where appear; perhaps the public commotions at that juncture might be the occaſion †: of which, if the following ſtory which paſſed current ſeveral years afterwards concerning his behaviour then, has any foundation, Mr Halley was far from being an unmoved ſpectator. The ſtory is this, That the grateful ſenſe of the favours he had received from the two preceding princes, lying always near his heart, he continued to expreſs it with his uſual warmth and openneſs after the Revolution: That after ſome time the matter reaching the ears of King William, His Majeſty upon the firſt news was a little alarmed, and thought the behaviour of a perſon of ſo great reputation, and ſo conſpicuous in the learned world, as Mr Halley then was, ſhould not be neglected; but upon a nearer enquiry, being truly informed that the warmth of our author's zeal for the ejected prince, was the pure effect of his gratitude, and without any mixture of particular diſlike to his ſucceſſor, and eſpecially obſerving he was continually employed at his teleſcope, determined not to diſturb his ſpeculations; being ſatisfied from his character, that his cloſe attachment to theſe, would effectually prevent him from puſhing his affection any further at moſt than drinking a health. The credit of this ſtory is left to the reader, but whatever be it's fate, it will be proper and agreeable to the general plan of theſe memoirs, to obſerve that a few years after, viz. in 1691, there was publiſhed *a diſcourſe* of his *tending to prove at what time and place Julius Cæſar made his firſt deſcent upon Britain* (60). In this diſcourſe (whatever occaſioned him to turn his thoughts upon the ſubject) beſides an accurate ſkill in the Greek language, he has given an admirable inſtance of his expertneſs in applying aſtronomy to determine critical diſputes upon points of hiſtory. The difficulty was this, Cæſar had not been exact in relating the time or place of his landing. Dr Halley therefore having determined the former to an hour by calculating an eclipſe of the moon, proceeds to inquire into the place; whereupon he obſerves, that though Dion Caſſius in relating that expedition

* In Ath. Ox. under our author's article.

(59) No. 179.

‡ Mr Flamſtead's tables of the eclipſes of Jupiter's ſatellites for 1684 are in No. 154. for Dec. 1683, and thoſe for 1685 in No. 165. This deſign was carried on by our author for the year 1688. and publiſhed in No. 191. for Dec. 1687. wherein he compliments Mr Flamſtead for teaching their uſe in Geography.

† 'Tis certain the Phil. Tranſ. were not printed during that hurry, which alſo ſeems to be the reaſon for publiſhing the Ephemeris for 1688. ſingly.

(60) In Phil. Tranſ. No. 193.

Philoſophical Tranſactions, of which for many years his pieces were the chief ornament and ſupport [*C C*]. In 1691 he publiſhed there a paper, entitled, *De Viſibili Conjunctione inferiorum Planetarum cum Sole Diſſertatio* (*s s*). The tables in this diſſertation are obſerved to exhibit the periodical conjunctions of Mercury and Venus with the Sun to a ſurprizing degree of exactneſs [*D D*]; and he afterwards ſhewed one extraordinary uſe to be made of thoſe relating to the conjunctions of the latter (*t t*), towards diſcovering the true diſtance of the ſun from the earth [*E E*]. This year Dr Edward Bernard reſigning the

makes uſe of an expreſſion, which had been generally conſtrued to import, that Cæſar on his landing firſt engaged the Britons in a fenny country; yet the words (61) of that hiſtorian, as he ſhews from Suidas, Polybius, and others, may fairly be underſtood to mean no more than that this conquerer engaged the Britons at the *water's edge*; whence it follows, that he might, conſiſtently enough with that deſcription of Dion, actually make his firſt deſcent in a firm champaign country as the Downs is, where this firſt landing ſeems to be determined, as our author ſhews, by Cæſar's own account of the matter (62). Mr Halley likewiſe printed in the ſame Tranſactions (63) a few years afterwards, another peice of criticiſm upon Harduin's Pliny (then lately printed). The title is, *Emendationes et Notæ in tria loca vitioſe edita in textu vulgato Naturalis Hiſtoriæ, C. Plinii.* Theſe emendations are another proof (no ways inferior to the former) of his critical acumen, as will be found upon the peruſal, to which, for fear of being too tedious, we muſt refer, in order to make room for the two following ſpecimens of the like kind. Some Engliſh merchants who had viſited the ruins of Palmyra in 1678, communicating their obſervations to Mr Halley, he thereupon in Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 218, publiſhed a ſhort hiſtory of that ancient city, together with ſeveral ingenious remarks on the inſcriptions found there. And the ſame ruins having been lately reviewed with great accuracy by ſeveral gentlemen of learning, a further account was publiſhed of them in a piece intitled, *The Ruins of Palmyra*, Lond. 1753, fol. in the preface whereof by Mr Robert Wood, the ingenuity of our author's remarks, though ſhort, has received a freſh encomium. (2.) The other piece intimated above is, *Ptolemy's catalogue of the fixed Stars*, inſerted in the ſecond volume of *Geographiæ veteris Scriptores Græci minores*, publiſhed in 2 vol. 8vo. Ox. 1712, by Dr Hudſon, who gives the following reaſon ‖ for ſubjoining it to that work, *quod vero hiſce omnibus ſubjungere placuerit Ptolomæi catalogum fixarum ſtellarum, alicui forſan mirum videatur, cum ſit argumenti plane diſſimilis, minime tamen dubito, quin hoc mihi ignoſcat, qui noſcit, quot ab illis ſideribus maculas abſterſit, quantamque eis lucem affudit, Cl. Halleius, eandem ſcilicet, qua Ptolomæo illa contemplante, enituerant, cum in libris tam manuſcriptis quam editis ob voces perturbatas, numeroſque confuſos, illa cæli lumina craſſis obvoluta fuiſſent tenebris.* To theſe muſt be added alſo another critical piece upon Mr Dodwell's book *De Cyclis*, in a letter of our author to Mr Brookſby, and ſubjoined by him to his life of Dodwell, Lond. 1715, 8vo.

[*C C*] *His papers were for ſeveral years the ornament of the Philoſophical Tranſactions.*] Their various merit is thrown into one view by the writer of his eloge, who, having mentioned his *hiſtory of the trade winds and monſoons*, proceeds in theſe terms. 'This was immediately followed by his, *eſtimation of the quantity of aqueous vapours which the ſun raiſes from the ſea; the circulation of vapours; the origin of fountains; queſtions on the nature of light and tranſparent bodies; a determination of the degrees of mortality, in order to adjuſt the valuation of annuities on lives*, and many other works, in almoſt all the ſciences, aſtronomy, geometry, and algebra, optics and dioptrics, baliſtic and artillery, ſpeculative and experimental philoſophy, natural hiſtory, antiquities, philology, and criticiſm; being about twenty-five or thirty diſſertations, which he produced during the nine or ten years of his reſidence at London; and *all abounding with ideas new, ſingular, and uſeful* ‖.'

[*D D*] *Exact tables of the conjunctions of Mercury and Venus with the Sun.*] Dr Smith, Plumian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Cambridge, ſpeaking of this diſcourſe (64) in the year 1738, obſerves, 'That it contains a moſt accurate theory for finding the viſible conjunctions of Mercury and Venus, with a ſpecimen thereof in tables, comprehending all the times of their appearance in the ſun's diſk for two centuries, beginning from the time of the invention of teleſcopes (65). Which tables, continues he, agree with the lateſt and beſt obſervations to a wonderful degree of exactneſs; ſo that for the future, aſtronomers may truſt theſe tables to a few minutes, as the author has juſtly obſerved, and not wait with the uncertainty of hours, nay days, as had been lately done.' In 1725 our author publiſhed ſome corrections of the tables of Mercury, in Phil. Tranſ. No. 386.

[*E E*] *A method of diſcovering the diſtance of the earth from the ſun, more nearly than is yet done.*] We have obſerved above, that our author's papers were the chief ornament and ſupport of the Philoſophical Tranſactions for ſome time. The truth of this appears conſpicuouſly, not only when we conſider the great number and variety of the ſubjects, but alſo that peculiar recommendation which they carry with them to the public, from his entertaining manner of handling them. To paſs over at preſent, how much the ſtrength of his reaſoning is enforced with a ſpirited and mettled diction. There is one thing in almoſt all his pieces, which never fails to leave the reader's mind after he has peruſed them, in that ſtate of full complacency and ſatisfaction, which is the teſt of good writing. I mean thoſe ſhort but accurate hiſtorical accounts of the ſubjects that are improved by him. We have an inſtance of this in the problem now before us, of determining the diſtance of the ſun from the earth. 'There is no problem, ſays he, more difficult than this, nor more unſettled by the beſt aſtronomers hitherto. Ptolemy and his followers, as alſo Copernicus and Tycho, make the ſun's diſtance to be only 1200 ſemidiamiters of the earth, Kepler raiſes it near 3500 of theſe ſemidiameters. Ricciolus doubles the diſtance of Kepler, which Hevelius only enlarges by an half. All theſe computations were founded upon the ſuppoſed magnitude of the inferior planets, which by the radiancy of their reflected light, were taken to be much larger than the truth. Theſe errors received their firſt correction by viewing thoſe planets within the diſk of the ſun. For when thus ſtripped of their borrowed ſplendor, their ſemidiameters were found to be much leſs than was before thought. Thus Venus ſubtends not above a quarter of a minute. Mercury, at it's mean diſtance, is ſeen under an angle of ten ſeconds. Saturn, under the ſame angle, and Jupiter, the greateſt of all the planets in one, not above a third of a minute. Hence ſome modern aſtronomers arguing from analogy, have thought the ſemidiameter of the earth alſo, when ſeen from the ſun, to ſubtend an angle at the intermediate magnitude of $15''$ equal to Venus, and therefore concluded the ſun's diſtance from the earth, at near 14000 of her ſemidiameters. But by this ſuppoſition, at the ſame time that the earth, a ſuperior planet, is aſſerted to be no bigger than Venus an inferior one, yet the moon, a ſecondary planet, is advanced to be no leſs than Mercury a primary one, which would break the order and harmony wherein the planetary ſyſtem ſeems to be eſtabliſhed. Let then, continues he, the ſemidiameter of the earth ſeen from the ſun, or, which is the ſame thing, let the horizontal parallax be $12\frac{1}{2}''$ (whence the moon will be leſs than Mercury, and the earth bigger than Venus) and then the earth will come out 16500 ſemidiameters diſtant from the ſun.' But Dr Pound and his nephew Dr Bradley (the preſent Aſtronomer Royal) by many repeated trials made with the niceſt inſtruments, found this parallax not to be more than $12''$, nor leſs than $9''$ (66). Whence our author ſets it at a medium to be $10\frac{1}{2}''$. Yet this parallax might have been brought to a much greater degree of exactneſs, had the ſeveral conjunctions which have happened of Venus with the ſun been carefully obſerved by former aſtronomers. But our countryman Mr Horrox, was the firſt mortal who ſaw this phænomenon in the year 1639, and Dr Halley has ſhewn in the piece now under conſideration, that the ſame

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(*s s*) Ibid. No. 193.

(*t t*) Ibid. No. 348.

(61) The word in diſpute is εἰς τὰ τεναγὴ. Dion Caſſ. Hiſt. lib. 9. which Mr Halley renders *ad vadum maris*.

(62) In his Commentaries, lib. iv.

(63) No. 194.

‖ In præfat. ad finem.

‖ See a tranſlation into Engliſh of this Eloge, printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for Oct. and Nov. 1747. N. B. When our author left Iſlington, he removed to a houſe in Golden-Lion-court Alderſgate-ſtreet, London.

(64) In his Optics, Vol. II. p. 230. Lond. 1738. 2 vols 4to.

(65) Before that invention, theſe tranſits, as well as the ſpots in the ſun, being imperceptible by the naked eye, could at moſt be only a ſubject for conjecture by the Antients; and ſo had never fallen under philoſophical ſpeculations.

(66) See Phil. Tranſ. No. 363, 366. Dr Halley was preſent at ſome of theſe obſervations, and likewiſe obſerved the ſame himſelf.

the Savilian Profeſſorſhip of Aſtronomy at Oxford, Mr Halley applied for that place, but was diſappointed [*FF*] Not long after this mortification, our author produced a ſmall tract

ſame appearance will happen again in 1761. When on May 26th, near 6 in the morning at London, Venus will appear in the ſun's diſk not above $4''$ ſouth of it's center, the tranſit will continue almoſt eight hours, from two in the morning till almoſt ten, and therefore the ingreſs into the ſun's diſk cannot indeed be ſeen in England, but it may nevertheleſs be obſerved in other parts of the world; and he aſſures us from his own obſervations of Mercury at St Helena (67), that the beginning and end of the tranſit of this planet over the ſun §, may be obſerved to the exactneſs of $1''$ of time. 'I had the good luck, ſays he, to ſee Mercury as 'he was entring the ſun's limb, and made a black notch 'in it, and was certain of the inſtant of this total ingreſs 'by a fine thread of the ſun's light, which immediately 'broke out from the ſun on the anterior contact of the 'two limbs, and ſtruck my eye inſtantly; and at the 'beginning of the egreſs of Mercury, the like thread 'of light was broken, and vaniſhed inſtantly at the 'other anterior contact.' If the like obſervations be duly made upon the enſuing tranſit of Venus, with a good clock and teleſcope in ſeveral diſtant countries, he ſhews in what manner we may thence determine the ſun's parallax and diſtance from the earth to the exactneſs of a 500th part of the whole. Whereas by the beſt obſervations made till the time when this diſcourſe was written (in 1717), we were not abſolutely certain of theſe quantities to leſs than about a 7th part of them. He concludes with exhorting, in the moſt pathetic terms, all aſtronomers who ſhall be then alive, to be prepared for that important obſervation, and to exert their utmoſt ſagacity and ſkill in remarking every circumſtance of a phænomenon ſo rare and ſo deciſive. Hence the writer of his eloge remarks, that tho' 'he 'indulged no flattering hope of being himſelf a witneſs 'to this appearance, yet he was not on that account 'leſs ſollicitous about the event, or negligent of any 'thing which might contribute to it's ſucceſs. All 'philoſophy, continues that writer, which weakens our 'deſire of being uſeful to poſterity, and takes from us the 'pleaſure we poſſeſs in a probable proſpect of obtaining 'that end, ſaps the foundation of true heroiſm, and 'ought to be rejected with abhorrence and indignation.'

[*FF*] *He was diſappointed of the Savilian Profeſſorſhip.*] Concerning this matter we have the following ſtory by Mr Whiſton *, who tells us from Dr Bentley, as he ſays, 'that our author being thought of 'for ſucceſſor to the mathematical chair at Oxford, 'Biſhop Stillingfleet was deſired to recommend him at 'Court; but hearing that he was a ſceptic and a banterer of religion, the Biſhop ſcrupled to be concerned, 'till his chaplain Mr Bentley ſhould talk with him 'about it, which he did; but Mr Halley was ſo ſincere 'in his infidelity, that he would not ſo much as pretend 'to believe the Chriſtian religion, though he thereby 'was likely to looſe a profeſſorſhip, which he did accordingly, and it was then given to Dr Gregory.' Whatever truth there may be in this ſtory, for the right underſtanding of which, Mr Whiſton's religious principles ſometimes bantered † by his friend, will perhaps be thought a proper key; 'tis certain that in this affair our author found an enemy in Mr Flamſtead. From the time of Mr Halley's acting as Secretary to the Royal Society, there had been a miſunderſtanding between theſe two celebrated aſtronomers, which ſeems to have taken it's riſe from a jealouſy in Mr Flamſtead, of his ſuffering ſome diſparagement in the eſteem of Sir Iſaac Newton, from our author's growing friendſhip with that great man. To evince the truth of this aſſertion, it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that Mr Flamſtead, beginning with the year 1683 ‖, continued for ſome years following to publiſh a tide table of the high water at London-bridge, which he had been at ſome pains to make very accurate; to this was ſubjoined the following rule for applying them to ſerve for any other ports in his Majeſty's dominions or neighbouring countries, viz. To ſubtract or add ſo much time to the high water noted in it, as the high water obſerved in ſuch places ſhall be found to precede or follow the time of the high water the ſame day herein noted; 'for, continues he, by ſuch accounts as I have received and met with of the tides in remote places, I find there is every where about England, the ſame difference betwixt the ſpring and nepe tides that is here obſerved in the river of Thames,' and according to this rule he added tables for the ſaid reduction in ſeveral ports, among which, that of Dublin was included ‡. Theſe tables being ſeen by Sir Iſaac Newton, when he was engaged in drawing up his theory of the tides, he thought proper to apply to Mr Flamſtead on that occaſion, and in a letter dated Sept. 19, 1685, writes to him as follows. '*I perceive by your tide tables you have been curious upon 'that ſubject, which makes me hope, that you can tell 'me, how much the perpendicular riſe and fall of the 'ſpring tides about the ſolſtices is greater than the like 'riſe or fall of the neap or quarter tides at the ſame 'time of the year, and alſo how much the one is greater 'than the other at the equinoxes.*' Whatever was Mr Flamſtead's anſwer, 'tis certain that on this ſubject of the tides, Sir Iſaac particularly conſulted Mr Halley, who had long made that phænomenon one part of his ſtudies, and we find him proſecuting the enquiry with his uſual diligence and ſagacity, and thence diſcovering a miſtake in the rule which had been given by Mr Flamſtead for applying his tables to other ports, beſides that of London, and eſpecially to the port of Dublin. Our author having applied to Mr Will Molyneux, for an account of the courſe of the tides in this laſt mentioned port, and received the ſame, publiſhed it in the Phil. Tranſ. † with the following remark. 'This obſervation makes the tides upon the quarter moons 'come in later in reſpect of the moon's ſouthing, than 'upon the new and full moons by half an hour, whereas in the Thames as high as London, the quarter 'moons make high water above an hour and a quarter 'ſooner in that reſpect, than the new and full, as may 'be ſeen by the accurate tide tables of Mr Flamſtead. '*But it is from hence found that the ſaid tables are not 'applicable to the ſea ports,* where there is not the 'ſame reaſon for the anticipation of the nepe tides 'upon the quarter moons. The cauſe of this phænomenon ſeems to be, that the impulſe of the ſun on 'the quarter moons is not ſo vigorous as in the new 'and full, nor the motion of the waters ſo quick, as 'is found by daily experience; whence it comes to 'paſs, that in the open ſeas, and in ports upon the ſea-coaſt, as Dublin, the high-water time falls out later 'than when the motion is more rapid in the new and 'full *: But on the contrary in rivers at any conſiderable diſtance from the ſea, the reſiſtance of the 'weight of the freſh water, which is kept ſuſpended 'during the time of the flood, is longer overcome by 'the more potent impetus in the new and full, than by 'weaker in the quadratures, and from hence this difference ſhould be more and more conſiderable as the 'port is farther removed from the ſea.' Before this paper was publiſhed, Mr Flamſtead having got an intimation that our author had procured ſome account of the tides at Dublin from Mr Molyneux, grew a little jealous as it ſeems of that friend, and expreſſed his uneaſineſs in a letter to him; in anſwer to which Mr Molyneux writes from Dublin, Nov. 13, 1686, as follows, 'The only information I wrote to Mr Halley 'about our tides, was what I wrote to you about three 'years ago, in mine of Aug. 11, 1683. I can aſſure you there was nothing more, ſo that you need 'not miſtruſt my kindneſs in that point. He propoſed 'the ſame queries to me, that then you propoſed, and 'I anſwered him in the ſame way, only indeed he 'added, on the coaſt of Ireland, whereabouts do the 'two floods meet. To this I then anſwered him not, 'becauſe I had not yet got information, but ſince that 'I am informed, that it is between Carlingford, in 'Ireland, and Solway Frith in Scotland.' Some time before this letter could arrive at Greenwich, out came Mr Halley's account, &c. with the remarks juſt mentioned, containing the ſlur upon Mr Flamſtead's tide tables. Whereupon the Royal Aſtronomer broke all meaſures with his competitor, and even endeavoured to draw Mr Molyneux into his quarrel, as appears from another letter dated Feb. 1, 1686-7, wherein that gentleman writes thus: 'I much admire at H——'s 'dealing with you, and I thank you for the advice 'you give me of being cautious what I communicate. But I think my circumſtances are ſuch, that 'it lies not in his way to do me or my reputation any 'harm. For as to this late buſineſs about the tides, I 'know not what to ſay to ſay to it. I have never ſeen 'the tract (*uu*), which from the nature as well as extenſive uſefulneſs of it, is perhaps more known, eſpecially at home, than any thing that ever came from his pen ; I mean his

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(67) On the third of November, 1677.

§ This was the fourth time that phænomenon had been ſeen ſince the invention of the teleſcope. Mr Shakerley went on purpoſe to Surat to ſee the ſecond in 1661, which happened when it was night in Europe.

* In the memoirs of his own life, Vol. I. p. 108. edit. 1753.

† See idem ibid. p. 207, 208. where Mr Whiſton relates, that on his refuſal of a glaſs of wine from him on a friday, this friend ſaid *he was afraid he* [Whiſton] *had a Pope in his belly.* However, Mr Halley's friendſhip to the man of learning and integrity was not thereby abated, as will appear from ſeveral inſtances both in the preſent memoir, and in that of Mr Whiſton. See Mr Whiſton's Memoirs, ubi ſupra, p. 205 and p. 259. and his Aſtronomy in the preface.

‖ Phil. Tranſ. No. 143. for Jan. 1682-3.

‡ Ibid. 155. for 1684. The rule was not inſerted in the firſt for 1683, for want of ſufficient informations from the ſeveral ports.

† No. 184. for Oct. 1686.

* In a letter to Flamſtead, dated May 17, 1687. Mr Molyneux writes, from the information of one Glover, a good ſeaman and Mathematician, that there is little or no difference at Dublin in the times of flowing and ebbing at the ſyzigiæ and quarters.

Tables

the Tranſaction wherein it is inſerted. I am a ſtranger to what he ſays of it ; and being ſo, I think it were improper for me to take any notice of it by my Brother to the Society. What you ſay concerning it in your's of January 17th, is very reaſonable, and Mr Halley ſeems to be in the wrong, but I cannot properly take notice of your information to juſtify myſelf to the Royal Society, for that were to bring you upon the ſtage in my cauſe, which trouble I know you do not deſire, neither would I willingly give it you. Indeed Mr Halley himſelf wrote to me the 27th of laſt November, in which letter he has this paſſage. *I thank you for the communication of the manner of the tides at Dublin. I make this remark thereon, that the neap-tides with you are half an hour later in reſpect of the moon's ſouthing, than the ſpring tides upon the new and full moons. Whereas at London, upon the quarter moons, it is high water near upon an hour and a half ſooner than upon the new and full moons in reſpect to the moon's ſouthing. It were worth conſidering what ſhould be the reaſon thereof. My conjecture is, that the impulſe whereby the water is driven forward in the flood, is ſtronger in the new and full ; and ſo in the open ſea, or in a bay as with you, the high water happens ſooner, by reaſon the water is heaped up with a greater velocity. But in a river, the weaker tides upon the quadratures are ſooneſt checked by the weight of the freſh, which it ſtops, which the greater force of the ſpring tides is able to repell much longer. Thus far Mr Halley.*' An anſwer to this being ſent preſently by Mr Flamſtead, who it ſeems had undertaken his friend's cauſe without his privity. Mr Molyneux made this return thereto. Dublin, March 24, 1686-7. My honoured friend, ‘ I return you my hearty thanks for your endeavours to vindicate my credit againſt the falſe deduction, which you ſay (as it was managed by the publiſher of the Tranſactions) is like to reflect on me. I am ſufficiently perſuaded by your laſt of February 12, of the groſs errors therein ; and I wonder how it ſlipt from Mr Halley. But though I acknowledge myſelf indepted to you for your care of my repute, and the kindneſs and love you have ſhewed me therein ; yet I muſt confeſs, I myſelf am not concerned about it ; for I place ſo little ſtreſs upon conjectural aſſigning of cauſes, that I heed not whether they be true or falſe, mathematical or not ; ſo that I can eaſily forgive Mr Halley, and ſhall never quarrel with any man about a notion. *I lately received a letter from Mr* Halley, *wherein he expreſſes his concern at the breach between you, and ſeems very deſirous of an accommodation.* I am ſo certain of your good nature and chriſtian piety, that I need only mention this to move you thereto. And *therefore pray let all miſunderſtanding be cleared between you, and renew your former friendſhip. If you pleaſe you may take notice of my mediation in the caſe, for in his letter he deſires to know of me, wherein I think you ſo highly injured as to deſerve theſe ſevere reſentments. And in my return to him, I confeſs, I was rather for making peace than renewing the conteſt ; and therefore deſired all may be paſſed over.* He alſo deſired from me a little paper I wrote, *de apparente magnitudine ſolis humilis & ſublimis* ; but ſince I ſent it to him, I have wiſhed I had ſent it firſt to you ; but I know you may have it from him to read it, if you will take that trouble.' Notwithſtanding this mediation came from ſo good a friend, yet being attended with a ſuggeſtion in our author's favour, it was not accepted by Mr Flamſtead, who retained his old grudge much longer, as we find by a letter to him from Sir Iſaac Newton, dated October 24, 1694, where he expreſſes himſelf in theſe terms.—— ‘ A day or two before I left London, I dined with Mr Halley, and had much diſcourſe with him about the moon. I told him of the parallacting equation amounting to about $8'$ or $9'$, or at moſt $10'$, and of another equation, which is greateſt in the octants of the moon's apogee, and might there amount to about $6'$ or $7'$, though I had not yet computed any thing about it. He replied, that he believed there might be alſo an equation depending upon the moon's nodes. To which I anſwered, that there was ſuch an equation, but ſo little as to be almoſt inconſiderable. But what kind of equation this was, I did not tell him ; and I believe he does not yet know it, becauſe it is too little to be eaſily found out by obſervations, or by any other way than the theory of gravity. He told me ſome years ago his correction of the moon's eccentricity, and repeated it, when I was with him laſt at London, and this made me free in communicating my things with him. By your obſervations, I find it to be a very good correction. I reckoned it a ſecret which he had intruſted with me, and therefore never ſpake of it till now. Upon my ſaying that I hoped to mend the moon's theory by ſome obſervations you had communicated to me, and that thoſe obſervations made the parallactic equation in the quadratures between $8'$ and $10'$, he was deſirous to view them ; but I told him, he muſt not take it ill if I refuſed him that, becauſe I ſtood engaged to communicate them to no-body without your conſent. *I am very glad, that there is like to be a new correſpondence between you, and hope it will end in friendſhip.*' Such were Sir Iſaac's wiſhes, but inſtead of reconciliation, the breach between them grew ſtill wider, as is evident from the following extracts of a letter, and the remarks upon it, written in 1698, in the firſt of which Dr Wallis, then engaged in printing the third volume of his mathematical works, and having received ſome aſtronomical obſervations to be inſerted in that work from Mr Flamſtead, returned this anſwer. Oxford, December 28, 1698. ‘ Sir, I received on Monday laſt, December 26th, your letter of December 24th, and the packet of papers directed to me, of which I ſhall take care ; and at the ſame time I received another letter from one in London, which deſires me not to print any paragraph in your letter, which ſpeaks of your giving to Mr Newton obſervations of the moon. He is a friend to both of you, but he does not give me his reaſons why. I thought fit to acquaint you with it, and deſire your advice upon it.' Mr Flamſtead wrote the following notes on this letter. ‘ You ſay Dr Gregory is a friend to both of us. I much doubt it, had he been a friend of mine, he would have ſent me word that paragraph would diſpleaſe Mr Newton. A letter would have come hither, and an anſwer have gone back in almoſt as little time as one goes from London to Oxford. It is much to be ſuſpected, he is only Mr Newton's friend for Mr Montague's ſake, ſince his countrymen gave out formerly, that he had found abundant errors in his *Principia*. Now that Mr Newton gave them to him, (to deal plainly with you) his friends reſort to Hindmarſh's ſhop in Cornhill, and who they are, you may eaſily be informed even at Oxford.

‘ That I was at London the Friday they arrived, and the following. That I wrote to Mr Newton on Monday, and ſent him an account of what Dr Gregory wrote to Dr Wallis, as alſo the paragraph of my letter which Dr Gregory would ſuppreſs. That receiving no anſwer by Thurſday morning, I then wrote to him again for one. That ſince he takes no notice of my letter ; I conclude, I need not take notice of Dr Gregory's nor you neither, and therefore think you need not alter the paragraph at all. Dr Gregory is a friend of Mr Halley, though he was his competitor. But I perceive by this tranſaction, he is no friend of mine, though I ſhewed him more friendſhip than he could reaſonably expect on that occaſion, and Mr Halley as much enmity. But he thinks Mr Halley has an intereſt in Mr Newton, and therefore is become his friend, and takes the ſame courſes Halley did to ingratiate with him, whoſe favour may be of uſe to him with Mr Montague (68)'. Thus the Royal Aſtronomer, we ſee, carried his enmity againſt Mr Halley at this time ſo high, as to extend it to ſuch as lived in friendſhip with him, and amongſt theſe, the occaſion leading him to it, his laſh is particularly exerciſed upon Dr David Gregory. That occaſion was Mr Flamſtead's letter concerning the parallax of the polar ſtar, which being publiſhed at the end of Dr Wallis's works as mentioned above, Dr Gregory took pains to conſider it, and in his *Aſtronomia Phyſica* (69), &c. publiſhed in 1702. expoſed the defects and inconcluſiveneſs of Mr Flamſtead's obſervations for proving that parallax. In theſe laſt letters we ſee another cauſe beſides that of the tides of Mr Flamſtead's

diſguſt

(*uu*) Ibid. No. 196.

(68) The ſeveral letters whence theſe extracts are taken, are printed at length in the General Dictionary, under the articles MOLYNEUX, WALLIS, and NEWTON.

(69) Prop. 55. book iii.

Tables ſhewing the value of Annuities for Lives, calculated from the Bills of Mortality at Breſlaw in Sileſia [*G G*]. This piece was publiſhed in 1692, and the ſame year came out his famous *Univerſal Theorem for finding the Foci of Optic Glaſſes*, produced as an inſtance of the great advantage of modern Algebra (*w w*). On the firſt of January, this year he reſigned his place of Aſſiſtant-Secretary to the Royal-Society (*x x*); however, there is ſcarce a ſingle number in the Philoſophical Tranſactions for the three following years [*H H*], without ſome remarkable paper of his publiſhed there, beſides which he communicated

diſguſt to his rival, viz. the theory of the moon. We have already mentioned Mr Halley's reſolution to bring that theory to perfection, in the view particularly of finding the longitude at ſea, and that he entered on it in the year 1683; and it is obſervable, that Mr Flamſtead publiſhing his catalogue of the eclipſes of Jupiter's Satellites the ſame year, ſubjoined an information concerning it's uſe, wherein he makes the following declaration. 'I muſt confeſs, ſays he, it is ſome part of my deſign to make the more knowing ſeamen aſhamed of that refuge of ignorance, their idle and impudent aſſertion, that *the longitude is not to be found*, by offering them an expedient, that will aſſuredly afford it, if their ignorance, ſloth, covetouſneſs, and ill nature, forbid them not to make uſe of what is propoſed. Thoſe of them, continues he, that pretend to greater talents or ſkill than others, will acknowledge that it might be found by obſervations of the moon, if we had tables, that would anſwer her motions exactly. But after two thouſand years experience (for we have ſome obſervations of eclipſes much ancienter) we find the beſt tables extant erring ſometimes in two minutes or more in her apparent place, which would cauſe a fault of half an hour or 7° ½ in the longitude, deduced by comparing her place in the heavens with that given by the tables: I undervalue not this method, for I have made it my buſineſs, and have ſucceeded in it, to get a large ſtock of good lunar obſervations, in order to the correction of her theory, and is a good ground-work for better tables, *but the examination will be a work of long time, and if we ſhould happily afterwards attain what we ſeek, yet the calculation will be ſo perplexed and tedious, that it will be found much more inconvenient and difficult, than that I propoſe by obſerving the eclipſes of Jupiter's Satellites, which therefore at preſent I muſt prefer*.' He adds the two following objections againſt the way of finding the longitude by the moon in reſpect to her eclipſes; firſt, the difficulty there is to determine the true time of the moon's ingreſs into the ſhade; and ſecondly, that there are ſcarcely four eclipſes of the moon viſible in a year; and then concludes with a further recommendation of the method here propoſed by the eclipſes of Jupiter's Satellites, in that, as he aſſerts, a teleſcope of eight foot long, which would be ſufficient for obſerving theſe eclipſes, might be eaſily managed at ſea *. On the other hand, Mr Halley, though he approved and promoted the deſign of applying the tables of the eclipſes of the Satellites, to the finding the longitude at land †, yet was far from agreeing with Mr Flamſtead, as to their uſe in that view at ſea. Inſomuch, that three years after that propoſal in the diſcourſe which he read to King James II. when he preſented His Majeſty with Sir Iſaac Newton's *Principia*, &c. ſpeaking of the theory of the moon, he expreſſes himſelf thus: *Though by reaſon of the great complication of the problem, he* [Mr Newton] *has not yet been able to make it purely geometrical, 'tis to be hoped, that in ſome further eſſay he may ſurmount the difficulty, and having perfected the theory of the moon, the long deſired diſcovery of the longitude* (which at ſea is only practicable this way) *may at length be brought to light, to the great honour of your Majeſty, and advantage of your ſubjects* ‖.

[G G] *His tables calculated from the bills of mortality at Breſlaw.*] In theſe bills then lately communicated to the Royal Society, both the ages and ſexes of all that died were monthly delivered, and compared with the number of the births for five years preceding the then preſent year 1692; and falling of courſe into the hands of Mr Halley, who was ſtill Aſſiſtant-Secretary to the Society, they appeared to him, on examination, to be drawn up with all the impartiality and exactneſs that the purpoſe required; whereupon he applied himſelf to make a proper uſe of them, in adjuſting thereby the valuation of annuities upon lives. He was induſtrious to calculate a table ſhewing the value of theſe annuities for every fifth year of age, to that of ſeventy; 'leaving it to the ordinary arithmetician (theſe are his words) to compleat the calculation, whenever bills of mortality ſhould be given for a ſuitable large number of years.' But experience and obſervation having ſhewn theſe to be ſufficient, the ſubject has been proſecuted by others, and brought upon his grounds to a very uſeful degree of perfection (70). In 1736, there was publiſhed *an eſſay to aſcertain the value of leaſes and annuities for years and lives*, by Weyman Lee, Eſq; wherein the author attacked the juſtneſs of Mr Halley's rules. This brought out the following piece, *Obſervations on an Eſſay, &c. Wherein Dr Halley's method is particularly conſidered, and rules laid down for eſtimating the chances of the duration of lives, and the value of annuities for years and lives, in a letter to a friend*, by H. B. I. T. S. 1739, 8vo. Beſides this principal uſe of theſe bills, there are two more ſubjoined by our author which ought not to be omitted, as they are conſpicuous proofs of that religious and benevolent turn of mind with regard to his fellow creatures, which was ſo amiable a part of his character. Firſt then he infers from theſe tables, 'how unjuſtly we repine at the ſhortneſs of our lives, and think ourſelves wronged if we attain not old age. Whereas it appears hereby, that the one half of thoſe that are born, are dead in ſeventeen years time. So that inſtead of murmuring at what we call untimely death, we ought with patience and unconcern to ſubmit to that diſſolution, which is the neceſſary condition of our periſhable materials, and of our nice and frail ſtructure and compoſition: and to account it as a bleſſing, that we have ſurvived perhaps many years that period of life, whereat the one half of the race of mankind does not arrive. A ſecond obſervation, continues he, I make from the ſame table is, that the growth and increaſe of mankind is not ſo much ſtinted by any thing in the nature of the ſpecies, as it is from the cautious difficulty moſt people make to adventure on the ſtate of marriage, from the proſpect of the trouble and charge of providing for a family; nor are the poorer ſort herein to be blamed, ſince their difficulty of ſubſiſting is occaſioned by the unequal diſtribution of poſſeſſions, all being neceſſarily fed from the earth, of which ſo few are maſters; ſo that beſides themſelves and families, they are yet to work for thoſe who own the ground that feeds them. And of ſuch does by very much the greater part of mankind conſiſt, otherwiſe it is plain that there might well be four times as many births as we now find. For by computation from the table, I find that there are nearly 15000 perſons above 16 and under 45 years of age, of which at leaſt 7000 are women capable to bear children; of theſe, notwithſtanding, there are but 1238 born yearly, which is but little more than a ſixth part, ſo that about one in ſix of theſe women do breed yearly. Whereas were they all married, it would not appear ſtrange or unlikely, that four of ſix ſhould bring a child every year. The political conſequences hereof I ſhall not inſiſt upon; but the ſtrength and glory of a King conſiſting in the multitude of his ſubjects, I ſhall only hint, that above all things celibacy ſhould be diſcouraged, as by extraordinary taxing and military ſervice, and thoſe who have numerous families of children to be countenanced and encouraged by ſuch laws, as the *jus trium liberorum* among the Romans; but eſpecially by an effectual care to provide for the ſubſiſtence of the poor, by finding them employments whereby they may earn their bread without being chargeable to the public.'

[*H H*] *The three following years.*] The moſt conſiderable of theſe will be found occaſionally inſerted in the courſe of this memoir, except his new method of determining the exact time of the ſolſtices *. Wherein he proves, againſt the opinion of all former Aſtronomers both antient and modern, that it is eaſier to aſcertain the ſun's entrance into the tropical points, than it is to obſerve the

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(*w w*) It was firſt publiſhed at the requeſt of Mr Will. Molyneux, in an appendix to his Treatiſe of Dioptrics. It is well explained and illuſtrated in a ſupplement to Dr Gregory's Element's of Catoptrics and Dioptrics, by Dr Brown. Something alſo of the like kind done by Mr Cotes is printed in the notes to Vol. II. of Dr Smith's Optics.

(*x x*) Wood, ubi ſupra. Mr Waller being appointed Secretary in the room of Dr Muſgrave.

* Phil. Tranſ. No. 154. for Dec. 1683.

† See remark [*B B*] note (59).

‖ Phil. Tranſ. No. 226.

(70) See De Moivre's Annuities upon lives, the ſecond edit. of which was publiſhed in 1743, and another piece ſoon after on the ſame ſubject by Mr Simpſon.

* Phil. Tranſ. No. 215.

nicated others that were not then printed. Among theſe was a piece in 1694, containing an *Hypotheſis concerning the Phyſical Cauſe of the Univerſal Deluge, by the approach of a Comet involving the Earth in it's watery Atmoſphere* (*yy*), which was firſt made uſe of afterwards by Mr Whiſton in his *New Theory of the Earth*. When the government had reſolved upon recoining the ſilver ſpecies, there being for diſpatch five mints erected on that occaſion, Mr Halley was appointed Comptroller of the Office at Cheſter in 1696 (*zz*). This employ brought him to that city, where he reſided for two years, that is, as long as the office was continued. In the mean time the attendance upon that buſineſs put no check to the vivacity of his active genius in following thoſe purſuits to which his inclination led him. Accordingly we find him at this time ſending to the Royal Society an account of an extraordinary ſtorm of hail, which fell in Wales and at Cheſter on the 29th of April 1697 (*aaa*), and preſently afterwards climbing to the top of Snowdon-hill, in order to improve the rule he had before recommended, for meaſuring great heights by the proportionable fall of the mercury in the barometer (*bbb*). He likewiſe made ſome uncommonly curious obſervations upon a ſurprizing rainbow ſeen by him at Cheſter on the 6th of Auguſt the following year 1698 (*ccc*) [*II*]. An account of this was publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions for November, and it was in the third of the ſame month, as has been already mentioned, that he ſet ſail in the Paramour Pink man of war, in order to obſerve the variation of the compaſs, &c (*ddd*). wherein we are informed, that his own private views were of much greater extent than the inſtructions of the Court. The Captain, for he had now acquired that ſtile and character, had been at home little more than half a year, when he went in the ſame ſhip, with another expreſs commiſſion from the King, to obſerve the courſe of the tides in every part of the Britiſh Channel at home, and take the longitude and latitude of the principal head-lands, in order to lay down the coaſt truly (*eee*). Theſe orders were executed (*fff*) with his uſual expedition, and ſoon after his return he publiſhed, in 1702, a large map of the Britiſh Channel. The Emperor of Germany having come to a reſolution to make a convenient and ſafe harbour for ſhipping in that part of his dominions which borders upon the Adriatic, Captain Halley was ſent this year by Queen Anne to view the two ports on the Dalmatian coaſt lying to that ſea. He embarked in the Thames on the 27th of November, went over to Holland, and paſſing thence through Germany to Vienna, and having conferred with Mr Stepney the Engliſh miniſter there, he proceeded to Iſtria, with a view of entering on the execution of the Emperor's deſign; but ſome oppoſition being then given to it by the Dutch, he returned to Vienna, where being introduced by Mr Stepney to Leopold, he gave him an account of two harbours on the Iſtrian coaſt. Whereupon his Imperial Majeſty preſented him with a rich diamond ring from his own finger, and gave him a letter of high commendation, written with his own hand, to Queen Anne. He was likewiſe received with great reſpect by the King of the Romans, by Prince Eugene, and the principal officers of that Court. Preſently after his arrival in England he was diſpatched again upon the ſame buſineſs. This time he paſſed through Oſnaburg and Hanover, where he ſupped with his preſent Britiſh Majeſty then Electoral Prince, and his ſiſter the Queen of Pruſſia. Arriving at Vienna, he was preſented the ſame evening to the Emperor, who directly ſent his chief engineer to attend him to Iſtria, where they repaired and added ſome new fortifications to that of Trieſte, the port of Boccari being found by the Captain fit to receive all kind of ſhipping with ſafety (*ggg*). Having ſeen the work finiſhed he returned to England, where he arrived juſt before the great ſtorm which happened November 26, 1703; and Dr Wallis being deceaſed a few weeks before (*hhh*), our author was appointed Savilian Profeſſor of Geometry at Oxford in his room, and had

(*yy*) See remark [*AA*] above.

(*zz*) MS. Memoirs, ubi ſupra. N. B. This place was not improbably procured by Sir Iſaac Newton's intereſt with Mr Montague, who was alſo Preſident of the R. S. about this time. See the dedication of Vol. XIX. Phil. Tranſ. and remark [*FF*].

(*aaa*) Some of the hail-ſtones weighed 3 quarters of a pound. Phil. Tranſ. No. 229.

(*bbb*) Ibid. No. 240. he found the height of Snowdon to be 1240 yards perpendicular.

(*ccc*) Idem, ib. He alſo gave in the ſame number an account of an extraordinary rainbow ſeen by him in Abchurch-lane in 1695.

(*ddd*) The writer of his Eloge takes notice, that his rout in that voyage is marked on the laſt maps of Mr De L'iſle, among thoſe of the moſt eminent ſailors, in the number of whom he may be reckoned in reſpect to meer practical navigation, and the working of a ſhip.

(*eee*) He had long before obſerved that little had been done towards eſtabliſhing a true theory of thoſe tides. See Phil. Tranſ. No. 162. As to the ſurvey of the coaſt, Mr Whiſton tells us, our author wanted proper inſtruments for that purpoſe. Whiſton's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 335. 2d edit. 1753.

(*fff*) Mr Mairan obſerves, that they were executed with an accuracy which ſeldom accompanies diſpatch. Dr Halley's Eloge, ubi ſupra.

(*ggg*) MS. Memoirs, ubi ſupra. The laſt cited author, who had his intelligence from Mr Folkes, late Preſident of the R. S. ſeems to inſinuate that this buſineſs was a cover to ſome private negotiation with which Mr Halley was charged.

(*hhh*) The doctor died Oct. 28, 1703. See his monument in St Mary's church at Oxford.

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the true time of the equinoxes. He ſhews how to perform it by three ſubſequent obſervations, made near the tropics at proper intervals of time, which are capable of all the exactneſs requiſite; and that without any conſideration of the parallax of the ſun, refraction of the atmoſphere, the greateſt obliquity of the ecliptic, or the latitude of the place. Beſides what he publiſhed himſelf, our author was very ready to aſſiſt others in the purſuit of any laudable deſign. Of this, among others, there is the following inſtance; one Mr John Houghton, already mentioned †, F. R. S. projecting about the year 1682, to write a courſe of papers upon the ſubject of huſbandry and trade, found it neceſſary for his purpoſe to get ſome knowledge of the quantity of land in England. Upon that occaſion he took the freedom of applying to Mr Halley, whoſe communicative diſpoſition was no leſs known, than his excellent talent at contriving expeditious methods for diſpatch, when the caſe required it. Accordingly the following expedient was immediately put into practice by him. He procured the beſt map of England extant at that time, and having very carefully cut off the ſea all round the coaſt, he then ſtruck the largeſt circle that was poſſible upon it, and cutting it out, he took the weight of that in the niceſt ſcales, as alſo of the reſt of the map. This done, the rule of proportion would give the whole quantity of land. Thus, As the weight of the circle is to the weight of the reſt of the map: So the quantity of land in the circle (to be meaſured geometrically) is to the quantity of land in the reſt of the map, which two quantities put together make up the whole. This though acknowledged to be but a rude way, yet was thought to come as near the truth as any computation then extant, and being judged exact enough for Mr Houghton's purpoſe, was made uſe of by him, and inſerted (as well as the contents of each county performed in the ſame manner by Mr Halley) in his weekly paper for the improvement of huſbandry and trade (71).

[*II*] *A ſurprizing rainbow at Cheſter.*] This rainbow was a ſecondary arch produced by reflection from the river Dee Our author queries whether any ſuch had ever been obſerved before, and declares he had never read of any. '*For though*, ſays he, Des Cartes *ſpeaks of an inverted one, yet it is not poſſible to be ſeen as he deſcribes it.*' Mr Halley afterwards wrote a geometrical diſſertation concerning the rainbow, in which, by a direct method, is ſhewn how to find the diameter of each bow, the proportion of refraction being given; and *è contra* (72). This ſubject had been left very imperfect by Des Cartes, who in his chapter of meteors uſed only an indirect and tentative method. In which too he had been followed by other writers of eminent note upon this ſubject.

[*KK*] *He*

† In note † to remark [*Z*].

(71) No. 24 and 25. publiſhed in Jan, 1692-3. 8vo. in the firſt volume of Huſbandry and Trade improved. N. B. To this volume is prefixed a recommendation of this undertaking by ſeveral members of the R. S. and of Mr Halley among the reſt.

(72) Phil. Tranſ. No. 267. in the year 1700.

had the degree of Doctor of Laws conferred upon him by that univerſity. He was ſcarce well ſettled at Oxford, when Dr Aldrich, Dean of Chriſt-Church, engaged him in an undertaking that had been entered upon by Dr Bernard, which was, to tranſlate into Latin from the Arabic, *Apollonius de ſectione rationis*: the taſk was no ſlight one, eſpecially to our new Profeſſor, who then was entirely unacquainted with the Arabic language; and his præcurſor in the work had done no more than a few paſſages only. But Dr Halley, who was a perfect maſter of the ſubject, knew how to make uſe of theſe as a key to the reſt, by which means he in a manner decyphered the whole, and compleated the tranſlation with a ſucceſs that was very ſurprizing [*KK*]. At the ſame time our editor, from the account given of them by Pappus, reſtored the two books which are loſt, of the ſame author, *De Sectione Spatii*, and the whole work was put into one volume, and publiſhed by him at Oxford, 1706, 8vo. with the following title, *Apollonii Pergæi de Sectione rationis libri duo, ex Arabico manuſcripto latine verſi. Accedunt ejuſdem de Sectione ſpatii libri duo reſtituti. Opus Analyſeos Geometricæ ſtudioſis apprime utile. Præmittitur Pappi Alexandrini præfatio ad ſeptimum collectionis Mathematicæ nunc primum Græce edita: cum Lemmatibus ejuſdem Pappi ad hos Apollonii libros. Opera & ſtudio Edmundi Halley, apud Oxonienſes Geomet. Profeſſ. Saviliani.* Oxonii e Theatro Sheldoniano, 1706 (*i i i*). This was no ſooner out of his hands, than he took a ſhare with his collegue Dr David Gregory, in preparing for the preſs the ſame *Apollonius's Conics*.. Here again he engaged in that which was by far the moſt difficult part of the work, and ventured to ſupply the whole eighth book, which is loſt, of the original [*LL*]. Nor was this arduous undertaking ſufficient to employ the whole extent of his faculties. He likewiſe added the treatiſe of *Serenus on the Section of the Cylinder* (*k k k*) *and Cone*, printed from the original Greek, with a Latin tranſlation *, in two books, and publiſhed the whole in 1710 in folio †. At the ſame time he alſo prepared for the preſs an edition of *Menelaus's Spherics* (*l l l*)

(*i i i*) He dedicated it to Dr Aldrich, ut *ſummo bonarum literarum præſertim mathematicarum Fautori ac Vindici in perpetuum grati animi teſtimonium*.

(*k k k*) He made an excellent uſe of this ſection in demonſtrating the proportional heat of the ſun upon the earth in all latitudes, where he ſhews the advantage of the preſent oblique poſition of the earth to the ſun. Abridgm. of the Phil. Tranſ. Vol. II. p. 126.

* The Greek original was never before printed.

† With this title, *Apollonii Pergæi Conicorum libri octo, & Sereni Antiſſenſis de ſectione Cylindri & Coni libri duo.*

[*K K*] *He reſtored and publiſhed Apollonius de ſectione rationis*] The Arabic manuſcript of this tract of Apollonius, ϖερὶ λόγȣ ἀποτομῆς, was firſt diſcovered among thoſe of Selden in the Bodleian library by Dr Edward Bernard, who reſolved to tranſlate it into Latin, but laid it aſide before he had gone through a tenth part of the work, probably by reaſon of the difficulty thereof. For beſides that the manuſcript was very ill wrote, and the letters left frequently without the uſual points of diſtinction, very often words, and ſometimes whole periods, were omitted; and the letters marking the lines of the diagrams very incorrect. Some time after Dr Bernard's death, what he had left of the verſion was reviſed and corrected by Dr Gregory his ſucceſſor, who alſo procured a fair copy thereof to be written. This being ſhewn by Dean Aldrich to our author, then lately made Savilian Profeſſor of Geometry, he immediately reſolved to compleat the verſion, however difficult the taſk muſt be, eſpecially to him who then knew nothing at all of the Arabic language. The method therefore he took was, firſt to obſerve carefully the ſenſe of all ſuch words in the original, which Dr Bernard's verſion furniſhed, after that by conſidering the argument of Apollonius, he began by degrees to deſcry the ſenſe of the reſt, and thus going on in this way of decyphering, he read the whole book through; and in a manner underſtood it, ſo that by a ſecond peruſal he brought it to the form in which we now have it, without the help of any other perſon whatſoever. Dr Sykes, then Hebrew Profeſſor at Cambridge, and the greateſt orientaliſt of his time, was particularly ſurprized therewith, and told a friend, that the Captain talking with him upon this ſubject, ſhewed him two or three paſſages in the original, which ſhould be amended, telling him what the author actually there ſaid, and what he ſhould have ſaid; which ſenſe Dr Sykes found the words in queſtion would eaſily admit, with only a ſmall correction ‖. With regard to the Arabic manuſcript, Mr Halley obſerves that it is the only verſion extant of the original Greek, which is loſt: that as to it's antiquity, the poſſeſſor's name written in the firſt page, anno Hegiræ 633, that is of Chriſt 1235, ſhews it to be done at leaſt 500 years before. That there is no certain proof how much older it is, but he conjectures it was made a little after the year 820 of the Chriſtian æra, when Almaimon, Chalif or Emperor of the Saracens, purchaſed of the Grecian Emperors the books of their beſt Philoſophers and Mathematicians, and procured them to be tranſlated into Arabic. He obſerves that theſe pieces (as well as ſeveral more of the ſame author by others) had been after a manner reſtored before by Willebrozd Snellius, this being no difficult matter to do for any one ſkilled in Algebra. *Verum*, inquit ille, *perpendendum eſt, aliud eſſe problema aliqualiter reſolutum dare, quod modis variis plerumque fieri poteſt, aliud methodo elegantiſſima id ipſum efficere, analyſi breviſſima & ſimul perſpicua, syntheſi concinna & minime operoſa* (73).

[*L L*] *Apollonius's Conics, &c.*] This work was begun by Dr Gregory, who had undertaken to prepare the four firſt books for the preſs, with the comment of Eutocius in Greek and Latin, while Dr Halley was to do the reſt. But Dr Gregory dying, when he had proceeded no further than the 44th page, the whole remainder of the work fell upon Dr Halley. In the proſecution of it, he was obliged to peruſe ſeveral Arabic manuſcripts in the Bodleian library, particularly a verſion of Apollonius into that language, made by Thebit Ben Corah, but reviſed (about 450 years before 1710) by Naſir Eddin, two of the moſt famous Mathematicians of the Eaſt. He ſometimes alſo conſulted another Arabic manuſcript in the ſame library, by Abdolmelech Schizazita a Perſian, five hundred years ago, and brought out of the Eaſt by Chriſtianus Ravius, who had given a barbarous tranſlation of it. But that which he found of the greateſt uſe to him was the famous manuſcript of Golius, purchaſed of Golius's heirs by Dr Narciſſus Marſh, Primate of Ireland, who readily communicated it to him for the public benefit. From this he in many places not only corrected his own verſion, but alſo ſupplied the deficiencies in the Greek text. This manuſcript was likewiſe Thebit Ben Corah's verſion, but firſt corrected by Beni Moſes, and afterwards reviſed by Mohammed Ebn Al Haſan Taſæus, who began his corrections Auguſt 16, 1247, and finiſhed them March 9, 1248. The ſcholia were written by Achmed Ebn Ali Abûlfarai Mohammed, ſurnamed Ebno Ibawwab of Bagdad, who finiſhed that part in October 1263, the whole being compleated on the 30th of March 1303, at Maraga, a city on the confines of Media and Aſſyria. This valuable manuſcript contains the firſt ſeven books of the Conics of Apollonius; but in the margin of the laſt page is written to the following effect. At the end of the copy from which this is tranſcribed, it is written, *That the eighth part of this book was not tranſlated into Arabic, becauſe it was wanting in the Greek copies* (74). Our author's attempt to reſtore this part, was a difficulty which perhaps nobody beſides himſelf would have thought of encountering. But that was neither ſufficient to diſcourage his induſtry, nor yet to baffle his ingenuity. He had here again the *lemmata* of Pappus ſtill extant to aſſiſt him. Theſe helped to ſhew the connection between the ſeventh book and the eighth, and by that help he entirely ſupplied it. In this performance the elegant taſte and manner of Apollonius are ſo perfectly copied, that the beſt judges have agreed, the whole eight books, as publiſhed by our author, may fairly be eſteemed to be the work of the ſame Grecian maſter.

[*M M*] *He*

‖ This remark of Dr Sykes was extracted from the MSS. Memoirs, to which we are ſo greatly obliged.

(73) Præfat. ad Apollon. de Sectione rationis.

(74) Præfat in Apollon. Conic.

(lll) [*MM*]. In the midſt of all this buſineſs came out the *Miſcellanea Curioſa*, containing beſides others, ſeveral of his pieces, and the whole printed under his direction in 1708, in three volumes, 8vo [*NN*]. In 1713, on the 13th of November, he ſucceeded Dr [afterwards Sir] Hans Sloane in the poſt of Secretary to the Royal-Society (*mmm*). As perfecting the theory of the moon's motion was always uppermoſt in his thoughts, ſo he had never omitted to give all the hours he could ſpare to that ſubject (*nnn*) from other employments, to which the care of his family called him. In the year 1715, he had nearly compleated this theory with regard to the ſyzigies or conjunctions. By this means he not only predicted within a very few minutes the central eclipſe of the ſun which happened that year, but drew a map likewiſe, wherein the extent of the moon's ſhadow was repreſented to a wonderful degree of exactneſs, as was verified by the event [*OO*].

The

[*MM*] *He prepared for the preſs an edition of Menelaus's Spherics.*] There is in hiſtory the following account of this antient author. That he was by birth a Mileſian, that he made obſervations of the fixed ſtars at Rhodes, and alſo at Rome, and found the præceſſion of the equinox, or the firſt ſtar of aries, to be 6°. 12′. that he flouriſhed almoſt a whole century before Ptolemy, who compared his own obſervations with thoſe of Menelaus; who wrote ſix books *De Subtenſis vel Chordis*, beſides the three of *Sphærics*. That from the third book of this laſt treatiſe, which contains many acute demonſtrations concerning the proportion of ſines, ſeveral things were borrowed by Ptolemy, and inſerted in the firſt book of his Μεγαλη Συνταξις. But that the Sphærics of Menelaus, coming afterwards into the hands of Teibitius, were obſerved by him to be incorrect and defective, and that thereupon he reviſed and corrected the work; and by ſupplying the demonſtrations where they were wanting, brought the whole into much better order than it had appeared in before (75). Merſennus, from a MS. of this piece, has given in his Synopſis an extract of the propoſitions contained therein; and I have now lying before me a book printed in 8vo. compleat, only that there is neither preface nor title-page; but the running title is *Menelai Alexandrini Sphæricorum, libri tres*. The appellation of *Alexandrinus* muſt be a miſtake, if the above account, that Menelaus, the author of the Sphærics, was a Mileſian, may be depended on. However, as is already obſerved, the book is compleat, with the ſupplements of Teibitius entire, and inſerted in their proper places. Blancanus * mentions Menelaus of Alexandria, an excellent Geometrician likewiſe, who flouriſhed in the fourth century, and who gave ſome demonſtrations upon the 25th propoſition of the firſt book of Euclid's Elements, which are extant in Proclus †. Upon the whole, it will be eaſily underſtood, that the deſign of the preſent remark is, to furniſh ſome matter for forming a probable conjecture concerning the motives which might induce Dr Halley (whoſe regard for Ptolemy's works is ſeen on all occaſions) to think of publiſhing the Sphærics of Menelaus.

[*NN*] *Miſcellanea Curioſa, &c.*] Among other pieces of our author contained in this collection, we find, in the ſecond volume, his *Compendious and eaſy Method for conſtructing the Logarithms, exemplified and demonſtrated from the nature of numbers, without any regard to the hyperbola, with a ſpeedy method for finding the number from the logarithm given*. In this diſcourſe, which is publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 216. he rejects the old definition of logarithms, *numerorum proportionalium æquidifferentes comites*, ſubſtituting a new one, wherein he calls them *numeri rationum exponentes*, conſidering ratio as a *quantitas ſui generis*, beginning from the ratio of equality, or 1 to 1 = 0: and theſe *rationes* he ſuppoſes to be meaſured by the number of *ratiunculæ* contained in each. Now theſe *ratiunculæ* are to be underſtood as in a continued ſcale of proportionals, infinite in number, between the two terms of the ratio, which infinite number of mean proportionals, is to that infinite number of the like and equal *ratiunculæ* between any other two terms, as the logarithm of the one ratio is to the logarithm of the other. Thus if there be ſuppoſed between 1 and 10 an infinite ſcale of mean proportionals, whoſe number is 100,000, &c. *in infinitum*, then between 1 and 2 there ſhall be 30,102, &c. and between 1 and 3 there will be 47,712, &c. of them, which numbers therefore are the logarithms of the *rationes* of 1 to 10, 1 to 2, and 1 to 3, and not ſo properly to be called the logarithms of 10, 2, and 3. But if, inſtead of ſuppoſing the logarithms compoſed of a number of equal *ratiunculæ* proportional to each ratio, we ſhall take the ratio of unity to any number to conſiſt always of the ſame infinite number of *ratiunculæ*, their magnitude in this caſe will be as their number in the former Wherefore if between unity and any number propoſed there be any infinity of mean proportionals, the infinitely little augment or decrement of the firſt of thoſe means from unity will be a *ratiuncula*, that is the momentum or fluxion of the ratio of unity to the ſame number; and ſeeing that in theſe continual proportionals all the *ratiunculæ* are equal, their ſum, or the whole ratio, will be as the ſaid momentum is directly, that is the logarithm of each ratio will be as the fluxion thereof. Wherefore if the root of any infinite power be extracted out of any number, the differentiola of the ſaid roots from unity ſhall be as the logarithm of that number, and thence the logarithms are produced by extracting the root of an infinite power by Sir Iſaac Newton's binomial theorem. Now though it cannot be denied that the logarithms are calculated with a moſt ſurprizing eaſe and expedition by this method, which was likewiſe the firſt attempt to explain the conſtruction of logarithms without having recourſe to Geometry, yet the infinitely little augment or decrement of the firſt mean proportional, in an infinity of ſuch means, is inveloped ſo much in infinity, that it has been thought obſcure and almoſt unintelligible, at leaſt to conceive the idea clearly, is ſaid to put an ordinary imagination to the ſtrain; and on that account it is highly cenſured and condemned as too viſionary by Mr Stone (76), who for this reaſon prefers the former method made uſe of by Sir Iſaac Newton, of making uſe of the hyperbola in explaining the logarithms. But on the other hand, ſeveral of the beſt Algebraiſts have highly extolled this performance of our author as admirably neat and elegant (77); and 'tis certain that without taking in the conſideration of infinity, we can have no notion of logarithms; ſo that upon the whole, there ſeems to be no juſt reaſon for robbing him of any part of his merit in being the firſt inventor of a method of demonſtrating the nature and conſtruction of logarithms without the help of the hyperbola, eſpecially ſince this being a matter purely arithmetical, is not, as he well obſerves, ſo properly demonſtrated from the principles of Geometry (78). Another piece of Mr Halley's, inſerted in the *Miſcellanea Curioſa*, and which we ought not to omit mentioning here, is his *Analogy of the Logarithmic Tangents to the meridian line demonſtrated*, written in 1696 †, ſince it contains a much eaſier method than had been given before, for calculating a table of meridional parts, of ſuch neceſſary uſe in the art of Navigation.

[*OO*] *As was verified by the event.*] Though it be certain from the principles of Aſtronomy, that there happens neceſſarily a central eclipſe of the ſun in ſome part or other of the globe, about 28 times in each period of 18 years, and that of theſe no leſs than 8 do paſs over the parallel of London, 3 of which 8 are total with continuance; yet from the great variety of the elements whereof eclipſes conſiſt, it had ſo happened before that time, that ſince the 20th of March 1140, there had not been a total eclipſe of the ſun at London, though the ſhadow had paſſed ſeveral times over other parts of Great Britain. Mr Halley therefore thought proper not to neglect this opportunity of getting the the dimenſions of this ſhadow aſcertained. To this purpoſe he cauſed the abovementioned ſmall map to be diſperſed all over England, with a requeſt to the Curious to obſerve what they could about the eclipſe, and more eſpecially the exact time of continuance of total darkneſs, as this required no other inſtrument than a pendulum clock, and being determinable to the utmoſt exactneſs, by reaſon of the momentaneous occultation and emergence of the luminous edge of the ſun, whoſe leaſt part makes day. The pains he took did

not

(lll) This is not yet printed. MS. Memoirs.

(*mmm*) Ibid.

(*nnn*) In the year 1732, he mentions ſeveral obſervations made before by him in this deſign in ſeveral parts of his life. Phil. Tranſ. No. 421.

(75) See *Clarorum Mathematicorum Chronologia*, &c. p. 50. a P. Blancano. Bononiæ, 1615. 4to. Item *Univerſæ Geometriæ mixtæque Mathematicæ Synopſis, &c. ſtudio & opera* F. M. Merſenni M. Pariſ. 1644. 4to. p. 204. & *Maurolici Siculi Sphæricorum, lib.* I. *in præfatione*. Ibid. p. 230.

* *In Chronologia*, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 52.

† Dr Gregory tells us, that one Menelaus made obſervations of the fixed ſtars at Rome, in the firſt year of the reign of the Emperor Trajan. Greg. Aſtron. lib. ii. prop. 39.

(76) In his Mathematical Dictionary, article *Logarithms*, 2d edition, 8vo.

(77) Particularly by Mr Cotes in his *Logometria*. Phil. Tranſ. No. 338.

(78) The ſubſtance of this piece, and not ill performed, has been lately inſerted in an appendix to a treatiſe of Navigation, intitled *Navigatio Britannica*, &c. by Iſaac Barrow. Lond. 1751. 8vo.

† Phil. Tranſ. No. 219. for Jan. and Feb. 1695-6.

The Aſtronomer Royal as well as Mr Whiſton gave out a ſcheme and calculation of this eclipſe, which proved to be nothing near ſo exact as that of our author. This was therefore a very conſpicuous inſtance of his ſuperior abilities at leaſt in that article of Aſtronomy. His merit in that ſcience became from this juncture univerſally acknowledged, ſo as to be above the reach of envy or party oppoſition. Several other inſtances of this merit appeared alſo in the ſubſequent years [*P P*], ſo that upon the death of Mr Flamſtead in 1719, Dr Halley was appointed to ſucceed him *(o o o)* by his late Majeſty King George the Firſt. Thus fixed at Greenwich, he now at length ſaw himſelf in poſſeſſion, not only of ſuch advantages in reſpect to his fortune as ſatisfied his moderation, but alſo of thoſe opportunities with regard to his fame, which had all along been the principal view of his life. His moſt ardent wiſh was to bring the theory of the moon's motion, at leaſt into ſo great a forwardneſs, as ſhould be a ſufficient incitement to others to finiſh his ſcheme of that which he had conſtantly to this time looked on as the only practicable method of finding the longitude at ſea. Here he was not only provided with the beſt conveniencies for that purpoſe, but had the honour of his royal maſter's expreſs commands to apply himſelf particularly to that ſubject *(p p p)*, and at the ſame time he was put into a capacity of proſecuting it uninterruputedly (which had not been hitherto his fortune), by having a handſome competency for the ſupport of his family (*q q q*). Nor did he fail to anſwer the moſt ſanguine expectations of his friends. For though he entered at Greenwich into a houſe where nothing was left but bare walls (*r r r*), yet he immediately fixed a tranſit inſtrument upon the meridian, and fell to his darling employment with that aſſiduity which was a very diſtinguiſhing part of his character. He was now in the ſixty-fourth year of his age, a time of life when Cicero ſaid of himſelf in the words of Plautus, '*Mihi quidem ætas acta ferme eſt, Life is almoſt over with me* (*s s s*),' and yet Dr Halley attended his teleſcope without any aſſiſtance for eighteen years afterwards. In all which period he ſcarce loſt a meridian view of the moon, whether by day or by night, as often as the heavens would permit (*t t t*). That he might have no avocation from this work, he reſigned the poſt of Secretary to the Royal Society in 1721 (*u u u*), and the next year he began to take the right aſcenſions of the moon with his tranſit inſtrument, 'till the celebrated mural arch was (*w w w*) erected and finiſhed at the publick expence in 1725, by which he was enabled to determine their longitudes from obſervations *(x x x)*. Upon the acceſſion of his preſent Majeſty to the throne, his conſort Queen Caroline thought proper to make a viſit at the Royal Obſervatory, and being greatly ſatisfied with the polite reception ſhe met with, among other things, took particular notice that our author had formerly ſerved the Crown under commiſſion of a Captain in the Navy; and ſhe was pleaſed ſhortly

not miſs of having their deſired effect. For the weather happening to prove generally favourable, he received from many places ſuch good accounts, that they fully anſwered all his expectations, and were ſufficient to eſtabliſh ſeveral of the elements of the calculus of eclipſes; 'So as for the future, ſays he, we may more ſecurely rely on our own predictions, though it muſt be granted, that in this our Aſtronomy has loſt no credit.' Our author received particular orders from the Royal Society to obſerve this eclipſe on the top of their houſe in Crane-court Fleet ſtreet, with the inſtruments belonging to the Society; theſe were a quadrant of near 30 inches radius, fixed with a teleſcopic ſight, and moved with ſcrews, ſo as to follow the ſun with great nicety. He was accompanied with ſeveral perſons of diſtinction and others, eminent for their ſkill in Aſtronomy, particularly the Earl of Abingdon and Lord Parker (afterwards Earl of Macclesfield) then Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, obſerved along with him, having inſtruments provided for them; as alſo had Mr Monmort and the Chevalier de Louville, which laſt came from Paris expreſly on this occaſion.

When the central eclipſe happened, February 28, 1736, Mr Maclaurin obſerved it himſelf at Edinburgh, and ſent to his friends to determine the duration of the annular appearance, that by comparing their obſervations with his own, he might trace the path of the center and the limits of that phænomenon, after the example given in 1715 by Dr Halley, to whom, ſays he, we owe the beſt deſcription of an eclipſe that Aſtronomical Hiſtory affords (79).

[*P P*] *Several inſtances of his abilities in the following years.*] Among theſe are an account of Venus ſeen in the day-time in 1716. This is ſelected by the writer of his eloge, as a remarkable inſtance of our author's dexterity in applying calculation to phyſico-mathematical problems ‖. This planet appeared at that time viſible to the naked eye at mid-day, and in ſtrong ſun ſhine. I ſaw it ſo myſelf more than once or twice. Mr Halley's demonſtration, ſhews that proper allowances being made for her diſtance from the earth, and the magnitude of her viſible part, ſhe can never appear ſo bright to us, as when her luminous creſcent occupies but the fourth part of her diſk ‡. This account was publiſhed by our author in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (80), and in the ſame paper he inſerted his invention of a new diving-bell, wherein the diver might continue at the bottom of the ſea in much greater depth than in the uſual way, as long as he pleaſed, by means of a contrivance to convey freſh air to him for reſpiration. Of this he made an experiment himſelf, being let down in company of four others from a ſhip's ſide in it, to a prodigious depth, together with a chair, table, and pen, ink, and paper. The whole being ſo ordered as to remain very ſteady, and light being conveyed into it through a ſpherical glaſs fixed at the top, he could ſee to write very well, and actually ſent meſſages up to the ſhip in writing, containing directions for moving him, &c. as he thought proper. The machine indeed is too complicated and cumberſome for the uſe of the pearl fiſhery. However, the particulars of what he ſaw and felt during the experiment, the different colours and reflections of light, filtered as it were through ſuch an immenſe quantity of water, were, as Mr Mairan obſerves (81), worthy objects of a learned curioſity, and afforded great aſſiſtance to Sir Iſaac Newton in his optics (82). And it is worth notice, that the invention, by reducing it to the compaſs of four feet, was afterwards brought into general uſe in the Baltic ſea, by Mr Trierwold, Captain of Mechanics and Military Architect to his Swediſh Majeſty at Stockholm, who declares that experience had convinced him, that no invention built upon any other principles than thoſe of this bell, can be of uſe in any conſiderable depths, nor the diver a ſingle moment ſafe, Phil. Tranſ. No. 414, for 1736. Beſides theſe two articles, he publiſhed the following in the ſame Tranſactions within the time mentioned in the text. (1.) *An account of ſeveral extraordinary meteors ſeen by himſelf.* (2.) *An account of an aurora borealis in* 1715-16. (3.) *The parallax of the ſun.* (4.) *A ſmall teleſcopic comet ſeen June* 10, 1717. (5.) *A change of latitude in ſome of the fixed ſtars.* (6.) *An account of an extraordinary meteor ſeen March* 19, 1718-19. (7.) *An account of an extraordinary aurora borealis, November* 10, 1719 (83).

(*o o o*) By the particular recommendation of the Earl of Macclesfield Lord High Chancellor, and the Earl of Sunderland Secretary of State. Mr Mairan's Eloge, and Memoirs of W. Whiſton, p. 252. Vol. I. 2d edition.

(*p p p*) The words of his commiſſion are, *To apply himſelf with the utmoſt care and diligence to the rectifying the tables of the motions of the heavens, and the places of the fixed ſtars, in order to find out the ſo much deſired longitude at ſea, for the perfecting the art of Navigation.*

(*q q q*) Viz. In his two places, that at Oxford and this at Greenwich, and therefore we find him preſently after this laſt preferment reſigning the poſt of Secretary to the R. S. which he held before along with his Savilian Profeſſorſhip.

(*r r r*) The furniture of the Obſervatory, as well as that of the houſe, being the property of Mr Flamſtead, the whole was taken away by his executors; among the reſt was a mural arch erected at his own expence. Phil. Tranſ. No. 421.

(*s s s*) See *Some Epiſtles between Brutus and Cicero*, in the 4th volume of Dr Middleton's Works in 4to. Lond. 1752. p. 381. Epiſt. 14. N. B. The genuineneſs of theſe epiſtles will be conſidered in it's proper place, viz. in the article MIDDLETON [CONYERS].

(*t t t*) MS. Memoirs.

(*u u u*) He was ſucceeded therein by Dr Jurin, Nov. 17. Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 44. for that year.

(*w w w*) There is a deſcription with a figure of both theſe inſtruments in Dr Smith's Optics, Vol. II.

(*x x x*) This appears from the title of his lunar tables, as follows, *Lunæ meridianæ aſcenſiones rectæ Grenovii obſervatæ a die Jan.* 13, 1722. *ann. Julian. ad diem Decemb.* 27. *ann.* 1735. *& ejuſdem longitudines ibidem obſervatæ a die Decemb.* 5, *ann.* 1725. *ad diem Decemb.* 27, 1739. *cum computo tabularum collata.*

(79) Phil. Tranſ. No. 447.

‖ To effect this problem, he invented a new and very uſeful theorem in Trigonometry.

‡ She was then within 40°, or in the middle, between her ſhorteſt and longeſt diſtance from the ſun.

(80) No 349. This invention had been ſtarted by him ſeveral years before. See Houghton's Huſbandry and Trade improved, &c. No. 103. July 20. 1694.

(81) See his paper, intitled, Some Queries concerning the nature of light and diaphanous bodies. Phil. Tranſ. No. 205.

(82) In his Eloge, ubi ſupra.

(83) Viz. No. 341, 347, 348, 354, 355, 360, 363.

ſhortly after to obtain of his Majeſty for him a grant of his half-pay for that commiſſion, which he enjoyed during his life from that time. An offer was alſo made to him of being appointed Mathematical Preceptor to the Duke of Cumberland, but he declined that honour by reaſon of his great age, and becauſe he deemed the ordinary attendance upon that employ would be inconſiſtent with the performance of his duty at Greenwich (*yyy*). In Auguſt 1729, he was admitted as a foreign member of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, in the room of Signor Bianchini (*zzz*). Even from his firſt entering upon the moon's theory, conſidering well the great tediouſneſs and difficulty of that taſk, he had been always very deſirous to have others join (leſt any thing ſhould happen to himſelf) in carrying it on to a perfect completion (*aaaa*). It was with this view that he publiſhed a propoſal in 1731 for finding the longitude at ſea within one degree or 20 leagues [*QQ*]. He had now attained the 75th year of his age. Yet he ſtuck cloſe to his mural teleſcope as abovementioned, 'till the end of the year 1739. When having compleated his third Plinian period, he there cloſed this important work. He had indeed been ſeized a year or two before with a paralytic diſorder in his right hand. This was the firſt attack he had ever felt upon his conſtitution (*bbbb*), and though it is true it did not diſable him from carrying on his obſervations with the ſame aſſiduity as before, yet after this time he was obliged to make uſe of a friend to write down his *calculus* (*cccc*). He came ſtill as uſual once a week, 'till within a little while before his death, to ſee his friends in town on thurſday, before the meeting of the Royal Society. This pleaſure he continued to enjoy to the laſt verge almoſt of his life, neither 'till within a few months of his death did he quite neglect his mural arch (*dddd*). He was of a happy conſtitution, and preſerved his memory and judgment to the laſt, as he did alſo that particular chearfulneſs of ſpirit for which he was remarkable. His paralytic diſorder gradually increaſing, and thereby his ſtrength wearing, though gently, yet continually, away, he came at length to be wholly ſupported by ſuch cordials as were ordered by his Phyſician (*eeee*), 'till being tired with theſe he aſked for a glaſs of wine, and having drank it preſently expired as he ſat in his chair without a groan, on the 14th of Jan. 1741-2, in the 86th year of his age (*ffff*).

His

(*yyy*) MS. Memoirs.

(*zzz*) See his Eloge by Mr Mairan of that Academy, ubi ſupra.

(*aaaa*) See below in remark [*QQ*].

(*bbbb*) When attacked with a ſlight fever on catching cold, he uſed to take at one doſe half an ounce of Jeſuit's bark in water-gruel, which he called his chocolate, and by which he was always relieved. MS. Memoirs.

(*cccc*) This aſſiſtant was Mr Gale Morris, F. R. S. a gentleman remarkably ſkilled not only in Aſtronomical but in all other kinds of calculations. MS. Memoirs.

(*dddd*) He obſerved that a ſtudious life had this advantage, that it kept a man out of harm's way. Tillotſon's Life by Birch, p. 95.

(*eeee*) Dr Mead.

(*ffff*) Ibid.

[*QQ*] *A propoſal for finding the longitude at ſea, within a degree or twenty leagues*] He had now perfected his tables for one whole period of the moon's *apogæum*, which is performed in ſomething leſs than nine years. In that compaſs of time he had obſerved the right aſcenſion of the moon at her tranſit over the meridian near 1500 times, and with an exactneſs, he was bold to ſay (they are his words) preferable to any thing done before, a number, this not leſs, than all that were made by *Tycho Brahe*, *Hevelius*, and *Flamſtead*, taken in one ſum. There being near four of his lunar obſervations for each degree of the *argumentum annuum*, or diſtance of the ſun from the *apogæum*. Long before this he had reſumed his firſt deſign in 1683, of filling his Synopſis of the defects in the lunar theory. Being encouraged therein by Mr Flamſtead's obſervations publiſhed in 1704, and alſo by Sir Iſaac Newton's theory, a ſketch of which had been firſt inſerted by Dr Gregory, in his Aſtronomiæ, &c. Elementa, publiſhed in 1702, and again in the ſecond edition of Sir Iſaac's Principia, which came out in 1713. Where the ſame theory was reviſed and amended by himſelf to that degree of exactneſs, that the reſult frequently at that time, as our author found, for many months together, rarely differed two minutes of motion from the obſervations themſelves. Dr Halley had likewiſe computed tables of this theory, which though not then publiſhed, were printed in 1721. And now to the end that the obſervations he had made ſince his coming to Greenwich, might be duly applied to rectify the defects of his former computations; he had himſelf compared with the abovementioned tables, not only his own obſervations, but alſo upwards of eight hundred of Mr Flamſtead's; who indeed as he notes, had been long enough poſſeſſed of the Royal Obſervatory, to have had a continued ſeries of obſervations for more than two periods of eighteen years, by which he had it in his power to have done all that could be expected from obſervations towards diſcovering the law of the lunar motions; but that he contented himſelf with ſparſe obſervations, leaving wide gaps between, ſo as to omit frequently whole months together, and even the whole year 1716. He further informs us as to himſelf, that he had made ſome obſervations with a calculus in 1690 and 1708, which by comparing he perceived to differ inſenſibly from what he found in the like ſituation of the ſun and apogæum in 1726 [the next ſarotic period]. Encouraged by this event, he next examined what difference might ariſe from the period of nine years wanting nine days; but the return of the ſun to the apogæum in that time, differing above four times as much from an exact revolution, as in the period of eighteen years, he could not expect, he ſays, the like agreement in that; however, having now entered upon the tenth year, he compared what he had obſerved in 1721 and 1722, with the obſervations in 1730 and 1731, and rarely found a difference of more than a ſingle minute of motion (part of which might perhaps ariſe from the ſmall uncertainty that always attends aſtronomical obſervations), but moſt commonly this difference was wholly inſenſible; ſo that by the help of what he obſerved in 1722, he preſumed he was able during the then preſent year 1731, to compute the true place of the moon with certainty, within the compaſs of the two minutes of her motion mentioned in his appendix to Street's Caroline tables.——He then obſerves, that the motion of the moon was ſo ſwift as to afford us ſcarce ever leſs than two minutes for each degree of longitude, and ſometimes two and a half. 'Twas this ſwiftneſs of the moon's motion that firſt put the Captain upon thinking to diſcover the longitude by it, ſince the appulſes or occultations by the moon might be obſerved with a ſhort teleſcope, ſuch as was manageable on ſhipboard in moderate weather. This he experienced himſelf in the remote voyages he took in 1698, and the two following years, to aſcertain the magnetic variations, where the few obſervations he had made in 1683 and 1684, proved of ſignal uſe to him in determining the longitude of his ſhip, as often as he could get ſight of a near tranſit of the moon by a known good ſtar, and thereby he frequently corrected his journal in thoſe errors which are unavoidable by the common methods in long ſea voyages (84). Mr Hadley the ſame year had printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 420, an account of his inſtrument for taking angles by reflection, which he concludes with the following remark. 'How far an inſtrument of this kind may be of uſe at ſea, to take the diſtance of the moon's limb from the ſun or a ſtar, in order to find the ſhip's longitude, when the theory of that planet is perfected, I leave to others to determine. The Society has the ſatisfaction to know that theory to be already brought to a good degree of certainty and exactneſs, through the conſummate ſkill of a very learned member, and have great reaſon to hope it will in a little time be compleated by the continued application of ſome of their own body.' So far Mr Hadley; and it muſt be obſerved, that to encourage others to this undertaking, our author had lately publiſhed in Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 369, his *Zodiacus Stellatus* improved, containing beſides the known ſtars, a great number of teleſcopical ſtars, whoſe poſitions were exactly aſcertained.

[*RR*] *He*

(84) Phil. Tranſ. No. 421.

His corpſe was interred near Greenwich, in the church-yard of a ſmall village called Lee, by his own requeſt, in the ſame grave where he had ſeen that of his beloved conſort laid a few years before [*R R*]. With regard to Dr Halley's character it may be obſerved, that in his perſon he was of a middle ſtature, inclining to tallneſs, of a thin habit of body, and a fair complection, and always ſpoke as well as acted with an uncommon degree of ſprightlineſs and vivacity. As he was a member whoſe name reflects an honour upon the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, Mr Mairan, a member thereof, read, according to cuſtom, the Eloge (which we have frequently quoted) of him before that Academy in 1742. Wherein after an oratorical account of the univerſality of his genius [*S S*], and the boldneſs of his philoſophical hypotheſes [*T T*], the concluſion preſents us with the following particulars relating to the character of our author's temper and manners, communicated by Mr Folkes, who ſucceeded him in the French Academy, and was then Preſident of the Royal-Society. He, Dr Halley, ſays this Eloge writer, poſſeſſed all the qualifications neceſſary to pleaſe princes who were deſirous of inſtruction, great extent of knowledge, and a conſtant preſence of mind; his anſwers were ready, and at the ſame time pertinent, judicious, polite, and ſincere. When Peter the Great, Emperor of Ruſſia, came into England, he ſent for Mr Halley, and found him equal to the great character he had heard of him. He aſked him many queſtions concerning the fleet which he intended to build, the ſciences and arts which he wiſhed to introduce into his dominions, and a thouſand other ſubjects which his unbounded curioſity ſuggeſted; he was ſo well ſatisfied with Mr Halley's anſwers, and ſo pleaſed with his converſation, that he admitted him familiarly to his table, and ranked him among the number of his friends, a term which we may venture to uſe with reſpect to a prince of his character; a prince truly great, in making no diſtinctions of men but that of their merit *(gggg)*. But Mr Halley, continues this writer, poſſeſſed ſtill more of the qualifications neceſſary to obtain him the love of his equals. In the firſt place he loved them; naturally of an ardent and glowing temper; he appeared animated in their preſence with a generous warmth, which the

[*R R*] *He was buried at Lee near Greenwich.*] Over the grave, which is near the fence on the eaſt ſide of the church-yard, there ſtands a handſome tomb of Portland ſtone, erected by his two ſurviving daughters, upon the face of which, is the following plain inſcription in Latin:

Sub hoc marmore
Placide requieſcit cum uxore cariſſima
Edmundus Halleius, LLD.
Aſtronomorum ſui ſeculi facile princeps
Ut vero ſcias lector
Qualis quantuſque vir ille fuit
Scripta ejus multifaria lege
Quibus omnes fere artes & ſcientias
Illuſtravit ornavit amplificavit
Æquum eſt igitur
Ut quem cives ſui virum
Tantopere coluere
Memoriam ejus poſteritas
Grata veneretur
Natus } *eſt. A. C.* { MDCLVI.
Mortuus } *eſt. A. C.* { MDCCXLI.
Hoc Saxum optimis parentibus
Sacrarunt duæ filiæ pientiſſimæ
Anno C. MDCCXLII.

Here is alſo interred Mrs Margaret Halley
Eldeſt daughter of the above Dr Halley
Who died on the 13 *of October* 1743
In the 55*th year of her age.*

Beſides this daughter (who was never married), and ſeveral other children who died in their infancy, the Doctor had a ſon who lived to man's eſtate and afterwards, but died long before his father. His other daughter is ſtill living, being married to a ſecond huſband [Mr Price], and is much eſteemed.

[*S S*] *An oratorical account of the univerſality of his genius.*] We have already produced two ſpecimens *, which our author's univerſal genius gave his euloge writer an occaſion to exert his excellent talents that way. Thoſe ſpecimens however looked no further than to Mr Halley's univerſal ſcholarſhip, and indeed were evidently deſigned for no more than leading ſteps, made uſe of to riſe by them gradually to the full completion of this part of his character. In this view, having gone thro' the ſeveral particulars of our author's life, to that of his reviewing the Emperor's ports on the gulph of Venice as an engineer, which gave room, as we have already obſerved, to inſinuate, that under *that* cover he negotiated ſome ſecret ſtate affairs between the two Crowns. Mr Mairan cloſes this part of his plan in theſe terms. '*While we thought the eulogium of an* '*Aſtronomer, a Naturaliſt, a Scholar, and a Philoſo-* '*pher, comprehended our whole ſubject; we have been* '*inſenſibly ſurprized into the hiſtory of an excellent* '*Mariner, an illuſtrious Traveller, an able Engineer,* '*and almoſt a Stateſman.*'

[*T T*] *The boldneſs of his Philoſophical wit.*] We have already taken notice of his free manner of interpreting the Moſaic account of the Deluge in favour of his hypotheſis, which, aſcribing it to the near approach of a comet to the earth, as alſo of his extraordinary ſolution of the *Aurora Borealis*. Beſides theſe, he propoſed a method of tracing the world's age backwards to the Creation, by the repeated obſervations of many years upon the ſaltneſs of the ſea (85), which by ſome experiments of his own, he conjectures, is perpetually increaſing by the acquiſition of new ſalts extracted from the earth by the rivers, and ſo inceſſantly conveyed to the ſea. As this hypotheſis led him to a much greater age of the world than is uſually inferred from the Moſaic hiſtory, he ſuppoſes each of the ſix days of the Creation to be much longer than thoſe afterwards, and even extends every one of them to the length of a thouſand years; being of opinion, that ſuch a length is not inconſiſtent with any thing delivered by Moſes. Further. As he embraced the common opinion concerning the reality and infinitude of ſpace, he concludes the number of ſtars to be infinite upon the principal of mutual attraction, which muſt immediately unite them in one common centre, unleſs balanced every where and to infinitude (86). This opinion, 'tis well known, was long ago maintained by Lucretius, and upon account of this and ſome other bold philoſophical tenets, the Doctor's religious principles have been frequently ſuſpected, but without any juſt foundation. On the other hand, Mr Mairan, with much greater truth and candor, obſerves upon this part of our author's character [the boldneſs of his hypotheſes], that as he was not afraid to oppoſe popular opinions, conceiving and propoſing hypotheſes without the leaſt ſcruple, forming conjectures from his own obſervations and particular apprehenſion. So to this boldneſs, frequently fortunate, becauſe always directed by knowledge, we are indebted for the admirable *theory of the variations of the compaſs*, and the greater part of the other diſcoveries which have ſo much contributed to the advancement of learning and the benefit of ſociety.

[*UU*] The

(gggg) See more of this under the year 1697 in an account of that Emperor's Life, by Mr Mottley, in folio, who obſerves that the Emperor then reſided in a houſe of Sir John Evelyn's, called Say's-court at Deptford.

* In remarks [*Y*] and [*CC*].

(85) In Phil. Tranſ. No. 344.

(86) Ibid. No. 195.

the pleaſure alone of ſeeing them ſeemed to inſpire; he was open and punctual in his dealings, candid in his judgment, uniform and blameleſs in his manners, ſweet and affable, always ready to communicate, and diſintereſted. He opened a way to wealth by all that he effected for the improvement of Navigation: to the glory of which he has added that of having done nothing to enrich himſelf: he lived and died in that mediocrity ſo much extolled by Philoſophers, the free choice of which implies a great degree both of virtue and wiſdom. The only meer lucrative place he ever had, was that in the mint at Cheſter, which ſoon determined, and he never deſired another. He was generous, and his generoſity exerted itſelf even at the expence of a vanity from which the learned are no more exempted than other men, and which perhaps they more frequently betray. I am furniſhed, proceeds Mr Mairan, with an inſtance of this by a letter which accidentally came into my hands about ſix years ago, written by him to an author whom he knew only by reputation. Mr Halley, in this letter, with equal ſagacity and politeneſs points out an error in a very critical calculation which that author had fallen into, in treating on the turning point of a queſtion in Aſtronomy and Phyſics. It muſt not however be concealed, that Mr Halley never publiſhed that letter, although it would certainly have done him honour; but we muſt not too particularly reveal a ſecret, from concealing which he derives ſtill more. The reputation of others gave him no uneaſineſs, a reſtleſs jealouſy and anxious emulation were ſtrangers to his breaſt. He was equally ignorant of thoſe extravagant prejudices in favour of one nation, which are injurious to all others. The friend, countryman, and diſciple of Newton; he ſpoke of Des Cartes (*bbbb*) [*UU*] with reſpect; and ſucceſſor to Dr Wallis; he did juſtice to the merit of our

[*UU*] *The friend, countryman, and diſciple of Newton; he ſpoke of Des Cartes with reſpect.*] There are ſeveral inſtances of the truth of this remark. Among the reſt we ſhall inſert the following, as neceſſary to explain the juſt force of Mr Mairan's expreſſion. To begin with his paper *concerning the conſtruction of ſolid problems*; where making uſe of what Des Cartes had delivered upon that ſubject, he introduces it in the following words. 'Carteſius's conſtruction, which 'does very eaſily diſcover the roots of all cubic and bi'quadratic equations where the ſecond term is want'ing, may be ſuppoſed as known; yet ſince 'tis the 'main bottom, on which all that follows does de'pend, that this diſſertation may not ſeem to want a 'principal part; I'll here add the rule taken out of his 'geometry, *altering ſome few things as I think for the* '*better*.' Again purſuing the ſubject in a diſcourſe concerning *the number of roots in ſolid and biquadratic equations*, &c. having declared that his firſt view reached no farther than to perform ſomething ſerviceable to geometers of the ſecond rank, he proceeds in theſe terms: 'Coming to look nearer into the buſineſs 'ſays he, I found I was imprudently fallen in among 'ſome of the profound difficulties of geometry, and de'ſtined to handle the ſame things, that formerly em'ployed the pains of two illuſtrious men, Harriot, and 'Cartes. In which they either of them (by a like fate, 'though in a different way) committed a paralogiſm, 'perhaps the only one in all their geometrical writings '(87), as ſhall be afterwards proved.' Laſtly, in his geometrical diſſertation concerning the rainbow, ſpeaking of the cauſe and reaſon of the colours thereof, he writes thus. Theſe were things that a long while and very greatly perplexed, as well the Moderns as the Ancients, neither did they do any thing to the purpoſe therein, till the famous Monſieur Des Cartes, making uſe of the mathematical ſciences, ſhewed by ſeveral examples, that more ſtrict and cloſe methods of reaſoning might and ought to obtain, even in our management of thoſe phyſical ſpeculations. Among other things, he explained the theory of the rainbow, and having diſcovered the laws of refraction, he clearly demonſtrated, that the primary iris, &c. Mr Halley afterwards refers his reader to the 8th chapter of Cartes's book on meteors, and then remarks, that Cartes having uſed an indirect and tentative method in determining the angles of refraction, did not ſeem clearly to apprehend the eaſineſs of the problem he propoſed to himſelf; and becauſe, continues he, none that I know of ſince him has handled the ſame argument more fully; and alſo ſince, ſome have miſunderſtood what Des Cartes did, committing very great paralogiſms, I was willing to ſupply what I thought was wanting in this doctrine. Thus we ſee at the ſame time, that Dr Halley did not ſpare to do juſtice to the true merit of Des Cartes, he took care to raiſe a laſting monument to his own fame, by correcting the errors, and ſupplying the deficiences of that eminent French Philoſopher, herein treading exactly in the ſteps of his great maſter Sir Iſaac Newton. Nor was he leſs mindful to reflect back a good part of the honour derived to him in the friendſhip of that illuſtrious perſon. While Sir Iſaac was unfolding the myſteries of the mundane ſyſtem, by the help of a new geometry invented by himſelf, this diſciple extended that geometry to ſubjects altogether untouched, and perhaps unthought of by the inventor; ſeveral of theſe have been mentioned in the courſe of this memoir, to which we refer the reader; but as in applying the method of fluxions, Dr Halley has expreſſed himſelf concerning their nature, in terms which may not ſeem altogether agreeable to his great maſter's mind, it may be expected that ſome notice ſhould be taken of it in this place. It muſt indeed be acknowledged, that our author does not ſcruple to call moments by the name of indiviſibles (88), yet ſignifying at the ſame time that they are ſuch indiviſibles as have not any determinate magnitude. The repreſentation 'tis true ſeems harſh, at leaſt *prima facie*, and the term indiviſible, as well as the doctrine, is well known to be cautiouſly avoided by Sir Iſaac, when he teaches the nature of his fluxions. However, it cannot be denied, that the ſame harſh idea is conveyed almoſt unavoidably by his own words, while he calls his moments the evaneſcent decrements of quantities continually decreaſing, at which ſtate thoſe quantities when infinitely diminiſhed do arrive, being then, or on ſuch arrival, accurately in the ratio of their generating velocities, and are repreſented, as not differing really ſo much as modally from the limits at which thoſe velocities are taken (89). Mr Maclaurin alſo underſtands moments in reſpect to time, not to be parts, but terminations and limits of time (90), and ſurely a limit is ſtrictly indiviſible. In a ſentiment not much unlike this of our author, Mr Machin obſerves that $\dot{z}$ [the firſt moment] when conſidered as the meaſure of z, is indiviſible, though in reſpect of $\ddot{z}$ [the ſecond moment] it be taken as the part, according to which the meaſure was made, and therefore be diviſible (91). In the mean time it is agreed, that theſe two properties expreſſed by the Doctor are thoſe characteriſtics which require a moſt careful attention in uſing the method of fluxions, and no body diſputes, that he has conſtantly and duly obſerved the caution, ſo that his concluſions always came out perfectly right. Thus was he an honour to his maſter's geometry; and whoever looks into the third book of the *Principia*, will preſently be convinced, that without Dr Halley's aſſiſtance, the ſyſtem of the world would have been far ſhort of that perfection, wherein it now appears. Almoſt every page preſents ſome inſtance or another of this truth. But there is one particular which the determined brevity of the illuſtrious author in that work, would not ſuffer him to ſhew in it's full proportion of merit, and which yet ſhines conſpicuouſly above the other various productions of his diſciple, and therefore muſt not be omitted here. I mean his *Synopſis of the Doctrine of Comets*. Sir Iſaac having ſhewn a method of delineating their orbits geometrically, on a ſuppoſition that they move about

(*bbbb*) Beſides the ſeveral inſtances of this, mentioned below, there is a paper communicated to Mr Wotton by our author, wherein he declares, that as to Dioptrics, though ſome of the Antients mention refraction as a natural effect of tranſparent media, yet Des Cartes was the firſt who in this age diſcovered the laws of refraction, and brought dioptrics to a ſcience. Wotton's Reflections upon antient and modern Learning, chap. xxiv. p. 601. 3d edit. 1705. 8vo.

(87) This remark will appear the more candid with regard to the latter, as Mr Fermat has ſhewn ſeveral miſtakes which Des Cartes fell into for want of underſtanding fully, as he ſays, the true nature of Geometry.

(88) See his Demonſtration of the Analogy of the Logarithmic Tangents, &c. and his General Propoſition, ſhewing the dimenſions of all curves of the cycloidal kind, where he not only calls, but conſiders them as indiviſibles, and declares that his demonſtration would not hold without it.

(89) See Principia Math. &c. lemma ii. and the general ſcholium.

(90) See his Treatiſe of Fluxions, Vol. I. p. 245.

(91) Phil. Tranſ. No. 447.

our antient Geometricians [*WW*]. To conclude, theſe uncommon and valuable qualifications were tempered in Mr Halley with a vein of gaiety and good humour, which neither his abſtracted ſpeculations, the infirmities of old age, nor the palſey itſelf, which ſeized him ſome years before his death, could impair: and this happy diſpoſition, the gift of nature, was the more perfect, as it was ſtill attendant upon that peace of mind, which is the nobler endowment of virtue.' Since his death, his long expected tables of the ſun and planets were publiſhed in 1752, in 4to. with this title, *Aſtronomical Tables, with Precepts both in Engliſh and Latin for computing the places of the Sun, Moon, Planets, and Comets* [*XX*].

about the ſun in a parabolic orb, and deſcribing areas taken at the center of the ſun, proportional to the times as he proved in the comet of 1680 (92). Dr Halley following the ſteps (they are his own words) of ſo great a man, attempted to bring the ſame to arithmetical calculation, and ſucceeded in the attempt. To effect this, having firſt collected all the obſervations he could meet with in all hiſtory, he thence formed a table exhibiting the aſtronomical elements of the motions in a parabolic orb of all the comets, that had then been duly obſerved. This table contains the nodes, parhelia diſtances, and courſe, of twenty-four comets, the firſt of which appeared in 1337, and the laſt in 1698 (93). In conſtructing this table, he ſpared no pains that it might come forth perfect, as a thing conſecrated to poſterity, and to laſt as long as aſtronomy itſelf, this he ſcruples not to declare; and however fond ſuch an opinion may ſeem, it has been in a large meaſure juſtified by the univerſal eſteem, which this great work (for ſo it may well be called, though lying in a very ſmall compaſs) (94) has been ſince received by the beſt aſtronomers. He declared it to be the labour of many years; and the preciſe number hath been lately determined to be eighteen, by a French author (95), who apparently reckons the whole interval between the firſt edition of the *Principia Mathematica, &c.* in 1687, to 1705, when the *Synopſis, &c.* was firſt publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 297, where he declares that opportunity of publiſhing it was taken, leaſt happening to die, the papers might be loſt, which every man, continues he, is not capable to retrieve, becauſe of the great difficulty of the calculation. The principal uſe of the table, and that which induced our author to conſtruct it is, that whenever a new comet ſhould appear, it might be known by comparing the elements, whether it be any of thoſe which have appeared before, and if ſo, we might be able to determine it's period, and the axis of it's orbit, and to predict it's return. Upon theſe principles he ventures to foretel, that the comet of 1531, was the ſame with that of 1682, and obſerving a period of 75 ½ years may be expected to return in 1757, which, if it ſhould happen, as he obſerves, will greatly confirm the truth of his table. He thinks alſo that the famous comet of 1680, was the ſame that appeared in the time of Julius Cæſar performing it's period in 575 years (96). It will no doubt ſeem a little paradoxical to ſuch as are not well acquainted with geometry, to talk of the periodical revolutions or returns of a body which is ſuppoſed to move in a parabola. For the ſake of thoſe perſons, it will not be amiſs to obſerve, that notwithſtanding our author, after his maſter, reduced the cometical orbits to a ſimple parabola, having the ſun in it's focus in common with the ellipſes deſcribed by the ordinary planets, which greatly facilitates the cometic calculus, and was agreeable to aſtronomical obſervations, yet the path or line of a comet's motion was not ſo preciſely determined by thoſe obſervations, but that it might be elliptical; however as theſe bodies do not make returns upon that ſuppoſition till after long periods of time, the ellipſes deſcribed by them muſt be very eccentrical; in which caſe, the velocity being very nearly equal to that in a parabola (97), the difference will be eaſily compenſated in determining the ſituation of the orbit. Indeed it ſeems probable that comets rather move in ſuch eccentric ellipſes for many reaſons, and particularly this, that though they appear frequently enough, yet none of them are found to move with an hyperbolic motion, or a motion ſwifter than what a comet might acquire by it's gravity toward the ſun. Upon that principle therefore, when the *Synopſis* came out again in the ſecond edition of the *Miſcellanea Curioſa, &c.* in 1727, the Doctor ſignified, that he had made ſome progreſs in calculating the elliptical orbits of the two comets abovementioned; declaring at the ſame time his reſolution to compleat it. Accordingly we find this ineſtimable work with that addition, publiſhed with his Lunar tables, under the following title. *Synopſis Aſtronomiæ Cometicæ, qua cometarum hactenus debite obſervatorum motus in orbe parabolico debite repræſentantur. Eorumque qui annis 1680 & 1682 (98), fulſére poſt certas periodos redeuntium motus in orbibus ellipticis accurato calculo ſubjiciuntur.* By ſuch egregious productions as theſe, did Dr Halley tranſmit his own fame, in company with that of Sir Iſaac Newton; nor did his friendſhip degenerate into formal heartleſs expreſſions after Sir Iſaac's deceaſe. On the contrary, he thought himſelf then obliged by that tie to ſhew himſelf the guardian of his friend's fame, and in that character we find him ſeconding Sir Iſaac's defence of his Chronology, againſt ſome farther objections made by P. Souciet in 1727. This defence is inſerted in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 397. The piece is ſhort, but he has unanſwerably proved the point he undertook, and no humane mind can read it without being ſenſibly touched with that warmth of a moſt generous friendſhip, which glows ardently throughout the whole. To conclude, this friend of Sir Iſaac Newton, had the happineſs of flouriſhing under ſix crowned heads (99), and received favours from each of them, ſuch as were the pure effects of his ſingular merit; which merit being as well known abroad as it is at home, what wonder is it that foreigners in viewing the tombs in Weſtminſter-Abbey, after they have ſtood a while admiring Sir Iſaac's monument, are apt ſometimes to aſk, where is that of his friend Dr Halley.

[*WW*] *He did juſtice to the merit of our ancient Geometricians.*] This writer had before taken notice, that 'the geometry of the Ancients, the ſtrictneſs of their demonſtrations, and the elegance of their conſtructions, were always held by our author in great eſtimation; and that with this turn of mind he tranſlated Apollonius's Conics, and the two books of Serenus;' and to theſe may be added his copy of Menelaus's Sphærics, and the correct edition of Ptolemy's catalogue of the fixed ſtars mentioned in theſe remarks But the inſtance of his doing juſtice to the merit of our ancient geometricians, produced by Mr Mairan in this place, ſeems a more direct proof of what he obſerves a little before, concerning Dr Halley's freedom from thoſe extravagant prejudices in favour of one nation, which are injurious to all others. Here follows the inſtance: 'In the introduction to an algebraical memoir which he [Halley] read to the Royal Society, he makes no difficulty to acknowledge, that Harriot, Oughtred, and many others, as well Engliſh as foreigners, had taken from Vieta, all that was valuable in whatever they had publiſhed on that ſubject.' It is worth obſerving alſo, that our author's reſpect is tempered with the ſame impartiality to Vieta, as we have ſhewn in the laſt remark it was to Des Cartes, and that out of this reſpect he alſo raiſed a monument to his own fame, making the tedioufneſs (which he remarks) of Vietas's method for reſolving roots of equations, a foil to ſet off the elegance of his own, as delivered in the memoir here alluded to by Mr Mairan, being his *rational and irrational formula for extracting ſuch roots without any previous reduction*. It was firſt publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 210, in the year 1694, and afterwards in an appendix to the firſt edition of Sir Iſaac Newton's *Arithmetica Univerſalis*, in 1707, 8vo, as proper to ſupply that part of the treatiſe, which was left untouched by the author (100).

[*XX*] *Tables of the ſun, moon, &c.*] This work was printed in Latin by our author in 1739, with the following title prefixed, *Edmundi Halleii Aſtronomi dum viveret Regii Tabulæ Aſtronomicæ. Accedunt de uſu tabularum præcepta.* But after his death the precepts here mentioned, not being found, were added by another hand, as were alſo a table of the mean conjunctions of the ſun and moon (101); another of refractions:

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(92) In the *Principia*, toward the end of the third book.

(93) To this he has ſubjoined another table for computing the motion of comets in general in a parabolic orb, of which he gives the conſtruction and alſo the uſe in two examples.

(94) It is contained in a ſingle 8vo. page.

(95) Mr Monier, in his *Theorie des Comettes*, Paris, 1743. 8vo. N. B. This author, as well as Mr Coſtard in his *Riſe and Progreſs of Aſtronomy*, 1746, 8vo, is miſtaken in ſaying that Dr Halley's *Synopſis*, &c. was inſerted in *Scarborough's Euclid*, printed at Oxford, in 1705. fol. The firſt ſpecimens of it given to the public, appeared in Dr Gregory's Aſtronomy, book v. prop. 35. and it's ſcholium, publiſhed at Oxford, in 1702. fol. and theſe ſhew it was not then perfected.

(96) Mr Machin having obſerved the path of the comet in 1737, concluded it from our author's elements in this table to be the fifth comet inſerted there, which appeared in 1556. Phil. Tranſ. No. 446.

(97) Viz. In the ſubduplicate ratio of the diſtance of the aphelium in the ellipſis to it's whole axis; that being the proportion of the *latus rectum* of the ellipſis, to that of a parabola which has the ſame diſtance in it's perihelium.

(98) The laſt mentioned gentleman, Aſtronomical Profeſſor of Greſham-college, having diſcovered a very practicable rule for finding the true anamoly from the mean in the elliptic orbits of comets, illuſtrates it by the examples of theſe two. Phil. Tranſ. No. 447.

(99) Viz. Charles II. James II. William III. Queen Anne, George I. and George II.

(100) See Mr Whiſton's account of this matter in the *Arithmetica Univerſalis*, publiſhed by him, together with the appendix, by the particular conſent, as he declares, of both the authors.

(101) Our author's tables of the eclipſes which had happened in the 223 lunations, from 1701 to 1718, with the corrections which he had made for that purpoſe, and called the Plinian Period, are omitted, both becauſe that period is leſs accurate, and beſides after a few periods becomes of little uſe.

tions; and a third of the longitude and latitude of the moſt remarkable places for ancient eclipſes and modern obſervations; the whole being reviſed by Dr Bradley, the preſent Aſtronomer Royal. In the preface it is obſerved, that our author made uſe of Mr Flamſtead's obſervations, which, though taken with great care, and faithfully entered in his book, were too few of the ſun to determine the ſolar numbers with ſufficient exactneſs, of which Dr Halley frequently complained; hence he could not determine either the ſpecies or poſition of the earth's orbit, much leſs could he diſcover any equations to the motion of the aphelia and the other ſmall equations, by which the orbit is affected, ſince theſe are not to be found out, nor their quantities determined, but by a long ſeries of the niceſt obſervations. It is likewiſe further obſerved, that neither the aberration of the light of the fixed ſtars, nor the equations to the poſition of the equinoctial points, nor that of the nutation of the earth's axis were at that time known, which equations, though ſmall, are ſufficient to produce a ſenſible appearance of error in good obſervations. That the great candour of Dr Halley is manifeſt in this, that he never intended to offer his lunar tables to the public as perfect, rather chooſing to omit ſome equations, for determining which he had not proper obſervations; and at the ſame time reſolving to publiſh what errors he ſhould find in them from his own obſervations. As to the precepts, they are very ſhort, but illuſtrated with a great number of examples for the uſe of common mariners. The method is thus: Firſt, obſerve nicely the time of an occultation, or cloſe application of a fixed ſtar to the moon, then find in the tables a correſpondent obſervation, i e. when there is the ſame mean anamoly and diſtance of the moon from the ſun, in the ſame year of her period of eighteen years and eleven days, and about the ſame time of the year; this done, the difference of the time between the two obſervations, reckoning two minutes of time to a degree, gives the diſtance of the ſhip's meridian from that of London, for which the tables are calculated. The rule ſeems to be eaſy enough for general uſe, but it has not hitherto been found, that obſervations can ordinarily be made by ſailors to the required degree of exactneſs. Our author indeed hoped, or rather wiſhed, the ſame would be brought to perfection by Mr Hadley's reflecting quadrant (102), and ſeveral obſervations were made in 1732, on board the Chatham Yatcht, by Dr Bradley and Mr Hadley, off Graveſend, and alſo near Sheerneſs, for the trial of it. But the truth is, all farther proſecution of this method for finding the longitude at ſea, was dropped ſoon after thoſe trials, being ſuperſeded by Mr Harriſon's clock, which was approved by Dr Halley himſelf, as well as others, the beſt ſkilled in theſe matters; and which as well from the curious contrivance, as alſo from a ſucceſsful trial thereof croſs the Bay of Biſcay, is univerſally allowed to promiſe much the eaſieſt and moſt accurate way of attaining this grand Quæſitum.

P

(102) Mentioned in remark [QQ].

HAMMOND [Henry], one of the moſt learned, pious, and rational, Engliſh Divines in the laſt century, was born at Chertſey in Surrey Auguſt 18 (a), 1605. He was the youngeſt ſon of Dr John Hammond, Phyſician to Henry Prince of Wales, who was his godfather, and gave him his own name (b); and, by the mother's ſide, was deſcended from Dr Alexander Nowell, Dean of St Paul's. Being yet in his long coats, which formerly were worn beyond the years of infancy, he was ſent to Eaton-ſchool; where, thro' the more than paternal care and induſtry of his father (who was an exact critic in the learned languages, eſpecially the Greek), he became a great proficient in Latin and Greek. His ſingular improvement and ſkill in the latter, was owing more particularly to the friendſhip and converſation of Mr Thomas Allen, Fellow of Eaton-college (c). He is alſo ſaid to have attained at ſchool a competent knowledge of the Hebrew tongue [*A*]. And was very remarkable for ſweetneſs of behaviour and uncommon piety; never engaging upon any occaſion into fights or quarrels, and often retiring into places of privacy to ſay his prayers. At the age of thirteen, anno 1618, being ripe for the univerſity, he was ſent to Magdalen-college in Oxford; of which, on July 30, 1622, he was choſen Demie (*d*), and the 11th of December following took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*e*). June 30, 1625, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*f*), and on the 26th of July the ſame year was elected Fellow of his college (*g*); having been appointed before reader of the Natural Philoſophy lecture there. Some time after taking his degree, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity [*B*]; and in 1629, being arrived to the age of twenty-four, entered into Holy Orders, as the ſtatutes of the college required. During his reſidence in the univerſity, he generally ſpent thirteen hours a day in his ſtudies, which carried him not only through the whole courſe of Philoſophy, but almoſt through all the claſſick authors; upon the more conſiderable of which he wrote notes and critical emendations, and drew up indexes for his private uſe at the beginning and end of each book (*b*). On the 28th of January, 1633-4, he proceeded Bachelor in Divinity (*i*): and ſome time before [*C*], Dr Frewen, then Preſident of his college, and one of his Majeſty's Chaplains, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, giving him the honour to ſupply one of his turns at Court; Robert Sydney Earl of Leiceſter, who happened to be one of his auditors, was ſo deeply affected with the ſermon, and thence took ſo juſt a meaſure of the preacher's merit, that

(*a*) Life of Dr Hammond, by John Fell, D. D. Lond. 1662. p. 1. But A. Wood places his birth-day on the 26th, Athenæ, edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 245.

(*b*) Fell, ibid. p. 2. and Life of Dr Hammond, prefixed to his Practical Catechiſm, edit. 1715. 8vo.

(*c*) The ſame that aſſiſted Sir Henry Saville in his fine edition of St Chryſoſtome. Fell, p. 4.

(*d*) Fell, p. 3, 4, 5, 6. and Wood Athen. ut ſupra.

(*e*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 222.

(*f*) Ibid. col. 231.

(*g*) Idem Ath. Vol. II. col. 245.

(*b*) Fell, p. 6, 7, 8.

(*i*) Wood Faſti, ut ſupra, col. 257.

[*A*] *He is alſo ſaid to have attained at ſchool a competent knowledge of the Hebrew tongue.*] And to have even become a kind of tutor to ſeveral perſons in that language. For (as Dr Fell obſerves) 'It being then 'rarely heard of even out of grammar-ſchools, he 'grew the tutor of thoſe who began to write themſelves men, but thought it no ſhame to learn of one 'whoſe knowledge ſeemed rather infuſed than acquired; or in whom the learned languages might be 'thought to be the mother-tongue (1).'

[*B*] *He applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity.*] Dr Fell informs us, that 'Having taken his degree [of 'Maſter of Arts] he preſently bought *a Syſtem of Divinity*, with deſign to apply himſelf ſtraightway to that 'ſtudy; but, upon ſecond thoughts, he returned for a 'time to human learning: and, afterwards, when he 'reſumed his purpoſe for theology, took a quite different courſe of reading from the other too much uſual, '*beginning that ſcience at the upper end*, as conceiving 'it moſt reaſonable to ſearch for primitive truth in the 'primitive writers [He ſhould have added, *eſpecially the Holy Scriptures*] and not to ſuffer his underſtanding to be prepoſſeſt by the *contrived and intereſſed 'ſchemes of modern, and withal obnoxious authors* '(2).'

[*C*] *And ſome time before.*] Dr Fell ſays, that 'not long after' his entring into holy orders, he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity. And, as he places that fact before his preaching at Court, one would be apt thence to conclude, that he took that degree in the beginning of the year 1633. But by comparing Dr Fell's relation (3) with A. Wood's Faſti (4), it is evident, that Mr Hammond did not take his Bachelor of Divinity's degree till January 28, 1633-4; ſome months after he had been inducted into his living.

[1] Fell, p. 3, 4.

[2] Id. p. 7.

[3] P. 8.

[4] Col. 257.

[*D*] *Not*

that he immediately offered him the rectory of Penſhurſt in Kent, then void, and in his gift. Our author accepting of it, was inducted Auguſt 22, 1633. Thereupon he quitted the college, and went and reſided upon his cure, where he performed every branch of the miniſterial function in the moſt diligent and exemplary manner: not only by conſtant preaching [*D*], but alſo in daily reading the public prayers [*E*], adminiſtring the Sacraments [*F*], relieving the poor, keeping hoſpitality [*G*], reconciling differences amongſt neighbours, viſiting the ſick, catechiſing the youth [*H*], &c. (*k*). March 7, 1638-9, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (*l*): and in 1640 was choſen one of the members of the Convocation, called with the ſhort Parliament that began April 13 that year. Alſo, by the unſought-for favour of Dr Brian Duppa, then Biſhop of Chicheſter and afterwards of Wincheſter, he was made in 1643 Archdeacon of Chicheſter: and the ſame year named one of the Aſſembly of Divines, but never ſat amongſt them (*m*). In the beginning of the national troubles, he continued undiſturbed at his living (except the being now and then ſummoned before the committee of the country) 'till the middle of July 1643. But joining then in the fruitleſs attempt made at Tunbridge in favour of the King, he was forced to retire in diſguiſe to his old tutor Dr Buckner, to whom he came about the 25th of July, early in the morning. In this retirement he continued quietly about three weeks, 'till an alarm was brought, that ſtrict enquiry was made after Dr Hammond, and a hundred pounds reward promiſed to the perſon that ſhould produce him. Thereupon he found it neceſſary to remove; and, by the perſwaſion of Dr Oliver, newly choſen Preſident of Magdalen-college, who had abſconded with him, they jointly withdrew to Oxford [*I*]. Having procured an apartment in his old college, he ſought that peace in his retirement and ſtudy which was no where elſe to be found; taking no other diverſion than what the giving encouragement and inſtruction to ingenious young ſtudents afforded him, and the ſatisfaction which he received from the converſation of learned men (*n*). In the

(*k*) Fell, p. 9, 10, 11.

(*l*) Wood, Faſti, ut ſupra, col. 276.

(*m*) Fell, p. 23.

(*n*) Fell, p. 26—33.

[*D*] *Not only by conſtant preaching.*] His preaching was not *at the ordinary rate of the times*, an unpremeditated, undigeſted effuſion of ſhallow and crude conceptions; but a rational and juſt diſcourſe. His method was, after every ſermon to reſolve upon the enſuing ſubject; and that being done, to purſue the courſe of ſtudy which he was then in hand with, reſerving the cloſe of the week for the proviſion of the next Lord's-day Whereby not only a conſtant progreſs was made in knowledge, but materials unawares gained for the immediate future work (5).

(5) Fell, p. 11, 12.

[*E*] *But alſo in daily reading the public prayers.*] Namely in his own church: and that, not only upon ſundays, and feſtivals and their eves, as alſo on wedneſdays and fridays, according to the rubrick; but every day in the week, and twice on ſaturdays and holy-day eves. And at thoſe devotions he took order, that his family ſhould give diligent attendance (6).——Even when deprived of his living, he did not intermit ſo neceſſary a duty, as that of prayer. For, in the ten laſt years of his life, his certain perpetual returns of prayer exceeded David's ſeven times a day. As ſoon as he was ready, which was uſually early, he prayed in his chamber with his ſervant, in a peculiar form compoſed for that purpoſe. After this he retired to his own more ſecret devotions in his cloſet. Betwixt ten and eleven in the morning he had a ſolemn interceſſion in reference to the national calamities: to this, after a little diſtance, ſucceeded the morning office of the Church, which he particularly deſired to perform in his own perſon, and would by no means accept the eaſe of having it read by any other. In the afternoon he had another hour of private prayer, which on ſundays he enlarged, and ſo religiouſly obſerved, that if any neceſſary buſineſs or charity had diverted him at the uſual time, he ſpent the ſupper-time therein. About five of the clock, the ſolemn private prayers for the nation, and the evening ſervice of the Church returned. At bed time his private prayers cloſed the day: and after all even the night was not without its office, the 51ſt Pſalm being his midnight entertainment (7).

(6) Ibid. p. 12, 13.

(7) Ibid. p. 115—117.

[*F*] *Adminiſtring the Sacraments.*] The adminiſtration of the holy communion in particular, he reduced to an imitation, though a diſtant one, of primitive frequency, to once a month; and therewith its ancient inſeparable attendant, the Offertory: wherein his inſtruction and example ſo far prevailed, that there was thenceforth little need of ever making any poor-rate in his pariſh. Nay 'tis reported, that in a ſhort time a ſtock was raiſed to be always ready for putting out children apprentices. And, after that, there yet remained a ſurplus, for the aſſiſtance of the neighbouring pariſhes (8).

(8) Ibid. p. 13, 14.

[*G*] *Relieving the poor, keeping hoſpitality.*] For the relief of the poor, he conſtantly ſet apart a weekly allowance of money, over and above the tenth part of all he received, and the daily alms given at his door. To which muſt be added, his ſelling of corn to his poor neighbours under the market-price; which though, as he ſaid, he had reaſon to do, in that it ſaved him the charge of carriage, yet was it no ſmall benefit to poor labourers, who, beſides the abatement of price, and forbearance of payment ſometimes, ſaved thereby a day's work.——As he was thus liberal to the neceſſitous, ſo was he no leſs hoſpitable to thoſe of better quality; eſpecially on Sundays, which ſeldom paſſed without ſome of his neighbours at his table; he well knowing how much the application at the table inforced the doctrines of the pulpit, and how neceſſary the endearing of his perſon was to the recommending his inſtructions.——In every inſtance he was kind and obliging to his pariſhioners; not only in compounding with them for their tithes, but alſo in receding even ſometimes from his right. For inſtance; having ſet the tithe of a large meadow, and upon agreement received part of the money at the beginning of the year; it happening that the crop was afterwards ſpoiled by a flood, when the tenant came to make the laſt payment, he not only refuſed it, but returned the former ſum, ſaying to the poor man, *God forbid I ſhould take the tenth where you have not the nine parts.* By theſe and the like means he came to be univerſally beloved in his pariſh: ſo that when he was driven away, and his books plundered, one of his neighbours bought them in his behalf, and preſerved them for him till the end of the war (9).

(9) Fell, p. 14—19.

[*H*] *Catechiſing the youth.*] His cuſtom was, during the warmer ſeaſon of the year, to ſpend an hour before evening prayer in catechiſing; at which the parents, and older ſort of people uſed to be preſent, and from whence (as he was wont to ſay) they reaped more benefit than from his ſermons.——And that no imaginable aſſiſtance might be wanting, he provided an able ſchool-maſter in the pariſh, whom he continued during the whole time of his abode there (10).

(10) Id. p. 20—22.

[*I*] *They jointly withdrew to Oxford.*] Dr Hammond was forced to withdraw, chiefly through the malice of one who wanted to get into his good living. He made much difficulty to conſent to go to Oxford, thinking that too public a place; and, what he more conſidered, too far from his cure, whither he had hopes, (when the preſent fury was allayed) to return again; and, for that purpoſe, had wrote to ſuch friends of his as were in power, to uſe their intereſt for procuring his ſafety. But his letters meeting with a cold reception, and the company of his friend on one hand, and the appearance of deſerting him on the other, charming him to it, he was at laſt perſuaded: ſo encompaſſing Hamſhire, they came with ſome difficulty to Oxford (11).

(11) Fell, p. 26—32.

[*K*] *And*

the number of theſe was Dr Chriſtopher Potter, Provoſt of Queen's college, with whom he had a particular intimacy, and who prevailed upon him to publiſh his Practical Catechiſm in 1644 [*K*]. The ſame year, and the following, he put out ſeveral uſeful pieces adapted to the times [*L*]. In December 1644, he attended, as chaplain, the Duke of Richmond, and Earl of Southampton, who were ſent to London by King Charles the Firſt, with terms of peace and accommodation to the Parliament (*o*). And when a treaty was appointed at Uxbridge, he appeared there as one of the Divines on the King's ſide; in which ſtation, he not only laboured to undeceive thoſe ſeduced perſons whom he had opportunity to converſe with: but alſo managed, greatly to his honour, a diſpute with Richard Vines [*M*], one of the Preſbyterian miniſters ſent by the Parliament (*p*). A few days after the breaking of this treaty, a Canonry of Chriſt-church in Oxford becoming void by the death of Dr William Strode, King Charles beſtowed it, about March 15, 1644-5, on Dr Hammond (*q*); and the univerſity choſe him alſo their public Orator [*N*] His Majeſty coming to reſide in that city, appointed him moreover one of his chaplains in ordinary. But theſe new employments did not divert him from his beloved ſtudies, nor hinder him from publiſhing ſeveral books, adapted chiefly to the increaſing miſchiefs of the times (*r*) [*O*]. His attendance as chaplain was ſuperſeded by the ſurrender of Oxford, and the King's captivity in the Scots camp, and at Holdenby: but, when his Majeſty came into the army's power, he was permitted to attend him again, in his ſeveral confinements

(*o*) See the Memorable Occurrences, at the end of Mercurius Ruſticus.

(*p*) Fell, p. 37, 38, 39.

(*q*) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 450.

(*r*) Fell, p. 44, 45.

[*K*] *And who prevailed upon him to publiſh his Practical Catechiſm.*] It was publiſhed at their joint charge, (as the reader may ſee in Dr Hammond's life) and without the author's name; at Oxford 1644, in 4to, and in 1645, 12mo. The bookſeller printed a new impreſſion of it in 1646, 4to. without the author's knowledge, to all appearance. For, before publication, the Doctor ſent to him additions and changes, which he printed under the title of, 'Large Additions 'to the Practicall Catechiſme, written by Henry 'Hammond, D. D. Containing theſe heads, Of 'Juſt Dealing; Of the Creed; The Sacraments; The 'Commandments; St Baſil's Prayer, &c. Together 'with the Author's Preface, and many other inſer'tions by way of Appendix:' which were printed in 4to, as part of the IVth, and the Vth, and VIth, books of that work. This is a very neat edition.—— Though it was one of the moſt valuable and excellent books publiſhed at that time, yet becauſe it did not ſuit the nonſenſe then prevailing, great objections were raiſed againſt it by fifty-two miniſters within the province of London; and eſpecially by Fr. Cheynell, the ſame infamous perſon that ſlandered, in the meaneſt manner, the memory of the moſt learned Mr Chillingworth (12). Dr Hammond therefore was obliged to vindicate his Catechiſm in the following pieces. 1. 'A view of ſome Exceptions to the Practicall Cate'chiſme: from the cenſures affixt on them by the Mi'niſters of London, in a book entituled, *A Teſtimony 'to the Truth of Jeſus Chriſt*, &c.' 2. 'A copy of 'ſome Papers paſt at Oxford, betwixt the Author of 'the Practicall Catechiſme, and Mr Cheynell.' Lond. 1646, 4to. 3. 'Vindication of three paſſages in the 'practical Catechiſm.' Lond. 1648, 4to.——Notwithſtanding all diſcouragements and oppoſition, that good book met with ſo kind a reception, that the 7th edition came out in 1662: and the 15th edition was publiſhed in 1715. The 2d, 3d, and 4th books are an explanation of our Saviour's ſermon *on* the mount.

(12) See the article CHILLINGWORTH [WILLIAM].

[*L*] *The ſame year, and the following, he put out ſeveral uſeful pieces adapted to the times.*] I. 'Of reſiſting 'the Lawfull Magiſtrate under colour of Religion: 'and appendant to it, of the word Κρίμα rendered 'Damnation, Rom. 13. Alſo, of the Zelots among 'the Jewes; Of taking up the croſſe; A vindication 'of Chriſt's reprehending St Peter, from the excep'tions of Mr Marſhall.' Oxford, 1644, 4to. II. 'Of Conſcience, Scandall, Will-worſhip, and Super'ſtition.' Oxford, 1645, 4to. III. 'Conſidera'tions of preſent uſe concerning the Danger reſulting 'from the Change of our Church-government.' IV. 'A view of the new Directory, and a Vindication of 'the ancient Liturgy of the Church of England; in 'anſwer to the Reaſons pretended in the Ordinance 'and Preface, for the aboliſhing the one, and eſtabliſh'ing the other.' Oxford.

[*M*] *But alſo managed, greatly to his honour, a diſpute with Richard Vines.*] At this treaty, Dr Steward and Mr Henderſon were at firſt only admitted to diſpute; but at the ſecond meeting the other Divines were called in: which was a ſurpriſe, and deſigned for ſuch, to thoſe of the King's part, who came as chaplains and private attendants on the Lords; but was before deſigned and prepared by thoſe of the Preſbyterian way. And in this conflict it was the lot of Dr Hammond to have Mr Vines for his antagoniſt; who, inſtead of offering a ſcholaſtick diſputation, read from a paper a long Divinity lecture, in which were interwoven ſeveral little cavils and exceptions deſigned for arguments. Dr Hammond perceiving this, drew out his pen and ink, and as the other was reading, took notes of what was ſaid, and then immediately anſwered the ſeveral ſuggeſtions in order, being about forty. Which he did with that readineſs and ſufficiency, as at once gave teſtimony to his ability, and to the evidence of the truth he aſſerted. However, an impudent falſity was afterwards raiſed upon the Doctor, namely, That Mr Vines utterly ſilenced him; inſomuch that he was fain to uſe this unheard-of ſtratagem to avoid his adverſary's demonſtration, viz. to ſwear *by God and the holy Angels*, that though at preſent a ſolution did not occur to him, he could anſwer it. But the Doctor being informed of this ſlander, wrote a letter in his own vindication, Jan. 22. 1655, wherein he has theſe words; 'I am both ſure that I 'never called God and his holy Angels to witneſs any 'thing in my life, nor ever ſwore one voluntary oath 'that I know of (and ſure there was then none impoſed 'on me) and that I was not, at that meeting, con'ſcious to myſelf, of wanting ability to expreſs my 'thoughts, or preſſed with any conſiderable difficulty, 'or forced by any conſideration to wave the anſwer of 'any thing objected (13).'

(13) Fell, p. 38—43.

[*N*] *And the univerſity choſe him their public Orator.*] In his predeceſſor's time, viz. in 1626, that Canonry was annexed to the office of public Orator (14); which is the reaſon why Mr Wood ſays (15), that 'By virtue of this Canonry he became Orator of 'the univerſity.' But it has been ſeparated again ſince from that office.

(14) Wood Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 47.

(15) Athenæ, ut ſupra.

[*O*] *Nor hinder him from publiſhing ſeveral books, adapted chiefly to the increaſing miſchiefs of the times.*] Namely, V. 'Of Sinnes of Weakneſſe, Wilfulneſſe, 'And appendant to it, A paraphraſticall Explication 'of two difficult Texts, Heb. vi. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, '7, 8. and Heb. x. 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.' Oxford, 1646. 4to. VI. 'Of a late or a death-bed Repent'ance.' Oxford, 1646. 4to. VII. 'Of Idolatry.' Oxford, 1646. 4to. VIII. 'A View of ſome Excep'tions which have beene made by a Romaniſt, to the 'Lord Viſcount Falkland's Diſcourſe of the Infallibi'litie of the Church of Rome. Together with the 'Diſcourſe itſelfe of Infallibilitie prefixt to it.' 1646. 4to. IX. 'Of the Power of the Keyes: or, of binding 'and looſing.' Lond. 1647. 4to. X. 'Of fraternal 'Admonition and Correption.' Lond. 1647. 4to. XI. 'The Chriſtian's Obligation to Peace and Charity. 'Delivered in an Advent-Sermon at Cariſbrooke-caſtle, 'an. 1647. And now publiſhed with IX. Sermons 'more.' Lond. 1649. 4to. They are dedicated to the King; who had been 'pleaſed to call, for about 'twelve weeks' before, for the firſt ſermon; as the learned author ſays in his dedication, which is dated Sept. 16, 1648.

confinements and removes of Woburn, Caveſham, Hampton-court, and the Iſle of Wight; at which laſt place he continued 'till Chriſtmas 1647, the time that all his Majeſty's ſervants were put away from him (*s*). Deprived of this his deſired employment, he returned again to Oxford; where being choſen Sub-dean of Chriſt-Church (an office to which belongs much of the ſcholaſtic government of that college), he undertook the entire management of all affairs; and diſcharged it with great abilities and admirable diligence, 'till March 30, 1648, when he was forcibly turned out by the parliamentary viſitors (*t*) [*P*]. Inſtead of being commanded immediately to quit Oxford, as others were, a Committee of Parliament voted him and Dr Sheldon to be priſoners in that place, where they continued in reſtraint for about ten weeks. During this confinement, he began his excellent Paraphraſe and Annotations on the New Teſtament [*Q*]. Some intention there was of removing him and his fellow-priſoner to Wallingford-caſtle [*R*]. But, by the interpoſition of his brother-in-law Sir John Temple, he had leave to be removed to Clapham in Bedfordſhire, the houſe in which his friend Sir Philip Warwick lived. The tryal of King Charles drawing on, and our author being in no other capacity to interpoſe than by writing, drew up an addreſs to the General and Council of Officers, and tranſmitted it to them [*S*]. His grief for the death of his royal maſter was extreme; but, after having indulged it a while, he reſumed his ſtudies, and publiſhed ſeveral pieces (*u*) [*T*]. And the rigour of his reſtraint being taken off in the beginning of the year 1649, he removed to Weſtwood in Worceſterſhire, the ſeat of the loyal Sir John Packington, from whom he

(*s*) Fell, p. 47, 48.

(*t*) Fell, p. 48, &c. J. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. Part ii. p. 103.

(*u*) Fell, p. 52—57.

[*P*] *When he was forcibly turned out by the parliamentary viſitors.*]. The accuſations laid againſt him were; His refuſing to ſubmit to the viſitors power; His being concerned in drawing up the reaſons which were preſented to the Convocation againſt the authority of that viſitation; and, His refuſing to publiſh the viſitors orders for the expulſion of ſeveral of the members of Chriſt-church (16).

(16) Wood Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. I. p. 394, 397, 398.

[*Q*] *His Paraphraſe and Annotations on the New Teſtament.*] The ground-work of this excellent book was this: Having written in Latin two large volumes, in 4to of the way of interpreting the New-Teſtament, with reference to the *cuſtoms* of the Jews, and of the firſt Heretics in the Chriſtian Church, and alſo of the Heathens, eſpecially in the Grecian games; above all, the importance of the Helleniſtical dialect, into which he had made the exacteſt ſearch (by which means in a manner he happened to take in all the difficulties of that ſacred book): he began to conſider that it might be more uſeful to the Engliſh reader, who was to be his immediate care, to write in our vulgar language, and ſet every obſervation in its natural order, according to the direction of the text. And having ſome years before collated ſeveral Greek copies of the New Teſtament; obſerved the variation of our Engliſh from the original; and made an entire tranſlation of the whole for his private uſe; being thus prepared, he caſt his work into that form in which it now appears (17). It firſt came out in 1653 He publiſhed, in 1656, *A Review* of it *with ſome Additions and Alterations*, Lond. 8vo. And in 1698, Mr John Le Clerc put out a Latin tranſlation of this work, namely of the Paraphraſe and Annotations, (with the text of the vulgate) wherein he hath intermixed many of his own animadverſions, explaining thoſe points upon which Dr Hammond had but ſlightly touched; and corrected many of his miſtakes. He frequently criticizes upon the Doctor's ſentiments, and examines his quotations by the originals; whereby he has diſcovered a great many typographical errors, eſpecially in numbers, and not a few of the Doctor's miſtakes in quoting upon the credit of others. Sometimes he blames him, for giving a particular ſenſe to certain Greek words, contrary to the common uſe of thoſe words in Greek authors, wherein he thinks the Doctor was not very converſant, and that he learned his Greek rather in ſtudying the Fathers to know their ſentiments, than to obtain an exact ſkill in the language. He blames him alſo, (and indeed he is juſtly blameable) for meeting ſo often with the Gnoſtics; thinking that the writers of the New Teſtament allude to them oftner than they do; and even wreſting ſome texts to favour that hypotheſis.—But the Doctor ſhewed his good ſenſe, judgment, and honeſty, in following the immortal Grotius, eſpecially in his commentaries on the Epiſtle to the Romans.

(17) Fell, p. 58.

[*R*] *Some intention there was of removing him and his fellow-priſoner to Wallingford-caſtle.*] But Colonel Evelyn, the Governor of that caſtle (though a man of as oppoſite principles to church and church-men as any in thoſe rebellious times) wholly declined the employment; ſolemnly proteſting, that if they came to him, they ſhould be entertained as friends, and not as priſoners.——During their confinement at Oxford, the King deſired that they ſhould attend him at the treaty in the Iſle of Wight. But this reaſonable requeſt was not granted; under pretence, that they were priſoners. And, probably, the gaining that, was the cauſe why they were ſo; as Dr Fell obſerves (18).

(18) See Fell, p. 53, 54.

[*S*] *Drew up an addreſs to the General, and Council of Officers.*] Which he publiſhed under this title, XII. 'To the right honourable the Lord Fairfax, 'and his Councell of Warre; the humble Addreſſe of 'Henry Hammond.' Lond. 1649, 4to. XIII. Shortly after he put out a vindication of the ſame, intituled, 'A Vindication of Dr Hammond's Addreſſe, '&c. from the Exceptions of *Eutactus Philodemius*, in 'two particulars; concerning the Power ſuppoſed in 'the Jew, over his own Freedome; the no-power 'over a man's own life. Together with a brief Reply 'to Mr John Goodwin's Ὑβριστοδίκαι as far as con'cerns Dr Hammond' Lond. 1650, 4to. The perſon who aſſumed the name of *Eutactus Philodemius*, was the author of *The Original and End of civil Government*

[*T*] *And publiſhed ſeveral pieces.*] Particularly, XIV. '*Of the Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtian Religion.*' Lond. 1650, 12mo, printed ſince at the end of his Practical Catechiſm. He publiſhed alſo an anſwer to David Blondell's objections, concerning the Valentinian Hereſy, and Epiſcopal, and Chorepiſcopal power, occaſioned by Archbiſhop Uſher's edition of Ignatius's Epiſtles. This anſwer was in Latin, and intituled, XV. *Diſſertationes quatuor, quibus Epiſcopatûs jura ex S. Scripturis & primæva Antiquitate adſtruuntur, contra ſententiam D. Blondelli, & aliorum.* To which is prefixed, *Diſſertatio de Antichriſto, de myſterio Iniquitatis, de Diotrephe, & de Gnoſticis ſub Apoſtolorum ævo ſe prodentibus.* Lond 1651, 4to. In purſuance of the ſame argument, he publiſhed the two following tracts in Engliſh. XVI. 'A Vindication 'of the Diſſertations concerning Epiſcopacie, from 'the Anſwers or Exceptions offered againſt them by 'the London Miniſters, in their *Jus Divinum Mini'ſterii Evangelici.*' And, XVII. 'An Anſwer to 'the Animadverſions on the Diſſertations touching Ig'natius's Epiſtles, and the Epiſcopacie in them aſ'ſerted.' Lond. 1654, 4to.——In the former of theſe, namely in the *Vindication of the Diſſertations*, &c. from page 125 to 137, he vindicates himſelf againſt ſome detractors, who affirmed, that in his annotations on the New Teſtament, he had ſtolen a great deal from Grotius. To which he adds, 'A digreſſion 'concerning ſome jealouſies ſpread of Hugo Grotius:' whom his enemies had repreſented as a Socinian, a Papiſt, and what not.——In further vindication of that excellent writer, he publiſhed, XVIII. 'A Defence 'of the learned Hugo Grotius, &c.' Lond. 1655, 4to. XIX. 'A ſecond Defence of the learned Hugo Gro'tius, or a vindication of the Digreſſion concerning him 'from ſome freſh Exceptions.' Lond. 1655, 4to. And, XX. 'A continuation of the Defence of Hugo 'Grotius, in an Anſwer to the Review of his Annota'tions on the New Teſtament.' Lond. 1657, 4to.

he had received a kind invitation. Here he ſpent the remainder of his days. In 1651, when King Charles the Second came into thoſe parts, he waited upon him, and received a letter from his own hand, of great importance, to ſatisfy his loyal ſubjects concerning his adherence to the Religion of the Church of England. His Majeſty's defeat, and the ſubſequent perſecution that fell upon the generous maſter of the family in which he was entertained, greatly diſconcerted his mind. But his grief was much alleviated by the King's deliverance and wonderful eſcape (*w*). And, as ſoon as he could compoſe his thoughts, he purſued his ſtudies with amazing diligence. For in 1653 he publiſhed his great work on the New Teſtament; and after that went on applying antidotes to the diſtempers of the Church and State, and oppoſing thoſe monſtrous, ill-grounded, and abſurd tenets, which were daily broached under the name of Religion: particularly thoſe of the Anabaptiſts, and other Enthuſiaſts [*U*]. Popery, which alſo was lifting up its head, through the uſurper's connivance or encouragement, and by taking advantage of our unhappy troubles and diviſions, received due correction from his maſterly hand [*W*]. And, though the loſs of all his preferments had in a great meaſure deprived him of the means of exerting his favourite virtue of Charity [*X*], yet he exerciſed it to the utmoſt of his power, eſpecially towards the loyal exiles [*Y*]. Alſo he formed at the ſame time this generous deſign, namely, to preſerve the future being of the Church of England, which was in danger of being utterly deſtroyed by the cruel interdict of January 1655 (*x*) [*Z*]. But theſe deſigns did not divert him from his further endeavours to improve and benefit the world by his learning: ſince he undertook a Paraphraſe and Commentary on all the books of the Old Teſtament; of which he publiſhed the Pſalms, and went through a third part

of

[*U*] *Particularly thoſe of the Anabaptiſts and other Enthuſiaſts.*] Of this kind were, XXI. 'A Letter of 'Reſolution to fix Queries of preſent uſe in the Church 'of England, viz. 1. Of the way of reſolving Controverſies, which are not clearly ſtated and reſolved 'in the Scriptures. 2. Of marrying the wife's ſiſter. '3. Of Polygamy and Divorces. 4. Of the baptiſm 'of infants. 5. Of impoſition of hands for ordination. '6. Of the obſervation of Chriſtmas-day, and other 'Feſtivals of the Church.' Lond. 1653, 8vo. XXII. 'An Account of Mr Cawdry's *triplex diatribe*, concerning Superſtition, Wil-worſhip, and Chriſtmaſs-'feſtivall.' Lond. 1654, 4to. XXIII. 'Of Fundamentals in a notion referring to practice.' Lond. 1654, 12mo. XXIV. 'The Baptiſing of Infants reviewed and defended from the Exceptions of Mr 'Tombes, in the three laſt chapters of his book entituled *Anti-pædo-baptiſm*.' Lond. 1655, 4to. XXV. 'The degrees of ardency in Chriſt's Prayer, reconciled 'with his fullneſs of habitual Grace, in reply to the 'author of a book entit. *A mixture of Scholaſtical 'Divinity, &c. by Henry Jeanes.*' Lond. 1656, 4to. XXVI. 'The grounds of Uniformity from 1 Cor. xiv. '40, vindicated from Mr Henry Jeanes's Exceptions 'in one paſſage in the View of the Directory.' Lond. 1657, 4to.

[*W*] *Popery—alſo————received due correction from his maſterly hand.*] For, (beſides his two pieces againſt the Romaniſts mentioned above under note [O] No. 7, 8.) he publiſhed againſt them, XXVII. 'An 'Appendix, or Anſwer, to what was returned by the 'Apologiſt.' Lond. 1650, 4to. That Apologiſt was the author of, '*A Treatiſe apologetical touching the 'infallibility of the Church Catholic, &c.*' in anſwer to Lord Falkland. XXVIII. 'Of Schiſm: or, a Defence of the Church of England, againſt the Exceptions of the Romaniſts.' Lond. 1653, 12mo. [John Serjeant put out an anſwer to it.] XXIX. 'A 'Reply to the Catholick Gentleman's Anſwer to the 'moſt materiall parts of the booke of Schiſme. Whereto is annexed, An Accoant of H. T. his Appendix 'to his Manual of Controverſies, concerning the 'Abbot of Bangor's Anſwer to Auguſtine,' Lond. 1654, 4to. XXX. 'The Diſarmer's Dexterities examined. In a ſecond defence of the Treatiſe of 'Schiſme.' Lond. 1656, 4to. XXXI. '*Parænesis*, &c. 'A diſcourſe of Hereſy in defence of our Church againſt the Romaniſt.' Lond. 1656, 8vo. XXXII. 'Reply to ſome paſſages of the Reviewer, in his late 'Book of Schiſme, concerning his charge of Corruptions in the primitive Church, and ſome other particulars.' Lond. 1657, 4to. XXXIII. 'The 'Diſpatcher diſpatched: Or, an Examination of the 'Romaniſts rejoynder to the Replies of Dr H. being a 'third Defence of the Treatiſe of Schiſme, wherein is 'inſerted a view of their poſſeſſion and oral Tradition 'in the way of M. White.' Lond. 1659, 4to. [This is moſt particularly levelled againſt D. Holden, T. White, and Richworth or Ruſhworth.] XXXIV. ''Αἰὲν ἀληθεύειν, or a Brief Account of one Suggeſtion 'of the Romaniſt againſt the Diſpatcher diſpatched.' Lond. 1660, 4to.

[*X*] *And, though the loſs of all his preferments had in a great meaſure deprived him of the means of exerting his favourite virtue of Charity.*] At the time of his flight from Penſhurſt, his whole fortune was barely three hundred pounds. But, by the ſale of a leaſe left him for his portion from his father, and the aſſiſtance of his Canonry of Chriſt-church, he raiſed it to near a thouſand, notwithſtanding all his laviſh charities. The only other way of income he had, was the buying of leaſes for years, and the printing of his books; from the latter of which, when all charges were deducted, very little came into his pocket. And yet he grew rich in ſpight of all his liberality, as Dr Fell expreſſes it, being worth at the time of his death about 1500 l. (19)

[*Y*] *Yet he exerciſed it to the utmoſt of his power, eſpecially towards the loyal exiles.*] The reader may ſee an account of his great and very numerous charities, (too many to come within the compaſs of this note) in his life written by Dr Fell (20): and, among the reſt, his remittances to the Royal exiles, though it was declared high-treaſon. The perſon intruſted with theſe was diſcovered to Oliver Cromwell, who notwithſtanding let the Doctor eſcape without puniſhment (21).

[*Z*] *Which was in danger of being utterly deſtroyed by the cruel interdict of January* 1655.] This interdict, or declaration, injoyned, that after the firſt day of January 1655, no perſons ſhould keep in their houſes or families, as chaplains or ſchool-maſters for the education of their children, any ſequeſtered or ejected Miniſter, Fellow of a College, or School-maſter; nor permit any of their children to be taught by ſuch. And that no perſon who had been ſeqneſtered, or ejected out of any benefice, college, or ſchool, ſhould from and after the ſaid firſt day of January, keep any ſchool either public or private:——nor preach in any public place, or at any private meeting of any other perſons than thoſe of his own family; nor adminiſter baptiſm, or the Lord's Supper, or marry any perſons, or uſe the book of Common-Prayer, or the forms of prayer therein contained (22). As the ancient ſtock of clergymen were by this edict in a manner rendered uſeleſs, and the Church was at beſt but a ſet of ancient perſons haſtening to their graves, who muſt in a few years be waſted; Dr Hammond projected, by penſions to hopeful perſons in our two Univerſities, to maintain a ſeminary of youth trained up in piety and learning upon the ſober principles and old eſtabliſhment of the Church of England: giving in charge to thoſe whom he employed in this affair, 'carefully to ſeek out ſuch as 'were piouſly inclined, and to prefer that qualification 'before unſanctified good parts,' adding this as a certain maxim, 'That exemplary virtue muſt reſtore the 'Church (23).'

[*AA*] Of

(*w*) Fell, p. 64, 65, 66.

(*x*) Fell, p. 73, 75, 76, 78.

(19) Fell, p. 144—148.

(20) From p. 136 to 165.

(21) Fell, p. 77, 78.

(22) See J. Walker's Sufferings, &c. as above, Part i. p. 194. and Scobell's Collection, p. 346.

(23) Fell, p. 76, 77.

of the book of Proverbs [*A A*]. His want of health only hindered him from proceeding further. For, that ſtrength of body, which before had attended his indefatigable mind, beginning to fail him about the year 1654, he was ſeized by thoſe four tormenting diſtempers, each of which hath been judged a competent tryal of human patience, namely, the ſtone, the gout, the colick, and the cramp; the laſt of which was as painful as any of the other (*y*). But the ſtone put an end to his valuable life. For, while King Charles the Second was deſigning him for the biſhopric of Worceſter, and he was preparing to go to London, whither he had been invited by the moſt eminent divines, he was ſeized with a ſharp fit of the ſtone [*B B*] on the 4th of April, of which he died the 25th of the ſame month, in the 55th year of his age. The next day he was decently buried in the neighbouring church of Hampton-Lovet, with the office and rites of the Church of England; his body, in token of reſpect, being borne to the grave by clergymen (*z*). Dr Hammond was a very handſome man; his *ſtature* being of juſt height, and all proportionate dimenſions; his *complexion* clear and florid; his *eye* quick [*C C*] and ſprightly; and his *face* carried dignity and attractives in it, being ſcarce ever clouded with a frown, or ſo much as darkened by reſervedneſs. His conſtitution was ſtrong; patient of cold [*D D*], and of the greateſt labour, and ſevereſt hardſhips. As to the faculties of his mind; his judgment was ſound, clear, and diſcerning; his invention fruitful, nay inexhauſtible, whence proceeded his great facility in compoſing [*E E*], and that copiouſneſs, or rather in ſome reſpects blameable exuberance, which appears in his writings [*FF*]. His memory was a ſign of his good judgment, that is, it was ſerviceable but not officious; faithful to things and buſineſs, but unwillingly retaining the contexture and punctualities of words. With regard to his moral conduct, he was moſt exemplary for charity [*G G*], temperance [*H H*], chaſtity, and all ſocial virtues [*I I*]. He was likewiſe a man of uncommon diligence and

(*y*) Fell, p. 72, 83.

(*z*) Fell, p. 209—236.

[*A A*] *Of which he publiſhed the Pſalms, and went through a third part of the book of Proverbs.*] He publiſhed, XXXIV. his ‘ Paraphraſe and Annotations ‘ on the book of Pſalms.’ Lond. 1659, fol. And XXXV. The ‘ Paraphraſe and Annotations on the ten ‘ firſt Chapters of the Proverbs,’ which he lived to finiſh, were publiſhed after his deceaſe. Lond. 1683, fol.

[*B B*] *He was ſeized with a ſharp fit of the ſtone.*] Namely, on the 4th of April; with thoſe ſymptoms that are uſual in ſuch caſes; which yet upon the voidance of a ſtone ceaſed for that time. However, on the 8th of the ſame month it returned again with greater violence: and, though after two days the pain decreaſed, the ſuppreſſion of urine yet continued, with frequent vomitings, and a diſtention of the whole body, and likewiſe ſhortneſs of breath upon every little motion. At length, it turned to a violent bleeding at the noſe, which put an end to his life (24).

(24) Fell, p. 213, 214, 225, 231.

[*C C*] *His eye quick.*] His ſight was quick to an unuſual degree; inſomuch that if by chance he ſaw a knot of men, a flock of ſheep, or herd of cattle, being engaged in diſcourſe, and not at all thinking of it, he would involuntarily caſt up their number, which others after long delays could hardly reckon. His ear alſo was accurate and tuned to his harmonious ſoul, ſo that having never learned to ſing by book or ſtudy, he would exactly perform his part of many things to a harpſicon or theorbo; and frequently did ſo in his more vigorous years after the toyl and labour of the day, and before the remaining ſtudies of the night (25).

(25) Fell, p. 87, 88.

[*D D*] *Patient of cold.*] Inſomuch that for the moſt part of his life, in the fierceſt cold, he took no other advantage of a fire, than to look upon it, at a diſtance (26).

(26) Fell, p. 87.

[*E E*] *Whence proceeded his great facility in compoſing.*] He diſpatched his writings with incredible ſwiftneſs, uſually compoſing faſter than his amanuenſis, though a very dextrous perſon, could tranſcribe after him. His *conſiderations of preſent uſe concerning Epiſcopacy* were drawn up after ten of the clock at night in a friend's chamber, who profeſſed, that ſitting by all the while, he remembered not that he took off pen from paper till he had done; and the very next morning, it being fully approved by the Biſhop of Saliſbury [Dr Duppa] he ſent it to the preſs (27): to which work he could have no premeditation or ſecond thoughts, he being that very night after ſupper employed by the ſaid Biſhop on that taſk. So likewiſe he began his tract of *Scandal* at eleven at night, and finiſhed it before he went to bed. Nor was this a peculiar or extraordinary thing with him, but moſt cuſtomary; five ſheets having, amidſt his other diverſions, been ſundry times his one day's work; adding to it ſo much of the night as he frequently borrowed from ſleep and ſupper (28).

(27) They made 14 pages in 4to. printed cloſe and ſmall.

(28) Fell, p. 90, 91, 92.

[*F F*] *And that copiouſneſs, or rather in ſome reſpects blameable exuberance, which appears in his writings.*] This defect is acknowledged by the writer of his life, the learned Dr Fell, who calls it, ‘ The beſt kind of defect; the tide and torrent of his matter being not eaſily confined by periods; whereby his ſtyle, though round and comprehenſive, was incumbred ſometimes by *Parentheſes*, and became difficult to vulgar underſtandings: but (adds he) by the uſe of writing, and his deſire to accommodate himſelf to all capacities, he in his latter years maſtered that defect: ſo as to deſerve from King Charles I. this character and teſtimony, ‘ That he was the moſt natural orator he ever heard (29).’ This fault was plainly owing to his overhaſtineſs in compoſing, and the not allowing himſelf time to arrange his thoughts in neat, ſhort, and clear periods; a method indeed not very common in his time, and chiefly brought in after the Reſtoration.

(29) Id. p. 97.

[*G G*] *He was moſt exemplary for charity.*] As Dr Fell expreſſes it (30), ‘ Miſery and want, wherever he met with them, ſufficiently endeared the object. His alms was as exuberant as his love; and in calamities, he never was a ſtranger to the exigence, whatever he might be to the man that ſuffered.’ To this beneficent diſpoſition he devoted the tenth of all his income; wherein he was ſo ſtrictly punctual, that commonly the firſt thing he did was to compute and ſeparate the poor man's ſhare. To this he added every week five ſhillings. Over and above which, he compleated the devotions of his weekly faſt, by adding twenty ſhillings to the poor man's heap.’ For inſtances of his charity, ſee his life by Dr Fell (31).

(30) P. 138, 13

(31) P. 157,

[*H H*] *Temperance.*] His diet was of the plaineſt meats. Sauces he ſcarce ever taſted of, but often expreſſed his wonder, ‘ How rational creatures ſhould eat ‘ for any thing but health, ſince he that did eat or ‘ drink that which might cauſe a fit of the ſtone or ‘ gout, though a year after, unmanned himſelf, and ‘ acted as a beaſt.’ Therefore, in the time of his full health, he ſeldom did eat or drink more than once in 24 hours, and ſome fruit towards night; and two days in every week, and in Lent and Ember week three days, he eat but once in thirty-ſix. His temperance in ſleep reſembled that of his meats, midnight being the uſual time of his going to reſt, and four or five, very rarely ſix, the hour of his riſing (32).

(32) Fell, p. 106, 107, 11

[*I I*] *And all ſocial virtues.*] He was, in particular, a paſſionate lover of friendſhip; which, in his opinion, was the next ſacred thing unto religion. Therefore he reflected with compaſſion on the ignorance of thoſe, who were ſtrangers to it, ſaying that ‘ ſuch muſt lead a pitiful inſipid herb-john-like life.’ Upon this ground, he uſed induſtriouſly to recommend and propagate friendſhip; and profeſſed, that ‘ he had no ‘ ſuch way of enjoying any thing as by reflexion from ‘ the perſon he loved; ſo that his friend's being happy, ‘ was and induſtry, abhorring ſloth and idleneſs (*a*) [*KK*]. And, to conclude his character with what A. Wood and Biſhop Burnet have ſaid of him; ‘ Great were his natural ‘ abilities, greater his acquired; and in the whole circle of arts he was moſt accurate. ‘ He was alſo eloquent in the tongues, exact in antient and modern writers, well verſed ‘ in Philoſophy, and better in Philology, moſt learned in School-Divinity, and a great ‘ maſter in Church-Antiquity (*b*).’ ‘ His death, ſaith Biſhop Burnet (*c*), was an un‘ſpeakable loſs to the Church. For, as he was a man of great learning, and of moſt ‘ eminent merit, he having been the perſon that during the bad times had maintained ‘ the cauſe of the Church in a very ſingular manner; ſo he was a very moderate man in ‘ his temper, though with a high principle, and probably he would have fallen into healing ‘ counſels. He was alſo much ſet on reforming abuſes, and for raiſing in the clergy a ‘ due ſenſe of the obligations they lay under.’ Beſides his ſeveral pieces abovementioned, ſome were publiſhed after his deceaſe [*L L*]: and his *amanuenſis*, the learned Mr William Fulman, collected them together into four volumes folio in 1684.

‘ was the readieſt way to make him ſo.’ The principal thing he contracted for in friendſhip, was a free uſe of *mutual admonition*; and he uſed to ſay, that he ‘ delighted to *be loved*, not *reverenced* (33).’

[*K K*] *He was likewiſe a man of uncommon diligence and induſtry.*] He not only avoided, but bore a perfect hate, and ſeemed to have a forcible antipathy to idleneſs, and ſcarcely recommended any thing in his advices with that concern and vigour, as, *to be furniſhed always with ſomewhat to do*. This he propoſed as the beſt expedient for innocence and pleaſure; aſſuring, that ‘ No burthen is more heavy, or temptation more ‘ dangerous, than to have time lye on ones hand; the ‘ idle man's brain being not only (as he worded it) ‘ the devil's ſhop, but his kingdom too, a model of, ‘ and appendage to, hell, a place given up to torment ‘ and miſchief.’ Beſides thoſe portions of time which the neceſſities of nature and of civil life extorted from him, there was not a minute of the day which he left vacant. When he walked abroad, which he did not ſo much to recreate himſelf as to obey the preſcriptions of his phyſician, he never failed to take a book with him, and read all the while: and in his chamber alſo he had one lay conſtantly open, out of which his ſervant read to him while he was dreſſing and undreſſing; by which one piece of huſbandry, in a ſhort time he diſpatched ſeveral conſiderable volumes (34). The following obſervations of the learned author of his life, are further proofs of his very great induſtry. ‘ He that ſhall conſider his laborious way, immerſt in almoſt infinite quotations, to which the turning over books and conſulting ſeveral editions was abſolutely needful; his obligation to read not only claſſick authors, but the more recent abortions of the preſs, wherein he proved frequently concerned; his peruſal of the writings of his friends and ſtrangers, deſigned for the preſs; his reviews of his own works, and correcting them with his own hand ſheet by ſheet as they were printed, which he did to all his later tracts; his receptions of viſits, whether of civility, or for reſolution of conſcience, or information in points of difficulty, which were numerous and great devourers of his time; his agency for men of quality, providing them ſchoolmaſters for their children, and chaplains in their houſes, in which affair he had ſet up a kind of office; his general correſpondencies by letter, whereof ſome coſt him 10, others 20, 30, 40, nay 60 ſheets of paper, and ever took up two days of the week entirely; the time exhauſted by his ſickneſſes; his conſtant preaching, and inſtructing the family where he was; and, amidſt all, his ſure returns of prayer: all theſe, were ſufficient proofs of a moſt uncommon diligence (35).

[*L L*] *Some were publiſhed after his deceaſe.*] Namely, XXXVI. ‘ Prayers of interceſſion for their ‘ uſe who mourn in ſecret for the publick calamities of ‘ this nation, with an anniverſary prayer for the 30th ‘ of January, &c.’ Lond. 1659, 8vo (36). XXXVII. ‘ Χαρις ϗ Ειρηνη; Or, a pacific Diſcourſe of God's ‘ Grace and Decrees; in a letter of full accordance ‘ written to the Reverend and moſt learned Dr Sander‘ſon. To which are annexed the Extracts of three ‘ Letters concerning God's Preſcience reconciled with ‘ Liberty and Contingency’ Lond. 1660, 8vo. XXXVIII. His laſt words; being two prayers for the peaceful re-ſettlement of this Church and State. XXXIX. ‘ The daily Practice of Piety: With devo‘tions and Prayers in time of Captivity.’ Lond. 1660, 8vo. XL. ‘ Spiritual Sacrifice: Or, Devotions and ‘ Prayers, &c.’ XLI. ‘ A ſolemn Petition and Ad‘vice to the Convocation, with directions to the Laity ‘ how to prolong their happineſs.’ Cambr. 1661. Publiſhed by Tho. Smith, of Chriſt-college in Cambridge. XLII. *De Confirmatione ſive benedictione poſt baptiſmum ſolenni, per impoſitionem manuum Epiſcopi celebrata, commentarius, ex ſententia Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ.* Lond. 1661, 8vo. XLIII. ‘ Several Ser‘mons.’ Lond. 1664, fol. They are in number 31, and ſome of them had been publiſhed before. XLIV. ‘ Of Hell-Torments: Or, an Aſſertion of the Exiſtence ‘ and Duration of Hell-Torments, &c.’ Ox. 1664, 12mo. XLV. ‘ An Accordance of St Paul with St ‘ James in the great point of Faith and Works.’ Ox. 1665, 8vo. XLVI. ‘ Anſwer to Mr Richard Smith's ‘ Letter concerning the Senſe of that Article in the ‘ Creed, *He deſcended into Hell*: Dated 29 April, ‘ 1659.’ Lond. 1684, 8vo (37). XLVII. Nineteen Letters of his were publiſhed by Fr. Peck, M. A. in 1739.

C

HAMPDEN [JOHN], Eſq; of Hamden in Buckinghamſhire, frequently diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Patriot Hampden, was a gentleman of a fair eſtate and good extraction *, and couſin-german to Oliver Cromwell [*A*]. He was born in London in the year 1594, and at the age of fifteen ſent from ſchool to Oxford in 1609, where he was admitted a Commoner of Magdalen-college; but leaving the univerſity without any degree, he removed to the Inns of Court, where he made a conſiderable progreſs in the ſtudy of the Law (*a*). With this, the ordinary education of a gentleman, he went to reſide upon his eſtate at Hamden; ſetting out at firſt in the jovial way ſuitable to his years. In that diſpoſition he indulged to himſelf all the freedom in ſports and exerciſes and company which were uſed by men of the moſt jolly converſation. In the ſecond parliament of King Charles the Firſt he obtained a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons [*B*], and having alſo a place

[*A*] *Couſin to Oliver Cromwell.*] His father John Hampden, Eſq; married Elizabeth, ſecond daughter of Sir Henry Cromwell, of Hinchinbroke in Huntingdonſhire, Grandfather to the Protector, who 'tis ſaid, was adviſed by this kinſman while alive (1), and always adored his memory after his death (2).

[*B*] *This Parliament met at Weſtminſter, Feb. 4, 1625-6.*] So that Mr Hampden was then turned of thirty, a proper age as has been ſometimes remarked, for putting off the man of pleaſure, and taking up the man of buſineſs; the ſeeds of that ambition (without which perſons of the higheſt rank and faireſt opportunities, ſink into ſome degree of diſvalue) naturally ſpringing up in all hopeful minds about that age. To this purpoſe Mr Whitlocke obſerves, that it was Mr Hampden's *affection to public liberty and applauſe* in

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(*a*) Fell, p. 111, 112, &c.

(*b*) Wood Ath. ut ſupra, col. 246.

(*c*) Hiſt. of his own Time, edit. 1724. p. 177.

(33) Id. p. 122, 123, 125, 133.

(34) Id. p. 111, 112.

(35) Fell. p. 91, 93, 94.

(36) See Biſhop Kennet's Reg. p. 38.

(37) This account is partly taken from the books themſelves, and partly from A. Wood's Athenæ.

* Clarendon's *Hiſt. of the Rebellion*, Vol. I. p. 204. firſt edit. in fol. Whitlocke ſays, of the antienteſt extraction in Buckinghamſhire. *Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs*, p. 70. edit. 1732. in fol.

(*a*) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 30. Sir Philip Warwick obſerves, that he had great knowledge both in Scholarſhip and the Law. Mem. of the reign of K. Charles I. p. 240. Lond. 1701.

(1) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 31. & Faſti, col. 88 and 90.

(2) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. III. p. 60. firſt edit. 1704. fol.

place there in the two ſucceeding parliaments, he quitted his pleaſures, and turned his mind to public buſineſs; wherein ſiding with the party againſt the Court, he took up a reſerved and preciſe behaviour, living with extraordinary ſobriety and ſtrictneſs; but ſtill preſerved the natural cheerfulneſs and affability of his temper (*b*). It ſeems to be about this time that, changing alſo his condition, he married Sarah, ſecond daughter of Thomas Foley, Eſq; great-grand-father to the firſt Lord Foley, and widow of Eſſex Knightley, Eſq; [C] of Faweſſey in Northamptonſhire (*c*). Hitherto Mr Hampden made no remarkable figure in the public. For though he concurred in the proſecution againſt the Duke of Buckingham, and ſuffered among many others for refuſing to comply with the loan (*d*) in 1626; yet his name is not among thoſe who were pricked for Sheriffs, in order to prevent their election in the enſuing parliament; nor was he any of thoſe who were committed to the Tower in 1628 for a riotous proceeding in the Houſe of Commons, while the Proteſtation was read, that *whoever ſhould bring in innovations in religion, &c. ſhould be accounted enemies to the kingdom.* But in the year 1636 he became univerſally known, by a ſolemn tryal at the King's-Bench, on his refuſal to pay the ſhip-money [*D*]. He behaved with ſingular temper and modeſty in this ſuit, and obtained more advantage and credit by loſing it, than the King did of ſervice by gaining it (*e*) [*E*]. From this time he ſoon grew to be one of the moſt popular men in the nation (*f*), and a principal leading member in the Long Parliament (*g*): ſo that his actions and conduct became the ſubject of general hiſtory, to which therefore we refer the reader (*h*) [*F*]; and ſhall only (as falling

more

(*b*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. I. p. 146 and 205. firſt edit. in folio.

(*c*) Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 286. Lond. 1741. in 4 vols 8vo.

(*d*) Whitlocke's Memorials, &c. p. 70. edit. 1732. fol.

(*e*) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 53. ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Lord Clarendon ſays, he was poſſeſſed with the moſt abſolute ſpirit of popularity, and the moſt abſolute faculties to govern the people, of any man he ever knew. Ibid. p. 205.

(*g*) He was returned for his county both in this and the ſhort parliament preceding.

(*h*) Theſe are, Ruſhworth, Whitlocke, and eſpecially Clarendon.

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in his country, which [drawing him into action] *expoſed him to many difficulties and troubles* (3).

[C] *He married Mr Knightly's widow.*] A certain author writes, that, 'Mr Hampden being a perſon of antimonarchical principles, he did not only ride for ſeveral years, before the grand rebellion broke out, into Scotland, to keep conſults with the convenanting brethren there, but kept his circuits to ſeveral puritannical houſes in England, particularly to that of Knightley in Northamptonſhire, and alſo to that of Lord Say, at Broughton near Banbury in Oxfordſhire, where there was a room and a paſſage thereto, which his Lordſhip's ſervants were prohibited to come near, when the company met.' The ſame author alſo relates, 'that the party having in theſe and other places their council-chambers and chief ſpeakers; whatever embrioes were conceived in the country, were afterwards ſhaped in Gray's-Inn-lane near London; where, continues he, the undertakers for the Iſle of Providence did meet, brought them to paſs, and put them out to nurſe in London (4).' We ſhould not have cited an author, whoſe reputation is notoriouſly murdered by his own virulency, and has lain long rotten in the grave of oblivion; but only as ſome facts are there found, which are not improbable from other circumſtances, in relation to the particular company with whom Mr Hampden joined after he left the jovial courſe, and which alſo are of uſe to confirm and illuſtrate a remark on this change of his life, made by Lord Clarendon, whoſe words are, that, '*he retired to a more reſerved and melancholy ſociety.*' For which change in his manners, his Lordſhip proceeds to give this as a proof. 'That though they who converſed nearly with him, found him growing into a diſlike of the eccleſiaſtical government of the Church; yet moſt believed it rather a diſlike of ſome churchmen, and of ſome introducements of theirs, which he apprehended might diſquiet the public peace (5).' That is (as is evident from his Lorſhip's character of Mr Hampden) that the bottom of his heart was carefully concealed, even from thoſe who converſed nearly with him.

[*D*] *He became famous by his trial for refuſing to pay the ſhip-money.*] The particulars of this tranſaction are too well known to be inlarged upon here; it will be more agreeable to the deſign of this undertaking, to enquire by what means Mr Hampden came to obtain a trial, which had been refuſed to ſeveral others. For inſtance, Mr Richard Chambers, a merchant in London, on his refuſal to pay this tax, was impriſoned in the King's-bench; and though upon bringing his *habeas corpus*, he was admitted to bail, yet the judge [Berkeley] abſolutely refuſed in June 1636 to let the legality of the tax be argued (6). A petition was alſo offered about the ſame time by the city of London, complaining of it's illegality, but the trial was ſtill avoided, and other means made uſe of to perſuade the city to a compliance (7). We are likewiſe aſſured by the noble hiſtorian, that, 'Lord Say did as abſolutely refuſe the payment of ſhip-money as Mr Hampden, though the latter by the choice of the King's counſel had brought his cauſe to be firſt heard and argued, with which judgment it was intended the whole right of that matter ſhould be concluded, and all other caſes over-ruled. Yet the Lord Say, continues the Earl, would not acquieſce, but preſſed to have his own caſe argued, and was ſollicitous in perſon with all the Judges, both privately at their chambers, and publickly in the courts of Weſtminſter, and indeed was very grievous to them (8).' The noble author has not given his opinion what might be the reaſon of this preference ſhewn to Mr Hampden, but perhaps it may be found clearly enough in one part of the character given of him by his Lordſhip, that he was a man of the greateſt addreſs and inſinuation to bring any thing to paſs which he deſired, of any man of that time; and that a great part of this addreſs conſiſted in his ſingular modeſty, humility, and ſubmiſſion. This conjecture ſeems to be confirmed by another paſſage in the ſame hiſtory, where his Lordſhip giving an account of the debates on the grievance of ſhip-money, at the beginning of the ſhort Parliament in April 1640, obſerves, that Herbert the Sollicitor-General, while he was ſpeaking in commendation of the King's candour in that affair, took occaſion *to ſtroke and commend Mr Hampden, who ſat under him, for his great temper and modeſty in the proſecution of that ſuit* (9).

[*E*] *Obtained more advantage and credit by loſing it, &c.*] 'Tis this ſingle tranſaction of his life, which firſt procured him the title mentioned in the text, of Patriot Hampden, and his memory has been very lately embalmed afreſh for it, in an elegant Poem (10), intituled, *An Elegy written in a Country Church-yard*, where the author preſents him in the moſt intereſſing view, as follows.

'*Perhaps in this neglected ſpot is laid,*
'*Some heart once pregnant with celeſtial fire;*
'*Hands that the rod of empire might have ſway'd,*
'*Or wak'd to extaſy the living lyre.*

* * * * * * * *

'*Some* village Hampden, *that with dauntleſs*
'*breaſt*
'*The little tyrant of his fields withſtood,*
'*Some mute inglorious* Milton, *here may reſt;*
'*Some* Cromwell, *guiltleſs of his country's blood.*'

[*F*] *We refer to the general hiſtories.*] In the note to theſe words, Lord Clarendon is diſtinguiſhed above the reſt, as the author who has given us many more particulars of Mr Hampden's life, than are to be found in any of his cotemporary writers, and thoſe too made much more intereſſing by a finely animated ſtile. His Lordſhip was indeed moſt ſenſibly touched by the effects of Mr Hampden's addreſs, eſpecially in the caſe of his darling Lord Falkland; and has not only ſet forth his antagoniſt's merits and demerits, with regard to the public, by particular inſtances, in the courſe of his life, but brought the whole together into one view, in a general character of him after his death. The

noble

(3) Memorials of the Engliſh affairs, p. 70. Lond. 1732. fol.

(4) See a piece intitled, *Perſecutio Undecima*, or, *the Church's Eleventh Perſecution*, &c. chap. vii. p. 103. Lond. 1648. 4to.

(5) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. I. p. 205. firſt edit. in fol.

(6) Ruſhworth's Collections, Part ii. p. 323. firſt edit. in fol.

(7) Ibid. chap. ii. p. 334.

(8) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 145. Vol. I.

(9) Ibid. p. 148, 205, 206.

(10) Written by Mr Gray. The ninth edition of it was printed in 1754.

more properly under the deſign of this work) take notice of ſome few particulars concerning him, which have been either unfairly and partially repreſented, or elſe left altogether untouched by others [*G*]. After he had, by the advantage of ſome peculiar and extraordinary talents [*H*], held the chief direction of his party in the Houſe of Commons againſt the

noble author's ſingular talent at drawing characters is univerſally acknowledged. Whence this is the moſt entertaining part of his hiſtory to all readers, and principally uſeful to young ſtudents in this ſcience. In which view the character of Mr Hampden deſerves particular notice, it being eaſy to make an extract of the ſeveral facts as they lie in the hiſtory, which are the proper foundation for an attempt to form the character, and by comparing this, when done, to that of his Lordſhip, the difference is ſeen at once, and eaſily noted for improvement.

[*G*] *Particulars partially repreſented or untouched.*] The fact ſuggeſted above to be partially repreſented, is to be found under our author's article in the General Dictionary, in the remark [*B*], to theſe words, *Before this trial* [of the Earl of Strafford] (11), *there was ſaid to be a propoſal for reſtoring the Earl to his former favour and honour, on condition that his Majeſty would promote Mr Hampden, to be Tutor to the Prince, and other eminent oppoſers of the Court, to the moſt conſiderable poſts.* In ſupport of this, only Mr Whitlocke is cited (12), without mentioning Lord Clarendon's account of this matter, or ſo much as referring to it, which at leaſt might fairly be expected. For though indeed with regard to Mr Hampden, the difference between the two accounts is not material, yet in reſpect to the King there is an eſſential difference. For inſtance, Mr Whitlocke concludes his account with this reflection. ‘ *But whether upon the King's alteration of* ‘ *his mind, or by what other means is uncertain, theſe* ‘ *things were not effected; and the great men baffled* ‘ *thereby, became the more incenſed and violent againſt* ‘ *the Earl, joining with the Scots Commiſſioners, who* ‘ *were implacable againſt him.*’ Here the reader is put into the road of aſſigning the worſt cauſe for this change of his Majeſty's mind, eſpecially when he conſiders how often he was afterwards charged by theſe perſons with breach of promiſe. But all juſt grounds for ſuch an injurious inſinuation are taken away by the following account, which Lord Clarendon gives of this tranſaction (13). ‘ From the time, ſays he, that there ‘ was no more fear of the Archbiſhop, nor the Lord ‘ Deputy of Ireland, nor of any particular men, who ‘ were like to ſucceed them in favour, all who had ‘ been active in the Court, or in any ſervice for the ‘ King being totally diſpirited, and moſt of them to ‘ be diſpoſed to any ill offices againſt him. The great ‘ patriots thought they might be able to do their country better ſervice, if they got the places and preferments of the Court for themſelves, and ſo prevent ‘ the evil counſels which had been uſed to ſpring from ‘ thence; for which purpoſe they had a faſt friend in ‘ the Marquis of Hamilton, who could put ſuch an ‘ affair into agitation, &c.’ His Lordſhip afterwards mentions the particular perſons to be promoted, the ſame with Mr Whitlocke, only Mr Hampden is omitted here, being taken notice of preſently, and proceeds. ‘ Thus far the intrigue for preferments was ‘ entirely complied with, and it is great pity it was not ‘ fully executed, that ſo the King might have had ‘ ſome able men to have adviſed and aſſiſted him, ‘ *which probably theſe very men would have done, after* ‘ *they had been ſo thoroughly engaged*; whereas the ‘ King had none left about him in any immediate truſt ‘ in buſineſs (for I ſpeak not of the Duke of Richmond, ‘ and ſome very few men more about his perſon, who ‘ always behaved themſelves honourably) who did not ‘ either betray, or ſink under the weight or reproach of ‘ it.——But the Earl of Bedford was reſolved, that he ‘ would not enter into the Treaſury, 'till the revenue ‘ was in ſome degree ſettled; at leaſt, the bill for ‘ tonnage and poundage paſſed, with all decent circumſtances, and for life; which both he and Mr ‘ Pym did very heartily labour to effect, and had in ‘ their thoughts many good expedients by which they ‘ intended to raiſe the revenue of the Crown, and none ‘ of them were very ſollicitous to take their preferments, before other accommodations were provided ‘ for ſome of the reſt of their chief companions, who ‘ would be neither ſo well pleaſed with their ſo haſty ‘ advancement before them, nor ſo ſubmiſſive in it ‘ after, to follow their dictates. Hampden was a man ‘ they could not leave unprovided for, and therefore ‘ there were ſeveral deſigns, and very far driven, for ‘ the ſatisfaction and promotion of him, and Eſſex, ‘ Kimbolton, and others; though not ſo fully concluded as thoſe abovementioned. For the King's ‘ great end was by theſe compliances to ſave the life of ‘ the Earl of Strafford, and to preſerve the Church ‘ from ruin; for no-body thought the Archbiſhop in ‘ danger of his life: and there were few of the perſons ‘ mentioned before, who thought their preferments ‘ would do them much good, if the Earl was ſuffered ‘ to live: but in that of the Church, the major part ‘ even of thoſe perſons would have been willing to have ‘ ſatisfied the King, the rather, becauſe they had no ‘ reaſon to think the two houſes, or indeed either of ‘ them, could have been induced to have purſued the ‘ contrary. And ſo the continued and enraged violence in the proſecution of the Earl of Strafford, ‘ made the King well contented (as other reaſons prevailed with other perſons) that the putting theſe promotions in practice, ſhould be for a time ſuſpended.’ By this account the noble author ſeems to be well aware how much, and how unjuſtly his Majeſty either had been or would be cenſured in this proceeding, and therefore thought it neceſſary to ſhew the world clearly, that it was not indeed ſo much the King's fault as it was his misfortune to have the ſcheme of the promotions fruſtrated.

(11) Mr Hampden was of the committee to prepare the charge and manage the evidence againſt the Earl.

(12) Memorials, &c. p. 41.

(13) Hiſt. of the Civil Wars, Vol. I. p. 166, 167, 168, 169. folio edition.

The particulars hinted above as untouched by any of the hiſtorians, relate firſt to the report about the City of London in the beginning of 1643, that the Earl of Eſſex was to reſign his poſt of General, and to be ſucceeded therein by Mr Hampden (14), and the truth of the report ſeems probable enough. His firſt reſolution to make no peace with the King, as well as the great influence and authority he had in the army, and his perſonal courage, both ſufficiently manifeſted in the action of Chalgrove-Field, mentioned in the text, ſuit very well with ſuch a deſign. But the ſame action ſhews, that his courage was not ſufficiently tempered; he was hot and raſh, and the fatal conſequence of that raſhneſs, to which he fell a ſacrifice, clearly demonſtrates him not ſo fit for a General's command. Another remark which has eſcaped all the writers who mention him, reſpects the conſequence of his loſs to the Parliament. Lord Clarendon indeed touches upon that conſequence to both ſides in general, as follows. ‘ *But that which would have been looked upon as a con-* ‘ *ſiderable recompence for a defeat, could not but be* ‘ *thought a great addition to the victory, which was* ‘ *the death of Mr Hampden, to as great a conſternation* ‘ *of all that party, as if their whole army had been de-* ‘ *feated or cut off* (15).’ The greatneſs of the conſternation is ſtrongly marked in theſe words, but the particular effects of that conſternation are not produced. However, when a little below, in the ſame hiſtory, we read of Sir Will. Waller's defeat at Roundway Down near the Devizes in Wiltſhire on one ſide, and of the Queen's ſafe arrival at Oxford with the forces from France on the other ſide, and both theſe events attributed to the Earl of Eſſex, who ſuffered a ſtrong party of horſe to march out of that garriſon, by which means the deſtruction of the former was effected; and gave no kind of hindrance to her Majeſty's march into it; *but ſpent his time between Tame and Ailſbury about ten miles from Oxford, without any action after that ſkirmiſh in which* (they are his Lordſhip's words) *Mr Hampden was ſlain* (16). Surely it will be thought no injury to the noble author, if we preſume his intention in theſe laſt words was to ſuggeſt, that this change, which brought a better face upon the King's affairs, than they had appeared with ſince the beginning of the war, was owing at leaſt in ſome meaſure, to that conſternation into which the Earl of Eſſex's army was thrown by Mr Hampden's death, and which had rendered the whole corps diſcreet, or if you will diſpirited.

(14) Wood, Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 30.

(15) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 204. Vol. II. ubi ſupra.

(16) Ibid. p. 224.

[*H*] *Some peculiar and extraordinary talents,*] What theſe are may be fully ſeen in his character drawn by Lord Clarendon in the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c (17), to which therefore we ſend the reader for the reaſon mentioned in the text, and ſhall ſpend this remark agreeable to the plan of the proceeding, in taking notice

(17) P. 205. Vol. II.

the King, he took up arms in the ſame cauſe, and was one of the firſt who opened the war by an action (though without ſucceſs) at a place called Brill, a garriſon of the King's upon the edge of Buckinghamſhire (*i*), about five miles from Oxford. He took the command of a regiment of foot under the Earl of Eſſex, and had he lived, would probably have been ſoon raiſed to the poſt of a General (*k*). Always behaving with a military bravery in the Field, equal to the civil intrepidity which he had ſhewn in the Houſe. But whatever views either himſelf or his friends for him had of any kind, they were all cut off by a mortal wound, which he received in a ſkirmiſh with Prince Rupert at Chalgrove-field in Oxfordſhire (*l*); of which we have the following unconteſted account. ‘ *It was confeſſed*, ſays Lord Clarendon, *by the priſoners that were taken that day, and acknowledged by all, that upon the alarm that morning after their quarters were beaten up, Mr Hampden was exceeding ſollicitous to draw forces together to purſue the enemy, and being a Colonel of foot, put himſelf as a volunteer among thoſe horſe who were firſt ready; and that when the Prince made a ſtand, all the officers were of opinion to ſtay 'till their body came up; and he alone (being ſecond to none but the General himſelf in the obſervance and application of all men) perſwaded and prevailed with them to advance* (*m*).’ He was ſhot into the ſhoulder with a brace of bullets, which broke the bone, on the 18th of June 1643; and after ſuffering much pain and miſery, he died thereof on the 24th of that month (*n*), greatly lamented by the Parliament [*I*], who ordered the ſum of 5000 pounds to be paid to his aſſignees, out of the exciſe in courſe, the moiety of the receipts of Goldſmith's-hall, and the King's revenue (*o*) He was interred in the church of Great Hamden, where, by his will, he directed a ſtone to be laid over his grave, with the figures of himſelf, his wife, and ten children engraven upon it (*p*) [*K*]. Mr Wood has given him a place among the Oxford writers, and tells us of ſeveral ſpeeches printed under his name, but deſcribes only one which now lies before me, and is entitled, *A diſcreet and learned Speech ſpoken in the Parliament, on Wedneſday the 4th of January*, 1641, *by Mr* Hampden *Burgeſs of* Buckingham (*q*), *concerning the accuſation of high-treaſon preferred by His Majeſty againſt himſelf*, Lord Kimbolton, Sir Arthur Haſlerig, Mr Pym, Mr Stroud, and Mr Hollis, *worthy members of the Houſe of Commons. Therein ſhortly declaring the difference between a good ſubject and a bad*

notice of a paſſage in that character, which has been we apprehend a little unfairly, though artfully, repreſented by a late author. The paſſage is that famous one which concludes the character, that *he* [Mr Hampden] *had a head to contrive, a tongue to perſuade, and a hand to execute any miſchief*. In an account of this gentleman lately publiſhed, the author having cited the words, takes this opportunity to obſerve, that notwithſtanding what has been aſſerted to the contrary, the hiſtory, where they are found, is faithfully printed from the original manuſcript, which he had ſeen; and every body elſe ſees the reflection caſt upon his Lordſhip in this artful inſinuation (18). Suppoſe it to be what Cicero calls *Verbum Ardens*, yet even then, in the opinion of that orator and critic, it brings it's own excuſe. But the preſent caſe admits ſtill of a further plea in his Lordſhip's behalf. 'Tis generally allowed, that the beſt way to come at the true ſenſe of ſcripture, is to interpret it by itſelf; if this rule had been obſerved here, no injury had been done to his Lordſhip's memory, as is evident from the following paſſage in the ſame hiſtory (19), where the noble author having mentioned Mr Hampden as one of the committee that attended the King in his journey to Scotland, takes occaſion to give him this character. ‘ The latter ‘ [Hampden] hath been mentioned before as a man ‘ of great underſtanding and parts, and of great ſagacity in diſcerning men's natures and manners, and ‘ he muſt upon all occaſions ſtill be mentioned, as ‘ a perſon of great dexterity and abilities, *and equal* ‘ *to any truſt or management*, good or bad, *which he* ‘ *was inclined to undertake*.’

[*I*] *Greatly lamented by the Parliament*.] Mr Wood (20), in his uſual vein, having told us, ‘ that ſoon after his death, Mr Richard Baxter did tranſlate the ſoul of him and of John Pym into heaven, in his *Saint's everlaſting reſt*, and that others of his opinion made elegies on him, declaring to the world his great worth and loſs, proceeds to inform us, that *he was the very perſon who adviſed his kinſman*, Oliver Cromwell (afterwards Lord Protector) *to oppoſe the juſtice and honour of his Majeſty's cauſe, with an affected zeal of conſcience and pure religion*, as the ſaid Cromwell did ſeveral times confeſs to his friends and relations. Whatever may be thought of this ſtory, taken apparently from the ſcandalous chronicle, we have a much better authority for aſſerting, that theſe two were boſom friends, and were actuated with the ſame ſpirit of hypocriſy, and for the ſame ends, though wearing contrary faces. Cromwell's roughneſs and unpoliſhedneſs, which in the beginning of the [Long] Parliament he affected, contrary to the ſmoothneſs and complaiſance which his kinſman and boſom friend Hampden practiſed towards all men, being equally neceſſary, and alike employed, to nurſe in it's infant ſtate their jointly determined purpoſe (21).

[*K*] *His wife and ten children*] His wife has been already taken notice of in the text. Of his children, one daughter, Mary, was married to Sir John Hobart, ſon of Sir Miles Hobart, who in 1628, was impriſoned for locking the door of the Houſe of Commons, while the famous Proteſtation above mentioned was read (22). Colonel Hammond, Governor of the Iſle of Wight, who had the cuſtody of the King there, married another of Mr Hampden's daughters by the advice of Oliver Cromwell (23). Mr Hampden's eldeſt ſon Richard (for we have found no account of any other) as well as his grandſon John, made a figure in Parliament, and in the public, from the Reſtoration to the reign of Queen Anne, as may be ſeen in the General Hiſtory of England (24), to which therefore, for the reaſon already mentioned, we refer the reader, and ſhall only take notice of two particulars which are not in that hiſtory. The firſt is, That Richard when young, was choſen one of the five Knights for Buckinghamſhire, to ſerve in the Parliament called Sept. 17, 1656, by the Protector, who alſo about the ſame time created him a Lord, to ſit in the upper or *other* houſe (25). The other particular not mentioned in the General Hiſtory of Engla[illegible] relates to the grandſon John Hampden, Eſq; who being confined two years * in the ſame priſon with Mr Sam. Johnſon, author (among other things) of a piece intitled, *The Abrogation of King James II.* gave an account of that performance to the Ducheſs of Mazarine, wherein he recounts the ſeveral pleas advanced by the clergy, to reconcile their compliance with the Revolution to the doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, which they had maintained in an unlimited ſenſe in the preceding reign; he reduces theſe pleas in defence of King William's right, to four, (1.) The right of conqueſt. (2.) That of Providence. (3.) That of poſſeſſion. And (4.) That of the vacancy of the throne by King James's abdication. This account is prefixed to an edition of Mr Johnſon's works, by the editor, who obſerves, *That every body muſt own Mr Hampden to have been as able a judge of that ſubject, as any man in England before or ſince* (26):

[*L*] *A*

(*i*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. II. p. 126.

(*k*) See below in remark [*G*].

(*l*) The place where he had firſt executed the ordinance of the militia about a year before. Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. II. p. 204.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 205.

(*n*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 274. firſt edit. folio. Lord Clarendon, who is obſerved not to be exact in his dates, ſays, he lay three weeks in extraordinary pain.

(*o*) Ibid. Part iv. Vol. VII. p. 934.

(*p*) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 31.

(*q*) It ſhould be Buckinghamſhire.

(18) Life of John Hampden, in the Lives of ſeveral Illuſtrious Perſons, &c. with cuts, Lond. 1743. folio.

(19) P. 235. Vol. I.

(20) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 31.

(21) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 80. Vol. III. ubi ſupra.

(22) Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 338. edit. 1741. 8vo.

(23) Hiſt. of the Rebellion where laſt cited.

(24) See Kennet's Hiſt. of England, in 3 vols folio. And Boyer's Hiſt. of Queen Anne, folio.

(25) Ath. Ox. where laſt cited.

* He was condemned for high-treaſon in Dec. 1685; but his life ſaved. He had before been found guilty of a miſdemeanour in the Fanatic plot, and fined 40,000 l.

(26) Memorials of the Life and Writings of Mr Samuel Johnſon, prefixed to his Works, 2d edit. 1713. folio.

bad, and referring his own tryal to the judgment of that honourable aſſembly [L]. Lond. 1641. 4to.

[L] *A ſpeech in the Houſe of Commons—referring his trial to that honourable aſſembly.*] As this is the only ſpecimen we have of his talent this way (27), it muſt not be omitted here, though it is printed in the General Dictionary.

Mr SPEAKER,

‘*It is a true ſaying of the wiſe man,* That all things happen alike to all men, *as well to the good man as to the bad. There is no ſtate or condition whatſoever, either of proſperity or adverſity, but all men are ſharers in the ſame. No man can be diſcerned truly by the outward appearance, whether he be a good ſubject either to his God, his Prince, or his Country, until he be tried by the touchſtone of loyalty, Give me leave, I beſeech you, to parallel the lives of either ſort, that we may in ſome meaſure diſcern truth from falſhood. And in ſpeaking I ſhall ſimilize their lives. (1.) In religion towards God. (2.) In loyalty and due ſubjection to their ſovereign, in their affection towards the ſafety of their country. 1. Concerning religion; the beſt means to diſcern between the true and falſe religion is, by ſearching the ſacred writings of the old and new Teſtament, which is of itſelf pure, indited by the ſpirit of God, and written by holy men unſpotted in their lives and converſations; and by this ſacred word, we may prove whether our religion be of God or no; and by looking in this glaſs, we may diſcern whether we are in the right way or no. And looking into the ſame, I find by this truth of God, that there is but one God, one Chriſt, one* Faith, *one Religion, which is the goſpel of Chriſt, and the doctrine of the prophets and apoſtles. In theſe two Teſtaments are contained all things neceſſary to ſalvation. If that our religion doth hang upon this doctrine, and no other ſecondary means, then it is true; to which comes neareſt the Proteſtant religion, which we profeſs, as I really and verily believe; and conſequently that religion, which joineth with the doctrine of Chriſt and his apoſtles, the traditions and inventions of men, prayers to the Virgin Mary, angels, ſaints, that are uſed in the exerciſe of their religion, ſtrange and ſuperſtitious worſhipping, cringing, bowing, creeping to the altar, uſing pictures, dirges, and ſuch like, cannot be true, but erroneous, nay deviliſh; and all that is maintained in the Church of Rome, as neceſſary as the ſcripture to ſalvation, therefore is a falſe and erroneous Church both in doctrine and diſcipline; and all other ſects and ſchiſms that lean not* only *on the ſcriptures, though never ſo contrary to the Church of Rome, is a falſe worſhiping of God, and not true religion. And thus much concerning religion, to diſcern the truth and falſehood thereof. I come now, Mr Speaker, to the ſecond thing intimated unto you, which was to diſcern in a ſtate between good ſubjects and bad, by their loyalty and due ſubjection to their lawful ſovereign; in which I ſhall, under favour, obſerve two things. (1.) Lawful ſubjection to a King in his own perſon, and the commands, edicts, and proclamations of the Prince and his Privy-Council. 2. Lawful obedience to the laws, ſtatutes, and ordinances made, enacted by by the King and the Lords, with the free conſent of his great Council of State aſſembled in Parliament. For the firſt to deny a willing and due obedience to a lawful ſovereign and his Privy-Council (for as Camden truly ſaith,* The command of the Lords, Privy-Counſellors, and the edicts of the Prince are all one, for they are inſeparable, the one never without the other) *either to defend his royal perſon and kingdoms againſt the enemies of the ſame either publick or private; or to defend the antient privileges and prerogatives of the King pertaining and belonging of right to his Royal Crown and the maintenance of his honour and dignity; or to defend and maintain true religion eſtabliſhed in the land according to the truth of God; is one ſign of an evil and bad ſubject. Secondly, to yield obedience to the commands of a King, if againſt the true religion, againſt the antient and fundamental laws of the land, is another ſign of an ill ſubject. Thirdly, to reſiſt the lawful power of the King; to raiſe inſurrection againſt the King, admit him adverſe in his religion; to conſpire againſt his ſacred perſon, or any ways to rebel, though commanding things againſt our conſcience in exerciſing religion, or againſt the rights and privileges of the ſubject; is an abſolute ſign of a diſaffected and traiterous ſubject. And now having given the ſigns of diſcerning evil and diſloyal ſubjects, I ſhall only give you in a word or two the ſigns of diſcerning which are loyal and good ſubjects, only by turning theſe three ſigns already ſhewn on the contrary ſide. 1. He that willingly and chearfully endeavoureth himſelf to obey his ſovereign's commands for the defence of his own perſon and kingdoms, for the defence of true religion, for the defence of the laws of his country, is a loyal and good ſubject. 2. To deny obedience to a King commanding any thing againſt God's true worſhip and religion, againſt the ancient and fundamental laws of the land; in endeavouring to perform the ſame, is a good ſubject. 3. Not to reſiſt the lawful and royal power of the King; not to raiſe ſedition or inſurrection againſt his perſon, nor to ſet diviſion between the King and his good ſubjects by rebellion, although commanding things againſt conſcience in the exerciſe of religion, or againſt the rights and privileges of the ſubject; but patiently for the ſame to undergo his Prince's diſpleaſure, whether it be to his impriſonment, confiſcation of goods, baniſhment, or any other puniſhment whatſoever, without murmuring, grudging, or reviling againſt his ſovereign or his proceedings; but ſubmitting willingly and cheerfully himſelf, and his cauſe to Almighty God, is the only ſign of an obedient and loyal ſubject. I come now to the ſecond means to know the difference between a good ſubject and a bad, by their obedience to the laws, ſtatutes, and ordinances made by the King, with the whole conſent of his Parliament. And in this I obſerve a two-fold ſubjection; in the particular members thereof diſſenting from the general votes of the whole Parliament; and ſecondly, the whole ſtate of the kingdom in a full Parliament. Firſt, I confeſs, if any particular member of Parliament, although his judgment and vote be contrary, do not willingly ſubmit to the reſt, he is an ill ſubject to the King and country. Secondly, to reſiſt the ordinance of the whole ſtate of the kingdom, either by ſtirring up a diſlike in the hearts of his Majeſty's ſubjects of the proceedings of the Parliament; to endeavour by levying of arms to compel the King and Parliament to make ſuch laws as ſeem beſt to them; to deny the power, authority, and privileges of Parliament; to caſt aſperſions upon the ſame; to procure the untimely diſſolution and breaking off the Parliament, before all things be ſettled by the ſame for the ſafety and tranquillity both of King and ſtate; is an apparent ſign of a traiterous and diſloyal ſubject againſt his King and country. And thus having troubled your patience in ſhewing the difference, between true Proteſtants and falſe, between loyal ſubjects and traitors, in a ſtate or kingdom; and the means how to diſcern them: I humbly deſire my actions may be compared with either, both as I am a ſubject, a Proteſtant, and a native in this country; and as I am a member of this preſent and happy Parliament. And as I ſhall be found guilty upon theſe articles exhibited againſt myſelf and the other gentlemen, either a bad or a good ſubject to my gracious ſovereign and native country, to receive ſuch ſentence upon the ſame, as by this honourable Houſe ſhall be conceived to agree with law and juſtice.*’

(27) Mr Wood refers to the Earl of Strafford's tryal, where he was one of the managers of the Houſe of Commons for more of his ſpeeches; and we find him indeed frequently ſpeaking in the interlocutory parts of that tryal, but never making any thing like what is uſually underſtood by A SPEECH.

HARRINGTON [JAMES], an eminent political writer in the XVIIth century, was the eldeſt ſon of Sir Sapcote Harrington, by Jane the daughter of Sir William Samuel of Upton in Northamptonſhire (*a*). Though his immediate predeceſſors were not ennobled, his family was one of the moſt honourable in England. It had long flouriſhed in Rutlandſhire; and, as the hiſtorian of that county obſerves, had, when he wrote, produced eight dukes, three marquiſes, ſeventy earls, twenty-ſeven viſcounts, and thirty-ſix barons; of which number ſixteen were Knights of the Garter (*b*). He was born at Upton the firſt Friday of January, 1611 (*c*). In his very infancy there appeared promiſing indications of his future ability and attainments. He had an early propenſity to learning, with a ſeriouſneſs of temper, and gravity of behaviour, ſo much beyond what is commonly ſeen in children, that, inſtead of needing reſtraint or correction, he rather impreſſed on his parents and teachers an awe of him: and yet, when grown to manhood, he diſcovered not the leaſt ſourneſs or auſterity of diſpoſition; but, on the contrary, was remarkably facetious and witty (*d*). When he had made a ſufficient progreſs in the rudiments of learning, he was, ſome time in 1629, entered a Fellow-Commoner of Trinity-college in Oxford, where he had the happineſs of being placed under the tuition of the famous William Chillingworth (*e*), who had been admitted a Fellow thereof on the 10th of June in the preceding year (*f*). Here he made a conſiderable proficiency in the literature then in vogue, and taught in thoſe ſeminaries; and more particularly applied himſelf to the learning of ſeveral foreign languages; for the underſtanding of which, as he was determined to ſee the world, he prudently foreſaw an occaſion. He had not been above three years at his ſtudies, when his father died, leaving him under age (*g*). Though the oppreſſive Court of Wards was in being, yet the tenure of his eſtate impowering him to chuſe his own guardian, he pitched on the Lady Samuel, his maternal grandmother, a woman of diſtinguiſhed prudence and virtue. From her and the reſt of his governors he obtained a permiſſion of quitting the univerſity, before he was of ſtanding requiſite for a degree, and of travelling abroad (*h*). His firſt ſtep was into Holland, in thoſe days the principal ſchool of martial diſcipline; and (what ſtill rendered it more agreeable to him) a country ſo wonderfully flouriſhing, under the auſpices of liberty, in commerce, ſtrength, and grandure, as excited the envy or admiration of all Europe. Now, we may ſuppoſe, it was, that he began to make government the main ſubject of his meditations; for he uſed to ſay frequently afterwards to his acquaintance, that, before he left England, he knew not the true nature of monarchy, anarchy, ariſtocracy, oligarchy, and the like. On his coming into the Netherlands he entered a volunteer, and ſo continued ſome months, in Lord Craven's regiment; during which, being much at the Hague, he had an opportunity of adding greatly to the accompliſhments both of his mind and perſon, by frequenting the courts of the Prince of Orange and the Queen of Bohemia, both of which were then reſident in that beautiful village. Mr Harrington had qualities that ſoon recommended him to the notice of the latter of theſe excellent perſons, and ſhe accordingly received him very graciouſly. She was indeed influenced in her conſideration of him by a two-fold motive, viz. on the ſcore of his own merit, and in regard of his uncle John Lord Harrington, who had formerly been her governor. The Elector alſo courted him into his ſervice. He attended his Highneſs in a viſit he paid the King of Denmark at Copenhagen, whither he went to try if he could engage that monarch in his intereſt; he waited upon him likewiſe ſome years in his chamber, and was intruſted by him with the affairs of the Palatinate ſo far as they were tranſacted at the Britiſh Court (*i*). Returning from Denmark to Holland, Mr Harrington ſtayed there but a ſhort time. No one could reliſh the charms of that Republic more exquiſitely; but nothing could extinguiſh the thirſt he had of viſiting other nations; and therefore, taking Flanders in his way, he ſet out on a tour through part of Germany, France, and Italy. While he was at Rome, the Pope performed the ceremony of conſecrating wax-lights on Candlemas-day. When his Holineſs had ſanctified theſe torches, they were diſtributed among the people, who ſought for them very eagerly. Mr Harrington was deſirous of one of them; but, as it was not to be obtained without kiſſing the Pontiff's toe, he declined the ſacred bauble. His companions were not ſo ſqueamiſh; they gained them by a mean ſubmiſſion. When they came home to England, they had the folly to complain of his ſtiffneſs to the King; who telling him he might have complied with the practice, as a reſpect only to a temporal prince, he very politely replied, That ſince he had the honour of kiſſing his Majeſty's hand, he thought it beneath him to kiſs any other prince's foot (*k*). Venice he admired beyond all the other Latian ſtates; eſteeming it's conſtitution the beſt in the world, immutable by any external or internal cauſes. Here he cultivated an acquaintance with men of letters, or otherwiſe of character, by whoſe friendſhip he could reap any benefit; and enriched his library with a collection of all the valuable books to be found there in the Italian tongue, eſpecially relating to Politics (*l*). He came back to his native country in all points greatly improved, and qualified to ſerve and adorn it. He was heartily welcomed by many, and received moſt joyfully by his own family, the ordering of which was now an object of his deepeſt concern [*A*]. At the commencement of the

civil

(*a*) Life of James Harrington, p. 13. prefixed to his Oceana and other Works, printed at London, 1737, in folio.

(*b*) Wright, in his Antiquities of the County of Rutland, p. 52.

(*c*) Wood, Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 588. 2d edit. Lond. 1721.

(*d*) Life of Harrington, p. 14.

(*e*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Life of Chillingworth, by P. Des Maizeaux, p. 2.

(*g*) Life of Harrington, p. 14.

(*h*) Ibid.

(*i*) Wood and Toland, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Life of Harrington by Toland, p. 15.

(*l*) Idem.

[*A*] *An object of his deepeſt concern.*] His brother William, as Mr Toland informs us (1), he bred to be a merchant, in which calling he became a conſiderable man; he was a good architect, and was ſo much noticed for his ingenious contrivances, that he was received a Fellow of the Royal Society. He took all the care of a parent in the education of his ſiſters, and would himſelf make large diſcourſes to them concerning

(1) Life of Harrington, p. 15.

civil war, in 1642, he was manifeſtly inclined on the Parliament's ſide [B]; and endeavoured to procure a ſeat in the Houſe; but in this he was diſappointed (m). His inclination to ſtudy kept him from ſeeking after public employments; ſo that we have nothing more concerning him 'till January 1646; when, out of curioſity, accompanying the Commiſſioners appointed by the Parliament to go to the King at Newcaſtle, to treat of peace, and bring him nearer to London, he was by ſome of theſe Commiſſioners named to wait on his Majeſty, as a perſon known to him before, and engaged in no party or faction. The King approved the propoſal, and Harrington entered on the ſtation of a domeſtic. However, he would never preſume to come into the royal preſence, except in public, 'till he was particularly commanded by the King; and that he and Thomas Herbert (created a Baronet after the Reſtoration) were made Grooms of his Bed-Chamber at Holmby, in the month of May, 1647, on the diſmiſſion of ſome of his old ſervants. The Commiſſioners were ordered by the Parliament to recommend thoſe two gentlemen for that poſt; and the King having taken notice that they had followed the Court ſince his coming from Newcaſtle, and being ſatisfied with what he himſelf had obſerved, and with the report he had received concerning them from others, as to their ſobriety and good education, he received them very willingly in that capacity. Mr Harrington performed the duties of his office with untainted fidelity to his Sovereign, without doing any thing inconſiſtent with the welfare of his country; and he thereupon became very acceptable to the King. His Majeſty perceiving him to be a learned ingenious man, loved his company, and choſe rather to converſe with him than with the reſt about him (n). They talked of books and foreign countries with mutual pleaſure; but Government was Mr Harrington's favourite topic; the King often diſcourſed with him thereon, but was always manifeſtly chagrined when he entered on the ſubject of a Commonwealth [C]. Theſe frequent familiar intercourſes gradually rectified the miſtaken notion Mr Harrington, as well as many other honeſt men, had formerly conceived of his Majeſty, for want of a nearer acquaintance with him, and through the wicked miſrepreſentations of a faction, who ſerved their own villainous ends by lies and ſcandal (o). Mr Harrington's growing eſteem of the King, and compaſſionate concern on account of his diſtreſsful circumſtances, induced him to ſollicit his friends in Parliament to have matters accommodated to the contentment both of Prince and People. During the treaty in the Iſle of Wight, he frequently warned the divines of his acquaintance, to take heed how far they preſſed the King to inſiſt upon any thing, which, however it conduced to their dignity, was no eſſential point of religion; and that ſuch matters, driven too far, would infallibly ruin all the endeavours uſed for a peace (p). Soon after the breaking off this treaty, he was turned out of the King's ſervice, by thoſe who had then forcibly aſſumed the diſpoſal of his ſacred perſon. He incurred the diſpleaſure of theſe ſons of violence in the following manner. His Majeſty being carried away from Holmby, to the head quarters of the army, from thence conveyed by ſlow journeys to Hampton-court, next deluded into the Iſle of Wight (where he treated with the Commiſſioners of Parliament for peace), and from Newport, there, hurried away, by Lieutenant-Colonel Ralph Cobbet, to Hurſt-caſtle in Hampſhire

(m) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(n) Wood, ut ſupra. Life of Harrington by Toland, p. 16.

(o) Wood, ut ſupra.

(p) Life of Harrington by Toland, ut ſupra.

ing the reverence that was due to Almighty God; the benevolence they were obliged to ſhew all mankind; how they ought to furniſh their minds with knowledge by reading of uſeful books, and to ſhew the goodneſs of their diſpoſition by a conſtant practice of virtue: in a word, he taught them the true rules of humanity and decency, always inculcating to them that good manners did not ſo much conſiſt in a faſhionable carriage (which yet ought not to be neglected), as in becoming words and actions, an obliging addreſs, and a modeſt behaviour. He treated his mother-in-law, as if ſhe were his own, and made no diſtinction between her children and the reſt of his brothers and ſiſters.

[B] *Inclined on the Parliament's ſide.*] There were many truly honeſt and judicious men, at that juncture, who were of the ſame principles, and had the ſame views as our author. The adminiſtration, during the courſe of Charles the Firſt's reign, to that time, was ſo far from unblameable, that it abounded with errors, and was chargeable with very grievous encroachments on the rights of the people. The King himſelf had an upright heart, but he had been miſled and ill-biaſſed; he had not been inſpired with a juſt idea of the Britiſh Conſtitution, and could hardly be induced to think his ſubjects properties exempt from the ſtretch of his prerogative: he fancied this to be ſomewhat conferred on him by Heaven; not a delegation from the people, to be limited by, and exerciſed only for, their intereſts. It was to maintain theſe, and reſcue them from unwarrantable infractions, that thoſe brave patriots, who made a majority of the long Parliament, firſt entered into that diſpute with the Crown, which proceeded to ſuch an unjuſtifiable length, and had ſo lamentable an iſſue. They foreſaw not the tragical cataſtrope. It was not againſt his Majeſty's perſon or legal government they unſheathed the ſword; but againſt that exorbitance of power, which was raiſed to an intolerable height, and which my Lord Clarendon, an unexceptionable loyaliſt, has fairly deſcribed. Mr Harrington was one of this claſs, and not to be reckoned among thoſe firebrands, who were unhappily mixed with the genuine friends of liberty, at laſt got the better of them, as well as of their ſovereign, and reduced all to ruin.

[C] *When he entered on the ſubject of a Commonwealth, &c.*] Toland, on this occaſion, makes the following reflection: 'Here I know not which moſt 'to commend; the King for truſting a man of republican principles, or Harrington for owning his principles while he ſerved a King (2).' But, in truth, there ſeems little to commend or wonder at on either ſide in this caſe. The King, we may ſuppoſe, confided no farther in Harrington, than as the leaſt exceptionable of thoſe, whom, in that deplorable ſituation, he was conſtrained to receive, as attendants, at the pleaſure of the Parliament, who were then his maſters. Nor did it diſcover any extraordinary greatneſs of ſoul in Harrington, to talk to a captive prince (for ſuch the King really then was) in ſo diſagreeable a ſtrain. It would have been more noble in him to have ſhunned the diſguſtful topic at that ſeaſon; and more prudent in his Majeſty to have betrayed no reſentment of it. The one would hardly have preſumed to act the part of an advocate for a Commonwealth, a few years before, at Whitehall, when the King was in the ſplendor of his dignity; nor would the other have ſuffered it, without inflicting ſeverer tokens of his diſpleaſure.

(2) Life of Harrington, p. 16.

[D] *To*

Hampſhire [*D*], on November 30, 1648; it happened that Harrington, who in all theſe changes accompanied his Majeſty, did one morning fall into converſation with the governor of that caſtle, and ſome other officers of the Parliament forces, concerning the late negotiations at Newport, wherein he magnified the King's wiſdom in his arguments with the Commiſſioners upon the propoſitions for peace; alledged the ſatisfactorineſs of his conceſſions; and the probability of an happy iſſue of that affair, if this force in removing him to Hurſt-caſtle had not intervened, and made an unhappy rupture; enlarging alſo upon his Majeſty's learned diſputes with Mr Richard Vines, and other Preſbyterian Miniſters, on the points of eccleſiaſtical government and diſcipline. This diſcourſe, however true in itſelf, was, in that unlucky ſeaſon, undeniably, inconſiſtent with prudence: and this was his Majeſty's own ſentiment of it; who, inſtead of reaping any benefit thereby, had the mortification, on the ſcore thereof, to be deprived of the moſt valued of his ſervants; and ſo had reaſon for blaming the good man's indiſcretion, though he could not but entertain a grateful ſenſe of his zeal and affection. In ſhort, the perſons to whom he had thus talked, whoſe conviction was what he aimed at, without any deſign of offending them, withdrew, greatly incenſed; and, after conſulting a little among themſelves, returned, and let him know they were diſſatisfied with what he had ſaid. He deſired them to inſtance wherein, and would have explained and juſtified his meaning. But they, interrupting, told him in plain terms, they could not ſuffer his attendance on the King any longer. Accordingly he was ſecluded his preſence; and there is no ſure ground to think he ſaw him any more [*E*], 'till that fatal day when he was brought to the ſcaffold, where Mr

Harrington

[*D*] *To Hurſt-caſtle in Hampſhire.*] The King's circumſtances here were truly miſerable: abſolutely in the power of a ſet of men inured to ſlaughter; haunted by the diſmal apprehenſions of their inſolent cruelty; no friend or ſervant of his own at hand, to comfort or defend him, except Herbert, of his bedchamber, and he weak and diſpirited by an aguiſh diſorder. An incident relative to this matter, and which in ſome ſort ſhews the wretchedneſs of his Majeſty's condition, is told by Wood (3). ‘About three days before he was moved to Windſor, at midnight, there was an unuſual noiſe in the ſaid Hurſt caſtle, that awakened him out of his ſleep; and he was in ſome marvel to hear the draw-bridge let down at that unſeaſonable hour, and ſome horſemen enter, who being alighted, the reſt of the night was in deep ſilence. The King being deſirous to know the matter, he rung his ſilver bell long before break of day, (which, with both his watches, he uſually laid upon a ſtool near the wax lamp that was ſet near them in a large ſilver baſon) upon which call, Herbert opened the bedchamber door to know his Majeſty's pleaſure. The King told him he would riſe; and as he was making ready, he aſked him if he heard a noiſe that was made about midnight. Herbert anſwered he did, as alſo the falling of the draw-bridge, but he being ſhut up in the back-ſtair room next to the bedchamber, and the door, by the Governor's order, being bolted without, he neither could nor would, without his Majeſty's order, adventure out at ſuch a time of night. The King then bid him go and learn what the matter was, which he did accordingly, and knocking at the back ſtair door, the ſoldiers unbolted it without; ſo that entering into the next room he happily found Capt. Reynolds there alone by a fire, and, after ſome diſcourſe, he enquired of him who they were that came ſo very late into the caſtle laſt night, and their errand. The Captain in a joking way bad him be wary in carrying news to the King, for he was among ſupercilious ſuperintendants, and his comrade was ſerved for an example. Herbert thanked him for his friendly caution, and at length got out of him who the commander was that came ſo late into the caſtle, but would not diſcover what his buſineſs was. Whereupon he returned to his Majeſty, and told him it was Major Thomas Harriſon that came ſo late into the caſtle. *Are you ſure it was Major Harriſon*, ſaid the King? *May it pleaſe your Majeſty* (ſaid Herbert) *Captain Reynolds told me ſo*. The King then making a little pauſe, ſaid, *Then I believe it; but did you ſee Major Harriſon? No, Sir*, ſaid Herbert, Then the King ſaid, *Would not Captain Reynolds tell you what the Major's buſineſs is?* Herbert then replied, that *he did what he could to be informed, but that all he could then learn from the Captain was, that the occaſion of Harriſon's coming would be known ſuddenly*. The King ſaid no more, but bad him wait in the next room; and forthwith his Majeſty went to his prayers. In leſs than an hour the King opened his bed-chamber door, and beckoned to Herbert to come in and make him ready. Herbert was in ſome conſternation to ſee his Majeſty ſo much diſcompoſed, and wept: which the King obſerving, aſked him the meaning of it; Herbert replied, *Becauſe I perceive your Majeſty ſo much concerned at the news I brought*. The King ſaid thereupon, *I am not afraid; but do you not know that this is the man (Harriſon) who intendeth to aſſaſſinate me, as by letter I was informed during the late treaty? to my knowledge I never ſaw the Major, though I have often heard of him, nor ever did him injury. The commiſſioners indeed hearing of it, repreſented it from Newport to the Houſe of Lords: what ſatisfaction he gave them I cannot tell; this I can, that I truſt in God, who is my helper; I would not be ſurpriſed, but this is a place fit for ſuch a purpoſe. Herbert, I truſt to your care; go again, and make farther inquiry into this buſineſs.* Immediately afterwards Herbert went out, and finding an opportunity of ſpeaking in private with Captain Reynolds (who being a gentleman well educated, and at all eſſays ready to expreſs civility towards the King, with whom he moſt times walked upon a long narrow paſſage of ſtony ground joining to the caſtle, and was always courteous to his ſervants) he told him the Major's buſineſs was to remove the King thence to Windſor-caſtle, within three days at fartheſt. Herbert believing the King would be pleaſed with the exchange, by leaving the worſt to enjoy the beſt caſtle in England, returned to his Majeſty with a mirthful countenance, little imagining, God knows, the ſad conſequence; but as ſoon as the King heard Windſor named he ſeemed to rejoice at it’ It was on a window of Hurſt caſtle that this diſconſolate prince wrote the following line of Ovid;

> Qui decumbit humi non habet unde cadet.

He was conveyed hence to Windſor in his own coach, Harriſon ſitting therein with him, all the way, covered.

[*E*] *No ſure ground to think he ſaw him any more.*] Neither Wood nor Toland expreſs themſelves intelligibly concerning this circumſtance; but they ſeem to contradict one another. Wood ſays, ‘I think he (Harrington) was never admitted again when the King was afterwards conveyed to Windſor, and ſo to St James's (4),’ which is not ſenſe. Toland, after ſaying, he was forcibly turned out of the King's ſervice, adds, ‘As they were taking the King to Windſor, he begged admittance to the boot of the coach, that he might bid his maſter farewel, which being granted, and he preparing to kneel, the King took him by the hand, and pulled him into him; he was for three or four days permitted to ſtay; but becauſe he would not take an oath againſt aſſiſting or concealing the King's eſcape, he was not only diſcharged from his office, but alſo for ſome time detained in cuſtody, till Major-General Ireton obtained his liberty. He afterwards found means to ſee the King at St James's (5).’——*He was for three or four days*

permitted

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(3) Athenæ, 2d edit. Vol. II. col. 589.

(4) Wood, ut ſupra, col. 589.

(5) Toland, ut ſupra, p. 87.

Harrington was with him, and where, or a little before, he received a token of his Majeſty's affection (q). The King's execution affected him extremely. He often ſaid, nothing ever went nearer him, and that his grief on the ſcore of it was ſo great, he had thereby contracted a diſeaſe; ever after, even while Oliver reigned, ſpeaking of that unfortunate prince with the greateſt zeal and paſſion imaginable (r). After this ſhocking event he was more recluſe than ordinary; keeping for the moſt part in his library. His friends attributed this for a good while to melancholy and diſcontent, and took all opportunities of perſwading him to a more agreeable ſort of life. At length, to convince them of their miſtake, and rid himſelf of their importunity, he ſhewed them the real cauſe of his retirement, and how he was therein employed, by laying before them a copy of his *Oceana* [F], which he had been then writing: telling them withal, that ever ſince he began to examine things ſeriouſly, he had principally addicted himſelf to the ſtudy of civil government, as being of the higheſt importance to the peace and felicity of mankind; and that he ſucceeded, at leaſt, to his own ſatisfaction; being now convinced that no government is of ſo accidental or arbitrary an inſtitution as people are wont to imagine; there being in ſocieties natural cauſes producing their neceſſary effects, as well as in the earth or the air (s). It was with difficulty that he produced this curious piece to the world. After he had effectuated the conception of ſo elaborate a ſyſtem, it had like to have been ſtifled in the birth. Some of Oliver's courtiers hearing of it, and that it was in the preſs, ſet all their emiſſaries at work in ſearch of it. In ſhort, they found, they ſeized, and carried it to Whitehall. All the author's ſollicitations were inſufficient for the recovery of it. At laſt, his memory ſuggeſted an happy expedient. He recollected, that Oliver's favourite daughter, Lady Claypole, acted the part of a princeſs very naturally, obliging all perſons with her civility, and frequently interceding for the miſerable. To her, therefore, he determined to apply; and he ſucceeded to the very utmoſt of his wiſhes. This, however, was, perhaps, owing to an unforeſeen and comical incident [G].

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(q) Wood, ut ſupra, col. 589.

(r) Idem.

(s) Toland, ut ſupra, p. 17.

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permitted to ſtay.--To ſtay where? or, in what character? —No-body can gather from this paſſage —*He was diſcharged from his office.*—He was in no office. He had, by Toland's own account, been diſcharged from his office a while before. The circumſtance indeed is in itſelf of little moment; but I take notice of it, to inſtance what obſcure and inaccurate writers Wood and Toland are.

[F] *A copy of his Oceana*] This is a kind of political romance, in imitation of Plato's atlantic ſtory, where by Oceana Harrington intends England; exhibiting a plan of republican government, which he would have had erected here, in caſe theſe kingdoms had formed themſelves into a genuine Commonwealth, inſtead of that ſpurious monſter which aſſumed the venerable name during Oliver's uſurpation. The book, according to Toland's analyſis of it (6), conſiſts of preliminaries divided into two parts, and a third ſection called the Council of Legiſlators; then follows the Commonwealth; and laſtly comes the concluſion or corollary.

(6) Toland, ut ſupra, p. 21.

The preliminary diſcourſes contain the principles, generation, and effects of all governments, whether monarchical, ariſtocratical, or popular; and their ſeveral corruptions, as tyranny, oligarchy, and anarchy, with all the good or bad mixtures that naturally reſult from them.

The firſt part of the preliminaries particularly treats of antient prudence, or that kind of government which generally prevailed in the world 'till the time of Julius Cæſar. None can conſult a ſurer oracle, that would conceive rightly of foreign or domeſtic empire; the balance of land or money; arms or contracts; magiſtrates and judicatures; agrarian laws; elections by the ballot; rotation of officers, and the like.

The ſecond part of the preliminaries treats of modern prudence, or that which has chiefly obtained ſince the expiration of the Roman liberty; eſpecially the Gothic conſtitution. Here we may acquire a clear idea of the Engliſh government, under the Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, till the foundations of it were ſubverted under Charles I. and here we may learn to underſtand the antient feuds and tenures, the origin and degrees of our nobility, with the inferior orders of the populace: What was meant, under the Saxons, by Ealdorman or Earl; King's Thane; middle Thane or Vavaſors; their Shire Moots, Sherifs and Viſcounts; their Halymoots, Weidengemoots, &c. Here alſo we ſee what the Baronage of the Normans was; ſome being of that rank by their poſſeſſions, others by writ, or by patent. In the latter part of this diſcourſe, the author diſplays the natural cauſes of the diſſolution of the Norman monarchy under Charles the Firſt, and the generation of the Commonwealth, or rather anarchy, that ſucceeded.

Next follows the Council of Legiſlators. Harrington deſigning to offer the world a moſt perfect ſyſtem of government, ſtudied all the ancient and modern politicians, that he might imitate what was excellent, and avoid or rectify whatever he found inconvenient in their ſeveral ſyſtems. To this end therefore he introduces nine legiſlators, under fictitious names, perfectly acquainted with the different ſtates they are appointed to repreſent. The province of the firſt is that of the Jews; of the ſecond, Athens; of the third, Sparta; of the fourth, Carthage; of the fifth, the Archæans, Ætolians, and Lycians; of the ſixth, Rome; of the ſeventh, Venice; of the eighth, Switzerland; of the ninth Holland. Of the excellencies of all theſe, and the fruits of his own wiſe invention, he framed the model of his Oceana.

The method he obſerves in that work, is, to lay down his laws or orders in ſo many poſitive propoſitions, ſubjoining to each an explanatory diſcourſe; and, if occaſion requires, adding a ſpeech, ſuppoſed to be delivered by the archon, or ſome of the legiſlators. In the corollary, or, concluſion, he ſhews how the laſt hand was put to his Commonwealth. His ſyſtem comprehends not only the form of a ſenate and aſſemblies of the people, the manner of waging war and governing in peace, but, moreover, the diſcipline of a national religion, and the ſecurity of a liberty of conſcience; a form of government for Scotland, Ireland, and the other provinces of the Republic; governments for London and Weſtminſter, proportionably to which the other corporations of the nation are to be faſhioned; directions for the promoting of trade; laws for regulating academies; with admirable rules for the educating of youth, as well to the wars or the ſea, to manufactures or huſbandry, as to law, phyſic, or divinity, and, chiefly, to the breeding and figure of accompliſhed gentlemen; excellent orders for reforming the ſtage; the number, choice, duty, and ſalaries, of the officers of ſtate, of the revenue, and the like; with an eſtimate of the ordinary annnual expence of the whole community.

[G] *Owing to an unforeſeen and comical incident.*] Toland relates (7), that Harrington having thought fit to make his application to Lady Claypole, though ſhe was an abſolute ſtranger to him, being led into her antichamber, he ſent in his name, with his humble requeſt that ſhe would admit him into her preſence. While he attended, ſome of her women coming into the room, were followed by her little daughter, about three years old, who ſtaid behind them He entertained the child ſo divertingly, that ſhe ſuffered him to take her up in his arms 'till her mother came; whereupon, he ſtepping towards her, and ſetting the child down at her feet, ſaid, Madam, 'tis well you are come at this nick

of

(7) Toland, ubi ſupra, p. 19.

Be that as it will, his copy was reſtored; and he was ſuffered to proceed in the printing of it. As ſoon as it appeared in the world, it was greedily bought up, and became the general ſubject of converſation (*t*). Several undertook a refutation of it, to whom Harrington replied [*H*]. Many were deſirous of an epitome of it; and indeed it might very well bear one. Mr Harrington was not uſed to ſay too little upon any matter; he was rather apt to encumber or obſcure his ſubject by an exuberance of expreſſion. His ſcheme, when reduced to a narrower compaſs, would become more perſpicuous, and eaſier in the purchaſe, and ſo be of greater utility. In compliance therefore with a general importunity, he printed an abridgment of it in the year 1649, calling it *The Art of Lawgiving*, in three books. The firſt, which treats of the *Foundation and Superſtructures of all kinds of Government*, is an abſtract of his preliminaries to the *Oceana:* and the third book, ſhewing *A Model of Popular Government, fitted to the preſent State or Balance of this Nation*, is an exact compendium of the *Oceana* itſelf, with ſhort diſcourſes explaining the propoſitions. The ſecond book, between theſe two, is *A full Account of the Commonwealth of Iſrael, with all the Variations it underwent.* To the *Art of Lawgiving* is annexed a ſmall diſſertation, or *A Word concerning a Houſe of Peers* (*u*). Harrington not only endeavoured to propagate his republican notions by writing, but for the more effectually advancing a cauſe, of which he was enthuſiaſtically enamoured, he formed a ſociety of gentlemen, agreeing with him in principles, who met nightly at Miles's coffee-houſe in the New-Palace-yard Weſtminſter, and were called the *Rota* (*w*). The room where they aſſembled was open to all, and many came out of curioſity, and probably for the ſake of prating or diſputing; for it ſeems as if ſtrangers and occaſional viſitants had that liberty. 'The diſcourſes here were political, tending to inſtil a diſlike of Monarchy, and by diſplaying the advantages of a Commonwealth, to create a fondneſs in the people of that ſort of government. Wood is very particular in his account of this aſſociation, or gang as he terms it (*x*) [*I*]. After the Reſtoration Mr Harrington lived rather more privately than he had done

(*t*) Toland, ut ſupra, p. 26.

(*u*) Ibid.

(*w*) Ut ſupra, p. 28. Wood, ut ſupra, col. 591.

(*x*) Ut ſupra.

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of time, or I had certainly ſtolen this pretty little lady. Stolen her, replied the mother! pray, what to do with her? for ſhe is yet too young to become your miſtreſs. Madam, ſaid he, though her charms aſſure her of a more conſiderable conqueſt, yet I muſt confeſs it is not love, but revenge, that prompted me to commit this theft. Lord, anſwered the Lady again, what injury have I done you, that you ſhould ſteal my child? none at all, replied he, but that you might be induced to prevail with your father to do me juſtice, by reſtoring my child that he has ſtolen. But ſhe urging it was impoſſible, becauſe her father had children enough of his own; he told her, at laſt, it was the iſſue of his brain, which was miſrepreſented to the Protector, and taken out of the preſs by his order. She immediately promiſed to procure it for him, if it contained nothing prejudicial to her father's government; and he aſſuring her it was only a kind of political romance, ſo far from any treaſon againſt her father, that he hoped ſhe would acquaint him he deſigned to dedicate it to him; and promiſing that ſhe herſelf ſhould be preſented with one of the firſt copies; the Lady was ſatisfied, and ſo well pleaſed with his manner of addreſs, that he had his book ſpeedily reſtored to him.

[*H*] *Several undertook a refutation of it, to whom Harrington replied.*] The firſt of theſe was Dr Henry Ferne, afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter. Harrington publiſhed the whole controverſy between them in the year 1656, under the title of *Pian Piano, or, An Intercourſe between Henry Ferne, Doctor in Divinity, and James Harrington, Eſq; upon occaſion of the Doctor's Cenſure of the Commonwealth of Oceana* (8). The next that appeared againſt it, was Matthew Wren, eldeſt ſon to the Biſhop of Ely. His book was intitled *Conſiderations*, and confined to the firſt part of the preliminaries only. Mr Harrington anſwered in the firſt book of his Prerogative of Popular Government, where he explains and vindicates his aſſertions. He treats his adverſary with a good deal of contempt, and it was thought he had the better of him by much (9). In the courſe of this debate with Wren, he has diſcuſſed ſeveral curious and intereſting points: as, whether a Commonwealth be rightly defined to be a government of laws, and not of men; and monarchy to be a government of ſome men, or a few men, and not of laws?—Whether the balance of dominion in land be the natural cauſe of empire?—Whether the decrees of the Roman Senate, or, *Senatus Conſulta*, had the power of laws?——Whether the Ten Commandments, propoſed by God or Moſes, were voted and paſſed into laws by the people of Iſrael?——Whether a Commonwealth, coming up to the perfection of the kind, comes not up to the perfection of government? that is, whether the beſt Commonwealth be not the beſt government?——Whether monarchy, coming up to the perfection of the kind, comes not ſhort of the perfection of government, and has not ſome flaw in it? that is, whether the beſt monarchy be not the worſt government.——Whether any Commonwealth, that was not firſt broken or divided by itſelf, was ever conquered by any monarch? where he ſhews that none ever were; and that the greateſt monarchies have been broken by very ſmall commonwealths, &c. &c (10).

(8) Toland, ubi ſupra, p. 24.

(9) Ibid.

(10) Ibid.

It was chiefly againſt the Oceana that Richard Baxter wrote his Holy Commonwealth. But Mr Harrington had ſo contemptuous an opinion of this piece, that he vouchſafed it no other anſwer but half a ſheet of cant and ridicule (11). Wren, not ſatisfied with Harrington's anſwer to his Conſiderations, immediately publiſhed a vindication of them, under the title of Monarchy Aſſerted (12). This was penned in a very abuſive ſtrain, with little force of argument. In both theſe reſpects Harrington was even with him in his reply.

(11) Ibid. p. 26.

(12) Ibid.

Something alſo paſſed between Dr Stubbe and Harrington, relative to Oceana; but it was ſo trifling as not to deſerve any farther mention.

[*I*] *Wood is very particular in his account of this aſſociation.*] 'They had a balloting box, and 'balloted how things ſhould be carried, by way 'of Tentamens; which not being uſed or known 'in England before for this purpoſe, the room 'every evening was very full. Beſides Harrington and Henry Nevill, who were the prime men of 'this club, were Cyriack Skinner, a Mercer's ſon of 'London, an ingenious young gentleman, and ſcholar 'to John Milton, which Skinner ſometimes held the 'chair; Major John Wildman, Charles Wolſeley of 'Staffordſhire, Roger Coke, author of the Detection 'of the four laſt reigns, William Poultney, afterwards 'a Knight, who ſometimes held the chair; John 'Hoſkyns, John Aubrey, Maximilian Pettie of Tetſworth in Oxfordſhire, a very able man in theſe matters, and who had more than once turned the council board of Oliver Cromwell, Michael Mallet, Philip Carteret of the Iſle of Guernſey, Francis Cradock 'a Merchant, Henry Ford, Major Venner, Thomas 'Marriett of Warwickſhire, Henry Croone a Phyſician, Edward Bagſhaw of Chriſt-church, and ſometimes Robert Wood of Lincoln-college, and James 'Arderne, then or ſoon after a divine, with many 'others beſides antagoniſts and auditors of note. Dr 'William Petty was a rota-man, and would ſometimes 'trouble Harrington in his club; and one Stafford, a 'gentleman of Northamptonſhire, who uſed to be an 'auditor, did with his gang come among them one 'evening very mellow from the tavern, and did much 'affront the Junto, and tore their orders and minutes.

done during the uſurpation; demeaning himſelf peaceably, as became a man of no party. He was viſited however by many of different ranks and denominations; ſome with a malevolent deſign as ſpies, others with nobler intentions, either to improve by his inſtructive converſation, or to put him on the compoſing of ſomething which might direct to a thorough ſettlement of the kingdom. Among theſe was an eminent Royaliſt, who prevailed with him to draw up ſome inſtructions for the King's ſervice, whereby he might be enabled to govern with ſatisfaction to the people and ſafety to himſelf. This being performed, and ſigned with his own name, his friend, after ſhewing it to ſeveral of the courtiers, found, as he might eaſily have foreſeen, they did not approve a ſcheme that was not favourable to their purpoſes. On this, the author himſelf delivered it to a great miniſter about the King, in order to it's being offered his Majeſty. The acceptation it there found may be imagined from the uſage, we are going to mention, which he met with ſhortly after. About this time he was buſy in reducing his politics to ſhort and eaſy aphoriſms, digeſted into a natural order, and ſuited to vulgar capacities. Of this he made no ſecret, and freely communicated his papers to any of his acquaintance. It muſt be confeſſed there was too little prudence in this behaviour. He ſhould have known, a work of this nature could not fail (if divulged) of rendering him obnoxious to a monarch, who had his principles in the utmoſt deteſtation, and whoſe meaſures were the reverſe of them. Accordingly, while he was putting the laſt hand to this ſyſtem, he was, by an order from the King, on the 28th of December, 1661 (y), ſeized by Sir William Poultney (a quondam brother of the Rota) and others, and committed to the Tower of London for treaſonable deſigns and practices. He had the written ſheets of his Aphoriſms lying before him on the table, when the aforeſaid perſons entered his chamber; and underſtanding they intended to carry them to the Council, he begged they would permit him to ſtitch them together, which was granted, and ſo they were removed with ſome other papers to Whitehall (x). He himſelf was inſtantly hurried to the Tower, without being allowed to take leave of any one, and ſecreted from the ſpeech or ſight of any of his friends. His ſiſters were hereupon inconſolable. One of them, who had formerly experienced the King's favour, threw herſelf at his feet, beſeeching him to compaſſionate her brother, who, through a great miſtake, was fallen under his Majeſty's diſpleaſure; for as ſhe was ſure that none of his ſubjects exceeded him in loyalty, ſo his Majeſty might ſee he was not the man they deſigned, ſince the warrant was for Sir James Harrington, whereas her brother was never honoured with ſuch a title by his Majeſty's anceſtors, and he would not have accepted it from Oliver. To this artful plea the King as politely anſwered, That though they might be miſtaken in his title, he doubted he might be found more guilty of the crimes alledged againſt him, than he wiſhed any brother of her's to be. Then ſhe petitioned he might be examined before his Majeſty, or brought to a ſpeedy tryal. Not one of her requeſts was gratified. Shortly after, Lord Lauderdale, who was ſomewhat a-kin to him, Sir George Carteret, and Sir Edward Walker, were ſent to examine him in the Tower, about a plot, which they ſaid he had contrived againſt his Majeſty's perſon and government (y). At the hearing of this he was greatly revived: for, 'till then, though he might know he was not engaged in any conſpiracy againſt the King, ſince his Reſtoration, he could not be inſenſible how virulently, nay even traiterouſly, he had abuſed his character, as well as his royal progenitors, before that period [K]; and

(y) Wood dates this incident November 26.

(x) Toland, ut ſupra, p. 30.

(y) Ibid. p. 31.

'The ſoldiers, who commonly were there as auditors 'and ſpectators, would have kicked them down ſtairs, 'but Harrington's moderation and perſuaſion hindred 'them (13).' The plan of government theſe meetings were intended to recommend, was conformable to Harrington's Oceana. The ſupreme authority of the nation was to be in a ſenate, a third part of which ſhould rote out by ballot every year; ſo that every ninth year the ſaid ſenate would be wholly altered. No magiſtrate was to continue in office above three years, and all to be choſen by ballot. This doctrine was very taking; and the more, as there ſcarcely appeared at that time a poſſibility of the King's return. However, the greateſt of the parliament men hated it, as being againſt their power. Eight or ten were for it, of which number Henry Nevil was one, who propoſed it to the Houſe, and made it out to the members thereof, that, except they embraced that way of government, they ſhould be ruined. This club laſted till about the 21ſt of February, 1659, when the ſecluded members being reſtored by General Monke, all their ſchemes vaniſhed (14).

[K] *He had abuſed his character, as well as his royal progenitors, before that period.*] Nothing can be viler than the picture he has drawn of Mary Queen of Scots: he even outſcandalizes Buchanan (15). He has painted her ſon, James the Firſt, alſo, in the moſt odious colours; ſuggeſting at the ſame time, that he was not born of the Queen, but was a ſuppoſitious impoſtor, and, of courſe, had no right to the Crowns he inherited (16). His portrait of Charles the Firſt is an abominable figure (17). Beſides ſeveral other bad things, and one moſt horrible, even parricide, he ſays of him, 'Never was man ſo reſolute and obſtinate in a 'tyranny.——He was one of the moſt conſummate in 'the arts of tyranny that ever was. And it could be 'no other than God's hand that arreſted him in the 'height of his deſigns and greatneſs, and cut off him 'and his family (18).' Charles the Second was in Scotland when this libel was publiſhed, ſo defamatory of him and his anceſtors; which circumſtance I mention, that the enſuing paſſages may be more intelligible to the reader. He went thither at the earneſt requeſt of that people, who profeſſed the higheſt loyalty and affection. How they uſed him there is known to every one. His ſituation was truly miſerable; rather an object of pitty, than to be envyed. They treated him liker a ſlave than a ſovereign. But, inſtead of commiſerating the unhappy Prince, or blaming the brutality and ſottiſhneſs of his mock ſubjects, Harrington predicts the vengeance of God on them, for receiving him at all, unleſs (as he odly ſays) the Engliſh army prevented the Deities inflicting it. He repreſents him, there, with that nation, as a Log among his Frogs, ſuffering them to play about him; then adds, 'Yet God will 'ſuffer him (if the Engliſh army prevents not) to turn 'Stork and devour them, while their cries ſhall not be 'heard, as thoſe that (in ſpight of the warning of Pro'vidence, and the light of their own reaſons, for their 'own corrupt intereſt and greedy ambition) brought 'thoſe miſeries upon themſelves (19).' And he cloſes The Grounds and Reaſons of Monarchy (a magazine of this and abundantly more ſlander) with the following paragraph: 'Our ſcene is again in Scotland, which 'has accepted Charles the Firſt's ſon, whom, for di'ſtinction ſake, we will be content to call Charles the 'Second,

(13) Wood, ut ſupra, col. 591.

(14) Idem.

(15) Works of Harrington collected by Toland, Lond. 1737. fol. p. 28.

(16) Idem, & ſeq.

(17) Idem, p. 31.

(18) Idem, p. 32.

(19) Idem, p. 15.

and therefore might well fear the weight of his vengeance, whenever an occaſion preſented of inflicting it. But now he perceived his accuſation was not of that, but of a more recent crime, whereof he was not guilty, he fancied he ſhould eaſily clear himſelf, and be ſpeedily releaſed. However, though, according to that account of his examination which he tranſmitted to his ſiſters, he made a plauſible defence, and even ſeems to have in ſome meaſure inclined Lauderdale and the reſt to believe him innocent; and though a committee of Lords and Commons, after ſeveral ſittings, could make nothing of this imaginary plot [*L*], and never ſo much as named him in all their reports (z), he remained a cloſe priſoner. His ſiſters in the mean time being impatient to know his condition, after ſeveral petitions, at length obtained an order of Council to admit them into the Tower; where they found him barbarouſly uſed by the Lieutenant, whom they ſoftened into more humanity by a preſent of fifty pounds, under the notion of fees. By them he delivered a petition to the King; not only aſſerting his innocence, but commending his own behaviour in the late times, ‘When he had oppoſed the uſurper in ſuch a manner, as was judged, even by the Royaliſts themſelves, to be very much to his diſadvantage.’ Wherefore he begged the favour of a public tryal, or a more eaſy confinement (a). Other ſupplications were made in his behalf, but all to no purpoſe. Finding no relief from this quarter, he turned his eyes toward the Parliament, and framed a petition, repreſenting to that illuſtrious body the hardſhips he had undergone, ‘by lying a cloſe priſoner in the Tower for five months, on a bare ſuſpicion of ſome diſaffection to the government, which in all his examinations did not in the leaſt appear; that he hoped in that time ſo to have cleared his innocence by a public tryal, as to deſerve his liberty; and that becauſe he underſtood theſe matters were in ſome meaſure before their Houſe, he would not preſume, without firſt making his application to them, to ſue for his freedom by other legal means.’ But ſo much was that Houſe then under the awe and influence of the Court, that his ſiſter could get none of the members to deliver this petition, or to give her any encouragement. Several, on the other hand, diſſwaded her from any application at all, leſt, inſtead of procuring her brother any benefit thereby, ſhe haſtened his deſtruction: whereas, if ſhe continued patient under his ſufferings, he might be ſafe in his reſtraint (b). Theſe methods failing, he adviſed his ſiſter to move for an *habeas corpus*. She did ſo. It was at firſt abſolutely denied. It was afterwards granted, and duly ſerved; but the effect of it baſely defeated by a moſt arbitrary and cruel proceeding: for when he and his friends juſtly expected, that, in conſequence of this writ, he ſhould have been preſently brought to a legal tryal, or enlarged, his warder came one day to his ſiſters at Weſtminſter, and informed them, that, between one and two o'clock that morning, their brother was put on board a ſhip, to be tranſported he knew not whither, without any time given him, either to ſee his friends, or to make proviſion of money, linnen, or other neceſſaries (c). His relations were under the deepeſt concern on account of this ſtrange incident. They made all the enquiry they could poſſibly after him, at the Tower, and at the Secretary's office, but all to no purpoſe. They could get no in-

telligence

(z) Idem.

(a) Life of Harrington, by Toland, p. 35.

(b) Ibid, p. 36.

(c) Idem.

Second. Certainly theſe people were ſtrangely blind as to God's judgment perpetually poured out upon a family; or elſe wonderfully addicted to their own intereſt, to admit the ſpray of ſuch a ſtock; one that has ſo little to commend him, and ſo great improbability to further their deſigns and happineſs; a popiſh education, if not religion too, however for the preſent he may ſeem to diſſemble it; France, the Jeſuits, and his mother, good means of ſuch an improvement; the dangerous maxims of his father, beſides the revenge he owes his death, of which he will never totally acquit the Scots; his hate to the whole nation; his ſenſe of Montroſe's death; his backwardneſs to come to them 'till all other means failed (both his foreign begged aſſiſtance, his propoſitions to the Pope, and commiſſions to Montroſe) and, laſtly, his late running away to his old friends in the North: ſo that any may ſee his preſent compliance to be but hiſtrionical and forced, and that as ſoon as he has led them into the ſnare, and got power into his own hands, ſo as that he may appear once more bare-faced, he will be a ſcourge upon them for their groſs hypocriſy, and leave them a ſad inſtance to all nations, how dangerous it is to eſpouſe ſuch an intereſt, againſt which God with ſo viſible and ſevere a hand does fight, carried on by and for the ſupport of a tyrannizing nobility and clergy, and wherein the poor people are blindly led on—and made inſtrumental with their own eſtates and blood towards inſlaving and ruining themſelves (20).’ Whatever ground there might be for this invective, there can be none for ſuppoſing the writer of it a true friend or ſubject of Charles the Second: nor can we conceive with what face his ſiſter could plead for that Prince's compaſſion towards him, under that character; or in the leaſt wonder at the diſmal apprehenſions he entertained in the beginning of his impriſonment, while he was unacquainted with the real occaſion of it.

(20) Idem, p. 32.

[*L*] *Could make nothing of this imaginary plot.*] The account Chancellor Hide gave of it, at a conference of the Lords and Commons, was, ‘That one and thirty perſons were the chief managers of it; that they met in Bow-ſtreet Covent garden, in St Martins-le-grand, at the Mill-bank, and in other places; and that they were of ſeven different parties or intereſts, as, three for the Commonwealth, three for the long Parliament, three for the city, three for the purchaſers, three for the diſbanded army, three for the independents, and three for the fifth-monarchy men. That their firſt conſideration was how to agree on the choice of Parliament-men againſt the inſuing ſeſſion; and that a ſpecial care ought to be had about members for the city of London, as a precedent for the reſt of the kingdom to follow, whereupon they nominated the four members after choſen, and then ſitting in Parliament. Their next care was to frame a petition to the Parliament for a preaching miniſtry, and liberty of conſcience. Then they were to divide and ſub-divide themſelves into ſeveral councils and committees, for the better carrying on their buſineſs by themſelves or their agents and accomplices all over the kingdom. In theſe meetings Harrington was ſaid to be often in the chair; that they had taken an oath of ſecrecy, and concerted meaſures for levying men and money.’ The Chancellor added, that though he had certain information of the times and places of their meetings, and particularly thoſe of Harrington and Wildman, they were nevertheleſs ſo fixed in their nefarious deſign, that none of thoſe they had taken would confeſs any thing, not ſo much as that they had ſeen or ſpoken to one another at thoſe times or places (21).

(21) Life of Harrington, by Toland, p. 35.

[*M*] *Was*

telligence of him any where. They were a fortnight labouring under this painful anxiety, uncertain of his condition, and dreading his fate; when they received a note from his own hand on board one of the King's ſhips, then lying under Hurſt-caſtle, informing them he believed he was bound for Plymouth. About a month after, he ſent them word, by another letter, that he was landed on a ſort of rock oppoſite to Plymouth, called St Nicholas's iſland; from whence he frequently afterwards wrote to them (d). His cloſe reſtraint here, where the water was very bad, and he had ſcarcely room enough to move in, quickly impaired his health. This occaſioned a petition for his being removed to Plymouth, which was complied with, on his brother and uncle obliging themſelves in a bond of five thouſand pounds, for his ſafe impriſonment. Here he had the liberty of walking on the hoe, and was exceedingly well treated by the Deputy-Governor of the fort, Sir John Skelton. At this place he unfortunately became acquainted with one Dr Dunſtan, who adviſed him to take a preparation of Guaiacum in coffee, as a certain cure for the ſcurvy, with which he was then troubled. He drank of this liquor in great quantities, morning and evening; which, it is like, had a very pernicious effect, for he ſoon grew dilirious. His ſiſters having notice of this from his landlady, one of them applied to the Earl of Bath, then Chief Governor of Plymouth, and informed him of his priſoner's ſad condition (e). This noble lord hereupon repreſenting his caſe to the King, and interceding for his removal to London, where he might have the advice of able Phyſicians, his Majeſty granted a warrant for his releaſe, ſince nothing appeared againſt him, ſupported by any credible evidence or preſumption (f). The next day Lady Aſhton, with another of his ſiſters, ſet out for Plymouth, where they found him in a miſerable ſtate; his underſtanding quite impaired, and his body waſted to a ſkeleton. A rumour among the people of the town, that he had taken ſome drink which would make any one mad in a month; the ſurlineſs of the doctor, and ſome expreſſions that dropped from a maid, who was put to attend him againſt his will, made ſeveral ſuſpect he had foul play, leſt he ſhould write any more *Oceanas* (g). It was near a month before he was able to bear the journey to London in a coach. Here (after paſſing a time at Aſhted in Surry, to drink the Epſom waters, from which he received no benefit) he was put wholly under the care of Dr Prujean, who with all his art could afford him little help for the weakneſs of his body, and none at all for the diſorder of his mind. He would diſcourſe of other things as rationally as any man; but when his own diſtemper was touched on, he would fancy and utter ſtrange things about the operation of his animal ſpirits, which tranſpired from him, he ſaid, in the ſhape of birds, flies, bees, or the like. He talked ſo much of good and evil ſpirits, that he even terrified thoſe about him. But he was wont to argue ſo ſtrenuouſly, that theſe chimeras were not the iſſues of a diſordered imagination, that his Doctor, as we are told, was often put to his ſhifts for an anſwer [*M*]. He would on ſuch occaſions compare himſelf to Democritus, who, for his admirable diſcoveries in Anatomy, was reckoned diſtracted by his fellow-citizens (h). In this crazy condition he married the daughter of Sir Marmaduke Dorrel of Buckinghamſhire; a very agreeable woman, and celebrated wit, whoſe perſon and converſation he always admired, and who had been long intimate with his family. He had made his addreſſes to this lady in his younger days; but ſhe was then in the height of her charms, and did not make thoſe returns of affection he deſired. And now ſhe thought fit to accept him, having probably been diſappointed of greater expectations, it preſently appeared the match was not ſo diſintereſted on her ſide as ſhe pretended. Some intimations of this in her conduct occaſioned a difference between them, ſoon after their nuptials; however, a reconciliation quickly enſued, and he treated her with great generoſity and reſpect during the remainder of his life. Towards his latter end he was ſubject to the gout, and enjoyed little eaſe, but drooping and languiſhing a good while, he was at laſt ſeized with a palſy, and died at Weſtminſter, the eleventh of September, 1677, leaving his eſtate to his brother's children, and lies buried in St Margaret's church, on the ſouth ſide of the altar, next the grave of Sir Walter Ralegh (i). Mr Harrington was a man of genius and learning, but he can hardly be deemed a fine writer. He is redundant in reſpect of his matter, too verboſe, and his ſtile not only exuberant, but diſfigured with uncouth terms and phraſes. However, a ſkilful and patient reader may collect a very valuable ſtock of political knowledge out of his writings. We ſhall give a liſt of them below [*N*].

(d) Idem.

(e) Idem.

(f) Ibid. p. 37.

(g) Idem.

(h) Idem.

(i) Ibid. p. 38.

[*M*] *Was often put to his ſhifts for an anſwer.*] There muſt ſurely have been ſome flaw in the Doctor's own underſtanding, or he would never have ſtudied any reply to the ravings of a lunatic: for ſuch Mr Harrington was certainly in this inſtance. Nor can one otherwiſe than ſmile at the grave apology which Mr Toland offers in behalf of theſe whimſies; which he owns indeed puzzled him for a while, 'till he at length happened on a ſolution, that, in his judgment, frees them from all imputation of madneſs. This he found in a paper written by Harrington himſelf, and communicated, after his death, to Mr Toland; whereby it appeared, 'That the ſaid Harrington's pretended viſions of angels and devils were nothing elſe but good or bad animal ſpirits, and that his flies and bees were only ſimilitudes whereby he uſed to expreſs the various figures and forms of thoſe particles (22).' Mr Toland, it ſeems, on the reading of this piece, was perfectly amazed at the diſcovery of ſo mighty a ſecret; and it had ſuch an influence on him, that he could never after, as he tells us, be convinced of Harrington's being delirious in this particular. And to ſatisfy the learned in the point, who are all, as he imagines, concerned therein, he has preſented them with the diſcourſe itſelf, at the concluſion of the author's life (23).'

[*N*] *We ſhall give a liſt of them below*] I. 'The Commonwealth of Oceana.' Firſt printed at London, in Folio, 1656. II. 'The Prerogative of Popular Government.' Firſt printed at London, in quarto, 1658. III. 'The Art of Lawgiving.' Firſt printed at London, in octavo, 1659. IV. 'A Word concerning a Houſe of Peers.' Firſt printed at London, in octavo, 1659. V. '*Valerius* and *Publicola*, or the true Form of a Popular Commonwealth extracted *e puris naturalibus*.' Firſt printed in quarto, 1659.

(22) Idem, p. 38.

(23) Ibid. p. 41.

1659. VI. ‘ A Syſtem of Politics delineated in ſhort ‘ and eaſy Aphoriſms.’ This was firſt publiſhed from a manuſcript of the author’s, after his death, by Mr Toland. VII. ‘ Political Aphoriſms.’ Firſt printed at London, in quarto, 1659. VIII. ‘ Seven Models ‘ of a Commonwealth, or brief Directions ſhewing ‘ how a fit and perfect Model of Popular Government ‘ may be made, found, or underſtood.’ Firſt printed at London, in quarto, 1659. IX. ‘ The Ways and ‘ Means whereby an equal and laſting Commonwealth ‘ may be ſuddenly introduced and perfectly founded, ‘ with the free Conſent and actual Confirmation of the ‘ whole People of England.’ Firſt printed at London in quarto, 1660. X. ‘ The humble petition of divers ‘ well affected Perſons, delivered the ſixth of July, ‘ 1659; with the Parliament’s Anſwer thereto.’ Theſe were the writings of Mr Harrington that Toland collected, methodized, reviewed, and publiſhed in one volume, folio, at London, in the year 1700. But there was another and much compleater edition of his works ſet forth, in 1737, by Andrew Millar, Bookſeller, of the ſame city. This edition contains the following articles, omitted in Mr Toland’s; and for which the world is obliged to the Rev. Thomas Birch, D D. F. R. S.. who communicated them to the editor, viz. XI. ‘ *Pian Piano*, or, Intercourſe between H. Ferne, ‘ D. D. and J. Harrington, Eſq; upon Occaſion of the ‘ Doctor’s Cenſure of the Commonwealth of Oceana.’ Firſt printed at London, in duodecimo, 1656. XII. ‘ The Stumbling Block of Diſobedience and Rebellion, ‘ cunningly imputed by P. H. unto Calvin, removed in ‘ a Letter to the ſaid P. H. from J. H.’ Firſt printed at London, in quarto, 1659. ‘ XIII. ‘ A Letter unto ‘ Mr Stubbs, in Anſwer to his Oceana weighed, &c.’ Firſt printed at London, in quarto, 1659. XIV. ‘ Politicaſter, or a comical Diſcourſe, in Anſwer to ‘ Mr Wren’s book, intitled, Monarchy Aſſerted againſt ‘ Mr Harrington’s Oceana.’ Firſt printed at London, in duodecimo, 1659. XV. *Pour enclouer le Canon.* Firſt printed at London, in quarto, 1659. XVI. ‘ A Diſcourſe upon this ſaying, The Spirit of the ‘ Nation is not yet to be truſted with Liberty, leſt it ‘ introduce Monarchy, or invade the Liberty of Conſcience.’ Firſt printed at London, in quarto, 1659. XVII. ‘ A Diſcourſe ſhewing, that the Spirit of Parliaments, with a Council in the Intervals, is not to ‘ be truſted for a Settlement, leſt it introduce Monarchy ‘ and Perſecution for Conſcience.’ Firſt printed at London, in quarto, 1659. XVIII. ‘ A Parallel of ‘ the Spirit of the People with the Spirit of Mr ‘ Rogers; and an Appeal thereupon unto the Reader, ‘ whether the Spirit of the People, or the Spirit of ‘ Men like Mr Rogers, be the fitter to be truſted with ‘ the Government.’ Firſt printed at London, in quarto, 1659. XIX. ‘ A ſufficient Anſwer to Mr Stubbs.’ Firſt printed at London, in quarto, 1659. XX. ‘ A ‘ Propoſition in order to the propoſing of a Commonwealth or Democracy.’ Firſt printed at London, in folio, 1659. XXI. ‘ The Rota, or a Model of a ‘ Free State or equal Commonwealth, once propoſed ‘ and debated in brief, and to be again more at large ‘ propoſed to, and debated by, a free and open Society of ingenious Gentlemen.’ Firſt printed at London, in quarto, 1660 (24). Mr Harrington made ſome attempts in the poetical way, but they gained him no reputation (25). However, in 1658, he publiſhed an Engliſh tranſlation of two Eclogues of Virgil, and two books of the Æneis, under the title of, ‘ An ‘ Eſſay upon two of Virgil’s Eclogues and two of his ‘ Æneis, towards the tranſlation of the whole,’ octavo; and in 1659, was printed his tranſlation of the third, fourth, fifth, and ſixth books of the Æneis (26). I

(24) Ibid. p. 45.

(25) Wood, ut ſupra, col. 590.

(26) Ibid. col. 594.

HARRIOT [THOMAS], the firſt inventor of the way of notation ſince univerſally uſed in Algebra (*a*), was born and bred at Oxford (*b*); and having completed his Bachelor of Arts degree in Lent 1579 (*c*), being then about 19 years of age, he had ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ſkill in Mathematics, as to be recommended ſoon after to Sir Walter Ralegh as a proper Preceptor for him in thoſe ſciences. Accordingly that gentleman became his firſt patron, and took him into his family, with the allowance of an annual penſion (*d*). This was the firſt reward of his merit, and there are ſeveral inſtances which undeniably evince that his patron found him worthy of his eſteem and confidence. For in the firſt place, after he had, in purſuance of his patent for the purpoſe, made a ſufficient diſcovery of the country now called Virginia, in 1584, he ſent our author, with the colony, under Sir Richard Greenvile, the following year, as a perſon every way qualified to open the way for ſettling it (*e*). From their firſt arrival there, in June 1585, Mr Harriot applied himſelf to the buſineſs with all the diligence which the occaſion required (*f*); and upon their return home, after a full year’s ſtay, by reaſon of ſome unforeſeen accidents, without having made ſuch a progreſs towards the ſettlement as was expected [*A*], he was employed by Sir Walter to draw up and publiſh a topography of the country, in order to keep up the ſpirit of the undertaking [*B*]. This piece was publiſhed in 1588 in 4to (*g*); and it was

(*a*) See below in remark [*H*].

(*b*) See the inſcription upon his monument in remark [*F*].

(*c*) He took this degree Feb. 12. and completed it the following Lent. Wood’s Faſti, Vol. I. col. 118. & Ath. Ox. ibid. col. 459. where he tells us, Mr Harriot was entered of St Mary-Hall, and bred under two ſucceeding Principals there, both ſtrict Diſciplinarians.

(*d*) Idem ibid. col. 460.

(*e*) In the liſt of the perſons who ſtaid a year in Virginia, our author is ranked among the *gentlemen*, and his name put in the ſecond place next to the Admiral Amada, who firſt diſcovered the country. See an account of the particularities of the employments of the Engliſhmen left in Virginia, &c. in 1585. Hakluyt’s Voyages, &c. Vol. III. p. 255. Lond. 1660. fol.

(*f*) See Sir Richard Grinvile’s Voyage for Sir W. Ralegh in 1585. Ibid. p. 251.

(*g*) It is ſubſcribed February 1587. in the concluſion, where he ſays, he had drawn up a chronicle of all the remarkable occurrences of the ſeveral colonies, from the firſt diſcovery of Virginia in 1584 to that time, which he then intended to publiſh, but did not, being probably prevented by the accounts of others.

[*A*] *Some unforeſeen accidents obliged them to return without ſucceſs.*] Mr (afterwards Sir) Ralph Lane, who on the departure of Sir Richard Greenvile, was left by him Deputy Governour of the colony, thought himſelf obliged to leave the country on account of the weakneſs of his company, as well as their ſmall number; the loſs of their bark, which with all their proviſions was carried away by a ſtorm, and their diſappointment in their expected ſupply, which though promiſed by Sir Richard Greenvile, to be with them undoubtedly before Eaſter, yet was not then [in June] come, [illegible] likely to come that year (1). And to theſe reaſons may be added what Mr Harriot writes concerning the temper and qualities of ſome of the inferior members of this colony (2), that either through ignorance of the nature of ſuch an undertaking, or malice and ill-will to their maſters, or elſe through lazineſs and an accuſtomed delicacy of life (which probably reduced them to that weak condition mentioned by the Deputy Governour) they were either grown weary of, or not well affected to, the enterprize. For theſe reaſons it was thought proper not to loſe the opportunity of returning in the Fleet with Sir Francis Drake, who happened to touch there in his way home *. Accordingly they ſet ſail on the 19th of June 1586, and arrived at Portſmouth the 27th of July following (3).

(1) An account of the particularities, of the employments of the Engliſhmen left in Virginia under the care of Maſter Ralph Lane, &c. ſent and directed to Sir Walter Ralegh. Hakluyt’s Voyages, Vol. III. p. 255. & ſeq. edit. 1660. folio.

(2) In his brief and true Report of the New found Land of Virginia, in the introduction. Ibid. p. 266. & ſeq.

* Viz. from ſacking San Domingo, Carthagena, and St Auguſtine. Third Voyage to Virginia in 1586. Id. p. 265.

(3) Account of the Particularities, &c. part ii. at the end.

[*B*] *He drew up a topography of the country, to keep up the ſpirit of the undertaking.*] It is intitled, *A Brief and true Report of the New Found Land of Virginia: Of the Commodities there found and to be raiſed, as well merchantible as others. Written by Thomas Harriot, Servant to Sir Walter Ralegh, a Member of the Colony, and there employed in diſcovering it a twelve month.* From this treatiſe we have already in the preceding remark taken notice of the ill-will which had begun to take root in ſome of the inferior ſort of the colony before their departure; this was apparently nothing elſe but the ſimple effect, as is ordinarily ſeen, of diſappointment †; and there being no poſſible way of removing that cauſe for the preſent, the diſtemper grew to a head in the paſſage, and ſoon after their arrival in England broke out in various diſparaging miſrepreſentations of the country, in order to involve the ruin of the whole deſign in their particular diſappointment. Every body knows how many difficulties inſeparably attend an attempt to ſettle a new colony abroad, as well as the general diſpoſition of the people at home to believe the worſt reports which they hear about it. ’Twas to prevent the miſchief of ſuch falſe and ſlanderous reports, that our author, as he declares (4), was prompted to draw up and publiſh the preſent treatiſe, which therefore is called by him very appoſitely,

† In not finding gold and ſilver ſo ſoon as they looked for.

(4) In the introduction, addreſſed to the adventurers, favourers, and well-willers, of the enterpriſe for the inhabiting and planting of Virginia.

was probably either this or the following year, that his patron introduced him to the knowledge of Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, who being pleaſed with his affability and peaceable temper, and convinced of his profound learning, gave him a penſion of one hundred and twenty pounds a year, and afterwards kept a handſome table for him, and ſome other of his mathematical friends [*C*], in the Tower, where his Lordſhip was impriſoned in 1606 for life, diverting the melancholy of his confinement in the daily ſociety of men of learning and ingenuity. Sir Walter Ralegh being alſo in the Tower at the ſame time, frequently joined in the company (*b*), enjoying the ſweets of friendſhip in a free and unreſerved declaration of ſentiment upon points of literature with his preceptor [*D*], who always retained a moſt grateful ſenſe of his patron's favours. It was in this ſentiment that he firſt introduced Captain Keymis to him [*E*], whoſe information afterwards of a gold

(*b*) Wood, where laſt cited.

appoſitely, *A true Report* of the New Fonnd Land, &c. and to gain credit to his report, he ſignifies not only that he had been in the diſcovery, but was eſpecially employed in dealing with the natural inhabitants, and had therefore ſeen and known more than the ordinary ſort. In further confirmation of the truth of his report, there is prefixed a preface by Mr Lane, the Deputy-Governour abovementioned; wherein he ſtakes his own credit for the ſaid truth, atteſting that the author of the treatiſe, was a man no leſs for his honeſty, than for his learning commendable.

[*C*] *Kept a table for him and ſome of his mathematical friends.*] Theſe friends were Walter Warner and Robert Hughes. He alſo allowed to each of theſe a penſion, but of leſs value than that of Mr Harriot, as indeed their merit was leſs (5). They were the Earl's conſtant companions while he was detained in the Tower, and were uſually called the Earl of Northumberland's Three Mags (6). Of Mr Warner, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak further in the ſequel; the other, Mr Hughes, is well known by his treatiſe of the globes, the firſt edition of which was printed in Latin in 1593, 8vo. with this title, *Tractatus de globis & eorum uſu; accomodatus iis qui Londini editi ſunt*. Mr Hughes was alſo tutor to the Earl of Northumberland's ſon, Algernoon Percy, while he was at Chriſt-church-college in Oxford (7). We are told that the Earl retained an acquaintance of Mr Hughes's in his ſervice, the famous Nicholas Hill (8), author of a piece intitled, *Philoſophia Epicurea, Democritana, Theophraſtica, propoſita ſimpliciter non edocta*, Pariſ. 1601, 8vo. of which Ben Johnſon has theſe lines (9):

(5) Walliſii Opera, Vol. II. in præfatione.

(6) Wood's Ath. Ox. col. 460. Vol. I. To theſe the Earl afterwards added Nath. Torperley, who had been amanuenſis to the famous Vieta in France. Ibid. col. 566.

(7) Ath. Ox. col. 572. Vol. I.

(8) Idem ibid. col. 365.

(9) In his epigrams, No. 134.

> *Thoſe atomi ridiculous, whereof old* Democrite, and
> Hill Nicholis,
> *One ſaid, the other ſwore, the world conſiſts.*

The witty Ben might probably be prompted to introduce Hill Nicholis into this epigram, on account of the following pleaſant ſtory concerning him. That when he was ſecretary to Edward, the poetical and prodigal Earl of Oxford, among other accounts he brought in this. *Item, for making a man,* 10*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* and being required by the Earl to explain it, he ſaid he had merely out of charity given that ſum to a poor perſon who had frequently told him, that *ten pounds would make him a man* (10).

(10) Wood, where laſt cited.

[*D*] *A free converſation upon points of learning with his preceptor.*] Mr Wood, from whom this account is collected, will needs have our author to be a deiſt, and ſuggeſts, that when theſe converſations turned upon religion, the infinity of matter and of the world, and other points, contrary to the accounts in the Bible, were maintained by him. But it has been already ſuggeſted (11), that this imputation is charged upon him without any authority, and alſo is very inconſiſtent with Mr Harriot's behaviour. In his employment to convert the natives of Virginia to the Chriſtian religion, when explaining to them the contents of the Bible, he declared. '*That therein was ſet forth the true and only God and his mighty works; that it contained the true doctrine of ſalvation through Chriſt, with many particularities of miracles and chief points of religion, as I was able,* ſays he, *then to utter, and thought fit for the time.*' However at the ſame time we find him prudently cautioning them againſt running into any ſuperſtitious veneration of the ſaid book, when he ſaw them embrace and kiſs it, and ſtroke over all their bodies with it, obſerving to them that the book materially and of itſelf was not of ſuch virtue as he thought they conceived, but only the doctrine therein contained. In reality, the whole diſcourſe of our author with thoſe heathens, is dictated by a true ſpirit of piety, as well as good ſenſe; and that he continued ſteady in the ſame principles of religion to his death, appears both from the inſcription upon his monument, where he is declared to be, *Dei Triniunius cultor piiſſimus*, and alſo from a remark in a poem on the appearance of the comet in 1618, addreſſed to Sir Tho. Ailſbury, by Dr Richard Corbet, ſucceſſively Biſhop of Oxford and Norwich, where he writes thus,

(11) In the General Dictionary, under our author's article.

> *Now for the peace of God and men adviſe,*
> *Thou that haſt where withal to make us wiſe,*
> *Thine own rich ſtudies,* and deep Harriot's mine,
> In which there is no droſs, but all refine (12).

(12) Corbet's Poems, p. 56. Lond. 1672. 8vo.

As this poem appears to be wrote particularly upon the opinion at that time in general vogue, that comets were certain fore-runners of ſome impendent judgment from the Deity. The Biſhop therein ſeems to allude to a remarkable paſſage in the diſcourſe about religion to the natives of Virginia juſt mentioned, wherein Mr Harriot, ſpeaking of the extraordinary ſucceſs in their military engagements againſt thoſe idolators, which became more effectual by a general ſickneſs wherewith they were ſeized, thereupon makes this remark. Some of them ſaid, 'It was the eſpecial work of God for our ſakes, as we ourſelves, continues he, have cauſe in ſome ſort to think no leſs, whatever ſome do, or may imagine to the contrary, eſpecially ſome aſtrologers knowing of the eclipſe of the ſun, which we ſaw the ſame year before in our voyage thitherward, which in the time appeared very terrible; and alſo of a comet which begun to appear but a few days before the beginning of the ſaid ſickneſs; *but to exclude them from being the eſpecial cauſes of ſo eſpecial an accident, there are further reaſons than I think fit at preſent to be alledged.*' Hence it appears that Mr Harriot's religion and piety were kept by his good ſenſe within the bounds of reaſon, and if in the free converſation between him and his patron, ſome ſuperſtitious and groundleſs conceits, too ſtiffly maintained by the divines of thoſe times, were handſomely rallied, that was a further proof of the good ſenſe of both; Though turned by Mr Wood into an occaſion of aſperſing both as deiſts (13).

(13) Sir Walter Ralegh's character is vindicated alſo by an appeal to ſeveral parts of his Hiſtory of the World. See his Life by Mr Oldys, p. 71.

[*E*] *He introduced Captain Keymis to Sir Walter.*] This is inſerted upon the authority of Mr Wood *, who has ranked him among the number of our author's mathematical friends, of which the following Latin poem written by Captain Keymis, and prefixed to the account of his ſecond voyage to Guiana in 1596, is an illuſtrious proof. It contains a deſcription of that country, and runs thus:

* Ath. Ox. Vol. I. col. 433.

Ad Thomam Hariotum, Matheſeos et Univerſæ,
Philoſophiæ peritiſſimum. De Guiana Carmen.
Datum Anno 1595.

> *Montibus eſt Regio, quaſi muris, obſita multis,*
> *Circumſepit aquis quos Raleeana ſuis.*
> *Intus habet largos Guaïna receſſus,*
> *Hoſtili geſtans libera colla jugo.*
> *Hiſpanus clivis illis ſudavit, et alſit,*
> *Septem annos novies: nec tamen invaluit.*
> *Numen & omen ineſt numeris: fatale ſit illi,*
> *Et nobis, virtus ſit recidiva, precor.*
> Gualtero *patefacta via eſt duce & auſpice* Ralegh
> *Menſe uno: ô factum hoc nomine quo celebrem?*
> *Nocte dieque, datis velis, remiſque laborans,*
> *Exegit ſummæ dexteritatis opus.*
> *Scilicet expenſis magnis non ille pepercit,*
> *Communi natus conſuluiſſe bono.*

Providus

gold mine in Guaiana (*i*), as 'tis ſaid, was made uſe of by Sir Walter to procure his releaſe from the Tower. The attempt conſequent thereupon proved indeed fatally ruinous to both theſe friends of Mr Harriot by different ways, though from the ſame cauſe. But the death of Sir Walter particularly brought an indelible infamy upon the royal author of it. Neither did his friend, the ſubject of the preſent article, long ſurvive it. For being ſeized with a cancer in his lip, he put himſelf under the care of Dr Alexander Rhead (*k*); but that cruelly painful incurable malady (*l*) put an end to his life, July 2, 1621. He died in Sion-college, where he had reſided ſeveral years for the ſake of his ſtudies; whence his corpſe was carried with great funeral ſolemnity to St Chriſtopher's church, and interred there, a monument being erected to his memory by his noble executors, Robert Sidney Viſcount Liſle, and Sir Thomas Aylesbury, with an inſcription (*m*) which is inſerted below [*F*]. Our author left ſeveral poſthumous pieces (*n*), none of which have been printed (*o*) except the following in folio, whereof the title-page is thus drawn up, *Artis Analyticæ praxis ad æquationes algebraicas nova expedita, & generali methodo reſolvendas, e Poſthumis Thomæ Harrioti, Philoſophi ac Mathematici celeberrimi ſchediaſmatis ſumma fide & diligentia deſcriptis, & Illuſtriſſimo Domino Henrico Perceio Northumbricæ Comiti, qui hæc primo ſub patronatus munificentiæ ſuæ auſpiciis ad proprios uſus & lucubrata in communem Mathematicorum utilitatem denuo reviſenda deſcribenda & publicanda mandavit, meritiſſimi honoris ergo nuncupatus.* Lond. 1631 [*G*]. This work contains ſo many excellently uſeful improvements

Providus excubuit ſimili diſcrimine Joſeph,
Sic fratres fratrem deſeruere ſuum.
Fama coloratam deſignet ſi bona veſtem,
Veſtis ſciſſa malis ſic fuit illa modis.
Mira leges, aureſque animumque tuum arrige, tellus
Hæc aurum et gemma, graminis inſtar, habet.
Ver ibi perpetuum eſt: ibi prodiga terra quotannis
Luxuriat, ſola fertilitate nocens.
Anglia noſtra licet dives ſit, et undique fælix,
Anglia, ſi confers, indiga frugis erit.
Expertes capitum volucres, piſceſque, feraſque,
Prætereo: haud proſunt, quæ novitate placent.
Eſt ibi, vel nuſquam, quod quærimus. Ergo petamus:
Det Deus hanc Canaan poſſideamus, Amen.
Tui amantiſſ. L. K (14).

[*F*] *An inſcription upon his monument.*] It was conſumed in the fire of London, but is preſerved by Mr Stowe, whence, as it contains ſome particulars of his life referred to in this memoir, we ſhall tranſcribe it at length.

Siſte Viator, leviter preme,
Jacet hic juxta quod mortale fuit
C. V.
Thomæ Harrioti.
Hic fuit doctiſſimus Ille Harriotus
De Syon ad flumen Thameſin,
Patria & Educatione
Oxonienſis.
Qui omnes ſcientias calluit, & in omnibus excelluit;
Mathematicis, Philoſophicis, Theologicis.
Veritatis Indagator Studioſiſſimus.
Dei Triniunius cultor piiſſimus.
Sexagenarius aut eo circiter
Mortalitati valedixit non Vitæ
An. Chriſti MDCXXI. 2. Julij (15).

[*G*] *Artis analyticæ praxis, &c.*] This book was publiſhed by Mr Warner (though without mentioning his name) (16), concerning which Mr Wood gives the following account (17). That, 'the ſum of it coming 'to the hands of Sir Thomas Ailſbury, Mr Warner 'undertook to perfect and publiſh it, on condition 'that Algernoon, eldeſt ſon of Henry Earl of Northumberland would, after his father's deceaſe, continue his penſion to him during his life. This being 'obtained by the intereſt of Sir Thomas Ailſbury (18), 'Warner took a great deal of pains in it, and at length 'publiſhed in that ſort as we ſee it now extant.' The obvious inference from this account is, that the manuſcript being left imperfect by the author, theſe defects were ſupplied by the editor, which however is ſo far wide of the truth, that beſides no notice being taken by the latter, of his having made any ſuch ſupplies, it is certain that one remarkable hiatus in the manuſcript was left by him unſupplied in the printed copy, and was afterwards obſerved and filled up by Dr Wallis in his hiſtory of Algebra. All that Mr Warner added, was a preface and an epilogue, in both which he has indeed ſhewn himſelf to be a friend worthy of Mr Harriot, the ſtile in both being perſpicuous and elegant, and the matter cloſe and pertinent. With regard to the *preface*, in order to give the reader an exact and comprehenſive view of Mr Harriot's true merit in this piece, he lays before him an account of the ſtate of the analytick art in the ſeveral ſtages from it's origin and invention by the Ancients, to it's reſtitution by Vieta. In executing this general plan, he proceeds to obſerve, particularly, 'That in the buſineſs of inveſtigation, 'the Ancients generally made uſe of the analytic art, 'though nothing thereof appeared upon the face of the 'problem as it ſtood in their works, the conſtruction 'being ſynthetical, which was conſequently demonſtrated geometrically; but that this method was extended univerſally no further than to quadratic equations, or to the *loci plani*, for when the analytical ſolution terminated in the formula of the higher orders, 'as cubics, biquadratics, &c. they had recourſe to the '*loci ſolidi*, or the conic ſections; and where that failed, 'to the *loci*, which they called *linear*, that is, to mechanic curves, ſuch as the helix, conchoid, quadratrix, &c. but that this laſt method was only a neceſſary ſupplement to their defective art; theſe mechanical conſtructions being by the nature of them incapable of geometrical demonſtrations. In this ſtate 'the analytic art or power in ſolving problems, ſtuck 'among the Grecians, nor were any improvements 'made therein by the Arabs, who did nothing more 'than give to the art the name of Algebra from their 'own language. Here it ſtood 'till Cardan and Tartaglia, Italians, building upon a certain geometrical 'foundation, endeavoured to advance it to the ſolution of cubic equations demonſtrarively, and this 'they performed in ſome conditional caſes accurately, 'but by a very perplexed form in binomial roots: 'and even ſo, this baſis of the ſolution is not general 'and abſolute. Which being obſerved by Stevinus, 'he proceeded a ſtep further, and exhibited, (1.) A 'method of ſolution for ſuch cubic equations as were 'reſolvable by their original nature and condition, 'that is, ſuch whoſe ſolutions may be drawn from the 'ſuppoſed foundation. (2.) He reduced and reſolved 'thoſe forms of cubic equations which are reducible by 'their condition to the primary ones. (3.) He reſolves ſuch biquadratics after they are reduced to 'thoſe primary cubics to which they are reducible. 'All the reſt unconditionated, as well cubics as biquadratics (which is a great part of the whole) being, 'by a tacit excluſion, condemned as irreſolvable, to 'the great detriment of the art. This was the progreſs, and theſe the boundaries of the Italian invention, limited, continues Mr Warner, not ſo much 'by our ignorance, as by the nature of the thing. At 'laſt appeared *Vieta*, that great analytical architect, who after many fruitleſs trials and reſearches in 'the geometrical way, turned himſelf at length to the 'arithmetical

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(*i*) See General Hiſtory of Great-Britain, or the Life and Reign of King James I. Lond. 1653. p. 112. and Howel's Letters, &c. let. 43. p. 95. edit. 1650.

(*k*) See Dr Rhead's Works, Treatiſe 2. of Ulcers, Lect. 26. Lond. 1650. where the doctor alſo obſerves, that Harriot and his three friends beforementioned were maintained by the noble Earl of Northumberland while in the Tower, whom he ſtiles the Mæcænas of learning and all learned men.

(*l*) Mr Oldys, ubi ſupra, imagines, this cancer might be occaſioned by holding frequently mathematical inſtruments of braſs in his mouth. But he ſeems to forget that Mr Harriot's ſtudies lay more in the ſpeculation than in the practice of that art.

(*m*) Ath. Ox. Vol. I. col. 460.

(*n*) See remark [*G*].

(*o*) One intitled *Ephemeris Chirometrica* is preſerved in Sion-college library.

(14) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 666.

(15) Stowe's Survey of London, Vol. I. book ii. p. 123. edit. 1725.

(16) Wallis's Hiſtory of Algebra, edit. 1685. fol. in the preface.

(17) Ath. Ox. Vol. I. col. 461.

(18) That gentleman alſo gave Mr Warner an annual penſion, though ſmaller than that which he had from the Earl of Northumberland. Idem ibid.

ments in Algebra; entirely his own inventions, that he is deſervedly ranked among thoſe illuſtrious authors who are an honour to our country; which requires the more notice, as we were for many years robbed of that honour by the management of Des Cartes, who plumed himſelf with theſe Engliſh feathers ſo artfully, that they were generally eſteemed abroad to be the genuine growth of France [*H*].

‘ arithmetical courſe, and thereby happily invented both the *logiſtes ſpecioſa*, and *exegeſis numeroſa*, which by the nature of it comprehending the ſolution of all equations, of all orders and forms by a general uniform and invariable method, ſo that the ſolution of problems being finally compleated by the reſolution of equations, he marked it by the magnificent name of that univerſal problem, *nullum non problema ſolvere*.’ Mr Warner concludes the preface, with ſhewing the improvements which were made in Vieta's method by Mr Harriot, the particulars of which will be ſeen in the next remark.

In the *epilogue*, the editor declares, that he had publiſhed this work of his friend as a *prodromus* to ſeveral others, all built upon the ſame method of logiſtic ſpecies by the ſame author; which he had in his hands, and intended to give to the public; but none of theſe were ever printed, and are now probably long ſince loſt. As to Mr Warner, we are informed (19), that he was born at Leiceſterſhire, and was a good philoſopher as well as a mathematician, that he invented a table of logarithms, different from that of Briggs (20). That beſides this he wrote a *treatiſe upon coin and coinage*, and firſt communicated the ſecret of the circulation of the blood to Dr Harvey, an account whereof will be ſeen in his article, and that he died in 1640.

[*H*] *Mr Harriot's inventions were borrowed by Des Cartes.*] After what is ſaid of theſe inventions above, the curious reader will naturally expect to ſee ſome account of them here, and his curioſity will be fully gratified with the following liſt of them given firſt by Dr Wallis. Mr Harriot greatly improves the art, ſays he, (1.) *In producing ſmall letters inſtead of capitals to define his ſpecies, as taking up leſs room, eſpecially when they come to be frequently repeated.* (2.) *His waving the terms of quadratic, cubic, ſurſolid, &c. in the deſignation of them, which he performs very naturally by the bare number of their dimenſions as aa, aaa, aaaa, which when they come to be numerous, are conveniently expreſſed by numeral figures* *, *which is alſo ſometimes uſed by others.* (3.) *His putting the whole equation to one ſide, making it equal to nothing; and, which was the end why he did it,* (4.) *Shewing thence the true original of higher equations from a compoſition of lateral or more ſimple equations,* which is the great key, that opens the moſt abſtruſe myſteries in algebra, and which I think we owe purely to him. And, conſequently thereupon, (5.) *Determining the number of roots (affirmative, negative, or imaginary) in every equation, viz. ſo many as are the dimenſions of it's higheſt term.* (6.) *Diſcovering the genuine conſtruction of the abſolutely known quantity, or* homogeneum comparationis, *as Vieta calls it, viz. by a continual multiplication of all the roots.* (7.) *As alſo the conſtitution of all the coëfficients, viz. of what and how many numbers each coëfficient doth conſiſt, and by what multiplication of roots into one another each member is made.* (8.) *Reſolving by diviſion an equation ſo compounded into thoſe ſimple equations, of which by multiplication it is made up.* (9.) *Determining (by comparing common equations with his canonicals) how many roots of each equation are real (and not merely imaginary) and how many of theſe are affirmative, and how many negative.* (10.) *Reducing conditional equations to more ſimple forms by ſuppoſition of certain qualities, or reſpective proportions in their ſeveral roots among themſelves, whereby ſome of their places become vacant, or ſo and ſo qualified, and (conſequently).* (11.) *A diſcovery of thoſe qualities and proportions in the roots, from ſuch want of, or qualifications of the coëfficients as ariſe from thence.* (12.) *Turning at once by changing the ſigns of even places, all the affirmative roots into negative, & è contra.* (13.) *Multiplying and dividing the roots of any equation yet unknown, in any proportion at pleaſure. And,* (14.) *Thereby freeing the coëfficients of any equation from fractions and ſurds.* (15.) *Increaſing or diminiſhing the value of ſuch unknown roots, by the addition or ſubduction of any quantity aſſigned. And ſo,* (16.) *By this means (if there be occaſion) making ſome or all of the negative roots to become affirmative or vice verſa. And,* (17.) *Taking away (by the ſame means) one or more of the intermediate terms in any equation, and thereby reducing the equation to fewer terms.* (18.) *Taking away in particular, the ſecond term in any equation, by increaſing or diminiſhing the value of the root by an aliquot part of the coëfficient, denominated by ſuch number as is that of the dimenſions of the higheſt term.* (19.) *Reducing thereby all affected quadratic equations to ſimple quadratic.* (20.) *Reducing in like manner all affected cubic equations to two forms very convenient for further reduction.* (21.) *Reducing farther the ſame affected cubic equations to ſimple cubics, as far as they are capable of being reduced into ſpecies.* (22.) *Diſcovering thoſe cubic equations, which are not capable of explication in ſpecies (according to ſuch ways of notation as are yet received) without imagining the ſquare root of a negative quantity, with the demonſtration of that incapacity.* (23.) *Shewing notwithſtanding that theſe ſame equations have real roots, and not merely imaginary.* (24.) *A peculiar way, and very expedient, of reducing affected quadratic equations, to ſimple quadratics, by completing the ſquare.* (25.) *An improvement of the* exegeſis numeroſa, *that is, the numeral ſolution or extraction of roots of affected equations, firſt introduced by* Vieta. All theſe, continues the Doctor, *are either explicitly delivered by him, or are obvious to remark upon the bare inſpection of what he delivers, and moſt of them are properly his own diſcoveries, as far as I can yet find, though in ſome few of them Vieta had gone before him. To this ſtate had Harriot advanced algebra, in that his poſthumous work, written long before; for he died in* 1621, *but publiſhed in* 1631. In running over theſe improvements of Harriot, the Doctor remarks thoſe (and they were the greateſt part of them) which he obſerves were borrowed by Des Cartes, and inſerted in the firſt edition of his Geometry, publiſhed by himſelf in 1637. Whence upon the whole, the Doctor concludes with the following remark in juſtice to Mr Harriot. ‘ That, *pure algebra, as it ſimply conſiders the computation and management of proportion, abſtract from the conſideration of any particular ſubject, none before him* [Harriot] *had ſo accurately delivered by a genuine deduction from it's true principles, and what Des Cartes (who hath borrowed his algebra from him, and others ſince him) has added to it, are built upon thoſe foundations which he had laid* (21.)’ While this was in the preſs, the Doctor received the following account from Dr John Pell, to whom it was related by Sir Charles Cavendiſh, (only brother to William, then Earl, and afterwards Duke of Newcaſtle,) a perſon of honour, well ſkilled in the mathematics. He diſcourſing at Paris with Monſ. Roberval, an eminent French mathematician concerning that piece of Des Cartes then lately publiſhed. ‘ *I admire,* ſaith Roberval, *that notion in Des Cartes, of putting over the whole equation to one ſide, making it equal to nothing* (22); *and how he lighted upon it. The reaſon why you admire it,* ſays Sir Charles, *is becauſe you are a Frenchman; for if you were an Engliſhman, you would not admire it. Why ſo?* ſaith Mr Roberval. *Becauſe,* ſaith Sir Charles, *we in England know where he had it, namely from Harriot's Algebra. What book is that?* ſaith Monſieur Roberval, *I never ſaw it. Next time you come to my chambers,* ſays Sir Charles, *I will ſhew it you.* Which a while after he did, and upon peruſal of it, Monſieur Roberval exclaimed with admiration. *Il l'a veu! Il l'a veu!* i. e. *He had ſeen it, he had ſeen it,* finding all *that* in Harriot, which he had before admired in Des Cartes, and not doubting but that Des Cartes had it from thence (23).’ Upon this, Dr Wallis, in the preface to his hiſtory of Algebra, ſcruples not to aſſert that Mr Harriot in his Artis Analyticæ Praxis, &c. ‘ *Had taught (in a manner) all that, which hath ſince paſſed for* the Carteſian method of Algebra, *there being ſcarce any thing of pure Algebra in Des Cartes, which was not before in Harriot, from whom Des Cartes ſeems to have taken what he hath that is purely Algebra, but without naming him.*’ So bold an attack upon Des Cartes, made a great noiſe both in France and Holland, where it had always paſſed current for truth, that he was the undoubted genuine inventor of what was called the Carteſian Algebra.

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(19) By Mr Wood, ibid.

(20) See more of this in the article of PELL [JOHN]

* 'Tis no injuſtice to Sir Iſaac Newton to ſay that ſome of his improvements in Algebra are raiſed out of this way of notation.

(21) The doctor had before expreſſed the ſame things in the following words, ‘ *Without which* (foundation of Harriot) *the whole ſuperſtructure of Des Cartes (I doubt) had never been.* Hiſt. of Algebra, c. 30.

(22) This is the third improvement by Harriot beforementioned.

(23) Wallis's Hiſtory of Algebra, c. 53. edit. 1685.

Algebra (24). And this book of Dr Wallis coming to the hands of Mr Baillet, that gentleman in his *Abridgment of the life of Des Cartes*, endeavoured to vindicate him in the following manner. ‘ Firſt, He obſerves that both Roberval and a certain Jeſuit, had objected the conformity of Des Cartes's Algebra, to that of Harriot, in order to prejudice Cartes's reputation, which he was informed of by a letter from Carcavi, but thought ſo unworthy a treatment from ſuch a friend as Mr Roberval, did not deſerve any anſwer (25). 2. Mr Baillet declares, that the matter was decided in favour of Des Cartes by Hudden, in a letter inſerted in Carteſius's Geometry ; as alſo by Schooten, in his notes upon that treatiſe, and by Mr Preſtet, in the preface to the ſecond edition of his *Mathematical Elements* (26).’ This attempt of Mr Baillet in defence of Des Cartes, being publiſhed in 1693, was peruſed by Dr Wallis, who took the opportunity of returning an anſwer to it in ſome additions to the preface of his Hiſtory of Algebra in Latin in folio, the following year (27). Where he obſerves, firſt, ‘ That Des Cartes's behaviour, as repreſented by Mr Baillet, amounts to a confeſſion of the charge. He was informed by a letter from Carcavi, that Roberval had objected the conformity of his method with that of Harriot. But what ſays he to this, does he deny the fact that he had made uſe of Harriot's inventions ? No. What then ? *Il n'y eut que l'indignite de la conduite de Roberval qui empecha M. Des Cartes de repondre ſur ce point.* That is, ſays the Doctor, If I conſtrue it right, he took it heinouſly that it ſhould be imputed to him by Roberval, that he had made uſe of Harriot's inventions, but did not deny the thing, rather choſe to make no anſwer to it.’ Carcavi, it ſeems, as a friend to Des Cartes, had declared to him very explicitly what had happened. His letter is dated at Paris, September 24th, 1649, where he writes thus. ‘ Monſieur Roberval *aſſures me, what I would not mention to you, but that it concerns your intereſt to know it, that he could reproach you, with what an anonymous author, who wrote a ſmall tract in Algebra (ſome believe him to be a Jeſuit) objects to you*, that in the formation of equations, you only copy what was publiſhed in the year 1631, by an Engliſhman, whoſe name was Harriot, and who is very little known to us here, at leaſt to me (28).’ In anſwer to the ſecond part of Mr Baillet's apology, Dr Wallis produces the words of Hudden, which are, ‘ *Regulam hanc de æquatione biquadratica in duas quadraticas reſolvenda quam Dom. Des Cartes, p.* 79, 80, 81, *ſuæ geometriæ deſcripſit, meo, inquit, judicio non veriſimile videtur ipſum ex ullis aliis authoribus, ut nonnulli opinantur, deſumpſiſſe*. i. e. It does not ſeem probable in my opinion, that Des Cartes borrowed the rule, which he gives in the 79, 80, 81 pages of his Geometry for reſolving biquadratic equations into two quadratics, from any other authors, as ſome imagine. Schooten likewiſe makes the ſame remark. *Hem*, cries Wallis, *macrum teſtimonium* ! a ſlender evidence this ! Hudden thought, that for one ſingle rule, Carteſius was obliged to no body. But what ſays he of the reſt, which he has in common with Harriot, not a ſyllable, *ne* γρὺ *quidem*. Why am not I alſo ſummoned on the ſame ſide, who throughout the whole 55th chap. of my Algebra, contend that this very rule was not taken from Harriot, nor in Harriot's book, but (as far as I ſaw) was Carteſius's own invention.’ As to Mr Preſtet, 'tis true he ſpeaks indeed more directly and poſitively, and does not ſtick to charge the Doctor with being inſtigated herein by an envious principle againſt the glory of the French nation in reſpect of mathematical learning ; proteſting that his accuſation of Des Cartes, was raiſed upon idle conjectures alone, unſupported by any kind of proof, and conſequently deſerved not the leaſt credit. His words as related by Dr Wallis, are, ‘ *Invenio ibidem* [*in præfatione ad elementa ſua mathematica*] *Dom. Preſtet male habere, quod ego in Algebra mea Anglice edita an.* 1685, *Harrioto noſtro aſſueruerim (prout res eſt) eorum plurima puram Algebram ſpectantia, quæ in Carteſii geometria comparent ; quodque id* (*ut ait*) *vanis conjecturis fecerim, præque invidia et æmulatione Gallicæ gloriæ in rebus mathematicis*, quodque ita renovatum iverim (prout ille loquitur) ridiculam illam accuſationem (29), *cui, cum ego abſque ulla probatione id dixerim, non vult eſſe credendum.*’ But what this teſtimony contains of ſubſtance, was ſo notoriouſly falſe, that to wipe it away, the Doctor had nothing more to do than to appeal as he does to the ſeveral facts upon which his charge was grounded : and as to the confident air with which Mr Preſtet pronounces his aſſertion. It may be obſerved, that ſuch a face is frequently aſſumed, to ſupply the want of veracity. To conclude, In further confirmation of his point, the Doctor takes notice that Mr Baillet acknowledges Des Cartes's being in England in this very year 1631, when Mr Harriot's book was printed, and that he came to conſult our famous mathematicians (30). Whence it is more than probable, that he muſt then have heard of the book at leaſt, and have been alſo informed of the nature of it, and upon that account, if we ſhould ſuppoſe, which is more than can be made probable, that it was not finiſhed at the preſs, and publiſhed before his departure : yet it would be doing him an injury to imagine, he had not the curioſity to procure it afterwards.

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(24) See Sir Samuel Moreland's Letter from Utrecht, dated January 8, 1688 ; and Dr Wallis's Anſwer, dated July 4, 1692, to Mr Preſtet, a French author, both inſerted in Wallis's Hiſtory of Algebra, &c. cap. 53. edit. 1694.

(25) La Vie de Monſ. Des Cartes reduite en abregé par Monſ. Baillet, p. 240 Paris, 1691. 12mo.

(26) Idem ibid. p. 490, 491.

(27) It makes the ſecond volume of his Works, in 3 vols in Latin, 1694. folio.

(28) Lettres de Monſ. Des Cartes, let. lxxviii. Tom. III. p. 457. Paris, 1667. 4to.

(29) This expreſſion, that Dr Wallis was going to repeat that ridiculous accuſation of Des Cartes, ſhews, that Mr Preſtet had heard of the doctor's deſign to publiſh his own works.

(30) La vie de Des Cartes, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 229, 230. where he alſo obſerves, that Des Cartes then made ſome magnetical experiments at London, and in the neighbouring parts, and learned from us the change of the variation of the needle.

HARSNET [SAMUEL], a learned writer in the laſt century, ſucceſſively Biſhop of Chicheſter and Norwich, and Archbiſhop of York. He was born in the pariſh of St Botolph, in the town of Colcheſter in Eſſex, and baptized June 20, 1561 (*a*) [*A*]. Moſt probably, he received his firſt education in the free-ſchool of his native place. However, September 8, 1576, he was admitted into King's-college in Cambridge : from whence he removed to Pembroke-hall, of which he became ſcholar, and was elected Fellow of the ſame, November 27, 1583 (*b*). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1580, and that of Maſter in 1584 (*c*). About three years after, being offered the maſterſhip of the free-ſchool in Colcheſter, he accepted of it [*B*], and was elected in March 1586-7 (*d*). But, after a ſhort tryal of little more than a year and a half, chuſing rather to follow his ſtudies at Cambridge, than the painful trade of teaching ; he quitted the ſchool [*C*] in November,

(*a*) From his Will, and the Regiſter of St Botolph's.

(*b*) J. Le Neve's Lives of the Proteſtant Biſhops, Vol. I. Part ii. p. 128.

(*c*) From the Univerſity Regiſters.

(*d*) Hiſt. of Colcheſter, by P. M. book ii. p. 17, 18. and book iii. p. 14.

[*A*] *And baptized June* 20, 1561.] The day of his birth is not mentioned any where : but that he was baptized June 20, 1561, appears from the regiſter of St Botolph's, where he is entered under the name of ‘ Samuel Haſnothe, ſon of ——— Haſnoth ;’ for ſo is the ſurname incorrectly written, being ſet down as it was vulgarly ſounded. The Harſnet, or Halſnothe, family was very numerous in Colcheſter in the ſixteenth century ; many of that name being frequently mentioned in the Town-Records : but it is now quite extinct. Our learned author's father was named William, and a Baker (1).

[*B*] *He accepted of it.*] The teſtimonial given him by his college, upon that occaſion, was in theſe words. ‘ Our comendations remembred, &c. Wheras we latelye received letters from you touchinge Mr Harſnet fellow of our colledge : we thoughte good in tyme convenient to make aunſwer to the ſame. Thes therfore may certifye you concerning thoſe pointes you requeſted of us, namelie his ſufficiencye to teache in the Latin and Greek tongues as well proaſe as verſe, with his honeſt behavioure and converſation ; that we do knowe and promiſe in his behalfe, that he is very meet, able, and ſufficient to performe thoſe duties, as alſoe of a good name, and honeſt converſation amonge us. In ſignification whereof, We the Præſident and Fellowes of the Colledge have ſeverallie ſubſcribed our names to thes our letters, and ſo with our hartie commendations we wiſhe you fare well. From Pembrook hall this thirde of May 1586.’ Subſcribed by Henry Farr, Lancel. Andrewes,—and fifteen more of the fellows (2).

[*C*] *He quitted the ſchool.*] When he had determined to leave it, he writ the following letter to the then bailiffs of the town, who were the electors. ‘ Right worſhipfull, my bounden duetie remembred, I give you all moſte humble thanks for your godlie lovinge kindneſſe and curteſie, which I have re-

(1) Hiſt. of Colcheſter, by P. M. fol. 1748. book ii. p. 17, 18.

(2) From the original.

November 1588, and retired to Pembroke-hall (*e*), where he applied himſelf to Divinity, with great diligence and ſucceſs. But he was well initiated in that moſt uſeful ſcience, even before his accepting of the ſchool, as appears by a learned and very rational ſermon, preached by him at Paul's-Croſs, October, 27, 1584 [*D*]. He was one of the Proctors of his Univerſity in 1592 (*f*). About five years after, he became Chaplain to Dr Richard Bancroft Biſhop of London (*g*), by whoſe favour he obtained ſucceſſively numerous and conſiderable preferments. For, he had, of his gift, the Rectory of St Margaret Fiſh-ſtreet, London, which he reſigned in 1604 (*h*). On the 14th of June, 1597, he was inſtituted by him to the Vicarage of Chigwell in Eſſex, but reſigned it in 1605 (*i*). Auguſt 5, 1598, he was collated to the Prebend of Mapeſbury in St Paul's cathedral: and January 17, 1602, to the Archdeaconry of Eſſex; all in the Biſhop's diſpoſal (*k*). The

‘ ceived from you all. It hath pleaſed God, whoſe ‘ pleaſure is good, to chaung the thoughts of my harte, ‘ and to diſpoſe of my purpoſes, beſides my purpoſe, ‘ unto the ſtudye of divinitye: pardonne me right ‘ worſhipfull, if I crave your pardonne and your prayer ‘ bothe, that it may be to his glorie, and the good of ‘ his Churche. Nowe mine earneſt ſuite unto your ‘ W. is that it may pleaſe you to remember the pro‘ miſe which with one conſent you made unto me at ‘ my firſte entrance, namelie to accept at myne hands ‘ a twelve monthes warninge, for which time, I be‘ ſeeche you to admitte uppon triall, the man alreadie ‘ commended unto you Mr Sadlingtonne.'——*After giving a character of whom, he goes on thus.*——‘ This ‘ my ſuyte I truſte is reaſonable, and I knowe you are ‘ my good frendes, which I deſire no further than I ‘ am a frend unto your towne, and unto my poor ‘ ſchollers whom I favor from your harte, and thus I ‘ ſhall be bound to praye alwaies unto God, that it may ‘ pleaſe him to be preſent in the middeſt of your meet‘ ings and conſultations for the good of that Chriſtian ‘ people committed to your chardge. Your W. ſer‘ vant to command S. Harſnet. From Pembrook-hall ‘ the 28 October (3).'

[*D*] *Sermon preached by him at St Paul's-croſs, Oct. 27, 1584.*] We cannot learn with any certainty, whether this ſermon was publiſhed the ſame year, or ſoon after, it was preached; or, whether it firſt appeared in print in 1658, at the end of three of Dr Stewart's ſermons. The text is Ezek. xxxiii. 11. and the deſign of this excellent diſcourſe, is, to ſhew the unreaſonableneſs and abſurdity of the cruel doctrine of unconditionate predeſtination; as appears by the following extracts, with which we ſhall oblige the reader; the book being now grown very ſcarce.———‘ There ‘ is a conceit in the world (ſays he)—*That God ſhould ‘ deſign many thouſands of ſouls to hell before they were, ‘ not in eye to their faults, but to his own abſolute will ‘ and power, and to get him glory in their damnation.* ‘ This opinion is grown huge and monſtrous (like a ‘ Goliah) and men do ſhake and tremble at it; yet ‘ never a man reacheth to David's ſling to caſt it down. ‘ In the name of the Lord of Hoſts, we will encounter ‘ it: for it hath reviled, not the hoſt of the living ‘ God, but the Lord of hoſts. 1. It is directly oppo‘ ſite to this text of holy ſcripture, and ſo turns the ‘ truth of God into a lye. For whereas God in this ‘ text doth ſay and ſwear, that he doth not delight in ‘ the death of man; this opinion ſaith, that not one or ‘ two, but millions of men ſhould fry in hell; and ‘ that he made them for no other purpoſe, than to be ‘ the children of death and hell; and that, for no ‘ other cauſe but his mere pleaſure's ſake, and ſo ſays, ‘ that God did not only ſay, but ſwear to a lye; for the ‘ oath ſhould have run thus: *As I live* (ſaith the Lord) *I ‘ do delight in the death of man.* 2. It doth (not by con‘ ſequence, but) directly make God the author of ſin. ‘ For, if God, without eye to ſin, did deſign men to ‘ hell, then did he ſay and ſet down, that he ſhould ‘ ſin: for without ſin he cannot come to hell. And ‘ indeed, doth not this opinion ſay, that the Almighty ‘ God, in the eye of his counſel, did not only ſee, but ‘ ſay, that Adam ſhould fall, and ſo order and decree, ‘ and ſet down his fall, that it was no more poſſible for ‘ him not to fall, than it was poſſible for him not to ‘ eat? and of that which God doth order, ſet down, ‘ and decree, (I truſt) he is the author.——3. It takes ‘ away from Adam (in his ſtate of innocency) all free‘ dom of will, and liberty not to ſin. For had he had ‘ freedom to have altered God's deſignment, Adam's ‘ liberty had been above the deſignment of God. And ‘ here I remember a little witty ſolution is made; ‘ that is, if we reſpect Adam's will, he had power to ‘ ſin, or not to ſin; but if God's decree, he could not ‘ but ſin. This is a ſilly ſolution: and indeed, it is ‘ as much, as if you ſhould take a ſound ſtrong man ‘ (that hath power to walk and to lie ſtill) and bind ‘ him hand and foot (as they do in Bedlam) and lay ‘ him down; and then bid him riſe up and walk, or ‘ elſe you will ſtir him up with a whip; and he tell ‘ you that there be chains upon him, ſo that he is not ‘ able to ſtir; and you tell him again, that that is no ‘ excuſe, for if he look upon his health, his ſtrength, ‘ his legs, he hath power to walk or to lie ſtill; but if ‘ upon his chains, indeed, in that reſpect he is not able ‘ to walk: I truſt, he that ſhould whip that man for ‘ not walking, were well worthy to be whipped him‘ ſelf.———And therefore, if God ſet it down for a de‘ cree, that Adam ſhould fall, Adam had no more li‘ berty not to fall, than the man in the chains had li‘ berty to walk.——4. As God doth abhor a heart ‘ and a heart, and his ſoul deteſteth a double-minded ‘ man; ſo himſelf cannot have a mind and a mind, a ‘ face (like Janus) to look two ways. Yet, this opi‘ nion maketh in God two wills, the one flat oppo‘ ſite to the other: an hidden will, by which he ap‘ pointed, and willed that Adam ſhould ſin; and an ‘ open will, by which he forbad him to ſin. His ‘ open will ſaid to Adam in paradiſe, Adam *thou ſhalt ‘ not eat of the tree of good and evil:* his hidden will ‘ ſaid, *Thou ſhalt eat*; nay more, I myſelf cannot ‘ keep thee from eating, for my decree from eternity ‘ is paſſed; thou ſhalt eat, that thou mayeſt drown all ‘ thy poſterity in ſin, and that I may drench them (as ‘ I have deſigned) in the bottomleſs pit of hell.——— ‘ 8. The poets had a device of their old god Saturn, ‘ that he eat up his children as ſoon as they were ‘ born, for fear leſt ſome of them ſhould diſpoſſeſs him ‘ of heaven. Pharaoh King of Egypt had (almoſt) the ‘ ſame plea; for he made away all the young Hebrew ‘ males, leſt they ſhould multiply too faſt: Herod, for ‘ fear our Saviour Chriſt ſhould ſupplant him in his ‘ kingdom, cauſed all the young children in Galilee to ‘ be ſlain: thoſe had all ſome colour for their barba‘ rous cruelty. But, if any of thoſe had made a law, ‘ deſigning young children to torments before they had ‘ been born; and for no other cauſe and purpoſe, but ‘ his own abſolute will, the heavens in courſe would ‘ have called for revenge. It is the law of nations, ‘ *No man innocent ſhall be condemned*; of reaſon, not ‘ to hate where we are not hurt; of nature, to like and ‘ love our own brood. Θεογενεῖς ἐσμεν (ſaith the ‘ Holy Ghoſt) we are God's kindred; he cannot hate ‘ us when we are innocent, when we are nothing, ‘ when we are not. Now, touching God's glory ‘ (which is to us all as dear as our life) this opinion ‘ hath told us a very inglorious and ſhameful tale: for ‘ it ſaith, The almighty God would have many ſouls ‘ go to hell; and that they may come thither, they ‘ muſt ſin, that ſo he may have juſt cauſe to condemn ‘ them. Who doth not ſmile at the Grecians conceit, ‘ that gave their god a glorious title for killing of flies? ‘ God's glory in puniſhing ariſeth from his juſtice in ‘ revenging of ſin: and for that it tells (as I ſaid) a ‘ very ſad and unpleaſant tale: for who could digeſt ‘ it, to hear a prince ſay after this manner? I will be‘ get me a ſon that I may kill him, that I may ſo get ‘ me a name: and that I may have ſome colour to ‘ kill him, I will beget him without both his feet; ‘ and when he is grown up, having no feet, I will ‘ command him to walk on pain of death: and when ‘ he breaketh my commandment, I will put him to ‘ death. O beloved, theſe glorious fancies, imagina‘ tions and ſhews, are far from the nature of our gra‘ cious, mercifull, and glorious God.'—

(*e*) From his MS. Letters, and other M.SS.

(*f*) J. Le Neve's Faſti, p. 398.

(*g*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 432.

(*h*) Newcourt's Repert. Vol. I. p. 73, 406.

(*i*) Idem, Vol. II. p. 143.

(*k*) Idem, Vol. I. p. 170, 73.

(3) From the original.

16th of April, 1604, he received inſtitution to the Rectory of Shenfield in the ſaid county; being preſented to it by Sir Thomas Lucas of Colcheſter (*l*). And the year following, upon the reſignation of Biſhop Andrews, was choſen Maſter of Pembroke-hall; which place he held 'till 1616 (*m*) [*E*]. He ſerved the honourable office of Vice-Chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge in 1605, and again in 1614; and in 1605 was created Doctor in Divinity (*n*). But, to go on with his other eccleſiaſtical preferments; May 16, 1606, he was admitted to the Vicarage of Hutton in Eſſex (*o*); which, though but ſmall, he accepted, undoubtedly on account of its nearneſs to Shenfield. However, he reſigned it in 1609, as he did alſo his Prebend of Mapeſbury, and Archdeaconry of Eſſex (*p*). Whereupon Dr Bancroft, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to whom he continued Chaplain, gave him, September 28, the Rectory of Styſtead in Eſſex (*q*). As he had ſucceeded Dr Lancelot Andrews in the Maſterſhip of Pembroke-hall, ſo did he alſo ſucceed him in the See of Chicheſter. For, upon that learned Prelate's tranſlation to Ely, our author being nominated Biſhop of Chicheſter in his room, was elected November 13, confirmed December 2, and conſecrated the day following, by Archbiſhop Bancroft, who had undoubtedly a great hand in his promotion (*r*). He was allowed to hold with his Biſhopric the Rectory of Styſtead in commendam, 'till the year 1619, when he was tranſlated to Norwich [*F*], upon the death of Dr John Overall (*s*). We find, that he was one of thoſe divines, who had the ill luck of not being in the good graces of the troubleſome Puritans of his time. For, in the laſt Parliament of King James the Firſt, the Commons, at a conference, accuſed him of ſeveral miſdemeanours [*G*]. This accuſation, however, was

no

[*E*] *Was choſen Maſter of Pembroke-hall; which place he held till* 1616.] Mr J. Le Neve ſays (4), That, in that year, 'Pembroke-hall petitioned the 'King againſt him, to whom they exhibited their 'grievances in fifty-ſeven articles. They wrote alſo 'to Dr Andrews, Biſhop of Ely, the Earl of Suffolk, 'Chancellor of the Univerſity, the Lord Hay, Sir 'Thomas Lake, Sir George Villiers, and others, de'ſiring their aſſiſtance in this affair. Some of the 'crimes in the articles objected againſt him were ſo 'ſcandalous, and the proof ſo evident, that the Biſhop 'thought beſt to retire, and ſo he did, reſigning the 'maſterſhip in June this year.'—Mr Le Neve adds, that, notwithſtanding 'all decent endeavours, he could 'not obtain a copy of thoſe articles.' And, therefore, what they were, we cannot judge. They might be, for preſſing too rigorouſly the obſervance of the new ceremonies, as they were then called: or, perhaps, for hurting the college revenues.

[*F*] *When he was tranſlated to Norwich*] His *congé d'eſlire* was dated June 1, and he was elected June 16, obtained the royal aſſent July 20, was confirmed Aug. 28, and had reſtitution of the temporalities, Sept. 22, 1619 (5).

[*G*] *Accuſed him of ſeveral miſdemeanors.*] What the ſubſtance of the accuſation, and of his miſdemeanors, was, will beſt appear by the following extract from the Journals of the Houſe of Commons (6), 17 May 1624. 'The Committee met at Sir Edward 'Cooke's chamber to examine and conſider of the 'heads of the charge, to be preſented againſt the Bi'ſhop of Norwich. — 19 May, Sir Edw. Cooke re'ports from the Lords about the Biſhop of Norwich. '—Have related the whole charge to the Lords, con'ſiſting of ſix heads. 1. Putting down of preaching. '2. Setting up of images. 3. Praying to the eaſt. '4. Puniſhing ſome, for coming to hear their own 'miniſter, after evening prayer, catechiſe, and ſing 'pſalms. 5. Extorting of undue fees. 6. Not re'giſtering inſtitutions and inductions.'——*From the Lords*, 'Anſwer was, that they would take ſuch order 'herein, as ſhould appertain to juſtice, and our ſatiſ'faction.'——But this being ſet forth more at large in the Parliamentary Hiſtory, we ſhall give the following extract of it.

'May 8, 1624. The Commons deſired a conference with the Lords, touching ſome accuſation againſt the Lord Biſhop of Norwich, unto which his Lordſhip has not yet been heard †. The 14th of the ſame month, the Biſhop beſought the Lords to remember the aboveſaid meſſage from the Commons, and to appoint a time for hearing his accuſation. The 19th, after a conference with the Commons, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury reported the charge againſt the Biſhop, exhibited by the citizens of Norwich; which conſiſted of theſe ſix articles. 1. That he inhibited or diſheartened preachers on the Sabbath-day in the forenoon. 2. That images were ſet up in the churches, and one of the Holy Ghoſt fluttering over the font; that a marble tomb was pulled down, and images ſet up in its room, and the Biſhop bleſſed them that did it. 3. That he puniſhed thoſe who prayed not towards the eaſt. 4. That he puniſhed a miniſter for catechiſing his family, and ſinging of Pſalms. 5. That he uſed extortion many ways. 6. That he did not enter inſtitutions, to the prejudice of patrons.—The Biſhop anſwered theſe articles diſtinctly, after having made the following previous obſervations. He proteſted he was no way guilty of the firſt part of his accuſation; if he were, then he was unworthy to bear the name of a Clergyman. He ſhewed the unworthineſs of ſuch as ſhould diſhearten preachers from preaching the word of God. That whilſt he was Vicar and Parſon, he preached every Sabbath in the morning, and catechized in the afternoon; and that he continued the like preaching whilſt he was Biſhop of Chicheſter: that in Norwich he never miſſed the public place, and ever preached there againſt Popery.—As touching preaching and non-reſidence, he had been reckoned more than half a Puritan; he left the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's ſervice that he might go to his cure. He wondered why he ſhould be thought a Papiſt; he thought it might be owing to his diſputations, and his ſermons at Paul's-Croſs, on Predeſtination negative, unadviſedly preached by him for which he was checked by Archbiſhop Whitgift, and commanded to preach no more of it; and he never did, though Dr Abbot, late Biſhop of Sarum, hath ſince declared in print that which he then preached to be no Popery. That Popery is a fire that will never be quiet: he hath preached a thouſand ſermons, and nothing of Popery can be imputed to him out of any of them. That there were divers obſtacles to keep him from Popery: four of which he mentions; namely The uſurpations of the Pope of Rome; their religion dyed in blood; their juggling and feigned miracles, of which he had writ a book againſt them; and their equivocations. He concluded, with acknowledging the Church of England to come neareſt to the primitive; and that we fetch not our reformation from Wickliff, Huſs, and Luther, of latter times, but from the firſt 400 years next after Chriſt.

Then he proceeds to anſwer the ſeveral articles of his accuſation. As to the firſt, he confeſſed, that ſix or ſeven of the abler ſort of miniſters in Norwich uſed to expound, in their own churches, before the ſermon began in the cathedral church; and many reſorted from other places to theſe expoſitions, and in the afternoon to their ſermons. The preachers themſelves found fault with this, being willing to be rid of the pains, for they were to preach in the afternoon and on the week days, and ſhewed him many diſorders therein; as the cutting off part of the prayers, or beginning them too early; and they beſought his Lordſhip to remedy it, becauſe they, being ſtipendiary men, were loth to do it, for fear, belike, to loſe their ſtipends: whereupon he ſent for them by an officer, and willed them to omit theſe expoſitions in the forenoon; and yet he had ſince taken order for the erecting of three ſermons in the moſt remote parts of the city from the

cathedral

(*l*) Idem, Vol. II. p. 526.

(*m*) J. Le Neve's Faſti, p. 399, 400. and Lives of the Biſhops, &c. p. 129.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 129, 130. His exerciſe for that degree was excuſed by a grace of the Houſe.

(*o*) Newcourt, Vol. II. p. 344.

(*p*) Idem, Vol. I. p. 73, 176.

(*q*) Idem, Vol. II. p. 562.

(*r*) J. Le Neve's Lives, ubi ſupra, p. 130.

(*s*) J. Le Neve's Faſti, p. 212.

(4) Lives of the Biſhops, &c. as above, p. 130, 131.

(5) Continuation of Rymer's Acta Regia by Sanderſon, Vol. XVII. p. 163, 176, 180.

(6) Vol. I. p. 789, 790.

† Parliamentary Hiſtory of England, Vol. VI. p. 255.

no hindrance to his further advancement. For, upon the death of Dr Monteigne, he was tranſlated, in his room, to the Archbiſhopric of York [*H*]; being elected November 26, 1628, and confirmed the 23d of January following (*t*). November 10, 1629, he was ſworn of the Privy-Council (*u*) He enjoyed his Archiepiſcopal dignity but a little while: For, he died at Morton-in-the-marſh in Glouceſterſhire, the 25th of May 1631 (*w*), on his return from Bath to his manor of Southwell in Nottinghamſhire (*x*): and was buried in Chigwell-church in Eſſex, according to the direction he had given in his will (*y*) [*I*]. A year or two before his deceaſe, he had founded and endowed a free-ſchool in that pariſh, wherein are to be two maſters, one to teach Latin and Greek, and the other writing and cyphering; and alſo ſome alms-houſes (*z*). By his will, he gave his library to the corporation of Colcheſter, for the uſe of the clergy there; and legacies to ſeveral places [*K*]. Beſides his Sermon abovementioned, he had a controverſy with one John Darrell about the caſting out of devils, of which an account is given in the note [*L*]. He was one

cathedral church; and he had alſo erected many lectures in ſeveral places of the country. 2. As touching the images in a church: what was done, was done without his knowledge; it was meant by St Peter's church. He never ſaw that church 'till one evening as he came by: when going in, and perceiving the pariſhioners had beſtowed very great coſt, and not ſeeing or knowing of any image at all ſet up there, he ſaid, ‘ God's bleſſing on their hearts that had beſtowed ſuch ‘ coſt on God's houſe.’ 3. As touching prayers to the eaſt: he never enjoined it, nor heard of it 'till now. 4. The miniſter he puniſhed, with doing of penance, was ſent to him by the Juſtices of the Peace, and had formerly been convicted of ſimony and conventicling, and of infecting the pariſh with ſtrange opinions. 5. His Lordſhip abſolutely denied that he impoſed any fees, and affirmed that he had not any of thoſe fees which were complained of; only the fees for inſtitution, which he took as his predeceſſors did. 6. His Lordſhip affirmed, that he had regiſtred all the inſtitutions *.—Upon the whole therefore, the ſum of theſe accuſations was no other, than the common clamours of the Puritans of thoſe times. Now, at this day, when the world can reflect coolly upon ſuch matters, we cannot, on the one hand, wonder enough at the weakneſs and preſumption of thoſe men, who preſſed too earneſtly ſuch points; when they were quite diſagreeable, and gave ſo great offence to the generality of the nation. And, on the other hand, how great was the obſtinacy, ill behaviour, and I may truly ſay, diſhoneſty, of the Puritans; to raiſe vehement outcries about ſuch trifles; and to treat thoſe who ſtood for them as Papiſts, or popiſhly affected, when they were in the main as ſound Proteſtants as themſelves their accuſers, and better ſons of the Church of England! We ought therefore to look down with pity upon the contentions of both ſides about ſuch inſignificant matters. Unworthy they certainly were of the cognizance of Parliament: but what would not ſuch a ſour ill-tempered man as Sir E. Coke, then in diſgrace, not do, to be revenged of the Court; which favoured Dr Harſnet, and other divines of his perſuaſion?—To which muſt be added, that, for ſome of the articles above ſet down, particularly for the laſt, the doctor was not accountable. For the regiſtering of inſtitutions and inductions belongs to the Regiſter of each dioceſe, not to the Biſhop.

[*H*] *He was tranſlated to the Archbiſhopric of York*] This high dignity was procured him by Thomas Earl of Arundel, who had a great eſteem for him, and had committed his younger ſon to him for education (7).

[*I*] *According to the direction he had given in his will.*] Namely, in the following words, ‘ My body ‘ I will to be buried within the pariſh church of Chigwell without pomp or ſolemnity, at the foot of Thomazine late my beloved wife, having only a marble-ſtone laid upon my grave, with a plate of braſs molten into the ſtone an inch thick, having the effigies of a Biſhop ſtamped upon it, with his mitre and crozier-ſtaff, but the braſs to be ſo rivetted and faſtened clear through the ſtone, as ſacrilegious hands may not rend off the one, without breaking the other. And I will that this inſcription be engraven round about the braſs: *Hic jacet* Samuel Harſnet, *quondam Vicarius hujus eccleſiæ; primò indignus Epiſcopus* Ciceſtrenſis, *dein indignior* Norwicenſ. *demum indigniſſimus Archiepiſcopus* Eboracenſ.’ Which was accordingly performed with theſe additional words, *Qui obiit* 25 *die Maii, A. D.* 1631. *Quod ipſiſſimum Epitaphium ex abundanti humilitate ſibi poni curavit teſtamento Reverendiſſimus Præſul* (8).

[*K*] *And legacies to ſeveral places*] The words of his will are, ‘ I bequeath to twelve poor widows of ‘ Chigwell, who ſhall attend my hearſe from my houſe ‘ at Chigwell unto my burial, twelve black gowns.— ‘ Ten pounds for a ſober civil banquet for as many of ‘ the pariſhioners as ſhall pleaſe to accompany my body ‘ to the earth.—To the Prebendaries of Southwell 50l. ‘ to furniſh their Communion table with plate.—To ‘ the building of the poor-houſe at Cawood, in caſe I ‘ live not to finiſh the ſame myſelf, 100l. together ‘ with the bricks, timber, and ſtone, that I have provided for the ſame.—To the poor of St Botolph's in ‘ Colcheſter, where I was born, 10l.—of Shenfield in ‘ Eſſex 10l.—of Stiſted in Eſſex 10l.—To the poor ‘ priſoners in the King's-Bench 20l.—in Ludgate 20l. ‘ —in the White Lion in Southwark 20l.’—Beſides legacies to his ſervants. He left no iſſue. Therefore his nephew Samuel Harſnet was his ſole executor.

[*L*] *He had a controverſy with one John Darrell about the caſting out of devils.*] Take an account of this Darrell, and his practices, in the words of the induſtrious Mr Strype (9). ‘ When the open practices ‘ of the Puritans for ſettling the new diſcipline would ‘ not prevail, there was a more ſecret method made uſe ‘ of by ſome of their miniſters, of doing ſomething ‘ that looked little leſs than miraculous; namely, The ‘ caſting out devils from perſons pretending to be poſſeſſed by them: that ſo the amazed multitude, having a great veneration for theſe exorciſers of devils by ‘ the power of their prayers and faſtings, might the ‘ more readily and awfully ſubmit to their opinions ‘ and ways. (Which likewiſe was a practice borrowed ‘ from the Papiſts, to make their prieſts revered, and ‘ to confirm the laity in their ſuperſtitions) (10).’ One of them was John Darrell, B. A. who about the year 1586, at the age of three or four and twenty, before he was a miniſter, did take upon him to caſt out firſt *one* devil, and afterwards (upon a pretended repoſſeſſion) *eight* devils, out of a maid near ſeventeen years old in Derbyſhire, named Katherine Wright. The hiſtory of this feat he himſelf writ, and gave one copy of it to the Lady Bowes. From that time 'till the 28th of March, 1596, the ſaid Mr Darrell (now become one of the miniſters at Nottingham) was out of work; notwithſtanding he omitted few occaſions to intimate what he had done about Kath. Wright: beſides the printing of his book. But in the year 1596, his glory enlarged itſelf, when it was pretended that he caſt a devil out of one Thomas Darling, a boy in Burton, aged about 14 years; of which an account was publiſhed by one Mr Deniſon, after it had been ſeen and allowed by Mr Darrell and Mr Hilderſham. Upon the fame of this mighty exploit, Darrell was ſent for into Lancaſhire, by one Mr Starkie; and on the 17th of March 1596-7, he diſpoſſeſſed, in the ſaid Mr Starkie's houſe, ſeven perſons at one clap; viz John Starkie, Anne Starkie, Margaret Hardman, Elianor Hardman, Ellen Holland, Margaret Byrom, and Jane Aſhton: [which laſt falling into the hands of certain ſeminary prieſts, was carried by them up and down the country, and by her cunning counterfeiting of fits, got her craft-maſters no ſmall gain and credit.] Thoſe nine perſons abovementioned coſt Mr Darrell but little trouble; for he diſpatched them in two or three days. But one William Somers of Nottingham, ſuppoſed to be poſſeſſed, and whom he took in hand in November 1597, ſtuck in his fingers almoſt five months: however, he conquered the devil

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(*t*) J. Le Neve's Lives, as above, p. 132.

(*u*) J. Stowe's Annales, edit. 1631. p. 1055.

(*w*) J Le Neve's Lives, &c. p. 132.

(*x*) Wood Athen. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 731.

(*y*) J. Le Neve, ubi ſupra.

(*z*) Newcourt, Vol. I. p. 73.

* Parliamentary Hiſtory, as above, p. 311, 312, &c.

(7) J. Le Neve's Lives of the Biſhops, &c. p. 132.

(8) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. p. 55.

(9) Life of Abp Whitgift, p. 492. and his Annals of the Reformation, Vol. III. p. 432.

(10) What follows is taken from S. Harſnet's Diſcovery, p. 1, &c.

one of the beſt and cleareſt writers in his time; and the firſt, according to Mr Fuller (a), who uſed the expreſſion of Conformable Puritans, to denote thoſe who conformed out of policy, and yet diſſented in their judgments.

(a) Church Hiſtory, book xi. p. 144.

devil at laſt. But Somers, after having counterfeited himſelf to be poſſeſſed, diſpoſſeſſed, and repoſſeſſed, and held on that courſe ſucceſſively, for the ſpace of about three months; he did at the laſt, being got out of Mr Darrell's hands, confeſs and avow, that all he had done that while was but diſſembled, and as he had been trained and inſtructed by Mr Darrel: ſhewing to the Mayor and Aldermen of Nottingham, how he had acted all his former fits. Whereupon Darrell being called before the High-Commiſſion-Court at Lambeth, was condemned for a counterfeit; and he, with George More a miniſter and his confederate, depoſed from the miniſtry, and both committed cloſe priſoners.—To expoſe this wicked and ſenſeleſs impoſture, our learned author Mr Harſnet, who was then Chaplain to Biſhop Bancroft, publiſhed, I. ‘ *A Diſcovery of the fraudulent practiſes of John Darrel Batcheler of Artes, in his proceedings concerning the pretended poſſeſſion and diſpoſſeſſion of* William Somers *at* Nottingham: *of* Thomas Darling *the boy of* Burton *at* Caldwall: *and of* Katherine Wright *at* Mansfield *and* Whittington: *and of his dealings with one* Mary Couper *at* Nottingham, *detecting in ſome ſort the deceitful trade in theſe latter dayes of caſting out devils.*’ Lond. 1599. 4to. A paſſionate anſwer to which was publiſhed by Mr Darrell, under this title, ‘ A Detection of that ſinful, ſhamful, lying, and ridiculous Diſcours, of Samuel Harſhnet. Entituled: A Diſcoverie of the fraudulent Practiſes of John Darrell. Wherein is manifeſtly and apparantly ſhewed in the eyes of the world. Not only the unlikelihoode, but the flate impoſſibilitie of the pretended counterfayting of William Somers, Thomas Darling, Kath. Wright, and Mary Couper, togeather with the other 7 in Lancaſhire, and the ſuppoſed teaching of them by the ſaide John Darrell.’ 4to. 1600. The ſame year, Mr Darrell publiſhed alſo, ‘ A true Narration of the ſtrange and grevous Vexation by the Devil, of 7 perſons in Lancaſhire, and William Somers of Nottingham. Wherein the doctrine of Poſſeſſion and Diſpoſſeſſion of Demoniakes out of the word of God is particularly applyed unto Somers, and the reſt of the perſons controverted: togeather with the uſe we are to make of theſe workes of God. By John Darrell Miniſter of the word of God.’ 4to. Both viſibly printed abroad.—During his impriſonment, he publiſhed likewiſe, ‘ An Apology or Defence of the poſſeſſion of William Somers, &c Wherein this work of God is cleared from the evil name of counterfeiting. And therupon alſo it is ſhewn, that in theſe days men may be poſſeſſed with devils; and that being ſo, by prayer and faſting the unclean ſpirit may be caſt out. (11)’—His confederate George More ſeconded him, in, ‘ A true Diſcourſe concerning the certaine poſſeſſion and diſpoſſeſſion of 7 perſons in one familie in Lancaſhire, which alſo may ſerve as part of an Anſwere to a fayned and falſe *Diſcoverie* which ſpeaketh very much evill, as well of this, as of the reſt of thoſe great and mightie workes of God, which be of the like excellent nature.’ 1600. 8vo.—Mr D. Neal, in whoſe eyes a Puritan is always innocent, has endeavoured to defend, at leaſt to palliate, theſe extraordinary proceedings; by ſaying, ‘ One would think here was a plot of ſome cunning, deſigning men, to conjure the people into the belief of the diſcipline; but all vaniſhes in the peculiar principles of *A weak* and (as Mr Strype confeſſes) honeſt *man*, whoſe name was Darrel, &c (12).’ [N. B. Mr Strype's words are (13),--*This weak but honeſt man (ſhall I call him?)*—Which is doubting, not confeſſing.] Had Mr Neal given himſelf the trouble to peruſe Darrell's writings, he would have found, that he was not the *one and only man* concerned in this affair. For there were no leſs than *ſixteen preachers*, (as wiſe as himſelf) after an exerciſe at Aſhby-de-la-Zouch, that adviſed and preſſed him to go to Mr Starchy's, when he was ſent for (14). Several miniſters alſo were concerned in the diſpoſſeſſing of Somers (15). Conſult, moreover, Mr George More's Diſcourſe —The affair of the Surey Demoniack in the laſt century, may be called the ſecond part of Mr Darrell's pranks (16). II. Beſides the Diſcovery of Darrell's fraudulent practices, Dr Harſnet writ, ‘ *A Declaration of egregious Popiſh Impoſtures, to withdraw the Hearts of her Majeſty's Subjects from their Allegiance, &c. under the pretence of caſting out Devils, practiſed by* Edmonds, *alias* Weſton, *a Jeſuit.*’ Lond. 1603. 4to. C

(11) In theſe pieces Mr Darrell plainly appears to have been a man of a weak head, or a very bad heart.

(12) Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. I. edit. 1732. p. 585.

(13) Life of Whitgift, p. 495.

(14) Detection of S. Harſnet's Diſcovery, p. 26.

(15) See Life of Whitgift, p. 493.

(16) The *Surey Demoniack* in Lancaſhire, was publiſhed in 1695, and the Anſwer to it by Zach. Taylor, in 1697. 4to.

HARVEY [WILLIAM], an eminent Phyſician, who firſt diſcovered the circulation of the blood; was eldeſt ſon of Thomas Harvey, Gentleman (a), of Folkſtone in Kent, where he was born April 2, 1578. At ten years of age he was put to the grammar-ſchool at Canterbury, and thence at fourteen removed to Gonvil and Caius-college in Cambridge, in the view of breeding him to Phyſic. Having ſpent five years there in the ſtudy of his art, he went at the age of nineteen, for further improvement, through France and Germany to Padua (b) in Italy; and having purſued his ſtudies under the beſt maſters, particularly the famous Hieron. Fabricius ab Aquapendente (c) [*A*], for five years more, he was created Doctor of Phyſic and Chirurgery in that univerſity in 1602. Soon after this he returned to England; and taking his Doctor of Phyſic's degree at Cambridge, he went to London, entered upon the practice of his profeſſion there, and married (d) [*B*]. In

(a) His mother's name was Joan Halke. Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 6.

(b) He went alſo occaſionally to Venice. *Exercitat. de Generatione Animalium, Exercitat.* 46.

(c) *Nouvelles de la Republique des lettres pour Mois de Juin* 1684. Art. 2.

(d) Wood, ubi ſupra; and Goodall's Hiſtorical Account of the proceedings of the College of Phyſicians in London againſt Empirics, &c. in the dedication. Lond. 1684. 4to.

[*A*] *He was inſtructed by Fabricius ab Aquapendente.*] Beſides Fabricius, Mr Wood mentions (1), our author's ſtudying at Padua under two other maſters, Euſtacius Radius, and Joh. Tho. Minodaus, which indeed is not at all improbable; but Fabricius was the perſon whoſe lectures he ſeems to have attended the moſt diligently, as being moſt agreeable to him. 'Tis certain he had a particular regard for this maſter, whom he often quotes, and in terms of the higheſt reſpect (2), and even declares that he was the more willing to publiſh his book *de motus cordis*, &c. becauſe this maſter who had learnedly and accurately delineated in a particular treatiſe, almoſt all the parts of animals, had left the heart alone untouched (3).

[*B*] *And married.*] We have not met with any account either of the name or family of his lady, but whoever ſhe was, it ſeems the Doctor had no iſſue by her (4); and 'twas probably for want of children to employ her time and care, that ſhe became very fond of, and amuſed herſelf often with an excellent talking parrot, whoſe extraordinary fate [illegible]iſhed her huſband with the firſt experiment in ſupport of his doctrine, that the female bird has a power of conceiving perfect eggs (5) without the help of the male. The following account of this event is inſerted in the Doctor's own words, as a ſample of his elegant Latin ſtile. ‘ *Imo vero uſque adeo libidinoſe interdum aves ſunt, ut ſi dorſum earum manu ſolum leviter tangas, ſtatim procumbant, orificiumque uterinum nudent et exporrigant: quod ſi blande digito demulſeris, vago murmure alarumque geſticulatione gratam Veneris dulcedinem exprimunt. Quinetiam famellas ova inde concipere, et Ariſtoteles auctor eſt, & ipſemet in turdo, merula, aliiſque expertus ſum: idque olim primum fortuito, meoque damno didici.* Pſittacum nempe inſignem docteque garrulum, uxor mea diu in deliciis habuit. Erat is adeo familiaris, ut quocunque vellet, libere per ædes vagaratur; abſentem dominam inquireret; inventæ hilari voce ablandiretur; vocanti etiam reſponderet; advolaret; veſtemque roſtro pedibuſque viciſſim comprehendens, ad ſummum humerum ſcanderet; indeque per brachium deſcendens ſuper manum ſemper ſe ſiſteret. Juſſus loqui [illegible] cantare etiam noctu & in tenebris morem geſſit. Sæpe ludi-

‘ bundus

(1) In his Faſti, Vol. II. col. 6.

(2) Particularly in the preface to his *Exercit. de Gener. Animal.* he profeſſes to follow Ariſtotle among the Antients and Fabricius among the Moderns: *illum tanquam ducem; hunc ut præmonſtratorem.*

(3) *De Motu Cordis*, &c. Exercit. 1. cap. i.

(4) The inſcription upon his monument in the church of Hemſted in Hartfordſhire, concludes in theſe terms, *Quum totum circuit Microcoſmum, Medicinæ Doctor & Medicorum Improles obdormivit.*

(5) His words are, *ova* undique perfecta licet ſubventanea, & ob defectum maris infœcunda. *De Generatione Animalium Exercit.* v.

In 1604 he was admitted candidate of the College of Phyſicians, and three years after elected Fellow. In 1615 he was choſen Lecturer of the Anatomy and Surgery Lecture, founded by Dr Richard Caldwal *; and he began his firſt courſe of Lectures in Anatomy in April the following year, when he firſt opened his famous diſcovery of the circulation of the blood, which he continued to explain in his ſubſequent lectures, and a few years afterwards [*C*] finiſhed his treatiſe upon that ſubject. It was probably about this time that he became Phyſician to King James I. and that he was continued in the ſame character by K. Charles I. from the beginning of his reign [*D*]. Dec. 3, 1627, he was appointed one of the Elects of the College of Phyſicians †, and his *Exercitatio Anatomica de motu cordis & ſanguinis*

‘bundus et laſcivus ſedentis gremium adibat; ubi caput ſibi attractari dorſumque demulceri geſtiebat, & blando ſtrepitu ſummam animi lætitiam teſtabatur. Ego hæc omnia ab uſitata pridem familiaritate & obſequio proficiſci interpretabar; marem enim ſum arbitratus ob loquelæ & cantus eximiam præſtantiam. Quippe inter aves fœmellæ raro cantillare, aut voce invicem provocare ſolent: ſed mares ſolum ſuavi vocis modulamine fœmellas delinire, & ad veneris obſequium pellicere, animadvertimus.’ The Doctor then cites Ariſtotle and Virgil to confirm this obſervation, and proceeds thus. ‘Non diu autem poſt blandas has contrectationes pſittacus, qui multos jam annos ſanus vixerat, ægrotavit, crebriſque tandem convulſionibus obortis, in dominæ ſuæ gremio, ubi toties luſerat, animam, plurimum deſideratus, expiravit. *Diſſecto itaque cadavere (ut mortis cauſam inquirerem) ovum fere perfectum in utero reperio; ſed ob defectum maris corruptum quemadmodum aviculis in caveis recluſis ſæpe accidit, quæ maris conſortium deſiderant* (6).’

[C] *He firſt opened the diſcovery of the circulation of the blood, and drew up his treatiſe upon that ſubject a few years afterwards.*] That he then firſt opened this diſcovery appears from the original manuſcript of theſe lectures, which is preſerved in the valuable Muſæum of the late Sir Hans Sloane, purchaſed by the Parliament. It is intitled, *Prælectiones Anatom. Univerſal. per me Gulielmum Harveium, Medicum Londinenſem, Anato. & Chirurg. Profeſſorem, An. Dom.* 1616. *Anno ætatis* 37. *Prælect. Apr.* 16, 17, 18. That he continued to explain the circulation in the ſubſequent lectures, is evident from the dedication of his book (7) upon this ſubject, which begins thus. ‘*Meam de motu & uſu cordis & circuitu ſanguinis ſententiam, excellentiſſ. D. D. antea ſæpius in prælectionibus meis anitomicis aperui novam, ſed jam per novem & amplius annos multis ocularibus demonſtrationibus in conſpectu veſtro confirmatam, &c.——Hoc libello in lucem produximus.*’ *My new opinion concerning the motion and uſe of the heart, and the circulation of the blood, which was frequently declared before in my anatomical lectures, being now confirmed by ocular demonſtration before the college for more than nine years, I have thought fit to publiſh to the world in the following treatiſe.* The ſame dedication furniſhes the proof in part, that this treatiſe was finiſhed not many years after the reading of his firſt anatomical lectures in 1616. For there he expreſsly declares, that it had been finiſhed ſome years before [1628]. *Libellum hanc per aliquot abhinc retro annos perfectum.* But we are able to determine the time of our author's writing this treatiſe, ſomething nearer the truth by what follows. Johannes Leonicenus having aſſerted that Father Paul, author of the *Hiſtory of the Council of Trent*, diſcovered the circulation of the blood, as well as the valves of the veins, obſerves, that he durſt not make that diſcovery public for fear of expoſing himſelf to trouble, ſince he was already ſuſpected, and there wanted only ſuch a paradox to transform him into a heretic in a country where the Inquiſition prevails. For this reaſon he truſted the ſecret to Aquapendente alone, who being cautious of rendering himſelf obnoxious to the rage of a great many perſons, who would treat ſuch a notion as a capital offence againſt the Ancients, never opened the ſecret intruſted to him by Father Paul to any, but men of whom he had not the leaſt ſuſpicion; and waited till that father's death before he would ſuffer his treatiſe of the valves of the veins to be preſented to the Republic of Venice. But becauſe in that country the ſlighteſt novelties are apt to terrify the minds of of people, this treatiſe was repoſited privately in the library of St Mark. But as Aquapendente had diſcovered the ſecret to a curious young Engliſh gentleman, whoſe name was Harvey, and who ſtudied under him at Padua; and at the ſame time Father Paul made the ſame diſcovery in confidence to the Engliſhmen upon their return home, being in a country of freedom publiſhed it, and having confirmed it by a variety of experiments, claimed the whole honour to themſelves (8). From the ſame ſtory, the diſcovery of the circulation of the blood was aſcribed alſo to Father Paul, by Charles Fracaſſati, in his preliminary epiſtle to Malpighi, and by John Wæleus, in his firſt epiſtle to Bartholine. Theſe attempts to deprive our countryman of the honour juſtly due to him for making that diſcovery, being obſerved by his intimate friend Dr George Ent, he to confute theſe pretences remarks, that Dr Harvey had long before related to him the occaſion of this ſtory, which was as follows. The Venetian embaſſador upon his return home, having been preſented by the Doctor with his book concerning the circulation of the blood, lent it to read to Father Paul, who tranſcribed a great many things out of it, in order that he might remember them; theſe tranſcripts after his death came into the hands of his executors, gave occaſion to ſeveral perſons to imagine that he was the author of thoſe tranſcripts. And Dr Harvey had letters from Fra. Fulgentio, Father Paul's moſt intimate friend, which ſet the affair in a clear light (9). From the whole, it appears that Dr Harvey's book muſt have been finiſhed ſome time before the year 1623, ſince Father Paul died January the 14th in that year (10). Perhaps we ſhall not be far wide of the truth, in fixing it to the year 1618 or 1619; that is nine years before it was publiſhed, which, upon reviewing what has been ſaid of it, ſeems not altogether improbable to be ſuggeſted by him in the words already cited from the beginning of his dedication.

[D] *It is probable about this time he became phyſician to King James I. and was in the ſame poſt under King Charles I. from the beginning of his reign.*] That he was phyſician to the firſt of theſe crowned heads all agree, but as to the year, no time is fixed by any author when he was called to that honour, they are all ſilent. This defect then can only (if at all) be ſupplied by circumſtances, and what circumſtance bids fairer to ground a probability upon, than that of his finiſhing his treatiſe of the circulation of the blood, and preſenting the copy of it in manuſcript to the Venetian embaſſador upon his return home. Before that time the Doctor had ſcarcely attained his fortieth year, and was too young a practitioner to be eminent enough for ſuch a diſtinction; but his diſcovery of the circulation of the blood, ſufficiently demonſtrated by experiments, and drawn up in an elegant Latin ſtile, into a compleat treatiſe, muſt unavoidably bring him into the eye of the Court, and entitled him to the honour of the King's Archiater, and that the ſame honour was continued to him in the ſucceeding reign, ſeems evident from the following paſſage in his book *De Generatione Animalium, &c.* where he takes notice, that King Charles's uſing the exerciſe of ſtag or buck hunting almoſt every week in each ſeaſon after he came to man's eſtate, gave him [the Doctor] abundant opportunities of diſſecting what number he pleaſed of both the ſexes of theſe animals. ‘*Sereniſſimo Regi Carolo, quam primum exceſſit ex ephebis, mos erat, animi a curis gravioribus laxandi frimandæque valetudinis gratia, ſingulis fere ſeptimanis feras venari; præcipue cervos & damas; cujus generis nemo in orbe princeps plures vel in ſaltibus ſylviſque errantes, vel intra ſepta ac vivaria concluſos in hunc finem aluit. Tribus quidem æſtivis menſibus mares jam obeſos, eſuique jucundos, autumno vero & hyeme pari temporis ſpatio fæmellas venabatur. Hinc mihi (quo tempore fæminæ libidinantur mareſque admittunt, concipiunt, & utero novellos fætus gerunt) eas diſſecandi quotidie facta eſt copia; parteſque omnes, præſertim genitales intueri atque obſervare quoties vellem libere licuit* (11).’

[*E*] *His*

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* Iidem ibid.

† From the College Regiſter.

(6) Ibid.

(7) To Dr Argent the Preſident, and the reſt of the College of Phyſicians in London. There is another dedication to the King.

(8) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, for June 1684. art. 2.

(9) Letter to Dr Harvey, prefixed by Sir G. Ent to his *Apologia pro Circulatione Sanguinis*. Lond. 1611. 4to.

(10) Vita del Padre Paolo, a Fra. Fulgentio.

(11) *Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium*, Exercitat. lxiv. N. B. His Majeſty's frequent hunting furniſhed the doctor with ſo many opportunities of diſſecting theſe animals, that he has made nature's proceſs in their generation the ſubject of this and the 6 following Exercitations, the whole being ſuperſcribed with this title, *Hiſtoria Generationis Cervarum & Damarum, ceu reliquorum viviparorum exemplar, ponitur: factique ratio redditur.*

guinis in animalibus, was printed the following year at Francfort in 4to [*E*]. This piece being

[*E*] *His Exercitatio Anatomica de motu Cordis & Sanguinis circuitu.*] The beſt account of the nature of Dr Harvey's diſcovery, is ſeen in the following recapitulation of it by himſelf, which will be ſo much the more ſatisfactory, as it was drawn up expreſsly with a view of clearing it from the various miſrepreſentations which he had obſerved to have been given of it by others (12). 'Becauſe, ſays he, I ſee men doubtful of the circulation, and ſome men oppoſe ſuch things which underſtand them not aright as I intended them. I ſhall briefly rehearſe, out of my book of the motion of the heart and blood, what I did there intend. The blood which is contained in the veins (as in it's own hold) there where it is moſt abundant (viz. in the vena cava) near the baſis of the heart, and the right auricle growing hot by degrees from it's own internal heat, and being attenuated, it ſwells and riſes like leaven, whence that auricle being firſt dilated, and afterwards contracting itſelf by it's pulſific faculty, ſtraitways drives it out into the right ventricle of the heart, which being filled in it's ſyſtole, and thereby conſequently freeing itſelf from that blood which is driven into it, as the valvulæ bicuſpides hinders it's regreſs that way, it impels the ſame blood into the *vena arterioſa*, where the paſſage is open and diſtends it. Whence not being able to return againſt the *valvulæ ſigmoides*, it finds through the lungs (which are extended, amplified, and reſtricted, both by inſpiration and expiration) a paſſage to the arteria venoſa, and from thence into the left auricle, which performing it's office with a motion the ſame, and in the ſame order to that of the right auricles, impels the ſame blood into the left ventricle, as the right auricle drove it into the right ventricle, whence the left ventricle, in like manner and at the ſame time with the right (the paſſage back to the left auricle being ſtopt by the valves) forces it into the trunk of the aorta, and conſequently into all the branches of that artery, ſo that the arteries being filled with the ſudden impulſe, and not able ſo ſuddenly to diſburthen themſelves, are diſtended, impelled, and ſuffer a diaſtole. Whence, ſince the ſame motion is reiterated continually and inceſſantly, I collect, that the arteries, both in the lungs and in the whole body, by ſo many ſtrokes and impulſions of the heart, would be ſo diſtended and ſtuffed with blood, that either the impulſion muſt entirely ceaſe, or elſe the arteries muſt burſt, or be dilated ſo much as to contain the whole maſs of blood exhauſted from the veins, unleſs they were unloaded by an efflux of the blood ſomewhere. The ſame reaſoning holds likewiſe with regard to the ventricles of the heart, which being filled and ſtuffed in like manner with blood, would at laſt be diſtended and deſtitute of all motion, unleſs the arteries ſomewhere diſburthened themſelves. This conſequence of mine is demonſtratively true, and follows of neceſſity, if the premiſes be true, but the truth or falſehood of theſe muſt be had from our ſenſes, and not from any received ways of reaſoning; not from the operation of the mind, but from ocular teſtimony. I affirm likewiſe of the blood in the veins, that it does always and every where run out of the leſſer into the greater, and haſtens from all parts towards the heart; whence I collect, that the whole impelled quantity of blood which the arteries receive from the veins, returns and flows back thither from whence it was firſt driven, and in this manner the blood moves in a circuit in a flux and reflux from the heart by impulſion, the force of which carries it into all the fibres of the arteries, and that being abſorpt and exhauſted thence from all parts into the viens, it afterwards returns by a continual flux through them to the heart. Our ſenſes teach us theſe truths, and neceſſary deductions drawn from things obvious to ſenſe leave no room for a doubt. Upon the whole, this is what I endeavoured to declare and make manifeſt by obſervations and experiments, and I choſe to prove it not by reaſoning from cauſes and probable principles, but to eſtabliſh it by the greater authority of ſenſe and experience in an anatomical way.' This account is inſerted at length for the ſake of the following remarks. (1.) It is obſervable, that our author here has expreſſed himſelf very cautiouſly in general terms only, concerning the paſſage (abſorption or exhauſtion) of the blood from the extremities of the arteries to the veins. This caution appears to be the genuine effect both of his modeſty and fidelity. In his firſt exercitation (13), he had expreſſed it, that the blood paſſes from the arteries into the veins, either immediately by anaſtomoſis, or immediately through the poroſities of the fleſh, or both ways. He had declared before (14), that no man had then ſaid any thing right concerning the *anaſtomoſis*, where it is, how it is, or for what cauſe; I am at preſent upon that inquiry; and what was the reſult of this inquiry, we find in his third *Exercitation* *, where he openly declares his opinion againſt that way of communication or connection of the arteries to the veins, and diſputed the reality of them with Riolanus upon his grand principle, that neither he himſelf, nor any body elſe, could ſhew their exiſtence anatomically; however, his modeſty and good ſenſe appears in this, that he does not pretend poſitively to defend the queſtion, but rather recommends it as a proper ſubject for further enquiries. (2.) We find the Doctor in this laſt reviſal of his hypotheſis, maintaining as he had done at firſt, the ſynchronal motions of the two auricles and the two ventricles of the heart, aſſerting that the paſſage from the ventricles through the arteries and veins of the lungs, and thoſe of the reſt of the body into the auricles, is cauſed wholly by the impulſe of the ventricles of the heart, without any help from the arteries, and performed in the ſame time with the paſſage from the auricles into the ventricles, and this order, he ſays, is even perceptible to the ſenſe in touching the heart; and for a further ſupport of this doctrine he maintains, that the arteries have no proper pulſific faculty, and therefore their diaſtole being intirely occaſioned by the impulſe of the blood from the heart, when free from that impulſe they collapſe, and that no time intercedes between the conſtriction of the heart and the dilatation of the arteries, not even of thoſe that are furtheſt diſtant from it, but theſe two motions are ſimultaneous * †, whence the two auricles beat together, and alternately to the two ventricles, which alſo beat together. This opinion of the office of the arteries in carrying on the circulation, not being approved by Dr Frank Nicholls, Phyſician to his preſent Majeſty, and formerly Profeſſor of Anatomy at Oxford. That gentleman aſcribing, with other anatomiſts, a ſyſtole and diaſtole to the two arteries, equal in their effects to the ſyſtole and diaſtole of the auricles and ventricles of the heart, in conſequence thereof, ſuppoſes the circulation not to be performed without ſix diſtinct ſteps or impulſes; whence it follows, contrary to our author's doctrine, that the two auricles, the two ventricles, and the two arteries, are relaxed and contracted alternately, i. e. the ſyſtole and diaſtole of the right auricle, the pulmonary artery, and the left ventricle are ſynchronous to each other, and alternate to the ſyſtole and diaſtole of the right ventricle, the left auricle, and the aorta, which conſequently are ſynchronous alſo among themſelves. In ſupport of this opinion, the Doctor maintains that the coats of the arteries, though not muſcular, are elaſtic, and therefore muſt have in themſelves a contractive force, or pulſific faculty. He thinks his opinion is likewiſe confirmed from the following conſequences of it, which ſeem neceſſary for carrying on the circulation. Firſt he obſerves, that the whole heart, and ſo much of the two great arteries as is included within the pericardium taken together, as alſo the two auricles taken together, and the two ventricles taken together, and likewiſe both the auricles and both the ventricles taken together, will by this means always make up an equal bulk, and fill an equal ſpace in every ſtep and ſtate of the circulation, and thereby that motion and friction, which he conceives muſt attend Dr Harvey's theſis, and would greatly diſturb the œconomy, will be avoided. In the ſame view, another conſequence favouring this latter poſition is, that the *canalis arterioſus*, and the *foramen ovale*, will thereby be found to produce a circulation, in which the inferior artery beats alternately to the ſuperior artery, and the blood of the *inferior cava*, will wholly and ſolely paſs through the *foramen ovale* into the left auricle, and the blood of the *ſuperior cava*, will wholly and ſolely paſs through the right auricle and the right ventricle into the pulmonary artery, to be diſtributed partly into the pulmonic branches, and partly through the *canalis arterioſus* into the *aorta* inferior, and thereby the circulation will be carried on in ſuch a manner as is peculiarly neceſſary to the fœtus, which does not breathe; and upon theſe principles likewiſe, the alteration of thoſe paſſages becomes the neceſſary conſequence

(12) Exercitat. Anatom. iii. publiſhed in 1649.

(13) Cap. xi.

(14) Ibid. cap. ix.

* Exercitat. de Motu Cordis, cap. iii. & Exercitat. iii. in parte prima.

* Our author's words are *fiant ſimul*.

† Though this poſition is conſtantly maintained by him, yet he accounts for the dilatation of the great arteries, from their not being able to eject or diſcharge themſelves of the blood ſo ſuddenly [tam ſubito] as it is impelled into them by the heart. *Exercitat.* iii.

being attacked in different views by ſeveral authors [*F*], and particularly by Jo. Riolanus, a celebrated

conſequence of that protruſion of the heart, and ſtretch of the *canalis arterioſus*, which immediately follows upon the firſt reſpiration of the infant *. The Doctor thinks that the truth of his poſition, as grounded upon this reaſoning, is clearly more than probable, and if he has not been able, by reaſon of the almoſt inſuperable difficulty thereof, to make ſuch anatomical experiments in this caſe as come up perfectly to the point, and can ſafely be relied on, in order to eſtabliſh it upon that ſure foundation: ſo neither does he apprehend, that the opinion of Dr Harvey in this particular, notwithſtanding it's univerſal reception, can be fairly ſaid from any experiments produced by himſelf or by others for him, to have a juſt claim to ſuch an eſtabliſhment. Upon the whole, it is now a long time ſince Dr Nicholls has laid aſide all reſearches of this kind, and he hopes it will not now be expected that he ſhould reſume them. He acknowledges there are many things in the circulation not yet ſatisfactorily explained, and therefore he would recommend the further inquiry into the true manner thereof, as a proper ſubject to employ the induſtry of every ſtudious anatomiſt.

[*F*] *His diſcovery was attacked by authors in different views.*] The Doctor's adverſaries on this occaſion may be divided into two parties, by whom he was attacked on different ſides and by very different arguments, though probably both were urged thereto by the ſame principle of envy. Of theſe, one party denied the truth of his diſcovery, while the other party acknowledging that, gave away the honour of it from him to his predeceſſors in anatomy. The firſt he anſwered himſelf, as far as they deſerved an anſwer, an account of which will be the ſubject of the next remark. But of the other he was more regardleſs, either not being apprehenſive of any danger to his fame from that quarter, or elſe (which we may judge from his writings, was indeed the caſe) he was more ſollicitous to ſhew the important uſe of the diſcovery, ſince it was made, to the practice of phyſic, than anxious about his right of being the firſt diſcoverer; and this is confirmed by his conduct already mentioned, in reſpect to Fracaſſati and Walæus, who had aſcribed the diſcovery to Father Paul Servita the Venetian. He contented himſelf, we ſee, with relating to his friends in private diſcourſe, the grounds of that miſtake, by which it appeared that Servita had the diſcovery from himſelf (15). He had, 'tis true, in the proem to his book, demonſtrated his own right conſequentially, in demonſtrating, that whatever had been ſaid by any author before him concerning the motion and uſe of the heart and arteries, was either abſurd, incongruous, obſcure, or impoſſible; and in the ſame view we find him at the entrance upon his treatiſe, very aptly applying the following words of the poet to himſelf.

> *Nunquam quiſquam ita bene ſubducta ratione ad*
> *vitam fuit,*
> *Quin res ætas uſus aliquid apportet novi,*
> *Aliquid admoneat, ut quæ te ſcire credas, neſcias,*
> *Et, quæ tibi putaris prima, in experiunda repu-*
> *dies* (16).

But this, though ſufficient as it was for the ſatisfaction of all ſuch as would give themſelves leave to conſider the matter thoroughly and impartially, yet did not prove ſufficient to ſecure his fame from the attacks of ſeveral perſons beſides thoſe already mentioned. For inſtance, Mr Wood tells us, that Dr Morley, Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Dr John Pell, uſed to ſay, that Warner, mentioned in a preceding article (17), made it appear in a manuſcript of his compoſition, that the blood in a body circulates; which he communicating to Harvey, the Doctor took his firſt hint thence concerning that matter, who afterwards publiſhed it as the firſt inventor (18). But this is too imperfect a ſtory to deſerve any notice. Honoratus Faber likewiſe made ſome prenteſions to the firſt diſcovery, which are confuted by his own account, as is ſhewn by Borelli, who on this occaſion handſomely expoſes Faber's vanity (well known in the mathematical republic) as follows. *Cum vero ſit omnino incredibile & impoſſibile hominem nobilem, religioſum & pium* [*Harvæum ſc.*] *ea, quæ vera non ſunt, aſſerere voluiſſe, nil aliud in ejus* [*Fabri*] *excuſationem dicendum reſtat, niſi quod, cum ingenio velociſſimo præditus ſit, a celeritate ipſa qua aliena legit, & propria ſcribit, multoties decipiatur. Quod alias ei contigiſſe non erit ſupervacaneum oſtendere, ut inde pateat ſolenne ei eſſe authores alicujus nominis furti inſimulare, hac ſolummodo de cauſa, quia curſim & oſcitanter eorum opera legit, ſi enim patienter & debita attentione dignatus fuiſſet legere ea, quæ ſpatio* 38 *annorum edita fuerant, & vulgatiſſima per univerſam Europam erant, proculdubio non ſcripſiſſet, anno* 1666, *Lib. primo de Homine, Prop.* 2. *ſe circulationem ſanguinis inveniſſe & docuiſſe ab anno* 1638, *antequam* Gulielmi Harveii, Exercitatio Anatomica de motu Cordis *prodiret* (19), *quem pariter multa Fabri inventa in ſuis exercitationibus inſeruiſſe affirmat: omnes enim ſciunt* Harveium, *An. Dom.* 1628, *Francofurti, typis Gual. Fitzeri, ſuam exercitationem primum edidiſſe; ſcilicet decem annos antequam Cl. Faber ſanguinis circulationem docuiſſet* (20). Theſe were feeble attacks and eaſily repelled. But others went further, Vander Linden, publiſhing an edition of Hippocrates in Holland, about 1664, took a great deal of pains therein to prove, that Hippocrates knew the circulation of the blood, and that Dr Harvey only revived it; and many years afterwards Mr Bayle, in his Dictionary (21), very confidently aſſerts, that 'it would be robbing Cæſalpinus of 'a very great honour, to paſs over in ſilence that he 'knew the circulation of the blood, the proofs of which, 'ſays he, are ſo clear, that they cannot be eluded by 'any evaſion.' Theſe proofs are two paſſages from two pieces of that author, one of which is cited at length (22), and the other referred to in a marginal note (23). However, we have the ſatisfaction to obſerve, that theſe and other injuries and inſults offered to Dr Harvey's memory, have been clearly wiped away by ſome of his countrymen, and as it is done by no body that I know of ſo pertinently and ſo much to the mind of Dr Harvey, as by Dr Freind, we ſhall lay his account of the matter before the reader, and the rather, becauſe the true merit of this moſt important diſcovery is there ſet in the moſt conſpicuous light, and expreſſed alſo in that genteel, proper, and eaſy language, which diſtinguiſhes the gentleman united to the ſcholar. The Doctor traces the ſubject as high as to the end of the fourth century, when Nemeſius, Biſhop of Edeſſa, wrote a treatiſe *concerning the nature of man*, which being publiſhed at Oxford in 1671, 8vo. the editor had therein contended, that the circulation of the blood, an invention, ſays the Doctor, the moſt conſiderable that ever was made in phyſic, and which the laſt century ſo much bragged of, was known to *Nemeſius*, and deſcribed by him in very plain and ſignificant terms, which are theſe. *For the motion of the pulſe takes it's riſe from the heart, and chiefly from the left ventricle of it: the artery is with great vehemence dilated and contracted by a ſort of conſtant harmony and order; while it is dilated, it draws the thinner part of the blood from the next veins, the exhalation or vapour of which blood is made the element for the vital ſpirits; but while it contracts, it exhales whatſoever fumes it has through the whole body and by ſecret paſſages; ſo that the heart throws out whatever is fuliginous, through the mouth and the noſe by expiration* †. 'Upon this ſingle ſlender proof, continues the Doctor, does he [the Oxford editor] attribute this great diſcovery of the circulation to Nemeſius; and thoſe who have inſiſted that it was known both to Hippocrates and Galen, have full as good arguments on their ſide. I ſhall only ſay this, that from this very deſcription, and from what the ſame author ſays of the liver in the ſame chapter, that it miniſters nouriſhment to the body by the veins, one may demonſtrably infer, that Nemeſius had no idea of the manner in which the circulation of the blood is performed, 'I ſhall not enter into a diſpute upon this head, but 'ſhall now content myſelf with obſerving, that the 'true circulation was not at all rightly underſtood by 'a much later writer, and that a very elegant and ac'curate ono, Columbus; who, as he was an excellent 'anatomiſt, about one hundred and fifty years ago 'with the niceſt exactneſs explained not only the ſtruc'ture, but the uſe too of every part belonging to the 'heart, except a little miſtake about ſome of the veſ'ſels; and does in as clear a manner as words could 'expreſs ſhew, how by the contraction and dilatation 'of the heart, and mechaniſm of the veſſels, the blood 'circulates through the lungs from the cava to the 'aorta (no body, as he ſays himſelf, having either 'obſerved

* N. B. The reader will take notice, that we have inſerted purely what was communicated by Dr Nicholls, without interpoſing our own opinion. Indeed we do not ſee the grounds for objecting the want of theſe conſequential advantages to Dr Harvey's theſis.

(15) See remark [*C*].

(16) Terence.

(17) Remark [*G*], in the article HARRIOT [THOMAS].

(18) Ath. Ox. Vol. I. col. 461.

(19) Faber doubtleſs was drawn into this ridicule, by ſeeing the anſwer of Pariſanus, mentioned in remark [*G*], printed in 1639, who in the dedication intimates, that Harvey's book had reached Venice only ſome months before. His words are, *Superioribus elapſis menſibus hic Venetias Harveii Exercitatio appulit.*

(20) *Meteorologia Ætnæa, ſive Hiſtoria & Meteorologia incendii Ætnæi*, anni 1669, &c. Regio Julio, 1670. 4to.

(21) Under the article CÆSALPINUS.

(22) From his *Queſtiones Peripateticæ*, lib. iv. cap. vii. fol. 125.

(23) Idem, *Quæſtion. Medican.* lib. ii. c. 17. fol. 234. edit. 1593. N. B. A Scotch author alſo ſpeaking of this diſcovery, has theſe words, *Par decus manet & illum* (Cæſalpinum) *qui primum invenit*, & (Harvæum) *qui poſtremum perfecit.* Bibliogr. Anat. Specimen, p. 140. a Jacob. Douglas, &c. edit. 1715. 8vo.

† Ch. xxiv. de pulſibus.

a celebrated Anatomiſt (e); the Doctor afterwards * publiſhed two Exercitations more in defence of his doctrine, under the title of *Exercitationes Anatomicæ duæ de circulatione ſanguinis, ad J. Riolanum J. Filium* [G]. December 30, 1629, he reſigned the place of Treaſurer

obſerved this, or written any thing of it) and from thence into all the parts of the body. *In his language* (as to the ſenſe, much indeed the ſame with what we find in Servetus a contemporary writer, though much more fully explained) *the lungs are for generating vital ſpirits, and this he deſcribes in the following expreſſion* *. *The wind-pipe draws the air into all parts of the lungs, the lungs mix this air with the blood, which comes from the right ventricle of the heart by the pulmonary artery; the blood, by this continual motion of the fluid, is agitated, attenuated, and mingled with the air, which air itſelf by this colliſion and rarefaction is ſo prepared, that both the blood and air, mixed together, are taken in by the branches of the pulmonary vein, and through it's trunk conveyed to the left ventricle of the heart; and the air conveyed hither, is wholly mixed and attenuated, that there is little more left to do for the heart; therefore after a little further labour here, which gives as it were the laſt hand to the vital ſpirits, there remains nothing, unleſs that the heart, by the help of the aorta, ſhould throw and diſtribute the blood into all the parts of the body*. This is literally the ſenſe of this inquiſitive anatomiſt, and we ſee how exactly conſonant to the truth his doctrine is, only he ſtopt ſhort here, and does not at all explain how the blood flows from the arteries to the veins; nay it is evident from what he ſays, in ſeveral places, of theſe veſſels, that he did not in the leaſt comprehend any communication between them. For beſides that he aſſigns the carrying of the vital ſpirits only to the arteries; in another diſcourſe he tells us, that the veins convey the blood from the liver to all parts of the body. And in this point chiefly, that is the intercourſe between the arteries and the veins, is his doctrine of the circulation deficient; however little it has been underſtood by thoſe, who have wrote for or againſt Harvey. Cæſalpinus indeed drops the word *Anaſtomoſis* † (copying perhaps from Servetus, whoſe word it is ||) by which he ſuppoſes the native heat may paſs from the arteries to the veins, but this in the time of ſleep only; and from the ſentence immediately following it is plain, that he had no notion of the circular progreſs of the blood, for he makes it only move like an *euripus*, the very word he uſes, a ſort of undulating motion from one extremity of the veſſel to the other, which is indeed the very idea Hippocrates himſelf had of the motion of the blood. And Aquapendente in direct terms deſcribes the blood as circulating by way of flux and reflux in the arteries. Were we indeed to reaſon from what theſe writers ſay concerning the circulation of the blood, both through the heart and through the lungs into the aorta, the concluſion muſt demonſtrably be, that the blood which goes into the aorta, muſt return back into the cava; elſe how could the conſtant current which by their own account runs through the heart and lungs be maintained (24). But it is alſo demonſtrable, that they did not perceive this conſequence which naturally and neceſſarily flows from their own principles. Neither is this ſo much to be wondered at, for Columbus and Cæſalpinus might as well go ſo far and no farther, as that Aquapendente could diſcover and deſcribe the valves of the veins, and yet be at the ſame time ignorant of the true uſe of them ‡, as it is very plain he was from his own deſcription of them.' Whence the Doctor concludes with giving the honour of this invention to Harvey, as follows. 'As this great diſcovery was intirely owing to our countryman, ſo he has explained it with all the clearneſs imaginable; and though much has been written upon that ſubject, I may venture to ſay, his own book is the ſhorteſt, the plaineſt, and the moſt convincing of any, as we may be ſatisfied, if we look into the many apologies written in defence of the circulation, or have the patience to read the tedious uninſtructive treatiſe of Raymund Vieuſſens *de ſanguine & corde* (25).'

[G] *Exercitationes de circulatione ſanguinis, &c.*] In 1639, there came out in quarto, from the preſs at Leyden in Holland, a piece intituled, *Gulielmi Harvæi Angli, Medici Regii, & in Londinenſi Medicorum Collegio Profeſſoris Anatomicæ, de Motu Cordis & Sanguinis in Animalibus Anatomica Exercitatio, cum Refutationibus Æmilii Pariſani Romani Philoſophi ac Medici Veneti. Et Jacobi Primroſii in Londinenſi Collegio Doctoris Medici.* In anſwer to the firſt of theſe, it was that Sir George Ent publiſhed his *Apologia pro circulatione Sanguinis contra Æmilium Pariſanum*, already mentioned. But this was doing him more honour than either of them, or any other of his antagoniſts deſerved, in the opinion of Dr Freind, who in that view makes the following remark. '*Sed ut fere invidia premitur quicquid eminet, quique omnibus antecellit multos habet ut plurimum inimicos, fuerunt futiles quidam homunculi, ignari perinde atque invidi, qui divinis illius laboribus obtrectarent. Quos quidem ille, qua fuit animi conſtantia, contemptui habuiſſet, niſi amplius quid & enucleatius de iiſdem rebus a ſe dici poſſe putaſſet* (26).' How agreeable this remark was to the mind of our author, appears from the following paſſage in his third Exercitation, where ſpeaking of the ſame opponents, though without naming any of them, he expreſſes himſelf in theſe terms. 'Vituperatores, momos, ſcriptoreſque convitiorum labe ſordidos, ut nunquam legendos mecum ſtatui, (a quibus nihil ſolidum aut præter maledicta egregium ſperandum) ita multo minus reſponſione dignos judicavi. Utantur ſuo malo genio, vix unquam benevolos lectores habituros puto; neque (quod præſtantiſſimum & maxime optandum) ſapientiam donat Deus optimus improbis; pergant maledicendo, donec ipſos (ſi non pudet) pigeat, vel denique tædeat.—In libello *de cordis & ſanguinis motu in animalibus*, illa tantum exhibui ex multis aliis obſervationibus meis, quibus aut errores redargui, aut veritatem ſatis ſtabilitam iri arbitrabar; plurima alia diſſectionis ope ſenſu perceptibilia, tanquam redundantia & inutilia dereliqui; quorum quædam in gratiam ſtudioſorum, qui illa efflagitant, paucis verbis nunc addam (27). On the other hand it muſt be obſerved, that the Doctor treats Riolanus, an antagoniſt of a different claſs, with all poſſible reſpect, thanks him for the preſent of his *Enchiridion*, which he calls a learned, polite, and ſuccinct treatiſe, and declares that he had never received any thing more elegant; and as Riolanus had therein aſſented to a great part of his doctrine concerning the circulation, and ſeemed only drawn to oppoſe the reſt out of a veneration for the Ancients, and for Fernelius, who had been his maſter, more than from any perſuaſion of his own mind, the Doctor congratulates himſelf on the occaſion, *Gratulor, inquit ille, mihi ob ſententiam qua circulationem exornaſti* (28). It muſt be obſerved, that Riolanus having in the time of the troubles of France, attended his miſtreſs Mary de Medicis, Queen-Mother of Lewis the Thirteenth into England, had then frequently diſcourſed with Dr Harvey about his diſcovery of the circulation. Againſt which, though he was not ſatisfied with the Doctor's arguments, he made no objection at that time, becauſe (if we may believe his own account of the matter) being then in a ſtate of baniſhment, he thought it not ſuitable to ſpeak his doubts freely *. His opinion, as it is contained in his *Enchiridion Anatomicum & Pathologicum*, to which the ſecond Exercitation of Dr Harvey *de circulo ſanguinis* † is an anſwer, was, that the circulation went no farther than the larger veſſels, being abſorpt in their extremities for the nouriſhment of the parts. Dr Freind likewiſe in the ſame ſpirit with Dr Harvey having obſerved, that this doctrine of the circulation, though proved beyond all doubt in a demonſtrative way, met with great oppoſition, and that the inventor of it was obliged to bear the attacks of numberleſs adverſaries, who generally in their anſwers had more a ſpirit of contradiction than any force of reaſoning, proceeds thus, 'The learned Gaſſendus acted very differently, and behaved with that ingenuity which became a ſcholar, and though he had very ſtrenuouſly denied the circulation, and the communication of the chyle with the blood, yet at laſt was convinced of his error by Pecquet, the diſcoverer of the receptacle of the chyle, and the tracer of the thoracic duct in a human body; and as ſoon as he was convinced, he expreſſed great joy, that, dying as he was, he had come to the knowledge of theſe two important diſcoveries. Adding, that he looked upon theſe two truths, which prove one another, as the two poles, upon which for the future all phyſic ought to turn (29).'

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* See rem [K].

(e) In the inſcription to theſe Exercitations, he is ſtiled, *The moſt experienced Phyſician in the univerſity of Paris, the Prince of Diſſectors of bodies, King's Profeſſor and Dean of Anatomy and Botany, and Archiater to the Queen-Mother of Lewis* XIII. See alſo Douglas's *Specimen Bibl. Anat.* ubi ſupra, p 161. Item, p. 204.

* Lib. vii. cap. 24.

† *Quæſt. Peripat.*

|| *De Trinitate.*

(24) This demonſtration was performed by Harvey. See the remark preceding.

‡ *De Venarum Oſtiolis.*

(25) Freind's Hiſtory of Phyſic, Vol. I. p. 227. & ſeq. Lond. 1725. 2 vols, 8vo.

(26) *Oratio Anniverſaria in Theatro Collegii Regalis Medicorum Londinis habita ex Harvæi Inſtituto*, &c. Octob. die 18. anno 1720.

(27) *Exercitat. Anatom.* iii. *de circulatione ſanguinis*, prope initium.

(28) *Exercitat. Anatom.* ii. ad finem.

* *Sed poſtmodum in patriam reverſus anno* 1645, *ab itinere decennali cum Maria Medicæa, ſenſum ſuum non diutius ſuppreſſit.* Specimen Bibl. Anat. p. 161.

† Publiſhed at Leyden in 1649.

(29) Freind's Hiſtory of Phyſic, ubi ſupra.

ſurer of the college, and ſeems to have attended his Majeſty King Charles I. as King's Phyſician, in his journey to Scotland in 1633 * [*H*]. And adhering to the royal cauſe upon the breaking out of the civil war, he attended his Majeſty at the battle of Edge-hill, and thence to Oxford, where he was incorporated Doctor of Phyſic December 7, 1642, and by virtue of the King's letter, he was elected Warden of Merton-college in that univerſity in 1645 †. But this preferment, which he had ſo well merited of his Majeſty [*I*], he was not ſuffered to hold long; for, upon the ſurrendry of Oxford to the Parliament, the following year the doctor reſigned (*f*) his wardenſhip, and retired to London. But paſſed his time privately in the neighbourhood of that city, greatly lamenting the iniquity and calamity of the times (*g*). However, he took this opportunity of purſuing his favourite ſtudy, with all the diligence which affection naturally inſpires; and finiſhed his *Exercitationes de generatione Animalium* [K], which was publiſhed in 1651, in 4to. at the requeſt

of

[*H*] *He attended the King to Scotland in* 1633.] This is collected from the following paſſage in his Exercitationes de generatione, which ſhews that he had been in Scotland, and there ſeems to be no time in the courſe of his life ſo likely to fix the journey thither, as the occaſion here mentioned *. The paſſage exhibits a moſt pictureſque view of the Baſſe, a rock or ſmall iſland ſo called in that country. ‘ *In Scotiæ inſulis orientalibus deſertis tanta omnis fere generis avium marinarum copia reperitur, ut ſi quæ a fide dignis accepi retulero; vereor ne fabulas majores narrare videar, quam quas authores varii de anſeribus Scoticis, ex arborum quarundam fructibus (quos nunquam viderunt) in mare delabentibus, prognatis tradiderunt.* Quæ ipſemet vidi, bona fide ediſſeram.

‘ Eſt inſula parva, Scoti Baſſe nominant, (ex hac una, lector, noſce omnes) non procul a littore in alto mari ſita, abrupto & confragoſo clivo editiſſima, (verius ſaxum ingens ſive ſcopulum dixeris) haud amplius mille paſſuum circuitu amplitudo ejus clauditur. Hujus inſulæ ſuperficies (menſibus Majo & Junio) nidis, ovis, pulliſque propemodum tota inſtrata eſt; adeo ut vix uſpiam, præ eorum copia, pedem libere ponere liceat: tantaque ſupervolitantium turba, ut (nubium inſtar) ſolem cœlumque auferant; tantuſque vociferantium clangor & ſtrepitus, ut prope alloquentes vix audias. Si ſubjectum mare inde (tanquam ex edita turri & altiſſimo præcipitio) deſpexeris, idem quoquoverſum infinitis diverſorum generum avibus natantibus prædæque inhiantibus opertum videas; quemadmodum verno tempore ſtagna alicubi ranis refertiſſima cernuntur, & aprici colles monteſque acclives frequentiſſimis ovium caprarumque gregibus obſeſſi eminus ſpectantur. Si circumnavigando eminentem clivum ſuſpicere libuerit, videas in ſingulis prærupti loci crepidinibus & receſſibus avium cujuſlibet generis & magnitudinis ordines innumerabiles; plures ſane quam illuni nocte & ſereno cœlo ſtellæ conſpiciuntur; ſi advolantes avolanteſque eminus adſpexeris, apum profecto ingens examen credas. Haud facile dixerim quantus reditus quotannis ex plumis & nidorum (foco utilium) reliquiis, ovorumque coctorum commercio poſſeſſori accedat; adeo, quod ipſe mihi narravit, fidem exſuperat. Hoc unum, quod ad propoſitum noſtrum propius ſpectat, potiſſimum mihi memorabile videtur, eſtque præfatæ multitudinis clarum indicium. Tota hæc inſula adventantibus candido nitore micat, clivique tanquam ex albiſſima creta, fulgent; ſaxi tamen nativus color obſcurus & niger eſt. Inſulam albam & ſplendentem reddit cruſta ei adhærens albiſſima, friabilis, ejuſdemque cum ovi cortice conſiſtentiæ, coloris, & naturæ: adeo omnia ejus latera integumento duro, teſtaque friabili ſuperinducta, trulliſſata ſunt. Pars ima quam reciproca maris unda quotidie abluit, nativo ſuo colore conſpicua, luculenter docet albedinem illam in ſummo fucatam eſſe, & a liquidis avium excrementis (quæ cum alvi fæcibus elidunt) proficiſci; quibus tanquam ovi teſta alba, dura, & friabili ſaxum obtegunt, & (accedente aëris ambientis frigore) incruſtant: eodemque modo Ariſtoteles quoque & Plinius ovi teſtam fieri voluerunt. Harum avium nullæ iſtius loci inquilini ſunt, ſed pariendi cauſa advenæ, per aliquot duntaxat ſeptimanas ibidem, tanquam in diverſorio, morantur. Tamen alba illa cruſta, adeo ſolida, firma, & profunda adhæret, ut genuinam illius ſoli naturam crederes (30).’

[*I*] *He had merited of his Majeſty the wardenſhip of Merton-college.*] This merit did not only conſiſt in his conſtant and diligent attendance upon the King, for whom he takes all occaſions of expreſſing the moſt profound reſpect, and to whoſe cauſe he faithfully adhered; he had alſo another and more particular claim to this bounty. Notwithſtanding he had both leave, and an expreſs order from the Parliament, to attend his Majeſty upon his leaving Whitehall, yet his houſe in London was in his abſence plundered of all the furniture, and his Adverſaria, with a great number of anatomical obſervations, eſpecially relating to the generation of inſects, were taken away; a loſs which he laments ſeveral years afterwards, as it muſt needs touch him moſt ſenſibly, in the following pathetic words, ‘ *Atque hæc dum agimus, ignoſcant mihi niviæ animæ, ſi (ſummarum injuriarum memor) levem gemitum effudero. Doloris mihi hæc cauſa eſt: cum inter naperos noſtros tumultus, & bella pluſquam civilia, ſereniſſimum Regem (idque non ſolum Senatus permiſſione ſed & juſſu) ſequor; rapaces quædam manus non modo ædium mearum ſupellectilem omnem expilarunt, ſed etiam (quæ mihi cauſa gravior querimoniæ) Adverſaria mea multorum annorum laboribus parta, e muſæo meo ſummanarumt. Quo factum eſt, ut obſervationes plurimæ (preſertim de generatione inſectorum) cum reipublicæ literariæ (auſim dicere) detrimento perierint* (31).’ We have obſerved in another place (32), that Mr John Greaves, who was then Fellow of Merton-college, had a ſhare in this promotion of Dr Harvey to the wardenſhip, in which he ſucceeded Dr Nathaniel Brent, who, as Wood obſerves, though he had received the honour of knighthood from his Majeſty, at Woodſtock, in 1629; yet ſided with the Preſbyterians afterwards, became a frequent witneſs againſt Archbiſhop Laud, and left his college when the King garriſoned Oxford (33). It may alſo be obſerved, that Dr Harvey very probably rendered himſelf more acceptable to the King by his courtly addreſs, wherein he was no ordinary adept, as is evident from the genteel and prudent caution with which the account of his being plundered is expreſſed; and that he was a very univerſal ſcholar, appears by the ſeveral parts of his writings. But we are told alſo, that he was particularly well ſkilled in the hiſtory and politicks of both the ancient and modern times; and that upon *that* account he is introduced under the title of the Phyſician, in the dialogue called Plato Redivivus, written by Mr Henry Nevil (34).

[*K*] *Exercitationes Anatomicæ de Generatione Animalium* *, *&c.*] The Doctor had given the public ſome expectation of ſeeing this work, and alſo raiſed it's curioſity thereto, in his treatiſe *De Circulatione Sanguinis* (35); where ſpeaking of the opinion of Ariſtotle, who maintained the heart to be the principle of attraction, and the generation of the blood and ſpirits, he ſays, If I may ſpeak freely, I do not think that theſe things are ſo, as they are commonly believed; for there are many things which perſwade me to that opinion, whereof I will take notice in the generation of the parts of animals, which do not properly belong to this place; but it may be things more wonderful than theſe, and ſuch as will give more light to Natural Philoſophy, ſhall ſoon be publiſhed by me. ‘ *Aperte ſi loquar, hæc ita eſſe (ut vulgo recepta ſunt) non opinor: multa enim ſunt, quæ me in aliam ſententiam ire ſuadent in generatione partium obſervanda, quæ hic recitare non expedit; ſed propediem forſan miraculoſiora, majoremque lucem naturali philoſophiæ allatura, a me in publicum dabuntur* ‖.’ But notwithſtanding this promiſe, we find he was with-held ſome time from performing it, by the oppoſition and trouble which his firſt work had brought upon him; and it was at laſt owing to the perſwaſions of Sir George Ent that he conſented to the publication †.

We have the following account of this work by Dr Goodall. After the anatomy of the parts ſerving for

generation

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* Mr Wood tells us, he was made King's Phyſician the preceding year, Faſti, ubi ſupra. Whereas he ſtiles himſelf *Medicus Regius* in the title-page of his book *de Motu Cordis*, &c. printed in 1628. See *Specimen Bib. Anat.* p. 226.

† Wood, ibid.

(*f*) On this change Sir Nath. Brent returned to Oxford, and was reinſtated in the Wardenſhip. Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 161.

(*g*) See the dedication of his Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium.

* It is probable that he alſo attended the King thither in 1639.

(30) *De Generatione Animalium*, Exercitat. xi.

(31) Id. Exercitat. lxviii. ad finem.

(32) In the article of GREAVES [JOHN].

(33) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 161.

(34) Account of the Life and Writings of Mr Moyle, prefixed to his Poſthumous Works, 1723.

* The whole title is, *Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium, quibus accedunt quædam de partu: de membranis ac humoribus uteri: & de conceptione.* There have been ſeveral editions of it, and it has been alſo tranſlated into Engliſh. The laſt edition in Latin, both of this and the *Exercitat. de Cordis Motu*, was printed at Leyden in 1737. 4to.

(35) Exercitat. iii. ad Riolanum, p. 274. edit. Rotterdam, 1661. 12mo.

‖ This being printed at Cambridge, and alſo at Rotterdam in 1649, 12mo. ſhews that our author's promiſe was performed ſooner than the account of it given by the editor in his dedication, and tranſcribed by Dr Goodall, ubi ſupra, would induce one to believe.

† See the dedication.

of Dr George Ent (b), who dedicated it to the Preſident and College of Phyſicians. In 1654, on Michaelmas-day, Dr Harvey was choſen Preſident of the college in his abſence, and apparently without his knowledge; but coming thither the day after, he acknowledged his great obligation to the electors, for chuſing him into a place of the ſame honour and dignity, as if he had been elected to be *Medicorum omnium apud Anglos Princeps*; but that his age and weakneſs were ſo great, that he could not diſcharge the duty incumbent upon that great office: and therefore requeſted them to chuſe their learned Preſident Dr Prujean, who had been highly ſerviceable to the college in his former diſcreet and prudent government (i). And as he had no children, he made the college heirs to his paternal eſtate, for which purpoſe, he ſettled that eſtate, which lay in Kent, upon the college, on the 28th of July following (k). He had three years before built them a combination room, a library, and a muſæum; and in 1656 he brought the deeds of his eſtate, and preſented them to the college; at which time he was preſent at the firſt feaſt inſtituted by himſelf [L], to be continued annually, together with a commemoration ſpeech in Latin, to be ſpoken on the 18th of October, in honour of the benefactors to the college; having appointed a handſome ſtipend for the orator *, and alſo for the keeper of the library and muſæum, which ſtill are called by his name. For the ſupply of which, and alſo for keeping the college-buildings in repair, the annual produce of his eſtate, which amounted to fifty-ſix pounds, was appropriated by him (l). Having thus compleated theſe munificent benefactions upon the verge of his eightieth year, he reſigned his Lecturer's place (m); and gave way to fate in June 1657 (n). His body wrapped in lead was carried to Hempſted in Hartfordſhire, and interred in a vault in that church, where there is a monument erected to his memory (o); and not long afterwards, a character of him was drawn up, and engraved on a copper plate, which was put under his picture at the college [M]. It appears from ſeveral paſſages in the two books which were printed by him, that he had materials for ſeveral

(b) Ibid.

(i) Goodall, ubi ſupra.

(k) From the college Regiſter.

* See remark [M].

(l) See below in remark [M].

(m) He was ſucceeded therein by Sir Charles Scarborough. *Goodall*, ibid.

(n) On the third day, according to the inſcription upon his monument, which may be ſeen in the Gen. Dict. with which agrees the inſcription under his picture in the college. But Mr Wood, in Faſti, Vol. II. col. 6. ſays, June 30. as does alſo the author of the Lives of ſeveral Illuſtrious Perſons, &c. in 1745. fol. in the article of Dr HARVEY. But Peck, in *Deſiderata Curioſa*, Vol. II. ch. xv. p. 29. fixes it on June 22.

(o) Wood, where laſt cited.

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generation in the hen, our author acquaints us with the formation and growth of the egg, and then with the ſeveral parts whereof it conſiſts. This done, he proceeds to give an account how the chick is formed, which he obſerved by a daily inſpection of the eggs during the time of incubation; and was the firſt who diſcovered, that the original of the chick was from the *cicatricula*. He then gives an account in what order the ſeveral parts appear, and confutes a multitude of errors delivered by former writers; proving that the *punctum ſaliens* is the heart; that the blood is not formed by the liver, becauſe it's *parenchyma* is formed after, and of, the blood, and grows to the blood-veſſels; nor yet by the heart, becauſe *that* is not in being 'till ſome time after the blood. He ſhews that all the *viſcera*, at their firſt formation, appear white; that the veins are the firſt conſpicuous foundation, as it were, of the whole body; that the diviſion of the parts into ſpermatical and ſanguineous is ridiculous, ſince all come from the ſame original. He delivereth an account of the parts ſerving for generation in a deer, and how the fœtus is formed; he acquaints us that nothing is to be found *in utero* for a conſiderable time after coition; and how analogous conception is to an egg; and that it is ſome time *in utero* before it is affixed to it. He takes notice of ſeveral memorable things concerning the generation of other animals, both oviparous and viviparous. In ſpeaking of the formation of the human *fœtus*, he delivers ſeveral curious obſervations made on abortions of ſeveral ages; as alſo inſtances of ſuperfœtation, hermaphrodites, of a *fœtus* found in *tuba uteri*, &c. When he treats *de partu*, he gives very curious and memorable inſtances to ſhew how the *fœtus* conduces to it's own birth. Beſides theſe, there are ſeveral remarkable obſervations occaſionally interſperſed through the whole book; as *de partu difficili, de gravidatione falſa, de ulcere uteri, de uteri procidentia*, &c. as alſo *de uteri membranis, humoribus, placenta, de conceptione, de calido innato, de humido primigenio*, &c. and of his cure of a *ſarcocele*, of that bigneſs, that none durſt undertake the cure, either by cutting or otherwiſe; which he happily performed by tying the artery, and thereby depriving it of nouriſhment; by which means it was afterwards eaſily extirpated. To this account of Dr Goodall we ſhall add, that in this book our author brings the following remarkable inſtance to confirm his doctrine of the circulation. A young nobleman of the Montgomery family having the misfortune to break the ribs of his left ſide, was perfectly cured, and ſo as to be reſtored to his former health; but, however, not without a large aperture remaining in his breaſt, through which, upon removing a thin plate of metal, which he uſually wore upon it, the cone of his heart was laid immediately open to the ſight. By which means the doctor laying his finger to the wriſt, could perceive that the ſyſtole of the heart was exactly ſynchronous with the diaſtole of the artery ‖. Whence it follows (though he does not indeed make the inference here, having done it before in his former book) that the diaſtole of the right auricle is immediately ſubſequent to the ſyſtole of the left ventricle. And, as by parity of reaſon, the diaſtole of the left auricle is immediately ſubſequent to the ſyſtole of the right ventricle. The concluſion becomes unavoidable, that the two auricles are relaxed and contracted together, and alternately to the relaxation and contraction of the two ventricles, which are in theſe alſo ſynchronous to each other, according to the opinion conſtantly maintained by Dr Harvey ‡.

[L] *He was preſent at the firſt feaſt and annual ſpeech inſtituted by himſelf.*] The reader will be pleaſed with the following account of this matter in the elegant words of Dr Freind. Having ſpoken of Dr Harvey's writings, he proceeds thus. ‘ *At parum fuit Harvæo donare Collegium ſcriptis, niſi ædes ipſas locupletaret ornaretque, niſi cœnaculum & muſæum conderet, niſi bibliothecam ſuo ſumptu inſtrueret, niſi demum exemplo pluſquam Attalico & prope inaudito, ipſe alacer pleno in ſodalium conſeſſu, & ut admodum ſenex cum adeſſet ſponte ſuo ſe exueret patrimonio, ad nos ut pertineret illa, ipſo vivente, hæreditas. Omitto minora inſtrumenta Chirurgiæ, Profeſſorem uſibus, deſtinata. Convivium menſtruis Cenſorum comitiis inſtructum: licet, cum in beneficiis æſtimandis id præcipue attendi debeat, quo ea quiſque animo, ſtudio, atque voluntate fecerit, etiam leviſſima munuſcula utcunque parum habeant gloriæ atque ſplendoris, tamen neque gratia ſua carent neque dignitate. Illud vero præterire nefas eſſe arbitror, epulum hoc hodiernum, & nunc tandem, uti auguror, futurum prout eſſe debuit annuum,* (36) *non magnifice magis quam prudenter fuiſſe inſtitutum. Videre videor qua vultus hilaritate, qua animi lætitia munificentiſſimus ille ſenex ſuo interfuerit conviva convivio: quam fauſta omnia de hoc ſodalitio ominatus ſit, cum ſenſerit id, quod in omni ſocietate maxime valet, ſe eſſe conſecutum, ut hac convictus ſermonumque liberalium jucunditate recreati, ad vitæ morumque comitatem, ad concordiam atque amicitiam traheremur. Hunc ipſum in finem, & fortaſſe etiam ut epulo ſuo aliquid condimenti accederet, annuum & honeſtis præmiis ornatum oratorem conſtituit, qui virorum de nobis noſtriſque rebus optima merentium res geſtas memoraret. Quorſum enim hoc? niſi ut animis noſtris eorum, qui in hoc nos curriculo præceſſere, fama gloriaque accenſi, ad omnem ſcientiæ laudem, ad omnia humanitatis officia provocentur* (37).

[M] *A character upon a copper plate under his picture.*] This character, containing ſeveral particulars of his life, not to be found elſe where, is thought proper to be inſerted here as follows.

Gulielmus

‖ *De Generatione Animalium*, Exercitatio lii.

‡ This poſition is the main difficulty that attends his theſis of the manner in which the circulation is performed; ſince it ſuppoſes the blood to paſs from the ventricles through the whole length of the arteries, and by the veins into the auricles, as ſuddenly as it paſſes from the auricles immediately into the ventricles.

(36) By reaſon of ſome diſorder in the college finances, this ſpeech was diſcontinued for many years, but revived in 1719, when the firſt ſpeech was ſpoken by Dr Pellet, afterwards Preſident of the college.

(37) Oratio Anniverſaria, &c. a Johanne Freind, M. D. Oct. 18. 1720.

ſeveral other treatiſes, and that he had ſometimes thoughts of making them public. Of theſe we have the following catalogue by Dr Goodall. (1.) *A Practice of Phyſic, conformable to his Theſis of the circulation of the blood* [*N*]. (2.) *Tractatus de pulmonum uſu & motu, de eventilatione omni aëriſque neceſſitate & uſu; de variis & differentibus organis hujus cauſa in animalibus factis.* (3.) *Tractatus de quantitate ſanguinis in unoquoque, aut ſingulis pulſionibus protruſa, & quando plus, & quando minus, & qua de cauſa; itidem de circuitus cauſis utilitatibus, & ſanguinis arcanis.* (4.) *Obſervationes de uſu lienis.* (5.) *Exercitationes de reſpirationis cauſa; itidem de circuitus cauſis utilitatibus, & ſanguinis arcanis.* (6.) *Obſervationes de uſu lienis.* (7.) *Exercitationes de reſpirationis cauſis organis & uſu.* (8.) *Obſervationes de motivis organis animalium, & de muſculorum fabrica.* (9.) *Tractatus de animalium amore, libidine, & coitu.* (10.) *Obſervationes medicinales de herniæ carnoſæ curatione, aliiſque*

Gulielmus Harvæus
Anglus natu, Galliæ, Italiæ, Germaniæ, hoſpes,
Ubique Amor & Deſiderium.
Quem omnis terra expetiſſet Civem,
Medicinæ Dr Coll. Med. Lond. Socius & Conſiliarius
Anatomes, Chirurgiæque Profeſſor,
Regis Jacobi Familiæ Caroloque Regi Medicus
Geſtis clarus, omiſſiſque, honoribus,
Quorum alios tulit, oblatos renuit alios,
Omnes meruit.
Laudatis priſcorum ingeniis par;
Quos honoravit maxime imitando,
Docuitque Poſteros exemplo.
Nullius laceſſivit famam, veritatis ſtudens magis quam
gloriæ,
Hanc tamen adeptus
Induſtria, ſagacitate, ſucceſſu nobilis
Perpetuos ſanguinis æſtus circulari gyro
Fugientis, ſeque ſequentis,
Primus promulgavit mundo.
Nec paſſus ultrà mortales ſua ignorare primordia,
Aureum edidit de ovo atque pullo librum,
Albæ Gallinæ Filium.
Sic novis inventis Apollineam ampliavit artem
Atque noſtrum Apollinis Sacrarium Auguſtius eſſe
Tandem voluit;
Suaſu enim & cura D. D. D^{ni} Franciſci Prujeani Præſidis
Et
Edmundi Smith Electoris
An. MDCLIII,
Senaculum, & de nomine ſuo Muſæum horto ſuperſtruxit
Quorum alterum plurimis libris & Inſtrumentis Chirur-
[gicis
Alterum omnigena ſupellectile ornavit & inſtruxit
Medicinæ Patronus ſimul & Alumnus.
Non hic anhela ſubſtitit Herois Virtus, Impatiens vinci
Acceſſit porro Munificentiæ decus.
Suaſu enim & Conſilio D^{ni}. D^{ris}. Edv. Alſtoni Præſidis
Anno MDCLVI.
Rem noſtram anguſtam prius, annuo LVI. l. reditu
Auxit.
Paterni Fundi ex aſſe hæredem collegium dicens;
Quo nihil Illi charius Nobiſve honeſtius.
Unde ædificium ſartum tectum perennare,
Unde Bibliothecario Honorarium ſuum, ſuumque Ora-
[tori
Quotannis pendi *;
Unde omnibus ſociis annuum ſuum convivium,
Et ſuum denique (quot menſes) conviviolum Cenſoribus
[parari,
Juſſit.
Ipſe etiam pleno theatro geſtiens ſe hæreditate exuere,
In manus Præſidis Syngrapham tradidit.
Interfuitque Orationi veterum Benefactorum, novo-
[rumque Illicio,
Et Philoteſio Epulo.
Illius auſpicium, & pars maxima;
Hujus Conviva ſimul, & Convivator.
Sic poſtquam ſatis ſibi, ſatis nobis, ſatis gloriæ,
Amicis ſolum non ſatis, nec ſatis patriæ, vixerat,
Cælicolûm Atria ſubiit ‡
Jun. IIIº. MDCLVII.
Quem pigebat ſuperis reddere, ſed pudebat negare:
Ne mireris igitur Lector,
Si, quem marmoreum illic ſtare vides,
Hic totam implevit tabulam.
Abi, & merere alteram.

[*N*] *A practice of phyſic conformable to his theſis of circulation.*] This piece is particularly taken notice of by Dr Freind (38), who obſerving that the deſign was a noble one, recommends it to the Faculty, as highly deſerving to be finiſhed, and for an encouragement to the undertaking, has given a ſpecimen of ſuch a work. Here follow his words: From this doctrine of our great countryman, many improvements even in the cure of diſtempers might be made. He had thought of compoſing ſuch a work himſelf, to ſhew the advantage of his doctrine in relation to practice, but was prevented by ſickneſs and death. The deſign of the architect was very noble, and I wiſh ſome of his ſucceſſors might finiſh it. At preſent I will hit only at two or three particulars, which will convince us of what uſe a perfect notion of the circulation may be to us, if rightly applied in the practical part of our profeſſion. The Doctor produces four inſtances, of which the firſt is the practice now univerſally uſed of tying up the arteries in amputations, which he obſerves, though invented by Parey (39), before the diſcovery of the circulation; yet for want of it's proper eſtabliſhment from that diſcovery, was but little uſed even in France (40); leſs ſtill, if at all, in Germany (41); and in Holland utterly rejected (42); for a long ſeries of years: nay, was but of late revived, or rather introduced among ourſelves by a conviction of it's reaſonableneſs, from a right underſtanding of the circulation. The next inſtance likewiſe regards amputations; wherein, when the trunk of the artery is cut off, this doctrine explains how the courſe of the blood is univerſally preſerved, a problem which the Doctor obſerves, can never be ſolved upon any other principles than thoſe of the circulation, and is ſo far from being an objection, as ſome ignorant writers make it, againſt this doctrine, that it is one, and not the leaſt demonſtrative, proof of it. For a third inſtance he obſerves, that this doctrine at firſt ſight ſhews, the true method of treating an aneuriſm which ariſes upon a puncture, viz. not to uſe compreſſion, but after proper ligatures to divide the veſſel, and tie the artery both above and below the puncture; a practice which though followed by our ſurgeons, yet that of other nations is very defective in this point. The Doctor concludes with the inſtance of the doctrine of revulſion, upon which there was for almoſt two centuries, as warm a diſpute as ever was in phyſic, whether in a pleuriſy a vein ſhould be opened on the ſame or the oppoſite ſide; neither was this point underſtood by the Ancients, whatever ſome ignorant zealots for them would pretend; but the whole affair was entirely ſettled by the circulation; which alſo, as to bleeding in general, quite confounded and ſuperſeded all thoſe rules, which had been before with ſo much pains laid down, as to opening in particular caſes this or that vein: and though the ignorant part of the Faculty have loſt a good pretence of driving on this way a trade in phyſic, and of making a myſtery, where there is none: Thoſe ſurely who underſtand their profeſſion muſt acknowledge, that they have this advantage at leaſt from the circulation, of knowing exactly how indifferent it often is, which vein is made choice of, or if there be any preference, of judging without any heſitation, which vein to chuſe.

[*O*] *Of*

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* The orator's premium is ten pounds.

† It has been ſaid by the late Dr Mead and others, that upon the total loſs of his ſight he drank a draught of opium, and expired ſoon after it.

(38) In his Hiſtory of Phyſic, and alſo in his Harveian ſpeech, ubi ſupra.

(39) Opera, lib. x. c. 24. where he ſays, it came into him by inſpiration, as it were, upon reading Celſus.

(40) See an account of it's reception there in Viguerius's Surgery, p. 39.

(41) Hildanus, de Gangrena, ſpeaks ſlightly of it.

(42) Nuck's Experim. Chirurg. p. 49.

aliiſque curationibus præter vulgi ſententiam & methodum feliciter peractis. (11.) *De nutritionis modo.* (12.) *Hiſtoria multorum animalium, præſertim inſectorum ab inconſpicuis præ exiguitate principiis* (*p*), *& ſeminibus quaſi atomis in aëre volitantibus, a ventis huc uſque ſparſis ac diſſeminatis, ortorum.* (13.) *Anatomia Medica ad Medicinæ uſum maxime accomodata, ubi ex multis diſſectionibus corporum ægrotorum graviſſimis & miris affectionibus confectorum; quomodo & qualiter partes interiores in ſitu, magnitudine, conſtitutione, figura, ſubſtantia, & reliquis accedentibus ſenſibilibus a naturali forma & apparentia permutentur, & quam variis modis & miris afficiantur, enarrare ſuſciperet.* As to our author's character, it is a little unaccountable, that in the elogium of him, under his picture at the College of Phyſicians, no notice is taken either of his piety in regard to religion, nor of his modeſty and prudent caution in philoſophizing, for both which he was eminently and moſt amiably diſtinguiſhed. It has been obſerved, that he lived to ſee his doctrine of the circulation univerſally received, and was the only perſon that ever had that happineſs (*q*). And nothing perhaps contributed ſo much to effect it as theſe two marks of his character. We have ſeen (*r*) the firſt applied to that purpoſe by an eminent Italian author not a great many years after his death [*O*], and of the latter an inſtance has been already produced *. But it would not be doing him juſtice to omit another moſt remarkable one, wherein both theſe excellent qualities are ſeen together, and by that means each reflect a luſtre upon the other. We ſhall therefore inſert it below [*P*].

(*p*) We have already related how the materials for this piece were loſt, in remark [*I*].

(*q*) Hobbs, in præfat. ad Element. Philoſ. ſect. 1. de corpore.

(*r*) In remark [*F*].

* In remark [*E*].

[*O*] *Of the firſt we have already given an inſtance.*] Beſides that of the *anaſtomoſes*, there is another equally remarkable in the ſame Exercitation iii. referring to his treatiſe *De motu Cordis*. It reſpects the exiſtence and action of the *calidum innatum*, which he makes to be the principle and cauſe of the *diaſtole* of the heart and arteries, moved thereto, as he profeſſes, by the authority and reaſoning of Ariſtotle, which is produced by him; yet notwithſtanding the profound veneration he conſtantly pays to that maſter, not being ſufficiently convinced of this principle by experimental proofs, he concludes in theſe terms. 'After this manner do I believe that the native heat, or the *calidum innatum*, as being the common inſtrument of all operations, is alſo the firſt efficient cauſe of the pulſe. This however I do not confidently and aſſuredly aver, but propound it as a theſis, and ſhould be glad to hear what may be objected to it by men of learning and probity, without ſcurrilous language, calumnies, or reproaches; and I ſhould be exceedingly pleaſed if any ſuch perſons would undertake the matter. '*Atque hoc modo autumo calorem nativum ſive calidum innatum, ut omnium operationum commune inſtrumentum, ſic pulſus quoque efficiens primum eſſe. Hoc non adhuc conſtanter aſſevero, ſed tantum pro theſi propono. Quid in contrarium objiciatur a viris doctis & probis, ſine verborum ſcurrilitate, conviitiis, vel contumeliis, ſcire libenter velim, & ſi quis hanc rem ſuſceperit, pergratum mihi fecerit* (43).'

[*P*] *We ſhall inſert it below.*] It is in his book *de generatione animalium*, where ſpeaking of the efficient cauſe of animals, he maintains againſt Sennertus, that whether the generation of the *pullus* be effected wholly by the male, or that the female has alſo her ſhare in it; whether it be produced by the virtue of the ſeed or of the egg; yet none of theſe are any thing more than the inſtrumental and not the primary efficient cauſe of the animal, as is evident from the art, intellect, and providence, which ſhews itſelf conſpicuouſly in every part and ſtate of the production. In proceeding, he examines that opinion which aſcribes this buſineſs to the ſun as the principal cauſe, and having ſhewn in what ſenſe it may be allowed, that *Sol & homo generent hominem*, he expreſſes himſelf thus. '*Ideoque vere vigent vernantque omnia; appropinquante ſc. ſole, (qui communis pater eſt & genitor; vel ſaltem ſummi creatoris in generatione immediatum & univerſale inſtrumentum) non ſolum plantæ ſed etiam animalia, nec minus illa quæ ſponte proveniunt, quam quæ maris fœminæque mutua opera progenerantur. Tanquam adveniente nobili hoc aſtro, de cælo delaberetur* Alma Venus, Cupidinis charitumque choro *ſtipata, cunctaque viventia blando amoris œſtro ad perennitatem ſui exſtimularet. Vel (ut eſt in fabulis) quaſi eo tempore,* Saturni *genitalia in mare projecta ſpumam excitarent, undeque naſceretur* Aphrodite. Nempe in generatione, animalium, ſuperat (ut poëta ait) *tener omnibus humor*, ſpumant turgentque ſemine genitalia.' In the next place he refutes the opinion, that the vegetative ſoul is the primary efficient cauſe of the animal, wherein obſerving that this doctrine, when applied to the generation of man, makes the vegetative faculty to be more excellent, and a more expreſs image of the Deity than the rational ſoul, he deſcribes the difference between inſtinct and intellect, and ſhews that man's part in generation is merely the effect of an inſtinctive impulſe, and not the work of his intellect, the utmoſt power of which is excelled by the ſkill and providential contrivance ſeen in the animal produced by generation, as much as the art of nature exceeds the nature of art. '*Ideoque, pergit ille, ad artificialia qui reſpiciunt, haud æqui rerum naturalium æſtimatores habendi ſunt. Siquidem potius vice verſa ſumpto a natura exemplari de rebus artefactis judicandum eſt. Artes enim omnes imitatione quadam naturæ comparatæ ſunt, noſtraque ratio ſive intellectus, ab intellectu divino in operibus ſuis agente profluxit. Qui cum habitu perfecto in nobis exiſtit, quaſi altera anima adventitia & acquiſita, ſummi ac diviniſſimi agentis imaginem ſuſcipiens, operationes ſive effectus ſimiles produxit.*' He then concludes the whole remark with the following moſt pious ſtrain. '*Quapropter rem recte pieque (mea quidem ſententia) reputaverit; qui rerum omnium generationes ab eodem illo æterno atque omnipotente numine deduxerit, a cujus nutu rerum ipſarum univerſitas dependet. Nec magnopere litigandum cenſeo, quo nomine primum hoc agens compellandum aut venerandum veniat (cui nomen omne venerabile debetur), ſive* Deus, *ſive* Natura naturans, *ſive* Anima mundi *appellatur, id enim omnes intelligunt, quod cunctarum rerum principium ſit, & finis, quod æternum & omnipotens exiſtat, omniumque autor & creator, per varias generationum viciſſitudines, caducas res mortalium conſervet, ac perpetuet; quod ubique præſens ſingulis rerum naturalium operibus non minus adſit quam toti univerſo; quod numine ſuo, ſive providentia, arte, ac mente divina, cuncta animalia procreet.*' Whence taking occaſion to run over all the various ways of generation in different creatures, rational, animal, or vegetable, he cloſes all in the following words. '*Omnia vero corpora naturalia ſummi ejus numinis & opera ſunt, & inſtrumenta; ſuntque hæc vel naturalia ſolum, ut calor, ſpiritus, aëris, putrediniſve tepor, &c. vel ſimul etiam animata: quippe animalium quoque vel motu, vel facultate, vel anima, aliquo modo utitur ad perfectionem Univerſi, & animalium procreationem* (44).

(43) Exercitat. iii. *de circulatione ſanguinis, ad Riolanum*, p. 277. Rotterd. an. 1661. 12mo.

(44) *De Generatione Animalium*, Exercit. L.

HAWKINS [Sir John], an able ſeaman, an excellent officer, and one of the moſt celebrated commanders of the Engliſh fleet in the glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth, the mother of her ſubjects, the terror of their enemies, and the foundreſs of our navy. He deſcended from a good family in Devonſhire, diſtinguiſhed both by merit and fortune. His grandfather was John Hawkins, Eſq; of Taviſtock, who married Joan, the daughter of William Amidas in the county of Cornwall, Eſq; His father was William Hawkins, Eſq; a gentleman of a good eſtate; ſome part of which he had acquired by his great induſtry, admired prudence, and ſingular good fortune at ſea; which raiſed him a very high and juſt reputation in the reign of Henry the Eighth, with whom he ſtood in much perſonal favour, for bringing over a Brazilian Prince (*a*) to viſit him, which, with ſome other curious particulars relating to this worthy perſon, the reader will find farther explained in the notes (*b*) [*A*]. His mother was Joan Trelawney, daughter of William Trelawney of the county of Cornwall, Eſq; This worthy perſon was their ſecond ſon, born at Plymouth (*c*), but in what year cannot with certainty be known; however, from circumſtances we may gather it could not be well later than 1520. He was from his youth addicted to Navigation, and the ſtudy of the Mathematics, as indeed were all his family, and began very early to put his ſkill in practice, by making ſeveral voyages to Spain, Portugal, and the Canaries, which were in thoſe days extraordinary undertakings, and muſt have given him much more experience than almoſt any of his contemporaries (*d*). Of theſe voyages we have no particular account; but being undertaken with the conſent and the lights he drew from them, aſſiſted by his father's obſervations, he came early into the world with a great reputation, and was employed by Queen Elizabeth as an officer of conſideration at ſea, when ſome of thoſe, who were afterwards chief commanders in her reign, were but boys, who joyfully ſerved under, and learned the ſkill by which they roſe from him [*B*]. In the ſpring of the year 1562, he formed the deſign of the firſt

famous

(*a*) From the Grant of a Creſt to Sir John Hawkins, by W. Harvey, Clarencieux, A. D. 1565.

(*b*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 700.

(*c*) Stowe's Annals, p. 807. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 989.

(*d*) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

[*A*] *Will find farther explained in the notes.*] The dawn of our Engliſh commerce was, in the preceding reign, when with the commiſſion, and at the expence of Henry the Seventh, Sir John Cabot endeavoured to outdo Columbus, and to reach the Eaſt-Indies by a north-weſt courſe: this bold attempt, though it did not prove ſucceſsful, yet excited that ſpirit of diſcovery, which has produced ſo many and ſo great effects (1). Amongſt thoſe who entered early into this glorious career, Captain William Hawkins gained no ſmall reputation; he had already a competent fortune, when he formed the deſign of viſiting the coaſt of Braſil, and of trading with the natives, notwithſtanding the ſtrange accounts publiſhed of them by the Portugueſe (2). He was owner and commander of a veſſel, called the Paul of Plymouth, of the burthen of two hundred and fifty tons, which was in thoſe days ſtiled a tall and goodly ſhip; as indeed it well might, ſince there were very few merchantmen in England of ſo large a ſize at that juncture (3). In the year 1530, he carried his ſcheme into execution, whether on his own bottom, or with the aſſiſtance of his neighbours, does not appear. He ſailed firſt to the port of Seſtos, on the coaſt of Guinea; where, for a cargo of ſmall price that he carried out, he purchaſed from the negroes elephants teeth, and other commodities, which he judged might be acceptable in the country to which he was next bound. He proceeded accordingly with this cargo to the coaſt of Brazil, where he dealt only with thoſe whom the Portugueſe reputed ſavages, and whom he regarded in the light of a free people. He dealt with them in a manner ſo full of juſtice, candour, and beneficence, as to gain their confidence entirely; and yet the profits of his voyage were very conſiderable, more ſo, perhaps, than if he had ſhewn a rapacious appetite for gain (4). He liked their manner of dealing ſo well, that he made a ſecond voyage thither in 1532, and was received with the ſame cordial kindneſs as at firſt. The gentleneſs of his behaviour, and the charms of his converſation, had ſuch an effect upon the mind of a Brazilian Prince, that he offered to go over with him to England, in caſe he would leave one of his men as a hoſtage for his ſafety with the Brazilians (5). The propoſal was readily accepted, and one Martin Cockeram of Plymouth, by his own conſent, ſtayed behind. On the arrival of this Weſt-Indian Prince, he was carried up to London to ſalute the King, at that time Henry VIII. who received him very kindly, and examined him very attentively at Whitehall, where the ſtrangeneſs of his figure invited a great concourſe of all ranks to behold him. He was a tall, well limbed man, but in his cheeks there were many little holes, in which ſmall bones were placed, that ſtuck out about an inch from the ſkin; and in the hollow of his under-lip, there was a larger hole, in which was placed a precious ſtone as big as a pea. Theſe, it ſeems, were ornaments ſuited to his high dignity in his own country; but which, in the eyes of King Harry's courtiers, looked not a little odd (6). However, that monarch treated him with much condeſcenſion; and, after he had remained here near a year, Captain Hawkins, in order punctually to fulfil his promiſe, embarked with him again at Plymouth; but in his paſſage home, he was ſeized with a diſtemper of which he died. This troubled Captain Hawkins extremely, from an apprehenſion of what might befal the man he had left behind. But he was ſoon eaſed of theſe fears, for the ſavages relied entirely upon his word; and not only traded with him as before, but ſet Martin Cockeram at full liberty, who, on his return home, obtained a little office in the town of Plymouth, probably by the interpoſition of Captain Hawkins, where he lived and died (7). This commerce between the Brazils and England ſubſiſted many years afterwards at Southampton, and in proceſs of time ſome Engliſhmen went thither and ſettled (8). Amongſt theſe was Mr John Whitehall, who in a letter to a friend of his, dated June 26, 1578, acquainted him that there were many rich mines of gold in that country (9); and theſe, as we learn from ſubſequent accounts, the Spaniards, who by this time were become maſters of Portugal, and of the colonies belonging to that crown, prevented from being wrought; which is a fact we thought very proper to mention here, becauſe it is far from being commonly known, notwithſtanding we now ſhare ſo largely in their produce.

[*B*] *By which they roſe from him.*] The reaſon of our giving this note, is to mention a cuſtom that Captain Hawkins, and very probably other commanders in thoſe times, had of carrying young gentlemen with them, in quality of volunteers, in order to inſtruct and give them proper notions of the ſea ſervice. We have a clear and diſtinct proof of this, in a liſt at the end of Captain Hawkins's ſecond voyage to the Weſt-Indies, bearing this title, *The Names of certain Gentlemen that were in this Voyage*, viz. Mr John Cheſter, Sir William Cheſter's ſon, who was afterwards a Captain in the royal navy; Mr Anthony Parkhurſt, who was afterwards an eminent man at Briſtol, and a great adventurer in different parts of the world; Mr Fitzwilliam, Mr Thomas Woorley, Mr Edward Lacy, Mr John Sparke, jun. who wrote the narrative of that voyage, with ſeveral others (10). We might, if we had the like liſts of thoſe he carried out in his other voyages, render this account very curious and compleat; but ſince theſe are wanting, it ſhall ſuffice to ſay, that under him were bred the famous Sir Francis Drake, and his brethren, Captain William Hawkins, our Hero's own brother, and Sir Richard Hawkins, his ſon, than

whom

(1) Evelyn's Origin and Progreſs of Navigation and Commerce, p. 57, 73.

(2) Maffæus in Hiſt. Indic. lib. ii. Boter. Pars I. lib. vi.

(3) Sir Joſiah Child's Treatiſe of Trade, p. 73.

(4) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 700.

(5) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1179.

(6) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 700. Americ. Veſpuc. ap. Ramuſio.

(7) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 700.

(8) See the Accounts in Hakluyt and in Purchas.

(9) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 701, 702.

(10) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1179. Relation of General Hawkins's Second Voyage, &c. by J. Sparke.

famous voyage he made, which was highly advantageous to himſelf and moſt of his proprietors, but much more ſo in conſequences of it to his country (*e*). In ſeveral trips to the Canaries, where, by his tenderneſs and humanity, he had made himſelf very much beloved, he acquired a knowledge of the ſlave trade, and of the mighty profit, which, even in thoſe days, reſulted from the ſale of negroes in the Weſt Indies. After the moſt mature conſideration, therefore, he reſolved to attempt ſomewhat in this way, and to raiſe a ſubſcription for this purpoſe amongſt his friends, the greateſt traders at that time in the city of London, in hopes of opening a new trade, firſt to Guinea, for ſlaves, and then to Hiſpaniola, St John de Porto rico, and other Spaniſh iſlands, for ſugars, hides, ſilver, &c. Upon his ample and clear repreſentation of this important ſcheme, Sir Lionel Ducket, Sir Thomas Lodge, Sir William Winter, Mr Bromfield, and Mr Gunſon, whoſe daughter Mr Hawkins had married, readily accepted his propoſal, and joined together in the undertaking (*f*). At their expence a little ſquadron was prepared, compoſed of the following ſhips. The Solomon, of the burthen of one hundred and twenty tons, in which Mr Hawkins himſelf ſailed; the Swallow, of one hundred tons, commanded by Captain Thomas Hampton; and a bark of forty tons, called the Jonas; on board of all which there were about one hundred men. With theſe veſſels he ſailed from the coaſt of England, in the month of October, 1562; and, in his courſe, firſt touched at Teneriffe; thence he proceeded to the coaſt of Guinea, where, having by money, and, where that failed, by the ſword, acquired three hundred negro ſlaves, he ſailed directly to Hiſpaniola; and making there a large profit of his European and African cargoes, at three different ports in that iſland, he returned ſafe into England in the month of September, 1563 (*g*) [*C*]. The next year, with the like views, he made another voyage, but with a greater force, himſelf in the Jeſus of Lubeck, a ſhip of ſeven hundred tons, accompanied by the Solomon, and two barks, the Tyger and the Swallow. He ſailed from Plymouth the eighteenth of October, 1564, proceeded to the coaſt of Guinea, and thence to the Spaniſh Weſt Indies; where, in ſeveral different places, he forced a trade much to his profit; and after viſiting the coaſts of Jamaica and Cuba, where for want of right inſtruction he miſſed the port of the Havanna, came home through the Gulph of Florida, arriving at Padſtowe in Cornwall on the twentieth of September, 1565; having loſt, notwithſtanding many untoward accidents and frequent ſkirmiſhes, no more than twenty perſons in the whole voyage, and bringing with him a large cargo of very rich commodities (*b*) [*D*].

His

(*e*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 500.

(*f*) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1179.

(*g*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 500.

(*b*) Stowe's Annals, p. 807. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 389. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 501.

whom there were never braver men, nor better officers, in the ſervice of the Engliſh Crown (11). The worthy pupils of perſons diſtinguiſhed in any profeſſion, are a kind of political offspring, which they bring forth to the public, and is the utmoſt effort of that benevolent virtue which prompts them to purſue the welfare of ſociety, not only beyond their own, but to the utmoſt limits of time.

[*C*] *In the month of September* 1563.] At this juncture there was an appearance of perfect amity between the Crowns of England and Spain, notwithſtanding which, the latter was ſo exceedingly tender of her poſſeſſions in the New World, as it was then commonly called, that they conſidered the appearance of any ſtrange veſſel in thoſe ſeas as an act of hoſtility, and treated whoever commanded ſuch a ſhip, not as an interloper, but as a pirate (12). Yet with all theſe precautions, we muſt not imagine that the Spaniards, even in theſe early times, could preſerve the monopoly of this lucrative commerce unimpeached; for it appears, that ſome years before this, that is, almoſt as ſoon as the Spaniards were eſtabliſhed there, Engliſh merchants found means to trade there under the names of their Spaniſh correſpondents; and for the better carrying on of this clandeſtine commerce, had their ſecret agents in Spain, which was the more practicable, ſince for many years there was a cloſe conjunction of intereſts, and a very great intercourſe between the two nations (13). All this, without doubt, was well known to Captain John Hawkins, but as he was already a very expert ſeaman, and had frequently viſited the Canaries, he thought this method of trading injurious to his profeſſion as well as detrimental to the nation; and therefore having gained the beſt information poſſible, of the proper method of carrying on ſuch a traffick as he deſired from England to the Weſt-Indies directly, and being alſo well aſſured that this attempt would not be diſagreeable to the ſubjects, how diſtaſteful ſoever it might be to the Crown of Spain; he ſettled his project with great ſagacity, and executed it afterwards with equal prudence. We ſhall apprehend this more clearly, if we reflect that his attempt was very ſingular, his return very ſpeedy, and his voyage in all reſpects perfectly ſucceſsful (14). In reſpect to the ſingularity of his attempt, it was not only without precedent, ſo that he had no rule by which to ſquare his conduct but his own judgment; it was alſo perilous in every ſtep, for he went without commiſſion, expoſed to the reſentment of the moſt vindictive power in Europe; and though the chief part of his cargo was to be provided, and all the tranſactions in this commerce to be ſupported by arms, yet his force was very inconſiderable, his three veſſels making in the whole but two hundred and ſixty tons, and the number of his men ſcarce one hundred (15). He ſailed firſt to the coaſt of Guinea, where though it is darkly expreſſed in the ſhort relation we have of this voyage, yet it is very certain that if he purchaſed ſome, he took by force the beſt part of the three hundred negroes which he carried to the Weſt-Indies, where he viſited three ſeveral ports, opened a trade by terror as well as perſuaſion at each of them, and yet anchored again at Plymouth within the year (16). But ſtill he made no more haſte than good ſpeed. He brought home his own three ſhips fully laden with hides, ginger, ſugar, and other Weſt-India commodities, beſides a good quantity of pearl, which then ſold at a high price; yet this was not all, for having got more in America than he could tranſport to Europe, he freighted two veſſels that he met with in thoſe parts with the coarſeſt of his goods for Spain, where they came likewiſe to a good market (17); ſo that viewing it in every light, this voyage of his was amazingly proſperous.

[*D*] *Of very rich commodities.*] We have a very copious relation of this voyage, from whence it is but reaſonable that we ſhould extract a few paſſages relative to the perſonal hiſtory of this great man; becauſe, as we ſhall plainly prove hereafter, he left his great actions to be celebrated by others, and how brave ſoever in his perſon, was not only modeſt, but even baſhful with his pen. On the twentieth of November, the day after they left the iſland of Teneriffe, the pinnace of his own ſhip the Jeſus, overſet by her ſide, by the careleſſneſs of two men that were in her. As they had a briſk gale before this accident was diſcerned, and the ſhip could put about, ſhe was driven half a league to the leeward, ſo that being out of ſight, the pinnace and the men were given for loſt, as they muſt have been, but for the Providence of God, and the ſkill and tenderneſs of their captain, who being upon deck, and having well marked which way the pinnace drove by the ſun, he ordered out his great boat with four and twenty

ſtout

(11) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1179. Riſdon's Deſcription of Devonſhire, p. 262, 263. Stowe's Survey.

(12) Thorne's Memorials concerning the Spaniſh Commerce in America.

(13) See Robert Thomſon's Account of his Voyage to New Spain, in Hakluyt's Collection, Vol. II. p. 447.

(14) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1179.

(15) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 500.

(16) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 390.

(17) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 500.

His ſkill and ſucceſs had now moſt deſervedly raiſed him to ſuch a reputation, that Mr Harvey, then Clarencieux King at Arms, granted him by patent for his creſt, a demi Moor in his proper colour, bound with a cord (*i*). In the beginning of the year 1567, he ſailed to the relief of the French Proteſtants; and returning home in the ſummer, began immediately to make the neceſſary preparations for his third voyage to the Weſt Indies; which with vaſt expectations, grounded on his former ſucceſs, he ſome time afterwards performed. At his return from France, while he waited the Queen's orders with his ſquadron at Catwater, there happened an event, which, though it has ſlipped the obſervation of moſt of our hiſtorians, is yet worthy of being recorded with all it's circumſtances. The Spaniſh fleet of near fifty ſail paſſing between the iſland and the main, bound to Flanders, without lowering their topſails or taking in their flags, Captain Hawkins ordered a ſhot to be made at the Admiral's flag; but that not having the deſired effect, he directed a ſecond, which pierced it through and through; and upon this the Spaniards took in both topſails and flags, and came to an anchor. The General then ſent one of his principal officers in a boat to expoſtulate the matter, and to know the reaſon of ſuch proceeding Captain Hawkins would not let him come aboard, or ſo much as receive his meſſage in perſon; but upon it's being reported to him by an officer, he ſent him word by the ſame perſon to tell his General, that as he had entered the Queen's port, and neglected to pay that reverence which was due to her Majeſty, more eſpecially as her ſhips were there, and having ſo numerous a fleet, it could not but create ſuſpicion of ſome ill deſign; for which cauſe he required him to depart the port in twelve hours, upon pain of being conſidered and treated as an enemy. The Spaniſh General having received this meſſage, came in the ſame boat, and deſired to ſpeak with the Engliſh commander, which at firſt was refuſed; but, upon his preſſing it a ſecond time, was admitted. When they met, the Spaniard aſked Captain Hawkins if there was war between Spain and England? he anſwered, no, but that it was not impoſſible this proceeding might be thought ſufficient cauſe for a war; that he meant to diſpatch an expreſs immediately to the Queen and Council, with an account of what had paſſed, and that in the mean time he might depart. The Spaniſh General pretended that he could not comprehend wherein he had given offence, deſiring to be made ſenſible of his fault. Captain Hawkins aſked him, if an Engliſh fleet came into a Spaniſh port, where any of his Catholic Majeſty's ſhips were, and pretended to keep their topſails up and their flags flying, whether they would not immediately fire upon and drive them out? The Spaniard owned they would, confeſſed his fault, offered to pay any penalty, and deſired that no diſpute between them might injure that harmony which ſubſiſted between their princes. As this was preciſely what Captain Hawkins deſired, he after a little difficulty agreed to paſs things over, and then, as good friends, they feaſted each other both on board and aſhore (*k*). The Spaniſh fleet proceeded, as ſoon as the wind was fair, for the coaſt of Flanders, and Captain Hawkins went on with his preparations for his intended undertaking. Our gallant ſeaman made this, as he did his former voyage, in the great ſhip, called the Jeſus of Lubeck, accompanied by the Minion and four other ſhips (*l*). He ſailed with theſe from Plymouth, October the ſecond, 1567. At firſt they met with ſuch ſtorms, that they had thoughts of returning home; but the weather growing better, and the wind becoming fair, he continued his courſe to the Canaries, thence to the coaſt of Guinea; and having there, by purchaſe and force, procured about five hundred ſlaves, proceeded to the coaſts of Spaniſh America to ſell his negroes. The Governor of Rio de la Hacha refuſing to trade, Hawkins landed and took the town, in which there ſeems to have been ſome colluſion; for after this they traded together in a friendly manner, 'till moſt of the negroes were ſold or exchanged. Thence he ſailed to Carthagena, where he diſpoſed of the reſt; but in returning home, being ſurprized by moſt violent ſtorms on the coaſt of Florida, he was forced to ſteer for the haven of St John de Ulloa in the bottom of the bay of Mexico. He entered this port on Tueſday the fifteenth of September, 1568, when the Spaniards came on board, ſuppoſing his ſquadron to have come from Spain, and were exceedingly intimidated when they diſcovered their miſtake. Captain Hawkins treated them very civilly, aſſuring them that all he came for was proviſions; neither did he attack twelve merchant ſhips that were in the port, the cargoes of which were worth upwards of two hundred thouſand pounds, but contented himſelf with ſeizing two perſons of diſtinction,

whom

(*i*) Prince, in the page before cited, tells us, he took this from the original patent.

(*k*) Sir Richard Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage into the South-Seas, p. 21, 22.

(*l*) See an Authentic Account of this Voyage, written and ſubſcribed by Sir John Hawkins, in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 521.

ſtout fellows, directing them on which point to row to windward, and contrary to all expectations they recovered the two poor fellows, who were ſitting upon the keel of their veſſel driving at the mercy of the wind and waves (18). On the coaſt of Africa, things went not always as he would have them, once in particular, the taking of ten negro ſlaves coſt him the captain of one of his ſhips and ſix of the ſtouteſt of his crew, beſides twenty-ſeven more that were wounded; yet his countenance remained unclouded, and though he was naturally a man of compaſſion, he made very light of his loſs, that others might not take it to heart (19). In his return, upon the coaſt of Newfoundland, being in great want of proviſion, he took from two French fiſhing veſſels as much as might ſerve him home, which being done with civility, the Frenchmen did not grudge; but when the captain paid them for it in ready money, contrary to the practice of thoſe times, when at ſea, the ſtrongeſt of every nation made no ſcruple of ſupplying themſelves at free coſt, they were exceedingly ſurprized (20). This voyage, though not without it's croſſes and ſome loſs too, was upon the whole very profitable, and he who dealt juſtly even with ſtrangers, being no leſs punctual to his proprietors, they were with good reaſon highly ſatisfied with his ſecond expedition, in which it is doubtful whether he had the concurrence of the Crown or not, but more probable that he had, ſince the Jeſus of Lubeck was the Queen's ſhip (21).

[*E*] *Solemnly*

(18) John Sparke's Account of the Voyage of John Hawkins, Eſq; to the Weſt-Indies, A. D. 1564.

(19) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 506.

(20) This is John Sparke's obſervation, who was preſent.

(21) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1179.

whom he kept as hoſtages until the return of an expreſs, which was ſent to Mexico with an account of his demands (*m*). The next day the Spaniſh fleet appeared in ſight, which unlooked for event gave Captain Hawkins great uneaſineſs; for if he kept them out, he was ſenſible they muſt be inevitably loſt, with all they had on board, amounting to near two millions ſterling (*n*); an act, which, conſidering there was no war declared againſt Spain, he was afraid Queen Elizabeth his Sovereign would never pardon. On the other hand, he could not but ſuſpect, the port being narrow, and the town populous, the Spaniards would not fail, if once they were ſuffered to come in, to attempt ſome treachery. At length, however, endeavouring out of two evils to chooſe the leaſt, he determined to admit the fleet, provided the new Viceroy of Mexico, who was on board it, would undertake that the Engliſh ſhould have victuals for their money, that hoſtages ſhould be given on both ſides, and that the iſland, with eleven pieces of braſs cannon therein, ſhould be put into the hands of his people while they ſtaid. Upon his making theſe demands, the Viceroy ſeemed at firſt diſpleaſed; yet in a ſhort time after he conſented to them, and, at a perſonal but public conference with Captain Hawkins, ſolemnly promiſed to perform them (*o*) [*E*]. Theſe negotiations over, which took up three days, all things being concluded, the fleet entered the port on Monday the nineteenth day of September, with the uſual ſalutations, and two days more were employed to range the ſhips of each nation by themſelves, the officers and ſailors on both ſides profeſſing towards each other a great deal of friendſhip. But the Spaniards intended nothing leſs; for they had by this time muſtered a thouſand men on ſhore, and deſigned, on Thurſday the twenty-third at dinner time, to make a general attack on the Engliſh on every ſide. On the day appointed, in the morning, the Engliſh perceived the Spaniards ſhifting their ammunition from ſhip to ſhip, and pointing their ordnance towards them; they likewiſe obſerved much greater numbers of men paſſing to the ſhips from land, in boats of all ſizes, than the buſineſs on board the ſhips required; which, with other circumſtances, giving very ſtrong grounds of ſuſpicion, Captain Hawkins ſent to the Viceroy to know the meaning of all theſe preparations; upon which, the Viceroy ſent orders that every thing ſhould be removed which might give the Engliſh umbrage, with a promiſe, on the faith of a Viceroy, to be their defence againſt any clandeſtine or inſidious attempts of the Spaniards (*p*). However, the Captain not being ſatisfied with this anſwer, becauſe he ſuſpected that a great number of men were hidden in a ſhip of nine hundred tons, which was moored next the Minion, ſent Robert Barret, the Maſter of the Jeſus, who perfectly underſtood Spaniſh, to know peremptorily from the Viceroy whether it was ſo or not, and whether any provocation had been given. The Viceroy, finding he could conceal his mean and treacherous deſign no longer, detained the Maſter, ordered him into irons, and directed the trumpet to ſound a charge; on which the Spaniards, who waited only for that ſignal, ſet upon the Engliſh on all ſides [*F*]. Thoſe who were upon the iſland being ſtruck with

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(*m*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 158. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 389.

(*n*) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1177. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 489, 490.

(*o*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 158. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 522, 523. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 389.

(*p*) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1177. Sir Walter Ralegh's Works, Vol. II. p. 271, 272. See alſo Philips's and Hortop's Account.

[*E*] *Solemnly promiſed to perform them.*] We have beſides that relation of this voyage which was written by Captain Hawkins himſelf, two other accounts, one by Miles Philips a private ſailor (22), and the other by Job Hortop, who was a gunner on board the Admiral's ſhip (23); from theſe we learn many particulars worthy of notice, which Captain Hawkins did not think it became him to commit to paper, or at leaſt to make publick, from whence we may be able to illuſtrate many paſſages to the reader's ſatisfaction. It appears that of the ſquadron he commanded, two were the Queen's ſhips, the Jeſus of Lubeck, and the Minion, commanded by Captain John Hampton; but for the other four, which were the William and John, Captain Bolton; the Judith, Captain Francis Drake, the Angel, and the Swallow, the names of thoſe captains are not remembred, were fitted out by Capt. Hawkins at his own expence (24). The William and John, was loſt in a ſtorm upon the coaſt of Guinea. In their paſſage from Carthagena, they took a ſmall ſhip, on board which were ſome friars, and one Don Auguſtin de Villa Nueva, a man of parts, and who had formerly made a figure, but was fallen into general odium of his own nation for betraying ſome Indian lords, who by his means loſt their lives. This man, as he was very capable, gave Captain Hawkins many informations, who treated him therefore with great kindneſs and reſpect (25). Upon his arrival in the port of St John de Ulloa, Captain Hawkins ſet all his priſoners at liberty, without taking or ſuffering any thing to be taken from them; and though he might have ſeized ſome perſons of the firſt diſtinction, who, as is ſaid in the text, came on board his veſſel by miſtake, yet he detained only two, viz. Don Lorenzo de Alva, and Don Pedro de Revera, by way of hoſtages, ſending at the ſame time a meſſage to the Viceroy of Mexico, ſignifying that he was driven into that port by ſtreſs of weather, that he meant not any injury to the ſubjects of the Crown of Spain, and that as ſoon as his veſſels were refitted, and he had a reaſonable ſupply of proviſions, towards which he deſired his Excellency's aſſiſtance, he would immediately put to ſea again (26). Before he received any anſwer to this meſſage, the Spaniſh fleet, conſiſting of thirteen ſail of large ſhips, with Don Martin Henriquez the new Viceroy, arrived; as ſoon as that Lord had intelligence that the Engliſh were in the haven, he ſent in a pinnace with a flag of truce and an officer on board, to know whoſe ſhips they were. General Hawkins, for ſo he was ſtiled during the expedition, told the officer, *They were the Queen of* England'*s ſhips which came in for victuals for their money; adding, if your General will come in, I will go on one ſide of the port, and he may ſail in on the other.* To this the Spaniard replied, *That his maſter was a* Viceroy, *and had a thouſand men*, to which Hawkins replied, *I repreſent my* Queen'*s perſon, and am a* Viceroy *as well as he, and that if he had a thouſand men, his powder and ſhot would take the better place* (27). This meſſage, together with his propoſitions being carried to the Viceroy, after ſome diſpute, produced a civil anſwer, importing that he had heard a good character of his proceedings towards his Catholic Majeſty's ſubjects, and the conditions of the agreement being reduced to writing, was on both ſides ſigned and ſealed, and ſix hoſtages given, but with this difference, that Hawkins ſent gentlemen, and the Viceroy ſix mean perſons finely dreſſed, which was quickly diſcovered, and gave the Engliſh General the firſt ſuſpicion of what afterwards followed (28), in direct breach of the Spaniſh Viceroy's promiſe and faith.

[*F*] *Set upon the Engliſh on all ſides.*] Theſe facts are confirmed by the other two relations, but with many additional circumſtances. It ſeems that General Hawkins was at dinner when the trumpet ſounded, and his falſe friend Don Auguſtine de Villa Nueva with him, who on that ſignal had undertaken to diſpatch him, and had for that purpoſe a dagger in his ſleeve, which was perceived before he could lay his hand upon it by one John Chamberlaine, at the very inſtant the trumpet ſounded; upon which the General ordered him to be

carried

(22) The title of this treatiſe at large is, ' A Diſcourſe written by one Miles Philips, Engliſhman, one of the company put on ſhore northward of Panuco in the Weſt-Indies, by M. John Hawkins, 1568. containing many ſpecial things of that country, and of the Spaniſh Government, but eſpecially of their cruelties uſed to our Engliſhmen, and, amongſt the reſt, to himſelf, for the ſpace of fifteen or ſixteen years together, until by good and happy means, he was delivered from their bloody hands, and returned into his own country, anno 1582.'

(23) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 437.

(24) The Relation of this famous though unfortunate Voyage was alſo written by Sir John Hawkins himſelf.

(25) Job Hortop's Relation, p. 489.

(26) Hawkins's own Account, p. 523.

(27) Job Hortop's Relation, p. 489.

(28) Miles Philips's Diſcourſe, ch. ii Hawkins's own Account, p. 523.

fear at this ſudden alarm, fled, thinking to recover their ſhips; but the Spaniards entering in great numbers on the iſland in ſeveral places at once, which they might do without boats, the ſhips lying cloſe to the ſhore; ſlew them all without mercy, except a very few, who eſcaped on board the Jeſus with much difficulty, and under the greateſt terror poſſible (*q*). The great ſhip, wherein three hundred men were concealed, immediately fell on board the Minion; but the officers in her ſetting all hands to work the moment their ſuſpicions commenced, had in that ſhort ſpace, which was but half an hour, weighed all her anchors. Having thus gotten clear, and avoided the firſt brunt of the great ſhip, the latter clapped the Jeſus aboard, which was at the ſame time attacked by two other ſhips. However, thoſe on board her, with much ado, and the loſs of many men, drove them off 'till ſhe cut her cable, and got clear alſo (*r*). As ſoon as the Jeſus and the Minion were got two ſhips length from the Spaniſh fleet, they began the fight with them in a manner that teſtified the ardour of their reſentment, which was ſo furious, that, in the ſpace of a ſingle hour, the Admiral of the Spaniſh fleet and another ſhip were ſuppoſed to be ſunk, and their Vice-Admiral burned, ſo that now they had little to fear from the enemy's ſhips; yet they ſuffered exceedingly from the ordnance on the iſland, which ſunk their ſmall ſhips, and tore all the maſts and rigging of the Jeſus in ſuch a manner, that there was no longer the leaſt hopes of bringing her off (*s*). This being the caſe, they determined to place her as a defence to the Minion 'till night, and then taking out of her what victuals and other neceſſaries they could, to leave her behind. But preſently after, perceiving two large ſhips, fired by the Spaniards, bearing down directly upon them, the men aboard the Minion, in great conſternation, without conſent of either the Captain or Maſter, ſet ſail, and made ſail from the Jeſus in ſuch haſte, that Captain Hawkins had ſcarce time to get from on board her. As for the men, moſt of them followed in a ſmall boat; the reſt were left to the mercy of the Spaniards, *Which*, ſays the Captain in his Narrative, *I doubt was very little* (*t*). Out of the whole ſquadron, the Minion and the Judith were the only two Engliſh ſhips that eſcaped; and in the night, the Judith, which was a bark of no more than fifty tons, ſeparated herſelf from the Minion, on board which was Captain Hawkins (*u*) and the beſt part of his men. In this diſtreſs, having little to eat, leſs water, in unknown ſeas, and many of his people wounded, he continued 'till the eighth of October, and then entered a creek in the Bay of Mexico, in order to obtain, either from Spaniards or ſavages, and on any terms whatever, ſo low had hunger reduced them, ſome refreſhment. This was about the mouth of the river Tampico, in the latitude of twenty-three degrees thirty minutes north; where his company dividing on their own motion, and the better to prevent immediate ſtarving, one hundred deſired to be ſet on ſhore (*w*) [*G*]; and the reſt, who were about the ſame number,

(*q*) Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 524. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 158. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 272.

(*r*) The Travels of Job Hortop, &c. Fuller's Holy State, p. 104.

(*s*) The Travels and Diſcoveries of Miles Philips, cap. ii. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1177.

(*t*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 524. See alſo the Relations of Philips and Hortop.

(*u*) Travels of Job Hortop, &c. Fuller's Holy State, p. 224.

(*w*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 525. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1177. Relations of Philips and Hortop.

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carried priſoner into the ſteward's room, and then mounting upon deck, he ſaw the Spaniards iſſue out of their hulk and board the Minion which lay cloſe to them (29). At this he cried with a loud voice, 'God and St George fall upon thoſe traitors and reſcue 'the Minion, I truſt in God the day ſhall be ours '(30).' His men immediately leaped out of the Jeſus of Lubeck into the Minion, drove out the Spaniards, and by a ſhot which went through the Spaniſh Vice-Admiral, and is thought to have taken it's paſſage through the powder room, blew three hundred men who were in that ſhip into the air. They alſo ſet the Spaniſh Admiral on fire, which continued burning half an hour. On the other hand, all the Engliſh in the iſland were cut off except three, of whom Job Hortop was one, and they eſcaped by ſwimming. They likewiſe ſunk the Angel and took the Swallow; as for the Jeſus of Lubeck, her foremaſt was cut aſunder by a chain ſhot; there were five ſhot through her mainmaſt, and her hull was ſo pierced in different places that it was not poſſible to bring her away, yet they did not deſert her till the Spaniards in deſpair ſet fire to two of their own ſhips, and ſent them down upon her and upon the Minion, when the crew of the laſt mentioned ſhip, without the conſent of their Captain or Maſter, cut their cables and put out to ſea in ſuch haſte, that General Hawkins had ſcarce time to get on board, nor could have done it, if with all their haſte they had not ſtood in again to receive him (31). There happened about this time a paſſage which does General Hawkins great honour, and which as it is preſerved by Hortop ſhall appear in that honeſt man's own plain language. 'The Minion was forced to ſet ſail and ſtand off from 'us, and come to an anchor without ſhot of the iſland. 'Our General courageouſly cheered up his ſoldiers 'and gunners, and called to Samuel his page for 'a cup of beer, who brought it him in a ſilver cup, 'and he drinking to all men, willed the gunners to 'ſtand by their ordnance luſtily like men. He had 'no ſooner ſet the cup out of his hand, but a demy 'culverin ſhot ſtroke away the cup and a cooper's plane 'that ſtood by the main maſt, and ran out on the other 'ſide of the ſhip which nothing diſmayed our General, for he ceaſed not to encourage us, ſaying, Fear 'nothing, for God who hath preſerved me from this 'ſhot, will alſo deliver us from theſe traitors and villains Then Captain Bland meaning to have turned 'out of the port, had his main maſt ſtruck over board 'with a chain ſhot that came from the ſhore, wherefore he anchored, fired his ſhip, took his pinnace 'with all his men and came aboard the Jeſus of Lubeck to our General, who ſaid unto him, that he 'thought he would not have run away from him; he 'anſwered, That he was not minded to have run 'away from him, but his intent was to have turned up 'and to have laid the weathermoſt ſhip of the Spaniſh 'fleet aboard, and fired his ſhip, in hope therewith to 'have ſet on fire the Spaniſh fleet; he ſaid, if he had 'done ſo, he had done well. With this night came 'on. Our General commanded the Minion for ſafeguard of her maſts, to be brought under the Jeſus of 'Lubeck's lee: he willed Mr Francis Drake to come 'in with the Judith, and to lay the Minion aboard to 'take in men and other things needful, and to go out, 'and ſo he did (32).' Upon the whole, this action continued from noon till night, in which ſpace the Spaniards, beſides their Admiral and Vice-Admiral both diſabled, loſt four ſhips that were ſunk or burnt, and five-hundred and forty men out of fifteen hundred, as the Engliſh priſoners were afterwards informed by an authentic account that was tranſmitted to Mexico (33).

[G] *Deſired to be put on ſhore.*] In the relation given by Captain Hawkins, he ſays in very expreſs terms, that after they had been a fortnight at ſea and were reduced to the utmoſt extremity, when they landed once more in the bay of Mexico, in hopes of finding or taking ſome ſubſiſtance from either Indians or Spaniards; the people perceiving this alſo to be vain, and that there was no inhabited country near them, were deſirous of travelling as well as they could in ſearch of relief, upon which at their own requeſt he divided them, ſuffering thoſe to take that method who thought

(29) Job Hortop's Relation, p. 490.

(30) The fact, though not the words, in Sir John Hawkins's own Relation.

(31) Hortop, in Hakluyt, Vol. II. p. 489.

(32) See the article of DRAKE [Sir FRANCIS].

(33) Miles Philips's Diſcourſe, ch. iv.

ber, reſolving at all events to endeavour at leaſt to get home. Accordingly, on the ſixteenth of the ſame month, they weighed and ſtood through the Gulph of Florida, making all the ſail they were able for Europe. In their paſſage, after enduring innumerable and incredible hardſhips, when they drew near home, they were forced to put into Ponte Vedra, near the famous town of Vigo in Spain; where the people of the country coming to know their weakneſs, thought by treachery to ſeize them a ſecond time; but they ſailed inſtantly to Vigo, which, as we obſerved, is not far off. They there met with ſome Engliſh ſhips, the Maſters of which chearfully ſent them twelve freſh men; ſo that, departing on the twentieth of January, 1568, they arrived in Mount's-Bay in Cornwall the twenty fifth of the ſame month (*x*) [*H*]. In honour of his famous action at Rio de

(*x*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 525. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 158. Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

thought it the leaſt evil of the two, and uſing all the means in his power to encourage the reſt (34). Yet thoſe who envied his reputation, gave out reports of another kind, which could never have been ſo effectually refuted, if Job Hortop, who was one of thoſe left behind, had not given us a large account of the matter, which certainly puts it beyond all doubt, his words are theſe (35). ‘ When the wind came off ‘ ſhore, we ſet ſail and went out in deſpite of the ‘ Spaniards and their ſhot, where we anchored with ‘ two anchors under the iſland, the wind being norther- ‘ ly, which was wonderful dangerous, and we feared ‘ every hour to be driven with the lee ſhore. In the ‘ end, when the wind came larger we weighed anchor ‘ and ſet ſail ſeeking the river Panuco for water, where- ‘ of we had very little, and victuals were ſo ſcarce that ‘ we were driven to eat hides, cats, rats, parrots, ‘ monkeys, and dogs; wherefore our General was ‘ forced to divide his company into two parts, for ‘ there was a mutiny among them for want of victuals, ‘ and ſome ſaid that they had rather be on the ſhore ‘ to ſhift for themſelves amongſt the enemies, than to ‘ ſtarve on ſhip-board. He aſked them who would go ‘ on ſhore and who would tarry on ſhip-board, thoſe ‘ that would go on ſhore he willed to go on foremaſt, ‘ and thoſe that would tarry, on baftmaſt. Fourſcore ‘ and ſixteen of us were willing to depart. Our Gene- ‘ ral gave unto every one of us ſix yards of Rouen ‘ cloth, and money to them that demanded it. When ‘ we were landed he came unto us very friendly, imbrac- ‘ ing every one of us; he was greatly grieved that he ‘ was forced to leave us behind him; he counſelled us ‘ to ſerve God and to love one another, and thus cour- ‘ teouſly he gave us a ſorrowful farewel, and promiſed, ‘ if God ſent him ſafe home, he would do what he ‘ could that ſo many of us as lived, ſhould by ſome ‘ means be brought into England, and ſo he did. ‘ Since my return into England, I have heard that ‘ many miſliked that he left us ſo behind him and ‘ brought away negroes, but the reaſon is this, for ‘ them he might have had victuals or any other thing ‘ needful, if by foul weather he had been driven upon ‘ the iſlands, which for gold or ſilver he could not have ‘ had.’ This fact is ſomewhat differently related by Philips (36), who was alſo one of thoſe who went on ſhore, he tells us (which indeed is natural enough) that the General firſt ſet aſide ſuch perſons as it was neceſſary ſhould remain with him for the ſafety of the ſhip, and then made the diviſion; but he adds, that when it was made, ſome who deſired to be left on ſhore repented, and would willingly have ſtaid, but then it was too late. He alſo complains that they were hardly uſed at the time they were put on ſhore, but aſcribes this entirely to Captain Hampton of the Minion, and two other perſons whom he names; and agrees with Hortop, as to the great ſorrow and kind expreſſions of the General at parting. After all, Captain Hawkins was very near ſharing the ſame fate himſelf, for landing the next day with fifty men, that they might make the more diſpatch in filling their water, the weather became of a ſudden ſo tempeſtuous, that for the ſpace of three whole days it was impoſſible for them to get on board, while the other moiety of the crew who were in the ſhip, expected every moment to be driven on ſhore or to founder at ſea.

[*H*] *Arrived in Mount's bay in Cornwall the twenty fifth of the ſame month.*] As to the hardſhips endured in this unfortunate expedition, they cannot be more ſtrongly or exactly pictured than in the following lines with which Captain Hawkins concludes his own relation. ‘ If all the miſeries and troubleſome affairs, ‘ ſays he, of this ſorrowful voyage, ſhould be perfectly ‘ and thoroughly written, there ſhould need a painful ‘ man with his pen, and as great a time as he had, ‘ that wrote the lives and deaths of the Martyrs (37).’ His ſon obſerves, that the great loſs incurred by this unfortunate expedition, fell very heavy upon his father and reduced his fortune very much (38). The reader may probably deſire to know what became of the poor men who were ſet on ſhore in the bay of Mexico, and of this therefore we will give him a ſuccinct relation. The Indians they firſt met with fell upon and killed eight without the leaſt provocation; however on their ſubmiſſion, and finding they were not Spaniards, they did them no farther miſchief, but directed them to the port of Tampico. The Engliſh then divided, part of them marched northward, and part of them weſtward; David Ingram, who was with the former, with two of his companions, Richard Brown and Richard Twide, after marching quite croſs the continent of North America, arrived in that country which is now called Nova Scotia, and returned to Europe in a French ſhip in 1569 (39). As for thoſe who marched weſtward, they fell into the hands of the Spaniards who ſent them priſoners to Mexico, and after ſome time, were put out to live with the inhabitants as ſervants. Upon the eſtabliſhment of the Inquiſition in the Indies, they were again ſeized, deprived of all they had acquired by their labour, put into dungeons, and in the year 1575, ſixty-five of them were ſentenced to ſeveral cruel puniſhments, beſides three that were burnt. Miles Philips, after enduring intolerable hardſhips both there and in Spain, found means to get home into England in 1582 (40). Job Hortop ſuffered likewiſe many years wretchedneſs in America, and was then ſent to Europe with ſeveral of his countrymen on board the Spaniſh fleet; where notwithſtanding they ſaved that whole fleet from deſtruction, they were very cruelly treated. Upon their arrival in Spain, they fell again into the hands of the Inquiſition, who ordered Robert Barret and John Gilbert to be burnt, as they were; Job Hortop and John Bone were ſentenced to impriſonment for ten years, the former however continued in that confinement no leſs than twelve, when with much difficulty he was ſet at liberty, and at length found means to eſcape and to return to England in 1590, after having endured inexpreſſible miſery for twenty-three years (41). It is obſerved by Mr Camden, that the report of the ill uſage of Captain Hawkins and thoſe who ſerved under him, without any provocation on his ſide, occaſioned a great clamour upon his return, and that many warm people would have puſhed things to a rupture, if the Queen's prudence, and the ſituation of things at that time in Scotland had not prevented it (42). The ſame author obſerves, that whatever the Spaniards might apprehend, the treaties of peace between the Crown of England and the Emperor Charles the Fifth, gave the ſubjects of the former a right to trade in all parts of the dominions of the latter, without any exception or reſtriction whatever. It ſeems that this voyage, notwithſtanding, had a farther ſanction, of which none of our Hiſtorians have taken the leaſt notice. For when the Spaniſh ambaſſador charged Sir Walter Ralegh, after his return, with intending to act againſt the Crown of Spain, and mentioned the great force with which he went out as a proof of it, becauſe if planting or working his mine had been his ſole buſineſs, he might have done either without any moleſtation, and conſequently needed no ſuch military ſtrength. Sir Walter replied in theſe words (43): ‘ If Sir John Hawkins in his former journey to St John ‘ de Luz, notwithſtanding he had leave of the Spaniſh ‘ King to trade in all parts of the Indies, having the ‘ plate fleet in his power, did not take out of it one ‘ ounce of ſilver, but kept his faith and promiſe in all ‘ places, yet was ſet upon by Don Henrico de Marti- ‘ nez, whom he ſuffered to ſave himſelf from periſhing ‘ to enter the port upon Martinez's faith, and inter- ‘ changeably

(34) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 525.

(35) Job Hortop's Relation, p. 491.

(36) Miles Philips's Diſcourſe, cap. iii.

(37) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 525.

(38) Sir Richard Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea.

(39) In the old edition of Hakluyt, Vol. II. p. 561. But is omitted in the laſt edition, printed A. D. 1600.

(40) Miles Philips's Diſcourſe, chap. vii.

(41) Job Hortop's Relation, p. 495.

(42) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 158.

(43) Apology for his Voyage to Guyana.

de la Hacha, and to preſerve the memory of his other noble atchievements in America, Mr Cook, then Clarencieox, added to his arms, on an eſcutcheon of pretence, Or, an Eſcallop between two Palmers, Sable; and this patent for his augmentation is ſtill extant (y) [*I*]. As our hero was now inclined to remain ſome time at home, to ſee what turn affairs would take, and when a favourable opportunity would offer, to make the Spaniards ſenſible of their injuſtice, it gave the Queen and her Miniſtry an opportunity, and ſuch they never let ſlip, of turning his great ſkill and experience more immediately to the public ſervice. With this view, as well as to make known her Majeſty's approbation of his paſt ſervices, he was appointed Treaſurer of the Navy in 1573 (z). A poſt, in thoſe days, not only of conſiderable honour and profit, but of great truſt likewiſe; the Treaſurer or Comptroller of the Navy having uſually the command of any ſquadron fitted out for ſcouring the narrow ſeas; and, in a great meaſure, the direction of what might be ſtiled the œconomy of the Navy, with regard to building, repairing, equipping, victualling, and manning, the veſſels in the Queen's ſervice (*a*). An office, therefore, not only fit for, but in truth only fit, for a ſeaman; and, in the diſcharge of which, Captain Hawkins gave the higheſt proofs of his capacity and integrity, as is univerſally confeſſed by thoſe who have touched upon this curious point, and acquainted poſterity with the gradual progreſs of our naval power, the ſource and the ſupport of our dominion at ſea, the boundleſs ſeat, while that remains ſuperior, of BRITISH EMPIRE [*K*]. The very

(*y*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 389. Catalogue of the Names and Arms of the Gentry of Devonſhire.

(*z*) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

(*a*) Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 322, 323, 370.

‘ changeably pledges delivered, and had the Jeſus of ‘ Lubeck, a ſhip of her Majeſty of a thouſand tons ‘ burnt, his men ſlain which he left on land, loſt his ‘ ordnance and all his treaſure which he had gotten by ‘ trading. What reaſon had I to go unarmed upon the ‘ ambaſſador's promiſe?’ The reader will obſerve, that Sir Walter calls this *the former*, in contradiſtinction to his laſt hoſtile expedition in 1593, and inſtead of Martin de Henriques, calls the Viceroy Don Henrico de Martinez, which was his true name.

[*I*] *And his patent for this augmentation is ſtill extant.*] The Greeks and Romans had various ways of exciting men to virtue by perſonal marks of honour. The northern nations went farther, and by eſtabliſhing coat armour, gave a ſtronger impulſe to noble actions, by tranſmitting the honour of them to the poſterity of him by whom they were atchieved. On the ſame principle was built their additions of honour, which have been long in uſe and practiſed in other nations as well as ours. Thus the Catholick King Ferdinand, honoured Sir Henry Guilford with a canton of Granada, for his ſervice in that war againſt the Moors (44). In like manner Sir Henry St George, Norroy King of Arms, had a canton of the arms of Sweden beſtowed upon him by the monarch of that kingdom, when he went thither in embaſſy (45). In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, this, as all other honours, was but ſparingly conferred, and only upon perſons that were highly worthy. As for inſtance, when Dr Matthew Parker was elected Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter Principal King of Arms, added to his paternal coat *on a cheveron* Argent, *three Eſtoiles* Gules, the patent for which bears date November 28, 1559 (46). We have in another place mentioned an honour of the like ſort afforded to Sir Francis Drake (47), and with reſpect to Sir John Hawkins, who ſurely was not his inferior in any thing, ſave ſucceſs, we find his arms blazoned at large in a catalogue of the gentry of Devonſhire, from the patents mentioned in the text, in theſe times. *He bears* Sable *on a point wavee, a Lion paſſant*, Or; *in chief three Beſants*; *On a Canton*, Or; *a Scallop between two Palmers Staves*, Sable. Creſt. *Upon his Helm a Wreath*, Argent *and* Azure, *a Demy Moor in his proper colour, bound and captive, with amulets on his arms and ears*, Or; *mantelled* Gules, *doubled* Argent (48). Theſe rewards, though highly honourable and extremely grateful to the ſubject, were however very cheap to the Crown, which perhaps may be the reaſon that they have gradually grown into leſs eſteem, in conſequence of real and profitable being confounded, and our entertaining a notion that theſe are a kind of airy diſtinctions which few underſtand and fewer affect; but is this reaſoning ſolid or ſuperficial? to ſpeak with propriety, that reward only is real which is laſting; now pecuniary gratifications are ſeldom ſo, penſions ceaſe in time, and even eſtates moulder away; but ſo long as a man's poſterity remains, theſe rewards remain annexed thereto. But it will be ſaid, that they loſe their value, and being founded only in opinion, are ſubject to alter therewith. It may be ſo, it would be bearing too hard on the preſent age to ſay it is ſo; but what if it was, this would prove nothing, becauſe it proves too much; for the rewards of virtue, can never be ſo contrived as to ſubſiſt in times when all ſentiments of virtue are worn out. With our anceſtors theſe honours laſted long, and who knows, whatever we may think of them now, that the ſame regard then paid to them, may revive in the minds of our poſterity, which is the rather to be wiſhed; ſince without principles of honour and public ſpirit, there is no hopes of ſeeing ſuch men as theſe. The deſire of other rewards may tempt men to ſell, but it is the ambition of honeſt fame only, that can inſpire the human heart, with a contempt of all danger and difficulties, to ſerve, preſerve, or to enrich their country.

[*K*] *Of Britiſh Empire*] We have in the valuable and judicious writings of Sir William Monſon, a very clear and diſtinct account of what was eſteemed the duty of the Treaſurer of the Navy (49) in thoſe days, which is too long to be inſerted here, and this is the leſs neceſſary, ſince the ſubſtance of it is expreſſed in the text. Sir William thought this office might be well diſcharged either by a merchant or a mariner, but ſurely much better by one who was both, which was really the caſe of Captain Hawkins, who was a very conſiderable trader, as well as a very experienced officer. He kept therefore the accounts of the navy in exact order, took care that the men ſhould be punctually paid, and that the Queen ſhould be ſerved in her docks and yards, her magazines and ſtorehouſes, and in whatever elſe fell under his direction or his inſpection, as well, and upon as moderate terms, as the nature of the ſervice would allow. We are aſſured that he invented falſe nettings in the very beginning of the Queen's reign, which he cauſed to be introduced into the fleet, and was highly approved and commended. He was alſo the author of chain-pumps which were of excellent uſe; and beſides theſe, he brought in many other of his inventions from time to time, and was moſt indefatigable in labouring to bring all things as near as might be to perfection (50). It was he, in conjunction with Sir Francis Drake, that contrived and eſtabliſhed that uſeful and honourable fund, which is called the Cheſt at Chatham (51), a convincing proof, if there had been none beſides, that he had a clear head and an upright heart; the former no leſs qualified to ſupply the means, than the latter was ready to contrive how to do good to the ſeamen, and defend them from thoſe inconveniences by which before his days they had been grievouſly diſtreſſed. Sir William Monſon obſerves, that it was neceſſary for a Treaſurer of the Navy to reſide ſometimes at London, that he might ſollicit upon the ſpot, the neceſſary iſſues from the Exchequer, and ſometimes at Deptford, that he might have an eye to the manner in which they were laid out, and truſt as little as poſſible to the reports of others (52). Whether Sir William drew this remark from the practice of Captain Hawkins we cannot determine, but it is certain that this was his practice; and amongſt the papers of the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, there were many papers and memorials, which ſhewed with how great exactneſs he executed every branch of his office. But that we may add a fuller, and at the ſame time a more inſtructive evidence of

(44) Peacham's Complete Gentleman, Lond. 1622. 4to. p. 151. Anſtis's Order of the Garter, Vol. I. p. 288.

(45) Carter's Analyſis of Armoury, p. 20.

(46) Copied from an authentic tranſcript of the Patent.

(47) See the article of DRAKE [Sir FRANCIS].

(48) Riſdon's Catalogue of the Names and Arms of the Principal Gentry in Devonſhire.

(49) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 322.

(50) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

(51) Camden's Britan. in Kent.

(52) Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 323.

very next year after he had obtained this preferment, he was very near being murdered as he went to Court, to pay his duty to the Queen, by an hair-brained Enthuſiaſt, who was ſo far from having received any injury or provocation from him, that in reality he knew not his perſon, but took him for Mr Vice-Chamberlain Hatton, to whom his party had an implacable reſentment. However, Captain Hawkins's danger was not at all the leſs, ſince, without any injury, this furious bigot attacked him ; nor was it without ſome difficulty that he defended himſelf, after receiving one dangerous wound, and ſeized this incenſed aſſaſſin (*b*). When Queen Elizabeth heard of the fact, and the danger both Hatton and Hawkins were in, ſhe was on the point of cauſing the delinquent to be put to death without delay (*c*) [*L*]. We muſt not ſuppoſe that this great man, who had acquired ſo high reputation at ſea, was by one unlucky voyage diſguſted with his profeſſion ; for this was ſo far from being the caſe, that he continued to hazard a conſiderable part of that fortune, which he ſtill poſſeſſed, on that element, where a great part of it was acquired. Neither did he miſs any occaſion of expreſſing his zeal to ſerve his country againſt the Spaniard, offering, as ſoon as aſked, his aſſiſtance towards fitting out a fleet for the ſervice of Don Antonio, who was driven from the throne of Portugal by Philip the Second, and was fled for refuge into England ; but at that time the ſcheme was laid aſide by the advice of the Lord Treaſurer (*d*). Some years after, anno Domini 1583, this deſign was revived, when

(*b*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 284. Stowe's Annals, p. 677, 678. Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Parker, p. 449, 450. Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1259.

(*c*) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 288. Life of Archbiſhop Parker, p. 450. Stowe's Annals, p. 678.

(*d*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 211.

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of his punctuality and œconomy, let us from the collections of another great officer in the Navy (53), exhibit the ſtate and expence thereof in the days of the one, and of the other, that is within the ſpace of a century or thereabouts.

(53) From the valuable Collections of Samuel Pepys, Eſq; Secretary to the Admiralty.

The different ſtates of the ROYAL NAVY.	In the reign of Queen Elizabeth.	In the year 1695.
I. The number of ſhips and veſſels of the burthen of fifty tuns and upwards - - -	But 40 ſhips.	Above 200 ſhips.
II. The general tunnage of the whole - -	Beneath 23,600 tons.	Above 112,400 tons.
III. The number of men required for manning the ſame - - - - - - - - - - -	Below 7,800 men.	Above 45,000 men.
IV. The medium of the annual charge during five years of Peace - - - - - - - -	Beneath 15,500 pounds.	Above 400,000 pounds.
War - - - - - - - -	Beneath 96,400 pounds.	Above 1,620,000 pounds.

[*L*] *To be put to death without delay.*] This fact, as it made a great noiſe at the time, is very ſingular in itſelf, and cauſed a great reſentment in the Queen againſt the Puritans, deſerves to be particularly related, becauſe we find it confuſedly ſet forth by ſome, and totally omitted by other, Church Hiſtorians. The perſon who attempted this bloody fact was Mr Peter Birchet, or Burchet, of the Middle-Temple ; and the cauſe and manner of his attempting it was this (54). On the morning of Wedneſday October 11, 1573, he called upon another gentleman to go with him to Mr Samſon's lecture at Whittington-college, after his return from which he was heard to ſay, ſtanding by himſelf, Shall I do it ? What, ſhall I do it ? Why then I will do it ; upon which he went to his chambers, as it is ſuppoſed, to fetch his dagger. While he was in this tranſport of mind, he moſt unfortunately ſaw Captain Hawkins and Captain Winter coming up Middle-Temple-lane, in order to go into Fleet-ſtreet. He followed them as faſt as he could, overtook them in the Strand, and ſuddenly ſtabbed Captain Hawkins with his dagger ; who preſently ſeized him, and, not without much reſiſtance, diſarmed him. Birchet expreſſed no kind of ſorrow for what he had done, 'till he heard it was Captain Hawkins, and not Hatton, whom he had wounded ; and then all his concern was about his miſtake. The Queen, when ſhe heard it, was exceedingly provoked ; and being informed by the Earl of Leiceſter, that her ſiſter, in the time of Wiat's inſurrection, had cauſed ſome perſons to be executed by martial law ; ſhe reſolved to follow that precedent, and ordered a commiſſion for that purpoſe to be drawn up (55). At the perſwaſion, however, of ſome of her Council, and of the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh particularly, ſhe was induced to alter her intention, and to leave this man to a tryal in the ordinary method of the law. However, on the twenty-ſeventh of October, according to my author, this queſtion was propounded to Mr Birchet, and his anſwer demanded to it in writing (56).

(54) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 284.

(55) Life of Archbiſhop Parker, b. iv. p. 450.

(56) Inter MSS. Burghleian.

'Whether a private man, being perſwaded in his own conceit that one is a wilful Papiſt, and hinders the glory of God ſo much as in him lies, may of his own authority, in the fervency of his zeal, kill the ſame perſon ? And whether the ſame act is to be warranted by the Word of God or no ? Item, Whether if you had killed Mr Hatton, being perſwaded in your own opinion that your conceit had been true, you thought the ſame act to be lawful, and that you would not repent the ſame deed.'

To this Caſe Birchet gave this anſwer.

'In my ſimple judgment, being no Divine, a private man being perſwaded in his own conceit, by ſuch preſumptions and proofs as I have had of Hatton, that (ſuch) one as he (as I have thought) is a wilful Papiſt, and hindreth the glory of God ſo much as in him lieth. Though he may not of his own authority, in the fervency of his zeal, kill the ſame ; yet being ſo perſwaded in conſcience by ſuch preſumptions and aſſured perſwaſions, as he may be and I was, that thereby he ſhould be ſuch an inſtrument as Joab was, to take away ſuch a Saba, as Reg. cap. xx. or an Ahad to Eglon or Phineas, for the preſervation of David his royal prince, the wealth of his country, eſpecially for the glory of God, as I was, I think, at this time, he may do it, and to be warranted by the word of God. I being perſwaded, as before, if I had killed him, the act had been lawful by God's law, if not by man's law, and I would not have repented me of the ſame deed ?

'Subſcribed by me, Pet. Byrchet, 27 Oct. 1573.'

As this opinion of his was plainly heretical, he had ſeveral of the learned clergy ſent to him, by whoſe arguments he ſeemed to be convinced, and pretended that he would abjure his hereſy ; but when preſſed thereto, put it off from time to time, remaining ſtill a priſoner in the Tower, where at length he beat out his keeper's brains with a billet, for which fact he was condemned, and executed on the twelfth of November following (57). The Queen deſired that he might be very cloſely examined the night before, and the very morning of his execution, Whether he had any accomplices ? Whether he had been taught theſe principles by others, or took them up himſelf ? And whether he had made any body privy to his deſign of killing Mr Hatton ? To all which it is probable he gave little or no anſwer, ſince Camden informs us that he died ſurlily and ſilently (58). One thing is remarkable, that his right hand was cut off before his execution, and nailed to the gallows ; the reaſon of which muſt have been, that the Tower being a royal palace, this was added to his ſentence for ſhedding blood therein (59).

(57) Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 287, 288. Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 1259. Stowe's Annals, p. 677, 678.

(58) Annal. Eliz. p. 284.

(59) Coke's Inſtitutes.

when it was plain the war with Spain, which had hitherto been covertly carried on, would quickly break out, and be attended with hoſtile attempts upon the Queen's dominions. Captain Hawkins not only diſcovered the ſame readineſs as before, but gave his advice how the intended expedition might be beſt undertaken (*e*) [*M*]. The next great action of this worthy ſeaman was, his ſervice under the Lord High-Admiral, in 1588, againſt the Spaniſh Armada, wherein he acted as Rear-Admiral on board her Majeſty's ſhip the Victory, and had as large a ſhare in the danger and of the honour of that day as any man in the fleet, for which he deſervedly received, from the hands of the Lord High-Admiral, the honour of knighthood (*f*); and in the purſuit of the flying Spaniards he did extraordinary ſervice, inſomuch, that on his return from the fleet he was particularly commended by the Queen (*g*) [*N*]. In 1590, he was ſent, in conjunction with Sir Martin Forbiſher, each

(*e*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 370. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 212. Bp Carleton's Remembrances.

(*f*) Stowe's Annals, p. 807. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 575, 576.

(*g*) Overthrow of the Spaniards Invincible Armada, p. 13.

[*M*] *Might be beſt undertaken.*] This propoſition was firſt made in the year 1581, and the matter propoſed was, that Queen Elizabeth ſhould aſſiſt Don Antonio, who had been once King of Portugal, and ſtill pretended a right to that kingdom, in his war againſt the King of Spain, and it was ſurmiſed that this might be done without affording any pretence for his Catholic Majeſty to break with Queen Elizabeth; becauſe, in the month of Auguſt preceding, King Antonio was in poſſeſſion of Tercera, and therefore the Queen might well preſume him to be King of Portugal, and allow any of her ſubjects to aſſiſt him in maintaining his poſſeſſion; as alſo becauſe there was no league between the Crown of England and the Crown of Spain, reſpecting the dominions of Portugal, as belonging to the latter. Thoſe who principally encouraged this undertaking, where Secretary Walſingham, Sir Francis Drake, Captain Hawkins, and others; and Don Antonio had put a jewel of great value into the Queen's hands, who was to lend him five thouſand pounds towards this expedition. But the Treaſurer's objection was, that however ſatisfactory theſe reaſons might ſeem to be in England, there was good cauſe to doubt whether they would be reliſhed by the King of Spain; who, if he judged it, as he well might, a mark of enmity towards him in the Queen, he might revenge it in the ſame way, by aſſiſting the rebels in Ireland, or ſtir up the King of Scots to be an ill neighbour; for which he judged this expedition, at that juncture, to be inexpedient; but added, that if it was not undertaken, Don Antonio ought to have his jewel again, or money advanced thereon, to purchaſe ſhips and ammunition, with which he might do what he would (60). About three years after, the Treaſurer, of his own accord, conſulted Captain Hawkins, as to the propereſt method for annoying the Crown of Spain with the leaſt expence; for, it ſeems, he had then loſt thoſe ſcruples with which his mind was troubled before, finding his Catholic Majeſty, out of innate malice to the Queen, had done all that he apprehended he might have been provoked to do, by giving any aſſiſtance to Don Antonio. Upon this the Treaſurer of the Navy ſent him a new ſcheme for the execution of the old project, which is too long to be inſerted here; and with it a letter, ſome paragraphs of which we will tranſcribe, for this gentleman's honour, and the reader's ſatisfaction. In this letter he ſays (61), 'Surely, 'my very good Lord, if I ſhould only conſider and look 'for mine own life, my quietneſs and commodity, 'then truly mine own nature and diſpoſition doth prefer peace before all things. But when I conſider 'whereunto we are born: not for ourſelves, but for 'the defence of the Church of God, our Prince, and 'our Country, I do then think how this moſt happy 'government might, with good Providence, prevent 'the conſpiracies of our enemies. That he nothing 'at all doubted of our ability in wealth; for that he 'was perſuaded that the ſubſtance of this realm was 'trebled: adding, God be glorified for it. Neither 'did he think there wanted proviſions, carefully provided, of ſhipping, ordnance, powder, armour, and 'munition: ſo as the people were exerciſed, by ſome 'means, in the courſe of war. For he read, that 'when Mahomet, the Turk, took the famous city 'Conſtantinople, digging up in the foundations and 'bottoms of the houſes, he found ſuch infinite treaſure, as the ſaid Mahomet, condemning their 'wretchedneſs, wondered how that city could have 'been overcome, or taken, if they had in time provided men of war and furniture for their defence, 'as they were very able. So, ſaid he, there wanted 'no ability in us, if we were not taken unprovided, 'and upon a ſudden. And that this was the only 'cauſe that had moved him to ſay his mind frankly in 'this matter, and to ſet down thoſe notes incloſed, 'praying the Almighty God, who directeth the hearts 'of all governors, either to the good and benefit of 'the people, for their relief and deliverance, or elſe 'doth alter and hinder their underſtanding, to the 'puniſhment and ruin of the people, for their ſins and 'offences. Humbly beſeeching his good Lordſhip to 'bear with his preſumption, in dealing with matters ſo 'high, and to judge of them by his great wiſdom and 'experience, how they might, in his Lordſhip's judgment, be worthy the conſideration, and ſo humbly 'taking his leave from Deptford, the 20th of July, '1584.' The principal points in his great project were theſe (62), That Don Antonio of Portugal ſhould grant his commiſſions to ſuch as were willing to cruize upon the Spaniards at their own expence, and ſhould receive an allowance from them of between five and ten per cent. on all prizes, which concern of his ſhould be managed by an agent; that her Majeſty ſhould likewiſe appoint a perſon to take cognizance of thoſe who entered into his Portugueſe Majeſty's ſervice, and ſhould allow them ſome port in the Weſt of England, where they might equip, victual, refit, and vend their prizes, upon which her Majeſty ſhould likewiſe receive between five and ten per cent; that no veſſels ſhould go to ſea with the King's commiſſion, 'till they had given ſecurity to the Queen to make none but lawful prizes; and that commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to examine all ſhips taken, and to condemn them before expoſed to ſale; and that any convicted of piracy ſhould be left to martial law. Theſe conditions granted, he thought that the beſt merchants in London would be ready to adventure, that the merchants and owners in the Weſt would enter deeply into this ſcheme, that the Dutch would contribute to it, that the French Proteſtants would be eager to come in for a ſhare, that the Portugueſe at Brazil and Guinea would be continually revolting, that her Majeſty, without any expence, would by this means have a number of able ſeamen, ready upon any emergency; that his Catholic Majeſty would have no pretence to aſcribe this ſolely to the Engliſh, ſince there would be Scots, Flemings, French, Germans, and other nations, on board theſe ſhips; and that, in a ſmall ſpace of time, he would find his coaſts ſo watched, the trade and fiſhing of his ſubjects ſo diſturbed, and the intercourſe between different parts of his dominions ſo interrupted, that he would be glad to treat more ſincerely with her Majeſty than he had done, and to ſubmit to reaſonable terms, in order to engage her Majeſty to remove this ſcourge from him. Captain Hawkins was an adventurer likewiſe in the famous expedition on his behalf ſome years after, by which he was no gainer.

(60) Amongſt the Burghleian MSS. there are many curious memorials on this ſubject.

(61) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 211, 212.

(62) Inter MSS. Burghl.

[*N*] *He was particularly commended by the Queen.*] The Spaniſh invaſion obliged the Queen to call moſt of her ſea officers to ſervice; and amongſt them, it appears from Sir William Monſon's liſt of the Queen's fleet, that Captain Hawkins, in her Majeſty's ſhip the Victory, was Rear-Admiral in this expedition. When the fleet came to be divided into ſquadrons, he was intruſted with the command of the third, the High-Admiral of England and Sir Francis Drake having the two firſt, and Sir Martin Forbiſher the fourth (63). He did his duty punctually, as his manner was, without exceeding his orders, for which he had the Lord-Admiral's and the Queen's thanks. It was owing to him that the fleet was kept at ſea long enough to meet with that of Spain; for even the ſagacious Secretary Walſingham was perſwaded, that the Spaniards had put off their deſign, and wrote expreſsly ſo to the Admiral, with orders to lay up the large ſhips to prevent expence. Sir William Monſon obſerves very juſtly, that

(63) Stowe's Annals, p. 744.

each having a ſquadron of five men of war, to infeſt the coaſts of Spain, and to intercept, if poſſible, the Plate Fleet. At firſt his Catholic Majeſty thought of oppoſing theſe famous commanders, with a ſuperior fleet of twenty ſail, under the command of Don Alonzo de Baſſan; but, upon more mature deliberation, he abandoned this deſign, directed his ſhips to keep cloſe in port, and ſent inſtructions into the Indies, that the fleet, inſtead of returning, ſhould winter there (*b*). Sir John Hawkins and his colleagues ſpent ſeven months in this ſtation, without performing any thing of note, or ſo much as taking of a ſingle ſhip. They afterwards attempted the iſland of Fayal, which had ſubmitted the year before to the Earl of Cumberland; but the citadel being refortified, and the inhabitants well furniſhed with artillery and ammunition, Sir John and his colleague, after due deliberation, and ſome tryal made, thought fit to retreat (*i*). It muſt be owned, in the eye of the world, or voice of the common people, that ſmall reputation was gained by the Admirals in this expedition, and yet they loſt no credit at Court, that is, with the Queen their ſovereign and her wiſe Miniſters, by whom the iſſue of the buſineſs was better underſtood (*k*). By compelling the Spaniſh navy to fly into fortified ports, they deſtroyed their reputation throughout all Europe as a maritime power; and the wintering of their Plate ſhips in the Indies, proved ſo great a detriment to the merchants of Spain, that many broke in Seville and other places; beſides, the worm, as is uſual, and indeed unavoidable, in thoſe ſeas, entering their ſhips, it was ſo great a weakening to their veſſels, that the damage could not be repaired in many years (*l*). Thus, though no immediate profit to the nation, or even apparent victory over their enemy, accrued, the end of this expedition was fully anſwered, and the State gained a very conſiderable though not ſignal or ſtrik ingadvantage, by leſſening their fame in Europe, and in the Indies grievouſly diſtreſſing the Spaniards [*O*]. The war ſtill continuing, and it being evident that nothing galled the enemy ſo much as the loſſes they met with in America, a propoſition was made to the Queen by Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake, who at home and abroad were very juſtly eſteemed the moſt fortunate and the moſt experienced ſeamen in her kingdom, for undertaking a more effectual expedition into thoſe parts for diſturbing and weakning

(*b*) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 177, 178. Sir Richard Hawkins's Obſervations in a Voyage to the South Seas, p. 9, 10. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1676.

(*i*) Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 178.

(*k*) Sir Richard Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South Sea, p. 21.

(*l*) Linſchotten's Voyages, chap. xcix.

that if the Engliſh could have attacked again, or purſued them farther, they muſt either have been deſtroyed or ſurrendered; that this was hindered for want of proviſions is no leſs true; but that this proceeded from any fault in the Queen's officers, as he ſuggeſts, may very well be doubted (64), ſince it is very clear, that the fleet had been out beyond the appointed time, and that when they put to ſea from Plymouth to follow the Spaniards, it was in ſuch haſte, that they could not ſtay for any proviſions; and for the ſame reaſon no ſquadron was ſent to the coaſt of Ireland, which had been otherwiſe a very right meaſure. Theſe remarks are neceſſary, to prevent the reader's concluding, from what is let fall by ſome haſty writers, that this ſignal victory was not improved to ſuch a degree as it might have been; for though Sir William Monſon points out theſe omiſſions, yet he freely acknowledges that they did not proceed from want of judgment or want of foreſight, but from a want of ability. But if we were deficient in ſome reſpects, more eſpecially, as has been before obſerved, in point of intelligence, the Spaniards were guilty of far greater and more fatal errors; and this, not from neceſſity, but from preſumption; and this in direct breach of the Catholic King's orders, which, if they had been obeyed, though we cannot pretend to ſay what would have happened, yet this is evident and certain, that they muſt have happened otherwiſe than they did. The King's orders were, that they ſhould keep on the French coaſt as far as Calais (65); with which, if their commanders had complied, they had ſuffered no interruption from the Engliſh fleet, but might have landed their army by that time the Admiral could have had intelligence of what they were doing, and had been able to get out of Plymouth. It is one thing not to do all that might be done, becauſe means are wanting; and quite another, from a ſelf-ſufficient deſire of doing more than is expected, to break through orders, and, by ſo doing, run into the way of danger, that might have been eſcaped; if theſe obſervations took riſe only from conjecture or obſcure authorities, they had been better omitted; but being founded in facts, the truth of which cannot be controverted, they ought to be recorded for the uſe of thoſe who may hereafter find themſelves in like circumſtances.

[O] *Grievouſly diſtreſſing the Spaniards.*] There is not the leaſt notice taken of this expedition by Camden, which very probably aroſe from it's producing no ſignal advantages; and yet to ſuch as look cloſely into the ſtate of things, it will appear an event of as great conſequence, as any mentioned in his Annals during the compaſs of that year. It ſhews how much things were changed in a very ſmall ſpace of time, that is, in eighteen months at the moſt; within which ſhort period, the Crown of Spain, from being the moſt formidable maritime power in Europe, was ſunk ſo low, as to be obliged to act entirely on the defenſive, and to rely rather upon fortifying it's coaſts than upon it's fleets, which is the moſt apparent ſign of weakneſs that a maritime ſtate can diſcover (66). We may farther diſcern to how great a degree the ſpirit of Philip the Second was humbled, when he thought it imprudent to truſt a fleet of twenty ſail, under the command of an experienced officer, againſt an Engliſh ſquadron of ten ſhips, of not half the ſtrength of his own. The reaſon was, that he knew the conſequence of their being beaten, and was ſenſible that it bore no proportion to the advantage that might have ariſen, from their giving a check to this ſmall force of the Queen's. Yet after all, it was owing to an accident that this expedition was not attended with more auſpicious ſucceſs, as the ſon of this great man has ſhewn, who was himſelf a captain in his father's ſquadron (67). ‘In the fleet of her Majeſty, ſays he, under the charge of my father Sir John Hawkins, anno 1590, upon the coaſt of Spain, the Vice-Admiral being a head one morning where his place was to be a ſtern, loſt us the taking of eight men of war, loaden with munition, victuals, and proviſions, for the ſupply of the ſoldiers in Britain; and although they were ſeven or eight leagues from the ſhore when our Vice-Admiral began to fight with them, yet for all that, the reſt of our fleet were ſome four, ſome five, and ſome more diſtant from them, when we began to give chaſe, the Spaniards recovered into the harbour of Monge, before our Admiral could come up to give directions; yet well beaten, with loſs of above two hundred men, as they themſelves confeſſed to me after. And doubtleſs if the wind had not overblown, and that to follow them I was forced to ſhut all my lower ports, the ſhip I undertook had never endured to come to the port; but being double fly-boats, and all good ſailors, they bare for their lives, and we what we could to follow and fetch them up.’ This would have been a moſt acceptable ſervice at that juncture if it could have been performed; and the diſappointment therefore was the greater, which happening from ſuch an accident, confirms the obſervation made in the foregoing note, viz. that breach of orders or diſcipline, is of all errors the leaſt excuſable in it's nature, and the moſt fatal in it's effects.

(64) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 171.

(65) Strype's Annals, Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, Diſcourſe on the Defeat of the Armada, &c.

(66) Sir Walter Ralegh's Diſcourſe of a War with Spain.

(67) Sir Richard Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South Sea, p. 10.

[*P*] *And*

weakning the Crown of Spain, than had been hitherto made through the whole courſe of the war; and, at the ſame time, they offered to be at a great part of the expence of this extraordinary undertaking themſelves, and to engage their friends to bear a conſiderable proportion of the reſt (*m*). There were, excluſive of the love of glory and zeal for the public ſervice, ſeveral ſecret motives which induced our Admiral, though then far advanced in years, to hazard his fortune, his reputation, and his perſon, in this dangerous ſervice; amongſt which this was not the laſt or the leaſt, that his ſon Richard, who was afterwards Sir Richard Hawkins, was at this very time a priſoner in the hands of the Spaniards; and ſome hope there was, that, in the courſe of ſuch an enterprize, an opportunity might offer for procuring his freedom either by ranſom or exchange (*n*). The Queen readily gave ear to this motion, and furniſhed on her part a ſtout ſquadron of men of war, on board one of which, the Garland, Sir John Hawkins embarked (*o*). Their whole force conſiſted of twenty-ſeven ſhips and barks, and in theſe there were about two thouſand five hundred men. Of all the enterprizes throughout the whole Spaniſh war, in which every year produced an expedition, there was none of which ſo great hope was conceived as of this, and yet none met with leſs ſucceſs (*p*) [*P*]. The fleet was detained for ſome time after it was ready on the Engliſh coaſt by the arts of the Spaniards; who, having intelligence of it's ſtrength, and of the ends for which it was intended, conceived that the only means by which it might moſt probably be diſappointed, was by procuring ſome delay; in order to which, they gave out that they were ready themſelves to invade England, and to render this the more probable, they actually ſent four gallies to make a deſcent on Cornwall (*q*). By theſe ſteps they carried their point; for the Queen and the nation being exceedingly, and not without reaſon, alarmed, it was by no means held proper to ſend ſo great a number of ſtout ſhips on ſo long a voyage at ſo critical a juncture. At laſt this ſtorm blowing over, the fleet ſailed from Plymouth on the twenty-eighth of Auguſt, in order to execute their grand deſign of burning Nombre de Dios; marching thence by land to Panama, and there ſeizing the treaſure which they knew was arrived in that ſmall town, as the manner then was and ſtill is, from Peru (*r*). A few days before their departure, the Queen ſent them advice that the Plate fleet was ſafely arrived in Spain, excepting only one galleon, which, having loſt a maſt, had been obliged to return to Porto Rico; the taking of this veſſel ſhe recommended to them as a thing very practicable, and which could prove no great hindrance to their other affair. When they were at ſea, the Generals in a very ſhort time differed, as is uſual in conjunct expeditions. Sir John Hawkins was for executing immediately what the Queen had commanded, and to think of no new ſervice; whereas Sir Francis Drake, perſwaded by Sir Thomas Baſkervile, inclined to go firſt to the Canaries, in which he prevailed (*s*) [*Q*]. But the at-

attempt

(*m*) Camden, Monſon, Hakluyt.

(*n*) Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 183.

(*o*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 699. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1179.

(*p*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 390.

(*q*) Carew's Survey of Cornwall, fol. 115.

(*r*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 699. Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 183.

(*s*) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1184.

[*P*] *And yet none met with leſs ſucceſs.*] If we yield an implicit credit to Camden, we ſhould conceive this expedition to have proceeded purely from the Queen's commands, and to be intended only to fetch the rich ſhip which the Spaniards had been obliged to leave at Porto Rico (68); but a little reflection will ſhew us, that to fit out ſuch a fleet under ſuch officers, for no more important purpoſe, was not at all agreeable to the wiſe proceedings of that reign. But take it in it's true light, and this enterprize will appear equally ſuitable to the prudence of that victorious Princeſs, and correſponding with the high reputation which all theſe officers had gained. It was an undertaking, which if it had been attended with ſucceſs, of which alſo there was the higheſt probability, it had given a mortal blow to the Spaniards in the Indies, and put into our power that important iſthmus that had rendered us as formidable to our enemies as they were to the Indians. It was the glory of this exploit that invited Drake, the hopes of obtaining his ſon's releaſe engaged Sir John Hawkins, to quit an honourable eaſe at home for difficulties and dangers abroad, when his years might well have excuſed him; and Sir Thomas Baſkerville had an ambition of being the firſt Engliſh Governor in the Weſt Indies; for whatever place they had taken had been left to his charge (69). The beſt part of the expences of this ſquadron was borne by the Generals themſelves, their friends, and ſuch as put a confidence in them; and the Queen had likewiſe a part: but it is eaſy to diſcern that the profit could not be equally divided; for though private perſons received no benefit from the miſchiefs done to others, yet theſe are a real profit to the Crown; ſo that whatever became of the reſt of the proprietors, the Queen was morally certain of gaining, as ſhe really did; and we need not therefore wonder that great pains were taken to magnify this project while it was in preparation, that the number and ſpirit of adventurers might be increaſed (70).

[*Q*] *In which he prevailed.*] We have all the reaſon in the world to believe, that in the contrivance of the plan, and in the proviſions made for executing it, Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake agreed perfectly well, otherwiſe one of them had very probably relinquiſhed the voyage, but as ſoon as they were at ſea diſtruſts and diſputes began Sir Francis Drake and Sir Thomas Baſkerville being much of a temper, both warm, both aſpiring, and both haſty in their language, agreed pretty well; and treated Sir John Hawkins, who was ſlower in reſolving, and leſs ſanguine in his expectations, in ſuch a manner, that his chagrin, that began ſoon after they weighed anchor, ended only with his life It is unanimouſly agreed, that the project of attacking the Grand Canary was formed by Sir Thomas Baſkerville, conſented to by Sir Francis Drake, and oppoſed by Sir John Hawkins. In favour of this attempt it was urged, that being maſters of the iſland, they might have excellent refreſhment; that the inhabitants were rich, and would pay largely to preſerve their city from burning; and that it would give them reputation, aſtoniſh the Spaniards, and occaſion great joy at home. Sir John Hawkins ſaid, that, conſidering the ſmall time they had been out, there was no ſuch need of refreſhments; that, to ſucceed in this incidental enterprize, they muſt hazard their whole fleet and army; and that, at all events, it would be loſing time which could never be recovered. When Sir Francis and Sir Thomas found this, they were for putting it to the vote; and not being ſure to ſucceed therein, Sir Francis Drake declared he would undertake the exploit with ſuch as would follow him, and the reſt might go with Sir John Hawkins; yet, finding himſelf too weak upon this diviſion, he ſpoke of it with ſuch tenderneſs and paſſion, that Sir John Hawkins yielded againſt his own ſentiment, that he might not ſeem to deſert him. What followed juſtified all that Sir John had ſaid; for though they found the Spaniards ſo well fortified that the army could not land, yet of thoſe who ventured aſhore in ſeveral places for refreſhment, there were many killed, and Captain Grimſtone among the reſt (71).

[*R*] *He*

(68) Annal. Eliz. p. 699.

(69) Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 177. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1184. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 390.

(70) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1184.

(71) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 700. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1184.

attempt they made of reducing the largeſt of thoſe iſlands proved as diſhonourable as it was unſucceſsful. And then they ſailed for Dominica, where, in ſpite of all Sir John Hawkins could ſuggeſt to quicken them, they ſpent too much time in refreſhing and ſetting up their pinnaces (*t*). In the mean time the Spaniards had ſent five ſtout frigates to bring away the galleon from Porto Rico, having exact intelligence of the departure, as well as force, of our ſquadron, and alſo of the intention of the Engliſh Admirals to attempt that place (*u*). On the thirtieth of October Sir John Hawkins weighed from Dominica, and, in the evening of the ſame day, the Francis, a bark of about thirty-five tons, and the ſternmoſt of Sir John's ſhips, fell in with the five ſail of Spaniſh frigates beforementioned, and was taken; the conſequences of which being foreſeen by Sir John, it threw him into a grievous fit of ſickneſs, of which, or rather of a broken heart, he died on the twenty-firſt of November, 1595 (*w*) [*R*], when they were in ſight of the iſland of Porto Rico; and not, as Sir William Monſon ſuggeſts, of chagrin, on the miſcarriage in attempting the capital city of that iſland (*x*), which, in truth, was an event he never lived to ſee. His death made a great impreſſion upon thoſe whom he commanded, as well for the affection they bore him, as from a perſwaſion that the miſcarriages which he foreſaw and foretold would be juſtified by the event, as in truth they were; the grief for which conquered ſome time after the great mind of Sir Francis Drake, which had been 'till then invincible (*y*). At home the loſs of theſe two great officers was exceedingly regretted; neither did this concern eaſily blow over, but was mentioned many years after as a public calamity. As to his perſon, Sir John Hawkins was eſteemed graceful in his youth, and of a very grave and reverend aſpect when advanced in years. He was well verſed in mathematical learning for thoſe times, and underſtood every branch of maritime affairs thoroughly and to the bottom. He was a man of as much perſonal courage as that age produced, and had a preſence of mind that ſet him above fear, and which enabled him frequently to deliver himſelf and others out of the reach even of the moſt imminent dangers (*z*). He had a wonderful ſagacity, which, as it enabled him to make a right judgment of events long before they happened, ſo it taught him to be very cautious in his expreſſions, and hindered him from diſcloſing himſelf fully, that he might not diſcourage ſuch as confided entirely in his ſenſe of things. He formed his plans very judiciouſly, and executed them and the orders he received with the utmoſt punctuality, as far as lay in his power. He was ſubmiſſive to his ſuperiors, and courteous to his inferiors; extremely affable to his ſeamen, and remarkably beloved by them (*a*). With all theſe great qualities he had an intermixture of failings; and theſe, after his deceaſe, were ſet in a pretty ſtrong light, by ſuch as found it eaſy to cenſure men, whom it would have been very difficult to imitate [*S*]. As

(*t*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 699. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1184.

(*u*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 584. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1184.

(*w*) Camden. Annal Eliz. p. 700. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 584. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1184. Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

(*x*) Naval Tracts, p. 184.

(*y*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 700. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1184. Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

(*z*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 390.

(*a*) Camden, Hakluyt, Purchas.

[*R*] *He died on the twenty-firſt of November*, 1595.] Sir Francis Drake came to an anchor between Dominica and Guadalupe, with part of the fleet, before Sir John Hawkins, with the reſt, arrived, which was the thirtieth of October, 1595 (72). The ſame day the Francis was taken, and the Delight brought Sir John the news, who, from that moment, never held up his head; not for the loſs of his bark, which was far from being conſiderable, but becauſe he underſtood that five Spaniſh frigates were gone to Porto Rico, which he foreſaw would add ſo much ſtrength to the Spaniards, as might enable them to preſerve their treaſure, and diſappoint their attempt upon that iſland; in the ſame manner they had been already forced to leave the Canaries, and all this in conſequence of their ſlighting his advice, and loſing time, which, if they had not done, they muſt have ſucceeded. All this gave him ſuch a proſpect of the remaining part of the voyage, as fairly broke his heart, to the great ſorrow, as one who had a command in the voyage affirms, of many in the fleet; and, as ſoon as the breath was out of his body, Sir Thomas Baſkerville came to take the command on board the Garland (73). Mr Camden makes his death to have happened the ſame day that Sir Nicholas Clifford and Mr Brown were killed (74); but in that he is miſled by the ſea journals, in which the day is reckoned from noon to noon; but the truth is, that Sir John Hawkins died on the twelfth of November about midnight, and the gentlemen beforementioned received the wounds, of which they died, by a cannon ſhot, which went through Sir Francis Drake's cabin while he and they were at ſupper, on the thirteenth of November (75). But Sir William Monſon is much more miſtaken, and yet he repeats it twice, when he places the death of this great man after the attempt upon Porto Rico. On that occaſion, however, he informs us, that, tho' Sir Francis Drake and Sir Thomas Baſkerville miſcarried in 1595 (76), yet the place was without difficulty taken by the Earl of Cumberland, with a ſquadron fitted out at his own expence in 1598; and he ſhews the reaſon of this, which was, that the crew of the five Spaniſh veſſels gave the garriſon a ſuperior ſtrength at that time; whence it is evident, that, if the Engliſh fleet had ſailed directly to Porto Rico, as Sir John Hawkins adviſed, they had done their buſineſs before the Spaniards arrived. Several of theſe circumſtances may perhaps appear trivial to ſome, or at leaſt too minute; but if truth be of any conſequence, or if we would ever know how things really happened, and what the ſources were of ſucceſs or ill fortune, in great enterprizes, this is the only method.

[*S*] *Whom it would have been very difficult to imitate.*] We have, in the Reverend Mr Hakluyt's Collection, a clear and conciſe narrative of the facts, which happened in this expedition (77); but, in Mr Sam. Purchas's larger work, there is a very curious paper of Remarks written by ſome perſon who had a command in the expedition, which contains abundance of particulars, not to be met with any where elſe. In the ſame place we have the following letter (78), whether written by the ſame, or another hand, we cannot, at this diſtance of time, determine; and to which we give a place here, rather to gratify the reader's curioſity than to inform his judgment, for certainly many things are ſaid therein with more acrimony than accuracy; but take it as it is.

'SIR,

'I have, according to your requeſt and my own 'plainneſs, ſent you here the compariſon between 'thoſe two commanders, Sir Francis Drake and Sir 'John Hawkins. They were both much given to 'travel in their youth and age, attempting many honourable voyages alike; as that of Sir John Hawkins 'to Guinea, to the iſles of America, to St John de 'Ulloa. So likewiſe Sir Francis Drake, after many 'diſcoveries of the Weſt-Indies and other parts, was 'the firſt Engliſhman that did ever compaſs the world; 'wherein, as alſo in his deep judgment in ſea cauſes, 'he did far exceed, not Sir John Hawkins alone, but 'all others whomſoever. In their own natures and 'diſpoſition they did as much differ as in the managing 'matters of the wars. Sir Francis being of a lively 'ſpirit, reſolute, quick, and ſufficiently valiant. The 'other, ſlow, jealous, and hardly brought to reſolution. In Council, Sir John Hawkins did often differ

(72) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 584.

(73) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1184.

(74) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 700.

(75) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 584.

(76) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 209.

(77) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 583.

(78) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1185.

to his family affairs we know but very little of them, except that he had two wives; and by the firſt a ſon, of whom the reader will have a further account. To conclude, in ſpite of all the objections that have been made, and which are deduced chiefly from his miſfortunes, we have made it evident from facts, that he was one of the principal ſupports of the Engliſh navy, in a reign when it's glory was very conſpicuous, in conſequence of which he received as many teſtimonies of honour, favour, and reward, as any man of his rank (*b*). His merit was not only underſtood at Court by the Queen and her Miniſters, but by the country alſo; for Sir John Hawkins was ſo popular a man, that he was twice elected Burgeſs for Plymouth, the firſt time with Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and the ſecond with Edmund Tremaine, Eſq; he was likewiſe a third time in Parliament for ſome other borough (*c*). We may add that he was a pious man likewiſe, as appears by his erecting an hoſpital at Chatham for the relief of poor and diſeaſed ſailors. We will end this account with the remark of one who knew him well, and was an unexceptionable judge of the character he deſerved, the celebrated Sir Walter Ralegh (*d*), who ſays, 'That, notwithſtanding the 'diſappointments and diſtreſſes they met with in their laſt voyage, Sir FRANCIS DRAKE, 'Sir JOHN HAWKINS, and Sir THOMAS BASKERVILLE, were men for their experience and valour as eminent as England ever had [*T*].

(*b*) Stowe, Holinſhed, Monſon.

(*c*) Willis's Notitia Parliament. Vol. II. p. 295.

(*d*) Apology for his Voyage to Guaiana, p. 2.

'from the judgment of others, ſeeming thereby to 'know more in doubtful things than he would utter. 'Sir Francis was a willing hearer of every man's opi'nion, but commonly a follower of his own; he never 'attempted any action wherein he was an abſolute 'commander, but he performed the ſame with great 'reputation, and did eaſily diſpatch great matters. 'Contrariwiſe, Sir John Hawkins did only give the 'bare attempt of things, for the moſt part without any 'fortune or good ſucceſs therein. Sir John Hawkins 'did naturally hate the land-ſoldier, and though he 'were very popular, yet he affected more the common 'ſort than his equals. Sir Francis, contrarily, did 'much love the land-ſoldier, and greatly advanced 'good parts whereſoever he found them. He was alſo 'affable to all men, and of eaſy acceſs. They were 'both of many virtues, and agreeing in ſome. As 'patience in enduring labours and hardneſs, obſerva'tion and memory of things paſt, and great diſcretion 'in ſudden dangers, in which neither of them was 'much diſtempered; and in ſome other virtues they 'differed. Sir John Hawkins had in him mercy and 'aptneſs to forgive, and true of word. Sir Francis, 'hard in reconciliation, and conſtancy in friendſhip; 'he was, withal, ſevere and courteous, magnanimous 'and liberal. They were both faulty in ambition, 'but more the one than the other. For in Sir Francis 'was an inſatiable deſire of honour, indeed beyond 'reaſon. He was infinite in promiſes, and more tem'perate in adverſity than in better fortune. He had 'alſo other imperfections; as aptneſs to anger, and 'bitterneſs in diſgracing, and too much pleaſed with 'open flattery. Sir John Hawkins had in him malice 'with diſſimulation, rudeneſs in behaviour, and was 'paſſing ſparing, indeed miſerable. They were both 'happy alike in being great commanders, but not of 'equal ſucceſs; and grew great and famous by one 'means, riſing through their own virtues and the for'tune of the ſea. There was no compariſon to be 'made between their well-deſerving and good parts, 'for therein Sir Francis Drake did far exceed. This 'is all I have obſerved in the voyages wherein I have 'ſerved with them.

'R. M.'

[*T*] *As eminent as England ever had.*] This commendation from ſo knowing a man, might well juſtify the pains and vindicate the praiſes we have beſtowed upon this great ſeaman; but perhaps it may contribute to the reader's ſatisfaction, if we inform him briefly of the ſentiments which the moſt competent judges have entertained of his ſuperior merit. It is not only in this place, but in many other parts of his writings, that Sir Walter Ralegh mentions him with admiration, as one of the greateſt men, in an age more fruitful of great men than almoſt any that our hiſtory can boaſt, and this too without any qualifications or exceptions, which is not the caſe in reſpect to another great commander, whom, though on the whole he admired, yet in many things he diſapproved (79). The judicious Lord Bacon ſpeaks of him with reverence, and aſcribes the miſcarriage of his laſt voyage entirely to the miſunderſtanding that happened between him and Sir Francis Drake (80); for otherwiſe he concludes, that their valour and abilities muſt have been fatal to the Spaniards. Sir William Monſon, another of his contemporaries, acknowledges Drake, Hawkins, and Frobiſher, for the three greateſt ſeamen in England (81); and, which perhaps does him no leſs honour, in deſcribing the abuſes that had crept into the navy in the reign of King James, he hints, that they were too many to enumerate, and then proceeds thus (82). 'I will now 'apply myſelf to redreſs theſe encroaching dangers 'and corrupt dealings, and bring it to the ſtate of 'Hawkins's and Burroughs's time, who were perfect 'and honeſt men in their places; the one Treaſurer, 'the other Comptroller.' The ingenious Dr Fuller laments the manner of his death, which he ſuppoſes to proceed from the grief of ſeeing his advice contemned (83). If we deſcend again to later times, let us hear what that impartial and incomparable judge of merit, Mr Evelyn, delivers upon this head (84). 'I go on to 'enquire (but without much ſatisfaction I confeſs) what 'medals were ſtamped from the reign and revolutions 'of our Seventh and Eighth Henries time to almoſt 'this age of ours? Had ſuch actions and events hap'pened among the reſt of the poliſhed world, we 'ſhould not be now to ſeek for the heads of Sir Fran'cis Drake, Cavendiſh, Hawkins, Frobiſher, Green'vil, Fenton, Willougby, and the reſt of the Argo'nauts; and ſurely they that firſt circled this globe of 'earth and ſea (in whoſe entrails ſo much gold and ſil'ver, and all other metals are contained) might at 'leaſt be thought worthy the honour of a copper me'dal, which yet I no where find.' After this citation, the judicious peruſer will certainly hold us right, in ſupplying the want of a medal, by tranſmitting to poſterity theſe ample memoirs of Sir John Hawkins.

(79) Sir Walter Ralegh's Works, Vol. II. p. 258.

(80) Diſcourſe on a War with Spain, p. 13.

(81) Naval Tracts, p. 232.

(82) Ibid. p. 371.

(83) Holy State, p. 129.

(84) Diſcourſe of Medals, cap. iv. p. 158.

E

HAWKINS [Sir RICHARD], the ſon of Sir John Hawkins, and himſelf a very experienced and gallant officer in the Royal Navy (*a*). He was born at Plymouth, but in what year it is impoſſible, at this diſtance of time, to ſpeak with any degree of certainty. We may collect, from his own writings, that he was by the firſt venter, though he ſpeaks of his mother-in-law, not only in terms of the greateſt decency, but alſo with great commendation (*b*). We are as much in the dark as to the place and manner of his education; but there can be no doubt, his father's character and his own merit conſidered, that he had all proper care employed in bringing him up, and that a ſufficient time was allowed for his acquiring a due tincture of letters. It is, however, no leſs probable, that he betook himſelf very early to the ſea ſervice; and, having ſo many ſhining examples in his own family, followed it with equal vigilance and ſpirit (*c*). He was alſo of a remarkably

(*a*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 391.

(*b*) Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 2.

(*c*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 391.

grave

grave turn, and very much given to reflect on the principal events that happened in his own life-time at ſea, to ſift out their cauſes the beſt he could, and to connect theſe with their conſequences, that by ſuch lights he might regulate his own conduct, and to ſupply, by this method, the want of experience, which is the greateſt impediment, generally ſpeaking, to the advancement of youth. He ſucceeded perfectly well in his plan; for we find, that in the year 1582, when, as himſelf aſſures us, he was but a very young man, he had the command of a veſſel, which was Vice-Admiral of a ſmall ſquadron, commanded by his uncle, William Hawkins, Eſq; of Plymouth, which ſeems to have been employed in a private expedition to the Weſt-Indies, upon much the ſame ſcheme in which Captain John Hawkins went thither, when he was ſo treacherouſly uſed by the Spaniards. Upon this occaſion our young ſeaman gave a very extraordinary inſtance of integrity and intrepidity, which without doubt raiſed his character highly, and contributed not a little to his preferment when he came home (*d*) [*A*]. In the ever memorable year 1588, he was a Captain of one of the Queen's ſhips, called the Swallow (*e*), which ſuffered the moſt of any in the defeat of the Spaniſh Armada, and that by a fire-arrow, which being hid in the ſail, burnt a hole in her beak head, which was not diſcovered 'till the arrow fell out, and, floating by the ſhip's ſide, gave them the firſt ſuſpicion of what had happened (*f*). He remarked many things in this glorious action, of which we have little or no account any where elſe; but it is very remarkable, that in relating them, he takes occaſion to do juſtice to the characters of others, without ſaying any thing of what he performed himſelf; though it is highly probable, that, as his ſhip ſuffered moſt, he was not the leaſt active in procuring and purſuing that important victory, his obſervations upon which give us an equal idea of his modeſty and penetration [*B*]. When his father went with Sir Martin Frobiſher to the coaſts of Spain in 1590, he commanded her Majeſty's ſhip the Crane, of the burthen of two hundred tons, was very active in purſuing the Spaniſh ſquadron (*g*), that was employed in carrying relief to their forces in Britanny, and in cruizing near the Azores; where,

(*d*) Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 86.

(*e*) Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 171.

(*f*) Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 51.

(*g*) Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 177.

[*A*] *And contributed not a little to his preferment when he came home.*] Amongſt the veſſels that compoſed this private ſquadron, there was one called the bark Bonner, which, while they were cruizing off the weſt end of the iſland of Porto Rico, became ſomewhat leaky; upon which the Captain complained, alledging that his ſhip was in ſuch a condition, as made it impoſſible for him to proceed in her to England (1). This, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, being brought before their Council, was decided according to the Captain's deſire, and a reſolution taken, that her ſtores and proviſions being removed, and the men diſpoſed of in the other ſhips, the hull ſhould be either ſunk or burned. Our young Captain, who had been ſilent 'till judgment was given, interpoſed to prevent execution. He had a notion that the Captain was deſirous of getting into a ſhip that ſailed better; and that being under the power of this prejudice, he repreſented the ſtate of his ſhip to be worſe than it really was. He therefore expoſtulated the matter with his uncle, ſuggeſting to him, that as they had gained nothing hitherto for the proprietors, it was ſo much the more requiſite to be careful of the principal; and added farther, that if he was ſo pleaſed, he would collect out of his own and the reſt of the ſhips a ſufficient number of men to go home with him in that bark, which ſhould be ſtiled the Vice Admiral inſtead of his own veſſel, upon condition, however, that if they navigated the bark ſafely home, the crew ſhould have one fourth part of the clear value of the bark Bonner by way of ſalvage. His uncle propoſed, that the principal officers ſhould with him go on board the ſhip in queſtion, and that there the point ſhould be determined. But the Captain of the bark no ſooner heard this propoſal, than he gave for anſwer, that if any man could carry her to England, he could with the crew that was in her; which he accordingly did, without any riſk at all in his paſſage. The ſhip, after this, was continually employed for nine years together, and might have been ſo longer; but that being laid up in a careleſs manner, ſhe grew rotten. His uncle, upon this occaſion, thanked him heartily for his good will; and the proprietors, no doubt, were very well pleaſed with this ſteadineſs and conduct in a young man, by which ſo much money as this bark was worth was ſaved in their pockets. He adds, in relating this ſtory, that this was an artifice often practiſed, and by which many a ſhip was condemned and deſtroyed, though in a very ſerviceable condition.

[*B*] *Which give us an equal idea of his modeſty and penetration.*] It appears from an authentic liſt of the Royal Navy in that reign, that the Swallow was a ſhip of three hundred and thirty tons, and that carried one hundred and ſixty men. The juſtice he does to the noble perſon who commanded the Engliſh fleet, can never be ſo well repreſented as in his own words (2). 'Fabius Maximus, the famous Roman, ſays he, 'endured the attribute of Coward, with many other 'infamies, rather than he would hazard the ſafety of 'of his country by raſh and incertain provocations. 'In which reſpect, no leſs worthy of perpetual memory, was the prudent policy and government of our 'Engliſh navy in anno 1588, by the worthy Earl 'of Nottingham, Lord High-Admiral of England, 'who in like caſe, with mature and experimented 'knowledge, patiently withſtood the inſtigations of 'many couragious and noble Captains, who would 'have perſwaded him to have laid them aboard; but 'well he foreſaw that the enemy had an army aboard, 'he none; that they exceeded him in number of ſhipping, and thoſe greater in bulk, ſtronger built, and 'higher moulded; ſo that they, who with ſuch advantage fought from above, might eaſily diſtreſs all 'oppoſition below, the ſlaughter, peradventure, proving more fatal than the victory profitable; by being 'overthrown he might have hazarded the kingdom, 'whereas, by the conqueſt (at moſt) he could have 'boaſted of nothing but glory and an enemy defeated. 'But by ſufferance, he always advantaged himſelf of 'wind and tide, which was the freedom of our country and ſecurity of our navy, with the deſtruction of 'theirs, which in the eye of the ignorant (who judge 'all things by the external appearance) ſeemed invincible, but truly conſidered, was much inferior to 'others in all things of ſubſtance, as the event proved; 'for we ſunk, ſpoiled, and took of them, many, and 'they diminiſhed of ours but one ſmall pinnace, nor 'any man of name, ſave only Captain Cocke, who 'died with honour amidſt his company.' It appears from hence, that Camden was right as to the name of the only Engliſh officer who loſt his life in this engagement; and though an eminent writer expreſſes much concern that his Chriſtian name is not recoverable (3), yet we can direct the reader to a little piece, in which it is ſaid that his name was Captain William Cockes (4). It is a remark of our author's, and therein he is ſingular, that fire-ſhips were not invented by the Engliſh, but copied from the Spaniards, who firſt employed them againſt his father, Sir John Hawkins, in the bay of Mexico; and the ſame practice was repeated upon their armada; for which purpoſe ſix or ſeven veſſels were prepared, and of theſe, two belonged to Captain Richard Hawkins himſelf (5), upon whoſe authority, therefore, in this matter we may the more ſafely depend. Indeed the thing ſpeaks for itſelf, ſince the account of his father's voyage, and therein of this attempt of the Spaniards to burn his veſſels, was actually made public before this invaſion in 1588.

(1) Hawkins's Obſervations on his Voyage into the South-Seas, p. 86, 87. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1389.

(2) Hawkins's Obſervations on his Voyage into the South-Seas, p. 93.

(3) Fuller's Worthies in Devon, p. 261.

(4) Diſcourſe concerning the Spaniſh Fleet invading England in the year 1588, and overthrown by her Majeſty's Navy under the conduct of Lord Charles Howard, High-Admiral of England, written in Italian, and tranſlated into Engliſh. Lond. 1590. In this piece we are told that he commanded the Violette, a little pinnace belonging to Sir William Winter.

(5) Obſervations of Sir Richard Hawkins on his Voyage into the South-Seas, p. 51.

where, though they were not ſo happy as to take a ſingle ſhip, yet we are aſſured by a foreign writer of great veracity, who was at that time in the iſland, that they gave ſo much interruption to the trade, and occaſioned ſuch diſtraction to the Spaniſh ſettlements, that the people openly curſed the miniſters who had embarked the Crown of Spain in a war with England (*h*). In this voyage, which was of ſome continuance, though of no great action, Captain Richard Hawkins had an opportunity of adding largely to that ſtock of uſeful knowledge, which he took every occaſion to collect, and which he methodized and digeſted at his leiſure (*i*) [*C*]. At his return, he began to think in earneſt of a voyage which he had meditated ſome time before, and for which he had cauſed a new ſhip to be built, of the burthen of between three and four hundred tons; to which his mother-in-law, lady Hawkins, having given, for what reaſon he could never learn, the name of the Repentance, it diſtaſted him ſo much, that he ſold her to his father. But the ſhip having been employed in the Queen's ſervice with great good fortune, and Queen Elizabeth, as ſhe lay at Deptford, rowing round her in her barge, and having new named her the Dainty, our young hero was reconciled to his ſhip, repurchaſed her from his father, and reſumed his firſt intention of making in her a grand voyage for diſcovery (*k*). The ſcheme of this expedition, which was digeſted by the advice of Sir John Hawkins, and had the approbation of the Queen and her Privy Council, was of great extent; for he propoſed no leſs than viſiting the iſlands of Japan, as well as the Moluccas and Phillippines, taking in his courſe through the Streights of Magellan, and intending probably to return by the Cape of Good Hope (*l*). The univerſal eſteem which his father had acquired, and the great reſpect borne to himſelf, induced all who were in power to give him whatever aſſiſtance he could either deſire or expect; and the Lord High-Admiral, Sir Robert Cecil, and Sir Walter Ralegh, and many other perſons of rank, promiſed to pay him a viſit on board his ſhip in the river; which, however, was prevented by the foulneſs of the ſeaſon; and the wind coming fair, he judged it improper to loſe opportunity for the ſake of ceremony, and therefore directed the Dainty to fall down to Graveſend, April 8, 1593 (*m*). In her paſſage ſhe narrowly eſcaped ſhipwreck, through the negligence of leaving her ports open. This miſchief eſcaped, they proſecuted their voyage to Plymouth, where his ſmall ſquadron was to be formed, and entered that harbour on the twenty-ſixth of the ſame month. The other two veſſels were likewiſe his own, and but ſmall; the one called the Hawk, and the other a pinnace, which he named the Fancy (*n*). It was towards the cloſe of the mouth of May, before he could, with the aſſiſtance of his friends, and eſpecially of his wife's father, get every thing in order to put to ſea; and, at the very time he was ready to weigh the anchor, he was very near ſeeing an end of all his hopes. His three ſhips riding in the Sound, were ſurprized by a ſudden ſtorm; the Dainty ſprung her main-maſt, and the Fancy, driving on the rocks, went to the bottom before his eyes, who was on ſhore, a ſad ſpectator of this new misfortune (*o*). But, notwithſtanding this ſecond diſcouraging accident, he, with infinite induſtry and no ſmall expence, put all things to rights again in the ſpace of ten days; and, though the tender intreaties of his wife had once brought him to heſitate, yet, as he ſays very emphatically himſelf, conſidering how many eyes there were upon his ball, and having himſelf opened it, he reſolved to dance on, though he ſhould only hop at laſt (*p*). Accordingly, June the twelfth, 1593, about three in the afternoon, he left Plymouth Sound, and before the end of the month arrived at the Madeiras; on the third of July he paſſed the Canaries, and ſoon after the iſlands of Cape de Verde, without any remarkable accidents; but, upon approaching the coaſts of Brazil, the ſcurvy began to prevail amongſt the ſhip's crew, and gave Sir Richard Hawkins an opportunity of examining into, and making as juſt reflections upon, that terrible diſeaſe, as are perhaps any where extant [*D*]. This obliged him to think of putting into a port of Brazil

(*h*) Lindſchoten's Voyages, p. 331.

(*i*) Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 36. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 177.

(*k*) Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 2.

(*l*) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1367. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 401. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 391.

(*m*) Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 5. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1367. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 391.

(*n*) Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 12. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1367.

(*o*) Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 13. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 391.

(*p*) Baker's Chronicle, p. 383. Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 13.

[*C*] *And which he methodized and digeſted at his leiſure.*] According to his account, they were becalmed a great part of the time, when he took notice, that the ſea, for want of motion, became full of ſeveral ſorts of jellies (6), reſembling ſerpents, adders, and ſnakes, ſome green, ſome black, ſome yellow, and ſome ſpeckled, of a yard and a half and two yards long; which, ſays he, if I had not ſeen I could have hardly believed, appealing for the truth of what he related to the companies of thoſe ſhips which compoſed that ſquadron; adding, that they found it difficult to draw up ſo much as a bucket, without having ſome of this corruption mixed with the water; and to this malignancy of the air and ſeaſon he attributes that ſickneſs which invaded all their ſhips except his own, and proved fatal to many. A circumſtance indeed very wonderful, and which, if it had not been related of his own knowledge, would ſcarce have been credible. As it ſtands, it is an evident proof, that if the Providence of God did not prevent it, the waters of the ſea would very ſoon become naturally as loathſome, as thoſe of the river Nile were once rendered by miracle.

[*D*] *As are perhaps any where extant.*] In the ſentiment of our author, the ſea ſcurvy is a kind of dropſy, which he remarks, is apt enough to invade ſeamen in all places when they have been a long time on board, but has a kind of peculiar malignancy a little to the ſouth of the Equator, as appeared by infecting the whole crew in a few days (7). The chief ſymptoms he obſerved, were want of appetite, with a great drought, ſwelling in all parts of the body, but more eſpecially in the gums and legs. But above all, what he ſtiles a loathſome lazineſs, and a perpetual inclination to reſt and ſleep, though the patient was convinced that nothing could do him more hurt. The cauſes he aſſigns are various, firſt, the alteration of the climate, which conſequently produces no ſmall change in the conſtitution; next, bad nouriſhment, there being a certain degree of corruption in all ſalt meats, which is rather kept from proceeding than altogether prevented by the pickle; and laſtly, a bad diſpoſition in the air, ariſing from the calms that are common in thoſe parts, whence come a ſtagnation and a putridneſs in all fluids; upon theſe principles he accounts for the prevalence of this diſeaſe amongſt Engliſh ſeamen, more than thoſe of any other nation; becauſe, coming out of a temperate climate, being uſed to eat plentifully of wholeſome proviſions and enjoying a pure air, they are attacked at once by thoſe contrarieties that are moſt likely to debilitate the ſtomach, and to diſturb the whole

(6) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1373.

(7) Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, ſect. xvi.

Brazil for refreſhment; and having written a letter in Latin to the governor, informing him that his was an Engliſh ſhip bound to the Eaſt-Indies, and driven thither by contrary winds, deſired leave to purchaſe refreſhments for money, ſending a piece of crimſon velvet, ſome fine holland, and other curioſities as a preſent (*q*). The governor was ſlow in ſending an anſwer, ſevere in it's ſenſe, but civil in it's expreſſion. He told Captain Hawkins, that there being at that time a war between the two crowns, the ſtrictneſs of his inſtructions put it out of his power to grant his requeſt; but in regard to the polite manner in which he made it, he granted him three days time to depart; and before the anſwer came, having had a ſupply of oranges and other fruits, he reſolved to weigh with the firſt fair wind, as he did, and proceeded to the iſlands of St Anne, in the latitude of twenty degrees thirty minutes ſouth, where his whole ſquadron arrived ſafe on the fifth of November (*r*). There he cauſed all the proviſions to be taken out of the Hawk, and burnt her; and on the tenth of December ſailed for Cape Frio, with only ſix men ſick; and having taken in water and refreſhments there, and in the adjacent iſlands, ſailed again on the eighteenth of December for the Streights of Magellan; and, in his paſſage thither, made prize of a Portugueſe ſhip, but as it belonged to an old knight, who was going Governor to Angola, and who, after many years ſervice, had veſted his all in that ſhip and cargo, he contented himſelf with diſarming fifty ſoldiers that were on board, and ſuffered him to depart without any loſs (*s*). In the height of the river of Plate, and at the diſtance of about fifty leagues from land, they had a little blowing weather, which, though it expoſed them to no great danger, yet afforded an opportunity to Robert Tharlton, who commanded the Fancy, to perſwade thoſe who were on board that pinnace to deſert their General in the Dainty, and to return home; which baſe action was the ruin of this expedition (*t*) [*E*]. Sailing along the coaſt of Pentagonia, in the latitude of forty-eight degrees, he gave names to ſeveral places, and beſtowed on that whole country, which appeared to him very fair and promiſing, and ſituated in a very temperate climate, the title of *Hawkins's Maiden-Land*; becauſe, as he ſays, it was diſcovered at his expence, and in the reign of a maiden Queen. On the tenth of February they had the Streights of Magellan open, in the latitude of fifty-two degrees fifteen minutes; and paſſing through them, came into the South-Sea, March 29, 1594 (*u*). His deſcription of his paſſage is one of the beſt and plaineſt that is any where extant, and, like the reſt of his work, full of ingenious

whole frame of the body. He thinks that boiling meat in ſea water, being often wet with it, and eating mouldy bread, increaſe all the ſymptoms and heighten the infection. He therefore preſcribes as the beſt remedies, keeping the ſhip as clean as poſſible, ſprinkling it with vinegar, ſmoaking it with tar (8), feeding as little as poſſible upon ſalt meats, and more eſpecially upon ſalt fiſh, and being very cleanly, waſhing and ſhifting as often as poſſible. He mentions it as a great ſecret, and which himſelf had practiſed with much ſucceſs, to keep the men in action as much as poſſible, by making them exerciſe their arms, move things from place to place, and when they have any leiſure, to ſpend it in feats of agility, or in diverſions that keep their limbs in motion. At the changing of every watch, he recommends the giving of every man a bit of bread and a draught of wine and water mixed. He likewiſe praiſes Dr Stephens's water, and a few drops of oil of vitriol diſſolved in a convenient quantity of water. But beyond all other helps, the ſuffering the men to land as often as poſſible, and to procure for them oranges, lemons, and other acid fruits (9). After having given us theſe remarks and many more, he concludes with wiſhing, that ſome able phyſician would make this diſeaſe his ſtudy, that the true cauſes of it might be better known, and ſtill more effectual remedies found out, which, ſays he, would be a work meritorious in the ſight of God and man, and moſt beneficial to the people of this country, ſince in the ſpace that he had uſed the ſea, which might be about twenty years, he had known above ten thouſand men die of this diſeaſe.

[*E*] *Which baſe action was the ruin of this expedition.*] The Captain of this veſſel, Robert Tharlton, had in a former voyage, and in the ſelf-ſame place, deſerted the famous Captain Thomas Cavendiſh, by which he ruined his voyage and broke his heart. Our author aſſures us, that all the misfortunes and diſtreſs he afterwards ſuffered was owing to this accident, for if the Fancy had continued with him, he need not have ſhewn himſelf at all upon the coaſt of Peru, he might have availed himſelf of the proviſions, medicines, and refreſhments, that were on board that pinnace; and though he acknowledges that the men on board were but few, yet he inſiſts upon it, that even with thoſe few men, if they had been with him, he could have taken the Spaniſh Vice-Admiral, and have cleared himſelf in that engagement where he was made priſoner (10). He then proceeds to facts, that ought to appear in his own words (11). ‘ Theſe deſertions and eſcapes, ‘ ſays he, are, generally ſpeaking, only to pilfer and ‘ ſteal, as well by taking of ſome prize when they are ‘ alone and without command to hinder or order their ‘ bad proceedings, as to appropriate that which is in their ‘ intruſted ſhip, caſting the fault, if they be called to account, upon ſome poor and unknown mariners, whom ‘ they ſuffer with a little pillage to abſent themſelves, ‘ the more cunningly to colour their greateſt diſorders ‘ and robberies. For doubtleſs, Robert Tharlton in ‘ the Fancy, if he would, might have come unto us ‘ with great facility, becauſe within ſixteen hours the ‘ ſtorm ceaſed and the wind came fair, which brought ‘ us to the Straits, and endured many days after with ‘ us at north-eaſt. This was good for them, though ‘ naught for us: if he had periſhed, any maſt or yard ‘ ſprung, any leak, wanted victuals or inſtruments for ‘ finding us, or had had any other impediment of importance, he might have had ſome colour to cloak ‘ his lewdneſs: but his maſts and yards being ſound, his ‘ ſhip ſtaunch, and loaden with victuals for two years ‘ at the leaſt, and having order from place to place ‘ where to find us, his intention is eaſily ſeen to be bad, ‘ and his fault ſuch as worthily deſerved to be made ‘ exemplary unto others. Which he manifeſted at his ‘ return by his manner of proceeding, making a ſpoil of ‘ the prize he took in the way homewards, as alſo of ‘ that which was in the ſhip, putting it into a port fit ‘ for his purpoſe, where he might have time and commodity to do what he would.’ He looks upon this breach of duty and honour, to be the peculiar ſcandal of the Engliſh nation; becauſe, ſays he, thoſe who are injured, either dying through grief, or falling into extreme poverty, are ſeldom able to proſecute ſuch offences, which procured impunity tempts others to follow a bad example; whereas in Spain, the King's Attorney-General takes notice of all ſuch offences of courſe, and upon his ſuit they are ſo ſeverely puniſhed, that diſcipline is no where ſo well obſerved as among the Spaniards, and to this, and this only, he attributes all their ſucceſs; in all other things, ſays he, we are at leaſt their equals, in many, much their ſuperiors, but much inferior to them in this; not that the Spaniards are more docible or leſs inclined to mutiny, but becauſe juſtice halts with us, and walked with ſo quick a pace amongſt them, as ever to overtake the offender, which in a very ſhort time took away the offence.

(*q*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1369. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 392.

(*r*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Baker's Chronicle, p. 383. Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South Sea, p. 54, 55.

(*s*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 392. Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 54, 55. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1382.

(*t*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Baker's Chronicle, p. 383. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1383.

(*u*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 392. Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 71, 72.

(8) See Sir John Narborough's Remarks in his Voyage to the South-Seas.

(9) See a large account given of this diſtemper in Lord Anſon's Voyage round the World.

(10) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1383.

(11) Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 68.

nious and inſtructive reflections. He obſerves, that notwithſtanding the received opinion at that time, the Streights are certainly navigable through the whole year; but he adds, that the true ſeaſon for paſſing is in the months of November, December, and January, when the wind is ſteady and favourable; whereas it is very inconſtant, as in all narrow ſeas, during the other months of the year (*w*). On the 19th of April, which that year was Eaſter-Eve, they anchored under the iſland of Mocha, where they ran a very great riſk of ſuffering by the Arawcans, a nation of Indians, equally famous for the ſubtlety of their heads, and for their proweſs of their hands, notwithſtanding all the precautions that could be taken to guard againſt them. Proceeding from thence along the coaſts of Chili, they were welcomed into that which is ſtiled the Pacific Ocean, by a ſtorm that laſted ten days. This was ſucceeded by very warm diſputes amongſt themſelves (*x*). Captain Hawkins was for continuing his voyage quietly, and without making any prizes, 'till they were above Callao, which is the port of Lima; becauſe then they might be ſure of keeping what they got, as the Spaniards could hardly fit out a ſquadron ſtrong enough to take them in thoſe ſeas, and would never judge it either reaſonable or practicable to purſue them in their great run to the Philippines. On the other hand, the mariners, who knew they had a right to make prizes, and who believed, in that country, every ſhip that went to ſea was laden with gold, were againſt loſing any time, and for taking every thing that they could take. The Captain finding that it was in vain to reaſon, and that ſelf-intereſt, though miſunderſtood, governed, to a man, every one on board his ſhip but himſelf, was forced, contrary to his own ſentiments, to comply with this notion (*y*). In conſequence of this, they took a few days after four ſhips, in the harbour of Valpariſo, and very ſoon after a fifth, out of which they were extremely well ſupplied with proviſions, but with very little gold; and even the ranſoms that they obtained were not very conſiderable. But, as ſmall as this treaſure proved, it was more than enough to raiſe diſputes; for the ſeamen immediately demanded their third, which was due to them by contract. The Captain by no means diſputed this, but took great pains to ſhew them the folly of their demand, and the bad effects with which it muſt be attended in regard to themſelves, ſince it could only ſerve them to game with, and to create quarrels; to which, though at firſt both angry and obſtinate, they at length yielded their aſſent, and were willing, that whatever gold or ſilver they took ſhould be put into a cheſt with three locks, of which the Captain was to have one key, the Maſter a ſecond, and a perſon choſen by the ſhip's crew a third, and that no diviſion ſhould be made 'till they came to England (*z*). Arriving in the height of Ariquipa, they found that intelligence had been given to Don Garcias Hurtado de Mendoça, Viceroy of Peru, of their entrance into the South-Seas; who thereupon fitted out a ſquadron of ſix armed veſſels to fight and take them. At this time Captain Hawkins had with him in the Dainty, and a little Indian prize which they had fitted up as a pinnace, ſeventy-five men and boys; with which inconſiderable force, ſuch was the ſpirit of thoſe times, he braved the whole Spaniſh ſtrength in the South-Seas. About the middle of May, the Spaniſh ſquadron, under the command of Don Beltrian de Caſtro, came in ſight of them near Cavite; the Engliſh being then to windward, and the breeze ſpringing up about nine in the morning, they ſtood out to ſea, and the Spaniards with them (*a*). As the wind ſtrengthened and the ſea began to ſwell, the Spaniſh Admiral ſnapped his main-maſt, the Vice-Admiral ſplit her main-ſail, and the Rear-Admiral cracked her main-yard, which threw them into great confuſion, and gave the Engliſh an opportunity to eſcape as they did; the ſailors being by this time convinced that Captain Hawkins was in the right, and willing enough, when they had wooded and watered, to proceed to the Eaſt-Indies with what little they had got, though they did take ſome trifling prizes afterwards (*b*). As for the Spaniſh ſquadron, upon it's return to Lima all on board it were ſo laughed at and contemned, for not being able to deal with a ſingle ſhip, much inferior in force to any one of theirs, that the Admiral petitioned to put to ſea again, with ſuch a force as could be ſooneſt got together; and this being no more than two ſhips and a pinnace, he put the ſtouteſt of his men into them, and ſailed, without loſing time, to find thoſe who had before eſcaped him (*c*). If Captain Hawkins could have perſwaded his men to have been ſteady even to their own reſolution, this might have been rendered impracticable; but they were ſtill ſo bent upon chaſing every thing they ſaw, that on the tenth of June they came to an anchor in the bay of Atacames; from whence they were on the point of ſailing again on the twentieth in the morning, when they deſcried the Spaniſh ſquadron, whom Captain Hawkins preſently knew for what they really were; but his men, miſtaken and obſtinate as uſual, would have it to be the Peru fleet bound for Panama, laden with treaſure, which they already ſhared in imagination (*d*). It was not long, however, before they were convinced by facts, and ſo a very unequal diſpute began between a veſſel that had been many months at ſea, with a very poor defenceleſs pinnace, againſt three clean well armed ſhips, two of them of ſuperior force, and, in all three, thirteen hundred men, eſteemed the beſt in that country. In ſpite of all theſe diſadvantages, the Engliſh defended themſelves gallantly for two whole days and a great part of a third; nor did they ſurrender at laſt, 'till Captain Hawkins was diſabled, and forced to quit the deck, when, beſides thoſe killed in the action, they had forty wounded men, and their ſhip in a ſinking condition (*e*) [*F*]. As ſoon as the ſhip

(*w*) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1392. Baker's Chronicle, p. 383. Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 177.

(*x*) Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 87.

(*y*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 391. Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 101. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1393.

(*z*) Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 108, 109. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol IV. p. 1396.

(*a*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 117.

(*b*) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1398.

(*c*) Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 119.

(*d*) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1399.

(*e*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Baker's Chronicle, p. 383.

[*F*] *And their ſhip in a ſinking condition.*] The ſhips were no ſooner engaged, than Captain Hawkins perceived how much he had been miſtaken in his gunner, who promiſed what great things he would do againſt an enemy, ſhip was in the hands of the Spaniards, the General ſent for Captain Hawkins on board his own veſſel, where he received him courteouſly, and with tears in his eyes; treated him with the utmoſt tenderneſs, and aſſured him, that the terms which had been granted at the time his veſſel ſtruck ſhould be punctually performed *(f)*. As this gentleman was brother to the Conde de Lemos, had ſerved many years in Flanders, and appeared in all his actions a man of ſtrict honour as well as great magnificence, Captain Hawkins, who began now to recover (as by a wonderful Providence all the wounded men did) reſumed his ſpirits, and, as occaſion offered, entered into a free converſation with that noble perſon and his officers; by which he informed his own judgment and theirs, exploded many pernicious prejudices which they had taken up, and by this means not only did himſelf great ſervice, but diſpoſed them likewiſe to treat other Engliſhmen better *(g)* [*G*]. On the ninth

(f) Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 155.

(g) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1413.

enemy, and now loſt all ſenſe and ſpirit (12) By his careleſſneſs or treachery, two hundred fire-balls, which were all they had, took wet and were ſpoiled; cartridges were wanting within an hour, and his behaviour was ſo very bad, that Captain Hawkins and the Maſter of the ſhip were forced to ſupply his place. On the other ſide, the gunner in the Spaniſh Admiral was an Engliſhman, who alſo promiſed to do mighty things, either from a ſpirit of rancour or of flattery, but his arrogance was ſoon humbled by a ſhot, which in the beginning of the action took off his head. In the evening they were boarded by the Vice-Admiral, from whom they cleared themſelves, killing a great number of the enemy, and might have taken the veſſel if they could have ſpared men to have boarded her. This compelled the Spaniards to alter their manner of fighting, and to rely upon their artillery. In theſe boardings the Engliſh ſuffered ſome loſs, and their commander much more, ſince the Maſter of the ſhip had one of his eyes, his noſe, and half his face ſhot away, and one Mr Henry Courton was killed, who were the two principal perſons he relied on. Captain Hawkins himſelf alſo had ſix wounds, of which two were very dangerous, one in the neck, the other through the arm a little beneath the ſhoulder. He was therefore obliged to appoint a Captain under him, to whom the Spaniards having propoſed good quarters, it occaſioned a debate, in which Captain Hawkins, by a warm and eloquent ſpeech, prevailed upon the crew to reject them. They endured a great cannonading all the night and the next day, in which they were very near diſabling the Vice-Admiral, and if they had proſecuted their advantage, they might poſſibly have diſengaged themſelves, but by ſhewing too great earneſtneſs to eſcape, they loſt the opportunity of eſcaping. The third day in the afternoon, which was June the twenty ſecond (13), 1594, more of their ſails being torn, their maſts ſpoiled, their pumps rent, with eight foot water in their hold, very few men without wounds, and thoſe ſo much fatigued they could ſcarce ſtand; the laſt propoſal was made, to which the Captain aſſented, though without Captain Hawkins's full concurrence. When he knew how things ſtood, he ſent Juan Gomez de Pineda, a Spaniſh pilot then his priſoner, to the General, to demand his word of honour for their fair uſage, and a pledge for it's being punctually kept (14). ‘ In the midſt of this ‘ treaty, ſays he, the Vice-Admiral not knowing of ‘ what had paſt, diſcharged her two chace pieces at us, ‘ and hurt our Captain very ſore in the thigh, and ‘ maimed one of our Maſter's mates called Hugh ‘ Maires in one of his arms, but after knowing us to ‘ be rendered, he ſuccoured us: and we ſatisfying ‘ them that we could not hoiſt out our boat nor ſtrike ‘ our ſails; the Admiral laid us aboard, but before ‘ any man entered, John Gomez went unto the General, who received him with great courteſy, and aſked ‘ him what he required; to which he made anſwer, ‘ my demand was, that in the King's name he ſhould ‘ give us his faith and promiſe to give us our lives, to ‘ keep the laws of fair war and quarter, and to ſend ‘ us preſently into our country, and in confirmation ‘ hereof that I required ſome pledge; whereunto the ‘ General made anſwer, that in the King's Majeſty's ‘ name his maſter, he received us a buena querra, and ‘ ſwore by God Almighty, and by the habit of Alcantara (whereof he had received knighthood, and in ‘ token whereof he wore on his breaſt a green croſs, ‘ which is the enſign of that order) that he would give ‘ us our lives with good entreaty, and ſend us as ſpeedily as he could into our own country, in confirmation ‘ whereof he took off his glove and ſent it to me as a ‘ pledge. With this meſſage John Gomez returned, ‘ and the Spaniards entered and took poſſeſſion of our ‘ ſhip.'

[*G*] *To treat other Engliſhmen better.*] The Spaniſh officers made a practice of diſputing roundly and freely in Captain Hawkins's preſence the nature of his caſe; ſome ſaid they were Lutherans, and therefore no faith was to be kept with them; others, that they were brave fellows, and deſerved to be well treated; ſome, that they were corſairs, and ſo not entituled to the rights of war; and others again, that this muſt depend upon the good pleaſure of the Viceroy of Peru, from whom the General had his commiſſion. Captain Hawkins, without meddling with the main point, took the liberty of touching now and then upon acceſſaries. He obſerved, that as to their being hereticks, they knew it before their promiſe was made, ſo that the true queſtion was, whether a Spaniſh General ſhould give his word when he meant not to keep it; as to their being corſairs or pirates, he proved to them, that this was a vulgar miſtake, for that pirates were ſuch as took veſſels by force in a time of full peace, or that acted without a commiſſion from the government of that ſtate to which they belonged, whereas the facts were notorious to them, both as to the war between Spain and England, and as to their acting under Queen Elizabeth's commiſſion, the laſt error indeed he allowed to be more excuſable, becauſe the Crown of Spain never licenſed private ſhips of war (15). In conſequence of ſeveral diſcourſes of this kind, the Spaniſh General one day at his table, demanded what his ſentiments were upon the main queſtion, or in other words, what he apprehended himſelf entituled to from the general promiſe of fair quarter; this as far as he was able, he laboured to decline, but when he found this would not be admitted, and that moſt of thoſe who were preſent, joined with their General in deſiring him to ſpeak freely, he delivered himſelf thus (16). ‘ Sir, under ‘ the capitulation of Buena Querra (or fair wars) I have ‘ ever underſtood, and ſo it hath ever been obſerved ‘ in theſe, as alſo in former times, that preſervation of ‘ life and good entreaty of the priſoner have been comprehended; and further, by no means to be urged ‘ to any thing contrary to his conſcience as touching his ‘ religion, nor to be ſeduced or menaced for the allegiance due to his Prince and Country, but rather to ‘ ranſom him for his months pay. And this is that ‘ which I have known practiſed in our times in general amongſt all civil and noble nations. But the Engliſh have enlarged it one point more towards the ‘ Spaniards, rendered a Buena Querra in theſe wars, ‘ have ever delivered them which have been taken, ‘ upon ſuch compoſitions without ranſom; but the covetouſneſs of our age hath brought in many abuſes, ‘ and excluded the principal officers from partaking of ‘ the benefit of this privilege, in leaving them to the ‘ diſcretion of the victor, being many times poorer than ‘ the common ſoldiers, their qualities conſidered, ‘ whereby they are commonly put to more than the ‘ ordinary ranſom, and not being able of themſelves to ‘ accompliſh it, are forgotten of their Princes, and ‘ ſometimes ſuffer long impriſonment, which they ſhould ‘ not. With this Don Beltran ſaid. This ambiguity ‘ you have well reſolved; and like a worthy gentleman, and with great courteſy and liberality, added, let ‘ not the laſt point trouble you: but be of good comfort, for I here give you my word anew, that your ‘ ranſom (if any ſhall be thought due) ſhall be but a ‘ couple of greyhounds for me, and other two for my ‘ brother the Conde de Lemos; and this I ſwear to ‘ you by the habit of Alcantara. Provided always that ‘ the King my maſter leave you to my diſpoſe, as of ‘ right you belong unto me.'

[*H*] He

(12) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1402, 1403.

(13) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Baker's Chronicle. p. 383. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 391.

(14) Obſervations on his Voyage into the South-Seas, p. 155, 156.

(15) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1412, 1413.

(16) Obſervations on his Voyage into the South-Seas, p. 162, 163.

ninth of July they arrived in the haven of Panama, where the night following they ſaw the whole town as if it had been in a light fire, the houſes, galleries, and churches, being filled with candles, and the Spaniſh ſhips correſponded with their friends on ſhore, in public teſtimonies of joy for this ſignal victory; for ſo it appeared to them, ſince, from the time that Magellan firſt opened the Streights which bear his name, Captain Hawkins was, in their account, the ſixth man that had paſſed them, and of theſe he was the third Engliſhman (*b*). While they remained here, the Spaniſh General diſpatched expreſſes, as well to the Viceroy of New Spain, who had likewiſe fitted out a fleet againſt this potent enemy, as to the Viceroy of Peru, under whom he acted; and by theſe expreſſes Captain Hawkins alſo was permitted to ſend letters to his father and ſome other friends, as alſo to the Queen, which the General aſſured him ſhould be forwarded to Europe (*i*). Upon this occaſion, whether from openneſs of heart or any concealed view is uncertain, Don Beltran ſhewed him a letter from the King to the Viceroy, in which there was a diſtinct account of his own little ſquadron, and the names of the veſſels, their burthen, pieces of artillery, and number of men, as exact as it was poſſible; *You may judge from hence*, added the General, when he ſhewed it him, *what friends the King my maſter has in England, and what ſpeedy and uſeful intelligence they give him* (*k*). Before they returned to Lima, it was found neceſſary to ground and trim the Engliſh ſhip which they had taken; and this being performed, the General, his Captains, and ſome religious men, went on board, and with great ſolemnity beſtowed a third name upon this veſſel, which was now called the Viſitation, becauſe ſhe was ſurrendered to them on that feaſt which they ſtile the Viſitation of the Bleſſed Virgin. He ſpent upwards of two years in Peru and the adjacent provinces, after which he was ſent to Panama, and from thence on board a galleon, of the burthen of five hundred tons, with the reſt of a fleet that was then returning into Europe (*l*). In his paſſage, he was once very near being killed or ſet at liberty; for this fleet came to the Tercera iſlands in the month of September, 1597, preciſely at the time that the Engliſh fleet was there; and in entering the harbour, the galleon, on board of which Captain Hawkins was, had twelve perſons grievouſly hurt by ſplinters, occaſioned by a ſhot from the Engliſh Admiral, though the ſhot itſelf did no execution at all (*m*). When he had remained there ſome time, he was at laſt ſent to Seville [*H*], in which famous city he was alſo ſome time confined, and then tranſferred to Madrid; where his cauſe, which was before litigated in the Indies, was again brought into debate. The point was, whether Don Beltran de Caſtro, who had promiſed him life and liberty in the name of the King of Spain his maſter, had any authority to make that promiſe, ſince he did not derive his power from the King, but from the Viceroy of Peru. In the whole courſe of this debate, the Spaniſh General ſaid and did every thing that could make for his priſoner's advantage, avowed his promiſe in the cleareſt terms, and employed all his friends in ſolliciting that it might be made good to Captain Hawkins (*n*). The true reaſon that this affair was drawn into ſuch a length, was to deter others, by his example, from making expeditions into the South-Seas. When in the end it came before the Privy-Council, the Count de Miranda, who was then Preſident, gave it as his opinion, that the promiſe of a Spaniſh General in the King's name ought to be punctually kept; for otherwiſe no veſſel would ever ſurrender, ſince in ſuch junctures it was impoſſible for them to know whoſe authority the General had (*o*). The deciſion of the Council being thus in his favour, he was ſet at liberty and returned to England. We know nothing farther of the fortunes of Sir Richard Hawkins, excepting that he died in a very ſingular manner; for, as he attended the Privy-Council on ſome particular occaſion, he was ſeized with an apoplectic fit, of which he expired in 1622 (*p*). His book was at that time in the preſs, and probably finiſhed; ſince the Dedication to Charles Prince of Wales, afterwards King Charles the Firſt, was prefixed thereto by himſelf; from which it appears, that the unhappy iſſue of his voyage to the South-Seas, his long confinement, and the diſaſters which naturally attended it, brought him into great diſtreſs (*q*). This work of his was ſoon after publiſhed by a friend, and was received with that approbation which it ſo well deſerved [*I*].

(*b*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Baker's Chronicle, p. 383. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 391.

(*i*) Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 168.

(*k*) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1415.

(*l*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Baker's Chronicle, p. 383. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 392.

(*m*) Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 151.

(*n*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Baker's Chronicle, p. 383.

(*o*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682.

(*p*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 392.

(*q*) His own words are, *Having brought on me nothing but loſs and miſery.*

[*H*] *He was at laſt ſent to Seville.*] Whatever conceit Sir Richard Hawkins might have of the unluckineſs of his ſhip, he ſeems to have been not at all more fortunate in any other; for, as he very narrowly eſcaped being killed at the Tercera's by an Engliſh cannon ſhot; ſo in the river of Seville, he was in very great danger, from a diſpute between two Spaniſh officers about a point of honour (17). His Catholic Majeſty had ſent eight new ſhips under a General, who was a man of great quality, to fetch the galleons from thoſe iſlands; and having paſſed the bar of St Lucar, the ſhips laden with treaſure were moored in the midſt of the river, and their eſcorte, on the ſide near the ſhore, in ſuch a manner, that one of the Admiral's cables overlaid the only one the galleon, in which Captain Hawkins came home, had left; by reaſon of which, the great current of ebb and a freſh wind cauſed the Admiral's anchors to give way, which likewiſe brought up that of the galleon; ſo that both ſhips began to drive, and were in the utmoſt peril of running foul one of the other. In this untoward ſituation, the General ſtanding in his gallery, gave no orders at all, becauſe he judged it beneath him to veer out a cable firſt; but the Captain of the galleon, who was a man of leſs ceremony, crying out, that upon his honour he had not another cable, that there were two millions of ſilver on board his veſſel, and that he proteſted againſt the General for any damage that might happen either to his Catholic Majeſty or to the trade, that great man was pleaſed to iſſue the neceſſary orders, by which both ſhips, though not without ſome difficulty, were preſerved; whereas, by weighing his anchor at firſt, all peril might have been prevented. What is ſtill more ſurprizing than this accident, our author aſſures us, the General was a very experienced officer, to which he attributes his condeſcending ſo far as he did; for if he had been a freſh-water Admiral, it is more than probable, the deciding this point of honour had coſt the King of Spain two millions in ſilver, and two ſhips into the bargain.

[*I*] *Which it ſo well deſerved*] The modeſt title of this treatiſe runs in theſe words:

(17) Ibid. p. 140, 141.

The

The Obſervations of Sir Richard Hawkins, Knight, in his Voyage into the South-Sea, Anno Dom. 1593. Lond. 1622. folio.

The various particulars, which we have extracted from this venerable work, will give the reader ſome notion of the numerous matters of fact, that, from a laudable zeal for the honour of his country, and out of a generous benevolence to mankind, he preſerved from oblivion in that treatiſe (18). Theſe citations will likewiſe ſhew his manner of writing and his ſtile, which for thoſe times were elegant and perſpicuous; in ours, probably, they will be thought to have contracted the ruſt of antiquity; which if, as the critics allow, rather heightens the value of medals, as it is an evidence of their being genuine; it is not eaſy to diſcern why it ſhould leſſen the value of hiſtory. But be that as it will, we thought it our duty to erect the beſt monument we could for a man of ſo much probity and public ſpirit, of whom and of his father, a learned Antiquary of their own country (19) has given a juſt encomium in this obſervation; *That had* fortune *been as propitious to them both, as their* virtue, valour, *and* knowledge, *were eminent, they might have equalled the choiceſt* worthies *of any age*. We might have had ſtill farther and better evidence of this from his own pen, if he had been ſpared by Providence life and leiſure to have written, as he intended, the ſecond part of his Obſervations; in which he propoſed to have ſhewn, what happened to him and his companions during their ſtay in Peru and in the Terra Firma, which muſt have been very entertaining and inſtructive, as he was not only a very curious enquirer, but a perſon alſo of great ſagacity and much general knowledge. He meant alſo to have related his adventures in the iſland of Tercera, and in the cities of Seville and Madrid; ſo that we have good reaſon to believe the ſecond part would not have been in any degree inferior to the firſt; and like that, no doubt, would have ſupplied us with a multitude of intereſting particulars, which are not to be met with elſewhere, and which, through the ſudden death of Sir Richard Hawkins, muſt remain in perpetual oblivion. This is a circumſtance ſo diſagreeable to all lovers of true hiſtory and authentic information, that there is reaſon to hope it will inſpire them with a generous inclination to prevent, as far as in them lies, every misfortune of that kind, by encouraging ſuch as have reaped no other profit, either from the troubles of an active life or a laborious purſuit of learning, than a ſuperior ſtock of practical knowledge, to give it in time to the world, and not ſuffer a private ſhipwreck to become, as in this and in many other caſes has often fallen out, an irreparable loſs to the Public. E

HEARNE [Thomas], an indefatigable collector and editor of books and manuſcripts, was the ſon of George Hearne, Pariſh-Clerk of White-Waltham in Berkſhire, by Edith, daughter of Thomas Wiſe of Shotteſbrooke in the ſaid county. He was born at Littlefield-green, in the above Pariſh, 1680. His father, beſide the employment of his clerkſhip, kept a writing-ſchool in the vicarage-houſe, being permitted by the miniſter ſo to do, and to live there, on condition of his teaching ten boys annually, without any other reward. Here he retained his ſon Thomas under his own tuition until he was thirteen years of age: when Francis Cherry of Shotteſbrooke, Eſq; took him from thence under his patronage, and put him to the free-ſchool of Bray in Berks, in order to his attaining the Greek and Latin tongues. In this place he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ſobriety and extraordinary application, and made an anſwerable proficiency in letters; which was ſo agreeable to his generous benefactor, that he thereupon reſolved, in conformity with the advice of his deareſt friend, the famous Mr Dodwell, to adopt the youth into his family, and provide for him as his own. This he accordingly did, about Eaſter 1695. Mr Cherry having thus taken him home, regarded him in the character of his child, and every day nurtured him in religion as well as claſſic learning; when at home hearing him read, and engaging Mr Dodwell, when he himſelf was abſent, to officiate as Preceptor: both, in their turns, explaining to him the difficulties that occurred in his exerciſes, and illuſtrating the ſubjects of them with uſeful and entertaining reflections. The pains of theſe benevolent inſtructors were not thrown away on their diſciple; he grew apace in literature, and ſoon became acquainted with the Greek and Roman Hiſtorians. Mr Cherry was pleaſed with cultivating a genius ſo ſuſceptible of improvement, and determined to beſtow on him an academical education. To this end he had him entered a Batler of Edmund-hall in Oxford, December the 4th, 1695, where he was matriculated the day following. Immediately after he returned to Mr Cherry's, from whence he went daily again to Bray ſchool, 'till Eaſter term, 1696, when this good man, in perſon, carried him to Oxford, and fully ſettled him at the aboveſaid Hall, with a proviſion of every thing requiſite to his maintenance. That foundation was governed by Dr Mill, who had under him, as Vice-Preſident, White Kennet, afterwards Biſhop of Peterborough, then one of the moſt eſteemed tutors in the univerſity, and at the ſame time Vicar of Shotteſbrooke, to which cure he had been preſented by Mr Cherry. To the ſpecial overſight and tutelage of this gentleman was our Thomas committed, and for Mr Cherry's ſake, their common patron, and for the lad's own, was he treated with all poſſible care, and with a parental tenderneſs. Happily for him, both the head of his college and the deputy were votaries of Antiquity, and young Hearne had a natural and even violent propenſity that way. Somewhat of the kind was conſpicuous in him whilſt a very boy: when he was obſerved to be continually plodding over the old tumuli of his own pariſh church-yard, almoſt as ſoon as he was maſter of the Engliſh alphabet (*a*). This diſpoſition, joined with his unwearied induſtry, rendered him a favourite with theſe his ſuperiors. Dr Mill was then about an Appendix to his Greek Teſtament, and finding him to be well verſed in manuſcripts, he got him to examine ſeveral he had occaſion to make uſe of in that work. When he was of three years ſtanding, he went to Eaton, at this learned gentleman's requeſt, to collate a manuſcript of Tatian and Athenagoras belonging to that college. The copy of the variations he had noted, written by his own hand, is in the Bodleian library, and was uſed by Mr Worth in his edition of Tatian, and by Mr De Chaire in that of Athenagoras, though neither of theſe editors had candour enough to acknowledge the obligation. He was likewiſe very aſſiſtant to the celebrated Dr Grabe, then reſident in Edmund-hall, for whom he compared many manuſcripts, and made conſiderable collections. In Act term, 1699, he took the degree of

(18) See the particulars extracted from him, in our Naval Hiſtories, Voyages, &c.

(19) Weſtcot's View of Devon, in Plymouth, MS.

(*a*) A Vindication of thoſe who take the oath of allegiance. Printed in the year 1731. Preface, p. 5.

of Bachelor of Arts, and determined in the ſchools the Lent following. Being now qualified to enter on the ſacred function, his friends turned their thoughts towards a proviſion for him in that way. Dr Bray was then intruſted by the Biſhop of London with the care of providing Miſſionaries for our weſtern colonies in America; he was deſirous of engaging Mr Hearne to enter upon that apoſtolical office; and, through the mediation of White Kennet, made him very advantageous propoſals, if he would croſs the Atlantic Ocean. But the converting a miſerable crew of ſavages was not the moſt eligible employment in the opinion of Mr Hearne. He was ſo pleaſed with Oxford, on account of the many valuable acquaintance he had contracted there; ſo addicted to the ſtudy of Engliſh Antiquities, for which hardly any place afforded equal opportunities; and ſo enamoured of that eneſtimable treaſure of literature which he enjoyed in it's Public Library, that he was deaf to their ſollicitations. That noble repoſitory of erudition might be deemed his habitation, for he almoſt dwelt therein. It had the richeſt furniture in his eye, and what he could appropriate to his own uſe, without depriving or offending others. He was ſo noted for the length and frequency of his viſits, that Dr Hudſon, ſoon after he was choſen Keeper thereof, took him for a Coadjutor; having firſt aſked and obtained the conſent of the Curators. In this ſtation he behaved, not only unexceptionably, but very much to the benefit of his truſt. In 1703, on the third of July, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*b*). Upon the death of Mr Emanuel Pritchard, Janitor of the Public Library, that place was conferred on him. About this time, alſo, he was offered two chaplainſhips, ſucceſſively, of Corpus-Chriſti and All-Souls colleges, by the reſpective heads of thoſe houſes; but, as he could not hold either of them with the office of Janitor, which he was unwilling to relinquiſh, he declined thoſe intended favours. In 1712, he became ſecond Library-Keeper of the Bodleian library, on the deceaſe of Mr Crabb. On the 19th of January, 1714-15, he was elected Archetypographus of the Univerſity, and Eſquire-Beadle of the Civil-Law (*c*). This we find him acknowledging to be an honour, which he took the firſt ‘opportunity of mentioning to the world, on purpoſe that his gratitude might be made known to poſterity. And notwithſtanding he was conſcious to himſelf, that the univerſity favours were conferred on one who every way undeſerved them, in reſpect of learning and other requiſite qualifications; yet ſtill he had very good reaſon for accepting them, upon this account amongſt others, as they ſeaſonably aſſiſted and relieved one of their members, that had for many years led an obſcure and retired life, and was at that time reduced to a neceſſitous condition, through the great expence he had been at in carrying on many public deſigns (*d*).’ This poſt he held, together with that of Under-Librarian, 'till the 8th of November following; but then finding they were not tenable together, he reſigned the beadleſhip, and, very ſoon after, the other place alſo, by reaſon of the oaths, which he could not conſcientiouſly comply with: though he had formerly endeavoured to perſwade others to a ſubmiſſion [*A*]. He continued a nonjuror to the laſt, much at the

expence

(*b*) Ibid. p. 12.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 13.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 14. Leland. Collect. Vol. I. p. 56.

[*A*] *Endeavoured to perſuade others to a ſubmiſſion.*] There is imputed to him, *A Vindication of the Oath of Allegiance*, &c. ſaid to be written in the twenty-ſecond year of his age (1); whether merely for the declaring his ſentiments at that time in relation thereunto, or for the reconciling his patron, Mr Cherry, to the taking of it, cannot be reſolved. In 1731 this was printed, by an anonymous editor, who prefixed to it a preface, containing a ſatirical account of the author. The piece itſelf is ſo wretched a compoſition, in all reſpects, as to be a real curioſity. It did not prevail on the gentleman to whom it was addreſſed: he perſiſted a ſteady Nonjuror to the end of his life. It is plain, however, that when Mr Hearne compiled it, he was of opinion, ‘a King might forfeit the allegiance of his ſubjects, when he broke his oath by tyrannizing upon, and depriving them of their Liberties; and that, in ſuch a caſe, the common good of the nation required either his depoſition, or, at leaſt, that a reſtraint ſhould be put on him ſome other way: thoſe who had ſworn to him being now diſcharged from their obligation.’ This, he tells Mr Cherry, he had ſhewn, in a former letter, by a detail of the occurrences between King Henry the VIth and Edward the IVth (2). But underſtanding, what he then offered had not the expected effect, he preſumed, in this, to proſecute the ſame thing farther, by giving an hiſtorical account of what paſſed in relation to Maud the Empreſs, and Stephen Earl of Blois, as to the ſitting on the throne; and ſhewing, ‘That thoſe who took an oath to Stephen, as to their ſovereign Lord, notwithſtanding they had before ſworne allegiance to her the Empreſſe, thought themſelves, yea even were, looſed from their obligation to her, becauſe the common good of the nation ſo required it (3). ——That the *common good* did require a ſubmiſſion to Stephen, none can deny, if they conſider, Firſt, That Maud was then in France, when Stephen was in England, and that thereby opportunity was offered to Stephen of doing an extraordinary miſchief to the land, provided he were not received; and that more eſpecially, becauſe his brother was (as ſaid) Biſhop of Wincheſter. Secondly, If they conſider that the priviledges of the Clergy had been infringed; and therefore that they required ſuch a Sovereign as would maintain them to the utmoſt of his abilities; as Stephen promiſed, and did in a great meaſure perform (4).’ To inforce theſe weighty reaſons (as he undoubted thought them) Mr Hearne adds, ‘Not one of our Nonjurors can be ſo bold as to affirm, that the whole nation was ſo wicked in thoſe days as to perjure themſelves, without any reſpect to the reaſonableneſs of what they did. For certain it is, that they knew very well that the *prime* end of an oath is to be preferred to one which is *inferior*. The *prime* end of an oath is *The good of the perſons concerned in it*; and the *inferior* one, *The aſcertaining ſomething to him to whom performed. Therefore whatſoever the intention of the perſons was, how ſtrict ſoever the expreſſions may be, if the keeping the oath be really inconſiſtent with the welfare of a people, in ſubverting the fundamental laws which ſupport it, I do not ſee how ſuch an oath continues to oblige: For, there is no relation of mankind one to another, but there is ſome good, antecedent, which is the juſt meaſure of that obligation they ſtand in to each other.* So that, ſince the *common good* of the nation, namely, the preſervation of it's rights and priviledges, &c. required a ſubmiſſion to Stephen, the nobles, &c. might really think themſelves, yea and even were, ſolved from their antecedent oaths to the Empreſs (5). But farther yet, The *common good* of the nation was ſo much reſpected in this ſubmiſſion to Stephen, that his wearing the Crown during his life, and then the reverſion of it to Henry the Second, was confirmed by Parliament: *which will in ſome meaſure confute thoſe, who affirm the Parliament hath nothing to do in matters of this nature* (6). I will not tire the reader with any more quotations, but

there

(1) Preface to the Vindication, &c. p. 2.

(2) Vindication of the Oath of Allegiance, p. 1.

(3) Ibid. p. 2.

(4) Ibid. p. 23.

(5) Idem, p. 24.

(6) Idem, p. 25.

expence of his worldly intereſt; for, on that ſcore, he rejected ſome preferments, that would have been of conſiderable emolument, and very agreeable to his inclinations (*e*). He died on the tenth of June, 1735, aged fifty-five years, and was buried in the yard of St Peter's in the Eaſt at Oxford; where there is a tomb erected over his remains, with an inſcription thereon of his own compoſing, wherein he ſtiles himſelf Maſter of Arts, who ſtudied and preſerved antiquities; to which character he has ſubjoined two paſſages of the Old Teſtament, viz. Deut. xxxii. 7. and Job viii. 8, 9, 10. He had with great parſimony ſaved about thirteen hundred pounds in caſh, which his relations, who were poor, found among the books and papers in his chamber, after his death. A liſt of the books he *publiſhed* (for he was rather an editor than an author) may be acceptable to the curious. We ſhall enumerate them as briefly as poſſible [*B*].

(*e*) Theſe circumſtances are warranted by a Memoir of Mr Hearne penned by himſelf, and which, together with his other manuſcripts, he bequeathed to the late Rev. Dr William Bedford.

there are in the book, from which the foregoing are taken, ſome other paſſages, that evidently prove Mr Hearne to have been, at the time he wrote it, firmly of opinion, that it was the duty of the people of England to ſwear and bear true allegiance to thoſe who were placed on the Britiſh throne after the expulſion of James the Second.

[*B*] *We ſhall enumerate them as briefly as poſſible*] They are I. Reliquiæ Bodleianæ: *or ſome genuine Remains of Sir Thomas Bodley, &c.* London, 1703, in 8vo. II. *Plinii Epiſtolæ & Panegyricus, &c.* Oxford, 1703. in 8vo. III. *Eutropii Breviarium Hiſtoriæ Romanæ, &c.* Oxford, 1703, in 8vo. IV. Ductor Hiſtoricus: *A ſhort Syſtem of, or an Introduction to, the Study of Univerſal Hiſtory*, 2 vols 8vo. They did not come out together; a ſecond edition of the firſt was publiſhed at London, 1705. It was printed again in 1714 and 1724, without the author's knowledge. The ſecond volume came out at Oxford, 1704, and was printed three times afterwards at London. Mr Hearne was not ſolely concerned in this work. Some of the parts of it (viz. the two firſt books in the 2d, 3d, and 4th editions) were written by another hand; ſo was the preface. V. *M. Juniani Juſtini Hiſtoriarum ex Trogo Pompeio Libri* XLIV. Oxford, 1705, in 8vo. VI. *Titi Livii Patavini Hiſtoriarum ab urbe condita Libri qui ſuperſunt, &c.* Oxford, 1708, in ſix volumes, 8vo. VII. *A Letter, containing an Account of ſome Antiquities between Windſor and Oxford, &c.* Printed in 1708, in the Monthly Miſcellany, or Memoirs for the Curious; and re-printed at the end of the fifth volume of Leland's Itinerary. VIII. *The Life of Ælfred the Great by Sir John Spelman. Publiſhed from the original MS. in the Bodleian Library, &c.* Oxford, 1710, in 8vo. IX. *The Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary, intermixed with divers curious diſcourſes, written by the editor and others. In IX Volumes, 8vo.* Oxford, 1710, 1711, 1712. As there were but 108 copies of this edition printed off on ordinary paper, and 12 on a finer, it ſoon became very ſcarce; and ſold, at length, for a guinea a volume, though ſmall ones. A new edition was printed at Oxford in 1744 and 1745. X. *Henrici Dodwelli de Parmâ Equeſtri Woodwardiana Diſſertatio, &c.* Oxford, 1713, in 8vo. XI. *Johannis Lelandi Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, Oxford, 1715, in ſix volumes, 8vo. XII. *Acta Apoſtolorum Græco-Latine, literis majuſculis. E codice Laudiano in Bibliothecâ Bodleianâ adſervato, &c.* Oxford, 1715, in 8vo. XIII. *Joannis Roſſi Antiquarii Warwicenſis Hiſtoria Regum Angliæ. E codice MS. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana, &c.* Oxford, 1716, in 8vo. It was printed again at the ſame place with the ſecond edition of Leland's Itinerary, and now goes along with that work. XIV. *Titi Livii Foro-Julienſis Vita Henrici quinti, Regis Angliæ. Accedit Sylloge Epiſtolarum a variis Angliæ Principibus Scriptarum.* Oxford, 1716, in 8vo. XV. *Aluredi Beverlacenſis Annales, ſive hiſtoria de geſtis Regum Britanniæ, Libris IX*, &c. Oxford, 1716, in 8vo. XVI. *Gulielmi Roperi vita D. Thomæ Mori Equitis aurati, lingua Anglicanâ contexta, &c.* Oxford, 1716, in 8vo. XVII. *Gulielmi Camdeni Annales Rerum Anglicarum & Hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha. Tribus Voluminibus comprehenſi, &c.* Oxford, 1717, in 8vo. XVIII. *Gulielmi Neubrigenſis Hiſtoria ſive chronica rerum Anglicarum, libris quinque, &c.* Oxford, 1719, in 8vo. XIX. *Thomæ Sprotti Chronica, &c.* Oxford, 1719, in 8vo. XX. *A Collection of curious Diſcourſes, written by eminent Antiquaries upon ſeveral Heads in our Engliſh Antiquities*, Oxford, 1720, in 8vo. XXI. *Textus Roffenſis, &c.* Oxford, 1720, in 8vo. XXII. *Roberti de Aveſbury Hiſtoria de mirabilibus geſtis Edvardi tertii, &c.* Oxford, 1720, in 8vo. XXIII. *Johannes de Fordun Scotichronicon genuinum, una cum ejuſdem ſupplemento ac continuatione.* Oxford, 1722, in 8vo. XXIV. *The Hiſtory and Antiquities of Glaſtonbury, &c.* Oxford, 1722, in 8vo. XXV. *Hemingi Chartularium Eccleſiæ Wigornienſis, &c.* Oxford, 1723, in 8vo. XXVI. *Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, &c.* two volumes. Oxford, 1724, in 8vo. XXVII. *Peter Langtoft's Chronicle (as illuſtrated and improved by Robert of Brune) from the Death of Cadwalader to the End of K. Edward the Firſt's Reign, &c.* Two volumes, 8vo. Oxford, 1725. XXVIII. *Johannes, Confratris & Monachi Glaſtonienſis, Chronica, ſive Hiſtoria de Rebus Glaſtonienſibus, &c.* Oxford, 1726, in 8vo. XXIX. *Adami de Domerham Hiſtoriæ de Rebus geſtis Glaſtonienſibus, &c.* Two volumes in 8vo. Oxford, 1727. XXX. *Thomæ de Elmham Vita & Geſta Henrici quinti, Anglorum Regis, &c.* Oxford, 1727, in 8vo. XXXI. *Liber niger Scaccarii, &c.* Two volumes, in 8vo. Oxford, 1728. XXXII. *Hiſtoria Vitæ & Regni Richardi II. Angliæ Regis, a Monacho quodam de Eveſham conſignata, &c.* Oxford, 1729, in 8vo. XXXIII. *Joannis de Trokelowe Annales Edwardi II.* &c. Oxford, 1729, in 8vo. XXXIV. *Thomæ Caii (Collegii Univerſitatis regnante Elizabethâ magiſtri) Vindiciæ Antiquitatis Academiæ Oxonienſis, &c.* Two volumes, in 8vo. Oxford, 1730. XXXV. *Walteri Hemingforde, Canonici de Giſſeburne, Hiſtoria de rebus geſtis Edvardi I. Edvardi II. & Edvardi III*, &c. Two volumes in 8vo. Oxford, 1731. XXXVI. *Duo Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores veteres, viz Thomas Otterbourne & Johannes Wethamſtede, ab origine gentis Britannicæ uſque ad Edvardum IV*, &c. Two volumes, in 8vo. Oxford, 1733. XXXVII. *Chronicon ſive Annales Prioratus de Dunſtable, una cum excerptis e chartulario ejuſdem Prioratus*, &c. Oxford, 1733, in 8vo. XXXVIII. *Benedictus, Abbas Petroburgenſis, de Vita & geſtis Henrici II. Ricardi I*, &c. Two volumes, in 8vo. Oxford, 1735. Beſides the foregoing, we may aſcribe to Mr Hearne that letter, whereof ſomewhat is ſaid in note [*A*], the title of which is, *A Vindication of thoſe who take the Oath of Allegiance to his preſent Majeſty from prejudice, injuſtice, and diſloyalty, charged upon them by ſuch as are againſt it. Wherein is evidently ſhewed, that the common Good of a Nation is what is primarily and principally reſpected in an Oath, and therefore when the Oath is inconſiſtent with that, the perſons who have taken it are abſolved from it.* This epiſtle is addreſſed to Mr Cherry; from whom it came (with many other MSS.) expreſsly by will to the Bodleian Library. It is dated from Edmund Hall in Oxford, June 11, 1700, though not publiſhed till 1731, when it was ſurreptitiouſly printed. Mr Hearne made the index to Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange's Tranſlation of Joſephus into Engliſh*, London, 1702, in folio: three indexes to *Cyrilli Hieroſolymitani Opera*, Oxford, 1703, in folio: an index to the four parts of Dr *Edwards's Preſervative againſt Socinianiſm*, Oxford, 1704, in 4to: and that to the *Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, Oxford, 1704, in folio. He deſigned to have alſo printed, from an ancient MS. in the Harleyan Library, *Joannis Beveri, Monachi Weſtmonaſterienſis, Chronicon a Bruti primi Regis introitu in hanc Inſulam uſque ad annum Domini* 1306. To which was to be added from an old MS. in the ſame library, *Joannis Merylinch, Monachi Glaſtonienſis, Rerum (in Anglia ſpeciatim ac Hibernia) ſub novem primis annis Joannis XXII*$^{\text{di}}$ *Pontificis Romani, geſtarum. Deſcriptio.* In two volumes, 8vo. But death defeated this intention. Mr Hearne was an editor of a very peculiar caſt. He ſcarcely ever publiſhed an old writer, without intermixing with, or adding to, him, a parcel of papers, which had little relation, or perhaps none at all, to the principal ſubject. Theſe odd farragoes are generally introduced by long and elaborate prefaces, ſome in Latin, others in Engliſh, as miſcellaneous as their following collections:

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an account is therein uſually given of the author ſet forth; where he was found, or how Mr Hearne came by him: with a variety of incidental matters, ſuch as came into his head while his pen was a-going The capriciouſneſs of the man's genius, and the oddity of his taſte, are in all this ſufficiently conſpicuous; however, though his compoſitions are ſo irregular, there is a kind of readers, to whom they will, notwithſtanding, afford an agreeable entertainment. I

HERBERT [Arthur], afterwards created Baron of Torbay, and Earl of Torrington; a very gallant ſeaman, and for ſome time in the direction of the Admiralty in the reign of King William. He was very nobly deſcended, as may be perceived from the following ſuccinct account of his genealogy. Sir Richard Herbert, brother to William Earl of Pembroke, remarkable for his ſtature and ſtrength, in which he excelled moſt men of that age, being taken priſoner at the battle of Danet-Moor, with the Earl his brother, by the adherents of the Duke of Clarence and Earl of Warwick, then in rebellion againſt Edward the Fourth, was, with his ſaid brother, beheaded in the eighth year of that monarch's reign (*a*). This noble perſon, by Margaret, daughter to Thomas ap Griffith ap Nicholas, had iſſue three ſons; Sir William Herbert of Colebrooke, Knight; Richard Herbert of the Caſtle of Montgomery, Eſq; and Thomas Herbert of St Pere (*b*). Sir Richard Herbert, the ſecond ſon, had iſſue, by Anne his wife, daughter to Sir David ap Ennion ap Leuelling Vaughan, Edward Herbert Eſq; who eſpouſed Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Price of Newton, Eſq; by whom he had three ſons and five daughters (*c*). His eldeſt ſon, Richard, was the father of Edward, the firſt Baron of Chirbury (*d*). Matthew, the ſecond ſon, was the anceſtor of the preſent Earl of Powis (*e*); and Charles Herbert of Aſton, in the county of Montgomery, Eſq; was the father of Edward, afterwards Sir Edward Herbert of London, Knight; firſt Sollicitor, then Attorney General, to King Charles the Firſt, and afterwards intruſted with the Great Seal of England, by the title of Lord-Keeper at Paris, by King Charles the Second, when in exile; and held the title, though not the Seals, to the time of his demiſe in 1657 (*f*) [*A*]. This Sir Edward Herbert, by Margaret his wife, left iſſue three ſons. Arthur, of whom we are to treat; Edward and Charles (*g*). Arthur the eldeſt, though he had a ſmall eſtate,

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(*a*) Hall's Chronicle, p. 203. Stowe's Annals, p. 421.

(*b*) Viſitat. de Com Salop. 1623. per Robert. Treſwell & Auguſt Vincent, in Offic. Armor. p. 270.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 261.

(*e*) Inſcript. Tumuli apud Welſhpoole.

(*f*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 514.

(*g*) E Collectione Thom. Meller, penes Arthur Collins, Arm.

[*A*] *To the time of his deceaſe in* 1657.] There has been hitherto ſo little notice taken of this gentleman, though he made ſo great a figure in his life, and had the honour to bear at his death the title of Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, that we have choſen to preſerve ſome circumſtances relating to him in a note, to avoid the imputation of having treated him with like neglect. He was very eminent in his profeſſion, as a Lawyer, when King Charles the Firſt aſcended the throne; and being choſen a Member of the Houſe of Commons, ſhewed himſelf a great advocate for the liberty of the people, as well as againſt the enormous power of the Duke of Buckingham; who, by monopolizing the royal favour, ingroſſing many great offices in his own hands, and making all who refuſed to concur in ſupporting his power, feel the weight of his diſpleaſure, rendered government diſtaſteful to the ſubject, and made thoſe, who with reaſon had no kindneſs for him, inadvertently enemies to their Prince. On theſe principles, in the year 1626, he managed the three firſt articles of the impeachment (1) againſt the ſaid Duke, on the behalf of the Houſe of Commons, and continued in the ſame courſe during the two next years (2), 'till the deceaſe of Buckingham; but then believing that matters were carried too far, he altered his conduct, and in proceſs of time became Sollicitor General, and had a good intereſt at Court (3). In the Parliament that aſſembled April 13, 1640, he ſat for the borough of Old Sarum in the county of Wilts; and, as the Noble Hiſtorian obſerves, vindicated his maſter's meaſures with great force of reaſoning and much eloquence of ſpeech; for, as he obſerves, no man ſpoke with greater addreſs (4). But it ſeems he was impoſed upon by Sir Henry Vane, then Secretary of State and Treaſurer of the Houſhold, who demanded twelve ſubſidies in the name of the Crown, as an equivalent for ſhip-money; and at the ſame time declared, that the King would not permit any alteration in the matter or in the manner of the grant, which occaſioned the diſſolution of that Parliament on the 5th of May (5). This is commonly aſcribed to malice in Sir Henry Vane, but it is fit that point ſhould be explained. Several members knowing that this Parliament was called by the advice and interpoſition of the Earl of Strafford, had mentioned him with great reſpect; ſo that the Secretary ſaw if any good came of this aſſembly, it would be aſcribed to the Earl; which, being that Earl's enemy, he was inclined to prevent (6). On the meeting of the Long-Parliament, the Sollicitor grew weary of his employment, from an apprehenſion of the ſtorms with which he muſt have been continually ſurrounded in the Houſe of Commons, and therefore very willingly accepted of the poſt of Attorney-General, on the promotion of Sir John Banks to the ſeat of Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas. In order to underſtand this, we muſt remember, that in thoſe days, though the Sollicitor was permitted to ſit in the Houſe of Commons, yet the Attorney-General was not, as having a writ to aſſiſt, and a ſeat aſſigned him, in the Houſe of Lords (7). However right his policy might be, Sir Edward Herbert quickly found, that, in times of general confuſion, there is no ſuch thing as a place of ſafety. The King commanded him, in virtue of his office, to accuſe the Lord Kimbolton (8), and five other members of the Houſe of Commons, in the Houſe of Lords of high-treaſon; which he did: and though the King by letter took the whole of this upon himſelf, and declared that his Attorney only obeyed his orders, and did not either adviſe the accuſation, or frame the articles on which it was founded, yet the Houſe of Commons impeached him; and though he defended (9) himſelf ſo ably, as to eſcape all the votes of cenſure that were propoſed by the popular party againſt him, and ſo ſeemed upon the whole to be acquitted (10), yet the Houſe thought fit afterwards ſo far to gratify the reſentment of the Commons, as to paſs a kind of ſentence upon him, that diſabled him from holding any other office than that which he poſſeſſed, and likewiſe committed him to the Fleet (11). He continued to adhere ſteadily to his maſter under all his misfortunes, for which the Parliament put him into the liſt of thoſe who were to expect no mercy, in the very laſt treaty they had with the King (12). After his Majeſty's deceaſe he retired abroad, and attached himſelf particularly to the Duke of York, who had a very high value and eſteem for him, which naturally induced him to have a great regard and a ſincere affection for his family. On the demiſe of Sir Richard Lane, King Charles the Second delivered the Great Seal to him at Paris, with the title of Lord-Keeper (13) But his Lordſhip having the misfortune to differ with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who ſtood very high in the King's favour, his Majeſty reſumed the Seal into his own keeping, though Sir Edward Herbert retained the title to the time of his death (14), as we have ſaid in the text; in which we have been the more particular, becauſe, though we draw theſe facts from the work of the Noble Hiſtorian himſelf, yet it ſo fell out, that after the Reſtoration, his name is entirely omitted in the liſts of Chancellors and Keepers, for which it is not very eaſy to aſſign a reaſon.

[*B*] *To*

(1) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 308.

(2) Lloyd's Loyal Martyrs, p. 645. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 6.

(3) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 1144. Lloyd's Loyal Martyrs, p. 645.

(4) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 1112. Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 133.

(5) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 34.

(6) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 139. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 34.

(7) Dugdale's Chron. Series, p. 111. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 210.

(8) Kennet's Hiſtory of England. Vol. III. p. 122.

(9) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. Part iii. p. 490.

(10) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 484.

(11) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. Part iii. p. 493.

(12) Walker's Hiſtory of the Treaty in the Iſle of Wight, p. 18.

(13) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 514.

(14) Sir Richard Greenvile's Defence againſt all aſperſions of malignant perſons, p. 11. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 517, 518.

entered into the ſea-ſervice; in which he quickly diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much, that in the firſt Dutch war after the Reſtoration, he was, though a very young man, promoted to the command of a ſhip by his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York; and, among other inſtances of remarkable bravery, there is ſtill remaining a diſtinct account of his fighting a Dutch ſhip in the bay of Cadiz, which did equal honour to himſelf and the Engliſh navy (*b*) [*B*]. He continued, from this time, in the Streights for about ſix weeks, 'till he had advice that Rear-Admiral Kempthorne was ſailed with his ſquadron for the Streights mouth, where he took care to join him with a ſmall fleet of ſixteen or ſeventeen merchant-men under his convoy, in order to proceed with the Rear-Admiral to England. They met with nothing extraordinary in their paſſage 'till about the middle of the month of May, when being off the iſland of Portland, the Pembroke ran foul of the Fairfax in the night, and ſunk at once; but Captain Herbert and moſt of his crew were happily ſaved, there being none loſt in the veſſel but a few ſick men, who were not able to help themſelves, and whom the ſuddenneſs of the accident, and the confuſion every body was in, hindered being aſſiſted by others (*i*). After this narrow eſcape, Captain Herbert went on board one of the ſhips of the ſame ſquadron, and arrived ſafely at Portſmouth. It was not long before he had another ſhip given him; and, both in that and in the ſecond Dutch war, he behaved upon all occaſions with great ſpirit and reſolution, receiving ſeveral wounds, and, as we ſhall ſee in due time, loſing the ſight of one of his eyes in his country's ſervice; all which conſidered, it muſt ſeem very ſtrange, that when he fell afterwards under misfortunes, his courage ſhould be diſputed (*k*). In one of the laſt ſea fights in the ſecond Dutch war, he had the command of the Cambridge, a third rate, in which Sir Fretchville Hollis had been killed in the battle of Solebay; and as Captain Herbert ſucceeded in his command, he was very near ſucceeding alſo to the ſame diſaſter; being deſperately wounded in the action, and his ſhip ſo diſabled, that together with the Reſolution, which was in as bad a condition, ſhe was by Prince Rupert ſent home to refit (*l*). In the year 1674, Captain Herbert having then alſo the command of the Cambridge, came up with ſix ſail of French ſhips near the Neſs; two of theſe were of fifty guns, one a frigate of twenty-ſix guns, and three fire-ſhips. As they did not lower their topſails, our gallant officer fired at them; on which the French, being to windward, came nearer. The Captain called from the Cambridge, to know why they did not ſtrike; to which he received for anſwer, that they would ſtrike to nobody. Captain Herbert, thereupon, fired a ſingle gun, and then a broadſide; which they anſwered with another; and, having the wind, bore away. At his return, Captain Herbert informed King Charles the Second of this inſult offered to his Flag; for which his Majeſty demanded ſatisfaction from Lewis XIV. who immediately ſent over the Commodore, Captain Pannetier, to aſk the King's pardon (*m*) in very ſubmiſſive terms; which he did, and ſo the matter ended. In 1678 he ſerved in the Mediterranean, having the command of the Rupert, a third rate; having with him the Mary, a third rate alſo, commanded by Sir Roger Strickland; and on the third of April came up with an Algerine ſhip, pierced for fifty-four, but actually carrying forty guns and five hundred men. The Rupert, being a prime ſailor, reached her firſt and engaged her; but being commanded by an old Turk, he behaved very gallantly, and did not ſurrender 'till Sir Roger Strickland came up, having loſt three hundred men, and, before he ſtruck, threw all his arms overboard. In the Rupert, all the officers, to the Boatſwain's mate, with nineteen private men, were killed; Captain Herbert and forty more wounded, the Captain, more eſpecially, by the blowing up of ſome cartridges in his face; and here, perhaps, it was that he loſt his eye; however, the prize was carried into Cadiz (*n*). On his return home, he was very graciouſly received by the King his maſter; and as a reward for his ſervices, was appointed Rear-Admiral of the Blue (*o*); being at this time conſidered as a perſon as likely to riſe as any in the royal navy. An occaſion ſoon after offered, which fully juſtified this opinion; for it being found neceſſary to ſend a ſupply of troops and military ſtores to Tangier, then in our hands, as alſo a ſquadron to curb the inſolence of the Algerines,

(*b*) See the original letter in note [*B*].

(*i*) Monthly Intelligence, foreign and domeſtic, May, 1667.

(*k*) Annals of the Univerſe, p. 377.

(*l*) Account of the Proceedings of his Majeſty's Fleet, under the command of Prince Rupert, p. 4. An Impartial Account of ſome remarkable paſſages in the Life of Arthur Earl of Torrington, &c. 1691. 4to.

(*m*) Annals of the Univerſe, p. 332.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 377.

(*o*) From a Liſt extracted from Secretary Pepys's Papers.

[*B*] *To himſelf and the Engliſh nation.*] The reader will find a very plain and artleſs account of this matter, in the following letter, dated from Cadiz, in March 1667 (15). 'Captain Herbert in the Pembroke is now in this port, being newly returned from 'a freſh diſpute with a Zealand man of war, of thirty-'four guns, and one hundred and eighty men, with 'whom he fought ſome days before in ſight of that 'bay, from two in the afternoon, 'till the night put an 'end to that day's work. All that night the Pembroke frigate carrying out a light for the Zealander, 'and the next morning being to the windward, fired 'a gun, and bore up to re-engage her; but the Zealander being the nimbler ſailor, bore away once or 'twice before the wind, declining any farther diſpute, 'which the frigate perceiving, and fearing to be put 'to leeward of the port, by a fruitleſs purſuit, the 'wind then blowing a ſtrong Levant, came again for 'the bay, which the Zealander wanted not the confidence to boaſt of as a mark of his victory. Since 'this, the frigate being put a-ſhore to waſh and tallow, 'the Zealander made ſeveral challenges, but went out 'again to ſea before the frigate could get ready. 'Yeſterday morning the Zealander coming in, the frigate being ready went out to meet him, and paſſed 'five times upon him within piſtol-ſhot, until the 'Zealander, finding the ſervice too hot, bore in for 'the bay, purſued for a long time by the frigate, which 'being unable to overtake him, fired her chaſe-gun 'and ſtood out again to ſea, the Zealander anſwering 'her challenge with a friendly ſalute of three guns to 'leeward, but yet thought it convenient to put into 'the bay, where he triumphantly fired all his guns, 'leaving the Pembroke at ſea in vain attending him ''till the next morning. The captain of the Zealander afterwards came a-ſhore, endeavouring to perſuade the people that his main-maſt was diſabled, 'and that he wanted ſhot for his guns. In this diſpute the frigate had ſeven men killed, and five hurt, 'but none mortally, and her fore-maſt ſomewhat diſabled, but will ſpeedily be refitted and made ſerviceable.'

(15) Remarkable paſſages in the Life of Lord Torrington.

[C] *Equally*

Algerines, who, notwithſtanding the treaties that had been concluded but a few years before, began again to diſturb our commerce (*p*), it was reſolved that the command of this armament ſhould be given to Admiral Herbert, who was accordingly inſtructed to contribute as much as poſſible to the raiſing the ſiege of Tangier; and when that was done, to uſe his beſt endeavours to bring the Algerines to a ſubmiſſion, and to a new treaty, upon better and more explicit terms, than thoſe contained in that they had lately broken, which they pretended to explain in ſuch a manner as to juſtify their piracies. In 1682, Rear-Admiral Herbert ſailed into the Mediterranean, with a ſtrong ſquadron, and a conſiderable number of tenders and ſtore-ſhips, which arrived very ſafe under his convoy at Tangier. He found that fortreſs not a little ſtraitened by the Moors, by whom it was ſo cloſely blocked up, that nothing could enter it by land. Admiral Herbert not only relieved the garriſon, by the ſeaſonable ſupply that he brought of proviſions and military ſtores, but reſolved alſo to reſtore his countrymen to liberty as well as plenty, by compelling the enemy to raiſe the blockade. He landed, with this view, as many ſeamen out of the fleet as he could poſſibly ſpare; formed them into a battalion; and, by attacking the Moors on one ſide, while the garriſon made a briſk ſally, and drove them from moſt of their poſts on the other, obliged them to leave the neighbourhood of the place, and to retire further within land. He executed the other part of his charge, with reſpect to the Algerines, with equal ſpirit and ſucceſs; deſtroyed ſome of their ſhips, and diſpoſed things in ſuch a manner, to diſturb and diſtreſs that ſtate by ſea, as obliged the Dey to ſummon a divan, in which it was reſolved to enter into an immediate negotiation with the Engliſh Admiral (*q*). The terms were very ſpeedily ſettled, without any of thoſe ambiguities, which left them pretences for breaking their treaties when they pleaſed; and the buſineſs of his expedition being happily over, he returned home ſafe, with the ſquadron under his command, towards the latter end of the ſame year, and had the pleaſure to find his conduct as an officer and negotiator equally approved [*C*]. As a reward of theſe ſervices, he was promoted to the rank of Vice-Admiral (*r*); and, as a ſtill ſtronger proof of the confidence repoſed in him by his royal maſter, we find his name inſerted in the commiſſion, granted April 17, 1684 (*s*), for executing the office of Lord High-Admiral; viz Daniel Earl of Nottingham; Sir Humphry Winch, Baronet; Sir Thomas Meeres, Knight; Sir Edward Hales, Baronet; Henry Saville, Eſq; Sir John Chicheley, Knight; Arthur Herbert, Eſq; John Lord Vaughan. On the King's demiſe, when great changes were expected, and many of the firſt people at Court and of the nation were diffident as to their condition, and apprehenſive of what might follow, he was not diſturbed with theſe fears. The favours he had received from the Duke of York, gave him room to expect farther preferments, upon the acceſſion of that prince to the throne; nor was he deceived in his expectations, ſince, in the beginning of the new reign, he was made Vice-Admiral of England and Maſter of the Robes (*t*), there being at that time no man of his rank, who was more heartily attached either to the government or to the perſon of that prince. But when the ſcheme for repealing the teſt-act came under conſideration, and King James thought fit to cloſet ſuch of his officers in the army and fleet as had ſeats in the Houſe of Commons, it quickly appeared that Vice-Admiral Herbert was none of thoſe complying ſpirits, who, for the ſake of private profit, would ſacrifice the intereſt of the public (*u*). His brother, the Lord Chief-Juſtice Herbert, had expoſed himſelf to public odium, by giving judgment in his court in favour of the King's diſpenſing power, upon an action brought againſt Sir Edward Hales, who had accepted an employment without qualifying himſelf for it, by taking the oaths the law required; and, though this ſeemed in ſome meaſure to have done all that the King wanted, he ſtill perſiſted in his deſign of having the teſt-act repealed; which, amongſt other extraordinary conſequences, produced the diſgrace of Vice-Admiral Herbert (*w*), who to that hour had never done any thing to diſoblige the King, or had perceived the leaſt coldneſs in his Majeſty towards him. We may from hence conclude, that the part he acted aroſe from a principle of conſcience, though his private life was

none

(*p*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 404, 405.

(*q*) An Impartial Account of ſome remarkable paſſages in the Life of Arthur Earl of Torrington, &c. Colliber's Columna Roſtrata, p. 252.

(*r*) From Secretary Pepys's Papers.

(*s*) The Laws, Ordinances, and Inſtitutions, of the Admiralty of Great-Britain, Vol. II. p. 367.

(*t*) Sir John Rereſby's Memoirs, p. 241. Sandford's Hiſtory of the Coronation of King James II. and Queen Mary, p. 21, 79.

(*u*) Sir John Rereſby's Memoirs, p. 241.

(*w*) An Impartial Account of ſome remarkable paſſages, &c. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 671. Sir John Rereſby's Memoirs, p. 241.

[*C*] *Equally approved.*] This treaty of peace was concluded on the 10th of April 1682 (16), according to the Chriſtian æra, and on the 11th of the moon of April, in the year of the Hegira 1093, on the behalf of Charles the Second, King of Great-Britain, by Arthur Herbert, Eſq; who is therein ſtiled Admiral of his Majeſty's fleet in the Mediterranean, and the Baſhaw Dey, Aga, and Governors of the famous city of Algier in Barbary. It contains in the whole twenty-one articles, and is ſo full, ſo clear, and ſo circumſtantial in every one of them, that it is very eaſy to perceive the humble frame of mind in which thoſe corſairs were at the time they concluded it. For in this treaty there is no one conceſſion made to theſe people, except that of ſending on board to ſee the paſſport; and with reſpect to this, it is ſtipulated that no more than two perſons ſhall have right to go on board any Engliſh veſſel; and upon producing a paſſport from the Engliſh Admiralty, they are to be permitted to continue their voyage without any moleſtation or viſitation whatever; and all paſſengers, money, commodities, merchandizes, and moveables, let them belong to whom they will, are to remain ſafe and untouched. There is a farther proviſion, that for fifteen months after ſigning the treaty, if any veſſel ſhould not be furniſhed with a paſſport from the Admiralty, yet if the major part of the crew appear to be Engliſh, they were to have the benefit of this treaty as much as if they had a paſſport. There is beſides the treaty a ſeparate article, dated the 5th of March, in the year of our Lord 1682, but in the Hegira 1094, which plainly ſhews that the former date was according to our ſtile, and that it was 1683 with other nations, and by this ſeparate article the form of the paſſport is regulated. This treaty continued in force, and was very punctually executed, during the remainder of the reign of Charles the ſecond, and alſo during that of James the ſecond; for there is likewiſe a form of that Monarch's paſſports, who took the Admiralty into his own hands, and therefore it concludes, Given under our ſeal manual, and under the ſeal of our Admiraly, and is ſubſcribed James R. and lower, By the command of his Majeſty, Samuel Pepys, who was Secretary of the Admiralty, and the ſole Miniſter in that department during King James's reign.

(16) Corps Diplomatique, Vol. VII. Part ii. p. 20, 21, 22.

[*D*] *From*

none of the moſt regular; for it will be found upon a ſtrict examination, that, as the advantages of a moral conduct, even in this life, will influence ſome men, who have very unſettled notions in reſpect to religion; ſo there are others, who, though in many inſtances miſled by their paſſions, yet retain ſuch a ſenſe of religion, as never to queſtion the truth of it: and that this was Vice-Admiral Herbert's caſe, the reader will learn, from a Right Reverend Hiſtorian, in the notes [*D*]. The ſmall appearance there was of his being able to live with honour, or even with ſafety, at home, and his inclination to follow many perſons of great reputation, who at that juncture choſe to retire abroad, induced him to withdraw to Holland (*x*), whither he was either accompanied, or quickly followed, by his brother Colonel Charles Herbert, and by his couſin Henry Herbert, Eſq; whom King William afterwards created Lord Herbert of Chirbury. Upon his arrival at the Hague, the Vice-Admiral was exceedingly well received, and not long after taken into the ſervice of the States, which was a very prudent, and, in it's conſequences, beneficial ſtep; numbers of Engliſh ſeamen following, and entering, for his ſake, into the Dutch ſervice (*y*); which convinced the States, that things were come to a criſis in England, and that the King had loſt the affections of his ſubjects to a ſtrange degree, when the ſeamen, who of all others had ſhewed themſelves moſt hearty in his cauſe, began to forſake him. At the Prince of Orange's court, Vice-Admiral Herbert was very ſincerely welcomed; he was known to be a man of great weight and experience, one that perfectly underſtood the ſtate of the Engliſh fleet, and the temper and characters of the officers who commanded it (*z*). His firm and ſteady diſpoſition, and the ſtate that he kept up in the midſt of his misfortunes, made an impreſſion upon the Dutch ſtateſmen, and even upon the Prince of Orange himſelf; though a celebrated Hiſtorian informs us, this was ſuch an impreſſion, as in the main did not turn much to his advantage [*E*]. It ſeems to put it beyond all queſtion,

(*x*) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 518.

(*y*) Sir John Rereſby's Memoirs, p. 266.

(*z*) Impartial Account of ſome remarkable paſſages, &c.

[*D*] *From a Right Reverend Hiſtorian in the notes.*] It is generally believed, that when a perſon of diſtinguiſhed underſtanding acts in any point of importance in direct oppoſition to his intereſt, he muſt be influenced by paſſion, prejudice, or principle. It is pretty clear that Admiral Herbert's intereſt, to ſay nothing of duty and gratitude, bound him to the King his maſter. Paſſion or prejudice would have lain the ſame way, for his ruling paſſion was ambition; his education and his practice had given him a habit of loyalty, if, therefore, upon his maſter's propoſing to him, which was a ſpontaneous act in him, and which Herbert could not either foreſee or avoid, as the title of his favour, a meaſure repugnant to the dictates of his conſcience, to what in candour and juſtice can we aſcribe his rejecting that propoſal, but to principle? Biſhop Burnet having cenſured the Admiral's brother, Sir Edward, for promoting the King's deſigns in Weſtminſter Hall, proceeds to give us an account of the Admiral's conduct in the following words. ‘ So ‘ little regard had the Chief-Juſtice's neareſt friends to ‘ his opinion in this particular, that his brother, Ad‘ miral Herbert, being preſſed by the King to promiſe ‘ that he would vote the repeal of the Teſt, anſwered ‘ the King very plainly, that he could not do it either ‘ in honour or conſcience. The King ſaid, he knew ‘ he was a man of honour, but the reſt of his life did ‘ not look like a man that had great regard to con‘ ſcience. He anſwered boldly, he had his faults, but ‘ they were ſuch, that other people, who talked more ‘ of conſcience, were guilty of the like. He was, ‘ indeed, a man abandoned to luxury and vice; but ‘ though he was poor and had much to loſe, having ‘ places to the value of four thouſand pounds a year, ‘ he choſe to loſe them all rather than comply. This ‘ made much noiſe; for, as he had great reputation ‘ for his conduct in ſea affairs, ſo he had been moſt ‘ paſſionately zealous in the King's ſervice from his ‘ firſt ſetting out to that day. It appeared by this, ‘ that no paſt ſervice would be conſidered, if men were ‘ not reſolved to comply in every thing (17). The reader will obſerve that our remarks, previous to this citation, are ſupported by the citation itſelf, which very clearly prove on which ſide Admiral Herbert's intereſt lay, that to this time he had been always warm in the King's ſervice, and that the general ſentiment of the court and the world at this time was, if Herbert's ſervices could not ſave him, there was no man who could place any dependance on his merit. On the whole, perhaps, it will appear, that this gentleman was one of thoſe who thought he had a right to judge for himſelf; and if he did, he muſt naturally think that he ought eſpecially to exert this right in matters of importance. When therefore he had laid things together in his own mind, and had from thence formed an opinion, he purſued it with that warmth, or, as our prelate ſtiles it, zeal, which was the effect of his temper; and this reflection, candidly purſued, will afford us the true key of his whole conduct.

(17) Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 671.

[*E*] *Turn much to his advantage.*] Here again we muſt have recourſe to the Biſhop of Sarum's Hiſtory, where we ſhall find Vice-Admiral Herbert placed in a very different point of light, from that in which we have already ſeen him in the ſame Hiſtory. ‘ Admiral ‘ Herbert, ſays his Lordſhip (18), came over to Hol‘ land, and was received with a particular regard to ‘ his pride and ill humour; for he was, upon every oc‘ caſion, ſo ſullen and peeviſh, that it was plain he ſet ‘ a high value on himſelf, and expected the ſame of ‘ all others. He had got his accounts paſſed, in which ‘ he complained that the King had uſed him not only ‘ hardly, but unjuſtly. He was a man delivered up to ‘ pride and luxury, yet he had a good underſtanding, ‘ and he had gained ſo great a reputation by his ſteady ‘ behaviour in England, that the Prince underſtood, ‘ that it was expected he ſhould uſe him as he himſelf ‘ ſhould deſire, in which it was not very eaſy to him ‘ to conſtrain himſelf ſo far as that required. The ‘ managing him was in a great meaſure put on me; ‘ and it was no eaſy thing. It made me often reflect ‘ on the Providence of God, that makes ſome men in‘ ſtruments in great things, to which they themſelves ‘ have no ſort of affection or diſpoſition; for his pri‘ vate quarrel with the Lord Dartmouth, who he ‘ thought had more of the King's confidence than he ‘ himſelf had, was believed the root of all the ſullen‘ neſs he fell under towards the King, and of all the ‘ firmneſs that grew out of that.’ It muſt appear more wonderful than any thing obſerved by our Hiſtorian, if this was the real character of the man, that the States-General and the Prince of Orange ſhould give him the title of Lieutenant-General-Admiral, and intruſt him with the (19) ſupreme command of their fleet; it is true, our author ſays, that this was not very eaſy to the States, or to the Prince himſelf, who thought it an abſurd thing. But why did they do it then? Nothing leſs, ſays he, would content Herbert (20). If this was ſo, we have ſome reaſon to believe that the States and the Prince of Orange had a very high opinion of his talents or of his intereſt, in taking ſo extraordinary a ſtep, merely becauſe he would not be content without it. But it is more probable that he was put at the head of the fleet, becauſe there were many reaſons that made him the propereſt man for that command; ſuch as the nature of the deſign itſelf; his intereſt among the officers of the Engliſh Navy, his perfect acquaintance with our coaſts, his being moſt likely to engage the Governors of Sea-Port towns to come into the Prince; and, above all, the neceſſity they were under of having ſome Engliſhman in a high poſt, to prevent the people from conſidering this as a hoſtile invaſion. Now if we view this matter in theſe lights, it

(18) Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 762.

(19) Le Clerc Hiſtoire des Provinces Unies, Tom. III. p. 409. Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Tom. V. p. 1236.

(20) Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 764.

queſtion, that it was the great capacity, known ſkill, and long experience, of this gentleman, that placed him in the committee appointed to prepare every thing requiſite for the embarkation of the Dutch forces; that is, to take up ſeven hundred tranſports, and to diſpoſe on board them the requiſite military and naval ſtores, as well as proviſion for a great army, and this in a ſhort ſpace of time, and with vaſt ſecrecy; theſe commiſſioners were, Bentinck Dykvelt Van Hulſt and Herbert (*a*). In the ſpace of two months, theſe commiſſioners actually executed this arduous commiſſion; which ſeems to demonſtrate, not only their great vigilance and dexterity, but alſo the moſt perfect harmony; for if there had been any diſputes amongſt them, the ſervice could not either have been effected or concealed. After ſuch an inſtance of his capacity and indefatigable care, they might well expect that the reſt of his conduct would be of a piece. But what ſeems farther to explain the real intention of the States and the Prince of Orange in truſting Vice-Admiral Herbert, though a ſtranger, with ſo high a command, was, the publiſhing his letter to the commanders of the Engliſh fleet (*b*), at the very ſame time with the Prince of Orange's Declaration; for if they had not placed very ſtrong hopes in that, without queſtion it had never been publiſhed at all; and, if they had ſuch hopes, this alone will ſufficiently account for the giving him the chief command under the Prince of Orange, to whom, by the nature of his commiſſion, he was Lieutenant-General by ſea. Neither were theſe hopes of influencing the Engliſh ſeamen ſlightly grounded, ſince the pamphlets wrote in thoſe times univerſally agree, that the ſeamen had a very general and warm averſion to Popery, diſliked and deſpiſed ſuch of their officers as had embraced that religion, and were very prone in their cups to drink Admiral Herbert's health; ſo that theſe were very ſtrong indications of their ill will on one ſide, and their good will on the other [*F*]. In conſequence of private intelligence received, and in compliance with the preſſing inſtances of ſome about the Prince, he ſtood over towards the Engliſh coaſt with the Dutch fleet, in order to try whether any advantage could be taken of that of the King's, which was not yet formed, and to give an opportunity to the Engliſh captains to come over, in caſe any amongſt them were ſo inclined; but the weather proving very bad, he was obliged to return without ſucceſs (*c*) in either reſpect; after which, all his endeavours were bent to finiſh the preparations for the great expedition. When every thing was ready, the troops were embarked with ſo much ſpeed and ſecrecy, that no advices could be given in England that could be of any uſe; but notwithſtanding this care, the fleet was obliged to return. They ſailed on the 19th of October, 1688, and they put back into port on the 22d (*d*). This was a great diſappointment; and, without doubt, had things been managed by a prince of leſs firmneſs, or by an admiral of leſs experience, their expedition had been loſt. It is reported, that Admiral Herbert adviſed putting off the buſineſs to that late ſeaſon of the year, becauſe he judged that the winds would be more favourable, that the King's fleet would be leſs able to act, and that, when the enterprize was ſo long delayed, it would be concluded in England to be given over. His Serene Highneſs came into this propoſition

(*a*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 781.

(*b*) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 525. Impartial Account of ſome remarkable paſſages, &c.

(*c*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 779.

(*d*) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 526. Life of King William III. p. 130. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 782, 783.

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it is no difficult thing to ſee, that of all the Engliſh who were about his Royal Highneſs, Vice-Admiral Herbert was in every reſpect the fitteſt man to be intruſted with that command, and therefore, if nothing elſe would content him, it might not proceed from pride, from ambition, or ill humour, but from his making a right judgment of things, and knowing that nothing could contribute ſo much to the ſucceſs of the enterprize; yet of the two, it is infinitely more probable that he did not inſiſt upon this himſelf, but that the States and the Prince of Orange conferred the command upon him, as a thing which they ſaw to be very expedient, or rather abſolutely neceſſary (21).

[*F*] *And their good will on the other.*] It is however true, that this letter had not the effect that was expected from it, or rather had not ſuch an effect ſo ſoon as it was expected; but as the letter itſelf is curious, and as it is not commonly to be met with, unleſs in a French tranſlation, it may not be diſagreeable to the reader here; and there is the more reaſon to inſert it, becauſe nothing can have a cloſer relation to this noble perſon's memoirs, ſince it muſt be allowed to have been the moſt remarkable, and moſt important paper, that ever fell from his pen, and was conceived in the following words.

To all Commanders of Ships and Seamen in his Majeſty's Fleet.

GENTLEMEN,

'I have little to add to what his Highneſs has expreſſed in general terms, beſides laying before you 'the dangerous way you are at preſent in, where ruin 'or infamy muſt inevitably attend you, if you do not 'join with the Prince in the common cauſe for the 'defence of your religion and liberties; for ſhould it 'pleaſe God, for the ſins of the Engliſh nation, to ſuffer your arms to prevail, to what end can your victory ſerve you, but to enſlave you deeper, and 'overthrow the true religion, in which you have lived 'and your fathers died, of which I beg you, as a friend, 'to conſider the conſequences, and to reflect on the 'blot and infamy it will bring on you, not only now, 'but in all after ages, that by your means the Proteſtant Religion was deſtroyed, and your country deprived of it's ancient liberties; and if it pleaſes God 'to bleſs the Prince's endeavours with ſucceſs, as I do 'not doubt but he will, conſider then what their condition will be that oppoſe him in this ſo good a deſign, where the greateſt favour they can hope for, is 'their being ſuffered to end their days in miſery and 'want, deteſted and deſpiſed by all good men. It is 'therefore for theſe, and for many other reaſons too 'long to inſert here, that I, as a true Engliſhman and 'your friend, exhort you to join your arms to the 'Prince for the defence of the common cauſe, the 'Proteſtant Religion, and the liberties of your country. 'It is what I am well aſſured the major and beſt part 'of the army, as well as the nation, will do, ſo ſoon 'as convenience is offered. Prevent them in ſo good 'an action while it is in your power, and make it appear, that as the kingdom has always depended on 'the navy for it's defence, ſo you will yet go further, 'by making it, as much as in you lies, the protection 'of her religion and liberties, and then you may aſſure 'yourſelves of all marks of favour and honour ſuitable 'to the merits of ſo glorious an action. After this I 'ought not to add ſo inconſiderable a thing, as that it 'will for ever engage me to be, in a moſt particular 'manner,

Your faithful friend and humble ſervant,

Aboard the Leyden in the Goree. AR. HERBERT.

[G] *At*

(21) Hiſtory of the Revolution, p. 135.

propoſition for the reaſons before aſſigned, and for one as weighty as any of them, which was more immediately known to, and more fully comprehended by, himſelf; and this was, that the ſeaſon of the year for a campaign being over, the French were not like to make any attempts, and conſequently the States-General ran little or no hazard, by their troops being thus employed at this juncture (*e*). It is on all ſides acknowledged, that it was owing to reaſons ſuggeſted by Admiral Herbert (*f*), that the Prince of Orange laid aſide his intention of ſailing northward to the Humber, which muſt have been attended with great inconveniences, as no fleet could lie long with ſafety on that coaſt; but it is not certain whether he gave the advice, which, however, was followed, of publiſhing in all the Dutch Gazettes, that the fleet had been very roughly handled by the ſtorm, that abundance of horſes had been thrown overboard, that many perſons of diſtinction, and particularly Dr Burnet, were caſt away and drowned; which had the effect that was expected from it (*g*), of perſwading ſuch as were not in the ſecret, that the expedition was totally overthrown, or that it muſt be poſtponed for ſome months at leaſt. It is very certain, that this unexpected check made many people mighty uneaſy, and occaſioned ſome very extraordinary propoſals to the Prince. Amongſt the reſt, one was, that Admiral Herbert (*h*), with a ſtout ſquadron, ſhould proceed to the Engliſh coaſt, and fight the King's fleet, to which he was not at all averſe; but the weather rendered it impracticable. The Prince of Orange, however, never altered his intention in the leaſt; but having given the neceſſary orders for repairing the ſhips and refreſhing the troops, which was ſoon done, the fleet ſailed again upon the firſt of November, and arrived ſpeedily and ſafely on the Engliſh coaſt; where, by the ſkill and care of Admiral Herbert, the troops were very ſoon landed (*i*), and by his intelligence with ſeveral perſons of diſtinction in the neighbourhood, amply ſupplied with proviſions and other neceſſaries. In a very few days after, the good effects of the Admiral's letter appeared, by the coming in of ſeveral ſhips; the firſt of which was the Newcaſtle, lying at Plymouth, under the command of Captain Churchill (*k*); and the way being once broke, the ſeamen declared in general for the Prince; from all which it fully appeared, how much the ſucceſs of this great affair was owing to the valour, vigilance, and prudence, of this noble perſon. When King James was obliged to retire into France, the Admiral's brother, Sir Edward Herbert (*l*), went with, or very ſoon followed him, and adhered, with great ſteadineſs, to what he took to be his duty as long as he lived [G]. As for the Admiral, and his younger brother Charles,

(*e*) Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Tom. V.

(*f*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 778.

(*g*) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 526.
Life of King William III. p. 131.
Hiſtory of the Deſertion, in the 1ſt volume of State Tracts, p. 59.

(*h*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 786.

(*i*) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 527.
Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 787, 788.
Life of King William III. p. 133, 134.

(*k*) Remarkable Paſſages in the Life of Arthur Earl of Torrington.

(*l*) Hiſtory of King James's Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, p. 74.

[G] *As long as he lived.*] This gentleman, the younger brother of the Earl of Torrington, was born in the year 1646, and received the firſt principles of a learned education in Wincheſter-School, from whence he was elected to New College in Oxford, in 1665 (22). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, April 21, 1669 (23). He was then removed to the Middle-Temple, became a Barriſter at Law, and very eminent in his Profeſſion; and having the countenance of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, was appointed Attorney General in Ireland (24). In February 1683, he was knighted. In 1685, when Sir George Jefferys was made Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, he ſucceeded him as Chief Juſtice of Cheſter (25), and ſoon after became Attorney-General to the Duke of York. Upon the 16th of October, in the ſame year, he ſucceeded the ſame perſon, Lord Jefferys, as Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, and was ſworn of the King's moſt Honourable Privy Council (26). In this high office he gave great offence in the deciſion of the famous cauſe between the King and Sir Edward Hales, which was an information brought on purpoſe to eſtabliſh the Diſpenſing Power by Law, and this Sir Edward did, by the judgment he pronounced. In this however it is to be preſumed he acted according to his conſcience, and the ſenſe he had of the law as it then ſtood; for, like his brother, he was very ſteady in his ſentiments, and would not either diſſemble himſelf, or ſuffer others to diſſemble for him, as appeared by his diſavowing opinions given in his name by Sir Francis Withins in open court. But it appeared ſtill more clearly, when the Court attempted, from the letter of an old ſtatute in the reign of Edward the ſixth, to keep the army in awe by the help of the civil power; for whereas that law enacts, That it ſhall be felony without benefit of Clergy, for any ſoldier taking pay in the King's ſervice, in his wars beyond the ſeas, upon the ſea, or in Scotland, to deſert; it was propoſed, to extend this law to the ſtanding army in England by conſtruction. The not ſeeing this in the light deſired, proved equally fatal to two great men in the law, Sir John Holt, then Recorder of London, afterwards Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, and Sir Edward Herbert, who was then ſo, and who was removed, April 22, 1687, to the Common Pleas (27). He was ſucceeded in the King's-Bench by Sir Robert Wright, who hanged a poor ſoldier upon that old law, and thereby kept the army from deſerting, 'till they were able to do it with impunity. As for Sir Edward Herbert, he continued Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas as long as his maſter did upon the Throne; and when he thought fit to retire into France, Sir Edward followed his fortunes, returned with him into Ireland, was excepted in King William's pardon, and was always conſidered as a perſon zealouſly attached to that Prince, though at the ſame time no man was a firmer Proteſtant (28). The tempers and the conduct of the two brothers were much alike, and ſeem to have been very innocently fatal to each other; for the enemies of the Earl of Torrington inſinuated that he was a very unfit man to be truſted by King William, whoſe brother had King James's broad ſeal in his keeping; and the like objections were made at St Germains to Sir Edward Herbert, as far as we can judge from circumſtances, and in ſuch caſes circumſtances are far from being the worſt evidence, without the leaſt foundation on either ſide. By degrees both loſt their credit with their reſpective maſters, and there are ſome who affirm, that Sir Edward Herbert loſt his liberty alſo. He was certainly a very free ſpeaker, which gave his enemies great advantages. Mr Skelton, who was Comptroller of King James's Houſhold, and Sir William Sharpe, charged him with ſpeaking diſreſpectful words of King James, and in particular with ſaying, That his violent temper would ruin himſelf and all who followed him. Sir Edward acknowledged the words, and ſaid they were ſpoken in Ireland, in reference to the act of ſettlement; explained his meaning ſo clearly, and vindicated his intention ſo fully, that his maſter diſmiſſed it as a frivolous complaint (29). But being afterwards charged with carrying on a correſpondence in England, he was put under confinement, which broke his ſpirit extremely. All the correſpondence he held, was with his brother, who relieved him frequently and generouſly; though ſome ſay, that declining it at laſt, poverty, and the ſenſe of ill uſage, finiſhed his days, in the ſame place and in the ſame manner with his father, by breaking his heart (30). He deceaſed in November 1698, bearing the title of Lord Chancellor (31); but it does not appear that he left any iſſue by Mrs Fox, a lady of great merit, and who, like a dutiful wife, ſhared alike in his proſperity and in his misfortunes.

(22) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 992.

(23) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 173.

(24) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 440.
Wood, ubi ſupra.

(25) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 173.

(26) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 440.
Pointer's Chronological Hiſtory of England, Vol. I. p. 330.
See Sir John Hawles's Remarks on Wilmer's Caſe, in the fourth volume of the State Tryals.

(27) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 449.
Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 992.

(28) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 538.
Hiſtory of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, p. 74.
Orange Gazette, No. 3.

(29) Complete Hiſtory of England (in the notes), p. 721.

(30) Collins's Peerage, Vol. V. col. 256.

(31) Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Tom. XXV. p. 537.

Charles, they were equally zealous for the Revolution; and ſo was their couſin Herbert, afterwards created Lord Chirbury (m), who is ſaid to have determined the controverted point, as to the Princeſs of Orange's being aſſociated with her huſband in the government; ſo that it ſeems theſe Herberts, though they took different political roads, were equally warm and zealous, whatever road they took. As ſoon as the new government was ſettled, King William, by a commiſſion dated March 8, 1688, appointed the following commiſſioners for executing the office of Lord High-Admiral; viz. Arthur Herbert, Eſq; John Earl of Carbery; Sir Michael Wharton; Sir Thomas Lee, Baronet; Sir John Chicheley, Knight; Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, Baronet; and William Sacheverell, Eſq; but the laſt declinined accepting that poſt, declaring, that, as he underſtood nothing of maritime affairs, he could not accept the ſalary with a ſafe conſcience (n). 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Being diſappointed in this, and having gradually reinforced his fleet, he proceeded again to the coaſt of Ireland, and, in the latter end of the month of April, diſcovered forty-four ſail of French ſhips, ſteering, as he apprehended, for Kingſale. The next day he heard they were gone into Baltimore; but, upon his arrival before that place, finding it falſe, he ſtood for Cape Clear; and getting ſight of the enemy, chaſed them into Bantry-Bay, at the mouth of which they anchored that night. The Engliſh fleet conſiſted of twenty one ſail in all, of which eight were third rates, ten fourth rates, one fifth rate, and two tenders. On the other hand, the French had twenty-four ſail of large ſhips; that is, fifteen third and nine fourth rates, with ſix fire-ſhips, and four merchant-men laden with ſtores, with a conſiderable ſum of money on board the men of war; which, as ſoon as they ſaw the Engliſh colours, they put on board the fire-ſhips, and, for greater ſecurity, ſent them with the merchant-men up the bay. The Engliſh had certainly the wind, and might therefore have avoided fighting if they had ſo pleaſed; but this was by no means agreeable to Admiral Herbert's temper; he therefore endeavoured all he could to get into the bay, that he might come to a cloſe engagement; but the French ſaved him the labour, by bearing down upon him in three diviſions, about ten in the morning, on the firſt of May. The firſt diviſion conſiſted of eight ſhips, under the command of Mr Gaberet; the ſecond, of the like force, was commanded by Admiral Chateau-Renault; the third, which was alſo of eight ſhips, had for it's commander Mr Forant. The fight was pretty warm for about two hours, but then ſlackened, becauſe a great part of the Engliſh fleet could not come up. Yet they continued firing on both ſides 'till about five in the afternoon, Admiral Herbert keeping out all the time to ſea, becauſe he found the diſpute very unequal, and that there was no other way by which he could poſſibly gain the wind, and thereby an opportunity of bringing his whole fleet to engage. But about the hour beforementioned, the French fleet ſtood into the bay, which put an end to the fight (r). The Engliſh writers aſcribe this, either to want of courage, or to the Admiral's being reſtrained by his orders. But the French inform us, that he retired, in order to take care of the ſhips under his convoy; and that, after they had entirely debarked the ſupply they had brought, he diſpoſed every thing, in order to put to ſea the next morning, which he did. In this action, the French had one ſhip, the Diamond, ſet on fire, and two others ſo much damaged, that they were forced to draw out of the line. The Engliſh loſt Captain Aylmer (s), who commanded the Portland, on whoſe widow the King ſettled a penſion of one hundred pounds per annum; ninety-four ſeamen killed, and two hundred wounded; ſo that the French had but little reaſon to paint, in ſuch ſtrong colours as they did, the ſmall advantage they had in this action. As to the perſonal behaviour of Admiral Herbert in this action, it was altogether unexceptionable. He was in the hotteſt of the ſervice himſelf, had ſeveral of the largeſt of the enemy's ſhips upon him at a time, notwithſtanding which, he continued to expoſe himſelf, to encourage the ſeamen ſword in hand upon the quarter-deck, and to do all that lay in his power to continue the engagement; inſomuch, that many thought that if the reſt of the officers had done their duty as well

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(m) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 518.

(n) Hiſtory of the Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. I. p. 343.

(o) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 415.

(p) Remarkable Paſſages in the Life of Lord Torrington. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 825. Life of King William III. p. 184.

(q) Corps Univerſel Diplomatique du droit des Gens, Tom. VII. P. ii. p. 222.

(r) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 416. Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 564. Life of King William III. p. 231. Colliber's Columna Roſtrata, p. 254, 255.

(s) Life of William III. p. 232. Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 417. Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Tom. VI. p. 517.

Sir Edward Herbert publiſhed a very ſuccinct apology for his own conduct in that point, which was moſt liable to objection; and this produced two anſwers, one from William Atwood, Eſq; Barriſter at Law, the other from Sir Robert Atkins, Knt. of the Bath, who had been one of the Juſtices of the Court of Common Pleas; the title of our author's performance was,

I. A ſhort Account of the Authorities in Law, upon which Judgement was given in Sir Edward Hales his Caſe. London, 1689. 4to.

Mr Atwood's piece was intitled,

II. The Lord Chief Juſtice Herbert's Account examined, wherein it is ſhewn, that thoſe Authorities in Law, whereby he would excuſe his Judgment in Sir Edward Hales his Caſe, are very unfairly cited, and as ill applied. London, 1689. 4to.

Sir Robert Atkins called his,

III. An Enquiry into the Power of diſpenſing with penal Statutes, together with ſome Animadverſions upon a Book written by Sir Edward Herbert, &c. intitled, A ſhort Account, &c.

[H] To

well as he, they had given a better account of the French than they did. For which ſome officers were called to a Court-Martial, and broke; ſo much was the Admiral a lover of diſcipline (t). On the 15th of May, when the King dined on board his ſhip, he was pleaſed to expreſs great ſatisfaction in his conduct, and declared his intention of creating him a peer, as he afterwards did, viz. by letters patent, bearing date on the 29th of the ſame month, by the title of Baron Herbert of Torbay, and Earl of Torrington (u). The Houſe of Commons (w) alſo were pleaſed to give him thanks, for the ſervice he had done the nation, in taking the firſt opportunity to fight the French in Bantry-Bay [*H*]. At this time one would have imagined, that no man could well have ſtood in a fairer point of light, after an action in which he had no ſucceſs to boaſt. But it ſpeedily appeared, that either his conduct at the Admiralty-Board was diſliked, or his new honours envied; this he quickly perceived, which induced him to retire from that board (x); and the King thereupon, January 20, 1689, appointed a new Board of Admiralty, conſiſting of Thomas Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery; John Earl of Carbery; Sir Thomas Lee, Baronet; Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, Baronet; and Sir John Chicheley, Knt (y). It was reported at this time, and perhaps not without foundation, that the Earl of Torrington was inclined to quit the ſervice alſo; but if he had any ſuch intentions, he was prevailed upon to lay them aſide, and to take the command of the combined fleets the next ſummer. Lewis the Fourteenth was then in the zenith of his power; and the great point he had in view was, to eſtabliſh the reputation of his naval force; in order to which, he propoſed to have a fleet at ſea, ſufficient, not only to reſiſt, but to attack that of the maritime powers; and in order to effect this, his miniſters exerted themſelves to the utmoſt. On the other hand, our affairs were far from being in the beſt poſture; party ſpirit ran high in the nation, and the adminiſtration was not thoroughly united. Admiral Ruſſel was ſent into the Mediterranean, to eſcort the young Queen of Spain (z); and had orders to block up the Toulon ſquadron, which was not in his power. Another ſquadron

(t) Remarkable Paſſages in the Life of the Earl of Torrington.

(u) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 564. Pat. I. Will. and Mary.

(w) See note [*H*].

(x) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. II. p. 5.

(y) Hiſtory of the Admiralty of Great-Britain, Vol. II. p. 367.

(z) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 421.

[*H*] *To fight the French in Bantry-Bay.*] The reader will without doubt be pleaſed to ſee this matter ſet in the moſt authentic light, from the journal of the Houſe, in which it appears, that Arthur Herbert, Eſq; then Burgeſs for the town of Plymouth, in the county of Devon, being in his place, had their thanks, in conſequence of an order made the Saturday before, which are thus entered.

Martis 21°. die Maii primo Willielmo & Mariæ.

Mr Speaker gave Admiral Herbert the thanks of the Houſe, according to their order of Saturday laſt, to the effect as followeth, viz (32)

'Admiral Herbert,

'This Houſe hath taken notice of the great ſervice you have performed in engaging the French fleet; they do look upon it as one of the braveſt actions done in this laſt age, and expect it will raiſe the reputation of the Engliſh valour to it's ancient glory. I do therefore, by the command of this Houſe, return you their hearty thanks for this ſervice, and deſire you that you will communicate the like thanks, in their name, to the officers and ſeamen that ſerved under your command; and to let them know that this Houſe will have a particular regard of their merits, and take care, as much as in them lies, to give them all due encouragement.'

(32) Hiſtory of the Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, Vol. II. p. 313, 314.

Whereupon Admiral Herbert ſpake to the effect as followeth.

SIR,

'I am in ſome confuſion at this great and unexpected honour, and the more, becauſe I want words to expreſs my ſenſe of it. The beſt return that I think myſelf capable of making, is, to aſſure this Honourable Houſe, that with my utmoſt hazard I will endeavour, by my future actions, to deſerve it; and will not fail to obey their commands, in acquainting the officers and ſeamen who were with me of the favourable acceptation by this Houſe of their ſervice. And ſince the Houſe have ſo favourable an opinion of their actions, I would beg their leave to make an humble motion, and I think it is a thing becoming the greatneſs of this nation, and indeed has been the care of almoſt all nations that have any commerce at ſea: it is to aſſign ſome place and revenue for the ſupport of ſuch as are maimed in the ſervice and defence of their country. There is no ſufficient proviſion made at preſent in this kingdom, and indeed it is too great a charge for the Crown. I therefore humbly move it may be ordered by this Houſe, that an act may paſs, that they may have a ſupport and ſubſiſtence after they have, by wounds, been made uncapable of farther ſervice.

'Reſolved, That the Houſe will take care to make a proviſion for ſuch ſeamen as are or ſhall be wounded in their Majeſties ſervice; and for the wives and children of ſuch as are, or ſhall be ſlain therein: and that a committee be appointed to conſider how the ſame may be done.

'And it is referred to Admiral Herbert, Mr Hales, Mr Boſcawen, Mr Aſhburnham, Sir William Williams, Mr Garway, Mr Elwel, Lord Cooke, Mr Holles, Mr Papillon, Mr Gwyn, Lord Falkland, Lord Sherrard, Mr Bickerſtaff, Mr Henry Herbert, Mr Edward Ruſſel, Mr Bromley, Mr Thomas Foley, Sir Duncan Colcheſter, Mr Leveſon Gower, Mr P. Foley, Sir Henry Capel, Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, Mr Sacheverell, Mr Cooke, and Sir Thomas Littleton.'

We have an account with ſome remarks upon this buſineſs of Bantry-Bay, by the Biſhop of Sarum, which we will add in his own words. 'Our operations on the ſea were not very proſperous. Herbert was ſent with a fleet to cut off the communication between France and Ireland. The French had ſent over a fleet with a great tranſport of ſtores and ammunition. They had landed their loading, and were returning back. As they came out of Bantry-Bay, Herbert engaged them. The wind was againſt him, ſo that it was not poſſible for the greateſt part of the fleet to come up and enter into action, and ſo thoſe who engaged were forced to retire with ſome diſadvantage. But the French did not purſue him. He came back to Portſmouth, in order to refit ſome of his ſhips, and went out again, and lay before Breſt 'till the end of the ſummer. But the French fleet did not come out any more all that ſummer; ſo that ours lay ſome months at ſea to no purpoſe. But if we loſt few of our ſeamen in the engagement, we loſt a great many by reaſon of the bad victualling (33).' There is all the reaſon in the world to believe, that the Reverend Prelate is miſtaken in his account, ſince it agrees with none of thoſe that were publiſhed at the time; for whereas theſe all (34) ſay, that Admiral Herbert followed the French, and engaged them as they went into the bay; the Biſhop ſays juſt the reverſe, that he engaged them as they came out. As to what regarded the victualling, Lord Torrington gave up thoſe who were guilty to the juſtice of the Houſe of Commons; and finding this created ill blood, he thought fit to quit his ſeat at the Admiralty-Board, in which he did not perhaps act quite ſo prudently, as he ſtill choſe to continue in the ſervice.

(33) Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. II. p. 20, 21.

(34) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 416.

Charles, they were equally zealous for the Revolution; and ſo was their couſin Herbert, afterwards created Lord Chirbury (m), who is ſaid to have determined the controverted point, as to the Princeſs of Orange's being aſſociated with her huſband in the government; ſo that it ſeems theſe Herberts, though they took different political roads, were equally warm and zealous, whatever road they took. As ſoon as the new government was ſettled, King William, by a commiſſion dated March 8, 1688, appointed the following commiſſioners for executing the office of Lord High-Admiral; viz. Arthur Herbert, Eſq; John Earl of Carbery; Sir Michael Wharton; Sir Thomas Lee, Baronet; Sir John Chicheley, Knight; Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, Baronet; and William Sacheverell, Eſq; but the laſt declinined accepting that poſt, declaring, that, as he underſtood nothing of maritime affairs, he could not accept the ſalary with a ſafe conſcience (n). As for the command of the fleet, that was intruſted with Admiral Herbert (o) from the beginning; and he had likewiſe, though ſome time before, the honour of bringing over the new Queen, who arrived on the twelfth of February, and accepted the regal dignity, with her conſort, the thirteenth (p). He was named alſo, with the Earls of Nottingham and Carbery, one of the Plenipotentiaries (q) for concluding a new treaty with the States; but it does not appear that he acted under this commiſſion. At the entrance of the month of April, 1689, he ſailed for Cork, with a ſquadron of twelve men of war; but, upon information that King James was ſome time before landed at Kingſale, he ſailed directly for Breſt, in hopes of intercepting the ſquadron that had eſcorted him thither. Being diſappointed in this, and having gradually reinforced his fleet, he proceeded again to the coaſt of Ireland, and, in the latter end of the month of April, diſcovered forty-four ſail of French ſhips, ſteering, as he apprehended, for Kingſale. The next day he heard they were gone into Baltimore; but, upon his arrival before that place, finding it falſe, he ſtood for Cape Clear; and getting ſight of the enemy, chaſed them into Bantry-Bay, at the mouth of which they anchored that night. The Engliſh fleet conſiſted of twenty one ſail in all, of which eight were third rates, ten fourth rates, one fifth rate, and two tenders. On the other hand, the French had twenty-four ſail of large ſhips; that is, fifteen third and nine fourth rates, with ſix fire-ſhips, and four merchant-men laden with ſtores, with a conſiderable ſum of money on board the men of war; which, as ſoon as they ſaw the Engliſh colours, they put on board the fire-ſhips, and, for greater ſecurity, ſent them with the merchant-men up the bay. The Engliſh had certainly the wind, and might therefore have avoided fighting if they had ſo pleaſed; but this was by no means agreeable to Admiral Herbert's temper; he therefore endeavoured all he could to get into the bay, that he might come to a cloſe engagement; but the French ſaved him the labour, by bearing down upon him in three diviſions, about ten in the morning, on the firſt of May. The firſt diviſion conſiſted of eight ſhips, under the command of Mr Gaberet; the ſecond, of the like force, was commanded by Admiral Chateau-Renault; the third, which was alſo of eight ſhips, had for it's commander Mr Forant. The fight was pretty warm for about two hours, but then ſlackened, becauſe a great part of the Engliſh fleet could not come up. Yet they continued firing on both ſides 'till about five in the afternoon, Admiral Herbert keeping out all the time to ſea, becauſe he found the diſpute very unequal, and that there was no other way by which he could poſſibly gain the wind, and thereby an opportunity of bringing his whole fleet to engage. But about the hour beforementioned, the French fleet ſtood into the bay, which put an end to the fight (r). The Engliſh writers aſcribe this, either to want of courage, or to the Admiral's being reſtrained by his orders. But the French inform us, that he retired, in order to take care of the ſhips under his convoy; and that, after they had entirely debarked the ſupply they had brought, he diſpoſed every thing, in order to put to ſea the next morning, which he did. In this action, the French had one ſhip, the Diamond, ſet on fire, and two others ſo much damaged, that they were forced to draw out of the line. The Engliſh loſt Captain Aylmer (s), who commanded the Portland, on whoſe widow the King ſettled a penſion of one hundred pounds per annum; ninety-four ſeamen killed, and two hundred wounded; ſo that the French had but little reaſon to paint, in ſuch ſtrong colours as they did, the ſmall advantage they had in this action. As to the perſonal behaviour of Admiral Herbert in this action, it was altogether unexceptionable. He was in the hotteſt of the ſervice himſelf, had ſeveral of the largeſt of the enemy's ſhips upon him at a time, notwithſtanding which, he continued to expoſe himſelf, to encourage the ſeamen ſword in hand upon the quarter-deck, and to do all that lay in his power to continue the engagement; inſomuch, that many thought that if the reſt of the officers had done their duty as well

(m) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 518.

(n) Hiſtory of the Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. I. p. 343.

(o) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 415.

(p) Remarkable Paſſages in the Life of Lord Torrington. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 825. Life of King William III. p. 184.

(q) Corps Univerſel Diplomatique du droit des Gens, Tom. VII. P. ii. p. 222.

(r) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 416. Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 564. Life of King William III. p. 231. Colliber's Columna Roſtrata, p. 254, 255.

(s) Life of William III. p. 232. Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 417. Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Tom. VI. p. 517.

Sir Edward Herbert publiſhed a very ſuccinct apology for his own conduct in that point, which was moſt liable to objection; and this produced two anſwers, one from William Atwood, Eſq; Barriſter at Law, the other from Sir Robert Atkins, Knt. of the Bath, who had been one of the Juſtices of the Court of Common Pleas; the title of our author's performance was,

I. A ſhort Account of the Authorities in Law, upon which Judgement was given in Sir Edward Hales his Caſe. London, 1689. 4to.

Mr Atwood's piece was intitled,

II. The Lord Chief Juſtice Herbert's Account examined, wherein it is ſhewn, that thoſe Authorities in Law, whereby he would excuſe his Judgment in Sir Edward Hales his Caſe, are very unfairly cited, and as ill applied. London, 1689. 4to.

Sir Robert Atkins called his,

III. An Enquiry into the Power of diſpenſing with penal Statutes, together with ſome Animadverſions upon a Book written by Sir Edward Herbert, &c. intitled, A ſhort Account, &c.

[H] To

well as he, they had given a better account of the French than they did. For which ſome officers were called to a Court-Martial, and broke; ſo much was the Admiral a lover of diſcipline (*t*). On the 15th of May, when the King dined on board his ſhip, he was pleaſed to expreſs great ſatisfaction in his conduct, and declared his intention of creating him a peer, as he afterwards did, viz. by letters patent, bearing date on the 29th of the ſame month, by the title of Baron Herbert of Torbay, and Earl of Torrington (*u*). The Houſe of Commons (*w*) alſo were pleaſed to give him thanks, for the ſervice he had done the nation, in taking the firſt opportunity to fight the French in Bantry-Bay [*H*]. At this time one would have imagined, that no man could well have ſtood in a fairer point of light, after an action in which he had no ſucceſs to boaſt. But it ſpeedily appeared, that either his conduct at the Admiralty-Board was diſliked, or his new honours envied; this he quickly perceived, which induced him to retire from that board (*x*); and the King thereupon, January 20, 1689, appointed a new Board of Admiralty, conſiſting of Thomas Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery; John Earl of Carbery; Sir Thomas Lee, Baronet; Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, Baronet; and Sir John Chicheley, Knt (*y*). It was reported at this time, and perhaps not without foundation, that the Earl of Torrington was inclined to quit the ſervice alſo; but if he had any ſuch intentions, he was prevailed upon to lay them aſide, and to take the command of the combined fleets the next ſummer. Lewis the Fourteenth was then in the zenith of his power; and the great point he had in view was, to eſtabliſh the reputation of his naval force; in order to which, he propoſed to have a fleet at ſea, ſufficient, not only to reſiſt, but to attack that of the maritime powers; and in order to effect this, his miniſters exerted themſelves to the utmoſt. On the other hand, our affairs were far from being in the beſt poſture; party ſpirit ran high in the nation, and the adminiſtration was not thoroughly united. Admiral Ruſſel was ſent into the Mediterranean, to eſcort the young Queen of Spain (*z*); and had orders to block up the Toulon ſquadron, which was not in his power. Another ſquadron

(*t*) Remarkable Paſſages in the Life of the Earl of Torrington.

(*u*) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 564. Pat. I. Will. and Mary.

(*w*) See note [*H*].

(*x*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. II. p. 5.

(*y*) Hiſtory of the Admiralty of Great-Britain, Vol. II. p. 367.

(*z*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 421.

[*H*] *To fight the French in Bantry-Bay.*] The reader will without doubt be pleaſed to ſee this matter ſet in the moſt authentic light, from the journal of the Houſe, in which it appears, that Arthur Herbert, Eſq; then Burgeſs for the town of Plymouth, in the county of Devon, being in his place, had their thanks, in conſequence of an order made the Saturday before, which are thus entered.

Martis 21°. die Maii primo Willielmo & Mariæ.

Mr Speaker gave Admiral Herbert the thanks of the Houſe, according to their order of Saturday laſt, to the effect as followeth, viz (32)

'Admiral HERBERT,

'This Houſe hath taken notice of the great ſervice you have performed in engaging the French fleet; they do look upon it as one of the braveſt actions done in this laſt age, and expect it will raiſe the reputation of the Engliſh valour to it's ancient glory. I do therefore, by the command of this Houſe, return you their hearty thanks for this ſervice, and deſire you that you will communicate the like thanks, in their name, to the officers and ſeamen that ſerved under your command; and to let them know that this Houſe will have a particular regard of their merits, and take care, as much as in them lies, to give them all due encouragement.'

Whereupon Admiral Herbert ſpake to the effect as followeth.

SIR,

'I am in ſome confuſion at this great and unexpected honour, and the more, becauſe I want words to expreſs my ſenſe of it. The beſt return that I think myſelf capable of making, is, to aſſure this Honourable Houſe, that with my utmoſt hazard I will endeavour, by my future actions, to deſerve it; and will not fail to obey their commands, in acquainting the officers and ſeamen who were with me of the favourable acceptation by this Houſe of their ſervice. And ſince the Houſe have ſo favourable an opinion of their actions, I would beg their leave to make an humble motion, and I think it is a thing becoming the greatneſs of this nation, and indeed has been the care of almoſt all nations that have any commerce at ſea: it is to aſſign ſome place and revenue for the ſupport of ſuch as are maimed in the ſervice and defence of their country. There is no ſufficient proviſion made at preſent in this kingdom, and indeed it is too great a charge for the Crown. I therefore humbly move it may be ordered by this Houſe, that an act may paſs, that they may have a ſupport and ſubſiſtence after they have, by wounds, been made uncapable of farther ſervice.

'Reſolved, That the Houſe will take care to make a proviſion for ſuch ſeamen as are or ſhall be wounded in their Majeſties ſervice; and for the wives and children of ſuch as are, or ſhall be ſlain therein: and that a committee be appointed to conſider how the ſame may be done.

'And it is referred to Admiral Herbert, Mr Hales, Mr Boſcawen, Mr Aſhburnham, Sir William Williams, Mr Garway, Mr Elwel, Lord Cooke, Mr Holles, Mr Papillon, Mr Gwyn, Lord Falkland, Lord Sherrard, Mr Bickerſtaff, Mr Henry Herbert, Mr Edward Ruſſel, Mr Bromley, Mr Thomas Foley, Sir Duncan Colcheſter, Mr Leveſon Gower, Mr P. Foley, Sir Henry Capel, Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, Mr Sacheverell, Mr Cooke, and Sir Thomas Littleton.'

We have an account with ſome remarks upon this buſineſs of Bantry-Bay, by the Biſhop of Sarum, which we will add in his own words. 'Our operations on the ſea were not very proſperous. Herbert was ſent with a fleet to cut off the communication between France and Ireland. The French had ſent over a fleet with a great tranſport of ſtores and ammunition. They had landed their loading, and were returning back. As they came out of Bantry-Bay, Herbert engaged them. The wind was againſt him, ſo that it was not poſſible for the greateſt part of the fleet to come up and enter into action, and ſo thoſe who engaged were forced to retire with ſome diſadvantage. But the French did not purſue him. He came back to Portſmouth, in order to refit ſome of his ſhips, and went out again, and lay before Breſt 'till the end of the ſummer. But the French fleet did not come out any more all that ſummer; ſo that ours lay ſome months at ſea to no purpoſe. But if we loſt few of our ſeamen in the engagement, we loſt a great many by reaſon of the bad victualling (33).' There is all the reaſon in the world to believe, that the Reverend Prelate is miſtaken in his account, ſince it agrees with none of thoſe that were publiſhed at the time; for whereas theſe all (34) ſay, that Admiral Herbert followed the French, and engaged them as they went into the bay; the Biſhop ſays juſt the reverſe, that he engaged them as they came out. As to what regarded the victualling, Lord Torrington gave up thoſe who were guilty to the juſtice of the Houſe of Commons; and finding this created ill blood, he thought fit to quit his ſeat at the Admiralty-Board, in which he did not perhaps act quite ſo prudently, as he ſtill choſe to continue in the ſervice.

(32) Hiſtory of the Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, Vol. II. p. 313, 314.

(33) Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. II. p. 20, 21.

(34) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 416.

ſquadron was employed, under Sir Cloudeſly Shovell, in eſcorting King William to Ireland. In this ſituation, the Earl of Torrington proceeded to the Downs, in order to take upon him the command of the ſhips that were left. The Dutch alſo were exceeding ſlow in their motions, ſo that the enemy had all the advantage they could well deſire, and were out at ſea by the middle of June, with three ſquadrons, each conſiſting of three diviſions, and compoſing, in the whole, ſeventy eight men of war, and twenty-two fire-ſhips. With this force they arrived, on the twentieth of that month (*a*), off the Lizard. The next day they took ſome Engliſh fiſhing-boats, whom they ſoon after let go; and it was from the men on board theſe fiſhing-boats, that it was firſt known the French fleet was upon our coaſts. The Earl of Torrington was at St Helens (*b*), waiting for Admiral Ruſſell's ſquadron, and the reſt of the ſhips that were to join him, when from Weymouth he received this news, the certainty of which he could not doubt; which intelligence muſt have greatly ſurprized him, ſince we are aſſured he ſo little expected it, that he had ſent no cruizers to the weſtward. He put to ſea, however, with ſuch ſhips as he had, and ſtood to the ſouth-eaſt on Midſummer-day, leaving his orders, that all the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips which could have notice ſhould follow him. This ſhews how much he was confuſed, and how little expectation he had of a ſpeedy engagement; and indeed it was impoſſible that he ſhould have framed any proper ſcheme of action, when he had no certain account of the ſtrength of the French. In the evening, he was joined by ſeveral ſhips, and the next morning he found himſelf within ſight of the enemy. The French landed, and made ſome priſoners on ſhore, and by them ſent a letter from Sir William Jennings, an officer in the navy, who had followed the fortunes of King James, and ſerved as third Captain on board the Admiral, promiſing pardon to all ſuch captains as would now join them and adhere to that prince (*c*). The next day, our Admiral received another reinforcement of ſeven Dutch men of war, under the command of Admiral Evertzen; however, the fleets continued looking upon each other for ſeveral days. It is certain, that the Earl of Torrington did not think himſelf ſtrong enough to venture an engagement (*d*), and, in all probability, the reſt of the Admirals, viz. Sir John Aſhby, Vice-Admiral of the Red; Edward Ruſſell, Eſq; Admiral of the Blue; Ralph Delaval, Eſq; Vice-Admiral of the ſame ſquadron; and George Rooke, Eſq; Rear-Admiral of the Red, were of the like opinion. Beſides, he waited for Sir Cloudeſly Shovell, Rear-Admiral of the Blue, who was to have joined him with the Plymouth ſquadron, and ſome other ſhips. His whole ſtrength conſiſted of about thirty-four men of war of ſeveral ſizes, and the three Dutch Admirals had under their command twenty-two large ſhips. We need not wonder, therefore, that ſeeing himſelf out-numbered by above twenty ſail, he was not willing to riſk his own honour and the nation's ſafety upon ſuch unequal terms. But the Queen, who was then Regent, having been informed that her father's adherents intended a general inſurrection; and that, if the French fleet continued longer on the coaſt, this would certainly take effect, by advice of the Privy-Council, ſent him orders to fight at all events (*e*), in order to force the French fleet to withdraw. In obedience to this order, as ſoon as it was light, on the 30th of June, the Admiral gave a ſignal for drawing into a line, and bore down upon the enemy, while they were under ſail, by a wind, with their heads to the northward. The ſignal for battle was made about eight, when the French braced their headſails to their maſts, in order to lay by. The engagement began about nine, when the Dutch ſquadron, which made the van of the united fleets, fell in with the van of the French, and put them into ſome diſorder. About half an hour after, our blue ſquadron engaged their rear very warmly; but the red, commanded by the Earl of Torrington in perſon, which made the center of our fleet, could not come up 'till about ten; and this occaſioned a great opening between them and the Dutch. The French, making uſe of this advantage, ſurrounded the latter; who defended themſelves very gallantly, though they ſuffered extremely from ſo unequal a diſpute. The Admiral, ſeeing their diſtreſs, endeavoured to relieve them; and, while they dropped their anchors, the only method they had left to preſerve themſelves, he drove, with his own ſhip and ſeveral others, between them and the enemy; and, in that ſituation, anchored about five in the afternoon, when it grew calm; but, perceiving how much the Dutch had ſuffered, and how little probability there was of regaining any thing by renewing the fight, he weighed about nine at night, and retired eaſtward with the tide of flood (*f*). The next day it was reſolved in a Council of War, held in the afternoon, to endeavour to preſerve the fleet by retreating, and rather to deſtroy the diſabled ſhips, if they ſhould be preſſed by the enemy, than to hazard another engagement, by endeavouring to protect them. This reſolution was executed with as much ſucceſs as could be expected, which, however, was chiefly owing to want of experience in the French Admirals; for, by not anchoring when the Engliſh did, they were driven to a great diſtance; and, by purſuing in a line of battle, inſtead of leaving every ſhip at liberty to do her utmoſt, they could never recover what they loſt by their firſt miſtake. But notwithſtanding all this, they continued their purſuit as far as Rye-Bay, and forced one of our men of war of ſeventy guns, called the Anne, which had loſt all her maſts on ſhore near Winchelſea, they ſent in two ſhips to burn her, which the Captain prevented, by ſetting fire to her himſelf. The body of the French fleet ſtood in and out of the bays of Bourne and Pemſey in Suſſex, while about fourteen of their ſhips anchored near the ſhore. Some of theſe attempted to burn a Dutch ſhip of ſixty-four guns, which at low water lay dry; but her commander

(*a*) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, p. 602.

(*b*) Life of King William III. p. 274.

(*c*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 426. Colliber's Columna Roſtrata, p. 256.

(*d*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. II. p. 52. Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 426. Life of King William III. p. 274.

(*e*) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 602.

(*f*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 426. Life of King William III. p. 275. Columna Roſtrata, p. 257. Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Tom. IX. p. 80—85.

defended her ſo briſkly every high water, that they were at length forced to deſiſt, and the Captain carried her ſafe into Holland (*g*). Our loſs in this unlucky affair, if we except reputation, was not ſo great as might have been expected; not above two ſhips, two ſea captains, two captains of marines, and three hundred and fifty private men. The Dutch were much more unfortunate, becauſe more thoroughly engaged. Beſides three ſhips ſunk in the fight, they were obliged to ſet fire to three more, that were ſtranded on the coaſt of Suſſex; in all, ſix ſhips of the line. They loſt likewiſe abundance of gallant officers, particularly their Rear-Admirals, Dick and Brakel, and Captain Nordel, with a great number of inferior officers and ſeamen (*h*). Our fleet retreated towards the river of Thames; and the Earl of Torrington, going on ſhore, left the command to Sir John Aſhby; but firſt gave orders to Captain Monck of the Phœnix, together with four other fifth rates and four fireſhips, to anchor above the narrow of the middle grounds, and to appoint two of the frigates to ride, one at the buoy of the ſpits, the other at the lower end of the middle, and to take away the buoys (*i*), and immediately retreat if the enemy approached; or, if they preſſed yet farther on him, he was ordered, in like manner, to take away the buoys near him, and to do what ſervice he could againſt them with the fireſhips; but ſtill to retire, and make the proper ſignals in ſuch caſes [*I*]. As ſoon as the Earl

(*g*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 427.

(*h*) Life of King William III. p. 275. Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 602.

(*i*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 427.

[*I*] *And make the proper ſignals in ſuch caſes.*] In order to ſee this affair in every light of which it is capable, we ſhall produce in this note, thoſe accounts that bear hardeſt upon the Earl of Torrington; and in the firſt place, that of Biſhop Burnet, who relates the thing thus (35). ‘On the day before the battle of the Boyne, the two fleets came to a great engagement at ſea. The ſquadron that lay at Plymouth could not come up to join the great fleet, the wind being contrary; ſo that it was under debate what was fitteſt to be done. The Earl of Torrington thought he was not ſtrong enough, and adviſed his coming in, 'till ſome more ſhips that were fitting out ſhould be ready. Some began to call his courage in queſtion, and imputed this to fear. They thought this would too much exalt our enemies and diſcourage our allies, if we left the French to triumph at ſea, and to be the maſters of our coaſt and trade; for our merchants richeſt ſhips were coming home, ſo that the leaving them in ſuch a ſuperiority, would be both very unbecoming and very miſchievous to us. The Queen ordered Ruſſel to adviſe both with the Navy Board, and with all that underſtood ſea affairs; and upon a view of the ſtrength of both fleets, they were of opinion, that though the French were ſuperior in number, yet our fleet was ſo equal in ſtrength to them, that it was reaſonable to ſend orders to our Admiral to venture on an engagement: yet the orders were not ſo poſitive, but that a great deal was left to a Council. The two fleets engaged near Beachy in Suſſex. The Dutch led the van, and to ſhew their courage they advanced too far out of the line, and fought in the beginning with ſome advantage, the French plying before them; and our blue ſquadron engaged bravely: but the Earl of Torrington kept in his line, and continued to fight at a diſtance. The French ſeeing the Dutch came out ſo far before the line, fell on them furiouſly both in front and flank, which the Earl of Torrington neglected for ſome time, and when he endeavoured to come a little nearer, the calm was ſuch, that he could not come up. The Dutch ſuffered much, and their whole fleet had periſhed, if their Admiral Calembourg had not ordered them to drop their anchors while their ſails were all up. This was not obſerved by the French, ſo they were carried by the tide, while the others lay ſtill; and thus, in a few minutes, the Dutch were out of danger. They loſt many men, and ſunk ſome of their ſhips which had ſuffered the moſt, that they might not fall into the enemies hands. It was now neceſſary to order the fleet to come in with all poſſible haſte. Both the Dutch and the blue ſquadron complained much of the Earl of Torrington, and it was a general opinion, that if the whole fleet had come up to a cloſe fight, we muſt have beat the French; and, conſidering how far they were from Breſt, and that our ſquadron at Plymouth lay between them and home, a victory might have had great conſequences. Our fleet was now in a bad condition, and broken into factions; and if the French had not loſt the night's tide, but had followed us cloſe, they might have deſtroyed many of our ſhips. Both the Admirals were almoſt equally blamed, ours for not fighting, and the French for not purſuing his victory.’ We will next give the extract of Rear-Admiral Evertzen's letter to the States (36). ‘The 4th of this month we joined the Engliſh and Dutch fleets, riding near the Iſle of Wight with three men of war; there he underſtood that the French fleet had been deſcried riding in ſeveral places, to the number of eighty two men of war, great and ſmall; thereupon it was reſolved that they ſhould weigh anchor, with a reſolution to find them out and obſerve their motions. Before the arrival of Admiral Evertzen, it was agreed between the two nations, that the Hollanders ſhould have the vanguard, which was in appearance to do them honour, but at the bottom to conceal Torrington's deſigns. After they had been under ſail about two or three hours, they were obliged by fogs and bad weather to come to an anchor, but ſoon after they perceived the French fleet to bear up towards them with the wind at eaſt. Immediately they weighed anchor, and endeavoured to gain the weather-gage, which they did with ſuch ſucceſs, that Torrington gave the ſignal for the firſt ſquadron to engage, but the French thought fit to retire. The 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th, the two fleets were always in view of each other; but in regard the French fleet was much the ſtronger, both for number and bigneſs of ſhips, it was judged moſt proper not to fight in the open ſea; and Torrington did his part ſo well, that he avoided engaging 'till he was come off Beachy-Head, which was favourable for his purpoſe, and there it was that he received the Queen's orders not to delay engaging, if the wind and the weather would permit, which was the reaſon that upon the 10th by day-break we went to ſeek the enemy, who expected us in order of battle: and ſo by nine o'clock the engagement began, between the blue ſquadron of the French and the vanguard of the Dutch, and both ſides fired deſperately for three hours together, 'till the French ſquadron, not liking their entertainment, bore away with all the tack they could make; but about one there happened a calm, which not only prevented the Hollanders purſuit, but put them into a little diſorder; upon which the French, whom the ſame calm hindered from getting away, were conſtrained to begin the fight again, which laſted 'till five o'clock in the evening with an incredible fury. As for what concerns the Engliſh moſt certainly, unleſs it were ſome few veſſels that fought againſt Torrington's order, the reſt did nothing at all; ſo that the main body of the French fell into the rear of the Dutch fleet: and having fought from morning 'till evening, and defended themſelves ſo long againſt ſuch a prodigious number of the enemy that aſſailed them on every ſide, they were ſo battered, that hardly three were capable of making any defence, which conſtrained them to make their way through the French fleet, and bear away for the coaſt of England, between Beachy and Ferley. Admirals Brakel, Jean Dick, and Captain Nordel were ſlain. The Friezland, having loſt all her maſts, and not to be towed off by reaſon of the calm, was taken towards the end of the fight. Admiral Evertzen gave this teſtimony of all the Dutch officers and ſoldiers, that there was not one that did not exactly perform his duty. In ſhort, it has not been heard, that ever twenty-two ſhips fought

(35) Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. II. p. 52, 53.

(36) Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Tom. IX. p. 80.

Earl of Torrington came to town, he was examined before the Council, where he juſtified himſelf with great preſence of mind; he ſaid, there were two things to be principally conſidered, the loſs that had been ſuſtained in the fight, and the motives which had induced him to retreat. The firſt, he alledged, was owing to the ill-grounded contempt the Engliſh and Dutch officers had of the behaviour of the French at ſea; and, as to the latter, he affirmed that he had acted according to the rules of prudence, by which he had ſaved the fleet; and that he had much rather his reputation ſhould ſuffer for a time, than his country undergo a loſs, which ſhe might never be able to repair. The Council, however, thought proper to commit his Lordſhip cloſe priſoner to the Tower (*k*); and, that they might ſtill the clamours of the crowd, and give ſome ſatisfaction to the Dutch, they directed a committee to repair to Sheerneſs, in order to make a thorough enquiry into the real cauſes of this diſaſter [*K*]. The King, upon his return from Ireland, expreſſed great concern about this affair; the honour of the nation was in ſome meaſure affected; the common cry was very ſtrong againſt the Earl; and the Queen had engaged her promiſe to the Dutch, that his conduct ſhould undergo a ſtrict examination (*l*). On the other hand, the Earl had been very inſtrumental in the Revolution, had great alliances among the nobility, and had found the means of perſwading many, that, inſtead of being called to an account for any real errors in his conduct, he was in danger of being ſacrificed to the reſentment of foreigners, merely for preſerving the Engliſh fleet. The great difficulty, as to the developing this perplexed buſineſs, lay in the manner of bringing him to a tryal. The King was reſolved it ſhould be by a Court-Martial; the friends of the Earl maintained, that he ought to be tried by his Peers. A doubt was likewiſe ſtarted as to the power of the Lords of the Admiralty; for though it was allowed that the Lord High-Admiral of England might have iſſued a commiſſion for trying him, yet it was queſtioned whether any ſuch authority was lodged in the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty or not; and,

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'fought ſo long againſt eighty-two, of which ſeventeen carried no leſs than from eighty to an hundred guns.' The reader may obſerve, that both theſe writers agree the Earl of Torrington was in his judgment againſt fighting; that in this, other great officers of the fleet concurred; that while he acted according to his and their notions, he did all that could be expected, and might probably have continued on the defenſive 'till properly reinforced; that the Secretary's letter, in the name of the Queen, determined, or rather obliged him to fight; the Prelate ſays, that it was conditional, but the Dutch Admiral that it was poſitive. Biſhop Burnet gives the honour of ſaving the fleet to the Dutch Admiral Calembourg, of which however Evertzen ſays not one word; and Burchet, upon good authority, aſcribes it to the Earl of Torrington; according to the Engliſh Biſhop, part of our fleet behaved well; according to the Dutch Admiral, nobody did any thing but themſelves; and the wonder was, how twenty-two ſhips could ſuſtain the fire of upwards of fourſcore, many of theſe carrying a prodigious weight of metal. If this had been the caſe, how came the officers of the blue ſquadron to complain ſo much; how came the Engliſh to loſe ſome ſhips, and to have ſeveral very ill treated? But, ſays the Engliſh Prelate, if the whole fleet had come to a cloſe fight, we ſhould have had a victory attended with ſuch circumſtances, as muſt have been followed by great conſequences. This is the judgment of a Clergyman at a diſtance; the Earl of Torrington, a great ſeaman upon the ſpot, thought otherwiſe; and that the French might have gained a greater victory than they did, which in it's conſequences might have been deciſive againſt the maritime powers; ſo that, in his judgment, the greateſt ſervice that could then be done, was to ſave the fleet, and wait a proper ſeaſon for repairing this diſaſter, which was effectually done at La Hogue. The impartial reader will decide, as to the probability of theſe relations, and as to the propriety of our reflections.

[*K*] *Of this diſaſter.*] At this diſtance of time, there can no reaſons ſubſiſt, which ought to prevent our examining an affair of this importance to the bottom. The commiſſioners (37) appointed to go from ſhip to ſhip, were the Duke of Devonſhire and the Earl of Pembroke, who were charged to make the ſtricteſt enquiries, and this certainly was very proper; but before the reſult of ſuch examinations could be known, there were ſome very ſtrong ſteps taken, for the Earl of Nottingham wrote a letter to Lord Duſley, then at the Hague, in expreſs terms; 'that the Dutch ſquadron, had behaved with ſo much bravery, that if my Lord Torrington had done his duty, we ſhould in all appearance have obtained a compleat victory.' This letter was publiſhed in Dutch in the Courant, to gratify the populace of that nation, the paſſage beforementioned, inſerted in their French (38) Hiſtorical Memoirs, in order to circulate this as a fact through all Europe. It appears likewiſe, that our miniſters (39) at all foreign courts, had informations of the like kind given them. But what was ſtill more, the Queen ſent over Mr Harbord (40) to the States-General, to let them know how much ſhe was concerned at the misfortune which had befallen their ſquadron in the late engagement, and at their not having been ſeconded as they ought to have been, which matter her Majeſty had directed to be examined into, in order to recompenſe thoſe who had done their duty, and to puniſh ſuch as ſhould be found to have deſerved it. That her Majeſty had given orders for refitting the Dutch ſhips that were diſabled at her own charge, and commanded that all poſſible care ſhould be taken of the ſick and wounded ſeamen, and that rewards ſhould be given to the widows of thoſe that were killed, behaving themſelves bravely in the fight, to encourage others to do well for the future. The King in his ſpeech to the Parliament on the 2d of October, has this paſſage (41). 'I cannot conclude, without taking notice alſo how much the honour of the Nation has been expoſed by the ill conduct of my fleet in the laſt ſummer's engagement againſt the French; and I think myſelf ſo much concerned to ſee it vindicated, that I cannot reſt ſatisfied 'till an example has been made of ſuch as ſhall be found faulty upon their examination and trial, which was not practicable while the whole fleet was abroad, but is now put into the proper way of being done as ſoon as may be.' Thus it appears plainly, that the Court concluded the Earl of Torrington guilty of miſmanagement at leaſt, if not of ſome greater crime, and by publiſhing their ſentiments, had thrown him into a ſtrange ſituation, conſidering that he was ſtill to be brought to a trial; for if without proceeding to that, he had been deprived of his commiſſion and diſgraced; many plauſible things might have been ſaid, upon political principles, and all circumſtances conſidered, it might have been looked upon as a meaſure, which the then conjuncture of affairs rendered neceſſary. But a trial was a thing of another nature, in which as a ſubject and as a Peer of England, he was entitled to ſtrict juſtice, and was to be heard in his own defence, before he could be condemned. There were many who thought this ſhould be done by impeachment, in caſe he was charged with high-treaſon or treachery. But thoſe who proſecuted him, were inclined to a more general charge of miſmanagement and miſbehaviour, and were therefore for bringing this cauſe to another tribunal, which was that of a Court-Martial, notwithſtanding that to this likewiſe, there lay great exceptions, as it was a thing unprecedented, and for various other reaſons, which will appear more fully in the next note.

[*L*] *In*

(*k*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. II. p. 53. Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 603. Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 428.

(*l*) Life of King William III. p. 276.

(37) Ralph's Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. p. 229.

(38) Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Tom. IX. p. 86.

(39) Tindal's Continuation of Rapin's Hiſtory of England, Vol. I. p. 140, 141.

(40) Kennet's Compleat Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 603. Ralph's Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. p. 229.

(41) Life of King William III. p. 291.

and, though ſome great Lawyers gave their opinion in the affirmative, yet it was judged expedient, to ſettle ſo important a point by authority of Parliament. In order, therefore, to obviate this difficulty, a new law (*m*) was made, declarative of the power of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty; and, immediately after the paſſing of this, theſe Commiſſioners, who, in virtue of letters patent, dated June 5, 1690, were, Thomas Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery; John Earl of Carbery; Sir Thomas Lee, Baronet; Sir John Lowther, Baronet; Edward Ruſſell, Eſq; Sir Richard Onſlow, Baronet; and Henry Prieſtman (*n*), Eſq; iſſued a commiſſion for this purpoſe, though many of the nobility had declared their diſlike of that law, and expreſſed their reaſons with great force in a proteſt (*o*) [*L*]. At the time this Law paſſed, the Earl of Torrington was in the Tower, and much indiſpoſed, but was immediately removed into the cuſtody of the Marſhal of the Admiralty; where he had not continued long, before he brought his caſe into the Houſe of Commons, where he was extremely anxious that it ſhould be placed in a true light. This was done, by a Member's acquainting the Houſe, that this noble Peer was deſirous of being heard at their bar, in reſpect to the matter for which he was in cuſtody. Upon this, an order was made for his Lordſhip's being brought thither the next day; the Serjeant at Arms was directed to ſerve the Marſhal of the Admiralty with a copy of it, which he did accordingly; and November the twelfth, the Houſe being informed that his Lordſhip was in the lobby, directed him to be brought in by the Serjeant with the mace, to a chair ſet for him within the bar, on the left hand of the Houſe as he came in; and having ſat down thereon for ſome time covered, and the mace being laid upon the table, his Lordſhip roſe, and ſtood at the back of the chair uncovered (*p*), and was heard before the Houſe; after which his Lordſhip withdrew, the mace attending him. This is all we meet with in the Journal; but a writer of thoſe times aſſures us, that his Lordſhip found himſelf ſo much embarraſſed in the preſence of that aſſembly, as not to be able to expreſs himſelf as he intended; upon which he acquainted the Commons, that, being accuſtomed rather to act than to ſpeak, he found himſelf at a loſs for words, and therefore deſired to make uſe of his papers, which was allowed him. He then took notice how early he had entered into his country's ſervice, how many years he had ſpent therein, and of his having loſt much blood, as well as his having been deprived of his eye, in their quarrel. He proceeded next to the loſs he had ſuſtained, for ſupporting the Proteſtant religion, and the laws and liberties of England, under King James the Second. Laſt of all, he ſpoke of the engagement with the French fleet off Beachy Head; in reſpect to which, he excuſed his not fighting, from the want of intelligence, want of ammunition, ſhortneſs of wind, inequality of numbers, and, in ſupport of what he ſaid, produced ſome letters: but all this was of little or no uſe to his Lordſhip (*q*); the Houſe remitted him to that tryal, for which the late act had made way, and of which the higheſt expectations were raiſed at home and abroad. The King alſo gave directions for haſtening it, being reſolved not to embark for Holland 'till it was all over. Accordingly, Saturday the ſixth of December, 1690, his Lordſhip went down to Sheerneſs in his yatcht, the Court-Martial ſitting there on board the Kent. On Monday December 8, Sir Ralph Delaval being in the chair (*r*) as Preſident, the commiſſion was opened and read, and other preliminaries adjuſted; after which, the court adjourned to Wedneſday the tenth. The charge againſt the Earl was, that, in the late naval engagement off Beachy-Head, he had, through treachery or cowardice, miſbehaved in his office, drawn diſhonour on the Engliſh nation, and ſacrificed our good allies the Dutch. His Lordſhip defended himſelf with great clearneſs of reaſon, and with extraordinary compoſure of mind. He obſerved, that,
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(*m*) Stat. II. Will. and Mary, Seſſ. ii. cap. 2.

(*n*) Hiſtory of the Admiralty of Great-Britain, Vol. II. p. 367, 368.

(*o*) See note [*L*].

(*p*) Journal-book of the Houſe of Commons, die Martis, Nov. 11. & die Mercurii, Nov. 12, 1690.

(*q*) Remarkable Paſſages in the Life of Lord Torrington. Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Tom. IX. p. 657, 658.

(*r*) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 603. Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Tom. X. p. 86. Remarkable Paſſages in the Life of Lord Torrington.

[*L*] *In a proteſt.*] The bill for veſting the ſame power in the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, as had been hitherto placed by law in the Lord-High-Admiral, was read in the Houſe of Peers for the third time, October 30, 1690, when, the leave of the Houſe being previouſly obtained, ſeventeen Peers entered their proteſt for the following reaſons (42).

First, Becauſe this bill gives a power to Commiſſioners of the Admiralty to execute a juriſdiction, which by the Act of 13 Car. II. entitled, An act for eſtabliſhing articles and orders for the regulating and better government of his Majeſty's navy, ſhips of war, and forces by ſea, we conceive they had not; whereby the Earl of Torrington may come to be tried for his life, for facts committed ſeveral months before this power was given or deſired. We think it reaſonable, that every man ſhould be tried by that law that was known to be in force when the crime was committed.

Secondly, It is by virtue of the ſaid act of 13 Car. II. that the Earl of Torrington was judged by this houſe, not to have the privilege of a Peer of this realm, for any offences committed againſt the ſaid act; and there is no other law as we conceive, by which the ſaid Earl could have been debarred from enjoying the privilege of a Peer of this realm; which act making no mention of Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, but of a Lord-High-Admiral only, by whoſe authority all the powers given by that act are to be exerciſed, and without whoſe conſent ſingly, no ſentence of death can be executed. We think it of dangerous conſequence to expound a law of this capital nature, otherwiſe than the literal words do import; and as we conceive it without precedent to paſs even explanatory laws, much leſs ſuch as have a retroſpect in them in caſes of life and death; ſo we think it not at all neceſſary to make ſuch a precedent at this time, there being an undoubted legal way already eſtabliſhed to bring this Earl to a trial by a Lord-High-Admiral.

Thirdly, The Judges having unanimouſly declared, that the law marine was no where particularized in their books, whereby the power or juriſdiction of the Lord-High-Admiral may be aſcertained; ſo that the practice is all that we know of it; we conceive it unprecedented and of dangerous conſequence, that the juriſdiction exerciſed by the Lord-High-Admiral, ſhould by a law be declared to be in the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, whereby an unknown and therefore unlimited power may be eſtabliſhed in them.

Rivers, Huntingdon, Rocheſter, Weymouth, Stamford, Dartmouth, Oxford, Macclesfield, Tho. Roffen, Crewe, Bath, Granville, Herbert, Craven, J. Exon, Bolton, J. Bridgewater.

(42) The Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. I. p. 405, 406.

[*M*] Upon

in the ſeveral Councils of War held before the fight, not only himſelf, but all the Admirals in the fleet, were againſt engaging. He took notice of the Queen's order, which obliged them to fight againſt their own opinion, and without any probability of ſucceſs. He remarked the inequality of the confederate and French fleets, the former conſiſting but of fifty-ſix, and the latter having eighty-two, ſhips which were actually engaged. He aſſerted, that the Dutch were deſtroyed by their own raſhneſs, and that, if he had ſuſtained them in the manner they expected, the whole confederate fleet muſt have been ſurrounded, as they were; and, as ſome reflections had been thrown out, of his having a pique to the Dutch, to gratify which he had given them up, he not only juſtified himſelf very warmly on that point, but concluded his defence with ſaying, that his conduct had ſaved an Engliſh fleet, and that he hoped an Engliſh Court-Martial would not ſacrifice him to Dutch paſſion, prejudice, and reſentment. After a full hearing, and ſtrict examination of all that had been advanced on both ſides, his Lordſhip was unanimouſly acquitted (*s*); and though ſome writers of our own as well as of another nation, have taken great liberties with this judgment of the Court-Martial, yet, on the whole, there ſeems to be no juſt ground, either for cenſuring them, or fixing any imputation on the character of that noble perſon. It is true, the day after his acquittal, the King took away his commiſſion (*t*), and he was thence forward laid aſide, which might be a very right ſtep in politics, as it tended to ſatisfy our allies, and gave his Majeſty an opportunity of employing a more fortunate officer; but, when we allow this, in juſtification of the King and his miniſters, we muſt in juſtice to this nobleman declare, that there are no ſufficient grounds in any of the accounts that are ſtill extant, to leave a ſtain upon his memory to poſterity [*M*]. This will appear the more reaſonable, if we conſider the whole

(*s*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory. p. 428.
Remarkable Paſſages in the Life of Lord Torrington.
Life of King William III. p. 276.
Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 603.
Columna Roſtrata, p. 258.

(*t*) Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Tom. X. p. 86.

[*M*] *Upon his memory to poſterity.*] The object which thoſe have in view, who are actors in theſe great affairs, is to carry their point; the buſineſs of thoſe who record them, is to come at the truth, and to repreſent it fairly whenever they can come at it. The crimes firſt imputed to the Earl of Torrington, were clearly treaſon and treachery. If he had been guilty of theſe, he ought to have been and he might have been impeached. In a very little time however theſe charges were dropped, even by thoſe who brought them, and in their ſtead were ſubſtituted want of courage and pique to the Dutch (43). In reſpect to theſe however, his enemies felt themſelves early in ſuch want of proof, that they declared to all the world, that they ſhould hold themſelves obliged to Death, if he would rid them and his lordſhip of all perplexity, by removing him while he lay in the Tower (44). Theſe certainly were no very ſtrong preſumptions of his Lordſhip's guilt. The powers lodged in the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty were ſuch, that they might pick out of all the Captains in England, whom they pleaſed to be his judges; and ſurely nothing but the force of innocence could enable a man to defend himſelf before ſuch a Judicature. The Preſident Sir Ralph Delaval, had been himſelf in the action, and was Vice-Admiral of the blue ſquadron, which was ſuppoſed to have ſuffered almoſt as much as the Dutch (45); ſo that that if any credit be due to appearances, one would think the unanimous acquittal of the Earl of Torrington, could proceed from nothing but a conviction, that he was proſecuted without any foundation (46). But the hiſtorian of his own times thought otherwiſe. After giving the hiſtory of the ſeſſions of Parliament of 1690, the reverend prelate proceeds thus (47). 'There 'were no important debates in the Houſe of Lords. 'The Earl of Torrington's buſineſs held them long. 'The form of his commitment was judged to be illegal, and the martial-law, to which by the ſtatute 'all who ſerved in the fleet were ſubject, being lodged 'in the Lord-High-Admiral, it was doubted whether 'the Admiralty being now in commiſſion that power 'was lodged with the Commiſſioners. The Judges 'were of opinion that it was: yet ſince the power of 'life and death was too ſacred a thing to paſs only by 'a conſtruction of law, it was thought the ſafeſt courſe 'to paſs an act, declaring, that the powers of a Lord-'High-Admiral did reſt in the Commiſſioners. The 'ſecret enemies of the Government who intended to 'embroil matters, moved that the Earl of Torrington 'ſhould be impeached in Parliament; proceedings in 'that way being always ſlow, incidents were alſo apt 'to fall in that might create diſputes between the two 'Houſes, which did ſometimes end in a rupture: but 'the King was apprehenſive of that, and though he 'was much incenſed againſt that Lord, and had rea-'ſon to believe that a council of war would treat him 'very favourably, yet he choſe rather to let it go ſo, 'than to diſorder his affairs. The Commiſſioners of 'the Admiralty named a court to try him, who did it 'with ſo groſs a partiality, that it reflected much on 'the juſtice of the nation; ſo that if it had not been 'for the great intereſt the King had in the States, it 'might have occaſioned a breach of the alliance be-'tween them and us. He came off ſafe as to his per-'ſon and eſtate, but much loaded in his reputation; 'ſome charging him with want of courage, while 'others imputed his ill conduct to a haughty ſullenneſs 'of temper, that made him, ſince orders were ſent 'him contrary to the advices he had given, to re-'ſolve indeed to obey them and fight, but in ſuch a 'manner as ſhould caſt the blame on all thoſe who had 'ſent him the orders, and give them cauſe to repent 'it.' Such were the ſentiments of Biſhop Burnet, let us compare them with thoſe of the Dutch news writer, who was known to be under the protection and influence of the States. His narrative runs thus (48). 'At length, 'the charge againſt the late Admiral the Earl of Torrington was brought to a trial, on board the Kent 'frigate at Chatham, the 19th of the laſt month. 'There were high diſputes for ſome time, and ſome 'officers that accuſed him, reproached him loudly with 'cowardice and treachery. This however did not 'hinder his judges to declare him innocent, whether 'they thought him ſo indeed, or whether ſwayed by 'particular intereſt, is left for others to determine. 'The Earl, as ſoon as he was acquitted, gave orders 'to ſome of the Captains, as a mark of his retaining 'his authority, and then returned in triumph up the 'Thames, carrying the Admiral's flag on his yatch; 'the judges having declared, that his commiſſion was 'in force 'till the King took away his patent. Many 'people were much ſurprized at this judgment, and 'even his Majeſty himſelf ſeemed to be aſtoniſhed. 'The next day he ſent for this Earl's commiſſion, and at 'the ſame time diſmiſſed him from his command of 'one of the marine regiments. He deſired to have the 'honour to kiſs the King's hand, and to have laid his 'commiſſion at his royal feet, but that was refuſed 'him. However, upon the 26th, he went to the 'Houſe of Lords, and took his ſeat among the Peers, 'but the greateſt part of the members looked upon him 'but with an indifferent eye. He is therefore preparing to retire to his houſe in the country. A reſolution 'alſo has been taken, to give no employment to any of 'his judges, which confirms the opinion of thoſe who 'thought that they did not obſerve the ſtrictneſs of 'law. Upwards of forty ſea officers have been removed, ſome, becauſe they are ſuſpected not to have 'done their duty in the laſt engagement; ſome being 'thought too much devoted to the Lord Torrington's 'intereſts; and others for different reaſons. Mr Ruſ-'ſel is made Admiral of the Red ſquadron; Sir John 'Aſhby, Vice-Admiral, and Captain Rook, Rear-'Admiral; Captain Killigrew of the Blue; Sir Ralph 'Delaval,

(43) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. II. p. 67.
Life of King William III. p. 275.

(44) Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Tom. IX. p. 959.

(45) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 428.

(46) Colliber's Columna Roſtrata, p. 257, 258.

(47) Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. II. p. 67, 68.

(48) Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Tom. X. p. 85, 86, 87.

whole tenour of his Lordſhip's conduct after this heavy misfortune, and in which it does not appear that he was at all prejudiced or diverted from his former principles by reſentment. On the contrary, during the very next ſeſſion of Parliament, he acted preciſely in the ſame manner as when he was in power, though he never afterwards courted any adminiſtration. He had the misfortune to loſe his youngeſt brother, Colonel Charles Herbert, who was killed at the battle of Aghrim in Ireland, on Sunday July 12, 1691, after having paſſed a bog up to the middle, at the head of his regiment, and forcing the Iriſh to quit the hedges they had occupied beyond it. But puſhing them briſkly to their main body, he was unluckily taken priſoner; and the enemy perceiving that he was like to be reſcued, they, to prevent it, barbarouſly put him to death. The honours of this noble Peer were entailed on him and his heirs male, and his dying immaturely, and without being ever married, made this loſs ſo much the greater. In 1692, Admiral Ruſſell was charged with not making ſo much uſe as he might have done of the glorious victory at la Hogue, which he poſſitively affirmed was owing to the looſe intelligence and ill-judged orders that were ſent him by the Earl of Nottingham, then Secretary of State. The Houſe of Commons were ſo well ſatisfied with this, that they thanked him over and over. But the courtiers in the Houſe of Lords ſupported the Earl of Nottingham; and the King having

'Delaval Vice, and Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, Rear-Ad-'miral of the ſame ſquadron.'

We have now reported this affair, as ſtated on all ſides, that the reader may be the better able to judge of it, and without attempting to biaſs his opinion, we ſhall likewiſe ſpeak our own. The courage of the Earl of Torrington had never been called in queſtion, theſe memoirs that we have collected, ſhew that it ought not. There is however ſomething farther that deſerves to be mentioned upon this occaſion, which was his behaviour the year before in attacking the French ſquadron, though ſuperior to himſelf, in Bantry-Bay. King William ſaw this in it's true light, and ſpoke of it like a great Prince and a wiſe Captain, he ſaid (49), 'That 'ſuch inſtances of courage were neceſſary at the begin-'ning of a war, but might be fatal in the courſe of it.' This was a leſſon to the Earl of Torrington, who in this attack had a mind to ſee whether in action, the French ſhips were as formidable as in their appearance, and having found they were, he very probably reſolved not to fight again but upon equal terms. His abilities were never queſtioned, he knew the ſtate of the fleet he commanded this ſummer, he found it aſſembled ſlowly, he felt the want of intelligence, he underſtood better than any body the ſuperiority of the enemy, which did not diſpoſe him to fighting, more eſpecially as he expected to be joined by the Portſmouth ſquadron, and except a little confuſion, did not foreſee any great impreſſion the French could make upon our coaſts. The reſt of the Admirals, Dutch as well as Engliſh, who ſhould have been, and very probably were, the beſt judges of theſe matters, thought as he did, concurred in the expediency of declining an engagement in ſuch circumſtances, and in doing this, which was all that was fit to be done, Admiral Evertzen himſelf admits, that the Earl acted very ably. But the Earl of Nottingham, then Secretary of State (50), alarmed by the general conſternation which the appearance of the French fleet had occaſioned, ſent him the Queen's orders to fight, which he could not but obey; and yet, unleſs he could have commanded fortune and the winds, ſhould not be entirely anſwerable for the conſequences. The French Fleet was in all reſpects ſuperior, by at leaſt a fourth; the Dutch behaved gallantly, and are ſaid to have made ſome impreſſion, but it does not appear that any of the enemies ſhips were diſabled; ſo that after their misfortune, the Engliſh were ſtill left to conteſt with the whole French fleet. If the Earl did not come up time enough to ſupport the Dutch, he alledged that this was owing to their eagerneſs and the ſinking of the wind; and that this really was ſo, appeared by his expoſing himſelf extremely for their preſervation. It is on all hands allowed, that he acted with great prudence and preſence of mind in making the retreat, which by the way is incompatible with every article of the charge; and diſcharges him alike from treaſon, treachery, and cowardice (51). But after all it may be ſaid, the fault lay ſome where. No doubt it did. But might it not as well lie in an overbearing Secretary, who would undertake the direction of all things, whether he underſtood them or not? was it not this Secretary who ſupported the clamour againſt the Admiral, who wrote the letter to Lord Durſley, who dictated the meſſage to Mr Harbord, who prejudiced the King and Queen a-gainſt Torrington, and who two years after did the ſame with regard to Admiral Ruſſel (52)? Things being conſidered in this light, the judgment of the Court Martial might be agreeable to truth and reaſon, though being contrary to their expectations it might be ill received at Court. But that the members of it were never employed afterwards is a glaring falſhood, ſince Sir Ralph Delaval, who was Preſident of the Court Martial, was one of the joint Admirals of the fleet the very next year (53); and as to the great intereſt of the Earl of Torrington in the Engliſh navy, the reader will be pleaſed to conſider how that is to be reconciled to the character that is given him, of being one of the haughtieſt and moſt intractable men living. However, impartial hiſtorians of all parties have done him juſtice, and it is particularly to the honour of Mr le Clerc, that he has treated this affair with all the candour imaginable (54), and without ſuffering himſelf to be carried away by the calumny of thoſe times, whether Dutch or Engliſh. It would have been as well, if Mr Bruzen de la Martiniere had obſerved the ſame moderation, more eſpecially as he ſeems to have been but very indifferently acquainted with facts. In order to ſupport ſo harſh a charge as this, we will produce his own account of the confederate fleet at the time of the engagement. 'The Dutch, ſays he, commanded by Admiral 'Hevertem, had the rear guard; the Engliſh, under 'the orders of Herbert, otherwiſe called the Earl of 'Torrington, were in the van, and the main body 'was compoſed of the ſhips of both nations (55).' In all this there is not one word of truth, any more than colour of decency, or propriety of diction; for it was Rear-Admiral Evertzen, who commanded the van; the Earl of Torrington was in the center, and the Engliſh blue ſquadron formed the rear, as the Engliſh, French, and Dutch accounts agree (56). We need not wonder therefore that this writer ſhould ſay the Engliſh Admiral fought ill, almoſt always kept the wind, and ſeemed to engage from a point of complaiſance, and preciſely to ſuch a degree, as that it might not be ſaid that he fled. He cites (with what juſtice the reader knows) for theſe ſuggeſtions the authority of Biſhop Burnet. The French writers themſelves have treated this matter with more modeſty and juſtice, except in a ſingle inſtance, where they convert the burning a very inconſiderable village in Devonſhire with three fiſhing ſmacks, into an expedition of conſequence, in which Martiniere (57) has followed them very exactly, he ſays, that on the 5th of Auguſt, they landed under the fire of their gallies, within half cannon ſhot of Tingmouth, that two hundred Engliſh militia abandoned an intrenchment which they were poſted to defend, upon the approach of the Count D'Eſtrees at the head of four hundred men, who made themſelves maſters of the town and port, in which they burnt four armed veſſels and eight merchantment. Before we put an end to this article it will not be amiſs to remark, that the French never had ſo great an advantage over us at ſea; that for ſix weeks they were maſters upon our coaſts, that we had hardly any regular troops in the kingdom; that the ſpirit of diviſion never reigned ſo ſtrong as at that juncture throughout the nation; and that notwithſtanding all this, and though oppoſed only by militia, the burning of Tingmouth was the ſole fruits of their victory.

(49) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 564.

(50) Life of King William III. p. 274.

(51) Ralph's Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. p. 226.

(52) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 648.

(53) Life of King William III. p. 363.

(54) Hiſtoire des Provinces Unies, Tom. III. p. 419.

(55) Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. Tom. IV. p. 488.

(56) See the notes [I] [K] [L].

(57) M. de Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire, Tom. II. p. 330. P. Daniel, Hiſtoire de France, Tom. X. p. 155. Hiſtoire de la Milice François, Tom. II. p. 491. Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. Tom. IV. p. 490.

having demanded the advice of both Houſes, upon the then ſtate of affairs, it was propoſed to appoint a joint commiſſion to conſider the condition of the kingdom, that, upon a ſtrict enquiry, they might concur in making a ſuitable return to the Crown. This propoſition, however, was rejected in the Houſe of Lords by a majority of twelve, againſt which the Earl of Torrington and ſeventeen other peers entered their proteſt. In this his Lordſhip may be preſumed to have acted with great impartiality, ſince Admiral Ruſſell was not looked upon as his Lordſhip's friend, and had formerly ſhewn a reluctance at leaſt, if not refuſed, to act under him. Yet the ſame influence that had prevailed againſt the Earl of Torrington, engaged the King to lay aſide Admiral Ruſſell alſo for the preſent; though the conduct of the Secretary appeared ſo exceptionable, that the King found it at laſt requiſite to remove him, and to give the Seals to the Earl of Shrewſbury the year following, when Admiral Ruſſell was alſo reſtored to the command of the fleet (*u*). As for the Earl of Torrington, it does not in the leaſt appear that he ever ſought to come again into employment, or to enter farther into the management of public buſineſs, than as the cognizance of it belonged to the Houſe of Peers, where he conſtantly attended for above twenty years after, without altering his conduct in the leaſt; which is a manifeſt proof, that he was not governed by caprice but by principle (*w*). He was always on the ſide of the Crown, and very rarely in an oppoſition to it's Miniſters; ſometimes, however, he was, and then he commonly proteſted, that the reaſons of his oppoſition might appear, and that the world might not aſcribe his diſagreement with men in power to ſpleen. In matters that related to the marine, he was generally moſt forward; and, in reſpect to them, the Houſe heard him with attention; and, upon ſuch occaſions, he ſhewed himſelf commonly a friend to ſtrict diſcipline, and a frugal management in the Navy. His Lordſhip was twice married, firſt to Anne, daughter of Mr Hadley, and the widow of Mr Pheaſant, who was near ſeventy years of age, and very rich, having eſtates in Yorkſhire, and other parts of the kingdom, to a great value. After her deceaſe, he eſpouſed Anne, daughter to Sir William Airmine, of Oſgoodby in the county of Lincoln, Baronet, who had been twice married before; firſt to Sir Thomas Woodhouſe of Kimberley, in the county of Norfolk, Baronet; and ſecondly, to Thomas, Lord Crew of Stene, in the county of Northampton; ſo that, excluſive of the moiety of her father's great eſtate, ſhe brought him two large jointures, which he enjoyed during his life (*x*). His Lordſhip deceaſed on the 13th of April, 1716, being then upwards of ſeventy (*y*). He left all his eſtate, which was very conſiderable, to the Right-Honourable Henry late Earl of Lincoln, on account of that noble perſon's ſteady adherence to his principles, and becauſe, as ſome ſay, he was diſſatisfied in his own mind, as to a vote he had given, in a matter of private property, againſt that noble peer; which is very conſiſtent with that nice ſenſe of honour, and diſintereſted ſpirit, which his Lordſhip had ſhewn upon other occaſions. Anne, Counteſs dowager of Torrington, his widow, deceaſed April 2, 1719 (*z*).

In reſpect to this title, which was often conferred and often extinct, and of which there were ſeveral dowagers of different families, which has occaſioned ſome confuſion, it may not be amiſs to ſhew, at the cloſe of this article, by whom it was borne, and how it has been beſtowed, ſince it became a title of honour, to this time. It firſt gave the title of an Earl to General George Monk, who, by letters patent, bearing date July the ſeventh, in the twelfth year of the reign of King Charles the Second, was created Baron Monk of Potheridge, Beauchamp, and Tyes, Earl of Torrington, and Duke of Albemarle. In his life-time, his ſon Chriſtopher was ſtiled Earl of Torrington; and his conſort, Lady Elizabeth Cavendiſh, daughter to Henry Lord Ogle (ſucceſſively Ducheſs of Albemarle and Montague), was called Counteſs of Torrington. It was very ſoon after the deceaſe of Chriſtopher Duke of Albemarle and Earl of Torrington, that King William beſtowed the latter title upon Admiral Herbert. But this noble perſon had not been long dead, before his late Majeſty created the honourable Mr Thomas Newport, brother to the Earl of Bradford, by letters patent, bearing date the 25th of June, in the ſecond year of his reign, Baron of Torrington. He was alſo a Teller of the Exchequer, and one of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-Council; but his Lordſhip died May the twenty-ſeventh, 1719, by which demiſe this title became extinct. However, his widow, who was the daughter of Francis Pierpoint of Nottingham, Eſq; and was his Lordſhip's third wife, ſurvived him, and bore the title of Lady Torrington to the year 1735, when ſhe deceaſed. After the ſignal Victory obtained over the Spaniards in the Streights of Meſſina, his ſaid late Majeſty created, by letters patent, dated September the nineteenth, in the ſeventh year of his reign, Sir George Byng, Knight and Baronet, Baron Byng of Southill in the county of Bedford, and Viſcount Torrington in the county of Devon. His Lordſhip died January 17, 1733, but his widow Margaret, daughter of James Maſter of Eaſt-Langden in the county of Kent, ſurvived to March 30, 1755. The title is now enjoyed by their grandſon by their ſecond ſon, George, Lord Viſcount Torrington, who deceaſed April 7, 1750.

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(*u*) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 662. Life of King William III. p. 375.

(*w*) See the Debates in the Houſe of Lords, Vol. I.

(*x*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. V. p. 259.

(*y*) Hiſtorical Regiſter for the year 1716, p. 219. Collins's Peerage, Vol. V. p. 129.

(*z*) Hiſtorical Regiſter for the year 1719, p. 15.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

HEYLIN [Peter], an eminent Engliſh divine and writer in the XVIIth century, was the ſecond ſon of Henry Heylin, Gentleman (*a*), by Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Clampard of Wrotham in Kent (*b*). He was born at Burford in Oxfordſhire, November 29, 1600 (*c*), and in the free-ſchool of that place he acquired the principles of grammatical learning. Here likewiſe he firſt diſplayed his growing abilities, by ſome compoſitions that were thought well of at that time, and from one of his tender years; particularly a tragi-comedy on the wars and fate of Troy, with ſome other hiſtorical exerciſes (*d*). In 1613, he was, by his father, entered of Hart-hall in Oxford (*e*). Here he ſtudied under two tutors ſucceſſively, one of which was a zealous Puritan. In the year following, he ſet up for a Demy's place in Magdalen-college; but being thought rather too young, and the majority of the fellows having been previouſly engaged in the intereſt of another, he loſt the election: however, in the next year he was choſen, when he gave ſufficient evidence of his having made a conſiderable progreſs in academical literature (*f*). Shortly after this, he gave a farther proof of his talent for dramatic poetry, by compoſing a tragedy in Engliſh, entitled Spurius, which had the general approbation of the ſociety to which he belonged; inſomuch, that the Preſident, Dr Langton, ordered it to be acted in his apartments (*g*); but it was not printed (*h*). On the 17th of October, 1617, he was created Bachelor of Arts (*i*). After this, 'till his taking the degree of Maſter, he, every long vacation, read coſmographical lectures in the common refectory of the college (*k*). As this was an unuſual thing, and he was very converſant in the ſubject, he gave great ſatisfaction to the auditors. The very firſt of theſe diſcourſes, which he delivered towards the end of July, 1618, was ſo well approved, that he was elected Probationer-Fellow, and Moderator of the ſenior form in the Hall; and, on July 19, 1619, was admitted Perpetual Fellow (*l*). July 1, 1620, he was made Maſter of Arts (*m*). In the year enſuing he appeared in the character of a writer, when he ſet forth his *Microcoſmus: or, A Deſcription of the Great World*. The chief materials of this work were the abovementioned lectures. He began the compoſing of it on the 22d of February, 1619, and finiſhed it on the 29th of April following (*n*). It was firſt publiſhed in quarto, November 7, 1621 (*o*). It was dedicated and preſented to Prince Charles, who received it and the author very graciouſly. It was univerſally liked, and ſpeedily bought up; ſo that, in 1624, it was reprinted in the ſame ſize, but with conſiderable additions, and again preſented to it's royal patron. It was ſoon after put into the hands of King James, by Dr Young Dean of Wincheſter. His Majeſty, at firſt view, ſeemed greatly pleaſed with it; 'till, meeting with a paſſage therein, where Heylin gave precedency to the French King, and ſtiled France the more famous kingdom, he was, forſooth, ſo exceedingly offended, forgetting how much more he had degraded both himſelf and the Britiſh nation, in the eyes of all Europe, that he ordered the Lord-Keeper to ſuppreſs the book. Heylin was then at Oxford, whither Dr Young ſent him notice of this untoward circumſtance, perſwading him to repair immediately to London, and endeavour the appeaſing of his angry ſovereign. But, by the advice of his friend Lord Danvers, who knew better how to eſtimate that King's wrath, he ſtayed where he was, and only wrote back to the Doctor an apology, wherein he declared, that the error, in one of the exceptionable paſſages (*p*), was entirely the Printer's, who had put *is* inſtead of *was*; and that when he himſelf mentioned the precedency of France before England, 'beſides, that he did not ſpeak of England as it then ſtood augmented by Scotland, he took what he did ſay from Camden in his Remains.' James was hereby ſatisfied, and Heylin took care, on the other hand, that the whole clauſe, which gave ſo much diſguſt, ſhould be left out of all future impreſſions (*q*). This work was ſucceſſively enlarged, 'till it became a great folio [*A*]. In

1623

(*a*) Theologo-Hiſtoricus: or, the true Life of Peter Heylin, D. D. by his ſon-in-law John Barnard, D. D. p. 75. edit. London, 1683.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 80.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 74.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 81, 82.

(*e*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 276. 2d edit.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Barnard, ubi ſupra, p. 86.

(*h*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 279.

(*i*) Idem, Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 203.

(*k*) Idem, Athen. Oxon. col. 276.

(*l*) Idem.

(*m*) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 216.

(*n*) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 276.

(*o*) Life of Heylin, by Dr Barnard, p. 89.

(*p*) Microcoſmus, p. 441, l. 1. edit. 1624.

(*q*) Barnard, ubi ſupra, p. 94—101.

[*A*] *'Till it became a great folio.*] Intitled, Coſmography, *in four Books; containing the Geography and Hiſtory of the whole World, and all the principal Kingdoms, Provinces, Seas, and the Iſles thereof.* Several editions of it, in this ſize, were printed at London, 1652, 1664, 1667, 1682: the laſt was in the year 1703; ſaid to be improved beyond all the former, with an hiſtorical continuation to that time, by Edmund Bohun, Eſquire. It was towards the expiration of the year 1648, that Heylin ſet about the enlarging of this work, which has done him more honour than all his other writings, whereof he has given ſome account in his preliminary advertiſement to the reader. He there ſays, That being by the unhappineſs of his deſtiny, or the infelicity of the times, deprived of his preferments, and diveſted of his miniſterial function, as to it's public exerciſe, he had leiſure enough, and opportunity of ſpending more idle hours than he ever expected or deſired. Under theſe circumſtances, being willing to do ſomewhat whereby enſuing times might know how he had paſſed away thoſe vacant ſeaſons; and conſidering of ſome particulars within his power, and anſwerable to that ſmall ſtock of books which he had recruited, (his own being taken from him, and diſpoſed of, contrary unto public order) he was requeſted by ſome friends of no common quality, to review his Geography, to make it more compleat, and ſo render it more uſeful to an Engliſh reader. This motion he at firſt neglected. His deſuetude from thoſe younger ſtudies, his great want of books, the ſad complexion of the times, and the unhandſome entertainment which his endeavours for the public had lately met with, ſeeming ſufficient to diſſuade him from the undertaking.——But, afterwards, being preſſed to it by ſome Members of Parliament, and by others of great rank, but ſuch different intereſts, that he wondred how they could all center on the ſame propoſal, he thought it, at the laſt, a more Chriſtian duty, to ſatisfy the honeſt deſires of ſo many men, than to ſacrifice any longer to his own privacy and retiredneſs, to which he had intended to devote himſelf; and accordingly reſolved to venture on it. An accident which happened in the month of January, 1640, had likewiſe an influence on him in this matter. It was then his ill fortune to ſuffer under ſome miſapprehenſions which had been entertained againſt him, and to be brought before the Committee for the Courts of Juſtice, on the complaint of Mr Prynne, then newly returned from his confinement, and in great credit with the vulgar. Heard by thoſe Commiſſioners he was, with a great deal of ingenuous patience, and diſmiſſed by them without any cenſure; but moſt deſpightfully reviled and perſecuted,

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1623 he took Orders, being ordained Deacon and Prieſt by Dr Howſon, Biſhop of Oxford, at St Aldate's-church in that city (r). In 1625, he paſſed over into France, and continued abroad about ſix weeks; in which time he alſo viſited ſome of the adjacent iſlands. However he might like that country as to the ſoil and climate, he certainly entertained but a mean opinion of the people, whether as individuals, or as a nation; and has expreſſed a great contempt of them, in the relation of his journey that he publiſhed thirty years after. April 24, 1627, he anſwered, *pro forma*, upon theſe two queſtions, 1. *An Eccleſia unquam fuerit inviſibilis?* i. e. 'Whether the Church was ever inviſible?' 2. *An Eccleſia poſſit errare?* i. e. 'Whether the Church can err?' Both of theſe he determined negatively. This raiſed a mighty clamour againſt him, as a Papiſt, or, at leaſt, a favourer of Popery. And, to ſay the truth, there are ſome doctrines very friendly to that religion, which we may ſuppoſe this diſputant was not over deſirous of undermining. With regard to the firſt of theſe queries, it may be obſerved, The rigid Calviniſts of that day were for unchurching the whole Romiſh Communion, alledging, they had utterly deſtroyed Chriſtianity by their idolatrous corruptions; while Mr Heylin, and his Arminian party, were for doing the ſame good turn for all of the Calviniſtical ſtamp, as having departed from Chriſt when they left the Biſhops. The Calviniſts (denying the Church of Rome to be a true Church) when preſſed with this queſtion, *Where the Church of Chriſt was for ſeveral ages preceding the Reformation*, were uſed to have recourſe to the Berengarians

(r) Wood, ubi ſupra.

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with exceſſive noiſe and violence, by ſuch as thronged about the doors of that committee, to expect the iſſue, and even in the ſtreets.——Amongſt others, he was encountered, in his paſſage from Weſtminſter to Whitehall, by a tall big gentleman, who thruſting him rudely from the wall, and looking over his ſhoulder at him, in a ſcornful manner, ſaid, in a hoarſe voice, *Geography is better than Divinity*; and ſo paſſed along. Whether his meaning was, that the Doctor was a better Geographer than Divine; or that Geography had been a ſtudy of more credit and advantage to him in the eyes of men, than Divinity was like to prove, Heylin could not determine; but ſure it is, he afterwards very often thought of it; and the thought thereof had it's effect, in drawing him to look back on thoſe younger ſtudies, in which he was reſolved to have dealt no more: and thereto, in the preface of his Microcoſm, had obliged himſelf; where he had ſolemnly declared, that the reader 'ſhould not fear any further enlargements, which might make him repent his (then) preſent markets; that it had received his laſt hand; and that from thenceforth he would look upon it as a ſtranger only.' But it was meant withal, the Doctor ſays, and expreſſed accordingly, unleſs it were for the 'amending of ſuch errors, of which, by the ſtrength of his own judgment, or any ingenuous information, he ſhould be convicted.' And errors he found ſo many, on this laſt peruſal, and thoſe not only verbal but material, as did not only free him from that obligation, but did oblige him to a further review thereof. For being written in an age on which the pride of youth and ſelf-opinion might have ſome predominancies, he thought it freer from miſtakes, than he, on examination, found it. And thoſe miſtakes, by running through eight editions, ſix of them without his peruſal or ſuperviſing, ſo increaſed and multiplied, that he could no longer call it his, or look upon it with any tolerable degree of patience. So that if the importunity of friends had not enforced him, in a manner, on this employment, the neceſſity of conſulting his own fame, and leaving the work fair behind him, would have perſuaded him, in the end, to do ſomewhat in it. Now, as to what the world might expect from ſo great enlargements, the Doctor ſays, his deſign, originally, was only to look over the former book, to purge it of the errors it had contracted; and not ſo much to make a new book, as correct the old. But when he had more ſeriouſly conſidered of it, he found ſufficient reaſon to change that purpoſe, to make it new both in form and matter; and to preſent it to the world with all thoſe advantages which a new book might carry with it. In the purſuance of this work, as he has taken on himſelf the parts of an Hiſtorian and Geographer, ſo he has not forgotten that he is an Engliſhman, and, which is ſomewhat more, a Churchman. As an Engliſhman, he has been mindful on all occaſions, to commit to memory the noble actions of his country, exploited both by ſea and land, in moſt parts of the world.——Though the Hiſtory and Chorography of the world be his principal buſineſs, yet he has apprehended every modeſt occaſion of recording the heroic acts of his native ſoil, and filing on the regiſters of perpetual fame, the gallantry and brave atchievements of the people of England; exemplified in their many victories and ſignal ſervices in Italy, France, Spain, Scotland, Belgium; in Paleſtine, Cyprus, Africa, and America, and indeed, where not? nor has he pretermitted their great zeal and piety, in converting to the faith ſo many of the German and Northern nations, Franconians, Thuringians, Heſſians, Saxons, Danes, Friſons; as alſo amongſt the Scots and Picts; together with thoſe of Lithuania, and the people of Norway.——And as he has been zealous to record the actions, ſo he has been as careful to aſſert the rights of the Engliſh nation, inherent perſonally in their Kings, by way of public intereſt in the ſubject alſo. Of this kind are, the true ſtating of the title of the Kings of England to the Crown of France; demonſtrating the vaſſalage of the kingdom of Scotland to the Crown of England; vouching the legal intereſt of the Engliſh nation, in right of the firſt diſcovery or primier ſeizure, to Eſtotiland, Terra Corterialis, Newfoundland, Novum Belgium, Guaiana, the countries near the Cape of Good-Hope, ſeveral of the Indian iſlands, and ſome other places, againſt all pretenders: inſinuating the precedency of the Engliſh kings before thoſe of Spain, with their ſovereignty in the Britiſh ocean. Next, as a Church-man, he has taken eſpecial notice of the antient and preſent face of Chriſtianity, in all parts of the world; the planting and government of Churches, alſo the heterodoxies and opinions of thoſe ſeveral ſects into which it doth now ſtand diſmembred. As a Geographer, he has been exact in giving every province it's peculiar bounds, in laying out their ſeveral land-marks, tracing the courſe of moſt of the principal rivers, and ſetting forth the ſituation and eſtate of the chiefeſt towns.——And herein he has taken pains in ſearching out the firſt inhabitants of each ſeveral country, as far as he could ſee by the light of letters, or go by probable conjectures in finding out the place of ſuch ancient cities as are now decayed, not eaſily viſible in their ruins; and adding to ſuch cities as are now in being (if of any antiquity) their original names.——Laſtly, as an Hiſtorian, he has traced the affairs of each ſeveral country, from the firſt inhabitants thereof, 'till theſe later times. For the better doing of which, he has taken extraordinary care, to ſettle all the firſt adventurers (after the proud attempt at Babel) in their right plantations; and that in the way of an introduction, that he might the eaſier know where he was to find them, and that he might go on with their affairs undiſturbedly. The reſt of their occurrences he has ſummed up into ſo ſhort an abſtract, as may be uſeful to the learned in the way of a remembrancer; to the leſs knowing man in the way of a tutor.—Nor has he only kept himſelf to the ſtory of kingdoms, or the greater nations, which are, or have been, of the greateſt conſideration in the ſway of the world; but looked on the eſtates of ſuch Dukes, Earls, and inferior Princes, as in their times have had the government of thoſe parts which gave title to them; whoſe actions and ſucceſſions are diſtinctly ſpecified, and all ſuch alterations noted, as have happened either in the ruin of ſuch eſtates, or the tranſlating of them from one houſe to another: until the year 1648.

Berengarians in Italy, the Waldenſes in France, the Wicliffiſts in England, and the Huſſites in Bohemia. But this way of accounting was not approved by Mr Heylin. He would not be obliged to the ſcattered conventicles (as he calls them) of theſe ſculking ſchiſmatics, for any defence of the Proteſtant Church (and conſequently of the renowned Church of England), ſeeing they themſelves could hardly be deemed Churches. By recurring to theſe ſects, that ſucceſſion of the Hierarchy, which the Church of England claims from the very Apoſtles and their immediate ſucceſſors, he judged would be utterly diſcontinued: and therefore he choſe rather to find out a viſible Church in Aſia, Ethiopia, Greece, yea Rome itſelf, as alſo in the weſtern provinces, then ſubject to the Roman Biſhop, when he was chief Patriarch: and as there were Epiſcopal Churches at all times, conſpicuouſly, in thoſe places, there was a ſufficient ground, as he thought, for his deciſion concerning the Church's *perpetual viſibility*. However, Mr Heylin was not eaſy under the charge of being popiſhly affected; for which reaſon, to clear himſelf from that imputation, he took an opportunity, preaching before the King in November following, on John iv. 20. of declaring vehemently againſt ſome of the errors and corruptions of the Romiſh Church (s). In the beginning of the year 1628, the Earl of Danby recommended him to the favour of Biſhop Laud, then of Bath and Wells, as a man deſerving ſome good preferment in the Church: for the power and ſplendour of which he was a moſt hearty advocate (t). In the latter end of this ſame year he waited on that nobleman, in quality of Chaplain, to Guernſey, of which iſland his Lordſhip was Governor. He continued there about three weeks only; and after his return wrote an account of that voyage, which was printed and publiſhed along with the relation of his former journey, abovementioned. June 13, 1629, he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (u); and, by the intereſt of his aforeſaid noble patron, was made one of the Chaplains in ordinary to his Majeſty (x). On Act-Sunday, 1630, he preached before the Univerſity of Oxford, at St Mary's, on Matth. xiii. 25 In his ſermon, he freely delivered his ſentiments in reſpect of an affair, which, at firſt ſight, had a ſpecious appearance of promoting the honour and emolument of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, but was, in reality, a moſt iniquitous ſcheme, to the prejudice of the laity, and of no ſervice where it was pretended to avail. This was a feoffment, that ſome deſigning perſons had obtained, for the buying in of impropriations. Mr Heylin ſaw through the diſguiſe, and laid bare the knavery. This made a noiſe, and greatly incenſed thoſe whoſe views were thereby in danger of being diſappointed. About this time he reſigned his fellowſhip, having been married almoſt two years before to Letitia, a daughter of Thomas Highgate of Heys, Eſq; According to the ſtatutes he ſhould have quitted his fellowſhip before he altered his condion, or immediately after; and his being ſuffered to retain it ſo long, illegally, was, becauſe thoſe who would otherwiſe have obliged him to relinquiſh, were ignorant of his nuptials. They were indeed celebrated in his own college-chapel, on St Simon and Jude's day, between ten and eleven in the morning, before witneſſes enough, of both ſexes, and the wedding-dinner given in his own chamber, to which even ſome of the Fellows were invited; and yet the thing was ſo managed, that theſe gentlemen knew not it was a marriage-feaſt, but ſuppoſed it merely a friendly entertainment; the reſt of the company keeping the hymenial rites, whereat they had been juſt before, a profound ſecret. Mr Heylin's behaviour in this caſe was not quite juſtifiable; for, undoubtedly, the circumſtances thereof were intentionally ſo ordered, as to evade the laws of the ſociety, and defeat the founder's inſtitution, which to be ſure he had engaged to obſerve and maintain: he hearkened to the voice of intereſt, and not to his conſcience, in the matter. The fact is not to be queſtioned; we have the teſtimony, for it, of Wood (y), Barnard (z), and Vernon (a) The laſt juſtifies our reflections; he ſays of the marriage, ‘It was a marriage clancularly, a marriage in maſquerade, a marriage incognito to the college, becauſe the Preſident and Fellows neither knew nor believed there was a true ſolemnization of marriage in their chapel; and though ſome of them were invited to the wedding-dinner, they took the invitation to a merriment and not to a marriage. In truth, it was not clandeſtine againſt the laws of the Church and Realm, becauſe the uſual ceremonies and formalities of both were performed in the ſolemnization betwixt the parties; but ſuch marriage was expreſsly againſt the laws and ſtatutes of the college-founder, and much more for a married Fellow to keep his fellowſhip after.’ In 1631, Mr Heylin publiſhed his *Hiſtory of that moſt famous Saint or Soldier of Jeſus Chriſt, St George of Cappadocia, aſſerted from the fictions of the middle ages of the Church, and oppoſition of the preſent.* To this was ſubjoined, *The Inſtitution of the moſt noble Order of St George, named the Garter, and a Catalogue of all the Knights of the Garter from the firſt Inſtitution to this preſent; as alſo of the principal Officers thereto belonging.* There were two impreſſions of theſe pieces at London, quarto, in the years 1631 and 1633. At the end of the latter edition is a review of the whole performance, conſiſting of additions and emendations. Mr Wood intimates, as if the motive of Heylin's undertaking this work, ſoon after his being appointed Chaplain to the King, was a deſire of becoming known to the great ones at Court, and conciliating their favour in order to his advancement (b). Be that as it will, it is certain his Majeſty accepted the work very graciouſly, when he attended him with it at Whitehall, on the ſecond of February, 1630-31, being introduced to his preſence by Dr Laud, then raiſed to the ſee of London. Soon after this, he received ſeveral tokens of this Prince's benevolence; for, in October 1631, he was preſented by him to the rectory of Hemingford in Huntingdonſhire; to a prebend of Weſtminſter, on the firſt of

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(s) Barnard, p. 3.

(t) Heylin's Life of Laud, lib. iii. ad annum 1627.

(u) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col 247.

(x) Idem, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 277. and Barnard, p. 120, 121.

(y) Athen. Vol. II. col. 277.

(z) In his Life of Heylin, p. 17.

(a) In his Life of Heylin, p. 13.

(b) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 277.

November following; and ſhortly after to the rectory of Houghton, in the biſhoprick of Durham, worth nearly four hundred pounds a year (*c*). This laſt he afterwards exchanged with Dr Marſhall for the rectory of Alresford in Hampſhire; and this he did by deſire of his Majeſty, that he might be more in the neighbourhood of the Court (*d*). After waiting on the King with it, he carried his Hiſtory to all the Knights of the Garter and Perſons of Quality which happened to be then in London. He met with a genteel reception from all, but Archbiſhop Abbot and the Earl of Exeter. The former had a contemptuous opinion of the ſubject, and the latter of the author, whom he treated as a begging ſcholar; an indecence, of which that nobleman was afterwards aſhamed (*e*). The book was no ſooner publiſhed, than it was attacked by Dr Hakewill, in a diſcourſe (as Heylin ſays) *full of moſt baſe and malicious calumniations, both againſt the perſon and religion of the author* (*f*). The King being informed of this circumſtance by Laud, took part in the matter, ſo far as to command Heylin to conſider Hakewill's objections; and that he might be the better qualified for ſuch a taſk, he ſent him to ſearch the records of the Order of the Garter at Windſor. Having ſo done, he printed a ſecond edition of his Hiſtory, in 1633, wherein he endeavoured to invalidate the exceptions of his antagoniſt. This ſeems to have had ſome effect on Hakewill; for, in a ſecond edition of his *Apology or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God*, he retracted thoſe paſſages in the firſt which related to St George. However, it is plain that he was far from being entirely reconciled to Heylin's book: for though he made no formal reply to what concerned him in the ſecond impreſſion of it, he, about the ſame time, acquainted his friends what his ſentiments were thereof, in ſeveral letters; in one of which he writes thus (*g*). ‘In the ſecond impreſſion of this book [the Hiſtory of St George], where he hath occaſion to ſpeak of the Roman writers, eſpecially the legendaries, he magnifies them more, and when he mentions our men, he vilifies them more, than he did in his firſt edition. But the matter is not much what he ſaith of the one or the other, the condition of the man being ſuch, that his word hardly paſſeth for commendation or ſlander, &c.’ April 13, 1633, Mr Heylin was created Doctor of Divinity (*h*). In his Latin exerciſes for this degree he diſputed on the enſuing queſtions, I. *Whether the Church hath authority in determining controverſies of Faith?* II. *Whether the Church hath authority of interpreting the Sacred Scriptures?* III. *Whether the Church hath authority of appointing rites and ceremonies?* Of all which he maintained the affirmative. This gave freſh offence to Prideaux, and all the puritanical members of the univerſity. This orthodox divine accuſed him on the ſpot, of falſifying the doctrine of the Church, in charging the article with that ſentence, *Habet Eccleſia ritus ſive ceremonias, &c.* which was not found in the whole body of it. And, for proof thereof, he read the article out of a book there before him, beginning thus, *Non licet Eccleſiæ quicquam inſtituere quod verbo Dei ſcripto adverſetur*, &c. This book was the Harmony of Confeſſions, publiſhed at Geneva, 1612, which was indeed, in this particular, conformable to the articles, as they ſtood in the time of Edward the Sixth, 1552, wherein that ſentence was not found. Heylin, gueſſing the book by the ſize of the volume, anſwered, that however it might be there, it was otherwiſe, and as he had affirmed, in the articles agreed on by the Convocation in 1562, to which moſt of the clergy had ſubſcribed. This aſſertion of our new doctor did not ſtop the mouth of Prideaux, or quite ſatisfy others that were preſent, and of the ſame opinion with him. Whereupon, Heylin ſent immediately to a neighbouring bookſeller for a book of Articles; which being brought, he read out of it the diſputed one in Engliſh, thus, *The Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controverſies of Faith*, &c. which done, he delivered the book to a byſtander, who deſired a ſight of the paſſage, and it was handed from one to another, 'till all were convinced by ocular demonſtration (*i*), and Prideaux, as well as his partizans, ſilenced [*B*]. This warm man, in the courſe of the diſpute, uttered ſome tenets, that gave no leſs diſguſt to Laud, Chancellor of Oxford, and to the King, whom that prelate informed of them, than Heylin's had to him. He aſſerted, *The Church was a mere chimera.—That it did not teach or determine any thing.—That controverſies had better be referred*

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Barnard, p. 142, 143.

(*e*) Wood, ut ſupra, col. 279, 280. Barnard, p. 124.

(*f*) Appendix to the Advertiſements in Sanderſon's Hiſtory.

(*g*) See Sanderſon's Poſt-haſte. A Reply to Peter's Appendix to his Treatiſe, intitled, *Reſpondet Petrus*, p. 13.

(*h*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 258.

(*i*) Appendix to the 2d part of Heylin's Examen Hiſtoricum.

[*B*] *And Prideaux, as well as his partizans, ſilenced.*] Anthony Collins remarks on this (1), that they were ſatisfied with very little reaſon; ‘for the Engliſh edition produced, which was in all probability the late edition ſet forth with the King's Declaration, ſeems very improper to determine the controverſy, when the queſtion related to the Latin articles. If any Latin copy of the articles, printed by authority, had been brought into the ſchools, the aſſembly muſt have been ſatisfied of the contrary, if they had judged of the authority of the clauſe by a printed copy of the articles.’ But, after all, what is there in the Latin article, as read by Prideaux, any more than in the Engliſh one, produced by Heylin, that contradicts the poſition of this latter which gave ſo much offence. Where is the difference, in ſenſe, between *Non licet eccleſiæ quicquam inſtituere quod verbo Dei ſcripto adverſetur*; and, *The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controverſies of Faith: yet not ſo as to ordain any thing contrary to God's written word.* Here is no real, but a ſeeming diverſity only. For though the Latin is negatively, and the Engliſh affirmatively, expreſſed; yet the affirmation of the one is implied in the negation of the other: for, is it not an abſurdity to talk of limiting a power which does not exiſt? if the Church, then, had not, generally, a power of decreeing, it would be nonſenſe to ſay, ſhe might not decree contrary to God's word. The ſaying, ſhe may not ordain any thing contrary to the Scriptures, infers, ſhe may ordain any thing, relating to her province, that is conſiſtent with them.—Whether the Church always confines herſelf within due bounds, or may not ſometimes miſuſe her authority?—Whether ſhe has any authority in ſuch things at all?—Or, finally, whether there is ſuch a thing as a Church, according to Heylin's acceptation of that term? are other points: but, moſt certainly, the twentieth article of the Church of England, whether Latin or Engliſh, ſeems as favourable as need be wiſhed, to the cauſe Heylin defended.

(1) Hiſtorical and critical Eſſay on the 39 Articles, introduction, p. 28.

[*C*] *Of*

red to Univerſities than to the Church, and might be decided by the Literati there, even though Biſhops were laid aſide (*k*). Heylin afterwards found an opportunity of revenging himſelf on Prideaux [*C*], for the ill treatment he had from him, at the times of his taking the two aforeſaid degrees. In 1636 he publiſhed his *Hiſtory of the Sabbath* (*l*), which he wrote for reconciling the people to that order the King had lately iſſued, for permitting (if not enjoining) public games and diverſions on the evenings of the Lord's-day. This treatiſe endeared him greatly to his Majeſty, and the leſs pious (whether lords or prelates) of the Court; but rendered him no leſs odious to thoſe of a more religious caſt throughout the kingdom. This book was twice printed in quarto, at London, in the ſpace of about a year. He now likewiſe publiſhed *A Coal from the Altar*: or, *An Anſwer to the Biſhop of Lincoln's Letter to the Vicar of Grantham, againſt placing the Communion-Table in the manner of an Altar*. The Biſhop, in 1637, replied in a piece intitled, *The Holy Table, name and thing*. In this laſt year he put out the following tracts, I. *A brief Diſcourſe, by way of Letter, touching the Form of Prayer appointed to be uſed by Preachers before their Sermons.* II *A brief and moderate Anſwer to the ſeditious and ſcandalous Challenge of Henry Burton, in two Sermons preached by him on the fifth of November 1636, and in the Apology ſet before them.* III. *Antidotum Lincolnienſe*: or, *An Anſwer to a book, intitled, the Holy Table, name and thing.* Williams, Biſhop of Lincoln and Dean of Weſtminſter, having incurred the King and Laud's diſpleaſure, was now ſuſpended and impriſoned; whereupon Heylin was made Treaſurer of the Church of Weſtminſter, and was alſo preſented by the Prebendaries, his brethren, to the rectory of Iſlip near Oxford, in value about two hundred pounds a year: this he exchanged, in 1638, for that of South-Warnborough in Hampſhire; and, the ſame year, was made one of the Juſtices of the Peace for that county. In 1639 he was employed by Archbiſhop Laud to tranſlate the Scotch liturgy into Latin. On the tenth of April, 1640, he was choſen by the College of Weſtminſter their Clerk, to repreſent them in Convocation (*m*). About this time he was involved in new troubles by his old antagoniſt Biſhop Williams [*D*], and William Prynne (*n*). This was a ſeaſon when men of his principles might well be under apprehenſions. A cloud was gathered, which threatned to overwhelm all, who, like him, had diſtinguiſhed themſelves as champions for royal or eccleſiaſtical prerogative. To ſhelter him from the impending ſtorm, he retired from the metropolis, where he had long baſked in the ſhine of a Court, to his parſonage of Alresford; but not thinking himſelf there ſufficiently ſecure, he retreated to Oxford, then garriſoned by the King, and the ſeat of his reſidence. On this the Parliament voted him a delinquent, and diſpatched an order to their committee at Portſmouth

to

(*k*) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 278. Hiſt. & Antiq. Univerſ. Oxon. lib. i. p. 340.

(*l*) Athen. Oxon. ut ſupra.

(*m*) See, for theſe particulars, Barnard's Life of Heylin, p. 172, 173, 174, 177. and Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 278.

(*n*) Some Account of what he ſuffered, by means of this latter, may be ſeen in note [*A*].

[*C*] *Of revenging himſelf on Prideaux.*] This divine had delivered a lecture on the Sabbath, which was ſomewhat freer than ſuited the rigid orthodoxy of that time. However, it ſhould ſeem, the matter had then paſſed without much, if any, obſervation or cenſure. But ſhortly after, when the King, by publiſhing the book of ſports on ſundays, had raiſed a violent out-cry throughout the nation againſt himſelf, his evil counſellor Laud, and all who were in the leaſt ſuſpected of doubting the divine inſtitution of that holy day, or that did not zealouſly urge even a Jew-like obſervation of it; Heylin tranſlated this lecture into Engliſh, to which he prefixed a preface, and publiſhed it in Hilary-Term, 1633 4, to the great vexation of Prideaux, who hereby ſuffered much in the eſteem and affection of the Puritans (2).

(2) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 278. Hiſt. & Antiq. Univerſ. Oxon. lib. i. p. 340.

[*D*] *By his old antagoniſt Biſhop Williams.*] The Doctor preaching at Weſtminſter-Abbey, and (oddly enough, conſidering his own temper and behaviour) exhorting Chriſtians to moderation, love, and charity among themſelves, for the preſervation of the public peace, although they differed in ſome opinions; proceeded (not very conſiſtently) to juſtify the Church in impoſing doctrines and rites, and to cenſure any oppoſition thereto, in theſe words, 'Is it not that we are ſo affected with our own opinions, that we condemn whatſoever ſhall opine the contrary; and ſo far wedded to our own wills, that when we have eſpouſed a quarrel, neither the love of God, nor the God of Love ſhall divorce us from it? inſtead of hearkening to the voice of the Church, every man hearkens to himſelf, and cares not if the whole miſcarry, ſo that himſelf may bravely carry out his own devices. Upon which ſtubborn height of pride what quarrels have been raiſed? what ſchiſms in every corner of this our Church? to inquire no further, ſome rather putting all into open tumult, than that they would conform to the lawful government, derived from Chriſt and his Apoſtles to theſe very times.' At the ſpeaking of theſe words, the Biſhop of Lincoln, ſitting in the great pew, knocked aloud with his ſtaff upon the pulpit, ſaying, *No more of that point, no more of that point, Peter.* To whom the Doctor readily anſwered, *I have a little more to ſay, my Lord, and then I have done*; which was as follows: 'Others coming into cloſe and dangerous factions, becauſe ſome points of ſpeculative divinity are otherwiſe maintained by ſome than they would have them; alſo regardleſs of the common peace, that rather than be quiet, we will quarrel with our bleſſed peace maker for ſeeking to compoſe the differences, though to the prejudice of neither party. Thus do we fooliſhly divide our Saviour, and rent his ſacred body on the leaſt occaſion, rarely conceiving that a difference in a point of judgment muſt needs draw after it a disjoining of the affections alſo, and that conclude at laſt in an open Schiſm Whereas diverſity of opinions, if wiſely managed would rather tend to the diſcovery of the truth, than the diſturbance of the Church, and rather whet our induſtry than excite our paſſions. It was St Cyprian's reſolution, not to ſuſpend any man from the communion of the Church, although the matter then debated, was, as I take it, of more weight than any of the points now controverted: which moderation if the preſent age had attained unto, we had not then ſo often torn the Church in pieces, nor by our frequent broils offered that injury and inhumanity to our Saviour's body, which was not offered to his garments.' One would think there was nothing in theſe words that could diſpleaſe a biſhop; but they occaſioned an altercation between his Lordſhip and the Doctor, in which the latter acted with an unconquerable reſolution, and, at laſt, got the better of the prelate. For when Heylin was brought before the committee, a ſecond time, as may be ſeen in note [*A*], and this matter was there alledged againſt him, it was declared by the unanimous voice of all then preſent, that there was nothing in the aforeſaid paſſage which did not become an honeſt man to ſpeak, and a good chriſtian to hear; and not only ſo, but that the Biſhop was tranſported beyond his bounds, and failed in his accuſtomed prudence.——The troubles alſo into which he was brought by Mr Prynne, who ſummoned him before the committee for the Court of Juſtice, and there accuſed him of *being one of the chief agents and contrivers of all his ſufferings*, ſoon came to an end, without any grievous conſequence.

[*E*] *There*

to ſequeſter his whole eſtate, and ſeize upon his goods. In conſequence of this ſevere decree, he was deprived of his moſt curious and valuable library; it being carried, with other his houſhold furniture, to that town. As he was thus ſtripped of his ſubſtance, and the income of his livings with-held, his condition at Oxford would have been very diſtreſſed, if the King had not appointed him to write a periodical paper, that was publiſhed weekly in that city, intitled *Mercurius Aulicus*: Which, for ſome time before, had been penned by one John Birkenhead, who, as Wood tells us, pleaſed the generality of readers with his waggeries and buffooneries, far more than his ſucceſſor did. This political performance for a while afforded him a ſubſiſtance. But, in 1645, the King's affairs becoming almoſt deſperate, and the *Mercurius Aulicus* no longer ſupported, the forlorn author quitted Oxford, and wandered from place to place, himſelf and family reduced to the utmoſt ſtraits. At Wincheſter he ſtayed for a while with his wife, &c. 'till that city was delivered up to the Parliament, when he was forced again to remove. In 1648, he went to Minſter-Lovel in Oxfordſhire, the ſeat of his elder brother, which he farmed for the ſix or ſeven following years of his nephew, Colonel Heylin, where he ſpent much of his time in writing. He now in ſome meaſure recovered the enjoyment of his temporal eſtate, for which he compounded with the Commiſſioners at Goldſmith's-hall. On his quitting the aforeſaid farm, he went to Abingdon in Berkſhire, reſiding at a manſion called Lacy's-court. Here too he employed himſelf in the compoſing of ſeveral treatiſes, which he printed. In 1657, he ſuffered afreſh in his fortune by decimation. Upon the reſtoration of Charles the Second, he was likewiſe reſtored to all his ſpiritualities. But he undoubtedly expected from that prince ſome very eminent dignity in the Church, then re-eſtabliſhed, as he had heroically exerted himſelf in the behalf of it, as well as of the Crown, and endured ſo much on that account, during their ſuffering condition. However, herein he was utterly diſappointed, being never raiſed above the ſub-deanery of Weſtminſter. This was matter of great vexation to him, and of wonder to many others, who did not ſufficiently conſider the diſpoſition, figure, and qualities of the man; which, though well enough for the tool of a party, were not the propereſt recommendations to preferment, or moſt ſuitable to a ſublime ſtation. He died on the 8th of May, 1662, and was interred before his own ſtall, within the choir of the abbey, where a monument was erected to his memory (*o*). Wood and Barnard have each of them left us a character of him, but there is nothing extraordinarily engaging in the features of either [*E*]. His works are numerous, but not very valuable; we ſhall eſpecially recite the titles of thoſe that have not been mentioned in the courſe of theſe memoirs [*F*].

(*o*) See, for the foregoing particulars, Barnard's Life of Heylin, p. 202, 203, 204, 205. Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 278, 279.

[*E*] *There is nothing extraordinarily engaging in the features of either.*] Wood tells us (3), that he was 'A perſon endowed with ſingular gifts, of a ſharp and 'pregnant wit, ſolid and clear judgment. In his 'younger years he was accounted an excellent poet, 'but very conceited and pragmatical; in his elder a 'better hiſtorian, a noted preacher, and a ready 'or extemporanean ſpeaker. He had a tenacious 'memory to a miracle. He was a bold and undaunted 'man among his friends and foes (though of very mean 'port and preſence) and therefore by ſome of them he 'was accounted too high and proud for his function.— 'A conſtant aſſerter of the Church's right and the 'King's prerogative; a ſevere and vigorous oppoſer of 'rebels and ſchiſmatics, a deſpiſer of envy, and in 'mind not at all diſcouraged.—In ſome things too 'much a party to be an hiſtorian, and equally an ene'my to Popery and Puritaniſm.' Dr Barnard informs us (4), that, 'He was of a middle ſtature, his 'face oval, his complection florid, his hair ſhort 'and curling, his eyes quick and ſparkling, be'fore he loſt his ſight; that he had a prodigious me'mory; and that he was of great generoſity and 'charity.'

(3) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 279.

(4) Barnard, p. 258, 259.

[*F*] *That have not been mentioned in the courſe of theſe memoirs.*] I. *Theomachia*, a comedy, never printed. II. *Auguſtus*, an Eſſay, printed 1682, and ſince inſerted into his *Coſmography*. III. *An uniform Book of Articles to be uſed by all Biſhops or Archdeacons in their Viſitations.* London, 1640, quarto. IV. *De jure paritatis Epiſcoporum*, written, 1640, on occaſion of a queſtion in the Houſe of Lords, whether Biſhops ſhould be of the committee for the preparatory examinations in the cauſe of the Earl of Strafford. It is printed among his Hiſtorical and Miſcellaneous Tracts. V. *Reply to Dr Hakewill's Diſſertation touching the Sacrifice of the Euchariſt*, London, 1641, quarto. VI. *An help to Engliſh Hiſtory*, &c. London, 1641, octavo. VII. *Hiſtory of Epiſcopacy*, London, 1642, quarto. VIII. *Hiſtorical Narration of Liturgies*, &c. IX. *A Relation of Lord Hopton's Victory near Bodmin in Cornwall*, &c. X. *A brief Relation of two remarkable Occurrences in the Northern Parts, viz. The landing of the Queen in Burlington-Bay from Holland, and of the Repulſe of the Rebels at Newark*, Oxford, 1642, quarto. XI. *A View of the Proceedings in the Weſt for a Pacification.* XII. *A Letter to a Gentleman in Leiceſterſhire about the Treaty at Uxbridge, ſhewing that all the Overtures, which have been made for Peace and Accommodation, have proceeded from his Majeſty only.* XIII. *The Round-Head's Remembrances: Or a true and particular Relation of the great Defeat given to the Rebels by his Majeſty's Subjects of Cornwall*, &c. 1643. XIV. *A Relation of the Proceedings of Sir John Gell*, &c. printed 1643. XV. *The Black Croſs; ſhewing that the Londoners were the Cauſe of the preſent Rebellion.* XVI. *The Rebel's Catechiſm, compoſed in an eaſy and familiar way, to let them ſee the heinouſneſs of their offence*, printed 1643, quarto. XVII. *Diſcourſe in Anſwer to the common, but groundleſs, clamour of the Papiſts, nick naming the Religion of the Church of England, by the Name of a Parliament Religion.* This piece was written in 1644, at the requeſt of a friend; but when printed next year, at Oxford, quarto, it was intitled, *Parliament Power in Laws for Religion: Or an Anſwer to that old and groundleſs Calumny, &c.* It went through other editions, with a different title from the two former. XVIII. *A brief Relation of the Death and Sufferings of the moſt reverend and renowned Prelate the Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, with a Copy of his Speech, and other Paſſages on the Scaffold*, &c. Oxford, 1644, quarto. XIX. *Bibliotheca Regia: Or the Royal Library*, Lond. 1649, 1650, 1659, 8vo. XX. *The Stumbling-block of Diſobedience and Rebellion, cunningly laid by Calvin in the Subject's Way, diſcovered, cenſured, and amended*, London, 1658, quarto. XXI. *The promiſed Seed*, in Engliſh verſe. XXII. *The undeceiving the People in Point of the Tythes*, &c. London, 1648, 1651. XXIII. Theologia Veterum: *The Sum of Chriſtian Theology contained in the Creed, according to the Greeks and Latins*, &c. London, 1654, 1673, Folio. XXIV. *Obſervations on the Hiſtory of the Reign of K. Charles, publiſhed by Hamon L'Eſtrange, Eſq; for the Illuſtration of the Story*, London, 1656, octavo. L'Eſtrange anſwered this, and Heylin replied in a piece intitled, XXV. Extraneus Vapulans; *Or the Obſervator reſcued from the violent but vain aſſaults of Hamon L'Eſtrange, Eſq; and the back Blows of Dr Barnard, an Iriſh Dean*, &c. XXVI. Eccleſia vindicata; *Or the Church of England juſtified,*

1. *In*

1. *In the Way and Manner of her Reformation*, &c. 2. *In officiating by a publick Liturgy.* 3. *In preſcribing a ſet Form of Prayer to be uſed by Preachers before their Sermons.* 4. *In her Right and Patrimony of Tithes.* 5. *In retaining the epiſcopal Government, and therewithal the canonical Ordination of Prieſts and Deacons*, London, 1657, quarto. XXVII. Reſpondet Petrus; *Or the Anſwer of Peter Heylin, D. D to ſo much of Dr Barnard's Book entitled*, The Judgment of the late Primate of Ireland, &c. *as he is made a Party by the ſaid Lord Primate in the Point of the Sabbath*, &c. London, 1658, quarto. XXVIII. *An Appendix in Anſwer to certain Paſſages in Mr* Sanderſon's Hiſtory of the Life and Reign of K. Charles, &c. XXIX. *Short View of the Life and Reign of K. Charles (the ſecond Monarch of Great-Britain) from his Birth to his Burial*, London, 1658, octavo. XXX. Examen Hiſtoricum; *Or a Diſcovery and Examination of the Miſtakes and Defects in ſome Modern Hiſtories*, &c. Theſe were, Fuller's Church Hiſtory of Britain; and Sanderſon's Hiſtories of Mary Queen of Scots; and of her ſon K. James the VIth; of King James the Firſt of Great-Britain; and of K. Charles the Firſt, from his cradle to his grave. XXXI. *The Parable of the Tares, expounded and applied in ten Sermons, with three other Sermons by the ſame Author*, London, 1659, 1661, quarto. XXXII. Certamen Epiſtolare: *Or the Letter Combat, managed by Peter Heylin, D. D. with*, 1. *Mr Baxter of Kidderminſter.* 2. *Dr Barnard of Gray's-Inn.* 3. *Mr Hickman of Magdalen-College, Oxon.* 4. *James Harrington, Eſq*; &c. London, 1650, octavo. XXXIII. Hiſtoria Quinquarticularis: *Or a Declaration of the Judgment of the Weſtern Churches, and more particularly of the Church of England, in the five controverted Points, reproached in theſe laſt Times by the Name of* Arminianiſm, &c. London, 1660, quarto. XXXIV. *A Sermon preached in the Collegiate Church of St Peter's in Weſtminſter, on the 29th of May*, 1661, *on* Pſalm xxxi. 21. London, 1661, quarto. XXXV. *Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of England, from the firſt Preparations to it made by K. Henry VIIIth, until the legal ſettling and eſtabliſhing of it under Q. Elizabeth*, &c. London, 1661, 1670, 1674, folio. XXXVI. Cyprianus Anglicus: *Or the Hiſtory of the Life and Death of William Laud, Archbiſhop of Canterbury*, &c. London, 1668, 1671, folio. XXXVII. Aerius Redivivus: *Or the Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians. Containing the Beginning, Progreſs, and Succeſſes of that Sect; their oppoſitions to Monarchical and Epiſcopal Government; their Innovations in the Church; and their Imbroylments of the Kingdoms and Eſtates of Chriſtendom in the Purſuit of their Deſigns, from the Year* 1536 *to* 1647, London, 1670, 1672, folio. XXXVIII. *Hiſtorical and Miſcellaneous Tracts*, London, 1681, folio. Some of theſe tracts were ſeparately publiſhed before this edition of them, and have been already mentioned in this note. Dr Heylin wrote alſo, *A Diſcourſe of the African Schiſm*; and, in 1637, at Laud's deſire, drew up, *The Judgment of Writers on thoſe Texts of Scripture, in which the Jeſuits found the Popedom and the Authority of the Roman Church*: both which pieces were intended by the Archbiſhop as materials towards his anſwer to Fiſher, which was printed, 1639, in folio.

I

HOBBES [THOMAS], a celebrated writer in the XVIIth century, was born at Malmeſbury in Wiltſhire, April 5, 1588. His father was a miniſter of that town, of the ſame name, not very remarkable for his learning, and who contented himſelf with reading to his congregation the Homilies ſet forth by authority, rather than adventure on compoſing diſcourſes of his own (*a*). His mother was ſo frighted with the news of the Spaniſh fleet, then upon the Engliſh coaſt, that ſhe was brought to bed of her ſon Thomas before her time, who, notwithſtanding, was of a ſtrong and healthy conſtitution. At four years of age he was taught to read, and, when he was about ſix years old, he began to apply himſelf to the learned languages (*b*). When he was in the eighth year of his age, he was put under the care of Mr Robert Latimer, then Maſter of the grammar-ſchool at Malmeſbury; who, having a great opinion of his parts, treated him with much kindneſs and indulgence, and gave him all poſſible aſſiſtance in his ſtudies. In theſe he made ſo extraordinary a progreſs, that, before he was ſent to the univerſity, he tranſlated the Medea of Euripides out of Greek into Latin verſe (*c*). In 1603, he was entered of Mary-Magdalen-hall in Oxford, of which Dr Huſſee was then Principal, who was afterwards knighted, and became Chancellor of the dioceſe of Saliſbury, a learned man, and a true patron of letters. While at college, he was chiefly ſupported by an allowance from his uncle, who was Alderman of Malmeſbury, the chief office in that corporation, and who at his death left him a ſmall annuity, that he might not be obliged to deſert his ſtudies (*d*). In 1607, our author took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; the year following, by the recommendation of Mr John Wilkinſon, Principal of Magdalen-hall, he was taken into the family of the Right-Honourable William Cavendiſh, Lord Hardwicke, ſoon after created Earl of Devonſhire, in quality of tutor to his ſon William Lord Cavendiſh; with whom, being much of an age, he was admitted to an extraordinary degree of intimacy, ſo as not only to aſſiſt him in his ſtudies, but to be his companion alſo in the ſports of the field, to which that young lord was much inclined. By his prudent behaviour, Mr Hobbes recommended himſelf ſo effectually, both to this young nobleman and his father, that he was ſent abroad with him on his travels in 1610, and made the Tour of France and Italy, which gave him an opportunity of making himſelf compleatly maſter of the languages of thoſe countries, as well as of the politer parts of learning (*e*). Upon his return with the Lord Cavendiſh, finding that his ſtock of academical knowledge was ſomewhat decayed, he applied himſelf with ſuch diligence to the ſtudy of the beſt authors of antiquity, that he arrived at a clear ſtrong Latin ſtile, and acquired a perfect knowledge of the Greek tongue. Theſe accompliſhments, with a good addreſs, made him known to perſons of high rank, as well as men eminently diſtinguiſhed for their parts and learning; ſuch as the Lord-Chancellor Bacon, who admitted him to a great degree of familiarity, and, it is ſaid, made uſe of his pen for tranſlating ſome of his excellent works into Latin. He was likewiſe much in the favour of that learned and accompliſhed nobleman, Edward, Lord Herbert of Chirbury. Another of his intimate friends was, Sir Robert Ayton, Secretary to Queen Anne conſort to King James the Firſt, one who had raiſed himſelf a high reputation by the elegancy with which he wrote Latin verſe (*f*). The celebrated Benjamin Johnſon was likewiſe of his acquaintance, and had ſo great an eſteem for him, that he reviſed the firſt of his works that our author made public, viz. an Engliſh tranſlation of the Hiſtory of Thucydides, undertaken from an honeſt and laudable deſire of preventing thoſe

(*a*) Thomæ Hobbes Malmeſburienſis vita, carmine expreſſa. Authore ſeipſo. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 23. Hiſtoria & Antiquitates Oxonienſis, lib. ii. p. 376.

(*b*) Vita Thomæ Hobbes, p. 1. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 23. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 641.

(*c*) Thomæ Hobbes Malmeſburienſis Vita. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 23. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. 641.

(*d*) Vitæ Thomæ Hobbes, p. 1. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 25, 26. Hiſtoria & Antiquitates Oxonienſis, lib. ii. p. 376.

(*e*) Thomæ Hobbes Malmeſburienſis Vita. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 27—30. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 641.

(*f*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 34, 35.

diſturbances he was apprehenſive might ariſe in his own country, by ſhewing the fatal conſequences of inteſtine troubles. But while he meditated this deſign, his noble patron, William Earl of Devonſhire, departed this life in 1626; and, in 1628, the very ſame year that work was publiſhed, his ſon and ſucceſſor, who was of the ſame Chriſtian name, died likewiſe; in whoſe ſervice Hobbes had lived twenty years, firſt in quality of his tutor, and afterwards of his ſecretary (*g*). Theſe ſtrokes affected him to ſuch a degree, that he willingly accepted an offer made him of going abroad with the ſon of Sir Gervaſe Clifton, whom he accompanied into France, and ſtayed there ſome time. As he had never been any great admirer of the Logics, Phyſics, and Metaphyſics of the ſchools, he thought his time might be better employed in the purſuit of the Mathematics. He began therefore with the works of Euclid, which he read with great application and extraordinary pleaſure; not ſo much on account of the ſubject, for he thought the properties and relations of lines and angles, ſpeculatively conſidered, was of very little conſequence to the buſineſs of human life, though of very great uſe when reduced to practice; but his ſagacity taught him to admire, in the writings of that Philoſopher, the clearneſs of his reaſoning, the connection of his arguments, and the wonderful perſpicuity of his method, from whence truth appeared inconteſtible (*h*). While his hours were thus employed, he found himſelf ſollicited to return to England, and reſume his concern for the hopes of that family, to which he owed ſo many and ſo great obligations. The Counteſs-dowager of Devonſhire, a lady more conſpicuous from her virtues than her quality, deſired to put the young Earl of Devonſhire under his care, who was then about the age of thirteen (*i*). This was very ſuitable to Mr Hobbes's inclinations, who diſcharged this truſt with great diligence and fidelity. He took occaſion from this employment to republiſh his tranſlation of Thucydides, to which he prefixed a dedication to that worthy young nobleman, in which he gives a large character of his father, and repreſents, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the gratitude he owed to that illuſtrious family [*A*]. The ſame year he accompanied his pupil

to

(*g*) Vita Thomæ Hobbes, p. 3. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 36—40. Hiſtoria & Antiquitates Oxonienſis, p. 377.

(*h*) Thomæ Hobbes Malmeſburienſis Vita. Vita Thomæ Hobbes, p. 3. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 642.

(*i*) Thomæ Hobbes Malmeſburienſis Vita. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 41. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 641.

[*A*] *The gratitude he owed to that illuſtrious family.*] In the life of himſelf, written by Mr Hobbes in Latin verſe, we are told the motive of his tranſlating the Peloponneſian War, the ſame, which we have mentioned in the text; but he ſays nothing there of the time of it's publication. However, we find it expreſly mentioned in the Latin proſe life, which has alſo been attributed to Mr Hobbes, that he publiſhed his Engliſh tranſlation of Thucydides in 1628 (1). He muſt therefore have republiſhed it in 1634, as appears from the date of the dedication, as well as that prefixed to ſuch of the firſt edition as are commonly met with; for the ſame book being again printed in 1676, with the title only of a ſecond edition, is a very plain proof that the fact really ſtood as we have ſtated it. This has been always eſteemed one of the beſt tranſlations that we have of any Greek writer, and the author himſelf took care of the maps and indexes. There is one thing which muſt not be paſſed by, the learned Dr Tenniſon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, one of the ableſt, as well as one of the faireſt antagoniſts Mr Hobbes ever met with, is clearly of opinion, that he borrowed the fundamental maxims of his politics, from the oration of Euphemus the Athenian Ambaſſador, which is printed in the ſixth book of that hiſtory (2). At the time it was publiſhed, Mr Hobbes was eſteemed a very ſagacious and public ſpirited man, one who had nothing ſo much at heart as promoting the peace and proſperity of his country, by expoſing the bad deſigns of thoſe, who under the ſpecious pretence of zeal for religion, and a patriot concern for liberty, meant to overturn the conſtitution, and to erect each the edifice of his private fortune out of, as well as upon, the public ruins (3). As to his dedication, it has been ever eſteemed a moſt maſterly compoſition in point of matter, as well as form, and is an excellent ſpecimen of our author's ſtile, which in thoſe days was very highly applauded, and to this hour has many admirers. We for theſe reaſons produce it, and the reader will (though ſomewhat long) find nothing tedious in this elegant performance.

To the Right Honourable Sir William Cavendiſh,
Knight of the Bath, Baron of Hardwicke, and Earl
of Devonſhire.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

‘I take confidence from your Lordſhip's goodneſs, in the very entrance of this epiſtle, to profeſs with ſimplicity, and according to the faith I owe my maſter now in Heaven, that it is not unto yourſelf, but to your Lordſhip's father, that I dedicate this my labour, ſuch as it is. For neither am I at liberty to make choice of one, to whom I may preſent it as a voluntary oblation, being bound in duty to bring it in as an account to him, by whoſe indulgence I had both the time and ammunition to perform it: nor if ſuch obligation were removed, know I any to whom I ought to dedicate it rather. For by the experience of many years I had the honour to ſerve him, I know this, there was not any who more really, and leſs for glory's ſake, favoured thoſe that ſtudied the liberal arts, liberally, than my Lord your father did; nor in whoſe houſe a man ſhould leſs need the Univerſity than in his. For his own ſtudy, it was beſtowed for the moſt part, in that kind of learning which beſt deſerveth the pains and hours of great perſons, hiſtory and civil knowledge; and directed not to the oſtentation of his reading, but to the government of his life and the public good. For he ſo read, that the learning he took in by ſtudy, by judgment he digeſted, and converted into wiſdom and ability to benefit his country: to which alſo he applied himſelf with zeal, but ſuch as took no fire, either from faction or ambition. And as he was a moſt able man for ſoundneſs of advice, and clear expreſſion of himſelf in matters of difficulty and conſequence, both in public and in private; ſo alſo was he one whom no man was able either to draw, or juſtle out of the ſtraight path of juſtice. Of which virtue, I know not whether he deſerved more by his ſeverity in impoſing it (as he did to his laſt breath) on himſelf, or by his magnanimity in not exacting it to himſelf from others. No man better diſcerned of men; and therefore was he conſtant in his friendſhips, becauſe he regarded not the fortune nor adherence, but the men, with whom alſo he converſed with an openneſs of heart, that had no other guard than his own integrity, and that Nil Conſcire. To his equals he carried himſelf equally, and to his inferiors familiarly, but maintaining his reſpect fully and only with the native ſplendour of his worth. In ſum, he was one in whom might plainly be perceived, that honour and honeſty are but the ſame thing in the different degrees of perſons. To him therefore, and to the memory of his worth, be conſecrated this, though unworthy, offering. And now, imitating in this civil worſhip, the religious worſhip of the Gentiles, who, when they dedicated any thing to their Gods, brought and preſented the ſame to their images; I bring and preſent, this gift of mine, The Hiſtory of Thucydides, tranſlated into Engliſh, with much more diligence than elegance, to your Lordſhip, who are the image of your father; for never was a man more exactly copied out than he in you, and who have in you the ſeeds of his virtues already ſpringing up: Humbly intreating your Lordſhip to eſteem it amongſt the goods that deſcend upon you, and in your

‘ due

(1) Vita Thomæ Hobbes, p. 3.

(2) The Creed of Mr Hobbes examined, p. 172.

(3) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 645.

to Paris, where he applied his vacant hours to Natural Philoſophy, and more eſpecially to the underſtanding of mechaniſm, and the cauſes of animal motion. Upon theſe ſubjects he conferred with Father Marin Merſenne, a man of extenſive learning, and of unblemiſhed probity, who entertained a literary correſpondence through all Europe (*k*). From Paris Mr Hobbes attended his pupil into Italy, where, at Piſa, he became known to that great Aſtronomer Galileo Galilei, who communicated to him his notions very freely; and after having ſeen whatever was remarkable in that country, he, in 1637, returned with his patron into England (*l*). His attachment to that noble perſon retained him in the family, where he had already ſpent ſo great a part of his life; and his long reſidence in the noble palace at Chatſworth, had afforded him an opportunity of exerciſing his inclination to Latin poetry, in celebrating the wonders of the Peak [*B*]; which poem of

(*k*) Vita Thomæ Hobbes, p. 4. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 46, 47. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 641.

(*l*) Thomæ Hobbes Malmeſburienſis Vita. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 47.

‘ due time to read it. I could recommend the author unto you, not impertinently, for, that he had in his veins the blood of Kings; but I chooſe rather to recommend him for his writings, as having in them profitable inſtructions for noblemen, and ſuch as may come to have the managing of great and weighty actions. For I may confidently ſay, that notwithſtanding the excellent, both examples and precepts of heroic virtue you have at home, this book will confer not a little to your inſtitution; eſpecially when you come to the years to frame your life by your own obſervation. For in hiſtory, actions of honour and diſhonour do appear plainly and diſtinctly, which are which; but in the preſent age they are ſo diſguiſed, that few there be, and thoſe very careful, that be not groſly miſtaken in them. But this (I doubt not) is ſuperfluouſly ſpoken by me to your Lordſhip: therefore I end with this prayer, That it will pleaſe God to give you virtues ſuitable to the fair dwelling he hath prepared for them, and the happineſs that ſuch virtues lead unto, both in and after this world.

‘ Your Lordſhip's

‘ moſt humble ſervant,

Anno Dom.
1634.

THO. HOBBES.’

[*B*] *The wonders of the Peak.*] Our author in this poem, which is inſcribed to the Right Honourable William Earl of Devonſhire, in heroic verſe, deſcribes the wonders of the Peak in Derbyſhire, and as the firſt of theſe is the palace of Chatſworth, he takes occaſion from thence to celebrate the Cavendiſh family, and that famous Counteſs of Shrewſbury, to whoſe prudence and oeconomy ſo many noble families ſtood ſo much obliged, and from whom the three Earls of Devonſhire, Newcaſtle, and Kingſton were deſcended. Theſe of all Mr Hobbes's poetical performances have been eſteemed the beſt verſes, which however deſerve not any extraordinary commendation. We are ſomewhat at a loſs for a reaſon, but the fact is very certain, that their author himſelf undervalued them much in the latter part of his life, which was not a little contrary to his character, as he manifeſted upon every other occaſion a ſufficient eſteem for his own writings. It is not altogether improbable, that having delivered ſome things in them as a poet, which did not perfectly agree with the ſentiments he afterwards maintained as a philoſopher, he had a mind to let the world ſee he could deſpiſe even his own Performances, when convinced there was any thing in them erroneous, which notwithſtanding was an unneceſſary nicety, ſince no candid critic would ever object matters thus delivered, againſt the notions laid down by the author in another character; where, from the nature of his ſubject, he muſt be ſuppoſed to have a ſtrict regard to truth, whereas fiction is allowed to be not only requiſite, but eſſential to poetry. We will likewiſe give the reader a citation from theſe, as a ſpecimen of our author's talent in poetry, which in his own time was highly admired, the rather becauſe we have been favoured with a tranſlation, which though it be very cloſe, is far from being ſo literal or ſo bald as thoſe that have been hitherto publiſhed, and will of conſequence afford the Engliſh reader a better idea of our author's work, than he could hitherto any where acquire.

De Mirabilibus Pecci,
Carmen
Thomæ Hobbes, Malmeſburienſis.

Alpibus Angliacis, ubi Pecci nomine, ſurgit,
Derbenſis regio, montes ad ſidera tollens,
Fœcundaſque rigans, non uno flumine, valles,
Stat Chatſworth præclara domus, tum mole ſuperba,
Tum domino, magnis, celerem Deroentis ad undam.
Miranti ſimilis portam præterfluit amnis,
Hic tacitus, ſaxis, infra ſupraque, ſonorus
At mons terga domus rapidis defendit ab Euris,
Oſtendens longe exertis juga conſita ſaxis,
Præſectoque die, producens tempora ſomni.
Summovet a tergo rupes gratiſſimus hortus,
Pinguis odoratis ubi tellus floribus halat;
Arbor ubi in mediis ſylvis ſibi libera viſa,
Dat fructus injuſſa ſuos; ubi frondes tecta
Arboreis præbent invito frigora ſole
Porticibus, potiora tuæ (Maro) tegmine fagi;
Ars ubi (diſſimulans artem) ſimulavit (ineptas
Conſocians ferro lapides, guttaque pereſos)
Informes ſcopulos; & frigida fontibus antra.
Libera nativis veniens a rupibus unda
Accedit poſitis, patrio captiva metallo,
Et tellure latens, duplicem jaculatur in orbem
Juſſa, ſuum laticem, per mille foramina cœca,
Et ſcopulum complexa tenacibus undique venis,
Juſſa fugat miſſo ſubeuntes deſuper imbre:
Hinc avecta creat ſublimem marmore fontem,
Atque ingreſſa domum Promos conſerva Cocoſque
Adjuvat; in mediis ſurgitque penatibus, alto
Infudens nitidam manibus de marmore lympham.
Et quamvis tubulis tantum effluat illa quaternis,
Non tam Calliroë pulchre fluit Enneacrune.
Rejecto paulum fluvio, ſeſe ingerit horti
Angulus alterius, tecta alta a fronte videntis.
Diſpoſita hic geminæ collucent ordine ſtagna,
Immerſum tremulis undis quatientia ſolem,
Queis magno numero ſalit, & laſcivus inerrat
Non intellecto concluſus carcere piſcis.
Quam juvat, hic, quoties piſcatrix candida prædam
Abjicit illectam, morem obſervare puellis
Innatum, captare viros, & ſpernere captos!
Quam libet in mediis mirari fluctibus, alto
Aggere ſuſpenſos hortos! quæ Cæſare moles
Digna Cavendiſſâ certe eſt in gente, puſillum
Fœmineumque opus. At quota pars es laudis Elizæ
Salopicæ? quæ multa, & magna palatia ſtruxit;
Magnas divitias; magnamque bonamque paravit
Famam; quæ magnos ſibi conciliavit amicos,
Ornavitque humiles; multam, magnamque reliquit
Prolem, qua regio late nunc uſque beatur.
Quam dulce eſt, inter, circumque nitentia ſtagna
Inſurgente vias, æſtivâ ſemper, aura,
Diſcipulum memet naturæ tradere rerum;
Aut Domino exiguum meditari carmine munus,
Et multum Muſis, deſcribere rura, rogatis.
Commodiore loco non uſquam habitare, nec uſquam
Candidiore

of his, though written ſome years before, was not made public 'till about this time. The troubles in Scotland now grew high; and, as popular diſcontent is always contagious, began to ſpread ſouthward, and to threaten the utter ſubverſion of the peace of the whole iſland. As few foreſaw this earlier, and none apprehended it more than Mr Hobbes, he thought it might contribute to the public tranquillity, if he bent his thoughts to politics, and compoſed an antidote againſt thoſe peſtilential opinions which began to prevail. It was this that engaged him to commit to paper certain principles, out of which he firſt compoſed

Candidiore frui Muſæ cenſentur amico.
Hinc, ad tecta, ſolo ſurgente, aſcenditur, Extra,
Auguſta aſpectu, ſublimia, Regia; & intra,
Commoda, culta, capacia, ſplendida, ditia tecta.
At tu marmoreis quæ ſint deſcripta figuris
Ficta Poetarum, priſcorum aut facta virorum,
Ne cures duro nec certans marmore gypſum.
Ingenuos nec cupias numerare miniſtros;
Sed Dominum mea Muſa, colas, cui gente vetuſta
Orto, dat titulos Devonia, Derbia Curas.
Acrem judicio; conſtantem pectore; lautum;
Utentemque opibus, luxu ſine, & inter amicos.
Ille Chori veſtri ſummum decus; ille benigna
Otia dat Muſis; ſed & illi Muſa diſerto
Ore loqui atque animo ſecernere turpia honeſtis.
Tum Dominam ſpectes, altâ de gente Bruſorum
Magnanimo proavos ſpirantem pectore Reges.
Amborumque vide Sobolem, imprimiſque Puellam
Dignam, qua caleat Superi, binoſque Puellos
Angelicos, caſti communia pignora lecti.
Hos tu mireris, ſobolemque & utrumque parentem;
Cætera quæ referes miracula, ſunto minoris.
Alti cenſenter ſeptem miracula Pecci.

In Engliſh thus.

Where the fam'd PEAK, our Engliſh ALPS aſcend,
And DERBY's mountains to the ſkies extend;
Where ſilver ſtreams, enrich the fruitful ſoil,
Fair CHATSWORTH ſtands, inimitable pile!
Great of itſelf, and from it's maſter great,
Near DERWENT's rapid tide,—ſtruck with it's ſtate
Silent the waters ſlide;
Tho' from above, with reſtleſs rage they pour,
Impetuous down, and at a diſtance roar.
Behind, a mountain ſhades it from the Eaſt,
And day excluding, favours lengthen'd reſt.
Beyond the rocks, a beauteous garden lies,
Where fragrant flowers, in lovely order riſe;
And as in native woods, unprun'd appear,
Luxuriant trees, that fruit ſpontaneous bear,
Whoſe ſpreading boughs, no noon-tide rays invade,
But rival MARO even thy *Beechen* ſhade.
Art, but like nature dreſs'd, joins iron and ſtone,
So that for rugged rocks they here are ſhewn,
And there, if Phœbus hurts th' aching ſight,
A gelid grotto hides you from the light.
Free from the crag, the ſilver ſtream deſcends,
Which it's own country metal, quickly bends
Thro' double circles, o'er the ſtony maze,
The winding pipes, the fetter'd rill conveys,
'Till from on high, by this coercive power,
At will deſcends, in drops, the mimic ſhower.
From thence, a ſpacious marble fount receives
It's tide and to domeſtic uſes gives,
Falling in chryſtal ſtreams, for ev'ry rite,
That might of old, the houſhold gods delight,
From four fair ducts, it pours it's chryſtal tide,
Calliroe's ſtream, from nine ſcarce more ſupply'd,
Tho' by Athenian artiſts, taught to glide.
Such labours o'er theſe waters are convey'd,
Where from the palace, other front ſurvey'd,
Another garden lies.
Here thro' a double row of fiſh-ponds ſtrays,
And back reflects the ſun's inſulting rays;
The ſcaly ſhoals in wanton motions rove,
Unconſcious of reſtraint in which they move.
Pleas'd we behold, the female fiſher take,
The finny prey, and but for pleaſure's ſake,
Rejecting ſoon, their captives in the lake.
Innate in women's breaſts, ſuch paſſions riſe,
Fond to ſubdue, what fickly they deſpiſe.
How ſweet the ſight! how pleaſing is the theme
A penſile garden, riſing o'er the ſtream.
CESARIAN works! yet in the CAN'DISH line
A woman form'd and finiſh'd this deſign.
SALOP's ELIZA! by whoſe wond'rous thought,
More ſtately palaces, with ſkill were wrought,
Wealth ſhe attain'd, by prudence all approv'd,
The higheſt courting, whom the pooreſt lov'd;
Sprung from herſelf, a num'rous line expand,
Which then adorn'd, and ſtill adorn our land;
How pleaſant 'midſt theſe ſilver pools to ſtray,
Attentive nature's labours to ſurvey
In this ſweet place?—Or frame ſome trifling ſong
Like this, that may to it's great Lord belong;
For ſure to ſing, no ſcene could more invite,
No Lord than him more worthy to delight.
See how without, the dome affects the eye,
Auguſtly fair, firm, beautiful, and high!
Commodious, pleaſant, ſplendid, and, in fine,
Capacious, neat, and elegant within.
I mind not ancient tales in marble wrought,
The ſculptor imaging the poets thought,
Nor ſtop to number all the faithful band
Of ſervants, who in decent order ſtand,
Intent to ſing their Lord.
Of an illuſtrious line, the noble heir,
Him Devon title gives, and Derby care,
Of judgment piercing, firm, and conſtant mind,
Courteous to all, to thoſe about him kind;
Free, not profuſe, yet often he unbends,
And treats, tho' not luxuriouſly, his friends;
His favours oft the Muſes voice inſpire,
Himſelf no ſtranger in the Muſes choir;
Returning thus, their juſt reſpect he pays,
Who flattery well diſtinguiſhes from praiſe:
His conſort next with due regard produce,
Whoſe charms confeſs the royal blood of BRUCE.
Now view their progeny—a lovely maid,
Whoſe heavenly eyes might heavenly breaſts invade,
Two youths of form divine, to virtue bred,
The lovely pledges of their nuptial bed,
Theſe could my verſe in proper colours dreſs,
With eaſe my following ſubjects I'd expreſs;
And tho' the labours long, alert and gay,
The ſeven ſtrange wonders of the PEAK diſplay,
Wonders indeed! which of themſelves might pleaſe,
Yet hardly wonders—if compar'd with Theſe.

[C] *With*

compoſed his book *De Cive*, and which at length grew up into that ſyſtem he ſtiled his *Leviathan*. The ſhort ſcope of his diſcourſe was no more than this, That ſecurity can be only enjoyed where there is peace, that peace cannot be maintained without dominion, that dominion cannot be ſupported without arms, that arms will prove but a weak defence, if not put into one hand, and even then, that they will ſcarce reſtrain ſuch as ſhall be prompted to diſcord, by the fear of an evil greater than death itſelf (*m*). Not long after the meeting of the Long-Parliament, November 3, 1640, when all things fell into confuſion here, he withdrew, for the ſake of living in quiet, to Paris, where he aſſociated with thoſe learned men, who, under the protection of the famous Cardinal de Richelieu, ſought to promote every kind of uſeful knowledge. He had not been long there, when, by the good offices of his friend Father Merſenne, he became known to the celebrated Renatus Des Cartes, and held a correſpondence with him upon ſeveral mathematical ſubjects, as appears from the letters of Mr Hobbes, which are publiſhed in that author's works (*n*). But when this great man printed afterwards his meditations, wherein he attempted to eſtabliſh points of the higheſt conſequence from innate ideas; Mr Hobbes, as well as ſome other judicious men, took the liberty of diſſenting from his opinion. Amongſt theſe was the celebrated Peter Gaſſendi, the King's Profeſſor in Mathematics, a man juſtly eſteemed for his extenſive knowledge, and for his communicative diſpoſition, as well as for his reviving the Philoſophy of Epicurus; with whom Mr Hobbes entered into a ſtrict friendſhip, which ſuffered no interruption 'till the death of the former (*o*). In 1642, our author printed a few copies of his famous book *De Cive*; which, in proportion as it became known, raiſed him many opponents, who charged him with inſtilling dangerous principles [*C*]. In 1645, he embarked in a mathematical controverſy about the quadrature

(*m*) Conſiderations upon the Reputation, Loyalty, Manners, and Religion, of Thomas Hobbes of Malmeſbury, p. 5.

(*n*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 53, 54, 55.

(*o*) Thomæ Hobbes Malmeſburienſis Vita.

(*p*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 64. Hiſtoria & Antiquitates Oxonienſis, p. 377.

[*C*] *With inſtilling dangerous principles.*] The title of this extraordinary work, by which our author became conſpicuous abroad, ran in Latin thus, *Elementa Philoſophica* de Cive. *Auctore Thom. Hobbes, Malmeſburienſis.* In the Engliſh tranſlation, the title was more diffuſe, being conceived in the following terms, viz. 'Philoſophical Rudiments concerning Government and Society: or a Diſſertation concerning Man in his ſeveral Habitudes and Reſpects as the Member of a Society, firſt ſecular, and then ſacred: Containing the Elements of Civil Polity in the Agreement which it hath both with natural and divine Laws; in which is demonſtrated, both what the Origin of Juſtice is, and wherein the Chriſtian Religion doth conſiſt, together with the natural Limits and Qualifications both of Regimen and Subjection.' This work is alſo dedicated to William Earl of Devonſhire, and in the dedication, he apologizes both for the method and the deſign of his treatiſe, opening thereby a true and fair account of the manner in which he was led to theſe inquiries; which, as it will afford the reader an opportunity of entering into the character of the man, we will exhibit to his view. After ſhewing what vaſt advantages, have been derived to the world, from that ſkill and certainty with which mathematicians have handled their ſcience, and how much greater benefits might have reſulted from morality, if it had been as judiciouſly treated; he affirms, that the want of this ariſes from the writers on that ſubject taking various and improper methods; 'For, ſays he, we may not, as in a circle, begin the handling of a ſcience from what point we pleaſe. There is a certain clue of reaſon, whoſe beginning is in the dark, but by the benefit of whoſe conduct, we are led as it were by the hand into the cleareſt light; ſo that the principal of tractation is to be taken from that darkneſs, and then the light to be carried thither for the irradiating it's doubts. As often therefore as any writer doth either weakly forſake that clue, or wilfully cut it aſunder, he deſcribes the footſteps, not of his progreſs in ſcience, but of his wanderings from it. And upon this it was, that when I applied my thoughts to the inveſtigation of natural *juſtice*, I was preſently advertiſed from the very word *juſtice*, which ſignifies a ſteady will of giving every one his own; that my firſt enquiry was to be, from whence it proceeded that any man ſhould call any thing rather his own than another man's. And when I found that this proceeded not from nature, but conſent; for what nature at firſt laid forth in common, men did afterwards diſtribute into ſeveral impropriations. I was conducted from thence to another enquiry, namely; to what end, and upon what impulſives, when all was equally every man's in common, men did rather think it fitting, that every man ſhould have his incloſure; and I found the reaſon was, that from a community of goods, there muſt needs ariſe contention whoſe enjoyment ſhould be greater, and from that contention all kind of calamities muſt unavoidably enſue, which by the inſtinct of nature every man is taught to ſhun. Having therefore thus arrived at two maxims of human nature, the one ariſing from the concupiſcible part, which deſires to appropriate to itſelf the uſe of thoſe things in which all others have a joint intereſt; the other proceeding from the rational, which teaches every man to fly a contra-natural diſſolution, as the greateſt miſchief that can arrive to nature, which principles being laid down, I ſeem from them to have demonſtrated, by a moſt evident connection in this little work of mine, firſt the abſolute neceſſity of leagues and contracts, and thence the rudiments both of moral and of civil prudence. That appendage, which is added, concerning the regimen of God, hath been done with this intent, that the dictates of God Almighty in the law of nature, might not ſeem repugnant to the written law revealed to us in his word. I have alſo been very wary in the whole tenor of my diſcourſe, not to meddle with the civil laws of any particular nation whatſoever; that is to ſay, I have avoided coming on a ſhore which the times have ſo infeſted both with ſhelves and tempeſts. At what expence of time and induſtry I have been in this ſcrutiny after truth I am not ignorant, but to what purpoſe I know not. For being partial judges of ourſelves we lay a partial eſtimate upon our own productions. I therefore offer up this book to your Lordſhip's not favour but cenſure; firſt, as having found by many experiments, that it is not the credit of the author, nor the newneſs of the work, nor yet the ornament of the ſtile, but only the weight of reaſon which recommends any opinion to your Lordſhip's favour and approbation. If it fortune to pleaſe, that is to ſay, if it be ſound, if it be uſeful, if it be not vulgar, I humbly offer it to your Lordſhip as both my glory and my protection. But if in any thing I have erred, your Lordſhip will yet accept it as a teſtimony of my gratitude; for that the means of ſtudy, which I enjoyed by your Lordſhip's goodneſs, I have employed to the procurement of your Lordſhip's favour. The God of Heaven crown your Lordſhip with length of days in this earthly ſtation, and in the heavenly Jeruſalem with a crown of glory.' Immediately after the appearance of this book, the famous Mr Des Cartes gave this judgment upon it in one of his letters (4). 'I am of opinion, that the author of the book De Cive, is the ſame perſon who wrote the third objections againſt my meditations. I think him a much greater maſter of Morality than of Metaphyſics or Natural Philoſophy, though I can by no means approve of his principles or maxims, which are very bad and extremely dangerous, becauſe they ſuppoſe all men to be wicked, or give them occaſion to be ſo. His whole deſign is to write in favour of monarchy, which might be done to more advantage than he has done, upon maxims more virtuous and ſolid. He has wrote likewiſe very much to the diſ-

(4) Epiſt. Ren. Cartes, Tom. III. p. 104.

ture of the circle; in which, though many of the greateſt men in Europe were likewiſe engaged, yet none of them gained higher reputation by their writings than our author (*q*). Amongſt many other worthy perſons, who upon the ſhipwreck of the royal cauſe retired for ſafety into France, was Sir Charles Cavendiſh, brother to the loyal Duke of Newcaſtle; and this gentleman, who was diſtinguiſhed by his perfect acquaintance with every branch of mathematical ſcience, proved a conſtant friend, and to the utmoſt of his power a kind patron, to our author; whoſe fame for that kind of learning was now ſo well eſtabliſhed, that, in 1647, he was recommended to inſtruct Charles Prince of Wales, afterwards King Charles the Second (*r*). His care in the diſcharge of this office gained him the eſteem of that prince in a very great degree (*s*); and though he afterwards withdrew his public favour towards Mr Hobbes, on account of thoſe writings which will be hereafter mentioned; yet he always retained a ſenſe of the ſervices he had rendered him, of which he afforded him various marks after he was reſtored to his dominions, and, it is reported, had his picture always hanging in his cloſet (*t*). This year alſo came out a ſecond and more compleat edition of his book *De Cive*, which was neatly printed in Holland by the care of Dr Sorbiere, who alſo made a tranſlation of it into French. To his edition of the original, there are prefixed two Latin letters to the editor in commendation of the book, one written by Mr Gaſſendi, and the other by Father Merſenne, which, however, could not reconcile the world in general to the notions contained in that piece (*u*). While his time was thus employed at Paris, Mr Hobbes was attacked by a violent fit of ſickneſs, which brought him very low, inſomuch, that many of his friends began to deſpair of his recovery. Amongſt thoſe who viſited him in ſo weak a condition, was his old acquaintance Father Merſenne beforementioned, who taking this for a favourable occaſion, began, after a few general complements of condolence, to mention the power of the Roman Church to forgive ſins. But Mr Hobbes immediately replied, Father, all theſe matters I have debated with myſelf long ago, ſuch kind of diſputes would be troubleſome to me now, you can entertain me on ſubjects more agreeable, When did you ſee Mr Gaſſendi? His viſitant, eaſily underſtanding his meaning, troubled him no farther, but ſuffered the converſation to turn, as Mr Hobbes deſired, upon general topics. Yet ſome days afterwards, when Dr John Coſins, afterwards Biſhop of Durham, came and propoſed to pray with him, he very readily accepted the propoſal, provided he uſed the offices appointed by the Church of England; and alſo received the Sacrament from his hands (*w*). By degrees, however, he recovered his health, and his former robuſt conſtitution. In 1650, he wrote an anſwer to a long letter, written to him by Sir William D'Avenant, who had ſubmitted his poem, called *Gondibert*, to his peruſal; which anſwer of his, together with Sir William's letter, was prefixed to that poem, when it was publiſhed, but did not anſwer the intention of defending this performance from the fury of the critics, who, notwithſtanding Mr Hobbes's approbation, cenſured it very ſeverely (*x*) [*D*]. The ſame year

(*q*) Vid. Controv. de verâ circuli menſurâ, 4to. Amſt. 1647.

(*r*) Vita Thomæ Hobbes, p. 6, 7.

(*s*) Conſiderations upon the Reputation, Loyalty, Manners, and Religion, of Thomas Hobbes of Malmeſbury, p. 7.

(*t*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 93.

(*u*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 644.

(*w*) Vita Thomæ Hobbes, p. 9.

(*x*) See the article of D'AVENANT [Sir WILLIAM].

'advantage of the Church, and of the Roman Catholic religion; ſo that if he is not particularly ſupported 'by ſome powerful intereſt, I do not ſee how he can 'eſcape having his book cenſured.' Our author Hobbes foreſaw and obviated his firſt objection in his preface, in which he ſays, that to ſuppoſe all mankind wicked, is a falſe deduction from his principles, which only incline us to act towards mankind as if we actually ſuppoſed them wicked, becauſe it is impoſſible to diſtinguiſh who are, and who are not ſo. Whence he infers that his caution is well founded, and yet his premiſes do not afford room for any ſuch concluſion. The learned Herman Conringius (5) cenſures our author in pretty rough terms, for boaſting that though phyſics were a new ſcience, yet civil philoſophy was ſtill newer, ſince it could not be ſtiled older than his own book De Cive. Whereas, ſays that great man, there is nothing good in that work of his, which was not always known. But the celebrated Samuel Puffendorff, ſpeaks another language (6). 'Thomas Hobbes, 'ſays he, in thoſe parts of his works which regard civil 'ſcience, has many excellent things, and no-body 'who is well verſed in ſtudies of this nature, can deny 'that he has looked ſo cloſely into the principles of 'human and civil ſociety, that there are very few who 'wrote before him upon theſe ſubjects, to whom he 'does not deſerve to be preferred. Nay, even where 'he has gone out of the way, he ſuggeſts nevertheleſs 'things to our conſideration, which otherwiſe would 'very probably never have entered into any man's 'head.' The ſame worthy and judicious perſon, in his preface to another work, has theſe words (7): 'Neither are we a little indebted to Thomas Hobbes, 'whoſe hypotheſis, in his book De Cive, though it favours ſomewhat of prophaneneſs, yet in other reſpects 'is certainly ſenſible and ſound.' Thus we ſee, that even thoſe who were offended with ſome of his notions, which we are alſo very far from approving, were nevertheleſs perſwaded that he was a great man, and had entered more deeply into this ſubject than ſome of his harſheſt cenſurers could perhaps conceive.

[*D*] *Cenſured it very ſeverely.*] We have in another place given a large account of this poem, and of our author's judgment upon it, which had not that weight with the world that he expected; his client's poem being ſeverely and almoſt unanimouſly condemned by the critics, and even to this day that judgment remains unreverſed. But as we ſometimes admire the eloquence of an advocate who defends a cauſe that is none of the beſt, and applaud apologies that are well written in the defence of characters that remain nevertheleſs as odious as before; ſo in the preſent caſe, whatever becomes of the merit of the cauſe, what our author has offered upon the ſubject, will with all candid perſons, do him great honour. He read a long poem, and wrote his ſentiments upon it in a week (8); and yet, whoever peruſes them will find his labour not thrown away, but on the contrary, will be ſurprized to diſcover ſo much ſtrength of judgment, ſuch an acute penetration, ſo large a fund of ſolid and ſubſtantial learning ſo ſuddenly drawn together, and compreſſed into ſo narrow a compaſs. In order to juſtify this character of his performance, we will produce a ſingle paſſage as a ſample, by which the reader may ſafely judge of the whole ſingular piece, and at the ſame time conceive a notion of that perſpicuity, and of that ſtrong and correct ſtile, for which, even by the beſt judges, this writer was generally admired (9). 'Time and education, ſays he, 'begets experience; experience begets memory, memory begets judgment and fancy, judgment begets 'the ſtrength and ſtructure, and fancy begets the ornaments of a poem. The Ancients therefore fabled not 'abſurdly in making Memory the mother of the Muſes. 'For memory is the world (though not really, yet ſo as 'in a looking-glaſs) in which the judgment, the ſeverer ſiſter, buſieth herſelf in a grave and rigid examination of all the parts of nature, and in regiſtring by 'letters their order, cauſes, uſes, differences, and re'ſemblances,

(5) De Civil. Prudent. cap. xiv.

(6) De Jur. Nat. & Gent. Præf. ad Lector.

(7) Præfat. in Element. Juriſp. Univerſal.

(8) Compare the dates of the letters as they ſtand before the Gondibert in the firſt edition.

(9) From the author's anſwer to Sir William Davenant's preface prefixed to the Gondibert.

year was publiſhed at London, a ſmall treatiſe of our author's, entituled *Human Nature*, which was much eſteemed by ſome, who expreſſed afterwards a bad opinion of Mr Hobbes [*E*]. Another larger treatiſe of his, entitled *De Corpore Politico*: or, Of the Elements of the Law, made likewiſe it's appearance the ſame year. All this time he had been digeſting, with great care and pains, his religious, political, and moral principles, into a compleat ſyſtem, which he entitled *Leviathan*, and which was printed in Engliſh at London in that and the year following. He cauſed a copy of the *Leviathan*, very fairly written on vellum, to be preſented to King Charles the Second. But after that monarch was informed of the bad opinion entertained by the Engliſh Divines of this performance, who conſidered it in a very diſadvantageous light, and as abounding with doctrines equally irreconcilable to true religion, and the principles of civil government, he is ſaid to have withdrawn his countenance from the author, and to have reſtrained him by a meſſage, delivered by the Marquis of Ormond, from coming into his preſence, which was the higheſt puniſhment then in his power (*y*) [*F*]. It has been very confidently ſuggeſted, that his principal view in compoſing

(*y*) Mercur. Politic. No. 84.

‘ ſemblances, whereby the Fancy, when any work of art is to be performed, finds her materials at hand and prepared for uſe, and needs no more than a ſwift motion over them, that what ſhe wants and is there to be had, may not lie too long uneſpied. So that when ſhe ſeemeth to fly from one Indies to the other, and from heaven to earth, and to penetrate into the hardeſt matter and obſcureſt places, into the future, and into herſelf, and all this in a point of time; the voyage is not very great, herſelf being all ſhe ſeeks, and her wonderful celerity conſiſteth not ſo much in motion, as in copious imagery diſcreetly ordered, and perfectly regiſtred in the memory, which moſt men under the name of philoſophy have a glympſe of, and. and is pretended to by many that groſsly miſtaking her. embrace Contention in her place. But ſo far forth, as the fancy of man has traced the ways of true philoſophy, ſo far it hath produced very marvellous effects to the benefit of mankind. All that is beautiful or defenſible in building, or marvellous in engines, and inſtruments of motion, whatſoever commodity men receive from the obſervations of the heavens, from the deſcription of the earth, from the account of time, from walking on the ſeas, and whatſoever diſtinguiſheth the civility of Europe from the barbarity of the American ſavages, is the workmanſhip of fancy, but guided by the precepts of true philoſophy But where theſe precepts fail, as they have hitherto failed in the doctrine of moral virtue, there the architect (fancy) muſt take the philoſopher's part upon herſelf. He therefore that undertakes an heroic poem (which is to exhibit a venerable and amiable image of heroic virtue) muſt not only be the poet to place and connect, but alſo the philoſopher to furniſh and ſquare his matter; that is, to make both body and ſoul, colour and ſhadow of his poem, out of his own ſtore: which how well you have performed, I am now conſidering.'

[*E*] *A bad opinion of Mr Hobbes.*] This performance, which makes fewer than one hundred and ſeventy pages in a ſmall duodecimo, is dedicated to William Earl of Devonſhire, Governor to the Prince of Wales, and is ſaid to have been compoſed by his Lordſhip's commands, out of materials delivered and approved by the Earl, in many familiar and private converſations. This dedication is dated May 9th, 1640. But beſides this dedication, there ſtands before the firſt and ſecond editions of this ſmall treatiſe (10), the following advertiſement, which is worthy of being well conſidered.

(10) This ſecond impreſſion is printed at London for Thomas Newcomb, and for Francis Beaumont at Oxford, anno Domini 1651.

‘ Reader,

‘ It was thought good to let you know that Mr Hobbes hath written a body of philoſophy, upon ſuch principles, and in ſuch order, as are uſed by men converſant in demonſtration; this he hath diſtinguiſhed into three parts, De Corpore, De Homine, De Cive, each of the conſequents beginning at the end of the antecedent, and inſiſting thereupon, as the latter books of Euclid upon the former. The laſt of theſe he hath already publiſhed in Latin beyond the ſeas; the ſecond is this now preſented; and if theſe two receive juſtice in the world, there is hopes we may obtain the firſt. He whoſe care it is and labour to ſatisfy the judgment and reaſon of mankind, will condeſcend ſo far, we hope, to ſatisfy the deſire of thoſe learned men whom theſe ſhall either have found or made, which cannot be until they ſhall analytically have followed the grand phænomena of ſtates and kingdoms, through the paſſions of particular men, into the elemental principles of natural and corporeal motions. The former work was publiſhed by the author, and ſo is out of danger, this by a friend with leave from him, and to ſecure this, you are intreated to conſider the relation wherein it ſtands, eſpecially to the book De Cive. It was thought a part of religion, not to make any change without the author's advice, which could not ſuddenly be obtained, and ſo it comes forth innocently, ſuppoſing nothing to have happened ſince the dedication of it, which if it ſeems a ſoleciſm to ſome, it may to others give a ſatisfaction, in calling to mind thoſe times and opportunities to which we are indebted for thoſe admirable compoſitions.

‘ F. B.'

Theſe initial letters were intended to ſtand for Francis Beaumount, the bookſeller at Oxford, for whom the treatiſe was printed; but it may be preſumed, that few readers believed it was of his writing. A certain author tells us plainly (11), that it was written for him by Dr Seth Ward, afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury, who became within the ſpace of a few years one of our author's bittereſt enemies; though it plainly appears from the foregoing advertiſement, that he had read and conſidered the whole ſcope of his philoſophy before that difference began. The only inference we draw from hence is, that at this time the clergy, who knew the aim of Mr Hobbes's ſyſtem as well as they ever could, did not apprehend any tendency therein to impiety, which the author always diſavowed, but freely acknowledged it was his judgment, that the eccleſiaſtical ſhould be dependent on the civil power, in point of order and diſcipline; and that religion ſhould diſpoſe men to love one another, and not be made the ſource of heart-burnings, ſeditions, and diſturbances, as it had been for ſo many years; and while the ſectaries continued triumphant and could be alone affected by it, this doctrine was thought innocent enough, and it's author a very wiſe man. A ſtronger proof of this cannot be deſired, than the moſt elegant copy of Latin verſes prefixed to it by the then reverend Ralph Bathurſt, Maſter of Arts, then of Trinity-college, afterwards the celebrated Dr Bathurſt, Dean of Bath, and one of the worthieſt men his time affords. With regard to the remaining tract which was to compleat the body of his philoſophy, his book De Corpore Politico, it came abroad without any dedication, having only an anonymous advertiſement to the reader, purporting this was the piece promiſed by the advertiſement prefixed to the tract on Human Nature. This was received no leſs favourably than the reſt both at home and abroad, inſomuch that we are aſſured, that being preſented to and read by the very learned Peter Gaſſendi (12), a very few months before his death, he firſt kiſſed it, and then delivered his opinion of it in theſe words. ‘ This treatiſe is indeed ſmall in bulk, but in my judgment it is the very marrow of ſcience.'

(11) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 643.

(12) Sam. Sorbier. Præf. in Oper. Gaſſend.

[*F*] *Then in his power.*] The title of this work which made ſo great a noiſe in the world was, Leviathan: *or the Matter, Form, and Power of a Commonwealth, Eccleſiaſtical and Civil. Written by* Thomas Hobbes, *London* 1651, *folio.* In his introduction he obſerves, that nature is the art by which God made the world; which, ſays he, man has ſometimes imitated in making a kind of artificial animal. Such in his opinion, may a watch be eſteemed; for, ſays he, what is the heart, but the ſpring; the nerves, but ſo many ſtrings; and the joints, but as many wheels? The art of man, adds he, has gone yet further, and attempted no leſs, than compoſing this work, was to open a paſſage for his ſafe return into England, by exhibiting the only ſyſtem of policy that either could juſtify or ſupport the government of Oliver Cromwell (z); and in this he is ſaid ſo far to have ſucceeded, as to have had ſome overtures

than making the reſemblance of the moſt perfect work of nature, which is man (13). 'For by art is created, that great *Leviathan* called a *Commonwealth* or *State* (in Latin *Civitas*) which is but an artificial man, though of greater ſtature and ſtrength, than the natural, for whoſe protection and defence, it was intended, and in which the ſovereignty is an artificial ſoul, as giving liſe and motion to the whole body, the magiſtrates, and other officers of judicature and execution, artificial joints; reward and puniſhment (by which, faſtened to the fear of the ſovereignty, every joint and member is moved to perform it's duty) are the nerves that do the ſame in the body natural; the wealth and riches of all the particular members, are the ſtrength *(Salus Populi)* the people's ſafety; it's buſineſs, counſellors; by whom all things needful for it to know, are ſuggeſted to it, are the memory; equity and laws, an artificial reaſon and will; concord, health; ſedition, ſickneſs; and civil war, death. Laſtly, the pacts and covenants, by which the parts of this body politic were at firſt made, ſet together, and united, reſembled that fiat, or the *Let us make Man*, pronounced by GOD in the *Creation*.' Thus perhaps the true meaning and ſcope of his performance is as fully explained, and as clearly expreſſed as our own, or perhaps any other language would permit. One ſees plainly, that the ſame ſentiments inſpired our author in this, as in his former performances; he was ſcandalized at the vicious lives of many pretended Enthuſiaſts, and he was frighted at the miſchiefs which they brought upon mankind, by the great influence they had on their deluded followers. His great end therefore was to diveſt them of an ill-grounded power, of which he thought they made likewiſe a very bad uſe, and to put all authority into the hands of men, who were to act from clearer principles and more intelligible motives. That he carried his notions in this reſpect too far, no reaſonable man or true chriſtian can doubt, but that he meant any private advantage to himſelf, beyond what he deſired to procure for the reſt of mankind, ſeems very far from being ſo clear a caſe; and that he doubted himſelf of the reception that this work of his would meet with on either ſide of the water, is abundantly evident from his dedication to Mr Francis Godolphin, the brother of the celebrated Mr Sidney Godolphin, to whom the author was well known, and by whom he had been very much obliged. This dedication, which is very ſhort, it is for many reaſons neceſſary the candid reader ſhould peruſe, and therefore we place it here.

HONOURED SIR,

'Your moſt worthy brother, Mr Sidney Godolphin, when he lived, was pleaſed to think my ſtudies ſomething, and otherwiſe to oblige me, as you know, with real teſtimonies of his good opinion, great in themſelves, and the greater for the worthineſs of his perſon. For there is not any virtue that diſpoſeth a man either to the ſervice of God, or the ſervice of his country, to civil ſociety or private friendſhip, that did not manifeſtly appear in his converſation, not as acquired by neceſſity, or affected upon occaſion, but inherent and ſhining in a generous conſtitution of his nature. Therefore, in honour and gratitude to him, and with devotion to yourſelf, I humbly dedicate unto you, this my Diſcourſe of Commonwealth. I know not how the world will receive it, nor how it may reflect on thoſe that ſhall ſeem to favour it. For in a way beſet with thoſe that contend on one ſide for too great liberty, and on the other ſide for too much authority, 'tis hard to think between the points of both unwounded. But yet methinks, the endeavour to advance the civil power, ſhould not be by the civil power condemned, nor private men by reprehending it, declare that power too great. Beſides, I ſpeak not of the men, but (in the abſtract) of the ſeat of power, like to thoſe ſimple and unpartial creatures in the Roman Capitol, that with their noiſe defended thoſe within it, not becauſe they were there offending none, I think, but thoſe without, or ſuch within (if there were any ſuch) as favour them. That which perhaps may moſt offend, are certain texts of Holy Scripture alledged by me to other purpoſe than ordinarily they uſe to be by others. But I have done it with due ſubmiſſion, and alſo in order to my ſubject neceſſarily, for they are the outworks of the enemy, from whence they impugn the civil power. If notwithſtanding this, you find my labour generally decryed, you may be pleaſed to excuſe yourſelf and ſay, I am a man that love my own opinion, and think all true I ſay; that I honoured your brother, and honour you, and have preſumed on that to aſſume the title (without your knowledge) of being as I am,

'SIR,

'Your moſt humble, and moſt

Paris, April $\frac{15}{25}$,
1651.

'obedient ſervant,

'THO. HOBBES.'

It is very poſſible, and indeed it is highly probable, that our author in the framing this work might have his return to England in view, but that he had any notion of fortifying and ſecuring the government that then ſubſiſted in this country, much more that he had any malicious intentions againſt his royal pupil, will not appear very likely to thoſe who either examine ſtrictly into his conduct, or look very cloſely into his book (14). Such as ſuggeſt the contrary, begin with laying down a falſe fact, which is, that Oliver Cromwell was then at the head of the government, and if this had been ſo, what they ſay would have been plauſible at leaſt, though not certain. However, there was abundantly enough in the Leviathan to oblige, and conſequently to juſtify, King Charles in doing as he did, if we conſider where he was, how ſupported, and by whom attended. But that his majeſty was full as well inſtructed as to the real intentions of Mr Hobbes, as any other man could pretend to be, may fairly be preſumed from the preſent that the author made him of it upon vellum; which if it had been directly written to ſubvert his title, to fix the power that then prevailed at home, and prevent the return of that Prince, and the reſtitution of the ancient free government in theſe kingdoms, would not have been more extraordinary than impudent. It might therefore be with ſome other view, and what that view was, and with how much propriety at leaſt in his own judgment, may be perhaps collected from this concluſion of his ſecond part.

'Thus far concerning the conſtitution, nature, and right of ſovereigns, and concerning the duty of ſubjects, derived from the principles of natural reaſon. And now conſidering how different this doctrine is from the practice of the greateſt part of the world, eſpecially of theſe weſtern parts, that have received their moral learning from Rome and Athens, and how much depth of moral philoſophy is required in them that have the adminiſtration of the ſovereign power, I am at the point of believing this my labour as uſeleſs as the Commonwealth of Plato; for he alſo is of opinion, that it is impoſſible for the diſorders of ſtate and change of government by civil war, ever to be taken away 'till ſovereigns be philoſophers. But when I conſider again, that the ſcience of natural juſtice, is the only ſcience neceſſary for ſovereigns and their principal miniſters, and that they need not be charged with the ſciences mathemati[illegible] Plato they are) further than by good laws to encourage men to the ſtudy of them, and that neither Plato nor any other philoſopher hitherto hath put into order, and ſufficiently or probably proved all the theorems of moral doctrine, that men may learn thereby, both how to govern and how to obey. I recover ſome hope, that one time or other this writing of mine may fall into the hands of a ſovereign, who will conſider it himſelf (for it is ſhort, and I think clear) without the help of any intereſted or envious interpreter, and by the exerciſe of entire ſovereignty in protecting the public teaching of it, convert this truth of ſpeculation into the utility of practice.'

(z) Lord Clarendon's Brief View and Survey of Mr Hobbes's Leviathan, p. 7, 8.

(13) Introduction to the Leviathan, p. 1.

(14) Conſiderations on the Reputation, Loyalty, Manners, and Religion, of Thomas Hobbes, p. 25.

[G] *Which*

overtures made him, to enter into the ſervice of the Protector in quality of his Secretary (*a*). The great Earl of Clarendon, once his very particular friend, and never his perſonal enemy, has given the world an account of ſome circumſtances, which attended the writing and publication of this book, from his own knowledge, which are very curious [*G*].

Whatever

[*G*] *Which are very curious.*] This great man wrote, during his baniſhment in 1670, a book againſt Mr Hobbes, which was printed ſix years afterwards at Oxford, with this title, *A brief View of the dangerous and pernicious Errors to* Church *and* State, *in Mr* Hobbes*'s Book entituled,* LEVIATHAN (15). In the introduction, the Earl obſerves, ‘ That Mr Hobbes's *Leviathan* contains in it good learning of all kinds, politely extracted, and very wittily and cunningly digeſted, in a very commendable and in a vigorous and pleaſant ſtile ;’ and that Mr Hobbes, ‘ was a man of excellent parts, of great wit, ſome reading, and ſomewhat more thinking. One who has ſpent many years in foreign parts and obſervations, underſtands the learned as well as modern languages, hath long had the reputation of a great philoſopher and mathematician, and in his age hath had converſation with very many worthy and extraordinary men ; to which it may be, if he had been more indulgent in the more vigorous part of his life, it might have had greater influence upon the temper of his mind ; whereas age ſeldom ſubmits to thoſe queſtions, enquiries, and contradictions, which the laws and liberty of converſation require. And it hath been always a lamentation among Mr Hobbes's friends, that he ſpent too much time in thinking, and too little in exerciſing thoſe thoughts, in the company of other men of the ſame, or of as good faculties ; for want whereof, his natural conſtitution, with age, contracted ſuch a moroſity, that doubting and contradicting men were never grateful to him. In a word, Mr Hobbes is one of the moſt ancient acquaintance I have in the world, and of whom I have always had a great eſteem, as a man, who beſides his eminent parts of learning and knowledge, hath been always looked upon as a man of probity, and a life free from ſcandal.’ The Earl informs us, that when Prince Charles, afterwards King Charles the Second, went firſt to Paris from the Iſle of Jerſey, and the Lords Capel and Hopton continued with him at Jerſey, he heard ſhortly after, that Mr Hobbes, who was then at Paris, had printed his book *De Cive* there. The Earl, then Sir Edward Hyde, wrote to Dr Earl, who was then the Prince's chaplain and tutor, to remember him kindly to Mr Hobbes, with whom he was well acquainted, and to deſire him to ſend him that book, by the ſame token that Mr Sidney Godolphin, who had been killed in the civil wars, had left him a legacy of two hundred pounds. The book was immediately ſent to Sir Edward by Mr Hobbes, with a deſire that he would tell him, whether he was ſure that there was ſuch a legacy, or how he might receive it. Sir Edward ſent Mr Hobbes word, that he might depend upon it, and believed that if he found a way ſecretly to demand it of Mr Francis Godolphin, brother of Mr Sidney Godolphin, *who had told* Sir Edward he would pay it. This information was the motive to the dedication of *the Leviathan* to Mr Francis Godolphin, whom Mr Hobbes had never ſeen. When Sir Edward went ſome few years after from Holland with King Charles II. to Paris, Mr Hobbes viſited him, and told him that Mr Godolphin had confeſſed the legacy, and had paid one hundred pounds, and promiſed to pay the other, for all which he thanked him, and ſaid he owed it to him, for he had otherwiſe never known of it. When Sir Edward returned from Spain, by Paris, Mr Hobbes frequently came to him, and told him that his book, which he would call *Leviathan*, was printing in England, and that he received every week a ſheet to correct, of which, he ſhewed him one or two ſheets, and thought it would be finiſhed in little more than a month ; and alſo communicated to him, the epiſtle to Mr Godolphin which he intended to prefix to it, and concluded that he knew, when Sir Edward read his book he would not like it ; and therefore mentioned ſome particulars, upon which Sir Edward aſked him, why he would publiſh ſuch doctrine, to which, after a diſcourſe between jeſt and earneſt, upon the ſubject, he ſaid (16) ; *The truth is, I have a mind to go home.* ‘ Within a ſhort time after, I came, ſays *the Earl,* into Flanders, which was not much more than a month, from the time that Mr Hobbes had conferred with me, *Leviathan* was ſent to me from London, which I read with much appetite and impatience. Yet I had ſcarce finiſhed it, when Sir Charles Cavendiſh (the noble brother of the Duke of Newcaſtle, who was then at Antwerp, a gentleman of all the accompliſhments of mind, that he wanted of body, being in all other reſpects a wonderful perſon) ſhewed me a letter he had then received from Mr Hobbes, in which he deſired he would let him know freely what my opinion was of his book ; upon which I wiſhed he would tell him, that I could not enough wonder, that a man who had ſo great a reverence for civil government, that he reſolved all wiſdom and religion itſelf into a ſimple obedience and ſubmiſſion to it, ſhould publiſh a book, for which by the conſtitution of any government now eſtabliſhed in Europe, whether monarchical or democratical, the author muſt be puniſhed in the higheſt degree, and with the moſt ſevere penalties. With which anſwer, which Sir Charles ſent to him, he was not pleaſed, and found afterwards, when I returned to the King to Paris, that I very much cenſured his book, which he had preſented engroſſed in vellum, in a marvellous fair hand to the King, and likewiſe found my judgment ſo far confirmed, that a few days before I came thither, he was compelled ſecretly to flie out of Paris, the Juſtice having endeavoured to apprehend him, and ſoon after eſcaped into England, where he never received any diſturbance. After the King's return, he came frequently to the Court, where he had too many diſciples, and once viſited me. I received him very kindly, and invited him to ſee me often, but he heard from ſo many hands that I had no good opinion of his book, that he came to me only that one time, and methinks I am in a degree indebted to him, to let him know ſome reaſons, why I look with ſo much prejudice upon his book, which hath gotten him ſo much credit and eſtimation with ſome other men.’ The Earl afterwards obſerves, That the review and concluſion of *the Leviathan*, is only an abridgment and contracting the moſt contagious poiſon that runs through the book into a leſs veſſel or volume, leſt they who ſhould not take the pains to read the book, or reading it, may by inadvertency and inconſiſtency not be hurt enough by it, may here in leſs room, and more nakedly, ſwallow his choiceſt doctrine at one morſel, and is in truth a ſly addreſs to Cromwell, that being then out of the kingdom, and ſo being neither conquered nor his ſubject, he might by his return ſubmit to his government, and be bound to obey it : which being uncompelled by any neceſſity or want, but having as much to ſuſtain him abroad, as he had to live upon at home, could not but proceed from a ſincere heart, and uncorrupted. This review and concluſion he made ſhort enough, to hope that Cromwell himſelf might read it, where he ſhould not only receive the pawn of his new ſubjects allegiance, by declaring his own obligations and obedience, but by publiſhing ſuch doctrine, as being diligently infuſed, by ſuch a maſter, in the myſtery of government, might ſecure the people of the kingdom (over whom he had no right to command) to acquieſce and ſubmit to his brutal power (17).’ The latter part of this charge, though very poſitively aſſerted by many others, as well as this noble Peer, cannot certainly be made out, unleſs Mr Hobbes was a prophet, as well as a politician ; for Cromwell, was then no more than General of the forces, and if there had been any evident ſign of his becoming maſter of the government, it is more than probable, ſome of the eagle-eyed people of that age would have diſcerned it, as ſoon as Mr Hobbes (18). But it is eaſy to find the meaning of a paſſage, or rather to apply it, when events have pointed the preſumed occaſion. Yet at the juncture *the Leviathan* was publiſhed, no mortal could imagine that it was a complement to General Cromwell, though it is very poſſible that from the doctrine contained in it, the author had he been ſo inclined (which it does not appear he ever was) might have afterwards found his account, in paying his court

to

(*a*) Dowell's Leviathan Heretical, Oxon. 1683. 12mo. p. 137.

(15) Clarendon's Survey of the Leviathan, p. 2.

(16) Ibid. p. 7.

(17) Ibid. p. 317.

(18) Conſiderations on the Reputation, Loyalty, &c. of Th. Hobbes, p. 18, 19.

Whatever his motives might be to the writing his Leviathan, certain it is, that, not long after it's publication, he returned to England, partly, as he himſelf affirmed, from his apprehenſions of the conſequences that might follow, from the offence taken againſt him by the Popiſh clergy, and partly on account of an indiſpoſition in his ſtomach, from which, by the uſe of proper medicines, he perfectly recovered (*b*). But it does by no means appear, that he ſought for any favour from the hands of thoſe then in power, beyond that of living in quiet. And finding the Church of England ſubverted, and the churches filled with thoſe who made no uſe of any liturgy, and whoſe ſermons, in his opinion, were often blaſphemous, he omitted, for three months, communicating with any body of Chriſtians; but being afterwards carried to a congregation, where the ſervice of the Church of England was with great privacy uſed, he joined in communion with them, and continued to reſort thither (*c*). This, and his conduct in his ſickneſs, he afterwards urged as a proof that he was no Atheiſt; but, on the contrary, a Chriſtian, and ſincerely attached to that Church in which he was educated (*d*) [*H*]. After his coming over into his own country,

to the Protector. But notwithſtanding things of this ſort were no doubt carried to the King's ear, yet they did not make ſuch an impreſſion upon him, as upon his miniſters, in complaiſance to whom, though he forbid our author his preſence, yet he could not help declaring at the ſame time, *that he did not believe* Mr Hobbes *intended him any hurt* (19). We have ſhewn in the former note that he had good reaſon to be of this opinion, and yet it muſt be allowed, that *the Leviathan* was in two reſpects a noxious book, or rather an obnoxious book. In the firſt place, it ſet the impiety, ſuperſtition, and tyranny of the Papiſts, in the ſtrongeſt light poſſible; and in the next, it evidently diſpoſed men's minds (by furniſhing a plauſible apology for their conduct) to ſubmit and to live quietly, under the power whatever it was that prevailed in England. By this, the author provoked the Romiſh clergy, whom, tho' he had not been a timorous man, he might have good reaſon to fear, and diſguſted the high Royaliſts, that is ſuch as were proſcribed, and could not go home; ſo that he had the ſtrongeſt motive that could be to leave France, and, after the King's meſſage, ſcarce any means left to ſtay.

[*H*] *In which he was educated.*] At the time that our author ſent abroad his Leviathan, there was a kind of ſtate news paper circulated here, written by one Marchmont Needham, from which it plainly appears, that from the moment Hobbes's book was publiſhed, it was ill received at King Charles's Court, though at the ſame time not at all diſpleaſing on this ſide the water (20). ‘The author, ſays this writer, ſent one of his books when he had publiſhed it, as a preſent to the King of Scots, which he accepted, in regard he had been his tutor in the mathematics; but being afterwards informed by ſome of his Prieſts, that that book did not only contain many principles of Atheiſm and groſs impiety (for ſo they call every thing that ſquares not with the clergy intereſt) but alſo ſuch that were prejudicial to the Church, and reflected dangerouſly upon the Majeſty of ſovereign Princes; therefore when Mr Hobbes came to make a tender of his ſervice to him in perſon, he was rejected, and word brought him by the Marquis of Ormond, that the King would not admit him, and withal told him the reaſon. By which means Mr Hobbes declines in credit with his friends there of the Royal ſtamp.’ One of Mr Hobbes's antagoniſts aſſerted in his lifetime, as is ſaid in the text, that *the Leviathan* was ſo acceptable to Cromwell, that he made him an offer of being his Secretary (21). If this was true, it does indeed prove, that the Government then ſubſiſting in England were well ſatisfied with Mr Hobbes's notions; but it does at the ſame time alſo prove, that he was not ſatisfied with their authority, and that though he thought it conſiſtent with his principles, to live peaceably under their protection, yet he did not care, by accepting preferment, to acknowledge, that either the Parliament, or the Protector, had made a legal acquiſition of power. This ſhews his attachment to the State. He affirms himſelf, that he was not at all leſs ſteady in his principles as to the Church. He found upon his coming over, a public profeſſion of religion, and preaching and praying in abundance, yet for three months he declined going to any public place of worſhip; but being informed by a friend, that a clergyman of the eſtabliſhed Church, ventured to officiate every Sunday, and to read the ſervice preſcribed by the Common Prayer, he went, though it was a mile diſtant from the place of his reſidence, conſtantly to hear it ſo read by him, and received the Sacrament from his hands (22). In one of his works written by way of dialogue againſt Dr Bramhall, Biſhop of Derry, afterwards Primate of Ireland, he puts his Lordſhip's ſtate of the caſe from *the Leviathan*, and then his anſwer to it in theſe words (23).

JOHN DERRY,

‘His fifth concluſion may be, that the ſharpeſt and moſt ſucceſsful ſword in any war whatſoever, doth give ſovereign power and authority to him that hath it, to approve or reject all ſorts of theological doctrines concerning the kingdom of God, not according to their truth or falſehood, but according to that influence which they have upon political affairs.’ Hear him, *But becauſe this doctrine will appear to moſt men a* novelty, *I do but propound it, maintaining nothing in this or any other* paradox *of* religion, *but attending the end of that* diſpute *of the* ſword *concerning the authority (not yet amongſt my countrymen decided) by which all ſorts of* doctrine *are to be approved or rejected, &c. For the points of* doctrine *concerning the* kingdom *of* God, *have ſo great influence upon the* kingdom *of* man, *as not to be determined, but by them that under* God *have the ſovereign power,*

——— *Careat ſucceſſibus opto*
Quiſquis ab eventu, facta notanda putat.

‘Let him evermore want ſucceſs, who thinketh actions are to be judged by their events. This doctrine may be plauſible to thoſe who deſire to fiſh in troubled waters. But it is juſtly hated by thoſe which are in authority, and all thoſe who are lovers of peace and tranquillity. The laſt part of this concluſion ſmelleth rankly of Jeroboam; Now ſhall the kingdom return to the houſe of David, if this people go up to do ſacrifice in the houſe of the Lord at Jeruſalem: whereupon the King took counſel, and made two calves of gold, and ſaid unto them, It is too much for you to go up to Jeruſalem, behold thy Gods, O Iſrael, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt. But by the juſt diſpoſition of Almighty God, this policy turned to a ſin, and was the utter deſtruction of Jeroboam and his family. It is not good jeſting with edge-tools, nor playing with holy things. Where men make their greateſt faſtneſs, many times they find moſt danger.’

THOMAS HOBBES,

‘His Lordſhip either had a ſtrange *conſcience*, or underſtood not *Engliſh*. Being at Paris when there was no Biſhop nor Church in England, and every man writ what he pleaſed; I reſolved when it ſhould pleaſe God to reſtore the authority eccleſiaſtical, to ſubmit to that authority, in whatſoever it ſhould determine. This his Lordſhip conſtrues for a temporizing and too much indifferency in religion, and ſays further, that the laſt part of my words do ſmell of *Jeroboam*. To the contrary, I ſay my words were modeſt, and ſuch as in duty I ought to uſe. And I profeſs ſtill, that whatſoever the *Church* of *England* (the *Church*, I ſay, not every *Doctor*) ſhall forbid me to ſay, in matter of faith, I ſhall abſtain from ſaying it, excepting this point, *That* Jeſus Chriſt *the* Son *of* God *died for my ſins*. As for other doctrines, I think it unlawful, if the *Church* define them, for any *Member* of the *Church* to contradict them.’ Theſe ſentiments of Mr Hobbes were certainly very conſiſtent with

(*b*) Vita Thomæ Hobbes, p. 10. Hiſtoria & Antiq. Oxon. P. ii. p. 377. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 642.

(*c*) Thomæ Hobbes Vita, p. 9, 10. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 83, 84. Conſiderations on the Reputation, Loyalty, &c. of T. Hobbes, p. 11, 12.

(*d*) Vita Thomæ Hobbes, p. 11.

(19) Ibid. p. 28.

(20) Mercurius Politicus, No. 84. from Jan. 8. to Jan. 15. anno 1651-2.

(21) The Leviathan Heretical, p. 137.

(22) Vita Thomæ Hobbes, p. 10, 11.

(23) Hobbes's Anſwer to the catching of the Leviathan, p. 107, 108, 109.

country, he paſſed the ſummer commonly at Chatſworth, the Earl of Devonſhire's ſeat in Derbyſhire, and ſome of his winters in town, where he had, for his intimate friends, ſeveral of the greateſt men of that or of any age; ſuch as, Dr William Harvey, the great light and reſtorer of Phyſic; John Selden, Eſq; that prodigy of learning; Sir John Vaughan, afterwards Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas; Abraham Cowley, no leſs diſtinguiſhed by the innocency of his life than the elegance of his writings; and Sir Charles Scarborough, afterwards the King's Phyſician, a man famous for mathematical learning, his exquiſite ſkill in Phyſic, and for his open, generous, and communicative temper *(e)*. In 1654, Mr Hobbes publiſhed his Letter upon Liberty and Neceſſity, which occaſioned a long controverſy between him and Dr Bramhall, Biſhop of Londonderry, afterwards Lord-Primate of Ireland. About this time, likewiſe, began the controverſy with Dr Wallis of Oxford, which laſted as long as our author lived, and in which he had the misfortune to have all the Mathematicians againſt him *(f)*. It is indeed ſaid, that our author came too late to this kind of ſtudy, for a man who would excel in it; and that though for a time he maintained his credit, while he was content to proceed in the ſame track with others, and to reaſon in the accuſtomed manner, from the eſtabliſhed principles of the ſcience; yet when he began to digreſs into new paths, and ſet up for a reformer, inventor, and improver of Geometry, he loſt himſelf extremely *(g)*. But, notwithſtanding theſe debates took up much of his time, he publiſhed ſeveral philoſophical treatiſes in Latin, in compliance with the promiſes which he had formerly given, and in which he made it his rule to be very punctual. Such were his occupations 'till the year 1660, when, upon the King's reſtoration, he came up to London; where, being at Saliſbury-houſe with his patron, when the King paſſed by in his coach, he accidentally ſaw him, and ſent for him, gave him his hand to kiſs, and enquired kindly after his health and circumſtances. Some time after this, his Majeſty directed that eminent Limner, Mr Samuel Cooper, to go to him and draw his picture *(b)*. He likewiſe afforded our author another private audience, ſpoke to him very kindly, aſſured him of his protection, and ſettled a penſion upon him of one hundred pounds a year out of his privy-purſe; which laſt circumſtance is very particularly mentioned by himſelf, in his account of his own life in Latin verſe *(i)* [*I*]. Yet
this

(e) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 84, 85, 86.

(f) Thomæ Hobbes Vita, p. 11. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 95, 96, 97. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 645.

(g) See the note [*S*].

(b) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 91, 92, 93. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 642.

(i) Thomæ Hobbes Vita, p. 14. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 80. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 642.

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with his practice, ſo that ſuch as reproached him with diſreſpect for the Chriſtian Religion, Impiety, and Atheiſm, could do it no otherwiſe than from their own interpretation of his writings, which was very different or rather oppoſite to the ſenſe in which he declared he meant them, and for the proof of his ſincerity appealed to his practice, and in reſpect to this, even his noble antagoniſt, as in the former note appears, had not a word to ſay.

[*I*] *In Latin verſe.*] In theſe metrical memorials relating to himſelf, for one can hardly call them with any propriety a poem, he gives a very particular account of his eſtate, and of the changes it underwent, as we have mentioned in the text. He likewiſe intimates in theſe, as well as in his proſe memoirs, and in other parts of his works, that he knew well enough who they were that repreſented him, or at leaſt his writings, in a diſadvantageous light to the King. Of him however he profeſſes he never had any juſt reaſon to complain, not even for liſtening to theſe repreſentations, and in conſequence of them, forbidding him his preſence and his Court. The reaſon he renders is this *.

——————Nam tunc adoleſcens
Credidit ille, quibus credidit ante Pater.

He then a youth, believ'd it was but juſt,
To truſt in thoſe, who had his father's truſt.

We find that his ſentiments in this reſpect were very well founded, for his noble antagoniſt, in that admirable dedication of his to the King, clearly and candidly avows what our author only ſuggeſts. ‘I have often, ſays he, heretofore when I had liberty for that preſumption, advertiſed your Majeſty of the wickedneſs of very many of the principles upon which that whole book is ſupported, and was not without ſome hope of prevailing with your Majeſty, to give yourſelf the leiſure and the trouble to peruſe and examine ſome parts of it, in confidence, than they would no ſooner be read than deteſted by you: whereas the frequent reciting of looſe and disjointed ſentences and bold inferences, for the novelty and pleaſantneſs of the expreſſions, the reputation of the gentleman for parts and learning, with his confidence in converſation, and eſpecially the humour and inclination of the time to all kind of paradoxes, have too much prevailed with many of great wit and faculties, without reading the context or obſervation of the conſequences, to believe his propoſitions to be more innocent or leſs miſchievous, than upon a more deliberate peruſal they will find them to be, and the love of his perſon and company, have rendered the iniquity of his principles leſs diſcernable.’ There is no doubt that theſe were this noble perſon's real ſentiments, or that they were thoſe alſo of many others; but at the ſame time there were others of the King's friends, who thought that Mr Hobbes's book might do his Majeſty very effectual ſervice, by giving many of his exiled ſubjects an opportunity of going home and of getting into the poſſeſſion of their eſtates again, by ſubmitting to a compoſition, which they conſidered as giving a part to retrieve the whole. It was alſo apprehended, that thoſe who returned, would not be leſs the King's ſubjects, or leſs likely to ſerve him from that circumſtance, and that perhaps this book might likewiſe open the eyes of the people, and ſhew them upon what principles their new government ſtood. Taken in this light, however dangerous the principles laid down in the Leviathan might be, they could not be dangerous to the King, more eſpecially when the author was publickly diſgraced by him for publiſhing them. That this was really the caſe, and that Mr Hobbes had ſome reaſon to take it amiſs, to have any malice imputed to him againſt the King or his government, may appear in his apology to that Prince, publiſhed within two years after his Reſtoration (24). ‘I will not break the cuſtom of joining to my offering a prayer, and it is, that your Majeſty will be pleaſed to pardon this following ſhort apology for my Leviathan, not that I rely upon apologies, but upon your Majeſty's moſt gracious general pardon. That which is in it of theology, contrary to the general current of divines, is not put there as my opinion, but propounded with ſubmiſſion to thoſe that have the power eccleſiaſtical. I did never after, either in writing or diſcourſe, maintain it. There is nothing in it againſt epiſcopacy. I cannot therefore imagine what reaſon any epiſcopal man can have to ſpeak of me, as I hear ſome of them do, as of an Athieſt, or man of no religion, unleſs it be for making the authority of the Church depend wholly upon the regal power, which I hope your Majeſty will think is neither Atheiſm nor Hereſy. But what had I to do to meddle with matters of that nature, ſeeing religion is not philoſophy but law? it was written in a time, when the pretence of Chriſt's kingdom was made uſe of for the moſt horrid actions that can be imagined, and it was in juſt indignation
‘of

* Thomæ Hobbes Vita, p. 9.

(24) Prefixed to ſeven Philoſophical problems, and two propoſitions in Geometry, A. D. 1662.

this did not render him intirely ſafe; for, in 1666, his book of the *Leviathan*, and his treatiſe *De Cive*, were cenſured by Parliament, which alarmed him very much; as did alſo the bringing in of a bill in the houſe of Commons, to puniſh Atheiſm and Profaneneſs. It is thought, that, upon this occaſion, he compoſed his Hiſtorical Narration of Hereſy, and the puniſhment thereof, or rather detached it from his Leviathan, and added to it ſome freſh remarks, with a view of demonſtrating that he could not be legally guilty of Hereſy, in writing or publiſhing that book, becauſe the High-Commiſſion-Court was the only judicature in England that could declare what was Hereſy; and that court being aboliſhed at the beginning of the troubles, and not reſtored afterwards, whatever was contained in his book, written in the interim, could never, in a legal ſenſe, be adjudged Hereſy (*k*) [*K*]. When this ſtorm was a little blown over, he began to think of procuring a beautiful

‘ of that, that I deſired to ſee the bottom of that doctrine of the kingdom of Chriſt, which divers miniſters then preached for a pretence to their rebellion, which may reaſonably extenuate though not excuſe the writing of it. There is therefore no ground for ſo great a calumny in my writings, there is no ſign of it in my life, and for my religion, when I was at the point of death at St Germains, the Biſhop of Durham can bear witneſs of it, if he be aſked. Therefore I moſt humbly beſeech your ſacred Majeſty, not to believe ſo ill of me, upon reports that proceed often (and may do ſo now) from the diſpleaſure which commonly ariſeth from difference in opinion; nor to think the worſe of me, *if ſnatching up all the weapons to fight againſt your enemies, I lighted upon one that had a double edge.*’ It muſt be allowed, that how truly or juſtly ſoever this was certainly very elegantly ſaid, and that both the logic and rhetoric therein, has more the air of the Court than of the Cloiſter. Indeed from the hour he left Oxford, Mr Hobbes ſpent his time chiefly amongſt perſons of great quality and diſtinction, from whoſe converſation no doubt, he borrowed much of that vivacity and facility, and perhaps alſo of that conciſeneſs and perſpicuity for which his writings were then admired; and that they were admired at Court, and not publickly diſapproved by the King, was what chiefly kept up the old man's ſpirits, and enabled him to employ his pen at an age when other men are ſometimes paſt reading.

[*K*] *Be adjudged Hereſy.*] Amongſt all the pieces that fell from our author's pen, which were not a few, we may with great truth aſſert, there is none in which he ſhewed more ingenuity, learning, or addreſs, than in this. To ſay the truth, there was nothing imported him ſo much in the circumſtances he then ſtood, as to ſet this matter in a clear light, or at leaſt in ſuch a light as might intereſt moſt of his readers in his cauſe, by ſhewing the poſſibility of it's becoming their own; and ſetting up at the ſame time ſuch a defence of his own conduct, as might ſecure him againſt any proceedings, which were not founded on a law *ex poſt facto*; which he knew, for their own ſakes, the Commons, would never be brought to paſs. The method he took was this; he began with explaining the term *Hereſy*, which he obſerved was a Greek word, ſignifying the taking of any thing, and which came to be particularly applied to the taking of an opinion. When Philoſophy was freely taught in Greece, there aroſe ſeveral wiſe and great men, who laboured to explain the general ſyſtem of things in very different manners. As for inſtance, Pythagoras, Plato, Ariſtotle, Epicurus, and Zeno. The doctrine that each of theſe taught was ſtiled his *Hereſy*; and, in proceſs of time, as each of theſe different opinions came to be embraced by many, the followers of them were ſtiled *Sects*, from the Latin *à ſequendo*; and this is his notions of Hereſy and Sects while confined to Philoſophy. But when the Chriſtian Religion began generally to prevail, it was embraced by Philoſophers of all kinds, who quickly began to conciliate and explain ſcriptures themſelves according to their former notions; and their ſentiments being embraced by others, this introduced Hereſies and Sects into the Church. As this was productive of many and manifeſt inconveniences, and gave great ſcandal to unbelievers, the remedy applied was, to convene the Paſtors of the Church, who examined any new opinion as ſoon as it was broached; and if it appeared to them falſe, they ſummoned the author to retract it, which if he would not do they ſhut him out from their communion; the members of which conſidered him from thence forward as a heathen, branding him with the name of *Heretic*, as one perſiſting in his own private opinion, againſt the common ſenſe of the Church: hence aroſe the terms *Catholic* and *Heretic*, as relatives; and the latter grew a name of reproach and diſgrace. He obſerves next, that the preſerving the catholic faith made way for councils and creeds; in the former of which it was ſettled, and by the latter of which it was declared. In the firſt four general councils, the peace of the Church was the principal object, which ſoon after was changed for the power of the Church As the authority of the Biſhop of Rome, under a variety of titles, grew up, there was no doctrine which tended to the power eccleſiaſtical, or to the reverence of the clergy, the contradiction whereof was, not by one council or another, made hereſy, and puniſhed arbitrarily by the emperors with baniſhment or death. And at laſt, kings themſelves, and commonwealths, unleſs they purged their dominions of heretics, were excommunicated, interdicted, and their ſubjects let looſe upon them by the Pope; inſomuch, as to an ingenuous and ſerious Chriſtian, there was nothing ſo dangerous as to enquire concerning his own ſalvation of the Holy Scripture; the careleſs cold Chriſtian was ſafe, and the ſkilful hypocrite a ſaint. The Pope, now poſſeſſed of the power of the Church, declaring what were Hereſies, kings and other ſtates made ſuch laws, as they thought proper for the extirpation of them; the firſt that was made here was in the fifth of Richard the Second, againſt the Lollards, or followers of John Wicliffe; by which law, Sheriffs and ſome others were to have commiſſions to apprehend ſuch, as the prelates certified to be preachers of Hereſy, and their abettors; and them to hold in ſtrong priſon 'till they juſtified themſelves, according to the law of the Holy Church. Richard the Second being depoſed, Henry the Fourth, who in aſpiring to the Crown ſtood in need of the biſhops good will, in the ſecond year of his reign, gave his aſſent to a law, by which every Ordinary might convene before him and impriſon any perſon ſuſpected of Hereſy; and, if he remained obſtinate, he was to be burnt before the people. His ſon and ſucceſſor, Henry the Fifth, went farther; and, in the ſecond year of his reign, conſented to a law, declaring, that the intent of the Lollards was to ſubvert the Chriſtan Faith, the Law of God, the Church, and the Realm; and that a heretic convict ſhould forfeit all his fee-ſimple, lands, goods, and chattels, and be burned beſides. Henry the Eighth, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, enacted, that a heretic convict ſhould abjure his Hereſies; and if he refuſed ſo to do, or relapſed, then to be burned in an open place for example ſake. This was after he had aboliſhed papal power; which ſhewed, that his intention was not to alter religion, but to recover his own eccleſiaſtical authority. This, and all other laws againſt hereſy, were repealed in the time of Edward the Sixth. Under the reign of Queen Mary, her father's ſtatute was revived. Queen Elizabeth, in the fifth year of her reign, repealed all the eccleſiaſtical laws made by her ſiſter, and all former laws concerning the puniſhment of heretics. By the ſame ſtatute it was enacted, that the Queen, by her letters patent, conſtitute the Biſhops, and others her Commiſſioners for executing eccleſiaſtical authority, to whom the power was attributed of declaring Hereſy; but then they were reſtrained to ſuch as had been declared ſo by one of the firſt four general councils. This was the origin of the High-Commiſſion, which, upon the application of Parliament, King Charles paſſed a law to aboliſh (25). ‘ But, ſays our author, though the High-Commiſſion were taken away, yet the Parliament having other ends beſides the ſetting up of the Preſbyterate, purſued the rebellion, and put down both Epiſcopacy and Monarchy, erecting a power, by them called the Commonwealth, by others the Rump; which men obeyed, not out of duty, but for fear; nor was there any

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(*k*) See the note [*K*].

(25) An Hiſtorical Narration concerning Hereſy, and the Puniſhment thereof, p. 25, 26.

a beautiful edition of ſuch of his works, as were either written by himſelf, or tranſlated into the Latin tongue, to be publiſhed in his life-time; and finding this to be a thing impracticable in England, he cauſed it to be undertaken abroad; where they were made public in 4to. in 1668, from the preſs of John Bleau (*l*). In 1669, he was viſited by Coſmo De Medicis, then Prince, afterwards Duke, of Tuſcany, who gave him ample marks of his eſteem and reſpect; and having received his picture, and a compleat collection of his writings, cauſed them to be repoſited, the former amongſt his curioſities, the latter in his celebrated library at Florence (*m*). The like viſits he received from foreign ambaſſadors, and other ſtrangers of diſtinction, who were curious to ſee a perſon, whoſe ſingular opinions and numerous writings had made ſo much noiſe over all Europe; which not only gratified the old man's paſſion for applauſe, which was his greateſt foible, but really raiſed his reputation; inſomuch, that ſome young men at the univerſities began to ſtudy his Philoſophy with great application, and embraced, with the paſſion natural to that ſeaſon of life, all his opinions (*n*). Amongſt theſe, there was one Daniel Scargill, Bachelor of Arts, and Fellow of Corpus-Chriſti-college in Cambridge, who undertook to defend ſome poſitions extracted from the Leviathan, which drew upon him a very ſevere academical proſecution, that ended in impriſonment, depriving him of his degree, removing him from his fellowſhip, and expelling him the univerſity (*o*). The man himſelf afterwards publiſhed a very full recantation, in which he acknowledged himſelf to have been drawn into the groſſeſt errors and impieties, by the ſtudy of our author's writings. This engaged him to write a vindication in reference to this matter, as he had often done upon other occaſions; which, notwithſtanding, was never publiſhed, but ſhewn only to a few intimate friends (*p*). In 1670, there was committed to the preſs in Latin, the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Oxford, by Mr Wood, or, as he ſtiled himſelf, Anthony à Wood; which was written by the author in Engliſh, but tranſlated and publiſhed at the expence of Dr Fell, Biſhop of Oxford, who cauſed ſome conſiderable alterations to be made, as well as many things to be left out, in the account given of our author and his writings (*q*). Upon this, Anthony à Wood, in juſtification of himſelf, acquainted him with the whole of that tranſaction, pointing out the ſeveral alterations and omiſſions; and our author, in a Latin letter, dated April 20, 1674, addreſſed to Mr Wood, publiſhed all this to the world, with very warm and bitter complaints againſt Dr John Fell. To this, that great man vouchſafed to publiſh a reply; in which he aſſerted, that the article contained in Mr Wood's Engliſh book was not compoſed by himſelf, but was tranſmitted to him, either by our author, or by his great friend and diſciple John Aubrey, Eſq; juſtifying likewiſe his corrections and omiſſions, in as ſtrong terms as thoſe which had been made uſe of by Mr Hobbes in his charge; and this vindication of himſelf he cauſed to be annexed to the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Oxford (*r*) [*L*]. In 1672, the Philoſopher of Malmeſbury wrote his life in Latin verſe, when, as he obſerves, he had compleated his eighty-fourth year; in which, whatever may be thought of the poetry, there is certainly a great deal of ſpirit, and, it may be, of vanity alſo (*s*). He mentions at the cloſe of it, that when he retired to France, his whole ſtock was five hundred pounds; as alſo the addition made to it;

(*l*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 100. Hiſtoria & Antiq. Oxon. P. ii, p. 377.

(*m*) Vita Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 103. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 642.

(*n*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 104, 105, 106. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 646.

(*o*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 106.

(*p*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 646.

(*q*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 111, & ſeq. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 645.

(*r*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 123—147. Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. ad calcem & Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 645.

(*s*) Thomæ Hobbeſii Vita, authore ſeipſo; Lond. 1679. 4to. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 162. Publiſhed in Engliſh verſe, Lond. 1680. fol.

‘ any human laws left in force, to reſtrain any man from preaching or writing any doctrine concerning religion that he pleaſed; and, in this heat of the war, it was impoſſible to diſturb the peace of the State, which then was none. And in this time it was, that a book called *Leviathan* was written, in defence of the King's power, temporal and ſpiritual, without any word againſt Epiſcopacy, or againſt any Biſhop, or againſt the public doctrine of the Church. It pleaſed God, about twelve years after the uſurpation of this Rump, to reſtore His Moſt Gracious Majeſty, that now is, to his father's throne; and preſently his Majeſty reſtored the Biſhops, and pardoned the Preſbyterians; but then both the one and the other accuſed in Parliament this book of Hereſy, when neither the Biſhops before the war had declared what was Hereſy; when if they had, it had been made void, by the putting down of the High-Commiſſion, at the importunity of the Preſbyterians: ſo fierce are men for the moſt part in diſpute, where either their learning or power is debated, that they never think of the laws, but, as ſoon as they are offended, they cry out *crucifige*, forgetting what St Paul ſaith, even in caſe of obſtinate holding of an error, 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25. *The ſervant of the* Lord *muſt not ſtrive; but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekneſs inſtructing thoſe that oppoſe*; *if* God *peradventure may give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth*. Of which counſel, ſuch fierceneſs as hath appeared in the diſputation of divines, down from before the Council of Nice to this preſent time, is a violation.

[*L*] *To the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Oxford.*] In the Engliſh work of Anthony Wood, who was an honeſt and very ſincere man, though ſometimes a little rude, in the catalogue he gives us of our author's treatiſes, he mentions this letter to himſelf, and then adds (26): ‘ It was written to Mr Wood, upon his complaint made to Mr Hobbes, of ſeveral deletions and additions made in and to his life and character, which he had written of him in that book, by the publiſher (Dr John Fell) of the ſaid Hiſtory and Antiquities, to the great diſhonour and diſparagement of the ſaid Mr Hobbes. Whereupon, when that hiſtory was finiſhed, came out a ſcurrilous anſwer to the ſaid epiſtle, written by Dr Fell, which is at the end of that hiſtory.’ The reader will obſerve, that in this paſſage, Mr Wood contradicts what is alledged by Dr Fell, that the article of Mr Hobbes was written by himſelf, or his friend Mr Aubrey, and ſent to Mr Wood, whereas he who muſt know this beſt, affirms that it was of his own writing. There is certainly, as we have obſerved in the text, great ſpirit in Mr Hobbes's letter, and not leſs in Dr Fell's reply (27); the former, after all his complaints, declares himſelf ſatisfied, that his own fame at home and abroad ſtood beyond the reach of envy, and that though he held it his right to expoſe the ill uſage he met with, yet this did not proceed in the leaſt, from an apprehenſion that injuries of this kind could affect his reputation. On the other hand, the reply of the Dean is not at all leſs angry, and a great deal more rude, he ſtiles him *the moſt vain and waſpiſh animal of* Malmeſbury, treats his political performances as wicked and dangerous, and his mathematical writings as idle and ridiculous. He from thence infers, that as the editor of the work, in which this favourable character of Mr Hobbes was to appear, he had a right to expunge whatever was forced or falſe, in order to reſtrain it within the bounds of hiſtorical truth.

(26) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 645.

(27) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 109—147.

it, by the legacy of two hundred pounds from Sidney Godolphin, Eſq; a man, whom virtue, loyalty, and learning, equally commended to the reverence of poſterity. He takes notice likewiſe of an annuity granted him of fourſcore pounds a year, by his patron the Earl of Devonſhire, and the annual penſion given him by the King of one hundred pounds; which proviſion, he declares, exceeded his wants, and adds very pleaſantly, that, by computing his effects in French ſols or Spaniſh marvedies, he could perſwade himſelf that Crœſus or Craſſus were not at all richer men than he (t) [M]. In 1674, he publiſhed in Engliſh verſe four books of Homer's Odyſſey, which were very well received by the public; and this excited in him a reſolution of tranſlating, not only the Odyſſey but the Iliad. The ſame year, in the month of July, he took his leave of London, and went to ſpend the remainder of his days in Derbyſhire, but without the leaſt abatement of his natural ſpirit and vivacity; which, together with his parts, he preſerved 'till within a very few days of his death (u). In 1675, he ſent abroad his Engliſh verſion of the Iliad and Odyſſey, with a ſhort diſcourſe prefixed; which were in thoſe days generally eſteemed, though they have been cenſured by a modern poet and an excellent judge [N], as if they were

(t) Vita Hobbeſii, p. 15.

(u) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 150. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 647.

[M] *Richer men than he.*] It may without any danger of a breach of truth be aſſerted, that never any man had a higher opinion of himſelf than Mr Hobbes; nor is there indeed ſcarce any treatiſe of his, in which he does not tell us as much; and this not with any apology, or as if it were a foible, but as a point of fact, of which he neither was or ought to be aſhamed. Nay, what was yet much ſtronger, when he was reproached with this by his antagoniſts, he was ſo far from prevaricating or denying it, that he avowed and juſtified it; and yet with ſuch an air of pleaſantry and good humour, that ſometimes he had his reader on his ſide, which, conſidering the point he defends, perhaps never happened to any but himſelf and Montaigne. See how fairly he has ſtated the caſe between himſelf and Dr Wallis (28), who thought he had convicted him of this crime, or folly at leaſt, of talking loudly and impertinently in his own praiſe.

‘To the reſt of your (Dr Wallis's) calumnies the anſwers will be ſhort, and ſuch as you might eaſily have foreſeen; and firſt, for his (that is T. Hobbes) boaſting of his learning, it is well ſummed up by you in theſe words. *'Twas a motion made by one (whom I will not name) that ſome idle perſon ſhould read over all his books, and collecting together his arrogant and ſupercilious ſpeeches, applauding himſelf and deſpiſing all other men, ſet them forth in one ſynopſis, with this title,* Hobbius de ſe. *What a pretty piece of pageantry this would make, I ſhall leave to your own thoughts?*’

‘Thus ſay you: now ſays Mr Hobbes, or I for him. Let your idle perſon do it, and ſet down no more than he has written (as high praiſes as they be) I'll promiſe you he ſhall acknowledge them under his hand, and be commended for it, and you ſcorned. A certain Roman Senator having propounded ſomething in the aſſembly of the people, which they miſliking made a noiſe at, boldly bad them hold their peace, and told them he knew better what was good for the Commonwealth than all they: and his words are tranſmitted to us as an argument of his virtue, ſo much do truth and vanity alter the complexion of ſelf-praiſe. Beſides, you can have very little ſkill in morality, that cannot ſee the juſtice of commending a man's ſelf, as well as of any thing elſe in his own defence: and it was want of prudence in you, to conſtrain him to a thing that would ſo much diſpleaſe you. That part of his ſelf-praiſe which moſt offends you, is in the end of his Leviathan in theſe words: Therefore I think it may be profitably printed, and more profitably taught in the Univerſities, in caſe they alſo think ſo, to whom the judgment of the ſame belongeth. Let any man conſider the truth of it: Where did thoſe miniſters learn their ſeditious doctrine, and to preach it, but there? where therefore ſhould preachers learn to teach loyalty but there? and if your principles produced civil war, muſt not the contrary principles, which are his, produce peace. And conſequently his book, as far as it handles civil doctrine, deſerves to be taught there. But when can this be done? when you ſhall have no longer an army ready to maintain the evil doctrine wherewith you have infected the people. By a ready army, I mean arms and money, and men enough, though not yet in pay, and put under officers, yet gathered together in one place or city, to be put under officers armed and payed, on any ſudden occaſion, ſuch as are the people of a great and populous town. Every great city is as a ſtanding army, which, if it be not under the Sovereign's command, the people are miſerable; if they be, they may be taught their duties in the univerſities ſafely and eaſily, and be happy. I never read of any Chriſtian King that was a tyrant, though the beſt of Kings have been called ſo.’

In the two lives written by himſelf of himſelf, he ſpeaks exactly in the ſame language, and with the ſame air of eaſy aſſurance. In the proſe life, which was the later written of the two, ſpeaking in the third perſon, he deſcribes himſelf thus. ‘In familiar converſation he was eaſy and pleaſant, except to ſuch as came to diſpute with him about what he had already publiſhed concerning the right of ſovereignty in civil and eccleſiaſtical cauſes. For in reſpect to theſe, he diſputed ſometimes a little more vehemently perhaps than was neceſſary. He was naturally very open, and amongſt his adverſaries, who were many, and ſome of them very potent, it was rather owing to his innocence than his ſkill that he remained ſafe. As no man underſtood juſtice better, ſo none practiſed it more ſtrictly. Neither was this at all ſtrange, as he was very careleſs about money, and the narrowneſs of his fortune conſidered, he was beyond meaſure beneficent, but through the kindneſs of his patrons, and of the beſt and moſt humane of Princes, Charles the Second, the old man lived very comfortably.’ At the cloſe of his life in verſe, in the ſame ſingular and not unpleaſing manner, he ſings of himſelf thus (29).

Nam mea vita meis non eſt incongrua ſcriptis:
Juſtitiam doceo, juſtitiamque colo.
Improbus eſſe poteſt nemo qui non ſit avarus,
Nec pulchrum quiſquam fecit avarus opus.
Octoginta ego jam complevi & quatuor annos:
Penè acta eſt vitæ fabula longa meæ.

In Engliſh thus.

Nor to my writings is my life untrue,
Juſtice I teach, and juſtice I purſue.
The root of wickedneſs is luſt of gain,
Good works from miſers men expect in vain.
Years having ſeen compleat, fourſcore and four,
The farce of life, with me, will ſoon be o'er.

In the firſt edition, the two laſt lines run ſomewhat differently, viz (30)

Octoginta annos complevi jam quatuorque,
Et prope ſtans dictat Mors mihi, Ne metue.

In Engliſh thus:

For having paſt, my four and fourſcor'th year,
Death beckons now, and bids me nothing fear.

[N] *By a modern poet and an excellent judge.*] As good an opinion as our author had of himſelf, he reſolved to make a trial of the public's taſte in reſpect to his poetry, ſo much the more neceſſary as he now wrote in Engliſh, and was of courſe to have both the learned and the unlearned for his judges. His ſpecimen conſiſted of the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth books of the Odyſſey. How it ſucceeded, we learn from

(28) Conſiderations on the Reputation, Loyalty, &c. of T. Hobbes, p. 56, 57.

(29) Thomas Hobbes Vita, p. 15.

(30) Ibid. Lond. 4to. 1679. p. 14.

were equally below the reputation of Hobbes and of the Grecian bard. In 1676, he cauſed his diſpute with Dr Benjamin Laney, Biſhop of Ely, concerning *Liberty* and *Neceſſity*, to be printed; for he loved not only to ſhew that he was living, by the exerciſe of his pen, but alſo to make the world take notice of it by annual publications (w). In 1678, appeared his *Decameron Phyſiologicum*: or, *Ten Dialogues of Natural Philoſophy*; about the ſame time he reviſed and put the laſt hand to a work formerly publiſhed, though without his name, the Art of Rhetoric, collected from Ariſtotle and Ramus; to which he added a book, compoſed ſome years before at the requeſt of a perſon of great diſtinction, entituled, A *Dialogue* between a *Philoſopher* and a *Student* of the *Common-Law* of *England*; which is a very ſingular performance, and very evidently proves, that, if Mr Hobbes had applied himſelf early to that, or indeed any other learned profeſſion, he could not have failed of making a great figure therein; though, for want of that early application, there is in it an air of poſitiveneſs, which does no honour to the author's abilities [O]. In the month of June the ſame year, he ſent another book of his, entitled *Behemoth*: or, *a Hiſtory*

from the author's proſe life (31). 'His adverſaries now ſilent, he publiſhed in the eighty-ſeventh year of his age, the Odyſſey of Homer, and the next year the Iliad in Engliſh verſe.' In leſs than ten years, both run through no fewer than three large editions. The modern poet mentioned in the text, is the celebrated Mr Pope, who in the preface to his own tranſlation of the Iliad of Homer, has given us the following free and fair character of our author's performance. 'Mr Hobbes in his verſion, ſays he, has given a correct explanation of the ſenſe in general, but for particulars and circumſtances lops them, and often omits the moſt beautiful. As for it's being eſteemed a cloſe tranſlation, I doubt not, many have been led into that error by the ſhortneſs of it, which proceeds not from the following the original line by line, but from the contractions abovementioned. He ſometimes omits whole ſimilies and ſentences, and is now and then guilty of miſtakes, into which no writer of his learning could have fallen but through careleſſneſs. His poetry, as well as Ogilby's, is too mean for criticiſm.' We readily admit all this to be true, and that though our author's tranſlation is no longer to be conſidered as an elegant, or it may be as a paſſable poem, yet it may ſtill perhaps be looked upon as a curioſity. For though in Pope's excellent verſification, the genius, force, and majeſty of Homer, appears to an Engliſh reader, and appears to great advantage, yet poſſibly he may wiſh to ſee ſomewhat more, and think it not time at all miſ-ſpent to read a coarſer compoſition, provided it conveys the plain ſenſe of the Greek. We are in raptures at a finiſhed picture by a firſt rate painter, but even a ſketch too after ſuch a maſter has it's merit. The reader may compare the following ſpeech of Achilles, which is remarkably cloſe, and takes in juſt twenty ſeven lines of the Greek (32), with the ſame paſſage in Pope, and he will probably both underſtand and reliſh the latter better after the compariſon.

Achilles ſtill, nothing but choler breath'd,
  And Agamemnon thus revil'd anew.

Dog's-face, and drunkard, coward that thou art,
  That hat'ſt to lead the people out to fight:
Nor yet to lie in ambuſh haſt the heart,
  And painfully watch in the field all night.

But thou to take from other men their due,
  (Safe lying in the camp) more pleaſure haſt;
But fools they are, that ruled are by you,
  Or elſe this injury had been your laſt.

But this I'll ſay, and with an oath make good,
  (Now by this ſcepter which hath left behind;
The ſtock whereon it once grew in the wood,
  And never more ſhall have nor leaf nor rind,

And by Achean Princes now is born,
  By whom Jove's laws to th' people carried be)
You hear now what a great oath I have ſworn,
  If e'er the Acheans ſhould have need of me,

And Agamemnon cannot them relieve,
  When Hector fills the field with bodies ſlain,
And Agamemnon only for them grieve,
  They my aſſiſtance wiſh for ſhall in vain.

This ſaid, Achilles threw the ſcepter down,
  That ſtuck all over was with nails of gold;
And Neſtor roſe of Pyle that wore the crown,
  Wiſe and ſweet orator and captain old.

His words like honey dropped from his tongue,
  Two ages he in battle honour gain'd;
For all that while he youthful was and ſtrong,
  And with the third age, now in Pyle he reign'd.

[O] *To the author's abilities*] Theſe two pieces of our author, which did not appear together 'till after his deceaſe, are in effect but detached branches of his general ſyſtem of philoſophy. The firſt of them is a diſplay of the art of convincing and perſuading, which, according to his doctrine, took place in civilized ſtates, of that violence which he aſcribes to a ſtate of nature, that is, mankind at large, and unreduced to ſociety. The latter is an application of his principles to the government of England. In this, no doubt, he ſhoots beyond the mark, and having been once frighted out of his wits by anarchy; entertained too favourable an opinion of abſolute power. But that he was very capable of entering into the genuine ſenſe of our laws, and ſetting them in a clearer light than that in which they appear in the works of ſome very conſiderable perſons, the unprejudiced reader will probably diſcern from the following paſſage (33).

La. All other crimes (that is except treaſon) merely temporal, are comprehended under felony or treſpaſs.

Ph. What is the meaning of the word *felony*? Does it ſignify any thing that is in it's own nature a crime, or that only which is made a crime by ſome ſtatute? for I remember ſome ſtatutes, that make it *felony* to tranſport horſes, and ſome other things out of the kingdom, which tranſportation before ſuch ſtatutes made, and after the repealing of the ſame, was no greater crime than any other uſual traffic of a merchant.

La. Sir Edward Coke derives the word *felony*, from the Latin word *fel*, the *gall* of a living creature, and accordingly defines *felony*, to be an act done *animo felleo*, that is to ſay, a *bitter*, a *cruel act*.

Ph. Etymologies are no definitions, and yet when they are true, they give much light towards the finding out of a definition; but this of Sir Edward Coke's carries with it very little of probability, for there be many things made felony by the ſtatute law, that proceed not from any bitterneſs of mind at all, and many that proceed from the contrary.

La. This is matter for a critic, to be picked out of the knowledge of hiſtory and foreign languages, and you may perhaps know more of it than I do.

Ph. All that I, or I think any other, can ſay in this matter, will amount to no more than a reaſonable conjecture, inſufficient to ſuſtain any point of controverſy in law. The word is not to be found in any of the old Saxon laws ſet forth by Mr Lambert, nor in any ſtatute printed before that of *Magna Charta*, there it is found. Now *Magna Charta* was made in the time of Henry the Third, grand-child to Henry the Second, Duke of Anjou, a Frenchman born and bred in the heart of France, whoſe language might very well retain many words of his anceſtors, the German Franks, as ours doth of the German Saxons, as alſo many words of the language of the Gauls, as the Gauls did retain many words of the Greek colony planted at Marſeilles. But certain it is, the French lawyers at this day, uſe the word *felon* juſt as our lawyers uſe the ſame. Whereas the common people of France uſe the word *filou* in the ſame ſenſe; but *filou*

(w) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 191. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 645.

(31) Vita Thomæ Hobbes, p. 17.

(32) Iliad of Homer, by T. Hobbes. Lond. 1682. p. 6, 7.

(33) Dialogue between a Lawyer and a Philoſopher of the Common-Law of England, p. 102—105.

a Hiſtory of the Civil Wars from 1640 *to* 1660, to an eminent Bookſeller, with a letter ſhewing the reaſons for his communication, as well as for his requeſt, that he would not publiſh it 'till a proper occaſion offered (*x*). At that time, when things were freſh in memory, it was much read and admired [*P*]. Indeed the author gives his opinion very freely

(*x*) See that letter in note [*P*]. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 152, 153. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 645.

felon ſignifieth not the man that hath committed ſuch an act as they call *felony*, but the man that maketh it his *trade* to maintain himſelf by the breaking and contemning of all laws generally, and comprehendeth all thoſe unruly people called cheaters, cut-purſes, pick-locks, catch-cloaks, coiners of falſe money, forgers, thieves, robbers, murtherers, and whoſoever make uſe of iniquity on land or ſea, as a trading or living. The Greeks upon the coaſt of Aſia where Homer lived, were they that planted the colony of Marſeilles, they had a word that ſignified the ſame with *felon*, which was φιλήτης *filetes*, and this *filetes* of Homer, ſignifies properly the ſame that a *felon* ſignifies with us: and therefore Homer makes Apollo to call Mercury φιλήτην fileteen, and ἀρχος φιλήτων. I inſiſt not upon the truth of this etymology, but it is certainly more rational than the *animus felleus* of Sir Edward Coke. And for the matter itſelf it is manifeſt enough, that which we now call murther, robbery, theft, and other practices of *felons*, are the ſame that we call *felony*, and crimes in their own nature without the help of ſtatute. Nor is it the manner of puniſhment that diſtinguiſheth the nature of one crime from another, but the mind of the offender, and the miſchief he intendeth conſidered together with the circumſtances of perſon, time, and place.

Beſides theſe, there were ſome other pieces printed after his deceaſe, ſuch as his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory in Latin verſe, and alſo ſome of thoſe pieces that had been before publiſhed from ſurreptitious copies, were reprinted again from his originals, by Mr William Crooke, who ſeems to have had the diſpoſition of his writings in his life-time, and after his death. It muſt however be acknowledged, that they are very incorrectly printed, and that the ſenſe is ſometimes ſo much diſturbed by typographical errors, that it is not eaſy to recover it with any tolerable certainty.

[*P*] *It was much read and admired.*] In reference to the Behemoth, there is no doubt that the author was very ſollicitous to prevent it's coming abroad in his life-time, as will appear from the following extract of a letter (34), written in the month of June 1679, to his bookſeller Mr William Crooke, at the Green Dragon without Temple-bar. But as there were ſeveral tranſcripts of it, this had not the effect hoped, though it did prevent the genuine copy which he had depoſited with Mr Crooke, from being ſent to the preſs; and thoſe ſpurious editions were ſo faulty and imperfect, that they ſerved only to raiſe the curioſity of the public for the true one. The letter is the more curious, from the matters of fact it contains, and becauſe it is not printed as one might have expected, before the genuine edition.

(34) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 152, 153.

CHATSWORTH, June 19th, 1679.

'I would fain have publiſhed my dialogue of the Civil Wars of England long ago, and to that end I preſented it to His Majeſty; and ſome days after, when I thought he had read it, I humbly beſought him to let me print it. But his Majeſty, though he heard me graciouſly, yet he flatly refuſed to have it publiſhed. Therefore I brought away the book, and gave you leave to take a copy of it, which when you had done, I gave the original to an honourable and learned friend, who about a year after died. The King knows better, and is more concerned in publiſhing of books than I am: therefore I dare not venture to appear in the buſineſs, leſt it ſhould offend him. Therefore I pray you not to meddle in the buſineſs. Rather than to be thought any way to further or countenance the printing, I would be content to loſe twenty times the value of what you can expect to gain by it, &c.——I pray do not take it ill. It may be I may live to ſend you ſomewhat elſe, as vendible as that, and without offence. I reſt,'

The treatiſe itſelf is likewiſe valuable in many reſpects, as being wrote by a perſon of great penetration, ſtrong judgment, and extenſive information; one who lived in thoſe times, ſaw the events, and converſed with the people of whom he ſpeaks. It may be, that he had his prejudices, and that he writes with prejudice; but then we have ſome knowledge of theſe too, which is abundantly ſufficient to prevent us from being miſled. The reader will form a judgment as to the propriety of theſe remarks, from the following quotation (35), in which, Mr Hobbes ſtates the tempers and conditions of the people at the time of the breaking out of the civil war. It is to be obſerved, that this treatiſe likewiſe is written in dialogue; after obſerving that epidemic corruption preceded the civil war, he ſays,

(35) Behemoth, p. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

B. But how came the people to be ſo corrupted? and what kind of people were they that did ſo ſeduce them?

A. The ſeducers were of divers ſorts. One ſort were miniſters, miniſters (as they called themſelves) of Chriſt, and ſometimes in their ſermons to the people, God's ambaſſadors, pretending to have a right from God to govern every one his pariſh, and their aſſembly the whole nation.

Secondly, There were a very great number, though not comparable to the other, which notwithſtanding that the Pope's power in England, both temporal and eccleſiaſtical, had been by act of parliament aboliſhed, did ſtill retain a belief that we ought to be governed by the Pope, whom they pretended to be the vicar of Chriſt, and in the right of Chriſt, to be the governor of all Chriſtian people, and theſe were known by the name of Papiſts, as the miniſters I mentioned before were commonly called Preſbyterians.

Thirdly, There were not a few, who in the beginning of the troubles were not diſcovered, but ſhortly after declared themſelves for a liberty in religion, and thoſe of different opinions one from another, ſome of them (becauſe they would have [illegible] congregations free and independent upon one another) were called Independents: others that held baptiſm to infants, and ſuch as underſtood not into what they are baptized to be ineffectual, were called therefore Anabaptiſts. Others, that held that Chriſt's kingdom was at this time to begin upon the earth, were called Fifth Monarchy Men, beſides divers others ſects, as Quakers, Adamites, &c. whoſe names and peculiar doctrines I do not well remember, and theſe were the enemies which aroſe againſt his Majeſty, from the private interpretation of the ſcripture, expoſed to every man's ſcanning in his mother's tongue.

Fourthly, There were an exceeding great number of men of the better ſort that had been ſo educated, as that in their youth, having read the books written by famous men of the ancient Grecian and Roman Commonwealths, concerning their politie and great actions; in which books the popular government was extolled by that glorious name of liberty, and monarchy diſgraced by the name of tyranny; they became thereby in love with their forms of government, and out of theſe men were choſen the greateſt part of the Houſe of Commons, or if they were not the greateſt part, yet by advantage of their eloquence, were always able to ſway the reſt.

Fifthly, The city of London and other great towns of trade, having in admiration the proſperity of the Low-Countries after they had revolted from their monarch the King of Spain, were inclined to think that the like change of government here, would to them produce the like proſperity.

Sixthly, There were a very great number that had either waſted their fortunes, or thought them too mean for the good parts they thought were in themſelves, and more there were that had able bodies, but ſaw no means how honeſtly to get their bread: theſe longed for a war, and hoped to maintain themſelves hereafter by the lucky chooſing of a party to ſide with, and conſequently did for the moſt part ſerve under them that had greateſt plenty of money.

Laſtly, The people in general were ſo ignorant of their duty, as that not one perhaps of ten thouſand, knew what right any man had to command him, or what neceſſity there was of King or Commonwealth, for which he was to part with his money againſt his will, but thought himſelf to be ſo much maſter of whatſoever he poſſeſſed, that it could not be taken from him upon any pretence of common ſafety without his own conſent. King they thought was but a title of the higheſt honour, which Gentleman, Knight, Baron, Earl, Duke, were but ſteps to aſcend to with the help of riches, and had no rule of equity but precedents and cuſtom, and he was thought wiſeſt and fitteſt to be choſen freely upon abundance of delicate and important ſubjects, and lays open very roundly the faults of ſome great bodies of men, who, in his judgment, made but an indifferent uſe of that high and general reſpect which the world paid them. This was in ſome meaſure his legacy to the Public, ſince it was the laſt piece of his that went to the preſs during his life. About the middle of October, he was afflicted with a ſuppreſſion of urine, for which he had the aſſiſtance of one of the Faculty, who promiſed to do all that was in his power to give him eaſe; but told him plainly, that, on account of his great age, he had little hopes of making a perfect cure (*y*). On the 20th of November, his patron the Earl of Devonſhire removing from Chatſworth to another ſeat of his, called Hardwick, he obſtinately perſiſted in deſiring that he might be carried too, though this could be no other way done than as he lay upon a feather-bed. He did not ſeem to be much diſcompoſed with this journey; and yet, within ſix or ſeven days afterwards, he loſt, by a ſtroke of the palſy, the uſe of ſpeech and of his right ſide entirely; in this condition he remained for ſome days, taking little nouriſhment, and ſleeping much. He ſometimes endeavoured to ſpeak, but was not able. There did not appear, in the courſe of his laſt illneſs, any ſymptoms of a fever; ſo that he ſeemed to be quite worn out, and Nature being no longer able to furniſh wherewith to feed the flame of life, he expired December 4, 1679, in the ninety-ſecond year of his age (*z*). Mr Wood tells us, that after he received the anſwer, which has been beforementioned, from the learned perſon who attended him, he made uſe of this expreſſion, *Then I ſhall be glad to find a hole to creep out of the world at* (*a*). The ſame author obſerves, that his not deſiring the company of a Miniſter to receive the Sacrament before he died, ought in charity to be imputed to his being ſo ſuddenly ſeized, and being afterwards deprived of his ſenſes; the rather, becauſe the Earl of Devonſhire's Chaplain declared, that, within the two laſt years of his life, he had often received the Sacrament from his hands with ſeeming devotion. Two days after his deceaſe, his corpſe was removed from the houſe of his noble patron, and decently attended to the pariſh of Hault-Hucknall (*b*), where in an iſle he was interred, with the ſervice in the Common-Prayer-Book, cloſe to the rail of the monument of the grandmother of the then Earl of Devonſhire; and over his grave a black marble ſtone was laid, with an inſcription mentioning the place and time of his birth, and of his deceaſe [Q]. As there are

(*y*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 155. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 647. Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family, p. 113.

(*z*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 157. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 647.

(*a*) Id. ibid.

(*b*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 157. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 647. Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family, p. 116.

chosen for a Parliament, that was moſt averſe to the granting of ſubſidies or other public payments.

[Q] *And of his deceaſe.*] The chief and the moſt laſting monument erected to the memory of our author, is that tripartite life of him which appeared not long after his deceaſe, and concerning which, there have been great controverſies among ſome of the moſt eminent writers of literary hiſtory, the title of this work runs thus, *Thomæ Hobbes, Angli, Malmeſburienſis, Philoſophi vita.* That is, 'The life of Thomas 'Hobbes, an Engliſhman, Philoſopher of Malmeſbury;' and is ſaid to be printed, *Carolopoli, apud Eleutherium Anglicum, ſub ſigno Veritatis.* That is, 'In 'Charles's City, by Freeman Engliſh, at the Sign of 'Truth.' It may be ſuppoſed that this method of concealing, if it can be ſo called, the place where it was printed, and the perſon by whom it was publiſhed, was on account of the book's not being licenſed; and yet at the end, it is ſaid to be printed for William Crooke, at the Sign of the Green Dragon without Temple-bar. It is inſcribed to the Right Honourable William Earl of Devonſhire, by the editor: then follows a preface to the reader, wherein we are told, that a book concerning the life and manners of the deceaſed Mr Hobbes, written by ſome learned friend of his, coming by the interpoſition of J. A. i. e. John Aubrey, into his hands, he thought it his duty out of reſpect to the memory of the deceaſed to publiſh it. This preface is ſubſcribed only with the initial letters R. B. which ſome very learned foreigners underſtood to ſignify Ralph Bathurſt, Doctor of Divinity and Dean of Bath, who was indeed a great friend and admirer of Mr Hobbes, but not the perſon to whom thoſe initials refer, who was, as Mr Wood tells us (36), Richard Blackbourn, Maſter of Arts of Trinity-College in Cambridge, and afterwards Doctor of Phyſic in the Univerſity of Leyden. After this ſhort life, which contains no more than twenty pages, follows one much longer under this title, *Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium:* that is, 'A Supplement to the Life of Hobbes.' The account which Mr Wood gives of this matter, is in theſe words, ſpeaking of the inſcription upon the graveſtone of Mr Hobbes, and of the account of his perſon, which, ſays he, 'You may ſee at large in *Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium*, following the life in proſe (written 'by himſelf) and publiſhed by Richard Blackbourn.' It appears from hence, that Mr Wood aſcribes the firſt life to Mr Hobbes himſelf, and in the catalogue of our author's works, he ſets it ſo down expreſly; and the ſupplement to that life, is what he attributes to Dr Blackbourn. He adds farther, 'that the mate'rials for this ſupplement were all, or at leaſt the moſt 'part, taken from the Engliſh life in manuſcript of 'Thomas Hobbes, largely and more punctually writ'ten by John Aubrey his ancient acquaintance.' This is very likely to be true, ſince beſides what is ſaid in the preface, ſuch a life in Engliſh is promiſed by an advertiſement from the bookſeller to the reader, at the end of this ſupplement. The title of the third and laſt piece in this collection, which however in point of time is the firſt, is this, *Thomæ Hobbes Malmeſburienſis vita Carmine expreſſa. Authore Seipſo:* that is, 'The 'Life of Thomas Hobbes of Malmeſbury metrically 'expreſſed. Written by himſelf.' About this there is no diſpute at all, the author ſpeaks in his own perſon, in his own ſtile, and with that pleaſant kind of confidence which was familiar to him. In the courſe of theſe memoirs we have cited all the three lives, and have treated the ſhort proſe life upon Anthony Wood's credit, as written by Mr Hobbes, to whom it has been alſo aſcribed by others; yet whoever will peruſe carefully, and reflect a little on the firſt paragraph of the ſupplement to Mr Hobbes's life, will ſee reaſon to doubt at leaſt, whether the author of that ſupplement was not the author of the ſhort life in proſe; and upon comparing both with the preface, whether the editor R. B. that is Dr Blackbourn, was the author of either, or of any thing more than that preface, and it may be the inſcription to the Earl of Devonſhire. If therefore the reader ſhould aſk, who was then the author of theſe lives, and why, if this was our opinion, we have attributed the proſe life to Mr Hobbes? We ſhall anſwer clearly, that we have heard the ſhort proſe life was written by Thomas Rymer, Eſq; the famous critic, in the life-time, and with the participation of Mr Hobbes; and our conjecture is, that he wrote the ſupplement after his deceaſe, at the requeſt and from the materials furniſhed him by Mr John Aubrey; but being deſirous that this might remain a ſecret, he ſuffered that gentleman to put them into the hands of Dr Blackbourn, who publiſhed them; and this we take to be a probable at leaſt, if not a certain account of this matter. But before we conclude this note, we will give the reader for the ſake of a reflection that he will meet with in a ſubſequent note, the Latin inſcription upon our author's tombſtone, and the rather, becauſe it is very ſhort and ſimple (37).

(36) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 647.

(37) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 221.

are many particulars very worthy of remembrance in regard to his private life, we will add ſome account of his perſon, temper, and manners. In his ſtature he was pretty tall, of a ſpare habit of body, his ſkin remarkably tender; ſo that, to defend himſelf from the injuries of cold, he went commonly very warmly cloathed (c). His face was comely enough; his brow large and open, but, in the more advanced part of his life, it became deeply wrinkled; his eyes very quick and ſparkling; his ſight ſtrong, penetrating, and tolerably good even to the laſt; his noſe ſomewhat long, with a lively colour in his cheeks; his hair, before age turned it grey, was of a bright black, but his beard of a yellowiſh red; a little of which he preſerved on his chin; but on his lip he wore his muſtachoes thick and turning upwards. His complexion was a ſanguine melancholy, as ſome ſtile it; that is, he was ſtrong and vigorous, but, withal, of a calm and grave deportment. In his youth his health was tender, and he was frequently threatned with the jaundice; but by forty he came to have it more ſettled; however, he kept his bed but rarely through his whole life, and dealt ſparingly in Phyſic. When he was about threeſcore his hand ſhook, and he was in other reſpects affected by the palſy towards his end (d). He was no way nice in his eating; on the contrary, there was hardly any kind of food came amiſs to him. When he grew in years, he dined at a certain hour, ſmoaked a little tobacco, but eat no ſuppers. In the vigour of his age he was not exempt from amorous failings, but perſiſted nevertheleſs in the reſolution he had taken to continue a bachelor for the ſake of his ſtudies. He uſed a great deal of exerciſe on the ſcore of his health; he played often at hand-ball, even after he was turned of ſeventy, and would even then take long walks, and at his return cauſe his limbs to be rubbed 'till he fell aſleep. When age made this exerciſe painful to him, he contented himſelf with having his chamber artificially heated, and the circulation promoted by the ſame kind of frictions. The chearfulneſs, activity, and ſoundneſs of mind, which he maintained to upwards of ninety, make even theſe trivial circumſtances worthy of notice. In reference to his manners, religion claims the firſt place. He acknowledged God the author of all things, but thought, or at leaſt pretended he thought, too reverently of him to believe his nature could be comprehended by human underſtanding. But what gave a handle to ſome to treat him as an Atheiſt was, the contempt he expreſſed for many of thoſe ſcholaſtic terms, invented by aſſuming men, who would impoſe their own crude notions of the Divine Being on their fellow-creatures as ſo many articles of Faith. It is commonly reported, though without any proof, that he was afraid of ghoſts, &c. which his Philoſophy had exploded; yet it is very poſſible he might not affect ſolitude, that he might avoid expoſing himſelf to the violence of the numbers who had declared themſelves his enemies. He embraced the Chriſtian religion as taught in the reformed Church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed; and profeſſed himſelf equally ready to defend her tenets, when attacked either by Papiſts or Sectaries. He had a great averſion to theological controverſies, but was much inclined to whatever tended to promote piety or ſound morals. He thought it more pious and reverent to believe in God, than to pretend to comprehend him. He would often blame ſuch, whatever their profeſſion might be, as pretended to innovate the ſimplicity of the Chriſtian Faith, by intermixing vain, and ſometimes profane, ſpeculations of their own. He thought it would turn much more to the benefit of ſociety, if, after eſtabliſhing a due reverence for the Supreme Being, men, inſtead of conteſting about theſe ſpeculations, would apply themſelves to ſtudy, and perform the ſeveral offices to which they are called, in civil and ſocial life. In reſpect to this, he gave himſelf a good example, being always concerned for the welfare of his country, obſervant in his duty to his ſovereign, religiouſly faithful in his friendſhips, and truly beneficent to his relations. The paternal eſtate of the family, which was of ſome value, he made over to his brother ſome years before his death. Several other acts of kindneſs he did in his life-time to thoſe who were of kin to him, and diſtributed his little fortune very prudently amongſt them at his demiſe. To the poor, he was in diſcourſe compaſſionate, and charitable in act to the extent of his abilities; and, to the reſt of the world in general, ſtrictly juſt, and very decent in his addreſſes as far as became him. In his converſation, his cuſtom was, to mingle with that ſound language, which is ſuitable to grave ſubjects, a peculiar kind of pleaſantry, that prevented the hearer from becoming weary. He had naturally a wonderful readineſs in anſwering whatever was propounded to him; but this was regulated by his judgment, which taught him to deliberate

(c) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 158. Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family, p. 116.

(d) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 164. Wood, ubi ſupra.

Condita hic ſunt Oſſa
Thomæ Hobbes Malmeſburienſis
Qui per multos annos ſervivit
Duobus Devoniæ Comitibus,
Patri & Filio;
Vir Probus, & Fama Euriditionis
Domi Foriſque benè cognitus.
Obiit Anno Domini 1679
Menſis Decembris die 4°.
Ætatis ſuæ 91.

In Engliſh.

Here lie the Remains
Of Thomas Hobbes of Malmeſbury
Who was for many years in the Service
Of two Earls of Devonſhire
Father and Son;
A Man of Integrity and from the Fame of his Learning
At home and abroad well known.
He died in the year of our Lord 1679
On the 4th of December
Aged 91.

[F] And

berate and to think well with himſelf before he ſpoke. He was of a ſimple and open diſpoſition, deſirous of inſtructing others, and very willing to communicate what he knew; mild and complaiſant to every body, except, perhaps, to ſome impertinent pretenders to learning, who, under pretence of diſplaying their abilities, came purely to contradict him. He never attacked others; but, whenever attacked himſelf, he ſhewed ſpirit enough in his own defence; yet was withal a little too tenacious of his own opinions. Theſe are the ſtrokes of a friendly pencil, inclined to draw a handſome likeneſs; but, if the reader inclines to ſee the portrait of our author in very different colours, he ſhall be gratified in that reſpect, and that too by an able hand [R]. The truth is, that all eminent perſons, from this very circumſtance, are liable to be repreſented in very different and even contrary lights;

[R] *And that too by an able hand.*] A celebrated writer, who had great opportunities of knowing the minuteſt particulars in regard to Mr Hobbes's manner of living, in his honourable retreat at Chatſworth, has been pleaſed to give them to the public in this manner (38). ‘The Earl of Devonſhire, for his whole life, entertained Mr Hobbes in his family, as his old tutor rather than as his friend or confident. He let him live under his roof in eaſe and plenty, and in his own way, without making uſe of him in any public or ſo much as domeſtic affairs. He would often expreſs an abhorrence of ſome of his principles in policy and religion, and both he and his lady would frequently put off the mention of his name, and ſay he was an humoriſt, and that no body could account for him. There is a tradition in the family, of the manners and cuſtoms of Mr Hobbes, ſomewhat obſervable. His profeſſed rule of health, was to dedicate the morning to his exerciſe, and the afternoon to his ſtudies. And therefore at his firſt riſing he walked out, and climbed any hill within his reach, or if the weather was not dry, he fatigued himſelf within doors by ſome exerciſe or other, to be in a ſweat, recommending that practice upon this opinion, that an old man had more moiſture than heat, and therefore by ſuch motion, heat was to be acquired, and moiſture expelled. After this he took a comfortable breakfaſt, and then went round the lodgings to wait upon the Earl, the Counteſs, and the children, and any conſiderable ſtrangers, paying ſome ſhort addreſſes to all of them. He kept theſe rounds 'till about twelve o'clock, when he had a little dinner provided for him, which he eat always by himſelf without ceremony. Soon after dinner he retired to his ſtudy, and had his candle with ten or twelve pipes of tobacco laid by him, then ſhutting his door, he fell to ſmoaking, thinking, and writing for ſeveral hours. He retained a friend or two at Court, and eſpecially the Lord Arlington, to protect him if occaſion ſhould require. He uſed to ſay, *That it was lawful to make uſe of ill* inſtruments *to do ourſelves* good. *If I were caſt*, ſays he, *into a deep pit, and the devil ſhould put down his* cloven foot, *I would take* hold *of* it *to be drawn out by it*. Towards the end of his life he had very few books, and thoſe he read but very little, thinking he was now able only to digeſt what formerly he had fed upon. If company came to viſit him, he would be free in diſcourſe, 'till he was preſſed or contradicted, and then he had the infirmities of being ſhort and peeviſh, and referring to his writings for better ſatiſfaction. His friends, who had the liberty of introducing ſtrangers to him, made theſe terms with them before their admiſſion, that they ſhould not diſpute with the old man, nor contradict him.’——After mentioning the dread our author was under when the Parliament cenſured his book, he continues his account in the following terms (39). ‘It is not much to be doubted, that upon this occaſion he began to make a more open ſhew of religion and Church communion. He now frequented the chapel, joined in the ſervice, and was generally a partaker of the Holy Sacrament. And whenever any ſtrangers in converſation with him, ſeemed to queſtion his belief, he would always appeal to his conformity in divine ſervices, and referred them to the chaplain for a teſtimony of it. Others thought it a meer compliance to the orders of the family, and obſerved that, in city and country, he never went to any pariſh church, and even in the chapel on Sundays, he went out after prayers, and turned his back upon the ſermon; and when any friend aſked the reaſon of it, he gave no other but this, *They could teach him nothing but what he knew*. He did not conceal his hatred to the clergy, but it was viſible, that the hatred was owing to his fear of their civil intereſt and power. He had often a jealouſy that the biſhops would burn him, and of all the bench, he was moſt afraid of the Biſhop of Sarum (Dr Seth Ward) becauſe he had moſt offended him, thinking every man's ſpirit to be remembrance and revenge.——After the Reſtoration, he watched all opportunities to ingratiate himſelf with the King and his Prime Miniſters, and looked upon his penſion, to be more valuable as an earneſt of favour and protection, than upon any other account. His following courſe of life, was to be free from danger: he could not endure to be left in an empty houſe; whenever the Earl removed, he would go along with him, even to his laſt ſtage from Chatſworth to Hardwicke. When in a very weak condition, he dared not be left behind, but made his way upon a feather-bed in a coach, though he ſurvived the journey but a few days. He could not bear any diſcourſe of death, and ſeemed to caſt off all thoughts of it: He delighted to reckon upon longer life. The winter before he died, he made a warm coat, which he ſaid muſt laſt him three years, and then he would have ſuch another. In his laſt ſickneſs, his frequent queſtions were, *whether his diſeaſe was curable?* and when intimations were given, that he might have eaſe but no remedy, he uſed this expreſſion, *I ſhall be glad then to find a hole to creep out of the world at*, which are reported to have been his laſt ſenſible words; and his lying ſome days following in a ſilent ſtupefaction, did ſeem owing to his mind more than to his body. The only thought of death that he appeared to entertain in time of health, was to take care of ſome inſcription on his grave. He would ſuffer ſome friends to dictate an epitaph, among which, he was beſt pleaſed with this humour: *This is the true* PHILOSOPHER'S STONE, which indeed would have had as much religion in it, as that which now remains.’

(38) Biſhop Kennet in his Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh, p. 106—109.

(39) Ibid. p. 111—117.

It would have been very eaſy to have given the reader other accounts of the Philoſopher of Malmeſbury, that might have balanced the reflections contained in this; but we are not concerned to defend Mr Hobbes, our buſineſs is to diſtinguiſh truth. In order to this, it may not be amiſs to remark, that beſides dedications to the Earl of Devonſhire, ſome of our author's treatiſes are no other than letters to him; in which, though without the leaſt mixture of flattery, he acknowledges his kindneſs, and commends his familiarity. The manner in which he lived in his family, the giving a hundred pounds to the uſes of his will, the directing the place of his interment, and the acceptation of the lives of Mr Hobbes, publiſhed by Dr Blackmore, will ſcarce incline us to believe that he deteſted his notions. But that he deteſted the notions aſcribed to Mr Hobbes, there are the beſt grounds to believe, and his great civility to and friendſhip for, the old man, ſeem very concluſive arguments to prove, that they were only aſcribed to, and not maintained by him. His going regularly to chapel at Chatſworth, while he reſided there, is attributed to apprehenſion, but what apprehenſions had he when he deſired the aſſiſtance of Biſhop Coſins in France, or when he joined himſelf to the almoſt inviſible Church of England, in England? Wood ſays (40), that the chaplain teſtified he received the Sacrament with all exterior marks of devotion; and he accounts, as is ſaid in the text, for the manner in which he lay, and his not deſiring any ſpiritual aſſiſtance at the time of his death, from his being ſuddenly ſtruck with the palſy, and thereby loſing his ſpeech and ſenſes, which conſiſts very well with the Biſhop's account, who records the laſt ſenſible thing he ſaid; and men are not held reſponſible for their commiſſions, much leſs for their omiſſions, after they have loſt their ſenſes.

(40) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 647.

[S] *And*

lights; and there are very few characters tranſmitted to poſterity, which have not been flattered by ſome writers, and injured by others. The Mathematicians, not without reaſon, have handled our author roughly; for which, he not only gave them occaſion but example. This indeed was his weak part, and ſhewed the obſtinacy of his temper; for though he was over and over refuted, and his miſtakes pointed out, yet he adhered as pertinaciouſly as ever to his old opinions, and not only defended them as warmly as before, but rendered that a perſonal quarrel, which ought to have continued a literary diſpute; and perſiſted to the laſt with the ſame keenneſs and aſperity of language, as if he in reality had intended to eſtabliſh a kind of tyranny in ſcience, and to force his own opinions upon mankind, becauſe they were ſo, though contrary to their reaſon, and thoſe principles of knowledge which had been univerſally received, and which therefore no authority could ſubvert [S]. In reſpect to his moral, political, and religious ſentiments, he was no leſs poſitive,

[S] *And which therefore no authority could ſubvert.*] The hiſtory of that diſpute, which ſubſiſted for upwards of twenty years, between the Philoſopher of Malmeſbury and the moſt eminent Mathematicians of the age in which he lived, is a matter of more conſequence, in reſpect to literary Hiſtory, than any that has hitherto been diſcuſſed in this article; and yet, from the trouble and perplexity with which it is attended, has never been thoroughly or properly ſtated, though his life, and the lives alſo of Mr Hobbes's antagoniſts, have been ſo often written. We will therefore uſe our beſt endeavours to ſupply this defect. It began, then, upon our author's publiſhing the following work,

1. Elementorum Philoſophiæ, ſectio prima, de Corpore. That is, *The firſt ſection of the Elements of Philoſophy*, de Corpore, *or*, *of Body*, 8vo. Lond. 1655. in Latin; again in Engliſh, in 4to. 1656. and at Amſterdam in 4to. 1668. in Latin.

This is the account of the ſeveral editions given by the writer of his life, by Mr Wood, and, indeed, by every body elſe, except one writer (41); who aſſures us, that this book *de Corpore*, was publiſhed in the beginning of the year 1653. But as this writer ſent abroad his work when the parties were living, and for ſome other reaſons which will hereafter appear, he ſeems moſt to be depended upon; for, in the ſucceeding year, the Reverend Mr Seth Ward, then Aſtronomy Profeſſor in Oxford, publiſhed,

Vindiciæ Academiarum: containing ſome brief Animadverſions upon Mr John Webſter's book, entitled, The *Examen* of *Academies*; with an Appendix concerning what Mr *Hobbes* and Mr *William Dell* have publiſhed on the ſame arguments. Oxon. 1654. 4to.

Mr John Wallis, Savilian Profeſſor of Geometry in the ſame univerſity, declared in the ſtrongeſt and moſt expreſs terms againſt the mathematical part of our author's Philoſophy, in a treatiſe written directly againſt it, under the title of,

Elenchus Geometriæ Hobbianæ. That is, a Refutation of Hobbes's Geometry. Oxon. 1655. 8vo. in Latin.

Theſe attacks were very ſpeedily repulſed by Mr Hobbes, in a treatiſe entitled,

2. *Six Leſſons to the* Profeſſors *of* Mathematics *of the inſtitution of* Sir Henry Savile. Lond. 1656. 4to.

To this they both replied; Dr Wallis in Engliſh, under the following title,

Due Correction for Mr Hobbes: or, *School-Diſcipline for not ſaying his Leſſons right*, &c. Oxford, 1656. 8vo.

Dr Ward more at large, in a Latin treatiſe which bore this title,

In Thomæ Hobbii Philoſophiam, *exercitatio Epiſtolica ad Dominum* Johannum Wilkinſium, *Guardianum* Coll. Wadhami; *cum Appendicula ad Calumnias ab eodem Hobbio, in ſex documentis nuperrimè editis, in authorem congeſtas, reſponſoria.* Oxon. 1656. 8vo. That is, An Epiſtolary Diſſertation againſt the Philoſophy of Thomas Hobbes, addreſſed to Dr John Wilkins, Warden of Wadham College; together with an Appendix, containing an Anſwer to the Calumnies thrown by the ſaid Hobbes, in his ſix Leſſons lately publiſhed, upon the author.

The very next year Mr Hobbes returned to the charge, and publiſhed in Engliſh, a very warm treatiſe, called,

3. ΣΤΙΓΜΑΙ, *The Marks of the abſurd Geometry, rural Language, &c. of Dr* Wallis. London, 1657. 8vo.

Dr Wallis very ſpeedily replied to this, in an Engliſh treatiſe, entitled,

Hobbiani Puncti diſpunctio: or, *An Anſwer to a late Treatiſe* &c. Oxon. 1657. 8vo.

After the Reſtoration, our author renewed this paper war, by publiſhing a new work, which was,

4. Examinatio & Emendatio Mathematicæ hodiernæ, ſex dialogis comprehenſa. That is, *The Examination and Emendation of modern Mathematics.* Londini, 1660. 4to. in Latin; and again at Amſterdam, 1668. 4to.

The next year produced the two following books,

5. Dialogus Phyſicus, ſive de Natura Aëris. That is, *A Phyſical Dialogue concerning the Nature of the Air.* London, 1661. 4to. again at Amſterdam, 1668. 4to.

Againſt which the celebrated Mr Robert Boyle wrote more than one treatiſe (42).

6. De Duplicatione Cubi. That is, *Of the* Duplication *of the* Cube. London, 1661. 4to. the ſame at Amſterdam, 1668. 4to.

It appears, that, on the erection of the Royal Society, the King hoped ſome extrordinary things from Mr Hobbes; as is evident from the following paſſage, in a very uſeful work lately publiſhed (43).

'A propoſition of Mr Hobbes, for finding two mean 'proportionals between two ſtrait lines given, was de-'livered into the Society, by Sir Paul Neile, from the 'King, indorſed with his Majeſty's own hand, and 'was ordered to be regiſtered; as was afterwards the 'anſwer to the problem by Lord-Viſcount Brouncker '(44).'

He publiſhed the next year,

7. Problemata Phyſica; viz. 1. De Gravitate, 2. De Æſtibus Marinis. 3. De Vacuo. 4. De Colore & Luce. 5. De Duro & Molli. 6. De Pluvia, Vento, aliiſque Cœli varietatibus. 7. De Motuum ſpeciebus. Adjunctæ ſunt etiam Propoſitiones duæ, de Duplicatione Cubi, & Dimenſione Circuli. That is, Phyſical Problems *relating to* Gravity, *to* Tides, *to a* Vacuum; *to* Colour *and* Light, *to* Hard *and* Soft, *to* Rain, Winds, *and other alterations of the* Heavens; *to the ſeveral* kinds *of* Motion. *To which are added, two Propoſitions, one concerning the* Duplication *of the* Cube, *and the other of the* Dimenſion *of the Circle.* Lond. 1662. 4to. again at Amſterdam, 1668. 4to. He alſo publiſhed this in Engliſh, under the title of *Phyſical Problems*; with an Addreſs to the King; which is commonly called Mr Hobbes's APOLOGY, which has been already frequently cited.

To this Dr Wallis returned a moſt ſarcaſtic anſwer, bearing the title of,

Hobbius Heautontimorumenos: or, *A Conſideration of Mr* Hobbes *his Dialogues.* Oxford, 1662. 8vo.

This gave our author occaſion to ſend abroad,

8. *Conſiderations upon the* Reputation, Loyalty, Manners, *and* Religion, *of* Thomas Hobbes *of* Malmeſbury, *written by himſelf by way of letter to a learned perſon,* i.e. Dr Wallis. Lond. 1662. 4to. again 1680. 8vo.

His next performance was,

9. De Principiis & Ratiocinatione Geometrarum, contra faſtum Profeſſorum Geometriæ. That is, *Of the Principles and Reaſoning of* Geometricians, *againſt the Vanity of certain* Profeſſors *of* Geometry. Londini, 1666. 4to. again at Amſterdam, 1668. 4to. Our author's ſtock of patience ſeems to have been worn out when he wrote this piece, ſince he gives us the following ſtate of the diſpute. 'With reſpect to thoſe 'who have written upon theſe kind of ſubjects, and 'myſelf either, I alone am mad, or they are all out 'of their ſenſes; ſo that no third opinion can be ta-'ken, unleſs any will ſay that we are all mad.' There is a ſhort account of this piece in the Philoſophical Tranſactions

(41) R. R. in Præfat. ad Lucem Mathemat.

(42) See Boyle's Works, as cited at large in note [T].

(43) Birch's Hiſtory of the Royal-Society, Vol. I. p. 42.

(44) Regiſter Book, Vol. I. p. 101.

poſitive, but not ſo eaſily refuted; becauſe, in them, certainly there was a mixture of truth, and becauſe he conſtantly denied the conſequences which his antagoniſts endeavoured to draw from his principles. His deſire, or rather his humour, of penetrating to the bottom of all things, and of dictating in matters, which, perhaps, are beyond the reach of the human underſtanding, at once expoſed him to continual contradictions, and furniſhed him with the means of maintaining the diſpute. This will be the more eaſily comprehended, if we reflect, that ſome of his ableſt adverſaries, while they laboured to diſprove his doctrines, and to fix upon him a charge of Atheiſm, brought the ſame imputation from others upon themſelves; which afforded the cleareſt evidence, that men, with the beſt intentions in the world, may, upon certain metaphyſical ſubjects, excite notions in other men, utterly inconſiſtent with their own views, and for which notions they ought not certainly to be condemned. Beſides, in thoſe dangerous and diſtracted times, there were other wiſe and good men, as well as Mr Hobbes, who had recourſe to weapons, which they afterwards found had a double edge; and if, from their being of milder tempers, they did not perſiſt ſo long or ſo warmly as he did, yet even their apologies ſhewed, that men may be miſtaken without malice, and in certain conjunctures advance poſitions, that they may afterwards find it equally hard to retract or to defend. At leaſt this is certain, that if here at home there were many, and thoſe too, perſons of piety, learning, and honour,

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(45) No. 14. p. 253. Tranſactions (45). There is alſo an anſwer to it by his old antagoniſt Dr Wallis (46), written with as much acrimony as Hobbes had ſhewn in his work.

(46) No. 16. p. 289. His next mathematical performance was,

10. Quadratura Circuli, Cubatio Sphæræ, Duplicatio Cubi, breviter demonſtrata. That is, *The* Quadrature *of the* Circle, *the* Cube *of the* Sphere, *and the* Duplication *of the* Cube, *briefly demonſtrated.* Lond. 1669. 4to.

To this Dr Wallis immediately gave an anſwer, which bore this title,

Tho. Hobbii Quadratura Circuli, Cubatio Sphæræ, Duplicatio Cubi, confutata. Oxon. 1669. 4to. There is ſome account of both of theſe in the Philoſophical
(47) No. 48. p. 971. Tranſactions (47).

The ſame year our author republiſhed his work, 11. together with an Anſwer to the Objections made by Dr Wallis, and dedicated it to Coſmo de Medici, Grand Prince of Tuſcany. To this Dr Wallis replied, and dedicated his work to William Lord Viſcount Brouncker. It is dated December 21, 1669.

Though our author was now in the fourſcore and fourth year of his age, he had ſpirit enough to undertake a new work, and to ſubjoin to it a criticiſm on one that had been publiſhed by his antagoniſt.

12 Roſetum Geometricum: ſive, Propoſitiones aliquot fruſtra antehac tentatæ, cum Cenſura Brevi Doctrinæ Walliſianæ de Motu. That is, *The* Geometrical Roſe-Garden: or, *Some Propoſitions hitherto unſucceſsfully attempted, with a brief Cenſure of the* Walliſian *Doctrine of* Motion. Lond. 1671. 4to.

The ſame year appeared,

13. *Three Papers, preſented to the* Royal Society, *againſt Dr* Wallis, *together with Conſiderations on Dr* Wallis *his Anſwer to them.* London, 1671. 4to.

The year following, the public received a preſent of another work, bearing this title,

14. Lux Mathematica, excuſſa Colliſionibus Johannis Walliſii, Theol. Doctoris Geometriæ in celeberrima Academia Oxonienſi Profeſſoris Publici, & Thomæ Hobbeſii Malmeſburienſis; multis & fulgentiſſimis aucta Radiis authore R. R. That is, *Mathematical Light, ſtruck out from the Claſhings between Dr* John Wallis, *Profeſſor of* Geometry *in the celebrated univerſity of* Oxford, *and* Thomas Hobbes *of* Malmeſbury; *augmented with many and ſhining Rays by the author* R. R. Lond. 1672. 4to.

This work contains a hiſtory of the diſputes between our author and his opponents. It is written with wonderful perſpicuity and vivacity, ſpeaks every where of Mr Hobbes in the third perſon, but gives him clearly the victory over his antagoniſt in every point. We have a very ſuccinct account of this in the Philoſophi-
(48) No. 86. p. 5047. cal Tranſactions (48), and a very long anſwer by Dr Wallis (49), who lets us into the ſecret who this R. R. is. Theſe letters, ſays he, ſtand for *Roſeti Repertor*,
(49) No. 87. p. 5067. that is, the Finder of the Roſary, or Mr Hobbes himſelf; and as the book was written, ſo he ſays it ſhall be anſwered, by R. R. that is, *Roſeti Refutator*, or the Refutor of the Roſary. What ſeems to put Dr Wallis's conjecture out of doubt is, that we find this treatiſe in the liſt of our author's works, in that which is called Dr Blackbourn's Supplement to his Life.

The laſt mathematical treatiſe, publiſhed by our author, bears this title,

15. Principia & Problemata aliquot Geometrica, ante deſperata, nunc breviter explicata & demonſtrata. That is, *Some* Geometrical Principles *and* Problems, *heretofore looked upon as deſperate, now briefly explained and demonſtrated.* London, 1674. 4to.

We have alſo an account of this performance in the Philoſophical Tranſactions; which, becauſe it is very ſhort, and will, notwithſtanding, afford the reader ſome notion of the nature of theſe diſputes, we will ſubjoin it (50). (50) No. 97. p. 6131.

‘The famous author of this tract, having entertained the reader with ſome generals concerning the ſubject, principles, and method of mathematics, and with his doctrine of *ratio*, as alſo his ſenſe of algebraical operations, together with two chapters of quadrate figures, quadrate numbers, and angles, undertakes to confirm his former doctrine, 1. Of the ratio of the circumference to the radius of a circle. 2. Of mean proportionals. 3. Of the ratio of a quadrat to the quadrant of a circle inſcribed in it. 4. Of ſolids and their ſuperficies: to which laſt he ſubjoins another method of demonſtrating ſolids and their ſuperficies by their efficient cauſes. Which done, he concludes the book with a diſcourſe touching demonſtrations, the principal and moſt frequent cauſe of fallacies in the mathematics, and the notion of the word infinite: complaining very much that Geometry hath received it's greateſt prejudice, from thoſe that diſcourſe of a line without latitude, that take the ſide of a ſquare for the root of a number, that underſtand not the true nature of ratio, and that ſpeak unſavourly of infinity. Which accuſations, how well they are grounded, we muſt leave to competent judges to determine.’

The truth of the matter is, that Mr Hobbes had talked ſo much, and thought ſo long, of matter and motion, that, notwithſtanding the quickneſs of his parts and the ſubtility of his genius, not at all impaired by his age, he could apprehend nothing inconſiſtent with theſe notions, and had perſwaded himſelf, and was deſirous of perſwading others, that, becauſe a point could not be made without quantity, a line drawn without latitude, or a ſuperficies repreſented without ſomewhat of depth or thickneſs, therefore they could not be ſo conceived; whereas, in truth, they cannot be conceived otherwiſe; for a point, a line, a triangle, as they ſubſiſt in the mind, have not quantity, latitude, or depth; though when, for the purpoſes of ſcience, they are produced to the ſenſes, they have all theſe; which yet if we conceive them to have, as he did, and reaſon upon them accordingly, it will lead us, as it led him, into an inextricable labyrinth of confuſions and abſurdities. This therefore was the plain foible of Hobbes, and which ſerved to refute and overturn whatever was falſe or dangerous in his notions as to Divinity; ſo that there was no need of exaggerating, and charging him with conſequences which he abſolutely denied; adding once with ſome heat (51), *Nor can the clamour of his adverſaries make Mr* Hobbes *think himſelf a worſe* Chriſtian *than the* beſt *of them.* He might err, as to the ſenſe of the Scriptures, without being an Apoſtate; and he might be miſtaken in his notions of the Deity, without being an Atheiſt.

(51) Conſiderations upon the Reputation, &c. of Thomas Hobbes, p. 47.

honour, who conceived very ill of Mr Hobbes, there were others, as irreproachable in point of faith as well as morals, who did not condemn our author's ſentiments, or look upon him in the light of an apoſtate from Chriſtianity, and much leſs as an Atheiſt [*T*]. It may be, if

he

[*T*] *And much leſs as an Atheiſt.*] In this note, we will enumerate the antagoniſts our author met with at home, many of whom concurred in attacking his writings, even in thoſe in which they attacked each other. As for inſtance, the ingenious James Harrington in his Oceana (52), falls upon our author's ſentiments with great freedom and ſpirit, which was natural enough the repugnancy of their reſpective principles conſidered. But one would ſcarce have imagined that Sir Robert Filmer (53), ſhould ſpend a whole ſection in refuting the doctrines contained in the Leviathan, which however he has done, though he confeſſes Mr Hobbes's book to be right in the main, only it ſtood on another foundation than his own *Patriarcha*. Doctor Matthew Wren, in an excellent work of his on the ſubject of Government, juſt mentions Mr Hobbes (54); but that he who oppoſed Harrington in every thing, was ſtill far from Mr Hobbes's ſentiments, appears from the pains taken by the Earl of Clarendon, to engage the Doctor to write againſt him (55). There was a furious paper war between our author and Dr Wallis, which laſted all the life-time of the former, and it was in anſwer to a treatiſe which the Doctor publiſhed, entitled *Hobbius Heautontimoromenos*, ſive contra Dialogos ejus Phyſicos diſſertatio; that he wrote his *Conſiderations on the Reputation and Loyalty*, &c. which though not by name, is addreſſed to the Doctor. We have already mentioned the Primate of Ireland, Bramhall, who was one of our author's moſt early opponents, and the Biſhop of Ely, as alſo Dr Seth Ward, who is thought to be the perſon mentioned by Mr Wood (56), when he ſays, *That one who was made a Biſhop ſoon after the Reſtoration, would ſay ſome years before when this was little expected, that he had rather be the author of one of Mr* Hobbes's *books than be King of* England. At the time he ſaid this, he could not ſurely think Mr Hobbes an Atheiſt. Dr William Lucy, afterwards Biſhop of St Davids, wrote two treatiſes againſt the Leviathan (57), under the aſſumed name of William Pyke; as did alſo Dr Sharrock, whoſe books, though in other reſpects eſteemed, were not thought to anſwer the end for which they were written. Archbiſhop Tenniſon, then only a country clergymen, publiſhed a very ſuccinct and methodical performance dedicated to the Earl of Mancheſter (58). It is written by way of dialogue between Mr Hobbes and a Student in Divinity at Buxton Wells, and is penned with equal perſpicuity and politeneſs, as well as with great judgment and learning; but above all is remarkable for it's impartiality, there being nothing put in the mouth of Mr Hobbes, but what is taken out of his own writings, and expreſſed in his own words. Doctor, afterwards Biſhop, Cumberland's excellent treatiſe of *The* LAWS *of* NATURE (59), was likewiſe written againſt our author's ſyſtem, and is deſervedly eſteemed the cloſeſt and the beſt book of it's kind; indeed, he is the only one of all Mr Hobbes's antagoniſts that underſtood the advantages the old man had, as appears by his chuſing freſh ground, and diſputing in a manner quite different from the reſt. The famous Dr Henry Moore (60), has in different places of his numerous writings canvaſſed and refuted ſeveral propoſitions of Mr Hobbes: and the Philoſopher of Malmeſbury, is ſaid to have been ſo ingenuous as to own, that whenever he diſcovered his own philoſophy to be unſuſtainable, he would embrace the opinions of Dr Moore. Dr John Templar of Cambridge, publiſhed a Latin treatiſe (61) againſt our author; and Mr Shaftoe wrote likewiſe in Engliſh, in oppoſition to the notions of Mr Hobbes (62). Neither muſt we forget the two dialogues of Dr John Echard, between Timothy and Philalethes (63); or Dr Parker's, afterwards Biſhop of Oxford, large work, in which our author is very roughly handled, though in very elegant Latin (64). His notions are likewiſe combated in Dr Cudworth's Intellectual Syſtem, though there is no mention of his name (65). There was one Mr Whitehall of the Inner-Temple (66), who wrote againſt his Behemoth; and we find ſeveral parts of his philoſophy examined and refuted by the honourable Robert Boyle, Eſq (67). But in the midſt of theſe contentions, as we have already ſhewn, he wanted not patrons or friends who expreſſed a great eſteem for him and his writings; the names of many of theſe we have already mentioned in the text, to which without impropriety we may add (68), the famous Sir Kenelm Digby, who was himſelf a great philoſopher; the judicious Mr Chillingworth, Edmond Waller of Beaconsfield, Eſq; whoſe poetry will laſt as long as our language; Sir Henry Blunt, Francis Oſborne, Eſq; Mr Samuel Butler, who wrote that admirable poem entituled Hudibras; Sir William Davenant, Poet Laureat in two reigns; Dr Walter Charlton, diſtinguiſhed for his extenſive knowledge in every branch of uſeful literature; and Dr Ralph Bathurſt, Dean of Wells, who, together with Mr Jaſper Maine, Canon of Chriſt Church, were his conſtant admirers. Among later writers there have been two eminent and eloquent prelates, who, though they have hardly agreed in any thing elſe, have each had a ſtroke at the character of Mr Hobbes. Biſhop Burnet (69), who has given a dreadful character of the Leviathan; and Biſhop Atterbury, who in one of his ſermons (70), has vouchſafed to aſſign the reaſons why Mr Hobbes was continually terrified with the apprehenſions of ghoſts and apparitions. But to juſtify the great pains we have taken in this article, by ſhewing how highly our author was eſteemed by ſome men, who were themſelves diſtinguiſhed even in that learned age for ſpirit and genius; and for the reader's entertainment, we ſhall cite a few poetical complements, that if they ſhould not ſerve to ſupport his character, will at leaſt ſuffice to excuſe his vanity. The firſt of theſe ſhall be the concluſion of Dean Bathurſt's Latin poem on Human Nature (71), which has been always eſteemed a very fine performance independent of the ſubject.

> Conſultor audax, & Promethæi potens
> Facinoris Anime! quis Tibi dedit Deus
> Hæc intueri Sæculis longè abdita,
> Oculóſque luce tinxit Ambroſiâ tuos?
> Tu Mentis omnis, at tuæ nulla eſt capax.
> Hâc laude ſolus fruere: Divinum eſt opus
> Animam creare; proximum huic, oſtendere.

The laſt ſtanza of Cowley's ode (72), is equally worthy of the reader's notice, from the perfection of it's ſenſe and the poetry; the former as ſound, and the latter as animated as is perhaps any where to be met with in that author's writings.

> Nor can the ſnow which now cold age does ſhed,
>   Upon thy reverend head,
> Quench or allay the noble fires within;
>   But all which thou haſt bin,
>   And all that youth can be, thou'rt yet;
>   So fully ſtill doſt thou
> Enjoy the manhood and the bloom of wit,
> And all the natural heat, but not the fever too.
> So contraries on Ætna's top conſpire;
> Here hoary froſts, and by them breaks out fire.
> A ſecure peace the faithful neighbours keep;
> Th' embolden'd ſnow next to the flame does ſleep.
>   And if we weigh, like thee,
>   Nature, and cauſes, we ſhall ſee,
>   That thus it needs muſt be;
> To things immortal, time can do no wrong;
> And that which never is to die, for ever muſt be
>   young.

His Grace of Buckinghamſhire, when Earl of Mulgrave, wrote a poem on the death of our author (73), in which are the following beautiful lines.

> While fame is young, too weak to fly away,
> Malice purſues her, like ſome bird of prey;
> But once on wing, then all the quarrels ceaſe;
> Envy herſelf is glad to be at peace.
> Gives over, weary'd with ſo high a flight,
> Above her reach, and ſcarce within her ſight.
> Hobbes to this happy pitch arriv'd at laſt,
> Might have look'd down with pride on dangers paſt:

But

(52) Harrington's Works, Lond. 1747. fol. p. 14, 38, 41, 45, 52, 58, 364.

(53) Obſervations concerning the Original of Government, § 1.

(54) Monarchy aſſerted, &c. p. 16.

(55) See Sir Edward Hyde's Letter to Dr Barwick, in the Appendix to Dean Barwick's Life p. 430.

(56) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 647.

(57) Obſervations, Cenſures, and Confutations, of the notorious errors of Mr Hobbes in his Leviathan and other books. Lond. 1663. 4to. Occaſional Animadverſions on ſome Writings of the Socinians, and ſuch other Heretics of the ſame opinion with Mr Hobbes. Lond. 1675. 4to.

(58) The Creed of Mr Hobbes examined, &c. Lond. 1670. 8vo.

(59) De Legibus Naturæ, Lond. 1670. 4to. cap. i. § 10, 11, 12.

(60) Opera Philoſoph. Lond. 1670. Tom. I. cap. ii. § 9, 10, 11. cap. xxv. § 2. Tom. II. lib. i. cap. ix. x. lib. ii. cap. i. ii. iii.

(61) Idea Theologiæ Leviathanis. Cantab. 1673. 8vo.

(62) The great Law of Nature vindicated. Lond. 1673. 8vo.

(63) Lond. 1672. 8vo.

(64) Tentamina de Deo, Diſp. i. § 27, 28, 29, 30, 31. Diſp. ii. § 30.

(65) Intellectual Syſtem, Book I. chap. ii. § 21.

(66) Behemoth arraigned, &c. Lond. 1680. 8vo.

(67) Boyle's Works. Lond, 1744. 5 vols fol. Vol. I. p. 76, 119, 122, 124, 125, 126, 130, 133, 137, 140, 143, 149, 151, 153. Vol. II. p. 253, 254, 255, 280, 373, 374, 377, 378. Vol. III. p. 476, 478, 479, 480, 481, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 489, 491, 520. Vol. V. p. 360.

(68) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 181—187.

(69) Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 187, 188.

(70) Sermons by Dr Francis Atterbury, publiſhed from the originals by Thomas Moore, D. D. Vol. II. p. 116, 117. edit. Lond. 1734.

(71) Prefixed to Mr Hobbes's Treatiſe of Human Nature, and to the three Latin Lives publiſhed by Dr Blackbourn.

(72) The Works of Mr Abraham Cowley, Vol. I. p. 197, 198.

(73) The Works of John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, Marquis of Normanby, and Duke of Buckinghamſhire, Vol. I. p. 181, 182.

he had been more gently treated, if he had been commended where he was right, if his miſtakes had been ſhewn him with candour, if a proper allowance had been made for the time in, and the circumſtances under, which he wrote, and his ſubmiſſion to authority in Church and State had been accepted, he might have been better diſpoſed to the review and correction of his writings: whereas, charged as he was with a multitude of the moſt atrocious crimes, of which, very probably, no man had a greater abhorrence than he; ſuch as Atheiſm, for thinking, as he affirmed, more reverently of the Deity than moſt other men; Apoſtacy, though he made belief in the miſſion and ſatisfaction of Jeſus Chriſt a fundamental out of the power of the Church, to whoſe decrees he was for ſubmitting in in every other reſpect; with attachment to Oliver's uſurpation, before perhaps Oliver had formed in his mind the project of uſurping; of treaſon againſt a Prince to whom he was always devoted, and who always looked upon him with favour and eſteem; and, in fine, with propagating the moſt deteſtable principles, notwithſtanding he always declared that he did not hold them, and that they were propagated chiefly by thoſe who pretended to find them in his writings; we need not at all wonder, that it increaſed the natural obſtinacy of his diſpoſition, and inclined him to repel with acrimony the charges of his opponents, or to recriminate ſeverely when he ſometimes had it in his power. In foreign countries, his correct and elegant Latin ſtile recommended his writings to a very general reception; inſomuch, that the works of very few Engliſh authors, at leaſt during their life-times, were diffuſed ſo much as his; to which it might alſo contribute not a little, that his perſon and converſation were alſo well known, as having lived in great intimacy and friendſhip with ſome of the moſt conſiderable members of the republic of letters [*U*].

In

But ſuch the frailty is of human kind,
Men toil for fame, which no man lives to find;
Long rip'ning under ground this china lies;
Fame bears no fruit, 'till the vain planter dies.

[*U*] *Of the republic of letters.*] In other parts of Europe our author's writings were read, and as at home, either heavily cenſured or highly applauded; amongſt the moſt remarkable of theſe, we will mention a few only. To begin with thoſe who wrote in his life-time. Adam Oſiander (74), a German divine, inveighed againſt him with great bitterneſs. Regnerus à Manſvelt (75), Profeſſor of Philoſophy in the Univerſity of Utrecht, takes occaſion to fall very ſeverely upon the writings of Mr Hobbes. Samuel Rachelius, an eminent lawyer of Holſtein (76), in his large work concerning the law of nature and nations, declares alſo with great warmth againſt the ſentiments of our author. Dr Gilbert Cocquius (77), a Dutch divine, wrote expreſsly againſt Hobbes's treatiſe De Cive, out of which, if there be taken what he borrows from the writings of Calvin and Beza, very little worth notice will be left. The ſame author with the like view wrote another treatiſe (78), in which he attacked moſt of our author's writings, and pretended to prove that Hobbes had apoſtatized from the Chriſtian religion, by which however he gained no great reputation to himſelf, nor does it appear that he has done much hurt to that of our author, in the ſentiments of candid and impartial readers, who will always diſtinguiſh between aſſertions and evidence. The learned and laborious John George Morhoff (79), in his great and uſeful work, makes frequent mention of Thomas Hobbes and his writings, but ſpeaks of them always with ſeverity and diſlike, from a perſuaſion, that excluſive of their plain and natural ſenſe, they have another concealed meaning of a dark and dangerous tendency. Dr Francis Buddeus (80), fixes our author Hobbes, after Sir Thomas Brown, in his catalogue of Engliſh Atheiſts, but is ſo modeſt, as not to inſiſt, that the character abſolutely belongs to either of them. Frederick Reimmanus (81), on the other hand, places him before Sir Thomas Brown, and immediately after Edward Lord Herbert of Chirbury; adding, that as he was ſhrewder and more learned, ſo he was alſo better verſed in philoſophy than that noble perſon, which is a character that, very poſſibly, Mr Hobbes may no better deſerve, than he does that of an Atheiſt. It is not however from all foreigners, or even from all the German writers, that Mr Hobbes has received ſuch bad treatment; on the contrary, the judicious and indefatigable Gundlingius (82), in his excellent obſervations, has written a long and curious diſſertation in defence of Mr Hobbes, in which, with great judgment and by dint of ſtrong arguments, he ſhews, that he is very unjuſtly accuſed of Atheiſm. And indeed, if we conſider how many great and good men are aſperſed by the ſame writers, and abuſed with the ſame imputations that are caſt upon Hobbes, we cannot but believe, that this knowing and diſintereſted critic is in the right. The celebrated Leibnitz (83), ſeems to be however of a contrary opinion, to whoſe judgment notwithſtanding, we may oppoſe that of the no leſs famous Mr Bayle (84), who, whenever he ſpeaks of our author, treats him with candour and decency. In fine, we may conclude theſe remarks with obſerving, that it is the deductions which others have made from Mr Hobbes's writings, that render them dangerous; by their finding in them poſitions which the author abſolutely denied; and drawing from them conſequences which he never meant, at leaſt, if he knew his own meaning. There is therefore good reaſon to wiſh, that in this learned and impartial age, his philoſophy might be again reviewed, thoſe things that are good in him, ſevered and collected from whatever there may be amiſs, and the reſt rejected; for ſurely, ſo many great and able judges as have given public teſtimonies of their eſteem for him and his writings, could not be abſolutely deceived, and beſtow their applauſe on a man altogether void of merit. It is very material to do this for many reaſons. It is with falſe reaſonings in philoſophy, as with unſucceſsful experiments in chemiſtry, they have their advantages, though they are without profit; and we cannot better defend ourſelves from errors, than by contemplating and diſcovering the ſources of error in other men. It is of conſequence to glean up the hints he gives us of his conjectures, and ſometimes ſhort hiſtories of his diſcoveries, which would point out to us many things that have eſcaped notice, and may for ever eſcape notice, in the bulk of his works. It is but juſtice to expoſe the true grounds of the quarrel between him and the clergy, that the nature of the prejudices on both ſides may be known; he apprehended the ill judged ſeverities exerciſed by ſome of the prelates, to be one of the cauſes of the civil war; he aſcribed the deſtructive and moſt deplorable events that followed, to the ambition and hypocriſy of the miniſters; and that ſtate of immoral confuſion into which the nation fell under the government, and after the death of Cromwell, to the enthuſiaſm and fanaticiſm of the ſectaries. This induced him to place the ſupreme power, ſacred as well as civil, in the Sovereign, as the beſt remedy he could deviſe againſt theſe evils. The clergy, for this, repreſented him as the ſubvertor of all religion, which by expoſing and exaggerating their ill conduct, he retorted upon them. It was impoſſible for foreigners to be acquainted with this, becauſe many of his and his opponent's writings were in Engliſh, which has occaſioned their painting him in the blackeſt colours (85). Laſtly, it may be very right to ſhew, that the ſtrength of his capacity appears in his political writings, where much depended upon ſpeculation; but that in other things his abilities frequently failed, which will ſufficiently abate his credit with impartial judges, and ſhew the falſehood of that popular conceit, that atheiſtical and irreligious notions

are

(74) Tractatu de Typo Legis Naturæ.

(75) Tractatu adverſus Anonymum Theologo-Politicum (B. Spinoſam), 4to. Ultraject. 1674.

(76) De Jure Naturæ & Gentium. Kiloni, 1676. 4to. p. 102—117. & a p. 306 ad 311.

(77) Vindiciæ pro Lege & Imperio, ſive Diſſertationes duæ, quarum una eſt de Lege in communi, altera de exemptione Principis à Lege, inſtitutæ potiſſimum contra Tractatum Hobbii de Cive; acceſſit Giſp. Voëtii Diſquiſitio Textualis ad 1 Sam. 8. de Jure Regio Hebræorum, Ultrajecti, 1661. 12mo.

(78) Hobbeſianiſmi Anatome, quâ innumeris Aſſertionibus ex Tractatibus de Homine, Cive, & Leviathan, juxta ſeriem locorum Theologiæ Chriſtianæ, Philoſophi illius à Religione Chriſtianâ Apoſtaſia, demonſtratur & refutatur. Ultrajecti, 1680. 8vo.

(79) Polyhiſtor. literarius, philoſophicus & practicus, ii. 1, 15, 13. ii. 2, 15, 4. ii. 2, 17, 4. iii. 2, 1, 4.

(80) Theſes Theologicæ, de Atheiſmo & de Superſtitione. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1737. 8vo. cap. i. § 27.

(81) Hiſtoria univerſalis Atheiſmi & Atheorum, Hildeſiæ, 1725. 8vo. p. 444. (82) Obſervationum ſelectarum ad rem Literariam ſpectantium, Tom. I. p. 37—77.

(83) Eſſais de Theodicée ſur la Bonte de Dieu, la Liberte de l'Homme, & l'origine du Mal, P. ii. § 172.

(84) See the article of HOBBES [THOMAS] in the Engliſh tranſlation of Bayle.

(85) Chriſtiani Kortholti, de tribus Impoſtoribus magnis liber, Edoardo Herbert, Thomæ Hobbes, & Benedicto Spinoſæ oppoſitus. Cui addita qua Hieronymi Cardani & Edoardo Herberti de animalitate hominis opiniones Philoſophicæ examinatæ. Kilonii, 1680. 8vo.

In ſucceeding times, when all perſonal prejudices are worn out, together with the humour of the age, and the habit of conſidering things as agreeing or diſagreeing with the reigning ſyſtem, our author's Philoſophy has met with a fairer acceptation; not that it is in higher or more general eſteem than in his own time, but that it is beheld with greater calmneſs and candour. We perceive that he had looked ſtrictly into human nature, and that, like Socrates, he perfectly well underſtood the ſtrength and weakneſs of human faculties, the ſpring and force of our paſſions, and the ſpirit and vigour of the underſtanding, independent of the helps received from religion. We diſcern, that from hence he reaſons more correctly and cloſely, in many political points, than either Tacitus or Machiavel, and gives many ſingular and ſtrong hints of the cauſes of thoſe events, in our own and in other ſtates, which we have ſince ſeen; but at the ſame time we clearly comprehend, that, notwithſtanding the vivacity of his parts, and the ſolidity of his judgment, in matters that were the proper objects of both; yet, in things that lay without and beyond his reach, unleſs with ſuch aſſiſtance as he declined, he erred as much and as wildly as any man could. So that, to defend ourſelves from following him in his miſtaken notions as to Religion, we need only acquire a thorough knowledge of his erroneous ſentiments in regard to the Mathematics; for, upon a ſtrict enquiry and proper reflection, we ſhall find them both to flow from the ſame cauſes, an overweaning opinion of his own abilities, and a ſupercilious contempt for thoſe of other men. Great weakneſſes in a Philoſopher no doubt, but no proofs of madneſs, folly, or wickedneſs, much leſs of apoſtacy, impiety, and atheiſm; and, as great as theſe weakneſſes were, we muſt allow the ſtrength of his faculties at the ſame time; and if we conſider his natural diſpoſition, the confuſions of which he was a ſpectator; the ill uſage he met with, the retired courſe of life he led for many years, and the great age to which he lived, we ſhall be the more indulgent to his failings. At all events, we have done what lay in our power to render juſtice to his fame and writings; and, if there be any defect in the performance, we hope it will be ſupplied by the candour of the reader.

are found in the writings of the ſhrewdeſt men. Whereas in truth, the love of ſingularity, and the ambition of appearing wiſer than the reſt of their ſpecies, like the other infirmities of human nature, are inherent as well in little as in great minds. E

HODY [Humphrey], a late learned Engliſh Divine, was born January 1, 1659, in the county of Somerſet, at Odcombe, of which his father was Rector [*A*]. The 10th of March, 1676, he was admitted, with his two elder brothers, John and Richard, into Wadham-college in Oxford (*a*), where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, October 23, 1679; that of Maſter, June 19, 1682 (*b*); and in 1684 was choſen Fellow of that college. In 1680 and 1681, when he was only twenty-one or twenty-two years of age, he wrote his learned Diſſertation againſt Ariſteas's Hiſtory of the LXX Interpreters [*B*]. It was received with great applauſe by the learned, except by Dr Iſaac Voſſius, who publiſhed an anſwer to it, at the end of the appendix to his Obſervations on Pomponius Mela (*c*). October 31, 1689, he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (*d*). The ſame year he wrote *Prolegomena*, or a preface to John Melala's Chronicle, printed at Oxford. In 1690, he was made Chaplain to Dr Edward Stillingfleet Biſhop of Worceſter, being tutor to his ſon at Wadham-college. The deprivation of the Biſhops in 1691, who had refuſed the Oaths to King William and Queen Mary, engaged our author in a controverſy

(*a*) De Vitâ & Scriptis Hum. Hodii Diſſertatio, p. 5, 6. Prefixed to his learned work *De Græcis illuſtribus Linguæ Græcæ inſtauratoribus*, &c. and extracted from a MS. Life written by himſelf in Engliſh.

(*b*) Wood Faſti, edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 211, 219.

(*c*) De Vitâ, &c. ut ſupra, p. 7—13.

(*d*) Wood, Faſti, col. 233.

[*A*] *Of which his father was Rector.*] His father was Richard Hody, younger brother of John Hody of Northover in the ſame county, Eſq. He reckoned among his anceſtors, in the ſixth generation, Sir William Hody, Knt. whom K. Henry VII. conſtituted, in the firſt year of his reign (1485) his Attorney-General (1), and, the year following, Chief Baron of the Exchequer (2). This office he enjoyed till the 13th of Hen. VIII. when he reſigned it, on account of his great age, being above fourſcore years old (3).——The father of this Sir William, was Sir John Hody of Stawall in the ſaid county, Knight, a learned lawyer, who aſſiſted Judge Littleton, in compiling the Inſtitutes of the Laws of England (4). In the Parliaments, 9 Henry V, and 1, 3, 6, and 15, of Henry VI, he was one of the Burgeſſes for Shafteſbury in Dorſetſhire, where he had conſiderable eſtates; and, afterwards, was one of the Knights of the Shire for the county of Somerſet. In the eighteenth of Henry VI, he was conſtituted Chief Juſtice of England (5).

[*B*] *Diſſertation againſt Ariſteas's Hiſtory of the LXX Interpreters.*] The ſubſtance of that Hiſtory of Ariſteas, concerning the LXXII Greek Interpreters of the Bible, is this. Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt, founder of the noble library at Alexandria, being deſirous of enriching that library with all ſorts of books, committed the care of it to Demetrius Phalereus, a noble Athenian then living in his Court. The latter being informed, in his ſearch, of the *Law of Moſes* among the Jews, acquainted the King with it; who thereupon ſignified his pleaſure, that a copy of that book (which was then only in Hebrew) ſhould be ſent for from Jeruſalem, with interpreters from the ſame place to tranſlate it into Greek. A deputation was accordingly ſent to Eleazar the High-prieſt of the Jews at Jeruſalem; who ſent a true copy of the Hebrew original of the Law of Moſes, and LXXII Interpreters, ſix out of each of the twelve Tribes of Iſrael, to tranſlate it into Greek. They being come to Egypt, the King tried their ſkill by propoſing to them 72 queſtions; and then cauſing them to be conducted into the iſland of Pharos near Alexandria, in a houſe prepared for them, they compleated their tranſlation in LXXII days.—— Such is the ſtory told by Ariſteas; who is ſaid to be one of K. Ptolemy Philadelphus's Court. Our learned author ſhews, that it is the invention of ſome Helleniſt Jew; that it is full of anachroniſms, and groſs blunders; and, in ſhort, was written on purpoſe to recommend and give greater authority to the Greek verſion of the Old Teſtament, which from this ſtory hath received the name of the *Septuagint*.—This diſſertation is highly commended by the moſt learned Cha Du Freſne, in his notes on the *Chronicon Paſchale*; and by the no leſs learned G. Menage, who ſtyles Mr Hody *eruditiſſimus*, *doctiſſimus*, *elegantiſſimus*, &c.

[C] *The*

(1) Dugdale Orig. Jurid. in Chronic. Serie, p. 74.

(2) Pat. 2. Hen. VII. p. 1. m. 21.

(3) Hall's Chronicle.

(4) Coke's Preface to the firſt part of the Inſtitutes, &c.

(5) Placit. coram Rege, t. Paſch. 18 Hen. VI. rot. 1. Et de Vitâ, &c. ut ſupra, p. 5, 6. See alſo Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 368.

controverſy [C], of which an account is given below (e). He took the degree of Doctor in Divinity in February 1692-3. And, in 1694, publiſhed 'The Reſurrection of the ſame Body aſſerted [D],' &c. Dr Tillotſon, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, having conceived a great opinion of him from his writings, conſtituted him his domeſtic Chaplain, May 25, 1694. The good Archbiſhop being ſnatched away the 22d of November the ſame year, by a ſudden death; his ſucceſſor Dr Tenniſon continued Dr Hody his Chaplain (f). And, ſoon after, gave him the rectory of Chart near Canterbury (g): which before he was collated to, he exchanged with Mr De l'Angle, for the united rectories of St Michael-Royal and St Martin's-Vintrey in London, being inſtituted to theſe Auguſt 15, 1695 (h). In 1696, at the command of Archbiſhop Tenniſon, he wrote 'Animadverſions on two Pamphlets lately publiſhed by Mr Collier, &c [E].' The 6th of March, 1698, he was appointed Regius Profeſſor of the Greek tongue in the univerſity of Oxford: and Auguſt 1, 1704, inſtituted to the archdeaconry of Oxford, which the Archbiſhop had made his option. He was alſo Rector of Monks-Riſborough in Buckinghamſhire (i). In 1701 he bore a part in the controverſy about the Convocation [F]. In 1704 he publiſhed his learned book Of the Original Text, and Greek, and Latin vulgate, Verſions of the Bible [G]. And left behind him in manuſcript, An account of thoſe learned Grecians, who retired to Italy before and after the taking of Conſtantinople by the Turks, and reſtored the Greek tongue and learning in theſe weſtern parts of the world [H]. It was not publiſhed 'till

(e) De Vitâ, &c. ut ſupra, p. 16; &c.

(f) Ibid. p. 27.

(g) Which was become vacant by the death of the learned Henry Wharton. Ibid. p. 28.

(h) Ibid. and Newcourt Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 495.

(i) De Vitâ, &c. ut ſupra, p. 32, &c. and Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 446, 447.

[C] *The deprivation of the Biſhops in* 1691,——*engaged our author in a controverſy.*] The pieces publiſhed by him upon that occaſion, were theſe. 'The Unreaſonableneſs of a Separation from the new Biſhops; or, A Treatiſe out of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. Shewing, That although a Biſhop was unjuſtly deprived, neither he nor the Church ever made a ſeparation, if the ſucceſſor was not a Heretick. Tranſlated out of an ancient manuſcript in the publick library at Oxford.' [One of the Baroccian MSS.] London, 1691, 4to. He tranſlated it afterwards into Latin, and prefixed thereto ſome pieces out of eccleſiaſtical antiquity relating to the ſame ſubject. Mr Henry Dodwell publiſhing an anſwer to it, intituled, 'A Vindication of the Depriv'd Biſhops, &c.' Lond. 1692, 4to. Dr Hody replied, in a treatiſe, which he ſtyled, 'The Caſe of Sees vacant, by an unjuſt or uncanonical Deprivation, ſtated: in Reply to a Treatiſe, entituled, *A Vindication of the Deprived Biſhops*, &c. Together with the ſeveral Pamphlets publiſhed as Anſwers to the Baroccian Treatiſe.' Lond. 1693, 4to.——Theſe two other pieces he publiſhed in the ſame controverſy. 'A Letter to a Friend concerning a Collection of Canons ſaid [by Mr Dodwell] to be deceitfully omitted in the Edition of the Oxford Treatiſe againſt Schiſm.' Oxon. 1692. 'Reflexions on a Pamphlet entituled, Remarks on the Occaſional Paper, Numb. VIII. relating to the Controverſy betwixt Dr Hody and Mr Dodwell; and on another entitled, A Vindication of the Deprived Biſhops, written by Mr Dodwell; with an Anſwer to a third, called Hiſtorical Collections concerning Church Affairs.' Lond. 1698, 4to.

[D] *The Reſurrection of the ſame Body aſſerted, &c.*] Printed at London, 1694, 8vo. Mr Nicolas Beare, a clergyman in Devonſhire, wrote an anſwer to it, which he intituled, 'The Reſurrection founded on Juſtice, or a Vindication of this great ſtanding Reaſon aſſign'd by the Ancients and Moderns, wherein the Objections of the learned Dr Hody againſt it are anſwered, &c.' Lond. 1699.

[E] *He wrote animadverſions on two pamphlets lately publiſhed by Mr Collier, &c.*] Any perſon that has the leaſt acquaintance with our Engliſh hiſtory, knows, that Mr Jeremy Collier, Mr Cook, and Mr Snatt, three Nonjuring clergymen, did take upon them to pronounce to Sir William Perkins, and Sir John Friend (who were executed for the aſſaſſination-plot in 1696) the abſolution of the Church as it ſtands in the viſitation of the ſick, and accompanied this ceremony with a ſolemn impoſition of hands. For this imprudent action, they were not only indicted; but alſo the Archbiſhops and Biſhops publiſhed, 'A declaration of their ſenſe, concerning thoſe irregular and ſcandalous proceedings.' Mr Collier publiſhed ſome pamphlets to vindicate his own, and his brethren's conduct (6): in anſwer to which, Dr Hody wrote, 'Animadverſions on two Pamphlets lately publiſhed by Mr Collier, the one called, *A Defence of the Abſolution given to Sir William Perkins at the Place of Execution*; the other, *A Vindication thereof, occaſioned by a Paper entitled*, A Declaration of the Senſe of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, &c.'

(6) See Complete Hiſtory of England, edit. 1719. Vol. III. p. 712.

[F] *In* 1701 *he bore a part in the controverſy about the Convocation.*] He publiſhed upon that occaſion, 'A Hiſtory of Engliſh Councils and Convocations, and of the Clergy's ſitting in Parliament, in which is alſo comprehended the Hiſtory of Parliaments, with an Account of our ancient Laws.' Lond. 1701, 8vo.

[G] *Of the original text, and Greek, and Latin vulgate, verſions of the Bible.*] It is written in Latin, and intituled, *De Bibliorum Textibus originalibus, Verſionibus Græcis, & Latinâ vulgata: Libri* IV, &c. The firſt book, is his Diſſertation againſt Ariſtæas's Hiſtory; which is here reprinted with improvements, and an anſwer to Voſſius's objections. In the ſecond, he treats of the true authors of the Greek verſion, called *The Septuagint*, and of the time when, and the reaſons why, it was undertaken; and the manner in which it was performed. The third, is a hiſtory of the original Hebrew text, of the Greek verſion called The Septuagint, and of the Latin vulgate: ſhewing the authority of each in different ages, and that the Hebrew text hath been always moſt eſteemed and valued. In the fourth, he gives an account of the reſt of the Greek verſions, viz. thoſe of Symmachus, Aquila, and Theodotion; of Origen's *Hexapla*, and other antient editions; and ſubjoins liſts of the books of the Bible at different times, which exhibit a conciſe, but full and clear view of the Canon of holy Scripture.——Upon the whole, he thinks it probable, that the Greek verſion, called The Septuagint, was done in the time of the two Ptolemies,—Lagi—and Philadelphus——That it was not done by order of K. Ptolemy, or under the direction of Demetrius Phalereus, in order to be depoſited into the Alexandrine library, but by Helleniſt Jews for the uſe of their own countrymen.

[H] *An account of thoſe learned Grecians, &c.*] It remained in manuſcript 'till the year 1742, when it was publiſhed by Dr S. Jebb, under this title, *De Græcis illuſtribus Linguæ Græcæ Literarumque humaniorum Inſtauratoribus, eorum Vitis, Scriptis, et Elogiis libri duo. E. Cod. potiſſimum MSS. aliiſque authenticis ejuſdem Aevi Monimentis depromp ſit Humphredus Hodius, S. T. P.* Lond. 1742, 8vo. It is divided into two books: the firſt whereof treats of thoſe who came to Italy before the taking of Conſtantinople. And the ſecond, of thoſe who came after the taking of that city. Theſe were, 1. Leontius Pilatus, Emanuel and Joan: Chryſolaras, Theodorus Gaza, Georgius Trapezuntius, Beſſarion Cardinalis, Iſidorus Cardinalis Ruthenus, and Nicolaus Secundinus. 2. Joannes Argyropylus, Demetrius Chalcondyles, Joannes Andronicus Calliſtus, Tranquillus Andronicus, Andronicus Contoblaca, Georgius Harmonymus Charitonymus Chriſtonymus, Joannes Polo, Conſtantinus Laſcaris, Joannes Laſcaris, Michael Marullus, Manilius Rhallas, Marcus Muſurus Creticus, Angelus Calaber, Nicolaus Sophianus, Michael Sophianus, Geor. Alex. Jo. Geor. et Demetr. Moſchi, Emanuel Adramyttenus, Zacharias Calliergus, Nic. Blaſtus, Arſenius Monembaſienſis Archiepiſc: Ariſtobulus Apoſtolius, Demetrius Ducas, Nicetas Phauſtus, Juſtinus Corcyræus, &c.

'till the year 1742. In order to encourage the ſtudy of the Greek and Hebrew languages, of which he was ſo great a maſter himſelf, he founded in Wadham-college ten ſcholarſhips, of ten pounds a piece; and appointed, that five of the ſcholars ſhould apply themſelves to the ſtudy of the Hebrew, and five to the ſtudy of the Greek, languages. He died January 20, 1706, and was buried in the chapel belonging to Wadham-college, where he had received his education, and to which he had been a benefactor (*k*). C

(*k*) De Vitâ, &c. ut ſupra, p. 14, 33, 38, &c.

HOLINSHED, or HOLLYNSHED [RAPHAEL], the firſt author, or compiler, of the Chronicles that go under his name. This moſt uſeful and induſtrious writer, who hath reſcued many illuſtrious perſons and facts from oblivion, is ſo unhappy as to have little or no acccount of himſelf tranſmitted to poſterity [*A*]. The beſt account therefore we can give of him, muſt conſiſt only of ſuch imperfect hints and notices, relating to him, as have been dropped occaſionally by ſome few authors. We are told (*a*), that he was deſcended from thoſe of his name that lived at Boſely in Cheſhire; educated in one of the univerſities [*B*] (but which is not certain); and that he was a Miniſter of God's Word. Others affirm, on the contrary, that he was neither a clergyman, nor even had an academical education; but that he was ſteward to Thomas Burdett of Bromcote in the county of Warwick, Eſq; or employed in ſome other ſervice in that family (*b*). However, in what place, or from whomſoever, he received his education, he appears to have been a man of conſiderable learning, and to have had a head particularly turned for Hiſtory. This he fully manifeſted in the voluminous Chronicles which go under his name [*C*]; though he was aſſiſted in that work by William Harriſon [*D*] and others [*E*].

In

(*a*) Wood Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 312. and Nicolſon's Engl. Hiſtor. Libr.

(*b*) T. Hearne Præfat. ad Camdeni Annales, p. lxxxiii.

[*A*] *Is ſo unhappy as to have little or no account of himſelf tranſmitted to poſterity.*] Biſhop Nicolſon obſerves, that, ' 'Tis not certainly known where they ' [he and Will. Harriſon] ſpent the moſt of their days. ' So remarkably careful have they been to benefit the ' Public, without the vanity of making their own ſtory ' known to Poſterity (1).

(1) Nicolſon, ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *Educated in one of the univerſities.*] Biſhop Tanner ſays, he was educated in Cambridge, where he commenced Maſter of Arts in 1544 *.

* Tanner Bibliotheca, &c. ex M.SS. Inett. p. 408.

[*C*] *In the voluminous Chronicles which go under his name.*] Theſe Chronicles were firſt publiſhed at London in 1577. 2 vols folio, with a great number of wooden cuts, which were all omitted in the ſecond edition. This firſt edition is very ſcarce, and ſeldom to be met with. The ſecond edition came out in 1587, being finiſhed in January that year, as it is noted in the laſt pages of the ſecond and third volumes: for, this ſecond edition is in three volumes; whereof the firſt and ſecond are generally bound in one.—And here, undoubtedly, it will be a pleaſure to the curious reader, to know what ſhare our author Holinſhed had in this large work, as it appears in the ſecond and moſt common edition. To take it, therefore, in the order wherein it ſtands; Vol. I. contains, An Hiſtoricall Deſcription of the Iland of Britaine, in three books, by William Harriſon: next, The Hiſtorie of England, from the time that it was firſt inhabited, untill the time that it was laſt conquered, by R. Holinſhed. Vol. II. contains, The deſcription, conqueſt, inhabitation, and trobleſome eſtate, of Ireland: particularly the deſcription of that kingdom, compiled by Richard Stanihurſt; the conqueſt of Ireland, tranſlated from the Latin of Giraldus Cambrenſis (2), by John Hooker, alias Vowell, of Exeter, Gent. The Chronicles of Ireland, beginning where Giraldus did end, continued untill the year 1509, from Philip Flatſburie, Henrie of Marleborow, Edm. Campian, &c. by R. Holinſhed; and from thence to the year 1586, by R. Stanihurſt and J. Hooker.—The Deſcription of Scotland, tranſlated from the Latin of Hector Boëthius, by R. H. or W. H. The Hiſtorie of Scotland, conteining the beginning, increaſe, proceedings, continuance, acts and government, of the Scotiſh nation, from the originall thereof unto the yeere 1571, gathered by *Raphaell Hollinſhed*: and continued, from 1571 to 1586, by Francis Botevile, alias Thin, and others. Vol. III. begins at Duke William the Norman, commonlie called the Conqueror; and deſcends, by degrees of yeeres, to all the Kings and Queenes of England. Firſt compiled by *Raphaell Holinſhed*, and by him extended to the yeare 1577; augmented, and continued to the yeare 1586, by John Stow, Fr. Thin, Abraham Fleming, and others.—How our author, R. Holinſhed, came to be engaged in this work, he acquaints us himſelf, in the dedications to his ſecond and third volumes of theſe Chronicles; which is to this effect, That Reginald Wolfe, Printer to Queen Elizabeth, having undertaken to publiſh an univerſal Coſmography of the whole world, and therewith *particular hiſtories of every known nation*, he procured our author to take in hand the collection of thoſe hiſtories. But, after five and twenty years labour ſpent in that work, Wolfe died: and his executors, willing to reap ſome fruit of what he had ſo long employed himſelf about, deſired R. Holinſhed to continue his endeavours for the furtherance of it. However, the volume growing ſo large, that the undertakers were not willing to go through the whole original deſign, they reſolved to publiſh firſt the Hiſtories of England, Scotland, and Ireland; which produced theſe three volumes.—Leland dying at Wolfe's houſe, this eminent Printer had undoubtedly his collections; of which, we are told (3), a great uſe was made in theſe Chronicles. John Stow, who expreſſes himſelf ſomewhat enviouſly about our author, ſays, that ' The Chronicle was firſt collected by Reigne ' Wolfe, and finiſhed by Raphaell Hollenſhed: that it ' was printed and reprinted without warrant or well-' liking; and that Rayne Wolfe, a grave and learned ' citizen, hired Ralphe Holinſhead to tranſlate for him ' (4).' Which, however, doth not detract from his learning or induſtry.

(2) Otherwiſe Barry. See above, the article BARRY [GIRALD.].

(3) J. Bagford's Letter, prefixed to T. Hearne's edit. of Leland's Collectan. Vol. I.

(4) Stow's Annales, edit. 1605. 4to. p. 1177, 1438.

[*D*] *William Harriſon.*] This ingenious Hiſtorian was born in London (5), educated in Grammar-learning at Weſtminſter, under Mr Alexander Nowell, in the latter end of King Henry VIII. or beginning of Edward VI. thence ſent to Oxford, but to what college is not certainly known, unleſs it was Chriſt-church. He ſtudied alſo at Cambridge (6); and afterwards became Houſhold-Chaplain to Sir William Brooke, Knt. Baron of Cobham, and Lord-Warden of the Cinque-Ports; by whom he was preſented, in 1558, to the rectory of Radwinter in Eſſex. He was alſo admitted, in 1570, to the vicarage of Wimbiſh adjoining (7). He died in 1593 (8). What part he had in Holinſhed's Chronicle, appears from the foregoing note. And as to his manner of proceeding in that work, be pleaſed to take an account of it from himſelf, in his dedication to the Lord Cobham.——' Indeed I muſt ' needs confeſſe, that untill now of late, except it ' were from the pariſh where I dwell, unto your Honour in Kent; or out of London, where I was borne, ' unto Oxford and Cambridge, where I have bene ' brought up, I never travelled 40 miles foorthright, ' and at one journey, in all my life; nevertheleſſe, ' in my report of theſe things, I uſe their authorities, ' who either have performed in their perſons, or left ' in writing upon ſufficient ground, whatſoever is wanting in mine.' He ſaid before, that he ' obtained ' one helpe, and none of the ſmalleſt', from Leland's Collections, ' books utterlie mangled, defaced with ' wet and weather, and finallie unperfect through want ' of ſundrie volumes.'—Beſides the *Deſcription of Britaine*, printed in theſe Chronicles, he compiled alſo a *Chronology*, never printed (9).

(5) See Dedication of his Deſcript. of Britaine, p. 2.

(6) Wood Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 234. See alſo Dedication, as above.

(7) Newcourt Repert. Vol. II. p. 479, & 674.

(8) Ibid. p. 479.

(9) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*E*] *And others.*] Namely, *John Hooker*, alias Vowell, of Exeter, Gent. uncle to the famous Richard Hooker. He was born in Exeter about the year 1524,

being

In the ſecond edition, ſeveral ſheets were caſtrated in the ſecond and third volumes, undoubtedly becauſe there were paſſages in them diſagreeable to Queen Elizabeth and her Miniſtry [*F*]. The time of Hollinſhed's death is unknown; but it appears from his Will, that it was between the firſt day of October, 1578, and the twenty-fourth of April, 1582 [*G*]. Biſhop Tanner ſays, he died at Bromcote, in 1580 (*c*).

being the ſecond ſon of Robert Hooker, Mayor of that city in 1529. by Agnes his third wife, daughter of John Doble of Woodbridge in Suffolk. His anceſtors were gentlemen of faſhion. He was brought up in ſchool-learning under Dr Moreman, Vicar of Menhinit in Cornwall, and afterwards educated at Oxford, either in Exeter or Chriſt's-Church-college Then he travelled into Germany, where, at Cologn, he kept exerciſes in Law, and undoubtedly took his degree there. Next he went to Straſburg, and ſojourned with the famous Peter Martyr, who inſtructed him in Divinity. Returning home, after a ſhort ſtay he travelled into France, and intended alſo to have travelled into Italy and Spain; but was hindered by the declaration of war. So he retired to his native place the city of Exeter, where he married, and became the firſt Chamberlain of it in 1554 †; and was choſen one of the Citizens for the ſame, in the Parliament holden at Weſtminſter in the year 1571 ‖. His works are, 1. A tranſlation, from Latin into Engliſh, of the Epiſtle of St Auguſtin to Dardanus. 2. ——— of Eraſmi *Detectio Præſtigiarum*. 3. He wrote a book of Enſignes. 4. A book of the Order of Orphans; and a pamphlet of the Government of the city of Exeter. 5. He printed the Statutes of Ireland, and the Order of keeping a Parliament in Ireland.—Not *in England*, as Wood ſays; there being no ſuch mentioned by him in his own Catalogue Lond. 1572. 4to. 6. He tranſlated into Engliſh, The Hiſtorie of the Conqueſt of Ireland, with Scholies, from the Latin of Giraldus Cambrenſis, inſerted in the ſecond volume of Holinſhed's Chronicles; and compiled 'The Supplie of the Iriſh Chroni'cle continued from the death of K Henry the eight '1546, untill the year 1586,' inſerted alſo in the ſame volume, together with The Order and Uſage how to keepe a Parlement, abovementioned. 7. A Catalogue or Hiſtory of the Biſhops of Exeter, and the Deſcription of that city, and of the ſundrie aſſaults given to the ſame; printed in the third volume of the ſaid Chronicles, &c. 8. He wrote a Synopſis chorographical: or an Hiſtorical Record of the Province of Devon. Never printed He lived in the pariſh of St Mary the More in the city of Exeter, where ſeveral of his family lie interred He died in November 1601, at the age of near 80, and was buried in Exeter-cathedral, as appeared from a ring with his ſeal of arms, dug out of his grave about the beginning of this century (10).

Another aſſiſtant in this work was *Abraham Fleming*, born in London (11), and a clergyman; being Rector of St Pancras Soperlane in that city (12). He made ſeveral additions in the ſecond edition, which are denoted by the letters A. F and Abr. Fl. in the margin. The firſt, ſecond, and fourth Tables or Indexes to Vol. I. and II. and the Index to Vol III. are alſo of his compiling. *In hiſce Chronicis detergendis atque dilatandis, una cum uberrimorum indicum acceſſione, plurimum deſudavit*, as his own words are (13). He died in 1607 (14).

Francis Botevile, alias *Thin*, Lancaſter-Herald, made alſo many uſeful additions to theſe Chronicles; particularly with regard to the catalogues of the Archbiſhops of Canterbury, of the Nobility, and other important articles. T. Hearne ſtyles him, a man of great learning and judgment, and a wonderful lover of Antiquities: *Virum cum ſummo ingenio, tum acerrimo judicio ornatum, admirabilique quodam ad Antiquitatem ſtudio concitatum* (15).

Finally, they received ſeveral improvements from the hand of the induſtrious and well known Antiquary *John Stow*.

[*F*] *Several ſheets were caſtrated in the ſecond and third volumes, undoubtedly becauſe there were paſſages in them diſagreeable to Queen Elizabeth and her Miniſtry.*] Theſe ſuppreſſed ſheets go generally under the name of *Caſtrations to Holinſhed's Chronicle*; and having been reprinted ſome years ago, are ſold by themſelves to compleat gentlemens books. They are chiefly ſome of the additions made by Fr. Thin In the ſecond volume, there are only four ſheets ſuppreſſed, and that in the Annales of Scotland. The firſt is from page 421 to 424 incluſive; the ſecond, from p. 433 to 436; and the third and fourth together, from p. 443 to 450. What they treat of, is the violent contention which ſubſiſted in the years 1577, &c. between the two oppoſite parties in Scotland; and Queen Elizabeth's interfering therewith by her frequent Embaſſadors. Points, which ſhe did not care to have made public.—In the third volume, the caſtrations are much larger, being as follows. One ſheet, from p. 1328 to 1331 incluſive; containing, part of a libel upon Campian's execution, and a large account of the departure of the Duke of Alenſon, and his reception in Holland. The next is of thirty-nine ſheets together, including four after p. 1491 that are in the common copies. And the chief contents of them are, A diſcourſe of the Earls of Leiceſter by ſucceſſion. The Earl of Leiceſter's proceedings in the Netherlands. The lives of the Archbiſhops of Canterbury by Fr. Thin, in 16 ſheets, chiefly taken from Mat. Parker's. [The honourable mention he makes there of Card Pole, was probably the cauſe of their ſuppreſſion.] A treatiſe of the Lord Cobhams. The catalogue of the Lord-Wardens of the Cinque Ports, and Conſtables of Dover-caſtle A fuller account of Sir Henry and Sir Philip Sidney, and of Tho. Lovelace. Execution of Wm. Tomſon and Richard Lea, Seminary Prieſts. Jone Caſon, a pretended witch, executed at Feverſham. A fuller account of the conſpiracy of Babington and the reſt; and of Sir Fr Drake's return to England; with a deſcription of Hiſpaniola, and ſome verſes of Tho. Newton in his praiſe.—Theſe caſtrations were made by order of the Privy Council, as is evident from ſome original papers of Abraham Fleming abovementioned, that were in the hands of the late Rev. Mr Francis Peck; and of which he gives this account at the end of the firſt volume of his *Deſiderata Curioſa*. '1 De 'Caſtratione Chronicorum, quæ Raphaelis Holingſhedi 'nuncupantur; & imprimis de eorundem Cenſuris, 'quando Roberto Comiti Leiceſtriæ, D. Thomæ Bromley, Cancellario, & D. Gul. Cecil, Theſaurario, oblata; prout ea omnia Camdenus Flemingo retulit. '2. Cenſuræ aliæ diverſorum hominum malevolentium, 'ſeu nimium ſubtilium, in eadem Chronica; cum reſponſionibus Abrahami Flemingi 3 The Council's 'Letter to Whitgift Archbiſhop of Canterbury, touching the Examination and Reformation of the Additions of the new Edition of Hollingſhed's Chronicle, 'Thurſday 1 Feb 1586. 4. Whitgift Archbiſhop of 'Canterbury's Letter to Thomas Randolph, Henry 'Killigrew, Eſqrs. and Mr Hammond, touching the 'Examination and Reformation of the Additions to 'the new Edition of Hollingſhed's Chronicle, on 'Thurſday 1 Feb. 1588. 5. Abrahami Flemingi '(qui præerat Typis & Prælo) de modo caſtrandi reformandique Chronica prædicta, brevis & vera relatio.'

[*G*] *But it appears from his Will, &c.*] It was firſt communicated to the Public by the induſtrious Mr Hearne (16): and we ſhall give it at length here, becauſe it confirms the account we have given of our author. 'In the name of God Amen. I Raphael Hol'lynſhed of Bromecote in the county of Warr' ordaine 'and make my laſt Will and Teſtament, in manner 'and form following: Firſt, I bequeath my ſinful 'ſoule to Almighty God, the creator of me and all 'mankind, truſting that, by the merits and blood'ſhedding of his deareſt ſon Jeſus Chriſt, he will par'don me of all my offences, and place my ſaid ſinfull 'ſoule, waſhed and purged from the filth of ſin, among 'the number of his Elect in the bliſs of heaven. Se'condly, for my worldly goods, whatſoever the ſame 'be, wherein I have any property to give and beſtow 'the ſame, I give and bequeath them, and every part 'and parcel of them, unto my maſter Thomas Burdett, 'of Bromcote aforeſaid, Eſq; making and conſtituting 'him my only and ſole Executor. In witneſs where'of, I have written my laſt Will and Teſtament with 'mine own hand, and ſubſcribed my name, and put 'to my ſeale, the firſt day of October, in the year of 'our Lord God a thouſand five hundred ſeventy-eight.

'Per me Raphael Hollynshed.

Prov'd Apt. 24. 1582.

(*c*) Biblioth. ut ſupra.

† Wood Athen. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 311.

‖ See Notitia Parliamentaria, by Browne Willis, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 272. and Hooker's Supplie of the Iriſh Chronicle, p. 121.

(10) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 388.

(11) See Holinſhed's Chronicles, Vol. III. p. 1590.

(12) Newcourt Repertor. Vol. I. p. 519.

(13) Holinſhed, as above, p. 1590.

(14) Newcourt, ubi ſupra.

(15) Præfat. ad Camdeni Ann. ut ſupra, p. lxxxiv.

(16) Præf. ad Camd. Ann. ut ſupra, p. cxlix.

HOLLAR [Wentzel, or] Wenceslaus, as he wrote himſelf, and as he is generally written; one of the moſt indefatigable, admired, and famous Engravers, in Germany, Holland, and England, for above fifty years in the laſt century. He was deſcended of a genteel family in Bohemia, and born in the city of Prague in that kingdom, anno 1607, as we have it teſtified under his own hand (*a*). After ſome competent qualification in ſcholaſtic learning, he was put forth to the practice of the Law; but his mild diſpoſition not reliſhing that dry, wrangling, and intricate profeſſion, together with the troubles and tumults that, invading the place of his nativity, rendered it the calamitous ſeat of war, ſoon diſengaged him from his clerkſhip; and the unfortunate adherence of his friends and relations to that party which oppoſed the imperial intereſt, ſubjecting them to plunder and ruin in the battle of Prague, which was fought in the year 1619 (*b*), they were deprived of the means to make ſuch proviſion for him as had been propoſed. Hereupon, having a great command of his pen, and following the propenſity of his own genius, though not much to the approbation of his friends, he removed from Prague in 1627; and during his abode in ſeveral towns in Germany, applied himſelf to drawing and deſigning; to copying the pictures of ſeveral great artiſts, taking geometrical and perſpective views and draughts of cities, towns, and countries, by land and water; wherein at length, he grew ſo excellent, eſpecially for his landſkips in miniature, as not to be excelled in beauty and delicacy by any artiſt of his time. He had ſome regular inſtruction, and was, for a while, under the diſcipline of Matthew Merian, who was eminent for his uſeful and numerous ſculptures of towns, landſkips, and battles, eſpecially thoſe of his own prince, the famous Guſtavus Adolphus; and we are particularly informed, that the ſoft varniſh, and ſeparating aqua fortis, were the materials he uſed upon his plates (*c*). Hence may we account for the long, conſtant, and dexterous uſe thereof, alſo by Hollar himſelf, in his own innumerable performances. As experience improved him in the art, it might alſo in the choice and management of his materials for working in it; which have been thought ſo worthy of regard, that the whole proceſs of his preparing his plates, or operation upon them, has been preſerved, and ſince his death communicated to the public; which, for the ſatisfaction of the curious, is here ſubjoined [*A*]. He was but eighteen years

[*A*] *Which, for the ſatisfaction of the curious, is here ſubjoined.*] As we have this proceſs in manuſcript, agreeing totally in ſenſe with that in print, but more correct in ſtyle, and retrenched of ſeveral ſuperfluous expreſſions, we ſhall here give a tranſcript of the former, and refer to the latter for our authority.

Mr Wenceslaus Hollar's ground for etching in copper or braſs; with his directions how to uſe it.

‘ Take three parts of virgin wax, one part of aſphaltum, one part of the beſt maſtick; if you will, you may take away ſome third part, or thereabouts of the aſphalt, and put inſtead of it, as much roſin that is tranſparent and clear, which I hold to be better than aſphaltum altogether; for this will make the ground too black; it is true you ſhall then better ſee your ſtroke when you work, but when you are to ſtop ſome things, which you would have faint, then you ſhall hardly ſee your work, by reaſon of the blackneſs of the aſphalt, when the work doth appear black alſo; but the roſin will make the ground paler and tranſparent, through which you ſhall ſee what you do.

‘ Therefore, beat your aſphalt and roſin to powder, as alſo the maſtick, and mingle them well together; then put your wax into a clean pipkin, where nothing hath been before, except ſuch ground; ſet it over a gentle fire, and let it melt, 'till it begins to boil, then put the aſphalt and the maſtick into it; mingle altogether 'till they be well melted. Then take a porringer with ſome clean water, and pour that boiling ground into it, all but the dregs; and let it cool, ſo as you may work it into a ball, or what you will; then take a fine clean linen cloth double or treble folded, and put into it a piece of the ground, as big as a walnut or more, and tie it up, till you have occaſion to uſe it.

‘ Now for the copper, that muſt be well poliſhed, but though it be ever ſo well poliſhed, you muſt (before you put the ground upon it) rub it over with a coal, which muſt be prepared thus, viz.

‘ Either burn ſome charcoal; and when it is well kindled, put it into cold water; that which ſinks is the beſt, that which will ſwim is nought; and take heed that there be no outſide or cruſt left on the coal, for that will make ſcratches; therefore it muſt be well ſcraped off with a knife: or burn billets of beech wood, (according to the former directions) thoſe coals will be more gentle. And when you have rubbed the copper with theſe coals, then pour clean water over it, and let the copper ſtand ſloaping 'till it be dry; then ſcrape ſome chalk upon the copper, and rub it off with a very clean rag. That done, there muſt nothing touch the copper 'till you put the ground on, which muſt be done thus:

‘ Put into a fire-pan ſome ſmall-coal (for charcoal is too hot) lay down the copper over that, ſo as the fire may have air; then take your ground tied up in a linen rag and rub it up and down the copper, neither too thick nor too thin, but ſo as may ſufficiently cover the plate, then take a feather of a duck's wing or ſome other bird that has ſtiff feathers, and ſpread the ground with it as ſmooth as poſſibly you can, firſt, all one way, then croſs and croſs again, 'till it be even to your eye, and take care all the while that your copper be not too hot; for ſo the moiſture of the ground will be burned away, which will cauſe it to break in etching. Then let it cool, and grind ſome white lead with gum water, and as much gum as the quantity of a cherry ſtone, will ſerve for a piece of white lead as big as a nutmeg or more; but there muſt be ſo much water amongſt it, that the white lead may freely quit your pencil, and ſpread over the plate; then you muſt have ſuch a bruſh as the Painters uſe, the hair of which in compaſs may be about the bigneſs of a walnut or more, eſpecially for your great plates; with that, ſweep twice or thrice acroſs over the plate, 'till it lies even; then you muſt have another pencil or bruſh bigger than the firſt, but ſmooth, made of ſquirrels tails; with that you may ſmooth gently the white, which you could not do with the other bruſh, and ſo let it dry.

‘ Then take the deſign after which you are to work, and ſcrape on the back ſide thereof ſome red chalk all over, and rub a ſoft piece of ſmall-coal or charcoal over the red chalk, 'till both mingle together; then with a hard bruſh, or great pencil that is very ſtiff, rub it 'till all be fine and even, and ſo lay the deſign upon your copper; and with a blunt point of a needle draw the out-ſtrokes; this done, take off your deſign and ſo go to work: but if you would preſerve the print, or drawing, you would copy, from being ſoiled on the back ſide, you may rub over a piece of Venice paper with red chalk, according to the former directions, and ſo put your print on that, by which means your print will be kept clean.

‘ You muſt have commonly three or four ſorts of needles, ſome bigger, and ſome ſmaller, which muſt be put into little ſticks of the thickneſs of a pen, and

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(*a*) In the inſcriptions upon the prints of his own head, etched by himſelf.

(*b*) The Life of Wen. Hollar, annexed to a Deſcription of his Works, by Mr Geo. Vertue, Member of the Society of Antiquaries, Lond. 4to. 1745. p. 121.

(*c*) Sculptura: or the Hiſtory of Chalcography, and graving in copper, by John Evelyn, Eſq; 8vo. 1662. p. 71.

years of age when the firſt ſpecimens of his art appeared in print; and thoſe who are connoiſſeurs in his works have obſerved, that he inſcribed the earlieſt of them with only a cypher of four letters; which, as they explain it, was intended for the initials of *Wenceſlaus Hollar*, *Pragenſis*, *Excudit* (*d*). Thus we have ſeen three of his firſt pieces marked; an Ecce Homo, in a ſmall ſquare, and a Female Penitent of the like ſize, both printed in the year 1625. Another ſmall piece of his, of the Virgin and her ſon, with a Greek verſe out of St Luke, was publiſhed, after Albert Durer, in the ſame year; and Fortune on a globe, &c. from the ſame maſter, with the like cypher, the next year: then taking ſpirit from the encouragement he met with, we ſee his other copy of the Virgin and the infant under a tree, after the ſame maſter again, printed the ſame year 1626, with his name written at length. Thus he went on, copying heads and portraits, ſometimes from Rhembrandt, Henzelman, Fœlix Biler, and other eminent hands: but his little delicate views of Straſburgh, Collen, Mentz, Bonn, Frankfort, and many other towns along the Rhine, Danube, Neccer, &c. (*e*), got him ſo much reputation, that when Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, was ſent Embaſſador to the Emperor Ferdinand the Second in 1636, concerning the recovery of the Palatinate, that great encourager of arts, and collector of antiquities, curioſities, &c. was ſo highly pleaſed with the performances of this ingenious artiſt, that, by little other recommendation than their own merits, he was ſoon received into his Lordſhip's retinue, and bore him company through all the towns from Collen to the Emperor's Court at Lentz, alſo to Vienna, &c. where it was then obſerved, that the taſte or fondneſs was grown ſo exceſſive in ſome perſons for fair and beautiful flowers, that three hundred and forty pounds had been given once for one tulip root, as was atteſted to his Lordſhip by a credible gentleman, named Sir Ferdinando Carey (*f*); of whom this ſhort but remarkable memorial is elſewhere recorded, that being an officer formerly at the ſiege of Burgen op Zoom by the Marquis of Spinola, and though an huge corpulent man, was ſhot through the body at the navel, without any mortal hurt, and the ſame ball killed his ſervant who ſtood behind him (*g*). In this progreſs alſo, Hollar made ſeveral draughts and prints of the places through which they travelled; as that view of Wurtzburg, under which is written, *Hollar deliniavit*, *in Legatione Arundeliana ad Imperatorem*. He then made alſo a curious large drawing, with the pen and pencil, of the city of Prague, in the ſame ſize with the print that was etched after it, in two large plates; which drawing, giving great ſatisfaction to his patron then upon the ſpot, is ſtill in being (*h*). After the Earl had finiſhed his negotiation in Germany, and been about nine months upon his embaſſy, he returned to the Engliſh Court, in the latter end of December the year aforeſaid, as we are informed by the Hiſtorian of his journey, who attended upon, and returned with him (*i*); when Hollar, alſo arriving in his train, then made his firſt appearance in this nation. He ſeems not to have been at that time ſo entirely confined to his Lordſhip's ſervice, but that he had liberty to accept of ſome employment from others; accordingly, we ſoon find his hand engaged by the Printſellers, &c. and Peter Stent, who was one of the moſt eminent among them in thoſe times, prevailed upon him to make an ample view or proſpect of and from the town of Greenwich in Kent to London, which he finiſhed in two plates in 1637, the earlieſt date of his works in this kingdom. 'Tis almoſt incredible to believe, that his labours ſhould have been ſo much admired, and ſo poorly rewarded; ſince we are informed, that he was paid for thoſe very etchings, which are near a yard in length, but thirty ſhillings; when if the plates were as thick and weighty as he ſometimes choſe them to work on, the very copper would amount to that ſum; and we are aſſured by a good judge of the art and pains beſtowed upon them, that they were fairly worth five times the money he received for them (*k*). In the next year appeared alſo his elegant proſpect about Richmond. In both thoſe years, and the next year following, he finiſhed ſeveral curious plates from the fine paintings, &c. in the Arundelian Collection, and ſome of them not improbably of that number which

‘on the other end, a pencil to ſweep off the ground that will riſe up where you have wrought it away. To make the blunteſt needles, you muſt rub them on the backſide of a plate; the fineſt needles, you muſt whet gently on a fine whetſtone, 'till they have a very ſmall point; but let it not be too ſharp, but blunted on a table-book leaf, or ſome ſuch thing. And always when you leave your work, be ſure not to let your plate ſtand open, but wrap it up in a paper: for the air in time will corrupt the ground, and take out the moiſture from it, which will be prejudicial in etching, and ſubject to danger, eſpecially in winter-time, when you commonly muſt keep a good fire while you work, otherwiſe your ground will leap away.

‘When you are going to etch, take ſome green wax, melt it in a little pipkin, and with a pencil, cover all the four edges of the copper; then take more of the wax, and frame it into long flat ſlices in the ſhape of a ruler, but nothing ſo broad; lay them alſo along the edges which you had ſwept with your pencil; then you muſt have a little piece of pencil-ſtick, or ſome ſuch thing, made ſharp underneath the broad way, not point way; with the help of that, make your wax ſtick to the copper, ſtill ſtopping it as you go along round about it. If the work be fine, take aqua-fortis of three pence the ounce, and qualify it with at leaſt too parts of wine vinegar; but if the work be coarſe, requiring much deepneſs, then you muſt take of the aqua-fortis alone; and from ſuch places as you would have faint, you muſt pour the aqua-fortis off the plate, and put on in it's room only fair water, ſo let the plate ſtand 'till it be dry; which done, melt ſome candle-greaſe with a little of your ground, and ſtop ſuch places, with a pencil dipped in that mixture, as you would have faint; then pour on your aqua-fortis again, as before, ſo often as occaſion ſhall require. Then lay the copper on the fire 'till the ground melts, and wipe it off with a rag; then rub the plate with a little piece of a beaver-hat dipped in oil; and ſo your plate is done (1).' Then alſo follows, in this printed book, a *Receipt to make hard varniſh, for etching in aqua-fortis*; but as it is not expreſsly appropriated to Hollar, we chuſe rather to refer to it there, than recite it in this place.

(*d*) Mr Vertue's Deſcription of the Works of W. Hollar, as above, p. 3.

(*e*) Amœniſſimæ aliquot Locorum in diverſis provinciis jacentium Effigies, a W. H. delin. & ſculp. Colon. Agrip. 1635.

(*f*) W. Crown's True Relation of the remarkable Places and Paſſages obſerved in the travels of Tho. Howard, Earl of Arundel, &c. Ambaſſador Extraordinary to Ferdinand II. Emperor of Germany, &c. 4to. Lond. 1637. p. 67.

(*g*) See the Familiar Letters of James Howel, Eſq; 5th edition, 1678. p. 147. alſo 247.

(*h*) Preſerved among the Collections of Dr Richard Rawlinſon.

(*i*) W. Crown's Relation, &c. as before, p. ult.

(*k*) Mr Vertue's Life of Hollar, as before, p. 131.

(1) Albert Durer reviv'd: or, a Book of Drawing, Limning, Waſhing, or Colouring of Maps and Prints, and the Art of Painting; with the Names and Mixtures of Colours uſed by the Picture-Drawers; with directions how to paint pictures upon Glaſs, &c. printed by H. Hills for John Garret, folio, 1685. p. 20.

which were preſented to his Lord in his late embaſſy. In the midſt of his working upon theſe pieces, arrived in London Mary de Medicis the Queen-Mother of France, to viſit her daughter Henrietta Maria Queen of England; and ſhe alſo had an Hiſtorian, who recorded the particulars of her journey and entry into this kingdom. His work, written in French, was printed in this city, and adorned with ſeveral portraits of the Royal Family, etched for the ſame, by the hand of Hollar (l). The ſame year that he finiſhed theſe portraits, was publiſhed, his effigies of his patron the Earl of Arundel on horſeback, as afterwards he etched another of him in armour, and ſeveral views of his country-ſeat at Albrough in Surry. In 1640, he ſeems to have been introduced into the ſervice of the Royal Family, to give the Prince of Wales ſome taſte and inſtruction in the art of deſigning; as may appear in a book, containing ſome draughts for that purpoſe, adorned with ſilver claſps, and mounted with the Prince's arms or badge engraved thereon, and ſome of Hollar's writing in it (m). This year appeared his beautiful ſet of figures in twenty-eight plates, containing the ſeveral habits of Engliſh women of all ranks or degrees (n): they are repreſented at full length, do ſignally teſtify the charming tenderneſs of his needle, and have rendered him very famous among the lovers of ſculpture. It is intimated, and not improbably by himſelf, that either before the irruption of the civil wars, or at leaſt before he was driven by them abroad, that he was in the ſervice of the Duke of York (o). In 1641 were publiſhed his prints of King Charles and his Queen, and ſeveral after Vandyck's moſt capital portraits; and though he could not always imitate his graceful and maſterly manner, eſpecially in his larger or half ſheet plates; yet, as other eminent artiſts have more failed in their imitation of this great maſter; as even ſome of his beſt pieces have been highly copied by Hollar, and by him only, the collectors of Vandyck's works in print are always glad of admitting Hollar's among them: and, ‘To do juſtice to his memory (ſays Mr Vertue upon this head) ſome of his portraits may be obſerved to be truly well done, ſo far did he arrive to excel, from the ſmalleſt beginning, in the moſt difficult branch of that profeſſion; which is, to expreſs life and likeneſs; on which depends great application and ſtudy (p).’ But now the civil wars being broke out, and his patron, the Earl of Arundel, leaving the kingdom about the latter end of this year, in his attendance upon the Queen and Princeſs Mary, who was to be eſpouſed to William the young Prince of Orange, his Lordſhip embarked at Dover for Holland; and there taking leave of his native country, which he never ſaw after (q), Hollar was left to ſhift for himſelf. And now he went on with cloſer application, if poſſible, than ever; for indeed his whole life was a rare and moſt exemplary pattern, or rather prodigy, of induſtry. Now appeared in print many other parts of his works, after Holbein, Vandyck, &c. eſpecially the portraits of ſeveral perſons of quality of both ſexes, Miniſters of State, Commanders in the Army, learned and eminent authors, both in large and ſmall prints; more eſpecially another ſet or two of female habits in divers nations of Europe (r). Theſe figures are leſs than thoſe beforementioned of the Engliſh habits, and etched in threeſcore plates or more; beſides many other habits afterwards of other kinds, not only of women but men, in the moſt eminent and conſiderable ſtations of life. In the year 1644, he publiſhed, beſides ſeveral others beforementioned, two prints, ſaid to be of his wife; by whom he had a ſon, whom he trained in his own art; and he proved a very promiſing genius, as may be ſeen in ſeveral of the pieces, partly graved by Mr Francis Place, who acquainted the worthy author of his father's life before quoted with this particular, as he has courteouſly informed us; and alſo that the ſaid ſon, to the great grief of his parents, died at the age of about ſeventeen (s). Whether he grew obnoxious, and was moleſted as an adherent to his patron aforeſaid, or as a malignant, for the honour he did to ſo many of the royal party, by his portraits of them, is not expreſly ſaid; but it ſeems, that he was driven to take ſhelter under the protection of one or more of them, 'till they were defeated, and he taken priſoner of war with them upon the ſurrendry of their garriſon at Baſing-houſe in Hampſhire, which was on the 14th of October, 1645 (t): but Hollar making his eſcape, or otherwiſe obtaining his liberty, went over after the Earl of Arundel, who then, or rather lately, reſided at Antwerp [B] with his family, and had tranſported thither his moſt valuable collection of pictures (u), &c. There Hollar alſo publiſhed ſeveral prints from the works of the greateſt maſters in that collection and others; but that climate not agreeing with the Earl's ſtate of health, he had been adviſed to go to Italy, where he died at Venice in 1646. Hollar remained ſeveral years after chiefly at Antwerp, working, partly out of that collection, partly out of others, for Printſellers, Bookſellers, and publiſhers of his works; but ſeems to have cultivated no intereſt among men of fortune and curioſity in the art, to diſpoſe of them by ſubſcription, or otherwiſe moſt to his advantage. In 1647 and 1648, he etched eight or ten of the Painters heads with

(l) Hiſtoire de l'Entreé de la Reyne Mere du Roy Tres-Chreſtien, dans la Grande Bretaigne: Enrichie de Planches. Par le Sieur de la Serre, Hiſtoriographe de France, fol. a Londre, 1639.

(m) Prince Charles his Drawing-Book; in the Harleian Library.

(n) Entitled, Ornatus Muliebris Anglican. &c.

(o) Inſcript. under his own portrait, etched by himſelf, in the Collection entitled, Image de divers Hommes D'eſprit ſublime, qui par leur Art & Science deburoyent vivre eternellement, &c. par J. Meyſſens, fol. a Anvers, 1649.

(p) In the Life of W. Hollar, as before, p. 125.

(q) See a View of the Life and Actions of Thomas Earl of Arundel, in Sir Edward Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, folio, 1705. p. 220.

(r) Entitled, Theatrum Mulierum: ſive, Varietas atque Differentia Habituum Fœminei Sexus diverſorum Europæ Nationum hodierno Tempore, vulgo in uſu, pars prima, Lond. 1642. The other, whether partly the ſame, or all various, is entitled. Aula Veneris: ſive, Varietas Fœmini Sexus diverſarum Europæ Nationum different. Habituum, ut ſunt apud illas nunc uſitati, Lond. 1644.

(s) See the Life of Hollar, &c. p. 134.

(t) Sir George Wharton's Geſta Britannorum, &c. 8vo. 1662. p. 22.

(u) The Life of Hollar, p. 146.

[B] *Making his eſcape, &c. he went over to Antwerp.*] A fuller account of this circumſtance is delivered to us in theſe words, from the information of a late noted Antiquary, who was acquainted with Hollar. ‘As his good fortune depended much upon his noble patron, ſo the misfortune of the King's friends the Loyaliſts, in thoſe civil wars, or grand rebellion, toſſed Hollar about with the loyal party; and when diſtraction ran ſo high, that it drove the Earl of Arundel out of England into Flanders, his houſes here and eſtates being plundered or deſtroyed, poor Hollar being left behind, tried in ſome way the fortune of war, by entering under the command of the noble Marquis of Wincheſter, and Colonel Robert Peake *, at Baſing-houſe in Hampſhire; there he was made priſoner of war; but made his eſcape from hence, and went over to Antwerp to his patron the Earl of Arundel (2).’

* Who had been a Painter, and dealt with, for pictures by ſome of the Royal Family.

(2) Mr Vertue's Life of Hollar, &c. as before, p. 126.

[C] *Hereunto*

with his own, in Myſſen's book of portraits before referred to; beſides various other curious pieces then likewiſe, as the picture of King Charles I. ſoon after his death, with ſeveral of the Royaliſts; and alſo, in the three following years, many portraits and landſkips, after Breughil, Elſheimer, and Teniers, with the triumphs of death, beſides divers others of the moſt delicate and admired part of his works, from the moſt celebrated paintings (*w*): he etched alſo King Charles II. ſtanding, with emblems, and afterwards publiſhed a print of James Duke of York, his young maſter, ætat. 18, anno 1651, from a picture drawn of him, when he was in Flanders, by Teniers. He was more punctual in his dates than moſt other engravers, which has given very obliging lights and directions, both to the more regular narrative of his own perſonal hiſtory and performances, and thoſe of many others. But at laſt, either not meeting with encouragement enough to engage his reſiding longer abroad, or by the intelligence of ſeveral magnificent and coſtly works, propoſed or preparing in England, wherein his ornamental hand might be employed more unrivalled, and more to his benefit, he was invited to return hither in the year 1652. After which time, ſome foreign writers ſeem to have known no more of him; though it is well known to us, that he ſince then performed many of the moſt conſiderable or inſtructive and elaborate of his publications, ſome of which he wrought while he lived with Mr William Faithorne, another famous engraver, of our own country, near Temple-bar, in 1654 (*x*). But though he was an artiſt of genius and aſſiduity ſuperior to moſt others, yet had he the fate, harder than many others of them, to work here as he had done abroad, ſtill in continual ſubordination, and more to the profit of others than his own; his grinding publiſhers only (*y*), reaping plenty from his moſt laborious and fruitful hand. The liberality of his labour has been reported by a deſcendant of one of thoſe publiſhers to have ſo grown upon him, notwithſtanding his penurious pay, that he contracted a voluntary affection to his extraordinary toil, even to the ſetting almoſt two thirds of his whole time at it, and would not be diverted or diſengaged 'till his hour-glaſs had run to the laſt moment propoſed. Thus he went on for many years in full buſineſs, ever making art a rival to nature, or abſent perſons, places, and things, preſent; reſtoring to our memory, objects long forgotten, and producing thoſe far diſtant from our ſight before our eyes; ſcarcely ſo much imitating as multiplying originals; reviving the dead, and making the living, if we may not ſay more populous, more popular we may well ſay: and this, in relation to mankind, the chief and nobleſt of thoſe objects, not under the reſtraint of his talents to any partial repreſentations; for art and ingenuity, learning and knowledge, valour and virtue, with him were of no party; and nothing, at his powerful ſummons to appearance, could make reſiſtance. Thus went he on, I ſay, though with profit or reward much inferior to his reputation or deſerts, 'till the reſtoration of Monarchy brought home many of his friends, and him into freſh views of employment. We hear of no exception taken to any part of the pains he beſtowed, during the interregnum, upon any of the heads of the predominant party; the rather, perhaps, as he was under the influence and employment of others; beſides, ſuch a public diſplay as might then be taken to their honour, might now appear to their expoſure; as the liſt of thoſe who were concerned in the King's tryal and death, is always revived by the Royaliſts to ſtigmatize their memory with infamy. It was but two years after that memorable epocha, that the learned and ingenious Mr Evelyn publiſhed his curious and intelligent Hiſtory of Engraving beforecited; in which he has left upon record ſuch an encomium of Hollar, as were it not hereunto annexed [*C*], might be accounted an unpardonable deficiency. Some of the firſt
things

(*w*) Id. p. 128.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 131.

(*y*) Peter Stent, John Overton, &c.

[*C*] *Hereunto annexed.*] The encomium that author has given of this Engraver is as follows, 'Wenceſlaus Hollar, a gentleman of Bohemia, comes in the next place; not that he is not before moſt of the reſt for his choice and great induſtry, for we rank them very promiſcuouſly, both as to time and preheminence, but to bring up the rear of the Germans with a deſerving perſon, whoſe indefatigable works in aqua-fortis do infinitely recommend themſelves, by the excellent choice which he hath made of the rare things furniſhed out of the Arundelian collection; and from moſt of the beſt hands and deſigns; for ſuch were thoſe of Leonardo da Vinci, Fra Parmenſis, Titian, Julio Romano, A. Mantegnio, Corregio, Perino del Vago, Raph. d'Urbino, Seb del Piombo, Palma, Alb. Durer, Hans Holbein, Vandyck, Rubens, Breugel, Baſſan, Elſheimer, Brower, Artois, and divers other maſters of prime note, whoſe drawings and paintings he hath faithfully copied; beſides ſeveral books of landſkips, towns, ſolemnities, hiſtories, heads, beaſts, fowls, inſects, veſſels, and other ſignal pieces; not omitting what he hath etched after De Cleyn, Streater, and Dankers, for Sir Robert Stapleton's Juvenal, Mr (Tho.) Roſs's Silius, the *Polyglotta Biblia*, the *Monaſticon*, firſt and ſecond part, Mr Dugdale's Paul's and Survey of Warwickſhire, with other innumerable frontiſpieces and things by him publiſhed, and done after the life; and to be, *eo nomine*, more valued and eſteemed, than where there has been more curioſity about chimera's, and things which are not in nature: ſo that of Mr Hollar's works we may juſtly pronounce, *there is not a more* uſeful *and* inſtructive collection *to be made* (3).' In a further part of his work, the ſame author recommends, for the improvement of our engravers in this inſtructive and delightful art, the copying and publiſhing the beſt pieces in the collections of our nobility and gentry, as what would bring them into a good manner of deſigning, and render our nation famous abroad: 'Eſpecially (adds he) if, joined to this, ſuch as exceed in the talent, would entertain us with more landſkips and views of the environs, approaches, and proſpects, of our nobly ſituated metropolis, Greenwich, Windſor, and other parts upon the goodly Thames, in which Mr Hollar has ſo worthily merited, and other countries abound with, to the immenſe refreſhment of the curious, and honour of the induſtrious artiſt: and ſuch, we further wiſh, might now and then be encouraged to travel into the Levantine parts, the Indies, Eaſt and Weſt; from whoſe hands we might hope to receive innumerable and true deſigns, drawn after the life, of thoſe ſurpriſing landſkips, memorable places, cities, iſles, trees, plants, flowers, and animals, &c. which are now ſo lamely and ſo wretchedly preſented and obtruded upon us by the ignorant, and for want of abilities to reform them (4). To this judgment of Mr Evelyn's, of Hollar's merits, there is little need to add that of another author, who
pronounces

(3) Mr Evelyn's Hiſtory of Engraving in Copper, &c. as above, p. 81, 82.

(4) Idem, p. 100, 101.

things [illegible] performed after the Reſtoration were; a map of Jeruſalem, the Jewiſh ſacrifice in Solomon's temple; maps of England, Middleſex, &c. views of St George's chapel at Windſor, the gate of St John of Jeruſalem near London, and many animals, fruits, flowers, inſects, &c. after Francis Barlow and others; beſides many heads of nobles, biſhops, judges, &c. ſeveral proſpects about London, eſpecially this metropolis itſelf, as well before the general conflagration, as after it's ruin and rebuilding; though when thoſe deplorable interruptions and diſcouragements of all arts broke out, in the fatal Plague, anno 1665, and the Fire of London in the following year, theſe public calamities muſt have very much ſtagnated all arts of this kind, and are thought to have reduced him to ſuch difficulties as he could never afterwards clearly overcome (z). Yet a number of his prints do appear, beyond all expectation, in theſe times, and even 'till he was ſent over to Tangier in Africa, in the quality of his Majeſty's Deſigner, to take the various proſpects there of the town, garriſon, fortifications, and the circumjacent views of the country. We are told that he accompanied the Lord Henry Howard, who was the Governor; and many of his drawings upon the ſpot, dated 1669, ſtill preſerved by a very worthy poſſeſſor (a), were, within three or four years after, made public in ſeveral prints; upon ſome whereof Hollar ſtyles himſelf *Scenographus Regis*. It is further recorded, upon the authority, as we are informed, of a perſon who was acquainted with him, that, in their return home, Hollar narrowly eſcaped being killed, or taken priſoner by a Turkiſh rover the ſame year, in a fight that happened between the ſhip named the Mary Roſe, in which he was, and ſeven Algerine men of war; yet after all his travels and labours, all his preferment, performances, and time ſpent in this ſervice, with the hazard of his life in a ſtorm, and by the enemy, he got no other recompence than barely one hundred pounds (b). Hollar engraved alſo a print of this engagement, and it was publiſhed the next year, with a narrative thereof, printed at the letter-preſs under it; which, for the better underſtanding of the danger he was in, is more ſuccinctly related in the note below [D]. After his return into England, he was variouſly employed in finiſhing his views of Tangier for publication, and taking ſeveral draughts at and about Windſor in 1671, with many repreſentations in honour of the Knights of the Garter *. About the year 1672 he travelled northward, and drew ſeveral views of Lincoln, Southwell, Newark, and York-Minſter. In 1673, a continuation of many ruins he had before publiſhed from Sebaſtian Vranck; and, except ſome other views, as thoſe about Plymouth, &c. moſt of the remainder of his time was engaged in etching of towns, caſtles, churches, and their feneſtral figures, arms, &c. beſides tombs, monumental effigies, with their inſcriptions, and alſo many beautiful proſpects, to embelliſh ſome hiſtorical and topographical works now publiſhing, as he had before done for others, in ſuch numbers, as would make the whole endleſs to enumerate [E]. He appears not to have had much aſſiſtance in his operations, not only from the uniformity,

(z) Life of Hollar, p. 131.

(a) Being in the Library of Sir Hans Sloane, Bart.

(b) Life of Hollar, p. 132.

* See them in the Inſtitution, Laws, and Ceremonies, of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, by Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; Windſor-Herald, fol. 1672.

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pronounces him the greateſt artiſt of his time in aquafortis (5); but ſhall conclude upon this head, with the ſubſtance, or abſtract of a character given him by a French author, who was himſelf both a Painter and Engraver; where he ſays, *C'eſt un de ceux, dè qui, nous voyons le plus de pieces*, &c. ‘ This is one of thoſe artiſts, of whoſe prints we behold the greateſt number, as well invented as graved, upon all ſorts of ſubjects; and after the moſt excellent maſters. He has given us many enchanting proſpects, ſeveral of them after P. and J. Breughel, J. Wildens, and A. Eſheimer; and has even reformed the taſte or ſtyle of graving, in thoſe which he has made after J. Van. Artois, being much after the manner of Morin. The public is indebted to him for every beautiful ſcrap that he has etched, as well at Antwerp as in England, after the originals preſerved in the Earl of Arundel's houſe, as well in hiſtorical pieces as portraitures, from the year 1632 to 1650, &c. (6)’ The former of which dates may be rectified from what has been before obſerved.

[D] *More ſuccinctly related in the note below.*] This encounter is entitled, *A true Relation of Captain Kempthorn's Engagement in the Mary Roſe with ſeven Algerine Men of War*; and the ſubſtance of it is briefly as follows. ‘ In the beginning of December, 1669, the Lord-Ambaſſador, Henry Howard, having obtained letters of ſecurity from Taffaletta Emperor of Barbary, reſolved to purſue his journey to his court, and ordered his baggage, with moſt of his retinue, to be embarked in the Mary-Roſe, which had tranſported him from England; purpoſing himſelf, and ſome fifteen of his attendants, to go by land, and the ſhip by ſea, to Sallee; ſo the ſhip ſet ſail along the ſhore of Barbary on Wedneſday the 8th of that month; and beyond Arzil it took an Engliſh veſſel that had been taken by an Algier man of war; but it ſo retarded their voyage, that they arrived not at Sallee 'till Saturday noon. There they were accoſted by a brigantine, with Engliſh colours, belonging to Tangier; by which they were admoniſhed not to land, but rather receive aboard all the Engliſh who were aſhore, with their effects, the ſtate of affairs at Tangier, ſince their departure, being much altered. They tarried there 'till Monday; and then, not getting any body on board, were ſtorm-beaten far at ſea. On the 18th they diſcoved ſeven Turkiſh men of war, off from La Rotta, on the Spaniſh coaſt, and there enſued an hot engagement between them; the ſaid Engliſh Captain having, beſides his own ordinary ſhip's crew, above ſeventy land-ſoldiers of Tangier, and about forty of the Ambaſſador's retinue, in all above 250 men. But after the Engliſh Captain had received five broadſides, beſides their ſmall ſhot, and returned them as briſkly as he could, the Turkiſh Admiral, juſt as he was about to board him, receiving a ſhot between wind and water, and another, which tore his main-ſail from end to end, was ſo diſabled, that with his fleet he was forced to ſheer off, though the Engliſh ſhip had eleven men killed in her, ſeventeen wounded, and was herſelf very much ſhattered. The next day in the evening they arrived in the bay of Cadiz, being the 30th of December, St. Vet. 1669 (7).

[E] *Would make the whole endleſs to enumerate.*] Indeed, from ſuch an univerſal genius or taſte to all objects, ſuch continual application, and ſuch an expeditious hand as he had, 'tis queſtionable, if he were alive, whether he could himſelf enumerate the productions of it. If Michael de Marolles, the Abbot of Villeloin, who in three years time collected fourſcore thouſand copper prints, by the year 1644, as a credible author before-cited informs us he did (8), from the Abbot's Memoirs of his own Life (9), had then among them the nine hundred fifty-nine of Hollar's etching, as it is aſſerted he ſome time had, in the Catalogue that was afterwards publiſhed of his Collection (10), we may well compute, not only from the labours that Hollar publiſhed after that great treaſure was amaſſed, but from the vaſt diverſity of his works ſtill in being, that he muſt have publiſhed much above thrice that number:

(5) The Excellencies of the Pen and Pencil, 8vo. 1668.

(6) Cabinet des Singularitez D'Architecture, Peinture, Sculpture, & Graveure, &c. Par Florent Le Comte, Sculpteur, Peintre, &c. tome troiſieme, ſecond edition, a Bruſſelles, 8vo. 1702. p. 357.

(7) Engliſh Atlas, Tom. I. containing Africa, &c. collected, tranſlated, and adorned, with maps, &c. by John Ogilby, Eſq; Maſter of his Majeſty's Revels in Ireland, fol. 1670. p. 219.

(8) Evelyn's Sculptura, p. 135.

(9) Memoires de M. de Marolles, contenent ce qu'il a Vu de plus remarkable en ſa Vie, &c. fol. Paris, 1656.

(10) Catalogue des Livres eſtampes & de Figures en Taille douce, Paris, 8vo. 1667. Voyez auſſi, Le Cabinet des Singularitez D. Archet. Peint. Sculp. & Grav. Tom. III. p. 282.

uniformity, but ſuperior labour; the fulneſs and cloſeneſs, the neatneſs and delicacy, in the generality of his workmanſhip; though he had ſeveral diſtant, or ſlight and looſe copyiſts

number: or if we were only to compute of them from the many large volumes, of which the greateſt collection extant conſiſts, and the catalogue of particulars in theſe volumes now before us, which, though very conciſe, makes the greateſt part of a moderate volume in quarto. To repeat ſuch a catalogue in this place cannot be expected, becauſe it would appear dry without a commentary, and with one would fill a volume: therefore, neither entirely to diſappoint the curious, nor burden thoſe readers who have but little curioſity in the art, we ſhall here mention ſuch parts of his works in ſuch manner as may give a reaſonable idea of the whole, and refer to our ſaid author's catalogue of them for the reſt. This catalogue is divided into fourteen claſſes, as follow. I. Religious ſubjects. II. Hiſtories, fables, and emblems. III. Maps, plans, views, and proſpects. IV. Ships and ſea-proſpects. V. Leonard da Vinci's, and other Italian maſters. VI. Dutch deſigns and landſkips. VII. Various habits of nations and religions. VIII. Portraits, Engliſh and foreign. IX. Churches, monuments, cenotaphs, and coats of arms. X. Inſects, flowers, and ſhells. XI. Animals, hunting, fiſhing, and boys. XII. Coins, medals, ſeals, vaſes, and cups. XIII. Seaſons, muffs, fans, and ſwords. XIV. Frontiſpieces and titles of books. The whole concludes with a repertory or recapitulation of the whole, and another chapter of addenda. Out of all theſe, we ſhall here give an extract, only under three diviſions. Firſt, The heads and portraits of ſuch perſons as have been moſt eminent. Secondly, A Miſcellany, the moſt comprehenſive that we can, out of all the reſt; therefore not ſo much of ſingle prints, as thoſe which were publiſhed in, or intended for, ſets. And laſtly, ſuch of our larger printed books, as have been adorned with his ſculptures. I. Beſides his prints of the Royal Family, ſome of which are already mentioned, we have alſo ſeveral of their predeceſſors; and among them, one of the moſt curious pieces of Engliſh Antiquity, is, the portrait repreſenting King Richard II. in his youth, at his devotion. 'Tis in two tables or half-ſheet prints; the one repreſents him kneeling before his three Patron Saints, St John the Baptiſt, King Edmund, and Edward the Confeſſor; having a crown on his head, and robes, adorned with harts and broom-cods, in alluſion to his mother's arms, and his own name of *Plantageniſta*; thus he is praying to the Virgin Mary with the Infant in her arms: On the other table, ſurrounded with Chriſtian virtues, in the ſhape of angels, with collars of broom cods about their necks, and white harts pendant at their boſoms; one holds up a banner of the croſs before them; the ground is ſtrewed with lilies and roſes, and verſes at the bottom, compoſed by Henry Peacham, explaining the whole picture. It is expreſſed at top to be etched from an original painting in colours; was then dedicated to King Charles I. in 1639, and the ſaid original tables or pictures, about eighteen inches high, are now in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Pembroke (11). Among the heads he etched out of the Arundelian collection, after Hans Holbein, are thoſe of King Henry VIII. in 1647. Mary Queen of France, and Princeſs Mary, the ſame year; Queen Jane the next year; and Queen Anne Bolen the year after. The Lord Denny, Sir Henry Guldeford, and his lady. Dr Chambers, ætat. 88. Mr Morett, the King's Jeweller, and Hans Van Zurich, Goldſmith, both etched in 1647. Anne of Cleve, in 1648. Henry Howard Earl of Surrey: Hans Holbein himſelf, from a painting by himſelf, in a circle (ætat. 45. anno 1543). Albert Durer, ſenior and junior. Pietro Aretino, from Titian, a fine, bold, and lively head, in 1647: another of him in profile, 1649. La Bella Laura, after Palma, 1650. Raphael D'Urbin, 1651. Martin Luther (nat. 1483, ob. 1546). Sir Thomas Chaloner (ætat. 28, 1548), &c. Alſo theſe, among many others, after Vandyck, beſides his patron the Earl of Arundel, in ſome pieces partly beforementioned, and the Lady Alathea his Counteſs; the Earl of Strafford and Archbiſhop Laud in 1640. Alſo, Algernoon Earl of Northumberland, Sir Peter-Paul Rubens; Vandyck himſelf, after a draught of his own, 1644. And Margaret Lemon, ſaid to be his miſtreſs, with an encomium in French verſes at bottom. Alſo Mark Gerard the Painter, in the year laſt mentioned. Inigo Jones the Architect, Jerom Lord Weſton, Earl of Portland, in 1645. Charles Lodowick, Count Palatine 1646: and ſeveral ladies. Franciſcus Junius, ætat. 49. About forty heads of the Nobility, and Members of Parliament, in ſmall ovals; ſome Royaliſts, others Republicans: Prince Rupert, William Earl of Newcaſtle, Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury: Robert Devereux Earl of Eſſex, Robert Earl of Warwick, Sir Thomas Fairfax, 1648. Alſo Alexander Henderſon, with Engliſh verſes at bottom; Dr Baſtwick, William Prynne, Hen. Burton, Dr Leighton, and John Lilburne, with inſcriptions under them, expreſſing their ſevere ſufferings by ſentence of the Star-Chamber court, for exclaiming againſt the Popiſh clergy: the Judges, Crook, Barkley, Hutton, Clench, Heath, and Crew: Archbiſhop Spotſwood, Arthur Lake Biſhop of Bath, 1640. Lancelot Andrews Biſhop of Winton, 1647. John Overal Biſhop of Norwich, 1657. Robert Sanderſon Biſhop of Lincoln, 1668. A head of the Lord Bacon with the Great Seal, his monumental effigies at St Alban's, 1650. Mr Oughtred, ætat. 73. Tho. Hobbes the Philoſopher of Malmeſbury, W. Dugdale the Antiquary, 1656. John Tradeſcant, father and ſon, the two Virtuoſi of Lambeth, the ſame year. James Harrington, 1658; Elias Allen the Mathematician, 1666: alſo, to paſs over many others, ſome remarkable perſons; as the twin-birth ſeen at Colen, the year before Hollar came into England, being the man who had his brother growing out of his ſide; alſo Francis Battalia the Italian youth, with a diſh of ſtones in one hand, which he fed upon or ſwallowed (12); and Blaiſe de Manfre, with water ſpouting out at his ear, &c. Under the II. diviſion, beſides the ſets of habits, domeſtic and foreign, already mentioned, we have many little ſets more of ſmall dreſſes, of men as well as women, in circles, ovals, and ſquares, to the number of near two hundred. Among the religious ſubjects, ſix days of the Creation, in two ſets; his ſmall ſcripture ſtories, beginning at Adam and Eve, thirty-ſix of them; cuts for the Common-Prayer, eighteen; others after Stella and Palma, in number eight; twelve others of the New-Teſtament; and a ſmaller ſize, in twenty-four cuts, as ſome foreigners reckon (13) now very ſcarce, repreſenting Chriſt's Paſſion, after Holbein; wherein the Pope, with his Biſhops, Monks, and Friars, are expoſed as the perſecutors of Chriſt, with four Engliſh verſes at the bottom of each: but it is modeſtly intimated, in a reflection upon this work, that the Eccleſiaſtics were not his executioners, by a French author before quoted (14). Though ſome have doubted whether theſe pieces were deſigned by Holbein, becauſe his name is inſcribed but on one of them, or whether etched by Hollar, becauſe his name appears not at all, nor the time when done; yet there might be good reaſon for ſuch reſervation; and thoſe who are well acquainted with his works, have made no doubt to admit them of the number, as thinking themſelves doubly guided againſt miſtaking another artiſt's for his, becauſe his hand is as well known by his writing as his etching. A more noted collection is that which is called *Holbein's Death's Dance*, through the various ſtates or conditions of life, in thirty ſmall ſquare prints: *Abr. Diepenbeck inv.* with ornamental borders; another ſet without borders, and four Latin verſes at bottom. The holy reliques at Aix la Chapelle, on a ſheet in twenty-nine compartments, &c. Among his hiſtories, &c. the print of Seleucus, beholding his rigid law againſt Adultery executed upon his own ſon, after Julio Romano, with verſes under it by Henry Peacham, is reckoned an excellent piece. The views of the diſpoſition of King Charles's army at the Leaguer in the North, on his march to Scotland, in 1639, in ſeveral ſheets. The form of Archbiſhop Laud's tryal, and the Earl of Strafford's, with the manner of his execution, in three ſheets. The funeral ſolemnities of M. Jean Baptiſte de Taſſis, in 1645. The fire-works near Stockholm, at the inveſtiture of Charles King of Sweden, with the Order of the Garter. Many fables and emblems, in the ſmaller ſize, after A. Elſheimer, Corn. Schut, &c. and about twelve of the emblems, deviſed from ſeveral ſentences in Horace, by Otho Venius (15). His five ſets of the ſeaſons, in half lengths, full lengths, &c. in twenty plates. A ſet or two of the ſeaſons. A ſet of the months; ſets of the alphabet, ſome with emblems, &c. Among his proſpects, &c. there are between fifteen

(11) Deſcription of Hollar's Works, p. 4. See alſo, in the Regiſter of the Order of the Garter, by John Anſtis, Eſq; &c. ſome further Remarks upon theſe two obſervable prints, fol. 1724. Tom. I. f. 112, 113, &c.

(12) See the Britiſh Librarian, 8vo. 1738. p. 368. from Dr John Bulwer's Antropo-Metamorphoſis, or Artificial Changeling, 4to. 1653. ſcene 18.

(13) Cabinet des Singularitez D'Archit. Peint. &c. Tom. III. p. 358.

(14) Idem Ibid.

(15) Vide [illegible]blemata Horatiana Imaginibus in Æs incisis notiſque illuſtrata; Studio Othonis Væni, 4to. Antv. 1607, &c.

pyiſts after him. Some were indeed his ſcholars or diſciples; but their hands are very diſtinguiſhable in thoſe few plates wherein their labours were united, or thoſe pieces which they publiſhed in imitation of his; as may be ſeen in the works of Dudley, F. Carter, D. King, and R. Gaywood; which laſt, in ſome ſamples, approached the neareſt of them to his maſter, and had moſt right, after his death, to inſcribe himſelf his *Quondam Diſciple.* F. Place and P. Tempeſt received alſo inſtructions under him, and might lend him a hand in ſome of his pieces that were moſt in haſte, eſpecially now in his declining age. But though few artiſts were able to imitate his works, many lovers of the art, both abroad and at home, have, from his time to ours, diſcovered a peculiar fondneſs, and even emulation, in collecting them [*F*]. And though they were liberal in the purchaſe of his performances,

teen and twenty maps, plans, and views of the city of London both before and after the fire; one whereof is two yards and a half long, from Weſtminſter to beyond St Katherine's, with Latin verſes at bottom, by Edward Bendlowes, Eſq; dedicated to Queen Henrietta-Maria and William Prince of Orange, and ſold at Amſterdam, by Corn. Danckers, 1647. Beſides many other parts of the city and ſuburbs; as the Royal-Exchange, Tower, St Mary Over's church, Covent-garden piazza, Whitehall, Weſtminſter-hall, Lambeth, and abundance of the environs. Six ſmall proſpects of the Iſle of Man, in compartments about the map of it, Four proſpects of Elizabeth-caſtle in the Iſle of Jerſey, five of Dover, three of Plymouth, ſix of Albury, fifteen of Tangier. Proſpects of Oxford, Cambridge, Canterbury, &c. Map of Great-Britain, England and Wales, in ſix ſheets; another in one ſheet, with views about it of thirty principal cities therein. Ireland, Middleſex, Surrey, and other counties. Several of Holland, Germany, Denmark, Candia, Italy, Africa, America, &c. and perhaps more views in ſome of thoſe countries than in our own, at leaſt more than can be here recited. Among his ſea-proſpects, we have his *navium variæ figuræ & formæ*, in twelve plates: nine ſtorm-pieces: the ſea-fights, under Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle, againſt the Dutch, anno 1666, in ſeven ſheets, &c. From Leonard da Vinci, and other Italian maſters, *diverſæ probæ* for learners. Twelve plates of monſtrous or deformed heads, and antick faces. as alſo twenty-three more, after F. Place. Several plates of Cupids, after Julio Romano: a drawing-book in ten plates; and landſkips, abundance after P. Vanden Avont, eſpecially his ſet of boys; Wildens, Jacques Van Artois, P. Pontius, D. Teniers, Aug. Braun, P. and J. Breughel, P. Brill, A. Elſheimer, &c. &c. As for his habits and portraits, we have touched upon them before. His churches, monuments, cenotaphs, and arms, will be found moſtly in the books mentioned under the next head. Of his animals, wild and tame, hunting and fiſhing, with fowls, after Barlow, &c. we have ſeveral ſets; alſo his flowers, fruits, plants, and trees, particularly the great hollow tree, thirty-ſix feet round, in Langley-park near Windſor; with a door in the trunk, and ſtairs within, up to the great turret at top, thirty-four feet about: and the ſtately yew-tree, in Anſley-park, with a bower at top, and a ladder to aſcend it, &c. Of his inſects, we have twenty-two plates; and his ſhells, in thirty-eight plates, are the ſcarceſt of his works; they were ſome of his laſt performances out of the Arundelian collection, and ſeveral of them have letters of reference upon them, as if they were etched to explain ſome treatiſe upon this part of Natural Hiſtory. His vaſes, wrought cups, ſeals, coins, and medals; alſo ſeveral ornaments of dreſs for men and women, as Holbein's rich deſigns of ſword-hilts, for King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI. are elegantly etched by him; alſo his fans, tippets, maſks, and muffs, in about eight plates, all delicately executed, and very much admired. III. and laſtly, if the ſculptures only which he etched, to adorn ſo many pompous and coſtly printed books as we meet with, publiſhed in his time, were to be particularly deſcribed, this part of his works alone were ſufficient to gain him a ſuperior character of genius and induſtry, and give him a preheminence above many artiſts of no ſlender reputation for both; and this obſervation was ſoon confirmed, by only turning over thoſe volumes; ſome whereof have been already mentioned, others not: as, the entry of Queen Mary of Medicis (16). The three elaborate volumes of the Monaſticon, by Mr Dodſworth and Dugdale, at ſeveral times publiſhed (17). He alſo etched about forty-five prints in Mr John Ogilby's Virgil, in the years 1652, 1654, &c. (18), ſo highly to his reputation, that they were preferred, not only for Ogilby's Latin edition of that poet (19), which volumes, in both languages, were then juſtly accounted the moſt beautiful productions, for paper, print, and ſculpture, of the Engliſh preſs; but the ſame plates were alſo choſen to ſupply the Louvre edition of this poet; and laſtly, for Mr Dryden's tranſlation of him (20), the arms, and inſcriptions at bottom, being changed. Some of his works alſo appear in Sir Henry Spelman's *Aſpilogia* (21); and in Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickſhire*, there are reckoned to the number of near fourſcore prints of his doing (22), many of them with great pains and accuracy. He was, not improbably, at the author's ſeat, at leaſt a conſiderable time in that county, while he was at work upon them. In the learned Dr Brian Walton's Polyglot Bible, there are ſome elaborate proofs of his art (23); and Dugdale's *Hiſtory of St Paul's Cathedral* is adorned throughout with abundance of ſepulchres, effigies, buſto's, arms, epitaphs, inſcriptions, proſpects, and perſpective views, within and without the cathedral, by his artful and unwearied hand (24). In Ogilby's Tranſlation of Homer, there are ſome plates of his etching, after Fra. Clein (25). In Sir Robert Stapleton's Tranſlation of Juvenal, his ſet of cuts, after E. Streeter, J. Dankers, and F. Barlow, etched in 1658, were two years after publiſhed (26). There is alſo, as we remember, ſome of his work in that beautiful large Bible, at leaſt ſome copies of it, which was printed by J. Field at Cambridge the ſame year (27); and in the grand ceremony of the King's cavalcade, or proceſſion to his coronation, publiſhed by Mr Ogilby the next year (28). The tranſlation of Silius Italicus his poem, on the ſecond Punic war, between Hannibal and the Romans, by Tho. Roſs, Eſq; is alſo embelliſhed by his hand (29). In Mr Ogilby's poetical verſion of Æſop's Fables, there are near threeſcore plates that he has etched, ſome of them very accurately; to which is joined, the ſtory of the Epheſian Matron, verſified alſo by the ſaid editor, from Petronius Arbiter, &c. and repreſented in ten plates by Hollar (30). In Sir William Dugdale's *Origines Juridiciales*, there are many plates performed by him, of the antient arms of our moſt eminent Lawyers, from the feneſtral paintings, &c. in the inns of court; alſo, ſome of the Judges heads, &c. beforementioned (31). Soon after appeared Mr Aſhmole's curious book of the Order of the Garter, which is enriched with many delightful proſpects, proceſſions, interviews, combats, martial ſolemnities, habits, ornaments, arms, badges, &c (32). In Ogilby's Embaſſy from the East-India Company to China (33), there are ſome of our artiſt's pieces; and in that part of his Atlas, entitled his Britannia, others (34): but in Francis Sandford's Genealogical Hiſtory of the Kings of England, there are many monuments, cenotaphs, effigies, ſeals, &c. etched by him, ſome in 1664, 1666, &c. though publiſhed later (35). And laſtly, in Dr Robert Thoroton's Antiquities of Nottinghamſhire, ſeveral views of towns, churches, country-ſeats of the nobility and gentry, monuments, inſcriptions, &c. ſome unfiniſhed, and moſt of them dated the ſame year he died (36). But if we were to mention all the books before which there appear heads, frontiſpieces, or title-pages, &c. of his doing, they would amount to a little library, at leaſt three times the number of thoſe already ſpecified.

[*F*] *Have diſcovered a peculiar fondneſs, and even emulation in collecting his works.*] It is apparent that the painters, gravers, and operators in other arts bordering upon theirs, were the moſt early and conſtant collectors of his as well as other prints; and among Sir Peter Lely's vaſt collections, not only of paintings and drawings, but ſculptures, which were valued, as we have read, at ten thouſand pounds (37), there ſeems to have been ſome of Hollar's moſt finiſhed and eſteemed performances. Among private gentlemen,

(16) Fol. Lond. 1639.

(17) In folio, 1655, 1661, and 1673.

(18) Fol. 1654.

(19) Fol. 1658.

(20) Fol. 1697.

(21) Fol. 1654.

(22) Fol. 1656.

(23) In ſix vols folio, 1657.

(24) Fol. 1658.

(25) The Iliad, fol. 1660. and Odyſſey, 1665. 1669.

(26) Fol. 1660.

(27) Fol. idem.

(28) Fol. 1661.

(29) Fol. ibid.

(30) Two vols. fol. 1665, 1668.

(31) Fol. 1671, &c.

(32) Fol. 1672.

(33) Fol. 1673.

(34) Fol. 1675.

(35) Fol. 1677.

(36) Fol. ibid.

(37) In a MS. Diary of Mr Beal's, huſband to Mrs Mary Beal, the Face-Painter; in the Harleian library.

mances, the performer himſelf was ſo incompetently recompenced for them, that he could not now in his old age, with all his toils to the laſt, keep himſelf clear from the incumbrances of debt, and all thoſe diſpiriting, or, indeed, heart-breaking vexations, as they ſeem

men, Mr Evelyn, before quoted, was one of the firſt among us, that we can hear of who made a collection of copper prints, eſpecially Engliſh heads; not ſo much for the bare entertainment and curioſity there is in ſuch artful and beautiful imitations, or the leſs ſolid intelligence of the different modes, or habits and faſhions of the times, as the more important direction and ſettlement of the ideas upon the true form and features of any worthy and famous perſon repreſented; and alſo the diſtinction of families, and men of ſuperior merit in them, by their arms and mottoes, or emblematical alluſions to their actions, writings, &c. the inſcriptions of their titles of honour, preferments, and moſt ſignal ſervices, or other obſervables; with the chronological particulars thereof, as well as of their birth, age, deaths, &c. and the ſhort characters, or encomiums of them, often ſubjoined in verſe or proſe: beſides the names of the painter, deſigner, graver, &c. and the dates alſo of their performance: whereby, a ſingle print, when an artiſt is thoroughly apprehenſive, or well adviſed, in what he is about, and will embrace the advantages or opportunities he may, to anſwer the expectations of the curious, in their various taſte and enquiries, may become a rich and plenteous banquet, a full-ſpread table of choice and uſeful communications; not only moſt delightful to the eye, but moſt inſtructive to the mind: and ſo, a collection may be made, one of the moſt compendious helps to many ſciences, or rather, according to the project and practice of the ingenious La Martelay, they are all moſt expeditiouſly to be learned by ſculpture alone (38). Mr Evelyn was ſo famous, in the beginning of the civil wars, for one of the beſt collections that could be then made of this kind, that Hollar dedicates one of his portraits, as we remember of Sir Anthony Vandyck, to him, as an eminent or diſtinguiſhed patron and promoter of ſuch curious and comprehenſive memorials. Mr Aſhmole was alſo a cotemporary collector of copper prints; and beſides what Hollar etched for him in his *Order of the Garter*, part of which he had, ſeparately, in his volumes of proceſſions, proſpects, &c. he had alſo a large collection of Engliſh heads; among which probably, were many by the ſame hand, for ſome he had which were not incorporated in that collection of Hollar's doing which we have ſeen. And he had for ſeveral years ſuch an appetite to collect all curious pieces of this kind, that he would often purchaſe a volume for the ſake only of the face that was before it, which he would paſte among the reſt, and underwrite from whence it was taken (39), a practice which other collectors have ſince followed. But thoſe volumes of prints, as well as the reſt of Mr Aſhmole's curious library, with all his other antiquities and curioſities, his old evidences, charters, pedigrees, ſeals, coins, medals, &c. which he had been above thirty years gathering, to aſſiſt him in the books he was writing, were all conſumed at his chambers in the Middle-Temple, by the great fire that happened there, in January 1678 (40). Mr Samuel Pepys, Secretary of the Admiralty, had alſo in his library of MSS. and printed books, a good collection of Engliſh heads; in which Hollar's made no ordinary figure; and among them one of his own, for he had two engraved by Robert White, ſignificantly denoting his love of prints, by repreſenting his picture in a picture, or his effigies in a paper print upon a copper-plate. But the late John Bridges, Eſq; of Lincoln's-Inn, had in his copious and well-choſen library, a collection of Hollar's works alone, bound in four volumes folio, which were ſold in the auction of his books after his death, for above an hundred pounds; a price that would not compaſs a quarter of his performances according to the Dutch valuation of them that we have ſeen. As for the collectors of them, more near our preſent times, many honourable and curious perſons might be named. The Duke of Rutland has a very large collection of Hollar's in ſeveral volumes; Sir Hans Sloane bought a great volume of Hollar's works many years after his death of his widow, and he has ſince, as we heard, much increaſed them. Sir John Evelyn is poſſeſſed of his grandfather's ancient collection, and has alſo made ſome conſiderable additions to it. Sir Anthony Weſtcomb's collections of Hollar, are likewiſe admired for being of the ancient and beſt impreſſions. The late General Dormer, and Brian Fairfax, Eſq; had ſome choice pieces of his among their prints. Dr Mead and Mr Samuel Gale, are alſo remembered for their diſtinguiſhing taſte of the art, in the preſervation they have made of this artiſt's labours. And if the Hollars, in the poſſeſſion of James Weſt, Eſq; are proportionable to the great number of other prints, eſpecially Engliſh heads in his collection, they muſt fall little ſhort of the moſt numerous aſſembly that has been made of them. But the crown of all, for the moſt complete collection of Hollar's works, is without diſpute, that of the moſt noble preſerver of every thing that could contribute to the promotion of liturature, Edward, late Earl of Oxford. Among the vaſt treaſures of ſculpture in his moſt magnificent library, his Hollars appeared ſo conſpicuous, that he appointed the prints and ſets he had, to be ſelected, and ſpared for no enquiry or encouragement to make them perfect. Then he had them ſtuck upon the fineſt largeſt imperial paper, more or leſs upon a leaf, according as the ſizes of them would permit, ſo had them bound in ſeveral ſpacious and ſplendid volumes of red Morocco leather, with the leaves gilt, and covers richly adorned with gold. He had thus bound up ten volumes before his death, which happened in the year 1741. And about a twelve month before, he had procured a conſiderable augmentation of them out of Holland. Theſe, the worthy poſſeſſor of them, his Lordſhip's ingenious daughter, the preſent Ducheſs of Portland, directed to be digeſted, diſpoſed of, and bound in the ſame ſize and manner, ſo that the whole collection is now in twelve volumes complete; and Mr Vertue's catalogue of them, to which we have, in this article, been much indebted, though very ſuccinctly taken, makes fifteen ſheets in quarto It has been often wiſhed that ſome other able hand, ſince the moſt able declines it, were to do the like juſtice to his performances, before delay increaſesthe difficulty; that the titles of their works might be united with their names, and the memory of Hollar and Vertue ſurvive together. In the next century, there may probably be as much enquiry after the labours of the one, as in this, of the other; and then it may poſſibly be known, that this omiſſion lay not at the door of ſuch a friend to the art, as may have been the firſt who promoted a public catalogue of our gravings, eſpecially of Engliſh heads; and we hope that the uſes which are manifeſt in the ſpecimens that have appeared, eſpecially of the late Mr John Nickols his collection, who was F. R. S. and Member of the Society of Antiquaries (41), will encourage others to proceed, and lay open this long concealed channel of knowledge, to the ſervice and benefit of the curious. All that we have more to obſerve of the grand collection of Hollar's aforeſaid, is, that in a ſpare leaf before one of the additional volumes which his Lordſhip, as we obſerved, procured from abroad, there was an encomium written in honour of the ſaid celebrated artiſt, which we ſhall here give the reader in the original, with a tranſlation thereof; as follows.

Qui mores hominum multorum vidit, & urbes,
  Ithacus eſt digitis dignus, Homere, tuis:
At mores hominum melior qui ſculpſit, & urbes,
  Solus erit digitis gloria lauſque ſuis:
Qui tantum vidit, cœcum tulit ille poetam;
  Qui ſculpſit, propriis claruit ex oculis.
Æternum vives, proprio tumulatus in ære,
  Hollare; nec nôrunt hæc monumenta mori.

For towns, and faſhions ſeen, by ſea and land,
Ulysses got the praiſe of Homer's hand;
But who theſe towns in braſs, and faſhions fram'd,
Needs only by his own hand to be fam'd.
Blind poets ſerve to blaze the feats of fight,
Whilſt, Hollar, thou can'ſt ſhine by thy own light;
Inſhrin'd by thy own braſs, then may'ſt thou lie,
And live; ſuch monuments can never die.

[G] *Propoſition*

(38) Evelyn's Sculptura, p. 139.

(39) Athen Oxon. Vol. II. col. 888.

(40) Idem ibid. One MS. volume in folio, however, eſcaped the flames; containing the copies and draughts of many antient evidences and ſeals; which was preſerved in the Harleian library.

(41) **See a Catalogue of Engliſh Heads: or an Account of about two thouſand Prints, deſcribing what is peculiar on each; as the names, title, or office, of the perſon; the habit, poſture, age, or time when done; the name of the Painter, Graver, Scraper, &c. with ſome particulars of their Lives, publiſhed by Joſeph Ames, F. R. S. and Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, 8vo. 1748.**

ſeem to have been in his caſe, that attend it. Yet is it viſible that he was variouſly and cloſely employed, to a very ſhort time before his death. But as many of his plates are dated that year, in the very beginning whereof, as we are informed, he died, 'tis likely they were ſomewhat antedated by him, that the ſculptures might appear of the ſame date with the book in which they are printed (*c*). Some of them appear unfiniſhed; and one page, that is entirely blank, was left ſo, probably, for a plate that he was to have ſupplied (*d*). It may be but cold encouragement for the practitioners of ſuch curious arts, to know that, while he was raiſing many a rich and royal manſion for the dead, he could ſcarcely be allowed a little homely one himſelf to die in; that he was forced to leave the ſumptuous monument of ſteel, erected in St George's chapel at Windſor for King Edward IV. St Mary's church at Nottingham, with Mr Plumtre's hoſpital, beſides other honourable and ornamental ſtructures there, unfiniſhed, becauſe the rewards of all his diligence, now that he had reached to the verge of his ſeventieth year, were ſuch and ſo inſufficient, that they could not prevent the aſſault of an execution upon him, at his houſe in Gardiner's-lane Weſtminſter; which probably haſtened his end. He deſired only the liberty of dying in his bed, and that he might not be removed to any other priſon but his grave; which was in the New-Chapel church-yard, near the place of his death; and this his final removal, as it appears in the pariſh regiſter of St Margaret's church in that city, was on the 28th day of March, 1677, being attended to his interment by ſome few of his acquaintance; one of whom, Mr Francis Place of York beforementioned, communicated theſe particulars to the author of his life (*e*), as we have been obligingly informed by him; whoſe generous propoſition, to raiſe a decent monument over the place of his burial [G], is likely to wait 'till a more grateful age ſhall contribute to the accompliſhment thereof. Thus died this rare pattern of perſeverance in his profeſſion; a man, who, though all his life ſo averſe to all idleneſs and extravagance, has likewiſe left himſelf an example of exception againſt an often-confirmed maxim, and proved, that *Induſtry is* not always *the right hand of Fortune, nor Frugality the left.*

(*c*) Thoroton's Antiquities of Nottinghamſhire.

(*d*) Idem, p. 501.

(*e*) Life of Hollar, p. 135.

[G] *Propoſition to raiſe a monument over the place of his burial.*] The author of Hollar's life aforeſaid, conſidering how ungrateful it was, that he, who had raiſed ſo many ſumptuous monuments of great men, in the copies he has made of them, which will outlaſt the originals, ſhould now ſo long after his death, of as many fail, who might raiſe ſome little memorial of that kind in honour of him, very generouſly deſigned a decent monumental ſtone to be erected over Hollar's grave, if his impreſſion of the catalogue of his works, and the life of him annexed, ſhould meet with a ſuitable encouragement; and for that purpoſe has given us a ſculpture at the end of the ſaid life, of the form he intended the ſame ſhould be built in, with an inſcription ſetting forth, where, and when he was born; how famous he became by his indefatigable labours; how much eſteemed by the curious; and, after his peregrinations in many parts, was here depoſited to reſt in the year of our Lord, and of his age beforementioned. But no ſuch monument being erected, we may preſume there was no ſuch encouragement, by the curious who have ſo eſteemed him. After the ſaid plate was thus inſcribed, a friend of the author's ſent him the following

EPITAPH upon HOLLAR.

The Works of *Nature*, and of *Men*,
By thee preſerv'd, take life again;
And e'en thy PRAGUE ſerenely ſhines
Secure from *Ravage* in thy *Lines*:
In juſt Return, this Marble fain
Wou'd add ſome ages to thy name:
Too frail alas! 'tis forc'd to own,
Thy SHADOWS will out laſt the STONE.

HOLLES [JOHN], the firſt Earl of Clare (*a*) of his name, was deſcended from the cadet of an antient family [*A*], being the eldeſt ſon of Denſil Holles of Erby, Eſq; by his

(*a*) The particulars of this article are chiefly taken from a manuſcript account of the Holles family written by Gervaſe Holles, Eſq; of Great-Grimſby in Lincolnſhire, now [1752] in the poſſeſſion of the Right Honourable Henrietta Cavendiſh Holles, Counteſs-Dowager of Oxford.

[*A*] *Deſcended from the cadet of an ancient family.*] In order to trace this family to it's original, Mr Gervaſe Holles begins with the etymology of the name, which he finds written variouſly both in ancient and modern records; as Holiſh, Holes, Holeys, Hollis, Hollies, Holles, and Hollys, but moſt frequently Holes (1) anciently; yet his grandfather and his father, always ſigned their names Hollys, though of late by all the family Holles, conforming in that to the firſt Earl of Clare. As to the etymology then, ſome who aver the original to be Holleys, will have the name to be French, and to ſound as much as hault lys, in the French pronounciation Holys, the high flower de lize. Others would have it to be Holyes, gueſſing it from the creſt or *rebus*, which heretofore was uſed by the family, viz. the arm and hand holding a holly-buſh; but theſe ſeeming to be groundleſs fancies, that which my author moſt inclines to is (believing it to be truly written Holles), to ſignify as much as *concavitas*, hollowneſs; as Holland, Holcraft, &c. had likewiſe their denomination from the lowneſs or hollowneſs of their ſituation, and with this he believes the name to be local, and firſt aſſumed from a mannor called Holes or Holles in the county of Cheſter. There was a very ancient family of Holes in that county, denominated from the mannor beforementioned; whereof *Robert Holes* was Juſtice of Cheſter, anno. 1394, 20 R. II (2). He ſucceeded Robert de Veer, Duke of Ireland, Thomas Plantagenet, Duke of Glouceſter, and Thomas Moubray, Earl of Nottingham, in that office. After him was *Sir Hugh de Holles*, Knt. a Judge in the King's-bench in the reigns of Hen. IV. & V. and was buried in the church of Watford in Hertfordſhire, with this epitaph (3), as it was remaining in the laſt century.

Hic Jacet Hugo de Holes Miles Juſticiarius Banci Regis Tempore Regni—obiit—anno—1415.

His wife is likewiſe entombed in the ſame church, with this epitaph (4).

Hic jacet Margaretta quæ fuit Uxor Hugonis Holes ——— *obiit* 4 *Die Martii* 1416.

Sir Wingfield Bodenham gave me (continues Mr Holles) the copy of a deed bearing date the laſt day of March, anno 16 R. II. 1392, whereby John Domville grants to Thomas de Holes his granchild and heir, the ſon of Margaret (his daughter and heir) his mannor of Modberleigh [called now Mobberley] in the county of Cheſter, to which is appendant his arms, viz. *Azure a Lyon*

(1) Andreas Holes, *Cancellarius Eccl. Sarum*, makes his Will anno 1467, whereby it appears, that Lady Alianore Vernon, the Lady of Brereton, and the Lady Joan of Fouleſhirſt, were his ſiſters. *Regiſt. Vocat. Godin. qu.* 30 *in Cur. Prærog. Cant.*

(2) Webb's Vale-Royal of England, p. 228.

(3) Weever's Fun. Mon. p. 591.

(4) Ibid.

his wife Eleanor, daughter of Edmund Lord Sheffield. He was born at Haughton in the county of Nottingham near the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign. From his childhood

a Lyon rampant, Argent collared Gules, which arms he charges him to bear upon his bleſſing (5). The ſaid Thomas Holes, I take to be ſon of Sir Hugh de Holes and Margaret his wife beforementioned. For by inquiſitions taken in 3 H. V (6). it appears that Sir Hugh de Holes held, the day he died, half of the mannors of Fordeſham and Newport, and a third part of the mannor of Eggemandone in Com. Salop. of the King *in ſoccage*; Alſo the reverſion of the mannor of Albrighton in the ſame county, held of the King *in capite* by Knight's ſervice. And that Thomas de Holes is ſon and heir of the ſaid Hugh, &c. as alſo to the third part of the mannor of Tillal in Com. Heref. held of the King *in capite* (7). It appears likewiſe that Andrew Holeys was of the bed-chamber to H. VI. who in the 13th year of his reign employed him with Adam Moleyns on an embaſſy to Pope Eugene, concerning the D. of Burgundy's being abſolved from the oaths he took to the French King (8). From a cadet of this houſe, the firſt Earl of Clare derived himſelf in a pedigree written with his own hand (9), as follows: John Holles, Eſq; living in the reign of Edward III. married Emma, daughter of ——— Eaſtleigh, and had iſſue John his ſon and heir, William ſecond ſon, and a daughter Emma, wife of William de Bryanſon. John the eldeſt had to wife, Anne, daughter to Thomas de Cornwal, by whom he had iſſue Edward, who had to wife Maud, daughter to Thomas de Syward, and had iſſue, John, James, and Richard. John the eldeſt wedded Jacobine, daughter to James de Grandone, and had iſſue Edward Holles, Eſq; who married Joyce, daughter to Thomas Cantilupe, by whom he left iſſue John Holles of Stoke in Warwickſhire, father of Thomas Holles of Stoke near Coventry, who had iſſue four ſons and four daughters; John the eldeſt ſon, who married and left two daughters his coheirs; Sir William Holles, anceſtor to the Earl of Clare; Thomas Holles a prieſt, and Edward Holles. Thus the Earl of Clare; but Mr Gervaſe Holles goes no higher than to Thomas Holles the father of the firſt Sir William Holles (10); and obſerves, that Humphry Randel of Stoke, living in the reign of H. VIII. affirmed, that he married a daughter of —— Moore, by a daughter of Thomas Holles, the father of Sir William Holles; and that the ſaid Thomas, in the reign of K. Edward IV. dwelt in Stoke near Coventry, and was a man of good account and inſight; but having ſlain a perſon there, he fled to Calais, where he ſtaid ſeven years, 'till Henry VII. entered England, when he had a charge in the fight under him againſt K. R. III. His ſecond ſon William (11), was certainly Sir William Holles, Lord Mayor of London, who laid the foundation of the greatneſs of this family, and was born in Edward IVth reign at Stoke aforeſaid, a village within a mile of Coventry, about the year 1471 (12). He was bound apprentice to Robert Kirvile, Citizen and Mercer of London, July 13, 8 H. VII. as appears from the regiſter of Guild-hall cited in the margin [note 11] where he is mentioned to be the ſon of Thomas Holeys of Stoke yoeman. However Mr Gervaſe Holles thinks he was really a gentleman, perſuaded thereof by the aſſertion of the firſt Earl of Clare, who in his letter to Lord Burleigh [mentioned in note 12] tells him, he was very able to give account, what the Lord-Mayor's anceſtors were, when he ſhould find them queſtioned. He was made free of the Mercer's company 17 Sept. 15 H. VII. 1499 (13), choſen warden thereof 11 H. VIII. and maſter of the ſaid company 21 H. VIII. (14). He was choſen Sheriff of Middleſex by the commonalty the laſt of Auguſt 19 H. VIII (15), and was elected Alderman of Aldgate ward on the laſt of March following in the ſame year of H. VIII (16). He received the honour of knighthood — October 25 H. VIII (17), and was elected Lord-Mayor of London on St Edward's day 31 H. VIII (18). Something more than a year after his mayoralty ended, and much about a year before his death he made his will, dated December 25, 1541, by which it appears among other things that he left 200 l. for the building a croſs at Coventry, which beautiful croſs was begun that year, and finiſhed in 1544 (19). He died in October 1542 (20) at his houſe in London, and was buried in the church of St Helen's, where there is a monument of grey marble ſtill ſtanding over him in the midſt of the north iſle, but the inſcription is intirely effaced. His eſtate that he left to his three ſons was very great. I believe, ſays our author, as great as ever Lord-Mayor had before him. In the time of H. VII. he had married Elizabeth, daughter of John [or Thomas] Scopeham, who died ſoon after him in London, March 13, 1543, and was buried at her own requeſt in the ſame grave with her huſband. By her will, among other things, it appears that ſhe was the real foundreſs of thoſe ſix alms houſes in the pariſh of St Helen's, which, by Stowe (21) and others, are aſcribed to Sir Andrew Judde, one of her executors. Sir William Holles had by her three ſons, Thomas, William, and Francis, and a daughter Ann, who married John Whiddon, afterwards Chief Juſtice of the King's-bench, and it is ſaid was the firſt judge who rode to Weſtminſter-hall on a horſe, the judges before his time riding on mules. Sir Thomas Holles eldeſt ſon of the Lord-Mayor, was a ſon of misfortune, and by his profuſeneſs and improvidence the ruin both of himſelf and his poſterity. His father left him a very fair eſtate, yet he lived to ſpend it all, and died in priſon. But though the firſt branch withered, yet there remained a flouriſhing eſtate in the hands of the ſecond, both to yield a preſent luſtre and found a future greatneſs. This ſon William had left to him by his father, the mannor of Haughton, with the moiety of the mannors of Crumwell and Baſeford, and the advowſon of the church of Crumwell, with lands in Gamelſton and Waleſby in the county of Nottingham. The mannor and advowſon of the Church of Irby, with his other mannors and lands in Caſtor, Cabourne, Cadney, Burgh in the Marſh, Moreton, Adlethorp, Winthorp, South Willingham, Nettleton cum Smythefield, Malton, and Whaplode in the county of Lincoln. The mannors of Pingiſton, Blackwell, Whitewell, and Croſſewell, with the advowſon of the church of Whitewell in com. Derb. And his lands and tenements in the pariſh of St Clement Danes, St Giles, St Pancras, and Kentiſh-town in the county of Middleſex; which lands in the county of Middleſex by the improvement and building upon them, yield his heir at this preſent [1658] (22) 3000 l a year, and when the leaſes are expired, they may treble that value. Beſides he had in his father's life-time the moiety of Denſel's eſtate with his wife (23), viz. on the partition the mannors of Denſel alias Denyſell, and Trenowith, with lands in Leving, Skilligorra, and Eneſworgy in the county of Cornwall, and a little after his father's deceaſe reverted to him (by the death of his younger brother Francis without iſſue, March 29, 33 H. VIII) the mannor of Yoxhall, with a good eſtate there in the county of Stafford. This Sir William Holles was born in London in the beginning of H. VIIIth's reign, and ſhortly after his father's deceaſe, ſeated himſelf at Haughton in Nottinghamſhire, a ſeat of the family of Long Villiers, from whence through Maulovel it deſcended upon Stanhope. He was by King Edward VI. made one of the Knights of the Carpet February 22, two days after the coronation, all thoſe then ſummoned being to be made Knights of the Bath, but for want of time the ceremonies were omitted *. He was elected one of the Knights for the county of Nottingham, in the firſt year of Queen Mary; and was twice high-ſheriff, the firſt time for Nottinghamſhire and Derbyſhire, and the ſecond time (after the diviſion of the counties) for Nottinghamſhire alone, in the 14th of Queen Elizabeth. He kept both the ſhrivalties with great pomp, and appeared at the ſeveral aſſizes with a very numerous retinue (24), but chuſing a country life, he never deſired to repreſent the county again in Parliament. He died at Haughton, 18th of January 1590; he had lived in great hoſpitality, and always kept a company of ſtage-players of his own, which preſented him with maſques and plays at feſtival times and on days of ſolemnity (25). He left two ſons, Denſil and Gervaſe (26), and a daughter Gertude, married to Walter Stanley of Weſt-Bromwich in Staffordſhire, a cadet of the illuſtrious houſe of the Earls of Derby. For the payment

(5) In 1742 this deed was in the poſſeſſion of the Lady Henrietta Cavendiſh Holles, only daughter and heir of John Holles Duke of Newcaſtle, and Counteſs Dowager of Oxford.

(6) Eſc. 3. H. V. Salop.

(7) Eſc. 3. H. V. Heref.

(8) Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. X. p. 620.

(9) In the poſſeſſion alſo of the Counteſs Dowager of Oxford, curiouſly painted with the effigies of the Earl of Clare, and the matches and arms of his anceſtors.

(10) He goes no higher, becauſe, as he obſerves, the Earl of Clare's deſcent is vouched by no record, which however is uſual in the pedigrees in the Herald's office, where he met with it ſigned by the Earl's own hand. *Vid. Officin. Fecial. Nott. anno* 1614.

(11) Stowe, in his Survey of London, p. 582. is miſtaken, in aſſerting that William Holles of London, and not Thomas Holles of Stoke in Warwickſhire, was the father of Sir William Holles. Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 95. & Regiſt. de Guildhall, 8 H. VII.

(12) He died, aged 71, in the year 1542. A letter of the firſt Earl of Clare to Lord Burleigh, cited by Mr Gervaſe Holles, ubi ſupra.

(13) Lime-ſtreet book of Freedoms, fol. 1225.

(14) Records of Mercer's-hall, communicated to Mr Gervaſe Holles by Sir W. Dugdale.

(15) Stowe's Survey, p. 582.

(16) Regiſt. at Guildhall.

(17) In a Court-Roll of Irby in Lincolnſhire, bearing date 8 Oct. 25 H. VIII. he is called only *Alderman*; and in a record, dated the laſt of that month and the ſame year, he is ſtiled *Miles*. (18) Stowe, p. 582. and Regiſt. of Guildhall, 15 Mart. 1538. where are more particulars of his mayoralty; as alſo in Stowe, p. 182. b. and p. 27. a. and alſo Baker's Chron. Vita H. VIII. Hall's Chron. fol. 241 and 238. and Hollinſhed, p. 948, 949, 950.

(19) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 95. a.

(20) Cole's Eſc. Lib. 2. 61 A. 13. p. 26 in Bibl. Harl. and the probate of his Will bears date Dec. 18, 1542. Regiſt. Sprt. qu. 14. Stowe in his Survey, p. 179. b. falſly ſets him down buried in 1540.

(21) Survey of London, p. 90 and 182.

(22) This account by Mr Gervaſe Holles appears to be written in that year.

(23) Anne, eldeſt daughter and coheir of John Denſel of Denſel in the county of Cornwall, Serjeant at Law, deſcended from a family of great antiquity, denominated from the mannor of Denſel in the pariſh of St Mawgan, the place of their reſidence; after her death he married Jane, daughter of Sir Richard Groſvenor, whom he alſo ſurvived, but had no iſſue by her.

* N. B. John de Vere, 6th Earl of Oxford, with the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Hertford, and other noblemen, were then made Knights of the Bath; and being created with great royalty, were ordered to pay double fees to the Heralds. So Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 23. & MS. in Offic. Arm. I. 7.

(24) His retinue was always magnificent. At the coronation of Edward VI. he appeared with 50 followers in blue coats and badges, and always went to Retford ſeſſions, but four miles from his houſe, with 30 proper fellows at his heels.

(25) This was unuſual in thoſe times among the greateſt ſubjects.

(26) Grandfather to the author who compiled this account of the family.

hood he diſcovered an extraordinary genius above moſt of his contemporaries; his underſtanding and apprehenſion being quick, and his judgment ſound and ripe, even in the morning of his life, which yet (though contrary to common obſervation) continued vivid and vigorous even to the laſt. He had not attained the age of thirteen when he was ſent to Cambridge, but ſo well fitted for the univerſity, that the Maſter of the college into which he was admitted, examining him, as uſual, both in Grammar and Greek, received ſuch unexpected ſatisfaction at thoſe years to every queſtion, that taking him up into his arms, he kiſſed him, and ſaid to the by-ſtanders, *This child, if he lives, will prove a ſingular honour and ornament to this kingdom.* From the univerſity he was ſent by his father to Gray's-Inn, where he continued ſome years, and furniſhed himſelf with ſo much knowledge in the Law, as was neceſſary both for the management of his private eſtate, and for the ſervice of his country in the diſcharge of public offices; ſo that there never was a more upright or a more able juſticiary. Thus accompliſhed, he was called to the Court, and choſen by Queen Elizabeth into the band of her Penſioners, a poſt at that time of much honour (*b*). But being reſolved to compleat himſelf in every branch of the moſt genteel education, he entered into the army, and ſerved firſt for ſome time as a volunteer, under his kinſman Sir Francis Vere, in the Netherlands. He afterwards entered into the ſea-ſervice, and was in the famous engagement in 1588. He was then but young, and without any command; yet he was called to all the councils of war *, and particularly was preſent at that great debate, whether they ſhould engage the Spaniſh fleet or no; which was with difficulty carried in the affirmative, eſpecially by the ſound and reſolute arguments of Sir Martin Forbiſher. He had ſuch ſtrength and activity at this time, that being heavily armed at all pieces he could without difficulty climb to the top of the talleſt ſhip in that fleet. In the year 1590, he loſt firſt his father and then his grandfather, whereby there devolved upon him a very fair and opulent inheritance, and with it the care of divers brothers and ſiſters [*B*]. Shortly after his grandfather's death, namely, in May 1591, being then

(*b*) See remark [*E*].

* Edward Vere, Earl of Oxford, in pure love to his country, had hired ſhips at his own charge, and joined the grand fleet. Camden's Eliz. in Hiſt. of Eng. Vol. II. p. 547.

of this daughter's portion, her father ſold ſome lands in Derbyſhire, and others in Burgh in the Marſh, Adelthorp, and Winthorp in Lincolnſhire. Denſil the eldeſt ſon of this Sir William Holles, was born at London about 1538 (27). His mother's ſirname gave him his chriſtian name of Denſil, and he married Eleanor, daughter to Edmund Lord Sheffield, the firſt Baron of that race, about the cloſe of Queen Mary's reign; and the mannor of Irby, with other lands in Lincolnſhire, being ſettled upon him at his marriage, he fixed his reſidence at Irby (four miles from Great Grimſby) lying at the entrance upon the Wolds. A place, ſays our author, happy in the ſweetneſs of the air, and very delightful by the pleaſant hills and dales, where there are dry and inviting walks both ſummer and winter, with a welcome proſpect toward the ſea; affording as good hawking and hunting, and as good conveniency for training and airing young horſes, as can be found any where. This Lordſhip not being intirely his own, he purchaſed that part which belonged to our author's grandfather Kingſton (28), and had it conveyed to him 18 Eliz. viz. one meſſage, one cottage, a garden, an orchard, 104 acres of land, 30 acres of meadow, and 40 acres of paſture, with the appurtenances. After this purchaſe he improved the Lordſhip by incloſing it, and dividing it into farms laying the lands of each farm by themſelves, which he fenced with quickſet hedges, the beſt and moſt thriving in all the country; this added much both to the beauty of the place and conveniency of the inhabitants. He had alſo that juſt care as to leave the commons very large (beyond the proportion of any of their neighbours); and all theſe together, ſays my author, has been the cauſe, that I never knew in that town any tenant that was not thriving. He had a deſign likewiſe of building a fair manſion houſe near to the place where the ſprings of Welbeck have their riſe, &c. but theſe deſigns were cut ſhort by his death, which happened at Irby, April 22, 1590, near nine months before his father, being then about 52 years of age, and was buried in the chancel of that church under a grave ſtone without any inſcription. His wife died before him, having brought him beſides John the eldeſt, afterwards Earl of Clare, the ſubject of the preſent article, three more ſons, *William*, who died a youth, Sir *George Holles*, and *Thomas*, and five daughters, *Douglas*, *Frances*, *Anne*, *Jane*, and *Gertrude*, of all whom mention will be made in the ſequel (29).

[*B*] *An opulent inheritance, and the care of divers brothers and ſiſters.*] As to his inheritance on the inquiſition taken at Nottingham October 4, 33 Eliz. after the death of Sir William Holles his grandfather, the jury found that the ſaid Sir William died on the 26th of January laſt, and that John Holles was his grandſon and heir, and at that time 25 years of age. His grandfather died ſeized of the mannors of Haughton, Eaſt-hall, Cromwell, and Carleton, with the advowſon of the church of Cromwell, Foxhall-grange in Bothomſale and Haughton, the mannor of Basford, with the advowſion of the rectory of Kirton, and advowſion of the church of Bothomſale, and divers meſſuages and lands in Haughton, Great Markham, Bothomſale, and Waleſby, all in Com. Nott. the mannor of Yoxall in Staffordſhire, the mannor of Blackwell in Derbyſhire, the mannor of Denſell alias Deinſell in Cornwall, and of forty meſſuages, twenty cottages, 20 tofts, one mill, one dove-houſe, ſixty gardens, ſixty acres of meadow, one hundred acres of paſture, and ten acres of wood, in the pariſhes of St Clement Danes without Temple-bar, St Giles, and St Pancraſe in the Fields, and Kentiſh town, in the county of Middleſex, to all which the ſaid John Holles was his heir. Moreover by his father's will he ſucceeded to the mannor of Irby, as likewiſe to lands purchaſed by him in Barnalbie (30). With regard to his brothers and ſiſters, of theſe latter which were now four, two only lived to be married, Frances, in the life-time of her father, to Sir Francis Cooke of Truſsley in the county of Derby, Knt (31), eldeſt brother to Sir John Cooke, Principal Secretary of State in the reign of King Charles I. And Jane, after her father's deceaſe, became the wife of Thomas Saunderſon, Eſq; younger brother of Sir Nicholas Saunderſon, Viſcount Caſtleton. By her father's will, her fortune on the deceaſe of her two ſiſters Anne and Gertrude before marriage being trebled, was advanced to 3000 marks. Concerning his two brothers; Sir George Holles was born February 19, 1575, and Thomas, in 1579. He ſent them both to Cambridge, from whence the elder, Sir George, made a ſally into the Netherlands, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the wars againſt the Spaniards. In the famous battle of Newport, where Sir Francis Vere (by theſingular courage of the Engliſh, and the good conduct of his brother Sir Horace Vere after he himſelf was ſhot) overcame the Spaniards and obtained a great victory, Sir George received a wound in his right arm with a pike, and a ſhot in his body. After that, for the ſpace of nine months he ſerved within Oſtend, where Sir Francis Vere was Governor, and at the time when the Marquis Spinola beſieged it. There he ſucceeded to the company of Captain Wilford then ſlain (32), and afterwards received a ſhot in at his left eye, and out of his neck behind, with which he immediately fell down ſenſeleſs from the parapet of the town, and was carried off by his friends, who got him into bed. A while after he recovered his ſenſes, but was blind, the anguiſh of one eye having for the preſent taken away the ſight of the other. So ſoon as he came to himſelf he groped for his breeches, in the pockets of which, he remembred, there

(27) In his picture in the cuſtody of the Counteſs dowager of Oxford, his age is mentioned to be 48, anno 1586.

(28) Our author's father, Freſcheville Holles, married Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of John Kingſton, Eſq;

(29) They were all born at Irby except the eldeſt ſon. His daughter Douglas, who died before him, was probably named from her aunt, wife to John Lord Sheffield, and daughter of Will. Lord Howard of Effingham, of whom ſee remark [*I*].

(30) See the Will in Regiſt. vocat. Drury in Cur. Prærog. Cantuar. Qu. 31.

(31) He was appointed by his father-in-law executor of his Will, jointly with his eldeſt ſon John Holles.

(32) By this promotion he loſt an annuity of 13 l. 6 s. 8 d. bequeathed by the father's Will to each of his ſons for life, or 'till either came to preferment worth 50 l. per annum, in which caſe to remain to the other brother.

then 26 years of age, he entered into a marriage with Anne, the only daughter of Sir Thomas Stanhope of Shelford in the county of Nottingham, Knight (c). This marriage, though it brought him all the happineſs that could be hoped for in a wife, yet it conveyed to him a deep and laſting animoſity from a great and potent neighbour, the ſon of his grandfather's eſpecial friend, Gilbert Earl of Shrewſbury [C]. But his courage and good fortune

(c) Anceſtor to the preſent Earl of Cheſterfield, Earl Stanhope, Earl of Harrington, and others.

there was ſome gold, and miſſing it, he ſwore an oath that the French had made a booty of him (it being near their quarters that he fell), but being told that his friends had taken it out for ſafety, he was well ſatisfied. Of this hurt he recovered, but loſt his eye, over which he wore a black patch ever after. At length for his ſignal ſervices he was made Serjeant-Major-General of the Engliſh forces in the Low-countries, and died in London unmarried in 1626 (33), and by his laſt will made his nephew Denſil Holles (afterwards Lord Holles of Iſfield) and Mr Nicholas Drake his executors. He lies buried on the eaſt ſide of the chapel of St John the Evangeliſt in Weſtminſter-abbey, next to his kinſman, and firſt commander Sir Francis Vere. His funeral was ſolemnized May 23, 1626; and Mr Gervaſe Holles relates, that it was the greateſt and moſt ſolemn of any in thoſe days. To which, continues he, both the advantage of time and place added much; it happening ſoon after the term, in Parliament time, and a little before the expedition to the iſle of Rhee, when London was full of nobility, gentry, and commanders. All the city trained-bands were preſent. The hearſe was borne by twenty-four colonels and field-officers, eight at a time, the reſt encompaſſing it. His brother the Earl of Clare, and the Lord Vere of Tilbury, were the chief mourners; a great train of the nobility and gentry followed it, and an infinite concourſe of people of all ſorts were ſpectators. The Earls of Oxford and Eſſex offered their aſſiſtance to bear the corps, but the Earl of Clare would not permit them. Over his grave his brother the Earl of Clare ſhortly after erected a handſome monument. His effigies, curiouſly performed, is in the habit of a Roman General ſtanding on a pedeſtal in a commanding poſture, with a battoon in his hand, and is enriched with other figures, cartouches, &c.

(33) See the Latin inſcription on his monument, in the chapel of St John the Evangeliſt in Weſtminſter-abbey.

We ſhall now proceed to Thomas Holles his younger brother, who alſo made a ſally from the Inns of Court into the Netherlands not long after his brother, and became like him a brave and eminent commander. He was (ſays Gervaſe Holles) Lieutenant-Colonel to Sir Horace Vere's regiment conſiſting of thirty-two companies, and was at the ſieges of Sluys, Gulicke, the Grave, Grell, Rhinebergh, and the famous ſieges of the Boſch and Maeſtricht, where he was appointed to aſſault the breach, as my Lord Craven can witneſs, who, as a volunteer, aſſiſted him in that aſſault. He died in Holland, October 13, 1642, aged ſixty-three. He had to wife, Katharine, daughter of Joachimi Van Ecke of Guelderland, by whom he had iſſue two ſons and two daughters; Denſil, who died an infant, George, an officer in the ſervice of the States, who died at Maeſtricht, unmarried, the 10th of March 1654, and was buried in St John's church there; Eleanor, who died unmarried, and Elizabeth, who wedded Theodore Becquer, but died without iſſue.

[C] *This match drew him into a quarrel with the Earl of Shrewſbury.*] It ſeems there had been a treaty between the old Earl of Shrewſbury and Sir William Holles, concerning a marriage betwixt this his grandſon and a neice or kinſwoman of the Earl's. To which motion, whether he meant it in earneſt, or pretending it only for fear of diſpleaſing his grandfather, he ſeemed not unwilling, ſo that every one thought it would have proceeded. But after the deceaſe of them both (for George Earl of Shrewſbury and Sir William Holles died in the ſame year) liking Mrs Stanhope better, he married her, and relinquiſhed the Earl's kinſwoman. This the Earl took as the greateſt affront, the rather becauſe Sir Thomas Stanhope and the Earl were great enemies. The proceſs of this difference cauſed a great deal of trouble and ſome loſs of blood. For firſt, Roger Orme, who was then Sir John Holles's ſervant, though afterwards a captain in Ireland and the Low-Countries, fought a duel with one Pudſey gentleman of the horſe to the Earl of Shrewſbury, in which Pudſey was ſlain. And this quarrel aroſe upon the grounds of the difference between their maſters. The Earl eagerly proſecuted Orme's life, but Sir John Holles got him conveyed into Ireland, and maugre the Earl's power, procured his pardon of Queen Elizabeth. Upon Orme's buſineſs followed that of his own with my couſin Gervaſe Markham, ſo much talked of yet in theſe parts. Gervaſe Markham was a great confident, or as the phraſe is now, the gallant of the Counteſs of Shrewſbury, and was uſually in thoſe days termed her champion. A proper handſome gentleman he was, and of a great courage. He, after Pudſey was ſlain, let fall ſome paſſionate words, accuſing Sir John Holles as the cauſe of that quarrel, and as being guilty of his death. This coming to the ears of Sir John, he ſends him a chartell to this effect.

For Gervase Markham,

Whereas you have ſaid that I was guilty to that villany of Orme in the death of Pudſey, I affirm that you ly, and ly like a villaine, which I ſhall be ready to make good upon your ſelf, or upon any gentleman my equal living.

John Holles.

Markham returned for anſwer, That he accepted the challenge, and would accordingly give a meeting ſuch an hour alone, or with either of them a boy of fourteen or under; the place Workſop Park, and the weapons rapier and dagger. Sir John Holles allowing of the other circumſtances, excepted againſt the place, being the park where his mortal enemy the Earl of Shrewſbury then lived, which he thought neither reaſonable for himſelf to admit, nor honourable for his enemy to propound, and therefore urged, that a more equal place might be aſſigned. Markham taking advantage of this, as if he had declined the encounter, publiſhes it accordingly to his diſgrace. Sir John Holles finding this unworthy dealing, and that he could not have an equal place aſſigned him, reſolved to take that opportunity, which fortune ſhould next offer him, and ſuch a one ſhortly after offered itſelf on the following occaſion. To the chriſtening of his ſecond ſon Denzil Holles, the Lady Stanhope his mother-in-law was invited a godmother, after which performed, ſhe returned from Haughton to Shelford; and Sir John Holles accompanying her part of the way over the foreſt of Shirwood, it fortuned, that Gervaſe Markham with others in his company met them, and paſſed by. So ſoon as he ſaw that Markham was paſſed, he took leave of the Lady Stanhope, galloped after, and overtook him. When obſerving how unworthily he had dealt with him, they both alighted, and drew their rapiers. I have heard him ſay, that upon the firſt encounter he uſed theſe words, *Markham, Guard your ſelf better, or I ſhall ſpoil you preſently*; (for he ſaid, he lay as open to him as a child) and the next paſs he run him between the privities and the bottom of the guts up to the hilt, and out behind toward the ſmall of the back. With this wound Markham fell, and was carried off the field by thoſe in his company, whilſt Sir John Holles with his ſervant Aſhton and a groom, who only were with him, returned to Haughton. The news coming to the Earl of Shrewſbury, he immediately raiſed of his ſervants and tenants to the number of one hundred and twenty, with a reſolution to apprehend Sir John Holles, ſo ſoon as he ſhould know, that Markham's wound was mortal; which Edmund Lord Sheffield, afterwards Earl of Mulgrave, underſtanding, he ſpeedily repaired to Haughton, with threeſcore in his retinue out of Lincolnſhire, to aſſiſt his couſin-german, in caſe the Earl ſhould attempt any thing. An old ſervant of Sir John Holles told me, he was preſent, when the Lord Sheffield came, and that his maſter going forth to meet him, he aſked him, how it was with Markham? he replied, That *he thought the greateſt danger was, that he had ſpoiled his whoring. I hear couſin*, ſays the Lord Sheffield, *that my Lord of Shrewſbury is prepared to trouble you, take my word, before he carry you, it ſhall coſt many a broken pate.* And he went in and remained at Haughton until they had certain account, that Markham was paſſed danger, who indeed recovered, and lived after to be an old man, but never after eat ſupper, nor received the ſacrament; which two things he raſhly vowed not to do, until he were revenged.

[D] *He*

fortune carried him through all the oppoſition he met with on this occaſion with honour and advantage. Indeed his courage was ſo great, that it rendered him in a manner unconcerned at any danger with which his enemies could threaten him; ſo that he aſſumed for his motto in theſe times, *Qui inimicum timet, amicum non amat.* However, finding there was much animoſity and a ſtrong combination againſt him, he reſolved to take a proper method to divert it; and thence, indulging alſo his own inclination ſtrongly bent to knowledge and actions of honour, he made ſeveral ſallies out of the kingdom, and ſpent many years either in travail or military employments, and *that* after a marriage to a lady, who both deſerved and had for him a very great and tender affection. Some of his time he ſpent in Ireland under the then Deputy Sir William Fitz-Williams; where, accompanying Sir Henry Norris in an expedition he made againſt the Iriſh rebels, and behaving in that ſervice with great bravery, he received from the Deputy at his return the honour of knighthood (*d*), as a reward of his merit. He ſerved likewiſe two years in Hungary againſt the Turks; and in his paſſage to and from thence, viewed and obſerved the beſt parts of France and Italy; both which languages he was maſter of, and reaſonably well of the Spaniſh. And whilſt he ſerved in Hungary, he grew ſo perfect in that tongue, that he might have paſſed for a native *. His laſt military employment was with the Earl of Eſſex to the Terceras, an iſland of the Azores, in the year 1597, in the company of his kinſman Sir Francis Vere, who was Lord-Marſhal in that expedition (*e*), with whom he ſailed in the ſhip called the Mary Roſe (*f*). Theſe, and thoſe beforementioned, were the ſcenes of his warfare, which gave him great advantage in knowledge, and added greatly to his reputation. But before this laſt voyage he daſhed upon a rock, which probably might have ſunk him, and indeed threatened more danger than all thoſe enmities he had encountered before. This was a ſharp difference with the Lord Burleigh [*D*], Lord High-Treaſurer of England, who was then and long before of great power with the Queen. But this danger vaniſhed upon the death of the Treaſurer, which happened ſoon afterwards. Neither did this quarrel caſt him at all (as his enemies hoped it would) in the Queen's regard, who never ſteered her opinion of any man by the paſſions or affections of others, but by her own judgment: ſo ſhe continued to him that ſame gracious favour ſhe had always done, even to her deceaſe, which happened about five years after. Upon the acceſſion of King James I. to the throne, Sir John Holles, much out of humour with the new face of things at Court [*E*], retired into the country and attended his eſtate, which 'till then he had very little leiſure to look into, and which he had impaired, by ſelling lands of good value both in Lincolnſhire and Derbyſhire after his grandfather's deceaſe [*F*]. He

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(*d*) Mr James Howel obſerves, that this power of conferring honours and knighthood, is a point of grandeur in which the Lord-Deputy of Ireland exceeded the Viceroy of Naples or any other that he knew. Howel's Letters, Vol. I. Sect. 6. Lett. xxxvi. p. 226. edit. 1650.

* The laſt cited author having written an Eſſay concerning the original, growth, changes, and preſent conſiſtence, of the French language, ſubmitted it to his Lordſhip's correction, as to a perſon who had an exact knowledge of many languages, not in a ſuperficial vapouring way, but in a moſt exact manner, both in point of practice and theory. *Ibid.* p. 469. *edit.* 1754.

(*e*) See an account of this expedition, in a piece entitled, The Commentaries of Sir Francis Vere, being divers pieces wherein he had Command; written by himſelf in a way of Commentary. Publiſhed by William Dillingham, D. D. 1657.

(*f*) See a liſt of gentry at the end of a diſcourſe concerning that voyage.

[*D*] *He had a ſharp difference with Lord Burleigh*] What was the grounds of this quarrel is not certainly known, though ſome have imagined it to be the very great familiarity, that Sir John Holles had with the Lady Hatton, the Treaſurer's grand-child *; but certain it is that the Treaſurer, during the preparation for this expedition, inveighed bitterly againſt him (with little arguments of that gravity and wiſdom he had formerly expreſſed) in the Exchequer Chamber. This imprudent and injurious behaviour of the Treaſurer did exceedingly inflame Sir John Holles, and he reſolved not to ſit down with it, but to return him his own. In this ſpirit he writes him a letter, wherein he lets him know the malice and falſhood of his invectives, and then retorts ſeverely upon himſelf, and that in ſo home and nicking a way, as the Treaſurer had never met with the like in his life. The delivery of this letter, continues our author, he entruſted with my father (34), giving him direction, that as ſoon as he received notice that he was got on ſhip-board, he ſhould go with it to the Treaſurer's houſe at dinner-time, and after he had delivered it to one of the ſervants, he ſhould ſlip away and make ſpeed to the fleet after him. This was performed accordingly; and the Treaſurer having read the letter, and being in a great paſſion, ſent out preſently to apprehend the bearer, but he was gone, and being a young gentleman unknown at Court, no man could tell him what he was. Moreover, as Sir John Holles thought he had received a public injury, he reſolved to make his vindication as public; and to that end, diſperſed among his friends divers copies of this letter, which yet remain in ſeveral hands, and one I had, but have loſt it. I have heard many wiſe men ſay, they eſteemed this one of the boldeſt acts that ever he did: for the Treaſurer having power enough, would not have wanted means one way or other to have ruined him. Nor was he unapt (as ſome that knew him have affirmed) to ſecret revenges, which his own creature Camden (35), doth more than darkly inſinuate in the death of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton.

[*E*] *Out of humour with the new face of things at Court.*] My author having obſerved that the Queen's death conveyed a great and general lamentation to all her ſubjects, and to him [Sir John Hollis] who ever had faithfully and religiouſly ſerved and honoured her, and moſt ſincerely loved his country, of which ſhe was the glory, felicity, and firmament, &c. proceeds thus: This bright ſtar ſet, the ſcene at Court was ſtrangely altered, for though King James entered with the greateſt expectation and acclamations that any Prince could do, (ſuch as his wiſdom and virtues well merited) yet he brought with him a crew of neceſſitous and hungry Scots, and filled every corner of the Court with theſe hungry blue-caps. This was that which firſt darkened the glory of the Engliſh Court, which Queen Elizabeth had ever maintained in great luſtre. *I have heard the Earl of Clare ſay, that when he was penſioner to the Queen, he did not know a worſe man of the whole band than himſelf; and that all the world knew he had then an inheritance of* 4000 *l. a year*. It was the conſtant cuſtom of that Queen to call out of all counties in the kingdom, the gentlemen of the greateſt hopes, and the beſt fortune and families, and with thoſe to fill the more honourable rooms of her houſhold ſervants; by which ſhe honoured them, obliged their kindred and alliance, and fortified herſelf. But when moſt of thoſe rooms were poſſeſſed by ſuch trotting companions, the better ſort of the gentry declined the Court, as ſcorning their fellowſhip. Hence it followed, that in a little time, the Court was in a manner wholly compoſed of theſe Scots, and ſuch inconſiderable perſons, as favourites preferred, or money introduced. This cauſed Sir John Holles at that time to retire into the country.

[*F*] *He had ſold ſome lands after his grandfather's death.*] However he repaired that loſs by a far greater improvement afterwards. For he purchaſed the lordſhip of Gamelſton, Maplebecke, and Bevercotes, with a mannor in Baſeford; the rectories of Bothomſale, Eaſt-Markham, and Weſt-Markham, with divers lands in Elkeſly, Waleſby, and little Drayton, all in the county of Nottingham. He likewiſe purchaſed one half of Prince's-ſtreet in Drury-lane, and cauſed to be erected thoſe edifices called Loche's buildings, with the moſt part of Clement's-inn-lane, Blackmore-ſtreet by Drury-lane, and a part of Clement's-inn-fields. So that by theſe purchaſes and improvements, he advanced his eſtate before his death to near 8000 l. per ann. He likewiſe enlarged Thurland-houſe (now called Clare-

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* As the Earl of Clare had the higheſt veneration for the family of Vere, it may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that Edward Vere Earl of Oxford, who married Borleigh's daughter, had at this time quarelled with him, for refuſing his ſuit to intercede for the life of the Duke of Norfolk, condemned for aſſiſting Mary Queen of Scots. Dugd. Baronage, Vol. I. p. 199.

(34) Freſcheville Holles, ſon of Gervaſe, mentioned in note (26). He was alſo, as well as his couſin the Earl of Clare, in the famous engagement againſt the Spaniards in 1588. Our author had an only ſon of the ſame name, who became a brave ſea-officer, as appears from his monument in St Edward's chapel in Weſtminſter-abbey.

(35) Annal. Eliz. anno 1570.

He was engaged during this reign in three conſiderable law-ſuits, the firſt of which being carried for the Crown [*G*], made him much averſe to King James, for whom he had little kindneſs. However, when Prince Henry was created Prince of Wales, May 30, 1610, Sir John Holles was by the King appointed Comptroller of his Houſhold †. In this office he continued during the Prince's life, which was about two years and a half after [*H*]. But with the loſs of that brave Prince all his favour at Court vaniſhed, and he lay open and expoſed to the reſentments of his adverſaries: ſo that, about three years after a bill was filed againſt him in the Star-Chamber, containing ſeveral allegations of high miſdemeanours, which were particularly preſſed and amplified by Sir Edward Coke, Chief Juſtice [*I*]. And though Sir John made a defence, the eloquence of which gave great

Clare-houſe) in Nottingham, and new built the Inn called the Blackmoor's head there. He had alſo an intention of building a new houſe at Haughton, and had ſeveral platforms drawn of it, reſolving to have ſeated it on higher grounds above the barns; but the charge thereof was like to be ſo great, that he thought it better to conſider of, than to undertake it.

[*G*] *He had three law ſuits, of which the firſt was carried for the Crown.*] This firſt law-ſuit was about the wardſhip of Robert Sutton, afterwards Lord Lexington, whoſe mannor of Averſham, was held of his mannor of Haughton by fealty and knight ſervice, which had ever been performed by the anceſtors of Mr Sutton, to the anceſtors and predeceſſors of Sir John Holles; and their wardſhips accordingly accrued, when any of thoſe Suttons died, and the heir within age. But when this laſt fell, a trick was found to intitle the King thereto, for whom judgment was given in the Court of Wards againſt Sir John. His ſecond law-ſuit was with the Society of the Inn of Chancery, called Clement's-Inn; and the caſe was thus. Sir William Hawte, and Margaret his wife, had long before ſold by their deed bearing date 17th of December, 23 H. VIII. to Sir William Holles [the Lord-Mayor] their mannor or capital meſſuage called Clement's-Inn, with divers other meſſuages, lands, and tenements, in the pariſhes of St Giles and St Panchraſe in the county of Middleſex. Shortly after, Sir William Holles demiſes the capital meſſuage called Clement's-Inn to that corporation of ſtudents for the term of ninety-nine years, reſerving a rent. That term near expired, the Earl of Clare his great-grand-child and heir reſolving to enter upon it, and theſe clerks and attornies to keep the poſſeſſion they had got, he put it in ſuit; and they brought the Earl into Chancery; there the Lord-Keeper ——— to favour thoſe ſetting-dogs * of his own profeſſion, decreed, that they ſhould hold their poſſeſſion for ever, acknowledging him lord of the fee, and paying him a ſmall yearly rent, with an allowance to him and his heirs of two chambers in that houſe for a ſollicitor. Both theſe cauſes were carried againſt him with all the injuſtice that might be; the firſt by the power of the King, and the next by the partiality of the lawyers. In the third, though he had a worſe cauſe, yet he found better ſucceſs. It was concerning the rectories [impropriations] of Elkeſley and Bothomſale, which he had purchaſed for a valuable conſideration; but there proving a flaw in the title, he was impleaded by one Brigham, who pretended to a better right, and he he was forced to fly to equity. I well remember, that I attended him to Sir Humphry Davenport, Sir Thomas Crew, Sir Francis Aſhley (all then ſerjeants), and to Mr Noy, all whom he would have retained as counſel in this cauſe. Sir Humphrey Devenport (though a great lover and honourer of him) abſolutely refuſed him. The other would appear for him; but all adviſed him to compound it as well as he could, telling him he would be caſt. He found he had been abuſed, and was very unwilling to loſe what he had well paid for; ſo he procured meetings with the then Lord-keeper, Sir Thomas Coventry. They met in Hatton-houſe garden. When the day of hearing came, I attended my Lord of Clare to Weſtminſter-hall. I remember we met there with Mr Serjeant Glanvil, who was one of Brigham's counſel, who ſaluting him ſaid, *My Lord, I am againſt you to day, and believe you muſt loſe the cauſe.* And the ſame Serjeant when he argued, told the Keeper, *That this cauſe would not require many words, for it was the ſame* (terminis terminantibus) *that he had decreed that very term between ſuch and ſuch parties.* Yet in concluſion, the Keeper gave judgment for the Earl. I have heard the Keeper much condemned for that judgment, who was a man of great abilities and learning in his profeſſion, and for a good while had the reputation of a juſt Judge: but at laſt he appeared with a bare face, and died very ſeaſonably before the Parliament met, elſe no man had heard louder of his corruptions. The loſs of Mr Sutton's wardſhip made Sir John Holles, as ſome have thought, much averſe to King James, for whom he had little kindneſs, nor indeed was a friend to his memory. I have heard him ſay, *That he came to govern a people, that he knew he was not worthy of, and then he was ruled himſelf by two beggars and a baſe fellow*, Suffolk, Northampton, and Saliſbury. And at any time when he mentioned any thing, which he thought an error in that King, he would ever give his diſcourſe this ſevere cloſe, *which now he feels.*

[*H*] *He was Comptroller of the houſhold to Prince Henry.*] The Prince ever expreſſed a very great love to him and value of him, inſomuch that once he took a progreſs to his houſe at Haughton, where he continued with him many days, and found an entertainment anſwerable to his greatneſs. And I may well queſtion, had the Prince lived to be King, whether any ſubject had found greater proofs of his love. But in 1612 that Prince died. A Prince of ſo great expectation, that not only the eyes of all England, but of all Chriſtendom, were upon him. Moſt people think he was poiſoned, and the Earl of Somerſet not a little ſuſpected for it. I remember Sir George Radcliff told me, he aſked the Earl of Clare, whether he thought the Prince was poiſoned or no, and that he replied, *he thought he was not; but if he was, he believed he had it half a year before he died.* What he meant by that, Sir George underſtood not; nor did he further queſtion him. But I think that had he believed it, and ſuſpected Somerſet of it, he would eternally have hated and abhorred him, whereas, on the contrary, he continued to his death his friendſhip to him.

[*I*] *Allegations preſſed by Sir Edward Coke, and invalidated by Sir John Holles.*] 'Tis ſaid Sir Edward Coke bore a ſpleen againſt him for the familiarity which Sir John Holles had with his then wife, the Lady Elizabeth Hatton. The allegations were, that he had private conference with two jeſuits, Jervas and Garnet, at their execution; and that in all his leaſes to his tenants, he inſerted a condition that they ſhould not go to law one with another, but ſhould make him the umpire of all their differences; with other charges as inconſiderable. But the Chief Juſtice called *thoſe covenants regal covenants*, and ſaid, *it was no leſs than to uſurp over his tenants a regal authority.* He ſaid, that his private conference with thoſe traitors the jeſuits, was a boldneſs of a dangerous inſinuation, and ought to be both cenſured and puniſhed; and with his law rhetoric endeavoured to give as ugly a face, as he could, both to thoſe, and the reſt of his charges. Sir John Holles made his own defence, being ſecond both in reaſon and oratory to no perſon that I knew in his time. He told the Lords, that he wondered much how he could have ſuffered ſo great a charge and inconvenience upon ſuch ſlight accuſations; did he not know withal, that ſince the death of his royal maſter, he had been left *tanquam piſcis in aridum littus.* But it was his happineſs, he ſaid, that he was to make his defence before ſuch honourable perſons, who would rightly judge both of his innocency, and the malice of his adverſaries. He then profeſſed, that if he had erred at all, they were only errors of ignorance. For he could not underſtand at all, that it might be miſconſtrued a crime in him, to endeavour that his poor tenants ſhould not undo one another by unneceſſary ſuits and quarrels, whilſt he might be a medium to reconcile their differences. And having had the honour to ſerve the Crown in near relations, and having been ever bred up in a ſchool of duty and obedience, he was far from that preſumption to trench in the leaſt manner great ſatisfaction to his hearers, yet he was committed to the Fleet, where he continued a priſoner ſome weeks; until at laſt he came out a Baron of England, being created ſuch on the 9th of July 1616, in the 14th year of King James (g). For this dignity he paid the then favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, ten thouſand pounds ſterling [K]. 'Tis certain that, much about this time, he in a manner wholly withdrew from Court [L]. However,

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† Henry Earl of Oxford was the firſt choſen to be of the order of the Bath at this creation. Anſtis's Obſervations on the Knights of the Bath, p. 61, & ſeq. This is mentioned as an inſtance of the connection between the two families of Vere and Holles, which was moſt aſſiduouſly cultivated by this firſt Earl of Clare.

* Theſe are our author's words.

upon regal authority. That he could as little apprehend, how his diſcourſe with thoſe condemned perſons could inſinute any dangerous conſequence, ſince dying men are far from a capacity to threaten any ſuch thing. Adding, that he had travelled the beſt parts of Chriſtendom, and obſerved the cuſtoms of thoſe people amongſt whom he came, but could never obſerve, that any man was prohibited to ſpeak to a dying perſon. Sir Edward Coke (who had as much law and levity in him, as any of his profeſſion ever had) interrupted him, ſcoffingly turning upon him that verſe of Virgil, a little varied,

Et quæ tanta fuit Tiburne tibi cauſa videndi?

We have ſeen that this was not the only vengeance which Sir John's ſuſpected intrigue with Lady Hatton brought upon him, and the ſilence of his advocate Mr Gervaſe Holles upon that head, leaves room to conclude that the ſuſpicion was not entirely without good grounds. If ſo, it may be obſerved, that he inherited this weakneſs from his father Denſil Holles, who was inſerted in a paſquil made in thoſe days upon the Lincolnſhire gentlemen, as follows:

Hollys hits in every hole,
And Denſil drives thro' all their dintes,
He gets his neighbours wives with fole,
And yet they ſay the man but mintes.

I remember, ſays Mr Gervaſe Holles, that walking in Irby grounds with the firſt Earl of Clare, he ſhewed me a handſome farm houſe, telling me his father built it to pleaſe a fooliſh woman. The truth is, he was ſeldom without one or other in it for his private uſe and pleaſure. But this could not be ſo private, as to be unknown to his wife, who notwithſtanding ſhe had, as it ſhould ſeem, recourſe to patience, as the only remedy in the caſe of a huſband's falſeneſs to the marriage-bed; yet ſhe proved inexorable in the caſe of her ſiſter-in-law Douglas, daughter of William Lord Howard of Effingham, and wife to John Lord Sheffield, of whoſe incontinency with the Earl of Leiceſter, detected by this Denſil's wife, we have the following account by Mr Gervaſe Holles. The Lord Sheffield, ſays he, and the ſaid lady lived together for ſome years with much happineſs and contentment. Until at laſt it happened, that Queen Elizabeth took a progreſs northward, upon whom the Earl of Leiſter (the then powerful favourite) attended, and ſome days ſhe abode at the Earl of Rutland's at Belvoir-Caſtle. Thither the principal perſons of Lincolnſhire repaired to ſee their Queen, and do their duty, and among others the Lord Sheffield and this fair young lady of his, who ſhone as a ſtar in the Court, both in regard of her beauty, and the richneſs of her apparel. Leiceſter (who was *cauda ſalax)* ſeeing her, and being much taken with her perfections, he made his addreſſes of courtſhip to her, and uſed all the art that might be (in which he was maſter enough) to debauch her. There is ſmall hopes, that ſhe, who hath once permitted a ſiege, can hold out. For that woman who keeps a looſe guard upon her honour, hath one port already open, and there wants nothing but a bold man to enter. To be ſhort, he found her frail, and had the unlawful fruition of her body. Their crime being arrived at this height, their next deſign was how to ſecure it, as alſo the continuance of this their wickedneſs; which they thought could not well be, ſo long as the Lord Sheffield lived. He was a gentleman of great ſpirit; him therefore they contrived how to make away, and before they parted, Leiceſter (who was perfect in thoſe villainies) undertook the charge of it. Not long after, being at at Normanby, and her ſiſter Holles with her, Leiceſter who had wrote letters to her, in one (after many amorous expreſſions) told her, *That he had not been unmindful in removing that obſtacle, which hindred the full fruition of their contentments; that he had endeavoured one expedient already, which had failed; but he would try another, which he doubted not would hit more ſure.* This letter (as ſhe was going down ſtairs to walk abroad) ſhe dropped in pulling her handkerchief out of her pocket, and her ſiſter Holles, following her, took it up, and either overcome with a woman's curioſity, or guided by a higher providence, ſhe put it in her pocket and read it, when ſhe found her opportunity; and finding therein a plot againſt her brother's life, reſolved (as it befitted her) to acquaint him with it. The lady ſoon after miſſed the letter, and being ſufficiently affrighted, conſcious enough of what was in it, ſhe ſtrictly examined all her women (the gentlewoman from whom I had this relation, was one of them) at firſt with intreaties, at length with ſeverity and cruelty. But out of them, who indeed knew nothing, ſhe got nothing. Then ſhe came to her ſiſter Holles, and falling down on her knees beſought her, if ſhe had found any ſuch letter, to deliver it unto her, aſſuring her, that nothing of harm ſhould come from what the contents of it might ſeem to threaten. But ſhe was inexorable, and would not own the knowledge of any ſuch accident. Shortly after the Lord Sheffield returns home, and his ſiſter Holles (watching her opportunity) gives him the letter. He reads it with anger and amazement; that night he parts beds, the next day houſes, and retired from her. He meditates with himſelf in what manner he might beſt take an honourable and juſt revenge upon the adulterers. Having reſolved, he poſts up to London to effect it; but the diſcovery was arrived at the knowledge of Leiceſter before him; who finding a neceſſity to be quick, bribes an Italian phyſician (whoſe name I have forgot) in whom the Lord Sheffield had great confidence, to poiſon him, which was immediately effected after his arrival at London. He being removed by this villainy, ſhe expected the reward of it, that Leiceſter, as he promiſed, ſhould have married her; but he (according to the nature of all men, who think baſely of their proſtitutes) after he had cohabited with her ſome time, and begot on her a baſe ſon (Sir Robert Dudley, who called himſelf Duke of Northumberland (36)) rejects her and marries the Lady Lettice, widow to Walter Devereux Earl of Eſſex, who, 'tis thought, ſerved him in his own kind every way. I have been, concludes this author, the longer and more punctual in this relation, becauſe it is known to few, yet a certain truth (37).

[K] *He purchaſed his Barony.*] Mr Gervaſe Holles obſerves, that after the entrance of King James, the ſale of honours was become a trade at Court, and whilſt the Duke [of B.] lived, ſcarce any man acquired any honours, but ſuch as were either his kindred, or had the fortune (or misfortune) to marry with his kindred, or miſtreſſes; or paid a round ſum of money for it. Nor indeed (continues this author) did that way of merchandiſe ceaſe all the reign of our laſt martyred King (38), which was one cauſe, and not the leaſt of his misfortunes. I have heard the Earl of Clare (I now treat of) often inveigh bitterly againſt it, and he would uſually call it *temporal ſimony*. I remember once I took the liberty (hearing him ſo earneſt on that ſubject) to aſk him, why he would purchaſe himſelf, ſeeing he condemned the King for ſelling. He anſwered, *That he obſerved merit to be no medium to an honorary reward; that he ſaw divers perſons, who, he thought, deſerved as little as he either in their perſons or eſtates, by that means leap over his head; and therefore ſeeing the market open, and finding his purſe not unfurniſhed for it, he was perſuaded to wear his money, as other men had done.*

[L] *He withdrew from Court.*] For what reaſon principally is not known, but there was found written by his own hand in one of his books, theſe ſix lines.

Actæon once Diana naked ſpied
At unawares, yet by his dogs he died.
So ill, not done but taken in all things,
Doth cloud the uncleared eyes of minor Kings.
Then haſte from Courts of ſuch unſound complexion,
If that thy ſafety be in thy election.

[M] *He*

(g) The preamble of his patent mentions only his ſervice to Prince Henry, his integrity and fidelity to the Crown, and his abilities to ſerve it.

(36) See ſome account of this perſon in the article GREAVES [JOHN].

(37) The tragical part is touched upon in Leiceſter's Commonwealth, a Satyre upon Leiceſter, diſperſed in the days of Queen Elizabeth; but Mr Holles ſays, he received the relation from a perſon of credit then living in the family, who gave him an account of the ſhare his aunt Holles had in it.

(38) This was written, as has been already obſerved, in 1658.

However, the ſame favourite, eight years afterwards, for 5000 pounds, procured him the Earldom of Clare [*M*], by letters patent, bearing date 2 November 1624 (*b*). He had now acquired the higheſt dignity of honour that in reaſon he could aſpire to, which may be reckoned among the felicities of his life. Yet this was accompanied with ſeveral near and preſſing afflictions, the death of many of his children, and downfal of ſome of his neareſt friends. For between and about the time of his two creations, he buried four of his youngeſt ſons and two daughters, and ſaw the ruin of the Earl of Somerſet, and the beheading of Sir Walter Ralegh [*N*], both much eſteemed and beloved by him. King James, a little before his cloſe, diſcovered an intention of making the Earl of Clate Lord-Treaſurer; which was ſo generally believed, that ſeveral applications were made for places under him. And this was the more likely, (notwithſtanding his Majeſty's former dryneſs towards him) becauſe, about the ſame time, he bewrayed ſome jealouſies and wearineſs of the Duke of Buckingham, and an inclination to introduce again into favour the Earl of Somerſet. But his death, which followed immediately upon it, made fruſtrate both theſe intentions. King Charles, in the firſt year of his reign, diſplaced Williams Biſhop of Lincoln from the cuſtody of the Great-Seal. This the Earl of Clare was concerned at, the Biſhop being one of his intimate friends; and when the King deſigned both his ſons to be Knights of the Bath at his Coronation, and gave them notice thereof by his letters, they both refuſed it. As did alſo his younger ſon Denſil Holles to be of that maſque which was then preparing, and in which the King invited him to take a part. Neither did the Earl himſelf move towards London 'till the meeting of the Parliament, and then likewiſe wholly abſented himſelf from Court; which cauſed the King to obſerve him as a perſon diſcontented. That Parliament was remarkable for the charge againſt the Duke of Buckingham, which being delivered from the Houſe of Commons by eight reporters, was again reported by eight Lords in the Houſe of Peers, of which the Earl of Clare was one, who ſpoke to the ſame part that Mr Pym had done before. But the King quickly ſtopt their further proceedings by diſſolving the Parliament. About this time the Duke had uſed all poſſible endeavours to gain the Earl of Clare to his party; to which end he had procured two or three meetings with him in the Strand, at theOunteſs of Banbury's, but could never obtain him [*O*]. And the next Parliament (which was that of

(*b*) The preamble of this patent takes notice of his ſervices againſt the Spaniards and the Iriſh rebels, and contains the grant of an annual fee of 20 l. payable out of the cuſtoms within the port of London.

[*M*] *He procured the Earldom of Clare.*] It was not a little wondered at, that he could obtain this title of Earl of Clare. For the Lord Rich, when he was created an Earl, did very much deſire that title, and the King's counſel after ſeveral debates about it concluded, that ſince the time of the firſt Earls of Clare determined, that honour of Clare had ever been conferred on a Prince of the blood royal; Clare and Clarence being one and the ſame title, and therefore not to be allowed to a meaner ſubject. Whereupon the Lord Rich was created Earl of Warwick. But the power that procured the dignity, prevailed for the title, which was the Duke of Buckingham, to whom King James could not well deny any thing. That he procured it, is plain from a letter (the copy whereof I have ſeen) from this Earl of Clare to the then Biſhop of Lincoln, which began thus.

My Lord,

My patent is now paſt for the Earldome of Clare (the title wherein my Lord of Warwick was ſo emboged) but what is it, that a powerful favourite cannot do, &c.

[*N*] *He had a particular friendſhip for Sir Walter Ralegh.*] There was found written by the Earl of Clare with his own hand this epitaph on him. Which though his poetry was the worſt part, ſays our author, yet I ſhall here remember.

Here lies Ralegh's corps, his ſoul is gone,
To inhabit many, too much for one.
By his we learn the harmes of rarity,
That ſafety only dwells in doe-nought parity.
Artes, Nature, henceforth no more ſuch pieces,
Whilſt fortune's dragon guards the golden fleeces.

Our author here takes occaſion to relate the following paſſage, not contained in the hiſtories of that time. It was much laboured by Sir Walter Ralegh's friends to ſave his life, and particularly by the Earl of Clare, who had ſome power with his proſecutor (Gondemar the Spaniſh Ambaſſador) with whom he had frequent converſations. He diſcovered, as he thought, an inclination in Gondemar to make ſuit to King James for Sir Walter Ralegh's life, in caſe he [Sir Walter] would intreat him to do it. This the Earl of Clare intimated to Sir Walter by Mr Charles Thynne, one of his faſteſt friends, bidding him withal let him know, that there was no other way for his preſervation. When Sir Walter Ralegh heard it, he pauſed a little, and then gave this anſwer, *I am yet neither ſo old, nor ſo infirm, but I could be content to live, and therefore this would I do, if I was ſure it would do my buſineſs; but if it fail, then I loſe both my life and my honour; and both theſe I will not part with.* A reſolution, ſays Mr Gervaſe Holles, really not unworthy ſo famous a perſon.

[*O*] *At this time the Duke of Buckingham tried in vain to obtain him.*] His diſpoſition with regard to the Court at this time, as well as the temper obſerved by him in oppoſing the meaſures thereof, may be inferred from a letter to his ſon-in-law Sir Tho. Wentworth, afterward Earl of Strafford, on the following occaſion. Sir Thomas, in the Houſe of Commons, had ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the rights and liberties of the ſubject, and had ſo far diſpleaſed the Duke of Buckingham, that, by his inducement, the King, in 1625, declared ſix that had been members in the laſt Parliament Sheriffs of ſeveral counties, to prevent their being returned to the new Parliament. Among theſe, Sir Tho. Wentworth was for Yorkſhire, Sir Edward Coke, who had been Lord Chief-Juſtice, for Buckinghamſhire, Sir Francis Seymour for Wiltſhire, &c (39). Sir Francis, having taken advice thereon, was informed that he might be returned and ſerve for any town or city out of his own county; and thereupon he made an offer to Sir Thomas Wentworth, that he would procure him to be choſen in the Weſt, if he would favour him to get him elected for ſome place in the North. Of which he wrote to the Earl of Clare, requeſting his ſentiments how he ſhould proceed; and his Lordſhip ſent him the following anſwer.

(39) Earl of Strafford's Letters, &c. Vol. I. p. 30.

S O N,

You reſolve, in my opinion, of this particular rightly; for we live under a prerogative government, where book-law ſubmits unto lex-loquens; *then be theſe extraordinaries, that rely rather upon inference or interpretation than the letter, too weak ſtaves for ſuch ſubjects to lean upon. This is a novelty and a ſtranger, that a Sheriff, who, according to the received rule of our forefathers, is tied to his county as a ſnail to his ſhell, may cauſe himſelf to be choſen a burgeſs or ſervant for a borough; and ſo in a ſort quit the greater and the King's ſervice for a ſubject's a leſs; therefore as a novelty it is rather to be followed than to begin it, and as a ſtranger to be admitted as a probationer, and to be embraced upon further acquaintance. For my part, I ſhall be glad if Sir* Edw.

of 3 Car. I.) made the breach ſtill wider between them. For the great cauſe being heard in the Houſe of Peers between Robert Vere Earl of Oxford and Robert Bertie Lord Willoughby of Ereſby, concerning the office of Great-Chamberlain of England *, the Earl of Clare aſſerted the right of the former againſt the Duke of Buckingham's party, and made a reſolute ſpeech on the occaſion [*P*]. He continued to oppoſe the Court meaſures 'till the death of the Duke, and ſhortly afterwards particularly offended the King, by countenancing the report of his Majeſty's having a deſign to entertain a body of German horſe, in order to awe the kingdom. For this offence he was impriſoned for ſome time, and then reproved at the Council-board [*Q*]. He was alſo turned out of the commiſſion of the peace, which he took ill, and the country worſe where he lived; miſſing on the bench a perſon of ſuch courage, integrity, and ſo great abilities.

Whilſt

Edw. Coke and Sir Rob. Philips can make their undertaking good. And I could wiſh Sir Francis Seymour were a burgeſs, ſo you were not ſeen in it: and if any of them, without your knowledge or conſent, ſhall confer any ſuch place on you, you are no way in fault thereby; and yet Cæſar's wife muſt be free from ſuſpicion. So as I may conclude, it is not good to ſtand within the diſtance of abſolute power. But I ſee the iſſue. The queſtion will fall between the King and the Parliament; the Houſe will demand her member; and the King denies his officer, and the King's election was prior, ſo as in concluſion ſome drops of diſpleaſure may fall upon the borough, whoſe charter is always in the King's reach: but this is my chimæra, and the lion may be leſs terrible than the picture. Howſoever, this well-proceeding, would put the Courtier out of his trick, ſecure the Parliament better, and the Subject in general, and make great ones more cautious in wreſtling with that high court. Yet, as you write, Son, this buſineſs is of ſuch a nature, as it is much better to be a ſpectator than an actor; and in this I give you no opinion, I only confirm your's. I am glad to hear of my daughter's good health. The Lord of Heaven continue it, and bleſs you both with his beſt bleſſings. Amen.

Your aſſured loving father-in-law,

Haughton,
Nov. 27, 1625.

CLARE (40).

[*P*] *He made a reſolute ſpeech on the occaſion.*] The Earl of Oxford claimed the Chamberlain's place (41) as heir-male, and the Lord Willoughby as heir-general, to Henry Vere Earl of Oxford, deceaſed. They were both near allied in blood to the Earl of Clare, but he had a principal love to the Veres, from which family his grandmother came; and he believed alſo that juſtice lay on his ſide. The Duke of Buckingham, on the contrary part, having ever endeavoured to ſuppreſs the old nobility, ſays our author, laboured earneſtly, both with the Judges who were to deliver their opinions, and with the Peers who were to be judges of the right, in the behalf of the Lord Willoughby; and finding he had gained the moſt of them, he haſtened the tryal a little before the Term began, and when but few of the Judges were yet come to town. They were but five, whereof two (and they of the greateſt learning and reputation) declared their opinions for the Earl of Oxford, the other two for the Lord Willoughby; the fifth (which was Juſtice Dodderidge, an able Antiquary) made a long and learned diſcourſe, but determined nothing. So ſoon as the Judges had ſpoke their ſenſe, the Earl of Dorſet ſtood up, and with an excellent memory delivered the ſum of what the Judges had ſaid, then made an eloquent oration in the behalf of the Lord Willoughby, and moved the Lords to proceed to the vote. The Earl of Clare riſes up after him, and ſpoke to this effect. *That he had not intended to have ſpoken that day, for he had ever obſerved it the manner of the Houſe of Peers, that when any great cauſe was agitated before them, after the Judges had given their opinion, the Lords took time to conſider of the arguments, and to weigh well every circumſtance, before they would proceed to judgment; but ſince that Lord which ſpoke laſt, had, with a very happy memory, delivered the effect of what the Judges had diſcourſed, and with no little force of elocution had endeavoured to incline their Lordſhips in favour of the Lord Willoughby, he would take the liberty to ſay ſomething in the behalf of the Earl of Oxford: and firſt he thought it requiſite and juſt not to proceed to the vote until they had heard all the Judges deliver their opinions; he ſaid that might be ſhortly done, for the term was at hand, when they muſt repair to town. He told them, that in caſe of right between private perſons, when the cauſe appeared any thing knotty or doubtful, the ſeveral courts never uſed to proceed unto judgment, until the matter had been deliberately argued and debated by all the Judges in the Exchequer chamber; and if yet there appeared any diſſatiſfaction, they deferred the determination of it until the next Parliament: wherefore if in leſſer cauſes and between meaner perſons, both preſent and former ages had been ſo tender in matter of right, How much more ought the Lords to be in this particular, being between perſons of ſo great nobility, and a right of the moſt antient and the moſt honourable tenure of grand Sergeantry then in being? Yet, notwithſtanding all this, if they would proceed to a vote with ſuch precipitation, he deſired them to conſider, firſt, as to the Judges opinions, the ballance yet hung even, nor would he endeavour to caſt it by making compariſons of the perſons; their Lordſhips knew them well enough* (42). *Then he wiſhed them to remember, that whenever before, as ſometimes it had happened, there had been a failing of the heir-male in the direct line, not only the earldom of Oxford, but likewiſe the office of High Chamberlain, did revert unto the next collateral male of the ſame name and family.* And laſtly, *he wiſhed them to recollect, that this noble perſon who then made claim, was the 19th Vere who had borne that honourable title of Earl of Oxford, deſcended from Aubrey de Vere, Earl of Guiſnes in Normandy, and Beatrice his wife, ſiſter to King William the Conqueror. A family that had out-laſted three races of the blood-royal; a family that had ever been true to the Crown, and untainted in every branch of it; a family that had filled our hiſtories with the records of their noble actions, being ever, both in peace and war, moſt ſerviceable to the Crown of England. Concluding, that what Lord ſoever ſhould give a vote to take away that office from that family, he was not worthy to have the blood of a* Vere *in his veins.* But notwithſtanding this ſpeech, the right was carried by many voices for the Lord Willoughby (43). I remember (ſays our author) my Lord Clare came that day to dinner (which he ſeldom uſed to do in Parliament time), and ſitting down, he was ſilent a good while, looking very red, as he uſed to do when angry. At laſt he broke forth thus, *Well, this day I have parted with all my opinion of Parliaments, when I ſee that thoſe men, whoſe qualities and dignities ſhould render them the leaſt inclinable to fear or partiality, can yet, for fear of one great man, their fellow-ſubject, do an act ſo full of injuſtice as they have done this day in the cauſe of my Lord of* Oxford. And the next day entering the Houſe of Peers, he found four or five Biſhops talking together (all the Biſhops, by the Duke's inſtigation, had voted for the Lord Willoughby), whom he ſaluted, ſaying, *My Lords, I obſerved yeſterday you went all one way, and yet you ſhall not all be Biſhops of Canterbury.*

[*Q*] *He was confined, and reprimanded at the council-board.*] This deſign, with a liſt of the ſeveral perſons names who were taken up and impriſoned for countenancing and for diſperſing the pamphlet in which it was written, is mentioned in our general hiſtories, to which we refer, and ſhall only obſerve, that the Earl of Clare was confined to the Biſhop of Wincheſter's houſe; and that though the Earl of Bedford very ſubmiſſively acknowledged his fault, and his Majeſty's favour in the liberty and pardon he granted him, yet the Earl of Clare would not ſpeak one word. Of which being told by ſome of his friends, he replied, *That he would thank the King for his favours, but not for his puniſhments, eſpecially when he could not underſtand that he had at all offended; for he could not think it a crime, deſervigg impriſonment, to* look *on that paper, which had run through the hands of every man.*

[*R*] *He*

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* Lord Willoughby at the ſame time laid claim alſo to the title of Earl of Oxford, as likewiſe to the titles of Lord Bolebeck, Sanford, and Badleſmere. See their ſeveral caſes, as delivered to the Houſe of Peers, in the Hiſtorical Collections of the noble families, Cavendiſhe, Holles, Vere, Harley, and Ogle; by Arthur Collins, Eſq; Lond. 1752. fol. p. 269, & ſeq.

(40) Ibid. p. 31.

(41) The fee of this office was granted by Hen. I. to Alberic de Vere Earl of Oxford, the ſecond of that name, in the room of Robert Malet (Lord of the honour of Eye in Suffolk) who had been diſinherited and baniſhed in 2d Hen. I. for deſerting the King, and adhering to Robert Curthoſe. Pat. I. Hen. VIII. p. 1. m. 26. cited in Hiſtorical Collections, &c. p. 218. by Collins.

(42) According to the Journal of the Houſe of Peers, Dodderidge, Yelverton, and Baron Trevor, gave their opinions for the heir-general; the other two, Lord Chief-Juſtice Crew, and Lord Chief-Baron Sir John Walter, for the heir-male. The major part thus declaring, the Lords voted accordingly. Journal of Parliament, 2 Car. I.

(43) Whereupon he was admitted into the Houſe, 13 Apr. 2 Car. I. with his ſtaff of that office, and took his place of all the Barons, according to the Act of Parliament of 31 Hen. VIII. cap. 10. N.B. This office has continued ever ſince in his family; His Grace Peregrine Bertie, Duke of Ancaſter, being deſcended from him.

Whilſt the Earl continued under this cloud, the King making a progreſs into the North, together with the Prince Elector and Prince Rupert, who were then in England, continued ſeveral days at Rufford-Abbey, hunting in the foreſt of Shirwood. Whereupon, the Earl being then at Haughton, but four miles off, wrote a letter to the Prince Elector, (from whoſe mother, the Queen of Bohemia, he had found good reſpect) entreating his good offices for him with his Majeſty; which being performed, he came ſhortly after and kiſſed the King's hand [*R*]. Before this time he had altogether eſtranged himſelf from the Court; nor did he much repair to the city, but lived for the moſt part in the country, at his mannor of Haughton and his houſe in Nottingham, cheriſhing more quiet and contented thoughts in a retired life. He had by his lady ſix ſons, John, Denſil, Francis, William, and two who died infants of the name of Charles; and four daughters, Eleanor, Arabella, Elizabeth, and Margaret. The three younger ſons and Margaret died children, Elizabeth when ſhe was near marriageable, and Francis at 18 years of age *. So that, about twelve years before his death he had only four remaining, the two eldeſt of each ſex. Of theſe he ſaw both his ſons (of whom hereafter) and Lady Arabella married †, and lived to ſee grandchildren from all of them. Only Eleanor at his death continued a maid, afterwards married to Oliver Fitz-Williams Earl of Tyrconnel. The ſunday before he fell ill of that diſorder which carried him off, going from prayers at St Mary's-church in Nottingham, he ſuddenly ſtept (taking his lady with him) into a place in the church; where laying the end of his ſtaff upon the ground, he ſaid, *In this place will I be buried.* After he found himſelf ill, he ſent for Dr Plumtree, accounted the beſt Phyſician there, who gave him phyſic but it never wrought; whereupon he grew worſe, and after a few days delivered his ſoul into the hands of God, on Wedneſday the fourth of October 1637, at his houſe called Clare-palace in Nottingham, aged 73 years and about 4 or 5 months, as the inſcription on his picture ſets forth. He was interred in Clare-iſle in St Mary's-church, the place where himſelf had appointed. There was no Will found after his death, except one made above 40 years before upon his going the iſland voyage, wherein were ſeveral legacies to perſons dead before him. But a day or two before his departure he called his daughter Eleanor to him, and told her he gave her 6000 pounds, which was ready in the houſe for her. Mr Gervaſe Holles has drawn a character of him, which is inſerted below [*S*]. His eldeſt ſon John, the ſecond Earl of Clare, was born at Haughton June

* See his monument in St Edmund's chapel in Weſtminſter-abbey, with an inſcription in Engliſh verſe by his father.

† Viz. To Sir Tho. Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford. See his article.

[*R*] *He came to Rufford-abbey and kiſſed the King's hand.*] He then told his Majeſty, that *he found he had incurred his diſpleaſure, but he did not know for what, only he conceived it was by the miſinformation of ſome perſons that were ill affected to him: and humbly beſought his Majeſty, that when the like ſhould happen again, he would tell him of it, aſſuring him, that he would either clear himſelf, or acknowledge his error if he had offended, and aſk his pardon; which he could not doubt of, becauſe his errors would appear only errors of ignorance; and greater faults than theſe his Majeſty pardoned every day.* The King promiſed him he would, but the Earl ſaid, he forgot his promiſe, He would ſay of the courtiers at that time, *that they had little power to do good, but power enough to do hurt: for they could miſrepreſent any man to the King, and ſtamp an ill character upon him, and he ſhould never know who injured him, and in what he was injured.*

[*S*] *His character drawn by Mr Gervaſe Holles.*] The author having obſerved that Mr William Skipwith wrote a handſome elegy upon the Earl, which he once had, but had loſt it, proceeds thus. I ſhall now give ſome deſcription of his body and diſpoſition. He was a perſonage of a gallant preſence, full ſix feet high, ſtraight, and of a ſtrong limb. In his youth he was ſomewhat lean, but in his later days grew well in fleſh, though not corpulent: his hair was of a light brown, ſomething towards an aburne, his eyes grey, his ſkin white, and his cheeks roſy. In his face there was a ſtrong mixture of ſeverity and ſweetneſs, and his motion was ſtately, befitting ſo great a perſon. I heard a lady ſay, that he came when he was a young man to the Earl of Huntingdon's, where he found divers perſons of quality dancing, and he fell into the dance with them with his cloak and rapier on, which he performed with the beſt grace that ever ſhe had ſeen any thing done in her life. He had a moſt becoming ſeat on horſeback, and was an excellent horſeman. In his youth he had a very active body, nor was it at all unſerviceable in his old age; for I have ſeen him walk often from Chaloner-houſe in Clerkenwell, where he then lived, to the Parliament-houſe at Weſtminſter, his coach paſſing after him. And I remember he ſeeing his ſon Denſell fencing, he took the other foyle, and played with him, which he performed with great ſkill (for he was ſingularly good at his rapier) and with as active a delivery, as the youngeſt man of them all. Thus much as to his body. But his mind was yet the far nobler part, which was adorned with all the ornaments that the Univerſity, the Inns of Court, the King's Court, the Camp, Travayle, and Language could enrich him with. I muſt not forget the judgment of Sir John Brooke, now Lord Cobham (who was contemporary with him) which he delivered at the Lord Lexington's table in theſe words, *I have travailed the beſt partes of* Chriſtendome, *and have converſed with the moſt noble perſons where I came, yet in all my life I never met with ſo exactly accompliſhed a gentleman as my Lord of* Clare. He had a felicity of converſation beyond all other men. No perſon of what condition ſoever, that came to him, parted away uncontented; he had ſo juſt a penetration, that he quickly found the bottom of his capacity, and which way his genius lay, then would diſcourſe with him civilly in his own element, ſo as all men took their leave of him with a great deal of ſatisfaction. His table was in effect a continual *convivium philoſophale*; for after he had reaſonably well checked his appetite, he would ever ſtart ſome diſcourſe, either in divinity, philoſophy, or hiſtory, in all which he was excellent. So that every man there had his mind as well as his body feaſted. It hath often repented me, that I have not gathered and preſerved thoſe apophthegms, which fell from him at ſeveral times, which really would have weighed with the beſt of the Antients. His table was always good, and his retinue anſwerable, having ever the ſons of ſome gentlemen to follow him, who would ſend them to him, as to a ſchool of knowledge (44), virtue, and temperance, for he hated drunkenneſs and debauchery, nor would he endure exceſs in his buttery, which cauſed his houſe keeping (in this lewd age where no entertainment is valued, that does not ſwim in drink) to be the leſs commended. The gentleman of his horſe once took the liberty to tell him, that his table was good, and a little charge more would make his houſe-keeping without exception, and much to his honour, viz. 100 l. more yearly in his cellar, and as much in his ſtables: he replied, Watſon, Watſon, *look you to my profit, I will look to my honour myſelf* (45). He was exceeding eloquent, and in his familiar letters, had one of the beſt ſtiles that ever I met with. One diſcourſe he was writing, and I believe finiſhed before he died, but I have ſeen but a part of it. It was an anſwer to ſome paſſages in Sir Francis Bacon's Eſſay on Empire; wherein he ſays, that the errors of Princes for the moſt part proceed from a ſatiety of government,

(44) He took care of the education of Mr Gervaſe Holles for more than 3 years, deſcending even to the pains of reading Logic and Philoſophy to him himſelf.

(45) Mr Gervaſe Holles obſerves, that his grandfather was more liberal this way, and even ſtiled the wonder of his age, for conſtant hoſpitality, which cauſed the Earl to let fall an unbecoming word, that *his grandfather ſent all bls revenues down the privy-houſe.*

June 13, 1595; and marrying Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter and coheir of Horatio Lord Vere of Tilbury, beſides other children, had iſſue by her Gilbert, the third Earl of Clare; who was born at Hackney near London, April 24, 1633, and took to wife Grace, fourth daughter of the honourable William Pierpoint, ſecond ſon of Robert Earl of Kingſton, who brought him three ſons; the eldeſt of whom, John, born January 9, 1661-2, became the fourth Earl of Clare; and four daughters, of whom the youngeſt, Grace, being married to Sir Thomas Pelham of Suſſex, became mother to the preſent Duke of Newcaſtle; to which title, as alſo to that of Marquis of Clare, he by creation (*i*) ſucceeded her brother his uncle, the fourth Earl of Clare, who obtained the ſame by creation, May 14, 1694 (*k*), having married Margaret, third daughter and coheir of Henry Cavendiſh Duke of Newcaſtle, by whoſe Will he alſo ſucceeded to the whole of the Cavendiſh eſtate. But dying July 15, 1711, without male iſſue, the family of Holles thereby became extinct. His Grace made his laſt Will and Teſtament Auguſt 29, 1707, four years before his deceaſe; *Wherein he deſires his body may be buried in that vault in Weſtminſter-abbey, where the Lord* Tilbury *lies buried* *, *and that his funeral be performed in ſuch manner, and ſo much money be expended therein, as his executors ſhall think fit. And that they, in ſome convenient time after his deceaſe, ſhall cauſe a monument to be erected for him in ſuch part of the ſaid church as they ſhall think proper. He bequeaths to his wife Margaret, Lady-Ducheſs of Newcaſtle, his capital manſion-houſe, called Orton-houſe, with the appurtenances in Orton or elſewhere in the county of Huntingdon, which he purchaſed of the Earl of Kingſton, to her and her heirs and aſſigns for ever: but he deſires her Grace to diſpoſe of the ſame to his daughter the Lady Harriot Cavendiſh Holles, if by her duty and obedience to her mother ſhe ſhall merit and deſerve the ſame; and, confirming his wife's jointure, he alſo gives her the uſe of all his plate during her life, and all his jewels abſolutely. He bequeaths to his ſaid daughter and her heirs for ever, all his eſtates in the counties of Stafford, York, and Northumberland (except ſuch as are of his own purchaſing in the county of York), over and beſides* 20000 *pounds, which is provided to be paid her by his marriage-ſettlement; which ſettlement, as to the* 20000 *pounds, he alſo ratifies and confirms: and as for all other his eſtates, he gives and deviſes them to the honourable Thomas Pelham* (now Thomas Holles (*l*) Duke of Newcaſtle) *ſon and heir apparent of the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Pelham, entailing them on him and his heirs male; in default, to the Honourable Henry Pelham, one other of the ſons of the ſaid Thomas Lord Pelham, and his heirs male: in default, to the Honourable William Vane, ſecond ſon of Chriſtopher Lord Bernard, with like remainder: in default, to the Honourable Gilbert Vane* (*m*), *ſon and heir of the ſaid Lord Bernard and his iſſue male: in default, to the right heirs of him the ſaid John Duke of Newcaſtle. Provided that whoever ſhall poſſeſs the ſaid eſtates ſo deviſed, ſhall aſſume the name of Holles* ‖. His Grace was buried in Weſtminſter-

vernment, which makes them deſcend many times, for variety, to low entertainments, as *Nero* to be a ſtage-player, *Commodus* a fencer, and the like. The Earl of Clare on the contrary proves, that the errors of Princes are in the perſons abuſing the office, and not in the office appropriated to a fit perſon. A diſcourſe worthy the public view, being clad in an excellent ſtile, and deſigned with a ſingular judgment. He was of a moſt courteous and affable diſpoſition, yet preſerved exactly the grandeur and diſtance of his quality: nor was it poſſible, but all men ſhould have loved him, had not the poiſon of envy ſwoln the ſtomachs of divers, who therefore were his enemies, becauſe they well knew, what little inconſiderable trifles they were in compariſon of him. His youth was lively and ſpiritful, and he would ſay, it was a prepoſterous thing to ſee a young man old; but his age was ever accompanied with a chearful gravity. I remember that endeavouring to reconcile a difference between two of his poor neighbours, the one of them let a very ſlovenly ſpeech fall concerning the other, at which the by-ſtanders fell a laughing; he preſently rebuked them ſaying, *Yee ought rather to pity the poor man, than deride him; for if God had given him better education, he would have expreſſed better manners.* A better huſband, that is a more kind or careful, lived not; and indeed he had the happineſs of a wife, that deſerved all goodneſs from a huſband. Neither was there a better father, or a better friend, more conſtant both in proſperity and adverſity; of which the Earl of Somerſet and the Biſhop of Lincoln had good experience. I well remember, that the firſt time I ſaw the former of theſe (after the Earl's deceaſe) he ſtood a pretty while ſad and mute after he had ſaluted me; then he began thus. *You and I, Mr Holles, have loſt a good friend.* And then throwing up his eyes, he thus proceeded. *Next the loſs of myſelf, the loſs of my Lord Clare was the greateſt calamity that ever befel me. I was once upon the top, when I was able to confer favours, and did ſo to ſome; though I muſt ſay, to my Lord of Clare, I never did one conſiderable courteſy. Yet I muſt tell you, had I ſtood, he had riſen; but in my calamity, and when I was underfoot, whether I look upon your nation or my own countrymen that I had deſerved well of, I found not one faithful friend but my Lord of Clare.* One other paſſage concerning him I muſt not omit. His mortal enemy, Gervaſe Markham, being then ſheriff of Nottinghamſhire, (which as I take it was in 1625) was robbed of about 5000 l. during his abſence from home, by two of the Soubeys his reputed baſtards, and others. But purſuit being made after them, they hid about 2000 l. of the money in Gameleſton woods (a lordſhip of the Earl of Clare), which was found, and brought to the Earl, as lord of the fee, to whom, as felons goods, it eſcheated: but he preſently ſent the whole back to Gervaſe Markham from whom it was ſtolen, ſcorning to advantage himſelf by the ſpoils of his enemy. This act more enraged Markham than the loſs of his money, becauſe it impoſed upon him an obligation to his adverſary; yet after he had curſt and ſwore like a beggar, he impoſed upon himſelf ſo good manners, as to come to the Earl at Haughton, to give him thanks, which from the time of their combat, was the only time, during their lives, that they had ſeen one another. He [the Earl] was naturally juſt, but nothing liberal, no man living being more ready to oblige by his intereſt and endeavours, but not at all by his purſe: which I have often fancied to be the reaſon, why our modern writers are ſo ſilent concerning him. For it is not merit ſo much as munificence that ſtuffs hiſtory with ſo many commendable characters. And writers for the moſt part remember not ſo willingly, who deſerve well, as who deſerves well of them. This little monument I have raiſed to his memory, which I hope ſhall laſt, as long as my poſterity laſts; at leaſt ſo long as any of them ſhall retain a love either to goodneſs, or to their anceſtors. I ſhall conclude concerning him, making uſe of that of Tacitus upon Agricola: *Quicquid ex Eo amavimus, quiquid mirati ſumus, manet, manſurumque eſt in animis hominum, in æternitate temporum, famæ rerum. Nam multos Veterum velut inglorios & ignobiles oblivio obruet, Clarenſis Poſteritati narratus & traditus ſuperſtes erit.*

(*i*) He was firſt created Earl of Clare and Viſcount Haughton Oct. 26, 1714, and afterwards Duke of Newcaſtle and Marquis of Clare, Aug. 2. 1715, with remainder to his brother Henry Pelham.

(*k*) He was alſo created, by the ſame patent, Marquis of Clare. N. B. The Dukes of Shrewſbury, Leeds, Bedford, and Devonſhire, were all created ſo about the ſame time. Boyer's Life of Queen Anne.

* The family of Vere Earls of Oxford was then become extinct by the death of Aubrey de Vere, March 12, 1702-3, whoſe daughter Diana became his ſole heir, being married, Apr. 1694, to Charles Beauclerk Duke of St Albans, ſon to King Charles II. by Mrs Eleanor Gwin, from whom is deſcended George the preſent Duke of St Albans. Collins's Hiſt. Collect. &c. p. 282, 283.

(*l*) He aſſumed the name and arms of Holles, in purſuance to his uncle's Will, being therein adopted his heir.

(*m*) Theſe two Vanes were his Lordſhip's nephews, by his eldeſt ſiſter Elizabeth, wiſe to their father, Chriſtopher Lord Bernard.

‖ Ex Regiſt. vocat. Fagg. No. 548 quire 202. in Cur. Prærog. Cantuar.

Weſtminſter-abbey according to the appointment in his Will, Auguſt 9 following his deceaſe, and in 1723, his only child Henrietta Cavendiſh Holles Harley erected a magnificent monument to his memory (*n*), in the north croſs iſle near the entrance by Solomon's porch on the left hand. In the 5th of George I. there paſſed in Parliament an act, to render more effectual the agreements that have been made between Tho. Holles Duke of Newcaſtle, Henry Pelham Eſq;, Edward Lord Harley, and the Lady Henrietta his wife, William Vane, and Gilbert Vane, Eſqrs. ſons of Chriſtopher Lord Bernard, or any of them, in relation to the will and eſtate of John late Duke of Newcaſtle; and for ſettling the ſame in ſuch manner as may be agreeable to the intent of the ſaid agreements, and for other purpoſes therein mentioned. Her Grace Margaret, Ducheſs-Dowager of Newcaſtle, deceaſedat London in the 65th year of her age, Dec. 24, 1716, and was interred with her anceſtors in the burial place of the Cavendiſhes, in the church of Bolſover, January 5 following. Their Graces only daughter and heir, the Lady Henrietta Cavendiſh Holles, is now [1752] Counteſs-dowager of Oxford, and reſides for the moſt part at Welbeck in Nottinghamſhire. Her Ladyſhip was married October 31, 1713, to the Right Honourable Edward Lord Harley, only ſon and heir of Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, Lord High-Treaſurer of England; and by the death of his father, May 21, 1724, ſucceeded to his honours and eſtate, and died June 16, 1741. They had iſſue an only daughter their heir, Lady Margaret Cavendiſh Harley, married July 11, 1734, to his Grace the preſent Duke of Portland. P

HOLLES [Densil], Baron of Iſfield in Suſſex, and ſecond ſon of the former, was born in 1597 at Haughton, his father's ſeat in Nottinghamſhire. He had a noble education ſuitable to his quality, and his excellent endowments appeared from his youth, having the advantage of ſo great a tutor as his father, who gave all his children an education equal to the beſt, and beyond moſt of the nobility (*a*); and this was his favourite ſon [*A*]. He had likewiſe the advantage of being for ſome time a companion and bedfellow to the Duke of York, afterwards King Charles I. who took great delight in him. However, as ſoon as he came to man's eſtate, falling in with the ſentiments of his father, he ſided with the party againſt the Court in the laſt Parliament of King James I. having obtained a ſeat there as one of the repreſentatives for Mitchel in Cornwall (*b*). He perſevered in the ſame temper after the acceſſion of King Charles I. to the throne, as has been already mentioned in the preceding article. Early in this reign he married [*B*] Dorothy, ſole

[*A*] *Denſil was his favourite ſon.*] Mr Gervaſe Holles obſerves (1), that the Earl ſaw nothing but arguments of comfort in his children, ſave only a difference, which happened betwixt his two ſons, and which to his dying day he could not reconcile, they being both of great ſtomachs. Yet the ground at the firſt was ſlight, being only a trivial difference between their wives at cards, which drew in the huſbands to make a party. Though, continues he, ſomething of jealouſy might ſtick concerning their father's affection; the Earl ſeeming to diſcover more of kindneſs to his younger ſon; led to it paradventure by the ſame ground, which makes grand-fathers love beſt their grand-children, as thoſe that may be the leſs content to part with them.

[*B*] *He married early in the reign of King Charles I.*] This is evident from the concluſion of the following letter (2), wrote by him to his brother-in-law Sir Thomas Wentworth (afterwards Earl of Strafford) then confined in Kent for refuſing to pay the loan money in 1626.

Good Brother,

‘To begin without complement, as I wiſh we may ever ſo continue (3), I know not, how your foggy air, you complain of, may affect your brains; but I am ſure ſomething has played ſuch tricks in mine, that Jupiter's head aked not more, when Minerva was in it all in armour, than mine has done this fortnight; but if I had a Minerva, it was a *craſſa Minerva*, for I had never a whit the more wit for it; and God be thanked I am now pretty well eaſed of the pain, as I think by this time you are of your *Marſhalſea* ill air (a thing fatal to all priſoners) and I like your remove better beyond ſea into Kent, than Currington's over Thames into the Fleet, but ſeeing he had not a horſe, I think their Lordſhips did well to ſend him a journey by water. I ſhall deſire to know where your rendezvous is, that I may now and then afflict you with ſome weſtern intelligence; for you know, we have the active ſpirits of the time, and accordingly we were the firſt that cried out upon the dull ſleepy time of peace, and deſired action, in which virtue does conſiſt. But we now to our coſt find the old logic rule true, there is no action without paſſion; for we ſuffer ſufficiently for it, and now we can cry out as faſt on the other ſide: that ſince theſe wars all our trading is dead, our wools lie upon our hands, our men are not ſet on work, our ſhips lie in our ports unoccupied, to be ſold as cheap as fire wood: land, ſheep, cattle, nothing will yield money; not to ſpeak of other petty inconveniences we have found by the ſoldiers raviſhing mens wives and daughters (getting them with child otherways was fair play, counted a favour); killing and carrying away beefs and ſheep off the ground (ſtealing of poultrey was not worth the ſpeaking of); killing and robbing men on the highway, nay in fairs and towns (for to meet a man coming from the market with a pair of new ſhoes or a baſket of eggs or apples, and take them from him, was but ſport and merriment), and a thouſand ſuch other pretty pranks; come a a dozen of them to a Juſtice of Peace and Deputy Lieutenant's houſe, and make my lady give them five or ſix pieces to be gone. Why we weſtern lads reſpect not ſuch things as theſe, ſo we may have wars, and be in action; for as you ſay our prizes make amends for all; yea, but the craft is in the catching, and I'll aſſure you, we are not overburthened with the ſtore of them; and thoſe few that are, now and then a barque of fiſh, or canvas from our neighbours and late friends by alliance the French (4), by that time my Lord Admiral and his Vice-Admirals be ſatisfied, and all other rights and wrongs be diſcharged, a ſlender gleaning is left for the taker. And I do not find the country to be any thing the better ſerved for the ſale of them, for every thing is at a moſt exceſſive rate, I proteſt a great deal dearer than at London. No, the prizes moſt common now a-days are the *priſes des corps* of you rebellious gentlemen, who will not open your purſe-ſtrings, and ſupply his Majeſty's wants for the maintenance of the wars, and my Lord Duke's expences by ſea and land, in war and peace. I hear there are more of you ſent for, fourteen out of Yorkſhire, eight out of Cornwal, *cum multis aliis, quos nunc perſcribere longum eſt*, or rather *quos non proſcribere longum eſt*; for this is the Engliſh of it, it will not be long before many more of you be baniſhed your own homes. I hope now you ſee, we play fighting in earneſt; take towns, and countries, ‘whole

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(*n*) See the Inſcription on the monument.

(*a*) Memoirs of the family of Holles, by Mr Gervaſe Holles, ubi ſupra.

(*b*) Willis's Notit. Parliament. p. 188.

(1) In Parentela & Parentalia Holleſiorum, MS. cited in the preceding article.

(2) Earl of Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 40.

(3) See in the art. of the Earl of Strafford, the particular incident which broke the neck of this wiſh.

(4) This war with France was occaſioned by the King's diſmiſſing the Queen's French ſervants. See the general hiſtories of England.

ſole daughter and heir to Sir Francis Aſhley *, one of the King's Serjeants at Law, and Recorder of Dorcheſter, whereby he became ſeated at Winterburne St Martin in Dorſetſhire; and in the Parliament which met March 17, 1627, being returned for Dorcheſter †, he collected the three famous reſolutions againſt Popery and Arminianiſm, and the King's right to tonnage and poundage, without conſent of Parliament; and, together with Mr Valentine, held the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons forcibly in the chair, while they were read by Sir John Elliot. He was, with the reſt concerned, ſharply proſecuted for this violence, which rendered him ſtill more irreconcilable to the Court [C]; and being returned again for Dorcheſter, in the Long-Parliament called in 1640 ‖, he was then at the head of the moderate Preſbyterian party [D]; and though he would not be concerned in the proſecution of his brother-in-law the Earl of Strafford, yet he carried up the general impeachment of Archbiſhop Laud. He was one of the five Members accuſed of high-treaſon by the King, in January 1641; and in conſequence thereof, at the breaking out of the Rebellion, had a regiment conferred upon him by the Parliament; and having been nominated by the Commons as a fit perſon to be truſted with the militia (c), was made Lieutenant of Briſtol, and exerciſed the militia there. Thus, notwithſtanding he was well affected to the eſtabliſhment both in Church and State, yet he unwarily concurred

* This gentleman dying in 1635, Mr Holles ſucceeded to about 1200 l. per annum in lands, beſides a good perſonal eſtate. *Mr Garrard's letter to Lord Wentworth, in the Earl of Strafford's Letters, Vol. I.*

† Willis's Not. Parl. Vol. II. p. 424.

‖ Willis, p. 240, 244. It appears from the ſame author, p. 229, 231. that Mr Holles was choſen for the ſame place in the Short-Parliament, which met 13 April the ſame year.

(c) Huſband's Collections of Declarations, Votes, &c. from Dec. 1641, to March 21, 1643, p. 73, 74. 'Tis remarkable, that in Dec. 1645, the King propoſed Mr Holles (among others) for the ſame truſt. Ruſhworth, Vol. VI. p. 216, 217. and Whitlock, p. 191.

'whole iſlands, ſcare our enemies, beggar ourſelves; 'for the end of our victories, I am afraid, will be as 'the good wife ſaid to my Lord Biſhop by her medicine, we ſhall be never the better, nor they much 'the worſe. In the mean time we have loſt many 'good men, yet let us make the beſt of it, and I hope 'it will make our wives, inſtead of bearing wenches, 'which of late you ſay they have been much given to, 'fall to bringing of boys, young ſoldiers for the reincrew of our army; and I know no reaſon, but mine 'ſhould begin (5), and ſhe had as good do it at firſt, 'for if ſhe do not, at her peril I hope to make her 'go again for it; and when my ſiſter Arabella ſhall 'ſee how mine is ſerved, I hope ſhe will take fair 'warning, and do as ſhe ſhould do, but I fear not her 'ſo much, for ſhe has begun pretty well already (6). And 'now I will cloſe my letter to you, as you do your's 'with thanks by the way for it (as alſo for the whole 'letter) heartily praying, ſhe may ſo continue to make 'you a glad father of many goodly and godly boys, 'and ſome wenches among, leaſt the ſeventh work 'miracles, as old wives will tell us; and herſelf be a 'joyful and good mother, as I know ſhe is a good and 'loving wife, and long may ſhe ſo be to your comfort 'and her own; and this is the prayer of,

'Your moſt affectionate
Dorcheſter,
Aug. 9, 1627. 'loving brother and ſervant,

'D. HOLLES.'

[C] *Sharply proſecuted for this behaviour, which rendered him more irreconcilable to the Court.*] Mr Gervaſe Holles (7) was of opinion, that his oppoſing the Court prejudiced his father the Earl of Clare in the King's judgment, and relates the following circumſtance. A friend of the Earl's beſought the King not to impute any miſcarriage of the ſon to the Earl his father, nor let him ſuffer for the ſon's offence in his Majeſty's opinion: the King replied, *He was ſorry with all his heart for the miſcarriage of his old companion and bedfellow; however he would be ſo far from reflecting on the father in it, that he would be content to hear the father in the ſon's behalf.* Yet, proceeds this author, was Denſil Holles kept cloſe priſoner in the Tower for above twelve months, and when with much difficulty his liberty was procured, he was bound to his good behaviour for many years after. But he does not ſay that the father accepted the King's kindneſs in making the overture for an application, and ſtrongly ſuggeſts the contrary both by his ſilence, and by the account he gives of the Earl's conduct at this time, as related in the preceding article. And it may be obſerved, that though Mr Holles was one of the five Members of the Houſe of Commons accuſed of high-treaſon by his Majeſty in January 1641. Yet being appointed of the committee to carry propoſitions agreed to be made to the King for a peace in the beginning of November 1644. His Majeſty made no objection to him, as he had before to others that were accuſed, and nominated in former treaties (8). 'Tis true his eyes were then open, ſo that he diſcerned the deſigns of thoſe, who were afterwards generally ſtiled *Root-and-Branch men* (9), and accordingly theſe propoſals producing the treaty of Uxbridge, he was one of the commiſſioners there, who, as Lord Clarendon remarks (10), 'deſired a peace upon much honeſter conditions 'than they durſt own, and that he was the frankeſt 'among them in owning his animoſity and indignation 'againſt all the independent party, and was no otherwiſe affected to the Preſbyterians, than as they conſtituted a party, upon which he depended to oppoſe 'the other, foreſeeing that many of thoſe, who appeared moſt reſolute to concur with him, would by 'degrees fall from him, purely for want of courage, 'in which he ſo abounded.' There are ſeveral inſtances of this ſignal courage, a very remarkable one is related by the ſame hiſtorian as follows. Holles one day upon a very hot debate in the houſe, and ſome rude expreſſions which fell from Ireton, perſuaded him to walk out with him, and then told him, that *he ſhould preſently go over the water and fight him.* Ireton replying, *his conſcience would not ſuffer him to fight a duel.* Holles in choler pulled him by the noſe, telling him, *if his conſcience would keep him from giving men ſatisfaction, it ſhould keep him from provoking them* (11). We have another inſtance from Mr Whitlock (12), who was an eye-witneſs of it, being joined among others with Mr Holles to carry the Parliament's propoſitions for peace to the King at Oxford, in November, 1644. Soon after their arrival, ſome officers of the King's army coming into the hall of the inn, where they were lodged by the Governor's order, quarrelled with their ſervants, calling them, and their maſters, and the Parliament, *rogues*, *rebels*, and *traytors*, and would not ſuffer them to come near the fire, on which there enſued a fray; and the ſervants acquainting their maſters with it, Mr Holles went preſently to one of the King's officers there, a tall, big, black man, and taking him by the collar, ſhook him, and told him it was baſely and unworthily done to abuſe their ſervants in their own quarters, and contrary to the King's ſafe conduct; and preſently took his ſword from him. This encouraged Mr Whitlock to do the like to another officer; and the reſult was, that the action being approved by the Governor, he ſent the two diſarmed officers to priſon, and the commiſſioners were afterwards quiet.

[D] *He was at the head of the moderate Preſbyterian party.*] The laſt mentioned noble author gives him this character (14). 'That he was as much valued and eſteemed by the whole party [againſt the Court] as any man; as he deſerved to be, being of more accompliſhed parts than any of them, and of great reputation by the part he acted againſt the Court and the Duke of Buckingham in the Parliament of the fourth year of the King, and his long impriſonment and ſharp proſecution afterwards upon that account, of which he retained the memory with acrimony enough: but he would in no degree intermeddle in the counſels or proſecution againſt the Earl of Strafford (which he could not prevent) who had married his ſiſter, by whom he had all his children (15), ſo that he was a ſtranger to all thoſe conſultations, though it did not otherwiſe interrupt the friendſhip he had with the moſt violent of thoſe proſecutors. In all other contrivances, he was in the moſt ſecret councils with thoſe who moſt governed, and was reſpected by them with very ſubmiſs application as a man of authority.'

[E] *After*

(5) Accordingly ſhe brought him a ſon, named Francis, born 10 days after the date of this letter. MS. of the Family of Holles in the Harleian library.

(6) By her ſon William, afterwards Earl of Straffod, born June 8, 1626. Eſſay towards the Life of Lord Strafford, ſubjoined to Strafford's State-Papers.

(7) Ubi ſupra.

(8) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 105.

(9) Upon their rejecting the King's propoſitions for peace, ſent from Oxford to the Earl of Eſſex in January 1642.

(10) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. II. p. 460. firſt edit. in folio.

(11) Ibid. Vol. V. p. 58.

(12) Memorials, &c. p. 108.

(14) Clarendon, Vol. I. 8vo. edition, p. 138.

(15) His Lordſhip ſeems to have been a ſtranger to the quarrel of the Holles family with the Earl of Strafford, mentioned in his article.

concurred in all the meaſures of thoſe who aimed at the utter extirpation of both, and thereby helped to put into their hands that ſword which was employed againſt himſelf, when it was too late to oppoſe them *. After having ſuffered much from both ſides, he joined heartily in bringing back [*E*] the King [Charles II.]; who for that ſervice was pleaſed before his Coronation to advance him to the dignity of a Baron of England, by the ſtyle of Lord Holles of Isfield (*d*) in the county of Suſſex, having before called him into his Privy-Council (*e*). He was afterwards employed in ſeveral weighty affairs of State; though

* When Cromwell had brought his deſigns to perfection, he ſaid at Kingſton in 1648, that he was as fit to rule the kingdom as Holles. Hiſt. of Independency, Part iii. p. 21. edit. 1648. 4to.

(*d*) The patent bears date 20 April, 13 Car. II. His ſon was alſo created a Baronet by patent, dated June 27, 1660, 12 Car. II. Heylin's Help to Hiſtory, p. 634.

(*e*) Hiſt of Independency, 4th and laſt part, by T. M. p. 111. edit. 1660. 4to. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 433.

[*E*] *After having ſuffered much on both ſides, he joined heartily in bringing back the King.*] We have already mentioned his ſufferings in general from the King's ſide; and as theſe were ſo many inſtances of his merit on the ſide of the Parliament, he afterwards in his own juſtification to that party, ſet forth the particulars in the following account, which at the ſame time is a ſignal teſtimony of his ſingular diſintereſtedneſs in their ſervice. Having taken notice how greatly thoſe that adhered to the army, had bettered themſelves in their fortunes, he proceeds, 'I myſelf for my 'ſufferings after the Parliament 3 Car. which continued many years, coſt me ſome thouſands of pounds, 'and prejudiced me more, had five thouſand pounds 'given me by the houſe for my reparation. I refuſed 'it, and ſaid, I would not receive a penny 'till the 'public debts were paid. Let any of them ſay ſo 'much. I deſire whoever ſhall chance to read this, 'to pardon me this folly. I don't mean for not taking the money, but ſeeming to boaſt of it. I muſt 'again repeat the Apoſtle's words, I am become a 'fool in glorying, but they have compelled me. It 'is true, I paid for a fine impoſed in the King's-bench 'a thouſand marks. This in the time of theſe troubles, when my whole eſtate was kept from me in the 'Weſt, that for three years or thereabout, I received 'thence not one farthing, was reimburſed me (16).' Thus far on that ſide. On the other hand, from the year 1643, when he began (as has been already mentioned) to ſee into the deſtructive deſigns of the leading men in the army againſt the conſtitution, he oppoſed them with the ſame vigour and intrepidity as he had before ſhewn againſt the oppreſſions of the Court. To this end he found means continually to excite the King never to deſiſt from offering propoſitions of peace to the Parliament even to the laſt, as their neglecting his gracious invitations would make them odious, if they continued in their obſtinacy; and ſo early as 1644, adviſed the Earl of Eſſex to diveſt Cromwell of his command in the army, and preſſed to have him accuſed to the Parliament as an *incendiary* *. Perſevering with the ſame ſpirit in 1647 he made a motion in the Houſe of Commons for diſbanding the army, and even prevailed to have the foot regiments diſbanded †. But it was now too late, and the army having got the abſolute maſtery impeached him of high-treaſon at the head of ten more of the principal members of his party. So that he was obliged to ſeek his ſafety by flying into France; where fixing his reſidence at *St Mere Eglide*, in Normandy, he wrote memoirs of the miſeries that had befallen the kingdom. To which he prefixed the following dedication.

'*To the unparallelled couple,* Mr Oliver St John, *His 'Majeſty's Sollicitor-General, and* Mr Oliver Cromwell, *the Parliament's Lieutenant-General, the 'two grand deſigners of the ruin of three kingdoms.*

'GENTLEMEN,

'As you have been principal in miniſtring of the 'matter of this diſcourſe, and giving me the leiſure of 'making it, by baniſhing me from my country and 'buſineſs, ſo it is reaſon I ſhould particularly addreſs 'it to you. You will find in it ſome repreſentation of 'the groſſer lines of your features, thoſe outward enormities that make you remarkable, and your pictures 'eaſy to be known, which cannot be expected here ſo 'fully to the life, as I could wiſh. He only can do 'that, whoſe eye and hand have been with you in 'ſecret councils; who has ſeen you at your meetings, 'your ſabbaths, where you have laid by your aſſumed 'ſhapes (with which you cozened the world) and reſumed your own; imparting each to other, and 'and both of you to your fellow-witches the bottom 'of your deſigns, the policy of your actings, the turns 'of your contrivances, all your falſhoods, cozenings, 'villainies, and cruelties, with your full intentions to 'ruin the three kingdoms. All I will ſay to you, is 'no more than what St *Peter* ſaid to *Simon* the ſorcerer, *Repent therefore of this your wickedneſs, and 'pray God, if perhaps the thoughts of your hearts may 'be forgiven you.* And if you have not grace to pray 'for yourſelves, (as it may be you have not) I have 'charity to do it for you, but not faith enough to 'truſt you.

'So I remain,

At St Mere Eglide
in Normandy this
14th of February,
1647, *St. V.*

I thank God, not in your power,

and as little at your ſervice,

DENZIL HOLLES.

We have tranſcribed this addreſs, as it is a true ſpecimen of the temper which ſwayed Mr Holles's pen at that time. His indignation was indeed that of a patriot indiſputably juſt and noble, and the general merit of the piece, does more than atone for his too haſtily crediting the ſtories of others concerning Cromwell's cowardice at the battles of Marſton-moor and Baſing-houſe (17), eſpecially when it is conſidered that he had been himſelf an eye-witneſs of that tyrant's cowardly behaviour at Edge-hill. However Mr Holles did not proceed to publiſh theſe memoirs *, reſtrained probably by an expectation, which there was ſome grounds to entertain ſoon afterwards, that he ſhould be diſcharged by his own party in the Houſe of Commons from the impeachment againſt him. This being effected in June 1648 (18), he returned home and reſumed his ſeat in that houſe on the 14th of Auguſt (19), and was the firſt of the ten commoners in the treaty with the King at the Iſle of Wight. When Colonel Pride ſeized on the forty-nine members, the very day that Cromwell returned from Scotland (20), Mr Holles being appriſed of the inveteracy of the army againſt him, forbore coming to the Houſe, whereby he eſcaped an impriſonment; and finding the Parliament ſubmitted to their power, he conſulted his own ſafety by retiring beyond the ſeas, and before the King's death went a ſecond time into France. He now choſe to reſide in Brittany, and making uſe of ſuch means as lay in his power for reſtoring King Charles II (21), he ſtaid there 'till Monk came to London in the latter end of the year 1659, when he returned and took his ſeat in the Houſe of Commons with the ſecluded members on the 21ſt of February. On the 2d of March, all votes againſt him were repealed, and the two acts of ſequeſtrations of his eſtate, and on the 10th, they made him *Cuſtos Rotulorum* of the county of Dorſet. Upon the diſſolution of that Parliament and the ordering writs for a new one on the 15th, he was appointed of the council of ſtate to govern in the interim (22). During which he was one of thoſe that held a conference at Northumberland-houſe with Monk, where the King's reſtoration was propoſed in direct terms, but not without ſome conditions (23). Hence it appears that he did not actually promote, though he readily concurred in and ſubmitted to the Reſtoration, as it was afterwards brought about, without any terms or conditions. Upon the meeting of the Parliament, April 25, 1660, Mr Holles aſſiſted by General Monk and Mr Pierpoint (anceſtor to the preſent Duke of Kingſton) placed Sir Harbottle Grimſton, who was choſen ſpeaker, in the chair (24). He was afterwards chairman of the committee of ſeven appointed to prepare an anſwer to his Majeſty's letter delivered to the houſe May 1 (25), and was alſo of the committee appointed to confer with that of the Lords for preparing inſtructions for thoſe who were to go with the letter of anſwer to his Majeſty (26) and probably was the perſon who drew it up. Laſtly, he was one of the twelve Commoners, who with ſix Lords, carried the Parliament's invitation to the King at the Hague to return (27), on which occaſion he was pitched on to make the ſpeech for the Commons (28), and accordingly returned with his Majeſty ſhortly after.

(16) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Holles, &c. p. 140.

* Whitlock, p. 111.

† Ibid. p. 252.

(17) See Cromwell's article in remark [*M*]. N. B. Theſe ſtories are retailed in the General Dictionary, and referred to in Tindal's note to Rapin's Hiſtory, without any animadverſion.

* They were publiſhed in 1699 in 4to. with this title, Memoirs of Denſil Lord Holles, Baron of Isfield in Suſſex, from the year 1641 to 1648.

(18) Whitlock, p. 306.

(19) Ruſhworth, Vol. V. p. 1226.

(20) Dugdale's View of the Troubles, &c. p. 363.

(21) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. III. p. 457. where he is mentioned as one of the principal agents in the royal cauſe.

(22) Whitlock, p. 698 and 699.

(23) Clarendon, Vol. VI. p. 753.

(24) Journals of the Houſe of Commons, Vol. X. p. 1.

(25) Ibid. p. 4.

(26) Ibid. p. 20.

(27) Hiſt. of Independency, by T. M. verſus finem.

(28) Some complaints being made of this ſpeech afterwards, the Houſe of Commons reſolved, June 2, that Mr Holles have the leave of this Houſe to print his ſpeech to his Majeſty, with his Majeſty's anſwer thereto, which he hath leave given him by his Majeſty to print; and alſo the inſtructions of this Houſe for his vindication. Journals of that Houſe, Vol X. p. 57.

though ſtill retaining his firſt principles, he always ſided with the country party. But for the particulars of his public employments and his conduct therein, we ſhall refer to the general hiſtories cited in the margin (*f*), the ſubſtance of which is put together in the account of his Lordſhip's life by Arthur Collins, Eſq; (*g*). 'Tis only in the view of making that account more perfect and compleat (which is the more immediate deſign of theſe memoirs), that ſome miſtakes committed therein are rectified below [*F*], and one conſiderable

[*F*] *Correct ſome miſtakes and miſrepreſentations.*] Theſe are as follow. Firſt, Speaking of the plot to bring up the army to awe the Parliament in 1641, he refers to Lord Clarendon's account of it (29), with this remark, that his Lordſhip's obſervations and concluſions may admit of ſome diſpute in readers, that will examine the ſeveral particulars that were then publiſhed. In ſupport of this general charge, nothing is produced but only that his Lordſhip aſſerts, '*That* Wilmot Aſhburnham *and* Pollard, *on their examinations upon oath denied their meeting at Mr Percy's chamber, and of a diſcourſe of the Parliament's neglect of the King, and favouring of the Scottiſh army, the taking an oath of ſecrecy, and ſome other particulars* [contained in Percy's letter]. Alſo alledging, '*that in all their teſtimonies produced, there was ſo little ſhew of proof of a real deſign or plot to bring up the army to awe the Parliament, that in truth it was very evident, there was no plot at all, only a free communication between perſons (the major part whereof was of the Houſe) of the ill arts that were generally uſed to corrupt the affections of the people; and of ſome expedient, whereby in that ſo public infection the army (in which they had all conſiderable command, two of them being general officers) might be preſerved from being wrought upon and corrupted.*' Our author apparently in the view of invalidating the force of theſe aſſertions, inſerts Percy's letter and the Earl of Northumberland's teſtimony concerning it given to Mr Holles (30), who was employed by the Houſe of Commons on this occaſion, and as it is upon his account only that this matter is introduced, it ſeems thereby to be inſinuated, that he would not have been concerned in the affair, had he not been perſuaded of the reality of the plot. But ſurely it ought to have been obſerved, in juſtice to the Earl of Clarendon, that it is no prejudice to the character of Mr Holles, to ſuppoſe him innocently drawn into this belief, and engaged in this affair by the artifices of thoſe with whom he was joined at this time, having then, as he himſelf intimated afterwards, no ſuſpicion of their deſigns (31); and that therefore Mr Holles's perſuaſion and behaviour thereupon, is far from being a ſufficient reaſon to diſpute the veracity of his Lordſhip's account, and eſpecially when it is conſidered, how very poſitive his Lordſhip is in maintaining his aſſertion concerning Percy's letter, and how well it is ſupported, a bare reference thereto may perhaps hardly be deemed enough to clear Mr Collins from the charge of partiality. The noble author having related what was generally believed afterwards concerning the letter, viz. 'That Percy finding the ſea-ports ſhut, and watches ſet for his apprehenſion in all thoſe places [beforementioned] whereby the tranſporting himſelf into foreign parts was very difficult, he found means to return to London, and to put himſelf into his brother's protection, where it is thought he was harboured, 'till his hurt was cured, the ſtrictneſs of the enquiry over, and 'till he had prepared that letter to his brother the Earl of Northumberland, which ſerved as far as in him lay to deſtroy all his companions.' His Lordſhip then proceeds thus. '*The truth is, that after his brother's being accuſed of high-treaſon, and then upon his hurt in Suſſex coming directly to Northumberland-houſe to ſhelter himſelf, the Earl, being in great trouble of mind to ſend him away beyond the ſeas after his wound was cured, adviſed with a confident friend then in power, whoſe affection to him he doubted not, and innocently enough brought Mr* Pym *into the council, who over-witted them both, by frankly conſenting that Mr Percy ſhould eſcape into France, which was all the care the Earl had; but then obliged him firſt to draw ſuch a letter from him, as might by the party be applied as an evidence of the reality of the plot after he was eſcaped; and in this manner the letter was procured, which made a laſting quarrel between the two brothers.*' To confirm this his Lordſhip adds, as a ſufficient argument to evince what opinion the Houſe of Commons had of the letter, as well as of their other evidences of the plot, that they never proceeded againſt Wilmot, Aſhburnham, or Pollard, who were in their power, though they patiently attended, and importuned a trial above a year after their accuſation.

Another miſrepreſentation given by Mr Collins, and that founded upon a groſs miſtake concerning a matter of fact atteſted by the Earl of Clarendon, relates to the famous Proteſtation made by both Houſes, on occaſion of the ſame plot, to defend the Proteſtant Religion. His Lordſhip having recited the Proteſtation, proceeds thus. 'This oath of their own making to entangle the people (ſo like a covenant) by which ſuch admirable things had been compaſſed by their neighbours, and upon which they could make what gloſs they pleaſed when they had occaſion, as they did within two days after, ſome of their own party taking occaſion to inform the Houſe, that *it was apprehended by many well affected abroad, that if they ſhould take the Proteſtation, they ſhould thereby engage themſelves for the defence of the biſhops, &c.* Whereby without any great oppoſition, in a thin Houſe, the enſuing order was made. *Whereas ſome doubts have been raiſed by ſeveral perſons out of this Houſe, concerning the meaning of theſe words in the Proteſtation lately made by the members of this Houſe.* The true reformed Proteſtant Religion expreſſed in the doctrine of the Church of England, againſt all popery and popiſh innovations within this realm, contrary to the ſame doctrine. *This Houſe doth declare, that by thoſe words was and is meant, only the public doctrine profeſſed in the ſaid Church, ſo far as it is oppoſite to popery and popiſh innovations; and that the ſaid words are not to be extended to the maintaining of any form of worſhip, diſcipline, or government, nor of any rites or ceremonies of the ſaid Church of England.* His Lordſhip farther recites, that this Explanation was made in the Houſe of Commons, without ever adviſing with the Houſe of Peers; and that they ordered the Proteſtation, together with the Explanation, to be printed and publiſhed without conſulting with them (32). Upon this Mr Collins makes the following obſervation. That in the diurnal occurrences of thoſe times, wherein the proceedings of the Lords and Commons are ſet forth, ſome particulars relating to the Proteſtation, &c. are differently related; and, continues he, as Mr Holles (of whom I am treating) was choſen by the Commons to confer with the Lords thereon; I think it neceſſary to remark, that the Explanation beforementioned is not cited by any but the Earl of Clarendon (33). Strange eſcape! It is not only to be ſeen in Ruſhworth (34), together with the day, May 13, 1641, when it paſſed the Houſe, but was alſo printed and publiſhed that ſame year, together with Mr Holles's ſpeech on preſenting the Proteſtation to the Houſe of Peers, as alſo the Proteſtation itſelf, and the preamble; the whole concluding with the order for taking it, entitled, *Directions for more orderly making the aforeſaid Proteſtation* (35), which being not common to be met with, we ſhall inſert as follows. *It is thought fit that the Proteſtation which the Parliament lately made, be taken by the City of London, in the ſeveral pariſh-churches in the afternoon of ſome Lord's day after ſermon, before the congregation be diſſolved, by all maſters of families, their ſons, and men-ſervants, in manner and form following. Firſt, that forthwith notice of this intention be given to the miniſter, church-wardens, and ſome other meet perſons of each pariſh in London, liberties, and adjacent pariſhes, and ſome of them to give notice to the reſt of the pariſhioners. Secondly, That the miniſter be intreated (if he pleaſe) to acquaint his pariſh in his ſermon, either forenoon or afternoon, with the nature of the buſineſs, more or leſs, as he ſhall think fit, for the better and more ſolemn taking the ſaid Proteſtation; or if the miniſter refuſes it, that ſome other be intreated to preach, that will promote the buſineſs; or if neither of theſe may be had, that ſome other convenient courſe be taken by ſome well affected to the buſineſs, to ſtay the pariſh and communicate the matter to them. Thirdly, That the miniſter or miniſters of every congregation firſt take it in his or their own perſon, reading the ſaid Proteſtation in ſo diſtinct a voice, that all preſent may conveniently hear it, and that all the aſſembly preſent* do

(*f*) Viz. Clarendon, Whitlock, Ruſhworth, Journals of Parliament, &c.

(*g*) In his Hiſtorical Collections of the noble Families of Cavendiſhe, Holles, &c. from p. 100 to 162. Lond. 1752. fol.

(29) Hiſt of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 265 to 272. 8vo. edition.

(30) Hiſtorical Collections of the Holles Family, p. 108.

(31) In his Memoirs, &c. from the year 1641 to 1648. edit. 1699. 4to.

(32) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. I. p. 251, 252, 253, 8vo edition. This particular is confirmed by the author of the Diurnal occurrences of both Houſes of Parliament, from 3 Nov. 1640, to 3. Nov. 1641. p. 317—319.

(33) Hiſtorical Collections, &c. p. 116.

(34) Ruſhworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. I. p. 273. edit. 1692. folio.

(35) It does not appear by what authority theſe directions were drawn up, but it was evidently done in purſuance to the vote of the Houſe of Commons, die Ven. 30 July, 1641. *That this Houſe doth conceive, that the Proteſtation made by them is fit to be taken by every perſon that is well affected to Religion, and to the good of the Commonwealth, &c.* Diurnal Occurrences, &c. p. 321.

conſiderable omiſſion ſupplied in remark [G]. His Lordſhip's firſt wife dying at Paris in 1665, whilſt he was Ambaſſador there, he was married in King Henry VIIth's chapel in Weſtminſter-

do make the ſame Proteſtation diſtinctly after this manner, every man taking this Proteſtation into his hand. I, A. B. do in the preſence of Almighty God, freely and heartily promiſe, vow, and proteſt, the ſame which the leading perſon took, naming the perſon. Fourthly, That there be a regiſter-book, wherein every man taking this Vow or Proteſtation, ſubſcribe his name or mark, and that the names be taken of ſuch as do refuſe the ſame. Fifthly, That all the pariſhioners aboveſaid, whether in town or out of town, be earneſtly required to be preſent at their own pariſh-church in the afternoon of that Lord's-day wherein it ſhall be taken, that every man may take it in their own place, and if any be neceſſarily abſent, that they may be deſired to take it the next Lord's-day after, or as ſoon as may be with convenience. Sixthly and laſtly, That all whom it doth not immediately concern, be earneſtly required to depart. A copy of the whole lies now before me, intitled, *A True copy of the Speech made by the Honorable* Denzell Holles, Eſq; *at a Conference by a Committee of both Houſes of Parliament in the Painted Chamber, concerning the Proteſtation formed by the Houſe of Commons, which was ſolemnly made by every Member of the ſame; wherein is ſet forth the Proteſtation itſelf, and the reaſons inducing them to make it; together with their deſire that the Lords would concur with them in the ſame zeal and affection for the public ſafety, with an Explanation upon ſome doubts made upon the ſaid Proteſtation.* London printed MDCXLI. but without the printer's name. With regard to Mr Collins, it is obſervable that this famous Explanation being notoriouſly levelled againſt the Biſhops, is little conſonant to what he remarks in the introduction to his account of it concerning Mr Holles, who, ſays this author, as he was not only a ſon of the firſt Earl of Clare, and brother to the Earl Clare (a conſtant attendant of the Houſe of Peers), but had alſo by his learned and elegant ſpeeches in ſeveral debates gained great applauſe, the Houſe of Commons, in their conferences with the Lords, choſe him to deliver their ſentiments on the moſt important occaſions; *except*, continues he, *their proceedings againſt the Biſhops, wherein he would not be prevailed on to be concerned* (36). That is (as it muſt be underſtood) after he begun to ſee into their deſign againſt the Monarchy; for before that, he joined in every ſtep that was taken againſt Epiſcopacy. And beſides the Explanation (37) and Proteſtation juſt mentioned, and his ſpeech thereupon, there is in print another, and as tart a one as ever came from him, which he ſpoke againſt the Biſhops in the debate about taking away their votes in Parliament.

[G] *Supply an omiſſion in that account.*] This omiſſion relates to a paſſage in his Lordſhip's private life, wherein his character being aſperſed, he printed and publiſhed his own defence, under the following title. *A true Relation of the unjuſt Accuſation of certain French gentlemen charged with a Robbery (of which they were moſt innocent) and the Proceedings upon it, with their Trial and Acquittance in the Court of King's-Bench in Eaſter Term laſt. Publiſhed by* Denzel Lord Holles. *Partly for a further Manifeſtation of their Innocency (of which, as he is informed, many do yet doubt) and partly for his own Vindication, in regard of ſome Paſſages at that Trial, which ſeemed very ſtrongly to reflect upon him.* In the introduction, having mentioned his reaſons (the ſame in ſubſtance as in the title) for publiſhing this account, he proceeds to the matter, wherein he obſerves, that theſe two gentlemen, one a youth of about ſeventeen, called *Valentine Simon, Chevalier de* [*that is Knight of*] *Hoeville*, he being deſigned it ſeems by his parents, to be a Knight of Malta, when it is uſual to give them the appellation of Knight even very young before their going thither to take upon them the vow and habit. The other, whoſe name was *Adrian Lampriere St des Mazieres*, nineteen years of age, and of a good family in Normandy, as well as the former, both of them neighbours to Lady Holles, and to her ſeat in thoſe parts, and their parents of acquaintance and friends to her Ladyſhip. That though they arrived in London on the third of November 1669, yet ſhe heard not of them, 'till they were made to cry to her out of Hertford goal, whither they were ſent on the eleventh of that month, having been ſeized with three more of their countrymen and acquaintance at Hatfield (38), for robbing four butchers upon Totternoll-hill in Bedfordſhire, on the eighth inſtant. His Lordſhip engaged with admirable diligence in their behalf, which was become abſolutely neceſſary by the behaviour of one of the butchers [Bellingham], who on every occaſion perſiſted ſteady in ſwearing very peremptorily againſt them. For that reaſon, notwithſtanding there was unqueſtionable evidence to prove their being in London on the ſame day and hour when the fact was charged upon them to be committed in Bedfordſhire, yet his Lordſhip was not ſatisfied till he had found the very perſons who actually committed the fact, and brought one of them [*Walrond*] to confeſs it in open court. 'Twas his Lordſhip's management in this laſt particular, which occaſioned the reflections upon him mentioned in the title page of his narrative, and of this he gives the following account. 'I was, ſays he, from the beginning as certain as of any thing that I had not ſeen with mine eyes, that the French gentleman were innocent, and therefore when Du Val and Mac Guy were taken up for a robbery, I did verily believe they had done this, and therefore I went with Mr Hall of Dorſetſhire to Newgate; but Du Val denied it.' Yet after two days, one of the French gentlemen came to him and told him, that Du Val had then confeſſed it to a Romiſh Prieſt an Engliſhman. 'It was upon a council-day, and, continues he, I was then going to council, where I acquainted the King with what had been told me that morning, and got the King's warrant to bring Bellingham to confront Du Val.' Whereupon taking two juſtices along with him they went to Newgate, where Du Val confeſſed the fact before the juſtices, and charged Walrond as an accomplice, who was then in the Gate-houſe on a general ſuſpicion only. His Lordſhip therefore went to him, and before Lady Broughton, keeper of the priſon, and the turnkey, aſked him, '*If he knew any thing of the robbery, &c. of which, ſays he, I deſired him but to tell me the truth. My Lord, anſwered he, as no body as yet hath come againſt me to accuſe me, ſo I have not been indicted, and if I ſhould accuſe myſelf, I might bring myſelf into trouble, and I have not yet my pardon, which I hope I ſhall obtain by the King's mercy. I replied, Mr Walrond, I will promiſe you, that whatever you ſay to me, ſhall not ariſe in judgment againſt you; his anſwer was, my Lord, I will acquit myſelf to you, and tell you all, and then did confeſs to me the whole matter, and told me many particulars; and then indeed I told him, that he had done well, and had told me, what I knew before, for that Du Val and Mac Guy had confeſſed the ſame thing; and as to his pardon, I did again aſſure him, that it ſhould be no prejudice to it, and happily it might be an advantage, for that I would endeavour all I could to help it forward. He afterwards put down in writing what he had ſaid, and I did move his Majeſty for his pardon, and got it paſſed for him in charity, as he had no money to pay for it.* But, continues his Lordſhip, he was terrified at the trial, and told, he had now confeſſed enough to be indicted for it, and ſo perplexed with queſtions, that he knew not almoſt what he ſaid, and left an impreſſion, I verily believe, with moſt of the ſtanders by, that he was gained by me to take this robbery upon himſelf, merely to ſave the Frenchmen at the bar, himſelf not at all guilty of it. But how undeſervedly that could be imputed to me, let my greateſt enemy be judge, if this my narrative be true, as I take the God of truth to witneſs that it is true, I mean for matter of fact, and for what I relate here as ſaid or done by me.' Having related the whole trial, with all the proceedings preparatory thereto, and the acquittal of the Frenchmen, he proceeds to obſerve the bad conſequences that would probably have followed, if theſe gentlemen had been condemned and ſuffered; that they had friends and kindred in their own country, who had courage enough to reſent, and very likely would have revenged it upon the next of the Engliſh they had found in France, and thence it might have bred a national quarrel. But that now they had received ſome reparation, for that having ſince brought their action againſt the butchers for an unjuſt and malicious proſecution, they had recovered four hundred pounds damages in the Common-Pleas before the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Vaughan*. Lord Holles likewiſe received ſatisfaction for

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(36) Hiſtorical Collections, p. 115.

(37) Lord Clarendon obſerves, that this was voted in a thin Houſe; but if Mr Holles was not then preſent, he manifeſtly concurred in it afterwards.

(38) They all went on horſeback, firſt to viſit a merchant at Barnet, with whom they had ſome buſineſs, and miſſing of him, they went to ſee Hatfield-houſe, and were apprehended at the inn where they put up their horſes in that town. See a true Relation, &c. Lond. 1671. 4to. qt. 44 pages.

Weſtminſter-abbey, September 14, 1666, to Jane, eldeſt daughter and coheir of Sir John Shirley of Isfield in Suſſex, Knight, widow of Sir Walter Court, Knight; and after her deceaſe, which happened in a few years (*b*), he married Heſter, ſecond daughter and coheir to Gideon de Lou, Lord of the Mannor of Columbiers in the duchy of Normandy in France, widow of James Richer, Lord of the Mannor of Cambernon in the ſame province. He had no iſſue by either of theſe latter wives. He died on Tueſday, 17 Feb. 1679-80, aged 81 years, 3 months, 16 days, and ſome hours, and was interred at Dorcheſter, being ſucceeded in honour and eſtate by his only ſon (*i*) Sir Francis Holles, Baronet [*H*], who, in the latter part of his life, reſided at the ſeat purchaſed by his father at Aldenham in Hertfordſhire (*k*), where he was buried. He died March 1, 1689-90, leaving an only ſon and heir, Denzel Lord Holles, born April 9, 1675. But his Lordſhip dying of a fever, January 25, 1693-4, unmarried, was the laſt of this branch of the family; whereby the honour became extinct, and his eſtate devolved on his heir John Holles Duke of Newcaſtle, mentioned in the preceding article, who in 1699 erected a ſtately monument, in the church of Dorcheſter, with an inſcription, in reverence to the memory of his great-uncle, Denzel Lord Holles, the firſt Baron of Isfield, the ſubject of this article [*I*].

the affronts put upon him at the trial by the Lord Chief-Juſtice Keeling, who when he attempted to ſpeak to the characters of the Frenchmen, ſtopped him, ſaying, he muſt not interrupt the Court; and Lord Holles replying, that it was neither to interrupt the Court, nor to do them any wrong to inform them as much as poſſible of all paſſages, &c. The Chief-Juſtice anſwered again very angrily, *My Lord, you wrong not the Court, but you wrong yourſelf; and it is not the firſt time you have been obſerved to appear too much for ſtrangers.* 'So, ſays Lord Holles, I was ſnubbed and 'ſet down again, but I muſt ſay it was language I had 'not been uſed to, nor I think any of my condition, 'that had the honour to ſerve the King, in the quality, I do, of a Privy-counſellor.' The Lord Chief-Juſtice alſo upon Walrond's evidence declared (looking fully at Lord Holles, whence the whole Court underſtood it to be meant of him) *that there had been ſome foul doings.* Upon theſe injuries he petitioned the Houſe of Lords, who on Friday March 10, 1670, made the following order. 'This day the Lord Holles produced ſeveral witneſſes to be examined concerning his complaint on his petition of ſeveral indignities put upon him by the Lord Chief-Juſtice of the 'Court of King's-Bench, at the trial of ſome French 'gentlemen in the ſaid Court of King's-Bench, who 'were there falſely accuſed of a robbery by four 'butchers in Eaſter-Term laſt. After the hearing of 'which witneſſes, the Lord Chief-Juſtice made his 'defence, and denied, that he intended any thing againſt the Lord Holles when he ſpoke thoſe words at 'the ſaid trial, that it was a foul contrivance, &c. as 'in the petition is ſet forth; to which defence the 'Lord Holles made a ſhort reply, and then voluntarily withdrew himſelf, and the Lord Chief-Juſtice 'withdrew himſelf alſo. Upon which the Houſe took 'the whole matter into ſerious conſideration, and ordered, that the Lord Chief-Juſtice ſhould be called 'to his place as a Judge; and openly (in the preſence 'of the Lord Holles) the Lord-Keeper ſhould let him 'know, that this Houſe is not ſatisfied, with his carriage toward the Lord Holles in this buſineſs, and 'therefore has ordered, that he ſhould make this acknowledgment, which is to be read by the Clerk as 'followeth, That he did not mean it of the Lord 'Holles when he ſpoke theſe words (that it was a foul 'contrivance) and that he is ſorry that by his behaviour or expreſſions, he gave any occaſion to interpret it otherwiſe, and aſks the pardon of this Houſe 'and the Lord Holles. Then the Lord Chief-Juſtice 'of the Court of King's-Bench was called to his place, 'and (the Lord Holles being alſo preſent) the Lord-Keeper performed the directions of the Houſe, and 'the Lord Chief-Juſtice read the acknowledgment 'aforeſaid, only changing the ſtile into the firſt perſon.'

John Browne, Cleric. Parliamentorum (39).

[*H*] *Sir Francis Holles, Baronet.*] He was born Auguſt 19, 1627, at Dorcheſter, and created a Baronet in the life-time of his father (40). On the 22d of Auguſt, 1661 (41), he married Lucy, youngeſt daughter to Sir Robert Carr of Sleford in Lincolnſhire, Knight and Baronet, and had by her two daughters, Mary and Denzella, who both died in their infancy, and were buried in Holles's ſouth iſle adjoining to the church at Isfield, and their mother dying September 15, 1667 (42), Sir Francis took to his ſecond wife, Anne, eldeſt daughter and coheir of Sir Francis Pile, the ſecond of that name of Compton-Beauchamp in Com. Berks, Baronet. She brought her huſband one daughter, Jane, who dying an infant, was interred in 1673, at Isfield, as was alſo her mother, on Thurſday May 4, 1682. So that ſhe lived to be Baroneſs Holles, and died in the houſe of her Lord in Lincoln-ſquare, in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, Middleſex *.

[*I*] *An inſcription in reverence to the memory of the ſubject of this article.*] It is drawn up in the following terms.

To eternize the name and honour of Denzel Lord
Holles, Baron of Iſield.

His birth was equal to his virtues, being the ſecond ſon *of John the firſt Earl of* Clare, *who by ſea and land, at home and abroad, did not more ſignalize himſelf in the ſervice of his country, than he was meritoriouſly diſtinguiſhed and rewarded by Queen* Elizabeth *and King* James. *All that* Denzel*'s wit or courage, probity or induſtry preſaged in his youth, he made good and exceeded, when a man. For as his excellent endowments and abilities made him early known to his Prince and country, ſo he could by his eloquence and valour intrepidly defend the liberty of the laſt, without refuſing the obedience that was due to the former. When the rights of the nation were barbarouſly invaded by that army, which the Parliament levied to ſecure them, he bore the violence and injuſtice of his enemies, as it became a finiſhed hero: nor could loſſes, exile, or his hatred to the factious, make him forget the love that he owed to* England. *After the reſtoration of monarchy, he was created Baron of Iſield by King* Charles II, *and had the honour of repreſenting him in two extraordinary ambaſſies; the one to* Lewis *the* French *King, who no leſs admired the generoſity, whereby he maintained ſo high a character* (43), *than he dreaded that virtue he was not able to corrupt by his magnificent preſents, which were more princely refuſed, than offered. No part of his reputation was diminiſhed, when he went afterwards Plenipotentiary to the treaty at* Breda. *His learning was unaffected, uſeful, and general; but not to be exceeded by any in the knowledge of the ancient records of the kingdom* (44), *and the diſtinct powers of the ſeveral parts of the adminiſtration. So true a friend, that none could exceed or equal him.* He *was as great a patron to religious, as to civil liberty, which made him univerſally beloved and lamented, when he peaceably ended a long and glorious life, the ſeventeenth of February in the year of Chriſt, one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-nine, and in the eighty-ſecond year of his age. This monument is therefore dedicated to his memory for the honour of the preſent age, as well as an example to poſterity, by his nephew's ſon and heir* John *Duke of* Newcaſtle.

MDCXCIX.

We have inſerted this inſcription, becauſe it contains an exact and particular account of his Lordſhip's character. And ſeveral articles of it are confirmed and illuſtrated by remarkable inſtances in the following letter, wrote, as appears, in confidence, and conveyed privately to Sir William Morrice, then Secretary of State (45).

Paris, $\frac{19}{9}$ July, —64.

'SIR,

'I have received your's of June 27, moſt welcome 'to me; and I give you my humble thanks for it, be 'the

(*b*) He had married his 3d wife in 1669. See remark [*G*].

(*i*) He had three more ſons by his firſt wife, viz. Denzel, John, and another Denzel, who all died in their infancy. MS. de Famil. de Holles in bibl. Harleian.

(*k*) Chauncey's Hiſtory and Antiquities of Hertfordſhire, p. 491.

(39) Journal-book of the Houſe of Peers, anno 1671.

(40) See the text in note (*d*).

(41) Ex Regiſt. Eccleſ. Sti Petri apud Weſtmonaſ. They were married in Henry VIIth's chapel.

(42) His Lordſhip had a remarkable ſuit in Chancery with Lady Carr, ſiſter-in-law to his wife, for her portion, which was decreed in his favour in 1686. Vernon's Reports, Vol. I. p. 431. caſe 406.

* MS. de Famil. de Holles, in Bibl. Harleian.

(43) Sir Henry Chauncey relates, that, during Mr Holles's Embaſſy in France, he continually kept a noble table, furniſhed with diſhes of meat after the Engliſh faſhion, and in contempt of the French mode. Antiq. of Hertfordſhire, p. 491.

(44) His Remains are an illuſtrious inſtance of this truth.

(45) The original was communicated by Dr Birch to Mr Collins. Hiſtorical Collections, &c. p. 159.

the contents what they will, which muſt be what the complexion of the time affords, and not always what you and I would deſire. Cloudy enough it is for the poor Proteſtants, methinks, in all quarters; and no where worſe than here. The poor people of Privas, that are forced from their lands and houſes, are not ſuffered to carry away their moveable goods with them, but are robbed of it as they go; and the country of Gex by Geneva, which had been antiently the Duke of Savoy's, taken from him by the Swiſſes of Berne, and upon the reſtitution of it back from them to him, agreed they ſhould ſtill enjoy their liberty of religion; which the Duke of Savoy ſtill ſuffered them to do, and afterwards paſſed it over to the King of France upon an exchange, but with that condition for the freedom of their religion, which they have ever ſince enjoyed from the time of Henry IV. being all Proteſtants: now all their temples are every one pulled down to the number of three and twenty, and the exerciſe of their religion ſuffered but in two places, where they are glad to make uſe of barns; and no reaſon given for it to ſuch as have been deputed hither, both from them and from the Canton of Berne, to endeavour to obtain ſome favour in it, but *Le Roy le veut*. Truly I doubt it will drive them to deſpair at laſt, and they will ſo wring them, that blood will come at laſt. Here is a report this week, that the Proteſtants of Hungary have made their agreement with the Turk; and probable enough, for the Emperor had uſed them moſt ſeverely; and certain it is, that the Proteſtant cantons of the Swiſſes are ſo ill ſatisfied with France, ſeeing the hard hand held here upon the Proteſtants, and their mediation for them ſo little conſidered, that they begin to hearken to the King of Spain, who hath made an offer to take off the Inquiſition in Spain, upon condition that they will enter into a league with him. One Veroldingues of the canton of Uri is the promoter of it, and hath been with all the Proteſtant cantons about it, inſomuch as Berne have ſent their deputies to the Spaniſh Ambaſſador there, the Conde de Caſſati. The levies which Spain makes there are now perfected, and are upon their march, two thouſand Swiſſes and two thouſand Griſons; and but need enough, for they are in Spain in a very bad condition, not able to take the field, a few horſe, about five thouſand, and in bad equipage, no foot at all; and the Portugueze on the other ſide as ſtrong, have taken Valença de Alcantara, a place of importance; and the very letters from Madrid ſay, may take Albuquerque after, and all Eſtramadura; for, ſay they, our councils are bewitched and our forces ſmall, that we have nothing to oppoſe them: and I think they are bewitched indeed, for weak as they are, they go not about to ſtrengthen themſelves, nor to make friends. I do not find that Sir Richard Fanſhaw, from whom I had a letter this week, is well ſatisfied with them: his expreſſion is, that he does not find the middle to anſwer the beginning, whatever the end will be, ſpeaking of his uſage there; and I hear his men and the Spaniards have been together by the ears. All ſeems to make for the greatneſs of France. The weakneſs, and diviſions, and ill counſels, and ill ſucceſſes of the undertakings of all the other Chriſtian princes and ſtates, are the elevation of this young king, who may be raiſed ſo high, that his brains may turn, and he may *ſuis viribus ruere*, commonly the fate of human greatneſs. Yet he hath certainly great advantages of his own, beſides what his neighbours contribute to make him great; a clear underſtanding, a good judgment, an indefatigable induſtry; then a vaſt treaſure and abſolute power within his kingdom, all of them neceſſary qualifications for one that will carry on great deſigns. Our war with Holland will be no hinderance to him, and may give way to his growth up at ſea, where his greateſt defect is, and he knows it; and therefore now bends all his thoughts and care to ſupply it, and to that purpoſe hath ſet up an Eaſt-India company, to which himſelf contributes vaſt ſums, five millions; and allows great privileges to encourage adventurers, who come in apace; and then for the Mediterranean ſea and the trade there, he hath now ſet out a fleet of thirteen ſhips, eight galleys, ſome fire ſhips, and forty other veſſels of lading, with all manner of materials for the building a fort upon the coaſt of Afric, where he will land near upon ſeven thouſand men, within ten, upon a juſt account. This under the command of Mr de Beaufort; and if once he can get to be conſiderable at ſea, he will be formidable indeed; and yet need not our maſter fear him except he will; and he only of all the princes of Chriſtendom is out of his reach, who can prejudice him, and receive no prejudice from him; except it be that the other plow with his heifer, get within his councils; ſo will he unriddle his riddles, and I doubt not doth now; otherwiſe I ſhould not have orders ſent me to go and viſit the Princes of the Blood, which is now a tame yielding of that up which we have ſtruggled for all this while, and had gotten with ſo much difficulty; for in every body's judgment that hears of it, it is giving them the precedency, and as great a diſhonour to the King as can be after all this buſtle; and to have carried it, as I may ſay, in the field, to be outwitted, and perſwaded out of it in his chamber. Sir, it makes me mad, that I wiſh myſelf ten thouſand miles off, to be the unhappy man, that muſt be forced to deliver up the honour of my king and nation. Oh that I had never come hither! or that I might ſoon be ſuffered to return from hence (46), where I ſhall be aſhamed hereafter to ſhew my face, which hitherto I could hold up with ſome comfort, though I received no favour nor kindneſs from them. Yet they got no ground of me; nay, they had loſt ground, which now they recover with advantage; for to recover a loſt game, is more than to have fortune give it at the firſt; it is the product of a greater virtue. I am full, and glad I can unburthen myſelf into a friend's boſom; all is, how I ſhall be ſure to get it thither, that it fall not into another hand, which I hope I ſhall by the means of an honeſt merchant, which muſt be your way, when you write any thing you would have no-body elſe ſee. Remember my humble ſervice, I beſeech you, to our good Lord-General, whoſe humble ſervant I am, as I am alſo moſt affectionately,

'Sir,

'Your very faithful

'And moſt humble ſervant,

'HOLLES.'

(46) His Lordſhip entered on this embaſſy July 7, 1663. and propoſitions for an accomodation being made by the French, after their declaration of war, Jan. 27, 1665 (*a*), he did not come away preſently, but advertiſing his Majeſty that they played a double game (*b*), he was recalled, and arrived at Whitehall 24 May, 1666 (*c*).

(*a*) Kennet's Hiſt. of Eng. Vol. III. p. 279.

(*b*) Pointer's Chron. Hiſt. Vol. I. p. 212.

(*c*) Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under this year 1666.

There has been printed another of his Lordſhip's letters, written in the year 1676, which is evidently dictated by the ſame patriot ſpirit, and addreſſed to Mr Van Benninghen, who had been the Dutch Ambaſſador in England. But it is too long to be tranſcribed here *. We ſhall only take notice, that, among other memorable paſſages, his Lordſhip obſerves, that England was then in a very weak condition; which he aſcribes to two cauſes. (1.) To the change of the ballance from the nobility to the people. (2.) To a ſucceſſion of three weak princes together; in which caſe, ſays he, the government can hardly ſtand—'And therefore I make no doubt to affirm, that if the government of the Parliament had not been interpoſed in the middle, the government muſt have ſunk e're now; *for ſave what they did, we have not taken one true ſtep, nor ſtruck one true ſtroke, ſince Queen Elizabeth's time*.' Whoever compares this paſſage with the ſentiments of his Lordſhip's father, ſeen in the preceding article, concerning the Stuarts, will perhaps be inclined to think, that a diſguſt to that family was inbred in the ſon.

* It may be ſeen in Mr Collins's Hiſtorical Account, p. 152—157. who tranſcribed it from the Memoirs of the Holles Family; the author of which maintains, that it ought to be ſet in golden characters, and preſerved to all poſterity. See Kennet's Hiſt. of Eng. Vol. III. p. 341. &c. b.

Beſides what have been already mentioned, there came out in 1682, in 8vo, a piece intitled, 'LORD HOLLIS HIS REMAINS: being a ſecond letter to a friend, concerning the judicature of the Biſhops in Parliament. In the vindication of what he wrote in his firſt, and in anſwer to a book ſince publiſhed againſt it, entitled, *The Rights of the Biſhops to judge in Capital Caſes in Parliament, cleared*, &c. It contains likewiſe part of his intended anſwer to a ſecond tractate, entitled, *The Grand Queſtion touching the Biſhops Right to vote in Parliament, ſtated and argued* †.' In the preface, the editor, who hath added a tract of his own on the ſame ſubject, having aſſerted the authenticity of this piece, obſerves, that his Lordſhip lived not to finiſh his anſwer to the *Grand Queſtion*, &c. but often affirmed that he had conquered all the difficulties in it. '*Nature*, continues he, *was ſpent.—And when we conſider that he had paſſed the age of man, having arrived to his eighty-firſt year, and that he continued ſtill writing for eternity—ſurely I cannot be taxed of impertinence, if I here ſtrew upon his hearſe ſome of* Cicero's *happy flowers, ſince one would think they ſprung up now for*

† This diſpute was occaſioned by the debates in Parliament, preceding the trial of the five Popiſh Lords in 1675, on account of the Popiſh plot. Ibid. p. 365. 2d edit.

this very purpoſe. Eſt etiam quietæ & puræ atque eleganter actæ ætatis placida ac lenis ſenectus, qualem accepimus Platonis, qui uno & octageſimo ætatis anno ſcribens mortuus eſt (47).' P

(47) Cicero de Senectute.

HOOKE [ROBERT], an eminent mechanic genius, was born on the 18th of July, 1635 (*a*), upon a peninſula called Freſhwater, on the weſt ſide of the Iſle of Wight, where his father Mr John Hooke was miniſter. Being a very weakly child he was nurſed at home (*b*), with ſmall hopes of his life for the firſt ſeven years. Yet under this conſtitutional infirmity, which particularly ſubjected him to violent pains in the head, there appeared a ſprightly and active temper, which being accompanied with a quick apprehenſion and a promptneſs at his book, induced his father to think of breeding him to the Church; and, having taught him to read, he proceeded in that view to inſtruct him in Grammar for ſome time; but growing aged and infirm, was obliged to drop his deſign, not being able to go through a work wherein he met with too many diſcouraging hindrances, from the frequent returns of his ſon's head-ach. Thus left to himſelf, the boy followed the peculiar bent of his genius, which was naturally turned to Mechanics, and employed his time in making toys of that ſort with uncommon attention [*A*]. Theſe indications led his friends to think of ſome ingenious trade for him; and, as he had alſo a great fancy for drawing (*c*), ſo, after his father's death, which happened in the month of October 1648, he was placed with the celebrated Painter Sir Peter Lely; but the ſmell of the oil-colours increaſing his head-ach, he quitted that buſineſs in a ſhort time, being kindly taken thence by Dr Buſby into his houſe, and ſupported there while he attended Weſtminſter-ſchool. By this means, he not only acquired a competency of Latin and Greek, together with an inſight into Hebrew, and ſome other oriental languages, but alſo made himſelf maſter of a good part of Euclid's Elements, being encouraged therein by the doctor, who allowed him particular hours for that ſtudy (*d*). About the year 1653, he was removed to Chriſt-church-college in Oxford (*e*), a choriſter's place having been procured for him there, and he was admitted ſervitor to one Mr Goodman *. In 1655, he was introduced to the Philoſophical Society at Oxford (*f*); where, his inventive genius being obſerved, he was firſt employed to aſſiſt Mr (afterwards Dr) Thomas Willis, in his operations of Chemiſtry; and this eminent Phyſician recommending him to the honourable Robert Boyle Eſq;, he afterwards ſerved that curious and inquiſitive gentleman in the ſame capacity for ſeveral years. The ſame year, 1655, he was inſtructed by Dr Seth Ward, Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy, in that ſcience; and applying himſelf to improve the pendulum for Aſtronomical obſervations in the two ſubſequent years, he contrived a way to continue the motion of the pendulum, ſo much commended by Ricciolus in his Almageſt; which book had been recommended to him by Dr Ward. Having made ſome trials to this end which ſucceeded to his wiſh, the ſucceſs of theſe put him upon thinking to improve it further, for finding the longitude; and by the method he had made for mechanic inventions [*B*], being quickly led to the uſe of ſprings inſtead of gravity for the making a body vibrate in any poſture, he firſt of any one invented, in 1658 and the following year, what is now called the pendulum watch [*C*]. About the ſame time he alſo invented

(*a*) He was baptized the next day, Ath. Ox. Vol/II. c. 1039. probably on account of his weakneſs.

(*b*) All their other children were nurſed abroad. Life of Dr Hooke, prefixed to his Poſthumous Works, by Rich. Waller, Eſq; fol. 1705.

(*c*) He copied ſeveral prints with a pen ſo well, that Mr Hoſkyns (ſon of the famous Hoſkyns, Cowper's maſter) much admired they could be done by one not inſtructed. Ibid.

(*d*) Ibid, and Wood, ubi ſupra, who ſays, he likewiſe learned of his own accord to play 20 leſſons upon the organ, and invented 30 ways of flying, as himſelf and Dr Wilkins of Wadham-college had reported.

(*e*) Waller, p. 3. probably from our author's papers, there being now no entry of his admiſſion in the college regiſter. Whence Mr Wood, ubi ſupra, places it in 1650 doubtleſs on report only.

* Ibid. N. B. the choir-ſervice was then ſuppreſſed.

(*f*) See an account of this ſociety in the article of Dr Wallis.

(*g*) Journals of the Royal-Society, Vol. I. p. 104.

[*A*] *He made ſome mechanical toys with great attention.*] For inſtance, ſeeing an old braſs clock taken to pieces, he made a wooden one that would go; he likewiſe made a ſmall ſhip about a yard long, fitly ſhaped, maſted, and rigged, with a contrivance to make it fire ſmall guns, as it was ſailing croſs a haven of ſome breadth (1).

[*B*] *His method for mechanic inventions*] Mr Waller obſerves, that he never could meet with this method mentioned here, and in ſeveral other places of our author's works, and called ſometimes by him a *Mechanic Algebra* for ſolving any problem in mechanics, as eaſily and certainly as any geometric problem is ſolved by algebra, aſſerting that by this his method, he could readily determine whether any ſuch problem was poſſible, and if ſo, which was the eaſieſt and neareſt way of ſolving it (2).

[*C*] *He invented the pendulum watch in* 1658.] The invention whence this watch had it's name, is a ſpring faſtened at one end to the plate, and at the other end to the arbor of the ballance, to regulate it's ſtrokes and motion. That Mr Hook was the firſt inventor of this ſpring cannot be denied, if his firſt thought was conceived at the time here mentioned; and that it was ſo, is inferred from the following account of it given by himſelf, and confirmed by Mr Waller. In the poſtſcript to his treatiſe of *Helioſcopes*, publiſhed in 1675 *, expreſly to vindicate his right to this invention, our author writes thus, ' About ſeventeen years ' ſince †, being very inquiſitive about regulating the ' meaſure of time in order to find the longitude, I did ' from a mechanical algebra which I was then maſter ' of, find out and perfect this contrivance both in the ' theory and experimental verification thereof, of which ' I diſcourſed to ſeveral of my friends, but concealed ' the modus. About fifteen years ago, viz. in the year ' 1666, I was in treaty with divers perſons of honour ' for the diſcovery thereof upon propoſed articles of ' encouragement. This I can prove by undeniable ' witneſſes yet living; and I have ſtill all the papers, ' articles, and tranſactions of this matter by me in their ' own hand writing. In order to bring this treaty to ' paſs, I was neceſſitated to diſcover ſomething of my ' invention about meaſuring time, which was this way ' of applying ſprings to the arbor of the ballance of the ' watch, for regulating the vibrations thereof in all ' poſtures.' We find him alſo in another place (3), giving the ſame account, and naming Mr Boyle, as the particular friend to whom he firſt applied to on the occaſion, who imparting the affair to the Lord Brouncker and Sir Robert Moray, they adviſed the getting of a patent, and that Sir Robert drew up the form of one, ' The principal part whereof, continues our author, ' viz. the deſcription of the watch ſo regulated, is his ' own hand writing, which I have yet by me.' In confirmation of this account, Mr Waller ſays, that among Mr Hooke's papers, he met with a draught of an agreement to this purpoſe, between the Lord Brouncker, Mr Boyle, and Sir Robert Moray, with Robert Hooke, M. A ‖. The ſubſtance of which was, that Robert Hooke ſhould diſcover to them *the whole* of his invention, and ſhould have ſuch a ſhare of the profits to be made by it as is there ſet forth, and be publickly owned the author and inventor thereof. That there

(1) Our author's own account, in his Life, by R. Waller, p. 1.

(2) Ibid. in a note to an Extract from our author's papers, inſerted in p. 3.

* In the title-page it is put 1676. from the cuſtom of the Printers in beginning the year at Michaelmas; after which, and before Chriſtmas, this treatiſe of Helioſcopes muſt have been printed. See note (49).

† See alſo Derham's Artificial Clock-maker, p. 102, 103. edit. 1734.

(3) MS notes of our author, ubi ſupra.

‖ And conſequently not before 1663, when that degree was conferred upon him. See above in the text, and in note (*e*).

invented ſeveral aſtronomical inſtruments, for making obſervations both at ſea and land [*D*], and was alſo particularly ſerviceable to Mr Boyle, in compleating the invention of the air-pump (*h*) [*E*]. In 1660, he publiſhed a ſmall tract in 8vo. upon the riſing of water in ſlender glaſs pipes higher than in larger ones, and that in a certain proportion to their bores, together with the cauſe thereof [*F*]. This ſubject was taken into conſideration by the Royal-Society, and a committee appointed to examine into the truth of the fact, on the 28th of May, 1661 (*i*). Which year our author publiſhed another piece in 4to. intitled, *A Diſcourſe of a new Inſtrument* (lately invented by him) *to make more accurate obſervations in Aſtronomy than were yet made.* November 12, 1662, *Sir Robert Moray*, then Preſident, *propoſed him for Curator of Experiments to the Royal-Society*; *whereupon, being unanimouſly accepted of, it was ordered that Mr Boyle ſhould have the thanks of the Society, for diſpenſing with him for their uſe, and that he ſhould come and ſit among them, and both bring in every day of their meeting* 3 *or* 4 *experiments of his own, and take care of ſuch others as ſhould be mentioned to him by the Society* (*k*). He executed this office ſo much to ſatisfaction [*G*], that, upon the eſtabliſhment of that illuſtrious body by the royal charter, his name was in the liſt of thoſe who were firſt nominated by the Council, May 20, 1663 (*l*); and he was accordingly admitted, June 3 following, with a peculiar exemption from all payments (*m*); and he was frequently afterwards a member of the Council himſelf (*n*). The ſame year, on September 28, he was nominated by the Earl of Clarendon, Chancellor of Oxford, for the degree of Maſter of Arts (*o*); and on the 19th of October it was ordered, that the repoſitory of the Royal-Society ſhould be committed to his care, the weſt or white gallery in Greſham-college being appointed for that uſe (*p*). In the month of May, 1664, he begun to read the Aſtronomy lecture at Greſham for the Profeſſor Dr Pope, then in Italy *; and the ſame year he was made Profeſſor of Mechanics to the Royal-Society by Sir John Cutler, with a ſalary of fifty pounds per annum, which that gentleman

there were ſome other draughts which differed only in the diviſion of the profits (4). Theſe circumſtances leave no room to doubt that the regulator was invented at the time here fixed for it. But it muſt not be omitted, that in the firſt invention, the form of this ſpring was not ſpiral (as now) but ſtreight (5), like the clock pendulum, which is of the ſame uſe in that machine, as this ſpring is in the watch, and was invented a little before it, viz. in the preceding year 1657, by Mr Huygens (6). Dr Derham, obſerving that one end of this tender ſtreight ſpring played backward and forward with the ballance, proceeds thus, ‘ ſo that the ballance ‘ was to the ſpring as the bob of a pendulum, and the ‘ little ſpring as the rod thereof.’ This analogy indeed holds well enough with regard to the form as well as the reſpective poſition and motion of theſe contrivances; but in their reſpective uſes the order is inverſe, the ſpring in that view being to the ballance as the bob of a pendulum, and the ballance as the rod.

[*D*] *Several aſtronomical inſtruments, &c.*] Our author tells us, that he afterwards ſhewed theſe inſtruments to the Royal-Society, and Mr Waller thought they were thoſe inſtruments which are mentioned in his aſtronomical lectures, publiſhed in his poſthumous works (7). About the ſame time alſo, as Mr Hooke himſelf ſays, he contrived the circular pedulum and the uſe of it, for continuing the motion of another pendulum which he afterwards ſhewed to the Royal Society in 1663, about which time and afterwards ſeveral particulars relating to it are inſerted in their journals as his (8). He alſo gives an account elſewhere of his bringing it into uſe in 1665, and exhibiting it to the ſaid Society the following year; and we are told by another author (9), that ‘ the motion of this pendulum being as regu‘lar as the vibrating one, was contrived by Mr Hooke, ‘ to give warning at any moment of it's circumgyra‘tion, either when it had turned a quarter, half, or ‘ any leſſer or greater part of it's circle. So that here ‘ you had notice not only of a ſecond, as in the pen‘dulum vibrating ſeconds, but of the moſt minute ‘ part of a ſecond of time, by which means it was made ‘ very uſeful in aſtronomical obſervations (10).’

[*E*] *He was ſerviceable to Mr Boyle in perfecting the invention of the air-pump*] Our author tells us (11), that in 1658, or the following year, he contrived and perfected the air pump for Mr Boyle, as it was printed in 1660, having firſt ſeen a contrivance to that purpoſe made for that excellent perſon by Mr Gratorix (or Greatrix (12)), which was too groſs to perform any great matter. Mr Hooke here aſſumes the honour of of perfecting that celebrated machine to himſelf. The ſequel of this memoir, will diſcover the exact weight of that authority as to ſuch claims. In the mean time 'tis certain, that he made a draught of the air-pump as then publiſhed by Mr Boyle. This draught was in the hands of Mr Waller, whom he informed, that Mr Boyle ſent him then to London to get the barrel and other parts of that engine made there, which could not be done at Oxford (13).

[*F*] *A tract about the riſing of water in ſlender pipes, &c.*] In the catalogue of our author's printed works by Mr Ward, the firſt is, *An attempt for the explication of the phænomena obſervable in an experiment publiſhed by the Honourable Robert Boyle, Eſq; in the XXXV experiment of his* Epiſtolical Diſcourſe *touching the air: in confirmation of a former conjecture made by R. H. London*, 1661, 8vo. Upon which that gentleman makes the following remark. Mr Waller, ſays he, informs us, ‘ *That ſoon after the beginning of the Royal-Society* ‘ *viz. about April* 1661, *a debate aroſe in the Society* ‘ *occaſioned by a ſmall tract printed in* 1660, *about the* ‘ *cauſe of the riſing of water in ſlender glaſs pipes higher* ‘ *than in larger, and that in a certain proportion to their* ‘ *bores. This diſcourſe was wrote and publiſhed by Hooke,* ‘ *the explication of which difficult phænomenon made him* ‘ *the more regarded. The ſum of his reaſonings upon* ‘ *this ſubject he publiſhed afterwards in his* Micrography ‘ *Obſervation VI. in which there are ſeveral very cu*‘*rious, and then new remarks, and hints as to the nature* ‘ *of fluidity and gravity, which laſt is farther proſecuted* ‘ *in his* Treatiſe of Springs. This ſmall tract, con‘tinues Mr Ward, here ſaid to have been written and ‘ publiſhed by Mr Hooke in 1660, ſeems to agree in ‘ all circumſtances with that, whoſe title I have here ‘ given, except in the year of it's publication 1661. ‘ But as it is well known, that books when printed are ‘ often antedated, and as I do not find upon the ‘ ſtricteſt enquiry, that he ever publiſhed any other ſe‘parate diſcourſe upon that ſubject; I cannot but ‘ think this is the tract referred to by Mr Waller (14).’

[*G*] *He executed this office to their ſatisfaction.*] The journals of the Society are a ſufficient teſtimony of this truth, by the large number and variety of his experiments and inventions therein recorded. Some of theſe are taken notice of by Dr Spratt, in 1666 (15), and Mr Waller recited a great many of the moſt conſiderable of them, and ſuch as were brought neareſt to perfection in 1705 (16); ſeveral others were printed by Dr Derham afterwards in 1726 (17); and the reſt that are worth notice, will fall into the deſign of Dr Birch; who has publiſhed ſome of them this year, together with others, as a ſupplement to the Philoſophical Tranſactions (18); wherein likewiſe ſeveral of our author's experiments and obſervations may be found; and ſome years ago, about 1640, a large number of his original papers and draughts in the Society's poſſeſſion, were collected into one volume, and diſpoſed in order of time by Dr Tho. Stack, F. R. S.

[*H*] *His*

(*h*) MS. notes of our author, printed by Waller, ubi ſupra. Mr Wood tells us, that he explained Euclid's Elements and Des Cartes's Philoſophy to Mr Boyle. Ath. Ox. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) This Committee conſiſted of Wilkins, Ent, Whiſtler, Ward, Henſhaw, Drs, and Mr Rooke. Hiſt. of the R. S. in two vols, by Birch, edit. 1756. Vol. I. p. 25. N. B. This ſubject has been ſince proſecuted by Mr Haukeſby, Dr Jurin, and others, as may be ſeen in the Phil. Tranſ.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 125.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 150.

(*m*) This exemption was only peculiar, as it was ordered at his admiſſion; for at different times the like exemption was granted to other members, particularly to Dr Charlton and Dr Pell. Birch's Hiſt. of the R. S. Vol. II. p. 241.

(*n*) See their Journals.

(*o*) Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 1039, 1040. & Faſti, col. 156. but it does not appear by the Regiſter, whether he was then admitted or diplomated.

(*p*) Ward's Life of Dr Hooke, in the Lives of the Greſham Profeſſors, p. 174.

* Mr Hooke continued to read this lecture 'till Dr Pope's return ſome time in the following year. Ibid. p. 112.

(4) Ibid. p. 5. Perhaps it was one of theſe other draughts which Derham tells us was drawn in 1660.

(5) Artificial Clock-maker, ch. viii. edit. 1734.

(6) Ibid. p. 103. Compare his *Brevis Inſtitutio de uſu horologiorum ad inveniendas longitudines*, edit. 1657. and his *Horologium*, in 1658. with his *Horolog. Oſcill.* p. 3.

(7) P. 500, & ſeq.

(8) Life of Dr Hooke, p. 8.

(9) Derham's Artificial Clock-maker, p. 98. edit. 1734.

(10) See a deſcription thereof, with other matters relating to it, in Hook's Cutlerian Lectures, and in his Animad. in Hevelii Machina Cœleſtis, p. 69.

(11) Life of Hooke, p. 3.

(12) A perſon of this name was an active member of the R. S. at it's firſt ſettlement in 1660. Hiſt. of the R. S. in two vols 4to. edit. 1756. Vol. I. *paſſim.*

(13) Hooke's Life, p. 3.

(14) Lives of the Greſham Profeſſors, p. 189.

(15) In his Hiſt. of the R. S. 4to.

(16) Life of Hooke, p. 8. & ſeq. 1705. folio.

(17) Philoſ. Exper. and Obſerv. &c. of the late Dr R. Hooke, edit. 1726. 8vo.

(18) Hiſt. of the R. S. &c. in 2 vols 4to. 1756.

man, the founder, ſettled upon him for life (*q*). On the 4th of January, 1664-5, *It was ordered that the Society be ſummoned to meet on Wedneſday following, for the election of Mr Hooke as Curator by office, who was recommended from the Council to the Society by the Preſident.* Accordingly, at the next meeting, on January 11, *He was elected Curator by office to the Society, and that for perpetuity, with a ſalary of thirty pounds a year* pro tempore (*r*). And on the 20th of March following, he was elected Profeſſor of Geometry in Greſham-college (*s*). In 1665, he publiſhed at London in folio, his *Micrographia, or ſome Philoſophical Deſcriptions of minute bodies made by magnifying glaſſes, with Obſervations and Enquiries thereupon* [*H*]. And during the receſs of the Royal-Society on account of the plague, the ſame year, he attended Dr Wilkins and Sir William Petty, about the middle of July, to Durdens, a ſeat of the Earl of Berkeley near Epſom in Surry, where ſeveral experiments were made, which were afterwards communicated to the Royal-Society. And at one of their firſt meetings after their return to Greſham-college (*t*), he produced a very ſmall quadrant for obſerving accurately to minutes and ſeconds (*u*). September 19, 1666, he produced a model of his own deſign for rebuilding the city, deſtroyed by the great fire. This being approved by the court of the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen [*I*], though not carryed into execution, Mr Hooke was appointed City-Surveyor (*w*); in virtue of which office he laid out the ground to the ſeveral proprietors for rebuilding. As this proved a very gainful employ [*K*], ſo a great part of his time was ſpent upon it, which occaſioned an unavoidable interruption in the buſineſs of experiments. However, before the expiration of the year, in purſuance of an order by the Royal-Society on the 9th of January 1666-7, he begun to proſecute his obſervations of the earth's parallax, which had been propoſed by him formerly (*x*). He produced ſeveral new inventions in this and the four following years, the moſt conſiderable of which are printed in ſome of his works, or related by Mr Waller. But we muſt not omit to take notice, that, in 1668, Mr Hevelius, the famous Aſtronomer at Dantzick, having preſented a copy of his *Cometographia* to Mr Hooke (*y*), among other members of the Royal-Society, our author in return ſent the Conſul a deſcription of the dioptric teleſcope, with an account of the manner of uſing it, at the ſame time recommending it to him as greatly preferable to thoſe with plain ſights (*z*). This gave the firſt riſe to the diſpute between them, mentioned in a preceding Memoir (*aa*); wherein, though Mr Hooke had the beſt ſide of the queſtion, yet he managed it ſo as to be univerſally condemned [*L*]. But in 1671, he attacked Sir Iſaac Newton's New

(*q*) Both the ſubject and number of the lectures were to be appointed by the Society, who ordered their thanks to be returned to the founder, for his kindneſs to ſo worthy a member. Waller, p. 10. from the Journals of the R. S.

(*r*) Birch's Hiſt. of the R. S. Vol. II. p. 3 and 8.

(*s*) Ward, ubi ſupra.

(*t*) They returned March 14, and the quadrant was produced March 31. Journals of R. S.

(*u*) This was done by moving the arm with a ſcrew on the limb of the inſtrument, and might perhaps be the firſt of the kind, which is now in common uſe. Waller, ibid. There is a deſcription of one at large, p. 54. of the Animad. upon the Machina Cœleſtis.

(*w*) One Mr Oliver, a Glaſs-Painter, was joined with him in it. Waller, p. 13, and Ath. Oxon. ubi ſup.

(*x*) See remark [*M*].

(*y*) Birch's Hiſtory of the R. S. Vol. II. p. 313. Our author had made Hevelius a handſome compliment, on account of his Selenographia, printed in 1647. See his preface to Micrographia.

(*z*) Annus Climactericus Johan. Hevelii, &c. p. 39, 40, 41.

(*aa*) That of Dr Halley.

[*H*] *His Micrographia, &c.*] In the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 11. there is an account of this book (19). In which, as Mr Waller obſerves, ‘ It will hardly ‘ be denied that there are more excellent hints and ‘ philoſophical diſcoveries, than in moſt extant of it's ‘ bulk. The book, continues he, being well known, ‘ I ſhall only obſerve that there are deſcribed in it ſe‘veral ſorts of microſcopes, with the ways of uſing ‘ them. As alſo the baroſcope, hygroſcope, an inſtru‘ment to graduate thermometers. An engine to grind ‘ optic glaſſes. An inſtrument to try the refraction of ‘ liquors. I remember, ſays he, Mr Marſhall (20), ‘ when he deſired the Society's approbation of his new ‘ method of grinding ſpectacles, owned he had the firſt ‘ intimation of it from a hint of Mr Hooke's, in this ‘ book about poliſhing many of the ſmall microſcopic ‘ glaſſes at once (21).’ But whatever merit this piece had, it never was printed but once; the later date 1667, found in ſome copies, being only put to a new title page (22).

[*I*] *His model was approved by the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen.*] Sir John Lawrence, the late Lord-Mayor, being preſent when the model was produced to the Society, acquainted them, that the ſaid court deſired it might be ſhewn to his Majeſty. However no notice was taken of this requeſt; probably becauſe Dr Wren's model had been then delivered to his Majeſty, and by him approved and laid before the Council; though as the Doctor had not an opportunity to communicate his either to the Royal-Society or the City, before it was ſent to the King, neither of them probably at that time had ſeen it; that is, in their corporate capacity, or at a public meeting, as it muſt be underſtood, for Mr Ward, who gives this account (23), refers therein to a letter wrote to Mr Boyle by Mr Oldenburg, September 18, 1666, of which he has, in the place referred to (24), tranſcribed the following extract. ‘ *Dr Wren has, ſince my laſt, drawn a modell for a new* ‘ *citty, and preſented it to the King.—I was yeſterday* ‘ *morning with the Doctor, and ſaw the modell.——I* ‘ *then told him, that if I had had an opportunity to ſpeak* ‘ *with him ſooner, I ſhould have ſuggeſted to him, that* ‘ *ſuch a modell contrived by him, and reviewed and ap*‘*proved by the Royal-Society or a committee thereof, be*‘*fore it had come to the view of his Majeſty, would* ‘ *have given the Society a name, and made it popular, and* ‘ *availed not a little to ſilence thoſe, who aſk continually,* ‘ What have they done. *He anſwered, that he had* ‘ *been ſo preſſed to haſten it, before other deſſeins came in,* ‘ *that he could not poſſibly conſult the Society about it.* ‘ *However, ſince it is done without taking in the Society,* ‘ *it muſt ſuffice, that it is a member thereof that hath* ‘ *done it; and, by what I ſee, hath done it ſo, that* ‘ *other modells will not equall it. And I hope, that* ‘ *when it comes to be preſented to the Parliament, as the* ‘ *author will be named, ſo his relation to the Society will* ‘ *not be omitted.*’ The date of this letter ſhews, that when Mr Hooke's model was produced to the Society, that of Dr Wren had been ſeen by Mr Oldenburg, and therefore probably by others, eſpecially as there was not the ſame reaſon for keeping the ſecret ſo ſtrictly after he had got the ſtart in preſenting it to the King. But the chief reaſon of inſerting this extract here, is the manifeſt diſguſt that appears in it on the occaſion of Dr Wren's not having communicated his model to the Society. This diſguſt doubtleſs had ſpread itſelf a good way among them; and thence it is obvious to conceive, how a perſon of Mr Hooke's temper might be encouraged to make the attempt, we have ſeen he did, upon them by his intereſt in the City; which behaviour, conſidering his competitor's great merit and eſteem, particularly in that Society, ſeems otherwiſe to be unaccountable.

[*K*] *This proved a gainful employ.*] The profits of it aroſe from the money which was given him by the ſeveral proprietors of the ground for diſpatch. The whole amounted to ſeveral thouſand pounds in gold and ſilver, and he put it all into a large iron cheſt, which was found after his death locked down with a key in it, and a date of the time, ſhewing it to have been ſo ſhut up for above thirty years (25).

[*L*] *He managed it ſo as to be univerſally condemned.*] This controverſy at firſt was conducted with temper enough on both ſides, by means of Mr Oldenburg; who receiving Hevelius's letters, which were addreſſed to him, returned the ſubſtance of Hooke's anſwers thereto (26). However, theſe firſt letters diſcover the point in diſpute between them, which being carried to extremity on both ſides, furniſhed fuel for the flame that broke out afterwards. This point was, whether diſtances and altitudes could be taken with plain ſights any nearer than to a minute. Mr Hooke aſſerting they could not, whereas,

(19) There is alſo an account of it in the Journal des Sçavans, for Dec. 1666.

(20) The famous Optician at that time.

(21) Life of Hooke, p. 10.

(22) Ward, in our author's Life, p. 190.

(23) Ibid. p. 175.

(24) In the Life of Sir Chriſtopher Wren, p. 102.

(25) Waller, ubi ſupra.

(26) See five of theſe letters in Ann. Climact. from p. 39 to 46. Our author ſeems never to have held any direct correſpondence with Hevelius.

new theory of light and colours, with ſomewhat better ſucceſs in regard to his reputation, though

whereas, with an inſtrument of a ſpan radius, by the help of a teleſcope, they might be determined to the exactneſs of a ſecond. Mr Hevelius on the other hand inſiſting, that by the advantage of a good eye and long uſe, he was able with his inſtruments to come up even to that exactneſs; and appealing to experience and facts, ſent by way of challege eight diſtances, each between two different ſtars, to be examined by our Profeſſor (27). Thus the affair reſted for ſome time with ſufficient outward decency, though not without ſome inward grudge on each ſide (28). In 1673, the Conſul publiſhed the firſt part of his *Machina Cœleſtis*, as a ſpecimen of the exactneſs both of his inſtruments and obſervations; and ſending ſeveral copies to be preſented as preſents to his friends in England, left out Mr Hooke. On the other hand the Cutlerian Profeſſor taking occaſion to read ſeveral lectures upon that book and the inſtruments therein deſcribed, printed them in 1674, with the title of *Animadverſions on the firſt Part of the* Machina Cœleſtis *of the learned and deſervedly famous Aſtronomer* Johan. Hevelius, *Conſul of* Dantzick. But now not being able to contain himſelf longer within the bounds of decency, he aſſumed a magiſterial air, and in that ſpirit threw out ſeveral unhandſome reflections upon the Conſul. How this behaviour was reſented, appears from a letter ſent by Hevelius to Mr Oldenburg, Aug. 31, 1675, wherein he writes as follows: Literas tuas, Vir honorande, die 16 Aprilis ſcriptas una cum tranſmiſſis illis libellis—accepi. ———‘ *Inter libros autem illos—etiam Cl. Hoockii Animadverſiones in Machinam meam reperi, ſollicite quidem & anxie conſcriptas.—— Quamprimum verſionem* [*in linguam Latinam*] *obtinuero, omnia debite, ut decet, reſpondebo. Ad hanc autem opellam credas, Mi Amice, ægre admodum accedo, non quod non confidam me ſuos nodos Gordios ſolvere, aculeoſque ſuos, quibus me ſæpius pungere ipſi placuit, minime detegere atque a me avertere poſſe, haud quaquam ſane! ſed quod animus meus res tales plane abhorreat, cum primis cum aliis rixari, verbiſque nudis & otioſis, & quidem contra ſocium ejuſdem Ill. Reg. Societ. contendere, prout etiam, ſicuti puto, ingenuum & cordatum virum decet. Ego quoque, abſit jactantia, re ipſa nunquam non luculenter oſtendi, ac ſemper de me meiſque laboribus atque ſtudiis magis quam de aliorum fui ſollicitus, & quidem non tam verbis quam opere ipſo, ut mea, quouſque liceret, perficerem, lubens lubenſque (niſi coactus) aliorum Clariſſ. Virorum operas, utut nonnunquam in quibuſdam mecum non convenirent, relinquens; nullum ſane ad meas partes coëgi, nec perſuadere operoſe ſum conatus, ut ſuas partes omnino quos veriores eſſe putarent, deſererent; multo minus ita me geſſi, quaſi in liberas mentes Dictaturam exercere mihi præſumerem. Adhæc in opuſculis meis neutiquam alicui nec Poſteritati leges præſcripſi, ut veſtigia mea omnimode ſequerentur, & quod ſic, & non aliter negotia illa tractanda forent, nec rationes meas & inventiunculas eſſe omnium optimas, ſecuriſſimas & ſubtiliſſimas, quæ unquam excogitari ab aliquo poſſent, demonſtrari ſum conatus, neutiquam profecto. Longe aliter ſemper ſenſi & adhuc ſentio, ſicuti abunde legere eſt in machina mea cœleſti; poſſe nimirum cum Deo & die abunde præſtantiora, accuratiora, & ſubtiliora inveniri, & in lucem protrahi. Ego non niſi literis ſemper conſignavi quæcunque pro meo modulo à Deo conceſſo, jam divino adſpirante numine, perfeciſſem, & quouſque ea ſucceſſiſſent; prout & tota mea machina non niſi hiſtorica relatio eſt earum ſcilicet rerum, quæ peractæ à me ope divina eſſent, qua via rem aggreſſus, nihilque addidi, quod ſciam, quod non per plurimos annos ad praxin ipſemet deduxiſſem, ut ita ex mea mente feliciter ſatis ſuccedere ex ipſa experientia eſſem compertus; minime vero de rebus futuris, quæ & quomodo fieri deberent & poſſent, atque ſic de incertis nulla glorioſa verba faciendo. At vero Cl. Hoockius, ut video, plane diverſum habet animum; magis enim circa aliena quam ſua eſt curioſus; ubi inventa ſua jam factis & obſervationibus à ſeipſo peractis demonſtrare deberet, ibi nudis & prolixiſſimis verbis, & ſplendidiſſimis rationibus rem gerit.——Secundo nihil potius agit, quam ut mihi totique mundo perſuadeat (mihique paſſim exprobret, quod ipſi non obtemperem ac ſequar, ac ſi illi aliquod dominium in me competeret) rationem ſuam obſervandi aſtra eſſe optimam——quæ in eo genere inveniri poſſet unquam, cum tamen totum ſuum negotium in nudis ſermonibus & oſtentationibus conſiſtat.———Deinde pariter indignum eſt, aliorum optima intentione peractos, & adhuc peragendos labores, quacunque etiam ratione id ſit, protinus carpere, contemnere, & rejicere, & quidem tales quos videre Cl. Hoockio nunquam adhuc obtigit, nec videre ulla ratione potuit.———Satius igitur eſt, ut judicium ſuum de noſtris qualibus qualibus eo uſque ſuſpendat, donec noſtra recte viderit, & integerrime abſque omni livore examinaverit; nobis vero de ſuis obſervationibus credendum, & ambabus manibus eaſdem amplectendas nihil obtrudat, donec & ſua coram intueri, & examinare integrum erit omnibus.———Verum enimvero quomodo in ſingulis fere animadverſionum ſuarum pagellis mea obſervata atque opellas ſugillet, perſtringat, ac flocciſaciat, meque ipſum paſſim carpat, illudat, ac ludibrioſe, non ſolum coram ſuis diſcipulis ſed etiam toto erudito mundo tractet, abunde legere eſt. Nihil enim recte unquam vel debite à me ex ſua opinione ſuſceptum vel tranſactum, quod non cenſuram & intempeſtivam ſuam correctionem mereatur.*——Videri quidem paſſim vult, ac ſi mihi admodum ſit addictus, ac me mire laudet; ſed quo animo & affectu, quilibet ad rem attentus, etiamſi putet ſubtiliſſime rem à ſe eſſe geſtum, perſpiciet. Summa ſummarum; dum me laude quaſi afficit, ut ex reliquis diverſarum pagellarum formulis loquendi manifeſtum eſt, magis magiſque me ludit ac pungit (29). *Videtur fere, quod de me in hiſce pagellis quaſi vindicare ſe voluerit, iramque ſuam ea de cauſa evomere, quod illum non pariter inter præcipuos meos Angliæ Fautores & Amicos nuper poſuerim; ſed ratio hæc nimis eſt leviuſcula; & è contrario reliquæ, quas adducit, apud me minime valent; ac itaque nulla fere ſupereſt, quam quod alios reprehendendo & redarguendo, ſuaque ad cælum extollendo, inſignem gloriam atque famam ſibi acquirere ſtuduerit.———Verum nolo amplius de Cl. Hoockii conatibus erga me, ne tibi amico optimo ſim moleſtus, verba facere; ſiquidem nolens volens omnimode cogor alio loco hæc omnia fuſius deducere, annectendo, non omnia ab ipſo prolata, miracula & oracula eſſe, & quod in alieno pluſquam in ſuo videat.———Equidem ipſi longe glorioſius fuiſſet, ut nudis verbis peperciſſet, remque ipſam ſolummodo in poſterum tractaret, quam ipſe in aliis adeo operoſe carpit, quo omnes & ſinguli videant, quod talis ſit, qualis videri & haberi vult, & quod illi æque facile ſit imitari, ac carpere.——Verum iterum iterumque valde dubito, annon Nob. Tycho, Illuſtriſſ. Landgravius, aliique, quos in animo ſuo adeo contemptim habet, plura, majori diligentia, ardore, & multis in rebus (in multis, inquam, non in omnibus, quippe aberrationi quilibet eſt obnoxius) exquiſitius & correctius, & quidem nudis oculis, illiſque rudioribus pinnacidiis perfecerint, quam ipſe Cl. Hoockius (de aliis non loquor) adminiculo videlicet omnium ſuarum ſubtiliſſimarum inventionum Teleſcopiorum, Microſcopiorum, Polemoſcopiorum, Speculorumque, utut ipſi hoc tædioſiſſimum ſit percipere, imo plane abſurdiſſimum videatur.——Unicum autem peto unice, ne dominetur in mentem meam. Nam neque eum, quiſquis etiam ille ſit, neque ullum aliquem, in meis ſcilicet qualibus qualibus ſtudiis, pro Dictatore ac Principe agnoſco.* Vivimus in libera Republica literaria, libera Illuſt. Regia Societate, cujus Symbolum NULLIUS IN VERBA (30).’ In 1679, Mr Halley, at the requeſt of the R. Society, went to Dantzic on occaſion of this diſpute, and after examining ſufficiently both the inſtruments and obſervations made therewith, gave, in a letter to the Conſul, that favourable opinion of both, which has been already related in his article (31). Mr Hevelius having beſides this received other letters ſtill more fully in his favour, took the opportunity of inſerting them among the aſtronomical obſervations in his *Annus Climactericus*, printed in 1685 (32). To which he prefixed a long preface, wherein grounding himſelf upon the ſtrength of theſe teſtimonies, he repeats what he had before wrote to Mr Oldenburg, with more confidence and greater indignation, and particularly exclaims againſt our author's dogmatical and magiſterial manner of aſſuming a kind of dictatorſhip over him. This book being ſent to the Royal-Society, an account was given of it at their requeſt by Dr Wallis, who therein, among other things, took notice, that the Conſul's obſervations had been miſrepreſented, ſince it appeared from this book, that he could diſtinguiſh by plain ſights to a ſmall part of a minute. About the ſame time Mr William Molyneux alſo wrote a letter to the Society in vindication of Hevelius, againſt our author's *Animadverſions*. Mr Hooke drew up an anſwer to this man, the founder, ſettled upon him for life (q). On the 4th of January, 1664-5, *It was ordered that the Society be ſummoned to meet on Wedneſday following, for the election of Mr Hooke as Curator by office, who was recommended from the Council to the Society by the Preſident.* Accordingly, at the next meeting, on January 11, *He was elected Curator by office to the Society, and that for perpetuity, with a ſalary of thirty pounds a year* pro tempore (r). And on the 20th of March following, he was elected Profeſſor of Geometry in Greſham-college (s). In 1665, he publiſhed at London in folio, his *Micrographia, or ſome Philoſophical Deſcriptions of minute bodies made by magnifying glaſſes, with Obſervations and Enquiries thereupon* [*H*]. And during the receſs of the Royal-Society on account of the plague, the ſame year, he attended Dr Wilkins and Sir William Petty, about the middle of July, to Durdens, a ſeat of the Earl of Berkeley near Epſom in Surry, where ſeveral experiments were made, which were afterwards communicated to the Royal-Society. And at one of their firſt meetings after their return to Greſham-college (t), he produced a very ſmall quadrant for obſerving accurately to minutes and ſeconds (u). September 19, 1666, he produced a model of his own deſign for rebuilding the city, deſtroyed by the great fire. This being approved by the court of the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen [*I*], though not carryed into execution, Mr Hooke was appointed City-Surveyor (w); in virtue of which office he laid out the ground to the ſeveral proprietors for rebuilding. As this proved a very gainful employ [*K*], ſo a great part of his time was ſpent upon it, which occaſioned an unavoidable interruption in the buſineſs of experiments. However, before the expiration of the year, in purſuance of an order by the Royal-Society on the 9th of January 1666-7, he begun to proſecute his obſervations of the earth's parallax, which had been propoſed by him formerly (x). He produced ſeveral new inventions in this and the four following years, the moſt conſiderable of which are printed in ſome of his works, or related by Mr Waller. But we muſt not omit to take notice, that, in 1668, Mr Hevelius, the famous Aſtronomer at Dantzick, having preſented a copy of his *Cometographia* to Mr Hooke (y), among other members of the Royal-Society, our author in return ſent the Conſul a deſcription of the dioptric teleſcope, with an account of the manner of uſing it, at the ſame time recommending it to him as greatly preferable to thoſe with plain ſights (z). This gave the firſt riſe to the diſpute between them, mentioned in a preceding Memoir (aa); wherein, though Mr Hooke had the beſt ſide of the queſtion, yet he managed it ſo as to be univerſally condemned [*L*]. But in 1671, he attacked Sir Iſaac Newton's New

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(27) One of theſe diſtances is that between *Regulus* and *Spica*, mentioned in Dr Halley's article, remark [*I*], p. 2498.

(28) Mr Hook afterwards declares he was now unkindly uſed. See his defence below at note (38). And Hevelius ſays, that the preference of teleſcopes to the degree here mentioned, was inculcated by him in theſe letters *ad nauſeam*. Ann. Climact. in præfat. p. 9.

(29) This paſſage is referred to in note (37).

(30) Ann. Climact. p. 54 to p. 60.

(31) In remark [*K*], p. 2498.

(32) Among theſe there are ſeveral from Mr Flamſtead, who there ſpeaks with great contempt of our author's Aſtronomical merit. See particularly Ann. Climact. p. 65. There is alſo one from Oldenburg, aſſuring Hevelius, that the R. S. were ſtrangers to the publiſhing of Mr Hooke's book, and that it had not in the leaſt prejudiced their eſteem of him. Ibid. p. 95.

(33) Phil. Tranſ. No. 175.

[*H*] *His Micrographia, &c.*] In the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 11. there is an account of this book (19). In which, as Mr Waller obſerves, 'It will hardly be denied that there are more excellent hints and philoſophical diſcoveries, than in moſt extant of it's bulk. The book, continues he, being well known, I ſhall only obſerve that there are deſcribed in it ſeveral ſorts of microſcopes, with the ways of uſing them. As alſo the baroſcope, hygroſcope, an inſtrument to graduate thermometers. An engine to grind optic glaſſes. An inſtrument to try the refraction of liquors. I remember, ſays he, Mr Marſhall (20), when he deſired the Society's approbation of his new method of grinding ſpectacles, owned he had the firſt intimation of it from a hint of Mr Hooke's, in this book about poliſhing many of the ſmall microſcopic glaſſes at once (21).' But whatever merit this piece had, it never was printed but once; the later date 1667, found in ſome copies, being only put to a new title page (22).

[*I*] *His model was approved by the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen.*] Sir John Lawrence, the late Lord-Mayor, being preſent when the model was produced to the Society, acquainted them, that the ſaid court deſired it might be ſhewn to his Majeſty. However no notice was taken of this requeſt; probably becauſe Dr Wren's model had been then delivered to his Majeſty, and by him approved and laid before the Council; though as the Doctor had not an opportunity to communicate his either to the Royal-Society or the City, before it was ſent to the King, neither of them probably at that time had ſeen it; that is, in their corporate capacity, or at a public meeting, as it muſt be underſtood, for Mr Ward, who gives this account (23), refers therein to a letter wrote to Mr Boyle by Mr Oldenburg, September 18, 1666, of which he has, in the place referred to (24), tranſcribed the following extract. '*Dr Wren has, ſince my laſt, drawn a modell for a new citty, and preſented it to the King.—I was yeſterday morning with the Doctor, and ſaw the modell.——I then told him, that if I had had an opportunity to ſpeak with him ſooner, I ſhould have ſuggeſted to him, that ſuch a modell contrived by him, and reviewed and approved by the Royal-Society or a committee thereof, before it had come to the view of his Majeſty, would have given the Society a name, and made it popular, and availed not a little to ſilence thoſe, who aſk continually,* What have they done. *He anſwered, that he had been ſo preſſed to haſten it, before other deſſeins came in, that he could not poſſibly conſult the Society about it. However, ſince it is done without taking in the Society, it muſt ſuffice, that it is a member thereof that hath done it; and, by what I ſee, hath done it ſo, that other modells will not equall it. And I hope, that when it comes to be preſented to the Parliament, as the author will be named, ſo his relation to the Society will not be omitted.*' The date of this letter ſhews, that when Mr Hooke's model was produced to the Society, that of Dr Wren had been ſeen by Mr Oldenburg, and therefore probably by others, eſpecially as there was not the ſame reaſon for keeping the ſecret ſo ſtrictly after he had got the ſtart in preſenting it to the King. But the chief reaſon of inſerting this extract here, is the manifeſt diſguſt that appears in it on the occaſion of Dr Wren's not having communicated his model to the Society. This diſguſt doubtleſs had ſpread itſelf a good way among them; and thence it is obvious to conceive, how a perſon of Mr Hooke's temper might be encouraged to make the attempt, we have ſeen he did, upon them by his intereſt in the City; which behaviour, conſidering his competitor's great merit and eſteem, particularly in that Society, ſeems otherwiſe to be unaccountable.

[*K*] *This proved a gainful employ.*] The profits of it aroſe from the money which was given him by the ſeveral proprietors of the ground for diſpatch. The whole amounted to ſeveral thouſand pounds in gold and ſilver, and he put it all into a large iron cheſt, which was found after his death locked down with a key in it, and a date of the time, ſhewing it to have been ſo ſhut up for above thirty years (25).

[*L*] *He managed it ſo as to be univerſally condemned.*] This controverſy at firſt was conducted with temper enough on both ſides, by means of Mr Oldenburg; who receiving Hevelius's letters, which were addreſſed to him, returned the ſubſtance of Hooke's anſwers thereto (26). However, theſe firſt letters diſcover the point in diſpute between them, which being carried to extremity on both ſides, furniſhed fuel for the flame that broke out afterwards. This point was, whether diſtances and altitudes could be taken with plain ſights any nearer than to a minute. Mr Hooke aſſerting they could not, whereas, new theory of light and colours, with ſomewhat better ſucceſs in regard to his reputation, though

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(q) Both the ſubject and number of the lectures were to be appointed by the Society, who ordered their thanks to be returned to the founder, for his kindneſs to ſo worthy a member. Waller, p. 10. from the Journals of the R. S.

(r) Birch's Hiſt. of the R. S. Vol. II. p. 3 and 8.

(s) Ward, ubi ſupra.

(t) They returned March 14, and the quadrant was produced March 31. Journals of R. S.

(u) This was done by moving the arm with a ſcrew on the limb of the inſtrument, and might perhaps be the firſt of the kind, which is now in common uſe. Waller, ibid. There is a deſcription of one at large, p. 54. of the Animad. upon the Machina Cœleſtis.

(w) One Mr Oliver, a Glaſs-Painter, was joined with him in it. Waller, p. 13, and Ath. Oxon. ubi ſup.

(x) See remark [*M*].

(y) Birch's Hiſtory of the R. S. Vol. II. p. 313. Our author had made Hevelius a handſome compliment, on account of his Selenographia, printed in 1647. See his preface to Micrographia.

(z) Annus Climactericus Johan. Hevelii, &c. p. 39, 40, 41.

(aa) That of Dr Halley.

(19) There is alſo an account of it in the Journal des Sçavans, for Dec. 1666.

(20) The famous Optician at that time.

(21) Life of Hooke, p. 10.

(22) Ward, in our author's Life, p. 190.

(23) Ibid. p. 175.

(24) In the Life of Sir Chriſtopher Wren, p. 102.

(25) Walker, ubi ſupra.

(26) See five of theſe letters in Ann. Climact. from p. 39 to 46. Our author ſeems never to have held any direct correſpondence with Hevelius.

whereas, with an inſtrument of a ſpan radius, by the help of a teleſcope, they might be determined to the exactneſs of a ſecond. Mr Hevelius on the other hand inſiſting, that by the advantage of a good eye and long uſe, he was able with his inſtruments to come up even to that exactneſs; and appealing to experience and facts, ſent by way of challege eight diſtances, each between two different ſtars, to be examined by our Profeſſor (27). Thus the affair reſted for ſome time with ſufficient outward decency, though not without ſome inward grudge on each ſide (28). In 1673, the Conſul publiſhed the firſt part of his *Machina Cæleſtis*, as a ſpecimen of the exactneſs both of his inſtruments and obſervations; and ſending ſeveral copies to be preſented as preſents to his friends in England, left out Mr Hooke. On the other hand the Cutlerian Profeſſor taking occaſion to read ſeveral lectures upon that book and the inſtruments therein deſcribed, printed them in 1674, with the title of *Animadverſions on the firſt Part of the* Machina Cœleſtis *of the learned and deſervedly famous Aſtronomer* Johan. Hevelius, *Conſul of* Dantzick. But now not being able to contain himſelf longer within the bounds of decency, he aſſumed a magiſterial air, and in that ſpirit threw out ſeveral unhandſome reflections upon the Conſul. How this behaviour was reſented, appears from a letter ſent by Hevelius to Mr Oldenburg, Aug. 31, 1675, wherein he writes as follows: Literas tuas, Vir honorande, die 16 Aprilis ſcriptas una cum tranſmiſſis illis libellis—accepi. ————‘ *Inter libros autem illos—etiam Cl. Hoockii Animadverſiones in Machinam meam reperi, ſollicite quidem & anxie conſcriptas.—— Quamprimum verſionem [in linguam Latinam] obtinuero, omnia debite, ut decet, reſpondebo. Ad hanc autem opellam credas, Mi Amice, ægre admodum accedo, non quod non confidam me ſuos nodos Gordios ſolvere, aculeoſque ſuos, quibus me ſæpius pungere ipſi placuit, minime detegere atque a me avertere poſſe, haud quaquam ſane! ſed quod animus meus res tales plane abhorreat, cum primis cum aliis rixari, verbiſque nudis & otioſis, & quidem contra ſocium ejuſdem Ill. Reg. Societ. contendere, prout etiam, ſicuti puto, ingenuum & cordatum virum decet. Ego quoque, abſit jactantia, re ipſa nunquam non luculenter oſtendi, ac ſemper de me meiſque laboribus atque ſtudiis magis quam de aliorum fui ſollicitus, & quidem non tam verbis quam opere ipſo, ut mea, quouſque liceret, perficerem, lubens lubenſque (niſi coactus) aliorum Clariſſ. Virorum operas, utut nonnunquam in quibuſdam mecum non convenirent, relinquens; nullum ſane ad meas partes coëgi, nec perſuadere operoſe ſum conatus, ut ſuas partes omnino quos veriores eſſe putarent, deſererent; multo minus ita me geſſi, quaſi in liberas mentes Dictaturam exercere mihi præſumerem. Adhæc in opuſculis meis neutiquam alicui nec Poſteritati leges præſcripſi, ut veſtigia mea omnimode ſequerentur, & quod ſic, & non aliter negotia illa tractanda forent, nec rationes meas & inventiunculas eſſe omnium optimas, ſecuriſſimas & ſubtiliſſimas, quæ unquam excogitari ab aliquo poſſent, demonſtrari ſum conatus, neutiquam profecto. Longe aliter ſemper ſenſi & adhuc ſentio, ſicuti abunde legere eſt in machina mea cœleſti; poſſe nimirum cum Deo & die abunde præſtantiora, accuratiora, & ſubtiliora inveniri, & in lucem protrahi. Ego non niſi literis ſemper conſignavi quæcunque pro meo modulo à Deo conceſſo, jam divino adſpirante numine, perfeciſſem, & quouſque ea ſucceſſiſſent; prout & tota mea machina non niſi hiſtorica relatio eſt earum ſcilicet rerum, quæ peractæ à me ope divina eſſent, qua via rem aggreſſus, nihilque addidi, quod ſciam, quod non per plurimos annos ad praxin ipſemet deduxiſſem, ut ita ex mea mente feliciter ſatis ſuccedere ex ipſa experientia eſſem compertus; minime vero de rebus futuris, quæ & quomodo fieri deberent & poſſent, atque ſic de incertis nulla glorioſa verba faciendo. At vero Cl. Hoockius, ut video, plane diverſum habet animum; magis enim circa aliena quam ſua eſt curioſus; ubi inventa ſua jam factis & obſervationibus à ſeipſo peractis demonſtrare deberet, ibi nudis & prolixiſſimis verbis, & ſplendidiſſimis rationibus rem gerit.——Secundo nihil potius agit, quam ut mihi totique mundo perſuadeat (mihique paſſim exprobret, quod ipſi non obtemperem ac ſequar, ac ſi illi aliquod dominium in me competeret) rationem ſuam obſervandi aſtra eſſe optimam——quæ in eo genere inveniri poſſet unquam, cum tamen totum ſuum negotium in nudis ſermonibus & oſtentationibus conſiſtat.————Deinde pariter indignum eſt, aliorum optima intentione peractos, & adhuc peragendos labores, quacunque etiam ratione id ſit, protinus carpere, contemnere, & rejicere, & quidem tales quos videre Cl. Hoockio nunquam adhuc obtigit, nec videre ulla ratione potuit.————Satius igitur eſt, ut judicium ſuum de noſtris qualibus qualibus eo uſque ſuſpendat, donec noſtra recte viderit, & integerrime abſque omni livore examinaverit; nobis vero de ſuis obſervationibus credendum, & ambabus manibus eaſdem amplectendas nihil obtrudat, donec & ſua coram intueri, & examinare integrum erit omnibus.————Verum enimvero quomodo in ſingulis fere animadverſionum ſuarum pagellis mea obſervata atque opellas ſugillet, perſtringat, ac flocci-faciat, meque ipſum paſſim carpat, illudat, ac ludibrioſe, non ſolum coram ſuis diſcipulis ſed etiam toto erudito mundo tractet, abunde legere eſt. Nihil enim recte unquam vel debite à me ex ſua opinione ſuſceptum vel tranſactum, quod non cenſuram & intempeſtivam ſuam correctionem mereatur.——*Videri quidem paſſim vult, ac ſi mihi admodum ſit addictus, ac me mire laudet; ſed quo animo & affectu, quilibet ad rem attentus, etiamſi putet ſubtiliſſime rem à ſe eſſe geſtum, perſpiciet. Summa ſummarum; dum me laude quaſi afficit, ut ex reliquis diverſarum pagellarum formulis loquendi manifeſtum eſt, magis magiſque me ludit ac pungit (29). *Videtur fere, quod de me in hiſce pagellis quaſi vindicare ſe voluerit, iramque ſuam ea de cauſa evomere, quod illum non pariter inter præcipuos meos Angliæ Fautores & Amicos nuper poſuerim; ſed ratio hæc nimis eſt leviuſcula; & è contrario reliquæ, quas adducit, apud me minime valent; ac itaque nulla fere ſupereſt, quam quod alios reprehendendo & redarguendo, ſuaque ad cœlum extollendo, inſignem gloriam atque famam ſibi acquirere ſtuduerit.————Verum nolo amplius de Cl. Hoockii conatibus erga me, ne tibi amico optimo ſim moleſtus, verba facere; ſiquidem nolens volens omnimode cogor alio loco hæc omnia fuſius deducere, annectendo, non omnia ab ipſo prolata, miracula & oracula eſſe, & quod in alieno pluſquam in ſuo videat.————Equidem ipſi longe glorioſius fuiſſet, ut nudis verbis peperciſſet, remque ipſam ſolummodo in poſterum tractaret, quam ipſe in aliis adeo operoſe carpit, quo omnes & ſinguli videant, quod talis ſit, qualis videri & haberi vult, & quod illi æque facile ſit imitari, ac carpere.——Verum iterum iterumque valde dubito, annon Nob. Tycho, Illuſtriſſ. Landgravius, aliique, quos in animo ſuo adeo contemptim habet, plura, majori diligentia, ardore, & multis in rebus (in multis, inquam, non in omnibus, quippe aberrationi quilibet eſt obnoxius) exquiſitius & correctius, & quidem nudis oculis, illiſque rudioribus pinnacidiis perfecerint, quam ipſe Cl. Hoockius (de aliis non loquor) adminiculo videlicet omnium ſuarum ſubtiliſſimarum inventionum Teleſcopiorum, Microſcopiorum, Polemoſcopiorum, Speculorumque, utut ipſi hoc tædioſiſſimum ſit percipere, imo plane abſurdiſſimum videatur.——Unicum autem peto unice, ne dominetur in mentem meam. Nam neque eum, quiſquis etiam ille ſit, neque ullum aliquem, in meis ſcilicet qualibus qualibus ſtudiis, pro Dictatore ac Principe agnoſco.* Vivimus in libera Republica literaria, libera Illuſt. Regia Societate, cujus Symbolum NULLIUS IN VERBA (30).’ In 1679, Mr Halley, at the requeſt of the R. Society, went to Dantzic on occaſion of this diſpute, and after examining ſufficiently both the inſtruments and obſervations made therewith, gave, in a letter to the Conſul, that favourable opinion of both, which has been already related in his article (31). Mr Hevelius having beſides this received other letters ſtill more fully in his favour, took the opportunity of inſerting them among the aſtronomical obſervations in his *Annus Climactericus*, printed in 1685 (32). To which he prefixed a long preface, wherein grounding himſelf upon the ſtrength of theſe teſtimonies, he repeats what he had before wrote to Mr Oldenburg, with more confidence and greater indignation, and particularly exclaims againſt our author's dogmatical and magiſterial manner of aſſuming a kind of dictatorſhip over him. This book being ſent to the Royal-Society, an account was given of it at their requeſt by Dr Wallis, who therein, among other things, took notice, that the Conſul's obſervations had been miſrepreſented, ſince it appeared from this book, that he could diſtinguiſh by plain fights to a ſmall part of a minute. About the ſame time Mr William Molyneux alſo wrote a letter to the Society in vindication of Hevelius, againſt our author's *Animadverſions*. Mr Hooke drew up an anſwer to this letter, though in reſpect to the argument he was forced to ſubmit [*M*]. In 1673, he propoſed a theory of the variation of the mariners compaſs, which has been already explained (*b b*). In

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(27) One of theſe diſtances is that between *Regulus* and *Spica*, mentioned in Dr Halley's article, remark [*I*], p. 2498.

(28) Mr Hook afterwards declares he was now unkindly uſed. See his defence below at note (38). And Hevelius ſays, that the preference of teleſcopes to the degree here mentioned, was inculcated by him in theſe letters *ad nauſeam*. Ann. Climact. in præfat. p. 9.

(29) This paſſage is referred to in note (37).

(30) Ann. Climact. p. 54 to p. 60.

(31) In remark [*K*], p. 2498.

(32) Among theſe there are ſeveral from Mr Flamſtead, who there ſpeaks with great contempt of our author's Aſtronomical merit. See particularly Ann. Climact. p. 65. There is alſo one from Oldenburg, aſſuring Hevelius, that the R. S. were ſtrangers to the publiſhing of Mr Hooke's book, and that it had not in the leaſt prejudiced their eſteem of him. Ibid. p. 95.

(33) Phil. Tranſ. No. 175.

(*bb*) Ibid. rem. [*M*], col. b. p. 2500. He alſo propoſed the making of an inſtrument to obſerve the variation, and there is a figure of one to that purpoſe in his Poſthumous Works, p. 486.

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letter, which was read likewiſe before the Society; wherein he obſerves, that he was not the firſt aggreſſor in print, as appeared from ſix pages in the *Machina Cœleſtis* itſelf (34); that in his animadverſions, he had no where expreſſed his doubt whether Hevelius's obſervations could be made true and always the ſame to two or three minutes, as Mr Molyneux had aſſerted (35), nor that an inſtrument of a ſpan radius might be made that ſhould perform obſervations ſixty times more accurate than could be done with his beſt inſtruments (36); that as for any diſreſpectful or undervaluing ſentiments he had of Hevelius or his performances, the contrary appears from the following paſſage, where he ſays, that ‘*he would not be underſtood by theſe animadverſions, to undervalue the works and performances of a perſon ſo highly meriting the thanks of the learned world, for his great expence and vaſt pains in performing a work ſo highly uſeful to aſtronomy and navagation*; *that he did not in the leaſt doubt, but that it would be work of perpetual eſteem, and much preferable to any thing of the like kind yet done in the world*; *and that he had gone as far as poſſible for human induſtry to go with inſtruments of that kind, which were as complete and exact as inſtruments with plain ſights could be made*; *and that Mr Hevelius had calculated them with all imaginable care and ſkill, and delivered them with the like candour and integrity*. But yet that it was my opinion, that this ought not to diſcourage others from making uſe of teleſcopic-ſights, and to make better obſervations with inſtruments by that means more exact (37).’ Our author concludes this defence in the following words. ‘As to my not returning the obſervations of certain diſtances of ſtars which Hevelius deſired, it is ſufficiently known what inconveniences we lay under in this place after the fire of London; *and had I found conveniences, yet the unkind reception thoſe things found, which I ſent him, was enough to deter me from ſuch a compliance* (38), *though he was ſenſible I had often been ready to gratify his curioſity in many other particulars* (39). But when his *Machina Cœleſtis* was publiſhed, I was obliged to write thoſe animadverſions, in which I hope all unprejudiced readers will juſtify my procedure; at leaſt, I am ready to prove any thing I have therein aſſerted.’ It is obſervable, that though the unkind reception of the things ſent is here expreſsly mentioned, yet no notice is taken of the particular reaſon given for it, which Hevelius had more than once declared to be the haughty imperious manner of obtruding them upon him; a behaviour which we ſhall ſee him hereafter charged with ſhewing to a much greater man than Hevelius.

[*M*] *He attacked Sir Iſaac Newton's theory of light and colours.*] After what paſſed in the Tranſactions upon this ſubject, the theory gaining ground continually, our author took a contrary method, and inſtead of oppoſing, began to aſſume ſome part at leaſt of the credit of it to himſelf; this appears by the following extract of a letter which Mr Newton wrote to Mr Oldenburg in December 1675. ‘As to Mr Hooke's inſinuation, that the ſum of the hypotheſis I ſent you [on the 7th inſtant (40)] had been delivered by him in his Micrography. I need not be much concerned at the liberty he takes in that kind. Yet becauſe you think it may do well, if I ſtate the difference I take to be between them, I ſhall do it as briefly as I can, and that the rather, that I may avoid the ſavour of having done any thing unhandſome or unjuſtifiable towards Mr Hooke. But for this end, I muſt firſt (to ſee what it is) caſt out what he has borrowed from Des Cartes or others, viz. that there is an æthereal medium. That light is the action of this medium; that this medium is leſs implicated in the parts of ſolid bodies, and ſo moves more freely in them, and tranſmits light more readily through them; and that after ſuch a manner, as to accelerate the rays in a certain proportion. That refraction ariſes from this acceleration, and has ſines proportional. That light is at firſt uniform. That it's colours are ſome diſturbance or new modification of it's rays by refraction or reflexion. That the colours of a priſm are made by means of the quieſcent medium accelerating ſome motion of the rays on one ſide where red appears, and retarding it on the other ſide where blue appears; and that there are but theſe two original colours or colour-making modifications of light; which by their various degrees, or, as Mr Hooke calls it, dilatings, produce all intermediate ones. This rejected, the remainder of his hypotheſis is, that he has changed Des Cartes's preſſing or progreſſive motion of the medium to a vibrating one; the rotation of the globuli to the obliquation of pulſes; and the accelerating their rotation on the one hand, and retarding it on the other by the quieſcent medium to produce colours, to the like action of the medium on the two ends of his pulſes for the ſame end. And having thus far modified his by the Carteſian hypotheſis, he has extended it farther to explicate the phænomena of thin plates, and added another explication of the colours of natural bodies fluid and ſolid.

‘This, I think, is in ſhort the ſum of his hypotheſis, and in all this I have nothing common with him but the ſuppoſition that æther is a medium ſuſceptible of vibrations, of which ſuppoſition I make a very different uſe, he ſuppoſing it light itſelf, which I ſuppoſe it is not. This is as great a difference, as is between him and Des Cartes. But beſides this, the manner of refraction and reflexion, and the nature and production of colours in all caſes (which takes up the body of my diſcourſe) I explain very differently from him; and even in the colours of thin tranſparent ſubſtances, I explain every thing after a way ſo differing from him, that the experiments I ground my diſcourſe on, deſtroy all he has ſaid about them; and the two main experiments, without which the manner of the production of thoſe colours is not to be found out, were not only unknown to him when he wrote his Micrography, but even laſt ſpring, as I underſtood in mentioning them to him. This therefore is the ſum of what is common to us, that æther may vibrate; and ſo if he thinks fit to uſe that notion of colours ariſing from the various bigneſs of pulſes (without which his hypotheſis will do nothing) his will borrow as much from my anſwer to his objections, as that I ſent you does from his Micrography.

‘But it may be he means that I have made uſe of his obſervations; and of ſome I did, as that of the inflexion of rays, for which I quoted him; that of opacity ariſing from the interſtices of the parts of bodies, which I inſiſt not on; and that of plated bodies exhibiting colours, a phænomenon for the notice of which I thank him. But he left me to find out, and make ſuch experiments about it, as might inform me of the manner of the production of thoſe colours to ground an hypotheſis on; he having given no further inſight into it than this, that the colour depended on ſome certain thickneſs of the plate; though what that thickneſs was at every colour, he confeſſes in his Micrography he had attempted in vain to learn; and therefore ſeeing I was left to meaſure it myſelf, I ſuppoſe he will allow me to make uſe of what I took the pains to find out. And this, I hope, may vindicate me from what Mr Hooke has been pleaſed to charge me with.’ Preſently after the writing of this letter, our author perſiſting in his aſſertion inſinuated the ſame thing before the Royal-Society, with which Mr Newton being acquainted by the Secretary, returned the following anſwer in a letter dated January 10, 1675-6. ‘I am obliged to you, Sir, for your candour in acquainting me with Mr Hooke's inſinuations. It is but a reaſonable piece of juſtice I ſhould have an opportunity to vindicate myſelf from what he undeſervedly caſt on me; and therefore ſince you have been pleaſed to be my repreſentative there, and I have no means of knowing what is done but by you, I hope you will continue that equitable candour; though I think the preſent buſineſs of no great moment as to me, not imagining that the Royal Society are to be impoſed on in a thing ſo plain, or that Mr Hooke himſelf will perſiſt in his miſtake, when he hears the difference ſtated. The only thing, I ſaid, he could pretend taken from his hypotheſis was, the diſpoſition of æther to vibrate; and yet whilſt he graſps at all, he is likely to fall ſhort of this too. That æthereal vibrations are light is his; but that æther may vibrate (which is all I ſuppoſe) is to be had from a higher fountain; for that æther is a finer degree of air, and

(34) Viz. from p. 293 to p. 300.

(35) This imputation is often mentioned by Hevelius, though not expreſsly charged upon the Animadverſions. See particularly Ann. Climact. p. 73. & in præf. p. 20.

(36) This is expreſsly charged upon him in præf. ad Ann. Climact. p. 9.

(37) Mr Hevelius particularly complains of this paſſage as a piece of mockery upon him, and declares he was reproached more than once in the Animadverſions, ironically, with the expence of his uſeleſs inſtruments. Letter to Oldenburg, in Ann. Climact. p. 57, 59, 60.

(38) Theſe are the words referred to in note (28).

(39) Mention is made in his Poſthumous Works, p. 498. of a micrometer divider (there deſcribed) for Hevelius. And the late Will. Jones, Eſq; was poſſeſſed of a letter of our author's, containing a deſcription both of his manner of managing large teleſcopes and of their object-glaſſes together, with an offer of procuring them at the loweſt price for Mr Hevelius.

(40) See remark [Q], where this letter is referred to at note (70).

In 1674, he publiſhed the two following books in 4to. (1.) *An Attempt to prove the Motion of the Earth from* Obſervations (*cc*) [*N*]. (2). *Animadverſions on the firſt part of the* Machina Cœleſtis *of the honourable, learned, and deſervedly famous Aſtronomer, Johannes Hevelius, Conſul at Dantzick: together with an explication of ſome inſtruments made by* R. H (*dd*). The Royal-Society having begun their meetings again at Greſham-college, on the 12th of November this year, the Greſham-Committee, December 19 following, allowed him forty pounds to erect a turret over part of his lodgings, for trying his inſtruments, and making aſtronomical obſervations (*ee*). In 1675, he publiſhed *A Deſcription of Helioſcopes, and ſome other inſtruments, made by* R. H. (*ff*), *with a Poſtſcript*, complaining of ſome injuſtice done him by Mr Oldenburg, the publiſher of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, in regard to his invention of pendulum watches. This charge drew him into a diſpute with that gentleman, which ended in a declaration of the Royal-Society in their Secretary's favour [*O*]. During this diſpute, our author publiſhed in 4to. 1667, his *Lampas*:

'air a vibrating medium, are old notions, and the principles I go upon. I deſire Mr Hooke to ſhew me therefore, I ſay not only the ſum of the hypotheſis I wrote, which is his inſinuation, but any part of it taken out of his *Micrographia*. But then I expect too, that he inſtance what is his own. It is moſt likely he will pretend I had from him the application of vibrations to the ſolution of the phænomena of thin plates; and yet all the uſe I make of vibrations, is to ſtrengthen or weaken the reflecting power of the æthereal ſuperficies; which is ſo far from being in his Micrographia, that the laſt ſpring, when I told him of the reflecting power of the æthereal ſuperficies, he took it for a new notion, having till then ſuppoſed light to be reflected by the parts of groſs bodies. To the things that he has from Des Cartes, pray add this, that the parts of ſolid bodies have a vibrating motion, leaſt he ſhould ſay I had from him what I ſay about heat. And his having from Des Cartes the reduction of all colours to two, you may, if need be, explain further for me thus: that as Des Cartes puts every globulus to be urged forward on one ſide by the illuminated medium, and impeded on the other by the dark one; ſo Mr Hooke puts every vibration to be promoted at one end, and retarded at the other by thoſe mediums, and thence both alike derive two modifications of light on the two ſides of the refracted beam for the production of all colours (41).'

[*N*] *An attempt to prove the motion of the earth from obſervations*] He had begun theſe obſervations in 1666, as mentioned in the text; having for that purpoſe opened a paſſage of about a foot ſquare through the roof of his lodgings at Greſham-college (42), and therein fixed a tube perpendicular and upright, of about ten or twelve foot in length, and a foot ſquare, ſo as that the lower end thereof came through the cieling, and was open into the chamber underneath (43). But he had made no more than four obſervations, when he was obliged to deſiſt, partly on account of the weather, and partly by reaſon of his ill health. 'This hindrance in proceeding with the obſervations at that time, continues he, has been no ſmall trouble to me, having an extraordinary deſire to have made other obſervations with much more accurateneſs than I was able to make theſe, having ſince found ſome inconveniences in the inſtruments, which I have now regulated (44). Thus the deſign, like moſt of his, was left imperfect. However, the foundation which he had laid, proved a ſufficient encouragement to build upon. Mr Samuel Molyneux and Mr Bradley (45) reſumed the enquiry, and determined it by purſuing our author's plan, which had been preferred as the beſt for that purpoſe. The account we have in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No 406. is a clear proof of this fact. We ſee there, that the obſervations made by theſe gentlemen, were begun, continued, and repeated, in hopes of verifying thoſe that Mr Hooke formerly communicated to the public concerning the parallax of the fixed ſtars. That therefore the ſame ſtar was made choice of, almoſt the ſame method followed, and the inſtrument conſtructed upon principles nearly the ſame, though indeed greatly exceeding the Doctor's in exactneſs (46).

[*O*] *A diſpute with Mr Oldenburg about pendulum watches.*] As this diſpute gave Mr Hooke an occaſion of aſſerting his right to the invention of theſe watches againſt Mr Huygens, it will be proper to give the following account of it. The diſpute had it's riſe from a letter of Mr Huygens, dated Jan. 30, 1674-5, to the Royal-Society, acquainting them with his invention, and the contrivance whereof he then concealed in an anagram; but explained it fully in a letter of February 20, following. The Society in their letter of thanks intimated to him, that a watch of the like contrivance had been invented ſome years before by Mr Hooke (47). Shortly after there being printed a figure of Mr Huygens's watch, with a deſcription in the Journal des Sçavans; an extract of that journal came out in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, March 12, 1674 (48), wherein no notice was taken of Mr Hooke. This he reſented in the poſtſcript mentioned in the text, and calls it *unhandſome proceedings*, maintaining not only that he was the firſt inventor, but that he had publiſhed the invention to the world long ſince in his Cutlerian lectures upon this ſubject, which were read in the open hall at Greſham-college before a great number of the Royal-Society and many ſtrangers, in 1664, and having alſo cauſed ſome of the ſaid watches to be made in that and the following year; and towards the concluſion, expreſſes his reſentment in the following words: '*I forbear now to mention any farther the carriage of the writer of the Tranſactions in this affair* (49).' Mr Oldenburg preſently returned both the accuſation and the reſentment as follows, 'It is certain, ſays he, that the deſcriber of helioſcopes ſome years ago, cauſed to be actually made ſome watches of this kind, yet without publiſhing a deſcription of them in print to the world. *And it is as true, that none of theſe watches ſucceeded, nor was any thing ſince done to amend the invention*, 'till Mr Huygens communicated his contrivance to the Society; the deſcription of which and figure being produced at one of their meetings, were not only ſeen, but a copy of the figure was then taken by Mr Hooke, who knew that both were deſigned to be publiſhed in the Tranſactions, and had he given to the editor of them the leaſt intimation that he deſired notice might be taken at the ſame time of his invention of the like kind, it would certainly have been complied with, as had been done on other occaſions. Witneſs ſeveral of the ſame tracts, wherein divers diſcoveries of this accuſer have been formerly both printed, and vindicated from the uſurpation of others.' In proceeding he inſinuates ſtrongly that Huygens hit upon the invention as ſoon as Mr Hooke, and before he knew any thing of what Mr Hooke had done. Thus, concludes he, 'I ſhall diſmiſs him, not doubting but all candid readers will blame him for the expreſſion in p. 30. of his ſaid poſtſcript, which is, that he forbears to mention any further the carriage of the writer of the Tranſactions in this affair; and only add, that if this writer of mechanics will think fit to explain what he means by it, he ſhall certainly meet with a full anſwer, vindicating the integrity of the publiſher in ſuch a manner, that all impartial and good men will be abundantly ſatisfied therewith.' Our author, highly provoked with this nettling anſwer, made the following reply in his poſtſcript to his *Lampas* the following year. 'The publiſher of the Tranſactions, ſays he, in that of October 1675, endeavours to cover former injuries by accumulating new ones—otherwiſe he would not have affirmed that *none of my watches ſucceeded*. For how could he be ſure of a negative, whom I have not acquainted with my inventions, ſince I looked on him as *one that made a trade of intelligence?* Next, whereas he denies their being publiſhed to the world in print, he prevaricates, and would have it believed, they were not publiſhed to the world, though they were publickly read of in Sir John Cutler's lectures, ——and though they were made, and ſhewn to thouſands,

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(*cc*) There is an account of it in Phil. Tranſ. No. 101.

(*dd*) There is an account of this book in Phil. Tranſ. No. 119. probably by himſelf, as Mr Ward thinks, ubi ſupra, p. 191.

(*ee*) Ibid. p. 378.

(*ff*) In this treatiſe he gave a deſcription of a reflecting teleſcope invented by him, which he had produced to the R. S. Feb. 28 preceding. Waller, ubi ſupra. Mr Ward is miſtaken in ſaying there is an account of this treatiſe by Mr Oldenburg, in Phil. Tranſ. No. 48. See below in note (49).

(41) Theſe letters were formerly in the library of Will. Jones, Eſq; which is now in the poſſeſſion of George Earl of Macclesfield.

(42) That is in the Aſtronomy Profeſſor's apartments; his proper lodgings; as Geometry Profeſſor, being then taken up for the uſe of the city. Ward, p. 176. in note (*a*), and p. 112.

(43) Attempt to prove the Motion of the Earth, p. 17.

(44) Ibid. p. 24. The four obſervations were made July 6 and 9, Aug. 6, and Oct. 21, anno 1669.

(45) The preſent Aſtronomer royal.

(46) Theſe inſtruments were made by Mr G. Graham, F. R. S.. Phil. Tranſ. No. 406.

(47) Phil. Tranſ. No. 118.

(48) No. 112.

(49) In No. 118. for Oct. 1675. under the article entitled, An Account of Mr Hooke's Treatiſe upon Helioſcopes. Which account is expreſsly omitted as needleſs, and this anſwer to the poſtſcript is inſerted in it's ſtead.

Lampas: or Deſcriptions of ſome Mechanical Improvements of Lamps and Water-poiſes. Together with ſome other Phyſical and Mechanical Diſcoveries. The ſame year he was ſucceeded in

ſands, both Engliſh and foreigners, and writ of to many, and laſtly in 1666, publiſhed to the world in print in the Hiſtory of the Royal-Society *.’ To this Mr Oldenburg, by way of rejoinder, publiſhed the following advertiſement at the end of the Tranſaction for the months of Auguſt and September 1676 (50). ‘ The publiſher of this tract intends to take another opportunity of juſtifying himſelf againſt the aſperſions and calumnies of an *immoral poſtſcript* put to a book called Lampas, publiſhed by Robert Hooke. ’Till which time, ’tis hoped, the candid reader will ſuſpend his judgment.’ And to the next Tranſaction (51), was ſubjoined the following declaration of the Council of the Royal-Society. ‘ A declaration of the Council of the Royal-Society, paſſed November 20, 1676, relating to ſome paſſages in a late book of Mr Hooke, intituled *Lampas*, &c. Whereas the publiſher of the Philoſophical Tranſactions hath made complaint to the Council of the Royal-Society, of ſome paſſages in a late book of Mr Hooke's entituled *Lampas*,&c (52). and printed by the printer of ſaid Society, reflecting on the integrity and faithfulneſs of the ſaid publiſher in his management of the intelligence of the ſaid Society; this Council hath thought fit to declare in the behalf of the publiſher aforeſaid, that they knew nothing of the publication of the ſaid book; and further, that the ſaid publiſher hath carried himſelf faithfully and honeſtly in the management of the intelligence of the Royal Society, and given no juſt cauſe of ſuch reflections.’ To this Mr Oldenburg ſubjoined what follows. ‘ The Council having juſtified the publiſher, he will only add that part of a letter written to him by Mr Chr. Huygens de Zulichem, 20 Feb. 1675, which relates to the taking out a patent of his the ſaid Mr Huygens's invention, and then let the world judge of the preſcriber's accuſation about an endeavour to defraud him of his contrivance. The words of the ſaid letter engliſhed, are thus. *For the reſt, Sir, if you believe that a priviledge* (ſo he calls a patent) *in England would be worth ſomething, and that either the Royal-Society or you might make ſome advantage thereof, I willingly offer you all I there might pretend to.* So that if there was a deſire in the publiſher to take out a patent of the invention, it was for no other contrivance, but that which was ſent by Mr Huygens formerly to the Royal-Society, and was printed in No. 112 of theſe tracts.’ Thus ended this controverſy, which Mr Ward obſerves (53) might have been ſooner over, had ſome warm expreſſions been forborn on either ſide. However, there is one expreſſion in it that deſerves to be conſidered, and *that* is, where Mr Oldenburg declares, *that the watches made by our author's directions in* 1665 *and* 1666, *did not ſucceed, and that nothing was ſince done to amend the invention, ’till Mr Huygens commucated his contrivance.* Mr Waller thought that this paſſage proceeded from paſſion (54), the invention and principle of Hooke's and Huygens's being, ſays he, the ſame as are now [in 1705] uſed (55), but he acknowledges at the ſame time that he never could learn whether Mr Hooke's watches were ſucceſsful or no; and it is obſervable, that Mr Hooke himſelf in his anſwer to Oldenburg does not aſſert it, but avoids the charge by retorting another, that his antagoniſt could not know the ſucceſs of his watches, to whom he had never ſhewn any of his inventions. Dr Derham indeed is very poſitive on the ſide of Mr Hooke, and having given him for the inventor both of the ſingle and double ballance watches with the ſpiral ſpring, proceeds in theſe terms. ‘ The time of theſe inventions was about the year 1658, as appears from this inſcription which I ſaw upon one of the aforeſaid double ballance watches preſented to King Charles II, viz. *Robert Hooke inven.* 1658. *T. Tompion fecit* 1675 (56), and in confirmation of this, Mr Ward acquaints us that he had then (viz. in 1740) lately ſeen a round braſs plate, which was formerly a cover to the ballance of one of Mr Hooke's watches, that it was cut through in the form of ſprigs, and had on it this inſcription, *R. Hooke invenit an.* 1658. *T. Tompion fecit* 1675.’ That this plate was then in the hands of George Graham, F. R. S. who informed him that he had heard Mr Tompion ſay, he was employed three months that year by Mr Hooke in making ſome parts of thoſe watches, before he let him know for what uſe they were deſigned; and that Mr Tompion was likewiſe uſed to ſay, he thought the firſt invention of them was owing to Mr Hooke (57). But here it is obvious to obſerve, that notwithſtanding the invention is placed ſo high as 1658, yet that date muſt have been put by Mr Hooke's direction, and that theſe watches were not made till 1675, that is a year after he had ſeen the abovementioned figure and deſcription of Mr Huygen's watch. As to Mr Tompion's opinion, that the firſt invention of theſe watches was owing to Mr Hooke, it appears that Mr Waller was of the ſame opinion, and from him we have the foundation upon which it ſtands, as follows. ‘ Mr Hooke, ſays he, told me, that he having ſhewn a movement regulated by a ſpiral ſpring to the Lord Brouncker about the year 1660. Mr Huygens, who had for ſome time applied himſelf to invent ſeveral ways to regulate time-keepers (58), by the correſpondence he held with Mr Oldenburg, among other matters had notice of this, for which there was afterwards an application made to procure a patent [*as abovementioned*]. This is indeed poſſible, continues Mr Waller, but whether it were ſo or not, I cannot determine. That Mr Hooke had, many years before Mr Huygens mentioned, diſcovered the invention is certain, by what is related in the Hiſtory of the Royal-Society †, among ſeveral new inventions in theſe words: *There have been invented ſeveral kind of pendulum watches for the pocket, wherein the motion is regulated by ſprings, &c.* Now, though this does not mention the ſprings being ſpiral, or faſtened to the arbor of the ballance, yet it appears it was ſo, by what is related above; and a paſſage I have ſeen in a letter from Sir Robert Moray to Mr Oldenburg, dated Oxon. Sept. 30, 1665, clears it, in which are theſe words: *You* [meaning Oldenburg] *will be the firſt that will know when his* [that is Huygens] *watches will be ready; and I will therefore expect from you an account of them, and if he imparts to you what he does, let me know it. To that purpoſe you may aſk him, if he does not* apply a ſpring to the arbor of the ballance, *and that will give him occaſion to ſay ſomewhat to you, if it be that, you may tell him what Hooke* HAS DONE IN THAT MATTER, AND WHAT HE INTENDS MORE (59). Although I cannot be ſure what Oldenburg wrote to Monſieur Huygens, yet it is probable their intimacy procured what he knew; and it is evident that Huygens's diſcovery of this was firſt publiſhed in the *Journal des Sçavans*, and thence in the Philoſophical Tranſactions for March 25, 1675, about ten years after that letter of Sir Robert Moray's, and near 15 after Hooke's firſt diſcovery of it.’ Mr Waller concludes with the conceſſion of Mr Oldenburg (60), to which may be added the atteſtation of the Royal-Society ſent to Mr Huygens, both already mentioned. Upon the whole, there does not appear to be ſufficient evidence for abſolutely determining this diſpute on either ſide, but it ſeems moſt probable that the rudiments of the invention were firſt laid by Mr Hooke, and that the watch was firſt perfected † by Mr Huygens. Thus perhaps the prize is divided in the faireſt and moſt candid manner between the Engliſh and the Dutch. Yet after all it is obſervable, that a late French writer gives Mr Hooke's ſhare to a countryman of his own, who deprived Mr Huygens alſo of all the advantage of his ſhare; it is pleaſant enough, what is advanced by him upon the occaſion, with all the alertneſs peculiar to that nation. ‘ The movement, ſays he, of watches, was formerly regulated only by the ballance and the force of a large ſpring, which by the unwinding itſelf rendered the motion ſwifter or ſlower. But upon the 7th of July, 1674, the Abbot de Hautefeuille of Orleans, communicated to the members of the Royal Academy, the method of regulating the motion of the ballance of watches, by means of a ſmall ſtreight ſpring fixed at one end to the edge of the plate, and at the other end to the edge ‖ of the ballance, and regulated it's motion, performing the office of a pendulum *. After this, Mr Huygens publiſhed a letter in the Journal des Sçavans, on the 25th of February, 1675, concerning a new invention of very exact and portable watches, wherein he pretended to be the author of that diſcovery, and accordingly obtained a licence from the King to make the advantage of it. But Mr de Hautefeuille having oppoſed it's being regiſtered, and proved that he was the firſt inventor, Mr

* Lampas, p. 53.

(50) No. 128.

(51) No. 129.

(52) The date in the title-page of the Lampas is 1667. but that ſeeming inconſiſtency with the date of this declaration is owing to the cuſtom of the Printers, in beginning their year at Michaelmas.

(53) Ubi ſupra, p. 180.

(54) Life of Dr Hooke, p. 7.

(55) That is in the application of the ſpring to the ballance. But Mr Huygens's had a longer ſpring, and the beats were much ſlower, the ballance turning ſeveral rounds every vibration; whereas in Dr Hooke's it turned ſcarce quite round. Artificial Clockmaker, ch. viii. edit. 1734. Mr Hooke's way is that now in uſe.

(56) Ibid. Where the author informs us, that Dr Hooke had a grant the ſame year for a patent for theſe watches, but did not take it out, as thinking it not worth while, by reaſon the ſingle ballance watches being much eaſier made and cheaper, were found to anſwer very well.

(57) Lives of the Greſham Profeſſors, p. 182. note (*a*).

(58) Mr Huygens probably began to carry his thoughts to ſome other ways of regulating watches, upon the ill ſucceſs of his pendulum ones, in finding out the longitude at ſea, which was in the latter end of the year 1664. Birch's Hiſt. of the R. S. p. 24. Vol. I. or perhaps in 1662, as Mr Hooke ſays in his treatiſe of Helioſcopes; it being that view which ſet both theſe inventors at work.

† By Sprat, p. 247.

(59) It is here taken for granted by Mr Waller, that the ſpring which was then fixed to the arbor of the ballance was a ſpiral one; whereas Dr Derham intimates, that in Mr Hooke's firſt invention it was ſtreight. See remark [C], ſub finem.

(60) Waller's Life of Hooke, p. 6, 7.

† Viz. So far as in ſome meaſure to ſucceed.

‖ If ſo, then in this particular the Abbot's invention differed from that of Meſſ. Hooke and Huygens, by whom this other end of the ſpring was fixed to the arbor or verge of the ballance.

* It is remarkable, that, though the Artificial Clockmaker is abridged by this gentleman, yet he takes no notice of the proofs therein produced, to ſhew that Mr Hooke invented this ſpring long before.

in the office of Keeper of the Repoſitory to the Royal-Society, by Mr Richard Shortgrave their Operator. And upon the deceaſe of Mr Oldenburg, in Auguſt 1677, Mr Hooke being appointed to ſupply his place, began to take minutes at the meeting on the 5th of October, but did not publiſh the Tranſactions [P]. In 1678 he publiſhed in 4to *Lectures de Potentia Reſtitutiva: or of Springs, explaining the Powers of ſpringing Bodies: To which are added ſome Collections* (*b b*). And the ſame year came out his *Lectures and Collections*, intitled, *Cometa & Microſcopium* (*i i*) in 4to. Towards the end of this year, in purſuance of an order of the Royal-Society, he aſſiſted in removing their library of books from Arundel-houſe to Greſham-college, but declined the offer of the Librarian's place, which was erected on the 7th of February enſuing (*k k*). In 1681, came out his *Philoſophical Collections* (*l l*) (in ſeven diſtinct tracts (*m m*) from 1679 to 1682) in 4to. Not long after this, he grew more reſerved than formerly; and though he read his Cutlerian lectures, and often made experiments, and ſhewed new inventions before the Royal-Society; yet he ſeldom left any full account of them to be entered in their regiſters; deſigning, as he ſaid, to fit them himſelf and make them public, which he never performed (*n n*). In 1686, he laid claim to Sir Iſaac Newton's Diſcovery concerning the Force and Action of Gravity, which was warmly reſented by that great Philoſopher [Q]. In the beginning of

(*b b*) There is no account of this book in the Phil. Tranſ. though Mr Oldenburg was dead.

(*i i*) There is an account of this treatiſe in the Tranſactions, No. 139. N B. Our author ſtiles himſelf Secretary of the Royal-Society in both.

(*k k*) Ward, in our author's Life, ubi ſupra, p. 183.

(*l l*) Probably ſo called, becauſe the plan was different from that of the Tranſactions.

(*m m*) Among theſe were two of his own. *An Optical Diſcourſe, propoſing a way for helping ſhort-ſighted or pur-blind eyes*, No. iii, iv. p. 59. *A Mechanical Diſcourſe, containing a deſcription of the beſt form of horizontal ſayls for a mill, and the ground of the inclined ſayls of ſhips.* No. iii, v. p. 61.

(*n n*) Waller, p. 24.

Mr Huygens did not reap any benefit from that licence (61). This writer a little further explains himſelf to this effect, that the Abbot's ſtreight ſpring, communicated in 1674, was afterwards improved by Mr Huygens's invention of the ſpiral one (62).

[P] *He did not publiſh the Philoſophical Tranſactions.*] They were publiſhed by Dr Nehemiah Grew, who, notwithſtanding Mr Hooke's election, being choſen Secretary November 30 1677, begun the publication of thoſe papers with the month of January following, and carried them on to the end of February 1678 (63). After this, the Tranſactions were omitted till January 1682, and it was during this interval that Mr Hooke publiſhed his *Philoſophical Collections* mentioned in the text. Upon the 30th of November, 1682, Dr Robert Plot being made Secretary in the room of Mr Hooke, the publication of the Tranſactions was revived, beginning with the month of January following, in the preface to which it is obſerved, that they had been diſcontinued for the four laſt years.

[Q] *He laid claim to Sir Iſaac Newton's diſcovery, &c.*] We have an account of this matter in the following letters that paſſed between Sir Iſaac and Dr Halley. The firſt ſent by Sir Iſaac to the Doctor, is dated from Cambridge, June 20, 1686, and runs thus.

SIR,

‘In order to let you know the caſe between Mr Hook and me, I gave you an account of what paſſed between us in our letters, ſo far as I could remember. For 'tis long ſince they were writ, and I do not know that I have ſeen them ſince. I am almoſt confident by circumſtances, that Sir Chriſtopher Wren knew the duplicate proportion when I gave him a viſit; and then Mr Hook, by his book *Cometa* (64), written afterwards, will prove the laſt of us three that knew it. I intended in this letter to let you underſtand the caſe fully, but it being a frivolous buſineſs, I ſhall content myſelf to give you the heads of it in ſhort, viz. that I never extended the duplicate proportion lower than to the ſuperficies of the earth, and before a certain demonſtration I found the laſt year, have ſuſpected it not to reach accurately enough down ſo low; and therefore in the doctrine of projectiles never uſed it, nor conſidered the motions of the heavens; and conſequently Mr Hook could not from my letters, which were about projectiles, and the regions deſcending hence to the center, conclude me ignorant of the theory of the heavens. That what he told me of the duplicate proportion was erroneous, namely, that it reached down from hence to the center of the earth. That it is not candid to require me now to confeſs myſelf in print, then ignorant of the duplicate proportion in the heavens, for no other reaſon but becauſe he had told it me in the caſe of projectiles, and ſo upon miſtaken grounds accuſed me of that ignorance. That in my anſwer to his firſt letter, I refuſed his correſpondence, told him I had laid philoſophy aſide, ſent him only the experiment of projectiles (rather ſhortly hinted, than carefully deſcribed) in compliment to ſweeten my anſwer, expected to hear no farther from him, could ſcarce perſuade myſelf to anſwer his ſecond letter, did not anſwer his third, was upon other things, thought no further of philoſophical matters than his letters put me upon it, and therefore may be allowed not to have had my thoughts about me ſo well at that time. That by the ſame reaſon, he concluded me ignorant of the reſt of the duplicate proportion, he may as well conclude me ignorant of the reſt of that theory I had read before in his books. That in one of my papers writ (I cannot ſay what year, but I am ſure ſome time before I had any correſpondence with Mr Oldenburg, and that's) above fifteen years ago, the proportion of the forces of the planets to the ſun reciprocally duplicate to their diſtances from him, and the proportion of our gravity to the moon's *conatus recedendi a centro terræ* is calculated, though not accurately enough. That when Huygenius put out his *Horol. Oſcill.* a copy being preſented to me (65), in my letter of thanks to him I gave thoſe rules in the end thereof a particular commendation for their uſefulneſs in computing the forces of the moon from the earth, and the earth from the ſun, in determining a problem about the moon's phaſe, and putting a limit to the parallax; which ſhews that I had then my eye upon the forces of the planets ariſing from their circular motion, and underſtood it; ſo that a while after, when Mr Hook propounded the problem ſolemnly in the end of his *Attempt to prove the motion of the earth* (66), if I had not known the duplicate proportion before, I could not but have found it out now. Between ten and eleven years ago, there is an hypotheſis of mine regiſtered in your books, wherein I hinted a cauſe of gravity towards the earth, ſun, and planets, with the dependance of the celeſtial motions thereon; in which the proportion of the decreaſe of gravity from the ſuperficies of the planet (though for brevity ſake not there expreſſed) can be no other than reciprocally duplicate of the diſtance from the center. And I hope I ſhall not be urged to declare in print, that I underſtood not the obvious mathematical conditions of my own hypotheſis. But grant I received it afterwards from Mr Hook, yet have I as great a right to it as to the ellipſis. For as Kepler knew the orb to be not circular but oval, and gueſſed it to be elliptical; ſo Mr Hook, without knowing what I have found out ſince his letters to me, can know no more, but that the proportion was duplicate *quam proxime* at great diſtances from the center, and only gueſſed it to be ſo accurately, and gueſſed amiſs in extending that proportion down to the very center, whereas Kepler gueſſed right at the ellipſis; and ſo Mr Hook found leſs of the proportion, than Kepler did of the ellipſis. There is ſo ſtrong an objection againſt the accurateneſs of of this proportion, that without my demonſtrations, to which Mr Hook is yet a ſtranger, it cannot be believed by a judicious philoſopher to be any where accurate. And ſo in ſtating this buſineſs I do pretend to have done for the proportion, as for the ellipſis, and to have as much right to the one from Mr Hook and all men, as to the other from Kepler; and therefore on this account alſo he muſt at leaſt moderate his pretences.’ Sir Iſaac's *Principia* being at this time in the preſs under the care of Dr Halley, this letter concludes with ſome particulars upon that buſineſs, wherein he declares his intention to ſuppreſs the third book

(61) Traité general des horologes par le R. P. Dom. Jacques Alexandre religieux Benedictin de la congrégation de Saint Maur, p. 24. a Paris, 1734. en octav.

(62) Ibid. p. 243.

(63) They had been carried on to the month of June preceding by Mr Oldenburg, who firſt began them on March 6, 1664.

(64) This was publiſhed in 1678.

(65) It was printed in 1673.

(66) This book was printed in 1674.

of the year 1687, he loſt his niece Mrs Grace Hooke (oo); who having lived with him many years, the grief for her death hardly ever wore off, being obſerved to be more melancholy

book of that treatiſe, on the account of the trouble he had met with from Mr Hooke. After the concluſion, he goes on in a poſtſcript as follows. ‘Since my writing this letter, I am told by one, who had it from another lately preſent at one of your meetings, how that Mr Hook ſhould make a great ſtir, pretending I had all from him, and deſiring they would ſee that he had juſtice done him. This carriage towards me is very ſtrange and undeſerved; ſo that I cannot forbear, in ſtating the point of juſtice, to tell you further, that he has publiſhed Borell's hypotheſis in his own name, and the aſſerting of this to himſelf, and completing it as his own, ſeems to me the ground of all the ſtir he makes. Borell did ſomething in it, and wrote modeſtly. He has done nothing, and yet written in ſuch a way, as if he knew, and had ſufficiently hinted all, but what remained to be determined by the drudgery of calculations and obſervations, excuſing himſelf from that labour by reaſon of his other buſineſs; whereas he ſhould rather have excuſed himſelf by reaſon of his inability: for it is very plain by his words, he knew not how to go about it. Now is not this very fine? Mathematicians that find out, ſettle, and do all the buſineſs, muſt content themſelves with being nothing but dry calculators and drudges; and another that does nothing, but pretend and graſp at all things, muſt carry away all the invention, as well of thoſe that were to follow him, as thoſe that went before. Much after the ſame manner were his letters writ to me, telling me, that gravity in deſcent from hence to the center of the earth, was reciprocally in a duplicate ratio of the altitude, that the figure deſcribed by projectiles in that region would be an ellipſis, and that all the motions of the heavens were thus to be accounted for, and this he did in ſuch a way, as if he had found out all, and knew it moſt certainly. And upon this information I muſt now acknowledge in print, I had all from him, and ſo did nothing myſelf but drudge in calculating, demonſtrating, and writing upon the inventions of this great man. And yet after all, the firſt of thoſe three things, he told me, is falſe, and very unphiloſophical; the ſecond is as falſe; and the third was more than he knew, or could affirm me ignorant of by any thing that paſſed between us in our letters. Nor do I underſtand by what right he claims it as his own; for as Borell wrote long before him, that by a tendency of the planets towards the ſun like that of gravity or magnetiſm the planets would move in ellipſes; ſo Bullialdus wrote, that all force reſpecting the ſun as it's center, and depending upon matter, muſt be in a reciprocally duplicate ratio of the diſtance from the center, and uſed that very argument for it, by which you, Sir, in the laſt Tranſactions (67) have proved this ratio in gravity. Now if Mr Hook by this general propoſition in Bullialdus might learn the proportion in gravity, why muſt this proportion here go for his invention? My letter to Huygenius, which I mentioned above, was directed to Mr Oldenburg, who uſed to keep the originals. His papers came into Mr Hook's poſſeſſion. Mr Hook knowing my hand, might have the curioſity to look into that letter, and there take the notion of comparing the forces of the planets ariſing from their circular motion, and ſo what he wrote to me afterwards about the rate of gravity might be nothing but the fruit of my own garden. And it is more than I can affirm, that the duplicate proportion was not expreſſed in that letter. However he knew it not (as I gather from his books) 'till five years after any mathematician could have told it him. For when Huygenius had told how to find the force in all caſes of circular motion, [in his Horol. Oſcill. publiſhed in 1673] he had told them how to do it in this as well as in others, and ſo the honour of doing it in this is due to Huygenius. For another five years after to claim it as his own invention [in his Cometa printed 1678] is as if ſome mechanic, who had learned the art of ſurveying from a maſter, ſhould after claim the ſurveying of this or that piece of ground for his own invention, and keep a heavy quarter to be in print for it. But what if this ſurveyor be a bungler, and give an erroneous ſurvey? Mr Hook has erred in the invention he pretends to, and his error is the cauſe of all the ſtir he makes. For his extending the duplicate proportion down to the center (which I do not) made him correct me, and tell me the reſt of his theory as a new thing to me, and now ſtand upon it, that I had all from that his letter, notwithſtanding that he had told it to all the world before, and I had ſeen it in his printed books (68) all but the proportion, and why ſhould I record a man for an invention, who founds his claim upon an error therein, and on that ſcore gives me trouble. He imagines he obliged me by telling me his theory, but I thought myſelf diſobliged by being upon his own miſtake corrected magiſterially, and taught a theory which every body knew, and I had a truer notion of than himſelf. Should a man who thinks himſelf knowing, and loves to ſhew it in correcting and inſtructing others, come to you when you are buſy, and notwithſtanding your excuſes preſs diſcourſes upon you, and through his own miſtakes correct you, and multiply diſcourſes; and then make this uſe of it, to boaſt that he taught you all you ſpake, and oblige you to acknowledge it, and cry out injury and injuſtice if you do not; I believe you would think him a man of a ſtrange unſociable temper. Mr Hook's letters in ſeveral reſpects abounded too much with that humour, which Hevelius and others complain of (69), and therefore he may do well in time to conſider, whether after this new provocation, I be much more bound (in doing him that juſtice he claims) to make an honourable mention of him in print, eſpecially ſince this is the third time that he has given me trouble in this kind.

‘For your further ſatisfaction in this buſineſs, I beg the favour you would conſult your books for a paper of mine intituled an Hypotheſis explaining properties of light. It was dated December 7, 1675 (70), and regiſtred in your book about January or February following. Not far from the beginning there is a paragraph ending with theſe words: “and as the earth, ſo perhaps may the ſun imbibe this ſpirit copiouſly to to conſerve his ſhining, and keep the planets from receding further from him; and they that will, may alſo ſuppoſe, that this ſpirit affords or carries thither the ſolary fewel and material principle of light; and that the vaſt ætherial ſpaces between us and the ſtars are for a ſufficient repoſitory for this food of the ſun and planets. But this of the conſtitution of ætherial natures by the bye.”

‘In theſe and the foregoing words, you have the common cauſe of gravity towards the earth, ſun, and all the planets, and that by this cauſe the planets are kept in their orbs about the ſun, and this is all the philoſophy Mr Hook pretends I had from his letters ſome years after, the duplicate proportion only excepted. The preceding words contain the cauſe of the phænomena of gravity as we find it on the ſurface of the earth, without any regard to the various diſtances from the center. For at firſt I deſigned to write of nothing more. Afterwards, as my manuſcript ſhews, I interlined the words above cited relating to the heavens, and in ſo ſhort and tranſitory an interlined hint of things, the expreſſion of the proportion may well be excuſed. But if you conſider the nature of the hypotheſis, you will find that gravity decreaſes upwards, and can be no other from the ſuperficies of the planet than reciprocally duplicate of the diſtance from the center. But downwards that proportion does not hold. This was but an hypotheſis, and ſo only to be looked upon as one of my gueſſes, which I did not rely on; but it ſufficiently explains to you, why in conſidering the deſcent of a body down to the center, I uſed not the duplicate proportion. In the ſmall aſcent and deſcent of projectiles above the earth, the variation of gravity is ſo inconſiderable, that mathematicians neglect it. Hence the vulgar hypotheſis with them is uniform gravity. And why might not I as a mathematician uſe it frequently, without thinking on the philoſophy of the heavens, or believing it to be philoſophically true?’ To this Mr Halley returned an anſwer, dated London, 29 June, 1686, wherein he obſerves, that in 1683, Mr Hooke told him he had demonſtrated all the laws of the celeſtial motions by the reciprocally duplicate proportion of the force of gravity, but

(oo) She was his brother's daughter.

(67) No. 179. See Dr Halley's article in remark [S], p. 2504.

(68) This expreſſion ſhews that thoſe letters were written about the year 1679.

(69) See remark [L].

(70) See remark [M] at note (40).

lancholy and cynical, and leſs active from that time; and the year following he grew very weak and ill, which hindered his ſtudies; but ſtill he read ſome lectures when he was able

but that being offered forty ſhillings by Sir Chriſtopher Wren, to produce ſuch a demonſtration, his anſwer was, that he had it, but would conceal it for ſome time, that others trying and failing, might know how to value it, when he ſhould make it public; that he then promiſed to ſhew it to Sir Chriſtopher, but never had; that he was acquainted with the entring of Sir Iſaac's demonſtration into the regiſter books of the Royal-Society, and proceeds, Mr Halley, ‘ according to the philoſophically ambitious temper he is of, he would, had he been maſter of a like demonſtration, no longer have concealed it, the reaſon he told Sir Chriſtopher and me now ceaſing. But now he ſays, that is but one ſmall part of an excellent ſyſtem of nature, which he has conceived, but has not yet compleatly made out, ſo that he thinks not fit to publiſh one part without the other. But I have plainly told him, that unleſs he produce another differing demonſtration and let the world judge of it, neither I nor any one elſe can believe it. As to the manner of Mr Hooke's claiming the diſcovery, I fear it has been repreſented in worſe colours than it ought; for he neither made public application to the Society for juſtice, nor pretended you had all from him. The truth is this: Sir John Hoſkins, his particular friend, being in the chair, when Dr Vincent preſented your book, the Doctor gave it it's juſt encomium both as to the novelty and dignity of the ſubject. It was replied by another gentleman, that you had carried the thing ſo far, that there was no more to be added; to which the Vice-Preſident replied, that it was ſo much the more to be prized, for that it was both invented and perfected at the ſame time. This gave Mr Hooke offence, that Sir John did not at the ſame time make mention of what he had, as he ſaid, diſcovered to him; upon which they two, who 'till then were the moſt inſeparable cronies, have ſince ſcarcely ſeen one another, and are utterly fallen out. After the breaking up of that meeting, being adjourned to the Coffee-houſe, Mr Hooke did there endeavour to gain belief, that he had ſome ſuch thing by him, and that he gave you the firſt hint of this invention. But I found that they were all of opinion, that nothing thereof appearing in print, nor on the books of the Society, you ought to be conſidered as the inventor. And if in truth he knew it before you, he ought not to blame any but himſelf for having taken no more care to ſecure a diſcovery, which he puts ſo much value on. What application he has made in private, I know not, &c †.’ Sir Iſaac's reply to this, dated July 14, 1686, was in theſe terms.

‘ SIR,

‘ . . . . I am very ſenſible of the great kindneſs of the gentlemen of your Society to me, far beyond whatever I could expect or deſerve, and know how to diſtinguiſh between their favour and another's humour. Now I underſtand he was in ſome reſpects miſrepreſented to me, I wiſh I had ſpared the poſtſcript in my laſt. This is true, that his letters occaſioned my finding the method of determining figures, which I then tried in the ellipſis.—But for the duplicate proportion, I can affirm that I gathered it from Kepler's theorem about 20 years ago.—There was another thing in Mr Hook's letters, which he will think I had from him, he told me that my propoſed experiment about the deſcent of falling bodies, was not the only way to prove the motion of the earth; and ſo added the experiment of your pendulum clock at St Helena, as an argument of gravity's being leſſened at the æquator by the diurnal motion. The experiment was new to me, but not the notion. For in the very paper which I told you was writ ſome time above 15 years ago, and to the beſt of my memory was writ 18 or 19 years ago, I calculated the force of aſcent at the æquator ariſing from the earth's diurnal motion, in order to know what would be the diminution of gravity thereby. But yet to do this buſineſs right, is a thing of far greater difficulty than I was aware of. A third thing there was in his letters which was new to me, and I ſhall acknowledge it, if I make uſe of it; 'twas the deflection of falling bodies to the ſouth-eaſt in our latitude (71). And now having ſincerely told you the caſe between Mr Hook and me, I hope I ſhall be free for the future, from the prejudice of his letters. I have conſidered how beſt to compoſe the preſent diſpute, and I think it may be done by the incloſed ſcholium to the fourth propoſition *.’ After this letter, Sir Iſaac ſent the following.

‘ SIR,

‘ Yeſterday I unexpectedly ſtruck upon a copy of the letter I told you of to Huygenius. 'Tis in the hand of one Mr John Wickins, who was then my chamber-fellow, and is now parſon of Stoak Edith near Monmouth, and ſo is authentick. It begins thus, being directed to Mr Oldenburg.

‘ *SIR,*

‘ *I received your letter, with Mr Huygens's kind preſent, which I have viewed with great ſatisfaction, finding it full of very ſubtle and uſeful ſpeculations, very worthy of the author. I am glad that we are to expect another diſcourſe of the* Vis centrifuga, *which ſpeculation may prove of good uſe in Natural Philoſophy and Aſtronomy, as well as Mechanics. Thus, for inſtance, if the reaſon why the ſame ſide of the moon is ever towards the earth, be the greater conatus of the other ſide to recede from it, it will follow (upon ſuppoſition of the earth's motion about the ſun) that the greateſt diſtance of the ſun from the earth, is to the greateſt diſtance of the moon from the earth, not greater than* 10000 *to* 56, *and therefore the parallax of the ſun not leſs than* $\frac{56}{10000}$ *of the parallax of the moon; becauſe, were the ſun's diſtance leſs in proportion to that of the moon, ſhe would have a greater conatus from the ſun than from the earth. I thought alſo ſome time that the moon's libration might depend upon her conatus from the ſun and earth compared together, 'till I apprehended a better cauſe.* Thus far this letter concerning the *vis centrifuga.* The reſt of it, for the moſt part concerning colours, is printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions of July 21, 1673, No 96. Now from theſe words it is evident, that I was at that time verſed in the theory of the force ariſing from circular motion, and had an eye upon the forces of the planets, knowing how to compare them by the proportions of their periodical revolutions and diſtances from the center they move about: an inſtance of which you have here in the compariſon of the forces of the moon ariſing from her menſtrual motion about the earth, and annual about the ſun. So then in this theory I am plainly before Mr Hook. For he, about a year after, in his attempt to prove the motion of the earth declared expreſsly, that the degrees by which gravity decreaſed he had not then experimentally verified, that is, he knew not how to gather them from phænomena; and therefore he there recommends it to the proſecution of others.

‘ Now though I do not find the duplicate proportion expreſſed in this letter (as I hoped it might); yet if you compare this paſſage of it here tranſcribed, with that hypotheſis of mine regiſtered by Mr Oldenburg in your book, you will ſee that I then underſtood it. For I there ſuppoſe, that the deſcending ſpirit acts upon bodies here on the ſuperficies of the earth, with a force proportional to the ſuperficies of their parts; which cannot be, unleſs the diminution of it's velocity, in acting upon the firſt parts of any body it meets, be recompenced by the increaſe of it's denſity ariſing from that retardation. Whether this be true is not material, it ſuffices that it was the hypotheſis. Now if this ſpirit deſcend from above with uniform velocity, it's denſity, and conſequently it's force, will be reciprocally proportional to the ſquare of it's diſtance from the center. But if it deſcend with accelerated motion, it's denſity will every where diminiſh as much as it's velocity increaſes; and ſo it's force (according to the hypotheſis) will be the ſquare as before, that is, ſtill reciprocally as the ſquares of it's diſtance from the center.

‘ In ſhort, as theſe things compared together, ſhew that I was before Mr Hook in what he pretends to have been my maſter, ſo I learned nothing by his letters but this, that bodies fall not only to the eaſt, but alſo in our latitude to the ſouth. In the reſt, his correcting and informing me was to be complained of. And though able. At the ſame time a Chancery-ſuit, in which he was concerned with Sir John Cutler, on account of his ſalary for reading the Cutlerian lectures, made him very uneaſy; and increaſed his diſorder; ſo that for ſome years he did little elſe beſides reading his lectures (*pp*). In 1691, he was employed in forming the plan of the hoſpital near Hoxton, founded by Robert Aſk Alderman of London [*R*], who appointed Archbiſhop Tillotſon one of his executors (*qq*); and in December the ſame year, our author was created Doctor of Phyſic, by a warrant from that prelate (*rr*). Upon the 27th of March, 1695, his Chancery-ſuit yet continuing, the Council of the Royal-Society granted him a certificate under their common ſeal, of his full performance of the Cutlerian lecture; and on the 18th of July the enſuing year, it was determined for him to his great ſatisfaction [*S*]. In June the ſame year, 1696, an order was granted to him for repeating moſt of his experiments at the expence of the Royal-Society, upon a promiſe of his finiſhing the accounts, obſervations, and deductions, from them, and of perfecting the deſcriptions of all the inſtruments contrived by him; but his increaſing weakneſs and general decay rendered him unable to perform it (*ss*). And Saturday April 10, 1697, he begun to write the Hiſtory of his own Life, but never finiſhed it (*tt*). He had for ſeveral years been often taken with a giddineſs in his head, which was ſometimes attended with much pain, little appetite, and great faintneſs. About July this year he begun to complain of the ſwelling and ſoreneſs of his legs, and was much torn with the ſcurvy; and about the ſame time being ſeized with a giddineſs, he fell down ſtairs and cut his head, bruiſed his ſhoulders, and hurt his ribs, of which he complained even to the laſt. He continued ſome years in this waſting condition; and, in February 1700, by reaſon of his illneſs (*uu*), Dr Halley drew up an account of his marine barometer, and read it before the Royal-Society (*ww*). For more than twelve months before his death, he was ſo very infirm as to be in a manner helpleſs, though he ſeldom went to bed all the time, but kept in his cloaths, ſo that the ſwelling in his legs broke, and at laſt, for want of care, mortified. Thus languiſhing 'till he was quite emaciated, he died March 3, 1702, at his lodgings in Greſham-college; whence his corpſe was conveyed to St Helen's church in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, and interred there, the funeral being attended by all the members of the Royal-Society then in London (*xx*). He perſiſted to the laſt in affirming, that he knew a certain method of diſcovering the Longitude at ſea [*T*]. Mr Waller has given the following character of him, which ſeems to be drawn with a candid impartiality. He begins with a deſcription of his perſon, which made but a deſpicable figure; being ſhort of ſtature, very crooked (*yy*), pale, lean, and of a meagre aſpect, with dark-brown hair, very long, and hanging neglected over his face, uncut and lank (*zz*). His features were not the moſt regular, but in his younger days he had a ſharp ingenious look, and was very active. Suitable to this perſon, his temper was penurious, melancholy, miſtruſtful, and jealous, which increaſed upon him with his years; and theſe qualities were attended with a ſharpneſs of wit in diſcerning the temper of others, which ſometimes ſhewed itſelf in giving

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† See the reſt of this letter in Dr Halley's article, remark [*T*].

(71) Mr Hooke ſhewed this by an experiment before the Royal-Society in December 1679. Waller, p. 22. the ſame year that his letters here mentioned were written to Sir Iſaac.

* This was done accordingly in theſe words, Schol. *Caſus Corollarii ſexti obtinet in corporibus cœleſtibus (ut ſeorſum collegerunt etiam noſtrates Wrennius, Hookius, & Halleius),* &c. The ſixth Coroll. is, *Si tempora periodica ſint in ratione ſeſquiplicata radiorum, & propterea velocitates reciproce in radiorum ratione ſubduplicata; vires centripetæ erunt reciproce ut quadrata radiorum & contra.*

ſhrewd

(*pp*) Waller, ib.

(*qq*) Life of Archbiſhop Tillotſon, p. 241. edit. 1752. Dr Sharp, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, was the other executor.

(*rr*) Ibid.

(*ss*) Waller and Ward, ubi ſupra.

(*tt*) He carried it on no farther than to the death of his father in 1648. Waller, p. 25.

(*uu*) Id. ibid.

(*ww*) It was printed in Phil. Tranſ. No. 269.

(*xx*) Waller, p. 26.

(*yy*) He uſed to ſay he was ſtreight 'till 16 years of age, when being of a thin and weak habit, he firſt grew awry by frequently uſing a turner's lathe, and other inclining exerciſes.

(*zz*) He wore this 'till within three years of his death, when he cut it off and wore a perriwig.

' though his correcting my ſpiral (72), occaſioned my ' finding the theorem, by which I afterward examined ' the ellipſis; yet am I not beholden to him for any ' light into the buſineſs, but only to the diverſion he ' gave me from my other ſtudies to think on theſe ' things, and for his dogmaticalneſs in writing, as if he ' had found the motion in the ellipſis, which inclined ' me to try it, after I ſaw by what method it was to be ' done.

' Sir,

' I am your affectionate friend

July 27,
1686.

' and humble ſervant,

' Is. Newton.'

[*R*] *He drew the plan of Alderman Aſk's hoſpital near Hoxton.*] This has been generally eſteemed a handſome building, but Dr Hooke blamed for exceeding the ſum at firſt allotted for it, and by that means leſſening the revenue. In anſwer to this charge he uſed to ſay, though the fact was true, yet it was not occaſioned by his fault or miſtake; but partly by additions and alterations of the firſt deſign, and chiefly by his not procuring and agreeing with the workmen himſelf (73).

[*S*] *It was determined for him to his great ſatiſfaction.*] His joy on that occaſion was found in his Diary thus expreſſed, DOMSHLGISSA, that is, *Deo optimo maximo ſit honor laus gloria in ſæcula ſæculorum, Amen.* I was born on this day of July 1635, and God has given me a new birth; may I never forget his mercies to me, whilſt he gives me breath may I praiſe him (74).

[*T*] *He perſiſted in it to the laſt, that he knew how to find out the longitude at ſea.*] Not many weeks before his death he told Mr Waller and others, that he knew a certain and infallible method to diſcover the true place of a veſſel at ſea, as to it's eaſt and weſt diſtance from the port departed from; Mr Waller ſuggeſts that this method might be by other time-keepers than watches, or elſe by ſome ſtill different ways; but rather thinks it was by watches, for the improvement of which, our author made many trials and read ſeveral diſcourſes (75). However, 'tis evident that his friends entertained his aſſeveration of the diſcovery with diſtruſt, and how little credit was then given to it in general, appears from Mr Waller's account therof. Mr Hooke, ſays he, ' ſuffering this invention to be undiſcovered to the laſt, ' gave ſome perſons cauſe to queſtion, whether he was ' ever poſſeſſor of it, and to doubt whether what ' in theory ſeemed very promiſing, would anſwer ' when put to the teſt of practice. Others indeed more ' ſeverely judged, that it was only a kind of boaſting ' in him to aſſert that, which had not yet been performed, though attempted by many.' Thus ſtood the opinion of the world at our author's death, and as nothing has appeared ſince to alter it; ſo, to ſay the truth, it needs no other proof than his own account of the matter contained in the poſtſcript to his treatiſe of Helioſcopes (76), eſpecially if it be conſidered how apt he was in other ſubjects to make ſuch kind of affirmations as this concerning the longitude. For inſtance, about the time that Sir Iſaac Newton's reflecting teleſcope begun to gain eſteem, he affirmed, *coram multis*, that in 1664, he made a little tube about an inch long to put in his fob, which performed more than any teleſcope of fifty feet long made after the common manner; but the plague happening, which cauſed his abſence, and the fire, whence redounded profitable employments about the city, he neglected to proſecute the ſame, being unwilling the glaſs-grinders ſhould know any thing of the ſecret (77).

[*U*] *Many*

(72) When the experiment mentioned in note (71) was made, our author read a diſcourſe, to prove that the falling body would not deſcribe ſuch a ſpiral, as we ſee here Sir Iſaac then thought; but either an elliptiſpiral, after many revolutions reſting in the center at laſt, or elſe an elliptoid, according as it was or was not reſiſted by the medium. Waller's Life of Hooke, p. 22.

(73) Ibid. p. 24.

(74) Id. ibid.

(75) Ibid. p. 6.

(76) See ſome paſſages, ſerving to explain that poſtſcript, in Birch's Hiſt. of the R. S. Vol. II. p. 22.

(77) Gen. Dict. Vol. VI. p. 216. in the notes (*a*).

ſhrewd gueſſes and ſmart characters. Thus framed, ſetting out in his youth with a collegiate or rather monaſtic recluſeneſs, he afterwards led the life of a cynical hermit, ſcarcely allowing himſelf neceſſaries, notwithſtanding the great increaſe of his fortune after the Fire of London (*a a a*). He declared ſometimes that he had a great project in his head as to the diſpoſal of the moſt part of his eſtate, for the advancement of natural knowledge, and to promote the ends and deſigns for which the Royal-Society was inſtituted; to build a handſome fabrick for the Society's uſe, with a library, repoſitory, laboratory, and other conveniences for making experiments; and to found and endow a Phyſico-mechanic lecture like that of Sir John Cutler. But though he was often ſollicited by his friends to put his deſigns down in writing, and make his Will as to the diſpoſal of his eſtate to his own mind in the time of health; and after, when himſelf and all others thought his end drew near; yet he could never be prevailed with to perfect it; ſtill procraſtinating, 'till at laſt this great deſign proved an airy phantom, and vaniſhed into nothing, and he died without any Will or Teſtament that could be found. In like manner, with reſpect to his philoſophical treaſures, when he firſt became known to the learned world, he was very communicative of his diſcoveries and inventions, but afterwards grew cloſe and reſerved to a fault, alledging for an excuſe, that ſome perſons challenged his diſcoveries for their own, and took occaſion from his hints to perfect what he had not; for which reaſon he would ſuggeſt nothing 'till he had time to perfect it himſelf, ſo that many things are loſt which he affirmed he knew (*b b b*). In the mean time, he was reſtleſs and indefatigable in acquiring theſe poſſeſſions, always contenting himſelf with little ſleep, and that very irregular; for he ſeldom went to bed 'till two or three o'clock in a morning, and frequently not at all, but purſued his ſtudies the whole night, and took a ſhort nap in the day. In the religious part of his character he was ſo far exemplary, that he always expreſſed a great veneration for the Deity, as may be ſeen in a great many paſſages of his writings; and ſeldom received any remarkable benefit from God, without thankfully acknowledging the mercy; he never made any conſiderable diſcovery in nature, invented any uſeful contrivance, or found out any difficult problem, without ſetting down his acknowledgment to God, as many places in his diary teſtified (*c c c*). And he frequently ſtudied the ſacred writings in the originals. For, to proceed to his endowments natural and acquired, he was well acquainted with the ancient languages, as well as with all parts of the mathematics. But that which diſtinguiſhed him was his mechanical genius, and ſagacity in penetrating into the ſecrets of nature. This ſhews itſelf in the great number of experiments made by him, amounting to ſeveral hundred; and in his new and uſeful inſtruments, that were numerous; as alſo in his happy talent of adapting theories to obſervations, and contriving eaſy and plain methods to prove thoſe theories, and confirm them by further trials. Had he been more ſteady in his purſuits, and perfected one diſcovery before he entered upon another, he might perhaps in ſome caſes have done greater ſervice to the public, and prevented what often gave him uneaſineſs, the fear of loſing the credit of them by others, who built upon his foundation (*d d d*). For many of his inventions were never brought to the perfection of which they were capable, nor put in practice 'till ſome other perſon improved upon them [*U*]. However, the various productions of his genius were eſteemed by the moſt learned Philoſophers both at home and abroad; and covering his failures with his merit, he may juſtly claim a place (though not in the front) among thoſe illuſtrious perſons who adorned the Royal-Society in the laſt age. His papers being put by his friends into the hands of R. Waller, Eſq; Secretary to the ſaid Society, that gentleman collected ſuch as were thought worthy of the preſs, and publiſhed them under the title of his Poſthumous Works [*W*] in 1705, to which he prefixed an account of his life, in folio.

(*a a a*) See rem. [*K*].

(*b b b*) In the courſe of this memoir, we have ſeen him frequently apt to carry thoſe pretenſions too far.

(*c c c*) It was often expreſſed in theſe letters, D. O. M. G. M. Deo opt. max. gratias max.

(*d d d*) Life of Dr Hooke, p. 27.

[*U*] *Many of his inventions were never brought to perfection.*] This might poſſibly ariſe from the fertility of his invention, which continually preſenting ſomewhat new to his mind, gave him both leſs time and inclination to attend to one thing long together. This is Mr Ward's remark, who ſupports it, by ſeveral of our author's letters written to Mr Boyle, wherein it was ſurpriſing to find what a number and variety of things he was in purſuit of at the ſame time (78).

(78) Theſe letters, 18 in number, were in the hands of Dr Miles of Tooting in Surrey in 1740. Lives of the Greſham Profeſſors, p. 188.

[*W*] *His poſthumous works.*] Theſe works contain, (I.) *A general ſcheme or idea of the preſent State of Natural Philoſophy, and how it's defects may be remedied by a methodical proceeding in making Experiments and collecting Obſervations, whereby to compile a Natural Hiſtory, as the ſolid baſis of the Superſtructure of true Philoſophy.* (II.) *Lectures of Light, explicating it's Nature, Properties, and Effects*, particularly that of the Sun and Comets. In theſe lectures he gives a mechanical explication of memory, as alſo of our ideas of time and duration. (III.) *A Diſcourſe of the Nature of Comets.* It appears by this diſcourſe that Mr Hooke went into the general miſtake concerning the comet of 1680, in believing it to be two comets from the intermiſſion of it's appearance while twiſting round the ſun. To this is added a *Diſcourſe of Gravity*, containing an hypotheſis of the cauſe of Gravitation and Magnetiſm. (IV.) *Obſervations upon Dr John Dee's Book of Spirits.* (V.) *Lectures and Diſcourſes of Earthquakes and ſubterraneous Eruptions; explicating the Cauſes of the rugged and uneven face of the Earth; and what Reaſon may be given for the frequent finding of Shells, and other Sea and Land petrified Subſtances ſcatterred over the whole terreſtrial Superficies* (79). He aſcribes all theſe phænomena to earthquakes, and as to ſhells, in anſwer particularly to the objection from the *Cornu Ammonis* found in the ſtone-quarries at Portland, which it was obſerved muſt needs contain a much larger fiſh than any found in theſe northern climates; he is even hardy enough to ſuppoſe that this our iſland might once ſtand in the torrid zone, and be removed thence into it's preſent ſituation by an earthquake; he gives the hiſtories of ſeveral remarkable earthquakes, and applies them to the explication of the fables in Ovid's Metamorphoſes, which book he maintains in the ſame humour to be an allegorical account of earthquakes. (VI.) *Lectures concerning Navigation and Aſtronomy.* P

(79) Our author here follows Columna's opinion, that theſe ſhells and petrified ſubſtances are the *exuviæ* and parts of animals. He alſo aſſerts the ſame thing in his *Microg.* ch. xvii. and in his lecture *de Potentia Reſtitutiva* he maintains, not only that the Pike of Teneriffe is the product of an earthquake, but that moſt if not all other hills in the world were thus generated. See more of this ſubject in Dr John Woodward's article.

HOOKER [Richard], the celebrated author of *The Lawes of Eccleſiaſtical Politie*, was born in the year 1553 [*A*], at Heavy-tree near Exeter. His parents were more remarkable for their virtue and induſtry than for their extraction and riches (*a*); though ſome of his anceſtors had been Mayors of Exeter (*b*), and his uncle John Hooker (*c*) was then Chamberlain of the ſame, and accounted rich (*d*). He was deſigned by his parents for a trade; but his ſchool maſter, who admired his modeſty, gravity, ſweetneſs of temper, and quick apprehenſion, perſwaded them to continue him at ſchool, 'till he could find out ſome means to eaſe them of part of the charge of his education. Accordingly, his uncle was prevailed upon to maintain him one year at the univerſity; and Dr Jewel Biſhop of Saliſbury was ſo kind as to allow him a penſion. He got him alſo admitted, in the year 1567, one of the Clerks of Corpus-Chriſti-college in Oxford [*B*]: but his penſion, and his chief hopes of ſubſiſtence, ceaſed with that good Biſhop's life in the year 1571. However, Providence raiſed him two other patrons, in Dr Cole then Preſident of the college, and Dr Edwin Sandys Biſhop of London [*C*], and afterwards Archbiſhop of York (*e*); by whoſe intereſt, on the 24th of December 1573, he was elected ſcholar of his college; which not only incorporated him into that learned body, but alſo afforded him a tolerable maintenance (*f*). On the 23d of February, 1576-7, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, which he compleated the Act following, and was admitted Fellow of his college the ſame year. Among other parts of learning, being a good maſter of the oriental languages, he was appointed, July 14, 1579, Deputy-Profeſſor of the Hebrew tongue in the univerſity, in the room of Mr Kingſmill, who, by over ſtudy, was become diſordered in his ſenſes (*g*). But in October the ſame year, he and others were expelled the college by Dr John Barefoot, then Vice-Preſident: the cauſe, whatever it could be, was but trifling and inſufficient, for they were reſtored the ſame month. After that, he continued his ſtudies in all quietneſs, and with the utmoſt alacrity and ſucceſs, as may be gueſſed from his writings. He entered into Holy Orders about the year 1581, and ſoon after, being appointed to preach at St Paul's-croſs in London, he was ſo unhappy as to be drawn into a moſt unfortunate marriage, of which an account is given below in the note (*h*) [*D*]. Loſing by that his fellowſhip, he remained without preferment 'till December 9, 1584, when he was preſented by John Cheny, Eſq; to the rectory of Drayton-Beauchamp in Buckinghamſhire; where going to ſettle, he led an uncomfortable life with his

(*a*) The Life of Mr Richard Hooker, by Iſaac Walton, edit. 1675. 8vo. p. 158.

(*b*) See Iſacke's Mem. of Exeter, p. 96, 115. and Wood Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 312.

(*c*) See above, in the article HOLINSHED [Raphael], note [*E*].

(*d*) Walton, p. 159.

(*e*) Idem, p. 160—165.

(*f*) Walton, p. 167.

(*g*) Walton, p. 168, 171. and Wood's Ath. ut ſupra, col. 302, 330.

(*h*) Walton, p. 172—176.

[*A*] *In the year* 1553] A. Wood ſays, that it was 'about the time of Eaſter, *an.* 1554 (1).'

[*B*] *One of the Clerks of Corpus Chriſti college in Oxford.*] He continued in that ſtation 'till the eighteenth year of his age: about which time he had a dangerous fit of ſickneſs, that had like to put an end to his life. As ſoon as he was perfectly recovered, he took a journey from Oxford to Exeter, to ſee his good mother, being accompanied with a countryman of his, and of his own college, and both on foot; which was then either more in faſhion, or elſe want of money, or their humility, made it ſo. They took Saliſbury in their way, purpoſely to ſee Biſhop Jewel, who made Mr Hooker and his companion dine with him at his own table. At their departure, the Biſhop gave him good counſel, and his benediction, but forgot to give him money: which when the Biſhop had conſidered, he ſent a ſervant in all haſte to call Richard back to him; and at Richard's return, the Biſhop ſaid to him, 'Richard, I ſent for you back to lend you a horſe 'which hath carried me many a mile, and I thank 'God, with much eaſe;' and then delivered into his hand a walking ſtaff, with which he profeſſed he had travelled through many parts of Germany; and he ſaid, 'Richard, I do not give but lend you my horſe; 'be ſure you be honeſt, and bring my horſe back to 'me at your return this way to Oxford. And I do now 'give you ten groats to bear your charges to Exeter; 'and here is ten groats more, which I charge you to 'deliver to your mother, and tell her, I ſend her a 'Biſhop's benediction, and beg the continuance of her 'prayers for me. And if you bring my horſe back to 'me, I will give you ten groats more to carry you on 'foot to the college, and ſo God bleſs you, good 'Richard (2).'

[*C*] *And Dr Edwin Sandys, Biſhop of London*] The way Mr Hooker came to be known to this good Biſhop, happened to be thus. He, and his old intimate friend, and fellow-exile Biſhop Jewel, meeting accidentally, the latter gave Biſhop Sandys ſuch a character of Mr Hooker's learning and good behaviour, that though Biſhop Sandys was educated at Cambridge, and had there many friends; yet he reſolved, that his ſon *Edwin* ſhould be ſent to Corpus-Chriſti-college in Oxford, and by all means be pupil to Mr Hooker, (who was then nineteen years of age, and five years ſtanding in the univerſity) though his ſon Edwin was not much younger than Mr Hooker. For the Biſhop ſaid, 'I will have a tutor for my ſon that ſhall teach 'him learning by inſtruction, and virtue by example; 'and my greateſt care ſhall be the laſt; and God willing, this Richard Hooker ſhall be the man into 'whoſe hands I will commit my Edwin (3).' This Edwin was afterwards knighted, and wrote *Europæ Speculum*.——— Mr Hooker had at the ſame time another conſiderable pupil, namely, *George Cranmer*, eldeſt ſon of Thomas Cranmer, ſon of Edmund, brother to the famous Archbiſhop Cranmer.——— And, in proceſs of time, he became a very conſiderable tutor (4).

[*D*] *He was ſo unhappy as to be drawn into a moſt unfortunate marriage.*] The manner in which he was intrapped into that marriage, is thus related by Mr Walton (5). There was then belonging to the church of St Paul's, a houſe called the Shunamite's houſe, ſet apart for the reception and entertainment of the preachers at St Paul's Croſs, two days before, and one day after, the ſermon. That houſe was then kept by Mr John Churchman, formerly a ſubſtantial draper in Watling-ſtreet, but now reduced to poverty. Mr Hooker came thither from Oxford, ſo wet and weary, that he was under the utmoſt anxiety, for fear he ſhould not be able to perform his duty the Sunday following. But Mrs Churchman nurſed him ſo well, that he was enabled by that means to diſcharge well the office of the day. For this he was ſo very thankful, that, as Mr Walton expreſſes it (6), 'he thought himſelf 'bound in conſcience to believe all that ſhe ſaid: ſo 'the good man came to be perſuaded by her, *That he* '*was a man of a tender conſtitution*; *and that it was* '*beſt for him to have a wife, that might prove a nurſe* '*to him*; *ſuch an one as might both prolong his life,* '*and make it more comfortable*; *and ſuch a one ſhe* '*could and would provide for him, if he thought fit to* '*marry*. He fearing no guile, becauſe he meant none, 'gave her a power to chuſe a wife for him; promiſing 'upon a fair ſummons to return to London, and accept of her choice. And he did ſo, in that or the 'year following. Now, the wife provided for him 'was her daughter *Joan*, who brought him neither 'beauty nor portion: and, for her conditions, they 'were too like that wife's, which is by Solomon compared to a dripping houſe.' ——— Which A. Wood explains, by ſaying, that ſhe was a ſilly clowniſh woman, and withal a meer Xantippe (7).

[*E*] *Received*

(1) Ath. Vol. I. edit. 1721. col. 302.

(2) Walton, as above, p. 163, 164.

(3) Walton, p. 165, 166.

(4) Idem, p. 169 and 166.

(5) P. 173, 174, 175.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ath. ut ſupra, col. 302.

his wife Joan. In that condition he continued about a year; and in the mean time received a viſit from his two former pupils, Mr Edwin Sandys and Mr George Cranmer [*E*], who obſerved and pitied his unhappy ſituation. So that, at their return to London, Mr Sandys ſollicited his father, who was then tranſlated to the archbiſhopric of York, to remove him to ſome more ſuitable benefice. Accordingly, the maſterſhip of the Temple becoming vacant ſoon after, the Archbiſhop made ſo ſtrong intereſt in his behalf, that on the 17th of March, 1585, he was by patent fixed in that honourable employment, being then in the 34th year of his age (*i*). A country retirement would have better ſuited his natural diſpoſition; however, he promiſed himſelf here that bleſſed tranquillity which he always prayed and laboured for. But it was ſoon impaired, and at length entirely deſtroyed, by the repeated vexations he met with from Mr Walter Travers, Lecturer of the Temple, and a rigid Puritan. This man being diſappointed in his expectation of the maſterſhip, and differing from Mr Hooker in many doctrinal points; his reſentment, and their mutual differences, ended at laſt in a public oppoſition in their preaching (*k*). So that what Mr Hooker delivered in the forenoon, Mr Travers confuted in the afternoon (*l*). Thus it continued a long time, 'till the oppoſition became ſo viſible, and the conſequences ſo dangerous, eſpecially in that place, that Archbiſhop Whitgift cauſed Mr Travers to be ſilenced by the High-Commiſſion-Court. Upon that Mr Travers preſented his *Supplication to the Privy-Council*; which being ineffectual, he made it public [*F*]. And that

(*i*) Idem, p. 177, 178, 179.

(*k*) Walton, p. 199, &c.

(*l*) Fuller's Church-Hiſtory, b. ix. p. 216.

[*E*] *Received a viſit from his two former pupils, Mr Edwin Sandys, and Mr George Cranmer.*] They found him with a Horace in his hand, tending his ſmall allotment of ſheep in a common field; which he told thoſe gentlemen he was *forced* to do, becauſe his ſervant was gone home, to dine, and aſſiſt his wife to do ſome neceſſary houſhold buſineſs. When his ſervant returned and releaſed him, his two pupils attended him to his houſe, where their beſt entertainment was his quiet company, which was preſently denied them; for Richard was called *to rock the cradle*; and the reſt of their welcome was ſo like this, that they ſtaid but 'till next morning, which was time enough to diſcover and pity their tutor's condition. And having in that time remembred and paraphraſed on many of the innocent recreations of their younger days, and by other ſuch like diverſions, given him as much preſent pleaſure as their acceptable company and diſcourſe could afford him, they were forced to leave him to the company of his wife Joan, and ſeek themſelves a quieter lodging for next night. But at their parting from him Mr Cranmer ſaid, *Good Tutor, I am ſorry your lot is fallen in no better ground as to your Parſonage: and more ſorry, your wife proves not a more comfortable companion after you have wearied your thoughts in your reſtleſs ſtudies.* To whom the good man replied, *My dear* George, *if Saints have uſually a double ſhare in the miſeries of this life, I that am none, ought not to repine at what my wiſe Creator hath appointed for me; but labour, as indeed I do daily, to ſubmit to his will, and poſſeſs my ſoul in patience and peace* (8).

[*F*] *Mr Travers preſented his ſupplication to the Privy-Council; which being ineffectual, he made it public.*] I cannot find, that it was then made public otherwiſe than by diſperſing written copies of it (9). For I believe it was firſt printed in 1612; and hath been ſubjoyned to moſt of the later editions of Mr Hooker's works, where it may be ſeen. When it was preſented, the members of the council were much divided in their ſentiments. All the Archbiſhop's enemies there were, of courſe, favourers of Mr Travers; who had, beſides, many great and powerful friends at Court. But even their united endeavours could never move the Queen to revoke what the Archbiſhop had done: ſhe left ſpiritual matters to his diſcretion; and, as one humorouſly expreſſes it (10), 'Whitgift's finger moved more in Church matters, than the hands of all the Privie Counſellers beſides.' ——— From Mr Travers's *Supplication* it appears, that the reaſons alledged for ſilencing him, were, 'That he was not 'lawfully called to the function of the Miniſtry, nor 'allowed to preach according to the laws of the 'Church of England: that he preached without li'cence: that he inveighed againſt certain points of 'doctrine taught by Mr Hooker, as erroneous; not 'conferring with him, nor complaining of it to the 'Biſhop.'——Contrary to the order made in the 7th of her Majeſty's reign, importing, 'that erroneous 'Doctrine, if it came to be publickly taught, ſhould 'not be *publickly refuted*, but that notice thereof ſhould 'be given to the Ordinary, to hear and determine ſuch 'cauſes, to prevent publick diſturbance (11).'——— The *unſound and erroneous Doctrines* charged by him upon Mr Hooker, were, 1. That Mr Hooker 'had 'taught certain things concerning *Predeſtination*, 'otherwiſe than the word of God doth, as it is under'ſtood by all Churches profeſſing the Goſpel, and not 'unlike that wherewith *Coranus* ſometimes troubled 'his Church; "I [adds Mr Travers] both delivered "the truth of ſuch points in a general doctrine, with"out any touch of him in particular, and conferred "with him alſo privately upon ſuch articles. In "which conference, I remember, when I urged the "conſent of all churches and writers againſt him that "I knew; and deſired, if it were otherwiſe, what "authors he had ſeen of ſuch doctrine? he anſwered "me, *That his beſt author was his own reaſon.*" 2. Another Doctrine maintained by Mr Hooker, and cenſured by Mr Travers, was, 'That the aſſurance of 'that we believe by the word, is not ſo certain, as of 'that we perceive by ſenſe.' Upon which Travers obſerves, "I both taught the doctrine otherwiſe, "namely, the aſſurance of Faith to be greater, which "aſſured both of *things above, and contrarie to all* "*ſenſe and human underſtanding*, and dealt with him "alſo privately upon that point." 3. He alſo highly condemned this other doctrine of Mr Hooker, 'That 'the Church of Rome is a true Church of Chriſt, and 'a ſanctified Church by profeſſion of that Truth, which 'God hath revealed unto us by his Son, though not a 'pure and perfect Church;' and further, 'That he 'doubted not, but that thouſands of our fathers, who 'lived and dyed in the ſuperſtitions of that Church, 'were ſaved, becauſe of their ignorance, which excu'ſeth them;' alledging to that end 1 Tim. i. 13. Or, as Mr Hooker himſelf reports theſe laſt words in his anſwer, 'I doubt not but God was merciful to ſave 'thouſands of our fathers, living heretofore in the 'Popiſh ſuperſtition, inaſmuch as they ſinned igno'rantly.' Mr Travers's reflexions upon that point, are as follow. "The matter being of ſet purpoſe "openly and at large handled by him, [viz. Hooker] "and of that moment, that might prejudice the faith "of Chriſt, encourage the ill-affected to continue ſtill "in their damnable ways, and others weak in faith to "ſuffer themſelves eaſily to be ſeduced, to the de"ſtruction of their ſouls; I thought it my moſt boun"den duty to God, and to his Church, whilſt I might "have opportunity to ſpeak with him, to teach the "truth in a general ſpeech in ſuch points of doctrine. "At which time I taught, That ſuch as dye, or have "dyed at any time in the Church of Rome, holding "in their ignorance that Faith which is taught in it, "and namely *Juſtification in part by Works*, could not "be ſaid by the Scriptures to be ſaved." 4. He charged likewiſe Mr Hooker, with 'ſo ſetting forth 'in one of his ſermons, the agreement of the Church 'of Rome with us, and their diſagreement from us, 'as if we had conſented in the greateſt and weightieſt 'points, and differed onely in certain ſmaller matters.' 5. It appears further from Mr Hooker's anſwer (12), that Mr Travers found fault with him, for 'Praying 'in the entrance of his ſermon only, and not in the 'end; for naming Biſhops in his prayer; kneeling 'when that obliged Mr Hooker to publiſh an anſwer [*G*], which he inſcribed to Archbiſhop Whitgift

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(8) Walton, p. 177.

(9) See the beginning of Mr Hooker's Anſwer.

(10) Fuller's Church Hiſtory, book ix. p. 218. See alſo Strype's Life of Abp Whitgift, p. 235.

(11) See the Supplication, &c. in Mr Hooker's Works, edit. 1666. p. 487, &c. and Fuller, as above, p. 217.

(12) His Works, as above, p. 498.

'when he prayed, and when he received the Communion.'——Such was the ſubſtance of Mr Travers's Supplication, and of his accuſations therein laid againſt Mr Hooker; to which, what anſwers Mr Hooker made, will be ſeen in the next note.

[G] *And that obliged Mr Hooker to publiſh an anſwer.*] In that anſwer, he makes a reply to the ſeveral articles of unſound doctrine charged upon him by Mr Travers, which it is not only expedient but alſo neceſſary to lay before the reader. 1. With regard to the firſt article, Mr Hooker explains himſelf in theſe words. 'In the other conference, he queſtioned about the matter of *Reprobation*, miſliking firſt, that I had termed God a permiſſive and no poſitive cauſe of the evil, which the ſchoolmen do call *malum culpæ*. Secondly, that to their objection, who ſay, *If I be elected, do what I will, I ſhall be ſaved*; I had anſwered, that the will of God in this thing is not abſolute, but conditional, to ſave his elect believing, fearing, and obediently ſerving him. Thirdly, that to ſtop the mouths of ſuch as grudge and repine againſt God for rejecting caſt-aways, I had taught that they are not rejected, no not in the purpoſe and counſel of God, without a foreſeen worthineſſe of rejection going, though not in time, yet in order, before. For, if God's electing do in order, as needs it muſt, preſuppoſe the foreſight of their being that are elected, though they be elected before they be; nor onely the poſitive foreſight of their being, but alſo the permiſſive of their being miſerable, becauſe election is through mercy, and mercy doth always preſuppoſe miſery: it followeth, that the very choſen of God acknowledge, to the praiſe of the riches of his exceeding free compaſſion, that when he in his ſecret determination ſet it down, *Thoſe ſhall live and not dye*, they lay as ugly ſpectacles before him, as lepers covered with dung and mire, as ulcers putrified in their fathers loyns, miſerable, worthy to be had in deteſtation. And ſhall any forſaken creature be able to ſay unto God, Thou didſt plunge me into the depth, and aſſign me unto endleſs torments, onely to ſatisfie thine own will, finding nothing in me for which I could ſeem in thy ſight ſo well worthy to feel everlaſting flames?——When I was further aſked, what my grounds were? I anſwered, that St Paul's words concerning this cauſe were my grounds.'———And, with regard to that ſaying of his, alledged by Mr Travers, *That his beſt author was his own Reaſon*; he thus explains himſelf—inſtead of 'the teſtimonies and the ſayings of mortal men; I alledged that which might under no pretence in the world be diſallowed, namely *Reaſon*, not meaning thereby mine own Reaſon, as now it is reported, but true, ſound, divine reaſon; reaſon whereby thoſe concluſions might be out of St Paul demonſtrated, and not probably diſcourſed of onely; reaſon, proper to that ſcience whereby the things of God are known;——This is the *reaſon* which I intended.' 2. To the ſecond objection, viz. *That the aſſurance of things which we believe by the word, is not ſo certain as of that we perceive by ſenſe*; Mr Hooker thus replies, 'And is it as certain? yea, I taught, as he himſelf, I truſt, will not deny, that the things which God doth promiſe in his word, are ſurer unto us, than any thing which we touch, handle, or ſee. But are we ſo ſure and certain of them? if we be, why doth God ſo often prove his promiſes unto us, as he doth by argument taken from our ſenſible experience? We muſt be ſurer of the proof, than of the thing proved, otherwiſe it is no proof. How is it, that if ten men doe all look upon the moon, every one of them knoweth it as certainly to be the moon as another; but many believing one and the ſame promiſe, all have not one and the ſame fulneſſe of perſwaſion? How falleth it out, that men being aſſured of any thing by ſenſe, can be no ſurer of it than they are; whereas the ſtrongeſt in faith that liveth upon the earth, hath always need to labour, and ſtrive, and pray, that his aſſurance concerning heavenly and ſpiritual things, may grow, encreaſe, and be augmented.' 3. To the third and and fourth objections; about the *Salvation of the Papiſts; and the Church of England's Agreement with them*; he anſwers thus. 'In ſettling the queſtion between the Church of Rome and us, about *Grace* and *Juſtification*, leſt I ſhould give them an occaſion to ſay, as commonly they doe, that when we cannot refute their opinions, we propoſe to ourſelves ſuch, inſtead of theirs, as we can refute; I took it for the beſt and moſt perſpicuous way of teaching, to declare firſt how farr we doe agree, and then to ſhew our diſagreement: not generally (as Mr Travers his words would carry it) but about the matter onely of Juſtification; for further I had no cauſe to meddle at this time.'———The Sermon wherein he treated of that point, was a Diſcourſe about Juſtification, Works, &c. printed at the end of his Eccleſiaſticall Politie; where the words to our preſent purpoſe, are theſe.—'This openeth a way to the underſtanding of that grand queſtion which hangeth yet in controverſie between us and the Church of Rome, about the matter of juſtifying Righteouſneſs. Firſt, although they imagine, that the Mother of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt were, for his honour, and by his ſpecial protection, preſerved clean from all ſinne: yet touching the reſt, they teach as we doe, That infants that never did actually offend, have their natures defiled, deſtitute of juſtice, averted from God; That in making man righteous, none do efficiently work with God, but God. They teach as we do, that unto juſtice no man ever attained, but by the merits of Jeſus Chriſt. They teach as we do, That although Chriſt, as God, be the efficient; as man, the meritorious cauſe of our juſtice: yet in us alſo there is ſome thing required. God is the cauſe of our natural life, in him we live: but he quickneth not the Body without the Soul in the Body. Chriſt hath merited to make us juſt: but, as a medicine, which is made for health, doth not heal by being made, but by being applied; ſo, by the merits of Chriſt there can be no Juſtification, without the application of his merits. Thus farr we joyn hands with the Church of Rome. Wherein then do we *diſagree?* We diſagree about the nature and eſſence of the Medicine, whereby Chriſt cureth our diſeaſe; about the manner of applying it; about the number, and the power of means, which God requireth in us for the effectual applying thereof to our ſouls comfort—'———With regard to that aſſertion of his, in particular, That he *doubted not but God was merciful to ſave thouſands of our fathers living heretofore in Popiſh ſuperſtition, inaſmuch as they ſinned ignorantly*; all that he ſays in his own vindication is, 'A man that ſhould read this, [Mr Travers's ſevere reflections] and not know what I had ſpoken, might imagine that I had at the leaſt denied the Divinity of Chriſt. But they which were preſent at my ſpeech, and can teſtifie, that nothing paſſed my lips more than is contained in their writings, whom, for ſoundneſſe of doctrine, learning, and judgment, Mr Travers himſelf doth, I dare ſay, not onely allow, but honour:——and this ſpoken in a ſermon, the greateſt part whereof was againſt Popery, they will hardly be able to diſcern how *Chriſtianity* ſhould herewith be ſo grievouſly ſhaken (13).' The concluſion of Mr Hooker's anſwer breathes a truly charitable ſpirit. 'I take no joy, ſays he, in ſtriving, I have not been nuzled or trained up in it. I would to Chriſt they which have at this preſent enforced me hereunto, had ſo ruled their hands in any reaſonable time, that I might never have been conſtrained to ſtrike ſo much as in mine own defence.———Sith there can come nothing of contention, but the mutual waſte of the parties contending, till a common enemy dance in the aſhes of them both, I do wiſh heartily that the grave advice which *Conſtantine* gave for re uniting of his clergy, ſo many times, upon ſome ſmall occaſions in ſo lamentable ſort divided; or rather the ſtrict commandment of Chriſt unto his, that they ſhould not be divided at all; may at the length, if it be his bleſſed will, prevail ſo farr, at leaſt in this corner of the Chriſtian world, to the burying and quite forgetting of ſtrife, together with the cauſes that have either bred it, or brought it up, that things of ſmall moment never disjoyn them, whom one God, one Lord, one Faith, one Spirit, one Baptiſm, bands of ſo great love have linked.———Finally, that no ſtrife may ever be heard of again, but this, Who ſhall hate ſtrife moſt, who ſhall purſue peace and unity with ſwifteſt paces (14).'

(13) His Works, p. 506.

(14) Ibid. p. 508, 509.

Whitgiſt (*m*). This anſwer procured him great reverence and encouragement from ſome, and as much neglect and hatred from others. In order therefore to undeceive and win theſe, he entered upon his famous work of the Lawes of Eccleſiaſtical Politie, and laid the foundation of it in the Temple. But finding that buſy place not ſo fit for ſtudy and cloſe attention, he earneſtly intreated Archbiſhop Whitgiſt to remove him to ſome quieter place [*H*]. The Archbiſhop having the diſpoſal of the preferments belonging to the dioceſe of Sarum, during the vacancy of that ſee, preſented him, in 1591, to the rectory of Boſcomb in Wiltſhire; and, on the 17th of July the ſame year, to the prebend of Nether-Haven in the ſaid church of Sarum, of which he was alſo made Sub-dean (*n*). At Boſcomb he finiſhed four books of his Eccleſiaſtical Politie, which were entered into the regiſter-book at Stationers-hall, March 9, 1592, but not publiſhed 'till 1594 (*o*) [*I*]. The year following, quitting Boſcomb, he was preſented, July 7, 1595, by Queen Elizabeth, to the rectory of Biſhops-Bourne in Kent, vacant by the promotion of Dr William Redman to the biſhopric of Norwich. In this living he continued 'till his death, without any addition of dignity or profit, diſcharging all the duties of his function in a regular and exemplary manner (*p*). He uſed to preach once every Sunday, and he or his curate to catechize after the ſecond leſſon in the evening ſervice. His ſermons were neither long nor earneſt, but pronounced with a grave zeal and an humble voice [*K*]; and where he fixed his eyes at the beginning of his ſermon, there they continued 'till it was ended, in order to prevent his imagination from wandering; ſo that he ſeemed to ſtudy as he ſpoke (*q*). Before he had been one year at Bourne, his books, and the innocency and ſanctity of his life, became ſo remarkable, that many turned out of the road (ſcholars eſpecially), on purpoſe to ſee Him whoſe life and learning were ſo much admired (*r*). In this place he compoſed the fifth book of his Eccleſiaſtical Politie, which was publiſhed by itſelf in the year 1597. He finiſhed there alſo the ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth books of that learned work; but whether we have them as left by himſelf hath been much queſtioned (*s*) [*L*].

[*H*] *He earneſtly intreated Archbiſhop Whitgiſt to remove him to ſome quieter place.*] His letter was to this effect.

‘ My Lord,

‘ When I loſt the freedom of my cell, which was ‘ my colledge, yet I found ſome degree of it in my ‘ quiet country parſonage. But I am weary of the ‘ noiſe and oppoſitions of this place; and indeed God ‘ and Nature did not intend me for contentions, but ‘ for ſtudy and quietneſs. And, my Lord, my parti‘cular conteſts here with Mr Travers have proved the ‘ more unpleaſant to me, becauſe I believe him to be ‘ a good man; and that belief hath occaſioned me to ‘ examine mine own conſcience concerning his opinions; ‘ and, to ſatisfie that, I have conſulted the Holy Scrip‘ture, and other laws both humane and divine, Whe‘ther the conſcience of him, and others of his judg‘ment, ought to be ſo far complied with by us, as to ‘ alter our frame of Church-government, our manner ‘ of God's worſhip, our praiſing and praying to him, ‘ and our eſtabliſht ceremonies, as often as their tender ‘ conſciences ſhall require it. And, in this examina‘tion, I have not onely ſatisfied myſelf, but have be‘gun a treatiſe, in which I intend the ſatisfaction of ‘ others, by a demonſtration of the reaſonableneſs of ‘ our *Laws of Eccleſiaſtical Politie.*—But, my Lord, ‘ I ſhall never be able to finiſh what I have begun, un‘leſs I be removed into ſome quiet countrey parſonage, ‘ where I may ſee God's bleſſings ſpring out of my ‘ mother earth, and eat mine own bread in peace and ‘ privacy. A place where I may, without diſturbance, ‘ meditate my approaching mortality, and that great ‘ account which all fleſh muſt, at the laſt great day, ‘ give to the God of all ſpirits—(15).'

[*I*] *At Boſcomb he finiſhed four books of his Eccleſiaſtical Politie, &c.*] They were finiſhed in the year 1592, and the author ſent a manuſcript copy of them to the Lord Treaſurer Burghley, ‘ for his favourable ‘ approbation,' with a letter dated the thirteenth of March, 1592. But they were not publiſhed, as is ſaid above, 'till the year 1594, nor the fifth 'till the year 1597. ‘ It is, according to Mr Strype's judicious ‘ obſervation, a juſt Diſcourſe of the Eccleſiaſtical ‘ State of this Church, built upon great reaſon and ‘ judgment, managed with admirable clearneſs and ‘ conviction, and with a ſtrain of great learning and ‘ modeſty withal: deſigned for a vindication of the ‘ Church of England, as it ſtood reformed at firſt, and ‘ eſtabliſhed by law, againſt thoſe that, ſo much and ‘ ſo intemperately, cried out for another platform of ‘ government. Which that moſt judicious divine did ‘ happily refute (16).' It is ‘ the ſtanding defence of ‘ the Church of England,' and hath kept its value and reputation better than any other performance of the laſt century. But, as it is in almoſt every one's hands, no further account need be given of it here.

[*K*] *But pronounced with a grave zeal and an humble voice.*] The deſign of his ſermons, as indeed of all his diſcourſes, was, to ſhew reaſons for what he ſaid: and with theſe reaſons ſuch a kind of rhetoric, as did rather convince and perſwade, than frighten men into piety. Studying not ſo much for matter, which he never wanted, as for apt illuſtrations to inform and teach his unlearned hearers by familiar examples, and then make them better by convincing applications; never labouring by hard words, and then by needleſs diſtinctions and ſubdiſtinctions, to amuſe his hearers, and get glory to himſelf; but glory only to God. Which intention he would often ſay was as diſcernable in a preacher, as an artificial from a natural beauty (17).

[*L*] *He finiſhed there alſo the 6th, 7th, and 8th, books of that learned work; but whether we have them as left by himſelf, hath been much queſtioned.*] What hath occaſioned any diſpute about the genuineneſs of thoſe books, is, that they contain certain aſſertions concerning the true Nature of the Legiſlative Power, the Original of Government, and the Regal Power as derived from the people; which R. Baxter, and other Puritan authors, have taken an advantage of; and which the writers on the other ſide have imagined and affirmed, could never have dropped from Mr Hooker's pen (18). Mr Walton having ſifted this point to the bottom, we ſhall here give the ſubſtance of what he hath ſaid upon it. He tells us then, that he had been informed ‘ by one, who very well knew Mr Hooker, ‘ and the affairs of his family, that about a month af‘ter his death, Archbiſhop Whitgiſt ſent one of his ‘ Chaplains to enquire of Mrs Hooker for the three re‘maining books of Polity, written by her huſband; ‘ of which ſhe would not, or could not give any ac‘count.——That, about three months after that, the ‘ Archbiſhop procured her to be ſent for to London, ‘ in order to be examined by ſome of the Privy-Coun‘cil, concerning the diſpoſal of thoſe books: but, by ‘ way of preparation for the next day's examination, ‘ the Archbiſhop invited her to Lambeth, and, after ‘ ſome friendly queſtions, ſhe confeſſed to him, *that* ‘ *one* Mr Charke, *and another miniſter that dwelt near* ‘ *Canterbury, came to her, and deſired that they might* ‘ *go into her huſband's ſtudy, and look upon ſome of his* ‘ *writings; and that there they two burnt and tore* ‘ *many of them, aſſuring her that they were writings* ‘ *not fit to be ſeen, and that ſhe knew nothing more con*‘*cerning them.* Her lodging was then in King-ſtreet ‘ Weſtminſter, where ſhe was found next morning dead ‘ in her bed, and her new huſband (19) ſuſpected and

(*m*) Walton, as above, p. 199—208.

(*n*) Idem, p. 208, 209, 210. and Wood Ath. Vol. I. col. 302.

(*o*) Walton, p. 211.

(*p*) Ibid.

(*q*) Idem, p. 218, 219.

(*r*) Walton, p. 217.

(*s*) See Walton, p. 233, &c.

(15) Walton, p. 209.

(16) Strype's Life of Abp Whitgift, p. 400, 421.

(17) Walton, p. 220.

(18) See Wood Ath. Vol. I. col. 304.

(19) She was married again very ſoon after Mr Hooker's death.

About the year 1600, and the 46th of his age, he fell into a long and ſharp ſickneſs, occaſioned by a cold he took in his paſſage by water between London and Graveſend. He continued,

queſtioned for it; but was declared innocent of her death.——The three laſt perfect books being thus loſt; Dr John Spencer, who was of the ſame college and contemporary with Mr Hooker; (betwixt whom there was ſo firm a friendſhip, that they continually adviſed together in all their ſtudies, particularly about the Books of Eccleſiaſticall Politie) had the three imperfect books, or rough draughts of them, delivered to him by Archbiſhop Whitgift; to be made as perfect as might be, by him, who both knew Mr Hooker's hand writing, and was beſt acquainted with his intentions.' For the truth of this, Mr Walton appeals to an epiſtle, firſt and uſually printed before Mr Hooker's five books, and ſigned with J. S. the two initial letters of Dr Spencer's name, but omitted in Dr Gauden's edition of 1662; wherein are theſe paſſages. 'There is a purpoſe of ſetting forth the three laſt books alſo, their Father's *poſthumi*.—And, though like Rachel, he died as it were in the travel of them, and haſtened death upon himſelf by haſtening to give them life; yet he held out to behold with his eyes theſe *partus ingenii*, theſe Benjamins, ſons of his right hand, though to him they were Benonies, ſons of pain and ſorrow. But ſome evil diſpoſed minds, whether of malice or covetouſneſs, or wicked blind zeal, it is uncertain, as if they had been Egyptian midwives, as ſoon as they were born, and their father dead, ſmothered them, and by conveying away the perfect copies left unto us nothing but old unperfect and mangled draughts, diſmembred into pieces;——no favour, no grace, not the ſhadows of themſelves almoſt remaining in them.——But ſeeing the importunities of many great and worthy perſons will not ſuffer them quietly to dye and to be buried, it is intended that they ſhall ſee them as they are.' Mr Walton goes on thus,—'the reader may note, that this epiſtle of Dr Spencer's was writ, and firſt printed, within four years after the death of Mr Hooker, in which time, all diligent ſearch had been made for the perfect copies; and then granted not recoverable, and therefore indeavoured to be compleated out of Mr Hooker's rough draughts. And I do profeſs by the faith of a Chriſtian (adds Mr Walton) that Dr Spencer's wife, who was my aunt and ſiſter to George Cranmer, told me forty years ſince, in theſe or in words to this purpoſe, that *her huſband had made up or finiſht Mr Hooker's laſt three books*; *and that upon her huſband's death-bed, or in his laſt ſickneſs, he gave them into her hand, with a charge they ſhould not be ſeen by any man, but be by her delivered into the hands of the then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, which was Dr Abbot, or unto* Dr King, *Biſhop of London*; *and that ſhe did as he injoyn'd her* (20).'——Dr Henry King Biſhop of Chicheſter, ſon of this Dr King Biſhop of London, explains this latter part, in the following manner, in a letter to Mr Walton (21);—'My father's knowledge of Mr Hooker, was occaſioned by the learned Dr John Spencer, who, after the death of Mr Hooker, was ſo careful to preſerve his unvaluable ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth books of Eccleſiaſtical Polity, and his other writings, that he procured Henry Jackſon, then of Corpus-Chriſti colledge, to tranſcribe for him all Mr Hooker's remaining written papers, many of which were imperfect; for his ſtudy had been rifled or worſe uſed by Mr Clark (22), and another of principles too like his: but as theſe papers were, they were endeavored to be compleated by his dear friend Dr Spencer, who bequeathed them as a precious legacy to my father; after whoſe death they reſted in my hand, 'till Dr Abbot, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, commanded them out of my cuſtody, authoriſing Dr John Barkham (his Lordſhip's chaplain) to require and bring them to him to Lambeth. At which time I have heard they were put into the Biſhop's library, and that they remained there 'till the martyrdom of Archbiſhop Laud, and were then by the brethren of that faction given with the library to Hugh Peters, as a reward for his remarkable ſervice in thoſe ſad times of the Churches confuſion: and though they could hardly fall into a fouler hand, yet there wanted not other endeavours to corrupt and make them ſpeak that language, for which the faction then fought; which was, *To ſubject the ſoveraign power to the people*.'———But to return to Mr Walton,—'he conceives, that from Dr Spencer's, and no other copy, there have been divers tranſcripts, to be found in ſeveral places; as namely in the Bodleian Library, in that of Dr Andrews late Biſhop of Wincheſter, in the late Lord Conway's, in Archbiſhop Uſher's, and many others; and moſt of theſe pretended to be the author's own hand, but much diſagreeing, being indeed altered and diminiſhed, as men have thought fitteſt to make Mr Hooker's judgment ſuit with their fancies, or give authority to their corrupt deſigns. For proof of a part of which, he gives the following teſtimonies: 1. Dr Barnard, ſometime Chaplain to Archbiſhop Uſher, in a book of his called *Clavi Trabales*, printed in 1661, declared, that, in his ſearch and examination of that Archbiſhop's manuſcripts, he found the three written books, which were the ſuppoſed 6th, 7th, and 8th, books of Mr Hooker's Eccleſiaſtical Polity; and that in thoſe three books, now printed as Mr Hooker's, there are ſo many omiſſions that they amount to many paragraphs, and which cauſe many incoherencies. The omiſſions are by him ſet down at large in that book, to which the reader is referred. 2 Mr Fabian Phillips atteſted it under his hand, that he was ready to make oath if required, that Dr Sanderſon Biſhop of Lincoln did, a little before his death, aſſure him, he had ſeen a manuſcript, affirmed to him to be the hand writing of Mr Richard Hooker, in which there was no mention made of the King or Supreme Governors being accomptable to the people. So that, as Mr Walton goes on, there appears to be both omiſſions and additions in the ſaid laſt three printed books. 3. King Charles I. declared, *they were not allowed to be Mr Hooker's books*.'——Mr Walton concludes his examination in theſe words. 'In this relation concerning theſe three doubtful books of Mr Hooker's, my purpoſe was to enquire, then ſet down what I obſerved and know; which I have done, not as an engaged perſon, but indifferently, and now leave my reader to give ſentence for their legitimation, as to himſelf, but ſo, as to leave others the ſame liberty of believing or diſbelieving them to be Mr Hooker's (23).'—But, notwithſtanding all theſe arguments, Biſhop Gauden (24), Mr Richard Baxter (25), and others (26), maintain, that thoſe three books are genuine, and not interpolated.

Of theſe three books, the ſixth and eighth were publiſhed at London in 1648, 4to, under this title, 'Of the Lawes of Eccleſiaſtical Politie; the fixth and eighth Books. By Richard Hooker. A work long expected, and now publiſhed according to the moſt authentique copies.' In an advertiſement to the reader, it is ſaid, that they were then publiſhed, to prevent ſome erroneous, if not counterfeit copies, that were abroad: and that fruitleſs endeavours had been uſed to recover the *Seventh*, that they might have been publiſhed to the world's view at once. It is alſo ſaid, that, before publication, they had been compared with the ſeveral copies abovementioned.———But we are aſſured, that, long before that, even as early as the year 1617, all the *Eight* books, with certain tractates and ſermons, and the author's life, were publiſhed in two volumes folio (27). Nothwithſtanding which, as if they had never before ſeen the light, that enterprizing divine, Biſhop Gauden, put them out in 1662 fol. under this title, 'The Works of Mr *Richard Hooker*, (that learned, godly, judicious, and eloquent divine) vindicating the Church of England, as truly chriſtian, and duly reformed: in eight books of Eccleſiaſtical Polity. Now compleated, as with the ſixth and eighth, ſo with the *ſeventh*, (touching Epiſcopacy, as the Primitive, Catholic and Apoſtolick Government of the Church) out of his own Manuſcripts, never before publiſhed. With an Account of his holy Life, and happy Death, Written by Dr John Gauden, now Biſhop of Exeter. The entire edition dedicated to the Kings moſt excellent Majeſtie, Charls the II. By whoſe Royal Father (near his Martyrdom) the former Five Books (then onely extant) were commended to his dear Children, as an excellent means to ſatiſfie private ſcruples, and ſettle the publique peace of this Church and Kingdom.'

It

(20) Walton, p. 234, 235, 236.

(21) Prefixed to Mr Hooker's Life.

(22) So it is here, though in Mr Walton's Life it is Charke.

(23) Walton, p. 233, &c.

(24) In his edition of Mr Hooker's Works, 1662.

(25) In Faſciculo Liter. p. 100. Nonconformiſts Plea for Peace; and Chriſtian Directory in ſeveral places.

(26) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. I. p. 571.

(27) See Wood Ath. Vol. I. col. 305.

continued, notwithſtanding, his ſtudies to the laſt [*M*]. Waſted at length with labour and his lingering illneſs, he expired on the 2d of November 1600 [*N*], and was buried in the church of Biſhops-Bourne, where a monument was afterwards erected to his memory by William Cowper, Eſq; *(t)* [*O*]. His character is given below in the note [*P*]. He left no ſon, only four daughters *(u)* [*Q*], none of which made any conſiderable figure in life. Beſides his Eccleſiaſtical Politie, and Anſwer to Mr Travers, he writ ſome other pieces [*R*], which were publiſhed after his deceaſe.

It is ſomewhat unaccountable, that Dr Gauden ſhould inſinuate, (as he doth) that the *Seventh* book was now firſt publiſhed, when it had been out ever ſince the year 1617: and that he ſhould ſay, in his dedication to King Charles II, that the works of Mr Richard Hooker (which he preſented to him) were 'now augmented, and I hope [adds he] *compleated with the three laſt books*, ſo much deſired, and ſo long *concealed*,' when the 6th and 8th had been publiſhed by themſelves but thirteen or fourteen years before. Surely his ignorance or confidence was great!——what he ſays further upon the ſame point, in his Life of Mr Hooker (28), deſerves notice; being as follows. ——Of theſe eight books, 'five have many years been extant in publique; the *laſt three* were thought to have been never finiſhed, and to be ſure they have been for many ages ſuppreſſed; which *are now come to light, after our late long troubles.*——Each of them is by learned criticks judged to be *genuine* or *authentick*, though poſſibly not ſo compleat and exact as the curious author intended: The *Seventh* book, by comparing the writing of it with other indiſputable papers, or known manuſcripts of Mr Hookers, is undoubtedly his *own hand* throughout: the *eighth* is written by *another hand* (as a copy) but interlined in many places with Mr Hookers *own characters*, as owned by him.' In the life of Mr Hooker, prefixed by Biſhop Gauden to this edition of his works, there were *many material Miſtakes, and more Omiſſions*; which to correct and ſupply, Mr Iſaac Walton wrote another life of Mr Hooker, that was publiſhed in 1665.

[*M*] *He continued, notwithſtanding, his ſtudies to the laſt*] He ſtrove particularly to finiſh his Eccleſiaſticall Politie; and ſaid often to Dr Saravia, who viſited him daily, 'That he did not beg a long life of God for any other reaſon, but to live to finiſh his three remaining books of Polity; and then, Lord, let thy ſervant depart in peace,' which was his uſual expreſſion. 'Tis thought he haſtened his own death, by his intenſe application to compleat that work. And how great a value he ſet upon it, appears from the following inſtance. A very few days before his death, his houſe was robbed; of which having notice, he aſked, *Are my books and written papers ſafe?* And being anſwered, *that they were*: his reply was, *then it matters not, for no other loſs can trouble me* (29).

[*N*] *He expired on the 2d of November*, 1600.] It is amazing how ſome of Mr Hooker's contemporaries ſhould be ſo much miſtaken, as they have been, about the exact time of his death. Mr Camden, from whom greater exactneſs might have been expected, places it under the year 1599 (30). The miſtake is yet greater in his epitaph: for that places it under the year 1603, and in the 50th of his age. But Mr Walton having made proper enquiry, was informed by Mr William Somner, Regiſter for the province of Canterbury, that Richard Hooker's Will bears date October 26, 1600, and was proved the 3d of December following. His death is particularly fixed on the 2d of November, by Archbiſhop Laud; who wrote the following memorandum in the title-page of Mr Hooker's Eccleſiaſtical Polity, then belonging to him, which came afterwards into the hands of the learned Mr William Fulman. *Richardus Hooker, vir ſummis doctrinæ dotibus ornatus, de Eccleſiâ præcipuè Anglicanâ optime meritus, obiit Novemb. 2, circiter horam ſecundam poſtmeridianam, anno* 1600 (31).

[*O*] *Where a monument was afterwards erected to his memory by William Cowper, Eſq;*] The inſcription upon it is in theſe words; *Richardus Hooker Exonienſis, Scholaris Sociuſq; Collegii Corp. Chriſti Oxon. deinde Londi. Templi interioris in ſacris Magiſter, Rectorq; hujus Eccleſiæ, ſcripſit octo libros Politiæ Eccleſiaſticæ Anglicanæ, quorum tres deſiderantur: Obiit An. Do.* M.DC.III. *Ætat. ſuæ* L. *Poſuit hoc piiſſimo viro monumentum An. Do.* M.DC.XXXV. *Guli. Cowper Armiger, in Chriſto Jeſu quem genuit per Evangelium.* 1 Corinth. iv. 15.

[*P*] *His character is given below.*] Mr Hooker, as to his perſon, was of a mean ſtature, and ſtooping; his face full of heat-pimples, cauſed by his inactivity and ſedentary life: and, though not purblind, he was ſhort or weak ſighted (32). His complexion was ſanguine, with a mixture of choler; his motion and ſpeech ſlow even in his youth, never expreſſing an earneſtneſs in either of them, but an humble gravity, ſuitable to the aged (33).—With regard to the qualities of his mind; he was a man of great humility, meekneſs, and piety (34): ſo baſhful, that as in his younger years his pupils might eaſily look him out of countenance, ſo neither then, nor in his more advanced age, did he ever willingly look any man in the face (35). He was never known to be angry, or paſſionate, or extream in any of his deſires; or ever heard to utter an unſeemly word—By his unwearied application, he attained to perfection in the learned languages; and had made the ſubtilty of all the arts eaſy and familiar to himſelf, and uſeful for the diſcovery of such learning as lay hid from common ſearchers: ſo that, by theſe, added to his ſtrong reaſon, and joined to his reſtleſs induſtry, he did not only know more of cauſes and effects; but what he knew, he knew better than other men (36). Nor was he a ſtranger to Muſic and Poetry. He would often ſay, that God abhors confuſion as contrary to his nature; and that the Scripture was not written to beget diſputations, and pride, and oppoſition to government, but charity and humility, moderation, obedience to authority, and peace to mankind: of which virtues, he would as often ſay, no man did ever repent on his death-bed (37).

[*Q*] *He left only—four daughters.*] Whoſe names were Alice, Cecily, Jane, and Margaret. One of the eldeſt was married to Mr Chalinor, ſometime a Schoolmaſter in Chicheſter. Margaret, the youngeſt, was married to Ezekiel Clark, B. D. Rector of St Nicolas in Harbledown near Canterbury; and by him had a ſon, Ezekiel, Rector of Waldron in Suſſex, and a daughter. His other daughters died before they were marriageable. He left each of them a hundred pounds; and the inventory of his effects, which were moſtly books, amounted to 1092l. 9s. 2d. Mr Hooker had a ſiſter, named Elizabeth Harvey, which lived to the age of 121 years, and died in September 1663 (38).

[*R*] *Beſides his Eccleſiaſtical Politie, &c. he writ ſome other pieces.*] Namely, I. 'A Diſcourſe of Juſtification, Works, and how the foundation of Faith is overthrown; on Abak. i. 4.' II. 'A Sermon of the Nature of Pride; on Abak. ii. 4.' III. 'A Remedie againſt Sorrow and Feare, delivered in a funeral Sermon, on John xiv. 27.' Theſe three printed at Oxford, 1612, 4to.' IV. 'Of the certaintie and perpetuitie of Faith in the Elect, eſpecially of the Prophet Abakkuk's faith; on Abak. i. 4.' V. 'Two Sermons upon part of St Jude's Epiſtle, viz. ver. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.' Printed at Oxford, 1614, 4to. All theſe ſermons were firſt publiſhed by Mr Henry Jackſon, Fellow of Corpus-Chriſti-college Oxford; and have been ſeveral times ſince reprinted at the end of the Eccleſiaſticall Politie. VI. 'Cauſes of Contention concerning Church-government.' Oxon. 1641. 4to. VII. 'A Sermon on Matth. vii. 7. found in the ſtudy of Dr Andrews Biſhop of Wincheſter, and publiſhed by Iſaac Walton, at the end of his Life of Biſhop Sanderſon (39).'

(t) Walton, p. 225, &c. 231.

(u) Id. p. 231.

(28) Prefixed to his edition of 1662. p. 26.

(29) Walton, p. 225, 226.

(30) Annales Regin. Eliz. Hoc anno animam cœlo reddidit Richardus Hookerus.

(31) Walton, as above, p. 231.

(32) Walton, p. 217, 218.

(33) Id. p. 158.

(34) P. 163.

(35) Id. p. 218.

(36) Id. p. 166.

(37) Id. p. 171.

(38) Walton, p. 231, 232.

(39) Wood Ath. Vol. I. col. 305.

HOUGH [John], the good Biſhop of Worceſter, particularly diſtinguiſhed by the ſhare he had in bringing about the Revolution in 1688, was born in the county of Middleſex (*a*) in the year 1650 (*b*); and having acquired a true taſte of literature at the ſchool of Birmingham in Warwickſhire †, he was removed thence to Oxford, and elected Demy of Magdalen college in 1669 (*c*). He took his firſt degree in Arts, April 10, 1673 (*d*), and became Fellow of the college in 1675 *. On the 8th of June the following year, he proceeded Maſter of Arts (*e*), and having entered into Holy Orders, he exerciſed his function for ſome time at a place called North-Aſton in the dioceſe of Oxford (*f*). Upon the breaking out of the popiſh plot, Mr Hough's chamber in the college was ſearched by order of the Vicechancellor in 1679, upon ſuſpicion of his holding a correſpondence with a perſon of that religion [*A*]; but nothing of this kind could be found; and in 1681 he was appointed domeſtic-chaplain to the Duke of Ormond, Chancellor of the univerſity, who being then in Ireland Lord-Lieutenant of that kingdom, Mr Hough croſſed the ſea in February, and waited upon his Grace at Dublin. However, there happening no conſiderable vacancies in the Iriſh Church (*g*), he returned with his patron, in the beginning of May the following year 1682, unpreferred to England (*h*) [*B*]; where he was collated to a prebend in the church of Worceſter in 1685, being inſtalled March 12 the ſame year (*i*); and he was afterwards preſented to the rectory of Temsford in Bedfordſhire (*k*). On the 10th of March the year following he proceeded Bachelor of Divinity (*l*); and on the 15th of the next month, being April 1687, he was ſtatutably elected Preſident of his college by a majority of the Fellows, after they had rejected a *mandamus* from his Majeſty King James II. in behalf of one Anthony Farmer, A. M. of that houſe. Mr Hough's election was regularly confirmed by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, Viſitor of the college, and he was admitted Doctor of Divinity June the 22d following ‖, but the ſame day was removed from his preſidentſhip by the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, and Dr Samuel Parker Biſhop of Oxford put into his place. That prelate dying before the expiration of the year, was ſucceeded therein by Bonaventure Gifford, a Sorbon doctor and ſecular prieſt of the Romiſh Church; who being inſtalled by proxy on the 31ſt of March 1688, took poſſeſſion of the Preſident's lodgings June the 15th. But ſoon after, upon the Prince of Orange's declaration to come to England, an order paſſed, October 12, for reſtoring Magdalen-college to it's rights, and Dr Hough was reſtored, on the 25th of that month, to the preſidentſhip by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, commiſſioned by the King for that purpoſe [*C*]. After the Revolution, the Doctor was nominated by King William,

(*a*) Willis's Account of the Cathedrals, &c. Vol. III. p. 657.

(*b*) See his age at the time of his death.

† Dugdale's Warwickſhire, 2d edit. 1730. in the dedication to Dr Hough, then Biſhop of Worceſter, by Will. Thomas, D. D. who obſerves further, that Mr Hough acquired alſo a true taſte of gentility and honour from the knightly family of the Holts of Aſton near Birmingham.

(*c*) At the age of 16, as it is (perhaps miſ-) printed for 19 in Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1185.

(*d*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 190. Hence it may not improbably be collected, that his admiſſion in the univerſity was in Act-Term 1669.

* Athen. Oxon. col. 1185.

(*e*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 201.

(*f*) Athen. Oxon. col. 1185.

(*g*) Id. ibid.

(*h*) See the Duke of Ormond's article, Vol. II. p. 1068.

(*i*) Willis's Account, &c. ubi ſupra, Vol. III. p. 671. N. B. This account ſhews, that he had the living of Temsford at that time.

(*k*) Id. Vol. II. p. 437. where it is obſerved, that he had this rectory at his election into the ſee of Oxford.

(*l*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 229.

‖ Id. ibid. col. 230.

[*A*] *His chamber was ſearched by the Vicechancellor.*] This perſon with whom he was ſuſpected to hold a correſpondence, was Thomas Kingſley, who had been ſometime his intimate acquaintance, but in 1671, had left the college as well as his country to embrace the Romiſh faith. The Vicechancellor was Dr John Nicholas, Warden of New-college, who, ſays Mr Wood in his uſual rough language, left no ſtone untouched to ſhew his activity againſt Papiſts or well-wiſhers to them, purpoſely to gain the good will of the Parliament then ſitting, and ſo conſequently preferment; but, continues he, the deſign to ſearch his [Mr Hough's] chamber, took no effect (1). This ſame Vicechancellor had alſo one William Joyner ſeized for a Prieſt or Jeſuit, who had been a fellow of the ſame college, and changed his religion (2).

[*B*] *He returned with the Duke to England.*] That he returned at the ſame time with the Duke, ſeems to be clearly inferred from the circumſtance alone of his coming back without any preferment in Ireland (3), and is further confirmed by what Mr Carte obſerves (4), that he lived ſeveral years in the Duke's family, which conſidering the time of his Grace's death, viz. in 1688, could hardly be ſaid with any tolerable degree of accuracy, if he had ſtaid longer in Ireland. The laſt mentioned author informs us, that Mr Hough had projected a deſign of writing the Duke's life, and made a conſiderable progreſs therein. But upon the coming of Sir Robert Southwel to Cornbury (5), in 1685, who claimed the right of performing that taſk to himſelf, the Doctor yielded it to him. A conceſſion which is greatly lamented by Mr Carte, who does not ſcruple to aſſert, that the world thereby loſt the ſight of as fine a pen as ever any age has produced. Mr Carte likewiſe aſſures us, that he had ſeveral particulars concerning the Duke's private life from the Doctor (6), whoſe authority in relating ſome of theſe, he has expreſsly cited. Among others it may not be amiſs to take notice of the following circumſtance, relating to the Duke's third ſon, Lord John Butler, created Earl of Gowram in 1676. 'That 'young nobleman died the ſame year at Paris, having 'gone thither a little before for the recovery of his 'health, much impaired by his irregularities. While 'he was there in a lingering and waſting way, the 'Duke of Ormond in a fatherly and chriſtian concern 'for his future welfare, put him in mind of his ex'ceſſes, which had reduced him to that weak condi'tion, and were like to put a ſpeedy period to his life, 'and ſuggeſted to him thoſe reflections, which per'haps had been too long deferred, though neceſſary 'to fit him for another world. There was ſomething, 'continues Mr Carte, ſo noble, juſt, pious, and chri'ſtian, in the ſentiments expreſſed in the letter, which 'his Grace wrote upon this occaſion, that I would 'fain have given it a place among others of that ſort 'in the *Appendix*, that the world might have ſeen one 'of the fineſt pieces of the kind that hath been ever 'written. For this is the character which I have of 'it from the preſent Biſhop of Worceſter, *(the beauty 'of whoſe pen renders him an excellent, and indiſput'able judge of that of others)* who had preſerved a 'copy of it, but could not eaſily find it among his 'papers.' I am inclined to believe the reader will not think his patience abuſed in giving him the remainder of this narrative as follows. 'The Duke 'laid his ſon's manner of life to heart, but all his re'monſtrances could not correct or reſtrain the impe'tuoſity of his youth. A repartee of his Grace's may 'not improperly be related on this occaſion. Mr 'Cottington of Holme-Patrick, about twelve miles 'from Dublin, had a fine houſe pleaſantly ſituated on 'the ſea ſide, and was often viſited by the Duke of 'Ormond and his ſons, and other great men, who de'lighted in the place for the pleaſure of it's ſituation, 'and the amuſements which the ſea afforded. He had 'undertaken to build a new chapel on the ruins of an 'old one, and aſked every body that came to his 'houſe, to contribute ſomething towards the building 'and ornament of the chapel. Among others, my 'Lord John Butler being applied to, had promiſed 'him the Ten Commandments to be put over the 'altar. Mr Cottington was much pleaſed with his 'Lordſhip's generoſity, and when he went to Dublin, 'could not forbear extolling the preſent, in a viſit 'which he made to the Duke. As he was making 'great encomiums on Lord John, his Grace replied, '*I could eaſily gueſs at the nature of my ſon's generoſity, 'he can readily part with things he does not care to 'keep himſelf* (7).'

[*C*] *He was elected, removed, and reſtored to his Preſidentſhip.*] A tranſaction of ſo great importance as

(1) Athen Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1185.

(2) Ibid. col. 1014.

(3) Mr Wood tells us, that he was ſea-bound (as he terms it) in his voyage, by which means coming not time enough, he loſt preferment there upon the tranſlation and change of eccleſiaſtical places, vacant by the death of certain Biſhops of that country. Ibid. col. 1185.

(4) In the preface to his Life of the Duke of Ormond.

(5) The Duke ſpent two ſummers there, in the time that the Earl of Clarendon was in Ireland, Lord-Lieutenant of that country, in the firſt part of King James II's reign. See the article of Lord Chancellor Clarendon.

(6) In the juſt mentioned preface; where it appears, that the Chaplain had his patron's conſent for this undertaking; by whom, another writer aſſures us, he was juſtly valued and highly eſteemed. Some account of the Right Rev. Dr John Hough, &c. p. 6. edit. 1743. 4to.

(7) Life of the D. of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 450.

William, in April 1690, Biſhop of Oxford (*m*), upon the death of Dr Timothy Hall. He was elected accordingly on the 29th of April, and being conſecrated in the Biſhop of London's chapel at Fulham on Sunday May 11, had then a licence to hold the preſidentſhip *in commendam* (*n*) [*D*] Upon the tranſlation of Mr William Lloyd to the ſee of Worceſter, Dr Hough ſucceeded him in that of Litchfield and Coventry, on the fifth of Auguſt 1699 (*o*). He was not only a conſiderable benefactor to this biſhopric †, but whilſt he continued there, he procured an Act of Parliament for annexing the living of Tattenhill to the deanery of Litchfield, on account of it's inſufficient maintenance; the income of which dignity is ſaid to be doubled by that augmentation (*p*). On the death of Dr Tenniſon, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in 1715, that metropolitical chair was offered to our Biſhop, of which he declined the acceptance out of modeſty (*q*). But upon the deceaſe of Dr Lloyd ſucceeded him in the ſee of Worceſter [*E*], September 29, 1717 (*r*). He was now near ſeventy years of age; yet he lived upwards of twenty-ſix years Biſhop of Worceſter, in a conſtant exemplary reſidence upon his dioceſe, diſcharging all the duties of the epiſcopal function. In 1722 he buried his lady, Letitia, eldeſt daughter of Sir Thomas Fiſher of Parkington in Warwickſhire, Bart. and widow of Sir Charles Lee of Billeſley in the ſame county, Knight *. A little before his death, he wrote a remarkable letter to the Lord Digby, an extract of which ſhall be inſerted below [*F*]. The even temper of his mind bore ſo juſt a proportion to his well tempered conſtitution of body, as by an happy reſult of both, to extend his age to the beginning of his ninety-third year, and almoſt to the completion of the 53d year of his epiſcopate. His lamp of life burnt clear, if not bright, to the laſt; and though his body was weak, he had no pain or ſickneſs, as he himſelf acknowledged, not only on ſeveral occaſions, at a conſiderable diſtance of time from his death, but even a few minutes before he expired. It may well be doubted whether he felt the agonies that are uſual at the ſeparation of ſoul and body; but it is certain that he died very ſedately and with a quiet mind. His *end* was *peace*, and he enjoyed tranquillity *at the laſt*. The eaſineſs of his death ſeems to have been as much derived from the ſerenity of his mind and a good conſcience, as from his inſenſibly exhauſted ſpirits; or rather, by a concurrence of both, in the ſcripture language, he gently *fell aſleep*. He died March 8, 1743, *ſatisfied with a long life*, equally *full of days and honour*, and with a pleaſing proſpect of that *ſalvation* which God had ſhewed him (*s*) [*G*].

as this was to the kingdom, has been largely related in our general hiſtories, to which we refer the reader (8); and ſhall only inſert what is obſerved of it in relation to Dr Hough's memorable courage and conduct therein by a late writer (9). 'I willingly haſten, ſays he, to that critical juncture in the reign of King James II, when at the head of a ſociety, perhaps of the beſt endowed foundation in Europe (10), *St Mary Magdalen College* in *Oxford*, he made that noble ſtand in behalf of our reformed religion and our civil liberties, which contributed ſo much to the ſucceſs of our happy revolution. It is diſputable indeed whether he ſhewed greater courage and conſtancy, or prudence and temper, in the management of ſo important a conteſt with the miſguided Crown; and whether he diſplayed a greater love of the liberties of his country in baffling the inſtruments of an illegal eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, or integrity and conſcience in adhering ſo firmly to the ſtatutes of his college, and his own oath, in oppoſition to all the artifices as well as menaces of an arbitrary Court; in his engaging by his weighty influence the members of that learned body to act unanimouſly, and in confirming by his own example their reſolutions to ſacrifice their intereſt to their duty on that great occaſion. Under this article I ſhall only add, that his Lordſhip equally retained the ſame inviolable love of his country in all publick exigencies, whilſt he ſat in Parliament, and during his retirement from buſineſs on account of the infirmities of his advanced age, even to the laſt moments of his life.'

[*D*] *He held his preſidentſhip in commendam.*] He always retained a very particular regard and affection for his college, of which that ſociety received ſeveral valuable atteſtations. For beſides what he expended in repairing and ornamenting the lodgings of the Preſident while he enjoyed that ſtation, he afterwards gave the ſum of one thouſand pounds, as his own grateful contribution towards the new buildings of that place of his education, as well as ſcene of his government for ſeveral years (11). In that capacity he endeavoured to encourage learning in the moſt obliging manner; he both diſtinguiſhed ſtudious and ſober young men by his own favour, and recommended thoſe of a more promiſing genius to the favour of their ſuperiors, that by the intereſt of great men, they might meet with ſuitable rewards of their ſeveral ſtudies (12).

[*E*] *He ſucceeded Biſhop Lloyd in the ſee of Worceſter.*] When his Lordſhip removed from the ſee of Oxford to that of Litchfield and Coventry, he did not merely repair, but almoſt rebuild as well as adorn the epiſcopal houſe at Eccleſhall; and made ſuch alterations in what was left by his predeceſſor in an imperfect ſtate [upon his tranſlation to the ſee of Worceſter] as to render it a commodious and agreeable ſeat. Biſhop Lloyd had cauſed the ruins of the old epiſcopal caſtle at Eccleſhall, a ſeat that had not been inhabitable from the times of the confuſion, to be removed; and erected a houſe on the ſite of part of them, though not finiſhed in ſo ample a manner as he propoſed to do, nor with that elegant taſte, that was ſhewn by his ſucceſſor Biſhop Hough, in the reformation of his plan, which however was carried on at a very conſiderable expence of them both. But the moſt beneficial inſtance of Biſhop Hough's public generoſity, was given upon his tranſlation to the See of Worceſter, when he rebuilt ſo great a part of the epiſcopal palace at Worceſter, and made ſuch improvements in his other ſeat [the caſtle] at Hartlebury, that (as is aſſerted by good hands) he expended upon both thoſe houſes, at leaſt ſeven thouſand pounds. And theſe ſchemes were executed with ſo nice a judgment, that his Lordſhip has left little to be ſuperadded by any of his ſucceſſors towards perfecting both thoſe epiſcopal ſees (13).

[*F*] *An extract of his letter to the Lord Digby given below.*] That Lord was a perſon eminently diſtinguiſhed by his goodneſs and piety (14), and there had been a long friendſhip between them, after an acknowledgement of which, and of his own ſincere regard for Lord Digby's noble family and relations, the Biſhop uſes theſe memorable words of himſelf. '*I am weak* '*and forgetful——In other reſpects I have eaſe to a* '*degree beyond what I durſt have thought on, when* '*years began to multiply upon me: I wait contentedly* '*for a deliverance out of this life into a better, in* '*humble confidence, that, by the mercy of God through* '*the merits of his Son, I ſhall ſtand at the reſurrection* '*on his right hand. And when you, my Lord, have* '*ended thoſe days that are to come (which I pray may* '*be many and comfortable) as innocently and exemplarily as thoſe that are paſſed, I doubt not of our meeting* '*in that ſtate, where the joys are unſpeakable, and will* '*always endure* (15).'

[G] *A pleaſing proſpect of that ſalvation which God had ſhewed him.*] The author of Some Account of the Biſhop's Life, has given his character at length, an extract of which we ſhall lay before the reader as follows. Having ſpoken of his Lordſhip's public benefactions, he proceeds in theſe terms. 'As for his more

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(*m*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1185 and 814. and Faſti, col. 229. and Salmon's Chronol. Hiſtorian, under the year 1687.

(*n*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra. and Willis, Vol. II. p. 437.

(*o*) Willis, Vol. III. p. 657.

† See the next rem. [*E*].

(*p*) Some Account of the Right Rev. Dr John Hough, &c. p. 9, 10. Lond. 1743. 4to.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 19, 20. ad finem.

(*r*) Willis, where laſt cited.

* Dugdale's Warwickſhire, ubi ſupra, Vol. II. p. 989, 990. She died in the year of her grand climacteric, being baptized Aug. 11, 1659.

(*s*) Some Account, &c. p. 17, 18.

(8) See particularly Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. 2d edition. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. and eſpecially the State-Trials, Vol. IV.

(9) Some Account of the Life of Dr John Hough, p. 6, 7.

(10) Biſhop Burnet obſerves, that though the reſerved rents make up no more than 5000 l. yet the extended value amounts to 40000 l. a year. Hiſtory of his own times, ubi ſupra. To which it may be added, that the whole town of Calais in France, when in the hands of the Engliſh, was a part of it's endowment. Wood's Hiſt. and Antiq. of Oxford, in the ſection relating to Magdalen college.

(11) He held it as long as he continued in the ſee of Oxford.

(12) Some Account of the Life &c. p. 8.

(13) Ibid. p. 8—10. and Willis's Account of the Cathedrals, Vol. III. p. 657.

(14) See ſeveral letters to a perſon of this family by Mr Pope, in the volumes of his Work containing his letters.

(15) Some Account, &c. p. 15, 16.

private acts of charity, there is good reaſon to believe (from ſeveral proper intimations) that they conſtantly ran very high, and were very extenſive. And with regard to his occaſional charities, it is well known to thoſe that were more particularly acquainted with his Lordſhip, and the numerous objects of them, that they were diſtributed with a very liberal hand, and in an uncommon proportion. With reſpect to his uſual manner of living, it was very agreeable to his function; hoſpitable without profuſeneſs, and adjuſted ſuitably to his own circumſtances, and to thoſe with whom he had any buſineſs or correſpondence. His converſation with all perſons was full of humanity and candour, as well as it was prudent and inſtructive. And as he treated all ſorts of perſons, and of what party ſoever in ſecular affairs with courteouſneſs and affability; ſo he ſhewed a great equality of temper, and a largeneſs of ſoul, towards ſuch as differed from him in religious matters. Indeed I know but of one exception in his conduct towards the latter ſort of men; namely, that he had formed ſo juſt an idea of the groſs abuſes of the Church of Rome,—that if ever he expreſſed a more than ordinary warmth, or rather ſome degree of indignation, it was ſhewn in expoſing thoſe doctrines and practices of that Church.——But his kindneſs to his particular friends ſhone moſt brightly in the entertainments of his converſation with them, in his affectionate correſpondence with the abſent part of them, in his readineſs to uſe all opportunities of ſerving them, and in the firmneſs and conſtancy of his profeſſions of friendſhip throughout the courſe of ſo long a life. He mixed the gentleman and the biſhop on all proper occaſions, and eſpecially with regard to his own clergy, whom he treated with ſuch a brotherly condeſcenſion, and in ſo obliging a manner, as to be intirely beloved by them, and at the ſame time he well knew how to preſerve the dignity of his ſtation, and the reverence due to the epiſcopal character; a behaviour that equally procured him the affection and veneration of the clergy, and the reſpect and honour of the moſt diſtinguiſhed part of the laity. It would be inexcuſable if I omitted here to take notice of that peculiar happineſs of his Lordſhip's compoſitions, which is ſo very conſpicuous not only in his more elaborate diſcourſes from the pulpit, but in the gentlemanly, polite, and friendly manner of his epiſtolary correſpondence; in which latter kind of writing, he muſt be allowed to have excelled.' The author having recommended a well choſen collection of theſe letters, as very worthy of the public view, proceeds thus. ' But how much ſoever that valuable accompliſhment, of which his Lordſhip was ſo great a maſter, may be admired by the beſt judges, it muſt at the ſame time be allowed to admit of no manner of compariſon with the more ſolid ornaments of his moral excellencies, that were raiſed to ſo high a degree of perfection, and of ſo genuine and unaffected a piety as he was endued with. Of theſe his more exalted qualities, all that had the honour of his friendſhip and correſpondence in any part of his life, are irrefragable witneſſes. But more eſpecially his heavenly temper of mind, his contempt of the world, and his indifference for life, were moſt viſible in the latter period of his own. His aſpirations after a better ſtate, as founded upon chriſtian principles, appeared clearly on many former occaſions; but his firm faith in the promiſes of the goſpel, exerted itſelf moſt remarkably in his declining years, as well in converſation with ſome of his friends about his hopes of a better ſtate, and even his own private thoughts of the nature of that ſtate, as in ſeveral letters to others of them about the gradual decays of his body, the juſt ſenſe he had of his approaching diſſolution, and his intire reſignation to the will of God.' This writer concludes his account in the following words. ' Though his [the Biſhop's] friends might have been for ſome time prepared for his final change, by the infirmities that muſt be ſuppoſed to attend a life ſpun out to ſo uncommon a length; yet the loſs of ſo good a man is as much lamented by all that knew him, as if they had been deprived of him in his earlier years, and the more active part of his life. But their greateſt conſolation is, that his whole life here, though comparatively long, was but a ſhort education for that inconceivably happy ſtate, of which, without doubt, he is now in as full poſſeſſion, as can be expected antecedently to the joyful re-union of ſoul and body at the conſummation of all things (16).

' June 29, 1743.'

(16) Ibid. p. 10—19.

P

HOWARD [CHARLES], of the moſt noble Houſe of Norfolk, an able Stateſman, an experienced Seaman, and moſt loyal Courtier, which raiſed him ſucceſſively, from his hereditary honour of Baron of Effingham, to thoſe of Lord-Chamberlain of the Houſhold, Knight of the Garter, Lord High-Admiral of England, Earl of Nottingham, and Lord Chief-Juſtice in Eyre of all the foreſts, &c. ſouth of Trent. He was born in the year 1536 *(a)*, in the latter end of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, his father having then the title only of Lord William Howard. His mother's name was Margaret, the daughter of Sir Thomas Gamage of Glamorganſhire. Lord William being by letters patent, dated March 11, 1553, in the firſt year of the reign of Queen Mary, raiſed to the title of Baron of Effingham *(b)*, and, on the 20th of the ſame month, declared alſo Lord High-Admiral, his ſon ſerved under him in ſeveral expeditions, 'till the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth *(c)*, when he was about twenty-two years of age. His father coming into great favour with that princeſs, he enjoyed a conſiderable ſhare of it, and in 1559 was ſent over into France, to compliment ~~Charles the Ninth~~ *(d)*, who had juſt aſcended that throne. Nine years afterwards he was appointed General of the Horſe, in the expedition made by the Earl of Warwick againſt the Earls of Northumberland and Weſtmorland, who had taken arms in the North; and in cruſhing which rebellion he was very active *(e)*. In the following year he commanded a ſquadron of men of war, which the Queen was pleaſed to direct to eſcort Anne of Auſtria *(f)*, daughter to the Emperor Maximilian, to the coaſt of Spain. Upon this occaſion the Spaniſh fleet were obliged to take in their flags, while they continued in the Britiſh ſeas, having been ſufficiently inſtructed in that point of ceremonial, in their paſſage to Flanders, by Sir John Hawkins *(g)*. In 1571, he was choſen to repreſent the freeholders in Parliament as Knight of the Shire for the county of Surry; and very ſoon after ſucceeded his father in his title and eſtate, who died January 12, 1573 *(h)*, in the great office of Lord Privy-Seal, and very highly in the Queen's favour [*A*].

Her

(*a*) Baronagium Angliæ, p. 34. MS. Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. II. p. 278.

(*b*) Pat. 1 Mar. p. 7.

(*c*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 278.

Francis II

(*d*) Camden. Annal. p. 54.

(*e*) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 583, &c.

(*f*) Camden. Annal. p. 220, 221.

(*g*) See his article in this Dictionary.

(*h*) Stowe's Chronicle, p. 674. Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 1257.

[*A*] *And very highly in the Queen's favour.*] There are ſeveral circumſtances that determined us to give theſe memoirs a place in this collection, ſuch as his being the great author of this nation's ſafety in the defeat of the Spaniſh Armada, the high character he bore in the Court of Queen Elizabeth, and his being at the head of thoſe, who formed an oppoſition to the Earl of Eſſex. Without this life, many of thoſe already given had remained incompleat, and the lights thrown upon that reign, one of the moſt memorable in our hiſtory, had been imperfect and obſcure. That the reader may enter into it the more perfectly, it will be requiſite to ſay ſomething in this note concerning his father, that a ſhort ſketch of his character, alliances, and connections

Her Majeſty, with good reaſon, diſtinguiſhed the ſon as ſhe had done the father, by promoting him to the greateſt offices in the kingdom, not haſtily, but, as her manner was, by a due progreſſion. He became firſt Chamberlain of the Houſhold, an office which his father had alſo enjoyed; and on the 24th of April, 1573, he was elected Knight of the Garter (*i*). Some of the writers of thoſe times ſay, that he was raiſed to check (*l*) Leiceſter's greatneſs; which is thus far probable, that they were certainly the moſt oppoſite people in the world in their tempers. For whereas Leiceſter was, at leaſt if the beſt authors of thoſe times deſerve credit, a deep diſſembler, exceſſively ambitious, and one who ſought to govern all things; the Lord-Chamberlain, on the other hand, was an open, generous, public ſpirited man, in the good graces of the Queen from his known affection to her perſon, and exceedingly popular, as well on account of his hoſpitality, affability, and other good qualities, as for the ſake of his moſt loyal and heroic family. When therefore the Earl of Lincoln died in 1585, the Queen immediately determined to raiſe the Lord Effingham to the poſt of High-Admiral (*m*), which ſhe did with the general approbation of her ſubjects, and much to the ſatisfaction of the ſeamen, by whom he was ſo deſervedly beloved [*B*]. After the Spaniards had ſpent three years in preparing their Armada, and ſent it, in their own opinion, to the aſſured conqueſt of the kingdom of England, the Queen willingly intruſted the care of herſelf and the nation to this noble Lord, of whoſe conduct ſhe had the higheſt opinion, and of whoſe fortune ſhe had equal hopes. As ſoon as he knew that the Spaniſh fleet was ready to ſail, he put to ſea, and continued cruizing for ſome time; 'till the Court having received advice that the Spaniards would be unable to make any attempt that year, and the lateneſs of the ſeaſon rendering this intelligence probable, Secretary Walſingham wrote to him, directing that four of the largeſt ſhips ſhould be ſent into port, and the ſeamen diſcharged, to ſave expence. The Admiral wrote back, to excuſe his not obeying this direction, and in the cloſe of the letter deſired, ‘ That if his reaſons were thought inſufficient, the ſhips might remain at his

‘ expence

nections may appear, which will illuſtrate ſeveral paſſages that are but very briefly mentioned in this life of the ſon.

This Lord William Howard, was the ſon of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and Lord High-Treaſurer of England, by his ſecond wife. He was half brother to Elizabeth Counteſs of Wiltſhire and Ormond, mother to Queen Anne, and grand-mother to Queen Elizabeth (1). He was alſo half brother to Lord Edmund Howard, whoſe daughter Katherine was conſort to Henry the Eighth, and had a ſhare in her misfortunes, being condemned with his wife to perpetual impriſonment, to the forfeiture of his goods, and of the profit of his lands for life, but was quickly pardoned. He was Governor of Calais in the reign of Edward the Sixth, Lord High-Admiral in that of Queen Mary, Lord-Chamberlain, and afterwards Lord Privy-Seal in the time of Queen Elizabeth, to whom by the mother's ſide as we have ſeen, he was nearly related (2). His firſt wife Katherine, was the daughter of John Broughton, Eſq; by whom he had an only daughter, Agnes, who eſpouſed William Powlett Marquis of Wincheſter (3). But by his ſecond wife Margaret, daughter to Sir Thomas Gamage of Glouceſterſhire, he was the father of Charles, of whom in this article, and of Sir William Howard of Lingfield in Surry, and five daughters (4). Douglas, who was firſt the wife of John Lord Sheffield, afterwards of Robert Earl of Leiceſter, by whom ſhe became mother of Sir Robert Dudley, and being diſowned by her huſband, was obliged to marry in his life-time for her own ſafety, Sir Edward Stafford, Knight. Mary, who firſt eſpouſed Edward Lord Dudley, and afterwards Richard Mompeſſon, Eſq; Frances, who became the wife of Edward Earl of Hertford. Martha, who eſpouſed Sir George Bourchier, third ſon to the Earl of Bath, and Katherine, who died young (5). He directed by his laſt will and teſtament, that a tomb ſhould be built for him in the chancel of the church at Rygate, which was accordingly performed (6). This being then, and for ſome generations after, the chief reſidence of his family, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed branches of the moſt illuſtrious houſe of Howard (7).

[*B*] *By whom he was deſervedly beloved.*] There had been ſo many of the family of Howard honoured with this high office, they had ſerved with ſo much reputation, had ſhewn ſuch indulgence to the ſeamen, and ſo high a regard to the honour of the Engliſh flag, that it was no wonder this nobleman ſtood in ſo high credit with all the ſeafaring part of the nation. But beſides theſe, there were ſome very peculiar circumſtances that operated in his favour. His father had been Lord High-Admiral, and had vindicated the honour of the Engliſh flag, when he eſcorted King Philip, for which he was adored by the ſeamen (8). He was one of the adventurers in, as well as patrons of, the Ruſſia company at it's firſt inſtitution, which made him very acceptable to the merchants (9). This Lord himſelf, though very young, had behaved, while he bore a public character in France, with that dignity and ſpirit which did honour in thoſe times to this nation. Yet all theſe conſiderations together, were nothing when put in balance with a ſingle act of his own in the character of the Queen's Admiral in the narrow ſeas, which perhaps the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee in the words of that worthy collector of voyages and diſcoveries Mr Hakluyt, who ſpeaks of it thus to this nobleman himſelf (10). ‘ When the Emperor's ſiſter, the ſpouſe of Spain, with a fleet of an hundred and thirty ſail, ſtoutly and proudly paſſed the narrow ſeas, your Lordſhip, accompanied with ten ſhips only of her Majeſty's navy royal, environed their fleet in moſt ſtrange and warlike ſort, enforced them to ſtoope gallant, and to vaile their bonnets for the Queen of England, and made them perfectly to underſtand that old ſpeech of the prince of poets.

> ‘ Non illi imperium pelagi ſævumque tridentem,
> ‘ Sed tibi ſorte datum.

‘ Yet after they had acknowledged their duty, your Lordſhip, on her Majeſty's behalf, conducted her ſafely through our Engliſh channel, and performed all good offices of honour and humanity to that foreign princeſs. At that time all England beholding your moſt honourable carriage of yourſelf in that ſo weighty ſervice, began to caſt an extraordinary eye upon your Lordſhip, and deeply to conceive that ſingular hope, which ſince, by your moſt worthy and wonderful ſervice, your Lordſhip hath more then fully ſatisfied.’ It was not much the cuſtom of thoſe times, more eſpecially in diſcourſes of this kind, to be very particular either in reſpect to facts or dates; in order to ſupply theſe, it is proper to acquaint the reader, that this event happened in 1570, and that the Princeſs herein mentioned, was the Archducheſs Anne, daughter to the Emperor Maximilian, who paſſed from Zealand into Spain to eſpouſe Philip the Second (11). We ſhall ſee in another place, that this did not proceed from any extraordinary heat or impetuoſity in Lord Effingham's temper, which prompted him to raſh actions to gratify his own humour, which, in reference even to the Flag, was ſo cool and temperate (except with regard to foreigners) that he could willingly ſhare any honours even with his rivals (12); ſo that from hence we may collect, he looked on this act of vigour as a thing of neceſſity.

[*C*] *Should*

(*i*) Aſhmole's Hiſtory of the Order of the Garter, p. 715. Camden. Annal. p. 285.

(*l*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 736.

(*m*) Stowe's Chronicle, p. 709. Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 1413.

(1) Baronagium Angliæ, fol. 34. b.

(2) Godwin. Annal. Strype's Annals. Camdeni Annal. Eliz. Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xiv. Stowe's Annals.

(3) Brook's Catalogue, p. 243.

(4) Baronagium Angliæ, ubi ſupra.

(5) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 278.

(6) Natural Hiſtory and Antiquities of Surry, Vol. IV. p. 179.

(7) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 278.

(8) Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 365.

(9) See the Charter to the Ruſſia Company by Philip and Mary.

(10) See the Epiſtle Dedicatory, prefixed to the firſt volume of his Works.

(11) Camdeni Annal. p. 220, 221.

(12) See this more particularly explained in the notes.

‘ expence (*n*).’ When he received intelligence from Captain Fleming of the approach of the Spaniſh fleet, and ſaw of what mighty conſequence it was to get out what few ſhips were ready in the port of Plymouth, he, to encourage others, not only appeared and gave orders in every thing himſelf, but wrought alſo with his own hands, and with no more than ſix ſhips got the firſt night out of Plymouth; and the next morning, having no greater force than thirty ſail, and thoſe the ſmalleſt of the fleet, attacked the Spaniſh Navy (*o*). He ſhewed his conduct and prudence, by diſpatching his brother-in-law Sir Edward Hobby to the Queen, to inform her of the great diſproportion between the enemy's force and his own, to deſire her to make the proper diſpoſition of her land forces for the ſecurity of the coaſts, and to haſten as many ſhips as poſſible to his aſſiſtance (*p*). His valour was conſpicuouſly diſplayed in the repeated attacks he made on a ſuperior enemy; and the coolneſs of his temper, a quality, though leſs ſhining, yet no leſs uſeful, appeared in his paſſing a whole night in the midſt of the Spaniſh fleet, and retiring as ſoon as he had light enough to diſcover his own without loſs (*q*). It was owing to his magnanimity and prudence that the victory was ſo great; and ſuch as have ſuggeſted that it might have been ſtill greater, readily acknowledge that this did not happen through any fault of the Admiral's, who always ſhewed the utmoſt alacrity in his country's ſervice (*r*). The Queen expreſſed her ſenſe of his merit in the moſt honourable terms, and, though naturally extremely frugal, beſtowed upon him a penſion for life, and, at his requeſt, granted a pardon and a penſion likewiſe to Captain Fleming the Pyrate (*s*), who firſt brought the news of the Spaniſh fleet's being on our coaſts; which ſhews how careful this great man was, that the merits of meaner perſons ſhould not paſs unrewarded or be overlooked [*C*]. In 1596, he commanded in chief at ſea, as the Earl of Eſſex did by land, the forces ſent againſt Spain (*t*), and was at very great expence out of his own private fortune in providing for that expedition. His prudence and moderation, as well as his great experience and reputation with the ſeamen and ſoldiers, were amongſt the principal cauſes of the ſucceſs the Engliſh met with in that great and glorious enterprize (*u*); and his conduct throughout the whole was ſo wiſe and fortunate, that upon his return home, the Queen, on the 22d of October the next year, advanced him to the dignity and title of Earl of Nottingham (*w*), the reaſons of which are inſerted in his patent [*D*]. To this mark of

favour,

(*n*) Camden. Annal. p. 571.

(*o*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. chap. xvi. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 591.

(*p*) Stowe's Annals, p. 747.

(*q*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 597. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. c. xv. Camden, Stowe.

(*r*) See Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, in the 3d volume of Churchill's Collection of Voyages and Travels, p. 173.

(*s*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 596. Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 172. Stowe's Annals.

(*t*) Camden. Annal. p. 720. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 607.

(*u*) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 186. Stowe's Annals, p. 773.

(*w*) Pat. 39 Eliz. p. 3.

[*C*] *Should not paſs unrewarded or be overlooked.*] It is not intended in this note, to enter into a long hiſtorical account of that great action which belongs properly to our hiſtories. It is ſufficient to ſay, that it was the greateſt and moſt important naval victory that this or perhaps any other nation ever gained; beſides, our principal buſineſs here, ſhall be to point out ſome particular circumſtances that eſpecially relate to the perſonal hiſtory of the Lord High-Admiral Howard, which could not be ſo conveniently inſerted in the text. He was always ready to hear whatever could be offered in council, and from thence formed his reſolutions; but having once deliberated, he was quick and determined in execution, and not to be driven from his own mature thoughts by the haſty conceptions and bold undertakings of others (13). On the twentieth of July, the Spaniſh Armada paſſed by Plymouth, when the Admiral having gained the wind, ſtood after them and engaged them very briſkly with the ſhips he had with him. He carried his flag on board the Ark Royal, which was a veſſel of eight hundred tons burthen, her complement four hundred men, of which thirty-two were gunners, and continued to chace and fight that mighty fleet 'till the 28th of the ſame month, when he ſent in twelve fire-ſhips amongſt them (14). He engaged the enemy again the next day with equal courage and ſucceſs before Graveline; and at length having forced them, contrary to all probability, and even to his own expectation, to place their ſafety in a general and ill ordered flight, he continued the purſuit to the 4th of Auguſt, and then returned to Harwich (15). In the courſe of this fight, he reſiſted the intreaties of the braveſt and boldeſt officers in his fleet, who perſwaded him to board them. But he conſidered that they had numbers of regular troops, and he none, that their ſhips were larger, better built, and higher moulded, ſo that this would have given them great advantages, and have expoſed his own people extremely. By this forbearance he kept the advantage of wind and tide, and thereby preſerved the ſuperiority which he had gained, by the ſame ſkill and prudence ſo much improved it, that he ſunk, took, and ſpoiled many, and loſt of his own, only one ſmall pinnace (16).

They might perhaps in this have been purſued further, and with yet greater advantage; that they were not, proceeded not at all from any fault in the Lord High-Admiral, but his fleet was ill furniſhed with proviſion, and his ammunition all ſpent (17) This likewiſe put it out of his power to detach a ſquadron to the Weſt of Ireland, which would have prevented even the ſorry remains of that fleet from getting home; as it was, of one hundred thirty-four ſail, of which the Spaniſh Armada was compoſed when the Admiral left Portugal; there returned but fifty three (18), and thoſe in a very ſhattered and deplorable condition. It was univerſally acknowledged, that the honour gained in ſo unequal a conteſt, was entirely due to the vigilance, prudence, and wiſe reſolution of the Admiral, and to his care in keeping the Duke of Parma's forces blocked up by Lord Henry Seymour, with his ſquadron of ſmall ſhips on the coaſt of Flanders (19). But after all, this wonderful victory was chiefly to be attributed to Providence, ſince, if the Engliſh fleet had not been driven into Plymouth by foul weather, the Duke de Medina Sidonia had never been tempted by the arguments of Don Diego Flores de Valdes, in breach of his maſter's orders, to bear away for that port, in hopes of burning and deſtroying (20) them, which he might likewiſe have performed, if Thomas Fleming had not brought the Admiral news of their being at ſea. If they had prevailed, their deſign was to have ſailed up the Thames with their lighter ſhips, and to have attempted London. But if inſtead of this they had followed their King's orders and proceeded to Calais, which they might have done without the knowledge of the Engliſh fleet, and detached from thence a ſquadron ſtrong enough to have forced the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips from before Dunkirk, the Duke of Parma might have joined them, and the expedition conducted according to his original intention (21). In this caſe the whole order of things had been changed, and the Queen muſt have put her cauſe entirely upon her army, which though numerous and well provided, commanded by the flower of her nobility and gentry, was compoſed chiefly of new raiſed men, and muſt have diſputed with a ſuperior force of veteran troops, commanded by the greateſt Captain of that age, and who was himſelf ſuſpected of having particular views on, and conſiderable intelligence in, this iſland.

[*D*] *The reaſons of which are inſerted in his patent.*] While preparations were making for the voyage to Cadiz, one great deſign of which was to prevent a new invaſion, by the deſtruction of the force the Spaniards were preparing for that purpoſe, the Queen received advice that Calais was beſieged by the Spaniards; the Earl of Eſſex was ſent to the coaſt to command ſome land forces raiſed upon that occaſion, but being of a very active and generous ſpirit, he with ſeveral other young

noblemen

(13) Camden, Stowe, Holinſhed, &c.

(14) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 597—601.

(15) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. chap. xv.

(16) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 603.

(17) Stowe's Annals, p. 748, 749. Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 173.

(18) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 604. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. ch. xv.

(19) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 603.

(20) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 172.

(21) Camdeni Annal. p. 563. Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 173.

favour, the Queen ſhortly added another, making him Juſtice Itinerant of all the foreſts ſouth of Trent for life (*x*). But as there cannot be a more ſlippery ſituation than in a Court, the

(*x*) Pat. 39 Eliz. p. 1.

noblemen and perſons of diſtinction (22), embarked on board the Rainbow, commanded by Sir William Monſon. The Lord High-Admiral haſtened alſo into the Downs on board the Vanguard, and on the ſight of his flag, Sir William Monſon took in that which he bore. The Admiral upon this, ſent his boat with orders to carry his flag in the top equal with his own, which out of modeſty the Earl of Eſſex oppoſed, but Sir William Monſon (23), notwithſtanding, obeyed; which ſufficiently ſhews this noble Peer was not ſo ambitious of rank, or ſo deſirous of ſhewing ſuperiority, as men frequently are in ſuch high ſtations. But the news coming that Calais was ſurrendered, the Earl and the Admiral returned to the proſecution of their firſt deſign, towards which they contributed largely out of their private fortunes. The Engliſh fleet, commanded jointly by theſe two Lords, having upwards of ſeven thouſand land troops on board, and being joined by a Dutch ſquadron of twenty-four ſhips, ſailed from Plymouth on the firſt of June 1596, and arrived before Cadiz on the 20th of the ſame month. The iſſue of that expedition is well known, and has been already repreſented in another place; however we ſhall inſert part of a letter (24) from the Lord Admiral to the Lord Hunſdon his father-in-law, who did not live to receive it, to ſhew his ſenſe of things, and in a particular manner his candour with reſpect to Eſſex.

'My Lord,

'I can aſſure you there is not a braver man in the 'world than the Earl is, and I proteſt in my ſimple 'poor judgment, a grave ſoldier, for what he doth is 'in great order and good diſcipline performed. The 'number of gentlemen in the town was great, for the 'principal men of Xeres, and thoſe parts of Andaluſia 'neareſt hereabouts, did put themſelves in. For we 'were deſcried from Cape St Mary (which we could 'no ways avoid) yea, and I think from Cape St Vin'cent. This gentleman, Sir Anthony Aſhley, the 'bearer, who hath behaved himſelf both wiſely and 'valiantly, will ſhew you all the particulars, which it 'is not poſſible for me to write. But I muſt not forget 'to let your Lordſhip know, that all men did general'ly well, but the chiefeſt for the ſervice done by ſea, 'beſides the Earl, were the Lord Thomas Howard, 'Sir Walter Ralegh, and my ſon Southwell, who had 'the leading, and performed it notably. The place 'was ſo narrow, that although many ſhips would have 'come up to them, yet they could not poſſibly, ſince the 'preſs was ſo thick, that one of our ſhips was aboard 'another. The while that the ſhips fought, the town 'and the forts played upon us at their pleaſure. This 'was all performed, and all things quieted in twenty'four hours, to God's glory and her Majeſty's honour 'and renown, which will ſpread over all theſe parts of 'the world. The King's loſs is thus great: firſt, the 'loſs of his ſhips, which was a great part of his 'ſtrength. Then the goods laden into them for the 'Indies, which were burned, confeſſed to be worth 'eleven millions, the like whereof was never ſeen at 'one time before. If they had not been burned that 'night, by the expreſs commandment of the Duke of 'Medina, we ſhould have had two millions of the 'merchants, for ſo it was agreed upon. Beſides this, 'the town is of wonderful importance, ſtanding as it 'doth, and of great ſtrength, which we cauſed to be 'burned on Sunday laſt, the day before we came away 'from thence, which was the fifth of this preſent July. 'The mercy and clemency which hath been ſhewed, 'will be ſpoken of through thoſe parts of the world. 'No cold blood touched, no woman defiled, but have 'been with great care embarked and ſent to St Mary port. 'All the ladies, which were many, and all the nuns, 'and other women and children, which were likewiſe 'ſent thither, have been ſuffered to carry away with 'them all their apparel, money, and jewels, which 'they had about them, and were not ſearched. 'Having ended our buſineſs in Cadiz by Saturday 'the third day of July, the next day being Sunday 'aforeſaid, we ſhipped our men, and ſet fire to the 'town of Cadiz and the forts, reſerving nothing from 'the fire but the churches, and on Monday the fifth of 'July we ſet ſail out of the port in a very circumſpect 'order, to keep our ſmall men, and ſuch fly-boats as 'carried ſoldiers, and were ill able to make defence, 'might be ſafely protected from any attempt that the 'gallies in any calm weather might make againſt them; 'ſince which time we have made ſail with ſlender 'winds and leſs adventures, as high as Cape St 'Mary.'

As in moſt conjunct expeditions, ſo in this, there was much diſagreement between the chiefs, though no public falling out. We find not that the Admiral charged Eſſex with any thing; but that Earl, after admitting that the whole project of the voyage was laid by his collegue, makes four capital objections to the manner in which it was executed (25), viz. that they did not poſſeſs the Indian fleet; that they did not leave a garriſon in Cadiz; that they did not wait for the homeward bound ſhips; and that they did not viſit and ranſack the reſt of the ports of Spain in their return. The two former he aſcribes to the Lord-Admiral, and the two laſt to Sir Walter Ralegh. One may with juſtice, even at this diſtance of time, acquit the Admiral of the firſt, becauſe taking the Indian fleet would have turned chiefly to the advantage of the ſeamen. Sir William Monſon, who was the Earl of Eſſex's Captain, ſays very impartially, that it was his own fault, through his eagerneſs in landing and attacking the city, which put the Admiral under the neceſſity of doing the ſame (26). In reſpect to the ſecond, the fleet could not furniſh proviſions ſufficient for a garriſon of four thouſand men. On the whole, it ſeems highly probable that both the Earl and the Admiral were very public ſpirited men, and had nothing in view but the common good, though they differed about the means of promoting it. The Earl thought, that keeping of the city and iſle of Cadiz, would diſcredit the power of Spain, and diſtract the King's meaſures; the Lord Admiral thought there was danger in this, and that the end would be more effectually accompliſhed by deſtruction, and for this reaſon he delayed the treaty for the ranſom of the ſhips, though offered two millions, that he might give the Spaniards time to take and execute their own purpoſe of burning them. At their return, the Earl of Eſſex took every meaſure to ſet his own conduct in a fair light, and to obtain the applauſe of the people at leaſt, if not the approbation of the Court. The Queen, as her cuſtom was, did not appear entirely ſatisfied, becauſe on the foot of the account exactly ſtated, ſhe was ſixty-four thouſand pounds out of pocket by this Cadiz expedition (27). An outward reconciliation at leaſt was procured between the two Lords; but the Earl going the next year upon the Iſland voyage, the Admiral, as we have mentioned in the text, procured himſelf to be created Earl of Nottingham, with this clauſe in the patent (28).

'That by the victory obtained, anno 1588, he had 'ſecured the kingdom of England from the invaſion of 'Spain, and other impending dangers; and did alſo, 'in conjunction with our dear couſin Robert Earl of 'Eſſex, ſeize by force the iſle and ſtrongly fortified 'city of Cadiz, in the fartheſt part of Spain; and did 'likewiſe entirely rout and defeat another fleet of the 'King of Spain, prepared in that port againſt this 'kingdom.'

The title of Nottingham had belonged to the Mowbray's, Dukes of Norfolk (29). John Lord Mowbray, in the life time of his father, was created Earl Warren and Surry, by the virtuous King Henry VI, after his death became Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Nottingham, and Earl Marſhal of England; he married Elizabeth, daughter to John Talbot, the firſt Earl of Shrewſbury, and by her had iſſue an only daughter, Anne, eſpouſed to Richard Duke of York, who in her right was created Earl of Nottingham (30). But they both dying without iſſue, as her father likewiſe did, all the eſtates and titles of the Mowbray's came to the Howards and the Berkeleys. William Lord Berkely, was created Earl of Nottingham and Earl Marſhal of England by Richard the Third, and was advanced to the title of Marquis Berkeley by Henry the Seventh, to whom, dying without iſſue, he left moſt of his eſtate (31). Henry the Eighth beſtowed the title of Nottingham, with other high titles, upon his natural ſon, whom he married to Mary, daughter of Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk (32), ſo that the Admiral affected this honour, as being deſcended from the Mowbray's, it's ancient

(22) Stowe's Annals, p. 770. Camden. Annal. p. 719, 720.

(23) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 366.

(24) Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, by Dr Birch, Vol. II. p. 54, 55.

(25) Cenſure of the Cadiz Expedition, addreſſed to Mr Bacon.

(26) Naval Tracts, p. 186.

(27) Ex Computo deliberat. Domin. Theſaurar. Burleigh.

(28) Pat. 39 Eliz. p. 3.

(29) Baronagium Angliæ. MS.

(30) Brooke's Catalogue, p. 167.

(31) Brooke, Vincent, Dugdale.

(32) Godwin, Lord Herbert, Dugdale.

the Earl of Eſſex, at his return from that which was ſtiled the Iſland Voyage, though coolly received at firſt, quickly after gained ſuch an aſcendancy over the Queen his miſtreſs, as to procure what he had long ſought, the poſt of Earl-Marſhal; which giving precedence of the Earl of Nottingham, his Lordſhip reſigned (*y*) his white ſtaff, and for ſome time remained at Chelſey, rather through chagrin than in diſgrace [*E*]. It was not long before the Queen recalled and reſtored him to her favour in as high a degree as ever, notwithſtanding all the practices of the oppoſite faction. In demonſtration of his loyal gratitude, the next eminent ſervice in which his Lordſhip engaged was in 1599 (*z*), when the State was in very great danger. On one ſide, the Spaniards ſeemed to meditate a new invaſion, and ſome intelligence was received they were on the very point of executing it, having aſſembled a great fleet at the Groyne, on board of which many Engliſh fugitives were directed to repair. On the other hand, the Earl of Eſſex, who was then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, acted in a ſtrange manner, treating with the rebels, more eſpecially the Earl of Tyrone, whom he was ſent to reduce, and forming ſome deſigns of employing the troops, with the command of which he was intruſted by the Queen, to the diſturbance of her government. Her Majeſty, who always placed her ſafety in being too quick for her enemies, iſſued her orders to the city of London, to furniſh immediately ſixteen ſhips for the reinforcement of the navy, and ſix thouſand men for her ſervice by land. The like directions being ſent into other parts of the kingdom, ſuch a fleet and ſuch an army were drawn together in a fortnight's ſpace, as took away all appearance of ſucceſs from foreign and domeſtic enemies; and to ſhew the confidence ſhe had in the Admiral's fidelity and capacity, ſhe was pleaſed to repoſe in him the ſole and ſupreme command both of fleet and army, with the high title of LORD-LIEUTENANT GENERAL of all ENGLAND (*a*), an office unknown to ſucceeding times, and which he held with almoſt regal authority for the ſpace of ſix weeks; being ſometimes with the fleet in the Downs, and ſometimes on ſhore with the forces. In the mean time, the reſtleſs and unfortunate Earl of Eſſex having taken a ſudden reſolution to leave his command in Ireland and return to England, the Queen thought fit to puniſh this contempt with a ſhort reſtraint, and afterwards ſeemed inclined to have received him again into favour; but he, either hurried on by his own raſh diſpoſition, or inſtigated thereto by ſome deſperate perſons about him, attempted to raiſe a force ſufficient to compel the Queen to do what he thought expedient; and failing in this, after an irruption from thence, and traverſing the city, retired with ſuch as were about him to Eſſex-houſe in the Strand, where he fortified himſelf, and confined the Chancellor, the Chief-Juſtice of England, and other Privy-Counſellors, ſent by the Queen to enquire into the grievances he pretended had compelled and authorized his extraordinary conduct. This was on the 8th of February (*b*), 1600, when the Queen ſaw herſelf in the decline of her life, and, after ſhe had triumphed over foreign foes, in the utmoſt danger of being impriſoned or depoſed. In this perilous ſituation,

(*y*) Sydney's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 77.

(*z*) Stowe's Annals, p. 788. Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 195.

(*a*) Camden. Annal. p. 794. Stowe's Annals, p. 788. Pat. 41 Eliz. p. 24. in dorſo.

(*b*) See the article of DEVEREUX] ROBERT] in this Dictionary.

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ancient poſſeſſors. Yet he did not think proper at this time to inſiſt upon that topic, or to claim any precedency, for reaſons which the reader will find in the next note: in the enſuing reign however he availed himſelf of his deſcent, and procured a grant from King James, by which his ſeat in the Houſe of Peers, as Earl of Nottingham, was aſſigned him, according to the original creation in the time of Richard the Second, and not from this new patent (33); and this is a ſtrong confirmation that the grounds mentioned in the next notes, were the true ſources of the animoſity between the two Earls.

[*E*] *Rather through chagrin than in diſgrace.*] The Lord Admiral had ſcarce received his new dignity, before his rival the Earl of Eſſex returned from the Iſland Voyage, and on account of ſome miſcarriages therein, was at firſt a little under a cloud; from whence, however, it was not long before he emerged with greater ſplendor than ever. It was then that he began at leaſt openly to expreſs great reſentment in reference to the Earl of Nottingham's patent; which though at this time it may ſeem very extraordinary, and not the leſs ſo, conſidering the times in which it happened, yet, as we have ſhewn elſewhere, it was not altogether groundleſs or without colour of juſtice (34). The Earl of Eſſex, in virtue of his title, had the precedence of the Admiral; but in conſequence of his being created Earl of Nottingham, the great offices he enjoyed, gave him precedence before all Earls, except the Earl of Oxford, and conſequently of the Earl of Eſſex, who thought this hard, becauſe, in the preamble of the patent, the motive of creating mentioned, was his ſervice at Cadiz, in conjunction with the Earl of Eſſex; who having the precedence then, and loſing it by this creation, conſidered this new honour as injurious to himſelf, and as expreſſive of ſuperior merit in the new Earl over him. According to his uſual warmth he carried this very high, talking ſometimes of demanding a commiſſion to examine the patent; ſometimes of challenging the Earl of Nottingham, or any of his ſons; and at others, of referring what he took to be a grievance to the Queen's pleaſure (35). But in all probability there was another cauſe unnoticed by any writer of thoſe times, which might augment his uneaſineſs; ſince there is nothing improbable in ſuppoſing that he ſuſpected the new Earl in taking the title of Nottingham, had in view the obtaining the office of Earl Marſhal, which his anceſtors with the ſame title had borne. However this is certain, that on the 18th of November, his abſence in the Houſe of Peers was excuſed on account of indiſpoſition, the Earls of Worceſter and Southampton teſtifying his ſickneſs (36). The Queen directed Sir Walter Ralegh to interpoſe for the accommodation of this high diſpute, during which the Earl ſtill continued to abſtain from appearing in the Houſe (37). At length it was in ſome meaſure adjuſted by the grant of that high office which the Earl of Eſſex ſo much deſired, and in all probability it was to give room for that, that by the Queen's expreſs command, the Houſe was adjourned from Tueſday the 20th of December to Wedneſday the 11th of January following, when the Earl of Eſſex took his ſeat as Earl Marſhal of England, and thereby recovered his precedency (38). But with reſpect to the Earl of Nottingham's reſigning his white ſtaff in diſguſt, it ſeems not to be true, ſince, on the day beforementioned, he likewiſe took his ſeat immediately after the new Earl Marſhal as Lord High Steward of the Queen's houſhold, and continued to enjoy that office during the remaining part of this reign, as appears clearly from the Journal of Parliament (39). It is alſo evident that this victory of the Earl of Eſſex, was not gained ſo much over the Earl of Nottingham, as over the Queen herſelf, who granted it with a kind of conſtraint, and with viſible marks of reluctance, which, as ſigns of his triumph, the Earl of Eſſex was pleaſed with at the time, though it proved afterwards his ruin (40).

(33) Camden's Annals of King James.

(34) See the article of DEVEREUX [ROBERT], Earl of Eſſex, in this Dictionary.

(35) Sidney's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 77.

(36) See Sir Simond Dewe's Journal, p. 529.

(37) Sidney's State Papers, ut ſupra.

(38) Dewe's Journal, p. 535. Camdeni Annal. Mareſchal. Angliæ Catalog.

(39) Dewe's Journal, p. 599.

(40) See his article in this Dictionary.

tion, ſhe had recourſe to the loyalty of her people, and to the courage and conduct of her nobility, giving the command of all to the Lord-Admiral, who ſhe often ſaid (c) was born to ſerve and to ſave his country. He performed on this occaſion, as on all others, the utmoſt the Queen could expect; for he reduced the Earl of Eſſex to ſuch diſtreſs, that he was content to yield himſelf without terms; and when he had ſo done, the Lord High-Admiral treated him with all the lenity and kindneſs poſſible (d) [F]. The Earl of Nottingham was one of the peers ſummoned to ſit in judgment on that unhappy Earl, February 19, 1600, and ſhewed an earneſt deſire to come at the truth of that myſterious and melancholy affair. The Earl of Southampton, who was condemned at the ſame time, applied himſelf particularly to the Earl of Nottingham to intercede for him with the Queen; and he did it ſo effectually, that he was for the preſent reprieved (e), and afterwards pardoned. The ſame year his Lordſhip was appointed one of the Commiſſioners for executing the office of Earl-Marſhal of England (f), and immediately added this poſt to his title, as we ſee in the Journal of the enſuing Parliament (g). In the Queen's laſt ſickneſs he was abſent from Court for ſome time, by reaſon of his conſort's indiſpoſition and death; concerning which, whatever ſecret hiſtory may report, we muſt be ſtrangely credulous to believe it was owing to the Queen's reproaches about the death of Eſſex (h) [G]; more eſpecially if we conſider he was ſent for when ſhe was in extremity, to

(c) Stowe's Annals, p. 792. Camden. Annal. p. 582, 845. Lloyd's State-Worthies, p. 739.

(d) Stowe's Annals, p. 792. Memoirs of the Sydneys, by Arthur Collins, Eſq; Vol. II.

(e) Camden. Annal. State Trials, Vol. I. p. 207.

(f) Pat. 44 Eliz. p. 14. in dorſo.

(g) Sir Symonds Dewe's Journals of Parliament, p. 599.

(h) Birch's View of Sir Thomas Edmond's Negotiations, p. 206.

[F] *With all the kindneſs and lenity poſſible.*] It does no ſmall honour to the memory of the Earl of Nottingham, that when the Queen and kingdom was in danger, he was ever called, and came to their relief. On the inſurrection of the Earl of Eſſex, which threw the Court into the greateſt conſternation, he was immediately choſen to command thoſe who ſtill remained attached to their duty. His courage was equal and his ſkill and popularity not inferior to thoſe of the Earl of Eſſex. But though on this and ſome other occaſions, he ſtood as it were the head of the oppoſite faction, yet in reality it was Eſſex who had declared againſt Nottingham, rather than the latter againſt him. In another place it has been ſhewn, that Earl was driven into rebellion, partly through the violence of his own temper, but chiefly through the arts of his enemies, from the number of which, however, the Earl of Nottingham is juſtly excluded (41). The blame is commonly laid upon Sir Robert Cecil and Sir Walter Ralegh, never upon the Earl of Nottingham, who was not called upon to act his part 'till the very laſt ſcene, and then acted, as he always did, with great openneſs and honour. He inveſted Eſſex-houſe; he procured the liberty of the Privy Counſellors confined there; he abſolutely refuſed either hoſtages or terms to the Earl of Eſſex, and gave his reaſons plainly, that rebels had no title to either; but of his own accord he offered courteouſly to ſuffer the ladies to go out; and when the Earl demanded two hours time to fortify the paſſage through which the Counteſs of Eſſex and Lady Rich went out, he conſented to that too; and when Eſſex, before that time expired, propoſed three things, firſt, that they ſhould be civily treated, that the Lord Admiral poſitively promiſed; next, that their cauſe ſhould be juſtly and lawfully heard, he ſaid that was not to be doubted; and laſtly, that Mr Aſhton the miniſter might attend him in priſon; the Lord Admiral engaged to intercede with the Queen, and it was accordingly granted (42). On this they ſurrendered at ten at night, February the 8th, 1600, when the Lord Admiral carried the Earls of Eſſex and Southampton, not to the Tower, but to the Archbiſhop's palace at Lambeth. There is a curious letter of Secretary Cecil's, afterwards Earl of Saliſbury, written immediately after the thing happened, addreſſed to the then Lord Preſident of Munſter, which the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee. It is conceived in the following terms, and, though ſhort, contains the beſt account of this ſtrange affair (43).

'Sir George Carew,

'Becauſe I am not ignorant that greateſt accidents are moſt ſubject to be miſreported by ſuch as are either in paſſion or ignorance. I have thought very fit, with all convenient ſpeed, to acquaint you with a moſt dangerous attempt which hath happened on Sunday laſt, wherein both her Majeſty's own perſon, and the uſurpation of this kingdom, was openly ſhot at. By this Proclamation, the proceedings of the Earl of Eſſex will appear, and therefore I ſhall only need ſay this unto you, that I think by that time my letters ſhall come unto you, both he and the Earl of Southampton, with ſome others of the principals, ſhall have loſt their heads. I ſend you the note of moſt of them that were in open action with them. If the Queen had not put herſelf in ſtrength that very morning, and barricaded Charing-croſs and other places of the back parts of Weſtminſter, their reſolution was to have been at Court by noon; whereof, when they underſtood, they put themſelves into London, and from thence, hoping to have been followed by the city, they reſolved to come back; but being repulſed at Ludgate by a ſtand of pikes, and the city holding faſt for the Queen, they and ſome fifty of their complices ran to the water and put themſelves into Eſſex-houſe, which the Earl had furniſhed with all manner of warlike proviſions, and then defended themſelves 'till towards ſix o'clock in the evening, at which time the Lord Admiral ſent unto them, that if they would not yield, he would blow up the houſe, which he might have done ſooner, but that the Lady Eſſex and the Lady Rich were within it. Whereupon, notwithſtanding their great batteries, they all yielded to her Majeſty's mercy. Thus you have a true relation of this dangerous accident, unto which I will only add this, that even when a falſe alarm was brought to the Queen that the city was revolted with them, ſhe never was more amazed, than ſhe would have been to have heard of a fray in Fleet-ſtreet. And thus much for this time, I thought good to let you know, 'till further opportunity, committing you to God's protection.

Your loving
From the Court at
Whitehall,
Feb. 10, 1600.
and aſſured friend,
Ro. Cecil.

The commanders of our little army were:

The Lord-Admiral, Lord-General,
Earl of Cumberland, Lord-Lieutenant,
Lord Thomas Howard, Marſhal,
Lord Grey, General of the Horſe,
Lord Burghley, Colonel-General of the Foot,

'who with ſome ten horſe went into London and proclaimed the Earl of Eſſex a traitor, with all his adherents, by the mouth of the King of Arms, notwithſtanding that my Lord of Eſſex with all his complices were in the city.'

After his condemnation, the Earl of Eſſex, who began to change his opinions, and to ſee that he had acted very raſhly, and had aſperſed many who had done him no wrong, thought it his duty with great humility to aſk their pardon, and amongſt the reſt, of the Earl of Nottingham, who went frequently to ſee him in the Tower, but was not preſent at his execution, or ſo far as any authentic hiſtory records, any way inſtrumental in his death (44). His credit with the Queen and with the nation was not in danger of ſuffering if the Earl had been ſpared.

[G] *That it was owing to the Queen's reproaches about the death of Eſſex.*] There are always marvellous traditions floating in the minds of men upon remarkable events, and after paſſing from hand to hand, without ever being brought to public view during the age to which they belong, ſtart up ſometimes in the next,

(41) Camden, Naunton, Stowe.

(42) Camdeni, Annal. p. 845, 846.

(43) Birch's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. II. p. 468, 469.

(44) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 300, 301.

to perſwade her to thoſe things which were requiſite in her condition, particularly to go into and remain in bed, which none could do but himſelf, and in which he ſucceeded (*i*). It was to him ſhe ſaid, when near her end, *My throne has been held, in the way of* ſucceſſion, *by* princes, *and ought not to go to any but my next and immediate* heir. This being by him reported to the Privy-Council, they appointed him, in conjunction with the Lord-Keeper and the Secretary, to deſire a more expreſs deſignation of the ſucceſſor; and upon this, ſhe named the *King* of *Scots*, her neareſt kinſman (*k*). He farther provided with all poſſible prudence for the peaceable coming in of the ſucceſſor, by cauſing a ſtout ſquadron, commanded by Sir Richard Leviſon and Sir William Monſon, to be ſtationed in the Downs during the Queen's illneſs, which awed the Arch-Duke and the French; and, on the Admiral's order, King James was proclaimed, with all imaginable alacrity, on the 25th of March, the day after the Queen's death (*l*). This ſervice at that juncture, when, as it afterwards appeared by Lord Cobham's and the powder plot, there wanted not ſome who meditated public confuſion, could not but be repreſented and received in the moſt favourable light, by a prince, to whom, as a Howard, this noble peer was remarkably agreeable; all that family having been conſtantly attached to his title, and Lord Henry Howard (*m*) the principal correſpondent his Majeſty had in England. Upon the acceſſion of King James, he not only retained his great office, and was honoured with a large ſhare of that prince's confidence, but, as a ſignal mark of favour, was likewiſe made choice of to officiate as Lord High-Steward at the ceremony of the Coronation (*n*). Soon after this, he was named Ambaſſador to the Court of Spain, for the concluſion of a ſtrict intercourſe

(*i*) Hiſtorical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England and France, by Dr Birch, p. 208.

(*k*) Camden. Annal. p. 912.

(*l*) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 206. Camden, Stowe.

(*m*) Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, by Dr Birch, Vol. II. p. 501, 514.

(*n*) Pat. 1 Jac. I. p. 18.

next, and paſs for authentic hiſtory. We have in another place given the reader that account of this matter, which an eminent French writer had from Sir Dudley Carleton; we will here produce another from an eminent writer of our own, whoſe indefatigable reſearches have thrown great lights upon this period of our hiſtory (45). ‘ I ſhall add, ſays he, as the beſt commentary upon the Earl of Monmouth's memoirs, a ſtory which was frequently told by his great-grand-daughter the late Lady Elizabeth Spelman, whoſe father, John Earl of Middleton, married Martha, daughter of Henry Earl of Monmouth, eldeſt ſon of Earl Robert, author of the Memoirs. When Katherine Counteſs of Nottingham, wife of the Lord High-Admiral, and ſiſter of the Earl of Monmouth was dying, as ſhe did according to his Lordſhip's own account, about a fortnight before the Queen, ſhe ſent to her Majeſty to deſire that ſhe might ſee her, in order to reveal ſomething to her Majeſty, without the diſcovery of which ſhe could not die in peace. Upon the Queen's coming, Lady Nottingham told her, that while the Earl of Eſſex lay under ſentence of death, he was deſirous of aſking her Majeſty's mercy in the manner preſcribed by herſelf during the height of his favour, the Queen having given him a ring, which being ſent to her as a token of his diſtreſs, might entitle him to her protection. But the Earl, jealous of thoſe about him, and not caring to truſt any one of them with it; as he was looking out of his window one morning, ſaw a boy, with whoſe appearance he was pleaſed, and engaging him by money and promiſes, directed him to carry the ring, which he took from his finger, and threw down, to Lady Scroope, a ſiſter of the Counteſs of Nottingham, and a friend of his Lordſhip, who attended upon the Queen, and to beg of her that ſhe would preſent it to her Majeſty. The boy by miſtake carried to Lady Nottingham, who ſhewed it to her huſband the Admiral, an enemy of Lord Eſſex, in order to take his advice. The Admiral forbad her to carry it or return any anſwer to the meſſage, but inſiſted upon her keeping the ring. The Counteſs of Nottingham having made this diſcovery, begged the Queen's forgiveneſs, but her Majeſty anſwered, God may forgive you but I never can, and left the room with great emotion. Her mind was ſo ſtruck with this ſtory, that ſhe never went into bed, nor took any ſuſtenance from that inſtant; for Camden (46) is of opinion, that her chief reaſon for ſuffering the Earl to be executed, was his ſuppoſed obſtinacy in not applying to her for mercy.’ This ſtory differs remarkably in one particular from that of Sir Dudley Carleton; for whereas here it is made an accident that the ring fell into the hands of the Counteſs of Nottingham; in that account it is expreſsly ſaid, the Earl ſent it to her as being his relation. There are ſome other circumſtances which impeach the credit of this ſtory. In the month of June in the year preceding, her Majeſty, in a converſation with the Count de Beaumont, Ambaſſador from France (47), after owning herſelf to be weary of life, with ſighs and tears in her eyes, touched upon the ſubject of the Earl's death, and ſaid, that having been apprehenſive, from the impetuoſity of his temper and his ambition, that he would precipitate himſelf into deſtruction by ſome ill deſign; ſhe had adviſed him above two years before, to content himſelf with pleaſing her on all occaſions, and not to ſhew ſuch an inſolent contempt for her as he did, but to take care not to touch her ſcepter, leſt ſhe ſhould be obliged to puniſh him according to the laws of England, and not according to her own, which he had found too mild and favourable for him to fear any ſuffering from them; but her advices, however ſalutary and affectionate, could not prevent his ruin. It is very clear from hence that the Queen was melancholy, and melancholy on the account of Eſſex, nine months before her death, and when it was impoſſible ſhe ſhould have heard of this ſtory. It appears alſo from the letters of the ſame miniſter, that the Counteſs of Nottingham died almoſt a month before the Queen, and which is ſtill more extraordinary, the Queen declined giving him audience on account of her great grief and concern for the death of that lady. But what ſhocks the credibility of this tale moſt of all, are thoſe marks of confidence ſhewn by the Queen, to the very laſt, towards the Earl of Nottingham himſelf, who if it had been true, was infinitely more culpable than his Counteſs. Her words about the ſucceſſion (48) are very remarkable; ſhe ſaid, ſhe deſired no other ſucceſſor than the King of Scots, and not that her kingdom ſhould fall into the hands of raſcals. It is well enough known, that Sir Robert Cecil, then Secretary of State, and thoſe of his faction, were fallen into ſuſpicion with the Queen, and in ſome degree into her diſpleaſure, and this chiefly becauſe ſhe ſaw them exerciſe a power which ſhe was no longer able to controul. A very little before, they had compelled her to pardon the Earl of Tyrone againſt her judgment, which ſhe reſented exceedingly, and this was the true cauſe of her regretting the Earl of Eſſex, and lamenting his death as ſhe did, becauſe ſhe ſaw, that with him ended that balance which with great dexterity ſhe had maintained for ſo many years, and that her miniſters were now become her maſters. This accounts ſo thoroughly for all the publick and private narratives of that long and great diſquiet, which brought upon her her laſt ſickneſs, is ſo natural a commentary on her laſt words; and, if it was neceſſary, might be ſupported and illuſtrated by ſo many uncontroverted paſſages in the hiſtory of theſe times, that there is no need to have recourſe to ſuch kind of traditional reports. It may be, the circumſtance of the ring might be taken from Lady Scrope's ſending one to King James as a token, by her brother, that the Queen was really dead. The name of this lady was Philadelphia, youngeſt ſiſter of Katherine Counteſs of Nottingham, and wife of Thomas Lord Scrope of Bolton (49). What adds ſome weight to this conjecture is, that this ring ſent by the Lady Scrope to King James, was alſo thrown out of a window (50).

(45) Birch's View of Sir Tho. Edmond's Negotiations, p. 206.

(46) Annal. p. 803.

(47) Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. II. p. 505.

(48) Ibid p. 508.

(49) Baronagium Angliæ, MS. fol. 19.

(50) Birch's Hiſtorical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Bruſſels, p. 212.

[*H*] *As*

intercourſe of friendſhip with that Crown, in purſuance of the treaty made at London the eighteenth of Auguſt, 1604 (*o*), wherein alſo his Lordſhip was an acting Commiſſioner. It was very requiſite that extraordinary ſtate ſhould be kept up in this embaſſy, and therefore the Miniſtry fixed upon the Earl of Nottingham, not as a nobleman of very great fortune, but from his high birth, eſtabliſhed reputation, and from the known generoſity of his temper and the number of his dependants, who were content, at their own expence, to accompany him in this voyage. Accordingly he ſet out for Spain, with a retinue, wherein were four Lords and twenty-ſix knights (*p*); and, for the ſupport of this great train, he had an appointment of fifteen thouſand pounds, which fell, however, very far ſhort of his expences. He left England in the latter end of March, having three men of war and four other veſſels for himſelf and his retinue; he landed at Corunna on the 16th of April, and, after making his public entry into Madrid with all poſſible marks of deference and reſpect, had his firſt audience of his Catholic Majeſty on the 18th of May (*q*). Sir Charles Cornwallis, who accompanied him, and who was left Ambaſſador in Ordinary, reports the Earl's conduct to have been ſuch, as was highly honourable for himſelf, his maſter, and the Engliſh nation; and that the Spaniards exceedingly admired and reverenced (according to the honourable diſpoſition of that people) the hero, whoſe courage and conduct had overcome their Invincible Armada. He took the Spaniſh King's oath for the due obſervation of the treaty, and obtained an aſſurance, that the ſecret articles conſented to by the Conſtable, ſhould be as punctually obſerved as if inſerted in the treaty, according to the tenor of his inſtructions [*H*]. He had his audience of leave, to which he

(*o*) Grimeſton's Hiſtory of Spain, p. 1326. Stowe's Annals, p. 846.

(*p*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 67. Wilſon's Life of King James, in the Compleat Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. p. 673.

(*q*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 68, 69.

[*H*] *According to the tenor of his inſtructions.*] We have mentioned in the text, the motives which induced the Court to make choice of the Earl of Nottingham for this extraordinary embaſſy, on which the eyes of Europe were fixed, and in regard to which, it imported the King and his Miniſters extremely, that it ſhould be conducted with equal diſcretion and dignity. The inſtructions given him upon this occaſion, are of like importance to our public and to his perſonal hiſtory, and for this reaſon we thought it abſolutely neceſſary to inſert them (51). They were conceived in the following terms.

‘ You are ſo well acquainted with the ſtate and condition of our affairs ſince our coming to this Crown of England, and with the reaſon and particular carriage in our late treaty with our good brethren the King of Spain and the Arch-Dukes, as we ſhall not need to make any larger deduction thereof, ſeeing you have been both a principal commiſſioner in debating and concluding of the ſaid treaty, and have ſince aſſiſted in all the conferences ſucceeding thereupon about the due execution of the ſame. And therefore leaving all theſe particular to the recognition of your own judgment and memory, we will now only repreſent unto you, that where we ſtand bound already by our oath, which we have taken for the ſatisfaction of the ſaid Princes, before the Conſtable of Caſtile and the Ambaſſadors of the Arch-Dukes, being thereunto ſpecially authoriſed for the due obſervation of all and every particular contained in the ſaid treaties of peace, wherein, by the aſſiſtance of God, we never intend for our part to be defective; we have now thought fit according to the ſaid treaties, to require the like oath and obligation at the hands of the ſaid Princes with whom we have contracted that amity. Wherein, when we obſerve how careful the King of Spain was to ſend to us a perſonage of great birth and qualitie about him, we likewiſe reſolve to requite our ſaid brother with the like proportion of honour, by ſending ſome ſuch perſon, as for his quality and birth, may diſcharge that ſervice to our both contentments: of the which ſort, having none more eminent or proper in all reſpects, in regard of your birth, place, and antiquity in council, or the great commandments you have had of the armies of this kingdom both by land and ſea, joined with the aſſurance we have, as well of your ancient affection to our perſon and title, as of your duty and loyalty to us (ſince we became your ſovereign) than we do eſteem and acknowledge you to be. We having made election of you for this employment, and no other, you ſhall therefore, upon receipt of our commiſſion and diſpatch, repair from hence into Spain, to ſuch place where you ſhall underſtand that our good brother is abiding: and for your better paſſage, we have appointed certain of our ſhips to attend you for your tranſportation by ſea, leaving it to your own choice and election, to take ſuch way by land or ſea as your knowledge and judgment of the places will direct you unto. After your arrival there, you ſhall preſent to our good brother the King of Spain, our kindeſt ſalutation, with offer of friendſhip, and princely offices towards him and his, and then preſent our letters of credence. After all which, you may ſignifie unto him in our name, that as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year hath permitted, we would no longer defer to ſend you unto him, as well to make demonſtration of our gratitude and thankful accepting of the honour and kindneſs he hath done; as firſt, in ſending the Count Villa Mediana, to congratulate our coming to the Crown, with expreſſing of his deſire to revive and continue the kind amity which of long time hath been entertained between us, our kingdoms and eſtates; as afterwards, then reaſons of ſtate and other dependencies of diſcord between him and this our realm of England, required a further treaty for reconciling and taking away all former differences, and eſtabliſhing of an abſolute and perfect amity between us; that then he ſent unto us the Conſtable of Caſtile, a perſonage ſo near unto him, and of ſo great honour, ſufficiency, and truſt, by whoſe care and orderly conduct, things have been facilitated and brought to ſuch a happy and deſired iſſue as now we ſee they are, to the glory of Almighty God, and the peace and tranquillity, not only of his and our kingdoms and dominions, greatly hazarded and entangled by the calamity of the former war, but alſo to the whole repoſe of Chriſtendom, which by participation was not a little embarraſſed and diſtracted thereby. Next, you may confidently report unto him, that as before our coming to this Crown, there never paſſed any other but friendly offices and correſpondency between him and us; ſo now, ſeeing it hath pleaſed God not only to ſettle us peaceably in the poſſeſſion of this Crown (which our undoubtful right hath caſt upon us) but by our treaties of peace, to take away alſo all future occaſions to revive the former troubles that were depending between him and theſe our realms of England; ſo there is nothing more religious unto us, and next to our duty to God, nothing more acceptable in this world, than to maintain firmly and inviolably, all good correſpondence with him, according to the true conſtruction of the treaties, accounting it one of the greateſt bleſſings that God hath endowed us with all to be in perfect peace and amity with all the princes and eſtates in Chriſtendom; the conſervation whereof, ſhall ever be highly recommended unto us.

‘ For proof and confirmation whereof, as alſo to give teſtimony to the world of the love and reſpect we bear to him, we have ſent you expreſsly to viſit him in our behalf, and to receive reciprocally in our name, the oath which is to be taken by the ſaid King, for the preſerving of the ſaid peace and concord between us, wherein you ſhall refer the time and order to his preſcription; only we forewarn you, that in the performing of that ceremony, which is likely to be done in the King's chapel, you have eſpecial care, that it be not done in the forenoon, in the time of maſs, to the ſcandal of our religion, but

(51) Bibl. Cott. Veſpaſian. c. ix.

he was conducted by the Conſtable on the 7th of June (r), when the King put on his finger a diamond ring of the value of three thouſand pounds, and on the 15th he embarked at the port of St Andero for England. During the whole time that he reſided at the Court of King Philip the Third, he was treated with the utmoſt diſtinction and regard, maintained, to the admiration of the Spaniards, his dignity, and did the higheſt credit to the nation. At his departure, the King of Spain made him preſents, which amounted to twenty thouſand pounds (s). On his return, he was not ſo well received at Court as he had the ſtrongeſt reaſons to expect, which was by no means owing to his ill conduct, or to any fault of the King's, himſelf being injured, and his maſter abuſed by falſe reports, that the Admiral, while employed in this embaſſy, had aſſumed more ſtate, and acted with leſs precaution, than became him (t). However, he quickly recovered his maſter's good graces, attended on the Lady Elizabeth when ſhe was married to the Elector Palatine, and afterwards, as Lord Admiral, eſcorted her with a ſquadron of the royal navy to Fluſhing (u). This was the laſt ſervice he did his country in that capacity; for being now grown very old and infirm, it was thought expedient by ſome of his beſt friends, that he ſhould reſign his office to the new favourite, Villiers, at that time Earl, and afterwards Marquis and Duke of Buckingham. Some of the memoir writers (w) of thoſe days treat this matter in a way highly prejudicial to the King's memory, exceedingly diſgraceful to Buckingham, and not much for the reputation of the Earl of Nottingham. It appears, however, upon due enquiry and impartial and ſerious conſideration, that moſt of theſe ſtories are very ill founded, and that, in reality, the Earl of Nottingham's laying down his poſt, after he had enjoyed it with great honour thirty-two years, was not either uneaſy to him, or in the manner of it capable of fixing any diſgrace on his maſter. The propoſition came firſt from himſelf, without any knowledge of the Marquis, and was very eaſily agreed to. His eſtate was not great; and, at the beginning of the King's reign, he had married a young wife, the daughter of the Earl of Murray, for whom he was deſirous of providing as well as for her children. The terms, therefore, on which he conſented to reſign, were theſe, that a debt of eighteen hundred pounds, due from him to the Crown, ſhould be remitted (x); that he ſhould have an annual penſion of a thouſand pounds (y); and that, as Earl of Nottingham, he ſhould take place in the Houſe according to the deſcent of his anceſtors, and not according to the date of his patent (z). Theſe terms were quickly adjuſted. The Marquis went in perſon to ſee him, and to return him thanks for reſigning, as of his own motive he did, and by recommending him for his ſucceſſor did it in his favour; at the ſame time, the Marquis made the young Counteſs a preſent of extraordinary value, that is, three thouſand pounds, as we have reaſon to believe. He carried his reſpect to this venerable old man as far, and preſerved it as long, as poſſible, calling him always father, and bending his knee whenever he approached him, to the day of his death (a). The true cauſe of the Earl's inclination to reſign his employment was, his being ſenſible of a decay in his abilities, which becoming prejudicial to the King's intereſts, might in time have tarniſhed his former ſervices; and that upon his reſignation he might be honourably and kindly treated, he was deſirous of having the King's favourite for his ſucceſſor. It may not be amiſs to remark upon this, that, to prevent the Marquis's youth and inexperience from being as detrimental to the Crown as the

(r) Grimeſton's Hiſtory of Spain, p. 1337. Stowe's Annals, p. 871.

(s) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 89. Grimeſton's Hiſtory of Spain.

(t) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 91, 92.

(u) Stowe, p. 1005, 1007. Wilſon's Hiſtory of King James, p. 690, 691.

(w) Court and Character of King James, by Sir Anthony Weldon, p. 123, 124.

(x) Camden's Annals of King James, p. 651, 652.

(y) Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 169.

(z) Camden's Annals of King James, p. 653.

(a) By comparing the different accounts of this buſineſs.

'rather in the afternoon, at what time their ſervice is 'more free from note of ſuperſtition.

'Then you may addreſs yourſelf to the Queen our 'ſiſter, if occaſion be ſo offered, and preſent the like 'ſalutations to her from us and our dear wife the 'Queen, with aſſurance of our kind affections towards 'her; aſſuring them both, that it was one of our eſpecial charges to you, to advertiſe us of their good 'health immediately after your arrival.

'At the next acceſs to the King, and before the performance of the ceremony of the oath, our pleaſure 'is, that you preſent unto the King, our ſervant Sir 'Charles Cornwallis, Knight, with this declaration, 'that foraſmuch as we have appointed him our Ambaſſador reſident with the ſaid King, we do deſire him 'to receive him in charge, and on all occaſions to give 'him favourable acceſs and hearing, as one of whom 'we have made eſpecial choice to uſe in that employment, for his integrity and ſufficiency to do us ſervice, and for the confidence that we repoſe in him, 'that he will carefully diſcharge his duty in the entertaining of the good amity between us and the ſaid 'King, our countries and ſtates.

'Theſe things being thus performed, you are to require an inſtrument in authentic form, of the King's 'ratification of the ſaid treaties of peace, ſigned with 'his hand, and ſealed with his Great-Seal, as we already delivered the like to the Conſtable of Caſtile; 'and as it is requiſite by the preſcription of the treaties, wherein you muſt be careful, that the private 'articles be not omitted, which the Conſtable condeſcended unto after the ſigning of the treaty, and undertook to procure the ratification thereof by the 'King his maſter. You are likewiſe to require an inſtrument of the King's oath, ſigned by him, and atteſted by his Secretary, reciting the names of ſuch 'principal perſons of the nobility as were preſent at 'the ſwearing thereof, according as we have given the 'like here to the Conſtable.

'For all other things which by diſcourſe or complement may occur, either with the King, the Queen, 'the Princes their children; the grandees, or the Ambaſſadors of other princes that reſide in that Court, 'and ſhall come to viſit you; we hold it needleſs further to inſtruct you, who are ſo well experienced in 'all things belonging to matters of honour and affairs.'

We have a very large and diſtinct account of this embaſſy printed, the very title of which will convince the reader in what point of light it was conſidered at that time, and how much honour was ſuppoſed to reſult therefrom, to the King and kingdom. Thus it run:

'A Relation of ſuch Things as were obſerved to 'happen in the Journey of the Right Honourable 'Charles Earl of Nottingham, Lord High-Admiral of 'England, his Highneſs's Ambaſſador to the King of 'Spain: Being ſent thither to take the oath of the 'ſaid King, for the Maintenance of Peace between the 'two famous Kings of Great-Britain and Spain, according to the ſeveral Articles formerly concluded on 'by the Conſtable of Caſtile in England in the Month 'of Auguſt, 1604. Set forth by Authority. By 'Rob. Treſwell, Eſq; Somerſet Herald, London, '1605, 4to.'

[I] Do

the old age and infirmities of the Earl, and to put the navy under a better regulation than ever; it was reſolved that the new Lord High-Admiral ſhould have an experienced Council placed about him, without whoſe advice he was to do nothing. Theſe, for their names are ſtill preſerved, were Meſſieurs Forteſcue, Oſborn, Gaughton, Sutton, and Pits, on whom, upon this occaſion, the King conferred the honour of knighthood; and this regulation had very good effects (*b*). All theſe meaſures ſeem to have been concerted before the reſignation, which made Buckingham ſhew ſo much reverence and affection for the Earl of Nottingham, and ſpeak of him always, and upon all occaſions, as one to whom he was under the higheſt obligations (*c*). Beſides all this, Sir Robert Manſel, who though of a very honourable and ſince noble family, yet being a younger brother, had been once the Earl of Nottingham's menial ſervant, but was then Vice-Admiral during pleaſure, by the favour of the Duke had that office confirmed to him for life by patent; which exerciſe of his influence in favour of Sir Robert, his old maſter took ſo kindly, that aged and infirm as he was, he made Buckingham a viſit to return him thanks (*d*). On the whole, therefore, there ſeems to be nothing diſhonourable in this tranſaction; for all parties were gratified in their particular views, and all ſeem to have been perfectly content. What is ſaid to the contrary, flows evidently from a deſire of prejudicing the world againſt the memory of men from ſurmiſes and conjectures, a method of all others the moſt deſtructive of the end and fruit of hiſtory, which ought to diſcover the truth, and inſtruct thereby ſuch as peruſe it. As for the few remaining years of his life, they were ſpent by the Earl of Nottingham in honourable eaſe and retirement to the time of his deceaſe, which happened on the 14th of December, 1624, when he was in his eighty-ſeventh year (*e*). He was a perſon extremely graceful in his appearance, of a juſt and honeſt diſpoſition, incapable either of doing bad things, or ſeeing them done without expoſing them. His ſteady loyalty to the Crown preſerved his reputation unſtained, and his fortune unhurt, when the reſt of his family were in the utmoſt danger (*f*). Queen Elizabeth knew and valued his integrity, and preferred his candour to the policy of ſome of her greateſt favourites. She had a peculiar felicity in ſuiting the employments of men to their capacities, and this never appeared more clearly than on thoſe occaſions wherein ſhe made choice of this nobleman, whoſe courage no danger could daunt, whoſe fidelity no temptation could impeach, much leſs corrupt. In public employments he affected magnificence, as much as he did hoſpitality in private life, keeping ſeven ſtanding houſes, as Dr Fuller phraſes it (*g*), at once. It is true, we meet with oppoſite accounts of this Lord's character and conduct, eſpecially in the latter part of his life; but as theſe are only in private letters, written by one (*h*) apparently prejudiced againſt him of whom he ſpeaks; and as the rough ſoldier-like behaviour of Elizabeth's active times, ſuited little with the ſtiff and ſolemn air of the Stateſmen in King James's Court, we need not wonder that among theſe the Earl of Nottingham met with ſome detractors. His actions are ſufficient to ſilence envy, and to deſtroy the credit of all ſuch malicious cenſurers. He who beat the Spaniſh Armada, equipped a fleet, ſufficient to aſſert the ſovereignty of the ſea, in a fortnight's time, and, by his preſence alone, diſpirited the Earl of Eſſex's adherents, muſt have been a very extraordinary man, though we ſhould grant his enemies, that he was not very learned, expreſſed himſelf a little bluntly, and, though a perſon of ſo high quality, had little or no tincture of thoſe arts, which, peculiar as they are, do no great honour to a Court [*I*]. The corpſe of this noble lord was interred on the 23d of December, in the year beforementioned, in the family vault under the chancel in the church of Ryegate in Surry (*i*), and John Taylor, the famous water poet, celebrated his memory in a long elegy (*k*). His Lordſhip, as we have before had occaſion to mention, was twice married, firſt to Catherine, daughter to Henry Cary Lord Hunſdon, by whom he had iſſue two ſons, William, who was ſummoned by writ to ſeveral Parliaments during his father's life-time, and eſpouſed Anne, daughter and ſole heir to John Lord St John of Bletſho; which Lady Anne died 11 June, 1638, and was buried at Weſtminſter (*l*). He deceaſed in his father's life-time, leaving Elizabeth, his ſole daughter and heir, married to John Lord Mordaunt (*m*), afterwards Earl of Peterborough; ſo that his ſecond ſon, Charles, was his ſucceſſor in his honours (*n*); alſo three daughters, Elizabeth, married to Sir Robert Southwell of Wood-Riſing in Norfolk, Knight, and afterwards to John Stuart Earl of

[*I*] *Do no great honour to a Court.*] Though theſe memoirs have ſwelled to a greater length than we originally intended, yet we cannot forbear mentioning ſome particulars in this note, which ſerve to diſtinguiſh this great man, and ſhew his fortunes in a very ſingular point of light; he lived under five reigns, that is, from the 28th of Henry the Eighth, to the twenty-ſecond of James the Firſt, in a conſtant ſtream of proſperity, and with ſcarce any eclipſe of his ſovereign's favour. He was upwards of half a century Privy-Counſellor and Knight of the Garter; he ſerved in great ſtations from the firſt to the laſt year of Elizabeth, which can ſcarce be ſaid of any nobleman beſide. At the demiſe of that princeſs, he had the three greateſt offices in his hands, that of Earl Marſhal of England, Lord High-Steward of the Houſhold, and Lord High-Admiral of England. In the laſt Parliament of that Queen, he had eight proxies, and amongſt them thoſe of the Earl of Rutland and Lord Sandes, who had been both dipped in the unhappy affair of the Earl of Eſſex (52). We may from hence pronounce, that few, very few, noblemen have ever ſtood ſo high in this kingdom, without meeting either with fall or reproach. His fidelity was never ſo much as ſuſpected by Queen Elizabeth, who heaped employments upon him, which ſhe gave ſo ſparingly to others. With all his favour he was never envied by the nobility, and through his whole life he was exceedingly popular. The only cenſure paſſed upon him was, that he took too much ſtate in Spain, and even this, though it gave offence to ſome of the flatterers at Court, endeared him to the nation.

(*b*) Camden's Annals of King James's Reign.

(*c*) See the Duke of Buckingham's Anſwer to the 2d article of his Impeachment.

(*d*) Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 170.

(*e*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 279.

(*f*) Sir Robert Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia. Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 736.

(*g*) Worthies of England, in Surry, p. 84.

(*h*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 91.

(*i*) Aubrey's Natural Hiſtory and Antiquities of Surry, Vol. IV. p. 193.

(*k*) See his Works, p. 326, 327, 328, 329.

(*l*) Brook's Catalogue, p. 168.

(*m*) Vincent's Diſcovery of Errors in Brook's Catalogue, p. 394.

(*n*) Brook's Catalogue, p. 168.

(52) Sir Simond Dewe's Journal of the Parliaments in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 598.

Carrick in Scotland (*o*); Frances, firſt to Henry Fitzgerald Earl of Kildare in Ireland, and ſecondly to Henry Brook Lord Cobham (*p*); and Margaret, to Sir Richard Leviſon of Trentham in the county of Stafford, Knight, Vice-Admiral of England (*q*). His ſecond counteſs was Margaret, daughter to James Stuart Earl of Murray in Scotland, in right of his wife Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter and coheir to James Earl of Murray, natural ſon to King James the Fifth of Scotland (*r*). And by her, who was naturalized in Parliament the firſt of James the Firſt, he had iſſue two ſons, James, who died young, and Sir Charles Howard, Knight, ſucceſſor to his brother in the title of Earl of Nottingham (*s*). This lady ſurviving him, became the conſort of Sir William Monſon, Knight, Viſcount Caſtlemain in Ireland (*t*). The laſt mentioned Sir Charles Howard ſucceeding to the title, died April 26, 1681, and was alſo buried at Ryegate (*u*). In him the earldom extinguiſhed, but the title of Baron of Effingham devolved on Francis Howard, Eſq; great-grandſon of Sir William Howard of Lingfield in the county of Surry (*w*), brother to Charles Earl of Nottingham, to whom this article belongs; whoſe lineal deſcendant, Francis Baron of Effingham (*x*), was raiſed to the rank of Earl, by the ſame title, by letters patent bearing date December 8, 1731 (*y*), being at the ſame time Deputy Earl-Marſhal of England (*z*).

It may not be amiſs to add here, in the nature of an appendix to this life, that this noble perſon's ſurviving, ſo long as he did, the reign of his glorious miſtreſs, was of ſome conſequence to the Church of England. The Papiſts in Queen Elizabeth's time affected to diſpute the validity of Dr Matthew Parker Archbiſhop of Canterbury's conſecration, on a ſuppoſition, that, becauſe none of the Biſhops who adhered to the ſee of Rome aſſiſted thereat, it could not be valid (*a*). But in proceſs of time, and when it was apprehended that all who could contradict directly ſo ill digeſted a ſtory, it was very boldly aſſerted, that Archbiſhop Parker was never conſecrated at all; to countenance which, this fable was deviſed, of which one Neale, Chaplain to Dr Bonner Biſhop of London, was alledged to be the author. He pretended, that his maſter having required the Biſhop of Llandaff not to do any thing in his dioceſe, he refuſed to obey the Queen's mandate, or to be preſent at the conſecration. Upon this, the Biſhops elect met at the Nag's-Head Tavern in Cheapſide, and Neale, who had watched them thither, peeping through the hole of the door, ſaw them in great diſorder, on account of the Biſhop of Llandaff's being intractable. At length, Biſhop Scorey bid them all kneel, and then laid the Bible upon every one of their heads or ſhoulders, ſaying, *Take thou authority to preach the Word of God ſincerely*; and ſo, according to Neale's report, they all roſe up Biſhops (*b*). In order to refute this tale, the Lambeth regiſters were cited, by which it clearly appeared, that Dr Matthew Parker was conſecrated, with the uſual ceremonies, in the chapel at Lambeth-palace, on the 17th of December, 1559 (*c*). But the Papiſts having once publiſhed ſuch an invention as this, thought themſelves obliged to maintain it; and in order to this, they gave out that theſe records were forged, inſinuating, that if they had been authentic, they would have been produced before; whereas the old diſpute turned upon quite another point, and therefore it had been to no purpoſe to produce them [*K*]. The Papiſts

[*K*] *And therefore it had been to no purpoſe to produce them*] The controverſy between Papiſts and Proteſtants ran ſo very high within a few years after the conſecration of Dr Parker, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, that it is impoſſible to doubt this tale of the Nag's-head Conſecration, if it had been invented, would have been then publiſhed; it goes therefore as we have obſerved in the text, not a little againſt the credit of this ſtory, that it was never heard of publickly, 'till it appeared difficult, if not impoſſible to refute it; but when it did appear, Mr Maſon, who undertook to refute it, gave a full, clear, and circumſtantial narrative of whatever regarded the electing, confirming, and conſecration of the Archbiſhop, and as the moſt authentic evidence that could be produced in ſuch a cauſe, cited Archbiſhop Parker's regiſter (53). The modern Papiſts, following the examples of their predeceſſors, have again taken the advantage of the diſtance of time, and have very warmly inveighed againſt that learned writer, as if he had either forged thoſe records himſelf, or had made uſe of them, though he knew they were forged by others (54). In this, as they tread in the ſteps, ſo they are equally unlucky with thoſe who invented the original calumny; for their ſpirit and conduct being well known, Dr George Abbot, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſent for Alexander Faircloth, Thomas Laithwaite, alias Scot, both Jeſuits; John Colleton, who, after the death of Birkhead, had the title of Arch-Prieſt; and Thomas Leake a Prieſt, then priſoners in the Clink for religion; and on the 12th of May, 1613, in the preſence of the Biſhops of Ely, Lincoln, and Rocheſter, produced to them the very original regiſter of Archbiſhop Parker, remarkably fair and clean, as having been carefully kept amongſt the public records; and after allowing them to turn it over and examine it at leiſure, procured a certificate under their hands, which was ſent by Dr Kelliſon, ſuperior of the Engliſh college at Douay, to Father Thomas Fitzherbert, then at Rome; teſtifying to him, and to all the Catholicks in general, that this regiſter was a true genuine record (55). This ſilenced the diſpute at that time, but the famous Mr Thomas Ward, either not knowing this fact, or concealing it, has attempted to revive the old thread bare tale of the Nag's-head Ordination, and to revive the calumny of Maſon's forging records to refute it. However, zealous and conſcientious Catholicks have long ago given up this point (56), as indeed they well might; for conſidering the regiſter of the Archbiſhop thus ſingularly proved, the authentic inſtrument of his conſecration at the chapel of Lambeth, and the then living teſtimony of the Earl of Nottingham preſent at the ceremony, and at the feaſt which followed it in the palace, and not at the tavern, we may ſafely affirm this is, if any point of ſuch a nature can be, put beyond all doubt. As to the other cavils that have been raiſed about the venerable prelates who aſſiſted at this conſecration, and the reaſons why it was ſo long poſtponed, the curious reader may find abundant ſatisfaction in our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians, who by a diligent ſearch into, and collating of our old records, have ſet every thing in the cleareſt and moſt ſatisfactory light, more eſpecially one of them, who has very plainly opened the political motives which were the great impediments to Archbiſhop Parker's entering into the full poſſeſſion of his dignity (57). It is true, that in this he pays no great complement to the ſpirit that then prevailed in the government, and may in that perhaps have done the Papiſts a pleaſure; but by ſo doing, he has utterly overturned all their objections, and aſſigned a probable and

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(*o*) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 71. Brook's Catalogue, p. 163.

(*p*) Vincent, p. 394.

(*q*) Brook's Catalogue, p. 168.

(*r*) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland.

(*s*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. III. p. 258.

(*t*) Peerage of Ireland.

(*u*) Aubrey's Natural Hiſtory and Antiquities of Surry, Vol. IV. p. 193.

(*w*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. III. p. 258.

(*x*) See Creations of Peers, in order to judge of the expediency of a Law, &c.

(*y*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. III. p. 260.

(*z*) MS. in the Heralds Office.

(*a*) See the Writings of the two Doctors, Harding and Stapleton.

(*b*) Fitzherbert, Sanders, Parſons, &c.

(*c*) Maſon de Miniſt. Eccleſ. Anglic. lib. iii. cap. 8, 9.

(53) De Miniſt. Eccleſ. Anglic. Lib. iii. cap. 8.

(54) Errata in the Proteſtant Bible, by Thomas Ward, author of England's Reformation, p. 92.

(55) Godwin de Præſulibus, p. 152, 153.

(56) See the learned Dr Courayer's Diſcourſes on this ſubject.

(57) Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 292, 293, 294.

Papiſts likewiſe endeavour to avail themſelves of the ſilence of John Stowe, and to help out this lame argument, pretended that hiſtorian had privately told ſome friend of his the tale of the nag's-head ordination (*d*); but all theſe dreams were clearly refuted by the declaration of Charles Earl of Nottingham; that being invited by his relation Dr Parker, he was preſent at his conſecration, deſcribed all the circumſtances of it, and dined afterwards in the palace of Lambeth with thoſe who aſſiſted at it. The Lord Chancellor Egerton likewiſe told Biſhop Williams, that the ſtory of the nag's-head ordination aroſe from hence, that whenever biſhops came to be confirmed at Bow-church, it was uſual to cauſe a dinner to be provided, for the civilians who aſſiſted at that ceremony, at the nag's-head tavern, as being in the neighbourhood (*e*). The very original inſtrument of the Archbiſhop's conſecration is at this time preſerved in the library of Corpus-Chriſti-college in the univerſity of Cambridge (*f*), and is the moſt authentic proof that can be deſired of the ſolemnity of this conſecration, and of the falſhood of this ridiculous ſtory, upon which the Papiſts, however, to this hour, inſiſt as if it had never been enquired into and refuted (*g*).

(*d*) Champney, p. 501.

(*e*) Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 293. Fuller's Church Hiſtory.

(*f*) Accurately printed by Collier in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

(*g*) Thomas Ward's Errata to the Proteſtant Bible, 4to. 1737, p. 89, 90, 91.

and adequate cauſe for an event, which for want of knowing that cauſe, the Papiſts have repreſented as full of inconſiſtencies and abſurdities, and from thence deduced an argument in favour of their own inventions, as if the fact as before ſtated by Proteſtant writers, was not only improbable, but could not poſſibly happen. This ſhews how much better it is to tell the naked truth on all occaſions, than by endeavouring to hide it, furniſh pretences at leaſt to thoſe, who, though they endeavour to ſerve another cauſe, are very attentive in the peruſal of what regards the Hiſtory of our Church, and have a wonderful faculty of twiſting and diſtorting whatever they find there, to their own advantage.

E

HOWELL [James], ſon of Thomas Howell, Clerk, Miniſter of Abernant in Caermarthenſhire, was born upon the Brynn of Llangammarch near Brecknock in Wales, about the year 1596 [*A*]. At a proper age he was ſent to the free-ſchool at Hereford, under *a learned but laſhing maſter* (*a*); from whoſe rugged diſcipline he removed to Oxford, and entered of Jeſus-college in the beginning of the year 1610, his elder brother, Thomas Howell, being a Fellow of that ſociety [*B*]. Our author, though very young, brought with him a ſingular appetite for learning to the univerſity, and having alſo a ready wit, he had made a good progreſs in his academical ſtudies, when he commenced Bachelor of Arts, December 17, 1613 (*b*). But he left the college without taking any other degree, and removed to London. He was a cadet of a numerous family (*c*), and obliged to puſh his fortune; and being not ſo much inclined to a ſedentary as to an active life, this ſituation placed him more in the eye of ſuch of his friends as could be of ſervice to him in that way. The firſt employ he got was that of Steward to a glaſs-houſe in Broad-ſtreet (*d*), which was procured for him by Sir Robert Manſel (*e*), who was principally concerned therein [*C*]. Our young cadet had not been a great while in this ſtation (*f*), when the proprietors

(*a*) They are his own words in a letter to his father. Famil. Let. Vol. I. ſect. i. No. 2. 2d edit. 1750.

(*b*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. I. col. 194.

(*c*) There was 15 children in it. Fam. Letters, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Mr Howell's friend with Sir Robert was probably his brother Dr Francis Manſel, twice Principal of Jeſus-college. Hiſt. & Ant. Oxon. Univ. lib. ii. p. 102.

(*f*) He takes notice to Dr Manſel that he had ſuperviſed the glaſs houſe a ſmall time. Letter 3 in Familiar Letters.

[*A*] *Was born upon the Brynn near Brecknock, about* 1596.] Mr Wood declares (1), he could not preciſely tell what year he was born in, though he found him entered in the Matriculation book at Oxford in the beginning of 1610, aged ſixteen years. He ſeems therefore to ſuſpect the accuracy of that entrance, eſpecially as he takes notice of an expreſſion in a letter of Mr Howell (2), where he ſays, *his aſcendant was that hot conſtellation of Cancer about the midſt of the Dog-days*; ſince in the ſame letter, dated in 1645, it is obſerved by our author, that *he had then paſſed nine luſtres of years, and ſome winters more*. Whence allowing theſe winters to be four (which is the moſt they could be), it follows, that he was not more than fourteen years of age in 1610, and therefore could not be born before 1596; nor is the authority of the date to this letter infringed by Mr Wood's remark, that no time is kept with the dates of theſe letters; for that obſervation (of which more hereafter) is no ways applicable to the letter here mentioned, which is inſerted in the firſt volume of the letters publiſhed in 1645. Thus the preciſe time of our author's birth is matter of conjecture only; neither is the place of it any better aſcertained. Mr Wood ſpeaks doubtfully in relation to Abernant (3), and the elder brother Thomas, he ſays, was born at a place called the Brynn, or (as James Howell informed Dr Fuller) at Llangammarch in Brecknockſhire, near Brecknock town (4); that is (the word Brynn in the Welſh language ſignifying a hill or mountain) at the Brynn of Llangammarch near Brecknock, and as our author in the letter abovementioned teſtifies that the ground whereon himſelf was born, was the belly of a huge hill. It ſeems moſt probable that the two brothers had the ſame birth place.

[*B*] *Thomas Howell, a fellow of that ſociety*] This gentleman, to whom ſeveral of our author's letters are inſcribed, after taking the degrees in Arts, went into orders, and preached about Oxford for ſome time. Afterwards he became King's chaplain, Rector of Weſt-Horſley in Surry, and of St Stephen's in Walbrook near London, D. D (5), and an. 1636 Canon of Windſor. In the beginning of the Civil Wars, being ſequeſtred from his livings by the Parliament, he was nominated to the See of Briſtol by the King, in July 1644, and afterwards conſecrated by Primate Uſher and other Biſhops. He died in 1646, and was buried in the cathedral at Briſtol, near the entrance out of the ſouth iſle into the choir, a plain ſtone being laid over him with only this word upon it, *Expergiſcar*. Mr Wood (6) tells us he was a good preacher and of a meek diſpoſition, and that his Majeſty promoted him to the biſhopric, promiſing himſelf good effects from his great candour, ſolid judgment, ſweet temper, and good repute, and accordingly it was ſaid of him, that like Gregory Thaumaturgus, who found but fifteen Chriſtians in his dioceſe, and left but fifteen heathens, he found at Briſtol few affected to the Church, and left but few diſſaffected; upon which account the city in gratitude took care of the education of his children, of whom he had eleven. Mrs Katharine Philips, Orinda, brought up one of his ſons, Charles Howell, who was her godſon. One of his ſons called Griffith, was a great Herald; another, George, was fellow of All-Soul's college, took his maſter's degree in 1662, and lived near Chicheſter, where his ſon Robert Howell was living in 1695.

[*C*] *A glaſs work, in which he had the principal concern.*] Sir Robert had for his partners in the patent, the Earl of Pembroke Lord Chamberlain, and ſeveral others of the prime nobility and courtiers (7). Nor is it any wonder to find the chief of our nobility giving a particular attention to the manufacture of glaſs in thoſe times. Mr Howell informs us, that the art was then in ſo great eſteem at Venice, that all of the profeſſion were gentlemen *ipſo facto* (8); and 'tis well known that the French made an arret, whereby it was provided, that the working of glaſs ſhould not only not derogate from the nobility, but even that none

(1) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 381.

(2) Epiſt. or Familiar Letters, Vol. I. ſect. 6. No. 60.

(3) Ubi ſupra.

(4) Ibid col. 1138.

(5) In Letter 16. Vol. I. ſect. i. dated 1628, James writes thus. Brother, I have ſent you here incloſed warrants for 4 brace of bucks and a ſtag, the laſt procured of the King, towards keeping your act. I have ſent you alſo a warrant for a brace of bucks out of Whaddon-chace; beſides, you ſhall receive by this carrier a great wicker-hamper with two geouls of ſturgeon, ſix barrels of pickled oyſters, three barrels of Bologna olives, and ſome other Spaniſh commodities. Hence it appears how expenſive and ſumptuous the entertainments were at that time on this occaſion.

(6) Ubi ſupra.

(7) Familiar Letters, No. 2.

(8) Ibid. No. 29.

proprietors of the work, to ſave the expence of wood-fuel, obtained the ſole patent of making all ſorts of glaſs with pit-coal; and being intent to improve the manufactory, they came to a reſolution to ſend an agent abroad, who ſhould procure the beſt materials and workmen that could be got. Their Steward was pitched upon as a fit perſon for this agency; and a warrant being accordingly procured for him from the Lords of the Council, to travel for three years any where, Rome and St Omers excepted (*g*), he left England about the end of March in the beginning of the year 1619, and viſited ſeveral of the principal places in Holland, Flanders, France, Spain, and Italy (*h*). Mr Howell made all the improvement in his perſonal qualifications that the opportunity of theſe travels afforded him, and particularly acquired that maſterly knowledge in the modern languages (*i*) which directed the ſubſequent courſe of his fortune. In the mean time he did not neglect the immediate buſineſs of his agency, in the execution of which we find him ſupplying the glaſs-work with the beſt Barillia at a cheap rate from Alicant [*D*], and engaging

none beſides noblemen ſhould be allowed to work therein *.

[*D*] *He ſent Barillia from Alicant*] Mr Howell gives the name of Barillia to the plant, and ſays it grows no where in ſuch perfection as at Alicant. 'The Venetians, continues he, have it hence, and it is a commodity whereby this maritime town (he was then at the place) partly ſubſiſts, being an ingredient in the beſt Caſtile ſoap. 'Tis a round thick ſhrub, that bears berries like barberries betwixt blue and green. It lies cloſe to the ground, and when it is ripe, they dig it up by the roots, and put it together in cocks like hay; then they make a pit of a fathom deep in the earth, and taking the tufts with a prong ſet them on fire, which diſſolves the berries into an azure liquor. This falling into the pit, when that is full, they dam it up; and in the ſpace of four days the juice turns to a blue ſtone ſo hard, that it is ſcarce malleable. It is ſold at one hundred crowns a tun, but I had it for leſs. There is alſo a ſpurious flower called *Gazul*, that grows here, but the glaſs that is made of it, is not ſo reſplendent and clear.' Thus far our traveller (9), but the art is greatly improved ſince his time. *Barillia*, now uſually called *Polverine* or *Rochetta*, is not the name of the plant (for that is called Kali) but of the ſalt, or rather powder obtained by burning the plant upon a hot iron, and is brought at preſent chiefly from Alexandria and Tripoli; and in theſe countries the art of glaſs making was firſt invented, at leaſt according to Pliny, who gives this account of it. There is a part of Syria, ſays he (10), called Phœnicia, bordering upon Judea, near the foot of mount Carmel, the ſhore of which yields very good ſand for making glaſs, and it was for many ages eſteemed the only ſand in the world for that purpoſe, concerning the diſcovery of it the ſtory is, that formerly a trading veſſel laden with nitre, touching upon the coaſt, the ſailors went a-ſhore to regale, where inſtead of raiſing their pillows with ſtones, they made uſe of lumps of nitre, which mixing with the ſand took fire, and produced certain ſtreams of a noble tranſparent liquor, whence is derived the origin of glaſs. Hence Sidon, the capital city of that country, celebrated by Homer (11) for many excellent arts, is alſo ſaid to be famous for it's glaſs-works, and to be the inventreſs of glaſs ſpecula (12). As to the antiquity and eſteem of theſe veſſels, it is certain they were uſed as great delicacies by the Perſians before the time of Alexander the Great; this appears from a paſſage in a play of Ariſtophanes (13), where ſome Ambaſſadors are introduced as lately returned from Perſia, who, extolling the luxury and magnificence of that prince, give it for a proof, that *he drank ſweet wine out of gold and glaſs cups*. Moreover two glaſs cups, or rather two cup-boards of them, are mentioned by Athænæus (14), to be produced to the people out of the royal treaſury of Ptolemy Philadelphus by way of pomp at Alexandria; and the ſame author informs us from an ancient epigram, that there were in the ſame age glaſs ſhops at Leſbos, and that the Grecians in their feaſts made uſe of a glaſs cup, to which they gave the name of Leſbium (15). However this art flouriſhed in later times chiefly in Egypt, where Strabo tells us (16), he had heard the Alexandrian glaſs-workers ſay, that a kind of glaſſy earth was found there, without which it was impoſſible to make any cups of value, or ſuch as were variouſly coloured. From Alexandria this luxury was brought to Rome (17), and particularly became more general there after the reduction of Egypt into a Roman Province, but was ſtill in the higheſt eſteem; upon which account we find, that when a ſervant of Vedius Pollio happened to break a glaſs at a ſupper where Auguſtus was his gueſt, Vedius immediately ordered him to be taken and thrown into his fiſh pond, to be devoured by the murenæ; this was reckoned a vulgar kind of death, and the boy having the good luck to make his eſcape, threw himſelf at Cæſar's feet, not begging his life, but only that he might die ſome other way, and not be made a bait for fiſh. Cæſar ſtruck with indignation at this new ſpecies of cruelty, did not only order the boy to be diſmiſſed, but commanded all the glaſs veſſels to be broken, and the fiſh pond to be filled up (18). In the reign of Tiberius the art, we are told, was brought to that perfection, that glaſs was made flexible and even malleable; concerning which, the following remarkable ſtory is told by Petronius (19). There was an artificer, ſays he, who made glaſs veſſels of ſuch a tenacity, that there was no breaking of them any more than thoſe made of gold or ſilver; having finiſhed a phial of this rare metal, he reſolved to preſent it to Cæſar as worthy of the Emperor alone. Accordingly he was admitted with his preſent to Tiberius; when both the ſpecies of the gift and the ingenuity of the artiſt were highly extolled, and the devout reſpect of the giver graciouſly accepted. The man ſeeing this, in order to raiſe the admiration of the beholders into amazement, begged the phial again, and taking it from Cæſar's hand, threw it againſt the pavement with a force capable of bruiſing the firmeſt and moſt ſolid braſs. The Emperor was more than aſtoniſhed; the thing ſtruck a terror into him of the conſequences of ſuch an art. But the artiſt proceeds, and taking up the phial which was only bruiſed, he pulls a mallet from his boſom, and beats out all the bruiſes very exactly, as if it had been made of braſs. Plumed with the ſucceſs, he now concluded himſelf ſecure of Cæſar's higheſt favours, and even began to think of chuſing his own ſeat among the gods, when the event miſerably deceived him. For the Emperor enquiring if any one elſe was poſſeſſed of this ſecret, and being told not, preſently condemned our artiſt to loſe his head; alledging this for a reaſon, that if ſuch an art ſhould once come to be commonly known, gold and ſilver would be looked on as meer dirt. Whatever reception this ſtory may meet with, which, to ſpeak the truth, is but little credited by Pliny (20), yet it is certain that glaſs was in the higheſt eſteem after theſe times. We are told it was commonly ſaid of the Emperor Claudius, that he would reward any perſon with the privilege of a Roman citizen, who ſhould bring him any glaſs veſſels, even tho' they were broken (21); and Pliny (22) relates, that in the time of Nero an improvement was made in the art, which raiſed it's value ſo much, that two moderately ſized cups called pterotæ (23), were ſold for 6000 ſeſterces, that is about fifty pound ſterling. At that time the manufacture appears to be wrought in the ſame manner as it is at this day. For Seneca (24) contending againſt Poſidonius, who maintains that none of the arts which are uſeful to life were the produce of philoſophy, wiſhes that he could have ſhewn Poſidonius one of the workers in glaſs, forming that ſubſtance with his breath into various figures ſo curiouſly faſhioned, that the ſkilfuleſt hand might almoſt deſpair of equalling them. *Cuperem Poſidonio vitriarium aliquem oſtendere, qui ſpiritu vitrum in habitus plurimos format, qui vix diligenti manu effingerentur. Hæc inventa ſunt, poſtquam ſapientem invenire deſivimus.* Theſe words ſeem to indicate, that this way of making glaſs was then recent at Rome, being unknown to Poſidonius, who flouriſhed in the time of Pompey. But Pliny

(*g*) Ibid. No. 2. Notwithſtanding this, we find one of his letters during theſe travels dated from Rome, viz. No. 39.

(*h*) See his Letters, in Vol. I. § 1. which contain a particular account of the ſeveral ſteps throughout the whole rout.

(*i*) Thank God, ſays he, I have this fruit of my foreign travels, that I can pray unto him every day of the week in a ſeparate language, and upon Sunday in ſeven. Vol. I. § 6. No. 37. of his Fam. Letters.

* See Chambers's Dictionary, under the word *Glaſs*.

(9) Ibid. No. 25.

(10) Hiſt. Nat. lib. xxxvi. c. 26.

(11) Iliad Z. v. 289. Ψ. 743. Odyſſ. O. 115.

(12) Sidon Artifex Vitri. Plin. l. v. c. 19. item l. xxxvi. 26.

(13) Acarn. Act. I. Sc. ii. v. 74.

(14) Καὶ κυλικεῖα δύο, ϗ ὑάλινα διάχρυσα δύο. Athenæus, l. v. c. 7.

(15) Λέσβιον ἐξ ὑέλου. Ibid. l. xi. c. 11.

(16) Lib. xvi. p. 758.

(17) Among the commodities brought to Rome from Egypt, Cicero mentions paper, linnen, and glaſs. Pro. Rabir. Poſthum. c. 14. and this perhaps is the firſt time glaſs is taken notice of by any Roman author. Accordingly it hath been remarked, that the great Auguſtus Cæſar had neither glaſs in his windows nor a ſhirt to his back. Arbuthnot's Tables of Coins, &c. Lond. 1727. 4to.

(18) Seneca de Ira, lib. iii. c. 40. Vid. item Dio, lib. liv. p. 537. item Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. ix. c. 23.

(19) Sat. p. 189. edit. varior.

(20) Lib. xxxvi. 26. *Famam ejus crebriorem quam certiorem* fuiſſe dicit. And it is told otherwiſe by Dio, viz. that the glaſs was actually broken, but pieced ſo artfully, as to be reſtored to it's original perfection. l. lvii. p. 617. E.

(21) Id. l. lx. p. 676. D.

(22) Ubi ſupra.

(23) That is two-eared cups; the art of making and joining ears to cups being probably then newly diſcovered.

(24) Epiſt. 90.

ging the beſt workmen he could pick up every where, eſpecially at Venice [*E*]. About Chriſtmas 1621 he returned to London, and not long after was welcomed with the good news of being appointed Fellow of Jeſus college upon the new foundation by Sir Eubule Theloall (*k*). But finding his friend and patron Sir Robert Manſel, who was Vice-Admiral of England, abroad with the fleet in the Mediterranean, and ſeeing no good proſpect of doing any thing for himſelf in the glaſs buſineſs (*l*), he turned his views a different way, and ſought how to make the beſt advantage of his newly acquired merit [*F*]. He had taſted the delights of travelling, and reſolved if poſſible to continue them. The firſt attempt he made of this kind was to go Secretary to Sir John Ayres to Conſtantinople, but coming too late for that poſt (*m*), Sir James Crofts preſently after recommended him to travel with two ſons of the Lord Savage in quality of governor, and with this view he was taken into that family, and handſomely entertained by his Lordſhip; but his ſtay there was ſhort (*n*), for being young and of a different religion, he declined the charge intended, and cloſed with an offer that was made him by a young gentleman of his acquaintance, to attend him as a companion in making the tour of France (*o*) [*G*]. He paſſed the year 1622

(*m*) Ibid.

(*n*) Ibid. No. 7 and 12. He ſeems to have parted honourably with this family, and he afterwards kept a correſpondence from France with his Lordſhip at his requeſt. He alſo taught Spaniſh to one of the young ladies. See No. 19. and ſeveral others. Beſides No. 14. § 4.

(*o*) Ibid. No. 10 and 12.

(*k*) He had taken care to cultivate his intereſt there all along, as appears by ſeveral letters before this of thanks in Vol. I. § 2. No. 6. to Sir Eubule Theloall, to whom his expreſſion is, that he will reſerve it [the fellowſhip], and lay it by as a good warm garment againſt rough weather, if any fall on him. And in this he was followed by Mr Prior, who alledged the like reaſon for keeping his fellowſhip at Cambridge, ſee his article. Concerning Sir Eubule's benefaction, ſee Wood's Antiq. Oxon. l. 2.

(*l*) Fam. Letters, Vol. II. § 2. No. 5.

Pliny informs us (25), that a few years after this, the uſe of glaſs cups drove out thoſe of gold and ſilver.

(25) Ubi ſupra.

[*E*] *Eſpecially at Venice.*] He ſent one Signior Antonio Miotti from Middleburgh in Zealand, where he had been maſter of a glaſs furnace a long time, and was reckoned one of the ableſt men in that way in Chriſtendom (26). From Venice, he mentions the ſending of two Italians, who by report there, were the beſt gentlemen workmen that ever blew cryſtal, one of them allied to *Antonio Miotti*, the other to *Mazalao* (27). ‘I have met, continues he to Sir Robert Manſel, with Camillo your conſaorman, and could he be ſure of entertainment, he would return to ſerve you again, and I believe for leſs ſalary.’ In the ſame letter he relates that he had been at Murano, where the Venetians made their glaſs, a little iſland from Venice, about the diſtance of Vaux-hall from London. Theſe people finding they could not hinder their beſt workmen from going, when ſufficiently encouraged, into other countries; in order to prevent the loſs of their trade, induſtriouſly ſpread it about, that though you ſhould tranſplant a glaſs furnace from Murano to Venice herſelf, or any of the little iſlands about her, or to any other parts of the earth, and uſe all the ſame materials, the ſame workmen, the ſelf ſame ingredients every way, yet you cannot make make cryſtal glaſs in that perfection for beauty and luſtre as at Murano. This they then took care to impute to ſome ſecret quality in the air of that iſland, and our novice ſeems to be the dupe of ſuch an idle ſtory, but neither did this nor any other ſhift prove effectual. The art was firſt got from them by the French, who afterwards found out the ſecret of caſting *large* table-glaſs, which was propoſed by the Sieur Theodart in 1688 *. But this hath been ſince improved by the Engliſh, and is now made at Vaux-hall in greater perfection than any where elſe in the world.

(26) Lett. Fam. Vol. I. § i. No. 11.

(27) Ibid. No. 28.

* Chambers's Dictionary, ubi ſupra.

[*F*] *His newly acquired merit.*] Viz. His ſkill in the languages, and his knowledge of the policies and manners of the ſeveral ſtates through which he paſſed. With regard to the firſt, beſides what is already mentioned, it was of ſervice to him afterwards towards his ſubſiſtance, qualifying him to write the following books. (1.) *Lexicon Tetraglotton, An Engliſh, French, Italian, Spaniſh Dictionary*, Lond. 1660, fol. To which is added, *A particular Vocabulary, or Nomenclature, in Engliſh, Italian, French, and Spaniſh, of the proper Terms belonging to ſeveral Arts and Sciences, to common Profeſſions and Callings, both liberal and mechanic, &c. and likewiſe Proverbs, or old ſayed ſawes and adages in Engliſh, or the Saxon Tongue, Italian, French and Spaniſh, whereunto the Britiſh for their great Antiquity and Weight are added* (2.) *A French Grammar, and a Dialogue conſiſting of all Galliciſms, with Additions of the moſt uſeful and ſignificant Proverbs, printed at London twice, the laſt time in* 1673, *fol.* (3.) *A French and Engliſh Dictionary, compiled by* Mr Randal Cotgreve: *With another in Engliſh and French; whereunto are added, Animadverſions, with Supplements of many hundreds of Words never before printed*, by James Howell, Eſq; Lond. 1650, fol. (4.) *A new Engliſh Grammar for Foreigners to learn Engliſh, with a Grammar for the Spaniſh or Caſtilian Tongue, with ſpecial Remarks on the Portugueſe Dialect, for the Service of her Majeſty, London,* 1662, 8*vo*. He likewiſe applied this ſkill to tranſlate ſeveral pieces, as (1.) *St Paul's late Progreſs upon Earth, about a Divorce 'twixt Chriſt and the Church of Rome, by Reaſon of her Differences and Exceſſes, &c. London,* 1644, 8*vo*. The author of this book publiſhed it about the year 1642, and being obliged to fly from Rome on that account, in the company, and under the conduct, of one who pretended friendſhip to him, was betrayed at Avignon, and there hanged, and then burnt. (2.) *A Venetian Looking-Glaſs: Or a Letter written very lately from London to Cardinal* Barberini *at Rome, by a Venetian Clariſſimo, touching the preſent Diſtempers in England,* 1648, 3 ſheets 4to. (3.) *An Exact Hiſtory of the late Revolutions in Naples, and of their monſtrous Succeſſes, not to be paralled by any ancient or modern Hiſtory, Lond.* 1650, 8*vo* (28). (4.) *A Letter of Advice ſent from the Prime Stateſmen of Florence, how England may come to herſelf again, dated at Florence, March* 12, 1659. Theſe were all tranſlated from the Italian: he rendered alſo from the French into Engliſh, *The Nuptials of Peleus and Thetis, conſiſting of a Maſk and a Comedy, or the Great Royal Ball, acted lately in Paris ſix times, &c.* Lond. 1654, 4to. and from Spaniſh into Engliſh, *The Proceſs and Pleadings in the Court of Spain upon the Death of Anthony Aſcham, Reſident for the Parliament of England, and of John Baptiſta Riva his Interpreter, &c.* Lond 1651, fol. This Aſcham was deſcended from a genteel family, and bred at Eaton ſchool and King's college in Cambridge, where he took the degree of A. M. and in the Civil Wars ſiding with the Parliament, he was by their authority made tutor to James Duke of York. In 1648, he publiſhed *A Diſcourſe wherein is examined what is particularly lawful during the Confuſions and Revolutions of Government, &c* (29). He was appointed reſident to Spain in the latter end of 1649, and arriving at Madrid in June following, had an apartment in the palace, where he was murthered. Six Engliſh gentlemen, viz. John Guillim, William Spark, Valentine Progers, Jo. Halſal, William Arnet, and Henry Progers, went to his chambers, and two of them ſtaying at the bottom of the ſtairs, and two others at the top, the remaining two entered the room, of whom Spark being the firſt, drew up to the table where Aſcham and his interpreter were ſitting, and pulling off his hat, ſaid, Gentlemen, I kiſs your hands, pray which is the Reſident; upon which the Reſident riſing, Guillim took him by the hair, and with a dagger gave him a thruſt that overthrew him; then came Spark and gave him another, and to make ſure work they gave him five ſtabs, of which he inſtantly died. Whereupon his interpreter thinking to retire to his own chamber, the other four gave him four wounds, whereof he preſently expired. Five of the Engliſh took ſanctuary, whence they were haled, impriſoned, and condemned, and Spark † ſuffered. The ſixth, Henry Progers, fled to the Venetian ambaſſador's houſe, and ſo eſcaped (30).

(28) This book was written in Italian by Alexander Giraffi.

(29) The reſt of the title is; or how far a Man may lawfully conform to the Power and Commands of thoſe, who with various Succeſſes hold Kingdoms divided by civil and foreign Wars, &c. Likewiſe whether the Nature of War be inconſiſtent with the Precepts of the Chriſtian Religion. Lond. 1648, 8vo. in 3 parts. This book was anſwered by Biſhop Sanderſon. See his article.

† He was the only Proteſtant among them. Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. p. 291. by Lord Clarendon, who was then Ambaſſador in Spain from King Ch. II. The reſt being re-delivered to the ſame church, had proviſions ſent to them by perſons of quality, 'till they found an opportunity of making their eſcape. Thurloe' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 189 & alibi.

(30) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 385. According to the account in Thurloe, Aſcham was murdered at an inn, before the orders came for his removal into the palace.

[*G*] *He went to France with a young gentleman*] Viz. Mr Richard Altham, a younger ſon of Baron Altham, Mr Howell became acquainted with him at Stains while his brother Howell was there. Our author ſpeaks of him as a nonpareil. ‘I hold him, ſays he (31), to be one of the hopefuleſt young men of this kingdom for parts and perſon; he is full of excellent ſolid knowledge, the mathematicks, the law, and other

(31) Vol. I. § 2. No. 12. ibid. No. 18.

1622 greatly to his ſatisfaction with this friend abroad, and not many months after his return kiſſed the King's hand for an agency to the court of Spain, where he went to ſollicit the recovery of a rich Engliſh ſhip, which had been ſeized by that King's Viceroy at Sardinia upon a pretence of carrying contraband goods [*H*]. Three Ambaſſadors had been already employed in negotiating this affair, yet Mr Howell brought the matter nearer to a ſucceſsful iſſue than had been done before [*I*]; but when he was juſt upon the point of completing it to the ſatisfaction of both parties, the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Charles I.) coming to Madrid on account of the Infanta, firſt put a ſtop to Mr Howell's proceeding; and the breaking of the Spaniſh match afterwards broke the neck of the whole buſineſs, and of all our agent's proſpects of advantage thereby [*K*]; and he returned

other material ſtudies;' in ſhort, he was evidently Howell's white boy, molded exactly to his heart's wiſh. In his company he was completely bleſt, and ſays, he envied no man's happineſs (32). He ſeems to have had the ſame warmth in his temper with our cadet, which not long after their return drew them into a rencounter (33) with the Sergeants in Lombard ſtreet. But in this tour Mr Howell was in great danger of loſing his life by too cloſe an application to his ſtudies For having retired with his comrade to Poiſſy for privacy, and ſole converſe with the nation; he there taſked himſelf to read ſo many books in ſuch a compaſs of time, and to perform it, he frequently watched many nights together in the depth of winter. Whereupon returning to Paris he was ſeized with an impoſthume in his head, whereof he lay ſick above forty days, being eighteen of them without any ſleep, except ſuch ſhort imperfect ſlumbers as were procured by potions; at laſt a tumour ſettled in his throat, ſo that he could hardly fetch his breath; but after cauterizing it, an iſſue was made in his cheek, which, he ſays, ſaved his life. It is obſervable that he was much ſubject to this diſtemper, a defluxion fell into his throat while he was at Oxford, which diſtilling upon the uvula impeached his utterance a long time after; he found the ſame diſorder again at Venice in his firſt travels, where he had an iſſue made in his left arm for it: on his return homewards, he fell ſick again at Rouen of a pain in the head, which, with the iſſue he brought to England. Here Dr Harvey, whom he conſulted, apprehending it might turn to a conſumption, ſtopped his iſſue, telling him *There was no danger, in regard he had not worn it a full twelve monnth.* After which he quickly recovered by the aſſiſtance of that celebrated Phyſician (34).

[*H*] *Seized for carrying contraband goods.*] Mr Howell gives the following account of this affair. There was a large Turkey ſhip called the *Vineyard*, which ſailing through the Streights for Conſtantinople, was forced by ſtreſs of weather inte a little port called Milo in Sardinia; here the ſearchers came on board, and finding her richly laden (her cargo of broad-cloth at prime coſt being worth 30000l. ſterling), they cavilled at ſome ſmall quantity of lead and tin, which though only for the ſhip's uſe, they alledged to be *Ropa de contrabando*, prohibited goods (35); and the Vice roy of Sardinia accordingly ſeized the ſhip and cargo, and landed the maſter and men in Spain (36).

[*I*] *Three Ambaſſadors had been employed, but Mr Howell did more than all.*] The Ambaſſadors were Sir Ch. Cornwallis once, and Lord Digby twice, in that character. The firſt of theſe being Ambaſſador in Spain when the maſter and men were put aſhore there as abovementioned, they immediately addreſſed themſelves to him, but finding him able to do them little good, they came to England and complained to the King and Council. Whereupon his Majeſty ſent a particular commiſſion in his own name to demand reſtitution and juſtice upon the Vice-roy. Sir Ch Cornwallis (together with Sir Paul Pindar a while) laboured the buſineſs and commenced a ſuit in law, but was called home, before he could do any thing to purpoſe. To him ſucceeded Sir John (afterwards Lord) Digby, in the ſame character, and being inveſted with the ſame commiſſion, diſpatched Mr Walſingham Greſsley to Sardinia, who happened to be taken priſoner by ſome Turkiſh men of war, and carried into Algiers. Lord Digby being remanded home, left the buſineſs in the hands of Mr Cottington, then an agent at Madrid, but reſumed it at his return; yet it proved ſuch a tedious intricate ſuit, that his Lordſhip went back to England again without finiſhing the work; and going now Ambaſſador extraordinary upon the buſineſs of the Spaniſh match and the reſtitution of the Palatinate, deſired this particular commiſſion might be given to another, whom he promiſed to aſſiſt to the utmoſt of his power, having himſelf alſo a good round ſhare in the buſineſs (37). His Lordſhip's declining it was the ſtep which helped Mr Howell to the employ; who, meeting with the like delays his predeceſſors had done in the law-courts, preſented a memorial, that a particular junta of ſome of the Council of State and War might be appointed to determine the buſineſs. Upon this referees were accordingly nominated, who paſſed ſentence in favour of the complainants, by virtue of which he got an execution againſt the goods of the Vice-roy, and afterwards obtained a royal cedule with a power to arreſt his perſon, ſuch as he was told by his lawyers, had never been granted in Spain before (38).

[*K*] *Broke the neck of the whole buſineſs, and of all his proſpects therein.*] He had been in Sardinia, and brought the Vice-roy to offer a compoſition, and finding him unable to ſatisfy the debt, he had framed another memorial and preſented it to the King, deſiring that, as the ſaid Vice-roy was inſolvent, his Majeſty would be pleaſed to grant a warrant (for the relief of both parties) to lade ſo many thouſand ſterills or meaſures of corn out of Sardinia and Sicily cuſtom free, as ſhould be equivalent to the debt. He had gone far towards obtaining ſuch a warrant, when Sir Francis Cottington, Secretary to the Prince of Wales, ſent for him, and required him in the Prince's name to proceed no further herein 'till his Royal Highneſs was departed from Spain (39). After the breach, Mr Howell had acceſs to Olivarez the Prime-Miniſter, once or twice, and likewiſe to the King, to whom he now preſented a memorial, that intimated letters of mart, unleſs ſatiſfaction was had in his affair. The King gave him a gracious anſwer, but Olivarez, ſays he, told me, that *when the Spaniards had juſtice in England, we ſhould have juſtice here* (40). This was plain dealing, and put a compleat end to our agent's negotiation. He had undertaken this affair upon what he calls very good terms. For beſides all his expences borne, he was to have 3000l. ſterling reward, if he ſucceeded. And that, which no doubt, ſweetned the employ more, was the company of his dear friend Mr Richard Altham (41), who went with him to Madrid, and probably had a great hand in procuring it for him, being a near relation to Captain Leat, a principal perſon concerned. Mr Howell having liquidated the whole ſum, principal and intereſt upon intereſt (the uſage in thoſe times) with all ſorts of damages and proceſſal charges, found it to amount to upwards of 250,000 crowns, of theſe Captain Leat's ſhare came to above 40,000, a ſum, which the commiſſioner obſerves, might ſerve him for a good Alderman's eſtate (42).

Our author as ſervant of the Crown, had his paſſage home in company of Mr (afterwards Sir) Peter Wych, in the convoy of the Prince of Wales's jewels, which, he ſays, were valued at above 100,000l. and among others there was a great table diamond for Olivarez of eighteen carats weight, but the richeſt preſent was to the Infanta, being a chain of great orient pearl to the number of 276, weighing 9 oz (43). Our author alſo relates ſeveral curious particulars in the Prince's courtſhip, hardly elſewhere to be met with. As firſt, that in a poem of Lope de Vegas upon this occaſion, there was this excellent ſtanza).

Carlos Eſtuardo Soy
Que ſiendo Amor mi guia,
Al cieolo d'Eſpana voy
Por ver mi Eſtrella Maria (44).

2. That the comedians came once a week to the palace, where under a great canopy the Queen and the Infanta ſat

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(32) See his Letter to him, Vol. I § 1. No. 2 and 18. and § 2. No. 30, 32.

(33) Ibid. § 3. No. 8 and 10. Our author had ſuch another ſcuffle as that mentioned here, at Paris, of which he gave this friend an account in a letter from that city. Ib. No. 17. § 1.

(34) Ibid. No. 1 and 22. § 2.

(35) By an article of peace with Spain, nothing was to be carried to Turky that might arm and victual.

(36) Fam. Lett. Vol. I. § 3. No. 6.

(37) Ibid.

(38) Id. § 3. No. 10 and 14.

(39) Ib. No. 17.

(40) Ibid. No. 33. Mr Howell afterwards applied to Lord Cottington, on his going Ambaſſador Extraordinary to Spain in 1629, who did ſomething in ic, but with what ſucceſs does not appear. § 5. No. 28 and 35.

(41) He returned home a year before Mr Howell, on account of his brother's death, whom he did not ſurvive a great many years. Ib. No. 23 and 45. § 6.

(42) Ibid. No. 8 and 10.

(43) Ibid. § 4. No. 1.

(44) It is no wonder to find our author approving this ſtrain of the Spaniard, when we read the following lines of his own.

Could I thoſe whitely ſtars go nigh,
Which make the milky way in ſky,
I 'de poach them, and at moonſhine dreſs,
To make my Delia a curious meſs.

Ibid. Vol. II. § 1. No. 22.

returned to England toward the latter end of the year 1624 (*p*). This unexpected diſappointment put him again to his ſhifts for a ſupport. In this exigence he made his court to the Duke of Buckingham as the ſole diſpoſer of all preferments †, and he received many noble reſpects from his Grace; but finding after two years attendance that he was thought to be too much Digbyfied to have any place of truſt under that minion, who was then at high enmity with the Earl of Briſtol, he liſtened to a propoſal that was made to him in 1626 by Lord Conway then Secretary of State; which was to go into Italy in quality of a moving agent for the King (*q*). But the demand of 100 l. a quarter, which he thought that ſervice deſerved, not being complied with, he miſſed likewiſe of this employ. However, the loſs was in a ſhort time abundantly made up to him; for the ſame year he was appointed Secretary to Emmanuel Lord Scrope (afterwards Earl of Sunderland), who was made Lord-Preſident of the North (*r*). This poſt brought Mr Howell to York; and while he reſided there, the corporation of Richmond, without any application from himſelf, and againſt ſeveral competitors, choſe him one of their repreſentatives to ſit in the Parliament which began in 1627 (*s*). The following year Lord Scrope fell into a languiſhing diſorder (*t*), and reſigning his poſt the year after, was ſucceeded therein by the Lord Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford (*u*), who at his entrance into that office, out of regard to Mr Howell, and in conſideration of his loſs, gave him the diſpoſal of the next Attorney's place that became vacant at York *. This grant was of ſome advantage to him [*L*], and he continued in the ſervice of his old maſter 'till his Lordſhip's death [*M*]. In 1632, he went Secretary to Robert Earl of Leiceſter, appointed Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the court of Denmark, on occaſion of the death of the Queen

(*p*) See Ibid. § 4. No. 1. dated Dec. 10. 1624. when newly returned from Spain.

† He was recommended by ſome noblemen his friends, that had intimacy with the Duke, 'About whom, ſays he, though 'he hath 3 Secretaries already, I hope to 'have ſome employment.' Ib. and No. 10.

(*q*) No. 24.

(*r*) Id. ibid. and No. 25, 26.

(*s*) Ibid. § 5. No. 3, 4.

(*t*) Id. ibid. No. 20 and 34.

(*u*) See his article.

* Howell's Letters, § 6. No. 18.

ſat in the middle, the Prince of Wales and Don Carlos on the Queen's right hand; the King and the little Cardinal on the Infanta's left hand. 'I have ſeen, ſays he, the Prince have his eyes immoveably fixed upon the Infanta half an hour together in a thoughtful ſpeculative poſture;' upon which part of his behaviour, Olivarez made the unhandſome compariſon, that he watched her as a cat does a mouſe. 3. That the Prince being informed the Infanta uſed to go ſome mornings to the *Caſa de campo*, a ſummer-houſe of the King's on the other ſide of the river of Madrid to gather May-dew, he roſe early and went thither, taking Mr Endymion Porter with him. They were let into the houſe and into the garden, but the Infanta was in the orchard, and there being a high partition wall between, and the door doubly bolted, the Prince got on the top of the wall and ſprung down a great height and ſo made towards her, but ſhe, ſpying him firſt of all the reſt, gave a ſhriek, and ran back; the old Marquis that was then her guardian, came towards the Prince, and fell on his knees, conjuring his Highneſs to retire, in regard he hazarded his head, if he admitted any to her company; ſo the door was opened, and the Prince came out under that wall over which he had got in. I have ſeen him, continues our author, watch a long hour together in a cloſe coach in the open ſtreet to ſee her as ſhe went abroad (45).

[*L*] *This grant was ſome advantage*] One of theſe places became vacant the ſame year, and he was offered 300l. for it: but herein, it ſeems, he met with a conſiderable diſappointment, *for* '*ſome*, ſays he, *got betwixt* '*me and home, ſo that I was forced to go away* '*contented with one hundred pieces* Mr Ratcliffe *deli*'*vered me in his chamber at Gray's-Inn, and ſo to part* '*with the legal inſtrument I had, which I did rather* '*than conteſt* (46).' This grant is an inſtance of his Lordſhip's noble diſpoſition, ſince he had never liked his predeceſſor Lord Scroop (47) [afterwards Earl of Sunderland]; and beſides, Mr Howell had been choſen Member of Parliament for Richmond, againſt his Lordſhip's couſin and particular favourite Mr Chriſtopher Wandſford (48). The inſtrument for the attorney's place, was returned to his Lordſhip with the following letter.

To the Lord Viſcount Wentworth, Lord Preſident of the North.

'*My ever honoured good Lord,*

'*Herewith I ſend your Lordſhip the inſtrument you* '*pleaſed to paſs unto me for the reverſion of the next* '*Attorney's place in York, for which, by your Lord*'*ſhip's appointment, Mr Ratcliffe hath given me ſatiſ*'*faction. I was always, and ſhall ever continue ſo* '*ſenſible of ſo free and noble a favour, that in the* '*whole courſe of my life, I ſhall endeavour to make* '*expreſſions of my thankfulneſs, and how much I* '*am,*

My Lord,

your Lordſhip's

St Martin's-lane,
May, 5, 1629. *moſt true and humble ſervant,*

Ja. Howell.

This letter has been lately printed among the State Papers and Letters of the Earl of Strafford (49), where there are twelve more from Mr Howell to his Lordſhip, wrote monthly, during the courſe of the year 1635*, all upon the ſame ſubject of public news and occurrences with thoſe three to his Lordſhip, printed by Mr Howell himſelf in his familiar letters (50), and written antecedently to that year, if we may rely upon their dates, which are partly confirmed by the beginning of his firſt monthly letter in 1634, printed in the State Papers, &c. where he intimates, that he had paid this tribute of his obſervance, though not regularly before. This circumſtance is mentioned in the view of vindicating the authenticity of Mr Howell's Familiar Letters from the aſperſion thrown upon them by Mr Wood, who tells us, 'that many of the ſaid letters were never written 'before the author of them was in the Fleet as he pre'tends, only feigned, no time being kept with their 'dates (51).' But ſome inaccuracy in the dates, is no good argument againſt their genuineneſs, ſince in ſuch letters, as many or moſt of theſe are, 'tis not unuſual in the copy (there being no neceſſity for it) to omit the dates, which therefore (as the originals were then out of his hands) muſt be often ſupplied by memory alone †; and hence probably it is, that we find the year frequently omitted.

[*M*] *He continued in the ſervice of his old maſter* '*till his Lordſhip's death.*] The profits of his Secretary's office had been very conſiderable; not long after his ſettlement in it, he writes to a friend from York thus. 'For this preſent condition of life, I thank 'God I live well contented, I have a fee from the 'King, diet for myſelf and two ſervants, livery for a 'horſe, and a part of the King's houſe for my lodg'ing, and other privileges which I am told no Secre'tary before me had.' He alſo mentions his having built himſelf a new ſtudy (52). My Lord gave him next year, 1628, the patronage of the living of Hambledon near Henley upon Thames, a rectory worth 500 l. a year (53). However, after his Lordſhip's reſignation, he complains, that the perquiſites of his place, taking the King's fee away, came very ſhort of what his Lordſhip promiſed him at his firſt coming to him, in regard of his non reſidence at York; he therefore hoped his Lordſhip would conſider it ſome other way, in which view he ſtill continued in his ſervice (54). But we find at laſt, he had met with ſome difficulty in

(45) Ibid. § 3. No. 18.

(46) Ibid. § 5. No. 24. The truth is, this was not a ſeaſon fit for conteſting it, that court itſelf being then become one of the grievances univerſally complained of, and two years afterwards, it was aboliſhed as illegal. See the Earl of Clarendon's article.

(47) See the Earl of Strafford's article.

(48) Ibid. and Howell's Letters Vol. 1. § 5. No. 4.

(49) In two vols fol. 1739. Vol. 1. p. 50.

* The firſt is dated Feb. 1, 1634-5. and the laſt March 15, 1635-6.

(50) Sect. 5. No. 31. and § 6. No. 12 and 25.

(51) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 382. N. B. In the firſt edition the letters had no dates, and that want was ſupplied in the ſecond. See the title-page to that edition in 1650.

† For inſtance, the letter in Vol. 1. § 6. No. 31 containing our author's *decaſtic* on the death of Ben. Johnſon, is dated May 1. 1636. whereas that Poet did not die 'till Aug. 10, 1637. Yet that the letter with the decaſtic was actually ſent, appears from it's being in the collection entituled *Johnſonus Virbius*, printed in 1638. 4to.

(52) Fam. Lett. Vol. 1. § 5. No. 1.

(53) Ibid. No. 16.

(54) Ibid. No. 34.

Queen-dowager, who was grandmother to King Charles I. [*N*]. Our author gave ſome proofs of his oratorical talents in ſeveral Latin ſpeeches before the King of Denmark and other princes of Germany (*w*). He alſo was very ſerviceable in procuring a grant of ſome privileges to our Eaſtland company, which never could be obtained before [*O*]. Soon after his return to England, he received the unwelcome news of his father's death [*P*], a loſs which muſt needs be more ſenſibly felt by him, as his fortune proved afterwards more unſtable than ever. For except an inconſiderable affair, upon which he was diſpatched to Orleans in France by Secretary Windebank in 1635 (*x*), he was deſtitute of any employment for ſome years, meeting with the not uncommon lot of thoſe who are thrown into a life of dependency (*y*). Under theſe difficulties he ſet his face at laſt towards Ireland, where Lord Wentworth being Deputy was then reſident. He had received many warm profeſſions of kindneſs from his Lordſhip, and was now determined to put his ſincerity to the trial (*z*). With this reſolution he went in 1639 to Dublin, where he was well received; and finding one of the Clerks of the Council moſt opportunely very aged and bed-rid, he applied for the reverſion of the place, and obtained a grant thereof. In the interim, the Lord-Deputy employed him as an Aſſiſtant-Clerk upon ſome buſineſs to Edinburgh, and afterwards to London (*aa*); but all his riſing hopes were ruined in the unhappy fate which the Earl of Strafford met with ſoon after. However, in 1640 he was diſpatched upon ſome buſineſs to France (*bb*), whither he carried a French tranſlation of his poem called Dodona's Grove, or the Vocal Foreſt, which was publiſhed that year [*Q*]; and upon New-Year's-day following, he preſented to his Majeſty a poem entitled THE VOTE [*R*]; and the ſame year, Sir Edward Nicholas being promoted to be Secretary

(*w*) His ſpeech to the Ducheſs of Holſtein drew tears from her. Fam. Lett. Vol. I. § 6. No. 2.

(*x*) Ibid. No. 19.

(*y*) It is very probable that he laid the plan at this time of his *Dodona's Grove*, that poem being finiſhed in 1639. See his Letters, No. 39.

(*z*) No. 34.

(*aa*) No. 36, 38.

(*bb*) What this was is not known, but he was introduced to Cardinal Richelieu, who made him ſuch propoſitions, as, he ſays, it were a vanity in him to mention. Ibid. No. 44. In this letter he gives ſome remarkable inſtances of the groſs flatteries addreſſed by the French to that Miniſter in verſe. One of theſe is the following diſtich,

Richleio intranti Rupellæ [*Ruelle*] porta pateſcit
Chriſto infernales ut patuere fores.

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in ſettling his accounts with Lady Sunderland, as appears from the letter cited in the margin (55), addreſſed to her Ladyſhip, which begins thus:

(55) Ibid. § 6. No. 18.

> ' *Madam,*
>
> ' *Here incloſed, I ſend your Ladyſhip a letter from the Lord-Deputy of Ireland, wherein he declares, that the diſpoſal of the Attorneyſhip in York, which he paſſed over to me, had no relation to my Lord at all, but it was merely done out of a particular reſpect to me: your Ladyſhip may pleaſe to think of it accordingly touching the accounts.*'

From this paſſage her Ladyſhip ſeems to have made the value of that attorneyſhip an article in her favour, grounding it probably upon the anſwer ſent by Lord Wentworth to the following letter from the Earl of Sunderland on that occaſion.

> ' *My very good Lord,*
>
> ' *I underſtand your Lordſhip hath beſtowed the next Attorney's place in reverſion at York, upon James Howell my Secretary. I muſt thank you for it, and the rather, becauſe he hath deſervingly and faithfully ſerved me in that place, wherein I hear your Lordſhip hath ſucceeded me. I wiſh you much happineſs in it, and reſt very faithfully,*
>
> St Martyn's lane, *Your humble ſervant,*
> Dec. 15, 1628.
>
> E. SUNDERLAND †.'

† Strafford's State Papers and Letters, &c. Vol. I.

[*N*] *Grandmother to King Charles I.*] She was the Duke of Mecklenburgh's daughter, her huſband Chriſtian III. dying young, her portion, which was 40,000l. was reſtored to her, and living a widow forty-four years after, ſhe grew to be ſo great a houſe-wife (ſetting three or four hundred people at work) that ſhe died worth near two millions of dollars, ſo that ſhe was reputed the richeſt Queen in Chriſtendom. By the conſtitution of Denmark, this eſtate was diviſible amongſt her children, whereof ſhe had five, the King of Denmark, the Ducheſs of Saxony, the Ducheſs of Brunſwick, Queen Anne, conſort to King James I. and the Ducheſs of Holſtein. The King being male was to have two ſhares, and King Charles I. then our King and his ſiſter the Princeſs Palatine were to have their mother's ſhare divided between them (56), which amounted to 160,000l. ſterling. This the Ambaſſador aſked for, but the King not complying, by reaſon of ſome demands he had upon the Crown of England; my Lord Leiceſter then deſired, in regard he was to paſs through the Hague, that part which belonged to my Lady Elizabeth, becauſe his Majeſty knew well what croſſes and afflictions ſhe had ſuffered, and what a numerous iſſue ſhe had to maintain; and his Lordſhip ſaid, he would engage his honour and all the eſtate he had in the world, that this ſhould no way prejudice the accompts. The King of Denmark highly extolled the nobleneſs of this motion, but proteſted his coffers were empty: hereupon my Lord was feaſted, and that was all he could get (57).

(56) Fam. Lett. § 5. No. 40.

(57) Ibid. § 6. No. 5.

[*O*] *He procured ſome privileges for the Eaſtland Company.*] The ſhips of that company in paſſing through the Sound, had been forced to ſtay there ſeveral days on account of taking up money at high intereſt to pay diverſe tolls for the merchandizes, before they could expoſe them to vent; but it was now granted, that it ſhould be ſufficient for the merchant to regiſter an invoice of his cargo in the Cuſtom-houſe book, and give his bond to pay all duties at his return after he had made his market, which no Ambaſſador had been able to obtain before. There had been likewiſe a new toll demanded of late from the Hamburgh merchants at Luckſtadt, a fort commanding the entrance into the Elbe, which at the Ambaſſador's ſuit was now taken off (58).

(58) The old toll was a roſe noble for every ſhip, which had been of late interpreted to be for every ſail. Ibid. No. 4 and 5.

[*P*] *He received the news of his father's death.*] This was ſent to him by Dr Field, Biſhop of St Davids, and he obſerves, that it was the heavieſt news that ever was ſent him. ' But, continues he, when I recollect myſelf, and conſider the fairneſs and maturity of his age, and that it was rather a gentle diſſolution than death. When I contemplate the infinite advantage he hath got by this change and tranſmigration, it much lightens the weight of my grief. For if ever human ſoul entered Heaven, ſurely his is there; ſuch was his conſtant piety to God, his rare indulgence to his children, his charity to his neighbours, and his candour in reconciling differences; ſuch was the gentleneſs of his diſpoſition; his unwearied courſe in actions of virtue, that I wiſh my ſoul no other felicity, when ſhe has ſhaken off theſe rags of fleſh, than to aſcend to his, and co-enjoy the ſame bliſs (59).' Such an amiable inſtance of filial piety was thought worthy of a place in theſe memoirs.

(59) Ibid. No. 7.

[*Q*] *Dodona's Grove, or the Vocal Foreſt, publiſhed in* 1640, *in 4to.*] The Engliſh poem was publiſhed in reality at the latter end of 1639 (60), and the author having tranſlated it into French, carried it to be reviſed at Paris; after which he ſent a copy from that city to Lord Herbert of Cherbury, with this recommendation, that it was done in the neweſt French; for though the verſion was his own, yet he had got one of the *Academie des beaux Eſprits* there to run it over, to correct and refine the language, and reduce it to the moſt modern dialect. It took ſo here, continues he, that the Academy of Wits have given a far higher elogium of it than it deſerves (61).

(60) Ibid. No. 39.

(61) No. 44. It went through ſeveral editions; and being ſo well received, he made uſe of it to carry off other pieces, as *His Parables*, &c. in the 2d edit. in 1644, 4to. and in the 3d, at Cambridge, in 1655, 12mo. were added *England's Tears*, &c. and *The Preeminence and Pedigree of Parliaments*, &c. together with his *Vindication* againſt Mr Prynne.

[*R*] *The Vote.*] The whole title is, *The Vote; or a Poem preſented to his Majeſty for a New-Year's-Gift by Way of Diſcourſe betwixt the Poet and his Muſe. Kal.* January 1641, 4to. The method he took of prefixing it to the ſecond volume of his familiar letters has preſerved it, otherwiſe it muſt have periſhed long ago, being indeed a very indifferent performance. Our author exerciſed his poetical talent in verſe on other occaſions. As in a piece intituled, *Ah, Ha*, Tumulus, Thalamus; *Two Counter Poems, The firſt an Elegy upon*

Secretary of State, Mr Howell ſucceeded him in the Clerkſhip of the Council (*cc*). This poſt was the moſt fixed in point of reſidence, and the moſt permanent in it's nature, of any he had ever enjoyed. But the reſidence of theſe Clerks was now rendered very unſettled upon the King's departure from his palace at Whitehall, and the permanency in their office became thereby ſo precarious, that it was not in the power of his royal maſter to ſecure his continuance long in it. For in 1643, being come to London upon ſome buſineſs of his own, all his papers were ſeized by a committee of the Parliament, his perſon ſecured, and in a few days after committed cloſe priſoner to the Fleet [*S*]. He had before this time, partly through want of employment, and partly by bad œconomy, run himſelf conſiderably in debt (*ff*), ſo that he had now nothing to truſt to but his pen (*gg*). He applied himſelf therefore wholly to write and tranſlate books, which buſineſs he managed ſo well, that it brought him in a comfortable ſubſiſtence during his long ſtay in that priſon, where he was confined 'till ſome time after the King's death; and as he got nothing by his diſcharge thence beſides his liberty, he was obliged to continue the ſame employ afterwards. His numerous productions are an undeniable proof of the readineſs of his wit, and in the light of criticiſm they ought to be looked on as works of neceſſity more than of choice. Preſently after his impriſonment, Mr Prynne, in a piece entitled *The Popiſh Royal Favourite*, charging him with *being no friend to Parliaments, and a malignant*, our author publiſhed a vindication of himſelf in 1644 [*T*]; and the ſame year, being informed that the King was diſpleaſed at ſome things publiſhed in his name ſince his confinement, as ſhewing an indifference to his Majeſty's ſervice, he took the liberty of addreſſing a letter (*hh*) to his Majeſty then at Oxford, wherein he makes uſe of the ſtrongeſt terms to purge himſelf from that imputation, and expreſſes a warm zeal for the royal cauſe; yet at the ſame time he makes free to beſeech the King to return to his parliament

(*cc*) Ibid. No. 46. and Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*ff*) Wood, ib.

(*gg*) Before this he publiſhed, Inſtructions for Travel, ſhewing by what Cours, and in what Compaſſe of time, one may take an exact Survey of the Kingdomes and States of Chriſtendome, and arrive to the practicall Knowledge of the Languages to good purpoſe. Lond. 1642. 12mo. dedicated to Prince Charles

(*hh*) Vol. 2. No. 65.

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upon Edward late Earl of Dorſet; the ſecond, an Epithalamium to the L. Marquis of Dorcheſter; with an Hymænæum, or bridal Sonnet of four Stanzas, according to a choice Air ſet thereunto, by Mr William Webb, Lond. 1653, two ſheets quarto. Alſo another poetical piece called, *The Parley of Beaſts, or Morphandia Queen of the enchanted Iſland, &c.* Tom. I. Lond. 1660. And in 1663, there came out in octavo, written by him, *Poems on ſeveral choice and various Subjects, occaſionally compoſed by an eminent Author, collected and publiſhed by Serjeant-Major, P. F.* [Payne Fiſher, ſometime Poet-Lauret to Oliver Cromwell] who obſerves in the preface, that Mr Howell may 'be called 'the prodigy of the age for the variety of his volumes; 'for from his Δενδρολογία, or parley of trees, to his 'Θηρολογία, his parley of beaſts, not inferior to the 'other, there has paſſed the preſs above forty of his 'works on various ſubjects, uſeful not only to the 'preſent times, but to all poſterity. And it is to be 'obſerved, that in all his writings there is ſomething ſtill 'new either in the matter, method, or fancy, and in 'an untrodden track.' Of the poetical kind, may be reckoned alſo, (1.) His Winter Dream, though written in proſe, Lond. 1649, in three ſheets, 4to. (2.) *A Trance; or News from Hell, brought firſt to Town, by Merc. Acheronticus*, Lond. 1649, two ſheets and a half. (3.) A Viſion, or Dialogue between the Soul and Body, Lond. 1651, 8vo. (4.) *A Nocturnal Progreſs; or a Perambulation of moſt Countries in Chriſtendom, performed in one Night by ſtrength of Imagination*, Lond. 1645.

[*S*] *Committed cloſe priſoner to the Fleet.*] The circumſtances of it were, that one morning there ruſhed into his chamber five armed men with ſwords, piſtols, and bills, and told him they had a warrant from the Parliament for him, which though they refuſed to ſhew for a while, yet at laſt one of them pulled a greazy paper out of his pocket and ſhewed him only three names ſubſcribed and no more. So they ruſhed into his cloſet, and ſeizing all his papers, letters, and manuſcripts, beſides ſeveral printed books, they carried them away. Having taken phyſic that morning, they ſuffered him (yet not without much ado) to ſtay in his chamber with two guards upon him 'till the evening, when he was carried before the committee for examination, where he was well uſed, and being brought up to the cloſe committee, was ordered to be forth-coming, 'till his papers were peruſed by Mr Corbet, who was appointed to do it. Some days after he came to Mr Corbet, who told him he had peruſed them accordingly, and could find nothing that might give offence. 'Hereupon, continues our author, I deſired him to make his report to the Houſe, which (as I was told) he did very fairly; yet ſuch was my hard hap, that I was committed to the Fleet, where I am now under cloſe confinement.' This account Mr Howell gives (62) of the cauſe of his impriſonment. But Mr Wood inſinuates that he was thrown into priſon for debts contracted through his own extravagancy (63). And indeed ſome of our author's letters give room enough to ſuſpect it (64). And in one he ſeems to impute the apprehending of him to the indiſcretion of one of his acquaintance, who diſcovered his abode (65). But whatever was either the firſt occaſion of his impriſonment, or of his detention ſo long there, he was certainly very cheerful under it; of which, among others, the following epitaph upon himſelf is an inſtance.

> Heer lies entomb'd a walking thing,
> Whom Fortune (with the States) did fling
> Between theſe walls. Why? Aſk not that,
> That blind whore doth ſhe knows not what (66).

[*T*] *A vindication of himſelf in* 1644] This defence likewiſe contained a *Clearing of ſome Occurrences in Spain at his Majeſty's being there, cited by the* ſaid Mr Prynn out of the Vocal Foreſt; by J. H. Eſq; one of the Clerks of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-Council. Publiſhed by ſpecial order, Lond, 1644. In it he declares (67), that Mr Prynn had traduced him in the charge abovementioned, and is confident it never could be proved againſt him from any action, words, or letters (though ſeveral of his had been intercepted), or any other miſdemeanour, though ſome things had been fathered upon him which never dropped from his quill. 'Alas, continues he, how un'worthy and uncapable am I to cenſure the proceed'ings of that great Senate, that high Synedrion where'in the wiſdom of the whole Senate is epitomized.' Before this, our author had publiſhed ſeveral pieces upon the times; the firſt of which was written preſently after the battle of Edge-hill, and was the firſt book that came out on the King's ſide, entitled, *Caſual Diſcourſes and Interlocutions between* Patricius *and* Peregrin, *touching the Diſtractions of the times.* (2.) Mercurius Hibernicus, *or a Diſcourſe of that horrid Inſurrection and Maſſacre which happened lately in Ireland*, written in the Fleet, 1643. Briſtol, 1644. in two ſheets and a half, 4to. (3.) *Parables reflecting upon the Times*, Lond. 1644. in two ſheets, 4to. ſubjoined to the ſecond edition of *Dodona's Grove*. (4.) *England's Tears for the preſent Wars* (68), *which for the Nature of the Quarrel, the Quality of the Strength, the Diverſity of Battles, Skirmiſhes, Encounters, and Sieges, happened in ſo ſhort a compaſs of time, cannot be parallelled in any preceding Age*, Lond. 1644. in two ſheets and a half, 4to. (5.) *Preheminence and Pedigree of Parliaments*, in two ſections, Lond. 1644. 12mo. To this was ſubjoined his *Vindicatiou*, &c. mentioned in the beginning of this remark.

[*U*] *He*

(62) Ibid. No. 47.

(63) Ubi ſupra, col. 381.

(64) Ibid. Vol. 1. § 6. No. 55 and 60. In the firſt he ſays, he has good hopes he ſhall at laſt overcome all his preſſures, ſurvive his debts, and ſurmount his enemies.

(65) Vol. 2. No. 77.

(66) Ibid. No. 40.

(67) P. 16.

(68) This was tranſlated into Latin, and publiſhed under the title of Angliæ Suſpiria & Lachrymæ, &c. Lond. 1646. 4to.

ment and palace at Whitehall [*U*]. It is true, he appears to be no friend to the meaſures purſued by Buckingham, Laud, and Strafford, and was far from approving the impoſition of ſhip-money, and the policy of creating and multiplying monopolies (*i i*). Yet the ſenſe of his own ſufferings, and the miſery brought upon the nation during the civil wars, by the unbridled inſolence and outrage of the commonalty, gave him an utter diſlike to any kind of popular ſway in England; in which view he was not diſpleaſed, when Oliver aſſumed the ſovereign power in the ſpecious title of Protector, and in this light it was that he addreſſed the Uſurper in a fair ſpeech on that occaſion [*W*]. If his circumſtances requiring it, he (as well as many others of unqueſtionable loyalty) yielded prudentially to the neceſſity of the times under Cromwell's tyranny, yet at the Reſtoration this conduct was judged not inexcuſable. King Charles II. thought him worthy of his notice and favour, and his former poſt under the Council being otherwiſe diſpoſed of, a new place was created, by the grant of which he became the firſt Hiſtoriographer Royal * in England [*X*].

In

(*i i*) Ibid. No. 28. and Vol. 1. § 4. No. 18. alſo § 6. No. 16.

* The ſalary of this place is 200 l. per annum.

[*U*] *He beſeeches the King to return to his Parliament.*] In this letter he confeſſes that ſome of his things were more moderate than others, yet alledges (under favour) that there were none of them but diſplayed the heart of a conſtant, true, loyal ſubject; and takes notice that he had been informed by ſome of the moſt zealous in his Majeſty's ſervice, that they had the good ſucceſs to rectify multitudes of people in their opinion of ſome things. Mr Howell always thought it moſt adviſable for his Majeſty to be reconciled to his Parliament. In his vindication againſt Mr Prynn, mentioned already, he obſerves that 'the principal fountain whence the King derives his happineſs and ſafety is his Parliament (69).' And in another place he enforces his opinion as follows, having lamented the ſtrange ſpirit of the people. 'I remember, ſays he, to have read a tale of the ape in Paris, who having got a child out of the cradle, and carried him up to the top of the tiles, and there ſat with him upon the ridge, the parents beholding this ruthful ſpectacle, gave the ape fair and ſmooth language, ſo he gently brought the child down again, and replaced him in the cradle (70). Our country is in the ſame caſe this child was in, and I hope there will be ſweet and gentle means uſed to preſerve it from precipitation.' Our author ſeems to have formed himſelf, with regard to this part of his conduct, upon the example of the Earl of Dorſet (71) his maſter, to whom he afterwards dedicated the 3d volume of his Letters in 1650, and alſo wrote an elegy upon his Lordſhip's death in 1653, as abovementioned.

[*W*] *He addreſſed the Protector in a fair ſpeech.*] This was in the following piece, *Some ſober Inſpections made into the Carriage and Conſults of the late Long-Parliament, whereby occaſion is taken to ſpeak of Parliaments in former times, and of Magna Charta, with ſome Reflections upon Government in general.* Lond. 1653. 12mo. It is dedicated to his Highneſs the Lord Protector, whom he compliments upon his diſſolving the Long-Parliament. 'Thereby, ſays he, your Highneſs, Hercules like, may be ſaid to have quelled a monſter with many heads, ſuch a monſter, that was like to gormandize and devour the whole nation.' So far is conſiſtent enough with the Royaliſt; but in comparing the Protector to Charles Martel, the flattery is manifeſtly cooked to his patron's palate. 'There is a remarkable ſaying, continues he, of Charles Martel, in that mighty revolution in France, when he introduced the ſecond race of Kings, that in the purſuit of all his actions he uſed to ſay, that he followed not the ambition of his heart ſo much as the inſpiration of his ſoul, and the deſigns of Providence. *This may be applied to your Highneſs in the conduct of your great affairs and admirable ſucceſſes.*' In the ſame ſtrain of flattery in the work itſelf (72), having condemned Ariſtocracy and Democracy as unconſtitutional, and even not ſo agreeable to the mind of the Bible, he goes on to ſhew the neceſſity of having but one pilot to ſit at the helm of the State, and 'It is requiſite alſo, adds he, that this ſingle perſon ſhould be attended with a viſible ſtanding veteran army, to be paid well, and puniſhed well if there be cauſe, to awe as well as to ſecure the people; for there is not ſuch a wavering windy thing, nor ſuch an humerſome and croſs-grained animal in the world, as the common-people.' The fourth edition of this piece was publiſhed with ſeveral additions in 1660.

[*X*] *Hiſtoriographer's place created for him.*] Notwithſtanding Mr Howell's ſacrifice of adulation offered to the omnipotent (73) power of Oliver, one reaſon for which, beſides the abovementioned, doubtleſs was the ſame with that given by the Indians for worſhiping the Devil. He ſeems to be very far from ſiding with the Commonwealth's men (as Mr Wood intimates (74)) to the prejudice or diſparagement of the royal cauſe, as far as can be judged by his writings. Which before the Reſtoration, beſides thoſe already mentioned, are, (1.) *Epiſtolæ Ho-Elianæ, or Familiar Letters*, &c. ſo often quoted in theſe memoirs by reaſon they contain (as he expreſſes it) a legend of his life *; and the method of caſting it into the form of letters is no mean inſtance of his ingenuity. For by that means he has introduced likewiſe the hiſtory of his own times, and the whole is interſperſed with ſo many pleaſant ſtories, adagies, &c. appoſitely applied, as to be very entertaining. Accordingly, the work has paſſed through ſeveral editions ſince it's firſt appearance in 1645. Another collection being publiſhed in 1647, both theſe with the addition of a third came out in 1650. A few additional letters appeared in ſome ſubſequent editions, of which the 11th was printed in 1754 †. It cannot be denied he has given way frequently to very low witticiſms (75); but this may be ſaid in his excuſe, that he was led into it by the humour of the times. He endeavours to introduce a new orthography by cutting off (what he calls) the ſuperfluous vowels, ſo as to make the Engliſh write as they ſpeak: and in leaving out the Dutch *k* in the words *Phyſic*, *Logic*, &c. he has been followed; but to retrench all, was a reformation that exceeded the reach of his authority to compaſs; at which we cannot be ſurprized, ſince Dr Sprat (76), in a more polite age, attempted the like in ſome inſtances only with no better ſucceſs. (2.) Luſtra Ludovici, *or the Life of Lewis XIII. King of France, and of his Cardinal de* Richelieu. Lond. 1646. fol. divided into 7 luſtres, and dedicated to Prince Charles at his court in the iſle of Jerſey. (3.) *An Account of the deplorable and deſperate Condition that England ſtands in anno* 1647, *in a Letter to Francis Cardinal Barberini*, written from the Fleet in 1647. (4.) *A Letter to the Earl of Pembroke concerning the Times and the ſad Condition both of Prince and People.* Printed 1647. in 2 ſheets, 4to. (5.) *Bella Scot-Anglica. A Brief of all the Battles and martial encounters which have happened 'twixt England and Scotland, from all times to this preſent, printed in* 1648. *as alſo a Corollary, declaring the Cauſes whereby the Scot is come of late Years to be ſo heightened in his Spirits.* Theſe two are in three ſheets, 4to. (6.) *The Inſtruments of a King; or a Short Diſcourſe of the Sword, Scepter, and Crown*, Lond. 1648. in two ſheets, 4to. (7.) *Inquiſition after Blood to the Parliament* in ſtatu quo nunc, *and the Army Regnant*, printed in 1649. in two ſheets, 4to (77) (8) *A Survey of the Signory of Venice, of her admired Polity, and Method of government*, Lond. 1651. in a thin folio. To this is added, *A Diſcourſe of the Intereſts of the Republic of Venice, with the reſt of the States of Italy*, printed with the Survey (9.) *Hiſtory of the Wars of Jeruſalem epitomized*, 8vo. (10.) *The German Diet: or the Ballance of Europe, wherein the Power and Weakneſs, Glory and Reproach, Virtues and Vices, &c. of all the Kingdoms and States, &c. of Chriſtendom, are impartially poiſed*, Lond. 1653. folio. The author's picture at full length is prefixed to the title. (11.) *Parthenopæia, or the Hiſtory of the moſt renowned Kingdom of Naples, with a Liſt of her Kings*, &c. Lond. 1654. folio. The ſecond part only was compiled by our author, the firſt part of it being written by Scipio Mazzella, and tranſlated into Engliſh from the Italian by Sampſon Lennard, Herald of Arms. (12) Londinopolis: *An Hiſtorical Diſcourſe*

(69) P. 13.

(70) Fam. Lett. Vol. 1. § 6. No. 50. it is dated in 1643. N. B. This ſtory of the ape is borrowed and altered for his purpoſe by Dean Swift in Gulliver's Travels to Brobdignag.

(71) See his article.

(72) P. 182.

(73) So 'tis ſtiled by Mr Cowley in his Viſion. See his Works, Vol. III.

(74) Ubi ſupra, col. 381.

* Vol. 2. No. 43.

† An imperfect edition was printed at Aberdeen in 1753.

(75) The moſt unpardonable inſtance of this is his remark upon King Charles I's death, where he ſays, I will attend with patience how England will thrive, now that ſhe is let blood in the baſilical vein, and cured, as they ſay, of the King's-evil. Vol. 3. No. 24. And the moſt pardonable is his motto, *Seneſco non ſegneſco.*

(76) In his Hiſtory of the R. S. publiſhed in 1667. 4to.

(77) The ſame year he alſo publiſhed the late King's Declaration in Latin, French, and Engliſh; as he did likewiſe *Cottoni Poſthuma*, Divers choice Pieces of that renowned Antiquary Sir Robert Cotton, Knt. and Bart. in 1651, 8vo.

In 1661 he publiſhed a piece, intitled, *A Cordial for the Cavaliers*, which being attacked by Mr (afterwards Sir) Roger L'Eſtrange, occaſioned a controverſy between them (*kk*); but that being preſently concluded, our author printed the ſame year *The ſecond part of Caſual Diſcourſes and Interlocutions between* Patricius *and* Peregrin, &c. (*ll*); beſides *Twelve Treatiſes of the late Revolutions*, 8vo. and in 1663 he publiſhed a *Treatiſe concerning the Precedency of Kings*, folio. As alſo the following year, *A Treatiſe concerning Ambaſſadors* [*Y*], and another *concerning the ſurrender of Dunkirk, that it was done upon good grounds*; both in 8vo. He died in the beginning of November 1666, and was interred in the north ſide of the Temple church London, where a monument was erected to his memory with the following inſcription upon it, *Jacobus Howell Cambro-Britannus Regius Hiſtoriographus (in Anglia Primus) qui poſt varias peregrinationes tandem naturæ curſum peregit ſatur annorum & famæ, domi foriſque, huc uſque erraticus, hic fixus* [*Z*] 1666 (*mm*).

(*kk*) Sir Roger's anſwer is intitled *A Caveat for the Cavaliers*; to which our author replied in *Some Sober Inſpections made into thoſe Irregularities that went into the compoſition of a late Cordial for the Cavaliers.* Upon this Sir Roger animadverted at the cloſe of *A Modeſt Plea both for the Caveat and Author of it.*

(*ll*) It was printed in a book intitled, *Divers Hiſtorical Diſcourſes of the late popular Inſurrections in Great-Britain and Ireland.* To which is added, *An Apology of Fables mythologized.*

(*mm*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 385. This monument was taken down when the church was repaired in 1683, and has not been ſince replaced.

Diſcourſe or Perluſtration of the City of London and Weſtminſter, with the Courts of Juſtice, Antiquities, and new Buildings, Lond. 1657. folio. (13.) *A Diſcourſe of the Empire, and of the Election of the King of the Romans*, &c. Lond. 1658. 8vo. Mr Howell alſo wrote a recommendatory letter to William Sanderſon, Eſq; which is prefixed by that author to his Hiſtory of King Charles I. Lond. 1658. folio. It was wrote at the author's requeſt to ſtamp a credit upon his book, and is therefore here mentioned as being an undeniable proof of Mr Howell's reputation and merit as an Hiſtorian, before he was appointed King's Hiſtoriographer.

[*Y*] *A Treatiſe concerning Ambaſſadors.*] This was tranſlated into Latin by John Harman of Magdalen-college in Oxford. Our author had before publiſhed, with a dedication by himſelf to Lord Liſle, a piece upon the ſame ſubject, entitled, 'Fineti Philoxenis: Some choice Obſervations touching the Reception and Precedency, the Treatment and Audience, the Punctilios and Conteſts, of Foreign Ambaſſadors in England.' Lond. 1656. 8vo. This treatiſe was written by Sir John Finet, Knight, who was the ſon of Robert Finet of Soulton near Dover in Kent, and great grandſon to John Finet of Siena, of an antient family in Italy; who coming to England in the train of Cardinal Campejus, Legate a laterè from the Pope, married one Martell's daughter, Maid of Honour to Queen Katharine, King Henry VIIIth's conſort. Sir John was always bred in the Court, where by his wit, innocent mirth, and great ſkill in compoſing ſongs, he was much in the favour of King James I. who ſent him into France upon ſome affair of public concern in 1614, and knighted him the year after; about which time he was made aſſiſtant to the Maſter of the Ceremonies, with a grant of the reverſion of that poſt; and upon the death of Sir Lewis Lewknore, Maſter, had the office conferred upon him March 12, 1626, being then in good eſteem with King Charles I. Beſides the piece already mentioned, he tranſlated from French into Engliſh, *The Beginning, Continuance, and Decay, of Eſtates*, &c. Lond. 1606. 4to (78). He died July 12, 1641, and was buried in the north ſide of St Martin's-church in the Fields, Weſtminſter, by the body of Jane, ſome time his wife, daughter of Henry Lord Wentworth of Nettleſtead in Suffolk, and ſiſter to the Earl of Cleaveland (79).

[*Z*] *An inſcription, &c.*] It ſeems to have been drawn up, or at leaſt intimated, by himſelf. In one of his letters from the Fleet, ſpeaking of a ſickneſs he had lately lain under in that priſon, he writes (80), That having a lucid interval therein, he fell a thinking how to make his laſt Will; and running over the ſeveral particulars thereof, he concludes with the following directions concerning his burial. 'This little ſack-full 'of bones, ſays he, I thought to bequeath to Weſt'minſter-abbey, to be interred in the cloyſter within 'the ſouth ſide of the garden, cloſe to the wall, where 'I would have deſired Sir H. F. (my dear friend) to 'have inlayed a ſmall piece of black marble, and cau'ſed this motto to have been inſculped upon it, *Huc 'uſque peregrinus, heic domi*; or this, which I would 'have left to his choice, *Huc uſque erraticus, hic fixus.*' That ingenious author was in the like humour, when he ſtarted the following epitaph on the death of the celebrated Dr Byfield, who invented the *ſal volatile oleoſum*, and was not leſs diſtinguiſhed in his time by a kind of rambling volatility of wit. *Hic jacet Dr Byfield, diu volatilis, tandem fixus.* P

(78) The original was written by R. de Luſing.

(79) Wood's Faſti, Vol. I. col. 270.

(80) Vol. 2. No. 29.

HUDSON [Henry], a ſkilful Engliſh navigator in the beginning of the laſt century, who gave name to a bay in the northern parts of America, from whence one of our mercantile companies receive their denomination. It is but juſt and decent, that thoſe brave and induſtrious adventurers, who brought ſo much honour and advantage to this nation, ſhould have their memories preſerved, and tranſmitted to poſterity: therefore, we ſhall endeavour here, as far as we can, to do that juſtice to Captain Hudſon. Where he was born and educated, we have no certain account: but, by his name, it ſeems to have been in the north parts of England. The laudable cuſtom of diſcovering foreign countries for the benefit of trade, which had been ſo zealouſly purſued during Queen Elizabeth's reign not dying with that glorious princeſs; Mr Hudſon, among others, attempted to find out a paſſage by the north to Japan and China. His firſt voyage was in the year 1607, at the charge of ſome London Merchants: and his firſt attempt was for the north-eaſt paſſage. He departed therefore from Graveſend May 1, 1607, with a ſmall company, his ſhip's crew conſiſting only of ten men and a boy, beſides himſelf: on the 26th of that month, they were ſix leagues to the eaſtward of Shetland, in 60 deg. 12 min. north latitude. The 11th of June ſteering north-north-weſt, they diſcovered (two days after) a promontory before them, which they named *Young's Cape*, and a very high mountain near it, the *Mount of God's Mercy*. Their ſails and ſhrouds were then frozen: and, from the ſecond to the twentieth of June they did not ſee the ſun. The 21ſt they ſaw part of the coaſt of Groenland, which they named *Hold with hope*. They kept a north-eaſterly courſe, meeting with many fogs and calms, and much ice driving in the ſea, and on the 27th diſcovered Greenland. The ice lay very thick along the ſhore, which they coaſted, having no ground at 100 fathoms, four leagues from the coaſt. They found themſelves, the next day, between the land and the ice, *Vogel hook* bearing eaſt. On the firſt of July, by their own obſervation, they were in 78 deg. 42 min. latitude, whereby they imagined that they were over againſt *the great Indraught*: but it clearing up in the evening, they found themſelves a good way into the inlet, being almoſt a bay encompaſſed with very high mountains, and had no ground at 100 fathoms. To the ſouthward they found an open ſea, and proceeded as far as 78 deg. 56 min. of latitude: but, inſtead of advancing

advancing further north, were, on the ſixth, in 77 deg. 30 min. when they entered firſt into a green, and then into a black ſea [*A*], which laſt proved to be an open paſſage (*a*). On the 11th they were advanced to 79 deg. 17 min. latitude; and, the two next days, proceeded as far as 80 deg. and 80 deg. 23 min. But the ice ſtopping them, they were forced to alter their courſe, and ſteer ſouth-eaſt and by eaſt. The 14th of July, they had land on the eaſt, and diſcovered a bay open to the weſt [*B*]. At the mouth of it, they called a high but ſmall iſland *Collins's Cape*, from their boatſwain's name, who firſt ſaw it. They had then thirty fathoms water, afterwards 26, and, further in, had no ground at 100 fathoms; therefore judged it rather a ſound than a bay. The next day, clear weather, and the ſun ſhining warm, they could ſee the high land of Greenland, 20 leagues from them to the north-eaſt, ſtretching, by their account, into 81 degrees of latitude. The day following, being July the 16th, they were encompaſſed with ice; and having now run toward the furtheſt part of the land diſcovered by them, which for the moſt part lay north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt, they could diſcern more land joining the ſame, ſtretching far north into 82 degrees of latitude, and by the bowing and appearance of the ſky, or horizon, much further. When they firſt ſaw it, they hoped to find an open ſea between the land and the ice, and intended to have returned by the north of Greenland to Davis's ſtreights, and thence into England. But finding it impoſſible ſo to do, by reaſon of the great quantity of ice that lay to the north of them; and plainly perceiving, that there is no paſſage that way, between the 78th deg. 30 min. and the 82d degree of latitude, they ſhaped their courſe for England, and arrived in the Thames the 15th of September (*b*).—The year following, 1608, Mr Hudſon undertook a ſecond voyage for diſcovering a paſſage to the Eaſt-Indies by the north-eaſt. Accordingly he ſet ſail from St Catherine's, with fifteen perſons only, on the 22d of April; and by the 20th of May they were in 64 deg. 52 min. northern latitude. The 3d of June they had ſight of the north cape, on the coaſt of Finmark, bearing ſouth-weſt, eight leagues from them. And, on the 7th, being in 75 deg. 29 min. latitude, came to the firſt ice they had ſeen this voyage. They entered into it, with hopes of getting through, keeping on their courſe to the north-eaſt: but when they were got four or five leagues in, they found the ice before them ſo thick, that they were forced to return (*c*) [*C*]. On the 18th and 21ſt of June, they perceived there was a current ſetting to the north, which gave them ſome encouragement. But when they came into 72 deg. 52 min. latitude, they loſt all hopes of a paſſage that way, by reaſon of their nearneſs to Nova Zembla, and the great quantities of ice. However, ſome of the company went on ſhore, and viewed the country [*D*]. And the ſhip anchoring near a bay, the Captain diſpatched five of his men to ſearch a ſound or river in the bottom of the bay, that ſent out a great ſtream to the northward, againſt the tide which came from thence. This ſtream was ſo ſtrong, that it carried away the ice or any thing elſe againſt the flood: and flows from the north three hours, and ebbs nine. At their return, they informed him, that the great river or ſound was two or three leagues broad; had no ground at twenty fathom; that the ſtream did ſtrongly ſet out of it; was of the colour of the ſea, and very ſalt. But, upon further examination, and after having gone ſix or ſeven leagues up the ſtream, they found that it ended in a ſhallow of four feet. Had it continued as it firſt appeared, it might have yielded an excellent paſſage to a more eaſterly ſea. Full of grief and diſappointment, and being now void of all hopes of a north-eaſt paſſage, they reſolved to ſail to the north-weſt, and to make trial of the place called *Lumley's-Inlet*, and the furious over-fall mentioned by Captain Davis. But meeting with contrary winds, and having ſpent more than half the time before they had gone the ſhorteſt part of the way, they returned homewards, and arrived at Graveſend Auguſt 26, 1608.—Not diſheartened by his two former unſucceſsful voyages, Captain Hudſon undertook again, in 1609, a third voyage to the ſame parts, for further diſcoveries. But, whether his former patrons and ſupporters were dead or diſcouraged, or for what other reaſons, is

(*a*) Purchas, his Pilgrimes, Part. iii. ed. 1625. p. 567, &c. and Harris's Collect. of Voyages, Vol. I. ed. 1705. p. 564, &c.

(*b*) Purchas and Harris, as above.

(*c*) Purchas, as above, p. 575.

[*A*] *Into a green, and then into a black ſea.*] Capt. Hudſon obſerves, that where the ſea looked *green*, it was freeſt from ice: but when it appeared with a deep azure or blue, next to black, it was very icy (1).

[*B*] *And diſcovered a bay open to the weſt.*] Mr Lediard is very much out, when he ſuppoſes this bay to be the ſame as is now called Hudſon's Bay. His words are theſe, 'The fourteenth of July they came 'into the bay, which has ſince bore his name.'——(2) For this bay was many degrees, both of longitude and latitude, diſtant from that which was afterwards called Hudſon's Bay; and this latter was not diſcovered by Mr Hudſon, till his fourth and laſt voyage in 1610.

[*C*] *That they were forced to return.*] The next occurrence after that, mentioned in Captain Hudſon's journal, was the ſight of a Mermaid; of which take the account in his own words. 'The 15th [of June] 'one of our company looking over-board ſaw a Mer'maid, and calling up ſome of the company to ſee her, 'one more came up, and ſhe was then come cloſe to 'the ſhip's ſide, looking earneſtly on the men: ſoon 'after a ſea came and overturned her. From the 'navel upwards her back and breaſts were like a 'woman's, her body as big as one of us, her ſkin very 'white, and long black hair hanging down behind. 'In her going down they ſaw her tail, like the tail of 'a porpus, and ſpeckled like a mackarel (3).'

[*D*] *And viewed the country.*] They found graſs on the ſhore of the laſt year's growth, and young graſs come up amongſt it. It was very hot; the ground boggy; and they ſaw the footing of many bears, deers, and foxes. There was a croſs ſtanding on the ſhore, much drift wood, and ſigns of fire that had been made there.——Generally, all the country of Nova Zembla they ſaw, was pleaſant to the eye; much high land, with no ſnow on it, looking in ſome places green, and deer feeding thereon. 'Tis no wonder there is ſo much ice in the ſea towards the pole, there being ſo many ſounds and rivers in Nova Zembla, Greenland, Groenland, Tartary, Ruſſia, and Lapland, to produce it: from whence he concluded there could be no navigable paſſage that way (4).

(1) Purchas, as above, p. 571.

(2) Naval Hiſt. of Eng. ed. 1735, fol. p. 419.

(3) Purchas, p. 575. and Harris, as above, p. 566.

(4) Purchas, as above, p. 579.

is unknown; he was this time fitted out by the Dutch Eaſt-India Company. They furniſhed him with a fly-boat, equipped with all neceſſaries and proviſions, and with twenty men Engliſh and Dutch. He ſailed from Amſterdam March 25, O. S. and on the 25th of April doubled the north cape of Finmark in Norway (*d*). He kept going along the coaſts of Lapland towards Nova Zembla, but found the ſea ſo full of ice, that he had no hopes of going through it that year. Some of his ſailors who had been in the Eaſt-Indies could not endure the cold, and therefore quarrelled with the reſt. Captain Hudſon propoſed two things to them: firſt, to go towards the coaſts of America, in 40 deg. latitude; truſting to ſome maps ſent him from Virginia by one Captain Smith, in which was marked down a ſea, affording a paſſage round about the Engliſh plantations, and from thence into the South-Sea; though it was a miſtake. The other thing he propoſed to his men, was to find a paſſage through the ſtreight of Davis; which was generally approved. So, the 14th of May, they ſailed that way, and the 29th of the ſame month arrived at the iſlands of Ferro [*E*], where they ſtayed about a day and a half to take in freſh water. Afterwards, they kept on their courſe weſt-north-weſt, 'till the 18th of July, and came upon the coaſt of New-France, where they landed to get a new maſt, having loſt their fore-maſt ever ſince the 15th of June (*e*). The place was very proper to catch cods and lobſters in, and to traffick ſkins and furrs with good advantage [*F*]: but the ſailors treated the people of that country very ill, and took away their goods by force [*G*], which cauſed many quarrels. The Engliſh, who were not the ſtouteſt, had a mind to go further: accordingly, July the 26th, coming out again to ſea, they proceeded forward 'till the third of Auguſt, when they landed near Cape-Cod in New-England, in 41 deg. 45 min. latitude, and found good grapes and roſe-trees (*f*). The natives ſeemed glad of their arrival; and one came on board, and ate and drank with them. They went over the bar of Virginia, the 18th of Auguſt, being the entrance into the river of Virginia; now better known by the name of the bay of Cheſeapeak. Getting into that bay, on the 28th, they kept ſailing up into it, and ſome of the rivers that diſcharge themſelves into the ſame, for about five weeks: during which time, they had frequent communication with the ſavage natives that dwelt on or near the banks; ſome of which they ſeem to have well uſed, and ſome otherwiſe (*g*). They came out again the fourth of October, and ſtood to ſea; but would have done their buſineſs better, if the ſailors had been well affected to it, and had not wanted neceſſaries. When they were at ſea, they conſulted what to do, but were of different opinions. The Maſter's mate, a Dutchman, was for wintering in Newfoundland, and ſeeking out Davis's paſſage to the north-weſt. Captain Hudſon oppoſed it, fearing that his ſhip's company, which had threatned him before, would take an opportunity to mutiny again, and that the cold weather would conſume their proviſions, and put them into an impoſſibility of returning into Holland, many of the ſeamen being then ſick. Purſuing therefore their voyage homewards, they arrived, the 7th of November, N. S. at Dartmouth in Devonſhire; and gave advice of it to the Directors in Holland, ſending them alſo a journal of their voyage. Captain Hudſon offered to go again to diſcover the paſſage through the north-weſt, provided they would give him 500 livres in money, more proviſions than he had before, and the ſame wages. And he propoſed to ſail from Dartmouth the firſt of March, ſpend the month of April, and half of May, in killing whales and other creatures near the iſland of Panar; after that ſail to the north-weſt; ſtay there 'till the middle of September, and then return to Holland by the north of Scotland (*b*): but, it ſeems, his propoſal was not accepted.—For, in his fourth and laſt voyage, in 1610, he was fitted out by Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Dudley Digges, Mr John Woſtenholme, and ſome of their friends, in a bark named the Diſcovery. His commiſſion was, to try if through any of thoſe inlets which Captain Davis ſaw but durſt not enter, on the weſtern ſide of Davis's ſtreights, any paſſage might be found to the South-Sea (*i*). They ſailed from St Catherine's April 17, and fell in with the eaſtern part of Iceland on the 11th of May. Endeavouring to ſail round the north of that iſland, and being ſtopped by the ice, they plyed round the ſouth of the ſame, and came into a good harbour, which they named *Louſy Bay*; where they found a Bath, of which the water was ſo hot that it would ſcald a fowl. The fourth of June, they came within ſight of Groenland: that night the ſun, according to their obſervation, went down due north, and roſe the next morning north-north-eaſt, The ninth they were off Forbiſher's ſtreights, and keeping on ſouth-weſtward, came on the fifteenth in ſight of Cape Deſolation (*k*).

Thence

(*d*) Voyages undertaken by the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, tranſlated into Engliſh, edit. Lond. 1703. 8vo. p. 68.—and Purchas, as above, p. 581, &c.

(*e*) See Purchas, p. 583.

(*f*) Purchas, as above, p. 587. and Voyages of the Dutch Eaſt-India Company. p. 69.

(*g*) See Purchas, as above, p. 588—594.

(*b*) Voyages undertaken by the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, as above, p. 70.

(*i*) Purchas, Vol. V. ed. 1626. p. 817, &c. The ſhip's company conſiſted this time of 23 men. See Purchas, Vol. III. p. 609.

(*k*) See the articles FORBISHER, and Capt. JOHN DAVIS, in Vol. III. of this work.

[*E*] *The iſlands of Ferro.*] The iſlands of Ferro, or Farro, are ſeventeen in number, and lye between the north of Scotland and the iſle of Iceland, from 61 to near 63 degrees of northern latitude. They are ſubject to the King of Denmark.

[*F*] *And to traffick ſkins and furrs with good advantage.*] The natives brought to them many beverſkins, and other fine furrs, which they would have changed for red gowns. For the French did even then trade with them for red caſſocks, knives, hatchets, copper, kettles, trivets, beads, and other trifles (5).

[*G*] *And took away their goods by force.*] They often mention, in their journal, that they *ſtood upon their guard*; which may be a neceſſary caution amongſt thoſe ſavage and barbarous people. But, no real cauſe is aſſigned, for our ſailors treating thoſe poor people ſo ill. Theſe are the words of the journal, upon that occaſion. 'The 25th [of July]——wee manned our 'ſcute with foure muſkets, and ſixe men, and tooke 'one of their ſhallops and brought it aboord. Then 'we manned our boat and ſcute with twelve men and 'muſkets, and two ſtone pieces or murderers, and 'drave the ſalvages from their houſes, and tooke the 'ſpoyle of them, *as they would have done* of us (6).' But it is not ſaid that they actually attempted ſo to do.

[*H*] *Among*

(5) Purchas, as above, p. 586.

(6) Purchas, ibid.

Thence they proceeded north-weſtward, among great quantities of ice [*H*], until they came to 60 deg latitude, being the mouth of the *ſtreights* that bear *Hudſon*'s name. The land that he firſt diſcovered there, he named *Deſire provoketh.* They advanced in thoſe ſtreights weſterly, as the land and ice would permit, 'till the 11th of July; when fearing a ſtorm, they anchored on the north ſide of the ſtreights, by three rocky iſlands, which he named the *Iſles of God's Mercies.* As they went on, a point of land, on the oppoſite ſouthern ſide of the ſame ſtreights, he called *Hope advanced:* and an iſland, a little weſt of the ſame, *Hold with hope.* Keeping weſt, on the ſouth ſide of the ſtreights, along the weſtern point of North America, that ſhoots into thoſe ſtreights and the adjoining bay, he named three promontories there, *Prince Henry's Cape*, *King James's*, and *Queen Anne's Capes:* and to the country itſelf he gave the name of *Magna Britannia* (*l*). After having thus ſailed *three hundred* leagues weſt, in the ſtreights now called Hudſon's Streights; he came Auguſt 2 to a narrower paſſage, about two leagues over, and very deep (*m*), having two head-lands; of which he called that on the ſouth, *Cape Woſtenholme*, the oppoſite one on the north-weſt, *Digges's Iſland*; another promontory in a neighbouring iſle, *Cape Saliſbury*; and a high hill to the ſouth-weſt upon the main land, *Mount Charles.* This narrow paſſage brought them into the bay, which has ever ſince been honoured with the brave but unfortunate diſcoverer's name, and is to this day called HUDSON's-BAY. He ſailed above 100 leagues ſouth into this bay, being confident that he had found the deſired paſſage. But finding at length that it was only a bay, he imprudently reſolved to winter in the moſt ſouthern point of it, with an intention of purſuing his diſcoveries the following ſpring; little conſidering how unprovided he was with all manner of neceſſaries to ſupport himſelf during a ſevere winter in that deſolate place. However, they drew their ſhip, on the third of November, in a ſmall creek; where they would all infallibly have periſhed, if they had not met with unexpected and providential ſupplies of proviſions (*n*) [*I*]. In the ſpring, when the ice began to waſte, one of the ſavages came to viſit them; and, for a knife, looking-glaſs, buttons, and a hatchet, gave them in exchange three deer-ſkins and three beaver-ſkins. After making ſeveral ſigns that there were many people to the north and ſouth, and that after ſo many *ſleeps* he would come again, he went his way, but never returned (*o*). Captain Hudſon, being bent upon compleating his diſcovery; as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, he furniſhed his ſhallop with eight or nine days proviſions, and ſailed about to the ſouth and ſouth-weſt of the bay. But, notwithſtanding his utmoſt endeavours, he could meet with none of the natives, nor induce them to come to him, though they were very near him, and frequently ſet the woods on fire in his ſight. Finding himſelf now abſolutely neceſſitated to abandon his enterprize, and to make the beſt of his way home, he diſtributed to his men, with tears in his eyes, all the bread he had left, which was only a pound to each [*K*]: and very little fiſh they could catch. In his deſpair and utmoſt uneaſineſs, having let fall ſome threatning words, of ſetting ſome of his men on ſhore; a few of the ſturdieſt of them (who before had been very mutinous) entered his cabin in the night, tied his arms behind him, and expoſed him in his own ſhallop, at the weſt end of his ſtreights; with eight of the moſt ſick and infirm of his men [*L*]. There they turned them adrift, and 'tis thought

(*l*) Purchas, as above, Vol. III. p. 596, 597. 598, 599.

(*m*) It had no ground at 100 fathoms. Ibid. p. 597.

(*n*) Purchas, p. 600, 602.

(*o*) Ibid, p. 602.

[*H*] *Among great quantities of ice.*] In time they became ſo well acquainted with the ice, that when night, or foggy, or foul weather took them, they would ſeek out the broadeſt iſland of ice, and there come to anchor, and run, and ſport, and fill water that ſtood on the ice in ponds, both ſweet and good (7).

[*I*] *If they had not met with unexpected and providential ſupplies of proviſions.*] The account of it is given by Abacuc Pricket, one of the ſhip's crew, in the following words. 'I muſt not forget to ſhew, 'how mercifully God dealt with us in this time; for 'the ſpace of three moneths wee had ſuch ſtore of 'fowle of one kinde (which were partridges as white 'as milke) that wee killed above an hundred dozen; 'beſides others of ſundry ſorts. The ſpring coming, 'this fowle left us, yet they were with us all the extreme cold. Then in their places came divers ſort 'of other fowle, as ſwanne, geeſe, duck, and teale, 'but hard to come by. Our maſter hoped they would 'have bred in thoſe broken grounds, but they doe not: 'but came from the ſouth, and flew to the north, further than we were this voyage: if they be taken 'ſhort with the wind at north, or north-weſt or north-eaſt, then they fall and ſtay till the winde ſerve 'them, and then flye to the north. Now in time 'theſe fowles are gone, and few or none to be 'ſeene. Then wee went into the woods, hilles, and 'valleyes, for all things that had any ſhew of ſubſtance 'in them, how vile ſoever: the moſſe of the ground, 'than the which I take the powder of a poſt to 'bee much better, and the frogge (in his ingendring 'time as loathſome as a toade) was not ſpared. But 'amongſt the divers ſorts of buds, it pleaſed God that 'Thomas Woodhouſe brought home a budde of a tree, 'full of a turpentine ſubſtance. [It bloſſomed in December, and had leaves green and yellow, of an 'aromatic ſavour, and being boyled, yielded an oily 'ſubſtance, which proved an excellent ſalve; the decoction being drunk, was an effectual cure for the 'ſcurvy, ſciatica, cramp, convulſions, and other diſeaſes occaſioned by the coldneſs of the climate.] 'Of this our Surgeon made a decoction to drinke, and 'applyed the buddes hot to them that were troubled 'with ach in any part of their bodies; and for my 'part, I confeſſe, I received great and preſent eaſe of 'my paine. ——— The ice being out of the ſounds, ſo 'that our boat might go from one place unto another, 'a company of men were appointed by the Maſter to 'go a fiſhing with our net. Theſe men, the firſt day 'they went, caught five-hundred fiſh, as big as good 'herrings, and ſome troutes: which put us all in 'ſome hope to have our wants ſupplied, and our commons amended: but theſe were the moſt that they 'ever got in one day, for many dayes they got not a 'quarter ſo many (8).'

[*K*] *Which was only a pound to each.*] But the men that afterwards ran away with the ſhip, upon ranſacking it, found, one veſſel of meal whole, and the other half ſpent; for they had but two. They found alſo two firkins of butter, 27 pieces of pork, half a buſhel of peaſe: and, in the cabin, 200 of biſket cakes, a peck of meal, and of beer to the quantity of a butt (9).

[*L*] *With eight of the moſt ſick and infirm of his men.*] The perſons thus cruelly expoſed, were, Captain Henry Hudſon, his ſon John Hudſon, Thomas Widowes or Woodhouſe, Arnold Ludlo, Sidrach Faner,

(7) Purchas, as above, p. 598.

(8) Purchas, as above, Vol. III. p. 602. See alſo Vol. V. p. 817, &c.

(9) See Purchas, Vol. III. p. 605.

thought they all miſerably periſhed, being never heard of more. Such was the unhappy end of the brave Captain Hudſon. As for the reſt of his rebellious crew, they proceeded with the ſhip for England. But going on ſhore, July 29, near the Streights mouth, four of the ſtrongeſt of them were ſet upon and cut off by the ſavages. The reſt, after enduring the greateſt hardſhips [*M*], arrived at Plymouth in September 1611 (*p*).

(*p*) Purchas, as above, Vol. III. p. 602—608.

Faner, Adam Moore, Henry King, Michael Bute, and the carpenter Philip Staffe of Ipſwich, who voluntarily choſe to undergo the ſame fate with his worthy maſter Captain Hudſon, rather than conſort with barbarous rebels (10).

[*M*] *The reſt enduring the greateſt hardſhips.*] They killed ſome quantities of wild fowl in Hudſon's Streights, which ſupported them a while. At length, they were reduced to hard allowance; as half a fowl a day, with the pottage, or liquor, they were boiled in. Being further preſſed with hunger, they tried every thing; and having flea'd their fowls, (for they would not pull,) they made uſe of their ſkins by burning off the feathers; ſo they became a great diſh. And as for the garbage it was not thrown away. In proceſs of time, their cook made a meſs of the bones of the fowls, frying them with candle-greaſe till they were criſp, and with vinegar put to them, made what they thought a good diſh of meat. Their vinegar was ſhared, and to every man a pound of candles delivered for a week, as a great dainty. The men became ſo weak, that they could not ſtand at the helm, but were forced to ſit or lye. One died for mere want. In that diſtreſſed condition they continued above a month or ſix weeks: and of the twenty-three men that went out, not above ſix or ſeven at moſt reached England again (11). C

(10) Purchas, as above, Vol. III. p. 604, 605.

(11) Purchas, Vol. III. p. 606, 608.

HUDSON [JOHN], a very learned critic, and editor of many valuable books, was born at Widehope near Cockermouth in Cumberland, in the year 1662 [*A*]. After having been educated in grammar-learning by Mr Jerom Hechſtetter who lived in the neighbourhood, he was admitted, in the year 1676, and at the age of fourteen, into Queen's-college in Oxford; where he made a very great progreſs in Philoſophy, and more eſpecially in polite literature, under the tuition of Mr Thomas Croſthwaite (*a*). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts July 4, 1681 (*b*), and that of Maſter Feb. 12, 1684 (*c*). Soon after having taken the laſt degree, he removed to Univerſity-college, of which he was choſen Fellow March 29, 1686 (*d*) [*B*], and became a moſt conſiderable and eſteemed tutor. On the 5th of June 1701, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity (*e*): having been, the April before, elected Head-keeper of the Bodleian Library [*C*], in the room of the learned Dr Thomas Hyde, who had reſigned (*f*). With it he kept his fellowſhip, 'till June 14, 1711, when, according to the ſtatutes of the college, he was obliged to reſign it; having juſt before married Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Harriſon, Knight, an Alderman of the city of Oxford, and a Mercer (*g*). In 1712, he was appointed Principal of St Mary-hall by the Chancellor of the univerſity, through the intereſt and ſollicitations of the famous Dr John Ratcliffe (*h*). And to Dr Hudſon is the univerſity of Oxford obliged for the moſt ample benefactions ſhe received from Dr Ratcliffe; who was always expreſſing his deſigns of doing ſomething very great, but undetermined in what way, 'till his reſolutions were fixed at length by Dr Hudſon's advice and perſwaſion (*i*). In the mean time, our learned author obliged the world with curious editions of many of the beſt ancient writers, of which an account is given in the note below [*D*]. The laſt he employed his learned pains about, was

(*a*) A. Hall Præfat. ad Joſephum, edit. J. Hudſon.

(*b*) Wood Faſti, edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 217.

(*c*) Ibid. col. 225.

(*d*) From the College-Regiſter.

(*e*) From the Univerſity-Regiſter.

(*f*) A. Hall, ubi ſupra. See his preface to Edm. Bolton's Hypercritica.

(*g*) From Memoirs communicated to us.

(*h*) A. Hall, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) From the foreſaid Memoirs.

[*A*] *In the year* 1662.] Mr A. Hall ſays only, in general, that he was born ſoon after the Reſtoration, *paulo poſt inſtauratam apud Britannos Monarchiam.* But, from A. Wood, who affirms, that he was aged fourteen years, in 1676, at his admiſſion in the Univerſity (1); and from his age at the time of his death, as mentioned below, it plainly appears that he was born in the year 1662.

[*B*] *Of which he was choſen Fellow, March* 29, 1686.] That he was choſen *unanimouſly*, is atteſted, in their Election-book, by the famous Obadiah Walker, then Maſter.

[*C*] *Having been, the April before, elected Head-keeper of the Bodleian Library.*] Mr Hudſon met with a more ſtrenuous oppoſition than he at firſt expected. His competitor was Mr Wallis of Magdalen-college, afterwards Profeſſor of Arabic, a man well known at that time for his great parts and ingenuity, though he never publiſhed any thing.

[*D*] *In the mean time, our learned author obliged the world with curious editions of many of the beſt ancient writers.*] They are as follows, according to the order of time in which he publiſhed them. I. *M. Velleii Paterculi quæ ſuperſunt: Cum variis Lectionibus optimarum Editionum; doctorum Virorum conjecturis & caſtigationibus; et indice locupletiſſimo*, Oxon, 1693, 8vo. It was printed through the incouragement, and at the charge of Arthur Charlet, D. D. Maſter of Univerſity-college, to be given to his ſcholars and friends at New-year's-day 1692-3. And, beſides the expence of the impreſſion, he gave Mr Hudſon ten pounds (2). A ſecond edition was publiſhed in 1711, wherein the notes are inlarged. II. *Thucydidis de Bello Peloponneſiaco Libri VIII.* Oxon. 1696, fol. This is a neat and beautiful edition, and well diſpoſed: the years of the Peloponneſian war, of the Olympiads, and of the foundation of Rome, as calculated by the learned Mr H. Dodwell, are placed at the top of every page. But this edition has been ſomewhat eclipſed by the ſubſequent one of Meſſieurs Duker and Waſſe. III. *Geographiæ Veteris Scriptores Græci minores, Græce & Latine, cum diſſertationibus & annotationibus Henrici Dodwelli: accedunt Geographica Arabica cum notis*, Oxon. in four volumes, 8vo. publiſhed at different times; the firſt in 1698, the ſecond in 1703, and the third and fourth in 1712. The ſeveral pieces which thoſe volumes contain, will appear by this liſt of them. The contents therefore of the firſt volume, are, 1. *Hannonis Carthaginienſis Periplus.* It is allowed not to have been written by the famous Carthaginian General of that name. 2. *Scylacis Periplus Maris habitabilis Europæ, Aſiæ, Lybiæque.* 3. *Agatharcides de Mari Rubro.* 4. *Arriani Periplus Ponti Euxini.* 5. *Periplus Maris Erythræi.* 6. *Nearchi Periplus, ex Arriani Indicis.* 7. *Marciani Heracleotæ Periplus, cum fragmentis Artemidori & Menippi.* 8. *Anonymi Periplus Maris Euxini.* The ſecond volume contains. 1. *Dicæarchus de Statu Græciæ.* 2. *Ejuſdem fragmentum de Monte Pelio.* 3. *Iſidorus Characenus de Manſionibus Parthicis.* 4. *Scymni Chii Periegeſis.* 5. *Ejuſdem fragmenta a Luca Holſtenio collecta.* 6. *Plutarchus de Fluminibus.* 7. *Agathemeris Compendiarium Geographiæ expoſitionum Libri duo.* 8. *Strabonis epitome.* The contents of the third volume, are, 1. *Dionyſius Byzantinus de Boſphoro Thracio.* 2. *Deſcriptio Ponti Euxini.* 3. *Excerpta ex Chryſococca.* 4. *Ptolemæi Tabula Urbium inſignium.* 5. *Anonymi à Gothofredo editi Expoſitio totius Mundi.* 6. *Variæ Lectiones Geographi Ravennatis.* 7. *Ptolemæi Arabia.* 8. *Abulfedæ Arabis Deſcriptio Choraſmiæ.* 9. *Abulfedæ Arabia.* 10. *Ta-*

(1) Wood Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 940.

(2) From a note prefixed to the title-page of one of thoſe books, in Dr Charlet's own hand-writing.

was Joſephus, whom he juſt finiſhed, but did not live to publiſh [*E*]. His ſtudious and ſedentary way of life, and too great abſtemiouſneſs withal, brought him into an ill habit of body; which turning to a dropſy, kept him about a year in a very languiſhing condition. At laſt he died, November 27, 1719, at St Mary-hall, and was buried in the chancel of St Mary's-church: where there is no monument erected, nor ſo much as any particular ſtone laid over him; only upon one of the little ſquares of the pavement there is an inſcription, given in the note below [*F*]. He left one daughter [*G*]; and his widow was married again afterwards to the learned Dr Antony Hall (*k*). Such, to the great loſs of learning, was the too early end of this truly learned man. If he had lived to diſpoſe of Joſephus, he would have gone on to publiſh the Catalogue of the Bodleian Library; in order to which he had cauſed it to be fairly tranſcribed in ſix large volumes in folio. He was likewiſe a great aſſiſtant to ſeveral editors in Oxford; particularly to Dr Gregory in his edition of Euclid's Works; and to the induſtrious Thomas Hearne [*H*], in his new editions of Pliny's Epiſtles, Eutropius, Juſtin, and Livy: the latter eſpecially owes its correctneſs to the Doctor's care and inſpection (*l*). He aſſiſted alſo, and correſponded with, many of the moſt eminent men in foreign parts [*I*]; namely, Lud. Antonio Muratori, Joh. Maria Salvini, and Franciſco Bianchini, in Italy; John Boivin, Lewis Kuſter, and Michael Lequien, in France; Godefrid Olearius, Joh. Burchard Menckenius, Joh. Chriſtopher Wolfius, Henry Lewis Schurtzfleiſch, Joh. George Eccard

(*k*) From Memoirs, as above, &c.

(*l*) From the ſaid Memoirs. See alſo A. Hall's Preface to Edm. Bolton's Hypercritica.

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10. *Tabulæ Geographicæ Naſſir Edini, & Ulug Beigi.* 11. *Catalogus Stellarum fixarum Ptolemaicus.* And the fourth volume contains, 1. *Dionyſii Deſcriptio Mundi.* 2. *Ruſi Feſti Avieni Deſcriptio Orbis terræ.* 3. *Priſciani Periegeſis.* 4. *Ruſi Feſti Avieni Ora maritima.* 5. *Anonymi Paraphraſis in Deſcriptionem Dionyſii.* IV. *Dionyſii Halicarnaſſenſis Opera omnia, Græce & Latine cum Annotationibus*, Oxon. 1704, 2 tomes in folio, a beautiful and valuable edition; enriched with the various readings of an ancient copy in the Vatican Library, and of ſeveral MSS. in France. The learned editor has interſperſed among the various readings, ſeveral notes of Sylburgius, Portus, Stephens, Caſaubon, Valeſius, and ſome of his own. V. *Dionyſii Longini de Sublimitate Libellus, cum Præfatione de Vita & Scriptis Longini, notis, indicibus, & variis lectionibus*, Oxon. 1710, 4to. and 1718, 8vo. a very beautiful edition. VI. *Moeris Atticiſta de Vocibus Atticis & Hellenicis. Gregorius Martinus de Græcarum Literarum pronuntiatione*, Oxon. 1712, 8vo. VII. *Fabularum Æſopicarum Collectio quotquot Græce reperiuntur. Accedit Interpretatio Latina*, Oxon. 1718, 8vo. —He publiſhed alſo, *Introductio ad Chronographiam: ſive ars Chronologica in epitome redacta*, Oxon. 1691, 8vo. 'An Introduction to Chronology,' extracted from Dr Beveridge's Treatiſe on that ſubject, for the uſe of his pupils. And had the overſight of a new edition of *Eraſmi Dialogus Ciceronianus*; adding ſome Letters of Eraſmus, and other things relating to the ſame ſubject (3).

[*E*] *The laſt he employed his learned pains about, was Joſephus, whom he juſt finiſhed, but did not live to publiſh.*] He had proceeded as far as the third index, when finding himſelf unable to go quite through, he recommended the work to his intimate friend Mr Antony Hall, who publiſhed it in 1720, in two vols. fol. 'Tis a neat and beautiful edition, and ſuperior, both with reſpect to the paper and the largeneſs and elegancy of the types, to the ſubſequent one of Mr Havercamp. But the latter ſurpaſſes it with regard to the number and value of the notes; for Dr Hudſon's notes, in his editions of books, are all very ſhort. The learned editor did not meet with ſuitable encouragement in this work, and therefore was ready to faint under the burden both of the labour and expence of it; when he received a ſeaſonable and unexpected cordial from the munificence of that truly generous 'encourager of liberal arts,' the Earl of Caernarvon afterwards Duke of Chandos, 'the greatneſs of whoſe ſoul was always ſuperior to his great fortune (4).' And the occaſion of it was thus. His Lordſhip enquiring of ſome Oxford gentlemen, at his table, what learned performances were then on foot, and who were the perſons of moſt diſtinguiſhed abilities in the Univerſity, Dr Hudſon was mentioned to him, together with the great and expenſive work which he was then engaged in (5): and it was not many days after, that the Doctor received a letter from his Lordſhip, with a note incloſed in it of two hundred guineas, which he deſired he might have leave to preſent him with, as a token of the regard he had to his merit, and for the furtherance of his moſt uſeful undertaking (6). This generous benefaction the Doctor thankfully acknowledges, in the dedication to Æſop's Fables, which he publiſhed ſoon after, and inſcribed to the Earl's eldeſt ſon, the Lord Viſcount Wilton: but he more thankfully and particularly acknowledges it, in the dedication of his Joſephus to that noble Earl, then newly created a Duke. His words are theſe. *Cum poſt multorum annorum laborem improbum, & magnos ſumptus Joſepho impenſos, pene languerem, Tu ſolus, Vir illuſtriſſime, benignitate Tua me labantem excitaſti, & munificentia Tua effeciſti, ut Operi tam difficili & laborioſo par eſſem perficiundo.*——After Dr Hudſon's deceaſe, ſeveral ſets of his Joſephus were diſpoſed of by his widow at *twelve ſhillings* a ſet, the bookſellers refuſing to give more; but when they had got them into their own hands, they immediately raiſed the price to 25 s. Our learned author had been long converſant with Joſephus; for he reviſed Sir Roger L'Eſtrange's tranſlation of that author with the original Greek, and added critical remarks here and there at the bottom of the page: and alſo digeſted and finiſhed Dr Willes's two diſcourſes prefixed to the ſame (7).

[*F*] *There is an inſcription.*] Which is in theſe words.

M. S.
Viri Doctiſſimi
Johannis Hudſoni S. T. P.
Aulæ B. M. V. Principalis,
Et
Protobibliothecarii Bodleiani.
Obiit Nov. 26. A. D. 1719.
Ætatis 57.

[*G*] *He left one daughter.*] Named Margaret, after her mother's name. One John Goole Vicar of Eynſham, and ſchool-maſter at Whitney, both in Oxfordſhire, an old fellow of fifty and upwards, drew her, or pretended to have drawn her, into a contract of marriage, and ſued for half her fortune; publiſhing ſome letters that had paſſed between them: wherein he made it appear, that he had no more wit, and leſs diſcretion, than the young lady. She was married July 29, 1731, to the Reverend Mr John Boyce, Rector of Saintbury in Glouceſterſhire, ſon of Sir John Boyce, Alderman of Oxford, and Mayor of that city at the time of his preſent Majeſty's coronation.

[*H*] *And to the induſtrious Tho. Hearne.*] Mr Hearne was, from his youth, intimate with the Doctor, and in effect his pupil. He it was, that firſt put Mr Hearne upon critical ſtudies, and was his conſtant guide and aſſiſtant in the proſecution of them (8).

[*I*] *And correſponded with many of the moſt eminent men in foreign parts.*] Several letters from his correſpondents abroad, with copies of his anſwers to them, were lately in the poſſeſſion of his ſon-in-law Mr Boyce, who hath tranſmitted them to Dr Rawlinſon, in order to inrich his additions to Wood's *Athenæ*.

(3) See Wood Ath. Vol. II. col. 940, 941.

(4) As is juſtly obſerved in the patent for creating him a Duke.

(5) Viz. his Joſephus.

(6) From the Memoirs, as above.

(7) See the Preface.

(8) From the aboveſaid Memoirs.

card, and, whom he chiefly eſteemed, Joh. Albert Fabricius, in Germany; Eric Benzel in Sweden; Frederic Roſtgard in Denmark; James Pezron, Hadrian Reland, and John Le Clerc, in Holland, &c (m). In a word, he was in ſo great repute abroad, that he uſed frequently to complain of the expence of foreign letters, and ſeemed to look upon this as too ſevere a tax for being eminent. If not leſs known at home, he appears at leaſt to have been leſs regarded, having never been poſſeſſed of any eccleſiaſtical preferment: and he uſed to make frequent and heavy complaints upon that ſubject (n). He was a man of great probity, of a ſanguine complection, a handſome and agreeable countenance, a moderate ſtature, and a very good conſtitution, 'till he impaired it by inceſſant ſtudy and application (o).

C

(m) A. Hall Præfat. ad Joſephum, ut ſupra.

(n) From the foreſaid Memoirs.

(o) A. Hall Præfat. ad Joſephum.

HUGHES [John], an excellent poet, a candid critic, and a very agreeable writer in proſe, whoſe memory will do honour to the preſent century, in the beginning of which he flouriſhed. He was the ſon of a very worthy citizen of London, by Anne, the daughter of Iſaac Burgeſs, Eſq; of an antient family and a competent fortune in Wiltſhire, where, in the town of Marlborough, our author was born January 29, 1677 (a). He was early brought to London, received the firſt rudiments of letters in ſome of the leſſer ſchools of this metropolis, and, by the extraordinary care of his maſter, invited by his own diligence, his various acquiſitions, and the manner in which they were applied, did no ſmall honour to a private education (b). He became early and thoroughly acquainted with the Antients, which gave him a true taſte and a correct judgment, at an age when, by many who yet are intended for ſcholars, thoſe terms are ſcarce underſtood. He had a weak or at leaſt a delicate conſtitution, which perhaps diverted him from ſeverer ſtudies, and inclined him to ſeek in the company of the ſiſter arts, of Deſigning, Poetry, and Muſic, that amuſement, which his valetudinary ſtate of health rendered one of the greateſt bleſſings of life (c). At nineteen he drew the outlines of a tragedy, and about the ſame time turned into Engliſh one of the moſt celebrated, but at the ſame time one of the moſt difficult, odes in Horace, in a manner and with a facility that indicated true genius [A]. His acquaintance with the Muſes did not render him averſe to buſineſs; he

(a) An Account of the Life and Writings of John Hughes, Eſq; by William Duncombe, Eſq; prefixed to his Works, p. 1.

(b) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 81.

(c) MS. Memoirs, communicated by Mr Duncombe.

[A] *That indicated true genius.*] The firſt ſtrokes of genius, like the firſt bloſſoms of a tree, inſtruct us what kind of fruit we are to expect. It is true, that ſubſequent culture, may alter both; but it is alſo true, of ſome genii, as of ſome trees, that from a natural excellence, they produce a very high flavoured fruit at firſt, very little inferior, to what all the art and care poſſible, can afterwards bring them to yield. The following tranſlation is a proof of this (1). In it our young writer propoſes not barely to render, but to expand and amplify the thoughts of his author, without extenuating, or varying his ſenſe (2). It is a ſingular method of putting an ancient poet into Engliſh, and together with the verſion of his language, comprehends a commentary upon his ſentiments; at leaſt, ſuch are our notions (3). The reader, upon a ſerious peruſal, will decide how far we have done Horace, or Mr Hughes juſtice.

Horace, Book I. Ode XXII.

Imitated in Paraphraſe.

I.

Hence ſlaviſh fear! thy Stygian wings diſplay!
Thou ugly fiend of Hell away!
Wrapp'd in thick clouds, and ſhades of night,
To conſcious ſouls direct thy flight!
There brood on guilt, fix there a loath'd embrace,
And propagate vain terrors, frights,
Dreams, goblins, and imagin'd ſprights,
Thy viſionary tribe, thy black and monſtrous race.
Go haunt the ſlave that ſtains his hands in gore!
Poſſeſs the perjur'd mind, and rack the uſurer more,
Than his oppreſſion did the poor before.

II.

Vainly, you feeble wretches, you prepare
The glitt'ring forgery of war;
The poiſon'd ſhaft, the Parthian bow and ſpear
Like that the warlike Moor is wont to wield,
Which pois'd and guided from his ear
He hurls impetuous thro' the field:
In vain you lace the helm, and heave in vain the ſhield;
He's only ſafe, whoſe armour of defence
Is adamantine innocence.

III.

If o'er the ſteepy Alps he go,
Vaſt mountains of eternal ſnow,
Or where fam'd Ganges and Hydaſpes flow.
If o'er parch'd Libya's deſert land
Where, threatning from afar,
Th' affrighted traveller
Encounters moving hills of ſand;
No ſenſe of danger can diſturb his reſt,
He fears no human force, nor ſavage beaſt;
Impenetrable courage ſteels his manly breaſt.

IV.

Thus late within the Sabine grove,
While free from care and full of love
I raiſe my tuneful voice, and ſtray
Regardleſs of myſelf and way,
A grizly wolf, with equal eye
View'd me unarm'd, yet paſs'd unhurtful by.
A fiercer monſter ne'er in queſt of food
Apulian foreſts did moleſt;
Numidia never ſaw a more prodigious beaſt;
Numidia mother of the yellow brood
Where the ſtern Lion ſhakes his knotted mane,
And roars aloud for prey, and ſcours the ſpacious plain.

V.

Place me where no ſoft breeze of ſummer wind
Did e'er the ſtiffen'd ſoil unbind,
Where no refreſhing warmth e'er durſt invade,
But winter holds his unmoleſted ſeat,
In all his hoary robes array'd,
And rattling ſtorms of hail, and noiſy tempeſts beat.
Place me beneath the ſcorching blaze
Of the fierce ſun's immediate rays,
Where houſe or cottage ne'er were ſeen,

Nor

(1) Originally publiſhed in the tranſlation into Engliſh of the Odes, &c. of Horace, by ſeveral hands.

(2) Hughes's Works, Vol. I. p. 113.

(3) See our author's own ſenſe in note [C].

he had a place in the Office of Ordnance, and was Secretary to ſeveral Commiſſions under the Great Seal for purchaſing lands, in order to the better ſecuring the royal docks and yards, at Portſmouth, Chatham, and Harwich (*d*). He continued, however, to purſue his natural inclination to letters, and added to his thorough knowledge of the learned as intimate an acquaintance with the modern languages. The firſt public teſtimony he gave of his poetic vein, was in a poem on the treaty of Ryſwick, which appeared in 1697, and was received with an approbation rarely beſtowed, and indeed very rarely deſerved by a young poet of twenty (*e*). It is barely rendering juſtice to his character, to ſay that it was at once an elegant and a ſprightly performance, exhibiting thoſe qualities that are but ſeldom united, and in which, however, conſiſt the great merit of his writings, eaſe and exactneſs [*B*]. The ſucceſs that attended this poem encouraged him to write again, and in 1699 he publiſhed his Court of Neptune, on the return of King William from Holland, which he addreſſed to Charles Montague, Eſq; afterwards Earl of Halifax, the then diſtinguiſhed patron of the Muſes. By this poem he not only maintained, but added to the reputation he had acquired. Strength of ſentiment, and an eaſy verſification, added luſtre and ſweetneſs to the charms of a poetic fancy, that might alone have ſecured the ſucceſs of his poem (*f*). He wrote the ſame year a ſong upon the Duke of Glouceſter's birth-day (*g*). It ſometimes happens, that thoſe who excel in verſe are not equally happy in proſe compoſitions; but this was not the caſe of our author, he had a great turn to contemplation, ſtudied the faculties of the human mind, and made ſuch deep and curious reflections on the diſorders to which it is liable, as give him a title to be conſidered as one of the ableſt, as well as one of the moſt entertaining, eſſay writers in our language. This which probably was the firſt, or at leaſt one of the firſt, of his performances in this kind, conſidering he was but twenty-four when he wrote it, is really ſurpriſing, and is entitled, 'Of the Pleaſure of being deceived (*h*).' In 1702 he publiſhed, on the death of King William, a Pindaric ode, entitled, 'Of the Houſe of Naſſau,' which he dedicated to Charles Duke of Somerſet. At the cloſe of this truly poetic performance, there is a very fine and a very prophetic complement to Queen Anne (*i*). He continued to employ his leiſure hours in tranſlations and imitations of the Antients, and particularly of Horace, whoſe genius he juſtly admired, and whoſe writings he perfectly underſtood (*k*). His ſentiments, as to the propereſt manner of tranſlating him, are ſo judicious, and, withal, ſo modeſtly expreſſed in a letter to a friend, that we could not avoid giving them a place in the notes [*C*]. In 1703, his 'Ode in praiſe of Muſic' was performed at Stationers-Hall, with

(*d*) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 81.

(*e*) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Eſq; p. 6.

(*f*) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 82.

(*g*) Poems on ſeveral Occaſions, with ſome ſelect Eſſays in proſe, by J. Hughes, Eſq; 2 vols, Lond. 1735. 12mo. Vol. I. p. 93.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 256.

(*i*) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 82.

(*k*) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Eſq; p. 9.

Nor rooted plant or tree, nor ſpringing green;
Yet, lovely Lalage, my generous flame
Shall ne'er expire; I'll boldly ſing of thee,
Charm'd with the muſic of thy name,
And guarded by the gods of love and poetry.

[*B*] *Eaſe and exactneſs.*] This poem opens with an invocation to the muſe, who, at the author's earneſt requeſt, having wrapped him high above the world, he firſt diſcerns in looking down an obſcure diſturbed and troubled ſcene, which being diſperſed by the bright effulgence of an eaſtern light, diſcovers clearly Europe to his view (4). He then proceeds thus,

(4) Hughes's Works, Vol. I. p. 12, 13.

Of various ſtates, the various bounds appear;
There wide Hiſpania, fruitful Gallia here;
Belgia's moiſt ſoil, conſpicuous from afar,
And Flandria, long the field of a deſtructive war.
Germania too with cluſter'd vines o'erſpread
And lovely Albion from her wat'ry bed,
Beauteous above the reſt, rears her auſpicious head.
Beneath her chalky cliffs, ſea nymphs reſort,
And awful Neptune keeps his reedy court;
His darling Thames rich preſents in his hand
Of bounteous Ceres traverſes the land;
And ſeems a mighty ſnake whoſe ſhining pride
Does thro' the meads in ſinuous volumes glide.
Ah charming iſle! faireſt of all the main!
Too long thou doſt my willing eye detain.
For ſee a heroe on the adverſe ſtrand,
And lo! a blooming virgin in his hand!
All hail, celeſtial pair!——a goddeſs ſhe,
Of heav'nly birth confeſt, a more than mortal he
Victorious laurels on his brows he wears;
Th' attending fair a branching olive bears;
Slender her ſhape, in ſilver bands confin'd;
Her ſnowy garments looſely flow behind,
Rich with embroider'd ſtars, and ruffle in the wind.
But once ſuch diff'ring beauty met before,
When warrior Mars did Love's bright Queen adore;
E'en Love's bright Queen might ſeem leſs winning fair,
And Mars ſubmit to his heroic air.
Not Jove himſelf, imperial Jove, can ſhow
A nobler mien, or more undaunted brow,
When his ſtrong arm, thro' Heav'n's æthereal plains
Compels the kindled bolt, and awful rule maintains.
And now embark'd they ſeek the Britiſh iſles,
Pleas'd with the charge, propitious ocean ſmiles.
Before, old Neptune ſmooths the liquid way;
Obſequious tritons on the ſurface play;
And ſportful dolphins, with a nimble glance,
To the bright Sun their glitt'ring ſcales advance.
In oozy beds profound, the billows ſleep,
No clamorous winds awake the ſilent deep;
Rebuk'd, they whiſper in a gentle breeze,
And all around is univerſal peace.
Proceed my muſe! the following pomp declare;
Say who, and what the bright attendants were!
Firſt Ceres, in her chariot ſeated high,
By harneſs'd dragons drawn along the ſky;
A cornucopia fill'd her weaker hand,
Charg'd with the various off-ſpring of the land,
Fruit, flowers, and corn; her right a ſickle bore;
A yellow wreath of twiſted wheat ſhe wore.
Next father Bacchus with his tigers grac'd
The ſhow, and, ſqueezing cluſters as he paſs'd,
Quaff'd flowing goblets of rich flavour'd wine
In order, laſt ſucceed the tuneful Nine;
Apollo too was there; behind him hung
His uſeleſs quiver, and his bow unſtrung;
He touch'd his golden lyre, and thus he ſung.

[*C*] *In the notes.*] In a former note, we have taken ſome pains to explain our author's manner of tranſlating Horace, one of the moſt agreeable, and for that with great applauſe (*l*). He was allowed by the beſt judges to have been wonderfully happy in this, which is one of the moſt difficult kinds of compoſition; and as his merit in this way was great, ſo he may be juſtly eſteemed fortunate, in having his pieces ſet by the greateſt maſters this country has produced, ſuch as the famous Daniel Purcell, the celebrated Dr Pepuſch, Mr Galliard, Mr Handel, and others (*m*). We ſhall the leſs wonder at his ſucceſs in this kind of poetry, if we conſider the rational and judicious theory which he has laid down in the preface to thoſe ſix cantata's, ſet to muſic by Dr Pepuſch, and publiſhed, but without our author's name; in which he gives ſo conſpicuous, and at the ſame time ſo ſuccinct, an account of the true grounds of this kind of poetry, that we cannot have a better ſpecimen of his abilities as a critic, or a ſtronger inſtance of that candour with which he communicated to the public, what a poet of a more contracted mind would have reſerved to himſelf as the great myſtery of his art (*n*) [*D*]. His great delight in

that reaſon, one of the Latin Poets, moſt difficult to render into any other language than that in which he wrote. In this, our author ſhall give the reaſons which induced him to adopt this looſe open manner of tranſlating; from which it will appear, that he did not therein conſult ſo much his own eaſe, as the ſatisfaction of his reader, by making, not the ſenſe only, but the manner of his author perfectly underſtood. To the friend to whom he addreſſes the ode in verſe, he writes thus in proſe (5).

S I R, 26 Dec. 1702.

I am ſorry I could not wait on you yeſterday as I intended; when I ſee you next, you ſhall know the reaſon, in the mean time I ſend this to beg your pardon, and have incloſed what I ſpoke to you of. That incomparable Ode which Horace has addreſſed to his friend Groſphus (6), I have choſen to preſent to one of the beſt of my friends in as good an Engliſh dreſs as I am capable of giving it. The original is one of thoſe pieces in which Horace has ſhewn himſelf ſo great a maſter of human life, and given us at once, a view of his good ſenſe and good humour. And this addreſs is uſual to him, for in the graveſt of his odes, he does not ſeem to make his remarks on life like a pedant, to make you out of love with it, or to fright you from pleaſure, but to invite you to the true enjoyment of it, and thus far he was certainly in the right, though in the choice of his pleaſures he was often irregular (7). In this, as well as in all other reſpects, his moral odes infinitely exceed the chorus's in Seneca's tragedies; for in the firſt, you have the free and unaffected morality of a Gentleman, but in the latter, the ſplenetic air of a ſevere Stoic. This ode has been in Engliſh before, more than once, but whether well or ill tranſlated, I leave others to judge; I ſhall only ſay, that I have ſeen very few tranſlations of Horace that I can be pleaſed with, for moſt have copied only his thoughts, without any thing of his diction, which is his principal beauty: 'tis that vivacity in his ſtile, and particularly in his epithets, which Petronius Arbiter calls a curioſa felicitas, and in which no man ever (in my opinion) reſembled him ſo much as Petronius himſelf, whoſe proſe is as inimitable as Horace's poetry. Indeed in the time of Pope Urban VIII. (who was a poet himſelf) Caſimire, a Polander and a jeſuit, writ ſeveral odes in imitation of Horace, in which there appears a good genius, but his Latin is not pure, and, beſides the diſadvantage of writing in a dead language, he is defective in judgment, and his fancy is not always well governed. Thoſe who have ſucceeded beſt in their attempts on Horace in Engliſh, have choſen the way of paraphraſe as the moſt proper; for his ſenſe is cloſe wrought, and would appear ſtiff and obſcure in a literal tranſlation (if ſuch a one could be made) and there are many good hints in him worth purſuing. None have pretended to copy his numbers for the Pindaric, which ſeems the fitteſt for us, and gives us a greater liberty, and variety does not anſwer the Latin meaſures. Yet I remember, I once ſaw an attempt to write Engliſh ſapphicks (but it never was printed), and Sir Philip Sidney has compoſed hexameters and other verſes after the Latin meaſure, but they are unnatural to our language for this reaſon, chiefly, becauſe we abound ſo much in monoſyllables. The ſapphic meaſure is indeed very muſical, and what Horace ſeems beſt to have practiſed, but methinks it is too ſoft, and fit only to be employed on love and pleaſant eaſy ſubjects; it ſeems too much confined, like the uſual meaſure of our ſongs, and the lofty ſenſe of ſome of his odes is above it. Our Engliſh Pindaric is undoubtedly more majeſtical if it be well contrived; and the various length and ſhortneſs of the lines, as well as the mixture and returns of the rhime well choſen; and therefore, as I ſaid before, it is the moſt proper for ſuch odes as have any thing of the ſublime in them: I wonder Horace did not introduce ſomething like it into his language, being ſo great an admirer of Pindar, and having in other reſpects imitated him ſo finely, notwithſtanding his declaration Pindarum quiſquis, &c. that Pindar was inimitable, in which ode he commends him in theſe words.

> Laureâ donandus Apollinari,
> Seu per audaces nova dithyrambos
> Verba devolvit, numeriſque fertur
> Lege ſolutis. Lib. IV. Ode II.

Thus tranſlated by Mr Cowley,

> So Pindar does new words and figures roll
> Down his impetuous dithyrambick tide,
> Which in no channel deigns t' abide,
> Which neither banks nor dikes controul.

But this does not anſwer to the numeris lege ſolutis, by which Horace means only that Pindar's numbers were unlimited, and not confined to any ſet meaſure in thoſe odes that were called dithyrambick, which had the moſt heat and fury, being firſt invented in honour of Bacchus. And methinks Horace might ſometimes have attempted this dithyrambick meaſure, eſpecially in that ode, Quo me, Bacche, rapis, &c.

But to return to the ode which I have here endeavoured to imitate; I have taken a liberty in the paraphraſe, the firſt ſtanza is added, and a ſimile or two, but nothing more than what is agreeable to his ſenſe, and what I thought would make him appear to the beſt advantage. Such as it is, Sir, I ſubmit it entirely to your judgment, ſince it was firſt attempted for your pleaſure. 'Tis upon an agreeable ſubject, viz. Tranquillity, and if it fails giving you any entertainment, I will readily acknowledge it to be my own fault, for I know you to be maſter of ſo much ſenſe, ſo good a taſte, and ſuch juſt notions of human life, that I am ſure Horace muſt pleaſe you, if he be not murthered in an ill tranſlation. You may perceive, Sir, that as I cannot think the time long which I ſpend in your company, ſo neither can I think a letter long which I am writing to you; but I may be tempted to treſpaſs upon you in one as well as the other, therefore I would do as perſons ſhould, after a tedious viſit, uſe a ſhort ceremony and withdraw.

I am, &c.

[*D*] *As the great myſtery of his art.*] The following extract, from our author's preface, contains abundance of curious and ſenſible reflections, which are not to be met with any where elſe, and for this reaſon chiefly, have had a place aſſigned them here. His criticiſm is clear and candid; he was at great pains to acquire knowledge before he ventured to write, and yet parts with that knowledge, though ſo hardly attained, with that eaſe and freedom, which is natural to a great and good mind, delighting no leſs in the propagation of ſcience, than in the poſſeſſion of it (8).

'It may be proper to acquaint the public, ſays he, that theſe are the firſt *Eſſays* of this kind, and were written as an experiment of introducing a ſort of *Compoſition*

(*l*) Hughes's Works, Vol. I. p. 163.

(*m*) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 82. Hughes's Works, Vol. I. p. 125, 144, 146, 148, 149, 151, 155, 161, 168, 176. Vol. II. p. 7, 64, 66, 69, 93, 107, 121.

(*n*) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 82.

(5) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of Mr Hughes, p. 10—15.

(6) Horat. lib. ii. carm. 16.

(7) Hughes's Works, Vol. I. p. 116.

(8) Ibid. p. 127.

in muſic led him to a cloſe acquaintance with the Italian writers, which induced the proprietors of a new tranſlation of the celebrated work of Boccalini, to apply themſelves to him to review that tranſlation, and to give them his paſſport to the public; which he was prevailed upon to do; and the reader will ſee, within the compaſs of a ſhort preface, as true and judicious a repreſentation of that very ſingular, and in many reſpects valuable, performance, and as juſt and impartial an account of the author, as can be deſired (*o*). Pieces of this kind are, generally ſpeaking, of little importance; but, to the honour of our author, it muſt be obſerved, that, whatever he condeſcended to do, bore the genuine and indiſputable marks of genius and ſcience; ſo that this character of Boccalini, and his book, may be conſidered as a detached piece, expreſſive of our author's ſkill, in a very peculiar kind of critical learning (*p*) [*E*]. This excellent diſpoſition being generally known

(*o*) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Eſq; p. 29, 30.

(*p*) Prefixed to the two editions in folio, 1706, 1719.

poſition which had never been naturalized in our language. Thoſe who are affectedly partial to the *Italian* tongue, will ſcarce allow muſic to ſpeak any other. But if reaſon may be admitted to have any ſhare in theſe entertainments, nothing is more neceſſary than that the *words* ſhould be underſtood; without which, the end of *vocal* muſic is loſt. The want of this, occaſions a common complaint, and is the chief if not the only reaſon that the beſt works of SCARLATI, and other *Italians*, except thoſe performed in *Opera's*, are generally but little known or regarded here. Beſides it may be obſerved, without any diſhonour to a language which has been adorned by ſome writers of excellent genius, and was the firſt among the moderns, in which the art of poetry was revived and brought to any perfection, that in the great number of their *Operas*, *Serenatas*, and *Cantatas*, the words are often much inferior to the *compoſition*; and though by their abounding in vowels, they have an inimitable aptneſs and facility for notes, the writers for muſic have not always made the beſt uſe of this advantage, or ſeem to have relied on it ſo much as to have regarded little elſe; ſo that Mr *Waller*'s remark on another occaſion may be frequently applied to them,

Soft words with nothing in them make a ſong.

Yet ſo great is the force of *ſounds* well choſen and ſkilfully executed, that as they can hide indifferent *ſenſe*, and a kind of aſſociated pleaſure ariſes from the words, though they are but mean; ſo the impreſſion cannot fail of being in proportion much greater when the thoughts are natural and proper, and the expreſſions unaffected and agreeable.

Since therefore the *Engliſh* language, though inferior in *ſmoothneſs*, has been found not incapable of *harmony*, nothing would perhaps be wanting towards introducing the moſt elegant STILE of *muſic* in a nation which has given ſuch generous encouragements to it; if our beſt poets would ſometimes aſſiſt this deſign, and make it their diverſion to improve a ſort of verſe in regular meaſures purpoſely fitted for muſic, and which of all the modern kinds, ſeems to be the only one that can now properly be called LYRICK.

It cannot but be obſerved on this occaſion, that ſince POETRY and MUSIC are ſo nearly allied, it is a misfortune that thoſe who excel in one, are often perfect ſtrangers to the other. If therefore a better correſpondence were ſettled between the two *Siſter* ARTS, they would probably contribute to each other's improvement. The expreſſions of harmony, *cadence*, and a *good ear*, which are ſaid to be ſo neceſſary in *poetry*, being all borrowed from *muſic*, ſhew at leaſt, if they ſignify any thing, that it would be no improper help for a poet to underſtand more than the *metaphorical* ſenſe of them. And on the other hand, a *compoſer* can never judge where to lay the *accent* of his *muſic*, who does not know, or is not made ſenſible, where the words have the greateſt *beauty* and *force*.

There is one thing in compoſitions of this ſort, which ſeems a little to want explaining, and that is the RECITATIVE muſic, which many people hear without pleaſure, the reaſon of which is, perhaps, that they have a miſtaken notion of it. They are accuſtomed to think that all muſic ſhould be AIR, and being diſappointed of what they expect, they loſe the beauty that is in it of a different kind. It may be proper to obſerve therefore, that the *recitative* ſtile in compoſition, is founded on that variety of *accent* which pleaſes in the pronunciation of a *good Orator*, with as little deviation from it as poſſible. The different *tones* of the *voice* in aſtoniſhment, joy, ſorrow, rage, tenderneſs in affirmations, apoſtrophes, interrogations, and all the other varieties of ſpeech make a ſort of natural muſic, which is very agreeable, and this is what is intended to be imitated with ſome helps by the *compoſer*, but without approaching to what we call a TUNE or AIR; ſo that it is but a kind of *improved elocution*, or pronouncing of the words in *muſical cadences*, and is indeed wholly at the *mercy* of the *performer* to make it agreeable or not, according to his ſkill or ignorance; like the *reading* of *verſe*, which is not every one's *talent*. This ſhort account may poſſibly ſuffice to ſhew how properly the RECITATIVE has a place in compoſitions of any length to relieve the *ear* with a variety, and to introduce the AIRS with the greater advantage.'

[*E*] *Of critical learning.*] The light in which our author has been hitherto conſidered in the world, is almoſt ſolely as a poet, whereas he ought to be looked upon in the light of a general ſcholar, an able critic, and an excellent writer in proſe as well as verſe. To juſtify this character in it's full extent, and in ſome meaſure to revive that of Boccalini, far leſs known and regarded than it deſerves, or than it was at the beginning of this century, we have made an extract from Mr Hughes's preface, which will effectually anſwer both the points we had in view.

'The deſign of this book, as the author declares in his own preface, was to make a happy mixture of the pleaſant and the profitable, and in this 'twill be allowed by all good judges, that he has ſucceeded to admiration. Whatever can be expected from a moſt fruitful and facetious wit; from a great variety of ſolid and polite learning, an improved converſation, and an accurate diſcernment in human affairs, is to be found aſſembled in this diverting and uſeful miſcellany, which has long had the reputation of a maſter-piece in Italian, and is ſo well known by the many tranſlations of it into the beſt languages of Europe, that few who are converſant with books and learning, can be wholly unacquainted with it's merit.

It is a new invented kind of fable, very different from any thing which had ever been written before, and therefore it may juſtly be eſteemed an original, a character which Boccalini boldly aſſumes to himſelf in his preface, and in the twenty-eighth of his advices, though a concealed witling would lately have robbed him of that honour. It is very plain that this happy Italian genius is no copier, but that his project is his own, for he is the firſt that erected a Secretary's-office in Parnaſſus, and gave advices from thence of what paſſed among the Virtuoſi of that place; and therefore, for the novelty of his invention, he compares himſelf to Chriſtopher Columbus, the diſcoverer of a new world.

But this ſimile being liable to ſome exception, may perhaps with more advantage to him be changed. Parnaſſus was not indeed firſt diſcovered by Boccalini, for the Antients touched upon the coaſt long before, and placed there Apollo, the nine Muſes, and Pegaſus. But our author adventured further into the country, and was the firſt that planted, peopled, improved it with laws, and gave us that entertaining deſcription of it, and thoſe excellent leſſons of inſtruction from thence, which are contained in the following ſheets.

There is no need to inſiſt upon the uſefulneſs of this way of conveying truth by allegory, which employs at once the utmoſt judgment and fancy of the writer, and is obſerved to make more lively impreſſions on the reader, than reaſon in it's undreſs can do, though it have ever ſo many native charms.

But there is one thing which ſhould particularly recommend our author to Engliſhmen, and that is his zeal for liberty, and his generous abhorrence of thoſe wicked politics which have ſo much diſturbed the peace of the world, and the happineſs of nations. It is no wonder known in the literary world, our author was frequently applied to (though he ſeldom liſtened to ſuch applications) upon like occaſions. Amongſt the few that merited his attention, one was, the compoſing a moſt admirable preface to the great collection of the Hiſtory of England, by various hands, called the Complete Hiſtory of England, and becauſe the third volume was written by Dr Kennet, more frequently ſtiled Kennet's Hiſtory. This preface was, on it's publication, very much eſteemed, and certainly gives as clear, as ſatisfactory, and as impartial an account of the Hiſtorians there collected, as can be deſired, and that in a ſtile and manner very pleaſing and natural; but at the ſame time ſo particular to Mr Hughes, that it would be difficult to name any introduction of this ſort that could be put in competition with it. The ſucceeding year, on the demiſe of William Duke of Devonſhire, Auguſt 18, 1707, our author compoſed an ode ſet to muſic in honour of his memory, in the manner of a dialogue between Britannia and Auguſta; the part of the former performed by Signiora Margarita, and the latter by the famous Mrs Tofts (q). It is eaſy to apprehend how difficult it muſt have been to ſucceed in a compoſition almoſt without a precedent, and of which, no queſtion, there was the higheſt expectations; and yet, whoever reads our author's performance, will have little doubt of it's giving full ſatisfaction. The ſucceſs which had attended the tranſlation of Boccalini, brought a new application, in favour of one of the beſt received pieces of the celebrated Mr Fontenelle, which our author had tranſlated for his amuſement, and which, after it had lain by him ſix years, he permitted to ſee the light (r). In this tranſlation, the ſenſe of the author is clearly and happily expreſſed, and with ſuch a degree of freedom and ſpirit, that if the fame of Mr Fontenelle had been leſs extenſive, it might have paſſed for an original [F]. His numerous performances in verſe and proſe, his unblemiſhed reputation, and

(q) Hughes's Works, Vol. I. p. 178.

(r) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Eſq; p. 19. Hughes's Works, Vol. II. p. 79.

wonder if this afforded him a large ſubject for that matchleſs vein of juſt and well directed ſatire, which at laſt proved as fatal to this modern Roman, as the gift of eloquence did to that famous antient one Cicero; ſo dangerous it is to poſſeſs any extraordinary talent which keeps the vices of men in awe, and will not ſuffer them to do miſchief ſecurely.

And this brings us to give ſome account of Boccalini's life, all that is left us remarkable of him, may be diſpatched in a few lines, which let the reader take as follows.

He was born at Rome about the latter end of the ſixteenth century: his father was an architect, and probably not very illuſtrious in his profeſſion, for it ſeems he wanted wherewithal to encourage his ſon in his ſtudies; but Boccalini's way was to be made purely by his own merit, and though he ſet out into the world under great diſadvantages, he ſoon met with conſiderable friends, who were charmed with his ingenious and entertaining qualities. The Italian academies received him with the greateſt pleaſure imaginable, and honoured him with marks of their eſteem. He had a large ſhare of wit and humour, which early took an unlucky turn towards ſatire, and the applauſe he met with for ſome curious pieces of that kind, which he communicated in manuſcript to his familiars, drew him on to further attempts; ſo that thinking himſelf ſecure under the protection of his illuſtrious patrons, and particularly the Cardinals Borgheſe and Cajetan, he publiſhed his Advices from Parnaſſus, and afterwards his Political Touchſtone. Both theſe pieces met with extraordinary applauſe, but the latter was very bold and ſevere, and as our ingenious Lord Bacon expreſſes it, He that follows truth too cloſe at the heels, may have his brains kickt out; ſo it fared with Boccalini, for the Spaniards who were chiefly laſhed in that ſatire, complained againſt him and purſued their revenge. This drove him in a fright to Venice, where he found new patrons, and there he employed his hours of ſtudy in writing political diſcourſes on Tacitus, which how well he could have performed, the reader may judge by ſeveral paſſages in the following advices. But this work was cut ſhort by a bad accident, for while his friend with whom he lodged was gone out early one morning, and left Boccalini in bed, four bravo's ruſhed into his chamber and beat him to death with ſand bags: diligent enquiry was made after the contrivers of this villainy, but they were never diſcovered. Thus died Trajano Boccalini, much regretted among men of the beſt learning and principles.'

We have mentioned in the text, that the proprietors of this new tranſlation, relied very much upon the credit which the reviſion of it by Mr Hughes would give it in the learned world. This ſhocked the natural modeſty of our author to ſuch a degree, that he excuſed it in the following manner, which will certainly endear him to every candid reader.

‘ The perſons concerned in this tranſlation, having thought that my reviewing the ſtile might be uſeful to them, I was prevailed with to do ſomething in this kind, of which I have given ſome account in the preface. I wiſh the advantage the book may have received by this ſmall aſſiſtance, were at all proportionable to the pleaſure with which it entertained my leiſure hours. I cannot think the prefixing my name any recommendation of it; but ſince they deſired it, I thought it not worth while to refuſe ſo ſlight a gratification.’

J. Hughes.

[F] *It might have paſſed for an original.*] The title of our author's tranſlation runs at large thus:

Fontenelle's *Dialogues of the Dead, in three Parts.* I. *Dialogues of the* Antients. II. *The* Antients *with the* Moderns. III. *The* Moderns; *tranſlated from the* French, *with a Reply to ſome* Remarks *in a* Critique *called,* The Judgment of *Pluto*, &c. *and two* Original Dialogues. London: *Printed for* Jacob Tonſon, *within* Gray's-Inn-Gate, *next* Gray's-Inn-Lane, 1708.

This work is dedicated to Thomas Earl of Wharton, and in that dedication he has in a ſingle paragraph done juſtice to his patron, his author, and himſelf. It runs thus, ‘ I appeal to all the World who knows my author's character, whether I could have made a more proper application. His wit, his learning, his knowledge of mankind, his exquiſite taſte in all that is polite; the fire of his imagination; the uncommon felicity of his eloquence, and the ready turn of his expreſſion, are reaſons which the public will think very natural to direct me in this addreſs to your Lordſhip. And ſince my particular obligations have made it a duty, I could not omit any opportunity of acknowledging your Lordſhip's favours, which are attended with all the circumſtances proper to leave the moſt grateful impreſſions.’

The diſcourſe prefixed to the dialogues in defence of his author, is equally ſhining and ſolid, but in a manner ſo very different from the reſt of Mr Hughes's works, that it gives one a very high idea of his capacity of ſuiting his thoughts and his language, exactly to what ever ſubject employed his care. The tranſlation is at once both lively and correct, and therefore we need not wonder, that it met with a very unuſual honour abroad (9), being mentioned in the French Literary Journal, as extremely well wrote, and very exact. Indeed he entered ſo thoroughly into the ſpirit of his author, that we find at the cloſe of his performance, two dialogues entirely in his manner; and it is very much to be regretted, that he did not give us at leaſt a volume. The *firſt* of theſe dialogues is between *Lucius Junius Brutus*, and *Auguſtus Cæſar*; to ſhew that the greateſt characters may be criticized. The *other* between *Empedocles*, and *Lucilio Vanini*, to prove that multitudes have been martyrs to folly.

(9) Journal des Sçavans, Tom. XLI. p. 214.

Some

and his exemplary candour and modeſty, had by this time introduced him, not only to the moſt conſiderable members of the Republic of Letters, ſuch as Mr Addiſon, Mr Congreve, Mr Pope, Mr Southerne, Mr Rowe, and many others (s); but alſo to ſome of the greateſt men in the kingdom, and amongſt theſe, to Thomas, Earl, and afterwards Marquis, of Wharton, who, to expreſs his regard for Mr Hughes, offered to carry him over, and provide for him, when appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. But depending on the promiſes of another great man, who had undertaken to diſpoſe of him more agreeably at home, he declined that obliging offer, which brought upon him a diſappointment that gave him ſome uneaſineſs, though he had nothing in him of a narrow or ſelfiſh ſpirit (t). He amuſed himſelf about this time with the tranſlation of one of Moliere's plays, which he performed with equal judgment and ſpirit, and entertained ſo great a liking for that excellent comic writer, that at his leiſure hours he turned ſeveral ſcenes of his into Engliſh; one of which, that deſerves the public notice, the reader will meet with in the notes (u) [G]. His friend Mr, afterwards Sir Richard, Steele, having ſet up that agreeable paper

(s) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Eſq; p. 5.

(t) From the information of a friend of Mr Hughes's.

(u) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Eſq; p. 16. Hughes's Works, Vol. I. p. 221.

Some years after he tranſlated Mr *Fontenelle*'s diſcourſe concerning the *Antients* and *Moderns*, with which Sir William Temple was ſo highly offended, which was printed with Mr Glanville's tranſlation of the ſame author's *Converſations* with the *Lady* on the *Plurality* of *Words*, which Sir William has as highly applauded. The publick is alſo indebted to Mr Hughes for another tranſlation, which from the nature of it's ſubject, as well as the beauties beſtowed upon it by his pen, has been better received than the reſt, and ran through many editions. The title at large runs thus.

Letters of Abelard *and* Heloiſe, *to which is prefixed, a particular Account of their Lives, Amours, and Miſfortunes, extracted chiefly from Monſieur* Bayle.

[G] *In the notes.*] The Miſanthrope, or Man Hater, which is by many of the beſt critics eſteemed the moſt perfect of Moliere's performances, was tranſlated and publiſhed by Mr Hughes in the month of May 1709, with an excellent preface. This play has been ſince reprinted in the compleat collection of Moliere's plays in Engliſh, but without any notice of the tranſlator, and the preface omitted, which is the reaſon that we have preſerved it here, ſcarce any copies of the original edition being to be met with, and this piece become as rare as if it was a MS.

'Though that variety of thought and humour, which is uſual in free governments, has been generally obſerved to furniſh the Engliſh writers of comedy, with advantages above thoſe of any other nation; yet ſince the chief of them have not ſcrupled to borrow ſometimes from Moliere, they have by thus acknowledging his merit, made it unneceſſary to offer any thing in excuſe of the following tranſlation. In which the original is followed as ſtrictly as poſſible, which perhaps it muſt not have been, if intended for the ſtage.

The French Drama is indeed very different from ours. Our writers chooſing to neglect the mechanic beauties, have commonly introduced more perſons than were neceſſary; divided the action by under-plots; multiplied the incidents, lengthened the time beyond a due proportion, and ſhifted the ſcene frequently in the ſame act and to very diſtant places: yet they ſhine wonderfully in the dialogue and raillery, and depending wholly on the force and ſpirit of their writing, have thought it no defect not to be eſteemed the moſt regular builders.

The French on the other hand chiefly valuing themſelves upon criticiſm, in which they are allowed to excel, have been very regular in the ſtructure of their plots: that of the following comedy is formed with an open plainneſs and ſimplicity, which when there is no genius wanting in the execution, has certainly a proper grace. There are but three perſons introduced in the firſt act; two of them continue the whole time. The place is not changed throughout the whole play; and what they call the Liaiſon des Scenes, is obſerved ſo ſtrictly, that the ſtage is not once left by all the perſons together, except at the end of an act.

But theſe it muſt be owned are beauties of an inferior rank. What makes this piece much more conſiderable, is the remarkable vein of good ſenſe and genteel converſation that runs through it, without any mixture of low humour, and eſpecially the part of Alceſtes, which one may almoſt venture to ſay, would have been ſpoiled in any hand but Moliere's. It required a judgment of the fineſt diſtinction, to repreſent in ſuch lively colours, the infirmity of a man of the juſteſt ſenſe, who is always angry without brutality, and a bold ſpeaker without malice or ill manners. There is beſides in this and the part of Celimene, if I may be allowed to borrow a word from painting, the fineſt contraſt or oppoſition of character that could poſſibly have been invented. Her wit, which is her only good quality, needs a pardon, while his faults are beautiful; and that too great ſeverity of taſte which unfits him for the world, qualifies him to make the trueſt reflections upon it imaginable: for which too the poet has judiciouſly prepared him by a law-ſuit, to keep him conſtantly out of humour, and ſhew him in the ſtrongeſt lights.

It is certain that the author deſigned this for the entertainment of the better ſort of judges, and he ſucceeded in it accordingly: for Rapin, the exacteſt critic of his nation, and who frequently treats his countrymen with the utmoſt ſeverity, declares, that in his opinion, the Miſantrope is the moſt finiſhed, and yet the moſt ſingular character that was ever brought upon the ſtage. And the beſt of their poets, Boileau, even when he cenſures Moliere for too much humouring the people in ſome of his farces, marks out this comedy as a model of the beſt kind.

Dans ce ſac ridicule au Scapin s'enveloppe
Je ne reconnois plus l'auteur du Miſantrope.

When in his ſack I ſee poor Scapin toſt,
The author of the Miſanthrope is loſt.

On the other hand, the crowd of the audience were very little entertained at the firſt three repreſentations of it. They looked for no pleaſure, but the groſs diverſion of laughing, and were diſappointed in meeting with ſomething too refined for their taſte; ſo that at the fourth time of it's acting, the author was forced to give them what they liked better, one of his worſt farces at the end of it. By that means however they were brought to be acquainted with it by degrees, and had learned to like it ſo well, that the next time there was no need of the farce, but the Miſantrope was received with the general applauſe of the town, as it had before gained that of the Court and the beſt judges.

And this may ſerve to excuſe the author's trifling a little in that ſhort ſcene at the end of the fourth act, where Alceſtes's footman delivers a meſſage to his maſter. The ſaucy pertneſs of a French valet de chambre, may make it ſeem not unnatural; and the lightneſs of the humour, was probably intended to relieve the gravity of the ſcene immediately preceding it.

When I mentioned the difference between the French ſtage and ours, I ought to have taken notice that this comedy is entirely written in rhyme. But though cuſtom may have eſtabliſhed that effeminate practice among them, and Moliere has ſhewn a facility in it, which is indeed wonderful, there was no reaſon why it ſhould be followed in a tranſlation. It was therefore thought a more likely way of doing juſtice to his thoughts, to turn them into proſe, with ſuch an air as ſhould appear more natural for dialogue and converſation.

There is one thing, which I hope every reader will obſerve, that notwithſtanding the juſt cenſure dramatic poetry has frequently incurred by the looſeneſs of ſome writers, who in their plays have tranſcribed their own manners; there is nothing in this comedy but what is decent, moral, and inſtructive. I wiſh we had no occaſion to be taught by our neighbours in this.

paper the Tatler, Mr Hughes contributed his aſſiſtance, as he likewiſe did in the Spectator (w). If the reader has a mind to be acquainted with the particular papers he wrote, which were as well received as any, in either of thoſe celebrated collections, he will meet with the neceſſary informations at the bottom of the page [H]. In 1712, he tranſlated 'the

But ſince we have often appeared ſo fond of learning their follies, why may we not without offence, recommend the imitation of their virtues? and as our beſt writers excel moſt of theirs in wit, they may at a very cheap rate, if they pleaſe, equal them in regularity and decorum.'

Our author afterwards tranſlated the firſt Act of the Miſer, but how he came not to finiſh that play, is not come to our knowledge. The following ſcene may be conſidered as a detached piece, admirable in it's kind, and elegantly tranſlated; from whence the Engliſh reader may be convinced, that if there be any thing flat, dry, or unpleaſant, in any of the comedies of this author, they are not to be placed to the account of Moliere, but to his who attempted to put them into Engliſh, which certainly is no eaſy taſk, and therefore the greater praiſe is due to him whoſe verſion has the air of an original.

Buffle and *Frankly* meeting (10).

Buff. Dear Mr Frankly, you are well met. was going to look for you.

Frank. Upon what occaſion pray?

Buff. You muſt know I have an affair upon my hands, a matter, I aſſure you, of conſequence; and it is always prudent upon ſuch occaſions, to take the advice of ſome ſolid and judicious friend.

Frank. I'm obliged to you. Pray what is it?

Buff. I'll tell you. But firſt you ſhall ſwear not to flatter me. Don't imagine I am to be put off with a complement: I muſt have your real opinion.

Frank. You ſhall.

Buff. I know the way of the world; ſincerity is ſcarce. But I deſpiſe the man who calls himſelf my friend and will not ſpeak freely.

Frank. Well, you are in the right. But to the affair.

Buff. You promiſe me then, upon the faith of a friend, that you'll be very ſincere with me.

Frank. I do. But your affair?

Buff. Why, what do you think if I ſhould marry.

Frank. Who! You marry! What my friend Mr Buffle marry!

Buff. Yes, I; I myſelf, in my own proper perſon; your friend and ſervant Jeffrey Buffle.

Frank. I can't tell. You muſt anſwer me a queſtion or two before I can adviſe you——In the firſt place how old are you?

Buff. How old am I?——I don't know———How old?——Why what ſignifies age? I am ſound, as you ſee, and hearty,——troth, I can't very well tell how old?

Frank. No! That's ſtrange. Pray how old were you when we firſt became acquainted?

Buff. I don't know——twenty, I believe; it could not be more.

Frank. I think we were eight years together at Rome.

Buff. Well.

Frank. Seven years I have heard you ſay you were in France.

Buff. Well.

Frank. How long did you ſtay afterwards in Holland?

Buff. Five years and a half.

Frank. Do you remember in what year you came home to England?

Buff. In the year 1695.

Frank. From 1695, to 1713, is eighteen years I take it; and five years in Holland, is three and twenty. Seven in France, makes thirty. Eight at Rome, is thirty-eight, and twenty is fifty-eight, ſo that by your own account, Mr Buffle, you muſt be now about your fifty-eighth or fifty-ninth year. Is not this true?

Buff. True! No. 'Tis impoſſible. You are miſtaken, Mr Frankly; you are out in your reckoning.

Frank. Pardon me, I'm not out in my reckoning. Look you, Mr Buffle, you have made me promiſe to be ſincere with you; and therefore in plain terms, marriage, in my opinion is not your buſineſs. It is a matter on which young people ſhould think deliberately before they enter upon it, and old ones not at all; and if it ſometimes happens to be a folly, how inexcuſable would that folly be, at an age in which we are expected to be wiſe? I ſpeak my naked thoughts. Marriage is honourable, but for a man of your years to think of marrying! Come, come, you are well as you are at preſent, and why will you venture a change which may prove for the worſe?

Buff. Hark you, Frankly, I am reſolved to marry d'ye ſee? I have not told you yet who the dear creature is: look you, Sir, I ſhall not be ſo ridiculous as you imagine.

Frank. O that alters the caſe, you did not tell me that.

Buff. Such a woman, Mr Frankly, ſo fine a woman! In ſhort I am in love with her.

Frank. You are in love you ſay?

Buff. Poſitively, and I have ſettled matters with her father.

Frank. With her father!

Buff. Moſt certainly. You muſt know we are to be marry'd to-morrow morning.

Frank. O your humble ſervant, marry by all means.

Buff. Why aye————I can't do better, I think my age quoth'a? Why what ſignifies my age? I am no cripple, you ſee I can walk; I don't want either a coach or a chair. I have a ſtomach like a ploughman————I deſpiſe your young dogs of thirty. Look in my face, I am hale, freſh, and ſtrong, and have all my teeth in my head as ſound as a Blackamoor's—My age quoth'a?———Ha, Mr Frankly, what d'ye ſay to me now.

Frank. Marry.

Buff. I will. You muſt know I had once a great averſion to matrimony; but I have altered my opinion, I would be loth the race of the Buffles ſhould be loſt.

Frank. O by no means.

Buff. Then you adviſe me to marry?

Frank. Adviſe you! you muſt, you ſhall marry, I'll never forgive you if you don't; you loſe time, diſpatch your affair as ſoon as poſſible.

Buff. Is that your opinion?

Frank. Certainly.

Buff. Dear Mr Frankly, let me embrace you. Well a faithful friend is a jewel.

Frank. One word more. Pray who is to be the happy Lady?

Buff. Arietta.

Frank. Arietta! What, the young, the bright, the gay Arietta?

Buff. The ſame.

Frank. Bleſs me! What Trapwell's fine daughter?

Buff. Aye.——What, you know her? Ha, what do you ſay to it Mr Frankly?

Frank. O marry, marry her by all means. You'll be finely marry'd.

Buff. D'ye think ſo? Well, you've charmed me: I am infinitely obliged to you for your advice. Pray come to my wedding.

Frank. I will——The young, the gay, the beautifull Arietta! to Mr Jeffrey Buffle, who is but fifty-eight!———A moſt agreeable match! A delicious match! Mr Buffle, I kiſs your hands.

Buff. Honeſt Frankly, fare thee well——Hark ye, beſure you don't fail to come——I don't know how it happens, but all the world is merry that hears of this match; I ſhall be prodigiouſly happy. Well, I am now the moſt ſatisfied of mortals.

[H] *At the bottom of the page.*] Theſe admirable papers, which, in point of invention, do honour not barely to this age, but to this nation, afforded every genius an opportunity of exerting itſelf, and of taking the ſenſe of the public on the performance, without appearing in perſon at the bar of that tribunal, before which the ableſt writers do not come without concern. Mr Hughes, as we have already obſerved, had an early turn to eſſay writing; could vary his ſtile according to his

(w) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Eſq; p. 24, 25.

(10) Communicated by Mr Duncombe to the author of this article.

‘ the Abbé Vertot’s Revolutions in Portugal,’ and thereby gratified the Engliſh reader with a very curious piece of hiſtory, written in a very peculiar manner, and with equal vivacity of ſtile and ſentiment; to which he did ſo much juſtice, that the tranſlation was as well received in England as the work itſelf had been in France (*x*). The celebrated Mr Addiſon, whoſe character was equally reſpected as an excellent poet and a judicicious critic, had a ſincere regard for, and a high opinion of, our author’s merit; and being ſenſible of his too great diffidence, preſſed him extremely to publiſh an Ode to the Creator of the world, compoſed from the fragments of Orpheus, and which he thought very capable of inſpiring the minds of his readers with a rational and elevated piety (*z*). In deference to that great man’s opinion, Mr Hughes accordingly gratified the public with that admirable performance, and his friend joined his public applauſe, which had a juſt weight with the world in favour of a piece which he had privately approved (*a*) [*I*]. The ſame year he brought upon the ſtage his Opera of Calypſo and Telemachus; in favour of which, under the patronage of Duke Hamilton, for Mr Hughes’s merit and modeſty procured him friends with all parties, he raiſed a conſiderable ſubſcription. The Italians were alarmed at this; and when it was on the point of being acted at the theatre in the Haymarket, they obtained from the then Lord-Chamberlain, the Duke of Shrewſbury, an order either to act at common prices, or not to act at all *(b)*. Under this diſcouragement, however, it was performed, and performed with applauſe; juſtifying fully the ſenſe of it’s author, that the Engliſh language, though not ſo ſoft, is nevertheleſs as capable of harmony as the Italian (*c*). He had the honour to find, beſides the approbation of the public, the judgment of the moſt able critics on his ſide, and, which muſt have given him ſingular ſatisfaction, the open teſtimony of Mr Addiſon in his favour *(d)* [*K*]. We learn from

(*x*) Duncombe’s Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Eſq; p. 31. Jacob’s Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 81.

(*z*) Hughes’s Works, Vol. II. p. 34.

(*a*) Spectator, No. 339.

(*b*) See the author’s Dedication to the Ducheſs of Hamilton.

(*c*) Duncombe’s Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Eſq; p. 18. Jacob’s Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 82.

(*d*) Spectator, No. 405.

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his ſubject, and a very general fund of knowledge, as well in men as books, ſo that there is nothing ſtrange in his ſucceeding ſo well in theſe ſmall pieces.

In the TATLER, he wrote:

No. 64. A Letter ſigned *Joſiah Couplet*.
No. 73. A Letter againſt *Gamſters*, ſigned WILLIAM TRUSTY.

Mr *Tickell* alludes to this letter, in a copy of verſes addreſſed to the *Spectator*. No. 532.

From Felon Gameſters *the raw* ’Squire *is free*,
And Britain *owes her reſcu’d* Oaks *to Thee*.

No. 113. The Inventory of a Beau.

In the SPECTATOR, the following papers were his.

No. 33. A Letter on the Art of improving Beauty.
53. A Second Letter on the ſame Subject.
66. Two Letters concerning fine Breeding.
91. The Hiſtory of *Honoria*: Or the *Rival Mother*.
104. A Letter on Riding Habits for Ladies.
141. Remarks on a Comedy entitled, The *Lancaſhire Witches*.
210. On the Immortality of the Soul.
220. A Letter concerning Expedients for Wit.
230. All, except the laſt Letter.
231. A Letter on the Awe of appearing before Public Aſſemblies.
237. On Divine Providence.
252. A Letter on the Eloquence of Tears and fainting fits.
302. The Character of *Emilia*.
311. A Letter from the Father of a great Fortune.
375. A Picture of Virtue in Diſtreſs.
525. On Conjugal Love.
537. On the Dignity of Human Nature.
541. Rules for Pronunciation and Action, chiefly collected from *Cicero*.
554. On the Improvement of *Genius*, illuſtrated in the Characters of the Lord *Bacon*, Mr *Boyle*, Sir *Iſaac Newton*, and *Leonardo da Vinci*.

[*I*] *Which he had privately approved.*] In a very ſhort introduction prefixed to this ode, our author obſerves, that whether thoſe fragments from which it was compoſed, were indeed written by that celebrated father of poetry and muſic, who preceded Homer, or by Onomacritus, who lived about the time of Piſiſtratus, and only contain ſome of the doctrines of Orpheus, is a queſtion of little uſe or importance. This ode conſiſts of ten ſtanza’s, and Mr Addiſon at the cloſe of one of his criticiſms upon Milton, gives it the following character (11).’ ‘ I cannot conclude this book upon the Creation, without mentioning a poem which has lately appeared under that title. The work was undertaken with ſo good an intention, and is executed with ſo great a maſtery, that it deſerves to be looked upon as one of the moſt uſeful and noble productions in our Engliſh verſe. The reader cannot but be pleaſed to find the depths of philoſophy enlivened with all the charms of poetry; and to ſee ſo great a ſtrength of reaſon, amidſt ſo beautiful a redundancy of the imagination. The author has ſhewn us that deſign in all the works of nature, which neceſſarily leads us to the knowledge of it’s firſt cauſe. In ſhort, he has illuſtrated by numberleſs and inconteſtable inſtances, that divine wiſdom which the ſon of Sirach has ſo nobly aſcribed to the Supreme Being in his formation of the world, when he tells us, that he created her, and ſaw her, and numbered her, and poured her out upon all his works.’

(11) Spectator, No. 339.

[*K*] *Of Mr Addiſon in his favour.*] The provocation which our author had received from the meaſures taken to embarraſs, or even to defeat, the performance of his opera, might have excuſed at leaſt, his revenging himſelf from the preſs for the injury he had ſuſtained in the theatre. But ſuch was the habitual calmneſs of Mr Hughes, ſuch the natural candour of his temper, that without taking notice how ill he had been uſed, the point he principally labours in his preface, is to ſhew that he was in the right; that it was not the affectation merely of introducing foreign diverſions, that brought the Italian opera here into ſuch credit; that this rather aroſe from the refined taſte, and correct judgment of the Engliſh nation, always deſirous of having the moſt perfect models before them, not barely to gaze at, but to work from; that therefore the encouraging Engliſh opera’s, was the natural and proper conſequence of bringing Italian performances into faſhion; and that it was falſe and pedantic, to believe the Italian tongue had an excluſive privilege of being aptly and ſucceſsfully ſet to muſic. He owns, that from the frequency of vowels, it is ſmooth and melodious; but he likewiſe obſerves, that the redundancy of them makes it ſo open and looſe, as to border on effeminacy. He inſiſts, that conſonants are ſometimes neceſſary to bind the language; and that Engliſh words, artfully diſpoſed, are capable in every reſpect, of conveying the moſt delightful harmony. ——— Having eſtabliſhed theſe principles, he proceeds thus (12).

‘ But what is certainly of much more conſequence in dramatical entertainments, is, that they ſhould be performed in a language underſtood by the audience. One would think there ſhould be no need to prove this. The great pleaſure in hearing vocal muſic, ariſes from the aſſociation of the ideas raiſed at the ſame time by the expreſſions and the ſounds. Where theſe ideas are ſeparated, half the impreſſion is wanting; and where they are improperly joined, it is imperfect.

(12) Hughes’s Works, Vol. II. p. 13.

from the preface prefixed to the Guardian, that Mr Hughes, amongſt the other great wits and able writers of thoſe times, contributed not a little to the ſupport of that agreeable as well as uſeful work; but we have no account of the particular papers that he wrote, except one, which contains very judicious remarks upon the tragedy of Othello, in which the beauties and the blemiſhes of that affecting play are critically and candidly repreſented. Amongſt the other projects formed by Mr Tonſon, in conſequence of his acquaintance with the moſt conſiderable wits of the age, was an Engliſh tranſlation of the works of Lucan, and, as was very natural, he applied himſelf to Mr Hughes, who at his requeſt tranſlated the tenth book with great elegance; but by ſome means or other this deſign was then laid aſide, and Mr Rowe afterwards undertook and accompliſhed the tranſlation of the whole, though he died before it was publiſhed. It is the more neceſſary to ſet this little tranſaction in a true light, to prevent an apprehenſion that either of theſe gentlemen had ever an intention to interfere with the other in a matter of this nature, which had been inconſiſtent with that friendſhip which they profeſſed for each other, and which, as we have ſhewn in the text, ſubſiſted 'till the death of Mr Rowe without interruption or coolneſs. As the world was obliged to Mr Addiſon for the ſublime ode beforementioned, we are aſſured, that it owed to Mr Hughes the prevailing upon his friend, contrary to the judgment of others, and amongſt them one of the moſt able and eſteemed critics of of that time, the bringing his tragedy of Cato upon the ſtage (*e*). The hiſtory of this tranſaction is curious, and the conduct of Mr Hughes throughout, ſo perfectly conſiſtent with the character he had eſtabliſhed in point of probity and candour, that we have given it a place in the notes, for the ſatisfaction of the inquiſitive reader (*f*) [*L*]. His next performance

(*e*) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Eſq; p. 20, 21.

(*f*) See the note.

'imperfect. It is probable too, that the pleaſure we receive from the moſt pathetical ſtrains of inſtrumental muſic, is in part aſſiſted by ſome ideas, which we affix to them of paſſions, which ſeem to be expreſſed by thoſe ſtrains. If the airs in opera's may be heard with delight; for the ſame reaſon, even when the words are not underſtood, yet it is impoſſible the recitative ſhould give pleaſure which can raiſe no ſuch ideas, this being not ſo poperly ſinging, as ſpeaking in muſical cadences. And the uſe of it ſeems to be introduced, for the very ſame reaſon which is given by Ariſtotle for the eſtabliſhing the uſe of the Iambick verſe in the Greek tragedy, which is that, though it has not the charms of ſome other kinds of verſe, yet it is more proper for action and dialogue, as it approaches nearer to common ſpeech.'

Mr Addiſon opens one of his Spectators thus (13). 'I am very ſorry to find by the Opera bills for this day, that we are likely to loſe the greateſt performer in dramatic muſick that is now living, or that perhaps ever appeared upon a ſtage. I need not acquaint my reader, that I am ſpeaking of Signior Nicolini. The town is highly obliged to that excellent artiſt, for having ſhewn us the Italian muſic in it's perfection, as well as for that generous approbation he lately gave to an opera of our own country, in which the compoſer endeavoured to do juſtice to the beauty of the words, by following that noble example which has been ſet him by the greateſt foreign maſters in that art.'

(13) Spectator, No. 405.

This opera was that of *Calypſo* and *Telemachus*, and the compoſer Mr *Galliard*, to whom alſo our author in his preface makes the higheſt acknowledgments, and is even ſo modeſt to ſay, that he had offered a much more prevailing argument than any himſelf could urge, to ſhew, that the Engliſh language is capable of the moſt agreeable graces of harmony.

[*L*] *Of the inquiſitive reader.*] We ſhall give this ſingular piece of poetical hiſtory in the very words of the author, who from his own knowledge relates it (14). 'It has been often ſaid, by very good judges, that Cato was no proper ſubject for a dramatic poem: that the character of a Stoic philoſopher is inconſiſtent with the hurry and tumult of action and paſſion, which are the ſoul of tragedy. That the ingenious author miſcarried in the plan of his work, but ſupported it by the dignity, the purity, the beauty, and the juſtneſs of the ſentiments.

(14) Eſſay on Criticiſm, Lond. 1728. p. 6.

This was ſo much the opinion of Mr Maynwaring, who was generally allowed to be the beſt critic of our time, that he was againſt bringing the play upon the ſtage, and it lay by unfiniſhed many years. That it was played at laſt was owing to Mr Hughes. He had read the four acts which were finiſhed, and rightly thought it would be of ſervice to the public to have it repreſented at the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, when the old Engliſh ſpirit of liberty was as likely to be loſt, as it had ever been ſince the Conqueſt. He endeavoured to bring Mr Addiſon into his opinion, which he did ſo far, as to procure his conſent that it ſhould be acted, if Mr Hughes would write the laſt act, and he offered him the ſcenary for his aſſiſtance, excuſing his not finiſhing it himſelf, on account of ſome other avocations. He preſſed Mr Hughes to do it ſo earneſtly, that he was prevailed on and ſet about it. But a week after ſeeing Mr Addiſon again, with an intention to communicate to him what he had thought of it, he was agreeably ſurprized at his producing ſome papers, where near half of the act was written by the author himſelf, who took fire at the hint, that it would be ſerviceable; and upon a ſecond reflexion, went through with the fifth act. Not that he was diffident of Mr Hughes's ability, but knowing that no man could have ſo perfect a notion of his deſign as himſelf, who had been ſo long and ſo carefully thinking of it. I was told this by Mr Hughes; and I tell it to ſhew, that it was not for the love-ſcenes that Mr Addiſon conſented to have his tragedy acted, but to ſupport the old Roman and Engliſh public ſpirit, which was then ſo near being ſuppreſſed by faction and bigotry.'

Soon after the Tragedy of Cato was acted, Mr Hughes ſent the author a copy of verſes in praiſe of it, which were afterwards printed before it, with ſeveral other copies. On this occaſion, and a reſolution taken not to publiſh it immediately, Mr Addiſon wrote the following letter (15).

(15) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of John Hughes, Eſq; p. 22, 23.

Dear Sir, 24 April, 1713.

'This is to acquaint you, that I am forced to practiſe a great piece of ſelf-denial. In ſhort, I muſt deprive my play of the noble ornament you deſigned for it. My friends, who all of them concur with me in admiring your beautiful copy of verſes, are however of opinion, that it will draw upon me an imputation of vanity; and as my play has met with an unexpected reception, I muſt take particular care not to aggravate the envy and ill-nature that will riſe on courſe upon me. Beſides, to tell you truly, I have received other poems upon the ſame occaſion, and one or two from perſons of quality, who will never pardon me, if I do not give them a place at the ſame time that I print any other.

'I know your good ſenſe and friendſhip towards me, will not let you put a wrong interpretation on this matter; and I am ſure I need not tell you, with how much ſincerity and eſteem, I am,

SIR,

Your moſt obliged, and moſt

faithful humble ſervant,

To Mr Hughes.

J. Addison.

To this Mr Hughes returned the following modeſt reply.

Dear

performance which attracted the attention of the public, was his edition of Spenſer's Works, which the lovers of Engliſh hiſtory, as well as poetry, had long wiſhed, and which, as our author carefully and judiciouſly performed, ſo it was perfectly well received (g). There was, indeed, no man of his time more equal to the taſk; and, on the other hand, there was probably no taſk that could have proved more acceptable to him. Spenſer and Hughes ſeem to be allied by genius. Both great poets, both remarkable for their ſtrict morals, both public ſpirited men, both well received by the great, and yet neither of them much indebted to fortune (h). It was happy for the memory of Spenſer, that the revival and illuſtration of his writings were committed to a perſon of ſuch candour and capacity. It muſt have been a very pleaſing labour to Mr Hughes, to reſtore the ſenſe, to revive the honour, to repair and deck with freſh garlands, the monument of ſo worthy a man. The ſpirit and elegance with which he diſcharged his truſt as an editor, are inconteſtable proofs of all that we have advanced (i) [*M*]. The ſame year his Apollo and Daphne appeared upon the ſtage, in the fate of which his friend Sir Richard Steele intereſted himſelf very much (k). Their acquaintance had been of a long ſtanding; and we may remark, to the honour of our author, that, though he very eaſily made, he very rarely loſt, a friend [*N*]. He was no leſs in the good graces of Mr Pope, of whom he had a very high opinion, and a generous and kind concern for the ſucceſs of his Homer; which, as it was very natural for him to do, Mr Pope received with a proper degree of gratitude and reſpect, as his own letters very clearly expreſs, which for that reaſon have a place given them in the notes (l) [*O*]. Our author lived alſo in a conſtant courſe of intimacy

Dear Sir, 25 April, 1713.

‘ I am extremely obliged to you for your kind letter. The warm expreſſions of friendſhip in it, give me a much more ſenſible pleaſure than any I could receive from the approbation of my verſes. I own, when they were writ, I had no thoughts of your printing them; and though nothing would flatter me ſo much in the making them public, as the ſatisfaction of ſeeing my name with your's: yet I am one of thoſe friends, who think your preſent reſolution perfectly right, and entirely acquieſce in your reaſons. I cannot but applaud, at the ſame time, your chaſte enjoyment of fame, which I think equally above envy, and incapable of receiving any addition.

I am with all poſſible eſteem,

SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, and moſt

obedient humble ſervant,

To Mr Addison.

J. Hughes.

[*M*] *Of all that we have advanced.*] This work was printed by ſubſcription, and his reputation being now thoroughly eſtabliſhed, was of greater conſequence to Mr Hughes, than any thing he had hitherto publiſhed. It is dedicated to John Lord Somers, whom he complements upon his having brought Milton into reputation, by patronizing a magnificent edition of his Paradiſe Loſt, which induced him to put Spenſer, who was in ſome ſort Milton's maſter, under his Lordſhip's protection likewiſe. His life of Spenſer is ſuccinct, but written with great ſolidity, affords a fair and true picture of the author, without the leaſt mixture of fuſtian panegyric. The diſcourſe on allegoric poetry, is a clear, learned, and comprehenſive ſyſtem of the rules, requiſite to be underſtood, in order to writing or judging properly of that kind of poetry; and is not only inſtructive and entertaining, but very curious likewiſe, as it was a ſubject untouched by any of the critics who went before him. The remarks on the *Fairy Queen*, are very judicious and impartial, give the reader a true idea of the nature, deſign, and diſpoſition of that work, which was extremely neceſſary towards it's being generally and thoroughly underſtood. In this ſhort piece, Mr Hughes has pointed out the principal beauties of that ſingular poem, ſome of which are perhaps ſuperior to thoſe of any other, in any age or language. He has likewiſe ſhewn the blemiſhes in a manner becoming a candid critic, and one who thought himſelf obliged to furniſh his reader with all the information that lay in his power. His diſcourſe on the *Shepherd's Kalendar*, and the ſmaller pieces of Spenſer, is likewiſe very ſenſibly and correctly written, and contains ſome new and very uſeful reflections on paſtoral and elegiac poetry. There is likewiſe a ſhort, perhaps too ſhort, gloſſary, for the explanation of the antique words, which Spenſer had adopted from his great veneration of Chaucer. On the whole, he may be truly ſaid, to have given an elegant and pleaſing edition of all the works extant of that admired writer, in a manner that did great credit to himſelf, at the ſame time, that it revived and reſtored the writings of one of our greateſt poets, which had ſuffered exceedingly from the incorrectneſs and want of critical judgment in former editors. The proſe works, and the letters of Spenſer and his friend Mr Gabriel Harvey, with the admirable Latin tranſlation of the Shepherd's Kalendar, by Bathurſt, are alſo contained in this edition, which was as kindly received by the public as it deſerved.

[*N*] *He very rarely loſt a friend*] It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that our author had formerly exerciſed his genius upon the ſame ſubject; and we find a cantata with this very title, ſet by Mr Galliard, from which however, he borrowed only the laſt air, which is the ſame both in the cantata and in the maſque. The letter from Sir Richard Steele, was this (16).

St James's-ſtreet,
Dear Sir, Jan. 8, 1715.

A paper called the Town-Talk is particularly deſigned to be helpful to the ſtage. If you have not ſent the Maſque which is to come out on Thurſday to preſs, if you pleaſe to ſend me the copy, it ſhall be recommended to the Town, and publiſhed on Thurſday night with that paper.

Your affectionate friend,

and moſt humble ſervant,

Richard Steele.

[*O*] *In the notes.*] Our author had ſome years before, interpoſed his advice in reſpect to Mr Pope's tranſlation of Homer, and like a poet and a friend, propoſed it in verſe (17). If the reader will conſider the occaſion, the nature of the counſel given, and the delicacy of the complement, he cannot but conceive highly of our author's capacity as well as candour.

O thou, who with a happy genius born,
Can'ſt tuneful verſe in flowing numbers turn,
Crown'd on thy Windſor's plains with early bays,
Be early wiſe, nor truſt to barren praiſe.
Blind was the bard that ſung Achilles' rage,
He ſung and begg'd, and curs'd th' ungiving age;
If Britain his tranſlated ſong wou'd hear,
Firſt take the gold——then charm the liſt'ning ear,
So ſhall thy father Homer ſmile to ſee
His penſion paid,——tho' late, and paid to thee.

The

(g) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 203.

(h) See Spenſer's Life, by Mr Hughes.

(i) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Eſq; p. 36.

(k) Hughes's Works, Vol. II. p. 109.

(l) Communicated by Mr Duncombe.

(16) Communicated by William Duncombe, Eſq;

(17) Hughes's Works, Vol. II. p. 90.

intimacy and friendſhip with Mr Nicholas Rowe (*m*), and there is ſome reaſon to believe, compoſed, at his requeſt, the New-Year's Ode for the year 1717, as the reader may collect from a paper which is preſerved at the bottom of the page [*P*]. It was in this year that Earl Cowper, to whom he had been but lately made known, appointed him Secretary to the Commiſſions of the Peace, an honourable employment, and of conſiderable value, and conferred upon him many other marks of friendſhip and favour (*n*). Theſe were returned by Mr Hughes with all poſſible teſtimonies of the moſt reſpectful gratitude, as appears by ſeveral poems addreſſed to that noble Lord (*o*), whoſe concern for Mr Hughes was ſo great, that, when he reſigned his own employment, he by a letter, of which Mr Hughes himſelf was the bearer, made it his requeſt to Lord Parker, afterwards Earl of Macclesfield, to continue him in the office which he had beſtowed upon him (*p*); which his Lordſhip, who was alſo a true lover of learning, and a kind patron to learned men, very willingly did; and to him alſo our author paid his tributary verſe, in a manner ſuitable to the favour beſtowed (*q*). About this time he publiſhed, in a little pamphlet, a very ſingular piece, entitled 'CHARON: or, the Ferry-Boat, a Viſion.' This, with Mr Walſh's Esculapius, or the Hoſpital of Fools, has always been eſteemed, not inferior to any thing preſerved to us from the Antients. It ſtands now very juſtly placed amongſt his works; but we regret the dedication to the Swiſs Count, which, out of prudential reaſons, is omitted, though it contained a ſatirical viſion, no leſs entertaining and inſtructive than the little performance to which it is an introduction (*r*). But the manager of the maſquerades was thought too great a character to be ſo ſlightly treated. Yet, as he was himſelf a man of true humour, with a great fund of good ſenſe, it might poſſibly have kept it's poſt undiſturbed, had he been conſulted. It was highly admired by the judicious Earl Cowper. His circumſtances were now eaſy, but his health, which was never good, grew daily worſe and worſe, from the nature of his diſtemper, a lingering incurable conſumption. Yet happily the decay of his body did not affect either his temper or his mind. The ſame ſerenity, the ſame gentleneſs of ſpirit, the ſame goodneſs of heart, as well as the ſame warmth of friendſhip, and the ſame ſolidity of underſtanding, appeared to the very laſt (*s*). Sir Godfrey Kneller, with whom he had long lived in great intimacy, painted his picture, which, a few weeks before he died, Mr Hughes preſented to Earl Cowper, who wrote him a very affectionate letter in return (*t*). This was not the ultimate act of his zealous gratitude to that noble peer; for, but ten days preceding his death, he compoſed the dedication of his laſt work, written with as much ſpirit, eaſe, and accuracy, as any thing that ever fell from his pen, as the final acknowledgment of his patron's goodneſs (*u*). This laſt work, was his tragedy, entitled the Siege of Damascus; in which the ſublimity of the ſentiment, the correctneſs of the language, the propriety of the characters, the pathetic pictures of paſſion, and the judicious diſpoſition of the whole piece, render it worthy of the lateſt cares of ſo eminent a poet and ſo good a man (*w*). It was brought upon the ſtage February 17, 1719-20, the very day it's author died, and met

(*m*) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Eſq; p. 15, 16. Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 212.

(*n*) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Eſq; p. 2, 4.

(*o*) Hughes's Works, Vol. II. p. 131, 133, 141.

(*p*) See our author's dedication of the Siege of Damaſcus.

(*q*) Hughes's Works, Vol. II. p. 152.

(*r*) Printed for W. Lewis near Covent-Garden, 1719. 8vo.

(*s*) MS. Memoirs, communicated by Mr Duncombe.

(*t*) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Eſq; p. 4.

(*u*) Hughes's Works, Vol. II. p. 167.

(*w*) See the note [*R*].

The ſame friendly diſpoſition which induced Mr Hughes to interpoſe originally, inclined him to enquire alſo after the progreſs of the undertaking, with a friendly zeal that deſerved and received the approbation of Mr Pope, as the following letter will ſhew (18).

(18) Communicated by William Duncombe, Eſq;

Dear Sir,

Ever ſince I had the pleaſure to know you, I have believed you one of that uncommon rank of authors who are undeſigning men, and ſincere friends; and who, when they commend another, have not any view of being praiſed themſelves. I ſhould be therefore aſhamed to offer, at ſaying any of thoſe civil things in return to your obliging complements in regard to my tranſlation of Homer, only I have too great a value for you, not to be pleaſed with them; and yet I aſſure you, I receive praiſes from you with leſs pleaſure than I have often paid them to your merit before, and ſhall, I doubt not, have frequent occaſions of doing again, from thoſe uſeful pieces you are ſtill obliging us with.

If you was pleaſed with my preface, you have paid me for that pleaſure in the ſame kind, by your entertaining and judicious eſſays on Spenſer. The preſent you make me, is of the moſt agreeable nature imaginable, for Spenſer has been ever a favourite poet to me. He is like a miſtreſs, whoſe faults we ſee, but love her with them all.

What has deferred my thanks 'till now, was a ramble I have been taking about the country, from which I returned home, and found your kind letter, but yeſterday. A teſtimony of that kind, from a man of your turn, is to be valued at a better rate than the ordinary eſtimate of letters will amount to.

I ſhall rejoice in all opportunities of cultivating a friendſhip I ſo truly eſteem, and hope very ſhortly to tell you in town, how much I am,

SIR,

Your obliged and faithful

humble ſervant,

7 Oct. 1715.

A. Pope.

Since you deſire to hear of my progreſs in the tranſlation, I muſt tell you, that I have gone through four more books, which with the remarks, will make the ſecond volume.

[*P*] *At the bottom of the page*] There is ſomething in the following letter (19), which does great honour to Mr Hughes; it ſhews that his parts were confeſſed, and at the ſame time his capacity eſteemed, not only by thoſe who were the beſt judges, but by thoſe, who if his candour and friendly turn had not been to the full as conſpicuous as his abilities, would very probably have conſidered him as their rival.

(19) Communicated by the ſame hand.

Covent-Garden,
Dear Sir, Oct. 22, 1716.

As you were ſo good formerly to promiſe me a little of your poetical aſſiſtance, you can never give it me at a time when it will be more uſeful than now. I beg you will be ſo good to think of ſome words for Mr Eccles on the New Year. The entertainment is not to conſiſt of above half an hour in time at moſt; three or four airs, with ſome little recitative between, is what the compoſer will be glad of. I need not tell you, met with the higheſt applauſe (x) [Q]. After his deceaſe was publiſhed a philoſophical ode of his, called the ECSTACY, in which there is a very fine complement to Sir Iſaac Newton; and the whole, which contains eleven ſtanzas, is not inferior to any in our language (y). The only ſiſter of this gentleman, a moſt ingenious and amiable woman, married, in the year 1726, William Duncombe, Eſq; younger brother of John Duncombe, of Stocks in the county of Hertford, Eſq; who is the editor of Mr Hughes's Works, which he dedicated to the preſent Earl Cowper; adding, to thoſe that had been before made public, ſome poems that were in the hands of the author's dear friend, Alexander Strahan, Eſq; to whom the world is indebted for the ſix firſt books of Virgil's Æneid in Miltonic verſe. Mrs Duncombe died in 1735, leaving an only ſon, the Reverend John Duncombe, M. A. Fellow of Corpus-Chriſti-college in the univerſity of Cambridge. This young gentleman, treading in the ſteps of his worthy uncle, has publiſhed ſome poetical pieces which have been well received, and is the only near relation of Mr Hughes that ſtill ſurvives. We will conclude this article with a ſhort character of our author, from Remarks upon the Writings of our modern Engliſh Poets, not yet publiſhed. This gentleman, Mr John Hughes, was more ſollicitous to deſerve fame than ambitious of poſſeſſing it. He was by nature addicted to ſtudy, and, with a great genius, had a vaſt fund of diligence, an exquiſite taſte, a correct judgment; but, with all theſe qualities, was modeſt, and even diffident to a ſurpriſing degree; which hindered him from collecting or publiſhing many valuable pieces of poetry, and ſome of proſe likewiſe. How well he was acquainted with the Antients, and how proper a uſe he made of that acquaintance, appears from his tranſlations and imitations of Orpheus, Tyrtæus, Pindar, Anacreon, and Euripides, amongſt the Greeks; as well as from Horace, Ovid, Lucan, and Claudian, amongſt the Romans. This did not, however, prejudice him againſt the Moderns; he tranſlated alſo from the French; and his Birth of the Roſe, from a writer of that country, is not the leaſt beautiful piece amongſt his works. His ſkill in muſic, which was exquiſite, gave him ſuch an advantage over other poets, as might with proper encouragement have carried the Engliſh opera as high as the Italian. His talent for lyric poetry was juſtly admired, and his tragedy of the ſiege of Damaſcus was an inſtance that pain and ſickneſs could not abate the fire of his genius, or hinder him from giving marks of it as long as he lived. He did not write, at leaſt he did not publiſh, much; but if we conſider him as invalid almoſt through his whole life, his avocations on account of buſineſs, and that he was but forty-two when he ceaſed to live, and alſo call to mind how correct every thing was that came from him, we muſt retract our aſſertion, and allow he publiſhed a great deal. His character as a critic was at leaſt equal to his character as a poet, but were both exceeded by his character as a man and a chriſtian. His religion was ſincere without ſeverity, his morals ſtrict but not auſtere, his converſation equally inſtructive and pleaſant. To ſay all of him he deſerved would be a hard taſk. Let it ſuffice then——the man whom the Biſhop of Wincheſter eſteemed as a friend, the man whom Mr Addiſon admired as a poet, the man whoſe goodneſs and integrity Mr Pope had in veneration [*R*]——could be no ordinary man.

(x) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 327.

(y) Hughes's Works, Vol. II. p. 299.

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you, that you are the fitteſt man in the world for this occaſion, by your equal knowledge of muſic and poetry. I will only beg you now, for friendſhip's ſake, to have compaſſion on,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt affectionate, and

faithful humble ſervant,

N. ROWE.

[Q] *And met with the higheſt applauſe.*] There have been very few plays which have ſucceeded ſo well as this, more eſpecially when it is remembered, that the author could not attend the performance of his own play, or give thoſe directions before it was brought on, which none but he could give; it was well received however then, and has maintained it's credit ever ſince. It pleaſes the many and the few, and is equally acceptable on the ſtage and in the cloſet; at the firſt repreſentation, there was much notice taken of a ſcene in the third act (20), where the reflections upon death are equally ſolemn and pathetic. Caled, who commands the Saracen army, thus ſpeaks to Phocyas, who is the Hero of the drama.

—— Thou haſt an hour to live
If thou art wiſe, thou may'ſt prolong that term;
If not——why——fare thee well, and think of
death.

Phocyas alone.

Farewel, and think of death!——was it not ſo?
Do murtherers then preach morality?——
But how to think of what the living know not,
And the dead cannot, or elſe may not tell?——
What art thou, O thou great myſterious terror!
The way to thee we know; diſeaſes, famine,
Sword, fire, and all thy ever-open gates
That day and night ſtand ready to receive us.
But what's beyond them——who will draw that
veil?
Yet death's not there—No; 'tis a point of time
The verge 'twixt mortal and immortal being.
It mocks our thought!—On this ſide all is life;
And when we've reach'd it, in that very inſtant
'Tis paſt the thinking of!——O! if it be
The pangs, the throes, the agonizing ſtruggle
When ſoul and body part, ſure I have felt it,
And there's no more to fear.

Sir Richard Steele applied this ſcene to the author's dying in a manner while it was acting, in a paper which he dedicated to his memory (21); which was alſo celebrated in a poem by a Lady, and in ſome very fine copies of verſes by William Cowper, William Duncombe, John Bunce, Eſquires, and other friends; ſo that as none could be more juſtly, none was more deeply regretted than Mr Hughes.

[*R*] *Mr Pope had in veneration.*] In ſupport of this, conſidered as a point of fact, which does equal honour to both their memories, we will give the reader in this note, ſome letters of Mr Pope to our author, and others addreſſed to ſome of his neareſt relations, which very fairly and fully expreſs his ſentiments of him as a poet and an honeſt man. The two firſt were written upon Mr Hughes's ſubmitting the Siege of Damaſcus

(20) Hughes's Works, Vol. II. p. 233, 234.

(21) The Theater, No. 15.

maſcus to his peruſal; the third was addreſſed to him the very day after he died (22).

Twickenham, 22 Jan. 1719-20.

Dear Sir,

Your letter found me, as I have long been, in a ſtate of health, almoſt as bad as that you complain of; and indeed what makes me utterly incapable of attending to any poetical taſk, even that of Homer.

I can only ſay with ſincerity, I am heartily concerned for your illneſs, and the more uneaſy with my own, in that it hinders me from ſerving you.

I truly wiſh you health and life, to enjoy that reputation and thoſe advantages which ſo much ingenuity joined with ſo much virtue, deſerves.

As ſoon as I am able to be in town, I will wait on you with the play, in which, and in every thing elſe, I wiſh you all ſucceſs.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your faithful, and moſt

obedient ſervant,

To Mr Hughes.

A. Pope.

Dear Sir,

I return you the play ſooner than I am willing to part with what I like ſo extremely well, becauſe you preſs it. Upon my word, I think it every way worthy of you, and make not the leaſt doubt, but the world will do you the juſtice you deſerve, in the acceptation of it.

I continue very much out of order, but muſt be forced to be in town (well or ill) ſome days this week, upon indiſpenſable affairs: When I will wait upon you and tell you my ſincere thoughts, none of which is more ſincere, than that I am truly,

Your moſt obliged, and moſt

faithful ſervant,

To Mr Hughes.

A. Pope.

Twickenham, Feb. 18, 1719-20.

Dear Sir,

I have been much concerned not to have waited upon you you as I deſigned, ſince you obliged me with your play. I am ſince much more troubled to hear of the continuance of your illneſs.

Would to God you might live as long as I am ſure the reputation of your tragedy muſt! I am a fellow-ſufferer with you, in not being able to ſee it played, having been and ſtill being too much indiſpoſed to go to any public place. But I could be extremely glad ſome particular friends of mine had that pleaſure I cannot enjoy: you would highly favour me, in letting three or four ladies have a ſide box, who have ſent into the country to me, upon information, that the boxes are diſpoſed of by you.

I am ſorry to give you this trouble, when perhaps for your health's ſake you ſhould not have a moment's diſturbance, and I could not ſend ſooner at this diſtance. Pray think I wiſh you all the ſucceſs you deſerve, and all the health you want.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt affectionate

humble ſervant,

A. Pope.

After the death of Mr Hughes, upon his brother's ſending Mr Pope, amongſt other friends to the author, his play of the Siege of Damaſcus. Mr Pope in return wrote him the following letter, to condole his loſs, and to acknowledge his civility.

February 26, 1719-20.

SIR,

I can't omit the acknowledgment I really think I owe your great civility, eſpecially at ſo melancholy and affecting a moment, as that of your worthy brother's death muſt have been to you. Indeed even his common acquaintance muſt have known enough of him to regret his loſs, and I moſt heartily condole with you upon it.

I believe I am further obliged to you for his play which I received yeſterday, and read over again with more concern and ſorrow than I ever felt in the reading any tragedy. The real loſs of a good man, may be called a diſtreſs to the world, and ought to affect us more than any feigned or ancient diſtreſs how finely drawn ſoever.

I am glad of an occaſion to give you under my hand this teſtimony, both how excellent I think this work to be, and how excellent I thought the author.

I am, with my hearty thanks to you,

Sir,

Your moſt obliged, and moſt

humble ſervant,

To Mr Jabez Hughes.

A. Pope.

When Mr Pope was applied to by Mr Duncombe to permit part of this laſt letter to appear as it does in the memoirs; he wrote him a very frank anſwer, and another very kind letter upon his receiving thoſe works with the memoirs, both of which follow (23).

Twitnam, Nov. 5, 1734.

SIR,

I am extremely willing to bear any teſtimony of my real regard for Mr Hughes, and therefore what you mention of my letter to his brother after his death, will be a greater inſtance of the ſincerity with which it was given: it is perfectly at your ſervice.

I thank you for the tenderneſs with which you deal in this matter toward me, and I eſteem you for that which you ſhew to the memory of your kinſman. I doubt not but you will diſcharge it in a becoming manner, and am,

Sir,

Your moſt obedient,

humble ſervant,

To Mr Duncombe.

A. Pope.

Twitnam, 6 May, 1735.

SIR,

Many thanks for your kind preſent in which I find ſeveral very pleaſing and very correct pieces of his, which are new to me.

I beg you to accept of the new volume of my things juſt printed, which will be delivered by Mr Dodſley, the author of the Toyſhop, who is juſt ſet up as a Bookſeller.

I am,

SIR,

Your moſt obliged,

humble ſervant,

To Mr Duncombe.

A. Pope.

(22) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of John Hughes, Eſq; p. 25.

(23) Theſe letters are communicated by William Duncombe, Eſq;

HUNTINGTON [Robert], a learned Biſhop in the beginning of this century, was the ſecond ſon of Robert Huntington, Miniſter of Deorhyrſt in Glouceſterſhire, and born at that place in February 1636. Having been educated in Grammar-learning at the free-ſchool in Briſtol, he was admitted, at the age of ſixteen, a Portioniſt of Merton-college in Oxford (a); where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts March 9, 1657-8 (b). By his ingenuity, learning, and good behaviour, he ſo ingratiated himſelf with the members of that ſociety, that they unanimouſly choſe him Fellow, as ſoon as qualified by their ſtatutes (c). On the 21ſt of January, 1662-3, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (d); and having run through the uſual courſe of arts and ſciences, applied himſelf with the utmoſt diligence to the ſtudy of Divinity, and of the Oriental languages. The latter became of infinite ſervice to him afterwards: for, upon the reſignation of Mr Robert Frampton [*A*], Chaplain to the Engliſh Factory at Aleppo, he was choſen his ſucceſſor in that honourable employment; wherein he acquitted himſelf much to his own credit, as well as that of his conſtituents, and of the whole Engliſh nation. He ſailed from England in September 1670 [*B*], and in about four months reached Scandarone; from whence he travelled to Aleppo, where he was received with great reſpect by the Factory (e). During his eleven years reſidence in this place, he applied himſelf particularly, next to the duties of his function, to ſearch for and procure manuſcripts [*C*]. And, for that purpoſe, kept a correſpondence with the learned and eminent of every profeſſion and degree [*D*]; which his knowledge in the Eaſtern languages, eſpecially the Arabic, enabled him to do (f). He travelled alſo, for his diverſion and improvement, not only in the adjacent, but likewiſe in diſtant places. And after having carefully viſited almoſt all Galilee and Samaria [*E*], he took a journey to Jeruſalem, with ſome of his congregation

[*A*] *Upon the reſignation of Mr Robert Frampton.*] The ſame that afterwards became *Biſhop of Glouceſter*. But to give a more particular account of him: he was born at Pimpern in Dorſetſhire, anno. 1622, admitted into Corpus-Chriſti-college in Oxford in 1637, elected thence a Student of Chriſt's-church, where he took a Bachelor of Arts degree, 25 June, 1641. Upon the breaking out of the civil wars, he retired to his native country, and kept a ſchool at Turnwood: ſome time after, he was made chaplain of a man of war; and, either upon the ſhip's going into the Eaſt, or through his intereſt with the leading members of the Turkey-company, he was appointed, in 1654, chaplain to the Engliſh factory at Aleppo. In that ſtation he continued ſixteen years, namely 'till 1670. And at his final departure brought over ſuch ample teſtimonials of his eminent ſervices, that in 1672, he was made Prebendary both of Saliſbury and Glouceſter. In 1673, he was advanced to the Deanry of Glouceſter; and March 27, 1681, conſecrated Biſhop of the ſame. But he was deprived of it February 1, 1690-1, for refuſing to take the oaths to King William III. Thereupon he retired to Standiſh near Glouceſter, where he died 25 May, 1708, aged 86 (1).

[*B*] *He ſailed from England, in September* 1670.] During the voyage, the ſhip touching at one of the iſlands in the Archipelago, to take in water, Mr Huntington and ſeveral others went on ſhore, and aſcended up a hill, in order to view the iſland, the ſea, and the country adjacent. Some of the thieviſh and vagabond Greeks on the continent obſerving them, landed with all expedition in the oppoſite part of the iſland, with a view of intercepting them, and cutting off their retreat. For, thoſe places abound with neſts of plunderers and pirates (2). But our travellers obſerving them in time, and gueſſing their deſign, prevented them, and ran to their ſhip with the utmoſt precipitation (3).

[*C*] *To ſearch for, and procure manuſcripts.*] The Europeans, and eſpecially the Engliſh, began to apply themſelves zealouſly, in the laſt century, to the procuring of manuſcripts from all parts, eſpecially from the Eaſtern countries. Archbiſhop Laud led the way, and with what ſucceſs his generous benefaction to the Bodleian Library (4) abundantly teſtifies. Moſt of his ſucceſſors followed his example, even down to the late Archbiſhop Wake, who had perſons in pay to ſearch for and purchaſe all the MSS. they could meet with in the Eaſt, eſpecially any parts of the Holy Scriptures. Dr Narciſſus Marſh, late Archbiſhop of Armagh, the moſt excellent Biſhop Fell, and other public-ſpirited perſons, encouraged the ſame ſearch; and by them principally it was that Mr Huntington was employed. What they wanted moſt particularly, was good copies, or the Syriac tranſlation, of St Ignatius's Epiſtles; which, however, he ſought in vain. But he had better ſucceſs in procuring the works of St Ephraim, or Ephrem Syrus, which were, 'till then, very little known in Europe (5).

[*D*] *And, for that purpoſe, kept a correſpondence with the learned and eminent of every profeſſion and degree.*] This ſufficiently appears from ſome of his letters publiſhed by Dr Smith, at the end of his life. And that learned author gives us this further account of Mr Huntington's diligence in that reſpect. *Quo autem voti tam ſancti compos fieret, Græcorum, Syrorum, Armenorum, etiam Judæorum, Samaritanorum, & Mohammedanorum, prout occaſio ſeſe obtulerat, operâ uſus eſt: quam quoque Romanæ communionis Myſtæ, per orientem Sparſi, rem ſacram ex inſtituto vitæ ordiniſque, cui ſeſe addixerint, Religioſi, miro zelo procurantes, ipſi oblatam abundè & cumulatiſſimè pro ſumma ſua humanitate & candore præſtiterunt* (6).

[*E*] *And Samaria.*] His chief deſign in viſiting this, and the neighbouring town of Sichem (once called Neapolis or the *new city*, becauſe built out of the ruins of the other by Herod, and now by corruption Naploſa) was, to converſe with the remains of the ancient Samaritans, then reduced to between twenty and thirty families; and to inform himſelf of their faith, opinions, cuſtoms, religious ceremonies, and to enquire what books they had. In his converſation with them, they aſked him, whether there were any Hebrews in England? He, ſuppoſing they meant *Jews*, replied in the affirmative; not underſtanding yet, that they appropriated to themſelves the names of Hebrews and Iſraelites, and retained ſtill their old extreme contempt and averſion for the Jewiſh nation. And when they found he could read their language, they cried out in an extaſy of joy, 'They are certainly Iſraelites 'and Hebrews, and our very brethren:' not imagining, he could poſſibly have learned their language from any but Samaritans. When he found they would not be undeceived, he adviſed them to ſend their book of the Law, and an account of their Religion, &c. to England: which produced the epiſtolary correſpondence between them and the learned Dr Thomas Marſhall; publiſhed by Job Ludolf, among his Samaritan letters. They having affirmed in thoſe letters, 'That 'their Book of the Law, or Samaritan Pentateuch, 'was the very original, written by Abiſha, ſon of 'Pinchas, ſon of Eleazar, ſon of Aaron the Prieſt, in 'the thirteenth year after the entrance of the Iſraelites 'into the land of Canaan:' Out of a curioſity to ſee ſo valuable a treaſure, our author took a ſecond journey to Naploſa, five years after the firſt. But upon examining that Pentateuch, which they kept, with another, in their ſynagogue, he found that it was not above five hundred years old. When he came too cloſely to examine it, they told him, that there was a memorandum in it containing the above account, which had been cut out by ſome ſacrilegious hand.——Beſides that Pentateuch, they had, ſome Forms of Prayers; the book of Joſhua, or rather a ſhort chronicle from the creation of the world down to Mohammed; a ſhort commentary on the Law, and a larger expoſition, in Arabic (7).——The Samaritans were once flouriſhing tion at the Factory: who univerſally make it a rule, not to return into their own country, without having ſeen that holy city (*g*) [*F*]. In February 1677, he ſailed into Cyprus, on purpoſe to have the pleaſure of examining the library of Hilarion Cigala, Archbiſhop of Juſtiniana Nova, and Primate of that iſland: but he miſſed of him, becauſe he was forced then to lie hid, for fear of the Turks, who, out of ſome prejudice, threatened his life or liberty (*h*). An earneſt deſire of beholding the venerable ruins of the once noble and glorious city of Palmyra, cauſed him alſo to undertake, in 1678, a tedious and difficult journey of ſix days, or 150 miles; (for ſo far was it from Aleppo) and with no better ſucceſs than his laſt expedition. For, inſtead of having an opportunity of viewing the place, he and his company were very near being deſtroyed by two Arabian Princes, who had taken poſſeſſion of thoſe parts (*i*). But he had better ſucceſs in a journey he took to Egypt in 1680, where he picked up ſeveral curioſities and manuſcripts [*G*]; and had the pleaſure of converſing with John Laſcaris, Archbiſhop of Mount Sinai. He took a ſecond voyage to Egypt, towards the end of the year 1681, in order to converſe again with that Prelate, having been informed that he was at Cairo, but the information was falſe (*k*). Thus he continued, during the whole time of his reſidence in the Eaſt, to improve himſelf, and benefit his country, by the many valuable manuſcripts he collected or procured [*H*]. But having now been there eleven years, he grew impatient for returning into England. At length, his ſucceſſor being arrived, he embarked in 1682, and landed in Italy. Having viſited Rome, Naples, and other the moſt conſiderable places; and taken Paris in his way, where he ſtayed a few weeks, he arrived, after all his dangers and difficulties, ſafe into his own country. Immediately he retired to his fellowſhip in Merton-college, where he led a quiet but not an idle life; being naturally very diligent and ſtudious (*l*). On the 15th of June 1683, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity (*m*): and, about the ſame time, through the recommendation of Biſhop Fell, being appointed Maſter of Trinity-college in Dublin, though not much to his liking [*I*], he ſet out for that place towards the end of the year. In that ſtation he behaved in a moſt uſeful and worthy manner, encouraging good literature, and taking all proper care of the revenues of his college. He greatly promoted, at the ſame time, the Iriſh tranſlation of the Bible, which was done through the ſpecial encouragement of Dr Narciſſus Marſh, Biſhop of Leighlin and Fernes, and at the ſole charge of the Honourable Robert Boyle (*n*). But, the troubles that happened in Ireland, at the Revolution, put an end to his quiet ſettlement, and his good works and deſigns. For, upon King James's deſcent there in 1688-9, Dr Huntington judged it neceſſary to conſult for his ſafety, by a timely retreat into England; giving all his valuable manuſcripts for loſt: however, they remained ſafe. After the reduction of Ireland, he went back, and continued thither about a year. But having taken a firm reſolution of not fixing himſelf in that kingdom, he reſigned his Maſterſhip in 1691, and returned to England. In the mean time, he ſold for 700 pounds his fine collection of manuſcripts, about ſix hundred in number, to the Curators of the Bodleian Library; having before made a preſent to the ſame library of five and thirty valuable manuſcripts (*o*). In Auguſt 1692, he was preſented by Sir Edward Turnor to the Rectory of Great Hallingbury in Eſſex, a living of 200 pounds a year (*p*). As he wanted a companion in that ſolitary place [*K*], he married,

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(a) D. Roberti Huntingtoni Vita, ſcriptore Tho. Smitho, Lond. 1704. 8vo. p. 1, 2.

(b) Wood, Faſti, edit. 1721. col. 115.

(c) Smith, p. 2.

(d) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 149.

(e) Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 4.

(f) Smith, ut ſupra, p. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 20, 21.

(1) Wood, Faſti, edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 1180. and Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. I. p. 726.

(2) See Ricaut's Preſent State of the Greek Church, Lond. 1679. p. 337.

(3) Smith, ut ſupra, p. 3, 4.

(4) Of above 1300 M.SS. See Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 53. and the Archbiſhop's Diary, in his Life by H. Wharton; and in Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. III. p. 885.

(5) Smith, p. 5—10.

(6) Ibid. p. 5, 6.

(7) Smith, ibid. p. 12, 13, 14. & Huntingtoni Epiſt. p. 48, 49, 50, 55, 56, &c.

(*g*) Idem, p. 11, 12.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 20.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 15, 16. See Phil. Tranſ. No. 218. p. 129.

(*k*) Smith, ut ſupra, p. 16, 17, 19, 20.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 23, 24.

(*m*) Wood, Faſti, edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 221.

(*n*) Smith, ut ſupra, p. 26, 27, 28.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 29, 30.

(*p*) Newcourt Repertor. Vol. II. p. 296.

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ing at Damaſcus, but now their name is quite forgotten there. They were alſo numerous at Cairo, and ſo (according to their own account) they are ſtill in Egypt; but our author could find none there, except an old man and woman, in a very poor condition. Some families of them remain at Joppa and Gaza: and they are generally employed by the Turks for toll or taxgatherers: in which ſtation was Merchib Ibn Yacob, the writer of the Samaritan letters abovementioned. But upon ſome unjuſt accuſation, he was forced to withdraw to Leghorn (8).

(8) Ibid. viz. R. Huntingt. Epiſt. p. 48, 49, 58.

[*F*] *Who univerſally make it a rule, not to return into their own country, without having ſeen that holy city.*] Or, as Dr Smith expreſſes it (9); *Apud enim advenas hoſce præſertim poſt naves, opulentis mercibus onuſtas, e portu ſolutas, quo tempore feriari datum eſt, mos iſte ſolennis Hieroſolyma adeundi ita inolevit, ut pene ceſſerit in religionem; vixque quiſpiam repertus eſt, quin ſentiat, haud ſe, ſalva fama, ne dicam conſcientia, niſi confecto iſtoc ſacro itinere, in Angliam redire poſſe aut debere.*

(9) P. 11.

[*G*] *Where he picked up ſeveral curioſities and manuſcripts.*] Particularly, the nuts and ſeeds, of the Egyptian Sycomore, and of other curious plants and ſhrubs, which were ſet in the Phyſic-garden at Oxford (10).——Among the MSS. he got there, ſeveral were in the Coptic, or Copto-Arabic, language; eſpecially two copies of the Goſpels, one of which he purchaſed at Cairo, and the other in the deſert of Nitria. He procured alſo copies of two volumes of the Councils, with an appendix to the Council of Chalcedon; and other curious books, relating to polite literature, and natural hiſtory (11).

(10) Smith, ut ſupra, p. 22.

(11) Ibid. p. 17, 18, 22.

[*H*] *By the many valuable manuſcripts he collected, or procured.*] He took a great deal of pains to procure three volumes, relating to the Sabæan or Mendeſian Religion; two of which they pretend to have been delivered to Adam by God himſelf; and the third to have been brought down by Angels from Heaven, three hundred and thirty thouſand years before the creation of the world. To obtain thoſe volumes, our learned author kept a correſpondence with father Agathangel de S^{ta} Thereſia, a bare-footed Carmelite, and Preſident of the Miſſion at Baſſora, who at length tranſmitted thoſe three volumes to him into England, in the year 1683. But, as Dr Smith obſerves, they will be of no uſe, 'till ſome perſon is found that can underſtand and tranſlate them (12).——For an account of the Sabæans, the inquiſitive reader will be pleaſed to conſult Dr Hyde's learned and curious book, *De Religione veterum Perſarum.*

(12) Ibid. p. 21, 22. Vide etiam R. Huntingtoni Epiſt. p. 37—44. & p. 82—87.

[*I*] *Though not much to his liking.*] Dr Smith, in his life (13), informs us, That he earneſtly refuſed at firſt that place, though very honorable and advantagious, and looked upon it as a ſort of baniſhment.——*Onus iſtud, licet tanto cum honore conjunctum, averſiſſimo animo primo recuſat, & a ſe obnixè, deprecatione interpoſita, amolitur: ſed tandem illius* (14) *precibus & conſiliis expugnatus, ceſſit, planè invitus.*——*Compertum habeo, illum de hac relegatione, quaſi in exilium, apud amicos interioris notæ queri conſueviſſe.*

(13) P. 27.

(14) Bp. Fell's.

[*K*] *As he wanted a companion in that ſolitary place.*] He ſeems not to have much liked that place, otherwiſe a healthful and agreeable one, becauſe the houſe was bad, and he wanted there the company and converſation of the learned. In one of his letters, he ſays, ried, the ſame year, a ſiſter of Sir John Powell, one of the Juſtices of the King's-Bench, which made him an excellent wife. He was offered, about that time, the Biſhopric of Kilmore and Ardagh in Ireland, vacant by the deprivation of Dr William Sheridan for not taking the oaths, but he abſolutely refuſed it (*q*). However, in 1701, he accepted of the Biſhopric of Raphoe in the foreſaid kingdom, to which he was promoted through the intereſt of the Earls of Clarendon and Rocheſter. Thereupon, he reſigned his living, and went over to Ireland in July; and, on the 20th of Auguſt following, he was conſecrated in Chriſt-church Dublin, by his intimate friend Dr Narciſſus Marſh, then Archbiſhop of Dublin, and afterwards of Armagh. But, to the great loſs of learning, of Ireland, and of the whole Chriſtian world, he enjoyed his new dignity but a very ſhort time. For he died the 2d of September 1701, twelve days after his conſecration, in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age: and was buried in the chapel of Trinity-college, over which he had preſided with ſo much honour (*r*). His memory will be always dear among all true lovers of oriental learning; and he may juſtly be ſaid to have been born for the ſervice and ornament of his country (*s*). All that he publiſhed himſelf, was 'An Account of the Porphyry Pillars in Egypt (*t*) [*L*].' Some of his obſervations are printed in 'A Collection of curious Travels and Voyages,' in two tomes, 8vo. publiſhed by the ingenious Mr J. Ray. Mr T. Oſborne had, in ſome of his late ſales, a collection of our author's letters, written between the years 1684 and 1688, relating to the affairs of Trinity-college in Dublin. And thirty-nine of his letters, chiefly written by him whilſt abroad, were publiſhed by Dr T. Smith at the end of his life. We ſhall give ſome extracts from one of them [*M*].

(*q*) Smith, ut ſupra, p. 31.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 32, 33, 34.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 36.

(*t*) In the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 161. p. 624.

ſays, he was condemned to the country——*ruri damnandus* (15): And in another letter to Dr Allix, he has theſe words——*Tugurio ſiquidem caduco & perſtillanti male conveniunt theſauri, codices quantivis pretii, & auro contra non cari.* [He was there ſpeaking of his Coptic Pentateuch, which he had lodged in the Bodleian Library.] Then he adds, *Tu vero cum agnoveris* infelicitatem *amici tui, a libris ſociiſque, conſortio ſcilicet & viventium & vita defunctorum exulantis; perpende quæſo, quanto ipſe* (16) *felicior, qui utriſque ex animo frueris.* i. e. 'When you know my 'unhappineſs, in being baniſhed from books and agree'able friends, namely from the living and the dead; 'conſider how much happier you yourſelf are, who 'enjoy both, to your heart's content.'

(15) P. 57.

(16) Viz. Dr. Allix.

[*L*] *An account of the Porphyry pillars in Egypt.*] He deſcribes, and gives figures of two of them, viz. one at the Matarea, 3 or 4 miles eaſt of Grand-Cairo, 67 feet high, and the bigneſs 7 $\frac{1}{3}$. The other at Alexandria, feet high. After having obſerved, that there is no quarry, or rather rock, of Porphyry in all the lower parts of Egypt; he ſays, 'That 'ſuch vaſt monuments might be removed from place 'to place, is difficult indeed, but not impoſſible; for 'ſome of theſe mountains are near the Red Sea; and 'Suſs from Cairo is but two or three days from the 'Nile. How poſſible it is to convey mighty weights 'by water, let the obeliſks at Rome declare, which 'were all of them brought from this very country. 'And that ſuch things may be done by land too, 'though not by every one, is plain enough, becauſe 'we ſee they have been done. At Baalbec, which is 'fourteen hours from Damaſcus (for thence I went) 'there is a ſtone about 66 foot long on the north ſide 'of the caſtle-wall, and two more of 60 each: and I 'believe we ſaw the way they travelled, having left 'one of their company, though not quite ſo big, in 'the road, as a monument thereof to this very day.'

[*M*] *We ſhall give ſome extracts from one of them.*] It is written to Dr Allix, in anſwer to ſome queſtions propoſed by Monſieur Picques, who, was about an accurate Map of Egypt. Some of our author's obſervations therein, are as follows. The name of the *Nile* is derived from נהל, i. e. *The River*, by way of eminence. It riſes in the mountains of Abyſſinia; and, after a courſe of two hundred miles, diſcharges itſelf into the Mediterranean ſea, by two mouths, formerly ſeven. It's overflowing is occaſioned by the continual rains, that fall, during the winter months, in Abyſſinia, and upper Egypt.——Grand Cairo is named by the inhabitants, and neighbouring nations, *Meſer*, from Miſraim the ſon of Ham. 'Tis leſs than Paris, but extremely populous. For, in the year 1679, there died in it of the plague five hundred and ten thouſand perſons: notwithſtanding which, the very next year, when our author was there, it ſwarmed with inhabitants.——Four miles from it is a village called Matarea, where the Virgin Mary is ſaid to have reſided, when ſhe fled into Egypt for fear of Herod's cruelty.——Natron, Latrôn, or Nitre, ſwims like ice on the top of a lake of ſtagnant water, in the deſert of Nitria; and is produced from the ſaltneſs of the water. It is very much like ice, but harder; & ſometimes reddiſh.——What he ſays about the pyramids and mummies, &c. little differs from the accounts given by Mr John Greaves, and others. C

HYDE [Dr Thomas], one of the moſt learned writers of the XVIIth century. He was the ſon of the Reverend Mr Ralph Hyde, Vicar of Billingſley near Bridgenorth in Shropſhire, where he was born June 29, 1636, under whoſe care he received the firſt rudiments of learning; and having a natural propenſity to the ſtudy of the oriental languages, his father encouraged and aſſiſted him ſo far as was in his power, and when he was above ſixteen years of age, ſent him to the univerſity of Cambridge, where he was entered of King's-college (*a*). There he became acquainted with the celebrated Mr Abraham Wheelock, equally famous for his ſkill in languages, and his willingneſs to promote and recommend young perſons of parts and application to the utmoſt of his power (*b*). By him Mr Thomas Hyde, when he was only in his eighteenth year, was ſent to London to the learned Mr Brian Walton, afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter, as a perſon very capable of helping him in that arduous work the Polyglot Bible, in which he was then engaged, and which was executed in ſuch a manner, as not only did honour to him but credit to the nation (*c*). The ſervices rendered him by Mr Hyde were many and great; for he tranſcribed the Perſian Pentateuch out of the Hebrew characters, in which it was firſt printed at Conſtantinople, into the proper characters of the language; which, in the opinion of the learned Archbiſhop Uſher, would have proved a taſk impoſſible to a native Perſian, becauſe one Hebrew character anſwered ſometimes to one Perſian letter ſometimes to another, which it was exceeding difficult to diſtinguiſh (*d*). He alſo added a Latin tranſlation (*e*). He farther aſſiſted in correcting different parts of that work, in the Arabic, Syriac, and Samaritan

(*a*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 973.

(*b*) See the article of WHEELOCK [ABRAHAM].

(*c*) See the article of WALTON [BRIAN].

(*d*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 974.

(*e*) Morhoff. Polyhiſt. Liter. I. 1, 17, 31. Vide Præfat. Bibl. Polyglot.

maritan languages, and thereby merited the high character given him by the editor, that his ſkill in the oriental languages was ſuch as ſurpaſſed his years (*f*). In the next year, after the publication of the Polyglot Bible, he went to Oxford, was admitted of Queen's-college, and was ſoon after made Hebrew reader (*g*). The ſucceeding year Mr Richard Cromwell, then Chancellor of the univerſity, directed his letters to the Delegates of the univerſity, ſignifying that he was of full ſtanding, from the time of his admiſſion at Cambridge, for the degree of Maſter of Arts, and had given public teſtimony of his more than ordinary abilities and learning in the oriental languages; upon which they made an order, that he ſhould accumulate that degree, by reading only a lecture in one of the oriental languages in the ſchools; and having accordingly read upon the Perſian tongue, he was created Maſter of Arts April 13, 1659 (*h*). Soon after the reſtoration of King Charles the Second, he was made Under-Keeper of the Bodleian library, upon the ejection of the famous Henry Stubbe, which gave him an opportunity of purſuing his ſtudies with ſingular advantage (*i*). His diligent behaviour in this employment recommended him ſo much, that when Dr Thomas Lockey reſigned the office of Head-Keeper, he was elected by the Doctors and Maſters of the univerſity with general applauſe, and recommended himſelf likewiſe to the public by ſome very learned writings (*k*) [*A*]. About this time he became known to that great patron of all ſound literature, the Honourable Mr Robert Boyle, to whom he was uſeful in many reſpects, and to whom he communicated ſeveral remarkable paſſages relating to Chemiſtry, Phyſic, and Natural Hiſtory, in oriental writers (*l*). In October 1666, upon the Death of Dr John Wall, Canon of Chriſt-Church, Rector of St Aldate's Oxford, and Prebendary of Sarum, he ſucceeded him in his laſt preferment (*m*). On the 14th of December, 1678, on the demiſe of Mr John Gregory, he had the Archdeaconry of Glouceſter conferred upon him by Dr John Pricket, then Biſhop of that dioceſe, and was inſtalled on the 12th of January following (*n*). On the third of April, 1682, he was admitted Doctor of Divinity (*o*). He continued his ſtudies without remiſſion, and gave many ſhining proofs of his ſingular ſkill in all kinds of oriental learning, for which he was univerſally admired, and became juſtly famous over all Europe; the pieces he publiſhed being full, not only of new and curious, but alſo of very uſeful particulars [*B*]. On the 22d of December 1691, he was elected Arabic Profeſſor, on

(*f*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 974.

(*g*) Id. ibid.

(*h*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 126.

(*i*) Morhoff. Polyhiſt. Liter. I. 1, 17, 31.

(*k*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 974.

(*l*) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 580—594.

(*m*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 974.

(*n*) Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 734.

(*o*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 219.

[*A*] *By ſome very learned writings.*] It was in all probability, the patronage of the learned Abraham Wheelock at Cambridge, that determined our author's inclinations in ſo eminent a degree to the Perſian language, of which that excellent perſon was a great maſter. At Oxford there was a ſpirit of encouraging oriental literature; and yet our author remained there for many years in narrow circumſtances, which kept him very probably the cloſer to his ſtudies, and enabled him, by comparing and conſidering the ſeveral languages of the Eaſt, to acquire a facility in writing and ſpeaking ſeveral of them, beyond what many, even of the learned, thought poſſible. The title of the firſt work he publiſhed, ran thus:

(1.) *Verſio Latina e lingua* Perſica, & *Commentarii in Obſervationes* Vlugh-Beigi, *de Tabulis Longitudinis & Latitudinis ſtellarum fixarum*, Oxon. 1655, 4to, that is, 'A Latin Tranſlation out of the Perſian 'Tongue, together with Commentaries on the Obſer'vations of *Vlugh Beg*, and his Tables of the Longi'tude and Latitude of the fixed Stars.' It may not be unacceptable to inform the reader, that this Vlugh Beg was a great Tartar Monarch, the ſon of Shâhrokh, and the grandſon of Timur Beg, or, as we commonly call him, Tamerlane. The proper title of this Prince's treatiſe, is, Zig Ulug Beg, and in the preface he informs us, that the great occupations of government, hindered him from performing in perſon ſo much as he would have done towards the compleating this uſeful work, but that he had relied chiefly on his miniſter Salaheddin, ſirnamed Cadhi Zadehal Roumi, and that he dying before the work was finiſhed, his collegue Gaïatheddin Giamſhid, and his ſon Ali al Couſhi, were afterwards employed, who put the laſt hand to it. This work, written originally in Arabic, and of which there are two Perſian tranſlations, one by Ali al Couſhi, and the other by Mohammed Ben Mohammed, is in four parts. The firſt treats of Æras and Epochs in five chapters. The ſecond, of the Diſtinction of Times, in twenty-two chapters. The third, of the Courſe of the Planets, in thirteen chapters; and the fourth, regards the fixed Stars, in two hundred ſections. Theſe tables are thought the moſt correct of any publiſhed by the Orientals, and are calculated for the latitude of Samarcand, which was the capital of Ulugh Beg's dominions. To this is added, Mohamedes Tizinus his tables of the declenſion and aſcenſion of the fixed ſtars.

(2) *Catalogus impreſſorum librorum Bibliothecæ* Bodleianæ *in Academia*, Oxon. 1674, fol. that is, 'A 'Catalogue of the printed Books in the Bodleian Li'brary in the Univerſity of Oxford.'

(3.) *Epiſtola de menſuris & ponderibus* Serum *ſive* Senenſium, *&c.* Oxon. 1688, 8vo. that is, 'An E'piſtle on the Weights and Meaſures of the Chineſe.' This is printed at the end of Dr Edward Bernard's book, entitled, *De Menſuris & Ponderibus antiquis libri tres*, that is, 'A Treatiſe of ancient Weights and 'Meaſures, in three Books:' as alſo, *Epiſtola N. F. D. de mari æneo Salomonis*, annexed thereunto by Dr Hyde.

[*B*] *But alſo of very uſeful particulars.*] He alſo publiſhed,

(4) *Quatuor* Evangelia & Acta Apoſtolorum *lingua* Malaicâ, *Characteribus* Europæis, Oxon. 1677, 4to. that is, 'The Four Goſpels and the Acts of the Apo'ſtles in the Malayan tongue.' Which were printed at the expence of Mr Boyle, and before them is prefixed an excellent preface by Dr Thomas Marſhal in Engliſh.

(5.) *Specimen Libri* More Nevochim, Maimonidis; *Arabicè & Latinè edendi* (Dec. 10, 1690) Oxon. 1691, 4to. that is, 'A Specimen of Maimonides's Guide of 'the Doubtfull in Arabic and Latin.'

(6.) *De* Ludis Orientalibus *Libri duo*, ſc. Mandragorias, *ſeu Hiſtoria* Shahiludii *Latine*, Oxon. 1693, 8vo. *Hiſtoria* Shahiludii *ſeu Trias* Judæorum *de* Ludo Schacorum Heb. Lat. Oxon. 1693, 8vo. *Hiſtoria* Nordiludii & *reliquorum* Ludorum Orientalium *ubi* Arabum Perſarum Indorum & Chineſium *Ludi varii*, Oxon. 1693, 8vo. Before the former of theſe, there is a kind of dedication to Sidney Godolphin Lord Rialton, afterwards Earl of Godolphin, and Lord High-Treaſurer of England; and to the latter, is prefixed a dedicatory epiſtle to Richard, ſon to John Hampden, Eſq;

(7.) *Tractatus* Alberti Bobovii, *Turcarum Imp.* Mohammedis IVti *olim Interpretis primarii de* Turcarum *Liturgia, pregrinatione Meccana, Circumciſione, ægrotorum viſitatione*, &c. *Nonnullas annotatiunculas pro ut occaſio ſe obtulit paſſim adjecit Thomas Hyde, S. T. D. è Coll. Reginæ Oxon.* Protobibliothecarius Bodleianus, that is, 'The Treatiſe of *Albert Bobovius*, formerly 'firſt Interpreter to the Grand Signior *Mohammed* the 'Fourth, concerning the Liturgy of the *Turks*, the 'Pilgrimage to *Mecca*, the Ceremony of *Circumciſion*, 'the on the deceaſe of that great ornament of the univerſity, Dr Edward Pocock (p). He publiſhed the ſame year the Itinera Mundi of Abraham Peritſol, the ſon of Mordecai Peritſol, a very learned Jew, to ſupply in ſome meaſure the Arabic Geography of Abul-Pheda, which, at the requeſt of that excellent prelate Dr John Fell, he had undertaken to publiſh with a Latin tranſlation; but the demiſe of his patron having defeated his work, he ſent this leſſer performance abroad, dedicated to Daniel Earl of Nottingham, then Principal Secretary of State, in hopes it might excite a greater curioſity in regard to this branch of learning (q) [C]. Dr Roger Altham, Regius Profeſſor of Hebrew, and Canon of

'the Viſitation of the Sick, &c. with Notes occaſionally interſperſed, by Dr Thomas Hyde.'

This, though a very ſhort, is a very curious and very uſeful treatiſe. The author of it was by birth a Pole, and his name in his own language was Bobowſki. He was carried away while a youth by the Tartars, ſold to the Turks, who perceiving the pregnancy of his parts, cauſed him to be very carefully brought up in the Seraglio, where he ſpent twenty years. After this he went in the ſervice of ſome great man to Egypt, where in conſequence of his excellent behaviour, being made free, he, according to the cuſtom of the Turks, had a new name impoſed on him, viz. that of Ali-Beigh, or Ali Bei, as it is vulgarly pronounced. On his return to Conſtantinople, his general ſkill in the languages both of the Weſt and of the Eaſt, gradually advanced him to the rank of Tergjumân Baſhi, or firſt interpreter of the Porte, under the reign of Mahomet the Fourth. He compoſed a Grammar and a Lexicon of the Turkiſh language, about the year 1553, he tranſlated, at the requeſt of Dr Baſire, the Catechiſm of the Church of England into the Turkiſh language, and at the requeſt of another gentleman, the whole Bible, which being ſent into Europe to be printed, remains ſtill in the public library at Leyden. Our author, Dr Hyde, alſo had in his poſſeſſion, the Pſalms tranſlated and written in his own hand. His death, which happened a few years before the publication of this work, was exceedingly regretted by the Chriſtians at Conſtantinople, but more eſpecially by the Engliſh, for whom he had a ſingular affection and eſteem, inſomuch that he often intimated his deſire to have retired into Enland, and to have returned into the boſom of the Chriſtian Church, if any means could have been found to afford him a tolerable maintenance.

This treatiſe was brought over by the celebrated Dr Thomas Smith, who made a preſent of it to our author, and adviſed him to tranſlate it. It is certainly the moſt ſuccinct, and in all probability the moſt genuine and authentic account that is any where extant of the religious ceremonies of the Turks, penned with ſo much plainneſs and ſimplicity, that it is impoſſible to ſuſpect the author; and as the Doctor himſelf obſerves, there is ſuch a very ſtrange mixture of piety and puerility as is not to be accounted for. For example, in the viſitation of the ſick, we are told, that on the one hand they exhort the dying man to a ſincere repentance, and to place his hopes in God; and on the other, they intreat him to pare his nails, becauſe this is a thing not lawful after his deceaſe. They diſtribute alms, and they make prayers for the departed ſoul; but while the man is expiring, they hollow in his ears continually a ſhort confeſſion of their faith, and earneſtly exhort him not to apoſtatize from the religion of Mohammed in another world. They waſh the dead body three, five, or ſeven times, and carry it very decently to the tomb, where they believe it is viſited by the two angels of Death, Munkir and Nehir, at whoſe command the ſoul returns, and immediately the dead body ſtands up upon it's feet, and gives direct anſwers to their queſtions. After this, they ſay the body diſſolves, and the ſoul goes forthwith to Paradiſe, or a place of torture. This ſhort delay they call Berzach, which ſome have injudiciouſly taken for a middle ſtate, whereas in truth, it is ſtrictly a middle time, or the intervening ſpace between death and judgment. This notion agrees ſo exactly with the ſuperſtitions of the Jews, that there is not the leaſt room to doubt the one is a copy of the other.

The notes of our author throughout, contain an infinity of ſhort, curious, and inſtructive remarks, many of which the reader would little expect to find in ſuch a treatiſe. To this piece he ſubjoined *Caſtigatio in* Angelum à S^{to} Joſeph, *aliàs dictum* de la Broſſe *Carmelitam diſcalceatum ſui Ordinis in* Iſpâhan *Perſides olim Præfectum*. That is, 'A Reproof to Angelus of St Joſeph, alias Father de la Broſſe, a barefooted Carmelite, formerly Superior of his Order at Iſpahan in Perſia.' This man had attacked the Perſian goſpels in the Engliſh Polyglot, and the Latin verſion of them by Dr Samuel Clarke. Our author out of zeal for his collegues in that great work, for no offence was offered to himſelf, wrote a letter to this Monk, in which he expoſtulated the matter, and ſhewed him his miſtakes, without receiving any anſwer; at length in 1688, he came over to England, went to Oxford, and procured himſelf to be introduced to Dr Walton, without letting him know who he was, though afterwards he owned his name to be La Broſſe, and that he came over to juſtify what he had advanced. After a ſhort diſpute, which was managed in Latin, he began of a ſudden to ſpeak the Perſian language, in which, to his great ſurprize he found Dr Hyde more ready than himſelf, ſo that not being able to maintain his criticiſms, he promiſed to come another time, and either defend them better, or retract them, which however he did not perform, and this induced Dr Hyde to make the diſpute public. In his reproof, he firſt ſtates the Carmelite's objections, then ſhews them to be very weak and trifling, ſpringing from his own ignorance in the true idiom of the Perſian tongue, which rendered him incapable of comprehending with how much accuracy and elegance that verſion was made to which he had objected. As the principal deſign of this attack upon the London, was to raiſe the credit of the Paris Polyglot, Dr Hyde's reproof produced an admirable effect, as not only maintaining the credit of the Engliſh work, but ſhewing alſo what lamentable critics theſe Monks were, notwithſtanding the high eſteem in which they ſtood in their own country for Oriental learning.

[C] *In regard to this branch of learning.*] The title of this work is, *Iggéreth Orchoth Olam*, id eſt, *Itinera Mundi ſic dicta nempe Coſmographia Autore*, Abrahamo Peritſol, *Latinâ Verſione donavit & Notas paſſim adjecit* Thomas Hyde, S. T. D. *è Coll. Reginæ* Oxon. *Protobibliothecarius Bodleianus*, Oxon. 1691, 4to. that is, 'The Tour of the World, or the Coſmography of *Abraham Peritſol*, with a Latin tranſlation, and notes by Dr *Thomas Hyde*, &c.'

This work was written by Abraham Peritſol or Pariſol, (which ſignifies an umbrella) in the city of Ferrara, a little before the Engliſh Reformation. The Hebrew title is taken from the following paſſage in Job, *Haſt thou marked the old way which wicked men have trodden, which were cut down out of time.* It is written in a very pure Hebrew ſtile, with a very ſmall mixture of the rabbinical phraſes. The author wrote beſides, a controverſial treatiſe entitled the Shield of Abraham, alluding to his own name, in ſupport of the Jewiſh religion againſt the Chriſtians, as alſo a Commentary upon the Book of Job. As for this Coſmography it is very ſhort, containing thirty chapters; but notwithſtanding this, there are many things in it curious, and which cannot fail of delighting the judicious reader. A ſpecimen perhaps may not prove unpleaſant, we will take the ſixteenth chapter, which is very ſhort, and regards the firſt diſcovery, or rather the firſt endeavours to diſcover the the Eaſt-Indies. It is conceived in the following terms.

'Our readers are to underſtand, that the ſubjects of the Monarch of Portugal, were the firſt who navigated their ſhips, and expoſed themſelves to the hazard of ſeeking, by this new route, places of which their anceſtors had not ſo much as an idea. For this reaſon, through the ſudden alteration of air, and the diſagreement of theſe new climates with their conſtitutions, multitudes of the ſeamen and paſſengers were carried away by diſeaſes, 'till by degrees, and through experience, they learned the proper times to depart and to return with the leaſt poſſible danger. Thus overcoming all the difficulties that were ſo formidable in the beginning, they now

'ſailed

(p) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 870.

(q) See his dedication, dated Oxford, Auguſt 6, 1690.

of Chriſt-Church, being, on ſome diſpute about the oaths, removed from both preferments, Dr Hyde became poſſeſſed of them (the one being annexed to the other) July 19, 1697 (*r*). Three years after he publiſhed an excellent work, now become extremely ſcarce, on a ſubject very little known even to the learned themſelves, "the Religion of the antient Perſians;" a work of ſuch profound and various erudition, abounding with ſo many new lights on the moſt curious and intereſting ſubjects, filled with ſuch authentic teſtimonies, which none but himſelf could bring to the public view, and adorned with ſo many learned ingenious conjectures, in reference to the theology, hiſtory, and learning, of the eaſtern nations, that it was received with delight even by the greateſt critics; a work which does honour to the times and nation in which he flouriſhed; and which, if he had left no other monument of his ſtudies, had been ſufficient to eſtabliſh and preſerve his reputation, as long as any taſte for antient learning ſhall remain [*D*]. It was, however, a great

'failed to and from theſe places without any conſiderable loſs, and the way round this Æthiopic continent, through the ocean, is as pervious to the Portugueſe at this day, and navigated with the ſame eaſe and ſafety as the Mediterranean and Adriatic ſeas by the Venetians and the Genoeſe.

'Behold! the Portugueſe firſt leaving their own coaſts, and ſeeking thoſe of the lower Æthiopia before mentioned, ſtanding at a diſtance from the continent, and ſteering a ſouth-weſt courſe, diſcovered the iſland of Porto Santo, which 'till then remained uninhabited. The King of Portugal ſent thither young people of both ſexes, and cauſed it to be ſtocked with ſheep and with oxen. This, as I have heard from the compelled, was about the time of the exile of the children *. There they found abundance of wild hogs, multitudes of rabbets, and innumerable pigeons, ſingular in this, that they were not in the leaſt afraid of men. There they likewiſe met with prodigious quantities both of honey and of wax; thoſe who made the diſcovery affirm, that the like in point of excellence had never been before ſeen. Beſides, they found thoſe trees, from the gum diſtilling out of which dragon's blood is made. The method in which they proceed is thus, ſuch as are employed at a proper ſeaſon, gives ſeveral ſtrokes with an ax to the tree as it grows in the ground. The following year, at the proper time, they come and collect with great care the gum that has flowed through theſe wounds; and after melting and cleanſing it from all droſs and filth, they bring it in little round lumps to market. This is what is called, Dam Tannin, Sanguis Draconis, or Dragon's Blood. They ſay, that this tree in the month of March, produces fair and fine fruit, in ſize and form reſembling cherries of a green colour, and of a moſt delicious flavour. The ſea round this iſland of Porto Santo winds into many pleaſant bays, affording infinite quantities of excellent fiſh. The country is of ſmall extent, ſome twenty-five miles in circuit, every where diverſified with verdant hills, and plentifully watered by cryſtal rivulets.'

This ſpecimen will afford the reader ſome notion of that elegant ſimplicity with which this book is written. Dr Hyde has illuſtrated this chapter with ſome very learned notes. He tells us, that the Arabic name anſwering to dragon's blood, did not ariſe barely from the colour of the gum, but from the very ſingular appearance of the fruit, the ſkin of which being taken off, there appears within-ſide a little dragon, moſt clearly and neatly expreſſed, with a long neck, an open mouth, a ſharp briſtly back, long tail, and ſhort feet. The dragon's blood is the red juice flowing from that tree, ſo well known to us by the name of the Brazil wood, and ſo much uſed by our Dyers. He tells us farther, that the Arabians, Perſians, and Turks, call it the blood of the two brothers. The latter alſo ſtile it Er Cani, Hominis Sanguis, or Man's Blood, equivalent to which, is the Arabic word, Dam Adam; the Italians call it Verzino, and we Brazil wood, becauſe moſt of it comes to us from that country. He farther remarks, that there is beſides this another ſort brought likewiſe from the Eaſt-Indies, but brighter, better, and at leaſt twice as dear, called by the Engliſh merchant's, Dragon's Blood in Drops, flowing from a kind of broken reed, which from thence is ſtiled Dragon's Blood Cane, of which he had one given him by John Tyrrel, Eſq; captain of a man of war, which was four feet long. Out of the knots of this cane proceed leaves with fruit, of which, ſays he, I have two kinds, formerly given me by Mr John Engliſh, a merchant; the former round, and of the ſize of a very ſmall filberd; the other long, and as large as the biggeſt filberd, but both of a rough ſuperficies like that of a mulberry. Being broke, there appears in the inſide, a ſtone like that of a cherry. The outer ſubſtance dry and tough, but may be eaſily broken, and rubbed with the fingers, which if wiped on paper produces a beautiful red colour. It is from this ſort of dragon's blood, that the varniſh is made, ſo much in uſe among the Chineſe in adorning their cheſts and cabinets. This red matter being ſcraped into warm water, and being ſuffered to ſteep there a long time, at length ſinks to the bottom, and the water being either gently poured off or evaporated, the dragons blood is collected concreted into little drops or tears.

[*D*] *For ancient learning ſhall remain.*] The title of this large and curious work, runs thus:

Hiſtoria Religionis Veterum Perſarum *eorumque* Magorum. *Ubi etiam nova* Abrahami, & Mithræ, & Veſtæ, & Manethis *Hiſtoria*, &c. *atque Angelorum Officia* & *Præfecturas ex Veterum* Perſarum *ſententiâ. Item*, Perſarum *annus antiquiſſimus tangitur, is* τȣ̃ *Giemſhîd, detegitur, verus* τȣ̃ Yeſdegherd *de nove proditur, is* τȣ̃ *Melicſhâh expenditur, is* τȣ̃ Selgiûk & τȣ̃ Chorzemſhad *notatur*, & *is* τῆς Katâ & τῆς Oighûr *explicatur.* Zoroaſtris *Vita ejuſque* & *aliorum Vaticinia de* Meſſiah *è* Perſarum *aliorumque Monumentis eruuntur: Primitivæ Opiniones de* Deo & *de Hominum origine reſerantur; Originale Orientalis* Sibyllæ, *Myſterium recluditur: Atque Magorum liber Sadder* (Zoroaſtris præcepta ſeu Religionis Canones continens) è Perſico traductus exhibetur. Dantur veterum Perſarum Scripturæ & *Linguæ (ut hæ jam primò* Europæ *producantur* & *litterato Orbi poſtliminio reddantur)* Specimina. *De* Perſiæ *ejuſdemque Linguæ nominibus deque hujus dialectis* & *a moderna differentiis ſtrictim agitur. Auctor eſt* Thomas Hyde, S. T. D. *Ling. Hebraicæ in Univerſitate Oxon. Profeſſor Regius* & *Ling. Arab. Prof. Laudianus. Præmiſſo Capitum Elencho accedunt Icones* & *Appendix variarum Diſſertationum*, Oxon. 1700, 4to. pages 556, that is, 'The Religion of the ancient Perſians and their Magi.'

There is no need of tranſlating the reſt of this long title, becauſe the particulars contained in it, which are in effect the contents of the whole book, will ſufficiently appear in the courſe of this note. The indefatigable Mr Bayle, the judicious Mr Bernard, and ſeveral other foreign writers of great eminence, ſpeak of this very elaborate performance with equal admiration and applauſe. To ſay the truth, it was a ſubject almoſt wholly new and untouched; and this, notwithſtanding, that without it many of their own hiſtorians, and moſt of the antient Greek writers, are often obſcure, in ſeveral places altogether unintelligible. His diligence, his accuracy, his freedom of thought, his ſagacity, his extenſive ſkill in the oriental languages, his zeal for truth, and his perfect candour, are equally conſpicuous. But the only way to acquire a competent notion of a work, which is now become dearer than a volume of this, is to run through the analyſis of the whole; which, following the track of a very able and ingenious writer, we ſhall therefore exhibit to the reader's view, to whom, tho' it muſt ſeem long, it is impoſſible that it ſhould appear tedious.

It appears from the title, that Dr Hyde's deſign is not to give us a plan of the religion of the modern Perſians, which is to be found in the Korân, the Mahometan being the eſtabliſhed religion in Perſia now. In the firſt chapter he diſtinguiſhes the Perſians into antient and modern; the antient Perſians had a religion entirely different from that of the modern, and it has been ſtill preſerved among ſome of their deſcendants;

(*r*) Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. III. p. 461.

* The author means the expulſion of his nation out of Portugal by King Emanuel, to gratify Iſabella of Caſtile in A. D. 1492. The *compelled* are thoſe who ſtaid and diſſembled, the *exiled children* thoſe who departed.

a great miſfortune, that the value of his extraordinary talents and uncommon erudition,
was

the modern Perſians are a mixture of ſeveral different nations, Saracens, Tartars, Parthians, Medes, old Perſians, become Mahometans, and women of Georgia and other countries tranſplanted into Perſia, who have formed a language compounded out of thoſe of all theſe different nations. Our author, before he enters into particulars, gives us, in this firſt chapter, a general idea of the religion of theſe antient Perſians. There are ſome ſtill who profeſs this both in Perſia and in India, and live ſeparately from the reſt as much as poſſible, and eat only with thoſe of their own religion, in order to preſerve their purity. This religion has paſſed through three different ſtates. The firſt was a ſtate of purity; thoſe who profeſſed it worſhipped only the true God, of whom they had very juſt notions, which they had received from their anceſtors, *Shem* and *Elam*. The ſecond ſtate is that in which *Sabaiſm* was mixed with the knowledge and worſhip of the true God. They did not indeed worſhip the ſun and the planets, but they had too much reverence for thoſe ſtars, and fell into ſuperſtition in that reſpect. Abraham oppoſed with the utmoſt vigour all kinds of falſe worſhip, and all the ſuperſtitions of his age; and as the Perſians highly revere that Patriarch, and acknowledge that they received their Religion from him, Dr Hyde is perſwaded that Abraham reduced them from their errors, and reſtored amongſt them the worſhip of the true God in all it's purity. But they afterwards fell back into their former ſuperſtitions, though without loſing the knowledge of the true God, of whoſe ſervice they were always ſo jealous, that they abominated all adoration of images. The third ſtate of the religion of the antient Perſians commenced, when, in imitation of the fire preſerved upon the altar in the temple of Jeruſalem, they kept likewiſe a perpetual fire upon an altar; which cuſtom was obſerved likewiſe by the Greeks and Romans. This gave occaſion to the common opinion, that the antient Perſians worſhipped fire; but our author endeavours to juſtify them from that imputation.

He owns that they regarded this fire as a thing ſacred, and paid to it a kind of ſervice, which he calls *Pyrodulia*; but he denies that they ever paid to it a proper adoration, which he ſtiles *Pyrolatria*. We are not to be ſurprized that practices have been imputed to theſe people, which they never obſerved. It is very difficult to know thoroughly their religion, ſince *Zoroaſter*, their great prophet, has expreſsly prohibited them to inſtruct ſtrangers in it, or in their language. However, our author having deſired one of his friends who lived in Perſia, to inform himſelf of the Prieſts of that religion concerning the worſhip paid by them to *Mithra*, which is the *ſun*, they anſwered, that they did not pay any divine worſhip to it, or to the *moon*, or to the *ſtars*, but only turned towards the ſun when they prayed, becauſe the nature of it nearly reſembles that of fire. They regarded it likewiſe as the image of God, and ſome of them have ſaid that God reſides in it, and others have imagined that it will be the ſeat of the bleſſed. Theſe are the true grounds of their reſpect for the ſun, but this reſpect does not go ſo far as adoration. It is the ſame caſe with regard to fire; when they are aſked whether they worſhip it, they conſtantly deny it, affirming that they worſhip God alone. But as they had a great reſpect for their ſacred fire, if any one of them was obliged to take an oath, he uſed to do it before this fire burning upon an altar, as the Jews did before the altar at Jeruſalem, upon which there was fire. It was likewiſe the cuſtom of the Pagan Arabians, who, when they ſuſpected that the perſon who was about to ſwear would take a falſe oath, privately caſt ſalt into the fire, in order to ſtrike a terror upon him by the crackling noiſe which it made. As the Jews burnt their ſacrifices in the ſacred fire, the Perſians did the ſame, imagining that the ſacrifices would not pollute the fire like other prophane things; but if any perſon threw filth or ſpit into it, they held it was a crime that ought to be puniſhed with death.

The Kings of Perſia, and other wealthy perſons, ſometimes caſt into the fire pearls, ſpices, and precious oils, in order to nouriſh the flames more delicately; and this they called *fire feaſts*. But they did this to the honour of God, and referred to him ultimately all that they did with reſpect to the fire, or by means of it. But this was not the only element which they ſhewed their reverence to; for they reſpected the air, water, and earth, and conſidered them as the principles of all things. They had, and ſtill have, curators of theſe four elements, who are employed to take care of the waters, the rivers, and fountains, to prevent, as much as poſſible, the air from being infected with any ſtink, the fire from being polluted with any filth, or the earth with any dead body. It is out of regard to the earth that they do not bury their dead, and, for fear of infecting the air, they keep crows and vultures to devour the corpſes, which have no other tombs than the entrails of theſe birds of prey. It was for the ſame reaſon, that Numa appointed that the Veſtals ſhould take care of the four elements; ſo that the word *veſta* is ſometimes uſed for fire, and ſometimes for the earth. The Veſtals were alſo obliged to look after the fountain of the Muſes near their temple. The Perſians abominate all noxious animals, and, on the contrary, have a prodigious eſteem for a dog and a cock. Zoroaſter expreſsly commands them to maintain dogs; and they are ſo fond of cocks, becauſe they are a kind of living clocks, that they would expoſe themſelves to the ſevereſt ſufferings, rather than cut off the head of one of theſe animals. Hence it is that Ariſtophanes calls a cock the bird of Perſia or Media, and there are ſuch a vaſt number of them in thoſe countries, that our travellers ſcarce eat any thing elſe; and from hence that uſeful bird has been propagated over the whole world.

In the *ſecond* chapter our author mentions how the Perſians boaſt of having received their religion from Abraham, which gives him occaſion to introduce the hiſtory of the life of that patriarch, to examine into his true ſentiments with regard to religion, and to compare them with thoſe of the Perſians. He explains, in a manner quite new, divers Chaldee words, the true ſignification of which was before unknown. He ſhews that Abraham became famous over the whole world, and that God's command to him to offer up his ſon, which the Pagans imagined to have been executed, led them to think, that, in order to obtain ſome ſignal favour from Heaven, the ſureſt way was to offer up one of their children to God. The Indian idolaters ſtiled their Chief Prieſt *Brahma*, or *Brahama*, which is nothing elſe but the name of Abraham. This Patriarch, according to the Jews and eaſtern people, of whoſe opinion our author does not diſapprove, lived in the time of Nimrod, who was the Ninus of the Pagans, and was the ſon of Cuſh. The latter lived in the territory of Babylon; but Chaldea being too ſmall for his deſcendants, they removed into the neighbouring country and ſettled there. This country was called at firſt from their father's name the land of Cuſh, and afterwards the land of Havilah; and it had the name of Arabia from Yaarab the ſon of Joktan, who dwelt in that country and poſſeſſed it. From this remark and ſome others Dr Hyde concludes, that it is a miſtake to underſtand Ethiopia to be the land of Cuſh mentioned in Scripture, ſince the word is not taken in that ſenſe in any part of the Bible, but always ſignifies the territory of Babylon or Arabia. There are ſeveral other curious obſervations in this chapter. Some authors are of opinion that Abraham was educated from his birth in the true religion, which was that of Eber, one of his anceſtors; but Dr Hyde thinks the common notion more probable, viz. that Abraham was at firſt an idolater, but afterwards converted to the knowledge of the true God by the particular interpoſition of Heaven. It is impoſſible to ſay at what age he was converted. The opinion of the Perſians, who aſſert that he was then fifteen years of age, or that of Cedrenus, who tells us that he was twenty four years old, is not diſapproved by our author, who makes a great many other curious remarks upon Abraham, and upon his father Terah, his country, actions, &c.

In the *third* chapter, Dr Hyde examines more particularly into the religion of the Perſians, and ſhews in what it agreed, and in what it ſtill agrees, with that of Abraham. He treats alſo of the *Sabaites* and their religion. The Perſians knew the hiſtory of the creation of the world, having learned it from the Jews, or from Zoroaſter; and they kept it more pure than any other nation. As Moſes has ſaid nothing of the creation of good or bad angels, the Perſians have likewiſe omitted it. Our author is of opinion, that though angels are created beings, and conſequently not ſo an-

tient

was not, after the demiſe of his firſt patrons, ſufficiently underſtood, ſo as to encourage him

tient as their creator, yet it is not to be doubted, but that they exiſted an infinite time before the creation of the world, and are ſo antient, that it is impoſſible for the mind of man to form a juſt idea of their duration; for it is not, ſays he, pious or fit to imagine, that God was at any time without miniſters, and we ought to believe that he had always angels ready to ſerve, and diſpoſed at all times to execute his commands. Our author ſuppoſes likewiſe, that the apoſtate angels tranſgreſſed before the creation of the world, though not long before it. He thinks, that as the Perſians were deſcended from Shem, they received alſo from him the knowledge of the true God, though they fell afterwards into a kind of *Sabaiſm* like the reſt of the world. They were recovered from their errors by Abraham, upon which account they gave the name of that Patriarch to their religion, calling it the religion of Abraham. He conquered Chedorlaomer King of Perſia, and it is probable that this prince and his allies embraced the religion of the conqueror, and that this example was followed by the ſubjects of theſe princes, as theſe people generally follow the religion of their governors. With regard to the *Sabaites*, the doctor informs us, that this is not the name of a particular nation, as that of the Sabeans, who were called ſo from Saba, a city in Arabia Felix. It is the name of a ſect, diſperſed over ſeveral nations, who worſhipped ſtars and idols. The Arabians have not ſucceeded in explaining this name, ſince they imagined that the word Sabaa ſignified to change one's religion. The word Sabaite comes from the Hebrew Saba, which ſignifies troops, or an army or hoſt; and the name of *Sabaites* was given to thoſe who worſhipped the *hoſt* of *Heaven*, that is the ſtars. There were two kinds of *Sabaites*, one of whom worſhipped the *ſtars*, and the other *idols*. The former were of two kinds, viz. the *Greek Sabaites*, who chiefly addreſſed their devotion to the *planets*, and the *Indian Sabaites*, who addreſſed it to the *fixed ſtars*. The doctor corrects here ſeveral profane writers, who have ſpoken very differently and confuſedly of the religion of the Perſians, and rectifies their accounts by diſtinguiſhing the times. He agrees with *Herodotus* and *Strabo*, that there was a time when the Perſians had not either temples nor altars. It was when they addreſſed their prayers only to the planets, or to God to procure their propitious influences. But when they began to build certain places, in which to keep the ſacred fire, and which the doctor calls *Pyrea*, they began likewiſe to have altars, upon which they ſometimes offered ſacrifices. It is not abſolutely true what thoſe authors have written, that the Perſians had no images, ſince *Giemſhid*, one of their Kings, is accuſed of idolatry, and ſince, towards the end of their empire, they worſhipped Venus in temples appointed for that purpoſe, where that goddeſs had her prieſts and prieſteſſes. Herodotus relates, that there was a law at Babylon, which ordered that the women ſhould come once in their lives to the temple of Venus, and proſtitute themſelves to the firſt paſſenger who would have any commerce with them, and that they could not refuſe this. The richer ſort went in a chariot with a magnificent equipage. When they were once come to the temple, they were obliged not to return 'till ſome paſſenger had pity on them. Thoſe who were handſome, continues Herodotus, returned ſoon, but ſome ordinary women ſtayed ſeveral years before they received their paſſport. Dr Hyde obſerves, that he had not read any where that the Perſians had any other ſtatues but that of Venus.

The *fourth* chapter is deſigned to prove, againſt the Greek and Latin writers, that the worſhip paid to *Mithra*, or the *ſun*, was not a divine adoration properly ſo called. The *fifth* chapter contains a kind of digreſſion upon the modern *Sabaiſm*, and the idolatry of the nations who made idols under the influences of the planets. In the *ſixth* chapter we ſee the care which the antient Perſians took of the water and fire; for though they endeavoured to preſerve the purity of all the four elements, yet they took a more particular care of the water and fire, ſince theſe two elements were moſt obnoxious to pollution. They believed that there was an angel eſpecially appointed to guard the water, and called him Ardiſur or Arduiſur. They celebrated his praiſes, and deſired him to continue in his office. The *ſeventh* chapter treats of the goddeſs Veſta, adored by the Greeks and Romans. The *eighth* chapter treats of the goddeſs Veſta of the Perſians, and the care which the Magi, their prieſts, took to preſerve the fire. Theſe prieſts were obliged to be married, becauſe, among thoſe people, it was meritorious with regard both to this world and that which is to come, to increaſe the number of the faithful by propagating the ſpecies. The doctor is of opinion, that the Perſians uſed to maintain the ſacred fire long before the reformation of their religion by Zoroaſter. Hence it follows, that before his time they had likewiſe covered places in the form of temples, ſince they could not otherwiſe have preſerved the fire. Zoroaſter only augmented the number, as our author proves. There is ſtill extant a Perſian book, intitled *Gjâvidân Chrad*, i. e. 'The Eternal Wiſdom,' which is older than all the writings of Zoroaſter, and aſcribed to one of their Kings, named *Hûſhang*. This book proves evidently, that the people of thoſe times worſhipped the only true God. The ſame appears from ſome other books cited by the doctor.

The *ninth* chapter treats of the two principles of all things, according to the notions of the Perſians, of the names given to them, and of their opinions with regard to the Deity, and the creation of all things. They eſtabliſhed two principles; the firſt of theſe, which is ſingle and eternal, the author and principle of all good, is God, whom they called *Yezâd*, *Izâd*, or *Izid*, that is, he who ought to be prayed to. They called him likewiſe *Ormûzd*, or *Hormûz*, or *Hormiſda*; and by joining a more modern name, *Hormiſda Choda!* that is, O great God! or O ſupreme God! It is from this word that the Greeks formed that of Oromaſdes. Beſides this principle, they laid down another created one, which they ſuppoſed to be the principle of evil, and called it Ahâriman, Ahreman, Ahrîman, and ſometimes in poetry Ahrimanân; whence the Greeks, who wrote the hiſtory of Perſia, took their Ἀρειμανίος. This word is compounded of two others, which are ſynonymous, and ſignify impure, polluted; ſo that theſe two words being joined, ſignify very impure, and very much polluted. In their antient books, to ſhew the abhorrence which they had to the demon whom they called by this name, they wrote it in an inverted manner, thus, uɐɯᴉɹɐ̌ɥ∀. With reſpect to the creation, the Perſians taught with the Scriptures, that it was performed in ſix ſpaces of time. But they pretend that they are not ſimple days, and that by a day we are to underſtand the ſpace of ſeveral days.

The manner in which they divide theſe ſix periods of time, and the names which they give to them, was thus. They called the *firſt Mid-yuzeram*, containing the ſpace of *forty-five* days, in which God created *the heavens*. The *ſecond* was called *Mid-yûſham*, containing *ſixty* days, employed in creating *the waters*. The *third* was called *Pîtiſhoſhim*, and comprehends *ſeventy-five* days, in which *the earth* was created. The *fourth* was called *Iyaſeram*, and contains *thirty* days, in which *the trees* were produced. The *fifth* was called *Midiyârim*, and comprehends *eighty* days, during which all *the creatures* were made. An author cited by the doctor tells us, that in this *fifth* period God created *the beaſts* and *birds*, namely, an *hundred* and *ſeventy-two* kinds of *beaſts*, and an *hundred* and *ten* kinds of *birds*. The *ſixth* period was called *Hamſpitamidim*, and contains *ſeventy-five* days, in which *man* was created. All theſe periods together make *three hundred* and *ſixty-five* days, which form one year. According to the Perſians, the creation began about May and ended in the ſame month, ſo that Adam, when he roſe from the hands of God, ſaw the whole earth covered with fruits. Zoroaſter appointed, that for each of theſe ſix periods employed in the creation, there ſhould be obſerved five feſtival days.

In the *ninth* chapter our author treats of the origin of mankind, of the deluge, of divers imaginary terreſtrial paradiſes, of Moſes and Solomon, and ſhews that the religion of the antient Perſians agrees in many points with that of the Jews, and was derived from it. Thoſe people believed that *Adam* and *Eve* were the ſtock from whence mankind deſcended, though ſome among them gave our firſt parents different names. They believed an univerſal deluge which covered the whole earth. But all were not of this opinion; ſome denied the deluge, others ſaid that it was not univerſal, and him to ſend his learned treatiſes to the preſs; which he would willingly have done, not from

and that it did not riſe above the top of a mountain near Hulvan, a city upon the frontiers of Aſſyria and Perſia. The Perſians have ſpoken of divers terreſtrial paradiſes, and ſometimes given different names to the ſame place. This was occaſioned, becauſe the true ſituation of the garden of Eden was uncertain. Some fixed it at Jeruſalem, others at other places. The Perſians had ſome knowledge of Moſes, whom they ſtiled the ruddy Shepherd, who holds a ſtaff, becauſe he was a ſhepherd when he lived with Jethro his father-in-law, and becauſe he performed all his miracles, in Egypt and the wilderneſs, by means of his rod. They had knowledge alſo of Solomon, whom they called *Gjem*, which is likewiſe the name of one of their kings.

The *eleventh*, *twelfth*, and *thirteenth* chapters, contain the names and attributes which they gave to God, to angels, and to the devil. In the ſeven following chapters, the doctor treats of the year, and the different epochas of the antient Perſians and other nations, and of the names of the angels, whom they imagined to preſide over every month of the year. The antient Perſian year was ſolar, and not lunar; but as it conſiſted only of twelve months of thirty days each, it did not anſwer exactly to the time in which the ſun paſſes through the ecliptic, by which means the beginning of their year anſwered ſucceſſively to all the degrees of the ſigns of the zodiac, and ran through all the ſeaſons, 'till, after a revolution of fourteen hundred and ſixty years, it returned to the ſame point where it had begun. King *Giemſhid* leaving this manner of eſtimating time for civil purpoſes, eſtabliſhed another for religion, in order that, in a certain period of time, the ſame feſtivals might come together at the ſame ſeaſon of the year. For this purpoſe he ordered, that, at the end of one hundred and twenty years, there ſhould be an intercalation of a whole month, which ſhould receive it's name from the month after which it was intercalated. *Yeſdegherd* eſtabliſhed another epocha, and ordered the years to be computed from the beginning of his reign, and fixed the beginning of the year at March, from which it was very different when that prince began his reign. He aboliſhed the names of the angels which the months bore, and gave them natural names, taken from the ſeaſon prevailing in each month. He altered alſo the names of the days, and gave them ſuch as were taken from ſome remarkable event; calling one, for inſtance, Abundance of Riches, another by a name which expreſſed ſome great rejoicing upon it, another from the revenge which he had taken of ſome of his enemies, from ſome battle, or other ſingular event. He aboliſhed, in conſequence of this, all the feaſts and divine ſervice obſerved on certain days; ſo that in his Kalendar there was no feſtival but that of the new year. But *Yeſdegherd* reigning but twenty years, the Perſians, who had not forgotten their ceremonies, returned after his death to their old method of computation, reſtoring to the months and days the names which they had before the reign of that prince. It is a miſtake therefore of ſeveral Eaſtern and European writers, to call this antient epocha the epocha of *Yeſdegherd*, ſince, on the contrary, that epocha was aboliſhed by that prince, who eſtabliſhed another, which continued no longer than his reign. It appears, that the antient Perſians did not know the diſtinction of the year into weeks, but that they divided it only into twelve equal parts, and all the days of the months had their particular names, as thoſe of the weeks have with us. Dr Hyde gives us alſo an explanation of the epochas of the Tartars and Chineſe; and in the *nineteenth* and *twentieth* chapters, he mentions the different offices aſcribed to the angels [illegible] the Perſians, and obſerves that the antient and modern Perſians, as well as the Mahometans, imagined that every man has two genii attending him, one good the other bad.

In the *twenty firſt* and *twenty-ſecond* chapters, he treats of the legiſlators of the antient Perſians, of the ſtate of their primitive and orthodox Church, of the hereſies, ſects, and heretics among them, and particularly of *Manes*, *Mazdek*, and ſome others. After Abraham, their eldeſt legiſlator was *Zoroaſter*, or *Zerduſht*, who lived in the time of Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes; and aſſuming the character of a prophet, after ſome difficulty procured the King to approve his religion, who eſtabliſhed it in his dominions. It was the antient religion purged from *Sabaiſm*, with the addition of ſome particular rites and ceremonies. This religion is retained by many of the Perſians to this day. The works of *Zoroaſter*, which contain divers precepts relating to doctrine and manners, are in the ſame eſteem with them as the Bible with Chriſtians. However, if we judge by the book, a tranſlation of which is ſubjoined to our author's work, among ſeveral noble rules of morality there are a great number of ſuperſtitious and trifling things. The religion of *Zoroaſter* did not always continue in the ſame ſtate; it ſuffered ſeveral changes, as particularly under the reign of Alexander the Great, who conquered Perſia; and under ſome other princes. King *Ardeſhîr Babeân*, who reigned two hundred years after Chriſt, called together a kind of council, in order to conſult the prieſts of his dominions upon ſeveral important points of religion, and by this means cleared it from ſeveral errors, with which it had been before in a manner disfigured. This reformation was brought about by the aſſiſtance of a certain legiſlator, named *Erdavirâph*. But it did not long continue, for *Manes* propagated his monſtrous notions over Perſia, where he was born.

In the *twenty-third* chapter, Dr Hyde gives us an account of the life of Darius Hyſtapes; and in the *twenty fourth*, that of *Zoroaſter*. He obſerves, that his true name is *Zerduſht*, that of Zoroaſter being invented by the Greeks, who in order to accommodate foreign names to their own language, have generally disfigured them in ſuch a manner, that it is impoſſible to gueſs at the true name. They have likewiſe often given the ſame name to different perſons, on account of ſome reſemblance, and this has happened upon the preſent occaſion, ſo that there are almoſt as many Zoroaſters as there were Hercules's. But the Perſians ſpeak only of one, and agree about the age in which he lived, though they differ about his country. Some relate that he came from China, and others from Europe, by which, perhaps, they mean Paleſtine, which is not far diſtant from it. The moſt certain opinion is, that he was born in Perſia, but that his father being poor, he became ſervant to the prophet Eſdras; and ſeeing his maſter working divers miracles, he was induced to attempt the ſame, or at leaſt to pretend it, in order to eſtabliſh a new religion, or to reform that which was already eſtabliſhed. Monſieur Bernard remarks in this account of our author's book, that he does not find that Eſdras ever worked any miracles; but that if Zoroaſter really was a ſervant of his, we may aſſert with greater probability, that he learned of that prophet all the miracles which Moſes and the other prophets performed. Dr Hyde gives a long account of the artifices made uſe of by Zoroaſter to attain his end. He ſpent but four or five years in digeſting and propagating his doctrines, and then was killed, together with eighty other prieſts. But it is probable, that before he undertook his reformation, he wrote and prepared a conſiderable number of books, which he publiſhed afterwards. Our author rejects what the Greeks have written concerning his death.

He employs his *twenty-fifth* chapter in explaining the general name of *Zend* or *Zendaveſtâ*, which Zoroaſter gave to his work. The word Zend is Arabic, and that of Eſhta, Hebræo-Chaldaic, and ſignifies *fire*, ſo that we may tranſlate the word Zendaveſtâ, an inſtrument to ſtrike fire with; Zoroaſter intimating by this, that the deſign of his works was to kindle the fire of zeal and piety in the hearts of men. In the *twenty-ſixth* chapter, the Doctor treats particularly of Zoroaſter's books, and of the language and character in which they are written. The original of Zendaveſta was written upon twelve ſkins in the Perſian language, but in ancient characters, not underſtood at all by the modern Perſians. All his works are in proſe, ſo that whatever is in verſe and aſcribed to him, is abſolutely ſpurious. It is true, that ſome Perſian prieſts have tranſlated into verſe, a ſmall part of their legiſlator's writings, becauſe the people did not underſtand the language of the original, but they did not begin to do it 'till two hundred years ago, and the ancient Perſians never undertook any thing of that kind.

In the *twenty ſeventh* chapter, our author treats of the nature of fire, the manner of keeping it among the Perſians, the ſignal uſed to call them to public aſſemblies, their manner of behaving in their temples, their

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from motives of vanity or profit, but from a communicative ſpirit, and a laudable deſire of

uſe of rods in divine ſervice, their daily repeating of their prayers in a low voice, and their ſilence. In the city of Nuſſari in India, the followers of Zoroaſter aſſemble at the ſound of a little bell; but at Iſpahan, the capital of Perſia, they know the proper times of aſſembling without any ſignal, or by only making uſe of a large piece of wood which they ſtrike, and this they do to avoid offending the Mahometans, who will not permit the uſe of bells, becauſe they were invented by the Chriſtians. When the Perſians pray, they place themſelves at a ſmall diſtance from the fire which burns in their great temples, for fear of polluting it with their breath, but in ſmall temples there is only a lamp. For the greater precaution, they cover their mouth with a ſquare piece of linnen called Panâm. They pray with a low voice, and only murmur between their teeth. The prieſt advances nearer to the fire, he has alſo his mouth covered and a cap with ears on his head, and is covered with an albe, holding in one hand a book, and in the other ſeveral white rods. He chants likewiſe the prayers, and recites the office taken from the book Zend. Sometimes in the warmth of devotion, he ſtands upon one foot, in imitation of their great prophet. After prayers follow the offerings. Every perſon who is able, caſts into the fire precious ointments, ſpices, pearls, or at leaſt corn or fleſh.

In the *twenty eighth* chapter, our author treats of the prieſthood and hierarchy of the Magi, at the time when their Church was in it's flouriſhing ſtate, and even at preſent. He tells us, that this hierarchy was not much different from that which ſubſiſts now in thoſe Chriſtian Churches in which the ſeveral orders are diſtinguiſhed. The clergy were formerly very rich, but they are in very different circumſtances now, under the oppreſſion of the Mahometans. The revenue of the prieſts, conſiſts chiefly of this, that upon the 24th of April, all the inhabitants of a pariſh extinguiſh the fire in their houſes, and go to light it again by the fire of their prieſt, paying him each of them for his permiſſion, about ſix ſhillings and three-pence. They likewiſe pay tythes.

In the *twenty-ninth* and *thirtieth* capters, the author treats further of the fire, mentions the names given it by the Perſians, and ſpeaks of the temples built to preſerve it; of the manner in which the Magi behave themſelves in them; of the reproachful names given by the Mahometans to the followers of Zoroaſter; of thoſe given to each order of their prieſthood, their ſeveral ſacred orders, and the particular names given them, and of the habits of the prieſts. In the thirty-firſt chapter, he diſcourſes of the Perſian Magi in general, and particularly of thoſe who came to worſhip Chriſt immediately after his birth. The Perſians by the word *mogh*, mean their wiſe-men and prieſts. The Chaldeans have taken from this, their word *mag*, and the Greeks adding their termination, have changed it into Μάγος, which ſignifies not a magician, but a philoſopher or wiſe man. Such were thoſe who came to Bethlehem, and not Kings, as is commonly ſaid without any foundation. Dr Hyde thinks, after Petavius, that they came from Perſia, and not from Arabia, which they only paſſed through, or to ſpeak more exactly, from the country of the Parthians, where there was the ſame religion and magi as in Perſia, and where the ſeat of the empire was at the birth of Chriſt. The Prince who ſent theſe magi, or permitted them to go, was the ſame Phraates the ſon of Orodes, who ſent his four ſons to Rome to be educated there, who did homage to Auguſtus, and reſtored to the Romans the enſigns which his father Orodes had taken from Craſſus. The goſpel, according to Dr Hyde and divers learned writers, informs us, that the birth of Chriſt was revealed to the Perſians. They had this advantage over many other nations, as well that the Chriſtian Revelation might be immediately known in the moſt diſtant places, as becauſe the Perſians were the only people except the Jews, who had preſerved the knowledge and worſhip of the true God, though mixed with ſome ſuperſtitions. What the prophet Iſaiah foretold concerning Cyrus two hundred years before the birth of that prince, is a ſufficient proof of the particular regard which God had for the Perſians. But whence could theſe Magi learn that a Meſſiah was to be born among the Jews? Daniel, and ſome other prophets had been in their country. Beſides, we find ſome predictions in the writings of their pretended prophet Zoroaſter, who was ſometimes inſpired by God, as Balaam had been before. Add to this, that the prophecies of the Old Teſtament were not unknown to them.

In the *thirty-ſecond* chapter, our author ſhews the original of all the fabulous ſtories relating to the *Sibyls*, and the books aſcribed to them; and in the *thirty-third* chapter, he gives a ſhort account of the religion of the ancient Perſians. He ſhews, that they conſtantly believed one God, Almighty and Eternal, poſſeſſed of all perfections which Chriſtians aſcribe to him. They believe an univerſal reſurrection both of the good and bad, and a laſt judgment, in which every one will receive according to his works; the good, a life of eternal happineſs; and the vicious, an eternity of miſery; God having prepared for the former a Paradiſe of cryſtal, and for the latter an abyſs to plunge them into. They believe that they offend God every day, but they proteſt that they repent of all their ſins both of mind and body, by their thoughts, words, and actions. They believe that God has given the government of cities and provinces to planets and angels. That they are ſent for the good or puniſhment of mankind when he thinks proper. That every man has his good and evil angel, the former of whom inclines him to virtue, and the latter to evil. That the devil is an irreconcileable enemy to mankind. That God favours certain perſons with an infuſed light, which qualifies them to govern other men, and to become ſkilful in arts and ſciences. The good likewiſe receive ſuch a light. But Dr Hyde is of opinion, that this ſignifies only natural light or reaſon. The Perſians believe, that in the life to come, the vicious will be tormented with different kinds of puniſhment; but inſtead of fire, they ſpeak of darkneſs and a black ſtinking river, the waters of which are cold as ſnow, and ſuppoſe them to be formed of tears ſhed for the dead, and which ſerve only to enhance their puniſhment. They have not all the ſame notions concerning the place of happineſs, ſome have fixed it in the ſun with the Manicheans and other heretics; others have imagined, that after the reſurrection, the bleſſed will live upon the earth, which ſhall be renewed after having paſſed through a conflagration. They ſpeak likewiſe of a bridge built upon the abyſs, over which the ſouls ſeparated from the bodies are to paſs into the ſeat of immortality; and they mention ſeveral other ſtrange things related by our author. In the *thirty-fourth* chapter, he treats of the marriage of the Perſians, of their baptiſms and ablutions, and of their funeral rites. In the laſt chapter, he treats of the names of Perſia and the Perſians, and of their ancient and modern language and it's different dialects, that is, of the language of the Perſians, Medes, and other people of Aſia.

To theſe thirty-five chapters is ſubjoined a Latin tranſlation of a book uſed by the Magi, intitled Sadder, containing the laws and precepts of Zoroaſter. It was written above two hundred years ago in verſe, in the modern Perſian language, by one of their prieſts, the ſon of Melicſhâh, a man of great learning and ſkill in the old Perſian, and in the antient books written in that language. In the fourth porta or chapter, the author exhorts ſinners not to deſpair of the mercy of God, ſince he is ready to give much and receive but little. He mentions upon this occaſion, that while Zoroaſter was converſing familiarly with God, that prophet ſaw a man whoſe whole body was in hell except his right foot. He aſked who he was, and God anſwered, that it was a prince who had reigned over thirty-three cities, and done no good during his life, having given up himſelf to oppreſſion, injuſtice, and violence, and made his people ſuffer a thouſand evils. But that having one day met with a ſheep bound at ſuch a diſtance from his food that it could not reach it, he thruſt it towards the ſheep with his foot, which for this reaſon was exempted from the torments of hell, to which the reſt of his body was expoſed, In the twenty-fifth porta, the author diſſwades from faſting, and teaches that the true faſt conſiſts in abſtinence from ſin. In the ſixty-ſeventh, he places lying among the worſt of ſins. The appendix of Dr Hyde, contains ſeveral curious obſervations, and extends to fifty-ſeven pages. This learned work was exceedingly well received abroad, and highly admired and eſteemed by the learned at home. However the ſale of it was ſo of promoting oriental literature; a taſk to which he was at leaſt as equal as any man of his age. But by an unaccountable fatality, while trivial or at leaſt leſs important ſtudies met with ample recompences, theſe were overlooked, or rather their worth was not ſufficiently underſtood; in conſequence of which, this learned perſon's abilities, application, and ſtrong inclination, to enrich the Republic of Letters, with the numerous acquiſitions of a moſt laborious ſearch through the courſe of a very long life, were neglected 'till it was too late, and the loſs has been ever ſince (though to no purpoſe) deſervedly regretted. Beſides theſe, he had compleated ſome, and begun to prepare many other, works for the preſs, the titles of which are all that we can communicate to the reader, and theſe will be found at the bottom of the page (*s*) [*E*]. On the 9th of April 1701, he

(*s*) See the note.

inconſiderable, that a great part of the impreſſion was deſtroyed, which is the reaſon of the extreme ſcarcity and high price of the few copies that remain. The learned Dr Prideaux has made great uſe of this hiſtory in his valuable performance, and indeed, if truth be the moſt valuable thing in hiſtory, there are more important truths to be learned out of this ſmall work in relation to the oriental nations, than from any other book ancient or modern, and yet we ſhall find in the next note, that even this very learned and laborious work, was but a ſpecimen of what our author could have done, if he had been properly ſupported and encouraged.

[*E*] *At the bottom of the page.*] We owe this catalogue of our author's works to honeſt Anthony Wood, who tells us, that at the time he wrote, Dr Hyde had done ſomething towards all of them, and deſigned, if he lived, to finiſh them for the preſs. The very catalogue is a curioſity, and lets us more thoroughly into the character of this learned man, than the moſt laboured panegyric; at the ſame time, that it muſt raiſe in us a great concern, that we know not the fate of any of theſe manuſcripts, of which, in the courſe of ſo long a life, many no doubt were far advanced, and ſome perhaps abſolutely finiſhed.

1. *Grammatica pro Linguâ Perſica:* that is, A Grammar for the Perſian Tongue, 4to.

2. *Lexicon Perſico Latinum:* That is a Dictionary of the Perſian and Latin, in a thick 4to.

3. *Lexicon Turcico Latinum:* that is a Dictionary Turkiſh and Latin, in a thick 4to.

4. *Nomenclator Mogolo-Tataricum, cum Grammaticâ ejuſdem Linguæ:* that is, A Nomenclator of the Mogul language, with a Grammar of the ſame Tongue.

5. *Diſſertatio de Tartariâ. Item, Hiſtoria Chartiludii; & Diſſertatio de Numerorum Notis earundemque origine & combinandi ratione doctrinâ novâ:* that is, A Diſſertation concerning Tartary. The Hiſtory of Card Playing; as alſo a Diſſertation on the Origin of Figures, and the Art of combining them according to a new Method, 8vo.

6. *Curioſa Chinenſia & Selanenſia:* that is, Chineſe and Ceyloneſe Curioſities, 8vo.

7. *Hiſtoria Gemmarum Arabicè & Latinè cum Notis:* that is, The Hiſtory of Gems, Arabic and Latin, with Notes, 8vo.

8. *Hiſtoria* Tamerlanis *Arabicè & Latinè cum Notis:* that is, The Hiſtory of Tamerlane (Timur Bec) in Arabic and Latin, 4to.

9. *Liber* Buſtân *Perſicè & Latinè cum Notis. Liber elegantiſſimus autore Scheia Shadi:* that is, The Poem Buſtan or *(Boſtan)* in Perſian and Latin, with Notes. The moſt elegant Performance of Scheia Shadi, 4to. The name of this celebrated Perſian writer was, *Sheik Moſlehedin Saadi Al Shirazi.* This laſt implies no more than Shiraſian, or a native of Shiras. The title of this poem BOSTAN, ſignifies literally a *Garden of Fruits, an Orchard,* and is admired through all the Eaſt, as one of the fineſt pieces ever compoſed by man. The language of this treatiſe is mixed, partly verſe and partly proſe, the book itſelf being a miſcellany of Politics, Hiſtory, and Morality, many of the greateſt wits in Aſia have wrote commentaries upon it, and there have been likewiſe ſeveral imitations.

10. *Divini Poetæ Hâphix Opus. Perſicè & Latinè cum Notis:* that is, The work of the Divine Poet Haphix, in Perſian and Latin, 4to. We find this famous author called by other learned writers, Hafedh or Hafez, which was but a kind of ſurname, ſince he was properly called Mohammed Schamſeddin. He was a native of Shiras, and lived in the time that Timur Bec, or Tamerlane, made himſelf maſter of that country, and was well received and much reſpected by that conqueror; he died about the time that Sultan Babor, the grandſon of Timur, reduced the city of Shiras, and the tutor or preceptor of that prince, Mohammed Mimai, not only erected a monument to his memory, but alſo an oratory or chapel over the place where he was interred. Seid Caſſem Anovar, rendered him yet a greater honour, for he collected and publiſhed in one volume all his poetical works, which he intitled, Divan Khovageh Hafedh Schirazi, which is the very book our author tranſlated. This poet's ſentiments were ſo refined, and he expreſſed himſelf ſo myſtically, that he obtained the ſurname of Leſſan Gaib, the ſpeaker of myſteries. Ahmed Feridoun explained them in the Turkiſh language. They are penned in the ſtile of the Canticles, and it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that this Perſian poet was not a little ſuſpected in point of religion, that is, he was thought to prefer the Goſpel morals to thoſe of the Koran.

11. *Abulfedæ Geographia, Arabicè & Latinè, cum Notis:* that is, Abulſeda's Geography, in Arabic and Latin, with Notes, 4to.

12. *Liber Bahariſtân, eloquentiſſimo ſtylo, conſcriptus meri ingenii Specimina, continens Librum Guliſtan æquans ſi non ſuperans Perſicè & Latine, cum Notis:* that is, The Bahariſtân, written in a moſt elegant ſtile, abounding with ſublime ſtrokes of wit, equal, and if not excelling, the Guliſtan, in Perſian and Latin, with Notes, 4to.

13. *Maimonidis Liber More Nevochim, tranſcriptus ex Characteribus Hebraicis, quibus a Maimonide ſcriptum eſt, in proprios Arabicos, cum novâ Verſione & Notis Arabicè & Latinè:* that is, The Book of Moſes the Son of Maimon, entitled, The Guide of the Doubtful, tranſcribed out of the Hebrew Characters, in which it was wrote by the Author, into the Arabic, in which language it is wrote, with a new Tranſlation and Notes Arabic and Latin, in a thick quarto.

14. *Hiſtoria Regum Perſicæ, ex ipſorum Monumentis & Autoribus extracta:* that is, The Hiſtory of the Perſian Kings, extracted from the Authors and Monuments of that Nation, 4to.

15. *Annotationes in difficiliora Loca Biblica ex Literaturâ Orientali:* that is, Annotations upon difficult Texts of Scripture, the true ſenſe of which can be only attained from Oriental Literature, in a thick quarto.

16. *Periplus Marium Mediterranei & Archipelagi, Turcicè & Latinè, cum circulo ventorum in variis Linguis, Arabicâ, Perſicâ, Chinenſi,* &c. That is, The Navigation of the Mediterranean and the Archipelago, in Turkiſh and Latin; together with the Names of the Winds marked upon the Compaſs in ſeveral Languages, Arabic, Perſic, Chineſe, &c. 8vo.

17. *Zoroaſtris Perſo-Medi Opera omnia Mathematico-medico-phyſico-theologica, Perſicè & Latinè:* that is, The Theological, Mathematical, Medical, and Phyſical Works of Zoroaſter or Zerduſht, in Perſian and Latin, folio.

18. *Liber Erdaviraph-name, Perſice & Latine:* that is, The Erdaviraph-name, in Perſian and Latin, quarto.

19. *Lexicon Hebraicum, emendatum ex MSS. Lexicis Rabbi Pinchon, R. Jonæ & R. Jeſaiæ, atque ex collatione cum Linguis Arabicâ & Perſicâ, & aliis Linguis Orientalibus:* that is, The Hebrew Lexicon, corrected from the Manuſcript Lexicons of Rabbi Pinchon, Rabbi Jonas, and Rabbi Jeſaas, as alſo by Collation with the Arabic, Perſic, and other Oriental Tongues, quarto.

20. *Cælum Orientale Arabico-Perſicum atque Occidentale Græco-Latinum, una cum Saphii Figurationibus Stellarum duplici ſitu, prout in Cælo, & prout in Globo apparent, cum earum nominibus, ſecundum harum gentium doctrinam:* that is, The Eaſtern Firmament, Arabic and Perſian, as alſo the Weſtern Greek and Latin, with the figures of Saphius, of the double Poſition

he reſigned the office of Head-Keeper of the Bodleian library on account of his age and infirmities (t). He had occupied the poſt of Interpreter and Secretary in the oriental languages, during the reigns of Charles the Second, James the Second, and William the Third, with great ſufficiency; and, in the courſe of his employment, had made himſelf ſurprizingly maſter of whatever regarded the policy, ceremonies, and cuſtoms, of the oriental nations (u). He ended his days February 18, 1702, at his lodgings in Chriſt-Church, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age, and lies buried at Hamborough in the county of Oxford (w). He was ſucceeded in his Archdeaconry of Glouceſter by Mr Robert Parſons (x), and, which is very ſingular, in the chair of Hebrew Profeſſor and Canon of Chriſt-Church by his predeceſſor Dr Roger Altham (y).

(t) MS. Catalogue of the Keepers of the Bodleian Library.

(u) Hiſtory of Europe for 1703, p. 495.

(w) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, Vol. II. p. 483. Hiſtory of Europe for 1703, p. 495.

(x) Willis's Survey, Vol. II. p. 734.

(y) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, Vol. II. p. 483. Willis's Survey, Vol III. p. 461.

tion of the Stars in the Heavens, and as they appear on this Globe, with their Names, according to the Doctrine of thoſe Nations, 4to.

21. *Commentarius in Pentateuchum, Arabicè, auctor Manſûr Syro-Arabe, ex Scripturâ Gerſhumi in Arabicam, tranſcriptus & Latinitate donatus*: that is, A Commentary on the Pentateuch in Arabic, &c. 4to.

22. *Urbium Armeniæ Nomenclaturæ, ex eorum Geographia excerptæ*, &c. that is, The Names of the Cities in Armenia, extracted from their Geography.

23. *Varia Chinenſia, ſcil. eorum Idololatria Opiniones de Deo & de Paradiſo, atque de Gehennâ, & de Gradibus & modis ſupplicii, de eorum Literaturâ, & Libris, & Chartâ, & de imprimendi modo atque Antiquitate, &c. omnia excerpta ex ore & ſcriptis Nativi Chinenſis Shin Fo-burgh*: that is, Chineſe Miſcellanies, viz. In reference to their Idolatry; their Opinions of God and Paradiſe, as alſo of Gehenna, and of the Degrees and Kinds of Puniſhment; of their Literature, Books, and Paper, and of the Antiquity and Manner of their Printing, &c. all taken either from the Speech or Writings of Shin Foburg, a Native of China, 8vo.

24. *Varia Selanenſia, ubi inſulæ Selan (vulgo Batavis Ceylon) Hiſtoricæ quædam, & vocabularium, genuinis eorum Characteribus exaratum, cum eorum Alphabeto, & aliis rebus*: that is, Miſcellanies relating to the People of Ceylon, containing ſome Hiſtorical Paſſages, a Vocabulary expreſſed in the proper Characters of their Language, with their Alphabet, and other Things, 8vo.

25. *Bantamenſe Alphabetum, a Legato ſcriptum, cum Literarum poteſtate & numerorum Notis*: That is, The Bantameſe Alphabet written by the Ambaſſador from thence, with the Powers of their Letters and Figures, 8vo.

26. *Notæ Arithmeticæ variarum Gentium, ubi talium Notarum Origo, & combinandi ratio docetur*: that is, Arithmetical Figures of ſeveral Nations, the Origin of them declared, and the Method of uſing them explained, 8vo.

27. *Dialogi Arabico-Perſico-Turcici; Latinè verſi*: that is, Arabic, Perſic, Turkiſh Dialogues, with a Latin Tranſlation, 8vo.

28. *Liber de Turcarum opinionibus, in rebus religioſis, Turcicè & Latinè*: that is, A Treatiſe on the Sentiments of the Turks in Points of Religion, Turkiſh and Latin, 8vo.

29. *Utilia menſalia, ſcil. quid in Converſatione Convivali decorum eſt, Arabice & Latine*: that is, Uſeful Table-Talk, being the Converſation at Meals, properly expreſſed in Arabic and Latin, 8vo.

30. *Rivolæ Lexicon Armeniacum, cum Linguis Orientalibus (ſcil. Arabicâ, Perſicâ, & Turcicâ) collatum, & in margine notatum*; that is, The Armenian Lexicon of Rivola, collated with other Oriental Languages, with marginal References, 4to.

31. *Evangelium Lucæ, & Acta Apoſtolorum Linguâ & Charactere Malaico*: that is, The Goſpel of Luke, and the Acts of the Apoſtles in the Malayan Tongue and Character, 4to.

E

HYDE [Edward], Earl of Clarendon, and Lord High-Chancellor of England, was deſcended from an ancient family in Cheſhire [*A*], and had his birth at a place called Dinton near Hindon in Wiltſhire on the 16th of February 1608 (*a*). Having made a quick progreſs in grammar learning at ſchool, he was ſent to Oxford at the age of fourteen, and entered of Magdalen-hall in Lent term 1622 (*b*), being put under the tuition of Mr John Oliver of Magdalen-college [*B*]. He had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the univerſity

(*a*) Life of Edw. Earl of Clarendon, p. 1. in the Lives of the Lord-Chancellors, Lond. 1708, 8vo.

(*b*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 533. 2d edit. 1721. fol.

[*A*] *Deſcended of a family originally from Cheſhire.*] It appears from the Wiltſhire Viſitation book (1), in the Herald's-office, that Sir Robert Hyde of Hyde, Knt. in the county of Cheſter, temp. Henry III. had iſſue Robert Hyde of the ſame place, who by his wife, the couſin and next heir to Thomas Norbury de Norbury in the ſame county, had iſſue two ſons, Sir John Hyde of Norbury, Knt. and Alexander Hyde of Denton in Wiltſhire. Sir John married twice, and by his firſt wife Ann, daughter of ——— Baguly, of Baguly in Cheſhire, had iſſue William Hyde of Norbury, from whom by a younger ſon deſcended the Hydes of Hopton-Wafre in Salop. But the elder ſon of the ſaid William, had iſſue Thomas Hyde, whoſe ſon Robert Hyde continued at Norbury, and having had three wives, by the firſt had Hamnet or Hamlet Hyde, whoſe poſterity remain ſtill at Norbury; and by the third wife, he had Laurence Hyde of Guſſage St Michael in Dorſetſhire (2), and of Weſt-Hatch in Wiltſhire, which Laurence had four ſons, 1. Robert of Weſt-Hatch the eldeſt. 2. Henry. 3. Sir Nicolas Hyde Lord Chief-Juſtice. 4. Sir Laurence Hyde of Saliſbury, Attorney to Queen Anne conſort to King James I. Of theſe, Henry the ſecond ſon was of Pyrton in Wiltſhire, and marrying Mary, daughter and heir of Edward Langford of Trowbridge in the ſame county, had iſſue by her five daughters, beſides Edward, the ſubject of this article (3).

[*B*] *Under the tuition of Mr John Oliver.*] Of this worthy perſon, we have the following account by Mr Wood (4). ‘That he was a Kentiſh-man born, and being removed from Merton-college to Magdalen, became ſucceſſively Demy and Fellow there; that for his eminence in learning and orthodox principles in religion, he was made domeſtic chaplain to Archbiſhop Laud, and promoted in the church; but loſing all in the time of the rebellion, he was elected preſident of his college in April 1644, upon the advancement of Dr Frewen to the ſee of Lichfield. That in the latter end of 1647, he was turned out of his preſidentſhip by the Committee of Parliament for the reformation of the Univerſity, and in the beginning of the next year by the viſitors. That afterwards living obſcurely and in great hardſhip, he wanted the charities, which he before beſtowed on the poor and the public, being in a manner the object of charity himſelf. That on the 18th of May 1660, about a fortnight before his Majeſty's return, he was by the authority of Parliament reſtored to his preſidentſhip, and on the 22d took poſſeſſion thereof, being the firſt of all loyal heads that were reſtored at Oxford. That ſoon after he was nominated by his Majeſty Dean of Worceſter, and inſtalled there in Sept. 12, 1660, and holding that dignity to his deceaſe, which happened 27 October 1661, he was buried in Magdalen-college chapel. That this moſt learned, meek, and pious perſon, was ſtrangely deſirous to leave this world, though few alive had then ſuch temptations to ſtay in it. And that the little which he had got ſince his Majeſty's return, he gave to pious uſes, either to the poor; or to the reparation of churches, viz. St Paul's, Wincheſter of which he was Prebendary, Worceſter; and to his college.’ ‘Dr Oliver, concludes this author, left alſo a legacy ſealed up in a paper to Sir Edward Hyde, then Earl of Clarendon and Lord Chancellor of England, ſome time his pupil while he was in the univerſity, for

‘ upon

(1) Fol. 118.

(2) Another author ſays of St Michael's mount in Cornwall. Lives of the Biſhops, from the Reſtoration to the Revolution, edit. 1731. 8vo. under the article of Alexander Hyde Biſhop of Saliſbury.

(3) Peerage of England, 4th edit. under the title Clarendon.

(4) In Faſti, Vol. I. col. 280, 2d edit.

verſity by his excellent talents in polite literature, oratory, and poetry, when he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts on February 14, 1625 (c); and being deſirous of a ſettlement therein, he ſtood candidate for a Wiltſhire fellowſhip in Exeter-college [*C*]; but loſing the election, he removed to the Middle-Temple (*d*), and applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Law; and being called to the bar, in a few years became eminent in that profeſſion *. Accordingly, when the Lawyers reſolved to give a public teſtimony of their diſſent to the new doctrine advanced in Mr Prynne's Hiſtriomaſtrix, Mr Hyde was appointed one of the managers of the maſk, preſented on that occaſion to their Majeſties at Whitehall, on Candlemas-day 1633-4 (*e*) [*D*]. At the ſame time he teſtified, upon all occaſions, his utter diſlike to that exceſs of power which was exerciſed by the Court [*E*], and ſupported by the Judges in Weſtminſter-hall. In this ſpirit he condemned the oppreſſive proceedings of the High-Commiſſion Court, the Star-Chamber, the Council-Board, the Earl-Marſhal's Court or Court of Honour, and the Court of York. Theſe appeared to him to be ſo many arbitrary invaſions upon the legal eſtabliſhment of the Church and the Monarchy, to both which he was moſt firmly and zealouſly attached (*f*). In this diſpoſition, and with theſe principles, he was elected a member for Wotton-Baſſet in Wiltſhire, in the Short-Parliament which met at Weſtminſter April 10, 1640. This ſituation gave him the beſt opportunity of diſcerning the ſeveral characters of the leading men at that time,

‘ upon the Chancellor's motion it was, that he was made Dean of Worceſter.’

[*C*] *He ſtood for a fellowſhip of Exeter-college.*] I believe it will hardly be diſputed, that at this time his deſign was for holy orders, the fellowſhip probably required it, and his inclination was naturally bent in favour of the Church, and he was likewiſe greatly devoted to the univerſity. There is a paſſage in his *Animadverſions upon Mr Creſſy's book againſt Stillingfleet's Irenicum* (5), which ſhews that he took more than ordinary notice of particular occurrences, where the honour of that learned body was concerned, and was uncommonly affected with them. Mr Creſſy having aſſerted, that Stillingfleet had produced on his ſtage in antique dreſſes, the famous teachers and erectors of ſchools for contemplation, S. Bennet, S. Romeulde, S. Bruno, S. Francis, S. Dominique, and Ignatius, expoſing them to the deriſion of prophane perſons, proceeds to obſerve, that ‘ this prophanely employed wit, as he calls it, was no new invention, for that he had heard that kind of wit before, when he was a young ſtudent in Oxford, in a repetition ſermon to the univerſity, which, continues he, if fancy be alone conſidered, far better deſerved applauſe, wherein the preacher deſcanting upon the whole life of our Saviour, rendered him and his attendants, men and women, objects of the utmoſt ſcorn and averſion, as if they, all of them, had been only a pack of diſſolute vagabonds and cheats: but preſently the preacher changing his ſtile, as became a diſciple of Chriſt, with ſuch admirable dexterity and force of reaſon anſwered all the cavillations and invectives made before, that the loudly repeated applauſe of his hearers hindered him a good ſpace from proceeding; *notwithſtanding which, the grave doctors and governors of the univerſity, though much ſatisfied with his abilities, yet wiſely conſidering, that a petulant hiſtorical ſtile even in objections did not fit ſo ſacred a ſubject, and that it was not lawful too naturally to perſonate a deriding Jew, obliged the preacher to a public recantation ſermon in the ſame pulpit the ſunday following.* To this pretty tale, ſays the Earl of Clarendon, I ſhall make no reply, ſince in the judgment of any diſpaſſioned man, it cannot be thought to be parallel to any thing the Doctor [Stillingfleet] hath ſaid or done. *Yet I ſhall endeavour to convince Mr Creſſy, that his memory hath not been faithful to him in preſerving the merit of that caſe and ſentence, and ſhall give him cauſe to believe, that I was likewiſe preſent at that ſermon, by putting him in mind, that it was preached by one Mr Luſhington, a man eminent for his parts, upon thoſe words of the Evangeliſt,* And his diſciples came and took him away whilſt we ſlept [Mat. viii. 13.], *which gave him occaſion to help the ſouldiers in their defence*; in which he gave them leave to uſe ſome light expreſſions againſt the witneſſes for the reſurrection, which were not decent upon that *ſubject*; but *that* part was quickly ended when he put into the mouths of the diſciples, to whom he likewiſe aſſigned a part, words very worthy of them, and fit to be uttered in that place, and with which the graveſt auditors were abundantly ſatisfied, though they were diſpleaſed with ſome light and ſcandalous expreſſions in ſome other parts of the ſermon: which he began with *qu'elle nouvelle*, as if he came thither to aſk and hear news. *But under favour of Mr Creſſy's memory,* proceeds his Lordſhip, *nothing of this was the ground of the ſentence or of his recantation; but a Parliament being then ſitting, the preacher had unwarily and very unneceſſarily let fall ſome words, which reflected upon their proceedings, particularly, that now every peaſant in Parliament by the priviledge of his vote there, cared not how he behaved himſelf toward the King or the Church, or to that effect* (6), *which made thoſe who loved him beſt, willing to cenſure him there, that he might eſcape a harder judgment in another place:* whereupon the Vice-Chancellor, who was Dr Pierce (afterwards Biſhop of Bath and Wells) commanded a copy of the ſermon, which being delivered and peruſed by him, and a delegacy of the Doctors, Mr Luſhington was reprehended for the light and ſcandalous expreſſions he had uſed upon a ſubject too much above thoſe exceſſes, and was ordered to make a recantation ſermon for what he had ſaid of the Parliament, and had a text likewiſe given him to that purpoſe; the words concerning the Apoſtles in that of the Acts [ii. 1.] *And they aſſembled together with one accord in one place:* which recantation he performed with great ingenuity and much applauſe. If theſe particular recollections, concludes the Earl, do not induce Mr Creſſy to concur in the truth of the relation, I am afraid we ſhall find few equal arbiters to determine the difference between us; for this ſermon, if I am not very much deceived, was preached in April 1624 or 1625 (7), of which I believe that there be not many ſurviving auditors beſides Mr Creſſy and myſelf.’

[*D*] *He was one of the managers of the Maſque, &c.*] Mr Whitlocke was choſen with him for the Middle-Temple, Sir Edward Herbert and Mr Selden for the Inner-Temple, Mr Noy, the Attorney General, and Mr Gerling for Lincoln's-Inn, and Sir John Finch and another gentleman for Gray's-Inn (8). It is certain, that the *Hiſtriomaſtrix* was univerſally condemned for the saucineſs of the language, wherein was ſhewn an utter diſregard of all manner of decency and reſpect to the Crown; a ſpirit againſt which Mr Hyde had by nature a particular indignation, and when it grew afterwards to the moſt enormous exceſs, was always moſt warmly oppoſed, and with a ſingular deteſtation by him, as is evident from the whole tenor of his Hiſtory of the Rebellion.

[*E*] *He diſliked the exceſs of power exerciſed by the Court, &c.*] Biſhop Burnet (9) relates a ſtory of him, which implies, that in the view of ambition, he was diſpoſed at his firſt ſetting out, to fall into all the meaſures of the Court, and that he was brought to a juſter conduct by the following incident. ‘ When he firſt began, ſays that Hiſtorian, to grow eminent in his profeſſion of the Law, he went down to viſit his father in Wiltſhire, who one day, as they were walking in the fields together, obſerved to him, that men of his profeſſion were apt to ſtretch the Prerogative too far, and injure liberty; but charged him, if ever he came to any eminence in his profeſſion, never to ſacrifice the laws and liberty of his country to his own intereſt or the will of his Prince.’ He repeated this twice, and immediately fell into a fit of apoplexy, of which he died in a few hours; and this advice had ſo laſting an influence on the ſon, that he ever after obſerved and purſued it.

(*c*) Ibid. Faſti, Vol. I. col 231.

(*d*) Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

* About this time he wrote *The Difference and Diſparity between the Eſtates and Conditions of* George Duke of Buckingham and Robert Earl of Eſſex. Printed in *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, 1672, 8vo. Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*e*) See his Life, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) See below in remarks [*G*], [*H*], and [*I*].

(5) P. 21 to 24.

(6) Mr Wood ſays the words were, *Now the peaſant thinks it comes to his turn, under pretence of his privilege in Parliament, that he ſhould diſpoſe of Kings and Commonwealths, &c.* and that there were ſeveral other paſſages reflecting upon the reſolution for war with Spain, and upon the Spaniſh match. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 262. where may be ſeen ſome paſſages of the recantation ſermon, which evince the juſtice of Lord Clarendon's remark upon it

(7) It was preached on Eaſter Monday, in 1624. Id. ibid.

(8) Whitlocke's Memorials, &c. p. 19. edit. 1732.

(9) Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. b. 2.

time, for which he had ſuch an admirable talent; and he gave a conſpicuous proof of his own abilities and weight in the Houſe of Commons, as well as of his ſincere and hearty affection for the King [*F*]. Theſe diſtinguiſhing merits procured him a ſeat in the Long-Parliament for the borough of Saltaſh in Cornwall, where he perſevered ſteadily under the conduct of the ſame principles, and ſhewed himſelf not leſs zealous for redreſſing the real grievances of the nation, than watchful for the honour of the Crown and the juſt rights of the Church. The limits preſcribed to this work will not allow us to do juſtice to Mr Hyde's memory, by entering into the detail of his conduct, while he ſat in the Houſe at Weſtminſter. But he has done that juſtice for himſelf, and in ſuch a manner, that the reader will thank us for referring him to the peruſal of it *. We ſhall only mention, by way of ſupplement to his own account, that he was a member of the Committee for preparing the charge againſt the Earl of Strafford (*g*) [*G*]; and being afterwards appointed a manager at the conference with the Houſe of Lords, for aboliſhing the Court of York, whereof that Earl had been ſeveral years Preſident, he made an excellent ſpeech on that occaſion, which is inſerted below [*H*]. The general eſteem of his abilities had before placed

[*F*] *A proof of his weight in the Houſe, and of his affection for the King.*] The occaſion which furniſhed this opportunity is related by himſelf, but a bare reference thereto will not, 'tis preſumed, be judged ſufficient for our purpoſe, ſince it gives us ſo clear an idea of the principles upon which he ſteered the courſe of his actions from this time. ‘ His Majeſty having acquainted the Houſe of Commons that he would releaſe the ſhip-money, if they would grant him twelve ſubſidies, to be paid in three years. This meſſage occaſioned great debates that day and the next, when Mr Hampden ſeeing the matter ripe for the queſtion, deſired it might be put, *Whether the Houſe ſhould comply with the propoſition made by the King, as it was contained in the meſſage.* Hereupon Serjeant Glanvile the Speaker (for the Houſe was then in a committee) endeavoured in a pathetical ſpeech to perſuade them to comply with the King, and ſo reconcile him to Parliaments for ever. No ſpeech ever united the inclination of a popular council more to the Speaker than this did; and if the queſtion had been preſently put, it was believed that few would have oppoſed it. But after a ſhort ſilence, the other ſide recovering new courage, called again with ſome earneſtneſs, that Mr Hampden's queſtion ſhould be put; which being like to meet with a concurrence, Mr Hyde, being very ſollicitous to keep things in ſome tolerable calmneſs, then ſtood up, and giving his reaſons for his diſlike to that queſtion, propoſed, that to the end every man might freely give his yea or no, the queſtion might be put only upon giving the King a ſupply; and if this was carried, another might be put upon the manner and proportion, if not, it would have the ſame effect with the other propoſed by Mr Hampden. This, after it had been ſome time oppoſed and diverted by other propoſitions, which were anſwered by Mr Hyde, would, as it was generally believed, have been put und carried in the affirmative, though poſitively oppoſed by Herbert the Sollicitor-General, if Sir Henry Vane the Secretary had not ſtood up, and aſſured them as from his Majeſty, that if they ſhould paſs a vote for a ſupply and not in the proportion propoſed in his Majeſty's meſſage, it would not be accepted by him, and therefore deſired that the queſtion might be laid aſide. This being again urged by the Sollicitor-General, and it being near five in the afternoon, it was readily conſented to, that the Houſe ſhould adjourn 'till the next morning, at which they were ſuddenly diſſolved. And within an hour after, Mr Hyde met Mr St John, who was ſeldom known to ſmile, but then had a moſt chearful aſpect, and obſerving Mr Hyde melancholy, aſked him, *what troubled him?* who anſwered, the ſame he believed, that troubled moſt good men, that in a time of ſo much confuſion, ſo wiſe a Parliament ſhould be ſo imprudently diſſolved. Mr St John replied ſomewhat warmly, that all was well, that things muſt grow worſe before they would grow better, and that *that* Parliament would never have done what was requiſite (10).

[*G*] *He was one of the committee for preparing the charge againſt the Earl of Strafford.*] He actually ſat in that committee for a while. But as ſoon as he ſaw the unjuſtifiable and unreaſonable violence with which that proſecution was puſhed, he left them, and oppoſed the bill of attainder warmly. How long he ſat among them is not certain, but there is a paſſage in his hiſtory which ſeems to throw ſome light into it. In preparing for the trial, he takes notice, that, ‘ for the proſecution they had no mind to truſt the King's Counſel, who neither knew their ſecret evidence, nor being informed, were like to apply or preſs it ſo vigorouſly as the buſineſs would require: and *therefore* they appointed that committee which prepared the charge to give in the evidence, and in the name of all the Commons of England, to proſecute the impeachment.' It was on the 27th of February 1640, upon Whitlock's report from the committee, that the Houſe declared they were well ſatisfied that the evidence to be produced at the trial, ſhould be managed by thoſe members (11), and as Mr Hyde was not among theſe managers, he muſt probably have left them about that time. Mr Oldmixon, not adverting to theſe facts of his firſt being of the committee and afterwards leaving it, was led into a ridicule, by endeavouring to throw a ſlur upon the laſt cited paſſage in the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, in a remark, that ‘ *the arguing therein is prodigious, and if one mortal in the Houſe of Commons ever thought of ſuch a thing, ſure he could not be ſo weak as to mention it* (12).' Now he might have learned from Ruſhworth, that ſuch preliminary circumſtances were not debated in the Houſe, but in the ſecret committee, whoſe reſolutions being afterwards reported, were agreed to, and confirmed by the Houſe. What prodigy then was it, that even ſtranger things than this ſhould be freely diſcourſed in a ſelect company, where no-body ſuſpected that one of their number would ſhortly leave them, and diſcover all that had paſſed amongſt them.

[*H*] *He made a ſpeech for aboliſhing the Court of York.*] This ſpeech was printed in 4to. the ſame year it was ſpoken, and again in Ruſhworth (13), but both copies being very imperfect, we have endeavoured, by comparing them together, to give it more correctly, as it was ſpoken, in the following terms:

My Lords,

‘ I am commanded by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons, to preſent to your Lordſhips a great and crying grievance, which though it be complained of in the preſent preſſures, but by the northern parts, yet by the logic and conſequences of it, is the grievance of the whole kingdom; the Court of the Preſident and Council of the North, or as it is more uſually called the Court of York: Which by the ſpirit and ambition of the miniſters entruſted there, or by the natural inclination of Courts to inlarge their own power and juriſdiction, hath ſo prodigiouſly broken down the banks of the firſt channels in which it ran, that it hath almoſt overwhelmed that country under the ſea of arbitrary power, and involved the people in a labyrinth of diſtemper, oppreſſion, and poverty.

‘ Your Lordſhips will give me leave (not with preſumption to inform your great underſtandings, but that you may know what moved the Houſe of Commons to their reſolutions) to remember your Lordſhips of the foundation and erecting of this court, and of the progreſs and growth of it.

‘ Your Lordſhips well know, that by the ſuppreſſion of all religious houſes to ſuch a value, in the twenty-ſeventh year of Henry VIII. from that time to the 30th of that King's reign, many (not fewer than ſix) placed him in the chair of the committee which took that affair into conſideration (*b*), as it

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* In his Hiſtory of the Rebellion.

(*g*) See the Earl's trial, by Ruſhworth.

(10) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. B. 2.

(11) Ruſhworth, Vol. IV. p. 32.

(12) In his piece intituled Clarendon and Whitlocke compared.

(13) Collections, Vol. I. part ii.

‘ inſurrections were made in the northern parts under pretence of that quarrel, moſt of them under the command of ſome eminent perſon of that country, the which being quelled before the end of the 30th year, that great King well knowing his own mind, and what he meant to do with the great houſes of religion in the year following, for the prevention of any inconveniencies that might enſue to him upon ſuch diſtemper, granted a commiſſion in the 31ſt of his reign, to the Biſhop of Landaff, the firſt Preſident, and others, for the quiet government of the counties of York, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Weſtmoreland, the Biſhopric of Durham, the counties of the city of York, Kingſton upon Hull, and Newcaſtle upon Tyne. But, my Lords, this commiſſion was no other than a commiſſion of *oyer and terminer*, only it had a clauſe at the end of it for the hearing of all cauſes real and perſonal, *Quando ambo partes vel altera pars ita gravata paupertate fuerit, quod commode jus ſuum ſecundum leges regni noſtri aliter perſequi non poſſit*; which clauſe how illegal ſoever (for that it is illegal and void in Law, little doubt can be made) yet whether they exerciſed that part of the commiſſion at all, or ſo ſparingly exerciſed it, that poor people found eaſe and benefit by it, I know not; but at that time I find no complaint againſt it. 'Till the coming in of King James, the commiſſion continued ſtill the ſame, and *that* in the firſt year of his reign, to the Lord Sheffield, varied no otherwiſe from the former, ſave only that it had reference to inſtructions, which ſhould be ſent; and whether any were ſent or no, is uncertain, for we can find none.

‘ In June, in the 7th year of the reign of King James, a new commiſſion was granted to the ſame man (Sheffield) very different from all that went before, it being left out that they ſhould enquire, *per ſacramentum bonorum & legalium hominum*, and to hear and determine, *ſecundum leges Angliæ*, relation being had only to the inſtructions; which were the firſt inſtructions we can find were ſent thither, though I told your Lordſhips there were ſome mention of ſome in the 1. Jac. I will not trouble your Lordſhips with thoſe inſtructions, nor with the other, which followed in 14 Jac. to the ſame man, nor thoſe in the 16 Jac. when a new commiſſion was granted to Lord Sunderland, nor indeed with any, 'till we come to theſe preſent inſtructions and commiſſion under which that part of the kingdom groans and languiſhes.

‘ My Lord of Strafford came to that government in December 4 Car. and the commiſſion hath been three ſeveral times renewed ſince; in the 5th year in March, in the 8th in November, and in the 13th of his Majeſty's reign. Into that commiſſion of the 8th and 13th, there was ſcrewed a new clauſe for the granting, ſequeſtring, and eſtabliſhing poſſeſſions according to the inſtructions, under which crowded in a maſs of new exorbitant and intolerable power. Though our complaint be againſt this commiſſion itſelf, and againſt the whole body of theſe inſtructions, I will not miſpend your Lordſhips precious time in deſiring to have the whole read, but will preſume to trouble your Lordſhips only with five or ſix of the inſtructions, and by the vaſt irregularity of theſe, your Lordſhips may judge how inſupportable the whole burthen is. I ſhall not trouble your Lordſhips with the 9th inſtruction, though it is but ſhort, which introduced that *miſeram ſervitutem ubi jus eſt vagum & incognitum*, by requiring an obedience to ſuch ordinances and determinations as be or ſhall be made by the council-table, or high-commiſſion-court, a grievance, my Lords, howſoever *conſuetudo & peccantum claritas nobilitaverit hanc culpam*, of ſo tranſcendent a nature, that your Lordſhips noble juſtice will provide a remedy for it with no leſs care, than you would reſcue the life and blood of the Common-wealth. Be pleaſed to read the 17th, 22d, 23d, 24th, 29th, and 30th, I will not trouble your Lordſhips with reading more, there being fifty-eight inſtructions in the whole, and among them, ſcarce one that is not againſt or beſides the law.

‘ Whether his Majeſty may canton out a part of his kingdom to be tried by commiſſions, though according to the rules of the law, ſince the whole kingdom is under the laws and government of the courts eſtabliſhed at Weſtminſter; and by this reaſon, ſeveral parts of the kingdom may be deprived of that privilege will not now be the queſtion, that his Majeſty cannot by commiſſion erect a new court of Chancery, or a proceeding according to the rules of the Star-chamber, is moſt clear to all who have read *Magna Charta*, which allows no proceeding *niſi per legale judicium parium & per legem terræ*: for the Court of Chancery here, by long uſage and preſcription, is grown to be as it were *lex terræ*. But, my Lords, the 30th inſtruction goes further, and erects ſuch an empire, ſuch a dominion, as will be liable to no controul.

‘ The Courts of Weſtminſter, my Lords, have a ſuperintendency over all inferior courts to regulate their juriſdictions. If they exceed their limits as to hold plea of greater value or the like in the exerciſe of their juriſdiction, the judges are ſworn to grant or ſend prohibitions; and to ſtop the granting of theſe prohibitions, or to neglect them when they are granted, is the greateſt and boldeſt ſcorn of the law, and the law-makers, that can be imagined.

‘ The King's Courts at Weſtminſter have been always of that awful and reverend eſteem with inferior judges, that the inſtances of ſuch contempts againſt them are very rare, and exemplary in the puniſhment. The Biſhop of Norwich in Trin. Term 20 Edw. III. Rot. 28. in the Common-pleas. In Hil. Term, Rot. 21. in the King's Bench, was attached for diſobeying a prohibition at the ſuit of Stracill: upon full and ſolemn diſcuſſion of the whole matter, the court reſolved, that the proceedings of the biſhop were *inobedientiam & diminutionem Domini & poteſtatis regiæ, authoritatis ſuæ ejectionem, & coronæ ſuæ exheredationem manifeſtam*, &c. as the words of the record are, and therefore adjudged the temporalities of the Biſhop to be ſeized into the King's hands, and great very great damages to be paid to the plaintiffs. And whoſoever gave directions for theſe ſtout inſtructions, might have remembred, that no longer ſince than Mich. in the 7th of Elizabeth, Rot. 31. an attachment was granted againſt the Archbiſhop of York, then Preſident of that council, for forbidding the jaylor of York to deliver one Lambert his priſoner, who was ſent for by a *habeas corpus* from the King's-bench. And if they would have believed the reſolution of all the judges in England in Trin. Term, 6. of King James, they would have known, how unfit it had been to enlarge their juriſdiction, ſince moſt of their proceedings being of an inferior nature to what they are now grown, were then declared to be illegal, and inconſiſtent with the liberties of the ſubject.

‘ And can ſuch a Court as this, my Lords, deſerve to live! what a compendious abridgment hath York got of all the Courts in Weſtminſter-hall; whatſoever falls within the cogniſance and juriſdiction of any of the courts here, is compleatly determinable within that one court at York; beſides the power they have with the Eccleſiaſtical and High commiſſion Courts.

‘ What have the good Northern people done, that they only muſt be disfranchiſed of all the privileges of *Magna Charta* and the *Petition of Right*; for to what purpoſe ſerve thoſe ſtatutes, if they may be fined and impriſoned without law, according to the diſcretion of the commiſſioners. What have they done, that they, and they alone, of all the people of this happy iſland, muſt be diſinherited of their birthright, of their inheritance? for prohibitions, writs of *habeas corpus*, writs of error, are the birthright, the inheritance of the ſubjects.

‘ And it is here worth your Lordſhips obſervation, that to thoſe many prohibitions which have been granted from above (for 'till of late, the Court of York had not the courage to oppoſe prohibitions, nor indeed 'till the Courts here had not the courage to grant them) 'twas never known that *that* Court pleaded the juriſdiction of their Council; which without doubt, they would have done, by the advantage of many great perſons in whoſe protection they have always been, had they not known that the law could not be miſinterpreted enough to allow it.

‘ Your Lordſhips may remember the direction I mentioned of *Magna Charta*, that all proceedings

‘ ſhall

(*b*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. Part ii.

it did of ſeveral other committees, appointed upon the moſt important occaſions [*I*], as long as he continued his preſence among them. But when they began to put in execution their ordinance for raiſing the militia againſt his Majeſty, Mr Hyde being perſwaded that this was an act of open rebellion, left them (*i*); and they felt the blow given to their authority by his abſence ſo ſenſibly, that, in their inſtructions ſhortly after to the Earl of Eſſex, their General, he was excepted with a few others from any grace or favour from them (*k*). He withdrew to the King at York, having firſt obtained the great ſeal to be ſent thither on May 20, 1642 (*l*). As he had been from the beginning of the Parliament among thoſe who were moſt truſted by his Majeſty, ſo, upon his arrival at York, he was taken into the greateſt confidence, though he was not under any character in the court for ſome months. But, towards the latter end of the year, upon the promotion of Sir John Colepeper to be Maſter of the Rolls, he ſucceeded him in the Chancellorſhip of the

‘ ſhall be *per legale judicium parium et per legem terræ*. Now this juriſdiction tells you, you ſhall proceed according to your diſcretion, that is, you ſhall do what you pleaſe. Nay, that we may not ſuſpect *that* diſcretion will be gentler and kinder to us than the law, ſpecial proviſion is made, that no fine, no puniſhment, ſhall be leſs than by the law is appointed, by no means; but as much greater as you ſhall think fit. And in this improvement we find arbitrary Courts are very pregnant; if the law requires my good behaviour, this diſcretion makes me cloſe priſoner; if the law ſets me upon the pillory, this diſcretion appoints me to leave my ears there.

‘ But this proceeding according to diſcretion, is no new expreſſion, 'twas in the firſt commiſſion I told your Lordſhips of in 31 Hen. VIII. that they ſhould proceed *ſecundum legem et conſuetudinem regni Angliæ vel aliter*, as the words are, *ſecundum ſanas diſcretiones veſtras*, which in the interpretation of the law, and that is the beſt interpretation, ſignifies the ſame thing; to proceed according to diſcretion, is to proceed according to law, which is *ſumma diſcretio*; but not according to their private conceit or affection, for *talis diſcretio*, as the law ſays, *diſcretionem confundit*. And ſuch a confuſion hath this diſcretion theſe inſtructions produced, as if diſcretion were only moved from rage and fury: no inconvenience, no miſchief, no diſgrace, that the malice or inſolence, or curioſity of the commiſſioners had a mind to bring upon that people, but through the latitude and power of this diſcretion hath been the quickſand which hath ſwallowed up their property, their liberty: I beſeech your Lordſhips, reſcue them from this diſcretion.

‘ Beſides, the charge that this court is to his Majeſty, which is near 1300 l. a year, your Lordſhips will eaſily gueſs what an inſupportable burthen the many officers (whoſe places are of great value) the attorneys, clerks, and regiſters, and above a thouſand ſollicitors, that attend the Courts, muſt be to that people. Inſomuch, that the country ſeems to be divided into officers and dependants upon that Court, and the people upon whom thoſe officers of that Court prey and commit rapines: as he ſaid in Petronius, *omnes hic aut captantur aut captant, omnes aut cadavera qui lacerantur, aut corvi qui lacerant*.

‘ Truly theſe vexed worn people of the North, are not ſuitors to your Lordſhips to regulate this Court, and to reform the judges of it, but for the extripating theſe judges, and for the utter aboliſhing this Court. They are of Cato's mind, who would not ſubmit to Cæſar for his life, ſaying, he would not be beholding to a tyrant for injuſtice, for it was injuſtice in him to take upon him to ſave a man's life, over whom he had no power. So theſe gentlemen deſire, not to be beholden to this Court hereafter for injuſtice, the very adminiſtration of injuſtice founded upon illegal principles, being a grievance and an oppreſſion to the ſubject.

‘ Upon the whole matter, the Houſe of Commons is of opinion, 1. That the commiſſion and inſtructions whereupon the Preſident and Council of the North exerciſe a juriſdiction, is illegal both in the creation and execution. 2. And that it is unprofitable to his Majeſty. For beſides ſo much as 1300 l. taken out of his Majeſty's revenue every year, his Majeſty loſeth the great benefit which would accrue to him upon writs, and upon fines, upon outlawries, and other profits, which redound to his Majeſty out of his courts here. And, which I had almoſt forgot to tell your Lordſhips of, that his Majeſty may be ſure to have no benefit from that court, notable care is taken by the fifty inſtructions, that if any money remains over and above all diſburſements, it ſhall be beſtowed in providing houſhold-ſtuff and furniture for the houſe where the Lord Preſident and Council uſed to be. 3. And laſtly, that it is inconvenient and grievous to his Majeſty's ſubjects of thoſe parts.

‘ And therefore they are humble ſuitors to your Lordſhips and the Houſe of Commons in this behalf, that ſince this people do, and have in all matters of duty and affection, contended with the beſt of his Majeſty's ſubjects, that they may not be diſtinguiſhed from them in the manner of his juſtice and protection, ſince this Court originally inſtituted and erected by his Majeſty for the uſe and benefit of his ſubjects, is apparently inverted to the burthen and diſcomfort of them, that your Lordſhips will join with the Houſe of Commons, in beſeeching his Majeſty, that the preſent commiſſion may be revoked, and no more ſuch granted for the future.’

[*I*] *He was chairman in ſeveral committees.*] How zealouſly he acted on theſe occaſions in defence of the Church is related by himſelf, to which account we refer the reader for the reaſon already mentioned: but it would be injuſtice to another part of his character, to omit his having the chair in the committee appointed to conſider the complaints made againſt the Court of Honour. The members of this committee were Mr Selden, Mr Hollis, Mr Hyde, Lord Faulkland, Dr Eden Maſter of Trinity-hall in Cambridge, Mr Palmer, Sir John Colepeper, Mr Maynard, and Dr Parry, LL.D. They had power to receive all petitions concerning the High-Conſtable, and Earl Marſhal's Court, and to enquire after the office of High-Conſtable and Earl-Marſhal, and the Heralds fees, and to conſider of the proceedings and power of the High-Conſtable and Earl-Marſhal's Court, and to report the ſtate of the whole matter to the Houſe. Mr Hyde being called to the chair by the committee made the following report. 1. That the Conſtable's and Earl-Marſhal's Court have no juriſdiction to hold plea of words. 2. That the Earl-Marſhal can make no Court without the Conſtable. 3. That the Earl-Marſhal's Court is a grievance. All which were confirmed by the Houſe (14). In the ſame view it muſt be obſerved, that when the Houſe reſolved to impeach the judges for their irregular proceedings, Mr Hyde was ſent up with the impeachment of the Barons of the Exchequer to the Lords, and the ſpeech which he made in preſenting it, is inferior to none of thoſe that were ſpoken on that occaſion againſt the iniquity of thoſe judges. Yet at the ſame time he forgets not to preſerve his Majeſty's honour, and to do that juſtice to his integrity and uprightneſs, which he was perſuaded was Cæſar's due. ‘ My Lords, ſays he, towards the concluſion of his ſpeech. In this argument I am not willing to ſay much. 'Tis enough that your Lordſhips know tonnage and poundage is not a duty to the Crown, but a ſubſidy, and ſo granted *in ſubſidium*, ſometimes *pro una vice tantum*, ſometimes for years, and then ceaſed when the time did expire; that when it was granted for life, it was with this clauſe, *ita quod non trahatur in exemplum futuris regibus: But 'tis abundantly enough known, that his ſacred Majeſty cannot be tainted with the advice and judgments of theſe men, but looks on this duty ſingly as the meer affection and bounty of his ſubjects, the which, no doubt, he ſhall never want* (15).

[*K*] He

(*i*) Athen. Oxon. where laſt cited, and rem. [*K*].

(*k*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 62. 2d edit. and Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. II. p. 22, folio edit.

(*l*) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. II. and Salmon's Chronological Hiſtorian under that year.

(14) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. III. p. ii. p. 1056.

(15) Id. ibid. p. 1361, 1362.

the Exchequer, and at the ſame time was knighted and made a Privy-Counſellor (*m*). With theſe characters he ſat in the Parliament aſſembled at Oxford in January 1643, and was one of the King's Commiſſioners for the treaty at Uxbridge in January the following year [*K*]. That treaty ended on the 22d of February (*n*), and, in the beginning of March, Sir Edward attended the Prince of Wales to Briſtol, being appointed by the King one of the Council to his Royal Highneſs in his ſuperintendency of the Weſt (*o*). Soon after his arrival in that city, he entered by his Majeſty's command into a correſpondence with the Marquis of Ormond [*L*]; and from this beginning there grew that remarkable friendſhip between them which has been already mentioned in this work (*p*), and the courſe of this memoir will neceſſarily lead us to take notice of ſeveral affecting inſtances thereof. Upon the declining of the King's affairs, he ſailed with the Lords Capel and Colepeper from Pendennis-caſtle in Cornwall to Scilly, and thence to Jerſey. He arrived there in the beginning of March 1645 (*q*), and being greatly diſguſted at the Prince's removal thence the following year into France, he obtained leave to ſtay in that iſland [*M*]. During this retirement, he began to write his Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c. which had been particularly recommended to him, and in which he was aſſiſted alſo by the King, who

(*m*) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. II. p. 151.

(*n*) Dugdale's Short View of the Troubles, &c. p. 737.

(*o*) See the next remark.

(*p*) In the Duke of Ormond's article, Vol. II.

(*q*) Carte's Collection of Letters, &c. No. 43. in a letter dated March 8. 1645. wherein Sir Edw. Hyde writes, that the Prince ſailed from Pendennis on Monday, and arrived there [at Jerſey] on Wedneſday.

[*K*] *He was one of the King's Commiſſioners at the treaty of Uxbridge.*] Mr Whitlock intimates, that Sir Edward had a particular friendſhip for ſome of thoſe who ſtill continued at Weſtminſter. Thus, when Mr Holles and that author, among others, came from them in November 1644, with propoſitions for an accommodation to the King at Oxford; immmediately upon their arrival, divers of his Majeſty's great officers and lords came to viſit them, and ſome had their particular friends, among whom, Sir Edward Hyde (afterwards Earl of Clarendon) came to diſcourſe in general about the propoſitions for peace, profeſſing his earneſt deſire that they might take effect. The ſame author obſerves likewiſe, that when the commiſſioners for the treaty on both parts met at Uxbridge, on the 29th of January, 1644-5, ſeveral viſits paſſed betwixt particular commiſſioners the ſame evening, and that Sir Edward Hyde came to viſit Mr Holles and himſelf, and they had a long diſcourſe to perſuade one another to a compliance. But when the militia came to be treated on, Sir Edward would have argued, *That the whole power of the militia, by the law of England, is in the King only*. Mr Whitlock denied it to be ſo clear, and ſaid, *He doubted not but to ſatisfy the commiſſioners in that point*. On which it was moved, that a day might be appointed to hear their arguments. But this, with ſome compliments to the abilities of the diſputants, by the Earl of Southampton on the one ſide and Mr Holles on the other, was over-ruled, as being more likely to inflame than compoſe the difference between them *.

* Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 122 and 124.

[*L*] *He begun a correſpondence with the Marquis of Ormond.*] It runs in theſe terms:

'My Lord,

'I have not the vanity to believe myſelf in any degree known or remembered by your Lordſhip, tho' I have ſometimes had the honour of waiting upon your Lordſhip in London; but I have a great ambition to be received by you as one who holds your Lordſhip in ſingular admiration, and I hope your extraordinary comportment in theſe degenerate times, will have ſo great an influence upon other noble breaſts, that if neither virtue nor conſcience make any impreſſion, even envy may make them follow your Lordſhip's example, that they may in ſome degree have the recompence of ſuch an excellent fame and eſtimation.

'When I came from Oxford (which is not a week ſince), having by his Majeſty's command the honour of waiting upon the Prince into theſe parts, I had a ſpecial command from the King to uſe all means to give your Lordſhip frequent advertiſements of what paſſes here, and to endeavour to underſtand the condition of affairs in that kingdom, where your Lordſhip worthily ſits at the helm; and finding the Prince ſo ſollicitous to write to your Lordſhip, that I think he hath committed a duplicate of his letter to three ſeveral hands, I find it no leſs my duty than my inclination to make this addreſs to your Lordſhip. Indeed the Prince much pleaſes himſelf with the hopes of a few men from you for his guard of firelocks, being informed of the rare diligence and activity in light marches of theſe men. But whether it be convenient for you to ſpare any of your numbers I know not. I ſhould be very glad to hear that your Lordſhip were in any probable forwardneſs of uniting the affections of that kingdom. But I confeſs I have not ſkill enough to underſtand the meaning of thoſe with whom you are to treat, be their pretences never ſo ſpecious. But as your Lordſhip's great power and admirable vivacity hath hitherto ſupported that miſerable kingdom, ſo the preſervation of it is reſerved only for you, when, at the diſtance we ſtand in, the means ſeem moſt difficult. I aſk your Lordſhip's pardon for,

'My Lord,

Briſtol, the 14th day
of March, 1644.

'Your Lorſhip's &c.

'EDWARD HYDE (16).'

(16) Collection of Letters to and from the Duke of Ormond, No. CCCLXXVIII.

[*M*] *He begged leave to ſtay in Jerſey.*] Some time after the Prince's departure, Sir Edward unboſomed himſelf to the Marquis of Ormond in the following pathetic letter.

'My Lord, June 22, 1646.

'Your Lordſhip hath been long ſince informed whither my Lord Digby attended the Prince, and from thence have pardoned my not acknowledging of your Grace's favour to me, from the impoſſibility of preſenting it to you. I confeſs in that conjuncture of time I thought the remove from Jerſey to Ireland to be very fit to be deliberately weighed, before attempted; but I would have choſen it much more chearfully than this that is embraced, which I hope will be a memorial to my weakneſs; for it is my misfortune to differ from thoſe with whom I have hitherto agreed, and eſpecially with my beſt friend, which I hope will not render me the leſs fit for your charity, though I may be for your conſideration. Indeed there is not light enough for me to ſee my way, and I can't well walk in the dark, and therefore I have deſired leave of the Prince to breathe in this iſland a little for my refreſhment, 'till I may diſcern ſome way in which I may ſerve his Majeſty. I hope your Lordſhip will never meet with any interruption in the exerciſe of that devotion, which hath rendered you the envied example of three kingdoms, and that I ſhall yet find an opportunity to attend upon your Lordſhip, and have the honour to be received by you in the capacity of,

'My Lord,

'Your Lordſhip's &c.

'EDWARD HYDE (17).

(17) Ibid. No. CCCCLVIII.

We ſee here not barely a diſlike, but an extraordinary reſentment, ſhewn to the Prince's going to Paris; and I believe it will not be diſputed, that the chief ground of this reſentment lay in the manifeſt danger into which his religion was thereby brought, from the reſtleſs endeavours of his mother. 'Tis notorious, that the Chancellor was never in any tolerable terms with her Majeſty, on the account of his watchfulneſs againſt every attempt of this kind, of which more will be ſeen preſently. And the particular way which he pitched upon to ſerve the King, while he continued in Jerſey, is the ſubject of the enſuing remark.

[*N*] E's

who ſupplied him with ſeveral of the materials for it [*N*]. At the ſame time he ſpent ſome of his leiſure hours in compoſing part of his *Contemplations and Reflections upon the Pſalms of David* (*r*); and before his departure he publiſhed, *A full Anſwer to an infamous and traiterous Pamphlet, intituled*, A Declaration of the Commons of England in Parliament aſſembled, expreſſing the Reaſons and Grounds of paſſing their late Reſolutions, touching no farther Addreſs or Application to be made to the King. This was printed in 4to. at London in 1648, and about the middle of May that year he received a letter from the Queen to call him to Paris (*s*). After the King's death, he was continued both in his ſeat at the Privy-Council, and in his office of the Exchequer, by King Charles II. who ſent him with the Lord Cottington, his Ambaſſador Extraordinary, into Spain, in November the following year, to apply for that monarch's aſſiſtance in the recovery of his Crown (*t*). He returned without ſucceſs to his Majeſty in July 1651 (*u*). Soon after his arrival, the King gave him that account (which is printed in the Hiſtory of the Rebellion (*w*)) of his eſcape after the battle of Worceſter, in that unfortunate expedition to Scotland, which had been undertaken during Sir Edward's abſence, and was utterly diſapproved by him (*x*). He now reſided for ſome time at Antwerp, but left no means unattempted which lay in his power, by letters and meſſages to England, for compaſſing the Reſtoration *; wherein, however, he relied ſolely upon the Epiſcopal party [*O*]. In 1653,

(*r*) The firſt is dated Jerſey Dec. 26, 1647. His Eſſay on Sacrilege is alſo dated on a faſt day at Jerſey, 1641. in which, as to the year, there ſeems to be a miſtake.

(*s*) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. V. p. 131. 8vo edition.

(*t*) Lord Cottington did not return with him, but having changed his religion, continued in Spain the reſt of his life. Ibid. Vol. III. folio edit.

(*u*) His Contemplations upon the 68th and two following Pſalms are dated Antwerp, 16 July, 1651, which he ſays in the addreſs prefixed to that work were written a little after his return from Spain.

(*w*) Vol. III. folio edit.

(*x*) See the next remark [*O*].

* Several of theſe may be ſeen in Thurloe's State Papers.

[*N*] *He began in Jerſey his Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c.*] Beſides an expreſs and direct declaration of this fact in one paſſage of the work itſelf, we are aſſured in another, that, upon the Lord Capel's waiting upon the King at Hampton-court in 1647, his Majeſty writ to the Chancellor, ‘thanking him for undertaking the work he was upon, and telling him, that he might expect ſpeedily to receive ſome contribution from him towards it, &c. (18)’. Agreeable to this, the ninth book opens with declaring, that ‘the work was firſt undertaken with the King's approbation and by his encouragement, and particularly that many important points were tranſmitted to the author by the King's immediate direction and order, even after he was in the hands and power of the enemy, out of his own Memorials and Journals.’ Thus far the time of beginning this hiſtory is aſcertained from the hiſtory itſelf; but there is a paſſage in a letter from the Marquis of Ormond to the author, which helps to fix it to a greater exactneſs, and induces a great probability, that it was entered upon not long after the Prince's departure in 1646. The letter is in theſe terms.

‘*S I R*,

‘*My Lord* Digby *will give me leave to profeſs, that the ſatisfaction I received at his coming hither, ſuffered much abatement in that you came not with him. And I ſhall never deny that I value your approbation of the actions I ſhall have part in, next after theirs, whoſe commands I diſpute not, but obey.*

‘*The peace ſo long treated on is concluded here, and I hope it will prove as it is intended, a foundation for an happy ſettlement in his Majeſty's other kingdoms.* Whatſoever it be as to that public aim, if it ſhall pleaſe you to make uſe of it to enlarge your impriſonment, by removing into this bigger iſland, I can promiſe you what retiredneſs you pleaſe, and what elſe may conduce to your contentment, that is in the power of

Your moſt obedient,

Dublin-Caſtle,
7 Aug. 1646.

humble ſervant,

Ormonde (19).

So much for the exact time when this hiſtory was begun, and now we are upon the ſubject, we ſhall proceed to fix the time when it was finiſhed, which may be aſcertained to the ſame degree of exactneſs, from the dedication of our author's *ſurvey of the* Leviathan, wherein he addreſſes himſelf to King Charles II. in theſe terms. ‘As ſoon as I had finiſhed (as far as I am able without the ſupply of thoſe memorials and records which are fit to be inquired into) a work at leaſt recommended, if not enjoyned to me by your bleſſed father, and approved, and in ſome degree peruſed by your Majeſty (which I hope will be to the honour of his Majeſty's memory, and your own magnanimous ſufferings) I could not think of, &c.’ This dedication is dated, Moulins, May 10, 1673, whence it appears that the hiſtory was not compleated 'till the beginning of that, or the latter end of the preceding year (20). The uſe of this remark is, that it accounts for thoſe paſſages in the hiſtory, wherein facts are related which happened long after the Reſtoration; as for inſtance, that ‘Sir John Digby lived *many years* after the King's return (21);’ and that the Earl of Sandwich's ‘expedition in waiting on the King with the fleet, was *never* forgiven him by ſome men (22),’ which we ſee might very conſiſtently be obſerved in this hiſtory, though that Earl did not loſe his life 'till 1672.

[*O*] *He relied ſolely upon the Epiſcopal party to bring about the Reſtoration.*] His ſteadineſs in this reſolution, created him ſeveral enemies, and much oppoſition was raiſed againſt him in the little court which attended the King in his exile. Theſe diviſions did not eſcape the obſervations of Cromwell's ſpies about that Court. Accordingly there are ſeveral letters and papers concerning it in Thurloe's Collection. We ſhall give an extract of the firſt intelligence upon this ſubject which occurs there. It is a paper of Colonel Bampfield, and intitled, *The Conditions and Sentiments of the Titular King of Scots, and of thoſe abroad who are intereſſed in his Affairs.* It appears to be wrote after the reduction of Scotland by Cromwell, in the latter end of the year 1651. The informer ſets out with an account of the King's Council, ‘who, ſays he, are his mother, the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, and the Duke of Buckingham, the Marquis of Ormonde, Earl of Rocheſter, the Lords Percy, Jermin, Inchiquin, — Taaffe, lately made, and Sir Edward Hyde. The four firſt are of a faction directly oppoſite to Hyde; and the other party, who for the moſt part entirely govern in his councils, and their deſigns ſeem to be as different as their inclination. Ormonde, Hyde, and their party have, contrary to the ſenſe of the reſt, adviſed and prevailed with their King totally to abandon the party and principles of the Preſbyterians, and to rely intirely upon his old epiſcopal party, which they perſuade him comprehends the whole nobility, gentry, and bulk of the kingdom, who would not riſe with him in his late march into England, becauſe he was believed to go upon grounds diſagreeable both to their affection and intereſts, and to the good of the nation, and inconſiſtent to the ancient conſtitution both in Church and State. And to this purpoſe Sir Giles Talbot, about a year and a half ago, or little more, was employed with a meſſage from England; and to ſecond this, afterwards Colonel Philips went with another, and albeit, I believe there is much of reality in this meſſage, yet I don't doubt but the perſons and their deſigns were repreſented by Hyde and Ormonde (who procured them to be recommended as fitteſt for a truſt) with greater advantage, than either could produce, for the ſtrengthening of their own credit with their maſter; by which means they weaned the King from the government of his mother's counſel, and have ever ſince bound him abſolutely up to their own ſenſe, to caſt himſelf totally upon the Epiſcopal Party. As for Scotland, it being (to uſe their own phraſe) under the ſlavery of the Engliſh conqueſt, they would now embrace the King's intereſt upon his own terms, to free themſelves from their preſent bandage (23).’ In another letter of the ſame collection written in 1655, there is advice, that Hyde is not truſted

(18) Vol. V. p. 70. 8vo. edition.

(19) Carte's Collection, No. CCCCLXVIII.

(20) Mr Oldmixon is poſitive that it was finiſhed ſoon after the Reſtoration. Clarendon and Whitlocke compared, in the introduction.

(21) Vol. V. p. 192. 8vo. edit.

(22) Vol. VI. p. 768.

(23) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 581.

1653, he was accuſed of holding a correſpondence with Cromwell, and receiving a penſion from him for intelligence. but was fully cleared by a declaration of the King and Council, on January 13 the following year [*P*]. This attempt to ruin him with his Majeſty was made by the Old Royaliſts, and it turned ſo much to his advantage, that he was advanced to be Secretary of State afterwards, upon the removal of Mr Robert Long, who had been concerned in it (*y*). In 1657, two more attacks were made, one by the Papiſts and the other by the Preſbyterians, with the ſame deſign and with no better ſucceſs (*z*); and he was made Lord High-Chancellor of England the ſame year (*a a*). It would be tedious to mention the ſeveral particulars of that part which he managed in 1659, to prepare matters for his Majeſty's reception. This was a ſweet employ, and the more ſo, ſince, as he had always adviſed his Majeſty to depend upon the epiſcopal party for the recovery of his Crown; ſo he had the honour and ſatisfaction to ſee it brought about by thoſe means, in which he was a principal inſtrument. And his prudence, juſtice, and moderation, in ſettling the juſt boundaries betwixt the prerogative of the Crown and the liberties of the people at the Reſtoration, are largely related likewiſe to his honour in all the general hiſtories of England [*Q*]. However, in reducing ſo much confuſion into order, where ſo many claſhing intereſts in point of property were concerned, it was not in the power of man to ſatisfy every body. And as the act of indemnity on the one hand raiſed him thoſe enemies among the Royaliſts, which afterwards proved the greateſt inſtruments of his ruin (*c c*); ſo the act of uniformity on the other hand was never forgiven him by the Preſbyterians (*d d*). With regard to his own particular, wherein he had been one of the greateſt ſharers in his maſter's ſufferings, he had a proportionable ſhare of his glory. Beſides the poſt of Lord High-Chancellor, in which he was continued (*e e*), he was choſen Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, October 27, 1660 *. In the beginning of November he was created a peer, by the title of Baron Hyde of Hindon in Wiltſhire (*f f*); to which were added, in April the following year (*g g*), the titles of Viſcount Cornbury in Oxfordſhire, and Earl of Clarendon in Wiltſhire. Upon the death of Henry Lord Falkland in 1663 he was made Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Oxford (*b b*); to which may be added, that he was Steward of the King's manor of Woodſtock (*i i*). With theſe honours he held the firſt place in his Majeſty's confidence, and was Prime Manager, if not Prime Miniſter (*k k*), under him. And he alſo received ſeveral grants from the Crown of conſiderable value [*R*]. Laſtly, to compleat his happineſs, theſe extraordinary favours, at the

time

truſted by the Preſbyterians *. What his opinion was of their aſſiſtance in this caſe, he did himſelf expreſsly declare on another occaſion, in the following very ſtrong terms, where ſpeaking of the Reſtoration, he ſays, 'It pleaſed God, by a chain of miracles, at laſt to bring that to paſs which all the world thought impoſſible to be done. He ſuffered the King to make all thoſe attempts for his own vindication which his reaſon, induſtry, and virtue, could dictate to him; to endeavour by a union and conjunction with his own ſubjects, who had been the original of all his ſufferings, to conquer thoſe, who had been worſe than they; but God bleſſed not that union and conjunction, thoſe hands were too weak to hold up in battle, and too proud to hold up in prayer: God would not ſuffer that people to redeem the miſchief they had done, by any noble action, but condemned them to undergo the penalty of it by very notable ſufferings, by, and under thoſe who had been enabled by them, to commit much greater wickedneſs ‖.'

[*P*] *He was cleared by the King and Council.*] Notwithſtanding this advantage, if we may believe Thurloe's intelligence, he thought himſelf in ſome danger the following year from the Queen's party. In a letter from Manning, dated June 1, 1655, N. S. that informer writes thus, '*I need not tell you by whom Prince Rupert was turned from Court, yet perhaps you have not known, that* Hyde *then offered Charles Stuart* 50000 *men ſhould be in arms in England before a year went about, if he would quit the Queen's Court, and the Prince's party* (24)' Upon the ſame ſubject, in another letter dated from Cologne, November 9, 1655, there is this advice. *Hyde is very fearful of being laid aſide, which makes him omit no way which may keep himſelf up, though to the ruin of thouſands. This cauſed him to promiſe much to be done in his deſign on England and Scotland before Chriſtmas* (25). The ſame perſon, November 17, following, from the ſame place, uſes theſe terms: Charles Stuart daily tells us, *Have patience a little, and you will not fail of action both in England and Scotland, or elſe adieu Ormonde and Hyde* (26). But all this ſtorm being quelled by the Chancellor, there is a letter dated June 24, 1656, which contains the following information. *I underſtand that C. R. is in a poor condition and equipage, and that almoſt every body forſakes him. All ſpeak ill of his Chancellor Hyde, that he doth poſſeſs and govern him ſolely* (27).

[*Q*] *His moderation in ſettling affairs at the Reſtoration, &c.*] The moſt remarkable inſtances of this moderation are, that he neither ſet aſide the petition of right, nor endeavoured to raiſe the Star-chamber or High Comiſſion Courts again when it was in his power, nor did he attempt to repeal the bill for Triennial Parliaments; though at the ſame he took care to repeal all things extorted by the long Parliament from King Charles I. and to ſettle the militia affairs. But other acts relating to the Prerogative, he did not touch upon, as tonnage, poundage, ſhip-money, &c. and when he might have obtained two millions for the ſtanding revenue, he aſked but 1,200,000 per ann. which he thought would ſtill put the King under a neceſſity of having recourſe to his Parliaments (28).

[*R*] *He received ſeveral valuable grants from the Crown.*] Beſides the manor of Cornbury mentioned above, and the ground for his houſe near St James's palace, he had alſo a grant for 25000 l. to be paid out of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland, of which we have the following account from himſelf (29): 'Amongſt the bills, ſays he, 'which were firſt tranſmitted from Ireland after his 'Majeſty's happy return, there was an impoſition of 'a certain ſum of money upon ſome ſpecified lands in 'the ſeveral provinces, which were to be paid to his 'Majeſty within a limited time, and to be diſpoſed 'of by his Majeſty to ſuch perſons who had ſerved him 'faithfully, and ſuffered in ſo doing, or words to that 'effect, for I am moſt confident, that I never heard of 'it at the time when it paſſed. But very near two 'years after his Majeſty's return, I received a letter 'from the Earl of Orrery, that there would be in his 'hands, and the two other Lords (who had been appointed treaſurers to receive the money raiſed by that 'act) a good ſum of money for me, and deſiring

'that

(*y*) See the article of GREENVILE [Sir RICHARD].

(*z*) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. and Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VI. p. 835.

(*a a*) The ſeals were delivered to him at Bruges, Jan. 13 1657. Id. ibid. p. 729, 730. or Jan. 29. Wood, Vol. II. col. 534.

(*b b*) See many of his letters in the appendix to the Life of Dr John Berwick, in Engliſh, 1723. 8vo. and others in Thurloe, Vol. VII.

(*c c*) They called it an act of oblivion for his friends, and indemnity for his enemies. North's Examen of Kennet's Hiſtory of England, p. 454. Lond. 1740. 4to. He was alſo charged with adviſing the King to make friends of his enemies, for that his friends would continue ſo in all events. This he conſtantly denied to the laſt. Lives of the Lord-Chancellors, p. 26, 27.

(*d d*) See the Compleat Hiſtory of England.

(*e e*) Soon after he was ſworn into this office, he drew up a *Collection of the Rules and Orders heretofore uſed in Chancery*, done by the advice and aſſiſtance of Sir Harbottle Grimſton, Maſter of the Rolls, which was printed at London, 1661, 8vo.

* Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*f f*) The patent bears date Nov. 3, 1660. Peerage of England, under the name of Hyde.

(*g g*) On the 20th of April, 1661. Id. ibid. He had obtained this manor of the King, to whom it was forfeited by Sir John Danvers, one of the Judges of King Charles I. Wood, Vol. II. col. 534. As to ſuch as are properly Crown lands, the Earl aſſures us, that he had none of his Majeſty's lands but what he bought for as much as any body would pay for them. See his Vindication, &c. in his Tracts, p. 25. Lond. 1727, folio.

(*b b*) Wood, where laſt cited, and Vol. I. col. 586.

(*i i*) His Vindication, &c. Art. 14. and it appears by the 6th art. that for a ſhort time after the Reſtoration, he was a Commiſſioner of the Treaſury and aſſiſted in the Cuſtoms; ſo that he was Lord High-Chancellor of England, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Secretary of State, Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and acted as Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms, all at once. He was alſo unanimouſly choſen F. R. S. Feb. 8, 1664-5. Birch's Hiſt. of the R. S. Vol. II. p. 12.

(*k k*) There is no ſuch poſt in England as that of Prime-Miniſter.

* Ibid. Vol. IV. p. 86.

‖ Addreſs to his Children, in his Miſcellanies, p. 371.

(24) Thurloe, Vol. III. p. 459.

(25) Ibid. Vol. IV. p. 122.

(26) Ibid. p. 169. Hyde, in this letter, is ſuppoſed to hold a correſpondence with Lambert or Fairfax, on a deſign to murder the Protector, and then ſeize ſuch ſea-ports as ſhall be found moſt feaſible.

(27) Ibid. Vol. V. p. 141.

(28) His Life, in the Lives of the Lord Chancellors, p. 28, 29.

(29) In his Vindication againſt the Charge, &c. in 1667. p. 65—68. publiſhed in his Tracts, &c. 1727, folio.

time when they were beſtowed, were generally eſteemed to be ſo many inſtances of the King's juſtice to his perſonal merit and his paſt ſervices, and were reckoned as a part of thoſe bleſſings, the ſenſe of which then ſo remarkably filled the hearts of all people with a flood of joy. But it was not poſſible to ſtand many years in a ſituation ſo much diſtinguiſhed above others, without becoming the object of envy [*S*]; which being the natural parent of malice, created him ſuch enemies as both wiſhed and attempted his ruin, and at laſt effected it. The firſt open attack upon him was made by the Earl of Briſtol, who, in 1663, exhibited a charge of high-treaſon againſt him to the Houſe of Lords [*T*]; and though

'that I would ſpeedily ſend my direction for the diſpoſal thereof, becauſe he was confident, that the 'money would be paid in at leaſt by the time that my 'letter could arrive there. No man can be ſurprized 'with any thing, more than I was, at the receipt of 'this letter; believing that there was ſome miſtake in 'it, and that my name might have been uſed in truſt 'by ſome-body who had given me no notice of it, 'and without returning any anſwer to the Earl of Orrery, I writ by that poſt to the Lord Lieutenant, to 'inform him, what my Lord of Orrery had writ to 'to me, and to deſire him to inform me by his own 'inquiry, what the meaning of it might be. Before I 'had an anſwer from the Lord Lieutenant, and indeed 'before my letter could come to his hands, I received 'a ſecond letter from the Earl of Orrery, in which he 'informed me, that there was now paid in to my uſe 'the ſum of 12600 l. and that there would be the like 'ſum again received at the end of ſix months, ſending 'me likewiſe a particular direction to what perſon and 'in what form I was to ſend my order for the payment of the money. I forbore likewiſe to anſwer this 'letter 'till I had received an anſwer from the Lord 'Lieutenant, who then informed me at large, what 'title I had to this money, and how I came to have 'it: that ſhortly after paſſing that Act of Parliament abovementioned, the Earl of Orrery had come to him, 'and putting him in mind, how the Chancellor had 'rejected all overtures which had been made to him, 'of benefit out of that kingdom, (which refuſal, and 'and many others, which ſhew how unſollicitous I 'have always been in the way of getting, is not more 'known to any man living than to the Lord Lieutenant) wiſhed, that he would move his Majeſty to 'confer ſome part of that money upon him, which 'the Lord Lieutenant very willingly did, and his Majeſty as chearfully granted: that a letter was accordingly prepared, and his Majeſty's royal ſignature 'procured by Mr Secretary Nicholas, who was at the 'ſame time commanded by the King not to let me 'know of it; and to which purpoſe there was likewiſe a clauſe in the letter, whereby it was provided, 'that I ſhould have no notice of it, which the Lord 'Lieutenant ſaid, was by his Majeſty's directions, or 'with his approbation; becauſe it was ſaid, that if I 'had notice of it, I ſhould be ſo fooliſh as to obſtruct 'it myſelf: and that there was a clauſe likewiſe in the 'ſaid letter, which directed the payment of the ſaid 'money to my heirs, executors, or aſſigns, if I ſhould 'die before the receipt thereof. Of all which, being 'thus fully advertiſed by the Lord Lieutenant, of 'which, 'till that time, I had not the leaſt notice or 'imagination, I deſired Mr Secretary Nicholas to 'give me a copy of that letter (which had been ſince 'paſſed as a grant unto me under the great ſeal of 'Ireland) which he gave me, with a larger account 'of many gracious circumſtances in the King's granting it, and the obligation laid upon him of ſecrecy; 'and the great caution uſed, that I might have no 'notice of it.'——He then obſerves, that he waited upon his Majeſty with his thanks, who enlarged his bounty with expreſſions of favour; that upon the proſpect of this money, he agreed for the purchaſe of a mannor called Blunſden in Wiltſhire, joining to an eſtate he had there; and that he promiſed to pay more money together than is uſual in ſuch purchaſes, preſuming that he could not at all be diſappointed of the mentioned ſum of money from Ireland, which was the ſole ground and encouragement he had to undertake that bargain. But that the very next letters he received from thence informed him, that the neceſſities of that kingdom had been ſuch, that they could only return him 6000 l. and that they had been forced to make uſe of the reſt for the public, which would without doubt take care to repay him again within few months. 'And ſo, continues he, I 'found myſelf engaged in a purchaſe which I could 'not retract, upon a preſumption of money, which in 'that manner I was diſappointed of: and I have not 'only never ſince received a penny of what was due 'upon the ſecond payment, (and which I preſumed 'would have been ſo certain, that I aſſigned it upon 'the marriage of my ſecond ſon, to him as part of 'his portion) but the remainder of the firſt ſum, was 'ſo borrowed or taken from me, that no part of it hath 'been ſince paid to me or to my uſe: by which, and 'the inconveniencies and damage which have ſince 'enſued to me from thence, I may reaſonably ſay, 'that I am yet a loſer, and involved in a great debt by 'that ſignal bounty of his Majeſty, which I hope will 'in due time be made good to me, under ſo good a 'ſecurity as an Act of Parliament; and I have great 'reaſon to complain of thoſe my very good friends, 'who firſt diſpoſed his Majeſty to that act of grace, 'and were not afterwards ſollicitous enough in their 'ſeveral places to make it effectual to me.'

[*S*] *Without becoming the object of envy.*] Nothing ſerved more, if ſo much, to inflame this paſſion, than the incident of his eldeſt daughter's marriage with the Duke of York, which happened in a few months after the King's return. She had been one of the Maids of Honour to the Princeſs Royal Henrietta, ſome time during the exile, when the Duke fell in love with her; and being diſappointed by the defeat of Sir George Booth, in a deſign he had formed of coming with ſome forces to England in 1659, he went to Breda, where his ſiſter then reſided (30); and ſpending ſome weeks there, he took this opportunity, if we may believe Biſhop Burnet (31), of ſolliciting Miſs Hyde to a compliance without marriage; but ſhe managed the matter with ſuch addreſs, that, in concluſion, he married her there on the fourth of November that year (32). However, this was done with all poſſible ſecrecy, and unknown to her father. After their arrival in England, growing big with child and near her time, ſhe called upon the Duke to own his marriage; and though he endeavoured to draw her from claiming him, both by great promiſes and great threatenings, yet ſhe had the ſpirit and wiſdom to tell him, She would have it known that ſhe was his wife, let him uſe her afterwards as he pleaſed. The King ordered ſome Biſhops and Judges to peruſe the proofs of her marriage; and they reporting that it was according to the doctrine of the Goſpel and the Law of England (33), he told his brother he would not break with the Earl of Clarendon, he muſt live with her whom he had made his wife. Accordingly, on the third of September, 1660, they were remarried at Worceſter houſe, where the Earl of Clarendon then lived, by Dr Joſeph Crowther the Duke's chaplain (35). The ſame author obſerves, that the father ſolemnly proteſted he knew nothing of it 'till it broke out in the manner here related, and that he looked on it as that which would end in his ruin (35).

[*T*] *A charge of high-treaſon.*] The ſubſtance of it was, that the Chancellor had ſaid that his Majeſty was dangerouſly corrupted in his religion, and inclined to Popery; that perſons of that religion had ſuch acceſs and ſuch credit with him, that unleſs a careful eye were had upon it, the Proteſtant Religion would be overthrown; and that were it not for his [the Chancellor's] ſtanding in the gap, Popery would be introduced; and that he was the zealous upholder of the Proteſtant Religion. That upon Sir Henry Bennet's being made Secretary of State in the room of Sir Edward Nicholas, he ſaid, that his Majeſty had given 10,000 l. to remove a zealous Proteſtant, that he might bring into that high place a concealed Papiſt. That he had perſwaded the King, contrary to his reaſon, to allow his name to be uſed to the Pope and ſeveral Cardinals, in the ſollicitations of a Cardinal's cap for the Lord Aubigney, Great Almoner to the Queen; to effect which, he had employed Richard Beling, a known

(30) Carte's Hiſtory of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 188.

(31) Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I.

(32) Kennet's Regiſter, p. 246.

(33) She had been cautious to have an undeniable evidence of it in the Earl of Oſſory, who was preſent, and the only perſon that was preſent at it. Carte, ubi ſupra.

(34) Kennet's Regiſter, as before.

(35) Burnet, where laſt cited, and Echard's Hiſtory of England, ad annum 1660. B. I. c. i. N. B. This remarriage ſeems to have been performed to prevent the clamours that might otherwiſe poſſibly be raiſed about the legitimacy of the iſſue.

though this proſecution ended greatly to the honour of the Chancellor [*U*], yet his enemies advanced very conſiderably by it in their deſign, to make himleſs gracious to his maſter,

known Papiſt, and promiſed great favour to the Papiſts here in caſe it ſhould be effected ; and that he hoped to compaſs the taking away all penal laws againſt the Papiſts. That being intruſted with the treaty betwixt his Majeſty and the Queen, he concluded the King's marriage upon articles ſcandalous and dangerous to the Proteſtant Religion. That he had vented opprobrious ſcandals againſt his Majeſty's courſe of life ; and that he had ſuggeſted to the Duke of York, that his Majeſty intended to legitimate the Duke of Monmouth ; that he had perſwaded the King, againſt the advice of the Lord-General, to withdraw the Engliſh garriſons out of Scotland, and demoliſh all the forts built there, without expecting the advice of Parliament. That he had told his Majeſty there never was ſo weak and inconſiderable a Houſe of Lords, nor never ſo weak and heady a Houſe of Commons ; and particularly, that it was better to ſell Dunkirk, than to be at their mercy for want of money ; and that he adviſed and effected the ſale of the ſame to the French King. That he had inriched himſelf by the ſale of offices, contrary to law, and had converted to his own uſe vaſt ſums of public money, raiſed in Ireland by way of ſubſidy, to defray the charge of the government in that kingdom ; and that he had procured his Majeſty's cuſtoms to be farmed at a lower rate than others offered, and that to perſons with ſome of whom he went a ſhare, and in other parts of money reſulting from his Majeſty's revenue. It has been obſerved, that the words concerning the King's private inclinations and debaucheries were generally thought to have been the real expreſſions or ſuggeſtions of the Chancellor, but ſurely not altogether without a cauſe ; that they may be thought the effect of an indecent freedom, but can hardly be ſuppoſed to proceed from any want of integrity or loyalty (36). However, we ſhall ſee preſently that theſe freedoms, by the artful aggravations of his enemies, became the principal if not the ſole cauſe of his ruin. At preſent, it will be more to our purpoſe to take notice, that though the Chancellor is here charged with being intruſted to negotiate the treaty of the Portugal match, and concluding it, yet it is not ſaid that he propoſed that marriage, which is the more neceſſary to attend to, becauſe this reflection, among others, has been lately thrown upon the Chancellor's memory by a noble author, who, by way of proving the truth of it, quotes a long paſſage from the Memoirs of Portugal, written by the Sieur d'Ablancourt, Reſident from France at the Court of Portugal when this marriage propoſal was made, *in which France itſelf*, ſays his Lordſhip, *was too much intereſted not to be well informed* (37). As this aſſertion is directly contrary to what is ſuggeſted in the preface to the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, where the authors mention his having oppoſed that match, on account of the general belief that the Infanta [as it ſhould ſeem through ſome mal-formation of the parts] could have no children. We ſhall produce the following account by Mr Carte, which will perhaps be thought deciſive in the Chancellor's vindication, ſince it is grounded upon a relation to that author by Dr Hough the late Biſhop of Worceſter, (whoſe character may be ſeen in this work) (38), from the Duke of Ormond's own mouth and Sir Robert Southwell's Narrative. ‘ The King's reſolution to marry the Infanta, ſays Mr Carte, was taken without the knowledge either of the Duke of Ormonde or the Lord Chancellor Clarendon. The King firſt communicated it to the Chancellor, and told him at the ſame time that he had agreed to the match. The Chancellor ſaid he hoped his Majeſty was not determined, for there were ſeveral things deſerved to be maturely conſidered in that affair, which he was ready to offer, if his Majeſty had not prevented it, by telling him that he was abſolutely determined. The Chancellor acquainting the Duke of Ormond and the Earl of Southampton with the matter, it was agreed among them, that he ſhould deſire the King to grant them all three an audience together. This was granted : they attended him in the room which was called Tom Chiffinch's cloſet, where the rarities ſtood, and gave him their reaſons againſt the match. The Chancellor opened the ſubject, and particularly urged, not only what the Spaniard had objected as to the barrenneſs of the lady propoſed, but the accounts and reaſons which he had from other hands, to believe that the Infanta would never prove with child ; that if it proved ſo in the event, it would be a great infelicity to the whole kingdom ; and this was a conſideration ſo very important, that the Portugal miniſter ought to be talked to plainly on the ſubject, and the matter ſeriouſly examined (39). The King replied, that he was ſatisfied that accuſation came originally from the malice of the Spaniards, and was without foundation ; and in fine, told them he had proceeded ſo far in the matter, that it was now too late for him to retreat, and he muſt go on with the treaty. During this audience, upon their remonſtrating againſt his marrying a Roman-Catholic wife, the King aſked, *Where is there a Proteſtant fit for me to marry?* It was ſaid his Majeſty could be at no loſs in that point, for there were ladies enough in Germany of that religion, and of families fit for the alliance of any prince. *Cods fiſh*, ſaid the King, *they are all foggy, and I can't like any one of them for a wife*. Upon this anſwer, which excluded all Proteſtants that could be propoſed, the Duke of Ormonde was clearly convinced, that the reſolution was taken for the King to marry none but a Roman-Catholic. It was a point indeed, concludes Mr Carte, which his mother, and thoſe of that religion who were in the ſecret of the change he had made in his, had extremely at heart, and thought of the utmoſt conſequence, as well to fix him theirs, as to advance the cauſe of Catholicity (40).’ As the Chancellor's oppoſing this marriage on account of the lady's barrenneſs was an inſtance of his integrity ; ſo the oppoſition which he gave to the intended divorce, for which that cauſe among others was alledged, is another inſtance of the ſame integrity, which redounds equally at leaſt to his honour. The perſon deſigned to ſupply her Majeſty's place was Mrs Stuart, a beautiful young lady, who was related to the King, and had ſome office under the Queen. The Chancellor, to prevent this, ſent for the Duke of Richmond, who was of the ſame name ; and ſeeming to be ſorry that a perſon of his worth and relation to his Majeſty ſhould receive no marks of his favour, adviſed him to marry this lady, as the moſt likely means to advance himſelf. The young nobleman, liking the perſon, followed the advice, made immediate application to the lady, who was ignorant of the King's intentions, and in a few days married her. The King, thus diſappointed, and ſoon after informed how the match was brought about, baniſhed the Duke with his new Ducheſs from Court, and reſerved his reſentment againſt the Chancellor to a more convenient opportunity. This account by Mr Echard (41) is inſerted here, becauſe the truth of it has not as we know of been diſputed. Mr Carte indeed (not finding any thing deciſive concerning it in the Duke of Ormond's papers) obſerves that it doth not appear whether the Chancellor actually encouraged the Duke of Richmond's marriage or no. ‘ But I find, ſays that author by way of confirming it, that he [the Chancellor] was ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed of the King's inclination to a divorce, that even after his diſgrace he was perſwaded the Duke of Buckingham had undertaken to carry that matter through the Parliament. It is certain too, continues he, that the King conſidered him as the chief promoter of that marriage, and reſented it in the higheſt degree (42).’ The charge of the Chancellor's adviſing the ſale of Dunkirk ſhall be conſidered in an enſuing remark.

[*U*] *It ended greatly to the Chancellor's honour.*] It is obſervable, that there had been a long courſe of friendſhip both in adverſity and proſperity between the Chancellor and the Earl of Briſtol ; but they gradually falling into different meaſures upon the account of religion or politics, and the Chancellor refuſing a ſmall boon, as the Earl took it to be, which was ſaid to be the paſſing a patent in favour of a Court lady, the latter thought himſelf ſo diſobliged, that letting looſe his fiery temper, he thought of nothing but revenge (43). The ſame author who makes this remark obſerves, that there appears a perverſe turn in the Earl of Briſtol's articles, wherein the Chancellor is firſt repreſented as jealous of Popery, and complaining of the King's inclination to it by chooſing new miniſters popiſhly affected ;

(36) Lives of the Lord Chancellors p. 208.

(37) Vindication of General Monk, &c. in the ſecond volume of Lord Lanſdowne's Works, p. 135.

(38) See his article.

(39) See more of this in Lord Lanſdowne's article.

(40) Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 254. Biſhop Burnet, ubi ſupra, ſays, that the French agent offered the Chancellor 10000 l. and aſſured him of renewing the ſame preſent every year, but that he rejected the offer with great indignation.

(41) In his Hiſtory of England, ad annum 1667. B. I. c. 3.

(42) Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 352. See alſo Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. folio edit.

(43) Lives of the Lord Chancellors, p. 207, 208.

maſter, leſs reſpected in parliament, and leſs beloved by the people (11). The building of a magnificent houſe, which was begun in the following year 1664, furniſhed freſh matter for obloquy [*W*]. In the mean time, though he was very ſenſible that he continually loſt ground in his Majeſty's favour, yet he diſdained to ſtoop to thoſe arts which were become neceſſary to prevent the miſchievous conſequences thereof [*X*]; ſo that by degrees

ſected; and yet after all, he is made the inſtrument of thoſe very deſigns laid for Popery, and the profeſſed promoter of them. This is ſomewhat ſurprizing; and what has ſince made the deſigned revenge more apparent is, that the articles ſhould tax the Chancellor with ſaying, that Sir Henry Bennet was a concealed Papiſt, when the Earl of Briſtol himſelf was the ſame, and had been privy to all that the King had done at Fonterabia at the Pyrenean treaty. His revenge was returned upon the proſecutor abundantly to the vindication and honour of the Chancellor by the Houſe of Lords; who ſhewed themſelves very ſenſible of the malice of the proſecution, and as ſoon as the articles were exhibited and read before them, after a ſhort conſideration made the following order: 'That a copy of the articles or charge of high-treaſon, exhibited this day by the Earl of Briſtol againſt the Lord Chancellor, be delivered to the Lord Chief-Juſtice, who with all the reſt of the Judges are to conſider, whether the ſaid charge hath been brought in regularly and legally; and whether it may be proceeded on, and how; and whether there be any treaſon in it or no; and make report thereof to this Houſe on Monday next if they can, or elſe as ſoon after as poſſibly they can.' Upon this important occaſion, all the Judges met at Serjeant's-Inn, and the Earl of Briſtol repaired to them, deſiring to ſee their order; which being read, he told them, that *he came out of reſpect to know of them, whether they were informed how it came into the Houſe of Peers, whether as a charge or not.* But one of the Judges, who had been preſent when it was delivered in, ſaying, that *they were tied up by their orders*, the Earl took ſome exception at the manner of his expreſſion, as if his addreſs was unneceſſary at that time, and taking it as a rebuke upon him, departed. And, according to their order, which ſuppoſed it to be a charge of *high-treaſon*, and not mentioning *miſdemeanors*, having conſidered the matter, they unanimouſly agreed upon this anſwer, which the Lord Chief-Juſtice Foſter delivered into the Houſe of Lords: 'We conceive that a charge of high-treaſon cannot, by the laws and ſtatutes of this realm, be originally exhibited by one Peer againſt another unto the Houſe of Peers: and that therefore a charge of high-treaſon by the Earl of Briſtol againſt the Chancellor, mentioned in the order of reference to us on the 10th of this inſtant July, hath not been regularly and legally brought in; and if the matters alledged in the ſaid charge were admitted to be true, although alledged to be traiterouſly done, yet there is no treaſon in it.' Upon the reading of this anſwer, the Earl of Briſtol took exceptions at it, and ſome of the Lords, who were friends to the Chancellor, inferred, that 'If it was not regularly and legally brought in, it was a libel, and ought to be condemned, and the author of it cenſured.' To ſatisfy the Houſe, one of the Judges, upon conference with his brethren, did the next day deliver the reaſons of the opinion of the Judges in their anſwer; when the Earl of Briſtol, a little to extenuate the matter, ſaid, that *the articles were not intended by him as a charge, but an information.* Hereupon their Lordſhips, upon a fair debate of the queſtion, did unanimouſly reſolve to declare their concurrence with the opinion of the Judges.

[*W*] *The building of his houſe furniſhed freſh matter of obloquy.*] We ſhall take the account of this matter from Biſhop Burnet, who has not ſpared to cenſure the Earl's indiſcretion on that ſtep, which indeed he was himſelf not inſenſible of, and afterwards lamented (44). 'The King, ſays that hiſtorian, had granted him, as has been already obſerved, a large piece of ground near St James's palace to build upon (45); he intended a good ordinary houſe, but not underſtanding thoſe matters himſelf, he put the management of it into the hands of others, who run him into a vaſt expence of above 50,000 l. three times as much as he had deſigned to lay out upon it (46). During the war, and in the plague year [1665], he had about 300 men at work, which he thought would have been an acceptable thing, when ſo many men were kept at work, and ſo much money as was daily paid circulated about. But it had a contrary effect, it raiſed a great outcry againſt him. Some called it *Dunkirk houſe*, intimating that it was built by his ſhare of the price of Dunkirk. Others called it *Holland-houſe*, becauſe he was believed to be no friend to the war; ſo it was given out he had the money from the Dutch: it was viſible that, in a time of public calamity, he was building a very noble palace. Another accident was, that before the war there were ſome deſigns on foot for the repairing of St Paul's, and many ſtones were brought thither for the purpoſe. That project was laid aſide: he upon that bought the ſtones, and made uſe of them in building his own houſe. This, how ſlight ſoever it may ſeem to be, yet it had a great effect by the management of his enemies (47).' To the Biſhop's remark it may be added, that this ſtately pile was not finiſhed 'till 1667 (48); ſo that it ſtood a growing monument for the popular odium to feed on, almoſt the whole interval between his firſt and his laſt impeachment; and to aggravate and ſpread that odium, there was publiſhed a moſt virulent ſatirical ſong, intituled Clarendon's Houſe-warming, conſiſting of many ſtanzas, each of four hendecaſyllables, to which, by way of ſting at the tail, was added the following clumſy but bitter epigram.

Upon the Houſe.

Here lye the ſacred bones
Of Paul beguiled of his ſtones.
Here lye the golden briberies
Of many ruin'd families.
Here lies the Cavalier's debenture wall,
    Fix'd on an eccentric baſis.
Here's Dunkirk town and Tangier hall,
The Queen's marriage and all,
    The Dutch-mens *Templum Pacis* *.

[*X*] *Though he was ſenſible of his loſing ground, yet he diſdained thoſe arts which were become neceſſary, &c.*] From the time that Sir Henry Bennet (afterwards Lord Arlington) was made Secretary of State, he was apt to complain, upon occaſion that he had no credit at Court, which diſobliged the King; and when his advice, prudently and honeſtly given, was over-ruled, he did not care to intermeddle, but left it to wiſer men, as he ſtiled them, to follow their own meaſures, and to perform what they had confidently undertaken for the King's ſervice. This manner of conduct made him neglect his intereſt (of which few miniſters have ever had a greater ſhare, and yet founded upon virtue) in the Houſe of Commons, 'till at laſt it was utterly ruined (49). This obſervation of Mr Carte's is agreeable to all the general hiſtories. But there is an inſtance of this conduct related by the Earl himſelf, which ſets it in the fulleſt light, as follows. In 1667, the inſult by the Dutch at Chatham happening ſoon after the Earl was ſettled in Clarendon-houſe, the clamours of the populace on that occaſion were all levelled at him as the author of all the calamities of the kingdom; ſo that he was in continual apprehenſions they would pull down his houſe, and that he ſhould fall a ſacrifice to their fury (50). In the mean time, 'the diſtraction was ſo great in court and city, as if an army of 100,000 men had encompaſſed it; and though the Dutch fleet advanced no farther than Chatham, and returned out of the Thames; yet it remained ſtill upon the coaſt, and landing about Harwich, attempted the caſtle of Langhorne-point, and kept the counties of Eſſex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, in perpetual alarm for many days: the train-bands, which had been drawn together, pretended the time was expired that they were obliged to maintain themſelves, and therefore required pay or liberty to depart, though the enemy was in view, and themſelves like to be made the firſt prey. The regi-degrees the King was brought at length to entertain an unconquerable averſion to him [*Y*]; and having firſt taken away the great ſeal in Auguſt 1667 [*Z*], afterward encouraged an impeachment

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(11) Compleat Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 266. 2d edit.

(44) See his Life, prefixed to his Tracts, in 1712, 4to. and note (48).

(45) The proprietor of Worceſter-houſe, where he reſided, had reſolved to live there himſelf upon the expiration of the Earl's leaſe.

(46) Mr Carte obſerves, that this expence almoſt ruined him in his fortune, by loading him with a heavy debt. Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. II. p. 349. See alſo the Chancellor's Letter to his Grace in remark [*Z*].

(47) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 249, folio edition.

(48) He did not go into it 'till April that year. Carte, where laſt cited. At his entrance he ſaid, this houſe will one day be my ruin. It ſtood at the upper end of St James's ſtreet, where Albemarle ſtreet and the ſtreets adjoining now are. Echard, Vol. III. p. 192.

* State Poems, from Oliver Cromwell to King James II. p. 247. Lond. 1697, 8vo.

(49) Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. I p. 350.

(50) Carte, where laſt cited; and the Earl's Vindication, paſſim.

ments which had been raiſed without charge to the King, upon the intereſt of ſeveral perſons of honour and great reputation, had upon the firſt muſters received one month's pay; but that time was expired, and they muſt either receive another pay, or take free quarter upon the country, which the time would not bear. In this perplexity, ſome perſons had adviſed the King to ſummon the Parliament to convene upon a ſhort day, notwithſtanding it ſtood prorogued 'till October. And, continues the Earl, when his Majeſty aſked my opinion of it, I told him I thought it could not be done; I was ſure it never had been done. To which his Majeſty replied, that he was aſſured by many that he might do it, and named Mr Prynne to be of that opinion. Shortly after, his Majeſty appointed the whole council to meet upon the debate, of which I knew nothing 'till I came into the room. The King himſelf told us what we were to debate upon; that we all ſaw the ſtraits we were in, the general diſtemper of the nation, the inſolence of the enemy; that there was a neceſſity of having an army, that he had no money, nor knew where to get any, nor could imagine any other way to provide againſt the inconveniences which were in view, than by calling the Parliament; of which, and any other expedient, he would receive our advice, expreſſing ſo much of his own ſenſe, that it was plain enough he inclined to that remedy: upon which, three or four of thoſe who ſat at the lower end of the table, and who were known to have contrived the council, expreſſed themſelves at large; ſeemed very confident that it might lawfully be done; that no other way could be found to raiſe money; that men could not be kept together without money; and deſired that they who were of another opinion would propoſe ſome other counſel. I don't deny their reaſons did in no degree ſatisfy me; and though I knew very well that the reſolution was upon the matter already taken, that there was a great deſire in ſome men, whoſe malice to me was enough known, to lead me into ſome expreſſions of which they might take advantage; yet the obligation of my oath to deliver myſelf freely, the conceived ſecurity of that place, and the opinion that the thing was not reaſonable, and would produce many inconveniences to the King's ſervice, prevailed with me to diſcharge my own conſcience, God knows, according to the beſt of my underſtanding; I ſaid, I knew well the diſadvantage upon which I ſpoke in ſo tender a point, and how unpopular a thing it was to be againſt the convening of the Parliament in a time of ſo great ſtraits, when no other remedy could be found; yet *that* appearing to me not practicable, I thought it not to be embraced; that it was confeſſed by all hands, that in the point of law, the convening them before the time to which they were adjourned was at leaſt very doubtful; and to me, upon all the diſquiſition I could make, it was very clear it could not be done; that the temper of both Houſes was well known; and it could not but be preſumed, that when they came together, the firſt debate they would fall upon, would be upon the manner of their coming, and whether they were in a capacity to act; and I doubted very much, that there would be very few who would be willing to paſs an Act of Parliament in ſo doubtful a ſeaſon, and then if their meeting was only to confer, when they might ſay any thing and conclude nothing, I thought it well worth the conſidering, whether, in ſo general a diſtemper, ſuch an aſſembly might not interrupt all other conſiderations and expedients, and yet propoſe none, and ſo increaſe the confuſion: I ſaid if the neceſſities were ſo urgent, that it was neceſſary to have a Parliament convened, and that they could not lawfully re-aſſemble that which was prorogued, 'till the day to which it was prorogued, as I was confident it could not be, there could be no doubt but that it was in the King's power to diſſolve that Parliament, and forthwith iſſue out writs for calling another, which might be regularly aſſembled more than a month before the prorogued Parliament could meet.' There were many more for this expedient as the beſt way; but many others declaring againſt it, the King himſelf, with ſome quickneſs, aſked the Chancellor what he would adviſe, upon which he ſaid, that 'till a new Parliament could meet, for the preſent ſupport of thoſe troops which were to guard the coaſts, to avoid the worſt ſort of free quarters made by the ſoldiers themſelves, the only way that appeared to him to be practicable, would be to write letters to the Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants of thoſe counties where the troops were obliged to remain, to cauſe proviſions to be brought into their quarters; as alſo to write the like letters to the neighbouring counties, to raiſe money by way of contribution, as had heretofore been done. 'And it is poſſible, concludes he, that in the earneſtneſs of this debate, and the frequent interruptions which were given, I might uſe that expreſſion of raiſing contribution as had been done in the late civil war (51).' Thus he ventured too boldly to oppoſe the majority of the Council, with the King at their head; and the conſequence was, that this opinion of his appeared at the head of the articles of treaſon ſoon after exhibited againſt him, dreſſed up in the following terms: 'That the Earl of Clarendon hath deſigned a ſtanding army to be raiſed, and to govern the kingdom thereby; adviſing the King to diſſolve the preſent Parliament; to lay aſide all thoughts of Parliaments for the future; to govern by military power, and to maintain the ſame by free quarter and contribution.'

[*Y*] *He was brought by degrees to an unconquerable averſion for him.*] There can be no clearer proof of his innocence and real worth, than the low methods taken by his adverſaries to beget this averſion in his Majeſty, the particulars of which are finely and delicately touched in the preface to the firſt volume of his Hiſtory of the Rebellion. But it will not be amiſs to lay before the reader ſome circumſtances of that ſingular one, which has been generally thought to have the greateſt ſhare in creating the ſaid averſion. It is allowed on all hands, that the Chancellor was not without the pride of conſcious virtue †, 'where his perſonal carriage was attended with a kind of gravity and haughtineſs, which ſtruck a very diſagreeable awe into a Court filled with licentious perſons of both ſexes; that he often took the liberty to give ſuch reproofs to theſe perſons of mirth and gallantry, as were very unacceptable to them, and ſometimes thought it his duty to adviſe the King himſelf in ſuch a manner, that they took advantage of him, and as he paſſed in Court would often ſay to his Majeſty, *There goes your ſchoolmaſter*. The chief of theſe was the Duke of Buckingham, who had a ſurpriſing talent of ridicule and buffoonery; and that he might make a way to his ruin, he often acted and mimicked the Chancellor in the preſence of the King, walking ſtately with a pair of bellows before him for the purſe, and Colonel Titus carrying a fire-ſhovel on his ſhoulder for the mace; with which ſort of banter and farce, ſays Mr Echard, the King was too much delighted and captivated (52).' Accordingly, as ſoon as the ſeal was taken from him and delivered to the King, Mr May, well knowing the compliment that would be the moſt grateful to his Majeſty on that occaſion, upon kiſſing his hand told him, *He was then King of England and never before* (53). But we have ſtill a more undeniable evidence that it was this part of his behaviour which was reſented above any thing elſe by his Majeſty, and that is the King himſelf, who, in a letter wrote expreſsly to ſatisfy the the Duke of Ormonde what the Chancellor had done to diſpleaſe him, beſides the diſſatisfaction of the world on his account, does not offer to charge him with any crime, but only with a certain *peeviſhneſs of temper* which gave him offence (54).

[*Z*] *The ſeal was taken from him.*] Upon this occaſion he wrote the following letter to the Duke of Ormond.

'Though I have great reaſon to take heed what I write and what I ſay, and therefore have given over ſending all letters by the poſt, yet I ſatisfy myſelf, that this bearer will carefully deliver into your hands this ſcribble; and your's of the 26th is ſo full of kindneſs, that I muſt not leave it unacknowledged.

'The truth is, I know not what to ſay, the world is ſo much altered ſince I wrote laſt. The great affliction I lay under from the unexpected loſs of my wife, which I did not apprehend full two days, had, I thought, pretty well prepared me to quit the world; yet I

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(51) Vindication of himſelf againſt the firſt article of the Houſe of Commons, printed in his Tracts, edit. 1727, folio.

† He acknowledges it himſelf in his Vindication, &c. where he calls it the pride of a good conſcience, p. 9.

(52) Echard's Hiſtory of England, ad annum 1667. B. I. c. 3.

(53) The Chancellor's Vindication of himſelf, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 8.

(54) Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. I. p. 353. and Echard's Hiſtory, where laſt cited.

impeachment of high-treaſon, which was brought againſt him by the Houſe of Commons [*AA*] in November; and laſtly, during the proſecution, procured him to leave the kingdom [*BB*] in the beginning of December; whereupon, an act of baniſhment was paſſed againſt

'cannot tell you, that the other which followed within a few days, did not exceedingly ſurprize me, and even aſtoniſh me; nor in truth am I yet recovered out of that trance. Nor can I imagine, how, from being thought a pretty wiſe fellow, I am become ſuddenly to have no underſtanding, and to be of no uſe. It fell upon me in an ill time, and how I ſhall ſhift I know not, being under a vaſt debt, and poſſeſſed of a very ſmall eſtate, and ſo like to be in ſtraits enough. Nor do I know what is more intended. I thank God I fear nothing that my enemies can bring againſt me, though the number of them is great, and thoſe of my friends fewer than I could imagine ‡.

'Upon all the reflections I can make with myſelf, I am not conſcious of having done or ſaid any thing in diſcharge of my public truſt, which I would not have done or ſaid if I had been that moment to expire. I am accuſed of inſolence and ſawcineſs in debates, of which 'tis ſaid I had directions long ſince to advertiſe me. In truth, I think I have been frequently bold enough, in which I am ſure my intentions were always full of duty; and I am confident you will ſwear for me that that duty will never decline. If I know myſelf, I ſhall never be leſs warm in all the King's concernment than I have ever been, and it is not impoſſible that I may yet do him more ſervice under his diſpleaſure, than I have been able to do in his favour.

'There are now other expedients deſigned to his ſervice than I could travel in. I am pretty well compoſed in my mind, and if I am ſuffered, ſhall be glad to ſpend this winter here, and at the ſpring ſhall retire into ſome corner in the country, where I may be able to get bread. I muſt not omit to tell you, that the Duke of York hath been and is as gracious to me, and as much concerned for me as poſſible; I have not many other friends to brag of. I confeſs I have ſo much mortification upon the obſervation of the humours of men, that the very ridiculouſneſs thereof is ſome allay to the melancholic. God proſper you and your's, and keep your maſter firm to you, for I believe I have few enemies who don't deſire to oblige you the ſame way they have done me *. I pray God to provide well for the public here, and bring you and me once more together.

Clarendon-houſe,
24 Sept. 1667.

'CLARENDON (55).'

[*AA*] *The King encouraged an impeachment of high-treaſon, &c.*] Two inſtances of this are given, one by Mr Carte, who relates (56), that his Majeſty obſerving Sir John Finch to be ſilent in the Houſe, when this point came in queſtion, gave him poſitive orders to be active, and to promote the buſineſs. And Mr Echard tells us (57), that the King very ſharply rebuked Sir Stephen Fox for voting againſt the impeachment. And beſides theſe expreſs declarations of his temper on this occaſion, the Earl hath not ſpared to aſſert, that, as ſoon as the Parliament came together, it quickly appeared that my enemies (they are his own words) had ſo far prevailed with his Majeſty, as to declare his own diſpleaſure againſt me, and againſt all thoſe who appeared to have no ill opinion of me; and then nothing was ſpoken ſo much of as the reſolution to take my life, and the lady Caſtlemain declared that the Duke of Buckingham was to ſit Lord High-Steward of England upon my trial, many wagers being laid in the Court that I ſhould loſe my head; and Sir Thomas Oſborne, a perſon of great intimacy with the Duke, had declared in the country before he came up to Parliament, that if the Chancellor was not hanged he would be hanged himſelf; all which was done, he intimates, in the view of driving him out of the land (58), a thing which his Majeſty had indeed fixed upon, and which was compaſſed in the manner related in the next remark.

[*BB*] *Procured him to leave the kingdom.*] As this part of his conduct was condemned by many of his friends (59), and particularly by the Duke of Ormonde, who had in a manner engaged for his ſteadineſs and courage to ſtand a trial (60) he drew up a particular account of it, as follows. 'From the beginning of the proſecution in Parliament againſt me, ſome perſons who wiſhed me very well, informed of the ſeveral intentions againſt me, earneſtly adviſed me to withdraw myſelf, and thereby to provide for my ſecurity, which I utterly refuſed to do. And it is well known, that the day when the Houſe of Commons ſent up their general impeachment, that my coach was ready, and waited three or four hours to carry me to the Houſe, I expecting to be ſent for 'till their riſing. When the debate grew ſo hot in the Houſe of Peers, that many expoſtulations from the Lower Houſe, they ſtill refuſed to commit me to priſon, I received new importunities from my friends to make my eſcape. And they were perſwaded by ſome who had had the greateſt hand in contriving my ruin, to believe that it would be grateful to the King, and that there ſhould be no means uſed to obſtruct my going away: and when nothing of this could work upon me, the Biſhop of Hereford (who had not carried himſelf ſo well toward me as ſome men thought I had deſerved from him †) firſt ſent to the Biſhop of Wincheſter to perſwade him to get me out of the kingdom, and confeſſed to him, that it was the King's deſire, though he would not own it to any body elſe; and then came to me himſelf, preſſing the ſame thing to me, and undertook upon his ſalvation (which was his own expreſſion) that I ſhould neither be ſtopped in my paſſage, nor ſuffer the leaſt degree in my honour or my fortune by my abſence; which he ſaid I could not believe he would undertake without very good authority, and thereupon enlarged upon the calamities the kingdom muſt ſuffer upon this difference between the two Houſes, of which I ſhould be looked upon to be the ſole cauſe, and therefore had reaſon to apprehend what ſenſe the people were like to have of it: and Mr Seymour had the confidence to tell a noble Lord of the Houſe, who had vigorouſly oppoſed my commitment, that if the Houſe of Peers did not comply with the Houſe of Commons, the people would not only pull down my houſe, but the houſes of all thoſe Lords who adhered to me. I told the Biſhop I was very innocent in all things laid to my charge, and therefore was not to be terrified by threats; however, if it were thought fit for his Majeſty's ſervice that I abſented myſelf, I would without any conſideration how far I might ſuffer in point of reputation, ſubmit to his Majeſty's direction; only I deſired, that I might have ſuch a paſs as might ſecure me from being ſtopped, and expoſed as a ſpectacle to the people, and as a man running away from juſtice; which the Biſhop thought I might reaſonably require, and made no doubt of ſending it me accordingly: but the next morning he told the Biſhop of Wincheſter, that if the King ſhould grant ſuch a paſs, it might give great offence to the Parliament; which hazard his Majeſty would not run; but renewed all the aſſurances he had before given for the ſecurity of my paſſage; and I as poſitively refuſed to accept thereof; and ſo continued in my houſe, and ſpoke every day publickly with many perſons a full week after the time that the Biſhop had been with me, notwithſtanding the daily advice and importunity I received from my friends and neareſt relations to withdraw.

'It pleaſed God, that the Duke of York had been for ſome weeks ſick of the ſmall-pox, ſo [illegible] body had ſpoken with him about any buſineſs [illegible]ace of near a month, when the malignity of [illegible] diſeaſe being ſpent, [illegible] himſelf had, upon the laſt Friday in November, viſited his Royal Highneſs; and ſaying little more than to congratulate his recovery, and expreſs his own great joy in it, he came again the next morning early, and had ſome private conference with him. And the King no ſooner departed from him, but the Duke bid his wife ſend preſently to me, and conjure me preſently to be gone ‖; that ſhe ſhould let me know that it was abſolutely neceſſary for the King's [illegible] and that I might be very confident and ſecure that I ſhould meet with no obſtruction in the way, nor undergo the leaſt damage in my honour or fortune by being gone. And upon this

‡ He loſt, on May 16, his chief friend the Earl of Southampton, upon whoſe death the treaſury was put into the hands of the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Aſhley, Sir Thomas Clifton, Sir William Coventry, and Sir John Duncombe, none of them well affected to the Chancellor. Carte, Vol. II. p. 351.

* The ſincere and inviolable friendſhip between theſe two worthy Stateſmen is very exemplary. We have ſeen the commencement of it, and it was cemented by an uninterrupted ſeries of mutual kindneſſes; one of which, on the Chancellor's part, was his writing the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in Ireland*, from the papers communicated to him by the Duke. This piece was printed at London, 1726, 8vo.

† His name will be ſeen preſently among the proteſting Lords.

‖ The Duke's intereſt was in ſome danger, a project being on foot to procure a declaration from the King that he had been married to the Duke of Monmouth's mother; and the perſons appointed by his Majeſty to reduce his expences had propoſed the cutting off the 200 l. a week allowed for the Duke's table. General Hiſtory of England, and Carte, p. 355.

(55) Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. II. in the Appendix, No. LII.

(56) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 353.

(57) Echard's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III.

(58) Vidication of himſelf, in the concluſion.

(59) North's Examen of Kennet's Hiſtory of England, p. 454.

(60) Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. II. in the appendix, No. LXVII. See alſo a Letter from the Duke to the Lord Arlington, dated Sept. 3. 1667. in the ſame volume, p. 353. and in remark [*A*] of the enſuing article.

againſt him on the 19th of that month. Before his departure, he drew up an apology * in a petition to the Houſe of Lords, which being delivered by his eldeſt ſon, the Lord Cornbury, to the Earl of Denbigh, was preſented by him to the Houſe on the third of December. His friends were divided in their opinions about the part which he took of withdrawing, but they all thought him ill adviſed in the matter of his petition (*m m*), wherein he vindicated himſelf from any way contributing to the late miſcarriages, in ſuch a manner as laid the blame at the ſame time upon others [*C C*]. He retired to Normandy, where, if not the malice, at leaſt the miſrepreſentations, of his enemies purſued him. As he was going in the latter end of March following from Rouen to Paris, he ſtopped for ſome time towards the end of April at a town called Evreux, on the ſouth ſide of the Seine; where he was aſſaulted by ſome ſeamen, and very narrowly eſcaped with his life [*D D*]. Being greatly afflicted with the gout, and finding himſelf not ſecure in that part of

‘ this authority and command I did, upon Saturday ‘ the laſt of November, 1667, leave my own houſe, ‘ and went by coach to Erith, where I embarked; ‘ and it pleaſed God, after ſome days ſtruggling with ‘ ill wind and weather, I arrived at Calais the Wed‘neſday following *And I did no more in this adven‘ture, whatever prejudice I have undergone by it, than ‘ I ſhall always do in ſacrificing my honour and my life ‘ itſelf upon the leaſt inſinuation of his Majeſty's plea‘ſure*, and whenever he thinks his ſervice may be ad‘vanced by it. And if any man ſhall yet think, not‘withſtanding all that I have ſaid, that I ought not to ‘ have withdrawn myſelf, but to have remained there ‘ in priſon, or in any other condition they would have ‘ put me, until I had been fully cleared upon a fair ‘ trial, he will, I hope, have ſo much compaſſion of ‘ me, as to think I had great difficulties to contend ‘ with, and will lament, on my behalf, that I am ‘ forced to undergo ſo hard a fate after the age of ‘ threeſcore years, whereof thirty have been ſpent in ‘ the ſervice of the Crown; and for the proſperity ‘ whereof, and the happineſs of his Majeſty's royal ‘ perſon, my daily prayers ſhall be poured out in what ‘ condition ſoever I am, and in what corner ſoever ‘ of the world I ſhall be confined or condemned to (61).' This abſolute reſignation, not only of his life but of his honour too, to the King's pleaſure, will perhaps be looked on at this time of day, (if any thing more than a ſtrain of Court language) to be a rare example of the influence of the doctrine of unlimited paſſive obedience, which was preached up in thoſe days, and for which his Lordſhip may be juſtly honoured with the title of a Confeſſor. But though that principle ought, in juſtice to his univerſally acknowledged integrity, to be allowed the firſt place among the motives which prevailed upon him to withdraw; yet as he declares at the ſame time that he had great difficulties to contend with; ſo no injury will be done to him, in ſuppoſing that the principle of ſelf-preſervation held the ſecond place among thoſe motives. There is a letter of his ſon the Lord Cornbury to the Duke of Ormonde, which furniſhes a ſufficient warrant for this aſſertion. It is dated December 8, four days after his father's landing at Calais, and was wrote to excuſe that reſolution. In this view, having alledged the ſeveral other reaſons for it, he cloſes the number as follows: that ‘ being informed from very creditable hands, that ‘ there was a deſign to prorogue the Parliament, on ‘ purpoſe to try him by a jury of Peers, (by which ‘ means he might fall into the hands of the proteſting ‘ Lords) he reſolved to withdraw *.' Accordingly Mr Carte informs us, that it appeared from Lord Arlington's Letters to the Duke of Ormonde, that it was expected a week before the vote [for committing him], that if the Lords would not recede from their privilege, the Commons would either take the way of remonſtrating [as they did] againſt it ‡, or bring a bill of attainder. The laſt, which would ſtill have left the whole Houſe of Lords to judge, afforded the proſecutors little hopes of ſucceſs, eſpecially ſince the Biſhops would have voted on that occaſion; and therefore a trial by commiſſion, directed to twenty-four Peers, was deemed more eligible; and the Lord Clarendon, with all his innocence and integrity, had reaſon to dread the judgment of twenty-four ſuch perſons as ſhould be packed by the Duke of Buckingham †. The number twenty-four of this jury plainly points to the Lords who proteſted againſt the vote for not committing the Earl, which were D. Bucks, D. Albemarle, Teynham, St David's, T. Lucas, Ch. Garrard, Berkſhire, Powlet, Howard of Charlton, Pembroke, Rocheſter, W. Dureſme, T. Sandes, Jo. Berkley, Northampton, Kent, Carliſle, Dover, Norwich, Vaughan, Hen. Hereford, Byron, Bath, Briſtol, Arlington, Say and Seal, Powis. In number twenty-four, beſides the three Biſhops ‖.

[*C C*] *As laid the blame upon others*] The Lord Arlington, who thought himſelf particularly ſtruck at in the petition, called it a libel in the Houſe, and after reading it, the Lords ſent two of the Judges to acquaint the Commons of it, and to deſire a conference. The Duke of Buckingham, who was alſo plainly aimed at in the petition, delivered it to the Commons, and in his uſual way of inſult and ridicule, ſaid, The Lords have commanded me to deliver to you this ſcandalous and ſeditious paper ſent from the Earl of Clarendon. They bid me preſent it to you, and deſire you in a convenient time to ſend it to them again, for it has a ſtyle which they are in love with, and therefore deſire to keep it. Upon the reading of it in that Houſe, it was voted to be *ſcandalous, malicious, and a reproach to the juſtice of the nation*; whereupon they moved the Lords that it might be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, which was ordered, and executed accordingly (62).

[*D D*] *He narrowly eſcaped with his life.*] This aſſault was made on the 23d of April, as appears from the following account of it in a letter to Sir William Coventry, Secretary of State, by Mr Oliver Long, dated at Evreux, April 26, 1668 (63). ‘ As I was travel‘ling from Rouen towards Orleans, it was my fortune, ‘ April 23, N. S. to overtake the Earl of Clarendon (then ‘ in his unhappy and unmerited exile) who was going to‘wards Bourbon, but took up his lodging at a private ‘ hôtel in a ſmall walled town called Evreux, ſome ‘ leagues from Rouen. I, as moſt Engliſh gentlemen did ‘ to ſo valuable a patriot, went to pay him a viſit near ‘ ſupper-time, when he was, as uſual, very civil to me. ‘ Before ſupper was done, twenty or thirty Engliſh ſea‘men and more, came and demanded entrance at the ‘ great gate, which being ſtrongly barred, kept them ‘ out for ſome time; but in a ſhort ſpace they brake ‘ it, and preſently drove all they found, by their ad‘vantage of numbers, into the Earl's chamber, where ‘ by the aſſiſtance of only three ſwords and piſtols, ‘ we kept them out for half an hour, in which diſpute ‘ many of us were wounded by their ſwords and piſtols, ‘ whereof they had many. To conclude, they broke ‘ the windows and doors, and under the conduct of ‘ one *Howard* an Iriſhman (who has three brothers, as ‘ I am told, in the King of England's ſervice), and an ‘ enſign in the company of cannoneers; they quickly ‘ found the Earl in his bed, not able to ſtand by the ‘ violence of the gout; whence after they had given ‘ him many blows with their ſwords and ſtaves, mixed ‘ with horrible curſes and oaths, they dragged him on ‘ the ground into the middle of the yard, where they ‘ encompaſſed him around with their ſwords, and after ‘ they had told him in their own language, how *he had ‘ ſold the kingdom and robbed them of their pay*, Howard ‘ commanded them all, as one man, to run their ‘ ſwords through his body. But what difference aroſe ‘ among themſelves before they could agree, God a‘bove, who alone ſent this ſpirit of diſſenſion, only ‘ knows. In this interval, their lieutenant, one ‘ *Swaine*, came and diſarmed them. Sixteen of the ‘ ringleaders were put into priſon, and many of thoſe ‘ things which they had rifled from him found again, ‘ which were reſtored, and of great value. Monſieur La ‘ Fonde, a great man belonging to the King of France's ‘ bed-chamber, ſent to conduct the Earl on his way ‘ hither, was ſo deſperately wounded in the head, that ‘ there were but little hopes of his life. Many of ‘ theſe aſſaſſins were grievouſly wounded, and this ac‘tion is ſo much reſented by all here, that many of ‘ theſe of France, he went in the ſummer to Montpelier, where, being more at eaſe [*E E*], he drew up his *Diſcouſe by way of Vindication of himſelf, from the Charge of High-Treaſon brought againſt him by the Houſe of Commons in November* 1667 [*FF*]. Recovering his health to a good degree, he continued at Montpelier three or four years, ſpending a good

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* It is print[illegible] in Rapin's History of England under this year.

(*m m*) Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. II. p. 354.

(61) His Vindication, in the concluſion.

* Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. II. in the Appendix, No. LIII.

‡ The debate which ended in that remonſtrance was uſhered in by the Duke of Albemarle's ſon, a youth of 14 or 15 years of age, ſuch being allowed then to ſit in the Houſe of Commons. Ibid. in the body of the work, p. 349.

† Ibid.

‖ Compleat collection of the Lords Proteſts, under the year 1667. Lond. 1737. 8vo.

(62) State Trials, in that of the Earl of Clarendon, Vol. II. p. 572.

(63) The original is in the Bodleian library.

‘ theſe criminals will meet with an uſage equal to their ‘ merit.’

[*E E*] *He was more at eaſe at Montpelier.*] In the dedication of the *Contemplations, &c. upon the Pſalms*, having taken notice of the ſevere treatment he met with at Evreux, he declares he was in no place which he could confidently reſide in ’till he came to Montpelier, where he found very good reception and accommodation, through the extraordinary civility and addreſs of Lady Mordaunt. Who having obtained a very great eſteem from all perſons there, had taken ſome pains by her good mention of him, and the poſt that he had ſuſtained, and ſome advantageous diſcourſe of his relations ‖, to prepare them in ſuch a manner to bid him welcome, that he found a very extraordinary reſpect from all perſons of quality, men and women; which continued during his ſtay there (64). Upon this mention of Lady Mordaunt's kindneſs to the Earl, we ſhall take on opportunity of vindicating the Chancellor's ſhare in the Reſtoration, with regard to one particular, wherein the Lord Mordaunt was concerned. It was no inconſiderable part of Monke's inſtructions to Sir John Greenvile, that he ſhould not return ’till he had ſeen the King out of the Spaniſh dominions, and his Majeſty was deſired to make haſte to Breda, and from thence diſpatch all the letters and papers he ſhould ſend to England. ‘ I have taken notice of this particular, continues Mr Carte, as well to do an act of juſtice to General Monke, by ſhewing that his application to the King, was earlier than is generally repreſented, and that he did not ſtay ’till he had ſeen the iſſue of the election, by which he might judge of the temper of the members, as to do another to the Marquis of Ormonde (from whom no body I believe will ſeparate the Lord Chancellor) by ſhewing, that he was not unacquainted with Monke's affairs and inſtructions. The ſurmiſe that thoſe were kept a ſecret from theſe two noble perſons is ſo far from truth, that on the very next day after Lord Mordaunt and Sir John Greenvile parted from the King, Lord Mordaunt, upon ſome freſh advices received from England, of Monke's meaſures and further communications of his deſigns, ſent a letter to the Marquis of Ormonde, deſiring him to diſpatch *Hartvile Baron* with the commiſſion for the General, and ſuch further inſtructions as were neceſſary *.’

[*F F*] *A vindication of himſelf from the charge of high-treaſon, &c.*] This charge conſiſts of ſeventeen articles, which to go over here would be tedious, eſpecially ſince notwithſtanding the challenge made by his ſon Mr Laurence Hyde, defying the Houſe to prove any one of them, yet no proof was ever attempted there (65). The article which charges him with adviſing the ſale of Dunkirk to the French, is the only one that ever made the leaſt impreſſion to the diſadvantage of his memory; and ſince a late noble author, already quoted in this memoir, hath produced a circumſtance, which, if not rightly underſtood, may be thought to ſupport the opinion, that he even adviſed the parting with it in general; we ſhall endeavour to ſet that matter in it's true light. The Earl of Clarendon begins his defence againſt this article in theſe terms. It is very well known to his Majeſty and to ſeveral perſons yet alive, that the parting with Dunkirk was reſolved upon before ever I heard of it; and that the purpoſe was therefore concealed from me, becauſe it was believed that I was not of that opinion, and would not concur in the advice †. However in proceeding he confeſſes, that when it was firſt propoſed and debated in the Council, he was not only preſent, but agreed with the majority in their opinion for the ſale of it; and that in a ſecond debate, he alſo concurred with his Majeſty's propoſal for making the firſt offer to France; and that in purſuance of this reſolution, he was one of thoſe four or five Lords of the Privy-Council appointed to treat with Mr *Eſtrades*, who was come privately to England for that purpoſe, and that after ſeveral conferences with him, the bargain was concluded (66). Thus the Chanchellor's own ſtate of the caſe confirms the obſervation of Lord Lanſdowne (67) from the *letters and negotiations of the Count D'Eſtrades* that the firſt motion came from the Chancellor in a letter dated at Hampton-Court, June 29, 1662, and ſigned *Clarendon*; that is, the firſt motion to that Count; which may be very true, and yet it may be as true, that the reſolution for parting with Dunkirk was taken before ever the Chancellor heard of it, as he himſelf avers. But in juſtice to our readers, we muſt not omit mentioning one particular concerning this treaty, though it may ſeem to bear a little hard upon his memory. Having recounted the ſeveral ſteps taken in negotiating this affair ’till it was brought to a concluſion, by agreeing upon 500000 piſtoles, to be paid in ſpecie, for the purchaſe, he proceeds thus: ‘ Which I believe was a ‘ greater ſum of money than was ever paid at one pay‘ment by any Prince in Chriſtendom, upon what oc‘caſion ſoever. And, continues he, that all this ‘ ſhould not amount to a greater value than the ammu‘nition, artillery, and ſtores were worth, which were ‘ delivered with it, is very ſtrange, and cannot be ſup‘poſed by any reaſonable computation †. I do very ‘ well remember, that in the treaty, we did with ‘ much earneſtneſs inſiſt upon the detaining the cannon ‘ and other artillery and ammunition. But M. D'E‘ſtrades would not conſent to it, being neceſſary, as he ‘ ſaid, for the defence of the place, which probably might ‘ be attacked by the Spaniards in a few days after the ‘ delivery of it into the hands of his maſter; and upon ‘ inſerting that exception of the cannon, &c. in our ‘ demand, he was at laſt induced to conſent to the pay‘ment of 500000 piſtoles, which he had never before ‘ yielded unto; he concludes with obſerving, that his ‘ Majeſty cauſed ſome eſtimate to be made of the ‘ cannon, &c. and that the value did not ariſe to more ‘ than 20000 l. ſterling, or thereabouts.’ It is evident, that in this account, the Chancellor had an eye upon the ſpeech which was made to his Majeſty by Sir Edward Harley, who had been governor of Dunkirk * ’till the ſale was projected, when being removed and returning to England, on the delivery of his accounts, he took his leave of the King, telling him before the Duke of Albemarle, who had procured him that government, that the guns, ſtores, and ammunition he left at Dunkirk, were worth more money than the French were to give for the place (68). He told him alſo, that he would leave him one thing more, which his Majeſty did not think of, and that was 10000 l. he had ſaved in his iron cheſt againſt a ſiege, or any other exigence that might happen (69). It may not be improper to obſerve likewiſe here, ſince it made the ſurrendry of the place more unpopular; that this gentleman, during the ſhort ſpace of time he held that government, had recruited the garriſon to above 9000 men, and began many fortifications, which were afterwards perfected by the French (70); that on his removal he left in the hands of the deputy-treaſurer, the ſum of 127752 l. 15 s. (71); that he ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the ſale of it, and by his intereſt in the Houſe of Commons, procured the reſolution that it ſhould never be alienated, but be made a part of the King's hereditary dominions (72), and that he refuſed an offer made him by a certain great man, of 10000 l. to be paſſive in the ſurrendry of it (73); that being offered the peerage, with the title of Viſcount, for his ſignal ſervices at and before the Reſtoration, he refuſed that honour, giving this reaſon for it, *leaſt his zeal and his ſervices for the Reſtoration of the ancient government ſhould be reproached as proceeding from ambition, and not conſcience.* And laſtly his being made Knight of the Bath, was done without his knowledge when he was at Dunkirk, the King inſerting his name in the liſt with his own hand (74). Upon the whole it cannot, I think, be denied, that the Earl of Clarendon had a principal ſhare both in propoſing and effecting the ſale of Dunkirk to the French. Yet at the ſame time it ought to be obſerved in his behalf, that therein he yielded to the opinion of others, and eſpecially to his Majeſty's particular deſire. In reſpect to which, he was united with the Duke of Ormond in making it an inviolable rule of his duty, to ſerve the King his own way (75).

‖ Of theſe Mr Wood mentions eleven, who were all preferred by the Chancellor's intereſt. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1151, 1152, 1153. and the Chancellor's Life, ubi ſupra, p. 2. He had alſo a brother-in-law, Colonel Gunter, who, in purſuance of advices received from the Chancellor, concerted meaſures for furthering a deſign of the King's landing in Suſſex in 1657. Thurloe, Vol. VII. p. 77.

(64) The Earl's Miſcellaneous Works, &c. p. 373.

* Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. II. B. v. p. 198, ad annum 1660.

(65) See remark [*A*] in the next article.

† It has been ſaid that there is good reaſon to think the Queen-mother, when ſhe came over to England in Jan. 1660, was charged with this affair of Dunkirk as well as that of the Portugal match. Carte's remark in the Gen. Dict. Vol. VI. p. 337. in notes b.

(66) His Vindication againſt article xi. in his Miſcellanies, p. 33.

(67) In the ſecond volume of his Works, p. 137.

† This article of his charge is in theſe terms, *That he adviſed and effected the ſale of Dunkirk to the French King, being part of his Majeſty's dominions, together with the ammunition, artillery, and all ſorts of ſtores there, and for no greater value than the ſaid ammunition, artillery, and ſtores, were worth.*

* From the time of the Reſtoration.

(68) Collins's Hiſtorical Collections of the Families of Cavendiſhe, Holles, Vere, Harley, &c. p. 204.

(69) Id. ibid. ex collectione J. Freind, M. D.

(70) Ibid. p. 202, from a MS. intituled, *Hiſtoire de la Maiſon de Harley, par Monſ. Moret.*

(71) Ibid. p. 203, from Sir Edward Harley's Account of the Expences and Treaſure at Dunkirk, MS.

(72) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 259, 2d edit. 1719.

(73) Collins, ubi ſupra, p. 202. from Moret's MS.

(74) Collins, p. 205. N.B. This Sir Edw. Harley was father to Robert Harley Earl of Oxford, and Lord High-Treaſurer in the reign of Queen Anne. ibid.

(75) See No. 71, in the appendix to Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. II.

good part of his time (*n n*) in that devout work beforementioned, *The Contemplations and Reflections upon the Pſalms*, which he finiſhed there, and prefixed to it a moſt pathetic addreſs to his children (*o o*). In 1672 he reſided at Moulins, where he wrote his *Animadverſions upon Mr* Creſſy's *book, intituled, Fanaticiſm fanatically imputed to the Catholic Church by Dr Stillingfleet, and the Imputation refuted and retorted, by* J. C. [*G G*]. He alſo drew up his Survey of Mr Hobbes's Leviathan the following year at Moulins [*p p*], having lately finiſhed his great work the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, &c. there *; and removing thence to Rouen, he paid his laſt debt to nature, on the ninth of December 1674, in that city; whence his body was brought to England, and interred on the north ſide of King Henry VIIth's chapel in Weſtminſter-abbey (*q q*). He was twice married; firſt to Anne, daughter of Sir Gregory Ayloffe of Robſon in Wiltſhire, Knt; and this lady dying without iſſue by him, he married, in July 1634, at St Margaret's Weſtminſter, Frances, daughter, and at length heir, to Sir Thomas Ayleſbury, Bart. who brought him ſeveral children (*r r*), beſides Henry the eldeſt ſon who ſucceeded him in the honour and eſtate. We ſhall give an account of them all below [*H H*].

(*n n*) The greateſt part of his Eſſays are alſo dated at Montpelier.

(*o o*) It is dated 18/28 Feb. 1670-1, and conſequently wrote before he had heard of the Ducheſs of York's changing her religion, in whom he declares himſelf ſingularly happy, that tho' her condition had made his duty a debt to her, yet ſhe had behaved to him with the ſame kindneſs, tenderneſs, and duty, as if ſhe were ſtill under the dependance and diſcipline of his own family.

(*p p*) The dedication to his Majeſty is dated at Moulins, May 10, 1673. See Hobbes's article.

* See rem. [*N*].

(*q q*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 535.

(*r r*) She died much lamented by him a few days before he was deprived of the Great-Seal. Vindication of himſelf, &c. in the concluſion.

[*G G*] *His anſwer to Creſſy.*] What firſt induced him to undertake this taſk (76), was the knowledge he had of Mr Creſſy, by means of an acquaintance which had commenced at Oxford (77), where that gentleman was his contemporary, and being choſen Fellow of Merton-college in 1625 (78), took the degree of A. M. and afterwards entring into holy orders, was no inconſiderable preacher, and became chaplain to the Lord Wentworth, then Preſident of the North (79), and continued ſo after he was Deputy of Ireland, whither he went in 1638 with Lucius Lord Falkland (80), probably as chaplain; and in 1642, his Lordſhip being Secretary of State, procured him a canonry of Windſor, and the deanry of Leighlen in Ireland was conferred upon him about the ſame time, but he was never inſtalled into the deanry, and never received any profits from either of theſe dignities, by reaſon of the confuſion of the times (81); ſo that being reduced to very narrow circumſtances, eſpecially after the death of the Lord Falkland at the battle of Newbury in September 1643, he travelled as a tutor with Charles Berkley, Eſq; (afterwards Earl of Falmouth) in 1644. But upon a foreſight (if we may believe himſelf (82)) that the Church of England would ſoon terminate by the reſtleſs attempts of the Sectaries, he began to think of ſettling himſelf in the Church of Rome. Accordingly going by the way of Paris to that city, he publickly renounced his religion there in 1646; after which returning to Paris, he publiſhed his *Exomologeſis; or a faithful Narrative of the Occaſions and Motives of his Converſion to Catholic Unity*, 1647, 12mo. Soon after it was printed, he ſent a copy to Dr Henry Hammond who had been his familiar acquaintance, and having a kindneſs for him on account of his modeſty, learning, and parts, invited him into England, aſſuring him that he ſhould be provided with a ſufficient ſubſiſtence to live comfortably, and not be moleſted about his religion and conſcience, but he declined the offer; and in 1653, there came out a ſecond edition of his *Exomologeſis*, with ſeveral alterations and additions made by the direction of the Benedictine Monks (83), of which order he had then taken the habit in the Engliſh college at Doway. He was ſupplied at Paris with 100 crowns for this journey by the Queen-mother of England; and after the Reſtoration, upon the marriage of King Charles II. to the Infanta of Portugal, he was taken into the ſervice of that Queen, and lived moſtly in Somerſet-houſe in the Strand. At length dying in the houſe of one Mr Caryl, at Eaſt-Grinſtead in Suſſex, Auguſt 10, 1674, he was buried in the church there, as Mr Wood was informed, by the ſuperior of his order on this ſide the river Trent in England, one *Gregory Mallet, alias John Jackſon*, who dying alſo September 10, 1681, in the Sheldonian family, was buried in the chancel of Long-Compton church in Warwickſhire (84). This Creſſy wrote ſeveral other things, particularly a piece intitled *Sancta Sophia*, or Directions for the Prayer of Contemplation, &c. (85) which ſhews, that he fell into the doctrine and principles of Quietiſm and the myſtic divinity. However he was long eſteemed the Coryphæus of the Roman party, and his *Exomologeſis*, we are told, was the golden calf to which the Engliſh Papiſts fell down and worſhipped, boaſting that it was unanſwerable, and had given a total overthrow to the Chillingworthians, and to the book and tenets of Lucius Lord Falkland (86). He had in his anſwer to Stillingfleet's *Irenicum*, dropped ſome expreſſions which ſeemed to inſinuate that his Lordſhip, as well as Mr Chillingworth, was tainted with Socinianiſm. This was warmly reſented, eſpecially in the behalf of Lord Falkland, by the Earl of Clarendon, in the treatiſe now under conſideration; where he laments, that this attempt to traduce the memory of that incomparable Lord, had found credit enough with two or three perſons of the Church of England, '(who, ſays he, never knew, and I think 'never ſaw that excellent perſon) to take upon them 'to aſperſe a nobleman of the moſt prodigious learning, the moſt exemplary manners, and ſingular good 'nature, of the moſt unblemiſhed integrity, and the 'greateſt ornament of the nation, that any age hath 'produced.' He afterwards proceeds to defend this deſervedly darling friend in the following terms. 'If 'the having read Socinus, and the commending that 'in him, which no-body can reaſonably diſcommend 'in him, and the making uſe of that reaſon which 'God hath given to man for the examining of that 'which is moſt properly examined by reaſon, and to 'avoid the weak arguments of ſome men, how ſuperciliouſly ſoever inſiſted upon, or to diſcover the 'fallacies of others, be the definition of a Socinian, 'the party will be very ſtrong in all Churches; but 'if a perfect deteſtation of all thoſe opinions againſt the perſon and divinity of our Saviour, or any 'other doctrine that is contrary to the Church of 'England, (and the Church of England hath more 'formally condemned Socinianiſm, than any other 'Church hath done, as appears by the canons of 1640) 'can free a man from that reproach, as without doubt 'it ought to do, I can very warrantably declare, that 'that unparallelled Lord was no Socinian; nor is it 'poſſible for any man who is a true ſon of the Church 'of England, to be corrupted with thoſe opinions '(87).' Accordingly Mr Creſſy, a little before his death, wrote an anſwer to the Animadverſions, wherein diſavowing the deſign imputed to him by the Earl, of charging Lord Falkland with Socinianiſm, he joins with his honourable antagoniſt in clearing his Lordſhip from that aſperſion which had been thrown upon him by others (88).

[*H H*] *We ſhall give an account below.*] By his ſecond Lady he had four ſons and two daughters. Of theſe Anne, the eldeſt, married as already mentioned, to the Duke of York, by that match became mother to two daughters, Mary and Anne, who were ſucceſſively Queens of England. Beſides theſe, ſhe brought the Duke four ſons and three daughters, who all died in their infancy *. The laſt was born February 9, 1670-1, and her mother deceaſed the 31ſt of March following, having a little before her death changed her religion †, to the great grief of her father, who on that occaſion wrote a moſt pathetic letter to her, and another to the Duke her conſort ‖. Biſhop Burnet gives her the following character. 'The 'Ducheſs of York, ſays he, was a very extraordinary 'woman,

(76) It was rendered eaſy likewiſe to him, by what he had written in his Eſſay, dated at Moulins the year before, againſt multiplying controverſies, &c. which furniſhed him with a good part of theſe animadverſions. Miſcellaneous Works, &c. p. 240, & ſeq. 2d edit. 1751.

(77) Animadverſions, p. 7.

(78) The ſame year that the Earl had ſtood for a fellowſhip of Exeter-college, as abovementioned.

(79) Mr Creſſy was born at Wakefield in Yorkſhire, where his father practiſed the Law as a Counſellor, for which town his Lordſhip, while a Commoner, had been a Member of Parliament. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 528. and the Earl of Strafford's article.

(80) He had been long known to his Lordſhip. See his article in Vol. II. p. 1183. remark [*E*].

(81) Deans and Chapters had been voted down by the Parliament the year before. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under the year 1641.

(82) In his *Exomologeſis*, chap. ii. where he confirms his opinion by the authority of Hooker, who, in Eccleſ. Polity, l. 5. [p. 432.] n. 79. declares, that the Church of England could not probably continue above 80 years.

(86) See Romiſh Doctrines not from the beginning; or, A Reply to what S. C. hath returned to Dr Pierce's Sermon, in the preface. Lond. 1664, by Daniel Whitby. See his article.

(87) Animadverſions, &c. p. 183 to 189.

(88) Epiſtle apologetical to a Perſon of Honour, § 7. edit. 1674, 8vo.

* She brought a child every year after her marriage, except that of 1661. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. from 1660 to 1670.

† See a paper left by her in St James's palace, dated Aug. 20, 1670.

‖ They are both printed in the Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, 1712, 8vo. ſecond edit. See Kennet's Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. in the notes, at p. 321. She died before the letter reached England. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 310.

(83) In this edition, the proteſtation of duty and obedience to the King was left out, and there were added ſome reproaches againſt the Church of England, and many virulent expreſſions againſt it's clergy. Clarendon's Animadv. p. 76, 77.

(84) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 528 to 532. Theſe inſtances are inſerted to confirm an obſervation made by the Earl, that this order of Monks was particularly favoured by King Charles II. which the Chancellor, according to his avowed principles, here defends. Animadv. p. 43, 44.

(85) It was extracted from ſome treatiſes of Aug. Baker, a Benedictine at Doway, printed in 1657, in two vols 8vo.

‘ woman, had great knowledge and a lively ſenſe of ‘ things: ſhe ſoon underſtood what belonged to a ‘ princeſs, and took ſtate on her rather too much; ‘ ſhe wrote well, and had began the Duke's life, of ‘ which ſhe ſhewed a volume, all drawn from the ‘ Duke's journal. She was bred to great ſtrictneſs in ‘ religion, and practiſed ſecret confeſſion, as Morley ‘ Biſhop of Wincheſter told me, and that he was her ‘ confeſſor; ſhe began at twelve years old, and continued under his direction, 'till upon her father's diſgrace he was put from Court.' The Biſhop concludes her character with this remark, according to his uſual manner, ‘ that ſhe was generous and friendly, ‘ but was too ſevere an enemy †.' The Chancellor's ſecond daughter Frances, married Thomas Keightley of Hertingfordbury in Hertfordſhire, created a Knight of the Bath to attend on the coronation of King Charles II §. This lady was poſſeſſed of the MS. containing her father's tracts, which a little before her death ſhe put into the hands of the bookſellers, to have them printed in purſuance of the Chancellor's will, which was performed accordingly ‡. Of the Earl's ſons, James the youngeſt was drowned on board the Glouceſter frigate, going with the Duke of York to Scotland in 1682 *. Edward the third ſon, was a ſtudent in the Middle-Temple, and died unmarried; the ſecond ſon Laurence, is the ſubject of the next article; and of Henry, we ſhall give ſome account here, as follows. Having received the rudiments of his education, he was early entered into buſineſs. For his father apprehending of what fatal conſequence it would have been to the King's affairs, if his correſpondence had been diſcovered by unfaithful ſecretaries, engaged him when very young, to write all his letters in cypher; ſo that he was generally half the day writing in cypher or decyphering, and was ſo diſcreet as well as faithful, that nothing was ever diſcovered by him (89). After the Reſtoration, he was created A. M. at Oxford, Feb. 14, 1660, and upon ſettling the Queen's houſhold the following year, he was appointed Chamberlain to her Majeſty (90). Upon his father's leaving the kingdom in 1667, he wrote a letter to the Marquis of Ormonde, entreating the continuance of his friendſhip to the family. This letter was apparently wrote by the direction of his father, and begins thus:

‘ May it pleaſe your Grace.

‘ Having the opportunity of a ſafe meſſenger, I preſume to give your Grace the trouble of this paper, ‘ to ſend you ſome account of the ſad condition of our ‘ miſerable family; which having conſtantly received ‘ ſo much countenance from your Grace's protection, ‘ I flatter myſelf you will now afford (in this extremity) ‘ a ſhare of your compaſſion, and a continuance of ‘ your favour, 'till you find cauſe to withdraw it, ‘ which I am ſure never will be.' He then proceeds to give his Grace the particulars of the proceedings againſt his father, whereof we have given a ſhort extract already, which he concludes in theſe terms. ‘ Thus your Grace ſees the inevitable ruin and deſtruction of a perſon who has ſpent near thirty years ‘ in the ſervice of the Crown, for part of which time ‘ your Grace is able to give him ſome teſtimony. If ‘ this ſtorm proceeded only from the power and malice ‘ of a particular faction it were to be ſtruggled with; ‘ but being from the anger and diſpleaſure of the King, ‘ (the ground whereof he could never yet by any means ‘ diſcover) makes his misfortunes inſupportable. I ‘ preſume not to give your Grace an account of any ‘ further proceedings in Parliament upon this affair, ‘ knowing you will have it from better hands; but ‘ one thing I muſt not omit telling your Grace, which ‘ is, that Lord Berkeley very induſtriouſly ſpreads abroad a rumour, that to his knowledge, your Grace ‘ hath broken all friendſhip with my father for above ‘ theſe two years, which I am ſure a better authority ‘ than his can't make me believe. Your Grace hath ‘ too much generoſity to abandon one whom you ‘ have ſo long protected, without telling him of it ‘ (91): my brother and myſelf are yet in our employments (92), but we are told that we ſhall not long ‘ continue ſo: neither are we to expect much favour, ‘ having none to reſort to but the Duke [of York], ‘ who indeed hath all along very graciouſly and vigorouſly appeared in all the concerns of our family; but ‘ wanting intereſt and credit to ſupport the father, we ‘ are not to hope that he can have enough to protect ‘ the children.

‘ Thus your Grace ſees how I preſume upon your ‘ favour, in giving you this impertinent trouble; but ‘ to torment you more with apologies, would make ‘ my crime the greater. Therefore I will conclude, ‘ with begging the continuance of your Grace's protection to our family, and particularly to,

‘ May it pleaſe your Grace,

‘ your Grace's moſt dutiful,

Whitehall, ‘ and moſt obedient ſervant,
8 Dec. 1687.

‘ Cornbury (93).'

His Lordſhip ſo highly reſented his father's ill uſage from the King, that he ſtruck in with the party againſt the Court (94); and upon taking his ſeat in the Houſe of Peers, we find him joining even with Buckingham and Shafteſbury, in a proteſt againſt the vote for returning thanks to his Majeſty for his ſpeech at the opening of the ſeſſion in April 1675 (95). However he ſtill held his poſt of Chamberlain to the Queen (96), and afterwards ſhewing himſelf no leſs zealous againſt the bill of excluſion to diſinherit the Duke of York (97), he was taken into favour and made a Privy-Counſellor, May 26, 1680 (98). Upon King James's acceſſion to the throne (99), the Marquis of Halifax being made Preſident of the Council, was ſucceeded in the Privy-Seal by the Earl of Clarendon, February 18, 1684-5 (100), and being conſtituted Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (101) in the beginning of December (102), he ſet out for that kingdom on the 16th of that month (103); but being too firmly attached to the Proteſtant religion for thoſe times (104), he was diſplaced on the 6th of February, 1686-7 (105); and on the 11th of March following, was removed from the Privy-Seal, which had been put into commiſſion during his abſence (106). About this time he was made High-Steward of the Univerſity of Oxford (107). After the landing of the Prince of Orange, he was one of the Proteſtant Lords, who being ſummoned, waited upon King James at Whitehall November 26, and among other things adviſed his Majeſty to ſend commiſſioners to treat with the Prince (108), and ſoon after went to the Prince near Saliſbury (109); and upon the King's return from Feverſham to Whitehall on the 16th of December, his Lordſhip propoſed ſending his Majeſty to Breda (110). Upon the Revolution, he refuſed to take the oaths to King William, and in 1690, being accuſed of joining with the Bp of Ely and others in a plot againſt the government, he was ſent to the Tower of London; however, after ſome months he was releaſed thence, but confined to his houſe in the country (111). He paſſed his time afterwards in a private manner to his death, which happened Oct. 22, 1709. Beſides the places held by him already mentioned, he was governor of New-England, as alſo F. R. S. He married twice, 1. Theodoſia, third ſurviving daughter of Arthur Lord Capel (beheaded by the rebels in March 1648-9). 2. Flower, daughter and ſole heir to William Backhouſe of Swallowfield, Eſq; and widow of Sir William Backhouſe, Bart. He had no iſſue from this laſt match, and his firſt Lady, whom he married in the year of the Reſtoration, brought him the following year, an only ſon Edward, who returning from his travels in 1682, being then twenty one years of age, was afterwards made maſter of the horſe to Prince George of Denmark, and in November 1688, he went over to the Prince of Orange with almoſt three intire regiments (112), being ſoon followed by Prince George, who ſent him the following year to compliment in his name the embaſſadors from the States-General, on their arrival to congratulate King William and Queen Mary on their acceſſion to the Crown. In the reign of Queen Anne, he was Governor of New-York, and Envoy-Extraordinary to the Court of Hanover (113). He married Katherine, daughter to Henry Lord O-Brian of Ireland, eldeſt ſon and heir of Henry Earl of Thomond, by whom he had iſſue one ſon Edward, and two daughters, Katherine and Theodoſia, the firſt of which died unmarried in 1708, and the other married John Blighe, Eſq. The ſon, Edward, became Baron of Clifton in right of his mother, who ſucceeded to that title upon the deceaſe of her mother, being ſiſter and ſole heir to Charles Duke of Lenox and Richmond

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† Id. ibid. p. 170, and p. 310. where he is ſtill more ſevere.

§ Peerage, under Hyde. There were in all 68 created, April. 15, 1661. Salmon, under that year.

‡ See the advertiſement prefixed to the Tracts.

* See the article of John Duke of Marlborough, in remark [C].

(89) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I.

(90) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 131.

(91) The Marquis denied that he ever gave any foundation for ſuch a report. See Carte's Ormonde, Vol. II. appendix, No. LIV. It has been obſerved that the Chancellor had a quarrel with Lord Berkeley, and therefore in his Hiſtory of the Rebellion endeavours to leſſen his Lordſhip's ſervice and merit. Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 167, fourth edition.

(92) His brother Laurence was then Maſter of the Robes. See the next article.

(93) Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. II, appendix, No. LII.

(94) Burnet, where laſt cited.

(95) Collection of the Lords Proteſts under that year, Lond. 1737, 8vo. He alſo proteſted againſt the famous teſt bill the ſame year. Ibid.

(96) He is addreſſed by this title in the dedication of a *Treatiſe upon Coin and Coinage, by Rice Vaughan*, Lond. 1675, 8vo. which perhaps was Mr Wood's authority for ſaying he found his Lordſhip in the Chamberlain's place that year. Faſti, ubi ſupra.

(97) Burnet, ubi ſupra.

(98) Wood's Faſti, where laſt cited.

(99) His Majeſty's Acceſſion was on the 6th of February, 1685. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. that year.

(100) Id. ibid.

(101) The Duke of Ormonde had been removed from that poſt by King Charles II. a little before his death. See the Duke's article.

(102) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II.

(103) Salmon, under the year 1685.

(104) Burnet, ubi ſupra.

(105) The Earl of Tyrconnel, a profeſſed Papiſt, was put in his room. Id. under the year 1686.

(106) He was ſucceeded by the Lord Arundel of Wardour. Id. ibid.

(107) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(108) Burnet, Vol. I. p. 794. who tells us, that the Earl at that meeting reflected on his Majeſty moſt of any one there.

(109) Id. ibid. who ſays he ſuggeſted ſo many peeviſh and peculiar things, as rendered him ſuſpected.

(110) Id. p. 800.

(111) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 69 and 71. See more of this in the enſuing article, rem. [*G*]. (112) Salmon, in the year 1688. (113) See the article of John Gay.

(114).

(114). This Edward Baron of Cliſton, died in the twenty-ſecond year of his age, February 12, 1712-13, unmarried, and his father the third Earl of Clarendon, deceaſing on the 1ſt of March 1723-4 *, leaving no male iſſue, his titles deſcended to his couſin, the ſon of Laurence Earl of Rocheſter, as will be ſeen in the enſuing article. P

HYDE [LAURENCE], ſecond ſon of the Chancellor, was endued by nature with excellent talents, which, notwithſtanding the miſerable ſtate at that time of his father's fortunes, were very carefully improved by a genteel education. He applied himſelf with uncommon aſſiduity to his ſtudies (*a*); ſo that the progreſs he had made therein at the Reſtoration, gave him a juſt claim to the degree of Maſter of Arts, which the univerſity of Oxford conferred on him, as well as on his elder brother, by diploma, February 14, 1660 (*b*). From this beginning he grew afterwards to be equal to the firſt employments in the State, and became both the ornament and ſupport of his family. He ſoon appeared on the public ſtage of affairs, being choſen a member for the juſt mentioned univerſity in the firſt Parliament of King Charles II. which met May 8, 1661 (*c*). In October the ſame year, during the receſs of Parliament, he accompanied the Lord Crofts and Sir Charles Berkeley to Paris, who were ſent to congratulate the King of France on the birth of the Dauphin. Mr Hyde bore no public character, yet he was received at that Court with particular marks of diſtinction (*d*), and ſoon after his return home was appointed Maſter of the Robes to his Majeſty, in whoſe good opinion he daily gained ground by his polite and prudent behaviour (*e*). In 1665, he was one of the four gentlemen commiſſioned by the Houſe of Commons to thank the univerſity for their loyalty to his Majeſty and to King Charles I. (*f*); and when, by a Court intrigue, as mentioned in the preceding article, his father fell under an impeachment by the Houſe of Commons in 1667, he undertook his defence with great modeſty and reſolution (*g*) [*A*]. The misfortunes which oppreſſed the Chancellor had no ill effect upon his ſon, whoſe abilities became daily more conſpicuous; and in 1676, he was appointed Ambaſſador-Extraordinary to John Sobieſki King

[*A*] *He undertook his father's defence with great modeſty and reſolution.*] When the articles of impeachment were read to the Houſe, he moved in his father's name, that, for the diſpatch of buſineſs, thoſe who knew beſt what their evidence was, would ſingle out any one of the articles, which they thought could be beſt proved; and if they could make proof of that, he would ſubmit to the cenſure due upon them all. Sir Charles Wheeler on this occaſion (in confidence of the aſſurances of others who pretended to have proofs ready) got up, and anſwered for the proof of every one of them; of which he was afterwards much aſhamed, when he found, upon further inquiry, that there was not ſo much as evidence to ſupport any one of them. How far the ſale of Dunkirk may be thought an exception to what is advanced by Mr Carte (1), has been obſerved in it's proper place (2), where alſo the particular perſons combined to effect the Chancellor's ruin have been named. But as he himſelf was clearly perſuaded, that the prime ringleader and his moſt miſchievous enemy in that combination, was the Lord Arlington, we ſhall here produce one remarkable inſtance in confirmation of the Chancellor's ſentiments concerning his Lordſhip. In order to ſet this in a clear light, it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that there had been all along, and ſtill ſubſiſted, what in Court-language is ſtiled a good underſtanding, that is, an exact obſervance of all the external forms of civility and friendſhip between this Lord and the Duke of Ormonde, at the time of the Chancellor's diſgrace. That when the King's purpoſe of taking the ſeal was intimated to him by the Duke of York, he deſired his highneſs would procure him an audience with his Majeſty, which was granted, and a conference had at the Chancellor's apartment at Whitehall, Auguſt 26, 1667, no perſon whatever being preſent beſides the three here mentioned; and therefore, though the reſult of this conference was the King's expreſs declaration of his purpoſe to remove the Chancellor (3), yet that was ſtill a ſecret. Under all that diſtracting anxiety which the dread of being diſappointed always produces in a ſtate of uncertainty, Lord Arlington wrote a letter to the Duke of Ormonde the next day after the conference, but before he knew the reſult of it, wherein he acquaints his Grace, that the King was perſuaded his affairs would be much embarraſſed, and the Lord Chancellor much expoſed in the next Seſſion, and therefore had recommended it to the Duke of York to prepare his Lordſhip to retire; that his Royal Highneſs brought his Majeſty ſuch an anſwer back again, as he believed the thing would be eaſily done. But ſince that anſwer, the Duke and all Lord Clarendon's friends, believing that ſuch a ſtep would tend highly to his prejudice, had been very earneſt with the King to change his mind, and the Lord Chancellor had been with him yeſterday; that he could not really tell what his Majeſty had finally determined, but was afraid he would be prevailed with to change his mind; for in that caſe, the next would prove a very troubleſome Seſſion of Parliament, and thoſe things whereof the government ſtood moſt eſſentially in need, would very hardly be obtained, and even the Chancellor himſelf would ſuffer more than he would have done, if he had retired; concluding his ſenſe of that matter in theſe words: '*I heartily pray* '*it may be otherwiſe, but I fear I ſhall be a true pro*'*phet, and then not be expoſed to ſo much cenſure as I* '*am for my opinion now.*' This letter was carried with great expedition to Dublin; for on the third of September, the Duke of Ormonde returned an anſwer, wherein he thus expreſſes his ſenſe of that matter, which he wiſhes might be repreſented to his Majeſty. 'I am able, ſays he, to make no judgment on the ex'pedient his Majeſty found to give himſelf eaſe, and 'the Lord Chancellor ſecurity at the next meeting of 'Parliament. If my Lord Chancellor could perſuade 'himſelf, that the demiſſion of his charge would faci'litate a good intelligence between the King and his 'ſubjects, and gain thoſe aſſiſtances from them to ſup'port the government, which are ſo evidently neceſ'ſary, he is not ſo good a ſervant, or ſo wiſe a man, 'as I hope he will be found, if he would not on his 'own accord lay the Seals at his Majeſty's feet, and 'beſeech him to take them from him; but if there re'mains any doubt of the ſucceſs of forcing him to re'tire, or if he is not chargeable with ſome crime, ſuch 'as put into the ballance of many years faithful, 'painful, and comfortleſs ſervice, will outweigh it, 'I know the King is too good a maſter to ſet him aſide, 'which in effect is to condemn him unheard, upon po'pular clamours and for uncertain advantages, where'of the one will always find men of buſineſs, who riſe 'by it, and the other will never be brought in compe'tition with honour and juſtice, which are the only 'laſting ſupports to greatneſs, and can hardly fail, 'ſince they can ſo hardly be found without the aſ'ſiſtance of ſteadineſs and courage.' Lord Arlington received this letter on the thirteenth at night, and read it next day to his Majeſty, who thereupon, ſaid he would write that night to the Lord Lieutenant, and give him an account of what the Lord Clarendon had done to diſpleaſe him, beſides the diſſatisfaction of the world on his account (4). The purport of the King's letter, as far as it regards the Chancellor, has been already related (5).

[*B*] *Was*

(114) See a Reſolution of the Houſe of Peers, anno 1673.

* Peerage, under Hyde, Vol. II. edit. 1741.

(*a*) Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, in the appendix, p. 56.

(*b*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 131.

(*c*) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. I.

(*d*) The firſt was ſent by the King and the other by the Duke of York, to whom he was then Groom of the Stole and Gentleman of the Bedchamber. Wood and Boyer, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Burnet, who obſerves that he obtained this poſt as well by his own perſonal merit as by his father's intereſt. Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I.

(*f*) Boyer.

(*g*) See remark [*FF*] in the preceding article.

(1) Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. II. p. 353.

(2) In remark [*FF*] of the preceding article.

(3) His Majeſty would have had the Chancellor deliver the ſeal himſelf, which he refuſing to do, Secretary Morrice was ſent for it four days after. Vindication of Lord Clarendon, &c. in his Miſcellaneous Works, p. 84, 85.

(4) Life of the Duke of Ormonde, ubi ſupra.

(5) In remark [*BB*] of the preceding article.

King of Poland, with orders to repair from thence to the Imperial Court, to condole the Emperor Leopold on the death of the Empreſs; but on his arrival at Vienna, finding the Emperor married again, he paſſed privately homeward, and coming to Holland, found there a commiſſion, appointing him one of the Ambaſſadors Mediators at the treaty of Nimeguen (*b*). He had not been long returned from thence when the King ſent him again to Holland, not only to act as a Mediator at Nimeguen, but to treat privately with the Prince of Orange on a general peace; and though ſome diſagreement in the ſentiments of his Majeſty and the Prince of Orange on this laſt ſubject ended that commiſſion, yet when King Charles, finding the French provoked at the terms of the treaty, reſolved on a league with the States-General to force both France and Spain to the terms propoſed, Mr Hyde was employed on that occaſion, and procured the League to be ſigned in 1677. The next year, the Dutch entering into a ſeparate peace with France, he was again ſent to Holland, with propoſals to the Prince of Orange to declare war againſt France; which, though it did not anſwer the King's intent, yet he was ſo ſatisfied with Mr Hyde's good conduct therein, that March 26, 1679 (*i*), he made him one of the Lords of the Treaſury; and upon the Earl of Eſſex (*k*) reſigning his place of Firſt-Commiſſioner at that board, Mr Hyde ſucceeded him on the 19th of November following (*l*). He had in the interim obtained a new ſeat in the Houſe of Commons, as a Burgeſs for Wotton-Baſſet in Wiltſhire, in the new Parliament which was called to meet October 7 this year (*m*). He was now ſworn a Privy-Counſellor, and Mr Sydney Godolphin being brought into the Council along with him, they two joining in confidence with the Earl of Sunderland, formed a triumvirate, which at that juncture had the principal management of the King's affairs. But theſe miniſters having been ſomewhat remiſs in the diſcovery and proſecution of the Popiſh plot, and Mr Hyde in particular, on account of his relation to the Duke of York and his education at Court, having appeared at the head of thoſe who oppoſed the bill of excluſion, the Commons, in 1680, addreſſed the King to remove him, with his brother the Earl of Clarendon, and ſome others, from his council and affairs for ever (*n*). But his Majeſty was ſo far from complying with the requeſt, that on the 23d of April the following year, 1681, he created him Baron of Wotton-Baſſet in Wiltſhire, and Viſcount Hyde of Kennilworth in Warwickſhire; and upon the death of Charles the young Earl of Rocheſter, he ſucceeded to that title November 29, 1682 (*o*). He was made Lord-Preſident of the Council on the 25th of Auguſt (*p*), 1684, and before the end of that year was nominated Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in the room of the Duke of Ormonde [*B*]; but that appointment determining with the death of his Majeſty, the
white

[*B*] *Was nominated to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, &c.*] This was intimated to him by the King in Oct. 1684 (6), as is evident from the following letter to the Duke of Ormonde, dated at Whitehall, Oct. 13, 1684.

'Having been made acquainted that the King has written, or is about to write, to your Grace upon a ſubject that concerns yourſelf. Though it be a very tender point for me to ſay any thing upon, I had rather do that which is decent and natural for a man in my circumſtances to do upon ſuch an occaſion, let the conſequences of it be what it will to me, than ſeem to have been privy to deſigns which I would not own. I muſt confeſs that I have ſuſpected ſomething of this kind going on almoſt ever ſince you went from hence. And you may remember, that not long ago, when I gave your Grace an account of ſome letters of your's that I laid before the King, I hinted to you, that his Majeſty was not ſatisfied with ſeveral of the officers of the army, though I told you at the ſame time I was not directed to ſay ſo much. But I did not believe, that what was then in the King's mind would have gone ſo far; and upon my word, from the moment I found it did, I have done all that was in me to hinder it, and at laſt to delay it, and would have contributed any thing I could think of to continue it in the ſame hands it is.

'I am not inſenſible how hard a conſtruction it may bear in the world, that a man ſo much concerned as I am, to ſupport all your intereſts, ſhould appear as it were undermining you in one of your moſt eminent ſtations. Nor am I ignorant, that if you are not well ſatisfied to leave your employment, no man who is to ſucceed you will find great comfort to himſelf, or be able to do the King great ſervice in it.

'Theſe two conſiderations will ſerve, I hope, to convince your Grace, that I have not been the adviſer of this matter; and when you ſhall be ſatisfied, that the King had determined it before he reſolved who ſhould ſucceed, I will flatter myſelf that you will not be diſpleaſed, if you muſt have a ſucceſſor, that he ſhould be one, that can never have an intereſt different from your Grace: but as he muſt ever depend upon your aſſiſtance, protection, and advice, ſo he will make it his whole buſineſs to let you ſee, that he is moſt faithfully, and entirely,

'Your Grace's moſt humble,

'and obedient ſervant,

'ROCHESTER (7).'

It muſt be obſerved, that the ſubject of this addreſs was become the more delicate for his Lordſhip to touch upon, as his eldeſt daughter had a few years before been married to his Grace's grandſon [afterwards Duke of Ormonde]. Accordingly, when the Earl wrote upon the twentieth following, for ſome advice relating to his behaviour in the government, he begs to know his Grace's ſentiments concerning the diſpoſal of the young couple, in caſe of their grandfather's removal to England (8). To this the Duke ſent an anſwer on the third of December, to which the Earl replied on the thirteenth of that month, acquainting his Grace, that ſeveral officers in the army were to be removed, the Council changed, and ſome powers of the Lord Lieutenant reſtrained (9). For theſe reaſons the Earl was in no great haſte to go to Ireland, in order to take upon him that government: he ſaw how the Duke of Ormonde's enemies had prevailed againſt him in his abſence (10), and was apprehenſive that he might loſe his own intereſt at Court by the like abſence. On this occaſion, he remembered a ſtory of the Duke of Buckingham, who was deſigned to go as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and received the compliments of all the Court upon that account except one old courtier, who he knew was much attached to him, and yet was entirely ſilent upon the ſubject. The Duke aſked how it came to paſs that he alone was ſilent, when all the world were expreſſing their good wiſhes to him? he replied, that his Grace always had his beſt wiſhes, but he differed from others in the ſenſe he had of that preferment. For as he was an old attendant upon Courts, he had never obſerved any man turn his back upon the Court, but
he

(*b*) Collin's Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 297, & ſeq. edit. 1741.

(*i*) He was one of the four that were admitted to that board on the reſignation of the Earl of Danby. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Viz. Arthur Earl of Eſſex, who was afterwards proſecuted for the Fanatic plot. See the article of Lord Ruſſell.

(*l*) Peerage, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Wood's Faſti, where laſt cited.

(*n*) See Echard, and other general hiſtories of England.

(*o*) Salmon, under 1682. Wood, Vol. II. col. 657. Burnet tells us that he was charged this year with bribery by Lord Halifax, for having farmed a branch of the revenue much lower than had been profered for it. Hiſt of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 531.

(*p*) Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under that year.

(6) His Majeſty had acquainted the Duke with it in a letter dated at Newmarket October 19. Carte's Ormonde, Vol. III. No CCXXVIII.

(7) Carte, &c. No. CXXXI.

(8) Ibid. No. CXXXVI.

(9) Ibid. No. CCXXXVII.

(10) The Duke went to Ireland in Auguſt preceding. See his article.

white ſtaff was again put into the Earl of Rocheſter's hands by King James II. on the 16th of February the ſame year (*q*). July 22, 1685, he was inſtalled Knight of the Garter (*r*). He was likewiſe put into the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion (*s*); but afterwards endeavouring to prevent Tyrconnel's being made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, he found his intereſt with the King too weak to prevail in that point, and indeed ſcarce ſufficient to ſupport himſelf; for refuſing to comply with the King's requeſt to change his religion [*C*], he was obliged to reſign his commiſſion of Lord High-Treaſurer (*t*). However, in lieu thereof he had a penſion of 4000 l. a year aſſigned him out of the Poſt-Office (*u*) [*D*], which ſo much engaged him to the King, that he afterward went over to Holland to take care of his Majeſty's intereſt. At the Revolution, he concurred with the Lords in ſeveral acts during the adminiſtration of the inter-regnum; but in the Convention-Parliament, he warmly inſiſted upon the grand point of hereditary right, and, in conſequence of that principle, preſſed vehemently for a regent [*E*]. However, the vote declaring

he preſently caught cold in it. There were likewiſe ſome reſtraints to be put upon the Earl of Rocheſter, which he did not like. For he was not to have the nomination of the loweſt commiſſioned officer in the army, which was to be put under the command of a a Lieutenant-General to be particularly appointed; there were changes alſo to be made both in the civil and military officers, and probably in neither to his mind. It was intended in truth, to make a general alteration in all employments, which it was thought the Duke of Ormonde would not approve, and was therefore improper to be put under his direction. This was the very reaſon aſſigned by the King for his removal. This change, continues Mr Carte, ſeems to be calculated for the advantage of the Roman Catholicks, as appears from a paſſage in his Grace's letter of December 15, 1684, to Lord Arlington, and it was by their intereſt, that the Duke of Ormonde ſeems to have been now removed, as appears from another letter of December 19 following (11).

[*C*] *Refuſing to comply with the King's requeſt to change hie religion.*] Biſhop Burnet having obſerved, that the Earl's being put into the High-commiſſion Court, which he accepted with no good will, rendered him ſuſpected by thoſe who were no favourers of King James's proceedings, and his oppoſing Tyrconnel's being made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and ſome other ſteps in Council, laid him equally under the jealouſy and ſuſpicion of the Papiſts, proceeds in theſe terms: The latter put his Majeſty upon the experiment of trying his affection for the Church of Rome, who, from the many favours he had beſtowed on him, and the conſtant readineſs he had always ſhewn in his ſervice, thought he had ſufficient grounds to faſten that requeſt upon him. He told the King he was fully ſatisfied about his religion, but on his Majeſty's preſſing that he would hear his prieſts, he then deſired to have ſome of the Engliſh clergy preſent, to which the King conſented, only excepted Tillotſon and Stillingfleet, on which the Earl ſaid, he would take the chaplains in waiting (for the forms of the chaplains were ſtill kept up), which were Dr Patrick and Dr Jane. At the appointed time the prieſts began the taſk, and when they had done, the Earl ſaid, if they had nothing ſtronger to urge, he was ſure he could anſwer all he had heard; and without troubling Patrick and Jane, anſwered them with much heat and ſpirit, not without ſome ſcorn, ſaying, Were theſe the grounds to perſuade men to change their religion? whereupon the King, who was preſent, broke off the conference, charging all that were there, to ſay nothing of it, and ſoon after he [the Earl] loſt his white ſtaff (12).

[*D*] *He loſt the Treaſurer's ſtaff, but had a penſion.*] The following particular is a conſpicuous proof of his Lordſhip's œconomy in this poſt, and therefore well deſerves a place here, eſpecially as we have it from a writer who appears to have good authority for the facts advanced by him, whatever gloſſes he may have put upon thoſe facts, in a piece profeſſedly written in defence of a party. His words are theſe. ‘ Not long after (13) Miſs Jennings [afterwards Lady Churchill and Ducheſs of Marlborough] was taken into the ſervice of the Princeſs of Denmark, her Highneſs had the misfortune to find that her expences had exceeded her income between ſix and ſeven thouſand pounds, which they had never done before, and was forced to apply to her royal father (14) for that ſum, to enable her to diſcharge her debts, which he readily and chearfully complied with. The next year her highneſs fell into the like difficulty, was forced to make the like application and received the like indulgence: but was ſoon after ſurprized with a viſit from his Majeſty, ſo ſudden and unexpected, that Lady Churchill, and a certain other Lady of her Highneſs's Court, had but juſt time enough to hide themſelves in a cloſet adjoining; from whence they overheard the King charging his daughter with having *ſomebody about her*, for whoſe ſake ſhe plunged herſelf into theſe inconveniencies, and recommending to her a more exact œconomy for the future. To this the Princeſs made no reply but with her tears; and the King being withdrawn, Lady Churchill to pacify her for the preſent, and anſwer ſeveral other obvious ends, quitted the place of her concealment, with the following decent expreſſions in her mouth: *Oh Madam! all this is owing to that old R—— your uncle* (15).’

[*E*] *He inſiſted on the point of hereditary right, and preſſed for a regent.*] It is the remark of the laſt cited author in vindication of his Lordſhip's underſtanding, which had been unhandſomely made a jeſt of by the Ducheſs of Marlborough (16). That the Earl's noble defence of his great father when impeached, and conſcientious oppoſition of the *excluſion-bill*, however unpopular, were equal proofs of his genius and his virtue; but the ſhrewd light in which he ſtated the Vote of Abdication in the general conference between the Lords and Commons, which left the moſt forward undertakers for our late deliverer without a reply, will for ever render his name venerable (17). In ſupport of this aſſertion, it is obſerved, That the Convention, which upon the Prince of Orange's letters, met on the 22d of Jan. 1688, having on the 28th of the ſame month come to the following reſolutions, viz. ‘ *That* ‘ *King James II. having endeavoured to ſubvert the* ‘ *conſtitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original* ‘ *contract between King and people; and by the advice* ‘ *of Jeſuits and other wicked perſons, having violated* ‘ *the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himſelf out of* ‘ *the kingdom, had* abdicated *the government, and that* ‘ *the throne* is thereby vacant:’ The Lords concurred with this reſolution with amendments; for inſtead of the word *abdicated*, they put in *deſerted*, and quite left out that *the throne is thereby vacant*. This occaſioned a free conference between the Lords and Commons, and my Lord Rocheſter concluded the debate about the firſt amendment in theſe words. ‘ The Lords have ‘ given their reaſons why they firſt altered the word ‘ *abdicated*, becauſe it was a word not known in the ‘ Common-Law, and of doubtful ſignification: there‘ fore it would be well, if the Commons would pleaſe ‘ to expreſs their own meaning by it. I believe my ‘ Lords would be induced to agree, that the King hath ‘ abdicated, that is, renounced the government for ‘ himſelf, if you mean no farther than that; and if ‘ you do ſo, why ſhould you not be pleaſed to explain ‘ yourſelves, that every one may know how the matter ‘ ſtands; and to preſerve a good correſpondence be‘ tween the two Houſes in ſuch a juncture and con‘ junction as this. But if you don't mean any thing ‘ more by it, than abdicated for himſelf only, though ‘ their Lordſhips ſhould agree to the uſing of the word ‘ *abdicated*; yet this would prove a greater argument ‘ againſt their agreeing in the other point about *the* ‘ *vacancy of the throne*. Therefore we ſhould be glad ‘ to have you explain yourſelves, what you mean by ‘ it. Here there was a pauſe——And the Commons ‘ afterwards proceeding to the ſecond amendment, the ‘ Lords in the whole courſe of the debate ſhewed the ‘ great concern they had for the ſucceſſion of the ‘ Crown: and my Lord Rocheſter made it appear, ‘ that he had that matter at heart as much as any of them,

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(*q*) Id. ibid.

(*r*) Peerage of England, and Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*s*) Salmon, under the year 1686.

(*t*) Echard, p. 108.

(*u*) Ducheſs of Marlborough's Conduct, § 1. It was granted for his own life and that of his eldeſt ſon Henry, afterwards Earl of Clarendon and Rocheſter. Collins, in Peerage, Vol. II. edit. 1741, p. 304. ſays it was 5000 l.

(11) Carte, Vol. II. p. 540.

(12) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 684.

(13) It ſhould be ſome time after, for Miſs Jennings was in the Princeſs's ſervice when ſhe was married to Colonel Churchill in 1681. See the Duke of Marlborough's article.

(14) This fact is partly confirmed by the Princeſs's letter to Lady Marlborough, printed in the Account of the Conduct of the Ducheſs of M—, &c. p. 87. Lond. 1742, 8vo. where ſhe writes thus, *When we were firſt married we had but 20,000 l. a year* (and it is true, indeed, the King was ſo kind to pay my debts)..

(15) The other ſide of the queſtion, &c. p. 47, 48. Lond. 1742, 8vo.

(16) See her Conduct, particularly § 1.

(17) The other ſide of the queſtion, &c. p. 95—98.

claring the vacancy of the throne being carried, he acquieſced in the new ſettlement (w). But the part he had acted drew on him a coldneſs from King William, and conſequently from Queen Mary, to whom he was ſo nearly allied; who was ſo poſſeſſed againſt him, that notwithſtanding he tried all his friends and intereſt in the Court to be admitted to clear himſelf and to recover her favour, he found her ſo alienated from him, that no perſon was willing to undertake it; inſomuch, that he was apprehenſive a ſtop would be put to his penſion (x). In this exigence he addreſſed himſelf to Biſhop Burnet [F], by whoſe means his fears were not only diſperſed, but he was received into a high degree of favour and confidence

them, as is evident from what follows. ‘ In a free conference, ſays his Lordſhip, the points in queſtion are fully to be debated; and the Lords in order to their agreement with the Commons, are to be ſatisfied what is meant, and how far it may extend.

‘ You gentlemen that are the managers for the Houſe of Commons, it ſeems come with a limited commiſſion, and *will not enter into that conſideration*, which (as our reaſons expreſs) hath a great weight with my Lords, whether this vote of the Commons will not make the monarchy of England, which has always heretofore been *hereditary*, to become *elective*.

‘ That the vacancy of the throne will infer ſuch a conſequence, to me appears very plain; and I take it from the argument that the laſt gentleman [meaning Mr, afterward Lord, Somers] uſed for the word *vacant*, out of the record of Richard the Second's time, that is cited for a precedent for that word. Since, as that is the only precedent, ſo it is attended with this very conſequence: For it being there declared, that the royal ſeat was *vacant*, immediately did follow an election of Henry IV, who was not next in the right line. Did not then this hereditary monarchy in this inſtance become elective? when King Charles II. died, I would fain know, whether in our law the throne was vacant: no ſure, the next heir was immediately in the throne, and ſo it is in all hereditary ſucceſſive governments. Indeed in Poland, when the King dies there is a vacancy; becauſe there the laws know no certain ſucceſſor. So that the difference is plain, that wherever the monarchy is hereditary, upon the ceaſing of him in poſſeſſion the throne is not vacant; where 'tis elective, it is vacant.’

[*F*] *He addreſſed himſelf to Biſhop Burnet.*] This fact is produced in favour of the Biſhop by his ſon, who gives the following account of it. ‘ Some of the hardeſt treatment, ſays that author, he [the Biſhop] had met with in the two former reigns, had paſſed through the hands of the Earl of Rocheſter. No two men ever differed more widely in their principles both in Church and State, yet the firſt good office done that Earl with the King and Queen, after all other applications for introduction had failed, effected their intire reconciliation to him, and the firſt advantages he reaped from that reconciliation, were owing to the ſaid prelate.’ In order to confirm and illuſtrate what is thus advanced, the ſame author has given us the copies of two letters, the originals of which he aſſerts to be in his hands. The firſt letter is from Lady Ranelagh to the Biſhop, in theſe terms.

‘ My Lord,

‘ Your Lordſhip knows, that by my Lord Rocheſter's deſiring me to help him to thank you, for your forwardneſs to do him favours with their Majeſties (out of the ſenſe he had, that he ought to be more grateful for them, becauſe he had not at all deſerved them from your Lordſhip) he had informed me, that you had done him ſuch favours. And when, purſuant to his deſires, I began to give you humble thanks for him (who is a perſon in whom I can be very ſenſibly obliged), I told your Lordſhip, I was pleaſed in paying this duty, as much upon your account, as upon his Lordſhip's, as having endeavoured to conquer him by weapons fit to be uſed by one of of your profeſſion and character, and I hoped he might be advantaged, as well by being gained by you, as by reaping good fruits of your mediations with their Majeſties. And now I preſent your Lordſhip, in the incloſed, with what appears to me an evidence, that my hopes of his making ingenuous returns for your generous advances towards a friendſhip with him were not groundleſs; ſince he would ſure never have pitched upon you to manage an application of his about an intereſt, wherein the viſible ſubſiſtence of his family is ſo deeply concerned, if he did not firmly believe the reality of your intentions towards him, though he have no merits of his towards you, or any thing elſe but your chriſtian beginnings towards him to build that faith upon. Nor can he in my poor opinion give a clearer proof of his being already overcome by you, than in chuſing you to be the perſon, to whom he would in ſuch an intereſt be obliged; ſince he thereby puts himſelf upon the peril of being faithfully your's, or a very unthankful man; which I do ſo much aſſure myſelf, he will not be, that I humbly beg your Lordſhip to put this obligation upon him, to perfect what you have already begun to do for him of a like nature, and to the ſame royal perſon *; who would not, I think, act unbecoming herſelf, nor the eminent ſtation God hath placed her in, in aſſiſting five innocent children, who have the honour to be related to her royal mother, who did ſtill with great tenderneſs conſider her own family, when ſhe was moſt raiſed above it: eſpecially when in aſſiſting them, her Majeſty will need only to concern herſelf to preſerve a property made theirs by the law of England, which as being a Queen of this kingdom, ſhe is obliged to maintain, &c.

13 July, 1689.’ ‘ K. Ranelagh.’

The incloſed letter here mentioned, was from the Earl, in the following terms.

‘ My Lord,

‘ The good offices your Lordſhip has told me you endeavoured to do me with the Queen of your own accord and generoſity, incline me to be deſirous to be obliged to your Lordſhip for the favour of preſenting the incloſed petition to her Majeſty. Your Lordſhip will ſee, by the reading it, the occaſion and the ſubject of it; and I am ſure I need not ſuggeſt any thing to your own kind thoughts to add at the delivery of it, ſave only this, which I thought not proper to touch in the petition, that I have certainly as good a title in law to it, as any man has to any thing he poſſeſſes; as likewiſe that the penſion is appointed to be paid out of a part of the revenue, which never was deſtined by any act of parliament for any public uſe of the government, which I think has ſomething of weight and reaſon to diſtinguiſh it from thoſe penſions, that are placed on the more public branches of the revenue.

‘ I know not whether the Queen can do me any good in this affair, but I will believe her Majeſty cannot but wiſh ſhe could. However, I think I ſhould have been very wanting to my children, if I had not laid this caſe moſt humbly before her Majeſty; leaſt at one time or other ſhe herſelf might ſay, I had been too negligent in not making application to her; which having now done, I leave the reſt with all poſſible ſubmiſſion to her own judgment, and to the reflections that ſome good natured moments may incline her to make towards my family. I would ſay a great deal to your Lordſhip for my own confidence in addreſſing this to your Lordſhip, ſome paſſages of my life having been ſuch as may very properly give it that name; but I think, whatever you would be content to hear on that ſubject, will be better expreſſed by the perſon, who does me the honour to deliver this to your Lordſhip, from,

‘ My Lord,

‘ Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient,

July 13,
1689.

‘ humble ſervant,

‘ Rocheſter (18).’

(w) Burnet, Vol. II.

(x) Ibid. p. 116, 117.

* This paſſage ſeems to allude to the Earl's acting in the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, for which his pardon had probably been obtained by the Biſhop. See his Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I.

(18) Life of Biſhop Burnet, ſubjoined to the 2d volume of the Hiſtory of his own Times, p. 700, 701, 702.

confidence with her Majeſty; and making uſe of the ſame mediation [G] in the behalf of his brother the Earl of Clarendon, in 1690 he obtained his pardon, and on the firſt of March 1691-2 he was taken into the Privy-Council (y). Some time after, the Queen greatly reſenting the Princeſs of Denmark's conduct, in continuing Lady Marlborough in her ſervice, notwithſtanding her Lord's diſgrace, the Earl of Rocheſter, their uncle, heartily intereſted himſelf in endeavouring to procure a reconciliation between the two ſiſters [H]. But the King was never brought thoroughly to confide in him, 'till the

(y) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[G] *He made uſe of the ſame mediation.*] We are obliged to the author quoted in the preceding remark for the following letters, who introduces them with this prefatory account: That ' when the Earl of Clarendon was unhappily engaged in the conſpiracy againſt the government in 1690, and ſome hotter whigs were for the ſevereſt methods, the Biſhop [Burnet] became a hearty and ſucceſsful advocate in his favour, as appears from the two enſuing letters of Lord Rocheſter to the Biſhop.'

' My Lord,

Upon what account ſoever it is, that your Lordſhip is pleaſed to let me hear from you, I take it to be ſome thing of good fortune, whatever ill cauſe there may be in it too. Therefore I humbly thank your Lordſhip for the honour of your's of the 18th from Saliſbury, which was ſent me to this pretty place where I love to be, as much as you do at your palace. And though I cannot do ſo much good to others as your Lordſhip does to all that are near you, yet I do more to myſelf, than I can do any where elſe.

Quid ſentire putas, quid credis amice precari.
Sit mihi quod nunc eſt, etiam minus, ut mihi vivam
Quod ſupereſt ævi.

Forgive this tranſgreſſional rapture, and accept my thanks, which I pay your Lordſhip for your kind letter: for indeed I do take it very kindly, that you were ſo much concerned, as to give me a kind hint of that unſeaſonable diſcourſe, you came to be acquainted with, when you were laſt in London. I will make the beſt uſe of it I can to prevent the like for the future, if I have any credit; and in the mean time, I muſt make uſe of this opportunity to calm and ſoften your reſentments toward this friend of mine, as you call him in the beginning of your letter. I will allow *you*, as a ſervant to the King and Queen, and a ſubject to their crown, to have as great a deteſtation of the contrivance, as you can wiſh; and upon my word I can accompany you in it. But when I conſider you as once you were a concerned friend of this Lord, to have a reſpect for his family, and particularly my father, who loſt not only all the honours and preferments in this world, but even the comforts of it too, for the integrity and uprightneſs of his heart, you muſt forgive me, if I conjure you by all that's ſacred in this generation, in which we live together, by the character that you bear, and by the religion you profeſs, that you don't (as much as in you lies) ſuffer this next heir of my good father's name and honour, to go down with ſorrow to the grave. I would not flatter myſelf, that your Lordſhip could be moved with any fondneſs of mine, to endeavour to bring to paſs what is not fit for a wiſe and good man to propoſe, that would be to make a very ill uſe of your friendſhip to me; and I had rather be corrected myſelf in my own deſires, than expoſe your Lordſhip on ſuch an account; but I hope that thoſe who are the ſupreme directors in this matter under God, may in their great wiſdom judge, that it may prove as much to their honour and ſafety too, to paſs over this particular, as if they ſhould purſue the ſtricteſt meaſures of juſtice in it. Though I am a brother, if I did not upon the greateſt reflection I can make, think I ſhould be of the ſame opinion, if I were none, I would not preſs this matter upon you; for I cannot but think, that the Queen would do ſomewhat, and would be very glad to avow it too, for the memory of that gentleman ſo long in his grave. It is upon this account I am begging of your Lordſhip to do all that is poſſible to preſerve every part and branch and member of his family, from the leaſt tranſient ſtain of infamy and reproach. And if God was prevailed with by Abraham to ſave a whole city for the ſake of ten righteous men; I hope there may be as charitable an inclination to ſpare the *debris* of our broken family, for the ſake of him who was the raiſer of it.

I aſk your Lordſhip's pardon for being thus importunate, for I have great need of your help, and I hope I ſhall have it from you. Loſſes of many and good friends I have borne, and ſubmitted with patience to the pleaſure of Almighty God, but a calamity of this nature that I now deprecate, has in it ſomething ſo frightful, and on ſome accounts ſo unnatural, that I beg you for God's ſake, from any angry man yourſelf, grow an advocate for me, and for the family on this account.

I am ever, my Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt faithful,

New Park,
March 21,
1690-91.

humble ſervant,

Rochester.'

His Lordſhip having received a very obliging anſwer to this letter, wrote a ſecond time to the Biſhop, as follows:

' My Lord,

I was warm, I confeſs, in the laſt letter I gave your Lordſhip the trouble of, and I thank you for reproving the vehemency of my ſtile in your laſt of the 28th. I am grown cooler, and acknowledge my fault; neither did I commit it with any apprehenſion that your Lordſhip was inexorable, or that it would be ſo much as needful to deſire your aſſiſtance. You may remember, you had ſaid a word to me when you were here, an *attainder*, that I acknowledge ſounded very harſh to me; and when I had reflected a little more upon it, as likewiſe that your Lordſhip did not uſe to ſpeak by chance, and conſequently that you had good grounds for what you ſaid; I own it heated me all over, which made me expreſs my thoughts to you with more tranſport than was fit; and I will ſay no more of them, for fear of running into new exceſſes. What your Lordſhip propoſes for my Lord Clarendon to deſire, is perfectly agreeable to my mind; but I know not, whether it be not a little too early, and that ſuch a petition would be preſented with a better grace, if he were once out of the Tower upon bail, than it would be, while he is under this cloſe confinement.——But, as your Lordſhip ſays, the affair of *Mons* muſt for the preſent put a ſtop to every man's private thoughts, for that is a matter of ſuch vaſt importance to the public, that it is but very fit that all particular conſiderations ſhould give way to it, and wait the determination of that great point.——[In proceeding, he takes notice of Lady Ranelagh's kindneſs to him, and concludes thus] I owe her many obligations. I am ſorry to ſee how little I can return, when there is moſt need of ſerving her *. Among all her favours, one that I ſhall never forget, was her deſire and endeavours not only to renew for me the acquaintance I formerly had with your Lordſhip, but to knit it cloſer into a friendſhip, in which I am always to own your Lordſhip's ready concurrence; and I hope I ſhall not fail as faithfully to perform all the part that belongs to,

* She lay then very dangerouſly ill of a fever.

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt faithful,

April 2,
1691.

and humble ſervant,

Rochester (19).'

(19) Ibid. p. 702—705.

[H] *He endeavoured to reconcile the two ſiſters.*] A ſpecimen has been already given of Lady Marlborough's diſpoſition toward his Lordſhip (20). The original cauſe of it is diſcovered by herſelf. His Lordſhip

(20) In remark [D].

the jealouſies he entertained of his principles were removed by Mr Robert Harley afterwards Earl of Oxford (z), through whoſe means he was made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in

Lordſhip had warmly oppoſed her coming into the Princeſs of Denmark's family. His Lordſhip likewiſe upon her huſband's diſgrace, ſhewed himſelf very deſirous to have her removed thence (21), a behaviour which muſt needs be extremely reſented by her Ladyſhip; and ſhe took an opportunity of ſhewing it many years afterwards by an abuſive miſrepreſentation of his Lordſhip's conduct in regard to the ſubject of the preſent remark, his endeavours to reconcile the two royal ſiſters. However, his Lordſhip's memory quickly found an advocate who has done him plenary juſtice in this point. But as the expreſs deſign of that author was to erect an exact counter-battery to that of her Grace, perhaps in the opinion that it was neceſſary to bend the tree as much the contrary way, in order to reduce it to a due rectitude (22), we ſhall endeavour here, to give the true out-line of his Lordſhip's conduct on this occaſion. In this view it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that there had been ſome heart-burnings between theſe royal perſonages, from the time of Queen Mary's acceſſion to the throne, which were much inflamed by the incident of the Princeſs's allowance of 50,000 l. a year ſettled by Parliament in 1690. After the vote had paſſed in the Commons, the Ducheſs tells us ſhe conſulted Lord Rocheſter whether her highneſs ſhould try for more, to which his anſwer was, That he *thought not only that the Princeſs ought to be ſatisfied with 50,000 l. but that ſhe ought to have taken it in any way the King and Queen pleaſed.* Her Grace imputes this anſwer to his Lordſhip's making his court at this time to the Queen (23). That he was at that time deſirous to teſtify a particular reſpect to the Queen, has been already ſhewn, as well as his motives thereto, in the two preceding remarks. However, conſidering the intire regard he had for the Princeſs and all her intereſts, it ſeems more probable that this anſwer was the immediate effect of a lively reſentment at the imprudence and unreaſonableneſs of the queſtion, which no doubt was ſharpned too, both by the natural warmth of his temper, and an extreme concern to ſee the minion's preſumption. But the event which ſeparated the two ſiſters, ſo as never to be cloſed, was the viſit made to her Majeſty by the Princeſs, with Lady Marlborough in her retinue, during the time of that Lord's diſgrace at Court. Upon which the Queen the next day wrote to her ſiſter the following letter.

Kenſington, Friday the 5th of February.

'Having ſomething to ſay to you, which I know will not be very pleaſing I chuſe rather to write it firſt, being unwilling to ſurprize you, though I think what I am going to tell you, if you give yourſelf the time to think, that never any body was ſuffered to live at Court in my Lord Marlborough's circumſtances; I need not repeat the cauſe he has given the King to do what he has done, nor his unwillingneſs at all times to come to ſuch extremities, though people do deſerve it.

I hope you do me the juſtice to believe it is as much againſt my will, that I now tell you, that after this, it is very unfit that Lady Marlborough ſhould ſtay with you, ſince that gives her huſband ſo juſt a pretence of being where he ought not.

I think I might have expected you ſhould have ſpoke to me of it, and the King and I both believing it, made us ſtay thus long. But ſeeing you was ſo far from it, that you brought Lady Marlborough hither laſt night, makes us reſolve to put it off no longer, but tell you, ſhe muſt not ſtay; and that I have all the reaſon imaginable to look upon your bringing her, as the ſtrangeſt thing that ever was done. Nor could all my kindneſs for you, (which is ever ready to turn all you do the beſt way) at any other time have hindred me ſhewing it you that moment; but I conſidered your condition, and that made me maſter it ſo far as not to take notice of it then.

But now I muſt tell you, it was very unkind in a ſiſter, would have been very uncivil in an equal, and I need not ſay I have more to claim. Which though my kindneſs would make me never exact, yet when I ſee the uſe you would make of it, I muſt tell you, I know what is due to me, and expect to have it from you. 'Tis upon that account I tell you plainly, Lady Marlborough muſt not continue with you in the circumſtances her Lord is.

I know this will be uneaſy to you, and I am ſorry for it, and it is very much ſo to me to ſay all this to you, for I have all the real kindneſs imaginable for you, and as I ever have, ſo I will always do my part to live with you as ſiſters ought. That is, not only like ſo near relations, but like friends. And as ſuch I did think to write to you, for I would have made myſelf believe your kindneſs for her made you at firſt forget *that* you ſhould have for the King and me, and reſolved to put you in mind of it myſelf, neither of us being willing to come to harſher ways.

But the ſight of Lady Marlborough having changed my thoughts, does naturally alter my ſtile. And ſince by that I ſee how little you ſeem to conſider what in common civility you owe us, I have told it you plainly; but withal aſſure you, that let me have never ſo much reaſon to take any thing ill of you, my kindneſs is ſo great, that I can paſs over moſt things, and live with you, as becomes me. And I deſire to do ſo, merely from that motive. For I do love you as my ſiſter, and nothing but yourſelf can make me do otherwiſe, and that is the reaſon I chuſe to write this rather than tell it you, that you may overcome your firſt thoughts; and when you have well conſidered, you will find, that though the thing be hard (which I again aſſure you I am ſorry for), yet it is not unreaſonable, but what has ever been practiſed, and what you yourſelf would do, were you in my place.

I will end this with once more deſiring you to conſider the matter impartially, and take time for it. I do not deſire an anſwer preſently, becauſe I would not have you give a raſh one. I ſhall come to your drawing-room to-morrow before you play, becauſe you know why I cannot make one: at ſome other time we ſhall reaſon the buſineſs calmly; which I will willingly do, or any thing elſe that may ſhew, it ſhall never be my fault, if we do not live kindly together: nor will I ever be other by choice, but,

Your truly loving,

and affectionate ſiſter,

M. R (24).'

To this letter the Princeſs returned the following anſwer.

'Your Majeſty was in the right to think your letter would be very ſurprizing to me. For you muſt needs be ſenſible enough of the kindneſs I have for Lady Marlborough, to know that a command from you to part with her, muſt be the greateſt mortification in the world to me, and indeed of ſuch a nature, as I might well have hoped your kindneſs to me would have always prevented. I am ſatisfied ſhe cannot have been guilty of any fault to you. And it would be extreamly to her advantage, if I could here repeat every word ſhe had ſaid to me of you in her whole life. I confeſs it is no ſmall addition to my trouble, to find the want of your Majeſty's kindneſs to me upon this occaſion; ſince I am ſure I have always endeavoured to preſerve it by all the actions of my life.

Your care of my preſent condition is extremely obliging, and if you would be pleaſed to add to it ſo far, as upon my account to re-call your ſevere command (as I muſt beg leave to call it in a matter ſo tender to me, and ſo little reaſonable as I think, to be impoſed upon me, that you would ſcarce require it from the meaneſt of your ſubjects) I ſhould ever acknowledge it as a very agreeable mark of your kindneſs to me; and I muſt as freely own, that as I think this proceeding can be for no other intent than to give me a very ſenſible mortification; ſo there is no miſery that I cannot readily reſolve to ſuffer, rather than the thoughts of parting with her. If after all this that I have ſaid, I muſt ſtill find myſelf ſo unhappy as to be farther preſſed in this matter; yet your Majeſty may be aſſured, that as my paſt actions have given the greateſt teſtimony of my reſpect both for the King and you, ſo it ſhall always be my endeavour, wherever I am, in 1700 *. He was poſſeſſed of that important poſt † and of the favour of Queen Anne on her acceſſion to the throne; but being ordered to his government of Ireland, he declined it,

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(z) Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, in the appendix. p. 57. and Burnet, Vol. II. p. 280.

(21) Conduct of the Ducheſs of Marlborough, p. 43.

(22) The piece is intituled, The other Side of the Queſtion, &c. printed the ſame year with the Ducheſs's conduct.

(23) Conduct of the Ducheſs of Marlborough, &c. p. 37.

(24) Ibid. p. 44, & ſeq.

* He went over to Ireland that year, but made a ſhort ſtay. Burnet, p. 291.

† King William, ſome weeks before his death, had ſent to diſmiſs him, but it was not executed. Ibid. p. 313.

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am, to preſerve it carefully for the time to come, as becomes,

Your Majeſty's
very affectionate ſiſter,
and ſervant,
ANNE.

From the Cockpit,
Feb. 6, 1692 (25).

Lord Rocheſter was pitched upon as the propereſt perſon to carry this inflaming letter to the Queen, but he declined the office, and therein gave a moſt conſpicuous proof of his affectionate regard to both his nieces, and of his ſincere deſire to ſee them reconciled, nothing being more notorious than that this addreſs was dictated by no healing ſpirit. Accordingly it was ſoon followed by another, declaring the Princeſs's reſolution to remove herſelf from the Cockpit, in order to avoid complying with the Queen's command. The letter was as follows.

‘I am very ſorry to find that all I have ſaid myſelf, and my Lord Rocheſter for me, has not had effect enough to keep your Majeſty from perſiſting in a reſolution, which you are ſatisfied muſt be ſo great a mortification to me, as to avoid it, I ſhall be obliged to retire; and deprive myſelf of the ſatisfaction of living, where I might have frequent opportunities of aſſuring you of that duty and reſpect, which I always have been, and ſhall be deſirous to pay you upon all occaſions.

‘My only conſolation in this extremity is, that not having done any thing in all my life to deſerve your unkindneſs, I hope I ſhall not be long under the neceſſity of abſenting myſelf from you: the thought of which is ſo uneaſy to me, that I find myſelf too much indiſpoſed to give your Majeſty any further trouble at this time.’

We ſee here the Princeſs expreſly acknowledging the good offices of her uncle in her behalf to the Queen; and what follows, will ſhew that he perſevered in thoſe good offices. The Princeſs being delivered, at Sionhouſe, of a child which died ſoon after the birth; and ſignifying the ſame in a reſpectful manner to the Queen, her Majeſty was prevailed with by his Lordſhip in return, to ſend word that ſhe would go that afternoon and ſee the Princeſs at Sion, and ſhe was there very ſoon after the notice arrived. And though no good effect followed from this viſit, wherein her Majeſty again inſiſted on her firſt demand; yet ſurely it was an advance on the Queen's ſide, and conſequently a proof of the uncle's good intentions to her ſiſter. But the ſincerity of theſe intentions ſeem to have been ſuſpected, for upon the Princeſs's recovery, when this viſit was to be returned, ſhe employed Biſhop Stillingfleet inſtead of Lord Rocheſter to carry the letter.

Her letter of annunciation.

To the Queen.

Sion, the 20th of May.

I have now, God be thanked, recovered my ſtrength well enough to go abroad, and though my duty and inclination would both lead me to wait upon your Majeſty, as ſoon as I am able to do it, yet I have of late had the misfortune of being ſo much under your Majeſty's diſpleaſure, as to apprehend there may be hard conſtructions made, upon any thing I either do or not do with the moſt reſpectful intentions; and I am in doubt, whether the ſame arguments that have prevailed with your Majeſty to forbid people from ſhewing their uſual reſpects to me (26), may not be carried ſo much further, as not to permit me to pay my duty to you. That I acknowledge would be a great increaſe of affliction to me; and nothing but your Majeſty's own command ſhall ever willingly make me ſubmit to it. For whatever reaſon I may think in my own mind I have to complain of being hardly uſed, yet I will ſtrive to hide it as much as poſſible; and though I will not pretend to live at the *Cockpit*, unleſs you would be ſo kind as to make it eaſy to me, yet wherever I am, I will endeavour always to give the conſtant marks of duty and reſpect, which I have in my heart for your Majeſty, as becomes,

Your Majeſty's
very affectionate ſiſter
and ſervant,
ANNE.

The anſwer returned by the Queen, manifeſts the higheſt reſentment in theſe terms.

To the Princeſs.

‘I have received your's by the Biſhop of Worceſter, and have very little to ſay to it, ſince you cannot but know, that as I never uſed compliments, ſo now they will not ſerve.

‘'Tis none of my fault, we live at this diſtance, and I have endeavoured to ſhew my willingneſs to do otherwiſe, and I will do no more. Don't give yourſelf any unneceſſary trouble: for be aſſured it is not words can make us live together as we ought. You know what I required of you, and I now tell you, if you doubted it before, that I cannot change my mind, but expect to be complied with, or you muſt not wonder if I doubt of your kindneſs. You can give me no other marks that will ſatisfy me. Nor can I put any other conſtruction upon your actions, than what all the world muſt do, that ſees them. Theſe things don't hinder me being very glad to hear you are ſo well, and wiſhing you may continue ſo; and that you may yet, while 'tis in your power, oblige me to be,

‘Your affectionate ſiſter,
‘MARIE R.’

This was indeed rigid and arbitrary (27), and the effect which it produced was natural, a fixed reſolution in the Princeſs not to ſubmit to it. No doubt there was faults on both ſides as is uſual in ſuch differences; and if the Queen was governed therein by her conſort, the Princeſs was not leſs ſpirited up by her favourite, who, as we have ſeen, having got the ſole poſſeſſion, had prevailed upon her to exclude her uncle from her councils, a fact which is far from being denied by the Ducheſs, and was much reſented by the Earl, who did not ſpare to expreſs it (if indeed he did write (28)) to the Princeſs in the following terms.

‘Madam,

‘I am afraid I may be guilty of too great preſumption in giving your Royal Highneſs the trouble of a letter; but I do it with ſo good intentions, that I hope you can't be angry with me for it. And now that one is unhappily reſtrained from the honour of waiting upon your Royal Highneſs, there is no other way but this to make an offer of my humble duty to you. It is a very uncomfortable reflection for me to make, that being ſo really concerned as I am ſure I am for your Royal Highneſs's happineſs, I ſhould be ſo unfortunate as to be wholly uſeleſs to you at a time, when your Royal Highneſs cannot but think yourſelf, that you have uſe of every body, that are truly and faithfully your ſervants. And however, I have been ſo miſtaken in my judgment, as to have never offered any thing to your Highneſs worth your approbation; I do, with all humility, ſubmit my poor opinion to that of your Royal Highneſs, but beg you to believe it is not flattery to any body elſe, nor any other conſideration that has made me be of the mind I was, but only the want of a better underſtanding, to be able to think of ſomething more for your ſervice; and being thus incapable of myſelf to propoſe any thing that is agreeable to you, I take this occaſion humbly to offer to your Royal Highneſs all the little ſervice, you may judge me fit to be employed in, and moſt earneſtly to beſeech you to believe, that if I can be of any uſe in the world to your Royal Highneſs, there is nothing that I would endeavour

(25) This letter is alſo given by the Ducheſs, who likewiſe obſerves that the viſit was made about three weeks after her Lord's removal; whence that diſgrace muſt have happened about the middle of January, 1692, a circumſtance which the reader is deſired to ſupply in the Duke's article, in Vol. II. p. 1339.

(26) All company had been forbid waiting on the Princeſs, and her Guards had been alſo taken away. Ducheſs of Marlborough's Conduct, p. 75.

(27) That 'tis ſaid was the Princeſs's expreſſion concerning it. Ibid. § 1. where both the preceding letters may be ſeen, as alſo the following.

(28) How came her Grace by this letter? is a quere put into *The other Side of the Queſtion*, p. 114.

it, and thereupon was diſmiſſed from all his employments (*aa*) [*I*]. From that time he put himſelf at the head of thoſe who were called the High-Church party, and, among other inſtances of his zeal for that cauſe, ſtrenuouſly ſupported the occaſional conformity-bill; he alſo propoſed to bring over the Princeſs Sophia in 1705 *, and oppoſed the Regency-bill that year, and the Union-bill in 1707; which gave his oppoſers a fair opportunity to keep him from Court, 'till the ſame perſon who reconciled him to King William, did him the like good office with the Queen, upon the change of the miniſtry in 1710, when he was made Lord-Preſident of the Council; and it was ſaid that her Majeſty deſigned him again for the poſt of Lord-Treaſurer, if his death had not prevented it (*bb*). He died ſuddenly May 2, 1711, and was interred in Weſtminſter-abbey (*cc*). His character, as is drawn by Biſhop Burnet, may be ſeen below [*K*]. His Lordſhip married Henrietta, the fifth daughter of Richard

(*aa*) Burnet, Vol. II. p. 340, 341. who tells us, he was uneaſy at the preference the Duke of Marlborough had in the Queen's confidence.

* He likewiſe made a ſpeech in Parliament that year, to ſhew that the Church was in danger. Boyer, p. 215.

(*bb*) Boyer, in the appendix, p. 57.

(*cc*) Collins's Peerage, edit. 1741, under Hyde.

'deavour with greater ſatisfaction to myſelf, than at this time to expreſs the great concern I preſume to ſay I have for your Royal Highneſs, by any thing that I can do for your ſervice. And if any thing I have taken the confidence to ſay be worth your taking notice of, the leaſt ſignification of your pleaſure will bring me at all times to receive the honour of your commands, and the duty and zeal and paſſion I have for your true intereſt and proſperity, will, I hope, make ſome amends for the want of a better judgment and capacity, which I acknowledge every body has a greater ſhare of than,

'Madam,

'Your Royal Highneſs's

'moſt obedient, and moſt

'dutiful ſervant,

'ROCHESTER.'

To this his Lordſhip received the following anſwer from the Princeſs.

To the Earl of Rocheſter.

'I give you many thanks for the compliments and expreſſions of ſervice, which you make me in your letter; which I ſhould be much better pleaſed with than I am, if I had any reaſon to think them ſincere.

'It is a great mortification to me, to find that I ſhall continue under the misfortune of the Queen's diſpleaſure. I had hopes, in time, the occaſion of it would have appeared as little reaſonable to the Queen, as it has always done to me. And if you would have perſuaded me of the ſincerity of your intentions, as you ſeem to deſire, you muſt give me leave to ſay, I cannot think it very hard for you to convice me of it by the effects. And 'till then I muſt beg leave to be excuſed, if I am apt to think this great mortification which has been given me, cannot have proceeded from the Queen's own temper; who I am perſuaded, is both more juſt in herſelf than that comes to, as well as more kind to

'Your very affectionate friend,

'ANNE.'

The Earl had the point of a reconciliation too much at heart, to ſuffer himſelf to be moved from it by the ſevere reflections thrown upon him in this letter. He was very ſenſible from what quiver all thoſe ſhafts were taken, and therefore without laying them to the charge of his niece, who he krew was endued with as much native goodneſs as ever fell to the ſhare of a woman, proceeded to make yet another attempt, in order if poſſible to heal a breach, in which the reputation of the family was ſo deeply concerned. In this view, laying hold of the laſt words in his niece's letter, he intimated to ſome of her family, that *if her Highneſs would diſcharge Lady Marlborough, he was perſuaded the Queen would in ſome time be prevailed upon to let her take that favourite again*. The Princeſs in compliance herewith, ſent her uncle's propoſal to the Queen, aſſuring her, that *from what his Lordſhip had ſaid, ſhe had been flattering herſelf, ſhe had miſtaken her Majeſty's laſt words; and that if ſhe might hope his Lordſhip had any ground for his opinion, ſhe ſhould be very ready to give her Majeſty any ſatisfaction of that ſort*. But we are told, that upon the delivery of this meſſage, the Queen fell into a great paſſion and ſaid, *her ſiſter had not miſtaken her, for ſhe never would ſee her upon any other terms, than parting with Lady Marlborough, not for a time, but for ever*; adding, *that ſhe was a Queen, and would be obeyed* (29). So peremptory an anſwer put an end to all further thoughts of a mediation; wherein however, notwithſtanding his Lordſhip's ill ſucceſs, yet his ſincerity and real affection for both the royal ſiſters, after what has been ſaid, will I ſuppoſe be hardly called in queſtion.

[*I*] *He was removed from all his employments.*] The laſt remark, diſcovered his Lordſhip's quarrel with the Marlborough family, and likewiſe the original cauſe thereof, viz. a rivalſhip in the affections of his niece. This diſgrace was the effect of that rivalſhip, the weight of which his Lordſhip was made to feel on all occaſions as long as it prevailed. Another remarkable inſtance of it, beſides that mentioned above, was the refuſing to make the Lady Dalkeith, his daughter, a lady of the bed-chamber, on the death of Lady Charlotte Beverwaert. Thoſe places were in the diſpoſal of Lady Marlborough, who had been made groom of the ſtole to the Queen upon her acceſſion to the Throne. His Lordſhip therefore, out of that tender regard which he always ſhewed for his children, applied on this occaſion to that Lady; who having obſerved, that the letter was (as ſhe archly expreſſes it) a *very fine piece*, proceeds to expreſs the greatneſs of her ſurprize; thanks God for her own proneneſs to forgive her enemies; renews her charge againſt his Lordſhip of having perſecuted her without a cauſe; declares that want of bread could not have induced her to aſk a favour of one ſhe had injured; and having ſlid in by way of reflection— *But ſurely his Lordſhip had ſomething very uncommon in his temper*, concludes thus: 'As to my Lord Rocheſter's requeſt in behalf of my Lady Dalkeith it could not be granted; becauſe in reality there was no vacancy. The Queen had reſolved to have no more than ten Ladies, and the number was complete. There had indeed been eleven for ſome ſhort time, but this had been occaſioned by the Ducheſs of Somerſet's declining to accept one of theſe places, when it was offered her at the ſettling of the Queen's family, and ſoon after deſiring to have it, when they were all filled As ſhe was the firſt Proteſtant Ducheſs of England, I perſuaded the Queen to be pleaſed in compliment to her Grace, to have eleven ladies for the little time Lady Charlotte Beverwaert had to live, who was then irrecoverably ill; ſo that when her Majeſty complied, it was, with full purpoſe, that the number of her Ladies ſhould be only ten after Lady Charlotte's death (30).' To this account it is replied on his Lordſhip's behalf in theſe terms. 'Thus it appears, the Queen could recede from her ſyſtem at your Grace's perſuaſion in favour of the firſt Ducheſs, but not in favour of her firſt couſin without it. But this, Madam, is only your way of telling your ſtory. According to others, Lady Dalkeith was rejected for fear the Marlborough family ſhould be oppoſed in the bed-chamber, as well as in the cabinet, by that of the Queen (31).' The only general uſe that can be made of this detail, is to remind the reader of theſe two things, viz. That the Ducheſs of Somerſet's huſband had given his vote in Council, agreeable to the projects of Lord Marlborough, and Lady Dalkeith's father had oppoſed them (32). We ſhall conclude this remark with obſerving that the oppoſition continued as long as Lord Rocheſter lived, and thereby he acquired the title, as his father had done, of being The Guardian of the Church (33).

[*K*] *His character by Biſhop Burnet.*] This is as follows, that he was a man of great parts, and of a good head, but ſpoke not gracefully. He was thought the ſmootheſt man in the Court, and during all the diſpute concerning

(29) Ibid.

(30) Ibid. § 2. p. 146.

(31) The other Side, &c. p. 180.

(32) His Lordſhip propoſed to proſecute the war not by land but by ſea, as our proper element. See the ſubſtance of his ſpeech in the laſt cited piece, from p. 171 to p. 174.

(33) See a letter of the Duke's, dated Grametz, Octob. 1706, and another of the Ducheſs, in her Account, ubi ſupra, as alſo in the other Side of The Queſtion, p. 273, & ſeq. and p. 279, & ſeq.

Richard Boyle Earl of Burlington and Cork, who dying April 12, 1687, was interred alſo in Weſtminſter-abbey, having brought one ſon, Henry, who ſucceeded to the honour and eſtate, and four daughters (*dd*), of whom we ſhall give an account in remark [*L*].

cerning his father, made his court ſo dextrouſly, that no reſentment ever appeared on that head. When he came to buſineſs and roſe to high poſts he grew violent, but was thought an incorrupt man. He had high notions of government, and thought it muſt be maintained with great ſeverity, he delivered up his own ſentiments to his party that he might lead them: he paſſed for a ſincere man, and ſeemed to have too much heat to be falſe (34). Another author obſerves, that he was not only of the moſt refined judgment and capacity as a ſtateſman, but otherways of great abilities and exemplary morals, which rendered him acceptable even to thoſe of a contrary intereſt (35) [as for inſtance, to Biſhop Burnet].

[*L*] *An account of his children.*] The names of his daughters were Anne, Henrietta, Mary, and Katharine. Anne the eldeſt, born in 1665, was married at ſeventeen years of age to James Earl of Oſſory, grandſon and heir to the Duke of Ormond. Her marriage being propoſed by the Duke of York, was readily conſented to. The young lady's fortune was 15000 l. ſhe was very pretty and agreeable in her perſon, had abundance of vivacity, a great deal of ready wit, and an excellent temper, and the marriage was ſolemnized on Thurſday July 15, 1682, in Burlington-houſe chapel (36). The young couple were taken by the Duke of Ormond ſoon after to Ireland, where in the beginning of November 1684, the Counteſs began to be troubled with vapours and fainting fits, however ſhe was not thought to be with child, but it proved ſo, and ſhe died of a miſcarriage, in January 1684, at Dublin, and was buried Jan. 27, at Chriſt-Church in that city. Some fancies might probably contribute to her miſcarriage, for ſhe was very ſuperſtitious, as to thirteen people ſitting at table. A little before her death, Dr Hough [afterwards Biſhop of Worceſter] was going to ſit down, when obſerving that he made the thirteenth, he ſtopt ſhort, and declined taking his place †. She immediately gueſſed the reaſon, and ſaid, *Sit down, Doctor, 'tis now too late, 'tis the ſame thing if you ſtay or go away.* The Doctor believed it affected her; as likewiſe another paſſage, which being related in a different manner, it may'nt be improper here to correct the miſtake of that relation. About the time of the death of Mary Counteſs of Kildare, who was daughter to Katharine Baroneſs of Clifton, married firſt to Donald Lord O-Brian, and afterwards to Sir Joſeph Williamſon; the Counteſs of Oſſory, then not above ſeventeen, dreamt, that this lady came and knocked at the door; and that calling to her ſervants to ſee who was there, and no-body anſwering, ſhe went to the door herſelf, and opening it, ſaw a lady with her face muffled up in a hood, who drawing it aſide, ſhe perceived it was the Lady Kildare——Upon this ſhe cried, *Siſter, is it you? What makes you come in this manner?* don't be frighted, replied ſhe, for I come on a very ſerious affair, and it is to tell you, that you will die very ſoon, ſuch was her dream; and this is all the ſtory, as the young lady related it herſelf to the Biſhop of Worceſter. What is added in the hiſtory of apparitions is all a fiction (37). In that hiſtory, the ſtory is told from Aubrey's Miſcellanies in the following terms: 'Two perſons, ladies of quality, both not long ſince deceaſed, were intimate acquaintance, and loved each other intirely. It happened that one of them falling ſick of the ſmall-pox, deſired mightily to ſee the other, who refuſed to come for fear of catching the diſtemper. The afflicted lady at laſt dies, and had not been buried very long before ſhe appeared at the other's houſe in the dreſs of a widow, and aſks for her friend, who being then at cards, ſends down her woman to know her buſineſs, but was told by the other, ſhe muſt impart it to none but her Lady. She hearing this anſwer, bid her woman have her into a room, and deſire her to ſtay 'till the game was over, when ſhe would wait on her. The game being done, down ſtairs ſhe came to the apparition to know her buſineſs, *Madam,* ſays the ghoſt, turning upon her, with her face full of the ſmall-pox, *You know very well that you and I loved intirely, and your not coming to ſee me, I took ſo ill at your hands, that I could not reſt, 'till I had ſeen you; and now I am come to tell you, that you have not long to live, therefore prepare to die; and when you are at a viſit, and make the thirteenth perſon, then remember my words;* and ſo the apparition vaniſhed. To conclude, ſhe was at a viſit, where ſhe made the thirteenth, and being afterwards aſked by the deceaſed's brother, whether his ſiſter did not appear to her, ſhe made him no anſwer, but fell ill, and died in a little time after. The gentleman that told this ſtory ſays, that there is ſcarcely a lady of quality but who knows it to be true (38).' His Lordſhip's ſecond daughter married James Earl of Dalkeith, eldeſt ſon of James Duke of Monmouth. This lady has been already mentioned (39). The third daughter Mary, was married Feb. 17, 1703, to Francis Seymour Conway, afterwards Lord Conway. Katharine, the fourth, was Lady of the Bed-chamber to Queen Anne, and died unmarried in 1737. The Earl's ſon and heir, on the death of his couſin Edward Earl of Clarendon in 1723, became Earl of Clarendon and Rocheſter; he married in the life-time of his father, Jane, daughter of Sir William Leviſon Gower, and aunt to the preſent Earl Gower. Her Ladyſhip was appointed of the Bed-chamber to Queen Anne, ſoon after her Majeſty's acceſſion to the throne; the Ducheſs of Marlborough, who miſſes no opportunity of ſhewing her wit upon the Rocheſter family, tells us, 'that ſhe thought it reaſonable to grant this favour, for in my life ſays her Grace, I never ſaw any mortal have ſuch a paſſion for any thing, as ſhe had to be in this poſt. While the thing was depending, ſhe had ſo much concern upon her, that ſhe never ſpoke to me without bluſhing; and after it was granted, ſhe made me more expreſſions than ever I had from any body on any occaſion ‖. In what manner this lady treated me afterwards, is not worth while to mention (40).' Hereupon, the author of The other ſide of the Queſtion, makes the following remark. An excellent picture of artleſs innocent feminine ambition, the effect of which, the ſimply grateful letter you expoſe from her Ladyſhip, cannot leſſen, nor the reflection ſo haughtily inſinuated at the end of it efface (41). She died May 24, 1725. His Lordſhip had iſſue by her one ſon Henry; and five daughters, Anne, Henrietta, Jane, Charlotte, and Katharine, of whom the two firſt were deceaſed in 1741. The 3d, Jane, married William Capel Earl of Eſſex, being his Lordſhip's firſt wife, ſhe died January 3, 1723-4, having brought her huſband four daughters. The Earl of Clarendon's fourth daughter, Charlotte, died at her father's houſe in St James's ſquare unmarried, March 17, 1739-40. Katharine, married to the Duke of Queenſberry, is ſtill living *; and, 'tis ſaid, has in her poſſeſſion a manuſcript of her great-grand-father the Chancellor, containing an account of his ſeven years adminiſtration, from the King's return to his own baniſhment. The Earl of Clarendon and Rocheſter's only ſon, Henry Viſcount Cornbury, was born November 26, 1710, was ſome time a Member of Parliament for the Univerſity of Oxford (42), and was called by writ to the Houſe of Peers, on Jan. 22, 1750, by the title of Baron Hyde of Hindon in Wiltſhire; but going ſoon after to reſide in France, was killed there by a fall from his horſe, May 2, 1753, and his father dying November 10 the ſame year (43), the titles became extinct, and the ſon bequeathed the family eſtate, which had been ſettled upon him by his father, to Lady Charlotte, daughter to the abovesaid Earl of Eſſex ‡.

Lady Hyde's letter juſt mentioned was as follows.

Madam, Monday morning.

I have been three times in the drawing-room in hopes to meet your Ladyſhip there, that I might myſelf tell you, how extreme ſenſible I am of your Ladyſhip's favour to me. You will add another, if you will forgive my impatience that cannot ſtay longer, without thanking you myſelf, though Mr Lowther hath undertaken for me; I am very happy in my requeſt's being granted, and your Ladyſhip may depend any command of your's ſhall be obeyed. For I will not, without your leave, brag even to my Lady Harriot, who did me the favour to ſpeak to your Ladyſhip. I am not good at ſaying much, but am ſure it will be a pleaſure to me, to ſhew you in every thing I can, how faithfully and ſincerely,

I am,
Your moſt humble ſervant,
J. Hyde (44).

(*dd*) Ibid.

(34) Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 258.

(35) Collins, in the Peerage, under his article. edit. 1741.

(36) Carte's Ormonde, Vol. II. p. 520.

† Hence it appears that the doctor was in Ireland in 1684, a circumſtance which is omitted in his article.

(37) Carte, p. 543.

(38) Hiſtory and Reality of Apparitions, &c. p. 185 and 186. Lond. 1729, 8vo.

(39) Viz. in remark [*I*].

‖ As a further confirmation, the Ducheſs inſerts a letter from Lady Hyde on this occaſion, which is inſerted below.

(40) The Ducheſs of Marlborough's Conduct, p. 145.

(41) The other Side of the Queſtion, p. 118.

* Peerage, under Hyde and Capel, Vol. II. edit. 1741.

(42) Gentleman's Magazine, for that month and year.

(43) Ibid. for November.

‡ This lady being married to the Hon. Thomas Villiers of the Grove in Hertfordſhire, that gentleman, June 3, 1756, was created a peer, by the ſtile and title of Baron Hyde of Hindon in Wiltſhire, to deſcend to the heirs male begotten by him of the body of his wife the ſaid Lady Charlotte, and, in default of ſuch iſſue, to go to her Ladyſhip and the heirs male of her body.

(44) Ducheſs of Marlborough's Conduct, p. 133, 134.

J.

JACKSON [Thomas], a very learned Engliſh Divine in the XVIIth century, was born December 21, 1579, at Witton upon the river Were in the biſhopric of Durham; being deſcended from a very worthy family in thoſe parts (*a*). His parents deſigned him at firſt to be a merchant at Newcaſtle, where many of his near friends and relations lived in great wealth and proſperity; but that temptation could not divert him from his natural inclination to learning. Therefore, at the inſtance of Ralph Lord Evre, he was ſent to the univerſity of Oxford [*A*], and admitted, in Midſummer term 1595, into Queen's-college; from whence, March 24, 1596, he was elected Scholar of Corpus-Chriſti-college: and though he had no notice of the vacancy of the place, 'till the day before the election, yet he anſwered with ſo much readineſs and applauſe, that he gained the admiration as well as the ſuffrages of the electors, and was choſen with full conſent, notwithſtanding great intereſt was made for another perſon (*b*). The 23d of July, 1599, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and that of Maſter July 9, 1603 (*c*). And on the 10th of May 1606, was choſen Probationer-Fellow of his college (*d*), having then laid an extraordinary foundation of learning [*B*]. But he made all his knowledge ſubſervient to the ſtudy of Divinity; which he applied himſelf to with great vigour and ſucceſs. As an inſtance of which, he read a Divinity lecture in his college every Sunday morning, and another on a week day at Pembroke-college (then new founded), at the inſtance of the Maſter and Fellows there. Being alſo choſen Vice-Preſident of his Houſe for many years together; by virtue of that office, he moderated at the Divinity-diſputations, not only with great depth of learning, but alſo with agreeable courteſy, gentleneſs, and humility (*e*). June 25, 1610, he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, and June 26, 1622, that of Doctor (*f*). In 1624 he quitted the college, being preferred to a living in his own native country [*C*]. From whence, ſhortly after, he was removed to the vicarage of St Nicolas in Newcaſtle, a very populous town, furniſhed with multitudes of men, and no ſmall variety of opinions (*g*). In that large cure, he behaved in a very ſtudious, humble, courteous, and charitable manner (*h*) [*D*]; and was much followed and admired for his excellent way of preaching. He was then a rigid Calviniſt; but Dr Richard Neile, Biſhop of Durham, taking him for his Chaplain, convinced him of the errors of Abſolute Predeſtination. And through that Biſhop's, jointly with Dr Laud's, intereſt, he was elected Preſident of Corpus-Chriſti college (*i*); which office he was ſworn into February 17, 1630 (*k*). In that ſtation he acted with the utmoſt wiſdom, modeſty, candour, integrity, and faithfulneſs (*l*). Upon accepting of it, having reſigned his living in Newcaſtle, he was made Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majeſty, and collated to the Vicarage of Witney [*E*], and to a Prebend of Wincheſter (*m*), which

(*a*) Wood Athenæ, edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 633. and the Life and Death of Dr Jackſon, prefixed to a Collection of his Works, Lond. 1653, fol. p. 2.

(*b*) Life, &c. p. 2.

(*c*) Wood Faſti, Vol. I. col. 156, 165.

(*d*) Idem Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Life, &c. ut ſupra, p. 5.

(*f*) Wood Faſti, Vol. I. col. 186, 223.

(*g*) Life, p. 6.

(*h*) Ibid.

(*i*) Wood, Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Idem, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. II. p. 232.

(*l*) Life, &c. p. 8.

(*m*) Life, &c. p. 10. and Wood Athen. ut ſupra.

[*A*] *At the inſtance of Ralph Lord Evre, he was ſent to the Univerſity of Oxford.*] This he thankfully acknowledges, in the dedication of his two firſt books of Commentaries on the Creed to that noble Lord, in the following words. 'That being ingaged unto a 'more gainfull, but not ſo good a courſe of life, and 'well-nigh rooted in another ſoil; I was by your 'Lordſhip's favourable *advice* and *countenance* tranſplanted to this famous nurſery of good learning.'

[*B*] *Having then laid an extraordinary foundation of learning.*] For, he had carefully grounded himſelf in Arithmetic, Grammar, Philology, Geometry, Rhetoric, Logic, Philoſophy, the Oriental languages, Hiſtory, &c. with an inſight into Heraldry, and Hieroglyphics (1).

[*C*] *Being preferred to a living in his own native country.*] Edmund Vaughan, the author of his life, ſays, That the living was in the donation of the college (2); and Ant. Wood, that 'he left his college 'for a benefice in his own country, which the Preſi'dent and Society thereof had then lately conferred on 'him (3).' But it doth not appear that Corpus-Chriſti-college have any livings in that dioceſe

[*D*] *And charitable manner.*] When he went out, he uſually gave what money he had about him to the poor; who at length flocked ſo about him, that his ſervant took care he ſhould not have too much in his pocket (4).

[*E*] *And collated to the vicarage of Witney.*] The author of his life, juſt now mentioned, informs us, 'That he *gave* his vicarage in Newcaſtle to Mr Alvye 'of Trinity-college, upon no other relation, but out 'of the good opinion which he conceived of his merits. 'The vicarage of Witney, after he had been at much 'pains, and expence, to clear the title of the rectory 'to all ſucceeding miniſters, when he had made it a 'portion fitting either to give or keep, he freely *be'ſtowed* it upon Mr Thomas White, then Proctor of 'the

(1) Wood, Athen. as above.

(2) P. 6.

(3) Athen. ut ſupra.

(4) Life, &c. p. 6.

which laſt he was inſtalled into June 18, 1635 (*n*). He was alſo promoted January 17, 1638, to the Deanery of Peterburgh, in the room of Dr Towers, advanced to the epiſcopal ſee (*o*). But he did not enjoy this dignity above a year and three quarters: for he died September 21, 1640, and was buried in the inner chapel of Corpus-Chriſti-college (*p*). His works are very numerous, and entirely theological [*F*]. With regard to his character, he was a man of a blameleſs life, ſtudious, humble, courteous, and very charitable; pious, and exemplary both in his private and public converſation: ſo that he was reſpected and beloved by the moſt conſiderable perſons in the nation. And tho' he was reviled as an Arminian, by the Puritans or rigid Calviniſts [*G*], the plagues of his time, yet the greateſt eſteem was no more than his due, even on account of his learning. For he was well furniſhed with all the learned languages, arts, and ſciences; eſpecially metaphyſics, which he conſidered as a neceſſary hand-maid to Divinity; profoundly read in the Fathers, and of a wonderful and deep judgment (*q*).

(*n*) J. Le Neve's Faſti, &c. p. 529.

(*o*) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 512.

(*p*) Wood, Athen. ut ſupra, col. 636.

(*q*) Wood, col. 633.

'the Univerſity, late chaplain of his college.' But by thoſe inaccurate expreſſions, he *gave*, and *beſtowed*, the life-writer muſt mean, that he procured thoſe two livings for them through his intereſt; for neither of them were in his own gift.

[*F*] *His works are very numerous, and entirely Theological.*] The chief of them are a *Commentary on the Apoſtles Creed*, in twelve books; printed in the following order. The firſt book was publiſhed at London in 1613, 4to. The ſecond in 1614, 4to. The third in 1614, 4to. The fourth in 1615, 4to. The fifth in 1625, 4to. The ſixth (which is a Treatiſe of the Divine Eſſence and Attributes, in two parts) in 1628, and 1629, 4to. The ſeventh in 1624, 4to. The eighth in 1626, 4to. The ninth in 1628, 4to. The tenth in 1654, fol. The eleventh in 1657, fol. The twelfth in 1627, 4to.——The three firſt books were collected together, and publiſhed in folio, (with a preface, and the author's life written by Edmund Vaughan) in 1653, by the pious Barnabas Oley (5). Who alſo firſt publiſhed, in folio, the tenth book, in the year 1654. And in 1657, the eleventh book, alſo in folio.——The reſt of his compoſitions are chiefly ſermons.——A compleat collection of all his works was printed again at London, in 1672, and 1673, in three volumes folio. And, though they are ſo voluminous, they have kept up their reputation, and their price, much better than thoſe of moſt of his contemporaries; a ſure mark of their intrinſick value. They are frequently cited, with due commendation, by the learned Biſhop Patrick, in his Commentaries on the Old Teſtament; and by other perſons of the beſt judgment.——He appears, through every part of them, to have been a zealous champion againſt the Church of Rome.

[*G*] *However reviled as an Arminian, by the Puritans or rigid Calviniſts.*] Eſpecially by the troubleſom and voluminous ſcribler William Prynne, who mentions him in ſeveral of his works. Thus, he ſaith of him, in one place (6), that 'he was convented in 'the laſt Parliament (1628) yea openly accuſed in the 'laſt Convocation for his heretical *Arminian* books.' He ſaith elſewhere (7), That 'Dr Jackſon of Oxon. 'is a man of great abilities, and of a plauſible, affable, courteous deportment, 'till of late he hath been 'tranſported beyond himſelf, with metaphyſical contemplations, to his own infamy, and his renowned 'mother's ſhame, I mean the Univerſity of Oxon, 'who grieves for his defection.'——And again, 'he [Dr Jackſon] is of civil converſation and learning, 'which made his errors and preferments more dangerous and pernicious;— it was his Arminian errors, 'not his *learning* or *honeſty*, that were the ground of 'his advancement to his dignity (8);——Yea, he 'was by him [Laud] deſigned to be Doctor of the 'Chair (though he miſſed that preferment,) to poyſon 'the Univerſity of Oxford, with his Arminian druggs '(9).'——But, as the pious Mr B. Oley well obſerves (10), ſuch trifling objections and ill grounded calumnies are 'meer noiſe; the phanſie of a prejudicate 'mind.'——Dr Jackſon, adds he, 'knew he might 'not ſtrive, nor multiply queſtions to gender ſtrife: 'therefore he demands but two *poſtulata* of the diſſenting man. 1. That God hath a true freedom of 'doing good. 2. That man hath a true freedom in 'doing evil. From him that agrees with him in theſe 'two, he will not diſſent in other points (11). But 'from ſuch as teach, That all events are ſo irreſiſtibly 'decreed by God, that none can fall out otherwiſe 'than they do; or, that nothing can be amended that 'is amiſſe; he plainly differs. For, beſides that the 'tenets be Turkiſh (12), being preſſed, they yield a 'morbid bitter juice, and put out a forked ſting. 'Their conſequent being, That, either, there is no 'morall evil under the ſun; or, That the fountain of 'goodneſſe (who is *ultor & intentator malorum*) his 'will is the cauſe of ſuch evil.'——So that every judicious perſon may eaſily diſcern, whoſe *learning*, as well as undeſtanding and *honeſty*, is moſt juſtly to be called in queſtion; Mr Prynne's, or Dr Jackſon's. C

(5) Concerning whom ſee Wood's Athenæ, Vol. I. col. 635.

(6) Appendix to Anti-Arminianiſm, &c.

(7) Anti-Arminianiſm, &c. edit. 1630, p. 270.

(8) Canterbury's Doom, p. 532.

(9) Ibid. p. 166, 167.

(10) Preface to a Collection of Dr Jackſon's Works, folio edit. 1653, p. 5.

(11) Epiſt. before the Attributes.

(12) See Buſbequius, Ep. 4.

JENKINS [Sir LEOLINE, or LIONEL], a very learned Civilian as well as able Stateſman in the laſt century, was born in the pariſh of Llantriſaint in the county of Glamorgan, in the year 1623 [*A*]; and was the ſon of Leoline Jenkins, or Jenkins Lluellin, of the ſame place (*a*) [*B*]. He laid the foundation of his future learning, and particularly of his great knowledge and accuracy in the Latin and Greek tongues, at Cowbridge-ſchool, very near the place of his nativity; which ſchool he afterwards liberally endowed. In 1641, he was admitted into Jeſus-college in Oxford; where his regularity, condeſcenſion, modeſty, and ſerious deportment, procured him the eſteem of his fellow-collegians, and eſpecially of Dr Manſell, then Principal of the college. The national troubles coming on ſoon after, Mr Jenkins took arms for King Charles I. but his military exerciſes did

not

(*a*) The Life of Sir Leoline Jenkins, by W. Wynne, Eſq; Lond. 1724. fol. p. 1.

[*A*] *In the year* 1623.] William Wynne, Eſq; ſays, that it was in the year 1625; which ſeems to be confirmed by Ant. Wood's obſervation (1), that Mr Jenkins was ſixteen years of age in 1641. But the ſame Mr Wood, and Sir Leoline's epitaph, informing us, that he was aged ſixty-two at the time of his death, in 1685; conſequently he muſt have been born in the year 1623.

[*B*] *And was the ſon of Leoline Jenkins, or Jenkins Lluellin, of the ſame place.*] Mr Wynne, aſſures us, that the father was 'a man of about 40l. a year, who 'left behind him in that neighbourhood the character of a very honeſt, prudent, and induſtrious 'man. There have been thoſe, (adds Mr Wynne) 'who have inſinuated a much meaner extraction, but 'without any other reaſon, than as one of the uſual artifices ſome men take, to render a great man deſpicable, when nothing more likely can be invented. 'But his father really was a perſon, that by his frugal 'and prudential method of living, was not only capable of beſtowing, but alſo well underſtood the value 'of that liberal education, which he beſtowed on his 'ſon; and whom Mr David Jenkins, one of the Judges 'of North-Wales, and the famous champion of the 'Royal cauſe, treated, if not as a relation of his antient and honourable family, yet as a perſon worthy 'of his care; and, under that character, very early 'recommended him to the protection of Dr Wilkins, 'at that time Warden of Wadham-college, and afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter (2).'

[*C*] *Served*

(1) Faſti, Vol. II. col. 132. edit. 1721.

(2) Wynne, as above, p. 1.

not ſo wholly take him up, as to occaſion the utter neglect or interruption of his ſtudies; for he continued them with all poſſible vigour (*b*). Upon the King's barbarous and tragical death in 1648, he left the univerſity, and retired into his own country; where he proſecuted his ſtudies with his wonted diligence, though he ſeemed now to be thrown out of the road of all advancement and ſucceſs. But this ſeeming misfortune was abundantly made up to him, and proved as happy as poſſible in its effects. For it happened, that his place of reſidence was near Llantrythyd, the ſeat of Sir John Aubrey; which, having been left void by ſequeſtration, ſerved as a refuge to ſeveral eminent Loyaliſts [*C*]; ſo that he was ſoon taken notice of by one of them, his former Principal, Dr Manſell: who, from the experience he had of his behaviour in college, could well judge of his merit and growing capacity. Therefore, he not only invited Mr Jenkins to paſs his time with him and the reſt of his fellow-ſufferers at Sir John Aubrey's houſe, but introduced him into the friendſhip of thoſe eminent men his companions: which indeed proved the cauſe of his riſe and of all his future preferments. The firſt employment they found Mr Jenkins for the exerciſe of his virtue and induſtry, was the tuition of Sir John's eldeſt ſon. Wherein he gave ſo much ſatisfaction, that he was ſoon after recommended, in the like capacity, to many other young gentlemen of the beſt rank and quality in thoſe parts; whom, under the influence and example of thoſe great men, he educated in the doctrine of the Church of England, and improved in juſt and virtuous principles, as well as learning. In this neighbourhood and employment he continued for ſome time, 'till at laſt the ſoldiers quartered in thoſe parts took him priſoner, as the moſt effectual means of diſperſing his ſcholars. Soon after, being indicted at the quarter-ſeſſions for keeping a ſeminary of rebellion and ſedition, he removed, in May 1651, with his pupils to Oxford [*D*]; where he ſettled in a houſe in the High-ſtreet, which from him was then commonly known by the name of little Welſh-Hall. And ſuch great confidence had many eminent Royaliſts in him, that he was employed on ſeveral meſſages and correſpondencies between Mr David Jenkins, Dr Sheldon, Dr Manſell, Dr Fell, and others. But, after Mr Jenkins had continued about four years at Oxford, he began to be publickly talked of as a dangerous and obnoxious man; and his new patron, Dr Wilkins, to whoſe protection he had been recommended, being about this time removed to the Maſterſhip of Trinity-college in Cambridge, he was forced, in the year 1655, to withdraw beyond-ſea with his pupils, for fear of ſome ill treatment. They continued three years abroad, during which time they travelled over a great part of France, Holland, and Germany; and ſometimes reſided at their famous ſeats of learning, that the young gentlemen might ſee, as much as they could by ſo weak a repreſentation, the methods of a univerſity life, which they were not permitted to enjoy at home. After their return from beyond ſea in 1658, Mr Jenkins having delivered up his pupils to their reſpective parents and relations, and being now in a manner out of all employment, he was invited by Sir William Whitmore, a generous patron of the diſtreſſed Cavaliers, to live with him at Appley in Shropſhire. Here Mr Jenkins continued 'till the year 1660, enjoying the opportunities of a well-furniſhed library, and of improving himſelf in his ſtudies; which he followed with his wonted indefatigable diligence and application, for in this only he obſerved no moderation (*c*). Upon the Reſtoration, being now in the 37th year of his age, he returned to Jeſus-college; and ſo conſiderable was his fame among his countrymen, that on the ſettlement of that Society he was choſen one of the Fellows (*d*). On the 16th of February 1660-61, he was created Doctor of Laws (*e*): and, March the firſt following, was unanimouſly choſen Principal of his college, upon Dr Manſell's reſignation, which place he kept 'till the beginning of the year 1673 (*f*). He promoted the honour and advantage of the college to the utmoſt [*E*], and became a conſiderable benefactor thereto at his death, as will be ſeen in the ſequel. His next preferment was the Commiſſaryſhip of the peculiar and exempt juriſdiction of the Deanery of Bridgnorth in Shropſhire, given him by his friend Sir William Whitmore (*g*). In 1662, he was appointed Aſſeſſor of the Chancellor's court in Oxford;

(*b*) Ibid. p. 2.

(*c*) Life, &c. as above, p. 4, 5, 6, 7.

(*d*) Idem, p. 7.

(*e*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. II. edit. 1721, col. 132.

(*f*) Idem ibid. & Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. II. p.

(*g*) Wynne, as above, p. 9.

[*C*] *Served as a refuge to ſeveral eminent Loyaliſts.*] Particularly to Dr Francis Manſell, Principal of Jeſus-college, Dr Accepted Frewin, Archbiſhop of York, and Dr Gilbert Sheldon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury (3).

(3) Idem, p. 3.

[*D*] *He removed, in May* 1651, *with his pupils to Oxford.*] They were, Sir Francis Manſell, the heir of the family; Sir Edward, and Arthur his brother, Sir Antony Manſell's two ſons; Sir John Aubrey's ſon and heir; Stepney, and Vaughan, two other of Dr Manſell's nephews; Sir Sackvil Crow's ſon and heir; Sir Robert Moyle of Blackwell in Kent; Mr Walter Thomas of Swanzey, &c.—As to Mr Jenkins's method of education; his principal way was, to gain the good will of his pupils, to create a mutual confidence, and to convey his inſtructions without the ſeverity of a maſter, and in ſuch gentle and agreeable leſſons as would become even an intimate friend. He was very ſenſible, that it was the early inſtilling of conſcientious principles, and the ſeeds of virtue and religion, that muſt knit and conſolidate all the reſt; and therefore he endeavoured on all opportunities to ſet out to them the excellency of virtue in its moſt lively colours, and the true delight which flowed from virtuous courſes; and gave them to underſtand, that, as corrupt and degenerate as the practice of thoſe times was, yet ſolid virtue, and true religion, would one time or other recover its proper place and eſteem (4).

(4) Wynne, as above, p. 6, 7.

[*E*] *He promoted the honour and advantage of the college to the utmoſt.*] That college had very much ſuffered, during the univerſal confuſions in the nation, by the unſkilfulneſs and diſhoneſty of Dr Michael Roberts, Principal of the ſame. But Dr Jenkins, at his coming into that ſtation, reſtored the exerciſes, diſputations, and habits, and reformed all abuſes and irregular practices, which the general liberty and licentiouſneſs of the late times had introduced. Then he reviſed, explained, and inforced the college ſtatutes: and reviewed the leaſes and eſtates of the college; ſet aſide ſeveral illegal debts; recovered many of the revenues; and reſtored ſeveral benefactions that had been miſapplied, to their proper and original uſes. He alſo contributed largely to the building in the new quadrangle, on the weſt ſide of the college-hall (5).

(5) Wynne, as above, p. 7, 8, 9, 70.

[*F*] *The*

Oxford; the proceedings of which are chiefly according to the practice of the Civil Law, and the Statutes and Uſages of the univerſity. The ſame year Dr Sweit made him his Deputy-Profeſſor of the Civil Law there, not being able to officiate, by reaſon of his great age and infirmities, and his attendance on the Court of Arches, whereof he was alſo Dean [*F*]. Preferments continuing to pour upon Dr Jenkins, he was, in 1663, made Regiſter of the Conſiſtory-court belonging to the collegiate church of St Peter Weſtminſter; and, ſoon after, appointed by his friend Dr Sheldon (newly tranſlated to the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury) his Commiſſary and Official for that his peculiar dioceſe; and alſo his Vicar or Official general; at leaſt his dioceſan Commiſſary. He was very helpful to that prelate in the ſettlement of his Theatre and Printing-houſe; of which magnificent deſign, when finiſhed, he was appointed one of the Curators; and was uſeful to that generous Archbiſhop upon many other occaſions, relating both to Church and State (*b*) [*G*]. The univerſity beginning to grow too narrow a field for the exerciſe of his abilities, he removed, through the Archbiſhop's encouragement, to London, in order to apply himſelf to the public practice of the Civil Law at Doctors-Commons; and was admitted, about the latter end of the year 1663, an Advocate in the Court of Arches. Here he was immediately made Deputy or Aſſiſtant to Dr Sweit Dean of this court, as he had been to him before in the office of Profeſſor. And the firſt Dutch war breaking out, the Lords-Commiſſioners for prizes, by their order bearing date February 4, 1664, appointed Dr Jenkins, with ſome other the moſt eminent Civilians, to review the maritime laws, and compile a body of rules and ordinances, by which the Judge of the Admiralty for the time being ſhould proceed in the adjudication of prizes: which being accordingly done, and approved by his Majeſty in Council, became the ſtandard of thoſe proceedings. The vaſt increaſe of buſineſs in the Court of Admiralty during this war, and the great age and infirmities of Dr Exton, Judge of that court, ſoon obliged his Majeſty to look out for a more able and active perſon. Whereupon, Dr Jenkins being recommended by Archbiſhop Sheldon, was made Judge-Aſſiſtant to Dr Exton, by patent bearing date March 21, 1664-5. And ſo well did he behave in that ſtation, that, upon the death of Dr Exton, he was made ſole Judge of the Admiralty of England and Ireland in his own right, and likewiſe Judge of the Admiralty of the Cinque-Ports (*i*). This eminent office he diſcharged with unwearied application, and with great abilities, reputation, and integrity [*H*]. But after three years ſervice, finding the ſalary of 300 pounds a year allowed him by the King not to be a competent maintenance, nor any way proportionable to his expences and trouble, he petitioned his Majeſty for an additional allowance of 200 pounds per annum, which was granted him on the 29th of January 1667-8. In 1668, he was appointed Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury [*I*], at the King's own recommendation to the Archbiſhop (*k*). His next employment was of a more public nature. For

(*b*) Idem. p. 10, 11.

(*i*) Wynne, as above, p. 12, 13.

(*k*) Idem, p. 16, 17.

[*F*] *The ſame year Dr Sweit made him his Deputy-Profeſſor of the Civil-Law there, &c.*] That is in Oxford: which deputation he filled with great applauſe. As long as Dr Jenkins continued in Oxford, he ſeems to have been a ſort of oracle in all queſtions and matters of Law: and was alſo of ſingular uſe to the Univerſity, in maintaining their foreign correſpondencies, by his ſkill in the French and other languages; and by his own generous and hoſpitable temper, which drew many foreigners of note to viſit him. And when he was called away by his higher and more weighty imployments, ſtill the intereſt of the Univerſity, and their juſt and legal privileges, had a great ſhare in his concern (6).

[*G*] *And was uſeful to that generous Archbiſhop upon many other occaſions.*] Indeed it was no more than a grateful and ſuitable return for the higheſt favours: ſince the Doctor's riſe and good fortune was owing to the firm and happy friendſhip contracted with that reverend prelate, during the national troubles. Therefore, he always ſpoke of his Grace in the higheſt terms and accents of reſpect; and gave in his will 20 ſhillings a year, for an anniverſary commemoration ſpeech on the 9th of November, the day of that Archbiſhop's death (7).

[*H*] *This eminent office he diſcharged with unwearied application, &c.*] During the continuance of the war, he was obliged to a conſtant *attendance* in that Court, which ſat twice every week, or oftner, as occaſion required, in vacation as well as in term time, for the diſpatch of ſhips and goods brought up as prizes; and the increaſe of buſineſs was ſo great, that in leſs than two years time he gave 436 final ſentences, according to the ſtrict rule of proceedings, and the ordinary courſe of the Court. Beſides which, the Lords Commiſſioners had from time to time a previous account in writing, by way of report, in moſt caſes: ſo that by his diſpatch, and induſtry, as well as by his exactneſs, and the *impartiality* of his proceedings, he advanced the honour and reputation of that court to a high degree. He had ſo much *integrity*, as to withſtand the importunity of the greateſt men, though he was highly obliged to them; and could not be prevailed on, to ſtretch a law in complaiſance to any one, or to give the leaſt regard to private addreſſes and recommendations in matters of juſtice. And, withal, he was of a *tender and compaſſionate nature*; not only in the trying of criminals, but alſo in generouſly remitting his juſt and moſt legal fees. For, beſides the ſtrict regard he had to juſtice and the laws, he always expreſſed an unfeigned tenderneſs for a *poor ſeaman*; ſaying, there are no ſort of people that gain a miſerable ſmall livelihood with more hardſhip and danger than they do; and none that venture their lives more freely for the honour and ſecurity of the Crown and nation (8).

[*I*] *He was appointed Judge of the Prerogative court of Canterbury,*] In this ſtation, 'It was always an 'eſtabliſhed rule with him (as he declares himſelf) '*Nulli negare nec deferre juſtitiam*; and ever ſince he 'had the honour to preſide in that Court, he endeavoured by proper rules, as far as in him lay, and as 'he found neceſſary, to reſtrain all pretences and 'cauſes of unjuſt delays (9).' He alſo made it his conſtant endeavour to prevent all immethodical and frivolous pleadings, all clamorous and indecent practice, and to check the tedious ſallies and excurſions of the Counſel, but in the moſt mild and gentle manner, and always in terms of exact reſpect, unleſs where the matter juſtly deſerved a more ſevere remark (10).——'His ſentences, both in this and the Admi-'ralty-court, were eſteemed ſo juſt and equitable, that 'all parties, more than could be expected, were ſa-'tisfied with them; and there were but few, con-'ſidering the number of cauſes, or the length of time 'he ſat in both courts, appealed from; and of thoſe, 'hardly any reverſed. For his opinion, whether in 'the civil or canon laws, or that of nations, generally 'paſſed as an uncontroulable authority, being always 'thoroughly conſidered, and judiciouſly founded (11).'

(6) Wynne, p. 11.

(7) Idem, p. 12, 69.

(8) See Wynne, as above, p. 13, 14, 15.

(9) See his Letters, Vol. II. p. 711.

(10) Wynne, as above, p. 17.

(11) Ibid. p. 18.

[*K*] A

For the Queen-mother, Henrietta-Maria, widow of King Charles I. dying in France Auguſt 1, 1669, a diſpute had like to have riſen about the ſucceſſion to her real and perſonal eſtate [*K*]. Whereupon Dr Jenkins being commanded to give his opinion of the matter, and it being approved in Council, he was ordered to prepare a commiſſion for himſelf to go to France; in which commiſſion were joined Ralph Montague, Eſq; then Ambaſſador at that court, and the Earl of St Albans, and Lord Arundel. Their buſineſs was, to demand and recover the Queen-mother's effects; to pay her ſervants and officers their arrears; and provide for her interment [*L*]. All which having performed to our Court's ſatisfaction, Dr Jenkins, at his return, received the honour of knighthood from his Majeſty, on the 7th of January 1669-70 (*l*), together with a moſt gracious approbation of his ſervices (*m*). Immediately after, Sir Lionel Jenkins (for ſo we muſt now call him) in conſideration of his great abilities and experience, was nominated one of the Commiſſioners of the realm of England [*M*], to treat with thoſe authorized from Scotland, touching an union between both kingdoms. He endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of the ſubject, as appears by a curious paper printed among his letters (*n*); but that project came to nothing (*o*). In 1671, he was choſen one of the repreſentatives in Parliament for Hyth in Kent, one of the cinque-ports (*p*). Upon occaſion of the freſh rupture between England and the States of the United Provinces, in 1672, he came again to be involved in great buſineſs by virtue of his office of Judge of the Admiralty; though he plainly appears not to have liked the manner of that rupture [*N*] But the Engliſh nation being ſoon weary of the war [*O*], and the Parliament apprehenſive of the power and intrigues of France, by which it had been fomented and encouraged, and ſeveral encounters having paſſed at ſea without a deciſive action, both parties began to entertain thoughts of peace. So a treaty was propoſed at Cologn, under the mediation of Sweden, between the Emperor, Spain, and Holland, and ſome Princes of the Empire, on the one part; and England and France on the other. And, in May 1673, Sir Leoline was appointed Ambaſſador and Plenipotentiary for this treaty, together with the Lord Sunderland and Sir Joſeph Williamſon. Accordingly, Sir Leoline and Sir Joſeph Williamſon ſet out for the place of treaty, and arrived there the 13th of June following: the Lord Sunderland

(*l*) Wood, Faſti, ut ſupra, col. 132.

(*m*) Wynne, p. 18, 19, 20.

(*n*) Vol. II. p. 675, &c.

(*o*) Wynne, as above, p. 20. See Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time, under the year 1669.

(*p*) Wynne, p. 20.

[*K*] *A diſpute had like to have riſen about the ſucceſſion to her real and perſonal eſtate.*] The ground of the controverſy was this: Henrietta-Maria, widow of King Charles I, was youngeſt daughter of Henry IV. King of France, and ſiſter to Lewis XIII. and had reſided at Colombe in France, thirty leagues from Paris, ever ſince her departure from England in July 1644, being entertained there at the charge of the French King Lewis XIV. her nephew. Upon the Reſtoration, ſhe came to London, and having ſettled her revenues here, went back into France, to beſtow her daughter, the Lady Henrietta, in marriage to the Duke of Anjou. In July 1662, coming again into England, ſhe ſettled her court at Somerſet-houſe, where ſhe reſided 'till May 1665. But falling into a bad ſtate of health, ſhe returned to her native country, where ſhe died. Under theſe circumſtances it was pretended, that the ſaid Queen-mother was not only a *native*, but an *inhabitant* of France; conſequently that whatſoever eſtate ſhe was poſſeſſed of there, ought to be ſubject to the laws and uſages of that country: and that Madame Royale of France, the aforeſaid Ducheſs of Anjou, was by thoſe laws the only perſon capable of ſucceeding: King Charles II, and the Duke of York, as well as the Princeſs of Orange, her other children, being expreſsly excluded and diſabled by the *droit d'aubaine*, becauſe they were not born, nor inhabitants within the allegiance of the French King. But our Court's claim was admitted at length (12).

[*L*] *And provide for her interment.*] She was interred at St Denis, November the 25th. At which time Father Senault made a funeral oration, wherein enquiring into the cauſes which could move the divine Providence ſo grievouſly to afflict a Prince of King Charles's excellent moral endowments, he could aſſign no other but his *Infidelity*; i. e. becauſe he was not a Roman Catholick. This paſſage Dr Jenkins took ſo heinouſly ill, that he would not let the Father reſt, 'till he had made him promiſe, that thoſe words ſhould be expunged in the printed copy (13).

[*M*] *One of the commiſſioners of the realm of England.*] The reſt of the Engliſh commiſſioners were, Arthur Anneſley Earl of Angleſey, and Sir William Jones, the Attorney general (14).

[*N*] *He plainly appears not to have liked the manner of that rupture.*] For, he repreſented in a letter to Sir Joſeph Williamſon (15), 'That the Dutch (though 'enemies) were enabled by the declaration, to make 'their retreat even after the war begun, and had four 'or five months ſtill to withdraw their effects from 'hence;'——offering to lay down his charge at his 'Majeſty's feet, rather than give a ſentence he thought 'unjuſt upon that occaſion.' And, when a commiſſion was directed to him, as Judge of the Admiralty, by the Duke of York, to proceed to the adjudication of prizes taken from the Dutch in the encounter at Bergen, he prayed 'his Royal Highneſs ſtill to continue all humanities to the perſons of the Dutch, without putting them to hardſhips or ranſom; that he would forbid hoſtilities, confiſcation, imbezzlement, or ill treatment of all that ſhould demean themſelves reſpectfully, and not refuſe to be brought up. He deſired his Highneſs to conſider, beſides the fatal conſequences ſuch a precedent might one day or other produce to ourſelves, that the moſt juſt war was the laſt neceſſity of good men, and that mercy and forbearance were worth a thouſand victories. And therefore hoped his Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs would be pleaſed to put their ſhips only *in depoſito*, 'till juſtice were done them, or a more ſatisfactory anſwer given by the Dutch Embaſſador; but if the detainment of their ſhips would not do, and ſuch mild inſtances and applications proved ineffectual, then to make war in earneſt —(16).'

[*O*] *But the Engliſh nation being ſoon weary of the war.*] Sir William Temple is not accurate, when he ſays, that it was 'after two ſummers ſpent in a war 'between England and Holland, that both parties be'gan to enter upon thoughts of a peace.' For, in reality war had laſted not above twelve or fourteen months, before our Embaſſadors were impowered to treat of a peace: ſince the attack upon the Dutch Smyrna fleet was on the 13th of March 1671-2, and the Pleinpouvoir of the Engliſh Embaſſadors bears date May 5, 1673. However, Sir William's words are, ——'After *two* ſummers ſpent in a war between Eng'land and Holland, with ſeveral encounters at ſea, 'but no deciſive action; both parties began to enter 'upon thoughts, and indeed neceſſities, of a peace. 'The nations had been at war without being angry; 'and the quarrel had been thought on both ſides, ra'ther of the Miniſters than the people's. The Dutch 'believed it at firſt intended only againſt De Witt's 'faction; in favour of the Prince of Orange; and in 'England, ſome laid it to the corruption of Miniſters 'by the money of France; and ſome that pretended 'to think deeper, laid it to deeper deſigns. The 'Lord Clifford's violence in beginning it, gave it an 'ill air in general; and the diſuſe of Parliaments, a 'cruel maim in the chief ſinews of war (17).'

(12) Wynne, as above, p. 19. and Vol. II. p. 665, 667. See alſo Sandford and Stebbing's Geneal. Hiſt. of the Kings, &c. edit. 1707, p. 595.

(13) Wynne, p. 19.

(14) Ibid. p. 20.

(15) See his Letters, Vol. II. p. 702.

(16) Wynne, as above, p. 21.

(17) Memoirs of what paſſed in Chriſtendom, edit. 1692, 8vo. p. 1, 2.

Sunderland never acting in that commiſſion (*q*). What their inſtructions were will be ſeen in the note below [*P*]. But, after ſeveral fruitleſs endeavours to bring about a general peace [*Q*] between the Emperor, Spain, Holland, and ſome Princes of the Empire on the one part, and England and France on the other, Sir Leoline and his colleague returned to England in May 1674. As he was upon his return, near the Briel, on the 17th of May, he took an opportunity to aſſert the prerogative of the Engliſh Crown to the Flag, by making three Dutch men of war, with four Dutch Ambaſſadors on board, ſtrike their ſail to his ſingle yatcht. And the year following, in the very ſame place, he forced the like reſpect from two other men of war belonging to the States-General (*r*). At his return, he gave the Privy-Council an account of his negotiation, ſome extracts whereof are given in the note [*R*]. England continuing deſirous of a peace, King Charles II. offered his mediation to the ſeveral parties at war in September 1674; which being accepted by them, Nimeguen in Gelderland was fixed for the place of treaty, about the month of February 1674-5. The Engliſh mediators, appointed under the Great-Seal the 13th of December following, were, John Lord Berkeley then Ambaſſador at Paris, Sir William Temple Ambaſſador-Extraordinary at the Hague, and Sir Lionel Jenkins (*s*). The latter ſet out for that honourable employment the 20th of December, in all the extremities of a hard winter; and arrived at Nimeguen the 6th of January (*t*). He was not only the firſt of our Ambaſſadors upon the place by ſeveral months [*S*], but reſident there throughout the whole courſe of that long and laborious negotiation; and the chief part of the buſineſs, at leaſt the drudgery of it, lay upon him [*T*]. We ſhall not ſwell this article

[*P*] *What their inſtructions were, &c.*] The ſubſtance of their inſtructions and of their demands, was thus. 1. ‘To have the honour for the future paid to the Flagg of England, which had been practiſed and acknowledged by the Dutch in all former times. 2. A million of pounds ſterling, to reimburſe the Engliſh in ſome part the expences they had been at in making the war, &c. 3. Ten thouſand pounds *per ann.* as an honorary acknowledgment for their fiſhing on our coaſts, and 2000l. more for the like liberty they enjoy upon the coaſt of Scotland. 4. To ſuffer the Engliſh ſubjects to depart without delay out of the Colony of Surinam, where they were unjuſtly detained contrary to the peace at Breda. 5. A regulation of the trade in India, &c. wherein great violence and vexatious grievances were exerciſed by the Dutch upon the Engliſh. 6. The calling in and ſuppreſſing all libels, prints, &c. vended and diſperſed in Holland, &c. reflecting on the honour of King Charles II. 7. The eſtabliſhment of the Prince of Orange, as hereditary Stadtholder, General and Admiral of their State, to deſcend upon the heirs male of his body. 8. For the performance thereof, Fluſhing and Ramekins, or Helvoet Sluis and Goree, or the Brill and Goree, to be delivered into the King of England's hands, as cautionary——If the peace could not otherwiſe be made, 400,000 l. to be abated upon the million firſt demanded, &c (18).’

[*Q*] *But after ſeveral fruitleſs endeavours to bring about a general peace.*] Sir William Temple rightly obſerves, that ‘there were two many parties engaged in this quarrel to think of a *general* peace.——For though all the confederates had a mind to the peace between England and Holland, yet none of them deſired it with France: this made both the Dutch and the Spaniards ſet on foot all the engines they could, to engage King Charles II. in ſome treaty of a ſeparate peace, to which the neceſſity of his affairs, the humour of his people, and the inſtances of his Parliament at laſt determined him towards the end of the year 1673 (19).’ Accordingly, under the mediation of Spain, a ſeparate peace, between England and Holland, was concluded and ſigned at Weſtminſter the 9th of February 1673-4, though the King of France made large offers to King Charles to prevent it (20). And the Biſhop of Munſter, and Elector of Cologne, returning to their duty, renounced their alliance with France, and concluded a peace with the States; the former on the 22d of April, and the latter on the 11th of May 1674.

[*R*] *He gave the Privy-Council an account of his negotiation, &c.*] In this account he obſerves, that ‘The Dutch in the whole courſe of that negotiation, were never real or in earneſt for making a peace with England.’ For which he aſſigns the ſeveral reaſons. ——Then he goes on to obſerve, that ‘The Allies are the ſole arbiters of the peace. The Emperor hath a proſpect of eſtabliſhing his authority at home, and ſo will be glad to continue an army on foot, which he is not to pay. The Dutch, whoſe intereſt is commerce, will go no further in this war, than the Prince of Orange will carry them. So that his Highneſs ſeems to be the only perſon to be taken off: but his inclinations are to be at the head of an army.——He hath ſome reſentments that are perſonal againſt the French King, as well as ſome emulation for him.’ ——He concludes in theſe words———‘If it be conſidered, whether it be the intereſt of England to enter into a ſtricter amity with Holland and Spain, though to the diſſatisfaction of France. It ſeems to my humble apprehenſion to be ſafeſt; 1. For ſo we ſhall make a ſufficient counterpoize againſt France, whoſe puiſſance does every day threaten to turn the ballance, and who will be always embroiling us at ſea with the Dutch, in order to weaken us. 2. France will not offer to invade us at any time, if we are ſtrictly united with Spain and Holland, and ſo we ſhall have the leſs oppoſition in our trade. 3. The leſs danger of diſturbance at home; for then it will not be the Prince's intereſt, or any of that countries, that we be embroiled. Whereas, if we continue in the intereſt of France, our reward can only be, either part of its conqueſts abroad, or maintenance of our peace and quiet at home. But as to the firſt, the ſhare of the weaker ally is never ſo good in the dividend, as in the deſignation: and we have no reaſon to affect new acquiſitions, unleſs we had the good fortune to make a better uſe of our preſent poſſeſſions. As for the maintenance of our peace at home, after the preſent diſreliſhes and jealouſies, it is a thing that the Parliament will never fancy or expect from a friendſhip with France (21).’

[*S*] *He was not only the firſt of our Embaſſadors upon the place by ſeveral months.*] For, no other Embaſſadors arrived at Nimeguen 'till the November following (22). The chaplains that attended him in his foreign employments, were Dr Henry Maurice, and Dr Richard Lucas; men of great learning, and of an excellent character (23).

[*T*] *The chief part of the buſineſs, at leaſt the drudgery of it, lay upon him.*] This is in effect acknowledged by his colleague Sir William Temple, though otherwiſe extremely aſſuming and conceited. Sir William's words are,—‘where there were any Ladies in the Ambaſſadors houſes,—the evenings were ſpent in dancing or play, or careleſs and eaſy ſuppers or collations In theſe entertainments, as I ſeldom failed of making a part, and my *colleague* (24) never had any; ſo it gave occaſion for a good word that paſſed upon it, *Que la Mediation eſtoit toûjours en pied pour faire ſa fonction*; i. e. That the Mediation was always on foot to go on with its buſineſs; for I uſed to go to bed and riſe late, while *my colleague was a bed by eight, and up by four*; and to ſay truth, two more different men were never joined in one commiſſion, nor agreed better in it (25).’ Sir William probably had the talking part; as Sir Lionel had the active; that is much the greateſt ſhare in managing the papers and the correſpondence. So that, what he wanted of Sir William's vivacity and courtlineſs, he amply

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(*q*) Wynne, p. 21, 22. Sir William Temple's Memoirs, edit. 1692, p. 1.

(*r*) Wynne, p. 23. and Letters, Vol. I. p. 353.

(*s*) See Sir Lionel's Letters, Vol. I. p. 349, &c.

(*t*) Wynne, as above, p. 24.

(18) See Sir Lionel's Letters, Vol. I. p. 4, &c.

(19) Memoirs, as above, p. 3, 4.

(20) See Collection of Treaties, edit. 1732, 8vo. Vol. III. p. 275. The offers made to King Charles by the King of France, were five millions and a half, and forty men of war. Baſnage Hiſt. Tom. II. p. 496.

(21) Letters, Vol. I. p. 343, &c.

(22) Temple's Memoirs, as above, p. 188.

(23) Wynne, p. 63.

(24) Sir Lionel.

(25) Memoirs, as above, p. 185.

cle with a particular detail of that treaty, as ſo many accounts of it are already in print; eſpecially a moſt authentic one, in Sir Leoline's Letters, and Sir William Temple's Works. Therefore, we ſhall only obſerve, that the mediation of England was rendered ineffectual, and indeed unneceſſary, by the ſeparate articles concluded, between France and the United Provinces [*U*], on the firſt of Auguſt 1678, O. S (*u*). The French Ambaſſadors deſired Sir Leoline, as mediator, to hand thoſe articles to the reſt of the confederates: but he utterly refuſed ſo to do, or to have the leaſt part in a treaty of peace, ſo hard

amply made up in the ſolidity of his judgment, and his indefatigable application and induſtry. This ſufficiently appears from the *two folio volumes of Sir Lionel's letters*, published by William Wynne, Eſq;——What figure each of them made in thoſe important negotiations, will be more particularly evident from their reſpective characters, as given by Monſ. de St Diſdier (26). *M.* Temple *a beaucoup de belles lettres, il eſt ſingulier en ſes manieres & en ſes ſentimens. Il a paſſé pour partial dans la fonction de la mediation. Beaucoup de perſonnes ont cru reconnoitre de la vanité & de l'inegalité dans ſon humeur. D'ailleurs il eſt trés habile & tout a fait Republicain, comme l'on peut voir, par les remarques qu'il a ecrites ſur l'Eſtat des Provinces Unies des Païs-Bas. M. Jenkins ſon collegue eſt honeſte, civil, equitable, droit dans ſes ſentimens, attaché a ſa religion; il a beaucoup de belles connoiſſances, & il a toûjours paru bon Mediateur*, i. e. 'Sir W. Temple is a man of great learning, but ſingular in his manner and notions. He was looked upon as partial in the buſineſs of the mediation. Many perſons thought they diſcovered both vanity and unevenneſs in his temper. Beſides he is a man of great capacity, and a thorough republican, as may be ſeen by his obſervations upon the united Provinces of the Netherlands. Sir L. Jenkins, his colleague, is ſincere, civil, juſt, upright in his ſentiments, attached to his religion; he has abundance of uſeful knowledge, and all along diſcharged the part of a good mediator.' Mr Baillet's character of them (27) is much to the ſame purpoſe. His concluſion of Sir William's, and that which he gives of Sir Lionel, is in theſe words.——*Il étoit d'ailleurs grand politique, & trés habile dans la connoiſſance des affaires, & avoit beaucoup de belles lettres. Jenkins n'en avoit pas moins. Il étoit outre cela honnête homme, & fort civil: il paroiſſoit droit dans ſes ſentimens, & bon Mediateur.* i. e. 'He (Sir William Temple) was however a great politician, and very ſkilful as well as knowing in the management of affairs, and a man of conſiderable learning. *Jenkins* was no leſs learned. He was beſides a very honeſt and civil man: appeared upright in his ſentiments, and a good mediator.'

[*U*] *By the ſeparate articles concluded between France and the United Provinces.*] Various reaſons are aſſigned by hiſtorians, for this haſty and indeed diſhonorable concluſion of peace between the Dutch and French; the principal of which are theſe. 1. The Dutch began to be weary of the large ſubſidies they paid to ſo many Princes, their allies, for carrying on a war, which the allies purſued for their own ſeparate intereſts or ambition; though entered into perhaps, at firſt for the defence of Holland, with whoſe ſafety theirs were complicated (28). 2. They had continued the war three years, only for the intereſts of Spain; and had engaged in it for one year longer, without the ſuitable help and concurrence of that nation (29). 3. The Dutch, ſo impatient as they were for a peace, found, they could have no dependance upon King Charles II. nor any effectual aſſiſtance from England. For King Charles was all the while a penſioner of France; and ſo violent were parties and jealouſies grown in the kingdom, that he had no proſpect of being effectually ſupported, if he had openly declared againſt France. The Parliament had indeed, in January 1677-8, granted him 1,200,000l. for carrying on a war againſt the French, in conjuction with the Dutch and their allies: and, in ſix weeks time, he had raiſed an army of about 20,000 men, the compleateſt, and in all appearance the braveſt troops that could be any where ſeen. Some of which were already tranſported into Holland (30). But our Councils at Court were ſo in balance, between the deſires of living at leaſt fair with France, and the fears of too much diſpleaſing the Parliaments upon their frequent Seſſions, that our paces upon this whole affair looked all like croſs purpoſes, which no man at home or abroad could well underſtand, and were often miſtaken by both parties engaged in the war, as well as by both parties in the Houſe of Commons, 'till the thing was wreſted out of our hands. This is Sir William Temple's obſervation (31); who further relates, that Mr Van Lewen told him freely, 'That it was the moſt againſt their hearts in Holland that could be, to make a peace upon terms ſo low and unſafe for Flanders; and that if King Charles had gone into the war, as was promiſed upon France delaying or refuſing to accept his ſcheme, they would certainly have continued it: but his Majeſty's proceedings looked ever ſince ſo uncertain or unreſolved, that it had raiſed jealouſies in Holland of our meaſures being at bottom fixed and cloſe with France; which made moſt of the towns in Holland think, they had nothing elſe left to do but to go in with them too, as faſt as they could; and the approach of the French army to Antwerp left them now no time to deliberate: yet he profeſſed to me in private, that if the King would immediately declare war, he believed the States would ſtill go on with it, in purſuit of their alliance, and the terms therein contained. I made this report to the King, who ſeemed poſitive to declare the war, in caſe the Parliament adviſed him, and promiſed to ſupport it; when an unluckly peeviſh vote, moved by Sir T   C   in ſpight to my Lord-Treaſurer [Oſborne] paſſed the Houſe of Commons, *That no money ſhould be given, 'till ſatisfaction was received in matters of religion.* This left all ſo looſe and ſo lame, that the King was in a rage,—and aſked me, when or how I thought he could truſt the Houſe of Commons to carry him through the war, if he ſhould engage in it? and I had not much indeed to ſay, conſidering the temper and factions of the Houſe; nor could I well clear it to myſelf by my obſervation, whether the King was firmly reſolved to enter into the war; or if he did, whether the Houſe of Commons would have ſupported him in it, or turned it only to ruin the Miniſters by the King's neceſſities.——In ſhort, there was ſuch a fatal and mutual diſtruſt both in the Court and Parliament, as it was very hard to fall into any ſound meaſures between them.——But the turn that the King gave all this, was, That ſince the Dutch would have a peace upon the French terms, and France offered money for his conſent (32) to what he could not help, he did not know why he ſhould not get the money; and thereupon ordered me to treat upon it with the French Embaſſador, who had orders to that purpoſe.' But Sir William excuſed himſelf (33). 4. Another reaſon aſſigned for this peace, is, That it was brought about by the Louveſtein faction, which began to reſume ſtrength again. This is confirmed by Biſhop Burnet (34). 'The States, ſays he, were reſolved to have a peace. The Prince of Orange did all he could to hinder it (35). But Dewit's party began to gather ſtrength again. And they infuſed a jealouſy in all people, that the Prince intended to keep up the war for his own ends.' His marriage with the Princeſs Mary was alſo made uſe of by that faction, through the artifices of the Court of France; as Sir William Temple witneſſes.—'While, ſays he, this game was playing in England, they [the French] had another on foot in Holland, eſpecially at Amſterdam, by raiſing jealouſies of the meaſures taken between the King [Charles II.] and Prince [of Orange] upon the marriage, as dangerous to the liberties of Holland, and making it there believed, That by the match, the King, and Duke [of York] had drawn over the Prince wholly into their intereſts or ſentiments.——They propoſed to the Dutch other terms of the peace, far ſhort of the King's, and leſs ſafe for Flanders;——which would not have gone down in Holland, but for the ſuſpicions raiſed by the Prince's marriage, among the people there, who had an incurable jealouſie of our Court, and thereupon not that confidence of the Prince that he deſerved (36).'

[*W*] *Whereupon*

(*u*) Coll. of Treaties, as above, Vol. I. p. 193.

(26) Hiſt. des Negot. de Nimeg. 12mo. p. 7.

(27) In his Hiſt. de Hollande, under the title of M. De la Neuville, edit. Paris, 1703, Tom. IV. p. 231.

(28) Temple's Mem. as above, p. 200.

(29) Id. p. 214. See p. 194.

(30) Idem, p. 197, 315, 333. and R. Coke's Detection of the Court and State of England, edit. 1718, Vol. II. p. 234.

(31) Memoirs, as above, p. 233, 234.

(32) See theſe Memoirs, p. 312.

(33) Memoirs, p. 316, 317, 319, &c.

(34) Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. I. edit. 1724, p. 422.

(35) See Temple's Mem. p. 211, 221, 228, 230, 280.

(36) Memoirs, as above, p. 306. See alſo R. Coke, as above, p. 220, 222, 234.

hard and injurious to the reſt of the parties in war, ſo derogatory to the mediatorial right which had been generally accepted, and ſo different from what the King his maſter had propoſed to obtain (*w*). He continued however at Nimeguen, in the form and quality, though not in the employment, of a Mediator. But a few-weeks after, the conferences being renewed between the Empire and France, Sir Leoline received orders from our Court to reſume his function of general mediator (*x*). Great part of the winter was taken up in theſe conferences between the Imperial and French Ambaſſadors, and they were ſolely managed by Sir Leoline, who went from the apartment of the one to that of the other, in the Stadt-houſe, with the alterations and amendments projected by the parties; addreſſing himſelf to, and debating with, the Imperialiſts in Latin, and with the French in their own language. After many months ſpent in this new and laborious method of treaty, which frequently engroſſed the whole day, and held 'till midnight, and withal was attended with incredible fatigue and application; Sir Leoline gave notice both to the Engliſh Court, and to Sir William Temple at the Hague, that he looked upon the Treaty between the Emperor and France as good as concluded (*y*). Whereupon Sir William, according to his orders from England, returns to Nimeguen [*W*]: but when the reſpective parties came to ſign, the French Ambaſſadors offering to yield the precedence in ſigning to Sir William and Sir Leoline as *Mediators* (which they had done very frankly in the whole courſe of the negotiation); and the Imperialiſts abſolutely refuſing it, or any other expedients propoſed, our two mediators reſolved to leave Nimeguen, in purſuance of King Charles's letters of revocation. Sir Leoline receiving his the 10th of February 1678-9 (*z*), quitted Nimeguen the 16th of that month publickly [*X*], and retired to Neerbos; where, three days after, he received a warrant from his royal maſter, dated February 14, appointing him Ambaſſador-Extraordinary at the Hague, in the room of Sir William Temple who had been recalled. Accordingly Sir Lionel arrived there March 1, but continued in that ſtation no longer than the 25th of the ſame month. For, by a new commiſſion dated February 20, and which came to his hands ſix days after, being authorized to reſume his mediatorial function (*a*), he returned to Nimeguen, March 26, at the deſire of the Prince of Orange and the States, and the earneſt intreaty of the northern princes. His inſtructions left him in a great meaſure to himſelf, without other directions than to act as he ſhould think moſt conſiſtent with his Majeſty's honour, and for the good of the general peace; which, as he was a modeſt man, and diffident of himſelf, put him into great anxiety (*b*) [*Y*]. However, he laboured to the utmoſt of his power to accommodate all remaining differences between the Imperialiſts and French, the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, the Elector of Brandenburgh, and other parties intereſted. Which being at length effected about the beginning of July 1679, his Majeſty ſent him letters of revocation, dated the 11th of that month, determining his commiſſion as Embaſſador-

(*w*) Temple's Memoirs, as above, Part II. p. 323, 341, 373.

(*x*) Sir Lionel's Letters, Vol. II. p. 437.

(*y*) Temple, as above, p. 378. and Wynne, p. 27.

(*z*) Sir Leoline's Letters, Vol. II. p. 548. and Temple's Mem. p. 378—381.

(*a*) Sir Leoline's Letters, Vol. II. p. 548, 549, 550, 552, 554, 555, 564. and Temple's Mem. p. 374.

(*b*) From his Letters, Vol. II. p. 564, 565.

[*W*] *Whereupon Sir William, according to his orders from England, returns to Nimeguen*] He declares, that he never did any thing ſo unwillingly in his life; for 'I knew, ſays he, it was neither at all material that the mediators ſhould ſign this branch of the general peace, having ſigned none of the other; nor that two ſhould ſign it, when one alone had aſſiſted in the courſe of this negotiation, ſince it was renewed between the Empire and France; beſides, I was very confident it would not at laſt be ſigned by either of us; for I could not believe, when it came to the point, the Emperor's Ambaſſadors ſhould yield *that* of precedence to the mediators at the concluſion of the treaty, which they never conſented to do in the whole courſe of it. So that I looked upon the favour of this journey as afforded me from the particular good will of ſome of my good friends in the foreign committee, taking a riſe from ſome inſtances of Sir Lionel Jenkins, who was in one of his uſual agonies, for fear of being left in the way of ſigning alone a treaty which he neither was pleaſed with himſelf, nor believed many people in England like to be ſo (37).'

(37) Memoirs, as above, p. 379.

[*X*] *Quitted Nimeguen the 16th of that month publickly*] Of his behaviour upon that occaſion, he gave the following account to the Earl of Sunderland, the next day, in a letter from Neerbos in the Maes-Waal, an hour from Nimeguen.—— 'Upon the receipt of your Lordſhip's letter, which came to my hand yeſterday at ten, I left the town between three and four, going through the heart of it (with my people about me) at the time the ſtreets were full of people coming from church; it being, as I take it, the uſual courſe, in caſe of ſuch diſſatisfactions his Majeſty hath with a great part of this aſſembly, abruptly to go out, yet very openly, and about the middle of the day. I took leave of no Ambaſſador, nor publick Miniſter; only I deſired Mr Chudleigh (as Secretary of his Majeſty's embaſſy) to acquaint the Northern Miniſters with what your Lordſhip was pleaſed to direct, notwithſtanding ſome of them may be further advanced in their peace, than to deſerve any complement for their regard to his Majeſty's mediation (38).'

(38) Sir Leoline's Lett. Vol. II. p. 550.

[*Y*] *Which, as he was a modeſt man, and diffident of himſelf, put him into great anxiety.*] His colleague, Sir William Temple, obſerves of him.—'He had ever ſo much diſtruſt of his own judgment, that though he had the moſt great deſire that could be to do well, yet he many times could not reſolve how to go about it; and was often as much perplexed about the little punctilio's of viſit and ceremony that were left to buſie that ambaſſy, as if greater affairs had ſtill attended it (39).'—In another place, he takes notice of Sir Leoline's *great modeſty* (40), — and that he was bound by 'ſuch ſtrict orders in point of forms, that he did not ſee how he could poſſibly with them perform the part of a mediator (41).' Upon which Mr Wynne makes this juſt reflexion. 'If Sir W. Temple means by this, a due deliberation, or a prudent precaution and behaviour in theſe matters, in expecting thoſe regards which were juſtly due and incident to his character, he is not miſtaken; or if he means an humble and modeſt way of expreſſing his ſentiments of things, and that great deference which Sir Leoline always paid to his experience and abilities in theſe ſorts of employments, he is certainly in the right of what he ſays. For in truth Sir Leoline was punctual in keeping to his inſtructions, where he was limited; wary and cautious, where he was left free. He was afraid of affecting novelties, or making any experiments where his orders were poſitive and expreſs; which ſhould they in the leaſt have failed of ſucceſs, muſt have forfeited his *reputation and ſafety*. And every one almoſt knows, how ſtrict an account is exacted even in matters of ceremony (42).'—Sir William himſelf gives, immediately after, an inſtance of the danger of failing even in thoſe ſeemingly trifling points; when for an undeſigned failure in them, Sir Leoline himſelf was forced to have a pardon (43).

(39) Memoirs, as above, p. 280, 281.

(40) Temple's Letters, folio edit. p. 416.

(41) Id. p. 508.

(42) Wynne, as above, p. 30.

(43) Memoirs, ubi ſupra.

Embaſſador-Extraordinary, Mediator, and Plenipotentiary at Nimeguen. ‘ In which, ſays ‘ his Majeſty, as you have ſerved us to our entire ſatisfaction, ſo we cannot but give you ‘ this teſtimony of our gracious acceptance, and approbation of your ſervices during your ‘ ſaid miniſtry (c).’ Sir Leoline returned to England towards the middle of Auguſt 1679 [*Z*], after having been employed about four years and a half in the negotiations at Nimeguen, and was very graciouſly received by his Majeſty (d). Soon after his arrival, he was choſen one of the Burgeſſes for the univerſity of Oxford, in the Parliament which met October 17 following. In which Parliament, a bill being brought in for the excluſion of the Duke of York, he oppoſed it to the utmoſt of his power [*A A*]. The 11th of February 1679-80, he was ſworn a Privy-Counſellor, having been nominated to ſucceed Henry Coventry, Eſq; in the place of Secretary of State (e). He received the Seals the 26th of April 1680, being at firſt Secretary for the northern province, and for the ſouthern from the year 1681 to 1684. He entered upon this important office in critical and dangerous times, which continued ſo all the while he enjoyed it: and yet he eſcaped the then common fate of being addreſſed againſt, and of commitments, and impeachments; which he could hardly have avoided, if he had given the leaſt ground for them, either in the courſe of his embaſſies, or in his other employments (f). Being choſen a ſecond time one of the Burgeſſes for the foreſaid univerſity, in the Parliament which met at Oxford the 21ſt of March 1680-81; he oppoſed again earneſtly the excluſion of the Duke of York [*B B*], and the printing of the Votes [*C C*]. And being commanded by the Houſe of

[Z] *Sir Leoline returned to England about the middle of Auguſt* 1679.] At his departure, through a moſt uncommon inſtance of generoſity and ſelf-denial, he abſolutely refuſed to accept the preſents offered him by the Emperor, the King of France, and other Princes and Potentates; though he was extremely importuned; and even had the King his maſter's orders, to receive them. The preſent from the King of France, was a very rich jewel of diamonds, roſe and crown-wiſe; and from the Emperor, a rich jewel (44). For his refuſal he gave the following reaſons, in a letter to the Earl of Sunderland.——‘ I hope his Majeſty will diſ‘ penſe with me, and not enjoin me to take any pre‘ ſent from the French Embaſſadors, or any other in ‘ this place; for it is my humble opinion, that there ‘ hath not been right done to his Majeſty in his figure ‘ of Mediator; and that I cannot receive any preſent, ‘ but my ſo doing will imply, that his Majeſty is ſa‘ tisfied with the regard had to his mediation here; ‘ but that his Majeſty is not ſo ſatisfied, appears by ‘ ſeveral occaſions he hath taken to declare, that he ‘ hath had ſeveral cauſes of juſt reſentment given him, ‘ but that he had ſacrificed them all to his zeal for the ‘ peace of Chriſtendom. So that I moſt humbly be‘ ſeech your Lordſhip to intercede for me, that I may ‘ not be obliged, by any order or command from his ‘ Majeſty, to receive this preſent, but that I be left to ‘ my own liberty; yet ſo, that what I do, may not ‘ in the leaſt reſtrain my collegues in their liberty to do ‘ otherwiſe: I have ſerved here much longer than ‘ they have done, and therefore have greater obliga‘ tions upon me to this ſtrictneſs; nor ſhould I deſire ‘ this, but that I think it moſt ſuitable to the dignity ‘ of the character I have the honour to ſerve in (45).’ —Before Sir Lionel ſet out for England, he received a handſome letter of thanks from the Emperor Leopold, wherein are theſe compliments ——*Omittere ſane noluimus, pro eo ac diuturnus ille aſſiduuſque in re omnium graviſſimâ ac ſummè arduâ toti Reipublicæ Chriſtianæ præclara cum veſtrâ quà fidei, quà prudentiæ, ac dexteritatis laude*, a Vobis impenſus *labor & ſollicitudo meretur, quin vobis benevoli & grati animi noſtri teſſeram hiſce impertiremur; non felix modo iter in patriam comprecantes, ſed benignas quoque gratias pro operâ tam ſollicitâ in cauſâ omnium longè graviſſimâ ac difficillimâ adeo indefeſsè ad gratam ſatisfactionem navatâ agentes* (46).

[*A A*] *A Bill being brought in for the excluſion of the Duke of York, he oppoſed it to the utmoſt of his power.*] Biſhop Burnet tells us, that Sir Leoline ‘ was the chief manager for the Court.’ And proceeds to give this character of him; ‘ He was a man ‘ of an exemplary life, and conſiderably learned: but ‘ he was dull and ſlow: he was ſuſpected of leaning to ‘ Popery, though very unjuſtly: but he was ſet on ‘ every punctilio of the Church of England to ſuper‘ ſtition, and was a great aſſertor of the divine right of ‘ monarchy, and was for carrying the prerogative high: ‘ He neither ſpoke nor writ well: but being ſo eminent ‘ for the moſt courtly qualifications, other matters ‘ were the more eaſily diſpenſed with. All his ſpeeches ‘ and arguments againſt the excluſion were heard with ‘ indignation: ſo the bill was brought into the Houſe ‘ (47).’ Two of his ſpeeches, ſpoken upon that occaſion, are printed at the end of his life (48). And five upon the ſame ſubject are printed in the ‘ Collection ‘ of the Debates of the Houſe of Commons, Oct. 21, ‘ 1680 (49).’ But theſe laſt appear only to be ſnaps of diſcourſes maliciouſly patched together: not that they are entirely falſe, without any mixture of truth, but that truth in them is for the moſt part corrupted, tranſformed, and ſpitefully diſguiſed, and appear quite another thing to the world, than what was delivered upon the place (50). Roger North, Eſq; has an anecdote relating to Sir Leoline in this ſeſſion, which we ſhall inſert here. ‘ In the Weſtminſter Parliament— ‘ this good Secretary was found fault with for ſome‘ thing relevant he had uttered on the Court ſide. ‘ Divers members, from the humility of his manner in ‘ ſpeaking, ſuppoſed him to be a mild yielding man, ‘ and, to expoſe him, conſulted about cenſuring his ‘ words, and ordering him to the bar, and to aſk par‘ don upon his knees.—But for fear this, in the execu‘ tion, might have an unlucky return upon them, they ‘ reſolved firſt to ſound him.—Thereupon, ſome half‘ faced friends told him that he would be accuſed, and ‘ muſt kneel. He anſwered them in his formal way, “ that he was a poor creature, not worth the reſent“ ment of the houſe: he ſhould be always ſubmiſſive “ to ſuch great men as they were, in every thing that “ concerned himſelf. But, as he had the honour to be “ his Majeſty's Secretary of State, the caſe was not “ his, but his Maſter's, and, by the grace of the living “ God, he would kneel to, and aſk pardon of, no “ mortal upon earth, but the King he ſerved, and to “ him only would he give an account of any thing “ done with intent to ſerve him.” This ſhewed that ‘ the buſineſs was like to be too hot for that time, and ‘ the deſign of it like to fail; and ſo it was let drop ‘ (51).’

[*B B*] *He oppoſed again earneſtly the excluſion of the Duke of York.*] Two of his ſpeeches upon that occaſion are printed in the ‘ Collection of the Debates of ‘ the Houſe of Commons,’ abovementioned (52).

[*C C*] *And the printing of the Votes.*] On the 24th of March 1680-1, the following motion was made. ‘ Mr Speaker, What I am about to move concerns us ‘ all. The laſt Parliament when you was moved to ‘ print your Votes (53), it was for the ſecurity of the ‘ nation, and you found it ſo. It prevented ill repre‘ ſentations of us to the world, by falſe copies of our ‘ votes.—And I am confident that this Houſe will be ‘ no more aſhamed of their actions than the laſt was. ‘ Printing our Votes will be for the honour of the King, ‘ and the ſafety of the nation. I am confident if it ‘ had been neceſſary, you would have petitions from ‘ the parts I come from, that your actions might be ‘ made publick.—I move therefore, that your Votes ‘ may be ordered forthwith to be printed, with the ‘ reſt of your proceedings; and I ſhall only add, that ‘ yourſelf (54) has done ſo well in taking that care ‘ upon you the laſt Parliament, that the Houſe will de‘ ſire you to continue them in the ſame method.’ But Secretary Jenkins oppoſed it in the following words.

(c) See his Letters, Vol. II. p. 631.

(d) Wynne, as above, p. 40.

(e) Wood Faſti, ut ſupra, col. 133.

(f) Wynne, as above, p. 43.

(44) See his Letters, Vol. II. p. 628, 681.

(45) Letters, Vol. II. p. 630. See alſo his Life, p. 36, 37, 38. Sir William Temple accepted of the preſents made him. Ibid.

(46) Letters, Vol. II. p. 682.

(47) Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. I. edit. 1724, p. 481, 482.

(48) P. xcix. &c.

(49) London, 1689, 8vo. p. 35, 51, 56, 87, 257.

(50) See Wynne, as above, p. 41.

(51) Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford, edit. 1742, p. 232, 233.

(52) P. 301, 351.

(53) The Votes of the Commons began firſt to be printed 21 Octob. 1680, as is undeniably evident from ſome now before me.

(54) Wi. Williams, then Speaker.

of Commons, on the 25th of March, to carry up to the Lords the impeachment of Edward Fitz-Harris, he refuſed; which had like to have brought him into trouble [*DD*]. When the corporations came to be new-modelled by the Court, and a Quo-warranto was brought againſt the city of London in particular [*EE*], Sir Leoline ſhewed himſelf averſe to thoſe violent proceedings; and was only for puniſhing the moſt obnoxious Members in their private capacities, and not for proceeding to the entire forfeiture of the city's privileges (*g*) [*FF*]. In many other inſtances did Sir Leoline differ from the general bent and humour of the Court: for, he was a certain enemy to all chimerical projects that came before the Privy-Council; and had reſolution to diſſent, and experience enough to diſtinguiſh between what was practicable and really uſeful from what was merely chimerical. He alſo conſtantly and timely declared againſt every irregular or illegal proceeding; and where it was not in his power to hinder or mitigate the violence of ſome proſecutions, yet it was contrary to his inclination and temper to heighten them. At length, after four years ſervice in his high and laborious ſtation, being oppreſſed with buſineſs, his conſtitution was ſo waſted by his zeal and application for the public ſervice, that he became unable any longer to bear the fatigues of his office: ſo that he obtained leave of the King, on the 14th of April 1684, to reſign his place (*h*) for a valuable conſideration (*i*) [*GG*]. Thereupon

(*g*) See his Letters, Vol. II. p. 684, 685.

(*h*) Wynne, Life, as above, p. 48, 49.

(*i*) R. North's Life of Lord Guilford, p. 232.

'I beg pardon if I conſent not to the motion of printing the Votes, &c. conſider the gravity of this aſſembly. There is no great aſſembly in Chriſtendom does it. 'Tis againſt the gravity of this aſſembly, and 'tis a ſort of appeal to the people. 'Tis againſt your gravity, and I am againſt it (55).'

[*DD*] *And being commanded by the Houſe of Commons to carry up to the Lords the impeachment of Edward Fitz-Harris.*] The caſe of this Fitz-Harris is well known, and may be learned at large from our hiſtorians. And in two words, it was this: He was accuſed of writing a libel, greatly reflecting on the King and Royal Family for being Papiſts; and affirming a Popiſh poſſeſſor might be depoſed, as well as a Popiſh ſucceſſor. Which libel was induſtriouſly reported to be written with the King's and Duke's privity and conſent, in order to be fixed upon the Diſſenters, and the moſt noiſy and diſcontented Members of Parliament, to render them odious. The Commons looking upon this affair as a ſequel of the Popiſh plot, took it into their hands; and one moved, with a kind of ſneer and ridicule, that the impeachment ſhould be ſent up to the Lords by Secretary Jenkins. Sir Leoline thereupon ſaid, 'The ſending me upon this meſſage, &c. reflects upon the King my maſter; and do what you will with me, I will not go.' Thereupon many called, *To the Bar*; and moved, That his words ſhould be written down, before he explained them. J. Trenchard in particular ſpoke thus. 'The Houſe will be contemptible to the extreameſt degree if this be ſuffered. Such a thing was never heard in Parliament before, That the whole Houſe ſhould reflect on the King; and for him to ſay, Do what you will, I will not go.' Sir Leoline replied, 'I ſaid no ſuch thing, that the Houſe reflected on the King, but that I take it as a reflection upon the King my maſter.' J. Trenchard added, 'His words were, This had not been put upon me, but for the character I bear.' At laſt the Secretary's words were thus ſtated, "This meſſage is put upon me for the character I bear. I value not my life nor liberty, do what you will, I will not go." And Sir Leoline explained himſelf in theſe words, 'I ſay this is put upon me, to my apprehenſion, for the character I bear, and do what you will with me, I will not go.' Thereupon Sir William Jones ſaid, among other things,—'Let a man be of what quality he will, if he be too big to be your member, he is not to be choſen.—Secretaries are ſent of meſſages every day, and is he too big a meſſenger to accuſe a perſon of the Popiſh plot.'—Sir Leoline then replied, 'I am as ready, and think myſelf as much obliged to obey the commands of the Houſe, as any man here. The office I have excludes me not from it; but the thing I ſtand upon is, that the motion was carried on in ridicule. I have an honour for this, and ever had for all Houſes of Commons; but in this meſſage I muſt and will be excuſed.' After two or three ſoftning ſpeeches, Sir Leoline went on thus, 'Since the Houſe is ſo favourable as to hear me, I ſhall only ſay, that I did apprehend ſending me with the meſſage to the Lords, was a reflection upon the King; if I did apprehend it a reflection upon my maſter, I could not but reſent it. I am heartily ſorry I have incurred the diſpleaſure of the Houſe, and I hope they will pardon the freedom of the expreſſion. I apprehended it a reflection upon the King, and no other conſideration whatſoever induced me to ſay the words.'—A little after, he added, 'I am ready to obey the order of the Houſe, and I am ſorry my words gave offence.' So he went on the meſſage (56).

[*EE*] *And a* Quo-warranto *was brought againſt the City of London in particular.*] Biſhop Burnet tells us, that 'Jenkins managed the whole buſineſs of the city with ſo many indirect practices, that the reputation he had for probity was much blemiſhed by it: he ſeemed to think it was neceſſary to bring the city to a dependence on the Court in the faireſt methods he could fall on; and, if theſe did not ſucceed, that then he was to take the moſt effectual ones, hoping that a good intention would excuſe bad practices (57).' But what thoſe *indirect practices* were, 'the Biſhop's own fruitful invention has not been able to inform us: nor, ſays Mr. Wynne (58), am I able to diſcover. And therefore ſuch general and groundleſs aſperſions, without one degree of real evidence to ſupport them, deſerve no other anſwer but contempt.—Some of the city had that grateful ſenſe of the part which Sir Leoline had acted in that affair [of the *Quo Warranto*,] that they conferred the greateſt teſtimony of it in their power, by preſenting him with his freedom, and afterwards chooſing him Maſter of the Salters company.'

[*FF*] *And was only for puniſhing the moſt obnoxious Members in their private capacities, &c.*] That is in effect the moſt juſt and equitable method; though the contrary practice has generally prevailed: namely, to declare the privileges of a corporation forfeited, on account of ſome particular members offences, inſtead of puniſhing only the real offenders. Which is Cuſtom againſt Equity.——However; as it is ſaid above, when the bringing in of a Quo Warranto againſt the City of London was debated at Court, Sir Leoline, in order to ſoften matters; and, if poſſible, divert the blow; wrote a letter to the Duke of York, which concludes thus,—'Your Highneſs, I doubt not, will alſo conſider the many miſchiefs and inconveniencies that muſt neceſſarily follow, if this great body ſhould be diſſolved, for ever ſo ſmall a time, even though his Majeſty in his goodneſs ſhould deſign it only *in terrorem*, and to awaken them into a due ſenſe of their obedience; and when that gracious end is obtained, ſhould be pleaſed to reſtore them to their former franchiſes. In a word, if ſuch a rigorous courſe ſhould be taken, I fear it may give room to malicious ſuggeſtions, and foment the preſent heats and diſtempers of the nation, and may (though without juſt reaſon,) alarm all other corporations. I cannot therefore conceive it adviſeable, or fit for his Majeſty's preſent ſervice, (all things conſidered) to proceed to ſuch extremities againſt *the whole body*; but rather to direct proceedings againſt *the moſt obnoxious members* in their private capacities (59).'

[*GG*] *For a valuable conſideration.*] This laſt particular we learn from Roger North, Eſq (60); but Biſhop Burnet, according to his partial cuſtom, of giving invidious and bad characters to thoſe that were called High-church-men in his time, tells us, that Sir Leoline was turned out, becauſe he was no longer neceſſary. His words are, 'Jenkins had now done all

'the

(55) Collection of Debates, as above, p. 297, 298.

(56) Collection of Debates, &c. p. 312—316.

(57) Hiſt. of his own Time, p. 531.

(58) Life, as above, p. 47.

(59) Letters, as above, Vol. II. p. 685.

(60) Ubi ſupra, p. 232.

Thereupon he retired to an houſe in Hammerſmith, where learning and learned men continued to be his care and delight. In the middle of March 1684-5, King James II. being on the throne, Sir Leoline was ſworn again of the Privy-Council, and at the ſame time elected Burgeſs for the univerſity of Oxford. And, upon ſome little return of health and ſtrength, freſh application was made to him to appear in buſineſs; but his indiſpoſitions of body ſoon returning upon him, he was never able to ſit in that Parliament, but died the firſt of September 1685, in the 62d or 63d year of his age (*k*). His body being conveyed to Oxford, was ſolemnly buried the 17th of the ſaid month, in the area of Jeſus-college-chapel (*l*); and a marble ſtone was laid over his grave, with an epitaph [*HH*], ſuppoſed to have been made by his old friend Dr John Fell Biſhop of Oxford. As to his character; beſides what it hath already appeared from his actions, we are aſſured, that he was mild, courteous, benevolent, humble, and modeſt; ſober, and temperate; of unwearied and moſt uncommon induſtry; juſt; grateful; charitable; a true member of the Church of England; conſcientiouſly pious, and exemplary in all the duties of religion. But for a fuller view of him, ſee the account below in the note [*II*]. Having never been married,

the drudgery that the Court had occaſion for from him: and being capable to ſerve them in nothing elſe, he was diſmiſt from being Secretary of State: and Godolphin, one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, ſucceeded him.' ——— But ſoon after, Godolphin was weary of the *drudgery* that lay on a Secretary of State; and choſe rather to be the Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury (61).' Different from this is the character of Sir Leoline given by Mr North (62), ' Sir Leoline Jenkins, ſaith he, was the moſt faithful *drudge* of a Secretary, that ever the Court had.—His learning and dexterity in buſineſs, was great; but his fidelity ſurmounted all.——After he retired, the King's affairs went backward; wheels within wheels took place; the Miniſters turned formaliſers, and the Court myſterious.' Before we diſmiſs Sir Leoline in his quality of Secretary, let us hear what Biſhop Burnet ſays further of him when conſidered in that capacity. ' The King, ſays he, was the more deſirous to have Lord Sunderland again near him, [i. e as Secretary] that he might have ſomebody about him who underſtood foreign affairs. *Jenkins underſtood nothing*: but he had ſo much credit with the High Church party, that he was of great uſe to the Court (63).' Now, is it really credible, That a man of good ſenſe, ſuch as Sir Leoline unqueſtionably was, who had ſpent near five years abroad in the moſt important negotiations, and converſed the greateſt part of that time with Marſhal D'Eſtrades, Monſieur Colbert, and other of the ableſt politicians in Europe, ſhould learn or know nothing of foreign affairs? therefore the accuſation of *ignorance*, together with a very great plenty of malice, muſt return back upon the right Reverend Hiſtorian. And we cannot but bewail the unhappineſs of this nation; in that, ſince parties have run ſo high amongſt us, little or no regard is had to truth, but we are perpetually miſled by falſe characters, and falſe accounts of men and things, in our Engliſh Hiſtory.

[*H H*] *With an epitaph.*] Which is in theſe words, Depoſitum Illuſtriſſimi Viri Dni LEOLINI IENKINS L. L. Doctoris, et Equitis aurati, Admiralitatis Angliæ, et Curiæ Prærogativæ Cantuarienſis Judicis, Et ſereniſſimæ Regiæ Majeſtati à Sanctioribus Conſiliis. Ille Lanctriſantiæ Silurum, Honeſta Familia natus, Literis a prima Juventute liberaliter imbutus, et Collegio Ieſu, in Univerſitate Oxonienſi admotus, egregia illic edidit optimæ indolis Specimina; Donec ob fidem Regi præſtitam Democraticorum furoribus proſcriptus, ſolum vertere, et in Galliam ſecedere cogeretur. Academia vero una cum Principe reſtituta, Collegij Ieſu Socius, mox Præfectus renunciabatur: Deinceps Legationes crebras Auguſtiſſimi regis CAROLI nomine, feliciter adminiſtravit, primum ad Regem Galliarum miſſus, poſtea Coloniæ, nec non Novomagi Pacis Europæ ſequeſter, finitimorum undique Principum bella ſopivit, Nec minus domi quam foris utilis: Secretarius Status primarius, Conjuratorum per Angliam molimina vigiliis ſuis detexit, conſiliis diſſipavit, demum miſſione honorifica ab indulgentiſſimo principe donatus, ſeceſſum petiit, ut Deo & Æternitati unice vacaret: Viribuſq; quas in publica Commoda impenderat, exhauſtis, et Morbo diutino confectus, ſanctiſſimam Animam Deo reddidit Sept. 1. Ann. MDCLXXXV. Ætat. LXIII. Tumulum ſortitus, ubi prima Literarum tyrocinia poſuit, eo in Collegio quod vivus Patrocinio fovit, moriens vero hæredem Scripſit, et tantum non denuo fundavit (64).

[*I I*] *But for a fuller view of him, ſee the account below in the note.*] We ſhall give it chiefly in the words of Mr Wynne, the ingenious writer of his life. ' He was by nature mild, affable, courteous; of unaffected goodneſs and benevolence; friendly and inoffenſive to inferiors as well as ſuperiors; and ſo humble in his carriage, that he was almoſt beyond example. His great modeſty in his language and converſation, ſometimes made a diſadvantageous impreſſion of him on thoſe who judged altogether by outward appearances. For he was not one of thoſe flaſhy men, who at firſt ſight or at a diſtance appear beſt, and can exhibit the whole experience of their narrow lives at a ſingle interview: but the longer he was known, the better he appeared; being like a piece of true architecture, which does not ſhew it perfectly at once, but will bear an agreeable view and review on all ſides, and the more accurately it is conſidered by a ſkilful artiſt, the more perfect and ſatisfactory it appears. Though his deportment had much of a gentleman, it had more of a ſcholar, and moſt of a Chriſtian. His civility did not conſiſt only in words or courtly expreſſions, but he was ſtrictly juſt in in his words, as well as faithful in his promiſes; and had a real regard wherever he profeſſed it. He was an enemy to flattery of any kind, and uneaſy even at its firſt approaches. Of ſo grateful a temper to every one, that he never failed to expreſs, in the moſt proper and becoming manner, the favours he had received. In his moſt ſcanty circumſtances of life, he had an eaſy, patient, and contented mind; and in his greateſt affluence nothing of pride and arrogance. As his firſt purpoſes were to be humble and juſt, the poſſeſſion or acquiſition of power did not in the leaſt alter his manners: but, after his advancement, he behaved with the ſame decency, temper, and moderation, as in his loweſt parts of life. He was frugal and temperate in the common management of his fortune, and an enemy to all ſort of luxury and extravagance. His uſual dreſs was of the beſt; but the emblem of his mind, grave, plain, and unaffected; and commonly black, which made ſome think, that he was in holy orders, though he was not: and in conſequence of that, a report ſtrongly prevailed, that he was to be advanced to the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury, upon the death of Archbiſhop Sheldon in 1677, though the report was without foundation (65). His life was, as it were, one continued courſe of labour and induſtry for the public good. His natural capacities for buſineſs were great, much improved by conſtant ſtudy, and indefatigable diligence and application. All the time he could ſafely borrow from the public ſervice, was ſpent in ſtudy and reading, which he often profeſſed to be his moſt agreeable entertainment; and which was the more ſo to him, by reaſon of a ſtrong happy memory, and a regular method in reading, He was verſed in many modern languages, which he ſpoke fluently; and had ſome gleanings in moſt parts of learning, even in thoſe which gratify the curioſity more than the underſtanding of a man; but he had chiefly addicted himſelf to thoſe of real and immediate benefit. He was not only eminent in his particular profeſſion of the civil and canon laws, but had alſo a very great knowledge of the common and ſtatute laws of the realm. He was a man of little leiſure, and of no ſort of pleaſure, even to a voluntary abſtinence from innocent and agreeable diverſions; and in many ' things

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(*k*) Wynne, as above, p. 49. See Wood, Faſti, ubi ſupra, col. 133. and Sir Leoline's Epitaph.

(*l*) Wood, ibid.

(61) Hiſt. of his own Time, p. 592.

(62) Life of Lord Keeper Guilford, p. 229, 233.

(63) Hiſt. of his own Time, p. 531.

(64) J. Le Neve Monum. Angl. from 1650 to 1718, p. 159.

(65) See Wood Faſti, ut ſupra, col. 133.

married, he bequeathed his eſtates, both real and perſonal, to charitable uſes; and, in particular, he was ſo great a benefactor to Jeſus college in Oxford, that he is generally looked upon as a ſecond founder [*K K*].

'things of life exceeded the moſt rigid Stoick. To this he probably owed his great ſtrength of body, and a conſtitution not only healthful, but alſo capable of the cloſeſt application; and always lived in a ſparing, abſtemious way, that he might be the fitter for buſineſs, and the duties of his implayments. As he conſtantly went to reſt early, ſo he roſe early, and often before the ſun, even in the midſt of ſummer; nature exacting very little ſleep of him. Finally, he was a man of excellent piety, and unaffected devotion; and, through the whole courſe and tenor of his life, was a ſerious, ſincere Chriſtian, of a ſtrong and maſculine piety, without any mixture of enthuſiaſm or ſuperſtition, and a hearty Proteſtant of the Church of England (66).' See alſo notes [*A A*] and [*G G*].

(66) Wynne, as above, p. 53—59.

[*K K*] *So great a benefactor to Jeſus college in Oxford*] By his will he gave to that college. 1. The manor of Molton, in the pariſhes of Llancarvan and Wenvo. 2. Lands and tenements, in Llantriſſent. 3. Lands, &c. in the pariſhes of Eglwys, Ilan, and Caerphilli. 4. Cowbridge-ſchool, which he purchaſed of Sir Edward Stradling. All in the county of Glamorgan.——5. Three acres of ground in the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's marſh in Lambeth; and ſeven acres near the ſame. 6. Lands, tenements, &c. in the pariſhes of Blakeſley, Plumpton, Weſton, and Weedon, in Northamptonſhire. 7. Lands, tenements, &c. in the pariſhes of Dumbleton, and Wormington, in the county of Glouceſter.—And alſo his perſonal eſtate, which after his deceaſe, produced 4857 l. 15 s. 10 d. ¾.—The amount of the whole being upwards of 700 l. a year.

By his ſaid will, he appropriated the following yearly payments out of his eſtates.—To the ſchool-maſter of Cowbridge, ſo long as he doth not undertake any cure of ſouls, but keeps himſelf wholly to the buſineſs of his ſchool, 10 l. a year: and, without ſuch a limitation, 10 l. a year more.—To five penſioners in that ſchool, (which the maſter is to teach gratis, as well as ten hopeful youths more) 6 l. a piece, for four years.—To three Exhibitioners in Jeſus college, out of that ſchool, 10 l. a year, for four years.—For binding poor children apprentices, or clothing old poor people in the pariſhes of Llantriſſent, Llanblethian, the town of Cowbridge, and Yſtrad Owen, 20 l. per ann.—To the Principal of Jeſus college, for an augmentation of his maintenance, 50 l. a year, and the rectory of Rotherfield Peppard.—To make up the ſixteen fellowſhips there, 20 l. per ann. a piece; and the ſixteen ſcholarſhips, 10 l. per ann. a piece.—To two new fellows, 20 l. per ann. each; and, while they are either chaplains at ſea, or miſſionaries abroad, which he intended they ſhould, 20 l. a year more to each.—To two lecturers in the college. 15 l. a year each.—To the ſenior burſar, 8 l. per ann.—To four or five additional fellows, 8 l. or 10 l. a piece.—For the endowment of the Chapel Tal y garn, near the place of his nativity, which he had purchaſed and repaired, 10 l. per ann.—And to the rector of St. Bennet's Paul's-wharf, London, for his better incouragement in reading daily the ſervice of the Church, 10 l. a year, &c (67). C

(67) From a copy of his Will.

JEWEL [JOHN], Biſhop of Saliſbury, in the XVIth century, one of the greateſt ornaments and pillars of the Church of England ſince the Reformation, was born May 24, 1522 [*A*], at Buden in the pariſh of Berinerber in Devonſhire (*a*), and deſcended from an honeſt and very ancient family [*B*]. At the age of ſeven, he received the firſt rudiments of learning from his uncle John Bellamy Rector of Hamton; and afterwards was at ſchool, at Branton under Tho. Stotes; at South-Molton under Antony Simons; and at Barnſtaple under Walter Bowin (*b*). When juſt turned of thirteen, being thought fit for the univerſity, he was ſent to Oxford, and admitted a Portioniſt, or Poſt-maſter, in Merton-college: where he was put under the tuition of Mr John Parkhurſt, afterwards Biſhop of Norwich. About four years after, namely Auguſt 19, 1539, he was elected Scholar of Corpus-Chriſti college in the foreſaid univerſity. October 20, 1540, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts. His uſual method was, to riſe at four o'clock in the morning, and to ſtudy 'till ten at night; by which indefatigable induſtry he rendered himſelf a compleat maſter of moſt branches of learning, but withal he impaired his health (*c*) [*C*]. After taking his degree, he became a noted tutor (*d*), and privately inſtructed his pupils in Proteſtant principles (*e*). Shortly after, he was choſen Rhetoric profeſſor, or reader, in his college, which office he diſcharged for ſeven years with great applauſe [*D*]: and behaved in his whole conduct in a moſt amiable and exemplary manner (*f*). On the 9th of February 1544, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*g*). During King Henry the VIIIth's reign he was privately a Proteſtant, but he publickly declared himſelf ſuch, after that Prince's deceaſe in 1546, And, upon Peter Martyr's coming to be Divinity-Profeſſor at Oxford, he became ſtrongly attached to him; frequented his Lectures and Sermons; and, being very expert at ſhort-hand (*h*), was Notary on that Profeſſor's behalf, when he diſputed (May 28, 1549) in the Divinity-ſchool, with Dr Treſham, Dr Cheadſey, and Morgan Phillips, about the real preſence (*i*). He took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity in 1550, and frequently improved the univerſity by his excellent ſermons. Being alſo preſented to the Rectory of Sunningwell in Berkſhire; though he was lame

(*a*) J. Juelli Vita, autore L. Humfredo, Lond. 1573, 8vo. p. 14.

(*b*) Ibid p. 17. At this laſt place he chanced to have for his ſchool-fellow, his furious antagoniſt afterwards, John Harding. Fuller's Worthies, in Devonſhire, p. 253.

(*c*) Humfr. p. 23—26.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 27.

(*e*) Wood Ath. Vol. I. edit. 1721, col. 168.

(*f*) Humfr. ut ſupra, p. 25, 28.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 30. But A. Wood ſays, it was Jan. 28. Faſti, Vol. I. col. 69.

(*h*) Humfr. ut ſupra, p. 40.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 44, 45. Vide Wood Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. i. p. 268.

[*A*] *Was born May* 24, 1522.] Dr Fuller ſays, by miſtake, that it was in the year 1552 (1).

[*B*] *And deſcended from an honeſt and very ancient family.*] *Ortus eſt honeſta, ſanè perantiqua, & haud ignobili familia* (2): which family had been then in poſſeſſion of the eſtate at Buden, or Bowden, near 200 years (3). His father's name was John, a name almoſt hereditary in his family, it being alſo that of his grandfather, and great-grand-father. On the mother's ſide, he was of the good family of the Bellamy's. Happily did they live *fifty* years together as man and wife; and were bleſſed with a numerous iſſue, leaving ten children behind them (4).

[*C*] *But withal he impaired his health.*] *Hunc ad modum in umbra, domi & privatim in muſæo ſe geſſit, legendo, ſtudendo, ſcribendo, vigilando, ut valetudinem ſuam non ſatis curarit. Etenim victus nimis ſcholaſticus & ſimplex fuit, corpus macilentum & perimbecillum, ut mireris tot laboribus exhauriendis potuiſſe ſufficere.* He retiring once to Witney, (on account of an epidemical ſickneſs at Oxford) and purſuing there his ſtudies with his uſual avidity; and, without having proper accommodations, or due care taken, by himſelf or others; contracted ſuch a cold, as fixed a lameneſs in one of his legs, which accompanied him to his grave (5).

[*D*] *Which office he diſcharged for ſeven years with great applauſe.*] His lectures were ſo much admired, that they drew many auditors to him from other colleges; and alſo engaged his former tutor, Mr John Parkhurſt, to come out of the country, and hear him with great pleaſure: upon which occaſion he highly complimented him (6).

(1) Worthies, in Devonſhire, p. 253.

(2) L. Humfr. ut ſupra, p. 16.

(3) Ibid. p. 15.

(4) Ibid. p. 16.

(5) Ibid. p. 26.

(6) Ibid. p. 29. See alſo our author's Life, prefixed to his Works.

[*E*] *The*

ſame, he went thither every other Sunday, and regularly diſcharged the paſtoral office, both by preaching and catechiſing (k). During the whole reign of King Edward VI. he was a zealous promoter of the Reformation; in conſequence whereof, he fell one of the firſt victims to Popiſh ſuperſtition and reſentment, after Queen Mary's acceſſion. For, before any law made, or order given by the Court, the reſt of the Fellows expelled him from the college, by their own private authority (l) [E], Whereupon he withdrew to Broad-gate hall (now Pembroke college) where many of his pupils, and other gentlemen, privately reſorted to him for inſtruction (m). But he was ſoon extremely miſſed in his college; and ſo little could the univerſity do without his aſſiſtance, that they choſe him their Orator, and were forced to make uſe of his elegant pen to draw up their addreſs to the new Queen (n). He ſeems to have been wavering about this time, and even was drawn in to ſubſcribe to the errors of Popery [F]. But his compliance not being thought ſincere, or deep and thorough enough, Dr Martial Dean of Chriſt-Church [G], was plotting how to deliver him up into Biſhop Bonner's bloody hands; from whence, in all probability, he could not have got off without a great injury to his conſcience and reputation, or perhaps the loſs of his life. Theſe ſnares he happily avoided; and eſcaped, on foot, and through by-ways, to London [H]: where concealing himſelf, firſt in Thames-ſtreet, and then in another place, for fear of being diſcovered; Sir Nicolas Throgmorton, a man of great diſtinction at that time, furniſhed him with money for his journey, and procured a ſhip to convey him beyond ſea (o) [I]. He arrived at Francfort in the year 1554, the 2d of Queen Mary, where he had Dr Edwin Sandys, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, for his board- and bed-fellow. By his perſwaſion, and the joint-advice of his two intimate friends, Richard Chambers, and Thomas Sampſon, he made, ſoon after his arrival, a public confeſſion of his ſorrow for his late ſubſcription, For, on a Sunday morning, after having preached a Sermon to the Engliſh exiles there, he bitterly bewailed his fall, and heartily begged pardon of God, and of the Church, which he had offended (p). After a ſhort ſtay at Francfort, he was invited to Straſburg by his intimate friend Peter Martyr; who kept a kind of college for learned men in his own houſe, and whereof he made Mr Jewel vice-maſter (q). The latter aſſiſted him in the publication of his Lectures on the book of Judges; and attending him afterwards to Zurich, was very helpful to that great man, in the Lectures he read for Profeſſor Conrad Pellican, who was grown extremely old and infirm (r). In 1558, upon the death of Queen Mary, and happy acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth, the Engliſh exiles returned to England, and Mr Jewel among the reſt. At his firſt coming over, he was entertained ſix months in the houſe of N. Culverwell, a citizen of London: and then the Lord Williams of Tame, being ill, ſent for him, with whom he continued ſome time (s). The 31ſt of March following, he was one of the ſixteen Divines that held a public Diſputation in Weſtminſter-Abbey, upon the chief controverted points between the Papiſts and Proteſtants (t). The ſubſtance and iſſue of this diſputation may be ſeen in the authors referred to in the margin. Jewel wiſhed that it had gone on, and that ſome ſuch publick conference might have been appointed for the full ſatisfaction of people in thoſe controverſies, and making the truth more evident to all (u). But to proceed. July 19, 1559, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners, by virtue of the Queen's letters patent, to viſit the dioceſes of Sarum, Briſtol, Exeter, Bath and Wells, and Glouceſter; and to purge them, as much as poſſible, from Popery (w). As a reward for his great merit and learning, he was conſecrated Biſhop of Salisbury January 21, 1559-60 [K]; in which eminent ſtation, he behaved

(k) Humfr. ut ſupra, p. 43, 45, 49.

(l) Prince's Worthies of Devon, &c. p. 419. Humfred, p. 74.

(m) Humfr. p. 77.

(n) See Fuller's Church Hiſtory, b. viii. p. 6. and Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. i. p. 274, &c.

(o) Humfr. p. 79—83.

(p) Ibid. p. 86.

(q) Fuller's Church Hiſt. b. viii. p. 36.

(r) Humfr. ut ſupra. p. 86, 87, 89.

(s) Ibid. p. 99.

(t) See J. Fox's Acts and Monum. Vol. II. Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 414, &c. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Ref. Part ii. Collect. of Records, p. 333, &c.

(u) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. edit. 1725, p. 93. See the Appendix to that volume, No. 16, &c.

(w) Humfr. p. 107. and Strype's Ann. Vol. I. p. 167.

[E] *The reſt of the fellows expelled him the college*] He was expelled by the ſeven ſeniors, and officers (7): and the reaſons alledged for it, were: his having attended P. Martyr's lectures: preaching doctrines contrary to Popery: not being ordained by the ritual, but by the new form: And his refuſal to be preſent at maſs (8).

[F] *He ſeems to have been wavering about this time, and even was drawn in to ſubſcribe to the errors of Popery*] Dr Humfrey, the author of his life, imputes his wavering, to the ſpecious promiſes made by Queen Mary, that ſhe would force no man's conſcience, and intended to make no change in religion (9). He adds, that if he could have conſulted his old tutor Dr Parkhurſt, he would not have been guilty of ſo great a weakneſs. He took a journey on foot to Cleve, of which he was Rector, for that purpoſe: but the Doctor, upon the re-eſtabliſhment of Popery, was fled to London. Mr Jewel being thus diſappointed, returns to Oxford, where he lingered, and waited, 'till he was ſuddenly laid hold on by certain Inquiſitors; who preſſing him, with threats, to ſubſcribe, he took a pen in his hand, and, ſmiling ſaid, 'Muſt I ſet down my 'name too: and, have you a mind to ſee how well I 'can write.' But he ſoon became ſenſible of his apoſtaſy; and took the firſt opportunity to eſcape (10).

[G] *Dr Martial, Dean of Chriſt-church.*] He was a very bad man, and a thorough complier with all changes in religion. For he renounced Popery under King Edward; embraced it again with great zeal under Queen Mary; quitted it again under Queen Elizabeth; and turned again two or three times afterwards (11).

[H] *And eſcaped on foot, and through by-ways, to London.*] He walked 'till he was forced to lie on the ground, quite ſpent, and almoſt breathleſs: in which condition he was found by one Auguſtin Bernher, a Swiſs, firſt a ſervant to Biſhop Latimer, and afterwards a miniſter; who ſetting him up on a horſe, conducted him to the Lady Anne Warcop's, a widow, by whom he was entertained for ſome time, and then ſafely ſent to London (12),

[I] *And procured a ſhip to convey him beyond ſea.*] His eſcape was managed by Giles Laurence, tutor to Sir Arthur Darci's children, living near the Tower of London (13). This Laurence was Mr Jewel's fellow-collegian; afterwards of All-Souls college; Greek Profeſſor of the Univerſity; and made in 1564, Archdeacon of Wilts by Biſhop Jewel, whoſe life he had ſaved, as is here related (14).

[K] *Was conſecrated Biſhop of Saliſbury, January 21.*] He was elected Aug. 21, 1559, had the royal aſſent Dec. 27, was confirmed Jan. 18, conſecrated Jan. 21, inthronized March 6, and had reſtitution of the temporalities, April 6, 1560 (15).

(7) Life prefixed to his Works, by D. Featly.

(8) Humfr. p. 74. and Fuller's Church Hiſt. book viii. p. 8.

(9) P. 80. See Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reform. Part ii. p. 245, 246.

(10) Humfr. p. 83, 84. and Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. i. p. 276.

(11) Humfr. p. 81.

(12) Ibid. p. 82.

(13) Ibid. p. 83.

(14) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 117.

(15) Rymer's Acta, &c. Vol. XV. p. 555, 578.

behaved in a moſt diligent and exemplary manner (x) [*L*]. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf, at the ſame time, by preaching and writing in defence of the Church of England, and againſt the Errors of Popery. For, in 1560, on the ſecond Sunday before Eaſter, he made a public challenge (in the Sermon he then preached at St Paul's croſs) to all the Roman-Catholics in the world, to produce but one clear and evident teſtimony, out of any Father, or famous writer, who flouriſhed within ſix hundred years after Chriſt, for any one of the many articles which the Romaniſts at this day maintain againſt the Church of England [*M*]. Two years after, he publiſhed his learned and excellent Apology for the

Church

[*L*] *In which eminent ſtation he behaved in a moſt diligent and exemplary manner.*] *In hac Sariſburienſis Eccleſiæ ſpecula conſtitutus, jam non obdormiſcit, ſed in excubiis eſt, & ſuſceptam perſonam graviſſime repræſentat*, as Dr Humfrey expreſſes it (16). He became moſt remarkable for his apoſtolic doctrine, holy life, prudent government, incorrupt integrity, unſpotted chaſtity, and bountiful liberality. In his firſt viſitation he began, and in his laſt he perfected, ſuch a reformation, not only in the cathedral and parochial churches, but in all courts of his juriſdiction, as procured him, and the whole order of Biſhops, due reverence and eſteem. For he was a careful overlooker and ſtrict obſerver, not only of all the flocks, but alſo of the paſtors in his dioceſe: and he watched ſo narrowly upon the proceedings of his Chancellor and Archdeacons, and of his ſtewards and receivers, that they had no opportunities of being guilty of oppreſſion, injuſtice, and extortion, nor of being a burden to the people, and a ſcandal to himſelf. To prevent theſe and the like abuſes, for which the Epiſcopal courts are often too juſtly cenſured, he ſat often in his Conſiſtory-court, and ſaw that all things were carried rightly there: neither did he only ſit as Judge in the Conſiſtory, but alſo oftentimes as aſſiſtant on the bench of juſtice, [he being himſelf a Juſtice of the peace (17),] informing the Judges in ſuch cauſes where the law of God and the law of the land ſeemed to claſh, and exhorting the priſoners willingly and patiently to ſubmit to the ſtroke of juſtice.—With regard to his more private conduct: he roſe at four o'clock in the morning; and, after prayers with his family at five, and in the Cathedral about ſix, he was ſo fixed to his ſtudies all the morning, that he could not without great violence be drawn from them. After dinner, his doors and ears were open to all ſuitors; and it was obſerved of him, as of Titus, that he never ſent any ſad from him. Suitors being thus diſmiſſed, he heard, with great indifferency and patience, ſuch cauſes debated before him, as either were devolved to him as a judge, or referred to him as an arbitrator; and if he could ſpare any time from theſe troubleſome affairs, he reckoned as clear gain to his ſtudy. About nine o'clock at night, he called all his ſervants to an account how they had ſpent the day, and then went to prayers with them: from the chapel he withdrew again to his ſtudy 'till near midnight, and from thence to his bed; in which after he was laid, the gentleman of his bed-chamber read to him 'till he fell aſleep. This watchful and laborious kind of life, without any recreation at all, except what his neceſſary refreſhment at his meals, and a very few hours of reſt in the night afforded him, waſted his precious life too faſt, and undoubtedly haſtened his end (18).

[*M*] *He made a public challenge (in the ſermon he then preached at St Paul's croſs) to all the Roman catholics in the world, &c*] His text was 1 Cor xi. 23. and the challenge he made, in theſe words.—'If any learned man of our adverſaries, or if al the learned men that be alive, be hable to bryng any one ſufficient ſentence out of any olde catholike Doctour, or Father, or out of any old general Councel, or out of the holy Scriptures of God, or any one example of the Primitive Churche, whereby it may clearely, and plainely be proved, that there was any private Maſſe in the whole worlde at that time for the ſpace of ſixe hundred yeres after Chriſte: or, that there was then any Communion miniſtred unto the people under one kynde: or, that the people had theire common praier then in a ſtrange tongue that they underſtoode not: or, that the Biſhop of Rome was then called an univerſal Biſhop, or the head of the univerſal Churche: or, that the people was then taught to beleve that Chriſtes bodie is really, ſubſtantiallie, corporallie, carnallie, or naturallie in the Sacrament: or, that his bodie is, or may be, in a thouſand places or mo at one time: or that the Prieſt did then holde up the Sacrament over his head: or, that the people did then falle downe, and woorſhip it with godly honour: or, that the Sacrament was then or now oughte to be hanged up under a canopie: or, that in the Sacrament after the woordes of conſecration, there remaine onely the accidentes and ſhewes, without the ſubſtance of breadde and wyne: or that the Prieſte then divided the Sacrament in three partes, and afterward received himſelf al alone: or, that whoſoever had ſaide, the Sacrament is a figure, a pledge, a token or a remembraunce of Chriſtes bodie, had therefore beene judged for an heretike: or, that it was laufull then to have 30, 20, 15, 10, or 5 maſſes ſaid in one churche, in one daie: or, that images then were ſet up in the churches, to th intent the people might woorſhip them: or, that the lai people was then forbidden to reade the woorde of God in their owne tongue: or, that it was then lawful for the Prieſt to pronounce the woordes of conſecration cloſely, and in ſilence to himſelfe: or, that the Prieſt had the authoritie to offer up Chriſt unto his Father: or, to communicate and receive the Sacrament for another, as they doo: or, to applie the vertue of Chriſtes death and paſſion to any manne by the meane of the Maſſe: or, that it was then thought a ſound doctrine, to teache the people, that maſſe *ex opere operato*, that is, even for that it is ſaide and done, is hable to remove any part of our ſinne: or, that then any chriſtian man called the Sacrament his Lord and God: or, that the people was then taught to beleve that the bodie of Chriſt remaineth in the Sacrament, as longe as the accidentes of the bread remaine there without corruption: or, that a mouſe, or anye other woorme, or beaſte, may eate the body of Chriſt (for ſo ſome of our adverſaries have ſaide and taught): or, that when Chriſt ſaide, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, This woord *Hoc*, pointed not the bread, but *individuum vagum*, as ſome of them ſaie: or, that the accidentes, or fourmes, or ſhewes of bread and wine, bee the Sacramentes of Chriſtes bodie and bloudde, and not rather the very bread and wine itſelfe: or that the Sacrament is a ſigne or token of the bodie of Chriſte that lieth hidden underneath it: or, that ignorance is the mother and cauſe of true devotion, and obedience.—I promiſe to yield unto him, and to ſubſcribe.'—I. This ſermon was printed at London in 1560, 8vo. And the Catholics being thus vigorouſly attacked in it, muſtered up all their forces to ſupport their ſinking cauſe. The foremoſt in the quarrel, was Dr *Henry Cole*, between whom and our learned Biſhop, ſeveral *letters* paſſed upon that occaſion, from March 18, 1559, 'till May 18, 1560 (19).—John Raſtell a Jeſuit, publiſhed likewiſe, *A Confutation of a Sermon pronounced by Mr* Jewel, *at Paul's croſs*. Antw. 1564. As did Tho. Dorman, *A proof of certain Articles in Religion denied by Mr* Jewel, Antw. 1564. The former of which was anſwered by W. Fulke, and the latter by Dean Nowell.—Some time after, Thomas Heſkyns, D. D. came out with a large book, intitled, *The Parliament of Chriſte avouching and declaring the enacted and receaved trueth of the preſence of his bodie and bloode in the bleſſed Sacrament, and of other articles concerning the ſame, impugned in a wicked ſermon, by M. Juell*, Antw. 1566, fol.—But our Biſhop's moſt conſiderable antagoniſt, was Thomas Harding, who put out, *An Anſwere to Maiſter Juelles Chalenge*, Louvain 1564, 4to. reprinted in 1565, 8vo. with a preface by John Martiall. To which our learned author publiſhed a full anſwer, intitled, II "A Replie unto *M. Hardinges* Anſweare: "By peruſinge whereof the diſcrete, and diligent Reader may eaſily ſee, the weake and unſtable groundes "of the Romaine Religion, whiche of late hath beene "accompted Catholique." Lond. 1566, fol. It was tranſlated into Latin by William Whitaker, Fellow of Trinity-college in Cambridge, and publiſhed at Geneva, in 1578, 4to. with our author's Apology for the

Church

(x) Humfr. p. 108. See alſo his Life, prefixed to his Works, edit. 1609, fol.

(16) Juelli Vita, &c. ut ſupra, p. 108.

(17) Ibid. p. 246.

(18) His Life by D. Featly, prefixed to his Works; and in Fuller's Abel Redivivus, p. 307, &c. See alſo Humfr. p. 251, 252.

(19) Humfr. p. 113, 138.

Church of England [*N*]. On the 26th of May 1565, the univerſity of Oxford conferred upon him the degree of Doctor in Divinity, though he was abſent (*y*); and the year following, he attended Queen Elizabeth, in the viſit ſhe made to that noble ſeminary of learning, and moderated at the Divinity-diſputations then held before her Majeſty (*z*). He continued to defend and adorn the Church of England, during the remainder of his valuable life; which was but ſhort: for he died, September 23, 1571, in the fiftieth year of his age, at Monkton Farley in Wiltſhire, and was buried about the middle of the choir of Saliſbury-cathedral (*a*). Two years after, Dr Laurence Humfrey, the author of his life, laid a marble-ſtone on his grave, with an inſcription in his praiſe, which may be ſeen at the beginning of that life. Beſides the books already mentioned, Biſhop Jewel was author of ſeveral pieces, of which an account is given in the note [*O*]. His character is ſet out to great advantage, in the numerous copies of verſes that are printed at the end of the forementioned life. By which, and all that hath been ſaid of him, it appears, that he was pious, charitable, of a pleaſant, and affable temper; modeſt, meek, temperate, and a perfect maſter of his paſſions (*b*). He was indefatigable in his ſtudies; and by that means not only attained a thorough knowledge of moſt of the ſciences, but alſo acquired a great ſkill in the Latin, Greek, and Italian languages (*c*). Though he was a conſtant preacher, yet he never attempted to do it extempore, and without due preparation (*d*). His memory was wonderful [*P*]. With reſpect to his perſon, he was of a thin habit of body;

Church of England. To this *Replie*, Mr Harding put out two *Rejoinders*, Antw. 1566, 4to. and Louvain, 1567, 4to.

[*N*] III. *Apology for the Church of England.*] This moſt excellent Vindication of our Reformed Church, was written by the truly learned author in elegant Latin, and printed at London in 1562, 8vo. An Engliſh tranſlation of it was printed the ſame year: another tranſlation, made by Anne, (one of the ſix learned daughters of Sir Antony Cooke, and) wife of Sir Nicolas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great-Seal, was publiſhed in 1564, for common uſe, with the Queen's approbation, and the conſent of the Biſhops (20). It was alſo tranſlated in ſeveral other languages, particularly in Greek; which laſt was printed at Oxford in 1614, 8vo. As it ſtruck at the great Diana of the Papiſts, numbers of them undertook to confute it; viz. in *Latin* Alanus Copus, als Nicolas Harpsfield: and in *Engliſh*, Nicolas Sanders, Thomas Stapleton, John Raſtall, Tho. Dorman, Tho. Heſkyns, and Tho. Harding. This laſt being the moſt conſiderable, Biſhop Jewel profeſſedly writ a long and particular anſwer to him, laſhing the reſt only by the by. Harding had intitled his book, *A Confutation of the Apologie of the Churche of Englande*, Antw. 1563, 4to And the Biſhop's anſwer was intitled, IV. "A Defenſe of the "Apologie of the Churche of Englande. Conteinge an Anſweare to a certaine Booke lately ſet "foorthe by M. Hardinge, and entituled, *A Confutation of, &c.*" Lond. 1564, 1567. This defence was tranſlated into Latin, by Thomas Bradoc, B. D. and Fellow of Chriſt's college, Cambridge: printed at Geneva, 1600, fol And in ſo great eſteem was it both abroad, and at home, that it was ordered by Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles I. and by four ſucceſſive Archbiſhops, to be read and chained up in all pariſh churches throughout England and Wales (21).—Harding replying to it, in a book, which he named, *A Detection of ſundrie foule Errours, Lyes, Sclaunders, Corruptions, &c. uttered and practiſed by* Mr Jewel *in a Book lately by him ſet forth, intitled,* A Defence of the Apologie, &c. Lovain, 1568, 4to. The Biſhop thereupon publiſhed, V "An Anſweare "unto a Book written by Mr Hardinge, entituled, *A "Detection of ſundrie foule Errours*, &c." Lond. 1568, and 1570, fol.

[*O*] *Beſides the books already mentioned, Biſhop Jewel was author of ſeveral pieces*] Namely theſe; VI. *Exhortatio ad Oxonienſes.* A Speech before the Univerſity Of which the ſubſtance is printed in Dr Humfrey's life of our author (22). VII. A ſermon preached 23 Dec. 1552, in the chapel of his college, being the commemoration-day of their founder, Biſhop R. Fox. From Pſ. cxii. 6. The ſubſtance of it is printed in the ſaid life (23). VIII. *Concio in Templo D. Mariæ, Oxon. A. D.* 1550, *ex* 1 *Pet.* iv. 11. A Latin ſermon, preached in St Mary's Church Oxon. the Sunday after Aſcenſion-day, for his Bachelor of Divinity's degree. Inſerted in the ſame life (24): and tranſlated into Engliſh by R. V. printed at London, 1586, 8vo. IX. *Oratio in Aulâ Collegii Corporis Chriſti.* His farewel ſpeech to his fellow collegians, when they expelled him. The ſubſtance of it is printed in the aforeſaid life (25). X. *Epiſtola ad Scipionem patritium Venetum, de Cauſis cur Epiſcopi Angliæ ad Concilium Tridentinum non convenirent, Ann.* 1559. A Latin letter to Signor Scipio, a noble Venetian, with whom he had contracted an acquaintance at the time he went to ſtudy at Padua during his exile; wherein he aſſigns the cauſes, why none of the Engliſh Biſhops went to the Council of Trent. Printed at the end of Father Paul's Hiſtory of the Council of Trent, tranſlated into Engliſh by Sir Nath. Brent, ſecond edit. Lond. 1629, fol. The ſubſtance of it is alſo in Mr Strype's Annals (26). XI. A Letter to Henry Bullinger at Zurick; concerning the State of Religion in England, dated May 22, 1559 (27). XII Another letter to the ſame, dated 8 Feb. 1566, concerning his controverſy with Harding, &c (28).—The following were publiſhed by John Garbrand. XIII. "A View "of a ſeditious Bull ſent into England from Pius V. "Biſhop of Rome, An. 1569." Lond 1582, 8vo. XIV. "A Treatiſe of the Holy Scriptures, Ibid. 8vo. Both gathered out of the Biſhop's ſermons, preached in the cathedral church of Sarum, in 1570. XV. "A "Treatiſe of the Sacraments; gathered alſo out of "his ſermons." Lond. 1583, 8vo. XVI. "Certain Sermons preached before the Queen's Majeſty "at Paul's croſs, and elſewhere." Six in number. Lond. 1583, 8vo. XVII "An Expoſition on the "two Epiſtles of the Apoſtle St Paul to the Theſſalonians." Lond 8vo. All theſe his Engliſh works were printed together at London in 1609, fol. As was in 1641, under his name, "An Anſwer to certain "frivolous Objections againſt the Government of the "Church of England," in one ſheet, 4to.—Beſides which Mr Wood informs us, that the following pieces of his remain in manuſcript. *A paraphraſtical Expoſition of the Epiſtles and Goſpels throughout the whole Year. A Continuate Expoſition of the Creed, Lord's-Prayer, and Ten Commandments. Commentary upon the Epiſtle to the Galatians; and upon that of St Peter* (29). Many of his letters are in the Collection of Records, in Part III. of Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation.

[*P*] *His memory was wonderful*] It was naturally ſtrong, but he very much improved it by art: ſo that he ſeldom forgot any thing he heard, that was remarkable, and entered it in his common-place-book. He could exactly repeat whatever he had written, after once reading. During the ringing of the bell, he committed to his memory a repetition ſermon, and pronounced it without heſitation. His cuſtom was, to write the heads of his diſcourſes, and imprint them ſo firmly upon his mind, that he uſed to ſay, "If ten "thouſand people were quarrelling or fighting all the "while he was preaching, yet they could not put him "out." In order to try him, Dr Parkhurſt having propoſed to him, ſome of the moſt difficult and barbarous words out of a Calendar; and John Hooper, Biſhop of Glouceſter, forty Welſh, Iriſh, and foreign words; He, after once or twice reading, and a little recollection, repeated them all by heart, backward and forward. And, in the year 1563, Sir Nicolas Bacon, Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal, having read to him, out of Eraſmus's Paraphraſe, the laſt clauſes of ten lines, confuſed,

(*y*) Humfr. p. 242. and Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 96.

(*z*) Humfr. p. 245. and Wood Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. i. p. 288.

(*a*) Godwin de Præſulibus, edit. G. Richardſoni, p. 355.

(*b*) Humfr. p. 28, 41, 247.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 110, 234.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 109.

(20) See Strype's Annals, Vol. I. edit. 1725, p. 284, &c.

(21) Strype, ibid. p. 286. and Vol. II. p. 100. and L. Humfr. ut ſupra, p. 177, 187, 193, 194.

(22) P. 35, &c.

(23) P. 45, &c.

(24) P. 49.

(25) P. 74, &c. There is alſo inſerted in that life, a ſhort Treatiſe of his *De Uſurâ*, p. 217, &c.

(26) Vol. I. p. 416, &c.

(27) Ibid. Appendix, No. 20. p. 53.

(28) Ibid. No. 36, 37. p. 81, 82.

(29) See Wood Ath. Vol. I. col. 171, 241. and Humfr. p. 110, 111.

body; which thinneſs was increaſed by his abſtemious way of living, his want of exerciſe (*e*), and his hard ſtudying; ſo that in his laſt days, he was quite emaciated (*f*). He built a Library at Saliſbury, which he furniſhed with valuable books (*g*). Some have repreſented him as a favourer of the Puritans (*h*); and, indeed, he was a man of due moderation, and ‘ wiſhed that All the remnants of former errors were taken away (*i*).’ But he ſoon found, that the oppoſers of the Church were in general perſons of ſqueamiſh ſtomachs (*k*), who ſtrained at a gnat and ſwallowed a camel. He therefore made it a rule to himſelf, to yield abſolute obedience to his Sovereign, in all things of an indifferent nature (*l*). And, as for his refuſing to admit Dr Humfrey to a living in his dioceſe, becauſe he would not comply with the habits (*m*); it does not appear, that it was in the Biſhop's power to diſpenſe upon that point.

(*e*) Nunquam ſe magnopere recreabat, niſi ambulando. Humfr. p. 28.

(*f*) Ut erat corpus perimbecillum, ita tenui diæta uſus eſt—ad incredibilem maciem perductus, & vivum quaſi cadaver effectus. Id. p. 251, 256.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 250.

(*h*) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. I. edit. 2, p. 125.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 192.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 193. Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 556.

(*l*) Neal, ibid. p. 278.

(*m*) Strype, ibid. p. 464.

confuſed, and imperfect on purpoſe, he ſitting ſilent a while, and covering his face with his hand, immediately rehearſed all thoſe broken parcels of ſentences, the right way and the contrary, without heſitation. He profeſſed to teach others this art, and taught it his tutor Dr Parkhurſt, at Zurich: who, in the ſpace of twenty-eight days, and only by ſpending an hour a day, learned all the twenty eight chapters of St Matthew's Goſpel, ſo perfectly, that he could repeat any verſe; knowing at the ſame time what went before, and what followed (30). C

(30) Humfr. ut ſupra, p. 234, &c.

JOHNSON [SAMUEL], a Divine remarkable both for his writings and ſufferings, was born in the county of Stafford (*a*) in the year 1649. Being at a proper age put to St Paul's ſchool in London, he made an extraordinary proficiency in claſſical learning, and was removed thence to Trinity-college in Cambridge (*b*); where proſecuting his ſtudies with diſtinguiſhed application and ſucceſs [*A*], he turned his thoughts after ſome time to Divinity; and entering into Holy Orders, was preſented by Mr Robert Biddulph (*c*) to the rectory of Corringham in the hundreds of Eſſex, on the firſt of March 1669-70 (*d*). But he did not reſide long upon his living; for the air of the place being found not to agree with his conſtitution, he provided a curate with a handſome ſalary (*e*), and ſettled himſelf in London, going occaſionally thence to his pariſh as often as his health would permit *. This ſituation proved the more agreeable, as the bent of his inclination led him ſtrongly to political ſubjects [*B*]. The turn he took in this ſtudy, whereon his enquiries were principally directed to the hiſtory and conſtitution of his country, ſoon brought him into the acquaintance of thoſe who oppoſed the meaſures of the Court; and in a few years, being recommended to the Earl of Eſſex [*C*] and the Lord Ruſſel, the latter

(*a*) Life of Dean Colet, by Dr Knight, p. 411. Lond. 1724, 8vo. In the Memorial of our author's Life, prefixed to his Works, edit. 1710, fol. p. iii. his birth is placed in Warwickſhire.

(*b*) Iidem ibid.

(*c*) Probably deſcended from an ancient family of his name in Staffordſhire. Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. I. 2d edit. p. 34.

(*d*) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. II. p. 193. If the date of his birth be not a miſtake, he was now no more than 20 years of age, and therefore could not by the Canons be ſafely in Prieſt's orders. He ſeems alſo to have taken no degree in the univerſity, his name being printed without any addition in the title-page of his Works.

(*e*) Viz. 40 l. a year, half the income of the living. Memorials, &c.

* Id. ibid.

[*A*] *He proſecuted his ſtudies with diſtinguiſhed application and ſucceſs.*] As ſoon as he was fit for the univerſity, he was made Library-keeper of St Paul's ſchool, in which ſtation he ſtudied the oriental languages with uncommon diligence, and made ſuch a progreſs therein, as was afterwards of great uſe to him in the ſtudy of Divinity (1).

[*B*] *His inclination led him to politics.*] He had even made ſome progreſs in this ſtudy when he was preſented to his living. This is more than probable from ſome words in his *Eſſay concerning Parliaments at a certainty* (2); where having quoted a paſſage out of Dr Heylin's *Obſervations upon Hammond L'Eſtrange's Hiſtory of the Reign of King Charles I.* he expreſſes himſelf thus: ‘ I have not the book now by me, but ‘ I will be anſwerable for the ſubſtance of this quotation, having retained this paſſage in my head above ‘ theſe five and twenty years.’ This eſſay being evidently levelled againſt the continuation of the ſame Parliament above three years, muſt be written not later than 1695, when the ſecond Parliament of King William, which had continued five years, was diſſolved, and a new one called (3). Theſe words of our author are alſo a conſpicuous proof of the ſtrong bent of his inclination to the ſtudy of politics, a willing memory being always a good one. But there is a ſtill clearer evidence of this early bent to that ſtudy. In another piece, printed in 1689, ſpeaking of Biſhop Burnet's famous paſtoral letter, publiſhed a little before, he writes thus. ‘ I will preſently join iſſue with this conquering Biſhop, for I have not been afraid of a conqueror theſe eighteen years. For ſo long ſince I uſed to walk by the New-Exchange gate, where ſtood an overgrown porter with his gown and ſtaff, which gave him a ſemblance of authority; whoſe buſineſs it was to regulate the coachmen before the entrance; and would make nothing of lifting a coachman off his box, and beating him, and throwing him into his box again. I have ſeveral times, continues he, looked up at this tall maſtering fellow, and put the caſe: Suppoſe this conqueror ſhould take me up under his arm like a gizzard, and run away with me, am I his ſubject; no, thought I, I am my own man and not his: and having thus invaded me, if I could not otherwiſe reſcue myſelf from him, I would ſmite him under the fifth rib. From that time I have had a clear idea of conqueſt, and no conqueror in the world can have any more right to me than that fellow (4).’ This turn of his genius was obſerved likewiſe by his patron, when he preſented him to the living; at which time he warned him againſt the danger of it to one of his profeſſion, and adviſed him to read Bracton, and Forteſcue *de Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, &c. that he might be acquainted with the old Engliſh conſtitution, but by no means to make politics the ſubject of his ſermons; becauſe he had taken notice, that many clergymen had given their hearers bad impreſſions, and filled their heads with falſe notions of thoſe things which they had a very imperfect knowledge of themſelves, and that matters of faith and practice were more ſuitable entertainment from the Pulpit. Mr Johnſon religiouſly obſerved this advice, as we are aſſured by one of his intimate acquaintance; who obſerves further, that tho' by applying himſelf to the ſtudy of the books abovementioned, he became as well verſed in the Engliſh conſtitution as any man, he never meddled with politics in the pulpit, but made a more proper uſe of them: for no man (continues this friend) wrote with more boldneſs and zeal for the legal polity of his country, or ſuited his writings better to the circumſtances of times and ſeaſons (5).

[*C*] *He was recommended to the Earl of Eſſex.*] Mr Johnſon was very ſenſible of this honour, and mentions a converſation, wherein that learned Nobleman (ſo he ſtiles his Lordſhip) gave him a particular account of the arguments he made uſe of in the Houſe of Lords for the bill of Excluſion. Our author having repeated theſe, concludes in the following terms. ‘ Thus that great man argued, but care was ‘ taken that he ſhould argue for the good of his country no more; and therefore we that are left behind, ‘ partly to bewail the loſs of ſuch great men, and ‘ partly to imitate them, ought to uphold their cauſe.’ In proceeding, Mr Johnſon relates the account given him by his Lordſhip, of the arguments urged at the ſame time againſt the ſaid bill, and cloſes the whole with

(1) Memorials of Mr S. Johnſon, prefixed to his Works, p. iii.

(2) Printed in his Works, p. 279, & ſeq. Lond. 1710.

(3) Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under the years 1689 and 1695.

(4) An Argument proving the Abrogation of King James, &c. in our author's Works, p. 267, 268.

(5) Memorials, &c. p. iv.

latter of thoſe noblemen took him into his family in the character of his domeſtic chaplain [*D*]. This appointment, which muſt needs be of great advantage to his reputation, furniſhed him ſome time after with an opportunity of increaſing it by diſplaying his political talents: for while the bill of excluſion againſt the Duke of York was carried on by that Lord at the head of his party in the Houſe of Commons, his Chaplain, to promote the ſame deſign, engaged the eccleſiaſtical champion of paſſive-obedience, Dr Hickes, in a book intituled *Julian the Apoſtate* [*E*]. An attack againſt the eſtabliſhed doctrine of the time, executed with ſo much ſpirit as this was, did not fail to raiſe the attention of the world (*f*). It was publiſhed in 1682, and ſeveral anſwers to it appearing in that and the following year, the chief of them were taken to taſk the ſame year, in a reply to Dr Hickes and another gentleman, by our author, in a piece printed with this title, *Julian's Arts to undermine and extirpate Chriſtianity, together with Anſwers to Conſtantius the Apoſtate and Jovian* (*g*). This treatiſe was printed and entered at Stationers-Hall, in 1683, in order to be publiſhed; but on the ſeizure of his patron * in June, he yielded to the advice of his friends, in ſuppreſſing and concealing it (*b*); a caution which ſaved him for a while, and broke the force of a blow aimed againſt him by the Court about two months after the death of Lord Ruſſel. For though, upon an examination before the Privy-Council, he was committed on the third of Auguſt to the Gate-houſe [*F*], yet he was preſently

with this remark. ‘ If I have broke any rules in repeating that great man's private diſcourſe, now it is ‘ done I cannot help it. But I ſay, let his integrity ‘ be known, and ſpeak as loud as his blood cries. ‘ And I am ſure they that would ſtifle that man's honour would ſtifle his death (6).’

[*D*] *He was made domeſtic chaplain to Lord Ruſſel.*] The exact time of this appointment, which we are told by our author's friend proved to the mutual ſatisfaction of both parties, is not mentioned by that friend. Perhaps it might be about the time of Mr Johnſon's preaching his ſermon againſt Popery before the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen at Guildhall-chapel, on Palm-Sunday 1679. This diſcourſe was printed the ſame year, and appears again at the head of his Second five years Struggle againſt Popery, publiſhed in 1689, preſently after the Revolution; whereby he plainly intimates, that his firſt five years ſtruggle had it's æra in that diſcourſe (7). Accordingly, he tells us in another place (8), that he threw away his liberty with both hands and with his eyes open for his country's ſervice, ſome years before it was taken away from him [in 1683].

[*E*] *Julian the Apoſtate.*] The deſign of this piece * in general was to expoſe the doctrines of Paſſive-Obedience and Non Reſiſtance, which were carried at this time to an extravagant height, and to ſhew the great difference between the caſe of the primitive Chriſtians, who had the laws againſt them, and ours, who have the laws on our ſide. Dr Hickes, in a ſermon preached before the Lord-Mayor in 1681, which was publiſhed this year, had inculcated the Court-doctrine in the ſtrongeſt terms; and being reputed one of the moſt learned divines of the time, Mr Johnſon thought proper to ſingle out this champion in particular, and the laſt chapter in his treatiſe is employed in anſwering the Doctor's ſermon. Beſides the two perſons mentioned in the text, our author's book was attacked, (1.) By Mr Tho. Long B. D. Prebendary of Exeter, in his *Vindication of Primitive Chriſtianity in point of Obedience to their Princes, againſt the calumnies of a book intituled,* The Life of Julian the Apoſtate, *written by* Ecobolius *the Sophiſt*. Lond. 1683, 8vo. (2.) By an anonymous author, in *Some Remarks upon a late popular piece of nonſenſe, called Julian the* Apoſtate, &c. *Together with a Vindication of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, againſt many impudent Calumnies, fooliſh Arguments, falſe Reaſonings, impoſed upon the Public from ſeveral ſcandalous and ſeditious pamphlets, eſpecially from one more notorious and generally virulent than the reſt, intituled,* A Tory Plot, Lond. 1682, in a thin folio (9). (3.) By the author of *The Triumph of Chriſtianity: or,* The Life of F. Julian the Apoſtate: *With Remarks contained in the Reſolution of ſeveral Queries. To which are added, Reflections upon a pamphlet called,* Seaſonable Remarks on the Fall of the Emperor Julian: *And on part of a late pernicious book, intituled,* A ſhort Account of the Life of Julian, &c. Lond. 1683, 8vo (10). The firſt of theſe anſwerers (11), as well as Dr Hickes (12), charged our author with receiving large contributions in the compiling of his book, from Mr Tho. Hunt, who publiſhed *An Argument for the Biſhops Right in judging in capital Cauſes in Parliament* †: *With a Poſtſcript for rectifying ſome Miſtakes in ſome of the inferior Clergy, miſchievous to our Government and Religion.* Lond. 1682, 8vo This charge, which is no where denied by Mr Johnſon, receives ſome countenance from a paſſage in one of his treatiſes, where he writes thus. ‘ *Armorum quædam ſunt tuitionis pacis, &c.* ſays Bracton. The people of England have weapons for ‘ keeping the peace, but our peaceful clergy knew a ‘ better way, and beat all our weapons into plough- ‘ ſhares and pruning-hooks: and when Mr Hunt and ‘ I endeavoured to reſtore them to their former ‘ lawful ſhape and uſe, they ſaid we had been down ‘ at the forges of the Philiſtines, and dealt with Jeſuits; and Dr Pelling (13) could ſhew ſome pages, ‘ which Mr Hunt had plundered out of Doleman (14), ‘ though I verily believe what he told me, that he had ‘ never ſeen the book (15).

[*F*] *He was committed cloſe priſoner to the Gate-houſe.*] He was examined by the Lord-Keeper North upon theſe two points, (1.) Whether he was the author of a book called *Julian's Arts and method to undermine and extirpate Chriſtianity?* To which having anſwered in the affirmative, he was interrogated, Why, after that book had been ſo long entered at Stationers-Hall, it was not publiſhed? To which he replied, That the nation was in too great a ferment to have the matter further debated at that time. Upon this he was commanded to produce one of theſe books to the Council, and if they approved it it ſhould be publiſhed. But he anſwered, he had ſuppreſſed them himſelf, ſo that they were now his own private thoughts, for which he was not accountable to any power on earth. The Council diſmiſſed him at that time, but ſent for him twice afterwards, preſſed the ſame thing upon him, and received the ſame anſwers; for which they ſent him preſently to the Gate-houſe by the following commitment.

‘ *Sir Leoline Jenkins, Knight, one of His Majeſty's moſt* ‘ *honourable Privy-Council, and Principal Secretary* ‘ *of State.*

‘ *Whereas Samuel Johnſon, Clerk, hath (as appeareth by information upon oath) cauſed three thouſand* ‘ *copies of a certain book, called* Julian's Arts to extirpate and undermine Chriſtianity, &c. *to be printed,* ‘ *in order to the publiſhing thereof: and the ſaid Samuel Johnſon confeſſeth, that he was the author thereof, and had the ſaid three thouſand copies or thereabouts in his cuſtody, and hath delivered the ſame to a* ‘ *friend to be kept, until he ſhall ſee it fit time for the* ‘ *publiſhing thereof; and refuſeth upon his examination* ‘ *to produce any of the ſaid printed copies, or to diſcover* ‘ *where and in whoſe cuſtody the ſame are. And* ‘ *whereas it is juſtly ſuſpected that the ſaid book is a* ‘ *treaſonable book, and intended to be publiſhed at ſuch* ‘ *time or times as it ſhall be of dangerous conſequence to* ‘ *the public peace to do it: Theſe are therefore, in His* ‘ *Majeſty's name, to will and require you to take the* ‘ *body of the ſaid Samuel Johnſon into your cuſtody in* ‘ *His Majeſty's priſon of the Gate-houſe, and him ſafely* ‘ *to keep there, until he diſcover the ſaid copies; to the* ‘ *end that if they be treaſonable, they may effectually be* ‘ *proceeded upon and ſuppreſſed, or be the ſaid Samuel* ‘ *Johnſon be otherwiſe delivered by due courſe of law.*

‘ *And*

(*f*) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 1002. where Mr Wood tells us, it was called by our author's party the impregnable bulwark of their cauſe.

(*g*) Id. ibid. col. 1003.

* Lord Ruſſel. See his article.

(*b*) It was probably by the ſame advice that he ſuppreſſed his Remarks on Dr Sherlock's Caſe of Reſiſtance, which was wrote this year, though not publiſhed 'till after the Revolution. Preface to that piece, in his Works, p. 237. firſt edit. 1710, folio.

(6) Notes on the Phœnix edition of the Paſtoral Letter, p. 313, 314. in Mr Johnſon's Works.

(7) April 27, 1679, the Commons paſſed a vote againſt the Duke of York's ſucceſſion, which was carried up by Lord Ruſſel to the Lords for their concurrence. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under the year 1679.

(8) Argument to prove the Abrogation of King James, &c. Ibid. p. 265.

* It is printed in his Works; the whole title is, Julian the Apoſtate, *being a ſhort Account of his Life, the Senſe of the Primitive Chriſtians about his Succeſſion, and their Behaviour towards him; together with a Compariſon of Popery and Paganiſm.*

(9) Mr Edward Meredith was the ſuppoſed author of this piece. Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 1064.

(10) This treatiſe was ſuppoſed to be written by Mr John Dowell of Chriſt's college in Cambridge. Id. ibid.

(11) In his epiſtle to the reader, prefixed to his Vindication, &c.

(12) Both in the preface to Jovian, and in the body of the book.

† See rem. [*I*], in the article of Denzil Lord Holles, whoſe firſt piece againſt the Biſhops Right, &c. was publiſhed in 1679, under the title of *Reaſons why Biſhops are not to judge in Parliament in Capital Caſes.*

(13) In his Proteſtant Apoſtate, &c. Lond. 1682. 4to.

(14) Parſon's book of the Succeſſion, &c. See his article.

(15) Notes on the Phœnix edition of the Paſtoral Letter, in our author's Works, p. 310.

ſently bailed thence by two of his friends (*i*), and all poſſible endeavours to diſcover and ſeize the copies of his book being fruſtrated, the Court was obliged to drop that proſecution [*G*]. But the matter did not reſt here; every attempt upon the Duke of York's ſucceſſion gave the King great uneaſineſs; a more effectual method was therefore taken with our author, and being brought to a trial in the King's-Bench for writing his book [*H*], he was there ſentenced February 11, 1683-4, to pay 500 marks for a fine to the King; to find ſureties for his good behaviour for a year; and to be committed to the priſon of the King's-Bench, 'till this be paid and done; his book was alſo ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman (*k*). Not being able to diſcharge his fine, he continued a priſoner. However, he ſoon obtained the Rules by the aſſiſtance of his friends (*l*), who likewiſe both relieved his neceſſities [*I*], and enabled him to print ſome pieces which he wrote againſt Popery in 1685, and to diſperſe ſeveral of them about the country at his own expence (*m*). Theſe were anſwered in three Obſervators by Sir Roger L'Eſtrange, who alſo diſcovering the Printer, ſeized all the copies that were found in his hands [*K*]. He perſevered

(*i*) Memorials, &c. p. 7.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 9. and Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 200. 2d edit. 1753.

(*l*) Two friends, probably the ſame as bailed him out of the Gate Houſe, gave a bond of 1000 l. and himſelf another of the ſame value. Notes upon the Phœnix edition of the Paſtoral Letter, p. 299. in our author's Works, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) See the next remark [*K*].

'*And for ſo doing this ſhall be your warrant. Given*
'*under my hand and ſeal at Whitehall the* 3d *day of*
'*Auguſt*, 1683, *in the thirty-fifth year of His Majeſty's*
'*reign.*

To Anthony Church, Keeper of His Majeſty's priſon at the Gate-houſe. L. JENKINS (16).'

(16) Memorials, &c. p. 6, 7.

[*G*] *After the ſtricteſt ſearch to no purpoſe, &c.*] To this end a meſſenger was ſent to ſearch the houſe, where, by the information, the copies lay, but miſſed them; which was the more extraordinary, becauſe, after the firſt ſearch, his friends apprehending a further enquiry, and not thinking them ſecure enough, removed them; and when the meſſenger ſearched again, he found the firſt place but miſſed the ſecond; after which they were removed to a third place in the ſame houſe, and upon a freſh ſearch the meſſenger found the ſecond place but miſſed the third. Thus diſappointed, recourſe was had to promiſes, and a conſiderable ſum, beſides the favour of the Court, was offered for one of the copies, to the perſon in whoſe hands they were ſuppoſed to be; which was refuſed (17).

(17) Ibid. p. 8.

[*H*] *Brought to a tryal for his firſt book.*] The general propoſition of this treatiſe, which has been already given, was certainly both defenſible in itſelf, and might have been defended without any danger, by carefully keeping within the bounds there mentioned. But ſuch a cautious proceeding neither ſuited Mr Johnſon's temper in general, nor his particular deſign in this attack. On the contrary, he took care, at the entrance in the preface, to inform his readers, that the book was written purpoſely to promote the bill of Excluſion, and does not ſcruple to charge all the oppoſers of that bill with a deſign of introducing Popery through the door of Paſſive-Obedience. It may be obſerved, that the Life of Julian was the ſecond attempt with his pen in his firſt five years ſtruggle, as he terms it, againſt Popery and Tyranny, wherein we have already ſeen him declaring, that he even courted danger, and run after it with both hands and with his eyes open (18). No wonder then that he met with it at length, however righteous his cauſe may now be thought, and that the proſecution was begun and carried on, as we are told it was (19), by the intereſt of the Duke of York. Upon the tryal, our author's Counſel, Mr Wallop (20), urged in his behalf, that he had offended againſt no law of the land; that the book taken together was innocent, but any treatiſe might be made criminal, if dealt with as thoſe who drew up the information had dealt with this. However, the ordinary courſe of the law was obſerved, and the information grounded, as uſual in ſuch caſes, upon ſome obnoxious paſſages extracted from the book. On the other hand, the Lord Chief-Juſtice Jefferies upbraided Mr Johnſon for meddling with what did not belong to him, and told him ſcoffingly, that he would give him a text, which was, *Let every man ſtudy to be quiet, and mind his own buſineſs.* To which Mr Johnſon replied, that he did mind his buſineſs as an Engliſhman when he wrote that book (21).

(18) In remark [*D*].

(19) Memorials, p. 8.

(20) Our author always retained a grateful ſenſe of this gentleman's kindneſs to him, and after the Revolution reproached the government for not making him a Judge. See preface to his Laſt Five Years Struggle, &c.

(21) Memorials, p. 9.

[*I*] *His friends relieved him.*] The Duke of Monmouth's rebellion proved of great ſervice to Mr Johnſon in this reſpect; ſeveral ſuſpected perſons being taken up and ſent to priſon on that occaſion, brought him good company. This was a lucky incident; for it was reckoned criminal at that time to viſit or ſhew him any kindneſs, ſo that few had courage to come near him or give him any relief, by which means he was reduced very low. About this time his mother, whom he had maintained for many years, ſent to him for ſubſiſtence; and ſuch was his filial affection, that though he knew not how to ſupply his own wants, and thoſe of his wife and children, and was told on this occaſion, that charity begins at home, he ſent her forty ſhillings, though he had but fifty in the world, ſaying, that he would do his duty and truſt Providence for his own ſupply (22). The event ſhewed, that his hopes were not in vain; for the next morning he had ten pounds ſent him by an unknown hand, which he afterwards knew to have come from Dr Edward Fowler, afterwards Biſhop of Glouceſter. And we ſhall ſee preſently (23), that, during this impriſonment, he received a much larger ſum from Dr Tillotſon. But the greateſt relief was ſupplied by Mr Hampden, who was in the ſame priſon the whole time of his confinement (24).

(22) Ibid. p. 10.

(23) In remark [*U*], note *.

(24) See the article HAMPDEN [JOHN].

[*K*] *Sir Roger L'Eſtrange ſeized all the copies, &c.*] The firſt piece in this collection was written in the beginning of the year 1685, when there was a project on foot for reconciling of the two Churches [of Rome and England]; but by this ſtandard of the true Proteſtant doctrine of the latter, any ſuch accommodation was ſhewn to be impoſſible. So far the advertiſement prefixed informs us. The title is, *The Church of England as by Law eſtabliſhed: Being the very Doctrine and expreſs Words of the Homilies againſt Popery* This was preſently followed by *Godly and wholſome Doctrine, and neceſſary for theſe Times: being the ſecond part of the Homily concerning the Holy Ghoſt, diſſolving this doubt, whether all Men may rightly challenge to themſelves the Holy Ghoſt or no?* The occaſion of writing this paper is likewiſe given in an advertiſement in theſe terms. 'I found it neceſſary to add this whole ſermon 'out of the Homilies to the former collection, leſt any 'Papiſt ſhould ſay that the former was weeded out of 'the Homilies, and that the tenor of them is not ſo 'oppoſite to Popery as the former collection would 'perſwade us.' The third piece, intituled *A Short Diſſuaſive from Popery, and from countenancing and encouraging of Papiſts*, was publiſhed immediately after the overthrow of the Duke of Monmouth, when the Proteſtant intereſt was at a very low ebb, and the Papiſts ſo inſolent with that ſucceſs, that there was great reaſon to uſe the utmoſt endeavours to hinder all unſteady and wavering Proteſtants from joining and complying with the then prevailing intereſt (25). Here, ſays Mr Johnſon, the Obſervator gave me a caſt of all his offices at once; for after (as ſuperintendant of the preſs) he had made a diſcovery where theſe three laſt papers were printed; in the ſecond place, as Juſtice of Peace, he forced James Aſtwood the Printer to take the oath *ex officio*, and to accuſe both himſelf as the Printer of them, and me as the author, who paid for printing of five thouſand of each, which he did by menacing him with going [being ſent] to Newgate; and by a horrid oath that he was the King's ſubject, and therefore he would make him to ſwear (26): and laſtly, as the mercenary ſcribbler of the Popiſh faction, who, under the countenance of a Church of England champion, was hired to prepare the way twice a week for Popery and ſlavery, he ſpent three virulent Obſervators upon them. 'The papers, continues our author (27), are able to ſpeak for themſelves; and as for his awkward way of wreſting and perverting them, it was ſufficiently expoſed by the following paper, which for that reaſon I took care to have every where poſted up. This laſt paper carried the following title, *A Parcel of wry Reaſons and wrong Inferences, but right Obſervator.*'

(25) This account, as well as the two former, is given in an Advertiſement prefixed by our author to the edition of them in his Second Five Years Struggle, &c.

(26) The oath *ex officio* was aboliſhed by a ſtatute in the preceding reign. See the General Hiſtories of England.

(27) See his Works, p. 143.

[*L*] *Several*

perſevered in printing occaſional pieces againſt the deſigns of King James II. to introduce Popery the following year [*L*]; and, upon the encampment of the army upon Hounſlow-heath, he drew up *An humble and hearty Addreſs to all the Engliſh Proteſtants in the preſent Army* [*M*]. He had diſperſed about 1000 copies of this paper, when the reſt of the impreſſion was ſeized, and himſelf put into cloſe cuſtody in order to his ſecond tryal at the King's-Bench [*N*]; where he was condemned to ſtand in the pillory in Palace-

[*L*] *Several pieces againſt the meaſures taken to introduce Popery the next year*] Theſe were, (I.) *An Oration of* John Hales * *to the Queen's Majeſty* [Queen Elizabeth], *and delivered to her by a certain Nobleman at her firſt entrance into her reign* This paper was publiſhed when the ſecond ſeſſion of the Packed-Parliament approached, which (ſays Mr Johnſon) was ſo unduly elected and returned, and had done and omitted ſuch things in the former ſeſſion, when the Popiſh party was not as yet ſo victorious and triumphant as now, that all manner of miſchief might reaſonably be expected from this ſeſſion. But in order to ſhew them the invalidity of their proceedings, in caſe they ſhould be to the prejudice of their country; and withal to give them a looking-glaſs of our own times, as well as to revive the memory of a Popiſh reign, to which miſery and calamity is always inſeparably united; I thought it much better to reprint this oration of Mr Hales, which anſwers all theſe purpoſes, than venture to write any thing of my own (28). At the opening of this ſeſſion it was imperiouſly demanded, that the ſtanding army ſhould be eſtabliſhed, and the militia diſſolved; the immediate conſequence whereof was the diſarming the nation, and expoſing it naked and defenceleſs to this army, which had then been our maſters by law. The Parliament, to their honour, continues Mr Johnſon, refuſed their concurrence to ſo deſtructive a deſign, though I had ſent very many members the beſt reaſons I could think of for their compliance with that demand; which are theſe that follow (29). (II.) *Several Reaſons for the Eſtabliſhment of a Standing Army, and diſſolving the Militia.* As this paper is ſhort, and undoubtedly paved the way for Mr Johnſon's third proſecution, we ſhall lay it before the reader as follows. (1.) ‘ Becauſe the lords-lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, and the whole militia, ‘ that is to ſay, the lords, gentlemen, and freeholders, ‘ of England, are not fit to be truſted with their own ‘ laws, lives, liberties, and eſtates; and therefore ‘ ought to have guardians and keepers aſſigned them. ‘ (2.) Becauſe mercenary ſoldiers, who fight for twelve ‘ pence a day, will fight better, as having more to ‘ loſe than either the nobility or gentry. (3.) Becauſe there are no Iriſh Papiſts in the militia, who ‘ are certainly the beſt ſoldiers in the world; for they ‘ have ſlain men, women, and children, by hundreds ‘ of thouſands at once. (4.) Becauſe the dragooners ‘ have made more converts than all the biſhops and ‘ clergy of France. (5.) The Parliament ought to ‘ eſtabliſh one ſtanding army at the leaſt, becauſe indeed there will be need of two, that one of them ‘ may defend the people from the other. (6.) Becauſe ‘ it is a thouſand pities that a brave Popiſh army ‘ ſhould be a riot, (7.) Unleſs it be eſtabliſhed by ‘ Act of Parliament, the Juſtices of Peace will be forced to ſuppreſs it in their own defence; for they will ‘ be loth to forfeit a hundred pounds every day they ‘ riſe, out of compliment to a Popiſh rout. 13 Hen. ‘ IV. c. 7. 2 Hen. V. c. 8. (8.) Becauſe a Popiſh ‘ army is a nullity. For all Papiſts are diſabled (and ‘ puniſhable beſides) from bearing any office in camp, ‘ troop, band, or company of ſoldiers; and are ſo ‘ far diſarmed by law, that they cannot wear a ſword, ‘ ſo much as in their own defence, without the allowance of four Juſtices of Peace of the county: and ‘ then upon a march they will be perfectly inchanted; ‘ for they are not able to ſtir above five miles from ‘ their own dwelling-houſe. 3 Jac. c. 5. Sect. 8, 27, ‘ 28, 29. 35 Eliz. c 2. 3 Jac. c. 5. Sect. 7. (9.) ‘ Becauſe perſons utterly diſabled by law are utterly ‘ unauthorized; and therefore the void commiſſions of ‘ killing and ſlaying in the hands of Papiſts, can only ‘ enable them to maſſacre and murder.’ After the Parliament was prorogued for their addreſs of the 17th of November, leaſt all Engliſh principles ſhould be forgotten in the intervals of Parliament, our author publiſhed a paper upon the following ſubjects. (III.) *Of Magiſtracy. Of Prerogative by Divine right. Of Obedience. Of Laws* †. About this time, Mr Johnſon not approving the method, taken by his brethren, in entering into the Popiſh controverſy, which he thought an ill judged ſubmiſſion, ſeeing Popery was proſcribed by the laws of the land upon the juſteſt reaſons, he therefore publiſhed thoſe reaſons in a paper, intituled, (IV.) *The Grounds and Reaſons of the Laws againſt Popery.*

[*M*] *An humble and hearty Addreſs to all the Engliſh Proteſtants, &c.*] This addreſs, which had ſo remarkable an effect upon that army, as well as upon the author of it, runs thus.

‘ Gentlemen,

‘ Next to the duty which you owe to God, which ‘ ought to be the principal care of men of your profeſſion (becauſe you carry your lives in your hands, ‘ and often look death in the face). The ſecond thing ‘ which deſerves your conſideration is the ſervice of ‘ your native country, wherein you drew your firſt ‘ breath, and breathed a free Engliſh air. Now I ‘ would deſire you to conſider how well you comply ‘ with theſe two main points, by engaging in this ‘ preſent ſervice.

‘ Is it in the name of God and for his ſervice that ‘ you have joined yourſelves with Papiſts, who will ‘ indeed fight for the Maſs-book, but burn the Bible, ‘ and who ſeek to extirpate the Proteſtant religion ‘ with your ſwords, becauſe they cannot do it with ‘ their own? And will you be aiding and aſſiſting to ‘ ſet up Maſs houſes, to erect that Popiſh kingdom of ‘ darkneſs and deſolation amongſt us, and to train up ‘ all our children in Popery? How can you do theſe ‘ things, and yet call yourſelves Proteſtants?

‘ And then what ſervice can be done your country, ‘ by being under the command of French and Iriſh ‘ Papiſts, and by bringing the nation under a foreign ‘ yoke? Will you help them to make forcible entry ‘ into the houſes of your countrymen, under the name ‘ of quartering, directly contrary to *Magna Charta* ‘ and the *Petition of Right?* Will you be aiding and ‘ aſſiſting to all the murders and outrages which they ‘ ſhall commit by their void commiſſions? Which ‘ were declared illegal, and ſufficiently blaſted by both ‘ Houſes of Parliament (if there had been any need of ‘ it); for it was very well known before, that a Papiſt cannot have a commiſſion, but by the law is utterly diſabled and diſarmed. Will you exchange ‘ your birthright of Engliſh laws and liberties for martial or club-law, and help to deſtroy all others, only ‘ to be eaten laſt yourſelves? If I know you well, as ‘ you are Engliſhmen, you hate and ſcorn theſe things. ‘ And therefore be not unequally yoked with *idolatrous* ‘ *and bloody Papiſts. Be valiant for the truth, and* ‘ *ſhew yourſelves men.*

‘ The ſame conſiderations are likewiſe humbly offered to all the Engliſh ſeamen, who have been the ‘ bulwark of this nation againſt Popery and Slavery ‘ ever ſince eighty-eight (30).

[*N*] *He was put into cloſe cuſtody in order to a tryal.*] About three or four days after Whitſunday, there came an order, which our author read, and ſaw was ſigned, to make him a cloſe priſoner, though he was in *arcta cuſtodia* before, wrongfully as he ſays, having purchaſed the rules, and given two thouſand pounds ſecurity. The Marſhal purſued this order, in removing him from one cloſe hole to another 'till he had almoſt ſtifled him, and perhaps, continues he, they intended to murder me by a ſide wind. ‘ I ſent him word by his Steward, who is ſtill living (31), that I had rather be ſhot than be ſo uſed. It coſt me two or three fees in motions at the King's-Bench-bar to have the liberty of the priſon, and that Counſel might come to me, beceuſe I had likewiſe notice of a tryal. But my friends above and the Court of King's-Bench were at that time of a mind, for the oppreſſion they laid on, the other would not take off (32).’ At his tryal, he made ſome exceptions againſt the information, and, among other things, that there was no averment of an army in it, and ſaid there could be no ſuch thing, becauſe it was contrary to the law of England. Whereupon, lace-yard Weſtminſter, Charing-croſs, and the Old Exchange (*n*); to pay a fine of 500 marks, and to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn (*o*). This ſentence was rigorouſly put in execution on the firſt of December, after he had been degraded and deprived by the Eccleſiaſtical Court [*O*]. He went through the whipping not only with firmneſs but alacrity [*P*]; and his degradation not being duly performed, he ſtill kept his Living [*Q*]; and his reſolution alſo to oppoſe the meaſures of the Court, againſt which he continued to exerciſe his pen, 'till the Revolution put an end to thoſe meaſures [*R*], and to his ſufferings. And preſently

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* Who had been Attorney General to King Henry VIII. and preſented the information in the King's-Bench againſt Cardinal Wolſey in 1539. Herbert's Hiſt. of Hen. VIII.

(28) Johnſon's Works, p. 144.

(29) Ibid. p. 151.

† This piece was printed in a ſingle ſheet, and was commonly called *The Chapters.* Ibid. p. 257.

(30) That is 1588, which year the Invincible Spaniſh armada, ſent to invade England, was deſtroyed by our fleet. General Hiſtory of England.

(31) This was written in the year 1694.

(32) Notes on the Paſtoral Letter, in his Works, p. 299.

(*n*) Or the Royal-Exchange according to Dr Birch, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) Memorials, p. 11. and Tillotſon's Life by Birch.

Whereupon, both the Attorney-General Sawyer and the Court of King's-Bench ſaid, that the camp at Hounſlow-heath was not an army, but only the King's guards. I replied, ſays he, that I thought they were too far off for guards, and in too great a number. To which the Lord Chief-Juſtice Herbert anſwered, that the King wanted a greater number to defend him from my papers. Our author obſerves alſo, that the Five diſpenſing Powers were firſt publiſhed at this tryal (33).

(33) Id. ibid. and p. 312.

[*O*] *After he had been degraded by the Eccleſiaſtical Court*] The Biſhop of London, Dr Compton, who was Mr Johnſon's dioceſan, being himſelf then under a ſuſpenſion (34), Dr Crew Biſhop of Durham, Dr Sprat Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Dr White Biſhop of Peterborough, Commiſſioners for the dioceſe of London, performed this ceremony on the 2d of November, in the Chapter houſe of St Paul's church, where Dr Sherlock and other clergymen attended. But Dr Stillingfleet, then Dean of St Paul's, refuſed to have any hand in it. Mr Johnſon's friend already mentioned tells us, that his behaviour on this occaſion was ſo becoming that very character his enemies would have deprived him of, that it melted ſome of their hearts, and forced them to acknowledge there was ſomething very valuable in him. Among other things which he ſaid to the divines then preſent, he told them in the moſt pathetic manner, *It could not but grieve him to think, that ſince all he had wrote was deſigned to keep their gowns on their backs, they ſhould be made the unhappy inſtruments to pull off his*; *and begged them to conſider, whether they were not making rods for themſelves*. When they came to the formality of putting a Bible in his hand and taking it from him again, he was much affected, and parted from it with difficulty, kiſſing it, and ſaying with tears, that *they could not however deprive him of the uſe and benefit of that ſacred depoſitum* (35).

(34) For diſobeying the King's orders to ſuſpend Dr Sharp, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, for a ſermon preached by him at his pariſh church of St Giles's in the Fields. General hiſtories of England under the year 1686.

(35) Memorials, p. 12.

[*P*] *He bore the whipping with firmneſs and alacrity*] He obſerved afterwards to one of his moſt intimate friends, that this text of ſcripture, which came ſuddenly into his mind, *He endured the croſs and deſpiſed the ſhame*, ſo much animated and ſupported him in his bitter journey, that had he not thought it would have looked like vain-glory, he could have ſung a pſalm while the executioner was doing his office, with as much compoſure and chearfulneſs as ever he had done in the church, though at the ſame time he had a quick ſenſe of every ſtripe, which was given him with a whip of nine cords, knotted to the number of 317. This was the more remarkable in him, becauſe he had not the leaſt tincture of enthuſiaſm. There is no good reaſon to call in queſtion the teſtimony here given of Mr Johnſon's fortitude on this occaſion by his intimate acquaintance; and the obſervation is very conſiſtent therewith, that he was endued with a natural hardineſs of temper to a great degree, which being inſpirited by an eager deſire (as appears from his own account) to ſuffer for the cauſe he had eſpouſed, ſeems to be the ground-work of that Chriſtian-like behaviour; neither does this truth furniſh any excuſe for the ſcoffs which were thrown upon him by his enemies, and even by the King himſelf, at this juncture. Of which we have the following ſtory. A Popiſh Prieſt, 'tis ſaid, made an offer, for two hundred pounds, to get the whipping part of the ſentence remitted: the money was lodged by one of Mr Johnſon's friends for the Prieſt, if he performed what he undertook. The man uſed his endeavours, but to no purpoſe, for the King was deaf to all intreaties; the anſwer was, *That ſince Mr Johnſon had the ſpirit of martyrdom, 'twas fit he ſhould ſuffer* (36).

(36) Id. ibid.

[*Q*] *His degradation not being duly performed, he ſtill kept his living*] The defect lay in omitting to ſtrip him of his caſſock. So that when Mr Berrow, who was preſented February 4, 1686-7, by his Majeſty to the living, applied to the forementioned Biſhops for inſtitution; they being ſenſible of the omiſſion, told him he ſhould have it, if he could get two Common Lawyers and two Civilians to give it under their hands that Mr Johnſon was legally degraded, and thereby deprived. The Clerk brought them the hand of one inconſiderable Common Lawyer, that the degradation and deprivation were both good. But the Civilian to whom he applied was more modeſt, and only ſigned a paper with his opinion, that if Mr Johnſon was legally degraded, he was *ipſo facto* deprived. But this not proving ſatisfactory to the three Biſhops, Mr Berrow was obliged to give them a bond of 500 l. to indemnify them, before they would grant him inſtitution. Having received it, he went to Corringham for induction; but Mr Johnſon's pariſhioners oppoſed him, ſo that he could never get entrance, and was obliged to return *re infecta*. This was very extraordinary in his pariſhioners, conſidering the violence of the times. But it proceeded from their great reſpect to him, and experience of his goodneſs; for no miniſter was ever more obliging to his people than he, who was ſo far from exacting upon them, that he would rather quit his own right, than be any ways grievous to them: of which there is one remarkable inſtance among many others. One of his neighbours owing him 20 l. upon bond, and falling afterwards into low circumſtances, Mr Johnſon was adviſed to put the bond in execution, while ſomething was to be had; but he abſolutely refuſed it, and choſe rather to loſe the money, ſaying, *That no man's ruin ſhould lye at his door* (37). In confirmation of what is thus alledged by his friend, we ſhall inſert the following paſſage from his notes on Biſhop Burnet's Paſtoral Letter. When our author's proſecution lay before the Parliament after the Revolution, that prelate, it ſeems, ſent to him not to name perſons. 'I know, ſays Mr Johnſon, the language 'of that day was don't ſmut, that is, let the oppreſſors 'of your country and of you eſcape ſcot free. I gave 'an Engliſh reply to that meſſage, *Let him mind his 'buſineſs, I will mind mine*. His Bookſeller, Mr 'Chiſwell, by whom I had the meſſage, ſeemed loth 'to carry him that blunt anſwer. Oh, ſaid I, he has 'got the title of a Lord lately, I muſt qualify my an'ſwer; *Let him pleaſe to mind his own buſineſs, I will 'mind mine*. But, continues he, the Biſhop was mi'ſtaken in his man all over, for it was always in my 'nature, even to a fault, to ſpare every body; Sir 'Roger L'Eſtrange knows it, and many a man beſides, 'notwithſtanding very great provocations. And I 'have been ſo far from rigour all my life, that I never 'ſued any man, though I have loſt ſcores of pounds 'by it, which I have ſince known the want of (38).'

(37) Ibid. p. 13.

(38) Notes to the Paſtoral Letter, ubi ſupra, p. 318.

[*R*] *He continued to write 'till the Revolution put an end to thoſe meaſures.*] Before he was out of the Surgeon's hands for the wounds in his back, he reprinted three thonſand copies of his compariſon of Popery and Paganiſm (39); however, theſe were not then publiſhed (40). But not long after, the ſmart of his whipping being over, about the time of the general Toleration, he publiſhed, *The Trial and Examination of a late Libel, entituled*, A New Teſt of the Church of England's Loyalty; *with ſome Reflections upon the additional Libel, entituled*, An Inſtance of the Church of England's Loyalty. This was followed by *The Abſolute Impoſſibility of Tranſubſtantiation demonſtrated*; and in April 1688 came out a third piece, intituled, *The Way to Peace amongſt all Proteſtants. Being a Letter of Reconciliation ſent by Biſhop Ridley to Biſhop Hooper* †; *with ſome Obſervations upon it*. This paper was licenſed in July following, but the impreſſion ſeized ſoon after, by an order from Lord Sunderland Secretary of State. However, he went on; and upon iſſuing out writs in September for a new Parliament, he wrote a paper, which was publiſhed and diſperſed by the care and at the charge of his good friend (ſo he calls) Mr Gee *, under the following title: *A Letter from a Freeholder to the reſt of the Freeholders of England, and all others who have Votes in the choice of Parliament-*

(39) They had been printed before at the end of Julian the Apoſtate.

(40) His Works, p. 169.

† This letter is tranſcribed from the Book of Martyrs, Vol. III. in Hooper's Life. In the Obſervations, Mr Johnſon's opinion coincides with that of Archbiſhop Sancroft in the expediency of making ſome conceſſions to the Nonconformiſts. See Sancroft's article.

* Ibid. p. 210.

preſently afterwards, he collected all the papers he had publiſhed during his laſt impriſonment of five years and ten days, and republiſhed them under the title of *A ſecond five years Struggle againſt Popery and Tyranny.* This was followed by two pieces in vindication of the reſiſtance uſed in bringing about the Revolution [*S*]; and the proceedings againſt him in the preceding reign being reverſed by Parliament, June 11, 1689 [*T*], the Houſe of Lords preſented two addreſſes to King William the ſame year, recommending our author to preferment *(p)*. Accordingly the rich deanery of Durham was offered him not long after, but he refuſed it, as an unequal reward for his ſervices; and finding himſelf unable to obtain his expectations of an Engliſh biſhopric, he changed his ſollicitations that way into one for a penſion [*U*]. Whereupon the King granted him 300 l. a year out of the Poſt-

Parliament-Men. This year he likewiſe wrote the two following practical diſcourſes, of which the latter was then publiſhed, under the title of *Religion founded upon a Rock, or the eternal Obligation of being religious. In a Diſcourſe on* 1 *Tim. i.* 17. The other intituled, *The True Mother-Church, or a ſhort Practical Diſcourſe upon Acts ii. concerning the firſt Church at Jeruſalem.* To theſe he afterwards added a paper, ſhewing that *Reſiſtance may be uſed, in caſe our Religion and Right ſhould be invaded* (41), the whole impreſſion of which had been ſeized, together with that of his *Humble and Hearty Addreſs* &c. And, ſoon after the Revolution, collecting all that he had written from the time of his impriſonment in 1683, he publiſhed the whole under the title mentioned in the text, and dedicated it to King William.

[*S*] *Two pieces in vindication of the Reſiſtance, &c.*] Theſe were, (1.) *Remarks upon Dr Sherlock's book, intitled,* The Caſe of Reſiſtance of the Supreme Power ſtated and reſolved, according to the Doctrine of the Holy Scripture. This piece was written in the year 1683, ſoon after Dr Sherlock's book came out. But Mr Johnſon now prefixed a preface †, wherein, among other things, he maintains that King William was not only a *rightful* King, but the *rightfulleſt* King that ever ſat upon the Engliſh throne; and in the concluſion he animadverts upon a piece intitled, *The Magiſtracy and Government of England vindicated,* then lately publiſhed, in defence of the proceedings againſt Lord Ruſſel; wherein he obſerves, from the inſtance of Lord Delamere ‖, that a conſult to levy war is not an overt-act of compaſſing the King's death, as that author had aſſerted. (2.) *Reflections upon the Hiſtory of Paſſive Obedience.* Some Remarks having been publiſhed upon the preface to his former piece, he takes notice of them in the concluſion of this, but treats them with contempt, declaring they were not worthy of an anſwer.

[*T*] *The proceedings againſt him in the preceding reign were reverſed.*] The Parliament taking Mr Johnſon's caſe into conſideration, reſolved, June 11, 1689, ‘ That the judgment againſt him in the King's-Bench, upon an information for a miſdemeanor, was cruel and illegal.’ A committee was at the ſame time appointed to bring in a bill for reverſing that judgment; and being alſo directed to enquire how Mr Johnſon came to be degraded, and by what authority it was done, Mr Chriſty the Chairman, ſome days after, reported his caſe to this purpoſe. ‘ That in Trinity-term 1686, an information was exhibited againſt Mr Johnſon, in the name of Sir Robert Sawyer Attorney-General, for writing a ſcandalous and ſeditious libel, intituled, *An humble and hearty Addreſs,* &c. That the ſame term they forced him to plead, got a jury to find him guilty, and Sir Francis Withens pronounced the following ſentence upon him: *To pay five hundred marks to the King, and to lye in priſon 'till it was paid; to ſtand thrice in the pillory, in the Palace-yard, at Charing-croſs, and at the Old-Exchange; and to be whipped by the common hangman from Newgate to Tyburn.* That the Judges then in Court were the Lord Chief-Juſtice Herbert, Sir Francis Withens, Sir Robert Wright, and Sir Richard Holloway. That apprehending it would be a ſcandal to have ſo infamous a puniſhment inflicted on a miniſter, they deſired Mr Johnſon might be firſt degraded: in order to which, being a priſoner in the King's-Bench in the dioceſe of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, he was ſummoned to appear the 20th of November in the Convocation-houſe of St Paul's, in the dioceſe of London, his living being within that dioceſe, and brought thither by *habeas corpus,* where he found the Biſhops of Durham, Rocheſter, and Peterborough, Commiſſioners to exerciſe the juriſdiction of the Biſhop of London during his ſuſpenſion, with ſome clergymen and many ſpectators: a libel was exhibited againſt him, charging him with great miſbehaviours, though none were ſpecified or proved. That Mr Johnſon demanded a copy of the libel and an advocate, both which the Biſhops denied him, and immediately proceeded to ſentence; *That he ſhould be declared an infamous perſon; that he ſhould be deprived of his Rectory; that he ſhould be a meer layman and no clerk; and be deprived of all right and privilege of prieſthood; that he ſhould be degraded thereof, and of all veſtments and habits of prieſthood.* Againſt which proceedings Mr Johnſon proteſted, as contrary to law and the 132d canon, not being done by his own dioceſan; but his proteſtation was refuſed, as was alſo his appeal to the King in Chancery. After which they proceeded to degrade him, by putting a ſquare cap on his head, and then taking it off; by pulling off his gown and girdle, which he demanded as his proper goods bought with his money; and they promiſed to ſend them to him, but he could not get them 'till he paid twenty ſhillings. Then they put a Bible into his hands, which he not parting with readily, they took it from him by force. That on the 22d of November, the judgment in the King's Bench began to be executed with great rigour and cruelty. That Mr Rouſe the Under-Sheriff tore off his caſſock (42) on the pillory, and put a frize coat upon him. That he was whipped with a whip of nine cords knotted, which was ſhewn to the Committee. That Mrs Johnſon had alſo an information exhibited againſt her for the like matter as that againſt her huſband. On all which the committee came to the following reſolutions, which, on the report, were all agreed to by the Houſe. *That the judgment againſt Mr Johnſon was illegal and cruel: that the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion was illegal, and conſequently the ſuſpenſion of the Biſhop of London, and the authority committed to the three Biſhops null and illegal: that Mr Johnſon not being degraded by his own dioceſan, if he had deſerved it, was illegal: and that an addreſs be made to his Majeſty to recommend Mr Johnſon to ſome Eccleſiaſtical preferment ſuitable to his ſervices and ſufferings.* The Houſe likewiſe ordered, that in the ſaid bill the proceedings upon the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion ſhould be declared void (43).

[*U*] *He turned his ſollicitations into one for a penſion.*] He found a friend on this occaſion in Lady Ruſſel, who made uſe of the influence ſhe had with Dr Tillotſon; whereupon, the Dean having ſpoken to the King about it in the beginning of September this year, acquainted her Ladyſhip therewith, informing her at the ſame time how it was received by his Majeſty, ‘ who, ſays he, ſeemed well inclined to what I moved ‘ for Mr Johnſon, but did not poſitively determine to ‘ take that courſe (44).’ Not ſatisfied with this attempt, the reſult of which was not indeed very hopeful, he reſolved to make a ſecond puſh; to which purpoſe he writes again to her Ladyſhip in a few days, as follows (45). ‘ I was not at Hampton-Court laſt ‘ Sunday, being almoſt tired out with ten weeks at‘ tendance, ſo that I have had no opportunity to try ‘ further in the buſineſs I wrote of in my laſt, but hope ‘ to bring it to ſome iſſue the next opportunity I can ‘ get to ſpeak with the King.’ The Dean proceeds in theſe terms. ‘ I am ſorry to ſee in Mr Johnſon ſo ‘ broad a mixture of human frailty with ſo conſiderable ‘ virtues. But when I look into myſelf, I muſt think ‘ it pretty well, when any man's infirmities are in any ‘ meaſure overballanced by his better qualities. This ‘ good man I am ſpeaking of has at ſome times not ‘ uſed me very well *, for which I don't only forgive ‘ him, when I conſider for whoſe ſake he did it, but ‘ do heartily love him.’ According to his promiſe, the Dean applied again to his Majeſty the Sunday following, the ſucceſs of which he acquainted Lady Ruſſel with in a letter dated September 24, 1689 (46). ‘ I mentioned Mr Johnſon again, ſays he, but his Ma‘ jeſty put on other diſcourſe; and my Lord Privy-

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(p) The votes paſſed unanimouſly, and in their addreſs it was ſaid, that his paper to King James's army was a public ſervice, which the nation enjoyed the benefit of to that day. Notes on the Phœnix edition of the Paſtoral Letter, ubi ſupra.

(41) This was wrote in defence of Lord Ruſſel's opinion againſt Dr Tillotſon's paper, delivered to that Lord after his condemnation. See Tillotſon's article.

† And a dedication to his late patron's ſon, Wriotheſly Lord Ruſſel.

‖ Who, when by levying war he had the late King [James] in his power at Whitehall, was ſo far from compaſſing his death, that he only delivered him a meſſage to remove in peace.

(42) He had ſtill a right to wear this. See remark [*Q*].

(43) Memorials, p. 15, 16.

(44) This letter of the Dean to Lady Ruſſel is dated at Edmonton September 10, 1689.

(45) In a letter dated London September 19, 1689.

* The Dean ſent him 30 l. while he was a priſoner, and tho' his neceſſities forced him to accept the money, yet he did it with an air of the utmoſt contempt. Life of Tillotſon, p. 201.

(46) This, as well as the two preceding letters, were in the poſſeſſion of Dr Gibſon late Biſhop of London, and communicated to Dr Birch. See his Life of Dr Tillotſon, p. 198, 203, and 209. 2d edit. 1753.

Poſt-office, for his own and his ſon's life, with 1000 l. in money, and a place of 100 l. a year for his ſon (q). Thus gratified, he continued to employ his pen in defence of his Majeſty's title to the Crown, and in 1692 publiſhed his famous tract, intituled, *An Argument proving that the Abrogation of King James by the People of England from the Royal Throne, and the Promotion of the Prince of Orange, one of the Royal Family, to the Throne of the Kingdom in his ſtead, was according to the Conſtitution of the Engliſh Government, and preſcribed by it. In oppoſition to all the falſe and treacherous Hypotheſes, of Uſurpation, Conqueſt, Deſertion, and of taking the Powers that are upon content* [W]. His enemies were ſo much enraged at this piece, that preſently after the publication of it, an attempt was made

‘ Seal told me yeſterday morning, that the King thought it a little hard to give penſions out of his purſe inſtead of Church preferments; and tells me Mr Johnſon is very ſharp upon me; his Lordſhip called it railing; but it ſhall not move me in the leaſt. His Lordſhip aſked me, whether it would not be well to move the King to give him a good biſhopric in Ireland, there being ſeveral void? I thought it very well, if it would be acceptable. His Lordſhip ſaid, that was all one, the offer would ſtop many mouths as well as his, which I think was well conſidered.’ In the poſtſcript to this letter he writes thus. ‘ If Mr Johnſon refuſe this offer, and it ſhould be my hard fortune not to be able to get out of this difficulty (47)—I know one that will do more for Mr Johnſon than was deſired of the King, but ſtill as from the King for any thing that he ſhall know. But I hope ſome much better way will be found, and that there will be neither occaſion nor opportunity for this.’ We have obſerved above, that he had raiſed his expectations to a biſhopric in England, and this laſt letter of Dr Tillotſon's confirms it; and all the three letters ſhew, that his ambition therein was neither favoured by Lady Ruſſel nor the Dean. With regard to the Dean's ill uſage by Mr Johnſon mentioned in theſe letters, it muſt be obſerved, that our author at this very time had publiſhed his Five Years Struggle, &c. wherein having inſerted a piece in anſwer to Dr Tillotſon's paper delivered to Lord Ruſſel a little before his death, prefixed to it an advertiſement, which begins thus. ‘ *At the ſame time* (48) *almoſt the whole impreſſion of the following paper fell into their hands, which was not intended to be publiſhed at that time, but was laid up againſt a time of need. It was written long before, in vindication of Lord Ruſſel, of ever bleſſed memory, whoſe opinion it was, and from whom it could not be wreſted at his death.* The wretched author of all our miſeries, and the everlaſting enemy of his country, knows very well at what diſadvantage that great lord was taken, when he was practiſed upon to retract that opinion, and to bequeath a legacy of ſlavery to his country. But *they* made their aſſaults againſt a rock, and there were no earnings made of that ſtate-trick to uphold their bloody tyranny (49).’ In theſe laſt words Dr Burnet is coupled with Tillotſon, both being employed on that occaſion *; and the former ſeems to have been the chief inſtrument of our author's diſappointment in his views of a biſhopric. At leaſt Mr Johnſon lays it at that Biſhop's door, in his notes on the Phœnix edition of the Paſtoral Letter (50); where, after having handled him very ſeverely in the coarſeſt language, he proceeds thus. ‘ I have taken this freedom with the Biſhop of S——, becauſe he has taken a great latitude with me, and has given me out for a madman above theſe four years.—It is an ugly imputation if it be but laid upon a dog, becauſe of the ill conſequence of it, for it amounts to the knocking out of his brains; but it is ſtill worſe to place it upon a man, becauſe it makes a fool of all his wiſeſt diſcourſe; for if they diſlike any thing he ſays, they have authority to call it raving; and if they like it, it ſhall only have the allowance of lucid intervals. Beſides, it effectually ruins all a man's preferment, becauſe it unqualifies him, whereby his poſterity ſuffers for it to the end of the world. So that the mad man fares worſe in that caſe than the mad dog, becauſe the imputation never affects his breed.’ After all, our author's chief enemy was himſelf; to give him a caſt of his own language, ‘ he ſtood in his own light with his eyes open.’ Accordingly, his diſappointment is obſerved to be the effect of his own temper and conduct. For with very good abilities, conſiderable learning, and great clearneſs, ſtrength, and vivacity of ſentiment and expreſſion, of which his writings are a ſufficient evidence, whereof his few ſermons are equal in their kind to his other performances; and with a firmneſs of mind capable of ſupporting the ſevereſt trials for any cauſe, the truth or importance of which he was convinced of; he was paſſionate, impatient of contradiction, ſelf-opinionated, haughty, and apt to over-rate his own ſervices and undervalue thoſe of others, whoſe advancement above himſelf was an inſupportable mortification to him. The roughneſs of his temper and turbulency of his genius rendered him alſo unfit for the higher ſtations of the Church, of which he was immoderately ambitious; as well as his freedom in delivering his ſentiments with relation to all ſubjects and perſons without management or decorum, a liberty which he often exerciſed even in the Court itſelf; where he publickly ſaid, that upon the principle of Kings being accountable only to God, the Rump-Parliament had done right to ſend King Charles I. to him. Thus writes Dr Birch (51). But the remark bottoms upon a better authority. We have Mr Johnſon's own word for it. Speaking of the times immediately after the Revolution, ‘ I was ſo intent, ſays he, upon the public welfare, and ever inclined to give that the precedence, that I could not ſnatch and catch at the advantages of a Revolution, as others did, to whom they were not due; but when my friends urged me to mind my own buſineſs, my conſtant anſwer was, that it would keep cold: I have reaſon to remember it, continues he, becauſe an honeſt yonker in my own houſe has ſince upbraided me, that my buſineſs has catched cold (52).’

[W] *An argument proving that the abrogation of King James, &c.*] Mr Hampden's account of this piece has been already taken notice of in another place (53). That gentleman highly extols the learning and ſtrength of reaſoning therein; and after him, Mr Johnſon's other friend, ſo often mentioned in this memoir, aſſerts the ſame thing (54), both deſervedly enough. But neither of them thought fit to take notice, that their common friend charges all thoſe who differed from him with being influenced by ſelf-intereſt againſt the dictates of their conſcience, in taking the oaths to the new government, which he even inſinuates, was done with a treacherous deſign to undermine it, and reinſtate King James. So ſevere a reflection muſt unavoidably create him numerous enemies; and as the opinions, which he ſets himſelf ſo rudely to expoſe, were maintained by ſeveral divines of the firſt claſs, it is the leſs wonder that he never got any preferment in the Church. His laſt mentioned friend indeed, willing to throw a veil over his other foibles, puts this as the only block that lay in his road thereto, and tells us withal, that theſe enemies repreſented him as a republican, for maintaining that King James was dethroned for male-adminiſtration, and that King William and Queen Mary were ſet up in his ſtead by authority of Parliament (55). If ſo, he was evidently miſrepreſented; for the argument, which ſtands at the head of the reſt in this treatiſe, is built upon a declaration of the Lords and Commons, 10 Rich. II. in their meſſage to that King then at Eltham; wherein having put the caſe of the ſovereign's arbitrary government in violation of the laws and ſtatutes, they conclude in the following terms, that *Ex tunc licitum eſt eis, communi aſſenſu & conſenſu populi regni, ipſum Regem de regali ſolio abrogare, & propinquiorem aliquem de ſtirpe regia loco ejus in regni ſolio ſublimare.* From thenceforward it is lawful for them, with the common aſſent and conſent of the people of this realm, to depoſe the King from the regal throne, and to promote ſome kinſman of his of the royal family to the throne of the kingdom in his ſtead. Accordingly, we find our author both here and elſewhere careful not to omit King William's claim by propinquity of blood, in conjunction with his parliamentary right.

[*X*] *An*

(q) Memorials, p. 17.

(47) That is, not to avoid the archbiſhopric of Canterbury. Concerning which ſee his article.

(48) That the addreſs to King James's army was ſeized.

(49) Johnſon's Works, p. 161.

* Dr Birch thinks it probable that neither of them then underſtood the caſe of Reſiſtance ſo well as Mr Johnſon did. Life of Tillotſon, p. 114.

(50) Ibid. p. 319.

(51) Life of Tillotſon, p. 201, 202.

(52) Notes on the Paſtoral Letter, p. 319.

(53) In the article of John Hampden, remark [*K*].

(54) Memorials, p. 16, 17.

(55) Ibid.

made to murder him [*X*]. But he eſcaped, though narrowly, with his life, and continued writing in the ſame cauſe as long as his health would ſuffer him [*Y*]. However, he grew uneaſy at ſome meaſures taken by the adminiſtration, became a grumbler toward the latter end of his life [*Z*], and concurred with the Tories. His laſt things were publiſhed in 1697

[*X*] *An attempt to murder him.*] To this end ſeven aſſaſſins broke into his houſe in Bond-ſtreet very early in the morning, and five of them, with a lanthorn, got into his chamber, where he, with his wife and young ſon, were in bed. Mr Johnſon was faſt aſleep, but his wife being awaked by their opening the door, cried out thieves, and endeavoured to awake her huſband. The villains in the mean time threw open the curtains; three of them placed themſelves on that ſide of the bed where he lay with drawn ſwords and clubs, and two ſtood at the bed's feet with piſtols. Mr Johnſon ſtarted up, and endeavouring to defend himſelf from their aſſaults, received a blow on the head, which made him fall backward. His wife cried out with great earneſtneſs, and begged them not to treat a ſick man with ſuch barbarity; upon which they pauſed a little, and one of the miſcreants called to Mr Johnſon to hold up his face; which his wife begged him to do, thinking they only deſigned to gag him, and that they would rifle the houſe and be gone. Upon this he ſat upright, when one of the rogues cried, Piſtol him for the book he wrote, which diſcovered their deſign; for it was juſt after the publiſhing of the book concerning the abrogation of King James. Whilſt he ſat upright in his bed, one of them cut him with a ſword over the eye-brow, and thoſe at the bed's feet preſented their piſtols at him; but upon Mrs Johnſon's paſſionate intreaties they went off, without doing him further miſchief, or rifling the houſe. A Surgeon was immediately ſent for, who found two wounds in his head, and his body much bruiſed. However, with due care he recovered (56).

[*Y*] *He continued writing as long as his health permitted.*] Theſe are, (1.) *An Eſſay concerning Parliaments at a certainty; or the Kalends of May.* This tract is addreſſed to the Parliament; which having been then continued above three years, our author puts them in mind, was not agreeable to the old conſtitution of the realm, and that intermiſſions by prorogation were inconſiſtent therewith. A new Parliament was anciently called every year upon the kalends of May. In the concluſion, he makes the following pathetic complaint of the ill ſtate of his health. And thus, ſays he, I have finiſhed what I at firſt propounded; but under ſuch difficulties and diſadvantages of a broken health, as I do verily believe never book was written. Upon which account he recommends the further proſecution of this ſubject to the learned and curious in antiquities. (2.) *Notes upon the Phœnix edition of the Paſtoral Letter.* The book ſignified by this deſcription was publiſhed about a week after the Paſtoral Letter was burnt by order of Parliament (57), January 24, 1692. Mr Johnſon, in his preface, gives the following account of it, and of his motive for anſwering it. ‘ When I underſtood, ſays he, that by the author's direction the Paſtoral Letter was to be reprinted in the ſelf ſame ſeſſion of Parliament which cenſured it, partly out of a juſt diſdain that an Engliſh Parliament ſhould be treated with ſuch contempt by an inmate, and partly out of an indignation that *that* phial of miſchief ſhould be again poured forth upon the nation, I promiſed that if it were reprinted, I would beſtow notes upon it, hoping thereby to put a ſtop to that intended inſolence. But a week after, out comes the ſly counterfeit, as like the other as they could make it, with a falſe date and a dead man's name to it; and I have in part been as good as my word.' (3.) *A Confutation of a late pamphlet, intituled,* A Letter, ballancing the Neceſſity of keeping a Land-force in time of Peace, with the dangers that may follow it. The argument urged for keeping a ſtanding army being grounded upon the danger of an invaſion, our author obſerves, that this argument is fitted only to arbitrary government, where the people have no liberties to defend. And, ſays he, though the Engliſh have now ſquabbles and differences among themſelves, yet a common cauſe aud a common enemy always reconciles and unites them, and as looſe as the ſtones may ſeem to be, let but an invaſion come, and that will find mortar. This was firſt printed in 1697; and ſeveral anſwers to it preſently appearing, our author replied in a piece, intituled, *A Second Part of the Confutation of the Ballancing Letter, being an occaſional Diſcourſe in vindication of* Magna Charta. To this treatiſe the editor has added in an appendix, the Capitula, or articles on which the Magna Charta of King John was formed, the original of which, with King John's ſeal to it (58), was found in the ſtudy of Dr Warner Biſhop of Rocheſter, and afterwards came into the hands of Dr Burnet, Biſhop of Saliſbury, at the time of this publication. A copy in French, or old Norman, of the Magna Charta of King John compleat, which agrees with the Latin one, printed in Matth. Paris. Both the Capitula and Charter at large are likewiſe tranſlated into Engliſh.

[*Z*] *He was a grumbler to the latter end of his days.*] Mr Johnſon began to expreſs his private reſentments ſo early as the firſt year of the Revolution, when he thought himſelf injured by not being the firſt priſoner that felt the fruits of it, as he was the eldeſt of all thoſe that lay upon a public account in England; and I thought, ſays he, a thankſgiving deliverance from Popery and Slavery would have reached me in the firſt place by ſeniority (59). We find him afterwards upon the ſame topic expreſſing himſelf thus. ‘ *Perhaps it may be thought, that in theſe papers I have mingled very much of my own private reſentments together with public matters; to which I have only this to ſay,* Is there not a cauſe (60)?' And what that cauſe was appears in the body of the piece, where, having made very free with his antagoniſts, eſpecially Burnet and Sherlock, he proceeds to defend that freedom as follows. ‘ Perhaps, ſays he, ſome of our fools think that great men ought not to be ſo treated, but let them and their great men know, that I am in the way of writing; and there, he is the greateſt man that has the beſt arguments; and beſides, that greatneſs does not lie in actual preferments (for that is ſtill but like uſurpation), but in having moſt right to them; and in doing (for I will not mention my ſufferings by their barbarous hands) more for my country than they were able to do againſt it. But I will recount no more of their merits, leaſt I ſhould make them ſtill greater men, which is no part of my intention.' He concludes with applying the ſtory of the conteſt between Moſes and the Magicians of Egypt to his own caſe, as follows. ‘ In ſhort, ſays he, the Magicians of Egypt were in Pharaoh's project for the perpetual ſlavery of the Iſraelites, and uſed all their ſkill for that purpoſe; but Moſes's ſerpent was the maſtering ſerpent, and deſtroyed theirs; and therein, though not in places, he was greater than all the Magicians of Egypt; and again he was the greater in this, that what he did tended to the deliverance of an injured and oppreſſed people, which likewiſe enſued; whereas, their buſineſs was to lock them faſt in the houſe of bondage (61).' But theſe clamorous railings, on account of his perſonal diſappointments, are not intended by the character of a grumbler, ſo much as his murmurings againſt the adminiſtration with regard to the public, which had as early an epocha as the former. The truth is, they ſeem to be joint-twins born together, and nouriſhing each other. Thus, for inſtance, we find him complaining of the long continuance of King William's ſecond Parliament in theſe terms. ‘ I was afraid, ſays he, that this government ‘ would float and move upon the face of the waters, 'till we were at a certainty about our Parliaments; and therefore, when I waited upon my Lord ‘ Devonſhire before the coronation, I ſaid that we ‘ were never the better for this revolution 'till we had ‘ a ſettlement of Parliaments; and our ancient right ‘ was anniverſary Parliaments, and that nothing elſe ‘ could ſet the government to rights.' He afterwards obſerves, that when Mr Johnſton, the then preſent Secretary of State for Scotland, told him in the Court of Requeſts, that the bill of Rights was going up to the Houſe of Lords, he wiſhed at that time that all our rights were reduced to one line, which was our right to have a Parliament every kalends of May. ‘ I tell ‘ theſe old ſtories, continues he, to ſhew that I was ‘ always of the ſame mind, and that no Court neglects ‘ nor diſappointments have altered me. For I am ‘ ſure

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(56) Ibid. p. 18.

(57) See Biſhop Burnet's article.

(58) It is cited by our author in his firſt Confutation, p. 333. in his Works.

(59) An Argument to prove the Abrogation of King James &c. In his Works, p. 265.

(60) Preface to Notes on the Paſtoral Letter. Ibid. p. 295.

(61) Notes on the Phœnix edition of the Paſtoral Letter, ubi ſupra, p. 311.

1697 (r). He had been declining ſeveral years before (s); and at length, ſinking under his diſorder, he gave way to fate about the month of May 1703 (t). In 1710, the pieces already mentioned were publiſhed in one folio volume, under the title of *The Works of the late Reverend Mr* Samuel Johnſon, *ſome time Chaplain to the Right Honourable* William Lord Ruſſel. This collection contained alſo *Several Diſcourſes upon Practical Subjects*; preached no doubt at his rectory of Corringham, that being the only Church preferment he ever had (u). The 2d edition of his Works came out in 1713, in folio.

‘ ſure I laid the bridge that brought them over, and ‘ am pretty certain they did not come hither in virtue ‘ of Paſſive Obedience (62).’ Notwithſtanding what is here inſinuated, we have already ſhewn in this remark, that one of theſe Court neglects was actually put upon him as early as his firſt conference here mentioned with my Lord Devonſhire, and that he then reſented it. Accordingly, we find him a few years after complaining, that men of no principles at all, and ſuch alſo as had voted againſt the Convention-bill for placing King William in the throne, were preferred and employed in the adminiſtration (63). Preſently after this, we find him in the ſame ſtrain, murmuring againſt the continuation of the war, eſpecially by land, and taking the Dutch to our aſſiſtance againſt the French, and particularly againſt a ſtanding army; whereupon he obſerves, that the fourth part of the Petition of Right was ſpent againſt billeting of ſoldiers (64). In the ſame ſpirit we ſee him pouring forth all his artillery in 1697 againſt a ſtanding army, and the great favours ſhewn to the Dutch. Upon which ſubject, ſpeaking of the ſcheme for a general naturalization of that people, in anſwer to the ſeveral arguments produced for it, he takes notice of that drawn from gratitude to the Dutch in two expreſs treatiſes, who, it was urged, ought to ſhare in the advantages of England, ſince they bore ſo great a ſhare in preſerving them for us, and in giving us, ſays he, our preſent King. That is a debt I confeſs, continues he. which will be always paying and never paid, though the people have requited him with three kingdoms, the greateſt recompence upon earth! He maintains alſo, that the grant of this privilege to any foreigners was againſt *Magna Charta*, the great charter of our rights and liberties, which every man ought to know, and which, upon that account he ſuggeſts, ought (as by ſeveral ſtatutes it was firſt ordered) to be publickly read in all Cathedrals twice a year, and then the breakers of it to be excommunicated, and their excommunication denounced in all pariſh churches (65). P

JONES [Inigo (a)], the celebrated Architect, was born about the year 1572, in the neighbourhood of St Paul's in London, of which city his father, Mr Ignatius Jones, was a Citizen and Clothworker. Nothing certain being delivered concerning his education, ſome very different conjectures have been advanced upon that ſubject [*A*]. But in whatever way he was bred, his natural inclination leading him to the ſtudy of the arts of drawing and deſigning, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf early by the extraordinary progreſs he made in thoſe polite and uſeful arts, and was particularly taken notice of for his ſkill in the practice of Landſkip painting. Theſe admirable talents introduced him to the knowledge of William Earl of Pembroke (b), who, admiring his genius, took him into his patronage, and ſent him abroad with a handſome allowance, in order to perfect himſelf, by viewing and ſtudying the works of the beſt maſters ancient and modern, in Italy and the politer parts of Europe. Thus ſupported, he ſpent many years in compleating his education; to which end, chuſing the city of Venice for the chief place of his reſidence, he ſuffered nothing of real value or merit any where to eſcape his induſtry; and the improvements he made thereby gave ſuch an eclat to his reputation all over Europe, that Chriſtian IV. King of Denmark ſent for him thence, and appointed him his Architect-General (c). He had enjoyed this poſt ſome years, when that prince, whoſe ſiſter Anne had married King James I, made a viſit to England in 1606 (d). Mr Jones took this opportunity of returning home; and expreſſing a deſire to continue in his native country, the Queen appointed him her Architect; and being not long after taken in the ſame character into the ſervice of Prince Henry, he diſcharged his truſt with ſo much fidelity and judgment, that the King gave him the reverſion of the place of Surveyor-General of his Works (e). After the death of Prince Henry in 1612, our architect made a ſecond tour to Italy, and continued ſome years there, improving himſelf ſtill further in his favourite art (f), 'till the Surveyor's place fell to him. He then returned to England to enrich his country with the fruits of his ſtudies (g). Soon after his arrival, the office of Works being found ſeveral thouſand pounds in debt, he voluntarily gave up his own dues, and prevailed with the Comptroller and Paymaſter to do the like, whereby the whole arrears were abſolutely cleared (h). In 1620, by the King's command, he took an accurate ſurvey of the ſurpriſing group of ſtones upon Saliſbury-Plain, commonly called Stone-Henge, and drew up an account with his opinion of that famous monument of antiquity, which he preſented to his royal maſter [*B*]. And on the 16th of November the ſame year, he was appointed, among

[*A*] *Different conjectures about his education.*] The author of his life ſays, it had been ſuggeſted, that his education was liberal, and that he laid the firſt foundations of his future knowledge in the univerſity of Cambridge; but, continues he, there ſeems to be no other ground for this ſuppoſition, than a bare conjecture (1). On the other hand, Sir Chriſtopher Wren uſed to ſay, he was bound apprentice to a Joiner; which is the more probable, as his vindicator Mr Webb had thought proper to throw a veil of abſolute ſilence over this part of his life.

[*B*] *He preſented his opinion of Stone-Henge to his Majeſty.*] The King, in his progreſs this year, called at Wilton, the ſeat of the Earl of Pembroke; which being near Stone-Henge (2), the diſcourſe, among other things, turned upon that famous relique of antiquity. Hereupon, our architect, who was well known to have ſearched into antique buildings and ruins abroad, being ſent for, received his Majeſty's commands, to produce, out of his own practice in architecture and experience in antiquities, what poſſibly he could diſcover concerning this of Stone-Henge. In obedience to this command, he preſently ſet about the work; and having, with no little pains and expence, taken an exact meaſurement of the whole, and diligently ſearched the foundations, in order to find out the original form and aſpect, he proceeded to compare it with other antique buildings which he had any where ſeen abroad; and after much reaſoning and a long ſeries of authorities, he concludes at laſt, that this among others, a Commiſſioner for repairing the cathedral of St Paul in London *(i)*. Upon the demiſe of King James, he was continued in his poſts by King Charles I. whoſe

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(r) See remark [*Y*].

(s) See remarks [*X*] and [*Y*].

(t) Salmon's Hiſtory and Antiquities of York.

(u) Memorials, p. 3.

(62) Eſſay concerning Parliaments at a certainty. In his Works, p. 293.

(63) An Argument proving the Abrogation, &c. p. 270.

(64) Notes on the Phœnix edition, &c. paſſim.

(65) Confutation of the ballancing Letter, p. 336, 338.

(a) This name being in Spaniſh the ſame with Ignatius in Latin, has occaſioned a conjecture, that, as his father was a conſiderable dealer in the woollen manufacture, ſome Spaniſh merchant might probably be his godfather. Life of Inigo Jones, prefixed to his *Stone-Henge* reſtored. Lond. 1725, 2d edit. folio.

(b) Ibid. N. B. His Lordſhip was a great patron of all liberal ſciences; beſides our author, he ſupported in his travels, in 1626, Mr (afterwards Sir) Tho. Herbert, who attended King Charles I. in the laſt two years of his life. Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 690, & ſeq.

(c) Webb's Vindication of Stone-Henge reſtored, p. 119. edit. 1725, folio.

(d) His Majeſty arrived here July 7th that year. Salmon's Chronological Hiſt. p. 52. col. b. edit. 1723, 8vo. He made a ſecond viſit in July 1614. Ibid. p. 55. col. b.

(e) Webb's vindication, ubi ſupra.

(f) See Notes to Palladio's Architecture, printed in Leoni's edition of that work in 1742. Mr Webb tells us, that our architect ſpent his eſtate as well as his time among the Romans [in Italy]. Vindication, p. 120.

(g) Ibid. p. 119.

(h) Ibid. The debt was contracted through extraordinary occaſions in his predeceſſor's time, and the Privy-Council acquainted him that the Exchequer was empty and the workmen clamorous.

(1) Life of Inigo Jones, prefixed to his Stone-Henge reſtored, fol. 1.

(2) This ſeat is four miles both from Saliſbury and Stone-Henge.

this ancient and ſtupendous pile muſt have been originally a Roman temple, inſcribed to *Cœlus* the ſenior of the heathen gods, and built after the Tuſcan order. That it was built when the Romans flouriſhed here in peace and proſperity in Britain, and probably betwixt the time of Agricola's government and the reign of Conſtantine the Great, about 1650 years ago. The reaſons upon which he endeavours to ſupport this opinion are theſe:

Firſt, That the Romans were, and no other nation could be, founders of Stone-Henge, he argues from, 1. The magnificence. 2 The order. 3. The architectonical ſcheme. 4. The double portico in the greater circle of ſtones, and another portico in the cell or hexagon. 5. The manner and poſition of the columns of the building. And 6. From the Roman reliques frequently found near the place.

Secondly, that it was a temple, he infers from, 1. The interval or ſpacious court round about. 2. The cell and it's porticoes. 3. The altar, and it's poſition eaſtward. 4. The intermixture of orders. 5. The aſpect of the whole fabric. And 6. From the ſkulls of beaſts, as bulls, &c. digged up in the circumjacent ground.

Thirdly, That this temple was inſcribed to the God Cœlus, he concludeth from, 1. The ſituation, in an open plain country. 2. The aſpect *Hypæthros*, i. e. roofleſs. 3. The manner or form, viz. a circle ſurrounding a hexagon. 4. The order. 5. The decorum or ſtructure. 6. The pyramidal figure of the ſtones. 7. From the kinds of beaſts cuſtomarily offered in ſacrifice to that deity.

However, upon the whole, he pretends not to any abſolute deciſive evidence, but leaves the matter as a ſubject worthy of further enquiries. This opinion of our author lay by him in rude notes, imperfectly methodized, 'till his death; when, coming into the hands of his relation Mr John Webb, of Botleigh in Somerſetſhire, that gentleman, at the deſire of Dr William Harvey the celebrated Phyſician, Mr Selden, and other learned Antiquaries, perfected and publiſhed them a few years afterwards in folio, under the following title, *The moſt notable Antiquity of Great-Britain, vulgarly called Stone-Heng on Saliſbury-Plain, reſtored. Lond.* 1655. This book, of which only a few copies were printed (3), was generally approved by the Antiquaries. But Dr Walter Charlton, Phyſician to King Charles II. being diſſatisfied with it, ſent it to the famous Olaus Wormius in Denmark, who returned his ſentiments in ſeveral letters to his correſpondent. The doctor, being perſwaded that the antiquity was of Daniſh extraction, attempted a refutation of Mr Jones's opinion, which he printed in 1663 in 4to. intitled, *Chorea Gigantum, or the moſt famous Antiquity of Great-Britain, vulgarly called Stone-Heng, ſtanding on Saliſbury-Plain, reſtored to the Danes.* This diſcourſe was generally exploded by the learned in theſe things, and Mr Webb publiſhed, in anſwer to it, *A Vindication of Stone-Heng reſtored; in which the Orders and Rules of Architecture obſerved by the ancient Romans are diſcuſſed: together with the Cuſtoms and Manners of ſeveral Nations of the World in matters of building of the greateſt Antiquity; as alſo an Hiſtorical Narration of the moſt memorable Actions of the Danes in England. Lond.* 1655, *in folio.* Theſe three diſcourſes of Mr Jones, Dr Charlton, and Mr Webb, being grown very ſcarce, were reprinted together at London, 1725, folio. The two laſt pieces are both addreſſed to King Charles II. who, as Dr Charlton there obſerves, after his defeat at Worceſter, while he lay concealed at Heale near Saliſbury, made a viſit to this monument, and ſpent many hours together in viewing it. His Majeſty, however, was not ſatisfied, it ſeems, with any of theſe accounts; and in his return from Bath in 1665, happening to meet Mr Aubrey at Stone-Henge, and converſing with him upon it, was better pleaſed with his opinion in aſcribing it to the Druids. In confirmation whereof, that gentleman receiving, 'tis ſaid, the royal commands for the purpoſe, wrote his *Monumenta Britannica: or, A Diſcourſe concerning Stone Henge*, &c. and this ſentiment has been ſince embraced and further confirmed by Dr William Stukely, who, having very diligently examined this and other works of the like nature in the iſland for many years together, publiſhed a treatiſe, entitled, *Stone Henge, a Temple, reſtored to the Britiſh Druids.* Lond. 1740, in folio. That learned author obſerves, that the utmoſt account we have in writing of theſe temples, of which Stone Henge is the lateſt, comes from the ancient Britons, the remains of the people who lived here at the times of the Roman invaſion; that the oldeſt Britons ſpeak of it only by tradition, far above all memorial; and wondering at the ſtupendous work, were as far to ſeek about the founders and intent of it then as we are now; and therefore (as was uſual with them) had recourſe to magic for it's original. After the Reformation, the curious began to conſider it more intimately, though not ſucceſsfully. Mr Camden expreſsly declares he was able to give no good account of it. After him Mr Jones gave, in 1620, his opinion of it as a Roman work, and left, ‘I ſuppoſe, continues this author, ſome few indigeſted notes in writing thereupon. From which his ſon-in-law (4), John Webb, compoſed an entire treatiſe, endeavouring to prove it. But they that are acquainted with Roman architecture, or have conſidered Stone-Henge, muſt needs be of a different opinion. And as my Lord Bp of London well obſerves (5), It cannot be ſafe to cloſe with Mr Jones, tho' his book otherwiſe be a learned and ingenious piece.” Inigo Jones lived 30 years after this, and yet Mr Webb makes an apology for his work, that if he had ſurvived to have done it with his own hand, it would have been better. But 'tis very reaſonably believed, that though Inigo Jones was an extraordinary genius in architecture, yet he wanted many qualifications for an author, eſpecially in ſuch a work as Stone-Henge. 'Tis my opinion, that had his architectonic ſkill been united to Mr Camden's learning, he could never have demonſtrated Stone-Henge to be a Roman work. Afterwards, Dr Charlton publiſhed a piece againſt Webb's performance, and certainly has ſaid enough to overthrow it, though he could not with equal ſucceſs eſtabliſh his own opinion, that it was the work of the Danes. Whereas, Olaus Wormius finds no ſuch monuments among the Gothic nations, which, as Mr Toland (6) obſerves, is anſwer ſufficient to his allegation. Webb anſwered the doctor's book, and by turns effectually demoliſhed his opinion, but could not ſtill vindicate his own. Yet from all their diſputations, no ſpark was ſtruck towards a diſcovery of the real truth. What is the worſt part in both performances of Mr Webb, his repreſentation of the real monument in his drawings is fictitious; and, as Mr Aubrey rightly obſerves, in endeavouring to retrieve a piece of architecture in Vitruvius, he abuſes the reader with a falſe repreſentation of the whole. It requires no great pains to prove this, nor need we take much time to be ſatisfied in it: the work is ſtill extant. As ſoon as a judicious eye comes upon the ſpot, it ſees that Webb's equilateral triangles forming the cell are imaginary; that his three entrances a croſs the ditch are ſo too, and that he has turned the cell a ſixth part from it's true ſituation, to favour his imaginary hypotheſis. That the cell or adytum, inſtead of a hexagon, forms a beautiful oval, and conſiſts of 40 ſtones, and not 30, as Mr Webb has given them, whoſe calling it a Roman work, compoſed from a mixture of the plainneſs and ſolidneſs of the Tuſcan order with the delicacy of the Corinthian; that in aſpect they are *dipteros hypæthros*; and that in manner 'tis *pychoſtoles*; when applied to our antiquity, is no better than playing with words (7).’ The doctor proceeds to ſupport his own opinion by the following arguments. (1.) From the prodigious number of theſe kind of buildings, from the Land's end in Cornwall to the utmoſt northern promontory in Scotland, where the Roman power never reached. That they are to be found in all the iſlands between Scotland and Ireland, Iſle of Man, all the Orkney iſlands, &c. and numerous in Ireland itſelf (8). (2.) Whatever is dug up in or near theſe works, are manifeſtly remains of the Druid times, urns, bones, ornaments of amber, glaſs beads, ſnake-ſtones, amulets, celts, flint-hatchets, arrow heads, and ſuch like. (3.) That there are many barrows or graves about them, over one of which runs the *Via Iceniana* (9), and conſequently was raiſed before that

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(i) Dugdale's Hiſtory of St Paul's Cathedral, p. 135, 136, firſt edit. in 1658. folio.

(3) Several of them were alſo deſtroyed in the Fire of London. Jones's Life, ubi ſupra.

(4) This is a miſtake, for he was no more than a diſtant couſin. See remark [*G*].

(5) In his notes on Camden's Britannia,

(6) In his Hiſtory of the Druids.

(7) Stone-Henge, a Temple, &c. p. 2, 3.

(8) Toland, p. 23. relates, that in Gealcopa's mount in Iniſoen in the county of Donnegal, a Druideſs of that name lived; it ſignifies white-legged; on that hill is her grave and her temple, a ſort of diminutive Stone-Henge, which the old Iriſh at this day dare not any way profane.

(9) A ſimilar proof to this is fetched by him from the Roman road from Marlborough in Wiltſhire to Bath. See his Abury, &c. Lond. 1723, folio.

whoſe conſort alſo entertained him in the like ſtation *. And he ſoon after formed that moſt ſtately and elegant pavilion, the Banquetting-houſe at Whitehall, which was at firſt deſigned for the reception of foreign Ambaſſadors [*C*]. Several other deſigns of his, executed in this reign, are taken notice of below [*D*]. In 1633, he began the reparations of St Paul's cathedral (*k*); and, in carrying them on, he added a magnificent portico at the weſt end, which excited the envy of all Chriſtendom on his country, for a piece of architecture not to be parallelled in modern times (*l*) [*E*]. While he was raiſing theſe

* Webb, where laſt cited.

(*k*) The order for it was ſent to him June 26, 1633, and it was begun ſoon after at the eaſt end, the firſt ſtone being laid by Dr Laud then Biſhop of London, and the fourth by Mr Jones. Dugdale's Hiſtory of St Paul's, &c. p. 142. 2d edit. 1716, folio.

(*l*) Webb, ubi ſupra, p. 27.

Roman road. (4.) That Stone-Henge was built before the boundary called Wanſdyke was made by the Belgæ, and probably before the Belgæ ſet footing in Britain; as appears from the barrows, which no doubt were the burial places of Kings and great men. (5). That the proportions of Stone-Henge falling into fractions, when meaſured by the Engliſh, French, Roman, or Grecian foot, ſhew, that the architects were neither Engliſh, French, Romans, or Greeks; and that the ſame proportions, when meaſured by the Phœnician cubit, producing always whole numbers, is an undeniable proof that it was built by that cubit (10). Upon the whole, he concludes, from the elegant and magnificent ſtructure of Stone-Henge, that it was the temple of the Arch-Druid, as the metropolitical church of the chief Druid of Britain; the *Locus Conſecratus* (11), where they met at ſome great feſtivals in the year, as well to perform the extraordinary ſacrifices and religious rites, as to determine cauſes and civil matters. That it was built by the deſcendants of thoſe Phœnicians, who probably came hither under the conduct of the Tyrian Hercules, in or about the time of the Patriarch Abraham, and built this temple about the year of Rome 280, that is, about 460 years before Chriſt, and 420 years before Cæſar invaded Britain. Whence he obſerves, that as the Wanſdyke north of Stone-Henge was made about 100 years before Chriſt by Divitiacus, who drove the poſſeſſors of this fine country of the Wiltſhire-Downs northwards; ſo the Druids enjoyed their magnificent work of Stone-Henge but about 360 years (12). To conclude, it is remarkable, that almoſt all the different inhabitants of our iſland have had their advocates in claiming the honour of this antiquity. Mr Samms, in his Britannia, will have the ſtructure to be Phœnician; Mr Jones and Mr Webb believe it to be Roman; Mr Aubrey thinks it to be Britiſh; Dr Charleton derives it from the Danes. And yet, if the true old writing of the name be STAN-HENGEST, as the Monaſticon ſeems to tell us, I cannot ſee, ſays Biſhop Nicholſon, why the Saxons may not have as juſt a title as any. At laſt, Dr Stukely begins the round again, and maintains with Mr Samms that it is of Phœnician original.

[*C*] *The Banquetting houſe at Whitehall.*] The cieling was painted ſome years after with the felicities of King James's reign by Sir Peter-Paul Rubens, and prints from theſe by Simon Gribelin were publiſhed in 1724. The late Lord Burlington, about the year 1740, publiſhed *A North-weſt View of the Palace deſigned for Whitehall by Inigo Jones* (13) where this pavilion appears in it's proper place as part of that palace. In which, among other moſt beautiful drawings, there is ſeen a noble circular portico, the firſt hint whereof might perhaps be ſuggeſted by the circular portico in Stone-Henge. But to underſtand this, it muſt be obſerved, that Stone-Henge conſiſts of an outward circle, 60 cubits in diameter, wherein are ſet 30 ſtones, each 9 cubits high and 4 cubits broad, with an interval of two cubits between; and over each upright ſtone lies another of $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubit thick. At 5 cubits diſtance from this exterior circle within, there is another, whoſe radius from the common center of the work is 24 cubits, wherein are placed 40 ſtones at equal diſtances, each a cubit thick, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ in height; ſo that between theſe two circles there is a circular walk 300 foot in circumference. Whence it appears, that the circular portico in the deſign for Whitehall bears a reſemblance to this. But to finiſh the deſcription of Stone-Henge. Within the portico, i. e. within the inner circle, at 10 cubits diſtance, ſtand 5 *trilithons*, i. e. a compages of 3 ſtones, two uprights, with a third upon the top as an impoſt. Theſe are ſet with ſuitable intervals between them, nearly in the form of a ſemi-oval, and by Dr Stukely called the *cancelli*, becauſe within them, at a leſſer diſtance, ſtand 19 leſſer upright ſtones, nearly in the ſame oval form, but leſſer; within which, near the upper end, lies a large ſingle ſtone, flat, ſuppoſed to be the altar; the whole being called by Webb the *cell*, by Stukely the *adytum*, or the *ſanctum ſanctorum*; and from this adytum the Doctor imagines, that Inigo Jones projected the plan of the Surgeons theatre in London, a fabric for ſeeing and hearing, continues he, much admired by all good judges, and which my Lord Burlington, out of a ſpirit truly noble, and a great love for the architect's memory, has lately repaired at his own charges and with excellent ſkill. I find the Surgeons theatre, or rather amphitheatre, is formed from the ſame proportions as our adytum, the tranſverſe and conjugate diameters being as 4 to 3, viz. 40 foot and 30 foot. And this appears to me a ſtrong preſumption that Inigo Jones did not make the ground-plot of Stone-Henge publiſhed under his name (15).

[*D*] *Several other deſigns are taken notice of below.*] Beſides Surgeons-Hall already mentioned, we owe to Mr Jones the Queen's Chapel at St James's palace, and her Majeſty's new buildings fronting the gardens at Somerſet-houſe in the Strand (16). The church, and piazza of Covent-Garden; the firſt of which is univerſally allowed to be a maſter piece of the Tuſcan order, the portico at the weſt end, majeſtic in it's plainneſs, and the roof ſo happily contrived, by extending itſelf beyond the wall, as both to caſt a ſhade, which adds to the ſolemnity of the ſacred edifice, and at the ſame time ſerves to ſtrengthen the wall, by reſting thereon in it's center of gravity. In the laſt performance he had in view the piazza of Leghorn, but has vaſtly ſurpaſſed the original in the beauty and largeneſs of his pillars. Our architect alſo laid out the ground-plot of Lincoln's inn-fields (17), and deſigned the Duke of Ancaſter's houſe, which ſtands on the weſt ſide of that noble ſquare, and which is no inconſiderable inſtance of the *ſoftneſs* and *ſweetneſs* of his touches. The royal chapel at Denmark-houſe, and the King's houſe at Newmarket, and the Queen's buildings at Greenwich, were alſo of his deſign (18). But it is not in our power to deſcribe the number, or form a judgment upon the excellence of all his buildings; views of ſeveral of them may be ſeen in Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, to which we muſt be content to refer the reader.

[*E*] *Portico at the weſt end of St Paul's.*] This portico conſiſted of ſolid walls on each ſide, with rows of Corinthian pillars ſet at diſtance from the walls within to ſupport the roof (19). The whole was built at the expence of King Charles I (20), who adorned it alſo with the ſtatues of his royal father and himſelf. The intention of it was to be an ambulatory for ſuch as uſually, by walking in the body of the church, diſturbed the ſolemn ſervice in the choir (21). Mr Jones was not a little proud of this portico, at leaſt if thoſe are indeed his words which we read in his *Stone-Heng reſtored*; where, in anſwer to Mr Camden's wonder by what means ſuch huge ſtones as thoſe of Stone-Henge were ſet up, having mentioned much larger ſtones raiſed by the Ancients, he cloſes the paragraph as follows: ' Had I not been thought worthy (by ' him who then commanded) to have been ſole Archi' tect thereof, I would have made ſome mention of ' the great ſtones uſed in the work and portico at the ' weſt end of St Paul's church London, but I forbear; ' though in greatneſs they were equal to moſt in this ' antiquity [Stone-Henge], and raiſed to a far greater ' height than any there (22).' To this we ſhall add a remark of Mr Webb's, which may help to form ſome idea of the extraordinary expence and magnificence of this portico. He is handling the objection of his antagoniſt, that Stone-Henge could not be a Roman work, becauſe the diminiſhing of the ſtones was not equal in all as in Roman columns. Mr Webb admitting that inequality, anſwers thus, ' Do not we find that the Ro' mans upon occaſion, in one and the ſame temple, ſome' times diminiſhed the pillars, ſometimes the pylaſters, ' not in regard of the thruſt at the angles? and might ' not theſe then in our antiquity be diminiſhed more ' or leſs in regard of ſome preſſing neceſſity, ſome vent ' or

(10) This cubit was the ſame with the Hebrew and Egyptian, containing $20\frac{4}{5}$ inches Engliſh meaſure. See Greaves's Roman Foot, &c. and Arbuthnot of Coins, &c.

(11) It is ſo called by Cæſar in his Commentaries, B. G. VI. 13.

(12) Our author raiſes this opinion upon the rule of the variation of the compaſs, laid down by Dr Halley, who viſited Stone-Henge in 1720, and brought a piece of the ſtone to the R. S. which was examined by our author; to whom the doctor gave it as his opinion, that Stone-Henge might be 2 or 3000 years old. Stone-Henge, a Temple, p. 5 and 65.

(13) This view is what is called a bird's eye proſpect, or as it is ſeen by a bird in flying over it; by which artifice all the parts are brought diſtinctly into view.

(14) At the other end the oval is not encloſed with ſtones.

(15) Stone-Henge, a Temple, &c. p 25.

(16) See a deſcription of them in Mr Waller's poem to the Queen on that ſubject.

(17) Dr Stukely ſays this was laid out by the Egyptian cubit. Stone-Henge, a Temple, &c. p. 6, 7.

(18) Webb's Vindication, &c. p. 119.

(19) Ibid. p. 59.

(20) The King built all, but CHARLES built the weſt end. Waller, in his poem on his Majeſty's repairing St Paul's.

(21) Dugdale's Hiſtory of St Paul's, p. 143.

(22) Stone-Henge reſtored, &c. p. 24.

theſe noble monuments of his extraordinary genius as an Architect, he employed his leiſure hours in deſigning decorations for dramatic entertainments; and there appeared a fine intermixture of fancy and judgment in his pompous machinery of maſques and interludes, which were the vogue in his time [*F*]. By theſe means he acquired a handſome fortune

'or flaw in an architrave, or the like? Stones, I will tell you, for ſuch uſe, which in all columnations is the principal bearing, and of ſuch mighty ſcantlings, are not eaſily to be come by; a crack in an upright ſtone may be of no imminent danger, when a vent in an architrave may ruin the whole pile, and bring down all on a ſudden. *Had he known what ſearch was made in the royal quarries of Portland, for to find out an architrave for the middle inter-column of the portico at the cathedral of St Paul, which is in length not fully twelve foot, he would never have made this objection* (23). And (continues this author) I wiſh it may not be found, that by the thruſting up of thoſe ſacrilegious buildings, to obſcure purpoſely that kingly work (24), that architrave is prejudiced; *which if it be, ſuch a ſound and ſolid ſtone, for that uſe, will ſcarcely, without much ſweat and treaſure, be procured again in all the quarries of this kingdom and the next* (25).

[*F*] *He ſhewed fancy and judgment in the machinery of maſques and interludes.*] Several of theſe repreſentations are ſtill extant in the Works of Chapman, D'Avenant, Daniel, and particularly Ben. Jonſon. The ſubject was choſen by the poet, and the ſpeeches and ſongs were alſo of his compoſing; but the invention of the ſcenes, ornaments, and dreſſes of the figures, were the contrivance of Mr Jones. An inſtance will make the diſtinct province of each clearly underſtood. Jonſon's maſque of Queens begins thus. 'His Majeſty being ſet, and the whole company in full expectation, the part of the ſcene which firſt repreſented itſelf was an ugly hell, which, flaming beneath, ſmoaked unto the top of the roof (26). And, in reſpect, all evils are morally ſaid to come from hell; as alſo from that obſervation of Torrentius upon Horace's Canidia, *Quæ tot inſtructa venenis, ex Orci faucibus profecta videri poſſit. Who being fraught with ſo many kinds of poiſon, might ſeem to come from the jaws of hell.* Theſe witches, with a kind of hollow and infernal muſic, came forth from thence; firſt one, then two and three, and more, 'till their number increaſed to eleven, all differently attired, ſome with rats on their heads, ſome on their ſhoulders; others with ointment-pots at their girdles; all with ſpindles, timbrels, rattles, or other venefical inſtruments, making a confuſed noiſe with ſtrange geſtures. The device of their attire was Maſter Jones's, with the invention and architecture of the whole ſcene and machine; only I [Jonſon] preſcribed them their properties of vipers, ſnakes, bones, herbs, roots, and other enſigns of their magic.'—Theſe eleven witches beginning to dance, on a ſudden one of them miſſed their chief, and interrupted the reſt with this ſpeech.—Here follow the ſeveral ſpeeches made by Jonſon; and, after the laſt ſpeech, they fell into a magical dance—In the heat of their dance, on a ſudden was heard a ſound of loud muſic, as if many inſtruments had made one blaſt; with this, not only the hags themſelves, but the hell into which they ran, quite vaniſhed, and the whole face of the ſcene altered, ſcarce ſuffering the memory of ſuch a thing. But in the place of it appeared a glorious and magnificent building, figuring the houſe of Fame. In the top of which were diſcovered the twelve maſquers (27), ſitting upon a throne triumphal, erected in form of a pyramid, and circled with all ſtore of light. From whence a perſon by this time deſcended in the furniture of Perſeus, and expreſſing heroic and manly virtue, began to ſpeak. The ſpeech ended, the throne whereon the maſquers ſat, being *machina verſatilis*, ſuddenly changed; and in the place of it appeared *Fama bona*, good Fame (as ſhe is deſcribed in *Iconolog. di Cæſare Ripa*), attired in white, with white wings, having a collar of gold about her neck, and a heart hanging at it, which Orus Apollo, in his *Hierogl.* interprets the note of a good Fame. In her right hand ſhe bore a trumpet, in her left an olive branch; and for her ſtate, it was as Virgil deſcribes her at the full, her feet on the ground, and her head in the clouds. She, after the muſic had done, which waited on the turning of the machine, called from thence to Virtue, and ſpake this following ſpeech.—At the end the loud muſic ſounded as before, to give the maſquers time of deſcending Next follows the poet's deſcription of the ſeveral perſonages repreſented by them, which is cloſed by theſe words. 'There reſts only, that we give the deſcription we promiſed of the ſcene, which was the houſe of Fame. The ſtructure and ornament of which (as is profeſt before) was intirely Maſter Jones's invention and deſign. Firſt, for the lower columns, he choſe the ſtatues of the moſt excellent poets, as Homer, Virgil, Lucan, &c. as being the ſubſtantial ſupporters of Fame. For the upper, Achilles, Æneas, Cæſar, and thoſe great heroes whom theſe poets had celebrated. All which ſtood as in maſſy gold. Between the pillars, underneath, were figured land-battles, ſea-fights, triumphs, loves, ſacrifices, and all magnificent ſubjects of Honour, in braſs, and heightened with ſilver. In which he profeſſed to follow that noble deſcription made by Chaucer of the place. Above were ſited the maſquers, over whoſe heads he devized two eminent figures of Honour and Virtue for the arch. The friezes, both below and above, were filled with ſeveral-coloured lights, like emeralds, rubies, ſapphires, carbuncles, &c. the reflex of which, with our lights placed in the concave, upon the maſquers habits, was full of glory. Theſe habits had in them the excellency of all deviſe and riches, and were worthily varied, by his invention, to the nations whereof they were queens. Nor are theſe alone his due; but divers other acceſſions to the ſtrangeneſs and beauty of the ſpectacle: as the hell, the going about of the chariots [*], and binding the witches, the turning machine, with the preſentation of Fame. All which, continues Jonſon, I willingly acknowledge for him; ſince it is a virtue planted in good natures, that what reſpects they wiſh to obtain fruitfully from others, they will give ingenuouſly themſelves.' From theſe laſt words eſpecially it appears, that, at the time of celebrating this maſque [Feb. 2, 1609 [†]], there ſubſiſted a good harmony between our architect and Father Ben. But it did not continue long uninterrupted. We find the poet ridiculing his aſſociate under the character of *Lanthern Leatherhead*, a hobby-horſe-ſeller in his comedy of Bartholomew fair, acted in 1614 And the rupture ſeems not to have ended but with Jonſon's death. A very few years before that happened, he wrote a moſt virulent coarſe ſatire, which he called *An Expoſtulation with Inigo Jones*. The time when this was written is aſcertained by Howell's Letters, among which there is one, dated May 3, 1635, addreſſed to his friend and father Ben. Jonſon, concluding in theſe terms:

> 'I heard you cenſured lately at Court, that you have lighted too foul upon Sir Inigo, and that you write with a porcupine's quill dipped in too much gall. Excuſe me that I am ſo free with you; it is, becauſe I am in no common way of friendſhip.
>
> 'Your's,
>
> 'J. H. [†]'

But the poet, it ſeems, was too much incenſed, and too vain withal to liſten to the firſt advice of his friend, Whereupon Mr Howell addreſſed the following letter to him entirely upon this ſubject, aſſuring him that the King was much offended, eſpecially with the coarſeneſs of his abuſe.

> 'Father Ben,
>
> 'The fangs of a bear, and the tuſks of a wild boar, don't bite worſe, and make deeper gaſhes, than a gooſe-quill ſometimes; no, not the badger himſelf, who is ſaid to be ſo tenacious of his bite, that he will not give over his hold, 'till he feels his teeth meet and bone crack. Your quill hath proved ſo to Mr Inigo; but the pen, wherewith you ſo gaſhed him, was made rather of a porcupine than a gooſe quill, it is ſo keen and firm.

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(23) Thoſe in the outward circle of Stone-Henge are 16 foot, according to Dr Charlton. See Stone-Henge reſtored to the Danes.

(24) Theſe were raiſed during the uſurpation.

(25) Stone-Henge, a Roman Work, &c. p. 44, 45.

(26) It was, perhaps, this ſcene, that furniſhed Milton with the firſt hint of his Hell, drawn in his *Paradiſe Loſt*; as there is a tradition that he conceived the firſt idea of that hell from ſome theatrical repreſentations, invented by Inigo Jones. And this, by the bye, will poſſibly be recollected by the reader of the new *Compleat Hiſtory of England*, &c. in peruſing § xv. p. 162. Vol. III. of that work. edit. 1757, 4to.

(27) Theſe were, the Queen, the Counteſſes of Arundel, Derby, Huntingdon, Bedford, Eſſex, and Montgomery; the Viſcounteſs Cranbourne; the Ladies, Elizabeth Guilford, Anne Winter, Windſore, and Anne Clifford.

[*] The maſquers, on their deſcent from the temple of Fame, mounted into three triumphant chariots, reſpectively drawn by eagles, griffons, and lions, attended with torch-bearers, and four hags bound before each. After which, a full triumphant muſic ſinging a ſong, while they rode in ſtate about the ſtage.

[†] Jonſon's Works, Vol. V. p. 316, edit. 1756.

[†] Howell's Letters, Vol. I. §. 6. No. xx. edit 1650.

fortune (m). But his loyalty, the effect both of his integrity and gratitude, expoſed him to conſiderable loſſes; and he bore a part in the ruins of his royal maſter. Upon the opening of the Long-Parliament in November 1640, he was called before the Houſe of Lords, upon a complaint of the pariſhioners of St Gregory's in London againſt him, for damages done to that church [G]; and afterwards, during the uſurpation, he was conſtrained

Anſer, apes, vitulus, populos & regna gubernant.

‘ The gooſe, the bee, and the calf (meaning wax, parchment, and the pen), rule the world; but of the three, the pen is moſt predominant. I know you have a commanding one; but you muſt not let it tyrannize in that manner, as you have done lately. Some give out there was a hair in your pen, and that your ink was too thick with gall; elſe it would not have beſpattered and ſhaken the reputation of a Royal Architect; for reputation, you know, is like a fair ſtructure, long time a raiſing, but quickly ruined. ——— If your ſpirit will not let you retract, yet you ſhall do well to repreſs any more copies of the ſatire; for, to deal plainly with you, you have loſt ſome ground at Court by it; and as I hear from a good hand, the King, who hath ſo great judgment in Poetry as in other things elſe, is not well pleaſed therewith. Diſpenſe with this freedom of your reſpectful ſon and ſervant,

Weſtminſter, ‘ J. H.’
3 July, 1635. ||

After the Expoſtulation juſt mentioned, Jonſon added another piece, intitled, *To a Friend. An Epigram of him.* And alſo a third, inſcribed *To Inigo Marquis Would be. A Corollary.* Howell, in his firſt letter, plainly points to the epigram, which runs thus:

Sir Inigo doth fear it, as I hear,
And labours to ſeem worthy of this fear;
That I ſhould write upon him ſome ſharp verſe,
Able to eat into his bones, and pierce
The marrow. Wretch! I quit thee of thy pain,
Thou 'rt too ambitious, and doſt fear in vain:
The Lybian lion haunts no butterflies;
He makes the camel and dull aſs his prize.
If thou be ſo deſirous to be read,
Seek out ſome hungry Painter, that for bread,
With rotten chalk or coal upon the wall,
Will well deſign thee to be view'd of all
That ſit upon the common draught or ſtrand;
Thy forehead is too narrow for my brand.

Father Ben. ſeems at length to have followed his ſon's advice, finding it neceſſary, perhaps, to comply thereto, and accordingly ſuppreſſed the whole. Whence it happened, that the contents were little known; and this occaſioned the confuſion in a ſtory which we ſee in print, ‘ *That Jonſon wrote a ſevere ſatire againſt Inigo Jones, in which he ſtiled him Sir Lanthern Leatherhead* §, *but that it was forbid by the King to be printed at that time, and is ſtill extant in manuſcript* ‡. The reader will be beforehand with me in obſerving, that the ninth line in this epigram alludes to ſome attempts of our architect in the poetical way, either in the buſineſs of maſques † or otherwiſe, or perhaps both. There is a copy of verſes by him, publiſhed in the *Odcombian Banquet*, prefixed to *Tom. Coryat's Crudities*. London, 1611, 4to. And to that the line here mentioned ſeems moſt directly to point. This intruſion into the poet's province had raiſed Ben's ſpleen; and, in the beginning of the quarrel, one principal ſtroke of the ridicule beſtowed upon Lanthern in *Bartholomew Fair*, conſiſts in the title there given him of *Parcel-Poet* *.

[G] *A complaint of the pariſhioners of St Gregory's, &c.*] The quarrel which occaſioned this complaint, ſeems to have commenced at leaſt ſoon after the order mentioned in note (*k*) above. The firſt part of Jonſon's ſatire, which has been ſaid was written in 1635, concludes with theſe lines:

Live long the feaſting room, and e'er thou burn
Again, thy Architect to aſhes turn;
Whom not ten fires, nor a Parliament, can,
With all remonſtrance, make an honeſt man.

If theſe laſt words refer to this quarrel, the point is clear. But it cannot be denied, there is ſome difficulty in that ſuppoſition; for, though we ſhould allow that the quarrel commenced in 1635; yet 'tis notorious, no remonſtrance could then have been made to Parliament, none being called in the interval between the order for repairing St Paul's, and the writing of this ſatire; nor, indeed, at any time afterwards, during Jonſon's life. This paſſage therefore of the ſatire, if underſtood to refer to a remonſtrance of the pariſhioners of St Gregory's upon this occaſion, muſt mean an intended or threatened remonſtrance only; which, indeed, might not improbably be the caſe, since the quarrel had certainly begun ſome time before the order was made out for pulling the church down, as may be unqueſtionably inferred from the tenor of the remonſtrance or complaint of the pariſhioners to the Houſe of Commons in 1640; the ſubſtance of which was contained in the paper ſent up by them to the Lords, in theſe terms:

The Declaration of the Commons upon the complaint and in the behalf of the pariſhioners of St Gregory's London, againſt Inigo Jones, Eſq;

‘ The pariſh church of St Gregory's, adjoining to the cathedral church of St Paul's in London aforeſaid, is, and from the time whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary, hath been the pariſh-church for the inhabitants of that pariſh, lately computed to be 3000 perſons, for the adminiſtration of divine ſervice and ſacraments. The ſaid Inigo Jones, Eſq; being Surveyor of his Majeſty's works, and particularly thoſe deſigned for the re-edifying the ſaid church of St Paul's, would not undertake the work, unleſs he might be, as he termed it, the *ſole Monarch*, or might have the principality thereof, and conceiving the ſaid work would not well be done without pulling down the ſaid church of St Gregory's, preſented a plot to his Majeſty accordingly. The ſaid Inigo Jones having preſented the ſaid plot, his Majeſty thereupon ſignified his pleaſure, and in purſuance thereof, ſeveral orders were alſo made at the Council-board, that the ſaid church ſhould be taken down by the pariſhioners, for the more convenient repairing of the cathedral church of St Paul's; which the pariſhioners refuſing to obey, as was lawful for them to do, the ſaid Inigo Jones, in execution of the plot and deſign by him preſented as aforeſaid, and of his Majeſty's ſignification, and the orders at the Council-board thereupon had, in or about March 1639, did pull down, and cauſe to be pulled down, part of the ſaid church; and did alſo threaten, *That if the ſaid pariſhioners would not take down the reſt of it, then the galleries ſhould be ſawed down, and with ſcrews the materials of the ſaid church ſhould be thrown down into the ſtreet.* And the ſaid Inigo Jones did further threaten the ſaid pariſhioners, *That if they did not take down the ſaid church, they ſhould be laid by the heels.* Whereby the pariſhioners being thus affrighted, and to ſave the materials, which not long before had coſt them 1500l. were inforced to take down ſome part of the ſaid church, inſomuch, as thereby it was made altogether uſeleſs, and the ſaid pariſhioners, to that great number, have been wholly deſtitute of any place within their own pariſh for the public exerciſing of religion. The damages the pariſhioners have hereby ſuſtained are very great, and the charge of re-edifying the ſaid church, and reſtoring it to as good plight as it was in before it was ſo wrongfully taken down, will amount at leaſt to 3000l. All which the ſaid pariſhioners are ready to prove and maintain. For remedy therefore and redreſs herein, and chiefly to the end that the ſaid church of St Gregory's may be fully repaired and reſtored to the plight and condition wherein it formerly was, by and at the charge of him and them, by

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(m) Ibid. p. 119.

|| Ibid. Vol. 2. No. 11. p. 2, 3.

§ This abuſive title does no where occur in any of the three pieces of which the ſatire conſiſts.

‡ It has been printed ſince, from a MS. of the late Mr Vertue the Engraver, and inſerted among the epigrams, in the 6th volume of Jonſon's Works, edit. 1756. in 7 vols 8vo.

† See Sir Will. Davenant's article, remark [*D*], No. x.

* Act II. ſcene ii.

ſtrained to pay 400 l. by way of compoſition for his eſtate as a Malignant (*n*). After the death of King Charles I. he was continued in his poſt by King Charles II. But grief in one of his years for the fatal calamity of the former, prevented him from doing the latter any actual ſervice, by cutting him off many years before the Reſtoration (*o*). He died moſt probably about Midſummer 1652, and was interred June 26, in the chancel of St Bennet's church near St Paul's wharf London, where there was a monument erected to his memory upon the north wall, at ſome diſtance from his grave; but it ſuffered greatly in the Fire of London, September 1666 (*p*). Our author left ſeveral manuſcripts, which have been publiſhed ſince his death, and there is ſome account of them below [*H*]. With reſpect to his character, we are told by Mr Webb, that his abilities in all human ſciences ſurpaſſed moſt of his age (*q*). However that be, 'tis certain he was perfectly well ſkilled in the Mathematics, and had ſome inſight into the two learned languages, Greek and Latin, eſpecially the latter (*r*); and we have already taken notice of his taſte for Poetry (*s*). However, theſe accompliſhments were no more than the decorations and counterpart of his proper character, which was, indeed, that of an Architect the moſt eminent in his time. Accordingly, he was then, and is ſtill, generally ſtiled the *Britiſh Vitruvius*; and it is obſervable, that the art of deſign, little known in England before, was brought into uſe and eſteem by him ,under the patronage of King Charles I. and Thomas Earl of Arundel (*t*). In ſhort, Mr Jones was generally learned, eminent for Architecture, a great Geometrician, and, in deſigning with his pen (as Sir Anthony Vandyke uſed to ſay), not to be equalled, by whatever great maſters in his time, for the *boldneſs*, *ſoftneſs*, *ſweetneſs*, and *ſureneſs* of his touches (*u*).

' by whoſe undue means it was in part taken down, ' or cauſed to be taken down as aforeſaid, it is deſired, ' that ſuch proceedings may be uſed and had againſt ' the ſaid offenders herein, as to right and juſtice doth ' appertain (28).'

This being read, the ſaid Inigo Jones, Eſq; deſired he might have ſome time to anſwer by his Counſel; whereupon it was ordered, that he have a copy of the declaration againſt him, and ſhall put in his anſwer thereto on Tueſday come ſe'ennight (29). Accordingly he did put in his anſwer, and appearing the ſame day before the Lords in Parliament, and being demanded what he could ſay in anſwer to the Declaration, &c. he the ſaid Inigo Jones, for anſwer thereunto ſaith, that he is not guilty of the offence charged in the ſaid Declaration, in ſuch manner and form as therein is expreſſed. Whereupon, Friday fortnight was ordered for hearing the cauſe (30). How this matter ended does not appear in Nalſon, but we have it in the Continuation of Sir William Dugdale's Hiſtory of St Paul's, where we are aſſured, that when the repairing of that cathedral ceaſed in 1642, ſome part of the materials remaining, were, by order of the Houſe of Lords, delivered to the pariſhioners of St Gregory's, towards the rebuilding of that church, which being old had been pulled down, in regard it was thought to be a blemiſh to this ſtately cathedral, whereunto it ſo nearly adjoined (31).

[*H*] *Some account of his manuſcripts.*] The author of Mr Jones's Life, wrote in 1725, intimates, that ſome noble perſons had then been at the labour and expence of procuring the plans of his deſigns. ' And, ' continues he, as the public is now to be obliged with ' a view of them in ſculpture, the reader may expect a ' finiſhed diſcourſe upon their nature and value. And ' thus there will be raiſed a monument to Mr Jones's ' memory, even more laſting than his own great per' formances (32).' Accordingly, the principal of theſe deſigns were publiſhed two years afterwards (33) by Mr Kent; and the ſame gentleman publiſhed ſome of our author's leſſer deſigns in 1744, folio. Others of theſe have been publiſhed alſo by Mr Iſaac Ware *. Our author left in manuſcript likewiſe ſome very curious notes upon Palladio's Architecture, inſerted in a copy of that book; which coming to the hands of George Clerke, Eſq; Fellow of All-Souls college in Oxford, and Member of Parliament ſeveral years for the univerſity, that gentleman gave it to the library of Worceſter-college there; and a few years ago, Mr Leoni, an Italian, went to Oxford, and took a copy of the ſaid notes, which he inſerted in an edition of Palladio, publiſhed by him in 1744, and which he obſerves, raiſes the value of his edition greatly above all that had been publiſhed before. Our author was a great admirer of antiquities, and we are aſſured by Mr Webb, that he had in his poſſeſſion the chiefeſt of all Chriſtendom, deſigned by his relation (34). That gentleman alſo obſerves, that Mr Jones was not only the Vitruvius of England, but of all Chriſtendom; and that it was *vox Europæ* that named him ſo; being, much more than at home, famous in remote parts; where he lived many years, deſigned many works, and diſcovered many antiquities, before unknown, with general applauſe (35). To conclude, Mr Webb, who appears to have been our architect's heir, was born in London, bred at Merchant-Taylors ſchool, afterwards reſided in Mr Jones's family, married his kinſwoman [the daughter of his couſin-german], was inſtructed by him in Mathematics and Architecture, and deſigned by him for his ſucceſſor in the office of Surveyor-General, but was prevented by Sir John Denham (36). That he publiſhed an *Hiſtorical Eſſay, endeavouring to prove, that the Language of China is the primitive Language* (37). He alſo tranſlated, from the Italian into Engliſh, *The Hiſtory of the World*, written by George Tarſagnota; which came to the hands of his ſon James. And laſtly, dying at Butleigh, his ſeat in Somerſetſhire, October 24, 1672, was buried in that church (38). P

JONSON [*A*] [BENJAMIN], the renowned father of the poets in the beginning of the laſt century, was the fruit of a poſthumous birth, and came into the world about a month after the death of his father (*a*) in 1574 (*b*). Being born in Weſtminſter, he was put firſt to a private ſchool in the church of St Martin's in the Fields (*c*); but removed thence, at a proper age, to that of the royal foundation, where Camden became his maſter (*d*) [*B*].

[*A*] *Jonſon.*] It was thus Father Ben conſtantly ſpelt his name (1). upon all occaſions, at leaſt after he began to have a name in the learned world. Yet we find it uſually wrote Johnſon by all others, not excepting even his beſt friends and fondeſt ſons; nay, what is ſtill more, it is ſo wrote in the inſtrument for raiſing his ſalary as Poet Laureat (2). The late editor of his works plainly agrees with the general opinion, that this was one inſtance, among innumerable others, of that affectation, which ſo ſtrongly marks the character of our poet; and it is obſervable, that tho' his deſcent was far from being a diſcredit to him (3), yet we never find him (as I remember) once mentioning his family upon any occaſion: an enquiry, which that might produce would perhaps have diſcovered his ſingularity in this reſpect. So much at leaſt is certain, that Drummond of Hawthornden, himſelf a Scotchman, writes the name *Johnſon*, in the uſual way. However, as we have not ſeen proof ſufficient abſolutely to decide the queſtion againſt his own practice, it would not be doing him juſtice to reject his authority; and, for that reaſon, we have accordingly complied thereto.

(*n*) David Lloyd's Memoirs, and Martyrology of the Royaliſts, p. 577. Lond. 1668. folio.

(*o*) Webb, where laſt cited, and our author's life, ubi ſupra.

(*p*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 113. note (*b*). That author's information from Mr Webb's ſon James, that our architect died July 21, 1652, ſeems to be a miſtake; though as to his age, viz. about 79 years, not unlikely. Ibid. col. 423.

(*q*) Vindication, p. 119.

(*r*) This appears from his Works, eſpecially Stone-Henge reſtored, if that be his in ſubſtance.

(*s*) In remark [*F*].

(*t*) Webb, p. 19.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 11.

(28) Nalſon's Collections, Vol. II. p. 728.

(29) Ibid. p. 729.

(30) Ibid. p. 771.

(31) Dugdale's Hiſtory of St Paul's, &c. ſecond edit. 1716, p. 146.

(32) Memoirs of the Life of Inigo Jones, ubi ſupra.

(33) They are intitled, The Deſigns of the late Inigo Jones, Eſq; &c. by Mr Kent, in 2 vol. 1727, fol.

* In 1743, 4to.

(34) Vindication, p. 119, 120.

(35) Ibid. p. 8.

(36) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1113.

(37) There is an account of this book in Phil. Tranſ. No. 48.

(38) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 1113, 1114.

(*a*) Drummond of Hawthornden's Works. Edinb. 1711. fol. p. 222.

(*b*) See the text at note (*w*).

(*c*) Sir Thomas Pope Blunt's Cenſura Authorum, &c. p. 105. edit. 1694. 4to.

(1) Several inſtances of this may be ſeen in the preface, p. xxvii and xxviii. to his Works, edit. 1756. to which we ſhall add another or two in remark [*KK*].

(2) See remark [*T*].

(3) See remark [*C*].

(*d*) [*B*]. As his father was a gentleman and a clergyman [*C*], this ſtep ſeems to have been taken in the view of breeding him to the Church. But the widow being left in narrow circumſtances, thought fit not to refuſe an offer of marriage, which was made to her by a Bricklayer; and, after her ſon had continued ſome years at Weſtminſter-ſchool, and made an extraordinary progreſs in claſſical learning, ſhe took him away, and obliged him to work under his ſtep-father [*D*]. This was nipping the firſt ſprig of his dawning hopes in the bud; his ſpirit was not of a temper to take the bent to ſo mortifying a change. In the depth of his reſentment, he left his mother; and inliſting himſelf a ſoldier, was carried to the Engliſh army, then engaged againſt the Spaniards in the Netherlands. Here he acquired a degree of military glory, which rarely falls to the lot of a common man in that profeſſion. In an encounter with a ſingle man of the enemy, he ſlew his opponent; and ſtripping him, carried off the ſpoils in the view of both armies (*e*) [*E*]. Upon his return home, he followed the bent of his inclination; and reſuming his ſtudies (*f*),

[*B*] *Camden was his maſter.*] As this method of breeding was ſuitable to his birth, ſo it was very agreeable to his genius and inclination, and he retained the higheſt eſteem and value for his maſter ever after, which he took the firſt opportunity he had of ſhowing in the dedication of *Every Man in his Humour*; where having declared, that he had always deſtined to preſent his maſter with the firſt effects of his education as ſhould bear any worth proportionable to that benefit, he begs his acceptance of this; ‘ Such, ‘ ſays he, wherein neither the confeſſion of my man‘ ners ſhall make you bluſh; nor of my ſtudies repent ‘ you to have been the inſtructor: And for the profeſ‘ ſion of my thankfulneſs, I am ſure it will, with good ‘ men, find either praiſe or excuſe.

‘ Your true lover,

‘ BEN. JONSON.’

We likewiſe find the ſame maſter among thoſe good and great names, which this ſcholar reſolved to conſecrate to poſterity in his epigrams; and which therefore may well claim a place in theſe memoirs, as follows:

‘ Camden, moſt reverend head, to whom I owe
‘ All that I am in arts, all that I know;
‘ (How nothing's that?) to whom my country owes
‘ The great renown and name wherewith ſhe goes.
‘ Than thee the age ſees not that thing more grave,
‘ More high, more holy, that ſhe more would crave.
‘ What name, what ſkill, what faith haſt thou in things!
‘ What ſight in ſearching the moſt antique ſprings!
‘ What weight, and what authority in thy ſpeech!
‘ Man ſcarce can make that doubt but thou canſt teach.
‘ Pardon free truth, and let thy modeſty,
‘ Which conquers all, be once o'ercome by thee.
‘ Many of thine, this better could, than I;
‘ But for their powers, accept my piety (4).’

[*C*] *His father being a gentleman*, &c.] The family was originally of Annandale in Scotland, whence our author's grand-father removed to Carliſle, in the time of Henry VIII. under whom he held ſome poſt or office. But his ſon being deprived both of his eſtate and liberty in the reign of Queen Mary, perhaps on account of his religion, afterwards went into holy orders, and leaving Carliſle, ſettled in Weſtminſter, where he died (5).

[*D*] *Obliged to work under his ſtep-father.*] It is not certain how long he continued in this ſituation. We are told by one writer, that he ſoon left his father, and went to Cambridge; but that the want of a maintenance there forced him back to his father in a few weeks; and that he worked in the New Building, at Lincoln's Inn, with a trowel in his hand, and a book in his pocket (6). This may paſs well enough. But not ſo the account given by Mr Wood, who having told us firſt, that when Ben worked with his father, he was pitied by ſome generous gentlemen, aſſerts farther, that he was recommended by Camden to Sir Walter Ralegh, whoſe ſon he attended in his travels abroad; that on his return to England he and his pupil parted, not in cold blood; that Johnſon then went to Cambridge, &c (7). This ſtory is inconſiſtent both with the age of Sir Walter's ſons, and the incidents of Johnſon's life; and indeed to do Mr Wood juſtice, the manner of his narrative plainly implies ſome diſtruſt of his voucher for it.

[*E*] *He carried off the ſpoils in the view of both armies.*] He was not a little elated with this incident of his life. He took occaſion early to touch, by the way, upon it in the apologetical dialogue, which was once ſpoken by way of epilogue to, and is now printed at the end of his *Poetaſter* (8); and he afterwards gave it a place in his collection of epigrams (9). It is addreſſed in theſe terms,

To true Soldiers.

‘ Strength of my country, whilſt I bring to view,
‘ Such as are miſcalled captains, and wrong you;
‘ And your high names: I do deſire that thence
‘ Be not put on you, nor you take offence.
‘ I ſwear by your true friend, my muſe, I love
‘ Your great profeſſion, which I once did prove:
‘ And did not ſhame it with my actions then,
‘ No more than I dare now do with my pen.
‘ He that not truſts me having vow'd thus much,
‘ But's angry for the captain ſtill, is ſuch (10).’

We find him again alluding to it with the ſame elation of heart ſeveral years afterwards, when King Charles, then Prince of Wales, was in Spain on the buſineſs of the Spaniſh match. He writes thus to a friend:

‘ Whether the diſpenſation yet be ſent,
‘ Or that the match was never meant?
‘ I wiſh all well, and pray high heaven conſpire,
‘ My prince's ſafety, and my king's deſire:
‘ But if for honour we muſt draw the ſword,
‘ And force back that which will not be reſtor'd,
‘ I have a body yet that ſpirit draws
‘ To live or fall a carcaſe in the cauſe (11).’

The glory of this action receives a particular heightning from the reflection, that he thereby ſtands ſingularly diſtinguiſhed above the reſt of his brethren of the poetical race, very few of whom have ever acquired any reputation in arms. On the contrary, it may be obſerved that Jonſon's favourite author Horace in parcular, thought the eſſential part of his character ſo little concerned therein, that he has not ſpared to introduce a moſt ſhameful inſtance of his own cowardice, as a heightening incident into one of his Odes, addreſſed to Pompeius Varus, upon the ſafe return of that general from an unſucceſsful expedition againſt Cæſar (12). The ſecond ſtanza of which is thus tranſlated by Mr Francis:

‘ With thee I ſaw Philippi's plain,
‘ It's fatal rout, a fearful ſcene,
‘ And dropp'd, alas! th' inglorious ſhield,
‘ Where valour's ſelf was forc'd to yield,
‘ Where ſoil'd in duſt the vanquiſh'd lay,
‘ And breath'd th' indignant ſoul away.
‘ But me when dying with my fear,
‘ Through warring hoſts enwrapp'd in air,
‘ Swift did the God of wit convey.’

[*F*] He

(*d*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 608.

(*e*) Drummond's Works, ubi ſupra.

(4) Epigram xiv. at p. 228, 229. in Vol. VI. of Jonſon's Works, edit. 1756.

(5) Drummond of Hawthornden's Works, ubi ſupra, in note (*a*) in the text.

(6) Fuller's Worthies, &c. under London.

(7) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 608.

(8) The Poetaſter was firſt acted in 1601.

(9) 'Tis the cviiith epigram in his Works, Vol. VI. p. 268.

(10) This and the two firſt lines ſhew, that the epigram was wrote as a kind of compenſation for the character of Captain Tuccar in the Poetaſter.

(11) In his Works, Vol. VI. p. 418, 419.

(12) Horatii Opera, Lib. ii. ode vii. N. B. It is no ſmall aggravation of his ſhame, that he was then *Tribunus Militum*, a poſt in the Roman army, equal at leaſt to a modern Colonel.

(*f*), went to St John's college in Cambridge [*F*]. But here he had ſoon the misfortune to undergo a ſecond mortification. The ſhortneſs of his purſe not ſupplying him with the decent conveniencies of a learned eaſe, he found himſelf under a neceſſity of quitting that ſeat of the Muſes after a ſhort ſtay there. In this exigence he took a courſe, not uncommon to perſons of genius under the like diſtreſs. He applied to the play-houſes, and was admitted into an obſcure one, called the Green-Curtain, in the neighbourhood of Shore-ditch or Clerkenwell (*g*). He had not been long in this ſtation, when, not contenting himſelf with the buſineſs of an actor only, he took up his pen, and wrote ſome pieces for the ſtage. But his performances either way did no credit to his genius [*G*]. During his continuance in this humble ſtation, he had a quarrel with one of the players; who ſending him a challenge, there enſued a duel, wherein Jonſon killed his adverſary. For this offence being thrown into priſon, under that misfortune his ſpirit, tough as it was, ſunk into ſome degree of melancholy, ſo that he became a fit object to be ſubdued by the crafty attacks of a Popiſh Prieſt; who, officiouſly viſiting him in his confinement, prevailed upon him to renounce his religion and embrace the Roman-Catholic Faith; and he remained twelve years within the pale of that Church (*h*). Not long after this change in his religious condition, he alſo made a change in his civil one, and took to himſelf a wife [*H*], having firſt obtained his releaſement from priſon. His ſpirit revived with his liberty; and maugre all the diſcouragements he met with, he went on digging in the poetic mine, and, by dint of unapalled induſtry, improved his genius ſo much, that at length he produced a play; which having the good fortune to fall into the hands of Shakeſpeare, that humane good-natured bard reſolving to do full juſtice to it's merit, brought it upon the ſtage, where he was a manager, and acted a part in it himſelf (*i*) [*I*]. Thus encouraged, his genius

[*F*] *He went to St John's college in Cambridge.*] This fact is not indeed abſolutely certain. It ſtands chiefly upon the ſtrength of a conſtant tradition in that college, confirmed by his gift of ſeveral books, now in the library, with his name in them. The ſame tradition delivers him down as a ſizar, who made a ſhort ſtay; which accounts for his name's not being found among the admiſſions, where no notice was taken for a long time of any that had not ſcholarſhips. Neither was the regiſter of the univerſity kept for ten or twelve years, about the time of his ſuppoſed matriculation; ſo that his name cannot be expected to appear there.

[*G*] *His performances either way did no credit to his genius.*] In the character of a player his aukwardneſs furniſhed a topic of ſatire to his antagoniſt Decker, who in his Satyromaſtix (13), reproaches him with having left the occupation of a mortar trader to turn actor, and with having put up a ſupplication to be a poor journeyman player, in which he would have continued, but that he could not ſet a good face upon it, and ſo was caſhiered. That he performed the part of Zuliman at the Paris garden (14) in Southwark, and ambled by a play-waggon in the highway, and took mad Jeronymo's part to get ſervice among the mimicks. This play called *The Spaniſh Tragedy, or Jeronymo is made again*, was no leſs admired by the populace than derided by our old comedians; Shakeſpear and Fletcher particularly, and after them by Jonſon himſelf (15) As a poet, Ben's genius partook of his temper, it was hardy and ſullen, and was not beat out without much ſweat and hammering; beſides, it was certainly overtopt by his learning, which at firſt, conſequently, rather damp'd and held it in awe as a maſter, than waited upon it in its proper office as a ſervant.

[*H*] *He took to himſelf a wife.*] Neither the day nor year of his marriage is any where taken notice of. But there is a circumſtance related by Mr Drummond, which was thought ſufficient to fix it about the time mentioned in the text. Ben, ſays that gentleman, told me, that about the time the plague raged in London, being in the country, at Sir Robert Cotton's houſe with old Cambden, he ſaw in a viſion his eldeſt ſon, then a young child, and at London, appear unto him, with the mark of a bloody croſs on his forehead, as if it had been cut with a ſword; at which amazed, he prayed unto God, and in the morning he came to Mr. Cambden's chamber to tell him; who perſuaded him it was but an apprehenſion, at which he ſhould not be dejected. In the mean time there came letters from his wife of the death of that boy in the plague. He appeared to him, he ſaid, of a manly ſhape, and of that growth he thinks he ſhall be at the Reſurrection (16.) The plague here mentioned muſt be that which raged with ſo much fury in the ſummer of 1603, when the court retired to Wilton (17); and thence it follows that this boy was born in 1596, ſince he died upon his birth-day, on the completion of his ſeventh year, as appears from a copy of verſes wrote on that occaſion by his fond father, which under this title, *On my firſt ſon*, begins thus:

> ' Farewel thou child of my right hand and joy,
> ' My ſin was too much hope of thee, lov'd boy.
> ' Seven years thou wert lent to me, and I thee pay
> ' Exacted by thy fate on the juſt day (18).'

However, this was not all the fruits of his wife's womb, ſhe had before brought him a girl, which did not ſurvive her birth many months. The father's muſe was not wanting to pay a tribute to her memory in the following epitaph:

On my firſt daughter.

> ' Here lies to each her parents ruth,
> ' Mary the daughter of their youth,
> ' Yet all heav'n's gifts being heaven's due,
> ' It makes the father leſs to rue.
> ' At ſix months ſhe parted hence,
> ' With ſafety of her innocence,
> ' Whoſe ſoul heav'n's queen (19) (whoſe name ſhe
> ' bears)
> ' In comfort of her mother's tears,
> ' Hath plac'd among her virgin-train,
> ' Where, while that ſever'd doth remain,
> ' This grave partakes the fleſhy birth;
> ' Which cover lightly, gentle earth (20).'

The ſeventh line ſhews our poet to have been then a Papiſt; and that he continued ſuch at the death of his boy is evident from Drummond's ſtory concerning it. Upon the whole, by comparing dates and facts, the reader will eaſily collect the grounds we had for fixing our poet's marriage about the time already mentioned.

[*I*] *That humane good-natured bard brought it upon the ſtage.*] Our author had wrote a play or two which had been abſolutely condemned, and was now offering another to the ſtage, and had put it into the hands of a perſon who having run it over in a careleſs way, was juſt upon returning it to him, with anſwer, that it would be of no ſervice to their company, when Shakeſpeare happened luckily to caſt his eye upon it, and found ſomething ſo well in it, as to engage him firſt to read it through, and then bring it upon his own ſtage. He afterwards continued to recommend our poet and his productions to the publick, and even occaſionally did not diſdain to lend his hand in the finiſhing of ſome of them *. Nor was Jonſon wanting to acknowledge it after his manner. In the cloſe of his preface to the tragedy of Sejanus (21), we read theſe words: ' Laſtly, I would inform you, that this book in all ' numbers is not the ſame with that which was acted ' on the publick ſtage, wherein a ſecond pen had good ' ſhare:

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Heads of a converſation with Drummond, in that author's Works, where laſt cited.

(*i*) Shakeſpeare's good-nature was the more conſpicuous, as the play was undoubtedly condemned by Jonſon himſelf in the riper age of his genius; otherwiſe we ſhould have ſeen it at the head of his Works in 1616, inſtead of *Every Man in his Humour*.

(13) A piece written againſt Jonſon's Poetaſter. See below in remark [*N*].

(14) The Bear-garden, ſo called at that time from the man's name who kept it.

(15) See Every Man in his Humour, Act I. ſcene v. and the Poetaſter, Act III. ſcene iv. and ſeveral other places in his Works.

(16) Drummond's Works, ubi ſupra.

(17) Smollet's Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 155. edit. 1757. 4to.

(18) Epigram xlv. in the 6th volume of Jonſon's Works, ubi ſupra, p. 238.

(19) i. e. The Virgin Mary, ſo ſtiled by the Church of Rome.

(20) Epigram xxii. p. 231. ubi ſupra.

* This goodneſs was the more remarkable, as Jonſon was in his perſonal character the very reverſe of Shakeſpeare; as ſurly, ill-natured, proud, and diſagreeable, as Shakeſpeare, with ten times his merit, was gentle, good-natured, eaſy, and amiable. Drummond's Works, Edinb. 1711. fol. p. 222.

(21) Printed in 1605, 4to. The play was firſt acted in 1603, when Shakeſpeare played a part in it, as he did in every play of Jonſon as long as he continued upon the ſtage.

genius ripened apace, and his comedy, intitled, *Every Man in his Humour*, made it's appearance on the ſame ſtage in 1598 [*K*]. This was followed the next year by *Every Man out of his Humour* [*L*]. And he continued in like manner to furniſh a new play every year [*M*], 'till

‘ ſhare : In place of which I have rather choſen to put ‘ weaker, and no doubt leſs pleaſing of mine own, than ‘ defraud ſo happy a genius of his right by my lothed ‘ uſurpation.’ No body can doubt that this genius was Shakeſpeare ; but I believe the remark is juſt, That poſterity wiſhes thoſe numbers had been ſuffered to keep their ſtanding, with ſome note of diſtinction by Jonſon, whatever was his true motive for putting the change upon us. After Shakeſpeare's death, Jonſon inſcribed a copy of verſes to his memory, ſo artfully penned, that two great poets have been divided in their opinions about it ; Mr Dryden calling it invidious and aſperſing, while Mr Pope thinks it an ample and honourable panegyric to the memory of his friend.

[*K*] *Every man in his humour.*] This play ſtands at the head of the reſt, in the firſt edition of our author's works publiſhed by himſelf in 1616, Fol. and in his Induction to *the Magnetic Lady* (22), he calls it the beginning of his ſtudies of this kind. It ſeems he did not chuſe to own thoſe abortive brats which his unripe brain had produced before. The late editor of Jonſon's works, has inſerted in his edition (23) a comedy called *The caſe is altered*, which he thinks has plain marks of being one of theſe earlier compoſitions of our author ; and it is certain that piece, tho' acted ſeveral times by the children of Black-friars, was never fathered by him. It was printed indeed, according to the title page, in 1609, 4to, but moſt probably from the play-houſe copy(24) without his knowledge. Whence it was become in a manner loſt and forgotten by the reſt of the world, 'till the juſt mentioned late revival (25) by Mr Whalley, who grounds his opinion chiefly upon this remark, that the ſcene of the action is placed abroad, and the characters foreign, which being the general practice when Jonſon firſt applied himſelf to write for the ſtage, he conformed to it. Thus the ſcene of *The caſe is altered*, is Milan, the principal perſonages are of the ſame place, and the ſentiments they have occaſion to uſe, are what nature in any climate would expreſs her thoughts in upon a ſimilar occaſion. The droll and comic part of the drama ſhews itſelf in the manners of the ſervants, the mechanics, and lower characters of the comedy ; and altho' theſe are exhibited to us, under the ſounding names of Sebaſtian, Balthaſar, and Vicentio, their whole dialogue and humour are a lively copy from the home-ſpun wit of the clowns and artiſans of the poet's native country. But he ſoon obſerved the inconſiſtency, and reformed it. *Every man in his humour* made it's firſt appearance in this abſurd form. The ſcene was at Florence, the perſons repreſented were Italians, and the manners in great meaſure conformable to the genius of the place: But here too the humours of the under-characters are local, expreſſing, not the manners of a Florentine, but the gulls and bullies of the times and country in which the poet lived ; and in the ſame manner it was printed in 1601, 4to. But when it appeared again in the collection of his works, it had a more becoming and conſiſtent aſpect. The ſcene was transferred to London, the perſons had Engliſh names given to them, and the dialogue, incidents, and manners, were ſuited to the place of action. Thus, for inſtance, the names of the perſons prefixed to the 4to edition in 1601, are, Lorenzo de Pazzi, ſen. Lorenzo, jun. Muſeo, Stephano, Guilliano, Proſpero, Doctor Clement, Peto, Thorello, Heſperida, Biancha, Mattheo, Pizo, Cob, Tib, Bobadilla ; ſcene Florence. In fol. edit. 1616, Old Know'ell, Edward Know'ell his ſon, Brainworm, Mr Stephen, Downright, Wellbred, Juſtice Clement, Roger Formal, Kitely, Dame Kitely, Mrs Budget, Mr Matthew, Caſh, Cob, Tib, Capt. Bobadill ; ſcene London. It was no ſmall merit in our author to proceed thus far in his reform, by the choice of a domeſtic fable ; but ſtill it muſt be confeſſed, the work is not fully compleated ; there remains one remarkable inſtance of Italian manners, I mean, an alluſion to the cuſtom of poiſoning, ſo common in the revenges of Italian jealouſy (26). But notwithſtanding this fault, if it be one, yet it cannot be denied, that the character of Kitely is well imagined and ſupported ; his jealouſy is conſtantly returning, and creates him freſh ſcruples in every thing he ſets about. This ſhews itſelf no where in ſo ſtriking a light, as in the incident which makes the third ſcene of act the third ; and it is no diſparagement to the author of *The Suſpicious Huſband*, that in this particular, at leaſt, he ſet Jonſon before him.

[*L*] *Every man out of his humour.*] A late excellent critic ſends his reader to this play, for a ſight of the extravagance of building dramatic manners on *abſtract ideas* in it's full light. ‘ *Every man out of his humour*, ‘ ſays he, under the name of a play of character, is ‘ in fact an unnatural, and, as the painters call it, *hard* ‘ delineation of a group of ſimply exiſting paſſions, ‘ wholly chimerical, and unlike to any thing we ob‘ſerve in the commerce of real life. Yet, continues ‘ he, this comedy has always had it's admirers, and ‘ Randolph in particular was ſo taken with the deſign, ‘ that he ſeems to have formed his *Muſes looking-glaſs* ‘ in expreſs imitation of it (27).’ To this cenſure it hath been obſerved on the part of Jonſon, that the characters are indeed very ſtrongly marked, yet ſome of them have been thought to glance at particular perſons of the author's acquaintance ; and that his enemies did not ſcruple to tax him with quarrelling with his friends, and afterwards repreſenting them on the ſtage ; and particularly in the characters of this very play (28). So that far from being thought at that time to build his characters upon abſtract ideas, he was really accuſed of repreſenting particular perſons then exiſting ; and that even thoſe characters which appear to be the moſt exaggerated, are ſaid to have had their reſpective archetypes in nature and life (29). But this ſolution does not go to the bottom ; nay, indeed rather eludes than diſſolves the force of the objection, which does not mean to aſſert the exaggeration of the leading or predominant quality above nature or the life, in any of the characters ; but that every other quality, as it really exiſts in nature, is dropped, ſo that the man is turned all into a ſingle paſſion, of which nature affords no ſpecimen. Thus the Ancients obſerved of the famous ſtatue of Apollodorus, by Silarius, that *it expreſſed not the angry Apollodorus, but his paſſion of anger* (30).

[*M*] *He furniſhed a new play every year*] The firſt of theſe, *Cynthia's Revels*, he called a comical ſatire, as being not properly a comedy, ſince there is little or no plot, and the perſons of the play are rather vices or paſſions perſonalized, than characters copied from real life. His deſign was a compliment to Queen Elizabeth, under the allegorical perſonage of the goddeſs Cynthia. It was acted in 1600 by the children of her Majeſty's chapel. Upon the death of one of theſe children, Jonſon wrote his epitaph as follows :

An Epitaph on S. P. (31) *a child of Queen Elizabeth's chapel.*

‘ Weep with me all you that read,
‘ This little ſtory :
‘ And know for whom a tear you ſhed,
‘ Death's ſelf is ſorry.
‘ 'Twas a child that ſo did thrive,
‘ In grace and feature,
‘ As heav'n and nature ſeem'd to ſtrive,
‘ Which own'd the creature.
‘ Years he numbred ſcarce thirteen,
‘ When fate turn'd cruel,
‘ Yet three fill'd zodiacks he had been
‘ The ſtage's jewel ;
‘ And did act (what now we moan)
‘ Old men ſo duly,
‘ As ſooth the *Parcæ* thought him one,
‘ He play'd ſo truly.
‘ So by error to his fate
‘ They all conſented ;
‘ But viewing him ſince, (alas! too late,)
‘ They have repented.
‘ And have ſought (to give new birth)
‘ In baths to ſteep him ;
‘ But being ſo much too good for earth,
‘ Heav'n vows to keep him (32).’

We

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(22) Vol. IV. p 372.

(23) At the end of Vol. VII.

(24) This is more than probable, from the numerous errors in it, as uſual in thoſe copies.

(25) Though the title had been inſerted in the liſt of his productions, yet the play itſelf was become very ſcarce, and hardly to be met with.

(26) Act IV. ſcene viii.

(27) Horatii Epiſtolæ ad Piſones, &c. p. 239. 2d edit, 1753.

(28) Life of Jonſon, p. xxxviii.

(29) Every Man out of his Humour, p. 149. note (12). Jonſon's Works, Vol. I. edit. 1756.

(30) Non hominem ex ære fecit, ſed iracundiam. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. xxxiv. c. 8.

(31) Theſe initial letters probably denote Sal. Pavy, who was one of thoſe children.

(32) Jonſon's Works, Vol. VI. Epigr. cxx. p. 275, 276.

'till he was called off by the maſques and entertainments made for the reception of King James the Firſt on his acceſſion to the throne of England [*N*]. He was continually retained in this employ on all occaſions during his whole life afterward. But theſe ſlighter efforts of his muſe did not wholly occupy his genius. Both inclination and ambition concurred in prompting him to the graver and weightier works of the drama. Accordingly, in 1605, came out his comedy of *Volpone, or the Fox*; which being wholly finiſhed in the ſpace of five weeks (*k*), did not hinder him from indulging the ſourneſs of his temper, in a ſatirical comedy called *Eaſtward-Hoe*, written about this time againſt the Scotiſh nation. In this piece of intemperance, Chapman and Marſton were his coadjutors; and they were all three committed to priſon, and brought in danger of loſing their ears and noſes in the pillory (*l*); but, however, had the good fortune to obtain a pardon [*O*]. To repair this fault, Jonſon ſacrificed both his time and his muſe almoſt entirely to gratify the taſte of the Court in maſques (*m*) for ſome years; ſo that his next play did not make it's appearance 'till 1609. But he made ſome amends for the length of this interval by the perfection of the piece, which he intitled *Epicene, or the Silent Woman*; this being generally eſteemed the moſt exact and finiſhed comedy that our nation hath produced [*P*]. And

(*k*) See his prologue to that comedy, in anſwer to a reproach, that he was not leſs than a year about every play.

(*l*) Drummond's Works, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) See his Works, Vol. V. and VI. edit. 1754. where ſeveral of them are printed.

We ſee here that theſe children or choriſters vyed with the moſt celebrated players of that time. Accordingly the next piece of our author, the *Poetaſter*, had the ſame performers in 1601. The conteſt between Jonſon and Decker has been already mentioned; and this ſatire was the genuine offspring of it, wherein that competitor is ridiculed under the character of Criſpinus. Our author was alſo taxed with reflecting in it on ſome profeſſors of the Law and military men, both well known at that time. As the popular clamours againſt him ran very high, he thought proper to make a reply in an epilogue, which however was ſpoken only once (33). Decker reſolved to attack the aggreſſor at his own weapons, and wrote a play intitled *Satiromaſtix; or, The untruſſing the humorous poet*; where, under the character of Horace junior, he laſhes Jonſon, who in the Poetaſter had ſtiled himſelf Horace, and given many long and direct verſions from that favourite author, in contempt, as it ſhould ſeem, of the vulgar clamour, which had before cenſured him for his imitations. To compleat the oppoſition, as Jonſon's piece was acted by the children of the chapel, ſo Decker's revenge was performed by thoſe of St Paul's, who were the only rivals to the former.

(33) This is the Apologetical Dialogue referred to in remark [*E*].

After this our author tried his ſkill in tragedy writing, and produced his Sejanus, which was acted in 1603, and we ſhall ſpeak of it preſently.

[*N*] *'Till interrupted by the maſques and entertainments, &c.*] In theſe performances Jonſon was the chief factor for the Court, the writer's ſhare in moſt of them was furniſhed by him, and there ſeldom paſſed a year wherein he did not provide one or two poetical pieces of this kind. The firſt piece of this ſort which he had a hand in, was an entertainment compoſed for King James as he paſſed thro' the city from the Tower, to his coronation in Weſtminſter-Abbey, on Thurſday March 15, 1603. Our poet applied the firſt and laſt pageants, only the other three were deviſed by Decker, that antagoniſt being aſſociate with Johnſon on this occaſion, and he publiſhed his own part under this title, *The magnificent entertainment given to King James and Henry Frederic the Prince, upon the day of his Majeſty's paſſage from the Tower, thro' his honourable city and chamber of London, being the 15th of March* 1603. *Lond.* 4to. 1604. This rival of our author projected a device too, at the King's firſt arrival in the city, but it was never executed. In that he had introduced the genius of London; and Jonſon afterwards having done the like in this, and printed his part of the work, with explanatory notes of the ancient rites and paſſages alluded to therein, Decker attempted to ridicule his taſte in theſe words: 'To make a falſe flouriſh here with the borrowed weapons of all the old maſters of the noble ſcience of poeſy; and to keep a tyrannical wit in anatomizing genius from head to foot, only to ſhew how nimbly we can carve up the whole maſs of the poets, were to play the executioner, and to lay our city's houſhold-god on the rack, to make him confeſs how many pair of Latin ſheets we have ſhaken, and cut into ſhreds, to make him a garment. Such feats of activity are ſtale and common among ſcholars, before whom it is proteſted we come not now (in a pageant) to play a maſter's prize.' This cenſure is ſuppoſed to be the legitimate offspring of envy or malice in Decker, who had no genius or learning himſelf, and thought to be even with his betters, by endeavouring to rail or laugh them out of countenance; however that be, it is evident the preſent attack is not defective either in point of wit or ſpirit. But the truth is, Jonſon's taſte was the taſte of their common maſter, who, as is well known, was no leſs pedant than pageant-wiſe (34). No wonder then that he became the court-factor in general for theſe ſhews, which he took care to perfume with another eſſence ſtill more grateful than the former. I mean the incenſe of the moſt ſervile and abject adulation. He ſaw how very acceptable this tribute was, and provided it with no unſparing hand. For this all the ſtores of his learning were ranſacked and rifled; and in that ſearch he has been lucky enough to find out the foundation of a handſome compliment to prince Henry (that darling of the people as long as he lived), which has eſcaped the diligence of our beſt hiſtorians, I mean his reſemblance in the face to Henry the Vth. It is introduced in a piece called *The ſpeeches at Prince Henry's barriers*, where Merlin addreſſing himſelf to that prince, recounts the heroical deeds of his anceſtors, Kings and Princes of England; and in that detail, after the Black Prince, he deſcends to Henry V. in theſe lines:

(34) Jonſon's addreſs is ſhewn particularly in introducing ſeveral copies of Latin verſes into his firſt entertainment; and he obſerved the ſame courtlineſs in ſeveral of the ſubſequent productions of that caſt, and it is remarkable, that this talent was ſparingly exerted upon any other occaſion.

> Yet reſts the other thunderbolt of war,
> Harry the fifth, to whom in face you are
> So like as fate would have you ſo in worth (35).

(35) Jonſon's Works, Vol. V. p. 362, 363.

[*O*] *In danger of the pillory, but obtained a pardon.*] Sir James Murray repreſented the affront to his Majeſty, who ordered the puniſhment above mentioned. Upon his releaſement our poet gave an entertainment to his friends, among whom were Camden and Selden, who not improbably had been very inſtrumental in procuring his pardon (36). In the midſt of the entertainment his mother, more an antique Roman than a Briton, drank to him, and ſhewed him a paper of poiſon, which ſhe intended to have given him in his liquor, after having taken a potion of it herſelf, if the ſentence upon him had been carried into execution (37). It is not improbable that the motive for making a ridicule upon the Scots the ſubject of a play, was the almoſt certain proſpect of it's welcome reception. It muſt have been a popular topic at this time with the Engliſh. We have before had occaſion to obſerve, that ſome of the beſt ſpirits among theſe, were irreconcilably diſguſted (38) at the crowd of blue caps which then filled every corner of the Court. However that be, ſo much will not be denied, that the undertaking is a proper contraſt to the extreme courtlineſs of our poet's muſe, mentioned in the preceding remark, ſets it in a clear light, and demonſtrates, her goddeſſhip to be a mere occaſional conformiſt.

(36) If ſo, he had an opportunity of returning the favour which was acknowledged by Selden, when he had incurred the royal diſpleaſure by his Hiſtory of Tithes. See the preface to his Titles of Honour.

(37) Life of Drummond, ubi ſupra.

(38) In the Life of Holles Earl of Clare.

[*P*] *The Silent Woman is the moſt exact play that our nation hath produced.*] Mr Dryden was ſo much ſtruck with the perfection of this performance, that he ſets it down for a pattern of a perfect play, wherein all the unities inſiſted on by the niceſt and moſt ſcrupulous critics are moſt ſtrictly obſerved. For inſtance, the length of the action, ſo far from exceeding the compaſs of a natural day, does not make up an artificial one, but is all included in the limits of three hours and an half, which is no more than is required for the preſentment on the ſtage. The ſcene is laid in London. The latitude of the place is almoſt as little

And the next year brought forth *The Alchemiſt* [*Q*], one of the beſt of his comedies; but that was followed the enſuing year, 1611, by the worſt of his tragedies, intitled *Cataline* [*R*]. In 1613 our author took a tour to Paris, where he was admitted to an interview

as you can imagine; for it lies all within the compaſs of two houſes, and after the firſt act in one. The continuity of ſcenes is obſerved more than in any of ours, except his own Fox and Alchemiſt (39). The action of the play is entirely one; the end or aim of which is the ſettling of Moroſe's eſtate upon Dauphine. The intrigue is the greateſt and moſt noble of any pure unmixed comedy in any language. The converſation of gentlemen in the perſons of Truewit and his friends is deſcribed with more gaiety, air, and freedom, than in the reſt of Jonſon's comedies. The contrivance of the whole is ſtill the more to be admired, becauſe it is a comedy where the perſons are only of a common rank, and their buſineſs private, not elevated by paſſions or high concernments as in ſerious plays. Laſtly, the unravelling of the plot is ſo admirable, that when it is done, no one of the audience would think the poet could have miſſed it; and yet it was concealed ſo much before the laſt ſcene, that any other way would ſooner have entered into your thoughts (40). Thus that excellent poet, who may be ſaid to have governed the opinion of the public ſo far, which muſt needs be pleaſed, as he was, to view the Engliſh theatre rivalling that of France in it's moſt boaſted quality, viz. a ſtrict obſervation of the unities. But when his fondneſs carried him farther to juſtify the character of Moroſe as quite in nature, and not overcharged, it is no wonder, that ſome criticks appeared, who being of a ſourer diſpoſition, judged with leſs partiality to the author in this point §. It has been obſerved that Jonſon might probably borrow the character and marriage of Moroſe from the declamation of the Greek ſophiſt Libanius upon a moroſe perſon; who having married a talkative wife, is ſuppoſed to plead his own accuſation before the judges, in order to obtain a ſentence of death againſt himſelf. The remark is Mr Theobald's (41), and whoever reads that harangue will be apt to concur with him. For tho' he gave no proofs of any imitations from it, yet that omiſſion only ſhews he had not actually compared the two pieces together with this view, otherwiſe the following inſtance is ſo plain and direct, that it could not have eſcaped his eye. In the declamation, Moroſe mentioning the device of ſtopping his wife's mouth, declares, that having tried the experiment, it was ſo far from curing her, that afterwards ſhe grew much worſe for it, which he enforces by the following ſimile: *ὥσπερ οἱ τοὺς κρουνοὺς ἐπήσχοντες, εἶτ' ἀφελόντες, τὸ κωλύον σφοδρότερον εἰργάσαντο τὴν φορὰν, οὕτως ἐγὼ μικρὸν ἀνασείλας τὴν φονὴν μεῖζον ἐπασπασάμεν τὸ ρεῖθρον* *, of which Greek the following ſpeech of Moroſe in the play is a plain and direct imitation, in anſwer to Truewit's officiouſneſs, who offers to entreat Epicene to hold her peace, he cries out, O no, labour not to ſtop her. *She is like a conduit-pipe, that will guſh out with more force when ſhe opens again* †. It may be obſerved alſo, that the extravagant exaggeration of the original throughout, which in the declamatory ſtile is leſs inexcuſable, ſeems to have drawn our imitator to follow it in general (as has been obſerved he did the Roman hiſtorian in his Cataline) beyond the juſt bounds of the province of comedy. Mr Dryden tells us ‖ from tradition, that Jonſon was really acquainted with a perſon of this whimſical turn of mind; which indeed is very poſſible in nature; and then the deſign being to expoſe the foible of a real perſon, it was very convenient to exaggerate the peculiarities and enlarge the features of the character; notwithſtanding he may be cenſured therein ſinking beneath the true dignity of the comic ſcene, and degenerating into farce ‡.

[*Q*] *The Alchemiſt.*] Mr Dryden intimates, that the character of the Alchemiſt was copied from the Aſtrologer in the comedy of Albumazar, a play which was revived in his time, and a prologue wrote by him, wherein are theſe lines:

> Subtle was got by our Albumazar,
> That Alchemiſt by this Aſtrologer,
> Here he was faſhioned, and we may ſuppoſe,
> He liked the faſhion well who wore the clothes.

The author of this play is unknown, but the earlieſt edition of it is ſeveral years later than the Alchemiſt; and the ſilence of Jonſon's enemies on this head, is a preſumption in his favour, wherein it has been ſuggeſted, that Mr Dryden might poſſibly be miſinformed or miſtaken (42).

The very judicious critic mentioned in a preceding remark, having ſhewn the incongruity there is between farce and comedy; and in conſequence thereof the abſurdity of the modern practice in perpetually mixing them together, proceeds thus: 'Of our own comedies, ſuch of them, I mean, as are worthy of criticiſm, Ben Jonſon's Alchemiſt and Volpone, bid the faireſt for being written in the genuine unmixed manner. Yet, tho' their merits are very great, the impartial critic will hardly allow them this perfection. The Alchemiſt is, I think, throughout exaggerated; and at beſt belongs to that ſpecies of comedy, which we have before called particular and partial. The extravagant purſuit ſo ſtrongly expoſed in that play, hath been now of a long time forgotten, and we therefore find it difficult to enter fully into the humour of this highly wrought character. We may remark in general of ſuch ſubjects, that they are a ſtrong temptation to the writer to exceed the bounds of truth and mediocrity in his draught of them at firſt, and are farther liable to an imperfect, and even unfair ſentence from the reader afterwards. For the welcome reception, which theſe pictures of prevailing local folly meet with on the ſtage, cannot but induce the poet, almoſt without deſign, to inflame the repreſentation, and the want of archetypes in a little time makes it paſs for immoderate, were it originally given with ever ſo much diſcretion and juſtice. The plan of the Alchemiſt is then eſſentially ſuch as ſubjects this comedy to the imputations of farce.

'The Volpone, on the other hand, is a ſubject fitted for the entertainment of all times, and is therefore of the ſort a great writer would chuſe, when he wanted to tranſmit a monument of his art and genius to poſterity. Such appears to have been the generous purpoſe of the poet in this admirable comedy, and the fate of it has been anſwerable to his intentions; yet neither, I am afraid, is this a complete model. There are even ſome incidents of a farcical invention; particularly, the mountebank's ſcene, and Sir Politique's tortoiſe, are in the taſte of the old comedy. Beſides, the humour of the dialogue is ſometimes on the point of becoming inordinate, as may be ſeen in the pleaſantry of Corbaccio's miſtakes through deafneſs; and in other inſtances. The caſt of his plays indeed could hardly be any other, if we attend to the character of the writer. For his nature was ſevere and rigid; and this in giving a ſtrength and manlineſs, gave at times too an intemperance to his ſatire. His taſte for ridicule was ſtrong but indelicate, which made him not over curious in the choice of his topics. And laſtly, his ſtile in picturing characters, tho' maſterly, was without that elegance of hand, which is required to correct and allay the force of ſo bold a colouring. Thus the biaſs of his nature leading him to Plautus rather than Terence, for his model, it is not to be wondered that his wit is too frequently cauſtic, his raillery coarſe, and his humour exceſſive.' This impartial pen concludes the remark in the following terms: 'Some late writers for the ſtage have, no doubt, avoided theſe defects in the exacteſt of our oldeſt dramatiſts. But do they rival his excellencies? Poſterity, I am afraid, will judge otherwiſe, whatever may be now thought of ſome more faſhionable comedies. And if they do not, neither the ſtate of general manners, nor the turn of the public taſte appears to be ſuch, as countenances the expectation of greater improvements. To thoſe who are not over ſanguine in their hopes, our forefathers will perhaps be thought to have furniſhed (what in nature ſeem linked together) the faireſt example of *dramatic* as of *real* manners (43).

[*R*] *The worſt of his tragedies Cataline.*] This and the Sejanus are the only trials of his ſkill and taſte in tragedy, and they have both been condemned by the general ſentence, from their firſt appearance down to this day. Nevertheleſs our poet himſelf appears to have view and converſation with Cardinal Perron, whom he treated with all that frankneſs and bluntneſs which was ſo much his nature (*n*). It was about this time that he commenced a quarrel with Inigo Jones, whom he therefore made the ſubject of his ridicule in his next comedy, called *Bartholomew-Fair*, acted in 1614 (*o*). That was ſucceeded by the *Devil's an Aſs*, in 1616. This year he publiſhed his Works in one folio volume; and the Poet-Laureat's ſalary, of a hundred marks per annum, was ſettled upon him for life by King James I. the ſame year (*p*). Crowned with theſe honours by his Prince, he ſaw the moſt diſtinguiſhed wits of his time crowding his train and courting his acquaintance. And, in that ſpirit, he was invited to Chriſt-Church in Oxford by Dr Corbet [*S*], then

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(39) They are not broken above twice or thrice at moſt, and in Corneille's Cid and Cinna we find them interrupted once.

(40) Dryden's Eſſay on Dramatic Poetry, p. 32. & ſeq. edit. 1693. 4to.

§ See Congreve's Letter to Dennis upon the ſubject of Humour, and Gildon's Laws of Poetry explained and illuſtrated, p. 246. Lond. 1721, 8vo.

(41) Jonſon's Works, ubi ſupra, Vol. II. p. ult. in note (9).

* Libanii Orationes & Declamationes, &c. Vol. I. Declam. vi. p. 311. Par. 1606, fol.

† Silent Woman, Act IV. ſcene iv.

‖ Where laſt cited.

‡ Heard's Horace's Art of Poetry, Vol. I. p. 274, 275. edit. 1753.

(42) Whalley, in Jonſon's Life, p. 44.

(43) A Diſſertation concerning the Provinces of the ſeveral Species of the Drama, p. 277, & ſeq. Lond. 1753. 8vo.

(*n*) Among other things, the Cardinal ſhewing him his tranſlation of Virgil. Jonſon ſcrupled not to tell him flatly it was a bad one. Drummond's Works.

(*o*) See an account of this quarrel in the preceding article, remark [*F*].

(*p*) See remark [*T*].

have ſet no ſmall value on each of them (44), a conſpicuous proof of the common remark how ill a judge any author is of the merit of his own productions. The following extract will juſtify this cenſure; Horace in his art of poetry has theſe lines:

> ' *Publica materies privati juris erit,*
> ' *Si non circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem;*
> ' *Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus*
> ' *Interpres, nec deſilies imitator in arctum,*
> ' *Unde pedem proferre pudor vetet, aut operis lex.*'

Here are three rules laid down to be obſerved by every dramatic writer in the management of his fable. (1.) Not to follow the trite obvious round of the original work, i. e. Not ſervilely and ſcrupulouſly to adhere to its plan or method. (2.) Not to be tranſlators inſtead of imitators, i. e. If it ſhall be thought fit to imitate more expreſsly any part of the original, to do it with freedom and ſpirit, and without a ſlaviſh attachment to the mode of expreſſion. (3.) Not to adopt any particular incident, that may occur in the propoſed model, which either decency or the nature of the work would reject. A late ingenious commenmentator upon this paſſage having obſerved, 'That tho' the poet refers to the Iliad of Homer for an illuſtration of theſe rules, probably without an eye to particular inſtances of the errors here condemned, in the Latin tragedies, proceeds thus: For want of theſe, ſays he, it may be of uſe to fetch an illuſtration from ſome examples in our own; and we need not look far for them. Almoſt every modern play affords an inſtance of one or other of theſe faults. The ſingle one of Cataline by B. Jonſon is, itſelf, a ſpecimen of them all. This tragedy, which hath otherwiſe great merit, and on which it's author appears to have ſet no ſmall value, is, in fact, the Catalinarian war of Salluſt put into poetical dialogue, and ſo offends againſt the firſt *rule* of the poet, in *following too ſervilely the plain beaten road of the chronicle*. Next the ſpeeches of Cicero and Cataline, of Cato and Cæſar, are, all of them, direct and literal tranſlations of the hiſtorian and orator, in violation of the ſecond rule, which forbids *a too cloſe attachment to the mode or form of expreſſion*. 3. There are ſeveral tranſgreſſions of that rule which enjoins a *ſtrict regard to the nature and genius of the work*: One is obvious and ſtriking. In the hiſtory, which had for it's ſubject the whole Catalinarian war, the fates of the conſpirators were diſtinctly to be recorded, and the preceding debates concerning the manner of their puniſhment afforded an occaſion too inviting to be overlooked by an hiſtorian (and above all a republican hiſtorian) of embelliſhing his narration by ſet harangues. Hence the long ſpeeches of Cæſar and Cato in the ſenate have great propriety, and are juſtly eſteemed amongſt the leading beauties of that work. But the caſe was totally different in the drama; which, taking for it's ſubject the ſingle fate of Cataline, had no concern with the other conſpirators, whoſe fates, at moſt, ſhould only have been hinted at, not debated with all the circumſtances of pomp and rhetoric on the ſtage. Nothing can be more flat and diſguſtful than this calm impertinent pleading; eſpecially in the very heat and winding up of the plot. But the poet was miſled by the beauty it appeared to have in the original compoſition, without attending to the peculiar laws of the drama, and the indecorum it muſt needs have in ſo very different a work (45).' Thus that judicious critic. And in aggravation of Jonſon's fault it hath been farther obſerved, that tho' he was conſcious of what might poſſibly be objected to him upon thoſe heads, yet he was ſo far from regarding them as errors or imperfections in his poem, that he, in truth, conſidered them as beauties, and prided himſelf upon his tranſlations as ſo many real excellencies, and the chief ornaments of his play. However, in juſtice to him it muſt be acknowledged, that he hath diſcovered great art and ſpirit in deſigning and ſupporting his characters; and has occaſionally deviated from the leading thread of the ſtory, and varied the arrangement of circumſtances in the manner that was moſt conducive to draw out his characters, and diſplay the ruling paſſion inherent in the breaſt of each (46). Theſe remarks upon the Cataline, continues the ſame editor, are, in ſome degree, applicable to the Sejanus of Johnſon *. In this indeed the narration from which he copied was leſs obvious and direct; and hence it demanded a greater ſhare of judgment to combine and connect the diſtinct periods and members, to form a regular and conſiſtent whole; but as the ſtory lay before him, from which he drew his incidents, he copied with too cloſe an attachment to hiſtoric compoſition; and in breach of the ſecond rule, what he hath tranſlated in the Latin, is expreſſed with too exact a conformity to the mode and letter of the original expreſſion. And laſtly, he hath adopted incidents which the law and nature of his work would reject. The play ſhould naturally have ended with the fall and tragical death of Sejanus. For this reaſon the ſubſequent deſcriptions taken from Juvenal, of the indignities and inſults offered by the multitude, both to himſelf and his ſtatues, are wholly out of place. Nor was it leſs improper to deſcribe with the attendant circumſtances, the unfortuaate end of the ſon and daughter of Sejanus; who with brutal violence were dragged from home, and inhumanly put to death by the public executioner. But the poet intended to recount a tale of horror, and excite pity in the breaſts of the ſpectators, by relating the untimely fate of the innocent and tender ſufferers; and this farther contributed, in concurrence with the moral, that to inſinuate divine vengeance would not fail to puniſh and exterminate the whole race of thoſe, who contemned the providence and power of heaven (47). He might alſo have ſtill another deſign in his view in not concluding his play without theſe ſtories, as they ſerved to take off the force of the objection made to the choice of his ſubject, that Sejanus and Cataline were hiſtorical characters ſo well known, that no diſtreſs which befals them, can poſſibly raiſe any kind of pity, the chiefeſt and nobleſt paſſion belonging to tragedy, in the breaſt of the beholder. However, after all, it muſt be acknowledged, that pity is not the only paſſion, which the tragic poet is concerned with. To excite dread and terror in the mind of the ſpectator, is equally the deſign of tragedy with raiſing the ſofter and more tender emotions of the heart. Wickedneſs and guilt, when they are repreſented to an audience, ſhould naturally create no other ſenſations but thoſe of fear and horror; and the cataſtrophe ſhould be deſigned as a monitory leſſon to deter others from perpetrating the like crimes. Our poet is not ſingular in the choice of his ſubjects. One of them has lately been exhibited on a ſtage that is no way remarkable for preſenting ſcenes of cruelty to the beholder. The rival wits of France, Mr Crebillon in his *Catalina*, and Mr Voltaire in his *Rome ſauvé*, have actually pitched on the ſame event with Jonſon, in their conteſt for the dramatic laurel.

[*S*] *He was invited to Chriſt-Church by Dr Corbet.*] We have had occaſion to mention this gentleman before in the courſe of this work (48), and therefore ſome account ſhall be given of him here. He was deſcended of a genteel family at Ewel in Surrey (49), tho' his father Vincent Corbet followed the buſineſs of a gardiner at Twickenham in Middleſex (50). He was born in 1582, and being bred firſt at Weſtminſter ſchool was removed thence to Broadgate-hall, (now Pembroke-

(44) See his prefaces to each of them.

(45) Epiſtolæ ad Piſones, &c. with an Engliſh Commentary and notes, ſecond edit. 1753. Vol. I. p. 84, 85.

(46) Preface to edition of Jonſon's Works, ubi ſupra, p. xx, xxi.

* In both he copied after Seneca the Tragedian.

(47) Ibid. p. xxi, xxii.

(48) In the Life of Harriot.

(49) See the latter end of his poems.

(50) In Jonſon's Works, Vol. VI. p. 358. There is an epitaph upon him, wherein Ben. expreſſes a great regard for his memory.

then Senior-Student of that college. Our Poet gladly accepted the invitation; and, having paſſed ſome time in cultivating his muſe in that delightful ſeat, he received an additional atteſtation of his merit from the univerſity, who preſented him with the honorary degree of Maſter of Arts, at the Act in 1619 (*q*). On the death of the Laureat, Samuel Daniel, in October following, Jonſon ſucceeded to that poſt, the duty of which had been chiefly performed by him a long time before [*T*]. The year had not expired, when our new-

Pembroke-college) in Oxford in 1597-8, and choſen ſtudent of Chriſt-Church the following year. In 1605 he proceeded A. M. being then eſteemed one of the moſt celebrated wits of the univerſity, and particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by making extempore verſes, jeſts, and high flights in the romance taſte, which was the wit then in vogue. Afterwards entering into holy orders he became a moſt quaint preacher in the faſhion of that age; and was therefore admired, and eſpecially taken notice of by King James I, who made him one of his chaplains, and promoted him to the deanery of of Chriſt-Church (51), in 1620. By the recommendation of the Earl of Dorſet he was made biſhop of Oxford in 1629, whence he was tranſlated to Norwich in 1632, where he died in 1635, and was buried in that cathedral, having a flat ſtone upon his grave, with a ſhort Latin inſcription, and the arms of the Corbets of Shropſhire, viz. *Or, a raven paſſant ſable.* Mr Wood tells us, that he was of a very hoſpitable temper, and generous in promoting public deſigns; particularly in 1634, upon the repair of St Paul's, London, he exerted himſelf both in ſpeech (52), and exemplary gifts to advance that pious work, not only contributing largely himſelf, but alſo giving money to ſome poor miniſters for them to give, in order to excite others to contribute who were better able. After his death was publiſhed a piece, intituled, *Poetica Stromata*, or a collection of ſundry pieces of poetry, London, 1647, 48, &c. 8vo *. Theſe were made in his younger years, and never intended for the preſs by him. There is alſo extant *Richardi Corbet oratio in funus Henrici principis.* MS. in Muſeo Aſhmoliano, at Oxford (53).

[*T*] *He was made Poet Laureat, &c.*] It is ſomething ſtrange, ſays Mr Whalley, that when Daniel was Laureat, his province for many years ſhould have been diſcharged by Jonſon, altho' Daniel wanted not for genius, and was honoured with the good opinion of the Queen. He might alſo have obſerved that Jonſon had the ſalary of the Laureat ſettled upon him for life, ſome years before Daniel's deceaſe, or elſe one of the ſame value, unleſs there be a miſtake in the date of the inſtrument, as it is referred to in the ſubſequent one for augmenting that ſalary of a hundred marks to ſo many pounds, with the addition of a tierce of Canary wine in 1630, by King Charles I. To ſupport this remark, it will be neceſſary to lay before the reader a copy of that warrant, as follows:

‘ CHARLES R.

‘ Charles by the Grace of God, Kinge of England, Scotland, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to the Theaſurer, Chancellor, Under Theaſurer, Chamberlains, and Barons of the Exchequer of us, our heirs and ſucceſſours, now beinge, and that hereafter ſhall be, and to all other the officers and miniſters of the ſaid court, and of the receipt there now beinge, and that hereafter ſhall be, and to all others, to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, or to whom it ſhall or may apperteyn, greeting. Whereas our late moſt deare father King James of happy memorie, by his letters pattents under the great ſeale of England bearing date at Weſtminſter the firſt day of February in the thirteenth year of his reign of England (for the conſiderations therein expreſſed) did give and graunt unto our well-beloved ſervaunt Benjamin Johnſon, an annuitie or yearly penſion of one hundred marks of lawful money of Englande, duringe his life, to be paid out of the ſaid Exchequer, at the feaſt of the annunciation of the bleſſed Virgin Mary, the nativity of St John Baptiſt, St Michael the Archangel, and the birth of our Lord God, quarterly, as by the ſaid letters patents more at large may appear; which annuity or penſion, together with the ſaid letters patents, the ſaid Benjamin Johnſon hath lately ſurrendered unto us. Know yee now, that wee, for diverſe good conſiderations us at this preſent eſpecially movinge, and in conſideration of the good and acceptable ſervice done unto us, and to our ſaid father by the ſaid Benjamin Johnſon, and eſpecially to encourage him to proceed in thoſe ſervices of wit and penn, which wee have enjoyned unto him, and which we expect from him, are graciouſly pleaſed to augment and encreaſe the ſaid annuitie or penſion of one hundred marks, unto an annuitie of one hundred pounds of lawful money of England, for his life. And for the better effecting thereof, of our eſpecial grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, we have given and graunted, and by theſe preſents for us, our heirs, and ſucceſſors, upon the ſurrender aforeſaid, do give and graunt unto the ſaid Benjamin Johnſon, one annuitie or yearly penſion of one hundred pounds of lawful money of England, by the year, to have, hold, and yearly to receive the ſaid annuitie or yearly penſion of one hundred pounds, of lawful money of England, by the year, unto the ſaid Benjamin Johnſon, or his aſſignes, from the feaſt of our Lord God laſt paſt before the date hereof, for and during the natural life of him the ſaid Benjamin Johnſon, at the receipt of the exchequer of us, our heirs and ſucceſſours, out of the treaſure of us, our heirs and ſucceſſours, from time to time there remayning, by the Theaſurer and Chamberlens of us, our heirs and ſucceſſours there, for the time beinge, at the aforeſaid four uſual terms of the year, (that is to ſay) at the feaſt of the annuntiation of the bleſſed Virgin Mary, the nativity of St John the Baptiſt, St Michael the Archangel, and the birth of our Lord God, by even and equal potions, quarterly to be paid. The firſt payment thereof to begin at the feaſt of the annuntiation of the bleſſed Virgin Mary next before the date of theſe preſents. Wherefore our will and pleaſure is, and we do by theſe preſents for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors require, command and authoriſe the ſaid Theaſurer, Chancellor, Under-Theaſurer, Chamberlens, and Barons, and other Officers and Miniſters of the ſaid Exchequer, now and for the time being, not only to paie, or cauſe to be paid unto the ſaid Benjamin Johnſon, or his aſſignes, the ſaid annuitie or yearly penſion of one hundred pounds, of lawful money of England, according to our pleaſure before expreſſed: And alſo from time to time to give full allowance of the ſame, according to the true meaning of theſe preſents: And theſe preſents, and the inrollment thereof ſhall be unto all men whom it ſhall concern, ſufficient warrant and diſcharge for the payinge and allowinge of the ſame accordingly, without any farther or other warrant to be in that behalf procured or obtained. And further know yee, that wee of our more eſpecial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, have given and graunted, and by theſe preſents, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, do give and graunt unto the ſaid Benjamin Johnſon and his aſſignes, one terſe of Canary Spaniſh wine yearly: To have, hold, perceive, receive and take the ſaid terſe of Canary Spaniſh wine unto the ſaid Benjamin Johnſon and his aſſignes, during the term of his natural life, out of our ſtore of wines yearly, and from time to time remayninge at or in our cellars, within, or belonging to our palace of Whitehall. And for the better effecting of our will and pleaſure herein, we do hereby require and command all and ſingular officers whom it ſhall or may concerne, or who ſhall have the care or charge of our ſaid wines, that they or ſome one of them do deliver, or cauſe to be delivered the ſaid terſe of wine yearly, and once in every year unto the ſaid Benjamin Johnſon or his aſſignes, during the term of his natural life, at ſuch time and times, as he or they ſhall demand or deſire the ſame. And theſe preſents or the inrollment thereof ſhall be unto all men whom it ſhall concerne, a ſufficient warrant and diſcharge in that behalf, altho' expreſs mention, &c. In witneſs, &c.

Ex. per Ro. HEATH.

‘ Maie it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty,

‘ This conteyneth your Majeſtie's graunte unto Benjamin Johnſon, your Majeſtie's ſervaunte, during his life, of a penſion of 100 l. *per annum*, and of a terſe of

(*q*) He was created A. M. July 10, that year. Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 215.

(51) He was then Senior-Student of the college, Vicar of Caffington in Oxfordſhire, and Prebendary of Bedmington-Secunda in the church of Sarum.

(52) The MS. of this ſpeech is in the Aſhmolean Muſæum at Oxford.

* See a copy of verſes cited from it upon Arabella Stuart, in the article of STUART [ARABEELA].

(53) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 600, 601.

new-crowned Laureat took a tour into Scotland (*r*), on purpoſe to viſit a favourite brother-poet, Mr Drummond of Hawthornden [*U*] in that country. He paſſed ſome months with this ingenious friend, to whom he opened his heart with a moſt unreſerved freedom and confidence, the ſweeteſt gift of friendſhip [*W*]. Our author was much pleaſed

‘ of Spaniſh wine yearly, out of your Majeſtie's
‘ ſtore remaining at Whitehall. And is done upon
‘ ſurrender of former letters patents granted unto him
‘ by your late royal father of a penſion of 100 marks
‘ *per annum*.
‘ Signified to be your Majeſtie's pleaſure by the
‘ Lord Theaſurer.

Ro. Heath.

Indorſed thus,

March 1630.

‘ *Expl. apud Weſtm. viceſimo ſexto die Martii anno R.*
‘ *Ris. Caroli quinto.*

Per Windebank *.’

[*U*] *He went to Scotland to viſit Drummond, &c.*] Ben had long held a literary correſpondence with this gentleman, who had given him an invitation to his pleaſant ſeat at Hawthornden, where this brother-poet was born, November 13, 1585. He received the firſt rudiments of his education at the high-ſchool in Edinburgh, and thence removed to that univerſity, where he was made A. M. In 1606, he was ſent to Bourges in France, to ſtudy the Civil-Law under his countryman, the Preſident Lockhart ; and he made himſelf ſo much a maſter of it, that if he had followed the practice, he might have made the beſt figure of any Lawyer in his time. But he ſaw more charms in the claſſics than in that dry ſtudy, and relinquiſhed all thoughts of the Bar. After the death of his father, he retired to Hawthornden ; and, continuing his application to the Greek and Latin Poets and Hiſtorians, he there enriched the world with the product of his leiſure hours. In this retirement he fell in love with a beautiful young lady, daughter to Mr Cunningham of Barnes, of an ancient and honourable family. He made his addreſſes to this lady, and was happy enough to raiſe a mutual paſſion in her. The day of marriage was fixed, and all things ready for completing his felicity, when ſhe was ſnatched from him by a fever. To divert the melancholy occaſioned by this ſhock (54), he made the tour of Italy ; and paſſing through Germany and France, he viſited all the famous univerſities, and converſed with the Literati of each country. He continued abroad eight years, and reſiding chiefly at Rome and Paris, he made an excellent collection of the beſt ancient Greek and Latin, and of the modern French, Italian, and Spaniſh books. Upon his return to Scotland, he went to the ſeat of his brother-in-law Sir John Scott, of Scots-Tarvant, a gentleman of good ſenſe and learning, with whom he lived 'till about 1630 ; when he entered into a marriage with Elizabeth, grand-daughter of Sir Robert Logan (55). He had ſeveral children by this lady. Two ſons, William, who was knighted by Charles II ; Robert ; and a daughter, Elizabeth, who was married to one Dr Henderſon a Phyſician at Edinburgh. After the breaking out of the civil war, he retired to his brother, with whom he continued during the times of the confuſion. In this interval it is ſuppoſed, that he drew up his Hiſtory of the Five James's, ſucceſſively Kings of Scotland. He likewiſe wrote ſeveral tracts againſt the meaſures of the Covenanters, and thoſe engaged in the oppoſition of Charles I. one of theſe, called *Icæne*, he was deſired to print, as the beſt means to quiet the minds of the diſtracted people, by the Marquis of Montroſe, who likewiſe ſent him a protection, dated Auguſt 1645, immediately after the battle of Kylſyth, with another letter, wherein he highly commends Mr Drummond's learning and loyalty (56). When a tax was laid by the reformers for raiſing the army which fought againſt the King, as his eſtate lay in three different counties, it happened, that the money levied upon him as his ſhare upon any one of the eſtates, did not amount to the maintaining of one man, but a half, or perhaps a quarter only. Whereupon he addreſſed the following lines to the King.

‘ Of all theſe forces rais'd againſt the King,
‘ 'Tis my ſtrange hap not one whole man to bring.
‘ From diverſe pariſhes, yet diverſe men ;
‘ But all in halves and quarters : Great King, then,
‘ In halves and quarters if they come 'gainſt thee,
‘ In halves and quarters ſend them back to me.’

Under the appellation of a Malignant he was extremely harraſſed by the prevailing party, and for his verſes and diſcourſes frequently ſummoned before their circular tables. The news of his Sovereign's death upon a ſcaffold ſo overwhelmed him with grief, that, worn down by ſtudy as he was, he did not long ſurvive the ſhock. He died the ſame year, 1649 ; and though he never was in arms for the King, yet he may be ſaid in ſome ſenſe to have fallen a ſacrifice to his loyalty. A little before his death, he gave a conſiderable part of his books to the univerſity of Edinburgh (57). His general character is thus ſummed up by the writer of his Life. He was a man of fine natural endowments, cultivated by reading and travelling ; he was poſſeſſed of all the perſonal accompliſhments of muſic, dancing, fencing, &c. and ſpoke the Spaniſh, Italian, and French languages, as well as his mother-tongue. He was a judicious and great Hiſtorian, a delicate Poet, a maſter of polite erudition, a loyal ſubject, a friend to his country, and, to ſum up all, a pious Chriſtian. After his death, his Hiſtory was publiſhed at London, 1655, in fol. with a preface or introduction by Mr Hall of Gray's-Inn. In this Hiſtory, Mr Drummond has chiefly followed Biſhop Elphinſton, and has given a different turn to things from Buchanan, whom a party of the Scotch accuſe of being a penſioner of Queen Elizabeth ; and as he joined intereſt with the Earl of Murray, who wanted to diſturb the reign of his ſiſter Mary Queen of Scots ; he is ſtrongly ſuſpected of being a party-writer, and of having miſrepreſented the Scotch tranſactions of old, in order to ſerve ſome ſcheme of policy. His Works were printed at Edinburgh, 1711, in fol. to which there is prefixed an account of his life (58) ; as alſo a preface by Milton's nephew, Mr Edward Philips, who ranks him with Taſſo and Guarini among the Poets, and places him next to Thuanus among the Hiſtorians. Among his poems, there is one called by him *Polemio Middiana* ; 'tis a kind of Macronic poetry, in which the Scots words are put into Latin terminations ; it was reprinted in Queen Anne's time, with a preface concerning Macronic poetry ; and it has been often reprinted in Scotland as a very humerous performance.

[*W*] *The ſweeteſt gift of friendſhip.*] His ſentiments of the authors and poets of thoſe times will no doubt be an agreeable entertainment to the reader ; and we ſhall lay it before him, from the minutes which were taken of it by Drummond himſelf, as follows. With regard to the Poets, he ſaid, that Sydney did not keep a decorum, in making every one ſpeak as well as himſelf. That Spenſer's ſtanza pleaſed him not, nor his matter ; the meaning of the allegory of the fairy-queen he delivered in writing to Sir Walter Ralegh, which was, that, by the bleating beaſt he underſtood the Puritans ; and by the falſe Dueſſa the Queen of Scots. Spenſer's goods, he ſaid, were robbed by the Iriſh, and his houſe with a little child burnt, he and his wife eſcaped, and after died for want of bread in King-ſtreet ; he refuſed 20 pieces ſent him by Lord Eſſex, and ſaid he had no time to ſpend. That Samuel Daniel was a good honeſt man, had no children, and was no poet ; he had wrote the Civil Wars, and had not yet one battle in all his book. That Drayton's Poly-Olbion, if he had performed what he promiſed to write, the Deeds of all the Worthies, had been excellent ; that he was challenged for writing one book, *Mortimeriades*. That Sir John Davis played on Drayton in an epigram, who in a ſonnet concluded his miſtreſs might have been the ninth worthy, and ſaid, he uſed a phraſe like Dametas in Arcadia, who ſaid, his miſtreſs for her wit might be a giant. That Sylveſter's tranſlation of Du Bartas was not well done, and that he wrote his verſes before he underſtood to confer, and thoſe of Fairfax were not good (59). That the tranſlation of Homer and Virgil into long Alexandrines was but proſe.

(*r*) Mr Drummond dates the minutes of his converſation, January 1619.

* This inſtrument was given to Mr Whalley by the late Dr R. Rawlinſon. Jonſon's Life, &c. p. lvii, & ſeq.

(54) His grief for this loſs is the ſubject of ſeveral of his letters and poems ; wherein he obſerves, that he was the firſt in the iſland that ever celebrated a dead miſtreſs.

(55) Mr Hall calls her Margaret Logane of the Houſe of Reſterlrig. See preface to his Hiſtory, in the concluſion. 'Tis ſaid he was ſmitten by the reſemblance ſhe bore to his firſt love.

(56) At this time he wrote alſo the *London Star*, and *an Addreſs* to thoſe *who were called the Leaguers* ; the purport of which is the ſame with that of the *Icæne*.

(57) Hall, where laſt mentioned.

(58) 'Tis from that account that moſt of the particulars of this remark are taken.

(59) His cenſure of Fairfax moſt probably aroſe from the ſame principle as that of Spenſer, which was his diſlike of the ſtanza form in epic poetry.

pleaſed with the adventures of this journey, and celebrated them in a particular poem; which, together with ſeveral more of his productions, being accidentally burnt, about two or three years afterwards, that loſs drew from him a poem, which he called *An Execration upon Vulcan* [*X*]. He ſeems to have let no year paſs without the amuſement of writing

proſe. That Sir John Harrington's *Arioſto*, of all tranſlations, was the worſt. He ſaid Donne was originally a poet, his grandfather on the mother's ſide was Heywood the epigrammatiſt; that Donne, for not being underſtood, would periſh. He eſteemed him the firſt poet in the world for ſome things (60); his verſes of the *loſt Ochadine* he had by heart, and that paſſage of the calm, that duſt and feathers did not ſtir, all was ſo quiet. He affirmed, that Donne wrote all his beſt pieces before he was 25 years of age. The conceit of Donne's transformation or metempſychoſis was, that he ſought the ſoul of that apple which Eve pulled, and hereafter made it the ſoul of a bitch, then of a ſhe-wolf, and ſo of a woman: his general purpoſe was to have brought it into all the bodies of the heretics from the ſoul of Cain, and at laſt left it in the body of Calvin. He only wrote one ſheet of this, and ſince he was made doctor repented hugely, and reſolved to deſtroy all his poems (61). He told Donne, that his anniverſary was prophane and full of blaſphemies; that if it had been written on the Virgin Mary it had been tolerable; to which Donne anſwered, that he deſcribed the idea of a woman, and not as ſhe was (62). He ſaid farther to Drummond, that Shakeſpeare wanted art, and ſometimes ſenſe; for in one of his plays he brought in a number of men, ſaying they had ſuffered ſhipwreck in Bohemia, where is no ſea near by 100 miles (63). That Sir Walter Ralegh eſteemed fame more than conſcience; that the beſt wits in England were employed in making his hiſtory, and he himſelf had written a piece to him on the Punic war, which he altered and ſet in his book *. He ſaid there was no ſuch ground for an heroic poem as King Arthur's fiction; and that Sir Philip Sidney had an intention to have transferred all his Arcadia to the ſtories of King Arthur. That Owen was a poor pedantic Schoolmaſter, ſweeping his living from the poſteriors of little children, and had nothing good in him, his epigrams being meer narrations. That Francis Beaumont died before he was 30 years of age, who he ſaid was a good poet, as were Fletcher and Chapman, whom he loved. That Sir W. Alexander (64) was not half kind to him and neglected him, becauſe a friend to Drayton. That Sir R. Ayton loved him dearly. That he fought ſeveral times with Marſton, and ſaid Marſton wrote his father-in-law's preachings, and his father-in-law his comedies. This was his judgment of the poets of his own country. With regard to foreigners, he thought Bartas no poet, but a verſer, becauſe he wrote no fiction. He curſed Petrarch for reducing verſes into ſonnets, which he ſaid was like that tyrant's bed, where ſome who were too ſhort were racked, others too long cut ſhort. That Guarini, in his *Paſtor Fido*, kept no decorum in making ſhepherds ſpeak as well as himſelf. That the beſt pieces of Ronſard were his odes (65). That of the ancient Latin poets, Petronius, Plinius Secundus, and Plautus, ſpoke beſt Latin; and Tacitus wrote the ſecrets of the Council and Senate, as Suetonius did thoſe of the Cabinet and Court. That Lucan taken in parts was excellent, but all together nought. That Quintilian's 6th, 7th, and 8th books, were not only to be read, but altogether digeſted. That Juvenal, Horace, and Martial, were to be read for delight, and ſo was Pindar, but Hippocrates for health. Of the Engliſh he ſaid, Hooker's Eccleſiaſtical Polity was beſt for Church matters, and Selden's Titles of Honour for Antiquities (66).

[*X*] *An Execration upon Vulcan.*] This poem was printed ſoon after his death (67), in a collection, intitled, *Ben Johnſon's Execration againſt Vulcan: with divers Epigrams by the ſame Author, to ſeverall Noble Perſonages in this Kingdome. Never publiſhed before.* It begins with theſe lines:

'And why to me this, thou lame lord of fire?
'What had I done, that might call on thine ire,
'Or urge thy greedy flames thus to devour
'So many my years labour in an hour.
'I ne'er attempted, Vulcan, 'gainſt thy life.—
'Had I wrote treaſon there, or hereſy,
'Impoſture, witchcraft charms, or blaſphemy,
'I had deſerv'd then thy conſuming looks.'

In proceeding, he enumerates the ſeveral kinds of looſe or low writing, and particularly the unnatural romances, ſpawned in the age of Chivalry, together with the factious pamphlets, written eſpecially by the Puritans in this and the preceding age; all which being condemned to the flames, he goes on thus:

'Theſe had'ſt thou pleaſed either to dine or ſup.
'Had made a meal for Vulcan to lick up.'

Then he paſſes to his own loſs in the following lines:

'But in my deſk what was there to excite
'So ravenous and vaſt an appetite:
'I dare not ſay a body, but ſome parts
'There were of ſearch and maſt'ry in their arts.
'All the old Venuſine in poetry,
'And lighted by the Stagyrite could ſpy (68),
'Was there made Engliſh with the Grammar too,
'To teach ſome, *that* their nurſes could not do,
'The purity of language (69); and, among the reſt,
'*My journey into Scotland ſung, with all th' adven-*
'*tures*;
'Three books not afraid
'To ſpeak the fate of the Sicilian maid
'To our own ladies; and in ſtory there
'Of our fifth Henry, eight of his nine year,
'Wherein was oil, beſide the ſuccour ſpent,
'Which noble Carew, Cotton, Selden, lent:
'And *twice twelve years*, ſtor'd up humanity,
'With humble gleanings in Divinity,
'After the Fathers, and thoſe wiſer guides,
'Whom faction had not drawn to ſtudy ſides.

Upon theſe laſt lines it is that the conjecture in the text is built concerning the date of this preſident, the probability of which is left to the reader's judgment.

We muſt not forget to obſerve, that there are two poems ſtill extant, wrote upon the ſame number of love adventures. One of theſe is intitled, *The Hour-Glaſs*, and the other, *Upon my Picture left in Scotland.* They are both inſerted in the laſt edition of his Works, Vol VI (70). The ingenious editor of which, in a note to the latter poem, has theſe words. 'This and 'the preceding copy were both wrote in Scotland, 'when Jonſon paid a viſit to Drummond of Haw'thornden in the year 1619.' But in this there is ſome difficulty, as will appear from peruſing the verſes, which run thus:

'I now think Love is rather deaf than blind;
'For elſe it could not be, that ſhe,
'Whom I adore ſo much, ſhould ſo ſlight me,
'And caſt my love behind:
'I'm ſure my language to her was as ſweet,
'And every cloſe did meet,
'In ſentence of as ſubtil feet,
'As hath the youngeſt he,
'That ſits in ſhadow of Apollo's tree.
'Oh! but my conſcious fears,
'That fly my thoughts between,
'Tell me that ſhe hath ſeen
'My hundreds of grey hairs,
'Told ſeven and forty years.
'Read ſo much waſte, as ſhe cannot embrace
'My mountain belly and my rocky face,
'And all theſe thro' her eyes have ſtopt her ears.'

Now if he was forty-ſeven years of age in 1619, his birth could not have happened later than 1572, two years writing ſome of theſe ſmaller pieces. And thoſe, with the maſques, which the office of Poet-Laureat then particularly called for every Chriſtmas, filled up the interval to the year 1625 (*s*); when his comedy, intitled *The Staple of News*, appeared upon the ſtage. Not long afterwards he fell into an ill ſtate of health, which, however, did not hinder the diſcharge of his duty at Court. And he found time alſo to gratify the more agreeable exercise of play-writing; for, in 1629, he brought another comedy, called *The New Inn, or the light Heart*, to the theatre. But here his adverſaries prevailed over him; the play was hiſſed out of the houſe on it's firſt appearance there; and our Laureat had recourſe to his pride for a revenge, which dictated an *Ode to himſelf*, threatening to leave the ſtage [*Y*]. This diſappointment added to the continuance of his illneſs; and the Poet's ordinary foible, bad œconomy, having reduced his finances to a low ebb, the king graciouſly ſent him a purſe of a hundred pounds. That goodneſs was properly and in character repaid by an epigram, addreſſed to his royal benefactor, which, for ſome ſpecial reaſons, is inſerted below [*Z*]. But

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(60) See Jonſon's epigram to John Donne, Vol. VI. p. 260.

(61) Jonſon had a literary correſpondence with Donne, and ſeveral of the letters may be ſeen in *A Collection of Letters made by Sir Tobie Matthews, Knt.* Lond. 1660, 8vo.

(62) It appears from his letters, that he never ſaw the lady whom he made the ſubject of this poem.

(63) See the Winter's Tale, Act III. ſcene vi. and vii. However, the magic of that tale is ſuch as makes this abſurdity undiſcerned.

* In his Diſcoveries Jonſon ſays, that Sir Walter was not to be contemned either for judgment or ſtile.

(64) Afterwards Earl of Stirling and a Poet.

(65) But all this Drummond ſays was to no purpoſe; for he never underſtood the French or Italian languages, that is, not ſo perfectly as Drummond. He was, indeed, intirely ignorant of the French; yet there are proofs of his having a tolerable ſkill in the Italian. Perhaps he might borrow what he ſaid of Ronſard from Cardinal Perron, whoſe favourite Poet he was, and who profeſſed an uncommon admiration of his odes.

(66) In the preface to that book, publiſhed in 1614, he calls Jonſon his beloved friend and ſingular Poet, whoſe ſpecial worth in literature, accurate judgment and performance, known only to the few who are only able to know him, hath had from me, ever ſince I began to learn, an increaſing admiration. See alſo in the body of the book, part ii. p. 466. in Vol. III. of his Works, edit. 1726. fol.

(67) In 1640, 4to. The imprimatur bears date December 1639. It was printed alſo the ſame year in 12mo.

(68) Meaning his tranſlation of Horace's Art of Poetry, with notes from Ariſtotle. The tranſlation is in his Works, but the notes were moſt of them inſerted in his Diſcoveries.

(69) Of this alſo he either had another copy, or ſupplied the loſs by a new one; for we find it among his Works, Vol. VII. edit. 1756.

(70) P. 355, 356.

years before the date of it, as fixed by this editor himſelf, viz. 1574. And as this latter date is confirmed by ſo many concurring teſtimonies, it remains, that we fix the date of his poem in 1621, two years after the journey to Scotland; to which time the contents of it are plainly conſonant enough.

[*Y*] *An Ode to himſelf.*] It conſiſts of ſix ſtanzas. The two firſt are as follow:

‘ Come leave the loathed ſtage,
‘ And more the loathſome age,
‘ Where pride and impudence in faſhion knit,
‘ Uſurp the chair of wit;
‘ Indicting and arraigning every day
‘ Something they call a play.
‘ Let their faſtidious, vain,
‘ Commiſſion of the brain
‘ Run on and rage, ſweat cenſure, and condemn;
‘ They were not made for thee, leſs thou for them.

‘ Say that thou pour'ſt them wheat,
‘ And they will acorns eat:
‘ 'Twere ſimple fury ſtill thy ſelf to waſte
‘ On ſuch as have no taſte.
‘ To offer them a ſurfeit of pure bread,
‘ Whoſe appetites are dead;
‘ No, give them grains their fill,
‘ Huſks, draft to drink and ſwill.
‘ If they love lees, and leave the luſty wine,
‘ Envy them not their palates with the ſwine.

The preſumption and vanity of this ode was ſuch, as provoked even Jonſon's friends to animadvert upon it. Mr Owen Feltham (71) anſwered it in another ode of the ſame meaſure, the ſecond ſtanza of which runs thus:

‘ 'Tis known you can do well,
‘ And that you do excel
‘ As a tranſlator. But when things require
‘ A genius and a fire
‘ Not kindled heretofore by others pains,
‘ As oft you've wanted brains
‘ And art to ſtrike the white.
‘ As you have levell'd right,
‘ Yet if men vouch not things apocryphal,
‘ You bellow, rave, and ſpatter round your gall.’

This is ſevere and coarſe. But he is touched more ſenſibly, becauſe much more delicately, by Sir John Suckling, in the concluſion of the lines following in *The Seſſions of the Poets*.

‘ The firſt that broke ſilence was good old Ben,
‘ Prepared before with Canary wine,
‘ And he told them plainly he deſerved the bays,
‘ For his were call'd Works, where others were
‘ but plays (72).
And
‘ Bid them remember how he had purged the ſtage
‘ Of errors that had laſted many an age;
‘ And he hop'd they did not think the Silent
‘ Woman,
‘ The Fox and the Alchemiſt out-done by no man.
‘ Apollo ſtopt him there, and bade him not go on,
‘ 'Twas merit he ſaid, and not preſumption,
‘ Muſt carry 't. At which Ben turned about,
‘ And in great choler offer'd to go out.
‘ But
‘ Thoſe that were there thought it not fit
‘ To diſcontent ſo ancient a wit;
‘ And therefore Apollo call'd him back again,
‘ And made mine Hoſt of his own *New Inn* (73).

However, Ben, on the other hand, had his adherents, who even did not ſcruple to maintain, that the pride and preſumption of this poem was no more than his juſt right, and what he had a fair claim to from the undoubted ſuperiority of his merit. *Sume ſuperbiam quæſitam meritis*, was the advice of Horace, the father of the Latin ode. In this ſpirit his fond and faithful ſon, Thomas Randolph, incenſed at the too ſevere attack of Feltham, addreſſed an ode to our poet, of which we ſhall give a ſtanza or two from Langbaine.

‘ Ben, do not leave the ſtage,
‘ 'Cauſe 'tis a loathſome age;
‘ For pride and impudence will grow too bold,
‘ When they ſhall hear it told
‘ They frighted thee. Stand high as in thy cauſe;
‘ Their hiſs is thy applauſe.
‘ Moſt juſt were this diſdain,
‘ Had they approv'd thy vein.
‘ So thou for them and they for thee were born;
‘ They to incenſe, and thou too much to ſcorn.

‘ Wilt thou engroſs thy ſtore
‘ Of wheat, and pour no more;
‘ Becauſe their bacon-brains have ſuch a taſte,
‘ As more delights in maſt?
‘ No; ſet them forth a board of dainties, full
‘ As thy beſt muſe can cull;
‘ Whilſt they the while do pine,
‘ And thirſt 'midſt all their wine.
‘ What greater plague can hell itſelf deviſe,
‘ Than to be willing thus to tantalize.

[Z] *An Epigram which is inſerted below.*] The title is an Epigram to King Charles for an hundred pounds he ſent me in my ſickneſs, 1629.

‘ Great Charles, among the holy gifts of grace,
‘ Annexed to thy perſon and thy place,
‘ 'Tis not enough (thy piety is ſuch)
‘ To cure the call'd King's evil with a touch,
‘ But thou wilt yet a kinglier maſt'ry try,
‘ To cure the poet's evil, Poverty:
‘ And in theſe cures doſt to thyſelf enlarge,
‘ As thou doſt cure our evil at thy charge.
‘ Nay, and in this thou ſheweſt to value more,
‘ One poet, than of other folks ten ſcore.
‘ O piety! ſo to weigh the poor's eſtates.
‘ O bounty! ſo to difference the rates.
‘ What can the poet wiſh his King may do,
‘ But that he cure the people's evil too (74).

This poem is inſerted at length, not ſo much to confute as to ſhame a printed ſtory (75), which tells us, that

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(*s*) Theſe are printed in the 6th volume of his Works, edit. 1756.

(71) A writer of note in that age, and author of a book, which had it's day of fame, intituled, *Reſolves*. That he was a friend to Jonſon's real merit appears by his verſes in Jonſonus Virbius. See remark [*D D*].

(72) See note in the text.

(73) Fragmenta Aurea, &c. p. 7. edit. 1748, 8vo.

(74) Jonſon's Works, &c. Vol. VI. p. 434. The two laſt lines allude to the murmurs of that time upon the diſſolution of the Parliament, &c. See the General Hiſtory of England under this year.

(75) Cibber's Lives of the Poets under Jonſon's article, and Smollet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 346.

But his Majeſty's munificence did not ſtop there; he augmented the Laureat's ſalary of a hundred marks to a hundred pounds a year, together with the addition of a tierce of Canary wine; which penſion has been continued to his ſucceſſors in that office ever ſince [*AA*].

King

that the King hearing of our poet's ſickneſs, ſent him a benevolence of ten pounds; and that Ben taking the money into his hand, ſaid to the meſſenger, *His Majeſty hath ſent me ten pounds, becauſe I am old and poor, and live in an alley, go and tell him that* his ſoul lives in an alley (76). This diſorder of Jonſon's, whatever it was, ſeems to have been of the chronical ſpecies. We find him in 1631 pouring forth his complaints in the following triplet:

‘ Diſeaſe the enemy, and his engineers,
‘ Want, with the reſt of his conceal'd compeers,
‘ Have caſt a trench about me theſe five years.'

This ſtanza is the ſecond of five which make up an epiſtle mendicant to the then Lord Treaſurer (77). The whole tenour whereof diſcovers a greater affliction for the emptineſs of his purſe, than for the diſorder of his perſon; and the ſucceſs he had met with in that article encouraged him to make uſe of his muſe afterwards, in ſeveral leſs direct, but not leſs underſtood, nor leſs effectual applications of the adulatory kind, with the ſame view. We are told particularly, that he received forty pounds for one of theſe, which he intituled an *Epigram*, and begins thus:

‘ If to my mind, great Lord, I had a 'ſtate,
‘ I would preſent you now with curious plate,
‘ Of Norimberg or Turkey, &c (78).'

[*AA*] *Which penſion is ſtill continued.*] Our poet drew up a petition for this favour in the following form:

‘ The humble petition of poor Ben,
‘ To th' beſt of monarchs, maſters, men,
‘ King Charles.
Doth moſt humbly ſhow it,
‘ To your majeſty, your poet:
‘ That whereas your Royal Father
‘ James the bleſſed, pleas'd the rather,
‘ Of his ſpecial grace to letters,
‘ To make all the muſes debtors
‘ To his bounty: By extenſion
‘ Of a free poetic penſion,
‘ A large hundred marks annuity,
‘ To be given me in gratuity,
‘ For done ſervice, and to come:
‘ And that this ſo accepted ſum;
‘ Or diſpenſed in books or bread,
‘ (For on both the muſe was fed)
‘ Hath drawn on me from the times
‘ All the envy of the rhimes,
‘ And the rattling pit-pat noiſe
‘ Of the leſs poetic boys,
‘ When their pot-guns aim to hit,
‘ With their pellets of ſmall wit,
‘ Parts of me (they judg'd) decay'd,
‘ But we laſt out ſtill unlay'd.
‘ Pleaſe your majeſty to make,
‘ Of your grace, for goodneſs ſake,
‘ Thoſe your father's marks your pounds:
‘ Let their ſpite (which now abounds)
‘ Then go on, and do it's worſt,
‘ This would all their envy burſt:
‘ And ſo warm the poet's tongue,
‘ You'll read a ſnake in his next ſong (79).

We have the rather been induced to inſert this epiſtle to his majeſty, in order to contraſt the latter part of it with the Ode addreſſed to himſelf in *Rem.* [*Y*]. The raillery here upon his poetic foes, tho' poignant, is perfectly genteel and eaſy, and at a great diſtance from the foul-mouthed coarſe virulence of the Ode. The occaſion indeed required it; and this ſhews him to be a compleat maſter in the œconomy of ſatirical wit; and that he knew when to take the ſwitch, and when the bludgeon or the flail, and could manage both with a ſkill to be envied, but not equalled by his antagoniſts. But there is another part of his conduct wherein his want of œconomy is both notorious and contemptible, I mean in the article of his finances, which notwithſtanding the handſome addition made to him here mentioned, were continually in diſorder and deficient; and and that defect made him a beggar. Some inſtances of this have been mentioned in the preceding remark, and many more might be produced. There is good reaſon to believe, that he had alſo a penſion from the City, from ſeveral of the nobility and gentry; and particularly from Mr Sutton the founder of Charter-houſe hoſpital in London (80). Mr Wood indeed inſinuates, what is ſtill more contemptible, that theſe penſions were paid him to prevent coming under the laſh of his ſatire; as if Jonſon, like another Aretine, was the ſcourge of the Great, who refuſed to become tributaries to his muſe. But this ſeems to have no better a foundation than the known ſeverity of that muſe when provoked. It is certain the applications which we have of his in this way, are of a very different ſtrain; and the following addreſs is ſufficient to ſhew, that Ben's foibles were the uſual ones generally incident to a head poetically turned, heedleſſneſs and extravagance (81).

To Mr John Burges.

‘ Father John Burges,
‘ Neceſſity urges
‘ My woeful cry
‘ To Sir Robert Pye,
‘ And that he will venture
‘ To ſend my debenture.
‘ Tell him his Ben
‘ Knew the time when
‘ He lov'd the Muſes,
‘ Tho' now he refuſes
‘ To take apprehenſion
‘ Of a year's penſion,
‘ And more is behind:
‘ Put him in mind,
‘ Chriſtmas is near;
‘ And neither good cheer,
‘ Mirth, fooling, nor wit,
‘ Nor any leaſt fit
‘ Of gambol or ſport
‘ Will come at the Court;
‘ If there be no money,
‘ No plover or coney
‘ Will come to the table,
‘ Or wine to enable
‘ The muſe or the poet,
‘ The pariſh will know it.
‘ Nor any quick warming-pan help him to bed;
‘ If th'Chequer be empty, ſo will be his head (82).

It is true we find him threatning to ſatirize the King's houſhold, if he were not reſtrained by the fear of offending his Majeſty. It ſeems he had met with ſome difficulty and delay in procuring his butt of ſack from the board of Green Cloth, whereupon he ſent the following verſes, which he intituled, *An Epigram to the Houſhold*, 1630.

‘ What can the cauſe be, when the King hath given
‘ His poet ſack, the houſhold will not pay?
‘ Are they ſo ſcanted in their ſtore, or driven
‘ For want of knowing the poet to ſay him nay?
‘ Well, they ſhould know him, would the King but grant
‘ His poet leave to ſing his houſhold true;
‘ He'd frame ſuch ditties of their ſtore and want,
‘ Wou'd make the very green cloth to look blue:

‘ And

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(76) There is an expreſſion like this laſt in our author's Works, that furniſhed the words, which, with the bluntneſs of his temper, was ground more than enough for the coinage and ready reception of a calumny.

(77) In his Works, Vol. VI. p. 446.

(78) Ibid. Vol. VII. p. 9.

(79) Ibid. p. 8.

(80) Mr Wood had it from the mouth of Biſhop Morley. Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 609.

(81) To this purpoſe Cowley comforts himſelf, that ſuch
Were all th' inſpired tuneful men.
Such all his great grandfathers were, from Homer down to Ben.

(82) Ibid. Vol. VI. p. 431, 432. His ſhift too for ſqueezing five pounds of Arthur Squib was perfectly mean and contemptible. See his epiſtle to that friend, p. 428, 429.

King Charles the Firſt's perſonal character makes it no improbable ſuppoſition, that theſe acts of favour might be in ſome meaſure the effects of his compaſſion for this ſervant (*t*), who began now to ſink into a viſible decay both of body and mind. 'Tis true, we have two comedies wrote by him afterwards; but they are ſuch, as have not unfitly been called his dotage (*u*) [*BB*]; and he found himſelf under a neceſſity of abſolutely laying down his pen ſoon after the year 1634 [*CC*]. His diſorder was the palſey, which put a period to his life Aug. 6, 1637, in the 63d year of his age (*w*). He was interred three days afterwards in Weſtminſter-abbey, at the north-weſt end near the belfrey. Over his grave was laid a common pavement-ſtone, with this Laconic inſcription, O Rare Ben Jonſon. It was done

(*t*) That Prince is obſerved to bear up againſt the torrent of his own afflictions with a princely reſolution, but always to melt and often into tears, upon ſeeing or hearing of thoſe which his friends ſuffered on his account.

(*u*) So they are called by Dryden, but yet they are the dotages of Jonſon, as Mr Whalley obſerves in his Life, p. 51.

(*w*) See his monument in Weſtminſter-abbey.

'And rather wiſh in their expence of ſack,
'So the allowance of the King to uſe,
'As the old bard ſhould no Canary lack,
''Twere better ſpare a butt than ſpill his praiſe:
'For in the genius of the poet's verſe (83)
'The King's fame lives. Go now deny his tierce.

[*BB*] *Have not unfitly been called his dotages.*] It is the character given by Mr Dryden of our author's laſt performances, which are his *Tale of a Tub*; and *the Magnetic Lady, or Humours reconciled.* This laſt piece was ſmartly and virulently attacked by Dr Alexander Gill, who ſucceeded his father as maſter of St Paul's ſchool (84), of which we ſhall give the reader the following ſpecimen:

'But to adviſe thee, Ben, in this ſtrict age,
'A brick-kill's better for thee than the ſtage;
'Thou better knows a groundſill for to lay,
'Than lay a plot or ground-work for a play.
'And better canſt direct to cap a chimney,
'Than to converſe with Clio or Polyhymay.
'Fall then to work in thy old age agen,
'Take up thy trug and trowel, gentle Ben,
'Let plays alone, or if thou needſt will write,
'And thruſt thy feeble muſe into the light;
'Let Lowen ceaſe, and Taylor ſcorn to teach
'The loathed ſtage; for thou haſt made it ſuch.'

Theſe lines have neither much wit nor poetry. The reflection upon Ben's original employment is very mean, it ſhews no good heart; and Gill was really a man of bad morals. But he was paid in kind, and Ben anſwered him with equal virulence; and, in truth, it cannot be ſaid either with more wit or poetry, as follows:

'Shall the proſperity of a pardon ſtill,
'Secure thy railing rhimes, infamous Gill,
'At libelling? Shall no Star-chamber peers,
'Pillory nor whip, nor want of ears,
'All which thou haſt incurred deſervedly,
'Nor degradation from the miniſtry,
'To be the Dennis of thy father's ſchool,
'Keep in thy bawling wit, thou bawling fool.
'Thinking to ſtir me, thou haſt loſt thy end,
'I'll laugh at thee, poor wretched tyke, go ſend
'Thy boltant muſe abroad, and teach it rather
'A tune to drown the ballads of thy father.
'For thou haſt nought to cure his fame,
'But tune and noiſe, and echo of his ſhame.
'A rogue by ſtatute, cenſured to be whipt,
'Cropt, branded, ſlit, neck-ſtockt: go, you are
'ſtript.'

[*CC*] *He laid down his pen after* 1634.] His laſt maſque, called *Love's Welcome*, &c. was perſonated July 30, 1634 (85). The only piece we have with a date after that is his new-year's Ode for 1635 (86). There are indeed two dramatic pieces left unfiniſhed; the time of writing them is uncertain. Theſe are intituled, *The ſad Shepherd, a Paſtoral Tragedy*, and *the Fall of Mortimer*. Of this laſt there is only the plan of the Drama, and one or two ſcenes. It is ſaid he died and left it unfiniſhed. His Editor is of opinion that had he compleated his deſign with the ſame ſpirit in which he began it, we ſhould have been able to boaſt of one perfect tragedy at leaſt, formed upon the ancient model, and giving us the happieſt imitation of the ancient drama (87). The Sad Shepherd is carried on almoſt to the concluſion of the third act. Upon which Mr Whalley makes the following remark, 'I cannot but lament, ſays he (88), with the reader, the loſs 'of the remaining parts of this play, which we could 'have borne with the greater patience had even this 'act been fortunately compleated. We have no account how it came down to us in this mutilated condition, and conjectures can be at beſt but precarious. 'Poſſibly it might have been in the number of thoſe 'pieces, which were accidentally burnt; tho' indeed 'there is no particular mention of it in the execration 'upon Vulcan. Or, Jonſon might have undertaken 'it in the decline of his days, and did not live to finiſh 'it; and to this conjecture we are induced by the firſt 'line of the prologue:

'He that hath feaſted you theſe forty years (89).'

'There is indeed, continues this editor, one reaſon 'which might induce us to believe, that the poet left 'it unfiniſhed by deſign. He beheld with great indignation the ungenerous treatment which Fletcher's '*Faithful Shepherdeſs* met with from the people at it's 'firſt appearance; and he was witneſs alſo to the ſmall 'encouragement that was given to it's revival under the 'patronage of King Charles I. Poſſibly theſe circumſtances deterred him from going thro' with the performance. As his compoſition was of a kindred nature to that of Fletcher, he might preſage the ſame 'unfortunate event, ſhould he ever introduce it on 'the ſtage; ſo that poſterity can only bewail the perverſity of taſte in their injudicious anceſtors, whoſe 'diſcouragement of the firſt, contributed to deprive 'us of the ſecond paſtoral drama, that would do honour to the nation. What we now have ſerveth 'only to increaſe our regret; like the remains of ſome 'ancient maſter which beget in us the moſt inexpreſſible deſire of a perfect ſtatue by the ſame hand. 'When a work is not compleated by it's author or 'maimed by the hand of time, one would either wiſh 'the remains to be inconſiderable, or the beauties leſs 'exquiſite and charming. In the former caſe, the deficiency is not ſo much deplored from our inability to 'judge of the perfection of the whole; and in the 'latter we are very little anxious for what appears to 'be hardly worth preſerving: But when a piece is ſo 'far advanced as to convince us of the excellence of 'the artiſt, and of it's own ſuperior delicacy, we are 'naturally touched with concern for what is loſt, and 'ſet a proper value on the parts which ſtill ſubſiſt.'

The remaining pieces of our author to be taken notice of here, are his tranſlation of Horace's *Epiſtola ad Piſones*; *An Engliſh Grammar*; and his obſervations on men and things, called *Diſcoveries*. The firſt of theſe was tranſlated in his youth. In the preface to *Sejanus* he ſays, he intended ſhortly to publiſh it with notes; but it did not appear in print 'till after his death, and then without notes, the fate of which has been already mentioned (90); and alſo that much of what was intended for them, is inſerted in the *Diſcoveries*. Theſe make a very excellent piece, the fruits of mature and judicious age, valuable not only for the ſentiments and obſervations, but as a pattern of a nervous and conciſe ſtile. His Grammar was alſo written by him when advanced in years; and Mr Wotton ſpeaking of it obſerves, that it was the firſt conſiderable attempt with regard to the ſubject. But we muſt agree with that author, that herein Jonſon made Lilly's Grammar his pattern; and for want of reflecting upon the grounds of a language which he underſtood as well as any man of his age, he drew it by violence to a dead language that was of a quite different make, and ſo left his book imperfect.

(83) Ibid. p. 438, 439.

(84) There is ſome account of both Father and Son in Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 602. and Vol. II. col. 22, 23.

(85) His Works, Vol. VII. p. 62.

(86) Ibid. p. 12.

(87) Ibid. Vol. V. p. 160.

(88) Ibid. p. 151, 152.

(89) This round number muſt not be taken preciſely; f r, as *Every Man in his Humour*, which he declares himſelf to be his firſt feaſt of this kind, did not appear 'till 1698 the add tion of 40 years extends a full year after his deceaſe. But if the time of his firſt feaſt is to be dated from his firſt writing for the ſtage, that indeed will bring us probably as far back as 1594, and then the two years will end in 1634, which will confirm the aſſertion in the text.

(90) In note (68).

(91) Reflections on ancient and modern Learning.

done at the expence of Mr (afterwards Sir) John Young of Great-Milton in Oxfordſhire (*x*). But a much better monument was raiſed to his memory ſix months afterwards, when there came out a collection of elegies and poems, intitled, *Jonſonius Virbius: or, the Memory of Ben. Jonſon revived by the Friends of the Muſes* [*DD*]. And preſently after, there was a deſign ſet on foot to erect a marble monument with his ſtatue ,and a conſiderable ſum of money was collected for the purpoſe; but the breaking out of the Rebellion prevented the carrying of it into execution, and the money was returned (*y*). The buſt, in bas-relieve, with the former inſcription under it, that is now fixed to the wall in Poets Corner, near the ſouth-eaſt entrance into the abbey, was ſet up by that great patron of learning, the ſecond Earl of Oxford of the Harley family. As to our Poet's own family, it became extinct with him, for he ſurvived all his children (*z*). It remains that we exhibit a kind of portrait of his perſon and character. As to the firſt, then, if we may depend upon his own deſcription, his body was large, corpulent, and bulky (*a a*), and his countenance hard and rocky (*b b*); ſo that his figure greatly reſembled that of Sir John Falſtaff, and conſequently could not be much leſs apt to raiſe a laughter. Nor was the caſt of his temper and natural diſpoſition at all more reſpectable, as repreſented by his friend Mr Drummond, who obſerves him to be 'A great lover and praiſer of himſelf; 'a contemner and ſcorner of others; chuſing rather to loſe his friend than his jeſt; 'jealous of every word and action of thoſe about him, eſpecially after drink, which was 'one of the elements in which he lived [*EE*]; a diſſembler of the parts which 'reigned

[*DD*] *Jonſonius Virbius, &c.*] This collection was publiſhed by Dr Brian Duppa, Biſhop of Chicheſter, and tutor to King Charles II. then Prince of Wales (92). Beſides Howell's Decaſtic, it contains poems by the following perſons; Lords Falkland and Buckhurſt, Sir John Beaumont, and Sir Francis Wortley, Barts. Sir Thomas Hawkins, Mr Henry King, Henry Coventry, Tho. May, Dudley Diggs, George Forteſcue, Will. Habington, Edmund Waller, J. Vernon, J. Cl. (probably Cleveland) Jaſper Mayne, Will. Cartwright, John Rutter, Owen Feltham, George Donne, Shakerley Marmion, A. M. John Ford, R. Brideoak, A. M. Rich. Weſt, R. Meade, H. Ramſay, T. Terrent, Rob. Waſing, Will. Bew, and Sam. Evans, L.L.B. Lord Falkland, who was himſelf one of the beſt ſcholars of this time, has the following encomium upon that of Jonſon:

'His learning ſuch, no author old or new,
'Eſcaped his reading, that deſerved his view;
'And ſuch his judgment, ſo exact his teſt,
'Of what was beſt in books, or what was beſt,
'That had he joined thoſe notes his labours took,
'From each moſt praiſed, and praiſe deſerving
'book;
'And could the world of that choice treaſure
'boaſt,
'It need not care if all the reſt were loſt;
'And ſuch his wit, he wrote paſt what he quotes,
'And his productions far exceed his notes.
'So in his works where ought inſerted grows,
'The nobleſt of the plants engrafted ſhews,
'That his adopted children equal not,
'The generous iſſue his own brain begot.
'So great his art, that much which he did write,
'Gave the wiſe wonder, and the crowd delight.'

His Lordſhip afterwards celebrates Jonſon's merit in reforming the ſtate of the drama, and the great reverence that was univerſally paid to him in theſe lines:

'How in an ignorant and learned age he ſway'd,
'(Of which the firſt he found, the ſecond made)
'How he, when he could know it, reap'd his fame,
'And long out-lived the envy of his name:
'To him how daily flock'd, what reverence gave
'All that had wit, or would be thought to have,
'Or hope to gain, and in ſo large a ſtore,
'That to his aſhes they can pay no more,
'Except thoſe few, who cenſuring thought not ſo,
'But aim'd at glory from ſo great foe.'

[*EE*] *Drink was one of the elements in which he lived.*] This is ſo notoriouſly true, that it was made a ſtanding jeſt among his greateſt admirers; and this jovial diſpoſition he had power enough to tranſmit to late poſterity, and to render immortal the room in the Devil Tavern near Temple-bar, by the name of the Apollo, where he preſided in a club, for whoſe uſe he drew up in Latin his *Leges Convivales*, in number 24, which were engraven on a ſtone, and are ſtill to be ſeen in that room over the chimney. We ſhall give the tranſlation of them into Engliſh as follows:

Rules for the Tavern Academy: Or, Laws for the Beaux Eſprits.

I.

'1. As the fund of our pleaſure let each pay his ſhot,
'Except ſome chance friend whom a member brings
'in.
'2. Far hence be the ſad, the lewd fop, and the ſot;
'For ſuch have the plagues of good company been.

II.

'3. Let the learned and witty, the jovial and gay,
'The generous and honeſt compoſe our free ſtate,
'4. *And the more to exalt our delight while we ſtay,*
'Let none be debarr'd from his choice female mate.

III.

'5. Let no ſcent offenſive the chamber infeſt,
'6. Let fancy not coſt prepare all our diſhes.
'7. Let the caterer mind the taſte of each gueſt,
'And the cook in his dreſſing comply with their
wiſhes.

IV.

'8. Let's have no diſturbance about taking places,
'*To ſhew your nice breeding, or out of vain pride.*
'9. Let the drawers be ready with wine and freſh
glaſſes.
'Let the waiters have eyes, tho' their tongues muſt
'be tied.

V.

'10. Let our wines without mixture or ſtum, be all
fine,
'Or call in the maſter, and break his dull noddle.
'11. Let no ſober bigot here think it a ſin,
'To puſh on the chirping and moderate bottle.

VI.

'12. Let the conteſt be rather of books than of wine.
'13. Let the company be neither noiſy nor mute.
'14. Let none of things ſerious, much leſs of divine,
'When belly and head's full, profanely diſpute.

VII.

(*x*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 609. where Mr Wood calls him Jack Young.

(*y*) Ibid. col. 610.

(*z*) Winſtanley's Lives of the Poets, p. 127. edit. 1687.

(*a a*) He weighed 20 ſtone wanting two pounds. See his Epiſtle to Arthur Squib. Works, Vol. VI. p. 428.

(*b b*) In the poem, intitled, *My Picture left in Scotland.* Works, Vol. VI. p. 357. However, his face is ſaid to have reſembled Menander's, as we ſee it in antique gems and medals. So Vida (ſay theſe admirers of Jonſon) reſembled Virgil.

(92) He did not ſet his name to it, and for that diſcovery we are obliged to Mr Howell, who contributed a Decaſtic to it. Howell's Familiar Letters, Vol. I. §. vi. No. 31.

' reigned in him; a bragger of ſome good that he wanted; he thought nothing right; ' but what either himſelf or ſome of his friends had ſaid or done. He was paſſionately ' kind and angry; careleſs either to gain or keep; vindictive, but if he was well an-' ſwered, greatly chagrined; interpreting the beſt ſayings and deeds often to the worſt. ' He was for any religion, being verſed in both; oppreſſed with fancy, which over-ma-' ſtered his reaſon (*cc*), a general diſeaſe among the Poets.' He had a very ſtrong memory; for he tells us himſelf in his Diſcoveries, that in his youth he could have repeated whole books that he had read, and poems of ſome ſelect friends, which he thought worth charging his memory with (*dd*). Laſtly, as to his genius, the character of it, in reſpect of dramatic poetry, has been already touched upon (*ee*). To which muſt be added Mr Pope's remark, that ' When our author got poſſeſſion of the ſtage, he brought critical ' learning into vogue; and that this was not done without difficulty, which appears from ' thoſe frequent leſſons (and indeed almoſt declamations) which he was forced to prefix to ' his firſt plays, and put into the mouths of his actors, the grex, chorus, &c. to remove ' the prejudices and inform the judgment of his hearers. 'Till then, the Engliſh authors ' had no thoughts of writing upon the model of the Ancients: their tragedies were only ' hiſtories in dialogue, and their comedies followed the thread of any novel as they found ' it, no leſs implicitly than if it had been true hiſtory.' Thus that much admired Poet (*ff*), who followed Jonſon in borrowing from the Ancients, as much as he ſurpaſſed him in harmonious verſification, for which Jonſon ſeems to have had no nice ear. However, Mr Drummond declares (*gg*) that his inventions were ſmooth and eaſy [*FF*]. He does not

(*cc*) As an inſtance of this, he told this friend, that he had ſpent many a night in looking at his great toe, about which he had ſeen Turks and Tartars, Romans and Carthaginians, fight in his imagination.

(*dd*) Diſcoveries, in his Works, Vol. VII. p. 85, 86.

(*ee*) In remark [*H*].

(*ff*) In the preface to his own Works.

(*gg*) In his Works, ubi ſupra.

VII.

' 15. Let no ſaucy fidler preſume to intrude,
' Unleſs he is ſent for to vary our bliſs,
' 16. With mirth, wit, and dancing, and ſinging, conclude,
' To regale every ſenſe with delight in exceſs.

VIII.

' 17. Let raillery be without malice or heat.
' 18. Dull poems to read, let none privilege take.
' 19. Let no poetaſter command or entreat
' Another extempore verſes to make.

IX.

' 20. Let argument bear no unmuſical ſound,
' Nor jars interpoſe ſacred friendſhip to grieve.
' 21. For generous lovers let a corner be found,
' Where they in ſoft ſighs may their paſſions relieve.

X.

' 22 Like the old Lapithites, with the goblets to fight
' Our own 'mongſt offences unpardon'd will rank;
' Or breaking of windows or glaſſes for ſpite,
' And ſpoiling the goods for a rakhelly prank.

XI.

' 23. Whoever ſhall publiſh what's ſaid or what's done,
' Be he baniſh'd for ever our aſſembly divine.
' 24. Let the freedom we take be perverted by none,
' To make any guilty by drinking good wine.

Over the Door at the Entrance into the Apollo.

' Welcome all that lead or follow,
' To th' oracle of Apollo.
' Here he ſpeaks out of his pottle,
' Or the tripos his tower bottle:
' All his anſwers are divine,
' Truth itſelf doth flow in wine,
' Hang up all the poor hop-drinkers,
' Cries old Sim, the king of ſkinkers (93).
' He the half of life abuſes,
' That ſits watering with the Muſes.
' Thoſe dull girls no good can mean us,
' *Wine it is the milk of Venus* (94).
' And the poet's horſe accounted.
' Ply it, and you all are mounted.
' 'Tis the true Phœbeian liquor,
' Chears the brains, makes wit the quicker.
' Pays all debs, cures all diſeaſes,
' And at once three ſenſes pleaſes.
' Welcome all that lead or follow
' To th' oracle of Apollo.

[*FF*] *He had no ear for harmony in verſe, tho' his inventions were ſmooth and eaſy.*] Tho' the general run of Ben's verſes be a ſufficient vindication of this cenſure, wherein he is uſually much more attentive to the matter than to the muſic of his poetry; yet in many places they are ſmooth and eaſy as his invention; we are even ſurprized with the moſt beautiful harmony. The following hymn will juſtify our remark; it is taken from the piece called Cynthia's Revels (95), and addreſſed to that goddeſs, under which character he means to compliment Queen Elizabeth.

' Queen and Huntreſs chaſte and fair,
' Now the ſun is laid to ſleep,
' *Seated in thy ſilver chair,*
' *State in wonted manner keep;*
' Heſperus intreats thy light,
' Goddeſs excellently bright.

' Earth, let not thy envious ſhade
' Dare itſelf to interpoſe;
' Cynthia's ſhining orb was made
' Heav'n to clear when day did cloſe.
' Bleſs us then with wiſhed ſight,
' Goddeſs excellently bright.

' Lay this bow of pearl apart,
' And thy cryſtal ſhining quiver;
' Give unto the flying hart,
' Space to breathe how ſhort ſoever.
' Thou that mak'ſt a day of night,
' Goddeſs excellently bright.

This little hymn is delicate both in ſentiment and expreſſion; the images are picture ſque, the verſe eaſy and flowing. Such is the juſt remark of Mr Whalley, who goes farther; and having obſerved a thought in Milton's poem upon Melancholy, not unlike that of the two lines here printed in *Italics*, ventures from the ſimilitude of the expreſſion, to declare himſelf of opinion that they were taken from hence. Milton's lines are:

' *Come, but keep thy wonted ſtate,*
' *With even ſtep, and muſing gate.*
Il Penſeroſo.

Whatever may be thought of this conjecture, which indeed is advanced by the author of it with a ſuitable modeſt diffidence, no doubt can ariſe in reſpect to ſeveral other inſtances produced by him, where ſome of our beſt poets have not diſdained to copy from this original. Among theſe he has pointed out Dryden (96)

(93) Old Sim. means Simon Wadloe, who then kept the Devil-tavern; and of him probably is the old catch, beginning, *Old Sir Simon the King.*

(94) From the Greek Anacreontic, Οινος γαλα Αφροδιτης.

(95) Act V. ſcene vi.

not appear to have had much conception of thoſe breaks and reſts, or of adapting the ſound of his verſe to the ſenſe, which are the chief beauty of our beſt modern poets [*G G*]. 'Tis univerſally agreed with his laſt mentioned friend, that tranſlation or imitation was his moſt diſtinguiſhed talent [*H H*], wherein he excelled all his contemporaries (*b b*); and beſides his

(96) and Congreve (97) in their plays; and what is more ſtill to Jonſon's honour, that moſt ſtriking ſentiment, which, in the famous verſes *To the Memory of an unfortunate Lady*, ſeems to burſt out originally from Mr Pope as the pure effect of his grief, was firſt conceived by Jonſon, who begins his Elegy on the Lady Jane Pawlet, Marchioneſs of Winton with theſe lines:

'What gentle ghoſt, beſprent with April dew,
'Hails me ſo ſolemnly to yonder yew (98).'
'And beckoning wooes me———

Thus imitated in that moſt tender poem of Mr Pope.

'What beck'ning ghoſt along the moon-light ſhade,
'Invites my ſteps, and points to yonder glade.'

This has been generally, I think, the moſt admired of Pope's leſſer poems; and to this we ſhall venture to add another no leſs admired piece, and wrote alſo by an author not much leſs diſtinguiſhed than Pope by the ſweet harmony of his verſification; I mean Mr Waller, who begins his moſt beautiful Anacreontic to Phyllis perfectly as Jonſon does his ſong to Celia in Volpone (99), as will appear by the contraſt:

JONSON.

'Come, my Celia, let us prove,
'While we can the ſports of Love;
'Time will not be our's for ever,
'He at length our good will ſever;
'Spend not then his gifts in vain;
'Suns that ſet may riſe again;
'But if once we loſe this light,
''Tis with us perpetual night.
'Why ſhould we defer our joys.———

WALLER.

'Phyllis, why ſhould we delay,
'Pleaſures ſhorter than the day;
'Could we, which we never can,
'Stretch our lives beyond their ſpan,
'Beauty like a ſhadow flies,
'And our youth before us dies,
'Or would youth and beauty ſtay,
'Love has wings and will away (100).'———

It is true they are both imitations from Catullus, but I cannot help thinking that in penning the addreſs to Phyllis, the latter Engliſh poet had the former Engliſh copy, as well as the original Latin before him.

[*GG*] *Which are the chief beauty of our beſt modern poets.*] This, like the foregoing, holds true in general; yet he was not without his brighter moments, when a ray of enthuſiaſm darting into his genius, raiſes it unexpectedly to the height of this excellence. Read the following lines from his Sad Shepherd (101):

'No ſun or moon, or other chearful ſtar,
'Look'd out of heaven! but all the cope was dark
'As it were hung ſo for her exequies!
'And not a voice or ſound to ring her knell,
'But of that diſmal pair, the ſcreeching owl,
'And buzzing hornet! Hark! hark! hark!
'The foul bird! how ſhe flutters with her wicker
'wings.
'Peace! you ſhall hear her ſcritch.'

Thus we ſee him once, at leaſt, tranſported above himſelf. This was plainly the work of a true poetical inſpiration. The three long ſyllables preceding the Iambic foot at the cloſe of the one verſe, which is immediately connected with the beginning of the other, and the pauſe placed upon the firſt ſyllable, are as fully expreſſive of the ſentiment as can poſſibly be imagined.

'Hark! hark! hark! the foul
'Bird.———

There is nothing finer in all Shakeſpeare or Milton (102). Now we are upon the ſubject of our author's beauties, it will not be improper to mention his epitaphs, in which he was excellent. Several of them have been inſerted in the former editions of his works, beſides theſe, Mr Whalley has enriched his edition with that moſt celebrated one upon the Counteſs of Pembroke, Siſter to Sir Philip Sidney:

'Underneath this marble herſe,
'Lies the ſubject of all verſe,
'Sidney's ſiſter, Pembroke's mother;
'Death, ere thou haſt ſlain another
'Learn'd and fair, and good as ſhe,
'Time ſhall throw a dart at thee'. (103)

This has no rival, unleſs the following lines in another of Jonſon's, on Elizabeth L. H. may be deemed ſuch.

'Underneath this ſtone doth lie,
'As much beauty as could die,
'Which in life did harbour give,
'To more virtue than doth live (104)'.

[*HH*] *Imitation was his moſt diſtinguiſhed talent*] It is ſo difficult to keep any ſtrong talent within it's proper bounds, that if we find him ſometimes carrying this to exceſs, even ſo far as juſtly to incur the cenſure of plagiariſm (105), yet it would be carrying the cenſure to the like exceſs to charge pardonable eſcapes to the diſcredit of his genius. It is true his learning ſhews itſelf foremoſt in almoſt every thing he wrote; and ſometimes it may appear where we could wiſh it might not be ſeen; but he ſeldom tranſgreſſeth in this point, for a juſt decorum and preſervation of character, with propriety of circumſtance and of language, are his ſtriking excellencies, and evidently diſtinguiſh his correctneſs and art. What he borrows from the Ancients is generally improved by the uſe and application; and by this means he improved himſelf in contending to think and expreſs his thoughts like them. However, it is acknowledged that his creative powers, whatever were the degree of them, undoubtedly received ſome check from thence; and that we ſhould have ſeen them exerting themſelves with greater force and vigour, had he been leſs acquainted with the ancient models. Jonſon was naturally turned to induſtry and reading; and as to treaſure up knowledge muſt be the exerciſe and work of memory, by the aſſiduous employment of that faculty he would neceſſarily be leſs diſpoſed to exert the native inborn ſpirit of genius and invention; and as his memory was thus fraught with the ſtores of the ancient poetry, the ſentiments impreſſed upon his mind could eaſily intermix and aſſimilate with his own; and when transfixed into the language of his country, would appear to have all the graces and the air of novelty; and hence he might be inſenſibly led to imagine that equal honours were due to ſucceſsful imitation, as to original and unborrowed thinking. However that be, it is certain that he was at a great diſtance from that anxious dread of imitation, which when it ſeizes the polite and cultivated writers in any country, has been aſſigned for the principal cauſe of a thorough degeneracy of taſte; and hence the ſame ingenious writer (106) has not ſcrupled to give it as a ſeaſonable admonition to the poets of our time, to relinquiſh their vain hopes of originality, and turn themſelves to a ſtricter imitation of the beſt models; and to inforce this advice he mentions '* the deſigns of two excellent perſons, who are already 'well known to the public by ſome ſlighter eſſays; 'but are preparing much greater things, and in the 'pure and ſimple ſtile of claſſical antiquity. The genuine merit, continues he, of theſe performances, 'when they ſhall appear, will be the beſt apology for 'their authors. One of whom profeſſes to form himſelf on the model, and would give an exact image 'of the Greek drama (107); while the Other adventures to project a ſtill nobler deſign on the plan of the 'ancient and legitimate epic (108)'.

[*I I*] *The*

(*b b*) Id. ibid.

(96) In Every Man out of his Humour, Act V. ſcene iv.

(97) His character of Bluff in the Old Bachelor is formed upon Bobadil in the ſame comedy.

(98) His Works, Vol. VII. p. 17.

(99) Act II. ſcene vii. 'Tis printed in the Collection called the Foreſt.

(100) Waller's Poems, p.

(101) Act I. ſcene v.

(102) See the notes in p. 112. Vol. V. of Jonſon's Works, edit. 1756.

(103) Vol. VI. p. 297.

(104) Ibid. p. 277.

(105) See Dryden's Eſſay on Dramatic Poeſy, and his poſtſcript to the Conqueſt of Granada.

(106) Mr Heard, in his Horace's Art of Poetry, Vol. II. p. 230.

* Ibid. p. 231.

(107) This has appeared ſince under the following title, *Elfrida; a Dramatic Poem, written on the model of the ancient* Greek *tragedy. By Mr Maſon.* Lond. 1752.

(108) The author of the Obſervations upon Lord Shafſbury's Characteriſtics, is the perſon meant.

his new forming our drama after the ancient models, he gave us the firſt Pindaric ode in the Engliſh language that has a juſt claim to that title [*II*]. After the edition of his Works already mentioned, they were reprinted in 1716, in 6 volumes 8vo. and another edition has been lately printed in 1756, in ſeven volumes 8vo. with ſome notes and additions by P. Whalley, late Fellow of St John's college in Oxford; who hath alſo inſerted Jonſon's comedy, intitled, *The Caſe is altered*, not in any former edition. And ſince this laſt editor declares, he ſhould not have omitted our author's verſes, prefixed to *May's tranſlation of Lucan*, had they come to his hands in time, we have thought proper not to conclude this memoir, without inſerting a copy of thoſe verſes in remark [*KK*]. There is reaſon to believe

[*II*] *The firſt Pindaric ode in our language that has a juſt claim to that title.*] 'Tis among his *Underwoods*, under the title of ODE PINDARIC, *To the immortal memory and friendſhip of that noble pair, Sir Lucius Cary and Sir H Moriſon.* The manner of Pindar is followed with great exactneſs in the ſtructure of this poem. But to do juſtice to our poet's merit in this article, it will be neceſſary to explain the true nature of the Pindaric, and to that end we ſhall cite the following paſſage from the *Scholia* on *Hepheſtion*. The Ancients, ſays the Scholiaſt, in their odes framed two larger ſtanzas, and one leſs: The firſt of the large ſtanzas they called *Strophe*, ſinging it on their feſtivals at the altars of their gods, and dancing at the ſame time: The ſecond they called *Antiſtrophe*, in which they inverted the dance: The leſſer ſtanza was named the *Epode*, which they ſung ſtanding ſtill. Hence it is evident that theſe odes were accompanied with dancing, and that they danced one way while the *Strophe* was ſinging, and then danced back again while the *Antiſtrophe* was ſung; which ſhews, ſays a late ingenious writer, why theſe two parts conſiſted of the ſame length and meaſure: Then when the dancers were returned to the place whence they ſet out, before they renewed the dance, they ſtood ſtill while the *Epode* was ſung. Such was the ſtructure of the Greek ode, in which the *Strophe* and *Antiſtrophe*, i. e. the firſt and ſecond ſtanzas, contained always the ſame number and the ſame kind of verſes. The *Epode* was of a different length and meaſure; and if the ode run out into any length, it was always divided into triplets of ſtanzas, the two firſt being conſtantly of the ſame length and meaſure; and all the epodes, in like manner, correſponding exactly with each other (109). To apply theſe obſervations to Jonſon's ode now under conſideration; the whole running into twelve ſtanzas, it is accordingly diſtinguiſhed into four triplets of ſtanzas; the two firſt of which conſiſt each of ten lines, and the third of twelve, which are marked in order thus, *the firſt turn of ten, the firſt counter-turn of ten, the firſt ſtand of twelve; the ſecond turn of ten, the ſecond counter-turn of ten, the ſecond ſtand of twelve*, and ſo on; but that there may be no room left for the leaſt heſitation in underſtanding it, we ſhall inſert the third triplet. Thus then,

The third turn of ten.

'It is not growing like a tree
'In bulk, doth make men better be;
'Or ſtanding long an oak, three hundred year,
'To fall a log at laſt, dry, bald, and ſear.
'A lilly of a day
'Is fairer far in May.
'Altho' it fall and die that night,
'It was the plant and flower of light.
'In ſmall proportions we juſt beauties ſee,
'And in ſhort meaſures life may perfect be.'

The third counterturn of ten.

'Call, noble Lucius, then for wine,
'And let thy looks with gladneſs ſhine;
'Accept this garland, plant it on thy head,
'And think, nay know, thy Moriſon's not dead.
'He leapt the preſent age,
'Poſſeſt with holy rage,
'To ſee that bright, eternal day,
'Of which we prieſts and poets ſay
'Such truths as we expect for happy men,
'And there he lives with memory, and Ben.'

The third ſtand of twelve.

'Jonſon, who ſung thus of him e'er he went
'Himſelf to reſt,
'Or taſte a part of that full joy he meant
'To have expreſt,
'In this bright aſteriſm!
'Where it were friendſhip's ſchiſm
'(Were not his Lucius long with us to tarry)
'To ſeparate theſe twi-
'lights, the Dioſcuri;
'And keep the one half from his Harry.
'But Fate did ſo alternate the deſign,
'Whilſt that in heav'n, this light on earth muſt ſhine.'

The reader will be before hand with me in obſerving, that the ſtructure of this ode is a little different from that of the Ancients, as laid down by the Scholiaſt above cited, who ſuppoſes the *Epode* to be always the leſſer ſtanza, or to contain fewer verſes than either the *Strophe*, or *Antiſtrophe*; but this is a miſtake of the Scholiaſt; for the epodes of Pindar are various, ſome falling ſhort, ſome being equal, and others exceeding the *Strophe* in the number of verſes. Jonſon therefore has not deviated from the original, in making his ſtand longer than the *turn* and *counter-turn* by the addition of a couplet. To conclude from what has been ſaid, the ancient regularity of theſe kind of compoſitions is ſufficiently evident, as well as our poet's learning and knowledge in ancient criticiſm; and hence we are taught what to think of thoſe heaps of lines of all lengths and ſizes, which have been paſſed upon the world for tranſlations, or imitations of Pindar, that they are no better than ſo many caricaturas, or diſtorted likeneſſes, of the great original.

[*KK*] *Not to cloſe this memoir without a copy of them*] As we have ſucceeded in our enquiry for theſe verſes, they are inſerted here by way of ſupplement to Mr Whalley's edition of our author's works. The addreſs is as follows:

TO MY CHOSEN FRIEND,

The learned Tranſlator of LUCAN,

THOMAS MAY, *Eſq*;

'When Rome I read thee in thy mighty paire,
'And ſee both climbing up the ſlippery ſtaire
'Of fortune's wheel, by Lucan driv'n about,
'And the world in it, I begin to doubt,
'At every line ſome pin thereof ſhould ſlacke
'At leaſt, if not the general engine cracke.
'But when again I view the parts ſo peiz'd,
'And thoſe in number ſo, and meaſure rais'd;
'As neither Pompey's popularity,
'Cæſar's ambition, Cato's liberty,
'Calme Brutus tenor ſtart, but all along
'Keep due proportion in the ample ſong.
'It makes me, raviſh'd with juſt wonder, cry,
'What muſe, or rather god of harmony,
'Taught Lucan theſe true moods? Replyes my ſenſe,
'What gods but thoſe of arts and eloquence?
'Phœbus and Hermes? they whoſe tongue or pen,
'Are ſtill th' interpreters betwixt gods and men.
'But who hath them interpreted, and brought
'Lucan's whole frame unto us, and ſo wrought,
'As not the ſmalleſt joint, or gentleſt word,
'In the great maſs, or machine, there is ſtirr'd.

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(109) Preface to an Engliſh tranſlation of Pindar, by Gilbert Weſt, Eſq;

believe that he had a deſign to write an epic poem, and was to call it *Chrologia*; *or the Worthies of his Country*, all in couplets, as he deteſted all other rhime (*i i*). 'Tis likewiſe ſaid, that he actually wrote a diſcourſe on poetry, both againſt Campion and Daniel, eſpecially the laſt, where he proved couplets to be the beſt ſort of verſes (*k k*).

(*i i*) Heads of a converſation taken by Drummond, ubi ſupra. He ſeems alſo to have formed the plan of a Geographical Account, or Preſent State of Scotland; by which he was ſupplied by this friend with ſeveral materials, whereof ſome curious ones were ſent in a letter to Jonſon, dated July 1, 1619, printed, p. 365, & ſeq. among *The Familiar Epiſtles*, at the end of *Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland*, ſecond edit. Lond. 1682. N. B. This was probably the occaſion of Jonſon's journey to Scotland mentioned in the text.

(*k k*) Ibid.

'The ſelf-ſame genius, ſo the work will ſay,
'The ſunne tranſlated, or the ſonne of MAY.

'Your true friend to Judgment,

BEN JONSON *.

* So his name is ſpelt in the title-page of his *Execration upon Vulcan*; yet in the print of his head prefixed it is wrote Johnſon.

We are informed by Wood, that after Ben's death this May put in for the Laureat's place, but was ſet aſide for D'avenant, and afterwards became a great enemy to the King's cauſe (110), and wrote a hiſtory of the Long Parliament, in defence of their proceedings againſt his Majeſty, before which is his picture, with the head laureated, (111) P

(110) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 413.

(111) Ibid. col. 415.

JUXON or JUXTON [WILLIAM], ſucceſſively Biſhop of Hereford and London, and Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the laſt century; was the ſon of Richard Juxon of Chicheſter in Suſſex [*A*], and born within that city in the year 1582 (*a*). He received his education at Merchant-Taylors ſchool in London, and from thence was elected Fellow of St John's college at Oxford in 1598, where, applying himſelf to the ſtudy of the Civil-Law, he took the degree of Bachelor in that faculty July 5, 1603 (*b*), being about that time a ſtudent in Gray's Inn. But Law did not ſo wholly engroſs his thoughts, as to make him neglect other branches of learning, particularly Divinity. For, entering ſoon after into Orders, he became in 1609 Vicar of St Giles's near his college; where he officiated about ſix years, and was much admired for his plain and improving way of preaching (*c*). He was alſo for ſome time Rector of Somerton in Oxfordſhire (*d*). On the 29th of November 1621, he was elected Preſident of St John's college, upon the reſignation of Dr William Laud, newly promoted to the biſhopric of St David's (*e*). And, on the 12th of December following, took the degree of Doctor of Laws (*f*). He executed the office of Vice-chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford in the years 1626 and 1627 (*g*). About the ſame time he was appointed one of the Chaplains in Ordinary to King Charles I. who conferred on him, January 7, 1627-8, the Deanery of Worceſter, he being then alſo Prebendary of Chicheſter (*h*). Through the intereſt of Biſhop Laud, who had been the chief inſtrument of his former promotions, he was ſworn Clerk of the Cloſet to his Majeſty [*B*], on the 10th of July, 1632 (*i*). And, through the ſame intereſt, he was nominated and elected to the Biſhopric of Hereford in 1633; but, before conſecration, tranſlated to the See of London [*C*], vacant by the advancement of Biſhop Laud to the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury. He was alſo made Dean of the Royal Chapels, and ſworn one of the Privy-Council (*k*). Thus far his preferments were very ſuitable, and ſeemed to have given umbrage to no one: but his exaltation to the office of Lord High-Treaſurer procured him much envy [*D*], as it did implacable rage and malice againſt his

(*a*) Wood Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 1144.

(*b*) Idem, Vol. I. Faſti, col. 165.

(*c*) Idem, Athenæ, ut ſupra.

(*d*) Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732. p. 24.

(*e*) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 305.

(*f*) Idem, Faſti, ut ſupra, col. 219.

(*g*) Idem, Hiſt. & Ant. L. ii. p. 435. and J. Le Neve's Faſti, p. 464.

(*h*) J. Le Neve, p. 301. Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. p. 659.

(*i*) See the Archbiſhop's Diary, in his Life by Mr H. Wharton: and in Ruſhworth's Hiſtor. Coll. Vol. II. edit. 1680. p. 139. and Wood Ath. ut ſupra, col. 1145.

(*k*) Willis, p. 525. P. Heylin's Life of Abp Laud, edit. 1671. p. 248.

[*A*] *Was the ſon of Richard Juxon of Chicheſter.*] Which Richard was ſon of John Juxon of London (1).

[*B*] *Through the intereſt of biſhop Laud—he was ſworn clerk of the cloſet to his Majeſty.*] This appears from the following entry in biſhop's Laud's diary, under the year 1632. 'July 10. Dr Juxon, the Dean of 'Worceſter, at my ſuit, ſworn Clerk of his Majeſty's 'cloſet; that I might have one that I might truſt near 'his Majeſty, if I grew weak or infirm, as I muſt have 'a time.'

[*C*] *Tranſlated to the See of London.*] His election was confirmed October 23, 1633. He was conſecrated the 27th of the ſame month, and inthronized the 5th of November following (2). In this ſtation, as D. Lloyd expreſſes it (3), the Biſhop, 'being to have St 'Paul's combat with beaſts, he uſed St Paul's art, *became all things to all*; and, (as thoſe that were of 'old expoſed to beaſts,) overcame by yielding; being 'moſt mild, and moſt vigilant; a lamb, and a ſhepheard: The delight of the Engliſh nation, whoſe 'reverence was the only thing all factions agreed in, 'all allowing that honor to the ſweetneſs of his manners, that ſome denied to the ſacredneſs of his function; being by love, what another is in pretence, an 'univerſal Biſhop.'

[*D*] *But his exaltation to the office of Lord High Treaſurer, procured him much envy, &c.*] This high office was alſo obtained for him by Archbiſhop Laud's intereſt, as appears by this entry in the Archbiſhop's Diary. '1635, March 6, Sunday, William Juxon, 'Lord Biſhop of London, made Lord High-Treaſurer 'of England, no church-man had it ſince Henry the '7th's time (4): I pray God bleſs him to carry it ſo, 'that the Church may have honour, and the King 'and the State ſervice and contentment by it: And 'now if the Church will not hold up themſelves, *under 'God I can do no more.*' (5) —— But 'though Biſhop Juxon had Abilities for that place, and an Integrity that his enemies could never queſtion, yet his education and order made it a moſt invidious honour to him: The nobility thought themſelves injured; and moſt of the courtiers had their peculiar indignation;' as Biſhop Kennett obſerves. (6) This promotion, therefore, was but a wrong and unadviſed ſtep, even in the judgment of King Charles's friends. Let us hear what Lord Clarendon ſays upon that occaſion. 'The Treaſurer's 'is the greateſt office of benefit in the kingdom, and 'the chief in precedence next the Archbiſhop's, and 'the Great Seal; ſo that the eyes of all men were at 'gaze who ſhould have this great office; and the 'greateſt of the nobility, who were in the chiefeſt 'employments, looked upon it as the prize of one of 'them; ſuch offices commonly making way for more 'removes, and preferments; when on a ſudden the 'ſtaff was put into the hands of the Biſhop of London, a man ſo unknown, that his name was ſcarce 'heard of in the kingdom, who had been, within two 'years before, but a private chaplain to the king, and 'the preſident of a poor college in Oxford. This inflamed more men than were angry before, and no 'doubt did not only ſharpen the edge of envy and 'malice againſt the Archbiſhop, (who was the known 'architect of this new fabrick) but moſt unjuſtly indiſpoſed many towards the Church itſelf; which they 'looked upon as the gulph ready to ſwallow all the 'great offices, there being others in view, of that 'robe, who were ambitious enough to expect the reſt. 'In the mean time the Archbiſhop himſelf was infinitely pleaſed with what was done, and unhappily 'believed he had provided a ſtronger ſupport for the 'Church.' (7) — To the ſame purpoſe ſpeaks Dr P. Heylin. Upon the death of Jerom Weſton Earl of Portland, Lord Treaſurer, Archbiſhop Laud being appointed one of the commiſſioners of the Treaſury, 'carries on the commiſſion the whole year about, acquaints himſelf with the myſteries and ſecrets of it, '*viz.* the honeſt advantages which the Lord Treaſurers had for inriching themſelves (to the value of ſeven

(1) Wood, Ath. ut ſupra.

(2) J. Le Neve, as above, p. 181.

(3) Memoirs of thoſe that ſuffered, &c. Lond. 1668, fol. p. 596.

(4) Henry the VIth, viz. anno 1454, when William Grey Biſhop of Ely was poſſeſſed of it.

(5) See Ruſhworth, as above, Vol. II. p. 288.

(6) Complete Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. III. p. 82. edit. 1719.

(7) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, edit. 1732, 8vo. Vol. I. p. 99.

his promoter Archbiſhop Laud. However, laying paſſion and prejudice aſide, Biſhop Juxon is univerſally allowed to have been one of the beſt and moſt unexceptionable perſons that ever filled the place of High-Treaſurer in England. He enjoyed that office 'till the beginning of the troubles; namely, 'till May 1641, when he reſigned the Treaſurer's ſtaff (*l*): finding it unſafe to ſtand in ſo high and ſlippery a poſt any longer. Then he ſhared the common fate of the epiſcopal clergy; but, by reaſon of his meekneſs, and genteel as well as inoffenſive behaviour, was ſpared longer than any of his brethren, not being deprived 'till 1649 (*m*). And ſo well had he behaved in his employments, that neither as Biſhop or Treaſurer came there any one accuſation againſt him in the Long-Parliament, whoſe ears were open, nay itching, after ſuch complaints (*n*). As he wiſely and timely withdrew from the ſtorm, he enjoyed the greateſt tranquillity of any man in the three kingdoms, throughout the calamities of the civil wars. For he continued moſtly undiſturbed, 'till the period juſt now mentioned, at his houſe in Fulham; where he was ſometimes viſited by the greateſt perſons, and found reſpect from all, though he walked ſteadily in his old paths. And he retained ſo much of his maſter's favour, that his Majeſty conſulted him upon many occaſions (*o*) [*E*]. His advice was always plain and ſincere, and, if followed, might have kept the King from thoſe moſt dangerous precipices in which he fell. Thus, for inſtance, when the bills for the continuance of the Parliament, and the attainder of the Earl of Strafford, had paſſed both Houſes, and King Charles was in the utmoſt perplexity and doubt about giving the royal aſſent thereto; Biſhop Juxon reſolutely told his Majeſty, that if he were not ſatisfied in his conſcience, he ought not to do it (*p*) [*F*]. In 1648, he was one of thoſe divines who attended upon the King, at the

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'ven thouſand pound a year and upwards, as I have heard from his own mouth) without defrauding the king, or abuſing the ſubject. He had obſerved, that divers Treaſurers of late years had raiſed themſelves from very mean and private fortunes to the titles and eſtates of earls, which he conceived could not be done without wrong to both; and therefore he reſolves to commend ſuch a man to his Majeſty for the next Lord Treaſurer, who having no family to raiſe, no wife and children to provide for, might better manage the incomes of the Treaſury to the King's advantage than they had been formerly. And who more likely to come into his eye for that preferment than Juxon, his old and truſty friend, then Biſhop of London; a man of ſuch a well tempered diſpoſition as gave exceeding great content both to Prince and People, and one whom he knew capable of as much inſtruction as by a whole year's experience in the commiſſion for the Treaſury he was able to give him. It was much wondered at, when firſt the ſtaff was put into this man's hand; in doing whereof the Archbiſhop was generally conceived neither to have conſulted his own preſent peace nor his future ſafety. Had he ſtudied his own preſent peace, he ſhould have given Cottington leave to put in for it, who being Chancellor of the Exchequer pretended himſelf to be the next in that aſcendant, the Lord Treaſurer's aſſociate while he lived, and the preſumptive heir to that office after his deceaſe. And had he ſtudied his own ſafety and preſervation for the times to come, he might have made uſe of the power by recommending the ſtaff to the Earls of Bedford, Hertford, Eſſex, the Lord Say, or ſome ſuch man of popular Nobility; by whom he might have been reciprocated by their ſtrength and intereſs with the people in the change of times. But he preferred his Majeſtie's advantages before his particular concernments, the ſafety of the publick before his own. Nor did he want ſome ſeaſonable conſiderations in it for the good of the Church. The peace and quiet of the Church depended much on the conformity of the city of London, and London did as much depend in their trade and payments upon the love and juſtice of the Lord Treaſurer of England. This therefore was the more likely way to conform the citizens to the directions of their Biſhop, and the whole kingdom unto them; no ſmall encouragement being thereby given to the London Clergy for the improving of their Tythes. For with what confidence could any of the old cheats adventure on a publick examination in the Court of Exchequer (the proper court for ſuits and grievances of that nature) when a Lord Biſhop of London ſate therein as the principal judge? Upon theſe counſels he proceeds, and obtains the ſtaff, which was delivered to the Biſhop of London on Sunday March 6, ſworn on the ſame day Privy-Counſellor, and on the firſt of the next term conducted in great ſtate from London-houſe to Weſtminſter-hall, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury riding by him, and moſt of the Lords and Biſhops about the town, with many gentlemen of chief note and quality, following by two and two to make up the pomp. It was much feared by ſome, and hoped by others, that the new Treaſurer would have ſunk under the burden of that place, as Williams did under the cuſtody of the Seal: but he deceived them both in that expectation, carrying himſelf with ſuch an even and ſteady hand, that every one applauded, but none envied his preferment to it; inſomuch as the then Lord Faulkland, in a bitter ſpeech againſt the Biſhops, about the beginning of the Long Parliament, could not chuſe but give him this fair teſtimony, viz. *That in an unexpected place and power he expreſſed an equal moderation and humility, being neither ambitious before, nor proud after, either of the crozier or white ſtaff.*' (8) How great his Honeſty and Abilities were, appears from this undeniable inſtance; that by his prudent management, in leſs than five years, he lodged nine hundred thouſand pounds in the Exchequer (9)

[*E*] *That his Majeſty conſulted him upon many occaſions.*] 'I remember, ſays Sir Ph. Warwick, (10) that the King, being buſy in diſpatching ſome letters with his own pen, commanded me to wait on the Biſhop, and to bring him back his opinion in a certaine affaire: I humbly pray'd his Majeſtie, that I might rather bring him with me, leaſt I ſhould not expreſſe his Majeſtie's ſenſe fully, nor bring back his ſo ſignificantly, as he meant it; and becauſe there might be need for him further to explain himſelfe, and leaſt he ſhould not ſpeake freely to me: To which the King replied, *Go, as I bid you, if he will ſpeak freely to any body, he will ſpeak freely to you:* *This* (the King ſaid) *I will ſay of him, I never gott his opinion freely in my life, but when I had it, I was ever the better for it.*'

[*F*] *Biſhop Juxon reſolutely told his Majeſty, that if he were not ſatisfied in his conſcience, he ought not to do it.*] The King being much perplexed, upon the Parliament's tendring to him the two bills, *For the attainder of the Earl of Strafford*; and *the Continuance of that Parliament*; between the clamours of a diſcontented people, and an unſatisfied conſcience, he took advice of the Judges, and of ſeveral of the Biſhops, (11) what to do in this intricate affair. Biſhop Juxon, as is ſaid above, adviſed his Majeſty not to do any thing againſt his conſcience, upon any conſideration in the world: But J. Williams Biſhop of Lincoln, made a diſtinction between a private and a public conſcience. (12) And the major part of the Biſhops, and of the King's intimate counſellors, urged on by the Queen's fears, preſſed his Majeſty to comply with the opinions of the Judges and the Votes of the Parliament; alledging, that no other expedient could be found out to appeaſe the enraged people; and that the conſequences of a furious multitude would be very terrible. Upon all which he was perſuaded to paſs the Bills. (13) —— But, as the King afterwards well obſerved, —'It is a bad

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(*l*) Whitelock's Memorials, as above, p. 46.

(*m*) D. Lloyd's Memoirs of those that ſuffered, from 1637 to 1660, &c. Lond. 1668, fol. p. 596.

(*n*) Sir Ph. Warwick's Memoirs, edit. 1701. p. 95.

(*o*) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, edit. 1732, 8vo. Vol. I. p. 210. and Sir Ph. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 95.

(*p*) Dr Nalſon's impart. Collection, Vol. II. p. 192. and Ruſhworth's Hiſt. Collect. Vol. IV. p. 262. and Vol. VIII. p. 755.

(8) Heylin's Cyprianus Anglicanus, or Life of Abp Laud, &c. p. 285, &c.

(9) R. Coke's Detection, &c. edit. 1719. Vol. I. p. 324.

(10) Memoirs, p. 95, 96.

(11) Namely, Uſher Abp of Armagh, Morton Bp of Durham, Potter of Carliſle, Williams of Lincoln, and Juxon. D. Lloyd, as above, p. 44.

(12) Lord Clarendon, as above, Vol. I. p. 257.

(13) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 45. Warwick's Memoirs, as above, p. 163. and Sir Roger Manley's Hiſt. of the Rebellions, edit. 1691. p. 19.

the treaty in the Iſle of Wight (*q*): and, by his Majeſty's particular deſire, waited upon him at Weſtminſter, January 21, 1648-9, which (as the King ſaid) was ‘ no ſmall refreſhing to his ſpirit, eſpecially in that his uncomfortable condition.’ The moſt part of that day was ſpent by the good Biſhop in prayer and preaching to the King (*r*). From that time he frequently waited upon his Majeſty [*G*], 'till the 30th day of the ſame month. On that fatal day, he attended his royal maſter upon the ſcaffold, having prayed with and preached before him, and alſo adminiſtred to him the Sacrament. After that King's barbarous murther, the pious and ſorrowful Biſhop retired to his own manor of Little-Compton in Glouceſterſhire; where he ſpent ſeveral years in a retired and devout condition, and now and then, for health's ſake, rode a hunting with ſome of the neighbouring and loyal gentry (*s*) [*H*]. At the Reſtoration, he was deſervedly ſet at the head of the Church of England [*I*], being tranſlated to the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury in September 1660 [*K*]. He repaired very much his palace at Lambeth, and built the great hall

(*q*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 321.

(*r*) Sir Tho. Herbert's Memoirs, 8vo. Lond. 1702. p. 113.

(*s*) Wood Ath. as above; and Whitelock's Memorials, p. 24.

‘ a bad exchange to wound a man's own conſcience, thereby to ſalve State-ſores; to calm the ſtorms of popular diſcontents, by ſtirring up a tempeſt in a man's own boſom. Nor hath God's juſtice failed in the event and ſad conſequences, to ſhew the world the fallacie of that maxim, *Better one man periſh (though unjuſtly) than the people bee diſpleaſed, or deſtroied.* In all likelihood, adds he, I could never have ſuffered, with my people, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Strafford*'s innocencie, at leaſt by denying to ſign that deſtructive Bill, according to that juſtice, which my conſcience ſuggeſted to mee, then I have don ſince I gratified ſom mens unthankful importunities with ſo cruel a favor. And I have obſerved, that thoſe, who counſelled mee to ſign that bill (14), have been ſo far from receiving the rewards of ſuch ingratiateings with the people, that no men have been harraſſed and cruſhed more than they. Hee only hath been leaſt vexed by them (15), who counſelled mee not to conſent againſt the vote of my own conſcience.’— (16) Irreſolution, and want of ſteddineſs, at firſt, was the ruin of K. Charles's affairs. For, had he ſtood unmoveable upon ſome occaſions, eſpecially againſt the Bill for perpetuating the Parliament, he would never have been plunged into thoſe miſeries, which He and theſe Kingdoms fell into: But all differences might have been amicably adjuſted between him and his people, before they came to thoſe dangerous extremes. In ſome caſes a Prince ought not to yield, unleſs it is plainly right. This our late King William of glorious and immortal memory was well apprized of. For, when the Bill *touching free and impartial proceedings in Parliament*, was offered to him for the royal aſſent, he rejected it one year after another, though the Clerk of Parliament read the title of it two or three times times ſucceſſively. (17)

(14) The Judges and Biſhops abovenamed.

(15) Viz. Biſhop Juxon.

(16) Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, chap. ii.

(17) See Kennet's Hiſt. of England, edit. 1719. Vol. III. p. 659.

[*G*] *From that time he frequently waited upon his Majeſty.*] We ſhall here lay together before the Reader, what paſſed between Majeſty and the Biſhop, 'till his Majeſty's death. On the 27th of January, the laſt day of the King's trial, and before he was carried into Weſtminſter-hall, he and the Biſhop were private near an hour, at Cotton-houſe. The ſame night, after ſentence, Col Hacker, who commanded the guards at St James's about the King, would have placed two muſqueteers in the King's bed-chamber; but Biſhop Juxon and Mr Herbert apprehending the diſturbance it would give the King in his meditations, never left the Colonel 'till he had reverſed his order by withdrawing thoſe men. The King now bidding farewel to the world, ſpent the remainder of his time in prayer and other exerciſes of devotion, and in conference with that meek and learned Biſhop, who, under God, was a great ſupport and comfort to him in his afflicted condition. That evening the Biſhop prayed with him, and read ſome ſelect chapters out of the holy Scripture. The next morning, being Sunday Jan. 28, Biſhop Juxon was early with the King, prayed with him, and preached on Rom. ii. 16. Monday Jan. 29, his Lordſhip ſpent alſo moſt part of the day with his Majeſty, and prayed with him, not taking leave of him 'till ſome hours after night; and, at parting, the King deſired him to come early the next morning. He came accordingly at the appointed hour; and, after having continued a conſiderable time in prayer and meditation, attended his Majeſty from St James's to Whitehall, walking through the Park on the King's right-hand. When they came to Whitehall, he prayed there again with his Majeſty in his cabinet-chamber, and adminiſtered the ſacrament to him. (18) To conclude this melancholy ſcene, he attended the King upon the ſcaffold, where theſe words paſſed between them.

(18) Sir Tho. Herbert's Memoirs, printed in 1702, 8vo. See alſo Wood's Athen. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 693, &c.

Dr Juxon. ‘ Will your Majeſty (though it may be very well known your Majeſtie's affections to religion, yet it may be expected that you ſhould) ſay ſomewhat for the world's ſatisfaction.’

King. ‘ I thank you very heartily (my Lord) for that, I had almoſt forgotten it. In troth, Sirs, my conſcience in Religion, I think, is very well known to all the world; and, therefore, I declare before you all, that I die a Chriſtian, according to the profeſſion of the Church of England, as I found it left me by my father; and this honeſt man,* I think, will witneſs it.’

* Pointing to Dr Juxon. He had called him before, in this laſt ſpeech, *a good man.*

His Majeſty then called to Dr Juxon for his night-cap, and having put it on, he ſaid to the executioner, Does my hair trouble you? — And then turning to Dr Juxon, the King ſaid, ‘ I have a good cauſe, and a gracious God on my ſide.’

Dr Juxon. ‘ There is but one ſtage more. This ſtage is turbulent and troubleſome; it is a ſhort one: But you may conſider it will ſoon carry you a very great way: it will carry you from earth to heaven; and there you ſhall find a great deal of cordiall joy and comfort.’

King. ‘ I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown; where no diſturbance can be, no diſturbance in the world.’

Dr Juxon. ‘ You are exchanged from a temporal to an eternal crown, a good exchange.’

Then the King took off his cloke and his George, giving his George to Dr Juxon, ſaying, Remember — (19) After the execution, the pious Biſhop took care of the King's body, and accompanied it to the royal chapel at Windſor; ſtanding ready, with the Common-prayer-book in his hands, to have performed his laſt duty to his kind maſter: but was not permitted by Col. Whitchcott, governor of the caſtle. (20)

(19) From the Account publiſhed by authority, 1649, 4to.

(20) Herbert, as above.

[*H*] *Rode a hunting with ſome of the neighbouring and loyal gentry.*] Mr Whitelock tells us, that Dr Juxon ‘ was much delighted with hunting, and kept a pack of good hounds, and had them ſo well ordered, and hunted, and chiefly by his own ſkill and direction, that they exceeded all other hounds in England, for the pleaſure and orderly hunting of them. He was a perſon of great parts and temper, and had as much command of himſelf, as of his hounds. (21)

(21) Memorials, p. 24.

[*I*] *He was deſervedly ſet at the head of the Church of England*] Such was the general voice and opinion of the nation. But the late Biſhop Burnet, who gives in general a bad or a mean character of the Royaliſts, eſpecially if they are of the clergy, thinks that Biſhop Juxon did not *deſerve* that advancement. His words are theſe. ‘ At the Reſtoration, Juxon, the ancienteſt and moſt eminent of the former Biſhops, who had aſſiſted the late King in his laſt hours, was promoted to Canterbury, more out of decency, than that he was then capable to fill that poſt; for as he was never a great divine; ſo he was now ſuperanuated.’ (22) The moſt bookiſh man, or the moſt loaden with learning, though it be divinity, is far from being always the fitteſt to fill that high poſt. And if Biſhop Juxon's age was great, he being then 78, it does not appear by any action of his that he had loſt his underſtanding. So that the Biſhop's reflection is unjuſt, at leaſt undecent.

(22) Hiſt. of his own Time, edit. 1724. Vol. I. p. 176.

[*K*] *Being tranſlated to the Archbiſhoprick of Canterbury in* 1660.] The *Conge d'elire* was granted September 3. He was elected Sept. 13, and confirmed in

King

hall [*L*]. Alſo he augmented the vicarages, of which the great tithes were appropriated to his ſee (*t*) [*M*]. But being broken with age and infirmities, and eſpecially with the moſt racking torture of the ſtone, he died June 4, 1663, aged 81, and was buried the 9th of the ſame month, in St John's-college chapel, Oxon. by the ſide of Archbiſhop Laud. He bequeathed 7000 pounds to that college, which were afterwards laid out in the purchaſe of an eſtate of 350 pounds per annum. He left alſo 100 pounds to the poor of St Giles's pariſh in Oxford, the like to four other pariſhes; and ſums for the repair of St Paul's and Canterbury cathedrals, and other charitable uſes, in all to the amount of near 5000 pounds (*u*). His contemporaries give him the following character; That he was a comely perſon; of an active and lively diſpoſition; of great parts and temper; full of ingenuity and meekneſs, not apt to give offence to any, and willing to do good to all (*w*): of great moderation, ſincerity, and integrity; inſomuch, that he was the delight of his time, and extorted a reverence and reſpect from thoſe very perſons who had deſtroyed and ruined his Order (*x*). In a word, he was a man of primitive ſanctity, wiſdom, piety, learning, patience, charity, and all apoſtolical virtues (*y*). He publiſhed but a very few things [*N*].

(*t*) Bp Kennett's Caſe of Impropriations, &c. p. 256, 257.

(*u*) J. Le Neve's Lives of the Proteſtant Biſhops, edit. 1720, 8vo. Vol. I. p. 161, 162. and Wood Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. ut ſupra, p. 304.

(*w*) Whitelock, p. 24.

(*x*) See Calamy's Continuat. Vol. I. p. 218. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 48. and Warwick's Memoirs, p. 94, 95.

(*y*) Publick Intelligence, No. 39.

King Henry VIIth's chapel at Weſtminſter, September 20. (23)

[*L*] *And built the great hall.*] He rebuilt it in the antient form, and could not be perſuaded to rebuild it in the modern way, and unite it to the Library, tho' it would have coſt leſs money. He expended in buildings and reparations at Lambeth-palace and Croydon-houſe 14874*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.* Notwithſtanding which, his ſucceſſor Archbiſhop Sheldon ſued Sir Wm Juxon his executor in the court of Arches for dilapidations, and, 24th May 1667, recovered of him 800*l.* more. (24)

[*M*] *Alſo he augmented vicarages, &c.*] The vicarages augmented by him, and the ſums, were as follow.—In the county of *Kent*: He added to Aſh (beſides the old penſion of 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* *per annum.* To Beauxfield, alias Whitfield, 20*l.* To Buckland, 12*l.* To Brabourn, 16*l.* To Challock, 10*l.* To Colrade, 20*l.* To Eaſton, 10*l.* To Hougham near Dover, 25*l.* To twelve or thirteen Vicarages, or Curacies, belonging formerly to the Priory of St Gregory's in Canterbury, 210*l.* To Gulſton, 10*l.* To Ledes and Bromfield, 30*l.* beſides the old Penſion of 22*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* To Maidſtone, 37*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* beyond the former penſion of 20*l.* To Marden, 20*l.* St Margaret's Cliff, 26*l.* St Laurence in Thanet, 40*l.* St Nicolas in the ſame iſland, 30*l.* Lydden, 18*l.* Nunnington, 20*l.* Overland, 10*l.* Reculver, 20*l.* Sibbard's-wold, 20*l.* Sutton-eaſt, 24*l.* Tonge, 10*l.* Walderſhare, 20*l.* Walmer, 20*l.* Weſtwell, 30*l.* Wotton, 40*l.* and to Folkſton, 60*l.* beſides the old penſion of 20*l.* — In Buckinghamſhire; to Brickhill-Parva, 14*l.*—In Suſſex; to Portſlade, 16*l* — In Lancaſhire; to Blackbourn, 70*l.* for Vicars, beyond the old Penſion of 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* To Rochdale, to the Curates, 42*l.* Whaley, 120*l.* to Curates. In all 1103*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a year. (25)

[*N*] *He publiſhed but a very few things.*] Ant. Wood ſays, he hath extant only one Sermon on Luke xviii. 31. (26) But Biſhop Kennet aſcribes alſo to him, (27) a treatiſe intituled, 'Χαρὶς ϗ Ειρηνη. Or ſome 'Conſiderations upon the Act of Uniformity. With 'an expedient for the ſatisfaction of the Clergy within 'the Province of Canterbury. By a Servant of the 'God of Peace.' Lond. 1662, 4to. And, a 'Catalogue of Books in England, alphabetically digeſted,' Lond. 1658, 4to, bears likewiſe Biſhop Juxon's name, in one of Mr Thomas Oſborne's Catalogues. (28)

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(23) Kennet's Regiſter, &c. edit. 1728. p. 252.

(24) Aubrey's Surrey, Vol. V. p. 273.

(25) Kennett's Caſe of Impropriations, as above; and J. Le Neve's Lives of the Proteſtant Biſhops, &c. Vol. I. p. 158, &c.

(26) Athen. ut ſupra, col. 1146.

(27) Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. p. 812.

(28) See Mr T. Oſborne's Catalogue for 1755, p. 40.

K.

KAYE, KEYE, CAY, or CAIUS [*A*] [John], a very learned Engliſh Phyſician in the XVI. century, and co-founder of Gonevile and Caius-College in Cambridge, was the ſon of Robert Keye [*B*], and born at Norwich, Octob. 6, 1510. After having received his ſchool-education in that city, he was admitted very young into Gonevile-hall in Cambridge, of which he became Fellow (*a*); and at the age of 21, commenced author [*C*]. For his further improvement he went, according to the cuſtom of that age, into Italy, and ſtudied Phyſick in the univerſity of Padua under the learned Johannes Baptiſta Montanus, the moſt eminent Phyſician of his time (*b*). He ſoon became ſo eminent in his faculty, that he was Reader of Phyſick at Padua for ſeveral years, and a ſingular ornament to that univerſity (*c*). He took his degree of Doctor firſt at Bononia [*D*], and read public Greek Lectures at Padua, eſpecially about the year 1542, being the 32d of his age *. In 1543 he travelled through the greateſt part of Italy, Germany, and France (*d*). Upon his return to England, he commenced Doctor of Phyſick at Cambridge, and practiſed with ſuch induſtry and ſucceſs, at Shrewſbury (*e*), and at Norwich (*f*), that he came to be reputed one of the beſt Phyſicians in the nation. And, on that account, was ſucceſſively made Phyſician to K. Edward VI. Q. Mary I. and for many years to Q. Elizabeth. In 1547, he was admitted Fellow of the College of Phyſicians in London; and, afterwards, paſſed with applauſe through all the offices of that learned body, having for ſeveral years been choſen Cenſor, often Regiſter and Treaſurer, and for ſeven years or more, Preſident of that royal foundation. He was the firſt inventor of thoſe enſigns of honour, by which the Preſident of the College is diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the Fellows [*E*]. Upon all occaſions, he proved an earneſt and zealous defender of the College Rights and Privileges [*F*]. And ſo religious was he in obſerving its ſtatutes; that,

[*A*] *KAYE, KEYE, CAY, or CAIUS.*] Dr Freind writes his name *Kaye*; (1) others *Key*, or *Keye*, and Mr Blomefield tells us, (2) that the latter was his true name. The Doctor himſelf, according to the faſhion of his age, latinized it into *Caius*, which others have engliſhed into *Cay*.

[*B*] *Was the Son of Robert Keye.*] R. Parker, (3) and T. Fuller, (4) ſay, that this Robert Keye, alias Caius, was of Yorkſhire, or a Yorkſhire man. But Mr Blomefield informs us, that, ‘ as far as ever he could learn, it is without foundation. For, as he goes on, it is evident he was not of the ſame family with Thomas Key or Cay of Oxford, who was deſcended from the Yorkſhire family of Woodſome: (5) whoſe book, intituled *Aſſertio Antiquitatis Oxonienſis Academiæ*, our Caius anſwered in his book intituled, *De Antiquitate Cantabrigienſis Academiæ*, under the name of *Londinenſis*, in 1568, reprinted under his own name in 1574; to which Thomas wrote a Reply, [publiſhed by T. Hearne, in 1730.] (6) So that there being no relation between them, I am apt to believe he was of the Norfolk family of that name, who had been ſettled in Norwich, and different places in this county, a long time, though in truth of no great fortunes; which appears to me the more likely, our Caius not ſo much as pretending (that I can find) to bear any arms from his family; for which reaſon, he procured a coat for his own bearing, with licence for his college to bear it impaled with that of Gonvile, as they do at this day; being, Or, ſemé of ſlips of amarant or flower-gentle, purple; on a pedeſtal, two ſerpents erect, with their tails knotted together, azure; between them, a book, ſable; boſſed, or; the leaves edged, gules. On it, a root and ſpringing branch of ſemper-vive, or houſe-leek, proper.’ (7)

[*C*] *And at the age of twenty-one commenced author.*] He informs us himſelf, that, at that age, he tranſlated out of Greek into Latin *Nicephorus Calliſtus*'s Treatiſe of Confeſſion in Prayer, and another of *Chryſoſtom, de modo orandi Deum*: And out of Latin into Engliſh *Eraſmus*'s paraphraſe on Jude, and epitomized his book *de Vera Theologia*. (8)

[*D*] *He took his degree of Doctor firſt at Bononia.*] For this we have the ſole authority of Dr Goodall; who adds, that our author was alſo for ſome years Greek Lecturer there. (9) But it is more probable that he was Lecturer at Padua, for which a ſalary was paid by the Republic of Venice. (10) However Dr Goodall's authority is not to be ſlighted; he having collected materials for writing Dr Caius's Life. (11)

[*E*] *He was the firſt inventor of thoſe enſigns of honor by which the Preſident of the college is diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the Fellows.*] Thoſe are, a Cuſhion before him, a ſilver verge, a book, and a ſeal. And that Dr Cay was the inventor of them, appears by the following memorandum entered by him in the College regiſter. *Ante hunc annum nulla a Collegio condito reddita ratio fuit acceptorum & expenſorum; nullave ſolennis ratio inſtituendi aut honorandi Præſidentem Pulvinari, Caduceo, Libro & Sigillo, aut excogitata aut uſitata; ullave deponendi munus & officium; primuſque hos honores & excogitavit Caius & uſus eſt.* (12)

[*F*] *Upon all occaſions, he proved an earneſt and zealous defender of the College Rights and Privileges.*] For inſtance, there happening, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a difference to ariſe betwixt the Phyſicians and Surgeons; whether the Surgeons might give inward

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(*a*) F. Blomefield's Eſſay towards a Hiſtory of Norfolk, Vol. II. p. 210, 212. T. Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 133. and Worthies, in Norwich, p. 275.

(*b*) J. Pits de Illuſtribus Angliæ Scriptoribus, edit. Paris, 1619, p. 755, vel ætas xvi. No. 1007. & Caius de Libris propriis, p. 133, 138. edit. Lond. 1729, 8vo.

(*c*) R. Parker's Hiſt. of Cambridge, edit. 1721, 8vo. p. 75.

* See his book De Ephemerâ Britannicâ, & de Libris propriis, p. 163.

(*d*) De Libris propriis, p. 194, 201.

(*e*) See his book De Ephemerâ, &c. and Freind's Hiſtory of Phyſick, as below, note [*Q*].

(*f*) Blomefield, as above, p. 211.

(1) Hiſtory of Phyſick, Part ii. p. 408. edit. 1726.

(2) Eſſay towards a Hiſtory of Norfolk, Vol. II. p. 210.

(3) Hiſt. of Cambridge, as above, p. 74.

(4) Hiſt of the Univ. of Cambr. p. 133.

(5) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. edit. 1721. col. 136.

(6) Mr Blomefield by miſtake ſays, ‘ it was never printed.’

(7) Blomefield, as above, p. 210.

(8) J. Caii de Libris propriis, edit. ut ſupra, p. 127, 128.

(9) Epiſtle Dedicatory, &c. as above.

(10) Vide Caium de Libris propriis, p. 163.

(11) Jebb Dedicat. ejuſdem D. Mead. p. xv.

(12) Goodall, ubi ſupra.

that, though old, he durſt not abſent himſelf from the College's *comitia*, or aſſemblies, without a diſpenſation. He did another eminent ſervice to that learned body, in compiling the Annals of the College, from the year 1555 to 1572 (*g*). This book was the firſt that ever was written of their affairs, and is managed with that excellent method, clearneſs of ſtile, and fulneſs of matter, that all the memorable tranſactions of the College are there to be found entered in their due time and order (*h*). In 1557, being Phyſician to Queen Mary I. and in great favour, nay, as one expreſſes it (*i*), a moſt acceptable oracle, with her, he obtained a licence to advance the Hall, in which he had been educated, to a College [*G*]. This he accordingly performed in 1558, endowing his foundation with conſiderable eſtates [*H*], for the maintenance of three Fellows, twenty Scholars, and a Porter; and giving them a new body of ſtatutes. Moreover, he added, at his own expence, to Gonvile-hall a new ſquare, called Caius's-Court [*I*] all of durable free-ſtone, and uniform in every reſpect; the charge of which amounted to above 1834 l. And that this Society might the better flouriſh under his immediate care and inſpection, he accepted, on the 24th of January 1559, of the Maſterſhip of it; which he kept almoſt as long as he lived. Some little time before his deceaſe, having cauſed Dr Thomas Legge of Norwich to be placed in his room, he remained as a Fellow-commoner in his own College, aſſiſting daily at divine ſervice in a private ſeat in the chapel, which he had built for himſelf (*k*). He is ſaid by ſome authors to have been a Papiſt, or Popiſhly inclined [*K*]; and is taxed by others with being unſettled in his religion [*L*]. Beſides what hath been already ſaid of him,

ward remedies in the Sciatica, French-pox, or any kind of ulcer or wound, &c. Dr Caius was ſummoned (as Preſident of the College) to appear before the Lord-Mayor and others of the Queen's Delegates; before whom he ſo learnedly defended the college-rights, and the illegality of the Surgeons practice in the forementioned caſes, againſt the Biſhop of London, Maſter of the Rolls, &c. (who brought many arguments in behalf of the Surgeons) that it was unanimouſly agreed by the Queen's Commiſſioners, that it was unlawful for them to practiſe in the aforementioned caſes. (13)

[*G*] *He obtained a licence to advance the Hall, in which he had been educated, to a College.*] 'Till that time Gonvile's hall was not incorporated, but had only ſeveral licences of mortmain, to receive or purchaſe lands, tenements, &c. The Maſter and Fellows did indeed ſuppoſe themſelves a corporation, though they were only incorporated by Biſhop Bateman's authority, and letters confirmed by the Chancellor of the Univerſity, and the Biſhop of Ely; which, without letters patent under the great ſeal of England, gave them no legal power to be a corporation or body politic, but were what they thought they had been, rather by the piety, goodneſs, and ſimplicity of thoſe ages, than by any right of law. Wherefore the Maſter and Fellows, by the advice of Caius, petitioned the King and Queen for a Charter of Foundation, and Confirmation of all their Rights, Eſtates, and Privileges; which was obtained by Caius, who thereby was made a Founder, and added to Gonvile and Bateman, with full power aſſigned him, to appoint Rules and Statutes, for the Maſter, Fellows, and Scholars, to obſerve and keep, provided they were not repugnant to Bateman's ſtatutes, or any way incroaching on the prerogative of the Queen, or her ſucceſſors. The ſame charter alſo impowered him to ſettle 70*l.* *per ann.* more, and to found two Fellows or more, and twelve Scholars or more, the College being hereafter to be called, *The College of Gonvile and Caius*; and to be incorporated by the name of, The Maſter and Fellows of Gonvile and Caius College, founded in honor of the Annunciation of the bleſſed Virgin Mary. The year following, on the feaſt of the Annunciation, Dr Caius re-dedicated and conſecrated the college to the honor of the Annunciation aforeſaid, to which it was formerly dedicated by Gonvile and Bateman, and endowed it with plate, money, books, &c. (14)

[*H*] *Endowing his Foundation with conſiderable eſtates.*] Namely, the manor of Croſſeley in Rickmanſworth, in Hertfordſhire, formerly parcel of the Abbey of St Alban's; the manor of Runcton in Norfolk, formerly belonging to the monaſtery of St Edmund's-bury in Suffolk; together with the patronages of Holme, and Wallington, and the manor of Burnhamthorp in Norfolk, formerly belonging to the monaſtery of Wimondham: All which eſtates, being veſted in the Crown upon the diſſolution of the Monaſteries, Dr Caius purchaſed of King Philip and Queen Mary, February 12, 1557-8, for the ſum of 1030*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* (15)—He gave, beſides, to the college, the manor of Bincombe with the Advowſon; and Woobourn in the county of Dorſet; and the manor of Crokeſley at Caxton in Cambridgeſhire.—In his will he appropriated his Fellowſhips and Scholarſhips to his own countrymen of the dioceſe and city of Norwich.

[*I*] *He added, at his own expence, to Gonvile-hall a new ſquare, called Caius's-Court.*] And that the gates of his new edifice might read a lecture of morality to the perſons that go through them, as one expreſſes it, (16) he cauſed that which leads into the college by St Michael's church, being low and little, to be inſcribed, *Humilitatis*, or the Gate of Humility; the next is inſcribed, *Virtutis*, the Gate of Virtue: On the other ſide of this portico, which is a piece of very good architecture, are theſe words, *Jo. Caius poſuit Sapientiæ*, 1567, i. e. 'John Caius placed this in honor of Wiſdom.' The gate on the ſouth ſide of his court, leading to the publick ſchools, is inſcribed, *Honoris*, or the Gate of Honor; which all that paſs through it for their degrees, are ſuppoſed to have attained.

[*K*] *He is ſaid by ſome authors to have been a Papiſt, or Popiſhly inclined.*] T. Fuller informs us, (17) that 'ſome have ſought to blaſt his memory, by reporting 'him a Papiſt,' without mentioning his authorities. But it is certain, that in 1565, three of his Fellows, whom he had expelled, drew up articles againſt him, wherein they charged him, not only with 'ſhew of a 'perverſe ſtomach to the profeſſors of the Goſpel, but 'alſo with Atheiſm.' Upon which Mr Strype obſerves, (18) that 'probably Caius thought the better to cover 'his former inſtability in religion, by throwing out 'expreſſions occaſionally, whereby he would pretend 'to have had little zeal for any religion: Or his aim 'might be, to obſcure his ſecret kindneſs for the old 'Popiſh Religion. For, that he had a kindneſs for it, 'appeared in his private reſervation of abundance of 'Popiſh trumpery — ſuch as Veſtments, Albes, Tunicles, with the Pix, Sindon, Canopy, &c.' which upon ſearch were found in his college, and burnt and defaced on the 13th of December 1572.——But it is to be remembered, that ſuch things might be kept only as matters of curioſity, without any veneration for them. — And the perſons by whom the accuſations were laid againſt him, appear to have been highly prejudiced, as well as violently exaſperated; and thought themſelves greatly injured: In ſuch a caſe, what would moſt men not ſay to blacken an enemy? Let us hear what apology T. Fuller makes for Dr Caius upon this ſubject. His being reported a Papiſt, was 'no great 'crime to ſuch who conſider the time when he was 'born, and foreign places wherein he was bred. How-'ever this I dare ſay in his juſt defence, he never men-'tioneth Proteſtants but with due reſpect, and ſome-'times occaſionally doth condemn the ſuperſtitious cre-'dulity of Popiſh miracles. (19) Beſides, after he had 'reſigned his maſterſhip to Dr Legge,—he was con-'ſtantly preſent at *Proteſtant* prayers. If any ſay, all 'this amounts but to a lukewarm religion, we leave 'the heat of his faith to God's ſole judgment, and 'the light of his good works to mens imitation.' (20)

[*L*] *And is taxed by others with being unſettled in his religion.*] So he is taxed particularly by J. Pits, in the following words. *Unicum illud in eo vehementer ſane*

(*g*) He ſeems to ſay himſelf, that he began at the year 1520, and ended at 1565. Cujus nos Annales a collegio condito ſcripſimus, & ad annum Domini 1565. ultimum Præſidentiæ noſtræ annum produximus. *De Libris propriis*, p. 142.

(*h*) Epiſtle Dedicatory to Hiſtorical Account of the College's Proceedings againſt Empiricks, &c. by C. Goodall. Lond. 1684. It is not paged.

(*i*) R. Parker, as above, p. 75.

(*k*) R. Parker, p. 81. and Blomefield, as above, p. 212.

(13) Goodall, ibid.

(14) Blomefield, as above, p. 211.

(15) Blomefield, ibid. and R. Parker, p. 75.

(16) Blomefield, p. 212.

(17) Hiſt. of the Univ. of Cambridge, p. 134.

(18) Life of Abp Parker, edit. 1711. p. 199, 200.

(19) Hiſt. Cantebr. Academiæ, 4to. L. i. p. 8.

(20) T. Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſ. of Cambr. p. 134.

him, it muſt be remembered, that in 1557 he erected a monument in St Paul's church in London, to the memory of the great Linacer *(l)*. And in 1563 or 1564, he obtained a grant, that the College of Phyſicians might for ever yearly take two dead malefactors bodies at their diſcretion, and diſſect them, without the prohibition or control of any perſon whatever, or without paying any thing for them, and ſettled 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* a year for the expences of diſſecting ſuch bodies *(m)*. Dr Caius was undeniably one of the moſt learned men in his time; particularly famous for his exquiſite knowledge in the Greek and Latin languages; and a perſon of a happy wit (*n*). He reviſed and corrected Galen's books in numberleſs places, and tranſlated ſome of them into Latin [*M*]. He alſo greatly corrected Corn. Celſus, and Scribonius Largus [*N*]. And publiſhed Hippocrates his treatiſe of Medicines [*O*]: A Practice of Phyſick [*P*]: An Account of the Sweating Sickneſs in England [*2*]: The Hiſtory of the Univerſity of Cambridge [*R*]: An Account

(l) Weever's Funeral Monuments, fol. 370.

(*m*) Blomefield, as above, p. 213. note.

(*n*) Goodall, as above.

ſane dolendum, quod qui aliorum corpora tam peritè ſanare profitebatur, ſuam animam neglexiſſe feratur, dum ipſe non ſanus in fide, pro occaſionibus in omnem partem fluctuabat dubius, imo ſe flectebat inconſtans, & non ſolum nutabat, verum etiam pro principum arbitrio religionem ſæpe mutabat. Itaque ſcripta ejus nonnulla ſunt prohibita. Sed forſan hoc omne, quicquid fuit vitii, potius hominis levitati quam perverſitati tribuendum eſt.(21) i. e. One thing he is greatly to be pitied for, that he who profeſſed to be ſo ſkilful in the cure of other people's bodies, is ſaid to have neglected his own ſoul; for, being unſound in faith, he proved upon all occaſions doubtful and wavering, nay flexible and inconſtant, and not only tottering, but alſo changing his religion often at the pleaſure of princes. Therefore ſome of his writings are forbidden. But perhaps this fault, whatever it be, is rather to be attributed to the man's levity than to his perverſeneſs.

[*M*] *He reviſed and corrected Galen's books in numberleſs places, and tranſlated ſome of them into Latin*] According to his own liſt,(22) he reviſed and corrected thirty-one Treatiſes of Galen, and wrote Notes, or Commentaries, upon nine of them. The chief of which were, Galen's Anatomical Exerciſes, in nine books: Of the motion of the Muſcles, in two books: Of the compoſition, or making up of Medicines, 17 books: Of the powers of Simple Medicines, 11 books: Of the opinions of Hippocrates and Plato, nine books: A body, or method, of Phyſic, 14 books: How to preſerve health, ſix books: Of the uſe of the parts of the human Body, 17 books: Of the cauſes of Symptoms, three books: Of the Bones, one book, &c. Beſides twenty other Treatiſes, comprifed in one ſingle book, each ——— And he intended a further correction of them if he had lived. (23)

Such of them as he tranſlated into Latin, were, *De placitis Hippocratis, primum. De libris Galeni ſuis, unum, De ordine Librorum ſuorum, unum. De Diæta in morbis acutis, unum.*

And ſuch as he publiſhed, were, 1. Galen's two books of the Anatomy of the Muſcles and Nerves. Baſil 1544. Froben. and 1551, by Rouille. 2. Of *Succedaneums*, or ſubſtituted remedies. 3. Part of the 7th book of the uſe of the Parts; which he firſt found out. 4. Of a Coma, or Lethargy; reprinted in 1556. 5. Of the means of preſerving Health, Gr. 1549. Baſil, by Oporinus; and with commentaries, in 1563. 6. Galen's book to Thraſybulus. 7. Of the ſmall Sphere. 8. Galen's account of his own books. 9. And the order of them. Lovan. 1556 8vo. Baſil 1563. 10. Of Ptyſan. Baſil 1557. 11. Galen's firſt book of the Opinions of Hippocrates and Plato. Περὶ τῶν Ἱπποκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος δογμάτων. *De Decretis Hippocratis & Platonis, lib.* 1. (24)

[*N*] *He alſo greatly corrected Corn. Celſus, & Scribonius Largus.*] We do not find that he ever publiſhed them, though he made them quite ready for the Preſs; adding at the end, An Account of the Weights and Meaſures therein mentioned. (25)

[*O*] ***And publiſhed Hippocrates his Treatiſe of Medicines.*]** Περὶ Φαρμάκων, or *De Medicamentis.* This he was the firſt who diſcovered.—He publiſhed, moreover, Hippocrates his Regimen, or method of Diet, in acute diſeaſes. *De ratione Victus* [*vel diæta*] *ſecundum Hippocratem in morbis acutis. Lov.* 1556. 8vo.

[*P*] *A Practice of Phyſic*] Written in Latin, and intituled, Joannis Caii *Britanni* de *Medendi Methodo, libri duo, ex Cl.* Galeni Pergameni, & Jo. Baptiſtæ Montani Veronenſis, *principum Medicorum Sententia. Opus utile & jam natum.* Baſileae, apud Froben. 1544. *item* Lovan. 1556. 8vo.

[*2*] *An Account of the Sweating Sickneſs in England.*] This is intituled, *De Ephemera Britannica*; becauſe it laſted but a natural day of 24 hours. The learned Dr Freind juſtly calls it ‘ſomething very remarkable and wonderful, a diſtemper, which was never heard of before in any age or nation; and which, after returning now and then for the ſpace of ſome years, has ever ſince intirely diſappeared.’— He proceeds to give the following curious account of it from Dr Cay's book. — ‘It originally was a native of our own iſland; and upon this account it is the leſs ſtrange, that it ſhould be the moſt accurately deſcribed by one of our own countrymen, the great and learned *Caius*. It began at firſt in 1483, in Henry the Seventh's army, upon his landing at Milford-haven, and ſpread itſelf in London, from the 21ſt of September to the end of October. It returned here *five* times, and always in Summer: firſt in 1485; then in 1506; afterwards in 1517; when it was ſo violent, that it killed in the ſpace of three hours: So that many of the nobility died, and of the vulgar ſort, in ſeveral towns, half often periſhed. It appeared the fourth time in 1528, and proved mortal then in the ſpace of ſix hours: Many of the courtiers died of it, and Henry the Eighth himſelf was in danger. In 1529, and only then, it infeſted the Netherlands and Germany; in which laſt country it did much miſchief, and deſtroyed many, and particularly was the occaſion of interrupting a conference at Marpurgh between Luther and Zuinglius about the Euchariſt. The laſt return of it with us, was in 1551: In Weſtminſter it carried off 120 in a day, and the two ſons of Charles Brandon, both Dukes of Suffolk, died of it. At Shrewſbury particularly, where our Author, Caius, reſided, it broke out in a very furious manner. The deſcription he gives of it is terrible, like the plague of Athens. He very properly calls it a peſtilent contagious Feaver, of one natural day: The Sweat itſelf he reckons only as a ſymptom or criſis of this Feaver. The manner of its ſeizure was thus; firſt it affected ſome particular part, attended with inward heat and burning, unquenchable thirſt, reſtleſſneſs, ſickneſs at ſtomach and heart, (though ſeldom vomiting) head ach, delirium, then faintneſs, and exceſſive drowſineſs. The pulſe quick and vehement, and the breath ſhort and labouring. Children, poor, and old people, leſs ſubject to it. Of others, ſcarce any eſcaped the attack, and moſt died: In that town, where it laſted *ſeven* months, periſhed near a thouſand. Even by travelling into France, or Flanders, they did not eſcape: And what is ſtranger, even the Scotch were free, and abroad the Engliſh only affected, and foreigners not affected in England. None recovered under 24 Hours. At firſt the Phyſicians were much puzzled how to treat it; the only cure was to carry on the ſweat, which was neceſſary, for a long time; for if ſtopt, it was dangerous, or fatal. The way, therefore, was to be patient, and lie ſtill, and not to take cold. If Nature was not ſtrong enough to do it, Art ſhould aſſiſt her in promoting the ſweat, by cloaths, medicines, wine, &c. The violence of it over, in 15 hours; but no ſecurity 'till 24 were paſſed. In ſome there was a neceſſity to repeat the ſweating; in ſtrong conſtitutions, *twelve* times. Great danger to remove out of bed; ſome who had not ſweated enough, fell into very ill Feavers. No fleſh in all the time, nor drink for the *firſt* five hours. For in the *ſeventh*, the diſtemper increaſes; about the *ninth*, delirium; ſleep to be avoided by all means. It appeared by experience, as the Lord Bacon obſerves

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(21) De Illuſtribus Angliæ Scriptoribus, ut ſupra, p. 755, 756.

(22) De Libris propriis, &c. p. 138, &c. 206—210.

(23) Ibid. p. 194, 210. Moſt of his corrections are now loſt. Jebb, præfat. p. x.

(24) De Libris propriis, p. 138, &c. 169, 172, 173.

(25) Vide de Libris propriis, p. 163—169.

count of the Baths in Britain [*S*]; of ſome rare Animals and Plants [*T*]; and of Britiſh Dogs [*U*]: Of the right pronunciation of the Greek and Latin languages [*W*]; and ſome other pieces mentioned below [*X*]. He dyed at Cambridge July 29, 1573, in his grand climacteric, having foretold his own death (*o*), and was buried in a grave which he had made before his deceaſe, in the chapel of his own college. His epitaph is ſhort, but expreſſive and ſublime [*Y*]. He was a man of very great learning; particularly, maſter of a fine Latin ſtile. And he ſhewed his zeal, love, and true regard for learning, by endeavouring to promote and perpetuate it; in his generous benefactions to the place of his education, of which he muſt be allowed to be the chief and moſt munificent Founder.

'ſerves, that this diſeaſe was rather a ſurprize of nature, than obſtinate to remedies, if it were in time 'well treated. For when proper care was taken, the 'patient generally recovered.' (26) Dr Keye's account of this ſickneſs was publiſhed in 1556, and very neatly reprinted at London in 1721, 8vo. The Dedication to Antony Perrenot Biſhop of Arras, is dated Lond. Janu. 11, 1555. To the firſt edition the author ſubjoined, Galen's two books, *De Libris propriis, Galeni*; and *ordine Librorum ſuorum*; and Hippocrates his book, *De ratione victus in morbis acutis*. (27)

[*R*] *The Hiſtory of the Univerſity of Cambridge.*] Of which, *the two firſt* are a Vindication of the Antiquity of that Univerſity. And the occaſion of his writing of them was this; Queen Elizabeth coming to Cambridge in Auguſt 1564, the Orator made a ſpeech before her, wherein he extolled the Antiquity of that Univerſity, and affirmed that it was much ancienter than Oxford. The Oxonians being offended at this, Thomas Key Fellow of All-Souls college wrote in ſeven days a little book, (28) wherein he ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the antiquity of his own Univerſity; ſaying, that it was founded by ſome Greek Philoſophers, companions of Brutus, and reſtored by K. Alfred about the year of Chriſt 870; conſequently was ancienter than Cambridge; and this book he preſented to Q. Elizabeth, at her coming to Oxford. Upon that, Dr Caius, at the motion of Archbiſhop Parker, (29) enters the liſts, like a true champion, and in the ſtile of one; and makes out undeniably (as he thinks) that Cambridge Univerſity had for its founder Cantaber, 394 years before Chriſt, and in the year of the world, *four thouſand three hundred* and odd; and therefore was 1267 years ancienter than Oxford. The Doctor's book is intituled, *De Antiquitate Cantabrigienſis Academiæ Libri duo. In quorum ſecundo de Oxonienſis quoque Gymnaſii Antiquitate diſſeritur, & Cantabrigienſe longe eo antiquius eſſe definitur.* Londinenſi Authore. For the Doctor concealed himſelf under the name of *Londinenſis*. At the end of it is ſubjoined, Thomas Key's book, or *Aſſertio Antiquitatis Oxonienſis Academiæ, incerto Authore ejuſdem Gymnaſii*: (30) *Ad illuſtriſſ. Reginam Anno* 1566. *Cum fragmento Oxonienſis Hiſtoriolæ, ex libro Procuratorum.* Theſe were very neatly printed by Henry Bynneman, in 1568, 8vo.—They were reprinted by John Day in 1574, 4to, *aucti ab ipſo Authore plurimum*, with two other books, intituled *Hiſtoriæ Cantebrigienſis Academiæ ab Urbe condita, Lib.* 2. which are properly the Hiſtory of the Univerſity. The firſt contains the *ancient* ſtate of the place, a deſcription of the town, an hiſtory of the Univerſity, and the foundation of the ſeveral colleges. The ſecond is a deſcription of the town *as it was in his time*; officers of the Univerſity, Exerciſes, &c. Schools, Library, &c.

[*S*] *An Account of the Baths in Britain.*] *De Thermis Britannicis, liber.* In which he treats of the nature, uſe, effects, and diſcovery of the baths in Britain. We do not find that it was ever printed. (31)

[*T*] *Of ſome rare Animals, and Plants.*] He drew up that account for the uſe of the very learned Conrad Geſner, and it was inſerted in his Hiſtories of Animals and Plants. Our author had it printed afterwards more complete, by W. Seres, at London 1570, 4to.

[*U*] *And of Britiſh Dogs.*] *De Canibus Britannicis libellus.* This was drawn up at firſt in haſte, for the uſe alſo of his learned friend C. Geſner. But he being carried off by the plague in 1565, our author reviſed and enlarged it; cauſing it to be printed by W. Seres in 1570. It hath been reprinted, with the former, by Dr Jebb. Lond. 1729, 8vo.

[*W*] *Of the right pronunciation of the Greek and Latin Languages.*] *De Pronunciatione Græcæ & Latinæ Linguæ, cum Scriptione nova libellus.* Printed by J. Day, Lond. 1574, reprinted by Dr Jebb, with the two former. In this he oppoſes the pronunciation introduced by J. Cheke, (32) and confirmed by a decree of the Univerſity of Cambridge, 14 June 1542. (33) With regard to the Latin, he was for retaining the manner of pronunciation uſed in foreign parts, viz. *ſibi, tibi, vita, ita,*—not, *ſaibai, taibai, vaitai, aitai,* as the Engliſh ſound thoſe words. And as to the Greek, he was abſolutely againſt the manner of pronouncing it, introduced by Cheke and Smith: Alledging, that the Ancients, as appeared by their own books and commentators, pronounced *Achilles, Tydes, Theſes,* not *Achillews, Tudeus, Theſeus,* &c. *Certe Antiqui Achilles, Tydes, Theſes, & Uliſſes dicebant, non Achillews, Tudeus, Theſews, & Uluſſews, quemadmodum recentes: uti ex eorum & interpretum libris ea adhuc referentibus ſcire licet.* (34) That exploded manner of pronouncing Greek is ſtill eſpouſed by ſome perſons; witneſs *D. Gregorii Placentini de recta Græci ſermonis Pronunciatione Diſſertatio*, Romæ 1735, 4to. and *Commentar. in Veteres Inſcriptiones*, Romæ 1751. 4to.

[*X*] *And ſome other pieces.*] Namely, 1. *De Libris propriis liber unus; ad Thomam Hatcherum.* An account of the Books written by himſelf. Printed by W. Seres, Lond. 1570, and reprinted by Dr Jebb with the forementioned ones. It were to be wiſhed, every learned man, who hath written many things, would leave ſuch an account of them behind him. 2. *De Symphonia vocum Britannicarum, lib.* 1. 'Of the agreement of many Britiſh words with the like in the Greek and Latin languages.' Never printed. 3. *De antiquis Britanniæ Urbibus, lib.* 1. 'Of the ancient cities and towns in Britain.' Containing an account of their former and modern names; which of them are extinct, &c. Not printed. 4. *De Libris Galeni qui non extant, lib.* 1. 'Of the books of Galen which are loſt.' Not printed. 5. *Annales Collegii Medicinæ, Lond. lib.* 1. 'The Annals of the College of Phyſicians London.' 6. *De Annalibus Collegii Gonevilli & Caii, lib.* 1. 'The Annals of Goneville and Caius College.' Theſe two he never intended for the preſs. (35) — He had alſo an intention of writing the Hiſtory of his native place, the city of Norwich. (36)

[*Y*] *His epitaph is ſhort.*] It is compriſed in theſe few words.

Fui Caius.

Vivit poſt Funera Virtus.

Obiit xxix Julii Ætatis ſuæ

Anno Dni 1573. LXIII.

i. e.

I was Caius. Virtue outlives Death.

He died 29 July, A. D. 1573, aged 63.

His monument, when the chapel was rebuilt ſome time ſince, was raiſed from the floor, and placed in the wall as it now ſtands, and then his body was found whole and perfect. (37)

(*o*) Goodall, as above.

(26) Dr Freind's Hiſt. of Phyſick, Part ii. p. 333—336.

(27) De Libris propriis, p. 169.

(28) Wood. Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 173.

(29) Strype's Life of Abp Parker, p. 257.

(30) For Tho. Key did not put his name to it.

(31) De Libris propriis, p. 193.

(32) See above, the article CHEKE [Sir JOHN.]

(33) Hiſt. Cantebr. Acad. L. ii. p. 124.

(34) De Pronunciatione, edit. Jebb, p. 225, 231.

(35) De Libris propriis, p. 142, 143, 206.

(36) Ibid. p. 133, 210.

(37) Blomefield, as above, p. 212.

KEBLE [Joſeph], the laborious compiler of Law-Reports, was youngeſt ſon of Richard Keble of Ipſwich in the county of Suffolk, Eſq; a lawyer of ſufficient note during the Uſurpation (*a*) [*A*], and deſcended from a very ancient family in Wales (*b*). His ſon Joſeph, the ſubject of the preſent article, had his birth in the pariſh of St Giles's in the Fields in the year 1632, and having laid a proper foundation of grammar learning at the pariſh ſchool of St Andrew's, Holbourn (*c*), was ſent thence to Jeſus college in Oxford; but after a ſhort ſtay there, he removed to that of All-Souls, of which Society he was appointed a Fellow by the Parliament Viſitors in 1648 (*d*). In this ſituation he proſecuted his ſtudies with diligence, and being of the Law line, he proceeded to take his bachelor's degree in that profeſſion, March 15, 1654 (*e*). Not long afterwards, leaving the univerſity, he ſettled at Gray's-Inn, where he had been admitted a ſtudent, and became a Barriſter about the year 1658 (*f*). The following year he made the tour of Paris, and ſaw the Court there. After the Reſtoration, he attended the King's-Bench bar with very extraordinary aſſiduity, continuing there daily as long as the court ſat, in all the terms from 1661 to the year 1710, which was the more remarkable, as he was very rarely, if ever, known to be retained in any cauſe, or ſo much as to make a motion there. Agreeable to this courſe, his whole life was very regular and orderly: Riſing before ſix in the morning, he employed himſelf in his ſtudy, with unwearied writing, 'till eleven; then met company in the walks; from thence to dinner: thence back to his ſtudy; and at ſix to the walks again. This was in a manner the conſtant method of his labours and diverſions (*g*). In the vacation time he uſually walked to Hampſtead, having purchaſed at North-end (*h*) in that pariſh, a ſmall copyhold eſtate for the ſake of the air. In this retirement he remained Mondays. Tueſdays, and Wedneſdays, but employed his time there moſtly in writing, as he did at London [*B*]. Towards the latter end of his life, growing too feeble to perform the walk, he ſometimes rode thither; and as he was going to take coach for that purpoſe on Monday Auguſt 28, 1710, his legs failed him on the ſudden, and he fell back into a perſon's arms in Holborn-Gate at Gray's-Inn, and expired immediately, without a groan, in the 78th year of his age (*i*) [*C*]. His corps was ſoon afterwards conveyed in a hearſe out of town, and buried at Tuddenham near Ipſwich in Suffolk, where he had a real eſtate of about a hundred pounds a year, which, as he was never married, deſcended after his deceaſe to Walter Keble Eaves, Eſq; his heir at law (*k*). He publiſhed ſeveral Books in his Life-time; beſides which, he left above a hundred large folios, and more than fifty thick quartos, in manuſcript, of his own hand-writing: We ſhall give an account of the whole below [*D*]. He had alſo a very good ſtudy of printed books,

[*A*] *A Lawyer of ſufficient note during the Uſurpation, and of an ancient family in Wales.*] He was Serjeant at Law when he was appointed a joint Commiſſioner of the Great Seal with Bulſtrode Whitlocke and John Liſle, Eſq; in February 1648 (1); and while he was in this ſtation he was appointed preſident of the extraordinary commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer for the trial of the famous John Lilburne, in Oct. 1649 (2).

[*B*] *He employed time in writing at London.*] This faculty was ſo habitual to him, that he continually laboured with his pen, not only to report the Law at the King's-Bench Weſtminſter, but all the Sermons at Gray's-Inn Chapel, both forenoon and afternoon, amounting to above 4000. This was the mode in thoſe times when he was young; and being once got into the faſhion of writing ſermon-notes, he continued it to his laſt, as will appear in remark [*D*].

[*C*] *He expired without a groan.*] The perſon in whoſe arms he expired, was the late Mr Williamſon, bookſeller, who then kept a ſhop under the gate, and obſerving him to faulter in his walking, ſtept up to his aſſiſtance; to whom his laſt words were, *My legs are too weak to ſupport my body.* He had frequently in his life-time expreſſed a deſire to die in this manner; and often declared with ſome warmth, his diſlike of the petition in the Litany againſt ſudden death (3).

(*D*) *We ſhall give an account of the whole below.*] The firſt work he undertook for the public, was making a new Table with many new References, &c. to the Statute Book in the year 1674. He was engaged in it by two of the King's Printers (4), who agreed to give him three hundred pounds; and had it licenſed by Lord Chancellor Finch, with all the Judges. He finiſhed it in two years. II. The next book he publiſhed was in the year 1681, intituled, *An Explanation of the Laws againſt Recuſants, &c. abridged,* in 8vo. Licenſed May 7, 1681, with the following approbation: 'Knowing the learning and induſtry of the author of this work, who hath therein very ſeaſonably beſtowed his pains upon explaining the ancient laws made againſt Recuſants, I do recommend the ſame to the public. Fr. North. III. His next work for the public was intituled, *An aſſiſtance to Juſtices of Peace for the eaſier performance of their duty; licenſed by all the Judges,* viz Fr. Pemberton, Fr. North, W. Montague, Hugh Wyndham, Tho. Jones, Will. Dolben, Tho Raymond, Ed. Atkins, W. Gregory, J. Charlton, Creſwel Levinz, T. Street. Publiſhed in 1683, Fol. The bookſellers paid him two hundred pounds for the copy. IV. He publiſhed *Reports taken at the King's-Bench at Weſtminſter, from the 12th to the 30th Year of the reign of our late Sovereign Lord King* Charles II. in 3 volumes folio. Licenſed by the Judges, and publiſhed in 1685. He received of the bookſeller three hundred pounds for the copy. But the whole not being digeſted in the ordinary method of ſuch collections, and coming out without any table of references, the book was not ſo well received as was expected; and the credit of it being once ſunk could not be retrieved, tho' the table was added in 1696. V. *Two Eſſays; one on human nature, or, the creation of mankind; the other on human actions.* Pamphlets in 8vo.

Our author's manuſcripts in folio bound, are, I. Thirteen volumes (as large and thick as the Statutes) in Demy-paper, being an abridgment of the law under ſeveral heads. II. One volume of the ſame ſize on the Excom. of the 5th of Eliz. cap. 23. III. Ten volumes as thick as Poulton's Statutes, being a Digeſt of the Statutes at large under ſeveral proper heads. IV. Three volumes of the ſame ſize concerning Taxes. V. Three volumes of Abridgments throughout the Alphabet. VI. Two volumes being a Table to Lord Coke's Reports. VII. Four volumes, being an Alphabetical Table to all the Books of the Common Law. VIII. One volume, being an Abridgment of Eccleſiaſtical Law. IX. Twenty-five volumes of Abridgments of Law. X Thirty-five volumes, being an Explanation of all the Statutes, which the Lord Chancellor Finch put him upon doing. XI. Six volumes of Tables to the Abridgments. XII. One volume of Miſcellanies under fifteen Heads: 1. Religion. 2. Exerciſe of the Spirit. 3. Happineſs 4. Chriſtian Patience. 5. Faith. 6. Villenage. 7. Original Sin. 8. Life. 9. Charity. 10. Senſuality. 11. Death. 12. Myſtery of Truth. 13. Effect of taking Sermon-notes. 14. Myſtery of Godlineſs. 15. Chriſtian Philoſophy. *His Manuſcripts in Quarto bound are:* 1. Two volumes of Pleadings at Gray's-Inn, beginning 1663, and ending 1677.

(*a*) Poſt-Boy, No. 4704. from Thurſday Sept. 17 to Saturday Sept. 19, 1719.

(*b*) His pedigree is now in the hands of Mr Sam. Keble, Bookſeller in Fleet-ſtreet, where the family is traced as far back as before the time of Will. the Conqueror.

(*c*) Poſt-Boy.

(*d*) Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Ibid. Faſti, col. 105.

(*f*) Poſt-Boy. Mr Wood obſerves, that he afterwards became a Bencher of that ſociety. Ath. Ox. where laſt cited.

(*g*) Poſt-Boy.

(*h*) The value of it was about 10*l.* a year, as we are informed by Mr. Sam. Keble, Bookſeller in Fleetſtreet; who ſays, his relation generally performed the walk in the ſame number of ſteps, which were often counted by him.

(*i*) Poſt-Boy.

(*k*) Mr Keble's information.

(1) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1007.

(2) See the tryal of Lieutenant-Colonel John Lilburne, printed that year in 4to.

(3) From the information of Mr S. Keble, Bookſeller in Fleet-ſtreet.

(4) H. Hills and T. Newcomb.

books, in Divinity, Hiſtory, Common and Civil Law; in which there was ſcarcely a ſingle one but where he had written very large marginal notes, particularly in all the books that relate to Convocations, and many obſervations upon Mr Locke's Human Underſtanding [*E*]. He was of a friendly and affable behaviour, and his good nature eminently appeared in the frequent aſſiſtance he gave to his relations [*F*], and in his charity to the poor.

1677. 2. Twenty-two volumes of Reports taken at the King's-Bench from King Charles II. to the 8th Year of her late Majeſty. 3. Thirty-three volumes of Sermons preached at Gray's-Inn in the Morning and Afternoon, from 1660 to 1709, which are above four thouſand. (5).

[*E*] *He had a very good ſtudy of books, &c.*] All his books and manuſcripts (except twenty volumes given to Gray's-Inn) were left by his will to his couſin Sam. Keble, bookſeller in Fleet Street, London, by his will, wherein he alſo bequeathed his eſtate at Tuddington to Mr Keble's ſon, the preſent bookſeller, as well as his copy-hold at North-End: But tho' the will was all written by himſelf, and regularly ſigned; and ſo was ſufficient in Law for the copy-hold; yet being left without any witneſſes names, it proved ineffectual for conveying the real eſtate in Suffolk, which by that defect fell to the ſhare of the heir at law, as mentioned in the text.

[*F*] *He frequently aſſiſted his relations.*] The following inſtance of this was truly worthy of him. In building Coney-court, at Gray's-Inn, one ſide of the chambers in the ſtair-caſe, No. 3. was done at the expence of Mr Keble, who ſold thoſe on the ground and ſecond floor, but reſerving thoſe on the firſt for his own uſe, he placed in the third floor ſuch of his poor relations, eſpecially of the female ſex, as were rendered by age and infirmities the fitteſt object of his beneficence (6). P

(5) The Poſt-Boy, cited in the text.

(6) Communicated by Mr S. Keble, Bookſeller in Fleetſtreet, to whom we are obliged for ſo many other particulars in this memoir.

KEILL [John], an eminent Mathematician and Philoſopher was born December 1, 1671, at Edinburgh (*a*) where he received the firſt rudiments of learning; after which, being put to that univerſity, he continued there till he took the degree of Maſter of Arts. His genius leading him to the Mathematicks, he made a great progreſs in thoſe ſtudies under Dr David Gregory, the mathematical Profeſſor, who having embraced the Newtonian philoſophy ſoon after it was publiſhed, read a courſe of lectures to explain it (*b*). By this means our author became early acquainted with Sir Iſaac's Principia, and making himſelf maſter of a good ſhare of the immenſe treaſure of mathematical and philoſophical learning contained therein, he formed his future ſtudies upon that plan. In 1694 he followed his tutor to Oxford, and was incorporated Maſter of Arts there February the 2d that year (*c*); and being admitted of Baliol college, obtained one of the Scotch Exhibitions in that Society. It was not long after this, that he procured ſuch an apparatus of inſtruments as his fortune could command, and began to read lectures upon Natural Philoſophy according to the Newtonian Syſtem, which he explained by proper experiments in his private chamber at the college (*d*). This happy method of teaching Sir Iſaac Newton's principles by the experiments on which they were grounded, how natural ſoever, yet had not 'till then been attempted in either univerſity: Mr Keill was the firſt [*A*], and he diſtinguiſhed himſelf to great advantage it it. In 1698 he brought his character this way into the knowledge of the public, by his *Examination of Dr Thomas Burnet's Theory of the Earth* [*B*], which though his firſt eſſay in print, yet was generally received as a maſterpiece

(*a*) Communicated by his ſon.

(*b*) Mr Whiſton's Life by himſelf, Vol. I. p. 32. 2d edit. 1753.

(*c*) Dr Rawlinſon's Catalogue of Degrees, &c. at Oxford, p. 121.

(*d*) The memory of this was freſh at Oxford in 1715, and was often mentioned by Mr John Whiteſides, who then read the ſame lectures there. P

[*A*] *The firſt who read lectures in Experimental Philoſophy.*] As Sir Iſaac Newton, who was bred at Cambridge, read in the public ſchools there thoſe lectures which contained the ſubſtance of his Principia, it may ſeem a little ſurprizing, that the only proper lectures for explaining his philoſophy, which was built upon experiments, ſhould have been firſt introduced at the ſiſter univerſity (1). This was owing in a great meaſure to Dr Aldrich, Dean of Chriſt Church; who to an exquiſite taſte in all polite literature, having joined a conſiderable ſkill in the Mathematics, did not only give encouragement, but reputation alſo to thoſe ſtudies at Oxford. In the mean time, the Carteſian philoſophy ſtill held the vogue at Cambridge, even in the year 1693. (2) Notwithſtanding that ſoon after the year 1687, when Sir Iſaac's book was publiſhed, thoſe Principles had been taught at Edinburgh by Dr David Gregory, then Mathematical Profeſſor there, who had alſo cauſed his ſcholars to keep exerciſe for their degrees upon ſome branches of this new doctrine; whence it is no wonder if Mr Keill had imbibed a kind of veneration for it before he came to Oxford. He was ſucceeded in reading lectures there by Dr Deſaguliers, who ſome time after removing to London, firſt brought theſe lectures into general vogue in the metropolis.

[*B*] *An examination of Dr Burnet's Theory.*] Notwithſtanding ſeveral things by way of anſwer to this Theory had been publiſhed before, yet they were all very defective; the authors thereof having not only left the greateſt faults unchaſtized, but run into as great abſurdities as any of thoſe they pretended to correct in the Theory itſelf. Mr Keill, therefore, undertook to give a full and ſolid refutation of that hypotheſis. As it was his ſuperior ſkill in the Newtonian philoſophy which rendered him equal to this province, ſo he made it an opportunity of recommending that philoſophy, both with regard to its method of applying geometrical calculations to diſcover the exact degree of thoſe forces that are found by obſervation actually to exiſt in nature, and likewiſe on account of its modeſty and ſobriety, in keeping the great author of Nature conſtantly in view, in confining philoſophy within its proper ſphere, and not preſuming to extend the force of ſecond intermediate cauſes to the production of ſuch effects as are wrought by the immediate hand of the Firſt. A method contrary to this, he obſerves, had been always the diſgrace of philoſophy. Thus, for inſtance, he imputes the wild notions of Anaxagoras, and ſeveral of the old Greeks, mentioned by Diogenes Laërtius, and Plutarch (3), concerning the nature and phænomena of the ſun and ſtars to the neglect of this method, and eſpecially marks thoſe of Anaximenes, Heraclitus, and another, concerning the cauſe of an eclipſe of the Sun, as tho' ſtrange enough in themſelves, yet appearing much ſtranger '*when*, ſays he, *we conſider that theſe* '*men lived after Thales, who had foretold an eclipſe* '*of the Sun by his knowledge, that the moon was to be* '*at ſuch a time in a direct line between him and it.* '*Such an averſion had theſe men to build upon other* '*mens obſervations that had gone before them, though* '*both older and wiſer than themſelves.*' From the Ancients he deſcends to the Moderns, 'who pretend, ſays 'he, to have found out the intimate eſſence of all 'things; to have diſcovered nature in all her works, 'and can tell you the true cauſe of every effect from 'the ſole principles of matter and motion; can inform 'you (for inſtance) how God made the world, and de'clare the whole œconomy of living bodies. Nay, 'they underſtand alſo very exactly the theory of the 'ſoul, how it thinks, and by what methods it operates 'on the body, and the body on it.' In confirmation of this laſt remark, he mentions the aſſertion of Spinoſa concerning an unity of ſubſtance; that of Mr Hobbes, of the abſolute impoſſibility of any incorporeal ſubſtance;

(1) The Plumian profeſſorſhip was founded at Cambridge in 1705, and Mr Roger Cotes, the firſt Profeſſor, was likewiſe the firſt who read lectures of this kind there.

(2) Whiſton's Life by himſelf, ubi ſupra.

(3) The firſt *In Vitis Philoſophorum*, and the ſecond *De Philoſoph. Placitis*.

piece by thoſe who were beſt acquainted with the ſubject. In this work he had ſubjoined ſome *Remarks upon Mr Whiſton's New Theory of the Earth*, which occaſioned that gentleman

ſubſtance; Dr Henry More's fourth dimenſion, or eſſential Spiſſitude of the ſoul; Mr Malbranch's doctrine about ſeeing all things in God, and occaſional cauſes; together with ſome others then lately publiſhed, of leſs note, though not leſs extravagant (4), and then lays all theſe fooleries to the charge of Des Cartes, who encouraged this preſumptuous pride in the philoſophers of accounting for all the works of nature; ‘ and was alſo, continues he, the firſt world-maker this ‘ [the ſeventeenth] century has produced. For he ſup‘ poſes that God at the beginning created only a certain ‘ quantity of matter and motion, and from thence en‘ deavours to ſhew how by the neceſſary laws of me‘ chaniſm, without any extraordinary concurrence of ‘ the divine power, how the world, and all that there‘ in is, might have been produced; nay, he pretend‘ ed, that having a quantity of matter and motion, he ‘ could produce an animal; though he was ſo extreme‘ ly ignorant in the laws of motion, that of the ſeven ‘ rules he has given about it, there is but one of them ‘ true.’ He proceeds to overthrow the whole ſyſtem of Des Cartes's philoſophy, by ſhewing the falſeneſs of his Theory of the Vortices, upon which that ſyſtem is founded, and in concluſion obſerves, that Dr Burnet's Theory is formed in the ſame ſpirit with that of Des Cartes, from the cobweb threads of a fine imagination, without a due regard to obſervations and calculations. However intimating withal, that the philoſophy of his antagoniſts was made of no better ſtuff; among thoſe he expreſsly takes notice of Mr Warren, and makes very free with that gentleman's little gift of reaſoning (5).

In the body of the book, our author conſiders ſeven of the Theoriſt's poſitions, upon which, as the main pillars, he ſuppoſes the whole fabrick to ſtand. Theſe are made the ſubjects of ſo many chapters. In the firſt of which he examines the general argument brought for its truth, as furniſhing the only poſſible method to explicate Noah's flood; all other ways requiring more water than can be found, and more, if found, than can be diſpoſed of. Mr Keill, for anſwer, obſerves, that he has ſelected this argument, becauſe he thinks it an evident demonſtration of the impoſſibility of all natural and mechanical explications whatſoever of the Deluge, even this of the Theoriſt not excepted, as we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel, whence he concludes it to be wrought in a miraculous way, which he thinks is evidently declared in Scripture, particularly in thoſe remarkable words, *Behold I, even I, do bring a flood of waters upon the earth* *. The ſecond chapter ſhews that the Theoriſt's method of forming the world from a chaos, is not agreeable to the laws of nature and gravitation. The third chapter proves the poſſibility of mountains in the antediluvian earth, even upon the Theoriſt's principles, though contrary to his poſition; herein explaining the uſe of mountains to ſupply ſprings and rivers, our author borrows Dr Halley's account of the original of ſprings. (6) The fourth chapter examines the effects ariſing from the perpendicular poſition of the earth's axis to the plane of the ecliptic, aſſerted by the Theoriſt, which is proved to be ſo far from being excellent, and fitted for a paradiſiacal world, that it would make the greateſt part of the earth not habitable. Here likewiſe, in demonſtrating the advantages of the preſent oblique poſition of the earth's axis above that of a right one, or even any other, our author is again obliged to Dr Halley (7). The fifth chapter expoſes the abſurdity of the Theoriſt's method in forming the antediluvian rivers without any ſea. The ſixth chapter contains an eaſy and clear demonſtration of the true figure of the earth, viz. that of an oblate ſpheroid, and not an oblong, as the Theoriſt maintained (8). This chapter is twice as long as any of the reſt. The Theoriſt's aſſertion of the earth's oval form was not only the moſt commonly received opinion at that time, wherein he had been particularly defended, (9) but was granted too by his former antagoniſts (10). And the contrary doctrine of an oblate ſpheroidical form was one of the moſt remarkable diſcoveries in Sir Iſaac Newton's Principia. Mr Keill therefore thought proper eſpecially to exert himſelf upon this point, in order to make it clear and intelligible, even to readers of an ordinary attainment in geometrical learning, and the rather becauſe it had been truſted to the publick with the ſole force of a ſtrict and ſevere demonſtration by the diſcoverer. In handling it, our author makes uſe of Mr Huygens's Theorems of the centrifugal force; whereupon being afterwards aſperſed by Dr Burnet, in his *Reflections upon the theory of the earth*, as a plagiary, he returned the following anſwer. ‘ It is well known, ‘ ſays he, that Mr Newton was the firſt that made the ‘ diſcovery, and ſhewed the method of calculating the ‘ gravity of bodies at different latitudes, whom there‘ fore I mentioned as the ſole inventor. Mr Huygens, ‘ indeed, I did not name, ſeeing he had the notion in‘ tirely from Mr Newton, as that learned gentleman ‘ does freely acknowledge. But after all this, I have ‘ not ſo much tranſcribed from theſe two learned au‘ thors, as I have endeavoured to explain their notions, ‘ and make them intelligible to men of lower capaci‘ ties. Thoſe two excellent and learned men had ‘ ſomething elſe to do, and matters of greater concern ‘ to mind, than to publiſh their diſcoveries at large, ‘ ſo that every reader might underſtand them. I thought ‘ therefore, that it would not be altogether diſpleaſing ‘ to the world, if I endeavoured to explain their theo‘ rems about the figure of the earth, and the effects ‘ of gravity joined with a centrifugal force; ſo that ‘ they might become intelligible to thoſe who under‘ ſtand the elements of Geometry, and the common ‘ principles of Staticks, *and I doubted not but it would* ‘ *be more acceptable, becauſe there has not (at leaſt to* ‘ *my knowledge) been any diſcourſe publiſhed of this na*‘ *ture in Engliſh.*’ (11) In the ſeventh chapter, our author examines the manner of the Theoriſt's accounting for the Deluge by the great heat of the ſun's breaking the outward cruſt (12), and thereby occaſioning its fall into the water beneath; and having ſhewn this pretended heat of the ſun to be inſufficient for that purpoſe, he proves that even granting that to be ſufficient, there could follow no univerſal deluge from the Theoriſt's own principles, there being not ſo much water, according to theſe, in the abyſs, as was ſufficient to cover the face of the whole earth: And as he has here ſhewn, that this Theoriſt has not provided water enough to make ſuch a deluge, ſo with regard to the other Theoriſt, Mr Whiſton, whom he allows to have furniſhed water enough for his purpoſe from the atmoſphere of a comet; yet he proves that gentleman to be very ſhort in providing a ſufficient means of the earth's recovering from ſuch a deluge, ſince of twenty-three oceans neceſſary to be brought upon its ſurface in order to make it, he had only contrived a receſs for one, the other twenty-two being left without any proviſion to carry them off (13). We muſt not diſmiſs this remark without obſerving, that as on one hand Mr Keill, by his method of explaining the figure of the earth from Mr Huygens's theorems, muſt needs have recommended himſelf to the good opinion of Sir Iſaac Newton, who always profeſt the higheſt regard for that author, and his manner of demonſtration (14); ſo on the other hand, the animadverſions in this treatiſe upon ſome glaring miſtakes of Mr Wotton, and particularly of Dr Bentley, muſt undoubtedly have rivetted him in the favour of Dean Aldrich, the diſpute about Phalaris's epiſtles being then at the height (15). The paſſage relating to Mr Wotton is in the Introduction (16), and runs thus. ‘ I wonder, therefore, why Mr Wot‘ ton, in his Reflections on ancient and modern learn‘ ing (17), ſhould ſay, that Des Cartes joined to his ‘ great genius an exquiſite ſkill in Geometry, ſo that he ‘ wrought upon intelligible principles, in an intelligible ‘ manner, though he very often failed of one part of ‘ his end, namely, a right explication of the phæno‘ mena of nature; yet by marrying Geometry and Phy‘ ſics together, he put the world in hopes of a maſcu‘ line offspring. *This*, ſays Mr Keill, *I think, is a clea*‘ *rer demonſtration than any in Des Cartes's principles of* ‘ *philoſophy, that Mr Wotton either underſtood no Geome*‘ *try, or* elſe that he never read Des Cartes's principles, ‘ for from the beginning to the end of them, there is not ‘ one demonſtration drawn from Geometry, or indeed ‘ any demonſtration at all, except Mr Wotton will ſay, ‘ that every thing that is illuſtrated by a figure is a de‘ monſtration, and then indeed he may produce enough ‘ of ſuch demonſtrations in his philoſophical works. ‘ So far was Des Cartes from marrying Phyſics with ‘ Geometry, that it was his great fault that he made

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(4) Viz. Dr Burthogge and Dr Connor, the firſt in a treatiſe upon Reaſon, had, revived the doctrine of the *Anima Mundi*, or one univerſal ſoul; and the latter had denied all miraculous facts in general, in a book entitled *Evangelium*.

(5) Mr Warren's book is intitled, *Geologia, or a Diſcourſe concerning the Earth before the Deluge, &c.* edit. 1690, 4to.

* Gen. vi. 17.

(6) In Phil. Tranſ. No. 192.

(7) In a paper ſhewing the exact proportion of the ſun's heat in all latitudes. Ibid. No 203.

(8) He provides a current for his rivers from this oval figure.

(9) In a book titled *Diatribe de Figura Telluris Elliptico-Sphæroide.* Edit. Straſburgh, 1691. by Joh. Caſp. Eiſenſchmidt. Med. & Philoſ. Doct. An Extract of this piece was alſo publiſhed in the Acta Erudit. Leipſiæ for that year.

(10) Particularly Mr Eraſmus Warren, ubi ſupra; with whoſe aſſertion of 104th deg. of latitude, Mr Keill makes very merry in his introduction, p. 24.

(11) Examination of the Reflections of the Theory of the Earth, p. 144, 145.

(12) Dr Burnet ſuppoſes the earth to be compoſed of a ſpherical body of water, covered with a cruſt of dry land.

(13) Remarks on Mr Whiſton's Theory of the Earth, p. 221, & ſeq. and the Defence of thoſe Remarks, p. 203, & ſeq See other particulars in theſe remarks. See Mr Whiſton's article.

(14) See Dr Pemberton's preface to his View of Sir Iſaac's Philoſophy.

(15) See Dr Bentley's article.

(16) P. 14, 15, 16.

(17) Cap. xxvii. p. 348. edit. 1705.

gentleman to publiſh a vindication of his new Theory; and *Reflections upon the Theory of the Earth* being printed by Dr Burnet about the ſame time, theſe pieces drew another performance from our author, which he publiſhed with the title of *An Examination of the Reflections on the Theory of the Earth, together with a Defence of the Remarks on Mr Whiſton's new Theory* (*e*), in 1699, 8vo. The following year Dr Thomas Millington, Sedleian Profeſſor of Natural Philoſophy at Oxford, who had been appointed Phyſician in Ordinary to King William (*f*), ſubſtituted Mr Keill to read lectures, as his deputy, in the public ſchools (*g*). Our author diſcharged this office with uncommon reputation; and the term for enjoying the Scotch exhibition at Baliol college expiring, he accepted an invitation given him by Dr Henry Aldrich, Dean of Chriſt-Church, to reſide there (*h*). In 1701 he publiſhed his celebrated treatiſe intitled, *Introductio ad Veram Phyſicam* [C]. This contained the ſubſtance of ſeveral lectures upon the new Philoſophy, and he continued to read in the ſame way for ſome years after his removal to Chriſt-Church. About this time he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1708 he publiſhed, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (*i*), a paper *of the laws of attraction, and its phyſical principles* [D]. At the

no uſe at all of Geometry in Philoſophy. It may, perhaps, be thought that he underſtood Geometry as well as moſt of his cotemporaries, and therefore Mr Wotton might have preſumed that he ought to have joined Geometry to Natural Philoſophy; but ſince he aſſerts that he actually did ſo, I think it a convincing argument that he makes himſelf a judge of things he does not underſtand.' The ſtroke at Dr Bentley falls in theſe terms. ‘I know Dr Bentley in his laſt lecture for the confutation of Atheiſm aſſerts, that though the axis [of the earth] had been perpendicular, yet, take the whole year about, we ſhould have had the ſame meaſure of heat we have now. But I am not ſurprized to find an error of this nature aſſerted by one, who as it appears is not very well ſkilled in Aſtronomy; for in the ſame lecture he confidently ſays, that *'tis matter of fact and experience, that the moon always ſhews the ſame face to us, not once wheeling about her own center*; whereas 'tis evident to any one who thinks, that the moon ſhews the ſame face to us for this very reaſon, becauſe ſhe does turn once in the time of her period about her own center * But it were to be wiſhed that great critics would confine their labours to their lexicons, and not venture to gueſs in thoſe parts of learning which are capable of demonſtration.' (18) This bluntly ſevere diſcipline, ſo much in the Doctor's own manner, was highly reliſhing to his antagoniſts, and the whole body of Mr Wotton's defence (19) was weak enough to be taken, and the particulars led as ſo many captives to grace the triumph.† After all, Mr Keill's pen did not move in this piece without making ſome ſlips, though indeed they are ſuch as affect not his main argument: For inſtance, in meaſuring the degrees of an ellipſis, in aſſigning fifteen Paris feet for the ſpace a body falls through in a ſecond of time, (20) and in giving a number of feet a little leſs than true for the diameter of the earth, which was not ſo well known at that time. Theſe miſtakes in the 8th chapter were taken notice of by Dr Deſaguliers, (21) and our author himſelf has remarked another in that very chapter, the fourth, where his laſh falls ſo heavy upon Dr Bentley; in which he aſſerts Jupiter's axis to be inclined to the plane of his orbit. This aſſertion, he tells us, proceeded from too haſtily truſting to his memory; and experience has ſince ſhewn, that a like uncautious ardour (not to be found in his maſter Sir Iſaac Newton) led him into a belief, that no menſuration of a degree of the meridian in different latitudes could be made exact enough for determining the true figure of the earth. (22) Throughout the whole work, our author vindicates the literal ſenſe of the Moſaic account of the Creation and Deluge, and in his Examination of the Reflections has given ſome no contemptible rules concerning literal and allegorical interpretations of Scripture. To conclude, the whole tenour of the treatiſe now under conſideration, ſhews our author's belief in the inſpiration of the Pentateuch, whence it may be known what credit is to be given to a ſtory told of him, that in a diſpute with a Jew, who perſiſted in denying the divine authority of the New Teſtament, he ſaid, Then I deny the divine authority of your Old Teſtament.

[*C*] *Introductio ad Veram Phyſicam.*] This is univerſally eſteemed the beſt and moſt uſeful performance of our author. In the preface he inſinuates the little progreſs that Sir Iſaac Newton's Principia had then made in the learned World, obſerving that though the mechanical philoſophy was then in repute, yet in moſt of the writings on this ſubject ſcarce any thing of it was to be found beſides the name; and that inſtead of it, the philoſophers had introduced the figures, pores, and interſtices of corpuſcles which they never ſaw, and talked of the inteſtine motion of the parts, of the ſtruggles and conflicts between the acid and alkali, with a variety of ſuch other miraculous effects of the *Materia Subtilis*; all which were abſurdities of the Carteſian philoſophy, which ſtill held a place in the eſteem of the generality, notwithſtanding the invincible foundation that had been laid for the mechanic philoſophy, and the noble diſcoveries made therein by Mr Newton (23). In the firſt lecture he treats of the method of philoſophizing, which he intends to take in the reſt. This he divides into four branches, viz. (1.) The Pythagorean and Platonic, which explain the nature of things by numbers and geometrical figures. (2) The Ariſtotelian, which does the ſame thing by matter and forms, privations, elementary virtues, occult qualities, ſympathies, and antipathies, &c. (3) Experimental; and (4.) Mechanical, proceeding by the laws and rules of Mechaniſm, as matter and motion, the various figures and contextures of the parts, ſubtile particles, and the like. From each of theſe our author takes what beſt ſuits his purpoſe, and to avoid error, preſcribes to himſelf theſe three rules: firſt, to lay down requiſite definitions; then to conſider the qualities of things only as thus defined, abſtracted from all others; and thirdly, beginning with the moſt ſimple caſes, thence to proceed to the more compounded. Upon this plan, after he has treated of the ſolidity and extenſion of body, the diviſibility of magnitude, (24) the ſubtility of matter, and thoſe minute particles into which it may be actually divided, of time, and of place, he proceeds to conſider motion (25) in general. The firſt edition of this book contained only fourteen lectures, but to the ſecond edition in 1705 he added two more upon the motions ariſing from given forces. About twenty years ago, when the Newtonian philoſophy began to be cultivated in France, this piece was in great eſteem there, being looked on as the beſt introduction to Sir Iſaac's Principia, and a new edition in Engliſh was printed at London in 1736, at the inſtance of Monſieur Maupertuis (26), who was then in England; and after our author's much admired demonſtrations of Mr Huygens's theorems of centrifugal force, printed at the end of it, ſubjoined a new hypotheſis of his own concerning the ring of the planet Saturn.

[*D*] *The laws of attraction, and its phyſical Principles.*] This piece is built upon ſome propoſitions in Sir Iſaac Newton's Principia, and our author gives the following account of the origin of it. ‘After frequently revolving, ſays he, in my mind the divine diſcoveries of this moſt ſagacious man, I fell at laſt upon this thought, that a certain principle might be applied, not unlike to thoſe of Newton, to the explication of the terreſtrial phænomena; and after experiments often repeated, I perceived there was a certain attractive force in terreſtrial matter, from whence the reaſon of many terreſtrial phænomena is to be derived: And this thought of mine about five years ago I opened to Mr Newton, and I underſtood from him, that he had long ago obſerved the ſame thing; and I found that he had propoſed ſome queries relating to this attractive force at the end of his Optics, publiſhed in Latin about two years ago. Now as it can't be expected, that this great man ſhould

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(*e*) In anſwer to this Mr Whiſton publiſhed a ſecond defence of his new theory againſt Mr Keill and others; but of this our author took no notice.

(*f*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 226.

(*g*) See the preface to his *Introductio ad Veram Phyſicam.*

(*h*) Communicated by Mr Murray, our author's nephew.

(*i*) No. 315.

* The ſlip was the more unpardonable in Dr Bentley, as the ſermon where this remark occurs is among thoſe at Boyle's Lecture, a great part whereof is borrowed from Sir Iſaac Newton's *Principia*, where this obſervation had been particularly inſerted. Lib. iii. prop. 17.

(18) Examin. of the Theory, p. 70.

(19) Page 3, 4, 5, 6. printed at the end of the Reflections, ubi ſupra.

† See more of this in Dr Wallis's article.

(20) The true ſpace is 15 feet, 1 inch, and 2 lines.

(21) In Phil. Tranſ. No. 387.

(22) See chap. vi. in the Examination of the Theory; and his Defence of it, in the Examination of the Reflections on the Theory. And it is remarkable, that the reſult of this menſuration firſt brought Sir Iſaac's philoſophy into vogue in France.

(23) He gives the following liſt of Sir Iſaac's predeceſſors in this philoſophy, viz. Archimedes, Roger Bacon, Cardan, Galilæo, Boyle, and Wallis, with others.

(24) Here, from the limited nature of body, he proves, that geometrical ſuperficies, as lines and points, are not meer ideas, but have an actual exiſtence in nature, ſince every natural body is actually bounded by ſuch a ſuperficies, the actual limits of which are lines, and the limits of thoſe lines actually geometrical points.

(25) Our author maintains both the reality of ſpace and of abſolute motion.

(26) An eminent Mathematician, and one of thoſe who were ſent by the King of France to meaſure a degree of the meridian near the north-pole.

(27) Viz. Prop. 39 and 74. lib. i. and prop. 8. lib. iii.

the ſame time being offended at a paſſage in the *Acta Eruditorum Leipſic*, wherein Sir Iſaac Newton's right to the firſt invention of the method of Fluxions was called in queſtion, he communicated to the Royal Society (*k*) another paper, in which he aſſerted the juſtice of that claim [*E*]. In 1709 he was appointed Treaſurer to the Palatines, and in that ſtation attended them in their paſſage to New-England. Soon after his return in 1710, he was choſen Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Oxford. In 1711, being attacked by Mr Leibnitz, he entered the liſts againſt that illuſtrious Mathematician in the diſpute about the invention of Fluxions, which he maintained with great ſpirit and equal penetration for ſeveral years [*F*], with the approbation of the inventor (*l*). Nor did he content himſelf

(*k*) Publiſhed in Phil. Tranſ. No. 317.

(*l*) See a letter of Sir Iſaac, in Recueil de divers Pieces, &c. Meſſieurs Leibnitz, Clarke, Newton, & autres auteurs celebres, publie par Des Maizeaux, Tom. II. p. 121. Amſterd. 1724.

‘ proceed ſtill to improve theſe ſtudies, both by reaſon of his age and other buſineſs, I thought it not amiſs if I ſhould purſue his ſteps herein, though at a great diſtance from him.’

[E] *A paper, wherein he aſſerted the juſtice of that claim.*] The title of it is, De Legibus virium Centripetarum. In this piece Mr Keill not only aſſerted that Sir Iſaac firſt invented the method of fluxions, as appeared by his letters publiſhed by Dr Wallis, but that Mr Leibnitz had taken this method from him, only changing the name and notation, *Hæc omniaque ſequuntur, inquit, ex celebratiſſima nunc dierum fluxionem Arithmetica, quam ſine dubio primus invenit Dominus Newtonus, ut cuilibet ejus epiſtolas a Walliſio editas facile conſtabit. Eadem tamen Arithmetica poſtea mutatis nomine & notationis modo a D. Leibnitio in actis Eruditorum edita eſt.*

[F] *Being attacked by Mr. Leibnitz, &c.*] That gentleman wrote a letter to Dr Hans Sloane, then Secretary to the Royal Society, dated March 4,1711, where he required in effect that Mr Keill ſhould make him ſatisfaction for the injury which he ſaid had been done to him. ‘He proteſted that he was ſo far from aſſuming to himſelf the method of Sir Iſaac Newton, after having only changed the name and notation, that he was abſolutely ignorant of the name of the *method of fluxions*, and of the notation uſed by Sir Iſaac, 'till they appeared in the mathematical works of Dr Wallis.’ He deſired, therefore, the Royal Society to oblige Mr Keill to diſown publickly the bad ſenſe which his words might bear. This letter was communicated to the Royal Society, and Mr Keill to juſtify himſelf to Sir Iſaac Newton, ſhewed him the extract of his book of the *Quadrature of curves* in the *Acta Eruditorum*. (28) He deſired the Society at the ſame time, not to condemn him without hearing him, and to give him leave to explain and defend what he had advanced. This was the more readily granted to him, as Sir Iſaac, and ſeveral other members of the Society, found the ſame ſenſe as he had done in the compariſon (29) of the *Acta Eruditorum*. Upon this, Mr Keill wrote to Dr Sloane a letter, (30) in which he obſerved, ‘That when he aſſerted that Mr Leibnitz had publiſhed as his own Sir Iſaac Newton's method, after having changed the name and notation, he did not mean, that the name which Sir Iſaac had given to his method, or the notation which he made uſe of, were then known to Mr Leibnitz; but only that Sir Iſaac was the firſt inventor of the method of fluxions, or differential method; and that the letters which he had written to Mr Oldenburgh, and which had been ſent to Mr Leibnitz, furniſhed light enough to a man of Mr Leibnitz's penetration, to diſcover the principles of that method. But that not having found the name which Sir Iſaac Newton gave his method, and the notation uſed by him, it was natural for him to invent a new name, and a new manner of notation. Mr Keill added, that the authors of the *Acta Eruditorum* had obliged him to publiſh what he had aſſerted, by their having affirmed in their extract of the book of *Quadratures*, that Mr Leibnitz had invented the differential method, in the room of which, Sir Iſaac Newton had ſubſtituted his fluxions. That he acknowledged with pleaſure the great obligations which the learned world had to Mr Leibnitz, and his profound ſkill in the mathematics; but that as he had ſo great a fund of his own, there was no occaſion to adorn him with the ſpoils of others. And that having obſerved, that Mr Leibnitz's countrymen gave him commendations which did not belong to him, he thought that it would not be an inſtance of miſtaken zeal for the Engliſh nation, if he endeavoured to maintain Sir Iſaac Newton's right.’ He then entered upon the ſubject, and ſhews firſt, from a letter of Sir Iſaac's to Mr Collins, dated December 10, 1672, that he had this method before 1670, when Dr Barrow's lectures were publiſhed, and then from his *Analyſis per Equationes infinitas*, which was ſent to Mr Collins in 1699, that he uſed it before that time; and laſtly, from his two letters (and particularly the latter) to Mr Leibnitz in 1676, that he had invented it before the plague which happened in 1665 and 1666. Having thus clearly proved that Sir Iſaac was the firſt and true inventor of the method of fluxions, or the differential method, in the next place he proceeds to evince in what particular manner the two letters of Sir Iſaac to Mr Leibnitz in 1676, which he received from Mr Oldenburgh, contained hints of that method clear enough to enable him to diſcover it. He concludes with declaring, ‘that among the great ſervices which Mr Leibnitz had done in regard to mathematicks, his having firſt publiſhed this method was one, and that all lovers of that ſcience were obliged to him, becauſe he had not been willing that ſo uſeful an invention ſhould be longer concealed. And he did not doubt but that what he had written would juſtify his zeal for his country, and furniſh a convincing proof, that he had not aſſerted raſhly, or out of a ſpirit of calumny, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, what he had now demonſtrated with ſo much clearneſs and evidence.’ This letter having been read to the Royal Society May 24, 1711, they ordered a copy of it to be ſent to Mr Leibnitz, who found new matter of complaint in it; and in a ſecond letter which he wrote to Dr Sloane, dated at Hanover December 29, 1711, he repreſented that Mr Keill had attacked his candor and ſincerity more openly than before; adding, that it was not ſuitable for a man of his age and experience to engage in a conteſt with an *Upſtart, who was unacquainted with what had paſſed ſo long before*, and acted without any authority from Sir Iſaac Newton, who was the party concerned. That it was in vain for Mr Keill to pretend to juſtify his proceeding by the example of the *Acta Eruditorum*, ſince in that Journal no injuſtice had been done to any man, but every one had received what was his due. He concluded with deſiring that the Royal Society would enjoin Mr Keill ſilence. Our author ſeeing himſelf treated as an *Upſtart*, who was not informed of what had paſſed formerly, appealed to the Regiſters of the Royal Society, and affirmed that they would find there convincing proofs of what he had advanced. Upon this a ſpecial committee was appointed for the purpoſe, who made the following report. ‘We have conſulted the letters, and letter-books, in the cuſtody of the Royal Society, and thoſe found among the papers of Mr John Collins, dated between the years 1699 and 1677 incluſive; and ſhewed them to ſuch as knew and avouched the hands of Mr Barrow, Mr Collins, Mr Oldenburgh, and Mr Leibnitz, and compared thoſe of Mr Gregory with one another, and with copies of ſome of them taken in the hand of Mr Collins; and have extracted from them what relates to the matter referred to us; all which extracts herewith delivered to you, we believe to be genuine and authentic, and by theſe letters and papers we find,

‘I. That Mr Leibnitz was in London in the beginning of the year 1673, and went thence, in or about March, to Paris, where he kept a correſpondence with Mr Collins, by means of Mr Oldenburgh, 'till about September 1676, and then returned by London and Amſterdam to Hanover. And that Mr Collins was very free in communicating to able mathematicians what he received from Mr Newton and Mr Gregory.

‘II. That when Mr Leibnitz was the firſt time in London, he contended for the invention of another differential method, properly ſo called; and notwithſtanding that he was ſhewn by Dr Pell that it was Mouton's method(31), perſiſted in maintaining it to be his

(28) In the Journal of January 1705, p. 30, & ſeqq.

(29) They put him in the ſame relation to Leibnitz, as Honoratus Faber ſtood in with regard to Cavallerius.

(30) Commercium Epiſtolicum D. Johan. Collins, &c. No. LXXXI.

(31) See the book intitled, Obſervationes Diametrorum Solis & Lunæ apparentium. &c. Auctore Gabriele Mouton, Lugdunenſi Sacerdote in eccleſiâ collegiata S. Pauli. Lyons, 1670, in 4to.

himſelf with laying open to the root the ingratitude of his antagoniſt, as well as injuſtice of his pretenſions, but much indirect art and induſtry under the conduct of the greateſt ſkill and capacity being employed to gain credit to thoſe pretenſions, by diſparaging the true inventor's mathematical abilities, our author extended the ſame ſpirit to the expoſing of Mr John Bernoulli, whom he proved notoriouſly guilty of a like baſe attempt upon Sir Iſaac Newton's character, in another point of that ſcience [*G*]. About this time ſeveral

'his own invention, by reaſon that he had found it by himſelf, without knowing what Mouton had done before, and had much improved it. And we find no mention of his having any other differential method than Mouton's, before his letter of the 21ſt of June, 1677, which was a year after a copy of Mr Newton's letter of the 10th of December 1672 had been ſent to Paris to be communicated to him, and about four years after, Mr Collins began to communicate that letter to his correſpondents; in which letter the method of Fluxions was ſufficiently deſcribed to any intelligent perſon.

'III. That by Mr Newton's letter of the 13th of June, 1676, it appears, that he had the method of Fluxions above five years before the writing of that letter. And by his *Analyſis per Equationes numero terminorum infinitas*, communicated by Dr Barrow to Mr Collins in 1699, we find that he had invented the method before that time.

'IV. That the differential method is one and the ſame with the method of Fluxions, excepting the name and mode of notation; Mr Leibnitz calling thoſe quantities differences which Mr Newton calls moments, or fluxions, and marking them with the letter *d*, a mark not uſed by Mr Newton. And therefore we take the proper queſtion to be not, who invented this or that method, but who was the firſt inventor of the method. And we believe that thoſe who have reputed Mr Leibnitz the firſt inventor, knew little or nothing of his correſpondence with Mr Collins and Mr Oldenburgh long before; nor of Mr Newton's having that method above 15 years before Mr Leibnitz began to publiſh it in the *Acta Eruditorum of Leipſic*,'

'For which reaſons, we reckon Mr Newton the firſt inventor, and are of opinion, that Mr Keill, in aſſerting the ſame, has been no ways injurious to Mr Leibnitz.'

After the publication of the *Commercium Epiſtolicum* in 1712, an extract of it being tranſlated into French, and printed at London *, was inſerted afterwards in the 7th tome of the Journal Literaire: Upon this occaſion Mr Leibnitz, in the poſtſcript of a letter to Count Bothmar, writes, that being at Vienna when the news of the publication of the *Com. Epiſt.* reached his ears, he did not think proper to ſend for it by the poſt, in an aſſurance that it muſt contain malicious falſities. That he wrote. therefore, to Mr Bernoulli, (a gentleman, he ſays, who perhaps in all Europe has ſucceeded beſt in the knowledge and uſe of this calculus, and who was abſolutely neuter) to give him his ſentiments. That Mr Bernoulli wrote him a letter, dated at Baſil June 7, 1713, wherein, he ſaid, it appeared probable, that Sir Iſaac Newton had formed his calculus after he had ſeen that of Mr Leibnitz, having frequent occaſion in his work to make uſe of this calculus, though there appears no trace of it; and that he had even committed ſome errors which ſeemed incompatible with a true knowledge of that calculus. 'One of my friends, continues Mr Leibnitz, publiſhed this letter, with reflections; and as I had enough of other affairs to employ me, I was unwilling to enter farther into this, eſpecially ſince Sir Iſaac Newton had not ſaid any thing himſelf. I thought it ſufficient to have oppoſed to the clamours of his adherents, the judgment of a perſon of Mr Bernoulli's learning and impartiality †: Theſe two Latin pieces were publiſhed in Germany in a looſe ſheet, dated July 29, 1713; where in the letter aſcribed above by Leibnitz to Bernoulli, this gentleman was cited in the third perſon with a compliment [*quemadmodum ab eminente quodam mathematico dudum notatum eſt*,] which gave room to ſuſpect it was not written by Bernoulli, and that ſuſpicion was heightened by the ſame letter's being printed afterwards in French by Mr Leibnitz, without the compliment, in the Nouvelles Literaire of December 28, 1715. Thus caſtrated, theſe two pieces were inſerted in the 2d *tome of the Journal Literaire*, with remarks upon a letter from London, written in defence of Sir Iſaac's right, which had been inſerted in the *firſt tome of the ſaid Journal*. The author of theſe remarks, a friend of Mr Leibnitz, charged the London letter-writer with ignorance in the diſpute, and among other things aſſerted, that when Sir Iſaac publiſhed his Principia, he did not underſtand the true differential method. To all theſe pieces Dr Keill publiſhed an anſwer at London in French, entitled, *Reponſe de M. Keill, M. D. Profeſſeur d'Aſtronomie Savilien, aux Auteurs des Remarques ſur le different entre* M. de Leibnitz *&* M. Newton, *publiées dans le Journal Literaire de la Haye de Novembre & Decembre* 1713. A few copies only were printed of this piece, but it was inſerted in *Journal Literaire, Tom. IV.* The diſpute being ſtill carried on, particularly in the Acta Eruditorum Leipſiæ, our author publiſhed the following piece in 1720 at London, in 4to. *Johannis Keill, M. D. & R. S. S. in Academia Oxonienſi Aſtronomiæ Profeſſoris Epiſtola ad virum clariſſimum Johannem Bernoulli in Academia Baſilienſi Mathematum Profeſſorem; in qua Dominum Newtonum & ſeipſum defendit contra criminationes a Cruſio quodam objectas, & in Actis Lipſienſibus publicatas: Ubi etiam quæritur de nova calumniandi methodo ab authoribus Actorum Lipſienſium inventa & uſurpata, qua in indicibus ſuis probra & convitia in alios fundunt.* ‡

[G] *Whom he proved guilty of a like baſe attempt upon Sir Iſaac Newton's character in another ſubject.*] This is printed in the Phil. Tranſ. Numb. 340. with this title, *The inverſe problem of centripetal forces, with remarks on Mr John Bernoulli, by* John Keill. In which our author obſerves, that to find a curve deſcribed by a body which is urged by a given law of centripetal force, when projected with a given velocity from a given place, according to a given right line, is a problem of the greateſt dignity. Sir Iſaac Newton has given us long ſince (ſays he) a compleat ſolution of it in his Principia, granting the quadrature of curvelinear figures, ſince which the celebrated John Bernoulli has again undertaken the ſame problem. I have compared his ſolution with that of Sir Iſaac Newton's, and made the following remarks upon them. 1. Mr Bernoulli premiſes the ſame propoſition which Mr Newton makes uſe of for demonſtrating his problem, which is the 40th in the Principia, and is no leſs elegant than eaſy to be underſtood. Mr Bernoulli ſays, the demonſtration of this propoſition is delivered by Mr Newton in too perplexed a manner; and therefore he ſubſtitutes his own in it's room, which he calls a more ſimple one. But Mr Newton's is more eaſy and leſs perplex. ——He afterwards ſhews, that in reality Mr Bernoulli's formula for the ſolution of this problem does not differ from that of Mr Newton, any otherwiſe than as any thing written in Latin characters differs from the ſame thing, if written in Greek characters. 3. Mr Bernoulli complains that Mr Newton ſuppoſes, without any demonſtration, that curves deſcribed with a force reciprocally as the ſquare of the diſtance will be conic ſections. But Mr Bernoulli muſt know, that Mr Newton was acquainted with the demonſtration. For he knew very well that Mr Newton was the firſt and only one, that had treated of this doctrine about centripetal forces in a geometrical manner, and had brought it to ſuch perfection. Mr Bernoulli alſo knows, that beſides giving the general ſolution of the inverſe problem, Mr Newton had ſhewn how curves might be conſtructed, which are deſcribed by a centripetal force decreaſing in a triplicate proportion of the diſtance, and therefore he could not be ignorant of that caſe. Nor indeed can I ſee for what reaſon he objects to Mr Newton, that he had omitted the demonſtration of this caſe, ſince he himſelf has even premiſed theorems, whoſe demonſtration he has no where given; and why might not Mr Newton do the ſame, when in haſte to proceed to other matters. But now in this new edition of the Principia, he has a demonſtration of this very thing; which tho' very ſhort, is yet much eaſier and clearer than that of Mr Bernoulli.

[*H*] *Singular*

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* With this title, *Extrait de Livre intitule*, Commercium Epiſtolicum Collinii & aliorum, de Analyſi promotu, *publie par ordre de la Societe Royale, a l'occaſion de la diſpute eleve entre* M. Leibnitz *&* D. Keill *ſur le droit d'Invention, a la methode des* **Fluxions**, *par quelq'uns appelleé Methode differentiale*, 8vo. p. 38.

† Des Maizeaux's Recueil, ubi ſupra, tom. ii. p. 44, 45.

‡ In the title-page, our author put the arms of Scotland, viz. a thiſtle, with this motto, *Nemo me impune laceſſit*. See an account of the contents in Sir Iſ. Newton's article.

ſeveral objections were alſo warmly urged againſt ſome parts of that great inventor's philoſophy, in ſupport of Des Cartes's notions of a Plenum. Hereupon Mr Keill drew up a paper, which he publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (m), containing ſome *Theorems on the rarity of matter, and the tenuity of its compoſition*; wherein he ſhews, that a quantity of air, not bigger than the ſmalleſt grain of ſand, may be diffuſed through the whole orb of Saturn, in ſuch a manner, as to leave therein no vacuity whoſe diameter ſhall exceed a given right line how ſmall ſoever, ; hence it is manifeſt, that air may be ſo rarified as to be void of all ſenſible reſiſtance. He obſerves likewiſe, that the quantity of matter in glaſs, for inſtance, is to its bulk, in a leſs proportion than a grain of ſand is to the whole terreſtrial globe; and that gold is not eight times denſer than glaſs; whence it appears very poſſible for effluvia to pervade the denſeſt gold; and hence it is that the rays of light paſſing through a ſmall hole do not mutually hinder each other, but continue their motion in a ſtreight line; a phænomenon, which can hardly be explained by the motion of impulſe in the ſuppoſition of a Plenum. Whilſt our author was engaged in this intricate controverſy, wherein the honour of his country was ſo much concerned, her Majeſty Queen Anne was pleaſed to appoint him her Decypherer, a poſt of great truſt, and which requires ſingular ſagacity [*H*]. The Univerſity likewiſe conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Phyſick, at the Public Act in 1713 (n). Two years after, he publiſhed an edition of Commandinus's Euclid [*I*], to which he added two tracts of his own; the firſt containing the elements of plain and ſpherical Trigonometry, and the other ſhewing the nature and arithmetic of Logarithms. In 1717 he intermarried with a perſon who recommended herſelf to his choice purely by her perſonal accompliſhments [*K*]. And as our author, when weary with his ſtudies, had uſually ſought his refreſhment in the ſociety of the fair ſex, Mr Anthony Alſop, who had been a member of the ſame college, and an intimate acquaintance, addreſſed him on this occaſion in a very ſingular Epithalamium, which we ſhall give in the note [*L*]. The following year the Doctor publiſhed

(m) No. 339.

(n) The two degrees of B. and M. D. were accumulated July 9 this year. A Catalogue of Degrees, ubi ſupra.

[*H*] *Singular ſagacity.*] We have ſuch an inſtance of the Doctor's talent this way, as ſufficiently juſtifies her appointment. The ingenious author quoted in the margin *, who after Dr Wallis, hath wrote more rationally than any body I know upon the art of decyphering, among other precognita neceſſary for thoſe analytical operations obſerves, that it is requiſite the decypherer ſhould know or have probable reaſon to believe, in what language the letter (or paper) given him to decypher is written; and that he alſo be at leaſt moderately ſkilled in that language. ‘ I can no ‘ otherwiſe, continues he, account for Dr Wallis's ſilence on this head, than by ſuppoſing that he took the ‘ thing for granted. Indeed it is ſo obvious, that I ‘ ſhould hardly have mentioned it myſelf, had not a ‘ perſon of unqueſtionable credit aſſured me from the ‘ mouth of Dr John Keill, that he once decyphered a ‘ paper written in Swediſh, without knowing a word ‘ of the Swediſh tongue.’ The account, as here given, contains ſuch an aſtoniſhing unparallelled inſtance of ſagacity in the decyphering art, that the relator could not let it paſs without the following remark: ‘ This, ‘ ſays he, as it is reported in groſs, and commonly underſtood, is, in my opinion, impoſſible to be done. But ‘ as I would not hereby be thought to charge Dr Keil ‘ with an untruth, I will ſtate a caſe, which I think ‘ to be poſſible, and conſiſtent with his affirmation in ‘ a favourable ſenſe. If then the cypher conſiſted of a ‘ ſingle alphabet of letters, without nulls †, and the ‘ words were ſeparated: If he were told before-hand, ‘ that the writing was in Swediſh; and if he had with ‘ him an interpreter of that nation with whom he might ‘ conſult upon all emergencies, I ſee no reaſon to diſpute his performance. Yet with all theſe allowances ‘ I believe it muſt have been an aukward piece of ‘ work, and have taken up ſome time; but at length ‘ he might be able to compaſs it, notwithſtanding his ‘ being unacquainted with the language, ſince that defect would in great meaſure be ſupplied by the aſſiſtance of his interpreter.’

* An Eſſay on the Art of Decyphering, by J. Davies, M. A. Rector of Caſtle-Aſhby in Northamptonſhire. Lond. 1737, 4to. p. 40, 41.

† Theſe are marks without any meaning, inſerted purely to render the cypher more intricate.

[*I*] *He publiſhed Commandinus's Euclid.*] The title of this book runs thus: Euclidis Elementorum Libri priores ſex, item undecimus & duodecimus; ex verſione Latina Frederici Commandini, in uſum juventutis Academicæ. Our author prefixed a preface, in which he gives us his motive for publiſhing this piece; which was, that the youth in the univerſity might be taught Euclid in his own method, and thereby be trained up to have a juſt taſte of the elegance and perſpicuity of the ancient manner of demonſtrating. This was the more neceſſary, as a cuſtom had prevailed for ſome time with a few at Oxford (and almoſt univerſally at Cambridge) of teaching the Elements of Geometry from *Pardie* or *Tacquet*; the ill conſequences of which Mr Keill here labours to ſhew. At the end of this piece he added two ſmall tracts, viz. *Trigonometriæ planæ et ſphericæ Elementa.* Item, *Tractatus de Natura & Arithmetica Logarithmorum.* Theſe were more eſteemed by himſelf than any of his performances; and it muſt be owned they are drawn up with a peculiar elegance and perſpicuity. There was another edition of this book printed at Oxford in 1723, with corrections and ſome ſlight additions.

[*K*] *Who recommended herſelf to his choice purely by her perſonal accompliſhments.*] His brother Dr James Keill, upon the firſt hearing of this match was greatly diſguſted; but ſoon after this change in her condition, his ſpouſe being carried by her huſband to make a viſit to his brother, who then lay ill at Northampton, ſhe behaved to him on this occaſion with ſo much prudence and aſſiduity to pleaſe, as in a few months ſoftened him into a perfect reconciliation; and at his death (which happened in a little time) he left the new married couple in poſſeſſion of a conſiderable fortune.

[*L*] *A ſingular Epithalamium*, &c.] It is written in Sapphic verſe, as follows:

‘ Keile ni mendax mihi falſa mittit
‘ Freindus, de mœcho fieri maritus
‘ Cogeris, parteſque agit uſitatas
‘ Pellicis uxor.

‘ Quid ni ego lætor tibi gratulari
‘ Conjugi conjux? Ego qui reliqui
‘ Connubii cauſa patriamque domumque ux-
orius exul.

‘ Dum ſales ſpargunt lepidi ſodales
‘ Te ſuper vel me, cuperem intereſſe
‘ Magna pars riſus: ſed ab his acerba
‘ Lege remotus,

‘ Perfruor dulci alloquio pudicæ
‘ Oſculis ſponſæ placidoque vultu.
‘ Nec videt ſponſum mage amantem amatumve
‘ Ætherius ſol.

‘ Mille mi præter Paphiâ in paleſtrâ
‘ Gaudia: at, quod tu ingrediare caſtra,
‘ Quæ fuit cauſa ante Helenam duelli,
‘ Unica cauſa eſt.

liſhed at Oxford in 8vo. his *Introductio ad Veram Aſtronomiam* [M]. This treatiſe was afterwards,

'Eſtne quis, cunctos quot amant matheſin
'Inter, O Ductor Gregis, eſtne, qui te
'Rectius nôrit, vel acutiori
'Luſtrat ocello

'Siderum motus? Tibi ſi qua proles
'Naſcitur, quicquid minitentur aſtra,
'Quid ferant lætum, docilis futuri
'Ante videbis.

'Si tuos audax thalamos Adulter
'Scandere optabit, vetet ars & Æther
'Improbos auſus; & inermis eſto, &
'Incolumis frons.

'Quare age, & totis licitæ diebus,
'Noctibus totis Veneri litato:
'Non opus ſylvæ, aut recubare ſubter
'Tegmine fœni.

'Crede mihi, quoque veneris locorum
'Gratior poſthac eris hoſpes, ex quo
'Nata fors matri, dominæque ſerva
'Caſta redibit.

'Interim quicquid vetulæ & puellæ
'Garriant, ne te jecur intus angat;
'Sed domi ſiſtens, ede, lude, pota, &
'Temne quod ultra eſt.

'Sis amans ſponſæ, &, mea ſi valent quid
'Vota, ſis felix; ſed iniqua ſi ſors
'Dempſerit primam, mora nulla ſponſam
'Sume ſecundam.

'Eſt, uti nôſti, bene paſta Virgo
'Cuilibet ſat par oneri ferendo,
'Ipſe quam, ſed mî meliora divi,
'Ducere rebar.

'Hanc cape; & noſtro ex loculo repente
'Æra bis centum accipies, & ultra;
'Sed pari nullum, niſi te, procorum
'Dote beabo.

[M] *Introductio ad Veram Aſtronomiam.*] This was tranſlated into Engliſh by Dr Keill himſelf, and publiſhed with many emendations at London, 1721, 8vo. under the following title, *An Introduction to the true Aſtronomy: or, Aſtronomical Lectures read in the Aſtronomical Schools of the Univerſity of Oxford.* The hiſtory of Phyſical Aſtronomy having been given by Dr *David Gregory*, our author's predeceſſor in the Savilian Chair, Dr Keill in his preface gives us the hiſtory of the other branch called Technical Aſtronomy; and obſerves, that 'as the art of ſailing does in a great meaſure depend on the knowledge of the ſtars, ſo the impetuous and ambitious deſires of kings and princes to diſcover unknown and foreign countries inclined them to cultivate Aſtronomy. The firſt of theſe ſailors was Neptune, who upon the account of his ſkill in this art was celebrated as God of the Ocean. His ſon, Belus, being an Aſtronomer, by his knowledge therein carried the inhabitants of Lybia into Aſia, where he inſtituted colleges of Aſtronomers (32). Before his time there was *Atlas* King of Mauritania, a great Aſtronomer, who firſt ſhewed the doctrine of the ſphere; and therefore Virgil introduces Jopas ſinging what Atlas had taught mankind:

'——— docuit quæ maximus Atlas,
'Hic canit errantem lunam ſoliſque labores (33).

So *Uranus* king of the country ſituated on the ſhore of the Atlantic ocean, for his ſkill in Aſtronomy, is ſaid to have been deſcended from the Gods. Zoroaſter the Perſian philoſopher is celebrated by all antiquity as a ſkilful Aſtronomer; and the dignity of this ſcience was eſteemed ſo great, as to be called the Royal Science, becauſe kings were moſt delighted with it above all others; for the kings of Africa and Syria firſt invented and improved it, and that long before it was known in Greece. Thus Plato in his dialogue called *Epinomis. The firſt*, ſays he, *who obſerved theſe things was a Barbarian, who lived in an ancient country, where, upon the account of the clearneſs of the ſummer ſeaſon, they could firſt diſcover them, ſuch as Egypt and Syria, where the ſtars are clearly ſeen, there being neither rain nor clouds to hinder their proſpect. And becauſe we are more remote from this ſummer clearneſs of weather than the Barbarians, we came later to the knowledge of theſe ſtars.* So Lucian tells us, 'that the Ethiopians 'firſt took notice of the heavenly motions; and by 'finding the cauſes of the lunations, they knew that 'the Moon had no proper light of it's own, but borrowed it from the Sun.' After this our author proceeds to the ſtory of Porphyry concerning the obſervations of Caliſthenes for 1903 years (34), which, ſays he, bring us to 115 years after the Flood, and 15 years after the building of Babel. Pliny likewiſe in his *Natural Hiſtory* relates from *Epigenes*, 'That the Babylonians 'had obſervations of 720 years all engraven upon 'bricks. And Achilles Tatius in the beginning of his 'Introduction to *Aratus's Phænomena* informs us, that 'the Egyptians were the firſt who meaſured the heavens and the earth; and their ſcience in this matter 'was engraven on columns, and by that means delivered to poſterity; yet the Chaldeans take the honour of the invention to themſelves, and aſcribe it 'to Belus.' In the next place he brings us into Greece, whither all the aſtronomical learning came from Egypt. For Diogenes Laërtius owns, that Thales, Pythagoras, Eudoxus, and many others went to that country to be inſtructed in the ſidereal ſcience. Theſe men were not only the firſt but the greateſt philoſophers whom Greece produced; and from the ſame writer we know, that they who ſtaid longeſt in that country, were moſt famous for their ſkill in Geometry and Aſtronomy after they returned home. So Pythagoras, who lived in ſociety with the Egyptian prieſts ſeven years, and was initiated into their religion, carried home from thence beſides ſeveral geometrical inventions, the true extent of the univerſe; and was the firſt who taught in Greece, that the earth and planets turned round the ſun, which was immoveable in the center; and that the diurnal motion of the ſun and fixed ſtars was not real, but apparent, ariſing from the motion of the earth round its axis. At that time no one was eſteemed a philoſopher, but who was well acquainted with the mathematical ſciences. But theſe ſciences were ſoon neglected by the philoſophers who came after them; and who, much degenerating from their predeceſſors, had ſo little care and concern for the mathematical ſciences, eſpecially Aſtronomy, that almoſt all the obſervations ſent from Babylon by Caliſthenes were loſt: ſo that Ptolmey was able to recover but a very few of them. For, ſays he, theſe pretenders to philoſophy ſpent their time about trifles of no value; and in endeavouring to find out ſophiſms, whereby they might impoſe upon their own, and the common ſenſe of mankind; ſuch were Zeno's arguments againſt motion, and moſt of the philoſopher's diſputations againſt the diviſibility of matter *in infinitum*; whereas a little knowledge of Geometry would eaſily have ſolved all the difficulties they could raiſe. But tho' Aſtronomy was thus baniſhed out of the ſchools of the common philoſophers, yet it was received and cultivated by ſome, tho' but a few, eſpecially by the Pythagorean ſect, which flouriſhed in Italy many years; among whom was Philolaus and Ariſtarchus Samius. The Ptolemys, kings of Egypt were alſo great patrons of learning; they founded an academy for Aſtronomy at Alexandria, which furniſhed ſeveral great men, the chief of whom was Hypparchus, who firſt made a kind of catalogue of *the ſtars* (35), *and left the heavens for an heritage to all that come after.* This man foretold the eclipſes of both ſun and moon for 600 years; and upon his obſervations is founded that valuable work of Ptolemy, which he calls Μεγάλη Σύνταξις, or his *Great Conſtruction*; for from them he gathered the præceſſion of the equinoxes, and the theory of the planets. When Egypt was conquered by the Saracens, and Alexandria reduced under their juriſdiction, the conquerors received Aſtronomy (36), with the reſt of the liberal arts, unterwards, at the requeſt of the Ducheſs of Chandois (o), tranſlated by him into Engliſh [N], which, with ſeveral emendations, he likewiſe publiſhed in 1721 [O], under the following title, *An Introduction to the true Aſtronomy, or Aſtronomical Lectures read in the Aſtronomical ſchools of the Univerſity of Oxford.* This was his laſt gift to the learned world, and he did not long ſurvive the donation. Though his conſtitution was of the robuſt kind, yet it was ſomewhat heavy, and from the time of changing his condition, but eſpecially after the increaſe of his fortune, he indulged in a fuller diet, and uſed leſs exerciſe than he had done before. He was ſeized this ſummer with a violent fever, which put a period to his life on the firſt of September (p), being not then aged quite fifty years. He was buried at Oxford (q), where he died. He left a ſon, who is ſtill living, a linen-draper of good repute near the Manſion-houſe in London. He was ſucceeded in the Savilian Profeſſorſhip of Aſtronomy by the preſent Profeſſor Dr James Bradley, who was choſen in his room on the 23d of October the ſame year (r).

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(32) See Diod. Siculus, Lib. i.

(33) Æneid. lib. i.

(34) This ſtory of Caliſthenes is rendered at leaſt very doubtful by Sir Iſaac Newton in his Chronology.

(35) Pliny, in Nat. Hiſt. where he ſays, Hypparchus undertook to number the ſtars, a buſineſs which would have been a work for a God to perform.

(36) Upon their conqueſt of that city, they deſtroyed the aſtronomical as well as other books of learning, and neither cultivated that or any other ſcience, nor tranſlated any of the Grecian books therein, 'till above 100 years after. *Freind's Hiſtory of Phyſic*, Vol. II. non longe ab initio.

(o) See the dedication to that Ducheſs.

(p) Communicated by his ſon.

(q) In St Mary's church, where there is a monument with an inſcription erected to his memory.

(r) Hiſtorical Regiſter for the year 1721, where Dr Keill's death is ſaid to have happened on the 29th of Auguſt.

der their protection, and took care that moſt part of the books concerning the liberal arts and ſciences ſhould be tranſlated from the Greek into their own Arabian language. The Saracens paſſing from Africa into Spain, and having a commerce with the weſtern European nations, imparted to them the ſcience of Aſtronomy, which before was almoſt loſt in Europe. So that about the year 1230, at the command of the *Emperor Frederic*, Ptolemy's *Almageſt*, or his *great Syntaxis*, was tranſlated from the Arabic into Latin. After that time Aſtronomy received many improvements from the patronage of the greateſt princes, and the labours of the moſt celebrated philoſophers; among whom in the firſt place is to be mentioned *Alphonſus King of Caſtile*; who is never to be forgotten on account of the *aſtronomical tables* called after his name. *Nicolas Copernicus* was not only a diligent obſerver, but alſo a reſtorer of the ancient Pythagorean ſyſtem. *Prince William Landgrave of Heſſe*, who procured quadrants and ſextants much larger than what were formerly uſed to obſerve the true places of the ſtars, and whoſe obſervations were publiſhed by *Snellius*. *Sir Henry Saville*, ſkilful both in Aſtronomy and Geometry, who founded two profeſſorſhips for thoſe ſciences at Oxford. *Tycho Brahe*, ſuperior in ſkill to all that went before him, who publiſhed a catalogue of 700 fixed ſtars, which he had diligently obſerved. *John Kepler*, who by the help of Tycho's labours found out the true ſyſtem of the world, and the laws obſerved by the celeſtial bodies in their motions. *Galileo*, who firſt applied a teleſcope to the heavens, and by means of it diſcovered the Satellites of Jupiter, and their motions; the various phaſes of Saturn; the increaſe and decreaſe of the light of Venus; the mountainous and uneven ſurface of the moon; the ſpots of the ſun; and the revolution of the ſun about its own axis. *John Hevelius*, who has given us a catalogue of the fixed ſtars much larger than Tycho's compoſed from his own obſervations. *Huygens* and *Caſſini*, who firſt ſaw the Satellites of Saturn, and diſcovered his ring. *Gaſſendi, Horrox, Bullialdus, Ward, Ricciolus, Flamſteed*, and many other eminent Aſtronomers. But we have one here, adds Dr Keill, who, on account of his great merits in Aſtronomy does excel them all, that is, the moſt learned Dr *Edmund Halley* Savilian Profeſſor of Geometry in this univerſity, my moſt friendly collegue, to whoſe labours Aſtronomy owes many great improvements. In him there ſhines out together (which I know not if they are to be found in any other perſon to ſuch a degree) the greateſt dexterity in Practical Aſtronomy, and a moſt profound and exquiſite ſkill in Geometry, which will appear by his Aſtronomical Tables which he is ſhortly to publiſh; for they will far exceed all others that ever were, or perhaps ever will be, publiſhed. The doctor cloſes the whole with the illuſtrious name of Sir Iſaac Newton, whom he extols infinitely above all his predeceſſors, and does not even ſcruple to ſtile him *a genius of a divine nature*.

[N] *Tranſlated into Engliſh.*] This tranſlation is dedicated to the Ducheſs at whoſe requeſt it was undertaken. The Duke her conſort, in the preceding reign, had been called upon by the Houſe of Commons to give an account of the public money which he had received during the time of his being Paymaſter to the army; upon this occaſion, it has been ſaid, he employed our author to prepare theſe accounts for the reviſal: Upon the day appointed, the papers containing them were brought in a cart, which appeared to be well filled with them. The Houſe being informed of this, came to a reſolution to drop the affair, rather than be at the trouble of examining a cart load of accounts. However that be, ſo much is certain, that Dr Keill conſtantly found Mr Bridges his friend and patron.

[O] *He publiſhed it in 1721.*] In this treatiſe he inſerted the ſolution of Kepler's celebrated problem to divide the area of a ſemicircle in a given proportion, by a line drawn from a given point of the diameter, in order to find an univerſal rule for the motion of a body in an elliptic orbit. Our author had printed it before in Philoſoph. Tranſact. No. 317, with this title, *Problematis Kepleriani de inveniendo vero motu Planetarum areas tempori proportionales in orbibus ellipticis circa focorum alterum deſcribentium ſolutio Newtoniana* (37) *a Dre Johanne Keill, Aſtron. Prof. Savil. Oxon. & R. S. S. demonſtrata & exemplis illuſtrata.* This problem had been demonſtrated geometrically by ſeveral others, by which means the charge of ἀγεωμητρεσία, brought at firſt againſt Kepler's hypotheſis, was indeed taken off: But ſtill the ſame difficulty remained in the calculation; to facilitate which, theſe geometrical ſolutions and demonſtrations brought no aſſiſtance. An approximating ſeries was the only method adapted for practice *; and therefore many years after this we find Mr Machin, Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Greſham, obſerving (38) that tho' ſeveral attempts had been made at different times, yet, if he miſtakes not, never any at that time with tolerable ſucceſs, in order to the ſolution of this problem, and therefore he gave the ſolution in a different manner from all that went before him in this attempt. In ſupport of this cenſure, which is made uſe of by way of apology for his own attempt, he obſerves, that among the ſeveral methods offered, ſome were only true in ſpeculation, but really of no ſervice; that others were not different from Kepler's own, which he judged improper; and as to the reſt, they were all ſome way or other ſo limited and confined to particular conditions and circumſtances, as ſtill to leave the problem in general untouched. 'To be more particular, continues he, it is evident, that all conſtructions by mechanical curves are ſeeming ſolutions only, but in reality unapplicable; that the roots of infinite ſeries are, on account of their unknown limitations, in all reſpects ſo far from affording an appearance of being ſufficient rules, that they cannot well be ſuppoſed as offered for any thing more than exerciſes in a method of calculation. And then as to the univerſal method, which proceeds by a continued correction of the errors of a falſe poſition, it is, when duly conſidered, no method of ſolution at all in itſelf, becauſe unleſs there be ſome antecedent rule, or hypotheſis, directing where to begin the operation, as ſuppoſe that of an uniform motion about the upper focus for the orbit of a planet, or that of a motion in a parabola for the perihelion part of the orbit of a comet, or ſome ſuch other, it would be impoſſible to proceed one ſtep in it. But as no general rule has ever hitherto been laid down to aſſiſt this method, ſo as to make it always operate, it is the ſame in effect as if there were no method at all. And accordingly in experience it is found, that there is no rule now ſubſiſting, but what is abſolutely uſeleſs in the elliptic orbit of comets. For in ſuch caſes there is no other way to proceed, but that which was made uſe of by Kepler, namely, to compute a table for ſome part of the orbit, and therein examine if the time to which the place is required will fall out any where in that part: So that upon the whole, Mr Machin thinks it evident, that this problem, contrary to the received opinion, had then never advanced one ſtep toward its true ſolution. A conſideration, concludes he, which will furniſh a plea for meddling with a ſubject ſo frequently handled, eſpecially if what is offered ſhall appear to contribute towards ſupplying the main defect.'

P.

(37) *Principia*, p. 101. 2d edit. Camb. 1713, 4to.

* See James Gregory's article.

(38) Phil. Tranſ. No. 447.

KEILL [James], an eminent Phyſician, and younger brother of the preceding, was likewiſe born in Scotland, March 27, 1673 (*a*), and received ſome part of his education in that country, which having completed by travelling into foreign parts, he applied himſelf early to diſſections and the ſtudy of Anatomy (*b*). By which method great improvements had not long before been made in the art of Phyſic (*c*). He laid the firſt foundation of his character by reading Anatomical Lectures, with great applauſe, in both the univerſities, and had the degree of Doctor of Phyſick conferred upon him at Cambridge, having ſome time before publiſhed his *Anatomy of the human Body* (*d*) for the uſe of his pupils. In 1703 he ſettled at Northampton as a Phyſician, in which town and neighbourhood he practiſed with great reputation all his life afterwards (*e*). In 1706 he publiſhed a paper in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 306, containing an *An account of the death and diſſection of John Bayles of Northampton, reputed to have been 130 years old* [*A*]. Our author was well ſkilled alſo in mathematical learning; and in 1708 he gave the world a good ſpecimen of it in his book entitled, *An account of Animal Secretion, the quantity of blood in the Human Body, and muſcular Motion* (*f*) [*B*]. He afterwards publiſhed the ſame treatiſe

[*A*] *An account of the death and diſſection of John Bayles.*] In opening this ſubject, Dr Keill found the bottom of the ſtomach worn as thin as fine writing-paper, and the *aorta* quite cartilagenous; whence the greateſt part of his blood was contained in the arteries (contrary to what is obſerved in recently dead bodies), for the aorta having loſt the power of contracting itſelf, contained the blood it received by the laſt *ſyſtole* of the heart. Theſe the Doctor judged to be the immediate cauſes of his death. He obſerved that the viſcera in general were very ſound and good, as the liver, kidneys (with the urinary paſſages), the inteſtines, with their meſentery, (which was even covered with fat, in a body quite emaciated) the lungs white and ſpongy, but, above all, the heart large, thick, and fat, and in a large cheſt: Theſe he aſſigns for the cauſes of Bayles's longævity. He takes notice, that this account agrees with Dr Harvey's concerning old Parre (1), in every thing but his death. Here we cannot but obſerve, that no truth obtrudes itſelf more upon our notice, or is more vulgarly remarked, than that after a certain period the human frame naturally decays, and tends to a diſſolution; yet notwithſtanding this, 'tis as certain, that without ſuch diſſections as theſe of Bayles and Parre, we ſhould never have known in what vital part nature begins to work this decay. From *other* diſſections we learn, that the bones which are meer cartilages in a fœtus, become perfectly oſſified in an adult; and *theſe* teach us, that the coats of the arteries, which in a perfect adult are greatly elaſtic, grow from that ſtate by the ſame fixed laws of the animal œconomy, to be abſolutely cartilaginous in extreme old age, and thereby incapable of carrying on the circulation of the blood, that neceſſary condition of life: This we ſee is brought about by the natural frame of our conſtitution. Whence it appears, that life can never be extended to any very long duration by any art or contrivance of man. Upon the whole, it would be ſcarcely credible, were we not aſſured of it in fact, that the greateſt genii have employed a good ſhare of their thoughts and ſtudies in that view; and we know the *Methuſalem Water* was invented by Lord Bacon (2). Upon this plan are the vain pretences of Des Cartes's ſecret (3), who told Sir Kenelm Digby, *that though to render a man immortal was what he would not venture to promiſe; yet he was very ſure it was poſſible to lengthen out his life to the period of the Patriarchs.* 'Tis true he had the ill luck to be ſeized by death, that great confounder of human devices, before he was fifty-four years old, while he was compoſing a ſhort ſyſtem of medicines, containing a diſcovery of this grand arcanum (4).

[*B*] *An account of animal ſecretion, the quantity of blood in the human body, and muſcular motion.*] This piece took its birth from the theorems concerning the attraction of the ſmall particles of matter, which were communicated to him about ſeven years before by his brother at Oxford (5). It was the conſideration of the uſe of the *vena porta*, which gave him the firſt hint to think that the ſeveral humours of the body were formed by this attraction in the particles of the blood. My brother, ſays he, no ſooner diſcovered this principle of attraction, than he deduced from it the coheſion of matter, and many of the operations of Chemiſtry; and ſince it will appear that the whole animal œconomy does likewiſe depend upon the ſame principle, who can doubt the truth of a principle ſo ſimple, and yet which, like a maſter-key, opens works of different contrivances, and diſcloſes an uniformity in all the operations of nature, ſo that every one may ſee and read the ſame thought and hand in the contrivance and formation of every part of the univerſe. He concludes his preface with remarking, that the *vis attractrix* was aſſerted by the moſt famous ancient Phyſicians, as Hippocrates and Galen, as well as the gravitation of the heavenly bodies one towards another was known by the beſt ancient philoſophers, as well as to Kepler and Sir Iſaac Newton (6). Upon the ſubject of animal ſecretion, and in explaining the manner how the fluids of the animal body are ſeparated from the blood, Dr Keill undertakes to ſhew, 1. How they are formed in the blood before they come to the place appointed for ſecretion. 2. In what manner they are ſeparated from the blood by the glands. Upon the former head he ſhews, that the blood conſiſts of a ſimple fluid, in which ſwim corpuſcles of various figures and magnitudes, and indued with different degrees of attractive force. Hence he concludes, that of ſuch particles as the blood conſiſts, muſt the fluids be compoſed which are drawn from it; and as in the blood the particles attract one another, and cohere together, ſo likewiſe may the particles of the fluids which are ſeparated from it. This he proceeds farther to ſhew to be not only poſſible, but actually ſo in ſeveral ſecretions, as milk, wine, &c. And if it is not evident in all, he looks upon it to be, becauſe their conſtituent principles are more powerfully attracted by the particles of the fluids in which they ſwim than by one another, which hinders their ſeparation from that fluid. From this principle, that the blood conſiſts of corpuſcles of various figures and magnitudes, and indued with various degrees of an attractive power, and that of ſuch particles the fluids ſecerned by the glands are compoſed, the Doctor proceeds to ſhew how the corpuſcles, which compoſe the ſecretions, are formed in the blood, before they arrive at their ſecerning glands. In order to this, he premiſes eleven propoſitions taken from his brother's theorems concerning the laws of attraction, as being fundamental to what he is about to advance. The demonſtration of the third was communicated to him by his brother, and is as follows. *If particles of matter attract each other with a force that is in a reciprocal-triplicate, or greater proportion of their diſtances, the force by which a corpuſcle is drawn to a body made up of ſuch attractive particles, is infinitely greater at the contact, or extremely near it, than at any determined diſtance from it.* After this he firſt determines the force of the air upon the blood in breathing, in which he follows Dr Pitcairne *, in order to ſhew, that by the preſſure of the air the coheſion of the globules of the blood is diſſolved. He then ſhews, how the union of the attractive particles of the blood is hindered near the heart; and that the particles which unite firſt, after the blood is thrown out of the great artery, muſt be ſuch as have the ſtrongeſt attractive force; and that ſuch as have the leaſt, muſt unite laſt; and all the intermediate ones, according to their reſpective attractive powers. He proceeds to deduce the reaſon of the ſituation of the kidneys; and obſerves, that though the *gall*, which is ſecerned by the liver, and the *ſemen* by the teſticuli, ſeem to be two conſiderable objections againſt his hypotheſis, yet they are ſo far from proving any thing againſt his doctrine of ſecretion, as to be the greateſt arguments that could poſſibly be urged for the truth of it. This he demonſtrates upon his hypotheſis at large, and then ſhews likewiſe how, according to it,

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(*a*) Communicated by Mr John Murray of Northampton, our author's nephew.

(*b*) See his epitaph, an account of which is mentioned below.

(*c*) Dr Freind's Hiſtory of Phyſic, Vol. II. 8vo.

(*d*) The 7th edition was publiſhed in 1726.

(*e*) Mr Murray's Letter.

(*f*) It is printed in 8vo. and makes only a thin volume.

(1) In Phil. Tranſ. No. 44. where it is obſerved, that Parre was brought up to London out of Shropſhire by the Earl of Arundel; and that all his inwards appeared ſo ſound at his death, that if he had not changed his diet, he muſt have lived a great while longer.

(2) See the paper called *Medical Remains*, in the third vol. of his works, publiſhed in 1730, in four vols, fol.

(3) See Des Maizeaux's Life of Monſ. St Evremond, prefixed to the firſt vol. of that author's Works, p. 41. printed at London, 1728, in three volumes.

(4) Ibid. p. 42.

(5) Preface, towards the end.

(6) The ancient Philoſophers underſtood juſt as much of this mutual gravitation, as the ancient Phyſicians did of the *vis attractrix*; that is, juſt nothing at all.

* In Diſſertatione de Cauſis diverſæ Molis, qua fluit Sanguis per Pulmonem in Natis & non Natis. Inter *Pitcairnii Opera*, Lugduni Batav. 1737, 4to. p. 224, & ſeqq.

treatiſe in Latin, with the addition of a *Medicina Statica*; in which the calculations being reduced into tables, theſe were the firſt that had been ſeen in that branch of Phyſick. In 1717, our author printed a ſecond edition of this work in Engliſh, having added an Eſſay concerning the force of the heart in driving the blood through the whole body. This drew him into a controverſy with Dr Jurin upon that ſubject [*C*], which was carried on in ſeveral

it, ſome fluids may be ſecerned any where, and why the lympha is ſecerned in ſeveral places; he concludes what he had offered upon the firſt general propoſition relating to ſecretions, with remarking that the knowledge of ſecretions is neceſſary for the underſtanding of the nature of diſeaſes, inſtances of which he gives in the Diabetes, the Rheumatiſm, the Gout, and the Stone. Under the ſecond general propoſition he ſhews the manner in which the ſeveral fluids after they are formed in the blood are ſeparated from it by the glands, and as this depends intirely upon the figure and ſtructure of the glands, he determines them again, after Dr Pitcairne (7), to be nothing elſe but convolutions of ſmall arteries, and conſequently either concave cones, or cylinders, or at leaſt a figure whoſe tranſverſe ſection is a circle. Hence he concludes too with Dr Pitcairne, that the circular orifices of the glands can only differ in magnitude, and that all ſorts of particles of leſs diameters than that of the orifice of a gland may enter it. The next ſubject he treats of is the quantity of the blood, or circulating fluids of what kind ſoever in the human body; in order to determine which, he ſuppoſes the whole body to be nothing but tubes or veſſels full of blood, or liquors ſeparated from it; and concludes with obſerving, that in a body weighing 160 pounds, there muſt needs be 127 pounds of blood; from which quantity, however, that he may put the matter out of all manner of diſpute, he deducts the weight both of the fat and bones, (though he thinks that ſome arguments might be alledged to prove that even the fat circulates, and he had before ſhewn that there is a fluid in the bones) and after allowances made for both, concludes, that the fluids in the human body have the ſame proportion to the ſolids as 100 to 60, or 5 to 3. He finiſhes the whole of what he has to ſay about the blood with a pretty large diſcourſe about its velocity, and obſerves, that when the whole maſs of blood is to be altered, the courſe of phyſic ought to be continued for a long time, ſince the blood moves ſlower and ſlower, the farther it moves from the great artery (8); and conſequently it muſt be a great while before the whole maſs of blood can be mixed with the alterative medicine: And that ſince the circulation of the blood thro' the glands, which receive arteries immediately from a great veſſel, is very quick, they may carry off a great proportion of the medicine in a very little time; and that, therefore, it is not the taking of great quantities, but the conſtant taking, which can alter the maſs of blood. From this doctrine of attraction he infers the propriety of the elective purges of the Ancients. In his treatiſe of muſcular motion he obſerves, that the veſicular ſtructure of the fibres of the muſcles is excellently contrived for contraction. This he aſcribes (with others) to the operation of the animal ſpirits, which he ſuppoſes to conſiſt of the ſimpleſt particles, and therefore to have the moſt attractive force, as he infers from what Sir Iſacc Newton (9) has collected concerning the rays of light. Theſe ſpirits dropping upon the blood attract it, and thence the air contained in the blood expanding by its elaſtic virtue, increaſes the breadth, and ſhortens the length of the veſicles of the muſcular fibres. After this manner he conceives the veſicles to be diſtended without any ebullition or effervеſcence, as had been imagined without good foundation, by former writers upon this ſubject. The determination of the *Vis Elaſtica* he acknowledges was the thought of the learned Mr John Bernoulli, but the way of demonſtrating it uſed by our author, he tells us, was communicated to him by his brother. Upon the whole, he is of opinion, that his Theory of muſcular motion does follow ſo naturally and eaſily from the principle of attraction, that upon that account one would be almoſt tempted to believe it the genuine method of nature.

[*C*] *This drew him into a controverſy with Dr Jurin.*] The force of the heart in the human ſpecies was firſt reduced to a mathematical calculation by Borelli, who aſſuming it for a poſtulatum that the quantity of blood does not exceed 20 l. weight, determined its reſiſtance to be equal to the preſſure of 180000 lb.* To overcome which, finding by his method the power of the heart to be equal only to that of 3000 lb. he imputes the reſt to the auxiliary force of percuſſion. This calculus was afterwards eſpouſed here, with ſome inconſiderable variations, by Dr Dan. Morland, and ſhewing itſelf in a mathematical garb, was generally ſubmitted to without any farther enquiry. But Dr Keill diſdaining the mean ſubjection of implicit faith, reſolved to re-examine the matter; and the reſult of it was, that he not only ventured to reject the former doctrine, but alſo to aſcribe a force to the heart almoſt infinitely leſs than that had done. This new opinion is likewiſe founded upon a mathematical proceſs, which terminates in diſcovering the ſaid force to be equal to no more than ſuch as a weight of five ounces † acquires by the force of gravity in $\frac{1}{10}$ of a ſecond of time, i. e. during one ſyſtole of the heart; and this too, notwithſtanding the quantity of blood is ſuppoſed to be equal to 100 lb. The Doctor, however, agrees with Borelli in comparing the force of the heart to a weight at reſt, and further aſſumes its action throughout the whole ſyſtole to be equable. Both theſe aſſumptions being diſapproved by Dr Jurin, that gentleman publiſhed in the Philoſoph. Tranſact. No. 358, 359, ſome remarks upon the three forementioned methods, and advanced a fourth, wherein conſidering the heart in its ſyſtole as a body in motion, and maintaining its action therein to be inequable, and chiefly exerted at the beginning, he eſtimates it as a ſtroke or percuſſion, the force whereof he determines to be equal to that of fifteen pounds four ounces, flowing with a velocity of an inch in a ſecond of time, differing herein not greatly from one of twelve pounds moving with the ſame velocity, which he obſerves is the reſult of our author's *Calculus*, when rightly performed. Dr Keill then lying upon his death bed, under the moſt excruciating torments, printed a defence, or rather an apology for his *Poſtulata*; recommending at the ſame time his antagoniſt's method of inſtituting the *Calculus*, and encouraging him to purſue it, and expired ſhortly after. This paper was inſerted in the Philoſoph. Tranſact. No. 361; and the next Number, No. 362, conveyed Dr Jurin's reply in vindication of his remarks, wherein he takes occaſion to make the following eulogium upon our author. *Apologiam præſtantiſſimi viri Jacobi Keillii, qui acerba nuper & immatura morte præreptus magnum ſui deſiderium eruditis reliquit, ſtudioſe perlegimus. Quum inter legendum ſingularem ſimul eruditiſſimi ingenii humanitatem, qui noſmet utut a placitis ſuis diſſentientes excipere dignatus eſt, ſimul animi magnitudinem & ſtudium in rempublicam literariam tanto viro dignum magna admiratione proſequebamur. Huic enim illi non ſolum per omnem vitæ curſum diligenter & ſtrenue operam navavit, ſed etiam pulcherrimo exemplo confectus jam atroci morbo, & ſe perire ſentiens, eruditam illam epiſtolam tanquam ſupremi amoris pignus idem legavit.* We mnst not omit, in juſtice to Dr Jurin, to obſerve, that being ſenſible how deficient the knowledge of the true ſtate of this ſubject then was, he thought proper to draw up his *Calculus* indefinitely in algebraical expreſſions, leaving theſe to be expounded by particular numbers when thoſe ſhould be aſcertained by further and more accurate reſearches. But this ſtill remains among the *Deſiderata* of the animal œconomy. In viewing the diſagreement there is in the concluſions of theſe ſeveral calculators upon the force of the heart, eſpecially when it is found that the moſt ſagacious enquirers agree no better in eſtimating that of the lungs, one cannot help ſuſpecting, that the infinite ſkill of the divine artiſt in framing the mechaniſm of the human body, as it has hitherto mocked, ſo will it for ever continue to mock the utmoſt efforts of human wit to diſcover it. When Dr Keill wrote theſe eſſays, the mechanical way of treating phyſical ſubjects was in full vogue; beſides, we have ſeen, he was particularly led to it by a natural eſteem for his brother, and by the authority of Dr Pitcairn; no wonder, therefore, that we find him aſſerting the great advancements that had been then made in the knowledge of the animal machine. 'The manner of viſion, ſays he, is ſhewn in Optics. Borelli has given 'us

(7) Ibid. De Circulatione Sanguinis per Vaſa Minima, p. 207.

(8) He determines the velocity to be 5000 times leſſer at the 40th branch from the great artery, than it is in this artery, before any ramification is made from it.

(9) See his Optics, p. 347. edit. Lond. 8vo. 1721.

* Dr Jurin obſerves, that this preſſure will be found, upon the principles of Borelli's reaſoning, to be equal to 1,076,000 lb. weight. Phil. Tranſ. No. 358.

† Or rather $7\frac{1}{2}$ oz. as it comes out upon a right calculation. See ibid. No. 362.

ſeveral papers printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions. It cannot be denied, that in his account of Animal Secretion, Dr Keill carried the Vis Attractrix farther than could then at leaſt be warranted by the principles of the true mechanick philoſophy [*D*]. He had now for ſome time laboured under a moſt painful diſorder, viz. a Cancer in the roof of his mouth; the excruciating torments of which he underwent with a very remarkable firmneſs of mind; and in order, if poſſible, to procure ſome relief, he applied the Actual Cautery (a red hot iron) with his own hands, more than once, to that exquiſitely ſenſible part (*g*). After this cruel operation had been tried ſeveral times without ſucceſs, he was at length relieved by death July the 16th, 1719 (*h*), in the vigour of his age. He lies buried in St Giles's church at Northampton, near the Communion Table on the North ſide, and againſt the wall over it a handſome marble monument, with an inſcription in Latin, too long to be inſerted here, was erected by his brother Dr John Keill (*i*), to whom he left the bulk of his eſtate, having himſelf never been married.

(*g*) See an account of the caſe of Dr James Keill of Northampton, by Mr Ruſhworth the Surgeon, who attended him, printed ſhortly after the doctor's death. N. B. The ſame Ruſhworth was the firſt diſcoverer of the ſpecific virtue of the Jeſuit's bark in mortifications.

(*h*) See his epitaph.

(*i*) Ibid.

us the mechaniſm of the bones and muſcles for the moving of the joints, and ſince the diſcovery of the circulation of the blood by Dr Harvey (*a*), many uſeful propoſitions concerning its motion and velocity have been determined by Bellini. Dr Pitcairne has explained the mechanical ſtructure of the lungs, and ſhewn us the reaſon of the different paſſages of the blood through the heart of the fœtus; the neceſſity of breathing after birth, and how the antenatalitial ducts are ſtopped by breathing. He has likewiſe demonſtrably explained the ſymptoms of the diſeaſes of the eyes, and demonſtrated the circular figure of the orifices of the glands. Dr Freind has wrote in a mechanical way upon the menſes, Dr Cheyne upon fevers, and Dr Mead upon poiſons; and all of them have handled theſe ſubjects more rationally than ever any did before them; and the uſe of the *Spleen and Vena Porta* is now no longer a myſtery.' But notwithſtanding what is here ſo confidently aſſerted, it is no ſecret at this time of day, that all theſe accounts have been ſhewn by later enquirers to be very deficient and unſatisfactory. 'Tis far from being true what our author obſerves in the preface to this treatiſe, that diſeaſes being purely diſorders of the animal œconomy, whatſoever can add any new light to our knowledge of this, muſt neceſſarily clear the nature of thoſe, eſtabliſh the practice of Phyſic upon a ſurer foundation, and enable Phyſicians to make truer and more certain judgments in moſt caſes. For notwithſtanding ſome inconſiderable improvements in our knowledge this way, which are rather oſtentatious than uſeful with regard to Phyſic, 'tis evident that the nature of any particular diſeaſe depends upon ſo many other circumſtances ſtill unknown, that their true ſtate is yet generally hid from our eyes, and involved in thick darkneſs. No doubt can be made, that if the animal œconomy were *perfectly* underſtood, and the hiſtory of diſeaſes *preciſely* known, the right method of curing each diſeaſe might evidently and certainly be deduced; but this remark amounts to no more for the uſe of repairing the diſorders in the little ſyſtem of man by medicine, than the vaunt which is attributed to Archimedes did towards diſturbing the grand ſyſtem of the world (10). Since it is not given to man to underſtand the animal œconomy to perfection, and any imperfect knowledge therein can at beſt only lead to an uncertain, and is too often ſeen to prompt an unſafe practice. In a word, though it may eaſily be granted, that the ſtudy of nature and the knowledge of the body is not altogether as ſuperfluous to a Phyſician as it would be to a ſailor to know the reaſon of the tides, or how to explain the phænomena of the loadſtone; yet the empirical method of Dr Sydenham, founded upon experience, obſervation, and analogical reaſoning, joined to a natural ſagacity, and aſſiſted by ſuch an accurate hiſtory of diſeaſes, as can be had from a due attendance on the ſick bed, is obſerved to produce both the ſafeſt and moſt ſucceſsful practice, which that imperfect knowledge we have of the animal œconomy ſerves better to illuſtrate in ſome caſes, than to direct in any.

(10) Give me a place to ſtand upon, and I will move the earth out of it's place.

[*D*] *Farther than can be warranted by the principles of the true mechanical philoſopy*] As the authority of Sir Iſaac Newton is conſtantly produced to give a kind of ſanction to this doctrine concerning the extent of the *Vis Attractrix*, it may not be amiſs to give his opinion of this matter in his own words, as we find them in the general Scholium, at the end of his Principia. 'And now, ſays that great man, we might add ſomething concerning a certain moſt ſubtle ſpirit, which pervades and lies hid in all groſs bodies, by the force and action of which ſpirit, the particles of bodies mutually attract one another at near diſtances, and cohere, if contiguous, and electric bodies operate at greater diſtances, as well repelling as attracting the neighbouring corpuſcles; and light is emitted, reflected, refracted, and inflected, and heats bodies; and all ſenſation is excited, and the members of animal bodies moved at the command of the will, namely by the vibrations of this ſpirit mutually propagated along the ſolid filaments of the nerves from the outward organs of the ſenſes to the brain, and from the brain into the muſcles; but theſe are things that cannot be explained in a few words, *nor are we furniſhed with that ſufficiency of experiments, which is required to an accurate determination and demonſtration of the laws, by which this electric and elaſtic ſpirit operates*.' Thus wrote that cautious philoſopher (11) ſeveral years after the death of Dr Keill, who, 'tis very remarkable, has not produced ſo much as a ſingle experiment to aſcertain the action of this Vis Attractrix in the ſubject of animal ſecretion. But he is not the only perſon, who inſtead of reflecting honour has thrown a blemiſh upon this part of the Newtonian philoſophy, by overhaſtily and injudiciouſly aſſuming that for an undoubted principle, which is propoſed by the author as a ſubject for further enquiry. P

(11) The third edition of the *Principia*, to which this ſcholium is ſubjoined, was printed in 1726.

(*a*) We muſt not ſlip the opportunity here given, of explaining a note * in Dr Harvey's article, the ſenſe of which, as there expreſſed, is apprehended to lie too open to miſconſtruction. It is there ſaid, that the poſition of the ſimultaneous action of the auricles of the heart, as alſo that of the ventricles, by requiring the blood to paſs from the ventricles through the whole length of the arteries and veins into the auricles, as ſuddenly as it paſſes from the auricles into the ventricles, is the main difficulty that attends the doctor's theſis concerning the manner of the circulation: intending thereby to ſuggeſt no more, than that this is all the difficulty, and not that it is an inſuperable one. Far otherwiſe. We are very ſenſible, that the poſſibility thereof is eaſily conceived, by ſuppoſing the trunks of the two veins to be always kept full of blood; which, indeed, ſeems to be really their true ſtate during the circulation. P

* Viz. note ‡, at the end of remark [*I*].

KEN [THOMAS], the deprived Biſhop of Bath and Wells, whoſe true ſimplicity of manners, and unaffected piety, juſtly intitles him to a place in theſe memoirs, was deſcended of a very antient family of his name ſeated at Ken-place in Somerſetſhire (*a*), which eſtate came into the poſſeſſion of John Lord Powlet of Hinton St George, by marriage with the heireſs of the Ken family (*b*). Our author was youngeſt ſon of Thomas Ken of Furnival's Inn, by Martha his wife, and was born at Berkhamſtead in Hertfordſhire July 1637 (*c*). At thirteen years of age he was ſent to Wincheſter ſchool,* and being choſen the following year a ſcholar upon that foundation (*d*), he was elected thence, in the ordinary way of rotation (*e*), to New-College in Oxford (*f*), and became a Proba-

(*a*) Short Account of the Life of Bp Ken, &c. by Will. Hawkins. Lond. 1713, 8vo.

(*b*) Viz. Chriſtian, daughter and heir of Chriſtopher Ken, of Ken in Com' Som'. Dugdale's Baron.

(*c*) Short Account, &c. p. 1. Mr Wood is miſtaken, in placing the time of his birth in July 1635. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 989.

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* His acquaintance with Dr Francis Turner, the deprived Biſhop of Ely, commenced at this ſchool, and it grew afterwards into the cloſeſt friendſhip.

(*d*) See preface to a poſthumous piece aſcribed to our author, intitled, Complaints of the Church, &c. Lond. 1711, 8vo.

(*e*) This is the rule of thoſe ſocieties, preſcribed by their common Founder William of Wyckham, Bp of Wincheſter in Hen. IVth's time.

(*f*) Short Account, &c. p. 3. Mr Wood, ubi ſupra, ſays, he was firſt admitted of Hart-hall the preceding year.

tioner Fellow there in 1657 (g). In this ſituation, while he proſecuted his academical ſtudies with a commendable diligence, and made ſuitable advances therein, the ſtrict probity and religious turn of his temper was particularly taken notice of, and procured him the general love and eſteem of his Society (h) [A]. Proceeding regularly to take both the degrees in Arts (i), he entered into holy orders, and became Chaplain to William Lord Maynard, Comptroller of the Houſhold to King Charles II. (k) In 1666 he removed to Wincheſter College, being choſen Fellow of that Society December 8 the ſame year [B]. Not long after this he was appointed domeſtic chaplain to Dr George Morley, Biſhop of that See, who preſented him firſt to the Rectory of Brixton in the iſle of Wight and afterwards to a Prebend in the church of Wincheſter, in which he was inſtalled April 12, 1669 (l). The ſame Patron gave him alſo the Rectory of Woodhey in Hampſhire (m); but he did not hold it long, and chuſing to reſign (n), he was ſucceeded therein by his brother-chaplain, Dr George Hooper. This was about the year 1673 (o); and in the latter end of the enſuing year, which began that of the Jubilee in 1675 (p), he took a tour to Rome, in company of his nephew Mr Iſaac Walton (q), then Bachelor of Arts of Chriſt-Church in Oxford. Two years after his return, he took his firſt degree in Divinity (r), and commenced Doctor in that faculty June 30, 1679 (s). Not long afterwards, being appointed chaplain to the Princeſs of Orange (t), he went to Holland. Here his prudent behaviour, and ſtrict piety, gained him the eſteem and intire confidence of his miſtreſs (u). But in the courſe of his office, he happened to incur the diſpleaſure of her conſort, by obliging one of his favourites to perform his promiſe of marriage with a young lady of the princeſs's train, whom he had ſeduced by that contract. This ſingular zeal, however worthy of his religion and of his country, gave ſo much offence to the Prince, (afterwards King William) that he very warmly threatened to turn him from the ſervice, which the Doctor as warmly reſenting, begged leave of his miſtreſs, and warned himſelf from it; nor would he yield to return, 'till intreated by the Prince in perſon; who courting him to his former poſt and reſpect, he conſented to continue there for one year longer; during which he was taken into a ſhew of great familiarity: But at the expiration of the term he returned to England, where the King, who was no ſtranger to what had happened at his nephew's court, appeared to be well ſatisfied with the Chaplain's conduct, and appointed him in the like poſt to attend Lord Dartmouth, with the royal commiſſion, to demoliſh the fortifications at Tangier (w) [C]. The Doctor returned with his Lordſhip in the beginning of April 1684 (x), and was immediately advanced to be chaplain to the King, by an order from his Majeſty himſelf. Not only the nature of this poſt, but the particular moſt gracious manner of conferring it, clearly evinced, that it was intended as a ſtep for future favours. This was ſo well underſtood, that upon the removal of the Court to paſs the ſummer at Wincheſter, the Doctor's houſe, which he held in the right of his Prebend, was marked by the harbinger for the uſe of Mis Eleanor Gwyn. But no worldly conſiderations whatever could move the chaplain to give up his concern for the intereſts of true religon and virtue; far from complying with an order which gave countenance to vice even in his royal benefactor, he poſitively refuſed to grant the miſtreſs admittance, and ſhe was forced to ſeek for lodgings in another place (y). This was a degree of religious intrepidity not unlike that which he had before

(g) Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(h) Id. ibid.

(i) Viz. that of A. B. May 3, 1661, and A. M. Jan. 21, 1664. Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 140 and 158.

(k) Ath. Oxon. col. 989.

(l) Id. ibid.

(m) His Life, &c. p. 6.

(n) Out of a principal of conſcience, thinking what he was poſſeſſed of beſides to be ſufficient. Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(o) See remark [R].

(p) This difference ariſes from the different ſtyles then uſed in England and Italy.

(q) See remark [K].

(r) July 6, 1678. Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 210.

(s) Ibid. col. 212.

(t) Viz. Mary, eldeſt daughter to King James II. and afterward Queen of England.

(u) So he always afterwards called her. Short Account, p. 8.

(w) Ibid. p. 7.

(x) Viz. on the 2d of that month. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. p. 175. edit. 1723, 8vo.

(y) Bp. Ken's Life, &c. p. 9, 10.

[A] *He gained the love and eſteem of that Society.*] Nor was Mr Ken wanting on his ſide in any degree of affectionate regard to the Society. Of which they had a ſufficient proof as ſoon as his circumſtances would permit; when he gave them upwards of one hundred pounds, as a ſmall acknowledgment for his education, and towards the erecting of their new buildings (1).

[B] *He was choſen Fellow of Wincheſter College.*] This remove too was agreeable to the rule of rotation eſtabliſhed by the munificent founder, who deſigned this college alſo chiefly for a retired and ſtudious life, yet ſo as not to exclude, but rather to qualify the members better for the duties of the clerical function: And to this purpoſe Mr Ken kept a conſtant courſe of preaching at St John's church in the *Soak* near Wincheſter, (where there was no preaching miniſter, and which therefore he called his Cure) and brought many Anabaptiſts to the Church of England, whom he baptized himſelf. And that neither his ſtudy might be the aggreſſor on his hours of inſtruction; or what he judged his duty, prevent his improvement; or both, his cloſet addreſſes to God; he ſtrictly accuſtomed himſelf to but one ſleep, which often obliged him to riſe at one or two o'clock in the morning, and ſometimes ſooner, and grew ſo habitual, that it continued with him almoſt to his laſt illneſs. Yet his temper was ſo lively and chearful, that he would be very facetious and entertaining to his friends in the evening, even when it was perceived, that with difficulty he kept his eyes open; and then ſeemed to go to reſt with no other purpoſe, than the refreſhing and enabling him with more vigour and chearfulneſs to ſing his morning hymn, as he then uſed to do to his lute before he put on his cloaths (2). As he had been a benefactor by his purſe in temporalities to New-College in Oxford, ſo he was no leſs a benefactor to this of Wincheſter, in regard to it's ſpiritual ſtate, by drawing a ſet of prayers and devotions for the ſcholars of that ſchool, which were publiſhed under the following title. *A Manual of prayers for the uſe of the ſcholars of Wincheſter College, and all other devout Chriſtians. Lond.* 1681, 12mo.

[C] *He attended Lord Dartmouth to Tangier.*] About this time he wrote an epic poem called *Edmund.* It is digeſted into thirteen books: In the firſt book Satan is repreſented at the head of an aſſembly of devils, conſulting how to defeat St Edmund's deſign of paſſing to England, which terminates in a reſolution to overſet the ſhip, that was to bring him, by a ſtorm, and ſo drown the ſaint and all his adherents. The diſappointment in his firſt project is ſuppoſed to quicken the edge of the arch-fiend's malice, who thereupon ſets all his engines agoing, in order to counterwork Providence, which had decreed to raiſe the ſaint to the throne. The ſeveral events of St Edmund's life after this, diverſified and enlivened with proper epiſodes, make the ſubject of the reſt of the poem, which ends with the martyrdom and canonization of the ſaint and hero, together with his aſcent in a winged chariot to heaven (4). The reader will be before-hand with me in obſerving, that the conſultation of devils in the firſt book ſeems to be borrowed from Milton's *Paradiſe-Loſt*, which was publiſhed a few years before. Upon the whole, both the imagery and machinery throughout are perfectly poetical, and the verſification eaſy; but neither this nor the ſentiments are enough ſpirited to raiſe them above the cenſure of flatneſs.

[D] *As*

(1) Short Account, &c. p. 3. This building was an addition of two attached wings to the old college; which opening by degrees to the garden, gives an extraordinary grace and beauty to the whole.

(2) Ibid. p. 4, 5.

(3) See his article.

(4) It was publiſhed in a collection of our author's poems after his death. See remark [T].

fore ſhewn in Holland, and as it proceeded from the ſame ſpirit in the ſervant, ſo it had a ſimilar effect upon the maſter; for his Majeſty, agreeable to that good ſenſe which was a diſtinguiſhing part of his character, was ſo far from ſhewing any diſpleaſure thereat, that the Biſhoprick of Bath and Wells becoming vacant ſoon after, he ſtopped all attempts of the Doctor's friends, who of their own inclinations would have applied in his behalf, with this remarkable ſaying, that *Dr Ken ſhould ſucceed, but that he deſigned it ſhould be from his own peculiar appointment*. And accordingly the King himſelf gave order for a *Conge d'elire* to paſs the Seals for that purpoſe, and he was conſecrated Biſhop of Bath and Wells Jan. 25, on St Paul's day, 1684 *(z)*. A few days after this his Majeſty being ſeized with that diſorder which ſoon put a period to his life; the Doctor was pitched upon to manage his ſpiritual concerns, and during his illneſs gave a cloſe attendance to the royal bed, without any intermiſſion, at leaſt for three whole days and nights, ſuggeſting ſuch pious and proper thoughts and ejaculations, as were moſt fit on ſo ſolemn an occaſion, as long as there was any appearance of the King's attention to any thing [*D*]. This duty the Biſhop thought ſo abſolutely neceſſary, that he thereupon delayed his admiſſion to the temporalities of the See of Wells; ſo that when King James came to the Crown, new inſtruments were paſſed for that purpoſe *(a a)*. He had not been long in full poſſeſſion when he wrote his Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm, which was publiſhed twice in the year 1685, 8vo. [*E*] The ſame year he alſo publiſhed *Prayers for the uſe of the Bath*.

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(z) Ibid. p. 9.

(a a) Ibid. p. 12.

[*D*] *As long as there was any appearance of the King's attention to any thing.*] Biſhop Burnet ſpeaking of this part of Dr Ken's conduct, gives ſuch an account of it as terminates (according to his uſual manner) with a moſt injurious cenſure, as follows. He begins with obſerving, that our Biſhop 'applied himſelf much to the awaking the King's conſcience, and ſpoke with an elevation both of thought and expreſſion, like a man inſpired; that he reſumed the matter often, and pronounced many ſhort ejaculations and prayers, which affected all that were preſent except him that was moſt concerned, who ſeemed to take no notice of him, and made no anſwer. That he preſſed the King ſix or ſeven times to receive the ſacrament, but the King always declined it, ſaying he was very weak. A table, with the elements upon it ready to be conſecrated, was brought into the room, which occaſioned a report to be then ſpread about that he had received it. That Ken preſſed the King to declare, that he deſired the ſacrament, and that he died in the communion of the Church of England, to which the King anſwered nothing.' Thus far the royal patient is made the victim of this hiſtorian's pen. He proceeds next to make the ſpiritual Doctor a victim to his malevolence, in theſe terms. 'The Biſhop, ſays he, aſked him [the King] if he deſired abſolution of his ſins, which he pronounced over his Majeſty, for which he was blamed, ſince the King expreſſed no ſenſe of ſorrow for his paſt life, nor any purpoſe of amendment. It was thought, continues he, to be a proſtitution of the peace of the Church, to give it to one, who after a life led, as the King's had been, ſeemed to harden himſelf againſt every thing that could be ſaid to him.' Not ſatisfied with this ſingle ſtroke, he proceeds to ſecond it: 'Ken, concludes he, was alſo cenſured for another piece of indecency. He preſented the duke of Richmond, lady Portſmouth's ſon, to be bleſſed by the King. Upon this ſome that were in the room cried out, that the King was their common father; and upon that all kneeled down for his bleſſing, which he gave them (5).' The malice of theſe aſperſions, extracted from a very partial miſrepreſentation of the whole, is ſo groſs, that, like many others in the ſame hiſtory, they can only hurt the author of them. We have the particulars of Biſhop Ken's behaviour on this trying occaſion, from a much more impartial, though more candid writer, who, though a relation to the Biſhop, promiſes not to render the whole account he gives of his life ſuſpicious, by inſerting ſurmiſe, where he intends to advance nothing but what may evidently be made appear, and he has clearly kept his promiſe. His words are, 'The King's diſtemper ſeizing his head, and our Biſhop well knowing how much had been put off to that laſt point, and fearing the ſtrength of his diſtemper would give him but little time, as indeed it proved; his duty urging him, he gave a cloſe attendance to the royal bed, without any intermiſſion, at leaſt for three whole days and nights; watching at proper intervals to ſuggeſt pious and proper thoughts and ejaculations on ſo ſerious an occaſion; in which time the ducheſs of Portſmouth coming into the room, the Biſhop prevailed with his Majeſty to have her removed, and took that occaſion of repreſenting the injury and injuſtice done to his Queen ſo effectually, that his Majeſty was induced to ſend for the Queen, and aſking pardon, had the ſatisfaction of her forgiveneſs before he died. The Biſhop, continues this writer, having homely urged the neceſſity of a full, and prevailed, as is hoped, for a ſincere repentance, ſeveral times propoſed the adminiſtration of the holy ſacrament. But although it was not abſolutely rejected, it was yet delayed from time to time, 'till (I know not by what authority) the Biſhop and all others preſent were put out from the Preſence for about the ſpace of half an hour, during which time it has been ſuggeſted, that Father Huddleſton was admitted to give extreme unction; and the interval between this and death was ſo ſhort, that nothing concerning the Biſhop's behaviour happened worthy of notice in this account (6). We ſee here, contrary to what Burnet aſſerts, that the King gave a remarkable proof of his repentance, in reſpect to the greateſt irregularities of his life, and that he was brought thereto by Dr Ken's miniſtration, who thereupon, according to the goodneſs of his nature, no doubt thought himſelf obliged by that charity, *which hopeth all things, believeth all things*, not to withhold the benefit of the Church's peace in pronouncing her form of abſolution over him; and after the Biſhop had prevailed to have the mother put out of the room, his preſenting the ſon, though a baſtard, to the father's bleſſing, is another lively effect of that ſame charity, which is the ſum and perfection of the Chriſtian life, and was a moſt amiable part of Biſhop Ken's character.

(5) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I.

(6) Short Account of Biſhop Ken's Life, p. 10, 11, 12.

[*E*] *His Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm was publiſhed twice in* 1685.] This was occaſioned by an expreſſion in the firſt edition, which the Papiſts at that time laid hold of as if it favoured their doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, whereupon having altered the expreſſion, he immediately republiſhed it, with this advertiſement prefixed. 'The author of the following work thinks himſelf obliged to declare, that he willingly ſubmits it to the cenſure of the Church of England, to whoſe articles he deſires every thing of his may be exactly conformable. Wherefore having obſerved that his meaning in ſome leſs material things has been miſunderſtood, he hath varied the expreſſion in thoſe places, but not his meaning in them, as was fitting in a work not intended for diſputes, but devotion.' The whole title runs thus; *An Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm; or practice of divine love, compoſed for the dioceſe of Bath and Wells*; and he afterwards added, *Directions for prayer, taken out of the Church Catechiſm*, which were printed with the Expoſition. When he firſt came to his dioceſe, it was frequently ſaid by many of eminence who knew him well, that they never knew any perſon ſo able and earneſt to do good in ſuch a ſtation as he was. He had a very happy way of mixing his ſpiritual with his corporal alms. When any poor perſon begged of him, he would examine whether the party could ſay the Lord's Prayer or the Creed by heart; and he found ſo much deplorable ignorance among the grown poor people, that he feared little good was to be done upon them: But ſaid he would try, whether he could not

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In theſe, and ſuch like duties of paſtoral care, he ſpent his time as a private Dioceſan. Nor was he leſs zealous as a guardian of the national Church in general, in oppoſing the attempts which were made in this reign to introduce Popery [*F*]. Yet he held in a manner the ſame place in the favour of King James II. as he had in the former reign, and ſome attempts were made to gain him over to the intereſt of the Popiſh party at Court; but he was inacceſſible on that ſide, however abſolutely unreſerved in his Loyalty: And of that, his conduct at the time of the Rebellion under the Duke of Monmouth ſufficiently confirmed the King; inſomuch that although he daily relieved ſome hundreds of the Rebel priſoners then in Wells, daily praying with them in perſon, his Majeſty judging that it was only out of a principle of duty to diſtreſſed brethren, to ſave them from periſhing both in body and ſoul, never ſo much as harboured any jealous thought of him [*G*]. But altho' that Prince did not miſtake his integrity, yet certainly he was miſtaken

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lay a foundation to make the next generation better. And this put him upon ſetting up many ſchools in all the great towns of his dioceſe for poor children to be taught to read, and ſay their catechiſm; and about this time, and for this purpoſe, it was that he wrote and publiſhed his *Expoſition on the Church Catechiſm*. By this method and management he engaged the miniſters to be more careful in catechizing the children of their reſpective pariſhes, and they were furniſhed by him with a ſtock of neceſſary books for the uſe of children (7); and the great and good ends he at that time propoſed were ſeen and felt by the great and good ſucceſs of the charity-ſchools, which became afterwards very numerous. In the ſummer time he went often to ſome great pariſh, where he would preach twice, confirm and catechize: And when he was at home on Sundays, he would have twelve poor men or women to dine with him in his hall: Always endeavouring while he fed their bodies, to comfort their ſpirits by ſome chearful diſcourſe, generally mixed with ſome uſeful inſtruction. And when they had dined, the remainder was divided among them to carry home to their families. He often deplored the condition of the poor at Wells, who were very numerous. And as he was charitably diſpoſed, ſo he was very earneſt in contriving proper expedients of relief: Among others, he thought no deſign could better anſwer all the ends of charity, than the ſetting up a work-houſe in that city; but judging it not practicable without the advice, or at leaſt the aſſiſtance, of the gentlemen, he therefore often met and conſulted with them; but not finding any ſuitable encouragement, he was forced to deſiſt. In this he had a double view, to reſcue the idle from vicious practice and converſation, and the induſtrious from the oppreſſion of the tradeſman; who to uſe his own expreſſion, *did grind the face of the poor, growing rich by their labour, and making them a very ſcanty allowance for their work* (8). Thus the good Biſhop, from the fulneſs of his concern for the diſtreſſed poor. But his aiming at this laſt deſign, if we may have leave at this diſtance to make a conjecture, was not improbably the cauſe of his miſcarrying in both: For though he, who both by his function and naturally tender and charitable diſpoſition, was the poor's advocate, had a particular eye to the inſtances of oppreſſing them, yet there can be no doubt but then as well as now the fault lay as often on the ſide of the poor. Whence it has been univerſally judged beſt to leave theſe latter ſort to the conſcience of the tradeſmen, as the moſt able to manage them. But as to the former ſort, his lordſhip's judgment has been ſince abundantly approved, as we ſee by the prodigious number of work-houſes erected upon his model. There was indeed another thing which might be the principal cauſe of his failing in this attempt, viz. the little aſſiſtance he was for ſome time able to contribute towards it. It is certain his own purſe was very ſhort, inſomuch that he could but ſcantily ſupply handſome neceſſaries for himſelf; and we are aſſured, that at the time of his being made Biſhop, Mr Francis Morley, nephew to the Biſhop of that name, knowing how little he had provided for ſuch an expence, as attends the entry and continuance in ſuch a chair, moſt generouſly offered and lent him a conſiderable ſum to defray his expences, and furniſh him with an equipage as this ſtation required; which he would often mention with a grateful acknowledgment, expreſſing a particular ſatisfaction when he found himſelf in a condition to diſcharge the debt; and he was often obſerved by one of his chaplains * to complain, that for this very reaſon no great matter was to be expected from him, as thinking himſelf obliged to be juſt, before he could be charitable (9).

[*F*] *He oppoſed the attempts to introduce Popery.*] As the Biſhop took no part in the famous Popiſh controverſy, the expreſſion in the text, at firſt reading, may perhaps incur the cenſure of partiality, but that reflection will vaniſh upon a clearer inſight into his conduct. His temper was not turned to diſpute; which alſo with how much ſuperior learning and ſkill ſoever it was carried on by the Proteſtants, yet he could not but ſee tended more to inflame and widen, than to heal and unite the breach with the Papiſts; he therefore choſe a method which was more agreeable to his nature, and more immediately ſuited to the genius and ſpirit of Chriſtianity; the firſt principle of which is univerſal philanthropy, and this he made the ruling principle of his conduct out of the pulpit, and in the pulpit to impreſs and enforce the practice of it was the main buſineſs of his ſermons, wherein having by a truly religious oratory got poſſeſſion of the affections of his audience, he frequently took occaſion, as the ſubject led him, to mark and confute ſome of the errors of Popery (10); nor did he ſpare, when his duty to the Church of England more eſpecially called for it, to take the opportunity of the royal pulpit to ſet before the Court their injurious and unmanly politicks, in projecting a coalition and combination with the ſectaries againſt it. Yet theſe things, though neceſſary not to be left undone, he eſteemed only as the leſſer duties of the goſpel: Accordingly the King having not given his preſence at divine ſervice when this laſt ſermon was preached, it was miſrepreſented by ſome of the Court to him, and he ſent for the Biſhop, and cloſeted him on the occaſion, but received nothing in anſwer except this fatherly reprimand, *That if his Majeſty had not neglected his own duty of being preſent, his enemies had miſſed this opportunity of accuſing him*; whereupon he was diſmiſſed. Thus he happily at this time reaped the fruits of his own behaviour, and as he dealt dutifully, reſpectfully, and affectionately to the King, ſo the King dealt gently with him, which he was no doubt the more inclined to, as he muſt have been informed that the ſubject of this diſcourſe was the doctrine of Paſſive Obedience, which was very warmly inculcated throughout the whole; patience and penitence being repreſented as the only juſtifiable weapons to be made uſe of by the Church under perſecution (11). This, and ſome other ſuch like reaſons, ſeems to have drawn that ill-natured remark from Biſhop Burnet, who having told us that the Biſhop was a man of an aſcetic courſe of life, and yet of a very lively temper, but too hot and ſudden, proceeds in theſe terms. 'He had a very edifying way of preaching, but it was more apt to 'move the paſſions than to inſtruct, ſo that his ſermons were rather beautiful than ſolid; yet his way 'in them was very taking (12).

[*G*] *With regard to the Duke of Monmouth, his Majeſty harboured no jealous thought of him.*] On the contrary, he was ordered to attend the duke before his execution, concerning which Biſhop Burnet gives the following account. 'Turner and Ken, the Biſhops of 'Ely and Bath and Wells, were ordered to wait on 'him [Duke of Monmouth]; but he called for Teniſon. The Biſhops tried to convince him of the ſin 'of Rebellion; he anſwered that he was ſorry for the 'blood that was ſhed in it, but he did not ſeem to repent of the deſign; yet he confeſſed that his father 'had often told him, that there was no truth in the 'report of his having married his mother.' The Hiſtorian then relates a converſation that paſſed between the Duke and his wife; after which he proceeds in theſe

terms.

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(7) He gave likewiſe at ſeveral times, both before and after his deprivation, ſeveral large catalogues to places that were populous, and had parochial libraries within his own dioceſe. Ibid. p. 13, 14. and 23, 24.

(8) Ibid. p. 15, 16.

* Dr Thomas Cheyney, who commmunicated ſeveral particulars of the Biſhop's Life.

(9) Ibid. p. 20, 21.

(10) See his ſermon preached at the King's chapel at Whitehall, in Lent 1685. on Dan. x. 11. *Daniel, a man greatly beloved.* At the end of the Account of his Life, p. 57, & ſeqq.

(11) Ibid. p. 17, 18. where this ſermon is alſo printed, p. 99, & ſeqq. under the title of a ſermon preached on Paſſion Sunday.

(12) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. B. iii. fol. edit.

in him on a much more fatal occaſion, for when the declaration of Indulgence was ſtrictly commanded to be read, by virtue of a power claimed by the King of diſpenſing with the penal laws, then this Biſhop was one of the ſeven who openly oppoſed the reading it, ſuppreſſed thoſe which were ſent to him to be read in his dioceſe, and petitioned his Majeſty not to purſue what was likely to prove ſo prejudicial both to Church and State. This being called a treaſonable petition, he was committed to the Tower, in order to a tryal; upon which he was cleared by the Jury (*b b*). But though he dared to diſobey his Sovereign, in order to preſerve the purity of his religion, and the care of his flock was always neareſt his heart; yet rather than violate his conſcience by transferring his allegiance, he choſe to leave both himſelf and them to the protection of the Almighty. And when the Prince of Orange came over, and the Revolution was grounded on the abdication of King James, the Biſhop retired, and as ſoon as King William was ſeated on the throne, and the new oath of allegiance was required, he for his refuſal being deprived by the ſtate, did relinquiſh his revenue, though not his cure, with as clear a conſcience, and as generous a mind as that by which it was once beſtowed on him (*c c*) [*H*]. After his deprivation he reſided at Long-leat, a ſeat of the Lord Viſcount Weymouth in Wiltſhire

(*b b*) See the trial of the Seven Biſhops.

(*c c*) Short Account, &c. p. 20.

terms. ‘ The Biſhops continued ſtill to preſs on him a ‘ deep ſenſe of the ſin of rebellion, at which he grew ‘ ſo uneaſy, that he deſired them to ſpeak to him of ‘ other matters. They next charged him with the ‘ ſin of living as he had done with Lady Wentworth. ‘ In regard to that he juſtified himſelf, he had married ‘ his Ducheſs too young to give a true conſent. He ‘ ſaid that lady was a pious worthy woman, and that ‘ he had never lived ſo well in all reſpects, as ſince ‘ his engagements with her. All the pains they took ‘ to convince him of the unlawfulneſs of that courſe ‘ of life had no effect.’ He concludes the ſtory with the following reflection. ‘ They [the Biſhops] did ‘ certainly very well in diſcharging their conſciences, ‘ and ſpeaking ſo plainly to him; but they did very ‘ ill to talk ſo much of the matter, and to make it ſo ‘ public as they did: For divines ought not to repeat ‘ what they ſay to dying penitents, no more than what ‘ the penitents ſay to them. By this means the Duke ‘ of Monmouth had little ſatisfaction in them, and ‘ they had as little in him. He was much better pleaſed ‘ with Dr Teniſon, who did very plainly ſpeak to him ‘ with relation to his public actings, and to his courſe ‘ of life, but he did it in a ſofter and leſs peremptory ‘ manner, and having ſaid all that he thought proper, ‘ he left thoſe points in which he ſaw he could not ‘ convince him to his own conſcience, and turned to ‘ other points fit to be laid before a dying man (13).’ Thus that Reverend Hiſtorian. And in the ſame ſpirit of defamation we are told by another, that *Dr Ken teazed the Duke of Monmouth in vain on the ſcaffold to profeſs the doctrine of Paſſive Obedience* (14). This cenſure being in print at the time of writing the Doctor's life, that author having repeated the words makes the following declaration: ‘ I think it proper in this place ‘ boldly to affirm, that our Biſhop (for ſuch he was at ‘ that time, and did attend on the ſcaffold) never acted ‘ or aſſiſted there, but in the devotional part only. ‘ And this, though a negative, may be proved to ſatiſfaction (15).’ The truth is, it was the Biſhop of Ely, Dr Turner, and not Dr Ken, that talked on the ſcaffold to the Duke on that ſubject (16). This then was an eaſy miſtake: But the ſame excuſe cannot be made for Biſhop Burnet, who was ſo ſtrictly blinded by malice, as not to ſee the palpable contradiction which he was betrayed into in order to gratify it; otherwiſe he had too good an underſtanding to repreſent the Duke of Monmouth as a dying penitent, and as dying impenitent in the ſame paragraph. But the ſolemn charge of the Biſhops failing in their regard to the ſacredneſs of their function muſt have been dropped, without the ſuppoſition of a dying penitent, which it was therefore neceſſary to advance, notwithſtanding the whole ſubject of the public talk which conſtituted that charge, conſiſted in bewailing the Duke, on account of his dying impenitent.

(13) Ibib. Vol. I. p. 645.

(14) Secret Hiſtory of Europe, Part ii. p. 27.

(15) Short Account, &c. p. 38.

(16) See below in remark [Q].

[*H*] *Upon his deprivation he reſigned his revenue, but not his cure, with a clear conſcience.*] No ſteps in our author's life have been more miſrepreſented than thoſe he took at the Revolution; wherefore the preſent remark will be properly employed in ſetting his whole conduct at this critical juncture in its true light. We ſhall begin with the author of the Secret Hiſtory of Europe, already cited upon another occaſion, who relates very confidently, that our Biſhop's name was among thoſe which were ſubſcribed to the invitation of the Prince of Orange (17). Had this author produced any ſuch ſubſcription, the fact could not have been denied, but no ſuch ſubſcription being ever any where produced, we ought to ſubſcribe to what the writer of his life aſſerts on this occaſion, that there were very ſtrong arguments to be urged, that he never had any the leaſt hand in that matter (18). Yet this, if he had done it, in the view of redreſſing grievances, was conſiſtent enough with his allegiance to King James. But Biſhop Burnet, who never does theſe things by halves, goes roundly to work, in the following terms. ‘ Ken, ſays ‘ he, was a man of a warm imagination, and at the ‘ time of the King's firſt landing, he declared heartily ‘ for him, and adviſed all the gentlemen that he ſaw ‘ to go and join with him: But during the debate of ‘ the Convention, he went with great heat into the ‘ notion of a Prince Regent; and now upon the call ‘ of the houſe [to take the oaths to King William] he ‘ withdrew into his dioceſe. He changed his mind ‘ again, and wrote a paper, perſuading the clergy to ‘ take the oaths, which he ſhewed to Dr Whitby, ‘ [author of the Annotation on the New Teſtament, ‘ and Precentor of Saliſbury] who read it, as the ‘ Doctor has told me often. His chaplain Dr Eyre, ‘ continues the Right Reverend Hiſtorian, did alſo ‘ tell me, that he came with him to London, where ‘ at firſt, he ſaid, he was reſolved to take the oaths; ‘ but the firſt day after he came to town, he was prevailed on to change his mind; and he has continued ‘ ever ſince in a very warm oppoſition to the government (19).’ The reader will perhaps be ſurprized to find this paſſage ſtanding uncorrected in that hiſtory, after he has peruſed the following letters which paſſed between the author of it and Biſhop Ken, juſt before his ſuſpenſion (20). The firſt was wrote by Dr Burnet, then Biſhop of Saliſbury, as follows.

‘ My Lord,

‘ This gentleman who is preſented to a living in ‘ your lordſhip's dioceſe, came to me to receive inſtitution, but I have declined the doing of it, and ſo ‘ have ſent him over to your lordſhip, that you being ‘ ſatisfied with relation to him, may order your chancellor to do it. I was willing to lay hold on this occaſion to let your lordſhip know, that I intend to ‘ make no other uſe of the commiſſion that was ſent ‘ me, than to obey any orders that you may ſend me, ‘ in ſuch things as my hand and ſeal may be neceſſary. ‘ I am extremely concerned to ſee your lordſhip ſo unhappily poſſeſſed with that, which is likely to prove ‘ ſo fatal to the Church, if we are deprived of one ‘ that has ſerved in it with ſo much honour as you have ‘ done; eſpecially at ſuch a time, when there are fair ‘ hopes of reforming of ſeveral abuſes. I am the ‘ more amazed to find your lordſhip ſo poſitive, becauſe ſome have told myſelf, that you had adviſed ‘ them to take that which you refuſe yourſelf: And ‘ others have told me, that they read a paſtoral letter ‘ which you had prepared for your dioceſe, and were ‘ reſolved to print it when you went to London. Your ‘ lordſhip it ſeems changed your mind there, which ‘ gave great advantages to thoſe who were ſo ſevere as ‘ to ſay, that there was ſomewhat elſe than conſcience ‘ at the bottom. I take the liberty to write this freely to your lordſhip, for I don't deny that I am in ‘ ſome pain, 'till I know whether it is true or not. I

(17) Secret Hiſtory of Europe, p. 46 to p. 51.

(18) Short Account, &c. p. 39.

(19) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 617. folio edit.

(20) Which was on the 13th of that month. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. p. 198. firſt edit.

Wiltſhire [*I*], whence he ſometimes made a viſit to his nephew Mr Iſaac Walton at Saliſbury

'pray God to prevent a new breach in a Church, which has ſuffered ſo ſeverely under the old one.

'My Lord,

'Your Lordſhip's moſt faithful

'Servant and Brother,

Sarum, *Oct*. 1.

'Gi. Sarum.'

To this Biſhop Ken returned the following anſwer.

All glory be to God (21).

'My Lord,

'I am obliged to your lordſhip for the continued concern you expreſs for me, and for the kind freedom you are pleaſed to take with me; and though I have already in publick fully declared my mind to my dioceſe concerning the oath, to prevent my being miſunderſtood; yet ſince you ſeem to expect it of me, I will give ſuch an account, which if it does not ſatisfy your lordſhip, will at leaſt ſatisfy myſelf. I dare aſſure you, I never adviſed any one to take the oath; though ſome who came to talk inſidiouſly with me, may have raiſed ſuch a report: So far have I been from it, that I never would adminiſter it to any one perſon whom I was to collate. And therefore before the act took place, I gave a particular commiſſion to my chancellor, who himſelf did not ſcruple it; ſo that he was authorized, not only to inſtitute, but alſo to collate in my ſtead*. If any came to diſcourſe with me about the oath, I uſually told them I durſt not take it myſelf. I told them my reaſons, if they urged me to it, and were of my dioceſe: And then remitted them to their ſtudy and prayers for farther directions. 'Tis true, having been ſcandalized at many perſons of our own coat, who for ſeveral years together preached up paſſive obedience to a much greater height than ever I did, it being a ſubject with which I very rarely meddled, and on a ſudden, without the leaſt acknowledgment of their paſt error, preached and acted the quite contrary; I did prepare a paſtoral letter, which if I had ſeen reaſon to alter my judgment, I thought to have publiſhed; at leaſt that part of it on which I laid the greateſt ſtreſs, to juſtify my conduct to my flock; and before I went to London, I told ſome of my friends, that if That (22) proved true, which was affirmed to us with all imaginable aſſurances, and which I think more proper for diſcourſe than a letter, it would be an inducement to me to comply; but when I came to town I found it was falſe, and without being influenced by any one, or making any words of it, I burnt my paper, and adhered to my former opinion. If this is to be called change of mind, and a change ſo criminal, that people who are very diſcerning, and know my own heart better than myſelf, have pronounced ſentence upon me, That there is ſomething elſe than conſcience at the bottom, I am much afraid that ſome of theſe who cenſure me, may be chargeable with more notorious changes than that; whether more conſcientious or no, God only is the judge. If your lordſhip gives credit to the many miſrepreſentations which are made of me, and which I being ſo uſed to can eaſily diſregard, you may naturally enough be in pain for me: For to ſee one of your brethren throwing himſelf headlong into a wilful deprivation, not only of honour and of income, but of a good conſcience alſo, are particulars, out of which may be framed an idea very deplorable. But though I do daily in many things betray great infirmity, I thank God, I cannot accuſe myſelf of any inſincerity; ſo that deprivation will not reach my conſcience, and I am in no pain at all for myſelf. I perceive, that after we have been ſufficiently ridiculed, the laſt mortal ſtab deſigned to be given us, is to expoſe us to the world for men of no conſcience. And if God is pleaſed to permit it, his moſt holy will be done, though what that particular paſſion of corrupt nature it is, which lies at the bottom, and which we gratify in loſing all we have, will be hard to determine. God grant ſuch reproaches as theſe may not revert on the authors. I heartily join with your lordſhip in your deſires for the peace of this Church; and I ſhall conceive great hopes, that God will have compaſſion of her, if I ſee that ſhe compaſſionates and ſupports her ſiſter of Scotland. I beſeech God to make you an inſtrument to promote that peace and that charity (23). I myſelf can only contribute to both by my prayers and by my deprecations againſt ſchiſm and againſt ſacrilege.

'My Lord,

'Your Lordſhip's very faithful

Oct. 5, 1689.

'Servant and Brother,

'Tho. Bath & Wells.'

We need not obſerve, that theſe two letters are a proper contraſt to each other; the crafty malice that lurks in the firſt could never have been dragged out into a fuller light, than that which reflects upon it from the inimitable fortitude and undiſguiſed ſimplicity of the latter, which in its turn too is ſeen to advantage, by comparing it with the former. The date of Biſhop Ken's letter ſhews that it was wrote after he had retired to his dioceſe from the Houſe of Peers, to avoid taking the oaths upon the call of that houſe. While he ſtaid in town, he lodged with his old friend Dr Hooper, then rector of Lambeth, who had daily and earneſtly diſcourſed him on the ſubject of compliance with the oaths; to whom he at laſt expreſſed himſelf thus: '*I queſtion not but you, and ſeveral others, have taken the oaths with as good a conſcience as myſelf ſhall refuſe them, and ſometimes you have almoſt perſuaded me to comply by the arguments you have uſed; but I beg you to urge them no further; for ſhould I be perſuaded to comply, and after ſee reaſon to repent, you would make me the moſt miſerable man in the world.* (24) About this time he was alſo remarked for ſhewing himſelf openly, thoughtleſs of any danger that might attend his perſon. This was particularly taken notice of by Archbiſhop Sancroft, who, ſoon after his leaving Lambeth, in a letter to a friend, wrote thus, 'It grieves me to have miſſed (when I was ſo nigh it) the ſeeing of my Reverend Brother of Bath and Wells. I am not ſurprized to hear that his innocency and courage was ſo bold, as to appear openly, but am, I confeſs, that he did it ſafely (25).'

[*I*] *He reſided at Lord Weymouth's ſeat in Wiltſhire.*] Notwithſtanding our Biſhop cannot be ſuppoſed not to have foreſeen for ſome time the probability of the change which happened at the Revolution, and muſt have been ſenſible what would be his own fate, as well as many others therein; yet had he none of that wiſdom of this world which governs thoſe who never fail to provide againſt a rainy day; ſo far from it, that on the other hand, if there can be an extravagant in good works, he was ſuch in that moſt excellent gift of charity. His whole fortune lying in his preferments, thoſe of his relations who were neceſſitous, but whom he would never regard the leſs for their being ſo, were a continual drain upon his revenue; and he ſeemed to joy with thoſe who lived in more plenty, not more for their own well-being, than that thereby he was at liberty to diſperſe the remainder of his income to neceſſitous ſtrangers; which he always did with ſo open a bounty, that he became a common father to all the ſons and daughters of affliction. His charity was ſo extenſive, that not long before the Revolution, having received from his biſhopric a fine of 4000 *l*. great part of it was given to the French Proteſtants; and ſo little regard had he to future contingencies, that on his deprivation, which was not long after, all his effects, after the ſale of every thing, excepting his books (which he never ſold), would raiſe no more than ſeven hundred pounds. And this, with the generoſity of his noble friend and eminent benefactor mentioned above, procured him a clear annuity of fourſcore pounds, which he received in quarterly payments of twenty pounds from that noble peer, who made it a rent-charge on part of his own eſtate: Which, among many other and greater favours, is thus thankfully acknowledged in the laſt will and teſtament of our grateful Biſhop, viz. '*I leave and bequeath to the Right Hon. Thomas Lord Viſcount Weymouth, in caſe he outlives me, all* 'my liſbury (*d d*). In which church that kinſman was then poſſeſſed of a Prebend [*K*]. The Biſhop had always a great reliſh for divine poeſy, and in this retirement he compoſed many excellent, uſeful, and pious pieces; eſpecially after his cholic pains rendered him incapable of more ſerious ſtudy, this favourite entertainment ſerved in ſome meaſure to palliate the acuteneſs of his pain [*L*]. So cloſe was his application to theſe ſtudies, and ſo much was his mind bent upon quietneſs, that as he meddled not with any of the diſputes or attempts of his party [*M*], ſo he was never once diſturbed in that quiet enjoyment of himſelf, and never ſuſpected of any ill deſign [*N*]. Though he did not concur in opinion with thoſe Nonjurors,

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(21) This was his conſtant preſcript to all his letters and papers. Short Account, &c. p. 4.

* Bp Burnet has paſſed his cenſure too upon this proceeding in Vol. I. of his Hiſtory.

(32) The Biſhop was about this time conſtantly aſſured, that King James had by ſome ſpecial inſtrument made over the kingdom of Ireland to the French King.

(23) Epiſcopacy had been aboliſhed by an act of the Scots Parliament July 22 before; but ſeveral methods of accommodating matters between the Epiſcopalians and the Preſbyterians, were at this time in deliberation at the Engliſh Court. See the Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland.

(24) Short Account, &c. p. 39, 40.

(25) Familiar Letters of Dr William Sancroft late Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to Mr North, &c. Lond. 1757, 8vo. p. 13.

‘ *my books of which his lordſhip has not the duplicates, as a memorial of my gratitude for his ſignal and continued favours.*’ He likewiſe dedicated his poems to his lordſhip, as the fruits of his favours. The dedication is a poem too conſiſting of ſeveral ſtanzas; the two firſt of which run thus.

I.

‘ I, if the leaſt may with the greateſt (26) dare,
‘ In grief, not gifts or graces, will compare;
‘ Forc'd from my flock by uncanonic heat,
‘ In ſinging hymns thus ſolace my retreat:
‘ Retreat, in which when by the world depriv'd,
‘ 'Twas chiefly you, my lord, who me reviv'd.

II.

‘ When I, my lord, cruſh'd by powerful might,
‘ No cottage had where to direct my flight;
‘ Kind Heav'n me with a friend illuſtrious bleſt,
‘ Who gives me ſhelter, affluence, and reſt,
‘ In this alone, I Gregory outdo,
‘ That I much happier refuge have in you;
‘ Where to my cloſet I to hymn retire,
‘ On this ſide Heav'n have nothing to deſire (27).’

[*K*] *He ſometimes viſited Mr Walton at Saliſbury.*] He was with this relation at Saliſbury when the great ſtorm happened in November 1703, whereby, it is ſaid, a ſtack of chimnies was blown down, and broke into his bedchamber, but without doing him any hurt; which is mentioned, becauſe his ſucceſſor at Wells, Dr Kidder, was killed by the fall of a ſtack of chimnies into his bed-chamber, blown down by the ſame ſtorm (28).

[*L*] *He diverted his pain with making verſes.*] We have this fact from his own pen, in the dedication already mentioned, of which the third ſtanza conſiſts of the following lines.

‘ 'Tis now two annual weeks and more ſince pain
‘ Within my tender nerves began to reign.
‘ Between my couch and chair my days I waſte,
‘ And of a book have but evanid taſte,
‘ As thirſty deer at Nile's refreſhing brink,
‘ E'er he forſakes his bed, by ſnatches drink;
‘ Still rolling to and fro their timorous eyes,
‘ Leaſt the Leviathan ſhould them ſurprize;
‘ Thus I on authors ſup, can make no ſtay,
‘ Pain from attention forces me away.
‘ Pain haunting me, I court the ſacred muſe,
‘ Verſe is the only laudanum I uſe:
‘ Verſe, in which harmony and picture join'd,
‘ My dolours damp, and recreate my mind.’

[*M*] *He meddled not in any of the diſputes of his party.*] 'Tis not improbable that he had been often ſollicited to engage in theſe, eſpecially ſince we find his particular friend, Dr Turner, the deprived Biſhop of Ely, ſo deeply involved therein. But our author, it ſeems, cared for none of thoſe things, and he never ſpoke more ſincerely the truth from his heart, than we ſee it expreſſed in the following lines.

‘ I gladly wars eccleſiaſtic fly,
‘ Where'er contentious ſpirits I deſcry;
‘ Eas'd of my ſacred load, I live content;
‘ In hymns, not in diſputes, my paſſion vent. (29)

[*N*] *He never was diſturbed in that quiet, &c.*] He was indeed once ſent for to appear before the Privy Council in the year 1696, an account of which we have from himſelf as follows. ‘ *All glory be to God.* After the favourable hearing which this day the Lords of the moſt honourable Privy-Council gave me, Mr Bridgman came out to me to tell me, That their Lordſhips expected a copy of my anſwers, which as far as I can recollect, I here offer to their Lordſhips.

‘ The printed paper, ſubſcribed by the deprived Biſhops, to beg the alms of charitable people, being ſhewed me, I was aſked,

‘ *Did you ſubſcribe this paper?*

Anſ. ‘ My Lords, I thank God I did, and it had a very happy effect; for the will of my bleſſed Redeemer was fulfilled by it, and what we were not able to do ourſelves, was done by others; the hungry were fed, and the naked were cloathed; and to feed the hungry, to cloath the naked, and to viſit thoſe who are ſick, or in priſon, is that plea, which all your lordſhips, as well as I, as far as you have had opportunities, muſt make for yourſelves at the great day; and that which you muſt all plead at God's tribunal for your eternal abſolution, ſhall not I hope, be made my condemnation here.

‘ It was then ſaid to this purpoſe; *No one here condemns charity, but the way you have taken to procure it, your paper is illegal.*

Anſ. ‘ My Lords, I can plead to the evangelical part: I am no lawyer, but ſhall went lawyers to plead to that; and I have been very well aſſured, that it is legal. My Lords, I will ſincerely give your Lordſhips an account of the part I had in it. The firſt perſon who propoſed it to me was Mr Kettlewell, that holy man, who is now with God: And after ſome time it was brought to this form, and I ſubſcribed it, and then went into the country, to my retirement in an obſcure village, where I live above the ſuſpicion of giving any the leaſt umbrage to the government.

‘ My Lords, I was not active in making collections in the country, where there are but few ſuch objects of charity; but good people, of their own accord, ſent me towards fourſcore pounds, of which about one half is ſtill in my hands.

‘ I beg your Lordſhips to obſerve this clauſe in our paper, *As far as in law we may*; and to receive ſuch charity is I preſume, *which in law I may*; and to diſtribute it is a thing alſo, *which in law I may.*

‘ It was objected to this purpoſe: *This money has been abuſed, and given to very ill and immoral men; and particularly to one, who goes in a gown one day, and in a blue ſilk waiſtcoat another.*

Anſ. ‘ My Lords, to give to an ill man may be a miſtake and no crime, unleſs what was given him, was given to an ill purpoſe; nay, to give to an ill man and knowingly is our duty, if that ill man wants neceſſaries of life, for as long as God's patience and forbearance indulges that ill man life to lead him to repentance, we ought to ſupport that life God indulges him, hoping for the happy effect of it.

‘ My Lords, in King James's time there were about a thouſand, or more, impriſoned in my dioceſe, who were engaged in the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth; and many of them were ſuch which I had reaſon to believe to be ill men, and void of all religion; and yet for all that I thought it my duty to relieve them. 'Tis well known to the dioceſe, that I viſited them night and day, and, I thank God, I ſupplied them with neceſſaries myſelf as far as I could, and encouraged others to do the ſame; and yet King James never found the leaſt fault with me. And if I am now charged with miſapplying what was given, I beg of your Lordſhips, that St Paul's apoſtolical rule may be obſerved, *Againſt an elder receive not an accuſation, but before two or three witneſſes*;

(*dd*) Preface to The Complaints of the Church, &c. edit. 1711, 8vo.

(26) Viz. Gregory Nazianzen; the plan of this poem being formed upon the affinity of his caſe to that of Gregory, when perſecuted by Julian the Apoſtate.

(27) His Works, &c. Vol. I. publiſhed in 1721, 8vo.

(28) Preface to Complaints of the Church, &c. ubi ſupra.

(29) Dedication, &c. ſtanza 8.

Nonjurors, who were for continuing a ſeparation from the eſtabliſhed Church by private conſecrations among themſelves [O], yet he looked on the ſpiritual relation to his dioceſe to be ſtill in full force during the life of his firſt ſucceſſor Dr Kidder [P]; but after his deceaſe in 1703, upon the nomination of Dr Hooper to the dioceſe by Q. Anne, he requeſted that gentleman to accept it, and afterwards ſubſcribed himſelf late Biſhop of Bath and Wells [Q], and the Queen ſettled upon him a penſion of two hundred pounds a year,

neſſes; for I am ſure none can teſtify that againſt me. What I gave, I gave in the country, and I gave to none but thoſe who did both want and deſerve it: The laſt that I gave, was to two poor widows of deprived clergymen, one whereof was left with ſix, the other with ſeven ſmall children.

‘It was ſaid to this purpoſe: *You are not charged yourſelf with giving to ill men, though it has been done by others; but the paper comes out with a pretence of authority, and it is illegal, and in the nature of a Brief; and if ſuch practices are permitted, private men may ſuperſede all the briefs granted by the King.*

‘My Lords, I muſt beg your pardon, if I cannot give a full anſwer to this; I am no lawyer, and am not prepared to argue it in law.

‘It was further objected to this purpoſe: *By ſending forth this paper, you have uſurped eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction.*

Anſ. ‘My Lords, I never heard, that begging was a part of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction; and in this paper we are only beggars, which privilege I hope may be allowed us.

‘I make no doubt but your Lordſhips may have had ſtrange miſinformations concerning this paper; but having ſincerely told you what part I had in it, I humbly ſubmit myſelf to your Lordſhips juſtice.

‘I preſume your Lordſhips will come to no immediate reſolution concerning me; and having voluntarily ſurrendered myſelf, and the warrant never having been ſerved on me, 'till I had twice attended here, this being the third time, and my health being infirm, I beg this favour of your Lordſhips, that I may return to my ſiſter's houſe, where I have hitherto lodged, which is a place the meſſenger knows well, and that I may be no otherwiſe confined, 'till I have received your Lordſhips final reſolution.

‘This favour your Lordſhips were pleaſed very readily to grant me; for which I return my humble acknowledgments, beſeeching God to be gracious to your Lordſhips.

‘Tho. Bath and Wells,
‘deprived (30).

‘April 28, 1696.

[O] *He was againſt continuing the ſeparation, &c.*] This appears from ſeveral letters of his upon that ſubject, written in anſwer to the applications that were frequently made to him, as to a perſon who was held in the higheſt eſteem among his party. One of theſe was ſent to Mr Robert Nelſon, who having applied to him on the occaſion, received an anſwer, which we ſhall preſent to the reader, becauſe it ſhews how greatly his opinion was revered by the very beſt of his nonjuring brethren, and becauſe it diſcovers his opinion and practice in another point, which had bred a diviſion among theſe ſectaries. It begins thus,

‘Sir,

‘In order to ſatisfy your enquiry, I can acquaint you, that I have received a letter from Biſhop Ken, who aſſures me, *That he was always againſt that practice, which he foreſaw would perpetuate the ſchiſm, and declared againſt it, and that he had acted accordingly, and would not have laid it at his door, having made a receſs, as he ſays, for a much more worthy perſon: And he apprehends, it was always the judgment of his brethren, that the death of the canonical Biſhops would render the invaders canonical, in regard the ſchiſm is not to laſt always.*’

Afterwards his lordſhip adds this; ‘*I preſume Mr Dodwell, and others with him, go to church, though I myſelf do not, being a public perſon; but to communicate with my ſucceſſor in that part of the office, which is unexceptionable, I ſhould make no difficulty.*

‘This letter I communicated to Mr Dodwell, as ſoon as he came to town, which he thought clear enough for diſcontinuing the ſchiſm, and I ſuppoſe in a ſhort time he may have one to the ſame purpoſe (31).’

[P] *He deemed himſelf biſhop of his dioceſe during the life of Dr Kidder.*] We have already ſeen Dr Burnet remarking that our biſhop ever after his reſolution not to take the oaths to King William, continued in a very warm oppoſition to the government; but this can only be underſtood with regard to the uſe of all ſuch ſpiritual means as were not illegal; for it has been fully ſhewn, that as to any other oppoſition he meddled not. In the firſt ſenſe he thought himſelf obliged to the ſame paſtoral care over his dioceſe as before his deprivation, and the more ſo as he had no good opinion of the principles of the invader, as he called his ſucceſſor Dr Kidder. To this purpoſe, we find him expreſſing himſelf with great warmth, in the dedication already cited of his poems; the fifth ſtanza whereof run thus.

‘Bleſs'd Gregory, from his flock when forc'd away,
‘Reſolv'd, in verſe, truths heav'nly to diſplay.
‘I, by a ſtranger, from my fold exil'd,
‘While my flock ſtrays on the unhurdled wild,
‘Still for my charge a tender care retain,
‘Expos'd to Latitudinarian bane.
‘Like Gregory, of bleſſed Paul I learn to teach,
‘And warn in hymns all ſouls within my reach.’

This is temperate enough, but he grew warmer by thinking and writing on the ſubject; and in ſtanza the tenth, againſt thoſe who complied with the Revolution, after they had preached up Paſſive Obedience in higher terms, as he obſerves on another occaſion (22), than ever he did, he breaks out into the following exceſs of heat,

‘To his dear flock, when Gregory bad adieu,
‘He warn'd them ſeal baptiſmal to renew,
‘And rather die glad martyrs at the ſtake,
‘Than the depoſitum he left forſake.
‘With like, tho' with inferior, ſacred heat,
‘The ſame requeſt I to my flock repeat.
‘Verſatile prieſts may flatter laick might,
‘For lucre may invade canonic right.
‘For rule of faith Leviathan inſtil,
‘And proſtitute God's truth to human will.
‘Wolves on the vitals of their faith will pray;
‘Their ſafety is, their ſhepherd to obey.’

[Q] *He deſired Dr Hooper to accept the biſhoprick, &c.*] We have had occaſion more than once to mention this worthy friend of Dr Ken, and as he was likewiſe one of the brighteſt ſtars in the Engliſh hierarchy, this memoir may be thought deficient if he be let paſs without ſome more particular notice, which is therefore given as follows. Dr George Hooper had his birth at Grimley in Worceſterſhire, whence his father removed for the ſake of his better education to Weſtminſter, and ſending him to that ſchool, he became King's ſcholar, and from that ſtudent of Chriſt-Church in Oxford in 1656, where he took both his degrees in arts at the regular times (33), and diſtinguiſhed himſelf above his contemporaries by his ſuperior knowledge in philoſophy, mathematics, Greek and Roman antiquities, and the oriental languages. In 1672 he became fellow-chaplain with Dr Ken to Biſhop Morley, who gave him the rectory of Havant, but that being an unhealthy ſituation, he changed it for Woodhey, which was reſigned probably with that view by Dr Ken. In 1673 he proceeded Bachelor of Divinity (34), and not long after removed to Lambeth, being made chaplain to Archbiſhop Sheldon (35), who had begged this favour of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and who in

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(30) Short Account, p. 48 to 56 incluſive.

(31) This letter is dated Feb. 21, 1709-10, and printed in Dr Marſhall's Defence of our Conſtitution, &c. Lond. 1717, 8vo. in the appendix.

(32) Viz. in his Anſwer to Bp Burnet in remark [K].

(33) Viz. A. B. Jan. 16, 1660, and A. M. in 1664, together with his friend Bp Ken. Wood's Faſti. Vol. II. p. 127 and 158.

(34) Viz. July 9. Ibid. p. 191.

(35) Ath. Ox. 1043, upon the death of Dr Tomkins.

which was punctually paid out of the Treaſury as long as he lived (*ee*). He had been afflicted many years with ſevere cholic pains (*ff*), and at length was obſerved to make bloody

1675 gave him the rectory of Lambeth, and afterwards the Precentorſhip of Exeter, an option of his Grace's. In 1677, he commenced Doctor in Divinity (36), and the ſame year being made almoner to the Princeſs of Orange, he croſſed the ſea to Holland, where, at the requeſt of her Royal Highneſs, he regulated her chapel according to the uſage of the Church of England. After one year's attendance, he repaſſed the ſea, in order to compleat his marriage, the treaty for which had been ſet on foot before his departure. This done, he went back to her Highneſs, who had obtained a promiſe from him to that purpoſe, but after a ſtay of about eight months, ſhe conſented to his return home. Upon the death of Dr Alleſtree in 1680, he was offered the Divinity Profeſſorſhip at Oxford, which he declined, but was made King's chaplain about the ſame time. In 1685, by the King's command, as well as his friend Dr Ken, he attended the Duke of Monmouth, and had much free converſation with him in the Tower both the evening before, and in the morning of the day of his execution (37). The following year he took a ſhare in the popiſh controverſy (38). In 1691 he ſucceeded Dr Sharp in the Deanery of Canterbury. As he never made any application for preferment, Queen Mary ſurprized him with this offer, for which ſhe took the opportunity of the abſence of her conſort in Holland. Upon this promotion he reſigned the rectory of Woodhey, notwithſtanding the Queen's expreſs order to keep both his livings: he was alſo made chaplain to their Majeſties the ſame year (39). But though both the royal parents of the Duke of Glouceſter preſſed very earneſtly to have him for his Royal Highneſs's preceptor in 1698, and no pretence of any objection was ever made againſt him, yet the King appointed Biſhop Burnet for that ſervice (40). In 1701 he was choſen Prolocutor to the lower houſe of Convocation, and the ſame year was offered the Primacy of Ireland by the Earl of Rocheſter, then Lord Lieutenant there. Soon after the acceſſion of Queen Anne to the throne, the following year ſhe nominated him to the Biſhoprick of St Aſaph. This he accepted, though againſt his inclination, and in half a year afterwards receiving a like command to remove to that of Bath and Wells, he earneſtly requeſted her Majeſty to diſpenſe with the order, not only on account of the ſudden charge of ſuch a tranſlation, as well as a reluctance to remove, but alſo in regard to his friend Dr Ken, for whom he begged this Biſhoprick, which the Queen readily granted; but the offer being declined by Biſhop Ken, this friend, at his importunity, yielded to become his ſucceſſor, but not 'till he had obtained the Queen's leave; who alſo commended him for making the propoſal, to hold the precentorſhip of Exeter *in commendam*, with a diſpenſation for non reſidence, for the ſole benefit of Biſhop Ken. But the then Biſhop of Exeter objecting againſt it, the Queen to ſatisfy him deſired Biſhop Hooper to reſign it, ſaying that ſhe would take care of the deprived Biſhop, and then ordered him a penſion of 200 *l. per ann.* as has been already mentioned above. Biſhop Hooper was not more acceptable to Biſhop Ken than he was to his dioceſe, whoſe affections both of gentry and clergy he was fully poſſeſſed of: And in return no offers could prevail upon him to yield to a tranſlation from them. For he ſeveral times refuſed a ſeat in the Privy-Council, and could not be perſuaded to accept either the Biſhoprick of London on the death of Dr Compton, or the Archbiſhoprick of York on the death of Dr Sharp. He ſat in the ſee of Bath and Wells twenty-four years and ſix months, and died at Barkley in Somerſetſhire, whither he ſometimes retired, on the 6th of September, 1727, and was interred, in purſuance of his own requeſt, in the cathedral of Wells, under a marble monument erected, with an elegant Latin inſcription upon it, to his memory. Beſides his ſermons (41), he publiſhed ſeveral books in his life-time, and left ſeveral manuſcripts behind him, ſome of which he gave leave to be printed. The following is a catalogue of both. 1. *The Church of England free from the imputation of Popery*, printed in 1682, and bound up with the London Caſes. 2. *A fair and methodical diſcuſſion of the firſt and great controverſy between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, concerning the infallible guide. In three diſcourſes. The two firſt of which were licenſed by Dr Maurice in* 1687, but the laſt was never printed. 3. *The parſon's caſe under the preſent Land-tax, recommended in a letter to a member of the Houſe of Commons*, 1689. 4. *A diſcourſe concerning Lent, in two parts. The firſt an hiſtorical account of its obſervation; the ſecond an eſſay concerning its original: This ſubdivided into two repartitions, whereof the firſt is preparatory, and ſhews, that moſt of our Chriſtian ordinances are derived from the Jews; and the ſecond conjectures, that Lent is of the ſame original. Lond.* 1694, 8vo. 5. *A paper in the Philoſophical Tranſactions for October* 1699, entitled, *A Calculation of the Credibility of human teſtimony.* 6. *New danger of Preſbytery, Lond.* 1713. 7. *Marks of a defenceleſs cauſe.* 8. *The narrative of the proceeding of the lower houſe of Convocation vindicated* *. 9 *De Valentinianorum Hereſi Conjecturæ, quibus illius origo ex Ægyptiaca Theologia deducitur*, Lond. 1711, 4to. 10. *An inquiry into the ſtate of the ancient meaſures, the Attic, the Roman, and eſpecially the Jewiſh. With an appendix concerning our old Engliſh money and meaſures of Content*, Lond. 1721, 8vo. 11. *De Patriarchæ Jacobi Benedictione Gen.* 49. *Conjecturæ*, publiſhed by the Reverend Mr Hunt, of Hart-hall in Oxford, with a preface and notes, according to our author's directions a little before his death to the editor. The manuſcripts before-mentioned are the two following. 1. A Latin ſermon, preached in 1672, when he took his Bachelor of Divinity's degree; and, 2. A Latin tract on Divorce.

We muſt not conclude this remark, without reverting to the immediate cauſe of it, the ſatisfaction which Biſhop Ken had in this ſucceſſor. This in the fulneſs of his heart he frequently took occaſion to declare, but no where more warmly than in the dedication of his hymns on the Attributes, addreſſed in verſe to this friend, under the title of George Lord Biſhop of Bath and Wells, where he thus expreſſes himſelf.

‘ But that which moſt of all my eye-lids drained,
‘ My lambs, my ſheep, were by their wand'rings
‘ baned:
‘ They broke from Catholic, and hallow'd bounds,
‘ And for the wholeſome choſe th' impoiſon'd
grounds
‘ Contracting Latitudinarian taint;
‘ In faith, in morals, ſuffering no reſtraint.
‘ New hereſies they form'd, or old reviv'd,
‘ Or, Corah-like, outragious ſchiſms contriv'd:
‘ And in ſuch dangers while his ſheep abide,
‘ A ſhepherd's eye-lids never ſhould be dry'd.

‘ Thus griev'd, I, like Valerius, wept and pray'd,
‘ For all the ſheep which from my paſture ſtray'd;
‘ His prayer was ardent, violenc'd God's ear,
‘ Mine languid was, and too reſtrain'd my tear;
‘ He, David-like, had rivers in his head,
‘ I, drop by drop, tears intermitting ſhed.
‘ But I adore benignity divine,
‘ Who did to hear my worthleſs cares incline,
‘ And while I mourn'd for the tremendous ſtroke,
‘ Which freed my flock from uncanonic yoke,
‘ Heaven, my lord, ſupereffluently kind,
‘ In you ſent a ſucceſſor to my mind;
‘ In you all Auſtin's virtues are ſupplied,
‘ Too bright for your humility to hide:
‘ I, on a load preſum'd, I could not bear,
‘ Happy preſumption! which enforc'd my pray'r;
‘ Since Heaven thence took occaſion you to rear,
‘ You who irradiate all the ſacred ſphere;
‘ You, in whoſe care I feel as full repoſe,
‘ As old Valerius when he Auſtin choſe.

(36) Viz. July 3. Wood's Faſti. Vol. II. col. 207.

(37) See more of his behaviour at this time in the article of Archbiſhop Teniſon.

(38) See his treatiſe on that occaſion, the title of which will be given preſently.

(39) Ath. Oxon. where laſt cited.

(40) Boyer's Hiſtory of Queen Anne, under that year.

(41) Of theſe he printed eight; the firſt was preached before the Lord-Mayor at Guildhall chapel in 1681, and the laſt on the day of thankſgiving for the peace, July 7, 1713.

* He had before publiſhed A Narrative of thoſe Proceedings, &c. from Monday Feb. 10, 1700, to Wedneſday June 25, 1701. Drawn up by the order of the Houſe, 4to.

(*ee*) The Queen often complained that it was too little for his thanks, which he dutifully ſent her every year upon the receipt of it. Short Account, p. 41.

(*ff*) He was ſeized with them about the year 1696. See the two firſt lines of the dedication to his Poems, ſtanza 3. in remark [*L*].

bloody water. This ſymptom being aſcribed to an ulcer in his kidneys, he went to Briſtol in the beginning of the year 1710 for the benefit of the hot well, where he ſpent the ſummer and 'till November following, when he removed to Leweſton near Shirburne in Dorſetſhire, a ſeat belonging to the honourable Mrs Thynne. There he was ſeized with a dead palſey one one ſide, which confined him to his chamber 'till about the middle of March; when being, as he thought, able to take ſuch a journey, he reſolved for the Bath, in hopes to find relief from thoſe waters. Nor could the perſuaſions of that good lady, or his phyſician, divert his deſign, though he laboured under another diſtemper, viz. the Dropſy. So in his way thither, calling at Long-Leate on Saturday, he ſpent that evening in adjuſting ſome papers; all the next day he confined himſelf to his chamber, and on Monday he was confined to his bed, 'till on Monday following, March 19, 1710-11, his ſoul was ſet free by a diſſolution *(gg)*. Froome Selwood being the neareſt pariſh within his own dioceſe to the place where he died, he was buried, conformable to his own requeſt, in the church-yard, under the Eaſt window of the chancel of that church, juſt at ſun-riſing, without any manner of pomp or ceremony, beſides that of the order for burial in the Liturgy of the Church of England, on the 21ſt of March, 1710 *(bb)*, in the 73d year of his age. His Lordſhip was never married, and left behind him but few relations [*R*]; and by his laſt will, proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury [*S*], April 24, 1711, appointed his nephew William Hawkins, of the Middle-Temple, Eſq; his executor, who publiſhed *A ſhort account of his life, &c. to which was added, A ſmall Specimen, in order to a Publication of his works at large* *(ii)*. Lond. 1719, 8vo. And accordingly theſe were publiſhed in 1721 by the ſame gentleman, under this title, *The Works of the Right Reverend, learned, and pious Thomas Ken, D. D. late Lord Biſhop of Bath and Wells*, Lond. 1721. An account of which, together with other pieces printed by himſelf beſides thoſe already mentioned, the reader will find below. [*T*].

(*gg*) As he had for many years travelled with his ſhrowd in his portmanteau; he put it on as ſoon as he came to Long-Leate, giving notice of it the day before his death by way of prevention, that his body might not be ſtripped.

(*bb*) Account, &c. p. 42.

(*ii*) This ſpecimen conſiſted of two ſermons already mentioned, and hymns and odes, 1. On the Annunciation. 2. Heaven. 3. On the Attributes of God. 4. On Good-Friday. 5. Thirſt for Jeſus. 6. Reſignation of Jeſus. Selected chiefly for the variety of meaſure which appears in them.

' Accept, my lord, the product of that eaſe
' You gave, when you accepted of my keys.
' O may the flock a grateful ſenſe retain,
' Of bleſſings, which they in your conduct gain.
' I, in my requiem hymns, God's love will ſing,
' For ſhelt'ring them in your paternal wing.'

Not content with this ſingle opportunity of declaring his full ſatisfaction and delight on the occaſion, we find the ſame repeated in the general dedication of his poems to Lord Weymouth, finiſhed, as it ſeems, not long before his death, where his heart ſwells into the higheſt tide of joy upon the ſame ſubject, in the following lines.

Stanza 8.

' Forc'd from my flock, I daily ſaw with tears,
' A ſtranger's ravage two ſabbatic years *;
' But I forbear to tell the dreadful ſtroke,
' Which freed my ſheep from their Eraſtian yoke;
' While Heav'n was ſupereffluently kind,
' In ſending them a paſtor to my mind;
' In whom my ſpirit feels the like repoſe,
' As old Valerius, when he Auſtin choſe.

* Viz. fourteen years, Dr Kidder holding the ſee from 1690 to 1703 incluſive.

Stanza 9.

' I, cruſh'd by ſtate decree, and griev'd with pain,
' The paſtoral toil unable to ſuſtain,
' More gladly off the hallow'd burthen ſhake,
' Than I at firſt the weight could undertake;
' And ſhall rejoice when ſinking to my grave,
' That my dear ſheep a worthier paſtor have;
' That, living, I had buried paſtoral care,
' And for my laſt was freer to prepare.

[*R*] *He left few relations*.] Theſe were, Martha the daughter of his brother Mr John Ken by Roſe his wife, which Martha married to the honourable Chriſtopher Frederick Krienberg, Reſident of his Electoral Highneſs of Hanover in London. John Beacham in 1713 Fellow of Trinity College, and William Beacham, ſometime Fellow of New-College in Oxford, who were both the ſons of his ſiſter Martha by her huſband Mr James Beacham. Iſaac Walton, Reſidentiary of the cathedral church of Sarum, and Anne Walton, iſſue of his ſiſter Anne by her huſband Mr Iſaac Walton of London, which Anne having been married to William Hawkins, D. D. ſometime prebendary of Winchester, had iſſue by him William and Anne, both living in 1713, of whom William was appointed the Biſhop's executor, as above-mentioned (42).

(42) Short Account, p. 46, 47.

[*S*] *His laſt will, &c.*] Various reports having been frequently and induſtriouſly ſpread, that he was tainted with ſome Popiſh errors, and was not ſo ſtedfaſt to the doctrine of the Church of England, it was thought proper to publiſh the following paragraph, tranſcribed from his will. '*As for my religion, I die in the holy 'catholic and apoſtolic faith, profeſſed by the whole 'Church before the diſunion of Eaſt and Weſt; more 'particularly, I die in the communion of the Church of 'England, as it ſtands diſtinguiſhed from all Papal and 'Puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine 'of the Croſs.*'

[*T*] *An account of the reſt of his works below*] Thoſe printed by himſelf are, 1. *A ſermon preached at the funeral of the Right Hon. the lady Margaret Maynard, at Little Eaſton in Eſſex, June* 30, 1682, on Prov. ii. 16. Lond 1682, 4to. 2. *A ſermon preached in the cathedral church of Bath on Aſcenſion-Day, May* 5, 1687. In this his lordſhip had dropt ſome leſs guarded expreſſions, which were made the ſubject of a piece, intitled, *Animadverſions on the biſhop of Bath's ſermon on Aſcenſion-Day, May* 5, 1687, *Lond.* 1687, 4to. 3. *A paſtoral letter to the clergy of the dioceſe of Bath and Wells, concerning their behaviour during Lent, dated Feb.* 18, 1687, *Lond.* 1688, 4to. 4. His works in four volumes. Vol 1 containing, *Hymns Evangelical. Hymns on the the Feſtivals. Chriſtophil.* Vol. 2. *Edmund, an epic poem. Hymns on the Attributes.* Vol 3. *Hymnotheos, or the penitent. Anodynes, or the alleviation of pain.* Vol. 4. *Preparations for death. Pſyche, or Magdalen, and Sion or Philotheos. Urania, or the ſpacious garden. Damoret, Thyrſil, and Dorilla, or chaſte love deſcribed.* In the dedication to Lord Weymouth, ſon of that Lord to whom the biſhop addreſſed them, Mr Hawkins aſſures us, that he had the Biſhop's leave at Leweſton to publiſh theſe poems; ' whereof, ſays he, the verſe will be found not ſtrained, but generally eaſy and familiar, as being deſigned for contemplation and devotion; and when his ſubject requires it, lofty and ſublime. His frequently joining the ſyllable Co, continues the editor, to words, (as in Co-eval, Co ſpire, Co-glorious, Co-une, Co-trine, Co-harmonious, &c) beſides the great propriety thereby preſerved, may be taken, (though I dare not aver it to be ſo intended) for a deſigned characteriſtic of his genuine performances from ſuch as are ſpurious (43), he having met with ill treatment of that nature in his life-time; and for the further prevention of which (as far as in me lies) I beg leave to aſſure your lordſhip, that nothing more of his performances are ever to be publiſhed.'

(43) Among theſe was publiſhed, under his name, *The Retired Chriſtian, &c.* the ſeventh edition of which came out in 1756, 12mo.

KENNET [White], Biſhop of Peterborough, a learned Antiquarian, was the ſon of Mr Baſil Kennet, Rector of Dimchurch and Vicar of Poſtling near Hythe in Kent (*a*); and was born Auguſt 10, 1660, in the pariſh of St Mary's in Dover, his mother being the eldeſt daughter of Mr Thomas White, a wealthy magiſtrate there, from whom he had his name at the font [*A*]. As he grew up, he was firſt put to ſchool at Eleham, and then to Wye, both in the neighbourhood; whence, having made a great proficiency in grammar learning, he was removed to Weſtminſter, in the view of obtaining a place upon that foundation; and he was admitted above the curtain †. But being unluckily ſeized with the ſmall pox at the time of election, rather than wait another year, his father accepted an offer made to him by Mr Tolſon, his neighbour at Beakſborne, and ſent him to be tutor to the three ſons of that gentleman. He acquitted himſelf in this poſt, much to the ſatisfaction of the family, 'till his removal to Oxford, whither he went in June 1678; and, by the recommendation of his countryman the learned Dr Wallis, was entered into Edmund-hall *, and placed under the care of Mr Andrew Allam, a celebrated tutor at that time [*B*] In this ſociety he applied cloſely to his ſtudies, and with ſuch diſtinguiſhed ſucceſs, that though he wore the gown of a Battler or Semi-commoner only, the loweſt condition of ſuch as are wholly ſupported at their own expence, yet he was admitted to the converſation, and procured the friendſhip, of the higheſt, which proved of great ſervice to him. But though he made a figure in ſome other branches of polite literature, yet the bent of his inclination and genius led him particularly to the ſtudy of Antiquities and Hiſtory; and being of a lively and forward temper, he commenced author in the political way while he was undergraduate; and, in 1680 (*b*), publiſhed in 8vo. *A Letter from a Student at Oxford to a Friend in the Country, concerning the approaching Parliament, in Vindication of his Majeſty, the Church of England, and the Univerſity* [*C*]. And ſoon after, in the ſame ſpirit, he printed *A Poem to Mr E. L. on his Majeſty's diſſolving the late Parliament at Oxford* (*c*) 28th of March, 1681. He took his firſt degreee in Arts May 2, 1682

(*a*) This gentleman was bred at Trinity-college in Dublin, where he took the degree of Maſter of Arts. The Life of the Right Rev. Dr White Kennet, with ſeveral original Letters, &c. Lond. 1730, 8vo. p. 1.

† That is in the upper ſchool, which is ſeparated from the lower by a curtain.

* Ibid. p. 3.

(*b*) In the title-page the date is 1681, from the cuſtom of the Bookſellers in beginning the year at Michaelmas.

(*c*) This was a ballad, printed on one ſide of a ſheet of paper, and begun, *An Atheiſt now muſt a monſter be*, &c. It was reprinted in a pamphlet, intituled, *The Conduct of Dr Kennet*. Lond. 1717, 8vo.

[*A*] *From whom he had his Chriſtian name.*] Alderman White had been a maſter ſhipwright, and after the Reſtoration had been employed by the government in that way, and upon a petition of ſeveral merchants and tradeſmen, for arrears due to them, delivered to the Houſe of Commons in 1664, *die Sabbati 28 Januarii*, it was allowed by a committee, that there was due to Mr Thomas White of Dover, for refitting his Majeſty's ſhips, as unpaid on a warrant granted by the Commiſſioners for diſcharging the debts of his Majeſty's navy, 223*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.* Being both grandfather and godfather to our author, he conſented to give him his own name, probably in the view of making him his heir; but thoſe hopes were defeated by his entering afterwards into a ſecond marriage, the iſſue of which, with their mother, went away with the whole eſtate (1).

(1) Life of White Kennet, ubi ſupra, p. 2.

[*B*] *Mr Allam, a celebrated tutor at that time.*] No doubt Mr Kennet was greatly influenced by the example of his tutor, in turning his ſtudies to the ſubject of Hiſtory and Antiquities, for which Mr Allam had a peculiar taſte. There is indeed ſo great an affinity between the tenor of his life, and the firſt ſtep in that of the pupil, that the following ſhort account of it will not, 'tis preſumed, be thought altogether foreign to the buſineſs of the preſent memoir. Mr Allam then being born in 1655 at Garſington near Oxford, was educated in the neighbourhood, in a private ſchool at Denton in the pariſh of Cuddeſden, where he went to St Edmund's-hall, and was entered a Battler there in Eaſter term 1671. After he had taken the degrees in arts, he became a tutor, moderator, lecturer in the chapel, and at length Vice Principal of his houſe; in all which offices he behaved himſelf much to the honour and flouriſhing thereof; being a perſon of eminent virtues, ſober, temperate, and modeſt, even to example. He underſtood the controverſial writings between Conformiſts and Nonconformiſts, Proteſtants and Papiſts, far beyond his years, which were advanced by a great and happy memory. He underſtood the world of men well, authors better, and nothing but years and experience were wanting to make him a compleat walking library (2). There are extant of his works, 1. A preface, with an epiſtle dedicatory in the printer's name, prefixed to *the Epiſtle congratulatory of Lyſimachus Nicanor, &c. to the Covenanters of Scotland, &c* Oxon. 1684. 2. The epiſtle, with the account therein, of Dr Richard Coſin's life prefixed to that author's piece, entitled, *Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Politeia in Tabulas digeſta*, Oxon. 1684, in fol. 3. The epiſtle prefixed, with a review and correction of the book intitled, *Some plain diſcourſes on the Lord's Supper*, by Dr George Griffith, Biſhop of St Aſaph. Oxon. 1684. 8vo. 4. Five or ſix ſheets of corrections and additions to a piece intitled, *Angliæ Notitiæ*, or the Preſent ſtate of England. 5. He began and made ſeveral additions to Helvicus's Hiſtorical and Chronological Theatre, as occaſion required, and would have finiſhed the Supplement at the end from 1660 to 1685, had he not been prevented by death. 6. He had laid the foundation of Notitia Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, giving an account of all cathedrals, with their ſtatutes and cuſtoms, and a liſt of the names of the preſent biſhop, dean, archdeacon, canons, and officers of each cathedral. 7. He tranſlated into Engliſh *the life of Iphicrates*, which was printed among thoſe of Cornelius Nepos, by ſeveral hands, at Oxford 1684, 8vo. He alſo frequently aſſiſted Mr Antony Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienſ.* eſpecially in the *Notitia* of certain modern writers of our own nation. He died of the ſmall pox, June 17, 1685, and was buried at St Peter's in the Eaſt in Oxon (3). This excellent tutor was much pleaſed with Mr Kennet, and took a particular delight in impoſing taſks and exerciſes on him, which he would often read in the common room, before the maſters and gentlemen commoners, for an occaſion of commending his pupil. He ſet him ſeveral books to tranſlate from the Latin, which he not only approved, but recommended to the Oxford bookſellers for an impreſſion of them. The tranſlation of the *Moriæ Encomium*, mentioned in the text, was one of theſe, and that of Pliny's panegyric, &c. was another, of which more hereafter. The tutor alſo became, we ſee, a fellow-writer with his pupil, among others, in the tranſlation of the lives of *Cornelius Nepos*. And to conclude, he likewiſe introduced him very early, while Undergraduate, into the acquaintance of Mr Ant Wood, who employed him in collecting ſeveral epitaphs and other notices of eminent Oxford men, and in writing to his father for intelligences of that kind, particularly of Mr John Reading *, Dr Meric Caſaubon, and others (4).

(2) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 784, 785.

(3) Ibid, col. 785, 786.

* See Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 406, & ſeqq.

(4) Life of White Kennet, &c. p. 3, 4. and Mr Wood accordingly gives him the character of an excellent philologiſt, a good preacher, whether in Engliſh or Latin, and well verſed in the hiſtory and antiquities of our nation, and much deſerving of the Church of England, for which he hath a zealous reſpect. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1131.

[*C*] *A letter from a ſtudent at Oxford, &c.*] This pamphlet was printed in March, and divers copies ſent to Oxford about the 15th of that month, An. 1680-1, againſt the time that the parliament was to ſit, viz. on the 21ſt of the ſaid month Where the whig party, as it was then begun to be called in the houſe of Commons, were ſo much offended with it, that enquiries were made after the author, in order to have him puniſhed. Among other members, John Trenchard, Eſq; ſometime a fellow of New College, but then a Burgeſs for Taunton in Somerſetſhire, was very active on this occaſion, and affirming that he knew it was written by an Oxford ſcholar, the Vice-chancellor was deſired to find out the author; but the ſudden diſſolution of the parliament put an end to the whole matter; and that occaſioned the publication of Mr Kennet's ſecond piece above mentioned (5).

(5) Id. ibid.

[*D*] *A*

1682 (*d*); and the following year, he publiſhed a tranſlation into Engliſh of Eraſmus's *Moriæ Encomium*; and among the lives of illuſtrious men, written by *Cornelius Nepos*, and done into Engliſh by ſeveral hands of Oxford, and printed there in 1684 [*D*], 8vo, *The Life of Chabrias* has Mr Kennet's name at the head of it. About this time he entered into Holy Orders, and became curate and aſſiſtant to Mr Samuel Blackwell, B. D. (*e*), Vicar and Schoolmaſter of Burceſter in Oxfordſhire. In 1685 he proceeded Maſter of Arts, and in the beginning of September the ſame year, he was preſented by Sir William Glynne, Bart, to the vicarage of Amerſden, or Ambroſden, in Oxfordſhire, where he made ſeveral improvements in the church, and recovered an eſtate which had been left for that uſe, and alienated from it [*E*]. He was too young a divine to engage in the famous Popiſh controverſy; but he preached a ſet of ſermons againſt Popery. In the ſame ſpirit he likewiſe refuſed to read the declaration for Liberty of Conſcience in 1688, and went with the body of the clergy in the dioceſe of Oxford, when they rejected an addreſs to King James, recommended by Biſhop Parker the ſame year (*f*). While he was in the country, he ſometimes uſed the exerciſe of ſhooting for his health; and he was upon that diverſion in the neighbouring pariſh of Middleton-Stoney, in January 1689, when his gun burſting in the diſcharge, he received a dangerous wound in the forehead from a ſplinter, which broke both the tables of his ſkull. He lay a conſiderable time under this unlucky accident [*F*]; and, as he conſtantly wore a black velvet to cover the part, that was made a mark to diſtinguiſh his perſon on a particular occaſion ſeveral years afterwards (*g*). In September 1691, he was choſen Lecturer of St Martin's, commonly called Carfax, in Oxford (*h*), having ſome time before been invited back to Edmund-hall, to be Tutor and Vice-principal there [*G*]. Soon after which, he was appointed a public Lecturer in the Univerſity-ſchools, and as a man of diſcipline and ſpirit, was choſen Pro-proctor two ſucceſſive years (*i*). February 15, 1692 (*k*), he addreſſed a letter from Edmund-hall, to the editor of Somner's *Treatiſe of the Roman Ports and Forts in Kent*, containing an account of the life of that famous Antiquary [*H*]. This being prefixed to that treatiſe

(*d*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 219.

(*e*) After his promotion to the ſee of Peterborough, the doctor collated this gentleman to a prebend in that church. Life of Biſhop Kennet, &c. p. 4.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 43.

(*g*) See more of this in the ſequel.

(*h*) Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Life of Biſhop Kennet, p. 6.

(*k*) That is the date of the letter.

[*D*] *A tranſlation of Eraſmus's Moriæ Encomium, &c.*] The title of it is, *Wit againſt wiſdom, or a panegyric upon folly*. It was uſhered into the favour of the public by ſeveral copies of verſes made by Matth. Morgan, A. M. of St John's college; Will. Oſborne, A. M. James Shute, A. B. both of Edmund's hall; and Tho. Wood, Fellow of New College; at the end of theſe is a copy by the tranſlator, on the argument of the book, which has gone through ſeveral editions ſince.

[*E*] *He was preſented by Sir Will. Glynne to Ambroſden, where he made ſeveral improvements.*] This favour was procured for him by the patron's eldeſt ſon, who was his contemporary in the hall. At his entrance upon it, he immediately had the vicarage-houſe beautified, the garden walled round, and an inſcription put upon the grave-ſtone of Dr Stubbing, his predeceſſor, who built the houſe: He then ſet himſelf to repair and adorn the church; had the bells new caſt; a new pulpit and font, a fane on the ſteeple, the church-yard encloſed with a ſtrong high wall, and gates with piers. The expence of theſe, among other improvements of ſtrength and beauty, was ſupplied from the profits of an eſtate, which, though left for the repairing the church, had been afterwards granted to a private perſon as given to ſuperſtitious uſes, and when recovered was by degrees alienated from the uſes of the church to that of the pariſh, and laid out on the highways, bridges, and poor; 'till Mr Kennet, by the advice and aſſiſtance of Biſhop Fell, obtained a trial before commiſſioners for charitable uſes, and a decree to inveſt the eſtate in new truſtees (of which the patron and vicar of the pariſh were always to be two, and the reſt of their nomination), to be employed according to the firſt purpoſe of repairing the church. And the rents accordingly were applied to that purpoſe very faithfully, to the great improvement of the church, and by degrees to the great ſatisfaction, as well as credit, of the pariſh (6).

[*F*] *He lay ſick a conſiderable time under this accident.*] While he lay under great diſorder and pain of body and brain, juſt after he had undergone the ſevere operation of trepanning, for want of ſleep, he made a copy of Latin verſes, and dictated them to a friend at his bedſide. The copy was tranſmitted to Sir William Glynne, in whoſe ſtudy it was found after the author had forgot every thing but the ſad occaſion; and the writer of his life tells us, it was then in his poſſeſſion, and thought by good judges to be no reproach to the author (7).

[*G*] *Tutor and vice-principal of Edmund-Hall.*] The famous Dr John Mill was then Principal, with whom Mr Kennet lived on better terms of peace and friendſhip than any other vice-principal either before or after. That eminent divine was at this time employed in preparing for the preſs his celebrated edition of the New Teſtament; and he was greatly aſſiſted therein by one of our author's pupils, Mr Thomas Hearne, (8) the noted Antiquarian, probably recommended for that purpoſe by his tutor.

[*H*] *He wrote the life of Somner.*] This undertaking gave him an opportunity of diſplaying his knowledge in the hiſtory of the Saxon language in England. Upon which ſubject he obſerves, that when the Saxons had made the Britons ſtrangers in their own land, the language which the conquerors brought with them ſoon grew into contempt among themſelves. Even ſo early as the year 652, *many out of this iſland were ſent to the monaſteries of France for education, and to bring back the manners and language of thoſe parts* (9). That in the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, 'by the great 'reſort of Normans to his court, the whole iſland began to loſe their Engliſh rites, and to imitate the 'manners of the Franks, eſpecially it was eſteemed a 'piece of breeding for all the leſſer ſort to ſpeak the 'Gallic idiom, and to deſpiſe the language and cuſtoms of their own country (10). This inglorious affectation is confeſſed by an hiſtorian, who lived in that age. It looked like an omen of their approaching conqueſt by that nation, of whoſe language and faſhions they were ſo fond. The event proved ſo. Three and twenty years after came in the Norman Lords, who threatened an extirpation to that language of which the natives began to be aſhamed. *For theſe new maſters hated the Engliſh, and ſo much abhorred their idiom, that the laws were all adminiſtered in the French tongue; the very children in the ſchools were kept from learning to read their mother language, and were inſtructed only in the Norman; the Engliſh manner of writing too was omitted* (11). The ſame author, from his own experience, again laments, that *the Saxon hand, which had been uſed in all writings, grew into diſgrace, and the French hand, becauſe it was more legible and more pleaſing to the eye, did every where obtain* (12), ſo as in the very next reign, *the Saxon letters were ſo obſolete and ſo unknown, that but few of the elder people were able to read them* (13). Nay, in the year 1095 Walſtan Biſhop of Worceſter was depoſed, when ſcarce any other thing was objected againſt him, but that *he was an old Engliſh idiot, who did not underſtand the French tongue* (14) It is true the next ſucceſſor Henry I. gave a charter to Will. Archbiſhop of Canterbury, confirming to him the poſſeſſion of his ſee in Saxon characters (15). This was but a ſingle inſtance, and perhaps done to oblige the queen of this Saxon line, and to ingratiate himſelf with the Engliſh ſubjects,

(6) Life of Dr Kennet, &c. p. 5, 6.

(7) Ibid. p. 7.

(8) See his article.

(9) Monaſt. Anglic. Tom. I. p. 89.

(10) Hiſt. Ingulphi, p. 62. ſub ann. 1043.

(11) Ibid. p. 71. ſub. ann. 1066.

(12) Ibid. p. 85.

(13) Ibid. p. 98, ſub ann. 1091.

(14) Matth. Paris, ſub ann. 1095.

(15) Hen. Wharton Auctar. Hiſt. Dogmat. p. 388.

treatiſe, was publiſhed along with it in the beginning of 1693; and, in Feb. (l) following, he was preſented by William Cherry, Eſq; to the rectory of Shotteſbrook near Bray in Berkſhire (m). However, he ſtill continued to reſide chiefly at Oxford, where the ſtudy of Antiquities particularly flouriſhed under the influence of his example, and by the advantage of his inſtructions [*I*]. But he became moſt eminent in that way, by his celebrated work publiſhed there in 1695, 4to. under the title of, *Parochial Antiquities attempted in the Hiſtory of* Ambroſden, Burceſter, *and other adjacent Pariſhes in the Counties of Oxford and Bucks* [*K*]. This work leading him to conſider the ſtate of the Church, in reſpect of impropriations, he publiſhed in 1698, 8vo. *The Hiſtory and Fate of Sacrilege*, written by Sir Henry Spelman, Knight [*L*]. The ſame year he improved himſelf farther in theſe ſtudies, by learning the Saxon and Septentrional tongues of the learned Dr George Hickes;

(*l*) Ath. Oxon. where laſt cited.

(*m*) At the requeſt of his eldeſt ſon, who had been contemporary with our author at Edmund-hall. Life of Dr Kennet, p. 4. and Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

ſubjects, who might hope by this marriage they had a better title in him. And that therefore it is a miſtake in Mabillon (16), and ſome other authors, who aſſert that the Saxon way of writing was loſt from the very time of the Norman conqueſt. It is with the Saxon characters as with the ſigns of the croſs in public deeds, which were for the moſt part changed into the Norman way of ſeals and ſubſcriptions, yet ſome characters were with the old form of croſſes. That the Saxon dialect obtained no doubt in country villages, with ſome variation borrowed from the French; and ſome remains of it intermixed with the court language. But the barons and knights, who were moſt of them Normans, were ſo much afraid of their childrens taking the old Engliſh, that in the reign of Henry II. they ſent them into France for education, to wear off the barbarouſneſs (as they called it) of their native tongue. (17) At the beginning of the reign of Edward III. Robert Holeot, a Dominican (18), confeſſes, that there was no inſtitution of children in the old Engliſh, but they firſt learned the French, and from the French the Latin tongue, which he obſerves to have been a practice obſerved by William the Conqueror, and to have obtained ever ſince. That though from the firſt decline of the Barons, and advance of the Commons, who were more of Engliſh blood, the country language grew more into requeſt, 'till at laſt the Commons in Parliament at Weſtminſter, 30th of Edward III. ſhewed ſo much of the Engliſh ſpirit, as to repreſent to the King *the great miſchiefs which would happen to divers of the realm, if that the laws were pleaded, ſhewed, and judged in the French tongue, which is much unknown in the ſaid realm,* &c. Upon which *it was ordained and eſtabliſhed, that all pleas,* &c. *ſhould be pleaded, ſhewed, and defended, anſwered, debated, and judged, in the Engliſh tongue,* &c (19). Yet this law did by no means reſtore the Saxon either in the Alphabet, or in the prime dialect; it only redeemed the kingdom from an old token of ſubjection, and did honour to the then compound language, much vitiated by imported words and phraſes. And ſtill there ſeemed ſome remains of the Norman ſpirit, which by the ſame law provided, that *all ſuch pleas ſhould be entered and enrolled in the Latin.* If there was any conveyance of the true Saxon tongue, it was in the monaſteries; but in thoſe only which were founded before the Norman conqueſt, for in ſuch, intereſt obliged them to underſtand the language of their original charters. It was for this reaſon, that in the abbey of Croyland, 'a tutor was appointed to teach Saxon to ſome of the younger brethren, that in their old age they might be more fit to alledge the records of their monaſtery againſt their adverſaries (20) And it was no doubt for the like reaſon, that in the abbey of Taviſtoke, which had a Saxon foundation about 691, there were ſolemn lectures in the Saxon tongue, even to the time of our fathers, that the knowledge of the language might not fail, as it has ſince well nigh done (21).'

[*I*] *The ſtudy of Antiquities flouriſhed by his example and inſtructions*] We have a conſpicuous atteſtation to this part of our author's merit from Mr Gibſon (afterwards Biſhop of London), himſelf eminently verſed in this branch of learning, who in 1684 publiſhing a tranſlation into Engliſh of Mr Somner's treatiſe, written in anſwer to Chifflet, concerning the ſituation of the *Portus Iccius* on the coaſt of France oppoſite to Kent, where Cæſar embarked for the invaſion of this iſland, &c. introduced it into the world with an elegant Latin dedication to Mr Kennet, where having obſerved, 'that the ſtudy of Antiquities is very much diſcouraged by being repreſented as dry and barren, and the bane of all delicacy and politeneſs,' he remarks, 'That by this means thoſe who applied themſelves to it would be wholly diſcouraged, but that they were kept in countenance by his example and authority. And that there cannot be a more effectual anſwer to the reproaches that are caſt on this ſort of learning, than that quickneſs of parts, that ſtrength and delicacy of underſtanding, ſo remarkable in him. That from his politeneſs of mind, eaſineſs and affability of manners, and perfect maſtery in all the parts of genteel learning, joined with the exacteſt knowledge in Antiquities, the world might ſee, that this kind of ſtudy does by no means cramp the genius, or ſour the temper; and from his ſoundneſs and ſtrength of judgment, might be learned, that the more unguarded flights and ſallies of imagination were by this means beſt of all kept under and corrected. Upon theſe accounts he proceeds to declare, that he eſteems himſelf particularly happy in that the nature of his ſtudies and his private obligations do both conſpire to engage him to direct that addreſs to him. For who has a better title, ſays he, to theſe golden remains of Somner, than one who by writing his life ſo copiouſly and exactly, had at the ſame time conferred immortality upon him. To whom can I more properly pay this public acknowledgment, than to one who by his inſtruction and example I am emboldened to engage in this kind of ſtudies.' He then concludes in theſe terms, '*Go on therefore, Sir, to be the ornament of the Church by your exemplary piety, and of our univerſity by your extraordinary learning. And remember at the ſame time, that your's is the glory of ſupporting and encouraging the ſtudy of Antiquities.*'

[*K*] *His Parochial Antiquities,* &c.] This treatiſe from its firſt appearance was, and ſtill continues to be, in the higheſt eſteem among the learned in ſuch matters; in its uſe extenſive, and in its authority deciſive. Mr Tanner, afterwards biſhop of St Aſaph, in his *Notitia Monaſtica* often refers to it, and particularly ſtiles Mr Kennet the friend and foreman of his ſtudies; and under the priory of Burceſter, he gives it this character, '*Hic liber accuratiſſime,* &c.——This book gives us a moſt exact hiſtory of this priory from its foundation to its diſſolution, which the reverend author with great care and faithfulneſs collected from original manuſcripts, now in the poſſeſſion of Sir Wm Glynne of Ambroſden in Oxfordſhire, and from ſeveral other books, both printed and manuſcript.' It is true, the perſons and places are but few of which it treats, yet has it been often acknowledged to be a work of great uſe to the whole dioceſe and county, as well as to the adjoining pariſhes. And the gloſſary at the end is and will be ſo in all times and places.

[*L*] *He publiſhed the hiſtory and fate of Sacrilege.*] He had this part of the Church's revenue much at heart, and in the ſame view he publiſhed in 1704, *The caſe of impropriations, and of the augmentation of vicarages, and other inſufficient cures, ſtated by hiſtory and law, from the firſt uſurpation of the Popes and Monks, to her Majeſty's royal bounty lately extended to the poorer clergy of the Church of England, with an appendix of records and memorials relating to that ſubject.* The ſame year he alſo reprinted in one ſmall volume under this title, two tracts, intitled, *De non temerandis Eccleſiis,* &c. by Sir Henry Spelman, Knt. Tract 2. *The poor vicar's plea for tythes,* &c. by Thomas Ryves, Doctor of the Civil Laws; *with a prefatory account of the authors, and theſe works,* which he begins thus. 'Her Majeſty's late pious munificence to the clergy of the Church of England *, hath made glad the hearts of her beſt ſubjects, the beſt of Chriſtians, and has made them reflect on the alienation of tythes and offerings, as the great ſcanda of Popery, and the great defect in our Reformation. To make up a compleat maintenance for the parochial miniſters, and ſo the better to pro-

(16) De Re Diplomatic. p. 52.

(17) Gervas Tilbur. de Ottis imper. MS. in biblioth. Bodl.

(18) Lect. 2. ſuper Sapient.

(19) Pulton's Statutes, 39 Edw. III. p. 119.

(20) Ingulphi Hiſt. p. 98.

(21) Camdeni Britan. in Dumnon.

* Viz. the grant of firſt-fruits and tenths, for the augmentation of poor livings, the act for which had the royal aſſent April 3, this year.

Hickes; and in this purſuit he made a large dictionary of our oldeſt Engliſh words, derived from the Gothic and other northern dialects, as he had them from that great maſter, who lived at this time with him at Ambroſden [*M*]; where, by his intreaty, he formed the deſign of that learned work upon the northern literature (*n*), which is ſo great an honour to his name [*N*]. About the year 1699, our author took the degree of Doctor of Divinity (*o*), and the following year was preſented to the living of St Botolph Aldgate in London [*O*]. As this was a large and populous pariſh, he immediately reſigned the vicarage of Ambroſden (*p*), though he might have made it legally conſiſtent therewith [*P*]. However, he did not obtain quiet poſſeſſion of his new preferment, without the trouble of a law-ſuit. In the midſt of which, he engaged likewiſe in the diſpute about the conſtitution of Engliſh ſynods [*Q*], whereof he became a member about this time, as Archdeacon of Huntingdon,

(*n*) It was publiſhed in 1705, in two vols, folio, under this title, *Antiquæ Literaturæ Septentrionalis, libri duo, &c.* commonly called Hickes's Theſaurus.

(*o*) His Life, p. 15.

(*p*) He alſo reſigned the rectory of Shotteſbrooke afterwards, though conſiſtent with his other preferments. Here, indeed, his patron Mr Cherry took a different turn from him in politics at the Revolution, when Mr Cherry became a Nonjuror. See the article of HEARNE [THOMAS.]

'vide for the ſervice of God, and the care of ſouls, 'has been the continual ſubject of all good mens wiſhes, propoſals, and attempts.'

The Doctor omitted no opportunity of collecting authorities and inſtances of facts, which, with the due inferences he drew from them, would make a new edition of this work far more uſeful.

[*M*] *Dr Hickes lived at Ambroſden.*] Mr Kennet had commenced an acquaintance with the Doctor long before, on account both of the affinity of their ſtudies, and their agreement in Church principles before the Revolution; and afterwards, notwithſtanding their difference in opinions upon the latter point, yet there remained a mutual reſpect for each other as ſtill united in the former view. The Doctor, upon his deprivation from the deanery of Worceſter, had drawn up a claim of right to it, directed to all the members of that church, and affixed the paper in his own handwriting over the great entrance into the choir, May 2, 1691 (22). This was thought ſuch an inſult upon the government, that the Attorney-General was ordered to enter a proſecution againſt him, whereupon the Doctor preſently abſconded, and kept private for many years. He was in that ſituation when he came to Ambroſden, where he was kindly received by the old partner in his ſtudies. Here he continued for ſome time, wearing a lay-habit to avoid being known, 'till a fellow of a college in Oxford making a viſit there, addreſſed him by his name. Upon that he thought himſelf in ſome danger, and immediately taking leave of Mr Kennet, went firſt to ſome obſcure retreat, and thence in a little time to London (23), where he continued in the ſame privacy 'till May 18, 1699, when Lord Sommers, then Lord Chancellor, procured an act of Council, ordering, a *Noli Proſequi* to be entered to all proceedings againſt him (24).

(22) There is a copy of it in the Life of Mr Kettlewell, appendix, No. IV. under this title, *The Proteſtation of Dr George Hickes, and Claim of Right fixed up in the Cathedral Church of Worceſter.*

(23) Life of Dr Kennet, p. 14.

(24) He procured him this favour out of regard to his great learning, and particularly in the view of encouraging him to proceed in that great work, his *Theſaurus*, which his Lordſhip was very ſenſible would be (as it really proved) an honour to his country.

[*N*] *His work upon the ancient Northern literature was firſt projected at Ambroſden.*] Mr Kennet, to divert the diſcourſe from the diſagreeable ſubject of politicks, having prevailed with this learned gueſt to inſtruct him in the Northern languages, took the opportunity to intreat him to look farther into thoſe ſtudies, to review his Saxon and Iſlandic grammar, and to embelliſh them with notes and obſervations, that might revive and improve the knowledge of our antiquities in the riſe and conveyance of our laws, cuſtoms, tenures, and other national rights. It was upon this frequent diſcourſe and importunity of Mr Kennet, that the Doctor then and there laid the foundation of the learned work mentioned in the text. This is acknowledged in the preface to that work, which being publiſhed in 1705, the learned author has theſe words. Rev. & Doctiſſimus Vir Whiteus Kennet, &c. The Reverend and moſt learned White Kennet, &c. more than ſeven years ago intreated me to undertake this work of the ancient Northern words; which in his opinion deſerving to be more generally underſtood, I immediately ſet about it in his houſe, and having at length finiſhed it, if it ſhall be found to be of any advantage to the learned world, 'tis intirely owing to him, as the encourager and promoter of it. We are likewiſe told, that had the Doctor continued at Ambroſden, where he was well accommodated, and well pleaſed, it had probably prevented his writing or acting upon any other ſubject but that of our national antiquities: For in daily talk he had projected ſeveral ſchemes about illuſtrating the dark hiſtory of the Britons, deſcribing the manners of the Germans, tracing them in the Norman cuſtoms, and more eſpecially enquiring into the religion of the Saxons before it was adulterated by Popery, &c. (25) But this is too fond an opinion to gain entire credit, conſidering the natural warmth of the Doctor's temper, and the ſtrength of his prepoſſeſſions, which are remarked too even by this writer, who gives it for a certain truth, that Dr Kennet at his firſt coming to London, laboured to keep up a friendſhip with Dr Hickes, hoping they might agree in their common ſtudies of our Engliſh and other Northern antiquities. And to this purpoſe he ſent the Doctor ſome preſents of wine, procured him now and then ſome neceſſary books and papers to carry on his great work, and obtained for him ſeveral ſubſcriptions to it, doing all he could to be a little ſerviceable, and altogether inoffenſive to him. But he found that the Doctor was going into notions and meaſures utterly inconſiſtent with their former freedom, and ſo by degrees there grew a coldneſs, a diſtance, and mutual complaints of one another, owing only to their very different principles in church and ſtate affairs, *both being very much in earneſt in what they profeſſed* (26). This was afterwards improved into an open rupture, many inſtances whereof will be ſeen in the ſequel.

(25) Life of Dr Kennet, p. 14.

(26) Ibid. p. 15.

[*O*] *He was preſented to St Botolph, &c.*] This preferment was likewiſe obtained for him, without any ſollicitation of his own, by a member of Edmund-Hall, William Salkeld, Eſq; afterwards Serjeant at law, and one of his Majeſty's Judges for Wales, who, upon the ejectment of Dr Hollingworth, recommended him to the impropriator (27), Samuel Brewſter, Eſq; by whom he was recommended to the pariſhioners, in a letter, as follows.

I think it at all times my duty to promote the intereſt of religion, and the good of your pariſh, and have therefore, upon your late vacancy, endeavoured to make the beſt choice I could of a miniſter to inſtruct you for your ſouls health. I am verily perſuaded, that I have placed one among you, who is both able and willing to diſcharge the duty of his place; and who, I doubt not, will be careful to watch over you, as becomes a faithful paſtor (28).

(27) Ibid. p. 16.

(28) Mr Brewſter's Letter to the Pariſhioners of St Botolph Aldgate, &c. Lond. 1700, 4to.

[*P*] *He reſigned Ambroſden, &c.*] In this his moderation was the more conſpicuous, as he had reaſon to apprehend ſome difficulties in getting quiet poſſeſſion of St Botolph, which happened accordingly: For Dr Hollingworth pretended a title from the crown, and under that pretence laboured for a repoſſeſſion; and when that would not do in any courſe of law, he made a ſurrendry of that feigned title to another, the Lord Keeper Wright's chaplain, who got a ſeal, and maintained a ſuit for it, 'till he happened to be otherwiſe provided for; and yet even then he entailed the quarrel, by conſenting to another grant made to a third perſon, who upon that began a freſh ſuit in the Queen's name, and (what was extraordinary) at the Queen's expence, 'till judgment was given in the Exchequer in affirmance of the impropriator's right to nominate a curate. To this account the writer of our author's life adds, that he had heard the good iſſue of this cauſe was in great meaſure owing to the diligent ſearches and diſcoveries made by Dr Kennet himſelf, and to his ſolliciting and ſuggeſting, and having once the barons leave to argue in it (29).

(29) Life, p. 17, 18.

[*Q*] *He engaged in the diſpute about the rights of the Convocation.*] An hiſtorical narrative of this remarkable controverſy, which began in 1697, as well as of the ſeveral pieces written in it on each ſide, has been already given in the courſe of this work (30), where the reader may ſee an account of two of our author's pamphlets on the occaſion, 1. *Eccleſiaſtical ſynods and parliamentary Convocations hiſtorically ſtated and vindicated from the miſrepreſentations of Mr Atterbury, and an occaſional letter on the ſubject of Engliſh convocations*, both printed in 1701, 8vo. Beſides which, he is ſaid to be the author of a third treatiſe, not mentioned in that account, intitled, *The hiſtory of the Convocation*

of

(30) See the article ATTERBURY [FRANCIS] in remark [*I*].

Huntingdon, to which dignity he was promoted May 16, 1701 *, by Dr Gardiner Biſhop of Lincoln, who had made him his chaplain ſome time before (q). He now grew into great eſteem among thoſe of his party in the Church, and particularly with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Dr Teniſon; by whoſe recommendation he was appointed, in 1701, a member of the ſociety for propagating the Goſpel in foreign parts (r). In the promoting of which, he gave his utmoſt aſſiſtance, and was very ſerviceable with his pen [*R*]. The following year he preached the annual ſermon before the corporation for the relief of poor widows and children of clergymen, and publiſhed his ſermon under this title, *The Glory of Children in their Fathers: a Sermon preached at the Cathedral Church of St Paul London, December* 3, 1702, 4to [*S*]. In 1705, Dr Wake being advanced to the ſee of Lincoln, our Archdeacon was appointed to preach his conſecration ſermon. This he performed and publiſhed under the following title, *The Office and good Work of a Biſhop: a Sermon preached in Lambeth-Chapel, at the Conſecration of the Right Reverend Father in God William Lord Biſhop of Lincoln, on Sunday October* 21, 1705. *Publiſhed at the deſire of the Archbiſhop and Biſhops.* This diſcourſe was much admired by the late Lord Chief-Juſtice Holt, who declared it had more in it to the purpoſe of the legal and chriſtian conſtitution of this Church, than any volume of diſcourſes (s); and he was ordered to preach before the Houſe of Commons on the 30th of January following [*T*]. About the ſame time, ſome Bookſellers having undertaken to print a collection of the beſt writers of the Engliſh hiſtory, as far as to the reign of Charles the Firſt, in two folio volumes (t), prevailed with our author to prepare a third volume, which ſhould carry the hiſtory down to the then preſent reign of Queen Anne. This being finiſhed with a particular preface, was publiſhed with the other two, under the title of, *A Compleat Hiſtory of England*, &c. in 1706 [*U*]. Not long after this,

* Willis's Cathedrals, Vol. III. p. 109.

(q) Life, p. 27.

(r) His name is in the original charter of that corporation in 1701.

(s) Life of Dr Kennet, p. 28.

(t) Theſe two were compiled by Mr Hughes, who wrote alſo the general preface, without any participation of Dr Kennet. In 1719, there was publiſhed the ſecond edition with notes, ſaid to be inſerted by Mr Strype, and ſeveral alterations and additions.

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of the Prelates and Clergy of the province of Canterbury, &c. in anſwer to a narrative of the proceedings of the lower houſe of Convocation, 1702, 4to. (31)

(31) The narrative was written by Dr G. Hooper, Prolocutor of the Lower Houſe.

[*R*] *He was very ſerviceable with his pen*] He drew up a full account of their proceedings to the year 1706, under this title, *An account of the Society for propagating the Goſpel in foreign parts, eſtabliſhed by the royal charter of King William III. with their proceedings and ſucceſs, and hopes of continual progreſs under the happy reign of her moſt excellent Majeſty Queen Anne, Lond.* 1706, 4to. And within four years after, he continued and improved that account by an hiſtorical deduction of what had been further tranſacted by the ſame ſociety, and eſpecially what ſteps and meaſures had been taken by the ſociety *De Propaganda Fide* at Rome, and what more Chriſtian methods by reformed ſtates and princes. This was a work of great labour and pains, and brought to ſome tolerable perfection, but reſerved in the writer's hands, becauſe the circumſtances of the corporation would not bear the expence of printing it.

[*S*] *His ſermon before the corporation of the ſons of the Clergy.*] In this ſermon he propoſed ſome excellent ways and means of benefaction to clergymens ſons, well worthy a review by thoſe who are able to make them effectual. And the better to promote that deſign, he intended to write an hiſtorical account of the corporation, and of the ſeveral benefactions given to it, as well as of the manifold good ſervices done by it. For which purpoſe he had gathered up a great many notices of things and perſons; picked up the ſeveral ſermons before the ſons of the clergy, from the firſt by Mr George Hall (afterward Archdeacon of Canterbury and Biſhop of Cheſter), intitled, The Tribe of Levi in 1658; ſearched the laſt wills of ſeveral donors and benefactors; and would by degrees have connected the materials into ſome order for the preſs, but that he was unkindly uſed by the ſpirit of party (32).

(32) Life, &c. p. 22.

[*T*] *He preached before the Houſe of Commons, Jan.* 30, 1705.] In this diſcourſe, which was printed at the requeſt of the Houſe, the Doctor made it his buſineſs to ſhew, that whatever unhappy grounds and occaſions were given for that unnatural rebellion and civil war, yet nothing could juſtify or excuſe the horrid and execrable murder of King Charles I. of which he demonſtrated the illegality and wickedneſs, by a multitude of proofs both from hiſtory and law in the body of the ſermon, corroborated by a great many other authorities in the margin. That fact was ſet in this light by him on the preſent occaſion, in the view of ſilencing ſome cenſures that had paſſed upon a former ſermon on the day, preached in his own church the the preceding year, wherein he had made the counterpart of that tranſaction his ſubject, and enquiring whence and by what means the evil of the day came, he ſet himſelf to prove, that the leading cauſes of it, improved by wicked arts and deſigns, were chiefly theſe: Firſt, a French intereſt and alliance, and from thence ariſing, ſecondly, the apprehenſions and fears of Popery, which led on, thirdly, the jealouſies of oppreſſion and illegal power, which tended more and more to, fourthly, the growth of profaneneſs and immorality, and even this helped to produce that hypocriſy and perfidiouſneſs which accompliſhed the ſin, and the infinite ſcandal of the day. This doctrine of laying the chief and primary blame upon the King, as the cauſe of his own murder, raiſed a great outcry, at a time when the ſovereign on the throne was known to revere the memory of her grandfather as ſacred, and who copied his example in a moſt ſincere regard and ardent affection to the Church, which was now ſaid to be in danger from the Preſbyterians and ſectaries, encouraged by ſome members of the Church. Hereupon the Doctor thought himſelf obliged to appeal to the world in the printing of his ſermon, as he did, under the title of, *A compaſſionate enquiry into the cauſes of the civil war, &c.* 1704, 4to. prefixing an advertiſement to this effect, 'That the ſermon was not deſigned for the 'preſs, but was challenged to appear there by the miſ-'apprehenſions of ſome few who heard it, and by the 'confident report of a far greater number who did not 'hear it, &c.'

[*U*] *He wrote the 3d volume of a Complete Hiſtory of England.*] Notwithſtanding the Doctor's name did not appear before this work, yet it was ſoon known that he was the author of it, and the ſame party that had ſo freely cenſured his conduct from the time of his engaging in the Convocation controverſy, continued in the ſame temper to make this work a freſh handle of complaint, and declared that the Doctor's deſign in it was to expoſe them and their cauſe. Among thoſe, Dr Hickes was the firſt, who obſerved with ſome warmth, that the author had ſhewn himſelf particularly baſe and diſingenuous in taking no notice of his *Jovian* [which was indeed the caſe], though he expreſly gives an account of Mr S. Johnſon's *Julian*, to which the other was an anſwer (33). The Jacobites were not the only perſons who took offence at the hiſtory, even ſome perſons who had gone into the Revolution with forwardneſs enough, and yet had not found their full account in it, were diſpleaſed that too much or too little notice was taken of the parts they acted about that time. And above all, an eminent peer, very inſtrumental in that revolution, by taking up arms in the north, had made ſuch an improvement of his honours and fortunes by it, that he thought himſelf privileged and protected from any retroſpect upon his conduct in the court and treaſury of King Charles II. and therefore finding in that hiſtory a narrative of what appeared to be male-adminiſtration, though taken from the parliament journals and printed trials, and other public papers, he was much offended, and taking an opportunity upon the death of the Duke of Montagu, to give ſome account of his tranſactions with France from his own papers and letters, complained of the miſrepreſentation of his ſervices made by the late hiſtorian; who really did not ſeem to mean any thing of reflection on his noble perſon and family; but related facts

(33) See an account of both theſe books in Sam. Johnſon's article.

this, he was appointed Chaplain in Ordinary to her Majeſty, at the recommendation of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Lord-Treaſurer Godolphin; and, by the application of Biſhop Burnet, he preached the funeral ſermon on the death of the firſt Duke of Devonſhire, September 5, 1707. This diſcourſe being printed the following year, at the requeſt of his ſon and heir, the ſecond Duke of Devonſhire, our author took that opportunity of addreſſing it in a dedication to his Grace; with which that nobleman was ſo well pleaſed, that he recommended the doctor to the Queen for the deanery of Peterborough (*u*), vacant ſoon after by the death of Dr Freeman, October 14, 1707 (*w*). And notwithſtanding ſome complaints were made of his ſermon, wherein he was charged with having ſacrificed a fundamental point of Religion to his ambitious views [*W*], yet this did not put a ſtop to the favour ſhewn him at Court; for, by the intereſt of the laſt mentioned Archbiſhop, upon the promotion of Dr Blackall to the ſee of Exeter the ſame year, he ſucceeded him in the rectory of St Mary Aldermary in London, at the Queen's preſentation (*x*). By this change the Dean loſt above 100 pounds per annum [*X*]; but he conſulted his eaſe in it as a parochial miniſter, and choſe to be more at leiſure than he had been for other views, which the dignity and revenue of his deanery gave him an opportunity to purſue *. One of theſe was, the ſettling his brother, Mr Baſil Kennet, in the chaplainſhip to the Engliſh factory at Leghorn; an account of which is given in the enſuing article. While the Dean was employed in this ſervice, the famous Dr Henry

Sacheverell

(*u*) Ibid. p. 38.

(*w*) Birch's Life of Archbiſhop Tillotſon, p. 212. edit. 1753. This ſeeming inconſiſtency in the years is owing to the cuſtom of the Bookſellers, in beginning the year at Michaelmas, And here it ſerves to ſhew, that this ſermon was not printed 'till after Michaelmas-day, that month in which it was preached.

(*x*) Life of Dr Kennet, p. 49.

* He was made a truſtee of the charity for building a church in the diſtrict of Ober-Barmen in the duchy of Berg, and to ſupport a miniſter there in 1707; and when finiſhed, drew up a Latin inſcription, placed near the great door of the church, which he tranſmitted with a Latin letter to the miniſter, both printed in the doctor's Life, p. 115, & ſeqq.

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as he found them before related.——However on that occaſion of his Grace's complaint, the Doctor enquired more narrowly into thoſe matters, and ſtated them over again in a moſt authentic manner; but finding that the more full diſcovery would only create the greater offence, he would not ſuffer what he had written to be publiſhed to the world (34). Theſe attacks were made in the Doctor's life-time, and after his death there came out, Examen, or *An enquiry into the credit and veracity of a pretended complete hiſtory; ſhewing the perverſe and wicked deſign of it, and the many falſities and abuſes of truth contained in it. Together with ſome memoirs occaſionally inſerted; all tending to vindicate the honour of King Charles the Second, and his happy reign, from the intended aſperſions of that foul pen*, by the Hon. Roger North, Eſq; Lond. 1740, 4to. containing 692 pages. The author informs us (35), *that upon the firſt appearance of the hiſtory, dipping a little into it, he found divers matters that gave him diſtaſte enough, but minded not much the why, or the wherefore, and ſo let the book paſs from him, 'till it was cried up, and the reverend author named: And then (being no buyer of ſuch mighty works) he borrowed of a friend all the three volumes. He found the two firſt to be a collection of all the common Engliſh chronicles ſince the Conqueſt, with advantage pretended to be given to ſome, concluding with* Wilſon'*s* K. James I. *with* Wellwood'*s notes to help out the libel. Then came on the third volume, a new work, paſſing curſorily over the reigns of* James I. *and* Charles I. *and having got into the depths of King* Charles II. *it appeared plainly, that inſtead of correſponding to the title*—by an impartial hand (36), *and what the preface declared*—with ſtrict regard to truth and juſtice(37), *the book was a continued libel, or rather Cloaca of libels; and thoſe touching the chief turns of ſtate in his Majeſty's reign, miſconſtruing to an evil ſenſe even the beſt acts of his government, full of moſt abominable falſities, ſuppreſſions, flatteries, and malicious inſinuations, in order to magnify the faction aforehinted, and to make all their wicked machinations appear heroic exploits; but the King himſelf, his loyal miniſtry, and happy reign, baſe and odious to poſterity; and all this put in a way no leſs treacherous than impudent and undutiful. In a word, ſo groſsly abuſive of truth and good manners, as not to be endured in a lettered ſtate, and where people have any value or honour for government and laws.* He had obſerved before (38), that this pretended hiſtory contains the ſum and ſubſtance of that party's project [to defame King Charles], uſing their very modes of ſpeech as well as of invention, and condeſcends to chime in with the baſeſt abuſed rabble of the time. Some, continues he, have given out that it is the work of ———; and to ſhew that filthy lucre, as well as malice, conduced, his articles with the bookſellers expreſs, were 100 *l.* to be given, and —— pages to be wrote.

[*W*] *Sacrificed a fundamental point of religion to his ambitious views.*] The point was the danger of a death-bed repentance, which it was alledged the Doctor had encouraged, and taken away all the hazard of it. The charge was grounded upon the following paſſage, (39) where ſpeaking of a late repentance, he ſays, 'That this rarely happens but in men of diſtinguiſhed ſenſe and judgment. Ordinary abilities may be altogether ſunk by a long vicious courſe of life. The duller flame is eaſily extinguiſhed. The meaner ſinful wretches are commonly given up to a reprobate mind, and die as ſtupidly as they lived; while the nobler and brighter parts have an advantage of underſtanding the worth of their ſouls before they reſign it. If they are allowed the benefit of ſickneſs, they commonly awake out of their dream of ſin, and reflect and look upward. They acknowledge an infinite being; they feel their own immortal part; they recollect and reliſh the holy ſcriptures; they call for the elders of the Church; they think what to anſwer at a judgment-ſeat. *Not that God*, continues the Doctor, *is a reſpecter of perſons, but the difference is in men, and the more intelligent nature is the more ſuſceptible of divine grace. It was an effect of Solomon's wiſdom to ſee at laſt his vanity, and to leave his penitence upon record. We have had in our own age and nation, men of illuſtrious honour, and of the moſt celebrated parts, who had been carried away by the courſe of this world into extravagant vices and follies. And yet upon the proſpect of death, theſe men of underſtanding have felt the excellent ſpirit to move in them; they have retracted their looſe opinions, they have repented of their grievous ſins; they have made their peace with God, and have died, nay have ſometimes recovered, and lived like true unfeigned Chriſtian converts* (40); *ſo great are the powers of religion to work moſt upon the largeſt capacities.*' Beſides this, exceptions were taken at ſeveral other paſſages, where the preacher manifeſted the ſame courtly ſpirit. However, the author of his life undertakes to vindicate him againſt them all, and particularly with regard to this now before us, having obſerved that it had been inſinuated by ſome, 'That the preacher had built a bridge to Heaven for men of wit and parts; but that the duller ſort of mankind muſt not hope to paſs that way, declares (41), that he had ſaid nothing at all to that effect, but in this ſound truth, that the more underſtanding a man has, the ſooner he may come to a ſenſe of God and religion. He ſays nothing but what common experience and obſervation juſtifies, that the ignorant and unnurtured multitude are not, in the nature of the thing, ſo likely to be wrought upon by the powers of religion, as wiſe and underſtanding men, thoſe of a higher and better education.'

[*X*] *By this change he loſt above* 100 *l. a year.*] Notwithſtanding this diſadvantage in point of profit, he was a benefactor to the living of St Mary Aldermary: For finding he could not obtain the conſent of the pariſhioners to build a parſonage-houſe, though there was none, and he offered 200 *l.* towards it himſelf; he reſolved not to renew the ſeveral leaſes of ground rents for the rector's glebe; for which renewals he might afterwards have received ſeveral fines and ſums of money, but to let them run out, that the full houſe rents might fall in to him and his ſucceſſors, and ſo there might be room for ſome future rector to contrive a convenient manſe *.

[*Y*] *A*

(34) Life of Dr Kennet, p. 34, 35.

(35) In the preface, p. ii.

(36) Theſe words were inſerted by the Bookſellers. Life of Kennet, p. 33.

(37) In p. 3.

(38) Viz. in p. 1. where it is called a malevolent faction, that, during King Charles II's life, continually plotted to deſtroy him, and ſince his death as buſily plotted to defame him.

(39) In p. 34, & ſeq.

(40) Lee Earl of Marlborough and Sir Duncomb Colcheſter are inſtances of this. See an account of them in the article of Wilmot Earl of Rocheſter.

(41) Ibid. p. 50.

* P. 40, 41.

Sacheverell preached his remarkable ſermon before the Lord-Mayor of London, on the 5th of November 1709. Upon this occaſion the Dean addreſſed a *Letter to an Alderman of the City*, which was printed under the title of *A True Anſwer to Dr Sacheverell's Sermon*, &c. [*Y*]. And the ſame year he publiſhed, *A Vindication of the Church and Clergy of England, from ſome late Reproaches rudely and unjuſtly caſt upon them. Lond.* 1709, 8vo (*y*). He preached the Latin ſermon at the opening of the Convocation in 1710, which was printed immediately; and ſoon afterwards he publiſhed an Engliſh tranſlation of it, to which he ſubjoined a poſtſcript, vindicating himſelf from ſome reproaches caſt upon him [*Z*]. He likewiſe refuſed to join in the London Clergy's addreſs to the Queen, upon the change of the Miniſtry the ſame year [*A A*]. In 1712 he was, by the appointment of Archbiſhop Teniſon, called upon again to preach the anniverſary ſermon before the ſociety for propagation of the Goſpel in foreign parts, which upon deſire he publiſhed, and added at the bottom of each page the full authorities, as references to matters of fact; and further drew up with his own hand, *An Abſtract of the Proceedings of the Society within the year laſt paſt* [*BB*]. In a few days after preaching this ſermon, there was publiſhed a letter about the proceedings in Convocation, on complaint of a ſermon publiſhed by Dr Brett, intituled, *A Sermon of Remiſſion of Sins, according to the Scriptures, and the Doctrine of the Church of England*, &c. This ſermon had many expreſſions in it, tending to advance the neceſſity of Private Confeſſion and Sacerdotal Abſolution. However, the complaint was dropped in the Houſe *, and the preacher, as well as his diſcourſe, being rather juſtified and commended, our author publiſhed *A Letter to the Reverend Thomas Brett, L. L. D. Rector of Betteſhanger in Kent, about a Motion in Convocation.* Lond. 1712. And in the ſame view he alſo publiſhed *A Memorial for Proteſtants on the fifth of November, containing a more full Diſcovery of ſome Particulars relating to the happy Deliverance of King James I. &c. from the moſt traiterous and bloody intended maſſacre by gunpowder, anno* 1605. *In a Letter to a Peer of Great-Britain, dated October* 25, 1712 (*z*). In the like ſpirit he printed the following year, a ſermon of Archbiſhop Whitgift, preached before Queen Elizabeth at Greenwich, with a preface

[*Y*] *A true anſwer to Dr Sacheverell's ſermon.*] The letter begins thus,

'Hon. Sir,

'You aſked me laſt night what I thought the beſt 'way of anſwering Dr Sacheverell's ſermon on Nov. 5, 'I told you one way was to let it drop into ſilence and 'contempt, for that there was not one argument to anſwer, but a jumble of words and periods that made 'the crackling of thorns, noiſe, and flame, and therefore it was better to pity the man and deſpiſe the 'ſtuff. It could do no harm, but rather great ſervice, 'to make his own party-friends aſhamed of him, and 'to convince the world, that *madneſs* is as bad as *moderation*. But, ſaid you, there be ſome anſwers in 'print, and will be more: Pray, what is the beſt 'courſe that a new anſwerer can take with him? 'Why, Sir, ſaid I, let him anſwer himſelf; that is, 'to produce his own words, and to let him ſtand 'or fall by them, without calling him any names, or 'raking into his life and converſation. You preſſed 'me, Sir, to give a ſpecimen of it. Here it is cool 'and calm under theſe heads; propriety, pertinence, 'good ſenſe, veracity, ſeriouſneſs, charity, and allegiance;' *which being completed, he concludes in theſe terms,* 'I muſt ſay thus much, that ſince the 'foundation of the city of London, and the converſion of this iſland, there has not been in any age, in 'any cathedral or parochial church, ſuch a ſermon, 'ſo inſolent, uncharitable, untrue, as this, delivered, '(though long before compoſed) before the Right Hon. 'the Lord Mayor and citizens of London, at the cathedral church of St Paul, on the 5th of November, '1709, by H. S. D D.'

[Z] *A poſtſcript vindicating himſelf againſt ſome reproaches caſt upon him.*] One of theſe aſperſions was founded upon a tranſlation of Pliny's panegyric, publiſhed by our author in 1686, under the title of *An addreſs of thanks to a good prince, preſented in the panegyric of Pliny upon Trajan the beſt of Roman emperors.* Before which he had put a large preface, and the life of Pliny, as Sir Rob. Stapylton had done to his tranſlation of the ſaid panegyric, printed at Oxford in 1644. Several ſcandalous reflections having been made on the dean, ſince his change of principles, for this performance, he took occaſion in this poſtſcript to give the following account of it. 'He (that is the remarker) 'ſays, the Doctor dedicated *Pliny's panegyric* to the 'late King James; and what if he had, only it happens he had not. This is an idle tale among the 'party, who perhaps have told it 'till they believe it; 'when the truth is, there was no ſuch dedication, and 'the tranſlation itſelf of Pliny was not deſigned for 'any court addreſs. The young tranſlator's tutor, Mr 'Allam, directed his pupil by way of exerciſe, to turn 'ſome Latin tracts into Engliſh: The firſt was a little 'book of Eraſmus, intitled *Moriæ Encomium*, which 'the tutor was pleaſed to give to a bookſeller in Oxford, who put it to the preſs, while the tranſlator was 'but an under-graduate. Another ſort of taſk required 'by the tutor, was this Panegyric of Pliny upon Trajan, which he likewiſe gave to a bookſeller in Oxford, before the tranſlator was Maſter of Arts, deſigning to have it publiſhed in the reign of King 'Charles II. and a ſmall cut of that prince at full 'length was prepared, and afterwards put before ſeveral of the books; though the impreſſion happened 'to be retarded 'till the death of King Charles; and 'then the ſame tutor (not long before his own death) 'adviſed a new preface, adapted to the then received 'opinion of King James, being a juſt and good prince. 'However, there was no dedication to King James, 'but to a private patron, a very worthy baronet (42), 'who came in heartily to the beginning of the late 'happy revolution. This is the whole truth of that 'ſtory, that hath been ſo often caſt at the Doctor, 'not that he thinks himſelf obliged to defend every 'thought and expreſſion of his juvenile ſtudies, when 'he had poſſibly been trained up to ſome notions, 'which he afterwards found reaſon to put away as 'childiſh things.'

[*A A*] *He refuſed to join in the addreſs to the Queen, &c.*] Advice was ſent of this by Mr Dyer, who in his [news] letter of Aug. 24, 1710, writes thus. 'The addreſs of the biſhop and clergy of London was inſerted in this day's Gazette, by order of the Queen, as 'a diſtinguiſhing favour to them. The clergymen who 'refuſed to ſign it, were Dr Barton, and Mr Baker; 'and thoſe who did not anſwer to the Biſhop's ſummons, were Dr Kennet, Dr Bradford, Dr Hancock, 'and Mr Hoadley; and therefore as they have no 'ſhare in the Queen's thanks, ſo I hope they will have 'as little ſhare in her favours.'

[*B B*] *He publiſhed his ſermon before the ſociety for propagating the Goſpel in foreign parts.*] The title of it is, *The letts and impediments in planting the goſpel of Chriſt, &c.* Theſe anniverſary ſermons are diſtributed in order to excite the charity of pious perſons to promote that glorious deſign, and upon the Dean's preſenting this ſermon to a rich and religious widow, ſhe reſolved to leave a legacy of 50 *l.* to the corporation, and upon her deceaſe it was paid by her executor into his hands, and by him delivered to the board at a public meeting (43).

(*y*) This was wrote in anſwer to An Appeal of the Clergy of the Church of England, to my Lords the Biſhops; humbly beſeeching them to beſeech her Majeſty to relieve their grievances, &c. by a Curate near the city, then a noiſy High-Church man, and afterwards a Nonjuror.

* Dr Cannon made two motions to have it cenſured; and Dr Brett afterwards owned he had gone too far in it. Hiſt. of Corpus-Chriſti-College, Cambridge, by Rob. Maſters, B. D. &c. Camb. 1753, 4to. in the appendix, p. 88.

(*z*) As a ſequel of this, he afterwards printed a ſermon before the Lord-Mayor, Nov. 5, 1715, containing ſeveral hiſtorical obſervations applied to the then preſent ſeaſon.

(42) Sir William Glynne, who had juſt before preſented him to his firſt living of Ambroſden.

(43) Life, &c. p. 128, 129.

preface of his own [*CC*]. This zealous conduct raiſed ſo great an odium upon him among the oppoſite party, that a very uncommon method was taken to expoſe him by Dr Welton, Rector of Whitechapel (*aa*). In an altar-piece of that church, the ſubject whereof was a repreſentation of Chriſt and the twelve Apoſtles eating the Paſſover and Laſt Supper, Judas the traitor was drawn ſitting in an elbow chair, dreſſed in a black garment, between a gown and a cloak, with a black ſcarf and a white band, a ſhort wig, and a mark in his forehead between a lock and a patch, and with ſo much of the countenance of Dr Kennet, that under it in effect, was written, *The Dean the Traytor* [*DD*]. Such an outrageous piece of inſolence ſerved to animate rather than deter him (*bb*); and the ſame year, upon the appearance in print of Mr Bedford's *Hereditary Right*, &c. the Dean publiſhed an anſwer to it, under the title of *A Letter to the Lord Biſhop of Carliſle, concerning one of his Predeceſſors, Biſhop* Merks, *on occaſion of a new volume for the Pretender, intitled, The Hereditary Right of the Crown of* England *aſſerted.* Printed in 1713 [*EE*]. In the mean

(*aa*) He was afterwards a Nonjuror, and deprived of this rectory on that account in 1716. Salmon's Chron. Hiſtorian, p. 365. edit. 1723.

(*bb*) This ſpirit was made a topic of ridicule by his adverſaries and competitors, and in that ſenſe the Biſhop of Carliſle gives him the character of a *man of Chriſtian courage and integrity*. See Remarks, &c. printed in 1717 by that Biſhop.

[*CC*] *With a preface of his own.*] As this preface contains an account of all the points in diſpute between the Dean and his antagoniſt, with regard to the Church. We ſhall give an abſtract of it as follows. He begins with the reaſons that induced him to reprint this ſermon, which he obſerves might be ſerviceable at that time upon ſeveral accounts. 1. 'That it would bear ſome teſtimony of reſpect and honour to the good way of preaching in the age of Queen Elizabeth; ſober, ſerious goſpel truth, in a juſt and eaſy ſtile, which degenerated by the introduction of ſchool terms, and ſcraps of the poets under King James, and ran too far into the reign of King Charles I. whereby the pulpit became rather a place of diverſion than inſtruction and ſalvation. That at the Reſtoration the preacher ran into another extreme, *that* of words and periods, ſtrong and ſtiff, a falſe oratory, 'till Dr Tillotſon, and ſome other judicious divines, dared to reſtore good ſenſe and plain learning, which now, ſays he, generally obtain. 2. It will do another honour to that age, by ſhewing the probity and courage of our Engliſh divines, in preaching at court againſt the flattering of great men, as well as the inconſtancy of the common people, as likewiſe againſt their curioſity and love of ſtrange doctrines; *ſuch as the invalidity of lay-baptiſm; a doctrine of the moſt narrow and uncharitable ſpirit, invented by ſchiſmaticks, and urged by the leader of them Mr Cartwright, but confuted by Archbiſhop Whitgiſt, in his admonition, &c. and condemned in this ſermon.* 3. It will give a further proof of the integrity of preachers in that reign, that they preached freely and earneſtly againſt the errors and corruptions of Popery. But they found, it ſeems, ſome of the common people growing ſick and weary of that neceſſary ſubject, and rather intent upon newfangled doctrines and devices of upſtart men. That however no Proteſtant preachers had been then ſo fond of ſtrange notions, as to preach up the *neceſſity of private confeſſion to a prieſt, or the inefficacy of faith and repentance to a ſinner, without ſacerdotal abſolution; or a real propitiatory ſacrifice in an oblation of the elements of bread and wine; or a middle ſtate of ſouls after death in neither heaven nor hell; or an independency of the Church upon a Chriſtian ſtate, even where the civil magiſtrate is by law ſupreme head and governor; or the unchurching of all other reformed Churches; and the unchriſtening of all foreign Proteſtants; to ſay nothing of our brethren and fathers at home, or any ſuch unſcriptural fancies bordering on the Church of Rome, and to be ſupported by nothing but an infallible chair.*'

[*DD*] *The Dean the traitor*] It was generally ſaid, that the original ſketch was deſigned for a Biſhop [Biſhop Burnet] under Dr Welton's diſpleaſure, which occaſioned the elbow-chair. But the fears of a *Scandalum Magnatum* riſing before the Painter's eyes, leave was given to drop the Biſhop and make the Dean, which he did as well as he could; multitudes of people came daily to the church to admire the meaning of the ſight, but it was eſteemed ſo inſolent a contempt of all that is ſacred, that upon the complaint of others (for the Dean himſelf never ſaw it, or ſeemed to regard it) the Biſhop of London obliged thoſe that ſet the picture up to take it down (44).

[*EE*] *A letter concerning Biſhop Merks, &c.*] When the hereditary right, &c came out, the Dean made it his buſineſs to examine the ſtrength of the arguments, and the truth of the authorities in it, and was prepared to ſhew the unreaſonableneſs and inſincerity of that new ſcheme, and the very wrong turns of hiſtory and law, that are drawn in to ſupport it. But finding the whole examination would run into too great a length for the patience of common readers, who moſt wanted to be undeceived, he reſolved to take a ſingle inſtance only, by way of ſpecimen, that from thence might be inferred what credit was to be given to the reſt of that bulky work. This inſtance was in the caſe of Thomas Merks, Biſhop of Carliſle, whom this author had applauded as a man of conſcience and integrity, becauſe he adhered to King Richard II. after his reſignation and depoſition, and took up arms (after a ſpeech in parliament) againſt King Henry IV. in legal poſſeſſion of the Crown; for which he was tried, condemned, and pardoned. The Dean well knew that this applauded Biſhop was one of the worſt tools in the miniſtry of Richard II and helped to bring that prince to his miſerable end; and was attached to him not upon any principle of honour, but for his own intereſt and preſervation, and that he was by no means the deliverer of that ſpeech in parliament long ſince invented for him, and that his flying into arms in aſſiſtance of a French invaſion, was, in the moſt apparent manner, a baſe treaſon and rebellion, for which he was legally tried, convicted, and adjudged to die: But after an effectual deprivation by the civil power, and a mock tranſlation by the Pope, he made his ſubmiſſion, and obtained his pardon, and accordingly after that revolution lived in a peaceable allegiance to King Henry IV. who was perfectly reconciled to him as to a faithful ſubject, and was not only his friend but his royal patron, beſtowing a good benefice on him, though for the honour of the Church and nation, he would never truſt him in an Engliſh biſhopric, and he never pretended to act as a biſhop of his ſee. This character of the man, and hiſtory of his life and actions, was the very reverſe of what the author of hereditary right had given, and to ſhew that to the world, was the ſubject of the Dean's letter, who reſted the matter 'till the death of Dr Hickes (45) in 1715. Soon after which, there came out a collection of papers written by him, wherein it appeared, that he had been conſecrated to the title of Suffragan of Thetford, by ſome few of the deprived biſhops, and after their deceaſe, had made himſelf the principal of orthodox unity, and Jacobite loyalty; condemning the eſtabliſhed Church of England as ſchiſmatical, and the civil government as tyranny and uſurpation, the bench of biſhops and their whole clergy as of invalid orders; their miniſtration of the ſacraments as null and void; and their very prayers a ſin. About the ſame time, the beginning of the rebellion, there was found a printed tract of ſchiſm (46), charged on the Church of England, and the whole body of the clergy, by Mr Lawrence Howell, one of the ſame Jacobite ſeparation. And in a ſearch made for the perſon and papers of the ſaid Mr Howell, among other notable diſcoveries, there was one ſheet ſuperſcribed, A letter to Dr Kennet, that ſeemed to be an inſulting dedication, or preface of a book, called, *An anſwer to the brief Hiſtory of the Crown of England, written at the time when the bill of excluſion was attempted againſt the Queen's father, then Duke of York.* The ſaid letter prefixed, complained grievouſly that Dr Kennet had *given a vile character of Biſhop Merks, and yet, againſt his will, had made him ſtrictly faithful to his rightful ſovereign, &c.* Whereupon the Dean drew up and publiſhed, *A ſecond letter to the Lord Biſhop of Carliſle upon the ſubject of Biſhop Merks, &c.* dated Octob. 22, 1716. Neither did he think this ſufficient. The controverſy of the new ſchiſm made a much greater noiſe, he obſerved, upon the late tumults and rebellion,

(44) General Hiſtory of England, by N. Tindal, under the year 1713.

(45) He died December 15 that year. See the inſcription upon his tomb-ſtone in St Margaret's church-yard, Weſtminſter. He was conſecrated Suffragan Biſhop Feb. 24, 1693, after his return from France, with a nomination from King James, to whom he undertook a voyage for the purpoſe.

(46) The title was *The Caſe of Schiſm truly ſtated.* For which he was tried and convicted at the Old Bailey, Feb. 28, 1716, and ſentenced to be twice whipped, to pay a fine of 500 l. and to be impriſoned for three years, and to find ſureties for his good behaviour for life; and after ſentence his gown was ſtripped off by the hangman by order of the Court. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under the year 1716.

mean time, he employed his leiſure hours in improving the good ends of the ſociety for propagating the Goſpel, &c. To that purpoſe, having made a large collection of ſuitable books, charts, maps, papers, &c. at his own expence, in the deſign of writing *A full Hiſtory of the Propagation of Chriſtianity in the Engliſh American Colonies*, he made a free preſent thereof to the corporation, and publiſhed a catalogue of all the diſtinct treatiſes and papers, in order of time as they were firſt printed or written, under this title, *Bibliothecæ Americanæ Primordia: An Attempt towards laying the Foundation of an American Library, in ſeveral Books, Papers, and Writings, humbly given to the Society for propagating the Goſpel in Foreign Parts, for the perpetual Uſe and Benefit of their Members, their Miſſionaries, Friends, Correſpondents, and others, concerned in the good deſign of planting and promoting Chriſtianity within her Majeſty's Colonies and Plantations in the Weſt Indies*, 4to. Lond. 1713 [*FF*]. About this time he likewiſe founded *an antiquarian and hiſtorical library* at Peterborough [*GG*], and enriched the common library of that church with ſome very uſeful books, and improved their ſtock of monuments and records with an abſtract of the collections made by Dr John Coſins, one of his predeceſſors (*cc*). After the acceſſion of King George I. to the throne, as ſoon as the Dean ſaw the rebellion opening in the North, and the diſpoſition of many to countenance and cover it, he preached boldly in rebuking that ſpirit, and publiſhed, at the requeſt of ſome of his pariſhioners, *The Witchcraft of the*

preſent

(*cc*) Life of Dr Kennet, p. 151.

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tion, than it had ever done ſince the filling of the deprived ſees by King William, and the Jacobite conventicles were more frequented in London and Weſtminſter, and prieſts of that way were ſent down to gather the like congregations in country towns; and many of the high church, eſpecially the women, would not join in any part of the prayers for King George and his royal family, but at the mention of theſe names would riſe up, or ſit down, or at leaſt expreſs their diſſent in ſome viſible manner. Several of the Church clergy alſo, tho' offended with Dr Hickes for urging a ſeparation, yet gave in very much to the principles upon which that practice was founded, viz the independency of the Church upon the State, the more than ſpiritual powers of the Church; the legiſlature of the Biſhops and clergy; the Church above and before the King; and ſuch like notions of aſſuming authority and juriſdiction by divine right, unaccountable to the prince and people. At this critical juncture, the Dean thought it neceſſary to write a third letter to the Lord Biſhop of Carliſle upon the ſubject of Biſhop Merks, wherein the nomination, election, inveſtiture, and deprivation of Engliſh prelates, are ſhewn to be orginally conſtituted and governed by the ſovereign power of kings and their parliaments, againſt the pretenſions of our new fanaticks, who have withdrawn themſelves from the eſtabliſhed Church into a ſeparate communion, under the name of ſome deprived biſhops, and their ſuppoſed ſucceſſors, dated Jan 25, 1716. In this letter he reſumes the ſubject of the ſpeech ſaid to be ſpoken by this biſhop in parliament, and obſerves, that the firſt notice given of it to the world came from Mr Edward Hall, who died about 150 years after the ſpeaking, and yet pretends no manuſcript copy; that it was immediately caught up by Mr Grafton, who cites Mr Hall for it. That Stowe, in his Annals, publiſhed by himſelf, takes no notice of any ſpeech or oppoſition of this biſhop in this parliament, nor has Mr Edmund Howes inſerted it, but Mr Hollinſhead and his friends, who were to be general collectors, took hold of it, but refer to Mr Hall, and let it reſt again ſingly upon his teſtimony. But ſoon after comes a bolder man, Sir John Hayward, L.L.D. to give an eſſay upon Henry IV. and he not only ſuppoſes a ſpeech to have been really delivered, but gives a new and larger copy of it, i e. He made a new ſpeech, and dreſſed it up in argument and language as unlike to Biſhop Merks, as his own military ſword was to that prelate's mitre; and yet he introduces it with great ceremony. *The inheritance of the kingdom*, ſays he, *being in this ſort ſettled in King Henry and his line, it was moved in the parliament, what ſhould be done with King Richard. The Biſhop of Caerliel, who was a man learned and wiſe, and one that always uſed both liberty and conſtancy in a good cauſe, in his ſecret judgment did never give allowance to theſe proceedings, yet diſſembled his diſlike, until he might to ſome purpoſe declare it. Therefore now being in a place to be heard of all, and by order of the Houſe to be interrupted by none, he roſe up, and with a bold preſence uttered his mind as followeth, &c.* All which, ſays Dr Kennet, is an imaginary entrance into an enchanted caſtle, or a meer fiction, pleaſant enough to any who love to be deceived. The author, like other diverting writers, would not bind himſelf to relate what another ſaid, but would make an exerciſe upon what might be now ſaid upon that ſubject. This ſpeech for Biſhop Merks was not his firſt eſſay of that kind in this life and reign of Henry IV. He made a fine ſpeech for Archbiſhop Arundel to Duke Henry in France, which he calls a ſolemn oration; and a pretty ſpeech of the Duke in anſwer to it, with reply and rejoinder very agreeable. He makes a moſt bemoaning ſpeech for King Richard, when *his bitterneſs did in this manner break from him*; and another farewel ſpeech in the Tower, when he delivered up his crown and ſcepter. In ſhort, he is a profeſt ſpeech-maker through all his little hiſtory.——The true occaſion of his making that elaborate ſpeech for Biſhop Merks ſeems to have been this: He was employed by the Earl of Eſſex to anſwer the book of titles, called Doleman, written by Father Parſons, and cautiouſly to recommend the hereditary right of the King of Scots; and upon that view he took a ſtep out of the way, and put his own thoughts into the form of a ſpeech for Biſhop Merks, in defence of hereditary right; for which he ſuffered in the jealous times of Queen Elizabeth, and was honourably rewarded by King James I. who knighted him, and made him hiſtoriographer of Chelſea college (47).

[*FF*] *Bibliothecæ Americanæ Primordia, &c.*] This conſiſts of books, charts, and maps, together with a collection of voyages and travels, and other notices of thoſe parts. In the preface he gives an account of the ſeveral uſes of it, one of which he intimates in the concluſion to be, that 'Any perſon in running it over 'would pleaſe to remember, that if they have any 'books or papers of the kind, not therein mentioned, 'or better editions of thoſe books and papers that are 'inſerted, and tranſmit them to the Society to enrich 'and enlarge the common ſtock.'

[*GG*] *An hiſtorical library at Peterborough.*] To this purpoſe he had been long gathering up pieces, from the very beginning of printing in England, to the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign. This collection, amounting to about 1500 volumes and ſmall tracts, was placed in a private room at Peterborough, in the view of being daily ſupplied and augmented, under the care of the Rev. Mr Joſeph Sparke, a member of that church, of very good literature, and very able to aſſiſt in the deſign; and there is a large written catalogue of them thus inſcribed, *Index librorum aliquot vetuſtorum quos in commune bonum congeſſit W. K. Decan. Petriburgh, MDCCXII.* In it there are moſt of the printed legends of ſaints; the oldeſt rituals and liturgies; the firſt printed ſtatutes and laws; the moſt antient homilies and ſermons; the firſt editions of the Engliſh ſchoolmen, poſtillers, expounders, &c. with a great many fragments of our ancient language, uſage, cuſtoms, rites, tenures, and ſuch other things as tend to illuſtrate the hiſtory of Great Britain and Ireland, and the ſucceſſive ſtate of religion and learning, in them. In a letter to a friend, dated at Peterborough July 27, 1717, the Dean writes thus: *I have improved the collection I have been long making for an hiſtorical antiquarian library, conſiſting of the oldeſt books relating to Engliſh writers and affairs: I have conſiderably encreaſed my catalogue of the lives of eminent men.*

[*HH*] *A*

(47) Third Letter to the Lord Biſhop of Carliſle, p. 49. N. F. Some Remarks, &c. upon theſe two laſt letters, were publiſhed by Mr Jer. Collier. See his article.

preſent Rebellion: A Sermon preached in the Pariſh-Church of St Mary Aldermary, in the City of London, *on Sunday the 25th of September*, 1715. *The Time of a publick Ordination. Publiſhed upon Requeſt of the Hearers.* Lond. 1715 [*HH*]. The ſame year, upon the motion of his great friend and patron Archbiſhop Teniſon, he printed a tract, intitled, *The Wiſdom of looking Backwards, to judge the better of one Side and the other, by the Speeches, Writings, Actions, and other Matters of Fact, on both ſides, for the four laſt years paſt.* Lond. 1715, 8vo. In the two following years, he was very zealous for the repeal of the acts againſt Occaſional Conformity and the growth of Schiſm [*II*]; he alſo warmly oppoſed the proceedings in the Convocation againſt Dr Hoadley, then Biſhop of Bangor, and was deeply engaged on the ſide of that prelate, in what is uſually called the Bangorian controverſy [*KK*]. His reputation was particularly concerned in this laſt affair, and ſeemed to be hurt thereby ſo eſſentially, as to prove an effectal bar to his farther advancement in the Church. But, by the aſſiſtance of Dr Charles Trimnel Biſhop of Norwich (*dd*), and afterwards of Wincheſter, he was promoted, upon the death of Dr Cumberland, to the ſee of Peterborough, and was conſecrated Biſhop at Lambeth-chapel, on Sunday November 9, 1718. He continued to employ the preſs in printing ſeveral pieces after this laſt promotion [*LL*], which he lived to enjoy ſomething above ten years, and died

[*HH*] *A ſermon, intitled, The witchcraft of the preſent rebellion*] This ſermon, which was preached in the height of the rebellion, expoſed him to the wit and malice of ſeveral. Two or three private letter-writers told him, that it was preaching *treaſon againſt the lawful king*, and the time was coming when he ſhould certainly anſwer for it; and even ſome friends of leſs ſpirit intimated, that it was not ſo wiſe and cautious—No exaſperating an enemy when he had a ſword in his hand, and the like. But he was uſed to ſay, that he was prepared to live and die in the cauſe againſt Popery and the Pretender, and he would go out to fight, when he could no longer ſtay to preach againſt them (49). After the rebellion was ſuppreſſed, he preached and publiſhed, *A thankſgiving ſermon for the bleſſing of God, in ſuppreſſing the late unnatural rebellion, delivered in the pariſh church of St Mary Aldermary, &c. on Thurſday June* 7, 1716.

[*II*] *He was very zealous for the repeal of the act againſt occaſional conformity, &c*] In a letter dated April 13, 1717, he has theſe words. '*The bill for relieving the diſſenters in matters of civil right and property, conſiſtent with the ſecurity of the eſtabliſhed Church, ſeems to be due to them as Engliſh Proteſtants, and faithful Proteſtants.——However, it muſt be oppoſed in the name of the Church. Had the miniſtry been more early fixed, and ſteady meaſures taken, it had met with leſs oppoſition.* I wiſh the Biſhops had declared nothing, 'till they had ſeen the Bill, and kept it more in their power of reconciling it to the peace and true intereſt of religion, as by law eſtabliſhed in the Church of England. I doubt, if it go on, ſome who were againſt it will find an odd expedient for it, and rather than be thought to juſtify occaſional communion, will offer more than the firſt demand, even to abrogate the Teſt-Act, when all had been content with reſtoring *Toleration* to the ſtate of the *Revolution* (50). By this extract it appears, that the Dean had incurred the jealouſy and diſpleaſure of ſome of his old friends, in not running into the meaſures taken by them upon the buſineſs of the repeal of the two bills above-mentioned, which was upon the anvil at this time. One of theſe old friends was the Biſhop of Carliſle, then Almoner to the King, as will be ſeen in the following remark.

[*KK*] *He was deeply engaged in the Bangorian controverſy.*] His ſhare in this famous diſpute was not immediately upon the doctrine about the powers of the Church, advanced by Dr Hoadley, but only upon an incident which fell out in the courſe of it. The Biſhop's ſermon having been attacked by Dr Andrew Snape, his lordſhip wrote an anſwer; in which, upon occaſion of a report ſpread by ſome perſons about the town, that he was put upon preaching that ſermon at court to ſerve ſome political ends, he uſes theſe words, *God knows I preached what I found there* [in the New Teſtament], *without the knowledge of any man living* (51). This poſitive and ſolemn declaration was flatly inconſiſtent with a ſtory which had been told to Dr Snape, namely, that the ſermon was preached with the knowledge, and ſubmitted to the correction of a certain perſon, who adviſed the making alterations in it. Whereupon, in the concluſion of his ſecond letter to the Biſhop, having taken notice of his entertaining Pillionere, a Jeſuit, in his houſe, he addreſſes himſelf to his Lordſhip thus, 'I muſt needs ſay your evaſive equivocal way of writing, ſavours very ſtrongly of ſuch communication [as that of a Jeſuit], and whether the ſame perſon may not have helped you to a mental reſervation to juſtify a ſolemn appeal to God, that what you preached was *without the knowledge of any man living*, when a living man has teſtified, that it was preached with his knowledge, and ſubmitted to his correction, your Lordſhip beſt knows.' This was no ſooner publiſhed, then the Biſhop called upon Dr Snape for the proof of what he had aſſerted, who preſently declared, that he had received that account from Dr Hutchinſon, who had heard the Biſhop of Carliſle ſay, that he had ſpoken with the perſon that adviſed the Biſhop of Bangor to inſert ſuch words as *abſolutely, properly, &c.* And that ſome days after the ſame divine again aſſured him, that he had heard the ſame prelate a ſecond time declare that matter to be true, and that he would juſtify it to all the world. Upon this Dr Snape drew up that paſſage, waited upon the Biſhop of Carliſle, read it to him, and was allowed by him to publiſh it, with an aſſurance that he would ſtand to it. This was the ſubſtance of Dr Snape's advertiſement (52), to which the Biſhop of Carliſle ſet his hand in theſe words, *this is true.* And being called upon to name the man, he fixed upon Dr Kennet, who he declared, according to the beſt of his remembrance, was the perſon that told him, the ſermon was preached with his knowledge, and ſubmitted to his correction, and that he adviſed, and with difficulty prevailed, for the inſerting the words above-mentioned. A great number of papers and letters paſſed on the occaſion between the Biſhop of Carliſle and the Dean; in all which the charge was affirmed on one ſide, and denied on the other, with equal warmth; ſo that the matter reſted upon the comparative characters of the diſputants, and the Dean had the hardeſt part to manage, that of proving a negative. This, and the great eſteem in which the Biſhop was held, even among ſeveral of the Dean's beſt friends then in favour at court, where the Biſhop was almoner, would probably have ſunk the Dean*, had not there been luckily a change of hands, upon which the Biſhop was removed from the almoner's place (53), which was given to Dr Willis, then lately made Biſhop of Glouceſter; the Occaſional Conformity and Schiſm acts were repealed in the manner chalked out by the Dean, in the letter mentioned in the foregoing remark, and he was lucky enough to have it in his power to lend a helping vote to the paſſing of it in the Houſe of Lords, where he was then a member, being Biſhop of Peterborough (54).

[*LL*] *He printed ſeveral pieces after he was made Biſhop.*] Theſe are, 1. *Charity and Reſtitution; a ſpital ſermon, preached at St Bridget's before the Lord Mayor, on Eaſter Monday March* 30, 1719, *with an application to the vain attempts of a Spaniſh invaſion in* 1588. 2. *A ſermon preached before the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Weſtminſter-Abbey, Jan.* 30, 1719. 3. *Monitions and advices delivered to the clergy of the dioceſe of Peterborough, at the primary viſitation held in the months of July and Auguſt* 1720; *in two parts; publiſhed at the requeſt of the clergy for their uſe and ſervice*, 4to. 4. *An introduction to the new edition of a book, intitled, A diſcourſe concerning the laws eccleſiaſtical*

(*dd*) Ibid, p. 283.

(49) Life, &c. p. 152.

(50) Ibid. p. 182, 183.

(51) Anſwer to the Rev. Dr Snape's Letter to the Biſhop of Bangor, p. 43. 3d edit.

(52) The following year, our author publiſhed a piece, intituled, *Dr Snape inſtructed in ſome Matters, eſpecially relating to Convocations and Converts from Popery.* Lond. 1718.

* He was ſo greatly affected with it, that he preſerved a place for it in his laſt Will, where he ſolemnly declared, that he neither ſaid nor thought any ſuch thing.

(53) Viz. on the 18th of March, 1717. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. p. 378. firſt edit. 1723.

(54) He was conſecrated Biſhop in November, and the act paſſed after Chriſtmas, and had the royal aſſent Feb. 18, 1718. It was intitled, *An Act for ſtrengthening the Proteſtant Intereſt in theſe Kingdoms.* Ibid. p. 384, 385.

died in his houſe in St James's-ſtreet Weſtminſter (*ee*), on the 19th of December, 1728. In viewing his character, the quality that ſhews itſelf foremoſt is his party zeal *, which the writer of his life intimates was carried to exceſs. But drawing that veil aſide, there appears many excellent virtues in the moral part, and many rare talents and acquiſitions in the intellectual part of it. He was a man of incredible diligence and application, not only in his youth, but to the very laſt. He was very communicative (*ff*), and would go through any fatigue to ſerve either a friend or the public. Neither was he wanting in acts of charity; eſpecially in reſpect to almſgiving, he both gave largely himſelf, and had a ſingular influence in diſpoſing others to do the like [*MM*]; and was particularly liberal, and even bountiful, to ſome of his relations, whoſe circumſtances ſtood in need of it (*gg*). As all his paſſions were naturally ſtrong; ſo the love of his country, and regard for it's honour, glowed among them with a diſtinguiſhed warmth. Nor was his affection for the Church leſs true and hearty, though tempered with great charity and moderation towards the Diſſenters.

(*ee*) That is in the half ſtreet, looking into St James's Park.

* He aſſiſted Mr Maynwaring in the 15th and 16th papers of the Medley, upon the affairs relating to Convocations. Life of Maynwaring, p. 190.

(*ff*) He had a noble library of books, collected with great pains and much expence, and took delight in it, and ſtudied to make it uſeful both to himſelf and others.

(*gg*) The writer of his Life aſſures us, that very large ſums were diſpoſed of in this way, as he was informed by a Clergyman, thro' whoſe hands it came. Life, p. 190.

ſtical and civil, made agrinſt Hereticks by Popes, Emperors, and Kings, provincial and general councils, approved by the Church of Rome, &c. Lond. 1723. He ſeems to think the ſaid diſcourſe was wrote by Dr Maurice, but it appears that Dr Whitby was the true author (55). 5. *A treatiſe of Gavelkind, both name and thing, ſhewing the etymology and true derivation of the one, the nature, antiquity, and original of the other; with ſundry emergent obſervations, both pleaſant and profitable to be known of Kentiſh men, and others, eſpecially ſuch as are ſtudious either of the ancient cuſtom or common law of this kingdom. By (a well-willer to both) William Somner. The ſecond edition, corrected from the many errors of the former impreſſion. To which is added, the life of the author, written, newly reviſed, and much enlarged, Lond.* 1726, *4to.* 6. *A regiſter and chronicle, eccleſiaſtical and civil, containing matters of fact, delivered in the words of the moſt authentic books, papers, and records, digeſted in exact order of time; with proper notes and references towards diſcovering and connecting the true hiſtory of England, from the Reſtoration of King Charles II. Lond.* 1728, 2 *vols. fol.* Theſe are all that he publiſhed after he was Biſhop; as to thoſe he wrote or publiſhed before, ſeveral have been occaſionally mentioned in the courſe of this memoir; the reſt are as follow:

1. *A manuſcript treatiſe about the Teſt, againſt Dr Parker.* 2. *The righteous taken away from the evil to come, applied to the death of Queen Mary, in a ſermon preached at St Martyn's church in Oxford, Jan.* 20, 1694. 3. *A ſermon preached at Bow church, London, before the Societies of Reformation, on Monday Sept.* 24, 1701, *publiſhed at their requeſt, Lond.* 1702. 4. *A ſermon preached in the pariſh church of St Botolph Aldgate in London, December* 17, 1704, *the day of ſolemn thankſgiving for the late glorious victory obtained over the French and Bavarians by the Forces of her Majeſty and her Allies under the command of the Duke of Marlborough,* Lond. 1704. (5.) *A Thankſgiving Sermon at St Paul's, March* 8. 1704-5. (6.) *The Charity of Schools for poor Children recommended, in a Sermon preached at the Pariſh Church of St Sepulchres, May* 16, 1708, Lond. 1708. (7) *The Duties of rejoicing in a Day of Proſperity recommended; in a Sermon preached before the Queen at her Royal Chapel at Windſor, on Sunday June* 23, 1706 (8.) *The Chriſtian Scholar, in Rules and Directions for Children and Youth ſent to Engliſh Schools; more eſpecially deſigned for the poor boys, taught and cloathed by Charity in the pariſh of St Botolph Aldgate.* Lond. 1708. (9.) *The excellent Daughter. A Sermon for the Relief of the poor Girls taught and cloathed within the Pariſh of St Botolph Aldgate: with proper Leſſons of the Duties of Daughters.* Lond 1708. (10.) *Glory to God and Gratitude to Benefactors: A Sermon preached before the Queen in her Royal Chapel of St James, on Tueſday* 22*d of Novemb.* 1709; *the Day of Publick Thankſgiving for the ſignal and glorious victory at Blaregnies, near Mons in Hainault: publiſhed by her Majeſty's ſpecial command.* Lond. 1709. (11.) *A Letter to Mr Barville, a Roman Prieſt, upon his Deſire of being reconciled to the Church of England,* dated from Golden Square, Crutched Fryars, Novemb. 30, 1709, printed in a book intituled, *An Account of the late Converſion of Mr John Barville, alias Barton, from Popery to the Reformed Church of England. With the Form of his ſolemn Abjuration of the Romiſh Religion, written by himſelf,* Lond. 1710. 8vo. (12.) *The Works of Charity, in a ſermon preached before the right honourable the Lord Mayor in the Church of St Bridget, on Tueſday in Eaſter Week,* 1710. Lond. 1710. (13.) *The Chriſtian Neighbour: A Sermon preached in the Church of St Laurence Jewry, before the right honourable the Lord Mayor,* &c. *upon the Election of a Mayor for the Year enſuing, on the Feaſt of St Michael,* 1711. Lond. 1711. (14) *Doing Good the Way to Eternal Life; recommended in a Spital Sermon, before the right honourable the Lord Mayor, on Tueſday in Eaſter Week, 7th April,* 1712. Lond. 1712. (15.) *The Faithful Steward. A Spital Sermon, preached on Tueſday in Eaſter Week, April* 3, 1716.

[*MM*] *He had a particular influence in diſpoſing others to charity*] The following remarkable inſtances of this ſhall conclude this memoir. The alderman of his ward, Sir Charles Thorold, Bart. ſuffered him to ſuggeſt ſome proper objects of charity in his life and at his death. His laſt will had ſo many noble charities bequeathed in it, that for the honour of the city, as well as of that worthy family, Dr Kennett, thought fit to give an abſtract of it in his ſpital ſermon, on Tueſday in Eaſter week 1710 (56). The exhibitions to be yearly given to four poor ſcholars in the univerſity of Oxford (there mentioned) were to be affixed to ſuch colleges or halls as he ſhould appoint; who accordingly named *St Edmund Hall, Corpus Chriſti, Univerſity, and Merton*; the firſt in reſpect to his own education, and the ſecond to his brother's, and the two laſt in regard of friendſhip to the governors of them. Dr Kennett had alſo a particular acquaintance with one of his pariſhioners at Aldgate, Mr John Pierrepoint, who, after a receſs from buſineſs, was projecting how to do moſt good in his generation, and to poſterity; and was encouraged by the Dean in what he afterwards accompliſhed; which was the founding a free ſchool at Lucton in Herefordſhire, for inſtructing of children in religion, grammar-learning, writing, arithmetic, and menſuration; the governors whereof were incorporated by act of parliament, and the ſchool endowed with an eſtate of about 300 l. per annum, tax free. The profits to be employed in the following manner. To the ſchool maſter 70 l. per annum; to the uſher 40 l.; to a writing-maſter 40 l.; to put out ſix apprentices yearly 30 l.; to be laid out in books of piety to be given to each apprentice 6 l; to ſet up ſix apprentices yearly, if they appear by certificate to have ſerved their time faithfully, and be of the Communion of the Church of England 60 l.; exhibitions to be allowed to three ſcholars ſtudying either at Oxford or Cambridge, which will amount to about 60 l. more. The worthy founder in his life-time had expended 1500 l. in building the ſchool-houſe, and in walling in, planting, and making a garden, and other conveniencies, allotting ſeveral acres of land for adjoining paſture, &c. And, dying, he left a token of remembrance to the Dean; who was ſoon after bleſſed with an opportunity of promoting another charity. A wealthy and well diſpoſed merchant, Mr Arundel, returning from Leghorn, and lying long at London and the Bath in a weak condition, did, by his laſt will, bequeath many charitable legacies, and, among others, 500 l. to be diſpoſed among poor widows, &c. at the diſcretion and by the diſtribution of Dr White Kennett and his brother Mr Baſil Kennett, which ſum was duly paid by the executor, and faithfully diſtributed by the ſaid truſtees.

(55) See 12 ſermons preached at the cathedral church of Sarum, p. 256. alſo A Short Account, of Dr Whitby, p. 5. prefixed to his Laſt Thoughts.

(56) Viz. in page 25.

KENNETT [Basil], younger brother to the preceding, was born October 21, 1674, at Poſtling in Kent, the vicarage of his father, who bred this ſon alſo to the Church. In which view, after a ſuitable foundation of Grammar-learning, he was ſent to Oxford, and admitted Scholar or Diſciple (*a*) of Corpus-Chriſti college, December 20, 1690 (*b*). In the univerſity he ſat down to his ſtudies with remarkable diligence, and the ſucceſs was anſwerable; ſo that he ſoon became diſtinguiſhed both by his genius, and the extraordinary advances he made in claſſical and polite literature. This merit brought him into the acquaintance and eſteem of Mr Addiſon his contemporary, then Demy of Magdalen college, which proved of ſome ſervice to him afterwards (*c*). Having taken his firſt degree in Arts at the regular time, he proceeded to that of Maſter April 4, 1696 (*d*), and commenced author the ſame year, by the publication of his *Romæ Antiquæ Notitia: or the Antiquities of Rome* [*A*]. To which he prefixed two Eſſays on the Roman Learning and Education, in 8vo. Theſe eſſays were the firſt attempts of the kind made in any language at that time; and the book was ſo well received by the Public, that he was thereby encouraged to proſecute his deſign of promoting and facilitating the ſtudy of claſſical learning. In that view he proceeeed to draw up *The Lives and Characters of the ancient Greek Poets*, which came out in 1697, 8vo. The ſame year, on the 14th of February, he was admitted Fellow of his college (*e*), and became a tutor there. It was probably about this time, purſuant to the college-ſtatutes, that he entered into Holy Orders: after which, directing the courſe of his ſtudies conformably thereto, in a more particular manner to Divinity, the world received the like benefits from his parts and induſtry upon that ſubject. The firſt fruits whereof came out in the year 1705, under the title of, *An Expoſition of the Apoſtles Creed, according to Biſhop* Pearſon, *in a new Method, by way of Paraphraſe and Annotations*, 8vo. This was followed by, *An Eſſay towards a Paraphraſe on the Pſalms in Verſe, with a Paraphraſe on the third Chapter of the Revelations* (*f*), printed the enſuing year, 1706, 8vo. Theſe were public monuments of his piety, as well as learning and genius; which being rendered perfectly amiable by the ſweetneſs of his temper, he was now become happy in the love and eſteem of all who knew him; ſo that it is no wonder that he yielded with ſome reluctance to the intreaties of his brother, when the Chaplain's place to the Factory at Leghorn was propoſed to him [*B*]; where he was likely alſo

(*a*) That is the appellation given them in the college ſtatutes.

(*b*) From the regiſter of the college.

(*c*) See below in note (I).

(*d*) From the college regiſter.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) It is dedicated to Sir Will. Temple's widow, who had the peruſal of it in manuſcript. Our author appears to be greatly eſteemed by her Ladyſhip.

[*A*] *He publiſhed his Roman Antiquities.*] The dedication is addreſſed to his Royal Highneſs William, Duke of Glouceſter, and muſt have been wrote for his uſe particularly, if any credit may be given to a report that generally prevailed, at leaſt at Oxford, that there were ſome hopes of his being appointed Subpreceptor to that darling of the nation. No body ever doubted his qualifications for it, and his brother, as appears from the preceding article, was in great favour with biſhop Burnet, who was made Preceptor to the Duke in 1698. Whatever reception this ſtory may meet with, it will not be denied, that our author's addreſs muſt needs have been very agreeable to the noble youth: as ſoon as he came to know the claſſics enough to be ſenſible of the beautiful application therein of two paſſages in one of the moſt celebrated of them to his immediate progenitors, I mean the paragraph with which he cloſes his dedication, where he obſerves, that his highneſs could not miſs his way in the purſuit of *Virtue*, in going on as he did, like the Trojan prince:

Matre dea monſtrante viam.

Nor *that* alſo to *great achievements* when he ſaw himſelf ſo properly, as he was, the object of that hero's advice

—— Te animo repetentem exempla tuorum
Et pater Æneas & avunculus excitet Hector.

[*B*] *He was appointed chaplain to the factory at Leghorn.*] This privilege was none of the leaſt of thoſe addvantages which the nation obtained in that ſucceſsful war. The general ſtate of religion being divided into ſeveral diſtinct and ſeparate eſtabliſhments; each of theſe has it's proper faſtneſſes and forts, erected for the defence and ſecurity of it, againſt the encroachments and invaſions of any of its neighbours; and the eccleſiaſtical governors in every Church hold themſelves obliged to keep a watchful eye to prevent, as much as poſſible, all attempts of that kind; and are particularly alarmed whenever they obſerve any motions made towards ſuch a deſign. Theſe governors alſo look upon it as an eſpecial part of the duty of their office, to let ſlip no opportunities of enlarging the boundaries of their own community, by making acquiſitions from that of their neighbours. In this ſpirit, when the glory of Queen Anne's arms by land, and the terror of her fleets in the Mediterranean ſea, had opened a proſpect of eſtabliſhing a chaplain of the Church of England for the Engliſh factory at Leghorn, his Grace the Archbiſhop of Canterbury diſcourſing with Dr White Kennet, and ſome merchants trading thither, about the beſt way of effectuating it, obſerved, firſt, that ſuch a privilege of the exerciſe of religion by a lawful miniſter of it, was a right of Chriſtians, even by the law of nations, in every country where they were allowed to ſettle and traffic. In the next place, he wrote a letter upon the ſubject to Dr Henry Newton, her Majeſty's envoy at Florence, who informed him that though no expreſs leave or licence of protection could be obtained, yet a connivance might be expected from the Great Duke; eſpecially while the Queen, by her *fleets* and *armies*, made ſuch a figure in Europe, and even in Italy itſelf, that ſhe would be able to protect her own ſubjects in ſo reaſonable and juſt a cauſe. Upon this foot, the Archbiſhop directed Dr White Kennett to look out for a proper perſon to be ſent over, of integrity, abilities, and courage, ſuitable to that dangerous and difficult employment. The Doctor, after propoſing it in vain to ſome others, prevailed with his own brother to adventure in it, and obtained a petition of the merchants to the Queen in his behalf. Whereupon his Grace approving of him, the Council adviſed her Majeſty to grant the petition of the merchants; and accordingly the chaplain received a commiſſion or title in this form.

Anne, R.

'Whereas our ſubjects trading to Leghorn, as well as thoſe reſiding in that port, have humbly beſought us to appoint a miniſter to perform divine ſervice there, after the uſage and manner of the Church of England, wherein we are graciouſly pleaſed to gratify them: and being well ſatisfied of the loyalty, prudence, piety, and learning, of Baſil Kennet, M.A. and fellow of Corpus Chriſti college, in our univerſity of Oxford: We do by theſe preſents appoint him, the ſaid Baſil Kennet, to be miniſter to the Engliſh factory at Leghorn, hereby granting him our royal licence and protection to the purpoſes aforementioned. And we do hereby require our envoy, or other our miniſter, at the court of the Great Duke of Tuſcany, and our conſul at Leghorn, now and for the time being, to protect, countenance, and aſſiſt him, the ſaid Baſil Kennet, as occaſion ſhall require, for his quiet enjoyment and exerciſe of his function, as miniſter to the Engliſh factory at Leghorn as aforeſaid.

alſo to meet (as it actually proved he did) with much diſturbance and danger from the oppoſition of the Roman-Catholics. However, after he had undertaken the charge, no difficulties were ſufficient to damp his reſolution to go through it with honour. Accordingly, having obtained the Queen's commiſſion, he left England in the month of September this year, 1706; and arriving without any extraordinary accidents, in the uſual time for ſuch a journey by land, at Leghorn, he preſently received a diploma from Oxford, creating him Bachelor of Divinity, February 27 that year *(g)*. With this extraordinary mark of the Univerſity's eſteem, he entered immediately upon the duties of his office; wherein he behaved with ſo much integrity, piety, prudence, and modeſty, that he became the darling

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'ſaid. Given at our caſtle at Windſor the 8th Day of September, 1706, in the fifth year of our reign.

'By Her majeſty's command,

C. Hedges.

At the ſame time and place were dated the royal letters of paſſport, ſafeguard, and protection, as follow:

Anna R.

'*Anna dei gratia magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, fidei defenſor &c. omnibus & ſingulis ad quos præſentes literæ pervenerint, ſalutem. Quum pro ſalute ſubditorum noſtrorum in portu Liburni in Hetruria commorantium vel eo appellentium Preſbyterum illuc mittere decreverimus, qui ſecundum ritus Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ ipſis ſacra miniſtret: dilectum noſtrum & fidelem* Baſilium Kennett, Artium Magiſtrum, *necnon collegii Corporis Chriſti in academia noſtra Oxonienſi ſocium, quem ad hoc munus aſſignavimus; literis hiſce noſtris ſalvi conductus munire Nobis viſum eſt. Rogamus itaque omnes & ſingulos Reges & Principes, cujuſcunque dignitatis atque ordinis Status, Reſpublicas, liberaſque Civitates, Amicos noſtros & Fæderatos, per quorum ditiones tranſiturus eſt, necnon Provinciarum* Gubernatores, *exercituum claſſiumque Duces, Præfectos limitaneos, arciumque cuſtodes, reliquoſque ipſorum officiales & miniſtros (id quod ſubditis noſtris quorum ullo modo intererit, firmiter injungimus), ut præfato* Baſilio Kennett *una cum ſarcinis ſuis quibuſcunque non ſolum ubique locorum liberam & ſecurum eundi, tranſeundi, commorandique, prout libitum erit, poteſtatem faciant, neque aliquam moram impedimentumve injiciant, aut injici patiantur, verum etiam omnibus humanitatis ac benevolentiæ officiis excipiant adjuventque, & novis inſuper ſalvi conductus literis, ſi res ita poſtulaverit, communiant. Quod quidem Nos pari data occaſione parati agnoſcemus & viciſſim repenſuri ſumus.*

'*Dabantur in arce noſtra Windeſoræ die octavo menſis Septembris, Anno Domini* 1706. *Regnique noſtri quinto.*

Ex mandato ſereniſſimæ Dom. Reginæ.

C. Hedges.

These diſpatches being compleated (1), Mr Kennett received money to defray the expences of the journey, upon a bill ſent by the Conſul, Chriſtopher Crowe, Eſq; in the name of the factory, for the purpoſe; and whatever was wanting in cloaths, books, or any equipage, was advanced to him by his brother. He then ſet out with agreable company from Harwich to the Brill; and, paſſing through Holland and Germany, arrived by the way of Venice ſafe at Leghorn, where he was received by the Conſul and nation with great civility and kindneſs. But the Italians were ſo jealous of the northern hereſy, eſpecially the prieſts and regulars, that, to give as little offence as poſſible, he performed the duties of his office with the utmoſt privacy and caution. But, notwithſtanding that, great offence was taken at it, and complaints and informations were immediately ſent to Florence and to Rome. The envoy at Florence, Dr Newton, did all the matter could bear, in inſiſting on the right of the Engliſh merchants to have a miniſter among them of their own religion; and offered to undertake that he ſhould not publickly reflect on the religion of the country; nor attempt to bring over any of the Grand Duke's ſubjects to the Proteſtant perſuaſion. But the Pope, and the Court of Inquiſition at Rome, were reſolved to expel hereſy, and the public teacher of it, from the confines of the Holy See: and therefore ſecret orders were given to apprehend Mr Kennett at Leghorn, and to hurry him away to Piſa, and thence to ſome other religious priſon, to bury him alive, or otherwiſe diſpoſe of him, in the ſevereſt manner.—Upon notice of this deſign the Engliſh Envoy at Florence interpoſed his offices in that court, where he could obtain no other anſwer, but that '*he might ſend for the Engliſh preacher, and keep him in his own family as his domeſtic chaplain; otherwiſe if he preſumed to continue at Leghorn, he muſt take the conſequences of it, for, in thoſe matters of religion, the Court of Inquiſition was ſuperior to all civil powers*;' the Envoy communicated this anſwer of the Great Duke to the Earl of Sunderland, then ſecretary of ſtate, deſiring proper inſtructions in the affair. In the interim he was extremely embarraſſed with the difficulties of treating for the protection and ſecurity of the chaplain, and could find no expedient more proper for the preſent, than to invite him earneſtly to his houſe at Florence; and there cover him 'till the affair was adjuſted, and for that purpoſe to ſend him a qualification as his domeſtic chaplain. But the Conſul and nation at Leghorn would not readily conſent to let him go away, fearing, if that point was once gained, they would never let him return. Nor was the chaplain himſelf willing to conſult his own ſafety, by ſeeming to forſake his charge. And therefore, with his brother's advice, he continued there, though in the utmoſt danger: Being forced to confine himſelf in his chamber, and to have an armed guard at the ſtairs foot. Some evenings, indeed, he went out for the air, but then he walked between two Engliſh merchants, who, with their ſwords drawn, reſolved and declared, that no body ſhould dare ſeize him at their peril. All this caution was no more than what was abſolutely neceſſary, before the arrival of Lord Sunderland's letter, which came by the firſt conveyance, and contained the following directions:

'To Dr Henry Newton, her Majeſty's Envoy in the court of Florence.

'S I R,

'*Your's of the 6th and 24th I received; in anſwer to which I have laid the whole affair before her Majeſty, who has commanded me to order you to tell the Great Duke and his miniſters, in her Majeſty's name, that if there be any moleſtation given to her chaplain, reſiding at Leghorn, ſhe ſhall look upon it as an affront done to herſelf and the nation, a breach of peace, and a violation of the law of nations, and ſhall by her* fleets *and* armies*, which will be all the year in the Mediterranean ſeas, not only demand, but take ſatiſfaction for any ſuch injury offered. And that the prieſt of the Great Duke's miniſter here, and all frequenters of his chapel, muſt expect the ſame treatment. And if they talk any more of the Pope or Court of Rome, you muſt cut that matter ſhort, by telling them, that her Majeſty hath nothing to do with that Court, but ſhall treat with the Great Duke, as with other independent princes and ſtates. And this you muſt do in the moſt forcible manner poſſible. I have no more at preſent to add; but am*

'Your Humble Servant,

'Sunderland.'

As ſoon as this letter came to the Envoy's hands, and was by him communicated to the Duke and his miniſters, the contents of it were ſoon by them imparted to the Pope and his Cardinals, who ſo well underſtood the argument of *fleets* and *armies*, that the chaplain eſcaped the intended fury; and continued for five years to officiate as a miniſter of the Church of England, in a large room, ſet apart for a chapel, in the Conſul's houſe, with public prayers and a ſermon (2).

[C] *A con-*

(g) From the Univerſity regiſter.

(1) Mr Addiſon being then Under-Secretary to Sir Ch. Hedges, theſe diſpatches were much forwarded in that office by him, who had a perſonal reſpect for Mr Kennett in Oxford, and had been then a late traveller in Italy, and well known to the Factory at Leghorn.

(2) Life of Biſhop Kennett, p. 53 to 61 incluſive.

ling both of the Merchants there, and of the Engliſh Envoy at Florence; and even extorted the admiration and eſteem of the Papiſts, who, whilſt they uſed their utmoſt endeavours to cruſh and deſtroy him, could not forbear revering him at the ſame time (as is their cuſtom to perſons of the moſt eminent piety and Chriſtian fortitude) under the title of *Saint* (*h*). Perſevering ſteadily in this courſe, he continued among them as long as his health would allow him; and when the care of that obliged him to think of coming back to his native air, he reſolved not to quit his poſt, 'till he ſaw an approved ſucceſſor in it upon the ſpot; by which means he was very inſtrumental in procuring a confirmation and eſtabliſhment of that valuable privilege (*i*) [*C*], which the Factory there has enjoyed ever

(*C*) *A confirmation of that privilege.*] This aſſertion may, perhaps at firſt ſight, be cenſured, as attributing a merit to our chaplain which does not properly belong to him; and which, far from giving any heightening to his character, ſeems rather to derogate from it, and even to be inconſiſtent with what is conſtantly obſerved, to his great commendation, that he diligently and conſcientiouſly diſcharged the duties of his function, without intermeddling in any other concerns. The obſervation of Mr Kennett's behaviour and temper is undoubtedly true, but the true inference from it is that truth, which is advanced in the text, nothing being more certain than that it was this prudent and amiable carriage in his office, which, at once, both obviated all the objections that could avowedly be made by the court of Rome; and, at the ſame time, endeared the office itſelf to the factory ſo much, that, when his health would not ſuffer him to continue in it, they never left ſolliciting the Court, 'till a full confirmation of the privilege was granted in the appointment of a ſucceſſor, as will appear from the following account of this whole matter. Not long after the Inquiſition had drawn in its pretenſions, mentioned in the preceding remark, Dr Newton, in a letter dated Aug. 1707, writes thus—'Religion is not a thing to be talked of on any ſide here; there has already been given ſome of them trouble enough, I mean the Inquiſition, by bringing an Engliſh preacher into Leghorn. I hope now that trouble is almoſt over, and, that for the future, we ſhall hear no more from them on that head. He is an excellent perſon, if I am any judge in thoſe matters, and if I have not any pretence either to that or any other learning, yet I am at leaſt capable of knowing and commending a gentleman for his modeſty, his prudence, and his good nature; and at *Florence* and at *Rome* they have heard from me on that head, and are ſatisfied on the other *account* too. And if now there is any fault to be found, it is, that he deſerves ſo much to be commended. Pray let his brother know, and by him the archbiſhop, how much the factory are obliged to his Grace on that ſcore (3), &c.' When our chaplain had ſeen himſelf well eſtabliſhed in that privilege, and had ſo laid the foundation of it, he began to think, that the having a ſucceſſor in that place upon the ſame bottom, would be the beſt confirmation; and therefore he earneſtly importuned his brother, that he might have leave to return, upon the finding out a fit perſon to ſucceed him. 'Tis true, however, that he had another principal reaſon to inſiſt upon coming home, the ill ſtate of his health in that climate which did not agree with his conſtitution; however he declared he would not ſtir 'till he ſaw a ſucceſſor upon the ſpot. Upon the receipt of this letter, the dean his brother applied, at the requeſt of the merchants, in behalf of one Mr Taubman, to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, upon whoſe application the Queen gave orders for proper diſpatches accordingly in 1710; but, upon the change of the miniſtry at this time, the Duke of Tuſcany's Envoy at our court obſtructed the proceedings, and actually put in a memorial againſt the privilege. Whereupon Dean Kennett addreſſing a letter of complaint to Robert Harley [afterwards Earl of Oxford], the merchants were ſummoned to declare the grounds of their claim to the privilege; which were 1. Poſſeſſion. 2. Her Majeſty having aſſerted it. 3. There were precedents for it at Liſbon and Oporto, &c. And to that purpoſe a repreſentation was drawn, concluding with a petition, wherein they obſerve, that in the ſame port of Leghorn there was a ſynagogue allowed to the Jews, and a moſque to the Turks; to this repreſentation ſeveral objections were made in council, one whereof being, that the preſent chaplain [Baſil Kennett] had done ill offices there, by meddling in trade and commerce, and by advancing ſome odd opinions in that place: to this Mr Palmer, one of the merchants in the city, made a proper and very decent anſwer, vindicating the character of our chaplain by the accounts of his behaviour received from the Conſul: and adding, that *of all men living Mr Kennett was the leaſt meddler in any thing but the immediate duties of his own function.* It was alſo ſuggeſted, that even ſome of the merchants, continuing at Leghorn, did not inſiſt upon a chaplain, or had not expreſſed their deſire to have another, when Mr Kennett ſhould come away: upon this, one of the company produced the following copy of a letter of the merchants reſiding at Leghorn, directed to the Archbiſhop, dated Livorne 20 Octob. 1710, expreſſed in theſe terms:

'May it pleaſe your Grace,

'The Reverend Mr Baſil Kennett having intimated to us his intention to return home for the recovery of his health; being ſenſible of our great obligation to your Grace, for having recommended to us ſo worthy and excellent a perſon; we humbly beg leave to recur to your favour in chooſing a proper ſucceſſor to reſide amongſt us: intirely confiding, that this teſtimony of our gratitude, as well for the pains taken by your Grace in eſtabliſhing a chaplain, as in ſending us one ſo very acceptable, will be well pleaſing to your Grace, and that you will grant this our requeſt, who are with all imaginable reſpect,

Your Grace's

Moſt Humble and Obedient Servants,'

Signed by Fifteen Merchants (4).

But this, and all other applications which were made afterwards by the factors, Dean Kennett, Mr Taubman, the Biſhop of London, and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, proving ineffectual; the beginning of September, an advertiſement was ſent to Mr Taubman, and by him inſerted in the Poſt-Boy of Saturday September 15, 1711, in theſe words. 'There is ready for the preſs, *The Caſe of a Proteſtant Chaplain attending on the Britiſh Factory at Leghorn*, repreſenting the wiſdom and glory of her Majeſty's happy adminiſtration, in aſſerting that privilege to her ſubjects, the merchants reſiding in foreign parts: with the honour and neceſſity of maintaining that law of nations, and common right of mankind; as allowed in the ſame free port of Leghorn to ſocieties of different religions, and not pretended to be denied to any people, but the Northern Heretics at this time.' Soon after this there was an order of council that fully determined the affair, as follows:

'At the court at Windſor, the 1ſt of October, 1711, preſent the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty.

'Upon reading this day, at the board, the humble petition of the Britiſh merchants trading to Leghorn, and ſeveral other papers relating to a chaplain there; her Majeſty in council taking the ſame into conſideration, was pleaſed to order, that Mr Taubman, or ſuch other chaplain as the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of London ſhall recommend to her Majeſty, be forthwith ſent thither in ſuch manner, and with ſuch circumſtances, as the Reverend Mr Baſil Kennett was ſent. And that directions be given to Mr Moleſworth, her Majeſty's Envoy at the court of Florence accordingly. And the Right Honourable the Earl of D——, her Majeſty's Principal Secretary of State, is to prepare what is neceſſary for the ſignification of her Majeſty's pleaſure in this matter.

'Copy ſigned John Povey.'

The

(*h*) See below in remark [*D*].

(*i*) See the preface to his Sermons.

(3) Ibid. p. 62, 63.

(4) Ibid. from p. 64 to 80.

ever ſince. He arrived at Oxford in the year 1713, and was elected Preſident of his college, May 15, 1714 (*k*). He was alſo admitted Doctor of Divinity on the 26th of July following (*l*), but lived to enjoy theſe new honours a very ſhort time. Having brought an ill habit of body with him from Italy, he continued from that time to decline gradually, and was carried off, before the expiration of this year (*m*), by a ſlow fever, the conſequence, as was believed, of ſome unfair practices by the Court of Rome [*D*]. A little before his death, he finiſhed the preface to a volume of his ſermons preached at Leghorn, which came out under the title of, *Sermons on ſeveral Occaſions, preached before a Society of Britiſh Merchants in foreign Parts*. Lond. 1715, 8vo. Beſides this collection, and the pieces already mentioned of his own compoſing, he gave Engliſh tranſlations of ſeveral works of other eminent authors, the chief of which are as follow: (1.) *Puffendorf of the Law of Nature and Nations.* (2.) *Placette's Chriſtian Caſuiſt.* (3.) *Godeau's Paſtoral Inſtructions.* (4) *Monſieur Paſcal's Thoughts on Religion.* To which he prefixed an account of the manner in which thoſe thoughts were delivered by the author. (5.) *Monſ. Balſac's Ariſtippus, with an Account of his Life and Writings* (*n*).

(*k*) From the College Regiſter.

(*l*) From the Regiſter of the Univerſity.

(*m*) From the College Regiſter. In the preface to his Sermons, the Acceſſion of King George I. is taken notice of by him. So that it is probable he lived to ſee that book finiſhed at the preſs, and publiſhed, according to the Printer's account, in 1715; that is, ſome time between Michaelmas and Lady-day in 1714.

(*n*) He likewiſe turned into elegant Engliſh verſe, a Latin poem of Mr Camden, called *The Marriage of Thames and Iſis.*

The copy of this order was tranſmitted to the conſul at Leghorn, with a letter of the Dean, running thus —' *By virtue of this long expected order, a commiſſion from the Queen and letters of protection are prepared for Mr Taubman, and he intends to ſet out by the firſt opportunity of any company, by way of Holland and Germany; and by his honeſty, quietneſs, and goodneſs of temper, will, I doubt not, be very acceptable to you and the nation, to whom you will pleaſe to communicate the ſucceſs of this long depending affair. It would make a long ſtory to tell of the ſeveral ſteps forward and backward in it. Whatever trouble and expence I have been at on this occaſion, had it been greater I would not have grudged it in ſo good a cauſe, for the honour and ſervice of the Church and Nation. But I hope poor Mr Taubman will be conſidered for his tedious and chargeable attendance upon this buſineſs; and the demand of above 20 l. fees at the offices, and the ſupport of a journey by land. I well know the juſtice and generoſity of the Conſul and merchants at Leghorn, and doubt not but they will find ſome way, that he may come into the eaſier circumſtances, and with a greater ſenſe of obligation to you. I ſuppoſe, by your advice, my brother will remain with you 'till the actual appearance of Mr Taubman. I ſhall think it now happy, that by your advice, and his own reſolutions, he continued on the ſpot, for 'tis poſſible his abſence might have given ſome advantage to thoſe who have ſo accountably oppoſed this privilege, which you now ſee effectually tranſmitted in ſucceſſion, and thereby we hope eſtabliſhed to you and your poſterity. I am*

Hon. SIR,
Your and the Nation's
Faithful Humble Servant,
W. Kennet (5).

(5) Ibid. from p. 95 to 99.

[*D*] *He died in* 1714.] The writer of the Biſhop's life, tells us, that though the factory at Leghorn was very bountiful to their chaplain, as well as very generous in their preſents to his brother in England, yet the family had been ſufferers by it. The contempt of money in Mr Kennett at Leghorn, the conſtant demands upon his charity and goodneſs, his great expence of his long travels through Italy and France; the ſupplies he had out of England to ſupport thoſe travels, and to purchaſe a good collection of books and prints; and the new expences he was put upon after his return, by the honour done him of being elected and admitted preſident of his college, had brought him to that condition of worldly eſtate, that the payment of his debts was made in favour of his memory, without ſufficient aſſets for it. ' And, continues he, ' whether his life itſelf was not ſacrificed in that ſervice among the Roman Papiſts, is perhaps a queſtion to be reſerved to the laſt judgment day: not that Mr Kennett would ever declare his ſuſpicion of any ill practiſing upon him (too common there): nor that his brother ever encouraged any ſuggeſtion of that kind: but many others have been free in, and God alone knows the truth of it. One would have thought him, concludes this writer, ſo well eſteemed among the Italian prieſts, that even they were not capable of ſuch treatment of him. Unleſs their calling him the *ſaint*, was in order to the making him a *martyr* (6).

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(6) Ibid. p. 100, 101.

KETTLEWELL [JOHN], a pious and learned Divine in the laſt century, was born at North-Alverton in the County of York the 10th of March, 1653. His father was a merchant, as were alſo his grand-father, and great-grandfather [*A*], and his mother was Elizabeth Ogle, a woman of an excellent character, and of a conſiderable and antient family. He was educated, firſt at a ſmall ſchool at Brompton, the place of his nativity (and then of his father's reſidence,) within the ſaid pariſh of North-Alverton. Though his father died when he was but ſix years old, yet his education no way was neglected: For he was next ſent to the Free-ſchool of North-Alverton, where he made a great progreſs under a good maſter, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valuable qualities, particularly a great modeſty, and ſweetneſs of temper (*a*). In the year 1670, he was admitted in St Edmund-hall in Oxford (*b*) [*B*], where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, June 25, 1674 (*c*). And, on the 28th day of July 1675, was choſen Fellow of Lincoln College, through the intereſt of his learned countryman Mr George Hickes, Fellow of the ſame. During his whole ſtay in that college, he was an eminent example of induſtry, piety, and virtue (*d*); and became a very conſiderable tutor (*e*). He took the degree of Maſter of Arts May 3, 1677 (*f*). As ſoon as qualified by age, he entered into holy orders;

(*a*) The Life of Mr John Kettlewell, prefixed to the folio edit. of his Works, p. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 8.

(*c*) Wood, Faſti, edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 195.

(*d*) Life, &c. as above, p. 8, &c.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 14.

(*f*) Wood, Faſti, ut ſupra, col. 206.

[*A*] *As were alſo his grand-father and great-grand-father.*] His grand-father, and great-grand-father, were merchant-adventurers at Headen in Yorkſhire. But the haven of that town growing uſeleſs, by being choaked up with the ſands, his grandfather removed to North-Alverton: which place his father quitting, ſoon after his marriage, went and lived in his own houſe, and upon his own eſtate, at Brompton, a village in the ſaid pariſh of North-Alverton (1).

[*B*] *Was admitted in St Edmund-hall.*] While he lived there, he never committed any one fault, for which he incurred the leaſt cenſure, as by neglect of publick Exerciſes, or Prayers; &c. nor was there ever the leaſt complaint made of him by his equals. This is atteſted by his contemporary the famous Dr Hickes (2).

(1) Life, &c. as above, p. 1, 2, 3.

(2) Life, &c. p. 9.

orders; and diſtinguiſhed himſelf not only by his uſeful and inſtructive way of Preaching [*C*], but alſo by his early, and indeed uncommon knowledge in Divinity: The firſt fruits of which were, his *Meaſures of Chriſtian Obedience* [*D*], a work which he entered upon when he was but twenty-ſix years of age, and that was (as we are aſſured) begun and finiſhed by him between Chriſtmas and Eaſter. This valuable work ſo recommended him to the world's eſteem, that the old Counteſs of Bedford (*g*) took him, upon that account, for one of her domeſtic Chaplains: But a greater favour he received, upon the ſame conſideration, from the moſt pious and truly honourable Simon Lord Digby, who preſented him in July 1682, to the Vicarage of Coles-hill in Warwickſhire (*h*). There he applied himſelf, with great zeal and ſucceſs, to the duties of his function; and, by proper inſtructions and example, endeavoured, to the utmoſt of his power, to make the people under his care wiſer and better. On the 4th of October 1685, he married a very pious and virtuous woman, Mrs Jane Lybb, daughter of Antony Lybb, Eſq; of Hardwick in Oxfordſhire, a gentleman of a thouſand pounds a year. He happily lived with her, as a faithful companion both in proſperity and adverſity; and ſhe ſurvived him. After he had continued upwards of ſeven years at Coleſhill, doing all the good in his power with great ſincerity and zeal, and univerſally reſpected and eſteemed, a great alteration happened in his condition and circumſtances. For, at the Revolution, being one of thoſe conſcientious men who refuſed to take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy to K. William and Q. Mary, he was deprived of his living in 1690 (*i*). However, he did not ſpend the remainder of his days in a ſullen and inglorious indolence; but, retiring to London, continued to write and publiſh ſeveral books, as he had done during his reſidence in the country [*E*]. And there, amongſt other great and learned men, was particularly happy

[*C*] *By his uſeful and inſtructive Preaching.*] His Preaching was eaſy and free, and always upon uſeful texts; avoiding all vain contentions and controverſies, which ſerve not to improve in faith and righteouſneſs. His aim herein was not only to ſpeak to the ears, but moreover to the hearts of his auditors: which he alſo the rather did by his very affectionate way of delivery. He had indeed no good voice; yet he knew how to make the beſt uſe of it, and to give every word its due and proper weight. Hardly had he been Maſter of Arts above a year, if ſo long, but he had laid out a large fund of ſermons againſt the time he ſhould be called thence to the cure of Souls. For to one of his intimate confidents, when he was a very young Maſter, he one day ſhewed a courſe of Sermons, all fairly written with his own hand, and fitted as he ſaid for the country. There might be near a hundred of them, according to the beſt computation which this Gentleman could haſtily make.—In all his writings, whether for the pulpit or the preſs, he had ſtill an eye to the *practical* part, as well as to the inſtructive, and even to that principally: well knowing that, as without underſtanding, ſo alſo without doing his duty, a man is certainly defective. And he had ever a regard not only to the learned, but alſo, and chiefly, to the unlearned and thoſe of meaner capacities, for whom he thought nothing could be too plain. The plainneſs and perſpicuity of his Style he took care ſhould be ſuch, as to render his labours ſerviceable to the greateſt numbers. In a word, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in his writings, rather by the Strength of his Reaſon, and the Solidity of his Judgment, than by the Brightneſs of his Fancy (3).

[*D*] *His Meaſures of Chriſtian Obedience,*] The ſmall time he is ſaid to have taken in compoſing that Book, is almoſt incredible. But we give it here upon the credit of the author of his life; who adds, that "all the time he ſpent afterward about it, was only in "conſulting texts and quotations, and animadverting "a little upon it" (4). He compoſed it in the year 1678, though it was not publiſhed 'till 1681, in one volume 4to. Dr Hickes, to whom he ſubmitted it for his correction, adviſed him to dedicate it to Biſhop Compton, intending by that means to have him planted in London: and accordingly it came out at firſt with a dedication to his Lordſhip. But when that Prelate appeared in arms againſt K. James II, Mr Kettlewell gave immediate orders for razing that Dedication out of the copies unſold, and took care to have it omitted in the ſubſequent editions (5).—In his Epitaph it is ſaid, that he was but four and twenty years old when he compoſed that book—*Annum adhuc agens vigeſimum quartum.*

[*E*] *But retiring to London, continued to write and publiſh ſeveral Books, as he had done during his reſidence in the country.*] We ſhall ſet down, in this note, an account of all his works, according to the order of time in which they were written. I. *The Meaſures of Chriſtian Obedience,* &c already mentioned. II. *The great Evil and Danger of Profuſeneſs and Prodigality; in a Letter to a Friend:* written in 1681, but not publiſhed 'till 1704. III. *An Help and Exhortation to worthy communicating: or, a Treatiſe deſcribing the Meaning, worthy Reception, Duty and Benefits, of the holy Sacrament: and anſwering the Doubts of Conſcience, and other Reaſons, which moſt generally detain Men from it. Together with ſuitable Devotions added.* Lond. 1683. 8vo. This book was the ſubſtance of ſome preparation ſermons to the Sacrament; which he preached within the firſt half-year after his coming to Coleſhill, and printed chiefly for the uſe of his pariſh (6). IV. *The Nature of Edification explained. A viſitation Sermon on* 1 Cor. xiv. 12, *preached at Coventry May the 7th,* 1684. Lond. 1684. 4to. V. *A funeral Sermon preached Oct.* 5, *for the right honourable the Lady Frances Digby, who deceaſed at Coles-hill* 29 *Sept.* 1684. *on Prov.* xiv. 32. Lond. 1684. 4to. VI *The Religious Loyaliſt, or, a good Chriſtian taught how to be a faithful Servant both to God and the King, in a Viſitation Sermon preached at Coles-hill in Warwickſhire, Aug.* 28, 1685. on Matt. xxii. 21. Lond. 1686, 4to. VII. *A Sermon preached at Coles-hill in Warwickſhire, Jan.* 24, 1685, *on occaſion of the death of the right honourable Simon Lord Digby: who deceaſed* 19 *January,* Lond. 1686. 4to. Theſe four Sermons were reprinted after his deceaſe, in 1696, together with, VIII. *Five Diſcourſes on ſo many very important Points of practical Religion,* 8vo. IX. *The Practical Believer: or, the Articles of the Apoſtles Creed, drawn out to form a true Chriſtian's Heart and Practice. In two parts. Part* I. *Of the Nature and Certainty of Chriſtian Faith, and the Knowledge of God: or, an Explication of the divine Attributes, and Providence. Part* II. *or, the Knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt.* Lond. 1689. 8vo. reprinted in 1713, with ſeveral additions; being the 3d edition.

The following were written after his deprivation. X. *Of Chriſtian Prudence, or religious Wiſdom; not degenerating into irreligious Craftineſs in trying times.* Lond. 1691 8vo. XI. *Chriſtianity a Doctrine of the Croſs: or Paſſive Obedience under any pretended invaſion of legal Rights and Liberties.* Lond. 1691. 8vo. XII. *The Duty of Allegiance ſettled upon its true Ground, according to Scripture, Reaſon, and the Opinion of the Church. In anſwer to a late Book of Dr William Sherlock, Maſter of the Temple, intituled,* 'The Caſe of the 'Allegiance due to Sovereign Powers, ſtated, and re'ſolved, according to Scripture &c. with a more par'ticular Reſpect to the Oath lately injoined,' Lond. 1691. 8vo. XIII *Of the new Oaths; againſt thoſe that take them in a lower ſenſe, and alſo thoſe that make their Concern for the publick Good a ſufficient Reaſon to diſcharge them from the Obligation of a former Oath of Allegiance,* never printed. XIV. *Of Chriſtian Communion, to be kept on in the unity of Chriſt's-Church, and* among

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(*g*) And not William Lord Ruſſell, her ſon, as Wood ſays by miſtake. Athen. Vol. II. col. 923.

(*h*) Life, &c. p. 20, 21, 22. and Wood Ath. Vol. II. col. 923.

(*i*) Life, &c. p. 102.

(3) Ibid. p. 17, 18.

(4) Ibid. p. 18.

(5) Ibid. p. 19.

(6) See Life, &c. p. 24, 25.

happy in the friendſhip and intimacy of the truly good and pious Mr Robert Nelſon, with whom he concerted a ‘ model of a fund of Charity for the needy ſuffering [i. e. Nonjuring] Clergy (*k*).’ Mr Kettlewell was naturally of a tender and delicate frame of body, and inclined to a conſumption, which had like to have carried him off in the 12th year of his age (*l*). Being ſeized again with the ſame illneſs in the 42d year of his age, it confined him to his houſe ſix months, and to his chamber four days, and at laſt put an end to his valuable life, April 12, 1695, at his lodgings in Gray's-Inn-Lane (*m*). He was buried three days after, in the ſame grave where Archbiſhop Laud was before interred, in the pariſh church of Alhallows, Barking; where a neat marble monument is erected to his memory (*n*). Mr Nelſon, who knew him beſt, gives this character of him (*o*). ‘ He ‘ was learned without pride; wiſe and judicious without cunning; he ſerved at the altar ‘ without either covetouſneſs or ambition; he was devout without affectation; ſincerely religious without moroſeneſs; courteous and affable without flattery or mean compliances; ‘ juſt without rigour; charitable without vanity; and heartily zealous for the intereſt of ‘ religion without faction.’

(*k*) Ibid. p. 162, &c.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 8, 184.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 170, &c.

(*n*) Life, &c. as above, p. 187.

(*o*) Preface to his Five Diſcourſes.

among the Profeſſors of Truth and Holineſs. And of the Obligations both of faithful paſtors, *to adminiſter orthodox and holy offices, and of* faithful people, *to communicate in the ſame, Fitted for perſecuted, or divided, or corrupt States of Churches; when they are either borne down by ſecular Perſecutions, or broken with* Schiſms, *or defiled with* ſinful Offices *and* Miniſtrations. *In Three Parts*, Lond. 1693. 4to. The preface is dated April 8th, 1692. XV. *A Companion for the Perſecuted: or an Office for thoſe who ſuffer for Righteouſneſs. Containing particular Prayers and Devotions for particular Graces, and for their private or publick Wants or Occaſions*. Lond. 1694. 12mo. XVI. *A companion for the Penitent, and for Perſons troubled in mind. Conſiſting of an Office for the Penitent, to carry on their Reconciliation with God; and a Trial or Judgment of the Soul, for diſcovering the ſafety of their ſpritual eſtate; and an office for Perſons troubled in Mind, to ſettle them in peace and comfort*. Lond. 1694 12mo. The dedication to the inhabitants and pariſhioners of Coleſhill, is dated from his houſe in London, January 23, 1693. XVII. *Death made comfortable: or the Way to die well. Conſiſting of directions for an holy and an happy Death. Together with an Office for the Sick; and for certain kinds of bodily Illneſs: and for dying Perſons: and proper Prayers upon the Death of Friends*. Lond. 1695. 8vo. XVIII. *An Office for Priſoners for Crimes, together with another for Priſoners for Debt. Containing proper Directions, and proper Prayers and Devotions, for each of their Needs and Circumſtances*. Written in 1694 (7), but not publiſhed 'till 1697 by Mr Nelſon, after the Author's death. XIX. *A model of a Fund of Charity for the needy, ſuffering Clergy*. Drawn up by Mr Kettlewell, in January 169$\frac{4}{5}$, and printed in the Appendix to his Life. No. 19. XX. *His Declaration and Profeſſion, at his receiving the holy Sacrament of the Lord's* Supper, March 23, 169$\frac{4}{5}$, Printed in half a ſheet of paper (8). All the aforeſaid printed Works were reprinted in 1718, in 2 volumes in folio.

C

(7) See his Life, as above, p. 157, 158.

(8) Reprinted in his Life, p. 171, &c.

KIDDER [Richard], a learned Biſhop of Bath and Wells, in the laſt century and beginning of this, was born, as one ſays (*a*), in Suſſex [*A*]; but, according to others (*b*), and more probably, in Suffolk. On the 5th of June 1649, he was admitted in Emmanuel College in Cambridge; where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1652, and that of Maſter in 1656 (*c*). July 13, 1658, he was incorporated at Oxford (*d*). By his College aforeſaid, he was preſented to the Vicarage of Stanground in Huntingdonſhire; from whence he was ejected for Nonconformity in 1662, by virtue of the Bartholomew-Act (*e*). But conforming ſoon after, he was preſented by Arthur Earl of Eſſex to the Rectory of Raine in Eſſex, to which he had inſtitution Octob. 29, 1664 (*f*). Here he continued, with great reputation and eſteem eſpecially for his knowledge of the Eaſtern languages, 'till the 24th of October, 1674, when he was admitted to the Rectory of St Martin's Outwich, London, to which he was preſented by the Merchant-Taylors Company (*g*). On the 16th of September 1681, he was inſtalled into a Prebend of Norwich, in the room of Dr Ezekias Burton, deceaſed (*h*). And being nominated, Octob. 6, 1689, to the Deanery of Peterburgh, was inſtalled the 30th of the ſame month (*i*). He then accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity (*k*); not having been Doctor in Divinity ſo early as the year 1681, as Mr Wood has aſſerted by miſtake (*l*). Upon the deprivation of Dr Ken, Biſhop of Bath and Wells, for not taking the oaths to King William and Queen Mary; and Dr Beveridge's refuſal of that See, Dr Kidder, to whom it was offered next, did not prove ſo ſcrupulous. Being therefore nominated thereto June 13, 1691, he was conſecrated the 30th of Auguſt following (*m*). In the year 1693, he preached the Lecture founded by the Hon. Robert Boyle [*B*], being the ſecond that preached it. He continued, as he had done before his promotion, to benefit the world by his excellent writings; the moſt conſiderable of which were, ‘ A Demonſtration of the Meſ‘ ſias ; in three parts [*C*]. And, ‘ A Commentary on the five books of Moſes; with ‘ a Diſſertation concerning the Author, or Writer, of the ſaid books, and a general Ar‘ gument to each of them [*D*].’ An account of the reſt of his works is given in the note

(*a*) Wood, Faſti, edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 123.

(*b*) Supplement to Collier's Dictionary, under the article *Kidder*.

(*c*) From the College-regiſter.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Bp Kennet's Regiſter, &c. p. 853.

(*f*) Newcourt Repertor. Vol. II. p. 480.

(*g*) Idem, Vol. I. p. 414.

(*h*) J. Le Neve Faſti Eccleſ. Anglic. p. 227. and Wood Faſti, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) J. Le Neve, p. 241. and B. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. Vol. II. p. 513.

(*k*) From the Univerſity-regiſter.

(*l*) Faſti, ut ſupra.

(*m*) J. Le Neve, ubi ſupra, p. 34.

[*A*] *In Suſſex*;] Browne Willis, Eſq; was informed, that he was born at Brighthelmſton in Suſſex. But doth not mention how authentic his information was (1).

[*B*] In 1693 *he preached the Lecture founded by the Honourable Robert Boyle*,] The Sermons he preached on that occaſion, are inſerted in, and make part of, his Demonſtration of the Meſſias; being the 1ſt, 2d, and 3d Chapters of that excellent and learned Work.

[*C*] *A Demonſtration of the Meſſias* ; in three parts] The firſt was publiſhed in 1684; the ſecond in 1699; and the third in 1700. 8vo. It was reprinted in 1726. fol. 'Tis levelled againſt the Jews; and the learned Author makes in it an excellent uſe of his great knowledge of the Hebrew and other oriental languages.

[*D*] *A Commentary on the Five Books of Moſes*, &c.] He acquaints the Reader with the *Occaſion* of his undertaking that work, in the following words (2). ‘ Many years are now paſſed, ſince a conſiderable ‘ number of the Clergy of London met together, and ‘ agreed to publiſh ſome ſhort notes upon the whole ‘ Bible

(1) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. Vol. II. p. 513.

(2) Preface, p. 1.

note below [*E*]. Through a moſt unhappy accident, in the night between the 26th and 27th of November 1703, (during the *Great Storm*) he was killed in his bed, with his lady, by the fall of a ſtack of chimneys, in his palace at Wells; and was privately buried in the Cathedral (*n*). He left iſſue two daughters: Suſan, married to Sir Richard Everard, Bart. of Langleys in Great Waltham, Eſſex; and Anne, which dying unmarried May 13, 1728, left 300l. for erecting a monument to her father's and mother's memory; which was done ſoon after. He was a very clear, elegant, and learned writer, and one of the beſt Divines in his time.

'Bible for the uſe of families, and of all thoſe well-diſpoſed perſons that deſired to read the holy ſcriptures to their greateſt advantage. At that meeting they agreed upon this worthy deſign, and took their ſeveral ſhares, and aſſigned ſome part to them, who were abſent I was not preſent at that meeting, but I was ſoon informed that they had aſſigned to me the Pentateuch. I was very ſenſible how great a taſk this would prove, and was ſufficiently conſcious of my own defects; yet I was willing to undertake it, becauſe I did always hope, that by yielding to it, I might incourage the labours of thoſe who would exceed whatever I was able to do. Upon this conſideration I did ſet about this work, and did often declare (and with great ſincerity) that this was the motive which did induce me. The work was begun with common conſent, we did frequently meet, and what was done was communicated from time to time to thoſe met together, and that were concerned. The methods of proceeding had been adjuſted, and agreed to; a ſpecimen was printed, and an agreement was made when it ſhould be put to the preſs; and I finiſhed my part in order thereunto. But ſo it fell out, that ſoon after all this, the clouds began to gather a-pace, and there was great ground to fear that the Popiſh party was attempting to ruin the Church of England, and that there was a ſevere ſtorm from that quarter lighting upon us. —[viz. in K. James the IId's reign.]—Hence it came to paſs, that the thoughts of purſuing the above-mentioned deſign were at preſent laid aſide; and thoſe that were concerned in it, were now obliged to turn their ſtudies and pens againſt that dangerous enemy. —— During this time alſo, ſome number of thoſe perſons, concerned in the above-mentioned work, were taken away by death: and thus the work was hindered, that might elſe have been finiſhed long ſince. —I having drawn up my Notes upon this occaſion, do now think myſelf obliged to make them publick, God having now diſperſed thoſe clouds that then hung over our heads. And I do it from the ſame motive that firſt induced me to undertake it; viz. that I might draw on others to do much better in the following books.' This Commentary was publiſhed at London in 1694. 2 vols 8vo. To the firſt volume is prefixed a learned Diſſertation, wherein the Biſhop ſets down, and anſwers, all the Objections made againſt Moſes being the Author of the Pentateuch. And having conſidered, among the reſt, one Objection drawn by Mr Le Clerc (3), from Geneſ. xxxvi. 31. and ſpoken in pretty ſevere terms of him; that occaſioned the paſſing of ſome letters between them, which were printed by Mr. Le Clerc, in his *Bibliotheque Choiſie*, Tom. iv. artic. 10. p. 364. &c.

[*E*] *An Account of the reſt of his works, &c.*] They are as follow, according to the order of time in which they were publiſhed. I. 'The Young Man's Duty. A Diſcourſe, ſhewing the Neceſſity of ſeeking the Lord betimes: as alſo the Danger and Unreaſonableneſs of truſting to a late, or death-bed Repentance. Deſigned eſpecially for young perſons, before they are debauched by evil Company, and evil Habits.' Lond. 1663. 12mo. The tenth edition of it was publiſhed in 1750. II. '*Convivium Coeleſte.* A plain and familiar Diſcourſe concerning the Lord's Supper, ſhewing at once the Nature of that Sacrament, as alſo the right way of preparing ourſelves for receiving of it, &c.' Lond. 1674. 8vo. reprinted afterwards with additions. III. 'Charity directed: Or, the way to give Alms to the greateſt advantage. In a Letter to a Friend.' Lond. 1677. 8vo. IV. 'The Chriſtian Sufferer ſupported: Or, a Diſcourſe concerning the Grounds of Chriſtian Fortitude, ſhewing at once, that the Sufferings of good men are not inconſiſtent with God's Special Providence, &c.' Lond. 1680. V. He collected and communicated to the ingenious Mr Ray, the Hebrew Proverbs, that are added by way of Appendix to that induſtrious Gentleman's collection of Proverbs. VI. He publiſhed theſe ſeveral *Sermons*; 'A Diſcourſe concerning the Education of Youths: on Epheſ. i. 4. Lond 1673. A Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen at Guildhall chapel on July 16, 1682. The text is 1 Pet. iii 2. A Sermon preached at the funeral of Mr William Allen, the 17th of Auguſt 1686. on Heb. xiii. 4.' This Mr Allen was a citizen of London, and writ ten books, chiefly in defence of the Church of England, againſt the Anabaptiſts, Quakers, &c. 'A Sermon at the funeral of Thomas Pakeman, M. A. 1691. on Rev. xiv. 13. A Sermon on the Reſurrection.' Lond. 1694. Beſides which, he publiſhed in 1697, Twelve Sermons preached upon ſeveral occaſions; amongſt which is reprinted, 'The Judgment of private Diſcretion.' &c. which I ſhall preſently mention. VII. He writ the following *Tracts againſt Popery*: 'A ſecond Dialogue between a new Catholic Convert and a Proteſtant, ſhewing why he cannot believe the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, though he do firmly believe the Doctrine of the Trinity.' Lond. 1686. 4to. 'An Examination of Bellarmine's thirteenth Note of the Church, *Of the Confeſſion of Adverſaries*.' Lond. 1687. 4to. 'The Texts which Papiſts cite out of the Bible for the proof of their Doctrine, *Of the Sacrifice of the Maſs*, examined.' Part I. and II. Lond. 4to. He was aſſiſted in this laſt by Mr Gee. 'The Judgment of private Diſcretion in Matters of Religion defended; in a Sermon on 1 Theſſal. v. 21. preached at St. Paul's Covent-Garden, Feb. 23, 1686.' Lond. 1687. 4to. with a Preface. 'Reflections on a French Teſtament printed at Bordeaux, Ann. Dom. 1686. pretended to be tranſlated out of the Latin into French by the Divines of Louvain.' Lond. 1690. 4to.' The other things he publiſhed, were, VIII. Help for Children's underſtanding the Church-Catechiſm.' Lond. . IX. 'Charge to the Clergy of his Dioceſe, at his primary Viſitation begun at Axebridge, June 2, 1692' Lond. 1692. 4to. In that elegant charge, he has this remarkable paſſage among many others.——'There is no man ſo vile as a profane Miniſter of Religion; He is of all the moſt abject, the moſt ſelf-condemned, and deſtitute of plea, and liable to the heavieſt plagues of another life. If the Religion he teacheth be *falſe* why does he commend it to his people? if *good* why does he not practiſe it? He muſt anſwer for the Souls he miſleads; their guilt will be required of him. Oh the miſchief of ſuch an example! it wounds many ſouls at once. It reproaches our Religion, undermines our Church, breeds Diſſenters, produceth open enemies to our order, our function, and conſtitution. Theſe men are the enemies of the Church of England, theſe are its aſſaſſinates, from theſe men ſhe hath received the moſt dangerous wounds and blemiſhes. Good God awaken us to a conſideration of our danger this way! That Church can never be ſecure whoſe pillars and ſupporters are weak and rotten (4).' X. He was alſo author of the Life of 'Dr Anthony Horneck.' Lond. 1698. 8vo.—And, after his deceaſe were publiſhed theſe two pieces. XI. 'A Diſcourſe concerning Sins of Infirmity, and wilful Sins, with another of Reſtitution.' 12mo. Compoſed, chiefly to be diſtributed amongſt the poorer inhabitants of his Dioceſe. The copy was ſent to the preſs, a very ſhort time before the dreadful Tempeſt, which put a period to his life (5). XII. 'Critical Remarks upon ſome difficult Paſſages of Scripture, in a Letter to Sir Peter King.' Lond. 1719. and 1725. 8vo.

(*n*) Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 513.

(3) In his Prolegomena to his Comment. on the Pentateuch.

(4) P. 9.

(5) Preface.

KING [William] Archbiſhop of Dublin (a), was born May 1, 1650, at Antrim in the north of Ireland, where his father had ſettled on his removal from his native country of Scotland ſome years before. At the age of 12 he was put to the grammar-ſchool of Dungannon, in the county of Tyrone, where he made a good proficiency in claſſical learning; and growing ripe for the univerſity, was removed to Trinity-college near Dublin, and admitted there on the 18th of April, 1667: Applying himſelf diligently to his ſtudies, he obtained a ſcholarſhip of the houſe, and a native's place the enſuing year, and took his firſt degree in arts in 1670. Whence proceeding regularly, he commenced Maſter of Arts three years afterwards, in 1673, and was ordained Deacon by Dr Moſſom, Biſhop of Derry, the ſame year. In this initiatory ſtate he continued for the time required by the Canons of the Church, and then advanced into Prieſts orders, which he received from the hands of Dr Parker, Archbiſhop of Tuam, April 26, 1674. From this time it was not long before he was taken into favour by that prelate, who made him his chaplain in 1676, collated him to a Prebend in the church of Tuam the ſame year, and ſoon afterwards advanced him to the dignity of Præcentor in the ſame cathedral. However, he did not reſide there a long time, for his patron being promoted to the See of Dublin, took care to remove this favourite to a ſituation near himſelf, with the firſt opportunity, and preferred him to the office of chancellor of the church of St Patrick, and the pariſh of St Warburgh, the Archbiſhop's peculiar in Dublin; into which he was inſtalled, October 29, 1679. He was now only in the 30th year of his age, yet he appeared equal to all the eccleſiaſtial honours conferred upon him. And in the next reign when Popery was ſo greatly encouraged by the Court, and carried her face ſo high, he entered the liſts againſt her pretenſions, and following the example of his brethren in the Engliſh Church, he undertook the Popiſh controverſy in Ireland in 1687, againſt the Dean of Londonderry, who had been lately reconciled to the Romiſh Religion [*A*]. This diſpute was continued in the beginning of 1688; and the Deanery of St Patrick's becoming vacant ſoon after by the Death of Dr Worth, our author during the vacancy was firſt conſtituted preſident of the chapter, and then by them elected Dean on the 26th of January the ſame year. This was much about the time that the Revolution took place in England, which being zealouſly eſpouſed by the Dean, he was very active in promoting the ſame eſtabliſhment in Ireland, both before and after the landing of King James there in 1689 (b), who being ſenſible of the weight of his oppoſition, confined him twice on that account in the tower of Dublin caſtle (c) [*B*]. This did not hinder him from proceeding Doctor of Divinity that

(a) Several particulars of this article may be ſeen in the tranſlation and continuation of Sir James Ware, *De Præſulibus & Scriptoribus Hiberniæ*, by Mr Harris, in two volumes folio.

(b) Several inſtances of this are inſerted in his *Vindication of the Proteſtants of Ireland*, &c. paſſim.

(c) Ibid. p. 246.

[*A*] *He had a diſpute upon Popery with the Dean of Derry*] The diſpute was occaſioned by a pamphlet, which the Dean of Derry publiſhed in vindication of his conduct, intitled, *The Conſiderations which obliged* Peter Manby, *Dean of London-Derry, to embrace the Catholic Religion; humbly dedicated to his Grace the Lord Primate of Ireland*. This no ſooner came to Mr King's hands, than he drew up the following: *An Anſwer to the Conſiderations which obliged* Peter Manby, *late Dean of Londonderry, (as he pretends) to embrace what he calls the Catholic Religion*. Dublin, 1687, 4to. The ſight of this piece brought the ableſt advocates of the Romiſh Church to the aſſiſtance of the Dean; and the Court likewiſe countenancing that ſide, there came out a reply, under this title: *A Reformed Catechiſm, in two Dialogues, concerning the Engliſh Reformation; collected, for the moſt part, Word for Word, out of Dr* Burnet, John Fox, *and other Proteſtant Hiſtorians, for the Information of the People; in Reply to Mr* William King's *Anſwer to D.* Manby's *Conſiderations, &c. by* Peter Manby, Dean of Londonderry. Dublin, 1687, in 4to. Our author ſoon rejoined, in *A Vindication of the Anſwer to the Conſiderations &c, being an Anſwer to the firſt Dialogue already printed of the Reformed Catechiſm*. Dublin, 1688, 4to. Here the controverſy in the direct way was dropped by the Dean, who, inſtead of that, took a more artful method, by diſperſing a ſheet of paper, with this title: *A Letter to a Friend, ſhewing the Vanity of this Opinion, that every Man's Senſe and Reaſon are to guide him in Matters of Faith. March* 30, 1688, 4to. But Mr King did not ſuffer this to paſs without confuting it, in *A Vindication of the Chriſtian Religion and Reformation, againſt the Attempts of a late Letter, pretending to ſhew, that All Religions have a like Plea, and that there can be no ſuch Sins as Hereſy and Schiſm, if every Man's Senſe and Reaſon are to guide him in Matters of Faith*. 1688, 4to.

[*B*] *He was confined in the tower of Dublin-Caſtle.*] We are told, that 'he was accuſed to King James, 'for holding a correſpondence with, and giving intel'ligence to, the Rebels, as they were then called, 'both in England and in the North of Ireland. Par'ticularly it is ſaid, that he gave frequent intelligence 'to Marſhal Schomberg by one Sherman, and kept a

'conſtant correſpondence with one Tolet and others 'in London. That though this was high-treaſon, 'which a bloody-minded tyrant, ſuch as he afterwards 'repreſented King James to be (1), would have found 'another remedy for it than a ſhort impriſonment; 'but the King was diſpoſed to ſhew him mercy, the 'rather, becauſe his Majeſty had once ſo good an opi'nion of him, that he had him frequently in private, 'and truſted him in his affairs; and that the Lord'Chief Juſtice Herbert vouched for him at the Coun'cil-table with ſo much zeal, as to ſay, that he was 'as loyal a man as any that ſat at that board; which 'atteſtation actually retrieved him from ſome inconve'niencies that then lay upon him [the impriſonment], 'and continued him ſome time longer in the King's 'good opinion (2).' The truth of theſe facts were apparently never conteſted by our author, who allows the good-nature and merciful diſpoſition of King James; but at the ſame time maintains, that this temper, amiable as it is in itſelf, was ſo managed, as to be no ſecurity to his Proteſtant ſubjects. That his partizans made it their buſineſs to repreſent their maſter as the moſt merciful and juſteſt Prince in the world, and then railed at the Proteſtants for their miſtruſt of him. Perhaps, if he alone had been to have had the diſpoſal of their lives and liberties, and would have followed his natural inclinations, they would not have ſo much feared to have truſted him; but while he had ſuch miniſters about him, and embraced a religion of ſuch principles as he profeſſed, there was no room to depend much on his natural clemency or inclination, ſince theſe were ſufficient to corrupt the beſt natured man in the world, and had actually corrupted his Majeſty, as was evident from the whole tenour of his conduct with regard to the Proteſtants, of which he gives ſeveral inſtances both before and after his acceſſion to the throne. Among others, taking notice of the King's declaration, that *he would have all that did eat his bread to be of his own religion*, and accordingly, that if he ever employed a Proteſtant, it was for a colour only to his proceedings againſt them, or becauſe he could not find a Papiſt fit for their places, or becauſe he believed that in time he might make proſelytes of them; he obſerves, that 'where he did em'ploy them, though their places were conſiderable,

'yet

(1) See our author's State of the Proteſtants in Ireland, &c. chap. iii.

(2) Anſwer to the State of the Proteſtants in Ireland, &c. by Charles Leſley, p. 5 and 8. Lond. 1692, 4to.

that year; and though he was attacked not long after in a weekly paper, called the *Abborrence* [C], with a deſign to render him more obnoxious to the Court; yet he managed ſo prudently as to fruſtrate that attempt; but he did not eſcape being aſſaulted in the ſtreet, where a muſquet with a lighted match was levelled at him. He was alſo diſturbed in the performance of divine ſervice at his church ſeveral times, particularly on Candlemas-Day this year, when ſeven officers who were there, ſwore aloud they would cut his throat (*d*). Upon King James's retreat to France after the Battle of the Boyne, in the enſuing year 1690, the 16th of November being appointed a thankſgiving-day for the preſervation of King William's perſon, the Dean preached the ſermon on that occaſion at St Patrick's, Dublin; and on the 8th of January following, he was nominated to the Biſhoprick of Derry, and conſecrated on the 25th of that month, at the cathedral of Chriſt-church in Dublin, by Francis, Archbiſhop of that ſee, aſſiſted by Anthony Biſhop of Meath, William Biſhop of Kildare, and Narciſſus Biſhop of Fernes and Leighlin. A few months after this, he publiſhed a piece in vindication of the reſiſtance given to King James by the Proteſtants in Ireland, and of their ſubmiſſion to King William

(*d*) Id. ibid. and p. 247.

‘ yet they never had the intereſt with him, or power proper to their places, but were meer cyphers in it. Thus, continues he, Sir *Edward Herbert* was made Chancellor of *England*, and a new Great-Seal cut for him; but he was never allowed to have that intereſt with the King, nor had his Majeſty that regard for him in Councils, that his place required. The puny Papiſt Judges had more influence on the King, and could make bolder with him than he; that he was not admitted to the ſecret of affairs at all, and at the public Councils he was ſet below *Fitton* Chancellor of Ireland, and ſeveral others, whom, as Chancellor of England, and in his maſter's preſence, he ought to have preceded (3).’ A remark, ſo much in favour of Sir Edward Herbert, who is hereby ſingled out from many others, as a moſt flagrant example of thoſe that were ill uſed, notwithſtanding their ſteady loyalty, makes it more than probable, that his anſwering at the Council-Board for that of our author was by him not diſapproved. On the contrary, we ſhall ſee preſently, that Dr King was one of thoſe Proteſtants, who always declared their abhorrence of any inſurrection againſt the government, prudently avoiding all unſeaſonable and hopeleſs provocation thereof.

(3) State of the Proteſtants in Ireland, p. 52. third edition.

[C] *He was attacked in a weekly paper called the Abborrence*] This paper was licenſed either by Mr Richard Nagle or Albeville, Secretaries of State *, and wrote by one Yalden, a Convert-Counſellor at Law, who made it his buſineſs to rake together all the little ſtories that might reflect on Proteſtants, and all the arguments his wit could furniſh for his cauſe; and in the ſcarcity of truth, he frequently invented falſe ſtories and lies concerning the Clergy, and began with Dr King and Dr Foy. He had publiſhed a collection of paſſages out of the Biſhop of Ely's [Dr Turner's] ſermon, and ſome fixteen others, for Paſſive Obedience; which lying on the Bookſeller's hands, he printed the following advertiſement in his *Abborrence*. ‘ There was lately publiſhed, by John Yalden, Eſq; the ſubſtance of fifteen ſermons, intituled, *An Abborrence from the Biſhop of* Ely, &c. *of the Proceedings of the Prince of* Orange, *and the Lords, &c. that invited him.* But ſome Proteſtants believing the ſaid book to be a Popiſh contrivance, and that ſuch doctrines as were therein were never preached by the Divines there named; upon which ‡ a gentleman of quality, to ſatisfy theſe doubts, applied himſelf to two reverend Divines of this city, viz. Dr King and Dr Foy; who both certified under their hands, that the doctrines contained in the ſaid book were honeſt, and true Chriſtian Divinity, and obliging to all Chriſtians to put immediately in practice, upon the peril of their ſalvation. Which certificate ſatisfied ſeveral Proteſtants here, and confirmed them in an unchangeable loyalty.’

* Ibid. p. 251, 252.

‡ It ſhou'd be, thereupon.

This paper coming to the hands of our author, occaſioned the following letter from him to Dr Foy:

‘ Reverend Sir, March 8, 1689.

‘ I intended to have waited upon you this afternoon, but found myſelf ſo indiſpoſed, that I durſt not venture abroad. I have been made ſenſible, that the publiſher of the *Weekly Abborrence* has made uſe of your name and mine: and affirms, that we have certified under our hands, that the doctrines contained in a book publiſhed by one John Yalden, Eſq; containing a *Collection of the Subſtance of fifteen Sermons, were honeſt and true Chriſtian Divinity, and obliging to all Chriſtians to put immediately in practice, upon the peril of their ſalvation.* And he intimates, that this certificate has been ſhewn to ſeveral Proteſtants here. Sir, for my own part, I do profeſs, that I never read the aforeſaid book, nor did any gentleman of quality (as he affirms) ever apply himſelf to me, to ſatisfy him in any doubts concerning it, that I remember. I am ſure never any body demanded a certificate from me concerning it; nor did I ever ſign any ſuch certificate as he pretends, or any thing like it: and therefore that whole advertiſement (as far as it concerns me) is abſolutely falſe and groundleſs. If any one had aſked me concerning that collection, I could have given him no other anſwer, than that I had neither read it, nor the ſermons out of which it is ſuppoſed to be taken: perhaps the collection may be juſt, and no harm in certifying it to be ſo: but I am ſure there is a great deal of harm, in forging a certificate under a man's hand, whatever the matter be that is certified: and if there be no ſuch certificate, forged or real, it is no leſs criminal to publiſh to the world (as in this *Abborrence*) that there is one. I cannot imagine to what purpoſe the publiſher ſhould have inſerted ſuch an eaſily detected falſehood, which he could not expect ſhould eſcape being diſcovered; except he had a mind to deſtroy both his own credit, and likewiſe that of the collection. Pray, Sir, if you know any thing of this matter, communicate it to

Your moſt humble ſervant,

William King.

To the Rev Dr Nath.
Foy, theſe,

To this Dr Foy returned the following anſwer.

Reverend Sir,

‘ What you were pleaſed to acquaint me with, ſeveral gentlemen, who were concerned for me, gave me notice of ſome few hours before: upon which I immediately repaired to the coffee-houſe (the likelieſt place, as I judged, to find a lye if it were ſtirring) where I ſaw myſelf in print; of which, though I could not imagine what ſhould be the ground, yet ſince it was reſolved it ſhould be ſo, I was glad to be found with ſo good company as yourſelf. Had the gentleman, among other things in his *Abborrence*, but abhorred untruth, I am ſure my name had never appeared in his *advertiſement*: for I declare, I never read the book mentioned therein; and I judge, I ſhall not be very fond of reading any thing that comes from under his hand; having given ſuch a taſte to the world of his abilities in writing and collecting other mens ſenſes, that it is to be doubted whether he has yet well collected his own: whoſe collection, as I never read, ſo have I never received any account of the contents of it; nor did any perſon ever require a certificate from me, or my judgment of that collection, or the ſermons ſaid to be in it: nor did I ever give any certificate, or my judgment, to any perſon unrequired. This is all I know of the matter, or of the Gentleman's collection. It may be a faithful one for ought I know, but certainly he has not taken liam and Queen Mary [*D*]; which was followed by another *Thankſgiving Sermon for King William's Succeſs in reducing that Kingdom.* This was printed in 1692; and the ſame year, there coming out *An Anſwer to his Vindication of the Proteſtants*, &c. he thought proper to take no public notice of it * [*E*]. In 1693, he was appointed one of the royal Viſitors

'taken the beſt method to aſſert the reputation of it, 'or his own, ſince he muſt give leave with them, 'who are as ignorant of his perſon and collection as I 'am, to ſuſpect, that he who can find a certificate in 'Dublin that never was written, may find a ſermon in 'London that never was printed. This, Sir, I 'thought was due, as a return to your's, which I 'kindly reſent, and requeſt you to believe, that I am, 'Sir,

Your faithful friend and humble ſervant,

NATHANIEL FOY (4).

For the Rev. Dr
Will. King, theſe,

Theſe letters being ſpread about the city, every body came to know the matter of fact as contained therein; by which means, concerning themſelves much in the matter, they both avoided the ſnare that was laid to entrap them, either by letting it paſs in abſolute ſilence, or by diſowning it and refuting the calumny.

[*D*] *A vindication of the reſiſtance given to King James, &c.*] This piece is intituled, *The ſtate of the Proteſtants of Ireland under the late King James's government; in which their carriage towards him is juſtified, and the abſolute neceſſity of their endeavouring to be freed from his government, and of ſubmitting to their preſent majeſties is demonſtrated* (5). The general plan of this treatiſe is as follows: he begins with ſtating the limits of the duty of paſſive obedience, wherein he follows the opinion of Grotius, that reſiſtance is allowable in caſes of neceſſity, and that this neceſſity commences when it becomes certain and apparent, that the inconveniencies of ſubmiſſion are greater to the commonwealth, than thoſe of a civil war, which it is entered into to remove, and then there needs no more to juſtify the Proteſtants of Ireland for deſerting King James, and accepting their Majeſties protection, than to ſhew, 1. That it is lawful for one Prince or ſtate to interpoſe between another Prince and his ſubjects, who uſes them cruelly, or endeavours to enſlave or deſtroy them, and to reſcue them from his hands even by a war, if other means prove ineffectual: and that it is lawful for the ſubjects to accept of ſuch interpoſition and protection, if they can find no better way to preſerve themſelves. 2. That King James deſigned to deſtroy and utterly ruin the Proteſtant religion, the liberty and property of the ſubjects in general, the Engliſh intereſt in Ireland in particular, and alter the very frame and conſtitution of the government. 3. That he not only deſigned but attempted it with great ſucceſs, and made a conſiderable progreſs in it. 4. That there remained no other proſpect, or human poſſibility of avoiding this ſlavery and deſtruction deſigned againſt the kingdom and proteſtants of Ireland, but by accepting of the protection, and ſubmitting to the government of their preſent Majeſties. It is evident from this plan, that the force of the argument depends upon the ſufficiency and truth of the facts to prove the ſecond and third branches of it. (6) The large collection our author has made of theſe, ſhews him to have been very diligent in his enquiries, moſt of them being ſo well atteſted as to put the truth thereof beyond all contradiction. And with regard to the whole he concludes in theſe words; 'Here I do ſolemnly proteſt, that no private diſſatisfaction, that no ill-will 'to King James's perſon, nor prejudice againſt any body, has moved me to ſay what I have ſaid; but that I 'might vindicate ourſelves by ſpeaking truth in a matter that ſo nearly concerned us, both in our temporal 'and eternal intereſt. And I muſt likewiſe proteſt before God, who will judge between us and our enemies 'in this point, that I have not aggravated the calamities 'we have ſuffered, nor miſrepreſented the proceedings 'againſt us out of favour or affection to a party; but 'have rather told things nakedly and in general, than 'inſiſted on ſuch particulars as might ſeem to ſerve no 'other purpoſe, but to make our adverſaries odious.' In proceeding he appeals to a future inquiſition to be made upon the oaths of eye-witneſſes and ſufferers, which he alſo propoſes as a thing much to be wiſhed for by the Proteſtants, as being well aſſured, that if ſuch commiſſions were iſſued by the proper authority into the ſeveral counties, that the treatment which the Proteſtants underwent, and the damages they ſuffered, would appear with a much worſe face than he had repreſented it, and that where one ſtory might happen undeſignedly to be aggravated, twenty worſe will be added to ſupply it. 'There is not, continues he, a 'a more neceſſary or effectual means can be taken for 'clearing the Proteſtants in this kingdom, or juſtifying 'the ſtate in their proceeding againſt the Iriſh: and 'we are ready and willing to ſtand or fall in the cenſure of the world by this plea, according as on the 'proof of particulars by ſufficient evidence, the truth 'ſhall appear:' to this we ſhall venture to add the following remark, as being ſuggeſted by the peruſal of the book. It has been often ſaid, that King James defeated his own views by proceeding too faſt even againſt the rules of ordinary policy in England; however that be, 'tis certain his miſcarriage in England was of no ſervice in teaching him that leſſon for his uſe in reſpect to Ireland; ſince nothing can be more notoriouſly manifeſt, as appears from this account, than that his conduct there was puſhed on with a ſtill greater degree of violence (7).

[*E*] *An anſwer to his vindication of the Proteſtants.*] The famous Mr Charles Leſley was the author of the piece, which he called *An anſwer to a book intituled*, The ſtate of the Proteſtants in Ireland, &c. Upon the ſubject of Paſſive Obedience, which is laid for the foundation of our author's defence, he endeavours to ſhew, that Dr King, as well as many others, had taken care to ſtate the limits of that doctrine ſo as to ſuit the times and occaſions: that no man was, or could be, a higher aſſerter of it than 'the Doctor had been all 'his life before the Revolution took place; and that 'even at the beginning of it, he told a perſon of honour, 'from whoſe mouth Mr Leſley had it, that if the 'Prince of Orange came over for the crown, or ſhould 'accept of it, he prayed God might blaſt all his deſigns. That there was no way to preſerve the honour 'of our religion, but by adhering unalterably to our 'loyalty. That it would be a glorious ſight to ſee a 'a cart full of clergymen going to the ſtake for paſſive 'obedience as the primitive Chriſtians did. That 'it would prove the ſupport and glory of our religion; 'but that a rebellion would ruin and diſgrace it; he 'ſaid, continues Mr Leſley, that if it were no more 'than that declaration, which he had ſubſcribed of its 'not being lawful, on any pretence whatſoever, to 'take arms againſt the King, he would die a hundred 'deaths rather than do it. And in ſupport of this 'aſſertion, he proceeds to relate the following ſtory, 'that at a meeting of the clergy of Dublin in the beginning of the Revolution in 1688, to conſider what 'meaſures they were to take, Dr King declared, *that 'their taking arms in the north of Ireland at that time, 'was rank rebellion, if there could be any rebellion, 'particularly Derry ſhutting their gates againſt the 'King's forces ſent thither*; and when one there preſent 'affirmed, that the ſubjects might take arms in defence of their laws, &c. The Doctor violently oppoſed 'it, even in relation to Derry, and urged, that the 'Bp of Derry, Hopkins, who was then there, did 'proteſt againſt their ſhutting out the King's forces, 'and refuſed to join with thoſe who did it; for which, 'and other reaſons then given by Dr King, he was 'againſt any perſon's going to the north, or joining 'with them, as being a joining in a rebellion (8).' Every one ſees the rancorous ſpirit of party in this account of Mr Leſley; and indeed the ſame ſpirit ſhews itſelf at the firſt ſetting out of his anſwer, where he tells us, that 'Dr King's book is calculated for the deſtruction of mankind, by ſetting up ſuch principles 'as countenance eternal rebellions, and afford pretences for war and confuſion to the end of the world, 'and makes ſettlement and peace impracticable among 'men (9).' But neither on the other hand muſt it be denied, that our author has ſometimes not been ſufficiently upon his guard againſt the ſuggeſtions of the ſame

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* About this time he made ſome remarks upon Mr Locke's *Eſſay on Human Underſtanding*, and communicated them to Mr Molyneux, who had ſent him a copy of the firſt edition of the *Eſſay*. Letters between Mr Locke and ſeveral of his friends, p. 4.

(4) Ibid. in the appendix, No. 29.

(5) This treatiſe was ſo well received by the public, that a third edition was printed in 1692. And Biſhop Burnet obſerves, that it was univerſally acknowledged to be as truly as it was finely written; and refers to it, as a full and faithful account. Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. I.

(6) Accordingly, theſe two chapters fill up all, from p. 13 to p. 252. after which, chap. iv. is diſpatched in three pages, and ends at p. 255.

(7) Vindication, p. 269, 270.

(8) Leſley's anſwer, p. 113.

(9) Ibid. p. 2.

Viſitors of the Biſhop of Down and Connor, when that prelate was ſuſpended by them (l). The public tranquillity being now perfectly reſtored, his Lordſhip applied himſelf more particularly to the immediate duties of the paſtoral care; and reviewing the ſtate of his dioceſe, he preſently diſcovered, that, by the great number of colonies lately tranſported from Scotland, the major part of the people in the dioceſe of Derry were Diſſenters from the eſtabliſhed Church, which they oppoſed with as much zeal as the Papiſts: ſo that the danger in theſe parts of Ireland was not taken away by the new ſettlement, but only ſhifted into different hands. Hereupon, as he had employed his pen againſt Popery, when the danger

to

ſame evil ſpirit (10). We are told, 'tis true that our author at the time of his death had atteſted vouchers of every particular fact alledged in his book, and that theſe are ſtill in the hands of his relations. However, it is certain, that he does not even himſelf always give intire credit to the teſtimony of theſe vouchers; yet his antagoniſt has notoriouſly overcharged this part of his accuſation, when he tells us, that with regard to matters of fact, 'tho' he could not ſay that he had examined into every ſingle one related by our author, not having the opportunity of doing it. But, ſays he, I am ſure I have the moſt material, and by theſe you will eaſily judge of his ſincerity in the reſt, which could not all come to my knowledge. However, this I can ſay, that there is not one I have enquired into, but I have found it falſe in *whole* or in *part*, *aggravated* or *miſrepreſented*, ſo as to alter the whole face of the ſtory, and give it perfectly another air and turn; inſomuch, that tho' many things he ſays were true, yet he has hardly ſpoke a true word, that is told truly and nakedly, without a warp (11).' In reality, as to our author's principles, as far as they may be conjectured from what is ſeen in this treatiſe, he ſeems to have run with the ſtream of the clergy, in diſapproving the bill of excluſion and the principle of reſiſtance on which it was built. In this opinion he carried the meaſures of obedience to the ſame unlimited degree as was generally preached up in the reign of King Charles II. and before the Revolution. To this purpoſe we find him obſerving, that 'when the Prince of Orange made his deſcent into England, King James had an army of Papiſts in Ireland, conſiſting of between ſeven and eight thouſand men, of which near four thouſand were ſent over to him into England; there remained then about four thouſand behind, ſcattered up and down the kingdom, which were but a handful to the Proteſtants, there being men and arms enough in Dublin alone to have dealt with them: when therefore the news came, that King James had ſent commiſſioners to treat with the Prince, it was propoſed by ſome to ſeize the caſtle of Dublin, where the ſtores of arms and ammunition lay; the poſſibility of this was demonſtrated, and the ſucceſs extremely probable, inſomuch, that the perſons who offered to undertake it made no doubt of effecting it. They conſidered that the Papiſts, beſides the four thouſand of the army were generally without arms, that thoſe who were in arms were raw and cowardly, and might eaſily be ſuppreſt; that to do it effectually, there needed no more but to ſeize the Deputy Tyrconnel, who had not then above ſix hundred men in the city to guard him and ſecure it; that their hearts were generally ſunk, and they openly declared themſelves deſirous to lay down their arms; propoſing to themſelves no other conditions, but to return to that ſtation in which they were when King James came to the crown. This was ſo univerſally talked of by themſelves, that if any one could have aſſured them of theſe terms, there was no doubt but they would have readily complied, and have left the Lord Tyrconnel to ſhift for himſelf; nay, it is probable, the wiſer ſort among them would have been glad that the Proteſtants had ſeized him; and he himſelf commanded ſome Proteſtants to ſignify to their friends in England, that he was willing to part with the ſword on theſe terms, ſo he might have leave to do it from King James.' *But the Proteſtants had been educated in ſuch a mighty veneration to the very name of authority, and in ſo deep a ſenſe of loyalty, that notwithſtanding the many provocations given them, and their fear of being ſerved as in* 1641, *the memory of which was ſtill freſh to them, they yet abhorred any thing that looked like an inſurrection againſt the government, and generally condemned the deſign of meddling with the Lord Deputy, tho' they knew he was no legal governor, and uncapable* (*as a Papiſt*) *by the law of that truſt.* Eſpecially the Lord Mountjoy laboured for his ſafety, and prevented the forementioned propoſal of ſeizing him and the caſtle with as much induſtry, as if he himſelf had been to periſh in it. *The truth is, it was an unanimous reſolution of all the Proteſtants of the kingdom, that they would not be the aggreſſors, and they held ſteadily to their reſolution; none offered or attempted any thing, 'till they ſaw the whole body of the Papiſts in Ireland forming themſelves into troops and companies, and theſe new raiſed men permitted, nay put under a neceſſity to rob and plunder for their ſubſiſtence. They pitied the hard fortune of King James, and notwithſtanding they were half ruined themſelves when he came into the kingdom, yet if he had carried himſelf with any tolerable moderation towards them, and his deſigns to ruin them had not been ſo apparent, he might have prevailed on them in a great meaſure* (12). He proceeds to ſhew, that the change of behaviour in the Proteſtants was no more than the neceſſary effect of that King's deſigns to ruin them actually carried into execution; and among other things, he ſuggeſts, that 'all King James's promiſes and declarations in favour of the Proteſtants, were perfectly copied from the French King's declarations to preſerve the edict of Nantz, and of as little ſincerity; and that notwithſtanding theſe he had as fully determined the ruin of the Proteſtants, as that King had reſolved the avoiding the edict of Nants, when he made his ſolemn declarations to the contrary (13).' Again, 'the preſent French King is a demonſtration, that neither love of glory, nor of intereſt, neither greatneſs of mind nor goodneſs of nature, are antidotes againſt the force of the Roman principles, or can reſtrain the Prince that has thoroughly imbibed them from blood and perſecution. Otherwiſe he would never have made himſelf infamous by ſuch horrid cruelties as he has committed on his Proteſtant ſubjects, or blot an indelible blot on a reign which he would fain have repreſented to be more glorious than any of his predeceſſors (14).' In anſwer to this, Mr Leſley acknowledges the fact of the French King Lewis XIV's conduct with the Huguenots and defends it, but is ſo far from allowing that King James had learned this leſſon, and copied from that monarch, that he loſt his crown by not doing it. 'His [the French King's] baniſhing the Huguenots, ſays he, and dragooning others to work them into another religion, does indeed, and juſtly, eclipſe his glory with thoſe who know not the true grounds and motives which induced him to methods ſo rigid and ſevere. But *his very enemies, who know the reaſons he had for it, do even in this excuſe him, and turn it into an argument of his wiſe foreſight and prudence. They tell you, that he was under an invincible neceſſity of being rid of theſe men, or hazarding ſuch a revolution as beſel King James* (15). Our author ſtrongly maintains alſo the perfect union of King James with the French King in the general deſign of extirpating hereſy. 'Is not, ſays he, our late King's being of the ſame principles, and under the government of the ſame director of conſcience? Is not this fondneſs of France, and his alliance with it, his affecting to imitate the King in every thing, and above all his proſecuting the ſame, if not worſe methods, towards the Proteſtants in Ireland, that the King of France did with the Huguenots in his dominions; a clear and full proof of both Kings being in the ſame deſign, and that we muſt all have expected the ſame uſage our brethren met with in France (61).' In anſwer to this, Leſley declares with the like ſpirit, that 'the Jacobites think themſelves for ever obliged to acknowledge with all gratefulneſs the noble and generous reception he has given King James in his diſtreſs, which as no King in Europe was able to have done but himſelf, ſo none but he could have done it in ſuch a manner, with that greatneſs and every punctilio of honour (17).'

[*F*] *An*

(e) The other two Commiſſioners were Anthony Biſhop of Meath and Capel Biſhop of Dromore.

(10) See §. 6. Part i. Append. III. where he intimates, that King James ſuffered the Engliſh Navy to go to ruin; which he endeavours to excuſe in the third edition, p. 93.

(11) Leſley's Anſwer, p. 105.

(12) State of the Proteſtants in Ireland, &c. p. 110, 111.

(13) Ibid. p. 20.

(14) Ibid. p. 32.

(15) Anſwer to a Book, intituled, The State of the Proteſtants, in the preface.

(16) Ibid. p. 15.

(17) Preface to an Anſwer, &c.

to the Church in general was imminent from that quarter; ſo the ſame regard induced him to take it up again in her preſervation now, that he became ſenſible how much on the other ſide her borders were retrenched by the Preſbyterian Fanatics in his particular diſtrict. In this view he ſet himſelf to bring theſe over to a conformity to the eſtabliſhed liturgy, in a piece which he publiſhed under the title of, *The Inventions of* Men *in the Worſhip of* God. Printed at Dublin, 1694, in 4to. But, inſtead of perſwading them to a compliance, the attempt only ſerved to engage him in a ſecond controverſy with theſe ſeparating adverſaries; one of whoſe miniſters preſently drew up *Remarks on a late* Diſcourſe *of William Lord Biſhop of Derry*, concerning the Inventions of Men in the Worſhip of God. Dublin, 1694, 4to. In this piece, Mr Joſeph Boyſe, the author, acknowledged, that the Biſhop's ‘ Diſcourſe was written with an air of ſeriouſneſs and gravity, becoming the weight of the ſubject as well as the dignity of his character.’ Whereupon his Lordſhip returned an anſwer, under the title of, *An Admonition to the Diſſenting Inhabitants of the Dioceſe of Derry, concerning a Book lately publiſhed by Mr* J. B. *intituled*, Remarks, &c. *from* William *Lord Biſhop of that Dioceſe*. Dublin, the ſame year, in 4to. To this Mr Boyſe replied, in *A Vindication of the* Remarks, &c. Dublin, 1695, 4to. And the Biſhop rejoined, in *A Second Admonition to the Diſſenting Inhabitants*, &c. publiſhed the ſame year at Dublin in 4to. Here the conteſt ended, having, as uſual, produced very little, if any, good effect at all. And, from conſidering the waywardneſs of man, our author turned his thoughts to view the myſterious ways of God in his providential government of the world. The problem concerning *the Origin of evil* had employed the ſharpeſt wits both of former and latter ages, and ſtill remained a problem, at a great diſtance from having received any ſatisfactory ſolution. This moſt arduous intricacy our author thought worthy therefore of his utmoſt attention. Accordingly, he ſet himſelf to the taſk, with a reſolution in ſome meaſure equal to the difficulty; and, after the moſt diligent inquiry, having in his judgment penetrated up to the fountain-head, by firſt diſcovering and then proceeding in a new way to it, he preſented the public with the fruit of his pains, in his celebrated treatiſe, *De Origine Mali, authore* Gulielmo King, S. T. D. *Epiſcopo Derenſi*. Dublin. 1702, 4to. It was republiſhed the ſame year at London in 8vo. and a general view of his ſcheme may be ſeen below [*F*]. Our author

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[*F*] *An account of his ſcheme*] This is as follows: ‘ (1.) All creatures are neceſſarily imperfect, and at an infinite diſtance from the perfection of the Deity, and if a negative principle were to be admitted, ſuch as the *privation* of the *Peripatetics*, it might be ſaid, that every created being conſiſts of exiſtence and non-exiſtence, for it is nothing in reſpect both of thoſe perfections which it wants, and of thoſe which others have. And this defect, or, as we may ſay, mixture of non-entity, in the conſtitution of created Beings, is the neceſſary principle of all natural evils, and of a poſſibility of moral ones; as will appear in the ſequel. (2.) An equality of perfection in the creatures is impoſſible, as our adverſaries allow; to which we may add, neither would it be ſo convenient to place all in the ſame ſtate of perfection. (3.) It is agreeable to divine wiſdom and goodneſs to have created not only the more perfect beings, but alſo the moſt imperfect, ſuch as matter; ſo long as they are better than nothing, and no impediment to the perfect ones. (4.) Admitting matter and motion, there neceſſarily follows compoſition and diſſolution of bodies, that is generation and corruption which ſome may look upon as defects in the divine work; and yet it is no objection to his goodneſs or wiſdom, to create ſuch things as are neceſſarily attended with thoſe evils. Allowing therefore God to be infinitely powerful, good, and wiſe, yet it is manifeſt that ſome evils, viz. generation and corruption, and the neceſſary conſequences of theſe might have place in his works; and if even one evil could ariſe without the ill principle, why not many? And if we knew the nature and circumſtances of all things, as well as we do thoſe of matter and motion, it may be preſumed, that we could account for them without any imputation of the divine attributes. For there is the ſame reaſon for them all, and one inſtance to the contrary deſtroys an univerſal propoſition. (5.) It is not inconſiſtent with the divine attributes to have created ſome ſpirits or thinking ſubſtances, which are dependent on matter and motion in their operations, and being united to matter, may both move their bodies, and be affected with certain paſſions and ſenſations by their motion, and ſtand in need of a certain diſpoſition of organs for the proper exerciſe of their thinking faculty, ſuppoſing the number of thoſe that are quite ſeparate from matter, to be as complete as the ſyſtem of the whole univerſe would admit, and that the lower order is no inconvenience to the higher. (6) It can't be conceived, but that ſome ſenſations thus excited by matter and motion ſhould be diſagreeable, and tend to diſſolve the union between ſoul and body, as well as others agreeable. For it is impoſſible, as well as inconvenient, that the ſoul ſhould feel itſelf to be loſing its faculty of thinking, which alone can make it happy and not be affected with it. Now diſagreeable ſenſation is to be reckoned among natural evils, which yet cannot be avoided without removing ſuch kind of animals out of nature. If any one aſk why ſuch a law of union was eſtabliſhed? let this be his anſwer, becauſe there could be no better. For ſuch a neceſſity as this flows from the very nature of the union of things, and conſidering the circumſtances and conditions, under which, and which only, they could have exiſtence, they could neither be placed in a better ſtate, nor be governed by more commodious laws. Thoſe evils therefore are not inconſiſtent with the divine attributes, provided that the creatures which are ſubject to them enjoy ſuch benefits as overbalance them. It is to be obſerved alſo, that theſe evils do not properly ariſe from the exiſtence which God gave to the creatures; but from hence, that they had not more of exiſtence given them, which nevertheleſs their ſtate and the place they fill in the great machine of the world could not admit. This mixture therefore of non-exiſtence, ſupplies the place of an ill principle in the origin of evil, as was ſaid before. (7.) The happineſs and perfection of every thing or agent, ariſes from the due exerciſe of thoſe faculties which God has given it; and the more faculties and perfections any thing has, it is capable of the greater and more perfect happineſs. (8.) The leſs dependent on external things, the more ſelf-ſufficient any agent is; and the more it has the principle of its actions in itſelf, it is ſo much the more perfect. Since therefore we may conceive two ſorts of agents, one which does not act, unleſs impelled and determined by external force; the other, which have the principle of action within themſelves, and can determine themſelves to action by their natural power, it is plain that the latter are much more perfect than the former. Nor can it be denied, but that God may create an agent with ſuch a power as this, which exerts itſelf into action without either the concourſe of God, or the determination of external cauſes, ſo long as God by a general concourſe preſerves the exiſtence, powers, and faculties of that agent. (9.) Such therein makes it his buſineſs to ſhew, how all the ſeveral kinds of evil with which the world abounds, are conſiſtent with the goodneſs of God, and may be accounted for without the ſuppoſition of an evil principle. So fatal a blow as this given to the Manichæan ſyſtem, did not fail to rouſe the attention and ſpirit of Mr Bayle, who, impatient to ſtep forth in defence of that his favourite opinion, attempted an anſwer to the Biſhop before he had ſeen his book [G], which came out, as has been ſaid, in 1702; and the author

‘ an agent may preſcribe to itſelf an end, and proſecute it by proper means, and take delight in the proſecution of it, tho' that end might be perfectly indifferent to it before it was propoſed, and be no more agreeable than any other of the ſame or a different kind would be, if the agent had once reſolved to proſecute it. For ſince all the pleaſure or happineſs which we receive ariſes from the due exerciſe of our faculties, every thing which is equally commodious for the exerciſe of our faculties will give us the ſame delight. The reaſon therefore why one thing pleaſes above another, is founded in the act of the agent himſelf, viz. his election. This is largely explained in the book itſelf, together with the limits, within which it is confined, and will be illuſtrated more fully hereafter. (10.) It is impoſſible that all things ſhould agree to all, that is, be good; for ſince the things are limited, diſtinct, and different one from another, and are endued with finite, diſtinct, and different appetites, it neceſſarily follows, that the relations of convenient and inconvenient muſt ariſe from this diverſity. Since therefore every created being is from the imperfection of its nature neceſſarily limited, and from that limitation there neceſſarily follows diſtinction and diverſity, it follows, that a poſſibility, at leaſt of evil, is a neceſſary attendant on all creatures, and cannot be ſeparated from them by any power, wiſdom, or goodneſs whatſoever. For when a thing is applied to an appetite or being to which it is not appropriated, as it is not agreeable to it, it neceſſarily affects it with uneaſineſs; nor was it poſſible that all things ſhould be appropriated to every being, where the things themſelves, and the appetites are various and different, as they muſt neceſſarily be if created even in the moſt perfect manner. (11.) Since ſome agents have a power over their own actions as above, and can pleaſe themſelves in the choice of ſuch things as may exerciſe their faculties; and ſince there are ſome ways of exerciſing them which may be prejudicial to themſelves or others, it is plain, that from this power there ariſes a poſſibility of chooſing amiſs, and they may exerciſe themſelves to their own prejudice, or that of others. (12.) And ſince in ſuch a variety of things, thoſe that are beneficial or hurtful cannot be known by an intelligent being, which is in his own nature limited and imperfect, it was agreeable to the divine wiſdom to preſcribe ſome rules and directions to ſuch agents, in order to inform them what would benefit or incommode them or their fellow creatures, i. e. what would be good or evil, that they might chuſe the one and avoid the other.

‘ (13.) Since therefore, as was ſaid before, an equality of perfection in the creatures is impoſſible, neither would it be convenient for them to be placed in the ſame ſtate of perfection; it follows, that there are various orders and degrees even among intelligent creatures; and ſince ſome of the inferior orders and degrees are capable of thoſe benefits which the ſuperior ones enjoy; and ſince there are as many placed in the ſuperior orders as the ſyſtem of the univerſe allowed, it follows, that the inferior ones, as a more convenient place could not be left for them, ought to be content with a lower portion of happineſs, which their nature makes them capable of, and to a higher than which they could not aſpire without detriment to the ſuperior which poſſeſſes that ſtation; for he muſt quit his place before another can aſcend to it; and it ſeems hard and very inconſiſtent with the nature of God, to degrade a ſuperior as long as he has done nothing to deſerve it. But if one of a ſuperior order will by his own act, without any violence or compulſion, voluntarily quit his place, or freely chuſe ſuch things as deſerve a degradation, God would ſeem unjuſt to thoſe who are in an inferior degree, and by a good uſe of their liberty become fit and qualified for a ſuperior ſtate, if he ſhould refuſe them the free uſe of their own choice. It ſeems unjuſt for God to condemn or degrade any one arbitrarily, but he is not to be blamed for ſuffering one to degrade himſelf by his own act and choice, eſpecially when the uſe of that elective power belongs to the nature of an intelligent being, and could not in the preſent ſtate be prohibited without detriment to ſome other.

‘ Here the wiſdom and goodneſs of God ſeem to have exerted themſelves in a moſt glorious manner, the contrivance ſeems to be the effect of the higheſt policy and prudence. For by this means God has ſhewn himſelf moſt equitable to his creatures; ſo that no one can complain of or glory in his lot. He that is in a leſs convenient ſituation has no room for complaint, ſince he is endowed with faculties, and has power to uſe them in ſuch a manner as to acquire a more commodious one; and he muſt be forced to own himſelf only in the fault, if he continues deprived of it: and he that is now in a ſuperior ſtate may learn to fear, leſt he fall from it by an unlawful uſe of his faculties; the ſuperior therefore has a dread that may in ſome meaſure diminiſh his happineſs, and the inferior a hope that may increaſe it; by which means they are both brought nearer to an equality, and in the mean time have the utmoſt provocation and incitement to chuſe the beſt, and make the moſt beneficial uſe of their faculties. This conteſt makes for the good of the univerſe, and much more ſo than if all things were fixed by Fate and Neceſſity, and abſolutely confined to their preſent ſtate. Either God muſt have created no free agents to be governed by the hope of reward and fear of puniſhment, or theſe will be the fitteſt means to that end, and worthy of a God; for what ground is there to complain of the Deity in this whole affair, except that when an equal ſhare of happineſs could not befal every one, he beſtows the beſt on ſuch as uſe their faculties aright, and takes away what he had given from thoſe that abuſe them.

‘ (14.) If what is laid down above be true, from thence it is manifeſt that all kinds of evil, viz. that of *imperfection*, *pain*, and *ſin*, may enter into a world made by the moſt wiſe, good, and powerful author, and that its origin may be accounted for, without calling in the aſſiſtance of an evil principle.

‘ (15.) It is plain that we are tied down to this earth, and confined in it as in a priſon, and that our knowledge does not extend beyond the ideas which we receive from the ſenſes; and who knows not how ſmall a part we underſtand even of thoſe elements about which we are converſant? But ſince the whole maſs of elements is as a point in regard to the whole univerſe, is it any wonder if we miſtake, when we are framing a judgment, or rather a conjecture, concerning the beauty, order, and goodneſs of the whole from this contemptible particle? This earth of ours may be the dungeon of the univerſe, an hoſpital of madmen, or a workhouſe of reprobates; and yet ſuch as it is, there is much more both of natural and moral good than of evil to be found in it. Thus far, concludes he, has the controverſy about the origin of evil proceeded in the author's book. For all that has been ſaid above, is either expreſly contained in it, or may very eaſily be deduced from the principles there laid down (18).’

[G] *It was attacked by Mr Bayle before he had ſeen it.*] Monſ. Bernard having given an abridgment of our author's book in his *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* for the months of *May* and *June* 1703. that abridgment fell into the hands of Mr Bayle, who obſerving his favourite opinion concerning the truth of the Manichæan ſyſtem to be brought in imminent danger of an overthrow therein, did not think proper to defer putting in ſome remarks by way of anſwer 'till he could ſee and conſult the book itſelf, but examined the hypotheſis of our author as it was repreſented in Mr Bernard's abſtracts, and in a paſſage cited by the authors of the *Acta Eruditorum Leipſiæ*, which had been omitted

* Mois de Mai & Juin, 1703.

(18) Law's Tranſlation, &c. ſecond edition, in the preface.

author was tranſlated to the Archbiſhopric of Dublin, by letters patent, dated the 11th of March the ſame year, having been firſt elected *Adminiſtrator Spiritualium* by the Chapters of both the cathedrals there, during the vacancy of that ſee, occaſioned by the promotion of Dr Marſh to the Primacy of Ireland, in that of Armagh. In 1704, he preached *A Thankſgiving Sermon for the Victory of Hochſtet at Chriſt-Church in Dublin*, which was publiſhed there; and another at London the ſame year in 4to. *preached before the Queen, at St James's, on Humility.* Where he alſo publiſhed in 1706, in 4to. *A Sermon preached at St Margaret's Weſtminſter*, January 13, 1705, on Prov. xxii. 6. *Train up a child in the way he ſhould go*, &c. And the preſs at Dublin produced the following year, 1707, in 4to,

omitted by Mr Bernard. The firſt principle of our author, which Mr Bayle mentions is, that *God always acts for an end, which end in the creation of the world was to exerciſe his power, or to communicate his goodneſs; ſo that it is only improperly ſaid, that God created all things for his glory.* Mr Bayle allows this principle, and that is almoſt the only point in which he agrees with the Archbiſhop. But he denies what the Archbiſhop aſſerts, viz. that *there is more natural good than evil in the world, and that the eſtabliſhing of two principles does not remove the difficulty about the origin of evil; becauſe it is as much repugnant to the divine goodneſs to have created beings which he foreſaw would be corrupted by another principle, as to have created thoſe which were corruptible in themſelves.* He denies alſo, in oppoſition to our author, that every thing derived from matter, muſt of neceſſity be ſubject to pain, diſeaſes, grief, &c. and to confute that notion ſeems to build upon the opinion of occaſional cauſes, as if it was an uncontrovertible doctrine; whereas it has very few followers in England. He aſks, to what purpoſe ſerve the pains of childbirth? and anſwers, to call for a midwife; and puts this inſtance in the margin, that a woman in a wilderneſs will feel as much pain as in a city, and would conclude from thence, that thoſe pains ſerve for nothing. He denies that miſtake and ignorance are the natural effects of man's imperfection, and cites upon that head the greateſt part of the divines, who believe that Adam was created ſo learned, that though his knowledge was not infinite, it would be abſurd to ſuppoſe that he was in error or ignorance. He denies that it is neceſſary, in order to a man's eſteeming himſelf happy in his right choice, to be perſuaded that the choice was made by the ſtrength of his own free will. He alledges ſeveral ſorts of men, who do not think their happineſs depends upon their liberty, and quotes a great many authors ancient and modern, poets and others to that purpoſe. He brings ſeveral other reaſons againſt our author's notion of liberty, and afterwards anſwers that queſtion of the Archbiſhop, why God permitted ſin? He pretends, that the inconveniencies which our author alledges, in caſe God had not created a being endued with ſuch a liberty as the Archbiſhop conceives, are abſolutely null. He ſays the ſame of what his Grace advances to ſhew, that God was not obliged to employ his omnipotent power to hinder thoſe free agents from abuſing their freedom, or to tranſport them to another habitation, where they would have had no occaſion to prompt them to a bad choice. Mr Bayle afterwards attacks our author's aſſertion, that the goodneſs of things depends ſolely upon God's having choſen them (19). Mr Bernard did not let theſe remarks of Mr Bayle paſs without a reply, wherein he begins with complaining of that author for not conſulting Archbiſhop King's book itſelf, and obſerves, that Mr Bayle "attacks his Grace upon ſuch principles as he would expreſsly deny, ſince the Engliſh divines do not maintain, in every reſpect, the principles common among others of the reformed; as that, for inſtance, already mentioned, where he recurs to occaſional cauſes. That as to the pains of childbirth, if he knew no other uſe of thoſe pains than that of calling a midwife, he might have conſulted ſome phyſician who would have informed him of the matter. That where he cites the authority of divines for the infinite learning of Adam, Mr Bernard ſays, their authority will ſignify little, where the queſtion is about reaſon. And as to his quotations from poets, &c. to ſhew that ſeveral ſorts of men do not think their happineſs depends upon their liberty, he ought, ſays the ſame antagoniſt, to have proved to Archbiſhop King, that all thoſe people who have ſuffered themſelves to be conducted by others, &c. did not by an antecedent act of free will, chuſe this as the beſt way for them. For to ſuppoſe, that after a man having examined a ſhip which he finds to be good, and the pilot whom he finds to be ſkilful, has reſolved very freely to go on board, and intruſt himſelf to the conduct of the pilot; to ſuppoſe that this man, in order to preſerve the freedom of his will, muſt needs, at every motion which the pilot makes on board the ſhip, and at every order he gives out, make a free act of his will, by which he conſents to that motion, and without which he is not free; this is certainly what the Archbiſhop never alledged, and except he had maintained that propoſition, moſt part of Mr Bayle's inſtances fall of themſelves. Mr Bernard concludes with one general remark upon this ſubject, which he obſerves may be applied to many other parts of this controverſy, and that is, that Mr Bayle artfully ſeparates the inconveniencies which Archbiſhop King propoſes, that he may confute them with the greater eaſe, without taking notice that divers reaſons, which taken ſeparately, would not determine one to act after a certain manner, yet might determine him, if they acted jointly. I have a mind, for inſtance, to go to ſuch a town, I have a very preſſing reaſon which hinders me, and I have many others which incline me to undertake the journey; every one of theſe are leſs than that which ſhould determine me not go, but taken all together, they turn the ſcale. You do nothing at all to hinder me from taking the journey, if you only refute each reaſon apart which made me determine to go; you muſt make one argument of them all, and convince me, that all of them together are not ſo ſtrong as that one which ſhould hinder my proceeding to my journey. There is, moreover, continues Mr Bernard, one thing, which ſhews it was neceſſary for Mr Bayle to have read our author's book, is his way of confuting what the Archbiſhop hath ſaid of the torments of the damned, that *they are uſeful perhaps to keep good men to their duty, and make them perſevere in a right conduct.* Mr Bayle pretends, that this cannot be ſaid of the ſaints in paradiſe, who have no occaſion for ſuch a curb; but it may be, that Archbiſhop King will not grant him this, but maintain, that the confirmation of ſaints in goodneſs, is not the confirmation of an enthuſiaſt ſupported by no motives, of which number the Archbiſhop conjectures, that the example of the damned may be one. In the mean time Mr Bayle ſuppoſing it not to be ſo, imagines that the Archbiſhop would inſinuate, that after the reſurrection there will be new inhabitants upon the earth. This is the effect of confuting a book which Mr Bayle never read" (20.) But the diſpute did not end ſo: Mr Bayle afterwards replied to Mr Bernard, and having procured the Archbiſhop's book, made ſeveral new obſervations upon it, which were publiſhed after his death (21); and the Archbiſhop anſwered theſe remarks in the papers he left behind him, as will be ſeen hereafter. Beſides theſe of Mr Bayle, there were remarks in French upon the Archbiſhop's book, written by Mr Leibnitz, who allowing the treatiſe De Origine Mali to be a work full of learning and elegance, obſerves, that the Archbiſhop's firſt four chapters agree with his own principles, but that the fifth, which treats of human liberty and moral evil, is founded upon principles oppoſite to his (22). What theſe were may be ſeen in his *Theodiceé*, where his hypotheſis is ſtarted. He ſuppoſes, that when God made the body, he impreſſed on his new created machine a certain ſeries or ſuit of motions; and that when he made the fellow-ſoul a correſpondent ſeries of ideas, whoſe operations throughout the whole direction of the motions are ſo exactly accommodated, that whenever any idea is excited in the mind, a concordant motion is ever ready to ſatiſfy the volition. For inſtance, when the mind has the will to raiſe the arm to the head, the body is ſo precontrived as to raiſe at that very moment the part required. This he calls the pre-eſtabliſhed harmony, and propoſed to do wonders with it.

[H] *The*

(19) Reſponſe aux Queſtions d'un Provincial, ch. 74, & ſeqq. Rotterd. 1706, 12mo.

(20) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres mois de Janvier, 1706, p. 57 to p. 70.

(21) In Reſponſe aux Queſtions d'un Provincial, Vol. V.

(22) See *Recueil de diverſes Pieces ſur la Philoſophie, la Religion Naturelle, l'Hiſtoire, les Mathematiques, &c.* par Meſſ. Leibnitz, Clarke Newton, *& autres Auteurs celébres*, Vol. III. Amſterd. 1720, in 3 vols, 8vo.

4to, his *Sermon, preached at St Michael's Church in that City, before the Lord-Mayor*, &c. on Eccleſ. viii. 11. *There is no man that hath power over the ſpirit to retain the ſpirit, neither* hath he *power in the day of death*; and there *is no diſcharge in* that *war, neither ſhall wickedneſs deliver thoſe that are given to it.* Our author all along kept his thoughts upon reviewing the important point concerning the origin of evil; and, in the further proſecution of that ſubject, he publiſhed, in 1709, his famous diſcourſe, intitled, *Divine Predeſtination and Foreknowledge conſiſtent with the Freedom of Man's Will*; *A Sermon preached before* Thomas Earl of Wharton, *and* the Right Honourable the Houſe of Lords, on Rom. viii. 29, 30. *For whom he did foreknow, he alſo did predeſtinate* to be *conformed to the image of his ſon, that he might be the firſt-born among many brethren. Moreover, whom he did predeſtinate, them he alſo called: and whom he called, them he alſo juſtified: and whom he juſtified, them he alſo glorified.* In this ſermon our author, in vindicating human liberty, as being not over-ruled or affected at all by the moral attributes of the Deity, ſtarted a doctrine concerning the diſparity of thoſe attributes, with the moral qualities of the ſame name in man [*H*]; which raiſed the jealouſy of ſeveral perſons: and his notion was attacked particularly by Dr John Edwards, in a piece intituled, *The Divine Perfections vindicated*; *or ſome brief Remarks on a late Diſcourſe, &c.* Lond. 1710, 8vo. And the ſame year alſo, by Anthony Collins, Eſq; in a pamphlet, intituled, *A Vindication of the Divine Attributes*; *in ſome Remarks on his Grace the Archbiſhop of Dublin's Sermon, intituled,* Divine Predeſtination, &c [*I*]. However, all the objections made to this part of his general ſcheme

(*H*) *The diſparity of the divine attributes to the moral qualities of the ſame name in man.*] In ſo intereſting a point it will be neceſſary to give the author's ſenſe in his own words as follows; 'When the ſcriptures, ſays he, ſpeak of God, they aſcribe hands, and eyes, and feet to him; not that it is deſigned we ſhould believe, that he has any of theſe members according to the literal ſignification; but the meaning is, that he has a power to execute all thoſe acts, to the effecting of which thoſe parts in us are inſtrumental. And when the ſcriptures repreſent God as affected with ſuch paſſions as we perceive in ourſelves, viz. as angry and pleaſed, as loving and hating, as repenting and changing his reſolutions, as full of mercy and provoked to revenge; the meaning is, that he will as certainly puniſh the wicked, as if he was inflamed with the paſſion of anger; that he will reward the good as infallibly, as we will thoſe for whom we have a particular love; that when men turn from their wickedneſs, he will as ſurely change his diſpenſations towards them, as if he really repented and changed his mind (23).' *He afterwards proceeds in theſe terms*, 'As the nature and paſſions of men are thus by analogy and compariſon aſcribed to God, ſo in the ſame manner we find the powers and operations of their minds aſcribed to him (24).' And he inſtances in wiſdom, and underſtanding, and mercy, 'which are, ſays he, of ſo different a nature from what they are in us, and ſo ſuperior to all that we can conceive, that in reality there is no more likeneſs between them than between our hand and God's power. And that the terms of foreknowledge and predeſtination, nay of underſtanding and will, when aſcribed to God, are not to be taken ſtrictly and properly; nor are we to think they are in him after the ſame manner, or in the ſame ſenſe that we find them in ourſelves; but, on the contrary, we are to interpret them only by way of analogy and compariſon (25).' *Again*, 'Wiſdom in us is as different from what we call ſo in God, as light is from motion (26).' *Again*, 'There is as great a difference between theſe foregoing, when attributed to God, and as they are in us, as between weighing in a balance and thinking, in truth infinitely greater (27).' *He ſays further, that* 'the beſt repreſentations we can make of God are infinitely ſhort of truth (28).' *And laſtly, he concludes, that* 'underſtanding, juſtice, and virtue, are not to be underſtood to ſignify the ſame thing when applied to God and to men (29). For, continues he, if thoſe attributes are underſtood literally, and in the ſame way as we find them in us, abſurd and intolerable conſequences would follow (30). That the foreknowledge and predetermination of God are inconſiſtent with the contingency of events and our freedom of will, if his foreknowledge and predetermination are of the ſame nature with ours (31). But ſince we have no more proper notion of foreknowledge and predetermination in God, than a man born blind has of light and colours, we ought no more to pretend to determine what is conſiſtent or not conſiſtent with them, than a blind man ought to determine from what he hears or feels to what objects the ſenſe of ſeeing reaches (32).'

[*I*] *A vindication of the divine Attributes.*] Mr Anthony Collins having repreſented our author's opinion in his own words, offers the following conſiderations againſt it. 1. He obſerves, that according to thoſe notions, it is impoſſible for his Grace to prove the exiſtence of God againſt Atheiſts, ſince our conceptions or ideas that we ſignify by the term God muſt be the ſubject of proof, whenever we bring the term God into a propoſition. But his Grace ſays, *all our beſt conceptions of God are infinitely ſhort of truth, and as different from it, as weighing in a balance is from thinking, or as light from motion*; therefore his Grace cannot prove the being of a God, or, which is all one, the exiſtence of any being that is really conformable to our conceptions of God, unleſs his Grace will ſay, that what is infinitely ſhort of truth, and different from truth, can be proved true. 2. It being evident then, that whoever propoſes to prove the exiſtence of God, muſt have ſuch an idea of him, as is conſiſtent with the real nature of the being whoſe exiſtence is propoſed to be proved; I would aſk his Grace, how he would define the term God, if he undertook to prove God's exiſtence againſt an Atheiſt. It is evident he muſt either contradict his opinion, that all our conceptions of God are falſe, and aſſign ſome conception of God, that he would ſtand by; or elſe acknowledge the impoſſibility of proving God's exiſtence. And I am inclined to believe his Grace would chooſe the firſt, becauſe there are ſeveral paſſages in his diſcourſe which imply a conception of God, that his Grace may perhaps ſtand by, and own to be agreeable to the truth of things; and that, as I take it, is of a *being that is a general cauſe of the wonderful effects in nature, to which we cannot give any particular Attributes or perfections* (tho' in reality, according to his Grace, this can be no better than an analogous conception of God, any more than the conception of him as a holy, good, merciful, and wiſe being) (33); and that his Grace can have no other notions of God, appears from ſome paſſages in his ſermon page 5. Mr Collins cites theſe paſſages (34), and proceeds thus. Now, if that be the idea his Grace ſignifies by the word God, I will allow, that the term God may be brought into a propoſition, and the being of God in that ſenſe will become capable of proof. But if that be all that is meant by that term, I ſee not why Atheiſts ſhould not come into the belief of ſuch a deity; for they equally with the Theiſts allow ſome general cauſe of all effects to have eternally exiſted, but, as I take it, differ from them in the Attributes of that general cauſe. As for example, the Theiſt affirms the world was made by a wiſe being, and thinks the wonderful harmony of the univerſe an admirable evidence of the exiſtence of ſuch a being. On the contrary, the Atheiſt affirms, that wiſdom is not neceſſary to ſuch a purpoſe; but that all theſe admirable effects may be produced by cauſes and powers, of which we have no idea. And does not his Grace give up the point to theſe men, in allowing the world does not proceed from a wiſe or intelligent being, ſcheme were fully conſidered by our author, as will appear preſently; though he did not think proper to enter into a diſpute, or to print any thing more upon the point at this time. Dr Narciſſus Marſh, the Primate, dying in 1714, our Archbiſhop preached his funeral ſermon at St Patrick's-church in Dublin, and printed it there the ſame year in 4to. He was appointed one of the Lords Juſtices of Ireland in 1717, into which he was ſworn July 17 that year; and he held the ſame office twice afterwards, viz. in the years 1721 and 1723. In the interim, he had publiſhed *A Diſcourſe concerning the Conſecration of Churches; ſhewing what is meant by dedicating them, with the Grounds of that Office.* Lond. 1719, 4to. This was his laſt performance in print. He died at his palace at St Sepulchre's in Dublin, May 8, 1729; and his corpſe was interred on the north ſide of the church-yard of Donnybrook. Beſides the books publiſhed by him, he left a great number of manuſcript papers, eſpecially relating to the ſubject of his treatiſe on the Origin of Evil, both in Latin and Engliſh. In theſe he conſidered the ſeveral objections to it; and the pains he had taken therein to vindicate it from the leaſt cavil, are a conſpicuous proof what a value he ſet upon it; in which view, all that he had written would make a much larger volume than the firſt. He begins with an account of the preſent ſtate of the then controverſy about the Origin of Evil, and offers many arguments againſt the ſuppoſition of

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(23) Sermon, p. 6.

(24) Ibid. p. 7, 8.

(25) Ibid. p. 19.

(26) Ibid. p. 21.

(27) Ibid. p. 16.

(28) Ibid. p. 34.

(29) Ibid. p. 35.

(30) Ibid. p. 33.

(31) Ibid. p. 9.

(32) Ibid. p. 27.

(33) Vindication, p. 17.

(34) Ibid. p. 12.

being, but only from a being conſidered as a *general cauſe*, of whoſe particular Attributes we have no notion at all? Perhaps his Grace may think there will remain a wide difference between Atheiſm and Theiſm, becauſe he ſuppoſes his eternal being to be immaterial, and the Atheiſt ſuppoſes his eternal being to be the material univerſe. But that difference is, as I conceive, of no conſequence: for if all the moral and all the other natural Attributes are given up as indefenſible, then all the arguments for God's government of the world, for rewarding and puniſhing men in a future ſtate, which are drawn from the conſideration of the Attributes of God, taken in a ſtrict and literal ſenſe, are given up. As for inſtance, do not we argue for a future ſtate from the juſtice of God, and conclude, that he will deal with every man according to his merit? Do we not from the ſame Attribute conclude the neceſſity of an incarnate God ſuffering for the ſins of the world? And do we not conclude from his goodneſs his deſign to ſave makind? And do we not infer from his knowledge that he takes cognizance of our actions; and from his will do we not infer our duty? but if none of theſe Attributes are in God, nor any other that we can conceive, we can never argue from them, nor infer any kind of obligation to duty; for all the motives to duty, unleſs it be that of preſent pleaſure (which is an atheiſtical conſideration) are ſolely drawn from the conſideration of the Attributes of God, taken in a literal ſenſe. How can men know God's will when he has no will? How can men know they ſhall be rewarded or puniſhed in a future ſtate, or what reaſon have they to think there ſhall be a future ſtate, but from the conſideration of God's juſtice, which will certainly make good men amends in another ſtate for their ſufferings in this life, and make wicked men ſufferers for the pleaſure their ſins gave them here? But if we loſe the uſe and benefit of the notion of God, that is, have ſuch a notion as has no influence on our practice, what ſignifies contending with the Atheiſt about ſo poor a ſpeculation as the queſtion of the exiſtence of an eternal immaterial being? For whether he be material or immaterial, if he can have neither underſtanding, nor will, nor juſtice, it is all alike. Beſides, if once the Deity be ſuppoſed to have no underſtanding, &c. I do not ſee how his Grace will be able to prove the exiſtence of one eternal immaterial being, if the Atheiſt ſhould think it worth his while to diſpute that point with his Grace (35). 3. Mr Collins obſerves, that his Grace has given up the cauſe to Mr Bayle, who ſays, that there is no anſwering the Manichean objections againſt ſome of the Attributes of God, without captivating the underſtanding to the obedience of faith, or believing againſt evidence, that is, believing God to be good, tho' it be evident he is not ſo; and believing him to be wiſe, tho' it be evident he is not ſo; and what ſays his Grace? Why he owns God is not good or wiſe, and thereby yields to the force of Mr Bayle's arguments. Only Mr Bayle continues to believe God is good and wiſe againſt the force of all human reaſoning, and his Grace ſuppoſes God is neither wiſe nor good, which two don't much, if at all, differ, but in words. For Mr Bayle's good and wiſe againſt evidence and arguments, is much the ſame with being neither good nor wiſe. 4. Mr Collins further remarks, that, according to his Grace, it is a matter of no great conſequence what notions men have of God. The Archbiſhop thinks, that *one who imagines God to be a mighty King, that ſits in heaven, and has the earth for his footſtool, that has thouſands of miniſters to attend him; that has great love and favour for ſuch as obey his orders, and is in a rage and fury againſt the diſobedient, and believes the things literally, will be ſaved by virtue of that belief.* And he calls thoſe *officious and impertinent that raiſe objections againſt ſuch a notion, and put them into peoples heads* (36). But I deſire his Grace to conſider, whether it is not dangerous to leave men to themſelves with ſuch erroneous and vicious conceptions of God; for if they will but give themſelves the leaſt trouble to reflect on their notion, they muſt find, nothing is ſo eaſy as to ſlide into Atheiſm from the belief of a God, which they take to be ſuch a finite, limited, corporeal, immoral (as fury and rage import) being, as his Grace deſcribes. I hope his Grace is of opinion, that the being of God, which is the foundation of all religion and morality, is capable of the cleareſt proof imaginable, and conſequently that there is no danger of well-meaning mens running into Atheiſm, if they ſhould happen to be convinced that they have erroneous conceptions of God. But ſuppoſe his Grace is of the opinion of *Tully* (37) and *Simonides*, and thinks the being of God a difficult problem, and that it is dangerous to diſturb them in their wrong notions of God, for fear they ſhould have no notion of him at all: I muſt confeſs, I cannot agree with his Grace in thinking it would be reaſonable even on that ſuppoſition, to forbear objecting to a wrong notion. Evidence ought to be the ſole ground of aſſent, and examination is the only way to arrive at evidence. And therefore, rather than I would have examination, arguing, and objecting, laid aſide, I would chuſe to ſay, that no opinions whatever can be dangerous to a man that impartially examines into the truth of things. And this I hope his Grace will aſſent to upon ſecond thoughts, rather than prevent ſo much good preaching, as his Grace muſt needs do, by arguing thoſe men guilty of officiouſneſs and impertinence, that would reclaim men from ſuch an error, as believing God to be like a man, if once the Clergy come to be of his Grace's ſentiment (38). 5. Mr Collins obſerves, that his Grace, by denying God to be a holy, wiſe, juſt being, plainly contradicts all thoſe paſſages of ſcripture where the example of God is recommended to our imitation (39). 6. That his Grace has given up the cauſe to the Unitarians, when he declares the diſtinction of *three perſons in one God* to be but a *reſemblance*, that is, *not truly and really ſuch as we mean by three perſons, but only analogically ſuch, juſt as* time and a line *are made to reſemble one another* (40). 7. That his Grace has failed of his main deſign pretended in his diſcourſe, viz. to manifeſt the divine foreknowledge conſiſtent with freedom of man's will. Mr Collins proceeds to conſider what might be ojected to him from his Grace's ſermon, and concludes with calling upon his Grace to employ his thoughts once more upon this point, and give us a farther eclairciſſement on the ſubject of this ſermon and of his book *De Origine Mali*, which, ſays he, I wiſh he may perform to the ſatisfaction of the public, and thereby prevent my deſign of handling theſe queſtions (41).

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(35) Ibid. p. 22.

(36) Sermon, p. 16, 17.

(37) Res enim nulla eſt, de qua tantopere non ſolum indocti ſed docti diſſentiunt, &c. *De Natura Deorum*, lib. i.

(38) Vindication, p. 23.

(39) Ibid. p. 24.

(40) P. 25, 26, 27, 28.

(41) Ibid. p. 35, & ſeq.

of an abſolutely evil principle. In the next place he explains and confirms the chief principles upon which his book is built, and then proceeds to rank his adverſaries into their ſeveral claſſes, and conſiders the various arguments which they had urged againſt him. Upon the whole, this manuſcript contains an explication and defence of the principal parts of his ſcheme, and affords very good hints for improving it in ſeveral points, eſpecially with regard to the union of the ſoul and body, and their mutual influence; to human liberty; to the ſtate of Adam in Paradiſe, and the conſequences of his fall; upon which laſt ſubject he alſo left a ſermon, which he ordered to be printed after his death; and a tranſlation of his book into Engliſh being publiſhed that year, by Edmund Law, M. A. Fellow of Chriſt's-college in Cambridge, with notes, the Archbiſhop's relations, the Reverend Mr Spence of Donneghmore, and the Reverend Mr King, Prebendary of St Patrick's, and Miniſter of St Bride's, in Dublin, communicated theſe papers to that gentleman; who thereupon printed a ſecond edition of his tranſlation, in the notes to which he inſerted the ſubſtance of thoſe papers [*K*]; and the whole came out with this title,

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[K] *Notes from the author's manuſcript*] Among other objections, one of the principal is that drawn from the ſuppoſed prevalency of moral evil in the world: the purſuit of this ſubject neceſſarily leads into a very large and wide field of particulars, comprehending all the ways and walks of man, which muſt be thoroughly named, and then accurately weighed in the niceſt balance of criticiſm, in order to a right decuſſion and determination of it. Conſequently a more proper ſpecimen of our author's talents, as well as his induſtry upon the ſubject of this book, and beautiful manner of handling it, cannot be given, than that which is inſerted, in anſwer to this objection, from his manuſcript. It has been ſeen in the preceding remark, that the laſt article of his plan lays it down as a principle to be proved in the work, that notwithſtanding all the complaints of the degeneracy and wickedneſs which abounds in the earth, yet ſuch as it is, there is much more both of natural and moral good, than evil to be found in it. In ſupport of this aſſertion, he begins with ſtating the objection, concerning the prevalency of moral evil,and then profeſſes himſelf to be of a quite different opinion than that contained in it, I firmly believe, ſays he, and think I very well comprehend, that there is much more moral good in the world, nay in the earth, than evil. I am ſenſible there may be more bad men than good, becauſe there are none but do amiſs ſometimes, and one ill act is ſufficient to denominate a man bad. But yet there are ten good acts done by thoſe we call bad men for an ill one. Even perſons of the very worſt character may have got it by two or three flagrant enormities, which yet bear no proportion to the whole ſeries of their lives. The author, continues he, does not know the objector, nor with whom he converſes, but he muſt profeſs, that among ſuch as he is acquainted with, he believes there are hundreds that would do him good for one that would do him hurt; and that he has received a thouſand good offices for one ill one. He could never believe the doctrine of Hobbes, that all men are bears, wolves, and tygers to one another, that they are born enemies to all others, and all others to them; that they are naturally falſe and perfidious, or that all the good they do, is out of fear, not virtue. He that deſcribes mankind in this manner, may give us cauſe to ſuſpect that he himſelf is ſuch; but if mankind were taken one by one, perhaps not one could be found in a hundred thouſand, that could truly own the character. Nay, the very authors of this calumny, if their own characters were called in queſtion, would take all poſſible pains to remove the ſuſpicion from themſelves, and declare that they were ſpeaking of the vulgar, of the bulk of mankind, and not of themſelves. Nor in reality do they behave in this manner toward their friends and acquaintance, if they did, few would own them. Obſerve ſome of thoſe that exclaim againſt all mankind, for treachery, diſhoneſty, deceit, and cruelty; and you will find them diligently cultivating friendſhips, and diſcharging the ſeveral offices due to friends, relations, and their country, with labour, pains, loſs of goods, and hazard of life itſelf, even where there is no fear to drive them to it, nor inconvenience attending the neglect of it. This, you will ſay, proceeds from cuſtom and education. Be it ſo; however the world has not then ſo far degenerated from all goodneſs, but that the greater part of mankind exerciſe benevolence; nor is virtue ſo far exiled, as not to be ſupported, and approved, praiſed and practiſed by common conſent and public ſuffrage, and vice is ſtill diſgraceful. Indeed we can ſcarce meet with one, unleſs preſſed by neceſſity, or provoked by injuries, who is ſo barbarous and hard-hearted as not to be moved with compaſſion, and delighted with beneficence to others; who is not inclined to ſhew good will and kindneſs to his friends, neighbours, children, relations, and diligent in the diſcharge of civil duties to all; who does not profeſs ſome regard for virtue, and think himſelf affronted, when he is charged with immorality. If any one takes notice of his own or of another's actions for a day together, perhaps he will find one or two blameable; the reſt all innocent and inoffenſive. Nay, it is doubtful, whether a *Nero* or a *Caligula*, a *Commodus* or a *Caracalla* (though monſters of mankind and prone to every act of wickedneſs and fury) have done more ill than innocent actions thro' their whole lives.

It is to be obſerved in the ſecond place, that one great crime, ſuch as murder, theft, or rapine, is oftener talked of, more univerſally reported, and much longer remembered, than a thouſand good, peaceable, generous deeds, which make no noiſe in the world, nor ever come to public notice, but are ſilently paſſed by, and overlooked: which very thing ſhews, that the former are more rare than the latter: otherwiſe they would not be received with ſo much ſurprize, horror, and aſtoniſhment.

Thirdly, it is obſervable that many things are done very innocently, which perſons, unacquainted with the views and circumſtances of the actors, eſteem criminal. It is certain we cannot judge of the goodneſs or badneſs of an action from bare appearance; but rather from the inward motions and intentions of the mind, and the light in which the thing appeared to the agent. Nero killed a man that was innocent, but who knows, whether he did it out of premeditated malice? Perhaps ſome intruſted with the care of his perſon, or a flattering courtier, whom he is obliged to depend on, informs of this innocent man as plotting a conſpiracy againſt the Emperor's life, and was diſpatched, leaſt he be firſt ſurprized. Perhaps the informer is impoſed upon himſelf, and thinks it real. It is plain ſuch circumſtances very much leſſen the guilt; and it is probable, if the crimes of princes were to be weighed impartially, and the whole proceſs laid open, many things might be offered, which would greatly alleviate them.

Fourthly, many things are done through ignorance of the law, and becauſe thoſe who commit them do not know that they are vicious; nay, they are often eſteemed virtues. Thus St Paul perſecuted the Church, and himſelf owns, that he did it out of ignorance, and therefore obtained mercy. How many things of this kind are done daily by ſuch as profeſs different religions? It is true theſe are ſins, but ſins of ignorance, which eaſily obtain forgiveneſs; and, as they do not proceed from an evil diſpoſition and depraved will, are ſcarce to be reckoned in the number of moral evils. Whoever falls foul on others out of a love of virtue, hatred of vice, or zeal towards God, does wrong; but ignorance and an honeſt heart make very much for his excuſe. This conſideration alone would take a great deal off from the number of wicked perſons. Neither does this excuſe hold only in matters of religion: party prejudices have alſo a ſhare in it, which induce men to extirpate, with fire and ſword, thoſe that they believe to be public enemies and traitors to their country. There is no error more pernicious to mankind, and which has produced more or greater crimes than this;

title, *An Eſſay on the* Origin of Evil, *by* Dr William King, late Lord Archbiſhop of Dublin; *Tranſlated from the Latin, with notes; and a Diſſertation concerning the Principle and Criterion of Virtue, and the Origin of the Paſſions. The ſecond edition. Corrected and enlarged from the author's manuſcripts. To which are added, Two Sermons by the ſame author; the former concerning Divine Preſcience, the latter, on the Fall of Man,* never before publiſhed. Lond. 1732, in two volumes 8vo (*f*). Theſe two pieces are annexed, as eſſential parts of our author's ſcheme; and the editor has taken occaſion to anſwer the only objection of any moment brought againſt the firſt [*L*]. But in the latter, ſome notions are incidentally

this; and yet it ariſes from an honeſt mind. The miſtake lies here, they forget that their country and commonwealth ought to be defended by juſt and lawful means, and not at the expence of humanity.

Fifthly, Prejudice and ſurmiſe make many wicked, that really are not ſo. The moſt innocent converſation between man and woman gives the malicious a handle to ſuſpect and ſlander them. From any one ſingle circumſtance, that uſually attends a criminal action, the ſuſpected perſon is found guilty of the fact itſelf. From one bad action a man's whole life is diſparaged, and judged to be of the ſame tenour. If one member of a ſociety be caught in a fault, all the reſt are preſumed to be as bad. It is ſcarce credible how many are looked upon as ſcandalouſly wicked through ſuch ſuſpicions, who are very far from it. Confeſſors and Judges, in criminal caſes, know very well how ſmall a part of publick fame is true, how little it is ever to be truſted.

Sixthly, we muſt diſtinguiſh, and the law itſelf does, between ſuch things as proceed from malice, and premeditated wickedneſs, and thoſe that ariſe from violence of paſſion, and diſorder of mind. The guilt is very much extenuated, when the perſon offending is under provocation, and, as it were, tranſported beyond himſelf by a ſudden fit of paſſion. Theſe things are all known to our moſt equitable judge, who will paſs a merciful, and not a rigorous ſentence upon us; and for theſe reaſons we believe he forbad us to judge any thing before the time. We only know the outſide of things: and it is poſſible, that ſuch as ſeem to us the greateſt crimes, would upon ſeeing the whole procedure, and making proper allowances, appear to be the leaſt. Many virtues, as well as vices, lie in the mind inviſible to human eyes, it is ſpeaking at random therefore to pronounce upon the number of one or other; and he that would from thence infer the neceſſity of an evil principle ought to be eſteemed a raſh judge, and an uſurper of God's tribunal.

Laſtly, It may be obſerved, that the continuance and increaſe of mankind is a ſure proof that there is more good than evil in the world; for one or two acts may have a pernicious influence on many perſons: nay, all immoral actions tend to the deſtruction of mankind, at leaſt to the common detriment and diminution of them. Whereas a great many, even numberleſs, good actions muſt neceſſarily concur to the preſervation of each individual. If therefore bad actions exceeded the good, there would be an end of human kind. We have clear evidence of this in thoſe countries, where vices multiply; the number of men continually decreaſe and the place grows deſolate; but upon the return of virtue and goodneſs it is again ſtocked with inhabitants. This is a ſign that mankind could not ſubſiſt, if ever vice were prevalent, ſince many good acts are neceſſariy to repair the loſs, which attends one bad one. One ſingle action may take away the life of a man, or of ſeveral men, but how many acts of benevolence and humanity muſt neceſſarily contribute to the bringing up, educating, and preſerving every one. From what has been ſaid, I hope it appears that there is more good than evil among men, and that a good God might make the world, notwithſtanding the argument drawn from the contrary ſuppoſition. His Grace concludes this beautiful chain of reaſoning with the following excellent remark. But almoſt all of this is unneceſſary, ſince the whole univerſe may have ten thouſand times more good than evil, though this earth of ours had no one good thing in it. This world is too ſmall to bear any proportion to the whole ſyſtem; and therefore we can form but a very unequal judgment of it from hence. It may be the hoſpital or priſon of the world, and can any one judge of the healthfulneſs of a climate from viewing an hoſpital, where all are ſick? Or of the wiſdom of a government from a place of confinement, where there are only madmen? Or of the virtue of a people from a priſon, where there are none but malefactors? Not that I believe the earth is really ſuch a place; but I ſay it may be ſuppoſed ſuch, and any ſuppoſition, which ſhews how a thing may be, deſtroys the Manichæan argument drawn from the impoſſibility of accounting for it. In the interim, I look upon this earth as an habitation abounding with delights, in which a man may live with comfort, joy, and happineſs. I own, with the greateſt gratitude to God, that I myſelf have lived ſuch a life, and am perſuaded, that my friends, acquaintance, and ſervants, have all the ſame; and I believe that there is no evil in life, but what is very tolerable, eſpecially to thoſe who have hopes of a future immortality (42).

[*L*] *Anſwered the only objection of any moment brought againſt the firſt*] The objection here meant is to that paſſage, where the Archbiſhop ſays, that underſtanding, juſtice, and virtue, are not to be underſtood to ſignify the ſame thing, when applied to God and to man. A doctrine which, as expreſſed, ſeems in reality to be utterly ſubverſive of all religion and morality, as is excellently argued by another archbiſhop, I mean Dr Tillotſon, as follows: *It is fooliſh,* ſays that inimitable preacher, *for any man to pretend that he cannot know what juſtice, and goodneſs, and truth, in God are; for if we do not know this, 'tis all one to us whether God be good or not; nor could we imitate his goodneſs, for he that imitates, endeavours to be like ſomething that he knows, and muſt of neceſſity have ſome idea of that to which he aims to be like; ſo that if we had no certain and ſettled notions of the juſtice and goodneſs of God, he would be altogether an unintelligible Being, and religion, which conſiſts in the imitation of him, would be utterly impoſſible* (43). 'This conſequence, as Mr Law obſerves, will hold equally good againſt the doctrine delivered by our author in the ſermon annexed, if he did not ſuppoſe, that there are ſome qualities in man in ſome reſpects really correſpondent to thoſe in God, and ſo very like them, that nothing could be more ſo, except that which exiſts in the very ſame manner and degree too, i. e. in a perfect one. If this be his meaning, as is not improbable from his anſwer to the like objection in §. 22. where heclares, that the divine attributes have much more reality and perfection in them, than the things by which we repreſent them. If, I ſay, he be taken in this ſenſe as I would willingly underſtand him, he is perfectly clear from the exceptions made above.' Mr Law then proceeds to take notice of another antagoniſt of the Archbiſhop upon ths ſubject, as follows: 'I wiſh, continues he, the author of the Extent and Procedure of the Underſtanding, could be ſhewn to be ſo [clear of exception] who is generally ſuppoſed to have purſued his notion of analogy, farther than moſt perſons will be able to follow him. As he has charged the Archbiſhop with a miſtaken way of treating the ſubject (44). I hope he will be ready to excuſe any for obſerving what they they conceive to be a miſtake in his own method, eſpecially if they endeavour to ſhew directly that the foundation of analogy, as he has placed it, is falſe and groundleſs, which foundation is the general nature or diſtinguiſhing kind of theſe qualities. Now the nature of the forementioned qualities muſt either be wholly the ſame in God and us, or wholly different; if the former be maintained, then the analogical ſenſe is turned into an identical one, if the latter, then can no manner of reſemblance or analogy be drawn between them, ſince one nature can't in the leaſt help to explain or repreſent another quite different from it, I mean in thoſe very points wherein they differ, for that is to be different and not different, and the analogical ſenſe is turned into a diſparate or quite oppoſite one, i. e. into no analogy at all; or, laſtly, it muſt be partly the ſame and partly different, or like and unlike in different reſpects, which is the thing we con-

'tend

(*f*) The third edition was publiſhed in 1739.

(42) Law's Tranſlation, Vol. II. p. 473, 2d edit.

(43) Tillotſon's Sermons, Vol. II. No. LXXVI. p. 672 and 673. folio edit.

(44) Viz. in his introduction to the Extent and Procedure of the Underſtanding, p. 17.

incidentally dropped, which ſeem to be merely conjectural [*M*]. To conclude, the Archbiſhop's ſyſtem, as explained and improved by this editor, in clearing up ſome of the chief difficulties that occur in our conception of the Deity and his Providence, was afterwards adopted by Mr Pope, and adorned with all the graces of poetry in his *Eſſay on Man*.

' tend for, viz. like in perfection or in being perfections of a certain kind, and unlike in defect or imperfection that is mixed with the contrary qualities, or the ſame in their nature or eſſence, but different in degree and the manner of exiſtence. Or take it thus, the qualities as ſuch conſidered in the abſtract are the ſame, as exiſting in a particular ſubject different; in an infinite or rather perfect ſubject they exiſt perfectly, or in the higheſt degree, they are abſolute without any mixture or defect, in a finite or imperfect one they are limited or defective, they exiſt in an imperfect manner or inferior degree. Conſequently we conceive a likeneſs in both as perfections or qualities of a certain nature or kind, unlike only as mixed with imperfections or as confined to a certain degree. If therefore the author founds his analogy in the very nature of the thing, he ſeems to incur the forementioned abſurdity of ſuppoſing a nature contradictory to itſelf, or ſomething from which it is at the ſame time totally different. If with us he will pleaſe to diſtinguiſh between the nature of the thing in general, and the particular modus of it's exiſtence, he muſt with us alſo remove the analogy from the former foundation, and fix it upon the latter (45).'

(45) Law's Tranſlation, in remarks to note 10, p. 91, 92, 93.

[*M*] *He advances ſome notions merely conjectural*] His text is theſe words in Gen. ii. 16, 17. *And the Lord God commanded the man ſaying, of every tree in the garden thou mayſt freely eat: But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil thou ſhalt not eat of it, for in the day that thou eateſt thereof thou ſhalt ſurely die*: He treats of it under the four following heads, (1.) He conſiders the ſtate and circumſtances of man when this command was given. (2) The command itſelf. (3.) How man was ſeduced to break it. (4.) The conſequence of that diſobedience. Upon the firſt head he maintains that Adam before the Fall was in a ſtate of great ignorance, his knowledge extending no farther than what he ſaw of the creatures with him in the garden, and that for any thing more he was under the immediate direction and information of God: whence he ſhews, under the ſecond head, the true ſenſe of the command not to be an arbitrary trial of ſubmiſſion to the will of God; but rather a means to facilitate and ſecure his obedience to his own advantage. Your obedience, ſays God, in this will be an infallible means to ſecure you from chuſing wrong in any other thing. Whilſt you direct your free-will wholly right in this, I will take care, that you ſhall not abuſe it in any other. In treating the third head, he follows the common opinion, taking the ſerpent in the literal ſenſe, but aſſerts further that it was even the very ſame ſpecies of that creature which we ſee now, between whom and man there continues an enmity, ſays he, to this day; but though it was a true and literal ſerpent, yet there was more in it, for the devil ſpoke through it; nay, he thinks it no incongruity to ſuppoſe, that the devil poſſeſſed the ſerpent ſo as to be as it were incarnate in it; we may have leave, ſays he, to think that the power of God could unite them as cloſely as our ſouls and bodies are joined, and cauſe the puniſhment inflicted on the literal ſerpent to affect Satan in it, who therefore was obliged to crawl upon his belly, and lick the duſt of the earth, at leaſt as long as that individual ſerpent was in being. This he is the rather induced to believe, inaſmuch as the literal ſenſe ſo underſtood does not exclude the myſtical, the curſing of the ſerpent being a ſymbol to us, and a viſible pledge of the malediction with which the Devil is ſtruck by God, and whereby he is become the moſt abominable and miſerable of creatures. In explaining the fourth head he maintains, that a main conſequence of the Fall was an increaſe of knowledge in reſpect both of good and evil by the uſe of their natural faculties. From the whole he obſerves, that God did not think it fit our firſt parents ſhould be abſolutely happy in the ſtate of innocence, without revealed religion and the uſe of ſacraments. Their diſcovery of good and evil, in that ſtate, being to proceed from the continual communications of the divine wiſdom, and the trees of knowledge and life were truly ſacraments as being outward and viſible ſigns and means of grace, which is the true notion of a ſacrament. Whence he infers, that it is a great folly to deſpiſe and to think of being ſaved without revealed religion. P

KING [William], an ingenious and humorous Poet, was the ſon of Ezekiel King, Gent. of London; in which city he had his birth about the year 1663. He was bred with the ſtricteſt care from his infancy (*a*); and, as ſoon as he became fit for it, was put under the celebrated Dr Buſby at Weſtminſter-ſchool, where, being choſen King's ſcholar, his natural good talents received all thoſe improvements from cultivation, that might be expected from ſo admirable a maſter. After which he was elected to Chriſt-church-college in Oxford, and admitted a ſtudent there in Michaelmas-term 1681, at the age of eighteen years (*b*). He was particularly pleaſed with this ſituation in the univerſity, and made uſe of the advantages it gave him; he had a ſtrong propenſity to letters, and of thoſe valuable treaſures he daily increaſed his ſtock; but being well deſcended, and becoming early poſſeſſed of an eaſy fortune * [*A*], he indulged his genius and inclination in the choice method of his ſtudies, ranging freely and at large through the pleaſant fields of polite literature; and being raviſhed with the ſweet purſuit, he proſecuted it with incredible diligence and aſſiduity [*B*]. He took his firſt degree in Arts, December 8, 1685 (*c*), and thence

(*a*) Life of Dr Will. King, prefixed to his Remains, &c. edit. 1732, 8vo.

(*b*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1064.

* This is evident from his going out Compounder, when he took his firſt degree. Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. p. 226.

(*c*) Id. ibid.

[*A*] *He was well deſcended, and became early poſſeſſed of an eaſy fortune*]. The author of ſome account of his life obſerves, that he was allied to the noble families of Clarendon and Rocheſter (1); and ſeveral paſſages of his life mentioned in the courſe of this memoir confirm it. The Doctor himſelf having occaſion to ſpeak of ſome fine pictures of *Paulo Veroneſe* in the poſſeſſion afterwards of Lord Harcourt, calls him his couſin (2); and among his hints for making a collection of books, manuſcripts, &c. which might tend to the honour of the Britiſh name, he propoſes an enquiry to be made, what lives of merchants and citizens of eminency have been wrote. 'Tis a pity, continues he, if none or few are found. Whether there is not a life wrote of my great-grandfather *La Motte*. He was a merchant of note (3). With regard to his fortune we are informed, in the account of his life (4), that he enjoyed a pretty paternal eſtate in Middleſex and elſewhere; and our author himſelf occaſionally mentions his eſtates in Northamptonſhire and Leiceſterſhire. The paſſage is in his animadverſions on Lord Moleſworth's account of Denmark, which becauſe it will furniſh no unfit ſpecimen of the taſte and manner of that piece, we ſhall preſent our readers with it as follows. In anſwer to ſome of his Lordſhip's remarks on the poor diet in Denmark, he writes thus: 'Their peaſants live as plentifully as in other countries, they have good fleſh and ſalt fiſh, white meats, roots, &c. but what ſignifies all this (according to our author, p 11) *ſince neceſſary freſh fiſh is wanting*. I could heartily condole their condition, if my tenants in Northampton and Leiceſterſhire would not take exception; for if they found me once ſo indulgent to the peaſants of another nation, they would certainly expect a double barrel of Colcheſter oyſters by the next carrier; and without a cod's head, ſmelts, or turbot, I might e'en go to plow myſelf for Hodge and Sawney (5).'

[*B*] *He purſued his ſtudies with incredible diligence*.] It appeared from his looſe papers, termed by him, *Adverſaria*,

(1) Life, prefixed to his Remains, &c. p. 8.

(2) Remains, &c. p. 82.

(3) Ibid. p. 66, 67.

(4) P. 8.

(5) Miſcellanies in proſe and verſe, by Will. King, p. 14.

thence proceeded regularly to that of Maſter July 6, in the year of the Revolution (d), and the ſame year commenced author. He had the happineſs of being endued with a religious turn of mind [C]; which being joined to the warmeſt regard for the honour of his country [D], prompted him to reſcue the character and name of Wicliffe, our firſt Reformer, from

verſaria, that before he was eight years ſtanding in the univerſity, he had read over and made reflections on twenty-two thouſand and odd hundred books and manuſcripts (6). The following extracts from theſe Adverſaria will explain and illuſtrate the Doctor's taſte and manner in directing the courſe of his ſtudies.—— '*Diogenes Laërtius*, book 1. *Thales* being aſked how a man might moſt eaſily brook misfortunes, anſwered, if he ſaw his enemies in a worſe condition. It is not agreed concerning the wiſe men, or whether indeed they were ſeven. Solon ordained, that the guardians of orphans ſhould not cohabit with their mothers, and that no perſon ſhould be a guardian to thoſe whoſe eſtate deſcended upon them at the orphan's deceaſe: that no ſeal graver ſhould keep the ſeal of a ring that was ſold: that if any man put out the eye of him who had but one, he ſhould loſe both his own: that where a man never planted, it ſhould be death to take away: that it ſhould be death for a man to be taken in drink. Solon's letters at the end of his life in Laërtius, give us a truer idea of the man than all he has written before, and are indeed very fine. Solon's to Crœſus are very genteel; and Pittacus's, on the other ſide, as rude and philoſophical: however, both ſhew Crœſus to have been a very great man.——Anacharſis has an epiſtle to Crœſus to thank him for his invitation; and Periander one to all the wiſe men to invite them to Corinth to him, after their return from Lydia. Epimenides has an epiſtle to Solon to invite him to Crete under the tyranny of Piſiſtratus.—Epimenides often pretended that he roſe from death to life——Socrates is ſaid to have aſſiſted Euripides in his tragedies. He was a great champion of democracy, and extols pleaſure as the beſt thing a man could enjoy, as Xenophon witneſſes in his *Sympoſium*. Xenophon was modeſt to exceſs, and the moſt lovely perſon living.——Bion uſed to ſay, it was more eaſy to determine differences between enemies than friends, for that of two friends, one would become an enemy; but of two enemies, one would become a friend.——Ariſtippus was a man of a ſoft temper, and could comply with all perſons, places, and ſeaſons. He could enjoy, and ſcorn pleaſure, if too expenſive to his way of living. He ſaid pleaſure was no crime, but it was a crime for a man to be a ſlave to his pleaſure. We can have no true character of him from his life in Laërtius; for it is certain, he was an exact courtier, and the reſt of the philoſophers, the Grecians, were generally averſe to him, becauſe he could endure to live in the court of Dionyſius, whereas they were all for a democracy, and could not endure to ſee a Greek complaiſant to a monarch, being a thing, as they thought, below the dignity of his birth.——Pleaſure was the thing he ſought after: and the Hegeſiacks, his followers, tell us, there was nothing either pleaſant or unpleaſant by nature; but that thro' ſcarcity, novelty, and ſatiety, ſome things were delighful, others diſtaſteful. That wealth and poverty had no relation to pleaſure; for that the pleaſures of the rich and the pleaſures of the poor were ſtill the ſame. They were of opinion, that the tranſgreſſions of men were to be pardoned, for that no man committed a voluntary ſin, but by the impulſe of ſome natural paſſion or other. That a man ought to propoſe to himſelf as his chiefeſt end, to live a life freeſt from trouble and pain, which happens to them who are not over eager in the chace and purſuit of pleaſure.——See in the life of *Ariſtippus* the notion of the Cyreniacks about friendſhip, and how they ſhew the pleaſure that is in it. Theodorus the Atheiſt denied friendſhip, as neither appearing really in fools nor wiſe men; for in the firſt, as ſoon as the benefit ceaſes, the friendſhip dies; and wiſe men truſt ſo much to their own abilities, that they ſtand in need of none.——Laërtius has made verſes on moſt of the philoſophers, which are very dull. The Phrygians profuſe in their tempers.——Menedemus, when a ſtupid fellow talked impertinently to him, ſaid, haſt thou any lands? The fellow anſwered, Yes, ſeveral farms. Go then, ſaid he, and look after them, leſt thou loſe thy wealth, and come to be a poor fool.——Timon, an inveterate enemy to the academic philoſophers, has written a ſatire upon them all. There is a very fine ode of Ariſtotle's in Diogenes Laërtius concerning virtue and friendſhip, which want to be tranſlated from the Greek. Laërtius is a very dull fellow. ——Diogenes's ſayings are moſt of them *puns*. He ſaid oppoſition was the ſtudy of his whole life.——Hypparchia, a woman of a good birth and fortune, fell in love with Crates the naſty Cynic, and would needs marry him, and live after his faſhion. Crates made her brother become his auditor by letting a f—: theſe Cynics were naſty brutes.——The logick of the Stoicks ſeems to me, as far I can make any thing of Laërtius, to be nothing but words. They held ſelf-preſervation to be the firſt of all deſires infuſed into all creatures. Erillus maintained, there were things indifferent between virtue and vice (7).' From theſe obſervations on Laërtius the reader will be able to form a judgment of others. We need not take notice, that this method of making remarks upon the authors he read, is very far from being peculiar to the Doctor, it is the general way of every ſtudent, but nothing diſcovers the taſte and temper of his genius more than the turn and nature of his *Adverſaria*. 'Tis theſe that ſhew how freely the Doctor ranged in the fields of polite learning, as well as what ſort of flowers pleaſed his fancy moſt. None of the humorous kind ſeem to have eſcaped his notice, eſpecially if dreſſed up in verſe, of which the following may ſerve for a ſpecimen.

Mirth makes them not mad,
Nor ſobriety ſad,
For of that they are ſeldom in danger;
At Paris, at Rome,
At the Hague they're at home,
The good fellow's no where a ſtranger.

[C] *He had the happineſs of being endued with a religious turn of mind.*] This was ſo much his diſpoſition, that he would never enter upon any buſineſs of the day 'till he had performed his devotions, and read ſeveral portions of ſcripture out of the Pſalms, the Prophets, and the New Teſtament; on which he would often make his remarks, taking a freſh piece of paper every morning in his hand, on which he always begun with Σύν Θεῷ, *by God's permiſſion*: and this paper he kept at hand all day, to write down whatever occurred to his mind or pleaſed his fancy; theſe he called hints, which he could refer to at pleaſure. Accordingly, we find ſeveral of theſe upon the ſubject of religion, and the Church as well as virtue and morality. Such, for inſtance, are theſe. 'The ſecond of Eſdras ſeems to me full of tautologies and childiſh inſtances of God's power and explanation of his ſecret deſigns. Chryſoſtome ſpeaks expreſsly of Jeſus Chriſt.——See *Bartolus Agricola de Advocato*, having taught the Advocate to be a good man, he proceeds to make him a good Chriſtian (8).——There is ſuch an air of piety runs thro' all Hackluit's diſcoveries, that makes it ſeem as if that alone made them ſucceſsful. What ſignified all the Buccaneers proſperity without virtue? To what authority did all their wars and conqueſts bring them, but to make one another rich and vicious (9).'

[D] *The warmeſt regard for the honour of his country.*] In this ſpirit, at the head of a very large number of his Adverſaria, we find——'Criticiſms and remarks in poetry, &c. as might tend to the honour of the Britiſh name and literature.' To encourage a collection of this kind, our author recommends a prodigious number of obſervations on books, manuſcripts, and what elſe he had met with to promote the ſaid work. Theſe obſervations fill up above twenty pages in 8vo (10,) and are moſt of them exceeding curious; the great number of the valuable ſmaller poetical pieces referred to and mentioned in them, are a conſpicuous proof of our author's judgment as well as diligence. Among other rare pieces, he mentions the *Polemo Middiana* a *Macaronick* poem, by Drummond of Hawthornden (11), which, as he intimates, was publiſhed by Dr Gibſon, late Biſhop of London. He takes notice alſo of the Biſhop of Lichfield's technical verſes for Chronology, as a ſtupendious work, comprehending that from the calumnies of Monſ. Varillas; the thing had been publickly requeſted alſo, as a proper undertaking for ſuch as were at leiſure and would take the trouble (*e*). Mr King therefore deeming himſelf to be thus called forth to the charge, readily entered the liſts; and, with a proper mixture of wit and learning, handſomely expoſed the blunders of that French author, in a piece intitled, *Reflections upon Mr* Varillas *his Hiſtory of Hereſie, Book I. Tom. I. as far as relates to Engliſh Matters, more eſpecially thoſe of Wicliffe.* Lond. 1688 [*E*]. About this time, having fixed on the Civil-Law for his profeſſion, he entered upon that line in the univerſity (*f*), and at the regular time took his Doctor's degree therein; which qualifying him to plead in the courts of the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Law, he was admitted an Advocate: and reſiding at Doctors-Commons, ſoon grew into conſiderable repute, and had great practice as a Civilian (*g*). In the interim (*h*), Lord Moleſworth publiſhing his account of Denmark in 1692, our author took up his pen once more in his country's cauſe, the honour of which was thought to be blemiſhed by that account (*i*). Animated with this ſpirit, he drew up a cenſure of it, which he printed under the title of *Animadverſions upon the pretended Account of Denmark* [*F*]. This was publiſhed in 1694, and was ſo much

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(d) Ibid. p. 231.

(6) Remains, &c. p. 16.

(7) Ibid. p. 18 to p. 24.

(8) Remains, &c. p. 26, 27.

(9) Ibid. p. 67.

(10) Ibid. from p. 46 to 66.

(11) Ibid. p. 47. See Ben Jonſon's article, p. 2783. (b).

that learning thro' many ages ſo ſhort, that nothing can be a greater inſtance, *memoriam in artem poſſe redire* (12). In the ſame view, having afterwards mentioned the technical verſes uſually found in the little manuals of logick, he ſays it were to be wiſhed, that the memorial verſes in all ſciences were collected together and printed (13), and his judgment in this particular has been confirmed, and the deſign here hinted actually put into execution by the learned Dr Richard Grey, in his *Memoria Technica*, or *Art of Memory*. Our poet is particularly inquiſitive after any pieces of the author of Hudibras. If that author, ſays he, has left any Latin behind him, it would be the beſt in that kind: his thoughts are ſo juſt, his images ſo lively, ſuch a deep inſight into the nature of mankind, and the humour of thoſe times, that no true hiſtory could be wrote without ſtudying that author. 'Tis pity, continues he, that the fineſt of our Engliſh poets, eſpecially the divine Shakeſpeare, had not communicated their beauties to the world ſo as to be underſtood in Latin, whereby foreigners have ſuſtained ſo great a loſs to this day; when all of them were inexcuſable, but the moſt inimitable Shakeſpeare. I am ſo far from being envious and deſirous to keep thoſe treaſures to ourſelves, that I could wiſh all our moſt excellent poets tranſlated into Latin that are not ſo already. Accordingly this hint of the Doctor's was not loſt, among other things we have ſince ſeen not only a Latin tranſlation of Prior's Solomon, but even of Milton's Paradiſe Loſt excellently performed in verſe *.

[*E*] *Reflections upon Varillas, &c.*] Mr Varillas had intitled his book, *Hiſtoire des Revolutions arriveés en Europe en Matiere de Religion. Paris*, 6 vol. 4to. 1636. and again in 1687, 12mo (14). It begins with the year 1374, and ends in 1650. Dr King made uſe of the Amſterdam edition, not being able to procure that of Paris. At the head of the firſt volume Varillas had put the following advertiſement. 'In compoſing this work, I have taken my materials indifferently from Catholick and Proteſtant writers; citing theſe laſt in their own words as often as I found them ingenuous enough not to ſuppreſs or diſguiſe the moſt important truths: and it is thro' their own fault that I have been obliged to have recourſe to the Catholicks.' In like manner Mr King prefixed an advertiſement, wherein he declares, 'that he was willing to contribute his ſhare in expoſing Mr Varillas's miſtakes concerning Wicliffe, having formerly laid together ſome obſervations conducing to ſuch a deſign. Mr Larroque had, 'tis true, gone before him in the attempt, but that ingenious gentleman was not well adviſed to meddle in a ſtrange country, 'till time had inſtructed him more fully in the conſtitutions and language of it. That he [Mr King] has given Mr Varillas all the law imaginable, having made no advantage of miſtakes, which with any reaſon could be charged upon the Printer, and has contradicted nothing without expreſs proof on his ſide, and in things highly improbable, which ſeem to have no foundation in hiſtory, unleſs he can confront them with poſitive and authentick teſtimonies, he lets the author alone, and ſuffers the boldneſs of the aſſertion to be its own ſecurity. In the reflections he obſerves, that the enemies of the Reformation, as they ſeem reſolved never to leave off writing controverſies, and being confuted by our divines; ſo they are not wanting upon occaſion to turn their ſtile and furniſh out matter of triumph to our hiſtorians. Sanders and Cauſſin heretofore, and of late Mr Maimbourg and Monſieur Varillas have thought themſelves qualified for this employment. Among the reſt, continues he, Mr Varillas has uſed his pen with ſuch a partial extravagance, and with ſo little regard to modeſty and truth, that he has not only provoked the learned of the reformed profeſſion to chaſtiſe his impudence in their public writings, but has alſo drawn upon him the ſcorn and indignation of ſeveral gentlemen of his own communion; who in a ſenſe of honour and common ingenuity, have taken ſome pains to lay open the ſmooth impoſture. Mr Hoſier, Genealogiſt to the King of France, in his epiſtle declares himſelf to have diſcovered in him above four thouſand errors *. Pere Bohours, in a diſcourſe of his makes it his buſineſs to expoſe him. Even his old friend Mr Dryden ſeems to have forſaken him, and gone over to his adverſary Bohours, from whoſe original he is now tranſlating the life of St Xavier. To be free, there is almoſt as many faults in every ſingle page of Mr Varillas as in a Printer's table of *Errata*: and if the Archbiſhop of Paris would do his duty, he would find himſelf bound to put a holy cenſure upon his penſioner; and as he was lately very forward to compel thoſe of the religion to a recantation of their faith, ſo he ought here to oblige Mr Varillas to an abjuration of his hiſtory.' We muſt not omit in juſtice, however, to Varillas to obſerve, that as to the matter of this penſion he abſolutely denied it. 'Tis true, Le Long tells us, that he was offered ſuch by ſeveral French noblemen as well as foreigners, which he always refuſed, and particularly the States of Holland offered him one in 1669, to engage him to write their hiſtory, but he alſo refuſed this by the advice of Mr *Pompone*. He accepted that only of the clergy of France which Mr de Harlai, Archbiſhop of Paris, had procured for him (15). But Varillas contradicts this, and in his anſwer to Biſhop Burnet ſays, that he never accepted the penſion which Mr Harlai had obtained for him from the clergy of France in 1670, nor yet that which he procured of the King for him, charged upon the abbey of *La Victoire* in 1672; and that all that he received by the Archbiſhop's means, was a preſent from the aſſembly of the clergy in 1670, and a gratuity from the King of two thouſand livres in 1685 (16). However that be, our author having obſerved that theſe reflections on Varillas's account of Wicliffe, contain ſome memoirs of that great man, who was, as it were, the morning ſtar of the Reformation, proceeds thus: it were to be wiſhed, ſays he, that from the many volumes of his works ſtill remaining, a hiſtory of religion of that time were compoſed, which would give great light into the affairs of England.

[*F*] *Animadverſions on the pretended account of Denmark.*] Our author acquaints us, that theſe animadverſions were wrote at the requeſt of the Reverend Mr Brink, miniſter of the Daniſh church in London, a perſon whoſe merit, travels, and knowledge of the world had deſervedly gained him the favour of the then preſent King of Denmark, upon whom he was an attendant at Venice. That from him, aſſiſted by his Excellency Mr Scheel, who reſided here as Envoy Extraordinary, he † had the memoirs which compoſed thoſe papers, which had the honour not to be unacceptable to his Royal Highneſs Prince George; and when ſent to Denmark, were, by the late King's order, turned into French, and read to him as faſt as they could be tranſlated. That he had ſeen two editions of them, one in Holland and another in Germany. That he ſhould be ungrateful if he did not acknowledge the great honour which the univerſity of *Copenhagen* did him

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(*e*) Biſhop Burnet had attacked this author immediately after his book came out in 1686. See Biſhop Burnet's article in remark [*T*], p. 1036, Vol. II.

(*f*) Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Account of his Life, &c. p. 8.

(*h*) He tranſlated *The Life of* Marcus Aurelius Antoninus *the Roman Emperor, with Remarks, &c.* from the French of Monſieur & Madam Dacier. Lond. 1692, 8vo. He alſo tranſlated from French, *New Memoirs and Characters of the two great Brothers, the Duke of* Bouillon, *and Mareſchal* Turenne. Written by James de Langlade, Baron of Saumeries. 1693, 8vo.

(*i*) Mr Scheel, the Daniſh Miniſter, had alſo preſented a memorial againſt it. Animadv. p. 36. in our author's Miſcellanies.

(12) Ibid. p. 53.

(13) P. 59.

* By Mr Dobſon, Fellow of New-college, Oxford.

(14) It was alſo printed in both ſizes at Paris, 1690.

* This extract of Mr Hoſier's letter is cited in the preface of Mr Larroque's book, which is intituled, *Nouvelles Accuſations contre M.* Varillas, *ou Remarques Critiques contre une partie de ſon premier livre de l'hiſtoire de l'Hereſie.* Amſtelod. 1687. p. 162.

(15) Le Long's Bibliotheque Hiſtorique de la France, under the article Varillas.

(16) Niceron's Memoires, Tom. V. p. 64. Paris, 1728, 8vo.]

† General preface to his Miſcellanies.

much approved by Prince George, conſort to the Princeſs [afterwards Queen] Anne, that the doctor was appointed Secretary to her Royal Highneſs the ſame year (*k*). In 1697, attacked by Dr Bentley, he took a ſhare with his fellow-collegians at Chriſt-church, in the diſpute againſt that learned doctor, about the genuineneſs of Phalaris's Greek epiſtles [*G*]. His zeal for the honour of his college glows with a ſingular warmth in this controverſy. And the following year came out his humorous piece, intituled, *A Journey to London in the year* 1698, *after the ingenious Method of that made by Dr* Martin L—— [Liſter] *the ſame year*; which he deſigned as a vindication of his country, in the view of ſhewing Britain as much preferable to France, as wealth, plenty, and liberty, are beyond tortoiſes hearts, champignons, and Moriglios; or the raiſing of two millions and two hundred thouſand pounds in a few hours, is preferable to any coins of Zenobia, Odenatus, and Vabalathus (*l*). This was a ſpecimen of that particular humour in which he excelled, and the charms of which proved irreſiſtible. Whence giving way to that *fuga negotii*, ſo incident to the poetical race, he paſſed his days in the purſuit of the ſame raviſhing images, which being aptly moulded, came abroad in manuſcript in the form of pleaſant tales and other pieces in verſe, at various times, as they happened to be finiſhed [*H*]. Thus captivated

him in a letter under the ſeal of that learned and flouriſhing body. That he took it as one of his greateſt happineſſes, that by the means of his acquaintance with Mr Brink, he had accompanied him to his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Lord Biſhop of London, with letters from the Biſhop of *Copenhagen*, teſtifying the reſpect he had for their Lordſhips, and his juſt regard and veneration for the Church of England. ‘As to the matters of fact laid down in theſe papers, ſays he, I am no farther accountable, but believe none of them can be contradicted (17).’ The book has a great many curious remarks upon the Daniſh conſtitution both in church and ſtate, one of which we ſhall mention as follows ‘’Tis a general miſtake, he obſerves, in England, to call the notion of the Lutheran Proteſtants concerning the ſacrament *Conſubſtantiation* (18), for no ſuch word is uſed amongſt them. Their notion amounts to this, that they believe ſtedfaſtly a real and true preſence of the body and blood of Chriſt in the ſacrament in a manner ineffable, which our Saviour himſelf is beſt able both to know and do; whereas *Conſubſtantiation* would imply ſomething more natural and *material* (19).’ See more of this in the article of Lord Moleſworth.

[*G*] *He engaged in the diſpute about Phalaris's epiſtles.*] We have two letters of our author, which ſhew how he came to enter into this diſpute (20); they are addreſſed to the honourable Charles Boyle, Eſq; who had applied to him for an account of what paſſed between Mr Bennet the Bookſeller and Dr Bentley, concerning the MS. of Phalaris's epiſtles; in anſwer to which, he ſays, that among other things the Doctor declared, *that if the MS was collated, it would be worth nothing for the future*; and that his whole diſcourſe was managed with much inſolence. This letter is dated Doctors-Commons, Octob. 13, 1697. and was written in Dr Bentley's *Diſſertation on the epiſtles of Phalaris and the fables of Æſop* (21), then juſt publiſhed. In which piece, our author finding himſelf treated with ſome contempt, addreſſed another letter to Mr Boyle in the following terms. ‘*Give me leave, Sir, to tell you a ſecret, that I have ſpent a whole day upon Dr Bentley's late volume of ſcandal and criticiſm; for every one mayn't judge it for his credit to be ſo employed. He thinks meanly, I find, of my reading; as meanly as I think of his ſenſe, his modeſty, or his manners. And yet for all that I dare ſay, I have read more than any man in England, beſides him and me; for I have read his book all over.*

‘*If you have looked into it, Sir, you have found, that a perſon, under the pretence of criticiſm, may take what freedom he pleaſes with the reputation and credit of any gentleman; and that he need not have any regard to another man's character, who has once reſolved to expoſe his own. It was my misfortune once in my life to be in the ſame place with Dr Bentley, and a witneſs to a great deal of his rude and ſcurrilous language; which he was ſo liberal of, as to throw out at random in a public ſhop; and is ſo ſilly now as to call it eaves-dropping in me, becauſe he was ſo noiſy, and I was ſo near, that I could not help hearing him.*

‘*You deſired me at ſome years diſtance to recollect what paſſed at that meeting, and I obeyed your commands. Shall I reckon it an advantage, that Dr Bentley, who diſputes the other teſtimonies, falls in entirely with mine? I would, if I were not apprehenſive that on that very account, it might be one ſtep farther from being credited. However, ſuch is his ſpite to me, that he confirms the truth of all I told you. For the only particular I could call to mind he grants with ſome ſlight difference in the expreſſion: and as to the general account I gave of his rudeneſs and inſolence, he denies it indeed, but in ſo rude and inſolent a manner, that there is no occaſion for me to juſtify myſelf on that head. I had declared, it ſeems, that he ſaid,* The MS of Phalaris would be worth nothing if it were collated. *He ſets me right, and avers the expreſſion was, that* after the various lections were once taken and printed, the MS would be like a ſqueezed orange, and little worth for the future. *The ſimilitude of a ſqueez'd orange is indeed a conſiderable circumſtance which I had forgot, as I doubtleſs did ſeveral others. But for all that, I remember the general drift and manner of his diſcourſe, as well as if all the particular expreſſions were preſent to me. Juſt as I know his laſt book to be a diſingenuous, vain, confuſed, unmannerly performance, tho' to my happineſs hardly any of his aukward jeſts or impertinent quotations ſtick by me*

‘*I had owned it to be my opinion, that a* MS was worth nothing unleſs it were collated. *The Doctor cunningly diſtinguiſhes upon me, and ſays,* 'tis worth nothing indeed to the reſt of the world, but it is better for the owner, if a price were to be ſet upon it. *I beg his pardon for my miſtake, I thought we were talking of books in the way of ſcholars, whereas he anſwers me like a Bookſeller, and as if he* dealt in MSS *inſtead of reading them. For my part, I meaſure the value of theſe kind of things, from the advantage the publick may receive from them, and not from the profit they are likely to bring in to a private owner. And therefore I have the ſame opinion of* the Alexandrian MS (which he ſays he keeps in his lodgings) *now, as I ſhould have had before the editors of the Engliſh Polyglot publiſhed the collation of it; tho' it may not perhaps bear up to the ſame price in St Paul's Church yard, or an auction. But, I hope, if it be ſafely kept, it need never come to the experiment.*

‘*As to the particular reflections he has caſt upon me, 'tis no more than I expected. I could neither hope nor wiſh for better treatment from one that had uſed you ill. 'Tis reputable both to men and books to be ill ſpoken of by him, and a favourable preſumption on their ſide, that there is ſomething in both, which may chance to recommend them to the world. 'Tis in the power of every little creature to throw dirty language, but a man muſt have ſome credit himſelf in the world, before things, he ſays, can leſſen the reputation of another. And if Dr Bentley muſt be thus qualified in order to miſchief me, I am ſafe from all the harm that his malice can do me. I am, Sir,*

Your moſt obliged humble ſervant,

W. King (22).

But our author did not reſt the matter here: in the courſe of this famous diſpute he publiſhed *Dialogues of the dead relating to the preſent controverſy concerning the epiſtles of Phalaris*, he tells us, ‘theſe were written in ſelf-defence, and I preſume, continues he, with modeſty (23);’ and nothing ſhews that he had it at heart more than the various memorandums relating to that ſubject found ſcattered up and down in his Adverſaria.

[*H*] *Humorous pieces written at various times.*] He collected theſe afterwards, and publiſhed them together with

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(*k*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 974.

(*l*) General Preface to his Miſcellanies.

(17) Preface to the Animadverſions, &c.

(18) See Lord Moleſworth's Account, p. 252.

(19) Animadverſions, &c. p. 177.

(20) See an account of this controverſy in Dr Bentley's article, Vol. II.

(21) King's Miſcellanies, p. 261, 262.

(22) The copy of this letter was found in *The Short Account of Dr Bentley's Humanity and Juſtice* Ibid. p. 267.

(23) General preface to his Miſcellanies.

vated with theſe beauties, he neglected his buſineſs, and even grew by degrees (as uſual in ſuch tempers) to dread and abhor it. Heedleſs of thoſe uſeful ſupplies which it brought to his finances, and which were in a few years ſo much impaired by this neglect, and by the gay courſe of life he led in the company of ſome of the beſt wits and principal gentry and nobility of the age, that he gladly accepted a ſeaſonable offer made to him in 1707 by the Lord Pembroke, appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to attend his Lordſhip to that kingdom; where he was made Judge-Advocate, Sole Commiſſioner of the Prizes, and Keeper of the Records; and the Lord-Primate alſo conſtituted him his Vicar-General. With theſe honours he was well received and countenanced by perſons of the higheſt rank, and might have made his fortune, if the change of climate could have wrought a change in his diſpoſition. But ſo far was he from forming any deſign to heap up riches, or of treaſuring up any of that money which was now thrown into his lap, that he returned to England with no other treaſure than a few merry poems and humorous eſſays (*m*) [*I*]; and retiring to his ſtudent's place at Chriſt-church, he employed himſelf in finiſhing his *Art of Love*, in imitation of Ovid *de Arte Amandi* (*n*); to which he prefixed an excellent account of that poet [*K*]. However, he had not been long at the college, when an incident fell out that had power enough to draw him from his beloved amuſements. An action at Law had been brought againſt the Earl of Angleſey, for ſeveral cruelties uſed to his lady (*o*); wherein ſhe was backed by her mother the Counteſs of Dorcheſter. Upon this occaſion his Lordſhip ſollicited Dr King to come to town and undertake his cauſe, which was then before the Houſe of Lords. Here the force of friendſhip prevailed over all his averſion to the wrangling taſk of an advocate. He complied with the requeſt, took abundant pains for his old friend, more than ever he was known to do, and made ſuch a figure in the Earl's defence, as ſhewed him to have abilities in his profeſſion, equal to any occaſion that might call for them; ſo that he gained the reputation of an able Civilian, as well as of a humorous Poet (*p*). The Doctor's warm zeal for the Church carried him, in 1709, on the ſide of Dr Sacheverell, and had a hand in ſome of the political kites which flew about at that time (*q*). In this, indeed, he did no more, than concur with thoſe whoſe friendſhip he had always cultivated; and when theſe friends came into favour at Court, and were taken ſoon after into the Miniſtry, the doctor was not wanting in his friendly offices to them, and gave a helping hand towards the ſupport of the new meaſures they entered into. He printed ſeveral papers in this view [*L*], and, among others, one which

(*m*) Account of his Life, p. 9.

(*n*) It is dedicated to Lord Herbert, eldeſt ſon to the Earl of Pembroke, and was written at the perſwaſion of a very great Stateſman. Ibid. in the dedication.

(*o*) She was a natural daughter of King James II. and having obtained a divorce on this occaſion from the Earl of Angleſey, was afterwards married to John Sheffield Duke of Buckinghamſhire. See his article.

(*p*) Account of his Life, p. 14, 15.

(*q*) Among theſe is *A Friendly letter from honeſt* Tom. Boggs, *to the Rev. Mr* G——d, *Canon of Windſor, occaſioned by a Sermon preached in St George's chapel, dedicated to her Grace the* D—h ſs of M—l——h. Ibid. p 73 to 83.

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with ſome other pieces in his Miſcellanies, prefixing this remark in the preface concerning them. The remaining papers which are here muſt ſeek their fate; they were abroad in manuſcript, and I hope will not have harder fortune now they are print, than they had in the opinion of ſome friends before they were ſo. That intituled *Little Mouths* has been univerſally admired, we ſhall inſert it as a ſpecimen of that particular kind of humour which runs thro' the reſt.

‘ From London, Paul the carrier coming down
‘ To Wantage, meets a beauty of the town;
‘ They both accoſt with ſalutation pretty,
‘ As how doſt Paul? Thank ye, and how doſt Betty?
‘ Didſt ſee our Jack nor ſiſter? No. You've ſeen
‘ I warrant none but thoſe who ſaw the Queen.
‘ Many words ſpoke in jeſt, ſays Paul, are true,
‘ I came from Windſor, and if ſome folks knew
‘ As much as I, it might be well for you.
‘ Lord, Paul, what is't? Why give me ſomething for't,
‘ This kiſs, and this; the matter's then, in ſhort,
‘ The parliament have made a proclamation,
‘ Which will this week be ſent all round the nation,
‘ That maids with little mouths do all prepare
‘ On Sunday next to come before the mayor;
‘ And that all bachelors be likewiſe there:
‘ For maids with little mouths ſhall if they pleaſe,
‘ From theſe young men chuſe two apiece.
‘ Betty with a bridled chin extends her face,
‘ And then contracts her lips with ſimp'ring grace,
‘ Cries, hem, pray what muſt all the huge ones do
‘ For huſbands, when we little mouths have two.
‘ Hold, not ſo faſt, cries he, pray pardon me,
‘ Maids with huge gaping wide mouths muſt have three.
‘ Betty diſtorts her face with hideous ſquawl,
‘ And mouth of a foot wide begins to bawl,
‘ Oh! oh! is't ſo? the caſe is altered, Paul;
‘ Is that the point? I wiſh the three were ten,
‘ I warrant I'd find mouth if they'll find men.’

[*I*] *He returned to England with a few merry poems and humorous eſſays.*] It ſeems he ſtruck up a particular friendſhip with one Judge Upton of Ireland, who was altogether a man after his own heart, that delighted in retirements and poetical amuſements; and having a country villa called *Mowntown* near *Dublin*, he retired there, where he ſpent moſt of his time and neglected all his buſineſs; for he neither minded his offices, or paid his court to the Lord-Lieutenant, but fell in love with his lazy retirement and melancholy companion; inſomuch that he ſeemed to have no other thoughts left but living and dying with his beloved *Mully* of *Mowntown*; a paſtoral poem ſo called, that he made upon the happineſs of his ſituation, that was, of being buried alive with *Mully*, the red cow that gave him milk, and was the ſubject of his poem. As our author was known to ſide with the party for the Church, the criticks among the oppoſite party would have impoſed the poem upon the world for a political allegory, the remoteſt from the Doctor's deſign of any they could have deviſed. And he would hardly think of attempting to undeceive them: on the contrary we may ſuppoſe he was not ill pleaſed to ſee himſelf in ſuch good company as that of Mr Pope, whoſe celebrated poem, called *The Rape of the Lock*, was about the ſame time allegoriſed in the ſame manner by a critick, who aſſuming this poſtulatum, that *the Lock* ſignified *the Barrier Treaty*, made all the reſt of the allegory out very clearly and unexceptionably.

[*K*] *The art of love*, &c.] This is ſuch an imitation of Ovid, as that where the imitator and his author ſtand much upon the ſame terms as Ben does with his father in the comedy, *What tho'ſ he be my father, I an't bound prentice to 'en.* The Doctor's virtuous diſpoſition is no where more remarkably diſtinguiſhed than in this piece; wherein both the ſubject and the example ſo naturally and almoſt unavoidably lead into ſome leſs chaſte images, ſome looſer love which ſtands in need of a remedy But there is no occaſion for any remedy to be preſcribed for the love here treated of, beſides the ſpeedy obtaining of what it deſires, ſince it is all prudent, honourable, and virtuous. It is divided into fourteen books, moſt of which end with ſome remarkable fable that carries with it ſome moral.

[*L*] *He printed ſeveral pieces in ſupport of the new miniſtry.*] The chief of theſe were, *Rufinus, or an hiſtorical eſſay on the favourite miniſtry*, and *Political Conſiderations* which he called the *Britiſh Palladium*, or a welcome of Mr St John [then Secretary of State, and afterwards Lord Bolingbroke] from France, Shortly after this, the Gazetteer's place was offered to him, in a way ſo agreeable to his temper, that he could not refuſe it [*M*]. Accordingly, he entered upon that office, January 1, 1711; but the extraordinary trouble he met with in the diſcharge of it (*r*), proved to be more than he could endure long. Beſides, he began to decline in his health; and this, joined to his natural indiſpoſition to the fatigue of any kind of buſineſs, furniſhed a ſufficient pretence for quitting the employ, which he held only 'till about Midſummer 1712, when he retired to a gentleman's houſe on the Surry ſide of the Thames, where he had paſſed a ſummer or two before. Here he enjoyed himſelf to his full content in the company of a friend or two, with a bottle and his books (*s*). However, he croſſed the water, and made frequent viſits to his relation the Lord Clarendon at Somerſet-houſe, as long as he was able. But, as the Autumn ſeaſon advanced, he drooped gradually, and then neither cared to ſee or be ſeen by any one; and winter drawing on, he ſhut himſelf up entirely from his neareſt friends, and would not ſo much as ſee his noble relation; 'till his Lordſhip hearing of his weak condition, ſent his ſiſter to fetch him in a chair, to a lodging he had provided for him oppoſite to Somerſet-houſe in the Strand; where, next day about noon, being Chriſtmas-day 1712, he yielded up his breath with all the patience and reſignation of a Philoſopher, and with the true devotion of a Chriſtian hero (*t*). Lord Clarendon took care of his funeral [*N*], and had him decently interred in the cloyſters of Weſtminſter-abbey, where he lies next to his maſter Dr Knipe, to whom a little before he had dedicated his *Hiſtorical Account of the Heathen Gods and Heroes*, written for the uſe of ſchools; which was well received by the public at it's firſt appearance, and has gone through ſeveral impreſſions ſince. In 1732, there came out in 8vo. *Remains of the late learned and ingenious Dr* William King, *ſome time Advocate of Doctors-Commons, Vicar-General to the Archbiſhop of Armagh, and Record-keeper of Ireland. Containing Miſcellaneous Pieces in Verſe and Proſe upon various ſubjects; with Reflections, Obſervations, and Critical Remarks, upon Men and Books: with a particular Critique upon a favourite Miniſtry, particularly that of* Rufinus, *Favourite of the Emperor Theodoſius, and his Character rendered into verſe from* Claudian; *together with an Account of the Author's Life and Writings.* In this account we have the following particulars relating to the doctor's character; that in his morals he was religious and virtuous, modeſt and chaſte to that degree, that he was never known to ſpeak an immodeſt word, or write a lewd one (*u*). That though he could not endure his buſineſs as an Advocate, yet he made an excellent Judge in the court of Delegates, as often as he was called to that bench. That, however, his chiefeſt pleaſure conſiſted in trifles, and he was never happier than when he thought he was hid from the world. Yet that he loved company, provided they were ſuch as tallied with his humour (for few people pleaſed him in converſation), and it was a true ſign that he liked them, if he could be tolerably agreeable; at which times his diſcourſe was chearful, and his wit pleaſant and entertaining. That he was a great diſſembler of his natural temper, which was moroſe and peeviſh, where he durſt ſhew it; but he was of a timorous diſpoſition, and the leaſt ſlight or neglect would throw him into a melancholy ſtate of deſpondency. He would ſay a great many ill-natured things but never do one. That he was made up of tenderneſs and pity, and tears would fall from him on the ſmalleſt occaſion (*w*). Thus he is repreſented by the writer of his Life, who profeſſes a particular love and eſteem for him; and, if the picture bears a juſt reſemblance of the original, the doctor muſt have been a true humouriſt [*O*]. What other pieces he wrote,

ſiderations upon the refined Politicks, and the maſter-ſtrokes of ſtate, as practiſed by the Ancients and Moderns. Written by Gabriel Naudé, *and inſcribed to the Cardinal* Bagni. Tranſlated into Engliſh. Theſe were both written in 1711. The firſt is levelled againſt the Duke of Marlborough and the heads of his party, and the ſecond aims to repreſent and extol the Earl of Oxford as a conſummate politician.

[*M*] *He was appointed Gazetteer*, &c.] This was done in the following manner: Dr Swift, Dr Freind, and Mr Prior, together with ſome of theirs and my Lord's friends, came to pay a viſit to our author, and brought along with them the key of the Gazetteer's office, together with another key for the uſe of the paper office, which at that time was made the repoſitory for the Pope, the Pretender, and the Devil, together with the effigies of Dr Sacheverell and ſome other high prieſts, who were ſeized in a grand cavalcade, as the mob, called then the Low-Church mob, were marching along in great triumph to burn them at Whitehall or Charing-Croſs. The day following this friendly viſit being New year's day 1711, the Doctor took poſſeſſion and entered upon his office, and in two or three days dined with the ſecretary, and thanked him for his kind remembrance of him, at a time when he had almoſt forgot himſelf (24). The ſame author tells us alſo, that about half a year after Dr Sacheverell's trial, our author was applied to by Dr Swift, Dr Freind, and ſome others, to write the Examiner; and accordingly undertook it, and began that paper about Octob. 10, 1710, which he continued by the aſſiſtance of thoſe gentlemen and many others, who afterwards favoured him with their correſpondence, but the Doctor's ill ſtate of health obliged him to quit ſo fatiguing an employ in about four months, when it fell into other hands (25).

[*N*] *Lord Clarendon took care of his funeral.*] He had evidently the greateſt eſteem poſſible for his Lordſhip, and could not be perſuaded to go to reſt the night before his death, or lie down, 'till he had made ſuch a will as he thought was agreeable to his *Lordſhip's inclinations*, whereby he conſtituted Elizabeth King his ſiſter his ſole executrix and reſiduary legatee of all his eſtate or eſtates, real or perſonal, in poſſeſſion or reverſion (26). But the writer of his life intimates he had ſpent his paternal eſtates, and that after his return from Ireland, his ſtudent's place at Chriſt-Church was all he had left; this he retained to his death, and the profits thereof, together with the buſineſs of his profeſſion, and the friendſhip of his acquaintance, which was very large, and that of the greateſt quality, were his chief ſubſiſtence (27).

[*O*] *A compleat humouriſt.*] The Doctor has drawn his own character excellently in the following verſes found in his pocket at his death, being juſt freſh written with a lead pencil.

(*r*) Alderman Barber, who printed it, obliged the doctor to ſit up in the morning of thoſe days the Gazette was publiſhed, to correct the errors of the preſs. Ibid. p. 162.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 163, 164.

(*t*) P. 165, 166.

(*u*) Remains, in the dedication to the Earl of Orrery.

(*w*) Account of his Life, p. 9, 15, 16.

(24) Account of his Life, p. 161, 162.

(25) Ibid. p. 71, 72.

(26) See a copy of his Will, in Remains, p. 167, 168.

(27) Ibid. p. 9, 10.

wrote, beſides thoſe contained in his Miſcellanies or Remains, and ſuch as have not been taken notice of already in the courſe of this memoir, ſhall be mentioned below [*P*].

I ſing the various chances of the world,
Thro' which men are by fate or fortune hurl'd.
'Tis by no ſcheme or method that I go,
But paint in verſe my notions as they flow:
With heat the wanton images purſue;
Fond of the old, yet ſtill creating new.
Fancy myſelf in ſome ſecure retreat,
Reſolve to be content and ſo be great.

[*P*] *His other works not already mentioned, and neither in his Miſcellanies nor Remains.*] Theſe are, 1. *The Art of Cookery*, in imitation of *Horace's Art of Poetry*. 2. *Letters to* Dr Liſter and *others*, occaſioned principally by the title of a book publiſhed by the Doctor, being *the works of Apicius Cœlius concerning the ſoups and ſauces of the Ancients*; with an extract of the greateſt curioſities contained in that book. Among his letters is one of the *Dentiſcalps* or *Toothpicks* of the Ancients. Another contains a fine imitation of Horace, epiſt. v. book 1. being his invitation of Torquatus to ſupper. And a third contains remarks upon the Lord Grimeſton's play, called, *The Lawyer's Fortune, or Love in a hollow Tree*. 3. Three numbers of a project intituled *Uſeful Tranſactions*, containing the following ſmall pieces, 1. *An Eſſay on the Invention of Samplers, by a ſchool-miſtreſs at Hackney*. 2. *Natural Obſervations made in the ſchool of Llandwwſorhy*. 3. *Taylors and Millers proved to be no Thieves*. 4. Meurſius's *Treatiſe of the Grecian Games*. 5. *The Plays of the Grecian Boys and Girls*. 6. *A Method to teach learned Men how to write unintelligibly*. 7. *Some important Queries whether a Woman may lay a Child to an Eunuch*. 8. *Additions to Mr Lewenhoek's microſcopical Obſervations upon the tongue; ſhewing the ſeveral particles proper for pratling, tatling, pleading, haranguing, lying, flattering, ſcolding*, &c. 9. *Of the Migration of Cuckoos, with Remarks on Birds-neſts*. 10. *Obſervations on the tripal Veſſels*. 11. *An hiſtorical and chronological Account of conſecrated courts*. 12. *Jaſper-Hans-Van Slonenberg's Voyage to Cajamai*, i. e. A merry Critique upon Sir Hans Sloane's Natural Hiſtory of Jamaica.

P

KING [PETER], Baron of Ockham, and Lord High-Chancellor of Great-Britain in the XVIIIth century, was born in the year 1669 at Exeter in Devonſhire, in which city his father, Mr Jerom King, was an eminent Grocer and Salter. But though a man of conſiderable ſubſtance, and deſcended from a genteel family of his name in Somerſetſhire (*a*), yet he determined to bring up his ſon to his own trade; and accordingly, having given him ſuch an education as was ſuitable to that deſign, he took him into his buſineſs, and kept him to the ſhop for ſome years (*b*). However, the ſon's inclination being ſtrongly bent to learning, he took all opportunities of gratifying his paſſion; and being happily endued with a genius greatly ſuperior to his birth and breeding, he broke through the diſadvantages of his education. In this ſpirit he purchaſed books with what money he could ſpare, and devoting every moment of his leiſure hours to ſtudy, he became an excellent ſcholar before any body ſuſpected it. Thus improved, he happened to fall into the company of the celebrated Mr John Locke, author of *The Eſſay on Human Underſtanding*, to whom he was related; and that gentleman, after ſome diſcourſe, being greatly ſurprized and pleaſed with the prodigious advances he had made in literature, adviſed him to go to Leyden in Holland, in order to perfect himſelf therein (*c*). From this time he began to look abroad into the world, and obſerving the favourable turn given to the views of the Diſſenters by the Revolution in 1688, he began to entertain hopes of their obtaining an eſtabliſhment in the State, jointly with the Church of England, by a Comprehenſion. Animated with this proſpect [*A*], he took the pains of collecting all ſuch paſſages of the Fathers in the three firſt centuries, as might be of ſervice to that end; and having digeſted them into a fit method with proper remarks, he publiſhed the firſt part of the work in 1691, 8vo. with this title: *An Enquiry into the Conſtitution, Diſcipline, Unity, and Worſhip, of the Primitive Church, that flouriſhed within the firſt three hundred years after Chriſt. Faithfully collected out of the extant writings of thoſe ages* [*B*]. To which he prefixed a preface,

(*a*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 333. edit. 1741.

(*b*) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres pour mois de Novembre & Decembre 1702.

(*c*) Ibid.

[*A*] *Animated with the proſpect of a Comprehenſion.*] The truth of this aſſertion will not be doubted, after peruſing the concluſion of his *Enquiry*, &c. which contains a moſt pathetic exhortation to that project, having complained of animoſity on both ſides, and ardently preſſed the neceſſity of love and unity from the imminent danger of having the vitals and eſſentials of religion corrupted and devoured by hereſy and profaneneſs, while the differences about the ſkirts and fringes thereof are continued with ſo much bitterneſs, he proceeds in theſe words: 'And as for theſe and the like 'reaſons, the neceſſity of an union or comprehenſion is 'manifeſt on the one hand, ſo the facility of ſuch an 'union is as apparent on the other hand; for, thanks 'be to God, our differences are neither about faith nor 'manners; we all believe in one and the ſame God, 'hope to be ſaved by one and the ſame Redeemer, 'deſire to be ſanctified by one and the ſame Sanctifier, 'receive one and the ſame ſcriptures, aſſent to the 'ſame doctrines, and acknowledge the neceſſity of the 'ſame duties: our diſputes are only about leſſer matters, about modes and forms, about geſtures and 'poſtures, and ſuch like inferior matters, about which 'it ſhould grieve a wiſe man to quarrel, and which 'with the greateſt eaſe in the world might be compoſed and ſettled, if managed by men of prudence 'and moderation; *and ſuch men, 'tis hoped, are the 'Reverend Biſhops advanced by their Majeſties, whoſe 'promotion to thoſe places of dignity and truſt many honeſt and peaceable men look upon as a good omen and 'prognoſtick of our future union and happy eſtabliſhment* '(1).'

[*B*] *Enquiry into the conſtitution*, &c. *of the primitive Church.*] In order to a clear idea of Mr King's primary motives and principal views in this *Enquiry*, it will be neceſſary to conſider both the ſtate of the times in regard to the Church in general, and likewiſe his particular ſituation in that reſpect at the time of writing it. As to the ſtate of the Church, the firſt thing that offers itſelf to our notice is the great alteration made therein by the toleration-act, which paſſed in 1689 *, whereby the Proteſtant diſſenters were indemnified from the penalties of former acts, and a free exerciſe of their religion as moulded by the Preſbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptiſts reſpectively granted. This indulgence was conceded by the eſtabliſhed Church, in condeſcenſion to the weakneſs and prejudice of education in theſe nonconforming brethren, in hopes that ſuch a ſignal inſtance of her charity and moderation, would be a means of inducing them to lay aſide their prejudices, and return to the boſom of their mother. On the other hand, the Diſſenters ſaw it in a quite different light, conſidered it as nothing more than what they had an undoubted right to, from which they had been unjuſtly excluded before, and having once obtained it, were ſo far from reſting ſatisfied, or ſitting

(1) Second part of the Enquiry into the Conſtitution, &c. of the Primitive Church, &c. p. 169, 170. edit. 1712, 8vo.

* The royal aſſent was given to it on the 24th of May that year. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt.

face, wherein he declared, that when he firſt reſolved on the printing of this treatiſe, he deſigned to have publiſhed his obſervations on the fourth general head, propounded in the title

fitting down contented with the full enjoyment thereof, that they made uſe of it as a ſtep for further demands, and were encouraged thereby to aſſert that in every point of difference between them and the Church, the weight both of ſcripture and antiquity lay on their ſide; and therefore, that the way of treating them as perſons of weak judgments and tender conſciences was a pure piece of inſolence, the fruit of that power which the Church had unjuſtly obtained in excluſion to them. In this ſpirit they inſiſted, that the Act of Toleration, under the pretence of granting them a favour, was upon that very account a moſt injurious invaſion of their right, and in conſequence thereof ſeveral plans of accommodation were drawn by them; in all which they were to be treated altogether as the church's equals, and the propoſed terms of union were ſo drawn, as to imply a preference in the frame of their conſtitution, diſcipline, and worſhip, to the eſtabliſhed form. The conjuncture they thought favourable to their wiſhes, ſeveral of the Biſhops and great numbers of the inferior clergy had refuſed to comply with the Revolution, whilſt the Diſſenters of all denominations had particularly recommended themſelves to the favour of the new Sovereign (who had been bred up in their principles) by their unanimous acknowledgment of his right, and by their warm zeal to promote and ſecure his eſtabliſhment in it. Hereupon, among others of the party, our author, young as he was, reſolved not to ſlip the opportunity, and in this view having peruſed the writings of the Fathers of the three firſt centuries, he drew up the treatiſe now under conſideration, wherein he attempts to ſhew, that the conſtitution of the primitive Church in the ſaid centuries was upon the matter intirely of the Preſbyterian form. To that end, having firſt recited the ſeveral acceptations of the word Church, he takes that ſenſe of it for the ſubject of his diſcourſe, wherein it ſignifies a particular church, that is, a ſociety of Chriſtians meeting together in one place under their proper paſtors, for the performance of religious worſhip and the exerciſe of chriſtian diſcipline. Of this Church he lays it down as ſure, that there was but one ſupreme Biſhop the proper paſtour and miniſter of his pariſh, tho' called by various titles, as Biſhop, Paſtor, Preſident, Governor, Superintendent, and Prieſt, or the Angel of his Church, as in the Revelations. (2). He proceeds to prove, that as there was only one Biſhop to a Church, ſo but one Church to a Biſhop; whoſe cure was never called a dioceſe, but uſually a pariſh, and not larger than our pariſhes, of which he produces inſtances in the time of Ignatius, as *Smyrna*, *Epheſus*, *Magneſia*, *Philadelphia*, and *Trallium*; as alſo at *Antioch*, *Rome*, *Carthage*, and *Alexandria*, which were the four largeſt dioceſes, that is, pariſhes, in thoſe days. (3). The office of the Biſhop, he obſerves, conſiſted in preaching the word, praying with his people, and adminiſtring the two ſacraments, taking care of the poor, ordaining miniſters, governing his flock, excommunicating offenders, abſolving penitents. That for the diſcharge of theſe functions the primitive Biſhops conſtantly reſided with their flocks. That their election was made in the church by the whole body of the people, clergy, and laity. That this election was afterwards confirmed, i. e. the Biſhop was inſtituted, by the neighbouring Biſhops; and then, laſtly, they were ordained or inſtalled in their own church by three at leaſt of the neighbouring Biſhops (4.) He then paſſes to a Preſbyter, whom he defines to be a *perſon in holy orders, having thereby an inherent right to perform the whole office of a Biſhop, but, being poſſeſſed of no place or pariſh, not actually diſcharging it, without the permiſſion or conſent of the Biſhop of a place or pariſh.* Agreeable to this definition, he maintains, that a Preſbyter was inferior to the Biſhop in degree, but equal to him in order; for proof of which he runs thro' the ſeveral parts aforementioned of the Biſhop's office, and gives inſtances in each where they were performed, with the Biſhop's leave, by the Preſbyter, who he ſhews was alſo expreſsly ſaid to be of the ſame order, and had one and the ſame name, being indiſcriminately called Preſbyter or Biſhop. That this diſtinction of title was firſt given by Ignatius, and meant no more than that of Parſon and Curate, according to which diſtinction there were ſometimes many Preſbyters in one church, as now we have ſeveral Curates in large and populous pariſhes; but they were not eſſential to a church which might be without then, as well as a pariſh may be without a Curate now, it was ſufficient to have a Biſhop; and laſtly, that the Preſbyter's office began in the apoſtolick age. (5.) In the next place he conſiders the order and office of Deacons, and Subdeacons, as alſo of Acolyths, Exorciſts, and Lectors; but of theſe there being no great controverſy, he ſays very little, and haſtens to that more important point the ordination of Preſbyters; the manner and form whereof he lays down as follows. Firſt, the candidate propoſed himſelf to the preſbytery of the pariſh where he dwelt, and was to be ordained, deſiring their conſent, and praying them to confer upon him thoſe holy orders which he craved; and this petition was made to the whole preſbytery, becauſe a Biſhop alone could not give thoſe orders. Upon this addreſs, the preſbytery took it into their conſideration and debated his petition in their common-council, and then proceeded to examine him upon theſe four points, his age, his condition in the world, his converſation, and his underſtanding. As to the age, he obſerves, that the orthodox ordained none but ſuch as were well ſtricken in years, except in caſe of extraordinary grace and abilities. In reſpect to condition, the candidate was to be free from all ſecular employment. That his converſation was to be humble and meek, of an unſpotted and exemplary life, for which he was to have the people's teſtimony. Laſtly, for his underſtanding he was to be of a good capacity, fit and able to teach others; in which view the Fathers ſpeak often of the great utility and excellency of logick, and philoſophy, and human learning, which however was not determined to be abſolutely neceſſary for this office. After ſuch examination and approbation, the candidates were declared capable of the function; to which however they were very ſeldom preſently advanced, but firſt gave a ſpecimen of their abilities in the diſcharge of other inferior eccleſiaſtical offices, and ſo proceeded by degrees to the ſupreme function of all. If the people made no objection, the next thing was their actual ordination in that particular church; but they became thereby miniſters of the Church univerſal, and might ſerve any church where they had a legal call, whence the Preſbyters of a particular church were not confined to a ſet number as were the Biſhops and Deacons. Laſtly, their ordination was performed by impoſition of hands, uſually of the Biſhop and Preſbyters of the pariſh where they were ordained.——Having thus treated of the acts peculiar to the clergy, he proceeds to thoſe of the laity, who by baptiſm became members of the Church univerſal, and of that particular church wherein they were baptized, and being, in theſe early ages of Chriſtianity, moſtly adults, ſhared and exerted all the privileges and powers of the Faithful, which were, their atteſtation to thoſe that were ordained, the election and choice of their Biſhops, and a power to depoſe them either for ſcandalous immorality, hereſy, or apoſtacy. ————Next to the peculiar acts of the laity, he treats of the conjunct acts of the clergy and laity, in reſpect to which he maintains, that in general all things relating to the government and policy of the Church were performed by their joint conſent and adminiſtration; but becauſe, to recite every particular act thereof would be both tedious and fruitleſs, he confines himſelf to thoſe acts that regarded the diſcipline of the Church, i. e. the power and authority exerted by her, for her own preſervation, in the cenſuring her offending members; under which head he examines, (1.) What were the faults cenſured, and ſhews theſe to be ſchiſm, hereſy, covetouſneſs, gluttony, fornication, adultery, and all other ſins whatſoever, none excepted. Offences in any kind were all puniſhed, but none with ſo much rigour as apoſtacy. (2.) The judges that compoſed the conſiſtory or eccleſiaſtical court, were the whole body of a particular church or pariſh, both clergy and laity. That this, which is called the power of the keys, was ſo lodged in Biſhops and people, that each had ſome ſhare in it. The Biſhop had the whole executive, and part of the legiſlative power; and the people had a part in the legiſlative, tho' not in the executive power, or the formal pronunciation of ſuſpenſions and excommunications, the impoſition of hands in the abſolution of penitents, and ſuch like. That in this court

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title to be enquired into, viz. *The Worſhip of the Primitive Church*, as well as thoſe of the three former, but that for ſome reaſons he had reſerved this for a particular tract by itſelf; ‘ which probably, ſays he, though I do not abſolutely promiſe it, may in a little time ‘ more be alſo publiſhed.’ Accordingly, not long after, he ſent this into the world, under the title of, *The Second Part of the Enquiry into the Conſtitution, Diſcipline, Unity, and Worſhip, of the Primitive Church*, &c. [C]. Having, in a very handſome way, with a true

Biſhops and people had each a negative voice: however, becauſe the laity were incumbered with earthly buſineſs, from which the Preſbytery were free, theſe latter were appointed as a Committee to prepare matters for the whole court. He was the ſupreme tribunal within the limits of that pariſh, but in difficult points the neighbouring Biſhops, being deſired, gave their aſſiſtance. (3.) The form of the proceedings in this court was this. When the conſiſtory was ſat, wherein the Biſhop and his aſſiſting Preſbyters (2), but commonly the Preſbytery, preſided, the offender, if poſſible, was brought before them (3), and his crimes being objected to him, he pleaded thereto; then the court conſidered and debated his plea, and if judged inſufficient by the Biſhop and majority, he was voted by the common ſuffrage to be condemned and cenſured; after which, ſentence was pronounced by one of the preſiding elders, that is, either by the Biſhop or a Preſbyter commiſſioned by him, who proceeded to it with previous exhortations and rebukes. (4.) The nature of the ſentence was intirely ſpiritual,and conſiſted either in ſuſpenſion or excommunication. (5.) Abſolution was not to be obtained without repentance, undergoing a ſtate of penance, and a formal public confeſſion of the fault. In performing which, the penitent firſt of all proſtrated himſelf at the church door, weeping, and begging the prayers of the faithful as they entered. And if the court thought his repentance real, he was admitted into the church, but not to the whole ſervice ’till after a much longer time of probation; at the expiration of which, he applied to the court for abſolution, who, after examining his demeanour and actions, and enjoining him to make a public confeſſion of his fault, gave the abſolution in this form. The penitent kneeled before the biſhop and clergy, who put their hands upon his head, and bleſſed him; by which ceremony he was declaratively and formally admitted to the Church’s peace, and to the communion of the Faithful, as before his offence; except in the caſe of the delinquent clergy, who, upon abſolution, were only reſtored to communion as laymen, and never re-admitted to their eccleſiaſtical dignity, if condemned for any great and aggravated crime He then goes on to ſhew, that this power of exerciſing diſcipline on her own members was lodged in every particular church, without the concurrency of other churches; and therefore every church was in this ſenſe independent; but yet conſidered with other churches as part of the Church Univerſal, it was dependent. In which view each particular church had a care of the body of the whole Church, diſtended into various provinces; and accordingly there was an intercourſe and government by ſynodical aſſemblies, either œcumenical † or provincial; that provincial ſynods met at leaſt once, and in ſome provinces twice or thrice, a year, and were compoſed of biſhops, preſbyters, deacons, and deputed laymen in behalf of the people of their reſpective churches. That they were aſſembled by their own authority, becauſe in thoſe days there was no Chriſtian magiſtrate to order or determine theſe affairs. When convened, they choſe one, or ſometimes two, to be their moderators or prolocutors, whoſe office was to preſide in their aſſembly, to ſee all things calmly and fairly debated and decreed, and at the concluſion of any cauſe, to ſum up what had been urged on both ſides, to take the votes of the members, and laſt of all to give his own. That every thing relating to the polity, diſcipline, or government of the churches within the province, were regulated, and their decrees or canons were binding. Having thus diſcourſed of the conſtitution and diſcipline of the Primitive Church, he proceeds to treat of it’s unity, and of ſchiſm, the breach of that unity. Here he conſiders the unity of the Church both negatively and poſitively, and aſſerts, that negatively it conſiſted not in uniformity of rites, nor in an unanimity of conſent, to the non-eſſential points of Chriſtianity; and therefore that the rigid impoſers of theſe upon particular churches, were condemned as cruel and tyrannical, and were the true ſchiſmatics, inaſmuch as they were the cauſe of ſchiſm and diviſion. But *poſitively*, the unity of the Church Univerſal, conſiſted in an harmonious agreement in the fundamentals of Faith and Doctrine; whence the corruption of that doctrine was a breach of that unity, and ſuch violaters were ſchiſmatics. The unity of a collective or provincial church, conſiſted in a brotherly correſpondence with, and receiving to communion the members of, each other; and that unity was broken, either when they claſhed in any point of doctrine, and through hatred, rage, and fury, calumniated and abuſed each other; or, if diſpoſed regularly into a ſynodical government, then the violaters of their reaſonable ſynodical canons were ſchiſmatics. But paſſing by all theſe, as not the ſchiſm of the Ancients, our author obſerves, that ſchiſm principally and originally reſpected a particular church or pariſh, the unity of which, conſiſting in the mutual love and amity of the members, and in their due ſubjection and ſubordination to their paſtor or biſhop, conſequently a breach of that unity conſiſted, either in hatred or malice to each other, or in a rebellion againſt their lawful paſtor, i. e. in a cauſeleſs ſeparation from their biſhop, and thoſe that adhered to him. The firſt of theſe might happen without a formal ſeparation, and yet ſuch diſcords are called ſchiſms (4). Yet this is not what the Ancients ordinarily meant by ſchiſm; but that which they generally and commonly termed ſchiſm, was a rebellion againſt, or an ungrounded and cauſeleſs ſeparation from, their lawful paſtor or their pariſh church; and except in the caſe of the biſhop’s apoſtacy, hereſy, or ſcandalous immorality, every ſeparation was cauſeleſs, and conſequently the true and proper ſchiſm of the Ancients.

[C] *The fourth article was publiſhed afterwards.*] This piece being a continuation of the ſame deſign with the former, our author proceeds in the ſame ſpirit to vindicate the claim of the Preſbyterians againſt the Eſtabliſhed Church, in reſpect to primitive antiquity upon the article of their worſhip. In the execution whereof he endeavours to prove, chap. i. that the method of their public ſervice began with reading the ſcriptures, and that without any appointed portions or leſſons. Next followed ſinging of pſalms, without any inſtrumental muſick. To this ſucceeded preaching, which continued for the ſpace of an hour, being a comment, with ſuitable inferences and applications, upon ſo much of the ſcripture as had been read, and was performed uſually by the biſhop, but with his permiſſion by any other, either clergyman or layman. The ſermon being ended, the congregation ſtood up to prayer, which, he maintains in chap. ii. was performed in that poſture (it being accounted a ſin to kneel, eſpecially on Sundays), by the miniſter alone, without any vocal joining of the people, and by him diſcretionally, in one long continued prayer, not divided into collects, and without any preſcribed forms, except the Lord’s-Prayer; and that he was habited with a cloak and no ſurplice. The three following chapters are ſpent in treating of Baptiſm, which he ſuggeſts was performed in the earlieſt time from the Apoſtles, without the uſe of ſponſors or godfathers. That the perſon being baptized either by immerſion or ſprinkling, was afterwards anointed, ſigned with the ſign of the croſs, and confirmed by impoſition of hands; the two former of theſe were nothing more than rites, and therefore not neceſſary; but Baptiſm was deemed imperfect without confirmation, which, however, he labours to prove was performed by Preſbyters as well as Biſhops. Next to Baptiſm he ſpeaks, chap. vi. of the Lord’s-Supper. In the celebration whereof he contends, there was only one long prayer that preceded the words of inſtitution. That the elements were diſtributed by the Deacon, Preſbyter, or Biſhop, indiſcriminately, and that the people received in a ſtanding poſture (5). After the ſacrament he conſiders, in the viith chapter, the circumſtances of publick worſhip, as time and place; and in treating of the latter of theſe he maintains, that churches were not thought to have any kind of holineſs

(2) Called approved Elders by Tertullian. Apolog. cap. 39. p. 709.

(3) If he did not appear, he was condemned for obſtinacy.

† Of this ſort he obſerves there was but one, if any, within the three firſt centuries, viz. that of Antioch, which condemned Paulus Samoſatenus.

(4) 1 Cor. xi. 18. and the epiſtle of Clemens Romanus to the Corinthians.

(5) He takes notice, by the by, of the practice in theſe times, of giving this Sacrament even to ſucking infants, p. 112.

true air of modeſty, deſired to be ſhewn, either publickly or privately (*d*), any miſtakes he might have made, that requeſt was firſt complied with by Mr Edmund Elys, between whom and our author there paſſed ſeveral letters upon the ſubject in 1692, which were publiſhed by Mr Elys in 1694, 8vo (*e*). In the firſt part of his treatiſe our author having aſſerted the equality of Preſbyters to Biſhops in reſpect to *Order*, appeals alſo to the learned reader to determine, whether that point had been fully proved, and whether the quotations did naturally conclude the premiſes. ‘ I am not conſcious, ſays he, that I have ſtretched any words beyond their natural ſignification, ‘ having deduced from them nothing but what they fairly imported. If I am miſtaken, I hope I ſhall be pardoned, ſince I did not deſignedly or voluntarily. As ‘ before, ſo I now profeſs again, that if any one ſhall be ſo kind and obliging to give ‘ me better information, I ſhall thankfully and willingly acknowledge and quit mine ‘ error; but 'till that information be given, and the falſity of my preſent opinion be evinced (which, after the impartialleſt and narroweſt enquiry, I ſee not how it can be done), ‘ I hope no one will be offended, that I have aſſerted the equality or identity of the Biſhops and Preſbyters as to *Order*.’ This being obſerved when the treatiſe was republiſhed in 1713, while the famous Schiſm-bill was under the conſideration of Parliament (*d*), there came out ſome time after a piece, intituled, *The Invalidity of the Diſſenting Miniſtry; or Preſbyterian Ordination an irregular and unjuſtifiable Practice. In anſwer to Mr* Pierce's *Sermons, intituled,* Preſbyterian Ordination proved regular: *and to all the pretended Inſtances of Preſbyterian Ordination, in a book lately publiſhed by Mr* Charles Owen, *called,* The Validity of the Diſſenting Miniſtry; *with Remarks on the* Forgery *and* Diſhoneſty *of that writer. To which is added, An Impartial View and Cenſure of the Miſtakes propagated for the ordaining Power of Preſbyters, in a celebrated book, entituled,* An Enquiry into the Conſtitution, Diſcipline, Unity, and Worſhip, of the Primitive Church, that flouriſhed within the firſt three hundred years after Chriſt. *By a Preſbyter of the Church of England.* And not long afterwards, when the repeal of the Schiſm-bill came upon the carpet, many perſons remembered, that the leſs learned and more prejudiced adverſaries of the Church of England had made their boaſts of *The Enquiry*, &c. and, from it's not being anſwered, had proclaimed it an unanſwerable defence of their ſeparation from her. Hereupon Mr Sclater, a nonjuring clergyman, thinking, moreover, that all the ſcattered arguments and pleas for their unwarrantable ſchiſm, as he calls it, were reducible to ſome one or other of the great variety of quotations cited therein, publiſhed an anſwer under this title: *An Original Draught of the Primitive Church: in anſwer to a Diſcourſe, entituled,* An Enquiry into the Conſtitution, Diſcipline, Unity, and Worſhip, &c. *By a Preſbyter of the Church of England* [*D*]. Lond. 1717, 8vo. Having thus, for the ſake of perſpicuity, thrown together

neſs in them, but, on the contrary, though theſe primitive Chriſtians had churches for conveniency and decency, yet they did not imagine any ſuch ſanctity or holineſs to be in them, as to recommend, or make more acceptable, thoſe ſervices that were diſcharged therein, than if they had been performed elſewhere. The two next chapters are aſſigned to ſpeak of the primitive faſts and feaſts; where having obſerved in the former, that Lent was the only fixed faſt which they looked upon as abſolutely neceſſary to be obſerved, he aſſerts in the latter, that beſides Eaſter, Whitſunday, Chriſtmas, and Epiphany, they kept no other feaſts in commemoration of Chriſt, or the Virgin Mary, or the Apoſtles; which laſt he remarks had not the title of Saints in the primitive writings.—He concludes with the xth chapter, which is reſerved for the chief point in view, that is, the nature and obligation to particular rites and ceremonies obſerved in the Church. And here having ſhewn the difference between theſe, the firſt being deemed neceſſary concomitants of the circumſtances of divine worſhip, which the latter were not, he obſerves, that ſeveral ceremonies crept into the Church within the three firſt centuries, that from the beginning were not ſo, but were introduced, as the Church grew gradually corrupted both in doctrine and worſhip; and contends, in reſpect to both, that they were indifferent and arbitrary, the choice and appointment of them being entirely at the will and pleaſure of every particular church or pariſh; ſo that one church had no power over another in regard to the uſe of them. But that ſtill every particular church could enforce it's own members to a conformity even in theſe.

The detail we have given of the particulars under the four general heads of the enquiry, has ſwelled this remark into a much larger book than was expected; but ſuch an account was neceſſary to ſupport our aſſertion in the text, that it was our author's deſign therein to vindicate the Preſbyterians in their demands of a Comprehenſion. However, it would be an injury to him not to declare at the ſame time, that, in the courſe of his Enquiry, he has taken notice of ſome articles obſerved in the primitive times, within his limitation, wherein the Eſtabliſhed Church hath kept cloſer than the Preſbyterians to that pattern. There is alſo a very becoming air of modeſty preſerved throughout the whole, his pen appears to be conducted by a juſt ſenſe of his youthful years, and he cloſes all with a moſt ardently pious and pathetic exhortation to a peaceful unity of all parties in a Comprehenſion.

[*D*] *An Original Draught of the Primitive Church, &c. in anſwer to an Enquiry, &c.*] Among other reaſons for publiſhing the *Enquiry*, Mr King had declared (6) the chiefeſt to be theſe two, to inform others and to inform himſelf; to inform others what the practices of the primitive Apoſtolic Churches were, if any ſhall be ſo inquiſitive and deſirous to know them, or if he was miſtaken (as who is without his errors?) to be better informed himſelf; and this, he ſays, was his chief deſign in the publication. *Wherefore*, continues he, *without oſtentation or challenging, but unfeignedly and ſincerely to prevent miſtakes in my younger years, I humbly deſire (if the requeſt be not too bold) and ſhall heartily thank any learned perſon that will be ſo kind as to inform me, if he knows me to have erred in any one or more particulars; which he may do either publickly, or, if he think fit, privately by letters to my Bookſeller, who will convey it ſafely to my hands.* Hereupon Mr Sclater obſerves, that our author, in his preface, ſhews an humble diffidence of his youthful performance, and deſires another ſenſe might be given of his ſeveral quotations (if need required) for better information of himſelf and others. ‘ I confeſs, ſays this antagoniſt, ‘ I ſaw need enough of that at my firſt peruſal of his ‘ book, and not a little wondered, that no friendly ‘ hand had done that kindneſs for him long before. ‘ As to my own part, I had never walked in the unpleaſant paths of controverſy to that day; and beſides the conſciouſneſs of my unfitneſs for it, had ‘ averſion enough ever to ſet a foot in them; but ſeeing none had anſwered, or was anſwering (as I could ‘ hear of), ſo reaſonable a deſire, though men of letters in both kingdoms of our united iſland had declared an earneſt expectation of it, and the Holy Church ‘ of England in particular has reproached the ſilence

(*d*) In the preface. See alſo below in remark [*D*].

(*e*) In a collection, intituled, *Letters on Several Subjects.*

(*d*) That bill had the royal aſſent July 9, 1714. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under that year.

(6) In the preface.

ther what relates to *The Enquiry*, we ſhall recur to the time of our author's life when it was written. After his return from Leyden, he entered himſelf a ſtudent of the Inner-Temple (*e*), reſolving to chuſe the Law for his profeſſion, by the advice of his forementioned learned couſin Mr Locke (*f*). He was endowed with good parts and great induſtry *, two qualities, which, when united in one perſon, never fail of raiſing him to a degree of eminence in any kind of learning that he applies to; accordingly, Mr King had not been many years at the Temple, when he had acquired the reputation of having as much ſkill and knowledge in all the parts, and hiſtory of the Law or in the civil part of the conſtitution; as he had before in Divinity or the eccleſiaſtical part. So that in 1699 he obtained a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons, of which Houſe he was elected a member to repreſent the borough of Beer-Alſton in Devonſhire; and the ſame honour was continued to him, not only in the enſuing, which was the laſt parliament of King William, but alſo in the five ſucceeding parliaments, during the reign of Queen Anne (*g*). In the mean time, as the ſubject of his theological treatiſe already mentioned, had led him occaſionally to look into the origin of that which is commonly called the Apoſtles Creed, in order to find out the deſign of the primitive Fathers of the Church in compiling it; ſo he could not think of loſing all the pains he had taken, eſpecially in a favourite ſtudy. Wherefore, indulging his natural inclination, he employed his leiſure hours in purſuing that enquiry; and having at length completed his collections, as well as the neceſſary remarks upon them, he digeſted the whole into a proper method, and publiſhed it in 1702, in 8vo. under the title of, *The Hiſtory of the Apoſtles Creed, with critical Obſervations on it's ſeveral Articles* [*E*]. The learning and judgment manifeſted in this treatiſe, ſurprized the world

‘of her children, in an argument that ſo plainly ſtruck at her foundation; *filial* obedience, I may ſay, to ſo *faithful* a parent, moved me to uſe the beſt endeavours I could to vindicate the truly Apoſtolical Conſtitution, and to plead the cauſe of injured Antiquity as well as her's; for that both are truly one in this caſe, the impartial reader will eaſily obſerve, when he ſees the palpable miſtakes corrected, and the unfair repreſentations of the venerable Fathers of the Church (ſo obvious in almoſt every page of thoſe plauſible collections), reſtored to their genuine ſenſe again. This is what may be expected here; and I am not conſcious I have ſtrained any one paſſage in Antiquity beyond the true meaning of the venerable authors themſelves, to form a different conſtruction of it from that of the ingenious enquirer. I ſhould count it the work of ſacrilege to do ſo; the goods of the Church are not ſo ſacred as her ſenſe is. What each quotation appeared to me, from the beſt authority and cloſeſt attention I could uſe, I have fairly repreſented here. If defective in apprehending the true ſenſe, or injudicious in the inferences from it, I heartily ſubmit in my turn to the charity of a better information. For as I write with a conſcientious regard to undeceive ſome, ſo I am infinitely more concerned not to be deceived myſelf; and I wiſh no greater freedom from prejudice or party in any who read or cenſure theſe papers, than I am conſcious of in the compoſing of them.’

[*E*] *The Hiſtory of the Apoſtles Creed, &c.*] Our author had looked into this ſubject, and made ſome progreſs in his collections concerning it, when he drew up his *Enquiry*, &c. and once intended to have inſerted it in that treatiſe, where he has given a liſt of all the Creeds he could meet with which were uſed in the three firſt centuries; and comparing them with the Apoſtles Creed, obſerved two new articles introduced into this latter Creed, viz. *He deſcended into Hell*, and *The Communion of Saints*; and in order to find out how they were added, he conſiders how the whole Creed was framed, which he conceives to be theſe two ways. Firſt, ſome of the articles, he obſerves, were derived from the days of the Apoſtles. Secondly, others were afterwards added, in oppoſition to hereſies, as they ſprung up in the Church. The articles derived from the days of the Apoſtles were, *I believe in God the Father, or* (as the Greek Creed reads it) *in one God the Father* (in oppoſition to the Polytheiſm of the heathens); *and in Jeſus Chriſt, his only begotten Son, our Lord: I believe in the Holy Ghoſt, The Reſurrection of the Body, and the Life everlaſting.* For in the days of the Apoſtles, as well as afterwards, it was the practice at Baptiſm to demand the baptized perſon's aſſent to the fundamental articles of the Chriſtian Faith, as Philip did the Eunuch, Acts viii. 37. amongſt which fundamentals we may be certain they reckoned the doctrine of the Trinity, becauſe they were baptized in the name, and dedicated to the ſervice, of the Trinity; and that of the Unity of the Godhead, becauſe it was the great drift and deſign of their preaching, to overturn the Pagans multiplicity of deities; and that of the Reſurrection of the Body and the Life everlaſting, becauſe that was the characteriſtic or peculiar doctrine of the Chriſtian religion, by which it was eminently diſtinguiſhed from other ſects and opinions, and was the only comfort and ſupport of the Chriſtians under their ſufferings and martyrdoms. As for the other articles of the Creed, in ſuch as are predicated of Chriſt, as his being *conceived of the Holy Ghoſt, born of the Virgin Mary*, &c. and thoſe other two, *The Holy Catholic Church*, and *the Forgiveneſs of Sins*; he conceives them to be introduced the ſecond way, viz. in oppoſition to hereſies as they ſprung up in the Church; as, *Was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt*, in oppoſition to the Carpocratians, Ebionites, and Corinthians, who taught that Chriſt was born in the ordinary and common way, as other men and women are: *Was born of the Virgin Mary, ſuffered under Pontius Pilate*, &c. in contradiction to the Docetæ, Simonians, and others, who affirmed Chriſt to be a man not really, but only phantaſtically or in appearance (7). *The Remiſſion of Sins*, againſt the Baſilidians, who held, that not all ſins, but only involuntary ones, would be remitted; or rather againſt the Novatians, who denied remiſſion to the lapſed. *The Holy Catholic Church*, to exclude thereby all heretics and ſchiſmatics from being within the pale thereof. ‘By theſe two ways, concludes he, was the Creed compoſed; and by the latter hereof were theſe two articles introduced, of Chriſt's *Deſcent into Hell*, and of *the Communion of Saints*. The Communion of Saints was brought in laſt of all, the deſcent into Hell towards the latter end of the fourth century; into the manner and occaſion whereof, as alſo the intent and meaning whereof, I had deſigned once to enquire, having made ſome collection concerning it; but finding I ſhould be then forced to paſs the limits of my preſcribed time, I have thought it expedient to omit it (8).’ He proſecuted this ſubject afterwards; and having completed his collections, not only with regard to theſe but all the other articles, he compiled the treatiſe now under conſideration. Wherein having forewarned the reader of his deſign, not to treat of the Creed theologically, or to explain the ſenſe of the ſeveral articles, as founded in, and deducible from, Scripture, but to ſhew the intent and meaning of each, as it is a part of the Creed, and for what reaſon it was introduced therein, he runs through the whole in that view; and dividing it into ſeven chapters, in the firſt he cites the encomiums given the Creed by the primitive writers, and the ſeveral names by which it hath been called; of which the principal was that of Symbol, a term derived from the Pagans, denoting a ſecret mark or token revealed to thoſe only who were initiated into their myſteries; in alluſion whereto, the Creed being uſed by the Chriſtians to the ſame end, was called by the ſame name. He obſerves the great difficulty of finding out the firſt framers of it; ſhews in what ſenſe the Apoſtles are

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(*e*) See the inſcription on his monument in Collins's Peerage, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres mois de Novembre & Decembre 1703.

* The motto under his coat of arms is *Labor ipſe voluptas*, which has been thought to be choſen by him with great propriety, as being the characteriſtic quality of his nature.

(*g*) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria.

(7) Of theſe heretics it is, that Ignatius ſays, Ἄπιστοι τινὲς λέγουσιν, τὸ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν πεπονθέναι. Epiſt. ad Smyrn. p. 2. and his creed ſeems particularly to be levelled againſt them.

(8) Enquiry into the Conſtitution, Diſcipline, &c. Part II. chap. iii. in the concluſion.

world equally at leaſt with that of his former piece in Theology; inſomuch, that one of the Biſhops, a prelate diſtinguiſhed for his erudition, being perſwaded it could hardly be any

are ſaid to be the authors of one part, and the ſucceeding Governors of the Church of the other; that it was not conſtantly read in the Eaſtern Church 'till about the beginning of the ſixth, and not in the Weſtern Church 'till near the end of that, century; and that the Creed then firſt read was the Nicene, into whoſe room afterwards came the Apoſtles. In the following chapters he treats of the ſeveral articles of the Creed; wherein, to what he had obſerved before in the *Enquiry* already mentioned, he adds in the ſecond chapter, upon the article of *One God*, that the Valentinians, Cerdonians, Marcionites, and others, introduced ſeveral gods; which laſt hereſy appearing in the Apoſtles days, this article was levelled againſt it. That the title Father denotes God to be the origin of all things, in oppoſition to the Gnoſtics and others, who refuſed to give him that appellation, attributing it to another being. That in the primary ſenſe, as it denotes the relation of the Father to the Son, it hath been in the Creed from the foundation of Chriſtianity. That the word *Almighty*, as denoting God's infinite power, was intended againſt the Valentinians, Simonians, Menandrians, &c. whoſe hereſies are explained. Secondly, it implies God's providential government, in oppoſition to the Gnoſtics and Marcionites, the former of whom at leaſt aſcribed that government to another being. Thirdly, it ſignifies God's immenſity and omnipreſence, in contradiction to the Gnoſtics, who maintained the Supreme God to be confined within a certain limited ſpace. That *Maker of Heaven and Earth* is levelled againſt the blaſphemous tenets of ſeveral heretics about the creation of the world; which Simon Magus and ſeveral others attributed to Angels; the Valentinians to certain Æons, agreeable to the ſenſe of the latter Platoniſts; the Cerdonians and Marcionites maintaining two eternal principles, God and the Devil, aſſigned the creation to the latter. In the third chapter he ſhews, that the *Son* of God denotes the Meſſias, theſe being convertible terms among the Jews at the time of our Saviour's appearance; that *His only Son* * implies the peculiar manner of his ſonſhip, expreſſed in the Greek by generation, and oppoſed, perhaps, to the Valentinian *emiſſion*, or diviſion, from the Father. The title *Lord* expreſſes the dominion of Chriſt, againſt that uſurped by the Devil, and was therefore coëval with Chriſtianity. In the next articles, concerning Chriſt's humanity, he obſerves, that his incarnation was blaſphemed and denied in ſundry ways and manners by various heretics: againſt whom were levelled all the articles of the Creed, from our Saviour's conception to the reſurrection. And to thoſe heretical opinions beforementioned, he adds the names of ſeveral heretics, who denied that Chriſt aſſumed a material body from the ſubſtance of his mother; but held that his body was framed in Heaven, and paſſed through the Virgin Mary as water through a pipe; againſt whom the Creed directs us to believe, by being *born of the Virgin Mary*, that he took from her fleſh the real ſubſtance of his body. That the Crucifixion ſignifies it was not Simon of Cyrene, as the Baſilidians affirmed, but Chriſt himſelf who was crucified. The fourth chapter treats of the deſcent into Hell; which being untouched in the *Enquiry*, we muſt here be more particular upon, as follows. This article relates ſomething done by Chriſt's ſoul, which excludes the burial of his body from being deſigned thereby; and ſecondly, ſomething done by the ſoul in it's ſeparate ſtate, excluſive of the ſufferings thereof whilſt he was alive. In the explication of the article he begins with the word *Hell*, which in old Engliſh exactly anſwers to the Greek *Hades*, which properly ſignifies the habitation or receptacle of all ſeparated human ſouls, whether good or bad Both Pagans and Jews uſed it in this ſenſe; but there is no one word in the modern Engliſh, French, or Dutch, that comprehends the full meaning of it. The Primitive Chriſtians affirmed, that all good ſouls, immediately after their ſeparation from the body, paſſed into a place of joy and happineſs, which * they termed Hell. In the declenſion of the Greek, and chiefly of the Latin, tongue, the word Hell began to be ſolitarily applied to the manſion of departed wicked ſouls. Origen, among the Greeks, doubted of the paſſage of faithful ſouls into Hell ſince the reſurrection of Chriſt. But after him the ancient doctrine, that all ſouls go to Hell, and remain there 'till the Reſurrection day, generally prevailed in the Eaſt to this time. Ambroſe, and after him Jerom and others, entertained the ſame notion in the Weſt as Origen had in the Eaſt. Auguſtin was uncertain and wavering in his apprehenſions thereof. The receſſion from the ancient opinion was occaſioned by the mutation of languages and words. But the word Hell, in the Apoſtolical ſenſe, could not in any propriety of ſpeech ſignify any other thing, than the ſtate or place of ſeparated human ſouls, whether good or bad. He next proceeds to explain the word *deſcended*, and obſerves, that it is uſed in the Creed as being a popular kind of ſpeech, taken up from the common opinion, that Hell was in the bowels of, or under, the earth, and thence called in the Latin *Infernum*, and in the Greek *Hades*. Some of the Fathers imagined Hell to be in the heart of the earth, others under the earth, and ſome declared themſelves uncertain about it's ſituation; but all apprehended it to be the common lodge of departed ſouls, and, in a conformity to the common dialect, uſually termed the paſſage thither a deſcent into Hell, as in this article of the Creed: by which they meant no other, than that our Saviour's ſoul being ſeparated from the body, went, by a local motion, to the unſeen habitation of departed ſouls, where it remained 'till his reſurrection day. And this is farther proved from the ends of his going thither, which were chiefly theſe four. Firſt, to ſanctify to his followers the ſtate and place of their ſouls, during their ſeparation from their bodies. Secondly, that he might undergo a neceſſary and principal part of his humiliation. Thirdly, that he might perſonally, and, as the head of his Church, conquer Death and Hell; which he did by returning therefrom, and bringing the ſouls of ſeveral of the Faithful with him. Fourthly, that he might ſubject himſelf to the laws of death, and be in every thing like unto us. From whence it more evidently appears, that the deſcent of Chriſt into Hell ſignifies no other than the paſſage of his ſpirit into the receptacle of ſeparated ſouls. Our author then proceeds to the occaſion of inſerting this clauſe in the Creed, which he ſhews was taken from the Arians, Eunomians, and Apollinarians, who, in a more cunning way than the former heretics, aſſaulted the humanity of our Saviour, by denying that he had a reaſonable ſoul. That there was ſome difference between the errors of the Arians and Apollinarians. But that which rendered this hereſy the more conſiderable and dangerous was, the eſpouſing of it by Apollinarius the Younger, the moſt noted perſon of his age for ability and piety; on which account his fall was a very tender and ſenſible loſs to the Church. His hereſy was, that Chriſt had no human ſoul, but that his Divinity ſupplied the place thereof; the conſequences of which opinion are urged in ſeveral particulars. In oppoſition whereto, this article, or clauſe, was inſerted in the Creed, *He deſcended into Hell*; which point was pitched upon by the governors of the Church, becauſe, of all the arguments uſed againſt the Apollinariſts, it was the moſt unanſwerable: on which account it is frequently urged by the Fathers againſt them, and it falls in moſt naturally with the frame of the Creed, without diſturbing the order thereof. He then proceeds to ſhew the time of introducing this article; upon which head he obſerves, that the firſt Catholic Creed wherein it is found is in that of Aquileia, recorded by Ruffinus; though before that, in a private Creed of Epiphanius, and even before him, in a Creed framed by a party of Arians at the Council of Arminium, held in the year 359. He mentions ſeveral probable deſigns of thoſe Arians herein, as to clear themſelves from the ſuſpicion of the forementioned hereſy, to diſgrace their great antagoniſt Apollinarius, and by that means to create feuds and quarrels amongſt the Orthodox, who finding Apollinarius openly to declare for his hereſy, entirely abandoned him, condemned him in ſeveral ſynods, and at length, according to the example of the Arians, inſerted in the Creed this antidote againſt his hereſy, that Chriſt *deſcended into Hell*; which, in the Aquileian Creed, is expreſſed in a greater latitude, by *deſcending into the lower parts*, wherein the burial might be comprehended and deſigned; but, as it is expreſſed in the Roman or our preſent Creed, it can have no other than the forementioned any thing better than a wretched rhapſody out of ſeveral diſcourſes on the ſubject before printed, and eſpecially of Biſhop Pearſon's *Expoſition of the Creed*, who ſeemed to have exhauſted that matter, took it up, and began to read it with this diſadvantageous prepoſſeſſion; but he was quickly convinced of his miſtake, and his injurious prejudice was turned into admiration, upon the ſight of ſo many curious things in this hiſtory, not to be met with in Dr Pearſon, without finding any thing borrowed from that writer's Expoſition (*b*). However, after this our author found himſelf under a neceſſity of dropping all further purſuits upon his beloved ſtudy. The great buſineſs which his abilities as a Lawyer brought into his hands, left him no time to ſpare for it; and in a few years his merit

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tioned ſignification, which, to prevent miſtakes, is again repeated. The fifth chapter contains an account of the Reſurrection of Chriſt, which he obſerves, as in the *Enquiry*, was always a part of the Creed, as a fundamental of Chriſtianity. After the Reſurrection follows the Aſcenſion, which, according to him, was introduced againſt an opinion of the Apelleians, viz. that at his Aſcenſion his body was reſolved into it's firſt principles, and aſcended not up on high, or into Heaven; the nomination of which place might probably have been deſigned, in contradiction to a conceit of Hermogenes, that his body went into the body of the ſun. He then proceeds to ſhew, that, by ſitting on the right hand of the Father, we muſt not imagine Chriſt confined to that ſingular poſture, but his advancement to the full exerciſe of his regal office, every thing being ſubjected to him by the Father, who is infinitely able to do it, ſeeing he is Almighty; which word in the Greek is here different from that uſed in the beginning of the Creed, and in this place denotes the irreſiſtibleneſs and efficacy of God's power. He obſerves, this clauſe was firſt found in the Creed of Tertullian, and was inſerted either as a continued proof with the Aſcenſion, that our Lord's body was not diſſolved a little after his Reſurrection; or rather was deſigned againſt ſome heretics, who imagined the body of Chriſt to be in a ſtupid and unconcerned poſture in Heaven, and not to be ſat down at his Father's right hand, exerciſing all power and authority for the good of his Church. The next clauſe being, *From whence he ſhall come to judge the Quick and the Dead*, in the explication of it he recites three interpretations of the *Quick* and the *Dead*, and obſerves the moſt natural to be, that by the *Quick* are meant thoſe that ſhall be alive at the coming of our Lord, and by the *Dead*, thoſe who ſhall then be actually void of life. He ſhews, that this article was levelled againſt the Marcionites and Gnoſtics, of whom the one blaſphemed the final Judge, the other the Judgment. Marcion, with his Maſter Cerdon, held, that the true God, and his ſon Jeſus Chriſt, were all mercy and love, and would never judge the world; which opinion opened a flood-gate to all impiety; in oppoſition whereto the Creed declares, that he ſhall come to judge. In explaining the word judging he notes, that it ſuppoſeth a liberty and freedom of action in the perſon judged, both which were denied by the Gnoſtics, as by the Valentinians, Baſilidians, Carpocrations, and others, who all ſprung from Simon Magus, and united in theſe two hereſies, that man was fatally neceſſitated to all his actions, and that he ſhould not be judged according to his works, but according to his ſpiritual ſeed-election, and the like; which tenets were attended with moſt abominable conſequences, and therefore againſt them both it was inſerted in the Creed, that Chriſt *ſhall come to judge the Quick and the Dead*. Wherein, firſt, the liberty of man was acknowledged: which is farther evident from this, that the word Αὐτεξουσίας, or that man hath a power over himſelf, was, in ſeveral of the ancient Creeds, part of this article: the Fathers could not imagine a juſt judgment, without ſuppoſing a freedom of the perſon judged. Secondly, it is further declared by this clauſe, that men ſhall be judged according to their works; for which reaſon, while the hereſy of the Gnoſtics raged, it was expreſſed with a ſuitable periphraſis, to prevent any equivocating evaſions. The ſixth begins with the article, *I believe in the Holy Ghoſt*, which being followed by *The Holy Catholic Church*, he obſerves, that clauſe was variouſly placed for different ends in the primitive Creeds, though moſt commonly after that of *the Holy Ghoſt*. That it is juſt mentioned by Tertullian; and that the moſt ancient Creeds read only *the Holy Church*, the term *Catholic*, which ſignifies univerſal, being added by the Greeks to be an explication or determination thereof; and that the *Unity* of the Church was here intended. From this he goes on to *The Communion of Saints*, which was added as an appendix to the former, and introduced about St Auguſtin's time, in oppoſition to the Donatiſts. He takes notice, that by *Saints* are to be underſtood particular Churches and the members thereof, and ſhews why they are ſo called; and then having obſerved, that by *Communion* is ſignified the mutual ſociety and fellowſhip of particular Churches and their members, he relates various methods uſed by the Ancients to preſerve that communion; which being refuſed by the Donatiſts, they were on that account juſtly condemned for ſchiſm, and rejected. In oppoſition to whom this article may be conſidered, either as a mark to know a true particular Church by, that ſhe is one that is acknowledged ſo to be by other Churches; or rather, as the quality, property, and practice, of ſuch an one as is ſuffered to hold communion with other Churches; in which ſenſe it is alſo added as an explanation of *the Holy Catholic Church*, and was intended to declare, that there ought to be a due communion and fellowſhip between the particular Churches and members of the Catholic and Univerſal one. The laſt chapter contains, Firſt, A brief explication of the *Forgiveneſs of Sins*, which he finds not to be conſtantly repeated in the Creed 'till the days of Cyprian, though ſometimes expreſſed, and always ſuppoſed from the very beginning of Chriſtianity; he notes the two interpretations given of it, a primary and a ſecondary; in order to a clear idea of the firſt, which reſpects ſins committed before Baptiſm, he conſiders the great wickedneſs of the world before the Goſpel, the guilt whereof the Heathens knew by the light of nature, but could not tell how to remove; and the Jews had no univerſal aſſurance of the pardon of ſins; wherefore the Apoſtles were ſent forth to reveal an infallible way for the obtaining it, viz. by believing and being baptized. This is proved to be the primary ſenſe of this article, always ſuppoſed, or elſe expreſſed, in the Creed, from the very firſt preaching of the Goſpel, viz. that all paſt ſins are, for the ſake of Chriſt, remitted to all penitential believers at Baptiſm, wherein theſe two things are contained, Firſt, That our ſins are forgiven for the ſake of Chriſt. Secondly, that the time of their forgiveneſs is at Baptiſm. The ſecondary ſenſe of this article reſpected ſins committed after Baptiſm; in which ſenſe this clauſe was conſtantly recited in the Creed, as an antidote againſt the rigorous tenets of the Baſilidians, the Montaniſts, and eſpecially the Novatians, who denied the pardon of God, or at leaſt of the Church, to ſcandalous ſins, perpetrated after Baptiſm; an opinion which was attended with the worſt of conſequences. Next follows *The Reſurrection of the Body*; under which, beſides enlarging upon what he had in ſubſtance laid down in the *Enquiry*, he adds, that in ſome Creeds this article is the laſt; that in the Greek and Latin Creeds, as alſo in the modern French and Dutch, it is *the Reſurrection of the Fleſh*. Several heretics would equivocatingly aſſent to the Reſurrection of the Body, who denied that the ſame fleſhly ſubſtance ſhould riſe again. In oppoſition to theſe it was emphatically inſerted in the Creed, that there ſhould be a Reſurrection of the Fleſh; that is, that the very ſame fleſhy and material body ſhould riſe again, though the qualities thereof ſhould be changed and altered. As to the clauſe of *The Life Everlaſting*, with which the Apoſtles Creed concludes, he obſerves, that it is pertinently put at the end thereof, becauſe it is the end of our Faith, as the determination of every man to his proper place. The Gnoſtics affirmed, that the greateſt part of mankind ſhould be annihilated at the day of Judgment, againſt whom it is declared in this article, that after *that* there ſhall be *Life Everlaſting*; wherein is included the eternal miſery of the Damned, as well as the everlaſting happineſs of the Bleſſed.

[*F*] *He*

(*b*) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres mois de Novembre, p. 424, & Decembre, p. 633. 1702.

in the Law was diſtinguiſhed by ſome advantageous honours. Upon the death of Sir Salathiel Lovel, the Court of Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of the city of London choſe him Recorder, July 27, 1708, and he was knighted by Queen Anne Sept. 12 following. In 1709, he was appointed one of the managers of the Houſe of Commons at the trial of Dr Sacheverell (*i*); and three years afterwards, he appeared without any gratuity as Counſel for Mr Whiſton, on his trial before the Court of Delegates for hereſy (*k*) [*F*]. Upon the acceſſion of King George I. to the throne, the Lord Trevor being removed from the firſt ſeat in the court of Common-Pleas, Sir Peter King ſucceeded him in the poſt of Lord Chief-Juſtice of that court [*G*] in Michaelmas term 1714 (*l*), and was ſworn of the Privy-Council April 5 following. He was created a peer of England May 25, 1725, by the title of Lord King, Baron of Ockham in Surrey; and the Great Seal being taken from the Earl of Maccleſfield, was delivered to our new created peer, whereby he became Lord High-Chancellor of England on the firſt of June following *. But his judgment not being well adapted to the nature of the buſineſs in this office, occaſioned him to take extraordinary pains in the diſcharge of it, which impairing his conſtitution by degrees, brought him at laſt into a paralytic diſorder (*m*); ſo that he did not make that figure upon this bench as was expected from the character which raiſed him to it (*n*); and his diſtemper increaſing, he reſigned the Seals November 26, 1733, and his life on the 22d of July following at eight in the evening, having been taken ſpeechleſs about noon that day. He died at his ſeat at Ockham in Surrey, and, on the 29th of July, was interred in that pariſh-church, where a monument is erected to his memory, with a fine marble ſtatue of his Lordſhip (*o*), and an

(*i*) See that doctor's trial, printed in 1710, and in State Trials, Vol. V. edit. 1730, in 6 vols folio.

(*k*) Life of Mr W. Whiſton, wrote by himſelf, paſſim.

(*l*) See the inſcription on his monument, and Salmon's Chronol. Hiſt. who ſays it was on the 14th of November that year.

* Gazette, No. 6377. Upon the demiſe of King George I. the Seals were delivered again to him by King George II. June 15, 1727. Ibid. No. 6492. He was alſo twice, viz. June 1, 1725, and May 31, 1727, appointed one of the Lords Juſtices during the abſence of King George I. Ibid. No. 6378, and No. 6490.

(*m*) The inſcription on his monument.

(*n*) There were more of his decrees repealed by the Houſe of Lords, than of any other Chancellor in the ſame ſpace of time.

(*o*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. V. p. 350. edit. 1756. who obſerves in p. 349. that his Lordſhip was nephew by the mother's ſide to Mr Locke.

[*F*] *He was Counſel for Mr Whiſton, &c.*] He ſeems to have been a particular favourite of his client at this time, and very juſtly, ſince he appears to have his ſucceſs more at heart, and to have laboured more earneſtly towards it than Mr Lechmere, who was his other Counſel, though he refuſed a fee as well as Sir Peter; concerning whom Mr Whiſton has left the following memorandum: 'That on Tueſday April 28, 1747, Samuel 'Collet, my moſt intimate Chriſtian friend, informed 'me at Great-Marlow, that his brother, Governor Collet, aſſured him from Sir Peter King's own mouth, who 'was one of my Counſel in the Court of Delegates, 'that when none of the Judges would agree to a ſentence againſt me in that cauſe of hereſy, the reſt of 'the Court, conſiſting of Biſhops and Civilians, were 'reſolving to proceed without them: 'till Sir Peter 'told them, We ſhould then proceed *againſt them*, 'and ſue them to a præmunire, which ſuch a ſentence 'would incur. Upon which they deſiſted. This remarkable paſſage, continues Mr Whiſton, I had never heard of; but being ſo very material, and ſo 'fully atteſted, I could not but add it in this place, 'and leave it to the reader's own reflections (9).'

[*G*] *Lord Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas.*] During the time that he enjoyed this poſt, he ſat Judge on the Crown ſide at the Lent aſſizes at Bury in Suffolk, in 1721, when he ſat on the remarkable trial of Coke and Woodburne, on an indictment on the Coventry Act for ſlitting the noſe of Mr Criſpe. A brief account of which can neither be unentertaining in itſelf, nor foreign to the purpoſe of this work, as it furniſhes a very material part of our author's character, which was greatly intereſted in that trial. The caſe was this: Coke having inſtigated Woodburne to undertake the killing of Criſpe, accompanies this laſt on the day agreed on to the place appointed for Woodburne to fall upon him; who accordingly, upon a ſignal given by Coke, comes up to Criſpe in the dark, gives him ſeveral blows and cuts with a hedging-bill, particularly one, which falling acroſs his noſe, cut through it into the noſtril, though without ſlitting the edge of it, and went off without killing him. Criſpe recovering, proſecutes both the aſſailants upon the Coventry act, who, to evade the indictment, plead an intention to murder, and not to maim ſo as to diſfigure in the ſenſe of that act; and Coke, eſpecially, brings ſeveral witneſſes, who ſufficiently prove his intention was to murder. The King's Counſel charge him with a double intention, one to murder, and another to maim ſo as to diſfigure. Coke obſerves this to be a nice point, and therefore begs Counſel may be allowed them; which is denied by the Chief-Juſtice for this reaſon, that no point of law had ariſen, the intention not being a point of law but a matter of fact; and in the concluſion of his charge to the Jury, ſpeaking to that point, Whether there was an intention to diſfigure? he expreſſes himſelf to the following effect. 'Facts do in ſome meaſure explain themſelves; and the circumſtances preceding and accompanying thoſe facts, and the manner of doing them, do many times more fully and clearly declare the intent of the party. The priſoner Coke, which defence goes both to him and Woodburne, inſiſts, that their intention was to murder and not to maim; and that if they did maim or ſlit the noſe, it was with an intention to kill, and not with an intention to maim or diſfigure. On the other ſide, it is inſiſted on by the King's Counſel, that though the ultimate intention might be to murder, yet there might be alſo an intention to maim and diſfigure; and though one did not take effect, yet the other had; an intention to kill doth not exclude an intention to maim and diſfigure. The inſtrument made uſe of in this attempt was a bill or hedging-hook, which, in it's own nature, is proper for cutting and maiming; and, when it doth cut or maim, doth neceſſarily and by conſequence diſfigure. The attempt intended on Mr Criſpe was immediately on his own perſon, to do him a perſonal injury. Beſides, the manner of doing and perpetrating this fact is proper to be conſidered, that it was done by violence, and in the dark, when the aſſailant could not well make any diſtinction of blows, but knock'd and cut on any part of Mr Criſpe's body where he could, 'till he had ſunk him down, and done to him what elſe he pleaſed; and if the intention was to murder, you are to conſider whether the means made uſe of, in order to effect and accompliſh that murder, and the conſequences of thoſe means were not in the intention and deſign of the party, and whether every blow and cut, and the conſequences thereof, were not intended, as well as the end for which it is alledged thoſe blows and cuts were given (10).

The Coventry act is an act of 23 Charles II. cap. 1. It was made on the occaſion of Sir John Coventry having ſuffered the like barbarous uſage. The words are, *That if any perſon or perſons, on purpoſe, and of malice forethought, and by lying in wait, ſhall wilfully cut or diſable the tongue, put out an eye, or ſlit the noſe, with an intention in ſo doing to maim or diſfigure any one of the members beforementioned; the perſon or perſons ſo offending, their counſellors, aiders, and knowing of, and privy to, the offence, ſhall be deemed* Felons, &c.

The intelligent reader will be beforehand with me in obſerving, that this is a particular and very penal act; and it is a ſettled caſe in Law, that ſuch acts are not in any ſort to be ſtrained beyond the letter. To which may be added, that it was generally agreed at that time, that Coke and Woodburne were indeed condemned and executed according to the general rules of juſtice, but not ſtrictly according to the particular rules of our municipal laws. In ſhort, the plea of an intention to murder muſt have immediately ſhocked human nature, and curdled the blood of every one that heard it; ſo that the caſe may be looked on as a defect in that law, to be ſupplied by the religion of the Judge or Jury; and in reality it was generally ſaid then, that the Lord Chief-Juſtice King was pitched upon to go the Norfolk circuit at this time, in order to give a ſanction to the verdict, by his univerſal reputation for ſkill and knowlege in the Law, and the no leſs univerſal character of his humane diſpoſition.

(9) Memoirs of the Life of Mr W. Whiſton, p. 417. edit. 1753.

(10) State Trials, Vol. VI. p. 189, & ſeq. edit. 1730.

an inſcription on a marble pedeſtal, part of which may be ſeen in the book laſt cited. He married Anne, daughter of Richard Seys of Boverton in Glamorganſhire, Eſq; with whom he lived to the day of his death in perfect love and happineſs, and left iſſue by her four ſons, John, Peter, William, and Thomas, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Anne (*p*) [*H*].

[*H*] *He left iſſue by her four ſons and two daughters.*] Of ſome of theſe we have the following account by Mr Collins (11). John King, his eldeſt ſon and heir, who ſucceeded him in honour and eſtate, was member for Launceſton in Cornwall in the firſt parliament of King George II. and was elected for the city of Exeter and for Launceſton in the next parliament, ſummoned to meet 13 June, 1734. His Lordſhip, in May 1726, married Elizabeth, daughter to Robert Fry of Yearty in the county of Devon, Eſq; which lady deceaſed in the 23d year of her age, January 28, 1733-4, leaving no iſſue. And his Lordſhip being in an ill ſtate of health, was adviſed, for change of air, to go to Portugal; but, in his voyage to Liſbon, departed this life on board his Majeſty's ſhip the Ruby, February 10, 1739-40; whereupon the honour and eſtate deſcended to Peter his brother, late Lord King, who, on the 18th of April 1740, was appointed Out-Ranger of Windſor Foreſt in the room of his deceaſed brother; but dying March 22, 1754, unmarried, was ſucceeded in the honour and eſtate by the Chancellor's third ſon William, now Lord King. The Honourable Thomas King, in 1734, married a lady of an ample fortune in Holland, and a native of that country, and hath iſſue by her two ſons and two daughters. P

(*p*) Inſcription on his monument.

(11) In his Peerage, Vol. V. p. 351. edit. 1756.

KNOX [JOHN], the principal director of the Reformation in the Scotiſh Church, was deſcended of an ancient and honourable family [*A*], and was born in the year 1505 (*a*), at Giffard near Hadingtoun in the county of Eaſt-Lothian in Scotland. He received the firſt part of his education in the Grammar-ſchool of Hadingtoun, and from thence was removed to the univerſity of St Andrews, and placed under the tuition of the celebrated Mr John Mair (*b*). He applied with uncommon diligence to the academical learning in vogue at that time; and, by the natural ſharpneſs of his wit, having made a very great progreſs in theſe ſtudies in a ſhort ſpace, he obtained the degree of Maſter of Arts when very young (*c*). As the bent of his inclination led him ſtrongly to the Church, he turned the courſe of his ſtudies early that way, and, by the advantage of his tutor's inſtructions, ſoon became remarkable for his knowledge in ſcholaſtic Theology; inſomuch, that he obtained Prieſt's Orders before the time uſually allowed by the Canons (*d*); and, from being an auditor of his tutor's inſtructions, he began himſelf to teach, with great applauſe, his beloved ſcience to others (*e*). But after ſome time, upon a careful peruſal of the Fathers of the Church, and particularly the writings of St Jerom and St Auſtin, his taſte was entirely altered. He quitted the ſubtilizing method of Theorics and the Schoolmen, and applied himſelf to a plainer and more ſimple Divinity (*f*). At his entrance upon this new courſe of ſtudy, he attended the preaching of Thomas Guilliam (*g*), a Black-Friar, whoſe ſermons were of extraordinary ſervice to him. This Friar was Provincial of his order in 1543 [*B*], when the Earl of Arran, then Regent of Scotland, favoured the Reformation (*h*); and Mr George Wiſhart, ſo much celebrated in the hiſtory of this time, coming from England next year, 1544, with the commiſſioners ſent from King Henry the Eighth, our author being of an inquiſitive nature, learned from him, the following year, the principles of the Proteſtants [*C*]; with which he was ſo pleaſed, that he renounced the Romiſh religion, and

[*A*] *He was deſcended of an ancient and honourable family.*] According to his own account, ſome of his progenitors were partizans of the Bothwell family. 'My great-grandfather and father (ſays Mr Knox to 'the then Earl of Bothwell) have ſerved your Lord'ſhip's predeceſſors, and ſome of them have died un'der their ſtandards, and this is a part of the obliga'tion of our Scotiſh kindneſs (1).' Theſe words ſeem to import, that Mr Knox's predeceſſors were in ſome honourable ſtation under the Earls of Bothwell, at that time the moſt powerful family in Eaſt-Lothian. We are told by another writer (2), that Mr Knox's father was a brother's ſon of the houſe of Renfarly. This, indeed, at firſt ſight, ſeems leſs reconcileable to Mr Knox's own account, which implies, that his family, particularly his great-grandfather, reſided in Eaſt-Lothian. But, perhaps, this great-grandfather was a ſon of that ancient family of Renfarly, which, from the reign of King Alexander II. had poſſeſſed theſe lands in the ſhire of Renfrew, and were ſold by Uchter Knox of Renfarly, to William firſt Earl of Dundonnald in 1665. In confirmation of which, the writer of his Life, prefixed to his Hiſtory in 1732, tells us (3), that he had been informed by very near relations of that family, that the family of Renfarly claimed Mr Knox as a cadet of it, and looked upon it as their honour that he was deſcended of it.

[*B*] *Thomas Williams was Provincial of the Black-Friars.*] This Friar was born at Athelſton-Ford in Eaſt-Lothian. In 1543, he was chaplain to the Earl of Arran, then Governor of Scotland. Sir James Balfour ſays, he tranſlated the New-Teſtament, and publickly preached againſt the Pope's authority; and that he was winked at by the Regent, and ſupported by the noblemen that had returned lately from England. Which ſerves to explain the words of Buchanan (4) concerning him, that *he was a preacher of ſound judgment and healthſome doctrine*; as alſo of Calderwood, who obſerves (5), that he was *the firſt from whom Mr Knox received any taſte of the Truth.* Accordingly, Mr Knox remarks (6), that *the Provincial was learned and ſound, of a good utterance, but with a great vehemence againſt ſuperſtition.*

[*C*] *He learned the principles of the Proteſtants from Mr George Wiſhart.*] George Wiſhart was a ſon of Pitarrow in the Mearns; in his younger years he was Maſter of the Grammar ſchool at Montroſe, and afterwards ſtudied at Cambridge, and returned to Scotland in 1544 (7), as abovementioned. He is reckoned to be the worthieſt perſon of all thoſe who ſupported the new doctrines in this country. There is a full account of him in the general hiſtories of Scotland, to which we refer, and ſhall only mention ſuch particulars as ſerve to ſupport what is advanced in the text above. And for theſe we are obliged to Mr Knox himſelf, who, in his Hiſtory of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland, writes thus: 'In the middis of all the cala'mities that came upon this realme, after the defec'tioun of the Governour [the Earl of Arran] from 'Chriſt Jeſus, come in Scotland that blyſſit martyre 'of God, Maiſter George Wiſchart, a man of ſick 'graices, as before him were never hard in this realme, 'yea, and rare to be found yit in ony mon, notwith'ſtanding this grit lycht of God that ſince his days has 'ſchynit unto us. He was not onlie ſingulerelie leir'nit, as well in godly knawlege, as in all humane 'ſcience, but alſo he was ſo cleirlie illuminated with 'the ſpreit of the propheſie, that he ſaw not onlie 'thingis parteining to himſelf, but alſo ſick thingis, 'as ſum tounis, and the haill realme efterwards fund 'quhilk he foirſpak, not in ſecreit, but in audience of 'mony, as in their awin places ſhall be declairit.'

Knox

(*a*) He was 67 years of age at his death in 1572. Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, by Biſhop Spotiſwood, p. 267, 2d edit.

(*b*) Or John Major, as he is called by the foreign writers. Melchior Adamus, in Vita Theolog. Exter. p. 137. Francf. 1653.

(*c*) Buchanan's Life of Knox, ubi ſupra. See alſo an account of him by Dr Mackenzie.

(*d*) Buchanan's Account.

(*e*) Melchior Adam, ubi ſupra. Where he ſays, our author, in ſome things, was more happy than his tutor.

(*f*) Id. ibid.

(*g*) Or Williams, as his name is written in Keith's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 37. edit. 1734, folio.

(*h*) And the Parliament of Scotland made that famous act, allowing the reading of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue. Id. ibid.

(1) See his Hiſtory of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 306. edit. 1732. fol.

(2) David Buchanan, in his Account of Mr Knox's Life and Death, prefixed to his Hiſtory of the Reformation, &c. edit. 1640.

(3) P. ii.

(4) Ubi ſupra.

(5) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland.

(6) Knox's Hiſtory of the Reformation, &c. p. 33. edit. 1732, folio.

(7) Keith's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 41, 42.

and became a zealous Proteſtant (*i*). He had left St Andrews a little before, being appointed tutor to the ſons of the Lairds of Ormiſtoun and Langnidry, who were both favourers of the Reformation. Mr Knox's ordinary reſidence was at Langnidry, where he not only inſtructed his pupils in the ſeveral parts of learning, but was particularly careful to inſtil into them the principles of piety and the Proteſtant religion. This coming to the ear of the Biſhop of St Andrews, that prelate proſecuted him with ſuch ſeverity, that he was frequently obliged to abſcond, and fly from place to place. Whereupon, being wearied with ſuch continual dangers, he reſolved to retire to Germany, where the Reformation was gaining ground; knowing that in England, though the Pope's authority was ſuppreſſed, yet the greater part of his doctrine remained in full vigour. But this deſign being much diſliked by the fathers of both his pupils, they, by their importunity, prevailed with him to go to St Andrews, about Eaſter 1547; and for his own ſafety (*k*), as well as that of their children, to betake himſelf to the caſtle, where they might all be ſecure from the efforts of the Papiſts, and he be in a condition to inſtruct theſe young gentlemen with greater advantage. Here he began to teach his pupils in his uſual manner. Beſides the grammar and the claſſical authors, he read a Catechiſm to them, which he obliged them to give an account of publickly in the pariſh church of St Andrews. He likewiſe continued to read to them the Goſpel of St John, proceeding where he left off at his departure from Langnidry. This lecture he read at a certain hour, in the chapel within the caſtle, whereat ſeveral of the place were preſent (*l*). Among theſe, Mr Henry Balnaveis (*m*), and John Rough preacher [*D*] there, being pleaſed with the manner of his doctrine, began earneſtly to intreat him to take the preacher's place; but he abſolutely refuſed, alledging, that he would not run where God had not called him, meaning, that he would do nothing without a lawful vocation. Hereupon, they deliberating the matter in a conſultation with Sir David Lindſay of the Mount, Lyon King at Arms, a perſon of great probity, and a good meaſure of learning, it was concluded to give Mr Knox a charge publickly by the mouth of the preacher. Accordingly Mr Rough, upon the day agreed, preached a ſermon concerning the election of Miniſters, wherein he ſet forth ‘ What power the congregation, how ſmall ſoever it was paſſing the number of two or three, had above * any man, in whom they ſuppoſed and eſpied the gifts of God to be, and how dangerous it was to refuſe, and not to hear the voice of ſuch as deſire to be inſtructed.’ Theſe and other things being declared in general, the preacher then addreſſed himſelf particularly to Mr Knox in theſe words: ‘ Brother, Ye ſhall not be offended, albeit I ſpeak unto you that which I have in charge, even from all theſe that are here preſent; which is this. In the name of God, and of his ſon Jeſus Chriſt, and in the name of theſe that preſently call you by my mouth, I charge you that ye refuſe not this holy vocation; but, as ye tender the glory of God, the increaſe of Chriſt's kingdom, the edification of ‘ your

(*i*) Mackenzie's Account, &c.

(*k*) Mr Keith, in his Hiſtory, p. 61, 62. obſerves, that our author approved of the murder of Cardinal Beaton, calling it a godly deed, as indeed he does in his Hiſtory, p. 65.

(*l*) Knox's Life, in 1732, p. 4.

(*m*) This perſon was very zealous for the new religion, and very active in promoting it. On which account he is often mentioned by Knox, and from him occaſionally in the ſequel of this article.

* i. e. over.

Knox then proceeds to relate his progreſs through ſeveral parts of the kingdom where he preached his doctrine, beginning at Montroſe; whence he went to Dundee, and thence into the Weſt to Air, where, at Mauchlein, being denied the uſe of the church, he went with his followers, continues Knox, to a dyik in a muir edge, upon the ſouth-weſt ſide of the town, upoun the quhilk he aſcendit: the haill multitude ſtude and ſat about him: God gave the day pleſante and hette. He continewit in preiching mair ner thre hours (8). Thence he returned to Dundee then infected with the plague, where he viſited thoſe who were at the point of death, and took ſpecial care of the health of thoſe that were ſick. Thence paſſing to Montroſe, attempts were made againſt his life by Cardinal Beaton's means, but prevented. He propheeſied anent the progreſs of religion in Scotland, and his own death; went from thence to St Johnſtoun or Perth, and thence paſſed to Leith. He afterwards reſided for ſome time in the houſes of Brumſton, Langnidrie, and Ormiſtoun; and Mr Knox being at Langnidrie at that time, became particularly acquainted with him; or, to uſe his own words, he awaitit upoun him cairefulie frome the tyme he [Wiſchart] come to Lawthiane (9). At Ormiſtoun he was ſeized by Earl Bothwell, who carried him to Elpinſtoun, a ſeat of his own in the neighbourhood; where being delivered to Cardinal Beaton, he was removed by him, firſt to Edinburgh-Caſtle, and thence to that of St Andrews, of which the Cardinal was Governor, in January 1545-6. Thither the Cardinal wrote to the other prelates to convene on the 27 February; and in that meeting, Mr Wiſhart was ſentenced to be burnt the firſt of March following, which was accordingly put in execution (10).’

[*D*] *John Rough preacher.*] This preacher entered among the Black-Friars in the town of Stirling at the age of 17, and remained there for the ſpace of 16 years; at which time the Lord-Governor, the Earl of Arran, having a kindneſs for him, aſked Cardinal Beaton to grant him a licence to come out of his monaſtery, and become his Lordſhip's chaplain. This being complied with, he continued in that ſtation about a year, until the Governor thought fit to diſmiſs ſuch perſons from his attendance, as favoured the new opinions (11). Preſently after the murder of Cardinal Beaton in the caſtle of St Andrews, in 1547, Mr Rough entered there, and took one lot with the murderers. He is ſaid, continues my author, to be a pious man, but 'tis much to be wiſhed, that he had not ſo far betrayed an erroneous judgment, as to have aſſociated himſelf with the perpetrators of a deed ſo highly contrary to and deſtructive of the principles of the Chriſtian religion (12). However, after he had remained with that debauched crew within the caſtle, until the firſt pacification was made, exhorting them all the time to forbear their godleſs courſe of life; and perceiving that he prevailed nought, he then left them, and began to preach in the town of St Andrews a little before Eaſter, 1547; where, during the time that intervened between this and the ſecond ſiege of the caſtle, he continued with Mr Knox to preach and diſpute with the eſtabliſhed clergy. But when the caſtle was beſieged the ſecond time, Mr Rough departed into England (13), and preached at Carliſle, Berwick, and Newcaſtle, in the reign of Edward the Sixth. But, in the ſucceeding reign of Queen Mary, he fled into the Low-Countries, and, together with his wife, gained his livelihood by knitting ſtockings, caps, &c. at Nordin in Eaſt-Friezland, until the end of October 1557, when he came to England to provide neceſſaries for his occupation. There he was elected preacher to a private congregation, but was taken at Iſlington near London on Sunday December 12 following, and burnt to death on the 22d of that month (14). Mr Knox having obſerved, that he ſufferd in Ingland for the veritie of Jeſus Chriſt, declares, that albeit he was not ſo learned [as Williams], yet was he maire ſimple and maire vehement againſt all impietie (15).

(8) Hence probably came the practice of preaching in the open air on commons, to which the Scots at this day are much devoted.

(9) Knox's Hiſtory, &c. p. 52.

(10) Keith, ubi ſupra.

(11) Ibid. p. 37, note (*b*), and p. 39.

(12) The writer of Mr Knox's Life, prefixed to the edition of his Hiſtory in 1732, p. iii. ſays, he entered this caſtle merely for his own ſafety

(13) Keith, p. 61, 62.

(14) Ibid. p. 37. note (*b*).

(15) Knox's Hiſtory, p. 33.

[*E*] Of

‘ your brethren, and the comfort of men, whom ye underſtand well enough to be opreſſed by the multitude of labours, that ye take upon you the public office and charge ‘ of Preaching, even as ye look to avoid God's heavy diſpleaſure, and deſire that he ſhould ‘ multiply his graces with you.’ Then directing his ſpeech to the audience, he ſaid, ‘ Was not this your charge to me, and do ye not approve this vocation?’ They anſwered, ‘ It was, and we approve it.’ Whereat Mr Knox abaſhed, burſt forth into moſt abundant tears, and withdrew into his chamber. His countenance and behaviour from that day, to the day he was forced to preſent himſelf to the public place of preaching did ſufficiently declare the grief and trouble of his heart: for no man ſaw any ſign of mirth in him, neither yet had he pleaſure to accompany any man for many days afterwards (*n*). But on the Sunday appointed, aſcending the pulpit, he preached a Sermon upon Dan. vii. 23—28. from which text he proved to the ſatisfaction of his auditors, that the Pope was Antichriſt, and that the doctrine of the Roman Church was contrary to the doctrine of Chriſt and his Apoſtles. He likewiſe gave the notes both of the true Church, and of the antichriſtian Church, &c. of which he gives a full account in his Hiſtory [*E*]. This ſermon made a great noiſe, and the Popiſh clergy being much incenſed thereby, the Abbot of Paiſley, lately nominated to the ſee of St Andrews, and not yet conſecrated, wrote a letter to the Sub-Prior, who, *ſede vacante*, was Vicar-General, expreſſing great ſurprize, that ſuch heretical and ſchiſmatical doctrines were ſuffered to be taught without oppoſition. Upon this rebuke, the Sub-Prior called a convention of Grey and Black Friars, to meet in St Leonard's-Yard; where, both our preachers being convened, they were charged with ſeveral offences, the particulars of which may be ſeen below [*F*]. The articles of the charge being read, the Sub-Prior entered into a conference with Mr Knox, who, after that, diſputed with one of the Friars upon ſeveral controverted points between the Papiſts and the Proteſtants. Popery ſenſibly loſt ground by the diſpute; and the ſupporters of it found themſelves obliged to take another method to maintain it's reputation. An order was paſſed, obliging every learned perſon in the abbey and univerſity, to preach in the pariſh-

(*n*) Knox's Hiſtory, p. 67, 68.

[*E*] *Of which he gives a full account in his Hiſtory.*] In that Hiſtory Mr Knox tells us, that he had alſo a public diſputation with the Dean of St Andrews upon Popery, at the end whereof the people unanimouſly called on him to let them hear the ſame doctrine from the preaching place, which call he accordingly obeyed. Upon the whole, the writer of his Life in 1732, makes the following remark. *This is the genuine account of Mr Knox's vocation to the miniſtry of the Goſpel, againſt which nothing can juſtly be objected, in the circumſtances he and the Proteſtants in Scotland were at that time. All ſincere lovers of the Reformed Cauſe do own his ordination to be good and valid. And indeed*, continues he, *it would be to no purpoſe to enter into a diſpute with ſome late High-Church men in England, who, by their* principles, not only nullify Mr Knox's ordination, *but that of all the foreign Reformed Churches. Their opinions have been ſufficiently refuted by very able writers*; *neither is it my preſent buſineſs to inſiſt any further upon that matter* (17). As this writer plainly ſuggeſts, that Mr Knox's ordination was in ſubſtance that of the Preſbyterians, it will be proper to give the opinion of another writer of that nation concerning it; who, ſpeaking of the neceſſity of a reformation at the time it was begun, expreſſes himſelf in the following terms. ‘ And had none but pious and prudent ‘ men ſet about that work, and had they put their ‘ hands to the real abuſes only, we, in this kingdom, ‘ might have obtained a reformation preferable, per‘haps, to that of any other country. But, to our grie‘vous misfortune, things went too much otherwiſe. ‘ And becauſe the ignorance and viciouſneſs of a great ‘ many of the then Prieſts, was too viſible either to be ‘ denied or palliated, therefore the leaders (or I might ‘ juſtly ſay the leading man) of the Reformation pre‘ſumed boldly to declare againſt the order of *Prieſthood* altogether (18), and to introduce in it's room a ‘ new-faſhioned ſort of miniſtry, unknown in the ‘ Chriſtian Church for all preceding generations. It ‘ has been ſaid, continues he, oftener than once, that ‘ our Reformation was carried on by Preſbyters only: ‘ a very fallacious affirmation ſurely; ſince the perſons ‘ here pointed at were any other thing as naturally as ‘ Preſbyters, and were not indeed Preſbyters at all. ‘ For though it be true, that Mr Knox and ſome others ‘ had formerly had the ordination of Prieſts, that is, ‘ Preſbyters, yet we know that he, and probably thoſe ‘ others too, acted at that time without any regard to ‘ their former ſacred Orders, and that they diſclaimed ‘ the ſame, as being of no worth nor authority. In‘ſomuch that, Mr Erſkine of Dun; William Harlow, ‘ Taylor in Cannon-gate Edinburgh; Paul Methuen, ‘ Baker in Dundee; and many more, no doubt, were ‘ we acquainted with the minute circumſtances of thoſe ‘ times, came into the ſame degree with them: and ‘ they all might have denominated themſelves Biſhops, ‘ Patriarchs, or Popes, as well as Preſbyters, or what‘ever elſe they pleaſed, or whatever we may think ‘ fit to call them now; though indeed they were none ‘ of all theſe orders, by any title or language known ‘ in the Chriſtian Church before that time. And any ‘ man may, by the ſame right, aſſume to himſelf the ‘ authority of Biſhop, Preſbyter, or Deacon, at any ‘ time he and his fellows ſhall find proper ſo to do — ‘ In a word, ſo intoxicated was the principal director ‘ of our Reformation, with the extravagances he had ‘ ſeen in foreign parts, that (contrary to the good ad‘vice given him) unleſs he got every thing plucked up ‘ that had been before, he could never ſuffer himſelf ‘ to be perſwaded, but that Popery was ſtill regnant ‘ in the land. And, unleſs Prince and Peers, Prieſts ‘ and People, would accommodate themſelves to his ‘ *devout imaginations* (as he owns ſome of his new-fan‘gled ſchemes were denominated), there was not any ‘ ſafety for them at all. And thus, concludes this ‘ writer, by his unruly and miſgoverned zeal, the ‘ goodly polity, which had ſo long continued, and ‘ ought ſtill to have ſubſiſted, in the Church, was ut‘terly defaced. And the divine worſhip was left na‘ked and bare, beyond any example in Antiquity: ‘ and, inſtead of that beauty, which might have been ‘ the ornament of our land, we relinquiſhed to our ‘ neighbouring nation the honour of claiming to them‘ſelves the glory of the Reformed Churches (19).’

(17) Life of Mr Knox, p. vi.

(18) Eraſmus had cautioned Luther againſt this miſmanagement; but his good advice had not the leaſt effect. See the Letters between thoſe two great men.

(19) Keith's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 594.

[*F*] *The articles of which may be ſeen below.*] Theſe are the following. 1. No mortal man can be the head of the Church. 2. The Pope is ane Antichryſt, and ſo is no member of Chriſtis miſtical bodie. 3. Man may nether mak nor devyſe a religioun, that is acceptabill to God, bot man is bound to obſerve and keip the religioun, that fra God is reſſavit, without chopping or changing thairof. 4. The Sacramentis of the New Teſtament aucht to be miniſtrate, as they war inſtituted by Chriſt Jeſus, and practiſit be his Apoſtles; nothing aucht to be addit unto thame, nothing aucht to be diminiſhed frome thame. 5. The Maſs is abbominabill idolatrie, blaſphemous to the deyth of Chriſt, and a prophanation of the Lordis Supper. 6. Thair is no purgatorie, in the whiche the ſoullis of men can nether be pyned or purged efter this lyif. But Hevin reſtis to the faithfull, and Hell to the reprobate and unfaithfull. 7. Praying for the deid is vane, and to the deid is idolatrie. 8. Thair is no Biſchopis, except they preiche evin by thameſelvis, without ony ſubſtitute. 9. The teindis, by Godis law, do not apertein of neceſſitie to the kirkmen (20).

(20) Knox's Hiſtory, p. 70, 71.

[*G*] *He*

pariſh-church by turns upon Sundays, and, in their ſermons, not to touch upon any of the controverted points. But Mr Knox rendered this caution ineffectual, by preaching on the week-days; when he took occaſion to praiſe God that Chriſt Jeſus was preached, and nothing ſaid publickly againſt the doctrine he had taught them: proteſting withal, that if in his abſence they ſhould ſpeak any thing which they forbore while he was preſent, that his hearers ſhould ſuſpend their judgment 'till it ſhould pleaſe God they ſhould hear him again. And he was ſo ſucceſsful in his work, that all the people in the Caſtle, and a great number in the Town, openly profeſſed the Proteſtant doctrine (*o*), and teſtified it by partaking of the Lord's-Supper, in the ſame manner it was adminiſtred in the Church of Scotland, after the Proteſtant religion was eſtabliſhed by Law, anno 1560 (*p*). And this, in 1547, was, perhaps, the firſt time that the Euchariſt was diſpenſed in Scotland in the way of the reformed Churches. Mr Knox continued thus in the diligent diſcharge of his miniſterial work, 'till July that year, when the caſtle was ſurrendered to the French, upon terms, that all in the garriſon ſhould be carried ſafe to France; and, in caſe they were not ſatisfied with the conditions of their liberty there, they ſhould be conveyed at the expence of that King wherever they pleaſed, Scotland excepted. Mr Knox with the reſt was carried to France, and remained a priſoner on board the gallies 'till the latter end of the year 1549 [*G*]; when, being ſet at liberty, he paſſed to England; and going to London, was there licenſed (*q*), and appointed preacher, firſt at Berwick and next at Newcaſtle. During this employ, he received a ſummons, in 1551, to appear before Cuthbert Tonſtal Biſhop of Durham, for preaching againſt the Maſs (*r*). In 1557, he was appointed Chaplain to King Edward the Sixth [*H*]; and, the enſuing year, he had the grant of an annuity of forty pounds, payable quarterly out of the Augmentation office, 'till ſome benefice in the Church ſhould be conferred on him (*t*) [*I*]. The ſame year

(*o*) Ibid. p. 75.

(*p*) Knox's Life, p. 7. edit. 1732.

(*q*) Either by Cranmer or Somerſet the Protector. Strype's Memorials of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 235.

(*r*) See a MS. in the hands of Mr Woodrow, Miniſter of Eaſtwood in 1732.

(*t*) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Parker, p. 366.

[G] *And was kept a priſoner on board the gallies 'till* 1549-50.] The writer of Knox's Life having obſerved, that he was carried with the reſt to France, tells us (21), that 'he continued there ſome ſhort time; for, in the 85th page of this edition of his Hiſtory, we are told, that he was delivered that ſame winter, and came over to England.' But this ſeems to be a miſtake, and ſuch as could not have eſcaped him, had he peruſed with due attention the whole account of this part of Mr Knox's Life, as it ſtands in his Hiſtory. He tells us there, that, upon the penult of June [1547], appeared in ſight of the caſtle twenty-one French gallies, with a great armie, p. 75. The caſtle ſurrendered to them on Saturday the laſt day of Jullie, p. 76. The galleys, with the ſpoyl, returned to France after certain days, and paſſing up the Sequan [Seine], lay before Rowane [Rohan], where the principal gentlemen [taken out of the Caſtle of St Andrews] were put into ſundrie priſons; the reſt were left in the galleys, and there miſerably entreated.—The ſame year, in the beginning of September, entreit into Scotland an armie from Ingland, p. 77. That winter following were great hardſhips made upon the borders of Scotland by the Engliſh, p. 78.—The Lanetrane following was Hadingtoun fortified by the Engliſh. The moſt part of Lauthiane, from Edinburgh eiſt, was either aſſured or laid waſt. The troubles of Scotland coming to France, there was prepared ane navye and armie. The navy was ſuch as never was ſeen to come from France; for, beſides the gallies, which were twenty-two in number, they had threeſcore great ſhips beſides victuallers.—They arrived in Scotland in May, anno 1549,.—She [Mary, afterwards Queen of Scots] was convoyed by the weſt ſeys to France, with four galleys and ſome ſchips, p 80.—Ordour was taken, that nixt September ſume galleys ſould remaine in Scotland.—That winter remained Monſieur de Termes [who had come with the French army] in Scotland, p. 81. when the quarrel happened between ſome French ſoldiers and the citizens of Edinburgh, in which the Provoſt was ſlain.—This winter did the Laird of Rothe moſt innocently ſuffer, and was forfeited, p. 82. and was beheaded, becauſe he was known to be a great friend to thoſe that were in the Caſtle of St Andrews; of whoſe deliverance, and of God's wondrous working with them during the time of their bondage, we mun now ſpeik. Accordingly, he begins that account, p. 83. and continuing it in the ſubſequent page, he writes thus of himſelf. Mr James Balfour and Johne Knox being until one galley.—And being wondrous familiar with him, would oftimes aſk his judgment, *if he thought they ſhould ever be delivered?* Whoſe anſwer was, even fra the day they enter'd into the galleys, *that God would deliver them from that bondage.* And lying betwixt Dundee and St Andrews the ſecond tyme that the galayis arrived to Scotland, the ſeid John being ſo extremely ſeik, that few hopid his life, the ſaid Maiſter James willed him to look to the land, and aſked him if he knew it? Who anſwerit, *Yes, I know it well; for I ſee the ſteiple of that plaice, quhair God firſt oppinit my mouth in publict to his glorie, and I am fullie perſuadit, how weik that evir I now appeir, that I ſall not depart this Lyif, till that my toung ſall glorifie his Godlie name in the ſame placie.* He then proceeds to obſerve, that five of the priſoners in Mount St Michell wrote to him for his opinion, whether they might with a ſafe conſcience break priſon? To which he anſwered, that they might, if they could do it without bloodſhed, p. 84.—This counſel being followed, they all four made their eſcape, and two of them, after the ſpace of twelve or thirteen weeks, got into a French ſhip as mariners, and landing in the Weſt [of Scotland], came thence to England, where they met before them the ſaid Johne Knox, *who that ſame winter was delivered*, and Alexander Clerk in his company, p. 85. From this account it is evident, that by theſe laſt words, *that ſame winter*, is not meant the winter of 1547, but that of 1549. And agreeably to this time of his arrival in England, we find no mention of any thing done by him there, either by himſelf or any other writer, 'till the year 1550 (22).

[H] *He was appointed Chaplain to Edward the Sixth.*] Mr Strype, from whom we have the account, expreſſes it in theſe terms: 'In the month of December 1551, it was thought fit that the King ſhould retain ſix Chaplains in Ordinary, who ſhould not only wait on him, but be itineraries, and preach the Goſpel all the nation over; two of theſe ſix to be ever preſent at Court, and four abſent abroad in preaching, one year two in Wales, two in Lancaſhire and Derby; next year, two in the Marches of Scotland, and two in Yorkſhire; the third year, two in Devonſhire, and two in Hampſhire; the fourth year, two in Norfolk and Eſſex, and two in Kent and Suſſex; and theſe ſix to be Bill, Harley, Pern, Grindal, Bradford, the ſixth was daſhed out of the King's Journal, whence Mr Strype takes all this, but probably was Knox; for he was one of the preachers of the North at Newcaſtle and elſewhere, and had a ſalary paid him out of the Exchequer. But the number was reduced to four, Bradford alſo being left out, who were ſtiled the King's Ordinary Chaplains (23).'

[I] *He had an annuity of forty pounds for his good ſervice in preaching in the North.*] Mr Strype, to whom we are alſo indebted for this particular, ſuppoſes it was out of reſpect to John, that one William Knox, his brother or relation, had, in September 1552, a paſſport granted to him to bring in or carry out of any haven in England, all ſuch merchandizes as were permitted by law, to endure for one whole year, and to make the ſaid traffic in any ſhip of the burden of

(21) P. vii.

(22) In his Hiſtory, lib. iv. p. 289. he ſays himſelf he was reſident in England only the ſpace of five years, and that he abode two years in Berwick, ſo long in Newcaſtle, and a year in London. But this is not the only paſſage in that hiſtory, lib. iv. wherein the expreſſion is inaccurate.

(23) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II.

year he came into ſome trouble, on account of a bold ſermon preached at Newcaſtle upon Chriſtmas day, againſt the obſtinacy of the Papiſts [*K*]. And, about the latter end of the year, viz. in 1552-3, he returned to London; and being well eſteemed by his Majeſty and ſome of the Court, for his zealous preaching againſt the errors of the Romiſh Church, he was appointed to preach before the King and Council at Weſtminſter, a little before his Majeſty's departure thence. In this ſermon he had ſeveral piercing glances againſt ſome great ones, who were ſecretly well-wiſhers to the old religion, though outwardly they ſubmitted to the then preſent eſtabliſhment (*u*). But notwithſtanding that it muſt have been about this time, that the Council ſent to Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to beſtow the living of Allhallows in London upon him, which accordingly was offered him; but he refuſed it, not caring to conform to the Engliſh Liturgy as it then ſtood [*L*]. However, he ſtill held his place of Itinerary Preacher; and, in the diſcharge of that office, going to Buckinghamſhire, was greatly pleaſed with his reception at ſome towns, particularly at Amerſham, in that county (*w*); and he continued to preach there, and at other places, ſome time after Queen Mary's acceſſion to the throne. But that year, viz. in February 1553-4, he left England [*M*], and croſſing the ſea to Dieppe in France, went thence to Geneva; where he had not been long, when he was called by the congregation of the Engliſh refugees, then eſtabliſhed at Franckfort, to be preacher to them. This vocation he obeyed (though unwillingly) at the command of John Calvin. He continued at Franckfort, 'till ſome of the principal perſons of his congregation (*x*), finding it impoſſible to perſwade him to uſe the Engliſh Liturgy, reſolved to effect his removal from the place. In that view, they accuſed him to the magiſtrates of treaſon, committed both againſt their ſovereign, the Emperor of Germany, and alſo againſt their own ſovereign

of a hundred tons (24). From ſome of Mr Knox's original letters, in the hands of the Reverend Mr Woodrow, it appears, that he enjoyed this annuity of 40 pounds 'till the beginning of Queen Mary's reign. In a letter to Mrs Bowes his mother-in-law, dated 1553 *, wherein he tells her, that he was obliged to abſcond by reaſon of the fury of the Papiſts, he writes thus: *I will not make you privy how rich I am, but off London I departed with leſs money than ten groats: but God hath ſince provided, and will, I doubt not, abundantly for this life Either the Queen's Majeſty, or ſome treaſurer, will be 40 l. richer by me, for ſo meickle lack I of duty of my patent*; *but that little troubles me.*

[*K*] *A Sermon againſt the Papiſts.*] In this ſermon he affirmed, that, whoſoever in his heart was an enemy to Chriſt's Doctrine and Goſpel, which was then preached within the realm, was an enemy to God, and ſecret traitor alſo to the Crown and Commonwealth of England, and that, as ſuch, thirſted after nothing more than the King's death, which their iniquities would procure. He ſaid, they regarded not who ſhould reign over them, ſo that their idolatry might be erected again (25).

[*L*] *Not caring to conform to the uſe of the Engliſh Liturgy. he refuſed it.*] We have the following account of this matter alſo from Mr Strype. ‘ April ‘ 14, 1552-3, Knox was called before the Council, ‘ who demanded of him three queſtions, 1. *Why he re-* ‘ *fuſed the benefice provided for him in London?* To ‘ which he anſwered, that *his conſcience did witneſs,* ‘ *that he might profit more in ſome other place than in* ‘ *London, and therefore had no pleaſure to accept any* ‘ *office there.* But he might have anſwered, that he ‘ refuſed it, becauſe of Northumberland's contrary ‘ command, who, perhaps, deſigned it for him that ‘ ſucceeded to it, namely, Samſon (26). 2. *Whether* ‘ *he thought, that no Chriſtian might ſerve in the eccle-* ‘ *ſiaſtical miniſtration, according to the rites and laws* ‘ *of the realm of England?* To which he ſaid, that ‘ *many things at that time were worthy of reformation* ‘ *in the Miniſters of England, without the reformation* ‘ *whereof, no Miniſter did or could diſcharge his con-* ‘ *ſcience before God; for no Miniſters in England had* ‘ *authority to ſeparate the leapers from the heal,* viz. ‘ the whole and ſound, ſays Mr Strype, that is, they ‘ had not the full power of excommunication, *which,* ‘ he ſaid, *was a chief point of his office.* 3. They ‘ aſked him, *If kneeling at the Lord's Table was not* ‘ *indifferent?* He anſwered, that *Chriſt's action was* ‘ *moſt perfect, and it was done without kneeling; and* ‘ *it was moſt ſure to follow his example, and that* ‘ *kneeling was man's addition and invention* (27). A- ‘ bout this queſtion there was great contention between ‘ the Lords of the Council and him. There were then ‘ preſent the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Cranmer; ‘ the Biſhop of Ely, Godrick; Lord Chancellor; Lord ‘ Treaſurer; the Earls of Bedford, Northampton, ‘ Shrewſbury; the Lord Chamberlain, and both the ‘ Secretaries. After long reaſoning it was ſaid to him, ‘ that he was not called of any ill meaning, and that ‘ they were ſorry to know him of a contrary mind ‘ to the common order. He anſwered, he *was ſorry* ‘ *the common order was contrary to Chriſt's inſtitution.* ‘ He was diſmiſſed with ſome gentle ſpeeches, and ‘ they willed him to adviſe with himſelf, whether he ‘ would communicate according to that order (28).'

But we muſt not conclude this remark, without taking notice of what is affirmed by ſome writers, viz. that beſides the living of Allhallows, Mr Knox had the offer of a biſhopric made to him in Edward the Sixth's reign, and that he refuſed it. Among theſe is Melchior Adams (29), whoſe words are, *Imperabat illis temporibus Angliæ Edwardus VI. qui Cnoxum obſervabat, ac qua erat pietate favore ſingulari eum proſequebatur, itaque cum epiſcopatus de Regis voluntate, Cnoxo eſſet oblatus, indignabundus Cnoxus, non ſolum honorem recuſavit, ſed etiam oratione gravi titulos illos improbavit, quaſi regni Antichriſtiani quiddam redolentes.* ‘ At that time in England reigned Edward VI. who ‘ obſerving Knox's piety, had a ſingular kindneſs for ‘ the man, and he was offered a biſhopric by the ‘ King's command; but he refuſed it with indignation, ‘ vehemently condemning thoſe titles, as ſavouring of ‘ the kingdom of Antichriſt.' Mr Calderwood gives us a paſſage (30), which ſeems to confirm this account of Adams's ‘ Mr Knox, ſays he, being then reſident ‘ in St Andrews, and preaching upon the Lord's day, ‘ Feb. 10, 1572, the Earl of Mar being preſent, ‘ refuſed to inaugurate the Biſhop; yea, in open au- ‘ dience of many then preſent, he denounced *anathe-* ‘ *ma* to the giver and *anathema* to the receiver, as I ‘ find in a certain manuſcript.' And the ſame writer further obſerves, that, ‘ When Mr John Rutherford, ‘ Provoſt of the Old College, alledged Mr Knox's re- ‘ pining proceeded from male-contentment [becauſe he ‘ was not made a Biſhop himſelf], Mr Knox purged ‘ himſelf the next Lord's day, ſaying, I have refuſed ‘ a greater biſhopric than ever it was, which I might ‘ have had with the favour of greater men than he ‘ hath his, I did and do repine for the diſcharge of ‘ my conſcience (31.)' Mr Petrie gives the ſame account, with this addition, that Mr Knox ſaid, *I did and do repine for the diſcharge of my conſcience, that the Church of Scotland be not ſubject to that order* (32).

[*M*] *He left England in February* 1533-4]. In a commentary of Mr Knox's MS. (in the hands of the Reverend Mr Woodrow abovementioned), upon the ſixth Pſalm, directed to his mother-in-law Mrs Bowes, he ſigns it, thus, *Upon the very point of my journey, the laſt of January,* 1553-4. *Watch and pra. Your ſon with ſorrowful heart, J. K.*

Another paper, alſo in Mr Woodrow's hands, bears this title: *John Knox, to the Faithful in London, Newcaſtle, and Berwick, &c.* Which letter ends thus: *From an ſair troublit hairt, upon my departure from Dirpe,* 1553-4, *quhidder God knawis, John Knox* †.

[*N*] *An*

(*u*) Particularly the Earl of Northumberland and the Marquis of Wincheſter (both preſent at the ſermon), in character of Achitophel the Counſellor, Judas the Purſe-bearer, and Shebna the Scribe, Comptroller, and Treaſurer. Strype's Memorials, &c. and Knox's Admonition, &c.

(*w*) Iidem ibid.

(*x*) Particularly Dr Richard Cox, King Edward VIth's Preceptor.

(24) Ibid. N.B. In Knox's Hiſtory, p. 159. mention is made of one William Knox, but without any notice of his being a brother, or any relation at all, tho' of the ſame party with the Reformer.

* In the hands of Mr Woodrow, Miniſter of Eaſtwood in 1732. See remark [*GG*].

(25) He takes notice of this in his Admonition, printed in 1554.

(26) After Samſon, Sanders the martyr was collated to this living.

(27) In this principle, that ceremonies are not indifferent, he is followed, if I miſtake not, by the Scottiſh Kirk at this day.

(28) Strype, ubi ſupra, from a letter of Knox.

(29) Melchior Adamus, in Vit. Exter. Theolog. p. 137. The ſame ſtory is told alſo by Beza, *in Iconibus.*

(30) In his MS. Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 55.

(31) Ibid. p. 56.

(32) Petrie's Hiſtory, part iii. p. 375. from the Hiſtorical Narration, commonly attributed to William Scott of Cowpar in Fife.

† See an Account of theſe two M.SS. in remark [*GG*].

reign in England, Queen Mary. Hereupon, the magiſtrates not having it in their power to ſave him, if he ſhould be required either by the Emperor, or in his name by Queen Mary, gave him private notice thereof; which he no ſooner received, than he ſet out for Geneva (*y*); where he arrived March 26, 1555, but ſtaid there only 'till Auguſt following; when, reſolving after ſo long an abſence to make a viſit to his native country, he went to Scotland (*z*). Upon his arrival there, which was in the end of harveſt, finding the profeſſors of the reformed religion much increaſed in number, and formed into a ſociety under the inſpection of ſome teachers (*a a*), he aſſociated himſelf with them, and preached to them. Preſently after this, he accompanied one of them, the Laird of Dun, to his ſeat in the North; where he ſtayed a month, teaching and preaching daily to conſiderable numbers who reſorted thither, among whom were the chief gentlemen in that country. From thence returning to Lothian, he reſided for the moſt part in the houſe of Calder with Sir James Sandilands *, where he met with many perſons of the firſt rank; viz. the Maiſter of Erſkine, afterwards Earl of Mar; the Lord Lorn, afterwards Earl of Argyle; Lord James Stewart, Prior of St Andrews, afterwards Earl of Murray, and Regent of Scotland. With theſe noble perſonages he converſed familiarly, and confirmed them in the truth of the Proteſtant doctrine. In the winter of 1555, he taught, for the moſt part, in Edinburgh. About Chriſtmas 1556, he went to the Weſt of Scotland at the deſire of ſome Proteſtant gentleman, as John Lockhart of Bar, Robert Campbell of Kinzeancleugh, and others, and preached † in many places in Kyle, viz. the houſes of Bar, Carnal, Kinzeancleugh, Uchiltree, Gathgirth, and the town of Air; and in ſome of theſe places he celebrated the Euchariſt after the manner of the Reformed Churches. He viſited likewiſe the Earl of Glencairn, at his houſe of Fynlaiſton in the county of Renfrew, and adminiſtred the Sacrament to his Lordſhip's family. From theſe weſtern parts he returned to the Eaſt, and reſided ſome time in Calder, where many reſorted to him both for doctrine and the benefit of the Sacraments. From thence he went a ſecond time to the Laird of Dun's houſe in the county of Mearns, where he preached more publickly than before, and adminiſtred the Sacrament to many perſons of note at their deſire. The Popiſh clergy being greatly alarmed at this ſucceſs of Mr Knox, in promoting the Proteſtant cauſe, ſummoned him to appear before them in the Church of Black-Friars in Edinburgh, on the 15th of May 1556. Several gentlemen of diſtinction, among whom the Laird of Dun was none of the leaſt conſiderable, reſolving to ſtand by him, he determined to obey the ſummons. But the proſecution was dropped ‖, when the Biſhops perceived ſuch a conſiderable party appearing in his behalf. However, he went to Edinburgh on the day to which he was cited, where he preached to a greater audience than ever he had done before; in the Biſhop of Dunkeld's great houſe he taught, both before and after noon, to great numbers for ten days. At this time the Earl of Glencairn prevailed with the Earl Mariſchal, and his truſtee Henry Drummond, to hear one of Mr Knox's ſermons. They were extremely well ſatiſfied with his diſcourſe, and propoſed to him to write to the Queen Regent an earneſt letter, to perſwade her, if poſſible, to hear the Proteſtant doctrine. He complied with their deſire, and wrote to her in May 1556. The letter was delivered by the Earl of Glencairn; the Queen read it, and gave it to James Beaton, Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, with this ſarcaſm: *Pleaſe you, my Lord, to read a Paſquil* (*b b*). This gave occaſion to Mr Knox to make ſome additions to his letter, which he printed afterwards with the additions at Geneva, 1558. While our Reformer was thus occupied in Scotland, he received letters from the Engliſh congregation at Geneva, earneſtly intreating him to come thither (*c c*). Having ſeriouſly conſidered this invitation, he determined to return to that people, who had ſuch a great regard for him. Accordingly, in July 1556, he left Scotland, went firſt to Dieppe in France (*d d*), and from thence to Geneva. He had no ſooner turned his back, than the Biſhops ſummoned him to appear before them; and, upon his non-appearance, they paſſed a ſentence of death againſt him for hereſy, and burnt him in effigy at the Croſs of Edinburgh. Againſt this ſentence he formed, and afterwards printed at Geneva, in 1558, his *Appellation from the cruel and moſt unjuſt Sentence pronounced againſt him by the falſe Biſhops and Clergy of Scotland*; *with* his *Supplication to the Nobility, Eſtates, and Commonality, of the ſaid Realm.* On the 10th of March 1556-7, the Earl of Glencairn, the Lord Lorn, the Lord Erſkine *, and Lord James Stewart, afterwards Earl of Murray, the chief promoters of the Reformation at that time in Scotland, judging their affairs to be in a pretty good poſture, and being ſenſible of the uſefulneſs of Mr Knox for the purpoſe, ſent him an expreſs, earneſtly deſiring him to return home (*e e*). This letter coming to his hands in May 1557, he immediately communicated it to his congregation, who were very unwilling to part with him; but having conſulted with Mr Calvin and other worthy miniſters, they gave it as their opinion, that he could not refuſe ſuch a plain call, unleſs he would declare himſelf rebellious to God and unmerciful to his country. The congregation upon this yielded to his return to Scotland, and he wrote back by the meſſengers who brought the letter, that he would return to them with all reaſonable expedition. Accordingly, having provided for his congregation at Geneva, he left them in the end of September, and came to Dieppe in his way to Scotland on the 24th of October (*f f*). But there he unexpectedly met with letters from thence, contrary to the former, informing him, that new conſultations were entered into, and adviſing him to ſtay at Dieppe 'till the final concluſion of them. This was alſo further explained in another letter, directed to a friend of Mr Knox, wherein he was told, that

(*y*) Diſcourſe of the troubles begun at Francefort in Germany, edit. 1554. Item Pierce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, &c. p. 35, & ſeq. 2d edit. and Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Grindal, p. 19, 20.

(*z*) Life of Knox, ubi ſupra, p. xvii.

(*a a*) Viz. Will. Harlow, John Willock, Paul Maſſy or Methuen, and John Erſkine of Dun. Knox's Hiſtory ſtory of the Reformation in Scotland, p 90. edit. 1732.

* Mr Keith calls him a man of great prudence and eſtimation. This gentleman's ſecond ſon reſided ſome time at Malta, and was inveſted there with the title and juriſdiction of Lord St John of Jeruſalem within Scotland. He afterwards reſigned his lands of Topichen belonging to his knighthood, into the hands of Mary Queen of Scots; and her Majeſty erected them into a temporal lordſhip for him, on the 24th of January 1564. Keith's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 70 and 153. note (*b*).

† In his ſermons he chiefly inſiſted upon the unlawfulneſs of being preſent at the Maſs, which he maintained to be an idolatrous worſhip.

‖ Upon ſome informality of the ſummons, as was pretended. Keith's Hiſtory, p. 64.

(*b b*) Ibid. p. 91, 92.

(*c c*) After his expulſion from Francfort, ſeveral of the congregation went to Geneva. Life of Knox, p. xix.

(*d d*) He ſent his mother-in-law Eliz. Bowes, and her daughter Margery his wife, before him to Dieppe. Ibid. p. 93.

* So it is in Knox's Life, p. xx. but in the ſigning it is only Erſkine, by which Mr Keith ſuppoſes is meant John Erskine of Dun, the Lord Erskine having not yet joined himſelf to this party. Keith's Hiſtory, p. 65. note (*a*).

(*e e*) This letter is printed in his Hiſtory, p. 97, 98. and is dated Stirling March 10, 1556.

(*f f*) Life of Knox, p. xx.

that many of thoſe who had before joined in the invitation, were becoming inconſtant, and began to draw back (*gg*). Upon the receipt of theſe advices, Mr Knox wrote an expoſtulatory letter to the Lords who had invited him, concerning their raſhneſs; wherein he denounced judgments againſt ſuch as ſhould be inconſtant in the religion they now profeſſed. Beſides this, he wrote ſeveral other letters from Dieppe, both to the nobility and profeſſors of the Reformed Religion of an inferior degree, exhorting them to conſtancy in their profeſſion, and giving ſome uſeful cautions againſt the errors of ſectaries, which grew up about this time both in Germany and England. In theſe letters he alſo enjoined them to give due obedience to authority in all lawful things (*hh*). Theſe letters exciting them to a greater degree of zeal for the doctrine they had eſpouſed, they came at laſt to this reſolution, that 'they would follow forth their purpoſe, and commit themſelves, and whatſoever God had given them, into his hands, rather than ſuffer idolatry to reign, and the 'ſubjects be defrauded of the only food of their ſouls;' and that every one might be aſſured the more of one another, a common band or covenant was made and entered into by them, dated at Edinburgh December 3, 1557 †. Mr Knox returned to Geneva in the beginning of the year 1558 (*ii*), and the ſame year he printed there his treatiſe, intitled, *The firſt Blaſt of the Trumpet againſt the monſtrous Regiment of Women* (*kk*), an account of which ſhall be given in remark [*N*]. He deſigned to have written a ſubſequent piece, which was to have been called *The Second Blaſt*. But Queen Mary of England dying (*ll*) ſoon after *The Firſt Blaſt* was publiſhed, and he having a great eſteem of Queen Elizabeth, and entertaining great hopes of ſignal advantages to the Proteſtant cauſe from her government, whom he looked upon as an inſtrument raiſed up by the good Providence of God for the good of his people, he went no farther (*mm*) [*O*]. In April 1559, he determined

to

(*gg*) This appears from his anſwer printed in his Hiſtory, p. 98, 99, 100. which is dated October 27, 1557, from Dieppe.

(*hh*) He alſo writ ſome conſolatory letters to the perſecuted Proteſtants in France, to which he added an apology. Life of Knox, p. xxi.

† See more of this in remark [*T*].

(*ii*) It appears from ſome of his letters, that he was there in April 1558. Ibid.

(*kk*) It is reprinted at the end of his Hiſtory, edit. 1732.

(*ll*) Viz. Nov. 17, 1558.

(*mm*) Life of Knox, p. xxi, xxii.

[*N*] *An account of which ſhall be given below.*] Mr David Calderwood takes notice (33) that the cruel and bloody government of Queen Mary of England, and the endeavours of Mary of Lorrain, Queen Regent of Scotland, to break through the legal conſtitution, and introduce tyrannical government, and the domination of the French, were the chief motives which induced Mr Knox to write and publiſh this piece; that writer adds, that in it he ſhews his erudition and variety of reading, more than in any other of his treatiſes. However, it is certain it made a great noiſe, and was the occaſion of much obloquy and reproach againſt him. Yet it was much approved by ſeveral of the exiled Proteſtants, though diſliked by others. Mr Strype obſerves, that, 'After the death of King Edward, 'though Queen Mary was acknowledged by the far 'greater part of the Proteſtants in England, yet ſome 'few of them appeared for Lady Jane Grey; and Mr 'Goodman ‖, with ſome others, declared againſt the 'lawfulneſs of the government of women, an opinion 'not peculiar to them, but adopted by ſeveral learned 'men, and maintained by the whole kingdom of 'France. The Proteſtants in England, who were of 'this opinion, are accounted Mr Knox's diſciples, 'whoſe conceit, ſays Mr Strype (34), in this matter, 'chiefly ſprung from the fears they apprehended from 'the Lady Mary's government, and her marrying a 'foreigner (35).' Mr Strype alſo informs us, that Fox the Martyrologiſt had expoſtulated with Knox about this matter of *the Blaſt*, and has preſerved Knox's letter in anſwer to Fox, dated at Geneva March 18, 1558. In this letter he makes a modeſt apology for writing this book, does not excuſe any vehement or raſh expreſſions he has uſed in it, but ſtill affirms, that he is perſwaded of the truth of the poſitions laid down therein.

[*O*] *He went no farther.*] Before the death of Queen Mary, he publiſhed at Geneva, in 1558, an advertiſement concerning the Second Blaſt, as follows:

John Knoxe to the reader.

'Becauſe many are offended at the firſt Blaſt of the 'Trompett, in which I affirme, that to promotte a 'woman to bear rule or empire above any realme, 'nation, or citie, is repugnant to nature, contumlie 'to God, and a thing moſt contrariouſe to his revealed 'and approved ordenance: and becauſe alſo that 'ſomme hath promiſed (as I underſtand), a confutation 'of the ſame, I have delayed the ſecond Blaſt, tyll 'ſuch time as their reaſons appere, by the which I 'either may be reformed in opinion, or els ſhall have 'further occaſion more ſimply and plainly to utter 'my judgement. Yet in the meane tyme, for the 'diſcharge of my conſcience, and for avoyding ſuſpition, which might be ingender'd by reaſon of my 'ſilence, I could not ceaſe to notify theſe ſubſequent 'propoſitions, which by God's grace I purpoſe to entreat in the ſecond Blaſt promiſed.

'1. It is not birth onely, nor propinquity of blood, 'that maketh a King lawfully to reigne above a people, profeſſing Chriſte Jeſus, and his eternal veritie; 'but in his election, muſt the ordenance which God 'hath eſtabliſhed in the election of inferiour judges, 'be obſerved.

'2. No manifeſt idolater, nor notorious tranſgreſſor 'of God's holie precepts, oght to be promoted to anie 'publick regiment, honor, or dignitie, in any realme, 'province, or citie, that hath ſubjected themſelf to 'Chriſte Jeſus, and to his bleſſed Evangil.

'3. Neither can othe nor promeſſe bynd any ſuch 'people to obey and maintein tyrantes againſt God, 'and againſt his trueth knowen.

4. But if either raſhely they have promoted any manifeſt wicked perſonne, or yet ignorantly have choſen 'ſuch a one, as after declareth himſelf unworthie of 'regiment aboue the people of God (and ſuche be all 'idolaters and cruel perſecutors) moſt juſtlie may the 'ſame men depoſe and puniſh him, that unadviſedly 'before they did nominate, appoint, and electe.'

Matth. vi. *If the eye be ſingle the whole body ſhall be clere.*

We ſee our author here ſpeaks of an anſwer to the Blaſt, and accordingly, in April 1559, there was printed at Straſburgh an anſwer to it, written by John Ailmer an exile, formerly Archdeacon of Stowe, and Preceptor to Lady Jane Grey ‡, and afterwards made Biſhop of London by Queen Elizabeth. The induſtrious Mr Strype has written his life, and in it has given an account of this performance. The title of it is, *An Harborough for faithful and true Subjects, againſt the late blown Blaſt concerning the government of Women; wherein are confuted all ſuch reaſons, as a Stranger of late made in that behalf, with an Exhortation to Obedience.* And, in Mr Strype's opinion, the treatiſe is a notable and full anſwer to Mr Knox. And this opinion is greatly countenanced and confirmed by the behaviour of Mr Knox himſelf, who, after Queen Elizabeth's acceſſion to the throne, found a way of evading the principles advanced in that book. In a letter to Secretary Cecil, dated April 10, 1559, he writes thus concerning the *Blaſt*.

'*It is bruted, that my book is or ſhall be written 'againſt. If ſo be, Sir, I greatly fear, that flatterers ſhall rather hurt than help the matter, which 'they would ſeem to maintain; for except my error be 'plainly ſhewn and confuted by better authority, than 'by ſuch laws as from year to year may and do change, 'I dare not promiſe ſilence in ſo weighty a buſineſs, leſt 'in ſo doing I ſhould appear to betray the verity, which 'is not ſubject to the mutability of the time.* And if 'any think me either enemy to the perſon, or yet to 'the regiment, of her whom God hath now promoted, they are utterly deceived of me. For the miraculous work of God comforting his afflicted by an 'infirm veſſel I do acknowledge, and the power of his 'moſt potent hand (raiſing up whom beſt pleaſeth his

'mercy,

(33) In his MS. Hiſtory already cited.

‖ The title of Goodman's book is, *How Superior Powers ought to be obeyed of their Subjects, and wherein they may lawfully be diſobeyed and rejected,* &c. Mr Wood, who gives an Account of him, attributes *The Firſt Blaſt of the Trumpet,* &c. to him. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 315. Mr Strype informs us, that he recanted in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and gives us the words of his recantation.

(34) In his Memorials.

(35) See Knox's Admonition.

‡ Daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, and for nine days owned by King Edward VIth's Council, as Queen of England.

to return to his native country ; and having a ſtrong deſire in his way thither to viſit thoſe in England, to whom he had formerly preached the Goſpel, he applied to Sir William Cecil, his old acquaintance, to procure leave for that purpoſe. But this petition was ſo far from being granted, that the meſſenger, whom he ſent to ſollicit that favour, very narrowly eſcaped impriſonment [*P*]. Hereupon he made the beſt of his way to Scotland, where he arrived on the 2d of May 1559, and was very active in promoting the Reformation there, as appears from the ſecond book of his Hiſtory, which contains a full account of his conduct, 'till the Proteſtants were obliged to apply to England. For carrying on which tranſaction, in July this year, he was pitched upon to meet Sir William Cecil *incognito* at Stamford (*nn*) ; but his journey being retarded by the danger of paſſing near the French, who lay at Dunbar, he was afterwards ſent, in company with Mr Robert Hamilton, another Proteſtant miniſter, to negotiate theſe affairs between the Proteſtants in Scotland and Queen Elizabeth. When they came to Berwick, they remained ſome days with Sir James Crofts the Governor, who undertook to manage their buſineſs for them, and adviſed them to return home ; which they did. Secretary Cecil ſent alſo an anſwer to the Proteſtant nobility and gentry, concerning their propoſals to Queen Elizabeth ; which was ſo general, that they were very near reſolving to break off the negotiation, had not Mr Knox interpoſed with ſo much earneſtneſs, that they allowed him once more to write to the Secretary [*Q*]. To this letter there was quickly ſent an anſwer, deſiring that ſome

(*nn*) Ibid. p. xxiii. Sir William Cecil's Letter deſiring that meeting, is dated at Oxford July 14, 1559. and printed in Knox's Hiſtory, p. 212, 213.

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mercy, to ſuppreſs ſuch as fight againſt his glory) I will obey, albeit, that both nature and God's moſt perfect ordinance repugn to ſuch regiment. More plainly to ſpeak, if Queen Elizabeth ſhall confeſs, that the extraordinary diſpenſation of God's great mercy, maketh that lawful unto her, which both nature and God's law doth deny unto all women ; then ſhall none in England be more willing to maintain her lawful authority than I ſhall be ; but if (God's wond'rous work ſet aſide) ſhe ground (as God forbid) the juſtneſs of her title, upon conſuetude, laws, or ordinances of men, then I am aſſured, that as ſuch fooliſh preſumption doth highly offend God's ſupreme Majeſty, ſo do I greatly fear that her ingratitude ſhall not long want puniſhment. And this, in the name of the eternal God, and of his ſon Jeſus Chriſt (before whom both you and I ſhall ſtand to make account of all counſel we give) I require you ſignify unto her Grace in my name ; adding, that only humility and dejection of herſelf before God ſhall be the firmity and ſtability of her throne, which I know ſhall be aſſaulted more ways than one (36).' He wrote alſo in the ſame ſtrain to Queen Elizabeth herſelf, intimating that, as long as ſhe ſhewed favour to them, that is, the Puritanical party, her regiment was lawful, but whenever ſhe failed of that, it would be lawful to depoſe her. 'If thus, ſays he, in God's preſence you humble your ſelf, as in my heart I glorify God for that reſt granted to his afflicted flock within England, under you a weak inſtrument ; ſo will I, with tongue and pen juſtify your authority and regiment, as the Holy Ghoſt hath juſtified the ſame in Deborah, that bleſſed mother in Iſrael. *But if the premiſes (as God forbid) neglected, you ſhall begin to brag of your birth, and to build your authority and regiment upon your own law, (flatter you who ſo liſt) your felicity ſhall be ſhort* (37).

[*P*] *His petition was not granted*] The letter he wrote to Secretary Cecil on that head may be ſeen in Buchanan's edition of his hiſtory in 1649 ; as alſo in the MS. from which the edition in 1732 was printed ; but is not inſerted in that edition, as it ſhould ſeem, becauſe not to be found in the firſt edition of the 8vo, 'being, as is probable, kept out to avoid giving offence to Queen Elizabeth and Secretary Cecil ; but, notwithſtanding that conceſſion, the book was ſuppreſſed in England where it had been printed.' Thus the writer of Knox's life in 1732 (38). But the calumniating inſinuation here thrown upon the memory of Queen Elizabeth and her council is clearly wiped off, and turned upon the author of it by another writer of that nation already mentioned, who, in a note upon the words of Camden, concerning Mary, Queen Dowager of Scotland, mother of Mary Queen of Scots, in his annals of Queen Elizabeth, where, ſpeaking of that dowager, ſays, 'ſhe was a pious and wiſe princeſs, who had ſuffered the moſt bitter reproaches from ſome virulent and furious preachers, as may be ſeen in their own Church Hiſtory, called in by Queen Elizabeth when it was juſt going to the preſs.' By this, ſays my author, he means Mr Knox's hiſtory, an edition whereof was printed at London ; but at what preciſe time has not as yet fully appeared. Mr. Camden ſays here, that this book was called in by Queen Elizabeth when it was juſt going to preſs ; he ſhould rather have ſaid, when it was going to be publiſhed ; ſince, of this Engliſh edition in a ſmall 8vo, there are ſome few copies to be met with at this day ; but every one of them is imperfect (39). He then proceeds in theſe terms : The author of the life of Mr Knox, prefixed to the late edition of his hiſtory at Edinburgh, 1732, gives a paſſage from Calderwood's MS to aſcertain the time when this 8vo edition was printed at London, in the following words. February 1586, *Vaultellier, the printer, took with him a copy of Mr Knox's hiſtory of England, and printed twelve hundred of them The ſtationers at the archbiſhop's* [*Whitgift*] *command ſeized them the* 18*th of February. It was thought that he would get leave to proceed again ; becauſe the council perceived, that it would bring the Queen of Scots in deteſtation* (40). This ſeems to be the beſt account of the date when theſe books were ſeized ; but the expectation of getting leave to proceed again ſeems to have failed. True indeed, the ground of the expectation ſeems to be plauſible enough, ſeeing Mr Knox has laid himſelf out, as it were, to bring the Queen of Scots, his ſovereign, into deteſtation ; but it ſeems likewiſe, that the council of England ſtood no longer in need of Mr Knox's detracting pen ; they had gained their point before that time (41), and now they ſaw well, that ſuch language and repreſentations as that book contained, was not fit to be allowed a free paſſage into the world. *That wiſe council acted herein ſomewhat like thoſe who fawn on a traitor, while his treachery may be ſerviceable to them ; but when that ſeaſon is over, they deſpiſe both the traitor and the treachery* (42).

[*Q*] *He was allowed once more to write to the Secretary.*] As this letter was judged to be of ſo much importance as to procure an immediate compliance with the requeſt contained in it, we ſhall give an extract of it as follows : He begins with excuſing his not coming to Berwick, for the reaſon expreſſed in the text above, and then proceeds in theſe terms. 'I wiſh that rather your pen than our credit, or any thing written to any of us, ſhould aſſure the lords and others of our good minds (who are now in number but five hundred). Unleſs that money be furniſhed without delay to pay the ſoldiers for their ſervice by paſt, and to retain another thouſand footmen, with three hundred horſemen, 'till ſome ſtay be had in this danger, theſe gentlemen will be compelled to leave the fields. I am aſſured as fleſh may be of fleſh, that ſome of them will take a very hard life, before that ever they compone either with the queen regent, either yet with France. But this I dare not promiſe of all, unleſs in you they ſee a greater forwardneſs. To ſupporte us will appear exceſſive, and to break promiſe with France will appear dangerous. But the loſs of expences, in my opinion, ought not to be eſteemed from the firſt payment, neither yet the danger from the firſt appearance. France is moſt fervent to conquer us, and avoweth, that againſt us they will ſpend their crown (ſo did my own ears hear Bottincourt brag). But moſt aſſuredly I know, that unleſs by us they thought to make an entrance to you, they would not buy our poverty at that price. They labour to corrupt ſome of our great men by money (and ſome of our number

(36) Knox's Hiſtory, &c. p. 206.

(37) Ibid. p. 211.

(38) P. xvii.

(39) Mr Woodrow, in his letter to Archdeacon (afterwards Biſhop) Nicholſon, part of which is printed in that author's appendix to the Scot's Hiſtorical Library, where he calls it a large 12mo.

(40) Knox's Life, p. xlv.

(41) The Queen of Scots was then a priſoner in England. See the general hiſtories of each country.

(42) Keith's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 130.

ſome perſons of credit might be ſent to confer with the Engliſh at Berwick; and the ſame letter informed them, that there was a ſum of money ready to be delivered for carrying on the common cauſe, aſſuring them, that if the Lords of the Congregation were willing to enter into a league with Queen Elizabeth upon honourable terms, they ſhould neither want men nor money. Upon this anſwer, Mr Henry Balnaveis, a man well reſpected in both kingdoms, was ſent to Berwick, who ſoon returned with a ſum of money, which defrayed the publick expence 'till November; when John Cockburne of Ormiſtoun being ſent for the ſecond ſupport, received it, but fell into the hands of Earl Bothwell, who took the money from him (*oo*). In the interim, Mr Knox was choſen Miniſter of Edinburgh in July; but being obliged to attend the Lords, while the agreement was in dependance, Mr Willock was left in Edinburgh to officiate in his room. The effect of theſe negotiations was the ſending of an army under the command of the Duke of Norfolk; which being joined by almoſt all the great men in Scotland, at laſt a peace was procured and concluded between the two kingdoms, on the 8th of July 1560 (*pp*). The Congregationers being freed by this peace from any diſturbance, made ſeveral regulations towards propagating and eſtabliſhing the new religion; and, in order to have the reformed doctrine preached throughout the kingdom, a diviſion was made thereof into twelve diſtricts (for the whole number of the reformed miniſters at this time was only twelve), whereby the diſtrict of Edinburgh was aſſigned to Mr Knox (*qq*). Theſe twelve miniſters alſo compoſed a Confeſſion of Faith, which was afterwards ratified by Parliament; they alſo compiled the firſt books of Diſcipline for that Church. In December this year, Mr Knox buried his firſt wife Margery Bowes, an Engliſhwoman, for whoſe loſs he was much grieved (*rr*). In January the following year, 1561, we find our author engaged in a diſpute concerning the controverted points of religion, againſt Mr Alexander Anderſon, Sub-Principal of the King's-college at Aberdeen, and Mr John Leſlie parſon of Une, and afterwards Biſhop of Roſs. In March 1560-61, Mr John Spottiſwood was admitted Superintendant of Lothian by Mr Knox [*R*]. And the ſame year, Auguſt 20, 1561, the Queen arrived at Leith From France. From her firſt arrival, her Majeſty ſet up a private Maſs in her own chapel, which afterwards, by her protection and countenance, was much more frequented: this excited the zeal of Mr Knox, who expreſſed himſelf with great warmth againſt allowing it; and an act of the Privy-Council being proclaimed at the market-Croſs of Edinburgh, forbidding any diſturbance to be given to this practice under pain of death, on the 25th of that month, Mr Knox openly in his ſermon the Sunday following declared, that *one Maſs was more frightful to him, than ten thouſand armed enemies, landed in any part of the realm* (*ss*). This freedom of ſpeech gave great offence to the Court, and the Queen herſelf had a long conference with him upon that and other ſubjects [*S*]. What part he bore

(*oo*) Ibid. p. 214. Upon this miſadventure followed all the reſt of their troubles, related in the ſecond book of this Hiſtory.

(*pp*) Ibid. p. 234.

(*qq*) Ibid. p. 236. where the names of them are mentioned, among whom Chriſtopher Goodman was appointed to St Andrews.

(*rr*) See his Hiſtory, p. 260. A full account of his family ſhall be given at the cloſe of this memoir.

(*ss*) Life of Knox, p. xxvi. and Knox's Hiſtory, p. 287.

'are poor, as before I writ, and cannot ſerve without ſupport); ſome they threaten, and againſt others they have raiſed up a party in their own country. In this mean time, if you lye by as neutrals, what will be the end you may eaſily conjecture. And therefore, Sir, in the bowels of Chriſt Jeſus I require you to make plain anſwer, what the gentlemen here may liſten to, and what the queen's majeſty will do, may be without delay put in execution (43).'

[*R*] *Spottiſwood was admitted ſuperintendant of Lothian by Mr Knox.*] The form and order of this admiſſion was compoſed by Mr Knox, and is inſerted in his hiſtory (44). He begins with a ſermon upon theſe heads: 1. The neceſſity of miniſters and ſuperintendants. 2. The crimes and vices that might unable them. 3. The virtues required in them. And laſtly, whether ſuch as by public conſent of the Kyrke were called to ſuch office might refuſe the ſame. Sermon finiſhed, it was declared by the preacher, That the lords of ſecret Council had given charge and power of the kirkes of Lothian to chuſe Mr John Spottiſwoode ſuperintendant, &c. Upon which words Mr Keith makes the following remark: 'One would think, ſays he, that if this charge, and power, and nomination of the particular perſon for this dignity, was given and made at that time by the Lords of the Council, there might be little ground to complain of the ſame power, when lodged in a lawful king (45).' The ſame writer upon another occaſion obſerves, that the whole behaviour of the firſt reformers of religion in Scotland, ſhews that they had no notion of a regular ſucceſſion being neceſſary for the vocation of ordinary office-bearers in the Church of Chriſt. What was it that made the new preachers to be the only perſons that had power to adminiſter the ſacraments? I ſuppoſe they will hardly ſay the parliament had authority to confer that power. If it was the call of the people, it ſeems to be unheard of 'till that time, that the people could conſecrate and ordain any perſon to the ſacred offices: their conſent and approbation is quite another thing. I am inclined to think, they will have recourſe to a ſpecial immediate appointment to ſuch perſon by Almighty God himſelf at that period; but with how many difficulties ſuch an aſſertion may be attended, I need not offer to mention.—That Mr Knox and ſome others, who had regular ordination, did at that time undervalue their ſacred orders, and act as preachers by a *new* call; and that others of the preachers never had any ordination, but the *new one* is certain: and 'tis as certain that many to this day have acted as office-bearers in the Church, merely by virtue of that new call. May it not therefore be reaſonably doubted whether ſuch perſons be really Miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, or no? At leaſt, may not other people who lay ſome ſtreſs on the validity of regular miniſtrations, make ſcruple to receive from their hands the myſteries of the Covenant of Redemption? Is not the plea of the Quakers more defenſible, every one of whoſe preachers pretends an immediate call *.

[*S*] *He had a long conference with the Queen.*] In this conference her majeſty having charged him with writing the *Blaſt*, he avows it, and then proceeds thus: I hear that an Engliſhman hath written againſt it, but I have not read him. If he hath ſufficiently improved my reaſons, and eſtabliſhed his contrary propoſitions with as evident teſtimonies as I have done mine, I ſhall not be obſtinate, but ſhall confeſs my error and ignorance. But to this hour I have thought, and yet think my ſelf alone to be more able to ſuſtain the things affirmed in that my work, than any ten in Europe ſhall be able to confute it. This confident aſſertion, together with his avowing to read the anſwer to his book, looks at firſt ſight to proceed from that obſtinacy of temper for which he was ſo remarkable; but upon a nearer view of it, will appear to be the genuine effect of art and policy. If he had read the anſwer he muſt either have replied, or, by his ſilence, have incurred the cenſure of a tacit retractation. The firſt he well ſaw was too raſh and dangerous to engage in; and therefore he took this method to avoid the reproach of the ſecond, which muſt have leſſened his authority among his own party. With the ſame art is his anſwer conducted to the Queen's next charge againſt him

(43) Knox's Hiſtory, p. 213, 214.

(44) Ibid. p. 263, & ſeqq. where may be ſeen the form alſo of admitting or electing Elders and Deacons, p. 267, & ſeqq.

(45) Keith's Hiſtory, p. 145, note (*d*).

* Ibid. p. 150. note (*b*.)

bore in the affairs of the Church, during the remainder of this year 1561, may be ſeen in his Hiſtory, to which we refer the reader. In 1562, we find him employed in reconciling the Earls of Bothwell and Arran, which is an evidence how much he was regarded by the moſt eminent perſons of the kingdom, and how much intereſt he had with them (*tt*). The ſame year, the Queen being informed that her uncles were like to recover their former intereſt at the Court of France, received the news with great joy: Mr Knox hearing of her behaviour, and apprehending that the power of the Queen's relations would produce diſmal effects, in prejudice of the reformed intereſt in theſe parts, thought fit to preach a ſermon, wherein *he taxed the ignorance, vanity, and deſpite of princes, againſt all virtue, and againſt all thoſe in whom hatred of vice and love of virtue appeared.* This and other expreſſions, in reproof of dancing for joy at the diſpleaſure taken againſt God's people, coming to the ears of the Queen, her Majeſty ſent for him, and had a ſecond conference with him (*uu*). This year he was appointed, by the General Aſſembly, Commiſſioner to the counties of Kyle and Galloway; and, by his influence, ſeveral of the moſt eminent gentlemen of Kyle, Cunningham, and Carrick, entered into a bond or covenant at Air, which was ſubſcribed September 4, 1562 (*ww*) [*T*]. From the ſhire of Air he went to Nithſdale and Galloway, and had ſeveral conferences about matters of great importance with the Maſter of Maxwell; and from this county he wrote to the Duke of Chaterault, giving him cautions both againſt the Biſhop of St Andrews and the Earl of Huntley, whoſe counſels he judged might prove prejudicial to the reformed intereſt. At this time he accepted a challenge made by an eminent perſon among the Papiſts to a publick diſpute about the Maſs, which continued the ſpace of three days, and was afterwards printed (*xx*). In the beginning of the Queen's firſt Parliament, in May 1563, Mr Knox endeavoured to excite the Earl of Murray to appear with zeal and courage, to get the articles of Leith eſtabliſhed by Law; but finding him cooler than he expected, there followed a breach between them, which continued for a year and a half (*yy*). And after the bill was rejected, the Parliament not being diſſolved, he preached a ſermon before a great many of the members, wherein he expreſſed his ſenſe of that matter with vehemency, and at the cloſe declared his abhorrency of the Queen's marrying a Papiſt *. This gave great offence to the Court; and her Majeſty ſending for him, expreſſed much paſſion, and thought to have puniſhed him, but was prevailed upon to deſiſt at that time [*U*]. The

(*tt*) Knox's Hiſtory, p. 305, 306.

(*uu*) Ibid. p. 308, 309, 310. The meſſage was brought by Alexander Cockburne, who had been formerly his ſcholar, and the conference ended with the Queen's declaring ſhe had been miſinformed.

(*ww*) Ibid. p. 316, 317.

(*xx*) Life of Knox, p. xxvii. The challenge was made by Mr Quintin Kennedy, a ſon of the houſe of Caſſils, Prior of Whithorn, and Abbot of Croſs-Regal, and the diſpute was held in the village of Maybole in Carrick. See Knox's Hiſtory, p. 318.

(*yy*) See an account of it in Knox's Hiſtory, p. 33.

* He was married to her Majeſty July 19, this year.

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him of denying her juſt authority: to which he pleads the privilege of the learned in all ages, and cites Plato in particular, who had publickly taught doctrines contrary to the common opinion without diſturbing the ſociety, bearing with patience the errors and imperfections which they could not amend. *Even ſo*, ſays he, *Madam, am I content to do in uprightneſs of heart; and with the teſtimony of a good conſcience I have communicate my judgment to the world; if the realme finds no inconveniency in the regiment of a woman, that which they approve ſhall I not farther diſallow than within my own breaſt, but ſhall be as well content to live under your Grace as Paul was to live under Nero; and my hope is*, concludes he, *that ſo long as ye defile not your hands with the blood of the ſaints of God, that neither I nor the book ſhall either hurt you or your authority; for, in very deed, Madame, that book was written moſt eſpecially againſt that wicked Jeſabel of England* (46).

[*T*] *Entered into a covenant at Air.*] We have already mentioned the firſt of theſe bonds or covenants (47) made at Edinburgh, Dec. 3, 1557, which runs thus:

We perceiving how Sathan in his memberis, the antichriſtis of our tyme cruellie doeth rage, ſeeking to downthring and to deſtroy the evangell of Chriſt and his congregation, aucht, according to our boundin dewtie, to ſtryve in our maiſteris cauſe, evin unto the deith, being certane of the victorie in him: the quhilk our dewtie, being weill conſiderit, we do promeis befoir the Majeſtie of God and his Congregatioun, That we be his grace, ſall with all diligence continuallie applie our haill power, ſubſtance, and our very lyves to manteine, ſet fordward, and eſtabliſh the moſt bliſſit word of God, and his Congregatioun: and ſall labour at our poſſibilitie to have faythful miniſteris puirlie and trewlie to miniſter Chriſtis Evangell and Sacraments to his pepill. We ſall mantein thame, nuriſche thame, and defend thame, the haill Congregation of Chriſt, and everye member theirof at our haill poweris, and wairing of our lyves, againſt Sathan and all wicked power that dois intend tirranie or trubile againſt the foirſord Congregatioun. Unto the quhilk holie Word and Congregatioun we do joyn us; and alſo dois renunce and foirſaik the Congregatioun of Sathan with all the ſuperſtitiounis, abhominatiounis and idolatrie theirof. And mairover ſall declair our ſelfis manifeſtlie enemies thairto, be this our faythfull promeis befoir God, teſtified to his Congregatioun, be our ſubſcriptioun at thir Preſens.

At Edinburghe the 3d day of December, 1557 Yeirs.

God callit to witneſs.

Sic ſubſcribitur

A. Erle of Argyll,
Glencairne,
Mortoun,
Archibald Lord of Lorne,
John Erskin of Dun, &c (48).

Accordingly the writer of Knox's Life, in 1732, tells us, that from this bond, thoſe who ſeparated from Popery, were called the *Congregation*; becauſe in it they oblige themſelves to maintain, ſet forward, and eſtabliſh the moſt bleſſed word and his Congregation; and the nobility who adopted the Reformed intereſt were called the Lords of the Congregation (49). Mr Keith is arch upon this Bond. In which, tho' it be very conciſe, the reader, ſays he, may obſerve that they ſtile themſelves no leſs than ſeven times the Congregation. And that alſo, with this ſingular ſpecialty, as being the Congregation of the Lord, in oppoſition to thoſe of the Church, whom they are pleaſed to call the Congregation of Sathan (50).

[*U*] *And was prevailed upon to deſiſt for that time.*] The offenſive words were; *And now, my lords, to put an end to all, I hear of the queen's marriage. Dukes, brethren to emperors and kings, ſtrive all for the beſt gain; but this, my lords, will I ſay (note the day and bear witneſs after) whenſoever the nobility of Scotland profeſſing the Lord Jeſus, conſents that an Infidel, (and all Papiſts are Infidels) ſhall be head to our ſovereign, ye do ſo far as in you lieth, to baniſh Chriſt Jeſus from the realm, ye bring God's vengeance upon the country, a plague upon your ſelves, and, perchance, ye ſhall do ſmall comfort to your ſovereign.* In his defence before the queen he ſaid, that out of the pulpit few had occaſion to be offended at him; and there, Madam, ſays he, I am not maſter of my ſelf, but muſt obey who commands me to ſpeak plain, and to flatter no fleſh upon the face of the earth. Then happened another incident, which was like to have brought him into great trouble this year. During the Queen's abſence

(46) Knox's Hiſtory, p. 288.

(47) In the text, at note †, in p. 2870.

(48) Knox's Hiſtory, p, 101.

(49) Knox's Life, p. xxi.

(50) Keith's Hiſtory, p. 69.

The General Aſſembly being held in June 1564, a ſelected committee was appointed to hold a conference with ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, officers of ſtate, upon ſome controverted points; the chief of which was about the boundaries to be ſettled between the power of the ſupreme magiſtrate and the people [*W*]. The enſuing year, Lord Darnley being married to the Queen, was adviſed by the Proteſtants about Court to hear Mr Knox preach, as thinking it would contribute much to procure the good-will of the people. At their deſire he went, on the 19th of Auguſt, to the high church, but was ſo much offended at the ſermon, that he complained to the Council, who immediately ordered Mr Knox before them, and forbad him to preach for ſeveral days [*X*]. The General Aſſembly, which met in December this year in their fourth ſeſſion, appointed Mr Knox to draw up a conſolatory letter in their name, to encourage miniſters, exhorters, and readers, to continue in their vocations, which many were under great temptation to leave for want of ſubſiſtence, and to exhort the profeſſors of the realm to ſupply their neceſſities. He was alſo appointed by this aſſembly to viſit, preach, and plant, the kirks of the South, 'till the next aſſembly, and to remain as long as he could at that work (*zz*). He requeſted the General Aſſembly, which met at Edinburgh in December 1566, that he might have leave to go to England to viſit two of his ſons (*aaa*), and for other neceſſary affairs in that kingdom [*Y*]. The ſame General Aſſembly being informed, that ſome worthy and learned divines in England were proſecuted by the Biſhops, becauſe they refuſed to uſe the habits appointed by Law for Church-men, cauſed a letter to be written and ſent by Mr Knox, wherein with great earneſtneſs they intreated, that they might deal gently with ſuch miniſters as ſcrupled the uſe of thoſe veſtments [*Z*]. In 1567, Mr Knox preached a ſermon at the coronation of King James the Sixth of Scotland, and afterwards the Firſt of Great-Britain (*bbb*). This year is very remarkable in Scotland, upon account of the great turn of affairs there by Queen Mary's reſigning the government, and by the appointment of the Earl of Murray to be regent. The firſt parliament which was called by the Earl met upon the 15th of December. It was a very numerous convention of all the Eſtates, and Mr Knox preached a very zealous ſermon at the opening of it; and he was extremely afflicted at the Regent's death in 1569 [*AA*]. In 1571, the Hamiltons and others,

(*zz*) Life of Knox, p. xxx.

(*aaa*) Probably then at ſchool, if the ſame as were afterwards ſent to St John's-college in Cambridge, as is mentioned in the cloſe hereof.

(*bbb*) This ſermon is much commended by Buchanan in his Hiſtory of Scotland, who was a good judge of the beauties of ſuch a performance.

ſence from Holy-rood houſe this ſummer (51), ſome of her family celebrating maſs at the palace, there appeared greater numbers than uſual; ſome of the moſt zealous Proteſtants being informed of it, went to the abbey to take down the names of ſuch as they ſaw going to that ſervice. The queen's ſervants ſent to the comptroller, advertiſing him that they were in great danger, and craving his aſſiſtance, he came down with great expedition, attended by the magiſtrates of Edinburgh and ſeveral others. Upon this occaſion one Patrick Cranſtoun went into the queen's chappel, and finding the alter covered, and the prieſt ready to celebrate maſs, ſaid, *The queen's Majeſty is not here, how dare you then be ſo malapert as openly to do againſt the Law?* The report of this being carried to the Queen, ſhe ordered Cranſtoun, with one Armſtrong, to be ſummoned, and find ſurety to underly the law for felony, having made violent invaſion into the queen's palace. Mr Knox being afraid that extremity might be uſed againſt theſe zealous men, and being authoriſed by the laſt General Aſſembly to give advertiſement to the whole body of Proteſtants in Scotland, when any danger appeared, wrote a circular letter, wherein he deſires them to convene for the ſupport of theſe men againſt the time of their appearance (52). Some copies of this letter were intercepted and brought to the Queen. It was concluded in the cabinet-council that it contained treaſon, and the nobility were advertiſed to be preſent at Mr Knox's trial, which was appointed for the middle of December. The nobility convened accordingly, and having heard Mr Knox's defence, acquitted him. His conduct was likewiſe approved by the General Aſſembly of the Church (53).

[*W*] *The boundaries between power of the prince and people.*] The writer of Mr Knox's life tells us, that in this conference Mr Knox and the reſt of his brethren eſpouſed the ſame principles which have been owned by the ſupporters of the late happy Revolution. The courtiers were for ſcrewing the royal prerogative to a great pitch, by which, upon peruſing the conferences related by Mr. Knox (54), I ſuppoſe is meant, that in both caſes, the courtiers on one ſide urged the doctrine of abſolute Non-reſiſtance, which was rejected by the other ſide.

[*X*] *Forbad him to preach for ſeveral days.*] His text was Iſaiah xxvi. 13 and 17. *O Lord our God, other lords than thou have reigned over us.* From theſe words he took occaſion to ſpeak of the government of wicked princes, who for the ſins of the people are ſent as tyrants and ſcourges to plague them. And amongſt other things, he ſaid, that *God ſets in that room (for the offences and ingratitude of the people) boys and women.* There were alſo ſome other words uttered by him which gave great offence to the king, as, that *God juſtly puniſhed Ahab and his poſterity, becauſe he would not take order with that harlot Jezabel.* Theſe words the Council told him had given offence to his majeſty, and they deſired him to abſtain from preaching fifteen or twenty days, and let Mr Craig ſupply the place. He anſwered, that he had ſpoken nothing but according to his text; and if the Church would command him either to ſpeak or abſtain, he would obey ſo far as the word of God would permit him (55). The publiſher of Mr Knox's hiſtory in 4to, adds in the margin, that in anſwering he ſaid more than he had preached; for he added, that as the king had for pleaſure of the queen gone to maſs, and diſhonoured the Lord God, ſo ſhould God in his juſtice make her an inſtrument of his ruin; and ſo it fell out in a very ſhort time; but the queen, being incenſed at theſe words, fell out into tears, and to pleaſe her, John Knox muſt abſtain from preaching for a time

[*Y*] *He went to England to viſit his two ſons, &c.*] Before he ſet out, he had ample teſtimonials from the aſſembly of his life, doctrine, and uſefulneſs, and was by them recommended to all to whom he ſhould come. The aſſembly limited his abode in England to the meeting of the next general aſſembly, June 25 (56).

[Z] *To be gentle to the Nonconformiſts.*] This letter is publiſhed by Biſhop Spottiſwood in his hiſtory of the troubles at Francfort, as alſo by Mr Strype in his Life of Archbiſhop Parker. The letter itſelf ſeems to be Mr Knox's performance, as is affirmed in his Hiſtory; where we have alſo a copy of the Aſſembly's letter (57).

[*AA*] *He was much afflicted at the murder of the Earl of Murray.*] We are told that he apprehended the intereſt of religion would be expoſed to the utmoſt danger by the earl's fall; and, upon that account, expreſſed himſelf with great concern both in public and private. The ſame writer tells us alſo, that he had ſeen a form of prayer compoſed by him upon this event, which ſhews his genuine ſentiments of this matter. It is preſerved by Mr Calderwood (58). Spottiſwood, on the occaſion of the Regent's murder, has related a ſtory of Knox, which the writer of his life has inſerted as a proof that he was in very great eſteem, and reputed to be endued with an extraordinary faculty of predicting things to come. And indeed 'tis certain that Knox, upon all occaſions, denounces the vengeance

(51) After paſſing moſt part of the ſummer in the weſt, ſhe ſtaid ſome time at Stirling.

(52) This letter is dated at Edinburgh, Octob. 8, 1563, and is printed in his Hiſtory, p. 336, 337.

(53) That aſſembly met December 25, 1563. See a particular account of this whole affair in Knox's Hiſtory, from p. 339 to p. 345.

(54) Ibid. p. 349 to 366.

(55) Ibid. p. 380, 381.

(56) Knox's Life, p. xxx.

(57) Book v. p. 402. It is dated December 27, 1566.

(58) Knox's Life, p. xxxi. See alſo Smeton's anſwer to Archibald Hamilton's dialogue *de Confuſione Calviniana Sectæ, apud Scotos*, p. 116.

others, who had entered into a combination againſt the Earl of Lenox, then Regent, began to fortify the town of Edinburgh. While they were thus employed, a Council was held by them in the caſtle on the fourth of May, where the Laird of Grainge, captain of the caſtle, propoſed that they might give ſecurity for the perſon of Mr Knox, which was alſo much deſired by the town's-people. The Hamiltons anſwered, that they could not promiſe him ſecurity upon their honour, becauſe there were many in the town who loved him not, beſides other diſorderly people, that might do him harm without their knowledge. Upon this anſwer, which plainly ſhewed no good intention to Mr Knox, his friends in the town, with Mr Craig his colleague at their head, intreated him to leave the place, by reaſon of the impending danger to him, and to them too upon his account, in defending him from the attempts of the contrary party; which being alſo the ſtrongeſt, would moſt probably be able to execute their deſigns againſt him. Accordingly, leaving Edinburgh on the fifth of May, he went firſt to Abbotſhall in Fyfe, and thence to St Andrews, where he remained 'till the 23d of Auguſt, 1572 (*ddd*). That year there was a convention of the miniſters at Leith, where it was agreed, that a certain kind of Epiſcopacy ſhould be introduced into the Church, which was zealouſly oppoſed by our Reformer [*BB*]. The troubles of the country being much abated, and the people of Edinburgh, who had been obliged to leave it, being returned, they ſent two of their number, viz. Nicol Edward and John Johnſton, Scribe, to St Andrews, to invite Mr Knox to return to them, and to aſk his advice about the choice of another miniſter to aſſiſt him during the time of the troubles [*CC*]. With their commiſſioners they ſent a letter, which is inſerted below [*DD*]. The ſuperintendant of Lothian was with them, when they preſented the letter; which, when Mr Knox had peruſed, he conſented to return upon this condition, that he ſhould not be deſired in any ſort to ceaſe ſpeaking againſt the treaſonable dealings of thoſe who held out the caſtle of Edinburgh; and this he deſired them to ſignify to the whole brethren, leſt they ſhould repent afterwards of his auſterity againſt thoſe in the caſtle, or fear to be treated the worſe on his account; and after his return, he repeated theſe words more than once to his friends there, before he entered the pulpit; they anſwered,

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geance of Heaven upon the enemies of the Congregationers, and conſtantly laid claim to the extraordinary illumination of the Holy Ghoſt, and to the gift of Prophecy, how truly needs not be ſaid at this time of day.

[*BB*] *Which was zealouſly oppoſed by our Reformer.*] The biſhops who came in by virtue of this Convention, were called *Tulchan* biſhops; the word *Tulchan*, in the Iriſh language, ſignifying the ſkin of a calf ſtuffed with ſtraw, to make the appearance of a living calf; which device was uſed in the Highlands of Scotland, that the cows might eaſily yield their milk, as they did not do it without a great ſtruggle, when their calves were taken from them: from this cuſtom the biſhops now introduced were called *Tulchan*, becauſe, altho' the courtiers had got the far greater part of the revenues of the biſhopricks, yet they could not get a colourable title to theſe rents, as the law then ſtood, except they had a conveyance from thoſe who had the title of biſhops; for this reaſon it was thought a good expedient by the great ones, who had a longing mind to enjoy the profits of the biſhoprics, that this ſort of biſhops ſhould be brought into the Church, and indeed all of them, by certain pactions, conveyed the far greater part of the revenues to their patrons, reſerving a very ſmall part to themſelves. Among the reſt, the Archbiſhoprick of St Andrew's coming to the ſhare of the Earl of Morton, that nobleman deſigned Mr John Douglas, Rector of the Univerſity there, in whom his Lordſhip had an entire confidence, to be elected to that See: for this purpoſe the electors were convened Feb. 8, 1572, where, after ſome oppoſition, he was elected archbiſhop. Mr Knox, being then in St Andrew's, was much diſpleaſed with this election; and the next Lord's-day, being to preach in the forenoon where the Earl of Morton was preſent, he not only peremptorily refuſed to inaugurate and receive the new-elected biſhop, but publickly denounced an anathema both to the giver and receiver of this biſhoprick. Notwithſtanding this oppoſition, Mr Douglas was admitted archbiſhop, according to the order for admitting ſuperintendants and miniſters (60); for they had not as yet framed any particular form for admitting biſhops. Mr John Rutherford, Provoſt of the Old College of St Andrew's, and Meſſieurs Archibald and John Hamilton, Profeſſors in the New College, ſpread a report next week, that Mr Knox's oppoſition to the biſhops proceeded from a pique that he was not elected himſelf. This coming to his ears, he vindicated himſelf from the pulpit next Lord's-day in words to the following purpoſe: *I have refuſed a far greater biſhoprick than ever it was, which I might have had with the favour of greater men than ever he had his; I did and do repine, not from malecontent, but for the diſcharge of my conſcience, that the Kirk of Scotland be not ſubject to that order* (61).

[*CC*] *The choice of another Miniſter, &c.*] They were exceedingly diſpleaſed with the conduct of Mr Craig during the time of the troubles, he having made too great complacency, as they thought, with thoſe who appeared againſt the authority of the young king and his regents, and were unwilling any longer to ſubmit to his miniſters (62).

[*DD*] *With the letter which is inſerted below*] The letter is in theſe terms: '*The comfort of the Holy* '*Spirit for ſalutation. Of the reſtoring of us undeſerved of our God into our town we believe ye are not ignorant; and yet we cannot excuſe our ſloth, that we have not as yet advertiſed you thereof, being troubled to obtain that liberty which we had before our parting therefrae, wherein as yet we are occupied, was and is the cauſe of our ſlackneſs, which we doubt not ye will accept in good part. Our eſtate at preſent in that thing, which to us at preſent is moſt dear, is, that miniſters may be had, of whom for the preſent we are deſtitute, you only excepted, moveth us more than any other thing; and for that purpoſe, and for treating of ſuch other things as concern the ſtate of the Kirk, we directed the bearers to the Aſſembly at St Johnſtown, who will certify you of their anſwer which they have received: but becauſe you are he to whom we are married under God, we would crave, and crave of God, if hability of your perſon might ſuſtain travel, that once again your voice might be heard among us, and that thing reformed which ſome time by you was planted among us. Loath are we to diſtreſs or hurt your perſon any wiſe, and far loather to want you, we being joined together in love by God, and knowing your care to be no leſs for us than it has been heretofore. We refer your returning to yourſelf and your judgment; but if it may ſtand with your will, we deſire the ſame moſt earneſtly. And knowing the ſufficiency of the bearers, who will declare our mind to you at great length, wherein ye ſhall give them credit, we commit you to the protection of the Eternal.*

'*Off Edinburgh the 14th of Auguſt*, 1572.

'*Your Brethren and Children in God, with their*
'*Names ſubſcribed with their own Hands.*'

(*ddd*) Life of Knox, p. xxxii, xxxiii.

(60) This confirms Mr Keith's obſervation mentioned in remark [*R*].

(61) Knox's Life, p. xxxiii. This ſeems to refer to the offer that we have obſerved was made him of a biſhopric in England in Edward VIth's time.

(62) Ibid. p. xxxiv.

ſwered, that they never meant to put a bridle on his tongue, but deſired him to ſpeak according to his conſcience, as in former times. They alſo requeſted his advice upon the choice of a miniſter; and, after ſome debates, they agreed upon Mr James Lawſon, Sub-Principal of the King's college at Aberdeen (*eee*). Mr Knox left St Andrew's Auguſt 17, and came to Leith on the 23d. Upon the laſt day of that month, he preached in the great kirk; but his voice was become very weak, and therefore he deſired another place to teach in, where his voice might be heard, if it were but to a hundred perſons; which was granted. Immediately after this agreement commiſſioners were ſent, by whom Mr Knox ſent the letter below [*EE*]. Mr Lawſon came to Edinburgh September 15, and preached upon the Friday after, to the great ſatisfaction of the people, and continued preaching, 'till he was admitted to the charge of the miniſtry at Edinburgh. Mr Knox preached in the Tolbooth as long as he had ſtrength of body; but his health was greatly impaired by the news of the maſſacre of the Proteſtants at Paris about this time (*fff*). However, he introduced it into his next ſermon, with his uſual denunciation of God's vengeance thereon, which he deſired the French Ambaſſador, Monſieur La Crocque, might be acquainted with [*FF*]. On Sunday November 9, 1572, he admitted Mr Lawſon a miniſter of Edinburgh. But his voice was ſo weak, that very few could hear him; he declared the mutual duty between a miniſter and his flock; he praiſed God, that had given them one in his room, who was now unable to teach, and deſired that God might augment his graces to him a thouſand fold above that which he had, if it were his pleaſure, and ended with pronouncing the bleſſing. From this day he haſtned to his end. Upon the 11th, he was ſeized with a violent cough and great pains of the body; ſo that upon the 13th, he was obliged to give over his ordinary reading of the ſcriptures (*ggg*). During his ſickneſs, he was viſited occaſionally by the Earl of Morton, and others of the principal nobility and gentry. But his decay ſtill continually increaſing, he reſigned his breath on Monday the 24th of November, 1572, with great piety, reſignation, and truſt in God, ſuch as well became the Principal Director of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland *. He was interred on the 26th, in the kirk-yard of St Giles's, the corpſe being attended by ſeveral lords who were then at Edinburgh, and particularly the Earl of Morton, that day choſen Regent, who, as ſoon as he was laid in his grave, ſaid, *There lies a man, who in his life never feared the face of a man, who hath been often threatened with dag and dagger, but yet hath ended his days in peace and honour. For he had God's providence watching over him in a ſpecial manner, when his very life was ſought* (*hhh*) [*GG*]. As to his character, he was one of thoſe extraordinary perſons, of whom few, if any, are obſerved to ſpeak with ſufficient temper. All that we find of him in this way, are either extravagant encomiums on one hand, or ſenſeleſs invectives on the other. The length of the firſt exclude them neceſſarily from a place here; we can only refer to them in the margin †. And of the latter, we have already given one in the laſt remark below, which may be taken for a ſpecimen of the reſt. We ſhall therefore conclude what relates thereto in the words of Mr Strype, who hath dealt candidly with his memory; and having ſpoken of his reſidence in England and Geneva, cloſes his account thus: ' In May 1559, ' he

(*eee*) Ibid. p. xxxiv, xxxv.

(*fff*) It was brought to Edinburgh about the 12th of September by Mr Killigrew, Ambaſſador from Queen Elizabeth. See the general hiſtories of Scotland.

(*ggg*) It was his cuſtom every day to read ſome chapters of the Old and New Teſtament in his family, together with ſome pſalms. Life, p. xxxvi.

* There is a long and very particular account of his behaviour from this day to that of his death, by Mr Calderwood, and extracted by the writer of his Life, to which we refer thoſe that are curious of ſuch matters.

(*hhh*) Life, p. xli.

† They are, Tho. Smeton, ubi ſupra. Beza in Iconibus. Melchior Adams, ubi ſupra. and Jacobus Verhenden, in his Effigies Præſtantium Theolog. &c. Hagæ, 1602.

[*EE*] *The letter may ſeen below.*] It runs thus:

' *Beloved Brother,*

' *Seeing God of his mercy, far above my expectation, ' hath called me once again to Edinburgh, and yet I ' feel nature ſo decayed, and daily to decay, that I look ' not for a long continuance of my battle, I would ' gladly once diſcharge my conſcience, unto your boſom, ' and unto the boſom of others, in whom I think the fear ' of God remaineth. If I had the ability of body, I ſhould ' not have put you to the pains to which I require you ' now, that is, once to viſit me, that we may confer together of heavenly things, for in earth there is no ſtability, except the Kirk of Jeſus Chriſt, ever fighting ' under the Croſs, to whoſe protection I heartily commit ' you.*

' *From Edinburgh, 7th of September*, 1572.

' *Accelere, mi frater, alioqui ſero venies.*'

[*FF*] *He deſired Mr Crocque might be told of his Denunciation.*] The Denunciation was to this purport; *Sentence is pronounced in Scotland againſt that murderer the King of France, and God's vengeance ſhall never depart from him nor his houſe; but his name ſhall remain an execration to poſterity; and none that ſhall come of his loins, ſhall enjoy that kindgdom in peace and quietneſs, unleſs repentance prevent God's judgment.* The ambaſſador being told of it, applied to the regent and council, and complained that his maſter was called a traitor and murderer of his ſubjects, under a promiſe and truſt; and deſired that an edict might be publiſhed, prohibiting the ſubjects of Scotland to ſpeak any thing to the diſhonour of his maſter, eſpecially the miniſters in their ſermons. This was waved by the council, and the ambaſſador was told, that they could not hinder the miniſters from ſpeaking even againſt themſelves (63).

[*GG*] *When his life was ſought.*] We have a remarkable inſtance of this as follows: It was his cuſtom to ſit at the table-head in his own houſe with his back to a window; yet, upon a certain night he ſat with his back to the table, when a bullet was ſhot in at the window purpoſely to kill him; but the conſpirators miſſed him, and the bullet lighted on the candleſtick, and made a hole in the foot of it, which is yet to be ſeen (64). We need not obſerve, that the pretence inſinuated in this ſtory by Mr Calderwood of an extraordinary providence interpoſing in Knox's preſervation, is the pure effect of bigotry. However, to ballance it on the other hand, an account of his death was fabricated by the Papiſts, who did not ſcruple to father it upon King James I. as follows: When that monarch, ſays the author, came firſt into England, being at dinner in a nobleman's houſe, he ſaid, in ſpeaking of Knox, that God thought fit to ſet a viſible mark upon him even in his life-time before he went to the devil, (theſe are the author's words); which was, that being ſick, with a good coal-fire by him, and a lighted candle upon the table, he deſired the ſervant-maid that attended him to fetch him ſome drink, being extremely thirſty. She went and returned quickly, but found the room all in darkneſs; for not only the candle, but the fire alſo was utterly extinct, and ſhe, by that light which herſelf brought in immediately after, ſaw the body of Knox lying dead in the middle of the floor, and with a moſt ghaſtly and horrid countenance, as if his body were to ſhew the condition of his ſoul *.

(63) Ibid. p. xxxv.

(64) Ibid. p. xli. from Mr Calderwood.

* Politicians Catechiſm, &c. Antwerp. 1658, and Knot's Proteſtants condemned, Doway, 1654.

‘he returned to his own country to forward the Reformation, where he lived to the day of his death; but his violent methods and diſloyal behaviour towards the Queen of Scots, is generally condemned (*iii*).’ As to his family, he was twice married, firſt, to Margery Bowes, an Engliſhwoman (*kkk*), by whom he had two ſons, Nathaniel and Eleazar, and one daughter, who was married to Mr Robert Pont, Miniſter of St Cuthbert's in Edinburgh, and for ſome time a Lord of Seſſion. His ſons were both educated at the univerſity of Cambridge, and admitted of St John's college, December 2, 1572, preſently after the death of their father. Nathaniel took his firſt drgree in Arts in 1576, and the following year was admitted Fellow of the college. He proceeded Maſter of Arts in 1580, and died in that year. The ſecond ſon, Eleazar, took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1577, was admitted Fellow of his college March 22, 1579, commenced Maſter of Arts in 1581, was appointed Univerſity-Preacher in 1587-8, made Vicar of Clacton-magna May 17, 1587 (*lll*), and proceeded B. D. the following year. He died in 1591, and was buried in the chapel of St John's college (*mmm*). To his ſecond wife, Mr Knox married Mrs Margaret Stewart, daughter to Andrew Lord Ochiltrie, a zealous promoter of the Reformation, and ſiſter to James Earl of Arran (*nnn*). This lady ſurviving Mr Knox, was afterwards married to Sir Andrew Ker of Faudonſide. She brought Mr Knox three daughters, to whom, with their mother, in 1573, was granted the following penſion; viz. five hundred marks in money, two chalders wheat, ſix chalders bear, and four chalders oats. This favour is ſaid to be granted on account of Mr Knox's long and fruitful travels in the Kirk, and for the education and ſupport of his wife and children. One of theſe daughters was married to Mr John Welſh, miniſter at Air; and another to Mr James Fleming, alſo a miniſter, and grandfather by another wife to the late Mr Robert Fleming, miniſter at London (*ooo*). An account of his writings ſhall be given in remark [*HH*].

(*iii*) Life of Archbiſhop Parker, p. 366.

(*kkk*) Her mother, Mrs Bowes, appears from Mr Knox's Letters to her, to have been a perſon of great knowledge and ſingular piety.

(*lll*) Newcourt's Repertorium. Lond. Vol. II. p. 154.

(*mmm*) Life of Knox, p. xli, xlii. from the information of Mr Tho. Baker, Antiquarian of St John's in Cambridge.

(*nnn*) See remark [*HH*].

(*ooo*) Life of Knox, ibid.

[*HH*] *An account of his Writings.*] Theſe are: 1. *A faithful Admonition to the true Profeſſors of the Goſpel of Chriſt within the Kingdom of England*, 1554. It was reprinted at the end of his Hiſtory in 1644 and 1732. 2. *A Letter to Mary Queen-Regent of Scotland*, 1556, printed with additions in 1558; and again, at the end of his Hiſtory. 3. *The Appellation of* John Knox, *from the cruel and unjuſt Sentence pronounced againſt him by the falſe Biſhops and Clergy of Scotland, with a Supplication and Exhortation to the Nobility, Eſtates, and Commonality of the ſame Realm*, 1558; and again, at the end of his Hiſtory, where is ſubjoined, *An Admonition to England and Scotland to call them to Repentance*, by Anthony Gilbie; as alſo Mr Knox's Advertiſement, concerning *the ſecond Blaſt of the Trumpet*. 4. *The firſt Blaſt of the Trumpet againſt the monſtrous Regiment of Women*, 1558, 8vo. reprinted with his Hiſtory in 1732. fol. 5. *A brief Exhortation to England for the ſpeedy embracing of Chriſt's Goſpel, heretofore by the tyranny of Mary ſuppreſſed and baniſhed*, 1559; and again, with his Hiſtory in 1644 and 1732. 6. *An Anſwer to a great Number of blaſphemous Cavillations written by an Anabaptiſt, and Adverſary of God's eternal Predeſtination*, by John Knox, Miniſter of God's Word in Scotland, Geneva, 1560. 7. *The Confeſſion of Faith*, ratified by the Parliament of Scotland, 1560; as alſo *The firſt Book of Diſcipline, the Form and Order for admitting Superintendants and Miniſters, and of Excommunication and Faſting*, all approved in the General Aſſembly, were compoſed chiefly by our author. 8. *A Reply to the Abbot of Croſraguell's* [or Croſſregal] *Faith, or Catechiſm*; as alſo *An Account of his Conference* with that abbot in 1562. *A Sermon before the King* [Henry Darnley] *on Iſaiah* xxvi. 13, 17. in 1566. 9. *An Anſwer to a Letter written by James Tyrie, a Jeſuit, Edinburgh* 1568. Mr Knox's Anſwer was publiſhed in 1571. Theſe were publiſhed in our author's life-time. After his death came out his famous *Hiſtory of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland, &c.* probably firſt printed in London, 1586, 8vo; again at London, in 1644, fol. and the ſame year at Edinburgh, in 4to, and a fourth time at Edinburgh, 1732, fol. This edition is printed from a MS in the library of the college at Glaſgow, an account of which, and of three others is given by the editor, in our author's life prefixed thereto. Beſides his printed works, there were alſo, in 1732, ſome MSS of his in the hands of Mr Robert Woodrow, Miniſter of Eaſtwood, and others are preſerved in Mr David Calderwood's large Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland. Thoſe in the hands of Mr Woodrow are, I. A volume in folio, in an old hand fairly writtten, and ſeems to have been copied by John Gray, Scribe to the General Aſſembly, for the uſe of Margaret Stewart, Mr Knox's widow, both their names being written upon it. The contents of it are *A Preparation to Prayer*, 4 ſheets. 2. *The ſixth Pſalm of David godly expounded*, 10 ſheets, written in 1553, when our author was leaving England. 3. *The Epiſtle ſent to ſeveral Congregations in England, ſhewand the Plaigs, which ſall ſchortlie cum upon that Realm, for refuſing God's Worde, and imbraſſing Idolatrie*, John Knox. 4. *To the Faithful in London, Newcaſtle, and Berwick.* II. A volume in 4to, containing 518 pages. Upon the title page is written, the epiſtles of Mr John Knox, worthy to be read, &c. And in another hand are the following words: This book belonged ſome time to Margaret Stewart, widow to Mr Knox, afterwards married to the Knight of Fadounſide, Siſter ſhe was to James Earl of Arran. The contents are, 1. *Mr Knox's Confeſſion before the Biſhop of Durham, April* 4, 1550. 2. *His Declaration in a Sum concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.* 3. *A Declaration what true prayer is, by John Knox.* This is diſtinct from the treatiſe in the other volume, and conſiſts of four ſheets. 4. *The Expoſition upon the ſixth Pſalm*, the ſame with that in the other volume. 5. *John Knox to the Faithful in London, &c.* ibid. 6. *Knox's Admonition, to the Profeſſors in England.* This is printed. 7. *Certain Epiſtles and Letters of the Servant of God, John Knox, to and from divers Places to his Friends in Jeſus Chriſt.* These epiſtles are 45 in number, written from the year 1553 to 1557.

END of the Fourth Volume.

MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM